The Grand Bible

The Complete Bible, its non-canonical Scriptures, the Koran,
And Books from Mesopotamia, Persia, India and China

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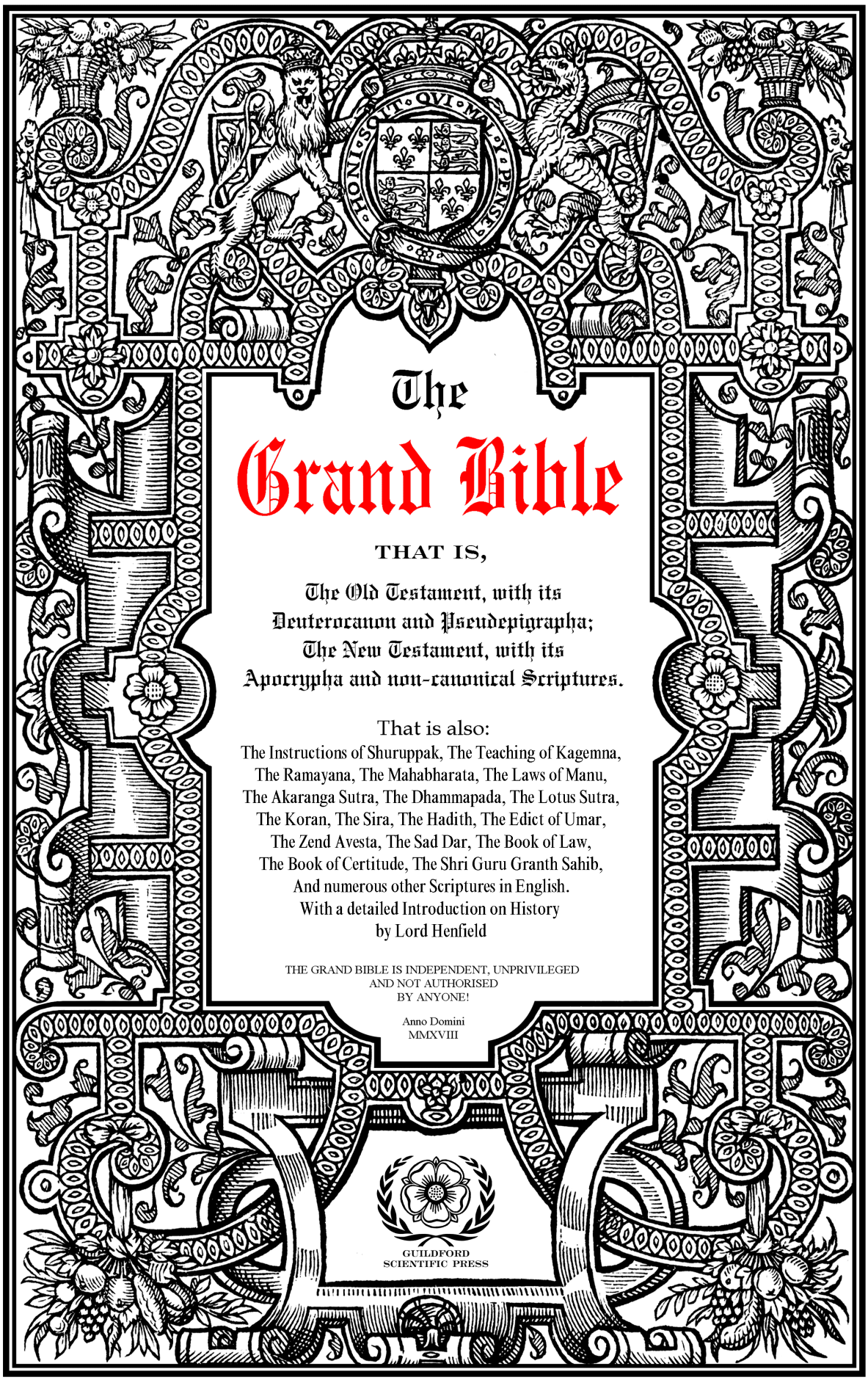

The Grand Bible

THAT IS,

The Old Testament, with its
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The New Testament, with its
Apocrypha and non-canonical Scriptures.

That is also:

The Instructions of Shuruppak, The Teaching of Kagemna,
The Ramayana, The Mahabharata, The Laws of Manu,
The Akaranga Sutra, The Dhammapada, The Lotus Sutra,
The Koran, The Sira, The Hadith, The Edict of Umar,
The Zend Avesta, The Sad Dar, The Book of Law,
The Book of Certitude, The Shri Guru Granth Sahib,
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With a detailed Introduction on History
by Lord Henfield

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The Acts of John the Theologian	Alexander Walker (1779–1852), 1885	Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 8.	**917**
The Acts and Martyrdom of Matthew	Alexander Walker (1779–1852), 1885	Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 8.	**918**
The Martyrdom of Matthew	Montague Rhodes James,1924	The Apocryphal New Testament	**920**
The Acts of Paul (Greek Version)	Montague Rhodes James, 1924.	The Apocryphal New Testament	**921**
The Acts of Paul (Paul's Third Epistle to the Corinthians)	Montague Rhodes James,1924	The Apocryphal New Testament	**922**
The Acts of Peter and Paul	Alexander Walker (1779–1852), 1885	From Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 8.	**927**
The Acts of Philip (the brother of Mary Magdalene)	Montague Rhodes James,1924	The Apocryphal New Testament	**930**
The History of Philip, the Apostle and Evangelist	William Wright, 1871	Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, Vol 2. pp.69-92	**933**
The Life of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle	Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge, 1913	Coptic Apo., Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 660, Fol. 4 a	**935**
The Repose of Saint John the Evangelist and Apostle	Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge, 1913	Coptic Apocrypha, Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 6782	**936**
The Mysteries of Saint John the Apostle and Holy Virgin	Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge, 1913	Coptic Apocrypha, Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7026	**937**
An Encomium on John the Baptist, by John Chrysostom	Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge, 1913	Coptic Apocrypha, Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7024	**939**
The Healing of Tiberius / Cura Sanitatis Tiberii	Tuomas Levänen, 2020	Latin Bible Manuscripts, Academia 2020	**941**
The History of Joseph the Carpenter	Alexander Walker (1779–1852), 1885	Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 8.	**942**
The Story of Joseph (of Arimathea)	B. Harris Cowper, 1867	The Apocryphal Gospels and other Documents	**944**
The Vengeance of the Saviour	B. Harris Cowper, 1867	The Apocryphal Gospels and other Documents	**946**
Prayer of Jesus, Son of Mary	B. Harris Cowper, 1867	The Apocryphal Gospels and other Documents	**948**
The Story of Veronica	B. Harris Cowper, 1867	The Apocryphal Gospels and other Documents	**948**
The Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas	Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1886.	From: Ante-Nicene Fathers Vol 8 1886	**948**
The History of the Virgin Mary, the Holy Mother of God.	William Wright, 1865	Syriac Apocrypha, Aramaic. British Museum	**950**
The Obsequies of the Holy Virgin	William Wright, 1865	Syriac Apocrypha, Aramaic. British Museum	**953**
Homily concerning the Holy Mother of God	Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare, 1896	Armenian Apocrypha; The Expositor, 5th series vol.3	**954**
The Falling Asleep of Mary, by John the Theologian	James Orr, 1903	New Testament Apocryphal Writings	**956**
The Acts of the Apostle and Evangelist John the Theologian	Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1886.	From: Ante-Nicene Fathers Vol 8 1886	**957**
The Book of Acts / The Acts (of the Apostles)	**King James Version**	Roman-Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant	**959**

GENERAL EPISTLES are (public) letters of Apostles and "churchfathers" to members and communities of the Gentile Christian movements outside of the Holy Land			968
The Epistle (or Book) of James the Brother of Jesus	**King James Version**	Roman-Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant	**968**
Peter's First Epistle from Babylon to Asia Minor	**King James Version**	Roman-Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant	**970**
Peter's Second Epistle to Asia Minor	**King James Version**	Roman-Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant	**971**
The First Epistle of John	**King James Version**	Roman-Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant	**972**
The Second Epistle of John	**King James Version**	Roman-Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant	**973**
The Third Epistle of John	**King James Version**	Roman-Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant	**973**
The Epistle of Jude the servant (brother) of Jesus and James	**King James Version**	Roman-Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant	**974**
The Epistle of the Apostles / Epistula Apostolorum	Montague Rhode James, 1924	Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church	**974**

THE EPISTLES OF PAUL are 14 (15) public letters attributed to the Roman citizen **Saul of Tarsos** (Paul the Apostle), the leader of the Gentile (Roman) Christians			978
Paul's Epistle to the Romans	**King James Version**	Roman-Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant	**978**
Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians	**King James Version**	Roman-Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant	**982**
Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians	**King James Version**	Roman-Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant	**986**
Paul's Epistle to the Galatians	**King James Version**	Roman-Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant	**989**

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Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians	**King James Version**	Roman-Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant	**990**
Paul's Epistle to the Philippians	**King James Version**	Roman-Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant	**992**
Paul's Epistle to the Colossians	**King James Version**	Roman-Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant	**993**
Paul's First Epistle to the Thessalonians	**King James Version**	Roman-Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant	**994**
Paul's Second Epistle to the Thessalonians	**King James Version**	Roman-Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant	**995**
Paul's First Epistle to his disciple Timothy	**King James Version**	Roman-Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant	**996**
Paul's Second Epistle to his disciple Timothy	**King James Version**	Roman-Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant	**997**
Paul's Epistle to the Greek Missionary Titus	**King James Version**	Roman-Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant	**998**
Paul's Epistle to Philemon the Bishop of Collosae	**King James Version**	Roman-Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant	**999**
Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews	**King James Version**	Roman-Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant	**999**
Paul's Epistle to the Laodiceans	Montague Rhodes James, 1924	Part of German and Dutch Bibles before Luther	**1002**

NON-CANONICAL EPISTLES are (public) letters of Apostles and "Churchfathers". They are not part of the New Testament canon. 1003

The Epistles of Abgarus to Jesus	William Wake, 1693	New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha	**1003**
The Letters of Abgarus to Jesus / The Legend of Abgar	Henri Leclercq, 1912	Catholic Encyclopedia, Volume 1; 1913	**1003**
The Doctrine of Addai (with letters of Jesus and Abgarus)	George Phillips, 1876	Ms. St-Petersbourg, N.S. Syr. 4 (Pigulevskaya 48)	**1003**
The Epistles of Herod and Pilate	William Wake, 1693	New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha	**1008**
The Letters of Herod (Antipas) and (Pontius) Pilate	William Wright, 1865	Syriac Apocrypha, Aramaic. British Museum	**1010**
Letter of Pilate to Tiberius	B. Harris Cowper, 1867	The Apocryphal Gospels and other Documents	**1011**
The Report of Pontius Pilate	B. Harris Cowper, 1867	The Apocryphal Gospels and other Documents	**1011**
The Trial and Condemnation of Pilate	B. Harris Cowper, 1867	The Apocryphal Gospels and other Documents	**1011**
The Death of Pilate, who condemned Jesus	B. Harris Cowper, 1867	The Apocryphal Gospels and other Documents	**1011**
The Epistle of the Corinthians to Paul	**See: Acts of Paul, Chap. 7; GB page 925**	The Apocryphal New Testament	**--**
Paul's Third Epistle to the Corinthians	**See: Acts of Paul, Chap. 7; GB page 926**	The Apocryphal New Testament	**--**
Epistle of Peter to James the Just, Brother of Jesus	**See: Homilies of Clement ; GB page 1911**	Introduction to Homilies of Clement	**--**
The First Epistle of (Flavius) Clement to the Corinthians	Charles H. Hoole, 1885	New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha	**1012**
The Second Epistle of (Flavius) Clement to the Corinthians	Charles H. Hoole, 1885	New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha	**1017**
The Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians	Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867	New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha	**1019**
The Martyrdom of Polycarp	Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867	New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha	**1020**
The Epistle of Barnabas	Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867	New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha	**1022**
The Epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians	Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867	New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha	**1025**
The (Syriac) Epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians	Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867	New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha	**1027**
The Epistle of Ignatius to the Magnesians	Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867	New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha	**1027**
The Epistle of Ignatius to the Trallians	Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867	New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha	**1028**
The Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans	Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867	New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha	**1029**
The (Syriac) Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans	Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867	New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha	**1030**
The Epistle of Ignatius to the Philadelphians	Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867	New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha	**1030**
The Epistle of Ignatius to the Smyrnaeans	Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867	New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha	**1032**
The Epistle of Ignatius to Polycarp	Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867	New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha	**1033**
The (Syriac) Epistle of Ignatius to Polycarp	Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867	New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha	**1033**
The Martyrdom of Ignatius	Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867	New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha	**1034**
The Epistle (of Ignatius) to the Tarsians	Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867	New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha	**1034**
The Epistle (of Ignatius) to the Antiochians	Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867	New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha	**1035**
The Epistle (of Ignatius) to Hero, a Deacon of Antioch	Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867	New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha	**1035**
The Epistle (of Ignatius) to the Philippians	Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867	New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha	**1036**
The Epistle of Maria the Proselyte to Ignatius	Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867	New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha	**1037**
The Epistle to Mary at Neapolis, near Zarbus	Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867	New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha	**1037**
The First Epistle to John the Presbyter	Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867	New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha	**1038**
The Second Epistle to John the Presbyter	Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867	New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha	**1038**
The Epistle to the Virgin Mary	Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867	New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha	**1038**
The Epistle to Diognetus, tutor of Marcus Aurelius	Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867	New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha	**1038**

JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN LAW. These are Writings on Law, Precepts, Commandments, and Traditions, such as the Role of the Sexes and Moral Behaviour. 1040

The Holiness Code	Translation: Anonymus	Rabbinic Jewish Law, Torah and Talmud	**1040**
The Covenant Code and The Ritual Decalogue	Translation: Anonymus	Rabbinic Jewish Law, Torah and Talmud	**1040**
The Ethical Decalogue / Aseret Ha-Dvarim	Translation: Anonymus	Rabbinic Jewish Law, Torah and Talmud	**1041**
Commandments of the Parashah	Translation: Anonymus	Rabbinic Jewish Law, Torah and Talmud	**1041**
The Priestly Code / Torat Kohanim	Translation: Anonymus	Rabbinic Jewish Law, Torah and Talmud	**1041**
The 613 Mitzvoh or The 613 Jewish Commandments	Translation: Anonymus	Rabbinic Jewish Law, Torah and Talmud	**1042**
Rabbinical Mitzvot and The Six Constant Mitzvot	Translation: Anonymus	Rabbinic Jewish Law, Torah and Talmud	**1046**
Noahidism or The Laws Of Noah	Translation: Anonymus	Rabbinic Jewish Law, Torah and Talmud	**1046**
The Halakha / Jewish Law	Translation: Anonymus	Rabbinic Jewish Law, Torah and Talmud	**1047**
The Mishnah Sanhedrin, and explanations to Jewish Law	Translation: Anonymus	Rabbinic Jewish Law, Torah and Talmud	**1048**
The Babylonian Talmud / The Talmud Bavli / Shisha Sedarim	Michael Levi Rodkinson, 1903-1918	Rabbinic Jewish Law, Roman Judaism	**1052**
Didache or Teaching (of the twelve Apostles)	Charles H. Hoole, 1885	Christian Law, Early Roman Church	**1627**
The Didascalia Apostolorum	R. Hugh Connolly, 1929	Christian Law, Early Roman Church	**1628**
The Apostolic Constitutions	Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867	Christian Law, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 7	**1646**
The Didesqelya (The Ethiopic Didascalia)	Thomas Pell Platt, 1834	Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church	**1681**

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The Nicene Creed, Apostles' Creed, Jewish Creed, Islamic Creed	William Wake, 1693; and others: Anonymus	Early Pauline Church, Roman Church, and others	**1692**
Martin Luther: The Ninety-Five Theses, 31 Oct. 1517	Henry Eyster Jacobs and Adolph Spaeth, 1915	Works of Martin Luther, Volume 1, 1915	**1696**
Letter to the Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz, 31 Oct. 1517	Henry Eyster Jacobs and Adolph Spaeth, 1915	Works of Martin Luther, Volume 1, 1915	**1697**
Letter to John Staupitz accompanying . . . , 1518	Henry Eyster Jacobs and Adolph Spaeth, 1915	Works of Martin Luther, Volume 1, 1915	**1698**
Letter to Pope Leo X, accompanying . . ., 1518	Henry Eyster Jacobs and Adolph Spaeth, 1915	Works of Martin Luther, Volume 1, 1915	**1698**
Letter of Martin Luther to Pope Leo X, 6th September, 1520	Erika Bullmann Flores, 1995	Martin Luthers Werke, 1909	**1699**
Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation	Anonymus	The Harvard Classics, Vol 36, New York, 1910	**1700**
An Open Letter on Translating, 8th of September, 1530	Gary Mann, 1995	Martin Luthers Werke, 1909	**1711**
The Augsburg Confession (1530) / Confessio Augustana	Gerhard Friedrich Bente (1858–1930)	Protestant Lutheran Church of Germany	**1714**
The (39) Articles of Religion / TheThirty-nine Articles	English Text: Henry VIII, Elizabeth I, James I	Church of England / Anglican Church	**1720**

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE contains Literature on Ethics and Wisdom, Educational and mystical Treatises 1723

The First Book of Adam and Eve	S. C. Malan, 1882	Christian Apocrypha, Egypt, Ethiopia, Arabia	**1723**
The Second Book of Adam and Eve	S. C. Malan, 1882	Christian Apocrypha, Egypt, Ethiopia, Arabia	**1735**
The Third Book of Adam and Eve	S. C. Malan, 1882	Christian Apocrypha, Egypt, Ethiopia, Arabia	**1740**
The Fourth Book of Adam and Eve	S. C. Malan, 1882	Christian Apocrypha, Egypt, Ethiopia, Arabia	**1745**
The Life of Adam and Eve [Slavonic Version 1]	Vatroslav Jagic, 1893	Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien	**1748**
The Life of Adam and Eve [Slavonic Version 2], Fragments	Robert Henry Charles 1913	Christian Apocrypha, Serbia, Bulgaria, Russia, etc.	**1750**
The Penitence of Adam [Armenian Version]	Gary A. Anderson, Michael E. Stone, 1981	Armenian Orthodox Church	**1750**
The Book of Adam [Georgian Version]	Jean-Pierre Mahé, 1981	Georgian Orthodox Church	**1753**
The Shepherd (or Pastor) of Hermas, Three Books	Stephen Emmel	Codex Sinaiticus, Sinai Bible	**1756**
Pistis Sophia, The Book of the Saviour	George Robert Stow Mead, 1921	Codex Askew, British Library	**1770**
The Instructions of Apa Pachomius, The Archimandrite	Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge, 1913	Coptic Apocrypha, Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7024	**1803**
First Book of Meqabyan / 1 Ethiopic Maccabees	Dermot P. Curtin, 2018 / Ras Feqade Tebbaqiw	Bible of the Ethiopian Tewahado Church	**1807**
Second Book of Meqabyan / 2 Ethiopic Maccabees	Ras Feqade Tebbaqiw	Bible of the Ethiopian Tewahado Church	**1822**
Third Book of Meqabyan / 3 Ethiopic Maccabees	Ras Feqade Tebbaqiw	Bible of the Ethiopian Tewahado Church	**1828**
Dialogue of the Saviour	Stephen Emmel	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**1831**
The Sophia (Wisdom) of Jesus Christ	Douglas M. Parrott	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**1833**
The Teachings (Precepts) of Silvanus (Silas)	Malcolm L. Peel and Jan Zandee	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**1834**
The Sentences of Sextus / The Wisdom (Precepts) of Sextus	Frederik Wisse	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**1836**
The Epistle of Eugnostos	Douglas M. Parrott	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**1837**
The Trimorphic Protennoia	John D. Turner	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**1838**
The Interpretation of Knowledge	John D. Turner	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**1840**
Allogenes / The Stranger	John D.Turner and Orval S. Wintermute	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**1841**
Zostrianos / Zarathrustra	John N. Sieber	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**1842**
Marsanes	Birger A. Pearson	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**1846**
The Testimony of Truth	Søren Giversen and Birger A. Pearson	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**1848**
The Thought of Norea	Søren Giversen and Birger A. Pearson	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**1850**
Melchisedek	Søren Giversen and Birger A. Pearson	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**1850**
The Letter of Peter to Philip	Marvin Meyer	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**1851**
The Three Steles of Seth	James R. Robinson	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**1852**
The Second Treatise of the Great Seth	Roger A. Bullard and Joseph A. Gibbons	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**1852**
The Paraphrase of Shem	Frederik Wisse	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**1854**
The Prayer of Thanksgiving	J. Brashler, P. A. Dirkse and D. M. Parrott	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**1857**
The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth	J. Brashler, P. A. Dirkse and D. M. Parrott	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**1857**
The Concept of Our Great Power	Frederik Wisse	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**1858**
Authoritative Teaching	George W. MacRae	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**1859**
The Hypostasis of the Archons	Bentley Layton	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**1860**
The Thunder, Perfect Mind	George W. MacRae	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**1861**
The Tripartite Tractate	Harold W. Attridge and Dieter Mueller	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**1862**
The Treatise on the Resurrection	Malcolm L. Peel	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**1969**
On the Origin of the World	Hans-Gebhard Bethge and Bentley Layton	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**1869**
The Exegesis on the Soul	William C. Robinson Jr.	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**1872**
The Testament of Solomon	Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare, 1898	Several manuscripts in Paris, London, Vienna	**1873**
The Sibylline Oracles / Christian Sibyllines	Milton S. Terry, 1899	Christian or New Testament Pseudepigrapha	**1878**
The Apology of Aristides (Text A in Greek)	Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1886.	Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol. 10	**1898**
The Apology of Aristides (Text B in Syriac-Aramaic)	D. M. KAY, J, Rendel Harris, 1891	Library of St Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt.	**1899**
Theodotus, Excerpts from: Clement of Alexandria Text A	Mr. Wilson; Roberts-Donaldson, 1886	Ante-Nicene Fathers	**1902**
Theodotus, Excerpts from: Clement of Alexandria Text B	Translation: Anonymus	Ante-Nicene Fathers	**1904**
Heracleon's Commentary on the Gospel of John	A. E. Brooke	Ante-Nicene Fathers	**1907**
The Homilies of Clement (Titus Flavius Clemens)	Thomas Smith, 1885	Clementine Literature, Kerygmata Petrou	**1911**
The Recognitions of Clement (Titus Flavius Clemens)	Thomas Smith, 1885	Clementine Literature, Kerygmata Petrou	**1950**
The (Arabic) Book of The Rolls, Kitab Al-Magall	Margaret Dunlop Gibson, 1901	Clementine Literature, Kerygmata Petrou	**1992**
The Recognitions of Clement, Arabic Epitome from Sinai.	Roger Pearse, 1885	Clementine Literature, Kerygmata Petrou	**1999**

APOCALYPSES OR REVELATIONS (or more precisely: VISIONS) these books were written and have been popular among all kinds of Pauline (Roman) Christians. 2001

The Apocalypse of Thomas	Montague Rhodes James,1924	The Apocryphal New Testament	**2001**
The (First) Apocalypse of James	William R. Schoedel	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**2002**

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The (Second) Apocalypse of James	Charles W. Hedrick	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**2003**
The (Greek) Apocalypse of Peter	Montague Rhodes James,1924	The Apocryphal New Testament	**2004**
The (Coptic) Apocalypse of Peter	James Brashler and Roger Aubrey Bullard	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**2007**
The (Greek) Apocalypse of Paul	Montague Rhodes James,1924	The Apocryphal New Testament	**2008**
The (Coptic) Apocalypse of Paul	George W. MacRae and William R. Murdock	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**2013**
The (Hebrew) Apocalypse of Elijah	Moses Buttenwieser, 1897	A. Jellinek and M. Buttenwieser Publishers	**2014**
The (Coptic Christian) Apocalypse of Elijah	Theodor Zahn, 1908	The Pseudepigrapha	**2015**
The Apocalypse of Adam	George W. MacRae	The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt	**2016**
The Apocalypse of Abraham	G. H. Box, 1918	Tolkovaja Paleja or Explanatory Paleja	**2017**
The Apocalypse of Abraham	Eedle's Version	Origin of the Slavonic text unknown	**2020**
The Apocalypse of Sedrach / The Word of Sedrach	Andrew Rutherford / M. R. James, 1893	Bodleian Library (Cod. Misc. Gr. 56, ff. 92-100)	**2023**
The Apocalypse of the Virgin	Andrew Rutherfurd, 1896	From Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 9.	**2024**
The Apocalypse or Revelation of Stephen	Montague Rhodes James,1924	From The Apocryphal New Testament	**2026**
The Apocalypse or Revelation of John the Theologian	Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1886.	From Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 8	**2026**
The (Armenian) Apoclypse of John	Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare, 1907	British Museum Codex Orient. 5304.	**2028**
The Apocalypse of John / Revelation of John of Patmos	**King James Version**	Roman-Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant	**2033**

P A R T 6 contains important writings of the Zoroastrians, the followers of Zaratustra as well as texts of the Manichaean Church, the followers of Mani.

THE SCRIPTURES OF PERSIA contain Zoroastrian Writings such as the Zend Avesta and the Sad Dar but also Manichaean texts			2043
The Zend Avesta	James Darmesteter, 1879-82 / L.H. Mills 1887	Zoroastrianism, Persia, India	**2043**
Sad Dar - The One Hundred Precepts (or Commandments)	Edward William West, 1885	Zoroastrianism, Persia, India	**2104**
The Book of Arda Viraf Namak	Martin Haug, 1870	Zoroastrianism, Persia, India	**2114**
The Fundamental Epistle of Mani (Manichaeus)	Walter Bruno Henning, 1932-1936	Manichaean Church, Gnostic, Zoroastrian, Buddhist	**2120**
The Gospel of Mani or the Living Gospel	Walter Bruno Henning, 1932-1936	Manichaean Church, Gnostic, Zoroastrian, Buddhist	**2120**
The Manichaean Psalms of Thomas	Saeve Soederbergh, 1949	Manichaean Church, Gnostic, Zoroastrian, Buddhist	**2120**
The Sweet Teaching of The Sinless	Anonymus	Manichaean Church, Gnostic, Zoroastrian, Buddhist	**2123**
Psalms to Jesus	Walter Bruno Henning, 1932-1936	Manichaean Church; Gnostic, Zoroastrian, Buddhist	**2123**
Manichaean Parables	Walter Bruno Henning, 1932-1936	Manichaean Church; Gnostic, Zoroastrian, Buddhist	**2125**
The Kephalia of the Lord Mani	Walter Bruno Henning, 1932-1936	Manichaean Church; Gnostic, Zoroastrian, Buddhist	**2128**
Hymns and Writings Ascribed to Mani (Excerpt)	Walter Bruno Henning, 1932-1936	Manichaean Church; Gnostic, Zoroastrian, Buddhist	**2128**
The Psalms of the Festival of Bema	Walter Bruno Henning, 1932-1936	Manichaean Church; Gnostic, Zoroastrian, Buddhist	**2128**
Separate Psalms	Walter Bruno Henning, 1932-1936	Manichaean Church; Gnostic, Zoroastrian, Buddhist	**2130**
Miscellaneous Manichaean Texts and Fragments	Walter Bruno Henning, 1932-1936	Manichaean Church; Gnostic, Zoroastrian, Buddhist	**2131**
The Manichaean Book of the Giants or The Kawan	Walter Bruno Henning, 1943	Manichaean Church; Gnostic, Zoroastrian, Buddhist	**2132**
The Cologne Mani-Codex / Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis	Ron Cameron, Arthur J. Dewey, 1979	Manichaean Church; Gnostic, Zoroastrian, Buddhist	**2134**

P A R T 5 is subdivided into 3 sections: 1.) Artefacts and Historical Documents; 2.) Exploration Accounts; 3.) New Creations and Fabrications.

1.) ARTEFACTS AND HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS. Documents of people who had first-hand knowledge on religions and intercultural relationships in Antiquity.			2139
The Autobiography of Weni the Elder	James Henry Breasted	Egypt, Source: James Henry Breasted	**2139**
The Amarna Letters / The Tell Amarna Tablets	Budge, Conder, Knudtzon, Bezold, Mercer	Egypt. Source: various; Selection	**2139**
The Book of Gates	Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge, 1905	Inscriptions on the sarcophagus of Pharao Seti I.	**2154**
The Epic of Aqhat / The Original Canaanite Book of Daniel	J. C. L. Gibson, 1978	Canaanite Legends and Pre-Bible Stories	**2163**
The Myth of Baal / The Baal Cycle / Baal battles Yahm	Lilinah biti-Anat, 1997	Canaanite Legends and Pre-Bible Stories	**2165**
The Legend of Kret (Keret) / Epic of Kirta (Kret) by Elimelek	K. C. Hanson, 2007	Ugarit (Ras Shamra) and Ras Ibn Hani in Syria, c. 1928	**2171**
The Piyama-radu Letter / The Tawagalawa Letter	Ferdinand Sommer, 1975	Hittite documents from Hattusha, Anatolia	**2172**
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William of Rubruck's Account of the Mongols	William Woodville Rockhill, 1900	Louis IX sends Willem van Rubroeck to the Mongols	**3721**
The (Nestorian) Monks of Kublai Khan by Rabban Bar Sauma	Earnest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge, 1928	Nestorian (Eastern Asian) Christianity	**3739**
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The Trilingual Inscription of Admiral Zheng He	Spolia Zeylanica / Louise Levathes.	China, Ming Dynaty; India, Persia, Islam	**3799**
Admiral Zheng He's Changle Stele	David Morison, 1972	China, Ming Dynaty; India, Persia, Islam	**3800**

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The Hamas Charter, 2017	Official Translation	Islam, (Hamas is a wing of Muslim Brotherhood)	**5136**
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The Zhuangzi / Chuang Tzu	Burton Watson, 2000s	China, Daoism	**7142**
The Lun Yu / The Analects of Confucius (Kongfuzi)	James Legge, 1899	China, Confucianism	**7178**
The Li Ji / The Classic of Rites / Precepts of Confucius	James Legge, 1899	China, Confucianism	**7191**
The Xiao Jing / Hsiao Ching / The Classic of Filial Piety	James Legge, 1899	China, Confucianism	**7259**
The Mengzi / Mencius / The Conversations of Meng Tzu	James Legge, 1861	China, Confucianism	**7260**
The Zhong Yong / The Doctrine of the Mean	James Legge, 1861 / A. Charles Muller, 1991	China, Confucianism	**7281**
The Sunzi Bingfa / The Art of War by General Sunzi (Sun Wu)	Lionel Giles 1905	China	**7287**
The Wuzi (Wu Tzu) by General Wu Qi	Lionel Giles 1905	China	**7291**
Han Feizi / Han Fei Tzu / The Ancient Law of China	W. K. Liao, 1939	China, Confucianism, Daoism	**7294**
The Mozi / The Mojing / The Mohist Canon	W. P. Mei, 1929; A.C. Graham, 1978	China, Mohism	**7354**
The Fahua San Bujing / The Threefold Lotus Sutra (Zhu Fahu)	Bunno Kato, 1975	China, India, Mahayana Buddhism	**7381**
Appendix A: Additional Maps (2 Family Trees, 1 Timeline)	Various	Number of Documents: 29 (with explanations)	**7427**
Appendix B: Additional Images	Various	Number of Documents: 32	**7455**
Appendix C: Additional Texts / **Contents on page 7474**	Various	Number of Documents: 8	**7477**
Appendix D: Selection of Bibliographies, Information & Ads	Lord Henfield	Arranged according to subjects	**7586**

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PICTORIAL DOCUMENTATION

THE IMAGE PLATES

1. SCROLLS AND CODICES

2. SITES OF DISCOVERY

3. SAMPLES OF INSCRIPTIONS AND SCRIPTURE

4. PORTRAITS

5. GENEALOGY

6. MAPS ON MIGRATION AND LANGUAGE

7. INTRODUCTION TO NUMISMATICS

8. COINS

9. SCRIPT IDENTIFICATION CHARTS

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IMAGE PLATE No. 1

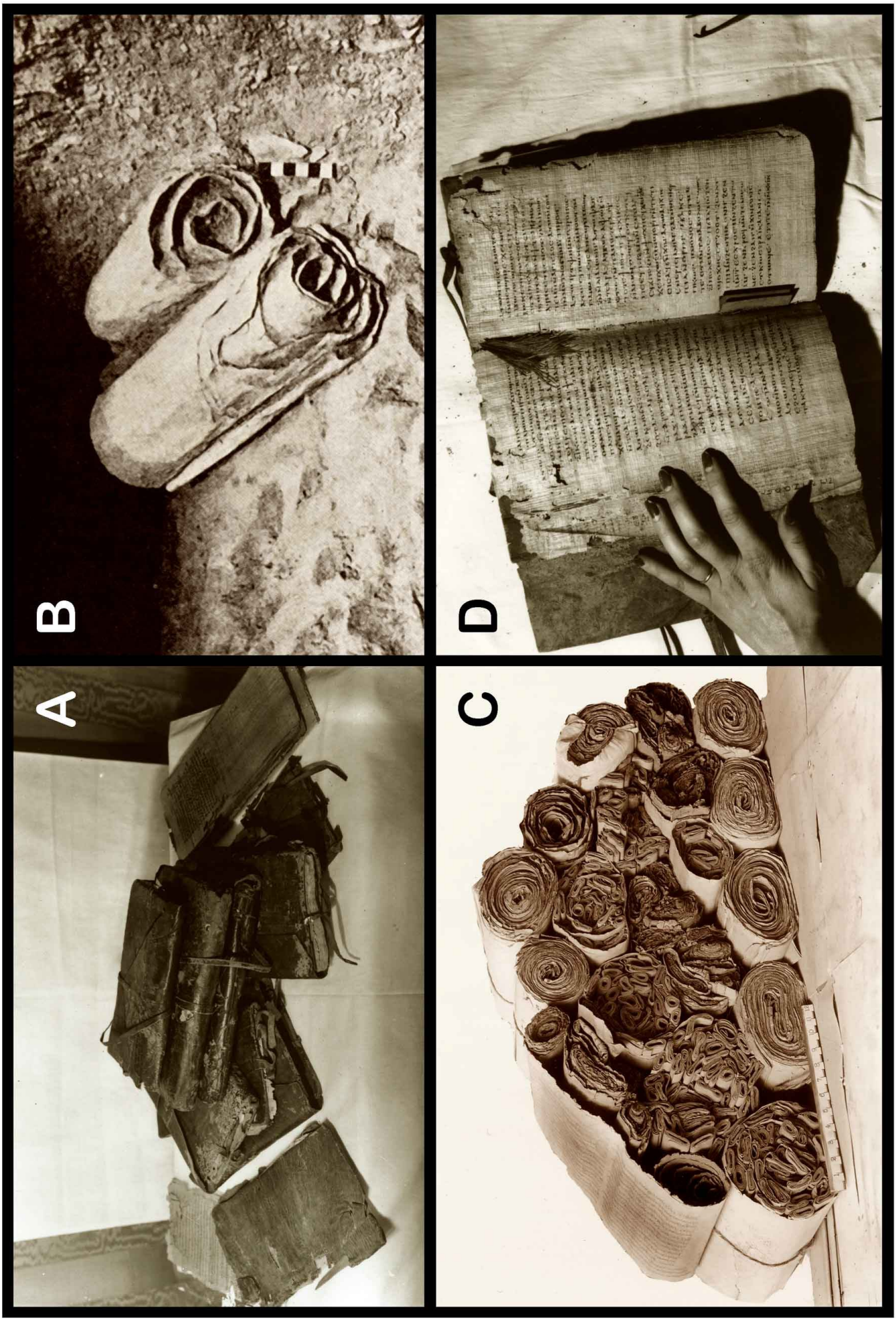

A.) Early Christian codices found in leather folders at Nag Hammadi, Egypt, 1945. B.) Dead Sea Scrolls found at Qumran, Israel, 1947. C.) Indian, Chinese, Hebrew, and Aramaic documents found at Dunhuang, China, 1907. D.) Collection of Christian codices opened.

IMAGE PLATE No. 2

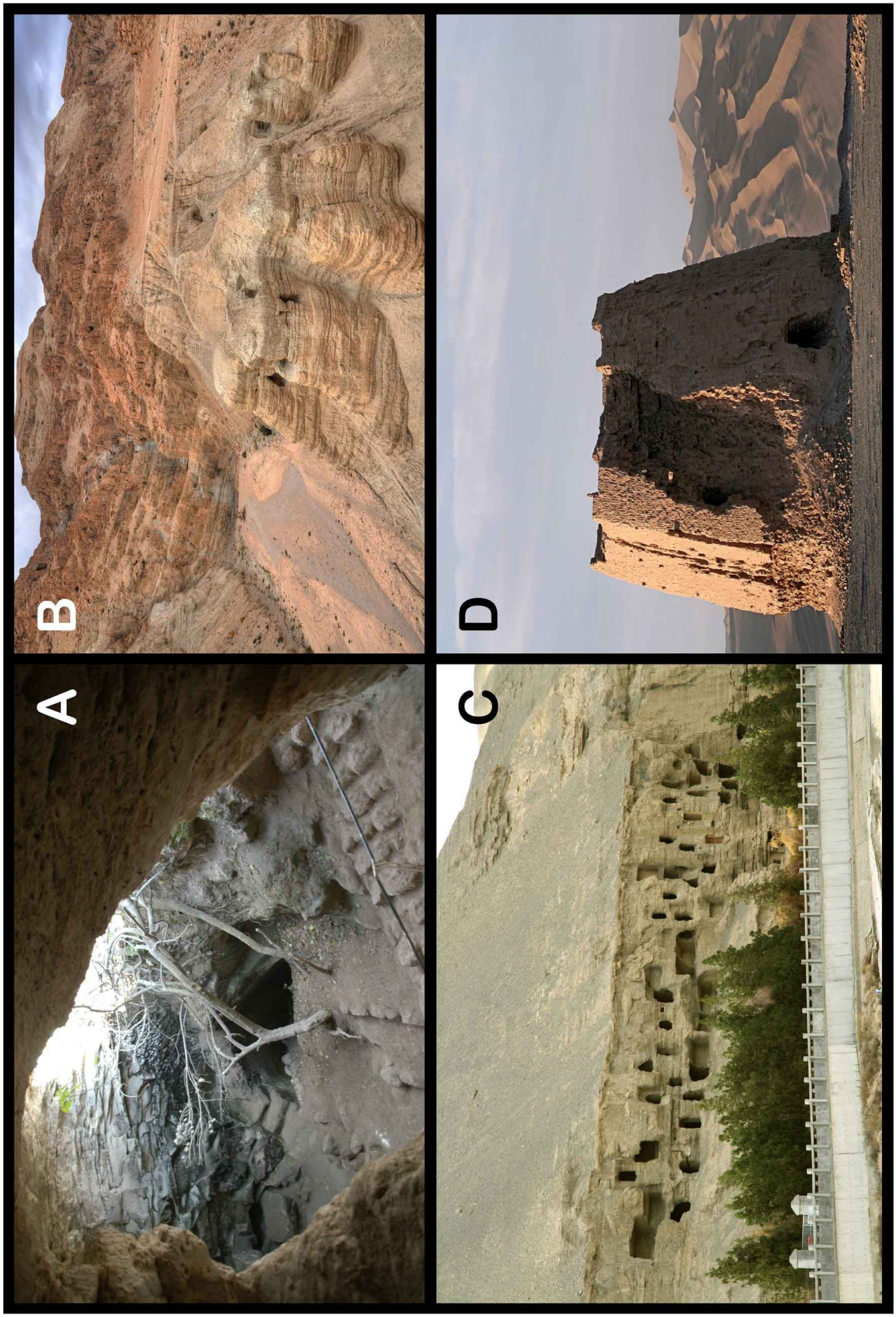

A.) Cave used by Bar Kokhba, near the Dead Sea, Israel. Archaeologists found some of his letters here. B.) The Dead Sea Scrolls were found in these caves at Qumran, Israel. C.) Tonnes of documents were found in the Mogao Caves at Dunhuang, China, and, D.) Sir Aurel Stein found more in such a watchtower.

IMAGE PLATE No. 3

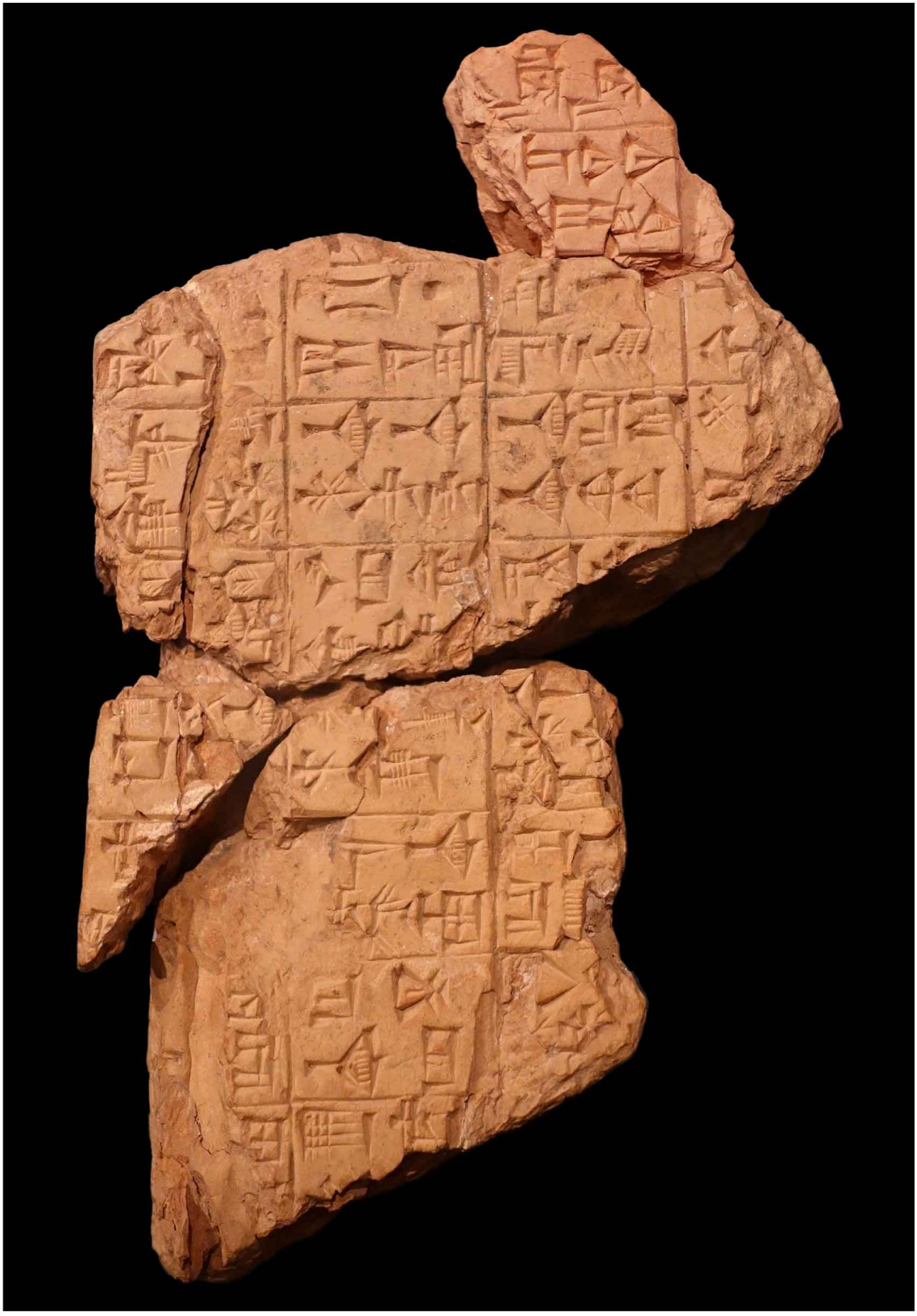

The origin of Moses' Covenant: The tablets with the 100 "Instructions of Shuruppak" (c. 2600—2500 B.C.), found in 1963 at Tell Abu Salabikh, 20 km (12 mi) northwest of Nippur, Iraq. The similarities to the Ten Commandments are striking: Thou shouldst not question the words of thy mother and thy personal god; The instructions of the father should be complied with; Thou shouldst not kill; Thou shouldst not steal anything; Thou shouldst not have sex with thy slave girl; Thou shouldst not abduct a wife; Thou shouldst not break into a house; Thou shouldst not wish for the money chest.

IMAGE PLATE No. 4

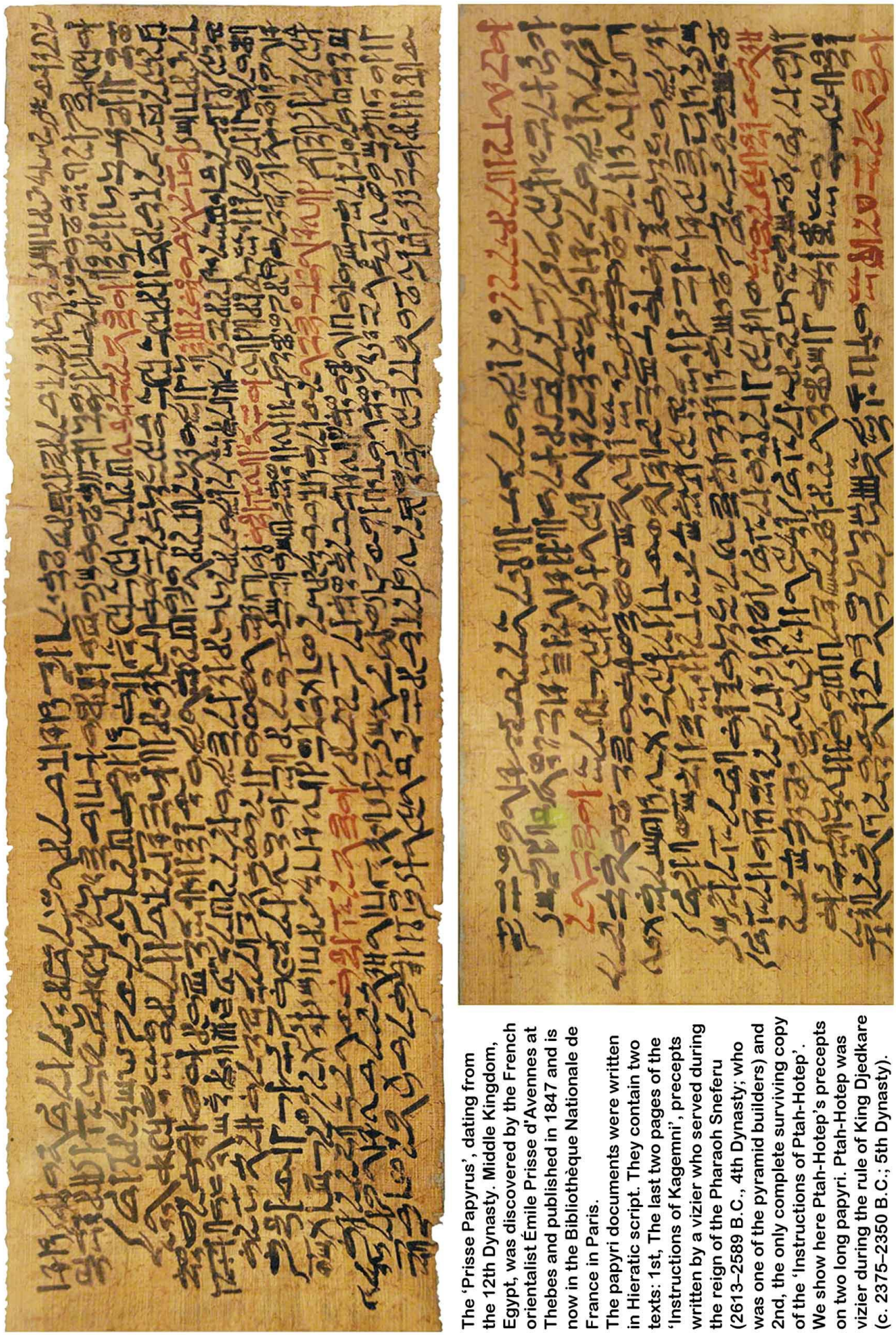

The 'Prisse Papyrus', dating from the 12th Dynasty. Middle Kingdom, Egypt, was discovered by the French orientalist Émile Prisse d'Avennes at Thebes and published in 1847 and is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris.
The papyri documents were written in Hieratic script. They contain two texts: 1st, The last two pages of the 'Instructions of Kagemni', precepts written by a vizier who served during the reign of the Pharaoh Sneferu (2613–2589 B.C., 4th Dynasty; who was one of the pyramid builders) and 2nd, the only complete surviving copy of the 'Instructions of Ptah-Hotep'. We show here Ptah-Hotep's precepts on two long papyri. Ptah-Hotep was vizier during the rule of King Djedkare (c. 2375–2350 B.C.; 5th Dynasty).

The "Maxims or Instructions of Ptah-Hotep" were published to teach people how to avoid conflicts. Like the Instructions of Shuruppak, the maxims may have influenced the Laws of Moses and laws of other civilisations and their religions. Bear in mind, Moses came from Egypt, Abraham from Sumer.

IMAGE PLATE No. 5

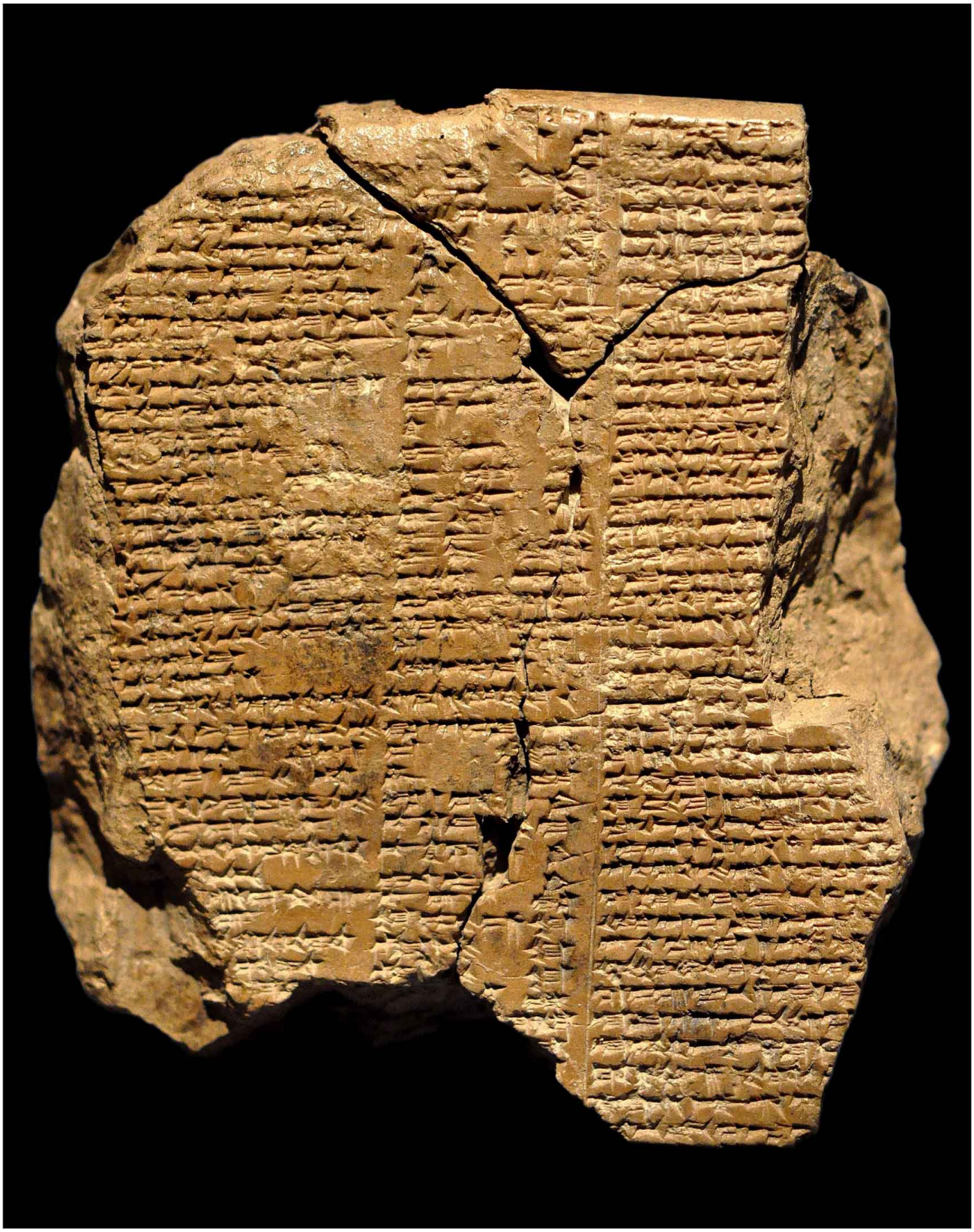

Cuneiform script tablet No. 5 of the "Gilgamesh Epic", c. 2000 B.C., Sulymaniyah Museum, Iraq. The Gilgamesh Epic is an ancient Mesopotamian story written in the (Semitic) Akkadian language. It is about King Gilgamesh of the Sumerian city-state of Uruk (Erech) and the story of a Great Flood. Abraham is the most likely source of Noah's flood story as he came from the city of Ur nearby. The Eridu Genesis, the Gilgamesh Epic and the Atra-Hasis Epic were bestsellers. Archaeologists found lots of different versions. The fullest extant text of the Gilgamesh epic is on 12 incomplete tablets found in the mid-19th century at Nineveh, Iraq, in the library of the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal (reigned 668–627 BC). The gaps in the tablet text have been partly filled by various fragments from other copies. Tablet 11 of the Gilgamesh epic introduces Utnapishtim (in other versions called Ziusudra; Greek: Xisuthros), who, like Noah, survived cataclysmic destruction by following divine instruction to build an ark. This interesting text eventually found its way into the Hebrew Bible, among Christians known as the 'Old Testament', chapters 6–9 of the Book of Genesis.

IMAGE PLATE No. 6

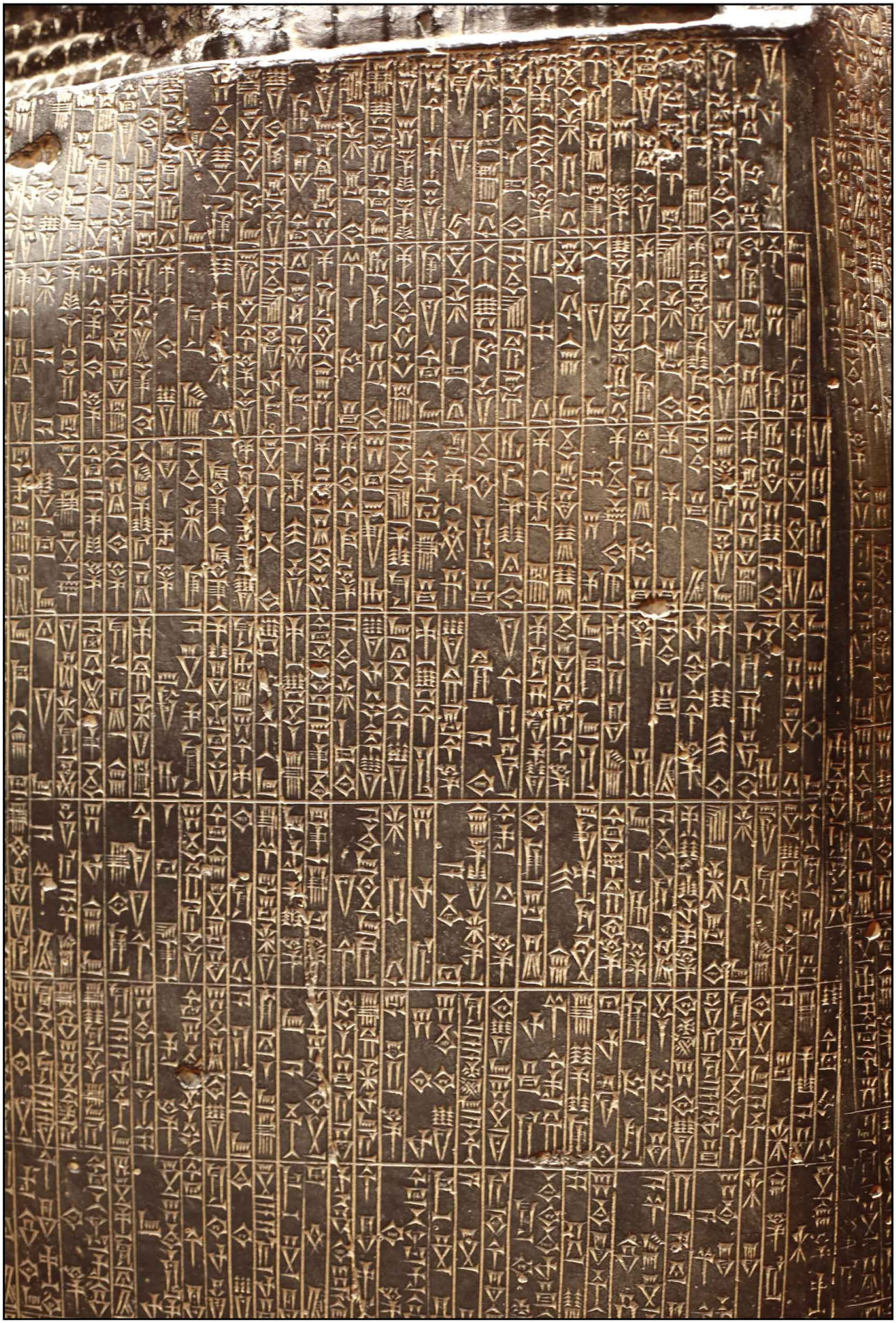

Stele with the 282 laws of the "Code Hammurabi" on it; Musée Champolion, Paris, France. It dates back to the reign of King Hammurabi (c. 1790–1750 B.C.). Law No.196 says: "If a man destroy the eye of another man, they shall destroy his eye". The Hittite laws, the Assyrian laws, the Laws of Moses, the Islamic Laws, better known as Sharia, are based on the Code of Hammurabi.

IMAGE PLATE No. 7

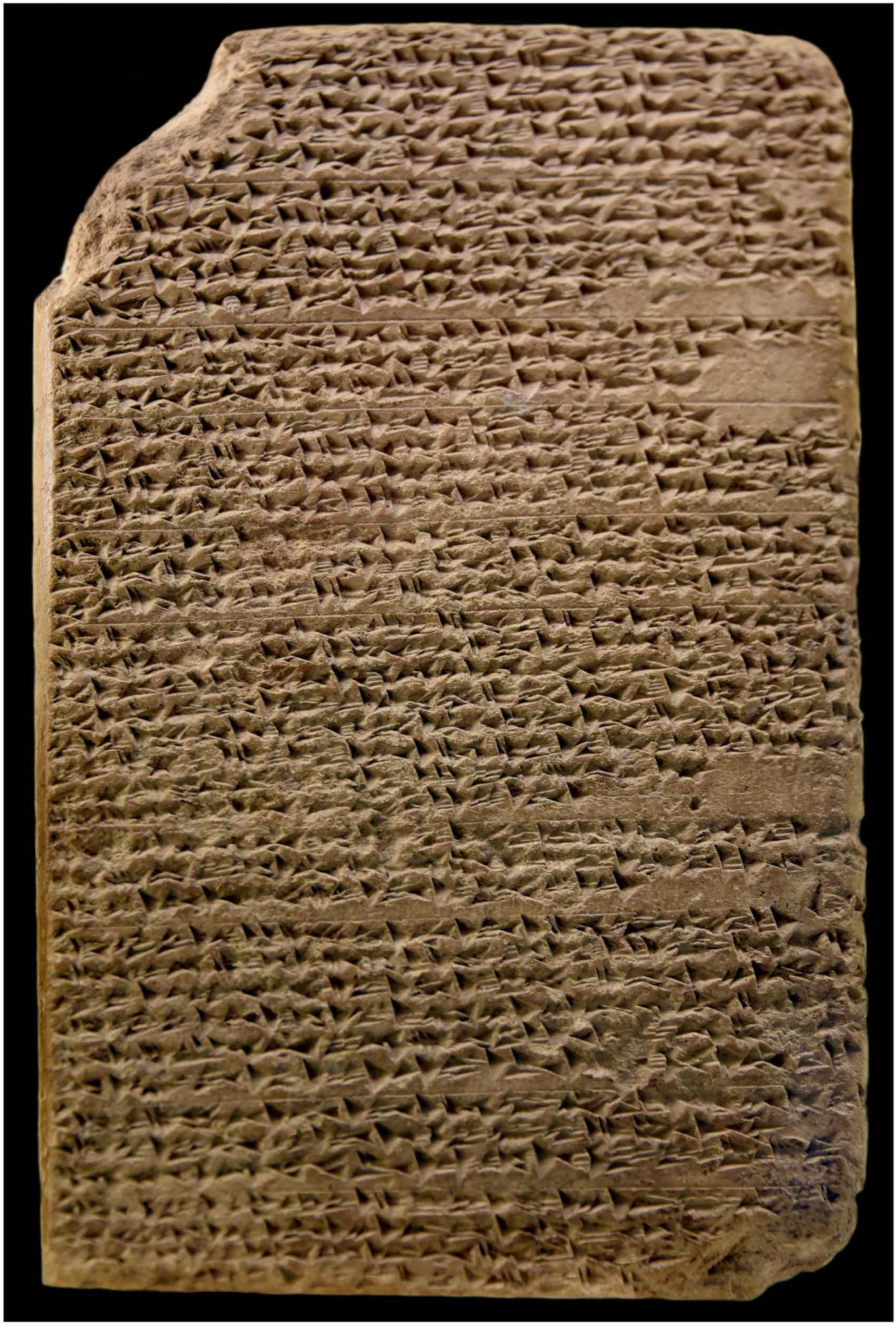

Nations can be identified by their language. Hyksos, Canaanites, Hebrews, Israelites, Phoenicians, and Carthaginians, spoke the same West-Semitic language. All shared the same circle of culture. In 1887, over 380 letters were found in Amarna, Egypt, written in (Semitic) Akkadian, trade language of the entire Middle East. This letter was written by Pharao Akhenaten to Aziru, the Canaanite ruler of Amurru, c. 1350 B.C. Akhenaten established monotheism in Egypt and in his province Canaan.

IMAGE PLATE No. 8

The "Edict of Restoration" on the Cyrus Cylinder in Akkadian Cuneiform script, size: 22.5 cm (8.9 in) by 10 cm (3.9 in). 6th century B.C., discovered in Babylon in 1879. The text refers to the repatriation of deported peoples held in captivity in Babylon (Book of Ezra) by Cyrus (c. 600–530 B.C. According to Isaiah 45,1, God anointed Cyrus for this task, referring to him as Messiah.

IMAGE PLATE No. 9

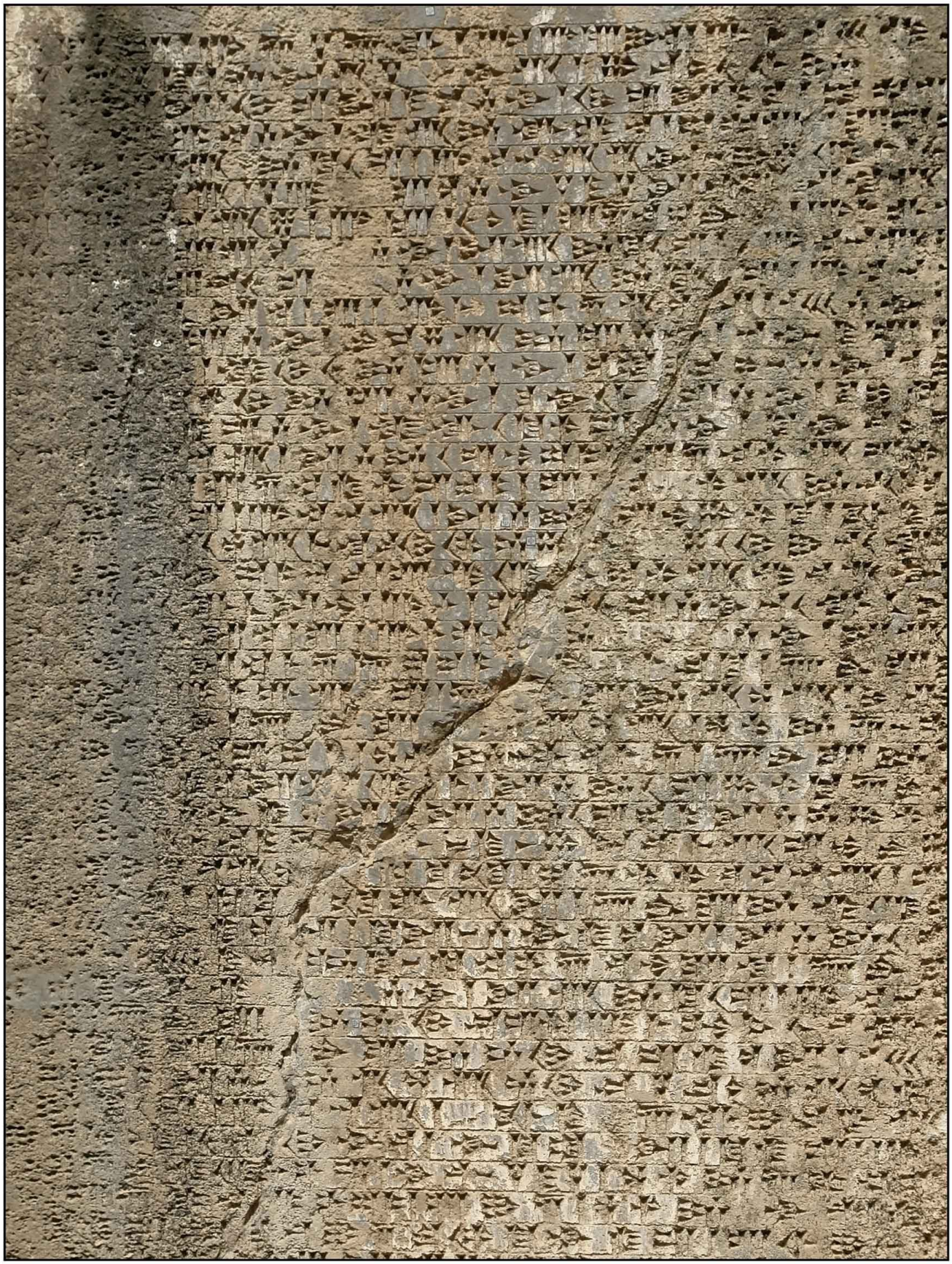

The "Behistun Inscription" is part of a large rock relief on a cliff at Mount Behistun, near Kermanshah, western Iran. Behistun means "The Place of God". The inscription is remarkable for four reasons: Firstly, it tells the story of King Darius' activities; secondly, Darius attributes his success to "Ahura Mazda", the sole God of Zarathustra's monotheistic religion; thirdly, this inscription is the oldest document that reliably bears witness to the existence of Zoroastrianism; and fourthly, it is written in three different cuneiform script languages: Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian. Like the Rosetta Stone, this inscription gave linguists the chance to decipher and understand older languages. Darius elevated Zoroastrianism to the state religion of the Persian Empire, and in 519 B.C., Darius authorised the Jews to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem making them natural allies of the Persians for a long time.

IMAGE PLATE No. 10

A papyrus page from the "Story of Ahikar", also called the "Words of Aqihar", found in the ancient Jewish settlement in Elephantine, southern Egypt, Aramaic language, Syriac script, 27th dynasty (525-404 B.C.); Elephantine document P 13446 F. The Story of Ahikar was immensely popular in antiquity. Migration is one of the most important doctrines of Islam; it follows old Jewish traditions of Abraham, Noah, and Moses. It were not the Roman conquerors who created the 'Jewish Diaspora'. Already between 1500 BC and 300 BC., the Semitic Phoenicians migrated across the Mediterranean and Aramaic-speaking Assyrians conquered the entire Near East. Their Jewish cousins accompanied them. Elephantine was such an early Diaspora settlement. The name "Mose" (= be born, child, son; Greek-Latin: Moses) bears witness to the long and deep relationship of Jews and Egyptians as it is an Ancient Egyptian name closely connected to the Pharaos' name Ahmose [son of the moon], Kamose [son of wisdom] and Thutmose [son of moonlight]. The word "Ah" (also transliterated as Aah, Iah, Yah, Yah(w), Jah, or Joh, from which the Hebrew word Jahweh [for 'God'] derives) simply means "moon". Mose was born in Egypt and it was the "Daughter of Pharao" who "found" Moses at the bank of the River Nile (Exodus 2) and the name Mose was given to the infant by Pharaoh's daughter.

IMAGE PLATE No. 11

In this particular draft letter from 353 BC, Akhvamazda (Ahura Mazda), the Persian Chief Governor of Bactria, reproaches Bagavant, the mayor of Khulmi, who - against the decree of his master - had taken taxes from camel keepers and detained them. He informs Bagavant that he will interrogate him about this matter, and orders him to release the camel keepers and pay them back what he had taken from them. From 1993 to 2002, over 8 dozen Bactrian documents emerged, in the bazaar of Peshawar and other sources. They included economic and legal documents, and Buddhist texts. Some were found in perfect condition, still sealed. Most of these documents were bought by the British-Iranian scholar Nasser David Khalili. The documents were written in Imperial Aramaic, the official language and script of the Persian Aechaemenid Empire. They belonged to the administration of Bactria and Sogdiana, the court of the Governor of Bactria, whose capital city was Bactra (today: Balkh). Similarities between these documents suggest that they are almost all from one archive in Bactra. 30 of the documents are written on leather; the remaining 18 are sticks of wood used to record debts. The documents are dated between 353 BC to 324 BC, from the reigns of Artaxerxes III and Alexander the Great. They are of great significance as they have confirmed that Aramaic (the daily language of Jews, including Jesus) was in use in the Indian sphere of influence, that Aramaic script was in fact the ancestor of all Indian alphabets, that Jews, Greeks and Persians were active in this region, and above all, that the Indian sacred texts such as the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, and the Harivamsha were correct because they reported the activities of those foreigners. The Hindu authors mentioned them in those texts by name like Yadava, Yaudeva (Yudavah, Judaea), Abhira (Abiru, Habiru, Hebrew), Yavana, Yona (Ion[a], Ionian), Pahlava (Pahlavi, Persian) and Kuru (Kurush, Kyros, Cyrus). (Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Aramaic Documents, No. IA6)

IMAGE PLATE No. 12

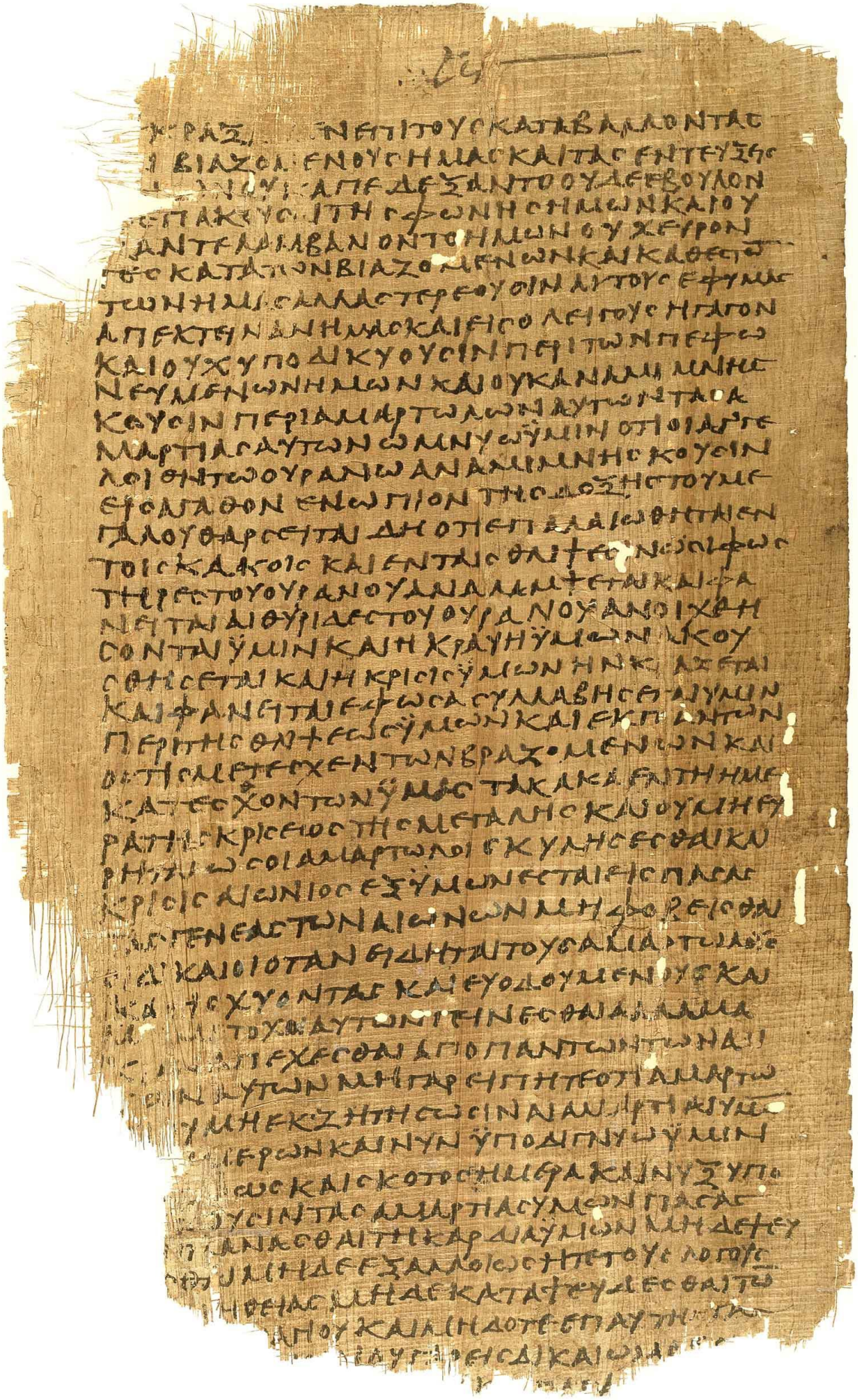

The Hebrew "Book of Enoch" in Greek. The older sections (mainly in the Book of the Watchers) of the text are estimated to date from about 300–200 BC, and the latest part (Book of Parables) probably to 100 BC. Various Aramaic fragments found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, as well as Greek and Latin fragments show that this book was well-known by Jews and Christians. Copy from the 4th century A.D. Chester Beatty papyri from Egypt. Document XII, leaf 3, verso P. Mich. inv. 5552.

IMAGE PLATE No. 13

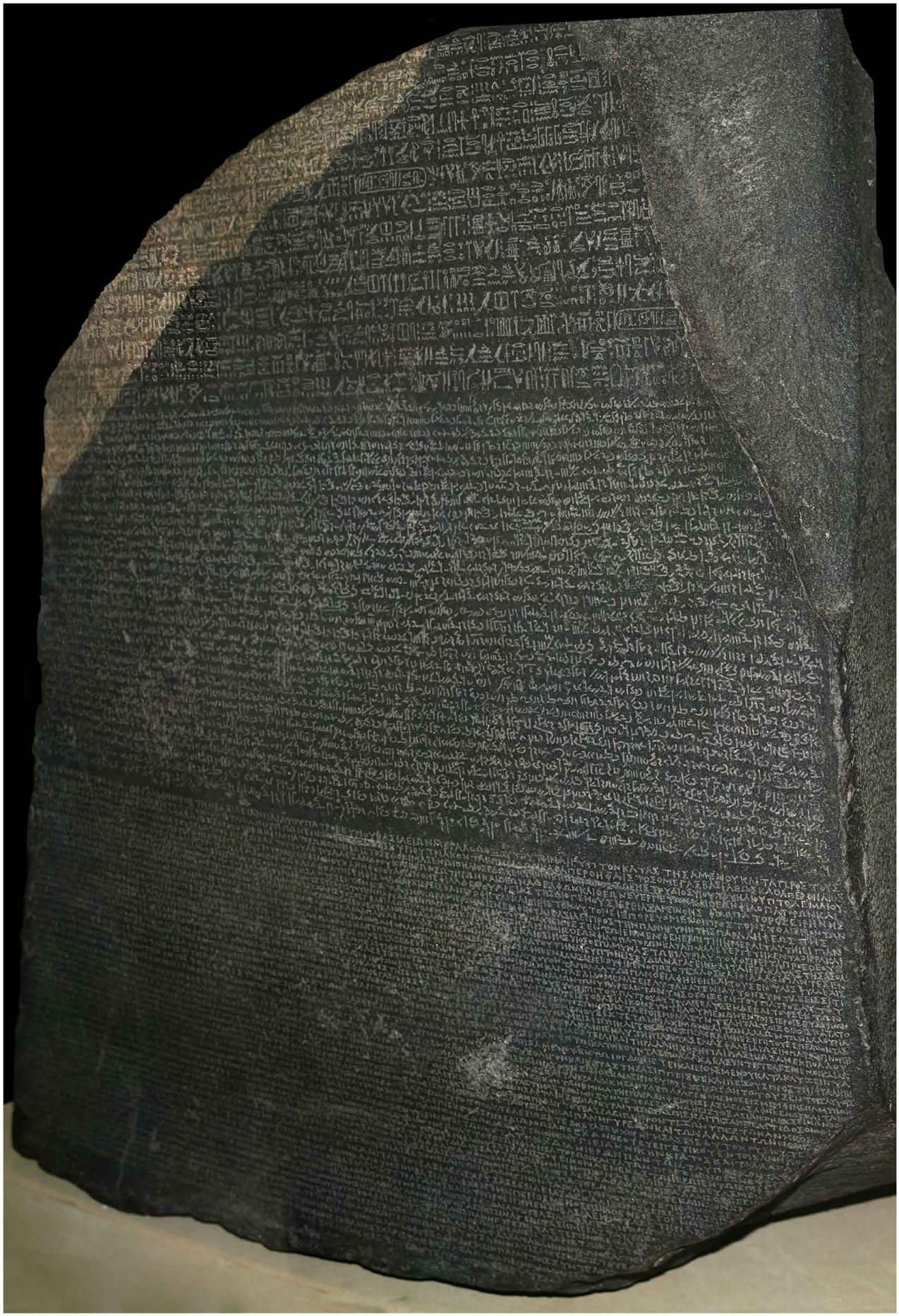

In 1799, the "Rosetta Stone" was found by a French soldier in the fort of Rosetta (or Rashid), a port city of the Nile Delta, located 65 km (40 mi) east of Alexandria. It summarises the deeds of Ptolemy V Epiphanes (205–180 B.C.) carved on a massive granodiorite slab in Egyptian hieroglyphs, Demotic, and Greek. That the same text appears in 3 different scripts gave Thomas Young and Jean-François Champollion the chance to decipher the prevously unintelligible hyroglyphs and the Demotic script.

IMAGE PLATE No. 14

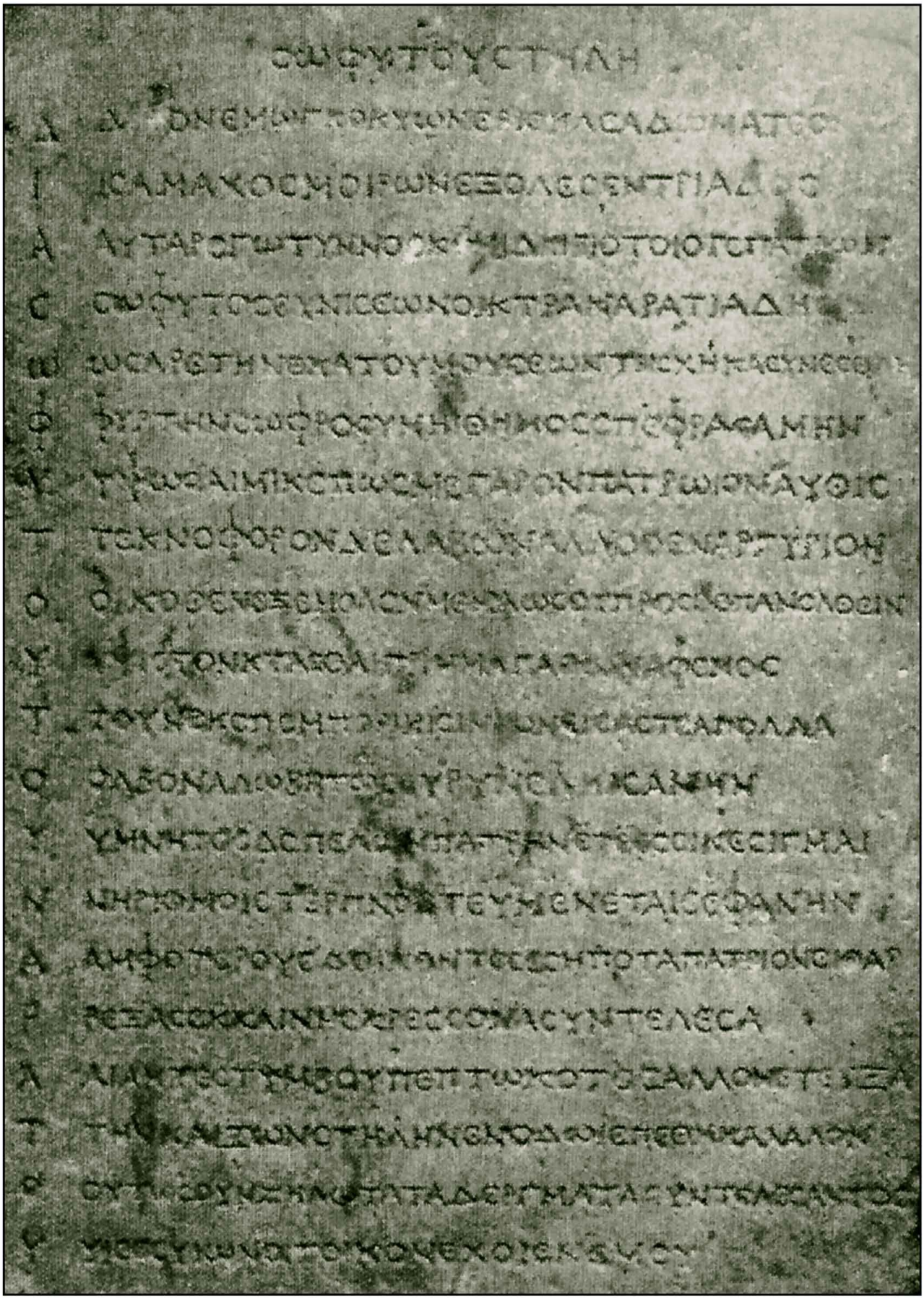

Due to the rise of the Assyrian Empire (2500–609 B.C.), Aramaic, one of its main languages, spread from Egypt, via Persia, to India. Later, with the Nestorian Christians, who spoke Aramaic like Jesus, Aramaic creeped eastwards along the Silk Road to the Chinese capital Chang'an (Xi'an).
Due to Alexander's conquest of Persia, the Greek language, Aramaic's new rival, also travelled east with its Greek colonists reaching the borders of China and India. Greek communities lived in Gandhara, in Ashoka's Indian Empire. The Greek language became so important that it was used in official inscriptions. Here a rock inscription by Sophytos son of Naratos (2nd century B.C.)

IMAGE PLATE No. 15

The "Temple Scroll" (11Q20), found in 1947, is a text written by members of the ancient Jewish Messianic Movement who fought in a thousand years, between 333 B.C. and 630 A.D., a series of wars against Greece, Rome, Persia and Islam.

IMAGE PLATE No. 16

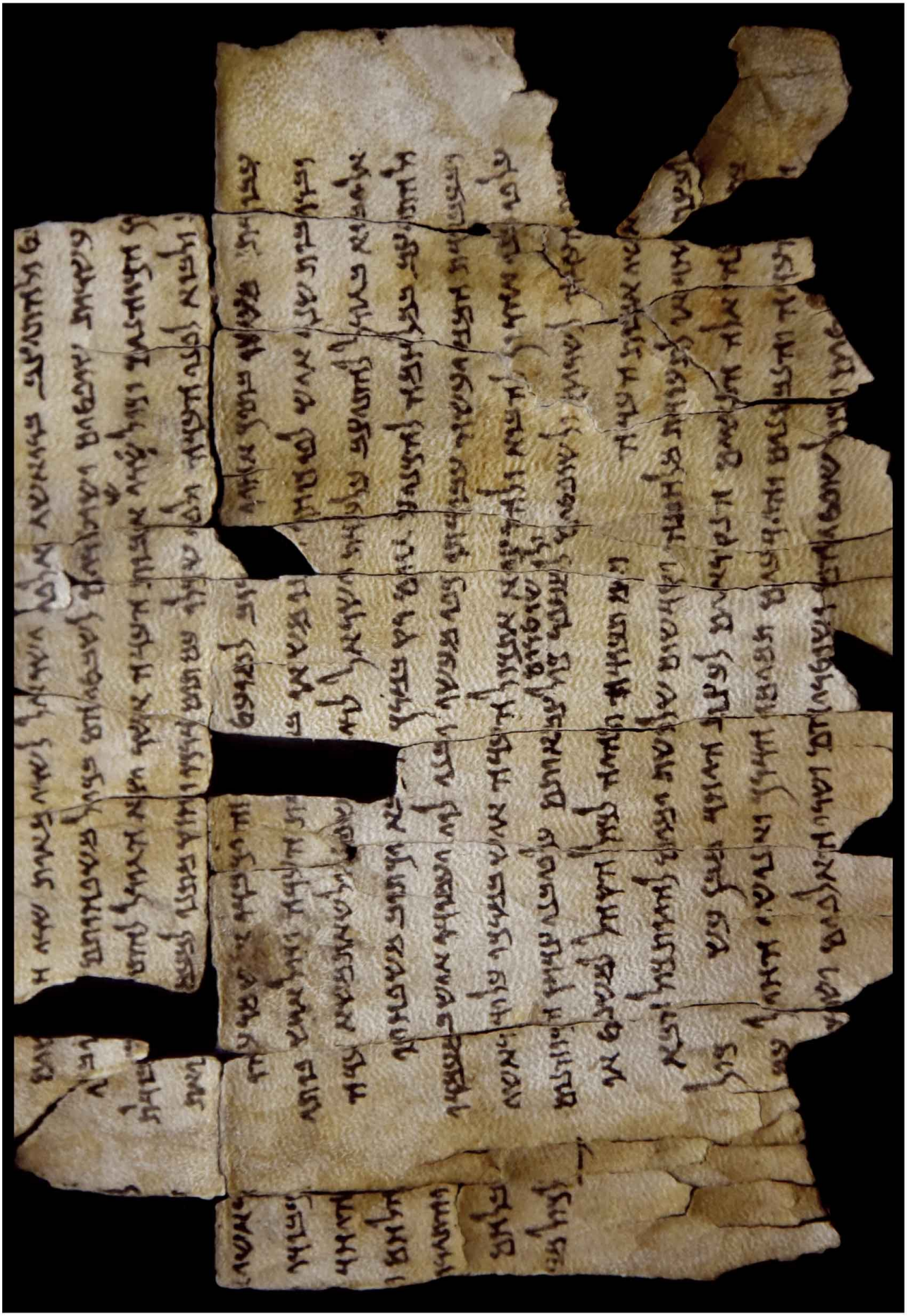

This is "Dead Sea Scroll No.28a" (1Q28a), which was found in Cave 1 at Qumran. The document is called the "Messianic Rule" as it talks about a 'Messiah' who will lead the ancient Jewish 'Messianc Army' to military victory over the non-Jewish powers that have occupied their land. The "Teacher of Righteousness" (which is probably a cover name for James the Just, the Righteous, the brother of the Lord) plays a main role in the Messianic documents from Qumran. Jordan Museum, Amman.

IMAGE PLATE No. 17

Part of the 'War Scroll' found at Qumran. It was written in the Maccabean or the Roman Eras.

Letter of Simon bar Kokhba, leader of the third Jewish War. Found in a Dead Sea cave in 1960. The drastic orders given in this letter show clearly that Kokhba ruled his people with an iron fist.

The ancient Jewish 'Messianic Movement' fought rightfully for freedom, but it also fought for suppremacy of their religion. Its uncompromising doctrines towards unbelievers look like a blueprint for the cruel mindset of Islam, often word for word. The "War Scroll" even mandates offensive warfare against neighbouring countries and civilisations.

IMAGE PLATE No. 18

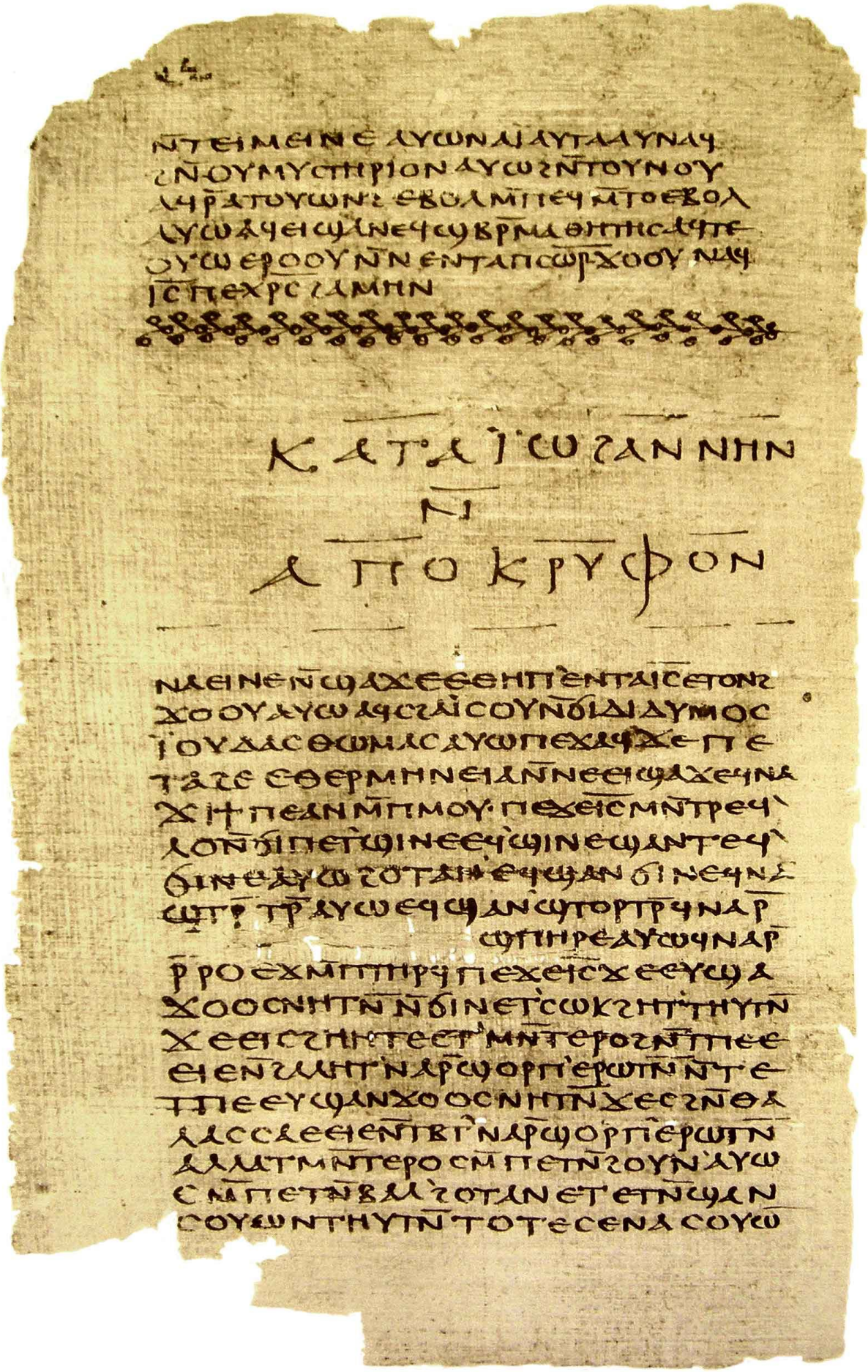

The "Gospel of Didymos Judas Thomas", a papyrus from the Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt, 3rd or 4th century copy and translation of an original from around 50 A.D. According to contents and style, this gospel might well be the oldest gospel in existence. The name of the author is an enigma as "Thomas" means 'twin' and so does the Greek name "Didymos". Jesus had four brothers, and one of then bore the name "Judas". That Judas Thomas bore the soubriquet "twin" twice is significant.

IMAGE PLATE No. 19

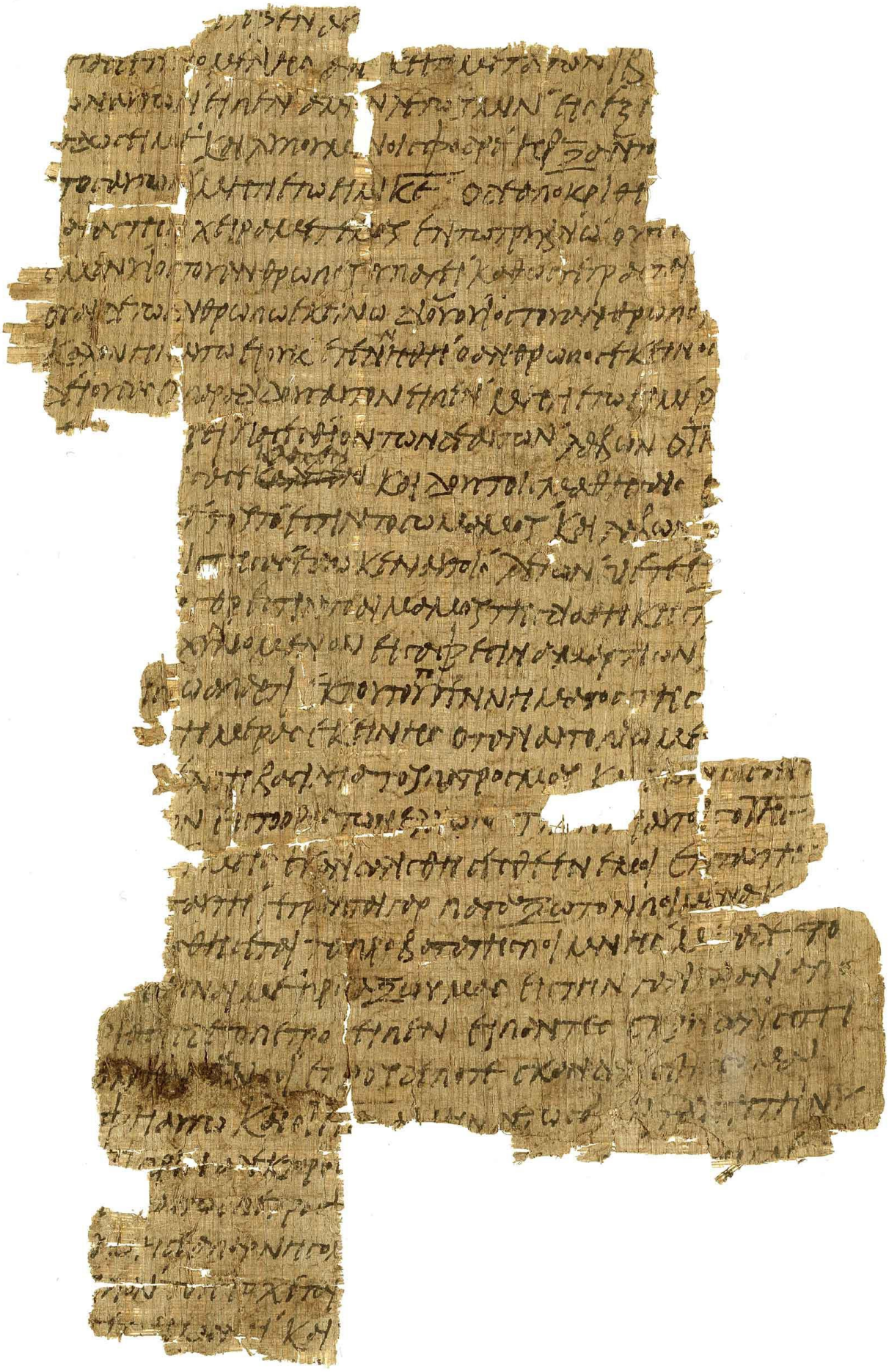

The "Gospel of Matthew", frontside of Papyrus 37, Michigan, Ann Arbor Lib., 3rd century A.D. The English name "Matthew" is a word corruption from French Mathieu, and this comes from the Greek translation Mattathias, in short Matthias. The original Hebrew-Aramaic form is Matityahu, meaning "Gift of Yahweh". The typology of "The Jewish War" by Titus Flavius Josephus (Yosef bar Matityahu) is almost identical with this gospel.

IMAGE PLATE No. 20

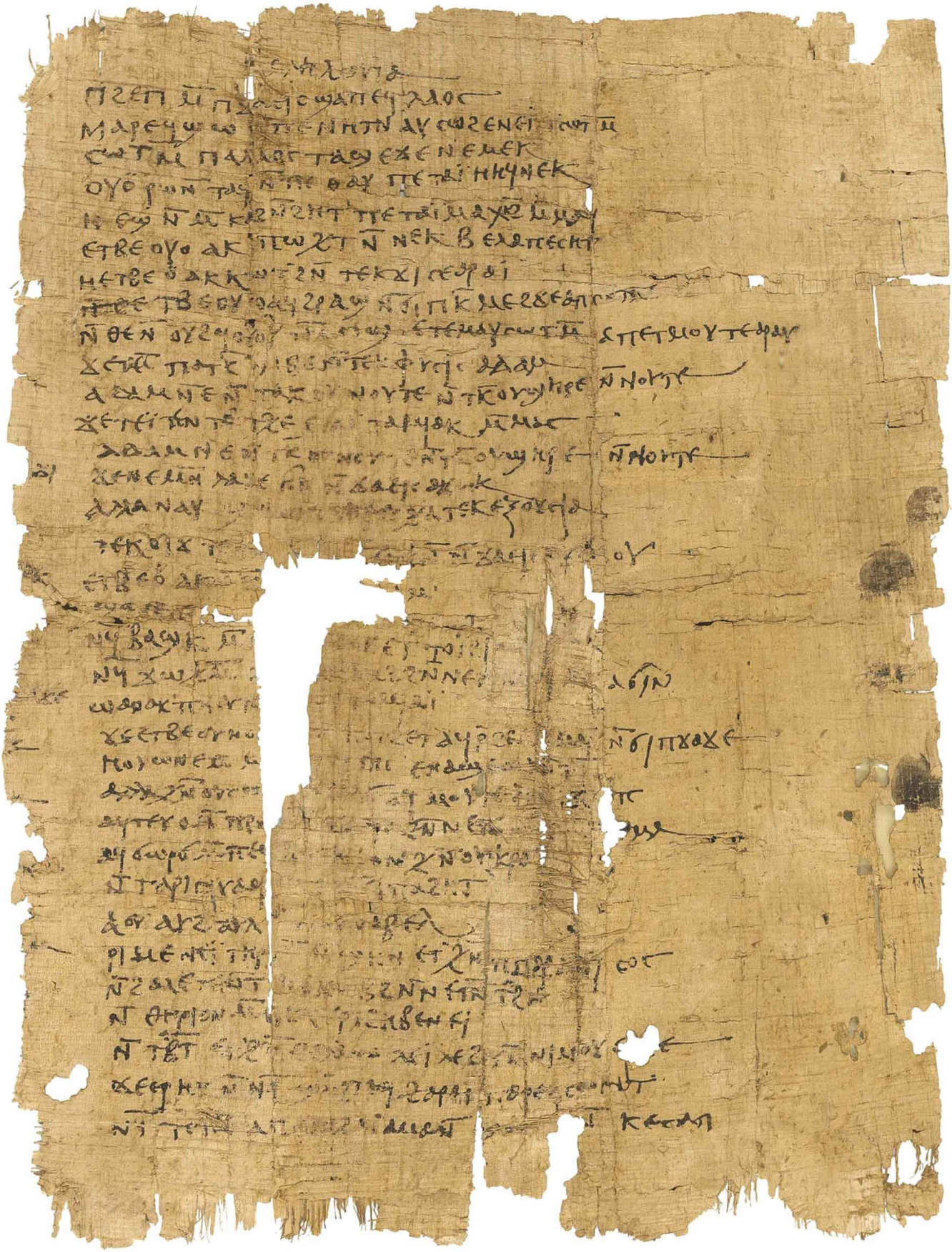

A very early Manichaean Psalm text, the "Ode on the Judgement of God", on a papyrus leaf, 3rd century A.D. 35 lines were written in the Akhmimic dialect of Coptic, in black ink, and were also written in Coptic half-uncials. Manichaeism, the religion of Mani(chaeus), the prophet from the Sassanid-Persian Empire, was the very first global religion as it streched from the northwest of Africa to China. Its prophets were Zarathustra, Buddha, Jesus, and Mani. This combination made the Manichaean teachings very attractive among common people but hated by adversaries of all state religions as they saw their established positions in their societies threatened.

IMAGE PLATE No. 21

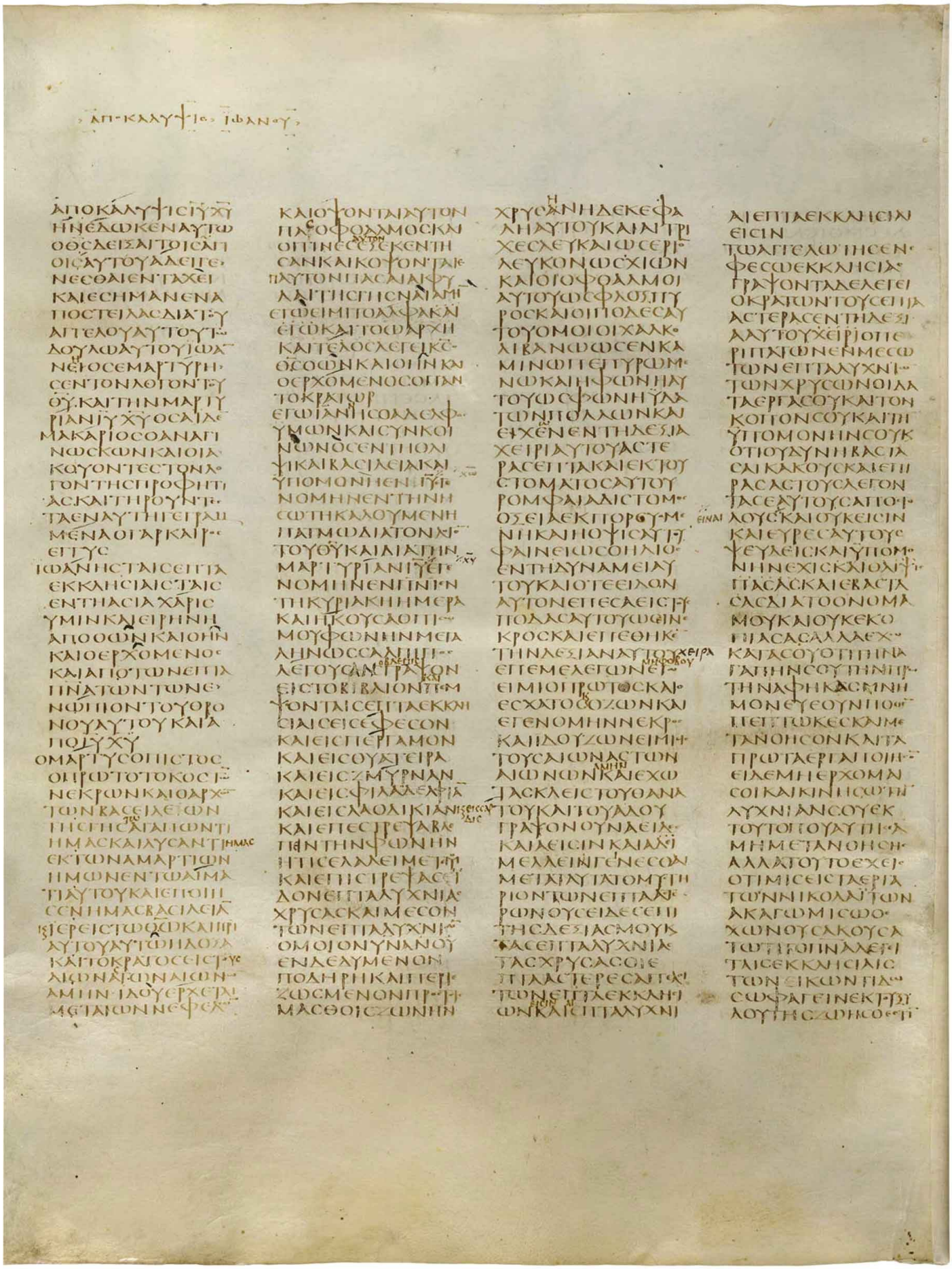

In 1844, Constantin von Tischendorf discovered the world's oldest and most complete Bible, the "Codex Sinaiticus", in the St. Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai, Egypt, dating from 325 A.D. Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus were among the 50 Bibles commissioned by Emperor Flavius Constantinus: "Such were the emperor's commands, which were followed by the immediate execution of the work itself, which we sent him in magnificent and elaborately bound volumes of a threefold and fourfold form (written in 3 or 4 columns)." – Life of Constantine.

IMAGE PLATE No. 22

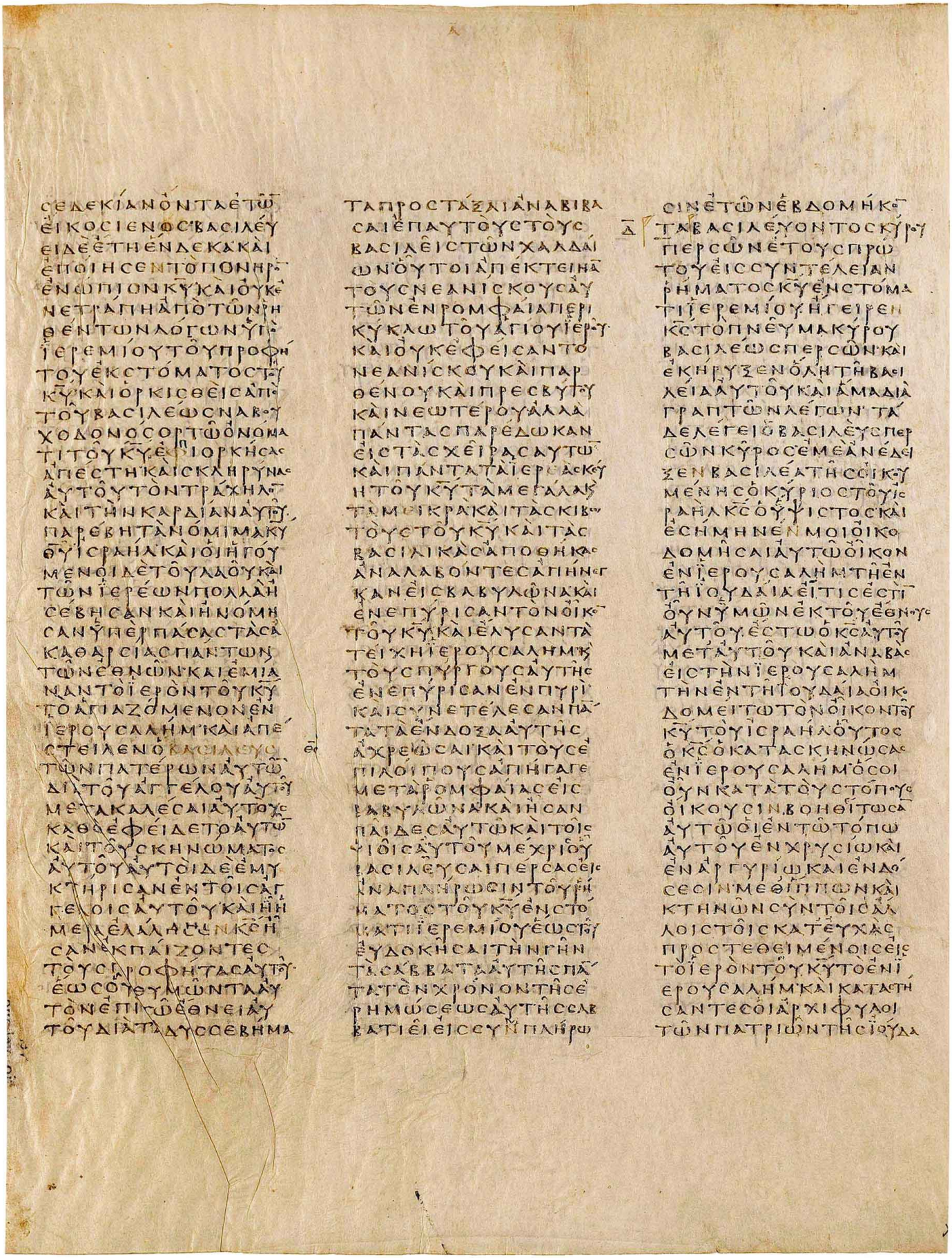

The "Codex Vaticanus", folio 575, showing the cropped section of the 3-column text block, written on vellum in elegant uncial (capital) letters, mid-4th century A.D. Codex Vaticanus is regarded as "the oldest extant copy of the Bible." According to the "Life of Constantine", 50 complete Bibles in the original Greek language were commissioned by Emperor Flavius Constantinus and prepared by his right-hand man Eusebius of Caesarea in 331 A.D. They were distributed thoughout the Roman Empire to unify and consolidate Roman Christianity as state religion.

IMAGE PLATE No. 23

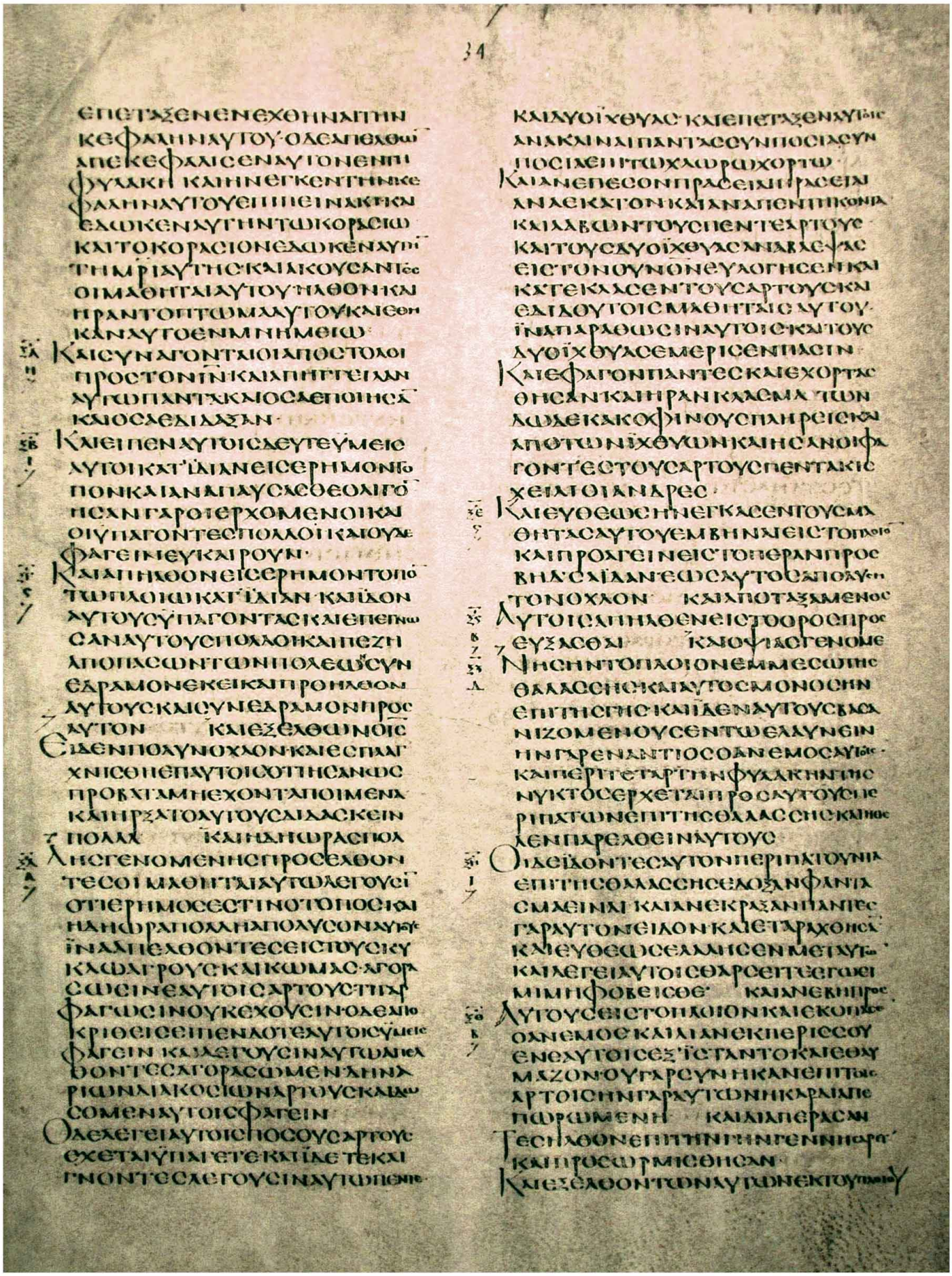

The "Codex Alexandrinus" (London, British Library, Royal MS 1. D. V-VIII; Gregory-Aland no. A or 02, Soden δ 4) is a fifth-century Christian manuscript of a Greek Bible, containing the majority of the Hebrew Bible in Greek, also called the 'Old Testament', and the Greek New Testament. This document is written in only two, and not three or four, columns. It shows that it is a second edition. It is one of the four Great uncial codices. Along with the Codex Sinaiticus and the Codex Vaticanus, the Codex Alexandrinus it is one of the earliest and most complete manuscripts of the Bible.

IMAGE PLATE No. 24

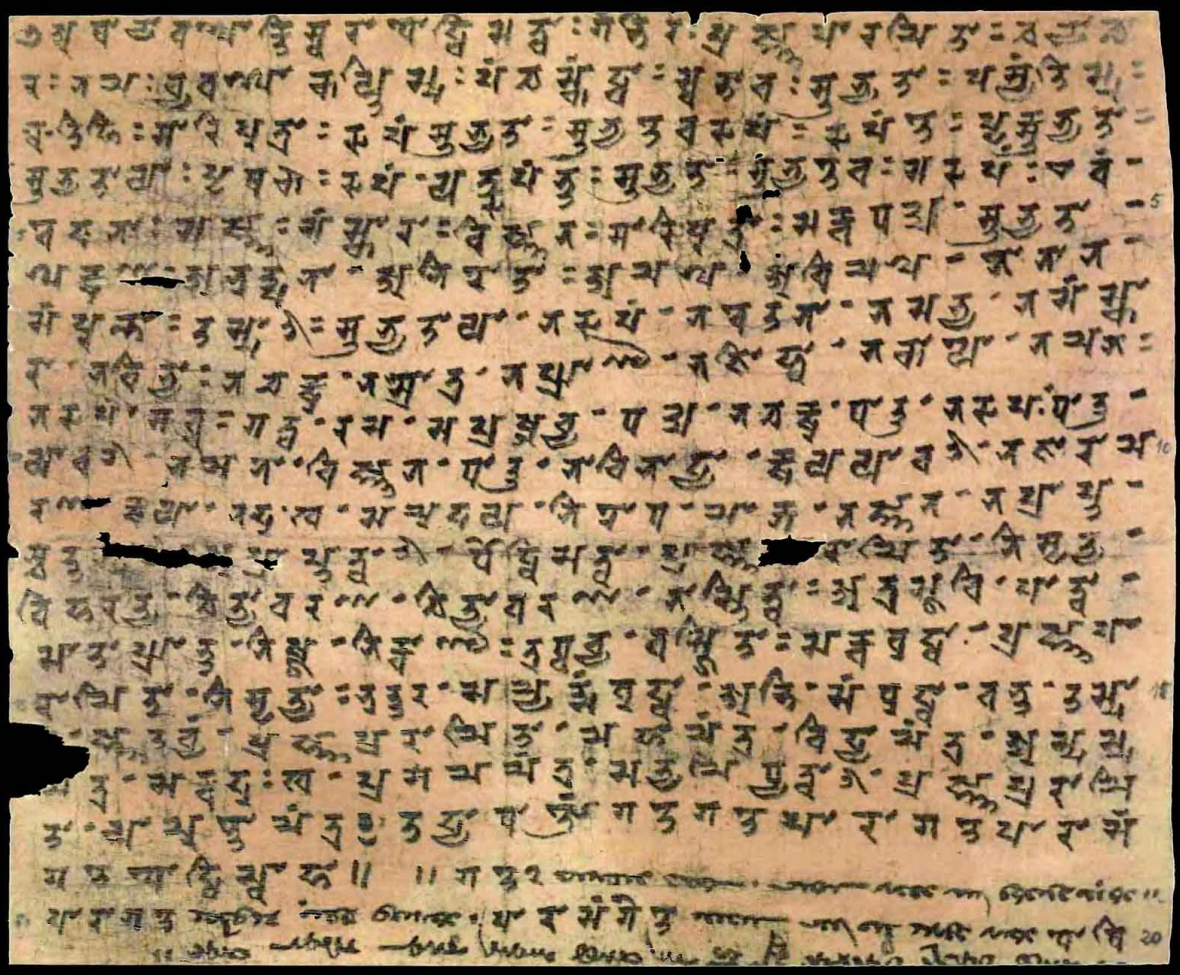

1.) A Sanskrit manuscript, copy of the Heart Sutra, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

2.) A palm leaf Sanskrit manuscript in Brahmi script from Miran, China, 5th century A.D,

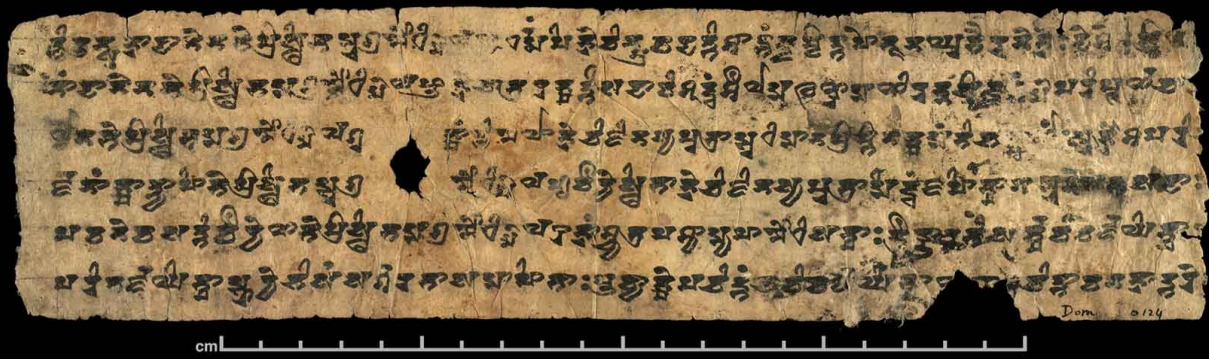

3.) A Sanskrit manuscript of the Lotus Sutra in Brahmi script, found in South Turkestan.

The theologians Fa Xian (337–422 A.D.), Xuan Zang (c. 602–664 A.D.), and Yi Jing (635–713 A.D.), brought lots of Buddhist texts from India to China, such as these three ancient examples here. Disciples of the Buddha travelled to the East before, but also to the West. One branch of the Silk Road went right through Sepphoris, which was only 5 km off Nazareth and also nearby Betlehem in Galilee.

IMAGE PLATE No. 25

The "Birmingham Koran Manuscript". The parchment was radiocarbon dated to between 568 and 645 A.D. and it is the oldest known Koran text in existence. It may have been written in Mohammed's lifetime or shortly after. The relentless expansion of Islam and its violence during the last 1400 years cause tremenduous controversies. Islam is based on the Koran, the Sira, and the Hadith; due to this, Mohammed is the ultimate source. The Koran is by Muslims praised 'the perfect book', Mohammed is considered the perfect model of a man; as such, he fought 95 battles and executed lots of opponents.

IMAGE PLATE No. 26

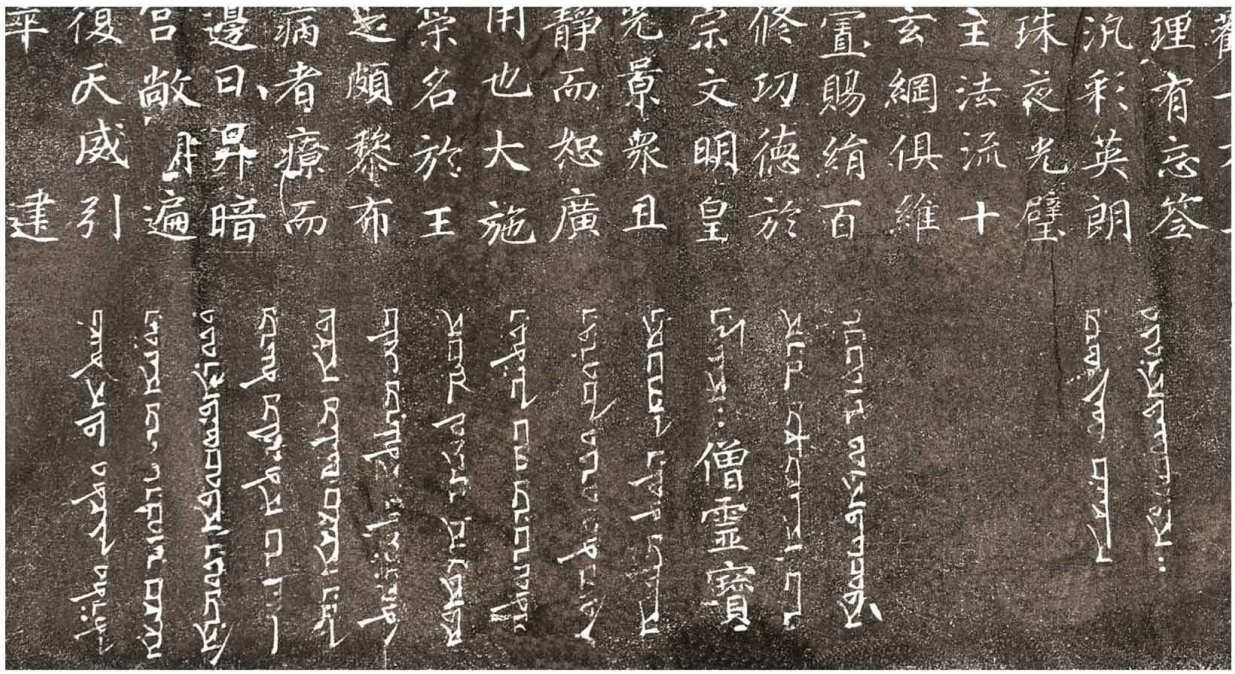

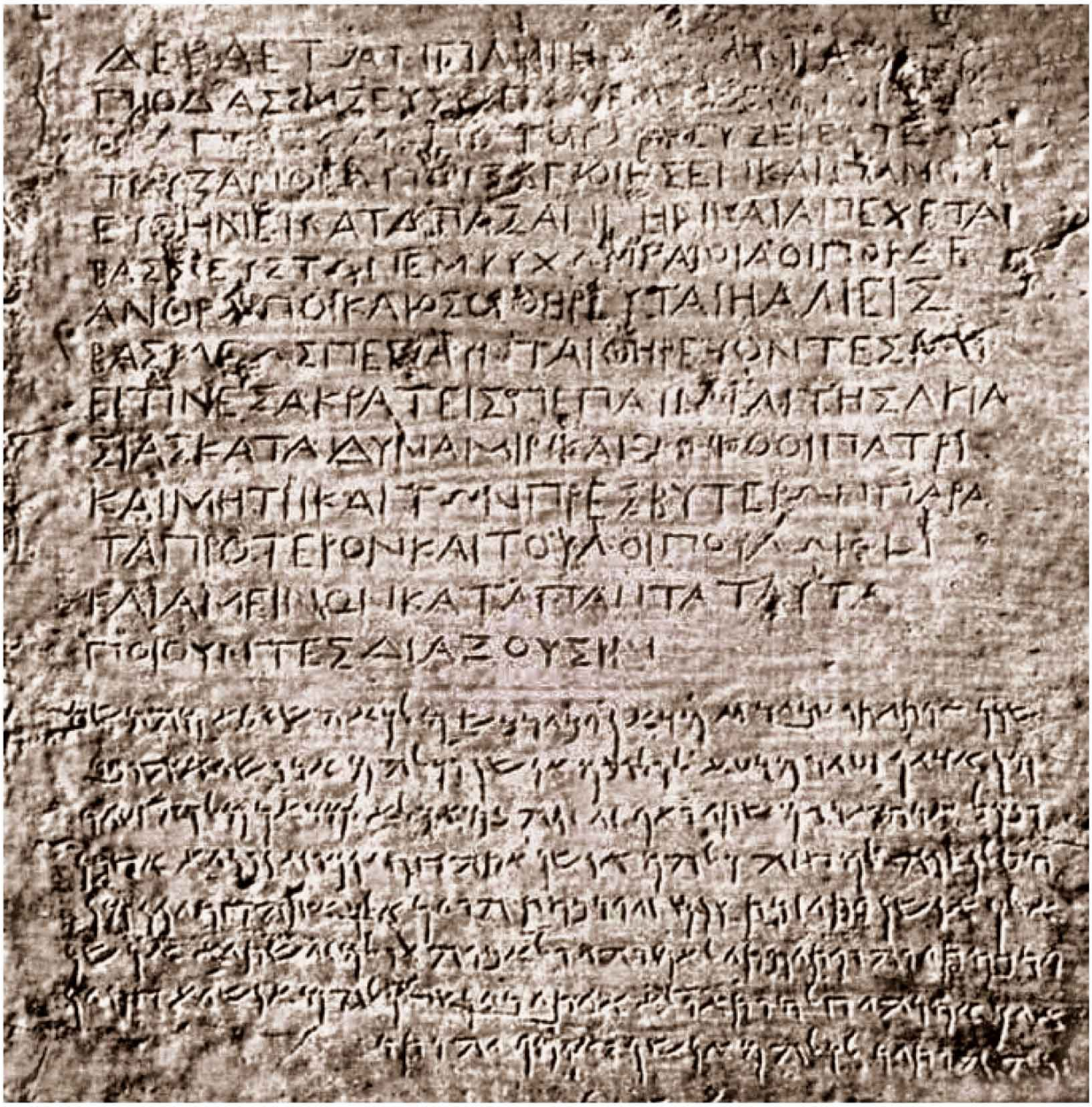

Top: The "Nestorian Stele", erected in Chang'an (Xi'an), 781 A.D., inscriptions in Syriac-Aramaic and in Chinese. Below: The "Kandahar Bilingual Rock-Inscription", commissioned by the Indian emperor Ashoka at around 250 B.C., is a text in Greek and in Syriac-Aramaic, discovered in 1958.

IMAGE PLATE No. 27

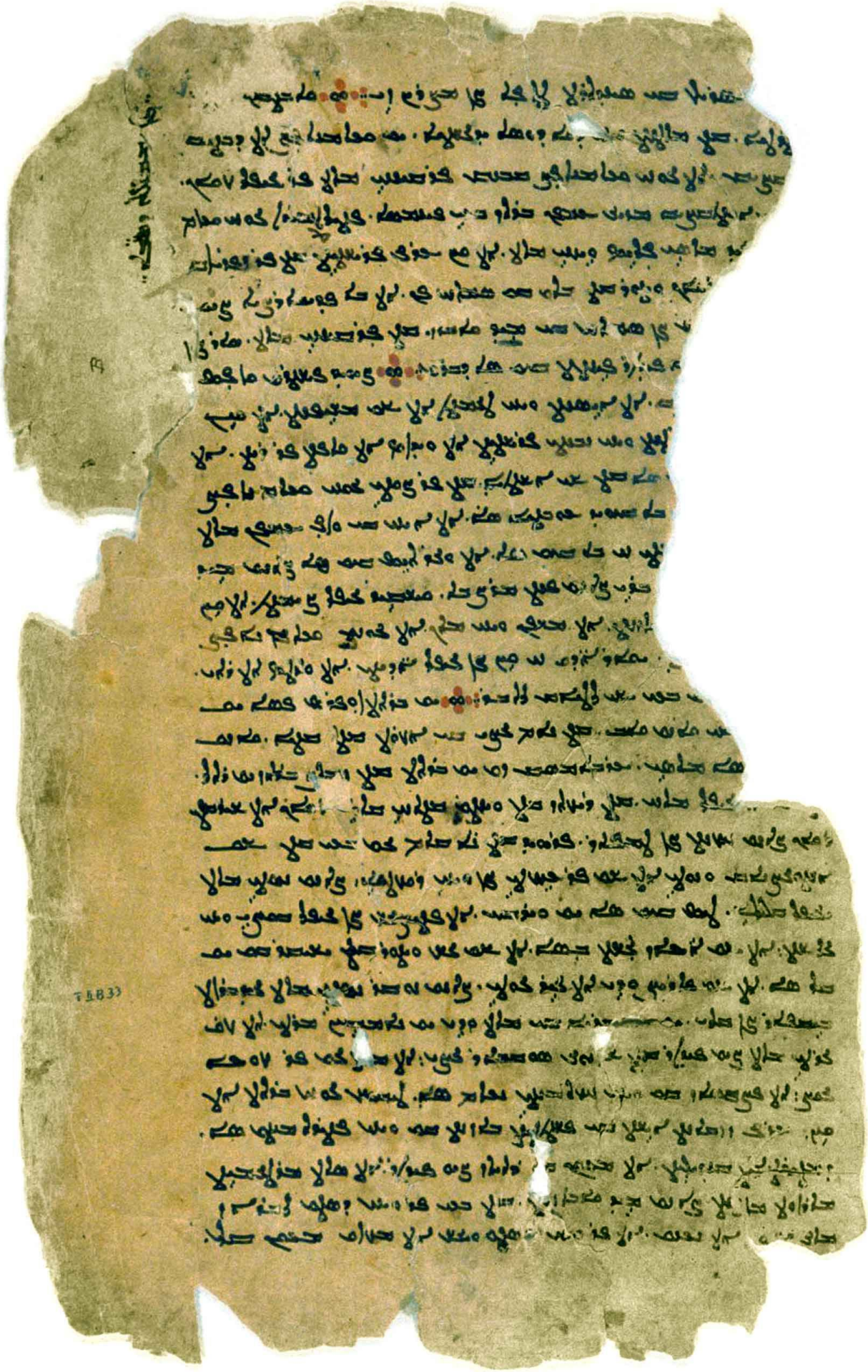

The Christian "Sayings of the Old Men" or "Sayings of the Holy Elders", a composition wrtten by desert monks from Egypt. Sogdian language, Syriac-Aramaic script, from Bulayiq near Turfan, Xinjiang, China, c. 9th century A.D., document S6-7-Syriac-script-n489V.

The "Peshitta" is the standard version of the Bible for eastern churches (the Near-East, Central Asia, China) in the Syriac-Aramaic writing. Bible page from the Megillot-Ruth Parchment, 9th century A.D.

IMAGE PLATE No. 29

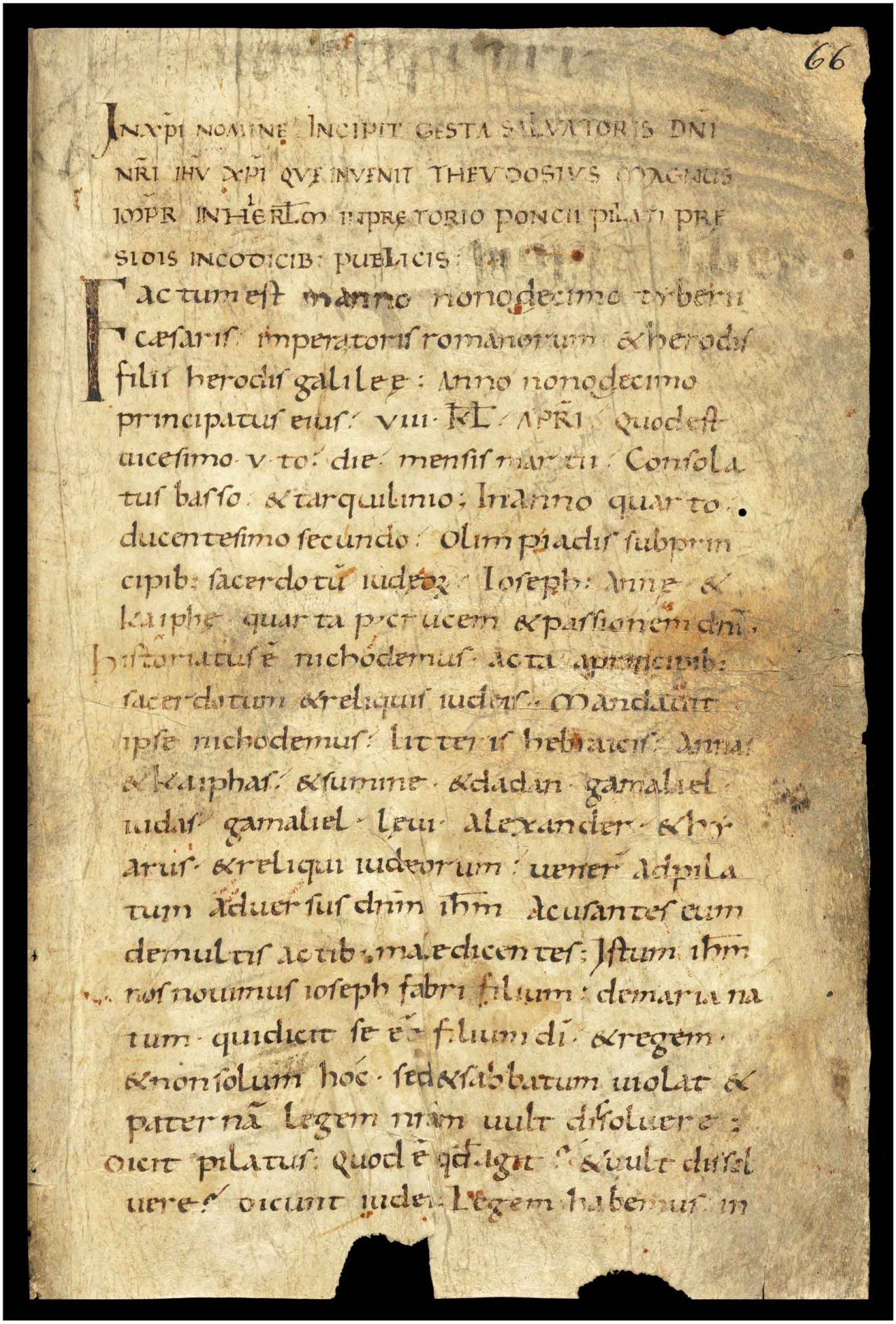

66

IN XPI NOMINE INCIPIT GESTA SALVATORIS DNI
NRI IHV XPI QVE INVENIT THEVDOSIVS MAGNVS
IMPR INHERLm IMPRETORIO PONCII PILATI PRE
SIOIS INCODICIB: PUBLICIS: I.

Factum est anno nonodecimo tyberii
cesaris imperatoris romanorum & herodis
filii herodis galilee: Anno nonodecimo
principatus eius: VIII KL APRI Quodest
uicesimo V to die mensis martii Consola
tus basso & tarquinio; Inanno quar to
ducentesimo secundo olim piadis subprin
cipib: sacerdotū iudeoz Ioseph: Anne &
kaiphe quarta p crucem & passionem dñi.
Historiatus ē nichodemus acta apprincipib:
sacerdotum & reliquis iudeis. Mandauit
ipse nichodemus: litteris hebraicis: Anna
& kaiphas: & summe & dadan gamaliel
iudas gamaliel Ieu Alexander & hy
arus & reliqui iudeorum: uener adpila
tum aduersus dnm ihm acusantes eum
demultis actib: maledicentes: Istum ihm
nos nouimus ioseph fabri filium: demaria na
tum quidicit se ē filium di & regem
& non solum hoc sed & sabbatum uiolat &
paternā legem nram uult dissoluere:
Dicit pilatus: Quod ē qd agit? & uult dissol
uere? dicunt iudei Legem habemus in

The "Gospel of Nicodemus", also known as the Acts of Pilate, is an apocryphal gospel whose authenticity is unlikely. This concoction is an evil propaganda work against Judaism. It reveals the struggle for power early 'Roman Christianity' had with its most potent rival, 'Roman Judaism' or 'Rabbinic Judaism', in the 3rd and 4th centuries. Parchment in Latin, 9th or 10th centuries A.D.

IMAGE PLATE No. 30

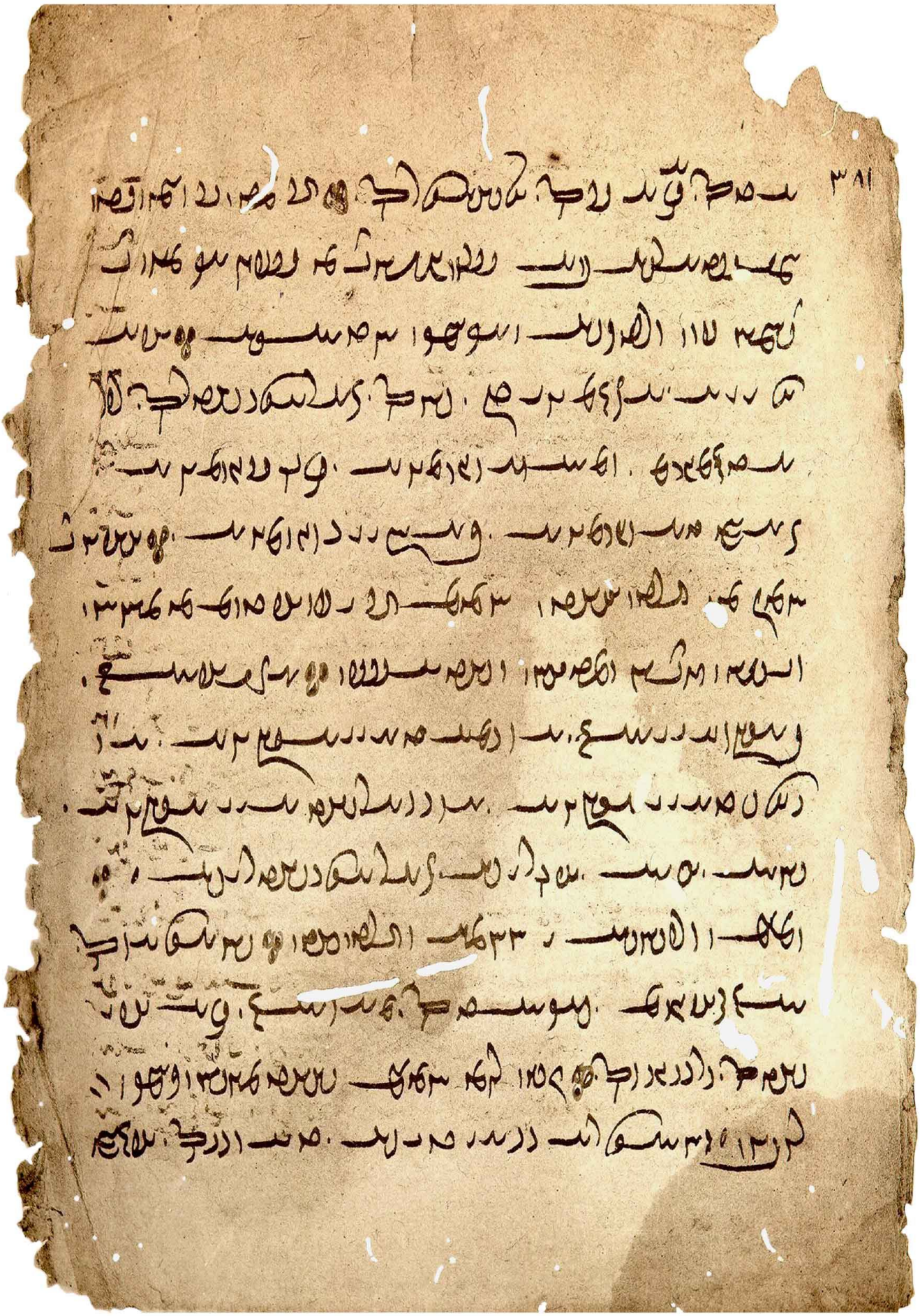

A page of the "Ancient Manuscript of the Yasna", a Zoroastrian book in Pahlavi script. As Islam destroyed most books in Persia (and anywhere else), this document copy from 1323 A.D. is the oldest surviving Zoroastrian book copy that is complete. Zoroastrian communities in Iran have been systematically wiped out. The survivors live today in India and the United States of America.

IMAGE PLATE No. 31

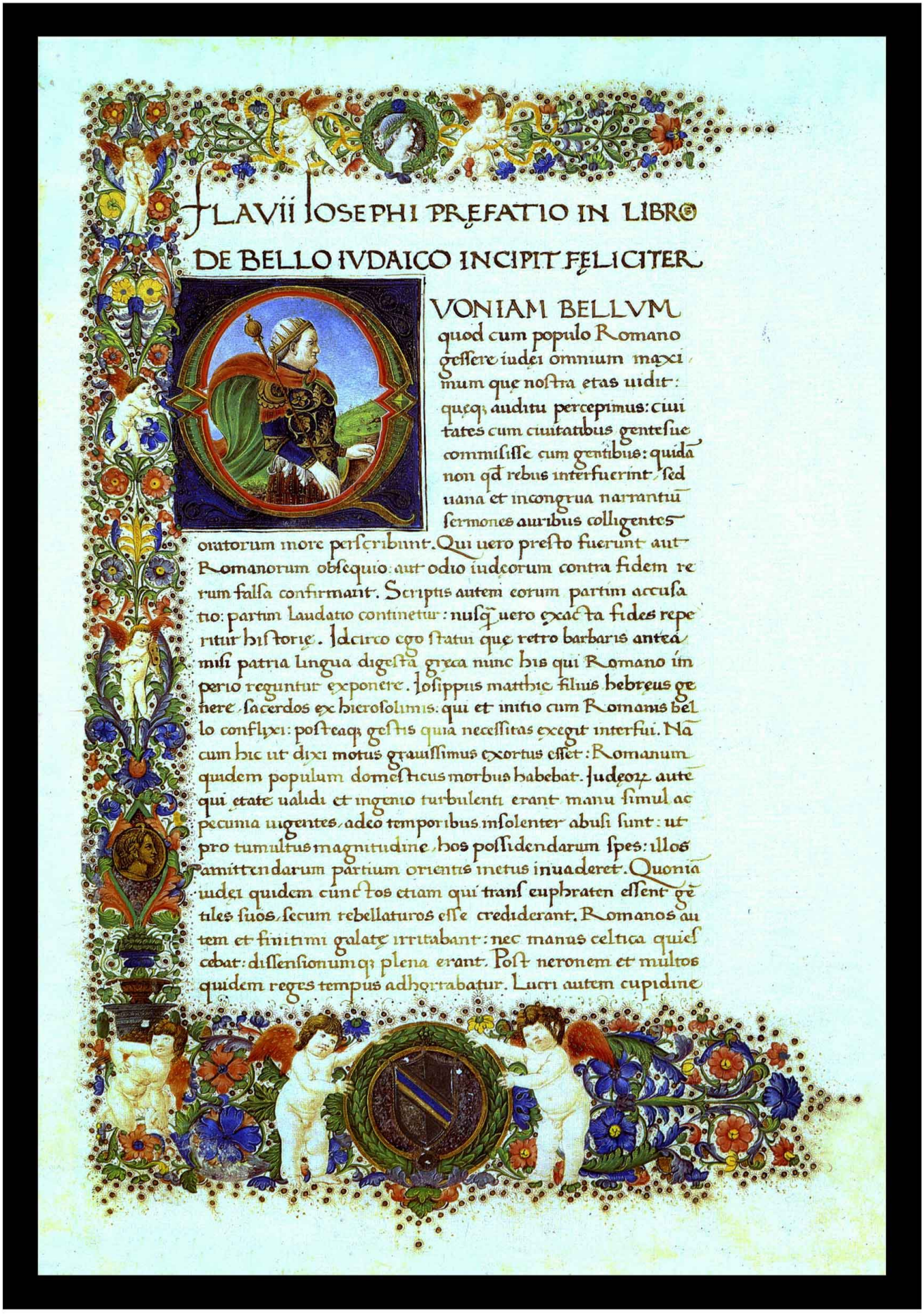

The "Jewish War" was published in c. 75 A.D. by Titus Flavius Josephus, the adopted son of the Roman emperor Flavius Vespasianus. His Aramaic name was Yosef bar Matityahu (Joseph the son of Matthew). The most popular of the four gospels, the Gospel of Matthew, used typology from the "Jewish War". During the Middle Ages, the books of Flavius Josephus even were an accepted part of many Bibles. Here a beautiful 15th century copy in Latin.

IMAGE PLATE No. 32

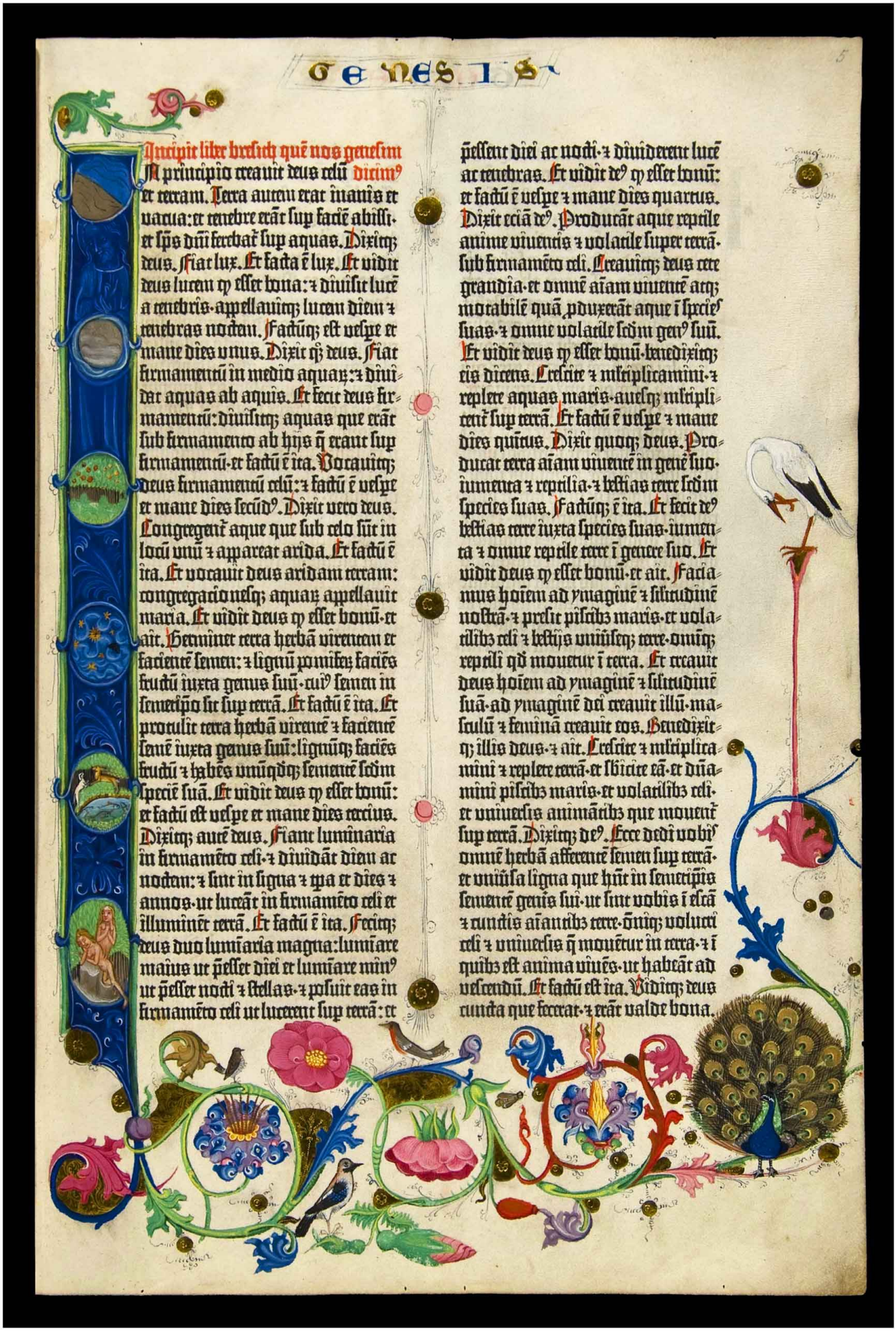

A beautifully decorated page of a Gutenberg Bible, c. 1450. With the epochal invention of his printing press, Johannes Gutenberg pushed mankind into modernity. Consequence: Luther's Reformation, the Age of Discovery, revival of science and education, democratisation and massive industrialisation.

IMAGE PLATE No. 33

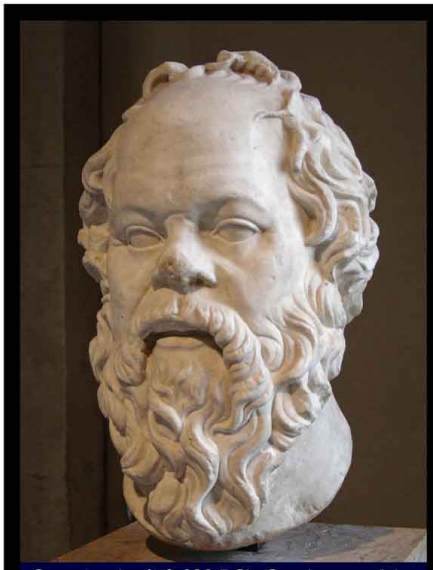

Socrates (c. 470-399 BC), Greek, one of the founders of Western philosophy. Among his students were Plato and Xenophon.

Thucydides (c. 460-400 BC), Greek general and historian. Noted for 'scientific history', 'political realism', 'analysis of human nature'.

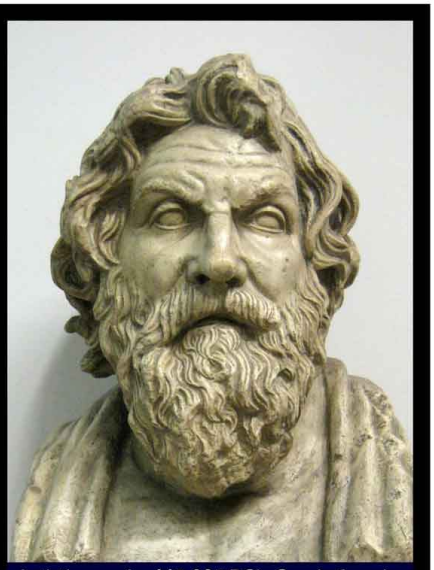

Antisthenes (c. 445-365 BC), Greek, founder of Cynic philosophy. Noted for ethics and virtues. Student and disciple of Sokrates.

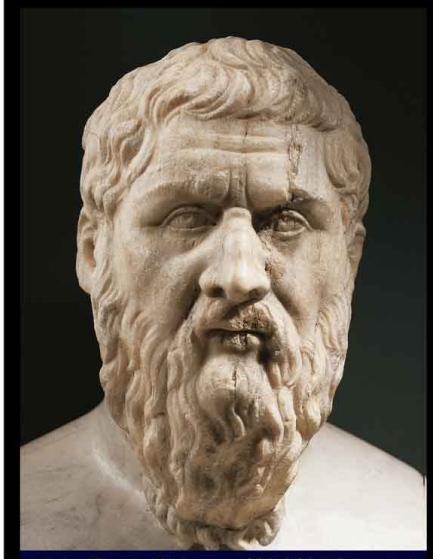

Plato (Greek: Platon; c. 428-348 BC), noted for his School of Thought, and the Academy, 1st Western university. Student: Aristoteles.

Philip II of Macedon (382-336 BC), united most of Greece, hired Aristotle as teacher for his son Alexander and his generals.

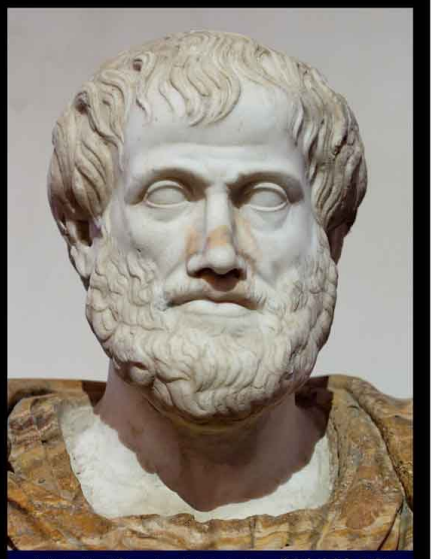

Aristotle (Greek: Aristoteles; 384-322 BC), polymath, he taught almost every subject. Most influential in the West and the East.

Alexander the Great (Greek: Alexandros III, 356-332 BC), conquered most civilisations between Greece / Egypt and India / China.

Seleucos I Nicator (c. 358-281 BC), general of Alexander, he spread Greek culture and language eastwards up to India and China.

Ptolemy I Soter (Greek: Ptolemaios Soter, lit. "Ptolemy the Saviour"; c. 367-282 BC), spread Greek culture and language in Egypt.

Clash of Civilisations began when the 'Law of Man' (critical thought and the Golden Rule) challenged the 'Law of God' (blind subjugation under theocratic rule). These men built up Western Civilisation.

IMAGE PLATE No. 34

Poppaea Sabina (30-65 AD), Nero's wife. In 63, Flavius Josephus met her in Rome. He described her as friendly and 'religious'.

Vespasian, Titus Flavius Vespasianus (9-79 AD). Having crushed the Druids before, he was told by Nero to crush the Messianists.

Flavia Domitilla Mayor (c. 20-65 AD), the wife to Vespasian, mother of Flavia Domitilla Minor as well as Titus and Domitian.

Titus, Titus Flavius Vespasianus (39-81 AD), like all upper class people, he spoke Greek. He crushed the Messianic Army in Judaea.

Titus Flavius Josephus (c. 37-100 AD), adopted son of Vespasian. From c. 68 AD, he controlled all writings in the Empire.

Flavia Domitilla Minor (c. 45-66 AD), Vespasian's daughter, wife to Quintus Petillius Cerialis, mother of Flavia Domitilla the Saint.

Domitian, Titus Flavius Domitianus (51-96 AD). He controlled public and private morals. The people loved him, the politicians not.

Flavia Domitilla the Saint (c. 63-100 AD), daughter of Domitilla Minor, wife to Titus Flavius Clemens, Clement I, the '1st Pope'.

Titus Flavius Clemens (c. 45-95? AD), 2nd son of Vespasian's brother Titus Flavius Sabinus, husband to Flavia Domitilla the Saint.

The Flavian family formed Christianity and modern Judaism by controlling and editing their texts. It was their aim to pacify Messianic Jews and Christians, and Titus Flavius Josephus was in charge.

IMAGE PLATE No. 35

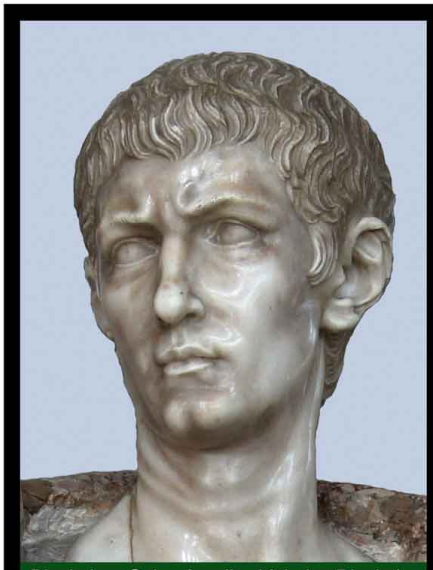

Diocletian, Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus (244-311 AD), His wife Prisca and his daughter Galeria Valeria were Christians.

Galerius, Gaius Galerius Valerius Maximianus, 250-311 AD); his wife Galeria Valeria convinced him to sign the Edict of Serdica.

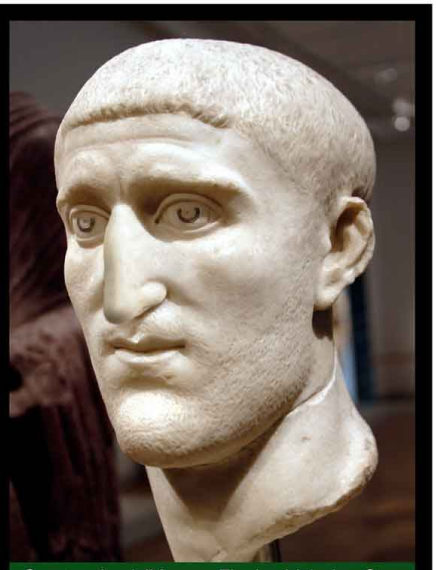

Constantius I (Marcus Flavius Valerius Constantius Herculius) 'Chlorus' (c. 250-306 AD), He was the father of Constantine the Great.

(Saint) Helena (Flavia Iulia Helena; c. 247-330), Greek Christian wife of Constantius Chlorus, mother of Constantine the Great.

Constantine I, the Great, Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus (272-337), His friend Eusebius ran the 1st Council of Nicaea.

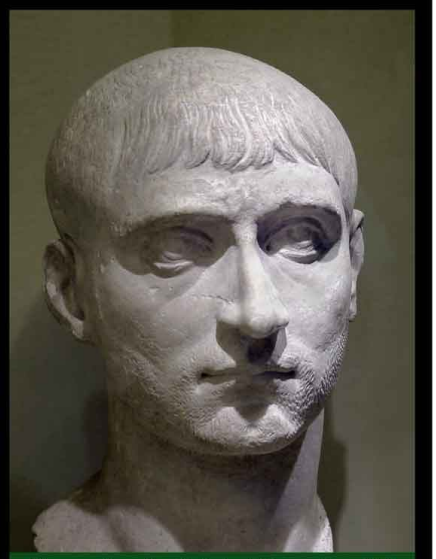

(Marcus Aurelius Valerius) Maxentius; 276-312 AD, brother of Constantine's wife Fausta, His army.saw defeat at the Milvian Bridge

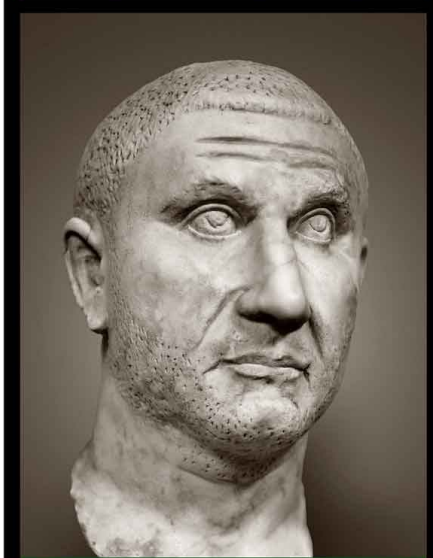

(Gaius Valerius Licinianus) Licinius, c. 263-325 AD), was a Christian. His wife: Flavia Julia Constantia, half-sister of Constantine I.

Galeria Valeria (275-315 AD), daughter of Diocletian and his Christian wife Prisca (c. 270-315 AD), became wife to Galerius.

Julian, Flavius Claudius Julianus, 331-363) grandson of Constantine I and philosopher; rejected Christianity for Plato's teachings.

The Constantines called themselves 'Flavian' because in Antiquity, a name was 'programme'. And indeed, most members were Roman Christians long before Constantine, particularly the women.

IMAGE PLATE No. 36

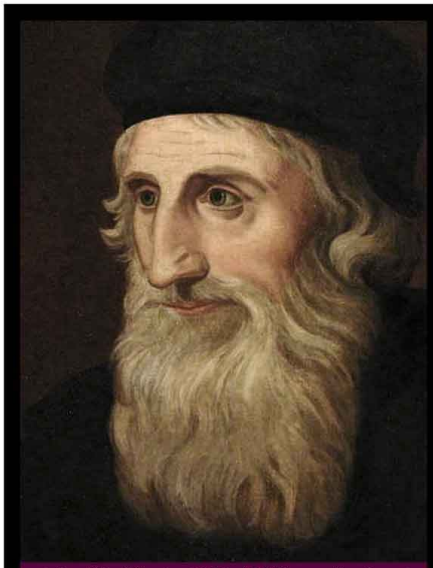

John Wycliffe (c. 1320-1384) was the head translator of the Wycliffe Bible. He knew: the Black Death was devastating for Christianity.

Johannes Gutenberg (c. 1395-1468) offered in 1455 the first printed Bible. It was sensational due to its high quality and low price.

Martin Luther, (1483 -1546) was a German theologian and translator. His printed Bibles in German were an immediate success.

Charles V (1500-1558), His uncompromising attitude towards any Reformation engulfed Europe in a series of war that ended in 1648.

Henry VIII (1491 -1547), created the Royal Navy, started English Reformation, ended the Pope's political power in England.

William Tyndale (1494 -1536) was inspired by Luthers translation and began the English translation of the Bible in Wittenberg.

Philip II of Spain (Spanish: Felipe II; 1527-1598), tried to conquer England but failed. The Roman-Catholics could not come back.

Elizabeth I of England (1533-1603) defeated the Spanish Armada and laid foundations for a Protestant empire: the British Empire.

Jan III Sobieski of Poland (1629-1696), the 'Saviour of Christendom'; he defeated the Islamic Turks on 12th September 1683.

The Black Death of 1346-1353 killed half of Europe's population. Most who could read were dead. Christianity was to live on only if people could read mass-produced Bibles in their own language.

IMAGE PLATE No. 37

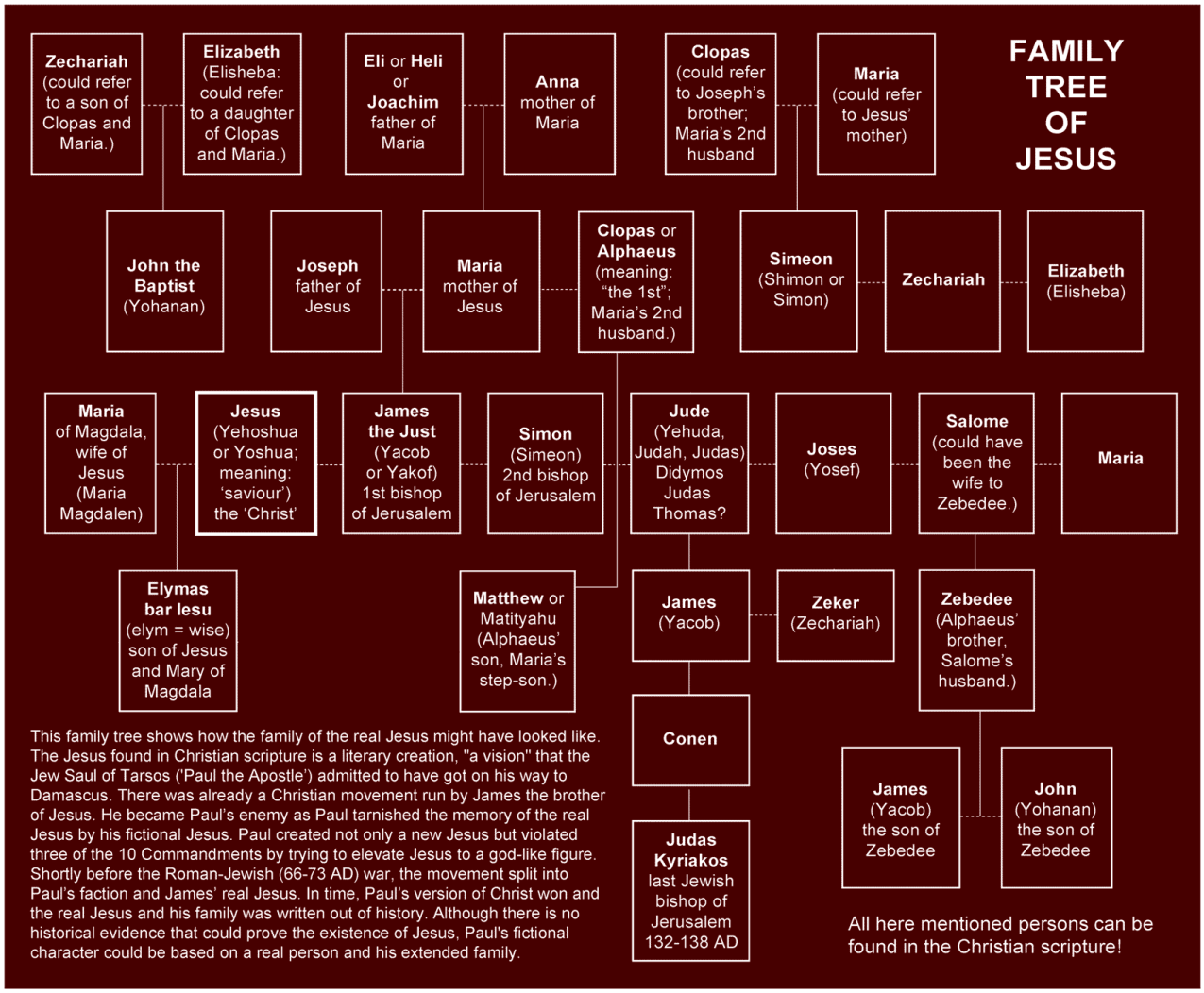

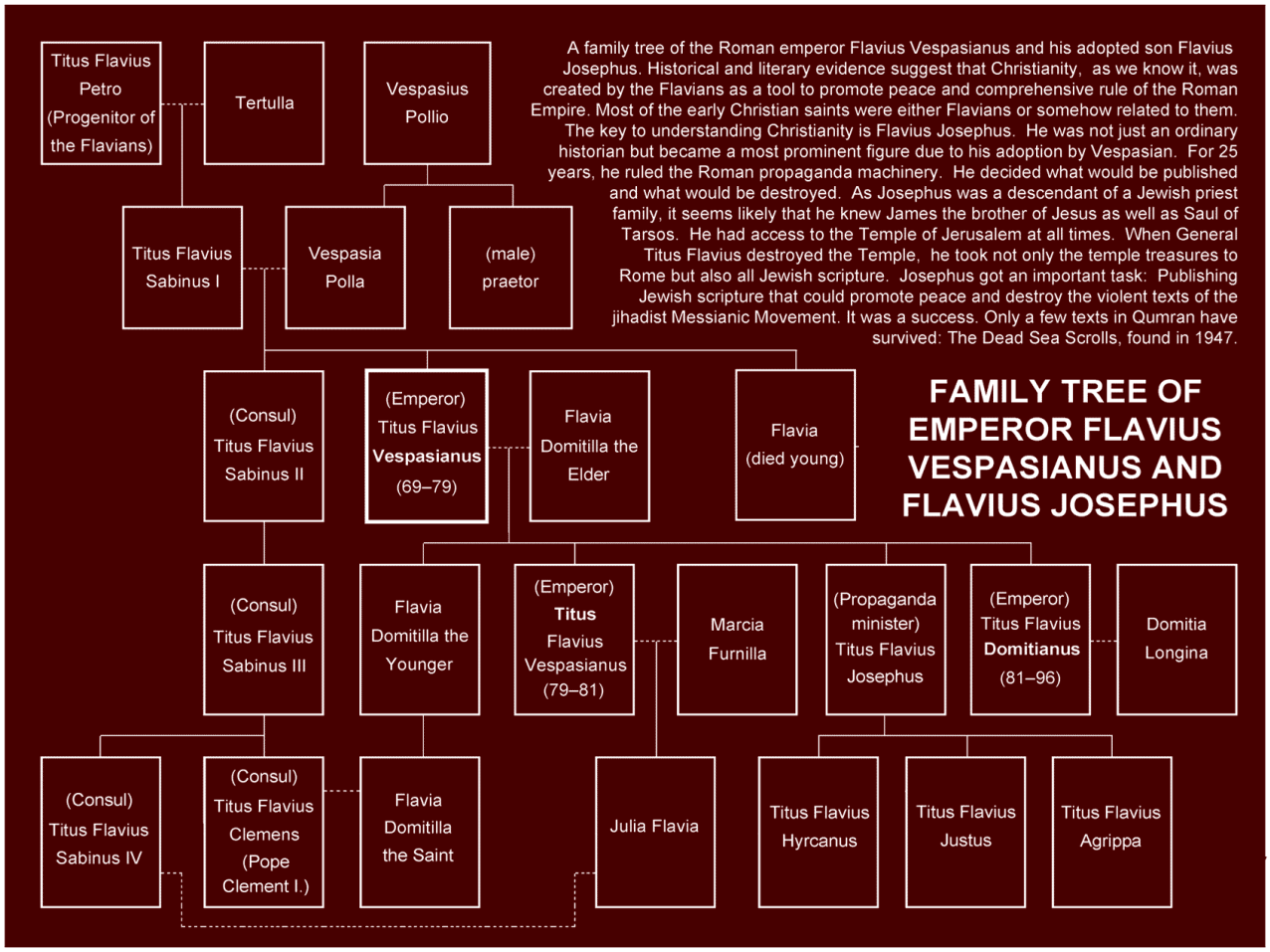

IMAGE PLATE No. 38

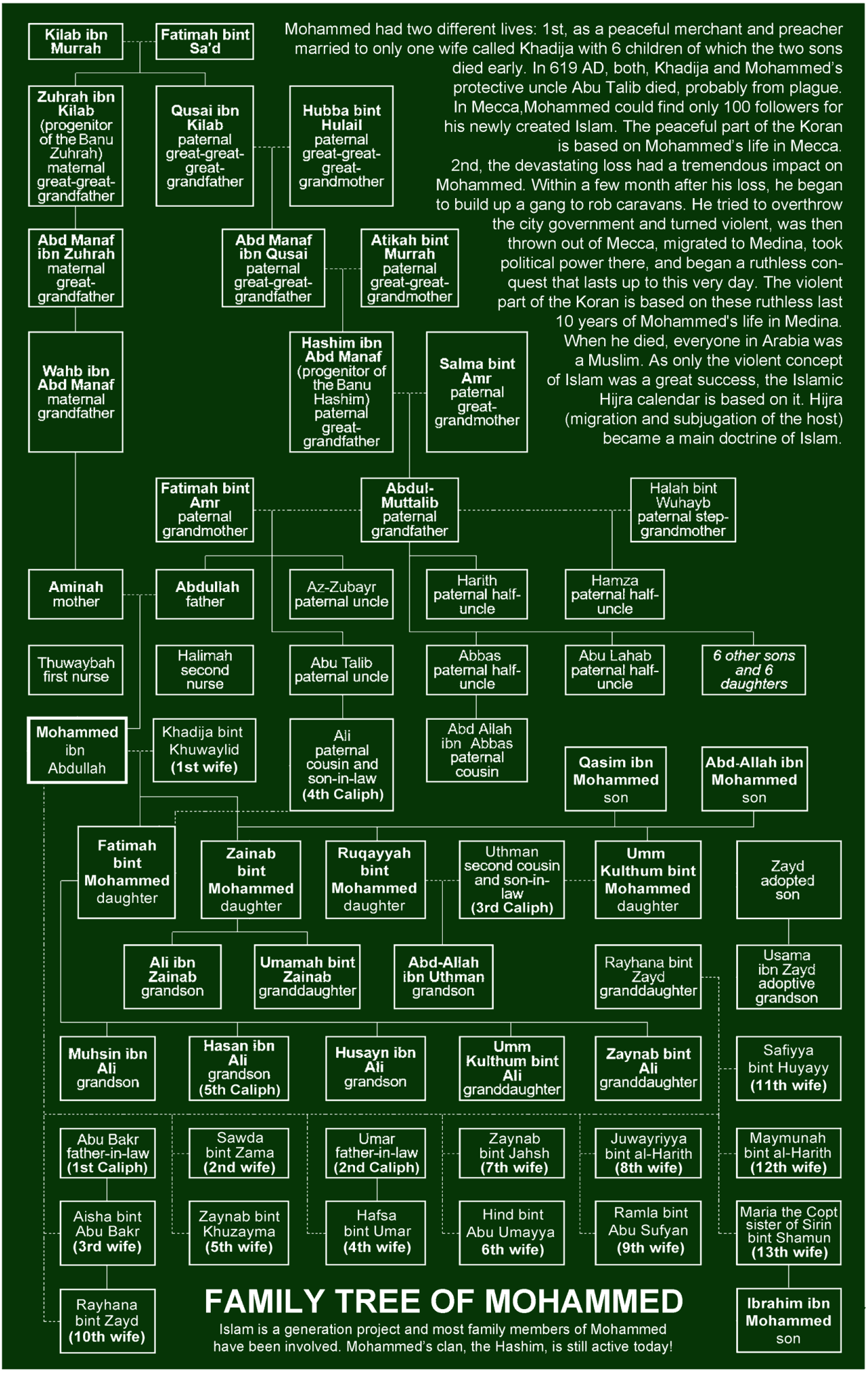

Mohammed had two different lives: 1st, as a peaceful merchant and preacher married to only one wife called Khadija with 6 children of which the two sons died early. In 619 AD, both, Khadija and Mohammed's protective uncle Abu Talib died, probably from plague. In Mecca,Mohammed could find only 100 followers for his newly created Islam. The peaceful part of the Koran is based on Mohammed's life in Mecca.

2nd, the devastating loss had a tremendous impact on Mohammed. Within a few month after his loss, he began to build up a gang to rob caravans. He tried to overthrow the city government and turned violent, was then thrown out of Mecca, migrated to Medina, took political power there, and began a ruthless conquest that lasts up to this very day. The violent part of the Koran is based on these ruthless last 10 years of Mohammed's life in Medina.

When he died, everyone in Arabia was a Muslim. As only the violent concept of Islam was a great success, the Islamic Hijra calendar is based on it. Hijra (migration and subjugation of the host) became a main doctrine of Islam.

FAMILY TREE OF MOHAMMED

Islam is a generation project and most family members of Mohammed have been involved. Mohammed's clan, the Hashim, is still active today!

IMAGE PLATE No. 39

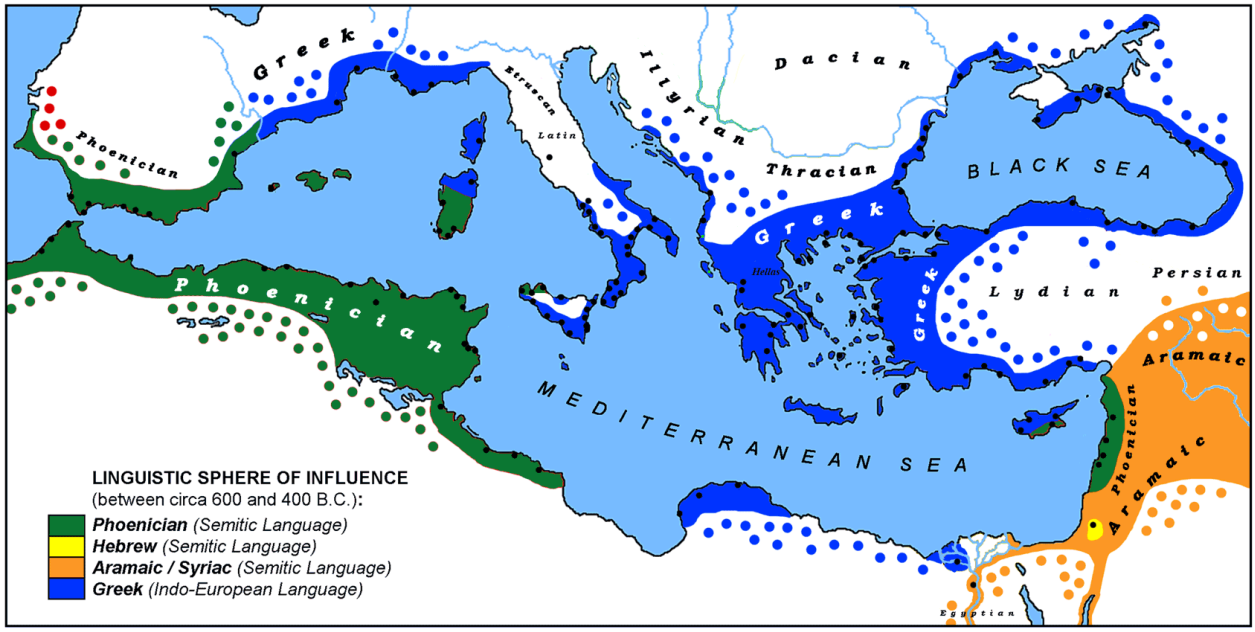

The Mediterranean Sea is about 4,000 km (2,500 mi) long. It has been the main speedway and supply route of Western Civilisation.

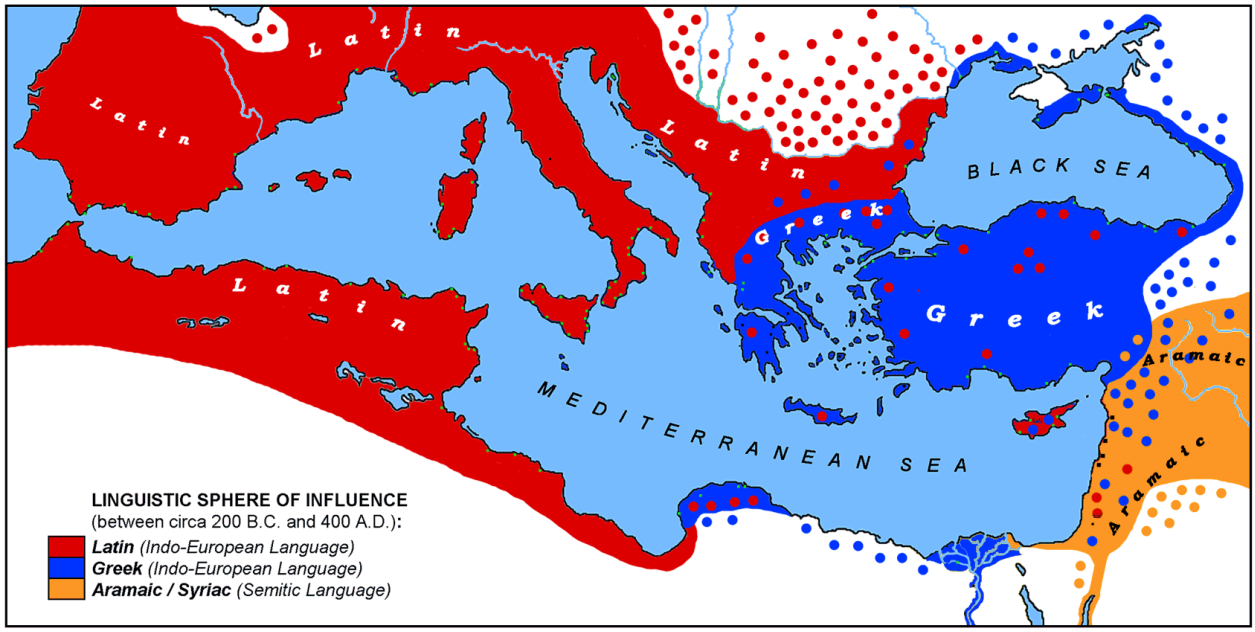

Phoenicians, Greeks, Persians, Romans, and Muslims have fought for suppremacy over the fast and cheap ways on the “Mare Internum”.

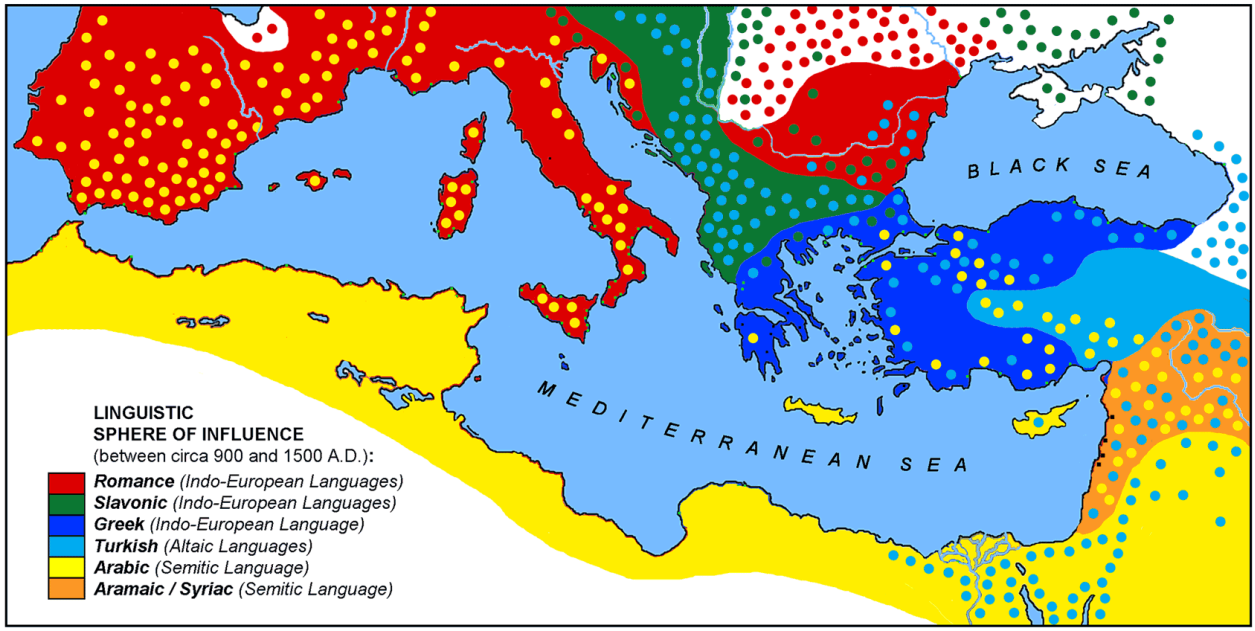

Islam strangled Greek-Roman Civilisation to death by ruling over the Mediterranean Sea. Result: poverty and the “Dark Ages” in Europe. Goods and migrants crossed the Sea circa 30-100 times faster and cheaper than on land routes; today it is a fast migrant route again.

LORD HENFIELD'S GENERAL MAP OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE FAMILIES

SHOWING THE DISPERSION OF MAJOR LANGUAGES, WRITING SYSTEMS, AND BELIEF SYSTEMS IN THE WORLD

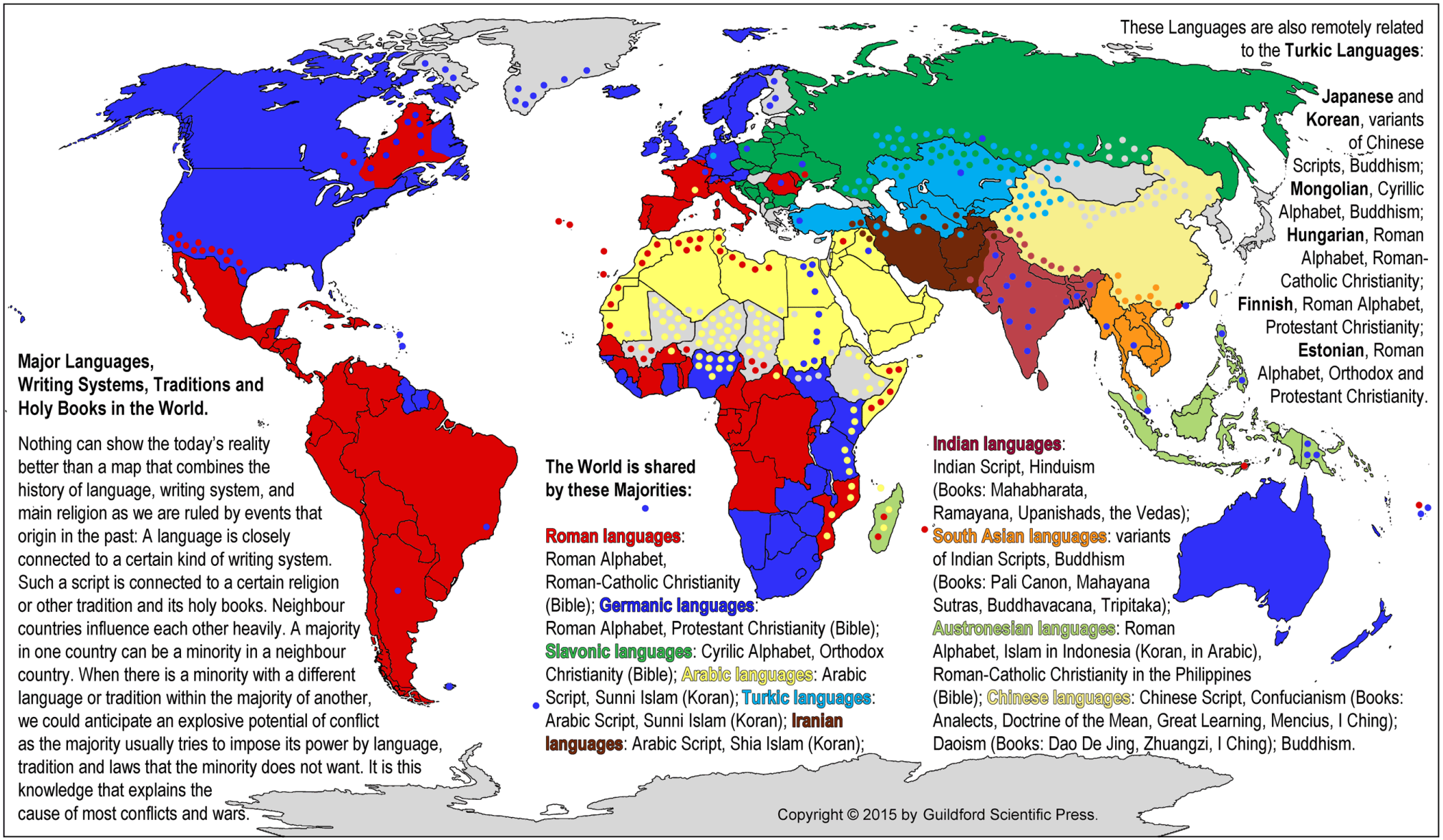

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IMAGE PLATE No. 40

Learning about history does not only show us the past but also a vague outlook into a possible future. Look at this little list and you will get an idea what could lie ahead: **Regions with potential religious conflicts:** Northern Ireland, Scotland, southern France, southern Spain, Bosnia, Macedonia, the Caucasus, Lebanon, Iraq, Usbekistan, Western China, Korea, north-western India, Nigeria, Chad, Mali, Congo, the Philippines. **Regions with potential language and ethnic conflicts:** Belgium, eastern Spain, northern Italy, eastern Turkey, northern Iran, northern Iraq, southern Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, South-east Asia, Burma, Borneo, Nepal, western China, Taiwan, East Timor, north-western India, southern India, Bolivia, Mexico, South Africa, eastern Canada, the south-west of the United States.

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NUMISMATIC

DOCUMENTATION

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COINS - DESCRIPTION

The farther we go back in time, the less information on a particular era is available. Civilisations, nation states, or even vast empires have changed or have been destroyed, and all their records and libraries too. This is the occasion in which archaeology can help.
Coins are a main source of historical facts. They let us see information in historical texts and scripture in another light. As the space on a coin is extremely limited, only those things are depicted that have utter significance: the likeness of the ruler[s], the name of him / her, his / her title[s] and motto, name or abbreviation of the mint place, symbol[s] of their politics [faith, philosophy, achievement etc.], important god[s], and of course their language[s] with which the ruler shows his tradition or pledge to a certain set of ethics.
In **catalogue descriptions**, and other **numismatic literature**, we find the following pieces of information about a coin: "obverse" = foreside, "reverse" = backside. The size of a coin is nowadays given as diameter in millimetres, such as 25mm, or when the shape of the size represents a quadrangle, as in Indian and some Bactrian coins, we express this as 25 x 26mm. The weight is given in metric "grammes" or "grams", such as 4.87g [also written as gs or gms].
"Byzantine" = [**eastern**] **Roman**. A soubriquet (used in many coin catalogues) which was created by Hieronymus Wolf in 1557 out of shame over the fall of the Roman Empire by the hands of Muslims, and it also might have reflected the feud between east and west over the title of Emperor of the Romans. Those people called themselves always "Romans" and their nation state "Roman Empire", and so did the people who dealt with them.
The **material** is defined as AV [or **AU**, meaning 'Aurum'] = Gold, **AR** [Argentium] = Silver, **AE** or Æ indicates bronze [from aer, aeris, the Roman name of this alloy]. Other materials may be mentioned: "Electrum" is a naturally occurring alloy of gold and silver, with trace amounts of copper and other metals. 45–55% of gold in electrum used in ancient Lydian and Carthaginian coins; "Hepatizon" is a copper coin with the addition of a small proportion of gold and silver [perhaps as little as 8% of each] to give it a liver colour surface.
The **language on coins** is Latin / **Roman** or **Greek** within the bouderies of the Roman Empire. Greek was particularly used in the East of the Empire, in North Africa, Arabia, and in the Northwest of India (Bactria). **Aramaic** was used in North Africa, Arabia [until the Arabs developed cursive Arabic out of Aramaic] Persia, Sogdiana, China, and in the Northwest of India (Bactria). Under the leadership of Emperor Ashoka, in India and the neighbouring realms, the Brahmi script appeared on coins or other inscriptions too.

COIN / MINT INSCRIPTIONS Coins in Antiquity were incribed with **capital letters only**, such as:
• **AVG** = Augustus (a title meaning emperor = leader / in Greek: Autokrator)
• **CAE** / CAES = Caesar (a title meaning 'assisting' emperor')
• **CAPTA** = Captured / Conquered
• **COS** / COSVIII = Consul VIII [government chief for the 8th time]
• **DIVI F** = Divi Filius / Filia [Son / daughter of the divine (son / daughter of a god)].
• **F** = Filius / Filia [son / daughter]
• **FL** = Flavius is the family name of the **1st Flavian Dynasty**; Flavia is the form used by females. It was adopted also by the **2nd Flavian Dynasty** of Constantine the Great as a "name of programme" pledging to carry on with the politics of Flavius Vespasian[us]
• **IMP** = Imperator [a title meaning emperor, here: military leader]
• **IVDAEA** / IVDEA = Judaea [Israel, Holy Land, meaning the Roman province comprising the areas of modern Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and northern Arabia]
• **PPP** = Praetor Pater Patriae [leading father of the nation]
• **PONFEX** / PONMAX / PM = Pontifex Maximus [Highest Priest 'Bridgebuilder among all religions', Chief of the Roman Imperial Cult = the Ministery of Religion (an important source of tax)]
• **S C** = Senatus Consulto [by authority of the Senate, the Roman parliament]
• SPQR = Senatus Populus Que Romanus [the Senate and People of Rome], the official name of the Senate [the Roman Parliament] in the city of Rome [later in Constantinople / Nova Roma = new Rome]
• **T** = Titus [sometimes Titi for female] is a cognomen or additional name which often appears together with the name Flavius; either of both names were often adopted by people who were granted official Roman citizenship by the Flavian emperors; example: Titus Flavius Josephus, Titus Lucius Arrianus, etc.
• **XP** = Greek for KR meaning "Kristos" / Christ
• The **monetary system** changed a little when (in 498 AD) Emperor Flavius Anastasius reformed the late Roman Empire coinage into a system with gold solidus and the bronze nummi. The nummus was an extremely small bronze coin of about 8–10mm and 0.56g. The obverse (front) of these coins featured a highly stylised portrait of the emperor while the reverse (back) featured the value of the denomination represented according to a mix of the Greek and the Roman numbering systems: **M** = 40 nummi, **Λ** = 30 nummi, **K** = 20 nummi, **IB** = 12 nummi, **I** = 10 nummi, **S** = 6nummi, **E** = 5 nummi, **XX** = half follis, **X** = Decanummium, **V** = Pentanummium. Silver coins were rarely produced.
• For **Greek inscriptions**, Notice: Instead of the Greek **Σ**, very often the Roman **C** was used to denote an S. Examples:
Greek: ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΑΡΙCΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥ / ΒΑCΙΛΙCCΗC CΑΛΟΜΗC, Transcription: Basileos Aristoboulou / Basilisses Salomes, Meaning:King Aristobulus / Queen Salome
Greek: ΤΙΤΩ ΟΥΕCΠΑCΙΑΝΩ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ CΕΒΑCΤΩ, Transcription: Tito Vespasiano Autokrator Sebasto, Meaning: Titus Vespasianus Emperor Venerable

SYMBOLISM ON [any sort of "messianic"] **COINS**
• **THE MESSIANC STAR** The "Star Prophecy" (or Star and Scepter prophecy) is a Messianic reading applied by Jewish Zealots and early Christians to Numbers 24:17: "I shall see him, but not now: I shall behold him, but not nigh: there shall come a Star out of Jacob, and a Sceptre shall rise out of Israel, and shall smite the corners of Moab, and destroy all the children of Sheth." (Numbers 24:17) The prophecy was often employed during the troubled years that led up to the Jewish Revolt, the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem (70 AD) and the suicidal last stand of the Sicarii [the jihadist branch of the Zealots] at Masada in 73 AD. The Star Prophecy appears in the Dead Sea scrolls from Qumran. This prophecy was of such importance to all resistance groups in this period, because it triggered their fervour to fight against the Greeks and Romans. Flavius Josephus, told the prophecy to Vespasian, who was campaigning against the Jewish Zealots of the Messianic Movement in Judaea, and according to that, Vespasian was destined to rule the world. After the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem, an extraordinary thing happened: the messianic star appeared for the first time on an official Roman coin minted by Vespasian, a clear message that he saw himself as the awaited Messiah. The star was not used after the Flavian Dynasty until it appeared again in the 2nd Flavian Dynasty with Constantine the Great's Christian mother. After the 4th century AD, it was replaced by the cross but it reappeared again on the first Islamic coins stating that Islam now was the heir of the Jewish Messianic Movement; the similarity of Islamic texts with the Messianic texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran suggest that the adoption of star (and later the crescent) was deliberate. The shape of the original Messianic Star has a dot with 4 to 10 rays around it.
• **THE STAR OF BETHLEHEM** The star has been externalised as an actual star in the sky, the "Star of Bethlehem," in the narration of the Gospel of Matthew. The "Star of Bethlehem" appears only in the nativity story of the Gospel of Matthew where "wise men from the East" (Zoroastrian Magi from Persia) are inspired by the star to travel to Jerusalem. There, they met King Herod of Judaea, and asked him: "Where is the one who has been born king of the Jews? We have come to pay homage to the newborn king of the Jews."
Today, we know that at the time of Jesus' alleged birth date [between 10 BC and 10 AD] there was no such star in the sky or any kind of star constellation that would have sparkled brightly enough to be recognised by anyone. As Matthew was of Jewish origin, he knew what "the Star" really meant at that time: It was a synonym for the Messianic Movement, and its messianic leaders fighting for military victory, as we can read about it in the Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran [War Scroll, Messianic Scroll etc.].

• **THE STAR OF DAVID** The Star of David, known in Hebrew as the Shield of David, has the shape of a hexagram and is generally recognised as symbol of modern Jewish identity and was probably a graphic soubriquet refering to the ancient Jewish Messianic Movement found on all sorts of coins. The hexagram might have appeared first on the arch of a 4th century synagogue in Galilee. It first appeared in the 16th century on coins from the Ottoman Empire, Syria, Morocco, Yemen, Nepal and India There, they have nothing to do with Judaism but were used by Islam as a decorative element juslt like pentagrams and octagrams.
• **THE CRESCENT** The crescent shape is used to represent the Moon, and the Moon deity Nanna / Sin from an early time, visible in Akkadian cylinder seals as early as 2300 BC. The Egyptian logograph representing the Moon also had a crescent shape and it probably also refered to Moses who was of royal Egyptian descent. The crescent was well used in the iconography of the ancient Near East and was used transplanted by the Phoenicians in the 8th century BC as far as Carthage in modern Tunisia. The crescent and star also appears on pre-Islamic coins of South Arabia. It frequently appears on coins with the messianic star and the Jewish ram.
In Hinduism, Lord Shiva is often shown wearing a crescent moon on his head symbolising that the lord is the master of time and is himself timeless. In the very same manner it was also used in Zoroastrian Persia.
It is used as the astrological symbol for the Moon, and hence as the alchemical symbol for silver. It was also the emblem of Diana/Artemis, and hence represented virginity. In Roman Catholic Marian veneration, it is associated with the Virgin Mary.
• **OLIVE BRANCH** The olive branch is a symbol of peace or victory allegedly deriving from the customs of ancient Greece, particularly regarding supplication to both the gods and persons in power, and is found in most cultures of the Mediterranean. It became associated with peace in modern Europe and is also used in the Arab world. The symbol first appears in Ancient Egypt as a symbol of peace many centuries before appearing in ancient Greek mythology. The Palmtree, or a palm frond (Hebrew: Lulav), can symbolise the same.
• **ANCHOR** Christians adopted the anchor as a symbol of hope in future existence because the anchor was regarded in ancient times as a symbol of safety. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews 6:19–20 for the first time connects the idea of hope with the symbol of the anchor. A fragment of inscription discovered in the catacomb of Flavia Domitilla contains the anchor, and dates from the end of the 1st century. In general the anchor can symbolise hope, steadfastness, calm and composure.
• **FISH** The fish as symbol or as acronym ΙΧΘΥΣ or ΙΧΘΥC in words ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΩΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΉΡ, Romanised: Iesous Christos Theou Huios Soter, meaning: Jesus Christ, God's Son, Saviour. On Greek and Roman coins, the boat, or even just a prow of a boat, symbolises the Messianic Movement. The fish was usually drawn with two semi-circular lines that met in a way that a fish appeared. Instead of a fish, Greeks and Romans took a dolphin as fish (most people in Antiquity were not aware that a dolphin was no fish but a mammal.).
• **ALPHA AND OMEGA Α Ω** In use since the earliest Christianity of the first and the last letters of the Greek alphabet, alpha (A) and omega (Ω), reflecting Jesus' statement "I am Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last, the Beginning and the End" (Revelation 22:13, also 1:8 and 21:6; by John of Patmos c. 95-105 AD).
• **CROSS** The Cross is today the principal symbol of the Christian religion, recalling the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ and the redeeming benefits of his Passion and death. The cross is thus a sign both of Christ himself and of the faith of Christians. Before that, is was the messianic star. Both, cross and messianic star were occasionally used one beside the other. The cross has been adopted particularly by the governmentally organised Roman Church and the [later from it appearing] numerous denominations of that faith, such as the Roman Catholic Church in the western parts of the Roman Empire, the Orthodox Church of the eastern parts of the Roman Empire and beyond, and also the Protestant Churches. In ceremonial usage, making a sign of the cross (by using ones own hand before the body) may be, according to the context, an act of profession of faith, a prayer, a dedication, or a benediction.
• **THE GOOD SHEPHERD** The image of the Good Shepherd, often with a sheep on his shoulders, is the most common of the symbolic representations of Christ found in the Catacombs of Rome, and it is related to the Parable of the Lost Sheep. Initially it was also understood as a symbol like others used in Early Christian art. By about the 5th century the figure more often took on the appearance of the conventional depiction of Christ, as it had developed by this time, and was given a halo and rich robes.
• **SHEEP** and other animals of the Subfamily called "**Caprinae**": (**ram**, **lamb**), **goat**, ibex, capra (Steinbock), **capricorn**, etc.
Sheep and goats have had a strong presence in those cultures and areas where they form the most common type of livestock. Therefore we find the ram as symbol of strength and ind independence in coat-of-arms and on coins. In antiquity, the ram, the male sheep is often used as symbol of virility and power in religions in the Mediterranean and neighbouring areas: Çatalhöyük, Greek states, ancient Egypt, and especially in Canaanite, Phoenician and Jewish tradition, and their offspring civilisations of Carthage in North Africa and Spain as well as in the Greek-Aramaic civilisation of Bactria and northwestern India following Alexander's conquests.
• **DOVE** The dove as a Christian symbol is of very frequent occurrence in ancient ecclesiastical art. According to Matthew 3:16, during the Baptism of Jesus the Holy Spirit descended like a dove and came to rest on Jesus. For this reason the dove became a symbol of the Holy Spirit and in general it occurs frequently in connection with early representations of baptism.
• **PEACOCK** Ancient Greeks believed that the flesh of peafowl did not decay after death, and so it became a symbol of immortality. This symbolism was adopted by early Christianity, and thus many early Christian paintings and mosaics show the peacock. The peacock is still used in the Easter season especially in the east. The "eyes" in the peacock's tail feathers symbolise the all-seeing God and – in some interpretations – the Roman state Church. A peacock drinking from a vase is used as a symbol of a Christian believer drinking from the waters of eternal life.
• **PELICAN** In medieval Europe, the pelican was thought to be particularly attentive to her young, to the point of providing her own blood by wounding her own breast when no other food was available. As a result, the pelican became a symbol of the Passion of Jesus and of the Eucharist since about the 12th century. By the way, the Eucharist was originally not a part of Christian lithurgy but was adopted clearly from the older Persian Mithras Cult. Both religions merged mainly because early Christians and Mithraists celebrated their church services in the same building, the Mythraist in the Crypt, the Christians on the ground flour above.

TITLES IN WRITING INSTEAD OF SYMBOLISM
• **SOTER, KHRISTOS, DIVI, THEOS**: Soter derives from the Greek epithet ΣΩΤΉΡ (soter) or ΣΩΤΉΡΩΣ (soteros), meaning a saviour, messiah, deliverer; feminine Σώτειρα (Soteira) or sometimes Σωτηρία (Soteria).
Soter is another name for saviour / messiah which has been taken by Christians: ΧΡΙΣΤΌΣ (Khristos) as a title of Jesus the Nasorean or Jesus of Nazareth, most particularly in the fish acronym. From ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ (Khristos, "the anointed one"); a semantic loan from Biblical Hebrew mashiach and Aramaic mishicha, in English known as messiah or messias. In the New Testament both, soteros as well as khristos are used as a title for Jesus. The name Jesus itself is a Roman transliteration from the Greek ΙΗΣΟΎΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΌΣ (Iesous Khristos) which comes from the Aramaic forms Yoshua or Jeshua and finally from Hebrew Yehoshua which also means messiah; so the combined titles Jesus Christ literally mean "messiah messiah". The title Soter has been used as:
• a **title of gods**: Poseidon Soter, Zeus Soter, Dionysus Soter, Apollo Soter, Hades Soter, Athena Soteira, Asclepius Soter, and Hecate Soteira.
• the name of a distinct **mythical figure**, Soter (daimon)
• any **heroised or deified leaders** of Hellenistic dynasties, see Hellenistic ruler cult: Antigonus Monophthalmus [awarded the title for liberating Athens from Cassander], Ptolemy I Soter of Egypt [reigned 323-283 BC], Antiochus I Soter of the Seleucid Empire [reigned 281-261 BC], Demetrius I Soter of the Seleucid Empire [reigned 161-150 BC], Diomedes Soter, Dionysios Soter, Polyxenos Epiphanes Soter, Rabbel II Soter, Attalus I, Seleucus III Soter Ceraunus, Ptolemy IX Soter, Diodotus I Soter, Strato I Soter, Strato II Soter, Menander I Soter
• as a **title of liberators** (see also eleutherios, Kyros Soter, the Persian emperor Cyrus I who liberated the Jews from Babylonian captivity and allowed them to rebuild their Temple of Jerusalem.)
• Roman titles such as **IMP** (imperator = emperor), **AUG** (Augustus), **CAE** (Caesar), **FL** (Flavius), **DIVI**, **DIVUS**, **DIVA**, **THEOS** (God) etc. have the very same propagandistic connotation as the Jewish title "Messiah", the Greek title "Soter" and "Christ", or the messianic symbols of **Star** and **Crescent**. This was the case, regardless of which ethics, philosophy or religion the ruler felt attached to.

IMAGE PLATE No. 41

1

Cyprus: Phoenician-Greek, Korkyra, c. 500-450 BC, AR Silver Tri-Obol, KOR, amphora; Reverse: eight-pointed messianic star. Cyprus was divided between Greeks and Phoenicians.

2

Cyprus, Phoenician, Salamis, King Evagoras II, c.361-351 BC, AE silver Obol, goddess Athena wearing crested helmet; Reverse: large messianic star of 8 rays; it symbolises Jewish messianism.

3

Cyprus, Salamis, King Evagoras II, c.361-351 BC, AR Obol. 10mm, 0.57g; bearded face of Evagoras wearing a kyrbasia, messianic star on the left; Reverse: probably his wife.

4

Cyprus, Salamis, AR Obol. Evagoras II, 361-351 BC, Greek and Semitic symbolism together: Helmeted head of Athena left; Reverse: Large messianic star with 8 rays and central dot.

5

Armenia: King Tigranes II, 95-56 BC, AR Tetradrachm, 30mm, 15.11g, 12h, Tigranocerta, c.80-68 BC; Head with tiara; On it: messianic star between 2 eagles; Reverse: Tyche of Antioch sitting on rock, holding laurel branch god Orontes swimming.

6

Commagene: Antiochos I Theos (= God), c. 69-34 BC (buried on top of Mount Nemrud under a huge tumulus 50m high, 150m diameter.), Tetrachalkon AE 20mm 4.84g 11h 2.series 56-36 BC Head: messianic star between 2 eagles on tiara; Reverse: Lion.

7

Commagene: Antiochos IV Epiphanes, 38-72 AD, AE Tetrachalkon, 22mm, 6.37g, 12h, ΒΑΣΙ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ ΕΠΙ; Capricorn and messianic star above its back, anchor beneath, all within wreath.

8

Commagene: Antiochos IV Epiphanes ('God manifest'), 38-72 AD, AE Dichalkon 15mm, 3.05g, 11h, ΠΙ Σ ΤΙ Σ -faith; 2 clasped hands holding a kerykeion; Reverse: ΛΥΚΑ-ΟΝΩΝ and Anchor.

9

Antioch: Vabalathus Æ Antoninianus 272AD IM C VHABALATHVS AVG [AE]QVITAS AVG, Aequitas left, holding scales+cornucopiae messianic star left

10

Antioch: Zenobia Æ Antoninianus 272AD S ZENOBIA AVG IVNO REGINA, Juno stand left, hold patera+sceptre, peacock standing left, messianic star above

Fig. 1-10: Jewish symbols on coins from the eastern Mediterranean. Phoenicians, Canaanites and Israelites were identical. DNA analyses, archaeological finds, common language and culture confirm it.

IMAGE PLATE No. 42

11

Phoenicia, Sidon, AR Double Shekel, King unknown, (460-450 BC). Obverse: War-galley in front of 5 towers, 2 lions below, Reverse: Persian King in chariot

12

Phoenicia, Sidon, king Abdashtart (Straton) I. (c.365-352 BC). AR Dishekel 27mm, 25.50g, 12h, reign year 3 = 363-362 BC, Obverse: War galley; Reverse: Persian king in chariot, letters AB above

13

Carthage (Phoenician) AU Half Shekel (c.241-238 BC), 16mm, 3.82g, 12h, Libyan Revolt, Head of Tanit with wreath, earring necklace; Horse with Punic Z + I [= 21st year of reign] above, M below

14

Carthage (Punic = Phoenician), Shekel c.230-220 BC, 7.42g, Zeugitania region, Obverse: head of Tanit; Reverse: horse with Messianic Star [as symbol for military leadership] above

15

Carthage, Demi-shekel (c.210-202 BC), 16mm, 2,64g, 12h, bronze, Obverse: Head of Tanit; Reverse: horse with Messianic Star above

16

Indo-Scythian, North Satrapy of Rajuvula, Athena Alkidemos, Kharoshti Aramaic text: 'the Satrap Rajuvula whose discus is irresistible'

17

Bactria, Menander I Soter (r.165–130 BC), Basileos Sothros Menandroy, Silver drachm, Indian standard, 2.43g, 18 mm. Menander was the first greek king who converted to Buddhism. Text in Greek and Karoshti (Hebrew-Aramaic script)

18

Bactria, Menander I Soter (r.165–130 BC), Text: Basileos Sothros Menandroy (= King Menander the Saviour / Messiah; in India known as Milinda), AE Quadruple, 6.91g, 21 x 21mm, Text in Greek and Karoshti (Hebrew-Aramaic script) around a ram head on shield

19

Menander coin, Reverse: Athena and Karoshti-Aramaic script. "The Questions of Milinda" is a Buddhist book in Platonic style

20

Hermaios, the last Indo-Greek king in Bactria, reign c.40-1 BC, Obverse: Greek legend, Reverse: Kharoshthi-Aramaic legend

Fig. 11-15: Coins from Phoenicia / Carthage (Zeugitania); Languages: Phoenician (Punic), Aramaic, Hebrew (Semitic). Fig. 16-20: Coins from Bactria; Languages: Greek, Aramaic (Karoshti), Iranic, Indic.

IMAGE PLATE No. 43

21

Coin from Taxila northwest India (185-160 BC) with Buddhist wheel and a svastika on top of the reverse.

22

Chandragupta II, silver drachma (c.375-414 AD), 1.97g 15 mm. Head of king; Stylised Garuda wings spread, calligraphic Brahmi

23

Chandragupta II, AU dinar (c.375-414 AD), King sitting Brahmi script; Lakshmi seated with lotus, Brahmi script, Vikramaditya

24

Chandragupta II, AU dinar (c.375-414 AD), 7.89g, 21mm, King riding horse Brahmi; Lakshmi diadem lotus Brahmi, Ajitavikrama

25

Chinese coin found in Bactria. The [probably Turkish] Wei dynasty (386–535 AD), embraced Buddhism due to contacts to Bactria. Between 399 and 412 AD, Fa Xian (337-422 AD) went to India via Bactria, brought lots of Buddist texts to China, and wrote about it

26

Sogdian c.7th century AD Fergana, AE bronze cast, 1.62g, Obverse: two facing heads of a male and a female; Reverse: Runic symbols, Sogdian legend

27

Sogdian [Kai Yuan Tong Bao Tang] coin from 621 AD, Tang Dynasty, Samarkand. This perfectly moulded coin served as model for all later produced coins in Chinese Sogdiana (north of Greek Bactria)

28

Long before the industrialisation of modern countries, Chinese engineers had developed mass production by moulding while coins in the west were "struck" by hand. Little coin mould from China.

29

Already 2,000 years ago, China was on the brink of an industrial revolution. Everything was produced in vast numbers by moulding technology: household items, mirrors, weapons, arrow tips, bolts, and also complex cross bow mechanisms. Here one half of a coin mould from the Tang Dynasty (618–907 AD) with 42 chambers. Even moulds were moulded. With such an advanced technology, the Chinese kept invaders at bay.

Fig. 21-24: Coins from (Hindu and Buddhist) India; Fig. 25-29: Coins and moulds from Sogdiana.

IMAGE PLATE No. 44

30

Sogdiana, Turgesh Kaqanate, Wahshutawa (8th c.) AE "Cash" (Kamyshev-21), Reverse: "Yuan" currency character below, Crescent above the quadrangular hole

31

Sogdian double drachm bronze cast, 675-696 AD. AE bronze "cash", 6.44g, The Sogdians accepted the Chinese shape but decorated their coins with their own script. Standard Silk Road currency

32

Sogdian bronze cast drachm of Shishpir c.630-645 AD, 3.70g, Samarkand and local tamghas, Aramaic script

33

Semirech'e Turgesh, 8th century AD, AE cast bronce, 6.08g, Sogdian legend; tamgha in shape of a crescent

34

Silanus Antioch (31BC) Antioch 18-20mm, c. 7g Obverse: Zeus Reverse: Jewish symbolism: leaping ram looking back at messianic star

35

Quadratus Antioch (55-56AD) 17-19mm, 5.5g; Obverse: Tyche ANTIOXEΩN Reverse: leaping ram looking at star and crescent ΕΠΙΚΟΥΑΔΡΑΤΟΥ Quadratus

36

Tyche, coin from Antioch ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ (55-56 AD), 17-19mm, 5.5g, Jewish messianic symbolism on Reverse: leaping ram looking back at star and crescent ΕΠΙΚΟΥΑΔΡΑΤΟΥ = Quadratus

37

Bronze coin, Obverse: Tyche (55 AD),; **Reverse**: Leaping ram looking back at star in crescent, showing messianic influence; Legend reads: ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΝ, "people of the metropolis" meaning Antioch

38

Bronze coin from Antioch (56 AD), The entire region was captured by the Messianic Movement leading to the war with Vespasian

39

Obverse: Portraits of Caracalla, Reverse: Crescent moon with some stars in the shape of crosses. reign of Septimius Severus (194 AD)

Fig. 30-33: Chinese coins from Sogdiana, Central Asia (Usbekistan), this Greek-Chinese-Indian influenced region is known as the Western Gateway from and to China. Fig. 34-39: Coins from Roman Syria; Languages: Aramaic and Greek. The Jewish symbols of the Messianic Star and Crescent date back to the Biblical "Star Prophecy" found in Isaiah and the Dead Sea Scrolls.

IMAGE PLATE No. 45

40

Coin of Septimius Severus 194 AD Obverse: Portraits of Severus. Crescent moon with multiple stars in the shape of crosses (194 AD)

41

Elagabalus (222 AD), Reverse: Ram with crescent and star above its head SC Δ Є all within wreath

42

John Hyrcanus I (135-104 BC) AE Prutah, 13mm, 2.02g, 12h, Phoenician text in 5 lines in wreath: 'Yehohanan High Priest & Council of Jews'. Reverse: 2 cornucopiae, ribbons, pomegranate

43

Alexander Jannaeus, Hasmonean Dynasty (103-76 BC) AE Prutah 11mm 0.7g; Phoenician text and messianic star; Reverse: Greek legend and anchor in circle

44

Herod the Great, (37-4 BC). bronze prutah, 15.5mm, 1.85g; Obverse: 2 cornucopiae; Reverse: Anchor,

45

Herod the Great, (37-4 BC). bronze prutah. 15mm, 1.89g Reverse: Anchor (it was an important Jewish messianic symbol)

46

Herod II Archelaos (4 BC-6 AD), AE Half Prutah, 15mm, 1.5g, Jerusalem mint. Prow (bow) of galley [as symbol for boat]; Legend within wreath

47

Herod IV Philip (4 BC-34 AD), AE 17mm, 5.51g, 12h, Paneas, reign year 34 (=30-31AD); Head of Tiberius with laurel; Reverse: Greek-Roman tetrastyle temple

48

Herod Agrippa I (37-44 AD) AE Prutah, 16mm, 2.67g, reign year 6 (41-42 AD), Greek text: BACILEVVC AGRIPA (king Agrippa; notice the Roman C for Greek Σ), umbrella-like canopy; 3 ears of barley

49

Herod Agrippa II (50-100 AD), AE 18, minted in Caesarea Panias, Struck 61-68 AD, Obverse: Laureate head of Nero, Reverse: Nero's name and titles in Greek within a laurel wreath

Fig. 40-41: Coins from Roman Syria. Fig. 42-49: Coins from Judaea. John and Jannaeus were kings of the Hasmonean (Maccabean) Dynasty. Judas Maccabeus and his whole family won the Jewish wars of independence, 168–164 BC. They were celebrated as "messiahs" or saviours symbolised by star and anchor. The hated Arab Herod Dynasty cooperated with the Romans.

IMAGE PLATE No. 46

50

Coin by Jewish Messianic Movement (in 66 AD), Phoenician text, Obverse: Ritual hand wash jar; Reverse: Maple leaf, Year 1

51

Shekel by Jewish Messianic Movement (in 67 AD), Phoenician text, Obverse: 'Shekel Israel Year 2', Reverse: 'Jerusalem the Holy'

52

Shekel by Jewish Messianic Movement (in 68 AD), Phoenician text, Obverse: 'Shekel Israel Year 3'; Reverse: 'Jerusalem the Holy'

53

Bronze prutah one 8th of a shekel by Jewish Messianic Movement (in 70 AD), Phoenician text, Obverse: 'Shekel Israel Year 4'

54

Shekel by Jewish Messianic Movement (in 69 AD), Phoenician text, Obverse: 'Shekel Israel Year 4', Reverse: 'Jerusalem the Holy'

55

Shekel by Jewish Messianic Movement (in 70 AD), Phoenician text, Obverse: 'Shekel Israel Yr 5', Reverse: 'Jerusalem the Holy'

56

Herod Aristobulus of Calcis & Herod Salome (54-92 AD), daughter of Herodias (c. 15 BC–40 AD) AE 20.5mm, 9.13g, 11h, reign-year 13 (66-67 AD) Greek text: ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΑΡΙCΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥ ΕΤ ΙΓ_ΒΑCΙΛΙC-CHC CΑΛΟΜΗC

57

Herod Aristobulus King of Armenia Minor (54-92 AD). AE 24mm 14.14g 12h. Reign Year 17 (70-71 AD). [ΒΑCΙΛ]ΕΩC ΑΡΙCΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥ Ε[Τ ΙΖ], head with monogram within square incuse / ΤΙΤΩ/ ΟΥΕCΠΑ/CΙΑΝΩ ΑΥ/ΤΟΚΡΑΤΩ/Ρ CΕΒΑC/Τ[Ω] in six lines within wreath.

58

Vespasian AU Aureus. minted in Rome (69-70 AD), Obverse: Roman text: IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG, laureate head, Reverse: IVDAEA under captive Jewess sitting in mourning

59

Vespasian Denarius (71 AD). instruments used for priestly lithurgy: simpulum (ladle), aspergillum [whip to sprinkle holy water], Jewish fluted handwash jug and lituus. PONFEX (Pontifex Maximus)

Fig. 50-55: Coins from the Roman province Iudaea, minted during the 1st Roman-Jewish War (66-73 AD) by the Jewish Messianic Movement. Fig. 56-57: Coins from the Herods in Armenia. Fig. 58-59: Coins by Flavius Vespasianus (69-79 AD). He and his son Titus crushed the Jewish Messianists.

IMAGE PLATE No. 47

60

Bronze Sestercius (71 AD), Obverse: Portrait of Vespasian, Reverse: IVDAEA CAPTA, Roman victor & mourning Jewess

61

Sestertius Vespasian (71 AD), 26.30g, seated Jewess in mourning, palm tree, defeated Jew with hands tied, arms down

62

Vespasian Denarius (77-78 AD), Reverse: COS VIII, Jewish symbolism: eight-pointed messianic star over prow of a boat

63

Vespasian Denarius (77-78 AD), Jewish symbolism: goat-herd milking goat milk into jug

64

Vespasian AR Denarius Rome (77-78 AD) RIC 942. 3.36g, 18mm, 7h COS VIII, Jewish symbolism: prow of a boat with eight pointed star of the defeated Jewish Messianic Movement above.

65

Vespasian AE 26 Apameia, Phrygia (69-79 AD), 11.29g, 26mm, 6h, ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΣ_ΕΠΙ ΠΛΑΝΚΙΟΥ ΟΑΥΡΟΥ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΦΡΥΓΙΑΣ ΑΠΑΜΕΙΣ, sheaf of five ears of corn

66

Vespasian. AU Aureus, 74 AD 19mm 7.18 g Rome mint_; Reverse: FORTVNA AVGVST, Fortuna, on altar, holding 'rudder' and cornucopiae. The rudder was another important symbol for boat

67

Flavia Domitilla daughter of Vespasian, here called DIVA DOMITILLA AUGUSTA [Goddess Domitilla Empress], at that time an unprecedented elevation of a woman; mother of Saint Domitilla, one of the very earliest saints of Christianity

68

Flavia Julia Divi Titi [Flavia Julia daughter of the God Titus], AR Cistophoric Tetradrachm Ephesus; Reverse: Vesta holding palladium and sceptre. Before the Flavian Dynasty, there have never appeared so many women on official coins

69

Flavia Julia Divi Titi, daughter of Titus, AU Aureus, posthumous issue 7.47g hair massed high in front, long plait behind; Reverse: peacock in splendour. The peacock is known as Christian symbol

Fig. 60-69: Coins of the 1st Flavian Dynasty (69-96 AD). After the victory over the Jews comes a surprise: The Flavians minted messianist symbols claiming that they are the new messiahs.

IMAGE PLATE No. 48

70

Flavia Domitia Longina wife of Domitian in her later years; AU Aureus Rome c.88-89 AD, long plait down back of neck, with necklace; Reverse: peacock as Christian symbol

71

Flavia Domitia Longina wife of Domitian, C Sestertius Rome 81-82AD; Domitia holding sceptre, extending hand to child standing before her. This coin might commemorate Domitian's and her child that died early

72

Titus Denarius (80 AD) IMP TITVS CAES VESPASIAN AVG P M; Reverse: Jewish messianic symbolism: dolphin [as fish] coiled around an anchor

73

Titus Denarius (80 AD) IMP T CAES VESPASIAN AVG; Reverse: Roman victor with defeated enemy before him

74

Domitian AR denarius (c.88-96 AD), 3.51g; Domitian's infant son as a young Jupiter on globe, hands reached toward 7 stars

75

Domitian as Augustus AR Denarius Rome mint (81 AD); Reverse: Jewish symbols: dolphin [as fish] entwined around anchor

76

Simon Bar Kokhba AE coin, war year 1 (132-3 AD), 4,87g 'L'ZR HKWHN 'Eleazar.priest' beneath the palm tree with dates; Reverse: HT LG'LT YSHRL 'Year 1 of Israel's redemption' round the grapes

77

Simon Bar Kochba, 3rd Jewish-Roman War, Year 2 (133-134 AD), Temple with messianic star above as symbol for Kokhba's military leadership; Sela, ritual handwash jar

78

Simon Bar Kokhba silver coin struck from a silver denarius of Flavius Domitianus; Grapes; Jewish ritual handwash jar

79

Bar Kochba AR Zuz-Denarius (134-135 AD), 2 trumpets, text: 'To the freedom of Jerusalem'; lyre, text: 'Year 2 to the freedom of Israel'

Fig. 70-75: The Jewish-Christian symbols on Flavian coins suggest that they promoted two new religions: Roman Judaism and Christianity. After the assassination of Domitianus, the entire Flavian family was probably murdered. Fig. 76-79: Messianic coins in Phoenician, 3rd Roman-Jewish War.

IMAGE PLATE No. 49

80

Bar Kokhba AR-Zuz, yr 2 133-4AD 3,41g SHM 'listen' in wreath SH B
Phoenician text: LEER YSHRL 'Year 2 of Israel's freedom', lyre

81

Bar Kokhba AR-Zuz, yr 2 133-4AD 3,41g SHM 'listen' in wreath_SH B
Phoenician text: LEER YSHRL 'Year 2 of Israel's freedom', palm frond

82

Bar Kochba AR Zuz-Denarius 134-135AD Grape bunch on vine,
Phoenician text: 'Shimon', palm branch 'to the freedom of Jerusalem'

83

AE sestercius to commemorate Hadrian's victory over Simon Bar
Kokhba's War against the Romans; Reverse: IVDAEA

84

Axum coins of Endybis (227–235 AD), Left: ΑΞΩΜΙΤΩ ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC
Emperor of Axum, Right ΕΝΔΥΒΙC ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC Emperor Endybis,
Notice the messianic symbols crescent and star above the head.
Judaism had a strong influence on Axum for a long time

85

Axum king Ezana, also spelled Aezana or Aizan (320s–360 AD)
styled himself 'king of Saba and Salhen, Himyar and Dhu-Raydan';
Messianic crescent and star above head. He converted to Christianity
and risked a war with the Jews (the Beta Israel), which he lost

86

Axum king Aphilas (early 4th century AD) Predecessor Endubis
Successor Wazeba, Greek inscription, Crescent and star

87

Axum coin of king Aphilas (early 4th century AD), his Predecessor
was Endubis and his Successor Wazeba, Crescent and star above

88

Axum king Aphilas early (4th century AD), his Predecessor was
Endubis and his Successor Wazeba, Greek inscription,
messianic crescent and star above his head

89

Axumite king Ousas, specifically a one third solidus,17mm, 1.50g,
Christian symbolism: cross above head

Fig. 80-83: Coins minted by Simon Bar Kokhba's Messianic Movement, 3rd Roman-Jewish War. After the murder of the Flavian family, Trajan and Hadrian ignored the Flavians' religious reforms and ran right into the next wars. Fig. 84-89: Coins of the Axumite Empire with Messianic symbols.

IMAGE PLATE No. 50

90

AU coin King Eon (c.400 AD), 1.5g, 18mm; Obverse: Crowned Eon; Christian symbolism: cross above head

91

AU coin King Eon (c.400 AD), 1.5g, 18mm, Obverse: Crowned Eon, Reverse: Eon with head cloth; cross above head

92

Axum king Israel [Ethiopian Ge'ez language: Yisrael], (c.590 AD), the Kebra Negest states "Kaleb had two sons, Gabra Masqal and Israel", Christian symbolism: cross above head

93

Axum king Gersem (successor of king Israel), (600 AD) Christian symbolism: large cross within wreath

94

Sassanid-Gold coin of Ardashir I "the great lion" "the great lion" ("Arde" = great; "shir" = lion), Pahlavi language in Aramaic script [called Middle Persian], Zoroastrian fire column as purity symbol

95

Sassanid silver drachma of Emperor Ardashir I, struck at the Hamadan finest mint quality, dated c. 238–239 AD, bust with helmet, long hair and beard; Reverse: Zoroastrian fire column with flames as purity symbol

96

AR Ardashir I, Artaxerxes V of Persis c.205-224AD, Aramaic Pahlavi legend 'God Ardaxir, King'; Sasan 'Son of God Papak, King'; on both sides the crowned head of Shapur with crescent and star in the crown

97

Coin of Sassanid Emperor Ardashir I (r. 224–242) and his son Shapur I (r. 240-270); legend in Aramaic script. From Ardashir, we have The Book of the Deeds, from Shapur several rock inscriptions

98

Sassanid coin of Emperor Shapur I with eagle-headed crown; Reverse: Zoroastrian fire column with a guard on each side, flames as symbol for purity, legend in Aramaic script.

99

Sassanid emperor Yazdegerd I 399–420 AD, son of Shapur III r.383–388 AD, he is the successor of his assassinated brother Bahram IV r.388–399; messianic crescent and star above forehead

Fig. 90-93: Axumite Coins (Ethiopia, Eritraea). Axum had long relations with Jews and Christians. Fig. 94-99: Persian coins of the Sassanid Dynasty (built: early 200s AD), with crescent and star. Since the era of Darius I the Great ("the Messiah"), Persian Zoroastrians were allied to the Jews.

IMAGE PLATE No. 51

100

Sassanid coin of Sindh (northwestern India) 5th century, Uncertain Hunnic chieftain, Zoroastrian fire column with guards; messianic crescent above forehead and above helmet

101

Gold denar of Emperor Khosrow II, r. 591–628, mint 611. Obverse: Crowned bust of Khosrow II Pahlavi-Aramaic text, crescent and star above; Reverse: (probably) the Empress

102

Diocletian AU Pre-Reform Aureus, Cyzicus c.285 AD; Reverse: Sol standing left, raising right hand and holding globe. His wife Prisca and their daughter Galeria Valeria were Christians. So the question here is: Which Christian groups did he persecute?

103

Galeria Valeria AU Aureus, mark SIS, c.309 AD, GAL VALE RIA AVG, Reverse: crescent left. She was a Christian and married Galerius, one of the Roman "Tetrarchs" of the 4th century. Venus holding globe; and the messianic crescent and star appear again on a Roman coin

104

Constantius I Chlorus, as Caesar, AU Aureus 293AD; Reverse: Hercules holding club and fruits, mark SMAS + tiny messianc star [perhas] for Helena, his Christian wife and mother of Constantinus I (Constantine the Great)

105

Flavia Helena AU Solidus, Nicomedia Mark SMN, FL[avia] HELENA AVGVSTA; Reverse: Securitas holding olivebranch. She was a Christian. That her son Constantinus I was "the first Christian" Roman ruler is only half true. Most ruling families were Christians already

106

Gaius Galerius Valerius Maximianus, AR Argenteus, Antioch 294-295AD, he was made Caesar by Diocletian in 294 and married his daughter Galeria Valeria; Roman emperor 305-311. 4 rulers of the Tetrarchy stand in an archway, Left: a messianic star, right: a H

107

Valerius Licinianus Licinius (Roman emperor 308-324, died 325 AD) AU aureus, Antioch 321 AD, 21mm, 5.28g; Jupiter holding Victoria on globe SIC V SIC X, Mintmark SMAN E, tiny messianic star on the right

108

Galerius Valerius Maximinus, Roman emperor from 310 to 313 AU Aureus Antioch, Reverse: Jupiter holding thunderbolt and sceptre, eagle at foot, Mintmark: tiny messianic crescent, SMAZ, and little messianic star

109

Flavius Constantinus I as Greek god, AU solidus, mark N = Nicomedia at 325-326 AD; Rev: 2 wreaths and messianic star, 250 years after Flavius Vespasianus, he adopted the name "Flavius" probably to show that he was to continue Vespasian's Christianisation

Fig. 100-101: Sassanid Coins, 6th - 7th centuries AD. Fig. 102-109: Coins of the 2nd Flavian Dynasty.

IMAGE PLATE No. 52

110

Flavius Constantinus II AU Solidus 337-347 AD Antioch; Victoria holding trophy, palm branch, messianic star left, LXXII right, Mintmark SMAN S. He ruled over the eastern half of the empire.

111

Flavius Julius Constans (c. 323-350, Roman emperor 337-350 AD) AR Siliqua 20mm 3.59g 337-340AD Siscia FL IVL CONSTANS P F AVG, diadem. 3 vertical palm branches, messianic star above

112

Flavius Julius Constans, AU 2 Solidi, 32mm, 8.82g, Aquileia mint-mark SMAQ, FL[avius] IVL CONSTANS PIVS FELIX AVG; Constans holding XP (ChR = Christ) military standard, he ruled the West, his brother Constantinus II the East of the Roman Empire

113

Flavius Claudius Julianus II [younger son of Julius Constantius] as Caesar, AU Solidus, 355-360AD, Antioch Mark SMAN E, 4.40g, 20.8mm; Roma holding spear, sceptre, foot on prow, messianic star on shield. He did not like the partly illogical Christian teachings

114

Immitation of an Eastern Roman coin, era of Flavius Heraclius 610-641 AD, AE IB = 12 Nummi, Alexandrian Mintmark ΑΛΕΞ, struck during Sassanid occupation 618-628 AD by Emperor Khusro II, bust of Khusru II with cross, messianic star, crescent

115

Roman Emperor Flavius Heraclius, AE 610-641AD, minted in Alexandria, Egypt, no legend, Palm tree with fruits hanging on lower branch, Large S for 6 Nummi

116

Flavius Heraclius (610-641 AD) and his son Flavius Heraclius Constantinus II, AU Solidus, 4.49g, minted in Constantinople, VICTORIA AVGU, cross between father and son, cross on 4 steps

117

Constantinus II (son of Flavius Heraclius), AV Solidus. minted in Constantinople struck 641AD+. DN CONSTANTINUS PP AVG, wearing crown, chlamys, holding cross globe

118

Heraclius AE pentanummium Catania 610-623 11.8mm 1.95g; Reverse: underlined V for Pentanummium, star on the left, star on the right, Mintmark CAT

119

Heraclius AE Follis Sicilian Large M (40 nummi), star on the left, cross above, and star on the right mintmark SCL in circular stamp below

Fig. 110-119: Coins of the 2nd Flavian (Constantine) Dynasty. The Messianic Star appears again.

IMAGE PLATE No. 53

120

Heraclius AE pentanummium Catania 610-623 11.8mm 1.95g; Reverse: underlined V for Pentanummium, messianic star on the left, messianic star on the right, Mintmark CAT

121

Heraclius AE Follis Sicilian Large M (40 nummi), star on the left, cross above, and messianic star on the right mintmark SCL in circular stamp below

122

Heraclius 610-641AD AE IB (=12 Nummi), Mintmark ΑΛΕΞ for Alexandria struck during Sassanid occupation 618-628AD by Khusro II; bust of Khusru II, cross, messianic star and crescent

123

Heraclius and Heraclius Constantinus AU Solidus Jerusalem mint, cross betw heads, cross on 3 steps, messianic star right, mintmark CONOB for Constantinople

124

1st Islamic Gold dinar, Umayyad Caliph Abd al-Malik c.685–705 AD One of the very few Images of an early Islamic ruler: Caliph Abd Al-Malik, 694-695 AD reads Khalifa of God, Commander of the Faithful; Right: A Glass-coin weight of Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan

125

Arab immitation of an Eastern Roman Standard coin, AE fals = 40 nummi, 2.93g, Amman, ND, Obverse Image: Caliph Abd al-Malik with arms, c. 693-700 AD; Reverse: capital M for 40 nummi.

126

Arab immitation of an Eastern Roman AE fals, c. 693-700 AD, 4.43g Standing Caliph Abd al-Malik, messianic star left, mint name right of column on 4 steps, al Malik used language as weapon by making Arabic government language, ousting Jews, Christians and others

127

Arab immitation of an Eastern Roman AU solidus 4.21g, indiction XI = 713 AD, blundered Roman text, EF; Reverse: Governor Musa b. Nusayr mint Spain; the messianic star clearly suggests that Islam saw itself as successor of the Jewish Messianic Movement

128

Umayyad Arab immitation of an Eastern Roman Solidus by Mu'awiyah I. 661–680 imitates solidus of Heraclius 610–641; the Christian cross was reduced to a kind of (Zoroastrian) column

129

Original of an Eastern Roman Solidus by Flavius Heraclius 610–641 AD, complete cross; It seems that the ideology of Islam at that time was not so clear-cut as told to us by Islamic scholars

Fig. 120-123: Coins of the 2nd Flavian Dynasty. Fig. 124-129: The first Islamic coins were modelled after the Roman coins of the 2nd Flavians. Muslims claimed the Messianic star now for themselves.

IMAGE PLATE No. 54

130

Arab immitation of an Eastern Roman AU solidus by Mu'awiya, 4.27g), large & small busts, short beard (originally Heraclius and his son Heraclius Constantine); Reverse: 4-steped potest with column with Ionian capitel, blundered Greek, AΘ after AYΓΓ with Greek I

131

Original of an Eastern Roman Solidus with Flavius Heraclius and his son Flavius Heraclius Constantinus, 610-641 AD, AU Solidus minted in Constantinople; Reverse: VICTORIA AVGU and officina letter, complete cross (not a column!) on 4 steps; I right, mint CONOB

132

Roman Emperor Flavius Justinianus I. holding globus cruciger and shield, 527-565 AD. Æ Half Follis 11.19g, 7h, minted in Constantinople, Reverse: ANNO XII = reign Year 12 = 539AD, K = 20 nummi, cross

133

Roman Emperor Flavius Leontios, AU Solidus, r. 695–698) bust holding a globus cruciger; Reverse: VICTORIA AUGUS, cross on 4 steps, mintmark CONOB, minted in Constantinople

134

Arab-Sassanid Mu'awiya, 661-680 AR drachm 4.11g, DA Darabjird, year 43 AH = 663-664 AD, 4 crescents and messianic stars on each side

135

Arab-Sassanid Abd Allah b. Amir c.661-664 AR drachm 4.01g, DA Darabjird struck, 43 AH = 663-664 AD, fire on column 4 messianic stars and crescents on each side

136

Arab-Sassanid Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan, 665-673 AD, AR drachm 2.78g, YZ Yazd, 50AH = 670-671 AD, margin clipped down to post-reform standard

137

Arab-Sassanid Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan 665-673 AD, AR drachm 2.50g, BYSh Bishapur AH51 = 671-672 AD, margin clipped down to later standard

138

Arab-Sassanid Ubayd Allah b. Ziyad 673-683 AD AR drachm 3.73g SYWN, 60 AH = 680 AD.

139

Arab-Sassanid Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr 680-692 AR drachm 3.93g DA+P Fasa, 60 AH = 680 AD, al-Zubair opposed Umayyads

Fig. 130-133: Coins of the 2nd Flavian Dynasty. Fig. 134-139: First Islamic coins of Persia, with Messianic star and crescent. After the Roman victory over the Persians in 623 AD, Persia was paralysed by plague and famine. Between 637 and 651 AD, the Arab Muslims conquered Persia.

IMAGE PLATE No. 55

140

Arab-Sassanid Umar b. Ubayd Allah, 686-691 AD, AR drachm 4.06g
BYSh Bishapur 70 AH

141

Arab-Sassanid Ubayd Allah b. Abi Bakra 698-699, AR drachm 3.69g,
SK Sijistan, 80 AH

142

Arab-Sassanid, c. 7th century AD, AU Solidus, 19mm, 1.71g,
12h, Immitated. Constantinople style with likenesses of Flavius
Heraclius. & Heraclius Constabtinus, degraded legends
Reverse: Large Cross flanked by 2 crosses

143

Islamic gold dinar of Abd al-Malik, minted in Damascus in
697-698 AD, Style with no images but only writing was
introduced at about 693 AD

144

Umayyad Abd al-Malik 685-705 AU dinar 3.25g NM Dimashq
(Damascus), 79 AH = 698-699 AD, margin clipped down

145

Umayyad coin by Caliph Abd al-Malik 685-705, AR dirham,
2.63g, minted in al-Kufa, Egypt, 80 AH = 699-700 AD

146

Umayyad Caliph Abd al-Malik, 685-705 AU dinar 4.20g,
NM Dimashq (Damascus) 80 AH = 699-700 AD

147

Umayyad al-Walid I 705-715, AU dinar 4.21g, NM Dimashq
(Damascus), minted 90 AH = 709-710 AD

148

Dinar, reign of Fatimid Emir Al-Mu'izz li-Din Allah in Mansuriyah,
Tunisia 344 AH = 955 AD, Arabic text arragenged in three circles.
Islam hoped to conquer Roman lands - they still strive for this goal

149

Sicily, Roger II, reigned 1140-1154 AD, AU tari 1.15g, Messina;
Reverse: large cross; In 965 Sicily was conquered by Arab Muslims, in
1060 by Normans, who eliminated Islam by re-Latinising the island.

Fig. 140-141: Islamic coins of Persia. Fig. 142-149: After Mohammed (570-632 AD), his successors were engulfed in civil war for around 60 years, Islamic warlords conquered in hundreds of wars the Middle East, the southern Mediterranean, Persia, and parts of the Roman Empire, India and Central Asia, and fought against each other. Caliph Abd al-Malik minted the first Islamic coins in c. 685 AD.

IMAGE PLATE No. 56

150

Roman gold coins excavated in Pudukottai, India: (1st) AU Aureus of Augustus Caesar (27 BC - 19 AD) adoptive son of the Roman God Julius Caesar, (2nd) AU Aureus of Caligula (31-41 AD) and (3rd + 4th) two AU Aurei of Nero (54-68 AD)

151

Roman Gold coins found in other places: (1st) AU Aureus of Claudius (c. 50 AD) excavated in South India, (2nd) Trajan AU Aureus found in Ahinposh, Buddhist monastery in Afghanistan, together with coins of Kanishka, (3rd) AU Aureus of Justinian I (527-565 AD) excavated in southern India, (4th) Indian 2nd century AD immitation of an AU Aureus of DIVA Annia Galeria Faustina (130-175, wife of Marcus Aurelius)

152

Silver und Bronze coins: (1st) AE Sestercius, Constantius II 337–361 AD, Yecheng (Kargilik), Xinjiang, China, near Kashgar, (2nd) AR Denarius, Tiberius (14-37 AD), found in India, (3rd) Indian immitation, 1st century AD, (4th) Kushan copy of Augustus

153

Other Roman coins: (1st) 1st century AD Indian imitation of a coin of Augustus, (2nd) Bronze imitation of Roman coin from Sri Lanka or southern India (4th to 8th centuries AD), (3rd + 4th) Sri Lankan imitations of 4th century Roman coins (4th to 8th centuries AD)

154

Coins found in China and Japan: (1st) AU Solidus of Flavius Anastasius I (430–518 AD) found in the tomb of Emperor Jiemin (498–532 AD) of Northern Wei, Luoyang, Henan Province, China, (2nd) AU Solidus Flavius Justinus I (518-527; uncle of Flavius Justinianus writer of the Codex Justinianus in 534 AD) found inside a Chinese tomb near Luoyang, China, (3rd +4th) Bronze coin of Flavius Constantius II (337-361AD, son of Constantine the Great.), Right: Ottoman copper coin, Hijra date 1099 AH (1687-1688 AD), both found in Katsuren Castle, Okinawa, Japan

Fig. 150-154: Roman coins found in India, China, and Japan show that no civilisation is isolated. The data, images, and texts in The Grand Bible also show that most cultures influence one another.

SCRIPT

DOCUMENTATION

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SCRIPT IDENTIFICATION CHARTS

There can be no doubt, the invention of writing ranks among the most important in history. Whilst language itself is the foundation of civilisation and subsequently its culture (with all its facettes, called religion, ethics, law, art, technology, and the ways to make a living), writing has enabled men for the very first time to "record" their own thoughts and feelings. Thus a person can become almost immortal through his recorded thoughts. It is the same line of development that is later extended by inventions that has led to mould and printing press, the photograph, the motion picture, sound recordings for the gramophone, CD, DVD and modern Information Technology.
There also can be no doubt that the invention of the alphabet has revolutionised writing as it breaks down our speech into its smallest possible parts. The first writing systems invariably have all appeared as pictograms, logograms, hieroglyphs, abugidas or syllable writings. Their shortcomings are their numerous characters and their combinations that can range from a few hundred up to 50,000 characters in Chinese. The Alphabet has removed the burden and costs of memorising too many signs because an alphabet consists only of a few dozen letters. It makes education all-embracing and generally possible and thus fosters democratisation of our societies. Before that, any human has been confined to his or her spoken language only.

It is language that makes a person, it is language that makes a civilisation, it is a particular language that makes a human tick. This is the very reason why the particular language of an author is considered almost sacred and translations are usually vilified.
Long time ago, old (hi)stories were conveyed from one generation to the next by the spoken words of the teacher. Those words had to be memorised by the learner. And so, the learner grew into a teacher who repeated the same process.
However, human memorisation capabilities lack consistancy caused by limitations of biological nature. People who try to memorise the entire Bible have proven this fact. To take any scripture "literal" is therefore unhelpful. The written text always will differ from the original when a person is forced to write down all the memorised text, however well such a person has memorised a very large bulk of text like the Bible.
Early Muslims used a trick to circumvent the difficulties of memorising a text: They invented the Koran, the so-called "Recital", which was nothing less but a smart memorisation notebook that recorded its Jewish origin as well as the thoughts and deeds of Mohammed. With only 65% of the size of the New Testament, the Koranic text is short and easier to memorise than the Bible. It contains almost no complete narrative but only short notes known as "verses". Understanding the Koran is therefore extremely difficult. A person can only memorise the Koran well and understand it by reading the "extra information" which is recorded in the Sira and the Hadith, the so-called Mohammedan traditions, which account for about 86% of the entire Islamic teachings.

To produce any kind of text by hand, and this with the utmost consistancy, is one of the most complex skills that humans can undertake. The shape of characters is defined by the tools available to the scribe and the material which they are written, carved, pressed or otherwise applied on. Therefore a carving in stone might differ from writing on papyrus. Bear in mind, the style of "writing" (lit. scratching) is also defined by the skill (handwriting) of the scribe as well as by tradition. These are the main factors that explain the development of writing systems.

The following Image Plates have been added to the Grand Bible to give interested readers the chance to identify coins, ostraca (pottery chips), stelae and other archaeological artefacts with writing on them. We have arranged all abjads, alphabets and abugidas in the original Semitic order. The development and also the relationship that each script may have with another one becomes clearer to see.

IMPORTANT WRITING SYSTEMS, ABJAD SCRIPTS AND ALPHABETS

Indo-Europeans adopted Phoenician, an Abjad script. Abjad systems have a flaw: They do not show vowels.
By inventing new signs for displaying vowels, Greeks and Romans created the first true Alphabets.

Egyptian hieroglyphs 34th c. BC

- **Hieratic** (Egyptian Hieroglyphs in "cursive" or shorthand writing style) 32nd c. BC
  - Demotic (Egyptian) 7th c. BC
    - Meroitic (Nubian, Sudan) 3rd c. BC
- **Proto-Sinaitic** 19th c. BC
  - Ugaritic (Cuneiform Abjad Script, Assyria, Syria) 15th c. BC
  - Epigraphic South Arabian 9th c. BC
    - Ge'ez (Axum = Ethiopia, Eritrea) 5–6th c. BC
  - **Phoenician** (Lebanon, Canaanite, Israelite, Carthage, Mesopotamia) 12th c. BC
    - Paleo-Hebrew (Canaanite, Israelite) 10th c. BC
      - Samaritan 7th c. BC
    - Libyco-Berber (Phoenician-based Abjad Script) 6th c. BC
      - Tifinagh (Tuareg, Northwest Africa, Canary Islands) 5th c. BC
    - Palaeohispanic (semi-syllabic) 7th c. BC
    - **Aramaic** (Assyrian Empire, Middle East, Persia, India, China) 8th c. BC
      - Kharosthi (Bactrian, northwest Indian) 4th c. BC
      - Brahmi (north Indian) 4th c. BC
        - Brahmic family
          - Tibetan 7th c. AD
          - Devanagari (Burmese, Thai etc.) 10th c. AD
      - Hebrew (Square Script, Central Judaea) 3rd c. BC
      - Elymaic / Elamaic (Iran) 3rd c. BC
      - Pahlavi (Iran) 3rd c. BC
        - Avestan (Iran) 4th c. AD
      - Palmyrene (Syria) 2nd c. BC
      - Syriac-Aramaic (Syria, Central Asia, Silk Road, China) 2nd c. BC
        - Nabataean (north Arabian, Petra, Al Madain) 2nd c. BC
          - Arabic 4th c. AD
        - Sogdian (Usbekistan) 2nd c. BC
          - Orkhon (old Turkic-Mongolian) 6th c. AD
            - Old Hungarian (west Mongolian) c. 650 AD
          - Old Uyghur
            - Mongolian 1204 AD
      - Mandaic (Persia) 2nd c. AD
    - **Greek** (Greece, Asia Minor, East Roman Empire) 8th c. BC
      - Etruscan (Italic) 8th c. BC
        - Roman (Italic) 7th c. BC
        - Runic (Germanic) 2nd c. AD
        - Ogham (origin uncertain) 4th c. AD
      - Coptic (Greek-Egyptian Script) 3rd c. AD
      - Gothic (Germanic) 3rd c. AD
      - Armenian 405 AD
      - Caucasian Albanian (origin uncertain) c. 420 AD
      - Georgian (origin uncertain) c. 430 AD
      - Glagolitic 862 AD
      - Cyrillic (Slavonic, Romanian) c. 940 AD
        - Old Permic 1372 AD
- **Hanzi** (Chinese Logographic Script; Oracle bone script from the Shang Dynasty) 13th c. BC
  - Kanji (Japanese Script, used together with the phonetic Hiragana script) 5th c. AD
  - Hangul (Korean Script, alphabetised and phonetic script) 1443 AD
- **Olmec** Logographic Script (Earliest inscriptions found in La Venta, Monument 13, Mexico) 7th c. BC
  - Mesoamerican Logographic Script (Monte Alban, Teotihuacan, Mexico) 4th and 3rd c. BC
  - Maya Logographic Script (Earliest inscriptions, San Bartolo, Guatemala) 3rd c. BC

LETTER NAMES AND THEIR MEANING

All Semitic characters bear Egyptian names as well as names from Mesopotamia. This is an indication of their origin. The Bible itself confirms its origin by stating that Abraham (which is likely to be a personified name for a tribe) came from Ur of the Chaldees (Hebrew: Ur Kasidim*; Genesis 11:28, 11:31, 15:7) a city in Sumer, and went to Egypt. Moses (together with his Canaanite tribe) came from (Avaris in) Egypt; the name Mose is Egyptian for "son", "child"; Semitic: ben, bar, bin. (* The contemporary name *Kasidim* or *Kashdim* refers to the Aramaic speaking Kashdu people who lived in Sumer from the 9th to the 6th centuries BC. This indicates that the Torah was composed not before that time.)

The letter names appear in scriptures without further explanation because when the texts were written, the meaning of those letter names were still well-known. Some Koran verses, for example, begin with these names. Each name stands for either an important thing of daily use or for a significant thought that could be connected to it.

Phoenician c. 1200 BC	**Yemenite** c. 900 BC	**Greek** c. 900 BC	**Aramaic** c. 900 BC	**Hebrew** c. 400 BC	**Arabic** c. 500 AD	**Meaning** (in brackets figurative)	**IPA** Range
āleph	ālep	alpha	ālap	alef	alif	cattle (wealth)	ʔ ; aː, eː
bēth	bēth	beta	bēth	bet	bā	house (home, safety)	b, β
gīmel	gāmal, ghayn	gamma	gāmal	gimel	jīm, ǧayn	camel** throwing stick* (move, transport)	g, ɣ
dāleth	dālet, dhadhe	delta	dālath	dalet	dād, dāl	door, fish** (food)	d, ð
hē	hē	epsilon	hē	he	hā	window, (joy**, light)	ɦ
wāw	wāw	digamma, upsilon	waw	waw, vav	wāw	hook (rest, calm)	w; oː, uː
zayin	zayn	zeta	zain	zayin	zāyn, zā	weapon; see ****1**	z
hēth, chet	hēt	(h)eta	hēth	chet, het	hā	walled yard **	ʜ χ
tsēth	tsēt	theta	tsēth	tet	thā	wheel***1** (perfection)	tˤ
yōdh	yōd	iota	yodh	yod	yā	arm, hand (strength)	j; iː, eː
kaf, kaph	kāph	kappa	kāp	kaf, ka, kheth	kāf, kā	palm of hand (skill, ability, technique)	k, x
lāmedh	lāmad	lambda	lāmadh	lamed	lām	goad***2** (teach)	l
mēm	mīm	mu	mem	mem	mīm	water (life)	m
nun	nūn	nu	nun	nun	nūn	fish, eel, snake****3** (danger)	n
sāmekh	semkat	xi	semkath	samech	sīn	pillar (sustain, support)	s
ayin	ayn	omicron	ayin, ē	ayin		eye (see, look, view)	ʕ ʁ
pē	pē, fē	pi	pē	pe	fā	mouth; angle, corner**	p, ɸ
tsādē	tsādē, sat	san	tsādhē	tsade	sād	papyrus, fishing hook**	sˤ
qōph	qōp	qoppa	qop	qof	qāf	eye of a needle (create) (impossible thought)	qˤ
rēsh	rēsh	rho	rēsh	resh	rā	head (mind)	r
shīn	shīn	sigma	shin	shin	shīn	tooth, sun** (god, faith)	ʃ
tāw	taw	tau	taw	tav	tā	mark (sign, symbol)	t, θ
	thaw = θ	phi					
	theth = θ	chi					
	teth = θ	psi					
	dhaleth = ð	omega					

(* according to the connotation of Egyptian hieroglyphs.) / (** according to Theodor Nöldeke, Kurzgefasste Syrische Grammatik, 1880, Compendious Syriac Grammar, 1904. The word "Syriac" here means Aramaic, Phoenician, etc.)

1 **zayn = weapon = war; also: manacle, shakles = a word for security, safety, imprisonment.
2 (c**)**het** = courtyard / wall. = The letters ***he*** and ***hēt*** come from three Proto-Sinaitic letters, ***hasir*** "courtyard", ***hillul*** "jubilation" and ***hayt*** "thread". The shape of ***hēt*** comes from ***hasir*** "courtyard", but the name comes from ***hayt*** "thread". The shape of ***he*** comes from ***hillul*** "jubilation" or "joy" but the name itself means "window".
*1 = **wheel** = The glyph was taken to represent a wheel, but it possibly comes from the hieroglyph **n-f-r** = ***nefer*** and would originally have been called ***tab*** = "good". It is the Egyptian hieroglyph for "perfect, complete" (with the extended meanings of "good, pleasant, well, beautiful").
*2 = **goad** = to drive as with a goad; spur, incite, provoke (a goad is a sharp pointed stick for urging on cattle, etc.) The root **l-m-d** mainly means "to teach", from an original meaning "to goad" (H3925 in Strong's Exhaustive Concordance to the Bible, 1979.) The KJV has 86 translations of the word **l-m-d**. The KJV translates ***lamad*** according to Strong's entry H3925 in the following manner: teach (56x), learn (22x), instruct (3x), diligently (1x), expert (1x), skilful (1x), teachers (1x), unaccustomed (with H3808) (1x).
3 = **nun = the letter name ***nūn*** is a word for "fish" (perhaps eel), but the glyph is presumably from the depiction of a snake, which would point to an original name for "snake" and therefore might also represent "danger".

LORD HENFIELD'S SCRIPT IDENTIFICATION CHART No. 1

PHOENICIAN

		UC	EARLY PHOENICIAN												MIDDLE PHOENICIAN					LATE PHOENICIAN / PUNIC							
Name	**IPA Range**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	**13**	**14**	**15**	**16**	**17**	**18**	**19**	**20**	**21**	**22**	**23**	**24**	**25**
ālep	ʾ, ʔ, a																									
bēt	b, v																									
gīmel	g, ɣ, ɟ, ɣ																									
dālet	d, ð																									
hē	h, e																									
wāw	w, v, y, u																									
zayin	z, ʒ																									
(c)het	h, x, ħ, ḥ																									
tēt	t, ṭ, tˁ, θ																									
yōd, yud	y, j, i, e																									
kaf, kap	k, x																									
lāmed	l, ɬ																									
mēm	m																									
nun	n																									
sāmek(h)	s																									
ayin	ʿ, ʕ, ʢ, ʔˤ																									
pē	p, ɸ, f																									
(t)sādē	ts, ʂ, sˤ																									
qōp	q, k, g, ʔ																									
rēsh	r, ɾ, ʁ, ʀ																									
shin	ʃ, ʃˈ, š, s																									
tāw	t, θ																									
	Vowels:																									
	a, ə																									
	(h)ə																									
	i, ʕ, ə																									
	u, o																									

UC: 1 UGARITIC CUNEIFORM, the oldest known true alphabet from the harbour city of Ugarit, northern Phoenicia, 1500 BC; From 3000 BC, Ugarit was Mesopotamia's link to the Mediterranean Sea.

EARLY PHOENICIAN ABJADS (developed out of the Ugaritic Alphabet combined with symbols from Egyptian hieroglyphs and Demotic): **2** Arrowheads from Lebanon c. 1200 BC; **3** Byblos, Ahiram Inscription c. 1000 BC; **4** Jerusalem, Gezer Calendar c. 1000 BC; **5** Inscription from Judah c. 1000 BC; **6** Cursive Script, Samaria ostraca c. 8th century BC; **7** Hebrew Seals, Judah and Israel c. 8th century BC, **8** Siloam Inscription, Jerusalem Tunnel c. 7th century BC; **9** Punic Inscription Mozia stele, Sicily c. 6th century BC; **10** Punic script, Carthage, Zeugitania c. 6th century BC; **11** Inscription from Abu Simbel (Ipsambul), Egypt; **12** Inscription from Abydos, Egypt. **MIDDLE PHOENICIAN ABJADS: 13** Byblos, Phoenicia, Lebanon; **14** Sidon, Phoenicia, Lebanon; **15** Mesha Inscription, from Moab, southwestern Jordan, c. 4th century BC; **16** CIS I 10-96 from Larnaka, Cyprus; **17** Inscription from Greece; **LATE PHOENICIAN / PUNIC ABJADS: 18** Inscription CIS I 132 Malta; **19** Inscription CIS I 143 from Sardinia; **20** Inscription CIS I 165 from Marseille, France; **21** Inscription Taff 12-14, Carthage, Tunis, Tunisia, northern Africa; **22** Jewish Messianic Coins c. 2nd century BC to 2nd century AD; **23** East Canaanite inscription from Amman, Jordan, c. 4th century BC; **24** Cirta, (Roman: Constantina Cirtensium), northwestern Algeria; **25** Inscriptions from Hadrumetum, a Phoenician colony in Sousse, c. 150km south of Tunis, Tunisia.

IMAGE PLATE No. 57

LORD HENFIELD'S SCRIPT IDENTIFICATION CHART No. 2

GREEK AND ITALIC

			GREEK													ITALIC						
Name	**IPA Range**	**Symbols**	**26**	**27**	**28**	**29**	**30**	**31**	**32**	**33**	**34**	**35**	**36**	**37**	**38**	**39**	**40**	**41**	**42**	**43**	**44**	**45**
alpha	a, aː	Α α																				
beta	b, (v)	Β β																				
gamma	g, ŋ, (ɣ, ɟ)	Γ γ																				
delta	d, (ð)	Δ δ																				
epsilon	e	Ε ε																				
digamma	w	Ϝ ϝ Ϛ																				
zeta	zd, dz	Ζ ζ																				
(h)eta	ɛː	Η η Ͱ ͱ																				
theta	t, tʰ, (θ)	Θ θ																				
iota	i, iː	Ι ι																				
kappa	k	Κ κ																				
lambda	l	Λ λ																				
mu	m	Μ μ																				
nu	n	Ν ν																				
xi	ks	Ξ ξ																				
omicron	o	Ο ο																				
pi	p	Π π																				
san	s	Ϻ ϸ Ϡ ϡ																				
qoppa	k	Ϙ ϙ ϟ																				
rho	r	Ρ ρ																				
sigma	s, z	Σ σ ς Ϲ ϲ																				
tau	t	Τ τ																				
phi	pʰ, (f)	Φ φ																				
chi	kʰ (x, ç)	Χ χ																				
psi	ps	Ψ ψ																				
omega	ɔː	Ω ω																				
upsilon	y, yː, u	Υ υ																				

The Phoenician Script spread in the Mediterranean over a vast area that was 6,000 km (4,000 mi) long and 2,000 km (1,400 km) wide. The Semitic Phoenician abjads (scripts without vowels) developed into Greek and Italic alphabets with vowels. Reason: The Semitic grammar is based on consonants while the grammar of Indo-European languages such as Greek, Italic, Iranian, and Indic, are based on vowels. The Latin adjective bonus "good" as example shows clearly that Indo-European languages need letters for vowels: bone (m. sg. voc.), boni (m. sg. gen.), bono (m. sg. dat.), bona (f. sg. abl.), bonae (f. sg. dat.).

The **GREEK ALPHABETS: 26** Halikarnassos; **27** Prokonnessos near Milet; **28** Thera; **29** Melos, **30** Crete, **31** Athens, earlier; **32** Athens, later; **33** Argos; **34** Korinthos (Corinth); **35** Korkyra (Korfu); **36** Anaklorion; **37** Lykian in the southwest of Asia Minor; **38** Indus Greek (the first letter example is from the early Bactrian Empire 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, the other examples are from the following Kushan Empire up to the 2nd century AD.); **ITALIC ALPHABETS: 39** Etruscan Alphabet Northwest Italy 8th century BC; **40** Umbrian Alphabet, Northeast of Rome 7th century BC; **41** Messapic Alphabet Southeast Italy 5th century BC; **42** Oscan Alphabet, southeast of Rome, Central Italy, 4rd century BC; **43** Early Roman Alphabet, Central Italy 4th century BC; **44** Faliscan Alphabet Northwest of Rome, 3rd century BC; **45** later Roman Alphabet, Central Italy, 1st century BC. The Greek and Roman Alphabets and their descendants Cyrillic, Coptic, Armenian, Georgian, Pinyin, and others have spread all over the planet.

IMAGE PLATE No. 58

LORD HENFIELD'S SCRIPT IDENTIFICATION CHART No. 3

ARAMAIC - SYRIAC - INDIC

		ARAMAIC											PALMYRENE SYRIAC								HEBREW					INDIC			
Name	**IPA Range**	**46**	**47**	**48**	**49**	**50**	**51**	**52**	**53**	**54**	**55**	**56**	**57**	**58**	**59**	**60**	**61**	**62**	**63**	**64**	**65**	**66**	**67**	**68**	**69**	**70**	**71**	**72**	**73**
ālap	ʔ; aː, eː	𐡀	𐡀	𐡀𐡀𐡀𐡀𐡀𐡀	𐡀𐡀𐡀	𐡀𐡀𐡀	𐡀𐡀	𐡀𐡀	𐡀𐡀	𐡀	𐡀𐡀	𐡀	𐡠	𐡠	𐡠	𐡠𐡠	𐡠𐡠	𐡠𐡠	𐡠	𐡠𐡠𐡠𐡠	𐤀	א	א	א	א	𑀅	𐤀	𐡀	𐡀
bēth	b, β	𐡁	𐡁	𐡁𐡁𐡁𐡁𐡁𐡁	𐡁𐡁	𐡁𐡁𐡁	𐡁	𐡁𐡁	𐡁	𐡁	𐡁𐡁	𐡁𐡁	𐡡	𐡡	𐡡	𐡡	𐡡	𐡡	𐡡	𐡡 𐡡	𐤁	ב	ב	ב	ב	𑀩	𐤁	𐡁	𐡁
gāmal	g, ɣ	𐡂𐡂	𐡂	𐡂 𐡂	𐡂	𐡂𐡂				𐡂	𐡂	𐡂𐡂	𐡢	𐡢		𐡢	𐡢	𐡢		𐡢 𐡢	𐤂	ג	ג	ג	ג	𑀕	𐤂	𐡂	𐡂
dālath	d, ð	𐡃	𐡃	𐡃𐡃𐡃𐡃𐡃𐡃	𐡃	𐡃𐡃	𐡃	𐡃𐡃	𐡃	𐡃	𐡃𐡃	𐡃𐡃	𐡣	𐡣	𐡣	𐡣𐡣	𐡣	𐡣	𐡣𐡣	𐡣 𐡣	𐤃	ד	ד	ד	ד	𑀥	𐤃	𐡃	𐡃
hē	ɦ	𐡄	𐡄	𐡄𐡄𐡄𐡄𐡄𐡄𐡄	𐡄𐡄	𐡄𐡄𐡄	𐡄𐡄𐡄	𐡄	𐡄𐡄	𐡄𐡄	𐡄	𐡄𐡄	𐡤𐡤	𐡤	𐡤	𐡤	𐡤	𐡤	𐡤𐡤	𐡤 𐡤	𐤄	ה	ה	ה	ה	𑀳	𐤄	𐡄	𐡄
waw	w; oː, uː	𐡅	𐡅	𐡅 𐡅	𐡅	𐡅𐡅	𐡅𐡅	𐡅	𐡅	𐡅	𐡅	𐡅	𐡥	𐡥	𐡥	𐡥	𐡥𐡥	𐡥	𐡥	𐡥	𐤅	ו	ו	ו	ו	𑀯	𐤅	𐡅	𐡅
zain	z	𐡆𐡆	𐡆	𐡆 𐡆	𐡆𐡆	𐡆𐡆	𐡆		𐡆	𐡆𐡆	𐡆	𐡆𐡆		𐡦	𐡦	𐡦			𐡦	𐡦	𐤆	ז	ז	ז	ז	𑀖	𐤆	𐡆	𐡆
hēth	ḥ, ʜ, χ	𐡇𐡇	𐡇𐡇	𐡇𐡇𐡇𐡇𐡇𐡇	𐡇	𐡇𐡇𐡇	𐡇𐡇𐡇	𐡇	𐡇𐡇	𐡇𐡇	𐡇	𐡇𐡇	𐡧	𐡧	𐡧	𐡧	𐡧	𐡧	𐡧	𐡧𐡧𐡧𐡧	𐤇	ח	ח	ח	ח	𑀲	𐤇	𐡇	𐡇
tēth	ṭ, tˤ	𐡈𐡈𐡈	𐡈	𐡈𐡈𐡈		𐡈	𐡈	𐡈		𐡈	𐡈𐡈	𐡈𐡈		𐡨	𐡨			𐡨	𐡨	𐡨𐡨𐡨𐡨	𐤈	ט	ט	ט	ט	𑀝	𐤈	𐡈	𐡈
yodh	j; iː, eː	𐡉	𐡉	𐡉 𐡉	𐡉	𐡉𐡉	𐡉𐡉	𐡉	𐡉𐡉	𐡉𐡉	𐡉𐡉	𐡉𐡉	𐡩	𐡩	𐡩	𐡩	𐡩𐡩	𐡩	𐡩	𐡩 𐡩 𐡩 𐡩	𐤉	י	י	י	י	𑀬	𐤉	𐡉	𐡉
kāp	k, x	𐡊	𐡊	𐡊𐡊𐡊𐡊	𐡊𐡊	𐡊𐡊	𐡊𐡊	𐡊	𐡊	𐡊𐡊	𐡊𐡊	𐡊𐡊𐡊	𐡪	𐡪	𐡪		𐡪	𐡪	𐡪	𐡪 𐡪	𐤊	כ	כ	כ	כ	כ	𑀓	𐤊	𐡊	𐡊
lāmadh	l	𐡋	𐡋	𐡋	𐡋𐡋	𐡋𐡋𐡋	𐡋𐡋	𐡋	𐡋𐡋	𐡋𐡋	𐡋𐡋	𐡋𐡋	𐡫	𐡫	𐡫	𐡫	𐡫	𐡫	𐡫	𐡫 𐡫 𐡫	𐤋	ל	ל	ל	ל	𑀮	𐤋	𐡋	𐡋
mem	m	𐡌	𐡌	𐡌𐡌𐡌𐡌𐡌𐡌	𐡌𐡌	𐡌𐡌	𐡌𐡌	𐡌	𐡌𐡌𐡌	𐡌𐡌	𐡌𐡌	𐡌𐡌	𐡬	𐡬	𐡬	𐡬	𐡬	𐡬	𐡬	𐡬 𐡬 𐡬	𐤌	מ	מ	מ	מ	𑀫	𐤌	𐡌	𐡌
nun	n	𐡍	𐡍	𐡍	𐡍𐡍	𐡍𐡍	𐡍	𐡍	𐡍	𐡍	𐡍𐡍	𐡍𐡍	𐡭	𐡭	𐡭	𐡭	𐡭𐡭	𐡭	𐡭	𐡭 𐡭 𐡭	𐤍	נ	נ	נ	נ	𑀦	𐤍	𐡍	𐡍
semkath	s	𐡎	𐡎	𐡎	𐡎	𐡎	𐡎	𐡎	𐡎	𐡎	𐡎	𐡎		𐡮	𐡮	𐡮	𐡮	𐡮		𐡮 𐡮	𐤎	ס	ס	ס	ס	𑀲	𐤎	𐡎	𐡎
ayin, ʿē	ʕ, ʁ	𐡏	𐡏	𐡏 𐡏 𐡏 𐡏	𐡏	𐡏𐡏	𐡏	𐡏	𐡏𐡏	𐡏	𐡏	𐡏𐡏	𐡯	𐡯		𐡯	𐡯	𐡯	𐡯	𐡯 𐡯 𐡯	𐤏	ע	ע	ע	ע	𑀅	𐤏	𐡏	𐡏
pē	p, ɸ	𐡐	𐡐	𐡐	𐡐	𐡐𐡐	𐡐	𐡐	𐡐	𐡐	𐡐	𐡐𐡐		𐡰	𐡰			𐡰		𐡰 𐡰	𐤐	פ	פ	פ	פ	𑀧	𐤐	𐡐	𐡐
tsādhē	ts, ʂ, sˤ	𐡑	𐡑	𐡑𐡑𐡑	𐡑	𐡑𐡑			𐡑		𐡑𐡑	𐡑𐡑		𐡱	𐡱	𐡱		𐡱		𐡱	𐤑	צ	צ	צ	צ	𑀙	𐤑	𐡑	𐡑
qop	qˤ	𐡒𐡒𐡒	𐡒	𐡒𐡒𐡒𐡒𐡒𐡒	𐡒	𐡒𐡒	𐡒	𐡒𐡒	𐡒𐡒	𐡒𐡒	𐡒𐡒	𐡒𐡒	𐡲	𐡲	𐡲	𐡲	𐡲		𐡲	𐡲 𐡲	𐤒	ק	ק	ק	ק	𑀓	𐤒	𐡒	𐡒
rēsh	r	𐡓	𐡓	𐡓𐡓𐡓𐡓	𐡓𐡓	𐡓𐡓	𐡓𐡓𐡓	𐡓	𐡓	𐡓	𐡓𐡓	𐡓𐡓	𐡳	𐡳	𐡳	𐡳𐡳	𐡳	𐡳𐡳	𐡳𐡳	𐡳 𐡳	𐤓	ר	ר	ר	ר	ר	𑀭	𐤓	𐡓	𐡓
shin	ʃ	𐡔	𐡔	𐡔𐡔𐡔	𐡔	𐡔𐡔	𐡔𐡔		𐡔	𐡔	𐡔𐡔	𐡔𐡔	𐡴	𐡴	𐡴	𐡴𐡴	𐡴𐡴	𐡴𐡴	𐡴𐡴	𐡴 𐡴 𐡴	𐤔	ש	ש	ש	ש	𑀰	𐤔	𐡔	𐡔
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																										𑀇 i	∴ ∵ i	𑀶 i	𑀘 ṭ, ts
																										𑀑 o	𑀵 o		𑀮 ḷ
																										𑀉 u	𑀮 u	𑀪 u	𑀢 ṛ 𑀭 ṛ

The Aramaic Scripts developed from Phoenician and were spread by the Aramaic-speaking elite of the Assyrian Empire in the 8th century BC. Jewish merchants brought it to Persia, India, and China.

The **ARAMAIC ABJADS: 46** Inscription from Sam'al (Zincirli Höyük), Turkey; **47** Inscription from Aram, Syria **48** CIS 2 Slab 1-8 from Mesopotamia; **49** Inscription from Asia Minor; **50** Inscription from Arabia; **51** Inscription 122 from Egypt; **52** Inscription 123 from Egypt; **53** Inscription 141 from Egypt; **54** monument Inscriptions; **55** writing style on papyrus; **56** Inscription from Babylon; **PALMYRENE ABJADS** (early forms of Syriac Aramaic, western parts of the Sassanid-Persian Empire, Syria, Iraq)**: 57** Palmyrene Vog 30; **58** Palmyrene Tarif Inscription; **59** Palmyrene Inscription Vog 28f; **60** Palmyrene Inscription Vog 18; **61** Palmyrene Inscription, recorded by T. Nöldeke; **62** Palmyrene Inscription Rom I; **63** Palmyrene Inscription Eu 5 n N 1161; **64** other Inscriptions from Palmyra, selected forms, **HEBREW SQUARE ABJADS** (used in Judaea and Israel.)**: 65** Early Hebrew **66** Hebrew Square Script, standard font; **67** Hebrew Square Script, modern Arial font; **68** Hebrew Square Script, modern Courier font; **69** Hebrew Square Script, modern handwriting; **INDIC ARAMAIC ALPHABETS: 70** Karoshti (an Aramaic abugida) on coins and inscriptions in Bactria; **71** Brahmi (Greek and Aramaic based abugida used by Emperor Ashoka and his successors, c. 250 BC - 550 AD.), **72** Sogdian (in today's Usbekistan and the Silk Road.), **73** Malabar Alphabet (used by Jews and Christians in northwestern and southwestern India, c. 200 BC - 700 AD.).

IMAGE PLATE No. 59

LORD HENFIELD'S SCRIPT IDENTIFICATION CHART No. 4

SYRIAC - ARABIC - YEMENITE

		NABATAEAN ARAMAIC					SYRIAC ARAMAIC							ARABIC				YEMENITE / ETHIOPIAN						
Name	**IPA Range**	**74**	**75**	**76**	**77**	**78**	**79**	**80**	**81**	**82**	**83**	**84**	**85**	**86**	**87**	**88**	**89**	**90**	**91**	**92**	**93**	**94**	**95**	**96**
ālap	ʔ; aː, eː																							
bēth	b, β																							
gāmal	g, ɣ																							
dālath	d, ð																							
hē	h																							
waw	w; oː, uː																							
zain	z																							
hēth	ḥ, н, χ																							
tēth	ṭ, tˤ																							
yōdh	j; iː, eː																							
kāp	k, x																							
lāmadh	l																							
mem	m																							
nun	n																							
semkath	s																							
ʿē	ʕ, ʁ																							
pē	p, ɸ																							
tsādhē	ts, ṣ, sˤ																							
qop	qˤ																							
rēsh	r																							
shin	ʃ																							
taw	t, θ																							
	θ																							
	θ																							
	ð																							
	ḍ																							
	ḥ																							
	x																							

The Aramaic Scripts were adopted by Arabs (in Nabatea, Edom or Idumaea, Petra), and Iranians. From about 500 AD, the Syriac Aramaic script of the Sassanid Empire served as model for Arabic.

The **NABATAEAN ABJADS: 74** Early Nabataean inscriptions in Petra and Mada'in Saleh; **75** Inscription from the Hawran region; **76** Nabataean Aramaic Inscriptions from Petra; **77** Inscriptions from Hegra, Taff. 30-33; **78** Nabataean inscriptions from the Dinai peninsula; **SYRIAC ARAMAIC ABJADS: 79** Classic Syriac from Palmyra (Semitic name: Tadmur, Tadmor, or Tudmur), south-central Syria, 130 miles (210 km) northeast of Damascus; **80** Syriac handwriting (Jewish, early Christian, Gnostic, Mandaean and Manichaean documents in Persia, India, and China are written in this style); **81** Syriac Parthian style; **82** Syriac Sassanid style; **83** Syriac Psalter style; **84** Syriac Pahlavi book style (K 43); **85** Pahlavi handwriting on papyrus; **ARABIC ABJADS** (developed from Nabataean and Syriac styles)**: 86** Early Arabic; **87** Kufic Arabic (early Koran script from Kufa, 8th century AD.); **88** Arabic Naskh script; **89** modern Arabic handwriting; **YEMENITE / ETHIOPIAN ALPHABETS** (sister scripts of Phoenician. In southern Arabia thrived the Sabataean / Yemenite civilisation. It was related to the cultures of Eritrea, Ethiopia, Egypt, Kush [Sudan], and Somalia.)**: 90** Sabaean / Himyaric, c. 900 BC; **91** Sabaean (South Arabian), in brackets North Arabian forms; **92** Later South Arabian script; **93** Yemenite Ethiopian script; **94** Ethiopian script, Thamudic style c. 600 BC **95** Ethiopic consonatal script; **96** Ge'ez / Amharic script, Ethiopia c. 700 BC.

IMAGE PLATE No. 60

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FOREWORD

AND

INTRODUCTION

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FOREWORD

The Grand Bible is not a religious work in a closer sense of meaning but an encyclopaedic compilation of texts that have been used not only in a religious context but have implication on philosophy, way of life, culture, literature, ideologies, politics, and jurisprudence. It took more than six years to search for these texts, analyse, introduce, and compile them with all the necessary details of information. Many of those texts represent the earliest examples of written and authorised law in history, law that all too often make the believers subject to taxation or victims of ideologies. We believe that everyone has the right to be informed and ought to have the chance to get all relevant texts as efficiently and rapidly as possible. This is the reason why we packed into the Grand Bible over 900 complete, sacred books or manuscripts together. The Grand Bible is intended as a text for straightforward reading.

David Starkey is one of the most capable historians of our time who understands it to assemble historical facts in a logical way and presents them as eloquent narrative with cohesion that everyone can follow with ease. In 2017, he published a BBC documentary called "Reformation: Europe's Holy War," in which he compares Luther's Reformation with our modern upheavals of Woke and Jihad. It is worthwhile to hear what Starkey says, because religion is in least cases just about God. It is about precepts and their subsequent laws, it is about power struggle and often violent ways on the road to salvation, and it is about doctrines and ideologies connected to a divinity, and therefore it is also about administrative positions of the clergy and taxation with which the members of that clergy can stay in power and can control the masses. There has never been religion for personal use only. Religion as a private belief is a new thing - and this only in the Western World! Our limitless individualism has not yet reached the other belief systems. These are facts that we always must keep in mind when we think and talk about other religions. Starkey introduces his film with a powerful message:

"We live in an age of religious extremism, an age of terror and violent slaughter. We are locked in a bewildering ideological battle with religious fundamentalism. It is a battle that has taken most of us by surprise because religious fundamentalism seems so odd, so alien, to our own easy-going way of life. But you know, it is not! We have been here before, here at home, here at the very heart of our own civilisation.

Exactly 500 years ago, a breach within Christianity, tore Europe, England, and the Church apart. It was the same literalism, the same passionate intensity, the same apocalyptic violence as now. It is our very own Jihad. It is called: 'the Reformation.'

The Protestant Reformation was also a political and cultural revolution. It unleashed bloodshed, terror, and the destruction of religious art - a combination we recognise all too well. It began with a provincial German monk and it threatened the most powerful institution in the Western World, the Catholic Church, with destruction.

In England it led to a hard Brexit, 16th century style, as king Henry VIII broke with Rome and declared himself "Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of England." It was a tale of espionage, enhanced interrogation, and horrific death. There was a handful of brave and inspired souls fought to introduce the new ideas and the authorities fought back savagely to stamp out the infection. So, how did one man's simple act of protest in the backwards of Germany spark a violent revolution that would transform England, Europe, and the Western World?

In the early 1500s the Catholic Church shaped every aspect of human life. And here in Rome, its head, the Pope, ruled a spiritual empire bigger than that of the Caesars. It is hard to overestimate the power of the Catholic Church in the late Middle Ages. It was a vastly wealthy, bureaucratic machine, the very heart of Europe. It controlled education, media, family law. It had its own private language in Latin. The clergy, whatever their nationality, swore obedience to the Pope, whose toe even kings knelt on the ground to kiss. But his greatest power was over men's minds.

Churches were dominated by a huge painting of the last judgement. When Jesus' judge sentenced each soul to the joys of heaven, or the eternal torments of hell, it was a terrifying vision. The Church mitigated its stark horror by the "Doctrine of Purgatory." This was an intermediate state between heaven and hell where the not too sinful soul was purged of its offenses and made fit to enter paradise. You could reduce the amount of time you spent in purgatory by doing good works, saying prayers, going on pilgrimages, giving to the poor. Or you could draw on the good works of others: Jesus, the Saints, the Virgin Mary, whose transcendent goodness had endowed the church with the treasury of merit.

The pope dispensed, in return for consideration of course, this treasury in the form of spiritual IOUs, known as "Indulgences." (An IOU [abbreviated from the phrase "I owe you"] is a document acknowledging debt.) These were printed bits of paper that in return for cold hard cash absorbed the soul of its offenses and acted as its passport to paradise. Indulgences were often sold to finance Church schemes and in 1517 the pope's pet project was the rebuilding of Saint Peter's on a magnificent scale. Indulgences were sold across Europe. There was even a catchy advertising jingle: "As soon as the coin in the coffer rings, the soul from purgatory springs!" It was, as though the church had forgotten Christ and become fixated on wealth. And for one German monk this was an abomination.

On the 31st of October, 1517, Martin Luther very publicly denounced this scandal. According to legend, he strode through the town to the great doors of All Saints Church, and hammered up a document for all to see. It was his 95 Theses, a mere 95 points of contention with the Church's teachings on sin and penance. 'Were these the brave hammer blows of fate against the old order?' as the traditional story goes, or, 'Was it the equivalent of pinning an agenda on a university notice board?' as revisionists suggest. Actually, you know, it does not much matter since nobody disputes the magnitude of the results. Luther's protest would plunge Europe into two centuries of religious war, unleashing bloodshed and brutality across the continent - all in the name of God!

Martin Luther was an unlikely revolutionary. In 1517 he was a 33 year old monk and professor of Biblical theology at the University of Wittenberg in Saxony. Saxony was just one of a jigsaw, a small one of German-speaking states that comprised present-day Germany. Each had its own ruler but all fell under the overlordship of an elected monarch, the Holy Roman Emperor who was crowned by the Pope, and all was subject to Papal authority and taxation.

In the introduction to his Theses, Luther wrote of his wish to stir up debate. A new invention allowed him to succeed beyond his wildest dreams. Just over 70 years earlier, Johannes Gutenberg had developed his printing press. This piece of technology would transform Luther from a little-known monk and academic into Europe's most published author, and a wanted man!

Luther originally wrote the 95 Theses in Latin, the language of academic and theological discourse. But even within the Latin of the Theses, Luther showed himself aware of that wider audience outside the universities. And nine of the Theses list the sharp arguments that the laity were using against indulgences. And how Luther asks "are we going to answer those arguments if the Church does not reform itself?" - Well, of course, the Church showed no sign of reforming itself. So, what Luther did was to write a tract. He called it 'A Sermon on Indulgences and Grace' - and he wrote it in German, AND he had it printed!

Experts still marvel at the extraordinary impact of Luther's Sermon. (Prof Andrew Pettigree of University of St Andrews replies to David Starkey:) This was the work which propelled Luther to the front ranks of European thought and theology. Until that point he had been writing in Latin. But when he did this, and published these 20 short propositions in German ....

Starkey: Just one second - So, the form in German very closely echoes the 95 theses these are numbered points?

Pettigree: "They are numbered points but they are reduced, so we have 20 instead of 95. .... I think this is a work of instinctive brilliance. I mean, he calls it "a Sermon" but it is nothing like a sermon. Sermons are meant to be endurance tests of repetition and re-iteration. And this can be read aloud in 10 minutes. It is 20 short snappy points and it is published in Wittenberg, but unlike the 95 Theses, which circulated only in the intellectual community, this went viral [spread like a virus] immediately. It was reprinted in Leipzig, in Nuremberg, in Augsburg, and then Strasbourg as well. So by the end of 1518, there were at least 14 editions of this circulating. And by 1520, Luther had written something like 60 original works. Collectively, they had sold several hundred thousand copies and Luther was now the most published author in the history of printing. And that is an extraordinary transformation for someone who five years before had written precisely nothing."

Starkey understands that language is the main key if we want to fully grasp what religion is all about and how it works. In March 1518, just five months after Luther's protest in Wittenberg, a copy of the original 95 Theses arrived England, sent by the Dutch humanist scholar Desiderius Erasmus to his friend and fellow scholar Thomas More who just joined the inner circle of the government of Henry VIII. Both of them had written on the corruptions of Church and state, "but they had kept their satire safely in Latin. Presumably, they thought that Luther would do the same." Luther however had other plans. He knew, if he was serious and if he wanted to change anything, he had to address the masses, in their own language, and not to the scholars.

Starkey: *"In Wittenberg, Luther's attack on Indulgences was evolving into fundamental doctrines. The key one, raising the power of personal faith above the remedies offered by the hierarchy of the Church, mankind was saved not by prayer or fasting or Indulgences but only by faith, by faith in Christ, as told in the New Testament. Anything else was a corruption, an obstacle. And that included Rome."* Just like Sayyid Qutb or his brother Muhammad Qutb, the teacher of Bin Laden, the so-called Islamists of our time, Luther wanted to go back to the roots of his religion. And he only could achieve that by using the language of the people.

Starkey*: "On the 15th of June 1520, after four all-day meetings, the Pope and his council issued the formal decree known as a bull. ..... Luther was given 60 days to recount or be excommunicated, which meant expulsion from the Church and 'condemnation to the eternal fires of hell.' His works were ordered to be burned. Far from backing down Luther seemed energised, liberated even, and in a matter of a few mere weeks produced three crucial works that between them amounted to a manifesto for a political and religious revolution. The most important of them was addressed to the Christian nobility of the German nation, writing in German, Luther called on the German princes unilaterally to reform the German Church and rescue it from the clutches of Rome that was bleeding Germany dry."*

"On the 10th of December 1520, he publicly burned the papal bull. There could be no going back. In January 1521, Martin Luther was formally excommunicated from the Catholic Church. Two months later he was charged with heresy and summoned to a hearing in front of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and representatives of the Church. The Imperial Diet, as it was known, was to be held in the German city of Worms."

"..... Luther's survival had to date been ensured by Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony. Frederick now secured a promise of safe passage and Luther set out. If the Catholic Church was hoping to destroy Luther at Worms, it had badly miscalculated the popular mood. Everywhere he went he was hailed as a hero. A hundred horsemen rode through the city gates to escort him inside and as he descended his carriage a monk reached out to touch the hem of his robe by taking on the power of the Church. Luther had become a local legend, a figurehead for a populist anti-establishment movement that was spreading across the German-speaking states. As resentment about taxes and foreign interference grew, the Pope's ambassador in Worms was horrified as he reported back to Rome. The whole of Germany is in full revolt, he wrote, nine tenths raised the war cry "Luther!" whilst the watch word of the other tenth who are indifferent to Luther is "Death to the Roman Curia." Summoned before the Diet, Luther was ordered to renounce his heretical writings. He refused. 'Here I stand,' he is supposed to have declared, 'I can do no other!' Whilst the emperor Charles V and the Diet were debating Luther's fate, Luther's safe conduct was honoured and he was allowed to leave Worms."

Agents of Luther's protector, the Elector Frederick the Wise, charged with bringing him to a place of safety, brought Luther to Wartburg Castle in Saxony where he went undercover. He grew his hair and beard and became Junker Joerg or Squire George. Up to now, the Bible was not only a 'sacred text' but also a 'secret text' which was not available to laymen who could not speak and read Latin. And a main doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church was it to keep it like that. Priests of the Church were in charge to interprete the contents of the Bible to the ordinary people, and by doing so, they kept control over the contents that had been delivered to the audience. Luther was aware that his reformation would not succeed when the people could not read the Bible. He was an accomplished linguist fluent in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, as well as many German dialects of the north and the south.

"Confined to his room, Luther embarked on the next stage of his religious revolution. The medieval church used Saint Jerome's 4th century Latin translation of the Greek New Testament. Known as the Vulgate, it was treated as the sole, authoritative text, and crucial Catholic doctrines depended on its particular choice of words. All Luther's religion was rooted in the Bible. He believed in Sola Scriptura, that the Bible was the sole infallible guide to faith and practice. So, Luther decided to use his time in the Wartburg to start afresh and to make his own new translation of the Bible from the original Greek into German. But it was to be his German, pungent, pithy, and comprehensible by all Germans, north and south, and above all, it was to be his, Luther's reading of the Bible."

"Published in September 1522 Luther's Bible began to fix a standardised modern German language. It forged a growing sense of nationhood and national identity amongst the German states. And that helped turn Luther's religious revolution into a political revolution as well.

Luther's revolution now threatened to carry all before it. The princes were attracted by the political and economic pride gave them of the common people by the freedom and the autonomy that it seemed to promise them. The term "Protestant" was coined in 1529, and in 1531, the Lutheran cities and principalities united themselves into a defensive alliance known as the Schmalkaldic League (German: Schmalkaldischer Bund; from the town of Schmalkalden in Thuringia). In little more than a decade, half of Germany had gone Protestant, gone Lutheran. As Europe began to fracture along religious lines, it would be engulfed by apocalyptic violence, waves of holy war, terror, and iconoclasm, of the kind we are all too familiar with today."

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ARRANGEMENT OF THIS BOOK

1. We display a detailed Table of Contents. In it is shown the proper name of the entry, then the name of the translator(s) if available, the year of publishing if known, and after that a short comment on origin or where this document is in circulation.

2. Each entry begins with its name as title in **BOLD CAPITAL LETTERS**.

3. Below this name, we have placed all alternative names that this entry might have. Then we mention the source or authorship of the document and the Range of Dating (meaning the period of time the text origins), and the translator by their full name.

4. After that, we give a short introduction of the text, particularly when the text is not well-known to the general public.

5. We have left texts from the Bible, the Koran, or other books in their original state. We always display the full text here, not abridged or otherwise shortened versions.

6. We have decided to publish here the Koran in the chronological order proposed by Theodor Nöldeke that displays the chapters according to the time sequence in which Mohammed received his revelations. This makes the Koran easier to understand, particularly when read which the Sira (the biography of Mohammed) side by side. It clearly shows that the Koran is actually two books with different sets of contents in one binding. This explains the dualistic nature of Islam and its seemingly contradictive ideologies.

7. We have left reference numbers or the names of the chapters, paragraphs or verses unchanged.

8. We have exchanged most Roman numerals for Indian numerals because they are easier to read and occupy less place.

9. We have removed most scientific notes, footnotes, sidenotes, references, brackets, and other things that interrupt fluent reading because we wish to give the reader the "naked text" so that they can build their own opinion about them. However, we have allowed notes to remain (or even added some) only when they are really needed. They are displayed in brackets within the textbody.

10. Before the Introduction of this book, we have inserted 60 image plates showing some of the used documents in their original appearance, including coins and 4 script tables.

11. At the end of the book, you will find additional texts in the Appendices and also a general bibliography of listed books and their sources that will help you to find the original works used in the Grand Bible.

12. The Grand Bible is available as a searchable PDF document. It means that anyone can serch for a word or phrase when the document is open. Simply click on EDIT, then on FIND, then type the wanted word in the searchfield, then click ENTER. Click ENTER again to go on with the search of the same word. You can copy parts or entire texts right from this PDF and paste it into a .doc, .txt, .rtf, or any other text document. You also can print the PDF either in A4 format or in a larger A3 format.

A WORD ABOUT THE TRANSLATORS

Notice that many of the newer translations in the Grand Bible are subject to copyright. The translators have done an amazing work. We believe that showing their translations supports their culturally and historically valuable work and is a necessary act.

However, as all texts in the Grand Bible are available on the internet for free, the Grand Bible too is a non-profit publication. When quoting, please mention the name of the translator. You may share this work with anyone. However, any commercial distribution of this work is prohbited.

ON GRAMMAR

We have chosen to display in the Grand Bible the English translations which are known as King James Version, quite simply because most experts believe that it is the best English translation available.

There are at least two crucial facts why the King James Version is seen as the very best version:

First, the King James Version is written in a way that most English-speakers can understand. It largely uses the spoken language of the common people. The style, however, is so poetic that the King James Bible is considered as one of the greatest literary works of the English language ever.

Second, The King James Version follows the contents of the ancient texts closer than most other translations, and by using older language features, the translators rendered the originals into an English language that - by its older word or grammar forms - gives the sacred texts the dignified and devine distance they deserve and other "modern" translations lack.

Third, The King James Version follows the contents of the ancient texts much closer because the old forms of the Second Person Singular are used. The word "thou" is a second person singular pronoun in English. It is now largely archaic, having been replaced in most contexts by "you". The equalisation of these two, originally distinct pronouns, can cause misunderstanding as to who is meant, either "you as a single person", or "you as a group of people", which in Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, and almost all other languages in the world is a big difference in form and sound of the relevant pronoun.

In order to reflect this stark distinction, found in Biblical Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek, the translators of the King James Version showed the older singular second person pronoun and verb forms, by using thou, thee, thy, and thine for singular, and ye, you, your, and yours for plural. Thou is the nominative form; the oblique / objective form is thee (functioning as both accusative and dative), the possessive is thy (adjective) or thine (adjective before a vowel or pronoun) and the reflexive is thyself.

	Subj. Pron.	Obj. Pron.	Poss. Adj.	Poss. Pron.	Reflex. Pron.
1st, sg.	I	me	my	mine	myself
2nd. sg.	thou	thee	thy	thine	thyself
3rd. sg. m.	he	him	his	his	himself
3rd. sg. f.	she	her	her	hers	herself
3rd. sg. n.	it	it	its	its	itself
1st. pl.	we	us	our	ours	ourselves
2nd. pl.	you, ye	you, ye	your	yours	yourselves
3rd. pl.	they	them	their	theirs	themselves

Using "thou" is also reflected in the use of the verb that follows this pronoun. The verbs of the Second Person Singular end with -(e)st. A few end only with -t such as ***art***, ***wilt***, and ***shalt***.

In Bible texts there is also another form for the verb in 3rd person singular. In modern English, a verb that follows he, she, it just ends with -s, but in 1611 when the King James Version was first published, all those verbs ended with -(e)th. And so do they still today in church service:

Verbs in their Present Tense Forms		
2nd pers. sg.: thou	**3rd pers. sg.: he, she, it**	**all other pers. : I, we, you, ye, they**
art, beest**	is, be**	are, be**
hast	hath	have
dost, doest	doth, doeth	do
wilt	willeth	will
shalt	shalleth	shall
canst	caneth	can
mayest	mayeth	may
must	must	must
sayest	sayeth	say
givest	giveth	give
takest	taketh	take
comest	cometh	come
prayest	prayeth	pray
tellest	telleth	tell
committest	commiteth	commit
goest	goeth	go
speakest	speaketh	speak

* the "to" after "ought" is often omitted in questions, negative statements and questions.
** "beest" and "be" are present subjunctive forms.

The -(e)st and -(e)th endings even can be found attached on verbs (particularly on irregular verbs) in their past tenseo, although not all translators have used this feature consequently (for either the present or past forms).

Verbs in their Past Tense Forms		
2nd pers. sg.: thou	**3rd pers. sg.: he, she, it**	**all other pers.: I, we, you, ye, they**
wast, wert**	was, were**	was, were**
hadst	hadth	have
didst	didth	did
wouldst	wouldeth	would
shouldest	shouldeth	should
couldst	couldeth	could
mightest	mighteth	might
oughtest (to)*	oughteth (to)*	ought (to)*
saidest	saideth	said
gavest	gaveth	gave
tookest	tooketh	took
camest	cameth	came
prayedest	prayedeth	prayed
toldest	toldeth	told
committedest	commitedeth	commited
wentest	wenteth	went
spakest*	spaketh*	spake*

* "spake" is the old past form of "to speak"
** "wert" and "were" are past subjunctive forms
Notice: **Every past tense form can serve as subjunctive!

BIBLE ENGLISH

At first, some readers might find the usage of the old pronouns and their verbs difficult. But very soon, you will get used to it and you will perhaps even enjoy our colourful language from the Past.

Another feature which might irritate at first might be the sometimes different word order. Instead of "I do not know", in older texts we find "I know not"; "Sleepeth he not?" means "Does he not sleep?", etc.

We have chosen to present here the texts of the original King James version, although it contains a few minor mistranslations; especially in the Old Testament where the knowledge of the Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac languages was uncertain at the time.

Just some examples: Among the most commonly cited errors is in the Hebrew of Job and Deuteronomy, where "Re'em" with the probable meaning of "wild-ox, aurochs", is translated in the King James Version as "unicorn"; following in this the Vulgate unicornis and several medieval rabbinic commentators. Otherwise, the translators on several occasions mistakenly interpreted a Hebrew descriptive phrase as a proper name (or vice versa); as at 2 Samuel 1:18 where 'the Book of Jasher' properly refers not to a work by an author of that name, but should rather be rendered as "the Book of the Upright."

In the New Testament, we find Jesus' father refered to as "carpenter" although in original Greek we read the word "tekton" which means most certainly "builder", just like "tectonics" means "pertaining or belonging to building", or "to have relevance to building" of the Earth. Another misinterpretation is the word "betray" or "betrayal" in texts that describe the action of Jesus' disciple Judas in "And Judas Iscariot, one of the twelve, went onto the chief priests, to betray him unto them" (Mark 14;10). The original Greek text however does not use the word "betray" but "hand over". Looking at the fight between Christianity and Judaism, we can assume that this misinterpretation was deliberately created in order to discredit anthing that has to do with the words "Judas, Jude, Judaism, Judaea, Judea, Judean, Judah, Jew (from Old French Juiu), Judaeus, Ioudaios, Yehudah, Judaic, Judaise". Judas (and after the sinister Roman-Christian Anti-Jewish propaganda all similar words) is today a synonym for treachery, satanic, devilish and evil. Listeners should feel unwell when hearing those words.

The Islamic Anti-Jewish propaganda in their so-called "perfect book", the Koran (including all other Islamic texts against the Jews), has taken this Pauline-Christian propaganda unchecked and uncriticised as basis of their own bigottery. This single misinterpretation led to almost 2000 years of Jewish suffering and ultimately to the Holocaust in Hitlers NAZI-Europe with more than six million dead Jews.

As for all other scriptures, we have chosen to include into the Grand Bible all those translations that follow the above outlined grammar and translating principles.

DESCRIPTION OF THIS BOOK

The Grand Bible has been published in the form of ONE VOLUME. We have decided to do that for very good reasons.

We live in the Era of Information. Free access to all sorts of information seem to be guaranteed. However, up to now, religious organisations and their political power base could be quite sure that most critics, believers and worshippers would not check the religious texts thoroughly for the very simple reason that they could not find them.

Most of the texts may be available even online but in countless different places of the unpenetrable internet jungle. Many documents bear several different names, so do their authors. Often there are several different translations in circulation too. The overwhelming mass of all those ancient documents and manuscripts is breathtaking. For any amateur, it is almost impossible to find all texts, either online or offline. This is why we have been doing this tedious work for you. It took several years to collect that vast amount of material and figure out "what is what". Lots of this material is published by scholars and scientists. Unfortunately, those academics are not in the habit of using a vocabulary that every interested reader can understand. We have to bear in mind that scientists do not publish their books for the common public but for gaining recognition from other academics. Therefore, whenever possible, we used a clear and understandable form of English in our explanatory texts.

Lord Henfield, The Grand Bible Commission, 2018.

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INTRODUCTION

WHAT IS "SCRIPTURE" IN GENERAL?

Religious texts (the revered texts, or Holy Writ, also known as scripture, or scriptures, from the Latin word scriptura, meaning "writing") are texts which religious traditions consider to be central to their practice or beliefs. Religious texts may be used to provide meaning and purpose, evoke a deeper connexion with the divine, convey religious truths, promote religious experience, foster communal identity, and guide individual and communal religious practice.

The Encyclopedia Britannica says about scripture: "... Scriptures comprise a large part of the literature of the world. They vary greatly in form, volume, age, and degree of sacredness; but their common attribute is that their words are regarded by the devout as sacred. Sacred words differ from ordinary words in that they are believed either to possess and convey spiritual and magical powers or to be the means through which a divine being or other sacred reality is revealed in phrases and sentences full of power and truth.

Characteristics: Most sacred scriptures were originally oral and were passed down through memorisation from generation to generation until they were finally committed to writing. A few are still preserved orally, such as the hymns of the American Indians (now being recorded by anthropologists). Many bear the unmistakable marks of their oral origin and can best be understood when recited aloud; in fact, it is still held by many Hindus and Buddhists that their scriptures lack, when read silently, the meaning and significance they have when recited aloud, for the human voice is believed to add to the recited texts dimensions of truth and power not readily grasped by the solitary reader.

Types of sacred literature vary in authority and degree of sacredness. The centrally important and most holy of the sacred texts have in many instances been gathered into canons (standard works of the faith), which, after being determined either by general agreement or by official religious bodies, become fixed—i.e., limited to certain works that are alone viewed as fully authoritative and truly beyond all further change or alteration. The works not admitted to the canons (those of a semisacred or semicanonical character) may still be quite valuable as supplementary texts."

The terms 'sacred' text and 'religious' text are not necessarily interchangeable in that some religious texts are believed to be sacred because of their nature as divinely or supernaturally revealed or inspired, whereas some religious texts are simply narratives pertaining to the general themes, practices, or important figures of the specific religion, and not necessarily considered sacred by itself. The other way round is also true: The Confucian texts are also viewed as sacred although they do not mention the divine or religion at all.

ANALYSIS

All these texts cannot be edited, additionally supplemented or in any other way changed. One core function of scriptures is making them sacred by their ceremonial and liturgical role, particularly in relation to sacred time, the liturgical year, the divine efficacy and subsequent holy service; in a more general sense, its performance. A more logical definition is: Scripture is the text or writing that supports a belief system and its doctrines. A sacred text or scripture has not necessarily anything to do with God or gods. There are sacred scriptures that do not mention God at all. So what then is scripture and what does it contain? This is a very important question because its answer defines what a holy text is about.

After thorough analysis, we surely see that a sacred text can talk, or not talk, about divinity. Just like the Bible, it can include narratives, parables, allegories, visions, history, philosophy, poetry, sayings, myths, legends, biographical notes, polemicism, racism, nationalism, phrases, doctrine, dogma, piety, verses, advice, precepts, commandments, law, rules, wisdom, quotes, propaganda, psychological and educational matters, astronomy, metaphysics, political ideology, typology and repetitions. This is quite a lot of different stuff. And the older the texts, the greater is the diversity of this material. We need to put it in order.

When we go through a lot of different scripture, that even may have distinct origins, we will see very soon that there is a general pattern. The topic "god" is only sporadically touched. God appears in most cases only as repetitive phrases such as "And God said ...", "And the Lord answered ...", "In the name of God the merciful and beneficient ...", etc. Most of these phrases are empty. There is no analysis as to "who" or "what" God might be.

Depending on linguistical, cultural, geographical, political and historical background, all those sacred texts have one thing, a crucial item, in common: the Law! The law, the rules, the precepts or commandments define the belief system and subsequently its doctrines. Religion and other belief systems are made by man. It is never the other way round. A writer of scripture brings his own experience into play, his suffering, his failures and successes, his faults as well as his knowledge. This is reflected very much in religions such as Buddhism where Buddha seem to have been a peaceful man, a do-gooder, who was willing to listen and to learn. Buddhism reflects this ethic attitude. A sharp contrast would be Mohammed who was only peaceful in Mecca where he had no power. After the death of his wife his wife, he became violent and inhumane. Both, his peaceful time and his violence became the dualistic pattern of Islam.

With the Grand Bible, the reader has for the very first time in history all material in his hand to analyse the facts solemnly by himself. Many religious communities claim that their sacred texts come from God. Islam even arrogantly claims their scripture to be absolutely perfect and unique. Just compare the laws of Islam, with those laws from their direct predecessor Judaism, and with the law of its predecessor, the Law Code of Hammurabi, und you will quickly find out that the sucessors have ruthlessly stolen whole sets of ideas from their predecessors. There is nothing divine in the Covenant of Moses and his Ten Commandments as they have their origin thousands of years earlier in a civilisation called Sumer. Claims of perfection and divinity of a scripture can break a religious doctrine's neck. The writers of the Koran have imprudently taken everything they could get from the scripture of Judaism and Christianity. Jesus is the most important prophet in Islam right after Mohammed himself. Now it seems to become clearer and clearer that the first "Christian scripture" (the oldest gospels and epistles) was probably a literary invention of Roman authors of the Flavian dynasty (69-96 AD). This is the very reason why Jesus was not mentioned by anyone before the time of Flavius Josephus' first publication (The Jewish War) in 75 AD.

MANUSCRIPTS

In this introduction, we want to focus on facts and data. The study of biblical manuscripts is important because handwritten copies of books can contain errors. The science of textual criticism attempts to reconstruct the original text of books, especially those published prior to the invention of the printing press in 1450. A biblical manuscript is any handwritten copy of a portion of the text of the Bible.

The Aleppo Codex (c. 920 AD) and Leningrad Codex (c. 1008 AD) were once the oldest known Hebrew language manuscripts of the Tanakh. In 1947 AD the finding of the Dead Sea scrolls at Qumran pushed the manuscript history of the Tanakh back a millennium from the two earliest complete codices. Before this discovery, the earliest extant manuscripts of the Old Testament were in Greek in manuscripts such as Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus. Out of the roughly 800 manuscripts found at Qumran, 220 are from the Tanakh. Every book of the Tanakh is represented except for the Book of Esther; however, most are fragmentary. Notably, there are two scrolls of the Book of Isaiah, one complete (1QIsa), and one around 75% complete (1QIsb). These manuscripts generally date between 150 BC to 70 AD.

The oldest manuscripts were written in a form of scroll (Old Testament texts). Texts of the New Testament are written on single sheets of papyrus, vellum, parchment or pergament and strapped into bundles of documents which often were put into a kind of leather folder similar to a modern briefcase. Some medieval manuscripts were written in a form of codex, that is folded sheets. Manuscripts earlier than the 13th century are very rare. The majority of the manuscripts have survived in a fragmentary condition. The earliest sources (whether oral or written) of the Hebrew Bible disappeared over time, because of the fragility of media, wars, (especially the destruction of the First and Second Temples), and other intentional destructions. As a result, the lapse of time between the original manuscripts and their surviving copies is much longer than in the case of the New Testament manuscripts.

The first list of the Old Testament manuscripts in Hebrew, made by Benjamin Kennicott (1776–1780) and published by Oxford, listed 615 manuscripts from libraries in England and on the Continent. Giovanni de Rossi (1784–1788) published a list of 731 manuscripts. The main manuscript discoveries in modern times are those of the Cairo Geniza (c. 1890) and the Dead Sea Scrolls (1947). In the old synagogue in Cairo were discovered 260,000 Hebrew manuscripts, 10,000 of which are biblical manuscripts. There are more than 200 biblical manuscripts among the Dead Sea Scrolls, some of them were written in the Paleo-Hebrew (Phoenician) alphabet. They were written before the year 70 AD. 14 scroll manuscripts were discovered in Masada in 1963–1965.

The New Testament has been preserved in more manuscripts than any other ancient work of literature, with over 5,800 complete or fragmented Greek manuscripts catalogued, 10,000 Latin manuscripts and 9,300 manuscripts in various other ancient languages including Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Ethiopic, Slavic, and Gothic. The dates of these manuscripts range from c. 125 AD to the introduction of book printing by Johannes Gutenberg in the 15th century.

THE ORIGIN OF THE BIBLE CODICES

The great uncial codices or four great uncials are the only remaining uncial codices that contain (or originally contained) the entire text of the Greek Bible (Old and New Testament).

Only four great codices have survived to the present day: Codex Vaticanus, Codex Sinaiticus, Codex Alexandrinus, and Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus. Although discovered at different times and places, they share many similarities. They are written in a certain uncial style of calligraphy using only majuscule letters, written in scriptio continua (meaning without regular gaps between words). Though not entirely absent, there are very few divisions between words in these manuscripts. Words do not necessarily end on the same line on which they start. All these manuscripts were made at great expense of material and labour, written on vellum by professional scribes. They seem to have been based on the most accurate texts in their time.

All of the four great uncials (upper case letter script) were written in Greek and on fine vellum, with the leaves arranged in quarto form. The size of the leaves is much bigger than in papyri codices. The first 2 codices are original Constantinian:

- **Codex Vaticanus Graecus**, c. 325–350, written in 3 columns, size: 27 × 27 cm (10.6 × 10.6 in);
- **Codex Sinaiticus**, c. 325–350, written in 4 columns, size: 38.1 × 34.5 cm (15.0 × 13.6 in);
- **Codex Alexandrinus**, c. 400–440, written in 2 columns, size: 32 × 26 cm (12.6 × 10.4 in);
- **Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus**, c. 450-470, writen in 1 column, size: 33 × 27 cm (13.0 × 10.6 in);

Other single manuscripts of significance:

- Codex Bezae in Greek-Latin diglot, 400AD
- Jerome's Vulgate in Latin, 4th-5th c. AD
- Codex Berolinensis Akhmin in Coptic, 5th c. AD
- The Codex Phillipps 1388 in Syriac, end 5th c. AD
- The Peshitta in Syriac, 5th c. AD
- Damascus Codex Pentateuch, in Hebrew 10th c.AD
- Novgorod Codex in Slavonic, 10th c. AD
- Codex Leningradensis in Hebrew, begin 11th c. AD
- Codex Hierosolymitanus in Greek, 11th c. AD
- Codex Gigas in Latin, 13th c. AD, 78kg 92x50cm

ORIGIN OF THE BIBLE SOURCES

Large parts of the Bible (and subsequently the Koran) can be traced back to far older sources. The two main sources are the clay tablets from Mesopotamia and the papyri from Egypt.

Important manuscript collections on clay tablets: Most of them were made between 3000 BC. and 400 BC. Up to now, almost two million tablets have been excavated, of which only approximately 5% have been read or published. These are the biggest ancient collections:

- **Ninive Library** of Ashurbanipal, Iraq, cuneiform tablets
- **Assur Library** 16,000 Akkadian cuneiform tablets
- **Kanesh Library**, Akkadian 23,000 cuneiform tablets
- **Nippur Library**, 60,000 cuneiform tablets
- **Drehem Library**, 100,000 Sumerian cuneiform tablets
- **Girsu Library**, 40,000, cuneiform tablets
- **Sippar Library**, 20,000 Babylonian cuneiform tablets
- **Nuzi Library**, 15,000 cuneiform tablets
- **Mari Library**, Syria, 22,000 Akkadian cuneiform tablets
- **Persepolis Library**, Iran, 17,000 Elamite cuneiform tablets
- **Hattusa Library**, Turkey, 30,000 Hittite cuneiform tablets

OTHER SIGNIFICANT SOURCES

Important manuscript collections on papyrus, vellum, parchment, paper, bamboo panels, or other materials: Up to now, several hundred thousand manuscripts or fragments have been found. These are the biggest ancient collections:

- **Qumran Library**, Israel, in Aramaic, Hebrew, Greek, etc. 981 manuscripts, 300 BC-68
- **Elephantine Papyri**, Egypt, in Aramaic, 175 documents, c. 500 BC - 500 AD
- **Oxyrhynchus Library**, Egypt, in Coptic, Greek, Latin, over 5,000 documents 50-550 AD
- **Nag Hammadi Library**, Egypt, in Coptic, 52 documents, 3rd and 4th centuries AD
- **Codex Tschacos** in Coptic, it is probably related to Nag Hammadi, Egypt, 300 AD
- **Dunhuang Library**, China, in Sankrit, Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, etc. 40,000 books and documents, 4th - 11th centuries.
- Abusir papyri, Egypt, in Egyptian, over 2,000 documents, 24th c. BC
- **Herculaneum papyri**, Italy, in Greek, 1,800 documents, before 79 AD
- **Cairo Geniza**, Egypt, in Hebrew and others, 300,000 fragments, 830 - 1880 AD
- **Afghan Geniza**, Afghanistan, in Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, c. 4,000 fragments, 10th - 18th centuries.
- **Timbuktu Manuscripts**, Mali, in Arabic, Songhay, etc. about 500,000 items or more.

Many more documents have been found in all libraries of the World. It will take decades to read and translate all found documents. And we can expect that many more documents will be found. As for religious doctrine, they will probably contain texts that are unwelcomed by religious rulers.

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WHAT IS RELIGION?

We have to ask this question because before the Renaissance, this word was virtually unknown. The word "religion" comes from a Latin word which means "to bind oneself," and a person binds oneself to the way of life given and followed by his community of faith. We also could answer: A Religion is a set of beliefs that is held by a group of people. But this is not enough because we still do not know what this term contains. The teaching in the following paragraphs ought to be subject of any curriculum at school right from the start because it explains the fundamental facts in geograpraphy, history, religion and philosopy without which we cannot even begin to understand what all this is about. The basis of any religion is language, and this language is basis of tradition and scriptures in any religion. Just imagine you were on a journey, then you lose all your luggage, all your clothes, everything. What will you still have? Answer: Your mother tongue and everything you have learned with it. All your knowledge, your skills, your convictions and beliefs can be traced back to this very source! This is the reason why not only scripture is considered sacred but its language too. It explains that religious communities and their institutions are unwilling to accept translations. The original language of a holy book represents the "word of God" itself while a translation somehow has the reputation of being impure.

OPIUM OF THE PEOPLE

When we ask "What is religion all about?" we will hear many different answers. From supporters of a religious life we can hear: "Religion is about spirituality, about God, about worship, about virtues, about charity and do good ". From opponents of religion, particularly organised religion, we can hear: "Religion is about suppression, oppresion, about war, about lies, about propaganda. And the German "Die Religion ist das Opium des Volkes" (often rendered as "Religion is the opium of the people") is one of the most frequently paraphrased statements of German philosopher and economist Karl Marx who found himself on the side of the opponents of religion. Marx had, as many people still have today a problem with the ambivalence of religion. The quotation originates from the introduction of Marx's work A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right, which he started in 1843 but which was not published until after his death. The full quote from Karl Marx translates as: "Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people". Often quoted only in part, the interpretation of the metaphor in its context has received much less attention.

The quotation, in context, reads as follows: *"The foundation of irreligious criticism is: Man makes religion, religion does not make man. Religion is, indeed, the self-consciousness and self-esteem of man who has either not yet won through to himself, or has already lost himself again. But man is no abstract being squatting outside the world. Man is the world of man – state, society. This state and this society produce religion, which is an inverted consciousness of the world, because they are an inverted world. Religion is the general theory of this world, its encyclopaedic compendium, its logic in popular form, its spiritual point d'honneur, its enthusiasm, its moral sanction, its solemn complement, and its universal basis of consolation and justification. It is the fantastic realisation of the human essence since the human essence has not acquired any true reality. The struggle against religion is, therefore, indirectly the struggle against that world whose spiritual aroma is religion.*

Religious suffering is, at one and the same time, the expression of real suffering and a protest against real suffering. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people.

The abolition of religion as the illusory happiness of the people is the demand for their real happiness. To call on them to give up their illusions about their condition is to call on them to give up a condition that requires illusions. The criticism of religion is, therefore, in embryo, the criticism of that vale of tears of which religion is the halo."

The quotation shows that Marx was making a structural functionalism argument about religion, and particularly about organised religion. Marx believed that religion had certain practical functions in society that were similar to the function of opium in a sick or injured person: it reduced people's immediate suffering and provided them with pleasant illusions which gave them the strength to carry on. Marx also saw religion as harmful, as it prevents people from seeing the class structure and oppression around them, thus religion can prevent the necessary revolution. Neither the supporters of religion nor its opponents really grasp the entire range and magnitude that religion can have. Both are right and wrong at the same time! Therefore we ought to bring some light into the matter by the following summarising statements:

1. Scripture is not equal to Religion / Belief System.
2. Religion / Belief System is not the same as Believers / Followers.
3. Religion / Belief System is (re)created by members of the ruling class.
4. Members of the ruling class create scripture to support their doctrine.
5. Doctrine is used by the ruling class as tool to produce peer pressure.
6. Peer pressure is a tool to produce loyalty to a Belief system by Fear.
7. Fear, loyalty, piety is created by Laws, Precepts, Commandments.
8. Laws, Precepts, Commandments are (mis)used to control the masses.
9. Religion / Belief System serves as a unifying factor to create nation states.
10. Masses must be kept ignorant as this system brings riches to the ruling class and death through violent fervour to anyone else.

Some explanations to those ten points:

Point 1 states that scripture is not equal to religion / belief system. It means that a certain text can be in use by different religious groups. This is the case for the Old Testament which is in the very first case not a Christian scripture but a Jewish scripture which is called the Tanakh (The Hebrew Bible). The early Christians installed it into their canon simply because Christianity was a new invention. And as many new inventions, early Christianity lacked legitimacy and the Church leaders decided to get rid of this flaw by accepting the texts of the Old Covenant besides the New Testament which represented the New Covenant. This particular policy went not through un-opposed, for good reasons!

Study of the Hebrew scriptures led Marcion of Sinope (Sinop, northern Turkey; c. 85 – c. 160 AD) to conclude that many of the teachings of Jesus were incompatible with the actions of Yahweh, the belligerent god of the Hebrew Bible. Marcion responded by developing a ditheistic (dualistic) system of belief around the year 144 AD. This notion of two gods—a higher transcendent one and a lower world creator and ruler—allowed Marcion to reconcile his perceived contradictions between Christian Old Covenant theology and the Gospel message proclaimed by the New Testament. Marcion's ideas spead quickly and his publications caused an uproar in the still young Roman Church as her leaders saw this as a threat towards their attempts to let the Church appear a little more legitimate. He ultimately caused the first war inside the Roman Church with persecutions, killings and all the rest of it. Marcion's theology rejected the deity described in the Hebrew Scriptures and in distinction affirmed the Father of Christ as the true God. He published his own list of New Testament books, and then the Marcionite Bible. The Marcionite Bible is much older than the conventional Bible; it was compiled two centuries before the conventional bible was established.

The Marcionite bible contains only one gospel (the Gospel of the Lord, that bears strong similarities to the gospels of Luke, Matthew and Mark) and short versions of Pauls first epistles. There is substantial evidence that the Marcionite version is closer to the original bible texts. Marcion was excommunicated from the early Roman Church by her leaders. The Marcionites as a group, their beliefs and their Bible were radically destroyed by the Roman state Church. No copies of the Marcionite bible are known to have survived to modern times; however, ancient Roman-Catholic writers quoted from Marcions Bible so extensively that it was possible to reconstruct the documents that made up the Marcionite bible. The debate on which scripture should belong to the bible canon lingered on for 200 years until Emperor Flavius Constantinus was fed up with it. As Pontifex Maximus, he summoned all suppreme Church leaders and forced them to decide for a final Bible canon at the First Council of Nicaea in 325 AD.

This little story proves how difficult it can be to bring scripture into harmony with religion. It also proves Point 2 to be right and consequently the importance to talk about the contents of scripture. To talk about believers is only of secondary importance because they just follow those things which are written in the sacred texts. So when you want to debate, stick to the contents of the scripture and the facts. Do not confront believers by calling them names!

Point 3 and the following points deal with the "ruling class" and what it does with the sacred texts. In ancient times, the "ruling class" was the aristocracy and the religious leaders, and in many cases, both were one and the same. So time and again we hear about "king-priests" such as King Hezekiah, King David, King Solomon, or we hear about priest-rulers such as Mohammed, Caliph Umar, Pope Urban II, and many others. Religion was used as a unifying factor by these rulers to create or stabilise a nation state or an empire. Best examples are certainly the ancient empires in Mesopotamia and Egypt, the Eastern Roman Empire under Emperor Flavius Constantinus (272–337 AD), the Caliphate (Muslim Empire) under the Rashidun Caliphs (632–661 AD) and Umayyad Caliphs (661–750 AD), the Maurya Empire under Chandragupta and Ashoka, or the Maya, Inka and Aztec empires in America.

When a belief system can be used to ceate or strengthen a nation state, then we must assume that it can have the opposite effect too. And so it does! The unlimitness of peaceful doctrines in a belief system can cause death of nation states and empires. Example here is most certainly the Buddhist empire that Emperor Ashoka created out of his grandfather's Maurya Empire. Due to the exaggerated peaceful Buddhist doctrines, imposed by Ashoka, the empire was dead within 50 years after his death. The Eastern Roman Empire faced the very same fate for the very same reason: In 750 AD, the once great empire that encompassed (with its peaceful Christian belief system) north Africa, southern Europe, and the Middle East, was minimised by Islamic conquests and confined to the Balkans and the west of todays Turkey. The Mediterranean Sea, the fast waterway for trade and military power, was lost to the Muslims as well. Decline and demise were inevitable. Without the fast waterstreet of the Mediterranean Sea, the remaining Christian nations in Europe suffered decline on such an unprecedented scale that they called it "the Dark Ages".

The Christians in all those areas had no will and therefore no chance to resist Islam which is based on the belief that warfare for world suppremacy and against non-Muslims is the highest virtue because it follows the example of Mohammed, the "perfect man and role model" that everyone must copy who wants to call himself a true Muslim. And we can read about this in the Koran, the Sira (biography of Mohammed), and the Hadith. This is what Mohammedans believe. And the conquest spree that lasts already for 1,400 years goes on - if necessary for another 1,400 years, until each and everyone on Earth is subjugated to Islam!

The different branches of philosophy, religion, ethics and their teachings bear striking resemblance in almost all aspects. The first surprise to most western readers may be the fact that all teachings, with exception of Stoicism from Greece and ancient teachings from Egypt (which both are dead), have their origin in Asia, and not in Europe. This geographical fact is one of the main reasons why these teachings have so many similarities, in contents and appearance.

BELIEF SYSTEMS

In order to understand what we are dealing with, we need to introduce and compare here some basic contents of the main teachings. The following list shows some important belief systems with an estimated range of date of their origin:

- **Hinduism**, Vedas, Upanishads (15th c. BC)
- **Zoroastrianism**, Avesta (14th c. BC)
- **Judaism**, Tanakh / Old Testament, Talmud (9th c. BC)
- **Buddhism**, Dhammapada (6th c. BC)
- **Confucianism**, Li Ji, Lun Yu (6th c. BC)
- **Jainism**, Agamas (5th c. BC)
- **Daoism**, Dao De Jing, Yi Jing (4th c. BC)
- **Stoicism**, Meditations (3rd c. BC)
- **Christianity**, Bible, New Testament (1st c. AD)
- **Islam**, Koran, Sira, Hadith (7th c. AD)
- **Shinto**, Kojiki, Nihon Shoki (8th c. AD)
- **Yazidi Faith**, Mishefa Res (12th c. AD)
- **Yarsanism**, Kalame Saranjam (14th c. AD)
- **Sikhism**, Guru Granth Sahib (15th c. AD.)
- **Baha'i Faith**, Book of Certitude (19th c. AD)

RELIGIOUS CONTENTS

Further studies on origin of these belief system reveal a surprise: All, with the exception of Stoicism (which is a Greek philosophy) and Christianity (which was created by Greek-speaking Romans), are belief systems from Asia. Hinduism, Zoroastrianism and Judaism could even be older than here estimated. The 4 youngest belief systems were founded by former Muslims who obviously were disenchanted by the violent contents of Islam.

We all know that there are many different religions, each with a different set of beliefs. The beliefs are about the world and the people in it, about how they came into being, and what their purpose is. These beliefs are often linked to supernatural beings such as God, a number of gods, angels or other spirits. They may also be linked to an idea such as a path that the spirit of each person should take towards goodness, truth and duty. This is called spirituality.

Each religion has very own ideas about these things. Each religion also has a "moral code" which is a set of laws about how humans should act in order to keep the society functioning. Each religion usually has its own type of "devotions" when people worship or pray. It often has rituals (special things that are always done in the same way) for certain times of the year or certain times of a person's life. Other words that are used for religion are "faith" and "belief system". Some people follow more than one religion at a time. This is the case for almost every individual in eastern, south-east and southern Asia. Someone who calls himself a Buddhist, can also be a Christian and a Confucianist at the very same time as each of those belief system do not contradict one another in fundamental questions such as virtues and duties.

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Some religions focus more on unquestioned belief while others put teachings and philosophies in the foreground which help the believers to understand the hows and whys. The largest religions are Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Sikhism and Judaism. There are many other religions. People who do not believe in any gods are called atheists (people with no god). People who say that they are not sure whether they believe or not are called agnostics (people with no knowledge). A considerable large part of a religious book contains that what we call ethics and laws. These laws have the distinguished function of holding the believing community in check.

CRITICISM OF RELIGION

Criticism of religion is criticism of the ideas, the truth, or the practice of religion, including its political and social implications. Historical records of criticism of religion goes back to at least 5th century BC, in ancient Greece, with Diagoras "the Atheist" of Melos. In ancient Rome, an early known example is Lucretius' De Rerum Natura from the 1st century BC. Criticism of religion is complicated by the fact that there exist multiple definitions and concepts of religion today, even though concepts of religion are not found in historical cultures that produced sacred texts nor are there equivalent terms in their original languages.

With the existence of diverse modern categories of religion such as monotheism, polytheism, pantheism, nontheism and diverse specific religions such as Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Taoism, Buddhism and many others, it is not always clear to whom the criticisms are aimed at or to what extent they are applicable to other religions. Every exclusive religion on Earth that promotes exclusive truth claims necessarily denigrates the truth claims of other religions. Critics of religion in general often regard religion as outdated, harmful to the individual, harmful to society, an impediment to the progress of science, a source of immoral acts or customs, and a political tool for social control.

The 1st century BC Roman poet, Titus Lucretius Carus, in his work De Rerum Natura, wrote: "But 'tis that same religion oftener far / Hath bred the foul impieties of men:" A philosopher of the Epicurean school, Lucretius believed the world was composed solely of matter and void, and that all phenomena could be understood as resulting from purely natural causes. Lucretius, like Epicurus, felt that religion was born of fear and ignorance, and that understanding the natural world would free people of its shackles; however, he did believe in gods. He was not against religion in and of itself, but against traditional religion which he saw as superstition for teaching that gods interfered with the world.

Niccolò Machiavelli, at the beginning of the 16th century said: "We Italians are irreligious and corrupt above others... because the Church and her representatives have set us the worst example." To Machiavelli, religion was merely a tool, useful for a ruler wishing to manipulate public opinion.

In the 18th century Voltaire was a deist and was strongly critical of religious intolerance. Voltaire complained about Jews killed by other Jews for worshiping a golden calf and similar actions, he also condemned how Christians killed other Christians over religious differences and how Christians killed Native Americans for not being baptised. Voltaire claimed the real reason for these killings was that Christians wanted to plunder the wealth of those killed. Voltaire was also critical of Muslim intolerance. It is an undeniable fact that all Islamic scriptures mandate warfare against non-Muslims, dehumanise Jews as "pigs and apes", and describe other non-Muslims, particularly those ones who do not belong to the "people of the scripture" (meaning Jews, Christians, Gnostics, and Zoroastrians), as "the most vile of human beings" who can be killed when they do not immediately surrender to Islam.

This little list gives us a good idea about behaviour and laws that do not fit into a modern humane society:

- Genocide and mass murder (Islam, Christianity, Atheists, Communits, Socialists, Fascists, Nazis and other totalitarian ideologies have been the purpetrators)
- Slavery in general (Islam, Christians and others in history).
- Exorcism and other spiritual torture (some Christian sects).
- Inbreading and Incest, meaning marriage of very close relatives such as brother and sister (some aboriginal groups in Africa, South America, Austral-Asia, and many Islamic states such as Pakistan, where thousands of children are born with genetic defects each year.)
- Suppression of scientific progress (Catholic Church in history, Islam).
- Theological objections to vaccination, anesthesia, and blood transfusion (some Christian sects and others).
- Crime against humanity (Islam, Christians, Atheists and others).
- Corrupt or immoral purposes of political leaders (Islam, Christians, Atheists and others).
- Honour killings (Islam, Christians and others).
- Justified violence against other groups of the same denomination (Islam, Christians).
- Justified violence against so-called unbelievers, non-believers, infidels, kafirs (historically in Jewish Messinic movements, Christianity, Islam).
- Amputation of limbs as penalty for being a "non-believer", an apostate, a "rebel", or a thief (Islam).
- Death penalty for adultery, stoning of women (Islam).
- Death penalty for adultery (Islam).
- Death penalty for apostacy (Islam).
- Death penalty for honosexual practices (Islam).
- Genital modification and mutilation of men AND women (Islam).
- Pedophile abusage of children (Islam, according to the example of Mohammed's deeds as he had sex with a nine-year old girl).
- Sex-slavery (Islam, according to the example of Mohammed's deeds as he had sex-slaves).
- Fascistoid Racism (particularly Arabic Islam, National-Socialism, pan-Slavism, pan-Germanism, Stalinism, and others).
- Cruelty towards Animals (Islam, Judaism, slaughter of animals without stun).
- Encouragement of lies and deception (al-Taqiyyah) against kafirs or "unbelievers" (Islam).

This list could be endlessly expanded. Some of those practices, harsh laws, and tortures have been abandoned by most societies all the world over, except by Islam (which has some of those crual treatments only temporarily suspended under the pressure of world opinion). And the reason is simple: Practices that can be found in Islamic scripture such as the Koran, the Sira (the biography of Mohammed), and the Hadith, are therefore legal in Islam. This must be made absolutely clear: Anything which cannot be found in those scriptures is not considered Islamic and is therefore irrelevant to Islamic practice! This includes all typical western notions of pacifism, humanism, democracy, parliamentarism, tolerance, free speech, the right to act against unjust rulers, gender equality in jurisprudence and social life, and all the rest of it.

DO-GOODERS AND CHARITY

As everything, like a coin, has two opposing sides and a grey zome in between, religion is no exception. Good religion always seeks to edify both the person and society. Religion can have beneficial effects on our society, but this pretty much depends on the goodness of its leaders and the good contents of the scripture they have to follow. There is no doubt that organised religion has shown us all too often its ugly face. There is equally no doubt that individuals do good out of their religious conviction. Religion may have several positive effects. One effect is that religious beliefs may serve as a "moral compass" for a person. Religious teachings help people make decisions that differentiate right from wrong. The ideas expressed in the Golden Rule would be an example of this. Religious beliefs may help a person navigate difficult times when sad or tragic events occur. Religion may provide structure in a person's life. Many times people have stated that their faith has helped them navigate troubling times. There are several positive effects of religion. Being involved with religion and its organisation may allow a person to access community resources to organise effective charity.

Although religious people tend to see themselves on the moral high ground, one must not overlook that philantropy is not restricted to them. There are lots of people around who do not believe in God but nonetheless are convinced that helping those in need is simply the right thing to do.

ETHICS, MORALITY AND VIRTUES

Ethics or moral philosophy is a branch of philosophy that involves systematising, defending, and recommending concepts of right and wrong conduct. The field of ethics, along with aesthetics, concerns matters of value. Ethics is a very important part of religious scipture because it seeks to resolve questions of human morality by defining concepts such as good and evil, right and wrong, virtue and vice, justice and crime. As a field of intellectual inquiry, moral philosophy also is related to the fields of moral psychology, descriptive ethics, and value theory. China is a good example that ethics and virtue can prevail without religious framework. Over 95% of all Chinese follow a very traditional and virtuous mindset: Confucianism. Three major areas of study within ethics recognised today are:

1. Meta-ethics, concerning the theoretical meaning and reference of moral propositions, and how their truth values (if any) can be determined
2. Normative ethics, concerning the practical means of determining a moral course of action
3. Applied ethics, concerning what a person is obligated (or permitted) to do in a specific situation or a particular domain of action

In simple words: Ethics defines what is moral and what is not moral. Ethical values denote the degree of importance of some thing or action, with the aim of determining what actions are best to do or what way is best to live, or to describe the significance of different actions. Value systems are proscriptive and prescriptive beliefs; they affect ethical behaviour of a person or are the basis of their intentional activities.

It is this kind of knowledge, most commonly found out by debate, which consequently build the set of vitues that we can find in all belief systems and their scripture. In order to judge a belief system, we need to know what virtues are the most accepted ones. Why is that important? The answer is as simple as surprising. because ethics, morality, values and virtues is the bedrock of that what we understand as foundation of any society: the Law! There are several sets of virtues:

Egyptian Virtues

During Egyptian civilisation, Maat or Ma'at, also spelled māt or mayet, was the ancient Egyptian concept of truth, balance, order, law, morality, and justice. Maat was also personified as a goddess regulating the stars, seasons, and the actions of both mortals and the deities.

The Greek Virtues

The so-called Four Cardinal Virtues can be found in Plato's Republic:

- Prudence; also Wisdom, describes the ability to discern the appropriate course of action to be taken in a given situation at the appropriate time.
- Courage: also termed fortitude, forbearance, strength, endurance, and the ability to confront fear, uncertainty, and intimidation.
- Temperance: also known as restraint, the practice of self-control, abstention, discretion, and moderation tempering the appetition.
- Justice: also considered as fairness, the most extensive and most important virtue; the Greek word also having the meaning righteousness.

That the Four Cardinal Virtues were recognised in the Old Testament of the Bible, shows clearly that Judaism was much more intertwined with the Greek-Roman civilisation than some scholars want to see. As a consequence, traditional Christian theology followed this concept.

The Roman Virtues

The term "virtue" itself is derived from the Latin "virtus" (the personification of which was the deity Virtus), and had connotations of "manliness", "honour", worthiness of deferential respect, and civic duty as both citizen and soldier. 'Vir' is Latin for "man".

This virtue was but one of many virtues which Romans of good character were expected to exemplify and pass on through the generations, as part of the Mos Maiorum; ancestral traditions which defined "Roman-ness". Romans distinguished between the spheres of private and public life, and thus, virtues were also divided between those considered to be in the realm of private family life (as lived and taught by the paterfamilias), and those expected of an upstanding Roman citizen.

Most Roman concepts of virtue were also personified as a numinous deity. The primary Roman virtues, both public and private, were:

- Prudence – foresight, wisdom, and personal discretion.
- Courage, valour, excellence, character, and worth.
- Perseverance" – general mental and physical endurance in the face of hardship.
- Justitia – sense of moral worth to an action; personified by the goddess Iustitia, the Roman counterpart to the Greek Themis.
- Honesty, truthfulness in dealing with others, a person living an honest life was bound to be virtuous.
- Discipline" – considered essential to military excellence; also connotes adherence to the legal system, and upholding the duties of citizenship.
- Tenacity – strength of mind, and the ability to stick to one's purpose at hand without wavering.
- Mercy" – mildness and gentleness, and the ability to set aside previous transgressions.
- Severitas – "sternness" – self-control, considered to be tied directly to the virtue of gravitas.
- Dignitas – "dignity" – a sense of self-worth, personal self-respect and self-esteem.
- Fides - "good faith" - mutual trust and reciprocal dealings in both government and commerce (public affairs), a breach meant legal and religious consequences.
- Moderation – economy and simplicity in lifestyle, want what we must have and not what we need, regardless of one's material possessions, authority or wants one has, an individual always has a degree of honour. Frugality is to eschew what has no practical use if it is in disuse and if it comes at the expense of the other virtues.
- Honestas – "respectability" – the image and honor that one presents as a respectable member of society.
- Humanity – refinement, civilisation, learning, and generally being cultured.
- Diligence – "industriousness" – hard work.
- Cleanliness" – general health and cleanliness.

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**NAMES CAN TELL US FACTS -
AND NAMES CAN HIDE FACTS !**

The thoughts which we have expressed in the previous chapters of this Introduction are not always present to the mind of those who think they rule the today's world. The future life of the Western World is not their concern; its means of livelihood is not their anxiety. Their preoccupations, good and bad alike, related to a kind of perfect socialism under the camouflage of liberalism, to make the people shut up by a sinister tool called "Political Correctness", to make the population lethargic by "popular" but quite infantile publications, to impose future enfeeblement of an originally strong society and its communities that are based on the liberty to choose, the framework of humanistic laws, and the freedom of speech that ensures the rights and safety of any individual against any dangerous enemy.

Two rival schemes for the future polity of the world are taking the field,—Freedom under the rule of law made by our ancestors, and the Islamic world of totalitarism with all its slavery, inequality and suppression. Yet only one of these will be entitled to take the field; for the enemy is on the march to defeat freedom unconditionally, in order to take the subjugated dreamers of a socialist and globalised Utopia directly into the slave-holders "house of peace" (Dar as-Salam).

In the following chapters of this Introduction we shall study in some detail what religions and their scriptures are based on. But it will be easier to appreciate the true origin of many of the given facts if we examine here some of the reciprocal factors which influence the here discussed belief systems. In attempting this task, we touch, inevitably, questions of motive, on which spectators are liable to error and are not entitled to take on themselves the responsibilities of final judgement. Yet, if we seem in the following chapters to assume sometimes the liberties which are habitual to historians, but which, in spite of the greater knowledge with which we speak, we generally hesitate to assume towards contemporaries, let the reader excuse us when he remembers how greatly, if it is to understand its destiny, the world needs light, even if it is partial and uncertain, on the complex struggle of human will and purpose, not yet finished, which, concentrated in the persons who call themselves leaders, media, and educators of all individuals they assume ought to listen to them.

Most people have a rather unclear view on religion. This has to do with their inadequate education. We should understand some main events as they still influence us today. Religious education and lessons on History should contain a systematic display of facts. Students must learn and understand first some basic facts about religious denominations in the world and how they have influenced one another. Without this basic knowledge, any discussion about religion or other belief systems is virtually useless.

A good way to do it is to show some facts in a simplified manner. We just have to keep in mind that those facts may apply to the majority of the people in a particular region, but probably not to one or the other minority. Maps that clearly show geographical areas and boundaries of religions, of language, and of writing systems, are most helpful. We understand better anything what we can see. Let us show you what we really mean:

History and Geography go together as we all have neighbours. When we want to understand major events in world history, we must know what the core of any society is. Nations are made by these values, qualities and properties: Language and belief! Believes are reflected in that what we call religion, philosophy or ethics. Those beliefs are based on certain traditional writings. We may call them holy books. They carry all what we believe in, our basic laws, our virtues and moral rules, our philosophies on life in general. And these main contents are delivered in the language of the people in a certain time and in a certain geopraphical region.

First, we have to go back in history and find out to which group a certain language belongs and what it has to do with belief. Modern names often blur the real facts. We will give an Example:

The modern state languages Portuguese, Spanish, French, Italian, and Romanian are all daughters of the dead language Latin and scientists call them "Romance Languages" (Latin had been spoken by the Romans, therefore we call it here just Roman.). All of them have about 90% of their vocabulary and grammar in common. Their manner of speech might differ, but for an Italian-speaker it takes only a few weeks to learn Spanish or French!

Another example: The languages English, Dutch, German, Danish, Swedish, Norse, and Islandic have one ancestor and we call them Germanic Languages and they too have the main vocabulary and grammar in common. It takes a considerably short time to learn another when you already speak one of them.

By the beginning of the first millenium, people in Europe began to experience migration on an unprecedented scale. Due to climate change and therefore the arrival of the Huns (Chinese: Xiong-nu), thousands of people and even entire nations were on the move. The German tribes of the Goths, Franks or Saxons stormed through Europe towards territories of the Roman Empire. At the same time, Christianity spread throughout the entire Roman Empire, and later, to the regions beyond. So, in the first millenium the Germanic people became Christians too. The Roman Empire has become too large to be ruled smoothly by only one government. In the third and fourth centuries AD, the Romans split their government in two, in a West and an East government. That worked well for quite some time until crucial events tore West and East apart.

Lots of Germans served in the Roman Army, admired the Roman way of life, learned about Roman achievements, took on Roman habits and laws. Whilst the Huns pushed them from the East into the territories of the Western Roman Empire. Romans and Germans together stopped the Hun's appetite for easy conquest and in a joint effort they defeated and annihilated the Huns in about 470 AD, and the participating Germans felt now entitled to take over the weakened Western Roman Empire. Here, they built their own Kingdoms and the Empire in the West ceased to exist, while the Roman Empire in the East fiercely defended its borders against anyone for another 1,000 years. After the fall of the Western Roman Empire, each Germanic state on its ground, and beyond, gradually lost its power to the mighty Roman-Catholic Church. No king or government was really able to act freely without the consent of the Pope in Rome, the mighty leader of the Roman Church in the West. The Christianity of the East (which we now call "the Orthodox Church") spread its religion, its Greek language and culture from Constantinople over all its territory and with the Slavonic people it went to a land which we later would call Russia.

The rise of the Islam in the 7th century was the main reason why the Western European nations lost contact to China that was established between the Chinese Han Dynasty and the Roman Empire. In 1453, the declining Eastern Roman Empire was crushed by Turkish Armies and their religion, Islam! The rise of Islam was the major reason why Western explorers, such as Ferdinand Magellan, Vasco da Gama and Christopher Columbus, as well as Eastern explorers, such as Admiral Zheng He, tried to re-establish those old contacts again. They simply wanted to go round the Islamic powers who blocked the Silk Road and charged too high a tax so that business with them and through them became worthless for the western European merchants.

When Johannes Gutenberg introduced his highly effective printing system in 1450, he turned the old order of the successor-states in the territory of the former Western Roman Empire upside-down. The Renaissance began. This was the time when the Germanic people rose up in protest against the Roman-Catholic Church due to her rampant corruption but in particular against her stubborn rejection to allow the main book of all Christians, the Bible, to be published in the languages of the Germanic peoples. Up to then, the Bible was only published in Greek for the Eastern Roman Empire and in Latin, the Roman language, for that what once was the Western Roman Empire.

The Roman-speaking people did not protest as they did not need a translation. Most Spanish, French or Italian speaking people still could understand Latin somehow. The Germanic people on the other hand were not willing to accept the ban of their Bible translations (by John Wycliffe, Martin Luther and William Tyndal) as they passionately wished to read the Word of God for themselves. By about 1550 they founded their own Protestant Churches and faced the onslaught of the Armies of the Roman Church. Religious wars were fought in Europe that lasted 100 years and cost millions of lives. In the End, no-one could win. And this is the Western world as we have it today: A Status Quo and a sour feeling towards each other.

DISPERSION OF LANGUAGE AND BELIEF SYSTEM

Nothing can show the today's reality better than a map that combines the history of language, writing system, and main belief system as we are ruled by events that origin in the past: A language is closely connected to a certain kind of writing system. Such a script is connected to a certain religion or other tradition and its holy books. Neighbour countries influence each other heavily. A majority in one country can be a minority in a neighbour country. When there is a minority with a different language or tradition within the majority of another, we could anticipate an explosive potential of conflict as the majority usually tries to impose its power by language, tradition and laws that the minority does not want. It is this knowledge that explains the cause of most conflicts and wars.

The World is shared by these Majorities:

• **Roman languages**: Roman Alphabet, Roman-Catholic Christianity (Bible);

• **Germanic languages**: Roman Alphabet, Protestant Christianity (Bible);

• **Slavonic languages**: Cyrilic Alphabet, Orthodox Christianity (Bible);

• **Arabic languages**: Arabic Script, Sunna Islam (Koran);

• **Turkic languages**: Arabic Script, Sunna Islam (Koran); (mundane script in Turkey: Roman)

• **Iranian languages**: Arabic Script, Shia Islam (Koran);

• **Indian languages**: Indian Script, Hinduism (Books: Mahabharata, Ramayana, Upanishads, the Vedas);

• **South Asian languages**: variants of Indian Scripts, Buddhism (Books: Pali Canon, Mahayana Sutras, Buddhavacana, Tripitaka);

• **Austronesian languages**: Roman Alphabet, Islam in Indonesia (Koran, in Arabic), Roman-Catholic Christianity in the Philippines (Bible);

• **Chinese languages**: Chinese Script, Confucianism (Books: Lun Yu, Li Ji, Mencius, I Ching); Daoism (Books: Dao De Jing, Zhuangzi, I Ching); Buddhism.

FUTURE CONFLICTS

Learning about history does not only show us the past but gives us also a vague outlook into a possible future. Look at this little list and you will get an idea what could lay ahead: Regions with potential religious conflicts: Northern Ireland, Scotland, southern France, southern Spain, Bosnia, Macedonia, the Caucasus, Lebanon, Iraq, Usbekistan, Western China, Korea, north-western India, Nigeria, Chad, Mali, Congo, the Philippines. Regions with potential language and ethnic conflicts: Belgium, eastern Spain, northern Italy, eastern Turkey, northern Iran, northern Iraq, southern Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, south-east Asia, Burma, Borneo, Nepal, western China, Taiwan, East Timor, north-western India, Southern India, Bolivia, Mexico, South Africa, eastern Canada, the south-west of the United States.

LANGUAGES OF THE SCRIPTURES

(Understanding the matters of language, also called linguistics when we speak about this subject as science, is vital, particularly if we want to find out in what way peoples are related to one another. This principle is true also when we deal with scripture. That all people in Antiquity lived in isolation and ignorance is a misconception. In fact, tradesmen, seafarers and soldiers were on the move at all times, from country to country and even to faraway continents. Their language and scripture travelled with them. And so did their culture, their beliefs, their religion, their laws, their civilisation. History can only be fully understood when we always take this fact into consideration.)

• **Hieroglyths** or **Logographic scripts**. A hieroglyph (Greek for "sacred writing") is a character of the writing system of ancient Egypt, China as well as the Olmec, Maya and Aztec civilisations. Logographic scripts that are pictographic in form. Hieroglyphs or logographs represent the meaning of a word rather than its mere sound as in Alphabets.

The Egyptians were among the first who invented the pictorial script in around 3500 BC. They marked the beginning of Egyptian civilisation. Though based on images, Egyptian script was more than a sophisticated form of picture-writing. Each picture/glyph served three functions: (1st) to represent the image of a thing or action, (2nd) to stand for the sound of a syllable, and (3rd) to clarify the precise meaning of adjoining glyphs. Writing hieroglyphs required some artistic skill, limiting the number chosen to learn it. Only those privileged with an extensive education (i.e. the Pharaoh, nobility and priests) were able to read and write hieroglyphs; others used simpler 'joined-up' versions: demotic and hieratic script. Hieroglyphs are difficult to learn as they consists of about 5,000 characters.

The Chinese characters may have their origin in about 2,500 BC. Each character represents the meaning of a syllable and its sound. Each learner must know at least 5,000 in order to use that script functionally, 10,000 to 15,000 in order to study at university, and 50,000 to be able to read everything.

• The **Cuneiform script** is a system of writing invented by the the Sumerians in Mesopotamia. The name cuneiform means "wedge-shaped". Cuneiform was the most widespread and historically significant writing system in the ancient Middle East. Its active history comprised the last three millennia BC; its long development and geographic expansion involved numerous successive cultures and languages; and its overall significance as an international graphic medium of civilisation is second only to that of the Phoenician-Greek-Latin alphabet. The origins of cuneiform may be traced back approximately to the end of the 4th millennium BC. It was of Sumerian origin, a language and people of unknown ethnic and linguistic affinities. When the Semitic language Akkadian became the chief language of Mesopotamia in the 3rd century BC., it took Cuneiform script as its alphabet. Cuneiform script was used in the entire ancient Middle East including Judaea and Israel and we can be sure that the ancient Jews read the tablets and Akkadian wisdom literature became the foundation of the Torah / the Books of Moses.

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• **Alphabetic Script or Alphabetic Writing System.** Most European, Semitic, and Indian alphabets can be traced back to the Phoenician and Aramaic alphabets which were better developed versions of the North Semitic alphabet. The Phoenician and Aramaic alphabets spread over the Mediterranean area by Phoenician and Jewish traders. The Greeks embraced this invention first, then the Etruscans, followed by the Romans. The earliest Phoenician inscription that has survived is the Ahiram epitaph at Byblos in Phoenicia, dating from the 11th century BC and written in the North Semitic alphabet. The colonial Phoenician script evolved into the Punic and neo-Punic alphabets of Carthage, which continued to be written until about the 3rd century AD. Punic was a monumental script and neo-Punic a cursive form.

THE NON-SEMITIC LANGUAGES OF SCRIPTURE

• **Sanskrit** is an Old Indo-European language. It is the poetic or lithurgic form of Prakrit, the language of Emperor Ashoka. In grammatical structure, Prakrit and Sanskrit are inflected languages like Indo-European languages such as Greek, German and Latin. The nominal system—including nouns, pronouns, and adjectives—has three genders (masculine, feminine, and neuter), three numbers (singular, dual, and plural), and eight cases (nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, ablative, vocative, and locative, instrumental). Verbs inflect for tense, mode, voice, number, and person. Over its long history, any kind of literature in Sanskrit has been taught orally to learners, the potential successors. The oldest written texts were written in Emperor Ashoka's Brahmi script which was developed out of both Aramaic and Greek. Today, we use Devanagari script which is a kind of Square Brahmi written inside an angle with a horizontal top line and a vertical line on the right. The Brahmi letter hangs from the top line which serves as guideline. Although in modern times Devanagari has become more generally used, Sanskrit texts continue to be published in regional scripts, such as Sarada in the north (Kashmir), Bangla (Bengali) in the northeast, Gujarati in the west.

People from India produced in Sanskrit the probably largest corpus of ancient literature in the World covering a wide range of subjects. The most ancient compositions in Sanskrit, from about 1200 BC, are the Vedic Hymns knows as the Rigveda ("The Veda Composed in Verses") and they stem from the northwestern part of the Indian subcontinent, the area of the ancient seven rivers (sapta sindhavah). The two epics Ramayana ("Life of Rāma") and Mahabharata ("Great Tale of the Bharatas") were also composed in Sanskrit, and the former is esteemed as the first poetic work (adikavya) of India. Sanskrit is not restricted to Hindu compositions. It has also been used by Jaina and Buddhist scholars, the latter primarily Mahayana Buddhists. Sanskrit was also used as the medium for composing treatises of various philosophical schools, as well as works on logic, astronomy, and mathematics. The numerals we use today are an Indian invention and large parts of Indian philosophy and religious ideas influenced the Antiquity in West and East.

• **Pali** is the second important ancient language of Buddhism because it is used as sacred language of the Theravada Buddhist canon, that is southeastern Buddhism in Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia. Like Prakrit and Sanskrit, Pali is an Indo-European language of north Indian origin. On the whole, Pali Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Iranian are descended from a common ancestor. Pali's use as a Buddhist canonical language came about because the Buddha opposed the use of Sanskrit, a learned language, as a vehicle for his teachings and encouraged his followers to speak in the most simple way so that everyone can understand. This is wisdom in its purest form. In time, his orally transmitted sayings spread through India to Ceylon (c. 3rd century BC), where they were written down in Pali (1st century BC), a literary language of rather mixed vernacular origins. Pali eventually became a revered, standard, and international tongue. The language and the Theravada canon known as Tipitaka (Sanskrit: Tripitaka) were brought to Myanmar (Burma), Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. Due to the decline of Buddhism in India, Pali died out as a literary language in mainland India in the 14th century but survived elsewhere until the 1800s. The greatest bulk of the Buddhist scripture survives in the Chinese language.

• **Avestan** [also called incorrectly Zend language] is the eastern Iranian language of the Avesta [or 'Zend-Avesta'], the sacred book of Zoroastrianism. It belongs to the large group of Indo-European languages like Sanskrit, Pali, Greek, Slavonic, Latin, German and English. Avestan falls into two groups, the older being that of the Gathas, which reflects a linguistic stage (dating from c. 600 BC) close to that of Vedic Sanskrit in India. The greater part of the Avesta is written in a more recent form of the language and shows gradual simplification and variation in grammatical forms. When the canon of the Avesta was being fixed (4th to 6th century AD), Avestan was a dead language known only to priests. It probably ceased to be used as an everyday spoken tongue about 400 BC, but the sacred word was passed down through oral tradition. Avestan was written in a script evolved from late Pahlavi writing, which, in turn, derived from Aramaic.

• The **Greek language** is an isolated Indo-European language primarily spoken in Greece at first, then also in the entire Mediterranian area. It has a long and well-documented history—the longest of any Indo-European language—spanning 34 centuries. It is related to Romance, Germanic, Slavonic, Celtic, Iranian and Indian languages. In Antiquity, Greek was the language of almost the entire Balkan peninsula and the western half of today's Turkey. With the adoption of the Phoenician alphabet in the 8th century B.C., Greek became not only a literary language, but over time even a kind of world trade language in many cities on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea. Classic Greek and Roman philosophy and other sciences (Solon, Plato, Aristoteles, Archimedes, Zeno, Marcus Aurelius etc.) was written down in Greek.

It became a rival of Aramaic, a Semitic language. The Greek language spread to Egypt and with Alexander the Great's conquests, it spread to the territories of the Persian and Indian empires.

The Roman Empire was linguistically divided between Latin in the western half and Greek in the eastern half. Moreover, Greek was used as lingua franca of the educated upper class of the Roman Empire. The main reason why the New Testament was written in Greek is simple: (1st) the authors were Greek speakers (and not Hebrews!) and (2nd) the New Testament was deliberately addressed to members of the upper class of the Roman Empire who all were educated in Greek. English has this kind of position in all countries on Earth today.

• The **Latin or Roman language** was originally spoken by small groups of people living along the lower River Tiber, Latin spread with the increase of Roman political power, first throughout Italy and then throughout most of western and southern Europe and the central and western Mediterranean coastal regions of Africa. The modern Romance languages [such as Portuguese, Galician, Spanish, Catalan, French, Italian and Romanian] developed from the Vernicular or Vulgar Latin [spoken Latin] of various parts of the Roman Empire. Latin has been the language of the Roman-Catholic Church the western half of the Roman Empire. As spoken language, Latin is dead, but it still serves as source for new words. Some of the best Bible copies were written in Latin.

• **Chinese languages** also called Sinitic languages, (in Chinese: Hanwen) are the principal language group of eastern Asia, belonging to the Sino-Tibetan language family. Chinese exists in a number of varieties that are called dialects by Chinese politicians but that are usually classified as separate languages by scholars. These languages include Mandarin (Putonghua, Zhongwen) in the northern, central, and western parts of China; Wu; Northern and Southern Min; Gan (Kan); Hakka (Kejia); and Xiang; and Cantonese (Yue) in the southeastern part of the country. The spoken varieties of Chinese are mutually unintelligible to their respective speakers. They differ from each other to about the same extent as the modern Germanic languages English, German, and Scandinavian. Most of the differences among them occur in pronunciation and vocabulary; there are few grammatical differences. Chinese script Hanzi (which possesses around 50,000 characters connoting meaning rather than sound) has a unifying function as all Chinese languages are written in the same script.

The grammatical structure of Chinese languages differ from Indo-European languages so fundamentally that typical features such as verb tenses, singular-plural distinction, phrasal verbs, participles, conditionals, subjunctives, irregular verb forms, irregular plural forms of nouns, and lots of other attributes are totally alien to native speakers of any Sino-Tibetan language. Chinese is one of the most important scripture languages in the World. The canons of Confucianism, Jainism, Daoism, Buddhism and even Christianity are complete. Lots of other ancient texts are preserved as the discovery of scriptures in Dunhuang and Turfan show. Among them are Buddhist texts in Sanskrit and Pali as well as Jewish and Christian texts in Sogdian, Aramaic, Syriac, and Hebrew.

THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES OF SCRIPTURE

• **The Semitic languages** have a history that is quite well documented. Written records documenting languages belonging to the Semitic family reach back to the middle of the 3rd millennium BC. Evidence of Old Akkadian [also spelled Accadian, and sometimes called Assyro-Babylonian] is found in the Sumerian literary tradition. By the early 2nd millennium BC, Akkadian dialects in Babylonia and Assyria had acquired the cuneiform writing system used by the Sumerians, causing Akkadian to become the chief language of Mesopotamia. Akkadian spread across an area extending from the Mediterranean Sea to the Persian Gulf during the time of King Sargon of the Akkad dynasty, who reigned from about 2334 to about 2279 BC. The Akkadian language divided into the Assyrian dialect, spoken in northern Mesopotamia, and the Babylonian dialect, spoken in southern Mesopotamia. At first the Assyrian dialect was used more extensively, but Babylonian largely supplanted it and became the lingua franca of the Middle East by the 9th century BC. During the 7th and 6th centuries BC, Aramaic gradually began to replace Babylonian as the spoken and written language. Other Semitic languages are Hebrew, Phoenician or Punic, Coptic, Geez or Amharic or Ethiopian, Syriac, Moabite, Idumaean, Edomite, and Arabic. From c. 1200 BC, most of those laguages adopted the Phoenician abjad alphabet.

The sound system of all those Semitic languages is very different from that of English and the other languages of Europe. It includes a number of distinctive guttural sounds (pharyngeal and uvular fricatives) and a series of velarised consonants (pronounced with accompanying constriction of the pharynx and raising of the back of the tongue). There are only the three vowels a, i, u, which can be either short or long. Most words start with a single consonant followed by a vowel, and long vowels are rarely followed by more than a single consonant. Clusters containing more than two consonants do not occur in the language. The languages also make use of a wide range of prefixes and suffixes, which act as subject markers, pronouns, prepositions, and the definite article. As most Semitic language are written only with consonant letters [there are no letters for the vowels], makes translating ancient texts a difficult task. In modern Semitic texts, writers use little dots and dashes as vowel marks.

A Semitic word is composed of two parts: (1st) the root, which generally consists of three consonants and provides the basic lexical meaning of the word, and (2nd) the pattern, which consists of vowels and gives grammatical meaning to the word. Thus, the Hebrew root z-d-k combined with the vowel pattern a-i gives zadik 'the righteous one'. The Arabic root s-l-m can be combined with the vowel pattern a-a which gives salam 'peace', but it can also be combined with i-a which gives 'islam', and this means 'submit, surrender'. This opens the possibility to play word games with deliberate ambiguus, ironic or sarcastic contents. As s-l-m means peace and submit, one can say 'you surrender, then there is peace'.

• The **Aramaic or Aramaean language** is a Semitic language of the Northern Central group, originally spoken by the ancient Middle Eastern people known as Aramaeans. Aram was an ancient country in today's northern Syria. It extended eastwards from the Anti-Lebanon Mountains to beyond the Euphrates River. Aramaeans built numerous city-kingdoms, including Damascus, and Aramaens ruled the Assyrian Empire. And with this empire the language spread rapidly to all parts of the Middle East and soon also to Egypt, Persia and India. Aramaic was the main language of Israel and Judaea, not Hebrew.

Aramaic is thought to have first appeared among the Aramaeans about the late 11th century BC and was most closely related to Hebrew, Syriac, and Phoenician. The first writing system was the Phoenician abjad and from the 8th century BC it was written in a script that slowly derived from Phoenician. Aramaic developed further into Syriac, also called Syriac-Aramaic, a dialectal variation of Aramaic that alo developed its own script. Some parts of the Old Testament were written in Aramaic. It was also the language of Jesus and the prophet Mani. The first Koran texts were also written in the Syiac Aramaic style that was used in Persia.

• **Syriac** is a Semitic language, a dialect of Aramaic, and part of a language group to which also Canaanite, Phoenician [or Punic], Hebrew, and Arabic belong. It was an important Christian literary and liturgical language from the 3rd through the 7th century AD. Syriac was based on the East Aramaic dialect of Edessa, which became one of the chief centres of Christianity in the Middle East at the end of the 2nd century AD. Several early Christian documents have only in copies made in Syriac. See also Aramaic language.

• **Syriac** is also the name of a writing system used by the Syriac Christians from the 1st century AD until about the 14th century. A Semitic alphabet, Syriac was an offshoot of a cursive Aramaic script. Syriac was used as writing medium not only for Aramaic but also for Indian and Persian languages such as Sogdian. The Arabic script is derived from Syriac. It had 22 letters, all representing consonants, and was generally written from right to left, although occasionally vertically downward. There were several varieties of Syriac script; the oldest of these was Estrangela, or Estrangelo, which was in almost exclusive use until about 500 AD. A schism (split) in the Syriac church at the Council of Ephesus (431) resulted in the division of the Syriac language and script into two forms, western and eastern. The western variety nearly died out under Muslim Arabic domination after the 7th century, but scattered communities of Syriac Christians survived, some of which continued to use the Syriac script. Documents of the Melchite sect of Palestinian Syrians date from as late as the 14th century. The eastern, or Nestorian, script remained in use in Central Asia, Siberia, and China until the 13th or 14th century, as attested by inscriptions on gravestones in southern Siberia.

• **Coptic** is an an Afro-Asiatic language that was related to Semitic languages and it was spoken in Egypt from about the 2nd century AD. Coptic represents the final stage of the ancient Egyptian language. In contrast to earlier stages of

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Egyptian, which used hieroglyphic writing, hieratic script, or demotic script, Coptic was written in the Greek alphabet, supplemented by seven letters borrowed from demotic writing. Coptic also replaced the religious terms and expressions of earlier Egyptian with words borrowed from Greek. Numerous Christian documents have survived in Coptic as Egypt had a rich literature industry. Most documents from Nag Hammadi, Egypt, such as the Gospel of Thomas and the Gospel of Judas were published there in Coptic.

• **Geez** [also spelled Ge'ez or Ge-ez], is the liturgical language of the Ethiopian church. Geez is a Semitic language of the Southern Peripheral group, to which also belong the South Arabic dialects and Amharic, one of the principal languages of Ethiopia. Both Geez and the related languages of Ethiopia are written and read from left to right, in contrast to the other Semitic languages. Extinct as a spoken language, Geʿez is the ancestor of the languages of Eritrea and Ethiopia. The oldest known inscription in the language dates from the 3rd or 4th century and is written in a script that does not indicate vowels. Subsequent inscriptions found in the ancient Ethiopian capital of Aksum were written from the 4th through the 9th century in a script that does indicate vowels. The Bible was translated into Geez between the 5th and 7th centuries.

• **Amharic** [also called Amarinya or Kuchumba, Amarinya also spelled Amharinya and Amarigna] is one of the two main languages of Ethiopia (which is in ancient texts called 'Abyssinia'). It is spoken principally in the central highlands of the country. Amharic is an Afro-Asiatic language of the Southwest Semitic group and is closely related to Geez, or Ethiopic, the liturgical language of the Ethiopian Orthodox church. Some Christian documents were written in Amharic.

• **Phoenician** is a Semitic language of the Northern Central (or Northwestern) group, spoken in ancient times on the coast of Syria and Palestine in Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, and neighbouring towns and in other areas of the Mediterranean colonised by Phoenicians. Phoenician is very close to Hebrew and Aramaic and consequently, Jews and their religion spread with the Phoenicians with whom the Jews travelled west. The earliest Phoenician inscription probably dates from the 11th century BC; the latest inscription from Phoenicia proper is from the 1st century BC, when the language was already being superseded by Aramaic. The Phoenician language spread to many of its colonies. In one, the North African city of Carthage, a later stage of the language, known as Punic [a Roman word curruption of 'Phoenician'], became the language of the Carthaginian empire. Punic continued to be used by North African peasants until the 6th century AD. Phoenician words are found in Classical Greek and Latin literature as well as in writings in the Egyptian, Akkadian, and Hebrew languages. The language is written with a 22-character alphabet that does not indicate vowels. The Phoenician writing system survived in the tifinagh script of the Tuareg, who live in the southern Sahara.

• **Hebrew** is a Semitic language of the Northern Central (also called Northwestern) group; it is closely related to Phoenician. It was a descendant of the old Canaanite language. Spoken in ancient times in Palestine, Hebrew was almost entirely replaced by Aramaic beginning about the 3rd century BC; the language continued to be used as a liturgical and literary language, however. It was revived as a spoken language in the 19th and 20th centuries and is now the official language of Israel. The greatest part of the Tanakh, the Old Testament, was written in Hebrew, and so was the Deuterocanon.

• **Arabic** is a Southern Semitic language spoken in a large area including North Africa, most of the Arabian Peninsula, and other parts of the Middle East. (See Afro-Asiatic languages.) Arabic is the religious language of all Muslims and the language of the Islamic scripture, such as the Koran (or Quran, the Recital), the Sira (the biography of Mohammed, the Sirat Rasul Allah), the Hadith (the Islamic traditions), the law book of the Sharia (Umdat al-Salik), and the exegesis (the Tafsir al-Tabari). Literary Arabic, usually called Classical Arabic, is essentially the form of the language found in the Koran. The Arabic script deveoped from Syriac. Before the times of Mohammed, there was no Arabic literature with the exception of business notes. However, there were several translations of Christian texts in circulation.

CHRONOLOGY OF EXPLORATION

This is a chronology of the early exploration and it shows that the Age of Exploration was not a one-way-street. Exploration, trade, colonisation and conquest went hand in hand from its earliest time. The Egyptians, Sumerians, Akkadians, Phoenicians and the Greeks provide us with the first written documents on papyrus, cuneiform clay tablets and in rock inscriptions. Along with these explorers went their language, and with their language came their world of thoughts, their religion, their culture and their laws. Contrary to common belief, most civilisations did not grow isolated but in context with all other civilisations they got in touch with. And this included also single persons who boldly dared to discover what may lay behind endless horizons.

• c. 2010–1998 BC: Henenu [or Hannu, Hennu] was an Egyptian explorer, serving as business magnate to Pharao Mentuhotep III in the 20th century BC. He reportedly re-opened the trade routes to Punt [Eritrea] and Libya for the Middle Kingdom of Egypt. He is known from inscriptions, in Wadi Hammamat no. 114 (ca. 2000 BC) as H-N-W. One of the texts say: "I was sent to conduct ships to the land of Punt, to fetch for Pharaoh sweet-smelling spices, which the princes of the red land collect out of fear and dread, such as he inspires in all nations. And I started from the city of Coptos.—And his Holiness gave the command that the armed men, who were to accompany me, should be from the south-country of the Thebai'd."

• c. 1507–1458 BC: Nehsi was an official at the court of the ancient Egyptian Pharaoh [queen] Hatshepsut. He appears to have been of Nubian descent –nehsi "N-H S-J" meaning He of Nubia– and held a number of important official positions, such as Wearer of the Royal Seal and chief treasurer. He is depicted in the "Punt Reliefs" in the temple of Deir el-Bahri where he is described as having been responsible for dispatching Hatshepsut's expedition to Punt. The expeditionary force comprised five ships, each seventy feet long, accommodating 210 men including sailors and 30 rowers. Among the company were people who made records of the fauna, flora and the inhabitants of Punt. Nehsi was buried in Saqqara, where he had a rock cut tomb.

• c. 1100 BC: After the end of the Bronze Age in the eastern Mediterranean (in about 1200 BC), great civilisations such as Egypt, Anatolia, Elam (Iran), Levant, Mesopotamia, and Canaan collapsed. In around 1100 BC, the Phoenicians and the to them related Aramaeans und Judaeans took the chance and explored the western Mediterranean Sea and founded a new Phoenician (Punic, a Roman word corruption of 'Phoenician') civilisation in the northwest of Africa, better known as Cartage.

• c. 850 BC: Greek pirates learned from Phoenician pirates and so the Phoenician characters became the model for the Greek Alphabet. In the 8th century, Greek pirates became explorers and colonists in the foodsteps of the Phoenicians who claimed northwest Africa and southern Spain. The Greeks took northern Spain, Italy, the Balcans, Asia Minor and the Black Sea shores. They became the Phoenicians' fiercest rivals. Homer (Greek: Homeros, florished during the late eighth or early seventh centuries BC) and Anaximander (Greek: Anaximandros; c. 610–546 BC) wrote about these legendary times of exploration and conquest.

• 6th century BC: Himilco was a Phoenician navigator and explorer who lived in Carthage during the late 6th or early 5th century BC. Himilco is the first known explorer from the Mediterranean Sea to reach the northwestern shores of Europe, in particular "Albion" and "Ierne" which are old names for Britain and Ireland. His lost account of his adventures is quoted by Roman writers, such as in Natural History (2.169a) by the Roman Pliny the Elder and Rufus Festus Avienus.

• 515 BC: Scylax explores the Indus and the sea route across the Indian Ocean to Egypt. Scylax of Caryanda was a Greek explorer and writer of the late 6th and early 5th centuries BC. His own writings are lost, though occasionally cited or quoted by later Greek and Roman authors. The periplus sometimes called the Periplus of Scylax is not, in fact, by him; that so-called Periplus of Pseudo-Scylax was written in about the early 330s BC by an unknown author.

Herodotos of Halikarnassos calls him a sea-captain from Ionia. He is said to have sailed down the Indus River at the behest of the Achaemenid emperor Darius I (522–486 BC) and then around the Arabian peninsula to reach Suez. In the narrative of Herodotus: "Darius was the discoverer of the greater part of Asia. Wishing to know where the Indus (the only river with crocodiles, save one) ran into the sea, he sent a number of men, on whose trustworthiness he could rely, and among them Scylax of Caryanda, to sail down the river. They set out from the city of Caspatyrus, in the region called Pactyica, and sailed downstream in an easterly direction to the sea. Here they turned westward, and after a voyage of thirty months, reached the place from which the Egyptian king ... sent the Phoenicians to sail round Libya. Once the voyage was completed, Darius conquered the Indians, and made use of the sea in those parts. Thus all Asia, except the eastern section, has been found to exhibit the same features as Libya." (Herodotus, Histories 4.44)

• 329 BC: After his conquest of Judaea, Egypt, Mesopotamia and the Persian Empire, Alexander the Great reaches Sogdiana (today: Usbekistan) in Central Asia, at the western border of Chinese influence, founds the city of Alexandria Eschate, marries the local princess Roxana and stays there for almost two years. Then he conquers with his huge army parts of northwestern India. Several thousand Greek soldiers and their families stayed in the area called Bactria (today: Usbekistan, Pakistan, Afghanistan) and establish Greek kingdoms.

• 326–324 BC: Nearchus or Nearchos (c. 360 – 300 BC) was one of the officers, a navarch, in the army of Alexander the Great. He is known for his voyage, which was a transport of 17,000 troops, starting from Taxila [near Islamabad] down the River Indus, along the coast through the Persian Gulf and ending at the mouth of the Tigris River following the Indian campaign of Alexander the Great.

• c. 325 BC: Pytheas of Massalia (Greek: Pytheas ho Massaliotes) was a Greek geographer and explorer from the Greek colony of Massalia (Marseille, France). In about 325 BC, he explored modern-day Great Britain, Ireland, the Arctic [probably Norway which he called "Thule"], polar ice, and the Celtic and Germanic tribes. He is also the first person on record to describe the midnight sun. His well-known account has not survived and is now known only through quotation in Strabo's Geographica, Pliny's Natural History and passages in Diodorus of Sicily's history.

• 300 BC: General Seleucus Nicator, successor of Alexander in Persia and founder of the Seleucid Empire there, marches with his army into northwestern India but is defeated by Emperor Chandragupta Maurya, founder of the Maurya Empire, and they become allies soon after.

• 250 – 120 BC: Greco-Bactrian states in parts of Central Asia and South Asia, including the Fergana Valley (Alexandria Eschate), Transoxiana (Alexandria on the Oxus) and Punjab (Alexandria on the Indus).

• 219 – 210 BC: Xu Fu (Hsu Fu; Japanese: Jofuku or Jofutsu; Korean: Seo Bok or Seo Bul) was a Chinese alchemist and explorer. He was sent by Qin Shi Huang-di to find the elixir of life on the Penglai [Japanese: Hōrai] mountain. Penglai is said to be one of 5 islands [the other 4 being Fāngzhàng, Yíngzhōu, Dàiyú, and Yuánjiāo.] where the "immortals" live, in the eastern end of Bohai Sea [Yellow Sea]. His two journeys occurred between 219 BC and 210 BC.

After he embarked on a second mission in 210 BC, he never returned. The fleet included 60 ships with soldiers, crewmen, and 3,000 boys and 3,000 girls, and craftsmen of different fields, probably 8,000 to 10,000 people in total for which Xu Fu needed a fleet of about 20 to 30 ships. There are various theories as to the "real" location of these places, including Japan, Nam-Hae, Geo-Je, Jejudo south of the Korean Peninsula, and Taiwan. Penglai in Shandong Province exists, but it seem to have been the site of departure for those leaving for the island rather than the island itself. As for the whereabouts of Xu Fu's fleet, there are only speculations. However, some are reasonable.

A landing of some ships in Japan [most likely in the West of Kyushu Island] seem feasable as there happened a change of Japanese culture shortly afterwards. Now here is the thing: Any ship that misses the landing on Kyushu is automatically drawn into the Kuroshio Current, coming from the south, passing Kyushu, and meeting the Oyashio Current near Tokyo where it is arriving from the north. Both currants unite at the height of Tokyo and turn eastwards, straight to the North American coast between Vancouver and California. On a solid junk (Chinese chuán = "boat; ship", also pronounced chun or dzung.), it takes c. 90-120 days depending on current speed and own propelling efforts by oars or sails. In its most traditional form the junk rig is carried on an unstayed mast (i.e. a mast without shrouds or stays, supported only on the step at the keelson and the partners). The junk is the most robust shiptype in history and the riggings are operated from the deck by pulling or easing ropes that work like the strings on a window blind. As most Chinese sailors were also good fishers who ate their fish raw, there is no doubt that such a crew could have survived a 100-days-journey, even with limited food and water reserves.

There is a stark possibility that some of Xu Fu's ships were caught by the North Pacific Current (also called North Pacific Drift, which is similar to the Gulf Stream in the North Atlantic) a slow warm water current that flows west-to-east between 30 and 50 degrees north [at the height of Tokyo] into the Pacific Ocean. Feeded is this current by the Kuroshio Current coming from the south and the Oyashio Current coming from the north. Together they are heading straight to the American coast between Vancouver and California.

The British sailor Brian Platt could prove it by making a solo crossing of the Pacific Ocean in a Hong Kong built junk. Leaving Nishinomiya, Japan, on 20 September 1959, he arrived in San Francisco in 96 days on the 25 December 1959. In 1963, the Japanese sailor Horie Ken'ichi achieved the same in 94 days [from 12 May to 11 August 1962].

Shortly after 210 BC, sudden changes appeared in America: The first rise of Teotihuacan occurred between 200 - 1 BC which became the largest city of the Americas in its so-called "Period I". A sudden change also had befallen the Olmec and Zapotec civilisations in Guatemala. And the Maya script bears striking similarities [in syllabic construction and logographic function] to Chinese "Hanyu", which could be a mere coincidence. But that common decorative elements in archtecture, wheeled toys, pottery, and stone insciptions, bear a striking resemblence to Chinese patterns is hard to explain with "coincidence".

• 180 BC – 10 AD: The Indo-Greek Kingdom was located areas now part of Afghanistan, Pakistan and north-west India. Menander I Soter (Greek for "Menander I the Saviour"; known in India as Milinda) was an Indo-Greek King of the

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Indo-Greek Kingdom (165–130 BC) who administered a large empire in the Northwestern regions of the Indian Subcontinent from his capital at Sagala. He became a patron of Buddhism.

• c. 118 BC: Eudoxus of Cyzicus was a Greek navigator from the Asian-Greek city of Cyzicus who explored the Arabian Sea for Ptolemy VIII, king of the Hellenistic Ptolemaic dynasty in Egypt.

• 30 BC – 640 AD: With the acquisition of Ptolemaic Egypt, The Romans begin trading with India. The Empire now has a direct connexion to the Spice trade Egypt had established beginning in 118 BC.

• c. 60-85 AD: Ban Chao (Wade-Giles: Pan Ch'ao; 32-102 AD), courtesy name Zhongsheng, was a Chinese military general, explorer and diplomat of the Eastern Han Dynasty. As a Han general and cavalry commander, Ban Chao was in charge of administrating the "Western Regions" (Central Asia) while he was in service. He led Han forces for over 30 years in the war against the Xiongnu (Huns) and ultimately brought the whole of the Tarim Basin [the Taklamakan Area] under Chinese control in 85 AD.

• 97 AD: Gan Ying, was a Chinese military ambassador who was sent on a mission to the Roman Empire in 97 AD by the Chinese general Ban Chao. Gan Ying did not reach Rome, only traveling to as far as the "western sea" which could only refer to the Persian Gulf. Gan Ying did not reach Rome, only traveling to as far as the "western sea" which refers most likely to the Parthian coast of the Persian Gulf.

The "Hou Han Shu" [The "Book of the Later Han" (one of the "24 Histories") which covers the history of the Han dynasty from 6 to 189 AD.] gives a reason why Gan Ying could not reach the Roman Empire: "[The Romans have] all the precious and rare things that come from the various foreign kingdoms. They make gold and silver coins. Ten silver coins are worth one gold coin. They trade with Anxi [Parthia] and Tianzhu [Northwest India] by sea. The profit margin is ten to one. ... The king of this country [the Roman Empire] always wanted to send envoys to Han, but Anxi [Parthia], wishing to control the trade in multi-coloured Chinese silks, blocked the route to prevent [the Romans] getting through [to China]." And this last point, travel ban, is the main reason for the constant war between the Parthian [Persian] and the Roman Empires that lasted for more than 700 years; it was a vicious trade war.

• 100 AD – 166 AD: Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (in China known as "Andun", sends an envoy to the Chinese court in Luoyang to Han Dynasty emperor Hàn Huán Dì (146–168 AD) and establishes a first official relationship with China in 166 AD. Chinese historical texts describe the Roman embassies, from a land called Da Qin [Chinese for "Greater China" = Roman Empire]. The envoy travelled to India by ship, bypassed the Parthian Empire through Kushan [Bactria], and crossed the Taklamakan Desert to the Han capital Luoyang.

• 2nd century AD: Roman traders reach Siam (Thailand), Cambodia, Sumatra, Java and the coast of southern China. Claudius Ptolemy [c. 100-170 AD] writes about other routes the Romans took later. They might have travelled to the Golden Chersonese (i.e. Malay Peninsula) and the trade port of Kattigara, now identified as Óc Eo in southern Vietnam, then part of Jiaozhou, a province of the Chinese Han Empire.

• 226 AD: A Roman diplomat or merchant lands in northern Vietnam and visits Nanjing, China and the court of Sun Quan, ruler of Eastern Wu

• 399-412: Fa Xian (also Fa-Hien and Fa-hsien; c. 337–422 AD) was a Chinese Buddhist theologian [monk] and translator who traveled on foot from China to India, visiting sacred Buddhist sites in Central Asia, the Indian subcontinent and Southeast Asia between 399-412 to acquire Buddhist texts. He described his journey his travelogue, A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms (Foguo Ji).

• c. 400–1000: The Radhanites were medieval Jewish merchants who dominated trade between the Christian and Islamic worlds during the early Middle Ages and travelled as far as Tang-dynasty China.

• 522–550: Cosmas Indicopleustes (lit. "who sailed to India") of Alexandria was a Greek merchant, and later monk, who made several voyages to India during the reign of emperor Justinian. His Topografia Christiana contained some of the earliest and most famous world maps.

• c. 550: Roman traveler and author Cosmas Indicopleustes completes his work Christian Topography describing geographical features gleaned from his own travels to Eritrea, Ethiopia, India, and Sri Lanka.

• c. 552: Two Persian monks (or perhaps emissaries disguised as monks), at the behest of Roman emperor Justinian I, travel to China and smuggle silkworms back to the Roman Empire, thus enabling silk production in Europe and Asia Minor.

• 568: The Roman general Zemarchus travels to Samarkand and the court of the Western Turkic Kaganate.

c. 630–655: Xuan Zang (fl. 602–664), born Chen Hui / Chen Yi, was a Chinese Buddhist monk, scholar, traveler, and translator who traveled to India in the seventh century and described the interaction between Chinese Buddhism and Indian Buddhism during the early Tang dynasty.• 639–640: The Muslims subjugate Egypt, thus severing most direct Eastern-Roman (and hence European) trade with India and eastern Asia.

• c. 990–1000: Leif Erikson was a famous Norse explorer who is credited for being the first European to set foot on American soil.

• 1154: Although not known for his travels, Muhammad al-Idrisi was most important for the exploration of Asia for Europeans when he made the Tabula Rogeriana, a map of the whole known world, in 1154 for the Norman King Roger II of Sicily, based on his knowledge of the Arab trade routes.

• 1160–1173: The Navarrese Jewish Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela visits Syria, Palestine, Baghdad, Persia, and the Arabian Peninsula.

• 1180–1186: Pethahiah of Regensburg goes to Baghdad.

• 13th century: Silk Road trade reaches its height during the height of the Pax Mongolica, the relative peace in Asia during the widespread unification under the Mongol Empire.

• 1245–1247: The Italian Franciscan Giovanni da Pian del Carpine appointed Papal Legate and accompanied by Stephen of Bohemia, and later by Benedykt Polak, reaches Karakorum in present-day Mongolia. First European embassy to the Great Khan.

• 1245–1248: The Italian Ascelin of Lombardia, Simon of St Quentin and Andrew of Longjumeau go to Armenia and Persia.

• 1247 & 1254: Hetoum I, king of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia and ally of the Frankish crusader states, visits the Mongol court in Karakoram in 1254 after first sending his brother Sempad in 1247.

• 1249–1251: Andrew of Longjumeau guides a French ambassador to the great Kuyuk Khan. Andrew's brother Guy and several others — John Goderiche, John of Carcassonne, Herbert "Le Sommelier", Gerbert of Sens, Robert (a clerk), a certain William, and an unnamed clerk of Poissy go with him. They reach Talas in northwestern Kyrgyzstan.

• c. 1254: The Flemish William of Rubruck reaches Mongolia through Central Asia.

• 1264–1269: First expedition of the Italians Niccolò and Maffeo Polo to China. In 1266 they reach Kublai Khan's seat at Dadu (now known as Beijing) in China.

• 1271–1295: Second trip of Niccolò and Maffeo Polo to China. This time with Marco, Niccolo's son, who would pass down a colourful account of their experiences. Marco Polo was an Italian explorer who traveled to the far east and back to his hometown Venice in the matter of 24 years. He is noted for making detailed chronicles of his travels.The details of this account are currently debated.

• 1275–1288: Rabban Bar Sauma and Markos, the Turkic-Chinese Nestorian theologians [monks], traveled from China and Mongolia to Europe. The Rabban Bar Sauma met with many of the European monarchs, as well as the Pope, in attempts to arrange a Franco-Mongol alliance. His account is important to understanding the Nestorian (eastern) Christians.

• 1275–1289 & 1289–1328: The Italian John of Montecorvino (1246–1328), a Franciscan missionary, traveller and statesman, founds the earliest Roman Catholic missions in India and China, and becomes archbishop of Peking, and Patriarch of the Orient.

• c. 1318–1329: Travels of the Franciscan friars, the Italian Odoric of Pordenone and James of Ireland via India and the Malay Peninsula to China where they stayed in Dadu (present day Beijing) for approximately three years before returning to Italy overland through Central Asia.

• c. 1321–1338: The French Dominican missionary Jordanus, made bishop over the whole Indian subcontinent in 1329, wrote down his travels through India and the Middle East in his book Mirabilia.

• 1325–1355: Ibn Battuta, an explorer from a Muslim Berber family of Ulama [scholars of Islamic Law, Sharia] in Tangier, Morocco. Over a period of thirty years, Ibn Battuta visited most of the Islamic world and many non-Muslim lands, including Central Asia, Southeast Asia, India and China. He travelled more than any other explorer in distance, totaling around 117,000 km / 73,000 miles. The account of his journeys, titled "A Gift to Those Who Contemplate the Wonders of Cities and the Marvels of Traveling" reveal interesting details.

• 1328–1340: Wang Da Yuan (1311–1350), courtesy name Huàn Zhāng, was a traveller from Quanzhou, China during the Mongol Yuan Dynasty in the 14th century. He is known for his two major ship voyages. During 1328–1333, he sailed along the South China Sea, and visited many places in Southeast Asia. He reached as far as South Asia and Australia, and landed in modern-day Bengal, Sri Lanka, and India, as well as areas close to modern-day Darwin, Australia. In 1334–1339 he visited North Africa and East Africa, 80 years before Zheng He.

• 1338–1353: Expedition of the Italian Giovanni de' Marignolli, one of four chief envoys sent by Pope Benedict XII to Peking.

• 1401–1402: Travel of Payo Gómez de Sotomayor, first ambassador of Henry III of Castile to the Timurid Empire.

• 1403–1404: Travel of Ruy González de Clavijo, second ambassador of Henry III of Castile to the Timurid Empire. He passed along the Black Sea coast of Turkey to Trabzon and then overland through Armenia, Azerbaijan, Iran and Turkmenistan to Uzbekistan. He also visited Tehran.

• 1405–1433: Admiral Zheng He was a Chinese explorer who sailed along the Southeast Asian, South Asian, Western Asian, and East African coasts along with his fleet of incredibly large ships and several thousand men. At a time when European explorers tried to find India and China, Zheng He tried to find the Roman Empire on a route on sea. The direct contact between those two great civilisations had been severed by Islam during the 8th century AD.

• 1420–1436: Travels of the Italian explorer Niccolò de' Conti to India and Southeast Asia.

• 1436-1439: Travels of Pedro Tafur across Middle East.

• 1453: Constantinople falls to the Muslim Ottoman Turks; this marks the end of Christian rule in the Eastern Mediterranean.

• 1470: Travels of Afanasy Nikitin, the first Russian to visit India.

• 1471–1479: The Italian Venetian diplomats Caterino Zeno, Ambrogio Contarini and Giosafat Barbaro travel to Persia.

• 1470s: Didrik Pining, German admiral in the service of Denmark from 1468 to 1491 as governor of Iceland and Vardøhus in Norway, was sent to Greenland to search for old Viking settlements and probably reached also New Foundland.

• 1482–1486: Diogo Cão is the first European to explore the Congo River and the west coast of Africa, south of the equator.

• 1487-1491: Portuguese explorer and spy Pêro da Covilhã travels to the Near East and India under the orders of the King of Portugal to gather information necessary for successfully establishing a sea route between Portugal and India.

• 1488: Bartolomeu Dias is known as the first European to sail around the southernmost tip of Africa, finding the eastern sea route to the Indian Ocean.

• 1492: Christopher Columbus [Italian: Cristoforo Colombo; Spanish: Cristobal Colon]. Famous Italian explorer and possibly the best-known explorer that ever lived. Known for "discovering" America. Columbus sets sail from Spain in search of a western route to Asia round the globe to the west. Although unsuccessful in reaching Asia his successes propelled eventual European expansion, including Asia.

• 1493–1510: Alonso de Ojeda is noted as the discoverer of South America, as commander of the fleet with Juan de la Cosa and Amerigo Vespucci.

• 1497–1499: The Portuguese Vasco da Gama, accompanied by Nicolau Coelho and Bartolomeu Dias, is the first European to reach India by an all-sea route from Europe.

• 1497–1504: Italian navigator Amerigo Vespucci made several trips to the New World. He is known for convincing the Europeans that the New World is not Asia, but an entirely new unknown continent. This new double continent was soon named after him, America.

• 1497: John Cabot was an Italian navigator who was the first European that sailed along to North American coast since the Norse 500 years prior.

• 1500: Pedro Alvares Cabral discovered the land which is now known as Brazil and claimed it for Portugal.

• 1500–1501: After discovering Brazil, Pedro Álvares Cabral, with the half of an original fleet of 13 ships and 1,500 men, accomplished the second Portuguese trip to India. Boats were commanded by Cabral, Bartolomeu Dias, Nicolau Coelho, Sancho de Tovar, Simão de Miranda, Aires Gomes da Silva, Vasco de Ataíde, Diogo Dias, Simão de Pina, Luís Pires, Pêro de Ataíde and Nuno Leitão da Cunha. It is not known which one between Gaspar de Lemos and André Gonçalves, commanded the ship which returned to Portugal with the news of the discovery. Luís Pires returned to Portugal just after reaching Cape Verde. Vasco de Ataíde, Bartolomeu Dias, Simão de Pina and Aires Gomes' ships were lost near the Cape of Good Hope. The ship commanded by Diogo Dias separated and discovered Madagascar. He was then the first to reach the Red Sea by ship. Nuno Leitão da Cunha, Nicolau Coelho, Sancho de Tovar, Simão de Miranda, Pero de Ataíde did the entire trip to India. Among other passengers were: Pêro Vaz de Caminha and the Franciscan father, Frei Henrique de Coimbra.

• 1501–1504: João da Nova commands the third Portuguese expedition to India. He discovers Ascension Island (1501) and Saint Helena (1502) along the way.

• 1502–1503: Second trip of Vasco da Gama to India.

• 1503–1515: The conqueror Afonso de Albuquerque raided, captured, and conquered many coastal cities in Asia for the Portuguese Empire. He establishes the first Portuguese fort in Kochi, India, during the fifth Portuguese India Armada, and he is also one of the first Europeans to sail to the East Indies and Spice Islands [today: Indonesia and

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Philippines], along with Francisco Serrão and António de Abreu.

• 1505: Francisco de Almeida is appointed as the first viceroy of Portuguese India (Estado da Índia). He leaves Lisbon at the command of the seventh Portuguese India Armada, with 22 ships, including 14 carracks and 6 caravels carrying a crew of 1,000 and 1,500 soldiers. His son, Lourenço de Almeida, explores the southern coast and reaches the modern island of Sri Lanka.

• 1507–1513: In 1507, Afonso de Albuquerque captures the kingdom of Ormus in the Persian Gulf. He is then appointed second viceroy of India in 1508. In 1510 he conquers Goa, soon to become the most flourishing of the Portuguese settlements in India.

• 1508–1513: Juan Ponce de León was the first Governor of Puerto Rico and discovered Florida in 1513. He is the first known European to set foot on today's United States of America.

• 1511: Albuquerque conquers Malacca discovered by Diogo Lopes de Sequeira in 1509. Malacca becomes a strategic base for Portuguese expansion in the East Indies. In November of that year, after having secured Malacca and learning of the "Spice islands" (Banda Islands) location, in Maluku Albuquerque sent an expedition of three vessels led by António de Abreu to find them. In 1511 Ayutthaya Kingdom (Thailand) received a diplomatic mission from the Portuguese. These were probably the first Europeans to visit the country. Five years after that initial contact, Ayutthaya and Portugal concluded a treaty granting the Portuguese permission to trade in the kingdom.

• 1512: Malay pilots guided the Portuguese via Java, the Lesser Sundas and Ambon to Banda, arriving in early 1512. The first Europeans to reach the Banda Islands, the expedition remained in Banda for about one month, purchasing nutmeg and mace, and cloves in which Banda had a thriving entrepôt trade. D'Abreu sailed through Ambon while his second in command Francisco Serrão went ahead towards Maluku islands, was shipwrecked and ended up in Ternate. Francisco Serrão establishes a fort on Ternate Island.

• 1513: Vasco Núñez de Balboa is known for having crossed the Isthmus of Panama to the Pacific Ocean, becoming the first European to reach and see the Pacific Ocean from the America's.

• 1513: Albuquerque laid siege to Aden in 1513, but was repulsed. He then led a voyage into the Red Sea, the first ever made by a European fleet since Roman times.

• 1513: Jorge Álvares is the first European to land in China at Tamão in the Zhujiang (Pearl River) estuary.

• 1516-17: Rafael Perestrello, a cousin of Christopher Columbus, leads a small Portuguese trade mission to Canton (Guangzhou), then under the Ming Dynasty.

• 1517: The Portuguese merchant Fernão Pires de Andrade establishes the first European trade post on the Chinese coast at Tamão in the Zhujiang (Pearl River) estuary and then in Canton (Guangzhou).

• 1519–1521: Portuguese explorer Ferdinand Magellan led the first circumnavigation of the globe.

• 1519–: Leaving Spain with five ships and 270 men in 1519, the Portuguese Ferdinand Magellan is the first to reach Asia from the East. In 1520, he discovers what is now known as the Strait of Magellan. In 1521 he reaches the Marianas and then the island of Homonhon in the Philippines. Some time after, Magellan is killed in what is known as the Battle of Mactan. The rest of the crew sails to Palawan (Philippines), and then to Brunei and Borneo. They then reach Tidore in the Maluku Islands avoiding the Portuguese. Only one ship, commanded by Juan Sebastián Elcano, returns to Spain in 1522 with 18 men remaining, accomplishing the first World circumnavigation in History.

• 1519–1521: Hernán Cortés. Famous Conquistador who led the Spanish expedition to explore and conquer the Aztec Empire.

• 1521–1522: Juan Sebastián Elcano took command after Ferdinand Magellan's death and completed the voyage, becoming the first person to circumnavigate the earth.

• 1524: Third trip of Vasco da Gama to India.

• 1534: Jacques Cartier was the first European to travel inland in North America and claimed "Louisiana" [about 40% in the middle of the today's United States] for France.

• 1542: António da Mota is thrown by a storm to the island of Tanegashima, establishing the first European contact with Japan.

• 1549: Saint Francis Xavier arrives in Japan accompanied by Father Cosme de Torrès, Brother Juan Fernández, the Japanese Anjiro, two baptized Japanese named Antonio and Joane, a Chinese named Manuel, and an Indian named Amador. The captain of the ship is named Avan aka "The Pirate".

• 1556: The Dominican Gaspar da Cruz is the first modern missionary to go in China. He traveled to Guangzhou in 1556 and wrote the first complete book on China and the Ming Dynasty that was published in Europe; it included information on its geography, provinces, royalty, official class, bureaucracy, shipping, architecture, farming, craftsmanship, merchant affairs, clothing, religious and social customs, music and instruments, writing, education, and justice. (See also Jesuit China missions)

• 1557–1572: The English Anthony Jenkinson travels across the Caspian Sea to Bukhara and Persia.

• 1577–1580: English privateer [pirate with permission by Queen Elizabeth] Francis Drake plundered many Spanish towns and ships in the Caribbean and elsewhere. However, he is most notable for completing the second circumnavigation of a human round the world.

• 1579–1619: Thomas Stephens, a Jesuit, was probably the first Englishman to set foot in India where he died in 1619.

• c. 1580-1585:The Cossack Yermak Timofeyevich reaches the Siberian Tatar city of Qashliq near the right bank of Irtysh.

• 1582: The Italian Jesuit priest and missionary Matteo Ricci reaches the Portuguese settlement of Macau in Ming China and in 1601 becomes the first European to be invited into the Ming imperial palace of the Forbidden City in Beijing, at the behest of the Wanli Emperor who sought his services at court, particularly for his expertise in astronomy. In 1602 Ricci and his Chinese translator Li Zhizao would co-publish the first world map in Chinese, the Kunyu Wanguo Quantu which greatly expanded both Chinese and Japanese knowledge of global geography.

• 1583–1591: The English merchant Ralph Fitch, together with John Newberry and John Eldred, a jeweller named William Leedes and a painter, James Story, travelled via the Levant and Mesopotamia to India and Portuguese Malacca (in modern Malaysia). Eldred stayed in Basra, Iraq; Story joined the Jesuits in Goa; Leedes stayed in Agra to work for Akbar and Newberry decided to begin his return journey. Fitch went by himself to Burma and Malacca (today in Malaysia). He returned to London in 1591.

• 1595: The Dutchman Jan Huyghen van Linschoten published his Reys-gheschrift van de navigatien der Portugaloysers in Orienten (Travel Accounts of Portuguese Navigation in the Orient) which was translated into English and German in 1598. It gave access to secret Portuguese information, including the nautical maps which had been well guarded for over a century. The book thus broke the Portuguese monopoly on the sea trade with Asia.

• 1599–1614: John Mildenhall, with Richard Newman, reach Agra, India, overland in 1614.

• 1600–1610: William Adams's boat arrives in Japan where he spends the next 10 years as advisor to the shōgun Tokugawa Ieyasu.

• 1602–1607: Bento de Góis, first European to travel overland from India to China.

• 1603–1635: Samuel de Champlain is known as "The Father of New France". He founded the first permanent European settlements in Canada [Province Quebec], and explored many lakes and rivers in the interior lands from early age to his death.

• 1607–1611: Robert Coverte comes back from India by foot after his ship runs aground near Surat.

• 1609–1611: English explorer Henry Hudson explored what is now New York [and claimed it for the Netherlands] and northeastern Canada. Today he has both a river and bay named after him.

• 1612–1617: Thomas Coryat travels by foot to India.

• 1615–1618: Thomas Roe is ambassador to the court at Agra, India of the Great Mogul, Jahangir.

• 1624: António de Andrade, first European to reach Tibet.

• 1626–1627: Estêvão Cacella with João Cabral are the first Europeans to reach Bhutan.

• 1631–1668: Jean-Baptiste Tavernier travels six times to Asia, mostly in Persia, India and Java.

• 1642–1643: Abel Tasman is the first known European [sailing under the flag of the Netherlands] to sight the islands of Tasmania, New Zealand, and Fiji.

• 1643: Kurbat Ivanov reaches Lake Baikal.

• 1644: Vasily Poyarkov, travelling overland from Siberia, reaches the mouth of the Amur on the Pacific Ocean.

• 1656–1669: François Bernier travels to Egypt, Saudi Arabia and then spend eight years at the court of the mughal emperor Aurangzeb.

• 1664–1680: Jean Chardin travels two times to Persia (as well as its dependencies in the Caucasus such as Georgia) and India.

• 1675–1678: The Moldavian (Romanian) boyar Nicolae Milescu travels to China.

• 1768–1779: James Cook. Famous British explorer who led three voyages to the Pacific. He is known for exploring and charting many islands in the ocean such as Polynesia, New Zealand, The Hawaiian Islands, and the eastern coast of Australia. He first came to prominence by creating scientific methods in creating maps of Canada that were so exact that we can consider them the main contributor of the British victory over the French in Canada. Until the start of Space Exploration in the second half of the 20th century, his maps remained the most exact maps in history.

NAMES FOR PEOPLE AND DENOMINATIONS

(The meaning of a name can reveal interesting facts. One name can have several different forms, and one name can mean several different things. Ancient authors played deliberately with the ambiguity of names. By using such names they tried to steer away the readers attention from certain, may be uncomfortable truths. They even tried to write one or the other character out of history just by using a similar but slightly different name.)

NAMES FOR PEOPLE(S)

• "**dirty names**" = these are names used by the main religious denominations as curse words to make their own clientel feel uncomfortable when they hear any of those words. You can feel it yourself when you speak out loud one or the other of these words: The Kafir [kufr], The Jew, The Catholics, The Protestants, The Gnostics, The Manichaeans, The Muslims, The Nazis, The Communists, The Socialists, Jehova's Witness, The Bible, The Koran, Pharisee, Heretic, Apostate, Judas etc. etc. We are talking here about an old psychological propaganda-trick that should dehumanise others. The chief aim of this trick is to make you feel so uncomfortable that you hardly dare to talk about those things, and in particular it should prevent you to look up for those things. This propaganda-trick is closely connected to the topic 'political correctness'. In the Grand Bible, you may find one or the other 'dirty name' or a document you may feel uncomfortable with, however, here is the chance to get yourself informed about things you do not know yet - use it! Remember: religion has been invented to gain control and power over the population. Being a 'heretic', 'non-believer' or 'apostate' makes you a traitor or defector to such a power base and they make you liable to be treated accordingly.

• The **Jews** = is one name for two distinct kind of people or denominations. The first meaning refers to the Jew of Antiquity. Jesus and his entire family, his diciples, and all other people whose religion was the Judaism of Antiquity. The second meaning refers to the modern Jew and their modern religion which is known as "Rabbinic Judaism" but correctly should be named "Roman Judaism" as it was heavily influenced by Greek-Roman philosophy and law. The main differences between those two Judaisms were created by the administration of the Roman Imperial Cult that sent out editors who changed some of the Jewish scripture such as the Mishna Sanhedrin (the main Jewish lawbook) which has been edited by a member of the Imperial Court of either Emperor Nero or Emperor Flavius Vespasianus. The Romans then destroyed the militant fundamentalistic scripture of the ancient Jews that contained hatred and propaganda against the Romans. Archaeologist found them in the Qumran caves in 1947 and soon identified them as writings by the Messianic Movement that were instigating several wars against the Roman Empire.

The modern Jews have nothing to do with those ancient fanatics who were much hated. Modern Judaism could be described as Christianity without Jesus: Modern Jews are mainly peaceful, educated, virtuous and hard-working people. Jew-hatred against these people, also called "Anti-Semitism", is totally unfounded and comes up by ignorance and lack of education. The ancient Messianic Movement however has, according to text analysis, a direct descendant: Islam.

• The **Pharisees** were a social movement and a school of thought in the Holy Land during the time of Second Temple Judaism. After the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 AD., Pharisaic beliefs became, with the help of the Romans, the foundational, liturgical and ritualistic basis for the so-called 'Rabbinic Judaism' (Greek-Roman Judaism).

The word "Pharisee" is derived from Ancient Greek Pharisaios, from Aramaic Perisha, plural Perishayya, related to the Hebrew verb parash, meaning "set apart, separate". What have set the Pharisees apart from mainstream Judaism, which was nationalistic and anti-Greek and anti-Roman at that time? The Pharisees were on the one hand strictly observant to Jewish traditions and the Law of Moses (or the Law of God) but on the other hand also embraced the Greek-Roman civilisation. By the Jewish Messianic nationalists, Pharisees were viewed as opportunists and traitors. After the end of the Jewish-Roman War in 73 AD, which was also a Jewish civil war to a large extent, sectarianism vanished. The Essenes, Sadducees, Zealots, and Sicarii disappeared into the Arabian deserts, while the Early Christians and the Pharisees survived in territories of the Roman Empire, the latter transforming into the Rabbinic (or more precisely Roman) Judaism that we today know simply as "Judaism". The term "Pharisee" was no longer used, perhaps because it was a term more often used by non-Pharisees, but also because the term was explicitly sectarian, and the Greek-Roman influenced rabbis claimed leadership over all Jews. In some cultures, the word Pharisee is only used as curse word for "opportunist" implying that this person has no honour.

• The **Sadducees or Zadokites** (Hebrew: z-d-k = Zedukim) were a sect or group of Jews that were active in Judaea during the Second Temple period, starting from the second century BC. through the destruction of the Temple in 70 AD. The

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word Saducee comes from Zadokite, Zadik. The Aramaic-Hebrew word "z-d-k" means "righteous", "just".

The sect was identified by Titus Flavius Josephus with the upper social and economic echelon of Judaean society. As a whole, the sect fulfilled various political, social, and religious roles, including maintaining the Temple.

The Sadducaic sect of Judaism drew their name from Zadok, the first High Priest of ancient Israel to serve in the First Temple, with the leaders of the sect proposed as the Kohanim (priests, the "sons of Zadok", descendants of Eleazar, son of Aaron). The name Zadok, being related to the root zadik (to be righteous, just), is also a soubriquet that was used in particular for James (Yakob) the Brother of Jesus due to his strict traditional mindset focussing on obeying the Covenant of Moses.

• The **Essenes** (Modern Hebrew: Isiyim; Greek: Essenoi, Essaioi, Ossaioi) were a group of Jewish sects during the Second Temple period that flourished from the 2nd century BC. to the 1st century AD.

The Roman historian Titus Flavius Josephus records that Essenes existed in large numbers, and thousands lived throughout Roman Judaea, but they were fewer in number than the Pharisees and the Sadducees, the other two major sects at the time. The Essenes lived in various cities but congregated in communal life dedicated to voluntary poverty (like their descendants the Ebionites, Nazoreans and some Gnostics), daily immersion, and asceticism (their priestly class practiced celibacy). Most scholars claim they seceded from the Zadokite priests.

The Essenes have gained fame in modern times as a result of the discovery of religious documents known as the Dead Sea Scrolls, which were commonly believed to be the Essenes' library because Qumran was an Essene settlement. This turned out to be wrong. The documents that were stored in caves above Qumran belonged to several different Judaist sects.

The first reference to the sect is by the Roman writer Pliny the Elder (died c. 79 AD) in his Natural History. Pliny relates in a few lines that the Essenes possess no money, had existed for thousands of generations, and that their priestly class ("contemplatives") do not marry. Unlike Philo of Alexandria, who did not mention any particular geographical location of the Essenes other than the whole land of Israel, Pliny places them somewhere above Ein Gedi, near Masada and the Qumran Caves.

• The **Zealots** represent political anti-Greek and anti-Roman movements in 1st-century Second Temple Judaism, which sought to incite the people of Judaea Province to rebel against the Roman Empire and expel it from the Holy Land by force of arms, most notably during the First Jewish–Roman War (66–70 AD). Their teachings mandates also offensive warfare against non-believers, just like Islam has done after them. Zealotry was the term used by Titus Flavius Josephus for a "fourth sect" or "fourth Jewish philosophy" during this period.

The term "zealot", the common translation of the Hebrew kanai (plural form: kana'im), means "one who is zealous on behalf of God". The term derives from Greek zelotes, "emulator, zealous admirer or follower".

• The **Sicarii** (Modern Hebrew: siqari'im) were a radical Jihadist group of the Jewish Zealots who strongly opposed any Greek and Roman influence in the Holy Land and attempted to expel them and their sympathisers from the area by all sorts of terror attacks. In Latin, Sicarii is the plural form of Sicarius "dagger-man", "dagger-wielder". Sica here comes from the root secor, "to slice". In later Latin usage, "sicarius" was also the standard term for a murderer. Lucius Cornelius Sulla Felix (c. 138 BC – 78 BC), known commonly as 'Dictator Sulla', was the Roman general, legislator and statesman who created the Lex Cornelia de Sicariis et Veneficiis [created by dictator Corneliuus Sulla] which defined laws and punshments against sexual mutilaton known as circumcision. These laws were directed against the Sicarii and all their activities as they were also known as the the circumcision men. The Sicarii carried sicae, or small daggers, concealed in their cloaks. At public gatherings, they pulled out these daggers to attack Romans and Hebrew Roman sympathisers alike, blending into the crowd after the deed to escape detection. The Sicarii are regarded as one of the earliest known organised assassination units of cloak and daggers, predating the Islamic Hashishin and other Jihadists. The Sicarii were particularly active in the decades preceding Jerusalem's destruction in 70 AD. The Roman Army annihilated all of them mericiless. Thousands of Sicarii were crucified and torn to death by predators or gladiators in the Roman amphitheatres. The suvivors fled to Arabia. See: Judas Iscariot.

• **Ebionites** (Greek: Ebionaioi) is a patristic term referring to a Jewish Christian movement that existed during the early centuries of the Christian Era. The term Ebionites derives from the common adjective for "poor" in Hebrew (singular: evyon / ebion, plural: evyonim / ebionim), which occurs fifteen times in the Psalms and was the self-given term of some pious Jewish circles (e.g. Psalm 69:33 ("For the LORD heareth the poor") and 1 QpHab XII, 3.6.10). The term "Ebionim" was also a self description given by the people who were living in Qumran, as shown in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The term "the poor" was at first a common designation for all Christians, a reference to their material and voluntary poverty.

Since historical records by the Ebionites are scarce, fragmentary and disputed, much of what is known or conjectured about the Ebionites derives from the Church Fathers who wrote polemics against the Ebionites, who they deemed heretical Judaisers. Consequently, very little about the Ebionite sect or sects is known with certainty, and most, if not all, statements about them are conjectural. Scholars, like the Church Fathers of the first centuries after Jesus, consider the Ebionites identical with the Nazarenes.

The Greek form of that word, "Ebionai" (Ebionite) was first applied by Irenaeus in the second century without making mention of Nazarenes (c.180 AD). Origen wrote "for Ebion signifies 'poor' among the Jews, and those Jews who have received Jesus as Christ are called by the name of Ebionites." Tertullian was the first to write against a heresiarch called Ebion; scholars believe he derived this name from a literal reading of Ebionaioi as "followers of Ebion", a derivation now considered mistaken for lack of any more substantial references to such a figure. The term "the poor" (Greek ptōkhoí) was still used in its original, more general sense. Modern Hebrew still uses the Biblical Hebrew term "the needy" both in histories of Christianity for "Ebionites" and for almsgiving to the needy at Purim.

They regarded Jesus the Nazorean as a real Messiah because of his opposition to those who wanted to fight against the Romans. They rejected all parts of Paul's Roman Christianity such as Jesus' divinity. They used only one of the Jewish–Christian gospels, the Hebrew Book of Matthew starting at chapter three; revered James, the brother of Jesus (James the Just); but rejected Paul 'the Apostle' as traitor, liar and an apostate from the Law. Their name suggests that they placed a special value on voluntary poverty. Ebionim was one of the terms used by a sect of Essenes at Qumran who sought to separate themselves from the corruption of the Temple. They have embraced the teachings of Jesus but remained Jewish in following the Laws of Moses in the Torah. Distinctive features of the Gospel of the Ebionites include the absence of the virgin birth and of the genealogy of Jesus; an Adoptionist Christology, in which Jesus is chosen to be God's Son at the time of his Baptism; the abolition of the Jewish sacrifices by Jesus; and an advocacy of vegetarianism.

• The **Nazoreans** (or Nazarenes; Greek: Nazoraioi) were an early Christian sect in first-century Judaism. The first use of the term is found in the Acts of the Apostles of the New Testament, where Paul the Apostle is accused of being a ringleader of the sect of the Nazoreans before the Roman procurator Antonius Felix at Caesarea Maritima by Tertullus. At that time, the term simply designated followers of Jesus the Nazorean (the keeper of the Law or Covenant), as the Hebrew term 'nosri' or 'nosrim' still does.

The name used by Tertullus survives into Mishnaic and modern Hebrew as 'notzrim' a standard Hebrew term for "Christian", and also into the Quran and modern Arabic as nasara (plural of nasrani meaning "Christians").

The Greek epithet Nazoraios is applied to Jesus 14 times in the New Testament, and is used once in Acts of the Apostles. Paul who built a Greek and Roman sect took this soubriqut for his own group as the name "Christians" did not exist yet. This group however, was also called by a place name: 'the Galileans'.

The Nazarenes were similar to the Ebionites, in that they considered themselves Jews, maintained an adherence to the Law of Moses, and used only the Aramaic Gospel of the Hebrews, rejecting all the Canonical gospels and the concept of Jesus being the Son of God which they deemed of Greek origin. However, unlike half of the Ebionites, they accepted the Virgin Birth.

The Nazoreans or Nazarenes are described by Epiphanius of Salamis and are mentioned later by Jerome (full name: Eusebius Hieronymus, pseudonym Sophronius, c. 347-420 AD.) and Augustine of Hippo (Full name: Aurelius Augustinus, 354-430 AD.), who made a distinction between the Nazarenes of their time and the "Nazarenes" mentioned in Acts 24:5.

The "Gospel of the Nazarenes" is the title given to fragments of one of the lost Jewish-Christian Gospels of Matthew partially reconstructed from the writings of Jerome.

The "Gospel of the Hebrews" was another Jewish–Christian gospel associated with the Nasoreans. It was the text which is lost; only fragments of it survive as brief quotations by the early Church Fathers and in apocryphal writings. The fragments contain traditions of Jesus' pre-existence, incarnation, baptism, and probable temptation, along with some of his sayings. Distinctive features include a Christology characterised by the belief that the Holy Spirit is Jesus' Divine Mother; and a first resurrection appearance to James, the brother of Jesus, showing a high regard for James as the leader of the Jewish Christian church in Jerusalem. It was probably composed in Greek in the first decades of the 2nd century, and is believed to have been used by Greek-speaking Jewish Christians in Egypt during that century.

• **Gentile** (from Latin gentilis "of or belonging to the same people or nation"), from gēns ("clan; tribe; people, family") + adjective suffix -īlis ("-ile") is an ethnonym that commonly means non-Jew according to Judaism. The term is used by English translators for the Hebrew goy and nokhri in the Hebrew Bible and the Greek word ethne in the New Testament.

• **Messiah in Judaism** (Hebrew: masiah; Greek: messías or kristos, Arabic: masîh, lit. 'anointed or covered in oil') is a savior and liberator figure of a group of people. In Jewish eschatology, the messiah is believed to be the future redeemer of the Jewish people. The concept of messianism originated in Judaism, and in the Hebrew Bible, a messiah is a king or High Priest traditionally anointed with holy anointing oil. However, messiahs were not exclusively Jewish, as the Book of Isaiah refers to Cyrus the Great, king of the Achaemenid Empire, as a messiah for his decree to rebuild the Jerusalem Temple. Cyrus was a Zoroastrian, follower of the monotheistic religion of Persia with all its purity laws closely related to Judaism.

In Jewish eschatology, the Messiah is a future Jewish king from the Davidic line, who is expected to be anointed with holy anointing oil and rule the Jewish people during the Messianic Age and world to come. The Messiah is often referred to as "King Messiah" (Aramaic: malka meshiha, Hebrew: melekh mashiach).

• **Messianic Movement** (ancient Jewish and Christian) The Qumran Scrolls threw new light on the messiah-concept as the writers belonged to the ancient Jewish Messianic Movement. According to the War Scroll and other documents, the Messianic Jihadists, who called themselves "Sons of Light", were craving for a Messiah who could deliver a military victory over the Romans and other non-Jews, called "Sons of Darkness", a connotation that has survived in the Islamic term jahiliyyah meaning "to be ignorant" of Allah and Mohammed as word for everything un-Islamic and godless (With this attitude, Islam exposes its real origin: the Jewish Messianic Movement.). At that time, the entire population of the Holy Land was captivated in preparations for war against the "Sons of Darkness", the Greeks and Romans. The Holy Land was a war zone since Alexander's conquest.

If the teachings of Jesus are authentic, and it seems very likely, then we know what Jesus did and why, and we also know why Jesus had to die. We only have to put ourselves into his position and compare it with similar events of our days. We just have to imagine, Jesus would be a member of one of those modern Jidadist organisations, and then suddenly he would speak up for peace saying "turn the other cheek" or "give Caesaer what is Caesar's" (the tax), what would his terror companions think of him? And how would they react? They surely would deem him a traitor to their course, a heretic, an apostate. And there was only one kind of punishment for such a traitor: death! Now we know the real reason why Jesus had to die. He died because he wanted to save the world. Did he not say so? And so the Jewish messianism gave birth to Christianity, which started as a Second Temple Period messianic Jewish sect: called the Ebionites or the Nazoreans.

• **Christians**, or as a word for the group Christianity, or as word for their unity Christendom, (older term are Nazorean or Nazarene, which means "Keeper of Moses' Law; and Galilean. which refers to the Roman province of Galilee) are people who follow or adhere to Christianity, an Abrahamic religion based on the life and teachings of Jesus Christ. The words Christ and Christian derive from the Koine Greek title Kristos, a translation of the Biblical Hebrew term mashiach (messiah), meaning "anointed one". The term "Christian" came into use first at the end of the 1st century. While there are diverse interpretations of Christianity which sometimes conflict, they are united in believing that Jesus has a unique significance. Today, about 30% of all Christians live in the Americas, about 25% live in Europe, 24% live in sub-Saharan Africa, about 20% live in Asia and the Pacific, and less than 1% live in the Middle East and North Africa as Islam's Sharia has contributed to their decline. While Christianity is in decline in Europe, it is, with about 10% or roughly 140 million people, on the rise in China which is now surprisingly the 4th-largest Christian country in the World. About half of all Christians worldwide are Catholic, while more than a third are Protestant (37%). Orthodox communions comprise 12% of the world's Christians. Christians also claim that their religion be monotheistic, this claim is false as Jesus is seen as a second god. See: Nazarenes

• The **Catholic Church**, also known as the Roman Catholic Church, is the largest Christian church, with approximately 1.3 billion baptised Catholics worldwide as of 2017. It is the largest Christian church in the world. It teaches that it is the same Church started by Jesus Christ and his former protege 2,000 years ago. The headquarters of the Catholic Church is in the Vatican City in Rome. The word "catholic" comes from the Greek word "katholicos", which means "universal." It was first used in the Nicene Creed. Often, the word "Roman" is

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added because it has its origin in the Roman Empire. The Catholic Church is the Church of the Western Roman Empire with Latin (the language of the Romans) and the City of Rome as its capital. In the eastern part of the Roman Empire rules the Orthodox Church with Greek (and Slavonic). Both Churches share the same principles. Power politics in the Middle Ages divided them. See: Schism.

The leader of the Roman Catholic Church is called the Pope, which literally means "father". Catholics say, Jesus Christ established the Catholic Church, and appointed the first Pope, a disciple of his, named Saint Peter, to lead all Christians which is a myth. The first Church leader was James the Brother of Jesus and Bishop of Jerusalem, who was killed in the tumoils before (may be in 62 or 63 AD) or in the First Jewish-Roman War (66-73 AD), and the second leader was Simon, another brother of Jesus.

• The **Eastern Orthodox Church**, or the Orthodox Church, or by its full name the "Holy Orthodox Catholic Apostolic Church", is a Christian church. Their type of Christianity is also called Orthodox Christianity or Orthodoxy. Their members are called Orthodox Christians, although there is another group of Churches called Oriental Orthodox that is not in communion with the Orthodox Church. There are about 300 million Orthodox Christians in the world. Most Orthodox Christians are found in Eastern Europe and the Middle East, but there are Orthodox Christians everywhere around the world. In large, there is almost no difference in teachings and doctrine between the Roman-Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church. The main difference is language as the Roman-Catholics belonged to the western half of the Roman Empire and spoke Latin languages. The Orthodox Church is the Church of the Eastern Roman Empire with the Greek language of the eastern half of the Roman Empire and the City of Constantinople (Istanbul) as its capital. See: Schism.

• **The Protestant Church or Reformed Church** is a movement that began in Germany in the early 16th century as a reaction to medieval Roman Catholic doctrines and practices. (This movement hat precursors in Bohemia under the leader Jan Hus, and in England under the leader John Wycliffe.) Along with Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy, Protestantism became one of three major forces in Christianity. The Ninety-five Theses for debate concerned with the question of indulgences and other matters, written and posted by Martin Luther on the door of the Schlosskirche (Castle Church), Wittenberg, on Oct. 31, 1517, triggered events that came to be considered the beginning of the Protestant Reformation. The real issue that started the conflict was language and the Protestant demand to have the Bible available in the native language of the Germanic speaking peoples, particularly English and German. They wanted to read the "word of God" for themselves. The Catholic Church would not have it due to her fear to lose power over the people. These events began with the ravaging famines and the Black Death pandemic in the 14th century, in which 30% up to 60% (in densely populated areas) of Europe's people died (estimation 100 to 300 million). That left the church and most states with no educated people who could read and write. Thus the demand for a Bible in their own language, the Germanic people had a reasonable demand. After the death of Martin Luther, who tried to keep peace, a series of European religious wars in the 16th and 17th century crushed western unity (and left around 50% of the people in Germany dead), leaving entire populations traumatised and in a limbo of hatred (caused by the French who saw in the Thirty-Years War the opportunity to snatch away large parts of the German speaking regions in the southwest of the Holy Roman Empire), leading much later to the vengeful Franco-Prussian War of 1870 with the unification of the Germans to a new German Empire, and subsequently the two World Wars. Wherever highly competitive Germanic Protestantism gained a foothold, it progressively influenced the social, economic, political, and cultural life of the area while Roman-Catholic culture and economics were run to the ground. The fierce enmity between Catholics and Protestants lasts up to this very day.

• The **Nestorian Church** is a Christian denomination originating in Asia Minor and Syria out of the condemnation of Nestorius and his teachings by the councils of Ephesus (AD 431) and Chalcedon (AD 451). Nestorians stressed the independence of the divine and human natures of Christ and, in effect, suggested that they were two persons loosely united. The Nestorian Church became the dominant form of Christianity in Persia. Christianity in Persia faced intermittent persecution until the Persian Church in 424 formally proclaimed its full independence of Christian churches elsewhere, thereby freeing itself of suspicions about foreign links. After the Islamic conquest of Persia (637), the Caliphate recognised the Church of the East as a millet, or separate religious community, and granted it "legal protection" (see the Edict or Treaty of Umar) for which the Nestorians had to pay the Jizya, a special tax only paid by non-Muslims who wanted to survive under the Islamic rule. Nestorian Christians were driven east to India. A group of Nestorians under the leadership of Olopen [Chinese: Alopu] fled from the Islamic conquest that was ravaging Syria and Persia in the 630s and turned up in China where they arrived in the capital Chang-an (Xi'an) in 635 A.D.

In Central Asia, the Nestorian Church florished and certain Tatar tribes were almost entirely converted, Christian expansion reaching almost to Lake Baikal in eastern Siberia. Western travelers to the Mongol realm found Nestorian Christians well-established there, even at the court of the Great Khan, though they commented on the ignorance and superstition of the clergy. When during the 14th century the Church of the East was virtually annihilated by the genocide raids of the Islamic leader Timur (Tamerlane) killing about 35 million non-Muslims, Nestorian communities lingered on in Kurdistan, and many thousands have been killed by Islamic jihadists of ISIS.

• **Marcionite.** The name derives from Marcion of Asia Minor who, sometime after his arrival in Rome, fell under the influence of Cerdo, a Gnostic Christian, whose stormy relations with the Church of Rome were the consequence of his belief that the God of the Old Testament could be distinguished from the God of the New Testament—the one embodying justice, the other goodness. For accepting, developing, and propagating such ideas, Marcion was expelled from the church in 144 as a heretic, but the Gnostic movement (that flourished in the 2nd century AD.) he headed became both widespread and powerful. Marcion is perhaps best known for his treatment of Scripture. Though he rejected the Old Testament as the work of the creator God, he did not deny its efficacy for those who did not believe in Christ. He rejected attempts to harmonize Jewish biblical traditions with Christian ones as impossible. He accepted as authentic all of the Pauline Letters and the Gospel According to Luke (after he had expurgated them of Judaising elements). His treatment of Christian literature was significant, for it forced the early church to fix an approved canon of theologically acceptable texts out of the mass of available but unorganised material. The basis of Marcionite theology was that there were two cosmic gods. A vain and angry creator god who demanded and ruthlessly exacted justice had created the material world of which man, body and soul, was a part. The other god, according to Marcion, was completely ineffable and bore no intrinsic relation to the created universe at all. Out of sheer goodness, he had sent his son Jesus Christ to save man from the material world and bring him to a new home.

• **Arianism** was the focus of the first Church council, the Council of Nicaea. Its founder was Arius. He did not believe in the Trinity, but instead held that God the Father was the only god and that Jesus and the Holy Spirit were created. Jesus was seen as the Prince of Angels who had come to earth and made himself into a human. This explanation allowed Arius to maintain two important Christian ideas, namely, the oneness of God (monotheism) and the idea that Jesus was a historical figure who actually did the things he appeared to do--such as die (how can a god die?). The problem with it was that Arius' explanation also made Jesus into a created being, a "creature," rather than part of God and therefore it was contradicting the Roman Church who wanted to elevate Jesus to a deity like the Roman emperors.

Arius' view followed views of Jesus' closest followers who perceived Jesus as not a divine but a human. Arius' God is unique, who is alone self-existent and immutable and cannot be shared or communicated, hence Jesus could not be God. This very traditional Jewish view stood in harsh contrast to the literary creation of the character Jesus created by Saul [Paul] of Tarsus which has been supported by the Roman Church ever since.

From 337 to 350 Constans, sympathetic to the orthodox Christians, was emperor in the West, and Constantius II, sympathetic to the Arians, was emperor in the East. At a church council held at Antioch (341), an affirmation of faith that omitted the homoousion clause was issued. Another church council was held at Sardica (modern Sofia) in 342, but little was achieved by either council. In 350 Constantius became sole ruler of the empire, and under his leadership the Nicene party (orthodox Christians) was largely crushed. The extreme Arians then declared that the Son [Jesus] was "unlike" the Father [God]. After Constantius' death (361), the orthodox Christian majority in the West consolidated its position. The persecution of orthodox Christians conducted by the (Arian) emperor Valens (364–378) in the East and the success of the teaching of Basil the Great of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory of Nazianzus led the homoiousian majority in the East to realise its fundamental agreement with the Nicene party. When the emperors Gratian (367–383) and Theodosius I (379–395) took up the defense of orthodoxy, Arianism collapsed. Arianism continued among some of the Germanic tribes to the end of the 7th century. In modern times Unitarians and Jehovah's Witnesses could be seen as Arians.

• **Zoroastrianism** [also called Parsiism in India] was founded by Zarathushtra / Zarathustra / Zoroaster (c. 628-551 BC.). Zoroaster has been the object of interest for two reasons. First, he might have influenced philosophies in Greek-Roman times. Second, he most certainly influenced religions [Judaism / Christianity / Islam] for about a thousand years in the Middle East. Main theme of this religion is the belief in the One God [called in Persian 'Ahura Mazda'], virtue, and purity rituals [by bathing, in Judaism and Christianity better known as baptism]. The date of Zoroaster's life is pure speculation. While Zoroastrian tradition suggests, he flourished "258 years before Alexander", scholars go as far back into the past as c. 1000 BC. According to the sources, Zoroaster probably was a priest. Having received a vision from Ahura Mazdā, the Wise Lord, who appointed him to preach the truth, Zoroaster apparently was opposed in his teachings by the civil and religious authorities in the area in which he preached. Zoroaster apparently did not try to overthrow belief in the older Iranian religion, which was polytheistic; he did, however, place Ahura Mazdā at the centre of a kingdom of justice that promised immortality and bliss - a teaching that also takes centre stage in the teachings of Buddha and Jesus. Mani [Latin: Manichaeus], another prophet of the Persian Empire, consequently merged his own teachings which teachings of Zoroaster, Buddha, and Jesus together which became a world religion known as Manichaeism. Zoroastrism and Manichaeism were annihilated by Islam. Most survivors today live in India and the United States of America.

• **Mithraism and the Mithras Cult** derives from Indo-Iranian beliefs. Mithra, the sun-god or god of light, whose cult spread from India in the east to as far west as Spain, Great Britain, and Germany. The first written mention of the Vedic Mitra dates to 1400 BC. His worship spread to Persia and, after the defeat of the Persians by Alexander the Great, throughout the Greek-Roman world. In the 3rd and 4th centuries AD, the cult of Mithra, carried and supported by the soldiers of the Roman Empire, was the chief rival to the newly developing religion of Christianity. Religion in the Roman Empire was not based on scripture but on cult and worship only. All types of Christian sacraments, such as initiatory, purificatory, renewal, healing, cultic elevation, origin from the Mithras Cult and indeed can be found in Eastern religions, and preliterate religions. This includes the Eucharist [also called Holy Communion or Lord's Supper] which has formed a central rite of Christian worship. The Roman emperors Commodus and Julian were initiates of Mithraism, and in 307 AD. Diocletian consecrated a temple on the Danube River to Mithra, "Protector of the Empire." The worship of Mithra [in Sanskrit: Mitra], the Iranian god of the sun, justice, contract, and war in pre-Zoroastrian Iran, spread all over the Roman Empire. Known as Mithras in the Roman Empire during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, this deity was honoured as the patron of loyalty to the emperor. After the implantation of Christianity into the Roman Imperial Cult by the emperor Flavius Constantinus in the early 4th century, Mithraism did not decline but merged together with the Roman Christianity of Saul / Paul of Tarsus: This Christianity provided the scripture, the cult was provided both by the Mithras Cult, and a wide-spread bureaucracy and administration was provided by the Roman Imperial Cult. This development merely confirmed what the people did already as Christians and followers of the Mithras Cult prayed together in the same temples. Under the foundations of very early churches we still can see, as their crypts, the original Mithras temples. They were built as underground temples and Mithras himself is often portrayed or sculptured on their walls, with long hair, beard, and a halo around the head - a depiction that sprung up in all new churches ever since.

• The **Roman Imperial Cult** was the state religion of the Roman Republic and the early Roman Empire. It was not based on scripture but on oral tradition, on worship to one or several gods of the pantheon, and on giving offerings to their temples which were in fact a kind of tributes or 'Religion Tax' that everyone had to pay. This tax demanded to have a bureaucratical structure, an effective administration that was able to distribute millions of offerings and their subsequent value in form of money to the right state institutions. Its leader was called Pontifex Maximus [the Grand Bridge-Builder].

The Romans believed that everything is subordinate to the rule and direction of the gods. Yet Roman religion was based not on divine grace but on mutual trust (fides) between god and man. The object of Roman religion was to secure the cooperation, benevolence, and "peace" of the gods (pax deorum). The Romans believed that this divine help would make it possible for them to master the unknown forces around them that inspired awe and anxiety (religio), and thus they would be able to live successfully. Consequently, there arose a body of rules, the jus divinum ("divine law"), ordaining what had to be done or avoided. So, the Roman Imperial Cult was also a significant source of Roman Law.

At around 300 AD., the Roman Empire appeared to be so much over-inflated that it seem to need division in order to be governed properly. As Emperor Flavius Constantinus' mother was a Christian, he got in touch with many of them. He tried to find a way to unify thw large state from inside and when he met Eusebius of Caesarea, he realised, through the talks with

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him, that Christianity, which had spread widely with all its denomination, could be the answer to the problem. He found the answer by declaring himself a Christian. The powerful bureaucracy of the Imperial Cult was made available to the new Roman State Church. This was the first time that Christianity served as a political tool - and it did for the next 1500 years.

• **Heresy** is a theological doctrine or system rejected as false by ecclesiastical authority. A person who follows the teachings of a heresy is called "heretic". Such a heretic, in the viewpoint of the ruling clergy, is liable to harsh punishment as heresy is comparable with treason. Acting heretics in Christianity - and 'performing whichcraft' belongs to this group of crimes against the supreme state religion - was punished by death, usually by burning alive at the stake. The last heretic in Christianity was executeted in 1820. In Islam, heresy still can have the death penalty as a result today. Heresy was never punishable in Hinduism, Buddhism, and Daoism.

NAMES OF GOD

(There are about 70 names for God in Hebrew alone. About a dozen names of God in the Old Testament are considered important in Judaism and Christianity. The following names are so holy that, once written, should not be erased: YHWH and six others which can be categorised as titles are El ("God"), Eloah ("God"), Elohim ("Gods"), Elohai (My God), Shaddai ("Almighty"), and Tzevaot ("[of] Hosts"). Other names are considered mere epithets or titles reflecting different aspects of God, but chumrah sometimes dictates special care such as the writing of "G-d" instead of "God" in English or saying Tet-Vav (lit. "9-6") instead of Yōd-Hē (lit. "10-5" but also "Jah") for the number fifteen in Hebrew. The most important names for God are:)

• **Baal**, properly Baʿal, is a Canaanite word. It is probably the oldest name for God and meant "owner" and, by extension, "lord", "master", and "husband" in Northwest Semitic languages. In some early contexts and theophoric names, it and Baali ("My Lord") were treated as synonyms of Adon and Adonai. After the time of Solomon and particularly after Jezebel's attempt to promote the worship of the Lord of Tyre Melqart, however, the name became particularly associated with the Canaanite storm god Baʿal Haddu and was gradually avoided as a title for Yahweh.

• **YHWH or Yahweh** = The name of God most often used in the Hebrew Bible is the Tetragrammaton (YHWH). It is frequently anglicised as Yahweh and Jehovah. In Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic, vowels are not written out but must be added in mind. In many English language Bibles it is written LORD (all capital letters). This rather awkward practice comes from the Jewish tradition viewing the divine name as too sacred to be uttered.

In the ancient texts of the Old Testament, Yahweh is distinguished from another common name for God, "Elohim," and considered as a marker of which hypothetical source each part of the Pentateuch comes from. Yahweh (Hebrew: Jahweh) was the national god of the Iron Age kingdoms of Israel (Samaria) and Judah. His exact origins are disputed, although they reach back to the early Iron Age and even the Late Bronze: his name may have begun as an epithet of "El", head of the Bronze Age Canaanite pantheon (many gods), but the earliest plausible mentions are in Egyptian texts that place him among the nomads of the southern Transjordan. It was thus replaced vocally in the synagogue ritual by the Hebrew word Adonai ("My Lord"), which was translated as Kyrios ("Lord") in the Septuagint, the Greek version of the Hebrew scriptures.

• **Yah**: The abbreviated form of Yahweh is Yah or Jah (also: Yahu) and appears in the Psalms and Isaiah. It is a common element in Hebrew theophoric names such as Elijah and also appears in the forms yahu ("Jeremiah"), yeho ("Yehoshua" = Jesus), and yo ("John", ultimately from the biblical "Yohanan" and Jonathan, "God gives". It also appears 24 times in the Psalms as a part of Hallelujah ("Praise Jah").

• **El Shaddai**: is one of the names of God in Judaism, with its etymology coming from the influence of the Ugaritic religion on modern Judaism. El Shaddai is conventionally translated as "God Almighty". While the translation of El as "god" in Ugarit/Canaanite language is straightforward, the literal meaning of Shaddai is the subject of debate.

• **Elah** (Aramaic: pl. "elim") is the Aramaic word for God. The word 'Elah' is also an Arabic word which means god. The name is etymologically related to Allah used by Muslims. Elah is used to describe both pagan gods and the Jews' God. The origin of the word is uncertain and it may be related to a root word, meaning "reverence". Elah is found in the Tanakh in the books of Ezra, Jeremiah (Jer 10:11), and Daniel.

• **Elohim**: A common name of God in the Hebrew Bible is Elohim. Despite the -im ending common to many plural nouns in Hebrew, the word Elohim when referring to God is grammatically singular, and takes a singular verb in the Hebrew Bible.

• **Elohai**: or Elohei ("My God") is a form of Elohim along with the first-person singular pronoun enclitic. It appears in names such as "God of Abraham" (Elohai Avraham);

• **Tzevaot, Tsebaoth or Sabaoth** (lit. "Armies") appears in reference to armies or armed hosts of men in Exodus and Isaiah but is not used as a divine epithet in the Torah, Joshua, or Judges. In the First Book of Samuel, David uses the name YHWH Tzavaot and immediately glosses it as in "the God of the armies of Israel".

• **Adonai** (lit. "My Lords") is the plural form of adon ("Lord") along with the first-person singular pronoun enclitic. As with Elohim, Adonai's grammatical form is usually explained as a plural of majesty. In the Hebrew Bible, it is nearly always used to refer to God (approximately 450 occurrences). As pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton came to be avoided in the Hellenistic period, Jews may have begun to drop the Tetragrammaton when presented alongside Adonai and subsequently expand it to cover for the Tetragrammaton in the forms of spoken prayer and written scripture. Owing to the expansion of chumra (the idea of "building a fence around the Torah"), Adonai itself has come to be too holy to say for Orthodox Jews, leading to its replacement by HaShem ("The Name").

• **HaShem or HSHM**: It is common Jewish practice to restrict the use of the names of God to a liturgical context. In casual conversation some Jews, even when not speaking Hebrew, will call God HaShem, which is Hebrew for "the Name" (cf. Leviticus 24:11 and Deuteronomy 28:58). Likewise, when quoting from the Tanakh or prayers, some pious Jews will replace Adonai with HaShem. For example, when making audio recordings of prayer services, HaShem will generally be substituted for Adonai. A popular expression containing this phrase is Baruch HaShem, meaning "Thank God" (literally, "Blessed be the Name").

• **Shalom**: Talmudic authors, ruling on the basis of Gideon's name for an altar ("YHVH-Shalom", according to Judges 6:24), write that "the name of God is 'Peace'" (Pereq ha-Shalom, Shab. 10b); consequently, a Talmudic opinion (Shabbat, 10b) asserts that one would greet another with the word About this soundshalom (help•info) in order for the word not to be forgotten in the exile. But one is not permitted to greet another with the word in unholy places such as a bathroom, because of holiness of the name.

CALENDAR

• **Calendar:** The Year 2019 in Various Currant Calendars

Religion has greatest influence on calendars and calendar creation. The calendar in always on our mind and is a kind of ID card for a culture and civilisation. We show here the calendar's Name = Based On = Year:

• Assyrian / Syriac calendar = Aramaean / Aramaic origin = 6769 Syriac Christians

• Jewish / Judaist / Phoenician calendar = Hebrew (Masoretic text) origin = 5779–5780

• Ab urbe condita, Roman Empire = founding of the City of Rome = 2772, MMDCCLXXII

• Julian calendar, Roman Empire = Julius Caesar's Roman calendar = 2019; MMXIX (Orthodox Church)

• Eastern Roman Empire calendar = the Septuagint Bible: 691–1728 = 7527–7528 VIIDXXVII* (=7527)

• Gregorian Christian calendar = improved Julian calendar: 1582 = Julian +13 days: 2019; MMXIX

• Berber calendar = Roman origin = 2969 (Northwest Africa)

• Armenian calendar = Zoroastrian / Christian influence = 1468

• Coptic calendar = Egyptian / Christian origin = 1735–1736 (Egypt)

• Chinese Empire calendar = Huangdi: 2697 or 2698 BC. = 4655–4656

• Chinese Republic calendar = President Sun Yat-sen, 1911 = 4715–4716

• Hindu Kali Yuga calendar = Krishna's departure: 3102 BC. = 5119–5120

• Hindu Vikram Samvat calendar = King Vikramaditya: c. 57 BC. = 2075–2076 (Nepal, N. India)

• Hindu Shaka Samvat calendar = Indian national calendar: 68 AD = 1940–1941

• Burmese calendar = a traditional Hindu calendar = 2011–2012

• Javanese calendar = Hindu (Shaka) calendar: 78 AD = 1952–1953 (Hinduist Indonesians)

• Bengali Sambat calendar = start of Hindu calendar: 593/594 = 1426 (Bangladesh, E. India)

• Buddhist calendar = Buddha's departure into Nirvana = 2563 (Burma, Thailand)

• Tibetan Buddhist calendar = a traditional calendar = 2145–2146

• Tibetan Buddhist calendar = King Thothori Nyantsen: 255 AD. = 1764–1765 (Tibet)

• Tibetan Buddhist calendar = Vajrayana Buddhism = 992–993

• Thai Solar calendar = Buddha's departure into Nirvana = 2562 (Thailand)

• Islamic Hijri Lunar calendar = start of Mohammed's Wars: 622 AD. = 1440–1441 (Sunni Muslims)

• Iranian Hijri Solar calendar = start of Mohammed's Wars: 622 AD. = 1397–1398 (Shia Islam, Persia)

• Baha'i calendar = the Bab proclaimed his religion: 1844 = 175–176 (Persia, Israel, others)

• **AM or A.M**. = "Anno Mundi" (that is the year "the World was created by God" according to the Hebrew Bible = 3761 B.C. or 5508 B.C.)

The Jewish Year 5779 AM began at sunset on 9 September 2018 AD.

The year 1 AD corresponds to 3761 AM.

That is approx. 3,761 years difference between AM and AD.

There are two different times depending on the source of the chosen biblical text. God created the World in about 3760 BC based on the Hebrew Masoretic text but in about 5508 BC based on the Christian Greek Septuagint text. A difference of 1,747 years! The Hebrew text is considered to be more reliable as they made the calendar.

• **AD or A.D.** = "Anno Domini" (CE or C.E. for those who reject Christianity or Western civilisation.).

The Christian Year 2018 AD corresponds to the Islamic years 1439–1440 AH.

That is approx. 578-579 years difference between AD and AH.

BC stands for "Before Christ" (BCE or B.C.E. for those who reject Christianity or Western civilisation).

• **AH or A.H.** = "Anno Hegirae" or "Anno Hijri" or "Anno Hijra" meaning 'in the year of the Hijra', the year in which Mohammed began the spread of Islam by warfare and got success with this method.

The Islamic Year 1 AH corresponds to 622 AD., or the year 1440 AH corresponds to 2018–2019 AD.

BH stands for "Before the Hijra" (that is the "Age of Ignorance" or the time before Mohammed's success with his Islam.).

• **25th December** = There was a practical reason for choosing 25 December. In AD 274, Emperor Aurelian (Lucius Domitius Aurelianus Augustus; 214 or 215 – September or October 275 AD) had declared a civil holiday on 25 December (the "Festival of the birth of the Unconquered Sun") to celebrate the deity Sol Invictus. Christians declared this day the "birthday of Jesus". The choice would help substitute the major Christian holiday "Christmas" for the popular Pagan celebrations surrounding the Winter Solstice (Roman Sol Sticia, the three-day stasis when the sun would rise consecutively in its southernmost point before heading north, 21, 22 and 23 December.

OTHER MEASUREMENTS

• **Cubit** = The cubit is an ancient unit of length that had several definitions according to each of the various different cultures that used the unit. These definitions typically ranged between 444 and 529.2 mm (17.48 and 20.83 in), with an ancient Roman cubit being as long as 120 cm (47 in). The shorter unit was based on the forearm length from the tip of the middle finger to the bottom of the elbow.

• The **Attic talent** = (a talent of the Attic standard), also known as the Athenian talent or Greek talent (Greek: τάλαντον, talanton), is an ancient unit of mass equal to about 26 kilograms (57 lb), as well as a unit of value equal to this amount of pure silver. A talent was originally intended to be the mass of water required to fill an amphora, about one cubic foot (28 l). At the 2017 price of $547/kg, a silver talent is worth $14,113. It was equivalent to 60 minae, 6,000 drachmae or 36,000 oboloi.

During the Peloponnesian War, a trireme crew of 200 rowers was paid a talent for a month's worth of work, one drachma, or 4.3 grams of silver per rower per day. According to wage rates from 377 BC, a talent was the value of nine man-years of skilled work. This corresponds to 2340 work days or 11.1 grams (0.36 ozt) of silver per worker per workday. In 2004, a modern carpenter's median wage was about $25,060 per year or $226,000 for nine years of work.

In 1800, a building craftsman in urban Europe received an average wage of 11.9 grams (0.38 ozt) of silver a day, or about $0.49 a day. Adjusted for inflation, this corresponds to $6 a day in 2007 money. Assuming a European worker in 1800 to be as productive as a worker in ancient Greece, the purchasing power of a talent in ancient times was about equal to $20,000 in the early 21st century. The plausibility of this calculation is confirmed by the fact that a talent of silver was worth $1081 in 1800, equivalent to $13,000 after adjusting for inflation.

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GENERAL GLOSSARY
In Aphabetical Order

(This Glossary is intended to give you a basic, useful, and comprehensible knowledge about the Jewish, Christian and Islamic religions and their writings which are closely connected to writings of Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Daoism, Confucianism and Stoicism. That all those beliefs and teachings are connected to one another is one of the most enlightening and exciting facts that are discovered in our times.)

• **Abraham** = The father of the Jewish nation. He and his group left Ur and started a new life in Canaan.

• **Abrahamitic religion** = There are three main religions and all their dominations that trace back their origin to Abraham and his people: Judaism, Christianity, Islam.

• **Agnostic** = Someone who says we cannot know whether God exists.

• **Acts of Apostles** = The second of the books in the bible written by Luke. But this is not the only book of acts. There are about 26 books.

• **A.D.** or AD = Latin Anno Domine, "year of our Lord." Conventional abbreviation denoting a date since the time of Christ, generally used when there might be some ambiguity as to whether the date is "Before Christ" or "After Christ." For example, "The fall of the Jerusalem Temple to the Romans occurred in the year 70 A.D." In scholarly writing, the abbreviations B.C.E. and C.E. are sometimes used instead of B.C. and A.D. respectively although they can cause confusion among common readers.

• **Adam and Eve** = The first people according to the book of Genesis. They lived in the Garden of Eden.

• **Advent** = The beginning of the church year. Starts on the Sunday nearest November 30th (St. Andrew's day) until Christmas. Advent is from the Latin meaning coming or arrival.

• **Alexandria** = Alexandria in Egypt, as the second most important city in the Roman Empire, was made one of the church's first three Patriarchates, along with Rome and Antioch at the Council of Nicea in 325. The Alexandrian bishops often found themselves at loggerheads with those from Antioch in the early theological debates. Alexandrian theology viewed the divinity of Jesus as more important than his humanity and was prone to emphasize the distinctions between the three aspects of the Trinity rather than their/its unity. Alexandria and all Egypt became part of the Moslem Empire in 642.

• **allegorical interpretation** = Interpretation of a narrative in symbolic rather than literal terms. Allegorical interpretation is a product of the interpreter, rather than a property of the text itself; scholars often debate whether a particular text was intended by its original author to be read allegorically. For example, Galatians 4:21-31 interprets OT story of Abraham's two sons Ishmael and Isaac allegorically, representing Mount Sinai and Jerusalem respectively, slave and free.

• allegory = Literary form in which plot, setting, characters etc. are meant to be interpreted symbolically or figuratively.

• Allegory = is a poem, play, picture or story in which the apparent meaning of the characters and events is used to symbolise a moral or spiritual meaning. The constant playing with names in the New Testament is a part of it. Several different names could refer to one and the same person or character. Likewise, only one particular name could refer to several different persons, characters or events.

• **Allusion** = is a Latin word with allude as its verb which means "to refer indirectly". Lots of stories in the Old Testament but in particular in the New Testament are allusions. They account stories in an encoded way in order to refer to another event. The real story is covered by another, either because the real story contradicts mainstream church doctrine or to force the reader to remember a similar story that belongs to the event. See: Typology

• **Altar** = The place of sacrifice in church or chapel which represents the table where Jesus shared the last supper with his disciples.

• **Amen** = The final word of a prayer; means "so be it".

• **anachronism** = Someone or something that is out of place with respect to time period; in biblical studies an anachronism is usually something from a later period “mistakenly” appearing in a text purportedly from an earlier period. For example, in Acts 5:36–37, Gamaliel speaks of the uprising led by Theudas. But the Jewish historian Josephus also describes Theudas’ revolt which occurred well after Gamaliel’s speech. So this reference to Theudas is considered an anachronism.

• **Ancient Middle East** = Region of southwest Asia which today includes Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Israel, Lebanon, Syria, and Turkey.

• **ancient versions** = Translations of the Bible dating from the early centuries of the Common Era (3rd century AD or earlier), such as the Greek, Syriac, Latin, and Coptic.

• **androcentric** = Male centered; when said of the Bible, the writer probably means that the Bible was written primarily by, for, and/or about men.

• **Angel** = The angels are created heavenly beings who serve as God's messengers and helpers. They are made out of spirit and not physical matter and so live forever. But they are part of God's creation, and so are not part of, or equivalent to, God's divine being.

• **Anglican** = (Communion) - A worldwide branch of the Protestant church led by the Archbishop of Canterbury on behalf of the English monarch. That name comes from the Angles, one of the German tribes that conquered England (=Angelland) from northern Germany • Anglican Churches = The Anglican Church was founded in England in early sixteenth century (the early Reformation period) when King Henry broke with the Roman Catholic Church in order to divorce his wife. Although Henry himself had no Protestant leanings, his successor King Edward brought a great deal of Protestant theology into the Anglican Church. Like the Catholic Church, the Anglican Church is hierarchichal; its leader is the King or Queen of England while its spiritual head is the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Anglican belief has traveled well, with large communities in many different countries. In the United States, the Episcopal Church is a branch of Anglicanism and is considered one of the largest four or five protestant denominations.

• **Annunciation** = When the angel Gabriel told Mary that she was pregnant with Jesus. • aphorism = A short, pithy statement; an adage or maxim, such as "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven" (Matthew 5:3) or "The fear of the LORD is the beginning of wisdom" (Proverbs 9:10).

• **apocalypse** = An apocalyptic text. The book of Revelation is an example of an apocalypse, and Mark 13 is sometimes called the "little apocalypse." The Greek name of the book of Revelation is apokalupsos, "Apocalypse."

• **apocalyptic** = Type of biblical and other literature in which a revelation is given through highly symbolic visions. The premier biblical examples are found in the books of Revelation and Daniel. From the Greek meaning "uncovering" or "revelation."

• **archaeology** = The study of the material remains of ancient people. For example, the ancient city of Sepphoris has been excavated and the resulting information used to give an idea of the historical context of the biblical city of Nazareth, located nearby.

• Anoint = "To anoint" means to apply and rub with oil. To rub somebody with oil in a special ceremony means to consecrate or sanctificate him. This act was usually performed by a priest. In antiquity it was an act to show that an anointed person was accepted as legitimate ruler or king.

• **Antioch** = Antioch, in Syria, was the third largest and third most important city in the Roman Empire (after Rome and Alexandria). It was one of the first three Patriarchates established at the Council of Nicea in 325. That is, its bishop was given the title of Patriarch. The Antiochene Church was one of the earliest established outside Palestine (probably by Christians fleeing one of the early persecutions in Jerusalem) and in the early centuries often found itself wrestling with the Alexandrians over key theological interpretations. Antiochene theology emphasised the unity and oneness of God when discussing the Trinity, while at the same time holding the humanity of Jesus as important. Antioch became part of the Moslem Empire in 638.

• **Apocrypha** = are works, usually written, of unknown authorship or of doubtful origin. More generally, "apocryphal" refers to writings of questionable authenticity. These are terms invented by the Church to downplay the importance of these books. The word's origin is the Medieval Latin adjective apocryphus, "secret, or non-canonical", from the Greek adjective apokryphos, "obscure", from the verb apokryptein, "to hide away". Apocryphal writings are a class of documents rejected by the mainstream Church as being either against the mainstream doctrine or pseudepigraphical and therefore unworthy to be properly called Scripture. The books of the Old Testament which the Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches include, but which were removed by the Protestants as part of the Reformation. They were all written in Greek, whereas the rest of the Old Testament is in Hebrew. The books are: Tobit, Judith, I Maccabees, II Maccabees, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, Wisdom of Solomon, I Esdras, II Esdras, Letter of Jeremiah, the additions to Esther, and the additions to Daniel. Members of the groups that accept these books as canonical tend to call them the deuterocanonical books simply because they belong to the Second Jewish Canon. Protestant bibles do not include the Apocrypha within the Old Testament but have often included them in a separate section. Other non-canonical apocryphal texts are generally called pseudepigrapha, a term that means "false attribution".

• **Apostle(s)** = The Greek word "apostle" means "messenger" The twelve disciples that Jesus chose during his earthly ministry were given the title "Apostle" by the Church after Jesus' death and resurrection. The missionary Paul was also given this title.

• **Apostles Creed** = An early Christian creed traditionally attributed to the Apostles, but actually coming from the third century. A comparison of the Apostles Creed with the Nicene Creed reveals the theological innovations the battle against the Arian Controversy brought about with regard to the statements concerning the nature of the Christian godhead, that is, the doctrine of the Trinity. The text is as follows: I believe in God, the Father almighty, creator of heaven and earth. I believe in Jesus Christ, God's only Son, our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, and was buried; he descended to the dead. On the third day he rose again; he ascended into heaven, he is seated at the right hand of the Father, and he will come to judge the living and the dead. I believe in the Holy Spirit, the holy catholic Church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting. Amen.

• **Apostasy** is the total rejection of a state religion by a person who, having at one time professed that faith, publicly rejects it. It is distinguished from heresy, which is limited to the rejection of one or more Christian doctrines by one who maintains an overall adherence to the state religion. Certain theologians in Christianity considered apostasy to be as serious as adultery and murder and was punishable by the death penalty. In Islam, an apostate still can receive the death penalty as a result today. Fundamentalistic Muslims consider anyone an apostate who does not actively support the cause of Islam, hence the many victims of ISIS, the Taliban, or other jihadists.

• The **Arch of Titus** = (Latin: Arcus de Titus; Italian: Arco di Tito) is a 1st-century AD honorific arch, located on the Via Sacra (holy way), Rome, just to the south-east of the Roman Forum. The Arch of Titus measures: 15.4 meters (50 ft) in height, 13.5 meters (44 ft) in width, 4.75 meters (15.5 ft) in depth. The inner archway is 8.3 (27 ft) meters in height, and 5.36 (17.5 ft) in width. It was constructed in c. 81 AD by the Emperor Flavius Domitianus shortly after the death of his older brother Flavius Titus to commemorate that the Senate of Rome officially declared Titus a God. The arch celebrates the victory of Titus together with their father, Vespasian, over the Jewish rebellion in Judaea with was considered a vital act for the survival of the Roman Empire. The original inscription is attached to the west side of the Arch. It is written in Roman capitals and reads: SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS DIVO TITO DIVI VESPASIANI F(ILIO) VESPASIANO AVGVSTO, in full text: "Senatus Populusque Romanus divo Tito divi Vespasiani filio Vespasiano Augusto", which means in English: "The Senate and the Roman people (dedicate this) to the God Titus Vespasian Augustus, son of the God Vespasian."

• **Archbishop** = An Archbishop functions as a bishop, but over a region of historical or political importance.

• **Ark of Noah** or Noah's Ark. Noah is the hero of the biblical Flood story in the Old Testament book of Genesis, the originator of vineyard cultivation, and, as the father of Shem, Ham, and Japheth, the representative head of a Semitic genealogical line. A synthesis of at least three biblical source traditions, Noah is the image of the righteous man made party to a covenant with Yahweh, the God of Israel, in which nature's future protection against catastrophe is assured.

Noah was instructed to build an ark, and in accordance with God's instructions he took into the ark male and female specimens of all the world's species of animals, from which the stocks might be replenished.

The story of the Flood has close affinities with Babylonian traditions of apocalyptic floods in which Utnapishtim plays the part corresponding to that of Noah. These mythologies are the source of such features of the biblical Flood story as the building and provisioning of the ark, its flotation, and the subsidence of the waters, as well as the part played by the human protagonist. Tablet XI of the Gilgamesh epic introduces Utnapishtim, who, like Noah, survived cosmic destruction by heeding divine instruction to build an ark. See: Great Flood; See: Gilgamesh

• **Ark of the Covenant** = (Hebrew: Aron Ha-berit), in Judaism and Christianity, the ornate, gold-plated wooden chest that in biblical times housed the two tablets of the Law given to Moses by God. The Ark rested in the Holy of Holies inside the Tabernacle of the ancient Temple of Jerusalem and was seen only by the high priest of the Israelites on Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement. The Levites (priestly functionaries) carried the Ark with them during the Hebrews' wanderings in the wilderness. Following the conquest of Canaan, the Promised Land, the Ark resided at Shiloh, but from time to time it was carried into battle by the Israelites. Taken to Jerusalem by King David, it was eventually placed in the Temple by King Solomon. The final fate of the Ark is unknown. See: Ten Commandments

• **ASB** = The Alternative Service Book. A prayer book used by the Church of England. It contains the order for all the services. It also contains many prayers. • Ascension When Jesus went back to heaven, 40 days after the resurrection. Idea that already appeared in the Old Testament. • Ash Wednesday = The first day of Lent. The day after Shrove Tuesday.

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• **Athanasius** = Bishop of Alexandria from 328 to 373. He attended the Council of Nicea as his predecessor's assistant. He was a strong proponent of Alexandrian theology and a staunch opponent of Arianism. Since both Constantine and his son supported Arianism, this caused him much trouble, requiring him to go into exile several times during his life. He unfortunately did not live to see his views reaffirmed at the Council of Constantinople in 381. He helped the fledgling monastic movement and one of his letters preserves the earliest list of the books of the New Testament as they were ultimately canonised.

• **Atheist** = Someone who does not believe there is a God. Opposite: Theist

• **aumbry** = The little cupboard where the reserved sacrament is kept.

• **Babylonian Captivity** = Biblical time period when the (the leading) Israelites were deported to and exiled in Babylon by King Nebuchadnezzar. Also known as the Exile.

• **Baptism** = In its most basic form, baptism is a ritual which a person is immersed in water. This immersion has had several different meanings. (1st) The baptism of John the Baptist was developed before Jesus started his ministry. It was for the forgiveness of an individual's sins. (2nd) Christian baptism is primarily a conversion ceremony that brings a person into the Christian religion, after a confession of faith in Christ. (3rd) In most churches, baptism has become a sacrament. (4th) Some churches have developed a baptism ritual in which a person is spinkled with water rather than immersed. (5th) Sprinkling is often done to infants before they are old enough to make a confession of faith. In this case, most churches hold that when the child reaches adulthood they must confirm their beliefs.

• **Baptist Churches** = Historically, the Baptist Churches began as a breakaway group from the New England Puritans (who are themselves a breakaway group from the England Puritans who are a breakaway group from Anglicanism). The first Baptist Church was founded by Roger Williams in Rhode Island in the 1630's. In addition to the standard beliefs common to most Protestant Churches, Baptists believe in adult baptism only (usually by total body immersion), the separation of church and state, and the importance of individuals working out their own beliefs ("soul liberty"). They also emphasize the authority of the Bible. Into this theological mix, they have also incorporated a number of Calvinist beliefs.

• **Baptistery** = The place where baptism takes place.

• **Basilica** = A word for a church that consists of three long and parallel rooms that were divided by rows of columns. Originally, this kind of building was the seat of a Roman governor or Prefect

• **B.C.** or BC = Conventional abbreviation denoting a date before the time of Christ. Since the "BC-AD" way of numbering dates became standard, scholars have postulated that Jesus was probably not actually born in the year 1 AD, but a few years before or after. The abbreviations B.C.E. means "Before the Common Era", equivalent to B.C. ("Before Christ"). The abbreviations C.E. stands for "Common Era". These represent "political correctness" terms that are used instead of B.C. and A.D. respectively by all those who do not want to refer to Christ. Those political correctness term may prevent bad feelings in non-Christians. True Christians however may find those terms insulting.

• **Bethlehem** = The village of Bethlehem (Bet Lehem) is the place of Jesus' birth, according to the New Testament. There is the question of which Bet Lehem was it as there are two distinct villages of this name. Writers of the New Testament claim that Jesus was born in Bet Lehem in Judaea because his parents Mary and Joseph hat to go there for a census. This claim however has no likelihood as the other village with the name of Bet Lehem is only a few kilometres away from Nazareth, the place where the whole family lived; the village of Bet Lehem in Judaea ist more than 100 kilometres away. The writers of the gospels deliberately stated Bet Lehem in Judaea as Jesus' birthplace in order to build a historical link to Judaea as this was the province where the dynasty of King David came from.

• **Bible** = The word Bible comes from the plural Greek word "biblia" which means "the books" (singular: "biblos") or "library". The Phoenician city of Byblos (today in Lebanon) was important for the export of papyrus from Egypt to Greece. The Greek word "biblio" may come from the city's name. Numerous documents and books were made of papyros in Antiquity. The Hebrew Bible consists of most books of the Old Testament. The Christian Bible consists of the Old Testament and the New Testament. The Old Testament essentially consists of the Hebrew Bible, while the New Testament contains books which tell about Jesus and the early decades of the Church. After the Reformation, the Protestants removed a number of the books from the Catholic Old Testament which were given the name Apocrypha (hidden books).

• **Bible, Books of the (Old Testament):** Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, 1 Kings, 2 Kings, 1 Chronicles, 2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi

• **Bible, Books of the (New Testament):** Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Acts, Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 Thessalonians, 2 Thessalonians, 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, Hebrews, James, 1 Peter, 2 Peter, 1 John, 2 John, 3 John, Jude, Revelation

• **Bible, Books of the (Apocrypha):** Tobit, Judith, 1 Maccabees, 2 Maccabees, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, Daniel and Susanna, Daniel, Bel and the Snake, Song of the Three, Esdras, Manasseh

• **Bible, Characters in the:** *Old Testament:* Aaron, Abednego, Abel, Abigail, Abraham, Absalom, Achitophel or Ahithophel, Adam, Ahab, Ahasuerus, Ammon, Amos, , Asher, Balaam, Baruch, Bathsheba, Beelzebub, Belial, Belshazzar, Benjamin, Boanerges, Boaz, Cain, Cush or Kush, Dan, Daniel, David, Deborah, Delilah, Dinah, Dives, Dorcas, Elias, Elijah, Elisha, Enoch, Enos, Ephraim, Esau, Esther, Eve, Ezekiel, Ezra, Gabriel, Gad, Gideon, Gilead, Gog and Magog, Goliath, Good Samaritan, Habakkuk, Hagar, Haggai, Ham, Hannah, Herod, Hezekiah, Hiram, Holofernes, Hosea, Isaac, Isaiah, Ishmael, Issachar, Jacob, Jael, Japheth, Jehoshaphat, Jehu, Jephthah or Jephte, Jeremiah, Jeroboam, Jesse, Jethro, Jezebel, Joab, Job, Joel, Jonah or Jonas, Jonathan, Joseph, Joshua, Josiah, Jubal, Judah, Judith, Laban, Leah, Levi, Lot, Lot's wife, Magus, Malachi, Manasseh, Melchior, Melchizedek or Melchisedech, Meshach, Methuselah, Micah, Midian, Mordecai, Moses, Nabonidus, Naboth, Nahum, Naomi, Naphtali, Nathan, Nathanael, Nebuchadnezzar or Nebuchadrezzar, Nehemiah, Nicodemus, Nimrod, Noah, Obadiah, Potiphar, Queen of Sheba, Rachel, Rebecca, Reuben, Ruth, Salome, Samson, Samuel, Sarah, Saul, Seth, Shadrach, Shem, Solomon, Susanna, Tobit, Tubal-cain, Uriah, YHWH (Yahweh), Zacharias, Zachariah or Zachary, Zebulun, Zechariah, Zedekiah, Zephaniah, Zilpah.

New Testament: Ananias, Andrew (Greek: Andreas = man, the brother of Simon Kepa or Cephas), Balthazar (from Akkadian Belsharuzur = "[the god] Bel protects the King" = synonym for someone from Mespotamia or Persia), Barabbas (bar Abbas = son of the father), Bartholomew (son of Ptolemy or Talmai = the Egyptian), Caiaphas (from Cephas or Kepas, a Jewish family of high priests), Caspar, James (Jacob the brother of Jesus), Jesus (Yehoshua, Yoshua, Joshua = the Saviour; Christ = Messiah = the leader), John (Iohanan), John the Baptist (cousin of Jesus), Joseph, Joses (Yose = Joseph, the brother of Jesus), Judas Iscariot, Jude (Judas, the brother of Jesus), Lazarus, Luke (Greek: Lukas), Mark (Latin: Marcus), Martha, Mary, Mary Magdalene (Mary of Magdala, Jesus' companion), Matthew, Matthias, Miriam (Maryam = Mary), Paul (= Saul of Tarsos), Peter, Philip, Simon the brother of Jesus, Simon Kepas (or Kepa or Cephas, also Simon Peter, petros = Greek: the stone or rock, synonym for emotionless), Simeon (Shimon, Simon), Thaddeus or Thadeus (Greek for Judas), Didymos Judas Thomas, Virgin Mary, Zebedee (Aramaic: Zvadyah, Greek: Zebedaios, father of James and John (two disciples of Jesus) and second husband of Mary the mother of Jesus.).

• **Bible, Place names in the:** *Old Testament:* Aceldama, Aram, Ararat, Babel, Bashan, Calvary, Cana, Canaan, Eden, Garden of Eden, Gath, Gaza, Gehenna, Gomorrah or Gomorrha, Goshen, Horeb, Jericho, Jerusalem, Judah, land of milk and honey, land of Nod, Moab, On, Ophir, Rabbath Ammon, Samaria, Shiloh, Shinar, Shittim, Sodom, Tadmor, Tophet or Topheth.

New Testament: Antioch (today: Antakya, Simon Peter's bishopric), Arimathaea or Arimathea (corruption of a person's name = bar Mathaea = son of Matthew, original Aramaic: bar Matityahu), Bethesda, Bethlehem (in Galilee), Bethlehem (in Judaea), Capernaum, Galilee, Gethsemane, Golgotha, Judaea or Judea, Magdala (at the southwestern tip of Lake Galilee or Tiberias or Kinneret or Kinnereth or Gennesaret), Nazareth (originally 'Nazorean' or 'Nazarene', a soubriquet for "Keeper of Moses' Law), Sepphoris (capital and largest city of Galilee), Tarsos (Paul's hometown, 100 km northwest of Antioch), the Wilderness (abandoned deaert or rock areas in Judaea or Jordan that was used as a retreat of Jewish monks.

• **biblical criticism** = Study of biblical texts using specified methods in an effort to make sound scholarly judgements about these texts and their meanings; from the Greek krino, to judge. Terms like "text criticism," "literary criticism," and "canonical criticism" each refer to a particular focus and method of biblical criticism.

• **bibliolatry** = Taking too high a view of scripture; treating the Bible as if it were a god.

• **BHS** = "Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia," most widely regarded edition of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament. The actual Hebrew words of the Bible are the Masoretic Text, but an extensive critical apparatus gives possible alternative readings in the margin and across the bottom of each page.

• **Bishop** = Church official responsible for a region of churches; in Catholicism the region is called a diocese. Historically, he was responsible for overseeing worship, discipine, and spiritual affairs. In modern times, he has taken on many administrative duties. In Catholicism, there are two sacraments that can be performed only by the bishop, confirmation and ordination.

• **Book of Common Prayer** = an old Anglican prayer book. The book was first published in 1549 during the reign of Edward VI of England. It was the first prayer book to contain the forms of service for daily and Sunday worship in English and to do so within a single volume.

• **Baptism** = The entry rite into the Christian church, which can take place as a baby or as an adult.

• **Beatitudes** = A section of writing from the New Testament, each of which starts with "Blessed are the ...." (Matthew 5).

• **Bethlehem** or Bet Lehem is the name of two distinct towns. One of them is a small town in Galilee where Jesus was born. It is near Sepphoris, the regional capital, and only 4 miles (7km) from Nazareth. The other one is the birth place of King David and is situated near Jerusalem about 100 km to the south. • Blasphemy = Words that are spoken against God, Jesus, Prophets, Saints, Allah, Mohammed etc. could be perceived as blasphemy. In Christianity (up to the 18th century) and in Islam (still today), blasphemy is an act that carries the Death Penalty. • Blessed = Rewarded by God.

• **Calvin, John** = John Calvin was an early reformer who lived from 1509-1564. He was probably the most influential writer, thinker and theologian of the Calvinist (or Reformed) wing of the Protestant Reformation. Calvin held that the Christian Church should be organized on biblical principals, that is, along the lines explicitly stated in the Bible.

• **Calvinism** = is a form of Protestantism that follows the teachings of John Calvin.

• **Calvinist Churches** = The Calvinist Churches, also called the Reformed Churches, are based on the thought of Calvin and other Reformed theologians. In the English world, these churchs take the form of the Presbyterian and Congregational denominations. Of course, Calvinism was a world-wide movement that influenced the growth of Christianity in Holland, Switzerland, Germany; and from those countries it spread across the world. While Calvinism follows all important Protestant innovations in Christian belief and theology, it adds to them its own emphases. These can be summed in the idea of the majesty of God and his will and purpose. In human terms, this means that individual Christians each have a purpose in life--to fulfill their role in God's plan. Thus members of these churches have historically been activists, working to affect the world around them. Another change instituted in Calvinism was the desacralization of human life; this resulted in the removal of all sacraments from the liturgy except for baptism and communion.

• **Biblical Canon, Judaism** = A biblical canon or canon of scripture is a set of texts (or "books") which a particular religious community regards as authoritative scripture. The English word "canon" comes from the Greek kanon, meaning "rule" or "measuring stick". Christians became the first to use the term in reference to scripture, but some regard the idea as Jewish.

A.) The **Canon of the Hebrew Bible /** the Tanakh / the Old Testament: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, 1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, 1 Kings, 2 Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, 1 Chronicles, 2 Chronicles

B.) The **Apocrypha or Deuterocanon** or Second Canon of the Hebrew Bible / the Tanakh / the Old Testament: 1 Esdras, 2 Esdras, Tobit, Judith, Additions to Esther, Wisdom of Solomon, Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach, Baruch, Letter of Jeremiah, Prayer of Azariah, Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, Prayer of Manasseh, 1 Maccabees, 2 Maccabees. These texts have been deliberately removed from Anglican Bibles since 1886. They were also removed from Bibles of other Protestant denominations. The reasons for these removas were that these texts were concerned with Jewish topics such as the Jewish struggle for freedom from foreign rule.

C.) The **Pseudepigrapha** (some not Jewish) of the Hebrew Bible / the Tanakh / the Old Testament: Apocalypse of Abraham, Testament of Abraham, Apocalypse of Adam, Testament of Adam, Life of Adam and Eve, Ahiqar, Letter of Aristeas, Aristeas the Exegete, Aristobulus, Artapanus, 2 Baruch, 3 Baruch, 4 Baruch, Cleodemus Malchus, Apocalypse of Daniel, More Psalms of David, Demetrius the Chronographer, Eldad and Modad, Apocalypse of Elijah, 1 Enoch, 2 Enoch, 3 Enoch, Eupolemus, Pseudo-Eupolemus, Apocryphon of Ezekiel, Ezekiel the Tragedian, Greek Apocalypse of Ezra, Questions of Ezra, Revelation of Ezra, Vision of Ezra, Fragments of Pseudo-Greek Poets, Pseudo-Hecataeus, Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers, Testament of Isaac, Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah, Ladder of Jacob, Prayer

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of Jacob, Testament of Jacob, Jannes and Jambres, Testament of Job, Joseph and Aseneth, History of Joseph, Prayer of Joseph, Jubilees, 3 Maccabees, 4 Maccabees, 5 Maccabees, Syriac Menander, Testament of Moses, Book of Noah, Orphica, Philo the Epic Poet, Pseudo-Philo, Pseudo-Phocylides, The Lives of the Prophets, History of the Rechabites, Apocalypse of Sedrach, Treatise of Shem, Sibylline Oracles, Odes of Solomon, Psalms of Solomon, Testament of Solomon, Thallus, Theodotus, Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Apocalypse of Zephaniah

D.) The text collections of the **Babylonian Talmud** as well as the Law texts of the Mishnah Sanhedrin.

• **Biblical Canon, Christianity** = The Christian Bible Canon consists of two parts: (1st) The Old Testament (The Hebrew Bible composed by Jewish authors in their Hebrew language), and (2nd) The New Testament (composed by Roman citizens in their upper class language Greek). There are also texts that were composed in Aramaic (the language of Jesus), Coptic (Egyptian), Armenian (the language of one of the oldest Christian communities), and other languages, but all those texts could not find their way into the official Bible Canon as they either were not written by Roman citizens or were written outside of the Roman sphere od influence.

The collected texts of the Bible are usually called 'books'. Christian Bibles range from the **66** books of the Protestant canon to **81** books in the Ethiopian Orthodox Bible. There are different versions of the Bible. These differences come from the fact that certain religious communities include those parts they find important and leave out other parts they think are less important. A Biblical canon is a set of books of the Bible that a certain movement considers "Scripture" (that is, inspired by God). The following books are in almost all Christian Bibles. Some Bibles contain other books as well.

A.) The canon of the **Old Testament**, these books were written before the birth of Jesus Christ: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1 & 2 Samuel, 1 & 2 Kings, 1 & 2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon (Song of Songs), Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi

A1.) Additional Books (common to Catholics and Orthodox): Tobit (Tobias), Judith, 1 Maccabees, 2 Maccabees, Book of Wisdom, Sirach, Baruch, Letter of Jeremiah, Additions to Daniel, Additions to Esther; Following books are added by Greek & Slavonic Orthodox: 1 Esdras, Prayer of Manasseh, Psalm 151, 3 Maccabees; And these to Georgian Orthodox: 2 Esdras, 4 Maccabees.

A2.) Additional Books and texts that were previously unknown and cover the four centuries between Alexander's Conquests (335 BC) and the Flavian Dynasty (between 66 and 96 AD.), also called "the Intertestamental Period". To these texts belong documents such as the Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran that were written by the Saducees, Zealots, Sicarii and other groups that could be added up under the generic term "Jewish Messianic Movement".

B.) The canon of the New Testament, these books were written after the birth of Jesus Christ: (Gospel of) Matthew, (Gospel of) Mark, (Gospel of) Luke, (Gospel of) John, (Book of) Acts, (Paul to the) Romans, 1 (Paul to the) Corinthians, 2 (Paul to the) Corinthians, (Paul to the) Galatians, (Paul to the) Ephesians, (Paul to the) Philippians, (Paul to the) Colossians, 1 (Paul to the) Thessalonians, 2 (Paul to the) Thessalonians, 1 (Paul to the) Timothy, 2 (Paul to the) Timothy, (Paul to) Titus (of Antioch, the secretary of Paul), (Paul to) Philemon, (Paul to the) Hebrews, James (the brother of Jesus), 1 Peter, 2 Peter, 1 John, 2 John, 3 John, Jude (Judas the brother of Jesus), Revelations (or The Apocalypse, or Book of Revelations, or more precisely: The Book of Revelation of Christ to John of Patmos)

B1.) Additional Books by Titus Flavius Josephus which belonged to the canon of some Bibles during the Middle Ages: The Jewish War (c. 75 AD), Antiquities of the Jews (c. 94 AD), (Flavius Josephus) Against Apion (c. 97 AD), The Life of Flavius Josephus (c. 99 AD). These works are considered extremely important by Christians as they were the first and only non-Christian accounts that refer to Jesus and the Holy Land in the 1st century AD.

B2.) Additional books written by Marcionites, Gnostics, Mandaeans, Arians, Manichaeans, Nestorians, and other denominations that were not under the spell of Roman Empire or its Roman Church led from Rome or Constantinople. To these texts belong books from the Nag Hammadi Library in Egypt, or documents in Aramaic, Hebrew, Greek, Sogdian, or Arabic, from the Mogao Caves near Dunhuang, China.

• **Jewish Bible Canon**, another name for the Tanakh

• **Pali Canon**, used in the Therevada Buddhist tradition

• **Tibetan Buddhist Canon**, a loosely defined list used in the Vajrayana tradition

• **Chinese Buddhist Canon**, used in East Asia

• **Daoist Canon**, the Daozang with about 1400 texts collected around the 4th century

In the Grand Bible, all texts that are marked with "King James Version", are considered canonical by Jews, Catholics and Orthodox. See: Table of Contents.

• **canonical criticism** = Study of the Bible as a complete work, rather than a set of separate passages or books. Canonical criticism is not concerned with "canon formation" (the process of selection and finalization) but on how the canon "functions" and is "received" or "appropriated" by various groups.

• **Cardinal** = A class of clerics in the Catholic Church who are attached to the Vatican. They may be priests or bishops. Many function as part of the higher eschelons of the Vatican staff, or they may be bishops serving regions out in the world. Upon a Pope's death, the College of Cardinals, there are today approximately 200, chooses the next Pope in secret session.

• **Catechism** = (from Greek: katecheo, "to teach orally") is a summary or exposition of doctrine and serves as a learning introduction to the Sacraments traditionally used in catechesis, or Christian religious teaching of children and adult converts. Catechisms are doctrinal manuals – often in the form of questions followed by answers to be memorised – a format that has been used in non-religious or secular contexts as well. According to Norman DeWitt, the early Christians appropriated this practice from the Epicureans, a school whose founder Epicurus had instructed to keep summaries of the teachings for easy learning.[2] The term catechumen refers to the designated recipient of the catechetical work or instruction. In the Catholic Church, catechumens are those who are preparing to receive the Sacrament of Baptism. Traditionally, they would be placed separately during Holy Mass from those who had been baptized, and would be dismissed from the liturgical assembly before the Profession of Faith (Creed) and General Intercessions (Prayers of the Faithful). Catechisms are characteristic of Western Christianity but are also present in Eastern Orthodox Christianity. In 1973, The Common Catechism, the first joint catechism of Catholics and Protestants, was published by theologians of the major Western Christian traditions, as a result of extensive ecumenical dialogue.

• **Catholic Church** = See Roman-Catholic Church.

• **C.E.** or CE = Common Era, the conventional abbreviation A.D. Political Correctness term used by all those who do not want to refer to Christianity or who want to say that western civilisation is bad.

• **Celibate** = In many Christian and Buddhist sects the priest or monk / nun is not allowed to be married or have sex. They sacrifice their sexlife or family life because they want to follow the path of Jesus being ignorant that Jesus, as a Jewish man, was most certainly married to Maria of Magdala and had one son at least.

• **character** = In literary criticism, one of the persons (human or otherwise) in a story. In the book of Jonah, some of the characters are Jonah, God, the sailors, and the king of Nineveh.

• **characterisation** = In literary criticism, the way a particular character is described or represented. In the first chapter of the book of Jonah, the character Jonah is characterized as stubborn and disobedient to God. For an example of a literary critical discussion of characterization, check out section 1.8 of "Psalmody in Prophecy: Habakkuk 3 in Context" by James W. Watts.

• **Chastity** = The state of being sexually pure and unused.

• **Christening** = Another word for Baptism.

• **Christmas** = The "Christ mass" is a "mass for Christ". This is the Christian celebration of Jesus' birth to Mary. By the end of the fourth century, most churches celebrated this holiday on December 25th, but the date is not fixed according to any scriptural information. See: winter solstice, Mithras cult

• **Church of England** = The part of the Anglican Communion in England.

• **Clergy** = People who are appointed to work in the church. The three types of clergy are deacons, priests and bishops.

• **codex** = (plural "codices") A bound book made up of folded leaves or pages. Codices gradually replaced scrolls as the medium for written transmission of the Bible and other ancient texts.

• **Commandments** = See: Ten Commandments and Five Precepts.

• **Communion** = The most important of the Christian services. It acts out the events of the last supper which Jesus had with his disciples.

• **Concordance** = explanatory comments written on Jewish, Christian or Islamic scripture.

• **Confession** = Words spoken about your sins, asking God for forgiveness. In Catholic tradition it is this act as a ritual where the sinner confesses their sin to the priest in a kind of divided chamber where both cannot see one another. Confirmation When people, who were baptised as babies, confirm their promises of faith when they reach adolescence (at the age of about 14). This is a ritual of some Protestant denominations.

• **Conscience** = Our internal 'voice' which tells us right from wrong, some people believe that this is the voice of God within us.

• **Consecration** = When the bread and wine are turned into the body and blood of Jesus Christ. critical = Characterised by careful judgement and specified methods used to weigh evidence and arrive at sound, defensible conclusions; from the Greek krino, to judge. Scholarly study of the Bible is called "critical" whereas devotional or "in the pews" Bible study is called "uncritical" or "pre-critical." Biblical criticism is the critical study of biblical texts; "text criticism," "literary criticism," and "canonical criticism" each refer to a particular focus and method of biblical criticism.

• **Contemplation** = Time spent in prayer and meditation. Thinking about God.

• **cult** = System of religious ritual and practice; outward human sub-culture enacting a religion. In academic biblical studies, "cult" and "cultic" are not pejorative terms. See: Roman Imperial Cult

• **Chalcedon, Council of** = This was the fourth ecumenical ("worldwide") council of the church as was held in 451. It was called to debate the nature of God. The outcome was that it reaffirmed the statements of faith from the Councils of Nicea and Constantinople. In particular, it declared that Jesus had two natures from birth, one divine and one human. These were combined in equal portions within the single being of Jesus. This reemphasized the decision of the Council of Ephesus.

• **Christ** = The term "christ" comes from the Greek word "Kristos" or "Christos" that is "meshiach"or "messiah"in Hebrew. which means "the anointed one." It is not Jesus' surname but it is a title, indicating his status as a messiah. The name Jesus has roughly the same meaning. See: Jesus

• **Church** = (1) "The Church" is the term Christianity uses for the entire body of all Christians throughout the world. (2) It also refers to a particular denomation or branch of Christianity, such as the "Catholic Church" or the "Presbyterian Church." (3) It refers to each single building of worship that in other cultures would be called "temple".

• Crypt =

• **Holy Communion** = Known as Mass, the Eucharist, and the Lord's Supper, this ritual symbolises the forgiveness of sins. The origin of this ceremony is the Mithras Cult. Members of the Mithras Cult and early Christians prayed in the same building. Many Mithras temples have survived as crypts of ancient churches. The Christian clergy explains: "The Mass is modeled after the "Last Supper" ceremony related in the gospels. It is a symbolic sacrifice in which Christ's body is presented as the sacrifice which frees people from their sins through their faith in Jesus. Wine and bread are blessed and then consumed by each participant in the ritual." Protestant churches believe that the wine symbolises Jesus' blood and the bread symbolises Jesus' body. Official Catholic doctrine, by contrast, holds that the wine actually becomes Jesus' blood and the bread actually becomes Jesus' body. This belief is called transubstantiation. Communion is practiced regularly in most churches, from once a month in some Protestant Churches to every Mass in Catholic Churches.

• **Constantine** = Full name Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus Augustus (27 February c. 272 AD – 22 May 337 AD), also known as Constantine the Great was the sole Emperor of the Roman Empire from 312 to his death in 337. He was from the Flavian Dynasty like Vespasian and Titus 200 years earlier. He started the process that ultimately made Christianity the official religion of the Roman Empire, which transformed it into the Holy Roman Empire. In 325, he called the Council of Nicea to decide the nature of Jesus as Christ (see also Trinity). That he converted to Christianity is a myth created by Eusebios of Caesarea, his right-hand man. Constantines mother as well as lots of his relatives (including the wife of emperor Diocletian) were Christians long before him.

• **Constantinople** = or more precise Constantinopolis was founded by Constantine in 330 as the eastern capital of the Roman Empire. Although placed on the early town of Byzantium, this city was created as a Christian city without a pagan past (unlike Rome). At the Council of Chalcedon in 451, it was made one of the first five Patriarchates of the church. After Rome was "lost" to the barbarians and the Patriarchates to the Moslems, Constaninople and its Patriarch and Emperor remained the centre of Christianity. It lead the Orthodox Church after the split with Rome and the Pope in 1054. From 1204-1261, it was captured and ruled by the Crusaders. Thus weakened, it fell to the Turks in 1453, who renamed it Istanbul.

• **Council of Jerusalem** = The Council of Jerusalem was an Apostolic Council called by James the Just, the brother of Jesus, and was held in Jerusalem around AD 50. It is unique among the ancient church meetings as it was the first church conference (and not the Council of Nicaea almost 300 years later in 325 AD.) The topics were the controversy of circumcision and the validity of the Law of Moses. The documents and statements we can find in excerpts from the

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Acts of Apostles, chapter 15 (in two different forms, the Alexandrian and Western versions).

The Christian idea was embraced by many different messianic movements, including by Roman citizens in the eastern (Greek-speaking) half of the Roman Empire. However, the actions of a stranger, the rabbi and Roman citizen Saul of Tarsos, better known as "Paul the Apostle" (who neither did know Jesus in person nor was he ever appointed apostle by any leader of the early Christian Movement), caused severe disruptions inside the movement. Saul of Tarsos (who claimed to have had a vision of Jesus) showed such disdain and disrespect towards the Law of Moses, that James, the brother of Jesus, who presided as bishop of Jerusalem over all Christian Churches, was forced to invite all bishops to settle the matter.

The council decided that Gentile converts to Christianity were not obligated to keep most of the Law of Moses, including the rules concerning circumcision of males, which is a Jewish tradition found most repulsive by the Roman and Greek people who otherwise were quite attracted to either the teachings of Jesus or to the idea of salvation (that was offered by both religions, Mithraism and the Christian movement). The Council did, however, retain the prohibitions on eating blood, meat containing blood, and meat of animals not properly slain (such as carrion), and on fornication and idolatry. It is this rejection of the Law of God or Law of Moses that created in the end the fundamental split between Judaism and Christianity.

We can read about the dispute between those who were followers of James, who believed that the church must observe the Torah, i.e. the rules of traditional Judaism and Paul the Apostle, who believed there was no such necessity. At the Council, following advice offered by Simon Peter (Acts 15:7–11 and Acts 15:14), Barnabas and Paul gave an account of their ministry among the gentiles (Acts 15:12), and the apostle James quoted from the words of the prophet Amos (Acts 15:16–17, quoting Amos 9:11–12). James added his own words to the quotation: "Known to God from eternity are all His works" and then submitted a proposal, which was accepted by the Church and became known as the Apostolic Decree: "It is my judgement, therefore, that we should not make it difficult for the Gentiles who are turning to God. Instead we should write to them, telling them to abstain from food polluted by idols, from sexual immorality, from the meat of strangled animals and from blood. For the law of Moses has been preached in every city from the earliest times and is read in the synagogues on every Sabbath" (Acts 15:19–21). Basically, we can say that James wanted to reform the old faith while Simon Peter was in favour of siding with Saul of Tarsos, breaking with Judaism and its many obstructive laws entirely.

By reading the Epistle of Paul (Saul of Tarsos) to the Galatians (the Christians of Ankyra, in the modern Turkish areas of Ankara and Eskisehir) we can read about the vicious conflict between Paul and James. The so-called "Clementine or Pseudo-Clementine literature" (written by Titus Flavius Clemens, the first Pope we historically can grasp, also known as Pope Clement I) give us vivid accounts on what has happened between James, Simon Peter and Paul.

Simon Peter, (who most likely also held Roman citizenship, and) who obviously became the leader of the new anti-Jewish Christian movement, left the Province Judaea in order to seek success for the new messianic movement in Antioch (today: Antakya, which is just 100 km away from Paul's hometown Tarsos). In the next decades, the messianic movements, the Jewish as well as the Christian, became stronger and much more militant. This resulted in a full-scale war with the Romans in 66 AD. The Romans faced a huge messianic army of roughly 100,000 troops. It took them more than five years to quell the rebellion. In what extent James' messianic movement was involved and what role exactly the brother of Jesus played in all this, we do not know. What we know is that James came to death in these uprisings and that Jerusalem and her Great Temple was totally destroyed by the Roman army.

• **Council of Nicaea** = The First Council (or Synod) of Nicaea was held in the summer of 325. Nicaea is the city of Iznik, about 80 km southeast of Constantinople (Istanbul) in Turkey. This was the first general council in the history of the Church since the Apostolic Council of Jerusalem. The First Council of Nicaea was called by Constantine I (Flavius Constantinus) and his right-hand-man Eusebius of Caesarea Maritima (Roman province Judaea) upon the recommendations of a synod led by Hosius of Cordoba in the Eastertide of 325. All 1800 bishops of the Christian church (about 1000 in the east and 800 in the west) were invited, but only 250 to 320 bishops actually attended, from every region of the Empire except Britain. The bishops were given free travel to the council, as well as lodging. Each bishop had permission to bring with him two priests and three deacons; so the total number of attendees would have been above 1500. Eusebius speaks of an almost innumerable host of accompanying priests, deacons and acolytes.

The agenda of the synod were: Uniting the many different branches of Christianity in order to unite also the multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, and multi-religious parts of the Empire; establishing a fixed Bible canon; solving the Arian question; setting the date of Passover (Easter); the Meletian schism; the Father and Son one in purpose or in person; the baptism of heretics; the status of the lapsed in the persecution under Licinius.

The purpose of the council was to resolve disagreements in the Church of Alexandria over the nature of Jesus in relationship to the Father; in particular, whether Jesus was of the same substance as God the Father or merely of similar substance. To the western Roman bishops, the teachings of Arius were heretical and a danger to a doctrine which is called "the salvation of souls". Alexander of Alexandria and Athanasius took the first position; the popular presbyter Arius, from whom the term Arian controversy comes, took the second. The council decided against the Arians (of the estimated 250-318 attendees, all but 2 voted against Arius). But many of the Eastern bishops who were pro-Arian, were prevented from reaching the Council until after the vote had been taken.

Another result of the council was an agreement on the date of Easter, the most important feast of the ecclesiastical calendar. The council decided in favour of celebrating the resurrection on the first Sunday after the first full moon following the vernal equinox, independently of the Bible's Hebrew calendar and authorised the Bishop of Alexandria to announce annually the exact date to his fellow bishops.

The Council of Nicaea was historically significant because it was the first effort to come to a consensus in the church through an assembly representing all of Christendom. It was clear that Constantine was presiding over the council signaling imperial control over the Roman Christians. With the creation of the Nicene Creed, a precedent was established for subsequent general councils to create a statement of belief and laws which were intended to become guidelines for doctrines and unity for the whole of Christendom.

• **Council of Constantinople** = This second Council of the Roman Church was held in 381 to put an end to the Arian controvery which the Council of Nicea had supposedly done. It affirmed the position of Bishop Athanasius of Alexandria who was the driving force behind the doctrine of modern Christianity which was considered heretic by many traditional Christians of the time quite simply because it contradicts the first three of the Ten Commandments. It is still regarded heretic by Judaism and Islam today. It reaffirmed the (now) orthodox position with regard to the nature of God and condemned Arianism, instituting a revised and more explicit Nicene Creed. See Trinity; See Roman Imperial Cult; See persecution

• **Covenant** = An agreement between an individual or people and God. It is the basic law of a nation. The Covenant of Moses is the Basic Law of the Jewish nation.

• **Creation** = When God made the world.

• **Creed** = is a statement or confession of belief — usually religious belief — or faith. The word comes from the Latin "credo" for I believe. In Greek it is called "symbol" (Greek: symbolon), that means a "token" by which persons of like beliefs might recognise each other. There are 2 main creeds in the Christian church: the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed. See: Nicean Creed; See: Shahada.

• **Cross** =The most important Christian symbol.

• **Crucifix** = A model of the cross with the figure of Jesus upon it. • Crucifixion = This is the term for Jesus' execution on the cross. In Greek and Roman times, the cross was an instrument of capital punishment for sedition, revolt, terrorism, murder, rape and other criminal offences. Somestimes, crucifixion was used as torture and executed offenders were released from the cross on bail. This might explain the so-called "resurection" of Jesus and that he was alive and active for some time (reported are several weeks up to 11 years) after the "execution".

• **Crusades** = The Crusades were a series of military expeditions undertaken by Christians in Europe to "liberate" Palestine (the Holy Land) from the Moslems. The eight crusades took place primarily between 1095 and 1291. The crusades varying degrees of success, with some managing to gain territory in Palestine and with others being stopped (often by the slaughter of the crusaders by disease or battle) before reaching Palestine. The heyday was the twelfth century, when the europeans controlled all the sea coast of Syria and most of the territory generally considered the "Holy Land." This was a bloody period of Christian history during which Christians slaughtered--often indiscriminately--Jews, Moslems and even Christians. The Crusaders held Jerusalem from about 1099 until their defeat by Saladin in 1187.

• **Cuneiform script** = Cuneiform is the world's oldest writing system that was first used in around 3400 BC. Cuneiform is neither a language nor an alphabet, and it does not have letters. The word cuneiform comes from Latin 'cuneus', meaning 'wedge', and simply means 'wedge shaped'. It refers to the shape made each time a scribe pressed his stylus (made from a specially cut reed) into the clay. Distinguished by its wedge-shaped marks on clay tablets, cuneiform script is the oldest form of writing in the world, first appearing even earlier than Egyptian hieroglyphics. The first stage used elementary pictures that were soon also used to record sounds. The cuneiform script is a writing system that used between 600 and 1,000 characters to write words (or parts of them) or syllables (or parts of them). The two main languages written in Cuneiform are Sumerian and Akkadian (from ancient Iraq), although more than a dozen others are recorded. Cuneiform probably preceded Egyptian hieroglyphic writing. We know of early Mesopotamian experiments and 'dead-ends' that clearly shows its development. Egyptian writing might have evolved from cuneiform. The Phoenician, Aramaic, Hebrew, Greek, and Roman scripts evolved from cuneiform script as well.

• **Cuneiform tablets** = Most tablets had the size between a mobile phone and an i-pad and were used for only a short time: maybe a few hours or days at school, or a few years for a letter, loan or account. Archaeologist have found hundreds of thousands of them. Most of the tablets have survived purely by accident or because they were made in the very best quality, burnt hard in a kiln. The best preserved tablets have been found in the palace libraries of Mesopotamian cities such as Nippur and Uruk. In fact, many of the surviving tablets in museum collections belonged to schoolchildren, and show the spelling and handwriting exercises that they completed: they repeated the same characters, then words, then proverbs, over and over again until they could move on to difficult literature. Through cuneiform we hear the voices not just of kings and priests but also children, bankers, merchants, scribes, and healers – women as well as men.

• **Cuneiform texts** = Amazingly, cuneiform continued to be used until the first century AD, meaning that any Biblical scholar could have written and read cuneiform texts even in Jesus' time. And in deed, the writers of the Qumran Scrolls from the Dead Sea exactly say this in their texts. (Commentary on Habakkuk: IQpHab): And the Lord answered and said to me, 'Write down the vision and make it plain upon the tablets, that he who reads may read it speedily. (ii, 1—2). And in 4Q201 1=Ena (1En. vi, 7-vii, 1) we can read: For I know the mysteries of the Lord which the holy ones have explained and showed me and which I read in the heavenly tablets. And I saw written in them that one generation after another will do evil in this way, and evil will last until generations of righteousness arise and evil and wickedness shall end and violence shall cease from the earth and until good shall come on the earth on them. This would be a perfect description of the "Instructions of Shuruppak" from 2650 BC.

• **Deacon** = (1) A lay officer of the church. (2) The title of a person who officially functions on the church's behalf, usually by working with the poor or by helping with administrative matters. (3) During the first millennium of the church, "deacon" became the official title of certain members of a bishop's staff. (4) In the early church, it is clear that many women were deacons.

• **Dead Sea Scrolls** = Ancient manuscripts written in Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek, found in 1947-56 at Qumran. The Dead Sea Scrolls date from around the time of Christ, and are an invaluable resource for biblical scholarship.

• **December the 25th** = The winter solstice (or hibernal solstice), also known as midwinter, is an astronomical phenomenon marking the day with the shortest period of daylight and the longest night of the year. In the Northern Hemisphere this is the December solstice and in the Southern Hemisphere this is the June solstice. The December Solstice occures around the 21st of December. Sol Invictus ("The Unconquered Sun") was originally a Syrian god who was later adopted as the chief god of the Roman Empire under Emperor Aurelian. His holiday is traditionally celebrated on December the 25th, as are several gods associated with the winter solstice in many pagan traditions. It have been speculated to be the reason behind Christmas' proximity to the solstice.

• **Demography** = or birth-rate. The birth-rate of Christians (and Atheists of post-Christian society, etc.) today is around 1.3 children per person in Europe, in comparison to that it is between 3.5 to 4.0 among Muslims in Europe. One does not need to be a scientist to understand that Christianity will be taken over by Islam in about the 2050s. If we think of a nation in terms of people with an accumulated inheritance, we can be certain that Christianity and all its liberatarian values of free choice and freedom in general, will be dead in Europe at the end of the 21st century.

• **Denomination** = The term used to designate the different Protestant Churches, of which there are over 900 in the USA alone. This term is also used to describe the different versions of other churches or different forms of Islam.

• **Deuterocanon** = The deuterocanonical books (from the Greek meaning "belonging to the second canon") are books and passages considered by the Jews, Catholic Church, the Eastern Orthodox Church and Assyrian Church of the East to be canonical books of the Old Testament but which are considered non-canonical by most Protestant denominations. In 1885, the Anglican Church removed the Jewish

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Deuterocanon from the Bible and are now called by them "Apocrypha". These books are not considered canonical by Protestants. In other words: The complete Bible that still could be read by Queen Victoria, you cannot read!

• Deuteronomist = According to the Documentary Hypothesis, one of four groups of authors or authorial schools thought to be responsible for the text of the Torah. See also J, E, D, P.

• **Deuteronomistic History** = The biblical books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings, also known as the Former Prophets. These books are called "Deuteronomistic History" and their (hypothetical) author the Deuteronomistic Historian because they carry forth the theological outlook of the book of Deuteronomy.

• **Devil** = Some Christians believe that the "devil" or "satan" is an actual being. Others that 'he' just represents all things that are evil. This character exists in all Abrahamic religions.

• **didactic** = Text or discourse that is intended to provide instruction, information, or teaching.

• **dietary laws** = Rules about what persons are permitted to eat, and under what circumstances. Examples include the modern-day Muslim and Jewish prohibition of pork, and regulations spelled out in Torah, such as the admonition not to "boil a kid in his mother's milk (Exodus 23:19, Exodus 34:26, Deuteronomy 14:21). The Christian Church also imposed dietary laws and regulations in the past. The word 'breakfast' or eating fish on Fridays are last remnants of those laws.

• **Documentary hypothesis** = Theory that the Pentateuch / Torah was originally formed from four separate documents, known as J, E, D, and P. The names of God play also an important role in the documentary hypothesis which proposes that the Torah (the Pentateuch or 5 Books of Moses) was compiled from various original sources, two of which (the Jahwist and the Elohist) are named for their usual names for God (Yahweh and Elohim respectively).

• **Diocese** = In Catholicism, a sub division of the church consisting of a number of parishes. A diocese is the region which is governed by a bishop. This beaurocratic system has its origin in the Roman Imperial Cult.

• **Disciple** = Student of a doctrine. (1st) The twelve followers whom Jesus chose during his ministry to be his special companions and assistants. After Judas' betrayal and death, he was replaced by Mattathias. See also Apostle. (2nd) One of many selected followers of Jesus. (3rd) Most Christians would understand themselves as disciples. Disciple is a concept probably originating in Buddhism, Daoism and Confucianism. Buddhist disciples travelled from India to China, Central Asia, Persia, Syria, Israel, Judaea, and Greece. Their philosophy influenced Stoicism, Judaism and Christianity.

• **Doctrine** = An official statement of theological belief that everyone has to adopt.

• **Dogma** = The doctrines in which one must believe to attain salvation.

• **Day of Judgement** = or Judgement Day. Christian and Islamic doctrine. At the end of the world when all people will be judged on their behaviour during their lives.

• **Easter** = This is the day Christians celebrate Jesus' resurrection from the dead and his triumph over sin. It is on a Sunday in the Spring, and follows "Holy Week" during which Christianity commemorates the events leading up to Jesus' death. The resurrection is the event by which Jesus provides human beings with salvation. Also called 'Passover'.

• **Eastern Orthodox Church** = The Christian churches foumd mainly in Eastern Europe (the eastern half of the Roman Empire) and the Middle East. (e.g. Russian Orthodox, Greek Orthodox). One of the three main denominations along with Roman Catholic and Protestant. Maintaining a separate existence since 1054 A.D. when Eastern and Western Christianity disagreed over doctrine..

• **Enlightenment** = 18th century period of European intellectual history based in rationalism and empiricism, often seen as trying to supplant religion with science and secular philosophy. Also known as the Age of Reason.

• **Enuma Elish** = Ancient Babylonian/Sumerian creation story, parallels with which many scholars see in the opening chapters of Genesis.

• **Ephesus, Council of** = The third Church Council which was held in Ephesus in 431. It condemned the Nestorian idea that Jesus was two separate persons, one divine and the other human. It instead reaffirmed that both always existed at the same time in the single person of Jesus.

• **epigraphy** = The study of inscriptions, especially ancient inscriptions.

• **Epistle** = A letter. Part of the New Testament. Typical Christian genre. Those letters were written by apostles, bishops or other high Church authorities and were usually addressed to other communities. They contained teaching or advice to act upon teachings.

• **eponym, eponymous** = An eponym is a name of a person which is said to be the source of the name of a city, country, etc. So Abraham and Sarah's fourth son was named "Midian" and Midian became the "eponymous ancestor" of the people known as the Midianites.

• etymology = The history and origin of a word and its shifts in meaning over time. The word "etymology" comes from the Greek eteos, true, plus logos, word or idea. This is its etymology.

• **Eucharist** = comes from the Greek word meaning "Thanksgiving". The Holy Eurcharist is based on the events that happened at the last supper. All Christian groups perform this service except Salvationists and Quakers. The eucharist has origins in Mithraism. See: holy communion

• **exegesis** = Critical interpretation of a text, especially a biblical text; from the Greek ex- + egeisthai meaning "to lead out. Sometimes it seems the terms "exegesis" and "hermeneutics" are used interchangeably; "exegesis" properly refers to the act or process of actually interpreting texts, whereas "hermeneutics" refers to the theory of how one interprets."

• **Exile** = Biblical time period when the Israelites were deported to and exiled in Babylon by King Nebuchadnezzar. Also known as the Babylonian Captivity.

• **Evangelise** = The Christian activity of winning converts to Christianity, also called Proselytise. In Islam it is called Dawa and is mainly a political project to gain hegemonial supremacy over all non-Muslims.

• **Easter** = The major festival in the Christian church which celebrates the life, death and resurrection of Jesus. • Faith In general terms, faith is simply the belief in things unseen and unproven. Demonstrated facts, for example, do not require faith. In Protestantism, faith takes on a deeper meaning. It is the acceptance of God with the whole self, that is, with one's mind, emotions, and will.

• **Father** = God the Father is one of the three parts of the Trinity. In this character, he is seen as the Creator of the universe (cosmos), the eternal Judge, and the guider of the history of salvation which culminated in the death and resurrection of Jesus. This is the god who is revealed in the Old Testament.

• **feminist criticism** = Biblical criticism that looks at gender relations, women's issues, and androcentrism in the Bible. Often engages in critique of biblical support for patriarchy.

• **Festival** = A special occasion to celebrate during the church year. High Jewish festivals: Hanukah, Passover; Christian festivals: Christmas, Easter, • Feminist theology = A movement in the church to get equal treatment for men and women.

• **First Temple** = The temple built by Solomon. Sometimes the term "First Temple Judaism" is used to denote the religious and cultural practices of the biblical Israelites prior to the Babylonian Captivity. See also Second Temple.

• Font = The place in the church where babies are baptised. • Forgiveness = God will forgive a person's sin(s) through his mercy because of the salvation made possible by Jesus' act of atonement. Doctrinally, forgiveness happens through communion for the sins of one's life and through baptism for original sin.

• **formula** = In literary analysis, a short phrase or sentence that is repeated with or without slight variations. For example, prophetic oracles often begin with the Hebrew formula koh amar YHWH ("Thus saith the LORD") or vayehiy davar YHWH ("The word of the LORD came [to Prophet X]")

• **Faith** = another word for "religion". A belief in deities or gods.

• **Free Church** = A church which has no higher authority than the leaders of that church. Many protestant churches in America and the the Far East are Free Churches. • Galilee = This region in northern Palestine around the Sea of Galilee was a province of the Roman Empire. It is in this area that Jesus lived most of his life and carried most of his ministry. It roughly covers the ancient kingdom of Israel.

• **Garden of Eden** = The original home of Adam and Eve before the fall. Paradise

• **gender** = Another word for sex; we all have a gender either male or female. The modern globalist and socialist elite would argue against it and talk about LGBT. However, gender transformation envolves an artificial medical operation and other treatments. If those would not be available, all those modern genders would vanish. Traditional Jews, Christians and Muslims view all those LGBT notions with disgust as the are seen as "sin". In Islam, practising any of those gender changes and homosexuality can carry the Death Penalty!

• **genre** = A category of oral or written literature, defined by style, content, and/or form. The biblical books can be categorized by genre, e.g. Judges is narrative, Psalms is poetry, Mark is a gospel, Romans is a letter, and Revelation is an apocalypse.

• **Gethsemene** = A garden where Jesus prayed before being arrested.

• **Gilgamesh** = The Gilgamesh Epic is a long narrative from the Ancient Near East, concerning a king named Gilgamesh who is said to have ruled the Mesopotamian city of Uruk around 2600 B.C. There are a number of interesting parallels between narratives in the book of Genesis and the Gilgamesh Epic.

• **Gnosticism** = Religious and philosophical movement from about the 1st century BC through the 3rd century AD. Its name derives from the Greek word gnosis, "knowledge" because it claimed secret knowledge that ensured salvation. The documents found at Nag Hammadi are of great importance for the study of gnosticism.

• **God** = The supreme being, who created the world.

• **Godparents** = When a baby is baptised Godparents promise to bring the baby up as a Christian.

• **Golden Rule** = quoted by Jesus as 'Love your neighbour as yourself' (Mark 12:31). It is the central part of Judeo-Christian ethics. The Golden Rule does not exist in this strong form in Islam.

• **Good Friday** = The day on which Jesus was crucified.

• **Gospel** = The part of the New Testament about the life of Jesus. The word Gospel comes from Greek "evangelion" and means 'good news (of military victory)' and refers to a Jewish messiah, a victorious military leader that bring the Jewish people freedom from foreign occupation and suppression. • Grace = The loving help that God gives to all human beings, an undeserved gift. • Grace (prayer) = A grace (Lt: gratia = pleasing It: grazie, Sp: gracias = thanks) is a short prayer or thankful phrase said before or after eating. The term can refer to Christian traditions but to say grace is also a tradition in Judaism, Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism. In English, reciting such prayer is sometimes referred to as "saying grace". Common in British and Australian religious schools. For what we are about to receive, may the Lord make us truly thankful. Amen.

• **grammar** = The system of words, inflections, syntax, usage, etc. of a particular language or language in general. Grammar as a scholarly pursuit is made up of phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. The original languages of the Old Testament, Hebrew and Aramaic, were heavily inflected; so was the original language of the New Testament Greek. The use of older English forms such as thou, thee, thy, thine, thyself as well as verb endings such as (e)st or (e)th (hast, art, bringest, bringeth, instead of have, are, bring, brings) makes clear whom a speach is really addressed to.

• The **Great Flood** =r The Deluge. The Giant Volcano Eruption and its sunami, its Great Flood, or its direct consequences were recorded by many and as far away as China.

Utnapishtim tells Gilgamesh a secret story that begins in the old city of Shuruppak on the banks of the Euphrates River. The "great gods" Anu, Enlil, Ninurta, Ennugi, and Enki were sworn to secrecy about their plan to cause the flood. . . . Enki commanded Utnapishtim to demolish his house and build a boat (Arc), regardless of the cost, to keep living beings alive. . . . The sides of the superstructure had equal lengths of 120 cubits (c. 60 m or 70 yards). He also made a drawing of the interior structure. The boat had six decks divided into seven and nine compartments. . . . He loaded "all the living beings that I had". . . . Early in the morning at dawn a black cloud arose from the horizon. The weather was frightful. . . . The flood and wind lasted six days and six nights, flattening the land. On the seventh day, the storm was pounding occasionally like a woman in labour. . . . The sea calmed and the whirlwind and flood stopped. All day long there was quiet. All humans had turned to clay.

• **Hallelujah** = is an interjection from the Bible. It is a transliteration of the Hebrew haleluya, which is composed of two elements: hillel (Hebrew verb, 2nd person, masculine plural, imperative), an exhortation to "praise" addressed to several people; and Yah (the short name of God). The term is used 24 times in the Hebrew Bible (in the book of Psalms), twice in deuterocanonical books, and four times in the Christian Book of Revelation. The phrase is used in Judaism as part of the Hallel prayers, and in Christian prayer, where since the earliest times it is used in various ways in liturgies, especially those of the Catholic Church and the Eastern Orthodox Church, both of which use the form "alleluia" which is based on the alternative Greek transliteration.

• **Hauptbriefe** = The four NT letters of undisputed Pauline authorship: Romans, I & II Corinthians, and Galatians; German, "Principal Letters".

• **Heaven** = In Christian cosmology (belief about the cosmos), heaven has three main meanings. First, it is the abode of God, his angels, and the saints. Second, it is the place where people who have received salvation go after they have been judged to be among the righteous. Third, in the future, God will transform the cosmos and remake it so that there will be a New Heaven and a New Earth.

• **Hebrew Bible** = The collection of texts traditionally called **Tanakh** by Jews and the **Old Testament** by Christians, written mostly in Hebrew. The term "Hebrew Bible" was constructed in order to avoid the Christian bias present in the term "Old Testament" (to Jews Tanak is the Bible; the concept of Old and New Testament is from a different religion). However the term is misleading, in that the Tanak and Old Testament order the books differently and there are multiple Christian Old Testaments, with and without various

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parts of the Apocrypha. From a Christian perspective, the term "Hebrew Bible" means "the parts of the Bible originally written in Hebrew." From a Jewish perspective, the term "Hebrew Bible" is redundant: the Bible is written in Hebrew.

• **Hell** = In Christian cosmology (theology about the cosmos), hell is the place of eternal damnation. When a person is judged, if they have not received salvation, they will be considered to be evil and will receive eternal punishment in hell.

• **Hellenistic age** = The period when Greece dominated the ancient Near East, from the death of Alexander the Great to the beginning of the Roman Empire (323-30 B.C.). Sometimes in biblical studies the Hellenistic age is considered to be the period when Greece dominated Palestine, from the surrender of Jerusalem to Alexander in 333 B.C. until the conquest of Jerusalem by the Romans under Pompey in 63 B.C.

• **historical-critical method** = Biblical studies methodology that tries to reconstruct the historical circumstances surrounding the events described in the text, and the historical process by which the text was formed. Out of style nowadays, although it continues to inform currently popular text-immanent alternatives.

• **Hezekiah** = was, according to the Hebrew Bible, the son of Ahaz and the 13th king of Judah. Archaeologist Edwin Thiele has concluded that his reign was between c. 715 and 686 BC. He is considered a very righteous king by the author of the Books of Kings. He is also one of the most prominent kings of Judah mentioned in the Bible and is one of the kings mentioned in the genealogy of Jesus in the Gospel of Matthew.

According to the Bible, Hezekiah witnessed the destruction of the northern Kingdom of Israel by Sargon's Assyrians in c. 722 BC and was king of Judah during the siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib in 701 BC. Hezekiah enacted sweeping religious reforms, including a strict mandate for the sole worship of Yahweh and a prohibition on venerating other deities within the Temple of Jerusalem. Isaiah and Micah prophesied during his reign.

• **holistic** = Perception or study in terms of the "whole" rather than individual parts. A holistic reading of scripture would take, for example, an entire biblical book as it stands and look for how it works together as a whole, rather than dividing it into smaller parts for individual study, or trying to distinguish which parts came from where.

• **hyperbole** = Exaggeration; extravagant overstatement. For example, Jesus' statement in Matthew 7:3-5 is a hyperbolic warning about attending to one's own faults before taking up those of others.

• **Holy Roman Empire,** See: Roman Empire (of German Nations), Holy

• **Holy Spirit** = The Holy Spirit, or Holy Ghost, is the third part of the Trinity. This is the power that came from God to the disciples after Jesus' resurrection and ascention into heaven. It is seen as the power that guides and strengthens Christians as they strive to do God's will.

• **Heaven** = The place where God lives and where Christians go after their death. • Hebrew Scripture = Called the Tanakh by Jews and consists of 3 parts: the Torah (Law), the Nevi'im (Prophets) and the Ketuvim (Writings). Christians call it the Old Testament. • Holy = Sacred = Special to God. • Holy Communion = Another name for the Eucharist. • Holy matrimony = Another term for Christian marriage.

• **Holy Spirit** = One of the three forms of God. The Holy Spirit came down to the disciples at Pentecost and to Jesus at his baptism. Often shown as a dove. • Hospice = A hospital for the care of people with terminal illnesses. They specialise in pain control, making life as comfortable as possible.

• **Hosanna** = is a liturgical word in Judaism and Christianity. In Judaism, it is always used in its original Hebrew form, Hoshana. The word hosanna (Latin osanna, Greek: hosanna) is from Hebrew hoshi'ana and related to Aramaic ōshaʿnā meaning "save, rescue, saviour". In the Hebrew Bible it is used only in verses such as "help" or "save, I pray" (Psalms 118:25).

• **idealism** = Philosophical outlook that values mind, spirit, or ideas over material reality (the world we can see, hear and touch). There have been many philosophers who put forth idealist concepts (e.g., Plato, Berkeley, and Kant) but Hegel went to an extreme, arguing that ultimate reality is "in the mind" - absolute Spirit. Hegelian idealism is sometimes called "disembodied" because it thinks so little of physical, material reality.

• **ideology** = The integrated body of beliefs and thinking of a society, group, or individual; belief system. Ideology can serve to explain and/or change how things are. Some political ideologies are communism, conservatism, globalism, facsism, socialism and liberalism. The ideological arm of Islam is often but wrongly called Islamism or extremist Islam. The word 'extrem' means 'deviation from the norm'. Islam put into practice is the true and literal Islam prescribed in the Koran, the Sira, the Hadith, and consequently the Sharia Law. It is not extrem but so-called 'moderate Muslims' are extrem as they ignore the Islamic doctrine. Therefore, they are considered heretics and have no backing among mainstream Muslims.

• **ideology criticism** = Method of study which focuses on the ideological motives which underlie texts. People who practice ideology criticism tend to be concerned with the "isms" - racism, sexism, elitism, capitalism, etc.

• **Incarnation** = The noun indicating the act of God becoming human; "Jesus incarnated himself so that he could die on the cross." The doctrine of the Incarnation holds that Christ on earth was at one and the same time fully god and fully human.

• **Inferiority**, Main Stages of. As the inferiority of Jews, Christians, and pagans towards Islam concerns non-Muslims, we have placed this entry here. When we analyse inferiority as described by the Islamic Trilogy, we have to understand the Islamic doctrine of inferiority as such:

1. Muslim men are superior to anybody else.
2. Muslim women are inferior to Muslim men but superior to any non-Muslim.
3. Jewish and Christian men are inferior to Muslim men and women, but superior to anybody else.
4. Jewish and Christian women are inferior to Muslim men and women, but also to Jewish and Christian men.
5. Non-Muslims are, according to Mohammed, "the worst of all creatures" and have no right to live whatsoever.

Those people in point 3-5 can be taken, treated and sold as slaves, just as women in point 2.

All women must marry, but a Muslim woman can only marry a Muslim man.

A Muslim man also can marry a Jewish or Christian woman, because he can (and must) claim the children to be brought up as Muslims

• **inflection** = In linguistics, morphological changes that make distinctions such as case, gender, person, tense, etc. All Biblical languages have a high rate of word inflexions; modern English has not. Therefore, modern English translations of the Vedas, the Biblical and the Koranic literature are very unsatisfactory.

• **intertestamental** = The time period between the Old and New Testaments; literature from this time period.

• The **Intertestamental Period** is the Protestant term and Deuterocanonical Period is the Catholic and Orthodox Christian term for the "scripture gap" between the period covered by the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament) and the period covered by the Christian New Testament. Traditionally, it is considered to cover roughly 500 years, spanning the ministry of Malachi (c. 420 BC) to the appearance of the New Testament writings in the second half of the 1st century AD. in which the people in the Holy Land are supposed not to have written anything. It has to be noted that this gap is a fake created by the Protestant Churches. The Catholic term Deuterocanonical Period at least indicates that something was written in this period: The Deuterocanon that has 16 books! Protestants are not aware that this period was filled with writings from the Maccabean period (2nd century B.C.) in which the Jewish nations were fighting for survival and freedom against the Greek successors of Alexander the Great. This gap has also been closed by the amazing discovery of the Qumran Scrolls that cover a time roughly between 400 BC and 68 AD when the Romans stopped the activities of the Qumran Scroll writers and Romans began to publish Christian writings in Greek on their own.

• **intertextuality** = Relationship between two or more texts that quote from one another, refer to one another, or otherwise connect. New Testament passages that quote from the Old Testament are one example of intertextuality. Another example is Old Testament books such as Deuteronomy or the prophets that refer to the stories found in Exodus. Whereas a redaction critic would use such intertextuality to argue for a particular order and process of the authorship of the books in question, literary criticism takes a synchronic view that deals with the texts in their final form, as an interconnected body of literature.

• **Iron Age** = Archaeologists classify human technological and cultural development in a sequence of "ages" namely Stone Age, Bronze Age and Iron Age. The Iron Age in the Middle East began around 1200 B.C. As the name implies, iron metallurgy developed and the production and use of iron implements and weapons became widespread during this time.

• **Islam** = See: Mohammed, Koran, Sira, Hadith, Sharia

• **Israel** = (1st) As a place, see Palestine. (2nd) Israel was the name of the Jews, God's chosen people. Early Christian theology believed that the church, that is the body of all Christians, replaced the Jews as Israel, as God's chosen people. This first articulated explicitly by Paul in his letter to the Romans.

• **Infanticide** = The killing or murder of a small child (Infant).

• **Incarnation** = When Jesus became human by being born to Mary • J, E, D, and P (or JEDP) = Four hypothetical documents or possible authors or groups of authors that--as many scholars believe--represent four distinct sources of the Torah / Pentateuch. J (J from the German "Jahwe") represents those writers who used the name YHWH or Yahweh; E stands for the writers who used the name Elohim for God; D stands for Deuteronomist, writers from which the laws in Deuteronomy 12-26 are thought to have come; and P is the Priestly source responsible for the genealogies, laws and temple rituals pertaining to priestly functions. J, E, D, and P are thought to have dated from around 850 B.C., 750 B.C., 621 B.C., and 450 B.C. respectively. Those texts finally were put into five new categories in about 400 B.C., and they are the five Books of Moses. This theory is called the Documentary Hypothesis. In other words: The Torah was not written by Moses but was written at four different periods of time by four different groups of people who had four different purposes for writing the texts. Later, those texts have been put together in the five different Books of Moses that we know today.

• **Jerusalem** = Yerushalayim has been important to western and eastern civilisation in many ways. (1st) It had been the centre of Judaism--the religion of the people Israel--which Christianity claimed to inherit and replace. (2) It was the place where Jesus completed his ministry. Here he was crucified and then rose from the dead. Thus Jerusalem is the stage on which God's plan of salvation was put into effect. (3rd) Jerusalem was one of the five early Patriarchates, being established as such by the Council of Chalcedon in 451. (4th) Shortly after the triumph of Flavius Constantinus, his mother Helena took an extended trip to Jerusalem to identify all the holy sites where the Jesus had been active. These sites were then all sanctified with the erection of churches, and provided Christianity with a sense of sacred space rooted in sacred history. (5th) Jerusalem fell to Islam in 638 with claims to inherit Judaism and Christianity. (6th) Western Europe send a series of military expeditions called Crusades from 1095 up to the thirteenth century to try to free Jerusalem from Islamic rule. Christian rulers held Jerusalem from 1099 to 1187.

• **Jesus** (Original Hebrew: Yehoshua, in short Yoshua, Joshua or Jeshu meaning "the Saviour") is a title rather than a given name which refers to Jesus the Nazorean or (wrongly translated as) Jesus of Nazareth. During the first Flavian Dynasty, the title "Saviour" and "God" was given to Emperor Flavius Vespasianus. His son Titus was therefore regarded as "son of god". According to this Roman model, Jesus was the "son of God".

The New Testamental Jesus is the central character of Christianity. He was a Jewish peasant whose father was a carpenter in the Galilean village of Nazareth. He was probably born about 4 B.C. and was killed between 28 and 35 AD. The New Testament gospels claim that he had a miraculous birth, his mother Mary pregnant by God himself. Apparently he had a rather quiet upbringing and did not start his public teaching until he was about 30 years old. He then had a three to four year career of teaching and healing. Most of his teachings were about the coming of the Kingdom of God, and about personal humility before God and other humans. When Jesus was about 32, he was crucified in Jerusalem by the Romans. According to Christian belief, Jesus rose from the dead after three days, visited his disciples, and then ascended into heaven.

• **Jews** = People whose religion is Judaism, The people of Abraham. The Israelites, Jesus was a Jew. There are two distinct Judaisms: (1st) the Jewish communities before the Romans came to Palestine, and (2nd) the reformed Judaism after the Jewish-Roman Wars (66-73 AD) which represents modern "Rabbinic" Judaism or better "Roman Judaism". Any persecution and hatred againt Jews is based on ignorance of these facts and is therefore not justifiable.

• **Joseph** = The earthly father of Jesus. He is often called 'Joseph the Carpenter' which is based on a wrong translation of the Greek word "tekton" which means 'builder' and 'mason'.

• Judaea = This is the region in central Palestine around Jerusalem. In pre-Roman times, it referred to the ancient kingdom of Judaea. In Roman times, it refers to the Roman province.

• **Judgement Day** = or End of Days is a **Jewish eschatology**, an area of Jewish philosophy and theology concerned with events that will happen in "the end of days" and related concepts. This includes the ingathering of the diaspora, the coming of a Jewish Messiah, afterlife, and the revival of the dead Zadikim, the righteous ones. In Judaism, "end of days" or "the end of times" or "Judgement Day" is a phrase that appears several times in the Tanakh (Old Testament).

In **Christian** theology the End of Time is a period of tribulation that precedes the second coming of Christ, who will face the Antichrist along with his power structure and usher in the Kingdom of God.

Day of Judgement (Arabic: Yawm al-Qiyāmah = "the Day of Resurrection" or Yawm ad-Din, "the Day of Judgement") is also an aspect of **Islamic** theology and is clearly of Jewish origin as almost identical with it. The Day of Judgement is characterised by the annihilation of all life, which will then be followed by the resurrection and judgement by God. Multiple verses in the Koran mention the Last Judgement. This identifies the creators of the Koran clearly of Jewish Messianic

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origin. We find this ancient concept also in Zoroastrian, Hindu, Buddhist, and Daoist faiths.

• **Justice** = As the divine Judge, God the Father acts with Justice. Justice dictates that sinners should be punished. This would thus require the punishment of all human beings. And since all humanity has been born with Original Sin, all humanity would be punished with damnation in hell. However, God also acts with mercy. So he will forgive the sin of anyone who, through faith, believes in the salvation of Jesus.

• **Kaddish** or Qad[d]ish (Aramaic: "holy") is a hymn or prayer that praises God found and is one of the most important and central elements in the Jewish liturgy. The central theme of the Kaddish is the magnification and sanctification of God's name. In the liturgy, different versions of the Kaddish are used functionally as separators between sections of the service. The term "Kaddish" is often used at funerals and memorials. When someone mentions "saying Kaddish", this unambiguously refers to the rituals of mourning. Mourners say Kaddish to show that despite the loss they still praise God. The Kaddish is the original of the Christian "**Lord's Prayer**" which is a much shorter and simplified version of it.

The Kaddish consists of 45 lines, which are used, according to purpose as shown down below:

Text of the Kaddish, English translation:

1 May His great name be exalted and sanctified.
2 in the world which He created according to His will!
3 May He establish His kingdom
4 and may His salvation blossom and His anointed be near.
5 during your lifetime and during your days
6 and during the lifetimes of all the House of Israel,
7 speedily and very soon! And say, Amen.

The next two lines are recited by the congregation and then the leader:

8 May His great name be blessed
9 for ever, and to all eternity!
10 Blessed and praised, glorified and exalted,
11 extolled and honoured, adored and lauded
12 be the name of the Holy One, blessed be He,
13 above and beyond all the blessings,
14 hymns, praises and consolations
15 that are uttered in the world! And say, Amen.
The half kaddish ends here.

Here the "Complete Kaddish" includes:

16 May the prayers and supplications
17 of all Israel
18 be accepted by their Father who is in Heaven; And say, Amen.

Here the "Kaddish of the Rabbis" (including the Kaddish after a Siyum*) includes:

19 To Israel, to the Rabbis and their disciples
20 to the disciples of their disciples,
21 and to all those who engage in the study of the Torah
22 in this [holy] place or in any other place,
23 may there come abundant peace,
24 grace, lovingkindness and compassion, long life
25 ample sustenance and salvation
26 from the Father who is in heaven (and earth);
27 and say, Amen.

All variants but the Half Kaddish conclude:

28 May there be abundant peace from heaven,
29 [and] [good] life
30 satisfaction, help, comfort, refuge,
31 healing, redemption, forgiveness, atonement,
32 relief and salvationd
33 for us and for all his people [upon us and upon all] Israel; and say, Amen.
34 May He who makes peace in His high places
35 grant [in his mercy] peace upon us
36 and upon all Israel [Jewish nations]; and say, Amen.

In the Burial Kaddish, and that after a siyum*, lines 2-3 are replaced by:

37 In the world which will be renewed
38 and where He will give life to the dead
39 and raise them to eternal life
40 and rebuild the city of Jerusalem
41 and complete His temple there
42 and uproot foreign worship from the earth
43 and restore Heavenly worship to its position
44 and may the Holy One, blessed is He,
45 reign in His sovereign splendour ...

[* A siyum (Hebrew) is the completion of any unit of Torah study, or book of the Mishnah or Talmud in Judaism. A siyum is usually followed by a meal in honour of a mitzvah, or commandment.

• **Kingdom of God** (1st) = The Kingdom of God was seen by the early church as a future establishment of God's reign on earth, usually with Jesus as king. The first Christians expected this kingdom to come during their lifetime. When this did not happen, the belief was reshaped to point to some unspecified future moment. The Book of Revelation (i.e., the Apocalypse of John), with its notions of the second coming of Christ and the millennium, helped in this process by specifying in symbolic language both the future coming of the Kingdom and the events that would lead up to it. (2nd) This belief has alternated through Christian history with another concept of the Kingdom of God. This concept makes the kingdom into the institution of the established church. It first came into prominence after Constantine's triumph made Christianity into the religion of the Roman Empire.

• **Koran** = The Koran was revealed to Muhammad over a 20-year period by the Hebrew Angel Gabriel. Large parts of the Koran contains recitations from the Bible (the Old and the New Testament!). The Koran is one one part of the Sacred Islamic Trilogy: Koran, Sira (Sunna), Hadith (Sunna). Without reading the two parts of the Sunna, the Koran cannot be understood correctly. Only one sixth of the Koran is about religion, the other five sixths refer to law, doctrine, politics, hate-speech and propaganda (particularly against Jews and Christians as they have opposed Islam)

• **King James Version** = is a translation of the Bible into the English language. The King James Version is regarded as one of the best translations as it takes the grammar of the original languages into account (as the distinct pronouns THOU and YOU, for instance). This version of the Bible is also called the Authorised King James Version (KJV), the Authorised Version (AV) or as the King James Version (KJV) in the United States. The name "King James" comes from King James I of England, who told the Church of England to begin working on it in 1604. The first book was published in 1611. Although it is one of the oldest English translations of the Bible, it is still one of the most widely read versions today. A 2014 survey in the United States found that 55% people who read the Bible were using the King James Version. In 1885, the Anglican Church has deleted the Jewish Second Canon with its 16 books from the KJV.

• **lacuna** = In text criticism, a gap or discontinuity in the original language text. The name is from the Latin word meaning pool or pit. A famous example occurs at Genesis 4:8, where the Hebrew includes a gap which other ancient versions fill in: "Cain said to his brother Abel ... and when they were in the field, Cain set upon his brother Abel and killed him." Many modern English translations add, "Let us go out to the field" to fill the lacuna.

• **Law of God** = based on religious scripture rather than logic. Behind such law always stand a potential theocracy. The Law of God is a potential opponent to the so-called Law of Man as it is not based on religious scripture. The Islamic Sharia Law is a typical example of the Law of God.

• **Law of Man** = based on critical thought and ethics as formulated by classic Greek and Roman philosophers. The Law of Man is a potential opponent to the so-called Law of God.

• **Levant** = The geographical region comprising the eastern Mediterranean: present-day Israel/Palestine, Lebanon, Syria and Jordan. The name is from the French lever, to rise, as the sun rises in the east.

• **linguistics** = The study of language is vital in order to understand scripture. Some of the specialties within the field of linguistics are philology, semantics, grammar, phonology, morphology, comparative linguistics, and applied linguistics.

• literalist interpretation = is a reading that focusses on the "plain and literal meaning of the word" of scrupture. Therefore, it is just following the words without any specific interpretation and consequently follow the instruction given by the scripture.

• **Last supper** or the Lord's Supper = The last meal that Jesus had before the crucifixion. At this meal Jesus gave a special meaning to the bread and the wine, which is remembered at the Eucharist. See Holy Communion.

• **Lent** = The 40 days, from Ash Wednesday to Holy Week. Represents the 40 days that Jesus spent in the wilderness. Typology: Moses who spent 40 years travelling from Egypt to the Holy Land; the 40 years Jesus "was expected to return": according to Flavius Josephus' The Jewish War, it was general Titus Flavius who came (Read about Jesus' journey to Jerusalem and compare it with Titus' march on Jerusalem).

• **literary criticism** = Study of biblical texts in terms of literary features such as plot, characterisation, setting, parallelism, meter, etc. Literary criticism as it is practiced today is synchronic and text-immanent.

• **Lord's Prayer** = The Lord's Prayer is a short form of the Kaddish and is the best known prayer of Christianity. It is also known as the Our Father (the first two words of the prayer) and Pater noster (which is Latin for "Our Father"). It was not until the Protestant Reformation that it was called the Lord's Prayer. The prayer is spoken in two places in the New Testament of the Bible. Jesus' disciples asked him how they should pray. Jesus gave an example of how to pray to Father God (Matthew 6:9-13 and Luke 11:1-4). This prayer has been translated into hundreds of languages and English several times. Therefore, there are slightly different versions that are used. The traditional and one of the best-known versions is the translation from the **Gospel of Matthew**.

The Lord's Prayer (Matthew 6:9-13):
Our Father which art in heaven,
Hallowed be thy name.
Thy kingdom come,
Thy will be done in earth,
as it is in heaven.
Give us this day our daily bread.
And forgive us our debts,
as we forgive our debtors.
And lead us not into temptation,
but deliver us from evil:
("*For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever."* [This 'doxology', the praise of glory, is an interpolation added in the 2nd or 3rd centuries AD.]) *Amen.*

The Lord's Prayer (Luke 11:1-4):
Our Father which art in heaven,
Hallowed be thy name.
Thy kingdom come.
Thy will be done,
as in heaven, so in earth.
Give us day by day our daily bread.
And forgive us our sins;
for we also forgive every one
that is indebted to us.
And lead us not into temptation;
but deliver us from evil. Amen.

• **Lord's Supper** = Another name for the Eucharist. It is a lithurgic celebration originated from Mithraism. In the 1st century AD, Both, Mithraism and early Christianity used the same temple / church buildings for worship: The Mithraist held their services in the crypt (basement) and the Christians on the groundfloor of the same buildings. Many crypts from that era still contain the Mithraistic decorations.

• **Luther, Martin** = Martin Luther was a highly educated cleric from Germany who spoke fluently several languages, including Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. He is credited with beginning the Protestant Reformation as he protested against by tacking his "95 Theses" to the door of the Wittenberg Cathedral in 1517. The "Theses" asked for changes and modification of the Catholic Church. When this act brought attacks on Luther, he separated from the Catholic Church and became the earliest, major thinker of Protestantism. Although Luther's influence and thought underlies every Protestant denomination, the Lutheran Churches provide the most faithful practice of his theology. His real achievement and influence came out of his Bible translations from the original Hebrew and Greek texts. He massively influenced William Tyndale who visited Luther in Wittenberg, Germany, while translating the Bible into English.

• **Lutheran Churches** = The Lutheran Churches were the first Protestant Churches established. They followed the events set in motion by Martin Luther and essentially followed his theology and thinking about Christianity. They emphasise the authority of the Bible along with the sacraments as a means of achieving salvation.

• **Lutheran Church** = A denomination of the Protestant Christian church. Followers of Martin Luther after the Reformation.

• **LXX** = The Septuagint (the Roman / Latin word for 70), so-called because the Greek Bible contains 70 books in total 43 of the Old Testament, and 27 of the New Testament. "LXX" is the Roman numeral for seventy. Another story goes: The name Septuagint (from the Latin septuaginta, “70”) was derived later from the legend that there were 72 translators, 6 from each of the 12 tribes of Israel, who worked in separate cells, translating the whole, and in the end all their versions were identical. In fact there are large differences in style and usage between the Septuagint's translation of the Torah and its translations of the later books in the Old Testament.

• **Markan priority** = Widely accepted theory that the Gospel of Mark was the first of the Synoptic Gospels to be written, and that Matthew and Luke used Mark as a source. Some scholars hold that the Gospel of Matthew may be the older one quite simply because it is the gospel with the most consistent context. Some scholars believe that all gospels used a document known as "Q" as source text. Q comes from the German word 'Quelle' or 'Quelltext' meaning 'source text'. Some scholars argue that probably the Gospel of Thomas and / or The Jewish War by Flavius Josephus were the source texts.

• **Mary** = Very common female name in Aramaic, Hebrew, and Arabic. The mother of Jesus was also called Mary, Maria, Maryam. According to Christian belief, she became pregnant as a virgin (through the power of God) and gave birth to Jesus. According to the Church, she ascended bodily into heaven and resides there as a saint. The Catholic and Orthodox Churches consider her to be an especially effective intermediator with God.

• **Mary of Magdala** [Migdal] or Mary Magdalen = The woman called Mary Magdalen or more precisely Mary of Magdala was Jesus' closest companion and disciple; probably his lover or wife too. As the name Mary was very popular at the time, there are lots of Marys in the New Testament, one of them a prostitute, who was often mistaken as Mary Magdalen. In fact, there is no passage in any Bible text that could suggest that Mary Magdalen possibly ever had that kind of occupation.

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• **Masoretic Text (MT)** = Text of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament produced by the Masoretes, Jewish scholars in the 5th to 10th century. The MT establishes both the consonantal text and the vowel "pointings" provided by the Masoretes to indicate pronunciation. The present-day edition of the MT most widely viewed as authoritative is the BHS.

• **Mass** = A popular term for the service of Eucharist in the Catholic Church.

• **Mercy** = Mercy is the character of God the Father by which he tempers his divine Justice. It is made possible by the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus which has brought salvation from sin to all humanity.

• **Messiah** = Messiah (is a Hebrew word for "the anointed one", in Greek "Kristos"). In Judaism (and other cultures), the Messiah is the awaited king sent by God in order to liberate a country or people. In Islam, such a person is called Mahdi. Another Hebrew word for messiah is Yehoshua, Yoshua, Jesus.

• **Messianic Movement** = was a movement formed after Alexander's conquests as an answer to Greek suppremacy in the Holy Land. It is this organisation that was responsible for the Jewish wars.

• **messianic secret** = Recurrent feature of the Gospels, particularly Mark, in which Jesus attempts to keep secret his miraculous deeds and his identity as Messiah. The term is from William Wrede's 1901 work of the same name. Scholars believe that the messianic secret was a product of early Christians' attempt to explain why Jesus' messiahship was not more broadly known.

• **metaphor** = Figure of speech in which one word or phrase substitutes for another in order to make an analogy between them; e.g., "The Lord is my shepherd."

• **meter** = A systematic, recurring rhythm; meter is a common literary feature in English language poetry, but much less so in biblical Hebrew or Greek.

• **metonymy** = Figure of speech in which an attribute or associated entity is used as the name for something; for example, using "Zion" to refer to the people Israel, "the Crown" to refer to the king or queen, "Washington" to refer to the United States government, "the White House" to refer to the President or Jesus' "blood" to refer to his death (Rev. 5:9).

• **Midrashic interpretation** = Method of Jewish biblical interpretation; sometimes used quite broadly of imaginative storytelling only loosely based on the original text. From a Hebrew word meaning “investigation,” “treatise,” or “story” (2 Chron 13:22, 24:27). For a more detailed explanation, read the third paragraph of this interesting essay, "Midrash and Mashal".

• **Minister** = See Priest and Pastor.

• **Mitzva, Mitzvot** = (Hebrew: “commandment”, also spelled Mitsvah plural: Mitzvot, Mitzvoth, Mitsvoth, Mitsvot, Mitzvahs, or Mitsvahs), any commandment, ordinance, law, or statute contained in the Torah (first five books of the Bible) and, for that reason, to be observed by all practicing Jews. The Talmud mentions 613 such mitzvahs, 248 mandatory (mitzwot 'ase) and 365 prohibitive (mitzwot lo ta'ase). Many more (some virtually equated with divine law) have been added throughout the ages on the authority of outstanding rabbinical leaders, such as reciting the Hallel (specific psalms) at prescribed times, reading the Book of Esther on Purim, washing the hands before meals, and lighting candles on certain festivals. Though nonobservance of a mitzvah constitutes a transgression (`avera), it is understood that not all mitzvahs are of equal importance; circumcision, for instance, is a direct response to a divine command, while the wearing of a skullcap (yarmulke) in public is not. In a broader context, Jews consider all good deeds as the fulfillment of mitzvahs, for such actions express God's will.

• **morphology** = Branch of linguistics concerned with the study of how words are formed in a particular language or group of languages. English morphology would describe such phenomena as plurals being formed by adding "s" or "es" to nouns, the conjugation of verbs such as "I am going, you are going, he/she/it is going," and so on.

• **Monasticism** = Monasticism designates people who wish to live a holy life separate from the "world." Beginning in Egypt with hermits like St. Anthony who went out to live in the desert, monasticism has grown over the centuries to include networks of monstaries whose members live underdefined rule. The general impetus of monasticism is to live in poverty, chastity and obedience. The Orthodox Church has a fairly loose organization with monks living in individual monasteries, each with its own rule, or even by themselves. In Catholicism, Orders were developed, the first by St. Benedict in the early sixth century. These orders grew into networks of monasteries all living under the same rule and governed by a common hierarchy. Many of these orders dedicated themselves to specific activities, such as health care, study and scholarship, and so on. Monks live a life in the the days are filled with regular prayer and worship interspersed with work, usually in the Order's chosen emphasis. Membership in the orders is entirely voluntary.

• **Monk** = See: Monasticism.

• **Monophysite Churches** = These churches broke away from the rest of Christianity after the Council of Chalcedon (451) declared their distinctive belief about Jesus' nature incorrect. Whereas the Council decided that Jesus was a combination of two natures (human and divine), the monophysites believe that he had only one nature, namely, a divine one. The Coptic, Ethiopic and Armenian Church broke away and still hold monophysite beliefs.

• **Monotheism** = That is the belief in only one God. Zoroastrians, Jews, Christians, and Muslim claim to be monotheistic although only Zoroastrianism and Judaism could rightfully claim this. As Christians in the 2nd and 3rd centuries made Jesus a god, Christianity is not monotheistic any longer. As Islam treats their prophet Mohammed as god in everything but name, Islam also is not montheistic. Proof: Talking against Mohammed is considered blasphemy in Islam.

• **Mormon Church** = Officially known as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the Mormon religion was founded by Joseph Smith in the1820's and 1830's near Palmyra, New York. In addition to the Christian Bible, Mormons believe in a third sacred text--the Book of Mormon--which tells of a tribe of ancient Israelites who settled in the Americas in 600 BC and who were visited by Jesus. Centered in Salt Lake City, Utah, the Mormon Church claims about ten million members (in 1999).

• **Muslim or Moslem Empire** = After Mohammed's death in 632, the Four Rightly Guided Caliphs started a military campaign that over the next century conquered the countries along the eastern Mediterranean Sea, Northern Africa, and southern Spain. Thus three of the original five Patriarchates--Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria--were lost to Moslem rule.

• **Methodist** = A branch of the protestant church founded by John Wesley.

• **Miracle** = An event that cannot be explained by normal or scientific means. Miracles are stories invented in order to catch attention from uneducated listeners.

• **Moses** = The Jewish leader who led the Jews from slavery in Egypt, and was given the ten commandments by God on Mount Sinai. He was born in Egypt, probably to an Egyptian princess. He name is of Egyptian origin and just means "son".

• **Nag Hammadi** = Egyptian site where, in 1945, ancient Coptic codices dating from the 4th century were discovered. The Nag Hammadi materials are gnostic and other documents. The "Gospel of Truth" and "Gospel of Thomas" are two of the more famous documents found at Nag Hammadi.

• **New Testament** = The 27 books of the New Testament make up the second part of the Christian Bible. It consists of the four gospels ("gospel" means "good news"), the Acts of the Apostles, 13 letters of Paul, the letters of Hebrew, I-III John, Jude, James, I-II Peter, and Revelation. It took the Church a long time to agree on the canon of the New Testament. Bishop Athanasius officially settled the matter in the fourth century, but it was not until the seventh century that all branches of Christianity accepted his delineation.

• **Nicene Creed** or Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed is a Christian statement of faith that is the only ecumenical creed because it is accepted as authoritative by the Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, Anglican, and major Protestant churches. The Apostles' and Athanasian creeds are accepted by some but not all of these churches. The Nicene Creed was originally written in Greek. Its principal liturgical use is in the Eucharist in the West and in both Baptism and the Eucharist in the East. A modern English version of the text is as follows:

We believe in one God, the Father, the Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, of all that is seen and unseen. We believe in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, eternally begotten of the Father, God from God, Light from Light, true God from true God, begotten, not made, one in Being with the Father. Through him all things were made. For us men and for our salvation he came down from heaven: by the power of the Holy Spirit he was born of the Virgin Mary, and became man. For our sake he was crucified under Pontius Pilate; he suffered, died, and was buried. On the third day he rose again in fulfillment of the Scriptures; he ascended into heaven and is seated on the right hand of the Father. He will come again in glory to judge the living and the dead, and his kingdom will have no end. We believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the giver of life, who proceeds from the Father and the Son. With the Father and the Son he is worshipped and glorified. He has spoken through the Prophets. We believe in one holy catholic and apostolic Church. We acknowledge one baptism for the forgiveness of sins. We look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen.

• **Nun** = Essentially a female monk. See Monasticism.

• **orality** = Quality of texts that are transmitted by the spoken word, that is, orally. The orality of biblical documents is an important attribute that influences scholarly opinions about their meaning.

• **Original Sin** = The doctrine that Adam and Eve, the archetypal, first humans, disobeyed God and caused permanent estrangement between him and humanity. From that point on, human beings were born in sin (Original Sin) and, without intervention, would die in sin and go to hell. Jesus, the Second Adam, therefore had to come to earth to provide salvation as liberation from the curse of Original Sin.

• **Orthodox Churches, Eastern** = The Eastern Orthodox Church is one of two churches that were created by the east/west split of Christianity in 1054. (The other was the Catholic Church.) It represents the Roman Church of the Greek-speaking eastern half of the Roman Empire includes the Orthodox Churches of Russia, Greece, Romania, and other "eastern" countries. The Orthodox Churches have similar beliefs to the Catholic Church: it is hierarchical (at least within each of the national churches), believes in the seven sacraments, holds to the decisions of the early Church Councils (such as Nicea) and the importance of the Church as a teaching authority, and emphasises the importance of priests and liturgy. They also make extensive use of icons in personal devotion.

• **ostracon** (Plural: ostraca). = A broken piece of pottery; potsherd or potshard. Ostraca with written notes, receipts, letters, etc. have been found, for example the Lachish letters found in the ruins at Tell ed-Duweir. These ostraca can give archaeologist important clues about culture and religion.

• **Palm Sunday** = The day that Christians remember the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem.

• **Palestine** = This territory, called "Philistine" in antiquity, part of modern day Israel. It is at the southern end of the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea, between Syria in the north and Egypt in the south. This is the land where most of the events mentioned in the Old Testament took place and where Jesus carried out his ministry. Its religious centre was Jerusalem in Judea. Jesus carried out his ministry in the northern part of Palestine called Galilee.

• The **Pantheon** is building in Rome that was begun in 27 BC by Emperor Augustus' best friend, the statesman Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, as a home for all gods of the Roman Empire. It was damaged by an earthquake and therefore completely rebuilt by the emperor Hadrian sometime between AD 118 and 128. The word "pantheon" therefore also serves as a term to decribe all the gods of a religion collectively.

• **Papal Infallibility** = This is the Catholic doctrine that under certain conditions, the Pope may speak the infallible word of God. This happens only when he actually invokes the condition of infallibility, and then, only on matters of faith and morality. The idea of infallibility was created quite late in the history of the Church, namely, at the first Vatican Council in 1870.

• **papyrus** = Type of ancient writing material made from an aquatic plant. Plural: "papyri." The University of Michigan has an extensive collection of papyri, including a number of important early biblical manuscripts.

• **Parable** = The word parable comes from the Greek parabole, meaning "comparison, illustration, analogy." It was the name given by Greek rhetoricians to an illustration in the form of a brief fictional narrative. A parable is a short tale that illustrates a universal truth; it is a simple narrative. It sketches a setting, describes an action, and shows the results. It may sometimes be distinguished from similar narrative types, such as the allegory and the typology. The parable is related to figures of speech such as the metaphor and the simile, but it should not be identified with them. A parable is like a metaphor in that it uses concrete, perceptible phenomena to illustrate abstract ideas. It may be said that a parable is a metaphor that has been extended to form a brief, coherent narrative. A parable also resembles a simile, i.e., a metaphorical construction in which something is said to be "like" something else (e.g., "The just man is like a tree planted by streams of water"). However, unlike the meaning of a simile, a parable's meaning is implicit (although not secret). Some scholars of the canonical gospels and the New Testament apply the term "parable" only to the parables of Jesus, though that is not a common restriction of the term. Parables such as "The Prodigal Son" are central to Jesus's teaching method in the canonical narratives and the apocrypha.

• **paradigm** = A model or pattern that an individual or group uses in trying to understand something. Present-day biblical scholars usually name and describe the paradigm they are using when presenting their results or opinions. Sometimes "paradigm" is used synonymously with "methodology," but often it has a broader connotation, more like "world-view." A hundred years ago, biblical scholarship concerned itself mostly with trying to discover the original audience, authorial intention, and historical setting of the biblical text, because people believed that only the original context could tell us what the Bible really meant. Nowadays scholars are operating under a different paradigm, which believes in a multiplicity of contexts and meanings.

• **paradigm shift** = Phrase coined by Thomas Kuhn in his famous book The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (1962). Kuhn's idea is that scientific progress occurs, not by slow incremental accumulation alone, but also by occasional "revolutions," in which "an older paradigm is replaced in whole or in part by an incompatible new one" (Kuhn, p. 92) - a paradigm shift. It refers to a group of people, or even a whole society, undergoing a change of world view, as for

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example the Roman Empire went through an imense paragn shift in and because of the Flavian Dynasty. Today again, we experience a massive paradigm shift as the post-WWII era is over, Chistianity crumbles, and Islam is getting ready to take over.

• **Particular Judgement** = The Catholic belief that each individual will be judged at the time of their death. At this time, God will determine whether the person (1) is a saint and thus will enter immediately into heaven, (2) is in need of time in purgatory to purify themselves before the Last Judgement, or (3) is wicked and should thus go directly to hell. The Particular Judgement is separate from the Last Judgement (a.k.a. the General Judgement).

• **Pastor** See Priest and Pastor.

• **Patriarchate** = Within the first 150 years, five cities were given the status of Patriarch: Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Constantinople. The bishop of each city was given the title of Patriarch and was thus elevated above his fellow bishops. The Bishop of Rome very early became an important player in church debates (often mediating between Alexandria and Antioch) and began to argue that it was "more equal" than the others. By the time Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem fell to the Moslems, the Bishop of Rome had begun to be called Pope and the struggle between the Pope in Rome and the Orthodox Patriarch in Constantinople had begun.

• **Patriarch, Orthodox** = Leader of one of the 14 Eastern Orthodox churches. Originally, this was merely the Patriarch of Constantinople, the capital of Constantine's Holy Roman Empire. After the separation of the Eastern Orthodox Church from the Catholic Church, the Patriarch became Orthodoxy's titular leader.

• **Pentecost** = The festival when the disciples received the Holy Spirit. Often thought of as the birth of the church.

• **Peter** (Saint) = The apostle who denied Jesus and who Jesus called 'the rock on which the church was built'; according to church tradition, not to history, Peter was the first bishop of Rome, or Pope.

• **Persecution of Christians.** The Persecution of Christians is a story based on lots of misconceptions which has its origin in the deception and outright lies of the Roman State church.Thousands of Christians have been harrassed, persecuted, hunted down and killed. But not just by "the Romans" as the official church wants to make us believe.

The Roman church herself was involved in those persecutions and have put the martyrs on their own banner. Countless documents, most of them written down by the offial Church herself, either suggest or even state directly her involvement in persecutions of those people which she used to call "heretics". The largest number of Christians have been in fact hunted down by the official Roman church herself in order to get rid of all the unwanted rivalry denominations.

Most "Christians" that were persecuted had been in reality Jews, Arians, Gnostics, Manichaeans, Nestorians, Templers and others, basically all and anyone who stood in the way of the official Roman Church that was striving towards total supremacy within her realms.

• **Pharisee** = A religious leader of the Jews at the time of Jesus.

• **Polytheism** = Belief in many Gods as in Hinduism.

• **Pope** = The leader of the Roman Catholic church, lives in Vatican City. He is also the Pontifex Maximus

• **Prayer** = Talk or communication with God.

• **Preacher** = A person who delivers a sermon.

• **Priest** = A clergyperson who may celebrate the Eucharist, give blessings and forgive sins. Also called Pastor, Vicar, Pater and others.

• **Protestant Churches** = A new form of Christianity after the Reformation established in the 16th century by Martin Luther and others. Protestant is used to describe the churches which do not belong to the Roman Catholic or Orthodox churches.

• **Old Testament** = The Old Testament, as it was canonized by the Councils of Hippo in 393 and Carthage in 397 and 419, consisted of the Hebrew books of the Torah, the Prophets and the Writings as well as the Greek books of Tobit, Judith, the Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiaticus, and I and II Maccabees. (To read more about the Hebrew Bible, click here.) The Protestant Churches after the Reformation rejected the Greek books--deeming them less holy than those written in Hebrew--and termed them Apocrypha. Thus the Protestant Old Testament is smaller than that of the Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches.

• **Paul (Saint)** = Saul of Tarsos from southern Turkey, better known by his soubriquet "Paul" was an early Christian missionary (40's-50's AD) who invented Christianity. Paul admitted that he was on his way to Damascus when he "had a vision of Jesus". He was born in the City of Tarsos (today souther Turkey) under the name Saul. His was traned as rabbi in Jerusalem and persecuted members of the early church. He then spent the rest of his life as a missionary. He had several arguments with the first leader of the Christian Church, who was not Peter but James the brother of Jesus. James was a strict and austere follower of the Law of Moses, just like his entire family. These two men had a clash on circumcision and other Jewish rituals as Paul wanted to get rid of these among Romans unpopular rituals. As a holder of Roman citizenship it seems not unlikely that Paul came along members of the Flavian Dynasty who then adopted Pauls religion as their own. All we know about Paul is just church tradition, not history. Paul wrote many of the epistles.

• **Pentateuch** = Means "five books" or "five tools." Also known as Torah. The first five books of the Bible: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. The Torah is the main Jewish Book of Law.

• **pericope** = A defined selection or passage from a larger literary work. In form criticism, a pericope is considered to have been passed down as a unit within the oral tradition prior to the "redaction" (compilation and editing) of the complete written biblical book.

• **pesher** = Hebrew word meaning explanation or interpretation; occurs in the Bible only at Ecclesiastes 8:1. Used of a particular type of commentary found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, such as the Pesher on Habakkuk (designated 1QpHab) and the Pesher on the Psalms (4QpPs).

• Peshitta Ancient version of the Old Testament from Hebrew into Classical Syriac (Eastern Aramaic).

• **philology** = Historical and comparative linguistics; philology is concerned with the changes in languages over time, and relies heavily on comparisons between different languages. It is primarily a diachronic discipline, which means it is somewhat out of favor nowadays.

• **pleonastic** = From the Greek pleon, "more." Style of writing that uses more words than necessary; reduntant or wordy. Ephesians has been called an example of pleonastic writing.

• **plot** = The story line of a narrative text.

• **Prophet** = An educated religious leader. A mediator between man and god.

• **Pharisees** = A Jewish religious movement in first-century Palestine that, according to the gospels, opposed Jesus and his teachings. The Parisees wanted to preserve their identity but (in contrast to the violent Messianic Movement) also to live together with Greeks and Romans in peaceful co-existence.

• **Pontifex Maximus** = Pontiff in short meaning Great Bridge-Builder (among all Roman Religions). The leader of the Roman Imperial Cult. A very high position and title in the Roman Empire reserved for the government leader, the consul, later the emperor, and when there was no emperor anymore, the title went to the Pope in Rome.

• **Pope** = Originally, the Patriarch or Pope was simply the Bishop of Rome. But since Peter the Apostle is traditionally considered the first Bishop of Rome, this office grew in power and importance until the Pope became the head of the Catholic Church. As such, he is considered to be the most direct contact between God and the Church. In the nineteenth century, the Pope received the power of Papal Infallibility. He is also the Pontifex Maximus.

• **Priest** and Pastor, Difference between The concept of "priest" provides and important indication of the difference between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches on the one hand and the Protestant Churches on the other. In Catholicism and Orthodoxy, the priest mediates between God and each individual. The priest is the expert in how to approach God and uses that expertise to negotiate between God's power and majesty and the individual's sinful nature. Protestantism rejects the need for a such mediator. It believes that each individual should work out their own salvation directly with God. That is why Protestant Churches give their leaders titles such as "pastor" or "minister."

• **Proselytise** = See Evangelise

• **Protestant Reformation** = The 16th century European Christian movement which sought initially to reform the church but which eventually led to a split between the Roman Catholic church and the “Protestants.” The Protestant (as in "protest") Reformation began in 1517 when Martin Luther tacked up 95 theses ("ideas") on the door of the Wittenberg Cathedral. Although meant as friendly criticism, these remarks lead to Luther's ouster from the Catholic Church, after which he gave his energy to founding a new church, now known as the Lutheran Church. Luther's writings provided the basis for all later protestant writings, including those of Calvinism, Baptism (actually Anabaptism), and others. Due to political forces, protestantism quickly gained adherents across Europe, with whole countries--or at least large segments of countries--turning protestant. Following the Reformation, the Protestant Churches developed into four main streams: Lutheranism, Calvinism (a.k.a. Reformed), Baptist, and Anglican.

• **Protestant Churches** = The Protestant churches had there origins in the Reformation in the sixteenth century, when many European Christians broke away from the Catholic Church--i.e., they "protested." Martin Luther is considered the founder of the Protestant movement, while John Calvin was influential as well. In the beginning, there were few different churches--much of Germany became Lutheran--later on the Protestant churches kept splitting and breaking off. Today there are thousands of different Protestant denominations across the world. The reasons for the revolt against the church were a combination of theological and political rationales. The theological reasons provided the basis for much of early Protestant thought. They were against the authority of the Pope and of the tradition of the Catholic Church. They therefore (1st) argued for a church organized along biblically based ideas and (2nd) put the Bible in the most authoritative position, thereby rejecting the tradition of the Church and its teaching authority. (3rd) They also believed in the "priesthood of all believers," which meant that each Christian could communicate directly with God and did not have to approach him through the intermediary of a priest or a saint.

• **Protestant Principle** = The Protestant idea that God and God alone is to be worshipped. Nothing else should stand in the way of, in place of, or equal to God. The Church is not God, the pope is not God, beliefs and doctrine are not God, no pastor or minister is God, the Bible is not God, etc.

• **Pseudepigrapha** (also anglicised as "pseudepigraph" or "pseudepigraphs") are falsely attributed works, texts whose claimed author is not the true author, or a work whose real author attributed it to a figure of the past. Pseudepigraphy covers the false ascription of names of authors to works, even to authentic works that make no such claim within their text. Thus a widely accepted but incorrect attribution of authorship may make a completely authentic text pseudepigraphical. If Christians would be serious about this claim, then more than 90% of their Bible would be pseudepigraphical and must be removed from the canon. And this is what Marcion did in the 2nd century AD. See: The Gospel of Marcion.

In biblical studies, the term pseudepigrapha typically refers to an assorted collection of Jewish religious works thought to be written c. 300 BC to 300 AD. They are distinguished by Protestants from the Deuterocanonical books (Catholic and Orthodox) or Apocrypha (Protestant), the books that appear in extant copies of the Septuagint from the fourth century on, and the Vulgate but not in the Hebrew Bible or in Protestant Bibles. The Catholic Church distinguishes only between the deuterocanonical and all the other books, that are called biblical apocrypha, a name that is also used for the pseudepigrapha in the Catholic usage. Two books considered canonical in the Orthodox Tewahedo churches: the Book of Enoch and Book of Jubilees, are categorised as pseudepigrapha by all the other Christians.

• **Purgatory** = In Catholic theology, purgatory is a temporary place for people who have died with the expectation of salvation, but who have not worked out punishment due for some of their sins (i.e., most Christians). In purgatory, this punishment is undergone. Entrance into purgatory is determined by Particular Judgement. At the Judgement Day, they will be released an will enter into heaven. There are similar ideas in Orthodoxy, but they are not so well defined.

• **Q** = A Q-document (Q is an abbreviation of the German word "quelle" which means "primary and original source") is a document that is considered the main source of all following documents of similar nature. Hypothetical source document for the Synoptic Gospels, sometimes called the "Sayings Gospel" because it is thought to consist mainly of Jesus' speeches, with little or no narrative. Q is one component of the usual version of the theory of Markan priority, which holds that Mark was the first gospel, and that Matthew and Luke were written with Mark as one source and Q as another. For the writings and manuscripts of the New Testament, there are two distinct documents that could claim to be the Q-document: First, the Gospel of Thomas (found 1945 at Nag Hammadi in Egypt), Second, The Jewish War written by Flavius Josephus.

• **Quaker** = A Puritan Protestant denomination from England that settled in English colonies of North America.

• Qumran = Site of the caves where the Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered, just northwest of the Dead Sea in the West Bank.

• **Quakers** = Protestant denomination started by George Fox who believed that a person should be guided by the Holy Spirit in silent meditation.

• **reader-response criticism** = Form of literary and biblical criticism that focuses on the values of the reader's interpretive community and argues that one makes meaning of the text, in fact in a sense "creates" the text in terms of those values.

• **redaction criticism** = Type of biblical criticism which attempts to determine the process whereby various source documents were edited, or "redacted" to bring the biblical text to its final form.

• **redactor** = An editor; according to the Documentary Hypothesis, various source materials were combined, rearranged, and woven together to get the "final form" of the biblical text; this process is called redaction.

• Resurrection According to Christian belief, this is Jesus' act by which he conquered death and sin. After being crucified, Jesus lay dead over the Sabbath and the Passover holiday. He then became alive again (without any decomposition). This is known as the resurrection. It is this power, by which he

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overcame death, that also conquered the sin of humanity. Thus Jesus' resurrection provides salvation for all Christians.

• **Righteousness or Justness** = Righteousness is defined as "the quality of being morally correct and justifiable." It can also be considered synonymous with "rightness". It is a concept that can be found in Indian religions and Abrahamic traditions as a theological concept. For example, from various perspectives in Hinduism, Judaism and Christianity, it is considered an attribute that implies that a person's actions are justified, and can have the connotation that the person has been "judged" or "reckoned" as leading a life that is pleasing to God. We find this concept in the Old Testament (the Tanakh), the Qumran Scrolls, and in the New Testament. In the Qumran Scrolls we can read a lot about "the Teacher of Righteousness" who seem to be connected to "James the Just" or "James the righteous one", meaning James the Brother of Jesus who is always portrait as the ultimate example of blameless, ethical, law-abiding, and just behaviour.

• **Rome / Roma** = The capital city of the Roman Empire, then of Italy. Location of the Vatican City, the centre of the Roman Catholic church and the home of the Pope. Due to Rome's tremenduous success during the first 800 years, the word Rome became almost magic in itself, it became an idea. The City of Rome was the sole capital of the Roman Empire until Emperor Flavius Constantinus founded Constantinople in 330. From then onwards, Rome was known as the western capital. Christians made their way to Rome quite early, with a noticable community there by 50 AD, Christians believe that Peter was the first Bishop of Rome, a title later known as "the Pope". However that claim cannot stand to proper srutinity. The first historic pope seem to have been a man called Titus Flavius Clemens who was a nephew of emperor Titus Flavius Vespasianus (69-79 AD). He ruled the Church as pope in the last dacade of the 1st century AD. Rome was one of the three Patriarchates (Rome, Alexandria, Contantinople) established by the Council of Nicea in 325. After being sacked by Vandals, Visigoths and other northern tribes starting in the fourth century, Rome essentially led an isolated branch of the church for several centuries.

• **Roman Civilisation** = it lasted as a state for 23 centuries, from c. 750 B.C. up to its very end in 1453. Roman Civilisation, however, never vanished, it rather tranformed into states with new names and its language Latin in languages with new names. Everyone today who speaks a Romance (or better Roman) language is a Roman: people who speak Italian, Spanish, Catalan, Galician, Portuguese, French, Romanian. All these people follow Roman lifestyle, Roman thinking, Roman Law and the Roman religion: Christianity. And therefore, to some lesser extent, anyone who speaks no Roman language but who is a Christian, also could be seen as "Roman". Roman tradition survived in Christianity.

• **The Roman Empire** (Latin: Imperium Romanum; Greek: Basileia ton Rhomaion) was the post-Roman Republic period of the ancient Roman civilisation, characterised by government headed by emperors and large territorial holdings around the Mediterranean Sea in Europe, Africa and Asia. The city of Rome was the largest city in the world c. 100 BC – c. AD 400, with Constantinople (New Rome) becoming the largest around AD 500, and the Empire's populace grew to an estimated 50 to 90 million inhabitants (roughly 20% of the world's population at the time). The 500-year-old republic which preceded it was severely destabilised in a series of civil wars and political conflict, during which Julius Caesar was appointed as perpetual dictator and then assassinated in 44 BC. Civil wars and executions continued, culminating in the victory of Octavian, Caesar's adopted son, over Mark Antony and Cleopatra at the Battle of Actium in 31 BC and the annexation of Egypt. Octavian's power was then unassailable and in 27 BC the Roman Senate formally granted him overarching power and the new title Augustus, effectively marking the end of the Roman Republic.

• **The Byzantine Empire,** a wrong historiographical term created by the German historian Hieronymus Wolf in the 16th century. The Roman people never called themselves "Byzantines" but always "Romans;" non-Romans also called them unanimously "Romans." See: Roman Empire, Eastern.

• **Roman Empire, Eastern,** was the continuation of the Roman Empire in the East during Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, when its capital city was Constantinople (modern-day Istanbul, which had been founded as Byzantium). It survived the fragmentation and fall of the Western Roman Empire in the 5th century AD and continued to exist for an additional thousand years until it fell to the Islamic Ottoman Turks in 1453. During most of its existence, the empire was the most powerful economic, cultural, and military force in Europe. Both "Byzantine Empire" and "Eastern Roman Empire" are historiographical terms created after the end of the realm; its citizens continued to refer to their empire as the Roman Empire

• **Roman Empire, Western** = consists of the western provinces of the Roman Empire at any one time during which they were administered by a separate independent Imperial court, coequal with (or only nominally subordinate to) that administering the eastern half. Both "Western Roman Empire" and "Eastern Roman Empire" (or "Byzantine Empire") are modern terms describing de facto independent entities; however, at no point did the Romans consider the Empire split into two, but rather considered it a single state governed by two separate Imperial courts out of administrative expediency, a system of government known as a diarchy or sometimes a tetrarchy.

• **Roman Empire (of German Nations), Holy** = The name given to a new Roman Empire in the West. After his tremenduous conquests and success, Charlemagne (in German known as Karl der Grosse = Charles the Great) was crowned "Roman Emperor" by the Pope in Rome in December 800 AD. This empire lasted a thousand years until it was dismantled by Napoleon.

• **Roman-Catholic Church** = The Christian denomination developing out of the western or Latin-speaking half of early Roman Christianity, based in Rome. It is headed by the Pope. See: Orthodox. The vast majority (c. 90%) of all Roman-Catholics are native speakers of a Romance language such as Portuguese, Galician, Spanish, Catalan, Occitan, French, Corsican, Sardian, Italian, Sicilian.

• **Roman Imperial Cult** = was the Roman Administration of Religion or bureaucratical body for religious affairs. It made sure that religious sacrifices (money) went to the Roman government. The leader of this administration was the Pontifex Maximus.

• **Reconciliation** = To get closer to God through the forgiveness of your sins.

• **Reformation** = When the Western church split into the Catholic and Protestant denominations in the 16th century triggered by Martin Luther's publication of his 95 Theses.

• **Repentance** = To be sorry for the sins that you have committed.

• **Resurrection** = When Jesus came back from the dead three days after he had been crucified.

• **Revelation** = A message from God.

• **Sacrament** = An outward sign of something special that contain holy values and shows devotion to God. The Roman Catholics, Orthodox and the Anglicans believe in these 7 sacraments: Baptism (the rite of conversion to Christianity, usually in infancy), Eucharist (the Lord's Supper), Confirmation (the renewal of one's belief and membership in the church), Holy Matrimony (ones marriage), Holy Orders or Ordination (when someone enters a permanent office of the church, for example as a deacon, priest, or monk); Confession or Reconciliation (that means telling the priest in charge your sins for which he may forgive you), and Sacrament of the Sick (anointing of the sick). Protestant churches recognise only the first two, three, four, or none of these.

• **Sadducees** = A Jewish group of first-century Palestine. Many priests and important people were members. They believed in the Hebrew Bible, but not in religious traditions outside it. They were members of the Messianic Movement. The gospels sometimes present them as opponents of Jesus which is no surpise as they viewed Jesus as traitor to Jewish identity and nationalism.

• **Saint** = typically, the term saint refers to someone who has lived a life of exceptional Christian virtue, totally dedicated to God, and who has passed on into heaven. In heaven, a saint can be called upon to intercede for the living. In Orthodoxy saints are often venerated with the use of icons, while in Catholicism, their relics have been the focus of veneration and worship.

• **Samaria ostraca** = An "ostracon" is a pottery fragment or potsherd. The plural is "ostraca." In epigraphy, ostraca are specifically the writings found on ancient pottery. The Samaria Ostraca were discovered in 1910, and are the oldest Hebrew writing sample we have today; they most likely date from the reign of King Jeroboam (786-746 BC) and record wine and oil delivery transactions.

• **Samaritan Pentateuch** = Ancient version of the Torah / Pentateuch preserved by the Samaritans, and considered by them to be the whole canon. It is written in Hebrew, but is considered a "version" and treated as one of the "ancient witnesses" of value in text criticism.

• **Schism** = or more precise The East–West Schism of the Roman Church, also called the Great Schism and the Schism of 1054, was the break of the unity between what are now the Catholic Church and Eastern Orthodox churches, which has lasted from the 11th century. The word schism means in English "split". The Schism was the culmination of theological and political differences between the Christian East and West which had developed over the preceding centuries. During the 5th and 6th Centuries the East and West became isolated from each other due to the demise of the Western Roman Empire in 472 and the following invasions of the Balkan peninsula by Slavonic tribes. They also had different languages. Latin was the most important language in the West. The East mainly spoke the Greek language. The West came under Frankish influence of the German Franks. The Eastern Romans fought against Persia and then Islam.

While there were many background factors that contributed to the Great Schism (the separation of the Roman Empire into two empires features prominently), the immediate reason for the division of the church was that the patriarch of Constantinople and the patriarch of Rome decided to excommunicate one another. the trigger to that was petty policy. Some Roman Catholic churches in Constantinople began using Roman Catholic practices instead of following the Eastern Orthodox practices. Ecumenical Patriarch Michael Cerularius demanded that these churches follow the eastern traditions. The Roman Catholic churches had the approval of the Pope Leo IX in Rome and refused (as German and had no understanding of Roman culture whatsoever). As a result, Cerularius shut the churches down. He then had a letter written attacking the practices of the West. The Pope read the letter and ordered a return letter be written to address the points made by Cerularius and defend the supremacy of the Pope. The Pope then sent the letter with a delegation to Constantinople. The delegation arrived in April 1054. The delegation did not like the way they were welcomed and walked out of the meeting with Cerularius after giving him the Pope's letter. Cerularius, angry over the delegations actions, became even angrier when he realised the letter's seals had been opened and the delegates had published the letter for everyone to read. As a result, the Patriarch ignored the delegates and refused to recognize their authority. Leo IX died on April 19, 1054 and after the Patriarch Cerularius continued to refuse to meet with the delegates from the Pope, the delegates entered the Cathedral of Hagia Sophia (the main church of the Eastern Orthodox Church) during a church ceremony and placed a letter on the main altar. The letter contained the excommunication of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Michael Cerularius. Cerularius burned the letter (called a Papal Bull) and then condemned the delegates. The Great Schism was official. The two sides still communicated with each after but during the Fourth Crusade, Christians, with the blessing of Rome, sacked Constantinople and the Hagia Sophia. After this, the break between the two sides rarely communicated and attempts to reconcile failed.

• **Second Temple** = The temple re-built after the Babylonian Captivity, in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. Sometimes the term "First Temple Judaism" is used to denote the religious and cultural practices of the biblical Israelites from the time of the Babylonian Captivity until the destruction of the Second Temple by the Roman General Flavius Titus in 70 A.D.

• **semantics** = Branch of linguistics concerned with the study of the meaning of words, sentences and larger linguistic units in a particular language or languages generally.

• setting = The place, time, and general background circumstances of a narrative text (story).

• **Septuagint** = Also known as the LXX, the Roman number for 70. Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible completed approximately 2nd century B.C. Thought to be the primary version of scripture known to Jesus and the authors of the New Testament. See: LXX

• **source** = A hypothetical document or oral tradition believed to have been used in the production of a "final form" document such as a biblical book.

• **source criticism** = Biblical study methodology that focuses on the supposed "sources" or precursor documents thought to be "redacted" into the "final form" that came to be regarded as Scripture. Julius Wellhausen (1844-1918) is well-known as one of the founders of source criticism. Discussions of JEDP are source-critical discussions. Similarly, New Testament scholars hypothesize a source document called "Q" for the gospels.

• **stela** = A commemorative stone pillar or slab, usually carved. Also spelled "stele," plural "stelae," from a Greek word meaning shaft or pillar. The Merneptah stela, dating from around 1200 B.C., figures prominently in debates around Israelite history.

• **stratigraphy** = In archaeology, study of the layers (strata) of ancient remains that provide clues as to the material culture represented by each layer and the order of successive cultures inhabiting the site (the top layers are more recent, the bottom layers more ancient). See: Typology

• **structuralism** = Literary critical approach that analyses the structure of texts and patterns among their parts. See: Typology

• **synchronic** = Dealing with phenomena as they exist in a limited period of time, without regard to their history. See also "diachronic."

• **syncretism** = Combination of beliefs, practices or traits from more than one religion.

• **Synoptic Gospels** = Matthew, Mark and Luke; so called because they "see together" or take a common view, that is, they basically tell the same story in much the same way, unlike John, with which they have much less in common.

• **Synoptic Problem** = The scholarly question as to the exact relationship among Matthew, Mark and Luke, the Synoptic Gospels. Some proposed solutions to the Synoptic Problem include the theory of Markan priority, the hypothetical document Q, and the Griesbach hypothesis.

• **syntax** = From the Greek syn-taxis, to "put together." The system or rules according to which a particular language arranges words to make meaningful sentences. According to

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the rules of English syntax, "the cheese flew green paper within atoms" is syntactically correct English, even though it makes no sense. Words are arranged according to the rules of syntax into sentences, just as sounds (phonemes) are arranged according to the rules of morphology to form words.

• **Syriac** = Another word for the Aramaic language and its writing system in which the Peshitta was written.

• **Salvation** = Is a concept of Mithraism, Christianity, and Islam. Briefly, salvation is the rescue of an individual from sin and its punishment (eternal damnation) by admission to eternal life in heaven. It is the atonement which Jesus effected through his death and resurrection, an atonement that frees one from the punishment for original sin and for the sins one has committed in life.

• **Satan** = (Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic: Sheitan) Also known as the devil, Satan was once a Prince of Angels who rebelled against God along with the angels who followed him. They were caste into hell. This made hell the place for the punishment of the disobedient angels and humans. From hell, Satan also "rules" the earth, thereby tempting Christians to forsake God and to sin.

• **Second Coming** = The idea that Christ will come a second time as the messiah. This time he will bring a Judgement Day, reward all the Christians, and punish evil doers. Different churches and denominations have different understandings how this will happen, some of which are quite elaborate and include cataclismic battles, superhuman warriors, and the intervention of God to end all evil. One of these elaborate theologies is called pre-millennialism.

• **Sin** = (1st) Sins are actions, thoughts, and intentions that do not meet the moral and religious expectations God has for humanity. Sin results in separation from God. In Christian thought, sin comes from two sources: original sin, or a person's own actions, thoughts and intentions. These acts and thoughts are thought to arise from a person's pride and desires. A person may have different levels of culpability (or involvement) with a sin: they may have fully intended to do it, it may have accidentally happened, or some combination of the two. Sin should be distinguished from a "crime," which is a legal category. (2nd) Sin can also be a state, as in "so-and-so is in a state of sin." If a person is in a state of sin, they have not attained salvation.

• **Soul, Spirit** = This is the part of human beings that gives them life. During life, it dwells within the body, but after death is freed from it. It is the soul that is eternal and receives the punishment of sin or the rewards of salvation. The substance of the soul is thus spirit--an eternal character--rather than physical--a natural, temporary character like that of the body.

• **Son** = The designation Jesus receives as part of the Holy Trinity. This is the part of God who became human, was killed, and then resurrected to provide humanity with salvation.

• **Sabbath** = The Jewish holy day, from sunset on Friday to sunset on Saturday. Also used by some Christian denominations for Sunday.

• **Salvation Army** = A protestant church formed by William Booth to help the poor. It works to help people's physical needs as well as their spiritual ones.

• **Samaritan** = An ancient group of Jewish people who lived in Samaria at the time of Jesus, considered by the Jews to be inferior. The Torah is the only scripture they accept. They use a very antique version.

• **Satan** = Another name for the devil.

• **Saviour** = Another title for Jesus. Used to show belief that he rescued people from their sins by dying on a cross.

• **Secularism** = any movement in society directed away from otherworldliness to life on earth. In the European Middle Ages there was a strong tendency for religious persons to despise human affairs and to meditate on God and the afterlife. As a reaction to this medieval tendency, secularism, at the time of the Renaissance, exhibited itself in the development of humanism, when people began to show more interest in human cultural achievements and the possibilities of their fulfillment in this world. The movement toward secularism has been in progress during the entire course of modern history and has often been viewed as being anti-Christian and antireligious. In the latter half of the 20th century, however, some theologians began advocating secular Christianity. They suggested that Christianity should not be concerned only with the sacred and the otherworldly, but that people should find in the world the opportunity to promote Christian values. These theologians maintain that the real meaning of the message of Jesus can be discovered and fulfilled in the everyday affairs of secular urban living.

• **Sermon** = A talk given in church on a spiritual or moral theme.

• **Sexism** = Treating people differently because of their gender.

• **Sin** = Doing something wrong that separates you from God.

• **Sunday** = The Christian holy day; day of worship, family and rest.

• **Synoptic** = A Greek word which means "to look at together". The synoptic gospels are Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John.

• **Tanakh** = The Jewish Bible, also called the Hebrew Bible. The word Tanakh is an acronym: TaNaK, for the three major types of writing in the Hebrew Bible, arranged in order: Torah, Nevi'im (the Prophets) and Ketuvim (the Writings).

• targum = An ancient version of the Tanakh or the Old Testament, in the Hebrew or Aramaic languages.

• **Teaching Authority** = This is for example the Roman Catholic Church as legitimate authority for teaching correct Christian doctrine. This prevents the possiblity of misinterpretation of the Bible and of Christian beliefs. The Protestant Churches, by contrast, believe that every individual (or more accurately that individual's church) has the right to decide correct interpretations. The problem is, of course, that each church denomination has a different interpretation on one or the other point.

• **tell** = In archaeology, a mound containing layers of remains from successive ancient settlements; for example, most scholars believe that Tell al-Muqayyar in present-day Iraq is the site of ancient Ur, from which Abraham and his family migrated to the promised land (Genesis 11:28).

• **Temple** = The Temple of Judaism was built in Jerusalem by Solomon in the tenth century BC and was finally destroyed by the Romans in 70 AD. It was the centre of Judaism and its worship of God for as long as it stood. "The Temple" also could be understood as the main ancient dedomination of the Jewish religion itself. The early Christians viewed it as an important religious centre, for they held meetings in its courtyards and continued to offer sacrifices there. Like in Buddhist temples, there were also little shops that offered candles and other things.

• **Temptation** = Being persuaded to do evil or to sin.

• The **Ten Commandments** = or **Covenant of Moses**, also called Decalogue (Greek: deka logoi = "10 words") list of religious precepts that, according to various passages in Exodus and Deuteronomy, were divinely revealed to Moses on Mt. Sinai and were engraved on two tablets of stone. The Commandments are recorded virtually identically in Exodus 20: 2–17 and Deuteronomy 5: 6–21. The Ten Commandments consists of two distinct parts:

(1st) Commandments on God: 1. I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage; 2. Thou shalt have no other gods before me. 3. Thou shalt not make for yourself a graven image, or any likeness of anything; 4. Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy (for worship).

(2nd) Basic Law for humans: 5. Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God gives to thee. 6. Thou shalt not kill; 7. Thou shalt not commit adultery; 8. Thou shalt not steal; 9. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour; 10. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, or his manservant, or his maidservant, or his ox, or his ass, or anything that is thy neighbour's.

Although we hover through the air of speculation, we can say with great certainty that Moses knew the Instructions of Shuruppak as on those tablets we can read:

Thou shouldst not question the words of thy mother and thy personal god; The instructions of the father should be complied with; Thou shouldst not kill; Thou shouldst not steal anything; Thou shouldst not have sex with thy slave girl; Thou shouldst not abduct a wife; Thou shouldst not break into a house; Thou shouldst not wish for the money chest. In fact, the Instructions of Shuruppak are far more precise as they consist of 100 precepts, not only 10.

Almost the same words are in use for 2600 years appear in the **5 Precepts of Daoism** as well as in the 5 Precepts of Buddhism.

• **Tetragrammaton** = The Hebrew letters yod-heh-vav-heh, transliterated YHWH and sometimes written "Yahweh" or "Jehovah" in Christian Bibles. In Jewish Hebrew Bible readings, the words "Adonai" (Lord) or "ha-shem" (the name) are usually substituted out of reverence for the divine name. Both Christian and Jewish English language Bibles often use "LORD" in all capital letters for this word.

• **text** = A piece of writing or speech that is being studied or discussed; often used of a passage from the Bible. Can also be used far more broadly, as when writers refer something other than writing or speech -- even all of life -- as a "text."

• **text criticism** = Study of ancient biblical manuscripts in an effort to establish the best "original" Hebrew, Aramaic or Greek. The fruit of text criticism is a "critical text" which then becomes the basis for translation into English or other languages. • text-immanent = Approaches to literary interpretation which focus on the text itself rather than the intentions of its author(s), its historical context, what interpreters have thought about it, or other factors "behind" or "in front of" the text.

• **text type** = A group of ancient manuscripts with many characteristics in common, presumably because of their having been copied in close proximity to one another. Grouping the thousands of ancient manuscripts into "text types" allows scholars to discuss variations in more general terms than would be possible if each manuscript were treated as a unique entity.

• **textual variant** = A place where ancient manuscripts of a particular biblical word, phrase, or passage disagree. Much of the work of text criticism concerns deciding among textual variants.

• **textual witness** = A particular manuscript containing a particular textual variant. For example, an article in the Anchor Bible Dictionary states: "The oldest textual witness to the opening of the book of Revelation (Codex Sinaiticus) gives "Revelation of John" (apokalypsis iouannou) as its title." This means that there is an ancient manuscript called the Codex Sinaiticus, and in it the book of Revelation begins with the title "apokalypsis iouannou," in contrast to some other textual witnesses which say something else.

• **textuality** = Quality of "being text." Under the deconstructionist model, text is far more comprehensive than just a piece of writing, including speech and indeed the world itself. Textuality is sometimes contrasted with or viewed as an outgrowth of "orality." Linear textuality is sometimes contrasted with "hypertextuality" like that characteristic of the world wide web.

• **Theist** = Someone who does believe God exists. Opposite: Atheist

• **theology** = Set of beliefs about or study of the nature of God and God's relationship to humanity and the world. For example, source criticism attempts to discern different theologies for each of the hypothesized "sources" of the Pentateuch.

• **theophoric** = A personal name that incorporates the name of God or a god. "Theophoric" is from the Greek, meaning "God-bearing." For example, in the book of Daniel, the name "Daniel" is theophoric, bearing the name "el" for God. Nebuchadnezzar's palace master renames Daniel again theophorically, as Belteshazzar, which incorporating the name of the Babylonian god Bel.

• **Tiqqune sopherim** = Ancient scribal corrections to the Hebrew Bible. "sopherim" means "scribes" and "tiqqune" means "corrections" or "emendations."

• **Torah** = Hebrew word meaning "teaching." Usually refers to the first five books of the Hebrew Bible, or Tanakh, but can also be used for other types of religious teaching.

• **Transjordan** = "Literally "across the Jordan." The country now known as Jordan was once called "Transjordan." Sometimes the term is used to denote the geographical area on the east side of the Jordan River, opposite the modern nation of Israel/Palestine, or in contrast to the so-called West Bank.

• **translate** = Render a source language sentence, phrase, or word in a target language. For example, the King James Version (KJV) and the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV) of the Bible both translate from the original Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek source languages into the English target language.

• **Trinity** = Doctrine that God in Christianity is three beings in one. It became official at the Council of Nicea that was organised by Emperor Flavius Constantinus in 325. The doctrine of Trinity was made official to condemn Arianism but it was not a new invention, it was not even Christian. In reality, the "HolyTrinity", with the words "in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit", is a phrase invented by the Romans, originally refering to Julius Caesar (the father), Emperor Augustus (the son). and the Pantheon (the holy spirit). The Pantheon is a building in Rome that was originally build by Agrippa, the closest friend of Augustus, in order to worship all Roman gods in it. Christians understand the holy trinity as follows: in the name of the Father (God the creator), the Son (his godly son Jesus Christ on Earth), and the holy Spirit (the soul of God in heaven). Flavius Josephus, the propaganda chief of the new Flavian dynasty, as a Jew and connaisseur of Jewish and Christian beliefs, revived this phrase as a nasty propaganda trick putting it into the mouths (and writings) of Jews and Christians in order to get them worship the emperor without knowing it. The background is the fierce rejection of Jews and Christians to pay tribute in form of recognising the emperor as god. As Jews and Christians do not pray to idols but worship God through their holy scriptures, the Roman conquerors had always trouble to make them pray to the statues of the emperors that were erected in the temple areas of all conquered nations. Frequent uprisings were the result. Today, the misunderstood concept of Trinity is the only serious point that split Jews, Christians, and Muslims apart--with bloody consequences.

• **Transubstantiation** = A belief that the wine and the bread at the Eucharist actually turn into the body and blood of Jesus. Esp. in the Roman Catholic and the Eastern Orthodox churches.

• **trope** = A figure of speech; use of a word or phrase in a figurative sense.

• **Typology** = is the doctrine and literary tool that symbols for events, figures, characters and stories in the New Testament can be found in the Old Testament or other, related writings. In early Christianity, this tool was used to legitimise the new religion. The very same tool is used in the Koran and

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other scriptures. This tool was deemed necessary as the new religions lacked own traditions and therefore were not trusted. Typology was also used to obfuscate the view of potential new believers as to the real identity of characters in pieces of literature such as the gospels. In the cononical gospels we can find the prophesy in which Jesus travels to Jerusalem and "conquers" the city. In Flavius Josephus' The War of the Jews we can find the very same story in the very same sequence of all events and locations, but here it is a true historical account of General Titus Flavius who conquers Jerusalem. It is clear what this means: Anyone who worshippes Jesus "the son of man" or "the son of God" also worshippes Titus Flavius "the son of the God Titus Flavius Vespasianus", the father of Titus. For this, the reader must know that after the Jewish-Roman War (66-73 AD), Emperor Titus Flavius Vespasianus was declared God by the Senate of Rome. See: The Arch of Titus.

• Ugaritic = Ancient cuneiform writing found in tablets at the archaeological site of Ras Shamra (ancient Ugarit) in present-day Syria. Ancient texts written in Ugaritic are very important for understanding the socio-historical context of Canaan around the time the Israelites arrived there, as well as the literary context of much of the Hebrew Bible.

• Vatican = The Vatican is the headquarters of the Bishop of Rome--i.e., the Pope. It is on one of Rome's seven hills, Mons Vaticanus. The first building was erected in about 500 and the area has been remodeled and expanded many times since. Since the early part of this century (1871, 1929), the Vatican has been recognized as a separate country, even though its territory is only a few square miles; it is independent of all other countries including Italy.

• Vatican City = A small country in the middle of Rome that is the centre of the Roman. Catholic church. Where the Pope lives.

• versions = Translations of the Bible from one language into another. In Old Testament text criticism, the "primary versions" which translated the Hebrew into Greek, Syriac, Latin, and Coptic are particularly important.

• **Virgin Birth** = The belief that Mary was a virgin when she gave birth to Jesus.

• Virgin Mary = Another name for Mary.

• **Vorlage** = The (sometimes hypothetical) original from which a copy or translation is made. Until the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, in Old Testament text criticism the "versions" (Septuagint, Peshitta, Vulgate, etc.) were extremely important in reconstructing the Vorlage or "original" Hebrew text, because the oldest manuscripts of the versions pre-dated the oldest Hebrew manuscripts, the Masoretic Text.

• **vowel point** = Small mark above or below a Hebrew writing to indicates the vowel sound. Pointing was originally added to the unpointed text of the Hebrew Bible by the Masoretes.

• **Vows** = Promises made in the sight of God.

• **Vulgate** = Ancient translation of the Bible into Latin, traditionally ascribed to Jerome (c.347-420). The word is from the Latin vulgata editio meaning "common edition."

• **Worship** = The act of prayer or actions dedicated to praising God.

• **Worshipper** = A person who is involved in an act of worship.

NAMES OF LOCATIONS OF IMPORTANT POLITICAL ENTITIES
(in a rough chronological order.)

• **Canaan** or Cana'an was situated at the crossroads of several cultures, and throughout its recorded history its art and literature illustrate a mixture of many elements: Egyptian, Mycenaean, Cretan, Hurrian, and Mesopotamian. Most of what is known about Canaanite religion is derived from a series of tablets discovered at Ras Shamra. The principal god was El, but the jurisdiction over rainfall and fertility was delegated to Baal, or Hadad. Other important deities included Resheph, lord of plague and the nether world; Kothar, the divine craftsman; Asherah, consort of El; and Astarte, goddess of fertility.

Modern knowledge of Canaan's history and culture is derived from both archeological excavations and from literary sources. Excavations, mainly in the 20th century, have unearthed the remains of many important Canaanite cities, including Bet Sheʾan, Gezer, Hazor, Jericho, Jerusalem, Lachish, Megiddo, and Shechem. The most important literary sources for the region's history are the Old Testament; the Ras Shamra texts discovered at the site of ancient Ugarit, on the north coast of Syria; and the Amarna Letters, a set of dispatches sent in the 14th century BC by governors of Palestinian cities and Syrian cities to their Egyptian overlords.

The names Canaan and Canaanite occur in cuneiform, Egyptian, and Phoenician writings from about the 15th century BC. The human habitation of coastal Canaan can be traced back to Paleolithic and Mesolithic times, and excavations have revealed that a settled community and an agricultural way of life existed at the site of Jericho by 8,000 BC., shortly after also at other places. Semitic peoples first appeared in Canaan during the Bronze Age (3000-2000 B.C.).

Between c. 2000 and 1550 BC), recorded history in the area began. Lots of invaders penetrated Canaan such as Amorites, Egyptians, Hyksos, Hurrians (the Horites of the Old Testament) Canaan from the north. Between c. 1550 and 1200 BC Egyptians and Hittites of Anatolia dominated in Canaan. The Hapiru, or Habiru (Egyptian: ʿApiru) came next. Although some scholars think that the Hebrews also came from outside, others think that there are more indications that Israelites, Aramaeans, Phoenicians, and Arabs developed out of those people who were in Canaan already.

• The **Minoan civilisation** was a Bronze Age civilisation on the island of Crete and other Aegean Islands, such as Thera (Santorini) to the north, flourishing from c. 2700 to c. 1450 BC until a late period of decline, finally ending around 1100 BC. Minoan civilisation was subsequently distroyed by an exploding volcano, also called "the Minoan eruption" or "Thera eruption", which occurred about 3,600 years ago (between 1642–1540 BC.) at the height of the Minoan civilisation. The explosion left a volcanic crater that is approximately 40 km (25 mi) wide. Ash and pumice from the eruption have been found as far away as Egypt and Israel, and there has been speculation that the eruption was the source of the legend of Atlantis and of stories in the Old Testament book of Exodus.

The Minoans represent the first advanced civilisation in Europe, leaving behind massive building complexes, tools, stunning artwork, writing systems, and a massive network of trade. Who the Minoans were or what language they spoke is unknown. Their civilisation was rediscovered at the beginning of the 20th century through the work of British archaeologist Sir Arthur Evans. He named the civilisation "Minoan" after the mythical King Minos as he identified the site at Knossos with the labyrinth and the Minotaur. The Minoan period saw extensive trade between Mediterranean settlements and in particular Canaan in the Near East. The island of Thera was the site of one of the largest volcanic eruptions in recorded history. The eruption may have led indirectly to the collapse of the Minoan civilisation on the island of Crete, 110 km (68 mi) to the south. The Philistines were most likely the survivors of that natural catastrophe.

• **Palestine** or Philistine (ancient) is a region that refers to the Philistines. They were an ancient people who lived on the south coast of Canaan (today: Gaza Strip) between the 12th century BC and 604 BC when they were exiled to Mesopotamia by King Nebuchadnezzar II. They are known for their biblical conflict with the Israelites. The primary source of information about the Philistines is the Hebrew Bible, but they are first attested to in reliefs at the Temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu, where they are called Peleset. The English word Philistine comes from Old French Philistin, from Classical Latin Philistinus, from Late Greek Philistinoi, from Hebrew Pəlishtî, plural Pəlishtîm), meaning person of Pəlesheth; and there are cognates in Assyrian or Akkadian Palastu, Pilišti, or Pilistu and Egyptian Palusata; the term "Palestine" has the same derivation. The Hebrew term Plishtim occurs 286 times in the Masoretic Text of the Hebrew Bible (of which 152 times are in 1 Samuel). It also appears in the Samaritan Pentateuch.

The first reference to Philistines in the Hebrew Bible is in the Table of Nations, where they are said to descend from Casluhim, son of Mizraim (Egypt). However, the Philistines of Genesis who are friendly to Abraham are identified by rabbinic sources as distinct from the warlike people described in Deuteronomistic history. Deuteronomist sources describe the "Five Lords of the Philistines" as based in five city-states of the southwestern Levant: Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Ekron, and Gath, from Wadi Gaza in the south to the Yarqon River in the north. This description portrays them at one period of time as among the Kingdom of Israel's most dangerous enemies.

• **Judaea** (1st) or Judea (Roman Province of Judea; Hebrew: Yehuda; Greek: Ioudaia; Latin: Iudaea), sometimes spelled in its original Latin forms of Iudæa or Iudaea to distinguish it from the geographical region of Judea, incorporated the regions of Judea, Samaria and Idumea, and extended over parts of the former regions of the Hasmonean and Herodian kingdoms of Judea. It was named after Herod Archelaus's Tetrarchy of Judea, but the Roman province encompassed a much larger territory. The name "Judea" was derived from the Kingdom of Judah of the 6th century BC.

• **Judaea** (2nd) or Judea (geographical region; Hebrew: Yehuda, Greek: Ioudaía; Latin: Iudaea) is the ancient Hebrew and Israelite biblical, and the modern-day name of the mountainous southern part of the region of the Holy Land or Palestine. The name originates from the Hebrew name Yehudah, a son of the Jewish patriarch Jacob/Israel, and Yehudah's progeny forming the biblical Israelite tribe of Judah (Yehudah) and later the associated Kingdom of Judah, which is usually dated from 934 until 586 BC. The name of the region continued to be incorporated through the Babylonian conquest, Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman periods as Yehud, Yehud Medinata, Hasmonean Judea, and consequently Herodian Judea and Roman Judea, respectively.

• **Judaea** (3rd) or Judea (ancient kingdom) The Kingdom of Judah (Hebrew: Mamleket Yehudah; Aramaic: Beyt Dawid = Kingdom of David) was an Iron Age kingdom of the Southern Levant. The Hebrew Bible depicts it as the successor to the United Monarchy, a term denoting the Kingdom of Israel under biblical kings Saul, David and Solomon and covering the territory of two historical kingdoms, Judah and Israel; however, historians are divided about the veracity of this account.

• **Israel (1st)** (ancient and unified kingdom) The United Monarchy of the Israelites is the name given to the Israelite kingdom of Israel and Judah, during the reigns of Saul, David and Solomon, as depicted in the Hebrew Bible. This is traditionally dated between 1050 BC. and 930 BC. On the succession of Solomon's son, Rehoboam, around 930 BC., the biblical account reports that the country split into two kingdoms: the Kingdom of Israel (including the cities of Shechem and Samaria) in the north and the Kingdom of Judah (containing Jerusalem) in the south. Contemporary scholars consider the United Monarchy a myth or a literary construction and not a historical reality, pointing to the lack of archaeological evidence. It is generally accepted that a "House of David" existed, but it is believed that David could have only been the monarch or chieftain of Judah, which was likely small, and that the northern kingdom was a separate development already.

• **Israel** (2nd) (ancient, northern kingdom of the Jews) the northern kingdom of Israel, including the territories of the 10 northern tribes (i.e., all except Judah and part of Benjamin), that was established in 922 BC as the result of a revolt led by Jeroboam I. The southern kingdom, ruled by the Davidic dynasty, was thereafter referred to as Judah. The later kingdom's history was one of dynastic instability, with only two prolonged periods of stable government, under Omri (reigned 876–869 or c. 884–c. 872 BC) and Ahab (c. 874–c. 853 BC) and the Jehu dynasty (c. 842–746 BC). In the 8th century BC the northern kingdom was overrun by the Neo-Assyrian Empire, with Samaria, the capital, falling in 722/721.

• **Galilee** had roughly the same borders as the former kingdom of Israel. According to Roman historian Titus Flavius Josephus, the frontiers of this hilly area were: Akko (Acre) and Mount Carmel on the west; Samaria and Bet She'an (Scythopolis) on the south; Transjordan on the east; and a line running through ancient Baca (probably modern Bezet) on the north, that line generally corresponding to the modern Israeli-Lebanese boundary. Galilee is divided into two parts: Upper and Lower. Upper Galilee (chief city: Zefat) has higher peaks separated by narrow gorges and defiles. Lower Galilee (chief city: Nazareth) is a region of lower hills.

In the struggle for suppremacy, the Canaanites were strongly entrenched in Galilee when Israelites invaded. The Book of Judges (1:30–33) suggests that even after Joshua's conquest, Jews and Canaanites lived together there. In 734 BC much of Galilee's Jewish population was exiled after the victory of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III over the Israelite kingdom. Later, the region became known as Jesus' boyhood home. After the destruction of the Second Temple (AD 70) by the Romans, the centre of Jewish scholarship in Palestine moved to Galilee. Galilee became impoverished after the Islamic conquest (636).

• The **Roman Republic** is the ancient state that centred on the city of Rome, from the time of the events leading up to the founding of the republic in 509 BC, through the establishment of the Roman Empire in 27 BC. by Julius Caesar Octavianus, called Augustus. The early Roman Republic (509–264 BC) and the preceding regal period (753–509 BC) are the most poorly documented periods of Roman history. Historical writing at Rome did not begin until the late 3rd century BC, when Rome had already completed its conquest of Italy, established itself as a major power of the ancient world, and become involved in a gigantic struggle with the Phoenician state of Carthage for control of the western Mediterranean. The Phoenicians were a Semitic people who first ruled the Eastern Mediterranean from city states north of Israel.

• The **Roman Empire** is the ancient empire, centred on the city of Rome, that was established in 27 BC following the demise of the Roman Republic and continuing to the final eclipse of the Empire of the West in the 5th century AD. A period of unrest and civil wars in the 1st century BC marked the transition of Rome from a republic to an empire. This period encompassed the career of Julius Caesar, who eventually took full power over Rome as its dictator. After his assassination in 44 BC, the triumvirate of Mark Antony, Lepidus, and Octavian, Caesar's nephew, ruled. It was not long before Octavian went to war against Antony in northern Africa, and after his victory at Actium (31 BC) he was crowned Rome's first emperor, Augustus. His reign, from 27 BC to AD 14, was distinguished by stability and peace. Augustus established a form of government known as a principate, which combined some elements from the republic

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with the traditional powers of a monarchy. The Senate still functioned, though Augustus, as princeps, or first citizen, remained in control of the government. Under Augustus, Rome began to prosper once again, and strong rulers came to be declared as a god by the Senate in Rome. Among them were Julius Caesar (50-44 BC), Augustus Caesar 27 BC–AD 14 Tiberius Caesar (14–37), Flavius Vespasianus (69–79), Titus Flavius Vespasianus (79–81), Flavius Domitianus (81–96), Trajan (reigned 98–117), Hadrian (117–138), Antoninus Pius (138–161), and Marcus Aurelius (161–180). Decadent, cruel men were struck from the official Roman records. It happened under the rule of the three Flavian emperors that the gospels and the oldest parts of the New Testament were written, that the Church of Rome was established, and Pope Clement (Flavius Clemens, a nephew of Emperor Vespasianus) came to rule it. In 325, Emperor Flavius Constantinus (312–337) used the rising Christianity as unifying factor in Roman politics by declaring himself a Christian. He ordered the publication of the entire Bible canon as we knew it up to 1885 [After that, the Deuterocanon had been removed from the canon]. After Emperor Flavius Heraclius (610–641), the Romans lost control over their main supply line, the Mediterranean Sea to the Muslims, and by this a long decline began. The loss of the Mediterranean caused a painful downfall of Roman economy and choked the Greek-Roman civilisation to death.

• The **(Eastern) Roman Empire** is the Christian Roman Empire, which survived for a 1,000 years after the Western Roman Empire had turned into various feudal Germanic kingdoms. It was finally overwhelmed by the relentless attacks of the Islamic Turks in 1453. The inappropriate term "Byzantine" is the invention of a historian from the 16th century. Inappropriate because this term steers your view away from its real identity (which was Roman) and it was never used by the people at the time, neither inside nor outside of this political entity - they always called it "Roman Empire".

KEY EVENTS IN HISTORY

There can be no doubt that comprehensibility of scripture largely depends on the knowledge the reader has beforehand. If we observe the past carefully, we can figure out 5 major events that led to paradigm shifts with dramatic results.

CATASTROPHES AND PARADIGM SHIFTS

Consciousness is the normal state of our mind. That we are usually the master of our mind and our actions is what most people still believe. Hardly anyone is aware of the fact that consciousness is the smaller part of our lives, like the visible tip of an iceberg. Pretty much like the main bulk of the iceberg, hidden under water, it is the Unconscious Mind that rules 90% of our lives. Mostly we are driven by our desires and aversions, steered by our Unconsciousness. Hardly anyone recognises how small the role of reason and logic really is in most peoples lives. In pretty much the very same way, we believe that we are the master of our environment and that we rule the World. Anyone who believes that could not be farther away from the truth! Each and everyone of us is ruled by the past. Each and everyone is surrounded by events we have no power over at all, like the greatest part of the iceberg is surrounded by water. How many people, do you think, will be uneffected by a giant impact of a 5-mile-meteorite on Earth? How many of us will continue their way of life when a large volcano blasts its pulverised top into the stratosphere?

Since the VEI 8 Explosion of the Toba Volcano in Sumatra, Indonesia in about 73,000 BC, the human race has almost been wiped out, just like other large-sized species. Analyses of mitochondrial human DNA suggest that only 3,000–10,000 individuals may have survived. In about 70,000 BC the population slowly grew to 10,000 - 50,000 individuals. It took the humans another 60,000 years to grow to a more significant number so that it reached in 9,000 BC circa 2-3 million individuals. The following figures show the population growth on the planet Earth (in million), from cradle of civilisations to the first large empires: 5000 BC: 5-6; 3000 BC: 15; 2000 BC: 30; 1000 BC: 50; 500 BC: 100; 100 AD: 200; 600 AD: 700; 1000 AD: 400; from the Rennaissance to now: 1500: 450; 1700: 700; 1750: 800; 1800: 1000; 1850 1300; 1900: 1700; 1940: 2000; 1960: 3000; 1975: 4000; 1988: 5000; 1998: 6000; 2011: 7000; 2020: 8000. The following key events, in which natural disasters are prevalent, will demonstrate to you how much we are still ruled by natural disasters.

The Grand Bible is a collection of religious texts. One may ask what catastrophes have to do with those writings. Religious writings, just as scientific writings of the old days, were not topic-orientated as our modern books - even if their title may suggest it. A modern book on, let us say geology, contains only geology-related matters. A book on "nature" written 2000 years ago such as the "Natural History" by Pliny the Elder could contain anything besides nature: comments and remarks on history, economy, animals, plants, medicine, war, famine, ethnology, politics and even financial matters. That is why we will find also reports on natural events or disasters in religious texts or in rock carvings. We can assume that some of those events ended old religions as well as nurtured new religions. Therefore we want to show here examples that had great influence on religion and scripture. There are a handful of records of natural catastrophes that undoubtedly and severely changed the course of history by inalterable paradigm shifts:

A.) The Great Flood, in Gilgamesh, Noah's Flood, The Great Flood of Gun-Yu

B.) The eruption of the Thera Volcano in about 1600 BC

C.) The 4 Volcano Eruptions and Climate Change of 535 (540, 574, 583) AD.

D.) The 5 Volcano Eruptions and Climate Change (The Little Ice Age) of 1257 (1228-1284) AD.

E.) The 3 Volcano Eruptions and Climate Change of 1783 (1708-1812) AD.

A.) THE GREAT FLOOD (between 2500 and 2100 BC,)

Various themes, plot elements, and characters in the Epic of Gilgamesh have counterparts in the Hebrew Bible—notably, the accounts of the Garden of Eden, the advice from Ecclesiastes, and the Genesis flood narrative. Many civilisations have preserved a story about a great flood. If all these stories have to do with a common cause is unknown. A great flood as described as global flood event in these myths is, at least up to now, inconsistent with the physical findings of geology, archaeology and paleontology. Some scholars argue that such a global flood actually occurred between 2600 BC and 2100 BC. and that its origin might have been either the impact of a Meteorite (with a diameter of at least 7 kilometres which smashed into an ocean) or an explosive volcano eruption that caused tsunamis and other unusual weather events. The only two candidates for such an event could have been the Mount Vesuvius (Italy in c. 2420 BC.) and the Cerro Blanco (Argentina in c. 2300 BC.).

The violent explosion of the Vesuvius seemingly have had a very immediate effect on Egypt. During the reign of Pharao Menkauhor Kaiu (2421–2414 BC), the 5th Dynasty of the period of the Old Kingdom, slipped into a fast decline. During the Sixth Dynasty (2345–2181 BC) the power of the pharaoh weakened in favour of local dynasties that largely became independent from the central authority of the Pharaoh. The final blow was the 22nd century BC drought in the region that resulted in a drastic drop in rainfall and humidity in general. For at least some decades between 2200 and 2150 BC, this prevented the normal flooding of the Nile. Then came the collapse of the Old Kingdom which was followed by decades of famine, strife and epidemics. An important inscription on the tomb of Ankhtify (Ankhtifi) in Hierakonpolis or Nekhen in today's central Sudan, a governor during the early First Intermediate Period (c. 2181–2055 BC), describes the pitiful state of the country when famine stalked the land: "I gave bread to the hungry and clothing to the naked; I anointed those who had no cosmetic oil; I gave sandals to the barefooted; I gave a wife to him who had no wife. I took care of the towns of Hefat [i.e. el-Moalla] and Hor-mer in every [situation of crisis, when] the sky was clouded and the earth was parched and when everybody died of hunger on this sandbank of Apophis.The south came with its people and the north with its children; they brought finest oil in exchange for the barley which was given to them. . . . The whole of Upper Egypt died of hunger and each individual had reached such a state of hunger that he ate his own children."

The empire of Akkad fell in around the 22nd century BC, within 180 years of its founding, ushering in a "Dark Age" with no prominent imperial authority until Third Dynasty of Ur. Archaeological and soil-stratigraphic data define the origin, growth, and collapse of Subir, the third millennium rain-fed agriculture civilisation of northern Mesopotamia on the Habur Plains of Syria. At 2200 BC, a marked increase in aridity and wind circulation, subsequent to a volcanic eruption, induced a considerable degradation of land-use conditions. After four centuries of urban life, this abrupt climatic change evidently caused abandonment of Tell Leilan, regional desertion, and the collapse of the Akkadian Empire based in southern Mesopotamia.

1. Great Flood in Mesopotamia: Though the account of Noah in the Hebrew Bible has long been the most studied flood story by scholars, in the 19th century Assyriologist George Smith translated the first Babylonian account of a great flood. Further discoveries produced several versions of the Mesopotamian flood myth, with the account closest to that in Genesis found in a 700 BC Babylonian copy of the Epic of Gilgamesh. The known versions of the Mesopotamian flood myths have as their protagonists Atrahasis (in the 18th century BC Atrahasis Epic), Ziusudra (in the 17th century BC Sumerian Flood Story), and Utnapishtim (in the 7th century BC Gilgamesh flood myth). The Sumerian King List (an ancient text in the Sumerian language, listing kings of Sumer (ancient southern Iraq) from Sumerian and neighbouring dynasties, their supposed reign lengths, and the locations of the kingship) relies on the flood motif to divide its history into preflood (antediluvian) and postflood periods. In ancient Mesopotamia, the Sumerian King List reads: "After kingship came down from heaven ... the kingship was taken to Shuruppak. In Shuruppak, Ubara-Tutu became king; he ruled for 5 sars and 1 ner (18,600 years; the real meaning here is probably 'days' which accounts then for circa 50 years, a feasable span of reign). In 5 cities 8 kings; they ruled for 241,200 years ('days', which is about 660 years. Similarly, we can find such huge age numbers in the Jain "24 Tirthankaras" from India). Then the flood swept over."

2. Great Flood in the Genesis: The Genesis flood narrative is a flood myth found in the Tanakh (chapters 6–9 in the Book of Genesis). The story tells of God's decision to return the Earth to its pre-creation state of watery chaos and then remake it in a reversal of creation. Scholars submit that the Genesis flood narrative matches that in Gilgamesh so closely that few doubt that it derives from a Mesopotamian account. What is particularly noticeable is the way the Genesis flood story follows the Gilgamesh flood tale "point by point and in the same order or sequence". In a 2001 Torah commentary released on behalf of the Conservative Movement of Judaism, rabbinic scholar Robert Wexler stated: "The most likely assumption we can make is that both Genesis and Gilgamesh drew their material from a common tradition about the flood that existed in Mesopotamia. These stories then diverged in the retelling." Ziusudra, Utnapishtim and Noah are the respective heroes of the Sumerian, Akkadian and biblical flood legends of the ancient Near East.

3. The Great Flood in India: Both, in Hindu and Buddhist texts, a ship in involved. The Hindu story goes like this: Manu, or the first man, was not visited by a God, but rather by a fish. In some tellings of this story, the fish is the deity, Lord Vishnu. This fish/God told Manu that the world would be destroyed in a great flood. Manu built a boat and tied it to the horn of the great fish. The fish guided Manu's boat through the floods and, not surprisingly, to the top of a mountain. When the floodwaters receded, Manu performed a ritual sacrifice and poured butter and sour milk into the sea. After a year, a woman rose from the water and announced herself as "the daughter of Manu." So it is Manu and his "daughter" that repopulate the earth.

The Buddhists have an elaborate flood story called "Samudda-vanija Jataka": In an Indian village, there lived 1000 families of dishonest carpenters. These carpenters would tell people that they could build anything from houses to chairs and would take the money and never deliver any goods or do any work. Because of this they were, not surprisingly despised in the village and quickly needed to find a new place to live. They built a ship and sailed until they found a beautiful island. The island was populated by a man who had been shipwrecked.

4. The Great Flood of "Gun and Yu" in China: The Chinese flood story is unique as it covers a very realistic background. It is about canals, not a boat. The Great Flood is said to have occurred during the reign of Emperor Yao. After the flooding began, he sought the advice of his advisors, the Four Mountains, who told him to appoint his distant cousin Gun to control the floods. Gun accepted the commission and chose to steal Xi Rang, a self-expanding soil, from the supreme deity. He continuously used this soil to build dams and embankments to battle the oncoming flood, but they would not hold and generally collapsed. Nine years later Emperor Yao resigned in shame and appointed another distant relative recommended by the Four Mountains, Shun. Shun became co-emperor and reorganised the kingdom the better deal with the flood. Despite these efforts, Gun was still unable to hold off the flood waters and four years later the waters were still said to be rising. Gun continued his efforts, claiming that the hard work of the people to build dams, dikes and embankments would eventually gain control of the flood waters. Continuous failing led Shun to banish Gun, his son Yu then taking over the efforts. Yu implemented canal and drainage systems and was thus able to accomplish what his father never could.

The Great Flood of Gun and Yu, also known as the Gun Yu myth, was a major flood event in ancient China that might have lasted for at least two generations, which resulted in great population displacements among other disasters, such as storms and famine. People left their homes to live on the high hills and mounts, or nest on the trees. According to mythological and historical sources, it is traditionally dated to the third millennium BC, or about 2300-2200 BC, during the reign of Emperor Yao. This dating might be questionable because archaeological evidence of an outburst flood on the Yellow River, comparable to similar severe events in the world in the past 10,000 years, has been dated to about 1920 BC (a few centuries later than the traditional beginning of the Xia dynasty which came after Emperors Shun and Yao), and is suggested to have been the basis for the myth. A colossal landslide created a natural dam across the river which was breached about a year later. The resulting flood could plausibly have travelled 2,000 km (1,200 mi) down the river and the resulting instability of river canals that might have lasted up to twenty years. About this time, the Neolithic gave way to the Bronze Age in the Yellow River valley. It is

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suggested that this coincided with the beginning of the Xia, several centuries later than traditionally thought, and that the Erlitou culture is an archaeological manifestation of the Xia dynasty.

B.) THE BRONZE AGE VOLCANO ERUPTIONS (from c. 2000 BC to 1400 BC.)

The Middle Bronze Age was a period of unusually cold climate in the North Atlantic region, lasting from about 1800 BC to about 1500 BC. It was followed by the collapse of major civilisations in the late Bronze Age (1500—900 BC) and historians wondered was the cause might have been. Modern science found the answer to that. During that epoch, a series of volcanic eruptions occurred that were so violent that we only can describe them as massive explosions. This includes explosions of Mount Vesuvius (Avellino eruption, about 1660 BC), Mount Aniakchak (about 1645 BC), and the infamous Thera explosion (Minoan eruption, about 1620 BC) which was so massive that it ripped off an entire island from the face of the Earth. These are the 13 most violent eruptions:

1.) 2040 BC, VEI 6, Long Island (Papua New Guinea), Bismarck Volcanic Arc; 2.) 2030 BC, VEI 6, Deception Island, South Shetland Islands; 3.) 1995 BC, Mount Vesuvius (Avellino eruption), VEI 6, Naples, Campanian volcanic arc, Italy; 4.) 1900 BC, VEI 6, Black Peak, Aleutian Range; 5.) 1890 BC, VEI 6, Mount Hudson, Andes, Southern Volcanic Zone; 6.) 1860 BC, VEI 6, Mount St. Helens, Cascade Volcanic Arc; 7.) 1750 BC, VEI 6, Mount Veniaminof, Aleutian Range; 8.) 1645 BC, VEI 6, Mount Aniakchak, Aleutian Range; 9.) 1610 BC, (Minoan eruption), VEI 7, Youngest Caldera, Santorini South Aegean Volcanic Arc; 10.) 1500 BC, VEI 5, Avachinsky, Kamchatka Peninsula; 11.) 1460 BC, VEI 6, Taupo Volcanic Zone; 12.) 1370 BC, W-K2 tephra (Witori-Kimbe), VEI 6, Pago Bismarck Volcanic Arc; 13.) 1350 BC, tephra layer IIAV3, VEI 5, Avachinsky, Kamchatka Peninsula.

These 13 major volano explosions caused also several dozen smaller volcanoes to erupt, magnifying and maintaining the dust layers in the atmosphere around the Earth for about 600 years. Result: colder climate, massive crop failure, plague, famine, war, piracy and all the rest of it. Piracy committed by so-called "Sea People" is recorded in Egyptian and Greek texts. The pirates were mainly from any island who found themselves deprived of their livelihood. Due to the over-proportional crop failure the islanders had to search for a new "income" by boat. This includes pirates from Greek islands. And like in the Early Middle Ages [at around 540 AD, as well as in the Late Middle Ages at around 1260 AD], people called their era (1100-900 BC) "Dark Ages" which is not a surprise as the volcanoes maintained the high dust level swimming between the troposphere and stratosphere, with less sunshine and crop failure as a result. There were two eruptions we could call outstanding: The Avellino eruption of Mount Vesuvius in c. 1995 BC and the Thera Volcano Eruption in 1627 BC.

The Avellino eruption of Mount Vesuvius in c. 1995 BC

The Avellino eruption of Mount Vesuvius refers to a Vesuvian eruption in c. 1995 BC. It is estimated to have had a VEI of 6 or 7, making it larger and more catastrophic than Vesuvius's more famous and well-documented 79 AD eruption. It is the source of the Avellino pumice (Italian: Pomici di Avellino) deposits extensively found in the comune of Avellino in Campania.

Characteristics of the eruption: "Assessment of volcanological factors" in one scientific study reconstruct a minimum eruption time of 3 hours in which an initial explosion raised a column of 23 km (75,000 ft) and deposited about 0.32 km3 of white pumice ("the white pumice phase"), while a second, more intense explosion raised a column of 31 km (102,000 ft) depositing 1.25 km3 of grey pumice ("the grey pumice phase"). These pumices appearing in Apulian pottery can be used to establish relative chronology of pottery phases.

A 2008 study of the lithofacies (deposits from the eruption) distinguishes three phases. Pyroclastic flows (PDC's) of Phases 1 and 2 were generated by "magmatic fragmentation" and had "small dispersal areas" mainly on the slopes of Vesuvius. Phase 3 was created by "phreatomagmatic fragmentation," in which clastic fragments are driven by superheated steam from ground water mixed with the other gases released from the magma. The authors characterize Phase 3 as "the most voluminous and widespread in the whole of Somma-Vesuvius's eruptive history." Some facies a few cm thick were found 25 km (16 mi) from the source. The vent was 2 km (1.2 mi) west of today's center.

The overall results of the Avellino eruption were catastrophic and widespread. The deposit thickness of ash and other eruptive material ranges from 15m close to the vent to 50 cm around Avellino, and creating a subaquaeous debris-flow in the bay of Naples.

Date of the eruption: The date of the Avellino eruption remains to be determined with a precision greater than about 500 years within the framework of the Early/Middle Bronze Age. A range of 2000–1500 BC includes the great majority of estimates. Ample opportunity to obtain Carbon-14 dates from charcoal and soil buried under the deposits has existed and still exists. Sporadic radiocarbon dating continues, with each scientist claiming to have obtained "the latest". Consistency with previous and subsequent work remains elusive. Since a real and very precise calendar date of the eruption must have existed, variation in estimations can only be the result of limitations to the carbon-dating method, which, given a plenitude of reliably emplaced samples, can only produce a date within a window of roughly 500 years in a maximum elapsed time of roughly 4000 years or 1⁄8 (12.5%).

According to Giardino, the problem of establishing a reliable date results from the differences of calibration - organic samples (such as charcoal: 1880–1680BC) versus soil facies (1684–1535 BC). He prefers the earlier as the more reliable date. The Avellino Eruption separates archaeologically the Early Bronze Age in Campania from the Middle Bronze Age

A study published in 1990 by Vogel and others suggested that the Avellino eruption partly caused the climatic disturbances of the 1620s BC, dates verified by tree-ring series and ice-core layers. The authors had just obtained carbon dates of 3360±40 BP, or 1617–1703 calibrated BC. They were suggesting a coincidence of a number of eruptions, such as the Minoan eruption on Santorini. The hypothesis remains unverifiable a generation later, due to the overall imprecision of the dates.

The Nola bronze-age village: The eruption destroyed several Bronze Age settlements. The remarkably well-preserved remains of one were discovered in May 2001 at Croce del Papa near Nola by Italian archaeologists, with huts, pots, livestock and even the footprints of animals and people, as well as skeletons. The residents had hastily abandoned the village, leaving it to be buried under pumice and ash in much the same way Pompeii was later preserved.

The Thera Volcano Eruption (in 1627 BC.)

Unlike most other rapid-onset natural hazards, volcanic eruptions can have global effects. Particularly feared are volcano eruptions of the so-called Plinian type as they usually are massive explosions in which the entire mountain top is smashed to dust and catapulted into the Stratosphere or even into open space. When these explosions have a strength of VEI 6 or 7 (Volcanic Explosivity Index; VEI 8 is the highest level which happened last circa 72,000 years ago), this dust swims in the statosphere like oil on water and it can block the sunlight worldwide for months or even years in the northern as well as in the southern hemispheres. Due to the less intensive sunshine, less water would evaporate from the oceans with less rainfalls and dryer air which results in drought. The Earth will experience a cold period of time with crop failure, famine, war, and epidemics. After that, the air warms up again causing droughts and crop failure again followed by massive floods. The whole sequence of such events can last for several years or even decades. And political consequences can hardly be overestimed. The situation of civilisations and their people can end up with a population decline of 20%, 30% or even over 50% when the volcano eruption was a multiple eruption of several volcanoes within a short period of time as it happened in around 535 AD and again in around 1257 AD. To make clear what kind of eruption we are we here dealing with, it may help to know that a volcano explosion of VEI 6 is equivalent to the energy outlet of several hundred thousand Hiroshima Atomic bombs in a couple of hours. The energy outlet of VEI 7 even equals to the energy of several tens or hundreds of millions of Hiroshima bombs!

The Thera eruption was such a massive incident in which a large Volcano literaly blasted the island of Thera away (the remains of that island today are called Santorini). Thera in Antiquity, was an island in the southern Aegean Sea, about 200 km (120 mi) southeast of Greece's mainland. It was part of the 500 km long chain of volcanoes in that area. The island was the site of one of the largest volcanic eruptions (the also called Minoan eruption or Thera eruption) in recorded history which occurred about 3,600 years ago at the height of the Minoan civilisation. The water-filled caldera (crater) of the Thera volcano has an enormous diameter of approximately 20 km (13 mi). It was formed by the eruption which in reality was a gigantic explosion. It may have been one of the largest volcanic eruptions on Earth in the last few thousand years, with an estimated VEI (Volcanic Explosivity Index) of 7 and a dense-rock equivalent (DRE) of c. 60 cubic kilometres (14 cu mi) according to the last studies published in 2006, confirming the prior values. The eruption has led indirectly to the collapse of the Minoan civilisation on the island of Crete, 110 km (68 mi) to the south, through a gigantic tsunami. The devastating volcanic eruption of Thera has become the most famous single event in the Aegean before the fall of Troy. Radiocarbon dates, including analysis of an olive branch buried beneath a lava flow from the volcano that gave a date between 1627 BC and 1600 BC.

Significant studies of the dense-rock equivalent erupted volumes of the Bronze-Age Minoan eruption in Santorini have provided data to archeologists to better understand the effect of the eruption on development of several civilisations including Ancient Greek and Ancient Egyptian cultures. Through careful analysis of pumice and ash deposits (including deep sea core samples), researchers have been able to make dense-rock equivalent volume estimates for each of the major eruptions of Thera. It must be said that the Thera Eruption had consequences that lasted not only for a year but for at least a whole century: Besides the immediate following tsunamis and after-shock earthquakes, a global dust layer covering the entire northern hemisphere caused a cooling down at first, leading to crop failure for two or three decades, famine, war, migration, epidemics or even pandemics. It is very likely that after-eruptions and earthquakes followed, besides unfavourable weather conditions that lasted for years or even decades. After that, the heating up of the atmosphere in a kind of glasshouse effect caused drought and crop failure, more famine, wars and other kinds of havoc again. Weaker civilisations had no chance of survival. Only the strongest civilisations such as Egypt, Mesopotamia or China survived, but they were shaken severely by an incalculable chain of events leading to the development of new kind of civilisations.

The "Tempest Stele" of Pharao Ahmose (c. 1550-1525), that was found in Egypt by French archaeologists in the years 1967 and 1968, tells us an amazing weather account that is most likely a reflexion on this catastrophical event. See: Table of Contents.

C.) THE 4 VOLCANO ERUPTIONS AND CLIMATE CHANGE OF 535 AD.

1. In 1984, R. B. Stothers postulated that there was an event in 535 AD that caused the downfall of many civilisations and this event might have been an extreme violent eruption of the Rabaul volcano in what is now New Britain, near Papua New Guinea. In 1999, David Keys suggested that the volcano Krakatoa exploded at the time and caused the changes. This eruption is believed to have been one most violent volcano oubreaks in history. Then, in 2009, Dallas Abbott of Columbia University's Lamont–Doherty Earth Observatory in New York published evidence from Greenland ice cores that spherules (tiny balls formed from minerals) have been found in the ice. Meteor impacts, or volcanic eruptions can form these tiny balls and terrestrial debris ejected into the atmosphere transported these round dust particles to Greenland. In 2010, Robert Dull, John Southon, and colleagues presented evidence suggesting that an eruption of the Ilopango Volcano also could be considered a possible source for the extreme weather events of 535–536 AD. The eruption produced circa 84 cubic kilometres (20 cubic miles) of tephra, thus rating a 6 or 7 on the (VEI) Volcanic Explosivity Index and a magnitude of 6.9, making it one of the biggest volcanic events on Earth in the last 7,000 years. The ash-cloud fallout blanketed an area of at least 10,000 square kilometers waist-deep in pumice and ash", which would have stopped all agricultural endeavor in the area for decades. As it is difficult to determine the source of the volcanic eruption with certainty, scientist came up with a wide range of suggestions as to the identity of the volcano. The Krakatoa seem to be the most likely choice as it was known as "The Fire Mountain" during Java's Sailendra dynasty, with records of seven eruptive events between the 9th and 16th centuries. These have been tentatively dated as having occurred in 850, 950, 1050, 1150, 1320, and 1530 and contributed to the Little Ice Age (lasting from the 16th to the 19th centuries). The Krakatoa is still active today and is considered to be extremely dangerous.

2. Extreme weather events of 535 onwards: As a matter of fact, all above mentioned scholars were right because we are talking here about four consecutive volcano explosions with a VEI between 6 and 7 each. In 535 the Rabaul Volcano exploded, then in 540 the Krakatoa, and 24 years later in 574, when the world was just recovering from those two explosions, the third volcano exploded and laid waste to the vulnerable climate, probably the Ilopango Volcano. In 683 the Rabaul Volcano exploded again (proved by corrected radiocarbon) with a VEI force 6. Extreme weather events followed immediately and they started the most severe climate change of cooling in the Northern Hemisphere in the last 2,000 years. These large volcanic eruptions created an extensive atmospheric dust veil in the Earth's atmosphere causing unseasonable weather, crop failures, and famines worldwide.

The consequences were the "Dark Ages" (in its most literal meaning!) triggered by volcano-related dust layer in the earth's atmosphere: It darkened the sun and triggered a series of climate related changes in the 6th century: the fall of Teotihuacán (a vast city empire in Mexico), the emergence of the Plague of Justinian (that was prevalent in the Eastern Roman Empire from 541 to c. 720 AD.), the decline of the Avars, the migration of Mongolian tribes towards the West, the end of the Sassanid Empire, the expansion of Turkic tribes, the collapse of the Gupta Empire, and above all, the rise of Islam. Islam that spread from north Africa to India and China,

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from Egyt to the heart of the Roman Empire, and across the entire Mediterranean Sea severing Europe's trading lifelines. No wonder that the people in Europe called their period of time "The Dark Ages". In the past 1,400 years, Islamic wars, slavery, executions, and genocide caused round about 250 million deaths.

3. The Plague of Justinian between 541 and 750 AD: The Plague of Justinian (541–542 AD) with recurrences until 750 was a pandemic that afflicted the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire and especially its capital, Constantinople, as well as the Persian (Sassanid) Empire and port cities around the entire Mediterranean Sea, as merchant ships harboured rats that carried fleas infected with plague. The Plague might have either originated in Africa and travelled north via the ivory routes or in China and then travelled along the Silk Road to the West.

Caused was the plague by the Yersinia pestis bacterium, which first causes the flee's gut to be blocked by a clot. As Plague epidemics are temperature related the gut of the flee gets blocked particularly when the temperature sinks unter 25°C. As no blood can be absorbed, the hungry flee becomes more hungry and therefore more agressive. The starving flee now bites anything and anyone to get blood. The infected rat flea skips so to humans and brings the Yersinia pestis bacterium over to humans, with disastrous results. In other words: the decreasing temperture after a volcano eruption could well have triggered the Plague. Some historians believe that the plague of Justinian was one of the deadliest pandemics in history, resulting in the most agonising deaths of an estimated 25–50 million people during two centuries of recurrence, a death toll equivalent to 13–26% of the world's population at the time of the first outbreak. The plague's social and cultural impact has been compared to that of the Black Death that devastated Eurasia in the fourteenth century originating from a massive volcanic eruption in 1257.

D.) THE 5 VOLCANO ERUPTIONS AND CLIMATE CHANGE (The Little Ice Age) OF 1228-1284

As a precursor, (1st) the Zao Volcano, Japan, exploded in 1228 / 1230 (recorded in the historical Japanese chronicle 'Azuma Kagami') with a strength of about 5 to 6 VEI. Then (2nd), as a recent study found out, an especially catastrophic volcanic eruption ocurred in 1259, caused by the twin volcanoes of Mount Samalas and Mount Rinjani, Lombok Island, Indonesia. Three smaller eruptions followed: (3rd) one in 1268, another (4th) one in 1275 (Mount Tarawera, New Zealand), and (5th) the eruption in 1284 (Mount Quilotoa, Ecuador) did not allow the climate to recover.

The eruption in 1259 of the Samalas and Rinjani volcanoes on the Indonesian island of Lombok were massive. Already before the site of the eruption was known, an examination of ice cores around the world had found a large spike in sulfate deposition around 1259, indicating that a large volcanic eruption had occurred somewhere in the world. The event had a VEI (volcanic explosivity index) of 7, making it one of the largest and most catastrophic volcanic eruptions during the current Holocene epoch. It created eruption columns reaching tens of kilometres into the atmosphere and pyroclastic flows that buried much of Lombok and crossed the sea to reach the neighbouring island of Sumbawa. The flows destroyed human habitations, including the city of Pamatan, which was the capital of a kingdom on Lombok. Ash from the eruption fell as far as 340 kilometres (210 mi) away in Java; the volcano deposited more than 10 cubic kilometres (2.4 cu mi) of rocks and ash.

The eruption was witnessed by people who recorded it on the Babad Lombok, a document written on palm leaves. It left behind a large caldera that contains Lake Segara Anak. The aerosols injected into the atmosphere reduced the solar radiation reaching the Earth's surface, cooling the atmosphere for several years and leading to famines and crop failures in Eurasia and elsewhere. The eruption may have helped trigger the Little Ice Age, a centuries-long cold period during the last thousand years.

4. The Black Death: The Black Death, also known as the Pestilence, the Great Plague or the Plague, or less commonly the Black Plague, was one of the most devastating pandemics in human history, resulting in the deaths of an estimated 75 to 200 million people in Eurasia, peaking in its first wave in Europe from 1347 to 1351. The Great Plague, that (and this is a fact most of us are not aware of) began in China at around 1330 and lasted with its recurrences and waves for more than 400 years before it almost vanished in around 1750. Up to then it cost the lives of roughly a third or even the half of the World's population!

The bacterium Yersinia pestis, which results in several forms of plague (septicemic, bubonic and, the most dangerous, pneumonic), has been the cause. The Black Death was a major European outbreak of plague and the second plague pandemic after the first one from 541 to 720 AD. The plague created a number of religious, social and economic upheavals, with profound effects on the course of European history. The Black Death probably originated in Central Asia or East Asia, from where it travelled along the Silk Road, reaching Crimea by 1343. From there, it was most likely carried by fleas living on the black rats that traveled on Genoese merchant ships, spreading throughout the Mediterranean Basin, reaching the rest of Europe via the Italian peninsula. The Black Death is estimated to have killed 30% to 60% of Europe's population. In total, the plague may have reduced the world population from an estimated 475 million to 350–375 million in the 14th century. It took 200 years for Europe's population to recover to its previous level and some regions like Florence only recovered by the 19th century. The plague recurred as outbreaks (and this is another fact that people usually forget) until the early 20th century!

The 1259 volcano eruptions caused farming problems in China. Marco Polo wrote that Kublai Khan created an alarm system in which commissioners reported any change of weather, harvest, and plague. Huge granaries were built. In the 1330s, many natural disasters and plagues led to widespread famine, starting in 1331, with a deadly plague arriving soon after. Epidemics that may have included the plague killed an estimated 25 million across Asia during the fifteen years before it reached Constantinople in 1347. The disease may have traveled along the Silk Road with Mongol armies and traders and it may also have arrived via ship. By the end of 1346, reports of plague had reached the seaports of Europe. India was depopulated, Tartary, Mesopotamia, Syria, Armenia were covered with dead bodies. Plague was reportedly first introduced to Europe via Genoese traders from the port city of Kaffa in the Crimea in 1347. The plague reached Sicily in October 1347. By autumn 1347, the plague reached Alexandria in Egypt, through the port's trade with Constantinople, and ports on the Black Sea. During 1347, the disease travelled eastward to Gaza, and north along the eastern coast to cities in modern Lebanon, Syria, Israel and Palestine, including Ashkelon, Acre, Jerusalem, Sidon, Damascus, Homs, and Aleppo. Within two years, the plague had spread throughout the entire Muslim empire from Arabia across North Africa. From Italy, the disease spread northwest across Europe, striking France, Spain (which was hit due to the heat – the epidemic raged in the early weeks of July), Portugal and England by June 1348, then spread east and north through Germany, Scotland and Scandinavia from 1348 to 1350. Medical knowledge had stagnated during the Middle Ages. The importance of hygiene was recognised only in the nineteenth century; until then streets were commonly filthy, with live animals of all sorts around and human parasites abounding facilitating the spread of transmissible disease. The recurrent waves of plague lasted for almost 500 years!

As in other European cities, the plague was still very present in 17th century London. There were 30,000 deaths due to the plague in 1603, 35,000 in 1625, and 10,000 in 1636, as well as smaller numbers in other years. The disease periodically erupted into massive epidemics such as the the Great Plague, lasting from 1665 to 1666 and it was the last major epidemic of the bubonic plague to occur in England. It is unclear exactly where the disease first struck but the initial contagion may have arrived with Dutch trading ships carrying bales of cotton from Amsterdam, which was ravaged by the disease in 1663–1664, with a mortality given of 50,000. The Great Plague of 1665 killed an estimated 100,000 people—almost a quarter of London's population—in 18 months. Plague cases continued to occur sporadically at a modest rate until the summer of. It is believed that the Great Fire of London in 1666 was the main contributor that put an end to the epidemic. One of the last outbreaks lasted until 1750 in form of themost dangerous epidemic of them all: pneumonic plague.

Between 2011 and 2015, some 3,500 burials from the 'New Churchyard' or 'Bethlam burial ground' were discovered at Liverpool Street. Plague pits have been archaeologically excavated and Yersinia pestis DNA was found in the teeth of individuals, confirming they had died of bubonic plague. Although concentrated in London, the outbreak affected other areas of the country as well. Perhaps the most famous example was the village of Eyam in Derbyshire, England. The plague arrived with a merchant from London who carried bales of cloth for sale in which flees were already waiting for new victims. They first bit and infected the seller. When the plague broke out a few days later, the villagers immediately imposed a quarantine on themselves to stop the further spread of the disease. This prevented the disease from moving into surrounding areas, but around 33% of the village's inhabitants died over a period of fourteen months.

This extraordinary and heroic sacrifice gave American geneticist Stephen J. O'Brien the basis on which he found out (in several years of research and experiments) why some infected persons died but others survived. The researchers extracted DNA from the today's inhabitants of Eyam because church records showed that all of them are descendants of those Eyam villagers who survived. Responsible for the survival of the Eyam persons was a gene that has undergone a mutation in the primary structure of a human genome (or allele) which is called CCR5 Δ32 (CCR5 delta 32). This mutation (alteration, change) was caused by a previous plague which was most likely the Plague of 1353 or even the Justinian Plague that ravaged Europe between 541 and 720 AD. This CCR5 delta 32 genome appears to be most effective in persons who inherited it from both parents as it is responsible for a high survival rate of persons who get infected by HIV, SARS, COVID 19 and may be even Alsheimer and cancer. Bone marrow transplants (from a donor with 2 copies of CCR5-delta 32 mutation gene) containing stem cells from a matched donor was then used to strengthen the immune system. CD8+ T cells, also known as "killer cells", are cytotoxic - this means that they are able to directly kill virus-infected cells as well as cancer cells. After 600 days, the patient was healthy and no levels of HIV in blood and tissues could be detected.

General Death toll: There are no exact figures for the death toll; the rate varied widely by locality. In urban centres, the greater the population before the outbreak, the longer the duration of the period of abnormal mortality. It killed some 75 to 200 million people in Eurasia. About 45–50%, or even 60%, of the European population died during a four-year period. There is a fair amount of geographic variation. In Mediterranean Europe, such as Italy, France and Spain, where plague ran for about four years consecutively, the death toll could have been 75–80% of the population. In Germany, Scandinavia and England, it was probably closer to 25%.

Half of Paris's population of 100,000 people died. In Italy, the population of Florence was reduced from 110,000–120,000 inhabitants in 1338 down to 50,000 in 1351. At least 60% of the population of Hamburg and Bremen perished, and a similar percentage of Londoners may have died from the disease as well. Before 1350, there were about 170,000 settlements in Germany, and this was reduced by nearly 40,000 by 1450. In 1348, the plague spread so rapidly that before any physicians or government authorities had time to reflect upon its origins, about a third of the European population had already perished. In crowded cities, it was not uncommon for as much as 50% of the population to die. The disease bypassed some areas, and the most isolated areas were less vulnerable to contagion. Monks, nuns and priests were especially hard-hit since they cared for victims of the Black Death. The most widely accepted estimate for the Middle East, including Iraq, Iran and Syria, during this time, is for a death rate of about a third. The Black Death killed about 40% of Egypt's population. The black Death triggered the final decline of the Roman Empire so that the Islamic Ottomans could finish it off with ease by in 1453.

6. The Little Ice Age: The Little Ice Age (LIA) was a period of cooling that occurred after the Medieval Warm Period. Although it was not a true ice age, the term was introduced into scientific literature by François E. Matthes in 1939. It has been conventionally defined as a period extending from the 16th to the 19th centuries, but some experts prefer for good reasons an alternative timespan from about 1300 to about 1850.

Gifford H. Miller, and a dozen other scientists, link (in Geophysical Research Letters. 39 (2): Science Daily, 30 January 2012) the Little Ice Age to an "unusual 50-year-long episode with four large sulfur-rich explosive eruptions, each with global sulfate loading >60 Tg" and notes that "large changes in solar irradiance are not required."

Throughout the Little Ice Age, the world experienced heightened volcanic activity. When a volcano erupts, its ash reaches high into the atmosphere and can spread to cover the whole earth. The ash cloud blocks out some of the incoming solar radiation, leading to worldwide cooling that can last up to two years after an eruption. Also emitted by eruptions is sulfur, in the form of sulfur dioxide gas. When it reaches the stratosphere, it turns into sulfuric acid particles, which reflect the sun's rays, further reducing the amount of radiation reaching Earth's surface.

A recent study found that an especially massive tropical volcanic eruption in 1259, possibly of the now-extinct Mount Samalas near Mount Rinjani, both in Lombok, Indonesia, followed by three smaller eruptions in 1268, 1275, and 1284 did not allow the climate to recover. This may have caused the initial cooling, and the 1452–53 eruption of Kuwae in Vanuatu triggered a second pulse of cooling. In the 13th century, pack ice began advancing southwards in the North Atlantic, as did glaciers in Greenland finishing off the last Vikings. Summers can maintained to be cold by sea-ice / ocean feedbacks long after volcanic aerosols were gone. The NASA Earth Observatory notes three particularly cold intervals: one beginning about 1650, another about 1770, and the last in 1850. Although it was not a true ice age, the term was introduced into scientific literature by François E. Matthes in 1939. The Little Ice Age, by anthropologist Brian Fagan of the University of California at Santa Barbara, tells of the plight of European peasants during the 1300 to 1850 chill: famines, hypothermia, bread riots and the rise of despotic leaders brutalising an increasingly dispirited peasantry. In the late 17th century, agriculture had dropped off dramatically: "Alpine villagers lived on bread made from ground nutshells mixed with barley and oat flour."

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DIRECT AND INDIRECT CONSEQUENCES

Other volcanoes that erupted during the era and may have contributed to the cooling include Billy Mitchell (ca. 1580), Huaynaputina (1600), Mount Parker (1641), Long Island (Papua New Guinea) (ca. 1660), and Laki (1783). The 1815 eruption of Tambora, also in Indonesia, blanketed the atmosphere with ash; the following year, 1816, came to be known as the Year Without a Summer, when frost and snow were reported in June and July in both New England and Northern Europe. In other words: such a volcano explosion can have serious ramifications for 600 years !

7. Ramifications - Religious And Ethnic Conflict. As we humans tend to think only in terms of our own personal lifespan of 30 or 40 years creative activity, most of us hardly can see the wider canvas. Each and every event in history has (perhaps a long line of) precurors. When we look back at the volcano explosion of 1259, having all relevant facts before our very eyes, we clearly can see the outcome of this incidence. Here some details:

• John Wycliffe (c. 1328–1384) was an English scholastic philosopher, theologian, biblical translator, reformer, priest, and a seminary professor at the University of Oxford. When the Black Death reached England in the summer of 1348, John Wycliffe was about 20 years old. Within the following years, he experienced the horror of the Black Death. He lost family members, friends, and above all, he lost almost all colleagues with whom he could discuss religious matters in Latin. In fact, there was almost no-one alive who could read the Bible or anything else after 1352. Before the Black Death arrived, only a few percent of the entire population could read and write. Now, the educated populace, the elite, was gone. He knew that this meant total disaster for the country and for Christianity that was supposed to hold the country together. Reform was needed and a translation of the Bible into the language of the people: English! In 1384 he completed a translation directly from the "Vulgate" Latin Bible into Middle English. Additional updated versions being done by Wycliffe's assistant John Purvey and others in 1388 and 1395. And this English Bible became known as Wycliffe's Bible. Translating the Bible was by the Roman Church considered heresy and carried the death penalty because when everyone could read the Bible on their own, there was no priest needed. The Church could feel her power base shaking as Wycliffe had many followers, the so-called Lollards spoke up against corruption in the church publicly.

• Jan Hus (c. 1372 – 6 July 1415) was a Czech theologian and philosopher who became a church reformer and an inspirer of Hussitism, a key predecessor to Protestantism and a seminal figure in the Bohemian Reformation. Jan Hus was born in Husinec, Bohemia to poor parents. In order to escape poverty, Hus trained for the priesthood. He experienced the ramifications of the Black Death from the years 1346-1353.

Like Wycliffe, he was convinced that the Roman Catholic Church had left the paths of Jesus' teachings. He opposed many aspects of the Catholic Church in Bohemia, such as their views on ecclesiology, simony, the Eucharist, and other theological topics. On 20 December 1409, Alexander V issued a papal bull that empowered the Archbishop to proceed against Wycliffism in Prague. All copies of Wycliffe's writings were to be surrendered and his doctrines repudiated, and free preaching discontinued. After the publication of the bull in 1410, Hus appealed to Alexander V, but in vain. The Wycliffe books and valuable manuscripts were burned, and Hus and his adherents were excommunicated.

Hus spoke out against indulgences, but he could not carry with him the men of the university. Hus asserted that no Pope or bishop had the right to take up the sword in the name of the Church; he should pray for his enemies and bless those that curse him; man obtains forgiveness of sins by true repentance, not money. Three men from the lower classes who openly called the indulgences a fraud were beheaded. Tensions grew. The tumults at Prague had stirred up a sensation; papal legates and Archbishop Albik tried to persuade Hus to give up his opposition to the papal bulls, and the king made an unsuccessful attempt to reconcile the two parties.

On October 18, 1412, he appealed to Jesus Christ as the supreme judge. By appealing directly to the highest Christian authority, Christ himself, he bypassed the laws and structures of the medieval Church. Hus, willing to make an end of all dissensions, agreed to go to Constance, under Sigismund's promise of safe conduct. On 5 June 1415, he was tried for the first time, and church officials tried to make him renounce his opposition to the Roman Church. The condemnation of Jan Hus took place on 6 July 1415, in the presence of the assembly of the Council in the Cathedral. Then followed his degradation and he was sentenced to death. Hus was led away to the place of execution where he was burned to death alive.

Responding with horror to the execution of Hus, the people of Bohemia moved even more rapidly away from Papal teachings, provoking Rome to pronounce a crusade against them (1 March 1420): Pope Martin V issued a Papal bull authorizing the execution of all supporters of Hus and Wycliffe. King Wenceslaus IV died in August 1419 and his brother, Sigismund of Hungary, was unable to establish a real government in Bohemia due to the Hussite revolt.

Hus was also, unlike the vast majority of preachers at the time, an advocate for women and feminism. He believed women were given rights in the Bible. Hus stated that "Women were made in the image of God and should fear no man." He allowed women to preach and serve in battle, and they later fought in the Hussite wars.

A century after the Hussite Wars began, as many as 90% of inhabitants of the Czech lands were Hussites (although in the Utraquist tradition following a joint Utraquist—Catholic victory in the Hussite Wars). Although Bohemia was the site of one of the most significant pre-reformation movements, there are only few Protestant adherents remaining in modern times; mainly due to historical reasons such as persecution of Protestants by the Catholic Habsburgs, particularly after the Battle of White Mountain in 1620.

Jan Hus was a key contributor to Protestantism, whose teachings had a strong influence on the states of Europe and on Martin Luther. The Hussite Wars resulted in the Basel Compacts which allowed for a reformed church in the Kingdom of Bohemia—almost a century before such developments would take place in the Lutheran Reformation. Following examples may clear up what happened:

• Johannes Gutenberg (c. 1397–1468) a German inventor, blacksmith, and goldsmith created an almost perfect printing system that changed the course of history. In about ten years' time, he developed in secrecy adjustable moulds, a process for mass-producing mechanical movable types of metal, the use of oil-based varnish for printing books, and a massive printing press. Some leaflets and little grammar books were among the first of his publications. In 1455 then, Gutenberg came out with a sensation: a complete Bible, known as the "Gutenberg Bible". About 180 copies were printed, most on paper and some on vellum. In order to understand the impact of his technological revolution, one has to know that before his invention, it took a single scribe about four years to copy an entire Bible by writing it by hand. Gutenberg could make a Bible in a few weeks, and with some helpers in few days! If we transfer the income figures of a highly qualified scribe into the modern age, we could estimate a years' income of £20,000 to £25,000. That is a sum of £80,000 to £100,000 in total for the production of only one Bible! No-one could afford to buy such an expensive book. Gutenberg could produce a Bible for a tiny fraction of this sum. It is this economical fact that made Gutenberg's printing systen trigger the Renaisance. It was Gutenberg whom we owe a new birth of education, a new birth of Western Civilisation as a whole. It was his invention that made extraordinary people such as Magellan, Columbus, Copernicus, Mercator, Kepler, and Martin Luther possible.

• Martin Luther, (1483–1546) was a German professor of theology, composer, priest, monk, and a linguist who spoke half a dozen languages fluently, including Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. In many ways, it was Luther who fulfilled Wycliffe's vision of a Bible that everyone could read. And like Wycliffe and Jan Hus, he had objections as to how the Roman Church was run. In 1517 when Martin Luther published his Ninety-five Theses as reaction against abuses in the sale of indulgences by the Roman Catholic Church. Speaking up against the all-powerful Church in Rome could mean death. Therefore he went into hiding for ten years. His 95 Theses launched the powerful Protestant Movement. And while Protestantism spread over large areas of northern Europe, he began in his hiding place on the Wartburg in central Germany a work that was even more dangerous: The translation of the Bible into the German language of ordinary people: the Old Testament from the original Hebrew and the New Testament from the original Greek languages. The New Testament was first published in 1522 and the complete Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments with Apocrypha, in 1534. When Luther finished his work, he had the edge over Wycliffe because he had Gutenberg's printing system. Thousands of German Bible copies spread all over Europe like a wildfire. And so did his Protestant Movement. Peasant revolts turned central Europe into a battlefield. Most Germanic-speaking countries, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, and the northern kingdoms in the Holy Roman Empire, went into military conflict against the Roman Church in Rome and her armies from Spain, Italy and France.

• The Roman-Catholic war against the Protestants. Protestantism began in Germany in 1517 when Martin Luther published his Ninety-five Theses as a reaction against abuses in the sale of indulgences by the Roman Catholic Church, which purported to offer the remission of the temporal punishment of sins to their purchasers. Luther spread this paper, reproduced with Gutenberg's printing press in their thousands, throughout the Holy Roman Empire of German Nations and caused some upheaval. Charles V, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (and since 1516 King of Spain and all her colonies), sided with Pope Leo X and called a diet (assembly) in 1521. The Diet was conducted in the City of Worms from 28 January to 25 May 1521, with the Emperor Charles V presiding. At this very moment, Charles V (and with him the entire Habsburg Dynasty) was the most powerful man on Earth, ruling over the Holy Roman Empire and the Spanish Empire too, (almost all of western Europe, except France and England).

Luther was summoned by Charles to renounce his views. To everybody's surprise Luther reaffirmed his accusations against the Catholic Church because he believed that the Church was acting against the teachings of Jesus. After the Diet of Worms, Emperor and Pope had declared Martin Luther an outlaw and they demanded that all religious innovations not authorised by the Diet be abandoned by 15 April 1531. Failure to comply would result in prosecution by the Imperial Court. The emperor's reluctance to reform anything resulted in unforseeable ramifications.

The conflicts began with the minor Knights' Revolt (1522), followed by the larger German Peasants' War (1524–1525) in the Holy Roman Empire. In response to the stubbornness of Emperor Charles V, Lutheran princes set up Protestant churches in their own realms and in addition met in the town of Schmalkalden in December 1530. Here they banded together to form the Schmalkaldic League, an alliance designed to protect themselves from the Imperial and Catholic action. Its members organised a defence, and each state was to provide 10,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalries for mutual defence. In 1532 the Emperor, pressed by external troubles, stepped back from confrontation, offering the "Peace of Nuremberg", which suspended all action against the Protestant states pending a General Council of the Church. The moratorium kept peace in the German lands for a decade, yet Protestantism became further entrenched, and spread, during its term.

Despite holding the imperial throne, Charles's real authority was limited by the German princes. They gained a strong foothold in the Empire's northern territories. Charles V revitalised the medieval concept of the universal monarchy and spent most of his life defending the integrity of the Holy Roman Empire from the Protestant Reformation, the expansion of the Islamic Ottoman Empire, and a series of wars with France.

Lutheranism spread from Germany into Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Latvia, Estonia, and Iceland. Reformed (or Calvinist) denominations spread in Germany, Hungary, the Netherlands, Scotland, Switzerland and France by reformers such as John Calvin, Huldrych Zwingli, and John Knox. England's political separation from the Roman-Catholic Church, executed by King Henry VIII and under strong influence of his Protestant spouse Anne Boleyn, brought his "Church of England" as Anglicanism into the camp of the Reformation movement.

However, after Charles made peace with King Francis of France, he focused on suppressing Protestant resistance within his empire. Warfare against the Protestants intensified after the Catholic Church began the Counter-Reformation in 1545 against the growth of Protestantism. Luther had repeatedly argued against the legality and morality of a war between the Empire and the Schmalkaldic League. When Luther died in February 1546, the atmosphere between Catholics and Protestants immediately deteriorated. War broke out in Swabia when a united army of several Lutheran Imperial cities occupied the Catholic town of Füssen, a possession of the Augsburg prince-bishops, and made the Imperial forces move toward the fortress of Ingolstadt in the Bavarian duchy. From 1546 to 1547, in what is known as the Schmalkaldic War, Charles and his allies fought the League over the territories of Ernestine Saxony and Albertine Saxony. Although the League's military forces may have been superior, its leaders were incompetent and unable to agree on any definitive battle plans. In 1548 the victorious Charles forced the Schmalkaldic League to agree to the terms set forth in the Augsburg Interim. However, by the 1550s, Protestantism had established itself too firmly within Central Europe to be ended by brute force. Three years later, the Peace of Augsburg granted Lutheranism official status within the Holy Roman Empire and let princes choose the official religion within the domains they controlled according to the principle of 'Cuius regio, eius religio', meaning: the religion of the ruler was to dictate the religion of those ruled. The Peace of Augsburg, also called the Augsburg Settlement, was a treaty between Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, and the Schmalkaldic League, signed in September 1555 at the imperial city of Augsburg. It officially ended the religious struggle between the two groups and made the legal division of Christianity permanent within the Holy Roman Empire, allowing rulers to choose either Lutheranism or Roman Catholicism as the official confession of their state.

The document itself had critical problems due to the many factions which had split the Protestant Movement in the meantime. While it gave legal basis for the practice of the Lutheran confession, it did neither accept any of the Reformed traditions, such as Calvinism, Hussitism, nor any others. Although the Peace of Augsburg was moderately successful in relieving tension in the empire and increasing tolerance, it left important things undone. Neither the Anabaptists nor the Calvinists were protected under the peace, so many Protestant groups living under the rule of a Lutheran

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prince still found themselves in danger of the charge of heresy. The Article 17 states: "However, all such as do not belong to the two above named religions shall not be included in the present peace but be totally excluded from it." The intolerance towards Calvinists caused them to take desperate measures that led to the Thirty Years' War.

• **The (first) Thirty Years' War:** By 1617 Germany was bitterly divided. When both, the fiercely Catholic Emperor Matthias II, and the then King of Bohemia Ferdinand II (later Holy Roman Emperor) began oppressing the rights of Protestants in Bohemia, the resulting Bohemian Revolt led to outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in 1618. Triggered was the Thirty Years' War in 1618 by the rejection of Archduke Ferdinand as Crowned Head, when his representatives were defenestrated (or thrown out of a castle window) in Prague. The Protestant Bohemians ousted the Habsburgs and elected the Protestant Calvinist Frederick V, Elector of the Rhenish Palatinate as the new king of the Kingdom of Bohemia. Frederick's wife was Elizabeth Stuart, the daughter of King James VI of Scotland. Frederick took the offer without the support of the Protestant Union. The southern states, mainly Roman Catholic, were angered by this. Led by Bavaria, these states formed the Catholic League to expel Frederick in support of the Emperor. The Empire soon crushed the perceived Protestant rebellion in the Battle of White Mountain, executing leading Bohemian aristocrats shortly after. Protestant rulers across Europe unanimously condemned the Emperor's action.

After the atrocities committed in Bohemia, Saxony finally gave its support to the Protestant Union and decided to fight back. Troops from Scotland, England and the Netherlands came to help. Troops from all kind of neighbouring countries rushed into the German-speaking part of the Holy Roman Empire to join the war, siding with one party or the other. Peace following the Imperial victory at Stadtlohn (1623) proved short-lived, with conflict resuming at the initiation of Denmark–Norway. Danish involvement, referred to as the Low Saxon War, began when Christian IV of Denmark, a Lutheran who also ruled as Duke of Holstein, a duchy within the Holy Roman Empire, helped the Lutheran rulers of the neighbouring principalities in what is now Lower Saxony by leading an army against the Imperial forces in 1625. To fight King Christian, Emperor Ferdinand II employed the military help of Albrecht von Wallenstein, a Bohemian nobleman who had made himself rich from the confiscated estates of his Protestant countrymen. Wallenstein pledged his army, which numbered perhaps 50,000 soldiers, to Ferdinand II in return for the right to plunder the captured territories. Christian, who knew nothing of Wallenstein's forces when he invaded, was forced to retire to Denmark. Wallenstein's army marched north, occupying Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and Jutland itself, but proved unable to take the Dano-Norwegian capital Copenhagen on the island of Zealand. Both sides were ready to negotiate a status quo. Thus, in the following two years, the Catholic powers subjugated more Protestant land. Colonel Alexander Leslie, a Scottish soldier in Swedish and Scottish service held the port of Stralsund (on the Baltic coast in Pommerania, north Germany) against Wallenstein's troops, preparing it for a full-scale Swedish invasion under King Gustavus Adolphus in 1630. From 1630 to 1634, Swedish-led armies of 150,000 men drove the Catholic forces back, regaining much of the lost Protestant territory. The upper hand had now switched from the Catholic side to the Protestant side, led by Sweden. In 1635, the Imperial and Protestant German sides met for negotiations, producing the Peace of Prague.

France, although mostly Roman Catholic, was a rival of the Holy Roman Empire and Spain which were also Roman Catholic. The French Cardinal Richelieu, chief minister of King Louis XIII of France, considered the Austrian Habsburg Dynasty too powerful, since they held a number of German-speaking territories (Alsace-Lorraine) between France's eastern border and the River Rhine, including portions of the Low Countries. He thought, this were the right moment to increase French territory on costs of the Germans, a decision that would ensure the French undevided hatred of the entire German population for the next 300 years, leading directly into the World Wars.

Richelieu had already begun intervening indirectly in the war with money. The Treaty of Bärwalde, France agreed in 1631 to support the Swedes with 1,000,000 gold livres each year in return for a Swedish promise to maintain an army in Germany against the Habsburgs. After the Swedish defeat at Nördlingen in 1634 and the Peace of Prague in 1635, in which the Protestant German princes sued for peace with the Emperor, Sweden's ability to continue the war alone appeared doubtful, and Richelieu made the decision to enter into direct war against the Habsburgs. The Habsburg triumph at Nördlingen followed by the Treaty of Prague could have been decisive in ending the war, enhancing Habsburg dominance in Europe. The Spanish forces of the Habsburgs were no longer engaged in Germany, and now posed a direct threat to France all along its frontier. France had long been financing the enemies of the Habsburgs, but now they no longer were strong enough to be relied upon. France therefore intervened directly against the Habsburgs by declaring war against Spain on May 21, 1635 - a disastrous mis-calculation.

French military efforts met with disaster, and the Spanish counter-attacked, invading French territory. The Imperial and Spanish troops ravaged the French provinces of Champagne, Burgundy, and Picardy, and even threatened Paris in 1636. Then, the tide began to turn for the French. The Spanish army was repulsed. The French conquered Arras from the Spanish and took all of Flanders. The Swedish army regained the initiative in the German campaign, occupied Saxony in 1642, took Bohemia in 1644. The French army's effort on the Rhine had little result, in contrast to its string of victories in Flanders and Artois. In 1645, the Swedes entered Austria and besieged Vienna, the heartland of the Habsburgs. After five months, the Swedish army, severely worn out, had to withdraw. In 1648, the Swedes and the French defeated the Imperial army. The Swedish captured Prague and took many valuable treasures, including the Codex Gigas, which is still today preserved in Stockholm. The Battle of Prague in 1648 became the last action of the Thirty Years' War. The warring parties were exhausted and central Euope was a giant graveyard.

Over a four-year period, the warring parties (the Holy Roman Empire, France, and Sweden) were actively negotiating at Osnabrück and Münster in Westphalia. The end of the war was not brought about by one treaty, but instead by a group of treaties such as the Treaty of Hamburg. On 15 May 1648, the Peace of Münster was signed, ending the Thirty Years' War and establishing a new political order that is now known as 'Westphalian sovereignty'. Over five months later, on 24 October, the additional Treaties of Münster and Osnabrück were signed. The Netherlands and Switzerland were confirmed independent. The peace institutionalised the Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist religious divide in Germany, with populations either converting, or moving to areas controlled by rulers of their own faith. The Imperial power retreated to Austria and the Habsburg lands. Smaller skirmishes lingered on between France and Spain in Catalonia until 1659. The Portuguese Restoration War ended with the Treaty of Lisbon in 1668, that terminated the 60-year Iberian Union.

• **Result of the War:** The Thirty Years' War was one of the most destructive conflicts in human history. France lost against Austria at 80,000 killed or wounded and against Spain (including the years 1648–1659, after Westphalia) circa 300,000 dead or disabled. Sweden and Finland lost, by one calculation, 110,000 dead from all causes. Another 400,000 Germans, British, and other nationalities died in Swedish service. The Swedish army alone, which was no greater a ravager than the other armies of the Thirty Years' War, destroyed 2,000 castles, 18,000 villages and 1,500 towns during its tenure of 17 years in Germany. During the war, Germany's population was reduced by at least 30% on average. In the territory of Brandenburg, the losses had amounted to 50%, while in some areas an estimated 65% or 70% of the population died. The population of the Czech lands declined by 35%. For decades, armies and armed bands had roamed Germany like packs of wolves, slaughtering the populace like sheep. Huge damage was done to monasteries, churches and other religious institutions. The story of The Adventurous Simplicissimus with its lively descriptions of life during the Thirty Years' War, publishished in 1669, kept the Germans' memory on that terrible war alive.

The war had proved disastrous in particular for the German-speaking parts of the Holy Roman Empire. The Germans lost directly 8,000,000 people. Especially the Protestant northern Germans never forgot France's involvement through which they lost around 50% of their population. Germany was traumatised and henceforth further divided into hundreds of largely impotent semi-independent states. Her neighbours wanted to keep it like that since they had to fear a German wrath of revenge.

As a matter of fact, all major European conflicts can be traced back right to the 'First' Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) which was the greatest religio-political conflict. And it most likely started with the volcano eruption of 1257. The loss of population and territory to the French laid the seeds of hatred between Germans and French lasting for 300 years culminating into the "Second Thirty Years' War", better known as World War I and World War II.

E.) THE 3 VOLCANO ERUPTIONS AND CLIMATE CHANGE OF 1783 (1708-1812) AD.

Western Historians widely regard the French Revolution as one of the most important events in human history. The only problem is that almost no-one of those historians have a clue as to what was the trigger of the Revolution. Some historians have their eyes on the Seven Years' War and the American Revolutionary War. The French government was deeply in debt. It attempted to restore its financial status through unpopular, heavily regressive taxation schemes, which was true. Others blame years of bad harvests that have worsened. by deregulation of the grain industry that may have inflamed popular resentment of the privileges enjoyed by the aristocracy and the Catholic clergy of the established church. All of this was also true. But such theories hardly can explain the origin because such circumstances plagued the populace before. A quick look on climate charts and volcanic records would have put a sudden end to the experts' clever speculations.

From 1783 to 1785 accounts from both Japan and America describe terrible droughts, exceptional cold winters, and disastrous floods. In Europe, the exceptionally hot summer of 1783 was followed by long and harsh winters. The resulting crop failures may have triggered one of the most famous insurrections of starving people in history, the French Revolution of 1789-1799. Epidemics became rampant. Only this time it was not the Black Death but "filth epidemics" such as tuberculosis, small pox, cholera and others that cost the lives of circa 25 to 35% of the French population during these years. The French Revolution triggered a series of Revolutionary Wars that gradually assumed a global dimension. When we take a look at charts of volcano eruptions and climate change, we immediately find the guilty cause.

1. The Grímsvötn Volcano and some neighbouring volcanoes along the Laki fissure erupted violently and repeatedly in southeast of Iceland between 1783 and 1785. The system erupted violently (VEI 5 to 6) over an eight-month period between June 1783 and February 1784 from the Laki fissure and the adjoining volcano Grímsvötn, pouring out an estimated 42 billion tons or 14 cubic kilometres (3.4 cu mi) of basalt lava and clouds of poisonous hydrofluoric acid and sulfur dioxide compounds that contaminated the soil, leading to the death of over 50% of Iceland's livestock population, and the destruction of the vast majority of all crops. This led to a famine which then killed approximately 25% of the island's human population. The Laki eruption and its aftermath caused a drop in global temperatures, as 120 million tons of sulfur dioxide was spewed into the Northern Hemisphere. This caused crop failures in Europe and may have caused droughts in North Africa and India. The climate of the Little Ice Age (which the people still lived in for about 400 years by now) worsened. But this was not the end of it.

2. Ice cores from Greenland and Antarctica showed scientists that there was another volcano eruption in 1808/1809 which was previously unknown. It was the second most explosive SO2-rich volcanic eruption in the last two centuries, eclipsed only by the cataclysmic VEI 7 Tambora eruption in April 1815. The 1808 mystery eruption was a large volcanic eruption (with a strength of VEI-6) conjectured to have taken place in late 1808, possibly in the southwest Pacific.

3. Between the years 1808 and 1813, 6 other large volcanic eruptions (with VEIs at least 4): (1st) The Taal Volcano, Philippines, erupted in March 1808; (2nd) the Volcano Bocas de Fogo (Portuguese for "mouths of fire") near Urzelina Village, Velas municipality, São Jorge Island, Azores, which erupted in May and June 1808; (3rd) there was a major eruption of the Putana Volcano in Chile that occured in about 1810 (exact year unknown); (4th) the Soufrière erupted on Saint Vincent in the Caribbean in 1812; (5th) the Awu erupted in the Sangihe Islands, Indonesia 1812; and (6th) the Suwanosejima erupted in the Ryukyu Islands, Japan in 1813.

4. Then in 1814, the Mayon Volcano, also known as Mount Mayon, a large stratovolcano in the province of Albay in Bicol Region, on the large island of Luzon in the Philippines erupted. Its most destructive recorded eruption occurred on February 1, 1814 (VEI 5).

5. In April 1815, the Mount Tambora on the island of Sumbawa, Indonesia, had a massive eruption after it woke up already in 1812. The eruption had a VEI 7, a colossal event that ejected at least 100 cubic kilometres (24 cu mi) of material. Its volcanic activity lasted for 4 months and paused on 15 July 1815. In August 1819, the Tambora erupted a last time together with some earthquakes. The Tambora eruption was the largest since the eruption of 1258, and it was intensified by the 1814 eruption of the Mayon in the Philippines.

• **Aftermath:** The eruptions of the Mayon and the Tambora are believed to have contributed to the accumulation of atmospheric ash leading to the "Year Without a Summer" in 1816. These eruptions had built up a substantial amount of atmospheric dust. As is common after a massive volcanic eruption, temperatures fell worldwide because less sunlight passed through the stratosphere. According to a 2012 analysis by Berkeley Earth Surface Temperature, the 1815 Tambora eruption caused a temporary drop in the Earth's average land temperature of about 1 °C. Smaller temperature drops were recorded from the 1812–1814 eruptions. The Year Without a Summer was an agricultural disaster. It resulted in major food shortages across the Northern Hemisphere. The climatic aberrations of 1816 had greatest effect on most of Canada and the United States, as well as parts of western Europe. European fatality total of 200,000 deaths. A major typhus epidemic occurred in Ireland between 1816 and 1819. An estimated 100,000 Irish perished during

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this period. In China, the cold weather killed trees, rice crops, and even water buffalo, especially in the north. Floods destroyed many remaining crops. The monsoon season was disrupted, resulting in overwhelming floods in the Yangtze Valley. In India, the delayed summer monsoon caused late torrential rains that aggravated the spread of cholera from a region near the Ganges in Bengal to as far as Moscow.

• **The Second Thirty Years' War (1914-1945).** The concept of a "Second Thirty Years War" (which are the two World Wars including origin and aftermath) came from the French general and president Charles de Gaulle when he had mentioned it in the speech in Bar-le-Duc (28 July 1946) evoking "the drama of the thirty years war, we just won". De Gaulle was the first who admitted that the First World War and the Second World War were a single conflict, the interwar period just being a truce. In 1948 British Prime Minister Winston Churchill gave the idea a boost when, in the first paragraph of the Preface to The Gathering Storm (1948, Volume 1 of his monumental hexalogy The Second World War)), he says his books will "cover an account of another Thirty Years War".

The 20th century was a century with unequalled and great achievements, no doubt. But at the same time, it brought humanity onto the brink of total destruction and misery on an scale never seen before. The human race experienced one disaster after the next in events such as the Balkan Wars (1912–13), World War I (1914–18), Russian Civil War (1917–23), Ukrainian–Soviet War (1917–21), Polish–Soviet War (1919–21), Great Depression (1929–1939), Spanish Civil War (1936–39) World War II (1937–45) and the Cold War (1946–1990).

According to Rudolph Joseph Rummel (1932–2014), an American professor of political science of Yale University, over 272-400 million (at least!) innocent, non-combatant civilians were murdered by their own governments during the twentieth century. At least 40 million died by execution and systematic Genocide by starving throughout the 20th century. During a period of about 100 years, and we can see the scale of misery best in numbers:

• **The first half of the 20th century**. When the First World War was over, the death toll did not decrease but increased (by settling old scores in civil war manner). The largest death toll was produced between the World Wars: The Armenian Genocide by the Islamic Ottoman Empire 1914-1923: 1.500,000; The Russian Civil War 1917–1922: 7,000,000–12,000,000 (U.S.S.R. death toll by Leninists and Stalinists 1917–1987: 62,000,000); Greek Genocide by the Islamic Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic 1918–1922: 750,000; Spanish Flu 1918-1920: 50,000,000 (India: 13,000,000, Europe: 10,000,000); The Turkish War of Independence 1919 –1923: 700,000; Assyrian Genocide by the Islamic Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic 1915-1923: 600,000; Iranian (Persian) Famine of 1917–1919: 6-7 million; Chinese Famine and drought in northern China 1928–1930: 5-7 million; Ukrainian Genocide by Communist Soviets 1932–33: 7.500,000; Kazakh Genocide by Communist Soviets 1932–33: 1.500,000; Polish Genocide by German Nazis 1939-1945: 2.500,000 (17% of Poland's population); Jewish Genocide (incl. Christians, Russians etc.) by Nazis 1942-45: 7.400,000; Iranian Famine 1942–1943: 3,000,000; Chinese Famine in Henan 1942–1943: 2.500,000; Indonesian Genocide in Java by Japanese killings 1944–1945: 2.4 million; Smaller here not mentioned killings and famines between the 2 World Wars may account for another 10,000,000 deaths.

• **The second half of the 20th century.** After the Second World War there basically happened the same thing as after the First World War: Settling old scores and thriving for hegemony and total suppremacy. The so-called Cold War was as brutal as the World Wars and resulted in a death toll of roughly 10,000,000! Here some figures: Communist persecution of Christians in Poland 1945–1948: 1,600,000; Korean War 1950-53: up to 1,000,000; First Vietnam War or First Indochina War 1946-1950: 800,000; Mao Zedong's (Communist) Landreform and the Great (Communist) 'Leap Forward' 1958-1962: 50-70 million; The Cambodian Civil War by Pol Pot's Communists 1967-1975: 2 million (25% of the population). The Angolan Civil War 1975-2002: 500,000; Second Vietnam War or Second Indochina War (United States and South Vietnam against Communist North Vietnam) 1963-1975: 4 million; Genocide of Hindus in Islamic Bangladesh, 1971: 3 million; Genocide of the Hutus in Burundi 1972: 300,000; Genocide of the Kurds in Islamic Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Iran 1977-1991: 400,000; Soviet Occupation of Afghanistan 1979-1983: 1.5 up to 2 million (35% of the population); Genocide in East Timor by state terrorism of Islamic Indonesia 1975-1999: 250,000 (30% of the population); Famine in Ethiopia 1983–1985: 500,000; Civil War (Orthodox-Catholic-Muslim conflict) of Yugoslavia 1991–2001. 140,000; Genocide (ethnic conflict) in Rwanda 1994: 500,000 (70% of Tutsis and 35% of Twa in Rwanda, 20% of Rwanda's population); North Korean (Communist) famine 1994–1998: 2-3 million; Second Congo War 1998–2004: 2.7 million; The Genocide in Darfur (by Arab Muslims) from 2003 up to now: 400,000 Christians.

Conclusion:

• The political branches of Christianity (that have no authorisation by scripture) has cost the lives of between 20,000,000 and 30,000,000 people in the last 1900 years.

• The corrupt branches of enlightenment (nationalism, natioanal-socialism, facsiscm, socialism, communism, marxism, leninism, stalinism, maoism, and all the other ideologies), which was a result of the endless religious wars, has cost the lives of roughly 200,000,000 people.

• Islam, (through its violent ideology in the Medina Koran, the Sira, and the Hadith and therefore) by design and default, has cost the lives of 250,000,000 up to more than 300,000,000 people in constant warfare since 1400 years.

We cannot prevend natural catastrophies. Epidemics and pandemics will come over us with frequent certainty. But we can fight epidemics by certain rules of hygiene, rules of cleanliness, protecting our environment, and by not creating squalour and misery in which we raise our political and religious opponents, out of which we newly create epidemics by our very selves. It is a significant fact that the leadership of all those above mentioned ideologies do not care for the lives of their own population and consequently even least of all the others they want to dominate. We certainly can overcome the pestilence of failed ideologies and there is only one remedy to do it: ruthless and unpartisan EDUCATION with delivering all facts and without using bluring, dishonest tools such as Political Correctness or using bluring names.

ANTISEMITISM AND HATRED: THE TRIPLE AVERSION

The so-called three large Abrahamic Religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, are caught in a kind of Circle of Hatred which we could call "The Triple Aversion". If we look at the situation through the peroid of several centuries, simplified we could say something like this:

1. Jews hate Christians AND Muslims
2. Christians hate Jews AND Muslims
3. Muslims hate Jews AND Christians

What are the reasons and origins? As usual, in history we must begin with the events that occured before any other events. And we can simplify the facts by asking "where does Anti-Semitism come from?" or "Where is its origin?". In order to understand the facts, we have to consider what history of humans is embedded in:

1.) Geography
2.) Language and writing system
3.) Belief-System

OVERVIEW ON THE WAR BETWEEN SEMITIC AND WESTERN CIVILISATIONS

If we want to really grasp what happened, we need to show a chain of events that lasted for more than 1,000 years. And to show the facts in several different steps is the very best way to get familiar with the events. The following events had certain political consequences inside the Holy Land. Therefore, we show them step by step:

• **Geography:** The (hi)story begins with the Canaanites (southern Phoenicians) and the place they lived in. This place has several distinct names: Judaea, Israel, the Near East, the Middle East, or the Holy Land. Where is this place? Well, to put it short, this place is on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea, exactly in a geographical spot which we could call the junction, intersection, crossroad, or perhaps more precisely, the "nodal point" between Africa, Asia, and Europe. All trade routes had to pass that nodal point. The position of this spot had dramatic implications on the people who lived there, and still has it today.

In ancient times, when most people travelled on foot or on horseback, anyone who came from Egypt (which is on the western side of the nodal point) and wanted to go safely to Mesopotamia (east of the nodal point) or Europe (north of the nodal point), had to cross the Holy Land. Otherwise he had to cross the deadly Nefud Desert or the vast deserts north of Arabia. The typical trade route went through the north of the Sinai peninsula, along the Mediterranean coast, then northwards through today's Israel to Sepphoris in Galilee, then from there in a large bow, following the "Fertile Crescent" through Damascus, and finally entering Mesopotamia from its north-west. And what happened to the travellers when they wanted to cross the nodal point? As it was normal at that time in any part of the world, they had to pay customs or tariffs to the rulers of the nodal point, in other words: tax money. There was no such thing as rights for free travel. And paying customs was one of the main revenues of the nodal point's rulers. Thus, this nodal point, the Holy Land, became highly attractive for any invader. It changed hands for many times. All empires were keen on that land: the Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Hittites, Phoenicians, Persians, Greeks under Alexander the Great, Romans, Muslim Arabs, French, British.

• **Earliest History:** The existence of the Canaanites (The word Canaanites serves as an ethnic catch-all term covering various indigenous and semitic-speaking populations—both settled and nomadic-pastoral groups—throughout the regions of the Levant or Canaan) can be traced back to the 15th century BC. and their descendants the "People of Israel" as far back as the 13th century BC. Conquerors trampled on the Israelites like a herd of Rhino. The captured Israelite elite was, as it was custom in those days, taken hostage and brought to Memphis in Egypt, Babylon in Mesopotamia, and Rome in Europe. However, the Israelites, who we call Jews today, survived and made the best of their situations. Not all captives returned to the Holy Land as the Old Testament might suggest, but some stayed and others moved on to India. They built huge nets of trade connexions. Archaeologcal finds in Elephantine, in the south of Egypt, confirmed this, when an excavation team in 1967 found letters in one of a the oldest Jewish settlements outside the Holy Land from the 5th century BC. Together with their semitic cousins, the Phoenicians, they spread all over the Mediterranian lands to Carthage, Cartagena, Marseille and Rome in the West, but also to the Persian Empire and the north-west of India in the East. Their language, Aramaic, became even a kind of lingua franca in the East from Persia to India.

• **Phoenicians, Carthaginians and the Jews.** What do the three peoples have to do with one another? Everything! Why? Because they spoke more or less the very same language. And because of that, they also shared lots of similarities in their culture. In terms of archaeology, language, lifestyle, and religion, there was little to set the Phoenicians apart as markedly different from other residents of the Levant, such as their close relatives and neighbours, the Israelites.

• Most people do not know a Phoenician from an Israelite, just the same as they cannot distinguish one Christian denomination from another or one Chinese nation from another. The true identity of the Phoenicians as Semitic peoples, however, reveals an often ignored fact. And this distinction can be seen in a quick analysis of language,

• Phoenician was a Canaanite language originally spoken in the coastal (Mediterranean) region then called "Canaan". It is a part of the Canaanite subgroup of the Northwest Semitic languages. Other members of the family are Hebrew, Ammonite, Moabite, and Edomite. The entire group is also closely related to Aramaic. The area where Phoenician was spoken includes Greater Syria and, at least as a prestige language, Anatolia, specifically the areas now including Lebanon, coastal Syria, coastal northern Israel, parts of Cyprus and some adjacent areas of Turkey. It was also spoken in the area of Phoenician colonisation along the coasts of the southwestern Mediterranean Sea, including those of modern Tunisia, Morocco, Libya and Algeria as well as Malta, the west of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, the Balearic Islands and southernmost Spain. Punic, also called Carthaginian or Phoenicio-Punic, is the newer form of the now extinct Phoenician language. It was spoken in the Carthaginian empire in Northwest Africa and several Mediterranean islands by the Punic people throughout Classical antiquity, from the 8th century BC to the 5th century AD. Hebrew is the only living Canaanite language left. A speaker of Punic could have easily understood Hebrew.

• The **Clash of Antique Civilisations.** The Semitic peoples of Antiquity experienced a massive clash of civilisations with the Greek-Roman peoples that culminated in the so-called Punic Wars. This clash was a dramatic event resulting in the death of millions of people. Let us look back.

Phoenicia was an ancient Semitic-speaking Mediterranean civilisation that originated in the coastal areas of Lebanon and northern Israel, and southern Syria reaching as far north as Arwad. Phoenician sailors followed the north African coastline and built colonies in the Western Mediterranean, such as Cádiz in Spain and Carthage, between 1500 BC and 300 BC. They even explored regions in the Atlantic Ocean. "Phoenicia" is an ancient Greek term used to refer to the major export of the region, which was cloth dyed in a special "Tyrian purple" colour from the Murex mollusc, and referred to the major Canaanite port towns Tyre, Sidon, Arwad, Berytus, Byblos, and later: Carthago and Nova Carthago (Carthage and Cartagena). These cities developed and organised in city-states, similar to those of ancient Greece. Although each city-state was a politically independent unit, and we can estimate that all speakers of these Canaanite languages understood themselves as a culture family.

Already before 1200 BC, there was trade between the Canaanites (the early Phoenicians and Isaelites) and Egypt, Cyprus, and Greece. In a shipwreck found off of the coast of Turkey (the Ulu Bulurun wreck), Canaanite storage pottery along with pottery from Cyprus and Greece was found. The Phoenicians were famous for their metalworks, and by the end of the 8th century BC, Greek city-states were buying these metal goods. Along with this lucrative business, the Phoenicians brought their phonetic alphabet to their business partners and so it became one of the most widely used writing systems. Phoenician merchants spread their alphabet across the Mediterranean world, where it evolved and was assimilated by many other cultures, including the Greek, Etruscan and Roman alphabets. Though there is no evidence

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to support the suggestion, it is probable that during this period that Phoenicians and Isralites spread their religious ideas across the entire Mediterranean.

So for example to "Carthago", which is the Roman name for Qart-Hadast, lit. 'New City', in English better known as Carthage. Phoenicians founded Carthage in 814 BC. Initially a dependency of the Phoenician state of Tyre, Carthage gained independence around 650 BC and established its political hegemony over other Phoenician settlements throughout the western Mediterranean, this lasting until the end of the 3rd century BC. At the height of the city's prominence, it served as a major hub of trade, with trading stations extending throughout the region. This new Phoenician state developed into that what we know as "Carthaginian Empire". The empire was growing over much of the coast of Northwest Africa as well as encompassing substantial parts of coastal Iberia and the islands of the western Mediterranean Sea such as Sardinia, Corsica and Sicily. It was these invasions that brought a steadily growing source of conflict with the Greeks in Sicily and with the Roman Republic. These tensions exploded to a series of armed conflicts known as the Sicilian Wars (c. 600–265 BC) and the Punic Wars (264–146 BC) respectively. In 146 BC, after the third and final Punic War, Roman forces destroyed Carthage. Nearly all Phoenician city-states and former Carthaginian dependencies subsequently fell into Roman hands.

Remember: Huntington's term "Clash of Civilisations" does not only apply for the present or a possible future. It has already happened between Afroasiatic-Semites (Berber, Egyptian, Akkadian, Babylonian, Phoenician, Punic, Amharic, Aramaic, Syriac, Hebrew, Arabic, etc.) and Indo-Europeans (Latin, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Romanian, Greek, German, English, Scandinavian, Russian, Hindi, Bengali, Punjabi, etc.) for thousands of years. And it is still going on. Let us look back onto some of the key events of this historical and indeed epic clash:

• **Alexander's Conquest:** From 335 to 323 BC, Alexander the Great needed only 12 years to turn the entire World of Antiquity upside-down. He did not only conquer Egypt, Mesopotamia and Persia but also the Holy land. And that was the starting point when the real trouble began. Alexander's successors spread the Greek culture and language over all conquered areas. The urban upper class of the Jews, embraced Greek lifestyle while the lower, more traditional and conservative orientated, classes wanted to strengthen Jewish law and identity. The Jewish people became aware that the Greek culture was a threat to their own culture and they formed a religious-political movement which we could call the ancient "Messianic Movement" because its "Sons of Light" longed for a strong military leader, a messiah like King David who leads the Jewish nation to military victory again.

• **Resistance and Propaganda:** And we have proof of that too - in the Messianic Movement's writings of that that were found in the caves of Qumran, above the cliffs of the Dead Sea in 1947. The texts of Qumran (the War Scroll, for instance) do not reflect any attitude that peaceful Jews have today, quite the reverse, they show a Jihadist doctrine which we can find in the Koran! It seems that those speculations are right that suspects Mohammed's origin in an Arab Jewish tribe that once has escaped the many Roman-Jewish Wars.

• **Jewish Victory:** The Maccabees were such a group of Jewish rebel warriors who took control of Judaea, which at the time was part of (the Greek) Seleucid Persian Empire. They founded the so-called Hasmonean dynasty, that is the dynasty of Judas Maccabeus (who was the main driving force in the Maccabean Wars, fought from 167 to 160 BC., against the Greek-Persian Empire of the Seleucid dynasty), which ruled from 167 BC to 37 BC, being a fully independent kingdom from about 110 to 63 BC., creating a Judaean–Samaritan–Idumaean–Ituraean–Galilean alliance.

• **Puppet Regime of Rome:** Independent Hasmonean rule lasted until 63 BC, when the Roman general Gnaeus Pompeus (Pompey the Great) intervened in a civil war in the Hasmonean Kingdom between Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II, conquered Judea and appointed Hyrcanus High Priest. Under Hyrcanus, real power rested with his chief minister, Antipater the Idumaean. In 49 BC Antipater prompted Hyrcanus to side with Julius Caesar during Caesar's Civil War. Following his victory, Caesar bestowed the title of Royal Goveror on Hyrcanus and Procurator on Antipater. A few years later, Antipater appointed his sons Phasael and Herod military governors of Jerusalem and the Galilee respectively. After the Roman civil war following the murder of Julius Caesar, Hyrcanus and Antipater became clients of Marcus Antonius, who now ruled the Roman east with Cleopatra of Egypt.

• **Rome Tightens Her Grip:** The Hasmonean dynasty ended in 37 BC when the Idumean (Edomite, Arab) Herod the Great (c. 74 BC – c. 4 BC) became king of Israel, designated "King of the Jews" by the Roman Senate, effectively transforming the Hasmonean Kingdom into Herodian Kingdom. Herod the Great's final step in his campaign to secure the throne of Judaea was the Siege of Jerusalem (37 BC) in order to drive his enemies out and destroy them. Aided by Roman forces provided by Marcus Antonius (Mark Antony), Herod was able to capture the city and depose Antigonus II Mattathias (Hebrew: Matityahu, English: Matthew), ending Hasmonean rule. The siege appears in the writings of Flavius Josephus and Dio Cassius.

• **Jews Under Roman Law:** The Herodian dynasty began with Herod the Great, who assumed the throne of Judea as a relatively strong leader. With Roman support, he got rid of the century long Hasmonean Kingdom, he, however, managed to keep large parts of Jewish laws intact. His kingdom lasted until his death in 4 BC. The downfall of Jewish independence was pregrogrammed when the kingdom was divided between his sons and lasted for about only 10 years. Most of the Jewish lands were incorporated into Judaea Province from 6 AD, though limited Herodian de facto kingship continued until Agrippa I's death in 44 AD and nominal title of kingship continued until 92 AD, when the last Herodian monarch, Agrippa II, died and Rome assumed full power over his de jure domain.

• **The Spread of the Messianic Movements** in Antiquity. The Gospel's depiction of Judaea and Galilee as an idyllic land of peaceful fishermen and sheep farmers is deception and utter nonsense as the entire region was a war zone generations before Jesus, and generations after him for a long period of time. This has largely to do with geography. Israel or Palestine has always been a transport hub or point of interchange between Egypt and Mesopotamia. Therefore, this region was always an attractive outpost for either of them. The armies of King Hammurabi and the Egyptian armies marched here, as well as hundred thousands of troops of Alexander the Great and Pompey the Great's Roman Legions. Anyone who wanted to go on land from Egypt to Rome, or Persia, or India and farther afield, had to cross this region. And so did the southern route of the Silk Road which went right through the provincial capital of Sepphoris, only three miles (5 km) away from Jesus' own doorstep in Nazareth, on the other side of the hill which lies beween those two places.

The Jewish - and do not forget, the early Christians were Jewish too - people at those times were not the peaceful traders as we would recognise them today. They were rebellious and notoriously opposing any authority by any means, inspired by their teachers with religious propaganda and messianic slogans.

Uprisings, terror attacks, tribunals, executions, reprisals were commonplace. And the trial, death sentence and its swift execution was nothing special. That happened on a daily basis. Hundreds of crucifixions could be seen outside the cities and towns at any time. Crucifixion was the type of execution reserved for non-Romans because of the long and agonising death that took place after two, three or more days. Roman citizens usually had a merciful death by decapitation, just like John the Baptist. Anyone who opposed the Roman rulers by word or deed was liable to this treatment. The Roman authorities could not make a difference between messianic Jews and Messianic Christians, just like us when we talk about today's terrorism; we also cannot distinguish one terror group from another. This resulted in events which we call Persecutions of Christians. In reality, it was the messianic movements that have been first persecuted.

After that, particularly between the 2nd to the 4th centuries, Christians were involved as perpetrators of those persecutions as well, in order to get rid of rival groups in the Jewish and Christian movements themselves. They blamed the Roman state, calling them just persecutions of Christians. The rift went right through the Roman families. The emperor's Flavian family is a good example for the unclear frontlines in those battles for the "right faith".

After the end of war, disaster struck and the Romans performed that what we today call ethnic cleansing. Hundreds of thousands of messianic Jews and Christians were enslaved and deported. And we know the cities where those messianic people found their new home first: the Greek cities of Ephesus, Laodiceia, Philippi, Corinth, Tessalonika, and the capital of the empire: Rome. Sounds familiar? It should be because these are the places where Saul of Tarsos, a renegate Jew better known as Paul the Apostle, has sent his epistles to the first non-Jewish Christians whom he had converted to his new religion, as a guideline how to behave, so to speak.

Another common misconception is about the first Jewish diaspora (the Jews who spread throughout the world). That the Jewish people were forced by the Romans to leave the Holy Land after the Jewish–Roman Wars is only half true. The first exile began when the Assyrians took the Jewish elite captive to guarantee that the remaining Jews in the Holy Land behave well. King Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria began this process in 733 BC and it was completed by Sargon II with the destruction of the kingdom in 722 BC, concluding a three-year siege of Samaria begun by Shalmaneser V. The next experience of exile was the Babylonian captivity, in which the elite of the Kingdom of Judah was deported in 597 BC and again in 586 BC by the Neo-Babylonian Empire under the rule of Nebuchadnezzar II. Before that, Jewish traders and businessmen followed the Phoenician and Greek settlers into the Mediterranian and set up new communities there. They went to Italy, Spain, Egypt, Persia, and even to India and China long before Greeks and Romans came along. Jewish family bonds have always been the greatest strength and made Jewish trade so successful. The diaspora activities were based on family, religious teachers (who are also known as prophets, apostles or disciples) and their political leaders, of which the latter were often identical with the last. It was this net of connexions that was also used by Jesus' apostles. The knowledge about these networks makes it quite clear why Judaism, Christianity and the Messianic Movements spread so quickly.

THE LINE OF WARS FROM ALEXANDER TO MOHAMMED IN DETAIL

• **The Impact of Alexander's Conquests** (335 BC.) Alexander III of Macedon (356 BC–323 BC), commonly known as Alexander the Great, was a king of the ancient Greek kingdom of Macedon and a member of the Argead dynasty. He was born in Pella in 356 BC and succeeded his father Philip II to the throne at the age of 20. He spent most of his ruling years on an unprecedented military campaign through Asia and northeast Africa, and by the age of thirty he had created one of the largest empires of the ancient world, stretching from Greece to northwestern India. He was undefeated in battle and is widely considered one of history's most successful military commanders.

During his youth, Alexander was tutored by Aristotle until age 16. After Philip's assassination in 336 BC, he succeeded his father to the throne and inherited a strong kingdom and an experienced army. Alexander was awarded the generalship of Greece and used this authority to launch his father's pan-Hellenic project to lead the Greeks in the conquest of Persia. Due to the fact that the Persian Empire posed a serious treat to Greece for several hundred years, Alexander was determined to finish the Persian Empire off. In 334 BC, he invaded the Persian Empire (also called Achaemenid Empire due to its dynasty) and began a series of campaigns that lasted 10 years.

Taking over the invasion project of Philip II, Alexander's army crossed the Dardanelles in 334 BC with approximately 48,100 soldiers, 6,100 cavalry and a fleet of 120 ships with crews numbering 38,000. After an initial victory against Persian forces at the Battle of the Granicus, Alexander accepted the surrender of the Persian provincial capital and treasury of Sardis; he then proceeded along the Ionian coast, granting autonomy and democracy to the cities.

In spring 333 BC, Alexander took Tarsos at the Mediterranean coast of Anatolia. Then he marched on towards Syria where he defeated the Persian king Darius at Issus. Darius fled the battle, causing his army to collapse, and left behind his his mother, wife, his two daughters, and a substantial treasure that financed the campaign. Alexander took Syria, and annexed the Persian provinces Phoenicia (Lebanon), Israel, Judaea, Philistine. The latter three fell quickly but in the following year, 332 BC, he was forced to attack the Phoenician city state of Tyre, which he captured after a long and difficult siege.

332 BC: Jerusalem capitulates to Alexander the Great, during his six-year Macedonian conquest of the empire of Darius III of Persia. Alexander's armies took Jerusalem without complication while travelling to Egypt after the Siege of Tyre (332 BC).

With Gaza and Jerusalem taken, Alexander marched into Egypt in late 332 BC. The Egyptians hated the Persians. They welcomed Alexander as their king, placed him on the throne of the Pharaohs, giving him the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, and named him the incarnation of Ra and Osiris. He set in motion plans to build Alexandria, and, though future tax revenues would be channeled to him, he left Egypt under the management of Egyptians, which helped to win him their support.

After the detour through the Holy Land and Egypt, Alexander marched all the way back through the Holy Land and then advanced from Syria towards the heart of the Persian empire, crossing both the Euphrates and the Tigris rivers without any opposition. Although historians claim that Alexanders army had no more than 50,000 troops, it is quite feasible that the army has swollen considerably in Egypt, as there lived a large Greek diaspora.

In 331 BC, he marched eastward into Mesopotamia (now northern Iraq) and met Darius' giant army of 120,000 to 200,000 troops (according to Diodorus Siculus and Plutarch, the Persian Army accounted for one million men which sound like an exageration or referred to the entire army stationen in all parts of the empire which had a huge size comparable to India. Despite the much larger size of Darius' army, at the Battle of Gaugamela (also called Arbela, close to the modern city of Dohuk in Iraqi Kurdistan) he was decisively defeated again. Darius once more fled the field, and Alexander chased him but Darius fled over the mountains to Ecbatana (modern Hamedan), while Alexander captured Babylon.

He began to follow the fleeing Persian army battalions to the east and in August 329 BC. he arrived the north-

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easternmost outpost of Persia in the Fergana Valley (modern Tajikistan) He immediately founded the City of Alexandria Eschate or Alexandria Eskhata (which means in English literally: "Alexandria the Farthest", Chinese name: Yalishanda Dadi, today: Kuzhan or Khujand; Latin: Alexandria Ultima). The city is situated at the south-western end of the Fergana Valley (modern Tajikistan). It was the most north-easternrly outpost of the Greek Empire right at the gates of China. The last Chinese outpost on the Silk Road was right at beyond the eastern end of the passlike valley that leads into the Taklamakan Desert. Here, Alexander may well have heard about the Chinese states and their armies that could swell to millions of soldiers (no exageration). The historian Strabo claims that the Greeks "extended their empire even as far as the Seres (the Chinese). This might have been the first time in which he realised, "a conquest of the entire world" was only a dream that he never could achieve.

Alexander defeated the last of the Persian Empire's forces in 328 BC. At the end of successful occupation of the Sogdian Rock, a fortress located north of Bactria in Sogdiana, he met Princess Roxana, the daughter of the defenders and he built a political bond between Greeks and Bactrians by marrying Roxana.

In 327 BC he began a new campaign against the various Indian kings and went southwards. In 326 BC, Alexander personally led a campaign into the Punjab where he could win King Poros as ally. Fearing the prospect of facing other large armies and exhausted by years of campaigning, Alexander's army mutinied at the Hyphasis River (Beas), refusing to march farther east. General Coenus pleaded with him to change his opinion and return home as most troops were exhausted after years of fighting. Alexander eventually agreed and turned south, marching along the Indus. Along the way his army conquered other tribes, cities and secured their conquest politically by installing pro-Greel vassals.

Alexander and his tired army reached Susa in 324 BC. and some weeks later Babylon. In June 323 BC, Alexander died in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar II unexpectedly and of unknown causes.

The Partition of Babylon was the first of the conferences and ensuing agreements that divided the territories of Alexander the Great. It was held at Babylon in June 323 BC. Alexander's death at the age of 32 had left an empire in the size of China stretching from Greece all the way to India, 5000 km from one end to the other. About two dozen potential successors got their share of Alexander's empire. General Seleucos got Persia, Ptolemy got Egypt. The other parts fell subject to succession wars for the next 47 years.

All successors spread Greek language and culture. The Chinese found good trade partners in them and therefore made the Silk Road an effective route with hundreds of stations. Civilisation from Greece (and later Rome) began exchange ideas with those from India and even China.

• The **First Punic War** (264 to 241 BC) was the first of three wars fought between Ancient Carthage and the Roman Republic, the two great powers of the Western Mediterranean. For 23 years, in the longest continuous conflict and greatest naval war of antiquity, the two powers struggled for supremacy, primarily on the Mediterranean island of Sicily and its surrounding waters, and also in North Africa. The war began in 264 BC with the Roman conquest of the Carthaginian-controlled city of Messina in Sicily, granting Rome a military foothold on the island. The Romans built up a navy to challenge Carthage, the greatest naval power in the Mediterranean, for control over the waters around Sicily. In naval battles and storms, 700 Roman and 500 Carthaginian quinqueremes (main battle ships) were lost, along with about 700,000 to 800,000 lives.

• The **Second Punic War** (218 to 201 BC), also referred to as the Romans the War Against Hannibal, was the second of three wars between Carthage and the Roman Republic, with the participation of Greek polities and Numidian and Iberian forces on both sides. Against Hannibal's skill on the battlefield, the Romans adopted the Fabian strategy – the avoidance of battle against Hannibal and defeating his allies and the other Carthaginian generals instead. It was one of the deadliest human conflicts of ancient times. Fought across the entire Western Mediterranean region for 17 years and regarded by ancient historians as the greatest war in history, it was waged with unparalleled resources, skill, and hatred. It saw hundreds of thousands killed, some of the most lethal battles in military history, the destruction of cities, and massacres and enslavements of civilian populations and prisoners of war by both sides. The Roman Army suffered 300,000 deths, the Cathaginian Army 270,000 deaths, the civilian death toll on both sides is estimated between another 300,000 and half a million. Enslavement on both sides are estimated 1 to 1.5 million. Carthage lost Hispania forever, and Rome firmly established her power there over large areas. Rome imposed a war indemnity of 10,000 silver talents (300 tonnes/660,000 pounds), limited the Carthaginian navy to 10 ships (to ward off pirates), and forbade Carthage from raising an army without Roman permission. The Numidians took this opportunity to capture and plunder Carthaginian territory.

• The **Maccabean War** (167-160 BC) The Maccabean Revolt was a Jewish rebellion, lasting from 167 to 160 BC, led by the Maccabees against the Seleucid (Greek-Persian) Empire and the Greek influence on Jewish life.

Timeline: In the narrative of 1 Maccabees, after Antiochus IV issued his decrees forbidding Jewish religious practice, a rural Jewish priest from Modiin, Mattathias the Hasmonean, sparked the revolt against the Seleucid Empire by refusing to worship the Greek gods. Mattathias killed a Hellenistic Jew who had stepped forward to take Mattathias' place in sacrificing to an idol as well as the Greek officer who was sent to enforce the sacrifice. Afterwards, he and his five sons fled to the wilderness of Judah. After Mattathias' death about one year later in 166 BC, his son Judah Maccabee led an army of Jewish dissidents to victory over the Seleucid dynasty in guerrilla warfare, which at first was directed against Hellenised Jews, of whom there were many. The Maccabees destroyed pagan altars in the villages, circumcised boys and forced Hellenised Jews into outlawry. Judah's nickname "Maccabbeus," now used in popular culture to describe the Jewish partisans as a whole, is taken from the Hebrew word for "hammer".

The revolt itself involved many battles, in which the light, quick and mobile Maccabean forces gained notoriety among the slow and bulky Seleucid army, and also for their use of guerrilla tactics. After the victory, the Maccabees entered Jerusalem in triumph and ritually cleansed the Temple, re-establishing traditional Jewish worship there and installing Jonathan Apphus, Judah's youngest brother, as high priest. A large Seleucid army was sent to quash the revolt, but returned to Syria on the death of Antiochus IV. Beforehand, Judas Maccabbeus made an agreement with Rome and became allied, tying the hands of the weaker Seleucid Empire. Its commander Lysias, preoccupied with internal Seleucid affairs, agreed to a political compromise that restored religious freedom. 1.) Battle of Wadi Haramia (167 BC); 2.) Battle of Beth Horon (166 BC); 3.) Battle of Emmaus (166 BC); 4.) Battle of Beth Zur (164 BC); 5.) Battle of Beth Zechariah (162 BC); 6.) Battle of Adasa (161 BC); 7.) Battle of Elasa (160 BC)

• The **Third Punic War** (149–146 BC)

It was the last of the Punic Wars fought between the former Phoenician colony of Carthage and the Roman Republic. It can be considered a "finish-off war". The Roman have been waiting for the right situation. It came in 151 BC when Numidia (which is west of Carthago) launched another border raid on Carthaginian soil, besieging the Punic town of Oroscopa, and Carthage launched a large military expedition (25,000 soldiers) to repel the Numidian invaders. Rome showed displeasure with Carthage's decision to wage war against its neighbour without Roman consent. In 149 BC, Rome declared war against Carthage. Many Carthaginians died from starvation during the later part of the siege, while many others died in the final six days of fighting. When the war ended, the remaining 50,000 Carthaginians, a small part of the original pre-war population, were sold into slavery by the victors. Carthage was systematically burned for 17 days; the city's walls and buildings were utterly destroyed. The remaining Carthaginian territories were annexed by Rome and reconstituted to become the Roman province of Africa. Death toll on Carthage 200,000, on Romans 80,000. The Third Punic War ended Carthage's independent existence. By her victory, Rome had taken a key step towards what ultimately became her domination of the Mediterranean world.

• **Rome's War with Jugurtha** [or Numidia] (111-104 BC) or The Jugurthine War was a major moment in the beginning of Rome's transition from a republic into an empire.

Background: We can identify the Numidians by their language. Numidian, also known as Old Libyan, was the language of the Maesulians, ethnic Berber, of the eastern part of ancient Numidia during the Pre-Roman era in northern Africa. The language is identified as belonging to the Afroasiatic family. The Afroasiatic is a large language family of about 300 languages that are spoken predominantly in West Asia, North Africa, the Horn of Africa and parts of the Sahel. To it belong Berber, Chadic, Cushitic, Egyptian, and the large Semitic branch with Phoenician, Canaanite, Aramaic, Hebrew, and Arabic. So, the Numidians were Berber related to the Phoenician (or Punic) Cartaginians they fought against with the help of the Romans.

Numidia had become the most powerful kingdom on the North African coast after the Phoenicians of Carthage were annihilated by the Romans in a series of exhausting wars. Located in modern Algeria, this major Mediterranean trade centre was also one of Rome's most important allies; the two had fought together in the Punic Wars.

After the death of the long-lived Masinissa around 148 BC, he was succeeded by his son Micipsa. When Micipsa died in 118 BC, he was succeeded jointly by his two sons Hiempsal I and Adherbal and Masinissa's illegitimate grandson, Jugurtha who was very popular among the Numidians. Jugurtha had served under the great Roman general Scipio in his youth, giving him a chance to learn all about Roman military tactics and to create a network of professional contacts throughout Rome. After a quarrel, Jugurtha had Hiempsal killed, which led to open war with Adherba. He incurred the wrath of Rome in the process by killing some Roman businessmen who were aiding Adherbal. After a brief war with Rome, Jugurtha surrendered and received a highly favourable peace treaty, which raised suspicions of bribery once more. Adherbal responded by calling out to his kingdom's top ally, Rome, for help.

The Romans were very concerned to hear about the crisis in Numidia, so they sent ambassadors to check it out. Jugurtha, however, was clever and used his knowledge of Roman politics and his connexions in Rome. By the time that the Roman ambassadors left Numidia, they had decided that Jugurtha really had not done anything wrong, and recognised both his and Adherbal's claims to a now divided kingdom. Jugurtha, however, wanted all of Numidia. He launched a new campaign against Adherbal, despite Roman warnings. What Jugurtha may not have been aware of was the fact that Adherbal's army contained a large number of Roman and Italian soldiers. Rome demanded that Jugurtha stop the attack, but the power-hungry king continued. In 112 BC Adherbal was killed, and his soldiers (including the Italians) were executed. Rome had no choice but to declare war.

The Roman Senate sent an army into Africa, which quickly negotiated peace with little fighting. It was believed that Jugurtha had used his connections in Rome to basically buy his way out of trouble. Some politicians demanded that Jugurtha be brought to Rome for trial, in order to determine which politicians were in his pocket. Jugurtha came to Rome, but the corrupt courts controlled by the Roman elites released him. Jugurtha, back in Numdia, responded by trying to assassinate another cousin, flaunting his impunity. As a result, the Senate declared war again in 110 BC, and raised another army to be sent into Africa. This army was ambushed then bribed by Jugurtha, and it soon left Numidia. The people of Rome could not believe that the Senate would allow this, and riots broke out across the city. The Roman Senate was quickly losing the support of the people and realised that they needed a win. So, they reached out to Quintus Caecilius Metellus, a prominent Roman general from one of the most prestigious military families in the republic. Metellus marched his armies into Africa, but it was not the general himself who defeated the Numidians. It was his chief subordinate, a plebeian (non-aristocratic) man named Gaius Marius (c. 157-86 BC.), the uncle-in-law to Gaius Julius Caesar. He sent his Quaestor Lucius Cornelius Sulla to neighbouring Mauretania in order to eliminate their support for Jugurtha. With the help of Bocchus I of Mauretania, Sulla captured Jugurtha and brought the war to a conclusive end. Jugurtha was brought to Rome in chains and was placed in the Tullianum. Jugurtha was executed by the Romans in 104 BC, after being paraded through the streets in Gaius Marius' Triumph.

• The **Intervention Of Pompeius** (61 BC). In 63 BC, following his victory in the Third Mithridatic War, Pompey the Great intervened in a civil war in the Hasmonean Kingdom between Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II, conquered Judea and appointed Hyrcanus High Priest. Under Hyrcanus, real power rested with his chief minister, Antipater the Idumaean. In 49 BC Antipater prompted Hyrcanus to side with Julius Caesar during Caesar's Civil War. Following his victory, Caesar bestowed the title of ethnarch on Hyrcanus and epitropos (or Procurator) on Antipater. A few years later, Antipater appointed his sons Phasael and Herod military governors of Jerusalem and the Galilee respectively. After the Roman civil war following the murder of Julius Caesar, Hyrcanus and Antipater became clients of Mark Antony, who now ruled the Roman east.

• The **Pompeian–Parthian invasion** of 40 BC. After the defeat of the Parthian-backed Pompeians in the Liberators' civil war by Mark Antony and Octavian, Orodes II sent a Parthian force under Prince Pacorus I and the Pompeian general Quintus Labienus in 40 BC to invade the eastern Roman territories while Antony was in Egypt. (The Liberators' civil war was started by the Second Triumvirate to avenge Julius Caesar's murder. The war was fought by the forces of Mark Antony and Octavian (the Second Triumvirate members) against the forces of Caesar's assassins Marcus Junius Brutus and Gaius Cassius Longinus in 42 BC.). Roman soldiers in Syria, many of whom were former Republicans fighting in the last civil war, joined the force, and the Levant and much of Asia Minor were swiftly overrun by Pacorus I and Labienus, respectively. In 39 BC, Antony sent Ventidius, who defeated and executed Labienus in a counter-attack, and then drove Pacorus I out of the Levant. A second Parthian invasion of Syria by Pacorus I resulted in the latter's death and Parthian failure. Antony later began a campaign with a massive force against Parthia, but ended in Roman defeat.

• **Herod's Siege Of Jerusalem** (37 BC). Herod the Great's Siege of Jerusalem (37 BC) was the final step in his campaign to secure the throne of Judea. Aided by Roman forces provided by Marcus Antonius (Mark Antony), Herod was able to capture the city and depose Antigonus II Mattathias, ending Hasmonean rule. The siege appears in the writings of Flavius Josephus and Dio Cassius.

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• The currant estimates range the entire population of the Roman Empire between 40 million and 50 million inhabitants. By observing the following numbers, we quickly realise that the Jewish-Roman Wars belong to the deadliest military conflicts in history by having "World War-character" in size as well as in numbers. Uprisings occured, sporadically at first, but when the Romans took over from the Greeks. and their laws and tax had a firm grip on the Jewish population, an explosion of revolts engulfed the Roman Empire in total war. Let us take a closer look:

• The Jewish Messianic Revolt of **Simon of Peraea** (3 AD). Simon of Peraea, also known as Simon son of Joseph, was a former slave of Herod the Great who rebelled in Peraea, in the modern north of Jordan. Some have identified him as possibly being the messiah of The Gabriel Inscription. Titus Flavius Josephus writes: ". . . This man was elevated at the disorderly state of things, and was so bold as to put a diadem (crown) on his head, while a certain number of the people stood by him, and by them he was declared to be a king, and he thought himself more worthy of that dignity than any one else. . . . He burnt down the royal palace at Jericho, and plundered what was left in it. He also set fire to many other of the king's houses in several places of the country, utterly destroyed them, and permitted those that were with him to take what was left in them for a prey. He would have done greater things, but care was taken to repress him immediately. [The commander of Herod's infantry] Gratus joined himself to some Roman soldiers, took the forces he had with him, and met Simon. And after a great and a long fight, no small part of those that had come from Peraea (a disordered body of men, fighting rather in a bold than in a skillful manner) were destroyed. Although Simon had saved himself by flying away through a certain valley, Gratus overtook him, and cut off his head." This event took place some time after Herod's death in 4 BC.

• The **Revolt Against Flaccus In Judaea** (38 AD). The years 7–26 were relatively calm, but after 37 the province again began to be a source of trouble for Emperor Caligula. The cause of tensions in the east of the Empire was complicated, involving the spread of Greek culture, Roman Law and the rights of Jews in the empire. Caligula did not trust the prefect of Egypt, Aulus Avilius Flaccus. Flaccus who had been loyal to Tiberius, conspired against Caligula's mother and had connexions with Egyptian separatists. In 38, Caligula sent Agrippa to Alexandria unannounced to check on Flaccus. According to Philo, the visit was met with jeers from the Greek population, who saw Agrippa as the king of the Jews. Flaccus tried to placate both the Greek population and Caligula by having statues of the emperor placed in Jewish synagogues. As a result, extensive religious riots broke out in the city. Caligula responded by removing Flaccus from his position and executing him. In 39, Agrippa accused Herod Antipas, the tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, of planning a rebellion against Roman rule with the help of Parthia. Herod Antipas confessed and Caligula exiled him. Agrippa was rewarded with his territories.

• The **Alexandria Riots** (40 AD). Riots erupted in the Egyptian harbour city Alexandria in 40 AD. between Jews and Greeks. Jews were accused of not honouring the emperor. Disputes occurred also in the city of Jamnia. Jews were angered by the erection of a clay altar and destroyed it. In response, Caligula ordered the erection of a statue of himself in the Jewish Temple of Jerusalem. The governor of Syria, Publius Petronius, fearing civil war if the order were carried out, delayed implementing it for nearly a year. Agrippa finally convinced Caligula to reverse the order.

The sole source is Philo of Alexandria, himself a Jew, who witnessed the riots and afterwards led the Jewish delegation to Caligula, and requested the re-establishment of legal Jewish residence in Alexandria. Philo's writings on the topic are found in two sources: In Flaccum (meaning "Against Flaccus"), which is wholly devoted to the riots, and Legatio ad Gaium (meaning "Embassy to Caligula"), which makes some references to the event in its introduction. Scholarly research around the subject has been divided on certain points, including whether the Alexandrian Jews fought to keep their citizenship or to acquire it, whether they evaded the payment of the poll-tax or prevented any attempts to impose it on them, and whether they were safeguarding their identity against the Greeks or against the Egyptians.

• The **Jacob And Simon Uprising** (46 AD)

Background: The Crisis under Caligula (37–41) has been proposed as the "first open break between Rome and the Jews", even though problems were already evident during the Census of Quirinius in 6 and under Sejanus (before 31). In the year 46, an insurrection by the Jews broke out in Judea province. The Jacob and Simon uprising was instigated by the two eponymous brothers, and lasted between 46–48 AD. The revolt, which concentrated in the Galilee, began as sporadic insurgency and in 48 was put down by Roman authorities and both brothers executed.

Flavius Josephus' Jewish Antiquities states that there were three main Jewish sects at this time, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes. The Zealots were a "fourth sect", founded by Judas of Galilee (also called Judas of Gamala) in the year 6 against Quirinius' tax reform, shortly after the Roman Empire declared what had most recently been the tetrarchy of Herod Archelaus to be a Roman province, and that they "agree in all other things with the Pharisaic notions; but they have an inviolable attachment to liberty, and say that God is to be their only Ruler and Lord." (18.1.6)

According to the Jewish Encyclopedia article on Zealots: "Judah of Gaulanitis is regarded as the founder of the Zealots, who are identified as the proponents of the Fourth Philosophy. In the original sources, however, no such identification is anywhere clearly made, and the question is hardly raised of the relationship between the Sicarii, the upholders of the Fourth Philosophy, and the Zealots. Josephus himself in his general survey of the various groups of freedom fighters (War 7:268–70) enumerates the Sicarii first, whereas he mentions the Zealots last." Others have also argued that the group was not so clearly marked out (before the first war of 66-70/3) as some have thought.

The information on the revolt which erupted in Galilee, then part of the Roman Judaea province, is limited. The sources however indicate that the revolt was motivated by anti-Roman sentiments and driven by Zealots. The revolt, which was concentrated in the Galilee, began as sporadic insurgency and then climaxed in 48 AD. Two of Judas the Galilean' sons, Jacob and Simon, were involved in a revolt and were executed by Tiberius Alexander, the procurator of Iudaea province from 46 to 48.

Aftermath: 18 years after the events of the revolt in Galilee the entire province of Judaea revolted against Rome, in what became known as the Great Revolt of Judaea or the First Jewish-Roman War

• The **First Jewish–Roman War** (66–73 AD) or The Flavian War against the Jews: According to Josephus, violence began in 66 AD in Caesarea, the Roman Capital of the Province Judaea, where there was religious tension between the Greek and Jewish population. It was provoked by Greeks of a certain merchant house sacrificing birds in front of a local synagogue. In reaction, one of the Jewish Temple clerks Eliezar ben Hanania ceased prayers and sacrifices for the Roman Emperor at the Temple. Protests over taxation joined the list of grievances and random attacks on Roman citizens and perceived 'traitors' occurred in Jerusalem. The Jewish Temple was then breached by Roman troops at the order of the procurator Gessius Florus, who had seventeen talents removed from the treasury of the Temple, claiming the money was for the Emperor. In response to this action, the city fell into unrest and some of the Jewish population began to openly mock Florus by passing a basket around to collect money as if Florus was poor. Florus reacted to the unrest by sending soldiers into Jerusalem the next day to raid the city and arrest a number of the city leaders, who were later whipped and crucified, despite many of them being Roman citizens. Shortly, outraged Judean nationalist factions took up arms and the Roman military garrison of Jerusalem was quickly overrun by rebels. Fearing the worst, the pro-Roman king Herod Agrippa II and his sister Berenice fled Jerusalem to Galilee. Judean militias later moved upon Roman citizens of Judaea and pro-Roman officials, cleansing the country of any Roman symbols. Among other events, the Sicarii (dagger men) rebel faction surprised the Roman garrison of Masada and took over the fortress. General Gallus went up against the rebels and lost a crucial battle at Beth Horon in 68 AD.

Initially the outbreak of violence had been an internal factional conflict between the Jews; those who were in favour of rebellion and those who were opposed. Huge loss of life occurred, including that of the former High Priest Ananias. The Roman garrison on Jerusalem's western border became besieged and was unable to assist those who opposed rebellion. Eventually, led by their commander Metilius, the garrison surrendered in exchange for unhindered passage from the city, but, led by Eliezar, the Jewish rebels slaughtered all the surrendered soldiers, except for Metilius, who was forced to convert to Judaism.

After this humiliating defeat, Emperor Nero replaced General Gallus with a specialist in religious warfare: General Titus Flavius Vespasianus, in short: Vespasian. Some years before, he got several legions under his command to crush the Druid Movement in Britannia. He was so successful that we today know next to nothing about the Celtic Druids. Vespasian systematically distroyed the religion and everything that could remind the Celts of their old gods.

The first Jewish rebellion against the Romans was led by Yohanan ben Levi (also called Yohanan mi-Gush Halav or John of Giscala), Eleazar ben Simon, Yosef ben Matityahu (Josef son of Matthew, better known as Flavius Josephus), and Yoshua (Jesus) ben Gamla the Jewish high priest in about 64-65 AD. The Romans, under the leadership of General Flavius Vespasianus, needed about 120,000 legionaries to fight the Messianic Movement down.

He crushed the Northern and Southern leadership and the rebellion began to fall apart. Later that year, Nero was deposed. The Roman forces besieged Jerusalem and breached the walls by 70 AD. Once they got into the walls, the Roman soldiers burned and ransacked the city also destroying the Second Temple. The final stronghold at Masada was taken in 73 AD and when the Roman soldiers broke through the defences, they discovered all the defenders had committed suicide.

Already in the first year of the war, Vespasian met the Greek-speaking Jewish general of the Northern Messianic Army: General Yosef bar Mattitiyahu. He had surrendered to the Romans. Not only that, in the course of the following months, he offered lots of valuable information. As he listened to soldiers he knew that Nero was dead and Vespasian on the brink to become next emperor, and he told him so. Mattityahu became Vespasians adviser and at the end of the war he was adopted son to Vespasian. As such, he changed his name to Titus Flavius Josephus.

The war ended with the Empire winning. According to Titus Flavius Josephus, 1.1 million Jewish soldiers and civilians died in Judaea and 100,000 in Galilee, 97,000 were sold into slavery. Thousands of Jewish survivors were scattered all over Arabia and Persia. This war did not end the Jewish-Roman wars. On the contrary: The Jewish-Roman Wars became a series of 10 wars fought in the next 600 years.

• The **Second Jewish–Roman War** (115–117 AD) or The Kitos or Quietus War: The Kitos War occurred in the years between 115–117 AD. The reasons are clear to us. Just like in the First Jewish-Roman war, it was religion and the totally contrary concepts behind it. The Jews who were following the Laws of God felt undermined and pushed aside in their own land by Greeks and Romans who followed laws made by man.

Cyrenaica: In 115, as Emperor Trajan's army advanced victoriously through Mesopotamia, ethnic Judeans in its rear began attacking the small garrisons left behind and major uprisings in Cyrenaica, Cyprus and Egypt spiraled out of control, resulting in a widespread slaughter of left-behind Roman garrisons and Roman citizens by Jewish rebels. The revolts were triggered by high taxation and desecretion of Jewish laws, temples and worshippers in Cyrene, where one Lukuas (also called Andreas) ordered the Jews to destroy the Roman temples in retaliation. The Romans fled to Alexandria, where they captured and killed many Jews. (With a population of some 150,000 Jews, Alexandria was Judaism's largest city and in many cities the Jewish population had reached a percentage of 5-15%) In 116, the Jews organised themselves and had their revenge.

Egypt: Lukuas led the rebels toward Alexandria, entered the city, which had been abandoned by the Roman governor, Marcus Rutilius Lupus, and set fire to it. The Egyptian temples and the tomb of Pompey were destroyed. Jewish rebels reportedly also prevailed in a battle at Hermopolis in 116, as indicated in a papyrus.] Trajan sent new troops under the praefectus praetorio Marcius Turbo, but Egypt and Cyrenaica were pacified only in autumn 117.

Cyprus: In Cyprus a Jewish band under a leader named Artemion took control of the island, killing tens of thousands of Cypriot Greek civilians. The Cypriot Jews participated in the great uprising against the Romans under Trajan (117), and massacred 60,000 Greeks. A Roman army was dispatched to the island, soon reconquering the capital. After the revolt had been fully defeated, laws were created forbidding any Jews to live on the island.

Mesopotamia: A new revolt sprang up in Mesopotamia, while Trajan was in the Persian Gulf. Trajan reconquered Nisibis (Nusaybin in Turkey), Edessa, the capital of Osroene, and Seleucia (Iraq), each of which housed large Jewish communities.

Judaea: The Jewish leader, Lukuas, fled to Judaea. Marcius Turbo pursued him and sentenced to death the brothers Julian and Pappus, who had been key leaders in the rebellion. Lusius Quietus, the conqueror of the Jews of Mesopotamia, was now in command of the Roman army in Judaea, and laid siege to Lydda, where the rebel Jews had gathered under the leadership of Julian and Pappus. Lydda was next taken and many of the rebellious Jews were executed, including the rebel leaders.

Lusius Quietus, whom the Emperor Trajan had held in high regard and who had served Rome so well, was quietly stripped of his command once Hadrian had secured the Imperial title. He was murdered in unknown circumstances in the summer of 118, possibly by the orders of Hadrian.

Aftermath: Further developments occurred in Judea Province in the year 130, when Emperor Hadrian visited the Eastern Mediterranean and, according to Cassius Dio, made the decision to rebuild the city of Jerusalem as the Roman city of Aelia Capitolina, derived from his name Publius Aelius Hadrianus Augustus (24 January 76 – 10 July 138) and meaning "The little capital of Aelius". The decision, together with Hadrian's other sanctions against the Jews, was allegedly one of the reasons for the eruption of the 132 Bar Kokhba revolt — an extremely violent uprising. The rebellion ended with a ban upon the Jewish faith across the Roman Empire, which was lifted in 138, upon Hadrian's death. after the Roman commander Lusius Quietus (115–117 AD). The Jihadists of the Messianic Movement (also known as the "Zealots") killed more than 400,000 Roman citizens in the

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Eastern Mediterranean. The Jewish communities of the Messianic Movement suffered 200,000 deaths at least.

• The **Third Jewish–Roman War** (132–136 AD) or The Bar Kokhba Revolt: The Bar Kokhba Revolt (Hebrew: Mered Bar Kokhba) was a rebellion of the Jews of the Roman province of Judaea, led by Simon bar Kokhba, against the Roman Empire under Emperor Hadrian from 117 to 138 AD. [The Leader Shimon bar Kokhba called himself Shimon ben Koseva, meaning Simon "the son of the star," or more precisely "son of the Messianic Movement." Others gave him the title Nasi or Nazorean, "Keeper of the Law." Kokhba built tunnel hideouts and in one of them, a cluster of Bar Kokhba's letters, was found by Lieutenant General Yigael Yadin in 1960.] The revolt erupted as a result of ongoing religious and political tensions in Judaea following on the failure of the First Revolt in 66-73 AD. These tensions were related to the establishment of a large Roman presence in Judaea, changes in administrative life and the economy, together with the outbreak and suppression of Jewish revolts from Mesopotamia to Libya and Cyrenaica. Dio Cassius reports 220,000 gentiles were killed. He also reports cannibalism and mutilation. The Romans sent 120,000 legionaries to fight down the 200,000–400,000 Jewish soldiers. According to Cassius Dio, 580,000 Jews were killed, 50 fortified towns and 985 villages razed; "many more" Jews died as a result of famine and disease. In addition, many Judean war captives were sold into slavery. Massive Roman military casualties was the result. A large portion of the surviving Jewish Messianic Movement escaped to Egypt, Persia, and Arabia to fight on another day. Although Jewish Christians regarded Jesus as the Messiah and did not support Bar Kokhba, they were barred from Jerusalem along with the other Jews. The Romans could not distinguish any messianic group from another, pretty much as we would not distinguish Al-Qaeda from Hamas or ISIS.

Aftermath: The Jews were prohibited from living in Judaea. The centre of activity moved to Galilee. Hadrian bans Torah study, tortures Rabbis. Antoninus Pius (father of Marcus Aurelius and Roman emperor 138-161 AD.) allowed only the Jews to circumcise their own sons. He also allows Jewish bodies to be buried.

• The **Fourth Jewish–Roman War or Jewish** (351-352 AD) or revolt against Constantius Gallus: In 350 AD, Emperor Constantius II (son of Constantine the Great) was engaged in a campaign in the East against the Sasanid Persians. He was however forced to return to the West to counter the usurpation of Magnentius, who had murdered Constantius' brother and colleague, Constans. Constantius therefore appointed his cousin Gallus Caesar of the East, on March 15, 351 at Sirmium. Gallus arrived at Antioch, his capital, on May 7 and shortly after the Jews revolted in Palestine. The rebellion was led by Isaac of Sepphoris (also known as Isaac of Diocesarea). The revolt began with a night assault on the Roman garrison of Diocaesarea, which was destroyed, and allowed the Jews to procure the necessary weapons. According to the 9th century author Theophanes the Confessor subsequently the rebels killed the people of different ethnicities, pagan Greek Hellenes and Samaritans. He is the first author to make this claim. In 351 or 352, Gallus sent General Ursicinus to quell the revolt. Tiberias and Diospolis, two of the cities conquered by the rebels, were almost destroyed, while Diocaesarea was razed to the ground. Ursicinus ordered several thousand rebels to be executed.

• The **Fifth Jewish–Roman War** (484 AD) or **The 1st Samarian Revolt** or The Justa Uprising or Justa's War against Emperor Flavius Zeno: The Samaritans are a group of Jews who have created their own Judaist belief system. The Samaritans or Shamerim, which means "Guardians of the Torah", are an ethnoreligious group of the Holy Land originating from the Israelites. Their name explains already what they belief in. The Samaritans accept only the Torah as sacred scripture and reject all other Hebrew writings. Despite Christian domination, through 4th and 5th centuries Samaritans developed a semi-autonomy in the hill country of Samaria, a move which gradually escalated into a series of open revolts. The four major Samaritan Revolts during this period caused a near extinction of the Samaritan community, as well as significant Christian losses. In the late 6th century, Byzantines and their Christian Ghassanid allies took a clear upper hand in the struggle.

During the reign of Eastern Roman Emperor Zeno (r. 474-475 and 476-491), tensions between the Christian community and the Samaritans in Neapolis (Shechem) grew dramatically. According to Samaritan sources, Emperor Zeno persecuted the Samaritans with no mercy. The Emperor went to Neapolis, gathered the elders and asked them to convert; when they refused, Zeno had many Samaritans killed, and rebuilt the synagogue into a church. Zeno then took for himself Mount Gerizim, where the Samaritans worshipped God, and built several edifices, among them a tomb for his recently deceased son, on which he put a cross, so that the Samaritans, worshipping God, would prostrate in front of the tomb. Later, in 484, the Samaritans revolted, provoked by rumours that the Christians intended to transfer the remains of Aaron's sons and grandsons. Samaritans reacted by entering the cathedral of Neapolis, killing the Christians inside and severing the fingers of the bishop.

The Samaritans elected Justa (or Justasas) as their king and moved to Caesarea, where a noteworthy Samaritan community lived. There many Christians were killed and Justa celebrated the victory with games in the circus. After that provocation Justa was defeated and killed and his head was sent to Zeno. The Emperor then went personally to Samaria to quell the rebellion. Zeno forbade religious ceremonies on the mountain and confiscated their Samaritans synagogue there. These actions fueled Samaritan anger towards the Christians further. Some modern historians however believe that the order of the facts preserved by Samaritan sources should be inverted, as the persecution of Zeno was a consequence of the rebellion rather than its cause, and should have happened after 484, around 489.

• The **Sixth Jewish–Roman War** or **The 2nd Samaritan Revolt** or The War against Emperor Flavius Anastasius (495 AD). Samaritans rebelled again in 495, during the reign of Emperor Anastasius I Dicorus, reoccupying Mount Gerizim. The Samaritan mob commanded by a Samaritan woman is said to have seized the Church of St. Mary and massacred the garrison. The revolt was subsequently suppressed by the Eastern Roman governor of Edessa, Procopius, and the Samaritan leaders were slain.

• The **Seventh Jewish–Roman War** (529-531 AD) or **The 3rd Samarian Revolt** or The War of Ben Sabar against Emperor Flavius Justinianus: Under a messianic figure named Julianus ben Sabar (or ben Sahir), the Samaritans launched a war, sometimes referred as the final Samaritan revolt, to create their own independent state in 529. This was perhaps the most violent among all the Samaritan uprisings. The violence erupted due to restrictions imposed on Samaritans by the Eastern Roman authorities via Emperor Justinian's edicts. Sectarian tensions between Christians and Samaritans might have been another cause for the revolt.

Following massive riots in Scythopolis and Samarian countryside, the rebels could quickly conquer Neapolis and ben Sabar emerged as their leader, being proclaimed a king. Ben Sabar followed a strict anti-Christian policy: Neapolis' bishop and many priests were murdered and he persecuted the Christians, destroyed churches and organised guerrilla warfare in the countryside, driving the Christians away. By 531 the rebellion had been put down. The forces of Emperor Justinian I quelled the revolt with the help of the Ghassanid Arabs; tens of thousands of Samaritans died or were enslaved, with their death-toll possibly being between 20,000 and 100,000. The Christian Eastern Roman Empire thereafter virtually outlawed the Samaritan faith. Julianus' revolt has been compared to the Bar Kokhba Revolt 400 years prior. Both revolts against foreign imperial occupation led by self-proclaimed Messiahs were initially successful, only to be later brutally quashed. However, unlike the Jews, the Samaritan community never recovered from their ethnic cleansing, and has been a minority in Samaria since.

• The **Eighth Jewish–Roman War** (556 AD) or **The 4th Samaritan revolt**. The Roman emperor Flavius Justinianus faced another major revolt in 556 AD. On this occasion the Samaritans and all the other Jews seem to have made common cause, beginning their rebellion in Caesarea early in July. They fell upon the Christians in the city, killing many of them, after which they attacked and plundered the churches. The Roman governor, Stephanus, and his military escort were pressed hard, and eventually the governor was killed, while taking refuge in his own house. Amantius, the governor of the Diocese East was ordered to quell the revolt, after the widow of Stephanus reached Constantinople.

Despite the Jewish participation, the rebellion seems to have gathered less support than the revolt of Ben Sabar. The Church of the Nativity was burned down, suggesting that the rebellion had spread south to Bethlehem. Either 100,000 or 120,000 are said to have been butchered following the revolt. Others were tortured or driven into exile. However, this is probably an exaggeration as punishment seems to have been limited to the district of Caesarea.

• The **Ninth Jewish–Roman War** (572 AD) or **The 5th Samarian Revolt:** Still, the tensions were not over yet. Emperor Flavius Justinus II (c. 520–578, r. 565-578) complained about "outrages committed by....Samaritans at the foot of Mount Carmel upon the Christian Churches and the holy images".Probably in response to this event, Justin II issued an order in May 572 rescinding the restoration of rights granted by Justinian. In response, a second joint Samaritan-Jewish revolt took place in summer 572 and again in early 573 or alternatively in 578. John of Ephesus and John of Nikiû may have described this revolt. The Samaritan faith was outlawed and from a population of nearly a million, the Samaritan community dwindled to near extinction. The situation of Samaritans further worsened with the failure of Jewish revolt against Flavius Heraclius and slaughter of Jewish population in 629.

• The **Tenth Jewish–Roman War** (602–630 AD.) or The Jewish **revolt against Flavius Heraclius** was part of the (eastern) Roman–Persian (Sasanid) War of 602–628 and is considered the last serious Jewish attempt for gaining autonomy in the Holy Land prior to modern times. In 614, Palaestina Prima and Palaestina Secunda were conquered by a joint Sassanid and Jewish army. The event shocked the Christian society, as many of its churches were destroyed and the True Cross taken by the Persians to Ctesiphon. The Jewish generals Nehemiah ben Hushiel and Benjamin of Tiberias would shortly capture Jerusalem without resistance. Around 22,000 Jewish soldiers sided with the Persian Army to regain the Holy Land. But by 617 AD the Persians had reversed their policy and sided now with the Christians over the Jews, probably because of pressure from Mesopotamian Christians in Persia itself. However, the Persians were smashed by the Romans. On 21 March 630, Emperor Flavius Heraclius marched in triumph into Jerusalem and the Jewish population was slain. The clashes between the Jews and the Christian Romans probably cost 100,000 to 200,000 lives during the whole campaign from 602 to 630 AD, without the casualties of the Roman-Persian war itself. The series of wars did not end here but ruthlessly continued. After withdrawal of the Persian troops and the subsequent surrender of the local Jewish rebels, the area was re-annexed by Eastern Rome in 628.

• The **Jewish War against Mohammed** (622-632 AD.)

When Mohammed, after the expulsion from his hometown, gathered troops in 622 AD to conquer the other Arab cities and tribes, he was in for a horrible surprise. Large army remnants of the Jewish Messianic Movement were fighting against him alongside those Arabs who wanted to retain their independence and freedom. These veterans were still fierce fighters and they killed Mohammed's troops in their thousands. Mohammed was furious as he considered himself of Jewish descent. He thought of these Jewish soldiers as traitors against him and therefore they entered the Islamic scripture as "the most vile of human beings". The merciless killing went on until literally no Jewish tribe in the freshly conquered Islamic territory of Arabia survived at the time of Mohammed's death in 632 AD.

After Mohammed, the Arab-Islamic troops conquered in hundreds of battles one Christian land after another. The Islamic invasion of the Holy Land had dramatic consequences for Samaritans and other Jews. Roman control of the province was again and irreversibly lost in 636 AD, during the Muslim conquest of Syria. Many of them fled to Egypt and Syria first, then into the Roman Empire itself, to Persia and even to India. The last survivors converted to Islam due to pressure from the Sharia and to avoid the devastating Jizya tax implemented on non-Muslims.

• The **Islamic Wars against Persia, India, and China.**

Persia and India were next on the Islamic conquest spree. Jews, Nestorian Christians and other Christians then fled to China and built new communities in Xi'an and other cities. After that, the Islamised Turks in central Asia soon after began conquests on their own behalf. Tamerlane, another Islamic conqueror, ravaged Persia and her neighbours producing during his 35 years career of conquest and murder, between 1370 and 1405, about 15-20 million deaths. His victims were Zoroastrians, Christians, Jews, Buddhists and Hindus. The Muslim Jihadists entered Central Asia and then went to western China until they were stopped by devastating defeats delivered by huge Chinese armies and a scorched earth strategy at the border of the "Middle Kingdom".

The Islamic conquests, that have continued for 1400 years, account for a casualty figure that lies somewhere between 200 million and 250 million. The few meagre Crusades hardly can compete with that.

• The **Crusades against the Muslims**, 1095-1272 A.D.
or the Christian War to regain Control over the Holy Land

The Crusades were a series of religious wars sanctioned by the Roman Church in the West during the medieval period. In 1095, Pope Urban II called for the First Crusade in a sermon at the Council of Clermont. He encouraged military support for the (Eastern) Roman Empire and its Emperor, Alexios I, who needed reinforcements for his conflict with westward migrating Islamic Turks colonising Asia Minor (Anatolia, today Turkey). One of Urban's aims was to guarantee pilgrims access to the Holy Land that was under Muslim control. Urban's other motive and strategy may also have been to unite the Eastern and Western branches of Christendom, which had been divided since the East–West Schism that happened only a few years earlier in 1054. There are considered nine crusader campaigns to reclaim the Holy Land which took place between the years 1095-1272 A.D. The crusades lasted about 177 years. An accurate count of the death toll during the entirety of the crusades does not exist. The common guess brings the body count from 1 to 1.2 million. An estimated 70-80% of them were casualties in the (Eastern) Roman Empire itself caused by blunder and misorganisation of the Crusaders. This number includes killings of Jews and Orthodox Christians, and those who died from disease, those who were sold into slavery and many crusaders who died before they made it to the Holy Land.

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ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF THE BIBLE

The Bible has been a massive influence on literature and history, especially in the Western World, where the Gutenberg Bible was the first book printed using movable type. According to the March 2007 edition of Time, the Bible "has done more to shape literature, history, entertainment, and culture than any book ever written. Its influence on world history is unparalleled, and shows no signs of abating." As of the 2000s, it sells approximately 100 million copies annually.

WHAT IS THE (HEBREW) BIBLE?

The word Bible comes from the Greek word Biblia and means "books, collection of books", or simply "library". In ancient times they were refered to as "holy scriptures".

The Bible is a compilation of many books written at different times by a variety of authors, and later assembled into the "biblical canon". Since the early 13th century, most copies and editions of the Bible present all but the shortest of these books with divisions into chapters, generally a page or so in length. In order to find sentences quicker and easier, since the mid-16th century editors have further subdivided each chapter into verses - each consisting of a few short lines or sentences.

The Bible texts contain a mixture of laws, history, wisdom literature, philosophy, myths, legends, references on virtues, the dos and don't at that time, and even propaganda. The Koran, for instance, with its distinguished political ideologies and its arrogant claim to be perfect, is a book where those political views must lead their believers onto a collision course with anyone else. The texts of the Bible are often presented in forms of conversations and parables in order to make people (who at that time usually had either no education or only a limited level of education) understand contents and context of those stories.

The Old Testament is the Christian name for the Hebrew Bible. Both share the same contents, only the chapters of the Old Testament have a slightly different order in order to blur their real origin to Christian believers. The Hebrew Bible originally was written in the Hebrew language, than also in Syriac and Aramaic. The Hebrew Bible, is called The Tanakh in Judaism. After the Babylonian captivity, Aramaic replaced Biblical Hebrew as the everyday language in Palestine. The two languages were as similar as Italian and Spanish or German and Dutch today. After the Conquests of Alexander the Great (335–323 BC), Jewish upper class culture was influenced by Greek culture. This was most certainly the case in largest Jewish community of the world who lived in Alexandria (a Greek city in Egypt). Already in the time of Julius Caesar, an estimated 5-10% of the population of the Roman Empire was of Jewish origin. Their business language was Greek and sometimes Latin. Aramaic, the assumed mother tongue of Jesus, and this is a fact that most people are not aware of, was also one of the most important languages throughout the entire Persian Empire, reaching deeply into the region of north-western India.

SOME FACTS ABOUT THE NEW TESTAMENT

The New Testament is a collection of texts written in first-century Koine Greek. Koine Greek was the Alexandrian dialect which was used as lingua franca in the eastern Mediterranean since the conquest of Alexander the Great. Most scholars agree that during the early part of the first century Aramaic was the mother tongue of virtually all natives of Galilee and Judaea. Most believe that Jesus spoke Aramaic and that he may have also spoken Hebrew. That the entire New Testament was first written in Greek arouses several obvious questions: Have Jesus' disciples, simple fishermen as he said and other low-ranking people, spoken and written in Greek? Most certainly not as low-ranking people had no access to any kind of education. And if not, why was the entire New Testament written in Greek and not in Hebrew or Aramaic? Who then wrote the New Testament? When we consider the facts and when we have excluded and eliminated the impossible, whatever remains, however improbable, must be the truth! So the answer here is clearly: The New Testament was written by Greeks as well as by Greek-speaking Romans. Why did they write everything in Greek? There is only one answer possible: For customers who could read Greek, and those were the entire upper class in the Roman Empire. At that time, the Greek language had the very same status as the English language nowadays: It was the lingua franca of the educated elite!

The early Christian Greek writings consist of Gospels, letters, and apocalyptic writings. Among Christian denominations there is some disagreement about the contents of the canon, primarily the Apocrypha, a list of works that are regarded with varying levels of respect.

Attitudes towards the Bible also differ amongst Christian groups. Roman Catholics, high church Anglicans and Eastern Orthodox Christians stress the harmony and importance of the Bible and sacred tradition, while Protestant churches, including Evangelical Anglicans, focus on the idea of "sola scriptura" (Latin: by scripture alone). That is a theological doctrine held by some religious groups that the scriptures are the sole infallible rule of faith and practice. This concept arose during the Protestant Reformation, and many denominations today support the use of the Bible as the only source of Christian teaching.

NAME CORRUPTIONS AND MISLEADINGS

Name corruption, or the corruption of names, is a feature common in English but not confined to it as we find that feature also to a lesser extant in other languages. Basically it is an abbreviation, a contraction or otherwise shortened form of the original name. The development of a word corruption can go so far that the original is linguistically unrecognisable. In religious texts it often is created in order to steer the reader away from facts that might be or could contain an uncomfortable truth that contradicts a preveiling doctrine of a religion.

Typical examples of name corruption include personal names such as Pliny, Livy, Ptolemy, Pompey, Antony, Jesus, Joses, James, Jude, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Mary, Marc Aurel, and many others. Pliny stands for the Roman-Latin original Plinius, Livy for Livius, Ptolemy for Ptolemaios, Pompey for Gnaeus Pompeius, Antony for Marcus Antonius; Jesus (Greek: Iesous) for Joshua (or Yoshua, Yeshua, Yeshu, or the Hebrew-Aramaic original Yehoshua), Joses for Joseph (or another form of Jesus), James for Jacob (or Yacob), Jude for Judas, (or Judeas, Taddeus, Thaddeus), Matthew for Matheus (or Matthias, Mattathias, or the original Matityahu), Mark for Marcus, Luke for Lucas, John for Johannes (or Ioannes, Yonah, Jonah, Yohanan), Mary for Maria (or Mariam, Maryam), Marc Aurel for Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

"Misleadings" or extreme simplifications via translation (often deliberate) are names such as Barabbas, Eliazar, Elymas, Jesus of Nazareth, James the Less, James the brother of the Lord, James the son of Mary, James the son of Zebedee or James the son of Alphaeus. Someone who has not studied linguistics has almost no chance to unravel the labyrinth of name-giving in antiquity. But in order to understand scripture one has to do exactly that.

Personal names in Semitic languages (such as Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic) were historically based on a long naming system; most Semites did not have given / middle / family names, but a full chain of names. We find this system still in Arabic. Let us examine some examples for clarification: The most common form is the "patronym" which is a component of a personal name based on the given name of one's father, grandfather (i.e., an avonym), or an earlier male ancestor. A component of a name based on the name of one's mother or a female ancestor is a "matronym". Each is a means of conveying lineage, pretty much like in the Scandinavian name Robinson which just means "Son of Robin". Jews have historically used Aramaic patronymic names and after the Third Jewish–Roman War (132–136 A.D.) they also used Hebrew names.

• In Aramaic, the first name was followed by bar- or bat- ("son of" and "daughter of", respectively). In the New Testament, Simon Peter is called Shimon Bar-Yonah (Matthew 16:17) which means "son of John" or "son of Yohanan" to be precise. Nathanael is called Bartholomew, refering to the "son of Tolmai" (Hebrew form of the original Greek: Ptolemaios, Latin: Ptolemaeus, English: Ptolemy, with the unspeakable "P" removed from it). The titles can also be figurative, for example in Acts 4:36-37 a man named Joseph is called Barnabas meaning "son of consolation". Aramaic was an international language that had spread from Palestine to north-western India already around 500 BC.

• In the Hebrew patronymic system the first name is followed by either ben- or bat- ("son of" and "daughter of", respectively), and then the father's name, mother's name, or both. Hebrew was a regional language confined mostly to religious texts.

• In Arabic, the word ibn (or bin, ben and sometimes ibni and ibnu, to show the grammatical case of the noun) is the equivalent for "son of". Thus, for example, "Ishaq ibn Musa" means "Isaac son of Moses". In addition, bint means "daughter of". In Classical Arabic, the word ibn is written as bn between two names, since the case ending of the first name then supplies a vowel. Consequently, ibn is often written as "b.", as bint is often written as "bt.", in name formulas rendered from Arabic into Roman characters. Thus "Ishaq ibn Musa" is alternatively written as "Ishaq b. Musa". Instead of "son of" The word "Abu" (or "Aba" or "Abi") can stand before a name and then means "father of", so "Abu Musa" is the "father of Moses". Arabic, in antiquity known as Edumean or Edomite, was a regional language around Petra, Jordan and northern Arabia.

If we take a closer look at the Bible, we can find plenty of such name constructions. The full name of Barabbas, for instance, was Jesus (or Yoshua, Yeshua, Yeshu, Yehoshua) bar Abbas which means nothing else but "Jesus the son of the father", Eliazar was a soubriquet for Jesus and means "God has helped". It is the same connotation for Jesus' original name Yehoshua which means "God (or YHWH, Yahweh, Jahwe) rescues" or "God is salvation" or more clearly "the Saviour or Helper from God". It is a name as well as a title!

And so is "Jesus of Nazareth" (or "Iesus Nazarini" or "Jesus the Nazarene" or "Jesus the Nazorean") just a title and it means "the Saviour who is the Keeper of the Law (or Covenant)". The title which is in English very imprecisely rendered to "of Nazareth" has at least 11 distinct variations: Nazarene: Nazarene (Mark 1:24, Luke 4:34); Nazarenon (Mark 16:6); Nazarenos (Mark 10:47); Nazarenou (Mark 14:67, Luke 24:19); Nazorean: Nazoraios (Matthew 2:23, Luke 18:37, John 19:19 Acts 6:14, 22:8); Nazoraiou Matthew 26:71, Acts 3:6, Acts 4:10, Acts 26:9; Nazoraion Acts 24:5, Nazoraion (John 18:5, 18:7, Acts 2:22); Nazareth: Nazareth (Matthew 21:11, Luke 1:26, 2:4, 2:39, 2:51, Acts 10:38), Nazara (Matthew 4:13, Luke 4:16), Nazaret (Mark 1:9, Matthew 2:23, John 1:45, 1:46)

The title "Nazarene" as "Keeper of the Covenant" may well have a religious significance instead of denoting a place of origin. And there can be no doubt, this is exactly what Jesus did. He and most of his close family members were strict followers of "Moses' Law", the Covenant, and that is why Jesus had clashes with Greacofied and Romanised representatives of the Temple in Jerusalem. He found himself in a situation comparable to that of Martin Luther 1500 years later. It is a matter of course that the name "Jesus Christ" is also a title, a double title which we could nicely translate to "Saviour Messiah" as Christ comes from the Greek word Kristos for Messiah. In many cases, a name can reveal the truth about something or someone better than the entire narrative. A name can be a programme or promise. For instance the extra name "Caesar" in Caesar Tiberius bears the message "I will fullfil the political programme of Julius Caesar". And when we see the entire name "Tiberius Caesar Divi Augusti filius Augustus" it is much easier to understand how the bearer of that name perceives himself: "I am Tiberius, son of Augustus, who was the son of the divine Caesar". In other words: "I will act according to laws and legacy of Caesar and Augustus". The Flavian Dynasty had a similar effect on successors. Titus Flavius Vespasianus (the father, called "Vespasian" in English) helped creating Christianity as a Roman religion. And about 200 years later, another man made Christianity the official religion of the entire Roman Empire and he emphasised his plans by taking "Flavius" as family name: Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus Augustus better known as Constantine I. or Constantine the Great. His father Marcus Flavius Valerius Constantius Herculius Augustus took this name for he was fighting the very same kind of military campaign against the Celts (Picts) in Scotland as Flavius Vespasianus did. Both conflicts had to do with destroying an unruly religion for a new, more peaceful one.

If there was ever a place called Nazareth is still a matter of debate. Sextus Julius Africanus (c. 160–240 A.D.) was the first who reported the name Nazareth in the 3rd century A.D. Let us assume that Jesus lived in Nazareth, then it would have severe implications on the official Church doctrines as well: Theologian and other scholars are quite certain that Jesus' language was Aramaic. We know that Aramaic was a quasi official language for trade that was spoken in the vast area from the Holy Land to Western India. Nazareth was only 3.7 miles (6 km) southeast of the City of Sepphoris which was on the other side of a hill. Sepphoris with its 30,000 to 50,000 inhabitants was not only the provicial capital but also an important station of the Silk Road from which were northbound Roads leading to Greece and the Roman Empire as well as southbound Roads to Egypt and Ethiopia. There is a high likelihood that Jesus, his father, and other family members could have worked there as this Roman city was the largest employer in the region. Some of the very buildings we still can see in Sepphoris may have been built by Jesus and his family. They had to walk only one hour and they most certainly could have met numerous Buddhist monks and Zoroastrian missionaries from Persia. Jesus could have, exchanged religious ideas with them and learned lots about different beliefs without using any interpreter. So is it really a surprise that the teachings of Jesus contain plenty of Buddhist and Zoroastrian philosophies? It is quite remarkable that Sepphoris and most of Galilee did not take part in the Jewish-Roman War. Sepphoris declared herself "Eirenopolis" (City of Peace) as a coin minted at that time (c. 65 A.D.) clearly tells us.

When we read the New Testament with the highest possible conscienceness, we can discover almost two dozen members of Jesus' family. Elymas is one of them. He is also known as Bar-Jesus (Greek: Bariesou, Latin: Bariesu), a Jew in the Acts of the Apostles, Chapter 13. Bar Iesou means "Son of Joshua" or "Son of Jesus" in Aramaic.

There is James the Less who is none other than James the brother of the Lord, James the son of Mary, James the son of Alphaeus, and probably James the son of Zebedee. All of them are likely to refer to James the brother of Jesus.

Joseph the "carpenter" was Jesus father but no carpenter. Instead of "carpenter", in the Greek original we find the word "tekton" which means "builder", "mason", or "architect"

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(arch-builder). This is also a very suitable term for someone who builds a family.

There were two men named Alphaeus which is also a synonym for "the first one" like in "Alphabet". One of them was the father of the apostle James and the other the father of Matthew (also called Levi, meaning "joined to" or "joining"; Levi, according to the Book of Genesis, was the third son of Yacob and Leah, and the founder of the Israelite Tribe of Levi). Though both Matthew and James are described as being the "son of Alphaeus," there is no Biblical account of the two being called brothers, even in the same context where John and James or Peter and Andrew are described as being brothers.

Another important person is Matthew, or to be precise, Joseph (Yosef or Yosip or Yosippon) the son of Matthew (Yosef bar Matityahu). This is a historical person we all know under the name Titius Flavius Josephus the historian, adoptive son to Emperor Titus Flavius Vespasianus (the father), adoptive brother to Titus Flavius Vespasianus (the son), Titus Flavius Domitianus, and Flavia Domitilla Minor (also called Flavia Domitilla the Younger) who was mother of Flavia Domitilla the Christian saint. She married her cousin, the consul Titus Flavius Clemens, a grand-nephew of Vespasian through his father Titus Flavius Sabinus (consul AD 69). According to Cassius Dio, Clemens was put to death per order of Titus Flavius Domitianus on a charge of "atheism" (apostacy, that is rejecting the traditional Roman gods), for which, he adds, many others who went over to the Jewish opinions were executed. This may imply that Clemens had converted to Judaism or Christianity. It is no surprise that the name Titus Flavius Clemens turned up elsewhere as Pope Clemens I (real name: Titus Flavius Clemens) who died at about the same time at the very end of the 1st century A.D. The entire Flavian family became engulfed in a religious struggle between Roman traditions and the new, probably by Flavius Josephus, created or at least promoted, Christian movement which left a deep rift inside the Flavian family.

An interesting question here might be: Was Yosef bar Matityahu the son of Matityahu (Matthew) the Apostle? - And might he have been the author of the famous Gospel of Matthew? The first part of that question is unanswerable. But the second part shifts Flavius Josephus' authorship clearly into an area of possibility. Due to the distruction of the Great Temple in Jerusalem, the Romans did not only carry loot made of gold to Rome but also the most valuable items of them all: the original Jewish scripture from the Temple Library! They all were brought to Rome, directly into the palace of the new emperor Flavius Vespasianus. Flavius Josephus took residence in that palace. He lived next door to the emperor as well as next door to the Flavian Library with the valuable scripture.

In fact, Josephus was made Chief Censor of the Roman Empire. The censor was a magistrate in ancient Rome who was responsible for maintaining the census, supervising public morality by distroying any unwanted publications and creating and publishing new ones. Overseeing certain aspects of the government's finances was also part of his department. The term magistrate is equivalent to minister or government secretary today. In ancient Rome, a magistratus was one of the highest ranking government officers, and possessed both judicial and executive powers. The power of a censor was absolute: no magistrate could oppose his decisions, only the emperor himself or a successor could cancel a decision. In other words: Flavius Josephus had the very same power and job as Propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels. And he ruthlessly used this power. We even can see, through all the scripture that came to us as well as those ones that were not supposed to survive, what Josephus personal objective might have been.

His first objective, as a Jew, was to keep the Tanakh with its Torah untouched. Objective number 2 was to reform the Jewish Law Code, the Mishnah Sanhedrin. Objective number 3 was destroying the fundamentalistic, jihadist and hateful writings of the Jewish Messianic movement. Objective number 4 was to replace the hatepreachings of the violent Messianic Movement with the peaceful writings full of Jesus' ideas. (Pretty much like his brother James, of whom we know that he was very traditional, Jesus was most certainly likeminded. He was also most certainly a renegade to the Messianic cause which was according to the Qumran Scrolls violent and jihadist. If Jesus followed a more peaceful cause, according to the New Testament, then he was most certainly seen as apostate and traitor in the viewpoint of the Messianic Movement. And this is why he was killed.). Josephus was very successful in completing his objectives. He eliminated all anti-Roman mentionings with one exception: the writings left by members of the jihadist Messianic Movement found in 1947 in the Qumran caves at the shore of the Dead Sea.

The first 3 canonical gospels may be the result of this strive and also the fact that all New Testament texts have a pro-Roman perspective. The New Testament was in its entirety written in Greek for very good reasons.

1. Knowing the things said above, it is quite feasable that all authors of the New Testament were Greek-speaking Roman Citizens. Most members of the jihadist Messianic Movement then could neither read nor therefore oppose them.

2. It was written in Greek in order to address a certain clientel of people: the upper class and elite of the Roman Empire of which Flavius Josephus was a member by birth. Only members of this elite had a chance to enfluence the masses with success. Just like English today is the language of the ruling class in almost every country on Earth, so was it Greek in Roman Antiquity. This includes the Jewish upper class, the emperors' family, the aristocracy, the senate of Rome, traders, officers and anyone else who could afford good education--and that meant learning Greek.

3. Through Josephus, Roman leaders began to grasp that all Jewish religions were based on scripture, and not on public services and sacrifices alone like in the rest of the Empire. They hoped that the installation of peaceful scripture could undermine the goals of the Messianic Movement and show that living in peace with Greeks and Romans has clear advantages. This is the reason why all New Testament writings depict Jesus' Holy Land as idealised postoral landscape although in reality it was a horrifying warzone for generations. Josephus reported that the Jewish-Roman War cost 1.1 million lives. This means that this war had world war character with all its slaughter, co-lateral damage, famine, desease, epidemics, murder and rape.

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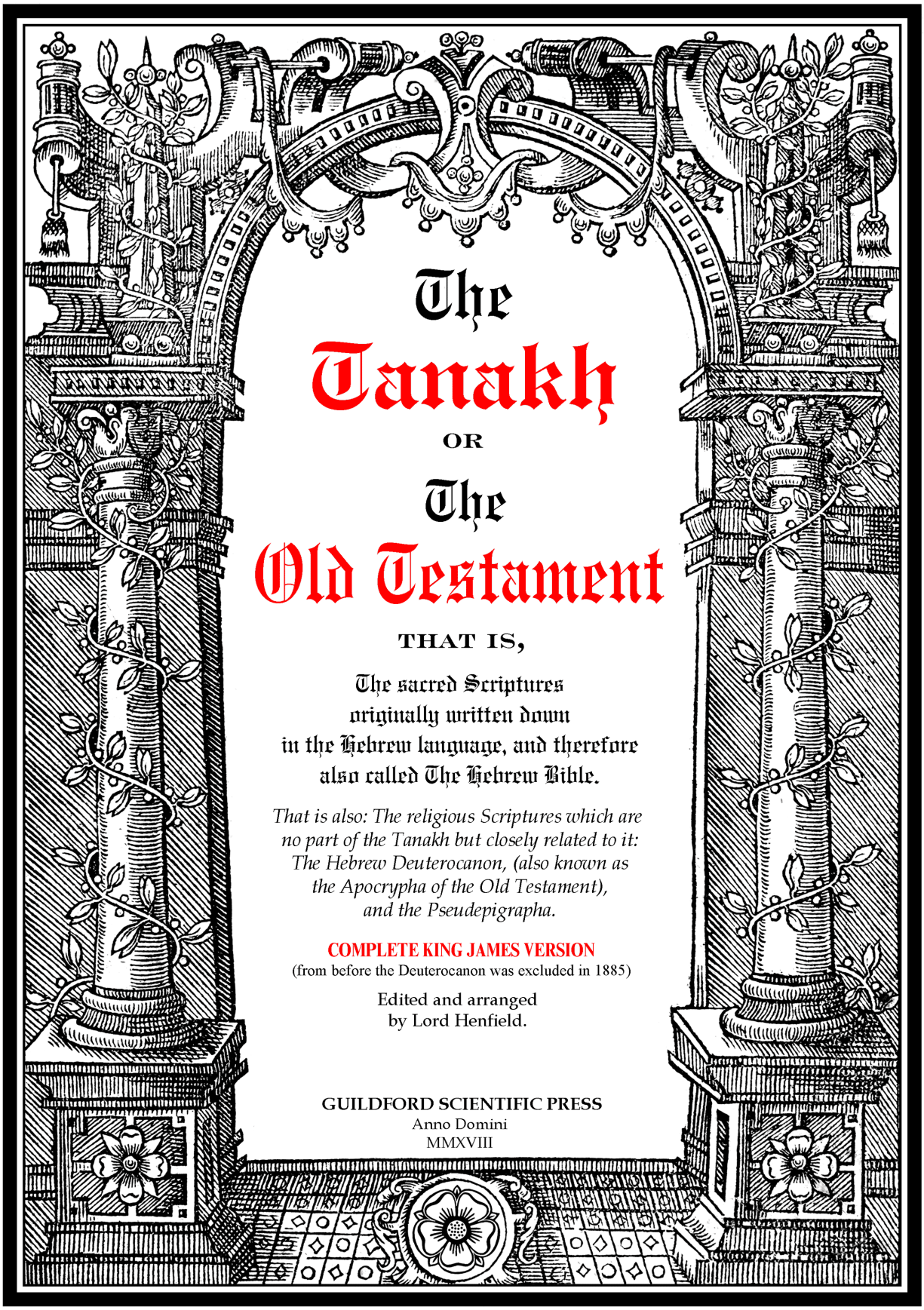

The Tanakh

OR

The Old Testament

THAT IS,

The sacred Scriptures
originally written down
in the Hebrew language, and therefore
also called The Hebrew Bible.

That is also: The religious Scriptures which are no part of the Tanakh but closely related to it: The Hebrew Deuterocanon, (also known as the Apocrypha of the Old Testament), and the Pseudepigrapha.

COMPLETE KING JAMES VERSION
(from before the Deuterocanon was excluded in 1885)

Edited and arranged
by Lord Henfield.

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THE TANAKH
or The Hebrew Bible, or The Old Testament
Translation: King James Version, 1611
which is based on translations from Hebrew by
William Tyndale, John Rogers, Miles Coverdale.
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 800-200 B.C.

(The Hebrew Bible, also called Hebrew Scriptures, Old Testament, or Tanakh, is a collection of writings that was first compiled and preserved as the sacred books of the Jewish people. Tanakh is an acronym (T-N-K), made from the first Hebrew letter of each of the three traditional divisions: Torah ('Teaching' or 'Law'; the Five Books of Moses), Nevi'im ('Prophets'), and Ketuvim ('Writings')—hence TaNaKh. Each of these 3 text groups is further subdivided. The Hebrew canon contains 24 books, one for each of the scrolls on which these works were written in ancient times.

The Hebrew Bible is a collection of Jewish accounts in which God is dealing with the Jews as his chosen people, who collectively called themselves Children of Israel. After an account of the world's creation by God and the emergence of human civilisation, the first six books narrate not only the history but the genealogy of the people of Israel to the conquest and settlement of the Promised Land under the terms of God's covenant with Abraham [who came from Erech [Uruk] in Sumer, perhaps c. 1900 BC], whom God promised to make the progenitor of a great nation. This covenant was subsequently renewed by Abraham's son Isaac and grandson Jacob (whose byname Israel became the collective name of his descendants and whose sons, according to legend, fathered the 12 Israelite tribes). The Exodus (Hebrew: Yezi'at Mizrayim: lit. 'Departure from Egypt') is another founding myth of the Israelites. It narrates the story of Moses [Mose is Egyptian for 'Son', an obvious reminder of Dedumose I & II (c. 1600 BC), Kamose (c. 1555–1550 BC), Ahmose I (1550–1525 BC), or Thutmose II (1493–1479 BC)] and his people leaving Egypt while receiving the Ten Commandments from God at Mount Sinai on their way to Canaan, perhaps one or two centuries after Abraham. The following seven books continue their story in the Promised Land, describing the people's constant apostasy and breaking of the covenant; the establishment and development of the monarchy in order to counter this; and the warnings by the prophets both of impending divine punishment and exile and of Israel's need to repent. The last 11 books contain poetry, theology, and some additional history.

The Hebrew Bible's profoundly monotheistic interpretation of human life and the universe as creations of God provides the basic structure of ideas that gave rise not only to Judaism and Christianity but also to Islam, which emerged from Jewish and Christian tradition and which views Abraham as a patriarch. Most of these scriptures were written originally in Hebrew during the period from 1200 to 200 BC, some were written in Aramaic, the daily language of the Jews.

The Torah contains narratives combined with rules and instructions in Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. The books of the Nevi'im are categorised among either the Former Prophets—which contain anecdotes about major Hebrew persons and include Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings—or the Latter Prophets—which exhort Israel to return to God and are named (because they are either attributed to or contain stories about them) for Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and (together in one book known as "The Book of the Twelve") the 12 Minor Prophets (Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi). The last of the three divisions, the Ketuvim, contains poetry (devotional and erotic), theology, and drama in Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of Songs (attributed to King Solomon), Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah, and Chronicles.

The Tanakh is also the first and larger portion of the Christian Bible. name Old Testament was devised by a Christian, Melito of Sardis, about 170 AD to distinguish this part of the Bible from the New Testament, which recounts the ministry and gospel of Jesus and presents the history of the early Christian church. Many Christians refer to the Hebrew Bible as the Old Testament, the "prophecy foretelling the advent of Jesus Christ as God's appointed Messiah". The Old Testament is longer than the Hebrew Bible, in part because Christian editors divided particular works into two sections (Samuel, Kings, Chronicles) but also because different Christian groups consider as canonical some texts not found in the Hebrew Bible.

The Bibles of the Eastern Orthodox, Oriental Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and some Protestant churches were derived initially from the Septuagint, the Hebrew Bible in its Greek translation produced in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. This included some books deemed noncanonical by Orthodox Judaism and most Protestant churches (see also Apocrypha), slightly longer versions of Daniel and Esther, and one additional psalm. Moreover, the Ethiopian Tewahdo Orthodox Church, one of the Oriental Orthodox churches, also includes within its Old Testament two works considered by other Christian churches to be pseudepigraphical (both noncanonical and dubiously attributed to a biblical figure): the apocalyptic First Book of Enoch and the Book of Jubilees.

The Old Testament is largely identical with the Hebrew Bible as interpreted among the various branches of Christianity. In Judaism the Hebrew Bible (The Tanakh) is not only the primary text of instruction for a moral life but also the historical record of God's promise, first articulated in his covenant with Abraham (who came from "Erech", the Mesopotamian City of Ur[uk]), to consider the Jews as Israel, his chosen people. That Abraham came from Uruk or Ur is in so far important as it explains why we find so many texts from Mesopotamia (Sumer, Babylonia, Akkad: the Instructions of Shuruppak, the Gilgamesh Epic, the Flood Story, the Code of Hammurabi etc.) in the Old Testament.

The first five books – Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, book of Numbers and Deuteronomy – reached their present form in the Persian period (538–332 BC), and their authors were the elite of exilic returnees who controlled the Temple at that time. The books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings follow, forming a history of Israel from the Conquest of Canaan to the Siege of Jerusalem c. 587 BC. There is a broad consensus among scholars that these originated as a single work (the so-called "Deuteronomistic history") during the Babylonian exile of the 6th century BC. The two Books of Chronicles cover much the same material as the Pentateuch and Deuteronomistic history and probably date from the 4th century BC. Chronicles, and Ezra–Nehemiah, were probably finished during the 3rd century BC. Catholic and Orthodox Old Testaments contain two (Catholic Old Testament) to four (Orthodox) Books of Maccabees, written in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC.

These history books make up around half the total content of the Old Testament. Of the remainder, the books of the various prophets – Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel and the twelve "minor prophets" – were written between the 8th and 6th centuries BC, with the exceptions of Jonah and Daniel, which were written much later. The "wisdom" books – Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Psalms, Song of Solomon – have various dates: Proverbs possibly was completed by the Hellenistic time (332-198 BC), though containing much older material as well; Job completed by the 6th Century BC; Ecclesiastes by the 3rd Century BC. The entire Hebrew Bible probably reached its current form when it was translated into Greek in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC.

Marcion, a critic and therefore heretic of Roman Christianity, was clearly opposed to include the Hebrew Bible into the Christian canon. And he had very good reasons. His teaching made a radical distinction between the God of the Old Testament (the Creator, a wrathful and punishing god) and the Father of Jesus on the one side, and Jesus (the son of God, the Saviour and Christ) as the God of Love on the other side. According to Marcion, that distinction had been obscured at the very earliest stages of the Christian movement, and, among the Apostles, only Paul had understood it. Because the corruptions that had consequently been introduced into the life and message of the church and into the very text of the New Testament had to be expunged, Marcion edited his own versions of the biblical books. His collection of those books that he regarded as authoritative: the Gospel of Matthew and five letters of Paul. His actions led to a battle inside the Roman Church that lasted for 150 years and was finally solved in 325 AD at the Council of Nicaea by accepting the Hebrew Bible also as Christian Scripture.

Some Christian scholars talk about an Old Testamental Period, an Inter-Testamental Period (c. 500 years between c. 420 BC and c. 70 AD, in which was written nothing), and a New Testamental Period. The Inter-Testamental Period was actually created by the Romans as they have destroyed most Jewish texts created between c. 200 BC and 68 AD. These texts have been found again in 1947 when archaeologists recued the Dead Sea Scrolls from the Qumran caves. The texts contained a lot of anti-Roman propaganda of the ancient Jewish Messianic Movement that led to the catastrophic Roman-Jewish war (66-73 AD). They show clearly what the fight was all about: a clash of two civilisations that had a fundamental différence in law: The (Jewish) Law of God, also called "the Covenant of Moses", and the (Roman) Law of Man.

The Covenant of Moses is most likely based on the 100 "Instructions of Shuruppak" from Mesopotamia and the Maxims of Ptah-Hotep from Egypt. A Covenant - and the Covenant of Moses especially so - is a binding promise of far-reaching importance in the relations between individuals, groups, and nations. It has social, legal, religious, and other aspects. This discussion is concerned primarily with the term in its special religious sense and especially with its role in Judaism and Christianity; and to some extant in Islam as it devolved from descendants of the Messianic Movement (the authors of the Messianic texts such as the War Scroll, the Messianic Scroll, the Community Rule, found in the Dead Sea Scrolls of Qumran).

Covenants in the ancient world were solemn agreements by which societies attempted to regularise the behaviour of both individuals and social organisations, particularly in those contexts in which social control was either inadequate or nonexistent. Though ancient Greek civilisations apparently never developed a descriptive theory of covenants, analysis of covenant forms and the ancient use of language yields a definition that essentially is the same as that found in modern law. It is a promise or agreement under consideration, usually under seal or guarantee between two parties, and the seal or symbol of guarantee is that which distinguishes covenant from modern contract.

The concept of covenant has been of enormous importance in the biblical tradition; from it there is derived the long traditional division of the Bible into the Old and New Testaments (Covenants). In postbiblical Judaism and sporadically in Christianity, the concept of covenant has been a major source and foundation of religious thought and especially of the concept of the religious community, but the nature and content of covenant ideas have undergone an extremely complex history of change, adaptation, and elaboration.

Though both covenant and law in the ancient world were means by which obligation was both established and sanctioned, and are often virtually identified with each other in modern scholarly literature, there are, nevertheless, very important contrasts between the two that should not be obscured. A covenant is a promise that is sanctioned by an oath. This promise in turn was accompanied by an appeal to a deity or deities to "see" or "watch over" the behaviour of the one who has sworn, and to punish any violation of the covenant by bringing into action the curses stipulated or implied in the swearing of the oath. Legal procedure, on the other hand, may be entirely secular, for law characteristically does not require that each member of the legal community voluntarily swear an oath to obey the law. Further, in ordinary legal procedure the sanctions of the law are carried out by appropriate agencies of the society itself, not by transcendent powers beyond the control of man and society.

It is the knowledge of the Law of God that can make us understand why the Old Testament has served as legitimisation of Christianity and even more as solid foundation of Mohammed's Islam, which is nothing else than a shadow of the ancient Messianic Movement that might have survived outside of the Roman sphere of influence in oral traditions and is hanging now over us like the sword of Damocles.

***Lifespans of characters in the Genesis:** In Genesis 5:5, we can read: "And all the days that Adam lived were nine hundred and thirty years: and he died". The Torah (the five books of Moses) mentiones the lifespan of its characters. Methuselah was the oldest man ever recorded in the Bible and he lived to be 969 years old. It was after the flood that God said that he would shorten man's days upon the earth. It is very interesting to look at this chart and realise who might have lived long enough to meet some of the important characters mentioned in the Bible.*

The are four possibilities for such numbers:
1. The writers wanted to elevate the Characters because high age meant high authority.
2. The writers wrote one digit too many
3. The writers meant months instead of years
4. The writers refered to the lifespan of the house / dynasty of the mentioned person

Lifespans from Adam to Noah:

Name	Life-span	Age When Son was Born
Adam	930	130
Seth	912	105
Enosh	905	90
Kenan	910	70
Mahalalel	895	65
Jared	962	162
Enoch	365	65
Methuselah	969	187
Lamech	777	182
Noah (Flood)	950	600 (at time of flood)
		1656 Total Years

LifeSpans of Shem's Children

Name	Life-span	Age When Son was Born
Arpachshad	438	35
Shelah	433	30
Eber	464	34
Peleg	239	30
Reu	239	32
Serug	230	30
Nahor	148	29
Terah	205	130
Abraham	175	100
		450 Total Years

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Genealogy Data:
There were 1656 years from Adam to the flood.
There were 427 years from the flood to the time Abraham entered the land of Canaan.
There were 450 years from the flood to the birth of Isaac.
Adams lifespan overlapped Methuselah by 243 years.
Methuselah's lifespan overlapped Noah by 600 years, and Shem by 98 years.
Methuselah's name means "when he dies it shall be sent" probably meaning the flood.
There were 126 years between the death of Adam and the birth of Noah.
Noah lived for 350 years after the flood, and he died two years before the birth of Abraham.
Shem lived from 98 years before the flood until 502 years after the flood.
Shem lived until 75 years after Abraham entered the land of Canaan.
Adam would've lived long enough to meet his great great great great great grandchildren.
Noah lived through to the ninth generation of his own descendants.
The age of man gradually reduces afer the flood.

TIMELINE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT
The following timeline of the Old Testament has been compiled by Church scholars with the assumption that the genealogies are literal and complete. All given years are in B.C. The chronology of the Old Testament is an elaborate system of lifespans, "generations," and other means by which the passage of events is measured, beginning with Creation and extending through other significant events. A widespread scholarly understanding is that the Bible marks out a world cycle (Great Year) of 4,000 years, beginning with Creation and ending, presumably, around 164 BC. It was theological in intent, not historical in the modern sense, and functions as an implied prophecy whose key lies in the identification of the final event. Today, the Genesis account of Creation has long since vanished from serious cosmology, the Patriarchs and Exodus are no longer included in most serious histories of ancient Israel, and it is almost universally accepted that Joshua and Judges have no historical value. All years are approximate, therefore, the reader may be well advised not to take the dates literally. The value of this timeline lies in the fact that it gives the reader a rough idea which event took place before oder after another.

Creation to the Flood
9000 Jericho (Palestine) oldest known town.
7500 Çatalhöyük (south Turkey) oldest known city
4500 (-1900) Sumer in Iraq oldest known larger civilisation
4000 Creation in the Old Testament: (Genesis 1-2)
3970-3040 Adam (Genesis 2:7; 5:5)
3840-2928 Seth (Genesis 5:6-8)
3705-2800 Enos (Genesis 5:9-11)
3640-2730 Cainan (Genesis 5:12-14)
3600 Nation building of Egypt
3570-2675 Mahalaleel (Genesis 5:15-17)
3500-2538 Jared (Genesis 5:18-20)
3340-2975 Enoch (Genesis 5:21-24)
3300 (-1300) Indus Valley Civilisation in India and Pakistan
3300 (-2000) Majiayao civilisation in the upper Gansu and Qinghai, China
3280-2311 Methuselah (Genesis 5:25-27)
3200 (-2000) B. C. Cycladic civilisation, Greece, in the Aegean Sea
3100 Unification of Upper and Lower Egypt
3090-2313 Lamech (Genesis 5:28-31)
2900-1950 Noah (Genesis 5:29; 9:29)
2686-2649 King Djoser (3rd dynasty) of Egypt builds the first Pyramid in Sakkara
2613-2503 The Kings Sneferu, Khufu, and Khafre build the largest Pyramids in Egypt
2400-1800 Shem (Genesis 11:10-11)
2300 God causes the Great Flood (Genesis 6-8)
1960-1785 Abraham (Genesis 25:7)
2350 The Great Flood (Genesis 6-9)

From the Flood to Abraham
2334 The cities of Accad (Akkad), Erech (Uruk) and Babel (Babylon) in Iraq (Genesis 10-11)
2350 Flood: (Genesis 6-9)
Abraham: 2165 -1850 (Genesis 11:26; 25:8)

The genealogies in the Old Testament show that Noah died while Abraham's father was living. Noah's father, Lamech, was born about eighty years before Adam died. It's very possible that the story of creation could have been passed on through very few steps.

From Abraham to the Exile
2165-1990 Abraham: (Genesis 11:26; 25:8)
2100-2050 Oldest known law book, the Law Code of Ur-Nammu, Iraq.
2090 Abraham goes to Canaan: (Genesis 11:31)
2100-2000 BC The Sumerian Gilgamesh Epic written during the Third dynasty of Ur. This is the oldest document that tells us about a great flood.
2080-? Ishmael (Genesis 16:11)
2065 Sodom and Gomorrah Destroyed: (Genesis 19:1-29)
2065-1885 Isaac (Genesis 21:1; 25:29)
2050-1855 Jacob (Genesis 25:26; 49:33)
1910-1800 Joseph (Genesis 30:23-24; 50:26)
1900 Babylon replaces Sumer in Irak
1895 Joseph sold into slavery (Genesis 37:18-36)
1870 Jacob and family move to Egypt: (Genesis 46-47)
1870-1450 Exile to Egypt: (Genesis 46--Exodus 12:33-41)

The Exile to the Monarchy
1870-1450 Exile to Egypt: (Genesis 46--Exodus 12:33-41)
1860-1680 Life of Isaac (Genesis 35:28)
1845 God tests Abraham, at the age of 115, by commanding he sacrifice his only son Isaac (Genesis 22)
1800-1653 Life of Jacob (renamed Israel-Genesis 32:24-28)
1772 The Law Book of King Hammurabi, Babylon, Iraq
1709-1599 Life of Joseph (Genesis 50:22)
1670 Jacob and his family enter the land of Egypt (Genesis 46-47:9)
1550-1069 Period when the Egyptian Empire, also called the New Kingdom of Egypt, is at the height of its power and prosperity
1550-1526 Ahmose I reigns as Egypt's Pharaoh (dates disputed)
1526-1506 Amenhotep I reigns as Egypt's Pharaoh (dates disputed)
1525-1405 Life of Moses (Deuteronomy 34:7)
1530-1410 Moses (Exodus 2:2; Deuteronomy 34:5)
1506-1493 Thutmose I reigns as Egyptian Pharaoh
1493-1479 Thutmose II reigns as Egyptian Pharaoh
1490 (Moses flees to Midian Exodus 2:15-25)
1490-1380 Life of Joshua (Joshua 24:29)
1479-1458 Queen Hatshepsut reigns as Pharaoh of Egypt
1479-1425 Thutmose III reigns as Pharaoh of Egypt. From 1479 to 1458, he is co-regent with stepmother Hatshepsut
1450 Exodus from Egypt: (Exodus 12:33-14:31)
1450-1410 Forty years in the Wilderness: (Exodus 16--Joshua 1)
1445-1405 People of Israel wander wilderness 40 years (Deut. 8:2). Moses writes first five books listed in Bible.
1410-1390 Joshua's rule: (Deuteronomy 34:50--Judges 2:8)
1405 Joshua leads Israel into the Promised Land Canaan (Judges 1)
1398 The Land of Canaan (Promised Land) is divided by lot among the children of Israel (Joshua 14)
1398-1380 Joshua serves as Israel's Judge
1358-1350 Israel oppressed by Cushan, King of Mesopotamia (Judges 3:8)
1350-1310 Othniel serves as Israel's Judge (Judges 3:9-11)
1310-1292 Israel oppressed by Eglon, King of Moab (Judges 3:12-14)
1292-1212 Ehud serves as Israel's Judge (Judges 3:15-30)
1245-1200 Deborah serves as Judge (Judges 4-5)
1212-1192 Israel oppressed by Jabin, King of Canaan (Judges 4:1-4)
1195-1155 Gideon serves as Judge (Judges 6)
1192-1152 Deborah and Barak serve as Israel's Judges (Judges 4-5)
1153-1113 Eli serves as one of Israel's Judges (1 Samuel 4:18)
1152-1145 Israel oppressed by Midianites (Judges 6:1)
1145-1105 Gideon serves as Israel's Judge (Judges 6:11-40; 7; 8)
1105-1102 Abimelech serves as Israel's Judge in the North (Judges 9:1-54)
1105-1065 Israel oppressed by Philistines in the South and West (Judges 13:1, 1 Samuel 7:13)
1105-1087 Israel oppressed by the Ammonites in the East (Judges 10:7-8)
1095-1015 Saul Reigns: (1 Samuel 10:17-2:13) The Jews have a Unified Monarchy
1090-1045 Samuel serves as Judge (1 Samuel 1:1-25:1)
1102-1079 Tola serves as Israel's Judge in the North (Judges 10:1-2)
1087-1081 Jephthah serves as Israel's Judge in the East (Judges 11; 12:1-7) 1085-1065 Samson serves as Israel's Judge in the South and West (Judges 15:20)
1085-1053 Samuel serves as Israel's Judge (1Samuel 7:6, 15-17)
1081-1074 Ibzan serves as Israel's Judge in the East (Judges 12:8-10)
1079-1057 Jair serves as Israel's Judge in the North (Judges 10:3-5)
1074-1064 Elon serves as Israel's Judge in the East (Judges 12:11-12)
1067-1050 Samuel the prophet writes the books of Judges and Joshua
1064-1056 Abdon serves as Israel's Judge in the East (Judges 12:13-14)
1060's Book of Ruth written
1053-1050 Samuel's sons serve as Israel's Judge (1 Samuel 8:1-5)
1050-1010 King Saul, anointed by Samuel, reigns over a united Israel
1015-970 King David reigns over Israel. He writes Psalms 1-71, 107-119, 135-150. (2 Samuel 1:1--1 Chronicles 19:1)
1010-970 Davidic priests write Psalms 73-88, 90-106.
970-930 King Solomon reigns over Israel. He writes Psalm 72, Proverbs 1-24, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Solomon. (1 Chronicles 19:1--2 Chronicles 9:31)
966-965 Solomon begins building Jerusalem's temple (1Kings 6:1)
959-958 Solomon completes building Jerusalem's temple. (1Kings 6:38)
930 Israel splits into two distinct kingdoms. The first is the nation of Israel (composed of ten of Israel's tribes) with its capital in Samaria. The second is the kingdom of Judah (composed of Judah, Benjamin, and Levi) with its capital in Jerusalem
930 The Kingdom Splits: (2 Chronicles 10) into Israel and Judah
930-723 Period of the nineteen Kings of Israel
930-586 Period of the twenty rulers (19 Kings and 1 Queen) over Judah
884-612 Period when Assyria is a world empire
870 Israel, Elijah serves as Prophet
845 Israel, Obadiah serves as Prophet
840 Israel, Elisha serves as Prophet
825 Judah, Joel serves as Prophet
798 to c. 400 The books of the Minor Prophets are written
780 Israel, Jonah serves as Prophet
760 Israel, Hosea serves as Prophet
750 Judah, Amos serves as Prophet
745-727 Tiglath-pileser III ("Pul") is King of Assyria. King Menahem of Israel pays him tribute (2 Kings 15:19-20)
740-686 Books of Isaiah, 1 Kings, 1 Samuel and 2 Samuel written
727-722 Shalmaneser V reigns as King of Assyria
723 Samaria is conquered by Assyrian King Shalmaneser V. The upper class of Israel is taken captive to Assyria (2 Kings 17:1-6)
725 Israel, Assyria destroys Israel (2 Kings 17)
725 Judah, Micah serves as Prophet
715-686 Hezekiah enacted monotheism for the sole worship of Yahweh (God) and bans other gods. He writes Psalms 120-134 and has Proverbs 25-29 written for God
705-681 Sennacherib reigns as King of Assyria
701 God has the Angel of the Lord kill 185,000 of Sennacherib's troops as they prepare to enter Jerusalem (2 Kings 18-19)
690 Judah, Isaiah serves as Prophet
650 Tower of Babel (Temple Pyramid of Babylon) rebuilt
640 Judah, Zephaniah serves as Prophet
627-585 Book of Jeremiah, Psalm 89 and a part of 2 Kings written
625 Judah, Nahum serves as Prophet
620 Judah, Habakkuk serves as Prophet
612 Babylonian King Nabopolassar destroys Nineveh, capital of the Assyrian Empire
612-539 Period when Babylon is a world empire
605-562 Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon
605 (Daniel 1) Daniel, together with the entire upperclass of the Jews are taken to Babylon in captivity
600 Judah, Jeremiah serves as Prophet
608-586 Book of Lamentations written
605 King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon makes his first attack of Jerusalem. Taken captive are the prophet Daniel and his companions
605-530 Book of Daniel written
597 Jerusalem attacked second time by Babylon. Judah's king is taken prisoner, Zedekiah set up as puppet king (2 Kings 24-25)
597-570 Book of Ezekiel written
595 (Daniel 3) Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego survive the fiery furnace

After being ruled by judges for 400 years, the nation of Israel only lasted about 165 more years united under one king. The Northern Kingdom of Israel lastet another 200 years before the Assyrians destroyed it. The Southern Kingdom of Judah managed to last about 340 years.

Exile in Babylon (Babylonian Empire: 1984-539)
590 Babylonian exile (2 Kings 25)
586 Nebuchadnezzar attacks Jerusalem a third time. He destroys city and burns the temple. Judah goes into captivity (2Kings 24-25)
559-530 Kurush I., Cyrus the Great reigns as King of Persia
555-539 Nabonidus reigns as last Babylonian king
539 (Daniel 5) Daniel's confrontation with Belshazzar:

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539 King Nabonidus fights, surrenders to King Cyrus of Persia. Cyrus issues decree allowing Jews to go to Jerusalem
539-331 Period when Persia is a world empire
521-486 Darayavahush I., Darius I the Great is Persian King
539-330 Persian Empire
536 After being freed by Kurush I, Cyrus the Great, the Jews start returning to Jerusalem, after about 70 years of captivity; however, they appear also in southern Egypt and India.
530-515 (Ezra) Temple Rebuilt
525 Haggai serves as Prophet
525 Zechariah serves as Prophet
516 The rebuilding of Jerusalem's temple is completed
500s-400s Ezra and the Great Assembly complete the canonisation of the Old Testament
485-465 (Esther) Xerxes (Ahasuerus) King of Persia:
480 Book of Esther written
475 Esther becomes Queen
470 Esther saves the Jews
460-430 Ezra serves as Priest
460-430 Nehemiah Governor of Jerusalem
455 Books of Ezra, 1 Chronicles and 2 Chronicles are written
440 Malachi serves as Prophet
430 Book of Nehemiah written

The Intertestamental Period
336-323 Alexander the Great, King of Macedonia, conquers Greece and Asia Minor 331 Persian King Darius III is defeated in battle by Alexander the Great. Persia falls.
Alexander conquers Judaea, Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Arabia, Afghanistan, reached the outposts of China in Bactria, and conquers parts of northwestern India
330-308 Judea ruled by the Greek Empire
308-195 Judea ruled by Egypt
195-130 Judea ruled by Syria
175 Antiochus IV Epiphanes becomes king of Hellenistic Seleucid Empire. He begins to force Greek culture into Judea
167 Mattathias, a Jewish priest in Jerusalem, starts a revolt against the Seleucids
164-63 Judas Maccabeus, son of Mattathias, leads Jewish dissidents to victory over Seleucids. A 100 years war begins
147 Judaea gains independence
65-70 A.D. Judaea ruled by the Roman Empire
63 Roman troops occupy Palestine (Judea). Jerusalem falls
60-54A coalition between Julius Caesar, Pompey and Crassus governs the Roman Republic
46-44 Julius Caesar rules Roman Empire
44 Julius Caesar is assassinated
37 Herod the Great becomes King of Judea through Rome
27 The Roman Republic ends. Augustus Caesar, the adopted son of Julius Caesar, becomes Roman Emperor
20 Herod the Great begins work to rebuild Jerusalem's temple
4 Herod the Great dies. Herod Antipas, his son, becomes tetrarch

Neither the Old Testament nor the New Testament have much to say about the timeline between Malachi and the birth of John the Baptist.
The most significant bulk of information of this period of time can be gathered from the Apocryphal books, from 1 and 2 Maccabees, from the Dead Sea Scrolls of Qumran, from the Babylonian Talmud, as well as from the books by Philo of Alexandria and from the historical records by Titus Flavius Josephus.

THE TORAH
The Instruction or Teaching or Law
or The Pentateuch or The Five Books of Moses
is the first part of The Tanakh or The Old Testament
and the only canon of the Samaritans
English Translation: King James Version, 1611
Estimated time of composition: 7th - 5th c. B.C.
Oldest surviving copy: Qumran scrolls, 3rd - 2nd c. B.C.

(The final Torah is widely seen as a product of the Persian period 450–350 BC. A minority of scholars would place the final formation of the Pentateuch somewhat later, in the Hellenistic (333–164 BC) or even Hasmonean (140–37 BC) periods. The finalisation of the Torah in Hellenistic times seems to be a possibility. The Elephantine papyri, the records of a Jewish colony in Egypt dating from the last quarter of the 5th century BC, make no reference to a written Torah, the Exodus, or to any other biblical event.

The Talmud holds that the Torah was written by Moses, with the exception of the last eight verses of Deuteronomy, describing his death and burial, being written by Joshua. By contrast, modern scholars are certain that the Torah has multiple authors and that its composition took place over centuries. The precise process by which the Torah was composed, the number of authors involved, and the date of each author remain debated.

The Torah had been made out of probably four distinct manuscripts that were re-arranged into five books later. In the mid-18th century, some scholars started a critical study of doublets (parallel accounts of the same incidents), inconsistencies, and changes in style and vocabulary in the Torah. Text analyses by German-speaking scientists result in the "documentary hypothesis" (DH). They identified 4 independent sources, which were later compiled together according to topic. The sources are named: J [the Jahwist source], E [the Elohist source], P [the Priestly source], and D [the Deuteronomist source]. The earliest of these sources, J, would have been composed in the late 7th or the 6th century BC, with the latest source, P, being composed around the 5th century BC. These source names are based what is actually written in the Torah texts.

1. The 'Jahwist source' (J) is so named because of its characteristic use of the term Yahweh (German: Jahwe) for God.

2. The 'Elohist source' (E) is so named because of its pervasive use of the word Elohim to refer to the Israelite god.

3. The 'Priestly source' (P) is both stylistically and theologically distinct from other material in the Torah, and includes a set of claims that are contradicted by non-Priestly passages and therefore uniquely characteristic: no sacrifice before the institution is ordained by Yahweh (God) at Sinai, the exalted status of Aaron and the priesthood, and the use of the divine title El Shaddai before God reveals his name to Moses, to name a few. In general, the Priestly source is concerned with priestly matters – religious law, the origins of shrines and rituals, and genealogies – all expressed in a formal, repetitive style. It stresses the rules and rituals of worship, and the crucial role of priests, expanding considerably on the role given to Aaron (all Levites are priests, but according to P only the descendants of Aaron were to be allowed to officiate in the inner sanctuary).

The history of Judah is little known when we look at the time its elite was taken captive to Babylonia. We also do not know much of the time after their return. A summary of current theories can be made as follows:

• Religion in monarchic Judah centred around ritual sacrifice in the Temple. There, worship was in the hands of priests known as Zadokites (meaning that they traced their descent from an ancestor called Zadok, who, according to the Hebrew Bible, was the high priest appointed by Samuel.) There was also a lower order of religious officials called Levites, who were not permitted to perform sacrifices and were restricted to menial functions.

• While the Zadokites were the only priests in Jerusalem, there were other priests at other centres. One of the most important of these was a temple at Bethel, north of Jerusalem. Bethel, the centre of the "golden calf" cult, was one of the main religious centres of the northern kingdom of Israel and had royal support until Israel was destroyed by the Assyrians in 721. Aaron was in some way associated with Bethel.*

('Saducees', a Greek word corruption of the Hebrew word 'Z-D-K' by transliteration, which in turn came back to the Aramaic speaking Jews as 'Sedukim'. Z-D-K means "the just" or "the righteous" one, as in "James the Just", who was the brother of Jesus and is refered to as "the Teacher of Righteousness" in the Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran)*

• In 587 the Babylonians conquered Jerusalem and took most of the Zadokite priesthood into exile, leaving behind the Levites, who were too poor and marginalised to represent a threat to their interests. The temple at Bethel now assumed a major role in the religious life of the inhabitants of Judah, and the non-Zadokite priests, under the influence of the Aaronite priests of Bethel, began calling themselves "sons of Aaron" to distinguish themselves from the "sons of Zadok".

• When the Zadokite priests returned from exile after c. 538 and began re-establishing the temple in Jerusalem they came into conflict with the Levite priests. The Zadokites won the conflict but adopted the Aaronite name, whether as part of a compromise or in order to out-flank their opponents by co-opting their ancestor.

• The Zadokites simultaneously found themselves in conflict with the Levites, who objected to their subordinate position. The priests also won this battle, writing into the Priestly document stories such as the rebellion of Korah, which paints the challenge to priestly prerogative as unholy and unforgivable. This conflict grew to a full-scale civil war envolving several messianic movements (Zealots, Sadusees, Pharisees, etc.) and Jihadist terror organisations such as the Sicarii. In 66 AD, this civil war culminated to the Roman-Jewish War that engulfed the entire eastern half of the Roman Empire. Titus Flavius Vespasianus had no other option but wiping out all messianic movements, distroying the "Temple of Jerusalem", killing the Messianic Army that brought 60.000 soldiers onto the battlefields. Titus Flavius Josephus, the adopted son of Titus Flavius Vespasianus, reported later these event in great detail in his book The Jewish War and gave a total death toll of 1.1 million. Vespasianus was hailed as the "Saviour" or "Messiah" of the Roman Empire.

4. The 'Deuteronomist source' (D) may refer either to the source document underlying the core chapters (12-26) of the Book of Deuteronomy, or to the broader "school" that produced all of Deuteronomy as well as the Deuteronomistic history of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings and also the book of Jeremiah. In general, the Deuteronomist source is concerned with Civil Law and rules for the daily life. This kind of law is commonly refered to as "The Law of Moses" but might better be called "The Law of God" as it refers to the tablets with their 10 Commandments. Those Deuteronomist Commandmends have in turn their origin in the tablets of the 100 "Instructions of Shuruppak" from Mesopotamia (c. 2600–2500 BC). Even the title is the very same, because "Torah" means "Instruction".

The "School of Deuteronomism" is usually described in a narrative such as follows:

• Following the destruction of Israel (the northern kingdom) by Assyria in 721 BC, refugees came south to Judah, bringing with them traditions, notably the concept of Yahweh as the only god who should be served, which had not previously been known. Among those influenced by these new ideas were the landowning aristocrats (called "people of the land" in the Bible) who provided the administrative elite in Jerusalem.

• In 640 BC there was a crisis in Judah when king Amon was murdered. The aristocrats suppressed the attempted coup, putting the ringleaders to death and placing Amon's eight-year-old son, Josiah, on the throne.

• Judah at this time was a vassal of Assyria, but Assyria now began a rapid and unexpected decline in power, leading to a resurgence of nationalism in Jerusalem. In 622 BC Josiah launched his reform program, based on an early form of Deuteronomy 5–26, framed as a covenant (treaty) between Judah and Yahweh in which Yahweh replaced the Assyrian king.

• By the end of the 7th century BC Assyria had been replaced by a new imperial power, Babylon. The trauma of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians in 586 BC, and the exile which followed, led to much theological reflection on the meaning of the tragedy, and the Deuteronomistic history was written as an explanation: Israel had been unfaithful to Yahweh, and the exile was God's punishment.

• By about 540 BC Babylon was also in rapid decline as the next rising power, the Achaemenid Empire, steadily ate away at it. With the end of the Babylonian oppression becoming ever more probable, Deuteronomy was given a new introduction and attached to the history books as an overall theological introduction.

• The final stage was the addition of a few extra laws following the Fall of Babylon to the Persians in 539 BC and the return of some (in practice only a small fraction) of the exiles to Jerusalem.)

GENESIS
The First Book of Moses
Hebrew Title: Bereshit ("In the Beginning")

(The original name of this Jewish book is Bereshit in Hebrew which means "In the Beginning". As usual in Semitic writings, the initial words of the text serves also as title. The First Book of Moses is in Greek called Genesis It is the first book of the Hebrew Bible. It means "creation, origin, or birth" as the book begins with the creation of the Universe. It ends with the death of Joseph.

Contents or Torah portions:
• Bereshit, on Genesis 1–6: Creation, Eden, Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, Lamech, wickedness

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• Noach, on Genesis 6–11: Noah's Ark, the Flood, Noah's drunkenness, the Tower of Babel
• Lech-Lecha, on Genesis 12–17: Abraham, Sarah, Lot, covenant, Hagar and Ishmael, circumcision
• Vayeira, on Genesis 18–22: Abraham's visitors, Sodomites, Lot's visitors and flight, Hagar expelled, binding of Isaac
• Chayei Sarah, on Genesis 23–25: Sarah buried, Rebekah for Isaac
• Toledot, on Genesis 25–28: Esau and Jacob, Esau's birthright, Isaac's blessing
• Vayetze, on Genesis 28–32: Jacob flees, Rachel, Leah, Laban, Jacob's children and departure
• Vayishlach, on Genesis 32–36: Jacob's reunion with Esau, the rape of Dinah
• Vayeshev, on Genesis 37–40: Joseph's dreams, coat, and slavery, Judah with Tamar, Joseph and Potiphar
• Miketz, on Genesis 41–44: Pharaoh's dream, Joseph in government, Joseph's brothers visit Egypt
• Vayigash, on Genesis 44–47: Joseph reveals himself, Jacob moves to Egypt
• Vaychi, on Genesis 47–50: Jacob's blessings, death of Jacob and of Joseph)

GENESIS CHAPTER 1

1 In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.
2 And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.
3 And God said, Let there be light: and there was light.
4 And God saw the light, that it was good: and God divided the light from the darkness.
5 And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. And the evening and the morning were the first day.
6 And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters.
7 And God made the firmament, and divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament: and it was so.
8 And God called the firmament Heaven. And the evening and the morning were the second day.
9 And God said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear: and it was so.
10 And God called the dry land Earth; and the gathering together of the waters called he Seas: and God saw that it was good.
11 And God said, Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed is in itself, upon the earth: and it was so.
12 And the earth brought forth grass, and herb yielding seed after his kind, and the tree yielding fruit, whose seed was in itself, after his kind: and God saw that it was good.
13 And the evening and the morning were the third day.
14 And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years:
15 And let them be for lights in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth: and it was so.
16 And God made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: he made the stars also.
17 And God set them in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth,
18 And to rule over the day and over the night, and to divide the light from the darkness: and God saw that it was good.
19 And the evening and the morning were the fourth day.
20 And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven.
21 And God created great whales, and every living creature that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly, after their kind, and every winged fowl after his kind: and God saw that it was good.
22 And God blessed them, saying, Be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the waters in the seas, and let fowl multiply in the earth.
23 And the evening and the morning were the fifth day.
24 And God said, Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle, and creeping thing, and beast of the earth after his kind: and it was so.
25 And God made the beast of the earth after his kind, and cattle after their kind, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind: and God saw that it was good.
26 And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.
27 So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them.
28 And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.
29 And God said, Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall be for meat.
30 And to every beast of the earth, and to every fowl of the air, and to every thing that creepeth upon the earth, wherein there is life, I have given every green herb for meat: and it was so.
31 And God saw every thing that he had made, and, behold, it was very good. And the evening and the morning were the sixth day.

GENESIS CHAPTER 2

1 Thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them.
2 And on the seventh day God ended his work which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made.
3 And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it: because that in it he had rested from all his work which God created and made.
4 These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth when they were created, in the day that the LORD God made the earth and the heavens,
5 And every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew: for the LORD God had not caused it to rain upon the earth, and there was not a man to till the ground.
6 But there went up a mist from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground.
7 And the LORD God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul.
8 And the LORD God planted a garden eastward in Eden; and there he put the man whom he had formed.
9 And out of the ground made the LORD God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food; the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil.
10 And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads.
11 The name of the first is Pison (Indus): that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah (Persia and Mohenjo Daro, Harappa, northwestern India), where there is gold;
12 And the gold of that land is good: there is bdellium and the onyx stone.
13 And the name of the second river is Gihon (Nile): the same is it that compasseth the whole land of Ethiopia (Nubia).
14 And the name of the third river is Hiddekel (Tigris): that is it which goeth toward the east of Assyria (Shur, Assur). And the fourth river is Euphrates (Phrath).
15 And the LORD God took the man, and put him into the garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it.
16 And the LORD God commanded the man, saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat:
17 But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.
18 And the LORD God said, It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him an help meet for him.
19 And out of the ground the LORD God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air; and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them: and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof.
20 And Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field; but for Adam there was not found an help meet for him.
21 And the LORD God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept: and he took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof;
22 And the rib, which the LORD God had taken from man, made he a woman, and brought her unto the man.
23 And Adam said, This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man.
24 Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife: and they shall be one flesh.
25 And they were both naked, the man and his wife, and were not ashamed.

GENESIS CHAPTER 3

1 Now the serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field which the LORD God had made. And he said unto the woman, Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?
2 And the woman said unto the serpent, We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden:
3 But of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die.
4 And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die:
5 For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil.
6 And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her; and he did eat.
7 And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons.
8 And they heard the voice of the LORD God walking in the garden in the cool of the day: and Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the LORD God amongst the trees of the garden.
9 And the LORD God called unto Adam, and said unto him, Where art thou?
10 And he said, I heard thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked; and I hid myself.
11 And he said, Who told thee that thou wast naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest not eat?
12 And the man said, The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat.
13 And the LORD God said unto the woman, What is this that thou hast done? And the woman said, The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat.
14 And the LORD God said unto the serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field; upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life:
15 And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.
16 Unto the woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children; and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee.
17 And unto Adam he said, Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree, of which I commanded thee, saying, Thou shalt not eat of it: cursed is the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life;
18 Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field;
19 In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.
20 And Adam called his wife's name Eve; because she was the mother of all living.
21 Unto Adam also and to his wife did the LORD God make coats of skins, and clothed them.
22 And the LORD God said, Behold, the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil: and now, lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever:
23 Therefore the LORD God sent him forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from whence he was taken.
24 So he drove out the man; and he placed at the east of the garden of Eden Cherubims, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life.

GENESIS CHAPTER 4

1 And Adam knew Eve his wife; and she conceived, and bare Cain, and said, I have gotten a man from the LORD.
2 And she again bare his brother Abel. And Abel was a keeper of sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the ground.
3 And in process of time it came to pass, that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the LORD.
4 And Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his flock and of the fat thereof. And the LORD had respect unto Abel and to his offering:
5 But unto Cain and to his offering he had not respect. And Cain was very wroth, and his countenance fell.
6 And the LORD said unto Cain, Why art thou wroth? and why is thy countenance fallen?
7 If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door. And unto thee shall be his desire, and thou shalt rule over him.
8 And Cain talked with Abel his brother: and it came to pass, when they were in the field, that Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him.
9 And the LORD said unto Cain, Where is Abel thy brother? And he said, I know not: Am I my brother's keeper?
10 And he said, What hast thou done? the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground.
11 And now art thou cursed from the earth, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand;
12 When thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto thee her strength; a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth.

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13 And Cain said unto the LORD, My punishment is greater than I can bear.
14 Behold, thou hast driven me out this day from the face of the earth; and from thy face shall I be hid; and I shall be a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth; and it shall come to pass, that every one that findeth me shall slay me.
15 And the LORD said unto him, Therefore whosoever slayeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold. And the LORD set a mark upon Cain, lest any finding him should kill him.
16 And Cain went out from the presence of the LORD, and dwelt in the land of Nod, on the east of Eden.
17 And Cain knew his wife; and she conceived, and bare Enoch: and he builded a city, and called the name of the city, after the name of his son, Enoch.
18 And unto Enoch was born Irad: and Irad begat Mehujael: and Mehujael begat Methusael: and Methusael begat Lamech.
19 And Lamech took unto him two wives: the name of the one was Adah, and the name of the other Zillah.
20 And Adah bare Jabal: he was the father of such as dwell in tents, and of such as have cattle.
21 And his brother's name was Jubal: he was the father of all such as handle the harp and organ.
22 And Zillah, she also bare Tubalcain, an instructer of every artificer in brass and iron: and the sister of Tubalcain was Naamah.
23 And Lamech said unto his wives, Adah and Zillah, Hear my voice; ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto my speech: for I have slain a man to my wounding, and a young man tomy hurt.
24 If Cain shall be avenged sevenfold, truly Lamech seventy and sevenfold.
25 And Adam knew his wife again; and she bare a son, and called his name Seth: For God, said she, hath appointed me another seed instead of Abel, whom Cain slew.
26 And to Seth, to him also there was born a son; and he called his name Enos: then began men to call upon the name of the LORD.

GENESIS CHAPTER 5

1 This is the Book of the Generations of Adam. In the day that God created man, in the likeness of God made he him;
2 Male and female created he them; and blessed them, and called their name Adam, in the day when they were created.
3 And Adam lived an hundred and thirty years, and begat a son in his own likeness, and after his image; and called his name Seth:
4 And the days of Adam after he had begotten Seth were eight hundred years: and he begat sons and daughters:
5 And all the days that Adam lived were nine hundred and thirty years: and he died.
6 And Seth lived an hundred and five years, and begat Enos:
7 And Seth lived after he begat Enos eight hundred and seven years, and begat sons and daughters:
8 And all the days of Seth were nine hundred and twelve years: and he died.
9 And Enos lived ninety years, and begat Cainan:
10 And Enos lived after he begat Cainan eight hundred and fifteen years, and begat sons and daughters:
11 And all the days of Enos were nine hundred and five years: and he died.
12 And Cainan lived seventy years and begat Mahalaleel:
13 And Cainan lived after he begat Mahalaleel eight hundred and forty years, and begat sons and daughters:
14 And all the days of Cainan were nine hundred and ten years: and he died.
15 And Mahalaleel lived sixty and five years, and begat Jared:
16 And Mahalaleel lived after he begat Jared eight hundred and thirty years, and begat sons and daughters:
17 And all the days of Mahalaleel were eight hundred ninety and five years: and he died.
18 And Jared lived an hundred sixty and two years, and he begat Enoch:
19 And Jared lived after he begat Enoch eight hundred years, and begat sons and daughters:
20 And all the days of Jared were nine hundred sixty and two years: and he died.
21 And Enoch lived sixty and five years, and begat Methuselah:
22 And Enoch walked with God after he begat Methuselah three hundred years, and begat sons and daughters:
23 And all the days of Enoch were three hundred sixty and five years:
24 And Enoch walked with God: and he was not; for God took him.
25 And Methuselah lived an hundred eighty and seven years, and begat Lamech.
26 And Methuselah lived after he begat Lamech seven hundred eighty and two years, and begat sons and daughters:
27 And all the days of Methuselah were nine hundred sixty and nine years: and he died.
28 And Lamech lived an hundred eighty and two years, and begat a son:
29 And he called his name Noah, saying, This same shall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands, because of the ground which the LORD hath cursed.
30 And Lamech lived after he begat Noah five hundred ninety and five years, and begat sons and daughters:
31 And all the days of Lamech were seven hundred seventy and seven years: and he died.
32 And Noah was five hundred years old: and Noah begat Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

GENESIS CHAPTER 6

1 And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them,
2 That the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose.
3 And the LORD said, My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh: yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years.
4 There were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same became mighty men which were of old, men of renown.
5 And God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually.
6 And it repented the LORD that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart.
7 And the LORD said, I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the earth; both man, and beast, and the creeping thing, and the fowls of the air; for it repenteth me that I have made them.
8 But Noah found grace in the eyes of the LORD.
9 These are the generations of Noah: Noah was a just man and perfect in his generations, and Noah walked with God.
10 And Noah begat three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth.
11 The earth also was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence.
12 And God looked upon the earth, and, behold, it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth.
13 And God said unto Noah, The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them; and, behold, I will destroy them with the earth.
14 Make thee an ark of gopher wood; rooms shalt thou make in the ark, and shalt pitch it within and without with pitch.
15 And this is the fashion which thou shalt make it of: The length of the ark shall be three hundred cubits, the breadth of it fifty cubits, and the height of it thirty cubits.
16 A window shalt thou make to the ark, and in a cubit shalt thou finish it above; and the door of the ark shalt thou set in the side thereof; with lower, second, and third stories shalt thou make it.
17 And, behold, I, even I, do bring a flood of waters upon the earth, to destroy all flesh, wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven; and every thing that is in the earth shall die.
18 But with thee will I establish my covenant; and thou shalt come into the ark, thou, and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives with thee.
19 And of every living thing of all flesh, two of every sort shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep them alive with thee; they shall be male and female.
20 Of fowls after their kind, and of cattle after their kind, of every creeping thing of the earth after his kind, two of every sort shall come unto thee, to keep them alive.
21 And take thou unto thee of all food that is eaten, and thou shalt gather it to thee; and it shall be for food for thee, and for them.
22 Thus did Noah; according to all that God commanded him, so did he.

GENESIS CHAPTER 7

1 And the LORD said unto Noah, Come thou and all thy house into the ark; for thee have I seen righteous before me in this generation.
2 Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee by sevens, the male and his female: and of beasts that are not clean by two, the male and his female.
3 Of fowls also of the air by sevens, the male and the female; to keep seed alive upon the face of all the earth.
4 For yet seven days, and I will cause it to rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights; and every living substance that I have made will I destroy from off the face of the earth.
5 And Noah did according unto all that the LORD commanded him.
6 And Noah was six hundred years old when the flood of waters was upon the earth.
7 And Noah went in, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him, into the ark, because of the waters of the flood.
8 Of clean beasts, and of beasts that are not clean, and of fowls, and of every thing that creepeth upon the earth,
9 There went in two and two unto Noah into the ark, the male and the female, as God had commanded Noah.
10 And it came to pass after seven days, that the waters of the flood were upon the earth.
11 In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, the seventeenth day of the month, the same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened.
12 And the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights.
13 In the selfsame day entered Noah, and Shem, and Ham, and Japheth, the sons of Noah, and Noah's wife, and the three wives of his sons with them, into the ark;
14 They, and every beast after his kind, and all the cattle after their kind, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind, and every fowl after his kind, every bird of every sort.
15 And they went in unto Noah into the ark, two and two of all flesh, wherein is the breath of life.
16 And they that went in, went in male and female of all flesh, as God had commanded him: and the LORD shut him in.
17 And the flood was forty days upon the earth; and the waters increased, and bare up the ark, and it was lift up above the earth.
18 And the waters prevailed, and were increased greatly upon the earth; and the ark went upon the face of the waters.
19 And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth; and all the high hills, that were under the whole heaven, were covered.
20 Fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail; and the mountains were covered.
21 And all flesh died that moved upon the earth, both of fowl, and of cattle, and of beast, and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, and every man:
22 All in whose nostrils was the breath of life, of all that was in the dry land, died.
23 And every living substance was destroyed which was upon the face of the ground, both man, and cattle, and the creeping things, and the fowl of the heaven; and they were destroyed from the earth: and Noah only remained alive, and they that were with him in the ark.
24 And the waters prevailed upon the earth an hundred and fifty days.

GENESIS CHAPTER 8

1 And God remembered Noah, and every living thing, and all the cattle that was with him in the ark: and God made a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters asswaged;
2 The fountains also of the deep and the windows of heaven were stopped, and the rain from heaven was restrained;
3 And the waters returned from off the earth continually: and after the end of the hundred and fifty days the waters were abated.
4 And the ark rested in the seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month, upon the mountains of Ararat.
5 And the waters decreased continually until the tenth month: in the tenth month, on the first day of the month, were the tops of the mountains seen.
6 And it came to pass at the end of forty days, that Noah opened the window of the ark which he had made:
7 And he sent forth a raven, which went forth to and fro, until the waters were dried up from off the earth.
8 Also he sent forth a dove from him, to see if the waters were abated from off the face of the ground;
9 But the dove found no rest for the sole of her foot, and she returned unto him into the ark, for the waters were on the face of the whole earth: then he put forth his hand, and took her, and pulled her in unto him into the ark.
10 And he stayed yet other seven days; and again he sent forth the dove out of the ark;
11 And the dove came in to him in the evening; and, lo, in her mouth was an olive leaf pluckt off: so Noah knew that the waters were abated from off the earth.
12 And he stayed yet other seven days; and sent forth the dove; which returned not again unto him any more.
13 And it came to pass in the six hundredth and first year, in the first month, the first day of the month, the waters were dried up from off the earth: and Noah removed the covering of the ark, and looked, and, behold, the face of the ground was dry.
14 And in the second month, on the seven and twentieth day of the month, was the earth dried.
15 And God spake unto Noah, saying,
16 Go forth of the ark, thou, and thy wife, and thy sons, and thy sons' wives with thee.
17 Bring forth with thee every living thing that is with thee, of all flesh, both of fowl, and of cattle, and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth; that they may breed abundantly in the earth, and be fruitful, and multiply upon the earth.
18 And Noah went forth, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him:
19 Every beast, every creeping thing, and every fowl, and whatsoever creepeth upon the earth, after their kinds, went forth out of the ark.

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20 And Noah builded an altar unto the LORD; and took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings on the altar.
21 And the LORD smelled a sweet savour; and the LORD said in his heart, I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake; for the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth; neither will I again smite any more every thing living, as I have done.
22 While the earth remaineth, seedtime and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease.

GENESIS CHAPTER 9
1 And God blessed Noah and his sons, and said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth.
2 And the fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every fowl of the air, upon all that moveth upon the earth, and upon all the fishes of the sea; into your hand are they delivered.
3 Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you; even as the green herb have I given you all things.
4 But flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall ye not eat.
5 And surely your blood of your lives will I require; at the hand of every beast will I require it, and at the hand of man; at the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man.
6 Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of God made he man.
7 And you, be ye fruitful, and multiply; bring forth abundantly in the earth, and multiply therein.
8 And God spake unto Noah, and to his sons with him, saying,
9 And I, behold, I establish my covenant with you, and with your seed after you;
10 And with every living creature that is with you, of the fowl, of the cattle, and of every beast of the earth with you; from all that go out of the ark, to every beast of the earth.
11 And I will establish my covenant with you, neither shall all flesh be cut off any more by the waters of a flood; neither shall there any more be a flood to destroy the earth.
12 And God said, This is the token of the covenant which I make between me and you and every living creature that is with you, for perpetual generations:
13 I do set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be for a token of a covenant between me and the earth.
14 And it shall come to pass, when I bring a cloud over the earth, that the bow shall be seen in the cloud:
15 And I will remember my covenant, which is between me and you and every living creature of all flesh; and the waters shall no more become a flood to destroy all flesh.
16 And the bow shall be in the cloud; and I will look upon it, that I may remember the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh that is upon the earth.
17 And God said unto Noah, This is the token of the covenant, which I have established between me and all flesh that is upon the earth.
18 And the sons of Noah, that went forth of the ark, were Shem, and Ham, and Japheth: and Ham is the father of Canaan.
19 These are the three sons of Noah: and of them was the whole earth overspread.
20 And Noah began to be an husbandman, and he planted a vineyard:
21 And he drank of the wine, and was drunken; and he was uncovered within his tent.
22 And Ham, the father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, and told his two brethren without.
23 And Shem and Japheth took a garment, and laid it upon both their shoulders, and went backward, and covered the nakedness of their father; and their faces were backward, and they saw not their father's nakedness.
24 And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him.
25 And he said, Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.
6 And he said, Blessed be the LORD God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.
27 God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.
28 And Noah lived after the flood three hundred and fifty years.
29 And all the days of Noah were nine hundred and fifty years: and he died.

GENESIS CHAPTER 10
1 Now these are the generations of the sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japheth: and unto them were sons born after the flood.
2 The sons of Japheth; Gomer, and Magog, and Madai, and Javan, and Tubal, and Meshech, and Tiras.
3 And the sons of Gomer; Ashkenaz, and Riphath, and Togarmah.
4 And the sons of Javan; Elishah, and Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim.
5 By these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands; every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations.
6 And the sons of Ham; Cush, and Mizraim, and Phut, and Canaan.
7 And the sons of Cush; Seba, and Havilah, and Sabtah, and Raamah, and Sabtechah: and the sons of Raamah; Sheba, and Dedan.
8 And Cush begat Nimrod: he began to be a mighty one in the earth.
9 He was a mighty hunter before the LORD: wherefore it is said, Even as Nimrod the mighty hunter before the LORD.
10 And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech (Uruk), and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar (Sumer).
11 Out of that land went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah (Nimrud, near Mosul, also called Kalakh, Kalhu),
12 And Resen between Nineveh and Calah: the same is a great city.
13 And Mizraim begat Ludim, and Anamim, and Lehabim, and Naphtuhim,
14 And Pathrusim, and Casluhim, (out of whom came Philistim,) and Caphtorim.
15 And Canaan begat Sidon his first born, and Heth,
16 And the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the Girgasite,
17 And the Hivite, and the Arkite, and the Sinite,
18 And the Arvadite, and the Zemarite, and the Hamathite: and afterward were the families of the Canaanites spread abroad.
19 And the border of the Canaanites was from Sidon, as thou comest to Gerar, unto Gaza; as thou goest, unto Sodom, and Gomorrah, and Admah, and Zeboim, even unto Lasha.
20 These are the sons of Ham, after their families, after their tongues, in their countries, and in their nations.
21 Unto Shem also, the father of all the children of Eber, the brother of Japheth the elder, even to him were children born.
22 The children of Shem; Elam, and Asshur, and Arphaxad, and Lud, and Aram.
23 And the children of Aram; Uz, and Hul, and Gether, and Mash.
24 And Arphaxad begat Salah; and Salah begat Eber.
25 And unto Eber were born two sons: the name of one was Peleg; for in his days was the earth divided; and his brother's name was Joktan.
26 And Joktan begat Almodad, and Sheleph, and Hazarmaveth, and Jerah,
27 And Hadoram, and Uzal, and Diklah,
28 And Obal, and Abimael, and Sheba,
29 And Ophir, and Havilah, and Jobab: all these were the sons of Joktan.
30 And their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar a mount of the east.
31 These are the sons of Shem, after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, after their nations.
32 These are the families of the sons of Noah, after their generations, in their nations: and by these were the nations divided in the earth after the flood.

GENESIS CHAPTER 11
1 And the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech.
2 And it came to pass, as they journeyed from the east, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar; and they dwelt there.
3 And they said one to another, Go to, let us make brick, and burn them thoroughly. And they had brick for stone, and slime had they for morter.
4 And they said, Go to, let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven; and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth.
5 And the LORD came down to see the city and the tower, which the children of men builded.
6 And the LORD said, Behold, the people is one, and they have all one language; and this they begin to do: and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do.
7 Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech.
8 So the LORD scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth: and they left off to build the city.
9 Therefore is the name of it called Babel; because the LORD did there confound the language of all the earth: and from thence did the LORD scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth.
10 These are the generations of Shem: Shem was an hundred years old, and begat Arphaxad two years after the flood:
11 And Shem lived after he begat Arphaxad five hundred years, and begat sons and daughters.
12 And Arphaxad lived five and thirty years, and begat Salah:
13 And Arphaxad lived after he begat Salah four hundred and three years, and begat sons and daughters.
14 And Salah lived thirty years, and begat Eber:
15 And Salah lived after he begat Eber four hundred and three years, and begat sons and daughters.
16 And Eber lived four and thirty years, and begat Peleg:
17 And Eber lived after he begat Peleg four hundred and thirty years, and begat sons and daughters.
18 And Peleg lived thirty years, and begat Reu:
19 And Peleg lived after he begat Reu two hundred and nine years, and begat sons and daughters.
20 And Reu lived two and thirty years, and begat Serug:
21 And Reu lived after he begat Serug two hundred and seven years, and begat sons and daughters.
22 And Serug lived thirty years, and begat Nahor:
23 And Serug lived after he begat Nahor two hundred years, and begat sons and daughters.
24 And Nahor lived nine and twenty years, and begat Terah:
25 And Nahor lived after he begat Terah an hundred and nineteen years, and begat sons and daughters.
26 And Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran.
27 Now these are the generations of Terah: Terah begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran; and Haran begat Lot.
28 And Haran died before his father Terah in the land of his nativity, in Ur of the Chaldees.
29 And Abram and Nahor took them wives: the name of Abram's wife was Sarai; and the name of Nahor's wife, Milcah, the daughter of Haran, the father of Milcah, and the father of Iscah.
30 But Sarai was barren; she had no child.
31 And Terah took Abram his son, and Lot the son of Haran his son's son, and Sarai his daughter in law, his son Abram's wife; and they went forth with them from Ur of the Chaldees, to go into the land of Canaan; and they came unto Haran, and dwelt there.
32 And the days of Terah were two hundred and five years: and Terah died in Haran.

GENESIS CHAPTER 12
1 Now the LORD had said unto Abram, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will shew thee:
2 And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing:
3 And I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee: and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed.
4 So Abram departed, as the LORD had spoken unto him; and Lot went with him: and Abram was seventy and five years old when he departed out of Haran.
5 And Abram took Sarai his wife, and Lot his brother's son, and all their substance that they had gathered, and the souls that they had gotten in Haran; and they went forth to go into the land of Canaan; and into the land of Canaan they came.
6 And Abram passed through the land unto the place of Sichem, unto the plain of Moreh. And the Canaanite was then in the land.
7 And the LORD appeared unto Abram, and said, Unto thy seed will I give this land: and there builded he an altar unto the LORD, who appeared unto him.
8 And he removed from thence unto a mountain on the east of Bethel, and pitched his tent, having Bethel on the west, and Hai on the east: and there he builded an altar unto the LORD, and called upon the name of the LORD.
9 And Abram journeyed, going on still toward the south.
10 And there was a famine in the land: and Abram went down into Egypt to sojourn there; for the famine was grievous in the land.
11 And it came to pass, when he was come near to enter into Egypt, that he said unto Sarai his wife, Behold now, I know that thou art a fair woman to look upon:
12 Therefore it shall come to pass, when the Egyptians shall see thee, that they shall say, This is his wife: and they will kill me, but they will save thee alive.
13 Say, I pray thee, thou art my sister: that it may be well with me for thy sake; and my soul shall live because of thee.
14 And it came to pass, that, when Abram was come into Egypt, the Egyptians beheld the woman that she was very fair.
15 The princes also of Pharaoh saw her, and commended her before Pharaoh: and the woman was taken into Pharaoh's house.
16 And he entreated Abram well for her sake: and he had sheep, and oxen, and he asses, and menservants, and maidservants, and she asses, and camels.
17 And the LORD plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues because of Sarai Abram's wife.
18 And Pharaoh called Abram and said, What is this that thou hast done unto me? why didst thou not tell me that she was thy wife?
19 Why saidst thou, She is my sister? so I might have taken her to me to wife: now therefore behold thy wife, take her, and go thy way.
20 And Pharaoh commanded his men concerning him: and they sent him away, and his wife, and all that he had.

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GENESIS CHAPTER 13

1 And Abram went up out of Egypt, he, and his wife, and all that he had, and Lot with him, into the south.

2 And Abram was very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold.

3 And he went on his journeys from the south even to Bethel, unto the place where his tent had been at the beginning, between Bethel and Hai;

4 Unto the place of the altar, which he had make there at the first: and there Abram called on the name of the LORD.

5 And Lot also, which went with Abram, had flocks, and herds, and tents.

6 And the land was not able to bear them, that they might dwell together: for their substance was great, so that they could not dwell together.

7 And there was a strife between the herdmen of Abram's cattle and the herdmen of Lot's cattle: and the Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelled then in the land.

8 And Abram said unto Lot, Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen; for we be brethren.

9 Is not the whole land before thee? separate thyself, I pray thee, from me: if thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left.

10 And Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered every where, before the LORD destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, even as the garden of the LORD, like the land of Egypt, as thou comest unto Zoar.

11 Then Lot chose him all the plain of Jordan; and Lot journeyed east: and they separated themselves the one from the other.

12 Abram dwelled in the land of Canaan, and Lot dwelled in the cities of the plain, and pitched his tent toward Sodom.

13 But the men of Sodom were wicked and sinners before the LORD exceedingly.

14 And the LORD said unto Abram, after that Lot was separated from him, Lift up now thine eyes, and look from the place where thou art northward, and southward, and eastward, and westward:

15 For all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed for ever.

16 And I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth: so that if a man can number the dust of the earth, then shall thy seed also be numbered.

17 Arise, walk through the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it; for I will give it unto thee.

18 Then Abram removed his tent, and came and dwelt in the plain of Mamre, which is in Hebron, and built there an altar unto the LORD.

GENESIS CHAPTER 14

1 And it came to pass in the days of Amraphel king of Shinar, Arioch king of Ellasar, Chedorlaomer king of Elam, and Tidal king of nations;

2 That these made war with Bera king of Sodom, and with Birsha king of Gomorrah, Shinab king of Admah, and Shemeber king of Zeboiim, and the king of Bela, which is Zoar.

3 All these were joined together in the vale of Siddim, which is the salt sea.

4 Twelve years they served Chedorlaomer, and in the thirteenth year they rebelled.

5 And in the fourteenth year came Chedorlaomer, and the kings that were with him, and smote the Rephaims in Ashteroth Karnaim, and the Zuzims in Ham, and the Emins in Shaveh Kiriathaim,

6 And the Horites in their mount Seir, unto Elparan, which is by the wilderness.

7 And they returned, and came to Enmishpat, which is Kadesh, and smote all the country of the Amalekites, and also the Amorites, that dwelt in Hazezontamar.

8 And there went out the king of Sodom, and the king of Gomorrah, and the king of Admah, and the king of Zeboiim, and the king of Bela (the same is Zoar;) and they joined battle with them in the vale of Siddim;

9 With Chedorlaomer the king of Elam, and with Tidal king of nations, and Amraphel king of Shinar, and Arioch king of Ellasar; four kings with five.

10 And the vale of Siddim was full of slimepits; and the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah fled, and fell there; and they that remained fled to the mountain.

11 And they took all the goods of Sodom and Gomorrah, and all their victuals, and went their way.

12 And they took Lot, Abram's brother's son, who dwelt in Sodom, and his goods, and departed.

13 And there came one that had escaped, and told Abram the Hebrew; for he dwelt in the plain of Mamre the Amorite, brother of Eshcol, and brother of Aner: and these were confederate with Abram.

14 And when Abram heard that his brother was taken captive, he armed his trained servants, born in his own house, three hundred and eighteen, and pursued them unto Dan.

15 And he divided himself against them, he and his servants, by night, and smote them, and pursued them unto Hobah, which is on the left hand of Damascus.

16 And he brought back all the goods, and also brought again his brother Lot, and his goods, and the women also, and the people.

17 And the king of Sodom went out to meet him after his return from the slaughter of Chedorlaomer, and of the kings that were with him, at the valley of Shaveh, which is the king's dale.

18 And Melchisedek king of Salem brought forth bread and wine: and he was the priest of the most high God.

19 And he blessed him, and said, Blessed be Abram of the most high God, possessor of heaven and earth:

20 And blessed be the most high God, which hath delivered thine enemies into thy hand. And he gave him tithes of all.

21 And the king of Sodom said unto Abram, Give me the persons, and take the goods to thyself.

22 And Abram said to the king of Sodom, I have lift up mine hand unto the LORD, the most high God, the possessor of heaven and earth,

23 That I will not take from a thread even to a shoelatchet, and that I will not take any thing that is thine, lest thou shouldest say, I have made Abram rich:

24 Save only that which the young men have eaten, and the portion of the men which went with me, Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre; let them take their portion.

GENESIS CHAPTER 15

1 After these things the word of the LORD came unto Abram in a vision, saying, Fear not, Abram: I am thy shield, and thy exceeding great reward.

2 And Abram said, LORD God, what wilt thou give me, seeing I go childless, and the steward of my house is this Eliezer of Damascus?

3 And Abram said, Behold, to me thou hast given no seed: and, lo, one born in my house is mine heir.

4 And, behold, the word of the LORD came unto him, saying, This shall not be thine heir; but he that shall come forth out of thine own bowels shall be thine heir.

5 And he brought him forth abroad, and said, Look now toward heaven, and tell the stars, if thou be able to number them: and he said unto him, So shall thy seed be.

6 And he believed in the LORD; and he counted it to him for righteousness.

7 And he said unto him, I am the LORD that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees, to give thee this land to inherit it.

8 And he said, LORD God, whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it?

9 And he said unto him, Take me an heifer of three years old, and a she goat of three years old, and a ram of three years old, and a turtledove, and a young pigeon.

10 And he took unto him all these, and divided them in the midst, and laid each piece one against another: but the birds divided he not.

11 And when the fowls came down upon the carcases, Abram drove them away.

12 And when the sun was going down, a deep sleep fell upon Abram; and, lo, an horror of great darkness fell upon him.

13 And he said unto Abram, Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not their's, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred years;

14 And also that nation, whom they shall serve, will I judge: and afterward shall they come out with great substance.

15 And thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace; thou shalt be buried in a good old age.

16 But in the fourth generation they shall come hither again: for the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full.

17 And it came to pass, that, when the sun went down, and it was dark, behold a smoking furnace, and a burning lamp that passed between those pieces.

18 In the same day the LORD made a covenant with Abram, saying, Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates:

19 The Kenites, and the Kenizzites, and the Kadmonites,

20 And the Hittites, and the Perizzites, and the Rephaims,

21 And the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Girgashites, and the Jebusites.

GENESIS CHAPTER 16

1 Now Sarai Abram's wife bare him no children: and she had an handmaid, an Egyptian, whose name was Hagar.

2 And Sarai said unto Abram, Behold now, the LORD hath restrained me from bearing: I pray thee, go in unto my maid; it may be that I may obtain children by her. And Abram hearkened to the voice of Sarai.

3 And Sarai Abram's wife took Hagar her maid the Egyptian, after Abram had dwelt ten years in the land of Canaan, and gave her to her husband Abram to be his wife.

4 And he went in unto Hagar, and she conceived: and when she saw that she had conceived, her mistress was despised in her eyes.

5 And Sarai said unto Abram, My wrong be upon thee: I have given my maid into thy bosom; and when she saw that she had conceived, I was despised in her eyes: the LORD judge between me and thee.

6 But Abram said unto Sarai, Behold, thy maid is in thine hand; do to her as it pleaseth thee. And when Sarai dealt hardly with her, she fled from her face.

7 And the angel of the LORD found her by a fountain of water in the wilderness, by the fountain in the way to Shur.

8 And he said, Hagar, Sarai's maid, whence camest thou? and whither wilt thou go? And she said, I flee from the face of my mistress Sarai.

9 And the angel of the LORD said unto her, Return to thy mistress, and submit thyself under her hands.

10 And the angel of the LORD said unto her, I will multiply thy seed exceedingly, that it shall not be numbered for multitude.

11 And the angel of the LORD said unto her, Behold, thou art with child and shalt bear a son, and shalt call his name Ishmael; because the LORD hath heard thy affliction.

12 And he will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren.

13 And she called the name of the LORD that spake unto her, Thou God seest me: for she said, Have I also here looked after him that seeth me?

14 Wherefore the well was called Beerlahairoi; behold, it is between Kadesh and Bered.

15 And Hagar bare Abram a son: and Abram called his son's name, which Hagar bare, Ishmael.

16 And Abram was fourscore and six years old, when Hagar bare Ishmael to Abram.

GENESIS CHAPTER 17

1 And when Abram was ninety years old and nine, the LORD appeared to Abram, and said unto him, I am the Almighty God; walk before me, and be thou perfect.

2 And I will make my covenant between me and thee, and will multiply thee exceedingly.

3 And Abram fell on his face: and God talked with him, saying,

4 As for me, behold, my covenant is with thee, and thou shalt be a father of many nations.

5 Neither shall thy name any more be called Abram, but thy name shall be Abraham; for a father of many nations have I made thee.

6 And I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and I will make nations of thee, and kings shall come out of thee.

7 And I will establish my covenant between me and thee and thy seed after thee in their generations for an everlasting covenant, to be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee.

8 And I will give unto thee, and to thy seed after thee, the land wherein thou art a stranger, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession; and I will be their God.

9 And God said unto Abraham, Thou shalt keep my covenant therefore, thou, and thy seed after thee in their generations.

10 This is my covenant, which ye shall keep, between me and you and thy seed after thee; Every man child among you shall be circumcised.

11 And ye shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin; and it shall be a token of the covenant betwixt me and you.

12 And he that is eight days old shall be circumcised among you, every man child in your generations, he that is born in the house, or bought with money of any stranger, which is not of thy seed.

13 He that is born in thy house, and he that is bought with thy money, must needs be circumcised: and my covenant shall be in your flesh for an everlasting covenant.

14 And the uncircumcised man child whose flesh of his foreskin is not circumcised, that soul shall be cut off from his people; he hath broken my covenant.

15 And God said unto Abraham, As for Sarai thy wife, thou shalt not call her name Sarai, but Sarah shall her name be.

16 And I will bless her, and give thee a son also of her: yea, I will bless her, and she shall be a mother of nations; kings of people shall be of her.

17 Then Abraham fell upon his face, and laughed, and said in his heart, Shall a child be born unto him that is an hundred years old? and shall Sarah, that is ninety years old, bear?

18 And Abraham said unto God, O that Ishmael might live before thee!

19 And God said, Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a son indeed; and thou shalt call his name Isaac: and I will establish my covenant with him for an everlasting covenant, and with his seed after him.

20 And as for Ishmael, I have heard thee: Behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly; twelve princes shall he beget, and I will make him a great nation.

21 But my covenant will I establish with Isaac, which Sarah shall bear unto thee at this set time in the next year.

22 And he left off talking with him, and God went up from Abraham.

23 And Abraham took Ishmael his son, and all that were born in his house, and all that were bought with his money,

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every male among the men of Abraham's house; and circumcised the flesh of their foreskin in the selfsame day, as God had said unto him.

24 And Abraham was ninety years old and nine, when he was circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin.

25 And Ishmael his son was thirteen years old, when he was circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin.

26 In the selfsame day was Abraham circumcised, and Ishmael his son.

27 And all the men of his house, born in the house, and bought with money of the stranger, were circumcised with him.

GENESIS CHAPTER 18

1 And the LORD appeared unto him in the plains of Mamre: and he sat in the tent door in the heat of the day;

2 And he lift up his eyes and looked, and, lo, three men stood by him: and when he saw them, he ran to meet them from the tent door, and bowed himself toward the ground,

3 And said, My LORD, if now I have found favour in thy sight, pass not away, I pray thee, from thy servant:

4 Let a little water, I pray you, be fetched, and wash your feet, and rest yourselves under the tree:

5 And I will fetch a morsel of bread, and comfort ye your hearts; after that ye shall pass on: for therefore are ye come to your servant. And they said, So do, as thou hast said.

6 And Abraham hastened into the tent unto Sarah, and said, Make ready quickly three measures of fine meal, knead it, and make cakes upon the hearth.

7 And Abraham ran unto the herd, and fetcht a calf tender and good, and gave it unto a young man; and he hasted to dress it.

8 And he took butter, and milk, and the calf which he had dressed, and set it before them; and he stood by them under the tree, and they did eat.

9 And they said unto him, Where is Sarah thy wife? And he said, Behold, in the tent.

10 And he said, I will certainly return unto thee according to the time of life; and, lo, Sarah thy wife shall have a son. And Sarah heard it in the tent door, which was behind him.

11 Now Abraham and Sarah were old and well stricken in age; and it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women.

12 Therefore Sarah laughed within herself, saying, After I am waxed old shall I have pleasure, my lord being old also?

13 And the LORD said unto Abraham, Wherefore did Sarah laugh, saying, Shall I of a surety bear a child, which am old?

14 Is any thing too hard for the LORD? At the time appointed I will return unto thee, according to the time of life, and Sarah shall have a son.

15 Then Sarah denied, saying, I laughed not; for she was afraid. And he said, Nay; but thou didst laugh.

16 And the men rose up from thence, and looked toward Sodom: and Abraham went with them to bring them on the way.

17 And the LORD said, Shall I hide from Abraham that thing which I do;

18 Seeing that Abraham shall surely become a great and mighty nation, and all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in him?

19 For I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the LORD, to do justice and judgement; that the LORD may bring upon Abraham that which he hath spoken of him.

20 And the LORD said, Because the cry of Sodom and Gomorrah is great, and because their sin is very grievous;

21 I will go down now, and see whether they have done altogether according to the cry of it, which is come unto me; and if not, I will know.

22 And the men turned their faces from thence, and went toward Sodom: but Abraham stood yet before the LORD.

23 And Abraham drew near, and said, Wilt thou also destroy the righteous with the wicked?

24 Peradventure there be fifty righteous within the city: wilt thou also destroy and not spare the place for the fifty righteous that are therein?

25 That be far from thee to do after this manner, to slay the righteous with the wicked: and that the righteous should be as the wicked, that be far from thee: Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?

26 And the LORD said, If I find in Sodom fifty righteous within the city, then I will spare all the place for their sakes.

27 And Abraham answered and said, Behold now, I have taken upon me to speak unto the LORD, which am but dust and ashes:

28 Peradventure there shall lack five of the fifty righteous: wilt thou destroy all the city for lack of five? And he said, If I find there forty and five, I will not destroy it.

29 And he spake unto him yet again, and said, Peradventure there shall be forty found there. And he said, I will not do it for forty's sake.

30 And he said unto him, Oh let not the LORD be angry, and I will speak: Peradventure there shall thirty be found there. And he said, I will not do it, if I find thirty there.

31 And he said, Behold now, I have taken upon me to speak unto the LORD: Peradventure there shall be twenty found there. And he said, I will not destroy it for twenty's sake.

32 And he said, Oh let not the LORD be angry, and I will speak yet but this once: Peradventure ten shall be found there. And he said, I will not destroy it for ten's sake.

33 And the LORD went his way, as soon as he had left communing with Abraham: and Abraham returned unto his place.

GENESIS CHAPTER 19

1 And there came two angels to Sodom at even; and Lot sat in the gate of Sodom: and Lot seeing them rose up to meet them; and he bowed himself with his face toward the ground;

2 And he said, Behold now, my lords, turn in, I pray you, into your servant's house, and tarry all night, and wash your feet, and ye shall rise up early, and go on your ways. And they said, Nay; but we will abide in the street all night.

3 And he pressed upon them greatly; and they turned in unto him, and entered into his house; and he made them a feast, and did bake unleavened bread, and they did eat.

4 But before they lay down, the men of the city, even the men of Sodom, compassed the house round, both old and young, all the people from every quarter:

5 And they called unto Lot, and said unto him, Where are the men which came in to thee this night? bring them out unto us, that we may know them.

6 And Lot went out at the door unto them, and shut the door after him,

7 And said, I pray you, brethren, do not so wickedly.

8 Behold now, I have two daughters which have not known man; let me, I pray you, bring them out unto you, and do ye to them as is good in your eyes: only unto these men do nothing; for therefore came they under the shadow of my roof.

9 And they said, Stand back. And they said again, This one fellow came in to sojourn, and he will needs be a judge: now will we deal worse with thee, than with them. And they pressed sore upon the man, even Lot, and came near to break the door.

10 But the men put forth their hand, and pulled Lot into the house to them, and shut to the door.

11 And they smote the men that were at the door of the house with blindness, both small and great: so that they wearied themselves to find the door.

12 And the men said unto Lot, Hast thou here any besides? son in law, and thy sons, and thy daughters, and whatsoever thou hast in the city, bring them out of this place:

13 For we will destroy this place, because the cry of them is waxen great before the face of the LORD; and the LORD hath sent us to destroy it.

14 And Lot went out, and spake unto his sons in law, which married his daughters, and said, Up, get you out of this place; for the LORD will destroy this city. But he seemed as one that mocked unto his sons in law.

15 And when the morning arose, then the angels hastened Lot, saying, Arise, take thy wife, and thy two daughters, which are here; lest thou be consumed in the iniquity of the city.

16 And while he lingered, the men laid hold upon his hand, and upon the hand of his wife, and upon the hand of his two daughters; the LORD being merciful unto him: and they brought him forth, and set him without the city.

17 And it came to pass, when they had brought them forth abroad, that he said, Escape for thy life; look not behind thee, neither stay thou in all the plain; escape to the mountain, lest thou be consumed.

18 And Lot said unto them, Oh, not so, my LORD:

19 Behold now, thy servant hath found grace in thy sight, and thou hast magnified thy mercy, which thou hast shewed unto me in saving my life; and I cannot escape to the mountain, lest some evil take me, and I die:

20 Behold now, this city is near to flee unto, and it is a little one: Oh, let me escape thither, (is it not a little one?) and my soul shall live.

21 And he said unto him, See, I have accepted thee concerning this thing also, that I will not overthrow this city, for the which thou hast spoken.

22 Haste thee, escape thither; for I cannot do anything till thou be come thither. Therefore the name of the city was called Zoar.

23 The sun was risen upon the earth when Lot entered into Zoar.

24 Then the LORD rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the LORD out of heaven;

25 And he overthrew those cities, and all the plain, and all the inhabitants of the cities, and that which grew upon the ground.

26 But his wife looked back from behind him, and she became a pillar of salt.

27 And Abraham gat up early in the morning to the place where he stood before the LORD:

28 And he looked toward Sodom and Gomorrah, and toward all the land of the plain, and beheld, and, lo, the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a furnace.

29 And it came to pass, when God destroyed the cities of the plain, that God remembered Abraham, and sent Lot out of the midst of the overthrow, when he overthrew the cities in the which Lot dwelt.

30 And Lot went up out of Zoar, and dwelt in the mountain, and his two daughters with him; for he feared to dwell in Zoar: and he dwelt in a cave, he and his two daughters.

31 And the firstborn said unto the younger, Our father is old, and there is not a man in the earth to come in unto us after the manner of all the earth:

32 Come, let us make our father drink wine, and we will lie with him, that we may preserve seed of our father.

33 And they made their father drink wine that night: and the firstborn went in, and lay with her father; and he perceived not when she lay down, nor when she arose.

34 And it came to pass on the morrow, that the firstborn said unto the younger, Behold, I lay yesternight with my father: let us make him drink wine this night also; and go thou in, and lie with him, that we may preserve seed of our father.

35 And they made their father drink wine that night also: and the younger arose, and lay with him; and he perceived not when she lay down, nor when she arose.

36 Thus were both the daughters of Lot with child by their father.

37 And the first born bare a son, and called his name Moab: the same is the father of the Moabites unto this day.

38 And the younger, she also bare a son, and called his name Benammi: the same is the father of the children of Ammon unto this day.

GENESIS CHAPTER 20

1 And Abraham journeyed from thence toward the south country, and dwelled between Kadesh and Shur, and sojourned in Gerar.

2 And Abraham said of Sarah his wife, She is my sister: and Abimelech king of Gerar sent, and took Sarah.

3 But God came to Abimelech in a dream by night, and said to him, Behold, thou art but a dead man, for the woman which thou hast taken; for she is a man's wife.

4 But Abimelech had not come near her: and he said, LORD, wilt thou slay also a righteous nation?

5 Said he not unto me, She is my sister? and she, even she herself said, He is my brother: in the integrity of my heart and innocency of my hands have I done this.

6 And God said unto him in a dream, Yea, I know that thou didst this in the integrity of thy heart; for I also withheld thee from sinning against me: therefore suffered I thee not to touch her.

7 Now therefore restore the man his wife; for he is a prophet, and he shall pray for thee, and thou shalt live: and if thou restore her not, know thou that thou shalt surely die, thou, and all that are thine.

8 Therefore Abimelech rose early in the morning, and called all his servants, and told all these things in their ears: and the men were sore afraid.

9 Then Abimelech called Abraham, and said unto him, What hast thou done unto us? and what have I offended thee, that thou hast brought on me and on my kingdom a great sin? thou hast done deeds unto me that ought not to be done.

10 And Abimelech said unto Abraham, What sawest thou, that thou hast done this thing?

11 And Abraham said, Because I thought, Surely the fear of God is not in this place; and they will slay me for my wife's sake.

12 And yet indeed she is my sister; she is the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother; and she became my wife.

13 And it came to pass, when God caused me to wander from my father's house, that I said unto her, This is thy kindness which thou shalt shew unto me; at every place whither we shall come, say of me, He is my brother.

14 And Abimelech took sheep, and oxen, and menservants, and womenservants, and gave them unto Abraham, and restored him Sarah his wife.

15 And Abimelech said, Behold, my land is before thee: dwell where it pleaseth thee.

16 And unto Sarah he said, Behold, I have given thy brother a thousand pieces of silver: behold, he is to thee a covering of the eyes, unto all that are with thee, and with all other: thus she was reproved.

17 So Abraham prayed unto God: and God healed Abimelech, and his wife, and his maidservants; and they bare children.

18 For the LORD had fast closed up all the wombs of the house of Abimelech, because of Sarah Abraham's wife.

GENESIS CHAPTER 21

1 And the LORD visited Sarah as he had said, and the LORD did unto Sarah as he had spoken.

2 For Sarah conceived, and bare Abraham a son in his old age, at the set time of which God had spoken to him.

3 And Abraham called the name of his son that was born unto him, whom Sarah bare to him, Isaac.

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4 And Abraham circumcised his son Isaac being eight days old, as God had commanded him.
5 And Abraham was an hundred years old, when his son Isaac was born unto him.
6 And Sarah said, God hath made me to laugh, so that all that hear will laugh with me.
7 And she said, Who would have said unto Abraham, that Sarah should have given children suck? for I have born him a son in his old age.
8 And the child grew, and was weaned: and Abraham made a great feast the same day that Isaac was weaned.
9 And Sarah saw the son of Hagar the Egyptian, which she had born unto Abraham, mocking.
10 Wherefore she said unto Abraham, Cast out this bondwoman and her son: for the son of this bondwoman shall not be heir with my son, even with Isaac.
11 And the thing was very grievous in Abraham's sight because of his son.
12 And God said unto Abraham, Let it not be grievous in thy sight because of the lad, and because of thy bondwoman; in all that Sarah hath said unto thee, hearken unto her voice; for in Isaac shall thy seed be called.
13 And also of the son of the bondwoman will I make a nation, because he is thy seed.
14 And Abraham rose up early in the morning, and took bread, and a bottle of water, and gave it unto Hagar, putting it on her shoulder, and the child, and sent her away: and she departed, and wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba.
15 And the water was spent in the bottle, and she cast the child under one of the shrubs.
16 And she went, and sat her down over against him a good way off, as it were a bow shot: for she said, Let me not see the death of the child. And she sat over against him, and lift up her voice, and wept.
17 And God heard the voice of the lad; and the angel of God called to Hagar out of heaven, and said unto her, What aileth thee, Hagar? fear not; for God hath heard the voice of the lad where he is.
18 Arise, lift up the lad, and hold him in thine hand; for I will make him a great nation.
19 And God opened her eyes, and she saw a well of water; and she went, and filled the bottle with water, and gave the lad drink.
20 And God was with the lad; and he grew, and dwelt in the wilderness, and became an archer.
21 And he dwelt in the wilderness of Paran: and his mother took him a wife out of the land of Egypt.
22 And it came to pass at that time, that Abimelech and Phichol the chief captain of his host spake unto Abraham, saying, God is with thee in all that thou doest:
23 Now therefore swear unto me here by God that thou wilt not deal falsely with me, nor with my son, nor with my son's son: but according to the kindness that I have done unto thee, thou shalt do unto me, and to the land wherein thou hast sojourned.
24 And Abraham said, I will swear.
25 And Abraham reproved Abimelech because of a well of water, which Abimelech's servants had violently taken away.
26 And Abimelech said, I wot not who hath done this thing; neither didst thou tell me, neither yet heard I of it, but to day.
27 And Abraham took sheep and oxen, and gave them unto Abimelech; and both of them made a covenant.
28 And Abraham set seven ewe lambs of the flock by themselves.
29 And Abimelech said unto Abraham, What mean these seven ewe lambs which thou hast set by themselves?
30 And he said, For these seven ewe lambs shalt thou take of my hand, that they may be a witness unto me, that I have digged this well.
31 Wherefore he called that place Beersheba; because there they sware both of them.
32 Thus they made a covenant at Beersheba: then Abimelech rose up, and Phichol the chief captain of his host, and they returned into the land of the Philistines.
33 And Abraham planted a grove in Beersheba, and called there on the name of the LORD, the everlasting God.
34 And Abraham sojourned in the Philistines' land many days.

GENESIS CHAPTER 22

1 And it came to pass after these things, that God did tempt Abraham, and said unto him, Abraham: and he said, Behold, here I am.
2 And he said, Take now thy son, thine only son Isaac, whom thou lovest, and get thee into the land of Moriah; and offer him there for a burnt offering upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee of.
3 And Abraham rose up early in the morning, and saddled his ass, and took two of his young men with him, and Isaac his son, and clave the wood for the burnt offering, and rose up, and went unto the place of which God had told him.
4 Then on the third day Abraham lifted up his eyes, and saw the place afar off.
5 And Abraham said unto his young men, Abide ye here with the ass; and I and the lad will go yonder and worship, and come again to you.
6 And Abraham took the wood of the burnt offering, and laid it upon Isaac his son; and he took the fire in his hand, and a knife; and they went both of them together.
7 And Isaac spake unto Abraham his father, and said, My father: and he said, Here am I, my son. And he said, Behold the fire and the wood: but where is the lamb for a burnt offering?
8 And Abraham said, My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt offering: so they went both of them together.
9 And they came to the place which God had told him of; and Abraham built an altar there, and laid the wood in order, and bound Isaac his son, and laid him on the altar upon the wood.
10 And Abraham stretched forth his hand, and took the knife to slay his son.
11 And the angel of the LORD called unto him out of heaven, and said, Abraham, Abraham: and he said, Here am I.
12 And he said, Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou any thing unto him: for now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son from me.
13 And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and looked, and behold behind him a ram caught in a thicket by his horns: and Abraham went and took the ram, and offered him up for a burnt offering in the stead of his son.
14 And Abraham called the name of that place Jehovahjireh: as it is said to this day, In the mount of the LORD it shall be seen.
15 And the angel of the LORD called unto Abraham out of heaven the second time,
16 And said, By myself have I sworn, saith the LORD, for because thou hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son:
17 That in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea shore; and thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies;
18 And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed; because thou hast obeyed my voice.
19 So Abraham returned unto his young men, and they rose up and went together to Beersheba; and Abraham dwelt at Beersheba.
20 And it came to pass after these things, that it was told Abraham, saying, Behold, Milcah, she hath also born children unto thy brother Nahor;
21 Huz his firstborn, and Buz his brother, and Kemuel the father of Aram,
22 And Chesed, and Hazo, and Pildash, and Jidlaph, and Bethuel.
23 And Bethuel begat Rebekah: these eight Milcah did bear to Nahor, Abraham's brother.
24 And his concubine, whose name was Reumah, she bare also Tebah, and Gaham, and Thahash, and Maachah.

GENESIS CHAPTER 23

1 And Sarah was an hundred and seven and twenty years old: these were the years of the life of Sarah.
2 And Sarah died in Kirjatharba; the same is Hebron in the land of Canaan: and Abraham came to mourn for Sarah, and to weep for her.
3 And Abraham stood up from before his dead, and spake unto the sons of Heth, saying,
4 I am a stranger and a sojourner with you: give me a possession of a buryingplace with you, that I may bury my dead out of my sight.
5 And the children of Heth answered Abraham, saying unto him,
6 Hear us, my lord: thou art a mighty prince among us: in the choice of our sepulchres bury thy dead; none of us shall withhold from thee his sepulchre, but that thou mayest bury thy dead.
7 And Abraham stood up, and bowed himself to the people of the land, even to the children of Heth.
8 And he communed with them, saying, If it be your mind that I should bury my dead out of my sight; hear me, and intreat for me to Ephron the son of Zohar,
9 That he may give me the cave of Machpelah, which he hath, which is in the end of his field; for as much money as it is worth he shall give it me for a possession of a buryingplace amongst you.
10 And Ephron dwelt among the children of Heth: and Ephron the Hittite answered Abraham in the audience of the children of Heth, even of all that went in at the gate of his city, saying,
11 Nay, my lord, hear me: the field give I thee, and the cave that is therein, I give it thee; in the presence of the sons of my people give I it thee: bury thy dead.
12 And Abraham bowed down himself before the people of the land.
13 And he spake unto Ephron in the audience of the people of the land, saying, But if thou wilt give it, I pray thee, hear me: I will give thee money for the field; take it of me, and I will bury my dead there.
14 And Ephron answered Abraham, saying unto him,
15 My lord, hearken unto me: the land is worth four hundred shekels of silver; what is that betwixt me and thee? bury therefore thy dead.
16 And Abraham hearkened unto Ephron; and Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver, which he had named in the audience of the sons of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver, current money with the merchant.
17 And the field of Ephron which was in Machpelah, which was before Mamre, the field, and the cave which was therein, and all the trees that were in the field, that were in all the borders round about, were made sure
18 Unto Abraham for a possession in the presence of the children of Heth, before all that went in at the gate of his city.
19 And after this, Abraham buried Sarah his wife in the cave of the field of Machpelah before Mamre: the same is Hebron in the land of Canaan.
20 And the field, and the cave that is therein, were made sure unto Abraham for a possession of a buryingplace by the sons of Heth.

GENESIS CHAPTER 24

1 And Abraham was old, and well stricken in age: and the LORD had blessed Abraham in all things.
2 And Abraham said unto his eldest servant of his house, that ruled over all that he had, Put, I pray thee, thy hand under my thigh:
3 And I will make thee swear by the LORD, the God of heaven, and the God of the earth, that thou shalt not take a wife unto my son of the daughters of the Canaanites, among whom I dwell:
4 But thou shalt go unto my country, and to my kindred, and take a wife unto my son Isaac.
5 And the servant said unto him, Peradventure the woman will not be willing to follow me unto this land: must I needs bring thy son again unto the land from whence thou camest?
6 And Abraham said unto him, Beware thou that thou bring not my son thither again.
7 The LORD God of heaven, which took me from my father's house, and from the land of my kindred, and which spake unto me, and that sware unto me, saying, Unto thy seed will I give this land; he shall send his angel before thee, and thou shalt take a wife unto my son from thence.
8 And if the woman will not be willing to follow thee, then thou shalt be clear from this my oath: only bring not my son thither again.
9 And the servant put his hand under the thigh of Abraham his master, and sware to him concerning that matter.
10 And the servant took ten camels of the camels of his master, and departed; for all the goods of his master were in his hand: and he arose, and went to Mesopotamia, unto the city of Nahor.
11 And he made his camels to kneel down without the city by a well of water at the time of the evening, even the time that women go out to draw water.
12 And he said O LORD God of my master Abraham, I pray thee, send me good speed this day, and shew kindness unto my master Abraham.
13 Behold, I stand here by the well of water; and the daughters of the men of the city come out to draw water:
14 And let it come to pass, that the damsel to whom I shall say, Let down thy pitcher, I pray thee, that I may drink; and she shall say, Drink, and I will give thy camels drink also: let the same be she that thou hast appointed for thy servant Isaac; and thereby shall I know that thou hast shewed kindness unto my master.
15 And it came to pass, before he had done speaking, that, behold, Rebekah came out, who was born to Bethuel, son of Milcah, the wife of Nahor, Abraham's brother, with her pitcher upon her shoulder.
16 And the damsel was very fair to look upon, a virgin, neither had any man known her: and she went down to the well, and filled her pitcher, and came up.
17 And the servant ran to meet her, and said, Let me, I pray thee, drink a little water of thy pitcher.
18 And she said, Drink, my lord: and she hasted, and let down her pitcher upon her hand, and gave him drink.
19 And when she had done giving him drink, she said, I will draw water for thy camels also, until they have done drinking.
20 And she hasted, and emptied her pitcher into the trough, and ran again unto the well to draw water, and drew for all his camels.
21 And the man wondering at her held his peace, to wit whether the LORD had made his journey prosperous or not.
22 And it came to pass, as the camels had done drinking, that the man took a golden earring of half a shekel weight, and two bracelets for her hands of ten shekels weight of gold;
23 And said, Whose daughter art thou? tell me, I pray thee: is there room in thy father's house for us to lodge in?
24 And she said unto him, I am the daughter of Bethuel the son of Milcah, which she bare unto Nahor.

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25 She said moreover unto him, We have both straw and provender enough, and room to lodge in.
26 And the man bowed down his head, and worshipped the LORD.
27 And he said, Blessed be the LORD God of my master Abraham, who hath not left destitute my master of his mercy and his truth: I being in the way, the LORD led me to the house of my master's brethren.
28 And the damsel ran, and told them of her mother's house these things.
29 And Rebekah had a brother, and his name was Laban: and Laban ran out unto the man, unto the well.
30 And it came to pass, when he saw the earring and bracelets upon his sister's hands, and when he heard the words of Rebekah his sister, saying, Thus spake the man unto me; that he came unto the man; and, behold, he stood by the camels at the well.
31 And he said, Come in, thou blessed of the LORD; wherefore standest thou without? for I have prepared the house, and room for the camels.
32 And the man came into the house: and he ungirded his camels, and gave straw and provender for the camels, and water to wash his feet, and the men's feet that were with him.
33 And there was set meat before him to eat: but he said, I will not eat, until I have told mine errand. And he said, Speak on.
34 And he said, I am Abraham's servant.
35 And the LORD hath blessed my master greatly; and he is become great: and he hath given him flocks, and herds, and silver, and gold, and menservants, and maidservants, and camels, and asses.
36 And Sarah my master's wife bare a son to my master when she was old: and unto him hath he given all that he hath.
37 And my master made me swear, saying, Thou shalt not take a wife to my son of the daughters of the Canaanites, in whose land I dwell:
38 But thou shalt go unto my father's house, and to my kindred, and take a wife unto my son.
39 And I said unto my master, Peradventure the woman will not follow me.
40 And he said unto me, The LORD, before whom I walk, will send his angel with thee, and prosper thy way; and thou shalt take a wife for my son of my kindred, and of my father's house:
41 Then shalt thou be clear from this my oath, when thou comest to my kindred; and if they give not thee one, thou shalt be clear from my oath.
42 And I came this day unto the well, and said, O LORD God of my master Abraham, if now thou do prosper my way which I go:
43 Behold, I stand by the well of water; and it shall come to pass, that when the virgin cometh forth to draw water, and I say to her, Give me, I pray thee, a little water of thy pitcher to drink;
44 And she say to me, Both drink thou, and I will also draw for thy camels: let the same be the woman whom the LORD hath appointed out for my master's son.
45 And before I had done speaking in mine heart, behold, Rebekah came forth with her pitcher on her shoulder; and she went down unto the well, and drew water: and I said unto her, Let me drink, I pray thee.
46 And she made haste, and let down her pitcher from her shoulder, and said, Drink, and I will give thy camels drink also: so I drank, and she made the camels drink also.
47 And I asked her, and said, Whose daughter art thou? And she said, the daughter of Bethuel, Nahor's son, whom Milcah bare unto him: and I put the earring upon her face, and the bracelets upon her hands.
48 And I bowed down my head, and worshipped the LORD, and blessed the LORD God of my master Abraham, which had led me in the right way to take my master's brother's daughter unto his son.
49 And now if ye will deal kindly and truly with my master, tell me: and if not, tell me; that I may turn to the right hand, or to the left.
50 Then Laban and Bethuel answered and said, The thing proceedeth from the LORD: we cannot speak unto thee bad or good.
51 Behold, Rebekah is before thee, take her, and go, and let her be thy master's son's wife, as the LORD hath spoken.
52 And it came to pass, that, when Abraham's servant heard their words, he worshipped the LORD, bowing himself to the earth.
53 And the servant brought forth jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment, and gave them to Rebekah: he gave also to her brother and to her mother precious things.
54 And they did eat and drink, he and the men that were with him, and tarried all night; and they rose up in the morning, and he said, Send me away unto my master.
55 And her brother and her mother said, Let the damsel abide with us a few days, at the least ten; after that she shall go.
56 And he said unto them, Hinder me not, seeing the LORD hath prospered my way; send me away that I may go to my master.
57 And they said, We will call the damsel, and enquire at her mouth.
58 And they called Rebekah, and said unto her, Wilt thou go with this man? And she said, I will go.
59 And they sent away Rebekah their sister, and her nurse, and Abraham's servant, and his men.
60 And they blessed Rebekah, and said unto her, Thou art our sister, be thou the mother of thousands of millions, and let thy seed possess the gate of those which hate them.
61 And Rebekah arose, and her damsels, and they rode upon the camels, and followed the man: and the servant took Rebekah, and went his way.
62 And Isaac came from the way of the well Lahairoi; for he dwelt in the south country.
63 And Isaac went out to meditate in the field at the eventide: and he lifted up his eyes, and saw, and, behold, the camels were coming.
64 And Rebekah lifted up her eyes, and when she saw Isaac, she lighted off the camel.
65 For she had said unto the servant, What man is this that walketh in the field to meet us? And the servant had said, It is my master: therefore she took a vail, and covered herself.
66 And the servant told Isaac all things that he had done.
67 And Isaac brought her into his mother Sarah's tent, and took Rebekah, and she became his wife; and he loved her: and Isaac was comforted after his mother's death.

GENESIS CHAPTER 25

1 Then again Abraham took a wife, and her name was Keturah.
2 And she bare him Zimran, and Jokshan, and Medan, and Midian, and Ishbak, and Shuah.
3 And Jokshan begat Sheba, and Dedan. And the sons of Dedan were Asshurim, and Letushim, and Leummim.
4 And the sons of Midian; Ephah, and Epher, and Hanoch, and Abidah, and Eldaah. All these were the children of Keturah.
5 And Abraham gave all that he had unto Isaac.
6 But unto the sons of the concubines, which Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his son, while he yet lived, eastward, unto the east country.
7 And these are the days of the years of Abraham's life which he lived, an hundred threescore and fifteen years.
8 Then Abraham gave up the ghost, and died in a good old age, an old man, and full of years; and was gathered to his people.
9 And his sons Isaac and Ishmael buried him in the cave of Machpelah, in the field of Ephron the son of Zohar the Hittite, which is before Mamre;
10 The field which Abraham purchased of the sons of Heth: there was Abraham buried, and Sarah his wife.
11 And it came to pass after the death of Abraham, that God blessed his son Isaac; and Isaac dwelt by the well Lahairoi.
12 Now these are the generations of Ishmael, Abraham's son, whom Hagar the Egyptian, Sarah's handmaid, bare unto Abraham:
13 And these are the names of the sons of Ishmael, by their names, according to their generations: the firstborn of Ishmael, Nebajoth; and Kedar, and Adbeel, and Mibsam,
14 And Mishma, and Dumah, and Massa,
15 Hadar, and Tema, Jetur, Naphish, and Kedemah:
16 These are the sons of Ishmael, and these are their names, by their towns, and by their castles; twelve princes according to their nations.
17 And these are the years of the life of Ishmael, an hundred and thirty and seven years: and he gave up the ghost and died; and was gathered unto his people.
18 And they dwelt from Havilah unto Shur, that is before Egypt, as thou goest toward Assyria: and he died in the presence of all his brethren.
19 And these are the generations of Isaac, Abraham's son: Abraham begat Isaac:
20 And Isaac was forty years old when he took Rebekah to wife, the daughter of Bethuel the Syrian of Padanaram, the sister to Laban the Syrian.
21 And Isaac intreated the LORD for his wife, because she was barren: and the LORD was intreated of him, and Rebekah his wife conceived.
22 And the children struggled together within her; and she said, If it be so, why am I thus? And she went to enquire of the LORD.
23 And the LORD said unto her, Two nations are in thy womb, and two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels; and the one people shall be stronger than the other people; and the elder shall serve the younger.
24 And when her days to be delivered were fulfilled, behold, there were twins in her womb.
25 And the first came out red, all over like an hairy garment; and they called his name Esau.
26 And after that came his brother out, and his hand took hold on Esau's heel; and his name was called Jacob: and Isaac was threescore years old when she bare them.
27 And the boys grew: and Esau was a cunning hunter, a man of the field; and Jacob was a plain man, dwelling in tents.
28 And Isaac loved Esau, because he did eat of his venison: but Rebekah loved Jacob.
29 And Jacob sod pottage: and Esau came from the field, and he was faint:
30 And Esau said to Jacob, Feed me, I pray thee, with that same red pottage; for I am faint: therefore was his name called Edom.
31 And Jacob said, Sell me this day thy birthright.
32 And Esau said, Behold, I am at the point to die: and what profit shall this birthright do to me?
33 And Jacob said, Swear to me this day; and he sware unto him: and he sold his birthright unto Jacob.
34 Then Jacob gave Esau bread and pottage of lentiles; and he did eat and drink, and rose up, and went his way: thus Esau despised his birthright.

GENESIS CHAPTER 26

1 And there was a famine in the land, beside the first famine that was in the days of Abraham. And Isaac went unto Abimelech king of the Philistines unto Gerar.
2 And the LORD appeared unto him, and said, Go not down into Egypt; dwell in the land which I shall tell thee of:
3 Sojourn in this land, and I will be with thee, and will bless thee; for unto thee, and unto thy seed, I will give all these countries, and I will perform the oath which I sware unto Abraham thy father;
4 And I will make thy seed to multiply as the stars of heaven, and will give unto thy seed all these countries; and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed;
5 Because that Abraham obeyed my voice, and kept my charge, my commandments, my statutes, and my laws.
6 And Isaac dwelt in Gerar:
7 And the men of the place asked him of his wife; and he said, She is my sister: for he feared to say, She is my wife; lest, said he, the men of the place should kill me for Rebekah; because she was fair to look upon.
8 And it came to pass, when he had been there a long time, that Abimelech king of the Philistines looked out at a window, and saw, and, behold, Isaac was sporting with Rebekah his wife.
9 And Abimelech called Isaac, and said, Behold, of a surety she is thy wife; and how saidst thou, She is my sister? And Isaac said unto him, Because I said, Lest I die for her.
10 And Abimelech said, What is this thou hast done unto us? one of the people might lightly have lien with thy wife, and thou shouldest have brought guiltiness upon us.
11 And Abimelech charged all his people, saying, He that toucheth this man or his wife shall surely be put to death.
12 Then Isaac sowed in that land, and received in the same year an hundredfold: and the LORD blessed him.
13 And the man waxed great, and went forward, and grew until he became very great:
14 For he had possession of flocks, and possession of herds, and great store of servants: and the Philistines envied him.
15 For all the wells which his father's servants had digged in the days of Abraham his father, the Philistines had stopped them, and filled them with earth.
16 And Abimelech said unto Isaac, Go from us; for thou art much mightier than we.
17 And Isaac departed thence, and pitched his tent in the valley of Gerar, and dwelt there.
18 And Isaac digged again the wells of water, which they had digged in the days of Abraham his father; for the Philistines had stopped them after the death of Abraham: and he called their names after the names by which his father had called them.
19 And Isaac's servants digged in the valley, and found there a well of springing water.
20 And the herdmen of Gerar did strive with Isaac's herdmen, saying, The water is ours: and he called the name of the well Esek; because they strove with him.
21 And they digged another well, and strove for that also: and he called the name of it Sitnah.
22 And he removed from thence, and digged another well; and for that they strove not: and he called the name of it Rehoboth; and he said, For now the LORD hath made room for us, and we shall be fruitful in the land.
23 And he went up from thence to Beersheba.
24 And the LORD appeared unto him the same night, and said, I am the God of Abraham thy father: fear not, for I am with thee, and will bless thee, and multiply thy seed for my servant Abraham's sake.
25 And he builded an altar there, and called upon the name of the LORD, and pitched his tent there: and there Isaac's servants digged a well.
26 Then Abimelech went to him from Gerar, and Ahuzzath one of his friends, and Phichol the chief captain of his army.
27 And Isaac said unto them, Wherefore come ye to me, seeing ye hate me, and have sent me away from you?

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28 And they said, We saw certainly that the LORD was with thee: and we said, Let there be now an oath betwixt us, even betwixt us and thee, and let us make a covenant with thee;
29 That thou wilt do us no hurt, as we have not touched thee, and as we have done unto thee nothing but good, and have sent thee away in peace: thou art now the blessed of the LORD.
30 And he made them a feast, and they did eat and drink.
31 And they rose up betimes in the morning, and sware one to another: and Isaac sent them away, and they departed from him in peace.
32 And it came to pass the same day, that Isaac's servants came, and told him concerning the well which they had digged, and said unto him, We have found water.
33 And he called it Shebah: therefore the name of the city is Beersheba unto this day.
34 And Esau was forty years old when he took to wife Judith the daughter of Beeri the Hittite, and Bashemath the daughter of Elon the Hittite:
35 Which were a grief of mind unto Isaac and to Rebekah.

GENESIS CHAPTER 27

1 And it came to pass, that when Isaac was old, and his eyes were dim, so that he could not see, he called Esau his eldest son, and said unto him, My son: and he said unto him, Behold, here am I.
2 And he said, Behold now, I am old, I know not the day of my death:
3 Now therefore take, I pray thee, thy weapons, thy quiver and thy bow, and go out to the field, and take me some venison;
4 And make me savoury meat, such as I love, and bring it to me, that I may eat; that my soul may bless thee before I die.
5 And Rebekah heard when Isaac spake to Esau his son. And Esau went to the field to hunt for venison, and to bring it.
6 And Rebekah spake unto Jacob her son, saying, Behold, I heard thy father speak unto Esau thy brother, saying,
7 Bring me venison, and make me savoury meat, that I may eat, and bless thee before the LORD before my death.
8 Now therefore, my son, obey my voice according to that which I command thee.
9 Go now to the flock, and fetch me from thence two good kids of the goats; and I will make them savoury meat for thy father, such as he loveth:
10 And thou shalt bring it to thy father, that he may eat, and that he may bless thee before his death.
11 And Jacob said to Rebekah his mother, Behold, Esau my brother is a hairy man, and I am a smooth man:
12 My father peradventure will feel me, and I shall seem to him as a deceiver; and I shall bring a curse upon me, and not a blessing.
13 And his mother said unto him, Upon me be thy curse, my son: only obey my voice, and go fetch me them.
14 And he went, and fetched, and brought them to his mother: and his mother made savoury meat, such as his father loved.
15 And Rebekah took goodly raiment of her eldest son Esau, which were with her in the house, and put them upon Jacob her younger son:
16 And she put the skins of the kids of the goats upon his hands, and upon the smooth of his neck:
17 And she gave the savoury meat and the bread, which she had prepared, into the hand of her son Jacob.
18 And he came unto his father, and said, My father: and he said, Here am I; who art thou, my son?
19 And Jacob said unto his father, I am Esau thy first born; I have done according as thou badest me: arise, I pray thee, sit and eat of my venison, that thy soul may bless me.
20 And Isaac said unto his son, How is it that thou hast found it so quickly, my son? And he said, Because the LORD thy God brought it to me.
21 And Isaac said unto Jacob, Come near, I pray thee, that I may feel thee, my son, whether thou be my very son Esau or not.
22 And Jacob went near unto Isaac his father; and he felt him, and said, The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau.
23 And he discerned him not, because his hands were hairy, as his brother Esau's hands: so he blessed him.
24 And he said, Art thou my very son Esau? And he said, I am.
25 And he said, Bring it near to me, and I will eat of my son's venison, that my soul may bless thee. And he brought it near to him, and he did eat: and he brought him wine and he drank.
26 And his father Isaac said unto him, Come near now, and kiss me, my son.
27 And he came near, and kissed him: and he smelled the smell of his raiment, and blessed him, and said, See, the smell of my son is as the smell of a field which the LORD hath blessed:
28 Therefore God give thee of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine:
29 Let people serve thee, and nations bow down to thee: be lord over thy brethren, and let thy mother's sons bow down to thee: cursed be every one that curseth thee, and blessed be he that blesseth thee.
30 And it came to pass, as soon as Isaac had made an end of blessing Jacob, and Jacob was yet scarce gone out from the presence of Isaac his father, that Esau his brother came in from his hunting.
31 And he also had made savoury meat, and brought it unto his father, and said unto his father, Let my father arise, and eat of his son's venison, that thy soul may bless me.
32 And Isaac his father said unto him, Who art thou? And he said, I am thy son, thy firstborn Esau.
33 And Isaac trembled very exceedingly, and said, Who? where is he that hath taken venison, and brought it me, and I have eaten of all before thou camest, and have blessed him? yea, and he shall be blessed.
34 And when Esau heard the words of his father, he cried with a great and exceeding bitter cry, and said unto his father, Bless me, even me also, O my father.
35 And he said, Thy brother came with subtilty, and hath taken away thy blessing.
36 And he said, Is not he rightly named Jacob? for he hath supplanted me these two times: he took away my birthright; and, behold, now he hath taken away my blessing. And he said, Hast thou not reserved a blessing for me?
37 And Isaac answered and said unto Esau, Behold, I have made him thy lord, and all his brethren have I given to him for servants; and with corn and wine have I sustained him: and what shall I do now unto thee, my son?
38 And Esau said unto his father, Hast thou but one blessing, my father? bless me, even me also, O my father. And Esau lifted up his voice, and wept.
39 And Isaac his father answered and said unto him, Behold, thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above;
40 And by thy sword shalt thou live, and shalt serve thy brother; and it shall come to pass when thou shalt have the dominion, that thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck.
41 And Esau hated Jacob because of the blessing wherewith his father blessed him: and Esau said in his heart, The days of mourning for my father are at hand; then will I slay my brother Jacob.
42 And these words of Esau her elder son were told to Rebekah: and she sent and called Jacob her younger son, and said unto him, Behold, thy brother Esau, as touching thee, doth comfort himself, purposing to kill thee.
43 Now therefore, my son, obey my voice; arise, flee thou to Laban my brother to Haran;
44 And tarry with him a few days, until thy brother's fury turn away;
45 Until thy brother's anger turn away from thee, and he forget that which thou hast done to him: then I will send, and fetch thee from thence: why should I be deprived also of you both in one day?
46 And Rebekah said to Isaac, I am weary of my life because of the daughters of Heth: if Jacob take a wife of the daughters of Heth, such as these which are of the daughters of the land, what good shall my life do me?

GENESIS CHAPTER 28

1 And Isaac called Jacob, and blessed him, and charged him, and said unto him, Thou shalt not take a wife of the daughters of Canaan.
2 Arise, go to Padanaram, to the house of Bethuel thy mother's father; and take thee a wife from thence of the daughers of Laban thy mother's brother.
3 And God Almighty bless thee, and make thee fruitful, and multiply thee, that thou mayest be a multitude of people;
4 And give thee the blessing of Abraham, to thee, and to thy seed with thee; that thou mayest inherit the land wherein thou art a stranger, which God gave unto Abraham.
5 And Isaac sent away Jacob: and he went to Padanaram unto Laban, son of Bethuel the Syrian, the brother of Rebekah, Jacob's and Esau's mother.
6 When Esau saw that Isaac had blessed Jacob, and sent him away to Padanaram, to take him a wife from thence; and that as he blessed him he gave him a charge, saying, Thou shalt not take a wife of the daughers of Canaan;
7 And that Jacob obeyed his father and his mother, and was gone to Padanaram;
8 And Esau seeing that the daughters of Canaan pleased not Isaac his father;
9 Then went Esau unto Ishmael, and took unto the wives which he had Mahalath the daughter of Ishmael Abraham's son, the sister of Nebajoth, to be his wife.
10 And Jacob went out from Beersheba, and went toward Haran.
11 And he lighted upon a certain place, and tarried there all night, because the sun was set; and he took of the stones of that place, and put them for his pillows, and lay down in that place to sleep.
12 And he dreamed, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven: and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it.
13 And, behold, the LORD stood above it, and said, I am the LORD God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac: the land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed;
14 And thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth, and thou shalt spread abroad to the west, and to the east, and to the north, and to the south: and in thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed.
15 And, behold, I am with thee, and will keep thee in all places whither thou goest, and will bring thee again into this land; for I will not leave thee, until I have done that which I have spoken to thee of.
16 And Jacob awaked out of his sleep, and he said, Surely the LORD is in this place; and I knew it not.
17 And he was afraid, and said, How dreadful is this place! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven.
18 And Jacob rose up early in the morning, and took the stone that he had put for his pillows, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it.
19 And he called the name of that place Bethel: but the name of that city was called Luz at the first.
20 And Jacob vowed a vow, saying, If God will be with me, and will keep me in this way that I go, and will give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on,
21 So that I come again to my father's house in peace; then shall the LORD be my God:
22 And this stone, which I have set for a pillar, shall be God's house: and of all that thou shalt give me I will surely give the tenth unto thee.

GENESIS CHAPTER 29

1 Then Jacob went on his journey, and came into the land of the people of the east.
2 And he looked, and behold a well in the field, and, lo, there were three flocks of sheep lying by it; for out of that well they watered the flocks: and a great stone was upon the well's mouth.
3 And thither were all the flocks gathered: and they rolled the stone from the well's mouth, and watered the sheep, and put the stone again upon the well's mouth in his place.
4 And Jacob said unto them, My brethren, whence be ye? And they said, Of Haran are we.
5 And he said unto them, Know ye Laban the son of Nahor? And they said, We know him.
6 And he said unto them, Is he well? And they said, He is well: and, behold, Rachel his daughter cometh with the sheep.
7 And he said, Lo, it is yet high day, neither is it time that the cattle should be gathered together: water ye the sheep, and go and feed them.
8 And they said, We cannot, until all the flocks be gathered together, and till they roll the stone from the well's mouth; then we water the sheep.
9 And while he yet spake with them, Rachel came with her father's sheep; for she kept them.
10 And it came to pass, when Jacob saw Rachel the daughter of Laban his mother's brother, and the sheep of Laban his mother's brother, that Jacob went near, and rolled the stone from the well's mouth, and watered the flock of Laban his mother's brother.
11 And Jacob kissed Rachel, and lifted up his voice, and wept.
12 And Jacob told Rachel that he was her father's brother, and that he was Rebekah's son: and she ran and told her father.
13 And it came to pass, when Laban heard the tidings of Jacob his sister's son, that he ran to meet him, and embraced him, and kissed him, and brought him to his house. And he told Laban all these things.
14 And Laban said to him, Surely thou art my bone and my flesh. And he abode with him the space of a month.
15 And Laban said unto Jacob, Because thou art my brother, shouldest thou therefore serve me for nought? tell me, what shall thy wages be?
16 And Laban had two daughters: the name of the elder was Leah, and the name of the younger was Rachel.
17 Leah was tender eyed; but Rachel was beautiful and well favoured.
18 And Jacob loved Rachel; and said, I will serve thee seven years for Rachel thy younger daughter.
19 And Laban said, It is better that I give her to thee, than that I should give her to another man: abide with me.
20 And Jacob served seven years for Rachel; and they seemed unto him but a few days, for the love he had to her.
21 And Jacob said unto Laban, Give me my wife, for my days are fulfilled, that I may go in unto her.
22 And Laban gathered together all the men of the place, and made a feast.
23 And it came to pass in the evening, that he took Leah his daughter, and brought her to him; and he went in unto her.
24 And Laban gave unto his daughter Leah Zilpah his maid for an handmaid.

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25 And it came to pass, that in the morning, behold, it was Leah: and he said to Laban, What is this thou hast done unto me? did not I serve with thee for Rachel? wherefore then hast thou beguiled me?

26 And Laban said, It must not be so done in our country, to give the younger before the firstborn.

27 Fulfil her week, and we will give thee this also for the service which thou shalt serve with me yet seven other years.

28 And Jacob did so, and fulfilled her week: and he gave him Rachel his daughter to wife also.

29 And Laban gave to Rachel his daughter Bilhah his handmaid to be her maid.

30 And he went in also unto Rachel, and he loved also Rachel more than Leah, and served with him yet seven other years.

31 And when the LORD saw that Leah was hated, he opened her womb: but Rachel was barren.

32 And Leah conceived, and bare a son, and she called his name Reuben: for she said, Surely the LORD hath looked upon my affliction; now therefore my husband will love me.

33 And she conceived again, and bare a son; and said, Because the LORD hath heard I was hated, he hath therefore given me this son also: and she called his name Simeon.

34 And she conceived again, and bare a son; and said, Now this time will my husband be joined unto me, because I have born him three sons: therefore was his name called Levi.

35 And she conceived again, and bare a son: and she said, Now will I praise the LORD: therefore she called his name Judah; and left bearing.

GENESIS CHAPTER 30

1 And when Rachel saw that she bare Jacob no children, Rachel envied her sister; and said unto Jacob, Give me children, or else I die.

2 And Jacob's anger was kindled against Rachel: and he said, Am I in God's stead, who hath withheld from thee the fruit of the womb?

3 And she said, Behold my maid Bilhah, go in unto her; and she shall bear upon my knees, that I may also have children by her.

4 And she gave him Bilhah her handmaid to wife: and Jacob went in unto her.

5 And Bilhah conceived, and bare Jacob a son.

6 And Rachel said, God hath judged me, and hath also heard my voice, and hath given me a son: therefore called she his name Dan.

7 And Bilhah Rachel's maid conceived again, and bare Jacob a second son.

8 And Rachel said, With great wrestlings have I wrestled with my sister, and I have prevailed: and she called his name Naphtali.

9 When Leah saw that she had left bearing, she took Zilpah her maid, and gave her Jacob to wife.

10 And Zilpah Leah's maid bare Jacob a son.

11 And Leah said, A troop cometh: and she called his name Gad.

12 And Zilpah Leah's maid bare Jacob a second son.

13 And Leah said, Happy am I, for the daughters will call me blessed: and she called his name Asher.

14 And Reuben went in the days of wheat harvest, and found mandrakes in the field, and brought them unto his mother Leah. Then Rachel said to Leah, Give me, I pray thee, of thy son's mandrakes.

15 And she said unto her, Is it a small matter that thou hast taken my husband? and wouldest thou take away my son's mandrakes also? And Rachel said, Therefore he shall lie with thee to night for thy son's mandrakes.

16 And Jacob came out of the field in the evening, and Leah went out to meet him, and said, Thou must come in unto me; for surely I have hired thee with my son's mandrakes. And he lay with her that night.

17 And God hearkened unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare Jacob the fifth son.

18 And Leah said, God hath given me my hire, because I have given my maiden to my husband: and she called his name Issachar.

19 And Leah conceived again, and bare Jacob the sixth son.

20 And Leah said, God hath endued me with a good dowry; now will my husband dwell with me, because I have born him six sons: and she called his name Zebulun.

21 And afterwards she bare a daughter, and called her name Dinah.

22 And God remembered Rachel, and God hearkened to her, and opened her womb.

23 And she conceived, and bare a son; and said, God hath taken away my reproach:

24 And she called his name Joseph; and said, The LORD shall add to me another son.

25 And it came to pass, when Rachel had born Joseph, that Jacob said unto Laban, Send me away, that I may go unto mine own place, and to my country.

26 Give me my wives and my children, for whom I have served thee, and let me go: for thou knowest my service which I have done thee.

27 And Laban said unto him, I pray thee, if I have found favour in thine eyes, tarry: for I have learned by experience that the LORD hath blessed me for thy sake.

28 And he said, Appoint me thy wages, and I will give it.

29 And he said unto him, Thou knowest how I have served thee, and how thy cattle was with me.

30 For it was little which thou hadst before I came, and it is now increased unto a multitude; and the LORD hath blessed thee since my coming: and now when shall I provide for mine own house also?

31 And he said, What shall I give thee? And Jacob said, Thou shalt not give me any thing: if thou wilt do this thing for me, I will again feed and keep thy flock.

32 I will pass through all thy flock to day, removing from thence all the speckled and spotted cattle, and all the brown cattle among the sheep, and the spotted and speckled among the goats: and of such shall be my hire.

33 So shall my righteousness answer for me in time to come, when it shall come for my hire before thy face: every one that is not speckled and spotted among the goats, and brown among the sheep, that shall be counted stolen with me.

34 And Laban said, Behold, I would it might be according to thy word.

35 And he removed that day the he goats that were ringstraked and spotted, and all the she goats that were speckled and spotted, and every one that had some white in it, and all the brown among the sheep, and gave them into the hand of his sons.

36 And he set three days' journey betwixt himself and Jacob: and Jacob fed the rest of Laban's flocks.

37 And Jacob took him rods of green poplar, and of the hazel and chesnut tree; and pilled white strakes in them, and made the white appear which was in the rods.

38 And he set the rods which he had pilled before the flocks in the gutters in the watering troughs when the flocks came to drink, that they should conceive when they came to drink.

39 And the flocks conceived before the rods, and brought forth cattle ringstraked, speckled, and spotted.

40 And Jacob did separate the lambs, and set the faces of the flocks toward the ringstraked, and all the brown in the flock of Laban; and he put his own flocks by themselves, and put them not unto Laban's cattle.

41 And it came to pass, whensoever the stronger cattle did conceive, that Jacob laid the rods before the eyes of the cattle in the gutters, that they might conceive among the rods.

42 But when the cattle were feeble, he put them not in: so the feebler were Laban's, and the stronger Jacob's.

43 And the man increased exceedingly, and had much cattle, and maidservants, and menservants, and camels, and asses.

GENESIS CHAPTER 31

1 And he heard the words of Laban's sons, saying, Jacob hath taken away all that was our father's; and of that which was our father's hath he gotten all this glory.

2 And Jacob beheld the countenance of Laban, and, behold, it was not toward him as before.

3 And the LORD said unto Jacob, Return unto the land of thy fathers, and to thy kindred; and I will be with thee.

4 And Jacob sent and called Rachel and Leah to the field unto his flock,

5 And said unto them, I see your father's countenance, that it is not toward me as before; but the God of my father hath been with me.

6 And ye know that with all my power I have served your father.

7 And your father hath deceived me, and changed my wages ten times; but God suffered him not to hurt me.

8 If he said thus, The speckled shall be thy wages; then all the cattle bare speckled: and if he said thus, The ringstraked shall be thy hire; then bare all the cattle ringstraked.

9 Thus God hath taken away the cattle of your father, and given them to me.

10 And it came to pass at the time that the cattle conceived, that I lifted up mine eyes, and saw in a dream, and, behold, the rams which leaped upon the cattle were ringstraked, speckled, and grisled.

11 And the angel of God spake unto me in a dream, saying, Jacob: And I said, Here am I.

12 And he said, Lift up now thine eyes, and see, all the rams which leap upon the cattle are ringstraked, speckled, and grisled: for I have seen all that Laban doeth unto thee.

13 I am the God of Bethel, where thou anointedst the pillar, and where thou vowedst a vow unto me: now arise, get thee out from this land, and return unto the land of thy kindred.

14 And Rachel and Leah answered and said unto him, Is there yet any portion or inheritance for us in our father's house?

15 Are we not counted of him strangers? for he hath sold us, and hath quite devoured also our money.

16 For all the riches which God hath taken from our father, that is ours, and our children's: now then, whatsoever God hath said unto thee, do.

17 Then Jacob rose up, and set his sons and his wives upon camels;

18 And he carried away all his cattle, and all his goods which he had gotten, the cattle of his getting, which he had gotten in Padanaram, for to go to Isaac his father in the land of Canaan.

19 And Laban went to shear his sheep: and Rachel had stolen the images that were her father's.

20 And Jacob stole away unawares to Laban the Syrian, in that he told him not that he fled.

21 So he fled with all that he had; and he rose up, and passed over the river, and set his face toward the mount Gilead.

22 And it was told Laban on the third day that Jacob was fled.

23 And he took his brethren with him, and pursued after him seven days' journey; and they overtook him in the mount Gilead.

24 And God came to Laban the Syrian in a dream by night, and said unto him, Take heed that thou speak not to Jacob either good or bad.

25 Then Laban overtook Jacob. Now Jacob had pitched his tent in the mount: and Laban with his brethren pitched in the mount of Gilead.

26 And Laban said to Jacob, What hast thou done, that thou hast stolen away unawares to me, and carried away my daughters, as captives taken with the sword?

27 Wherefore didst thou flee away secretly, and steal away from me; and didst not tell me, that I might have sent thee away with mirth, and with songs, with tabret, and with harp?

28 And hast not suffered me to kiss my sons and my daughters? thou hast now done foolishly in so doing.

29 It is in the power of my hand to do you hurt: but the God of your father spake unto me yesternight, saying, Take thou heed that thou speak not to Jacob either good or bad.

30 And now, though thou wouldest needs be gone, because thou sore longedst after thy father's house, yet wherefore hast thou stolen my gods?

31 And Jacob answered and said to Laban, Because I was afraid: for I said, Peradventure thou wouldest take by force thy daughters from me.

32 With whomsoever thou findest thy gods, let him not live: before our brethren discern thou what is thine with me, and take it to thee. For Jacob knew not that Rachel had stolen them.

33 And Laban went into Jacob's tent, and into Leah's tent, and into the two maidservants' tents; but he found them not. Then went he out of Leah's tent, and entered into Rachel's tent.

34 Now Rachel had taken the images, and put them in the camel's furniture, and sat upon them. And Laban searched all the tent, but found them not.

35 And she said to her father, Let it not displease my lord that I cannot rise up before thee; for the custom of women is upon me. And he searched but found not the images.

36 And Jacob was wroth, and chode with Laban: and Jacob answered and said to Laban, What is my trespass? what is my sin, that thou hast so hotly pursued after me?

37 Whereas thou hast searched all my stuff, what hast thou found of all thy household stuff? set it here before my brethren and thy brethren, that they may judge betwixt us both.

38 This twenty years have I been with thee; thy ewes and thy she goats have not cast their young, and the rams of thy flock have I not eaten.

39 That which was torn of beasts I brought not unto thee; I bare the loss of it; of my hand didst thou require it, whether stolen by day, or stolen by night.

40 Thus I was; in the day the drought consumed me, and the frost by night; and my sleep departed from mine eyes.

41 Thus have I been twenty years in thy house; I served thee fourteen years for thy two daughters, and six years for thy cattle: and thou hast changed my wages ten times.

42 Except the God of my father, the God of Abraham, and the fear of Isaac, had been with me, surely thou hadst sent me away now empty. God hath seen mine affliction and the labour of my hands, and rebuked thee yesternight.

43 And Laban answered and said unto Jacob, These daughters are my daughters, and these children are my children, and these cattle are my cattle, and all that thou seest is mine: and what can I do this day unto these my daughters, or unto their children which they have born?

44 Now therefore come thou, let us make a covenant, I and thou; and let it be for a witness between me and thee.

45 And Jacob took a stone, and set it up for a pillar.

46 And Jacob said unto his brethren, Gather stones; and they took stones, and made an heap: and they did eat there upon the heap.

47 And Laban called it Jegarsahadutha: but Jacob called it Galeed.

48 And Laban said, This heap is a witness between me and thee this day. Therefore was the name of it called Galeed;

49 And Mizpah; for he said, The LORD watch between me and thee, when we are absent one from another.

50 If thou shalt afflict my daughters, or if thou shalt take other wives beside my daughters, no man is with us; see, God is witness betwixt me and thee.

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51 And Laban said to Jacob, Behold this heap, and behold this pillar, which I have cast betwixt me and thee:
52 This heap be witness, and this pillar be witness, that I will not pass over this heap to thee, and that thou shalt not pass over this heap and this pillar unto me, for harm.
53 The God of Abraham, and the God of Nahor, the God of their father, judge betwixt us. And Jacob sware by the fear of his father Isaac.
54 Then Jacob offered sacrifice upon the mount, and called his brethren to eat bread: and they did eat bread, and tarried all night in the mount.
55 And early in the morning Laban rose up, and kissed his sons and his daughters, and blessed them: and Laban departed, and returned unto his place.

GENESIS CHAPTER 32

1 And Jacob went on his way, and the angels of God met him.
2 And when Jacob saw them, he said, This is God's host: and he called the name of that place Mahanaim.
3 And Jacob sent messengers before him to Esau his brother unto the land of Seir, the country of Edom.
4 And he commanded them, saying, Thus shall ye speak unto my lord Esau; Thy servant Jacob saith thus, I have sojourned with Laban, and stayed there until now:
5 And I have oxen, and asses, flocks, and menservants, and womenservants: and I have sent to tell my lord, that I may find grace in thy sight.
6 And the messengers returned to Jacob, saying, We came to thy brother Esau, and also he cometh to meet thee, and four hundred men with him.
7 Then Jacob was greatly afraid and distressed: and he divided the people that was with him, and the flocks, and herds, and the camels, into two bands;
8 And said, If Esau come to the one company, and smite it, then the other company which is left shall escape.
9 And Jacob said, O God of my father Abraham, and God of my father Isaac, the LORD which saidst unto me, Return unto thy country, and to thy kindred, and I will deal well with thee:
10 I am not worthy of the least of all the mercies, and of all the truth, which thou hast shewed unto thy servant; for with my staff I passed over this Jordan; and now I am become two bands.
11 Deliver me, I pray thee, from the hand of my brother, from the hand of Esau: for I fear him, lest he will come and smite me, and the mother with the children.
12 And thou saidst, I will surely do thee good, and make thy seed as the sand of the sea, which cannot be numbered for multitude.
13 And he lodged there that same night; and took of that which came to his hand a present for Esau his brother;
14 Two hundred she goats, and twenty he goats, two hundred ewes, and twenty rams,
15 Thirty milch camels with their colts, forty kine, and ten bulls, twenty she asses, and ten foals.
16 And he delivered them into the hand of his servants, every drove by themselves; and said unto his servants, Pass over before me, and put a space betwixt drove and drove.
17 And he commanded the foremost, saying, When Esau my brother meeteth thee, and asketh thee, saying, Whose art thou? and whither goest thou? and whose are these before thee?
18 Then thou shalt say, They be thy servant Jacob's; it is a present sent unto my lord Esau: and, behold, also he is behind us.
19 And so commanded he the second, and the third, and all that followed the droves, saying, On this manner shall ye speak unto Esau, when ye find him.
20 And say ye moreover, Behold, thy servant Jacob is behind us. For he said, I will appease him with the present that goeth before me, and afterward I will see his face; peradventure he will accept of me.
21 So went the present over before him: and himself lodged that night in the company.
22 And he rose up that night, and took his two wives, and his two womenservants, and his eleven sons, and passed over the ford Jabbok.
23 And he took them, and sent them over the brook, and sent over that he had.
24 And Jacob was left alone; and there wrestled a man with him until the breaking of the day.
25 And when he saw that he prevailed not against him, he touched the hollow of his thigh; and the hollow of Jacob's thigh was out of joint, as he wrestled with him.
26 And he said, Let me go, for the day breaketh. And he said, I will not let thee go, except thou bless me.
27 And he said unto him, What is thy name? And he said, Jacob.
28 And he said, Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel: for as a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast prevailed.
29 And Jacob asked him, and said, Tell me, I pray thee, thy name. And he said, Wherefore is it that thou dost ask after my name? And he blessed him there.
30 And Jacob called the name of the place Peniel: for I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved.
31 And as he passed over Penuel the sun rose upon him, and he halted upon his thigh.
32 Therefore the children of Israel eat not of the sinew which shrank, which is upon the hollow of the thigh, unto this day: because he touched the hollow of Jacob's thigh in the sinew that shrank.

GENESIS CHAPTER 33

1 And Jacob lifted up his eyes, and looked, and, behold, Esau came, and with him four hundred men. And he divided the children unto Leah, and unto Rachel, and unto the two handmaids.
2 And he put the handmaids and their children foremost, and Leah and her children after, and Rachel and Joseph hindermost.
3 And he passed over before them, and bowed himself to the ground seven times, until he came near to his brother.
4 And Esau ran to meet him, and embraced him, and fell on his neck, and kissed him: and they wept.
5 And he lifted up his eyes, and saw the women and the children; and said, Who are those with thee? And he said, The children which God hath graciously given thy servant.
6 Then the handmaidens came near, they and their children, and they bowed themselves.
7 And Leah also with her children came near, and bowed themselves: and after came Joseph near and Rachel, and they bowed themselves.
8 And he said, What meanest thou by all this drove which I met? And he said, These are to find grace in the sight of my lord.
9 And Esau said, I have enough, my brother; keep that thou hast unto thyself.
10 And Jacob said, Nay, I pray thee, if now I have found grace in thy sight, then receive my present at my hand: for therefore I have seen thy face, as though I had seen the face of God, and thou wast pleased with me.
11 Take, I pray thee, my blessing that is brought to thee; because God hath dealt graciously with me, and because I have enough. And he urged him, and he took it.
12 And he said, Let us take our journey, and let us go, and I will go before thee.
13 And he said unto him, My lord knoweth that the children are tender, and the flocks and herds with young are with me: and if men should overdrive them one day, all the flock will die.
14 Let my lord, I pray thee, pass over before his servant: and I will lead on softly, according as the cattle that goeth before me and the children be able to endure, until I come unto my lord unto Seir.
15 And Esau said, Let me now leave with thee some of the folk that are with me. And he said, What needeth it? let me find grace in the sight of my lord.
16 So Esau returned that day on his way unto Seir.
17 And Jacob journeyed to Succoth, and built him an house, and made booths for his cattle: therefore the name of the place is called Succoth.
18 And Jacob came to Shalem, a city of Shechem, which is in the land of Canaan, when he came from Padanaram; and pitched his tent before the city.
19 And he bought a parcel of a field, where he had spread his tent, at the hand of the children of Hamor, Shechem's father, for an hundred pieces of money.
20 And he erected there an altar, and called it ElelohеIsrael.

GENESIS CHAPTER 34

1 And Dinah the daughter of Leah, which she bare unto Jacob, went out to see the daughters of the land.
2 And when Shechem the son of Hamor the Hivite, prince of the country, saw her, he took her, and lay with her, and defiled her.
3 And his soul clave unto Dinah the daughter of Jacob, and he loved the damsel, and spake kindly unto the damsel.
4 And Shechem spake unto his father Hamor, saying, Get me this damsel to wife.
5 And Jacob heard that he had defiled Dinah his daughter: now his sons were with his cattle in the field: and Jacob held his peace until they were come.
6 And Hamor the father of Shechem went out unto Jacob to commune with him.
7 And the sons of Jacob came out of the field when they heard it: and the men were grieved, and they were very wroth, because he had wrought folly in Israel in lying with Jacob's daughter: which thing ought not to be done.
8 And Hamor communed with them, saying, The soul of my son Shechem longeth for your daughter: I pray you give her him to wife.
9 And make ye marriages with us, and give your daughters unto us, and take our daughters unto you.
10 And ye shall dwell with us: and the land shall be before you; dwell and trade ye therein, and get you possessions therein.
11 And Shechem said unto her father and unto her brethren, Let me find grace in your eyes, and what ye shall say unto me I will give.
12 Ask me never so much dowry and gift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me: but give me the damsel to wife.
13 And the sons of Jacob answered Shechem and Hamor his father deceitfully, and said, because he had defiled Dinah their sister:
14 And they said unto them, We cannot do this thing, to give our sister to one that is uncircumcised; for that were a reproach unto us:
15 But in this will we consent unto you: If ye will be as we be, that every male of you be circumcised;
16 Then will we give our daughters unto you, and we will take your daughters to us, and we will dwell with you, and we will become one people.
17 But if ye will not hearken unto us, to be circumcised; then will we take our daughter, and we will be gone.
18 And their words pleased Hamor, and Shechem Hamor's son.
19 And the young man deferred not to do the thing, because he had delight in Jacob's daughter: and he was more honourable than all the house of his father.
20 And Hamor and Shechem his son came unto the gate of their city, and communed with the men of their city, saying,
21 These men are peaceable with us; therefore let them dwell in the land, and trade therein; for the land, behold, it is large enough for them; let us take their daughters to us for wives, and let us give them our daughters.
22 Only herein will the men consent unto us for to dwell with us, to be one people, if every male among us be circumcised, as they are circumcised.
23 Shall not their cattle and their substance and every beast of their's be our's? only let us consent unto them, and they will dwell with us.
24 And unto Hamor and unto Shechem his son hearkened all that went out of the gate of his city; and every male was circumcised, all that went out of the gate of his city.
25 And it came to pass on the third day, when they were sore, that two of the sons of Jacob, Simeon and Levi, Dinah's brethren, took each man his sword, and came upon the city boldly, and slew all the males.
26 And they slew Hamor and Shechem his son with the edge of the sword, and took Dinah out of Shechem's house, and went out.
27 The sons of Jacob came upon the slain, and spoiled the city, because they had defiled their sister.
28 They took their sheep, and their oxen, and their asses, and that which was in the city, and that which was in the field,
29 And all their wealth, and all their little ones, and their wives took they captive, and spoiled even all that was in the house.
30 And Jacob said to Simeon and Levi, Ye have troubled me to make me to stink among the inhabitants of the land, among the Canaanites and the Perizzites: and I being few in number, they shall gather themselves together against me, and slay me; and I shall be destroyed, I and my house.
31 And they said, Should he deal with our sister as with an harlot?

GENESIS CHAPTER 35

1 And God said unto Jacob, Arise, go up to Bethel, and dwell there: and make there an altar unto God, that appeared unto thee when thou fleddest from the face of Esau thy brother.
2 Then Jacob said unto his household, and to all that were with him, Put away the strange gods that are among you, and be clean, and change your garments:
3 And let us arise, and go up to Bethel; and I will make there an altar unto God, who answered me in the day of my distress, and was with me in the way which I went.
4 And they gave unto Jacob all the strange gods which were in their hand, and all their earrings which were in their ears; and Jacob hid them under the oak which was by Shechem.
5 And they journeyed: and the terror of God was upon the cities that were round about them, and they did not pursue after the sons of Jacob.
6 So Jacob came to Luz, which is in the land of Canaan, that is, Bethel, he and all the people that were with him.
7 And he built there an altar, and called the place Elbethel: because there God appeared unto him, when he fled from the face of his brother.
8 But Deborah Rebekah's nurse died, and she was buried beneath Bethel under an oak: and the name of it was called Allonbachuth.
9 And God appeared unto Jacob again, when he came out of Padanaram, and blessed him.
10 And God said unto him, Thy name is Jacob: thy name shall not be called any more Jacob, but Israel shall be thy name: and he called his name Israel.
11 And God said unto him, I am God Almighty: be fruitful and multiply; a nation and a company of nations shall be of thee, and kings shall come out of thy loins;

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12 And the land which I gave Abraham and Isaac, to thee I will give it, and to thy seed after thee will I give the land.
13 And God went up from him in the place where he talked with him.
14 And Jacob set up a pillar in the place where he talked with him, even a pillar of stone: and he poured a drink offering thereon, and he poured oil thereon.
15 And Jacob called the name of the place where God spake with him, Bethel.
16 And they journeyed from Bethel; and there was but a little way to come to Ephrath: and Rachel travailed, and she had hard labour.
17 And it came to pass, when she was in hard labour, that the midwife said unto her, Fear not; thou shalt have this son also.
18 And it came to pass, as her soul was in departing, (for she died) that she called his name Benoni: but his father called him Benjamin.
19 And Rachel died, and was buried in the way to Ephrath, which is Bethlehem.
20 And Jacob set a pillar upon her grave: that is the pillar of Rachel's grave unto this day.
21 And Israel journeyed, and spread his tent beyond the tower of Edar.
22 And it came to pass, when Israel dwelt in that land, that Reuben went and lay with Bilhah his father's concubine: and Israel heard it. Now the sons of Jacob were twelve:
23 The sons of Leah; Reuben, Jacob's firstborn, and Simeon, and Levi, and Judah, and Issachar, and Zebulun:
24 The sons of Rachel; Joseph, and Benjamin:
25 And the sons of Bilhah, Rachel's handmaid; Dan, and Naphtali:
26 And the sons of Zilpah, Leah's handmaid: Gad, and Asher: these are the sons of Jacob, which were born to him in Padanaram.
27 And Jacob came unto Isaac his father unto Mamre, unto the city of Arbah, which is Hebron, where Abraham and Isaac sojourned.
28 And the days of Isaac were an hundred and fourscore years.
29 And Isaac gave up the ghost, and died, and was gathered unto his people, being old and full of days: and his sons Esau and Jacob buried him.

GENESIS CHAPTER 36

1 Now these are the generations of Esau, who is Edom.
2 Esau took his wives of the daughters of Canaan; Adah the daughter of Elon the Hittite, and Aholibamah the daughter of Anah the daughter of Zibeon the Hivite;
3 And Bashemath Ishmael's daughter, sister of Nebajoth.
4 And Adah bare to Esau Eliphaz; and Bashemath bare Reuel;
5 And Aholibamah bare Jeush, and Jaalam, and Korah: these are the sons of Esau, which were born unto him in the land of Canaan.
6 And Esau took his wives, and his sons, and his daughters, and all the persons of his house, and his cattle, and all his beasts, and all his substance, which he had got in the land of Canaan; and went into the country from the face of his brother Jacob.
7 For their riches were more than that they might dwell together; and the land wherein they were strangers could not bear them because of their cattle.
8 Thus dwelt Esau in mount Seir: Esau is Edom.
9 And these are the generations of Esau the father of the Edomites in mount Seir:
10 These are the names of Esau's sons; Eliphaz the son of Adah the wife of Esau, Reuel the son of Bashemath the wife of Esau.
11 And the sons of Eliphaz were Teman, Omar, Zepho, and Gatam, and Kenaz.
12 And Timna was concubine to Eliphaz Esau's son; and she bare to Eliphaz Amalek: these were the sons of Adah Esau's wife.
13 And these are the sons of Reuel; Nahath, and Zerah, Shammah, and Mizzah: these were the sons of Bashemath Esau's wife.
14 And these were the sons of Aholibamah, the daughter of Anah the daughter of Zibeon, Esau's wife: and she bare to Esau Jeush, and Jaalam, and Korah.
15 These were dukes of the sons of Esau: the sons of Eliphaz the firstborn son of Esau; duke Teman, duke Omar, duke Zepho, duke Kenaz,
16 Duke Korah, duke Gatam, and duke Amalek: these are the dukes that came of Eliphaz in the land of Edom; these were the sons of Adah.
17 And these are the sons of Reuel Esau's son; duke Nahath, duke Zerah, duke Shammah, duke Mizzah: these are the dukes that came of Reuel in the land of Edom; these are the sons of Bashemath Esau's wife.
18 And these are the sons of Aholibamah Esau's wife; duke Jeush, duke Jaalam, duke Korah: these were the dukes that came of Aholibamah the daughter of Anah, Esau's wife.
19 These are the sons of Esau, who is Edom, and these are their dukes.
20 These are the sons of Seir the Horite, who inhabited the land; Lotan, and Shobal, and Zibeon, and Anah,
21 And Dishon, and Ezer, and Dishan: these are the dukes of the Horites, the children of Seir in the land of Edom.
22 And the children of Lotan were Hori and Hemam; and Lotan's sister was Timna.
23 And the children of Shobal were these; Alvan, and Manahath, and Ebal, Shepho, and Onam.
24 And these are the children of Zibeon; both Ajah, and Anah: this was that Anah that found the mules in the wilderness, as he fed the asses of Zibeon his father.
25 And the children of Anah were these; Dishon, and Aholibamah the daughter of Anah.
26 And these are the children of Dishon; Hemdan, and Eshban, and Ithran, and Cheran.
27 The children of Ezer are these; Bilhan, and Zaavan, and Akan.
28 The children of Dishan are these; Uz, and Aran.
29 These are the dukes that came of the Horites; duke Lotan, duke Shobal, duke Zibeon, duke Anah,
30 Duke Dishon, duke Ezer, duke Dishan: these are the dukes that came of Hori, among their dukes in the land of Seir.
31 And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel.
32 And Bela the son of Beor reigned in Edom: and the name of his city was Dinhabah.
33 And Bela died, and Jobab the son of Zerah of Bozrah reigned in his stead.
34 And Jobab died, and Husham of the land of Temani reigned in his stead.
35 And Husham died, and Hadad the son of Bedad, who smote Midian in the field of Moab, reigned in his stead: and the name of his city was Avith.
36 And Hadad died, and Samlah of Masrekah reigned in his stead.
37 And Samlah died, and Saul of Rehoboth by the river reigned in his stead.
38 And Saul died, and Baalhanan the son of Achbor reigned in his stead.
39 And Baalhanan the son of Achbor died, and Hadar reigned in his stead: and the name of his city was Pau; and his wife's name was Mehetabel, the daughter of Matred, the daughter of Mezahab.
40 And these are the names of the dukes that came of Esau, according to their families, after their places, by their names; duke Timnah, duke Alvah, duke Jetheth,
41 Duke Aholibamah, duke Elah, duke Pinon,
42 Duke Kenaz, duke Teman, duke Mibzar,
43 Duke Magdiel, duke Iram: these be the dukes of Edom, according to their habitations in the land of their possession: he is Esau the father of the Edomites.

GENESIS CHAPTER 37

1 And Jacob dwelt in the land wherein his father was a stranger, in the land of Canaan.
2 These are the generations of Jacob. Joseph, being seventeen years old, was feeding the flock with his brethren; and the lad was with the sons of Bilhah, and with the sons of Zilpah, his father's wives: and Joseph brought unto his father their evil report.
3 Now Israel loved Joseph more than all his children, because he was the son of his old age: and he made him a coat of many colours.
4 And when his brethren saw that their father loved him more than all his brethren, they hated him, and could not speak peaceably unto him.
5 And Joseph dreamed a dream, and he told it his brethren: and they hated him yet the more.
6 And he said unto them, Hear, I pray you, this dream which I have dreamed:
7 For, behold, we were binding sheaves in the field, and, lo, my sheaf arose, and also stood upright; and, behold, your sheaves stood round about, and made obeisance to my sheaf.
8 And his brethren said to him, Shalt thou indeed reign over us? or shalt thou indeed have dominion over us? And they hated him yet the more for his dreams, and for his words.
9 And he dreamed yet another dream, and told it his brethren, and said, Behold, I have dreamed a dream more; and, behold, the sun and the moon and the eleven stars made obeisance to me.
10 And he told it to his father, and to his brethren: and his father rebuked him, and said unto him, What is this dream that thou hast dreamed? Shall I and thy mother and thy brethren indeed come to bow down ourselves to thee to the earth?
11 And his brethren envied him; but his father observed the saying.
12 And his brethren went to feed their father's flock in Shechem.
13 And Israel said unto Joseph, Do not thy brethren feed the flock in Shechem? come, and I will send thee unto them. And he said to him, Here am I.
14 And he said to him, Go, I pray thee, see whether it be well with thy brethren, and well with the flocks; and bring me word again. So he sent him out of the vale of Hebron, and he came to Shechem.
15 And a certain man found him, and, behold, he was wandering in the field: and the man asked him, saying, What seekest thou?
16 And he said, I seek my brethren: tell me, I pray thee, where they feed their flocks.
17 And the man said, They are departed hence; for I heard them say, Let us go to Dothan. And Joseph went after his brethren, and found them in Dothan.
18 And when they saw him afar off, even before he came near unto them, they conspired against him to slay him.
19 And they said one to another, Behold, this dreamer cometh.
20 Come now therefore, and let us slay him, and cast him into some pit, and we will say, Some evil beast hath devoured him: and we shall see what will become of his dreams.
21 And Reuben heard it, and he delivered him out of their hands; and said, Let us not kill him.
22 And Reuben said unto them, Shed no blood, but cast him into this pit that is in the wilderness, and lay no hand upon him; that he might rid him out of their hands, to deliver him to his father again.
23 And it came to pass, when Joseph was come unto his brethren, that they stript Joseph out of his coat, his coat of many colours that was on him;
24 And they took him, and cast him into a pit: and the pit was empty, there was no water in it.
25 And they sat down to eat bread: and they lifted up their eyes and looked, and, behold, a company of Ishmeelites came from Gilead with their camels bearing spicery and balm and myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt.
26 And Judah said unto his brethren, What profit is it if we slay our brother, and conceal his blood?
27 Come, and let us sell him to the Ishmeelites, and let not our hand be upon him; for he is our brother and our flesh. And his brethren were content.
28 Then there passed by Midianites merchantmen; and they drew and lifted up Joseph out of the pit, and sold Joseph to the Ishmeelites for twenty pieces of silver: and they brought Joseph into Egypt.
29 And Reuben returned unto the pit; and, behold, Joseph was not in the pit; and he rent his clothes.
30 And he returned unto his brethren, and said, The child is not; and I, whither shall I go?
31 And they took Joseph's coat, and killed a kid of the goats, and dipped the coat in the blood;
32 And they sent the coat of many colours, and they brought it to their father; and said, This have we found: know now whether it be thy son's coat or no.
33 And he knew it, and said, It is my son's coat; an evil beast hath devoured him; Joseph is without doubt rent in pieces.
34 And Jacob rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his loins, and mourned for his son many days.
35 And all his sons and all his daughters rose up to comfort him; but he refused to be comforted; and he said, For I will go down into the grave unto my son mourning. Thus his father wept for him.
36 And the Midianites sold him into Egypt unto Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, and captain of the guard.

GENESIS CHAPTER 38

1 And it came to pass at that time, that Judah went down from his brethren, and turned in to a certain Adullamite, whose name was Hirah.
2 And Judah saw there a daughter of a certain Canaanite, whose name was Shuah; and he took her, and went in unto her.
3 And she conceived, and bare a son; and he called his name Er.
4 And she conceived again, and bare a son; and she called his name Onan.
5 And she yet again conceived, and bare a son; and called his name Shelah: and he was at Chezib, when she bare him.
6 And Judah took a wife for Er his firstborn, whose name was Tamar.
7 And Er, Judah's firstborn, was wicked in the sight of the LORD; and the LORD slew him.
8 And Judah said unto Onan, Go in unto thy brother's wife, and marry her, and raise up seed to thy brother.
9 And Onan knew that the seed should not be his; and it came to pass, when he went in unto his brother's wife, that he spilled it on the ground, lest that he should give seed to his brother.
10 And the thing which he did displeased the LORD: wherefore he slew him also.
11 Then said Judah to Tamar his daughter in law, Remain a widow at thy father's house, till Shelah my son be grown: for he said, Lest peradventure he die also, as his brethren did. And Tamar went and dwelt in her father's house.
12 And in process of time the daughter of Shuah Judah's wife died; and Judah was comforted, and went up unto his

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sheepshearers to Timnath, he and his friend Hirah the Adullamite.

13 And it was told Tamar, saying, Behold thy father in law goeth up to Timnath to shear his sheep.

14 And she put her widow's garments off from her, and covered her with a vail, and wrapped herself, and sat in an open place, which is by the way to Timnath; for she saw that Shelah was grown, and she was not given unto him to wife.

15 When Judah saw her, he thought her to be an harlot; because she had covered her face.

16 And he turned unto her by the way, and said, Go to, I pray thee, let me come in unto thee; (for he knew not that she was his daughter in law.) And she said, What wilt thou give me, that thou mayest come in unto me?

17 And he said, I will send thee a kid from the flock. And she said, Wilt thou give me a pledge, till thou send it?

18 And he said, What pledge shall I give thee? And she said, Thy signet, and thy bracelets, and thy staff that is in thine hand. And he gave it her, and came in unto her, and she conceived by him.

19 And she arose, and went away, and laid by her vail from her, and put on the garments of her widowhood.

20 And Judah sent the kid by the hand of his friend the Adullamite, to receive his pledge from the woman's hand: but he found her not.

21 Then he asked the men of that place, saying, Where is the harlot, that was openly by the way side? And they said, There was no harlot in this place.

22 And he returned to Judah, and said, I cannot find her; and also the men of the place said, that there was no harlot in this place.

23 And Judah said, Let her take it to her, lest we be shamed: behold, I sent this kid, and thou hast not found her.

24 And it came to pass about three months after, that it was told Judah, saying, Tamar thy daughter in law hath played the harlot; and also, behold, she is with child by whoredom. And Judah said, Bring her forth, and let her be burnt.

25 When she was brought forth, she sent to her father in law, saying, By the man, whose these are, am I with child: and she said, Discern, I pray thee, whose are these, the signet, and bracelets, and staff.

26 And Judah acknowledged them, and said, She hath been more righteous than I; because that I gave her not to Shelah my son. And he knew her again no more.

27 And it came to pass in the time of her travail, that, behold, twins were in her womb.

28 And it came to pass, when she travailed, that the one put out his hand: and the midwife took and bound upon his hand a scarlet thread, saying, This came out first.

29 And it came to pass, as he drew back his hand, that, behold, his brother came out: and she said, How hast thou broken forth? this breach be upon thee: therefore his name was called Pharez.

30 And afterward came out his brother, that had the scarlet thread upon his hand: and his name was called Zarah.

GENESIS CHAPTER 39

1 And Joseph was brought down to Egypt; and Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh, captain of the guard, an Egyptian, bought him of the hands of the Ishmeelites, which had brought him down thither.

2 And the LORD was with Joseph, and he was a prosperous man; and he was in the house of his master the Egyptian.

3 And his master saw that the LORD was with him, and that the LORD made all that he did to prosper in his hand.

4 And Joseph found grace in his sight, and he served him: and he made him overseer over his house, and all that he had he put into his hand.

5 And it came to pass from the time that he had made him overseer in his house, and over all that he had, that the LORD blessed the Egyptian's house for Joseph's sake; and the blessing of the LORD was upon all that he had in the house, and in the field.

6 And he left all that he had in Joseph's hand; and he knew not ought he had, save the bread which he did eat. And Joseph was a goodly person, and well favoured.

7 And it came to pass after these things, that his master's wife cast her eyes upon Joseph; and she said, Lie with me.

8 But he refused, and said unto his master's wife, Behold, my master wotteth not what is with me in the house, and he hath committed all that he hath to my hand;

9 There is none greater in this house than I; neither hath he kept back any thing from me but thee, because thou art his wife: how then can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God?

10 And it came to pass, as she spake to Joseph day by day, that he hearkened not unto her, to lie by her, or to be with her.

11 And it came to pass about this time, that Joseph went into the house to do his business; and there was none of the men of the house there within.

12 And she caught him by his garment, saying, Lie with me: and he left his garment in her hand, and fled, and got him out.

13 And it came to pass, when she saw that he had left his garment in her hand, and was fled forth,

14 That she called unto the men of her house, and spake unto them, saying, See, he hath brought in an Hebrew unto us to mock us; he came in unto me to lie with me, and I cried with a loud voice:

15 And it came to pass, when he heard that I lifted up my voice and cried, that he left his garment with me, and fled, and got him out.

16 And she laid up his garment by her, until his lord came home.

17 And she spake unto him according to these words, saying, The Hebrew servant, which thou hast brought unto us, came in unto me to mock me:

18 And it came to pass, as I lifted up my voice and cried, that he left his garment with me, and fled out.

19 And it came to pass, when his master heard the words of his wife, which she spake unto him, saying, After this manner did thy servant to me; that his wrath was kindled.

20 And Joseph's master took him, and put him into the prison, a place where the king's prisoners were bound: and he was there in the prison.

21 But the LORD was with Joseph, and shewed him mercy, and gave him favour in the sight of the keeper of the prison.

22 And the keeper of the prison committed to Joseph's hand all the prisoners that were in the prison; and whatsoever they did there, he was the doer of it.

23 The keeper of the prison looked not to any thing that was under his hand; because the LORD was with him, and that which he did, the LORD made it to prosper.

GENESIS CHAPTER 40

1 And it came to pass after these things, that the butler of the king of Egypt and his baker had offended their lord the king of Egypt.

2 And Pharaoh was wroth against two of his officers, against the chief of the butlers, and against the chief of the bakers.

3 And he put them in ward in the house of the captain of the guard, into the prison, the place where Joseph was bound.

4 And the captain of the guard charged Joseph with them, and he served them: and they continued a season in ward.

5 And they dreamed a dream both of them, each man his dream in one night, each man according to the interpretation of his dream, the butler and the baker of the king of Egypt, which were bound in the prison.

6 And Joseph came in unto them in the morning, and looked upon them, and, behold, they were sad.

7 And he asked Pharaoh's officers that were with him in the ward of his lord's house, saying, Wherefore look ye so sadly to day?

8 And they said unto him, We have dreamed a dream, and there is no interpreter of it. And Joseph said unto them, Do not interpretations belong to God? tell me them, I pray you.

9 And the chief butler told his dream to Joseph, and said to him, In my dream, behold, a vine was before me;

10 And in the vine were three branches: and it was as though it budded, and her blossoms shot forth; and the clusters thereof brought forth ripe grapes:

11 And Pharaoh's cup was in my hand: and I took the grapes, and pressed them into Pharaoh's cup, and I gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand.

12 And Joseph said unto him, This is the interpretation of it: The three branches are three days:

13 Yet within three days shall Pharaoh lift up thine head, and restore thee unto thy place: and thou shalt deliver Pharaoh's cup into his hand, after the former manner when thou wast his butler.

14 But think on me when it shall be well with thee, and shew kindness, I pray thee, unto me, and make mention of me unto Pharaoh, and bring me out of this house:

15 For indeed I was stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews: and here also have I done nothing that they should put me into the dungeon.

16 When the chief baker saw that the interpretation was good, he said unto Joseph, I also was in my dream, and, behold, I had three white baskets on my head:

17 And in the uppermost basket there was of all manner of bakemeats for Pharaoh; and the birds did eat them out of the basket upon my head.

18 And Joseph answered and said, This is the interpretation thereof: The three baskets are three days:

19 Yet within three days shall Pharaoh lift up thy head from off thee, and shall hang thee on a tree; and the birds shall eat thy flesh from off thee.

20 And it came to pass the third day, which was Pharaoh's birthday, that he made a feast unto all his servants: and he lifted up the head of the chief butler and of the chief baker among his servants.

21 And he restored the chief butler unto his butlership again; and he gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand:

22 But he hanged the chief baker: as Joseph had interpreted to them.

23 Yet did not the chief butler remember Joseph, but forgat him.

GENESIS CHAPTER 41

1 And it came to pass at the end of two full years, that Pharaoh dreamed: and, behold, he stood by the river.

2 And, behold, there came up out of the river seven well favoured kine and fatfleshed; and they fed in a meadow.

3 And, behold, seven other kine came up after them out of the river, ill favoured and leanfleshed; and stood by the other kine upon the brink of the river.

4 And the ill favoured and leanfleshed kine did eat up the seven well favoured and fat kine. So Pharaoh awoke.

5 And he slept and dreamed the second time: and, behold, seven ears of corn came up upon one stalk, rank and good.

6 And, behold, seven thin ears and blasted with the east wind sprung up after them.

7 And the seven thin ears devoured the seven rank and full ears. And Pharaoh awoke, and, behold, it was a dream.

8 And it came to pass in the morning that his spirit was troubled; and he sent and called for all the magicians of Egypt, and all the wise men thereof: and Pharaoh told them his dream; but there was none that could interpret them unto Pharaoh.

9 Then spake the chief butler unto Pharaoh, saying, I do remember my faults this day:

10 Pharaoh was wroth with his servants, and put me in ward in the captain of the guard's house, both me and the chief baker:

11 And we dreamed a dream in one night, I and he; we dreamed each man according to the interpretation of his dream.

12 And there was there with us a young man, an Hebrew, servant to the captain of the guard; and we told him, and he interpreted to us our dreams; to each man according to his dream he did interpret.

13 And it came to pass, as he interpreted to us, so it was; me he restored unto mine office, and him he hanged.

14 Then Pharaoh sent and called Joseph, and they brought him hastily out of the dungeon: and he shaved himself, and changed his raiment, and came in unto Pharaoh.

15 And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, I have dreamed a dream, and there is none that can interpret it: and I have heard say of thee, that thou canst understand a dream to interpret it.

16 And Joseph answered Pharaoh, saying, It is not in me: God shall give Pharaoh an answer of peace.

17 And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, In my dream, behold, I stood upon the bank of the river:

18 And, behold, there came up out of the river seven kine, fatfleshed and well favoured; and they fed in a meadow:

19 And, behold, seven other kine came up after them, poor and very ill favoured and leanfleshed, such as I never saw in all the land of Egypt for badness:

20 And the lean and the ill favoured kine did eat up the first seven fat kine:

21 And when they had eaten them up, it could not be known that they had eaten them; but they were still ill favoured, as at the beginning. So I awoke.

22 And I saw in my dream, and, behold, seven ears came up in one stalk, full and good:

23 And, behold, seven ears, withered, thin, and blasted with the east wind, sprung up after them:

24 And the thin ears devoured the seven good ears: and I told this unto the magicians; but there was none that could declare it to me.

25 And Joseph said unto Pharaoh, The dream of Pharaoh is one: God hath shewed Pharaoh what he is about to do.

26 The seven good kine are seven years; and the seven good ears are seven years: the dream is one.

27 And the seven thin and ill favoured kine that came up after them are seven years; and the seven empty ears blasted with the east wind shall be seven years of famine.

28 This is the thing which I have spoken unto Pharaoh: What God is about to do he sheweth unto Pharaoh.

29 Behold, there come seven years of great plenty throughout all the land of Egypt:

30 And there shall arise after them seven years of famine; and all the plenty shall be forgotten in the land of Egypt; and the famine shall consume the land;

31 And the plenty shall not be known in the land by reason of that famine following; for it shall be very grievous.

32 And for that the dream was doubled unto Pharaoh twice; it is because the thing is established by God, and God will shortly bring it to pass.

33 Now therefore let Pharaoh look out a man discreet and wise, and set him over the land of Egypt.

34 Let Pharaoh do this, and let him appoint officers over the land, and take up the fifth part of the land of Egypt in the seven plenteous years.

35 And let them gather all the food of those good years that come, and lay up corn under the hand of Pharaoh, and let them keep food in the cities.

36 And that food shall be for store to the land against the seven years of famine, which shall be in the land of Egypt; that the land perish not through the famine.

37 And the thing was good in the eyes of Pharaoh, and in the eyes of all his servants.

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38 And Pharaoh said unto his servants, Can we find such a one as this is, a man in whom the Spirit of God is?
39 And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Forasmuch as God hath shewed thee all this, there is none so discreet and wise as thou art:
40 Thou shalt be over my house, and according unto thy word shall all my people be ruled: only in the throne will I be greater than thou.
41 And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, See, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt.
42 And Pharaoh took off his ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck;
43 And he made him to ride in the second chariot which he had; and they cried before him, Bow the knee: and he made him ruler over all the land of Egypt.
44 And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, I am Pharaoh, and without thee shall no man lift up his hand or foot in all the land of Egypt.
45 And Pharaoh called Joseph's name Zaphnathpaaneah; and he gave him to wife Asenath the daughter of Potipherah priest of On. And Joseph went out over all the land of Egypt.
46 And Joseph was thirty years old when he stood before Pharaoh king of Egypt. And Joseph went out from the presence of Pharaoh, and went throughout all the land of Egypt.
47 And in the seven plenteous years the earth brought forth by handfuls.
48 And he gathered up all the food of the seven years, which were in the land of Egypt, and laid up the food in the cities: the food of the field, which was round about every city, laid he up in the same.
49 And Joseph gathered corn as the sand of the sea, very much, until he left numbering; for it was without number.
50 And unto Joseph were born two sons before the years of famine came, which Asenath the daughter of Potipherah priest of On bare unto him.
51 And Joseph called the name of the firstborn Manasseh: For God, said he, hath made me forget all my toil, and all my father's house.
52 And the name of the second called he Ephraim: For God hath caused me to be fruitful in the land of my affliction.
53 And the seven years of plenteousness, that was in the land of Egypt, were ended.
54 And the seven years of dearth began to come, according as Joseph had said: and the dearth was in all lands; but in all the land of Egypt there was bread.
55 And when all the land of Egypt was famished, the people cried to Pharaoh for bread: and Pharaoh said unto all the Egyptians, Go unto Joseph; what he saith to you, do.
56 And the famine was over all the face of the earth: and Joseph opened all the storehouses, and sold unto the Egyptians; and the famine waxed sore in the land of Egypt.
57 And all countries came into Egypt to Joseph for to buy corn; because that the famine was so sore in all lands.

GENESIS CHAPTER 42

1 Now when Jacob saw that there was corn in Egypt, Jacob said unto his sons, Why do ye look one upon another?
2 And he said, Behold, I have heard that there is corn in Egypt: get you down thither, and buy for us from thence; that we may live, and not die.
3 And Joseph's ten brethren went down to buy corn in Egypt.
4 But Benjamin, Joseph's brother, Jacob sent not with his brethren; for he said, Lest peradventure mischief befall him.
5 And the sons of Israel came to buy corn among those that came: for the famine was in the land of Canaan.
6 And Joseph was the governor over the land, and he it was that sold to all the people of the land: and Joseph's brethren came, and bowed down themselves before him with their faces to the earth.
7 And Joseph saw his brethren, and he knew them, but made himself strange unto them, and spake roughly unto them; and he said unto them, Whence come ye? And they said, From the land of Canaan to buy food.
8 And Joseph knew his brethren, but they knew not him.
9 And Joseph remembered the dreams which he dreamed of them, and said unto them, Ye are spies; to see the nakedness of the land ye are come.
10 And they said unto him, Nay, my lord, but to buy food are thy servants come.
11 We are all one man's sons; we are true men, thy servants are no spies.
12 And he said unto them, Nay, but to see the nakedness of the land ye are come.
13 And they said, Thy servants are twelve brethren, the sons of one man in the land of Canaan; and, behold, the youngest is this day with our father, and one is not.
14 And Joseph said unto them, That is it that I spake unto you, saying, Ye are spies:
15 Hereby ye shall be proved: By the life of Pharaoh ye shall not go forth hence, except your youngest brother come hither.
16 Send one of you, and let him fetch your brother, and ye shall be kept in prison, that your words may be proved, whether there be any truth in you: or else by the life of Pharaoh surely ye are spies.
17 And he put them all together into ward three days.
18 And Joseph said unto them the third day, This do, and live; for I fear God:
19 If ye be true men, let one of your brethren be bound in the house of your prison: go ye, carry corn for the famine of your houses:
20 But bring your youngest brother unto me; so shall your words be verified, and ye shall not die. And they did so.
21 And they said one to another, We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul, when he besought us, and we would not hear; therefore is this distress come upon us.
22 And Reuben answered them, saying, Spake I not unto you, saying, Do not sin against the child; and ye would not hear? therefore, behold, also his blood is required.
23 And they knew not that Joseph understood them; for he spake unto them by an interpreter.
24 And he turned himself about from them, and wept; and returned to them again, and communed with them, and took from them Simeon, and bound him before their eyes.
25 Then Joseph commanded to fill their sacks with corn, and to restore every man's money into his sack, and to give them provision for the way: and thus did he unto them.
26 And they laded their asses with the corn, and departed thence.
27 And as one of them opened his sack to give his ass provender in the inn, he espied his money; for, behold, it was in his sack's mouth.
28 And he said unto his brethren, My money is restored; and, lo, it is even in my sack: and their heart failed them, and they were afraid, saying one to another, What is this that God hath done unto us?
29 And they came unto Jacob their father unto the land of Canaan, and told him all that befell unto them; saying,
30 The man, who is the lord of the land, spake roughly to us, and took us for spies of the country.
31 And we said unto him, We are true men; we are no spies:
32 We be twelve brethren, sons of our father; one is not, and the youngest is this day with our father in the land of Canaan.
33 And the man, the lord of the country, said unto us, Hereby shall I know that ye are true men; leave one of your brethren here with me, and take food for the famine of your households, and be gone:
34 And bring your youngest brother unto me: then shall I know that ye are no spies, but that ye are true men: so will I deliver you your brother, and ye shall traffick in the land.
35 And it came to pass as they emptied their sacks, that, behold, every man's bundle of money was in his sack: and when both they and their father saw the bundles of money, they were afraid.
36 And Jacob their father said unto them, Me have ye bereaved of my children: Joseph is not, and Simeon is not, and ye will take Benjamin away: all these things are against me.
37 And Reuben spake unto his father, saying, Slay my two sons, if I bring him not to thee: deliver him into my hand, and I will bring him to thee again.
38 And he said, My son shall not go down with you; for his brother is dead, and he is left alone: if mischief befall him by the way in the which ye go, then shall ye bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to the grave.

GENESIS CHAPTER 43

1 And the famine was sore in the land.
2 And it came to pass, when they had eaten up the corn which they had brought out of Egypt, their father said unto them, Go again, buy us a little food.
3 And Judah spake unto him, saying, The man did solemnly protest unto us, saying, Ye shall not see my face, except your brother be with you.
4 If thou wilt send our brother with us, we will go down and buy thee food:
5 But if thou wilt not send him, we will not go down: for the man said unto us, Ye shall not see my face, except your brother be with you.
6 And Israel said, Wherefore dealt ye so ill with me, as to tell the man whether ye had yet a brother?
7 And they said, The man asked us straitly of our state, and of our kindred, saying, Is your father yet alive? have ye another brother? and we told him according to the tenor of these words: could we certainly know that he would say, Bring your brother down?
8 And Judah said unto Israel his father, Send the lad with me, and we will arise and go; that we may live, and not die, both we, and thou, and also our little ones.
9 I will be surety for him; of my hand shalt thou require him: if I bring him not unto thee, and set him before thee, then let me bear the blame for ever:
10 For except we had lingered, surely now we had returned this second time.
11 And their father Israel said unto them, If it must be so now, do this; take of the best fruits in the land in your vessels, and carry down the man a present, a little balm, and a little honey, spices, and myrrh, nuts, and almonds:
12 And take double money in your hand; and the money that was brought again in the mouth of your sacks, carry it again in your hand; peradventure it was an oversight:
13 Take also your brother, and arise, go again unto the man:
14 And God Almighty give you mercy before the man, that he may send away your other brother, and Benjamin. If I be bereaved of my children, I am bereaved.
15 And the men took that present, and they took double money in their hand and Benjamin; and rose up, and went down to Egypt, and stood before Joseph.
16 And when Joseph saw Benjamin with them, he said to the ruler of his house, Bring these men home, and slay, and make ready; for these men shall dine with me at noon.
17 And the man did as Joseph bade; and the man brought the men into Joseph's house.
18 And the men were afraid, because they were brought into Joseph's house; and they said, Because of the money that was returned in our sacks at the first time are we brought in; that he may seek occasion against us, and fall upon us, and take us for bondmen, and our asses.
19 And they came near to the steward of Joseph's house, and they communed with him at the door of the house,
20 And said, O sir, we came indeed down at the first time to buy food:
21 And it came to pass, when we came to the inn, that we opened our sacks, and, behold, every man's money was in the mouth of his sack, our money in full weight: and we have brought it again in our hand.
22 And other money have we brought down in our hands to buy food: we cannot tell who put our money in our sacks.
23 And he said, Peace be to you, fear not: your God, and the God of your father, hath given you treasure in your sacks: I had your money. And he brought Simeon out unto them.
24 And the man brought the men into Joseph's house, and gave them water, and they washed their feet; and he gave their asses provender.
25 And they made ready the present against Joseph came at noon: for they heard that they should eat bread there.
26 And when Joseph came home, they brought him the present which was in their hand into the house, and bowed themselves to him to the earth.
27 And he asked them of their welfare, and said, Is your father well, the old man of whom ye spake? Is he yet alive?
28 And they answered, Thy servant our father is in good health, he is yet alive. And they bowed down their heads, and made obeisance.
29 And he lifted up his eyes, and saw his brother Benjamin, his mother's son, and said, Is this your younger brother, of whom ye spake unto me? And he said, God be gracious unto thee, my son.
30 And Joseph made haste; for his bowels did yearn upon his brother: and he sought where to weep; and he entered into his chamber, and wept there.
31 And he washed his face, and went out, and refrained himself, and said, Set on bread.
32 And they set on for him by himself, and for them by themselves, and for the Egyptians, which did eat with him, by themselves: because the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews; for that is an abomination unto the Egyptians.
33 And they sat before him, the firstborn according to his birthright, and the youngest according to his youth: and the men marvelled one at another.
34 And he took and sent messes unto them from before him: but Benjamin's mess was five times so much as any of their's. And they drank, and were merry with him.

GENESIS CHAPTER 44

1 And he commanded the steward of his house, saying, Fill the men's sacks with food, as much as they can carry, and put every man's money in his sack's mouth.
2 And put my cup, the silver cup, in the sack's mouth of the youngest, and his corn money. And he did according to the word that Joseph had spoken.
3 As soon as the morning was light, the men were sent away, they and their asses.
4 And when they were gone out of the city, and not yet far off, Joseph said unto his steward, Up, follow after the men; and when thou dost overtake them, say unto them, Wherefore have ye rewarded evil for good?
5 Is not this it in which my lord drinketh, and whereby indeed he divineth? ye have done evil in so doing.
6 And he overtook them, and he spake unto them these same words.
7 And they said unto him, Wherefore saith my lord these words? God forbid that thy servants should do according to this thing:
8 Behold, the money, which we found in our sacks' mouths, we brought again unto thee out of the land of Canaan: how then should we steal out of thy lord's house silver or gold?

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9 With whomsoever of thy servants it be found, both let him die, and we also will be my lord's bondmen.
10 And he said, Now also let it be according unto your words: he with whom it is found shall be my servant; and ye shall be blameless.
11 Then they speedily took down every man his sack to the ground, and opened every man his sack.
12 And he searched, and began at the eldest, and left at the youngest: and the cup was found in Benjamin's sack.
13 Then they rent their clothes, and laded every man his ass, and returned to the city.
14 And Judah and his brethren came to Joseph's house; for he was yet there: and they fell before him on the ground.
15 And Joseph said unto them, What deed is this that ye have done? wot ye not that such a man as I can certainly divine?
16 And Judah said, What shall we say unto my lord? what shall we speak? or how shall we clear ourselves? God hath found out the iniquity of thy servants: behold, we are my lord's servants, both we, and he also with whom the cup is found.
17 And he said, God forbid that I should do so: but the man in whose hand the cup is found, he shall be my servant; and as for you, get you up in peace unto your father.
18 Then Judah came near unto him, and said, Oh my lord, let thy servant, I pray thee, speak a word in my lord's ears, and let not thine anger burn against thy servant: for thou art even as Pharaoh.
19 My lord asked his servants, saying, Have ye a father, or a brother?
20 And we said unto my lord, We have a father, an old man, and a child of his old age, a little one; and his brother is dead, and he alone is left of his mother, and his father loveth him.
21 And thou saidst unto thy servants, Bring him down unto me, that I may set mine eyes upon him.
22 And we said unto my lord, The lad cannot leave his father: for if he should leave his father, his father would die.
23 And thou saidst unto thy servants, Except your youngest brother come down with you, ye shall see my face no more.
24 And it came to pass when we came up unto thy servant my father, we told him the words of my lord.
25 And our father said, Go again, and buy us a little food.
26 And we said, We cannot go down: if our youngest brother be with us, then will we go down: for we may not see the man's face, except our youngest brother be with us.
27 And thy servant my father said unto us, Ye know that my wife bare me two sons:
28 And the one went out from me, and I said, Surely he is torn in pieces; and I saw him not since:
29 And if ye take this also from me, and mischief befall him, ye shall bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to the grave.
30 Now therefore when I come to thy servant my father, and the lad be not with us; seeing that his life is bound up in the lad's life;
31 It shall come to pass, when he seeth that the lad is not with us, that he will die: and thy servants shall bring down the gray hairs of thy servant our father with sorrow to the grave.
32 For thy servant became surety for the lad unto my father, saying, If I bring him not unto thee, then I shall bear the blame to my father for ever.
33 Now therefore, I pray thee, let thy servant abide instead of the lad a bondman to my lord; and let the lad go up with his brethren.
34 For how shall I go up to my father, and the lad be not with me? lest peradventure I see the evil that shall come on my father.

GENESIS CHAPTER 45

1 Then Joseph could not refrain himself before all them that stood by him; and he cried, Cause every man to go out from me. And there stood no man with him, while Joseph made himself known unto his brethren.
2 And he wept aloud: and the Egyptians and the house of Pharaoh heard.
3 And Joseph said unto his brethren, I am Joseph; doth my father yet live? And his brethren could not answer him; for they were troubled at his presence.
4 And Joseph said unto his brethren, Come near to me, I pray you. And they came near. And he said, I am Joseph your brother, whom ye sold into Egypt.
5 Now therefore be not grieved, nor angry with yourselves, that ye sold me hither: for God did send me before you to preserve life.
6 For these two years hath the famine been in the land: and yet there are five years, in the which there shall neither be earing nor harvest.
7 And God sent me before you to preserve you a posterity in the earth, and to save your lives by a great deliverance.

8 So now it was not you that sent me hither, but God: and he hath made me a father to Pharaoh, and lord of all his house, and a ruler throughout all the land of Egypt.
9 Haste ye, and go up to my father, and say unto him, Thus saith thy son Joseph, God hath made me lord of all Egypt: come down unto me, tarry not:
10 And thou shalt dwell in the land of Goshen, and thou shalt be near unto me, thou, and thy children, and thy children's children, and thy flocks, and thy herds, and all that thou hast:
11 And there will I nourish thee; for yet there are five years of famine; lest thou, and thy household, and all that thou hast, come to poverty.
12 And, behold, your eyes see, and the eyes of my brother Benjamin, that it is my mouth that speaketh unto you.
13 And ye shall tell my father of all my glory in Egypt, and of all that ye have seen; and ye shall haste and bring down my father hither.
14 And he fell upon his brother Benjamin's neck, and wept; and Benjamin wept upon his neck.
15 Moreover he kissed all his brethren, and wept upon them: and after that his brethren talked with him.
16 And the fame thereof was heard in Pharaoh's house, saying, Joseph's brethren are come: and it pleased Pharaoh well, and his servants.
17 And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Say unto thy brethren, This do ye; lade your beasts, and go, get you unto the land of Canaan;
18 And take your father and your households, and come unto me: and I will give you the good of the land of Egypt, and ye shall eat the fat of the land.
19 Now thou art commanded, this do ye; take you wagons out of the land of Egypt for your little ones, and for your wives, and bring your father, and come.
20 Also regard not your stuff; for the good of all the land of Egypt is your's.
21 And the children of Israel did so: and Joseph gave them wagons, according to the commandment of Pharaoh, and gave them provision for the way.
22 To all of them he gave each man changes of raiment; but to Benjamin he gave three hundred pieces of silver, and five changes of raiment.
23 And to his father he sent after this manner; ten asses laden with the good things of Egypt, and ten she asses laden with corn and bread and meat for his father by the way.
24 So he sent his brethren away, and they departed: and he said unto them, See that ye fall not out by the way.
25 And they went up out of Egypt, and came into the land of Canaan unto Jacob their father,
26 And told him, saying, Joseph is yet alive, and he is governor over all the land of Egypt. And Jacob's heart fainted, for he believed them not.
27 And they told him all the words of Joseph, which he had said unto them: and when he saw the wagons which Joseph had sent to carry him, the spirit of Jacob their father revived:
28 And Israel said, It is enough; Joseph my son is yet alive: I will go and see him before I die.

GENESIS CHAPTER 46

1 And Israel took his journey with all that he had, and came to Beersheba, and offered sacrifices unto the God of his father Isaac.
2 And God spake unto Israel in the visions of the night, and said, Jacob, Jacob. And he said, Here am I.
3 And he said, I am God, the God of thy father: fear not to go down into Egypt; for I will there make of thee a great nation:
4 I will go down with thee into Egypt; and I will also surely bring thee up again: and Joseph shall put his hand upon thine eyes.
5 And Jacob rose up from Beersheba: and the sons of Israel carried Jacob their father, and their little ones, and their wives, in the wagons which Pharaoh had sent to carry him.
6 And they took their cattle, and their goods, which they had gotten in the land of Canaan, and came into Egypt, Jacob, and all his seed with him:
7 His sons, and his sons' sons with him, his daughters, and his sons' daughters, and all his seed brought he with him into Egypt.
8 And these are the names of the children of Israel, which came into Egypt, Jacob and his sons: Reuben, Jacob's firstborn.
9 And the sons of Reuben; Hanoch, and Phallu, and Hezron, and Carmi.
10 And the sons of Simeon; Jemuel, and Jamin, and Ohad, and Jachin, and Zohar, and Shaul the son of a Canaanitish woman.
11 And the sons of Levi; Gershon, Kohath, and Merari.
12 And the sons of Judah; Er, and Onan, and Shelah, and Pharez, and Zarah: but Er and Onan died in the land of Canaan. And the sons of Pharez were Hezron and Hamul.
13 And the sons of Issachar; Tola, and Phuvah, and Job, and Shimron.
14 And the sons of Zebulun; Sered, and Elon, and Jahleel.
15 These be the sons of Leah, which she bare unto Jacob in Padanaram, with his daughter Dinah: all the souls of his sons and his daughters were thirty and three.
16 And the sons of Gad; Ziphion, and Haggi, Shuni, and Ezbon, Eri, and Arodi, and Areli.
17 And the sons of Asher; Jimnah, and Ishuah, and Isui, and Beriah, and Serah their sister: and the sons of Beriah; Heber, and Malchiel.
18 These are the sons of Zilpah, whom Laban gave to Leah his daughter, and these she bare unto Jacob, even sixteen souls.
19 The sons of Rachel Jacob's wife; Joseph, and Benjamin.
20 And unto Joseph in the land of Egypt were born Manasseh and Ephraim, which Asenath the daughter of Potipherah priest of On bare unto him.
21 And the sons of Benjamin were Belah, and Becher, and Ashbel, Gera, and Naaman, Ehi, and Rosh, Muppim, and Huppim, and Ard.
22 These are the sons of Rachel, which were born to Jacob: all the souls were fourteen.
23 And the sons of Dan; Hushim.
24 And the sons of Naphtali; Jahzeel, and Guni, and Jezer, and Shillem.
25 These are the sons of Bilhah, which Laban gave unto Rachel his daughter, and she bare these unto Jacob: all the souls were seven.
26 All the souls that came with Jacob into Egypt, which came out of his loins, besides Jacob's sons' wives, all the souls were threescore and six;
27 And the sons of Joseph, which were born him in Egypt, were two souls: all the souls of the house of Jacob, which came into Egypt, were threescore and ten.
28 And he sent Judah before him unto Joseph, to direct his face unto Goshen; and they came into the land of Goshen.
29 And Joseph made ready his chariot, and went up to meet Israel his father, to Goshen, and presented himself unto him; and he fell on his neck, and wept on his neck a good while.
30 And Israel said unto Joseph, Now let me die, since I have seen thy face, because thou art yet alive.
31 And Joseph said unto his brethren, and unto his father's house, I will go up, and shew Pharaoh, and say unto him, My brethren, and my father's house, which were in the land of Canaan, are come unto me;
32 And the men are shepherds, for their trade hath been to feed cattle; and they have brought their flocks, and their herds, and all that they have.
33 And it shall come to pass, when Pharaoh shall call you, and shall say, What is your occupation?
34 That ye shall say, Thy servants' trade hath been about cattle from our youth even until now, both we, and also our fathers: that ye may dwell in the land of Goshen; for every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians.

GENESIS CHAPTER 47

1 Then Joseph came and told Pharaoh, and said, My father and my brethren, and their flocks, and their herds, and all that they have, are come out of the land of Canaan; and, behold, they are in the land of Goshen.
2 And he took some of his brethren, even five men, and presented them unto Pharaoh.
3 And Pharaoh said unto his brethren, What is your occupation? And they said unto Pharaoh, Thy servants are shepherds, both we, and also our fathers.
4 They said morever unto Pharaoh, For to sojourn in the land are we come; for thy servants have no pasture for their flocks; for the famine is sore in the land of Canaan: now therefore, we pray thee, let thy servants dwell in the land of Goshen.
5 And Pharaoh spake unto Joseph, saying, Thy father and thy brethren are come unto thee:
6 The land of Egypt is before thee; in the best of the land make thy father and brethren to dwell; in the land of Goshen let them dwell: and if thou knowest any men of activity among them, then make them rulers over my cattle.
7 And Joseph brought in Jacob his father, and set him before Pharaoh: and Jacob blessed Pharaoh.
8 And Pharaoh said unto Jacob, How old art thou?
9 And Jacob said unto Pharaoh, The days of the years of my pilgrimage are an hundred and thirty years: few and evil have the days of the years of my life been, and have not attained unto the days of the years of the life of my fathers in the days of their pilgrimage.
10 And Jacob blessed Pharaoh, and went out from before Pharaoh.
11 And Joseph placed his father and his brethren, and gave them a possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, in the land of Rameses, as Pharaoh had commanded.
12 And Joseph nourished his father, and his brethren, and all his father's household, with bread, according to their families.
13 And there was no bread in all the land; for the famine was very sore, so that the land of Egypt and all the land of Canaan fainted by reason of the famine.
14 And Joseph gathered up all the money that was found in the land of Egypt, and in the land of Canaan, for the corn which they bought: and Joseph brought the money into Pharaoh's house.

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15 And when money failed in the land of Egypt, and in the land of Canaan, all the Egyptians came unto Joseph, and said, Give us bread: for why should we die in thy presence? for the money faileth.

16 And Joseph said, Give your cattle; and I will give you for your cattle, if money fail.

17 And they brought their cattle unto Joseph: and Joseph gave them bread in exchange for horses, and for the flocks, and for the cattle of the herds, and for the asses: and he fed them with bread for all their cattle for that year.

18 When that year was ended, they came unto him the second year, and said unto him, We will not hide it from my lord, how that our money is spent; my lord also hath our herds of cattle; there is not ought left in the sight of my lord, but our bodies, and our lands:

19 Wherefore shall we die before thine eyes, both we and our land? buy us and our land for bread, and we and our land will be servants unto Pharaoh: and give us seed, that we may live, and not die, that the land be not desolate.

20 And Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh; for the Egyptians sold every man his field, because the famine prevailed over them: so the land became Pharaoh's.

21 And as for the people, he removed them to cities from one end of the borders of Egypt even to the other end thereof.

22 Only the land of the priests bought he not; for the priests had a portion assigned them of Pharaoh, and did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them: wherefore they sold not their lands.

23 Then Joseph said unto the people, Behold, I have bought you this day and your land for Pharaoh: lo, here is seed for you, and ye shall sow the land.

24 And it shall come to pass in the increase, that ye shall give the fifth part unto Pharaoh, and four parts shall be your own, for seed of the field, and for your food, and for them of your households, and for food for your little ones.

25 And they said, Thou hast saved our lives: let us find grace in the sight of my lord, and we will be Pharaoh's servants.

26 And Joseph made it a law over the land of Egypt unto this day, that Pharaoh should have the fifth part, except the land of the priests only, which became not Pharaoh's.

27 And Israel dwelt in the land of Egypt, in the country of Goshen; and they had possessions therein, and grew, and multiplied exceedingly.

28 And Jacob lived in the land of Egypt seventeen years: so the whole age of Jacob was an hundred forty and seven years.

29 And the time drew nigh that Israel must die: and he called his son Joseph, and said unto him, If now I have found grace in thy sight, put, I pray thee, thy hand under my thigh, and deal kindly and truly with me; bury me not, I pray thee, in Egypt:

30 But I will lie with my fathers, and thou shalt carry me out of Egypt, and bury me in their buryingplace. And he said, I will do as thou hast said.

31 And he said, Swear unto me. And he sware unto him. And Israel bowed himself upon the bed's head.

GENESIS CHAPTER 48

1 And it came to pass after these things, that one told Joseph, Behold, thy father is sick: and he took with him his two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim.

2 And one told Jacob, and said, Behold, thy son Joseph cometh unto thee: and Israel strengthened himself, and sat upon the bed.

3 And Jacob said unto Joseph, God Almighty appeared unto me at Luz in the land of Canaan, and blessed me,

4 And said unto me, Behold, I will make thee fruitful, and multiply thee, and I will make of thee a multitude of people; and will give this land to thy seed after thee for an everlasting possession.

5 And now thy two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, which were born unto thee in the land of Egypt before I came unto thee into Egypt, are mine; as Reuben and Simeon, they shall be mine.

6 And thy issue, which thou begettest after them, shall be thine, and shall be called after the name of their brethren in their inheritance.

7 And as for me, when I came from Padan, Rachel died by me in the land of Canaan in the way, when yet there was but a little way to come unto Ephrath: and I buried her there in the way of Ephrath; the same is Bethlehem.

8 And Israel beheld Joseph's sons, and said, Who are these?

9 And Joseph said unto his father, They are my sons, whom God hath given me in this place. And he said, Bring them, I pray thee, unto me, and I will bless them.

10 Now the eyes of Israel were dim for age, so that he could not see. And he brought them near unto him; and he kissed them, and embraced them.

11 And Israel said unto Joseph, I had not thought to see thy face: and, lo, God hath shewed me also thy seed.

12 And Joseph brought them out from between his knees, and he bowed himself with his face to the earth.

13 And Joseph took them both, Ephraim in his right hand toward Israel's left hand, and Manasseh in his left hand toward Israel's right hand, and brought them near unto him.

14 And Israel stretched out his right hand, and laid it upon Ephraim's head, who was the younger, and his left hand upon Manasseh's head, guiding his hands wittingly; for Manasseh was the firstborn.

15 And he blessed Joseph, and said, God, before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac did walk, the God which fed me all my life long unto this day,

16 The Angel which redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads; and let my name be named on them, and the name of my fathers Abraham and Isaac; and let them grow into a multitude in the midst of the earth.

17 And when Joseph saw that his father laid his right hand upon the head of Ephraim, it displeased him: and he held up his father's hand, to remove it from Ephraim's head unto Manasseh's head.

18 And Joseph said unto his father, Not so, my father: for this is the firstborn; put thy right hand upon his head.

19 And his father refused, and said, I know it, my son, I know it: he also shall become a people, and he also shall be great: but truly his younger brother shall be greater than he, and his seed shall become a multitude of nations.

20 And he blessed them that day, saying, In thee shall Israel bless, saying, God make thee as Ephraim and as Manasseh: and he set Ephraim before Manasseh.

21 And Israel said unto Joseph, Behold, I die: but God shall be with you, and bring you again unto the land of your fathers.

22 Moreover I have given to thee one portion above thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow.

GENESIS CHAPTER 49

1 And Jacob called unto his sons, and said, Gather yourselves together, that I may tell you that which shall befall you in the last days.

2 Gather yourselves together, and hear, ye sons of Jacob; and hearken unto Israel your father.

3 Reuben, thou art my firstborn, my might, and the beginning of my strength, the excellency of dignity, and the excellency of power:

4 Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel; because thou wentest up to thy father's bed; then defiledst thou it: he went up to my couch.

5 Simeon and Levi are brethren; instruments of cruelty are in their habitations.

6 O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united: for in their anger they slew a man, and in their selfwill they digged down a wall.

7 Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel: I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel.

8 Judah, thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise: thy hand shall be in the neck of thine enemies; thy father's children shall bow down before thee.

9 Judah is a lion's whelp: from the prey, my son, thou art gone up: he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as an old lion; who shall rouse him up?

10 The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be.

11 Binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass's colt unto the choice vine; he washed his garments in wine, and his clothes in the blood of grapes:

12 His eyes shall be red with wine, and his teeth white with milk.

13 Zebulun shall dwell at the haven of the sea; and he shall be for an haven of ships; and his border shall be unto Zidon.

14 Issachar is a strong ass couching down between two burdens:

15 And he saw that rest was good, and the land that it was pleasant; and bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant unto tribute.

16 Dan shall judge his people, as one of the tribes of Israel.

17 Dan shall be a serpent by the way, an adder in the path, that biteth the horse heels, so that his rider shall fall backward.

18 I have waited for thy salvation, O LORD.

19 Gad, a troop shall overcome him: but he shall overcome at the last.

20 Out of Asher his bread shall be fat, and he shall yield royal dainties.

21 Naphtali is a hind let loose: he giveth goodly words.

22 Joseph is a fruitful bough, even a fruitful bough by a well; whose branches run over the wall:

23 The archers have sorely grieved him, and shot at him, and hated him:

24 But his bow abode in strength, and the arms of his hands were made strong by the hands of the mighty God of Jacob; (from thence is the shepherd, the stone of Israel:)

25 Even by the God of thy father, who shall help thee; and by the Almighty, who shall bless thee with blessings of heaven above, blessings of the deep that lieth under, blessings of the breasts, and of the womb:

26 The blessings of thy father have prevailed above the blessings of my progenitors unto the utmost bound of the everlasting hills: they shall be on the head of Joseph, and on the crown of the head of him that was separate from his brethren.

27 Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf: in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil.

28 All these are the twelve tribes of Israel: and this is it that their father spake unto them, and blessed them; every one according to his blessing he blessed them.

29 And he charged them, and said unto them, I am to be gathered unto my people: bury me with my fathers in the cave that is in the field of Ephron the Hittite,

30 In the cave that is in the field of Machpelah, which is before Mamre, in the land of Canaan, which Abraham bought with the field of Ephron the Hittite for a possession of a buryingplace.

31 There they buried Abraham and Sarah his wife; there they buried Isaac and Rebekah his wife; and there I buried Leah.

32 The purchase of the field and of the cave that is therein was from the children of Heth.

33 And when Jacob had made an end of commanding his sons, he gathered up his feet into the bed, and yielded up the ghost, and was gathered unto his people.

GENESIS CHAPTER 50

1 And Joseph fell upon his father's face, and wept upon him, and kissed him.

2 And Joseph commanded his servants the physicians to embalm his father: and the physicians embalmed Israel.

3 And forty days were fulfilled for him; for so are fulfilled the days of those which are embalmed: and the Egyptians mourned for him threescore and ten days.

4 And when the days of his mourning were past, Joseph spake unto the house of Pharaoh, saying, If now I have found grace in your eyes, speak, I pray you, in the ears of Pharaoh, saying,

5 My father made me swear, saying, Lo, I die: in my grave which I have digged for me in the land of Canaan, there shalt thou bury me. Now therefore let me go up, I pray thee, and bury my father, and I will come again.

6 And Pharaoh said, Go up, and bury thy father, according as he made thee swear.

7 And Joseph went up to bury his father: and with him went up all the servants of Pharaoh, the elders of his house, and all the elders of the land of Egypt,

8 And all the house of Joseph, and his brethren, and his father's house: only their little ones, and their flocks, and their herds, they left in the land of Goshen.

9 And there went up with him both chariots and horsemen: and it was a very great company.

10 And they came to the threshingfloor of Atad, which is beyond Jordan, and there they mourned with a great and very sore lamentation: and he made a mourning for his father seven days.

11 And when the inhabitants of the land, the Canaanites, saw the mourning in the floor of Atad, they said, This is a grievous mourning to the Egyptians: wherefore the name of it was called Abelmizraim, which is beyond Jordan.

12 And his sons did unto him according as he commanded them:

13 For his sons carried him into the land of Canaan, and buried him in the cave of the field of Machpelah, which Abraham bought with the field for a possession of a buryingplace of Ephron the Hittite, before Mamre.

14 And Joseph returned into Egypt, he, and his brethren, and all that went up with him to bury his father, after he had buried his father.

15 And when Joseph's brethren saw that their father was dead, they said, Joseph will peradventure hate us, and will certainly requite us all the evil which we did unto him.

16 And they sent a messenger unto Joseph, saying, Thy father did command before he died, saying,

17 So shall ye say unto Joseph, Forgive, I pray thee now, the trespass of thy brethren, and their sin; for they did unto thee evil: and now, we pray thee, forgive the trespass of the servants of the God of thy father. And Joseph wept when they spake unto him.

18 And his brethren also went and fell down before his face; and they said, Behold, we be thy servants.

19 And Joseph said unto them, Fear not: for am I in the place of God?

20 But as for you, ye thought evil against me; but God meant it unto good, to bring to pass, as it is this day, to save much people alive.

21 Now therefore fear ye not: I will nourish you, and your little ones. And he comforted them, and spake kindly unto them.

22 And Joseph dwelt in Egypt, he, and his father's house: and Joseph lived an hundred and ten years.

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23 And Joseph saw Ephraim's children of the third generation: the children also of Machir the son of Manasseh were brought up upon Joseph's knees.
24 And Joseph said unto his brethren, I die: and God will surely visit you, and bring you out of this land unto the land which he sware to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob.
25 And Joseph took an oath of the children of Israel, saying, God will surely visit you, and ye shall carry up my bones from hence.
26 So Joseph died, being an hundred and ten years old: and they embalmed him, and he was put in a coffin in Egypt.

EXODUS

The Second Book of Moses
Hebrew Title: Shemot ("Names")

(The Book of Exodus is the second book of the Bible. Exodus is called Shemot in Hebrew, which means 'Names.' Exodus means 'Going Out' in Latin. It is about how the Hebrew people were led out of Egypt by Yahweh, the revelations at biblical Mount Sinai, and the subsequent "divine indwelling" of God with Israel. Exodus ends with God's laws and his instructions on how to build a holy container called the Ark of the Covenant. The Exodus is traditionally ascribed to Moses, but modern scholars see its initial composition as a product of the Babylonian exile (6th century BC), with final revisions in the Persian post-exilic period (5th century BC). The Exodus is by Jewish people considered very important as it presents the defining features of Israel's identity—memories of a past marked by hardship and escape, a binding covenant with God.

Contents or Torah portions:

• Shemot, on Exodus 1–5: Affliction in Egypt, discovery of baby Moses, Pharaoh
• Va'eira, on Exodus 6–9: Plagues 1 to 7 of Egypt
• Bo, on Exodus 10–13: Last plagues of Egypt, first Passover
• Beshalach, on Exodus 13–17: Parting the Sea, water, manna, Amalek
• Yitro, on Exodus 18–20: Jethro's advice, The Ten Commandments
• Mishpatim, on Exodus 21–24: The Covenant Code
• Terumah, on Exodus 25–27: God's instructions on the Tabernacle and furnishings
• Tetzaveh, on Exodus 27–30: God's instructions on the first priests
• Ki Tissa, on Exodus 30–34: Census, anointing oil, golden calf, stone tablets, Moses radiant
• Vayakhel, on Exodus 35–38: Israelites collect gifts, make the Tabernacle and furnishings
• Pekudei, on Exodus 38–40: Setting up and filling of The Tabernacle.)

EXODUS CHAPTER 1

1 Now these are the names of the children of Israel, which came into Egypt; every man and his household came with Jacob.
2 Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah,
3 Issachar, Zebulun, and Benjamin,
4 Dan, and Naphtali, Gad, and Asher.
5 And all the souls that came out of the loins of Jacob were seventy souls: for Joseph was in Egypt already.
6 And Joseph died, and all his brethren, and all that generation.
7 And the children of Israel were fruitful, and increased abundantly, and multiplied, and waxed exceeding mighty; and the land was filled with them.
8 Now there arose up a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph.
9 And he said unto his people, Behold, the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we:
10 Come on, let us deal wisely with them; lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that, when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and so get them up out of the land.
11 Therefore they did set over them taskmasters to afflict them with their burdens. And they built for Pharaoh treasure cities, Pithom and Raamses.
12 But the more they afflicted them, the more they multiplied and grew. And they were grieved because of the children of Israel.
13 And the Egyptians made the children of Israel to serve with rigour:
14 And they made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in morter, and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field: all their service, wherein they made them serve, was with rigour.
15 And the king of Egypt spake to the Hebrew midwives, of which the name of the one was Shiphrah, and the name of the other Puah:
16 And he said, When ye do the office of a midwife to the Hebrew women, and see them upon the stools; if it be a son, then ye shall kill him: but if it be a daughter, then she shall live.
17 But the midwives feared God, and did not as the king of Egypt commanded them, but saved the men children alive.
18 And the king of Egypt called for the midwives, and said unto them, Why have ye done this thing, and have saved the men children alive?
19 And the midwives said unto Pharaoh, Because the Hebrew women are not as the Egyptian women; for they are lively, and are delivered ere the midwives come in unto them.
20 Therefore God dealt well with the midwives: and the people multiplied, and waxed very mighty.
21 And it came to pass, because the midwives feared God, that he made them houses.
22 And Pharaoh charged all his people, saying, Every son that is born ye shall cast into the river, and every daughter ye shall save alive.

EXODUS CHAPTER 2

1 And there went a man of the house of Levi, and took to wife a daughter of Levi.
2 And the woman conceived, and bare a son: and when she saw him that he was a goodly child, she hid him three months.
3 And when she could not longer hide him, she took for him an ark of bulrushes, and daubed it with slime and with pitch, and put the child therein; and she laid it in the flags by the river's brink.
4 And his sister stood afar off, to wit what would be done to him.
5 And the daughter of Pharaoh came down to wash herself at the river; and her maidens walked along by the river's side; and when she saw the ark among the flags, she sent her maid to fetch it.
6 And when she had opened it, she saw the child: and, behold, the babe wept. And she had compassion on him, and said, This is one of the Hebrews' children.
7 Then said his sister to Pharaoh's daughter, Shall I go and call to thee a nurse of the Hebrew women, that she may nurse the child for thee?
8 And Pharaoh's daughter said to her, Go. And the maid went and called the child's mother.
9 And Pharaoh's daughter said unto her, Take this child away, and nurse it for me, and I will give thee thy wages. And the women took the child, and nursed it.
10 And the child grew, and she brought him unto Pharaoh's daughter, and he became her son. And she called his name Moses: and she said, Because I drew him out of the water.
11 And it came to pass in those days, when Moses was grown, that he went out unto his brethren, and looked on their burdens: and he spied an Egyptian smiting an Hebrew, one of his brethren.
12 And he looked this way and that way, and when he saw that there was no man, he slew the Egyptian, and hid him in the sand.
13 And when he went out the second day, behold, two men of the Hebrews strove together: and he said to him that did the wrong, Wherefore smitest thou thy fellow?
14 And he said, Who made thee a prince and a judge over us? intendest thou to kill me, as thou killedst the Egyptian? And Moses feared, and said, Surely this thing is known.
15 Now when Pharaoh heard this thing, he sought to slay Moses. But Moses fled from the face of Pharaoh, and dwelt in the land of Midian: and he sat down by a well.
16 Now the priest of Midian had seven daughters: and they came and drew water, and filled the troughs to water their father's flock.
17 And the shepherds came and drove them away: but Moses stood up and helped them, and watered their flock.
18 And when they came to Reuel their father, he said, How is it that ye are come so soon to day?
19 And they said, An Egyptian delivered us out of the hand of the shepherds, and also drew water enough for us, and watered the flock.
20 And he said unto his daughters, And where is he? why is it that ye have left the man? call him, that he may eat bread.
21 And Moses was content to dwell with the man: and he gave Moses Zipporah his daughter.
22 And she bare him a son, and he called his name Gershom: for he said, I have been a stranger in a strange land.
23 And it came to pass in process of time, that the king of Egypt died: and the children of Israel sighed by reason of the bondage, and they cried, and their cry came up unto God by reason of the bondage.
24 And God heard their groaning, and God remembered his covenant with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob.
25 And God looked upon the children of Israel, and God had respect unto them.

EXODUS CHAPTER 3

1 Now Moses kept the flock of Jethro his father in law, the priest of Midian: and he led the flock to the backside of the desert, and came to the mountain of God, even to Horeb.
2 And the angel of the LORD appeared unto him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush: and he looked, and, behold, the bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed.
3 And Moses said, I will now turn aside, and see this great sight, why the bush is not burnt.
4 And when the LORD saw that he turned aside to see, God called unto him out of the midst of the bush, and said, Moses, Moses. And he said, Here am I.
5 And he said, Draw not nigh hither: put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground.
6 Moreover he said, I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. And Moses hid his face; for he was afraid to look upon God.
7 And the LORD said, I have surely seen the affliction of my people which are in Egypt, and have heard their cry by reason of their taskmasters; for I know their sorrows;
8 And I am come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of that land unto a good land and a large, unto a land flowing with milk and honey; unto the place of the Canaanites, and the Hittites, and the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites.
9 Now therefore, behold, the cry of the children of Israel is come unto me: and I have also seen the oppression wherewith the Egyptians oppress them.
10 Come now therefore, and I will send thee unto Pharaoh, that thou mayest bring forth my people the children of Israel out of Egypt.
11 And Moses said unto God, Who am I, that I should go unto Pharaoh, and that I should bring forth the children of Israel out of Egypt?
12 And he said, Certainly I will be with thee; and this shall be a token unto thee, that I have sent thee: When thou hast brought forth the people out of Egypt, ye shall serve God upon this mountain.
13 And Moses said unto God, Behold, when I come unto the children of Israel, and shall say unto them, The God of your fathers hath sent me unto you; and they shall say to me, What is his name? what shall I say unto them?
14 And God said unto Moses, I AM THAT I AM: and he said, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you.
15 And God said moreover unto Moses, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, the LORD God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent me unto you: this is my name for ever, and this is my memorial unto all generations.
16 Go, and gather the elders of Israel together, and say unto them, The LORD God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, appeared unto me, saying, I have surely visited you, and seen that which is done to you in Egypt:
17 And I have said, I will bring you up out of the affliction of Egypt unto the land of the Canaanites, and the Hittites, and the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, unto a land flowing with milk and honey.
18 And they shall hearken to thy voice: and thou shalt come, thou and the elders of Israel, unto the king of Egypt, and ye shall say unto him, The LORD God of the Hebrews hath met with us: and now let us go, we beseech thee, three days' journey into the wilderness, that we may sacrifice to the LORD our God.
19 And I am sure that the king of Egypt will not let you go, no, not by a mighty hand.
20 And I will stretch out my hand, and smite Egypt with all my wonders which I will do in the midst thereof: and after that he will let you go.
21 And I will give this people favour in the sight of the Egyptians: and it shall come to pass, that, when ye go, ye shall not go empty.
22 But every woman shall borrow of her neighbour, and of her that sojourneth in her house, jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment: and ye shall put them upon your sons, and upon your daughters; and ye shall spoil the Egyptians.

EXODUS CHAPTER 4

1 And Moses answered and said, But, behold, they will not believe me, nor hearken unto my voice: for they will say, The LORD hath not appeared unto thee.
2 And the LORD said unto him, What is that in thine hand? And he said, A rod.
3 And he said, Cast it on the ground. And he cast it on the ground, and it became a serpent; and Moses fled from before it.
4 And the LORD said unto Moses, Put forth thine hand, and take it by the tail. And he put forth his hand, and caught it, and it became a rod in his hand:
5 That they may believe that the LORD God of their fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath appeared unto thee.
6 And the LORD said furthermore unto him, Put now thine hand into thy bosom. And he put his hand into his bosom: and when he took it out, behold, his hand was leprous as snow.

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7 And he said, Put thine hand into thy bosom again. And he put his hand into his bosom again; and plucked it out of his bosom, and, behold, it was turned again as his other flesh.

8 And it shall come to pass, if they will not believe thee, neither hearken to the voice of the first sign, that they will believe the voice of the latter sign.

9 And it shall come to pass, if they will not believe also these two signs, neither hearken unto thy voice, that thou shalt take of the water of the river, and pour it upon the dry land: and the water which thou takest out of the river shall become blood upon the dry land.

10 And Moses said unto the LORD, O my LORD, I am not eloquent, neither heretofore, nor since thou hast spoken unto thy servant: but I am slow of speech, and of a slow tongue.

11 And the LORD said unto him, Who hath made man's mouth? or who maketh the dumb, or deaf, or the seeing, or the blind? have not I the LORD?

12 Now therefore go, and I will be with thy mouth, and teach thee what thou shalt say.

13 And he said, O my LORD, send, I pray thee, by the hand of him whom thou wilt send.

14 And the anger of the LORD was kindled against Moses, and he said, Is not Aaron the Levite thy brother? I know that he can speak well. And also, behold, he cometh forth to meet thee: and when he seeth thee, he will be glad in his heart.

15 And thou shalt speak unto him, and put words in his mouth: and I will be with thy mouth, and with his mouth, and will teach you what ye shall do.

16 And he shall be thy spokesman unto the people: and he shall be, even he shall be to thee instead of a mouth, and thou shalt be to him instead of God.

17 And thou shalt take this rod in thine hand, wherewith thou shalt do signs.

18 And Moses went and returned to Jethro his father in law, and said unto him, Let me go, I pray thee, and return unto my brethren which are in Egypt, and see whether they be yet alive. And Jethro said to Moses, Go in peace.

19 And the LORD said unto Moses in Midian, Go, return into Egypt: for all the men are dead which sought thy life.

20 And Moses took his wife and his sons, and set them upon an ass, and he returned to the land of Egypt: and Moses took the rod of God in his hand.

21 And the LORD said unto Moses, When thou goest to return into Egypt, see that thou do all those wonders before Pharaoh, which I have put in thine hand: but I will harden his heart, that he shall not let the people go.

22 And thou shalt say unto Pharaoh, Thus saith the LORD, Israel is my son, even my firstborn:

23 And I say unto thee, Let my son go, that he may serve me: and if thou refuse to let him go, behold, I will slay thy son, even thy firstborn.

24 And it came to pass by the way in the inn, that the LORD met him, and sought to kill him.

25 Then Zipporah took a sharp stone, and cut off the foreskin of her son, and cast it at his feet, and said, Surely a bloody husband art thou to me.

26 So he let him go: then she said, A bloody husband thou art, because of the circumcision.

27 And the LORD said to Aaron, Go into the wilderness to meet Moses. And he went, and met him in the mount of God, and kissed him.

28 And Moses told Aaron all the words of the LORD who had sent him, and all the signs which he had commanded him.

29 And Moses and Aaron went and gathered together all the elders of the children of Israel:

30 And Aaron spake all the words which the LORD had spoken unto Moses, and did the signs in the sight of the people.

31 And the people believed: and when they heard that the LORD had visited the children of Israel, and that he had looked upon their affliction, then they bowed their heads and worshipped.

EXODUS CHAPTER 5

1 And afterward Moses and Aaron went in, and told Pharaoh, Thus saith the LORD God of Israel, Let my people go, that they may hold a feast unto me in the wilderness.

2 And Pharaoh said, Who is the LORD, that I should obey his voice to let Israel go? I know not the LORD, neither will I let Israel go.

3 And they said, The God of the Hebrews hath met with us: let us go, we pray thee, three days' journey into the desert, and sacrifice unto the LORD our God; lest he fall upon us with pestilence, or with the sword.

4 And the king of Egypt said unto them, Wherefore do ye, Moses and Aaron, let the people from their works? get you unto your burdens.

5 And Pharaoh said, Behold, the people of the land now are many, and ye make them rest from their burdens.

6 And Pharaoh commanded the same day the taskmasters of the people, and their officers, saying,

7 Ye shall no more give the people straw to make brick, as heretofore: let them go and gather straw for themselves.

8 And the tale of the bricks, which they did make heretofore, ye shall lay upon them; ye shall not diminish ought thereof: for they be idle; therefore they cry, saying, Let us go and sacrifice to our God.

9 Let there more work be laid upon the men, that they may labour therein; and let them not regard vain words.

10 And the taskmasters of the people went out, and their officers, and they spake to the people, saying, Thus saith Pharaoh, I will not give you straw.

11 Go ye, get you straw where ye can find it: yet not ought of your work shall be diminished.

12 So the people were scattered abroad throughout all the land of Egypt to gather stubble instead of straw.

13 And the taskmasters hasted them, saying, Fulfil your works, your daily tasks, as when there was straw.

14 And the officers of the children of Israel, which Pharaoh's taskmasters had set over them, were beaten, and demanded, Wherefore have ye not fulfilled your task in making brick both yesterday and to day, as heretofore?

15 Then the officers of the children of Israel came and cried unto Pharaoh, saying, Wherefore dealest thou thus with thy servants?

16 There is no straw given unto thy servants, and they say to us, Make brick: and, behold, thy servants are beaten; but the fault is in thine own people.

17 But he said, Ye are idle, ye are idle: therefore ye say, Let us go and do sacrifice to the LORD.

18 Go therefore now, and work; for there shall no straw be given you, yet shall ye deliver the tale of bricks.

19 And the officers of the children of Israel did see that they were in evil case, after it was said, Ye shall not minish ought from your bricks of your daily task.

20 And they met Moses and Aaron, who stood in the way, as they came forth from Pharaoh:

21 And they said unto them, The LORD look upon you, and judge; because ye have made our savour to be abhorred in the eyes of Pharaoh, and in the eyes of his servants, to put a sword in their hand to slay us.

22 And Moses returned unto the LORD, and said, LORD, wherefore hast thou so evil entreated this people? why is it that thou hast sent me?

23 For since I came to Pharaoh to speak in thy name, he hath done evil to this people; neither hast thou delivered thy people at all.

EXODUS CHAPTER 6

1 Then the LORD said unto Moses, Now shalt thou see what I will do to Pharaoh: for with a strong hand shall he let them go, and with a strong hand shall he drive them out of his land.

2 And God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I am the LORD:

3 And I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by the name of God Almighty, but by my name JEHOVAH was I not known to them.

4 And I have also established my covenant with them, to give them the land of Canaan, the land of their pilgrimage, wherein they were strangers.

5 And I have also heard the groaning of the children of Israel, whom the Egyptians keep in bondage; and I have remembered my covenant.

6 Wherefore say unto the children of Israel, I am the LORD, and I will bring you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians, and I will rid you out of their bondage, and I will redeem you with a stretched out arm, and with great judgements:

7 And I will take you to me for a people, and I will be to you a God: and ye shall know that I am the LORD your God, which bringeth you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians.

8 And I will bring you in unto the land, concerning the which I did swear to give it to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob; and I will give it you for an heritage: I am the LORD.

9 And Moses spake so unto the children of Israel: but they hearkened not unto Moses for anguish of spirit, and for cruel bondage.

10 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

11 Go in, speak unto Pharaoh king of Egypt, that he let the children of Israel go out of his land.

12 And Moses spake before the LORD, saying, Behold, the children of Israel have not hearkened unto me; how then shall Pharaoh hear me, who am of uncircumcised lips?

13 And the LORD spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, and gave them a charge unto the children of Israel, and unto Pharaoh king of Egypt, to bring the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt.

14 These be the heads of their fathers' houses: The sons of Reuben the firstborn of Israel; Hanoch, and Pallu, Hezron, and Carmi: these be the families of Reuben.

15 And the sons of Simeon; Jemuel, and Jamin, and Ohad, and Jachin, and Zohar, and Shaul the son of a Canaanitish woman: these are the families of Simeon.

16 And these are the names of the sons of Levi according to their generations; Gershon, and Kohath, and Merari: and the years of the life of Levi were an hundred thirty and seven years.

17 The sons of Gershon; Libni, and Shimi, according to their families.

18 And the sons of Kohath; Amram, and Izhar, and Hebron, and Uzziel: and the years of the life of Kohath were an hundred thirty and three years.

19 And the sons of Merari; Mahali and Mushi: these are the families of Levi according to their generations.

20 And Amram took him Jochebed his father's sister to wife; and she bare him Aaron and Moses: and the years of the life of Amram were an hundred and thirty and seven years.

21 And the sons of Izhar; Korah, and Nepheg, and Zichri.

22 And the sons of Uzziel; Mishael, and Elzaphan, and Zithri.

23 And Aaron took him Elisheba, daughter of Amminadab, sister of Naashon, to wife; and she bare him Nadab, and Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar.

24 And the sons of Korah; Assir, and Elkanah, and Abiasaph: these are the families of the Korhites.

25 And Eleazar Aaron's son took him one of the daughters of Putiel to wife; and she bare him Phinehas: these are the heads of the fathers of the Levites according to their families.

26 These are that Aaron and Moses, to whom the LORD said, Bring out the children of Israel from the land of Egypt according to their armies.

27 These are they which spake to Pharaoh king of Egypt, to bring out the children of Israel from Egypt: these are that Moses and Aaron.

28 And it came to pass on the day when the LORD spake unto Moses in the land of Egypt,

29 That the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, I am the LORD: speak thou unto Pharaoh king of Egypt all that I say unto thee.

30 And Moses said before the LORD, Behold, I am of uncircumcised lips, and how shall Pharaoh hearken unto me?

EXODUS CHAPTER 7

1 And the LORD said unto Moses, See, I have made thee a god to Pharaoh: and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet.

2 Thou shalt speak all that I command thee: and Aaron thy brother shall speak unto Pharaoh, that he send the children of Israel out of his land.

3 And I will harden Pharaoh's heart, and multiply my signs and my wonders in the land of Egypt.

4 But Pharaoh shall not hearken unto you, that I may lay my hand upon Egypt, and bring forth mine armies, and my people the children of Israel, out of the land of Egypt by great judgements.

5 And the Egyptians shall know that I am the LORD, when I stretch forth mine hand upon Egypt, and bring out the children of Israel from among them.

6 And Moses and Aaron did as the LORD commanded them, so did they.

7 And Moses was fourscore years old, and Aaron fourscore and three years old, when they spake unto Pharaoh.

8 And the LORD spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying,

9 When Pharaoh shall speak unto you, saying, Shew a miracle for you: then thou shalt say unto Aaron, Take thy rod, and cast it before Pharaoh, and it shall become a serpent.

10 And Moses and Aaron went in unto Pharaoh, and they did so as the LORD had commanded: and Aaron cast down his rod before Pharaoh, and before his servants, and it became a serpent.

11 Then Pharaoh also called the wise men and the sorcerers: now the magicians of Egypt, they also did in like manner with their enchantments.

12 For they cast down every man his rod, and they became serpents: but Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods.

13 And he hardened Pharaoh's heart, that he hearkened not unto them; as the LORD had said.

14 And the LORD said unto Moses, Pharaoh's heart is hardened, he refuseth to let the people go.

15 Get thee unto Pharaoh in the morning; lo, he goeth out unto the water; and thou shalt stand by the river's brink against he come; and the rod which was turned to a serpent shalt thou take in thine hand.

16 And thou shalt say unto him, The LORD God of the Hebrews hath sent me unto thee, saying, Let my people go, that they may serve me in the wilderness: and, behold, hitherto thou wouldest not hear.

17 Thus saith the LORD, In this thou shalt know that I am the LORD: behold, I will smite with the rod that is in mine hand upon the waters which are in the river, and they shall be turned to blood.

18 And the fish that is in the river shall die, and the river shall stink; and the Egyptians shall lothe to drink of the water of the river.

19 And the LORD spake unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, Take thy rod, and stretch out thine hand upon the waters of Egypt, upon their streams, upon their rivers, and upon their ponds, and upon all their pools of water, that they may become blood; and that there may be blood throughout all the land of Egypt, both in vessels of wood, and in vessels of stone.

20 And Moses and Aaron did so, as the LORD commanded; and he lifted up the rod, and smote the waters that were in the

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river, in the sight of Pharaoh, and in the sight of his servants; and all the waters that were in the river were turned to blood.
21 And the fish that was in the river died; and the river stank, and the Egyptians could not drink of the water of the river; and there was blood throughout all the land of Egypt.
22 And the magicians of Egypt did so with their enchantments: and Pharaoh's heart was hardened, neither did he hearken unto them; as the LORD had said.
23 And Pharaoh turned and went into his house, neither did he set his heart to this also.
24 And all the Egyptians digged round about the river for water to drink; for they could not drink of the water of the river.
25 And seven days were fulfilled, after that the LORD had smitten the river.

EXODUS CHAPTER 8
1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, Go unto Pharaoh, and say unto him, Thus saith the LORD, Let my people go, that they may serve me.
2 And if thou refuse to let them go, behold, I will smite all thy borders with frogs:
3 And the river shall bring forth frogs abundantly, which shall go up and come into thine house, and into thy bedchamber, and upon thy bed, and into the house of thy servants, and upon thy people, and into thine ovens, and into thy kneadingtroughs:
4 And the frogs shall come up both on thee, and upon thy people, and upon all thy servants.
5 And the LORD spake unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, Stretch forth thine hand with thy rod over the streams, over the rivers, and over the ponds, and cause frogs to come up upon the land of Egypt.
6 And Aaron stretched out his hand over the waters of Egypt; and the frogs came up, and covered the land of Egypt.
7 And the magicians did so with their enchantments, and brought up frogs upon the land of Egypt.
8 Then Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron, and said, Intreat the LORD, that he may take away the frogs from me, and from my people; and I will let the people go, that they may do sacrifice unto the LORD.
9 And Moses said unto Pharaoh, Glory over me: when shall I intreat for thee, and for thy servants, and for thy people, to destroy the frogs from thee and thy houses, that they may remain in the river only?
10 And he said, To morrow. And he said, Be it according to thy word: that thou mayest know that there is none like unto the LORD our God.
11 And the frogs shall depart from thee, and from thy houses, and from thy servants, and from thy people; they shall remain in the river only.
12 And Moses and Aaron went out from Pharaoh: and Moses cried unto the LORD because of the frogs which he had brought against Pharaoh.
13 And the LORD did according to the word of Moses; and the frogs died out of the houses, out of the villages, and out of the fields.
14 And they gathered them together upon heaps: and the land stank.
15 But when Pharaoh saw that there was respite, he hardened his heart, and hearkened not unto them; as the LORD had said.
16 And the LORD said unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, Stretch out thy rod, and smite the dust of the land, that it may become lice throughout all the land of Egypt.
17 And they did so; for Aaron stretched out his hand with his rod, and smote the dust of the earth, and it became lice in man, and in beast; all the dust of the land became lice throughout all the land of Egypt.
18 And the magicians did so with their enchantments to bring forth lice, but they could not: so there were lice upon man, and upon beast.
19 Then the magicians said unto Pharaoh, This is the finger of God: and Pharaoh's heart was hardened, and he hearkened not unto them; as the LORD had said.
20 And the LORD said unto Moses, Rise up early in the morning, and stand before Pharaoh; lo, he cometh forth to the water; and say unto him, Thus saith the LORD, Let my people go, that they may serve me.
21 Else, if thou wilt not let my people go, behold, I will send swarms of flies upon thee, and upon thy servants, and upon thy people, and into thy houses: and the houses of the Egyptians shall be full of swarms of flies, and also the ground whereon they are.
22 And I will sever in that day the land of Goshen, in which my people dwell, that no swarms of flies shall be there; to the end thou mayest know that I am the LORD in the midst of the earth.
23 And I will put a division between my people and thy people: to morrow shall this sign be.
24 And the LORD did so; and there came a grievous swarm of flies into the house of Pharaoh, and into his servants' houses, and into all the land of Egypt: the land was corrupted by reason of the swarm of flies.
25 And Pharaoh called for Moses and for Aaron, and said, Go ye, sacrifice to your God in the land.
26 And Moses said, It is not meet so to do; for we shall sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians to the LORD our God: lo, shall we sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians before their eyes, and will they not stone us?
27 We will go three days' journey into the wilderness, and sacrifice to the LORD our God, as he shall command us.
28 And Pharaoh said, I will let you go, that ye may sacrifice to the LORD your God in the wilderness; only ye shall not go very far away: intreat for me.
29 And Moses said, Behold, I go out from thee, and I will intreat the LORD that the swarms of flies may depart from Pharaoh, from his servants, and from his people, to morrow: but let not Pharaoh deal deceitfully any more in not letting the people go to sacrifice to the LORD.
30 And Moses went out from Pharaoh, and intreated the LORD.
31 And the LORD did according to the word of Moses; and he removed the swarms of flies from Pharaoh, from his servants, and from his people; there remained not one.
32 And Pharaoh hardened his heart at this time also, neither would he let the people go.

EXODUS CHAPTER 9
1 Then the LORD said unto Moses, Go in unto Pharaoh, and tell him, Thus saith the LORD God of the Hebrews, Let my people go, that they may serve me.
2 For if thou refuse to let them go, and wilt hold them still,
3 Behold, the hand of the LORD is upon thy cattle which is in the field, upon the horses, upon the asses, upon the camels, upon the oxen, and upon the sheep: there shall be a very grievous murrain.
4 And the LORD shall sever between the cattle of Israel and the cattle of Egypt: and there shall nothing die of all that is the children's of Israel.
5 And the LORD appointed a set time, saying, To morrow the LORD shall do this thing in the land.
6 And the LORD did that thing on the morrow, and all the cattle of Egypt died: but of the cattle of the children of Israel died not one.
7 And Pharaoh sent, and, behold, there was not one of the cattle of the Israelites dead. And the heart of Pharaoh was hardened, and he did not let the people go.
8 And the LORD said unto Moses and unto Aaron, Take to you handfuls of ashes of the furnace, and let Moses sprinkle it toward the heaven in the sight of Pharaoh.
9 And it shall become small dust in all the land of Egypt, and shall be a boil breaking forth with blains upon man, and upon beast, throughout all the land of Egypt.
10 And they took ashes of the furnace, and stood before Pharaoh; and Moses sprinkled it up toward heaven; and it became a boil breaking forth with blains upon man, and upon beast.
11 And the magicians could not stand before Moses because of the boils; for the boil was upon the magicians, and upon all the Egyptians.
12 And the LORD hardened the heart of Pharaoh, and he hearkened not unto them; as the LORD had spoken unto Moses.
13 And the LORD said unto Moses, Rise up early in the morning, and stand before Pharaoh, and say unto him, Thus saith the LORD God of the Hebrews, Let my people go, that they may serve me.
14 For I will at this time send all my plagues upon thine heart, and upon thy servants, and upon thy people; that thou mayest know that there is none like me in all the earth.
15 For now I will stretch out my hand, that I may smite thee and thy people with pestilence; and thou shalt be cut off from the earth.
16 And in very deed for this cause have I raised thee up, for to shew in thee my power; and that my name may be declared throughout all the earth.
17 As yet exaltest thou thyself against my people, that thou wilt not let them go?
18 Behold, to morrow about this time I will cause it to rain a very grievous hail, such as hath not been in Egypt since the foundation thereof even until now.
19 Send therefore now, and gather thy cattle, and all that thou hast in the field; for upon every man and beast which shall be found in the field, and shall not be brought home, the hail shall come down upon them, and they shall die.
20 He that feared the word of the LORD among the servants of Pharaoh made his servants and his cattle flee into the houses:
21 And he that regarded not the word of the LORD left his servants and his cattle in the field.
22 And the LORD said unto Moses, Stretch forth thine hand toward heaven, that there may be hail in all the land of Egypt, upon man, and upon beast, and upon every herb of the field, throughout the land of Egypt.
23 And Moses stretched forth his rod toward heaven: and the LORD sent thunder and hail, and the fire ran along upon the ground; and the LORD rained hail upon the land of Egypt.
24 So there was hail, and fire mingled with the hail, very grievous, such as there was none like it in all the land of Egypt since it became a nation.
25 And the hail smote throughout all the land of Egypt all that was in the field, both man and beast; and the hail smote every herb of the field, and brake every tree of the field.
26 Only in the land of Goshen, where the children of Israel were, was there no hail.
27 And Pharaoh sent, and called for Moses and Aaron, and said unto them, I have sinned this time: the LORD is righteous, and I and my people are wicked.
28 Intreat the LORD (for it is enough) that there be no more mighty thunderings and hail; and I will let you go, and ye shall stay no longer.
29 And Moses said unto him, As soon as I am gone out of the city, I will spread abroad my hands unto the LORD; and the thunder shall cease, neither shall there be any more hail; that thou mayest know how that the earth is the LORD's.
30 But as for thee and thy servants, I know that ye will not yet fear the LORD God.
31 And the flax and the barley was smitten: for the barley was in the ear, and the flax was bolled.
32 But the wheat and the rie were not smitten: for they were not grown up.
33 And Moses went out of the city from Pharaoh, and spread abroad his hands unto the LORD: and the thunders and hail ceased, and the rain was not poured upon the earth.
34 And when Pharaoh saw that the rain and the hail and the thunders were ceased, he sinned yet more, and hardened his heart, he and his servants.
35 And the heart of Pharaoh was hardened, neither would he let the children of Israel go; as the LORD had spoken by Moses.

EXODUS CHAPTER 10
1 And the LORD said unto Moses, Go in unto Pharaoh: for I have hardened his heart, and the heart of his servants, that I might shew these my signs before him:
2 And that thou mayest tell in the ears of thy son, and of thy son's son, what things I have wrought in Egypt, and my signs which I have done among them; that ye may know how that I am the LORD.
3 And Moses and Aaron came in unto Pharaoh, and said unto him, Thus saith the LORD God of the Hebrews, How long wilt thou refuse to humble thyself before me? let my people go, that they may serve me.
4 Else, if thou refuse to let my people go, behold, to morrow will I bring the locusts into thy coast:
5 And they shall cover the face of the earth, that one cannot be able to see the earth: and they shall eat the residue of that which is escaped, which remaineth unto you from the hail, and shall eat every tree which groweth for you out of the field:
6 And they shall fill thy houses, and the houses of all thy servants, and the houses of all the Egyptians; which neither thy fathers, nor thy fathers' fathers have seen, since the day that they were upon the earth unto this day. And he turned himself, and went out from Pharaoh.
7 And Pharaoh's servants said unto him, How long shall this man be a snare unto us? let the men go, that they may serve the LORD their God: knowest thou not yet that Egypt is destroyed?
8 And Moses and Aaron were brought again unto Pharaoh: and he said unto them, Go, serve the LORD your God: but who are they that shall go?
9 And Moses said, We will go with our young and with our old, with our sons and with our daughters, with our flocks and with our herds will we go; for we must hold a feast unto the LORD.
10 And he said unto them, Let the LORD be so with you, as I will let you go, and your little ones: look to it; for evil is before you.
11 Not so: go now ye that are men, and serve the LORD; for that ye did desire. And they were driven out from Pharaoh's presence.
12 And the LORD said unto Moses, Stretch out thine hand over the land of Egypt for the locusts, that they may come up upon the land of Egypt, and eat every herb of the land, even all that the hail hath left.
13 And Moses stretched forth his rod over the land of Egypt, and the LORD brought an east wind upon the land all that day, and all that night; and when it was morning, the east wind brought the locusts.
14 And the locust went up over all the land of Egypt, and rested in all the coasts of Egypt: very grievous were they; before them there were no such locusts as they, neither after them shall be such.
15 For they covered the face of the whole earth, so that the land was darkened; and they did eat every herb of the land, and all the fruit of the trees which the hail had left: and there remained not any green thing in the trees, or in the herbs of the field, through all the land of Egypt.

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16 Then Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron in haste; and he said, I have sinned against the LORD your God, and against you.
17 Now therefore forgive, I pray thee, my sin only this once, and intreat the LORD your God, that he may take away from me this death only.
18 And he went out from Pharaoh, and intreated the LORD.
19 And the LORD turned a mighty strong west wind, which took away the locusts, and cast them into the Red sea; there remained not one locust in all the coasts of Egypt.
20 But the LORD hardened Pharaoh's heart, so that he would not let the children of Israel go.
21 And the LORD said unto Moses, Stretch out thine hand toward heaven, that there may be darkness over the land of Egypt, even darkness which may be felt.
22 And Moses stretched forth his hand toward heaven; and there was a thick darkness in all the land of Egypt three days:
23 They saw not one another, neither rose any from his place for three days: but all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings.
24 And Pharaoh called unto Moses, and said, Go ye, serve the LORD; only let your flocks and your herds be stayed: let your little ones also go with you.
25 And Moses said, Thou must give us also sacrifices and burnt offerings, that we may sacrifice unto the LORD our God.
26 Our cattle also shall go with us; there shall not an hoof be left behind; for thereof must we take to serve the LORD our God; and we know not with what we must serve the LORD, until we come thither.
27 But the LORD hardened Pharaoh's heart, and he would not let them go.
28 And Pharaoh said unto him, Get thee from me, take heed to thyself, see my face no more; for in that day thou seest my face thou shalt die.
29 And Moses said, Thou hast spoken well, I will see thy face again no more.

EXODUS CHAPTER 11

1 And the LORD said unto Moses, Yet will I bring one plague more upon Pharaoh, and upon Egypt; afterwards he will let you go hence: when he shall let you go, he shall surely thrust you out hence altogether.
2 Speak now in the ears of the people, and let every man borrow of his neighbour, and every woman of her neighbour, jewels of silver and jewels of gold.
3 And the LORD gave the people favour in the sight of the Egyptians. Moreover the man Moses was very great in the land of Egypt, in the sight of Pharaoh's servants, and in the sight of the people.
4 And Moses said, Thus saith the LORD, About midnight will I go out into the midst of Egypt:
5 And all the firstborn in the land of Egypt shall die, from the first born of Pharaoh that sitteth upon his throne, even unto the firstborn of the maidservant that is behind the mill; and all the firstborn of beasts.
6 And there shall be a great cry throughout all the land of Egypt, such as there was none like it, nor shall be like it any more.
7 But against any of the children of Israel shall not a dog move his tongue, against man or beast: that ye may know how that the LORD doth put a difference between the Egyptians and Israel.
8 And all these thy servants shall come down unto me, and bow down themselves unto me, saying, Get thee out, and all the people that follow thee: and after that I will go out. And he went out from Pharaoh in a great anger.
9 And the LORD said unto Moses, Pharaoh shall not hearken unto you; that my wonders may be multiplied in the land of Egypt.
10 And Moses and Aaron did all these wonders before Pharaoh: and the LORD hardened Pharaoh's heart, so that he would not let the children of Israel go out of his land.

EXODUS CHAPTER 12

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses and Aaron in the land of Egypt saying,
2 This month shall be unto you the beginning of months: it shall be the first month of the year to you.
3 Speak ye unto all the congregation of Israel, saying, In the tenth day of this month they shall take to them every man a lamb, according to the house of their fathers, a lamb for an house:
4 And if the household be too little for the lamb, let him and his neighbour next unto his house take it according to the number of the souls; every man according to his eating shall make your count for the lamb.
5 Your lamb shall be without blemish, a male of the first year: ye shall take it out from the sheep, or from the goats:
6 And ye shall keep it up until the fourteenth day of the same month: and the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel shall kill it in the evening.
7 And they shall take of the blood, and strike it on the two side posts and on the upper door post of the houses, wherein they shall eat it.
8 And they shall eat the flesh in that night, roast with fire, and unleavened bread; and with bitter herbs they shall eat it.
9 Eat not of it raw, nor sodden at all with water, but roast with fire; his head with his legs, and with the purtenance thereof.
10 And ye shall let nothing of it remain until the morning; and that which remaineth of it until the morning ye shall burn with fire.
11 And thus shall ye eat it; with your loins girded, your shoes on your feet, and your staff in your hand; and ye shall eat it in haste: it is the LORD's passover.
12 For I will pass through the land of Egypt this night, and will smite all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, both man and beast; and against all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgement: I am the LORD.
13 And the blood shall be to you for a token upon the houses where ye are: and when I see the blood, I will pass over you, and the plague shall not be upon you to destroy you, when I smite the land of Egypt.
14 And this day shall be unto you for a memorial; and ye shall keep it a feast to the LORD throughout your generations; ye shall keep it a feast by an ordinance for ever.
15 Seven days shall ye eat unleavened bread; even the first day ye shall put away leaven out of your houses: for whosoever eateth leavened bread from the first day until the seventh day, that soul shall be cut off from Israel.
16 And in the first day there shall be an holy convocation, and in the seventh day there shall be an holy convocation to you; no manner of work shall be done in them, save that which every man must eat, that only may be done of you.
17 And ye shall observe the feast of unleavened bread; for in this selfsame day have I brought your armies out of the land of Egypt: therefore shall ye observe this day in your generations by an ordinance for ever.
18 In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month at even, ye shall eat unleavened bread, until the one and twentieth day of the month at even.
19 Seven days shall there be no leaven found in your houses: for whosoever eateth that which is leavened, even that soul shall be cut off from the congregation of Israel, whether he be a stranger, or born in the land.
20 Ye shall eat nothing leavened; in all your habitations shall ye eat unleavened bread.
21 Then Moses called for all the elders of Israel, and said unto them, Draw out and take you a lamb according to your families, and kill the passover.
22 And ye shall take a bunch of hyssop, and dip it in the blood that is in the bason, and strike the lintel and the two side posts with the blood that is in the bason; and none of you shall go out at the door of his house until the morning.
23 For the LORD will pass through to smite the Egyptians; and when he seeth the blood upon the lintel, and on the two side posts, the LORD will pass over the door, and will not suffer the destroyer to come in unto your houses to smite you.
24 And ye shall observe this thing for an ordinance to thee and to thy sons for ever.
25 And it shall come to pass, when ye be come to the land which the LORD will give you, according as he hath promised, that ye shall keep this service.
26 And it shall come to pass, when your children shall say unto you, What mean ye by this service?
27 That ye shall say, It is the sacrifice of the LORD's passover, who passed over the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt, when he smote the Egyptians, and delivered our houses. And the people bowed the head and worshipped.
28 And the children of Israel went away, and did as the LORD had commanded Moses and Aaron, so did they.
29 And it came to pass, that at midnight the LORD smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, from the firstborn of Pharaoh that sat on his throne unto the firstborn of the captive that was in the dungeon; and all the firstborn of cattle.
30 And Pharaoh rose up in the night, he, and all his servants, and all the Egyptians; and there was a great cry in Egypt; for there was not a house where there was not one dead.
31 And he called for Moses and Aaron by night, and said, Rise up, and get you forth from among my people, both ye and the children of Israel; and go, serve the LORD, as ye have said.
32 Also take your flocks and your herds, as ye have said, and be gone; and bless me also.
33 And the Egyptians were urgent upon the people, that they might send them out of the land in haste; for they said, We be all dead men.
34 And the people took their dough before it was leavened, their kneadingtroughs being bound up in their clothes upon their shoulders.
35 And the children of Israel did according to the word of Moses; and they borrowed of the Egyptians jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment:
36 And the LORD gave the people favour in the sight of the Egyptians, so that they lent unto them such things as they required. And they spoiled the Egyptians.
37 And the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses to Succoth, about six hundred thousand on foot that were men, beside children.
38 And a mixed multitude went up also with them; and flocks, and herds, even very much cattle.
39 And they baked unleavened cakes of the dough which they brought forth out of Egypt, for it was not leavened; because they were thrust out of Egypt, and could not tarry, neither had they prepared for themselves any victual.
40 Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years.
41 And it came to pass at the end of the four hundred and thirty years, even the selfsame day it came to pass, that all the hosts of the LORD went out from the land of Egypt.
42 It is a night to be much observed unto the LORD for bringing them out from the land of Egypt: this is that night of the LORD to be observed of all the children of Israel in their generations.
43 And the LORD said unto Moses and Aaron, This is the ordinance of the passover: There shall no stranger eat thereof:
44 But every man's servant that is bought for money, when thou hast circumcised him, then shall he eat thereof.
45 A foreigner and an hired servant shall not eat thereof.
46 In one house shall it be eaten; thou shalt not carry forth ought of the flesh abroad out of the house; neither shall ye break a bone thereof.
47 All the congregation of Israel shall keep it.
48 And when a stranger shall sojourn with thee, and will keep the passover to the LORD, let all his males be circumcised, and then let him come near and keep it; and he shall be as one that is born in the land: for no uncircumcised person shall eat thereof.
49 One law shall be to him that is homeborn, and unto the stranger that sojourneth among you.
50 Thus did all the children of Israel; as the LORD commanded Moses and Aaron, so did they.
51 And it came to pass the selfsame day, that the LORD did bring the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt by their armies.

EXODUS CHAPTER 13

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 Sanctify unto me all the firstborn, whatsoever openeth the womb among the children of Israel, both of man and of beast: it is mine.
3 And Moses said unto the people, Remember this day, in which ye came out from Egypt, out of the house of bondage; for by strength of hand the LORD brought you out from this place: there shall no leavened bread be eaten.
4 This day came ye out in the month Abib.
5 And it shall be when the LORD shall bring thee into the land of the Canaanites, and the Hittites, and the Amorites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, which he sware unto thy fathers to give thee, a land flowing with milk and honey, that thou shalt keep this service in this month.
6 Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, and in the seventh day shall be a feast to the LORD.
7 Unleavened bread shall be eaten seven days; and there shall no leavened bread be seen with thee, neither shall there be leaven seen with thee in all thy quarters.
8 And thou shalt shew thy son in that day, saying, This is done because of that which the LORD did unto me when I came forth out of Egypt.
9 And it shall be for a sign unto thee upon thine hand, and for a memorial between thine eyes, that the LORD's law may be in thy mouth: for with a strong hand hath the LORD brought thee out of Egypt.
10 Thou shalt therefore keep this ordinance in his season from year to year.
11 And it shall be when the LORD shall bring thee into the land of the Canaanites, as he sware unto thee and to thy fathers, and shall give it thee,
12 That thou shalt set apart unto the LORD all that openeth the matrix, and every firstling that cometh of a beast which thou hast; the males shall be the LORD's.
13 And every firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem with a lamb; and if thou wilt not redeem it, then thou shalt break his neck: and all the firstborn of man among thy children shalt thou redeem.
14 And it shall be when thy son asketh thee in time to come, saying, What is this? that thou shalt say unto him, By strength of hand the LORD brought us out from Egypt, from the house of bondage:
15 And it came to pass, when Pharaoh would hardly let us go, that the LORD slew all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, both the firstborn of man, and the firstborn of beast: therefore I sacrifice to the LORD all that openeth the matrix, being males; but all the firstborn of my children I redeem.
16 And it shall be for a token upon thine hand, and for frontlets between thine eyes: for by strength of hand the LORD brought us forth out of Egypt.

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17 And it came to pass, when Pharaoh had let the people go, that God led them not through the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near; for God said, Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt:

18 But God led the people about, through the way of the wilderness of the Red sea: and the children of Israel went up harnessed out of the land of Egypt.

19 And Moses took the bones of Joseph with him: for he had straitly sworn the children of Israel, saying, God will surely visit you; and ye shall carry up my bones away hence with you.

20 And they took their journey from Succoth, and encamped in Etham, in the edge of the wilderness.

21 And the LORD went before them by day in a pillar of a cloud, to lead them the way; and by night in a pillar of fire, to give them light; to go by day and night:

22 He took not away the pillar of the cloud by day, nor the pillar of fire by night, from before the people.

EXODUS CHAPTER 14

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

2 Speak unto the children of Israel, that they turn and encamp before Pihahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baalzephon: before it shall ye encamp by the sea.

3 For Pharaoh will say of the children of Israel, They are entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in.

4 And I will harden Pharaoh's heart, that he shall follow after them; and I will be honoured upon Pharaoh, and upon all his host; that the Egyptians may know that I am the LORD. And they did so.

5 And it was told the king of Egypt that the people fled: and the heart of Pharaoh and of his servants was turned against the people, and they said, Why have we done this, that we have let Israel go from serving us?

6 And he made ready his chariot, and took his people with him:

7 And he took six hundred chosen chariots, and all the chariots of Egypt, and captains over every one of them.

8 And the LORD hardened the heart of Pharaoh king of Egypt, and he pursued after the children of Israel: and the children of Israel went out with an high hand.

9 But the Egyptians pursued after them, all the horses and chariots of Pharaoh, and his horsemen, and his army, and overtook them encamping by the sea, beside Pihahiroth, before Baalzephon.

10 And when Pharaoh drew nigh, the children of Israel lifted up their eyes, and, behold, the Egyptians marched after them; and they were sore afraid: and the children of Israel cried out unto the LORD.

11 And they said unto Moses, Because there were no graves in Egypt, hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness? wherefore hast thou dealt thus with us, to carry us forth out of Egypt?

12 Is not this the word that we did tell thee in Egypt, saying, Let us alone, that we may serve the Egyptians? For it had been better for us to serve the Egyptians, than that we should die in the wilderness.

13 And Moses said unto the people, Fear ye not, stand still, and see the salvation of the LORD, which he will shew to you to day: for the Egyptians whom ye have seen to day, ye shall see them again no more for ever.

14 The LORD shall fight for you, and ye shall hold your peace.

15 And the LORD said unto Moses, Wherefore criest thou unto me? speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward:

16 But lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thine hand over the sea, and divide it: and the children of Israel shall go on dry ground through the midst of the sea.

17 And I, behold, I will harden the hearts of the Egyptians, and they shall follow them: and I will get me honour upon Pharaoh, and upon all his host, upon his chariots, and upon his horsemen.

18 And the Egyptians shall know that I am the LORD, when I have gotten me honour upon Pharaoh, upon his chariots, and upon his horsemen.

19 And the angel of God, which went before the camp of Israel, removed and went behind them; and the pillar of the cloud went from before their face, and stood behind them:

20 And it came between the camp of the Egyptians and the camp of Israel; and it was a cloud and darkness to them, but it gave light by night to these: so that the one came not near the other all the night.

21 And Moses stretched out his hand over the sea; and the LORD caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that night, and made the sea dry land, and the waters were divided.

22 And the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon the dry ground: and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left.

23 And the Egyptians pursued, and went in after them to the midst of the sea, even all Pharaoh's horses, his chariots, and his horsemen.

24 And it came to pass, that in the morning watch the LORD looked unto the host of the Egyptians through the pillar of fire and of the cloud, and troubled the host of the Egyptians,

25 And took off their chariot wheels, that they drave them heavily: so that the Egyptians said, Let us flee from the face of Israel; for the LORD fighteth for them against the Egyptians.

26 And the LORD said unto Moses, Stretch out thine hand over the sea, that the waters may come again upon the Egyptians, upon their chariots, and upon their horsemen.

27 And Moses stretched forth his hand over the sea, and the sea returned to his strength when the morning appeared; and the Egyptians fled against it; and the LORD overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea.

28 And the waters returned, and covered the chariots, and the horsemen, and all the host of Pharaoh that came into the sea after them; there remained not so much as one of them.

29 But the children of Israel walked upon dry land in the midst of the sea; and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left.

30 Thus the LORD saved Israel that day out of the hand of the Egyptians; and Israel saw the Egyptians dead upon the sea shore.

31 And Israel saw that great work which the LORD did upon the Egyptians: and the people feared the LORD, and believed the LORD, and his servant Moses.

EXODUS CHAPTER 15

1 Then sang Moses and the children of Israel this song unto the LORD, and spake, saying, I will sing unto the LORD, for he hath triumphed gloriously: the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.

2 The LORD is my strength and song, and he is become my salvation: he is my God, and I will prepare him an habitation; my father's God, and I will exalt him.

3 The LORD is a man of war: the LORD is his name.

4 Pharaoh's chariots and his host hath he cast into the sea: his chosen captains also are drowned in the Red sea.

5 The depths have covered them: they sank into the bottom as a stone.

6 Thy right hand, O LORD, is become glorious in power: thy right hand, O LORD, hath dashed in pieces the enemy.

7 And in the greatness of thine excellency thou hast overthrown them that rose up against thee: thou sentest forth thy wrath, which consumed them as stubble.

8 And with the blast of thy nostrils the waters were gathered together, the floods stood upright as an heap, and the depths were congealed in the heart of the sea.

9 The enemy said, I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the spoil; my lust shall be satisfied upon them; I will draw my sword, my hand shall destroy them.

10 Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them: they sank as lead in the mighty waters.

11 Who is like unto thee, O LORD, among the gods? who is like thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders?

12 Thou stretchedst out thy right hand, the earth swallowed them.

13 Thou in thy mercy hast led forth the people which thou hast redeemed: thou hast guided them in thy strength unto thy holy habitation.

14 The people shall hear, and be afraid: sorrow shall take hold on the inhabitants of Palestina.

15 Then the dukes of Edom shall be amazed; the mighty men of Moab, trembling shall take hold upon them; all the inhabitants of Canaan shall melt away.

16 Fear and dread shall fall upon them; by the greatness of thine arm they shall be as still as a stone; till thy people pass over, O LORD, till the people pass over, which thou hast purchased.

17 Thou shalt bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance, in the place, O LORD, which thou hast made for thee to dwell in, in the Sanctuary, O LORD, which thy hands have established.

18 The LORD shall reign for ever and ever.

19 For the horse of Pharaoh went in with his chariots and with his horsemen into the sea, and the LORD brought again the waters of the sea upon them; but the children of Israel went on dry land in the midst of the sea.

20 And Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand; and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with dances.

21 And Miriam answered them, Sing ye to the LORD, for he hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.

22 So Moses brought Israel from the Red sea, and they went out into the wilderness of Shur; and they went three days in the wilderness, and found no water.

23 And when they came to Marah, they could not drink of the waters of Marah, for they were bitter: therefore the name of it was called Marah.

24 And the people murmured against Moses, saying, What shall we drink?

25 And he cried unto the LORD; and the LORD shewed him a tree, which when he had cast into the waters, the waters were made sweet: there he made for them a statute and an ordinance, and there he proved them,

26 And said, If thou wilt diligently hearken to the voice of the LORD thy God, and wilt do that which is right in his sight, and wilt give ear to his commandments, and keep all his statutes, I will put none of these diseases upon thee, which I have brought upon the Egyptians: for I am the LORD that healeth thee.

27 And they came to Elim, where were twelve wells of water, and threescore and ten palm trees: and they encamped there by the waters.

EXODUS CHAPTER 16

1 And they took their journey from Elim, and all the congregation of the children of Israel came unto the wilderness of Sin, which is between Elim and Sinai, on the fifteenth day of the second month after their departing out of the land of Egypt.

2 And the whole congregation of the children of Israel murmured against Moses and Aaron in the wilderness:

3 And the children of Israel said unto them, Would to God we had died by the hand of the LORD in the land of Egypt, when we sat by the flesh pots, and when we did eat bread to the full; for ye have brought us forth into this wilderness, to kill this whole assembly with hunger.

4 Then said the LORD unto Moses, Behold, I will rain bread from heaven for you; and the people shall go out and gather a certain rate every day, that I may prove them, whether they will walk in my law, or no.

5 And it shall come to pass, that on the sixth day they shall prepare that which they bring in; and it shall be twice as much as they gather daily.

6 And Moses and Aaron said unto all the children of Israel, At even, then ye shall know that the LORD hath brought you out from the land of Egypt:

7 And in the morning, then ye shall see the glory of the LORD; for that he heareth your murmurings against the LORD: and what are we, that ye murmur against us?

8 And Moses said, This shall be, when the LORD shall give you in the evening flesh to eat, and in the morning bread to the full; for that the LORD heareth your murmurings which ye murmur against him: and what are we? your murmurings are not against us, but against the LORD.

9 And Moses spake unto Aaron, Say unto all the congregation of the children of Israel, Come near before the LORD: for he hath heard your murmurings.

10 And it came to pass, as Aaron spake unto the whole congregation of the children of Israel, that they looked toward the wilderness, and, behold, the glory of the LORD appeared in the cloud.

11 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

12 I have heard the murmurings of the children of Israel: speak unto them, saying, At even ye shall eat flesh, and in the morning ye shall be filled with bread; and ye shall know that I am the LORD your God.

13 And it came to pass, that at even the quails came up, and covered the camp: and in the morning the dew lay round about the host.

14 And when the dew that lay was gone up, behold, upon the face of the wilderness there lay a small round thing, as small as the hoar frost on the ground.

15 And when the children of Israel saw it, they said one to another, It is manna: for they wist not what it was. And Moses said unto them, This is the bread which the LORD hath given you to eat.

16 This is the thing which the LORD hath commanded, Gather of it every man according to his eating, an omer for every man, according to the number of your persons; take ye every man for them which are in his tents.

17 And the children of Israel did so, and gathered, some more, some less.

18 And when they did mete it with an omer, he that gathered much had nothing over, and he that gathered little had no lack; they gathered every man according to his eating.

19 And Moses said, Let no man leave of it till the morning.

20 Notwithstanding they hearkened not unto Moses; but some of them left of it until the morning, and it bred worms, and stank: and Moses was wroth with them.

21 And they gathered it every morning, every man according to his eating: and when the sun waxed hot, it melted.

22 And it came to pass, that on the sixth day they gathered twice as much bread, two omers for one man: and all the rulers of the congregation came and told Moses.

23 And he said unto them, This is that which the LORD hath said, To morrow is the rest of the holy sabbath unto the LORD: bake that which ye will bake to day, and seethe that ye will seethe; and that which remaineth over lay up for you to be kept until the morning.

24 And they laid it up till the morning, as Moses bade: and it did not stink, neither was there any worm therein.

25 And Moses said, Eat that to day; for to day is a sabbath unto the LORD: to day ye shall not find it in the field.

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26 Six days ye shall gather it; but on the seventh day, which is the sabbath, in it there shall be none.
27 And it came to pass, that there went out some of the people on the seventh day for to gather, and they found none.
28 And the LORD said unto Moses, How long refuse ye to keep my commandments and my laws?
29 See, for that the LORD hath given you the sabbath, therefore he giveth you on the sixth day the bread of two days; abide ye every man in his place, let no man go out of his place on the seventh day.
30 So the people rested on the seventh day.
31 And the house of Israel called the name thereof Manna: and it was like coriander seed, white; and the taste of it was like wafers made with honey.
32 And Moses said, This is the thing which the LORD commandeth, Fill an omer of it to be kept for your generations; that they may see the bread wherewith I have fed you in the wilderness, when I brought you forth from the land of Egypt.
33 And Moses said unto Aaron, Take a pot, and put an omer full of manna therein, and lay it up before the LORD, to be kept for your generations.
34 As the LORD commanded Moses, so Aaron laid it up before the Testimony, to be kept.
35 And the children of Israel did eat manna forty years, until they came to a land inhabited; they did eat manna, until they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan.
36 Now an omer is the tenth part of an ephah.

EXODUS CHAPTER 17
1 And all the congregation of the children of Israel journeyed from the wilderness of Sin, after their journeys, according to the commandment of the LORD, and pitched in Rephidim: and there was no water for the people to drink.
2 Wherefore the people did chide with Moses, and said, Give us water that we may drink. And Moses said unto them, Why chide ye with me? wherefore do ye tempt the LORD?
3 And the people thirsted there for water; and the people murmured against Moses, and said, Wherefore is this that thou hast brought us up out of Egypt, to kill us and our children and our cattle with thirst?
4 And Moses cried unto the LORD, saying, What shall I do unto this people? they be almost ready to stone me.
5 And the LORD said unto Moses, Go on before the people, and take with thee of the elders of Israel; and thy rod, wherewith thou smotest the river, take in thine hand, and go.
6 Behold, I will stand before thee there upon the rock in Horeb; and thou shalt smite the rock, and there shall come water out of it, that the people may drink. And Moses did so in the sight of the elders of Israel.
7 And he called the name of the place Massah, and Meribah, because of the chiding of the children of Israel, and because they tempted the LORD, saying, Is the LORD among us, or not?
8 Then came Amalek, and fought with Israel in Rephidim.
9 And Moses said unto Joshua, Choose us out men, and go out, fight with Amalek: to morrow I will stand on the top of the hill with the rod of God in mine hand.
10 So Joshua did as Moses had said to him, and fought with Amalek: and Moses, Aaron, and Hur went up to the top of the hill.
11 And it came to pass, when Moses held up his hand, that Israel prevailed: and when he let down his hand, Amalek prevailed.
12 But Moses hands were heavy; and they took a stone, and put it under him, and he sat thereon; and Aaron and Hur stayed up his hands, the one on the one side, and the other on the other side; and his hands were steady until the going down of the sun.
13 And Joshua discomfited Amalek and his people with the edge of the sword.
14 And the LORD said unto Moses, Write this for a memorial in a book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua: for I will utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven.
15 And Moses built an altar, and called the name of it Jehovahnissi:
16 For he said, Because the LORD hath sworn that the LORD will have war with Amalek from generation to generation.

EXODUS CHAPTER 18
1 When Jethro, the priest of Midian, Moses' father in law, heard of all that God had done for Moses, and for Israel his people, and that the LORD had brought Israel out of Egypt;
2 Then Jethro, Moses' father in law, took Zipporah, Moses' wife, after he had sent her back,
3 And her two sons; of which the name of the one was Gershom; for he said, I have been an alien in a strange land:
4 And the name of the other was Eliezer; for the God of my father, said he, was mine help, and delivered me from the sword of Pharaoh:
5 And Jethro, Moses' father in law, came with his sons and his wife unto Moses into the wilderness, where he encamped at the mount of God:
6 And he said unto Moses, I thy father in law Jethro am come unto thee, and thy wife, and her two sons with her.
7 And Moses went out to meet his father in law, and did obeisance, and kissed him; and they asked each other of their welfare; and they came into the tent.
8 And Moses told his father in law all that the LORD had done unto Pharaoh and to the Egyptians for Israel's sake, and all the travail that had come upon them by the way, and how the LORD delivered them.
9 And Jethro rejoiced for all the goodness which the LORD had done to Israel, whom he had delivered out of the hand of the Egyptians.
10 And Jethro said, Blessed be the LORD, who hath delivered you out of the hand of the Egyptians, and out of the hand of Pharaoh, who hath delivered the people from under the hand of the Egyptians.
11 Now I know that the LORD is greater than all gods: for in the thing wherein they dealt proudly he was above them.
12 And Jethro, Moses' father in law, took a burnt offering and sacrifices for God: and Aaron came, and all the elders of Israel, to eat bread with Moses' father in law before God.
13 And it came to pass on the morrow, that Moses sat to judge the people: and the people stood by Moses from the morning unto the evening.
14 And when Moses' father in law saw all that he did to the people, he said, What is this thing that thou doest to the people? why sittest thou thyself alone, and all the people stand by thee from morning unto even?
15 And Moses said unto his father in law, Because the people come unto me to enquire of God:
16 When they have a matter, they come unto me; and I judge between one and another, and I do make them know the statutes of God, and his laws.
17 And Moses' father in law said unto him, The thing that thou doest is not good.
18 Thou wilt surely wear away, both thou, and this people that is with thee: for this thing is too heavy for thee; thou art not able to perform it thyself alone.
19 Hearken now unto my voice, I will give thee counsel, and God shall be with thee: Be thou for the people to God-ward, that thou mayest bring the causes unto God:
20 And thou shalt teach them ordinances and laws, and shalt shew them the way wherein they must walk, and the work that they must do.
21 Moreover thou shalt provide out of all the people able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness; and place such over them, to be rulers of thousands, and rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens:
22 And let them judge the people at all seasons: and it shall be, that every great matter they shall bring unto thee, but every small matter they shall judge: so shall it be easier for thyself, and they shall bear the burden with thee.
23 If thou shalt do this thing, and God command thee so, then thou shalt be able to endure, and all this people shall also go to their place in peace.
24 So Moses hearkened to the voice of his father in law, and did all that he had said.
25 And Moses chose able men out of all Israel, and made them heads over the people, rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens.
26 And they judged the people at all seasons: the hard causes they brought unto Moses, but every small matter they judged themselves.
27 And Moses let his father in law depart; and he went his way into his own land.

EXODUS CHAPTER 19
1 In the third month, when the children of Israel were gone forth out of the land of Egypt, the same day came they into the wilderness of Sinai.
2 For they were departed from Rephidim, and were come to the desert of Sinai, and had pitched in the wilderness; and there Israel camped before the mount.
3 And Moses went up unto God, and the LORD called unto him out of the mountain, saying, Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell the children of Israel;
4 Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself.
5 Now therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people: for all the earth is mine:
6 And ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation. These are the words which thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel.
7 And Moses came and called for the elders of the people, and laid before their faces all these words which the LORD commanded him.
8 And all the people answered together, and said, All that the LORD hath spoken we will do. And Moses returned the words of the people unto the LORD.
9 And the LORD said unto Moses, Lo, I come unto thee in a thick cloud, that the people may hear when I speak with thee, and believe thee for ever. And Moses told the words of the people unto the LORD.
10 And the LORD said unto Moses, Go unto the people, and sanctify them to day and to morrow, and let them wash their clothes,
11 And be ready against the third day: for the third day the LORD will come down in the sight of all the people upon mount Sinai.
12 And thou shalt set bounds unto the people round about, saying, Take heed to yourselves, that ye go not up into the mount, or touch the border of it: whosoever toucheth the mount shall be surely put to death:
13 There shall not an hand touch it, but he shall surely be stoned, or shot through; whether it be beast or man, it shall not live: when the trumpet soundeth long, they shall come up to the mount.
14 And Moses went down from the mount unto the people, and sanctified the people; and they washed their clothes.
15 And he said unto the people, Be ready against the third day: come not at your wives.
16 And it came to pass on the third day in the morning, that there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud; so that all the people that was in the camp trembled.
17 And Moses brought forth the people out of the camp to meet with God; and they stood at the nether part of the mount.
18 And mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the LORD descended upon it in fire: and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount quaked greatly.
19 And when the voice of the trumpet sounded long, and waxed louder and louder, Moses spake, and God answered him by a voice.
20 And the LORD came down upon mount Sinai, on the top of the mount: and the LORD called Moses up to the top of the mount; and Moses went up.
21 And the LORD said unto Moses, Go down, charge the people, lest they break through unto the LORD to gaze, and many of them perish.
22 And let the priests also, which come near to the LORD, sanctify themselves, lest the LORD break forth upon them.
23 And Moses said unto the LORD, The people cannot come up to mount Sinai: for thou chargedst us, saying, Set bounds about the mount, and sanctify it.
24 And the LORD said unto him, Away, get thee down, and thou shalt come up, thou, and Aaron with thee: but let not the priests and the people break through to come up unto the LORD, lest he break forth upon them.
25 So Moses went down unto the people, and spake unto them.

EXODUS CHAPTER 20
1 And God spake all these words, saying,
2 I am the LORD thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.
3 Thou shalt have no other gods before me.
4 Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth.
5 Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them: for I the LORD thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me;
6 And shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me, and keep my commandments.
7 Thou shalt not take the name of the LORD thy God in vain; for the LORD will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain.
8 Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy.
9 Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work:
10 But the seventh day is the sabbath of the LORD thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates:
11 For in six days the LORD made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the LORD blessed the sabbath day, and hallowed it.
12 Honour thy father and thy mother: that thy days may be long upon the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee.
13 Thou shalt not kill.
14 Thou shalt not commit adultery.
15 Thou shalt not steal.
16 Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.
17 Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his manservant, nor his maidservant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's.
18 And all the people saw the thunderings, and the lightnings, and the noise of the trumpet, and the mountain smoking: and when the people saw it, they removed, and stood afar off.

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19 And they said unto Moses, Speak thou with us, and we will hear: but let not God speak with us, lest we die.
20 And Moses said unto the people, Fear not: for God is come to prove you, and that his fear may be before your faces, that ye sin not.
21 And the people stood afar off, and Moses drew near unto the thick darkness where God was.
22 And the LORD said unto Moses, Thus thou shalt say unto the children of Israel, Ye have seen that I have talked with you from heaven.
23 Ye shall not make with me gods of silver, neither shall ye make unto you gods of gold.
24 An altar of earth thou shalt make unto me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt offerings, and thy peace offerings, thy sheep, and thine oxen: in all places where I record my name I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee.
25 And if thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone: for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it.
26 Neither shalt thou go up by steps unto mine altar, that thy nakedness be not discovered thereon.

EXODUS CHAPTER 21

1 Now these are the judgements which thou shalt set before them.
2 If thou buy an Hebrew servant, six years he shall serve: and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing.
3 If he came in by himself, he shall go out by himself: if he were married, then his wife shall go out with him.
4 If his master have given him a wife, and she have born him sons or daughters; the wife and her children shall be her master's, and he shall go out by himself.
5 And if the servant shall plainly say, I love my master, my wife, and my children; I will not go out free:
6 Then his master shall bring him unto the judges; he shall also bring him to the door, or unto the door post; and his master shall bore his ear through with an aul; and he shall serve him for ever.
7 And if a man sell his daughter to be a maidservant, she shall not go out as the menservants do.
8 If she please not her master, who hath betrothed her to himself, then shall he let her be redeemed: to sell her unto a strange nation he shall have no power, seeing he hath dealt deceitfully with her.
9 And if he have betrothed her unto his son, he shall deal with her after the manner of daughters.
10 If he take him another wife; her food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage, shall he not diminish.
11 And if he do not these three unto her, then shall she go out free without money.
12 He that smiteth a man, so that he die, shall be surely put to death.
13 And if a man lie not in wait, but God deliver him into his hand; then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee.
14 But if a man come presumptuously upon his neighbour, to slay him with guile; thou shalt take him from mine altar, that he may die.
15 And he that smiteth his father, or his mother, shall be surely put to death.
16 And he that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.
17 And he that curseth his father, or his mother, shall surely be put to death.
18 And if men strive together, and one smite another with a stone, or with his fist, and he die not, but keepeth his bed:
19 If he rise again, and walk abroad upon his staff, then shall he that smote him be quit: only he shall pay for the loss of his time, and shall cause him to be thoroughly healed.
20 And if a man smite his servant, or his maid, with a rod, and he die under his hand; he shall be surely punished.
21 Notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished: for he is his money.
22 If men strive, and hurt a woman with child, so that her fruit depart from her, and yet no mischief follow: he shall be surely punished, according as the woman's husband will lay upon him; and he shall pay as the judges determine.
23 And if any mischief follow, then thou shalt give life for life,
24 Eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot,
25 Burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe.
26 And if a man smite the eye of his servant, or the eye of his maid, that it perish; he shall let him go free for his eye's sake.
27 And if he smite out his manservant's tooth, or his maidservant's tooth; he shall let him go free for his tooth's sake.
28 If an ox gore a man or a woman, that they die: then the ox shall be surely stoned, and his flesh shall not be eaten; but the owner of the ox shall be quit.
29 But if the ox were wont to push with his horn in time past, and it hath been testified to his owner, and he hath not kept him in, but that he hath killed a man or a woman; the ox shall be stoned, and his owner also shall be put to death.
30 If there be laid on him a sum of money, then he shall give for the ransom of his life whatsoever is laid upon him.
31 Whether he have gored a son, or have gored a daughter, according to this judgement shall it be done unto him.
32 If the ox shall push a manservant or a maidservant; he shall give unto their master thirty shekels of silver, and the ox shall be stoned.
33 And if a man shall open a pit, or if a man shall dig a pit, and not cover it, and an ox or an ass fall therein;
34 The owner of the pit shall make it good, and give money unto the owner of them; and the dead beast shall be his.
35 And if one man's ox hurt another's, that he die; then they shall sell the live ox, and divide the money of it; and the dead ox also they shall divide.
36 Or if it be known that the ox hath used to push in time past, and his owner hath not kept him in; he shall surely pay ox for ox; and the dead shall be his own.

EXODUS CHAPTER 22

1 If a man shall steal an ox, or a sheep, and kill it, or sell it; he shall restore five oxen for an ox, and four sheep for a sheep.
2 If a thief be found breaking up, and be smitten that he die, there shall no blood be shed for him.
3 If the sun be risen upon him, there shall be blood shed for him; for he should make full restitution; if he have nothing, then he shall be sold for his theft.
4 If the theft be certainly found in his hand alive, whether it be ox, or ass, or sheep; he shall restore double.
5 If a man shall cause a field or vineyard to be eaten, and shall put in his beast, and shall feed in another man's field; of the best of his own field, and of the best of his own vineyard, shall he make restitution.
6 If fire break out, and catch in thorns, so that the stacks of corn, or the standing corn, or the field, be consumed therewith; he that kindled the fire shall surely make restitution.
7 If a man shall deliver unto his neighbour money or stuff to keep, and it be stolen out of the man's house; if the thief be found, let him pay double.
8 If the thief be not found, then the master of the house shall be brought unto the judges, to see whether he have put his hand unto his neighbour's goods.
9 For all manner of trespass, whether it be for ox, for ass, for sheep, for raiment, or for any manner of lost thing which another challengeth to be his, the cause of both parties shall come before the judges; and whom the judges shall condemn, he shall pay double unto his neighbour.
10 If a man deliver unto his neighbour an ass, or an ox, or a sheep, or any beast, to keep; and it die, or be hurt, or driven away, no man seeing it:
11 Then shall an oath of the LORD be between them both, that he hath not put his hand unto his neighbour's goods; and the owner of it shall accept thereof, and he shall not make it good.
12 And if it be stolen from him, he shall make restitution unto the owner thereof.
13 If it be torn in pieces, then let him bring it for witness, and he shall not make good that which was torn.
14 And if a man borrow ought of his neighbour, and it be hurt, or die, the owner thereof being not with it, he shall surely make it good.
15 But if the owner thereof be with it, he shall not make it good: if it be an hired thing, it came for his hire.
16 And if a man entice a maid that is not betrothed, and lie with her, he shall surely endow her to be his wife.
17 If her father utterly refuse to give her unto him, he shall pay money according to the dowry of virgins.
18 Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.
19 Whosoever lieth with a beast shall surely be put to death.
20 He that sacrificeth unto any god, save unto the LORD only, he shall be utterly destroyed.
21 Thou shalt neither vex a stranger, nor oppress him: for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.
22 Ye shall not afflict any widow, or fatherless child.
23 If thou afflict them in any wise, and they cry at all unto me, I will surely hear their cry;
24 And my wrath shall wax hot, and I will kill you with the sword; and your wives shall be widows, and your children fatherless.
25 If thou lend money to any of my people that is poor by thee, thou shalt not be to him as an usurer, neither shalt thou lay upon him usury.
26 If thou at all take thy neighbour's raiment to pledge, thou shalt deliver it unto him by that the sun goeth down:
27 For that is his covering only, it is his raiment for his skin: wherein shall he sleep? and it shall come to pass, when he crieth unto me, that I will hear; for I am gracious.
28 Thou shalt not revile the gods, nor curse the ruler of thy people.
29 Thou shalt not delay to offer the first of thy ripe fruits, and of thy liquors: the firstborn of thy sons shalt thou give unto me.
30 Likewise shalt thou do with thine oxen, and with thy sheep: seven days it shall be with his dam; on the eighth day thou shalt give it me.
31 And ye shall be holy men unto me: neither shall ye eat any flesh that is torn of beasts in the field; ye shall cast it to the dogs.

EXODUS CHAPTER 23

1 Thou shalt not raise a false report: put not thine hand with the wicked to be an unrighteous witness.
2 Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil; neither shalt thou speak in a cause to decline after many to wrest judgement:
3 Neither shalt thou countenance a poor man in his cause.
4 If thou meet thine enemy's ox or his ass going astray, thou shalt surely bring it back to him again.
5 If thou see the ass of him that hateth thee lying under his burden, and wouldest forbear to help him, thou shalt surely help with him.
6 Thou shalt not wrest the judgement of thy poor in his cause.
7 Keep thee far from a false matter; and the innocent and righteous slay thou not: for I will not justify the wicked.
8 And thou shalt take no gift: for the gift blindeth the wise, and perverteth the words of the righteous.
9 Also thou shalt not oppress a stranger: for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.
10 And six years thou shalt sow thy land, and shalt gather in the fruits thereof:
11 But the seventh year thou shalt let it rest and lie still; that the poor of thy people may eat: and what they leave the beasts of the field shall eat. In like manner thou shalt deal with thy vineyard, and with thy oliveyard.
12 Six days thou shalt do thy work, and on the seventh day thou shalt rest: that thine ox and thine ass may rest, and the son of thy handmaid, and the stranger, may be refreshed.
13 And in all things that I have said unto you be circumspect: and make no mention of the name of other gods, neither let it be heard out of thy mouth.
14 Three times thou shalt keep a feast unto me in the year.
15 Thou shalt keep the feast of unleavened bread: (thou shalt eat unleavened bread seven days, as I commanded thee, in the time appointed of the month Abib; for in it thou camest out from Egypt: and none shall appear before me empty:)
16 And the feast of harvest, the firstfruits of thy labours, which thou hast sown in the field: and the feast of ingathering, which is in the end of the year, when thou hast gathered in thy labours out of the field.
17 Three items in the year all thy males shall appear before the LORD God.
18 Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread; neither shall the fat of my sacrifice remain until the morning.
19 The first of the firstfruits of thy land thou shalt bring into the house of the LORD thy God. Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk.
20 Behold, I send an Angel before thee, to keep thee in the way, and to bring thee into the place which I have prepared.
21 Beware of him, and obey his voice, provoke him not; for he will not pardon your transgressions: for my name is in him.
22 But if thou shalt indeed obey his voice, and do all that I speak; then I will be an enemy unto thine enemies, and an adversary unto thine adversaries.
23 For mine Angel shall go before thee, and bring thee in unto the Amorites, and the Hittites, and the Perizzites, and the Canaanites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites: and I will cut them off.
24 Thou shalt not bow down to their gods, nor serve them, nor do after their works: but thou shalt utterly overthrow them, and quite break down their images.
25 And ye shall serve the LORD your God, and he shall bless thy bread, and thy water; and I will take sickness away from the midst of thee.
26 There shall nothing cast their young, nor be barren, in thy land: the number of thy days I will fulfil.
27 I will send my fear before thee, and will destroy all the people to whom thou shalt come, and I will make all thine enemies turn their backs unto thee.
28 And I will send hornets before thee, which shall drive out the Hivite, the Canaanite, and the Hittite, from before thee.
29 I will not drive them out from before thee in one year; lest the land become desolate, and the beast of the field multiply against thee.
30 By little and little I will drive them out from before thee, until thou be increased, and inherit the land.
31 And I will set thy bounds from the Red sea even unto the sea of the Philistines, and from the desert unto the river: for I will deliver the inhabitants of the land into your hand; and thou shalt drive them out before thee.
32 Thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor with their gods.
33 They shall not dwell in thy land, lest they make thee sin against me: for if thou serve their gods, it will surely be a snare unto thee.

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EXODUS CHAPTER 24

1 And he said unto Moses, Come up unto the LORD, thou, and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel; and worship ye afar off.

2 And Moses alone shall come near the LORD: but they shall not come nigh; neither shall the people go up with him.

3 And Moses came and told the people all the words of the LORD, and all the judgements: and all the people answered with one voice, and said, All the words which the LORD hath said will we do.

4 And Moses wrote all the words of the LORD, and rose up early in the morning, and builded an altar under the hill, and twelve pillars, according to the twelve tribes of Israel.

5 And he sent young men of the children of Israel, which offered burnt offerings, and sacrificed peace offerings of oxen unto the LORD.

6 And Moses took half of the blood, and put it in basons; and half of the blood he sprinkled on the altar.

7 And he took the book of the covenant, and read in the audience of the people: and they said, All that the LORD hath said will we do, and be obedient.

8 And Moses took the blood, and sprinkled it on the people, and said, Behold the blood of the covenant, which the LORD hath made with you concerning all these words.

9 Then went up Moses, and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel:

10 And they saw the God of Israel: and there was under his feet as it were a paved work of a sapphire stone, and as it were the body of heaven in his clearness.

11 And upon the nobles of the children of Israel he laid not his hand: also they saw God, and did eat and drink.

12 And the LORD said unto Moses, Come up to me into the mount, and be there: and I will give thee tables of stone, and a law, and commandments which I have written; that thou mayest teach them.

13 And Moses rose up, and his minister Joshua: and Moses went up into the mount of God.

14 And he said unto the elders, Tarry ye here for us, until we come again unto you: and, behold, Aaron and Hur are with you: if any man have any matters to do, let him come unto them.

15 And Moses went up into the mount, and a cloud covered the mount.

16 And the glory of the LORD abode upon mount Sinai, and the cloud covered it six days: and the seventh day he called unto Moses out of the midst of the cloud.

17 And the sight of the glory of the LORD was like devouring fire on the top of the mount in the eyes of the children of Israel.

18 And Moses went into the midst of the cloud, and gat him up into the mount: and Moses was in the mount forty days and forty nights.

EXODUS CHAPTER 25

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

2 Speak unto the children of Israel, that they bring me an offering: of every man that giveth it willingly with his heart ye shall take my offering.

3 And this is the offering which ye shall take of them; gold, and silver, and brass,

4 And blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen, and goats' hair,

5 And rams' skins dyed red, and badgers' skins, and shittim wood,

6 Oil for the light, spices for anointing oil, and for sweet incense,

7 Onyx stones, and stones to be set in the ephod, and in the breastplate.

8 And let them make me a sanctuary; that I may dwell among them.

9 According to all that I shew thee, after the pattern of the tabernacle, and the pattern of all the instruments thereof, even so shall ye make it.

10 And they shall make an ark of shittim wood: two cubits and a half shall be the length thereof, and a cubit and a half the breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the height thereof.

11 And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, within and without shalt thou overlay it, and shalt make upon it a crown of gold round about.

12 And thou shalt cast four rings of gold for it, and put them in the four corners thereof; and two rings shall be in the one side of it, and two rings in the other side of it.

13 And thou shalt make staves of shittim wood, and overlay them with gold.

14 And thou shalt put the staves into the rings by the sides of the ark, that the ark may be borne with them.

15 The staves shall be in the rings of the ark: they shall not be taken from it.

16 And thou shalt put into the ark the testimony which I shall give thee.

17 And thou shalt make a mercy seat of pure gold: two cubits and a half shall be the length thereof, and a cubit and a half the breadth thereof.

18 And thou shalt make two cherubims of gold, of beaten work shalt thou make them, in the two ends of the mercy seat.

19 And make one cherub on the one end, and the other cherub on the other end: even of the mercy seat shall ye make the cherubims on the two ends thereof.

20 And the cherubims shall stretch forth their wings on high, covering the mercy seat with their wings, and their faces shall look one to another; toward the mercy seat shall the faces of the cherubims be.

21 And thou shalt put the mercy seat above upon the ark; and in the ark thou shalt put the testimony that I shall give thee.

22 And there I will meet with thee, and I will commune with thee from above the mercy seat, from between the two cherubims which are upon the ark of the testimony, of all things which I will give thee in commandment unto the children of Israel.

23 Thou shalt also make a table of shittim wood: two cubits shall be the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the height thereof.

24 And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, and make thereto a crown of gold round about.

25 And thou shalt make unto it a border of an hand breadth round about, and thou shalt make a golden crown to the border thereof round about.

26 And thou shalt make for it four rings of gold, and put the rings in the four corners that are on the four feet thereof.

27 Over against the border shall the rings be for places of the staves to bear the table.

28 And thou shalt make the staves of shittim wood, and overlay them with gold, that the table may be borne with them.

29 And thou shalt make the dishes thereof, and spoons thereof, and covers thereof, and bowls thereof, to cover withal: of pure gold shalt thou make them.

30 And thou shalt set upon the table shewbread before me alway.

31 And thou shalt make a candlestick of pure gold: of beaten work shall the candlestick be made: his shaft, and his branches, his bowls, his knops, and his flowers, shall be of the same.

32 And six branches shall come out of the sides of it; three branches of the candlestick out of the one side, and three branches of the candlestick out of the other side:

33 Three bowls made like unto almonds, with a knop and a flower in one branch; and three bowls made like almonds in the other branch, with a knop and a flower: so in the six branches that come out of the candlestick.

34 And in the candlesticks shall be four bowls made like unto almonds, with their knops and their flowers.

35 And there shall be a knop under two branches of the same, and a knop under two branches of the same, and a knop under two branches of the same, according to the six branches that proceed out of the candlestick.

36 Their knops and their branches shall be of the same: all it shall be one beaten work of pure gold.

37 And thou shalt make the seven lamps thereof: and they shall light the lamps thereof, that they may give light over against it.

38 And the tongs thereof, and the snuffdishes thereof, shall be of pure gold.

39 Of a talent of pure gold shall he make it, with all these vessels.

40 And look that thou make them after their pattern, which was shewed thee in the mount.

EXODUS CHAPTER 26

1 Moreover thou shalt make the tabernacle with ten curtains of fine twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet: with cherubims of cunning work shalt thou make them.

2 The length of one curtain shall be eight and twenty cubits, and the breadth of one curtain four cubits: and every one of the curtains shall have one measure.

3 The five curtains shall be coupled together one to another; and other five curtains shall be coupled one to another.4 And thou shalt make loops of blue upon the edge of the one curtain from the selvedge in the coupling; and likewise shalt thou make in the uttermost edge of another curtain, in the coupling of the second.

5 Fifty loops shalt thou make in the one curtain, and fifty loops shalt thou make in the edge of the curtain that is in the coupling of the second; that the loops may take hold one of another.

6 And thou shalt make fifty taches of gold, and couple the curtains together with the taches: and it shall be one tabernacle.

7 And thou shalt make curtains of goats' hair to be a covering upon the tabernacle: eleven curtains shalt thou make.

8 The length of one curtain shall be thirty cubits, and the breadth of one curtain four cubits: and the eleven curtains shall be all of one measure.

9 And thou shalt couple five curtains by themselves, and six curtains by themselves, and shalt double the sixth curtain in the forefront of the tabernacle.

10 And thou shalt make fifty loops on the edge of the one curtain that is outmost in the coupling, and fifty loops in the edge of the curtain which coupleth the second.

1 And thou shalt make fifty taches of brass, and put the taches into the loops, and couple the tent together, that it may be one.

12 And the remnant that remaineth of the curtains of the tent, the half curtain that remaineth, shall hang over the backside of the tabernacle.

13 And a cubit on the one side, and a cubit on the other side of that which remaineth in the length of the curtains of the tent, it shall hang over the sides of the tabernacle on this side and on that side, to cover it.

14 And thou shalt make a covering for the tent of rams' skins dyed red, and a covering above of badgers' skins.

15 And thou shalt make boards for the tabernacle of shittim wood standing up.

16 Ten cubits shall be the length of a board, and a cubit and a half shall be the breadth of one board.

17 Two tenons shall there be in one board, set in order one against another: thus shalt thou make for all the boards of the tabernacle.

18 And thou shalt make the boards for the tabernacle, twenty boards on the south side southward.

19 And thou shalt make forty sockets of silver under the twenty boards; two sockets under one board for his two tenons, and two sockets under another board for his two tenons.

20 And for the second side of the tabernacle on the north side there shall be twenty boards:

21 And their forty sockets of silver; two sockets under one board, and two sockets under another board.

22 And for the sides of the tabernacle westward thou shalt make six boards.

23 And two boards shalt thou make for the corners of the tabernacle in the two sides.

24 And they shall be coupled together beneath, and they shall be coupled together above the head of it unto one ring: thus shall it be for them both; they shall be for the two corners.

25 And they shall be eight boards, and their sockets of silver, sixteen sockets; two sockets under one board, and two sockets under another board.

26 And thou shalt make bars of shittim wood; five for the boards of the one side of the tabernacle,

27 And five bars for the boards of the other side of the tabernacle, and five bars for the boards of the side of the tabernacle, for the two sides westward.

28 And the middle bar in the midst of the boards shall reach from end to end.

29 And thou shalt overlay the boards with gold, and make their rings of gold for places for the bars: and thou shalt overlay the bars with gold.

30 And thou shalt rear up the tabernacle according to the fashion thereof which was shewed thee in the mount.

31 And thou shalt make a vail of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen of cunning work: with cherubims shall it be made:

32 And thou shalt hang it upon four pillars of shittim wood overlaid with gold: their hooks shall be of gold, upon the four sockets of silver.

33 And thou shalt hang up the vail under the taches, that thou mayest bring in thither within the vail the ark of the testimony: and the vail shall divide unto you between the holy place and the most holy.

34 And thou shalt put the mercy seat upon the ark of the testimony in the most holy place.

35 And thou shalt set the table without the vail, and the candlestick over against the table on the side of the tabernacle toward the south: and thou shalt put the table on the north side.

36 And thou shalt make an hanging for the door of the tent, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, wrought with needlework.

37 And thou shalt make for the hanging five pillars of shittim wood, and overlay them with gold, and their hooks shall be of gold: and thou shalt cast five sockets of brass for them.

EXODUS CHAPTER 27

1 And thou shalt make an altar of shittim wood, five cubits long, and five cubits broad; the altar shall be foursquare: and the height thereof shall be three cubits.

2 And thou shalt make the horns of it upon the four corners thereof: his horns shall be of the same: and thou shalt overlay it with brass.

3 And thou shalt make his pans to receive his ashes, and his shovels, and his basons, and his fleshhooks, and his firepans: all the vessels thereof thou shalt make of brass.

4 And thou shalt make for it a grate of network of brass; and upon the net shalt thou make four brasen rings in the four corners thereof.

5 And thou shalt put it under the compass of the altar beneath, that the net may be even to the midst of the altar.

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6 And thou shalt make staves for the altar, staves of shittim wood, and overlay them with brass.
7 And the staves shall be put into the rings, and the staves shall be upon the two sides of the altar, to bear it.
8 Hollow with boards shalt thou make it: as it was shewed thee in the mount, so shall they make it.
9 And thou shalt make the court of the tabernacle: for the south side southward there shall be hangings for the court of fine twined linen of an hundred cubits long for one side:
10 And the twenty pillars thereof and their twenty sockets shall be of brass; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets shall be of silver.
11 And likewise for the north side in length there shall be hangings of an hundred cubits long, and his twenty pillars and their twenty sockets of brass; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets of silver.
12 And for the breadth of the court on the west side shall be hangings of fifty cubits: their pillars ten, and their sockets ten.
13 And the breadth of the court on the east side eastward shall be fifty cubits.
14 The hangings of one side of the gate shall be fifteen cubits: their pillars three, and their sockets three.
15 And on the other side shall be hangings fifteen cubits: their pillars three, and their sockets three.
16 And for the gate of the court shall be an hanging of twenty cubits, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, wrought with needlework: and their pillars shall be four, and their sockets four.
17 All the pillars round about the court shall be filleted with silver; their hooks shall be of silver, and their sockets of brass.
18 The length of the court shall be an hundred cubits, and the breadth fifty every where, and the height five cubits of fine twined linen, and their sockets of brass.
19 All the vessels of the tabernacle in all the service thereof, and all the pins thereof, and all the pins of the court, shall be of brass.
20 And thou shalt command the children of Israel, that they bring thee pure oil olive beaten for the light, to cause the lamp to burn always.
21 In the tabernacle of the congregation without the vail, which is before the testimony, Aaron and his sons shall order it from evening to morning before the LORD: it shall be a statute for ever unto their generations on the behalf of the children of Israel.

EXODUS CHAPTER 28

1 And take thou unto thee Aaron thy brother, and his sons with him, from among the children of Israel, that he may minister unto me in the priest's office, even Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar, Aaron's sons.
2 And thou shalt make holy garments for Aaron thy brother for glory and for beauty.
3 And thou shalt speak unto all that are wise hearted, whom I have filled with the spirit of wisdom, that they may make Aaron's garments to consecrate him, that he may minister unto me in the priest's office.
4 And these are the garments which they shall make; a breastplate, and an ephod, and a robe, and a broidered coat, a mitre, and a girdle: and they shall make holy garments for Aaron thy brother, and his sons, that he may minister unto me in the priest's office.
5 And they shall take gold, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen.
6 And they shall make the ephod of gold, of blue, and of purple, of scarlet, and fine twined linen, with cunning work.
7 It shall have the two shoulderpieces thereof joined at the two edges thereof; and so it shall be joined together.
8 And the curious girdle of the ephod, which is upon it, shall be of the same, according to the work thereof; even of gold, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen.
9 And thou shalt take two onyx stones, and grave on them the names of the children of Israel:
10 Six of their names on one stone, and the other six names of the rest on the other stone, according to their birth.
11 With the work of an engraver in stone, like the engravings of a signet, shalt thou engrave the two stones with the names of the children of Israel: thou shalt make them to be set in ouches of gold.
12 And thou shalt put the two stones upon the shoulders of the ephod for stones of memorial unto the children of Israel: and Aaron shall bear their names before the LORD upon his two shoulders for a memorial.
13 And thou shalt make ouches of gold;
14 And two chains of pure gold at the ends; of wreathen work shalt thou make them, and fasten the wreathen chains to the ouches.
15 And thou shalt make the breastplate of judgement with cunning work; after the work of the ephod thou shalt make it; of gold, of blue, and of purple, and of scarlet, and of fine twined linen, shalt thou make it.
16 Foursquare it shall be being doubled; a span shall be the length thereof, and a span shall be the breadth thereof.
17 And thou shalt set in it settings of stones, even four rows of stones: the first row shall be a sardius, a topaz, and a carbuncle: this shall be the first row.
18 And the second row shall be an emerald, a sapphire, and a diamond.
19 And the third row a ligure, an agate, and an amethyst.
20 And the fourth row a beryl, and an onyx, and a jasper: they shall be set in gold in their inclosings.
21 And the stones shall be with the names of the children of Israel, twelve, according to their names, like the engravings of a signet; every one with his name shall they be according to the twelve tribes.
22 And thou shalt make upon the breastplate chains at the ends of wreathen work of pure gold.
23 And thou shalt make upon the breastplate two rings of gold, and shalt put the two rings on the two ends of the breastplate.
24 And thou shalt put the two wreathen chains of gold in the two rings which are on the ends of the breastplate.
25 And the other two ends of the two wreathen chains thou shalt fasten in the two ouches, and put them on the shoulderpieces of the ephod before it.
26 And thou shalt make two rings of gold, and thou shalt put them upon the two ends of the breastplate in the border thereof, which is in the side of the ephod inward.
27 And two other rings of gold thou shalt make, and shalt put them on the two sides of the ephod underneath, toward the forepart thereof, over against the other coupling thereof, above the curious girdle of the ephod.
28 And they shall bind the breastplate by the rings thereof unto the rings of the ephod with a lace of blue, that it may be above the curious girdle of the ephod, and that the breastplate be not loosed from the ephod.
29 And Aaron shall bear the names of the children of Israel in the breastplate of judgement upon his heart, when he goeth in unto the holy place, for a memorial before the LORD continually.
30 And thou shalt put in the breastplate of judgement the Urim and the Thummim; and they shall be upon Aaron's heart, when he goeth in before the LORD: and Aaron shall bear the judgement of the children of Israel upon his heart before the LORD continually.
31 And thou shalt make the robe of the ephod all of blue.
32 And there shall be an hole in the top of it, in the midst thereof: it shall have a binding of woven work round about the hole of it, as it were the hole of an habergeon, that it be not rent.
33 And beneath upon the hem of it thou shalt make pomegranates of blue, and of purple, and of scarlet, round about the hem thereof; and bells of gold between them round about:
34 A golden bell and a pomegranate, a golden bell and a pomegranate, upon the hem of the robe round about.
35 And it shall be upon Aaron to minister: and his sound shall be heard when he goeth in unto the holy place before the LORD, and when he cometh out, that he die not.
36 And thou shalt make a plate of pure gold, and grave upon it, like the engravings of a signet, HOLINESS TO THE LORD.
37 And thou shalt put it on a blue lace, that it may be upon the mitre; upon the forefront of the mitre it shall be.
38 And it shall be upon Aaron's forehead, that Aaron may bear the iniquity of the holy things, which the children of Israel shall hallow in all their holy gifts; and it shall be always upon his forehead, that they may be accepted before the LORD.
39 And thou shalt embroider the coat of fine linen, and thou shalt make the mitre of fine linen, and thou shalt make the girdle of needlework.
40 And for Aaron's sons thou shalt make coats, and thou shalt make for them girdles, and bonnets shalt thou make for them, for glory and for beauty.
41 And thou shalt put them upon Aaron thy brother, and his sons with him; and shalt anoint them, and consecrate them, and sanctify them, that they may minister unto me in the priest's office.
42 And thou shalt make them linen breeches to cover their nakedness; from the loins even unto the thighs they shall reach:
43 And they shall be upon Aaron, and upon his sons, when they come in unto the tabernacle of the congregation, or when they come near unto the altar to minister in the holy place; that they bear not iniquity, and die: it shall be a statute for ever unto him and his seed after him.

EXODUS CHAPTER 29

1 And this is the thing that thou shalt do unto them to hallow them, to minister unto me in the priest's office: Take one young bullock, and two rams without blemish,
2 And unleavened bread, and cakes unleavened tempered with oil, and wafers unleavened anointed with oil: of wheaten flour shalt thou make them.
3 And thou shalt put them into one basket, and bring them in the basket, with the bullock and the two rams.
4 And Aaron and his sons thou shalt bring unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, and shalt wash them with water.
5 And thou shalt take the garments, and put upon Aaron the coat, and the robe of the ephod, and the ephod, and the breastplate, and gird him with the curious girdle of the ephod:
6 And thou shalt put the mitre upon his head, and put the holy crown upon the mitre.
7 Then shalt thou take the anointing oil, and pour it upon his head, and anoint him.
8 And thou shalt bring his sons, and put coats upon them.
9 And thou shalt gird them with girdles, Aaron and his sons, and put the bonnets on them: and the priest's office shall be theirs for a perpetual statute: and thou shalt consecrate Aaron and his sons.
10 And thou shalt cause a bullock to be brought before the tabernacle of the congregation: and Aaron and his sons shall put their hands upon the head of the bullock.
11 And thou shalt kill the bullock before the LORD, by the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.
12 And thou shalt take of the blood of the bullock, and put it upon the horns of the altar with thy finger, and pour all the blood beside the bottom of the altar.
13 And thou shalt take all the fat that covereth the inwards, and the caul that is above the liver, and the two kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, and burn them upon the altar.
14 But the flesh of the bullock, and his skin, and his dung, shalt thou burn with fire without the camp: it is a sin offering.
15 Thou shalt also take one ram; and Aaron and his sons shall put their hands upon the head of the ram.
16 And thou shalt slay the ram, and thou shalt take his blood, and sprinkle it round about upon the altar.
17 And thou shalt cut the ram in pieces, and wash the inwards of him, and his legs, and put them unto his pieces, and unto his head.
18 And thou shalt burn the whole ram upon the altar: it is a burnt offering unto the LORD: it is a sweet savour, an offering made by fire unto the LORD.
19 And thou shalt take the other ram; and Aaron and his sons shall put their hands upon the head of the ram.
20 Then shalt thou kill the ram, and take of his blood, and put it upon the tip of the right ear of Aaron, and upon the tip of the right ear of his sons, and upon the thumb of their right hand, and upon the great toe of their right foot, and sprinkle the blood upon the altar round about.
21 And thou shalt take of the blood that is upon the altar, and of the anointing oil, and sprinkle it upon Aaron, and upon his garments, and upon his sons, and upon the garments of his sons with him: and he shall be hallowed, and his garments, and his sons, and his sons' garments with him.
22 Also thou shalt take of the ram the fat and the rump, and the fat that covereth the inwards, and the caul above the liver, and the two kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, and the right shoulder; for it is a ram of consecration:
23 And one loaf of bread, and one cake of oiled bread, and one wafer out of the basket of the unleavened bread that is before the LORD:
24 And thou shalt put all in the hands of Aaron, and in the hands of his sons; and shalt wave them for a wave offering before the LORD.
25 And thou shalt receive them of their hands, and burn them upon the altar for a burnt offering, for a sweet savour before the LORD: it is an offering made by fire unto the LORD.
26 And thou shalt take the breast of the ram of Aaron's consecration, and wave it for a wave offering before the LORD: and it shall be thy part.
27 And thou shalt sanctify the breast of the wave offering, and the shoulder of the heave offering, which is waved, and which is heaved up, of the ram of the consecration, even of that which is for Aaron, and of that which is for his sons:
28 And it shall be Aaron's and his sons' by a statute for ever from the children of Israel: for it is an heave offering: and it shall be an heave offering from the children of Israel of the sacrifice of their peace offerings, even their heave offering unto the LORD.
29 And the holy garments of Aaron shall be his sons' after him, to be anointed therein, and to be consecrated in them.
30 And that son that is priest in his stead shall put them on seven days, when he cometh into the tabernacle of the congregation to minister in the holy place.
31 And thou shalt take the ram of the consecration, and seethe his flesh in the holy place.
32 And Aaron and his sons shall eat the flesh of the ram, and the bread that is in the basket by the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.
33 And they shall eat those things wherewith the atonement was made, to consecrate and to sanctify them: but a stranger shall not eat thereof, because they are holy.
34 And if ought of the flesh of the consecrations, or of the bread, remain unto the morning, then thou shalt burn the remainder with fire: it shall not be eaten, because it is holy.

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35 And thus shalt thou do unto Aaron, and to his sons, according to all things which I have commanded thee: seven days shalt thou consecrate them.
36 And thou shalt offer every day a bullock for a sin offering for atonement: and thou shalt cleanse the altar, when thou hast made an atonement for it, and thou shalt anoint it, to sanctify it.
37 Seven days thou shalt make an atonement for the altar, and sanctify it; and it shall be an altar most holy: whatsoever toucheth the altar shall be holy.
38 Now this is that which thou shalt offer upon the altar; two lambs of the first year day by day continually.
39 The one lamb thou shalt offer in the morning; and the other lamb thou shalt offer at even:
40 And with the one lamb a tenth deal of flour mingled with the fourth part of an hin of beaten oil; and the fourth part of an hin of wine for a drink offering.
41 And the other lamb thou shalt offer at even, and shalt do thereto according to the meat offering of the morning, and according to the drink offering thereof, for a sweet savour, an offering made by fire unto the LORD.
42 This shall be a continual burnt offering throughout your generations at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation before the LORD: where I will meet you, to speak there unto thee.
43 And there I will meet with the children of Israel, and the tabernacle shall be sanctified by my glory.
44 And I will sanctify the tabernacle of the congregation, and the altar: I will sanctify also both Aaron and his sons, to minister to me in the priest's office.
45 And I will dwell among the children of Israel, and will be their God.
46 And they shall know that I am the LORD their God, that brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, that I may dwell among them: I am the LORD their God.

EXODUS CHAPTER 30

1 And thou shalt make an altar to burn incense upon: of shittim wood shalt thou make it.
2 A cubit shall be the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof; foursquare shall it be: and two cubits shall be the height thereof: the horns thereof shall be of the same.
3 And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, the top thereof, and the sides thereof round about, and the horns thereof; and thou shalt make unto it a crown of gold round about.
4 And two golden rings shalt thou make to it under the crown of it, by the two corners thereof, upon the two sides of it shalt thou make it; and they shall be for places for the staves to bear it withal.
5 And thou shalt make the staves of shittim wood, and overlay them with gold.
6 And thou shalt put it before the vail that is by the ark of the testimony, before the mercy seat that is over the testimony, where I will meet with thee.
7 And Aaron shall burn thereon sweet incense every morning: when he dresseth the lamps, he shall burn incense upon it.
8 And when Aaron lighteth the lamps at even, he shall burn incense upon it, a perpetual incense before the LORD throughout your generations.
9 Ye shall offer no strange incense thereon, nor burnt sacrifice, nor meat offering; neither shall ye pour drink offering thereon.
10 And Aaron shall make an atonement upon the horns of it once in a year with the blood of the sin offering of atonements: once in the year shall he make atonement upon it throughout your generations: it is most holy unto the LORD.
11 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
12 When thou takest the sum of the children of Israel after their number, then shall they give every man a ransom for his soul unto the LORD, when thou numberest them; that there be no plague among them, when thou numberest them.
13 This they shall give, every one that passeth among them that are numbered, half a shekel after the shekel of the sanctuary: (a shekel is twenty gerahs:) an half shekel shall be the offering of the LORD.
14 Every one that passeth among them that are numbered, from twenty years old and above, shall give an offering unto the LORD.
15 The rich shall not give more, and the poor shall not give less than half a shekel, when they give an offering unto the LORD, to make an atonement for your souls.
16 And thou shalt take the atonement money of the children of Israel, and shalt appoint it for the service of the tabernacle of the congregation; that it may be a memorial unto the children of Israel before the LORD, to make an atonement for your souls.
17 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
18 Thou shalt also make a laver of brass, and his foot also of brass, to wash withal: and thou shalt put it between the tabernacle of the congregation and the altar, and thou shalt put water therein.
19 For Aaron and his sons shall wash their hands and their feet thereat:
20 When they go into the tabernacle of the congregation, they shall wash with water, that they die not; or when they come near to the altar to minister, to burn offering made by fire unto the LORD:
21 So they shall wash their hands and their feet, that they die not: and it shall be a statute for ever to them, even to him and to his seed throughout their generations.
22 Moreover the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
23 Take thou also unto thee principal spices, of pure myrrh five hundred shekels, and of sweet cinnamon half so much, even two hundred and fifty shekels, and of sweet calamus two hundred and fifty shekels,
24 And of cassia five hundred shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary, and of oil olive an hin:
25 And thou shalt make it an oil of holy ointment, an ointment compound after the art of the apothecary: it shall be an holy anointing oil.
26 And thou shalt anoint the tabernacle of the congregation therewith, and the ark of the testimony,
27 And the table and all his vessels, and the candlestick and his vessels, and the altar of incense,
28 And the altar of burnt offering with all his vessels, and the laver and his foot.
29 And thou shalt sanctify them, that they may be most holy: whatsoever toucheth them shall be holy.
30 And thou shalt anoint Aaron and his sons, and consecrate them, that they may minister unto me in the priest's office.
31 And thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel, saying, This shall be an holy anointing oil unto me throughout your generations.
32 Upon man's flesh shall it not be poured, neither shall ye make any other like it, after the composition of it: it is holy, and it shall be holy unto you.
33 Whosoever compoundeth any like it, or whosoever putteth any of it upon a stranger, shall even be cut off from his people.
34 And the LORD said unto Moses, Take unto thee sweet spices, stacte, and onycha, and galbanum; these sweet spices with pure frankincense: of each shall there be a like weight:
35 And thou shalt make it a perfume, a confection after the art of the apothecary, tempered together, pure and holy:
36 And thou shalt beat some of it very small, and put of it before the testimony in the tabernacle of the congregation, where I will meet with thee: it shall be unto you most holy.
37 And as for the perfume which thou shalt make, ye shall not make to yourselves according to the composition thereof: it shall be unto thee holy for the LORD.
38 Whosoever shall make like unto that, to smell thereto, shall even be cut off from his people.

EXODUS CHAPTER 31

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 See, I have called by name Bezaleel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah:
3 And I have filled him with the spirit of God, in wisdom, and in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship,
4 To devise cunning works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass,
5 And in cutting of stones, to set them, and in carving of timber, to work in all manner of workmanship.
6 And I, behold, I have given with him Aholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan: and in the hearts of all that are wise hearted I have put wisdom, that they may make all that I have commanded thee;
7 The tabernacle of the congregation, and the ark of the testimony, and the mercy seat that is thereupon, and all the furniture of the tabernacle,
8 And the table and his furniture, and the pure candlestick with all his furniture, and the altar of incense,
9 And the altar of burnt offering with all his furniture, and the laver and his foot,
10 And the cloths of service, and the holy garments for Aaron the priest, and the garments of his sons, to minister in the priest's office,
11 And the anointing oil, and sweet incense for the holy place: according to all that I have commanded thee shall they do.
12 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
13 Speak thou also unto the children of Israel, saying, Verily my sabbaths ye shall keep: for it is a sign between me and you throughout your generations; that ye may know that I am the LORD that doth sanctify you.
14 Ye shall keep the sabbath therefore; for it is holy unto you: every one that defileth it shall surely be put to death: for whosoever doeth any work therein, that soul shall be cut off from among his people.
15 Six days may work be done; but in the seventh is the sabbath of rest, holy to the LORD: whosoever doeth any work in the sabbath day, he shall surely be put to death.
16 Wherefore the children of Israel shall keep the sabbath, to observe the sabbath throughout their generations, for a perpetual covenant.
17 It is a sign between me and the children of Israel for ever: for in six days the LORD made heaven and earth, and on the seventh day he rested, and was refreshed.
18 And he gave unto Moses, when he had made an end of communing with him upon mount Sinai, two tables of testimony, tables of stone, written with the finger of God.

EXODUS CHAPTER 32

1 And when the people saw that Moses delayed to come down out of the mount, the people gathered themselves together unto Aaron, and said unto him, Up, make us gods, which shall go before us; for as for this Moses, the man that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him.
2 And Aaron said unto them, Break off the golden earrings, which are in the ears of your wives, of your sons, and of your daughters, and bring them unto me.
3 And all the people brake off the golden earrings which were in their ears, and brought them unto Aaron.
4 And he received them at their hand, and fashioned it with a graving tool, after he had made it a molten calf: and they said, These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.
5 And when Aaron saw it, he built an altar before it; and Aaron made proclamation, and said, To morrow is a feast to the LORD.
6 And they rose up early on the morrow, and offered burnt offerings, and brought peace offerings; and the people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play.
7 And the LORD said unto Moses, Go, get thee down; for thy people, which thou broughtest out of the land of Egypt, have corrupted themselves:
8 They have turned aside quickly out of the way which I commanded them: they have made them a molten calf, and have worshipped it, and have sacrificed thereunto, and said, These be thy gods, O Israel, which have brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.
9 And the LORD said unto Moses, I have seen this people, and, behold, it is a stiffnecked people:
10 Now therefore let me alone, that my wrath may wax hot against them, and that I may consume them: and I will make of thee a great nation.
11 And Moses besought the LORD his God, and said, LORD, why doth thy wrath wax hot against thy people, which thou hast brought forth out of the land of Egypt with great power, and with a mighty hand?
12 Wherefore should the Egyptians speak, and say, For mischief did he bring them out, to slay them in the mountains, and to consume them from the face of the earth? Turn from thy fierce wrath, and repent of this evil against thy people.
13 Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, thy servants, to whom thou swarest by thine own self, and saidst unto them, I will multiply your seed as the stars of heaven, and all this land that I have spoken of will I give unto your seed, and they shall inherit it for ever.
14 And the LORD repented of the evil which he thought to do unto his people.
15 And Moses turned, and went down from the mount, and the two tables of the testimony were in his hand: the tables were written on both their sides; on the one side and on the other were they written.
16 And the tables were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of God, graven upon the tables.
17 And when Joshua heard the noise of the people as they shouted, he said unto Moses, There is a noise of war in the camp.
18 And he said, It is not the voice of them that shout for mastery, neither is it the voice of them that cry for being overcome: but the noise of them that sing do I hear.
19 And it came to pass, as soon as he came nigh unto the camp, that he saw the calf, and the dancing: and Moses' anger waxed hot, and he cast the tables out of his hands, and brake them beneath the mount.
20 And he took the calf which they had made, and burnt it in the fire, and ground it to powder, and strawed it upon the water, and made the children of Israel drink of it.
21 And Moses said unto Aaron, What did this people unto thee, that thou hast brought so great a sin upon them?
22 And Aaron said, Let not the anger of my lord wax hot: thou knowest the people, that they are set on mischief.
23 For they said unto me, Make us gods, which shall go before us: for as for this Moses, the man that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him.
24 And I said unto them, Whosoever hath any gold, let them break it off. So they gave it me: then I cast it into the fire, and there came out this calf.
25 And when Moses saw that the people were naked; (for Aaron had made them naked unto their shame among their enemies:)
26 Then Moses stood in the gate of the camp, and said, Who is on the LORD's side? let him come unto me. And all the sons of Levi gathered themselves together unto him.
27 And he said unto them, Thus saith the LORD God of Israel, Put every man his sword by his side, and go in and out

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from gate to gate throughout the camp, and slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbour.
28 And the children of Levi did according to the word of Moses: and there fell of the people that day about three thousand men.
29 For Moses had said, Consecrate yourselves today to the LORD, even every man upon his son, and upon his brother; that he may bestow upon you a blessing this day.
30 And it came to pass on the morrow, that Moses said unto the people, Ye have sinned a great sin: and now I will go up unto the LORD; peradventure I shall make an atonement for your sin.
31 And Moses returned unto the LORD, and said, Oh, this people have sinned a great sin, and have made them gods of gold.
32 Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin--; and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written.
33 And the LORD said unto Moses, Whosoever hath sinned against me, him will I blot out of my book.
34 Therefore now go, lead the people unto the place of which I have spoken unto thee: behold, mine Angel shall go before thee: nevertheless in the day when I visit I will visit their sin upon them.
35 And the LORD plagued the people, because they made the calf, which Aaron made.

EXODUS CHAPTER 33
1 And the LORD said unto Moses, Depart, and go up hence, thou and the people which thou hast brought up out of the land of Egypt, unto the land which I sware unto Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, saying, Unto thy seed will I give it:
2 And I will send an angel before thee; and I will drive out the Canaanite, the Amorite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite:
3 Unto a land flowing with milk and honey: for I will not go up in the midst of thee; for thou art a stiffnecked people: lest I consume thee in the way.
4 And when the people heard these evil tidings, they mourned: and no man did put on him his ornaments.
5 For the LORD had said unto Moses, Say unto the children of Israel, Ye are a stiffnecked people: I will come up into the midst of thee in a moment, and consume thee: therefore now put off thy ornaments from thee, that I may know what to do unto thee.
6 And the children of Israel stripped themselves of their ornaments by the mount Horeb.
7 And Moses took the tabernacle, and pitched it without the camp, afar off from the camp, and called it the Tabernacle of the congregation. And it came to pass, that every one which sought the LORD went out unto the tabernacle of the congregation, which was without the camp.
8 And it came to pass, when Moses went out unto the tabernacle, that all the people rose up, and stood every man at his tent door, and looked after Moses, until he was gone into the tabernacle.
9 And it came to pass, as Moses entered into the tabernacle, the cloudy pillar descended, and stood at the door of the tabernacle, and the Lord talked with Moses.
10 And all the people saw the cloudy pillar stand at the tabernacle door: and all the people rose up and worshipped, every man in his tent door.
11 And the LORD spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend. And he turned again into the camp: but his servant Joshua, the son of Nun, a young man, departed not out of the tabernacle.
12 And Moses said unto the LORD, See, thou sayest unto me, Bring up this people: and thou hast not let me know whom thou wilt send with me. Yet thou hast said, I know thee by name, and thou hast also found grace in my sight.
13 Now therefore, I pray thee, if I have found grace in thy sight, shew me now thy way, that I may know thee, that I may find grace in thy sight: and consider that this nation is thy people.
14 And he said, My presence shall go with thee, and I will give thee rest.
15 And he said unto him, If thy presence go not with me, carry us not up hence.
16 For wherein shall it be known here that I and thy people have found grace in thy sight? is it not in that thou goest with us? so shall we be separated, I and thy people, from all the people that are upon the face of the earth.
17 And the LORD said unto Moses, I will do this thing also that thou hast spoken: for thou hast found grace in my sight, and I know thee by name.
18 And he said, I beseech thee, shew me thy glory.
19 And he said, I will make all my goodness pass before thee, and I will proclaim the name of the LORD before thee; and will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will shew mercy on whom I will shew mercy.
20 And he said, Thou canst not see my face: for there shall no man see me, and live.
21 And the LORD said, Behold, there is a place by me, and thou shalt stand upon a rock:
22 And it shall come to pass, while my glory passeth by, that I will put thee in a clift of the rock, and will cover thee with my hand while I pass by:
23 And I will take away mine hand, and thou shalt see my back parts: but my face shall not be seen.

EXODUS CHAPTER 34
1 And the LORD said unto Moses, Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first: and I will write upon these tables the words that were in the first tables, which thou brakest.
2 And be ready in the morning, and come up in the morning unto mount Sinai, and present thyself there to me in the top of the mount.
3 And no man shall come up with thee, neither let any man be seen throughout all the mount; neither let the flocks nor herds feed before that mount.
4 And he hewed two tables of stone like unto the first; and Moses rose up early in the morning, and went up unto mount Sinai, as the LORD had commanded him, and took in his hand the two tables of stone.
5 And the LORD descended in the cloud, and stood with him there, and proclaimed the name of the LORD.
6 And the LORD passed by before him, and proclaimed, The LORD, The LORD God, merciful and gracious, longsuffering, and abundant in goodness and truth,
7 Keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children, unto the third and to the fourth generation.
8 And Moses made haste, and bowed his head toward the earth, and worshipped.
9 And he said, If now I have found grace in thy sight, O LORD, let my LORD, I pray thee, go among us; for it is a stiffnecked people; and pardon our iniquity and our sin, and take us for thine inheritance.
10 And he said, Behold, I make a covenant: before all thy people I will do marvels, such as have not been done in all the earth, nor in any nation: and all the people among which thou art shall see the work of the LORD: for it is a terrible thing that I will do with thee.
11 Observe thou that which I command thee this day: behold, I drive out before thee the Amorite, and the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite.
12 Take heed to thyself, lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land whither thou goest, lest it be for a snare in the midst of thee:
13 But ye shall destroy their altars, break their images, and cut down their groves:
14 For thou shalt worship no other god: for the LORD, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God:
15 Lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land, and they go a whoring after their gods, and do sacrifice unto their gods, and one call thee, and thou eat of his sacrifice;
16 And thou take of their daughters unto thy sons, and their daughters go a whoring after their gods, and make thy sons go a whoring after their gods.
17 Thou shalt make thee no molten gods.
18 The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep. Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, as I commanded thee, in the time of the month Abib: for in the month Abib thou camest out from Egypt.
19 All that openeth the matrix is mine; and every firstling among thy cattle, whether ox or sheep, that is male.
20 But the firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem with a lamb: and if thou redeem him not, then shalt thou break his neck. All the firstborn of thy sons thou shalt redeem. And none shall appear before me empty.
21 Six days thou shalt work, but on the seventh day thou shalt rest: in earing time and in harvest thou shalt rest.
22 And thou shalt observe the feast of weeks, of the firstfruits of wheat harvest, and the feast of ingathering at the year's end.
23 Thrice in the year shall all your menchildren appear before the LORD God, the God of Israel.
24 For I will cast out the nations before thee, and enlarge thy borders: neither shall any man desire thy land, when thou shalt go up to appear before the LORD thy God thrice in the year.
25 Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven; neither shall the sacrifice of the feast of the passover be left unto the morning.
26 The first of the firstfruits of thy land thou shalt bring unto the house of the LORD thy God. Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk.
27 And the LORD said unto Moses, Write thou these words: for after the tenor of these words I have made a covenant with thee and with Israel.
28 And he was there with the LORD forty days and forty nights; he did neither eat bread, nor drink water. And he wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten commandments.
29 And it came to pass, when Moses came down from mount Sinai with the two tables of testimony in Moses' hand, when he came down from the mount, that Moses wist not that the skin of his face shone while he talked with him.
30 And when Aaron and all the children of Israel saw Moses, behold, the skin of his face shone; and they were afraid to come nigh him.
31 And Moses called unto them; and Aaron and all the rulers of the congregation returned unto him: and Moses talked with them.
32 And afterward all the children of Israel came nigh: and he gave them in commandment all that the LORD had spoken with him in mount Sinai.
33 And till Moses had done speaking with them, he put a vail on his face.
34 But when Moses went in before the LORD to speak with him, he took the vail off, until he came out. And he came out, and spake unto the children of Israel that which he was commanded.
35 And the children of Israel saw the face of Moses, that the skin of Moses' face shone: and Moses put the vail upon his face again, until he went in to speak with him.

EXODUS CHAPTER 35
1 And Moses gathered all the congregation of the children of Israel together, and said unto them, These are the words which the LORD hath commanded, that ye should do them.
2 Six days shall work be done, but on the seventh day there shall be to you an holy day, a sabbath of rest to the LORD: whosoever doeth work therein shall be put to death.
3 Ye shall kindle no fire throughout your habitations upon the sabbath day.
4 And Moses spake unto all the congregation of the children of Israel, saying, This is the thing which the LORD commanded, saying,
5 Take ye from among you an offering unto the LORD: whosoever is of a willing heart, let him bring it, an offering of the LORD; gold, and silver, and brass,
6 And blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen, and goats' hair,
7 And rams' skins dyed red, and badgers' skins, and shittim wood,
8 And oil for the light, and spices for anointing oil, and for the sweet incense,
9 And onyx stones, and stones to be set for the ephod, and for the breastplate.
10 And every wise hearted among you shall come, and make all that the LORD hath commanded;
11 The tabernacle, his tent, and his covering, his taches, and his boards, his bars, his pillars, and his sockets,
12 The ark, and the staves thereof, with the mercy seat, and the vail of the covering,
13 The table, and his staves, and all his vessels, and the shewbread,
14 The candlestick also for the light, and his furniture, and his lamps, with the oil for the light,
15 And the incense altar, and his staves, and the anointing oil, and the sweet incense, and the hanging for the door at the entering in of the tabernacle,
16 The altar of burnt offering, with his brasen grate, his staves, and all his vessels, the laver and his foot,
17 The hangings of the court, his pillars, and their sockets, and the hanging for the door of the court,
18 The pins of the tabernacle, and the pins of the court, and their cords,
19 The cloths of service, to do service in the holy place, the holy garments for Aaron the priest, and the garments of his sons, to minister in the priest's office.
20 And all the congregation of the children of Israel departed from the presence of Moses.
21 And they came, every one whose heart stirred him up, and every one whom his spirit made willing, and they brought the LORD's offering to the work of the tabernacle of the congregation, and for all his service, and for the holy garments.
22 And they came, both men and women, as many as were willing hearted, and brought bracelets, and earrings, and rings, and tablets, all jewels of gold: and every man that offered offered an offering of gold unto the LORD.
23 And every man, with whom was found blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen, and goats' hair, and red skins of rams, and badgers' skins, brought them.
24 Every one that did offer an offering of silver and brass brought the LORD's offering: and every man, with whom was found shittim wood for any work of the service, brought it.
25 And all the women that were wise hearted did spin with their hands, and brought that which they had spun, both of blue, and of purple, and of scarlet, and of fine linen.
26 And all the women whose heart stirred them up in wisdom spun goats' hair.
27 And the rulers brought onyx stones, and stones to be set, for the ephod, and for the breastplate;
28 And spice, and oil for the light, and for the anointing oil, and for the sweet incense.

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29 The children of Israel brought a willing offering unto the LORD, every man and woman, whose heart made them willing to bring for all manner of work, which the LORD had commanded to be made by the hand of Moses.

30 And Moses said unto the children of Israel, See, the LORD hath called by name Bezaleel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah;

31 And he hath filled him with the spirit of God, in wisdom, in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship;

32 And to devise curious works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass,

33 And in the cutting of stones, to set them, and in carving of wood, to make any manner of cunning work.

34 And he hath put in his heart that he may teach, both he, and Aholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan.

35 Them hath he filled with wisdom of heart, to work all manner of work, of the engraver, and of the cunning workman, and of the embroiderer, in blue, and in purple, in scarlet, and in fine linen, and of the weaver, even of them that do any work, and of those that devise cunning work.

EXODUS CHAPTER 36

1 Then wrought Bezaleel and Aholiab, and every wise hearted man, in whom the LORD put wisdom and understanding to know how to work all manner of work for the service of the sanctuary, according to all that the LORD had commanded.

2 And Moses called Bezaleel and Aholiab, and every wise hearted man, in whose heart the LORD had put wisdom, even every one whose heart stirred him up to come unto the work to do it:

3 And they received of Moses all the offering, which the children of Israel had brought for the work of the service of the sanctuary, to make it withal. And they brought yet unto him free offerings every morning.

4 And all the wise men, that wrought all the work of the sanctuary, came every man from his work which they made;

5 And they spake unto Moses, saying, The people bring much more than enough for the service of the work, which the LORD commanded to make.

6 And Moses gave commandment, and they caused it to be proclaimed throughout the camp, saying, Let neither man nor woman make any more work for the offering of the sanctuary. So the people were restrained from bringing.

7 For the stuff they had was sufficient for all the work to make it, and too much.

8 And every wise hearted man among them that wrought the work of the tabernacle made ten curtains of fine twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet: with cherubims of cunning work made he them.

9 The length of one curtain was twenty and eight cubits, and the breadth of one curtain four cubits: the curtains were all of one size.

10 And he coupled the five curtains one unto another: and the other five curtains he coupled one unto another.

11 And he made loops of blue on the edge of one curtain from the selvedge in the coupling: likewise he made in the uttermost side of another curtain, in the coupling of the second.

12 Fifty loops made he in one curtain, and fifty loops made he in the edge of the curtain which was in the coupling of the second: the loops held one curtain to another.

13 And he made fifty taches of gold, and coupled the curtains one unto another with the taches: so it became one tabernacle.

14 And he made curtains of goats' hair for the tent over the tabernacle: eleven curtains he made them.

15 The length of one curtain was thirty cubits, and four cubits was the breadth of one curtain: the eleven curtains were of one size.

16 And he coupled five curtains by themselves, and six curtains by themselves.

17 And he made fifty loops upon the uttermost edge of the curtain in the coupling, and fifty loops made he upon the edge of the curtain which coupleth the second.

18 And he made fifty taches of brass to couple the tent together, that it might be one.

19 And he made a covering for the tent of rams' skins dyed red, and a covering of badgers' skins above that.

20 And he made boards for the tabernacle of shittim wood, standing up.

21 The length of a board was ten cubits, and the breadth of a board one cubit and a half.

22 One board had two tenons, equally distant one from another: thus did he make for all the boards of the tabernacle.

23 And he made boards for the tabernacle; twenty boards for the south side southward:

24 And forty sockets of silver he made under the twenty boards; two sockets under one board for his two tenons, and two sockets under another board for his two tenons.

25 And for the other side of the tabernacle, which is toward the north corner, he made twenty boards,

26 And their forty sockets of silver; two sockets under one board, and two sockets under another board.

27 And for the sides of the tabernacle westward he made six boards.

28 And two boards made he for the corners of the tabernacle in the two sides.

29 And they were coupled beneath, and coupled together at the head thereof, to one ring: thus he did to both of them in both the corners.

30 And there were eight boards; and their sockets were sixteen sockets of silver, under every board two sockets.

31 And he made bars of shittim wood; five for the boards of the one side of the tabernacle,

32 And five bars for the boards of the other side of the tabernacle, and five bars for the boards of the tabernacle for the sides westward.

33 And he made the middle bar to shoot through the boards from the one end to the other.

34 And he overlaid the boards with gold, and made their rings of gold to be places for the bars, and overlaid the bars with gold.

35 And he made a vail of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen: with cherubims made he it of cunning work.

36 And he made thereunto four pillars of shittim wood, and overlaid them with gold: their hooks were of gold; and he cast for them four sockets of silver.

37 And he made an hanging for the tabernacle door of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, of needlework;

38 And the five pillars of it with their hooks: and he overlaid their chapiters and their fillets with gold: but their five sockets were of brass.

EXODUS CHAPTER 37

1 And Bezaleel made the ark of shittim wood: two cubits and a half was the length of it, and a cubit and a half the breadth of it, and a cubit and a half the height of it:

2 And he overlaid it with pure gold within and without, and made a crown of gold to it round about.

3 And he cast for it four rings of gold, to be set by the four corners of it; even two rings upon the one side of it, and two rings upon the other side of it.

4 And he made staves of shittim wood, and overlaid them with gold.

5 And he put the staves into the rings by the sides of the ark, to bear the ark.

6 And he made the mercy seat of pure gold: two cubits and a half was the length thereof, and one cubit and a half the breadth thereof.

7 And he made two cherubims of gold, beaten out of one piece made he them, on the two ends of the mercy seat;

8 One cherub on the end on this side, and another cherub on the other end on that side: out of the mercy seat made he the cherubims on the two ends thereof.

9 And the cherubims spread out their wings on high, and covered with their wings over the mercy seat, with their faces one to another; even to the mercy seatward were the faces of the cherubims.

10 And he made the table of shittim wood: two cubits was the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the height thereof:

11 And he overlaid it with pure gold, and made thereunto a crown of gold round about.

12 Also he made thereunto a border of an handbreadth round about; and made a crown of gold for the border thereof round about.

13 And he cast for it four rings of gold, and put the rings upon the four corners that were in the four feet thereof.

14 Over against the border were the rings, the places for the staves to bear the table.

15 And he made the staves of shittim wood, and overlaid them with gold, to bear the table.

16 And he made the vessels which were upon the table, his dishes, and his spoons, and his bowls, and his covers to cover withal, of pure gold.

17 And he made the candlestick of pure gold: of beaten work made he the candlestick; his shaft, and his branch, his bowls, his knops, and his flowers, were of the same:

18 And six branches going out of the sides thereof; three branches of the candlestick out of the one side thereof, and three branches of the candlestick out of the other side thereof:

19 Three bowls made after the fashion of almonds in one branch, a knop and a flower; and three bowls made like almonds in another branch, a knop and a flower: so throughout the six branches going out of the candlestick.

20 And in the candlestick were four bowls made like almonds, his knops, and his flowers:

21 And a knop under two branches of the same, and a knop under two branches of the same, and a knop under two branches of the same, according to the six branches going out of it.

22 Their knops and their branches were of the same: all of it was one beaten work of pure gold.

23 And he made his seven lamps, and his snuffers, and his snuffdishes, of pure gold.

24 Of a talent of pure gold made he it, and all the vessels thereof.

25 And he made the incense altar of shittim wood: the length of it was a cubit, and the breadth of it a cubit; it was foursquare; and two cubits was the height of it; the horns thereof were of the same.

26 And he overlaid it with pure gold, both the top of it, and the sides thereof round about, and the horns of it: also he made unto it a crown of gold round about.

27 And he made two rings of gold for it under the crown thereof, by the two corners of it, upon the two sides thereof, to be places for the staves to bear it withal.

28 And he made the staves of shittim wood, and overlaid them with gold.

29 And he made the holy anointing oil, and the pure incense of sweet spices, according to the work of the apothecary.

EXODUS CHAPTER 38

1 And he made the altar of burnt offering of shittim wood: five cubits was the length thereof, and five cubits the breadth thereof; it was foursquare; and three cubits the height thereof.

2 And he made the horns thereof on the four corners of it; the horns thereof were of the same: and he overlaid it with brass.

3 And he made all the vessels of the altar, the pots, and the shovels, and the basons, and the fleshhooks, and the firepans: all the vessels thereof made he of brass.

4 And he made for the altar a brasen grate of network under the compass thereof beneath unto the midst of it.

5 And he cast four rings for the four ends of the grate of brass, to be places for the staves.

6 And he made the staves of shittim wood, and overlaid them with brass.

7 And he put the staves into the rings on the sides of the altar, to bear it withal; he made the altar hollow with boards.

8 And he made the laver of brass, and the foot of it of brass, of the lookingglasses of the women assembling, which assembled at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.

9 And he made the court: on the south side southward the hangings of the court were of fine twined linen, an hundred cubits:

10 Their pillars were twenty, and their brasen sockets twenty; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets were of silver.

11 And for the north side the hangings were an hundred cubits, their pillars were twenty, and their sockets of brass twenty; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets of silver.

12 And for the west side were hangings of fifty cubits, their pillars ten, and their sockets ten; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets of silver.

13 And for the east side eastward fifty cubits.

14 The hangings of the one side of the gate were fifteen cubits; their pillars three, and their sockets three.

15 And for the other side of the court gate, on this hand and that hand, were hangings of fifteen cubits; their pillars three, and their sockets three.

16 All the hangings of the court round about were of fine twined linen.

17 And the sockets for the pillars were of brass; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets of silver; and the overlaying of their chapiters of silver; and all the pillars of the court were filleted with silver.

18 And the hanging for the gate of the court was needlework, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen: and twenty cubits was the length, and the height in the breadth was five cubits, answerable to the hangings of the court.

19 And their pillars were four, and their sockets of brass four; their hooks of silver, and the overlaying of their chapiters and their fillets of silver.

20 And all the pins of the tabernacle, and of the court round about, were of brass.

21 This is the sum of the tabernacle, even of the tabernacle of testimony, as it was counted, according to the commandment of Moses, for the service of the Levites, by the hand of Ithamar, son to Aaron the priest.

22 And Bezaleel the son Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah, made all that the LORD commanded Moses.

23 And with him was Aholiab, son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan, an engraver, and a cunning workman, and an embroiderer in blue, and in purple, and in scarlet, and fine linen.

24 All the gold that was occupied for the work in all the work of the holy place, even the gold of the offering, was twenty and nine talents, and seven hundred and thirty shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary.

25 And the silver of them that were numbered of the congregation was an hundred talents, and a thousand seven hundred and threescore and fifteen shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary:

26 A bekah for every man, that is, half a shekel, after the shekel of the sanctuary, for every one that went to be numbered, from twenty years old and upward, for six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty men.

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27 And of the hundred talents of silver were cast the sockets of the sanctuary, and the sockets of the vail; an hundred sockets of the hundred talents, a talent for a socket.
28 And of the thousand seven hundred seventy and five shekels he made hooks for the pillars, and overlaid their chapiters, and filleted them.
29 And the brass of the offering was seventy talents, and two thousand and four hundred shekels.
30 And therewith he made the sockets to the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, and the brasen altar, and the brasen grate for it, and all the vessels of the altar,
31 And the sockets of the court round about, and the sockets of the court gate, and all the pins of the tabernacle, and all the pins of the court round about.

EXODUS CHAPTER 39
1 And of the blue, and purple, and scarlet, they made cloths of service, to do service in the holy place, and made the holy garments for Aaron; as the LORD commanded Moses.
2 And he made the ephod of gold, blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen.
3 And they did beat the gold into thin plates, and cut it into wires, to work it in the blue, and in the purple, and in the scarlet, and in the fine linen, with cunning work.
4 They made shoulderpieces for it, to couple it together: by the two edges was it coupled together.
5 And the curious girdle of his ephod, that was upon it, was of the same, according to the work thereof; of gold, blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen; as the LORD commanded Moses.
6 And they wrought onyx stones inclosed in ouches of gold, graven, as signets are graven, with the names of the children of Israel.
7 And he put them on the shoulders of the ephod, that they should be stones for a memorial to the children of Israel; as the LORD commanded Moses.
8 And he made the breastplate of cunning work, like the work of the ephod; of gold, blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen.
9 It was foursquare; they made the breastplate double: a span was the length thereof, and a span the breadth thereof, being doubled.
10 And they set in it four rows of stones: the first row was a sardius, a topaz, and a carbuncle: this was the first row.
11 And the second row, an emerald, a sapphire, and a diamond.
12 And the third row, a ligure, an agate, and an amethyst.
13 And the fourth row, a beryl, an onyx, and a jasper: they were inclosed in ouches of gold in their inclosings.
14 And the stones were according to the names of the children of Israel, twelve, according to their names, like the engravings of a signet, every one with his name, according to the twelve tribes.
15 And they made upon the breastplate chains at the ends, of wreathen work of pure gold.
16 And they made two ouches of gold, and two gold rings; and put the two rings in the two ends of the breastplate.
17 And they put the two wreathen chains of gold in the two rings on the ends of the breastplate.
18 And the two ends of the two wreathen chains they fastened in the two ouches, and put them on the shoulderpieces of the ephod, before it.
19 And they made two rings of gold, and put them on the two ends of the breastplate, upon the border of it, which was on the side of the ephod inward.
20 And they made two other golden rings, and put them on the two sides of the ephod underneath, toward the forepart of it, over against the other coupling thereof, above the curious girdle of the ephod.
21 And they did bind the breastplate by his rings unto the rings of the ephod with a lace of blue, that it might be above the curious girdle of the ephod, and that the breastplate might not be loosed from the ephod; as the LORD commanded Moses.
22 And he made the robe of the ephod of woven work, all of blue.
23 And there was an hole in the midst of the robe, as the hole of an habergeon, with a band round about the hole, that it should not rend.
24 And they made upon the hems of the robe pomegranates of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and twined linen.
25 And they made bells of pure gold, and put the bells between the pomegranates upon the hem of the robe, round about between the pomegranates;
26 A bell and a pomegranate, a bell and a pomegranate, round about the hem of the robe to minister in; as the LORD commanded Moses.
27 And they made coats of fine linen of woven work for Aaron, and for his sons,
28 And a mitre of fine linen, and goodly bonnets of fine linen, and linen breeches of fine twined linen,
29 And a girdle of fine twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, of needlework; as the LORD commanded Moses.
30 And they made the plate of the holy crown of pure gold, and wrote upon it a writing, like to the engravings of a signet, HOLINESS TO THE LORD.
31 And they tied unto it a lace of blue, to fasten it on high upon the mitre; as the LORD commanded Moses.
32 Thus was all the work of the tabernacle of the tent of the congregation finished: and the children of Israel did according to all that the LORD commanded Moses, so did they.
33 And they brought the tabernacle unto Moses, the tent, and all his furniture, his taches, his boards, his bars, and his pillars, and his sockets,
34 And the covering of rams' skins dyed red, and the covering of badgers' skins, and the vail of the covering,
35 The ark of the testimony, and the staves thereof, and the mercy seat,
36 The table, and all the vessels thereof, and the shewbread,
37 The pure candlestick, with the lamps thereof, even with the lamps to be set in order, and all the vessels thereof, and the oil for light,
38 And the golden altar, and the anointing oil, and the sweet incense, and the hanging for the tabernacle door,
39 The brasen altar, and his grate of brass, his staves, and all his vessels, the laver and his foot,
40 The hangings of the court, his pillars, and his sockets, and the hanging for the court gate, his cords, and his pins, and all the vessels of the service of the tabernacle, for the tent of the congregation,
41 The cloths of service to do service in the holy place, and the holy garments for Aaron the priest, and his sons' garments, to minister in the priest's office.
42 According to all that the LORD commanded Moses, so the children of Israel made all the work.
43 And Moses did look upon all the work, and, behold, they had done it as the LORD had commanded, even so had they done it: and Moses blessed them.

EXODUS CHAPTER 40
1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 On the first day of the first month shalt thou set up the tabernacle of the tent of the congregation.
3 And thou shalt put therein the ark of the testimony, and cover the ark with the vail.
4 And thou shalt bring in the table, and set in order the things that are to be set in order upon it; and thou shalt bring in the candlestick, and light the lamps thereof.
5 And thou shalt set the altar of gold for the incense before the ark of the testimony, and put the hanging of the door to the tabernacle.
6 And thou shalt set the altar of the burnt offering before the door of the tabernacle of the tent of the congregation.
7 And thou shalt set the laver between the tent of the congregation and the altar, and shalt put water therein.
8 And thou shalt set up the court round about, and hang up the hanging at the court gate.
9 And thou shalt take the anointing oil, and anoint the tabernacle, and all that is therein, and shalt hallow it, and all the vessels thereof: and it shall be holy.
10 And thou shalt anoint the altar of the burnt offering, and all his vessels, and sanctify the altar: and it shall be an altar most holy.
11 And thou shalt anoint the laver and his foot, and sanctify it.
12 And thou shalt bring Aaron and his sons unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, and wash them with water.
13 And thou shalt put upon Aaron the holy garments, and anoint him, and sanctify him; that he may minister unto me in the priest's office.
14 And thou shalt bring his sons, and clothe them with coats:
15 And thou shalt anoint them, as thou didst anoint their father, that they may minister unto me in the priest's office: for their anointing shall surely be an everlasting priesthood throughout their generations.
16 Thus did Moses: according to all that the LORD commanded him, so did he.
17 And it came to pass in the first month in the second year, on the first day of the month, that the tabernacle was reared up.
18 And Moses reared up the tabernacle, and fastened his sockets, and set up the boards thereof, and put in the bars thereof, and reared up his pillars.
19 And he spread abroad the tent over the tabernacle, and put the covering of the tent above upon it; as the LORD commanded Moses.
20 And he took and put the testimony into the ark, and set the staves on the ark, and put the mercy seat above upon the ark:
21 And he brought the ark into the tabernacle, and set up the vail of the covering, and covered the ark of the testimony; as the LORD commanded Moses.
22 And he put the table in the tent of the congregation, upon the side of the tabernacle northward, without the vail.
23 And he set the bread in order upon it before the LORD; as the LORD had commanded Moses.
24 And he put the candlestick in the tent of the congregation, over against the table, on the side of the tabernacle southward.
25 And he lighted the lamps before the LORD; as the LORD commanded Moses.
26 And he put the golden altar in the tent of the congregation before the vail:
27 And he burnt sweet incense thereon; as the LORD commanded Moses.
28 And he set up the hanging at the door of the tabernacle.
29 And he put the altar of burnt offering by the door of the tabernacle of the tent of the congregation, and offered upon it the burnt offering and the meat offering; as the LORD commanded Moses.
30 And he set the laver between the tent of the congregation and the altar, and put water there, to wash withal.
31 And Moses and Aaron and his sons washed their hands and their feet thereat:
32 When they went into the tent of the congregation, and when they came near unto the altar, they washed; as the LORD commanded Moses.
33 And he reared up the court round about the tabernacle and the altar, and set up the hanging of the court gate. So Moses finished the work.
34 Then a cloud covered the tent of the congregation, and the glory of the LORD filled the tabernacle.
35 And Moses was not able to enter into the tent of the congregation, because the cloud abode thereon, and the glory of the LORD filled the tabernacle.
36 And when the cloud was taken up from over the tabernacle, the children of Israel went onward in all their journeys:
37 But if the cloud were not taken up, then they journeyed not till the day that it was taken up.
38 For the cloud of the LORD was upon the tabernacle by day, and fire was on it by night, in the sight of all the house of Israel, throughout all their journeys.

LEVITICUS

The Third Book of Moses
Hebrew Title: Vayikra ("And He Called")

(In Hebrew the book is called Vayikra, from the opening of the book, va-yikra "And He [God] called." The name Leviticus comes from the Latin Leviticus, which is in turn from the Greek Leuitikon, referring to the Levites, the Jewish priestly tribe or caste of Levi. The Greek expression is in turn a variant of the rabbinic Hebrew "torat kohanim" meaning "law of priests", as many of its laws relate to priests. In principle, the Leviticus is the Basic Jewish Book of Law.

Contents or Structure:
SECTION 1: Laws on sacrifice (1:1–7:38)
A. Instructions for the laity on bringing offerings (1:1–6:7)
1–5. The types of offering: burnt, cereal, peace, purification, reparation (or sin) offerings (ch. 1–5)
B. Instructions for the priests (6:1–7:38)
1–6. The various offerings, with the addition of the priests' cereal offering (6:1–7:36)
7. Summary (7:37–38)
Chapters 1–5 describe the various sacrifices from the sacrificers' point of view, although the priests are essential for handling the blood. Chapters 6–7 go over much the same ground, but from the point of view of the priest, who, as the one actually carrying out the sacrifice and dividing the "portions", needs to know how to do this. Sacrifices are between God, the priest, and the offerers, although in some cases the entire sacrifice is a single portion to God—i.e., burnt to ashes.
SECTION 2: Institution of the priesthood (8:1–10:20)
A. Ordination of Aaron and his sons (ch. 8)
B. Aaron makes the first sacrifices (ch. 9)
C. Judgement on Nadab and Abihu (ch. 10)
Chapters 8–10 describe how Moses consecrates Aaron and his sons as the first priests, the first sacrifices, and God's destruction of two of Aaron's sons for ritual offenses. The purpose is to underline the character of altar priesthood (i.e., those priests with power to offer sacrifices to God) as an Aaronite privilege, and the responsibilities and dangers of their position.
SECTION 3: Uncleanliness and its treatment (11:1–15:33)
A. Unclean animals (ch. 11)
B. Childbirth as a source of uncleanliness (ch. 12)
C. Unclean diseases (ch. 13)
D. Cleansing of diseases (ch. 14)
E. Unclean discharges (ch. 15)
With sacrifice and priesthood established, chapters 11–15 instruct the lay people on purity (or cleanliness). Eating certain animals produces uncleanliness, as does giving birth; certain skin diseases (but not all) are unclean, as are certain conditions affecting walls and clothing (mildew and similar

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conditions); and genital discharges, including female menses and male gonorrhea, are unclean. The reasoning behind the food rules are obscure; for the rest the guiding principle seems to be that all these conditions involve a loss of "life force", usually but not always blood.

Section 4: Day of Atonement: purification of the tabernacle (the tent of congregation or provisional temple) from the effects of uncleanliness and sin (ch. 16)

Leviticus 16 concerns the Day of Atonement. This is the only day on which the High Priest is to enter the holiest part of the sanctuary, the holy of holies. He is to sacrifice a bull for the sins of the priests, and a goat for the sins of the laypeople. The priest is to send a second goat into the desert to "Azazel", bearing the sins of the whole people. Azazel may be a wilderness-demon, but its identity is mysterious.

SECTION 5: Prescriptions for practical holiness (the Holiness Code, chs. 17–26)

A. Sacrifice and food (ch. 17)
B. Sexual behaviour (ch. 18)
C. Neighbourliness (ch.19)
D. Grave crimes (ch. 20)
E. Rules for priests (ch. 21)
F. Rules for eating sacrifices (ch. 22)
G. Festivals (ch.23)
H. Rules for the tabernacle (ch. 24:1–9)
I. Blasphemy (ch. 24:10–23)
J. Sabbatical and Jubilee years (ch. 25)
K. Exhortation to obey the law: blessing and curse (ch. 26)

Chapters 17–26 are the Holiness code. It begins with a prohibition on all slaughter of animals outside the Temple, even for food, and then prohibits a long list of sexual contacts and also child sacrifice. The "holiness" injunctions which give the code its name begin with the next section: there are penalties for the worship of Molech, consulting mediums and wizards, cursing one's parents and engaging in unlawful sex. Priests receive instruction on mourning rituals and acceptable bodily defects. The punishment for blasphemy is death, and there is the setting of rules for eating sacrifices; there is an explanation of the calendar, and there are rules for sabbatical and Jubilee years; there are rules for oil lamps and bread in the sanctuary; and there are rules for slavery. The code ends by telling the Israelites they must choose between the law and prosperity on the one hand, or, on the other, horrible punishments, the worst of which will be expulsion from the land.

SECTION 6: Redemption of votive gifts (ch. 27).

Chapter 27 is a disparate and probably late addition telling about persons and things serving as dedication to the Lord and how one can redeem, instead of fulfill, vows.)

LEVITICUS CHAPTER 1

1 And the LORD called unto Moses, and spake unto him out of the tabernacle of the congregation, saying,

2 Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, If any man of you bring an offering unto the LORD, ye shall bring your offering of the cattle, even of the herd, and of the flock.

3 If his offering be a burnt sacrifice of the herd, let him offer a male without blemish: he shall offer it of his own voluntary will at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation before the LORD.

4 And he shall put his hand upon the head of the burnt offering; and it shall be accepted for him to make atonement for him.

5 And he shall kill the bullock before the LORD: and the priests, Aaron's sons, shall bring the blood, and sprinkle the blood round about upon the altar that is by the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.

6 And he shall flay the burnt offering, and cut it into his pieces.

7 And the sons of Aaron the priest shall put fire upon the altar, and lay the wood in order upon the fire:

8 And the priests, Aaron's sons, shall lay the parts, the head, and the fat, in order upon the wood that is on the fire which is upon the altar:

9 But his inwards and his legs shall he wash in water: and the priest shall burn all on the altar, to be a burnt sacrifice, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the LORD.

10 And if his offering be of the flocks, namely, of the sheep, or of the goats, for a burnt sacrifice; he shall bring it a male without blemish.

11 And he shall kill it on the side of the altar northward before the LORD: and the priests, Aaron's sons, shall sprinkle his blood round about upon the altar.

12 And he shall cut it into his pieces, with his head and his fat: and the priest shall lay them in order on the wood that is on the fire which is upon the altar:

13 But he shall wash the inwards and the legs with water: and the priest shall bring it all, and burn it upon the altar: it is a burnt sacrifice, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the LORD.

14 And if the burnt sacrifice for his offering to the LORD be of fowls, then he shall bring his offering of turtledoves, or of young pigeons.

15 And the priest shall bring it unto the altar, and wring off his head, and burn it on the altar; and the blood thereof shall be wrung out at the side of the altar:

16 And he shall pluck away his crop with his feathers, and cast it beside the altar on the east part, by the place of the ashes:

17 And he shall cleave it with the wings thereof, but shall not divide it asunder: and the priest shall burn it upon the altar, upon the wood that is upon the fire: it is a burnt sacrifice, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the LORD.

LEVITICUS CHAPTER 2

1 And when any will offer a meat offering unto the LORD, his offering shall be of fine flour; and he shall pour oil upon it, and put frankincense thereon:

2 And he shall bring it to Aaron's sons the priests: and he shall take thereout his handful of the flour thereof, and of the oil thereof, with all the frankincense thereof; and the priest shall burn the memorial of it upon the altar, to be an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the LORD:

3 And the remnant of the meat offering shall be Aaron's and his sons': it is a thing most holy of the offerings of the LORD made by fire.

4 And if thou bring an oblation of a meat offering baken in the oven, it shall be unleavened cakes of fine flour mingled with oil, or unleavened wafers anointed with oil.

5 And if thy oblation be a meat offering baken in a pan, it shall be of fine flour unleavened, mingled with oil.

6 Thou shalt part it in pieces, and pour oil thereon: it is a meat offering.

7 And if thy oblation be a meat offering baken in the fryingpan, it shall be made of fine flour with oil.

8 And thou shalt bring the meat offering that is made of these things unto the LORD: and when it is presented unto the priest, he shall bring it unto the altar.

9 And the priest shall take from the meat offering a memorial thereof, and shall burn it upon the altar: it is an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the LORD.

10 And that which is left of the meat offering shall be Aaron's and his sons': it is a thing most holy of the offerings of the LORD made by fire.

11 No meat offering, which ye shall bring unto the LORD, shall be made with leaven: for ye shall burn no leaven, nor any honey, in any offering of the LORD made by fire.

12 As for the oblation of the firstfruits, ye shall offer them unto the LORD: but they shall not be burnt on the altar for a sweet savour.

13 And every oblation of thy meat offering shalt thou season with salt; neither shalt thou suffer the salt of the covenant of thy God to be lacking from thy meat offering: with all thine offerings thou shalt offer salt.

14 And if thou offer a meat offering of thy firstfruits unto the LORD, thou shalt offer for the meat offering of thy firstfruits green ears of corn dried by the fire, even corn beaten out of full ears.

15 And thou shalt put oil upon it, and lay frankincense thereon: it is a meat offering.

16 And the priest shall burn the memorial of it, part of the beaten corn thereof, and part of the oil thereof, with all the frankincense thereof: it is an offering made by fire unto the LORD.

LEVITICUS CHAPTER 3

1 And if his oblation be a sacrifice of peace offering, if he offer it of the herd; whether it be a male or female, he shall offer it without blemish before the LORD.

2 And he shall lay his hand upon the head of his offering, and kill it at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation: and Aaron's sons the priests shall sprinkle the blood upon the altar round about.

3 And he shall offer of the sacrifice of the peace offering an offering made by fire unto the LORD; the fat that covereth the inwards, and all the fat that is upon the inwards,

4 And the two kidneys, and the fat that is on them, which is by the flanks, and the caul above the liver, with the kidneys, it shall he take away.

5 And Aaron's sons shall burn it on the altar upon the burnt sacrifice, which is upon the wood that is on the fire: it is an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the LORD.

6 And if his offering for a sacrifice of peace offering unto the LORD be of the flock; male or female, he shall offer it without blemish.

7 If he offer a lamb for his offering, then shall he offer it before the LORD.

8 And he shall lay his hand upon the head of his offering, and kill it before the tabernacle of the congregation: and Aaron's sons shall sprinkle the blood thereof round about upon the altar.

9 And he shall offer of the sacrifice of the peace offering an offering made by fire unto the LORD; the fat thereof, and the whole rump, it shall he take off hard by the backbone; and the fat that covereth the inwards, and all the fat that is upon the inwards,

10 And the two kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, which is by the flanks, and the caul above the liver, with the kidneys, it shall he take away.

11 And the priest shall burn it upon the altar: it is the food of the offering made by fire unto the LORD.

12 And if his offering be a goat, then he shall offer it before the LORD.

13 And he shall lay his hand upon the head of it, and kill it before the tabernacle of the congregation: and the sons of Aaron shall sprinkle the blood thereof upon the altar round about.

14 And he shall offer thereof his offering, even an offering made by fire unto the LORD; the fat that covereth the inwards, and all the fat that is upon the inwards,

15 And the two kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, which is by the flanks, and the caul above the liver, with the kidneys, it shall he take away.

16 And the priest shall burn them upon the altar: it is the food of the offering made by fire for a sweet savour: all the fat is the LORD's.

17 It shall be a perpetual statute for your generations throughout all your dwellings, that ye eat neither fat nor blood.

LEVITICUS CHAPTER 4

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

2 Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, If a soul shall sin through ignorance against any of the commandments of the LORD concerning things which ought not to be done, and shall do against any of them:

3 If the priest that is anointed do sin according to the sin of the people; then let him bring for his sin, which he hath sinned, a young bullock without blemish unto the LORD for a sin offering.

4 And he shall bring the bullock unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation before the LORD; and shall lay his hand upon the bullock's head, and kill the bullock before the LORD.

5 And the priest that is anointed shall take of the bullock's blood, and bring it to the tabernacle of the congregation:

6 And the priest shall dip his finger in the blood, and sprinkle of the blood seven times before the LORD, before the vail of the sanctuary.

7 And the priest shall put some of the blood upon the horns of the altar of sweet incense before the LORD, which is in the tabernacle of the congregation; and shall pour all the blood of the bullock at the bottom of the altar of the burnt offering, which is at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.

8 And he shall take off from it all the fat of the bullock for the sin offering; the fat that covereth the inwards, and all the fat that is upon the inwards,

9 And the two kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, which is by the flanks, and the caul above the liver, with the kidneys, it shall he take away,

10 As it was taken off from the bullock of the sacrifice of peace offerings: and the priest shall burn them upon the altar of the burnt offering.

11 And the skin of the bullock, and all his flesh, with his head, and with his legs, and his inwards, and his dung,

12 Even the whole bullock shall he carry forth without the camp unto a clean place, where the ashes are poured out, and burn him on the wood with fire: where the ashes are poured out shall he be burnt.

13 And if the whole congregation of Israel sin through ignorance, and the thing be hid from the eyes of the assembly, and they have done somewhat against any of the commandments of the LORD concerning things which should not be done, and are guilty;

14 When the sin, which they have sinned against it, is known, then the congregation shall offer a young bullock for the sin, and bring him before the tabernacle of the congregation.

15 And the elders of the congregation shall lay their hands upon the head of the bullock before the LORD: and the bullock shall be killed before the LORD.

16 And the priest that is anointed shall bring of the bullock's blood to the tabernacle of the congregation:

17 And the priest shall dip his finger in some of the blood, and sprinkle it seven times before the LORD, even before the vail.

18 And he shall put some of the blood upon the horns of the altar which is before the LORD, that is in the tabernacle of the congregation, and shall pour out all the blood at the bottom of the altar of the burnt offering, which is at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.

19 And he shall take all his fat from him, and burn it upon the altar.

20 And he shall do with the bullock as he did with the bullock for a sin offering, so shall he do with this: and the priest shall make an atonement for them, and it shall be forgiven them.

21 And he shall carry forth the bullock without the camp, and burn him as he burned the first bullock: it is a sin offering for the congregation.

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22 When a ruler hath sinned, and done somewhat through ignorance against any of the commandments of the LORD his God concerning things which should not be done, and is guilty;

23 Or if his sin, wherein he hath sinned, come to his knowledge; he shall bring his offering, a kid of the goats, a male without blemish:

24 And he shall lay his hand upon the head of the goat, and kill it in the place where they kill the burnt offering before the LORD: it is a sin offering.

25 And the priest shall take of the blood of the sin offering with his finger, and put it upon the horns of the altar of burnt offering, and shall pour out his blood at the bottom of the altar of burnt offering.

26 And he shall burn all his fat upon the altar, as the fat of the sacrifice of peace offerings: and the priest shall make an atonement for him as concerning his sin, and it shall be forgiven him.

27 And if any one of the common people sin through ignorance, while he doeth somewhat against any of the commandments of the LORD concerning things which ought not to be done, and be guilty;

28 Or if his sin, which he hath sinned, come to his knowledge: then he shall bring his offering, a kid of the goats, a female without blemish, for his sin which he hath sinned.

29 And he shall lay his hand upon the head of the sin offering, and slay the sin offering in the place of the burnt offering.

30 And the priest shall take of the blood thereof with his finger, and put it upon the horns of the altar of burnt offering, and shall pour out all the blood thereof at the bottom of the altar.

31 And he shall take away all the fat thereof, as the fat is taken away from off the sacrifice of peace offerings; and the priest shall burn it upon the altar for a sweet savour unto the LORD; and the priest shall make an atonement for him, and it shall be forgiven him.

32 And if he bring a lamb for a sin offering, he shall bring it a female without blemish.

33 And he shall lay his hand upon the head of the sin offering, and slay it for a sin offering in the place where they kill the burnt offering.

34 And the priest shall take of the blood of the sin offering with his finger, and put it upon the horns of the altar of burnt offering, and shall pour out all the blood thereof at the bottom of the altar:

35 And he shall take away all the fat thereof, as the fat of the lamb is taken away from the sacrifice of the peace offerings; and the priest shall burn them upon the altar, according to the offerings made by fire unto the LORD: and the priest shall make an atonement for his sin that he hath committed, and it shall be forgiven him.

LEVITICUS CHAPTER 5

1 And if a soul sin, and hear the voice of swearing, and is a witness, whether he hath seen or known of it; if he do not utter it, then he shall bear his iniquity.

2 Or if a soul touch any unclean thing, whether it be a carcase of an unclean beast, or a carcase of unclean cattle, or the carcase of unclean creeping things, and if it be hidden from him; he also shall be unclean, and guilty.

3 Or if he touch the uncleanness of man, whatsoever uncleanness it be that a man shall be defiled withal, and it be hid from him; when he knoweth of it, then he shall be guilty.

4 Or if a soul swear, pronouncing with his lips to do evil, or to do good, whatsoever it be that a man shall pronounce with an oath, and it be hid from him; when he knoweth of it, then he shall be guilty in one of these.

5 And it shall be, when he shall be guilty in one of these things, that he shall confess that he hath sinned in that thing:

6 And he shall bring his trespass offering unto the LORD for his sin which he hath sinned, a female from the flock, a lamb or a kid of the goats, for a sin offering; and the priest shall make an atonement for him concerning his sin.

7 And if he be not able to bring a lamb, then he shall bring for his trespass, which he hath committed, two turtledoves, or two young pigeons, unto the LORD; one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering.

8 And he shall bring them unto the priest, who shall offer that which is for the sin offering first, and wring off his head from his neck, but shall not divide it asunder:

9 And he shall sprinkle of the blood of the sin offering upon the side of the altar; and the rest of the blood shall be wrung out at the bottom of the altar: it is a sin offering.

10 And he shall offer the second for a burnt offering, according to the manner: and the priest shall make an atonement for him for his sin which he hath sinned, and it shall be forgiven him.

11 But if he be not able to bring two turtledoves, or two young pigeons, then he that sinned shall bring for his offering the tenth part of an ephah of fine flour for a sin offering; he shall put no oil upon it, neither shall he put any frankincense thereon: for it is a sin offering.

12 Then shall he bring it to the priest, and the priest shall take his handful of it, even a memorial thereof, and burn it on the altar, according to the offerings made by fire unto the LORD: it is a sin offering.

13 And the priest shall make an atonement for him as touching his sin that he hath sinned in one of these, and it shall be forgiven him: and the remnant shall be the priest's, as a meat offering.

14 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

15 If a soul commit a trespass, and sin through ignorance, in the holy things of the LORD; then he shall bring for his trespass unto the LORD a ram without blemish out of the flocks, with thy estimation by shekels of silver, after the shekel of the sanctuary, for a trespass offering.

16 And he shall make amends for the harm that he hath done in the holy thing, and shall add the fifth part thereto, and give it unto the priest: and the priest shall make an atonement for him with the ram of the trespass offering, and it shall be forgiven him.

17 And if a soul sin, and commit any of these things which are forbidden to be done by the commandments of the LORD; though he wist it not, yet is he guilty, and shall bear his iniquity.

18 And he shall bring a ram without blemish out of the flock, with thy estimation, for a trespass offering, unto the priest: and the priest shall make an atonement for him concerning his ignorance wherein he erred and wist it not, and it shall be forgiven him.

19 It is a trespass offering: he hath certainly trespassed against the LORD.

LEVITICUS CHAPTER 6

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

2 If a soul sin, and commit a trespass against the LORD, and lie unto his neighbour in that which was delivered him to keep, or in fellowship, or in a thing taken away by violence, or hath deceived his neighbour;

3 Or have found that which was lost, and lieth concerning it, and sweareth falsely; in any of all these that a man doeth, sinning therein:

4 Then it shall be, because he hath sinned, and is guilty, that he shall restore that which he took violently away, or the thing which he hath deceitfully gotten, or that which was delivered him to keep, or the lost thing which he found,

5 Or all that about which he hath sworn falsely; he shall even restore it in the principal, and shall add the fifth part more thereto, and give it unto him to whom it appertaineth, in the day of his trespass offering.

6 And he shall bring his trespass offering unto the LORD, a ram without blemish out of the flock, with thy estimation, for a trespass offering, unto the priest:

7 And the priest shall make an atonement for him before the LORD: and it shall be forgiven him for any thing of all that he hath done in trespassing therein.

8 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

9 Command Aaron and his sons, saying, This is the law of the burnt offering: It is the burnt offering, because of the burning upon the altar all night unto the morning, and the fire of the altar shall be burning in it.

10 And the priest shall put on his linen garment, and his linen breeches shall he put upon his flesh, and take up the ashes which the fire hath consumed with the burnt offering on the altar, and he shall put them beside the altar.

11 And he shall put off his garments, and put on other garments, and carry forth the ashes without the camp unto a clean place.

12 And the fire upon the altar shall be burning in it; it shall not be put out: and the priest shall burn wood on it every morning, and lay the burnt offering in order upon it; and he shall burn thereon the fat of the peace offerings.

13 The fire shall ever be burning upon the altar; it shall never go out.

14 And this is the law of the meat offering: the sons of Aaron shall offer it before the LORD, before the altar.

15 And he shall take of it his handful, of the flour of the meat offering, and of the oil thereof, and all the frankincense which is upon the meat offering, and shall burn it upon the altar for a sweet savour, even the memorial of it, unto the LORD.

16 And the remainder thereof shall Aaron and his sons eat: with unleavened bread shall it be eaten in the holy place; in the court of the tabernacle of the congregation they shall eat it.

17 It shall not be baken with leaven. I have given it unto them for their portion of my offerings made by fire; it is most holy, as is the sin offering, and as the trespass offering.

18 All the males among the children of Aaron shall eat of it. It shall be a statute for ever in your generations concerning the offerings of the LORD made by fire: every one that toucheth them shall be holy.

19 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

20 This is the offering of Aaron and of his sons, which they shall offer unto the LORD in the day when he is anointed; the tenth part of an ephah of fine flour for a meat offering perpetual, half of it in the morning, and half thereof at night.

21 In a pan it shall be made with oil; and when it is baken, thou shalt bring it in: and the baken pieces of the meat offering shalt thou offer for a sweet savour unto the LORD.

22 And the priest of his sons that is anointed in his stead shall offer it: it is a statute for ever unto the LORD; it shall be wholly burnt.

23 For every meat offering for the priest shall be wholly burnt: it shall not be eaten.

24 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

25 Speak unto Aaron and to his sons, saying, This is the law of the sin offering: In the place where the burnt offering is killed shall the sin offering be killed before the LORD: it is most holy.

26 The priest that offereth it for sin shall eat it: in the holy place shall it be eaten, in the court of the tabernacle of the congregation.

27 Whatsoever shall touch the flesh thereof shall be holy: and when there is sprinkled of the blood thereof upon any garment, thou shalt wash that whereon it was sprinkled in the holy place.

28 But the earthen vessel wherein it is sodden shall be broken: and if it be sodden in a brasen pot, it shall be both scoured, and rinsed in water.

29 All the males among the priests shall eat thereof: it is most holy.

30 And no sin offering, whereof any of the blood is brought into the tabernacle of the congregation to reconcile withal in the holy place, shall be eaten: it shall be burnt in the fire.

LEVITICUS CHAPTER 7

1 Likewise this is the law of the trespass offering: it is most holy.

2 In the place where they kill the burnt offering shall they kill the trespass offering: and the blood thereof shall he sprinkle round about upon the altar.

3 And he shall offer of it all the fat thereof; the rump, and the fat that covereth the inwards,

4 And the two kidneys, and the fat that is on them, which is by the flanks, and the caul that is above the liver, with the kidneys, it shall he take away:

5 And the priest shall burn them upon the altar for an offering made by fire unto the LORD: it is a trespass offering.

6 Every male among the priests shall eat thereof: it shall be eaten in the holy place: it is most holy.

7 As the sin offering is, so is the trespass offering: there is one law for them: the priest that maketh atonement therewith shall have it.

8 And the priest that offereth any man's burnt offering, even the priest shall have to himself the skin of the burnt offering which he hath offered.

9 And all the meat offering that is baken in the oven, and all that is dressed in the fryingpan, and in the pan, shall be the priest's that offereth it.

10 And every meat offering, mingled with oil, and dry, shall all the sons of Aaron have, one as much as another.

11 And this is the law of the sacrifice of peace offerings, which he shall offer unto the LORD.

12 If he offer it for a thanksgiving, then he shall offer with the sacrifice of thanksgiving unleavened cakes mingled with oil, and unleavened wafers anointed with oil, and cakes mingled with oil, of fine flour, fried.

13 Besides the cakes, he shall offer for his offering leavened bread with the sacrifice of thanksgiving of his peace offerings.

14 And of it he shall offer one out of the whole oblation for an heave offering unto the LORD, and it shall be the priest's that sprinkleth the blood of the peace offerings.

15 And the flesh of the sacrifice of his peace offerings for thanksgiving shall be eaten the same day that it is offered; he shall not leave any of it until the morning.

16 But if the sacrifice of his offering be a vow, or a voluntary offering, it shall be eaten the same day that he offereth his sacrifice: and on the morrow also the remainder of it shall be eaten:

17 But the remainder of the flesh of the sacrifice on the third day shall be burnt with fire.

18 And if any of the flesh of the sacrifice of his peace offerings be eaten at all on the third day, it shall not be accepted, neither shall it be imputed unto him that offereth it: it shall be an abomination, and the soul that eateth of it shall bear his iniquity.

19 And the flesh that toucheth any unclean thing shall not be eaten; it shall be burnt with fire: and as for the flesh, all that be clean shall eat thereof.

20 But the soul that eateth of the flesh of the sacrifice of peace offerings, that pertain unto the LORD, having his uncleanness upon him, even that soul shall be cut off from his people.

21 Moreover the soul that shall touch any unclean thing, as the uncleanness of man, or any unclean beast, or any abominable unclean thing, and eat of the flesh of the sacrifice of peace offerings, which pertain unto the LORD, even that soul shall be cut off from his people.

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22 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
23 Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, Ye shall eat no manner of fat, of ox, or of sheep, or of goat.
24 And the fat of the beast that dieth of itself, and the fat of that which is torn with beasts, may be used in any other use: but ye shall in no wise eat of it.
25 For whosoever eateth the fat of the beast, of which men offer an offering made by fire unto the LORD, even the soul that eateth it shall be cut off from his people.
26 Moreover ye shall eat no manner of blood, whether it be of fowl or of beast, in any of your dwellings.
27 Whatsoever soul it be that eateth any manner of blood, even that soul shall be cut off from his people.
28 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
29 Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, He that offereth the sacrifice of his peace offerings unto the LORD shall bring his oblation unto the LORD of the sacrifice of his peace offerings.
30 His own hands shall bring the offerings of the LORD made by fire, the fat with the breast, it shall he bring, that the breast may be waved for a wave offering before the LORD.
31 And the priest shall burn the fat upon the altar: but the breast shall be Aaron's and his sons'.
32 And the right shoulder shall ye give unto the priest for an heave offering of the sacrifices of your peace offerings.
33 He among the sons of Aaron, that offereth the blood of the peace offerings, and the fat, shall have the right shoulder for his part.
34 For the wave breast and the heave shoulder have I taken of the children of Israel from off the sacrifices of their peace offerings, and have given them unto Aaron the priest and unto his sons by a statute for ever from among the children of Israel.
35 This is the portion of the anointing of Aaron, and of the anointing of his sons, out of the offerings of the LORD made by fire, in the day when he presented them to minister unto the LORD in the priest's office;
36 Which the LORD commanded to be given them of the children of Israel, in the day that he anointed them, by a statute for ever throughout their generations.
37 This is the law of the burnt offering, of the meat offering, and of the sin offering, and of the trespass offering, and of the consecrations, and of the sacrifice of the peace offerings;
38 Which the LORD commanded Moses in mount Sinai, in the day that he commanded the children of Israel to offer their oblations unto the LORD, in the wilderness of Sinai.

LEVITICUS CHAPTER 8

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 Take Aaron and his sons with him, and the garments, and the anointing oil, and a bullock for the sin offering, and two rams, and a basket of unleavened bread;
3 And gather thou all the congregation together unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.
4 And Moses did as the LORD commanded him; and the assembly was gathered together unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.
5 And Moses said unto the congregation, This is the thing which the LORD commanded to be done.
6 And Moses brought Aaron and his sons, and washed them with water.
7 And he put upon him the coat, and girded him with the girdle, and clothed him with the robe, and put the ephod upon him, and he girded him with the curious girdle of the ephod, and bound it unto him therewith.
8 And he put the breastplate upon him: also he put in the breastplate the Urim and the Thummim.
9 And he put the mitre upon his head; also upon the mitre, even upon his forefront, did he put the golden plate, the holy crown; as the LORD commanded Moses.
10 And Moses took the anointing oil, and anointed the tabernacle and all that was therein, and sanctified them.
11 And he sprinkled thereof upon the altar seven times, and anointed the altar and all his vessels, both the laver and his foot, to sanctify them.
12 And he poured of the anointing oil upon Aaron's head, and anointed him, to sanctify him.
13 And Moses brought Aaron's sons, and put coats upon them, and girded them with girdles, and put bonnets upon them; as the LORD commanded Moses.
14 And he brought the bullock for the sin offering: and Aaron and his sons laid their hands upon the head of the bullock for the sin offering.
15 And he slew it; and Moses took the blood, and put it upon the horns of the altar round about with his finger, and purified the altar, and poured the blood at the bottom of the altar, and sanctified it, to make reconciliation upon it.
16 And he took all the fat that was upon the inwards, and the caul above the liver, and the two kidneys, and their fat, and Moses burned it upon the altar.
17 But the bullock, and his hide, his flesh, and his dung, he burnt with fire without the camp; as the LORD commanded Moses.
18 And he brought the ram for the burnt offering: and Aaron and his sons laid their hands upon the head of the ram.
19 And he killed it; and Moses sprinkled the blood upon the altar round about.
20 And he cut the ram into pieces; and Moses burnt the head, and the pieces, and the fat.
21 And he washed the inwards and the legs in water; and Moses burnt the whole ram upon the altar: it was a burnt sacrifice for a sweet savour, and an offering made by fire unto the LORD; as the LORD commanded Moses.
22 And he brought the other ram, the ram of consecration: and Aaron and his sons laid their hands upon the head of the ram.
23 And he slew it; and Moses took of the blood of it, and put it upon the tip of Aaron's right ear, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot.
24 And he brought Aaron's sons, and Moses put of the blood upon the tip of their right ear, and upon the thumbs of their right hands, and upon the great toes of their right feet: and Moses sprinkled the blood upon the altar round about.
25 And he took the fat, and the rump, and all the fat that was upon the inwards, and the caul above the liver, and the two kidneys, and their fat, and the right shoulder:
26 And out of the basket of unleavened bread, that was before the LORD, he took one unleavened cake, and a cake of oiled bread, and one wafer, and put them on the fat, and upon the right shoulder:
27 And he put all upon Aaron's hands, and upon his sons' hands, and waved them for a wave offering before the LORD.
28 And Moses took them from off their hands, and burnt them on the altar upon the burnt offering: they were consecrations for a sweet savour: it is an offering made by fire unto the LORD.
29 And Moses took the breast, and waved it for a wave offering before the LORD: for of the ram of consecration it was Moses' part; as the LORD commanded Moses.
30 And Moses took of the anointing oil, and of the blood which was upon the altar, and sprinkled it upon Aaron, and upon his garments, and upon his sons, and upon his sons' garments with him; and sanctified Aaron, and his garments, and his sons, and his sons' garments with him.
31 And Moses said unto Aaron and to his sons, Boil the flesh at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation: and there eat it with the bread that is in the basket of consecrations, as I commanded, saying, Aaron and his sons shall eat it.
32 And that which remaineth of the flesh and of the bread shall ye burn with fire.
33 And ye shall not go out of the door of the tabernacle of the congregation in seven days, until the days of your consecration be at an end: for seven days shall he consecrate you.
34 As he hath done this day, so the LORD hath commanded to do, to make an atonement for you.
35 Therefore shall ye abide at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation day and night seven days, and keep the charge of the LORD, that ye die not: for so I am commanded.
36 So Aaron and his sons did all things which the LORD commanded by the hand of Moses.

LEVITICUS CHAPTER 9

1 And it came to pass on the eighth day, that Moses called Aaron and his sons, and the elders of Israel;
2 And he said unto Aaron, Take thee a young calf for a sin offering, and a ram for a burnt offering, without blemish, and offer them before the LORD.
3 And unto the children of Israel thou shalt speak, saying, Take ye a kid of the goats for a sin offering; and a calf and a lamb, both of the first year, without blemish, for a burnt offering;
4 Also a bullock and a ram for peace offerings, to sacrifice before the LORD; and a meat offering mingled with oil: for to day the LORD will appear unto you.
5 And they brought that which Moses commanded before the tabernacle of the congregation: and all the congregation drew near and stood before the LORD.
6 And Moses said, This is the thing which the LORD commanded that ye should do: and the glory of the LORD shall appear unto you.
7 And Moses said unto Aaron, Go unto the altar, and offer thy sin offering, and thy burnt offering, and make an atonement for thyself, and for the people: and offer the offering of the people, and make an atonement for them; as the LORD commanded.
8 Aaron therefore went unto the altar, and slew the calf of the sin offering, which was for himself.
9 And the sons of Aaron brought the blood unto him: and he dipped his finger in the blood, and put it upon the horns of the altar, and poured out the blood at the bottom of the altar:
10 But the fat, and the kidneys, and the caul above the liver of the sin offering, he burnt upon the altar; as the LORD commanded Moses.
11 And the flesh and the hide he burnt with fire without the camp.
12 And he slew the burnt offering; and Aaron's sons presented unto him the blood, which he sprinkled round about upon the altar.
13 And they presented the burnt offering unto him, with the pieces thereof, and the head: and he burnt them upon the altar.
14 And he did wash the inwards and the legs, and burnt them upon the burnt offering on the altar.
15 And he brought the people's offering, and took the goat, which was the sin offering for the people, and slew it, and offered it for sin, as the first.
16 And he brought the burnt offering, and offered it according to the manner.
17 And he brought the meat offering, and took an handful thereof, and burnt it upon the altar, beside the burnt sacrifice of the morning.
18 He slew also the bullock and the ram for a sacrifice of peace offerings, which was for the people: and Aaron's sons presented unto him the blood, which he sprinkled upon the altar round about,
19 And the fat of the bullock and of the ram, the rump, and that which covereth the inwards, and the kidneys, and the caul above the liver:
20 And they put the fat upon the breasts, and he burnt the fat upon the altar:
21 And the breasts and the right shoulder Aaron waved for a wave offering before the LORD; as Moses commanded.
22 And Aaron lifted up his hand toward the people, and blessed them, and came down from offering of the sin offering, and the burnt offering, and peace offerings.
23 And Moses and Aaron went into the tabernacle of the congregation, and came out, and blessed the people: and the glory of the LORD appeared unto all the people.
24 And there came a fire out from before the LORD, and consumed upon the altar the burnt offering and the fat: which when all the people saw, they shouted, and fell on their faces.

LEVITICUS CHAPTER 10

1 And Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, took either of them his censer, and put fire therein, and put incense thereon, and offered strange fire before the LORD, which he commanded them not.
2 And there went out fire from the LORD, and devoured them, and they died before the LORD.
3 Then Moses said unto Aaron, This is it that the LORD spake, saying, I will be sanctified in them that come nigh me, and before all the people I will be glorified. And Aaron held his peace.
4 And Moses called Mishael and Elzaphan, the sons of Uzziel the uncle of Aaron, and said unto them, Come near, carry your brethren from before the sanctuary out of the camp.
5 So they went near, and carried them in their coats out of the camp; as Moses had said.
6 And Moses said unto Aaron, and unto Eleazar and unto Ithamar, his sons, Uncover not your heads, neither rend your clothes; lest ye die, and lest wrath come upon all the people: but let your brethren, the whole house of Israel, bewail the burning which the LORD hath kindled.
7 And ye shall not go out from the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, lest ye die: for the anointing oil of the LORD is upon you. And they did according to the word of Moses.
8 And the LORD spake unto Aaron, saying,
9 Do not drink wine nor strong drink, thou, nor thy sons with thee, when ye go into the tabernacle of the congregation, lest ye die: it shall be a statute for ever throughout your generations:
10 And that ye may put difference between holy and unholy, and between unclean and clean;
11 And that ye may teach the children of Israel all the statutes which the LORD hath spoken unto them by the hand of Moses.
12 And Moses spake unto Aaron, and unto Eleazar and unto Ithamar, his sons that were left, Take the meat offering that remaineth of the offerings of the LORD made by fire, and eat it without leaven beside the altar: for it is most holy:
13 And ye shall eat it in the holy place, because it is thy due, and thy sons' due, of the sacrifices of the LORD made by fire: for so I am commanded.
14 And the wave breast and heave shoulder shall ye eat in a clean place; thou, and thy sons, and thy daughters with thee: for they be thy due, and thy sons' due, which are given out of the sacrifices of peace offerings of the children of Israel.
15 The heave shoulder and the wave breast shall they bring with the offerings made by fire of the fat, to wave it for a wave offering before the LORD; and it shall be thine, and thy sons' with thee, by a statute for ever; as the LORD hath commanded.
16 And Moses diligently sought the goat of the sin offering, and, behold, it was burnt: and he was angry with Eleazar and Ithamar, the sons of Aaron which were left alive, saying,
17 Wherefore have ye not eaten the sin offering in the holy place, seeing it is most holy, and God hath given it you to

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bear the iniquity of the congregation, to make atonement for them before the LORD?

18 Behold, the blood of it was not brought in within the holy place: ye should indeed have eaten it in the holy place, as I commanded.

19 And Aaron said unto Moses, Behold, this day have they offered their sin offering and their burnt offering before the LORD; and such things have befallen me: and if I had eaten the sin offering to day, should it have been accepted in the sight of the LORD?

20 And when Moses heard that, he was content.

LEVITICUS CHAPTER 11

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses and to Aaron, saying unto them,

2 Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, These are the beasts which ye shall eat among all the beasts that are on the earth.

3 Whatsoever parteth the hoof, and is clovenfooted, and cheweth the cud, among the beasts, that shall ye eat.

4 Nevertheless these shall ye not eat of them that chew the cud, or of them that divide the hoof: as the camel, because he cheweth the cud, but divideth not the hoof; he is unclean unto you.

5 And the coney, because he cheweth the cud, but divideth not the hoof; he is unclean unto you.

6 And the hare, because he cheweth the cud, but divideth not the hoof; he is unclean unto you.

7 And the swine, though he divide the hoof, and be clovenfooted, yet he cheweth not the cud; he is unclean to you.

8 Of their flesh shall ye not eat, and their carcase shall ye not touch; they are unclean to you.

9 These shall ye eat of all that are in the waters: whatsoever hath fins and scales in the waters, in the seas, and in the rivers, them shall ye eat.

10 And all that have not fins and scales in the seas, and in the rivers, of all that move in the waters, and of any living thing which is in the waters, they shall be an abomination unto you:

11 They shall be even an abomination unto you; ye shall not eat of their flesh, but ye shall have their carcases in abomination.

12 Whatsoever hath no fins nor scales in the waters, that shall be an abomination unto you.

13 And these are they which ye shall have in abomination among the fowls; they shall not be eaten, they are an abomination: the eagle, and the ossifrage, and the ospray,

14 And the vulture, and the kite after his kind;

15 Every raven after his kind;

16 And the owl, and the night hawk, and the cuckow, and the hawk after his kind,

17 And the little owl, and the cormorant, and the great owl,

18 And the swan, and the pelican, and the gier eagle,

19 And the stork, the heron after her kind, and the lapwing, and the bat.

20 All fowls that creep, going upon all four, shall be an abomination unto you.

21 Yet these may ye eat of every flying creeping thing that goeth upon all four, which have legs above their feet, to leap withal upon the earth;

22 Even these of them ye may eat; the locust after his kind, and the bald locust after his kind, and the beetle after his kind, and the grasshopper after his kind.

23 But all other flying creeping things, which have four feet, shall be an abomination unto you.

24 And for these ye shall be unclean: whosoever toucheth the carcase of them shall be unclean until the even.

25 And whosoever beareth ought of the carcase of them shall wash his clothes, and be unclean until the even.

26 The carcases of every beast which divideth the hoof, and is not clovenfooted, nor cheweth the cud, are unclean unto you: every one that toucheth them shall be unclean.

27 And whatsoever goeth upon his paws, among all manner of beasts that go on all four, those are unclean unto you: whoso toucheth their carcase shall be unclean until the even.

28 And he that beareth the carcase of them shall wash his clothes, and be unclean until the even: they are unclean unto you.

29 These also shall be unclean unto you among the creeping things that creep upon the earth; the weasel, and the mouse, and the tortoise after his kind,

30 And the ferret, and the chameleon, and the lizard, and the snail, and the mole.

31 These are unclean to you among all that creep: whosoever doth touch them, when they be dead, shall be unclean until the even.

32 And upon whatsoever any of them, when they are dead, doth fall, it shall be unclean; whether it be any vessel of wood, or raiment, or skin, or sack, whatsoever vessel it be, wherein any work is done, it must be put into water, and it shall be unclean until the even; so it shall be cleansed.

33 And every earthen vessel, whereinto any of them falleth, whatsoever is in it shall be unclean; and ye shall break it.

34 Of all meat which may be eaten, that on which such water cometh shall be unclean: and all drink that may be drunk in every such vessel shall be unclean.

35 And every thing whereupon any part of their carcase falleth shall be unclean; whether it be oven, or ranges for pots, they shall be broken down: for they are unclean and shall be unclean unto you.

36 Nevertheless a fountain or pit, wherein there is plenty of water, shall be clean: but that which toucheth their carcase shall be unclean.

37 And if any part of their carcase fall upon any sowing seed which is to be sown, it shall be clean.

38 But if any water be put upon the seed, and any part of their carcase fall thereon, it shall be unclean unto you.

39 And if any beast, of which ye may eat, die; he that toucheth the carcase thereof shall be unclean until the even.

40 And he that eateth of the carcase of it shall wash his clothes, and be unclean until the even: he also that beareth the carcase of it shall wash his clothes, and be unclean until the even.

41 And every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth shall be an abomination; it shall not be eaten.

42 Whatsoever goeth upon the belly, and whatsoever goeth upon all four, or whatsoever hath more feet among all creeping things that creep upon the earth, them ye shall not eat; for they are an abomination.

43 Ye shall not make yourselves abominable with any creeping thing that creepeth, neither shall ye make yourselves unclean with them, that ye should be defiled thereby.

44 For I am the LORD your God: ye shall therefore sanctify yourselves, and ye shall be holy; for I am holy: neither shall ye defile yourselves with any manner of creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.

45 For I am the LORD that bringeth you up out of the land of Egypt, to be your God: ye shall therefore be holy, for I am holy.

46 This is the law of the beasts, and of the fowl, and of every living creature that moveth in the waters, and of every creature that creepeth upon the earth:

47 To make a difference between the unclean and the clean, and between the beast that may be eaten and the beast that may not be eaten.

LEVITICUS CHAPTER 12

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

2 Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, If a woman have conceived seed, and born a man child: then she shall be unclean seven days; according to the days of the separation for her infirmity shall she be unclean.

3 And in the eighth day the flesh of his foreskin shall be circumcised.

4 And she shall then continue in the blood of her purifying three and thirty days; she shall touch no hallowed thing, nor come into the sanctuary, until the days of her purifying be fulfilled.

5 But if she bear a maid child, then she shall be unclean two weeks, as in her separation: and she shall continue in the blood of her purifying threescore and six days.

6 And when the days of her purifying are fulfilled, for a son, or for a daughter, she shall bring a lamb of the first year for a burnt offering, and a young pigeon, or a turtledove, for a sin offering, unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, unto the priest:

7 Who shall offer it before the LORD, and make an atonement for her; and she shall be cleansed from the issue of her blood. This is the law for her that hath born a male or a female.

8 And if she be not able to bring a lamb, then she shall bring two turtles, or two young pigeons; the one for the burnt offering, and the other for a sin offering: and the priest shall make an atonement for her, and she shall be clean.

LEVITICUS CHAPTER 13

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses and Aaron, saying,

2 When a man shall have in the skin of his flesh a rising, a scab, or bright spot, and it be in the skin of his flesh like the plague of leprosy; then he shall be brought unto Aaron the priest, or unto one of his sons the priests:

3 And the priest shall look on the plague in the skin of the flesh: and when the hair in the plague is turned white, and the plague in sight be deeper than the skin of his flesh, it is a plague of leprosy: and the priest shall look on him, and pronounce him unclean.

4 If the bright spot be white in the skin of his flesh, and in sight be not deeper than the skin, and the hair thereof be not turned white; then the priest shall shut up him that hath the plague seven days:

5 And the priest shall look on him the seventh day: and, behold, if the plague in his sight be at a stay, and the plague spread not in the skin; then the priest shall shut him up seven days more:

6 And the priest shall look on him again the seventh day: and, behold, if the plague be somewhat dark, and the plague spread not in the skin, the priest shall pronounce him clean: it is but a scab: and he shall wash his clothes, and be clean.

7 But if the scab spread much abroad in the skin, after that he hath been seen of the priest for his cleansing, he shall be seen of the priest again.

8 And if the priest see that, behold, the scab spreadeth in the skin, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is a leprosy.

9 When the plague of leprosy is in a man, then he shall be brought unto the priest;

10 And the priest shall see him: and, behold, if the rising be white in the skin, and it have turned the hair white, and there be quick raw flesh in the rising;

11 It is an old leprosy in the skin of his flesh, and the priest shall pronounce him unclean, and shall not shut him up: for he is unclean.

12 And if a leprosy break out abroad in the skin, and the leprosy cover all the skin of him that hath the plague from his head even to his foot, wheresoever the priest looketh;

13 Then the priest shall consider: and, behold, if the leprosy have covered all his flesh, he shall pronounce him clean that hath the plague: it is all turned white: he is clean.

14 But when raw flesh appeareth in him, he shall be unclean.

15 And the priest shall see the raw flesh, and pronounce him to be unclean: for the raw flesh is unclean: it is a leprosy.

16 Or if the raw flesh turn again, and be changed unto white, he shall come unto the priest;

17 And the priest shall see him: and, behold, if the plague be turned into white; then the priest shall pronounce him clean that hath the plague: he is clean.

18 The flesh also, in which, even in the skin thereof, was a boil, and is healed,

19 And in the place of the boil there be a white rising, or a bright spot, white, and somewhat reddish, and it be shewed to the priest;

20 And if, when the priest seeth it, behold, it be in sight lower than the skin, and the hair thereof be turned white; the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is a plague of leprosy broken out of the boil.

21 But if the priest look on it, and, behold, there be no white hairs therein, and if it be not lower than the skin, but be somewhat dark; then the priest shall shut him up seven days:

22 And if it spread much abroad in the skin, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is a plague.

23 But if the bright spot stay in his place, and spread not, it is a burning boil; and the priest shall pronounce him clean.

24 Or if there be any flesh, in the skin whereof there is a hot burning, and the quick flesh that burneth have a white bright spot, somewhat reddish, or white;

25 Then the priest shall look upon it: and, behold, if the hair in the bright spot be turned white, and it be in sight deeper than the skin; it is a leprosy broken out of the burning: wherefore the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is the plague of leprosy.

26 But if the priest look on it, and, behold, there be no white hair in the bright spot, and it be no lower than the other skin, but be somewhat dark; then the priest shall shut him up seven days:

27 And the priest shall look upon him the seventh day: and if it be spread much abroad in the skin, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is the plague of leprosy.

28 And if the bright spot stay in his place, and spread not in the skin, but it be somewhat dark; it is a rising of the burning, and the priest shall pronounce him clean: for it is an inflammation of the burning.

29 If a man or woman have a plague upon the head or the beard;

30 Then the priest shall see the plague: and, behold, if it be in sight deeper than the skin; and there be in it a yellow thin hair; then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is a dry scall, even a leprosy upon the head or beard.

31 And if the priest look on the plague of the scall, and, behold, it be not in sight deeper than the skin, and that there is no black hair in it; then the priest shall shut up him that hath the plague of the scall seven days:

32 And in the seventh day the priest shall look on the plague: and, behold, if the scall spread not, and there be in it no yellow hair, and the scall be not in sight deeper than the skin;

33 He shall be shaven, but the scall shall he not shave; and the priest shall shut up him that hath the scall seven days more:

34 And in the seventh day the priest shall look on the scall: and, behold, if the scall be not spread in the skin, nor be in sight deeper than the skin; then the priest shall pronounce him clean: and he shall wash his clothes, and be clean.

35 But if the scall spread much in the skin after his cleansing;

36 Then the priest shall look on him: and, behold, if the scall be spread in the skin, the priest shall not seek for yellow hair; he is unclean.

37 But if the scall be in his sight at a stay, and that there is black hair grown up therein; the scall is healed, he is clean: and the priest shall pronounce him clean.

38 If a man also or a woman have in the skin of their flesh bright spots, even white bright spots;

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39 Then the priest shall look: and, behold, if the bright spots in the skin of their flesh be darkish white; it is a freckled spot that groweth in the skin; he is clean.
40 And the man whose hair is fallen off his head, he is bald; yet is he clean.
41 And he that hath his hair fallen off from the part of his head toward his face, he is forehead bald: yet is he clean.
42 And if there be in the bald head, or bald forehead, a white reddish sore; it is a leprosy sprung up in his bald head, or his bald forehead.
43 Then the priest shall look upon it: and, behold, if the rising of the sore be white reddish in his bald head, or in his bald forehead, as the leprosy appeareth in the skin of the flesh;
44 He is a leprous man, he is unclean: the priest shall pronounce him utterly unclean; his plague is in his head.
45 And the leper in whom the plague is, his clothes shall be rent, and his head bare, and he shall put a covering upon his upper lip, and shall cry, Unclean, unclean.
46 All the days wherein the plague shall be in him he shall be defiled; he is unclean: he shall dwell alone; without the camp shall his habitation be.
47 The garment also that the plague of leprosy is in, whether it be a woollen garment, or a linen garment;
48 Whether it be in the warp, or woof; of linen, or of woollen; whether in a skin, or in any thing made of skin;
49 And if the plague be greenish or reddish in the garment, or in the skin, either in the warp, or in the woof, or in any thing of skin; it is a plague of leprosy, and shall be shewed unto the priest:
50 And the priest shall look upon the plague, and shut up it that hath the plague seven days:
51 And he shall look on the plague on the seventh day: if the plague be spread in the garment, either in the warp, or in the woof, or in a skin, or in any work that is made of skin; the plague is a fretting leprosy; it is unclean.
52 He shall therefore burn that garment, whether warp or woof, in woollen or in linen, or any thing of skin, wherein the plague is: for it is a fretting leprosy; it shall be burnt in the fire.
53 And if the priest shall look, and, behold, the plague be not spread in the garment, either in the warp, or in the woof, or in any thing of skin;
54 Then the priest shall command that they wash the thing wherein the plague is, and he shall shut it up seven days more:
55 And the priest shall look on the plague, after that it is washed: and, behold, if the plague have not changed his colour, and the plague be not spread; it is unclean; thou shalt burn it in the fire; it is fret inward, whether it be bare within or without.
56 And if the priest look, and, behold, the plague be somewhat dark after the washing of it; then he shall rend it out of the garment, or out of the skin, or out of the warp, or out of the woof:
57 And if it appear still in the garment, either in the warp, or in the woof, or in any thing of skin; it is a spreading plague: thou shalt burn that wherein the plague is with fire.
58 And the garment, either warp, or woof, or whatsoever thing of skin it be, which thou shalt wash, if the plague be departed from them, then it shall be washed the second time, and shall be clean.
59 This is the law of the plague of leprosy in a garment of woollen or linen, either in the warp, or woof, or any thing of skins, to pronounce it clean, or to pronounce it unclean.

LEVITICUS CHAPTER 14

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 This shall be the law of the leper in the day of his cleansing: He shall be brought unto the priest:
3 And the priest shall go forth out of the camp; and the priest shall look, and, behold, if the plague of leprosy be healed in the leper;
4 Then shall the priest command to take for him that is to be cleansed two birds alive and clean, and cedar wood, and scarlet, and hyssop:
5 And the priest shall command that one of the birds be killed in an earthen vessel over running water:
6 As for the living bird, he shall take it, and the cedar wood, and the scarlet, and the hyssop, and shall dip them and the living bird in the blood of the bird that was killed over the running water:
7 And he shall sprinkle upon him that is to be cleansed from the leprosy seven times, and shall pronounce him clean, and shall let the living bird loose into the open field.
8 And he that is to be cleansed shall wash his clothes, and shave off all his hair, and wash himself in water, that he may be clean: and after that he shall come into the camp, and shall tarry abroad out of his tent seven days.
9 But it shall be on the seventh day, that he shall shave all his hair off his head and his beard and his eyebrows, even all his hair he shall shave off: and he shall wash his clothes, also he shall wash his flesh in water, and he shall be clean.
10 And on the eighth day he shall take two he lambs without blemish, and one ewe lamb of the first year without blemish, and three tenth deals of fine flour for a meat offering, mingled with oil, and one log of oil.
11 And the priest that maketh him clean shall present the man that is to be made clean, and those things, before the LORD, at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation:
12 And the priest shall take one he lamb, and offer him for a trespass offering, and the log of oil, and wave them for a wave offering before the LORD:
13 And he shall slay the lamb in the place where he shall kill the sin offering and the burnt offering, in the holy place: for as the sin offering is the priest's, so is the trespass offering: it is most holy:
14 And the priest shall take some of the blood of the trespass offering, and the priest shall put it upon the tip of the right ear of him that is to be cleansed, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot:
15 And the priest shall take some of the log of oil, and pour it into the palm of his own left hand:
16 And the priest shall dip his right finger in the oil that is in his left hand, and shall sprinkle of the oil with his finger seven times before the LORD:
17 And of the rest of the oil that is in his hand shall the priest put upon the tip of the right ear of him that is to be cleansed, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot, upon the blood of the trespass offering:
18 And the remnant of the oil that is in the priest's hand he shall pour upon the head of him that is to be cleansed: and the priest shall make an atonement for him before the LORD.
19 And the priest shall offer the sin offering, and make an atonement for him that is to be cleansed from his uncleanness; and afterward he shall kill the burnt offering:
20 And the priest shall offer the burnt offering and the meat offering upon the altar: and the priest shall make an atonement for him, and he shall be clean.
21 And if he be poor, and cannot get so much; then he shall take one lamb for a trespass offering to be waved, to make an atonement for him, and one tenth deal of fine flour mingled with oil for a meat offering, and a log of oil;
22 And two turtledoves, or two young pigeons, such as he is able to get; and the one shall be a sin offering, and the other a burnt offering.
23 And he shall bring them on the eighth day for his cleansing unto the priest, unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, before the LORD.
24 And the priest shall take the lamb of the trespass offering, and the log of oil, and the priest shall wave them for a wave offering before the LORD:
25 And he shall kill the lamb of the trespass offering, and the priest shall take some of the blood of the trespass offering, and put it upon the tip of the right ear of him that is to be cleansed, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot:
26 And the priest shall pour of the oil into the palm of his own left hand:
27 And the priest shall sprinkle with his right finger some of the oil that is in his left hand seven times before the LORD:
28 And the priest shall put of the oil that is in his hand upon the tip of the right ear of him that is to be cleansed, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot, upon the place of the blood of the trespass offering:
29 And the rest of the oil that is in the priest's hand he shall put upon the head of him that is to be cleansed, to make an atonement for him before the LORD.
30 And he shall offer the one of the turtledoves, or of the young pigeons, such as he can get;
31 Even such as he is able to get, the one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering, with the meat offering: and the priest shall make an atonement for him that is to be cleansed before the LORD.
32 This is the law of him in whom is the plague of leprosy, whose hand is not able to get that which pertaineth to his cleansing.
33 And the LORD spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying,
34 When ye be come into the land of Canaan, which I give to you for a possession, and I put the plague of leprosy in a house of the land of your possession;
35 And he that owneth the house shall come and tell the priest, saying, It seemeth to me there is as it were a plague in the house:
36 Then the priest shall command that they empty the house, before the priest go into it to see the plague, that all that is in the house be not made unclean: and afterward the priest shall go in to see the house:
37 And he shall look on the plague, and, behold, if the plague be in the walls of the house with hollow strakes, greenish or reddish, which in sight are lower than the wall;
38 Then the priest shall go out of the house to the door of the house, and shut up the house seven days:
39 And the priest shall come again the seventh day, and shall look: and, behold, if the plague be spread in the walls of the house;
40 Then the priest shall command that they take away the stones in which the plague is, and they shall cast them into an unclean place without the city:
41 And he shall cause the house to be scraped within round about, and they shall pour out the dust that they scrape off without the city into an unclean place:
42 And they shall take other stones, and put them in the place of those stones; and he shall take other morter, and shall plaister the house.
43 And if the plague come again, and break out in the house, after that he hath taken away the stones, and after he hath scraped the house, and after it is plaistered;
44 Then the priest shall come and look, and, behold, if the plague be spread in the house, it is a fretting leprosy in the house; it is unclean.
45 And he shall break down the house, the stones of it, and the timber thereof, and all the morter of the house; and he shall carry them forth out of the city into an unclean place.
46 Moreover he that goeth into the house all the while that it is shut up shall be unclean until the even.
47 And he that lieth in the house shall wash his clothes; and he that eateth in the house shall wash his clothes.
48 And if the priest shall come in, and look upon it, and, behold, the plague hath not spread in the house, after the house was plaistered: then the priest shall pronounce the house clean, because the plague is healed.
49 And he shall take to cleanse the house two birds, and cedar wood, and scarlet, and hyssop:
50 And he shall kill the one of the birds in an earthen vessel over running water:
51 And he shall take the cedar wood, and the hyssop, and the scarlet, and the living bird, and dip them in the blood of the slain bird, and in the running water, and sprinkle the house seven times:
52 And he shall cleanse the house with the blood of the bird, and with the running water, and with the living bird, and with the cedar wood, and with the hyssop, and with the scarlet:
53 But he shall let go the living bird out of the city into the open fields, and make an atonement for the house: and it shall be clean.
54 This is the law for all manner of plague of leprosy, and scall,
55 And for the leprosy of a garment, and of a house,
56 And for a rising, and for a scab, and for a bright spot:
57 To teach when it is unclean, and when it is clean: this is the law of leprosy.

LEVITICUS CHAPTER 15

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses and to Aaron, saying,
2 Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, When any man hath a running issue out of his flesh, because of his issue he is unclean.
3 And this shall be his uncleanness in his issue: whether his flesh run with his issue, or his flesh be stopped from his issue, it is his uncleanness.
4 Every bed, whereon he lieth that hath the issue, is unclean: and every thing, whereon he sitteth, shall be unclean.
5 And whosoever toucheth his bed shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even.
6 And he that sitteth on any thing whereon he sat that hath the issue shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even.
7 And he that toucheth the flesh of him that hath the issue shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even.
8 And if he that hath the issue spit upon him that is clean; then he shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even.
9 And what saddle soever he rideth upon that hath the issue shall be unclean.
10 And whosoever toucheth any thing that was under him shall be unclean until the even: and he that beareth any of those things shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even.
11 And whomsoever he toucheth that hath the issue, and hath not rinsed his hands in water, he shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even.
12 And the vessel of earth, that he toucheth which hath the issue, shall be broken: and every vessel of wood shall be rinsed in water.
13 And when he that hath an issue is cleansed of his issue; then he shall number to himself seven days for his cleansing, and wash his clothes, and bathe his flesh in running water, and shall be clean.
14 And on the eighth day he shall take to him two turtledoves, or two young pigeons, and come before the LORD unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, and give them unto the priest:
15 And the priest shall offer them, the one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering; and the priest shall make an atonement for him before the LORD for his issue.

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16 And if any man's seed of copulation go out from him, then he shall wash all his flesh in water, and be unclean until the even.
17 And every garment, and every skin, whereon is the seed of copulation, shall be washed with water, and be unclean until the even.
18 The woman also with whom man shall lie with seed of copulation, they shall both bathe themselves in water, and be unclean until the even.
19 And if a woman have an issue, and her issue in her flesh be blood, she shall be put apart seven days: and whosoever toucheth her shall be unclean until the even.
20 And every thing that she lieth upon in her separation shall be unclean: every thing also that she sitteth upon shall be unclean.
21 And whosoever toucheth her bed shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even.
22 And whosoever toucheth any thing that she sat upon shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even.
23 And if it be on her bed, or on any thing whereon she sitteth, when he toucheth it, he shall be unclean until the even.
24 And if any man lie with her at all, and her flowers be upon him, he shall be unclean seven days; and all the bed whereon he lieth shall be unclean.
25 And if a woman have an issue of her blood many days out of the time of her separation, or if it run beyond the time of her separation; all the days of the issue of her uncleanness shall be as the days of her separation: she shall be unclean.
26 Every bed whereon she lieth all the days of her issue shall be unto her as the bed of her separation: and whatsoever she sitteth upon shall be unclean, as the uncleanness of her separation.
27 And whosoever toucheth those things shall be unclean, and shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even.
28 But if she be cleansed of her issue, then she shall number to herself seven days, and after that she shall be clean.
29 And on the eighth day she shall take unto her two turtles, or two young pigeons, and bring them unto the priest, to the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.
30 And the priest shall offer the one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering; and the priest shall make an atonement for her before the LORD for the issue of her uncleanness.
31 Thus shall ye separate the children of Israel from their uncleanness; that they die not in their uncleanness, when they defile my tabernacle that is among them.
32 This is the law of him that hath an issue, and of him whose seed goeth from him, and is defiled therewith;
33 And of her that is sick of her flowers, and of him that hath an issue, of the man, and of the woman, and of him that lieth with her that is unclean.

LEVITICUS CHAPTER 16

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses after the death of the two sons of Aaron, when they offered before the LORD, and died;
2 And the LORD said unto Moses, Speak unto Aaron thy brother, that he come not at all times into the holy place within the vail before the mercy seat, which is upon the ark; that he die not: for I will appear in the cloud upon the mercy seat.
3 Thus shall Aaron come into the holy place: with a young bullock for a sin offering, and a ram for a burnt offering.
4 He shall put on the holy linen coat, and he shall have the linen breeches upon his flesh, and shall be girded with a linen girdle, and with the linen mitre shall he be attired: these are holy garments; therefore shall he wash his flesh in water, and so put them on.
5 And he shall take of the congregation of the children of Israel two kids of the goats for a sin offering, and one ram for a burnt offering.
6 And Aaron shall offer his bullock of the sin offering, which is for himself, and make an atonement for himself, and for his house.
7 And he shall take the two goats, and present them before the LORD at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.
8 And Aaron shall cast lots upon the two goats; one lot for the LORD, and the other lot for the scapegoat.
9 And Aaron shall bring the goat upon which the LORD's lot fell, and offer him for a sin offering.
10 But the goat, on which the lot fell to be the scapegoat, shall be presented alive before the LORD, to make an atonement with him, and to let him go for a scapegoat into the wilderness.
11 And Aaron shall bring the bullock of the sin offering, which is for himself, and shall make an atonement for himself, and for his house, and shall kill the bullock of the sin offering which is for himself:
12 And he shall take a censer full of burning coals of fire from off the altar before the LORD, and his hands full of sweet incense beaten small, and bring it within the vail:
13 And he shall put the incense upon the fire before the LORD, that the cloud of the incense may cover the mercy seat that is upon the testimony, that he die not:
14 And he shall take of the blood of the bullock, and sprinkle it with his finger upon the mercy seat eastward; and before the mercy seat shall he sprinkle of the blood with his finger seven times.
15 Then shall he kill the goat of the sin offering, that is for the people, and bring his blood within the vail, and do with that blood as he did with the blood of the bullock, and sprinkle it upon the mercy seat, and before the mercy seat:
16 And he shall make an atonement for the holy place, because of the uncleanness of the children of Israel, and because of their transgressions in all their sins: and so shall he do for the tabernacle of the congregation, that remaineth among them in the midst of their uncleanness.
17 And there shall be no man in the tabernacle of the congregation when he goeth in to make an atonement in the holy place, until he come out, and have made an atonement for himself, and for his household, and for all the congregation of Israel.
18 And he shall go out unto the altar that is before the LORD, and make an atonement for it; and shall take of the blood of the bullock, and of the blood of the goat, and put it upon the horns of the altar round about.
19 And he shall sprinkle of the blood upon it with his finger seven times, and cleanse it, and hallow it from the uncleanness of the children of Israel.
20 And when he hath made an end of reconciling the holy place, and the tabernacle of the congregation, and the altar, he shall bring the live goat:
21 And Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins, putting them upon the head of the goat, and shall send him away by the hand of a fit man into the wilderness:
22 And the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities unto a land not inhabited: and he shall let go the goat in the wilderness.
23 And Aaron shall come into the tabernacle of the congregation, and shall put off the linen garments, which he put on when he went into the holy place, and shall leave them there:
24 And he shall wash his flesh with water in the holy place, and put on his garments, and come forth, and offer his burnt offering, and the burnt offering of the people, and make an atonement for himself, and for the people.
25 And the fat of the sin offering shall he burn upon the altar.
26 And he that let go the goat for the scapegoat shall wash his clothes, and bathe his flesh in water, and afterward come into the camp.
27 And the bullock for the sin offering, and the goat for the sin offering, whose blood was brought in to make atonement in the holy place, shall one carry forth without the camp; and they shall burn in the fire their skins, and their flesh, and their dung.
28 And he that burneth them shall wash his clothes, and bathe his flesh in water, and afterward he shall come into the camp.
29 And this shall be a statute for ever unto you: that in the seventh month, on the tenth day of the month, ye shall afflict your souls, and do no work at all, whether it be one of your own country, or a stranger that sojourneth among you:
30 For on that day shall the priest make an atonement for you, to cleanse you, that ye may be clean from all your sins before the LORD.
31 It shall be a sabbath of rest unto you, and ye shall afflict your souls, by a statute for ever.
32 And the priest, whom he shall anoint, and whom he shall consecrate to minister in the priest's office in his father's stead, shall make the atonement, and shall put on the linen clothes, even the holy garments:
33 And he shall make an atonement for the holy sanctuary, and he shall make an atonement for the tabernacle of the congregation, and for the altar, and he shall make an atonement for the priests, and for all the people of the congregation.
34 And this shall be an everlasting statute unto you, to make an atonement for the children of Israel for all their sins once a year. And he did as the LORD commanded Moses.

LEVITICUS CHAPTER 17

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 Speak unto Aaron, and unto his sons, and unto all the children of Israel, and say unto them; This is the thing which the LORD hath commanded, saying,
3 What man soever there be of the house of Israel, that killeth an ox, or lamb, or goat, in the camp, or that killeth it out of the camp,
4 And bringeth it not unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, to offer an offering unto the LORD before the tabernacle of the LORD; blood shall be imputed unto that man; he hath shed blood; and that man shall be cut off from among his people:
5 To the end that the children of Israel may bring their sacrifices, which they offer in the open field, even that they may bring them unto the LORD, unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, unto the priest, and offer them for peace offerings unto the LORD.
6 And the priest shall sprinkle the blood upon the altar of the LORD at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, and burn the fat for a sweet savour unto the LORD.
7 And they shall no more offer their sacrifices unto devils, after whom they have gone a whoring. This shall be a statute for ever unto them throughout their generations.
8 And thou shalt say unto them, Whatsoever man there be of the house of Israel, or of the strangers which sojourn among you, that offereth a burnt offering or sacrifice,
9 And bringeth it not unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, to offer it unto the LORD; even that man shall be cut off from among his people.
10 And whatsoever man there be of the house of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn among you, that eateth any manner of blood; I will even set my face against that soul that eateth blood, and will cut him off from among his people.
11 For the life of the flesh is in the blood: and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls: for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul.
12 Therefore I said unto the children of Israel, No soul of you shall eat blood, neither shall any stranger that sojourneth among you eat blood.
13 And whatsoever man there be of the children of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn among you, which hunteth and catcheth any beast or fowl that may be eaten; he shall even pour out the blood thereof, and cover it with dust.
14 For it is the life of all flesh; the blood of it is for the life thereof: therefore I said unto the children of Israel, Ye shall eat the blood of no manner of flesh: for the life of all flesh is the blood thereof: whosoever eateth it shall be cut off.
15 And every soul that eateth that which died of itself, or that which was torn with beasts, whether it be one of your own country, or a stranger, he shall both wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even: then shall he be clean.
16 But if he wash them not, nor bathe his flesh; then he shall bear his iniquity.

LEVITICUS CHAPTER 18

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, I am the LORD your God.
3 After the doings of the land of Egypt, wherein ye dwelt, shall ye not do: and after the doings of the land of Canaan, whither I bring you, shall ye not do: neither shall ye walk in their ordinances.
4 Ye shall do my judgements, and keep mine ordinances, to walk therein: I am the LORD your God.
5 Ye shall therefore keep my statutes, and my judgements: which if a man do, he shall live in them: I am the LORD.
6 None of you shall approach to any that is near of kin to him, to uncover their nakedness: I am the LORD.
7 The nakedness of thy father, or the nakedness of thy mother, shalt thou not uncover: she is thy mother; thou shalt not uncover her nakedness.
8 The nakedness of thy father's wife shalt thou not uncover: it is thy father's nakedness.
9 The nakedness of thy sister, the daughter of thy father, or daughter of thy mother, whether she be born at home, or born abroad, even their nakedness thou shalt not uncover.
10 The nakedness of thy son's daughter, or of thy daughter's daughter, even their nakedness thou shalt not uncover: for theirs is thine own nakedness.
11 The nakedness of thy father's wife's daughter, begotten of thy father, she is thy sister, thou shalt not uncover her nakedness.
12 Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy father's sister: she is thy father's near kinswoman.
13 Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy mother's sister: for she is thy mother's near kinswoman.
14 Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy father's brother, thou shalt not approach to his wife: she is thine aunt.
15 Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy daughter in law: she is thy son's wife; thou shalt not uncover her nakedness.
16 Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy brother's wife: it is thy brother's nakedness.
17 Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of a woman and her daughter, neither shalt thou take her son's daughter, or her daughter's daughter, to uncover her nakedness; for they are her near kinswomen: it is wickedness.
18 Neither shalt thou take a wife to her sister, to vex her, to uncover her nakedness, beside the other in her life time.
19 Also thou shalt not approach unto a woman to uncover her nakedness, as long as she is put apart for her uncleanness.
20 Moreover thou shalt not lie carnally with thy neighbour's wife, to defile thyself with her.

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21 And thou shalt not let any of thy seed pass through the fire to Molech, neither shalt thou profane the name of thy God: I am the LORD.
22 Thou shalt not lie with mankind, as with womankind: it is abomination.
23 Neither shalt thou lie with any beast to defile thyself therewith: neither shall any woman stand before a beast to lie down thereto: it is confusion.
24 Defile not ye yourselves in any of these things: for in all these the nations are defiled which I cast out before you:
25 And the land is defiled: therefore I do visit the iniquity thereof upon it, and the land itself vomiteth out her inhabitants.
26 Ye shall therefore keep my statutes and my judgements, and shall not commit any of these abominations; neither any of your own nation, nor any stranger that sojourneth among you:
27 (For all these abominations have the men of the land done, which were before you, and the land is defiled;)
28 That the land spue not you out also, when ye defile it, as it spued out the nations that were before you.
29 For whosoever shall commit any of these abominations, even the souls that commit them shall be cut off from among their people.
30 Therefore shall ye keep mine ordinance, that ye commit not any one of these abominable customs, which were committed before you, and that ye defile not yourselves therein: I am the LORD your God.

LEVITICUS CHAPTER 19

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 Speak unto all the congregation of the children of Israel, and say unto them, Ye shall be holy: for I the LORD your God am holy.
3 Ye shall fear every man his mother, and his father, and keep my sabbaths: I am the LORD your God.
4 Turn ye not unto idols, nor make to yourselves molten gods: I am the LORD your God.
5 And if ye offer a sacrifice of peace offerings unto the LORD, ye shall offer it at your own will.
6 It shall be eaten the same day ye offer it, and on the morrow: and if ought remain until the third day, it shall be burnt in the fire.
7 And if it be eaten at all on the third day, it is abominable; it shall not be accepted.
8 Therefore every one that eateth it shall bear his iniquity, because he hath profaned the hallowed thing of the LORD: and that soul shall be cut off from among his people.
9 And when ye reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not wholly reap the corners of thy field, neither shalt thou gather the gleanings of thy harvest.
10 And thou shalt not glean thy vineyard, neither shalt thou gather every grape of thy vineyard; thou shalt leave them for the poor and stranger: I am the LORD your God.
11 Ye shall not steal, neither deal falsely, neither lie one to another.
12 And ye shall not swear by my name falsely, neither shalt thou profane the name of thy God: I am the LORD.
13 Thou shalt not defraud thy neighbour, neither rob him: the wages of him that is hired shall not abide with thee all night until the morning.
14 Thou shalt not curse the deaf, nor put a stumblingblock before the blind, but shalt fear thy God: I am the LORD.
15 Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgement: thou shalt not respect the person of the poor, nor honor the person of the mighty: but in righteousness shalt thou judge thy neighbour.
16 Thou shalt not go up and down as a talebearer among thy people: neither shalt thou stand against the blood of thy neighbour; I am the LORD.
17 Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart: thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, and not suffer sin upon him.
18 Thou shalt not avenge, nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people, but thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself: I am the LORD.
19 Ye shall keep my statutes. Thou shalt not let thy cattle gender with a diverse kind: thou shalt not sow thy field with mingled seed: neither shall a garment mingled of linen and woollen come upon thee.
20 And whosoever lieth carnally with a woman, that is a bondmaid, betrothed to an husband, and not at all redeemed, nor freedom given her; she shall be scourged; they shall not be put to death, because she was not free.
21 And he shall bring his trespass offering unto the LORD, unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, even a ram for a trespass offering.
22 And the priest shall make an atonement for him with the ram of the trespass offering before the LORD for his sin which he hath done: and the sin which he hath done shall be forgiven him.
23 And when ye shall come into the land, and shall have planted all manner of trees for food, then ye shall count the fruit thereof as uncircumcised: three years shall it be as uncircumcised unto you: it shall not be eaten of.
24 But in the fourth year all the fruit thereof shall be holy to praise the LORD withal.
25 And in the fifth year shall ye eat of the fruit thereof, that it may yield unto you the increase thereof: I am the LORD your God.
26 Ye shall not eat any thing with the blood: neither shall ye use enchantment, nor observe times.
27 Ye shall not round the corners of your heads, neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard.
28 Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you: I am the LORD.
29 Do not prostitute thy daughter, to cause her to be a whore; lest the land fall to whoredom, and the land become full of wickedness.
30 Ye shall keep my sabbaths, and reverence my sanctuary: I am the LORD.
31 Regard not them that have familiar spirits, neither seek after wizards, to be defiled by them: I am the LORD your God.
32 Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honour the face of the old man, and fear thy God: I am the LORD.
33 And if a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not vex him.
34 But the stranger that dwelleth with you shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt: I am the LORD your God.
35 Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgement, in meteyard, in weight, or in measure.
36 Just balances, just weights, a just ephah, and a just hin, shall ye have: I am the LORD your God, which brought you out of the land of Egypt.
37 Therefore shall ye observe all my statutes, and all my judgements, and do them: I am the LORD.

LEVITICUS CHAPTER 20

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 Again, thou shalt say to the children of Israel, Whosoever he be of the children of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn in Israel, that giveth any of his seed unto Molech; he shall surely be put to death: the people of the land shall stone him with stones.
3 And I will set my face against that man, and will cut him off from among his people; because he hath given of his seed unto Molech, to defile my sanctuary, and to profane my holy name.
4 And if the people of the land do any ways hide their eyes from the man, when he giveth of his seed unto Molech, and kill him not:
5 Then I will set my face against that man, and against his family, and will cut him off, and all that go a whoring after him, to commit whoredom with Molech, from among their people.
6 And the soul that turneth after such as have familiar spirits, and after wizards, to go a whoring after them, I will even set my face against that soul, and will cut him off from among his people.
7 Sanctify yourselves therefore, and be ye holy: for I am the LORD your God.
8 And ye shall keep my statutes, and do them: I am the LORD which sanctify you.
9 For every one that curseth his father or his mother shall be surely put to death: he hath cursed his father or his mother; his blood shall be upon him.
10 And the man that committeth adultery with another man's wife, even he that committeth adultery with his neighbour's wife, the adulterer and the adulteress shall surely be put to death.
11 And the man that lieth with his father's wife hath uncovered his father's nakedness: both of them shall surely be put to death; their blood shall be upon them.
12 And if a man lie with his daughter in law, both of them shall surely be put to death: they have wrought confusion; their blood shall be upon them.
13 If a man also lie with mankind, as he lieth with a woman, both of them have committed an abomination: they shall surely be put to death; their blood shall be upon them.
14 And if a man take a wife and her mother, it is wickedness: they shall be burnt with fire, both he and they; that there be no wickedness among you.
15 And if a man lie with a beast, he shall surely be put to death: and ye shall slay the beast.
16 And if a woman approach unto any beast, and lie down thereto, thou shalt kill the woman, and the beast: they shall surely be put to death; their blood shall be upon them.
17 And if a man shall take his sister, his father's daughter, or his mother's daughter, and see her nakedness, and she see his nakedness; it is a wicked thing; and they shall be cut off in the sight of their people: he hath uncovered his sister's nakedness; he shall bear his iniquity.
18 And if a man shall lie with a woman having her sickness, and shall uncover her nakedness; he hath discovered her fountain, and she hath uncovered the fountain of her blood: and both of them shall be cut off from among their people.
19 And thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy mother's sister, nor of thy father's sister: for he uncovereth his near kin: they shall bear their iniquity.
20 And if a man shall lie with his uncle's wife, he hath uncovered his uncle's nakedness: they shall bear their sin; they shall die childless.
21 And if a man shall take his brother's wife, it is an unclean thing: he hath uncovered his brother's nakedness; they shall be childless.
22 Ye shall therefore keep all my statutes, and all my judgements, and do them: that the land, whither I bring you to dwell therein, spue you not out.
23 And ye shall not walk in the manners of the nation, which I cast out before you: for they committed all these things, and therefore I abhorred them.
24 But I have said unto you, Ye shall inherit their land, and I will give it unto you to possess it, a land that floweth with milk and honey: I am the LORD your God, which have separated you from other people.
25 Ye shall therefore put difference between clean beasts and unclean, and between unclean fowls and clean: and ye shall not make your souls abominable by beast, or by fowl, or by any manner of living thing that creepeth on the ground, which I have separated from you as unclean.
26 And ye shall be holy unto me: for I the LORD am holy, and have severed you from other people, that ye should be mine.
27 A man also or woman that hath a familiar spirit, or that is a wizard, shall surely be put to death: they shall stone them with stones: their blood shall be upon them.

LEVITICUS CHAPTER 21

1 And the LORD said unto Moses, Speak unto the priests the sons of Aaron, and say unto them, There shall none be defiled for the dead among his people:
2 But for his kin, that is near unto him, that is, for his mother, and for his father, and for his son, and for his daughter, and for his brother.
3 And for his sister a virgin, that is nigh unto him, which hath had no husband; for her may he be defiled.
4 But he shall not defile himself, being a chief man among his people, to profane himself.
5 They shall not make baldness upon their head, neither shall they shave off the corner of their beard, nor make any cuttings in their flesh.
6 They shall be holy unto their God, and not profane the name of their God: for the offerings of the LORD made by fire, and the bread of their God, they do offer: therefore they shall be holy.
7 They shall not take a wife that is a whore, or profane; neither shall they take a woman put away from her husband: for he is holy unto his God.
8 Thou shalt sanctify him therefore; for he offereth the bread of thy God: he shall be holy unto thee: for I the LORD, which sanctify you, am holy.
9 And the daughter of any priest, if she profane herself by playing the whore, she profaneth her father: she shall be burnt with fire.
10 And he that is the high priest among his brethren, upon whose head the anointing oil was poured, and that is consecrated to put on the garments, shall not uncover his head, nor rend his clothes;
11 Neither shall he go in to any dead body, nor defile himself for his father, or for his mother;
12 Neither shall he go out of the sanctuary, nor profane the sanctuary of his God; for the crown of the anointing oil of his God is upon him: I am the LORD.
13 And he shall take a wife in her virginity.
14 A widow, or a divorced woman, or profane, or an harlot, these shall he not take: but he shall take a virgin of his own people to wife.
15 Neither shall he profane his seed among his people: for I the LORD do sanctify him.
16 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
17 Speak unto Aaron, saying, Whosoever he be of thy seed in their generations that hath any blemish, let him not approach to offer the bread of his God.
18 For whatsoever man he be that hath a blemish, he shall not approach: a blind man, or a lame, or he that hath a flat nose, or any thing superfluous,
19 Or a man that is brokenfooted, or brokenhanded,
20 Or crookbackt, or a dwarf, or that hath a blemish in his eye, or be scurvy, or scabbed, or hath his stones broken;
21 No man that hath a blemish of the seed of Aaron the priest shall come nigh to offer the offerings of the LORD made by fire: he hath a blemish; he shall not come nigh to offer the bread of his God.
22 He shall eat the bread of his God, both of the most holy, and of the holy.
23 Only he shall not go in unto the vail, nor come nigh unto the altar, because he hath a blemish; that he profane not my sanctuaries: for I the LORD do sanctify them.

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24 And Moses told it unto Aaron, and to his sons, and unto all the children of Israel.

LEVITICUS CHAPTER 22

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

2 Speak unto Aaron and to his sons, that they separate themselves from the holy things of the children of Israel, and that they profane not my holy name in those things which they hallow unto me: I am the LORD.

3 Say unto them, Whosoever he be of all your seed among your generations, that goeth unto the holy things, which the children of Israel hallow unto the LORD, having his uncleanness upon him, that soul shall be cut off from my presence: I am the LORD.

4 What man soever of the seed of Aaron is a leper, or hath a running issue; he shall not eat of the holy things, until he be clean. And whoso toucheth any thing that is unclean by the dead, or a man whose seed goeth from him;

5 Or whosoever toucheth any creeping thing, whereby he may be made unclean, or a man of whom he may take uncleanness, whatsoever uncleanness he hath;

6 The soul which hath touched any such shall be unclean until even, and shall not eat of the holy things, unless he wash his flesh with water.

7 And when the sun is down, he shall be clean, and shall afterward eat of the holy things; because it is his food.

8 That which dieth of itself, or is torn with beasts, he shall not eat to defile himself therewith; I am the LORD.

9 They shall therefore keep mine ordinance, lest they bear sin for it, and die therefore, if they profane it: I the LORD do sanctify them.

10 There shall no stranger eat of the holy thing: a sojourner of the priest, or an hired servant, shall not eat of the holy thing.

11 But if the priest buy any soul with his money, he shall eat of it, and he that is born in his house: they shall eat of his meat.

12 If the priest's daughter also be married unto a stranger, she may not eat of an offering of the holy things.

13 But if the priest's daughter be a widow, or divorced, and have no child, and is returned unto her father's house, as in her youth, she shall eat of her father's meat: but there shall be no stranger eat thereof.

14 And if a man eat of the holy thing unwittingly, then he shall put the fifth part thereof unto it, and shall give it unto the priest with the holy thing.

15 And they shall not profane the holy things of the children of Israel, which they offer unto the LORD;

16 Or suffer them to bear the iniquity of trespass, when they eat their holy things: for I the LORD do sanctify them.

17 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

18 Speak unto Aaron, and to his sons, and unto all the children of Israel, and say unto them, Whatsoever he be of the house of Israel, or of the strangers in Israel, that will offer his oblation for all his vows, and for all his freewill offerings, which they will offer unto the LORD for a burnt offering;

19 Ye shall offer at your own will a male without blemish, of the beeves, of the sheep, or of the goats.

20 But whatsoever hath a blemish, that shall ye not offer: for it shall not be acceptable for you.

21 And whosoever offereth a sacrifice of peace offerings unto the LORD to accomplish his vow, or a freewill offering in beeves or sheep, it shall be perfect to be accepted; there shall be no blemish therein.

22 Blind, or broken, or maimed, or having a wen, or scurvy, or scabbed, ye shall not offer these unto the LORD, nor make an offering by fire of them upon the altar unto the LORD.

23 Either a bullock or a lamb that hath any thing superfluous or lacking in his parts, that mayest thou offer for a freewill offering; but for a vow it shall not be accepted.

24 Ye shall not offer unto the LORD that which is bruised, or crushed, or broken, or cut; neither shall ye make any offering thereof in your land.

25 Neither from a stranger's hand shall ye offer the bread of your God of any of these; because their corruption is in them, and blemishes be in them: they shall not be accepted for you.

26 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

27 When a bullock, or a sheep, or a goat, is brought forth, then it shall be seven days under the dam; and from the eighth day and thenceforth it shall be accepted for an offering made by fire unto the LORD.

28 And whether it be cow, or ewe, ye shall not kill it and her young both in one day.

29 And when ye will offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving unto the LORD, offer it at your own will.

30 On the same day it shall be eaten up; ye shall leave none of it until the morrow: I am the LORD.

31 Therefore shall ye keep my commandments, and do them: I am the LORD.

32 Neither shall ye profane my holy name; but I will be hallowed among the children of Israel: I am the LORD which hallow you,

33 That brought you out of the land of Egypt, to be your God: I am the LORD.

LEVITICUS CHAPTER 23

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

2 Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, Concerning the feasts of the LORD, which ye shall proclaim to be holy convocations, even these are my feasts.

3 Six days shall work be done: but the seventh day is the sabbath of rest, an holy convocation; ye shall do no work therein: it is the sabbath of the LORD in all your dwellings.

4 These are the feasts of the LORD, even holy convocations, which ye shall proclaim in their seasons.

5 In the fourteenth day of the first month at even is the LORD's passover.

6 And on the fifteenth day of the same month is the feast of unleavened bread unto the LORD: seven days ye must eat unleavened bread.

7 In the first day ye shall have an holy convocation: ye shall do no servile work therein.

8 But ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto the LORD seven days: in the seventh day is an holy convocation: ye shall do no servile work therein.

9 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

10 Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, When ye be come into the land which I give unto you, and shall reap the harvest thereof, then ye shall bring a sheaf of the firstfruits of your harvest unto the priest:

11 And he shall wave the sheaf before the LORD, to be accepted for you: on the morrow after the sabbath the priest shall wave it.

12 And ye shall offer that day when ye wave the sheaf an he lamb without blemish of the first year for a burnt offering unto the LORD.

13 And the meat offering thereof shall be two tenth deals of fine flour mingled with oil, an offering made by fire unto the LORD for a sweet savour: and the drink offering thereof shall be of wine, the fourth part of an hin.

14 And ye shall eat neither bread, nor parched corn, nor green ears, until the selfsame day that ye have brought an offering unto your God: it shall be a statute for ever throughout your generations in all your dwellings.

15 And ye shall count unto you from the morrow after the sabbath, from the day that ye brought the sheaf of the wave offering; seven sabbaths shall be complete:

16 Even unto the morrow after the seventh sabbath shall ye number fifty days; and ye shall offer a new meat offering unto the LORD.

17 Ye shall bring out of your habitations two wave loaves of two tenth deals; they shall be of fine flour; they shall be baken with leaven; they are the firstfruits unto the LORD.

18 And ye shall offer with the bread seven lambs without blemish of the first year, and one young bullock, and two rams: they shall be for a burnt offering unto the LORD, with their meat offering, and their drink offerings, even an offering made by fire, of sweet savour unto the LORD.

19 Then ye shall sacrifice one kid of the goats for a sin offering, and two lambs of the first year for a sacrifice of peace offerings.

20 And the priest shall wave them with the bread of the firstfruits for a wave offering before the LORD, with the two lambs: they shall be holy to the LORD for the priest.

21 And ye shall proclaim on the selfsame day, that it may be an holy convocation unto you: ye shall do no servile work therein: it shall be a statute for ever in all your dwellings throughout your generations.

22 And when ye reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not make clean riddance of the corners of thy field when thou reapest, neither shalt thou gather any gleaning of thy harvest: thou shalt leave them unto the poor, and to the stranger: I am the LORD your God.

23 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

24 Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, In the seventh month, in the first day of the month, shall ye have a sabbath, a memorial of blowing of trumpets, an holy convocation.

25 Ye shall do no servile work therein: but ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto the LORD.

26 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

27 Also on the tenth day of this seventh month there shall be a day of atonement: it shall be an holy convocation unto you; and ye shall afflict your souls, and offer an offering made by fire unto the LORD.

28 And ye shall do no work in that same day: for it is a day of atonement, to make an atonement for you before the LORD your God.

29 For whatsoever soul it be that shall not be afflicted in that same day, he shall be cut off from among his people.

30 And whatsoever soul it be that doeth any work in that same day, the same soul will I destroy from among his people.

31 Ye shall do no manner of work: it shall be a statute for ever throughout your generations in all your dwellings.

32 It shall be unto you a sabbath of rest, and ye shall afflict your souls: in the ninth day of the month at even, from even unto even, shall ye celebrate your sabbath.

33 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

34 Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, The fifteenth day of this seventh month shall be the feast of tabernacles for seven days unto the LORD.

35 On the first day shall be an holy convocation: ye shall do no servile work therein.

36 Seven days ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto the LORD: on the eighth day shall be an holy convocation unto you; and ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto the LORD: it is a solemn assembly; and ye shall do no servile work therein.

37 These are the feasts of the LORD, which ye shall proclaim to be holy convocations, to offer an offering made by fire unto the LORD, a burnt offering, and a meat offering, a sacrifice, and drink offerings, every thing upon his day:

38 Beside the sabbaths of the LORD, and beside your gifts, and beside all your vows, and beside all your freewill offerings, which ye give unto the LORD.

39 Also in the fifteenth day of the seventh month, when ye have gathered in the fruit of the land, ye shall keep a feast unto the LORD seven days: on the first day shall be a sabbath, and on the eighth day shall be a sabbath.

40 And ye shall take you on the first day the boughs of goodly trees, branches of palm trees, and the boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook; and ye shall rejoice before the LORD your God seven days.

41 And ye shall keep it a feast unto the LORD seven days in the year. It shall be a statute for ever in your generations: ye shall celebrate it in the seventh month.

42 Ye shall dwell in booths seven days; all that are Israelites born shall dwell in booths:

43 That your generations may know that I made the children of Israel to dwell in booths, when I brought them out of the land of Egypt: I am the LORD your God.

44 And Moses declared unto the children of Israel the feasts of the LORD.

LEVITICUS CHAPTER 24

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

2 Command the children of Israel, that they bring unto thee pure oil olive beaten for the light, to cause the lamps to burn continually.

3 Without the vail of the testimony, in the tabernacle of the congregation, shall Aaron order it from the evening unto the morning before the LORD continually: it shall be a statute for ever in your generations.

4 He shall order the lamps upon the pure candlestick before the LORD continually.

5 And thou shalt take fine flour, and bake twelve cakes thereof: two tenth deals shall be in one cake.

6 And thou shalt set them in two rows, six on a row, upon the pure table before the LORD.

7 And thou shalt put pure frankincense upon each row, that it may be on the bread for a memorial, even an offering made by fire unto the LORD.

8 Every sabbath he shall set it in order before the LORD continually, being taken from the children of Israel by an everlasting covenant.

9 And it shall be Aaron's and his sons'; and they shall eat it in the holy place: for it is most holy unto him of the offerings of the LORD made by fire by a perpetual statute.

10 And the son of an Israelitish woman, whose father was an Egyptian, went out among the children of Israel: and this son of the Israelitish woman and a man of Israel strove together in the camp;

11 And the Israelitish woman's son blasphemed the name of the Lord, and cursed. And they brought him unto Moses: (and his mother's name was Shelomith, the daughter of Dibri, of the tribe of Dan:)

12 And they put him in ward, that the mind of the LORD might be shewed them.

13 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

14 Bring forth him that hath cursed without the camp; and let all that heard him lay their hands upon his head, and let all the congregation stone him.

15 And thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel, saying, Whosoever curseth his God shall bear his sin.

16 And he that blasphemeth the name of the LORD, he shall surely be put to death, and all the congregation shall certainly stone him: as well the stranger, as he that is born in the land, when he blasphemeth the name of the Lord, shall be put to death.

17 And he that killeth any man shall surely be put to death.

18 And he that killeth a beast shall make it good; beast for beast.

19 And if a man cause a blemish in his neighbour; as he hath done, so shall it be done to him;

20 Breach for breach, eye for eye, tooth for tooth: as he hath caused a blemish in a man, so shall it be done to him again.

21 And he that killeth a beast, he shall restore it: and he that killeth a man, he shall be put to death.

22 Ye shall have one manner of law, as well for the stranger, as for one of your own country: for I am the LORD your God.

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23 And Moses spake to the children of Israel, that they should bring forth him that had cursed out of the camp, and stone him with stones. And the children of Israel did as the LORD commanded Moses.

LEVITICUS CHAPTER 25

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses in mount Sinai, saying,

2 Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, When ye come into the land which I give you, then shall the land keep a sabbath unto the LORD.

3 Six years thou shalt sow thy field, and six years thou shalt prune thy vineyard, and gather in the fruit thereof;

4 But in the seventh year shall be a sabbath of rest unto the land, a sabbath for the LORD: thou shalt neither sow thy field, nor prune thy vineyard.

5 That which groweth of its own accord of thy harvest thou shalt not reap, neither gather the grapes of thy vine undressed: for it is a year of rest unto the land.

6 And the sabbath of the land shall be meat for you; for thee, and for thy servant, and for thy maid, and for thy hired servant, and for thy stranger that sojourneth with thee.

7 And for thy cattle, and for the beast that are in thy land, shall all the increase thereof be meat.

8 And thou shalt number seven sabbaths of years unto thee, seven times seven years; and the space of the seven sabbaths of years shall be unto thee forty and nine years.

9 Then shalt thou cause the trumpet of the jubile to sound on the tenth day of the seventh month, in the day of atonement shall ye make the trumpet sound throughout all your land.

10 And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof: it shall be a jubile unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family.

11 A jubile shall that fiftieth year be unto you: ye shall not sow, neither reap that which groweth of itself in it, nor gather the grapes in it of thy vine undressed.

12 For it is the jubile; it shall be holy unto you: ye shall eat the increase thereof out of the field.

13 In the year of this jubile ye shall return every man unto his possession.

14 And if thou sell ought unto thy neighbour, or buyest ought of thy neighbour's hand, ye shall not oppress one another:

15 According to the number of years after the jubile thou shalt buy of thy neighbour, and according unto the number of years of the fruits he shall sell unto thee:

16 According to the multitude of years thou shalt increase the price thereof, and according to the fewness of years thou shalt diminish the price of it: for according to the number of the years of the fruits doth he sell unto thee.

17 Ye shall not therefore oppress one another; but thou shalt fear thy God:for I am the LORD your God.

18 Wherefore ye shall do my statutes, and keep my judgements, and do them; and ye shall dwell in the land in safety.

19 And the land shall yield her fruit, and ye shall eat your fill, and dwell therein in safety.

20 And if ye shall say, What shall we eat the seventh year? behold, we shall not sow, nor gather in our increase:

21 Then I will command my blessing upon you in the sixth year, and it shall bring forth fruit for three years.

22 And ye shall sow the eighth year, and eat yet of old fruit until the ninth year; until her fruits come in ye shall eat of the old store.

23 The land shall not be sold for ever: for the land is mine, for ye are strangers and sojourners with me.

24 And in all the land of your possession ye shall grant a redemption for the land.

25 If thy brother be waxen poor, and hath sold away some of his possession, and if any of his kin come to redeem it, then shall he redeem that which his brother sold.

26 And if the man have none to redeem it, and himself be able to redeem it;

27 Then let him count the years of the sale thereof, and restore the overplus unto the man to whom he sold it; that he may return unto his possession.

28 But if he be not able to restore it to him, then that which is sold shall remain in the hand of him that hath bought it until the year of jubile: and in the jubile it shall go out, and he shall return unto his possession.

29 And if a man sell a dwelling house in a walled city, then he may redeem it within a whole year after it is sold; within a full year may he redeem it.

30 And if it be not redeemed within the space of a full year, then the house that is in the walled city shall be established for ever to him that bought it throughout his generations: it shall not go out in the jubile.

31 But the houses of the villages which have no wall round about them shall be counted as the fields of the country: they may be redeemed, and they shall go out in the jubile.

32 Notwithstanding the cities of the Levites, and the houses of the cities of their possession, may the Levites redeem at any time.

33 And if a man purchase of the Levites, then the house that was sold, and the city of his possession, shall go out in the year of jubile: for the houses of the cities of the Levites are their possession among the children of Israel.

34 But the field of the suburbs of their cities may not be sold; for it is their perpetual possession.

35 And if thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee; then thou shalt relieve him: yea, though he be a stranger, or a sojourner; that he may live with thee.

36 Take thou no usury of him, or increase: but fear thy God; that thy brother may live with thee.

37 Thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury, nor lend him thy victuals for increase.

38 I am the LORD your God, which brought you forth out of the land of Egypt, to give you the land of Canaan, and to be your God.

39 And if thy brother that dwelleth by thee be waxen poor, and be sold unto thee; thou shalt not compel him to serve as a bondservant:

40 But as an hired servant, and as a sojourner, he shall be with thee, and shall serve thee unto the year of jubile.

41 And then shall he depart from thee, both he and his children with him, and shall return unto his own family, and unto the possession of his fathers shall he return.

42 For they are my servants, which I brought forth out of the land of Egypt: they shall not be sold as bondmen.

43 Thou shalt not rule over him with rigour; but shalt fear thy God.

44 Both thy bondmen, and thy bondmaids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids.

45 Moreover of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land: and they shall be your possession.

46 And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bondmen for ever: but over your brethren the children of Israel, ye shall not rule one over another with rigour.

47 And if a sojourner or stranger wax rich by thee, and thy brother that dwelleth by him wax poor, and sell himself unto the stranger or sojourner by thee, or to the stock of the stranger's family:

48 After that he is sold he may be redeemed again; one of his brethren may redeem him:

49 Either his uncle, or his uncle's son, may redeem him, or any that is nigh of kin unto him of his family may redeem him; or if he be able, he may redeem himself.

50 And he shall reckon with him that bought him from the year that he was sold to him unto the year of jubile: and the price of his sale shall be according unto the number of years, according to the time of an hired servant shall it be with him.

51 If there be yet many years behind, according unto them he shall give again the price of his redemption out of the money that he was bought for.

52 And if there remain but few years unto the year of jubile, then he shall count with him, and according unto his years shall he give him again the price of his redemption.

53 And as a yearly hired servant shall he be with him: and the other shall not rule with rigour over him in thy sight.

54 And if he be not redeemed in these years, then he shall go out in the year of jubile, both he, and his children with him.

55 For unto me the children of Israel are servants; they are my servants whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt: I am the LORD your God.

LEVITICUS CHAPTER 26

1 Ye shall make you no idols nor graven image, neither rear you up a standing image, neither shall ye set up any image of stone in your land, to bow down unto it: for I am the LORD your God.

2 Ye shall keep my sabbaths, and reverence my sanctuary: I am the LORD.

3 If ye walk in my statutes, and keep my commandments, and do them;

4 Then I will give you rain in due season, and the land shall yield her increase, and the trees of the field shall yield their fruit.

5 And your threshing shall reach unto the vintage, and the vintage shall reach unto the sowing time: and ye shall eat your bread to the full, and dwell in your land safely.

6 And I will give peace in the land, and ye shall lie down, and none shall make you afraid: and I will rid evil beasts out of the land, neither shall the sword go through your land.

7 And ye shall chase your enemies, and they shall fall before you by the sword.

8 And five of you shall chase an hundred, and an hundred of you shall put ten thousand to flight: and your enemies shall fall before you by the sword.

9 For I will have respect unto you, and make you fruitful, and multiply you, and establish my covenant with you.

10 And ye shall eat old store, and bring forth the old because of the new.

11 And I set my tabernacle among you: and my soul shall not abhor you.

12 And I will walk among you, and will be your God, and ye shall be my people.

13 I am the LORD your God, which brought you forth out of the land of Egypt, that ye should not be their bondmen; and I have broken the bands of your yoke, and made you go upright.

14 But if ye will not hearken unto me, and will not do all these commandments;

15 And if ye shall despise my statutes, or if your soul abhor my judgements, so that ye will not do all my commandments, but that ye break my covenant:

16 I also will do this unto you; I will even appoint over you terror, consumption, and the burning ague, that shall consume the eyes, and cause sorrow of heart: and ye shall sow your seed in vain, for your enemies shall eat it.

17 And I will set my face against you, and ye shall be slain before your enemies: they that hate you shall reign over you; and ye shall flee when none pursueth you.

18 And if ye will not yet for all this hearken unto me, then I will punish you seven times more for your sins.

19 And I will break the pride of your power; and I will make your heaven as iron, and your earth as brass:

20 And your strength shall be spent in vain: for your land shall not yield her increase, neither shall the trees of the land yield their fruits.

21 And if ye walk contrary unto me, and will not hearken unto me; I will bring seven times more plagues upon you according to your sins.

22 I will also send wild beasts among you, which shall rob you of your children, and destroy your cattle, and make you few in number; and your high ways shall be desolate.

23 And if ye will not be reformed by me by these things, but will walk contrary unto me;

24 Then will I also walk contrary unto you, and will punish you yet seven times for your sins.

25 And I will bring a sword upon you, that shall avenge the quarrel of my covenant: and when ye are gathered together within your cities, I will send the pestilence among you; and ye shall be delivered into the hand of the enemy.

26 And when I have broken the staff of your bread, ten women shall bake your bread in one oven, and they shall deliver you your bread again by weight: and ye shall eat, and not be satisfied.

27 And if ye will not for all this hearken unto me, but walk contrary unto me;

28 Then I will walk contrary unto you also in fury; and I, even I, will chastise you seven times for your sins.

29 And ye shall eat the flesh of your sons, and the flesh of your daughters shall ye eat.

30 And I will destroy your high places, and cut down your images, and cast your carcases upon the carcases of your idols, and my soul shall abhor you.

31 And I will make your cities waste, and bring your sanctuaries unto desolation, and I will not smell the savour of your sweet odours.

32 And I will bring the land into desolation: and your enemies which dwell therein shall be astonished at it.

33 And I will scatter you among the heathen, and will draw out a sword after you: and your land shall be desolate, and your cities waste.

34 Then shall the land enjoy her sabbaths, as long as it lieth desolate, and ye be in your enemies' land; even then shall the land rest, and enjoy her sabbaths.

35 As long as it lieth desolate it shall rest; because it did not rest in your sabbaths, when ye dwelt upon it.

36 And upon them that are left alive of you I will send a faintness into their hearts in the lands of their enemies; and the sound of a shaken leaf shall chase them; and they shall flee, as fleeing from a sword; and they shall fall when none pursueth.

37 And they shall fall one upon another, as it were before a sword, when none pursueth: and ye shall have no power to stand before your enemies.

38 And ye shall perish among the heathen, and the land of your enemies shall eat you up.

39 And they that are left of you shall pine away in their iniquity in your enemies' lands; and also in the iniquities of their fathers shall they pine away with them.

40 If they shall confess their iniquity, and the iniquity of their fathers, with their trespass which they trespassed against me, and that also they have walked contrary unto me;

41 And that I also have walked contrary unto them, and have brought them into the land of their enemies; if then their uncircumcised hearts be humbled, and they then accept of the punishment of their iniquity:

42 Then will I remember my covenant with Jacob, and also my covenant with Isaac, and also my covenant with Abraham will I remember; and I will remember the land.

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43 The land also shall be left of them, and shall enjoy her sabbaths, while she lieth desolate without them: and they shall accept of the punishment of their iniquity: because, even because they despised my judgements, and because their soul abhorred my statutes.

44 And yet for all that, when they be in the land of their enemies, I will not cast them away, neither will I abhor them, to destroy them utterly, and to break my covenant with them: for I am the LORD their God.

45 But I will for their sakes remember the covenant of their ancestors, whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt in the sight of the heathen, that I might be their God: I am the LORD.

46 These are the statutes and judgements and laws, which the LORD made between him and the children of Israel in mount Sinai by the hand of Moses.

LEVITICUS CHAPTER 27

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

2 Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, When a man shall make a singular vow, the persons shall be for the LORD by thy estimation.

3 And thy estimation shall be of the male from twenty years old even unto sixty years old, even thy estimation shall be fifty shekels of silver, after the shekel of the sanctuary.

4 And if it be a female, then thy estimation shall be thirty shekels.

5 And if it be from five years old even unto twenty years old, then thy estimation shall be of the male twenty shekels, and for the female ten shekels.

6 And if it be from a month old even unto five years old, then thy estimation shall be of the male five shekels of silver, and for the female thy estimation shall be three shekels of silver.

7 And if it be from sixty years old and above; if it be a male, then thy estimation shall be fifteen shekels, and for the female ten shekels.

8 But if he be poorer than thy estimation, then he shall present himself before the priest, and the priest shall value him; according to his ability that vowed shall the priest value him.

9 And if it be a beast, whereof men bring an offering unto the LORD, all that any man giveth of such unto the LORD shall be holy.

10 He shall not alter it, nor change it, a good for a bad, or a bad for a good: and if he shall at all change beast for beast, then it and the exchange thereof shall be holy.

11 And if it be any unclean beast, of which they do not offer a sacrifice unto the LORD, then he shall present the beast before the priest:

12 And the priest shall value it, whether it be good or bad: as thou valuest it, who art the priest, so shall it be.

13 But if he will at all redeem it, then he shall add a fifth part thereof unto thy estimation.

14 And when a man shall sanctify his house to be holy unto the LORD, then the priest shall estimate it, whether it be good or bad: as the priest shall estimate it, so shall it stand.

15 And if he that sanctified it will redeem his house, then he shall add the fifth part of the money of thy estimation unto it, and it shall be his.

16 And if a man shall sanctify unto the LORD some part of a field of his possession, then thy estimation shall be according to the seed thereof: an homer of barley seed shall be valued at fifty shekels of silver.

17 If he sanctify his field from the year of jubile, according to thy estimation it shall stand.

18 But if he sanctify his field after the jubile, then the priest shall reckon unto him the money according to the years that remain, even unto the year of the jubile, and it shall be abated from thy estimation.

19 And if he that sanctified the field will in any wise redeem it, then he shall add the fifth part of the money of thy estimation unto it, and it shall be assured to him.

20 And if he will not redeem the field, or if he have sold the field to another man, it shall not be redeemed any more.

21 But the field, when it goeth out in the jubile, shall be holy unto the LORD, as a field devoted; the possession thereof shall be the priest's.

22 And if a man sanctify unto the LORD a field which he hath bought, which is not of the fields of his possession;

23 Then the priest shall reckon unto him the worth of thy estimation, even unto the year of the jubile: and he shall give thine estimation in that day, as a holy thing unto the LORD.

24 In the year of the jubile the field shall return unto him of whom it was bought, even to him to whom the possession of the land did belong.

25 And all thy estimations shall be according to the shekel of the sanctuary: twenty gerahs shall be the shekel.

26 Only the firstling of the beasts, which should be the LORD's firstling, no man shall sanctify it; whether it be ox, or sheep: it is the LORD's.

27 And if it be of an unclean beast, then he shall redeem it according to thine estimation, and shall add a fifth part of it thereto: or if it be not redeemed, then it shall be sold according to thy estimation.

28 Notwithstanding no devoted thing, that a man shall devote unto the LORD of all that he hath, both of man and beast, and of the field of his possession, shall be sold or redeemed: every devoted thing is most holy unto the LORD.

29 None devoted, which shall be devoted of men, shall be redeemed; but shall surely be put to death.

30 And all the tithe of the land, whether of the seed of the land, or of the fruit of the tree, is the LORD's: it is holy unto the LORD.

31 And if a man will at all redeem ought of his tithes, he shall add thereto the fifth part thereof.

32 And concerning the tithe of the herd, or of the flock, even of whatsoever passeth under the rod, the tenth shall be holy unto the LORD.

33 He shall not search whether it be good or bad, neither shall he change it: and if he change it at all, then both it and the change thereof shall be holy; it shall not be redeemed.

34 These are the commandments, which the LORD commanded Moses for the children of Israel in mount Sinai.

NUMBERS

The Fourth Book of Moses
Hebrew Title: Bamidebar ("In the Wilderness")

(The Book of Numbers (from Greek Arithmoi; Hebrew: Bemidbar, "In the Wilderness" or "In the Desert") is the fourth book of the Hebrew Bible, and the fourth of five books of the Jewish Torah. The book has a long and complex history, but its final form is probably due to a Priestly redaction (i.e., editing) of a Yahwistic source made some time in the early Persian period (5th century BC). The name of the book comes from the two censuses taken of the Israelites.

Numbers begins at Mount Sinai, where the Israelites have received their laws and covenant from God and God has taken up residence among them in the sanctuary. The task before them is to take possession of the Promised Land. The people are counted and preparations are made for resuming their march. The Israelites begin the journey, but they "murmur" at the hardships along the way, and about the authority of Moses and Aaron. For these acts, God punishes them through various means. They arrive at the borders of Canaan and send spies into the land. Upon hearing the spies' fearful report concerning the conditions in Canaan, the Israelites refuse to take possession of it. God condemns them to death in the wilderness until a new generation can grow up and carry out the task. The book ends with the new generation of Israelites in the Plain of Moab ready for the crossing of the Jordan River.)

Contents or Torah Portions:

• Bemidbar, on Numbers 1–4: First census, priestly duties
• Naso, on Numbers 4–7: Priestly duties, the camp, unfaithfulness, and the Nazirite, Tabernacle consecration
• Behaalotecha, on Numbers 8–12: Levites, journeying by cloud and fire, complaints, questioning of Moses
• Shlach, on Numbers 13–15: Mixed report of the scouts and Israel's response, libations, bread, idol worship, fringes
• Korach, on Numbers 16–18: Korah's rebellion, plague, Aaron's staff buds, duties of the Levites
• Chukat, on Numbers 19–21: Red heifer, water from a rock, Miriam's and Aaron's deaths, victories, serpents
• Balak, on Numbers 22–25: Balaam's donkey and blessing
• Pinechas, on Numbers 25–29: Phinehas, second census, inheritance, Moses' successor, offerings and holidays
• Matot, on Numbers 30–32: Vows, Midian, dividing booty, land for Reuben, Gad, and half of Manasseh
• Masei, on Numbers 33–36: Stations of the Israelites' journeys, instructions for conquest, cities for Levites.)

NUMBERS CHAPTER 1

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses in the wilderness of Sinai, in the tabernacle of the congregation, on the first day of the second month, in the second year after they were come out of the land of Egypt, saying,

2 Take ye the sum of all the congregation of the children of Israel, after their families, by the house of their fathers, with the number of their names, every male by their polls;

3 From twenty years old and upward, all that are able to go forth to war in Israel: thou and Aaron shall number them by their armies.

4 And with you there shall be a man of every tribe; every one head of the house of his fathers.

5 And these are the names of the men that shall stand with you: of the tribe of Reuben; Elizur the son of Shedeur.

6 Of Simeon; Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai.

7 Of Judah; Nahshon the son of Amminadab.

8 Of Issachar; Nethaneel the son of Zuar.

9 Of Zebulun; Eliab the son of Helon.

10 Of the children of Joseph: of Ephraim; Elishama the son of Ammihud: of Manasseh; Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur.

11 Of Benjamin; Abidan the son of Gideoni.

12 Of Dan; Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai.

13 Of Asher; Pagiel the son of Ocran.

14 Of Gad; Eliasaph the son of Deuel.

15 Of Naphtali; Ahira the son of Enan.

16 These were the renowned of the congregation, princes of the tribes of their fathers, heads of thousands in Israel.

17 And Moses and Aaron took these men which are expressed by their names:

18 And they assembled all the congregation together on the first day of the second month, and they declared their pedigrees after their families, by the house of their fathers, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, by their polls.

19 As the LORD commanded Moses, so he numbered them in the wilderness of Sinai.

20 And the children of Reuben, Israel's eldest son, by their generations, after their families, by the house of their fathers, according to the number of the names, by their polls, every male from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war;

21 Those that were numbered of them, even of the tribe of Reuben, were forty and six thousand and five hundred.

22 Of the children of Simeon, by their generations, after their families, by the house of their fathers, those that were numbered of them, according to the number of the names, by their polls, every male from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war;

23 Those that were numbered of them, even of the tribe of Simeon, were fifty and nine thousand and three hundred.

24 Of the children of Gad, by their generations, after their families, by the house of their fathers, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war;

25 Those that were numbered of them, even of the tribe of Gad, were forty and five thousand six hundred and fifty.

26 Of the children of Judah, by their generations, after their families, by the house of their fathers, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war;

27 Those that were numbered of them, even of the tribe of Judah, were threescore and fourteen thousand and six hundred.

28 Of the children of Issachar, by their generations, after their families, by the house of their fathers, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war;

29 Those that were numbered of them, even of the tribe of Issachar, were fifty and four thousand and four hundred.

30 Of the children of Zebulun, by their generations, after their families, by the house of their fathers, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war;

31 Those that were numbered of them, even of the tribe of Zebulun, were fifty and seven thousand and four hundred.

32 Of the children of Joseph, namely, of the children of Ephraim, by their generations, after their families, by the house of their fathers, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war;

33 Those that were numbered of them, even of the tribe of Ephraim, were forty thousand and five hundred.

34 Of the children of Manasseh, by their generations, after their families, by the house of their fathers, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war;

35 Those that were numbered of them, even of the tribe of Manasseh, were thirty and two thousand and two hundred.

36 Of the children of Benjamin, by their generations, after their families, by the house of their fathers, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war;

37 Those that were numbered of them, even of the tribe of Benjamin, were thirty and five thousand and four hundred.

38 Of the children of Dan, by their generations, after their families, by the house of their fathers, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war;

39 Those that were numbered of them, even of the tribe of Dan, were threescore and two thousand and seven hundred.

40 Of the children of Asher, by their generations, after their families, by the house of their fathers, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war;

41 Those that were numbered of them, even of the tribe of Asher, were forty and one thousand and five hundred.

42 Of the children of Naphtali, throughout their generations, after their families, by the house of their fathers, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war;

43 Those that were numbered of them, even of the tribe of Naphtali, were fifty and three thousand and four hundred.

44 These are those that were numbered, which Moses and Aaron numbered, and the princes of Israel, being twelve men: each one was for the house of his fathers.

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45 So were all those that were numbered of the children of Israel, by the house of their fathers, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war in Israel;
46 Even all they that were numbered were six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty.
47 But the Levites after the tribe of their fathers were not numbered among them.
48 For the LORD had spoken unto Moses, saying,
49 Only thou shalt not number the tribe of Levi, neither take the sum of them among the children of Israel:
50 But thou shalt appoint the Levites over the tabernacle of testimony, and over all the vessels thereof, and over all things that belong to it: they shall bear the tabernacle, and all the vessels thereof; and they shall minister unto it, and shall encamp round about the tabernacle.
51 And when the tabernacle setteth forward, the Levites shall take it down: and when the tabernacle is to be pitched, the Levites shall set it up: and the stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death.
52 And the children of Israel shall pitch their tents, every man by his own camp, and every man by his own standard, throughout their hosts.
53 But the Levites shall pitch round about the tabernacle of testimony, that there be no wrath upon the congregation of the children of Israel: and the Levites shall keep the charge of the tabernacle of testimony.
54 And the children of Israel did according to all that the LORD commanded Moses, so did they.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 2

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying,
2 Every man of the children of Israel shall pitch by his own standard, with the ensign of their father's house: far off about the tabernacle of the congregation shall they pitch.
3 And on the east side toward the rising of the sun shall they of the standard of the camp of Judah pitch throughout their armies: and Nahshon the son of Amminadab shall be captain of the children of Judah.
4 And his host, and those that were numbered of them, were threescore and fourteen thousand and six hundred.
5 And those that do pitch next unto him shall be the tribe of Issachar: and Nethaneel the son of Zuar shall be captain of the children of Issachar.
6 And his host, and those that were numbered thereof, were fifty and four thousand and four hundred.
7 Then the tribe of Zebulun: and Eliab the son of Helon shall be captain of the children of Zebulun.
8 And his host, and those that were numbered thereof, were fifty and seven thousand and four hundred.
9 All that were numbered in the camp of Judah were an hundred thousand and fourscore thousand and six thousand and four hundred, throughout their armies. These shall first set forth.
10 On the south side shall be the standard of the camp of Reuben according to their armies: and the captain of the children of Reuben shall be Elizur the son of Shedeur.
11 And his host, and those that were numbered thereof, were forty and six thousand and five hundred.
12 And those which pitch by him shall be the tribe of Simeon: and the captain of the children of Simeon shall be Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai.
13 And his host, and those that were numbered of them, were fifty and nine thousand and three hundred.
14 Then the tribe of Gad: and the captain of the sons of Gad shall be Eliasaph the son of Reuel.
15 And his host, and those that were numbered of them, were forty and five thousand and six hundred and fifty.
16 All that were numbered in the camp of Reuben were an hundred thousand and fifty and one thousand and four hundred and fifty, throughout their armies. And they shall set forth in the second rank.
17 Then the tabernacle of the congregation shall set forward with the camp of the Levites in the midst of the camp: as they encamp, so shall they set forward, every man in his place by their standards.
18 On the west side shall be the standard of the camp of Ephraim according to their armies: and the captain of the sons of Ephraim shall be Elishama the son of Ammihud.
19 And his host, and those that were numbered of them, were forty thousand and five hundred.
20 And by him shall be the tribe of Manasseh: and the captain of the children of Manasseh shall be Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur.
21 And his host, and those that were numbered of them, were thirty and two thousand and two hundred.
22 Then the tribe of Benjamin: and the captain of the sons of Benjamin shall be Abidan the son of Gideoni.
23 And his host, and those that were numbered of them, were thirty and five thousand and four hundred.
24 All that were numbered of the camp of Ephraim were an hundred thousand and eight thousand and an hundred, throughout their armies. And they shall go forward in the third rank.
25 The standard of the camp of Dan shall be on the north side by their armies: and the captain of the children of Dan shall be Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai.
26 And his host, and those that were numbered of them, were threescore and two thousand and seven hundred.
27 And those that encamp by him shall be the tribe of Asher: and the captain of the children of Asher shall be Pagiel the son of Ocran.
28 And his host, and those that were numbered of them, were forty and one thousand and five hundred.
29 Then the tribe of Naphtali: and the captain of the children of Naphtali shall be Ahira the son of Enan.
30 And his host, and those that were numbered of them, were fifty and three thousand and four hundred.
31 All they that were numbered in the camp of Dan were an hundred thousand and fifty and seven thousand and six hundred. They shall go hindmost with their standards.
32 These are those which were numbered of the children of Israel by the house of their fathers: all those that were numbered of the camps throughout their hosts were six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty.
33 But the Levites were not numbered among the children of Israel; as the LORD commanded Moses.
34 And the children of Israel did according to all that the LORD commanded Moses: so they pitched by their standards, and so they set forward, every one after their families, according to the house of their fathers.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 3

1 These also are the generations of Aaron and Moses in the day that the LORD spake with Moses in mount Sinai.
2 And these are the names of the sons of Aaron; Nadab the firstborn, and Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar.
3 These are the names of the sons of Aaron, the priests which were anointed, whom he consecrated to minister in the priest's office.
4 And Nadab and Abihu died before the LORD, when they offered strange fire before the LORD, in the wilderness of Sinai, and they had no children: and Eleazar and Ithamar ministered in the priest's office in the sight of Aaron their father.
5 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
6 Bring the tribe of Levi near, and present them before Aaron the priest, that they may minister unto him.
7 And they shall keep his charge, and the charge of the whole congregation before the tabernacle of the congregation, to do the service of the tabernacle.
8 And they shall keep all the instruments of the tabernacle of the congregation, and the charge of the children of Israel, to do the service of the tabernacle.
9 And thou shalt give the Levites unto Aaron and to his sons: they are wholly given unto him out of the children of Israel.
10 And thou shalt appoint Aaron and his sons, and they shall wait on their priest's office: and the stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death.
11 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
12 And I, behold, I have taken the Levites from among the children of Israel instead of all the firstborn that openeth the matrix among the children of Israel: therefore the Levites shall be mine;
13 Because all the firstborn are mine; for on the day that I smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt I hallowed unto me all the firstborn in Israel, both man and beast: mine shall they be: I am the LORD.
14 And the LORD spake unto Moses in the wilderness of Sinai, saying,
15 Number the children of Levi after the house of their fathers, by their families: every male from a month old and upward shalt thou number them.
16 And Moses numbered them according to the word of the LORD, as he was commanded.
17 And these were the sons of Levi by their names; Gershon, and Kohath, and Merari.
18 And these are the names of the sons of Gershon by their families; Libni, and Shimei.
19 And the sons of Kohath by their families; Amram, and Izehar, Hebron, and Uzziel.
20 And the sons of Merari by their families; Mahli, and Mushi. These are the families of the Levites according to the house of their fathers.
21 Of Gershon was the family of the Libnites, and the family of the Shimites: these are the families of the Gershonites.
22 Those that were numbered of them, according to the number of all the males, from a month old and upward, even those that were numbered of them were seven thousand and five hundred.
23 The families of the Gershonites shall pitch behind the tabernacle westward.
24 And the chief of the house of the father of the Gershonites shall be Eliasaph the son of Lael.
25 And the charge of the sons of Gershon in the tabernacle of the congregation shall be the tabernacle, and the tent, the covering thereof, and the hanging for the door of the tabernacle of the congregation,
26 And the hangings of the court, and the curtain for the door of the court, which is by the tabernacle, and by the altar round about, and the cords of it for all the service thereof.
27 And of Kohath was the family of the Amramites, and the family of the Izeharites, and the family of the Hebronites, and the family of the Uzzielites: these are the families of the Kohathites.
28 In the number of all the males, from a month old and upward, were eight thousand and six hundred, keeping the charge of the sanctuary.
29 The families of the sons of Kohath shall pitch on the side of the tabernacle southward.
30 And the chief of the house of the father of the families of the Kohathites shall be Elizaphan the son of Uzziel.
31 And their charge shall be the ark, and the table, and the candlestick, and the altars, and the vessels of the sanctuary wherewith they minister, and the hanging, and all the service thereof.
32 And Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest shall be chief over the chief of the Levites, and have the oversight of them that keep the charge of the sanctuary.
33 Of Merari was the family of the Mahlites, and the family of the Mushites: these are the families of Merari.
34 And those that were numbered of them, according to the number of all the males, from a month old and upward, were six thousand and two hundred.
35 And the chief of the house of the father of the families of Merari was Zuriel the son of Abihail: these shall pitch on the side of the tabernacle northward.
36 And under the custody and charge of the sons of Merari shall be the boards of the tabernacle, and the bars thereof, and the pillars thereof, and the sockets thereof, and all the vessels thereof, and all that serveth thereto,
37 And the pillars of the court round about, and their sockets, and their pins, and their cords.
38 But those that encamp before the tabernacle toward the east, even before the tabernacle of the congregation eastward, shall be Moses, and Aaron and his sons, keeping the charge of the sanctuary for the charge of the children of Israel; and the stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death.
39 All that were numbered of the Levites, which Moses and Aaron numbered at the commandment of the LORD, throughout their families, all the males from a month old and upward, were twenty and two thousand.
40 And the LORD said unto Moses, Number all the firstborn of the males of the children of Israel from a month old and upward, and take the number of their names.
41 And thou shalt take the Levites for me (I am the LORD) instead of all the firstborn among the children of Israel; and the cattle of the Levites instead of all the firstlings among the cattle of the children of Israel.
42 And Moses numbered, as the LORD commanded him, all the firstborn among the children of Israel.
43 And all the firstborn males by the number of names, from a month old and upward, of those that were numbered of them, were twenty and two thousand two hundred and threescore and thirteen.
44 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
45 Take the Levites instead of all the firstborn among the children of Israel, and the cattle of the Levites instead of their cattle; and the Levites shall be mine: I am the LORD.
46 And for those that are to be redeemed of the two hundred and threescore and thirteen of the firstborn of the children of Israel, which are more than the Levites;
47 Thou shalt even take five shekels apiece by the poll, after the shekel of the sanctuary shalt thou take them: (the shekel is twenty gerahs:)
48 And thou shalt give the money, wherewith the odd number of them is to be redeemed, unto Aaron and to his sons.
49 And Moses took the redemption money of them that were over and above them that were redeemed by the Levites:
50 Of the firstborn of the children of Israel took he the money; a thousand three hundred and threescore and five shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary:
51 And Moses gave the money of them that were redeemed unto Aaron and to his sons, according to the word of the LORD, as the LORD commanded Moses.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 5

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 Command the children of Israel, that they put out of the camp every leper, and every one that hath an issue, and whosoever is defiled by the dead:
3 Both male and female shall ye put out, without the camp shall ye put them; that they defile not their camps, in the midst whereof I dwell.
4 And the children of Israel did so, and put them out without the camp: as the LORD spake unto Moses, so did the children of Israel.
5 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

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6 Speak unto the children of Israel, When a man or woman shall commit any sin that men commit, to do a trespass against the LORD, and that person be guilty;
7 Then they shall confess their sin which they have done: and he shall recompense his trespass with the principal thereof, and add unto it the fifth part thereof, and give it unto him against whom he hath trespassed.
8 But if the man have no kinsman to recompense the trespass unto, let the trespass be recompensed unto the LORD, even to the priest; beside the ram of the atonement, whereby an atonement shall be made for him.
9 And every offering of all the holy things of the children of Israel, which they bring unto the priest, shall be his.
10 And every man's hallowed things shall be his: whatsoever any man giveth the priest, it shall be his.
11 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
12 Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, If any man's wife go aside, and commit a trespass against him,
13 And a man lie with her carnally, and it be hid from the eyes of her husband, and be kept close, and she be defiled, and there be no witness against her, neither she be taken with the manner;
14 And the spirit of jealousy come upon him, and he be jealous of his wife, and she be defiled: or if the spirit of jealousy come upon him, and he be jealous of his wife, and she be not defiled:
15 Then shall the man bring his wife unto the priest, and he shall bring her offering for her, the tenth part of an ephah of barley meal; he shall pour no oil upon it, nor put frankincense thereon; for it is an offering of jealousy, an offering of memorial, bringing iniquity to remembrance.
16 And the priest shall bring her near, and set her before the LORD:
17 And the priest shall take holy water in an earthen vessel; and of the dust that is in the floor of the tabernacle the priest shall take, and put it into the water:
18 And the priest shall set the woman before the LORD, and uncover the woman's head, and put the offering of memorial in her hands, which is the jealousy offering: and the priest shall have in his hand the bitter water that causeth the curse:
19 And the priest shall charge her by an oath, and say unto the woman, If no man have lain with thee, and if thou hast not gone aside to uncleanness with another instead of thy husband, be thou free from this bitter water that causeth the curse:
20 But if thou hast gone aside to another instead of thy husband, and if thou be defiled, and some man have lain with thee beside thine husband:
21 Then the priest shall charge the woman with an oath of cursing, and the priest shall say unto the woman, The LORD make thee a curse and an oath among thy people, when the LORD doth make thy thigh to rot, and thy belly to swell;
22 And this water that causeth the curse shall go into thy bowels, to make thy belly to swell, and thy thigh to rot: And the woman shall say, Amen, amen.
23 And the priest shall write these curses in a book, and he shall blot them out with the bitter water:
24 And he shall cause the woman to drink the bitter water that causeth the curse: and the water that causeth the curse shall enter into her, and become bitter.
25 Then the priest shall take the jealousy offering out of the woman's hand, and shall wave the offering before the LORD, and offer it upon the altar:
26 And the priest shall take an handful of the offering, even the memorial thereof, and burn it upon the altar, and afterward shall cause the woman to drink the water.
27 And when he hath made her to drink the water, then it shall come to pass, that, if she be defiled, and have done trespass against her husband, that the water that causeth the curse shall enter into her, and become bitter, and her belly shall swell, and her thigh shall rot: and the woman shall be a curse among her people.
28 And if the woman be not defiled, but be clean; then she shall be free, and shall conceive seed.
29 This is the law of jealousies, when a wife goeth aside to another instead of her husband, and is defiled;
30 Or when the spirit of jealousy cometh upon him, and he be jealous over his wife, and shall set the woman before the LORD, and the priest shall execute upon her all this law.
31 Then shall the man be guiltless from iniquity, and this woman shall bear her iniquity.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 6

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, When either man or woman shall separate themselves to vow a vow of a Nazarite, to separate themselves unto the LORD:
3 He shall separate himself from wine and strong drink, and shall drink no vinegar of wine, or vinegar of strong drink, neither shall he drink any liquor of grapes, nor eat moist grapes, or dried.
4 All the days of his separation shall he eat nothing that is made of the vine tree, from the kernels even to the husk.
5 All the days of the vow of his separation there shall no razor come upon his head: until the days be fulfilled, in the which he separateth himself unto the LORD, he shall be holy, and shall let the locks of the hair of his head grow.
6 All the days that he separateth himself unto the LORD he shall come at no dead body.
7 He shall not make himself unclean for his father, or for his mother, for his brother, or for his sister, when they die: because the consecration of his God is upon his head.
8 All the days of his separation he is holy unto the LORD.
9 And if any man die very suddenly by him, and he hath defiled the head of his consecration; then he shall shave his head in the day of his cleansing, on the seventh day shall he shave it.
10 And on the eighth day he shall bring two turtles, or two young pigeons, to the priest, to the door of the tabernacle of the congregation:
11 And the priest shall offer the one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering, and make an atonement for him, for that he sinned by the dead, and shall hallow his head that same day.
12 And he shall consecrate unto the LORD the days of his separation, and shall bring a lamb of the first year for a trespass offering: but the days that were before shall be lost, because his separation was defiled.
13 And this is the law of the Nazarite, when the days of his separation are fulfilled: he shall be brought unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation:
14 And he shall offer his offering unto the LORD, one he lamb of the first year without blemish for a burnt offering, and one ewe lamb of the first year without blemish for a sin offering, and one ram without blemish for peace offerings,
15 And a basket of unleavened bread, cakes of fine flour mingled with oil, and wafers of unleavened bread anointed with oil, and their meat offering, and their drink offerings.
16 And the priest shall bring them before the LORD, and shall offer his sin offering, and his burnt offering:
17 And he shall offer the ram for a sacrifice of peace offerings unto the LORD, with the basket of unleavened bread: the priest shall offer also his meat offering, and his drink offering.
18 And the Nazarite shall shave the head of his separation at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, and shall take the hair of the head of his separation, and put it in the fire which is under the sacrifice of the peace offerings.
19 And the priest shall take the sodden shoulder of the ram, and one unleavened cake out of the basket, and one unleavened wafer, and shall put them upon the hands of the Nazarite, after the hair of his separation is shaven:
20 And the priest shall wave them for a wave offering before the LORD: this is holy for the priest, with the wave breast and heave shoulder: and after that the Nazarite may drink wine.
21 This is the law of the Nazarite who hath vowed, and of his offering unto the LORD for his separation, beside that that his hand shall get: according to the vow which he vowed, so he must do after the law of his separation.
22 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
23 Speak unto Aaron and unto his sons, saying, On this wise ye shall bless the children of Israel, saying unto them,
24 The LORD bless thee, and keep thee:
25 The LORD make his face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee:
26 The LORD lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.
27 And they shall put my name upon the children of Israel, and I will bless them.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 7

1 And it came to pass on the day that Moses had fully set up the tabernacle, and had anointed it, and sanctified it, and all the instruments thereof, both the altar and all the vessels thereof, and had anointed them, and sanctified them;
2 That the princes of Israel, heads of the house of their fathers, who were the princes of the tribes, and were over them that were numbered, offered:
3 And they brought their offering before the LORD, six covered wagons, and twelve oxen; a wagon for two of the princes, and for each one an ox: and they brought them before the tabernacle.
4 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
5 Take it of them, that they may be to do the service of the tabernacle of the congregation; and thou shalt give them unto the Levites, to every man according to his service.
6 And Moses took the wagons and the oxen, and gave them unto the Levites.
7 Two wagons and four oxen he gave unto the sons of Gershon, according to their service:
8 And four wagons and eight oxen he gave unto the sons of Merari, according unto their service, under the hand of Ithamar the son of Aaron the priest.
9 But unto the sons of Kohath he gave none: because the service of the sanctuary belonging unto them was that they should bear upon their shoulders.
10 And the princes offered for dedicating of the altar in the day that it was anointed, even the princes offered their offering before the altar.
11 And the LORD said unto Moses, They shall offer their offering, each prince on his day, for the dedicating of the altar.
12 And he that offered his offering the first day was Nahshon the son of Amminadab, of the tribe of Judah:
13 And his offering was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty shekels, one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them were full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meat offering:
14 One spoon of ten shekels of gold, full of incense:
15 One young bullock, one ram, one lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering:
16 One kid of the goats for a sin offering:
17 And for a sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he goats, five lambs of the first year: this was the offering of Nahshon the son of Amminadab.
18 On the second day Nethaneel the son of Zuar, prince of Issachar, did offer:
19 He offered for his offering one silver charger, the weight whereof was an hundred and thirty shekels, one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meat offering:
20 One spoon of gold of ten shekels, full of incense:
21 One young bullock, one ram, one lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering:
22 One kid of the goats for a sin offering:
23 And for a sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he goats, five lambs of the first year: this was the offering of Nethaneel the son of Zuar.
24 On the third day Eliab the son of Helon, prince of the children of Zebulun, did offer:
25 His offering was one silver charger, the weight whereof was an hundred and thirty shekels, one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meat offering:
26 One golden spoon of ten shekels, full of incense:
27 One young bullock, one ram, one lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering:
28 One kid of the goats for a sin offering:
29 And for a sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he goats, five lambs of the first year: this was the offering of Eliab the son of Helon.
30 On the fourth day Elizur the son of Shedeur, prince of the children of Reuben, did offer:
31 His offering was one silver charger of the weight of an hundred and thirty shekels, one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meat offering:
32 One golden spoon of ten shekels, full of incense:
33 One young bullock, one ram, one lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering:
34 One kid of the goats for a sin offering:
35 And for a sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he goats, five lambs of the first year: this was the offering of Elizur the son of Shedeur.
36 On the fifth day Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai, prince of the children of Simeon, did offer:
37 His offering was one silver charger, the weight whereof was an hundred and thirty shekels, one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meat offering:
38 One golden spoon of ten shekels, full of incense:
39 One young bullock, one ram, one lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering:
40 One kid of the goats for a sin offering:
41 And for a sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he goats, five lambs of the first year: this was the offering of Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai.
42 On the sixth day Eliasaph the son of Deuel, prince of the children of Gad, offered:
43 His offering was one silver charger of the weight of an hundred and thirty shekels, a silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meat offering:
44 One golden spoon of ten shekels, full of incense:
45 One young bullock, one ram, one lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering:
46 One kid of the goats for a sin offering:
47 And for a sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he goats, five lambs of the first year: this was the offering of Eliasaph the son of Deuel.
48 On the seventh day Elishama the son of Ammihud, prince of the children of Ephraim, offered:
49 His offering was one silver charger, the weight whereof was an hundred and thirty shekels, one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meat offering:
50 One golden spoon of ten shekels, full of incense:
51 One young bullock, one ram, one lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering:
52 One kid of the goats for a sin offering:

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53 And for a sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he goats, five lambs of the first year: this was the offering of Elishama the son of Ammihud.

54 On the eighth day offered Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur, prince of the children of Manasseh:

55 His offering was one silver charger of the weight of an hundred and thirty shekels, one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meat offering:

56 One golden spoon of ten shekels, full of incense:

57 One young bullock, one ram, one lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering:

58 One kid of the goats for a sin offering:

59 And for a sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he goats, five lambs of the first year: this was the offering of Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur.

60 On the ninth day Abidan the son of Gideoni, prince of the children of Benjamin, offered:

61 His offering was one silver charger, the weight whereof was an hundred and thirty shekels, one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meat offering:

62 One golden spoon of ten shekels, full of incense:

63 One young bullock, one ram, one lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering:

64 One kid of the goats for a sin offering:

65 And for a sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he goats, five lambs of the first year: this was the offering of Abidan the son of Gideoni.

66 On the tenth day Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai, prince of the children of Dan, offered:

67 His offering was one silver charger, the weight whereof was an hundred and thirty shekels, one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meat offering:

68 One golden spoon of ten shekels, full of incense:

69 One young bullock, one ram, one lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering:

70 One kid of the goats for a sin offering:

71 And for a sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he goats, five lambs of the first year: this was the offering of Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai.

72 On the eleventh day Pagiel the son of Ocran, prince of the children of Asher, offered:

73 His offering was one silver charger, the weight whereof was an hundred and thirty shekels, one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meat offering:

74 One golden spoon of ten shekels, full of incense:

75 One young bullock, one ram, one lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering:

76 One kid of the goats for a sin offering:

77 And for a sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he goats, five lambs of the first year: this was the offering of Pagiel the son of Ocran.

78 On the twelfth day Ahira the son of Enan, prince of the children of Naphtali, offered:

79 His offering was one silver charger, the weight whereof was an hundred and thirty shekels, one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meat offering:

80 One golden spoon of ten shekels, full of incense:

81 One young bullock, one ram, one lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering:

82 One kid of the goats for a sin offering:

83 And for a sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he goats, five lambs of the first year: this was the offering of Ahira the son of Enan.

84 This was the dedication of the altar, in the day when it was anointed, by the princes of Israel: twelve chargers of silver, twelve silver bowls, twelve spoons of gold:

85 Each charger of silver weighing an hundred and thirty shekels, each bowl seventy: all the silver vessels weighed two thousand and four hundred shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary:

86 The golden spoons were twelve, full of incense, weighing ten shekels apiece, after the shekel of the sanctuary: all the gold of the spoons was an hundred and twenty shekels.

87 All the oxen for the burnt offering were twelve bullocks, the rams twelve, the lambs of the first year twelve, with their meat offering: and the kids of the goats for sin offering twelve.

88 And all the oxen for the sacrifice of the peace offerings were twenty and four bullocks, the rams sixty, the he goats sixty, the lambs of the first year sixty. This was the dedication of the altar, after that it was anointed.

89 And when Moses was gone into the tabernacle of the congregation to speak with him, then he heard the voice of one speaking unto him from off the mercy seat that was upon the ark of testimony, from between the two cherubims: and he spake unto him.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 8

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

2 Speak unto Aaron and say unto him, When thou lightest the lamps, the seven lamps shall give light over against the candlestick.

3 And Aaron did so; he lighted the lamps thereof over against the candlestick, as the LORD commanded Moses.

4 And this work of the candlestick was of beaten gold, unto the shaft thereof, unto the flowers thereof, was beaten work: according unto the pattern which the LORD had shewed Moses, so he made the candlestick.

5 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

6 Take the Levites from among the children of Israel, and cleanse them.

7 And thus shalt thou do unto them, to cleanse them: Sprinkle water of purifying upon them, and let them shave all their flesh, and let them wash their clothes, and so make themselves clean.

8 Then let them take a young bullock with his meat offering, even fine flour mingled with oil, and another young bullock shalt thou take for a sin offering.

9 And thou shalt bring the Levites before the tabernacle of the congregation: and thou shalt gather the whole assembly of the children of Israel together:

10 And thou shalt bring the Levites before the LORD: and the children of Israel shall put their hands upon the Levites:

11 And Aaron shall offer the Levites before the LORD for an offering of the children of Israel, that they may execute the service of the LORD.

12 And the Levites shall lay their hands upon the heads of the bullocks: and thou shalt offer the one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering, unto the LORD, to make an atonement for the Levites.

13 And thou shalt set the Levites before Aaron, and before his sons, and offer them for an offering unto the LORD.

14 Thus shalt thou separate the Levites from among the children of Israel: and the Levites shall be mine.

15 And after that shall the Levites go in to do the service of the tabernacle of the congregation: and thou shalt cleanse them, and offer them for an offering.

16 For they are wholly given unto me from among the children of Israel; instead of such as open every womb, even instead of the firstborn of all the children of Israel, have I taken them unto me.

17 For all the firstborn of the children of Israel are mine, both man and beast: on the day that I smote every firstborn in the land of Egypt I sanctified them for myself.

18 And I have taken the Levites for all the firstborn of the children of Israel.

19 And I have given the Levites as a gift to Aaron and to his sons from among the children of Israel, to do the service of the children of Israel in the tabernacle of the congregation, and to make an atonement for the children of Israel: that there be no plague among the children of Israel, when the children of Israel come nigh unto the sanctuary.

20 And Moses, and Aaron, and all the congregation of the children of Israel, did to the Levites according unto all that the LORD commanded Moses concerning the Levites, so did the children of Israel unto them.

21 And the Levites were purified, and they washed their clothes; and Aaron offered them as an offering before the LORD; and Aaron made an atonement for them to cleanse them.

22 And after that went the Levites in to do their service in the tabernacle of the congregation before Aaron, and before his sons: as the LORD had commanded Moses concerning the Levites, so did they unto them.

23 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

24 This is it that belongeth unto the Levites: from twenty and five years old and upward they shall go in to wait upon the service of the tabernacle of the congregation:

25 And from the age of fifty years they shall cease waiting upon the service thereof, and shall serve no more:

26 But shall minister with their brethren in the tabernacle of the congregation, to keep the charge, and shall do no service. Thus shalt thou do unto the Levites touching their charge.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 9

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses in the wilderness of Sinai, in the first month of the second year after they were come out of the land of Egypt, saying,

2 Let the children of Israel also keep the passover at his appointed season.

3 In the fourteenth day of this month, at even, ye shall keep it in his appointed season: according to all the rites of it, and according to all the ceremonies thereof, shall ye keep it.

4 And Moses spake unto the children of Israel, that they should keep the passover.

5 And they kept the passover on the fourteenth day of the first month at even in the wilderness of Sinai: according to all that the LORD commanded Moses, so did the children of Israel.

6 And there were certain men, who were defiled by the dead body of a man, that they could not keep the passover on that day: and they came before Moses and before Aaron on that day:

7 And those men said unto him, We are defiled by the dead body of a man: wherefore are we kept back, that we may not offer an offering of the LORD in his appointed season among the children of Israel?

8 And Moses said unto them, Stand still, and I will hear what the LORD will command concerning you.

9 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

10 Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, If any man of you or of your posterity shall be unclean by reason of a dead body, or be in a journey afar off, yet he shall keep the passover unto the LORD.

11 The fourteenth day of the second month at even they shall keep it, and eat it with unleavened bread and bitter herbs.

12 They shall leave none of it unto the morning, nor break any bone of it: according to all the ordinances of the passover they shall keep it.

13 But the man that is clean, and is not in a journey, and forbeareth to keep the passover, even the same soul shall be cut off from among his people: because he brought not the offering of the LORD in his appointed season, that man shall bear his sin.

14 And if a stranger shall sojourn among you, and will keep the passover unto the LORD; according to the ordinance of the passover, and according to the manner thereof, so shall he do: ye shall have one ordinance, both for the stranger, and for him that was born in the land.

15 And on the day that the tabernacle was reared up the cloud covered the tabernacle, namely, the tent of the testimony: and at even there was upon the tabernacle as it were the appearance of fire, until the morning.

16 So it was alway: the cloud covered it by day, and the appearance of fire by night.

17 And when the cloud was taken up from the tabernacle, then after that the children of Israel journeyed: and in the place where the cloud abode, there the children of Israel pitched their tents.

18 At the commandment of the LORD the children of Israel journeyed, and at the commandment of the LORD they pitched: as long as the cloud abode upon the tabernacle they rested in their tents.

19 And when the cloud tarried long upon the tabernacle many days, then the children of Israel kept the charge of the LORD, and journeyed not.

20 And so it was, when the cloud was a few days upon the tabernacle; according to the commandment of the LORD they abode in their tents, and according to the commandment of the LORD they journeyed.

21 And so it was, when the cloud abode from even unto the morning, and that the cloud was taken up in the morning, then they journeyed: whether it was by day or by night that the cloud was taken up, they journeyed.

22 Or whether it were two days, or a month, or a year, that the cloud tarried upon the tabernacle, remaining thereon, the children of Israel abode in their tents, and journeyed not: but when it was taken up, they journeyed.

23 At the commandment of the LORD they rested in the tents, and at the commandment of the LORD they journeyed: they kept the charge of the LORD, at the commandment of the LORD by the hand of Moses.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 10

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

2 Make thee two trumpets of silver; of a whole piece shalt thou make them: that thou mayest use them for the calling of the assembly, and for the journeying of the camps.

3 And when they shall blow with them, all the assembly shall assemble themselves to thee at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.

4 And if they blow but with one trumpet, then the princes, which are heads of the thousands of Israel, shall gather themselves unto thee.

5 When ye blow an alarm, then the camps that lie on the east parts shall go forward.

6 When ye blow an alarm the second time, then the camps that lie on the south side shall take their journey: they shall blow an alarm for their journeys.

7 But when the congregation is to be gathered together, ye shall blow, but ye shall not sound an alarm.

8 And the sons of Aaron, the priests, shall blow with the trumpets; and they shall be to you for an ordinance for ever throughout your generations.

9 And if ye go to war in your land against the enemy that oppresseth you, then ye shall blow an alarm with the trumpets; and ye shall be remembered before the LORD your God, and ye shall be saved from your enemies.

10 Also in the day of your gladness, and in your solemn days, and in the beginnings of your months, ye shall blow with the trumpets over your burnt offerings, and over the sacrifices of your peace offerings; that they may be to you for a memorial before your God: I am the LORD your God.

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11 And it came to pass on the twentieth day of the second month, in the second year, that the cloud was taken up from off the tabernacle of the testimony.
12 And the children of Israel took their journeys out of the wilderness of Sinai; and the cloud rested in the wilderness of Paran.
13 And they first took their journey according to the commandment of the LORD by the hand of Moses.
14 In the first place went the standard of the camp of the children of Judah according to their armies: and over his host was Nahshon the son of Amminadab.
15 And over the host of the tribe of the children of Issachar was Nethaneel the son of Zuar.
16 And over the host of the tribe of the children of Zebulun was Eliab the son of Helon.
17 And the tabernacle was taken down; and the sons of Gershon and the sons of Merari set forward, bearing the tabernacle.
18 And the standard of the camp of Reuben set forward according to their armies: and over his host was Elizur the son of Shedeur.
19 And over the host of the tribe of the children of Simeon was Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai.
20 And over the host of the tribe of the children of Gad was Eliasaph the son of Deuel.
21 And the Kohathites set forward, bearing the sanctuary: and the other did set up the tabernacle against they came.
22 And the standard of the camp of the children of Ephraim set forward according to their armies: and over his host was Elishama the son of Ammihud.
23 And over the host of the tribe of the children of Manasseh was Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur.
24 And over the host of the tribe of the children of Benjamin was Abidan the son of Gideoni.
25 And the standard of the camp of the children of Dan set forward, which was the rereward of all the camps throughout their hosts: and over his host was Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai.
26 And over the host of the tribe of the children of Asher was Pagiel the son of Ocran.
27 And over the host of the tribe of the children of Naphtali was Ahira the son of Enan.
28 Thus were the journeyings of the children of Israel according to their armies, when they set forward.
29 And Moses said unto Hobab, the son of Raguel the Midianite, Moses' father in law, We are journeying unto the place of which the LORD said, I will give it you: come thou with us, and we will do thee good: for the LORD hath spoken good concerning Israel.
30 And he said unto him, I will not go; but I will depart to mine own land, and to my kindred.
31 And he said, Leave us not, I pray thee; forasmuch as thou knowest how we are to encamp in the wilderness, and thou mayest be to us instead of eyes.
32 And it shall be, if thou go with us, yea, it shall be, that what goodness the LORD shall do unto us, the same will we do unto thee.
33 And they departed from the mount of the LORD three days' journey: and the ark of the covenant of the LORD went before them in the three days' journey, to search out a resting place for them.
34 And the cloud of the LORD was upon them by day, when they went out of the camp.
35 And it came to pass, when the ark set forward, that Moses said, Rise up, LORD, and let thine enemies be scattered; and let them that hate thee flee before thee.
36 And when it rested, he said, Return, O LORD, unto the many thousands of Israel.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 11

1 And when the people complained, it displeased the LORD: and the LORD heard it; and his anger was kindled; and the fire of the LORD burnt among them, and consumed them that were in the uttermost parts of the camp.
2 And the people cried unto Moses; and when Moses prayed unto the LORD, the fire was quenched.
3 And he called the name of the place Taberah: because the fire of the LORD burnt among them.
4 And the mixt multitude that was among them fell a lusting: and the children of Israel also wept again, and said, Who shall give us flesh to eat?
5 We remember the fish, which we did eat in Egypt freely; the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlick:
6 But now our soul is dried away: there is nothing at all, beside this manna, before our eyes.
7 And the manna was as coriander seed, and the colour thereof as the colour of bdellium.
8 And the people went about, and gathered it, and ground it in mills, or beat it in a mortar, and baked it in pans, and made cakes of it: and the taste of it was as the taste of fresh oil.
9 And when the dew fell upon the camp in the night, the manna fell upon it.
10 Then Moses heard the people weep throughout their families, every man in the door of his tent: and the anger of the LORD was kindled greatly; Moses also was displeased.
11 And Moses said unto the LORD, Wherefore hast thou afflicted thy servant? and wherefore have I not found favour in thy sight, that thou layest the burden of all this people upon me?
12 Have I conceived all this people? have I begotten them, that thou shouldest say unto me, Carry them in thy bosom, as a nursing father beareth the sucking child, unto the land which thou swarest unto their fathers?
13 Whence should I have flesh to give unto all this people? for they weep unto me, saying, Give us flesh, that we may eat.
14 I am not able to bear all this people alone, because it is too heavy for me.
15 And if thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray thee, out of hand, if I have found favour in thy sight; and let me not see my wretchedness.
16 And the LORD said unto Moses, Gather unto me seventy men of the elders of Israel, whom thou knowest to be the elders of the people, and officers over them; and bring them unto the tabernacle of the congregation, that they may stand there with thee.
17 And I will come down and talk with thee there: and I will take of the spirit which is upon thee, and will put it upon them; and they shall bear the burden of the people with thee, that thou bear it not thyself alone.
18 And say thou unto the people, Sanctify yourselves against to morrow, and ye shall eat flesh: for ye have wept in the ears of the LORD, saying, Who shall give us flesh to eat? for it was well with us in Egypt: therefore the LORD will give you flesh, and ye shall eat.
19 Ye shall not eat one day, nor two days, nor five days, neither ten days, nor twenty days;
20 But even a whole month, until it come out at your nostrils, and it be loathsome unto you: because that ye have despised the LORD which is among you, and have wept before him, saying, Why came we forth out of Egypt?
21 And Moses said, The people, among whom I am, are six hundred thousand footmen; and thou hast said, I will give them flesh, that they may eat a whole month.
22 Shall the flocks and the herds be slain for them, to suffice them? or shall all the fish of the sea be gathered together for them, to suffice them?
23 And the LORD said unto Moses, Is the LORD's hand waxed short? thou shalt see now whether my word shall come to pass unto thee or not.
24 And Moses went out, and told the people the words of the LORD, and gathered the seventy men of the elders of the people, and set them round about the tabernacle.
25 And the LORD came down in a cloud, and spake unto him, and took of the spirit that was upon him, and gave it unto the seventy elders: and it came to pass, that, when the spirit rested upon them, they prophesied, and did not cease.
26 But there remained two of the men in the camp, the name of the one was Eldad, and the name of the other Medad: and the spirit rested upon them; and they were of them that were written, but went not out unto the tabernacle: and they prophesied in the camp.
27 And there ran a young man, and told Moses, and said, Eldad and Medad do prophesy in the camp.
28 And Joshua the son of Nun, the servant of Moses, one of his young men, answered and said, My lord Moses, forbid them.
29 And Moses said unto him, Enviest thou for my sake? would God that all the LORD's people were prophets, and that the LORD would put his spirit upon them!
30 And Moses gat him into the camp, he and the elders of Israel.
31 And there went forth a wind from the LORD, and brought quails from the sea, and let them fall by the camp, as it were a day's journey on this side, and as it were a day's journey on the other side, round about the camp, and as it were two cubits high upon the face of the earth.
32 And the people stood up all that day, and all that night, and all the next day, and they gathered the quails: he that gathered least gathered ten homers: and they spread them all abroad for themselves round about the camp.
33 And while the flesh was yet between their teeth, ere it was chewed, the wrath of the LORD was kindled against the people, and the LORD smote the people with a very great plague.
34 And he called the name of that place Kibrothhattaavah: because there they buried the people that lusted.
35 And the people journeyed from Kibrothhattaavah unto Hazeroth; and abode at Hazeroth.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 12

1 And Miriam and Aaron spake against Moses because of the Ethiopian woman whom he had married: for he had married an Ethiopian woman.
2 And they said, Hath the LORD indeed spoken only by Moses? hath he not spoken also by us? And the LORD heard it.
3 (Now the man Moses was very meek, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth.)
4 And the LORD spake suddenly unto Moses, and unto Aaron, and unto Miriam, Come out ye three unto the tabernacle of the congregation. And they three came out.
5 And the LORD came down in the pillar of the cloud, and stood in the door of the tabernacle, and called Aaron and Miriam: and they both came forth.
6 And he said, Hear now my words: If there be a prophet among you, I the LORD will make myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream.
7 My servant Moses is not so, who is faithful in all mine house.
8 With him will I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark speeches; and the similitude of the LORD shall he behold: wherefore then were ye not afraid to speak against my servant Moses?
9 And the anger of the LORD was kindled against them; and he departed.
10 And the cloud departed from off the tabernacle; and, behold, Miriam became leprous, white as snow: and Aaron looked upon Miriam, and, behold, she was leprous.
11 And Aaron said unto Moses, Alas, my lord, I beseech thee, lay not the sin upon us, wherein we have done foolishly, and wherein we have sinned.
12 Let her not be as one dead, of whom the flesh is half consumed when he cometh out of his mother's womb.
13 And Moses cried unto the LORD, saying, Heal her now, O God, I beseech thee.
14 And the LORD said unto Moses, If her father had but spit in her face, should she not be ashamed seven days? let her be shut out from the camp seven days, and after that let her be received in again.
15 And Miriam was shut out from the camp seven days: and the people journeyed not till Miriam was brought in again.
16 And afterward the people removed from Hazeroth, and pitched in the wilderness of Paran.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 13

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 Send thou men, that they may search the land of Canaan, which I give unto the children of Israel: of every tribe of their fathers shall ye send a man, every one a ruler among them.
3 And Moses by the commandment of the LORD sent them from the wilderness of Paran: all those men were heads of the children of Israel.
4 And these were their names: of the tribe of Reuben, Shammua the son of Zaccur.
5 Of the tribe of Simeon, Shaphat the son of Hori.
6 Of the tribe of Judah, Caleb the son of Jephunneh.
7 Of the tribe of Issachar, Igal the son of Joseph.
8 Of the tribe of Ephraim, Oshea the son of Nun.
9 Of the tribe of Benjamin, Palti the son of Raphu.
10 Of the tribe of Zebulun, Gaddiel the son of Sodi.
11 Of the tribe of Joseph, namely, of the tribe of Manasseh, Gaddi the son of Susi.
12 Of the tribe of Dan, Ammiel the son of Gemalli.
13 Of the tribe of Asher, Sethur the son of Michael.
14 Of the tribe of Naphtali, Nahbi the son of Vophsi.
15 Of the tribe of Gad, Geuel the son of Machi.
16 These are the names of the men which Moses sent to spy out the land. And Moses called Oshea the son of Nun Jehoshua.
17 And Moses sent them to spy out the land of Canaan, and said unto them, Get you up this way southward, and go up into the mountain:
18 And see the land, what it is, and the people that dwelleth therein, whether they be strong or weak, few or many;
19 And what the land is that they dwell in, whether it be good or bad; and what cities they be that they dwell in, whether in tents, or in strong holds;
20 And what the land is, whether it be fat or lean, whether there be wood therein, or not. And be ye of good courage, and bring of the fruit of the land. Now the time was the time of the firstripe grapes.
21 So they went up, and searched the land from the wilderness of Zin unto Rehob, as men come to Hamath.
22 And they ascended by the south, and came unto Hebron; where Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai, the children of Anak, were. (Now Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt.)
23 And they came unto the brook of Eshcol, and cut down from thence a branch with one cluster of grapes, and they bare it between two upon a staff; and they brought of the pomegranates, and of the figs.
24 The place was called the brook Eshcol, because of the cluster of grapes which the children of Israel cut down from thence.
25 And they returned from searching of the land after forty days.
26 And they went and came to Moses, and to Aaron, and to all the congregation of the children of Israel, unto the wilderness of Paran, to Kadesh; and brought back word unto them, and unto all the congregation, and shewed them the fruit of the land.

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27 And they told him, and said, We came unto the land whither thou sentest us, and surely it floweth with milk and honey; and this is the fruit of it.
28 Nevertheless the people be strong that dwell in the land, and the cities are walled, and very great: and moreover we saw the children of Anak there.
29 The Amalekites dwell in the land of the south: and the Hittites, and the Jebusites, and the Amorites, dwell in the mountains: and the Canaanites dwell by the sea, and by the coast of Jordan.
30 And Caleb stilled the people before Moses, and said, Let us go up at once, and possess it; for we are well able to overcome it.
31 But the men that went up with him said, We be not able to go up against the people; for they are stronger than we.
32 And they brought up an evil report of the land which they had searched unto the children of Israel, saying, The land, through which we have gone to search it, is a land that eateth up the inhabitants thereof; and all the people that we saw in it are men of a great stature.
33 And there we saw the giants, the sons of Anak, which come of the giants: and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers, and so we were in their sight.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 14

1 And all the congregation lifted up their voice, and cried; and the people wept that night.
2 And all the children of Israel murmured against Moses and against Aaron: and the whole congregation said unto them, Would God that we had died in the land of Egypt! or would God we had died in this wilderness!
3 And wherefore hath the LORD brought us unto this land, to fall by the sword, that our wives and our children should be a prey? were it not better for us to return into Egypt?
4 And they said one to another, Let us make a captain, and let us return into Egypt.
5 Then Moses and Aaron fell on their faces before all the assembly of the congregation of the children of Israel.
6 And Joshua the son of Nun, and Caleb the son of Jephunneh, which were of them that searched the land, rent their clothes:
7 And they spake unto all the company of the children of Israel, saying, The land, which we passed through to search it, is an exceeding good land.
8 If the LORD delight in us, then he will bring us into this land, and give it us; a land which floweth with milk and honey.
9 Only rebel not ye against the LORD, neither fear ye the people of the land; for they are bread for us: their defence is departed from them, and the LORD is with us: fear them not.
10 But all the congregation bade stone them with stones. And the glory of the LORD appeared in the tabernacle of the congregation before all the children of Israel.
11 And the LORD said unto Moses, How long will this people provoke me? and how long will it be ere they believe me, for all the signs which I have shewed among them?
12 I will smite them with the pestilence, and disinherit them, and will make of thee a greater nation and mightier than they.
13 And Moses said unto the LORD, Then the Egyptians shall hear it, (for thou broughtest up this people in thy might from among them;)
14 And they will tell it to the inhabitants of this land: for they have heard that thou LORD art among this people, that thou LORD art seen face to face, and that thy cloud standeth over them, and that thou goest before them, by day time in a pillar of a cloud, and in a pillar of fire by night.
15 Now if thou shalt kill all this people as one man, then the nations which have heard the fame of thee will speak, saying,
16 Because the LORD was not able to bring this people into the land which he sware unto them, therefore he hath slain them in the wilderness.
17 And now, I beseech thee, let the power of my LORD be great, according as thou hast spoken, saying,
18 The LORD is longsuffering, and of great mercy, forgiving iniquity and transgression, and by no means clearing the guilty, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation.
19 Pardon, I beseech thee, the iniquity of this people according unto the greatness of thy mercy, and as thou hast forgiven this people, from Egypt even until now.
20 And the LORD said, I have pardoned according to thy word:
21 But as truly as I live, all the earth shall be filled with the glory of the LORD.
22 Because all those men which have seen my glory, and my miracles, which I did in Egypt and in the wilderness, and have tempted me now these ten times, and have not hearkened to my voice;
23 Surely they shall not see the land which I sware unto their fathers, neither shall any of them that provoked me see it:
24 But my servant Caleb, because he had another spirit with him, and hath followed me fully, him will I bring into the land whereinto he went; and his seed shall possess it.
25 (Now the Amalekites and the Canaanites dwelt in the valley.) Tomorrow turn you, and get you into the wilderness by the way of the Red sea.
26 And the LORD spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying,
27 How long shall I bear with this evil congregation, which murmur against me? I have heard the murmurings of the children of Israel, which they murmur against me.
28 Say unto them, As truly as I live, saith the LORD, as ye have spoken in mine ears, so will I do to you:
29 Your carcases shall fall in this wilderness; and all that were numbered of you, according to your whole number, from twenty years old and upward which have murmured against me.
30 Doubtless ye shall not come into the land, concerning which I sware to make you dwell therein, save Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and Joshua the son of Nun.
31 But your little ones, which ye said should be a prey, them will I bring in, and they shall know the land which ye have despised.
32 But as for you, your carcases, they shall fall in this wilderness.
33 And your children shall wander in the wilderness forty years, and bear your whoredoms, until your carcases be wasted in the wilderness.
34 After the number of the days in which ye searched the land, even forty days, each day for a year, shall ye bear your iniquities, even forty years, and ye shall know my breach of promise.
35 I the LORD have said, I will surely do it unto all this evil congregation, that are gathered together against me: in this wilderness they shall be consumed, and there they shall die.
36 And the men, which Moses sent to search the land, who returned, and made all the congregation to murmur against him, by bringing up a slander upon the land,
37 Even those men that did bring up the evil report upon the land, died by the plague before the LORD.
38 But Joshua the son of Nun, and Caleb the son of Jephunneh, which were of the men that went to search the land, lived still.
39 And Moses told these sayings unto all the children of Israel: and the people mourned greatly.
40 And they rose up early in the morning, and gat them up into the top of the mountain, saying, Lo, we be here, and will go up unto the place which the LORD hath promised: for we have sinned.
41 And Moses said, Wherefore now do ye transgress the commandment of the LORD? but it shall not prosper.
42 Go not up, for the LORD is not among you; that ye be not smitten before your enemies.
43 For the Amalekites and the Canaanites are there before you, and ye shall fall by the sword: because ye are turned away from the LORD, therefore the LORD will not be with you.
44 But they presumed to go up unto the hill top: nevertheless the ark of the covenant of the LORD, and Moses, departed not out of the camp.
45 Then the Amalekites came down, and the Canaanites which dwelt in that hill, and smote them, and discomfited them, even unto Hormah.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 15

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, When ye be come into the land of your habitations, which I give unto you,
3 And will make an offering by fire unto the LORD, a burnt offering, or a sacrifice in performing a vow, or in a freewill offering, or in your solemn feasts, to make a sweet savour unto the LORD, of the herd or of the flock:
4 Then shall he that offereth his offering unto the LORD bring a meat offering of a tenth deal of flour mingled with the fourth part of an hin of oil.
5 And the fourth part of an hin of wine for a drink offering shalt thou prepare with the burnt offering or sacrifice, for one lamb.
6 Or for a ram, thou shalt prepare for a meat offering two tenth deals of flour mingled with the third part of an hin of oil.
7 And for a drink offering thou shalt offer the third part of an hin of wine, for a sweet savour unto the LORD.
8 And when thou preparest a bullock for a burnt offering, or for a sacrifice in performing a vow, or peace offerings unto the LORD:
9 Then shall he bring with a bullock a meat offering of three tenth deals of flour mingled with half an hin of oil.
10 And thou shalt bring for a drink offering half an hin of wine, for an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the LORD.
11 Thus shall it be done for one bullock, or for one ram, or for a lamb, or a kid.
12 According to the number that ye shall prepare, so shall ye do to every one according to their number.
13 All that are born of the country shall do these things after this manner, in offering an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the LORD.
14 And if a stranger sojourn with you, or whosoever be among you in your generations, and will offer an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the LORD; as ye do, so he shall do.
15 One ordinance shall be both for you of the congregation, and also for the stranger that sojourneth with you, an ordinance for ever in your generations: as ye are, so shall the stranger be before the LORD.
16 One law and one manner shall be for you, and for the stranger that sojourneth with you.
17 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
18 Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, When ye come into the land whither I bring you,
19 Then it shall be, that, when ye eat of the bread of the land, ye shall offer up an heave offering unto the LORD.
20 Ye shall offer up a cake of the first of your dough for an heave offering: as ye do the heave offering of the threshingfloor, so shall ye heave it.
21 Of the first of your dough ye shall give unto the LORD an heave offering in your generations.
22 And if ye have erred, and not observed all these commandments, which the LORD hath spoken unto Moses,
23 Even all that the LORD hath commanded you by the hand of Moses, from the day that the LORD commanded Moses, and henceforward among your generations;
24 Then it shall be, if ought be committed by ignorance without the knowledge of the congregation, that all the congregation shall offer one young bullock for a burnt offering, for a sweet savour unto the LORD, with his meat offering, and his drink offering, according to the manner, and one kid of the goats for a sin offering.
25 And the priest shall make an atonement for all the congregation of the children of Israel, and it shall be forgiven them; for it is ignorance: and they shall bring their offering, a sacrifice made by fire unto the LORD, and their sin offering before the LORD, for their ignorance:
26 And it shall be forgiven all the congregation of the children of Israel, and the stranger that sojourneth among them; seeing all the people were in ignorance.
27 And if any soul sin through ignorance, then he shall bring a she goat of the first year for a sin offering.
28 And the priest shall make an atonement for the soul that sinneth ignorantly, when he sinneth by ignorance before the LORD, to make an atonement for him; and it shall be forgiven him.
29 Ye shall have one law for him that sinneth through ignorance, both for him that is born among the children of Israel, and for the stranger that sojourneth among them.
30 But the soul that doeth ought presumptuously, whether he be born in the land, or a stranger, the same reproacheth the LORD; and that soul shall be cut off from among his people.
31 Because he hath despised the word of the LORD, and hath broken his commandment, that soul shall utterly be cut off; his iniquity shall be upon him.
32 And while the children of Israel were in the wilderness, they found a man that gathered sticks upon the sabbath day.
33 And they that found him gathering sticks brought him unto Moses and Aaron, and unto all the congregation.
34 And they put him in ward, because it was not declared what should be done to him.
35 And the LORD said unto Moses, The man shall be surely put to death: all the congregation shall stone him with stones without the camp.
36 And all the congregation brought him without the camp, and stoned him with stones, and he died; as the LORD commanded Moses.
37 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
38 Speak unto the children of Israel, and bid them that they make them fringes in the borders of their garments throughout their generations, and that they put upon the fringe of the borders a ribband of blue:
39 And it shall be unto you for a fringe, that ye may look upon it, and remember all the commandments of the LORD, and do them; and that ye seek not after your own heart and your own eyes, after which ye use to go a whoring:
40 That ye may remember, and do all my commandments, and be holy unto your God.
41 I am the LORD your God, which brought you out of the land of Egypt, to be your God: I am the LORD your God.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 16

1 Now Korah, the son of Izhar, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi, and Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab, and On, the son of Peleth, sons of Reuben, took men:
2 And they rose up before Moses, with certain of the children of Israel, two hundred and fifty princes of the assembly, famous in the congregation, men of renown:
3 And they gathered themselves together against Moses and against Aaron, and said unto them, Ye take too much upon you, seeing all the congregation are holy, every one of them,

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and the LORD is among them: wherefore then lift ye up yourselves above the congregation of the LORD?

4 And when Moses heard it, he fell upon his face:

5 And he spake unto Korah and unto all his company, saying, Even to morrow the LORD will shew who are his, and who is holy; and will cause him to come near unto him: even him whom he hath chosen will he cause to come near unto him.

6 This do; Take you censers, Korah, and all his company;

7 And put fire therein, and put incense in them before the LORD to morrow: and it shall be that the man whom the LORD doth choose, he shall be holy: ye take too much upon you, ye sons of Levi.

8 And Moses said unto Korah, Hear, I pray you, ye sons of Levi:

9 Seemeth it but a small thing unto you, that the God of Israel hath separated you from the congregation of Israel, to bring you near to himself to do the service of the tabernacle of the LORD, and to stand before the congregation to minister unto them?

10 And he hath brought thee near to him, and all thy brethren the sons of Levi with thee: and seek ye the priesthood also?

11 For which cause both thou and all thy company are gathered together against the LORD: and what is Aaron, that ye murmur against him?

12 And Moses sent to call Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab: which said, We will not come up:

13 Is it a small thing that thou hast brought us up out of a land that floweth with milk and honey, to kill us in the wilderness, except thou make thyself altogether a prince over us?

14 Moreover thou hast not brought us into a land that floweth with milk and honey, or given us inheritance of fields and vineyards: wilt thou put out the eyes of these men? we will not come up.

15 And Moses was very wroth, and said unto the LORD, Respect not thou their offering: I have not taken one ass from them, neither have I hurt one of them.

16 And Moses said unto Korah, Be thou and all thy company before the LORD, thou, and they, and Aaron, to morrow:

17 And take every man his censer, and put incense in them, and bring ye before the LORD every man his censer, two hundred and fifty censers; thou also, and Aaron, each of you his censer.

18 And they took every man his censer, and put fire in them, and laid incense thereon, and stood in the door of the tabernacle of the congregation with Moses and Aaron.

19 And Korah gathered all the congregation against them unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation: and the glory of the LORD appeared unto all the congregation.

20 And the LORD spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying,

21 Separate yourselves from among this congregation, that I may consume them in a moment.

22 And they fell upon their faces, and said, O God, the God of the spirits of all flesh, shall one man sin, and wilt thou be wroth with all the congregation?

23 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

24 Speak unto the congregation, saying, Get you up from about the tabernacle of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram.

25 And Moses rose up and went unto Dathan and Abiram; and the elders of Israel followed him.

26 And he spake unto the congregation, saying, Depart, I pray you, from the tents of these wicked men, and touch nothing of their's, lest ye be consumed in all their sins.

27 So they gat up from the tabernacle of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, on every side: and Dathan and Abiram came out, and stood in the door of their tents, and their wives, and their sons, and their little children.

28 And Moses said, Hereby ye shall know that the LORD hath sent me to do all these works; for I have not done them of mine own mind.

29 If these men die the common death of all men, or if they be visited after the visitation of all men; then the LORD hath not sent me.

30 But if the LORD make a new thing, and the earth open her mouth, and swallow them up, with all that appertain unto them, and they go down quick into the pit; then ye shall understand that these men have provoked the LORD.

31 And it came to pass, as he had made an end of speaking all these words, that the ground clave asunder that was under them:

32 And the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up, and their houses, and all the men that appertained unto Korah, and all their goods.

33 They, and all that appertained to them, went down alive into the pit, and the earth closed upon them: and they perished from among the congregation.

34 And all Israel that were round about them fled at the cry of them: for they said, Lest the earth swallow us up also.

35 And there came out a fire from the LORD, and consumed the two hundred and fifty men that offered incense.

36 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

37 Speak unto Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest, that he take up the censers out of the burning, and scatter thou the fire yonder; for they are hallowed.

38 The censers of these sinners against their own souls, let them make them broad plates for a covering of the altar: for they offered them before the LORD, therefore they are hallowed: and they shall be a sign unto the children of Israel.

39 And Eleazar the priest took the brasen censers, wherewith they that were burnt had offered; and they were made broad plates for a covering of the altar:

40 To be a memorial unto the children of Israel, that no stranger, which is not of the seed of Aaron, come near to offer incense before the LORD; that he be not as Korah, and as his company: as the LORD said to him by the hand of Moses.

41 But on the morrow all the congregation of the children of Israel murmured against Moses and against Aaron, saying, Ye have killed the people of the LORD.

42 And it came to pass, when the congregation was gathered against Moses and against Aaron, that they looked toward the tabernacle of the congregation: and, behold, the cloud covered it, and the glory of the LORD appeared.

43 And Moses and Aaron came before the tabernacle of the congregation.

44 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

45 Get you up from among this congregation, that I may consume them as in a moment. And they fell upon their faces.

46 And Moses said unto Aaron, Take a censer, and put fire therein from off the altar, and put on incense, and go quickly unto the congregation, and make an atonement for them: for there is wrath gone out from the LORD; the plague is begun.

47 And Aaron took as Moses commanded, and ran into the midst of the congregation; and, behold, the plague was begun among the people: and he put on incense, and made an atonement for the people.

48 And he stood between the dead and the living; and the plague was stayed.

49 Now they that died in the plague were fourteen thousand and seven hundred, beside them that died about the matter of Korah.

50 And Aaron returned unto Moses unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation: and the plague was stayed.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 17

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

2 Speak unto the children of Israel, and take of every one of them a rod according to the house of their fathers, of all their princes according to the house of their fathers twelve rods: write thou every man's name upon his rod.

3 And thou shalt write Aaron's name upon the rod of Levi: for one rod shall be for the head of the house of their fathers.

4 And thou shalt lay them up in the tabernacle of the congregation before the testimony, where I will meet with you.

5 And it shall come to pass, that the man's rod, whom I shall choose, shall blossom: and I will make to cease from me the murmurings of the children of Israel, whereby they murmur against you.

6 And Moses spake unto the children of Israel, and every one of their princes gave him a rod apiece, for each prince one, according to their fathers' houses, even twelve rods: and the rod of Aaron was among their rods.

7 And Moses laid up the rods before the LORD in the tabernacle of witness.

8 And it came to pass, that on the morrow Moses went into the tabernacle of witness; and, behold, the rod of Aaron for the house of Levi was budded, and brought forth buds, and bloomed blossoms, and yielded almonds.

9 And Moses brought out all the rods from before the LORD unto all the children of Israel: and they looked, and took every man his rod.

10 And the LORD said unto Moses, Bring Aaron's rod again before the testimony, to be kept for a token against the rebels; and thou shalt quite take away their murmurings from me, that they die not.

11 And Moses did so: as the LORD commanded him, so did he.

12 And the children of Israel spake unto Moses, saying, Behold, we die, we perish, we all perish.

13 Whosoever cometh any thing near unto the tabernacle of the LORD shall die: shall we be consumed with dying?

NUMBERS CHAPTER 18

1 And the LORD said unto Aaron, Thou and thy sons and thy father's house with thee shall bear the iniquity of the sanctuary: and thou and thy sons with thee shall bear the iniquity of your priesthood.

2 And thy brethren also of the tribe of Levi, the tribe of thy father, bring thou with thee, that they may be joined unto thee, and minister unto thee: but thou and thy sons with thee shall minister before the tabernacle of witness.

3 And they shall keep thy charge, and the charge of all the tabernacle: only they shall not come nigh the vessels of the sanctuary and the altar, that neither they, nor ye also, die.

4 And they shall be joined unto thee, and keep the charge of the tabernacle of the congregation, for all the service of the tabernacle: and a stranger shall not come nigh unto you.

5 And ye shall keep the charge of the sanctuary, and the charge of the altar: that there be no wrath any more upon the children of Israel.

6 And I, behold, I have taken your brethren the Levites from among the children of Israel: to you they are given as a gift for the LORD, to do the service of the tabernacle of the congregation.

7 Therefore thou and thy sons with thee shall keep your priest's office for everything of the altar, and within the vail; and ye shall serve: I have given your priest's office unto you as a service of gift: and the stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death.

8 And the LORD spake unto Aaron, Behold, I also have given thee the charge of mine heave offerings of all the hallowed things of the children of Israel; unto thee have I given them by reason of the anointing, and to thy sons, by an ordinance for ever.

9 This shall be thine of the most holy things, reserved from the fire: every oblation of theirs, every meat offering of theirs, and every sin offering of theirs, and every trespass offering of theirs which they shall render unto me, shall be most holy for thee and for thy sons.

10 In the most holy place shalt thou eat it; every male shall eat it: it shall be holy unto thee.

11 And this is thine; the heave offering of their gift, with all the wave offerings of the children of Israel: I have given them unto thee, and to thy sons and to thy daughters with thee, by a statute for ever: every one that is clean in thy house shall eat of it.

12 All the best of the oil, and all the best of the wine, and of the wheat, the firstfruits of them which they shall offer unto the LORD, them have I given thee.

13 And whatsoever is first ripe in the land, which they shall bring unto the LORD, shall be thine; every one that is clean in thine house shall eat of it.

14 Every thing devoted in Israel shall be thine.

15 Every thing that openeth the matrix in all flesh, which they bring unto the LORD, whether it be of men or beasts, shall be thine: nevertheless the firstborn of man shalt thou surely redeem, and the firstling of unclean beasts shalt thou redeem.

16 And those that are to be redeemed from a month old shalt thou redeem, according to thine estimation, for the money of five shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary, which is twenty gerahs.

17 But the firstling of a cow, or the firstling of a sheep, or the firstling of a goat, thou shalt not redeem; they are holy: thou shalt sprinkle their blood upon the altar, and shalt burn their fat for an offering made by fire, for a sweet savour unto the LORD.

18 And the flesh of them shall be thine, as the wave breast and as the right shoulder are thine.

19 All the heave offerings of the holy things, which the children of Israel offer unto the LORD, have I given thee, and thy sons and thy daughters with thee, by a statute for ever: it is a covenant of salt for ever before the LORD unto thee and to thy seed with thee.

20 And the LORD spake unto Aaron, Thou shalt have no inheritance in their land, neither shalt thou have any part among them: I am thy part and thine inheritance among the children of Israel.

21 And, behold, I have given the children of Levi all the tenth in Israel for an inheritance, for their service which they serve, even the service of the tabernacle of the congregation.

22 Neither must the children of Israel henceforth come nigh the tabernacle of the congregation, lest they bear sin, and die.

23 But the Levites shall do the service of the tabernacle of the congregation, and they shall bear their iniquity: it shall be a statute for ever throughout your generations, that among the children of Israel they have no inheritance.

24 But the tithes of the children of Israel, which they offer as an heave offering unto the LORD, I have given to the Levites to inherit: therefore I have said unto them, Among the children of Israel they shall have no inheritance.

25 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

26 Thus speak unto the Levites, and say unto them, When ye take of the children of Israel the tithes which I have given you from them for your inheritance, then ye shall offer up an heave offering of it for the LORD, even a tenth part of the tithe.

27 And this your heave offering shall be reckoned unto you, as though it were the corn of the threshingfloor, and as the fulness of the winepress.

28 Thus ye also shall offer an heave offering unto the LORD of all your tithes, which ye receive of the children of Israel; and ye shall give thereof the LORD's heave offering to Aaron the priest.

29 Out of all your gifts ye shall offer every heave offering of the LORD, of all the best thereof, even the hallowed part thereof out of it.

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30 Therefore thou shalt say unto them, When ye have heaved the best thereof from it, then it shall be counted unto the Levites as the increase of the threshingfloor, and as the increase of the winepress.

31 And ye shall eat it in every place, ye and your households: for it is your reward for your service in the tabernacle of the congregation.

32 And ye shall bear no sin by reason of it, when ye have heaved from it the best of it: neither shall ye pollute the holy things of the children of Israel, lest ye die.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 19

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying,

2 This is the ordinance of the law which the LORD hath commanded, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, that they bring thee a red heifer without spot, wherein is no blemish, and upon which never came yoke:

3 And ye shall give her unto Eleazar the priest, that he may bring her forth without the camp, and one shall slay her before his face:

4 And Eleazar the priest shall take of her blood with his finger, and sprinkle of her blood directly before the tabernacle of the congregation seven times:

5 And one shall burn the heifer in his sight; her skin, and her flesh, and her blood, with her dung, shall he burn:

6 And the priest shall take cedar wood, and hyssop, and scarlet, and cast it into the midst of the burning of the heifer.

7 Then the priest shall wash his clothes, and he shall bathe his flesh in water, and afterward he shall come into the camp, and the priest shall be unclean until the even.

8 And he that burneth her shall wash his clothes in water, and bathe his flesh in water, and shall be unclean until the even.

9 And a man that is clean shall gather up the ashes of the heifer, and lay them up without the camp in a clean place, and it shall be kept for the congregation of the children of Israel for a water of separation: it is a purification for sin.

10 And he that gathereth the ashes of the heifer shall wash his clothes, and be unclean until the even: and it shall be unto the children of Israel, and unto the stranger that sojourneth among them, for a statute for ever.

11 He that toucheth the dead body of any man shall be unclean seven days.

12 He shall purify himself with it on the third day, and on the seventh day he shall be clean: but if he purify not himself the third day, then the seventh day he shall not be clean.

13 Whosoever toucheth the dead body of any man that is dead, and purifieth not himself, defileth the tabernacle of the LORD; and that soul shall be cut off from Israel: because the water of separation was not sprinkled upon him, he shall be unclean; his uncleanness is yet upon him.

14 This is the law, when a man dieth in a tent: all that come into the tent, and all that is in the tent, shall be unclean seven days.

15 And every open vessel, which hath no covering bound upon it, is unclean.

16 And whosoever toucheth one that is slain with a sword in the open fields, or a dead body, or a bone of a man, or a grave, shall be unclean seven days.

17 And for an unclean person they shall take of the ashes of the burnt heifer of purification for sin, and running water shall be put thereto in a vessel:

18 And a clean person shall take hyssop, and dip it in the water, and sprinkle it upon the tent, and upon all the vessels, and upon the persons that were there, and upon him that touched a bone, or one slain, or one dead, or a grave:

19 And the clean person shall sprinkle upon the unclean on the third day, and on the seventh day: and on the seventh day he shall purify himself, and wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and shall be clean at even.

20 But the man that shall be unclean, and shall not purify himself, that soul shall be cut off from among the congregation, because he hath defiled the sanctuary of the LORD: the water of separation hath not been sprinkled upon him; he is unclean.

21 And it shall be a perpetual statute unto them, that he that sprinkleth the water of separation shall wash his clothes; and he that toucheth the water of separation shall be unclean until even.

22 And whatsoever the unclean person toucheth shall be unclean; and the soul that toucheth it shall be unclean until even.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 20

1 Then came the children of Israel, even the whole congregation, into the desert of Zin in the first month: and the people abode in Kadesh; and Miriam died there, and was buried there.

2 And there was no water for the congregation: and they gathered themselves together against Moses and against Aaron.

3 And the people chode with Moses, and spake, saying, Would God that we had died when our brethren died before the LORD!

4 And why have ye brought up the congregation of the LORD into this wilderness, that we and our cattle should die there?

5 And wherefore have ye made us to come up out of Egypt, to bring us in unto this evil place? it is no place of seed, or of figs, or of vines, or of pomegranates; neither is there any water to drink.

6 And Moses and Aaron went from the presence of the assembly unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, and they fell upon their faces: and the glory of the LORD appeared unto them.

7 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

8 Take the rod, and gather thou the assembly together, thou, and Aaron thy brother, and speak ye unto the rock before their eyes; and it shall give forth his water, and thou shalt bring forth to them water out of the rock: so thou shalt give the congregation and their beasts drink.

9 And Moses took the rod from before the LORD, as he commanded him.

10 And Moses and Aaron gathered the congregation together before the rock, and he said unto them, Hear now, ye rebels; must we fetch you water out of this rock?

11 And Moses lifted up his hand, and with his rod he smote the rock twice: and the water came out abundantly, and the congregation drank, and their beasts also.

12 And the LORD spake unto Moses and Aaron, Because ye believed me not, to sanctify me in the eyes of the children of Israel, therefore ye shall not bring this congregation into the land which I have given them.

13 This is the water of Meribah; because the children of Israel strove with the LORD, and he was sanctified in them.

14 And Moses sent messengers from Kadesh unto the king of Edom, Thus saith thy brother Israel, Thou knowest all the travail that hath befallen us:

15 How our fathers went down into Egypt, and we have dwelt in Egypt a long time; and the Egyptians vexed us, and our fathers:

16 And when we cried unto the LORD, he heard our voice, and sent an angel, and hath brought us forth out of Egypt: and, behold, we are in Kadesh, a city in the uttermost of thy border:

17 Let us pass, I pray thee, through thy country: we will not pass through the fields, or through the vineyards, neither will we drink of the water of the wells: we will go by the king's high way, we will not turn to the right hand nor to the left, until we have passed thy borders.

18 And Edom said unto him, Thou shalt not pass by me, lest I come out against thee with the sword.

19 And the children of Israel said unto him, We will go by the high way: and if I and my cattle drink of thy water, then I will pay for it: I will only, without doing anything else, go through on my feet.

20 And he said, Thou shalt not go through. And Edom came out against him with much people, and with a strong hand.

21 Thus Edom refused to give Israel passage through his border: wherefore Israel turned away from him.

22 And the children of Israel, even the whole congregation, journeyed from Kadesh, and came unto mount Hor.

23 And the LORD spake unto Moses and Aaron in mount Hor, by the coast of the land of Edom, saying,

24 Aaron shall be gathered unto his people: for he shall not enter into the land which I have given unto the children of Israel, because ye rebelled against my word at the water of Meribah.

25 Take Aaron and Eleazar his son, and bring them up unto mount Hor:

26 And strip Aaron of his garments, and put them upon Eleazar his son: and Aaron shall be gathered unto his people, and shall die there.

27 And Moses did as the LORD commanded: and they went up into mount Hor in the sight of all the congregation.

28 And Moses stripped Aaron of his garments, and put them upon Eleazar his son; and Aaron died there in the top of the mount: and Moses and Eleazar came down from the mount.

29 And when all the congregation saw that Aaron was dead, they mourned for Aaron thirty days, even all the house of Israel.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 21

1 And when king Arad the Canaanite, which dwelt in the south, heard tell that Israel came by the way of the spies; then he fought against Israel, and took some of them prisoners.

2 And Israel vowed a vow unto the LORD, and said, If thou wilt indeed deliver this people into my hand, then I will utterly destroy their cities.

3 And the LORD hearkened to the voice of Israel, and delivered up the Canaanites; and they utterly destroyed them and their cities: and he called the name of the place Hormah.

4 And they journeyed from mount Hor by the way of the Red sea, to compass the land of Edom: and the soul of the people was much discouraged because of the way.

5 And the people spake against God, and against Moses, Wherefore have ye brought us up out of Egypt to die in the wilderness? for there is no bread, neither is there any water; and our soul loatheth this light bread.

6 And the LORD sent fiery serpents among the people, and they bit the people; and much people of Israel died.

7 Therefore the people came to Moses, and said, We have sinned, for we have spoken against the LORD, and against thee; pray unto the LORD, that he take away the serpents from us. And Moses prayed for the people.

8 And the LORD said unto Moses, Make thee a fiery serpent, and set it upon a pole: and it shall come to pass, that every one that is bitten, when he looketh upon it, shall live.

9 And Moses made a serpent of brass, and put it upon a pole, and it came to pass, that if a serpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the serpent of brass, he lived.

10 And the children of Israel set forward, and pitched in Oboth.

11 And they journeyed from Oboth, and pitched at Ijeabarim, in the wilderness which is before Moab, toward the sunrising.

12 From thence they removed, and pitched in the valley of Zared.

13 From thence they removed, and pitched on the other side of Arnon, which is in the wilderness that cometh out of the coasts of the Amorites: for Arnon is the border of Moab, between Moab and the Amorites.

14 Wherefore it is said in the book of the wars of the LORD, What he did in the Red sea, and in the brooks of Arnon,

15 And at the stream of the brooks that goeth down to the dwelling of Ar, and lieth upon the border of Moab.

16 And from thence they went to Beer: that is the well whereof the LORD spake unto Moses, Gather the people together, and I will give them water.

17 Then Israel sang this song, Spring up, O well; sing ye unto it:

18 The princes digged the well, the nobles of the people digged it, by the direction of the lawgiver, with their staves. And from the wilderness they went to Mattanah:

19 And from Mattanah to Nahaliel: and from Nahaliel to Bamoth:

20 And from Bamoth in the valley, that is in the country of Moab, to the top of Pisgah, which looketh toward Jeshimon.

21 And Israel sent messengers unto Sihon king of the Amorites, saying,

22 Let me pass through thy land: we will not turn into the fields, or into the vineyards; we will not drink of the waters of the well: but we will go along by the king's high way, until we be past thy borders.

23 And Sihon would not suffer Israel to pass through his border: but Sihon gathered all his people together, and went out against Israel into the wilderness: and he came to Jahaz, and fought against Israel.

24 And Israel smote him with the edge of the sword, and possessed his land from Arnon unto Jabbok, even unto the children of Ammon: for the border of the children of Ammon was strong.

25 And Israel took all these cities: and Israel dwelt in all the cities of the Amorites, in Heshbon, and in all the villages thereof.

26 For Heshbon was the city of Sihon the king of the Amorites, who had fought against the former king of Moab, and taken all his land out of his hand, even unto Arnon.

27 Wherefore they that speak in proverbs say, Come into Heshbon, let the city of Sihon be built and prepared:

28 For there is a fire gone out of Heshbon, a flame from the city of Sihon: it hath consumed Ar of Moab, and the lords of the high places of Arnon.

29 Woe to thee, Moab! thou art undone, O people of Chemosh: he hath given his sons that escaped, and his daughters, into captivity unto Sihon king of the Amorites.

30 We have shot at them; Heshbon is perished even unto Dibon, and we have laid them waste even unto Nophah, which reacheth unto Medeba.

31 Thus Israel dwelt in the land of the Amorites.

32 And Moses sent to spy out Jaazer, and they took the villages thereof, and drove out the Amorites that were there.

33 And they turned and went up by the way of Bashan: and Og the king of Bashan went out against them, he, and all his people, to the battle at Edrei.

34 And the LORD said unto Moses, Fear him not: for I have delivered him into thy hand, and all his people, and his land; and thou shalt do to him as thou didst unto Sihon king of the Amorites, which dwelt at Heshbon.

35 So they smote him, and his sons, and all his people, until there was none left him alive: and they possessed his land.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 22

1 And the children of Israel set forward, and pitched in the plains of Moab on this side Jordan by Jericho.

2 And Balak the son of Zippor saw all that Israel had done to the Amorites.

3 And Moab was sore afraid of the people, because they were many: and Moab was distressed because of the children of Israel.

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4 And Moab said unto the elders of Midian, Now shall this company lick up all that are round about us, as the ox licketh up the grass of the field. And Balak the son of Zippor was king of the Moabites at that time.

5 He sent messengers therefore unto Balaam the son of Beor to Pethor, which is by the river of the land of the children of his people, to call him, saying, Behold, there is a people come out from Egypt: behold, they cover the face of the earth, and they abide over against me:

6 Come now therefore, I pray thee, curse me this people; for they are too mighty for me: peradventure I shall prevail, that we may smite them, and that I may drive them out of the land: for I wot that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed.

7 And the elders of Moab and the elders of Midian departed with the rewards of divination in their hand; and they came unto Balaam, and spake unto him the words of Balak.

8 And he said unto them, Lodge here this night, and I will bring you word again, as the LORD shall speak unto me: and the princes of Moab abode with Balaam.

9 And God came unto Balaam, and said, What men are these with thee?

10 And Balaam said unto God, Balak the son of Zippor, king of Moab, hath sent unto me, saying,

11 Behold, there is a people come out of Egypt, which covereth the face of the earth: come now, curse me them; peradventure I shall be able to overcome them, and drive them out.

12 And God said unto Balaam, Thou shalt not go with them; thou shalt not curse the people: for they are blessed.

13 And Balaam rose up in the morning, and said unto the princes of Balak, Get you into your land: for the LORD refuseth to give me leave to go with you.

14 And the princes of Moab rose up, and they went unto Balak, and said, Balaam refuseth to come with us.

15 And Balak sent yet again princes, more, and more honourable than they.

16 And they came to Balaam, and said to him, Thus saith Balak the son of Zippor, Let nothing, I pray thee, hinder thee from coming unto me:

17 For I will promote thee unto very great honour, and I will do whatsoever thou sayest unto me: come therefore, I pray thee, curse me this people.

18 And Balaam answered and said unto the servants of Balak, If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the word of the LORD my God, to do less or more.

19 Now therefore, I pray you, tarry ye also here this night, that I may know what the LORD will say unto me more.

20 And God came unto Balaam at night, and said unto him, If the men come to call thee, rise up, and go with them; but yet the word which I shall say unto thee, that shalt thou do.

21 And Balaam rose up in the morning, and saddled his ass, and went with the princes of Moab.

22 And God's anger was kindled because he went: and the angel of the LORD stood in the way for an adversary against him. Now he was riding upon his ass, and his two servants were with him.

23 And the ass saw the angel of the LORD standing in the way, and his sword drawn in his hand: and the ass turned aside out of the way, and went into the field: and Balaam smote the ass, to turn her into the way.

24 But the angel of the LORD stood in a path of the vineyards, a wall being on this side, and a wall on that side.

25 And when the ass saw the angel of the LORD, she thrust herself unto the wall, and crushed Balaam's foot against the wall: and he smote her again.

26 And the angel of the LORD went further, and stood in a narrow place, where was no way to turn either to the right hand or to the left.

27 And when the ass saw the angel of the LORD, she fell down under Balaam: and Balaam's anger was kindled, and he smote the ass with a staff.

28 And the LORD opened the mouth of the ass, and she said unto Balaam, What have I done unto thee, that thou hast smitten me these three times?

29 And Balaam said unto the ass, Because thou hast mocked me: I would there were a sword in mine hand, for now would I kill thee.

30 And the ass said unto Balaam, Am not I thine ass, upon which thou hast ridden ever since I was thine unto this day? was I ever wont to do so unto thee? And he said, Nay.

31 Then the LORD opened the eyes of Balaam, and he saw the angel of the LORD standing in the way, and his sword drawn in his hand: and he bowed down his head, and fell flat on his face.

32 And the angel of the LORD said unto him, Wherefore hast thou smitten thine ass these three times? behold, I went out to withstand thee, because thy way is perverse before me:

33 And the ass saw me, and turned from me these three times: unless she had turned from me, surely now also I had slain thee, and saved her alive.

34 And Balaam said unto the angel of the LORD, I have sinned; for I knew not that thou stoodest in the way against me: now therefore, if it displease thee, I will get me back again.

35 And the angel of the LORD said unto Balaam, Go with the men: but only the word that I shall speak unto thee, that thou shalt speak. So Balaam went with the princes of Balak.

36 And when Balak heard that Balaam was come, he went out to meet him unto a city of Moab, which is in the border of Arnon, which is in the utmost coast.

37 And Balak said unto Balaam, Did I not earnestly send unto thee to call thee? wherefore camest thou not unto me? am I not able indeed to promote thee to honour?

38 And Balaam said unto Balak, Lo, I am come unto thee: have I now any power at all to say any thing? the word that God putteth in my mouth, that shall I speak.

39 And Balaam went with Balak, and they came unto Kirjathhuzoth.

40 And Balak offered oxen and sheep, and sent to Balaam, and to the princes that were with him.

41 And it came to pass on the morrow, that Balak took Balaam, and brought him up into the high places of Baal, that thence he might see the utmost part of the people.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 23

1 And Balaam said unto Balak, Build me here seven altars, and prepare me here seven oxen and seven rams.

2 And Balak did as Balaam had spoken; and Balak and Balaam offered on every altar a bullock and a ram.

3 And Balaam said unto Balak, Stand by thy burnt offering, and I will go: peradventure the LORD will come to meet me: and whatsoever he sheweth me I will tell thee. And he went to an high place.

4 And God met Balaam: and he said unto him, I have prepared seven altars, and I have offered upon every altar a bullock and a ram.

5 And the LORD put a word in Balaam's mouth, and said, Return unto Balak, and thus thou shalt speak.

6 And he returned unto him, and, lo, he stood by his burnt sacrifice, he, and all the princes of Moab.

7 And he took up his parable, and said, Balak the king of Moab hath brought me from Aram, out of the mountains of the east, saying, Come, curse me Jacob, and come, defy Israel.

8 How shall I curse, whom God hath not cursed? or how shall I defy, whom the LORD hath not defied?

9 For from the top of the rocks I see him, and from the hills I behold him: lo, the people shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations.

10 Who can count the dust of Jacob, and the number of the fourth part of Israel? Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his!

11 And Balak said unto Balaam, What hast thou done unto me? I took thee to curse mine enemies, and, behold, thou hast blessed them altogether.

12 And he answered and said, Must I not take heed to speak that which the LORD hath put in my mouth?

13 And Balak said unto him, Come, I pray thee, with me unto another place, from whence thou mayest see them: thou shalt see but the utmost part of them, and shalt not see them all: and curse me them from thence.

14 And he brought him into the field of Zophim, to the top of Pisgah, and built seven altars, and offered a bullock and a ram on every altar.

15 And he said unto Balak, Stand here by thy burnt offering, while I meet the LORD yonder.

16 And the LORD met Balaam, and put a word in his mouth, and said, Go again unto Balak, and say thus.

17 And when he came to him, behold, he stood by his burnt offering, and the princes of Moab with him. And Balak said unto him, What hath the LORD spoken?

18 And he took up his parable, and said, Rise up, Balak, and hear; hearken unto me, thou son of Zippor:

19 God is not a man, that he should lie; neither the son of man, that he should repent: hath he said, and shall he not do it? or hath he spoken, and shall he not make it good?

20 Behold, I have received commandment to bless: and he hath blessed; and I cannot reverse it.

21 He hath not beheld iniquity in Jacob, neither hath he seen perverseness in Israel: the LORD his God is with him, and the shout of a king is among them.

22 God brought them out of Egypt; he hath as it were the strength of an unicorn.

23 Surely there is no enchantment against Jacob, neither is there any divination against Israel: according to this time it shall be said of Jacob and of Israel, What hath God wrought!

24 Behold, the people shall rise up as a great lion, and lift up himself as a young lion: he shall not lie down until he eat of the prey, and drink the blood of the slain.

25 And Balak said unto Balaam, Neither curse them at all, nor bless them at all.

26 But Balaam answered and said unto Balak, Told not I thee, saying, All that the LORD speaketh, that I must do?

27 And Balak said unto Balaam, Come, I pray thee, I will bring thee unto another place; peradventure it will please God that thou mayest curse me them from thence.

28 And Balak brought Balaam unto the top of Peor, that looketh toward Jeshimon.

29 And Balaam said unto Balak, Build me here seven altars, and prepare me here seven bullocks and seven rams.

30 And Balak did as Balaam had said, and offered a bullock and a ram on every altar.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 24

1 And when Balaam saw that it pleased the LORD to bless Israel, he went not, as at other times, to seek for enchantments, but he set his face toward the wilderness.

2 And Balaam lifted up his eyes, and he saw Israel abiding in his tents according to their tribes; and the spirit of God came upon him.

3 And he took up his parable, and said, Balaam the son of Beor hath said, and the man whose eyes are open hath said:

4 He hath said, which heard the words of God, which saw the vision of the Almighty, falling into a trance, but having his eyes open:

5 How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel!

6 As the valleys are they spread forth, as gardens by the river's side, as the trees of lign aloes which the LORD hath planted, and as cedar trees beside the waters.

7 He shall pour the water out of his buckets, and his seed shall be in many waters, and his king shall be higher than Agag, and his kingdom shall be exalted.

8 God brought him forth out of Egypt; he hath as it were the strength of an unicorn: he shall eat up the nations his enemies, and shall break their bones, and pierce them through with his arrows.

9 He couched, he lay down as a lion, and as a great lion: who shall stir him up? Blessed is he that blesseth thee, and cursed is he that curseth thee.

10 And Balak's anger was kindled against Balaam, and he smote his hands together: and Balak said unto Balaam, I called thee to curse mine enemies, and, behold, thou hast altogether blessed them these three times.

11 Therefore now flee thou to thy place: I thought to promote thee unto great honour; but, lo, the LORD hath kept thee back from honour.

12 And Balaam said unto Balak, Spake I not also to thy messengers which thou sentest unto me, saying,

13 If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the commandment of the LORD, to do either good or bad of mine own mind; but what the LORD saith, that will I speak?

14 And now, behold, I go unto my people: come therefore, and I will advertise thee what this people shall do to thy people in the latter days.

15 And he took up his parable, and said, Balaam the son of Beor hath said, and the man whose eyes are open hath said:

16 He hath said, which heard the words of God, and knew the knowledge of the most High, which saw the vision of the Almighty, falling into a trance, but having his eyes open:

17 I shall see him, but not now: I shall behold him, but not nigh: there shall come a Star out of Jacob, and a Sceptre shall rise out of Israel, and shall smite the corners of Moab, and destroy all the children of Sheth.

18 And Edom shall be a possession, Seir also shall be a possession for his enemies; and Israel shall do valiantly.

19 Out of Jacob shall come he that shall have dominion, and shall destroy him that remaineth of the city.

20 And when he looked on Amalek, he took up his parable, and said, Amalek was the first of the nations; but his latter end shall be that he perish for ever.

21 And he looked on the Kenites, and took up his parable, and said, Strong is thy dwellingplace, and thou puttest thy nest in a rock.

22 Nevertheless the Kenite shall be wasted, until Asshur shall carry thee away captive.

23 And he took up his parable, and said, Alas, who shall live when God doeth this!

24 And ships shall come from the coast of Chittim, and shall afflict Asshur, and shall afflict Eber, and he also shall perish for ever.

25 And Balaam rose up, and went and returned to his place: and Balak also went his way.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 25

1 And Israel abode in Shittim, and the people began to commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab.

2 And they called the people unto the sacrifices of their gods: and the people did eat, and bowed down to their gods.

3 And Israel joined himself unto Baalpeor: and the anger of the LORD was kindled against Israel.

4 And the LORD said unto Moses, Take all the heads of the people, and hang them up before the LORD against the sun, that the fierce anger of the LORD may be turned away from Israel.

5 And Moses said unto the judges of Israel, Slay ye every one his men that were joined unto Baalpeor.

6 And, behold, one of the children of Israel came and brought unto his brethren a Midianitish woman in the sight

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of Moses, and in the sight of all the congregation of the children of Israel, who were weeping before the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.

7 And when Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, saw it, he rose up from among the congregation, and took a javelin in his hand;

8 And he went after the man of Israel into the tent, and thrust both of them through, the man of Israel, and the woman through her belly. So the plague was stayed from the children of Israel.

9 And those that died in the plague were twenty and four thousand.

10 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

11 Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, hath turned my wrath away from the children of Israel, while he was zealous for my sake among them, that I consumed not the children of Israel in my jealousy.

12 Wherefore say, Behold, I give unto him my covenant of peace:

13 And he shall have it, and his seed after him, even the covenant of an everlasting priesthood; because he was zealous for his God, and made an atonement for the children of Israel.

14 Now the name of the Israelite that was slain, even that was slain with the Midianitish woman, was Zimri, the son of Salu, a prince of a chief house among the Simeonites.

15 And the name of the Midianitish woman that was slain was Cozbi, the daughter of Zur; he was head over a people, and of a chief house in Midian.

16 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

17 Vex the Midianites, and smite them:

18 For they vex you with their wiles, wherewith they have beguiled you in the matter of Peor, and in the matter of Cozbi, the daughter of a prince of Midian, their sister, which was slain in the day of the plague for Peor's sake.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 26

1 And it came to pass after the plague, that the LORD spake unto Moses and unto Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest, saying,

2 Take the sum of all the congregation of the children of Israel, from twenty years old and upward, throughout their fathers' house, all that are able to go to war in Israel.

3 And Moses and Eleazar the priest spake with them in the plains of Moab by Jordan near Jericho, saying,

4 Take the sum of the people, from twenty years old and upward; as the LORD commanded Moses and the children of Israel, which went forth out of the land of Egypt.

5 Reuben, the eldest son of Israel: the children of Reuben; Hanoch, of whom cometh the family of the Hanochites: of Pallu, the family of the Palluites:

6 Of Hezron, the family of the Hezronites: of Carmi, the family of the Carmites.

7 These are the families of the Reubenites: and they that were numbered of them were forty and three thousand and seven hundred and thirty.

8 And the sons of Pallu; Eliab.

9 And the sons of Eliab; Nemuel, and Dathan, and Abiram. This is that Dathan and Abiram, which were famous in the congregation, who strove against Moses and against Aaron in the company of Korah, when they strove against the LORD:

10 And the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up together with Korah, when that company died, what time the fire devoured two hundred and fifty men: and they became a sign.

11 Notwithstanding the children of Korah died not.

12 The sons of Simeon after their families: of Nemuel, the family of the Nemuelites: of Jamin, the family of the Jaminites: of Jachin, the family of the Jachinites:

13 Of Zerah, the family of the Zarhites: of Shaul, the family of the Shaulites.

14 These are the families of the Simeonites, twenty and two thousand and two hundred.

15 The children of Gad after their families: of Zephon, the family of the Zephonites: of Haggi, the family of the Haggites: of Shuni, the family of the Shunites:

16 Of Ozni, the family of the Oznites: of Eri, the family of the Erites:

17 Of Arod, the family of the Arodites: of Areli, the family of the Arelites.

18 These are the families of the children of Gad according to those that were numbered of them, forty thousand and five hundred.

19 The sons of Judah were Er and Onan: and Er and Onan died in the land of Canaan.

20 And the sons of Judah after their families were; of Shelah, the family of the Shelanites: of Pharez, the family of the Pharzites: of Zerah, the family of the Zarhites.

21 And the sons of Pharez were; of Hezron, the family of the Hezronites: of Hamul, the family of the Hamulites.

22 These are the families of Judah according to those that were numbered of them, threescore and sixteen thousand and five hundred.

23 Of the sons of Issachar after their families: of Tola, the family of the Tolaites: of Pua, the family of the Punites:

24 Of Jashub, the family of the Jashubites: of Shimron, the family of the Shimronites.

25 These are the families of Issachar according to those that were numbered of them, threescore and four thousand and three hundred.

26 Of the sons of Zebulun after their families: of Sered, the family of the Sardites: of Elon, the family of the Elonites: of Jahleel, the family of the Jahleelites.

27 These are the families of the Zebulunites according to those that were numbered of them, threescore thousand and five hundred.

28 The sons of Joseph after their families were Manasseh and Ephraim.

29 Of the sons of Manasseh: of Machir, the family of the Machirites: and Machir begat Gilead: of Gilead come the family of the Gileadites.

30 These are the sons of Gilead: of Jeezer, the family of the Jeezerites: of Helek, the family of the Helekites:

31 And of Asriel, the family of the Asrielites: and of Shechem, the family of the Shechemites:

32 And of Shemida, the family of the Shemidaites: and of Hepher, the family of the Hepherites.

33 And Zelophehad the son of Hepher had no sons, but daughters: and the names of the daughters of Zelophehad were Mahlah, and Noah, Hoglah, Milcah, and Tirzah.

34 These are the families of Manasseh, and those that were numbered of them, fifty and two thousand and seven hundred.

35 These are the sons of Ephraim after their families: of Shuthelah, the family of the Shuthalhites: of Becher, the family of the Bachrites: of Tahan, the family of the Tahanites.

36 And these are the sons of Shuthelah: of Eran, the family of the Eranites.

37 These are the families of the sons of Ephraim according to those that were numbered of them, thirty and two thousand and five hundred. These are the sons of Joseph after their families.

38 The sons of Benjamin after their families: of Bela, the family of the Belaites: of Ashbel, the family of the Ashbelites: of Ahiram, the family of the Ahiramites:

39 Of Shupham, the family of the Shuphamites: of Hupham, the family of the Huphamites.

40 And the sons of Bela were Ard and Naaman: of Ard, the family of the Ardites: and of Naaman, the family of the Naamites.

41 These are the sons of Benjamin after their families: and they that were numbered of them were forty and five thousand and six hundred.

42 These are the sons of Dan after their families: of Shuham, the family of the Shuhamites. These are the families of Dan after their families.

43 All the families of the Shuhamites, according to those that were numbered of them, were threescore and four thousand and four hundred.

44 Of the children of Asher after their families: of Jimna, the family of the Jimnites: of Jesui, the family of the Jesuites: of Beriah, the family of the Beriites.

45 Of the sons of Beriah: of Heber, the family of the Heberites: of Malchiel, the family of the Malchielites.

46 And the name of the daughter of Asher was Sarah.

47 These are the families of the sons of Asher according to those that were numbered of them; who were fifty and three thousand and four hundred.

48 Of the sons of Naphtali after their families: of Jahzeel, the family of the Jahzeelites: of Guni, the family of the Gunites:

49 Of Jezer, the family of the Jezerites: of Shillem, the family of the Shillemites.

50 These are the families of Naphtali according to their families: and they that were numbered of them were forty and five thousand and four hundred.

51 These were the numbered of the children of Israel, six hundred thousand and a thousand seven hundred and thirty.

52 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

53 Unto these the land shall be divided for an inheritance according to the number of names.

54 To many thou shalt give the more inheritance, and to few thou shalt give the less inheritance: to every one shall his inheritance be given according to those that were numbered of him.

55 Notwithstanding the land shall be divided by lot: according to the names of the tribes of their fathers they shall inherit.

56 According to the lot shall the possession thereof be divided between many and few.

57 And these are they that were numbered of the Levites after their families: of Gershon, the family of the Gershonites: of Kohath, the family of the Kohathites: of Merari, the family of the Merarites.

58 These are the families of the Levites: the family of the Libnites, the family of the Hebronites, the family of the Mahlites, the family of the Mushites, the family of the Korathites. And Kohath begat Amram.

59 And the name of Amram's wife was Jochebed, the daughter of Levi, whom her mother bare to Levi in Egypt: and she bare unto Amram Aaron and Moses, and Miriam their sister.

60 And unto Aaron was born Nadab, and Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar.

61 And Nadab and Abihu died, when they offered strange fire before the LORD.

62 And those that were numbered of them were twenty and three thousand, all males from a month old and upward: for they were not numbered among the children of Israel, because there was no inheritance given them among the children of Israel.

63 These are they that were numbered by Moses and Eleazar the priest, who numbered the children of Israel in the plains of Moab by Jordan near Jericho.

64 But among these there was not a man of them whom Moses and Aaron the priest numbered, when they numbered the children of Israel in the wilderness of Sinai.

65 For the LORD had said of them, They shall surely die in the wilderness. And there was not left a man of them, save Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and Joshua the son of Nun.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 27

1 Then came the daughters of Zelophehad, the son of Hepher, the son of Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh, of the families of Manasseh the son of Joseph: and these are the names of his daughters; Mahlah, Noah, and Hoglah, and Milcah, and Tirzah.

2 And they stood before Moses, and before Eleazar the priest, and before the princes and all the congregation, by the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, saying,

3 Our father died in the wilderness, and he was not in the company of them that gathered themselves together against the LORD in the company of Korah; but died in his own sin, and had no sons.

4 Why should the name of our father be done away from among his family, because he hath no son? Give unto us therefore a possession among the brethren of our father.

5 And Moses brought their cause before the LORD.

6 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

7 The daughters of Zelophehad speak right: thou shalt surely give them a possession of an inheritance among their father's brethren; and thou shalt cause the inheritance of their father to pass unto them.

8 And thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel, saying, If a man die, and have no son, then ye shall cause his inheritance to pass unto his daughter.

9 And if he have no daughter, then ye shall give his inheritance unto his brethren.

10 And if he have no brethren, then ye shall give his inheritance unto his father's brethren.

11 And if his father have no brethren, then ye shall give his inheritance unto his kinsman that is next to him of his family, and he shall possess it: and it shall be unto the children of Israel a statute of judgement, as the LORD commanded Moses.

12 And the LORD said unto Moses, Get thee up into this mount Abarim, and see the land which I have given unto the children of Israel.

13 And when thou hast seen it, thou also shalt be gathered unto thy people, as Aaron thy brother was gathered.

14 For ye rebelled against my commandment in the desert of Zin, in the strife of the congregation, to sanctify me at the water before their eyes: that is the water of Meribah in Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin.

15 And Moses spake unto the LORD, saying,

16 Let the LORD, the God of the spirits of all flesh, set a man over the congregation,

17 Which may go out before them, and which may go in before them, and which may lead them out, and which may bring them in; that the congregation of the LORD be not as sheep which have no shepherd.

18 And the LORD said unto Moses, Take thee Joshua the son of Nun, a man in whom is the spirit, and lay thine hand upon him;

19 And set him before Eleazar the priest, and before all the congregation; and give him a charge in their sight.

20 And thou shalt put some of thine honour upon him, that all the congregation of the children of Israel may be obedient.

21 And he shall stand before Eleazar the priest, who shall ask counsel for him after the judgement of Urim before the LORD: at his word shall they go out, and at his word they shall come in, both he, and all the children of Israel with him, even all the congregation.

22 And Moses did as the LORD commanded him: and he took Joshua, and set him before Eleazar the priest, and before all the congregation:

23 And he laid his hands upon him, and gave him a charge, as the LORD commanded by the hand of Moses.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 28

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

2 Command the children of Israel, and say unto them, My offering, and my bread for my sacrifices made by fire, for a sweet savour unto me, shall ye observe to offer unto me in their due season.

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3 And thou shalt say unto them, This is the offering made by fire which ye shall offer unto the LORD; two lambs of the first year without spot day by day, for a continual burnt offering.
4 The one lamb shalt thou offer in the morning, and the other lamb shalt thou offer at even;
5 And a tenth part of an ephah of flour for a meat offering, mingled with the fourth part of an hin of beaten oil.
6 It is a continual burnt offering, which was ordained in mount Sinai for a sweet savour, a sacrifice made by fire unto the LORD.
7 And the drink offering thereof shall be the fourth part of an hin for the one lamb: in the holy place shalt thou cause the strong wine to be poured unto the LORD for a drink offering.
8 And the other lamb shalt thou offer at even: as the meat offering of the morning, and as the drink offering thereof, thou shalt offer it, a sacrifice made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the LORD.
9 And on the sabbath day two lambs of the first year without spot, and two tenth deals of flour for a meat offering, mingled with oil, and the drink offering thereof:
10 This is the burnt offering of every sabbath, beside the continual burnt offering, and his drink offering.
11 And in the beginnings of your months ye shall offer a burnt offering unto the LORD; two young bullocks, and one ram, seven lambs of the first year without spot;
12 And three tenth deals of flour for a meat offering, mingled with oil, for one bullock; and two tenth deals of flour for a meat offering, mingled with oil, for one ram;
13 And a several tenth deal of flour mingled with oil for a meat offering unto one lamb; for a burnt offering of a sweet savour, a sacrifice made by fire unto the LORD.
14 And their drink offerings shall be half an hin of wine unto a bullock, and the third part of an hin unto a ram, and a fourth part of an hin unto a lamb: this is the burnt offering of every month throughout the months of the year.
15 And one kid of the goats for a sin offering unto the LORD shall be offered, beside the continual burnt offering, and his drink offering.
16 And in the fourteenth day of the first month is the passover of the LORD.
17 And in the fifteenth day of this month is the feast: seven days shall unleavened bread be eaten.
18 In the first day shall be an holy convocation; ye shall do no manner of servile work therein:
19 But ye shall offer a sacrifice made by fire for a burnt offering unto the LORD; two young bullocks, and one ram, and seven lambs of the first year: they shall be unto you without blemish:
20 And their meat offering shall be of flour mingled with oil: three tenth deals shall ye offer for a bullock, and two tenth deals for a ram;
21 A several tenth deal shalt thou offer for every lamb, throughout the seven lambs:
22 And one goat for a sin offering, to make an atonement for you.
23 Ye shall offer these beside the burnt offering in the morning, which is for a continual burnt offering.
24 After this manner ye shall offer daily, throughout the seven days, the meat of the sacrifice made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the LORD: it shall be offered beside the continual burnt offering, and his drink offering.
25 And on the seventh day ye shall have an holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work.
26 Also in the day of the firstfruits, when ye bring a new meat offering unto the LORD, after your weeks be out, ye shall have an holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work:
27 But ye shall offer the burnt offering for a sweet savour unto the LORD; two young bullocks, one ram, seven lambs of the first year;
28 And their meat offering of flour mingled with oil, three tenth deals unto one bullock, two tenth deals unto one ram,
29 A several tenth deal unto one lamb, throughout the seven lambs;
30 And one kid of the goats, to make an atonement for you.
31 Ye shall offer them beside the continual burnt offering, and his meat offering, (they shall be unto you without blemish) and their drink offerings.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 29

1 And in the seventh month, on the first day of the month, ye shall have an holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work: it is a day of blowing the trumpets unto you.
2 And ye shall offer a burnt offering for a sweet savour unto the LORD; one young bullock, one ram, and seven lambs of the first year without blemish:
3 And their meat offering shall be of flour mingled with oil, three tenth deals for a bullock, and two tenth deals for a ram,
4 And one tenth deal for one lamb, throughout the seven lambs:
5 And one kid of the goats for a sin offering, to make an atonement for you:
6 Beside the burnt offering of the month, and his meat offering, and the daily burnt offering, and his meat offering, and their drink offerings, according unto their manner, for a sweet savour, a sacrifice made by fire unto the LORD.
7 And ye shall have on the tenth day of this seventh month an holy convocation; and ye shall afflict your souls: ye shall not do any work therein:
8 But ye shall offer a burnt offering unto the LORD for a sweet savour; one young bullock, one ram, and seven lambs of the first year; they shall be unto you without blemish:
9 And their meat offering shall be of flour mingled with oil, three tenth deals to a bullock, and two tenth deals to one ram,
10 A several tenth deal for one lamb, throughout the seven lambs:
11 One kid of the goats for a sin offering; beside the sin offering of atonement, and the continual burnt offering, and the meat offering of it, and their drink offerings.
12 And on the fifteenth day of the seventh month ye shall have an holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work, and ye shall keep a feast unto the LORD seven days:
13 And ye shall offer a burnt offering, a sacrifice made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the LORD; thirteen young bullocks, two rams, and fourteen lambs of the first year; they shall be without blemish:
14 And their meat offering shall be of flour mingled with oil, three tenth deals unto every bullock of the thirteen bullocks, two tenth deals to each ram of the two rams,
15 And a several tenth deal to each lamb of the fourteen lambs:
16 And one kid of the goats for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, his meat offering, and his drink offering.
17 And on the second day ye shall offer twelve young bullocks, two rams, fourteen lambs of the first year without spot:
18 And their meat offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, shall be according to their number, after the manner:
19 And one kid of the goats for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, and the meat offering thereof, and their drink offerings.
20 And on the third day eleven bullocks, two rams, fourteen lambs of the first year without blemish;
21 And their meat offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, shall be according to their number, after the manner:
22 And one goat for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, and his meat offering, and his drink offering.
23 And on the fourth day ten bullocks, two rams, and fourteen lambs of the first year without blemish:
24 Their meat offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, shall be according to their number, after the manner:
25 And one kid of the goats for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, his meat offering, and his drink offering.
26 And on the fifth day nine bullocks, two rams, and fourteen lambs of the first year without spot:
27 And their meat offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, shall be according to their number, after the manner:
28 And one goat for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, and his meat offering, and his drink offering.
29 And on the sixth day eight bullocks, two rams, and fourteen lambs of the first year without blemish:
30 And their meat offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, shall be according to their number, after the manner:
31 And one goat for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, his meat offering, and his drink offering.
32 And on the seventh day seven bullocks, two rams, and fourteen lambs of the first year without blemish:
33 And their meat offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, shall be according to their number, after the manner:
34 And one goat for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, his meat offering, and his drink offering.
35 On the eighth day ye shall have a solemn assembly: ye shall do no servile work therein:
36 But ye shall offer a burnt offering, a sacrifice made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the LORD: one bullock, one ram, seven lambs of the first year without blemish:
37 Their meat offering and their drink offerings for the bullock, for the ram, and for the lambs, shall be according to their number, after the manner:
38 And one goat for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, and his meat offering, and his drink offering.
39 These things ye shall do unto the LORD in your set feasts, beside your vows, and your freewill offerings, for your burnt offerings, and for your meat offerings, and for your drink offerings, and for your peace offerings.
40 And Moses told the children of Israel according to all that the LORD commanded Moses.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 30

1 And Moses spake unto the heads of the tribes concerning the children of Israel, saying, This is the thing which the LORD hath commanded.
2 If a man vow a vow unto the LORD, or swear an oath to bind his soul with a bond; he shall not break his word, he shall do according to all that proceedeth out of his mouth.
3 If a woman also vow a vow unto the LORD, and bind herself by a bond, being in her father's house in her youth;
4 And her father hear her vow, and her bond wherewith she hath bound her soul, and her father shall hold his peace at her: then all her vows shall stand, and every bond wherewith she hath bound her soul shall stand.
5 But if her father disallow her in the day that he heareth; not any of her vows, or of her bonds wherewith she hath bound her soul, shall stand: and the LORD shall forgive her, because her father disallowed her.
6 And if she had at all an husband, when she vowed, or uttered ought out of her lips, wherewith she bound her soul;
7 And her husband heard it, and held his peace at her in the day that he heard it: then her vows shall stand, and her bonds wherewith she bound her soul shall stand.
8 But if her husband disallowed her on the day that he heard it; then he shall make her vow which she vowed, and that which she uttered with her lips, wherewith she bound her soul, of none effect: and the LORD shall forgive her.
9 But every vow of a widow, and of her that is divorced, wherewith they have bound their souls, shall stand against her.
10 And if she vowed in her husband's house, or bound her soul by a bond with an oath;
11 And her husband heard it, and held his peace at her, and disallowed her not: then all her vows shall stand, and every bond wherewith she bound her soul shall stand.
12 But if her husband hath utterly made them void on the day he heard them; then whatsoever proceeded out of her lips concerning her vows, or concerning the bond of her soul, shall not stand: her husband hath made them void; and the LORD shall forgive her.
13 Every vow, and every binding oath to afflict the soul, her husband may establish it, or her husband may make it void.
14 But if her husband altogether hold his peace at her from day to day; then he establisheth all her vows, or all her bonds, which are upon her: he confirmeth them, because he held his peace at her in the day that he heard them.
15 But if he shall any ways make them void after that he hath heard them; then he shall bear her iniquity.
16 These are the statutes, which the LORD commanded Moses, between a man and his wife, between the father and his daughter, being yet in her youth in her father's house.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 31

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 Avenge the children of Israel of the Midianites: afterward shalt thou be gathered unto thy people.
3 And Moses spake unto the people, saying, Arm some of yourselves unto the war, and let them go against the Midianites, and avenge the LORD of Midian.
4 Of every tribe a thousand, throughout all the tribes of Israel, shall ye send to the war.
5 So there were delivered out of the thousands of Israel, a thousand of every tribe, twelve thousand armed for war.
6 And Moses sent them to the war, a thousand of every tribe, them and Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest, to the war, with the holy instruments, and the trumpets to blow in his hand.
7 And they warred against the Midianites, as the LORD commanded Moses; and they slew all the males.
8 And they slew the kings of Midian, beside the rest of them that were slain; namely, Evi, and Rekem, and Zur, and Hur, and Reba, five kings of Midian: Balaam also the son of Beor they slew with the sword.
9 And the children of Israel took all the women of Midian captives, and their little ones, and took the spoil of all their cattle, and all their flocks, and all their goods.
10 And they burnt all their cities wherein they dwelt, and all their goodly castles, with fire.
11 And they took all the spoil, and all the prey, both of men and of beasts.
12 And they brought the captives, and the prey, and the spoil, unto Moses, and Eleazar the priest, and unto the congregation of the children of Israel, unto the camp at the plains of Moab, which are by Jordan near Jericho.
13 And Moses, and Eleazar the priest, and all the princes of the congregation, went forth to meet them without the camp.
14 And Moses was wroth with the officers of the host, with the captains over thousands, and captains over hundreds, which came from the battle.
15 And Moses said unto them, Have ye saved all the women alive?
16 Behold, these caused the children of Israel, through the counsel of Balaam, to commit trespass against the LORD in the matter of Peor, and there was a plague among the congregation of the LORD.

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17 Now therefore kill every male among the little ones, and kill every woman that hath known man by lying with him.
18 But all the women children, that have not known a man by lying with him, keep alive for yourselves.
19 And do ye abide without the camp seven days: whosoever hath killed any person, and whosoever hath touched any slain, purify both yourselves and your captives on the third day, and on the seventh day.
20 And purify all your raiment, and all that is made of skins, and all work of goats' hair, and all things made of wood.
21 And Eleazar the priest said unto the men of war which went to the battle, This is the ordinance of the law which the LORD commanded Moses;
22 Only the gold, and the silver, the brass, the iron, the tin, and the lead,
23 Every thing that may abide the fire, ye shall make it go through the fire, and it shall be clean: nevertheless it shall be purified with the water of separation: and all that abideth not the fire ye shall make go through the water.
24 And ye shall wash your clothes on the seventh day, and ye shall be clean, and afterward ye shall come into the camp.
25 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
26 Take the sum of the prey that was taken, both of man and of beast, thou, and Eleazar the priest, and the chief fathers of the congregation:
27 And divide the prey into two parts; between them that took the war upon them, who went out to battle, and between all the congregation:
28 And levy a tribute unto the Lord of the men of war which went out to battle: one soul of five hundred, both of the persons, and of the beeves, and of the asses, and of the sheep:
29 Take it of their half, and give it unto Eleazar the priest, for an heave offering of the LORD.
30 And of the children of Israel's half, thou shalt take one portion of fifty, of the persons, of the beeves, of the asses, and of the flocks, of all manner of beasts, and give them unto the Levites, which keep the charge of the tabernacle of the LORD.
31 And Moses and Eleazar the priest did as the LORD commanded Moses.
32 And the booty, being the rest of the prey which the men of war had caught, was six hundred thousand and seventy thousand and five thousand sheep,
33 And threescore and twelve thousand beeves,
34 And threescore and one thousand asses,
35 And thirty and two thousand persons in all, of women that had not known man by lying with him.
36 And the half, which was the portion of them that went out to war, was in number three hundred thousand and seven and thirty thousand and five hundred sheep:
37 And the LORD's tribute of the sheep was six hundred and threescore and fifteen.
38 And the beeves were thirty and six thousand; of which the LORD's tribute was threescore and twelve.
39 And the asses were thirty thousand and five hundred; of which the LORD's tribute was threescore and one.
40 And the persons were sixteen thousand; of which the LORD's tribute was thirty and two persons.
41 And Moses gave the tribute, which was the LORD's heave offering, unto Eleazar the priest, as the LORD commanded Moses.
42 And of the children of Israel's half, which Moses divided from the men that warred,
43 (Now the half that pertained unto the congregation was three hundred thousand and thirty thousand and seven thousand and five hundred sheep,
44 And thirty and six thousand beeves,
45 And thirty thousand asses and five hundred,
46 And sixteen thousand persons;)
47 Even of the children of Israel's half, Moses took one portion of fifty, both of man and of beast, and gave them unto the Levites, which kept the charge of the tabernacle of the LORD; as the LORD commanded Moses.
48 And the officers which were over thousands of the host, the captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds, came near unto Moses:
49 And they said unto Moses, Thy servants have taken the sum of the men of war which are under our charge, and there lacketh not one man of us.
50 We have therefore brought an oblation for the LORD, what every man hath gotten, of jewels of gold, chains, and bracelets, rings, earrings, and tablets, to make an atonement for our souls before the LORD.
51 And Moses and Eleazar the priest took the gold of them, even all wrought jewels.
52 And all the gold of the offering that they offered up to the LORD, of the captains of thousands, and of the captains of hundreds, was sixteen thousand seven hundred and fifty shekels.
53 (For the men of war had taken spoil, every man for himself.)
54 And Moses and Eleazar the priest took the gold of the captains of thousands and of hundreds, and brought it into the tabernacle of the congregation, for a memorial for the children of Israel before the LORD.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 32

1 Now the children of Reuben and the children of Gad had a very great multitude of cattle: and when they saw the land of Jazer, and the land of Gilead, that, behold, the place was a place for cattle;
2 The children of Gad and the children of Reuben came and spake unto Moses, and to Eleazar the priest, and unto the princes of the congregation, saying,
3 Ataroth, and Dibon, and Jazer, and Nimrah, and Heshbon, and Elealeh, and Shebam, and Nebo, and Beon,
4 Even the country which the LORD smote before the congregation of Israel, is a land for cattle, and thy servants have cattle:
5 Wherefore, said they, if we have found grace in thy sight, let this land be given unto thy servants for a possession, and bring us not over Jordan.
6 And Moses said unto the children of Gad and to the children of Reuben, Shall your brethren go to war, and shall ye sit here?
7 And wherefore discourage ye the heart of the children of Israel from going over into the land which the LORD hath given them?
8 Thus did your fathers, when I sent them from Kadeshbarnea to see the land.
9 For when they went up unto the valley of Eshcol, and saw the land, they discouraged the heart of the children of Israel, that they should not go into the land which the LORD had given them.
10 And the LORD's anger was kindled the same time, and he sware, saying,
11 Surely none of the men that came up out of Egypt, from twenty years old and upward, shall see the land which I sware unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob; because they have not wholly followed me:
12 Save Caleb the son of Jephunneh the Kenezite, and Joshua the son of Nun: for they have wholly followed the LORD.
13 And the LORD's anger was kindled against Israel, and he made them wander in the wilderness forty years, until all the generation, that had done evil in the sight of the LORD, was consumed.
14 And, behold, ye are risen up in your fathers' stead, an increase of sinful men, to augment yet the fierce anger of the LORD toward Israel.
15 For if ye turn away from after him, he will yet again leave them in the wilderness; and ye shall destroy all this people.
16 And they came near unto him, and said, We will build sheepfolds here for our cattle, and cities for our little ones:
17 But we ourselves will go ready armed before the children of Israel, until we have brought them unto their place: and our little ones shall dwell in the fenced cities because of the inhabitants of the land.
18 We will not return unto our houses, until the children of Israel have inherited every man his inheritance.
19 For we will not inherit with them on yonder side Jordan, or forward; because our inheritance is fallen to us on this side Jordan eastward.
20 And Moses said unto them, If ye will do this thing, if ye will go armed before the LORD to war,
21 And will go all of you armed over Jordan before the LORD, until he hath driven out his enemies from before him,
22 And the land be subdued before the LORD: then afterward ye shall return, and be guiltless before the LORD, and before Israel; and this land shall be your possession before the LORD.
23 But if ye will not do so, behold, ye have sinned against the LORD: and be sure your sin will find you out.
24 Build you cities for your little ones, and folds for your sheep; and do that which hath proceeded out of your mouth.
25 And the children of Gad and the children of Reuben spake unto Moses, saying, Thy servants will do as my lord commandeth.
26 Our little ones, our wives, our flocks, and all our cattle, shall be there in the cities of Gilead:
27 But thy servants will pass over, every man armed for war, before the LORD to battle, as my lord saith.
28 So concerning them Moses commanded Eleazar the priest, and Joshua the son of Nun, and the chief fathers of the tribes of the children of Israel:
29 And Moses said unto them, If the children of Gad and the children of Reuben will pass with you over Jordan, every man armed to battle, before the LORD, and the land shall be subdued before you; then ye shall give them the land of Gilead for a possession:
30 But if they will not pass over with you armed, they shall have possessions among you in the land of Canaan.
31 And the children of Gad and the children of Reuben answered, saying, As the LORD hath said unto thy servants, so will we do.
32 We will pass over armed before the LORD into the land of Canaan, that the possession of our inheritance on this side Jordan may be ours.
33 And Moses gave unto them, even to the children of Gad, and to the children of Reuben, and unto half the tribe of Manasseh the son of Joseph, the kingdom of Sihon king of the Amorites, and the kingdom of Og king of Bashan, the land, with the cities thereof in the coasts, even the cities of the country round about.
34 And the children of Gad built Dibon, and Ataroth, and Aroer,
35 And Atroth, Shophan, and Jaazer, and Jogbehah,
36 And Bethnimrah, and Bethharan, fenced cities: and folds for sheep.
37 And the children of Reuben built Heshbon, and Elealeh, and Kirjathaim,
38 And Nebo, and Baalmeon, (their names being changed,) and Shibmah: and gave other names unto the cities which they builded.
39 And the children of Machir the son of Manasseh went to Gilead, and took it, and dispossessed the Amorite which was in it.
40 And Moses gave Gilead unto Machir the son of Manasseh; and he dwelt therein.
41 And Jair the son of Manasseh went and took the small towns thereof, and called them Havothjair.
42 And Nobah went and took Kenath, and the villages thereof, and called it Nobah, after his own name.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 33

1 These are the journeys of the children of Israel, which went forth out of the land of Egypt with their armies under the hand of Moses and Aaron.
2 And Moses wrote their goings out according to their journeys by the commandment of the LORD: and these are their journeys according to their goings out.
3 And they departed from Rameses in the first month, on the fifteenth day of the first month; on the morrow after the passover the children of Israel went out with an high hand in the sight of all the Egyptians.
4 For the Egyptians buried all their firstborn, which the LORD had smitten among them: upon their gods also the LORD executed judgements.
5 And the children of Israel removed from Rameses, and pitched in Succoth.
6 And they departed from Succoth, and pitched in Etham, which is in the edge of the wilderness.
7 And they removed from Etham, and turned again unto Pihahiroth, which is before Baalzephon: and they pitched before Migdol.
8 And they departed from before Pihahiroth, and passed through the midst of the sea into the wilderness, and went three days' journey in the wilderness of Etham, and pitched in Marah.
9 And they removed from Marah, and came unto Elim: and in Elim were twelve fountains of water, and threescore and ten palm trees; and they pitched there.
10 And they removed from Elim, and encamped by the Red sea.
11 And they removed from the Red sea, and encamped in the wilderness of Sin.
12 And they took their journey out of the wilderness of Sin, and encamped in Dophkah.
13 And they departed from Dophkah, and encamped in Alush.
14 And they removed from Alush, and encamped at Rephidim, where was no water for the people to drink.
15 And they departed from Rephidim, and pitched in the wilderness of Sinai.
16 And they removed from the desert of Sinai, and pitched at Kibrothhattaavah.
17 And they departed from Kibrothhattaavah, and encamped at Hazeroth.
18 And they departed from Hazeroth, and pitched in Rithmah.
19 And they departed from Rithmah, and pitched at Rimmonparez.
20 And they departed from Rimmonparez, and pitched in Libnah.
21 And they removed from Libnah, and pitched at Rissah.
22 And they journeyed from Rissah, and pitched in Kehelathah.
23 And they went from Kehelathah, and pitched in mount Shapher.
24 And they removed from mount Shapher, and encamped in Haradah.
25 And they removed from Haradah, and pitched in Makheloth.
26 And they removed from Makheloth, and encamped at Tahath.
27 And they departed from Tahath, and pitched at Tarah.
28 And they removed from Tarah, and pitched in Mithcah.
29 And they went from Mithcah, and pitched in Hashmonah.
30 And they departed from Hashmonah, and encamped at Moseroth.

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31 And they departed from Moseroth, and pitched in Benejaakan.
32 And they removed from Benejaakan, and encamped at Horhagidgad.
33 And they went from Horhagidgad, and pitched in Jotbathah.
34 And they removed from Jotbathah, and encamped at Ebronah.
35 And they departed from Ebronah, and encamped at Eziongaber.
36 And they removed from Eziongaber, and pitched in the wilderness of Zin, which is Kadesh.
37 And they removed from Kadesh, and pitched in mount Hor, in the edge of the land of Edom.
38 And Aaron the priest went up into mount Hor at the commandment of the LORD, and died there, in the fortieth year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt, in the first day of the fifth month.
39 And Aaron was an hundred and twenty and three years old when he died in mount Hor.
40 And king Arad the Canaanite, which dwelt in the south in the land of Canaan, heard of the coming of the children of Israel.
41 And they departed from mount Hor, and pitched in Zalmonah.
42 And they departed from Zalmonah, and pitched in Punon.
43 And they departed from Punon, and pitched in Oboth.
44 And they departed from Oboth, and pitched in Ijeabarim, in the border of Moab.
45 And they departed from Iim, and pitched in Dibongad.
46 And they removed from Dibongad, and encamped in Almondiblathaim.
47 And they removed from Almondiblathaim, and pitched in the mountains of Abarim, before Nebo.
48 And they departed from the mountains of Abarim, and pitched in the plains of Moab by Jordan near Jericho.
49 And they pitched by Jordan, from Bethjesimoth even unto Abelshittim in the plains of Moab.
50 And the LORD spake unto Moses in the plains of Moab by Jordan near Jericho, saying,
51 Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, When ye are passed over Jordan into the land of Canaan;
52 Then ye shall drive out all the inhabitants of the land from before you, and destroy all their pictures, and destroy all their molten images, and quite pluck down all their high places:
53 And ye shall dispossess the inhabitants of the land, and dwell therein: for I have given you the land to possess it.
54 And ye shall divide the land by lot for an inheritance among your families: and to the more ye shall give the more inheritance, and to the fewer ye shall give the less inheritance: every man's inheritance shall be in the place where his lot falleth; according to the tribes of your fathers ye shall inherit.
55 But if ye will not drive out the inhabitants of the land from before you; then it shall come to pass, that those which ye let remain of them shall be pricks in your eyes, and thorns in your sides, and shall vex you in the land wherein ye dwell.
56 Moreover it shall come to pass, that I shall do unto you, as I thought to do unto them.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 34

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 Command the children of Israel, and say unto them, When ye come into the land of Canaan; (this is the land that shall fall unto you for an inheritance, even the land of Canaan with the coasts thereof:)
3 Then your south quarter shall be from the wilderness of Zin along by the coast of Edom, and your south border shall be the outmost coast of the salt sea eastward:
4 And your border shall turn from the south to the ascent of Akrabbim, and pass on to Zin: and the going forth thereof shall be from the south to Kadeshbarnea, and shall go on to Hazaraddar, and pass on to Azmon:
5 And the border shall fetch a compass from Azmon unto the river of Egypt, and the goings out of it shall be at the sea.
6 And as for the western border, ye shall even have the great sea for a border: this shall be your west border.
7 And this shall be your north border: from the great sea ye shall point out for you mount Hor:
8 From mount Hor ye shall point out your border unto the entrance of Hamath; and the goings forth of the border shall be to Zedad:
9 And the border shall go on to Ziphron, and the goings out of it shall be at Hazarenan: this shall be your north border.
10 And ye shall point out your east border from Hazarenan to Shepham:
11 And the coast shall go down from Shepham to Riblah, on the east side of Ain; and the border shall descend, and shall reach unto the side of the sea of Chinnereth eastward:
12 And the border shall go down to Jordan, and the goings out of it shall be at the salt sea: this shall be your land with the coasts thereof round about.
13 And Moses commanded the children of Israel, saying, This is the land which ye shall inherit by lot, which the LORD commanded to give unto the nine tribes, and to the half tribe:
14 For the tribe of the children of Reuben according to the house of their fathers, and the tribe of the children of Gad according to the house of their fathers, have received their inheritance; and half the tribe of Manasseh have received their inheritance:
15 The two tribes and the half tribe have received their inheritance on this side Jordan near Jericho eastward, toward the sunrising.
16 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
17 These are the names of the men which shall divide the land unto you: Eleazar the priest, and Joshua the son of Nun.
18 And ye shall take one prince of every tribe, to divide the land by inheritance.
19 And the names of the men are these: Of the tribe of Judah, Caleb the son of Jephunneh.
20 And of the tribe of the children of Simeon, Shemuel the son of Ammihud.
21 Of the tribe of Benjamin, Elidad the son of Chislon.
22 And the prince of the tribe of the children of Dan, Bukki the son of Jogli.
23 The prince of the children of Joseph, for the tribe of the children of Manasseh, Hanniel the son of Ephod.
24 And the prince of the tribe of the children of Ephraim, Kemuel the son of Shiphtan.
25 And the prince of the tribe of the children of Zebulun, Elizaphan the son of Parnach.
26 And the prince of the tribe of the children of Issachar, Paltiel the son of Azzan.
27 And the prince of the tribe of the children of Asher, Ahihud the son of Shelomi.
28 And the prince of the tribe of the children of Naphtali, Pedahel the son of Ammihud.
29 These are they whom the LORD commanded to divide the inheritance unto the children of Israel in the land of Canaan.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 35

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses in the plains of Moab by Jordan near Jericho, saying,
2 Command the children of Israel, that they give unto the Levites of the inheritance of their possession cities to dwell in; and ye shall give also unto the Levites suburbs for the cities round about them.
3 And the cities shall they have to dwell in; and the suburbs of them shall be for their cattle, and for their goods, and for all their beasts.
4 And the suburbs of the cities, which ye shall give unto the Levites, shall reach from the wall of the city and outward a thousand cubits round about.
5 And ye shall measure from without the city on the east side two thousand cubits, and on the south side two thousand cubits, and on the west side two thousand cubits, and on the north side two thousand cubits; and the city shall be in the midst: this shall be to them the suburbs of the cities.
6 And among the cities which ye shall give unto the Levites there shall be six cities for refuge, which ye shall appoint for the manslayer, that he may flee thither: and to them ye shall add forty and two cities.
7 So all the cities which ye shall give to the Levites shall be forty and eight cities: them shall ye give with their suburbs.
8 And the cities which ye shall give shall be of the possession of the children of Israel: from them that have many ye shall give many; but from them that have few ye shall give few: every one shall give of his cities unto the Levites according to his inheritance which he inheriteth.
9 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
10 Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, When ye be come over Jordan into the land of Canaan;
11 Then ye shall appoint you cities to be cities of refuge for you; that the slayer may flee thither, which killeth any person at unawares.
12 And they shall be unto you cities for refuge from the avenger; that the manslayer die not, until he stand before the congregation in judgement.
13 And of these cities which ye shall give six cities shall ye have for refuge.
14 Ye shall give three cities on this side Jordan, and three cities shall ye give in the land of Canaan, which shall be cities of refuge.
15 These six cities shall be a refuge, both for the children of Israel, and for the stranger, and for the sojourner among them: that every one that killeth any person unawares may flee thither.
16 And if he smite him with an instrument of iron, so that he die, he is a murderer: the murderer shall surely be put to death.
17 And if he smite him with throwing a stone, wherewith he may die, and he die, he is a murderer: the murderer shall surely be put to death.
18 Or if he smite him with an hand weapon of wood, wherewith he may die, and he die, he is a murderer: the murderer shall surely be put to death.
19 The revenger of blood himself shall slay the murderer: when he meeteth him, he shall slay him.
20 But if he thrust him of hatred, or hurl at him by laying of wait, that he die;
21 Or in enmity smite him with his hand, that he die: he that smote him shall surely be put to death; for he is a murderer: the revenger of blood shall slay the murderer, when he meeteth him.
22 But if he thrust him suddenly without enmity, or have cast upon him any thing without laying of wait,
23 Or with any stone, wherewith a man may die, seeing him not, and cast it upon him, that he die, and was not his enemy, neither sought his harm:
24 Then the congregation shall judge between the slayer and the revenger of blood according to these judgements:
25 And the congregation shall deliver the slayer out of the hand of the revenger of blood, and the congregation shall restore him to the city of his refuge, whither he was fled: and he shall abide in it unto the death of the high priest, which was anointed with the holy oil.
26 But if the slayer shall at any time come without the border of the city of his refuge, whither he was fled;
27 And the revenger of blood find him without the borders of the city of his refuge, and the revenger of blood kill the slayer; he shall not be guilty of blood:
28 Because he should have remained in the city of his refuge until the death of the high priest: but after the death of the high priest the slayer shall return into the land of his possession.
29 So these things shall be for a statute of judgement unto you throughout your generations in all your dwellings.
30 Whoso killeth any person, the murderer shall be put to death by the mouth of witnesses: but one witness shall not testify against any person to cause him to die.
31 Moreover ye shall take no satisfaction for the life of a murderer, which is guilty of death: but he shall be surely put to death.
32 And ye shall take no satisfaction for him that is fled to the city of his refuge, that he should come again to dwell in the land, until the death of the priest.
33 So ye shall not pollute the land wherein ye are: for blood it defileth the land: and the land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it.
34 Defile not therefore the land which ye shall inhabit, wherein I dwell: for I the LORD dwell among the children of Israel.

NUMBERS CHAPTER 36

1 And the chief fathers of the families of the children of Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh, of the families of the sons of Joseph, came near, and spake before Moses, and before the princes, the chief fathers of the children of Israel:
2 And they said, The LORD commanded my lord to give the land for an inheritance by lot to the children of Israel: and my lord was commanded by the LORD to give the inheritance of Zelophehad our brother unto his daughters.
3 And if they be married to any of the sons of the other tribes of the children of Israel, then shall their inheritance be taken from the inheritance of our fathers, and shall be put to the inheritance of the tribe whereunto they are received: so shall it be taken from the lot of our inheritance.
4 And when the jubile of the children of Israel shall be, then shall their inheritance be put unto the inheritance of the tribe whereunto they are received: so shall their inheritance be taken away from the inheritance of the tribe of our fathers.
5 And Moses commanded the children of Israel according to the word of the LORD, saying, The tribe of the sons of Joseph hath said well.
6 This is the thing which the LORD doth command concerning the daughters of Zelophehad, saying, Let them marry to whom they think best; only to the family of the tribe of their father shall they marry.
7 So shall not the inheritance of the children of Israel remove from tribe to tribe: for every one of the children of Israel shall keep himself to the inheritance of the tribe of his fathers.
8 And every daughter, that possesseth an inheritance in any tribe of the children of Israel, shall be wife unto one of the family of the tribe of her father, that the children of Israel may enjoy every man the inheritance of his fathers.
9 Neither shall the inheritance remove from one tribe to another tribe; but every one of the tribes of the children of Israel shall keep himself to his own inheritance.
10 Even as the LORD commanded Moses, so did the daughters of Zelophehad:
11 For Mahlah, Tirzah, and Hoglah, and Milcah, and Noah, the daughters of Zelophehad, were married unto their father's brothers' sons:
12 And they were married into the families of the sons of Manasseh the son of Joseph, and their inheritance remained in the tribe of the family of their father.

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13 These are the commandments and the judgements, which the LORD commanded by the hand of Moses unto the children of Israel in the plains of Moab by Jordan near Jericho.

DEUTERONOMY
The Fifth Book of Moses
Hebrew Title: Devarim ("The Law of Moses")

(Deuteronomy is a book in the Bible. It is the last of the five books of Moses, meaning it deals with Moses, the Israelites and their ancestors, and their relationship with God. The Hebrew name of the book is Devarim, which means 'people of the Word.' The Book of Deuteronomy, literally "second law" from Greek deuteros + nomos, is the fifth book of the Jewish Torah, where it is called Devarim which is Hebrew for "The Words [of Moses]" or "The Law [of Moses]". While Leviticus represents the First or Basic Law, Deuteronomics definitely outlines that what we nowadays would call The Civil Law.

Outline of the Narrative:

Chapters 1–30 of the book consist of three sermons or speeches delivered to the Israelites by Moses on the plains of Moab, shortly before they enter the Promised Land.

• Chapters 1–4: The journey through the wilderness from Horeb (Sinai) to Kadesh and then to Moab is recalled.

• Chapters 4–11: After a second introduction at 4:44–49 the events at Mount Horeb are recalled, with the giving of the Ten Commandments. Heads of families are urged to instruct those under their care in the law, warnings are made against serving gods other than Yahweh, the land promised to Israel is praised, and the people are urged to obedience.

• Chapters 12–26, the Deuteronomic code: Laws governing Israel's worship (chapters 12–16a), the appointment and regulation of community and religious leaders (16b–18), social regulation (19–25), and confession of identity and loyalty (26).

• Chapters 27–28: Blessings and curses for those who keep and break the law.

• Chapters 29–30: Concluding discourse on the covenant in the land of Moab, including all the laws in the Deuteronomic code (chapters 12–26) after those given at Horeb; Israel is again exhorted to obedience.

• Chapters 31–34: Joshua is installed as Moses's successor, Moses delivers the law to the Levites (a priestly caste), and ascends Mount Nebo or Pisgah, where he dies and is buried by God. The narrative of these events is interrupted by two poems, the Song of Moses and the Blessing of Moses.

The final verses, Deuteronomy 34:10–12, "never again did there arise in Israel a prophet like Moses," make a claim for the authoritative Deuteronomistic view of theology and its insistence that the worship of the Hebrew God as the sole deity of Israel was the only permissible religion, having been sealed by the greatest of prophets.

Contents or Torah Portions:

• Devarim, on Deuteronomy 1–3: Chiefs, scouts, Edom, Ammonites, Sihon, Og, land for two and a half tribes

• Va'etchanan, on Deuteronomy 3–7: Cities of refuge, Ten Commandments, Shema, exhortation, conquest instructions

• Eikev, on Deuteronomy 7–11: Obedience, taking the land, golden calf, Aaron's death, Levites' duties

• Re'eh, on Deuteronomy 11–16: Centralized worship, diet, tithes, sabbatical year, pilgrim festivals

• Shofetim, on Deuteronomy 16–21: Basic societal structure for the Israelites

• Ki Teitzei, on Deuteronomy 21–25: Miscellaneous laws on civil and domestic life

• Ki Tavo, on Deuteronomy 26–29: First fruits, tithes, blessings and curses, exhortation

• Nitzavim, on Deuteronomy 29–30: covenant, violation, choose blessing and curse

• Vayelech, on Deuteronomy 31: Encouragement, reading and writing the law

• Haazinu, on Deuteronomy 32: Punishment, punishment restrained, parting words

• V'Zot HaBerachah, on Deuteronomy 33–34: Farewell blessing and death of Moses.

Deuteronomic, Second or Civil Code

Deuteronomy 12–26, the Deuteronomic Code, is the oldest part of the book and the core around which the rest developed. It is a series of mitzvot (commands) to the Israelites regarding how they ought to conduct themselves in Canaan, the land promised by Yahweh, God of Israel. The following list organises most of the laws into thematic groups:

SECTION 1: Laws of religious observance

• All sacrifices are to be brought and vows are to be made at a central sanctuary (12:1–28).

• The worship of Canaanite gods is forbidden. The order is given to destroy their places of worship (12:29–31) and to commit genocide against Canaanites and others with "detestable" religious beliefs (20:16-18).

• Native mourning practices such as deliberate disfigurement are forbidden (14:1–2).

• The procedure for tithing produce or donating its equivalent is given (14:22–29).

• A catalogue of which animals are permitted and which forbidden for consumption is given (14:3–20).

• The consumption of animals which are found dead and have not been slaughtered is prohibited (14:21).

• Sacrificed animals must be without blemish (15:21, 17:1).

• First-born male livestock must be sacrificed (15:19–23).

• The Pilgrimage Festivals of Passover, Shavuot, and Sukkot are instituted (16:1–17).

• The worship at Asherah groves and setting up of ritual pillars are forbidden (16:21–22).

• Prohibition of mixing kinds (22:9-11).

• Tzitzit are obligatory (22:12).

SECTION 2: Laws concerning officials

• Judges are to be appointed in every city (16:18).

• Judges are to be impartial and bribery is forbidden (16:19–20).

• A central tribunal is established (17:8–13).

• Should the Israelites choose to be ruled by a King, regulations for the office are given (17:14–20).

• Regulations of the rights, and revenue, of the Levites are given (18:1–8).

• Concerning the future (unspecified) prophet (18:9–22).

• Regulations for the priesthood are given (23:1–8).

SECTION 3: Civil law

• Debts are to be released in the seventh year (15:1–11).

• Regulations of the institution of slavery and the procedure for freeing slaves (15:12–18).

• Regulations for the treatment of foreign wives taken in war (21:10-14)

• Regulations permitting taking slaves and plunder in war (20:14)

• Lost property, once found, is to be restored to its owner (22:1–4).

• Marriages between women and their stepsons are forbidden (22:30).

• The camp is to be kept clean (23:9–14).

• Usury is forbidden except for foreigners (23:19–20).

• Regulations for vows and pledges are given (23:21–23, 24:6, 24:10–13).

• The procedure for tzaraath (a disfigurative condition) is given (24:8–9).

• Hired workers are to be paid fairly (24:14–15).

• Justice is to be shown towards strangers, widows, and orphans (24:17–18).

• Portions of crops are to be given to the poor (24:19–22).

SECTION 4: Criminal law

• The rules for witnesses are given (19:15–21).

• The procedure for a bride who has been slandered is given (22:13–21).

• Various laws concerning adultery and rape are given (22:22–29).

• Kidnapping is forbidden (24:7).

• Just weights and measures are obligatory (25:13–16).)

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 1

1 These be the words which Moses spake unto all Israel on this side Jordan in the wilderness, in the plain over against the Red sea, between Paran, and Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth, and Dizahab.

2 (There are eleven days' journey from Horeb by the way of mount Seir unto Kadeshbarnea.)

3 And it came to pass in the fortieth year, in the eleventh month, on the first day of the month, that Moses spake unto the children of Israel, according unto all that the LORD had given him in commandment unto them;

4 After he had slain Sihon the king of the Amorites, which dwelt in Heshbon, and Og the king of Bashan, which dwelt at Astaroth in Edrei:

5 On this side Jordan, in the land of Moab, began Moses to declare this law, saying,

6 The LORD our God spake unto us in Horeb, saying, Ye have dwelt long enough in this mount:

7 Turn you, and take your journey, and go to the mount of the Amorites, and unto all the places nigh thereunto, in the plain, in the hills, and in the vale, and in the south, and by the sea side, to the land of the Canaanites, and unto Lebanon, unto the great river, the river Euphrates.

8 Behold, I have set the land before you: go in and possess the land which the LORD sware unto your fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to give unto them and to their seed after them.

9 And I spake unto you at that time, saying, I am not able to bear you myself alone:

10 The LORD your God hath multiplied you, and, behold, ye are this day as the stars of heaven for multitude.

11 (The LORD God of your fathers make you a thousand times so many more as ye are, and bless you, as he hath promised you!)

12 How can I myself alone bear your cumbrance, and your burden, and your strife?

13 Take you wise men, and understanding, and known among your tribes, and I will make them rulers over you.

14 And ye answered me, and said, The thing which thou hast spoken is good for us to do.

15 So I took the chief of your tribes, wise men, and known, and made them heads over you, captains over thousands, and captains over hundreds, and captains over fifties, and captains over tens, and officers among your tribes.

16 And I charged your judges at that time, saying, Hear the causes between your brethren, and judge righteously between every man and his brother, and the stranger that is with him.

17 Ye shall not respect persons in judgement; but ye shall hear the small as well as the great; ye shall not be afraid of the face of man; for the judgement is God's: and the cause that is too hard for you, bring it unto me, and I will hear it.

18 And I commanded you at that time all the things which ye should do.

19 And when we departed from Horeb, we went through all that great and terrible wilderness, which ye saw by the way of the mountain of the Amorites, as the LORD our God commanded us; and we came to Kadeshbarnea.

20 And I said unto you, Ye are come unto the mountain of the Amorites, which the LORD our God doth give unto us.

21 Behold, the LORD thy God hath set the land before thee: go up and possess it, as the LORD God of thy fathers hath said unto thee; fear not, neither be discouraged.

22 And ye came near unto me every one of you, and said, We will send men before us, and they shall search us out the land, and bring us word again by what way we must go up, and into what cities we shall come.

23 And the saying pleased me well: and I took twelve men of you, one of a tribe:

24 And they turned and went up into the mountain, and came unto the valley of Eshcol, and searched it out.

25 And they took of the fruit of the land in their hands, and brought it down unto us, and brought us word again, and said, It is a good land which the LORD our God doth give us.

26 Notwithstanding ye would not go up, but rebelled against the commandment of the LORD your God:

27 And ye murmured in your tents, and said, Because the LORD hated us, he hath brought us forth out of the land of Egypt, to deliver us into the hand of the Amorites, to destroy us.

28 Whither shall we go up? our brethren have discouraged our heart, saying, The people is greater and taller than we; the cities are great and walled up to heaven; and moreover we have seen the sons of the Anakims there.

29 Then I said unto you, Dread not, neither be afraid of them.

30 The LORD your God which goeth before you, he shall fight for you, according to all that he did for you in Egypt before your eyes;

31 And in the wilderness, where thou hast seen how that the LORD thy God bare thee, as a man doth bear his son, in all the way that ye went, until ye came into this place.

32 Yet in this thing ye did not believe the LORD your God,

33 Who went in the way before you, to search you out a place to pitch your tents in, in fire by night, to shew you by what way ye should go, and in a cloud by day.

34 And the LORD heard the voice of your words, and was wroth, and sware, saying,

35 Surely there shall not one of these men of this evil generation see that good land, which I sware to give unto your fathers.

36 Save Caleb the son of Jephunneh; he shall see it, and to him will I give the land that he hath trodden upon, and to his children, because he hath wholly followed the LORD.

37 Also the LORD was angry with me for your sakes, saying, Thou also shalt not go in thither.

38 But Joshua the son of Nun, which standeth before thee, he shall go in thither: encourage him: for he shall cause Israel to inherit it.

39 Moreover your little ones, which ye said should be a prey, and your children, which in that day had no knowledge between good and evil, they shall go in thither, and unto them will I give it, and they shall possess it.

40 But as for you, turn you, and take your journey into the wilderness by the way of the Red sea.

41 Then ye answered and said unto me, We have sinned against the LORD, we will go up and fight, according to all that the LORD our God commanded us. And when ye had girded on every man his weapons of war, ye were ready to go up into the hill.

42 And the LORD said unto me, Say unto them. Go not up, neither fight; for I am not among you; lest ye be smitten before your enemies.

43 So I spake unto you; and ye would not hear, but rebelled against the commandment of the LORD, and went presumptuously up into the hill.

44 And the Amorites, which dwelt in that mountain, came out against you, and chased you, as bees do, and destroyed you in Seir, even unto Hormah.

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45 And ye returned and wept before the LORD; but the LORD would not hearken to your voice, nor give ear unto you.
46 So ye abode in Kadesh many days, according unto the days that ye abode there.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 2

1 Then we turned, and took our journey into the wilderness by the way of the Red sea, as the LORD spake unto me: and we compassed mount Seir many days.
2 And the LORD spake unto me, saying,
3 Ye have compassed this mountain long enough: turn you northward.
4 And command thou the people, saying, Ye are to pass through the coast of your brethren the children of Esau, which dwell in Seir; and they shall be afraid of you: take ye good heed unto yourselves therefore:
5 Meddle not with them; for I will not give you of their land, no, not so much as a foot breadth; because I have given mount Seir unto Esau for a possession.
6 Ye shall buy meat of them for money, that ye may eat; and ye shall also buy water of them for money, that ye may drink.
7 For the LORD thy God hath blessed thee in all the works of thy hand: he knoweth thy walking through this great wilderness: these forty years the LORD thy God hath been with thee; thou hast lacked nothing.
8 And when we passed by from our brethren the children of Esau, which dwelt in Seir, through the way of the plain from Elath, and from Eziongaber, we turned and passed by the way of the wilderness of Moab.
9 And the LORD said unto me, Distress not the Moabites, neither contend with them in battle: for I will not give thee of their land for a possession; because I have given Ar unto the children of Lot for a possession.
10 The Emims dwelt therein in times past, a people great, and many, and tall, as the Anakims;
11 Which also were accounted giants, as the Anakims; but the Moabites called them Emims.
12 The Horims also dwelt in Seir beforetime; but the children of Esau succeeded them, when they had destroyed them from before them, and dwelt in their stead; as Israel did unto the land of his possession, which the LORD gave unto them.
13 Now rise up, said I, and get you over the brook Zered. And we went over the brook Zered.
14 And the space in which we came from Kadeshbarnea, until we were come over the brook Zered, was thirty and eight years; until all the generation of the men of war were wasted out from among the host, as the LORD sware unto them.
15 For indeed the hand of the LORD was against them, to destroy them from among the host, until they were consumed.
16 So it came to pass, when all the men of war were consumed and dead from among the people,
17 That the LORD spake unto me, saying,
18 Thou art to pass over through Ar, the coast of Moab, this day:
19 And when thou comest nigh over against the children of Ammon, distress them not, nor meddle with them: for I will not give thee of the land of the children of Ammon any possession; because I have given it unto the children of Lot for a possession.
20 (That also was accounted a land of giants: giants dwelt therein in old time; and the Ammonites call them Zamzummims;
21 A people great, and many, and tall, as the Anakims; but the LORD destroyed them before them; and they succeeded them, and dwelt in their stead:
22 As he did to the children of Esau, which dwelt in Seir, when he destroyed the Horims from before them; and they succeeded them, and dwelt in their stead even unto this day:
23 And the Avims which dwelt in Hazerim, even unto Azzah, the Caphtorims, which came forth out of Caphtor, destroyed them, and dwelt in their stead.)
24 Rise ye up, take your journey, and pass over the river Arnon: behold, I have given into thine hand Sihon the Amorite, king of Heshbon, and his land: begin to possess it, and contend with him in battle.
25 This day will I begin to put the dread of thee and the fear of thee upon the nations that are under the whole heaven, who shall hear report of thee, and shall tremble, and be in anguish because of thee.
26 And I sent messengers out of the wilderness of Kedemoth unto Sihon king of Heshbon with words of peace, saying,
27 Let me pass through thy land: I will go along by the high way, I will neither turn unto the right hand nor to the left.
28 Thou shalt sell me meat for money, that I may eat; and give me water for money, that I may drink: only I will pass through on my feet;
29 (As the children of Esau which dwell in Seir, and the Moabites which dwell in Ar, did unto me;) until I shall pass over Jordan into the land which the LORD our God giveth us.
30 But Sihon king of Heshbon would not let us pass by him: for the LORD thy God hardened his spirit, and made his heart obstinate, that he might deliver him into thy hand, as appeareth this day.
31 And the LORD said unto me, Behold, I have begun to give Sihon and his land before thee: begin to possess, that thou mayest inherit his land.
32 Then Sihon came out against us, he and all his people, to fight at Jahaz.
33 And the LORD our God delivered him before us; and we smote him, and his sons, and all his people.
34 And we took all his cities at that time, and utterly destroyed the men, and the women, and the little ones, of every city, we left none to remain:
35 Only the cattle we took for a prey unto ourselves, and the spoil of the cities which we took.
36 From Aroer, which is by the brink of the river of Arnon, and from the city that is by the river, even unto Gilead, there was not one city too strong for us: the LORD our God delivered all unto us:
37 Only unto the land of the children of Ammon thou camest not, nor unto any place of the river Jabbok, nor unto the cities in the mountains, nor unto whatsoever the LORD our God forbad us.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 3

1 Then we turned, and went up the way to Bashan: and Og the king of Bashan came out against us, he and all his people, to battle at Edrei.
2 And the LORD said unto me, Fear him not: for I will deliver him, and all his people, and his land, into thy hand; and thou shalt do unto him as thou didst unto Sihon king of the Amorites, which dwelt at Heshbon.
3 So the LORD our God delivered into our hands Og also, the king of Bashan, and all his people: and we smote him until none was left to him remaining.
4 And we took all his cities at that time, there was not a city which we took not from them, threescore cities, all the region of Argob, the kingdom of Og in Bashan.
5 All these cities were fenced with high walls, gates, and bars; beside unwalled towns a great many.
6 And we utterly destroyed them, as we did unto Sihon king of Heshbon, utterly destroying the men, women, and children, of every city.
7 But all the cattle, and the spoil of the cities, we took for a prey to ourselves.
8 And we took at that time out of the hand of the two kings of the Amorites the land that was on this side Jordan, from the river of Arnon unto mount Hermon;
9 (Which Hermon the Sidonians call Sirion; and the Amorites call it Shenir;)
10 All the cities of the plain, and all Gilead, and all Bashan, unto Salchah and Edrei, cities of the kingdom of Og in Bashan.
11 For only Og king of Bashan remained of the remnant of giants; behold his bedstead was a bedstead of iron; is it not in Rabbath of the children of Ammon? nine cubits was the length thereof, and four cubits the breadth of it, after the cubit of a man.
12 And this land, which we possessed at that time, from Aroer, which is by the river Arnon, and half mount Gilead, and the cities thereof, gave I unto the Reubenites and to the Gadites.
13 And the rest of Gilead, and all Bashan, being the kingdom of Og, gave I unto the half tribe of Manasseh; all the region of Argob, with all Bashan, which was called the land of giants.
14 Jair the son of Manasseh took all the country of Argob unto the coasts of Geshuri and Maachathi; and called them after his own name, Bashanhavothjair, unto this day.
15 And I gave Gilead unto Machir.
16 And unto the Reubenites and unto the Gadites I gave from Gilead even unto the river Arnon half the valley, and the border even unto the river Jabbok, which is the border of the children of Ammon;
17 The plain also, and Jordan, and the coast thereof, from Chinnereth even unto the sea of the plain, even the salt sea, under Ashdothpisgah eastward.
18 And I commanded you at that time, saying, The LORD your God hath given you this land to possess it: ye shall pass over armed before your brethren the children of Israel, all that are meet for the war.
19 But your wives, and your little ones, and your cattle, (for I know that ye have much cattle,) shall abide in your cities which I have given you;
20 Until the LORD have given rest unto your brethren, as well as unto you, and until they also possess the land which the LORD your God hath given them beyond Jordan: and then shall ye return every man unto his possession, which I have given you.
21 And I commanded Joshua at that time, saying, Thine eyes have seen all that the LORD your God hath done unto these two kings: so shall the LORD do unto all the kingdoms whither thou passest.
22 Ye shall not fear them: for the LORD your God he shall fight for you.
23 And I besought the LORD at that time, saying,
24 O Lord GOD, thou hast begun to shew thy servant thy greatness, and thy mighty hand: for what God is there in heaven or in earth, that can do according to thy works, and according to thy might?
25 I pray thee, let me go over, and see the good land that is beyond Jordan, that goodly mountain, and Lebanon.
26 But the LORD was wroth with me for your sakes, and would not hear me: and the LORD said unto me, Let it suffice thee; speak no more unto me of this matter.
27 Get thee up into the top of Pisgah, and lift up thine eyes westward, and northward, and southward, and eastward, and behold it with thine eyes: for thou shalt not go over this Jordan.
28 But charge Joshua, and encourage him, and strengthen him: for he shall go over before this people, and he shall cause them to inherit the land which thou shalt see.
29 So we abode in the valley over against Bethpeor.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 4

1 Now therefore hearken, O Israel, unto the statutes and unto the judgements, which I teach you, for to do them, that ye may live, and go in and possess the land which the LORD God of your fathers giveth you.
2 Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish ought from it, that ye may keep the commandments of the LORD your God which I command you.
3 Your eyes have seen what the LORD did because of Baalpeor: for all the men that followed Baalpeor, the LORD thy God hath destroyed them from among you.
4 But ye that did cleave unto the LORD your God are alive every one of you this day.
5 Behold, I have taught you statutes and judgements, even as the LORD my God commanded me, that ye should do so in the land whither ye go to possess it.
6 Keep therefore and do them; for this is your wisdom and your understanding in the sight of the nations, which shall hear all these statutes, and say, Surely this great nation is a wise and understanding people.
7 For what nation is there so great, who hath God so nigh unto them, as the LORD our God is in all things that we call upon him for?
8 And what nation is there so great, that hath statutes and judgements so righteous as all this law, which I set before you this day?
9 Only take heed to thyself, and keep thy soul diligently, lest thou forget the things which thine eyes have seen, and lest they depart from thy heart all the days of thy life: but teach them thy sons, and thy sons' sons;
10 Specially the day that thou stoodest before the LORD thy God in Horeb, when the LORD said unto me, Gather me the people together, and I will make them hear my words, that they may learn to fear me all the days that they shall live upon the earth, and that they may teach their children.
11 And ye came near and stood under the mountain; and the mountain burned with fire unto the midst of heaven, with darkness, clouds, and thick darkness.
12 And the LORD spake unto you out of the midst of the fire: ye heard the voice of the words, but saw no similitude; only ye heard a voice.
13 And he declared unto you his covenant, which he commanded you to perform, even ten commandments; and he wrote them upon two tables of stone.
14 And the LORD commanded me at that time to teach you statutes and judgements, that ye might do them in the land whither ye go over to possess it.
15 Take ye therefore good heed unto yourselves; for ye saw no manner of similitude on the day that the LORD spake unto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire:
16 Lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image, the similitude of any figure, the likeness of male or female,
17 The likeness of any beast that is on the earth, the likeness of any winged fowl that flieth in the air,
18 The likeness of any thing that creepeth on the ground, the likeness of any fish that is in the waters beneath the earth:
19 And lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou seest the sun, and the moon, and the stars, even all the host of heaven, shouldest be driven to worship them, and serve them, which the LORD thy God hath divided unto all nations under the whole heaven.
20 But the LORD hath taken you, and brought you forth out of the iron furnace, even out of Egypt, to be unto him a people of inheritance, as ye are this day.
21 Furthermore the LORD was angry with me for your sakes, and sware that I should not go over Jordan, and that I should not go in unto that good land, which the LORD thy God giveth thee for an inheritance:
22 But I must die in this land, I must not go over Jordan: but ye shall go over, and possess that good land.
23 Take heed unto yourselves, lest ye forget the covenant of the LORD your God, which he made with you, and make you a graven image, or the likeness of any thing, which the LORD thy God hath forbidden thee.

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24 For the LORD thy God is a consuming fire, even a jealous God.
25 When thou shalt beget children, and children's children, and ye shall have remained long in the land, and shall corrupt yourselves, and make a graven image, or the likeness of any thing, and shall do evil in the sight of the LORD thy God, to provoke him to anger:
26 I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day, that ye shall soon utterly perish from off the land whereunto ye go over Jordan to possess it; ye shall not prolong your days upon it, but shall utterly be destroyed.
27 And the LORD shall scatter you among the nations, and ye shall be left few in number among the heathen, whither the LORD shall lead you.
28 And there ye shall serve gods, the work of men's hands, wood and stone, which neither see, nor hear, nor eat, nor smell.
29 But if from thence thou shalt seek the LORD thy God, thou shalt find him, if thou seek him with all thy heart and with all thy soul.
30 When thou art in tribulation, and all these things are come upon thee, even in the latter days, if thou turn to the LORD thy God, and shalt be obedient unto his voice;
31 (For the LORD thy God is a merciful God;) he will not forsake thee, neither destroy thee, nor forget the covenant of thy fathers which he sware unto them.
32 For ask now of the days that are past, which were before thee, since the day that God created man upon the earth, and ask from the one side of heaven unto the other, whether there hath been any such thing as this great thing is, or hath been heard like it?
33 Did ever people hear the voice of God speaking out of the midst of the fire, as thou hast heard, and live?
34 Or hath God assayed to go and take him a nation from the midst of another nation, by temptations, by signs, and by wonders, and by war, and by a mighty hand, and by a stretched out arm, and by great terrors, according to all that the LORD your God did for you in Egypt before your eyes?
35 Unto thee it was shewed, that thou mightest know that the LORD he is God; there is none else beside him.
36 Out of heaven he made thee to hear his voice, that he might instruct thee: and upon earth he shewed thee his great fire; and thou heardest his words out of the midst of the fire.
37 And because he loved thy fathers, therefore he chose their seed after them, and brought thee out in his sight with his mighty power out of Egypt;
38 To drive out nations from before thee greater and mightier than thou art, to bring thee in, to give thee their land for an inheritance, as it is this day.
39 Know therefore this day, and consider it in thine heart, that the LORD he is God in heaven above, and upon the earth beneath: there is none else.
40 Thou shalt keep therefore his statutes, and his commandments, which I command thee this day, that it may go well with thee, and with thy children after thee, and that thou mayest prolong thy days upon the earth, which the LORD thy God giveth thee, for ever.
41 Then Moses severed three cities on this side Jordan toward the sunrising;
42 That the slayer might flee thither, which should kill his neighbour unawares, and hated him not in times past; and that fleeing unto one of these cities he might live:
43 Namely, Bezer in the wilderness, in the plain country, of the Reubenites; and Ramoth in Gilead, of the Gadites; and Golan in Bashan, of the Manassites.
44 And this is the law which Moses set before the children of Israel:
45 These are the testimonies, and the statutes, and the judgements, which Moses spake unto the children of Israel, after they came forth out of Egypt.
46 On this side Jordan, in the valley over against Bethpeor, in the land of Sihon king of the Amorites, who dwelt at Heshbon, whom Moses and the children of Israel smote, after they were come forth out of Egypt:
47 And they possessed his land, and the land of Og king of Bashan, two kings of the Amorites, which were on this side Jordan toward the sunrising;
48 From Aroer, which is by the bank of the river Arnon, even unto mount Sion, which is Hermon,
49 And all the plain on this side Jordan eastward, even unto the sea of the plain, under the springs of Pisgah.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 5

1 And Moses called all Israel, and said unto them, Hear, O Israel, the statutes and judgements which I speak in your ears this day, that ye may learn them, and keep, and do them.
2 The LORD our God made a covenant with us in Horeb.
3 The LORD made not this covenant with our fathers, but with us, even us, who are all of us here alive this day.
4 The LORD talked with you face to face in the mount out of the midst of the fire,
5 (I stood between the LORD and you at that time, to shew you the word of the LORD: for ye were afraid by reason of the fire, and went not up into the mount;) saying,
6 I am the LORD thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, from the house of bondage.
7 Thou shalt have none other gods before me.
8 Thou shalt not make thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the waters beneath the earth:
9 Thou shalt not bow down thyself unto them, nor serve them: for I the LORD thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me,
10 And shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me and keep my commandments.
11 Thou shalt not take the name of the LORD thy God in vain: for the LORD will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain.
12 Keep the sabbath day to sanctify it, as the LORD thy God hath commanded thee.
13 Six days thou shalt labour, and do all thy work:
14 But the seventh day is the sabbath of the LORD thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, nor thine ox, nor thine ass, nor any of thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates; that thy manservant and thy maidservant may rest as well as thou.
15 And remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the LORD thy God brought thee out thence through a mighty hand and by a stretched out arm: therefore the LORD thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath day.
16 Honour thy father and thy mother, as the LORD thy God hath commanded thee; that thy days may be prolonged, and that it may go well with thee, in the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee.
17 Thou shalt not kill.
18 Neither shalt thou commit adultery.
19 Neither shalt thou steal.
20 Neither shalt thou bear false witness against thy neighbour.
21 Neither shalt thou desire thy neighbour's wife, neither shalt thou covet thy neighbour's house, his field, or his manservant, or his maidservant, his ox, or his ass, or any thing that is thy neighbour's.
22 These words the LORD spake unto all your assembly in the mount out of the midst of the fire, of the cloud, and of the thick darkness, with a great voice: and he added no more. And he wrote them in two tables of stone, and delivered them unto me.
23 And it came to pass, when ye heard the voice out of the midst of the darkness, (for the mountain did burn with fire,) that ye came near unto me, even all the heads of your tribes, and your elders;
24 And ye said, Behold, the LORD our God hath shewed us his glory and his greatness, and we have heard his voice out of the midst of the fire: we have seen this day that God doth talk with man, and he liveth.
25 Now therefore why should we die? for this great fire will consume us: if we hear the voice of the LORD our God any more, then we shall die.
26 For who is there of all flesh, that hath heard the voice of the living God speaking out of the midst of the fire, as we have, and lived?
27 Go thou near, and hear all that the LORD our God shall say: and speak thou unto us all that the LORD our God shall speak unto thee; and we will hear it, and do it.
28 And the LORD heard the voice of your words, when ye spake unto me; and the LORD said unto me, I have heard the voice of the words of this people, which they have spoken unto thee: they have well said all that they have spoken.
29 O that there were such an heart in them, that they would fear me, and keep all my commandments always, that it might be well with them, and with their children for ever!
30 Go say to them, Get you into your tents again.
31 But as for thee, stand thou here by me, and I will speak unto thee all the commandments, and the statutes, and the judgements, which thou shalt teach them, that they may do them in the land which I give them to possess it.
32 Ye shall observe to do therefore as the LORD your God hath commanded you: ye shall not turn aside to the right hand or to the left.
33 Ye shall walk in all the ways which the LORD your God hath commanded you, that ye may live, and that it may be well with you, and that ye may prolong your days in the land which ye shall possess.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 6

1 Now these are the commandments, the statutes, and the judgements, which the LORD your God commanded to teach you, that ye might do them in the land whither ye go to possess it:
2 That thou mightest fear the LORD thy God, to keep all his statutes and his commandments, which I command thee, thou, and thy son, and thy son's son, all the days of thy life; and that thy days may be prolonged.
3 Hear therefore, O Israel, and observe to do it; that it may be well with thee, and that ye may increase mightily, as the LORD God of thy fathers hath promised thee, in the land that floweth with milk and honey.
4 Hear, O Israel: The LORD our God is one LORD:
5 And thou shalt love the LORD thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might.
6 And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be in thine heart:
7 And thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up.
8 And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes.
9 And thou shalt write them upon the posts of thy house, and on thy gates.
10 And it shall be, when the LORD thy God shall have brought thee into the land which he sware unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give thee great and goodly cities, which thou buildedst not,
11 And houses full of all good things, which thou filledst not, and wells digged, which thou diggedst not, vineyards and olive trees, which thou plantedst not; when thou shalt have eaten and be full;
12 Then beware lest thou forget the LORD, which brought thee forth out of the land of Egypt, from the house of bondage.
13 Thou shalt fear the LORD thy God, and serve him, and shalt swear by his name.
14 Ye shall not go after other gods, of the gods of the people which are round about you;
15 (For the LORD thy God is a jealous God among you) lest the anger of the LORD thy God be kindled against thee, and destroy thee from off the face of the earth.
16 Ye shall not tempt the LORD your God, as ye tempted him in Massah.
17 Ye shall diligently keep the commandments of the LORD your God, and his testimonies, and his statutes, which he hath commanded thee.
18 And thou shalt do that which is right and good in the sight of the LORD: that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest go in and possess the good land which the LORD sware unto thy fathers.
19 To cast out all thine enemies from before thee, as the LORD hath spoken.
20 And when thy son asketh thee in time to come, saying, What mean the testimonies, and the statutes, and the judgements, which the LORD our God hath commanded you?
21 Then thou shalt say unto thy son, We were Pharaoh's bondmen in Egypt; and the LORD brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand:
22 And the LORD shewed signs and wonders, great and sore, upon Egypt, upon Pharaoh, and upon all his household, before our eyes:
23 And he brought us out from thence, that he might bring us in, to give us the land which he sware unto our fathers.
24 And the LORD commanded us to do all these statutes, to fear the LORD our God, for our good always, that he might preserve us alive, as it is at this day.
25 And it shall be our righteousness, if we observe to do all these commandments before the LORD our God, as he hath commanded us.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 7

1 When the LORD thy God shall bring thee into the land whither thou goest to possess it, and hath cast out many nations before thee, the Hittites, and the Girgashites, and the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, seven nations greater and mightier than thou;
2 And when the LORD thy God shall deliver them before thee; thou shalt smite them, and utterly destroy them; thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor shew mercy unto them:
3 Neither shalt thou make marriages with them; thy daughter thou shalt not give unto his son, nor his daughter shalt thou take unto thy son.
4 For they will turn away thy son from following me, that they may serve other gods: so will the anger of the LORD be kindled against you, and destroy thee suddenly.
5 But thus shall ye deal with them; ye shall destroy their altars, and break down their images, and cut down their groves, and burn their graven images with fire.
6 For thou art an holy people unto the LORD thy God: the LORD thy God hath chosen thee to be a special people unto himself, above all people that are upon the face of the earth.
7 The LORD did not set his love upon you, nor choose you, because ye were more in number than any people; for ye were the fewest of all people:
8 But because the LORD loved you, and because he would keep the oath which he had sworn unto your fathers, hath the LORD brought you out with a mighty hand, and redeemed you out of the house of bondmen, from the hand of Pharaoh king of Egypt.
9 Know therefore that the LORD thy God, he is God, the faithful God, which keepeth covenant and mercy with them

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that love him and keep his commandments to a thousand generations;
10 And repayeth them that hate him to their face, to destroy them: he will not be slack to him that hateth him, he will repay him to his face.
11 Thou shalt therefore keep the commandments, and the statutes, and the judgements, which I command thee this day, to do them.
12 Wherefore it shall come to pass, if ye hearken to these judgements, and keep, and do them, that the LORD thy God shall keep unto thee the covenant and the mercy which he sware unto thy fathers:
13 And he will love thee, and bless thee, and multiply thee: he will also bless the fruit of thy womb, and the fruit of thy land, thy corn, and thy wine, and thine oil, the increase of thy kine, and the flocks of thy sheep, in the land which he sware unto thy fathers to give thee.
14 Thou shalt be blessed above all people: there shall not be male or female barren among you, or among your cattle.
15 And the LORD will take away from thee all sickness, and will put none of the evil diseases of Egypt, which thou knowest, upon thee; but will lay them upon all them that hate thee.
16 And thou shalt consume all the people which the LORD thy God shall deliver thee; thine eye shall have no pity upon them: neither shalt thou serve their gods; for that will be a snare unto thee.
17 If thou shalt say in thine heart, These nations are more than I; how can I dispossess them?
18 Thou shalt not be afraid of them: but shalt well remember what the LORD thy God did unto Pharaoh, and unto all Egypt;
19 The great temptations which thine eyes saw, and the signs, and the wonders, and the mighty hand, and the stretched out arm, whereby the LORD thy God brought thee out: so shall the LORD thy God do unto all the people of whom thou art afraid.
20 Moreover the LORD thy God will send the hornet among them, until they that are left, and hide themselves from thee, be destroyed.
21 Thou shalt not be affrighted at them: for the LORD thy God is among you, a mighty God and terrible.
22 And the LORD thy God will put out those nations before thee by little and little: thou mayest not consume them at once, lest the beasts of the field increase upon thee.
23 But the LORD thy God shall deliver them unto thee, and shall destroy them with a mighty destruction, until they be destroyed.
24 And he shall deliver their kings into thine hand, and thou shalt destroy their name from under heaven: there shall no man be able to stand before thee, until thou have destroyed them.
25 The graven images of their gods shall ye burn with fire: thou shalt not desire the silver or gold that is on them, nor take it unto thee, lest thou be snared therin: for it is an abomination to the LORD thy God.
26 Neither shalt thou bring an abomination into thine house, lest thou be a cursed thing like it: but thou shalt utterly detest it, and thou shalt utterly abhor it; for it is a cursed thing.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 8

1 All the commandments which I command thee this day shall ye observe to do, that ye may live, and multiply, and go in and possess the land which the LORD sware unto your fathers.
2 And thou shalt remember all the way which the LORD thy God led thee these forty years in the wilderness, to humble thee, and to prove thee, to know what was in thine heart, whether thou wouldest keep his commandments, or no.
3 And he humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna, which thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know; that he might make thee know that man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the LORD doth man live.
4 Thy raiment waxed not old upon thee, neither did thy foot swell, these forty years.
5 Thou shalt also consider in thine heart, that, as a man chasteneth his son, so the LORD thy God chasteneth thee.
6 Therefore thou shalt keep the commandments of the LORD thy God, to walk in his ways, and to fear him.
7 For the LORD thy God bringeth thee into a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills;
8 A land of wheat, and barley, and vines, and fig trees, and pomegranates; a land of oil olive, and honey;
9 A land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, thou shalt not lack any thing in it; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass.
10 When thou hast eaten and art full, then thou shalt bless the LORD thy God for the good land which he hath given thee.
11 Beware that thou forget not the LORD thy God, in not keeping his commandments, and his judgements, and his statutes, which I command thee this day:
12 Lest when thou hast eaten and art full, and hast built goodly houses, and dwelt therein;
13 And when thy herds and thy flocks multiply, and thy silver and thy gold is multiplied, and all that thou hast is multiplied;
14 Then thine heart be lifted up, and thou forget the LORD thy God, which brought thee forth out of the land of Egypt, from the house of bondage;
15 Who led thee through that great and terrible wilderness, wherein were fiery serpents, and scorpions, and drought, where there was no water; who brought thee forth water out of the rock of flint;
16 Who fed thee in the wilderness with manna, which thy fathers knew not, that he might humble thee, and that he might prove thee, to do thee good at thy latter end;
17 And thou say in thine heart, My power and the might of mine hand hath gotten me this wealth.
18 But thou shalt remember the LORD thy God: for it is he that giveth thee power to get wealth, that he may establish his covenant which he sware unto thy fathers, as it is this day.
19 And it shall be, if thou do at all forget the LORD thy God, and walk after other gods, and serve them, and worship them, I testify against you this day that ye shall surely perish.
20 As the nations which the LORD destroyeth before your face, so shall ye perish; because ye would not be obedient unto the voice of the LORD your God.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 9

1 Hear, O Israel: Thou art to pass over Jordan this day, to go in to possess nations greater and mightier than thyself, cities great and fenced up to heaven,
2 A people great and tall, the children of the Anakims, whom thou knowest, and of whom thou hast heard say, Who can stand before the children of Anak!
3 Understand therefore this day, that the LORD thy God is he which goeth over before thee; as a consuming fire he shall destroy them, and he shall bring them down before thy face: so shalt thou drive them out, and destroy them quickly, as the LORD hath said unto thee.
4 Speak not thou in thine heart, after that the LORD thy God hath cast them out from before thee, saying, For my righteousness the LORD hath brought me in to possess this land: but for the wickedness of these nations the LORD doth drive them out from before thee.
5 Not for thy righteousness, or for the uprightness of thine heart, dost thou go to possess their land: but for the wickedness of these nations the LORD thy God doth drive them out from before thee, and that he may perform the word which the LORD sware unto thy fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.
6 Understand therefore, that the LORD thy God giveth thee not this good land to possess it for thy righteousness; for thou art a stiffnecked people.
7 Remember, and forget not, how thou provokedst the LORD thy God to wrath in the wilderness: from the day that thou didst depart out of the land of Egypt, until ye came unto this place, ye have been rebellious against the LORD.
8 Also in Horeb ye provoked the LORD to wrath, so that the LORD was angry with you to have destroyed you.
9 When I was gone up into the mount to receive the tables of stone, even the tables of the covenant which the LORD made with you, then I abode in the mount forty days and forty nights, I neither did eat bread nor drink water:
10 And the LORD delivered unto me two tables of stone written with the finger of God; and on them was written according to all the words, which the LORD spake with you in the mount out of the midst of the fire in the day of the assembly.
11 And it came to pass at the end of forty days and forty nights, that the LORD gave me the two tables of stone, even the tables of the covenant.
12 And the LORD said unto me, Arise, get thee down quickly from hence; for thy people which thou hast brought forth out of Egypt have corrupted themselves; they are quickly turned aside out of the way which I commanded them; they have made them a molten image.
13 Furthermore the LORD spake unto me, saying, I have seen this people, and, behold, it is a stiffnecked people:
14 Let me alone, that I may destroy them, and blot out their name from under heaven: and I will make of thee a nation mightier and greater than they.
15 So I turned and came down from the mount, and the mount burned with fire: and the two tables of the covenant were in my two hands.
16 And I looked, and, behold, ye had sinned against the LORD your God, and had made you a molten calf: ye had turned aside quickly out of the way which the LORD had commanded you.
17 And I took the two tables, and cast them out of my two hands, and brake them before your eyes.
18 And I fell down before the LORD, as at the first, forty days and forty nights: I did neither eat bread, nor drink water, because of all your sins which ye sinned, in doing wickedly in the sight of the LORD, to provoke him to anger.
19 For I was afraid of the anger and hot displeasure, wherewith the LORD was wroth against you to destroy you. But the LORD hearkened unto me at that time also.
20 And the LORD was very angry with Aaron to have destroyed him: and I prayed for Aaron also the same time.
21 And I took your sin, the calf which ye had made, and burnt it with fire, and stamped it, and ground it very small, even until it was as small as dust: and I cast the dust thereof into the brook that descended out of the mount.
22 And at Taberah, and at Massah, and at Kibrothhattaavah, ye provoked the LORD to wrath.
23 Likewise when the LORD sent you from Kadeshbarnea, saying, Go up and possess the land which I have given you; then ye rebelled against the commandment of the LORD your God, and ye believed him not, nor hearkened to his voice.
24 Ye have been rebellious against the LORD from the day that I knew you.
25 Thus I fell down before the LORD forty days and forty nights, as I fell down at the first; because the LORD had said he would destroy you.
26 I prayed therefore unto the LORD, and said, O Lord GOD, destroy not thy people and thine inheritance, which thou hast redeemed through thy greatness, which thou hast brought forth out of Egypt with a mighty hand.
27 Remember thy servants, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; look not unto the stubbornness of this people, nor to their wickedness, nor to their sin:
28 Lest the land whence thou broughtest us out say, Because the LORD was not able to bring them into the land which he promised them, and because he hated them, he hath brought them out to slay them in the wilderness.
29 Yet they are thy people and thine inheritance, which thou broughtest out by thy mighty power and by thy stretched out arm.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 10

1 At that time the LORD said unto me, Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first, and come up unto me into the mount, and make thee an ark of wood.
2 And I will write on the tables the words that were in the first tables which thou brakest, and thou shalt put them in the ark.
3 And I made an ark of shittim wood, and hewed two tables of stone like unto the first, and went up into the mount, having the two tables in mine hand.
4 And he wrote on the tables, according to the first writing, the ten commandments, which the LORD spake unto you in the mount out of the midst of the fire in the day of the assembly: and the LORD gave them unto me.
5 And I turned myself and came down from the mount, and put the tables in the ark which I had made; and there they be, as the LORD commanded me.
6 And the children of Israel took their journey from Beeroth of the children of Jaakan to Mosera: there Aaron died, and there he was buried; and Eleazar his son ministered in the priest's office in his stead.
7 From thence they journeyed unto Gudgodah; and from Gudgodah to Jotbath, a land of rivers of waters.
8 At that time the LORD separated the tribe of Levi, to bear the ark of the covenant of the LORD, to stand before the LORD to minister unto him, and to bless in his name, unto this day.
9 Wherefore Levi hath no part nor inheritance with his brethren; the LORD is his inheritance, according as the LORD thy God promised him.
10 And I stayed in the mount, according to the first time, forty days and forty nights; and the LORD hearkened unto me at that time also, and the LORD would not destroy thee.
11 And the LORD said unto me, Arise, take thy journey before the people, that they may go in and possess the land, which I sware unto their fathers to give unto them.
12 And now, Israel, what doth the LORD thy God require of thee, but to fear the LORD thy God, to walk in all his ways, and to love him, and to serve the LORD thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul,
13 To keep the commandments of the LORD, and his statutes, which I command thee this day for thy good?
14 Behold, the heaven and the heaven of heavens is the LORD's thy God, the earth also, with all that therein is.
15 Only the LORD had a delight in thy fathers to love them, and he chose their seed after them, even you above all people, as it is this day.
16 Circumcise therefore the foreskin of your heart, and be no more stiffnecked.
17 For the LORD your God is God of gods, and Lord of lords, a great God, a mighty, and a terrible, which regardeth not persons, nor taketh reward:
18 He doth execute the judgement of the fatherless and widow, and loveth the stranger, in giving him food and raiment.

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19 Love ye therefore the stranger: for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.
20 Thou shalt fear the LORD thy God; him shalt thou serve, and to him shalt thou cleave, and swear by his name.
21 He is thy praise, and he is thy God, that hath done for thee these great and terrible things, which thine eyes have seen.
22 Thy fathers went down into Egypt with threescore and ten persons; and now the LORD thy God hath made thee as the stars of heaven for multitude.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 11

1 Therefore thou shalt love the LORD thy God, and keep his charge, and his statutes, and his judgements, and his commandments, alway.
2 And know ye this day: for I speak not with your children which have not known, and which have not seen the chastisement of the LORD your God, his greatness, his mighty hand, and his stretched out arm,
3 And his miracles, and his acts, which he did in the midst of Egypt unto Pharaoh the king of Egypt, and unto all his land;
4 And what he did unto the army of Egypt, unto their horses, and to their chariots; how he made the water of the Red sea to overflow them as they pursued after you, and how the LORD hath destroyed them unto this day;
5 And what he did unto you in the wilderness, until ye came into this place;
6 And what he did unto Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab, the son of Reuben: how the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up, and their households, and their tents, and all the substance that was in their possession, in the midst of all Israel:
7 But your eyes have seen all the great acts of the LORD which he did.
8 Therefore shall ye keep all the commandments which I command you this day, that ye may be strong, and go in and possess the land, whither ye go to possess it;
9 And that ye may prolong your days in the land, which the LORD sware unto your fathers to give unto them and to their seed, a land that floweth with milk and honey.
10 For the land, whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs:
11 But the land, whither ye go to possess it, is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven:
12 A land which the LORD thy God careth for: the eyes of the LORD thy God are always upon it, from the beginning of the year even unto the end of the year.
13 And it shall come to pass, if ye shall hearken diligently unto my commandments which I command you this day, to love the LORD your God, and to serve him with all your heart and with all your soul,
14 That I will give you the rain of your land in his due season, the first rain and the latter rain, that thou mayest gather in thy corn, and thy wine, and thine oil.
15 And I will send grass in thy fields for thy cattle, that thou mayest eat and be full.
16 Take heed to yourselves, that your heart be not deceived, and ye turn aside, and serve other gods, and worship them;
17 And then the LORD's wrath be kindled against you, and he shut up the heaven, that there be no rain, and that the land yield not her fruit; and lest ye perish quickly from off the good land which the LORD giveth you.
18 Therefore shall ye lay up these my words in your heart and in your soul, and bind them for a sign upon your hand, that they may be as frontlets between your eyes.
19 And ye shall teach them your children, speaking of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, when thou liest down, and when thou risest up.
20 And thou shalt write them upon the door posts of thine house, and upon thy gates:
21 That your days may be multiplied, and the days of your children, in the land which the LORD sware unto your fathers to give them, as the days of heaven upon the earth.
22 For if ye shall diligently keep all these commandments which I command you, to do them, to love the LORD your God, to walk in all his ways, and to cleave unto him;
23 Then will the LORD drive out all these nations from before you, and ye shall possess greater nations and mightier than yourselves.
24 Every place whereon the soles of your feet shall tread shall be yours: from the wilderness and Lebanon, from the river, the river Euphrates, even unto the uttermost sea shall your coast be.
25 There shall no man be able to stand before you: for the LORD your God shall lay the fear of you and the dread of you upon all the land that ye shall tread upon, as he hath said unto you.
26 Behold, I set before you this day a blessing and a curse;
27 A blessing, if ye obey the commandments of the LORD your God, which I command you this day:
28 And a curse, if ye will not obey the commandments of the LORD your God, but turn aside out of the way which I command you this day, to go after other gods, which ye have not known.
29 And it shall come to pass, when the LORD thy God hath brought thee in unto the land whither thou goest to possess it, that thou shalt put the blessing upon mount Gerizim, and the curse upon mount Ebal.
30 Are they not on the other side Jordan, by the way where the sun goeth down, in the land of the Canaanites, which dwell in the champaign over against Gilgal, beside the plains of Moreh?
31 For ye shall pass over Jordan to go in to possess the land which the LORD your God giveth you, and ye shall possess it, and dwell therein.
32 And ye shall observe to do all the statutes and judgements which I set before you this day.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 12

1 These are the statutes and judgements, which ye shall observe to do in the land, which the LORD God of thy fathers giveth thee to possess it, all the days that ye live upon the earth.
2 Ye shall utterly destroy all the places, wherein the nations which ye shall possess served their gods, upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree:
3 And ye shall overthrow their altars, and break their pillars, and burn their groves with fire; and ye shall hew down the graven images of their gods, and destroy the names of them out of that place.
4 Ye shall not do so unto the LORD your God.
5 But unto the place which the LORD your God shall choose out of all your tribes to put his name there, even unto his habitation shall ye seek, and thither thou shalt come:
6 And thither ye shall bring your burnt offerings, and your sacrifices, and your tithes, and heave offerings of your hand, and your vows, and your freewill offerings, and the firstlings of your herds and of your flocks:
7 And there ye shall eat before the LORD your God, and ye shall rejoice in all that ye put your hand unto, ye and your households, wherein the LORD thy God hath blessed thee.
8 Ye shall not do after all the things that we do here this day, every man whatsoever is right in his own eyes.
9 For ye are not as yet come to the rest and to the inheritance, which the LORD your God giveth you.
10 But when ye go over Jordan, and dwell in the land which the LORD your God giveth you to inherit, and when he giveth you rest from all your enemies round about, so that ye dwell in safety;
11 Then there shall be a place which the LORD your God shall choose to cause his name to dwell there; thither shall ye bring all that I command you; your burnt offerings, and your sacrifices, your tithes, and the heave offering of your hand, and all your choice vows which ye vow unto the LORD:
12 And ye shall rejoice before the LORD your God, ye, and your sons, and your daughters, and your menservants, and your maidservants, and the Levite that is within your gates; forasmuch as he hath no part nor inheritance with you.
13 Take heed to thyself that thou offer not thy burnt offerings in every place that thou seest:
14 But in the place which the LORD shall choose in one of thy tribes, there thou shalt offer thy burnt offerings, and there thou shalt do all that I command thee.
15 Notwithstanding thou mayest kill and eat flesh in all thy gates, whatsoever thy soul lusteth after, according to the blessing of the LORD thy God which he hath given thee: the unclean and the clean may eat thereof, as of the roebuck, and as of the hart.
16 Only ye shall not eat the blood; ye shall pour it upon the earth as water.
17 Thou mayest not eat within thy gates the tithe of thy corn, or of thy wine, or of thy oil, or the firstlings of thy herds or of thy flock, nor any of thy vows which thou vowest, nor thy freewill offerings, or heave offering of thine hand:
18 But thou must eat them before the LORD thy God in the place which the LORD thy God shall choose, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy manservant, and thy maidservant, and the Levite that is within thy gates: and thou shalt rejoice before the LORD thy God in all that thou puttest thine hands unto.
19 Take heed to thyself that thou forsake not the Levite as long as thou livest upon the earth.
20 When the LORD thy God shall enlarge thy border, as he hath promised thee, and thou shalt say, I will eat flesh, because thy soul longeth to eat flesh; thou mayest eat flesh, whatsoever thy soul lusteth after.
21 If the place which the LORD thy God hath chosen to put his name there be too far from thee, then thou shalt kill of thy herd and of thy flock, which the LORD hath given thee, as I have commanded thee, and thou shalt eat in thy gates whatsoever thy soul lusteth after.
22 Even as the roebuck and the hart is eaten, so thou shalt eat them: the unclean and the clean shall eat of them alike.
23 Only be sure that thou eat not the blood: for the blood is the life; and thou mayest not eat the life with the flesh.
24 Thou shalt not eat it; thou shalt pour it upon the earth as water.
25 Thou shalt not eat it; that it may go well with thee, and with thy children after thee, when thou shalt do that which is right in the sight of the LORD.
26 Only thy holy things which thou hast, and thy vows, thou shalt take, and go unto the place which the LORD shall choose:
27 And thou shalt offer thy burnt offerings, the flesh and the blood, upon the altar of the LORD thy God: and the blood of thy sacrifices shall be poured out upon the altar of the LORD thy God, and thou shalt eat the flesh.
28 Observe and hear all these words which I command thee, that it may go well with thee, and with thy children after thee for ever, when thou doest that which is good and right in the sight of the LORD thy God.
29 When the LORD thy God shall cut off the nations from before thee, whither thou goest to possess them, and thou succeedest them, and dwellest in their land;
30 Take heed to thyself that thou be not snared by following them, after that they be destroyed from before thee; and that thou enquire not after their gods, saying, How did these nations serve their gods? even so will I do likewise.
31 Thou shalt not do so unto the LORD thy God: for every abomination to the LORD, which he hateth, have they done unto their gods; for even their sons and their daughters they have burnt in the fire to their gods.
32 What thing soever I command you, observe to do it: thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 13

1 If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder,
2 And the sign or the wonder come to pass, whereof he spake unto thee, saying, Let us go after other gods, which thou hast not known, and let us serve them;
3 Thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams: for the LORD your God proveth you, to know whether ye love the LORD your God with all your heart and with all your soul.
4 Ye shall walk after the LORD your God, and fear him, and keep his commandments, and obey his voice, and ye shall serve him, and cleave unto him.
5 And that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams, shall be put to death; because he hath spoken to turn you away from the LORD your God, which brought you out of the land of Egypt, and redeemed you out of the house of bondage, to thrust thee out of the way which the LORD thy God commanded thee to walk in. So shalt thou put the evil away from the midst of thee.
6 If thy brother, the son of thy mother, or thy son, or thy daughter, or the wife of thy bosom, or thy friend, which is as thine own soul, entice thee secretly, saying, Let us go and serve other gods, which thou hast not known, thou, nor thy fathers;
7 Namely, of the gods of the people which are round about you, nigh unto thee, or far off from thee, from the one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth;
8 Thou shalt not consent unto him, nor hearken unto him; neither shall thine eye pity him, neither shalt thou spare, neither shalt thou conceal him:
9 But thou shalt surely kill him; thine hand shall be first upon him to put him to death, and afterwards the hand of all the people.
10 And thou shalt stone him with stones, that he die; because he hath sought to thrust thee away from the LORD thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, from the house of bondage.
11 And all Israel shall hear, and fear, and shall do no more any such wickedness as this is among you.
12 If thou shalt hear say in one of thy cities, which the LORD thy God hath given thee to dwell there, saying,
13 Certain men, the children of Belial, are gone out from among you, and have withdrawn the inhabitants of their city, saying, Let us go and serve other gods, which ye have not known;
14 Then shalt thou enquire, and make search, and ask diligently; and, behold, if it be truth, and the thing certain, that such abomination is wrought among you;
15 Thou shalt surely smite the inhabitants of that city with the edge of the sword, destroying it utterly, and all that is therein, and the cattle thereof, with the edge of the sword.
16 And thou shalt gather all the spoil of it into the midst of the street thereof, and shalt burn with fire the city, and all the spoil thereof every whit, for the LORD thy God: and it shall be an heap for ever; it shall not be built again.
17 And there shall cleave nought of the cursed thing to thine hand: that the LORD may turn from the fierceness of his anger, and shew thee mercy, and have compassion upon thee, and multiply thee, as he hath sworn unto thy fathers;
18 When thou shalt hearken to the voice of the LORD thy God, to keep all his commandments which I command thee this day, to do that which is right in the eyes of the LORD thy God.

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DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 14

1 Ye are the children of the LORD your God: ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead.

2 For thou art an holy people unto the LORD thy God, and the LORD hath chosen thee to be a peculiar people unto himself, above all the nations that are upon the earth.

3 Thou shalt not eat any abominable thing.

4 These are the beasts which ye shall eat: the ox, the sheep, and the goat,

5 The hart, and the roebuck, and the fallow deer, and the wild goat, and the pygarg, and the wild ox, and the chamois.

6 And every beast that parteth the hoof, and cleaveth the cleft into two claws, and cheweth the cud among the beasts, that ye shall eat.

7 Nevertheless these ye shall not eat of them that chew the cud, or of them that divide the cloven hoof; as the camel, and the hare, and the coney: for they chew the cud, but divide not the hoof; therefore they are unclean unto you.

8 And the swine, because it divideth the hoof, yet cheweth not the cud, it is unclean unto you: ye shall not eat of their flesh, nor touch their dead carcase.

9 These ye shall eat of all that are in the waters: all that have fins and scales shall ye eat:

10 And whatsoever hath not fins and scales ye may not eat; it is unclean unto you.

11 Of all clean birds ye shall eat.

12 But these are they of which ye shall not eat: the eagle, and the ossifrage, and the ospray,

13 And the glede, and the kite, and the vulture after his kind,

14 And every raven after his kind,

15 And the owl, and the night hawk, and the cuckow, and the hawk after his kind,

16 The little owl, and the great owl, and the swan,

17 And the pelican, and the gier eagle, and the cormorant,

18 And the stork, and the heron after her kind, and the lapwing, and the bat.

19 And every creeping thing that flieth is unclean unto you: they shall not be eaten.

20 But of all clean fowls ye may eat.

21 Ye shall not eat of anything that dieth of itself: thou shalt give it unto the stranger that is in thy gates, that he may eat it; or thou mayest sell it unto an alien: for thou art an holy people unto the LORD thy God. Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk.

22 Thou shalt truly tithe all the increase of thy seed, that the field bringeth forth year by year.

23 And thou shalt eat before the LORD thy God, in the place which he shall choose to place his name there, the tithe of thy corn, of thy wine, and of thine oil, and the firstlings of thy herds and of thy flocks; that thou mayest learn to fear the LORD thy God always.

24 And if the way be too long for thee, so that thou art not able to carry it; or if the place be too far from thee, which the LORD thy God shall choose to set his name there, when the LORD thy God hath blessed thee:

25 Then shalt thou turn it into money, and bind up the money in thine hand, and shalt go unto the place which the LORD thy God shall choose:

26 And thou shalt bestow that money for whatsoever thy soul lusteth after, for oxen, or for sheep, or for wine, or for strong drink, or for whatsoever thy soul desireth: and thou shalt eat there before the LORD thy God, and thou shalt rejoice, thou, and thine household,

27 And the Levite that is within thy gates; thou shalt not forsake him; for he hath no part nor inheritance with thee.

28 At the end of three years thou shalt bring forth all the tithe of thine increase the same year, and shalt lay it up within thy gates:

29 And the Levite, (because he hath no part nor inheritance with thee,) and the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, which are within thy gates, shall come, and shall eat and be satisfied; that the LORD thy God may bless thee in all the work of thine hand which thou doest.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 15

1 At the end of every seven years thou shalt make a release.

2 And this is the manner of the release: Every creditor that lendeth ought unto his neighbour shall release it; he shall not exact it of his neighbour, or of his brother; because it is called the LORD's release.

3 Of a foreigner thou mayest exact it again: but that which is thine with thy brother thine hand shall release;

4 Save when there shall be no poor among you; for the LORD shall greatly bless thee in the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee for an inheritance to possess it:

5 Only if thou carefully hearken unto the voice of the LORD thy God, to observe to do all these commandments which I command thee this day.

6 For the LORD thy God blesseth thee, as he promised thee: and thou shalt lend unto many nations, but thou shalt not borrow; and thou shalt reign over many nations, but they shall not reign over thee.

7 If there be among you a poor man of one of thy brethren within any of thy gates in thy land which the LORD thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not harden thine heart, nor shut thine hand from thy poor brother:

8 But thou shalt open thine hand wide unto him, and shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need, in that which he wanteth.

9 Beware that there be not a thought in thy wicked heart, saying, The seventh year, the year of release, is at hand; and thine eye be evil against thy poor brother, and thou givest him nought; and he cry unto the LORD against thee, and it be sin unto thee.

10 Thou shalt surely give him, and thine heart shall not be grieved when thou givest unto him: because that for this thing the LORD thy God shall bless thee in all thy works, and in all that thou puttest thine hand unto.

11 For the poor shall never cease out of the land: therefore I command thee, saying, Thou shalt open thine hand wide unto thy brother, to thy poor, and to thy needy, in thy land.

12 And if thy brother, an Hebrew man, or an Hebrew woman, be sold unto thee, and serve thee six years; then in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free from thee.

13 And when thou sendest him out free from thee, thou shalt not let him go away empty:

14 Thou shalt furnish him liberally out of thy flock, and out of thy floor, and out of thy winepress: of that wherewith the LORD thy God hath blessed thee thou shalt give unto him.

15 And thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt, and the LORD thy God redeemed thee: therefore I command thee this thing to day.

16 And it shall be, if he say unto thee, I will not go away from thee; because he loveth thee and thine house, because he is well with thee;

17 Then thou shalt take an aul, and thrust it through his ear unto the door, and he shall be thy servant for ever. And also unto thy maidservant thou shalt do likewise.

18 It shall not seem hard unto thee, when thou sendest him away free from thee; for he hath been worth a double hired servant to thee, in serving thee six years: and the LORD thy God shall bless thee in all that thou doest.

19 All the firstling males that come of thy herd and of thy flock thou shalt sanctify unto the LORD thy God: thou shalt do no work with the firstling of thy bullock, nor shear the firstling of thy sheep.

20 Thou shalt eat it before the LORD thy God year by year in the place which the LORD shall choose, thou and thy household.

21 And if there be any blemish therein, as if it be lame, or blind, or have any ill blemish, thou shalt not sacrifice it unto the LORD thy God.

22 Thou shalt eat it within thy gates: the unclean and the clean person shall eat it alike, as the roebuck, and as the hart.

23 Only thou shalt not eat the blood thereof; thou shalt pour it upon the ground as water.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 16

1 Observe the month of Abib, and keep the passover unto the LORD thy God: for in the month of Abib the LORD thy God brought thee forth out of Egypt by night.

2 Thou shalt therefore sacrifice the passover unto the LORD thy God, of the flock and the herd, in the place which the LORD shall choose to place his name there.

3 Thou shalt eat no leavened bread with it; seven days shalt thou eat unleavened bread therewith, even the bread of affliction; for thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt in haste: that thou mayest remember the day when thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt all the days of thy life.

4 And there shall be no leavened bread seen with thee in all thy coast seven days; neither shall there any thing of the flesh, which thou sacrificedst the first day at even, remain all night until the morning.

5 Thou mayest not sacrifice the passover within any of thy gates, which the LORD thy God giveth thee:

6 But at the place which the LORD thy God shall choose to place his name in, there thou shalt sacrifice the passover at even, at the going down of the sun, at the season that thou camest forth out of Egypt.

7 And thou shalt roast and eat it in the place which the LORD thy God shall choose: and thou shalt turn in the morning, and go unto thy tents.

8 Six days thou shalt eat unleavened bread: and on the seventh day shall be a solemn assembly to the LORD thy God: thou shalt do no work therein.

9 Seven weeks shalt thou number unto thee: begin to number the seven weeks from such time as thou beginnest to put the sickle to the corn.

10 And thou shalt keep the feast of weeks unto the LORD thy God with a tribute of a freewill offering of thine hand, which thou shalt give unto the LORD thy God, according as the LORD thy God hath blessed thee:

11 And thou shalt rejoice before the LORD thy God, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy manservant, and thy maidservant, and the Levite that is within thy gates, and the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, that are among you, in the place which the LORD thy God hath chosen to place his name there.

12 And thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in Egypt: and thou shalt observe and do these statutes.

13 Thou shalt observe the feast of tabernacles seven days, after that thou hast gathered in thy corn and thy wine:

14 And thou shalt rejoice in thy feast, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy manservant, and thy maidservant, and the Levite, the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, that are within thy gates.

15 Seven days shalt thou keep a solemn feast unto the LORD thy God in the place which the LORD shall choose: because the LORD thy God shall bless thee in all thine increase, and in all the works of thine hands, therefore thou shalt surely rejoice.

16 Three times in a year shall all thy males appear before the LORD thy God in the place which he shall choose; in the feast of unleavened bread, and in the feast of weeks, and in the feast of tabernacles: and they shall not appear before the LORD empty:

17 Every man shall give as he is able, according to the blessing of the LORD thy God which he hath given thee.

18 Judges and officers shalt thou make thee in all thy gates, which the LORD thy God giveth thee, throughout thy tribes: and they shall judge the people with just judgement.

19 Thou shalt not wrest judgement; thou shalt not respect persons, neither take a gift: for a gift doth blind the eyes of the wise, and pervert the words of the righteous.

20 That which is altogether just shalt thou follow, that thou mayest live, and inherit the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee.

21 Thou shalt not plant thee a grove of any trees near unto the altar of the LORD thy God, which thou shalt make thee.

22 Neither shalt thou set thee up any image; which the LORD thy God hateth.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 17

1 Thou shalt not sacrifice unto the LORD thy God any bullock, or sheep, wherein is blemish, or any evilfavouredness: for that is an abomination unto the LORD thy God.

2 If there be found among you, within any of thy gates which the LORD thy God giveth thee, man or woman, that hath wrought wickedness in the sight of the LORD thy God, in transgressing his covenant,

3 And hath gone and served other gods, and worshipped them, either the sun, or moon, or any of the host of heaven, which I have not commanded;

4 And it be told thee, and thou hast heard of it, and enquired diligently, and, behold, it be true, and the thing certain, that such abomination is wrought in Israel:

5 Then shalt thou bring forth that man or that woman, which have committed that wicked thing, unto thy gates, even that man or that woman, and shalt stone them with stones, till they die.

6 At the mouth of two witnesses, or three witnesses, shall he that is worthy of death be put to death; but at the mouth of one witness he shall not be put to death.

7 The hands of the witnesses shall be first upon him to put him to death, and afterward the hands of all the people. So thou shalt put the evil away from among you.

8 If there arise a matter too hard for thee in judgement, between blood and blood, between plea and plea, and between stroke and stroke, being matters of controversy within thy gates: then shalt thou arise, and get thee up into the place which the LORD thy God shall choose;

9 And thou shalt come unto the priests the Levites, and unto the judge that shall be in those days, and enquire; and they shall shew thee the sentence of judgement:

10 And thou shalt do according to the sentence, which they of that place which the LORD shall choose shall shew thee; and thou shalt observe to do according to all that they inform thee:

11 According to the sentence of the law which they shall teach thee, and according to the judgement which they shall tell thee, thou shalt do: thou shalt not decline from the sentence which they shall shew thee, to the right hand, nor to the left.

12 And the man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken unto the priest that standeth to minister there before the LORD thy God, or unto the judge, even that man shall die: and thou shalt put away the evil from Israel.

13 And all the people shall hear, and fear, and do no more presumptuously.

14 When thou art come unto the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell therein, and shalt say, I will set a king over me, like as all the nations that are about me;

15 Thou shalt in any wise set him king over thee, whom the LORD thy God shall choose: one from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee: thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother.

16 But he shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply

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horses: forasmuch as the LORD hath said unto you, Ye shall henceforth return no more that way.

17 Neither shall he multiply wives to himself, that his heart turn not away: neither shall he greatly multiply to himself silver and gold.

18 And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book out of that which is before the priests the Levites:

19 And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life: that he may learn to fear the LORD his God, to keep all the words of this law and these statutes, to do them:

20 That his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, and that he turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left: to the end that he may prolong his days in his kingdom, he, and his children, in the midst of Israel.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 18

1 The priests the Levites, and all the tribe of Levi, shall have no part nor inheritance with Israel: they shall eat the offerings of the LORD made by fire, and his inheritance.

2 Therefore shall they have no inheritance among their brethren: the LORD is their inheritance, as he hath said unto them.

3 And this shall be the priest's due from the people, from them that offer a sacrifice, whether it be ox or sheep; and they shall give unto the priest the shoulder, and the two cheeks, and the maw.

4 The firstfruit also of thy corn, of thy wine, and of thine oil, and the first of the fleece of thy sheep, shalt thou give him.

5 For the LORD thy God hath chosen him out of all thy tribes, to stand to minister in the name of the LORD, him and his sons for ever.

6 And if a Levite come from any of thy gates out of all Israel, where he sojourned, and come with all the desire of his mind unto the place which the LORD shall choose;

7 Then he shall minister in the name of the LORD his God, as all his brethren the Levites do, which stand there before the LORD.

8 They shall have like portions to eat, beside that which cometh of the sale of his patrimony.

9 When thou art come into the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not learn to do after the abominations of those nations.

10 There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch.

11 Or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer.

12 For all that do these things are an abomination unto the LORD: and because of these abominations the LORD thy God doth drive them out from before thee.

13 Thou shalt be perfect with the LORD thy God.

14 For these nations, which thou shalt possess, hearkened unto observers of times, and unto diviners: but as for thee, the LORD thy God hath not suffered thee so to do.

15 The LORD thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken;

16 According to all that thou desiredst of the LORD thy God in Horeb in the day of the assembly, saying, Let me not hear again the voice of the LORD my God, neither let me see this great fire any more, that I die not.

17 And the LORD said unto me, They have well spoken that which they have spoken.

18 I will raise them up a Prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth; and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him.

19 And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him.

20 But the prophet, which shall presume to speak a word in my name, which I have not commanded him to speak, or that shall speak in the name of other gods, even that prophet shall die.

21 And if thou say in thine heart, How shall we know the word which the LORD hath not spoken?

22 When a prophet speaketh in the name of the LORD, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which the LORD hath not spoken, but the prophet hath spoken it presumptuously: thou shalt not be afraid of him.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 19

1 When the LORD thy God hath cut off the nations, whose land the LORD thy God giveth thee, and thou succeedest them, and dwellest in their cities, and in their houses;

2 Thou shalt separate three cities for thee in the midst of thy land, which the LORD thy God giveth thee to possess it.

3 Thou shalt prepare thee a way, and divide the coasts of thy land, which the LORD thy God giveth thee to inherit, into three parts, that every slayer may flee thither.

4 And this is the case of the slayer, which shall flee thither, that he may live: Whoso killeth his neighbour ignorantly, whom he hated not in time past;

5 As when a man goeth into the wood with his neighbour to hew wood, and his hand fetcheth a stroke with the axe to cut down the tree, and the head slippeth from the helve, and lighteth upon his neighbour, that he die; he shall flee unto one of those cities, and live:

6 Lest the avenger of the blood pursue the slayer, while his heart is hot, and overtake him, because the way is long, and slay him; whereas he was not worthy of death, inasmuch as he hated him not in time past.

7 Wherefore I command thee, saying, Thou shalt separate three cities for thee.

8 And if the LORD thy God enlarge thy coast, as he hath sworn unto thy fathers, and give thee all the land which he promised to give unto thy fathers;

9 If thou shalt keep all these commandments to do them, which I command thee this day, to love the LORD thy God, and to walk ever in his ways; then shalt thou add three cities more for thee, beside these three:

10 That innocent blood be not shed in thy land, which the LORD thy God giveth thee for an inheritance, and so blood be upon thee.

11 But if any man hate his neighbour, and lie in wait for him, and rise up against him, and smite him mortally that he die, and fleeth into one of these cities:

12 Then the elders of his city shall send and fetch him thence, and deliver him into the hand of the avenger of blood, that he may die.

13 Thine eye shall not pity him, but thou shalt put away the guilt of innocent blood from Israel, that it may go well with thee.

14 Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark, which they of old time have set in thine inheritance, which thou shalt inherit in the land that the LORD thy God giveth thee to possess it.

15 One witness shall not rise up against a man for any iniquity, or for any sin, in any sin that he sinneth: at the mouth of two witnesses, or at the mouth of three witnesses, shall the matter be established.

16 If a false witness rise up against any man to testify against him that which is wrong;

17 Then both the men, between whom the controversy is, shall stand before the LORD, before the priests and the judges, which shall be in those days;

18 And the judges shall make diligent inquisition: and, behold, if the witness be a false witness, and hath testified falsely against his brother;

19 Then shall ye do unto him, as he had thought to have done unto his brother: so shalt thou put the evil away from among you.

20 And those which remain shall hear, and fear, and shall henceforth commit no more any such evil among you.

21 And thine eye shall not pity; but life shall go for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 20

1 When thou goest out to battle against thine enemies, and seest horses, and chariots, and a people more than thou, be not afraid of them: for the LORD thy God is with thee, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.

2 And it shall be, when ye are come nigh unto the battle, that the priest shall approach and speak unto the people,

3 And shall say unto them, Hear, O Israel, ye approach this day unto battle against your enemies: let not your hearts faint, fear not, and do not tremble, neither be ye terrified because of them;

4 For the LORD your God is he that goeth with you, to fight for you against your enemies, to save you.

5 And the officers shall speak unto the people, saying, What man is there that hath built a new house, and hath not dedicated it? let him go and return to his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man dedicate it.

6 And what man is he that hath planted a vineyard, and hath not yet eaten of it? let him also go and return unto his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man eat of it.

7 And what man is there that hath betrothed a wife, and hath not taken her? let him go and return unto his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man take her.

8 And the officers shall speak further unto the people, and they shall say, What man is there that is fearful and fainthearted? let him go and return unto his house, lest his brethren's heart faint as well as his heart.

9 And it shall be, when the officers have made an end of speaking unto the people that they shall make captains of the armies to lead the people.

10 When thou comest nigh unto a city to fight against it, then proclaim peace unto it.

11 And it shall be, if it make thee answer of peace, and open unto thee, then it shall be, that all the people that is found therein shall be tributaries unto thee, and they shall serve thee.

12 And if it will make no peace with thee, but will make war against thee, then thou shalt besiege it:

13 And when the LORD thy God hath delivered it into thine hands, thou shalt smite every male thereof with the edge of the sword:

14 But the women, and the little ones, and the cattle, and all that is in the city, even all the spoil thereof, shalt thou take unto thyself; and thou shalt eat the spoil of thine enemies, which the LORD thy God hath given thee.

15 Thus shalt thou do unto all the cities which are very far off from thee, which are not of the cities of these nations.

16 But of the cities of these people, which the LORD thy God doth give thee for an inheritance, thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth:

17 But thou shalt utterly destroy them; namely, the Hittites, and the Amorites, the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites; as the LORD thy God hath commanded thee:

18 That they teach you not to do after all their abominations, which they have done unto their gods; so should ye sin against the LORD your God.

19 When thou shalt besiege a city a long time, in making war against it to take it, thou shalt not destroy the trees thereof by forcing an axe against them: for thou mayest eat of them, and thou shalt not cut them down (for the tree of the field is man's life) to employ them in the siege:

20 Only the trees which thou knowest that they be not trees for meat, thou shalt destroy and cut them down; and thou shalt build bulwarks against the city that maketh war with thee, until it be subdued.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 21

1 If one be found slain in the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee to possess it, lying in the field, and it be not known who hath slain him:

2 Then thy elders and thy judges shall come forth, and they shall measure unto the cities which are round about him that is slain:

3 And it shall be, that the city which is next unto the slain man, even the elders of that city shall take an heifer, which hath not been wrought with, and which hath not drawn in the yoke;

4 And the elders of that city shall bring down the heifer unto a rough valley, which is neither eared nor sown, and shall strike off the heifer's neck there in the valley:

5 And the priests the sons of Levi shall come near; for them the LORD thy God hath chosen to minister unto him, and to bless in the name of the LORD; and by their word shall every controversy and every stroke be tried:

6 And all the elders of that city, that are next unto the slain man, shall wash their hands over the heifer that is beheaded in the valley:

7 And they shall answer and say, Our hands have not shed this blood, neither have our eyes seen it.

8 Be merciful, O LORD, unto thy people Israel, whom thou hast redeemed, and lay not innocent blood unto thy people of Israel's charge. And the blood shall be forgiven them.

9 So shalt thou put away the guilt of innocent blood from among you, when thou shalt do that which is right in the sight of the LORD.

10 When thou goest forth to war against thine enemies, and the LORD thy God hath delivered them into thine hands, and thou hast taken them captive,

11 And seest among the captives a beautiful woman, and hast a desire unto her, that thou wouldest have her to thy wife;

12 Then thou shalt bring her home to thine house, and she shall shave her head, and pare her nails;

13 And she shall put the raiment of her captivity from off her, and shall remain in thine house, and bewail her father and her mother a full month: and after that thou shalt go in unto her, and be her husband, and she shall be thy wife.

14 And it shall be, if thou have no delight in her, then thou shalt let her go whither she will; but thou shalt not sell her at all for money, thou shalt not make merchandise of her, because thou hast humbled her.

15 If a man have two wives, one beloved, and another hated, and they have born him children, both the beloved and the hated; and if the firstborn son be hers that was hated:

16 Then it shall be, when he maketh his sons to inherit that which he hath, that he may not make the son of the beloved firstborn before the son of the hated, which is indeed the firstborn:

17 But he shall acknowledge the son of the hated for the firstborn, by giving him a double portion of all that he hath: for he is the beginning of his strength; the right of the firstborn is his.

18 If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son, which will not obey the voice of his father, or the voice of his mother, and that, when they have chastened him, will not hearken unto them:

19 Then shall his father and his mother lay hold on him, and bring him out unto the elders of his city, and unto the gate of his place;

20 And they shall say unto the elders of his city, This our son is stubborn and rebellious, he will not obey our voice; he is a glutton, and a drunkard.

21 And all the men of his city shall stone him with stones, that he die: so shalt thou put evil away from among you; and all Israel shall hear, and fear.

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22 And if a man have committed a sin worthy of death, and he be to be put to death, and thou hang him on a tree:
23 His body shall not remain all night upon the tree, but thou shalt in any wise bury him that day; (for he that is hanged is accursed of God;) that thy land be not defiled, which the LORD thy God giveth thee for an inheritance.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 22

1 Thou shalt not see thy brother's ox or his sheep go astray, and hide thyself from them: thou shalt in any case bring them again unto thy brother.
2 And if thy brother be not nigh unto thee, or if thou know him not, then thou shalt bring it unto thine own house, and it shall be with thee until thy brother seek after it, and thou shalt restore it to him again.
3 In like manner shalt thou do with his ass; and so shalt thou do with his raiment; and with all lost thing of thy brother's, which he hath lost, and thou hast found, shalt thou do likewise: thou mayest not hide thyself.
4 Thou shalt not see thy brother's ass or his ox fall down by the way, and hide thyself from them: thou shalt surely help him to lift them up again.
5 The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment: for all that do so are abomination unto the LORD thy God.
6 If a bird's nest chance to be before thee in the way in any tree, or on the ground, whether they be young ones, or eggs, and the dam sitting upon the young, or upon the eggs, thou shalt not take the dam with the young:
7 But thou shalt in any wise let the dam go, and take the young to thee; that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest prolong thy days.
8 When thou buildest a new house, then thou shalt make a battlement for thy roof, that thou bring not blood upon thine house, if any man fall from thence.
9 Thou shalt not sow thy vineyard with divers seeds: lest the fruit of thy seed which thou hast sown, and the fruit of thy vineyard, be defiled.
10 Thou shalt not plow with an ox and an ass together.
11 Thou shalt not wear a garment of divers sorts, as of woollen and linen together.
12 Thou shalt make thee fringes upon the four quarters of thy vesture, wherewith thou coverest thyself.
13 If any man take a wife, and go in unto her, and hate her,
14 And give occasions of speech against her, and bring up an evil name upon her, and say, I took this woman, and when I came to her, I found her not a maid:
15 Then shall the father of the damsel, and her mother, take and bring forth the tokens of the damsel's virginity unto the elders of the city in the gate:
16 And the damsel's father shall say unto the elders, I gave my daughter unto this man to wife, and he hateth her;
17 And, lo, he hath given occasions of speech against her, saying, I found not thy daughter a maid; and yet these are the tokens of my daughter's virginity. And they shall spread the cloth before the elders of the city.
18 And the elders of that city shall take that man and chastise him;
19 And they shall amerce him in an hundred shekels of silver, and give them unto the father of the damsel, because he hath brought up an evil name upon a virgin of Israel: and she shall be his wife; he may not put her away all his days.
20 But if this thing be true, and the tokens of virginity be not found for the damsel:
21 Then they shall bring out the damsel to the door of her father's house, and the men of her city shall stone her with stones that she die: because she hath wrought folly in Israel, to play the whore in her father's house: so shalt thou put evil away from among you.
22 If a man be found lying with a woman married to an husband, then they shall both of them die, both the man that lay with the woman, and the woman: so shalt thou put away evil from Israel.
23 If a damsel that is a virgin be betrothed unto an husband, and a man find her in the city, and lie with her;
24 Then ye shall bring them both out unto the gate of that city, and ye shall stone them with stones that they die; the damsel, because she cried not, being in the city; and the man, because he hath humbled his neighbour's wife: so thou shalt put away evil from among you.
25 But if a man find a betrothed damsel in the field, and the man force her, and lie with her: then the man only that lay with her shall die.
26 But unto the damsel thou shalt do nothing; there is in the damsel no sin worthy of death: for as when a man riseth against his neighbour, and slayeth him, even so is this matter:
27 For he found her in the field, and the betrothed damsel cried, and there was none to save her.
28 If a man find a damsel that is a virgin, which is not betrothed, and lay hold on her, and lie with her, and they be found;
29 Then the man that lay with her shall give unto the damsel's father fifty shekels of silver, and she shall be his wife; because he hath humbled her, he may not put her away all his days.
30 A man shall not take his father's wife, nor discover his father's skirt.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 23

1 He that is wounded in the stones, or hath his privy member cut off, shall not enter into the congregation of the LORD.
2 A bastard shall not enter into the congregation of the LORD; even to his tenth generation shall he not enter into the congregation of the LORD.
3 An Ammonite or Moabite shall not enter into the congregation of the LORD; even to their tenth generation shall they not enter into the congregation of the LORD for ever:
4 Because they met you not with bread and with water in the way, when ye came forth out of Egypt; and because they hired against thee Balaam the son of Beor of Pethor of Mesopotamia, to curse thee.
5 Nevertheless the LORD thy God would not hearken unto Balaam; but the LORD thy God turned the curse into a blessing unto thee, because the LORD thy God loved thee.
6 Thou shalt not seek their peace nor their prosperity all thy days for ever.
7 Thou shalt not abhor an Edomite; for he is thy brother: thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian; because thou wast a stranger in his land.
8 The children that are begotten of them shall enter into the congregation of the LORD in their third generation.
9 When the host goeth forth against thine enemies, then keep thee from every wicked thing.
10 If there be among you any man, that is not clean by reason of uncleanness that chanceth him by night, then shall he go abroad out of the camp, he shall not come within the camp:
11 But it shall be, when evening cometh on, he shall wash himself with water: and when the sun is down, he shall come into the camp again.
12 Thou shalt have a place also without the camp, whither thou shalt go forth abroad:
13 And thou shalt have a paddle upon thy weapon; and it shall be, when thou wilt ease thyself abroad, thou shalt dig therewith, and shalt turn back and cover that which cometh from thee:
14 For the LORD thy God walketh in the midst of thy camp, to deliver thee, and to give up thine enemies before thee; therefore shall thy camp be holy: that he see no unclean thing in thee, and turn away from thee.
15 Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee:
16 He shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best: thou shalt not oppress him.
17 There shall be no whore of the daughters of Israel, nor a sodomite of the sons of Israel.
18 Thou shalt not bring the hire of a whore, or the price of a dog, into the house of the LORD thy God for any vow: for even both these are abomination unto the LORD thy God.
19 Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother; usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of any thing that is lent upon usury:
20 Unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury; but unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon usury: that the LORD thy God may bless thee in all that thou settest thine hand to in the land whither thou goest to possess it.
21 When thou shalt vow a vow unto the LORD thy God, thou shalt not slack to pay it: for the LORD thy God will surely require it of thee; and it would be sin in thee.
22 But if thou shalt forbear to vow, it shall be no sin in thee.
23 That which is gone out of thy lips thou shalt keep and perform; even a freewill offering, according as thou hast vowed unto the LORD thy God, which thou hast promised with thy mouth.
24 When thou comest into thy neighbour's vineyard, then thou mayest eat grapes thy fill at thine own pleasure; but thou shalt not put any in thy vessel.
25 When thou comest into the standing corn of thy neighbour, then thou mayest pluck the ears with thine hand; but thou shalt not move a sickle unto thy neighbour's standing corn.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 24

1 When a man hath taken a wife, and married her, and it come to pass that she find no favour in his eyes, because he hath found some uncleanness in her: then let him write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house.
2 And when she is departed out of his house, she may go and be another man's wife.
3 And if the latter husband hate her, and write her a bill of divorcement, and giveth it in her hand, and sendeth her out of his house; or if the latter husband die, which took her to be his wife;
4 Her former husband, which sent her away, may not take her again to be his wife, after that she is defiled; for that is abomination before the LORD: and thou shalt not cause the land to sin, which the LORD thy God giveth thee for an inheritance.
5 When a man hath taken a new wife, he shall not go out to war, neither shall he be charged with any business: but he shall be free at home one year, and shall cheer up his wife which he hath taken.
6 No man shall take the nether or the upper millstone to pledge: for he taketh a man's life to pledge.
7 If a man be found stealing any of his brethren of the children of Israel, and maketh merchandise of him, or selleth him; then that thief shall die; and thou shalt put evil away from among you.
8 Take heed in the plague of leprosy, that thou observe diligently, and do according to all that the priests the Levites shall teach you: as I commanded them, so ye shall observe to do.
9 Remember what the LORD thy God did unto Miriam by the way, after that ye were come forth out of Egypt.
10 When thou dost lend thy brother any thing, thou shalt not go into his house to fetch his pledge.
11 Thou shalt stand abroad, and the man to whom thou dost lend shall bring out the pledge abroad unto thee.
12 And if the man be poor, thou shalt not sleep with his pledge:
13 In any case thou shalt deliver him the pledge again when the sun goeth down, that he may sleep in his own raiment, and bless thee: and it shall be righteousness unto thee before the LORD thy God.
14 Thou shalt not oppress an hired servant that is poor and needy, whether he be of thy brethren, or of thy strangers that are in thy land within thy gates:
15 At his day thou shalt give him his hire, neither shall the sun go down upon it; for he is poor, and setteth his heart upon it: lest he cry against thee unto the LORD, and it be sin unto thee.
16 The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, neither shall the children be put to death for the fathers: every man shall be put to death for his own sin.
17 Thou shalt not pervert the judgement of the stranger, nor of the fatherless; nor take a widow's raiment to pledge:
18 But thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in Egypt, and the LORD thy God redeemed thee thence: therefore I command thee to do this thing.
19 When thou cuttest down thine harvest in thy field, and hast forgot a sheaf in the field, thou shalt not go again to fetch it: it shall be for the stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow: that the LORD thy God may bless thee in all the work of thine hands.
20 When thou beatest thine olive tree, thou shalt not go over the boughs again: it shall be for the stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow.
21 When thou gatherest the grapes of thy vineyard, thou shalt not glean it afterward: it shall be for the stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow.
22 And thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt: therefore I command thee to do this thing.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 25

1 If there be a controversy between men, and they come unto judgement, that the judges may judge them; then they shall justify the righteous, and condemn the wicked.
2 And it shall be, if the wicked man be worthy to be beaten, that the judge shall cause him to lie down, and to be beaten before his face, according to his fault, by a certain number.
3 Forty stripes he may give him, and not exceed: lest, if he should exceed, and beat him above these with many stripes, then thy brother should seem vile unto thee.
4 Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn.
5 If brethren dwell together, and one of them die, and have no child, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger: her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of an husband's brother unto her.
6 And it shall be, that the firstborn which she beareth shall succeed in the name of his brother which is dead, that his name be not put out of Israel.
7 And if the man like not to take his brother's wife, then let his brother's wife go up to the gate unto the elders, and say, My husband's brother refuseth to raise up unto his brother a name in Israel, he will not perform the duty of my husband's brother.
8 Then the elders of his city shall call him, and speak unto him: and if he stand to it, and say, I like not to take her;
9 Then shall his brother's wife come unto him in the presence of the elders, and loose his shoe from off his foot, and spit in his face, and shall answer and say, So shall it be done unto that man that will not build up his brother's house.
10 And his name shall be called in Israel, The house of him that hath his shoe loosed.

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11 When men strive together one with another, and the wife of the one draweth near for to deliver her husband out of the hand of him that smiteth him, and putteth forth her hand, and taketh him by the secrets:
12 Then thou shalt cut off her hand, thine eye shall not pity her.
13 Thou shalt not have in thy bag divers weights, a great and a small.
14 Thou shalt not have in thine house divers measures, a great and a small.
15 But thou shalt have a perfect and just weight, a perfect and just measure shalt thou have: that thy days may be lengthened in the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee.
16 For all that do such things, and all that do unrighteously, are an abomination unto the LORD thy God.
17 Remember what Amalek did unto thee by the way, when ye were come forth out of Egypt;
18 How he met thee by the way, and smote the hindmost of thee, even all that were feeble behind thee, when thou wast faint and weary; and he feared not God.
19 Therefore it shall be, when the LORD thy God hath given thee rest from all thine enemies round about, in the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee for an inheritance to possess it, that thou shalt blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven; thou shalt not forget it.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 26

1 And it shall be, when thou art come in unto the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee for an inheritance, and possessest it, and dwellest therein;
2 That thou shalt take of the first of all the fruit of the earth, which thou shalt bring of thy land that the LORD thy God giveth thee, and shalt put it in a basket, and shalt go unto the place which the LORD thy God shall choose to place his name there.
3 And thou shalt go unto the priest that shall be in those days, and say unto him, I profess this day unto the LORD thy God, that I am come unto the country which the LORD sware unto our fathers for to give us.
4 And the priest shall take the basket out of thine hand, and set it down before the altar of the LORD thy God.
5 And thou shalt speak and say before the LORD thy God, A Syrian ready to perish was my father, and he went down into Egypt, and sojourned there with a few, and became there a nation, great, mighty, and populous:
6 And the Egyptians evil entreated us, and afflicted us, and laid upon us hard bondage:
7 And when we cried unto the LORD God of our fathers, the LORD heard our voice, and looked on our affliction, and our labour, and our oppression:
8 And the LORD brought us forth out of Egypt with a mighty hand, and with an outstretched arm, and with great terribleness, and with signs, and with wonders:
9 And he hath brought us into this place, and hath given us this land, even a land that floweth with milk and honey.
10 And now, behold, I have brought the firstfruits of the land, which thou, O LORD, hast given me. And thou shalt set it before the LORD thy God, and worship before the LORD thy God:
11 And thou shalt rejoice in every good thing which the LORD thy God hath given unto thee, and unto thine house, thou, and the Levite, and the stranger that is among you.
12 When thou hast made an end of tithing all the tithes of thine increase the third year, which is the year of tithing, and hast given it unto the Levite, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, that they may eat within thy gates, and be filled;
13 Then thou shalt say before the LORD thy God, I have brought away the hallowed things out of mine house, and also have given them unto the Levite, and unto the stranger, to the fatherless, and to the widow, according to all thy commandments which thou hast commanded me: I have not transgressed thy commandments, neither have I forgotten them.
14 I have not eaten thereof in my mourning, neither have I taken away ought thereof for any unclean use, nor given ought thereof for the dead: but I have hearkened to the voice of the LORD my God, and have done according to all that thou hast commanded me.
15 Look down from thy holy habitation, from heaven, and bless thy people Israel, and the land which thou hast given us, as thou swarest unto our fathers, a land that floweth with milk and honey.
16 This day the LORD thy God hath commanded thee to do these statutes and judgements: thou shalt therefore keep and do them with all thine heart, and with all thy soul.
17 Thou hast avouched the LORD this day to be thy God, and to walk in his ways, and to keep his statutes, and his commandments, and his judgements, and to hearken unto his voice:
18 And the LORD hath avouched thee this day to be his peculiar people, as he hath promised thee, and that thou shouldest keep all his commandments;
19 And to make thee high above all nations which he hath made, in praise, and in name, and in honour; and that thou mayest be an holy people unto the LORD thy God, as he hath spoken.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 27

1 And Moses with the elders of Israel commanded the people, saying, Keep all the commandments which I command you this day.
2 And it shall be on the day when ye shall pass over Jordan unto the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee, that thou shalt set thee up great stones, and plaister them with plaister:
3 And thou shalt write upon them all the words of this law, when thou art passed over, that thou mayest go in unto the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee, a land that floweth with milk and honey; as the LORD God of thy fathers hath promised thee.
4 Therefore it shall be when ye be gone over Jordan, that ye shall set up these stones, which I command you this day, in mount Ebal, and thou shalt plaister them with plaister.
5 And there shalt thou build an altar unto the LORD thy God, an altar of stones: thou shalt not lift up any iron tool upon them.
6 Thou shalt build the altar of the LORD thy God of whole stones: and thou shalt offer burnt offerings thereon unto the LORD thy God:
7 And thou shalt offer peace offerings, and shalt eat there, and rejoice before the LORD thy God.
8 And thou shalt write upon the stones all the words of this law very plainly.
9 And Moses and the priests the Levites spake unto all Israel, saying, Take heed, and hearken, O Israel; this day thou art become the people of the LORD thy God.
10 Thou shalt therefore obey the voice of the LORD thy God, and do his commandments and his statutes, which I command thee this day.
11 And Moses charged the people the same day, saying,
12 These shall stand upon mount Gerizim to bless the people, when ye are come over Jordan; Simeon, and Levi, and Judah, and Issachar, and Joseph, and Benjamin:
13 And these shall stand upon mount Ebal to curse; Reuben, Gad, and Asher, and Zebulun, Dan, and Naphtali.
14 And the Levites shall speak, and say unto all the men of Israel with a loud voice,
15 Cursed be the man that maketh any graven or molten image, an abomination unto the LORD, the work of the hands of the craftsman, and putteth it in a secret place. And all the people shall answer and say, Amen.
16 Cursed be he that setteth light by his father or his mother. And all the people shall say, Amen.
17 Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's landmark. And all the people shall say, Amen.
18 Cursed be he that maketh the blind to wander out of the way. And all the people shall say, Amen.
19 Cursed be he that perverteth the judgement of the stranger, fatherless, and widow. And all the people shall say, Amen.
20 Cursed be he that lieth with his father's wife; because he uncovereth his father's skirt. And all the people shall say, Amen.
21 Cursed be he that lieth with any manner of beast. And all the people shall say, Amen.
22 Cursed be he that lieth with his sister, the daughter of his father, or the daughter of his mother. And all the people shall say, Amen.
23 Cursed be he that lieth with his mother in law. And all the people shall say, Amen.
24 Cursed be he that smiteth his neighbour secretly. And all the people shall say, Amen.
25 Cursed be he that taketh reward to slay an innocent person. And all the people shall say, Amen.
26 Cursed be he that confirmeth not all the words of this law to do them. And all the people shall say, Amen.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 28

1 And it shall come to pass, if thou shalt hearken diligently unto the voice of the LORD thy God, to observe and to do all his commandments which I command thee this day, that the LORD thy God will set thee on high above all nations of the earth:
2 And all these blessings shall come on thee, and overtake thee, if thou shalt hearken unto the voice of the LORD thy God.
3 Blessed shalt thou be in the city, and blessed shalt thou be in the field.
4 Blessed shall be the fruit of thy body, and the fruit of thy ground, and the fruit of thy cattle, the increase of thy kine, and the flocks of thy sheep.
5 Blessed shall be thy basket and thy store.
6 Blessed shalt thou be when thou comest in, and blessed shalt thou be when thou goest out.
7 The LORD shall cause thine enemies that rise up against thee to be smitten before thy face: they shall come out against thee one way, and flee before thee seven ways.
8 The LORD shall command the blessing upon thee in thy storehouses, and in all that thou settest thine hand unto; and he shall bless thee in the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee.
9 The LORD shall establish thee an holy people unto himself, as he hath sworn unto thee, if thou shalt keep the commandments of the LORD thy God, and walk in his ways.
10 And all people of the earth shall see that thou art called by the name of the LORD; and they shall be afraid of thee.
11 And the LORD shall make thee plenteous in goods, in the fruit of thy body, and in the fruit of thy cattle, and in the fruit of thy ground, in the land which the LORD sware unto thy fathers to give thee.
12 The LORD shall open unto thee his good treasure, the heaven to give the rain unto thy land in his season, and to bless all the work of thine hand: and thou shalt lend unto many nations, and thou shalt not borrow.
13 And the LORD shall make thee the head, and not the tail; and thou shalt be above only, and thou shalt not be beneath; if that thou hearken unto the commandments of the LORD thy God, which I command thee this day, to observe and to do them:
14 And thou shalt not go aside from any of the words which I command thee this day, to the right hand, or to the left, to go after other gods to serve them.
15 But it shall come to pass, if thou wilt not hearken unto the voice of the LORD thy God, to observe to do all his commandments and his statutes which I command thee this day; that all these curses shall come upon thee, and overtake thee:
16 Cursed shalt thou be in the city, and cursed shalt thou be in the field.
17 Cursed shall be thy basket and thy store.
18 Cursed shall be the fruit of thy body, and the fruit of thy land, the increase of thy kine, and the flocks of thy sheep.
19 Cursed shalt thou be when thou comest in, and cursed shalt thou be when thou goest out.
20 The LORD shall send upon thee cursing, vexation, and rebuke, in all that thou settest thine hand unto for to do, until thou be destroyed, and until thou perish quickly; because of the wickedness of thy doings, whereby thou hast forsaken me.
21 The LORD shall make the pestilence cleave unto thee, until he have consumed thee from off the land, whither thou goest to possess it.
22 The LORD shall smite thee with a consumption, and with a fever, and with an inflammation, and with an extreme burning, and with the sword, and with blasting, and with mildew; and they shall pursue thee until thou perish.
23 And thy heaven that is over thy head shall be brass, and the earth that is under thee shall be iron.
24 The LORD shall make the rain of thy land powder and dust: from heaven shall it come down upon thee, until thou be destroyed.
25 The LORD shall cause thee to be smitten before thine enemies: thou shalt go out one way against them, and flee seven ways before them: and shalt be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth.
26 And thy carcase shall be meat unto all fowls of the air, and unto the beasts of the earth, and no man shall fray them away.
27 The LORD will smite thee with the botch of Egypt, and with the emerods, and with the scab, and with the itch, whereof thou canst not be healed.
28 The LORD shall smite thee with madness, and blindness, and astonishment of heart:
29 And thou shalt grope at noonday, as the blind gropeth in darkness, and thou shalt not prosper in thy ways: and thou shalt be only oppressed and spoiled evermore, and no man shall save thee.
30 Thou shalt betroth a wife, and another man shall lie with her: thou shalt build an house, and thou shalt not dwell therein: thou shalt plant a vineyard, and shalt not gather the grapes thereof.
31 Thine ox shall be slain before thine eyes, and thou shalt not eat thereof: thine ass shall be violently taken away from before thy face, and shall not be restored to thee: thy sheep shall be given unto thine enemies, and thou shalt have none to rescue them.
32 Thy sons and thy daughters shall be given unto another people, and thine eyes shall look, and fail with longing for them all the day long; and there shall be no might in thine hand.
33 The fruit of thy land, and all thy labours, shall a nation which thou knowest not eat up; and thou shalt be only oppressed and crushed alway:
34 So that thou shalt be mad for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see.
35 The LORD shall smite thee in the knees, and in the legs, with a sore botch that cannot be healed, from the sole of thy foot unto the top of thy head.
36 The LORD shall bring thee, and thy king which thou shalt set over thee, unto a nation which neither thou nor thy fathers have known; and there shalt thou serve other gods, wood and stone.

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37 And thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverb, and a byword, among all nations whither the LORD shall lead thee.
38 Thou shalt carry much seed out into the field, and shalt gather but little in; for the locust shall consume it.
39 Thou shalt plant vineyards, and dress them, but shalt neither drink of the wine, nor gather the grapes; for the worms shall eat them.
40 Thou shalt have olive trees throughout all thy coasts, but thou shalt not anoint thyself with the oil; for thine olive shall cast his fruit.
41 Thou shalt beget sons and daughters, but thou shalt not enjoy them; for they shall go into captivity.
42 All thy trees and fruit of thy land shall the locust consume.
43 The stranger that is within thee shall get up above thee very high; and thou shalt come down very low.
44 He shall lend to thee, and thou shalt not lend to him: he shall be the head, and thou shalt be the tail.
45 Moreover all these curses shall come upon thee, and shall pursue thee, and overtake thee, till thou be destroyed; because thou hearkenedst not unto the voice of the LORD thy God, to keep his commandments and his statutes which he commanded thee:
46 And they shall be upon thee for a sign and for a wonder, and upon thy seed for ever.
47 Because thou servedst not the LORD thy God with joyfulness, and with gladness of heart, for the abundance of all things;
48 Therefore shalt thou serve thine enemies which the LORD shall send against thee, in hunger, and in thirst, and in nakedness, and in want of all things: and he shall put a yoke of iron upon thy neck, until he have destroyed thee.
49 The LORD shall bring a nation against thee from far, from the end of the earth, as swift as the eagle flieth; a nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand;
50 A nation of fierce countenance, which shall not regard the person of the old, nor shew favour to the young:
51 And he shall eat the fruit of thy cattle, and the fruit of thy land, until thou be destroyed: which also shall not leave thee either corn, wine, or oil, or the increase of thy kine, or flocks of thy sheep, until he have destroyed thee.
52 And he shall besiege thee in all thy gates, until thy high and fenced walls come down, wherein thou trustedst, throughout all thy land: and he shall besiege thee in all thy gates throughout all thy land, which the LORD thy God hath given thee.
53 And thou shalt eat the fruit of thine own body, the flesh of thy sons and of thy daughters, which the LORD thy God hath given thee, in the siege, and in the straitness, wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee:
54 So that the man that is tender among you, and very delicate, his eye shall be evil toward his brother, and toward the wife of his bosom, and toward the remnant of his children which he shall leave:
55 So that he will not give to any of them of the flesh of his children whom he shall eat: because he hath nothing left him in the siege, and in the straitness, wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee in all thy gates.
56 The tender and delicate woman among you, which would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness, her eye shall be evil toward the husband of her bosom, and toward her son, and toward her daughter,
57 And toward her young one that cometh out from between her feet, and toward her children which she shall bear: for she shall eat them for want of all things secretly in the siege and straitness, wherewith thine enemy shall distress thee in thy gates.
58 If thou wilt not observe to do all the words of this law that are written in this book, that thou mayest fear this glorious and fearful name, THE LORD THY GOD;
59 Then the LORD will make thy plagues wonderful, and the plagues of thy seed, even great plagues, and of long continuance, and sore sicknesses, and of long continuance.
60 Moreover he will bring upon thee all the diseases of Egypt, which thou wast afraid of; and they shall cleave unto thee.
61 Also every sickness, and every plague, which is not written in the book of this law, them will the LORD bring upon thee, until thou be destroyed.
62 And ye shall be left few in number, whereas ye were as the stars of heaven for multitude; because thou wouldest not obey the voice of the LORD thy God.
63 And it shall come to pass, that as the LORD rejoiced over you to do you good, and to multiply you; so the LORD will rejoice over you to destroy you, and to bring you to nought; and ye shall be plucked from off the land whither thou goest to possess it.
64 And the LORD shall scatter thee among all people, from the one end of the earth even unto the other; and there thou shalt serve other gods, which neither thou nor thy fathers have known, even wood and stone.
65 And among these nations shalt thou find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest: but the LORD shall give thee there a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind:
66 And thy life shall hang in doubt before thee; and thou shalt fear day and night, and shalt have none assurance of thy life:
67 In the morning thou shalt say, Would God it were even! and at even thou shalt say, Would God it were morning! for the fear of thine heart wherewith thou shalt fear, and for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see.
68 And the LORD shall bring thee into Egypt again with ships, by the way whereof I spake unto thee, Thou shalt see it no more again: and there ye shall be sold unto your enemies for bondmen and bondwomen, and no man shall buy you.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 29

1 These are the words of the covenant, which the LORD commanded Moses to make with the children of Israel in the land of Moab, beside the covenant which he made with them in Horeb.
2 And Moses called unto all Israel, and said unto them, Ye have seen all that the LORD did before your eyes in the land of Egypt unto Pharaoh, and unto all his servants, and unto all his land;
3 The great temptations which thine eyes have seen, the signs, and those great miracles:
4 Yet the LORD hath not given you an heart to perceive, and eyes to see, and ears to hear, unto this day.
5 And I have led you forty years in the wilderness: your clothes are not waxen old upon you, and thy shoe is not waxen old upon thy foot.
6 Ye have not eaten bread, neither have ye drunk wine or strong drink: that ye might know that I am the LORD your God.
7 And when ye came unto this place, Sihon the king of Heshbon, and Og the king of Bashan, came out against us unto battle, and we smote them:
8 And we took their land, and gave it for an inheritance unto the Reubenites, and to the Gadites, and to the half tribe of Manasseh.
9 Keep therefore the words of this covenant, and do them, that ye may prosper in all that ye do.
10 Ye stand this day all of you before the LORD your God; your captains of your tribes, your elders, and your officers, with all the men of Israel,
11 Your little ones, your wives, and thy stranger that is in thy camp, from the hewer of thy wood unto the drawer of thy water:
12 That thou shouldest enter into covenant with the LORD thy God, and into his oath, which the LORD thy God maketh with thee this day:
13 That he may establish thee to day for a people unto himself, and that he may be unto thee a God, as he hath said unto thee, and as he hath sworn unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob.
14 Neither with you only do I make this covenant and this oath;
15 But with him that standeth here with us this day before the LORD our God, and also with him that is not here with us this day:
16 (For ye know how we have dwelt in the land of Egypt; and how we came through the nations which ye passed by;
17 And ye have seen their abominations, and their idols, wood and stone, silver and gold, which were among them:)
18 Lest there should be among you man, or woman, or family, or tribe, whose heart turneth away this day from the LORD our God, to go and serve the gods of these nations; lest there should be among you a root that beareth gall and wormwood;
19 And it come to pass, when he heareth the words of this curse, that he bless himself in his heart, saying, I shall have peace, though I walk in the imagination of mine heart, to add drunkenness to thirst:
20 The LORD will not spare him, but then the anger of the LORD and his jealousy shall smoke against that man, and all the curses that are written in this book shall lie upon him, and the LORD shall blot out his name from under heaven.
21 And the LORD shall separate him unto evil out of all the tribes of Israel, according to all the curses of the covenant that are written in this book of the law:
22 So that the generation to come of your children that shall rise up after you, and the stranger that shall come from a far land, shall say, when they see the plagues of that land, and the sicknesses which the LORD hath laid upon it;
23 And that the whole land thereof is brimstone, and salt, and burning, that it is not sown, nor beareth, nor any grass groweth therein, like the overthrow of Sodom, and Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboim, which the LORD overthrew in his anger, and in his wrath:
24 Even all nations shall say, Wherefore hath the LORD done thus unto this land? what meaneth the heat of this great anger?
25 Then men shall say, Because they have forsaken the covenant of the LORD God of their fathers, which he made with them when he brought them forth out of the land of Egypt:
26 For they went and served other gods, and worshipped them, gods whom they knew not, and whom he had not given unto them:
27 And the anger of the LORD was kindled against this land, to bring upon it all the curses that are written in this book:
28 And the LORD rooted them out of their land in anger, and in wrath, and in great indignation, and cast them into another land, as it is this day.
29 The secret things belong unto the LORD our God: but those things which are revealed belong unto us and to our children for ever, that we may do all the words of this law.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 30

1 And it shall come to pass, when all these things are come upon thee, the blessing and the curse, which I have set before thee, and thou shalt call them to mind among all the nations, whither the LORD thy God hath driven thee,
2 And shalt return unto the LORD thy God, and shalt obey his voice according to all that I command thee this day, thou and thy children, with all thine heart, and with all thy soul;
3 That then the LORD thy God will turn thy captivity, and have compassion upon thee, and will return and gather thee from all the nations, whither the LORD thy God hath scattered thee.
4 If any of thine be driven out unto the outmost parts of heaven, from thence will the LORD thy God gather thee, and from thence will he fetch thee:
5 And the LORD thy God will bring thee into the land which thy fathers possessed, and thou shalt possess it; and he will do thee good, and multiply thee above thy fathers.
6 And the LORD thy God will circumcise thine heart, and the heart of thy seed, to love the LORD thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, that thou mayest live.
7 And the LORD thy God will put all these curses upon thine enemies, and on them that hate thee, which persecuted thee.
8 And thou shalt return and obey the voice of the LORD, and do all his commandments which I command thee this day.
9 And the LORD thy God will make thee plenteous in every work of thine hand, in the fruit of thy body, and in the fruit of thy cattle, and in the fruit of thy land, for good: for the LORD will again rejoice over thee for good, as he rejoiced over thy fathers:
10 If thou shalt hearken unto the voice of the LORD thy God, to keep his commandments and his statutes which are written in this book of the law, and if thou turn unto the LORD thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul.
11 For this commandment which I command thee this day, it is not hidden from thee, neither is it far off.
12 It is not in heaven, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it, and do it?
13 Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it, and do it?
14 But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it.
15 See, I have set before thee this day life and good, and death and evil;
16 In that I command thee this day to love the LORD thy God, to walk in his ways, and to keep his commandments and his statutes and his judgements, that thou mayest live and multiply: and the LORD thy God shall bless thee in the land whither thou goest to possess it.
17 But if thine heart turn away, so that thou wilt not hear, but shalt be drawn away, and worship other gods, and serve them;
18 I denounce unto you this day, that ye shall surely perish, and that ye shall not prolong your days upon the land, whither thou passest over Jordan to go to possess it.
19 I call heaven and earth to record this day against you, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing: therefore choose life, that both thou and thy seed may live:
20 That thou mayest love the LORD thy God, and that thou mayest obey his voice, and that thou mayest cleave unto him: for he is thy life, and the length of thy days: that thou mayest dwell in the land which the LORD sware unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give them.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 31

1 And Moses went and spake these words unto all Israel.
2 And he said unto them, I am an hundred and twenty years old this day; I can no more go out and come in: also the LORD hath said unto me, Thou shalt not go over this Jordan.
3 The LORD thy God, he will go over before thee, and he will destroy these nations from before thee, and thou shalt possess them: and Joshua, he shall go over before thee, as the LORD hath said.

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4 And the LORD shall do unto them as he did to Sihon and to Og, kings of the Amorites, and unto the land of them, whom he destroyed.
5 And the LORD shall give them up before your face, that ye may do unto them according unto all the commandments which I have commanded you.
6 Be strong and of a good courage, fear not, nor be afraid of them: for the LORD thy God, he it is that doth go with thee; he will not fail thee, nor forsake thee.
7 And Moses called unto Joshua, and said unto him in the sight of all Israel, Be strong and of a good courage: for thou must go with this people unto the land which the LORD hath sworn unto their fathers to give them; and thou shalt cause them to inherit it.
8 And the LORD, he it is that doth go before thee; he will be with thee, he will not fail thee, neither forsake thee: fear not, neither be dismayed.
9 And Moses wrote this law, and delivered it unto the priests the sons of Levi, which bare the ark of the covenant of the LORD, and unto all the elders of Israel.
10 And Moses commanded them, saying, At the end of every seven years, in the solemnity of the year of release, in the feast of tabernacles,
11 When all Israel is come to appear before the LORD thy God in the place which he shall choose, thou shalt read this law before all Israel in their hearing.
12 Gather the people together, men and women, and children, and thy stranger that is within thy gates, that they may hear, and that they may learn, and fear the LORD your God, and observe to do all the words of this law:
13 And that their children, which have not known any thing, may hear, and learn to fear the LORD your God, as long as ye live in the land whither ye go over Jordan to possess it.
14 And the LORD said unto Moses, Behold, thy days approach that thou must die: call Joshua, and present yourselves in the tabernacle of the congregation, that I may give him a charge. And Moses and Joshua went, and presented themselves in the tabernacle of the congregation.
15 And the LORD appeared in the tabernacle in a pillar of a cloud: and the pillar of the cloud stood over the door of the tabernacle.
16 And the LORD said unto Moses, Behold, thou shalt sleep with thy fathers; and this people will rise up, and go a whoring after the gods of the strangers of the land, whither they go to be among them, and will forsake me, and break my covenant which I have made with them.
17 Then my anger shall be kindled against them in that day, and I will forsake them, and I will hide my face from them, and they shall be devoured, and many evils and troubles shall befall them; so that they will say in that day, Are not these evils come upon us, because our God is not among us?
18 And I will surely hide my face in that day for all the evils which they shall have wrought, in that they are turned unto other gods.
19 Now therefore write ye this song for you, and teach it the children of Israel: put it in their mouths, that this song may be a witness for me against the children of Israel.
20 For when I shall have brought them into the land which I sware unto their fathers, that floweth with milk and honey; and they shall have eaten and filled themselves, and waxen fat; then will they turn unto other gods, and serve them, and provoke me, and break my covenant.
21 And it shall come to pass, when many evils and troubles are befallen them, that this song shall testify against them as a witness; for it shall not be forgotten out of the mouths of their seed: for I know their imagination which they go about, even now, before I have brought them into the land which I sware.
22 Moses therefore wrote this song the same day, and taught it the children of Israel.
23 And he gave Joshua the son of Nun a charge, and said, Be strong and of a good courage: for thou shalt bring the children of Israel into the land which I sware unto them: and I will be with thee.
24 And it came to pass, when Moses had made an end of writing the words of this law in a book, until they were finished,
25 That Moses commanded the Levites, which bare the ark of the covenant of the LORD, saying,
26 Take this book of the law, and put it in the side of the ark of the covenant of the LORD your God, that it may be there for a witness against thee.
27 For I know thy rebellion, and thy stiff neck: behold, while I am yet alive with you this day, ye have been rebellious against the LORD; and how much more after my death?
28 Gather unto me all the elders of your tribes, and your officers, that I may speak these words in their ears, and call heaven and earth to record against them.
29 For I know that after my death ye will utterly corrupt yourselves, and turn aside from the way which I have commanded you; and evil will befall you in the latter days; because ye will do evil in the sight of the LORD, to provoke him to anger through the work of your hands.
30 And Moses spake in the ears of all the congregation of Israel the words of this song, until they were ended.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 32

1 Give ear, O ye heavens, and I will speak; and hear, O earth, the words of my mouth.
2 My doctrine shall drop as the rain, my speech shall distil as the dew, as the small rain upon the tender herb, and as the showers upon the grass:
3 Because I will publish the name of the LORD: ascribe ye greatness unto our God.
4 He is the Rock, his work is perfect: for all his ways are judgement: a God of truth and without iniquity, just and right is he.
5 They have corrupted themselves, their spot is not the spot of his children: they are a perverse and crooked generation.
6 Do ye thus requite the LORD, O foolish people and unwise? is not he thy father that hath bought thee? hath he not made thee, and established thee?
7 Remember the days of old, consider the years of many generations: ask thy father, and he will shew thee; thy elders, and they will tell thee.
8 When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel.
9 For the LORD's portion is his people; Jacob is the lot of his inheritance.
10 He found him in a desert land, and in the waste howling wilderness; he led him about, he instructed him, he kept him as the apple of his eye.
11 As an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her wings:
12 So the LORD alone did lead him, and there was no strange god with him.
13 He made him ride on the high places of the earth, that he might eat the increase of the fields; and he made him to suck honey out of the rock, and oil out of the flinty rock;
14 Butter of kine, and milk of sheep, with fat of lambs, and rams of the breed of Bashan, and goats, with the fat of kidneys of wheat; and thou didst drink the pure blood of the grape.
15 But Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked: thou art waxen fat, thou art grown thick, thou art covered with fatness; then he forsook God which made him, and lightly esteemed the Rock of his salvation.
16 They provoked him to jealousy with strange gods, with abominations provoked they him to anger.
17 They sacrificed unto devils, not to God; to gods whom they knew not, to new gods that came newly up, whom your fathers feared not.
18 Of the Rock that begat thee thou art unmindful, and hast forgotten God that formed thee.
19 And when the LORD saw it, he abhorred them, because of the provoking of his sons, and of his daughters.
20 And he said, I will hide my face from them, I will see what their end shall be: for they are a very froward generation, children in whom is no faith.
21 They have moved me to jealousy with that which is not God; they have provoked me to anger with their vanities: and I will move them to jealousy with those which are not a people; I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation.
22 For a fire is kindled in mine anger, and shall burn unto the lowest hell, and shall consume the earth with her increase, and set on fire the foundations of the mountains.
23 I will heap mischiefs upon them; I will spend mine arrows upon them.
24 They shall be burnt with hunger, and devoured with burning heat, and with bitter destruction: I will also send the teeth of beasts upon them, with the poison of serpents of the dust.
25 The sword without, and terror within, shall destroy both the young man and the virgin, the suckling also with the man of gray hairs.
26 I said, I would scatter them into corners, I would make the remembrance of them to cease from among men:
27 Were it not that I feared the wrath of the enemy, lest their adversaries should behave themselves strangely, and lest they should say, Our hand is high, and the LORD hath not done all this.
28 For they are a nation void of counsel, neither is there any understanding in them.
29 O that they were wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their latter end!
30 How should one chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight, except their Rock had sold them, and the LORD had shut them up?
31 For their rock is not as our Rock, even our enemies themselves being judges.
32 For their vine is of the vine of Sodom, and of the fields of Gomorrah: their grapes are grapes of gall, their clusters are bitter:
33 Their wine is the poison of dragons, and the cruel venom of asps.
34 Is not this laid up in store with me, and sealed up among my treasures?
35 To me belongeth vengeance and recompence; their foot shall slide in due time: for the day of their calamity is at hand, and the things that shall come upon them make haste.
36 For the LORD shall judge his people, and repent himself for his servants, when he seeth that their power is gone, and there is none shut up, or left.
37 And he shall say, Where are their gods, their rock in whom they trusted,
38 Which did eat the fat of their sacrifices, and drank the wine of their drink offerings? let them rise up and help you, and be your protection.
39 See now that I, even I, am he, and there is no god with me: I kill, and I make alive; I wound, and I heal: neither is there any that can deliver out of my hand.
40 For I lift up my hand to heaven, and say, I live for ever.
41 If I whet my glittering sword, and mine hand take hold on judgement; I will render vengeance to mine enemies, and will reward them that hate me.
42 I will make mine arrows drunk with blood, and my sword shall devour flesh; and that with the blood of the slain and of the captives, from the beginning of revenges upon the enemy.
43 Rejoice, O ye nations, with his people: for he will avenge the blood of his servants, and will render vengeance to his adversaries, and will be merciful unto his land, and to his people.
44 And Moses came and spake all the words of this song in the ears of the people, he, and Hoshea the son of Nun.
45 And Moses made an end of speaking all these words to all Israel:
46 And he said unto them, Set your hearts unto all the words which I testify among you this day, which ye shall command your children to observe to do, all the words of this law.
47 For it is not a vain thing for you; because it is your life: and through this thing ye shall prolong your days in the land, whither ye go over Jordan to possess it.
48 And the LORD spake unto Moses that selfsame day, saying,
49 Get thee up into this mountain Abarim, unto mount Nebo, which is in the land of Moab, that is over against Jericho; and behold the land of Canaan, which I give unto the children of Israel for a possession:
50 And die in the mount whither thou goest up, and be gathered unto thy people; as Aaron thy brother died in mount Hor, and was gathered unto his people:
51 Because ye trespassed against me among the children of Israel at the waters of MeribahKadesh, in the wilderness of Zin; because ye sanctified me not in the midst of the children of Israel.
52 Yet thou shalt see the land before thee; but thou shalt not go thither unto the land which I give the children of Israel.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 33

1 And this is the blessing, wherewith Moses the man of God blessed the children of Israel before his death.
2 And he said, The LORD came from Sinai, and rose up from Seir unto them; he shined forth from mount Paran, and he came with ten thousands of saints: from his right hand went a fiery law for them.
3 Yea, he loved the people; all his saints are in thy hand: and they sat down at thy feet; every one shall receive of thy words.
4 Moses commanded us a law, even the inheritance of the congregation of Jacob.
5 And he was king in Jeshurun, when the heads of the people and the tribes of Israel were gathered together.
6 Let Reuben live, and not die; and let not his men be few.
7 And this is the blessing of Judah: and he said, Hear, LORD, the voice of Judah, and bring him unto his people: let his hands be sufficient for him; and be thou an help to him from his enemies.
8 And of Levi he said, Let thy Thummim and thy Urim be with thy holy one, whom thou didst prove at Massah, and with whom thou didst strive at the waters of Meribah;
9 Who said unto his father and to his mother, I have not seen him; neither did he acknowledge his brethren, nor knew his own children: for they have observed thy word, and kept thy covenant.
10 They shall teach Jacob thy judgements, and Israel thy law: they shall put incense before thee, and whole burnt sacrifice upon thine altar.
11 Bless, LORD, his substance, and accept the work of his hands; smite through the loins of them that rise against him, and of them that hate him, that they rise not again.
12 And of Benjamin he said, The beloved of the LORD shall dwell in safety by him; and the Lord shall cover him all the day long, and he shall dwell between his shoulders.
13 And of Joseph he said, Blessed of the LORD be his land, for the precious things of heaven, for the dew, and for the deep that coucheth beneath,

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14 And for the precious fruits brought forth by the sun, and for the precious things put forth by the moon,
15 And for the chief things of the ancient mountains, and for the precious things of the lasting hills,
16 And for the precious things of the earth and fulness thereof, and for the good will of him that dwelt in the bush: let the blessing come upon the head of Joseph, and upon the top of the head of him that was separated from his brethren.
17 His glory is like the firstling of his bullock, and his horns are like the horns of unicorns: with them he shall push the people together to the ends of the earth: and they are the ten thousands of Ephraim, and they are the thousands of Manasseh.
18 And of Zebulun he said, Rejoice, Zebulun, in thy going out; and, Issachar, in thy tents.
19 They shall call the people unto the mountain; there they shall offer sacrifices of righteousness: for they shall suck of the abundance of the seas, and of treasures hid in the sand.
20 And of Gad he said, Blessed be he that enlargeth Gad: he dwelleth as a lion, and teareth the arm with the crown of the head.
21 And he provided the first part for himself, because there, in a portion of the lawgiver, was he seated; and he came with the heads of the people, he executed the justice of the LORD, and his judgements with Israel.
22 And of Dan he said, Dan is a lion's whelp: he shall leap from Bashan.
23 And of Naphtali he said, O Naphtali, satisfied with favour, and full with the blessing of the LORD: possess thou the west and the south.
24 And of Asher he said, Let Asher be blessed with children; let him be acceptable to his brethren, and let him dip his foot in oil.
25 Thy shoes shall be iron and brass; and as thy days, so shall thy strength be.
26 There is none like unto the God of Jeshurun, who rideth upon the heaven in thy help, and in his excellency on the sky.
27 The eternal God is thy refuge, and underneath are the everlasting arms: and he shall thrust out the enemy from before thee; and shall say, Destroy them.
28 Israel then shall dwell in safety alone: the fountain of Jacob shall be upon a land of corn and wine; also his heavens shall drop down dew.
29 Happy art thou, O Israel: who is like unto thee, O people saved by the LORD, the shield of thy help, and who is the sword of thy excellency! and thine enemies shall be found liars unto thee; and thou shalt tread upon their high places.

DEUTERONOMY CHAPTER 34

1 And Moses went up from the plains of Moab unto the mountain of Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, that is over against Jericho. And the LORD shewed him all the land of Gilead, unto Dan,
2 And all Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim, and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah, unto the utmost sea,
3 And the south, and the plain of the valley of Jericho, the city of palm trees, unto Zoar.
4 And the LORD said unto him, This is the land which I sware unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, saying, I will give it unto thy seed: I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes, but thou shalt not go over thither.
5 So Moses the servant of the LORD died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the LORD.
6 And he buried him in a valley in the land of Moab, over against Bethpeor: but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day.
7 And Moses was an hundred and twenty years old when he died: his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated.
8 And the children of Israel wept for Moses in the plains of Moab thirty days: so the days of weeping and mourning for Moses were ended.
9 And Joshua the son of Nun was full of the spirit of wisdom; for Moses had laid his hands upon him: and the children of Israel hearkened unto him, and did as the LORD commanded Moses.
10 And there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the LORD knew face to face,
11 In all the signs and the wonders, which the LORD sent him to do in the land of Egypt to Pharaoh, and to all his servants, and to all his land,
12 And in all that mighty hand, and in all the great terror which Moses shewed in the sight of all Israel.

THE NEVI'IM
or The Prophets

This second part of The Old Testament, or The Tanakh, contains three book collections:
1. Nevi'im Rishonim or The Primary Major Prophets,
2. Nevi'im Aharonim or The Secondary Major Prophets,
3. Trei Asar or The Twelve Minor Prophets.

Oldest surviving copy: Qumran scrolls, 3rd - 2nd c. B.C.

The Given Names Of The Book Titles Do Not Refer To The Author Of The Following Books But Merely To The Prophet or Teacher Who Plays An Important Part In That Book.

THE NEVI'IM RISHONIM
The Primary Major Prophets
(Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings)

THE BOOK OF JOSHUA

Hebrew Title: Sefer Yehoshua
("The Book of the Saviour")
English Translation: King James Version
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 640–540 B.C.

(The Book of Joshua (Hebrew: Sefer Yehoshua) is the sixth book in the Hebrew Bible and the Christian Old Testament, and is the first book of the Deuteronomistic history, the story of Israel from the conquest of Canaan to the Babylonian exile. It tells of the campaigns of the Israelites in central, southern and northern Canaan, the destruction of their enemies, and the division of the land among the Twelve Tribes, framed by two set-piece speeches, the first by God commanding the conquest of the land, and, at the end, the last by Joshua warning of the need for faithful observance of the Law (torah) revealed to Moses.

Almost all scholars agree that the Book of Joshua holds little historical value for early Israel and most likely reflects a much later period. The earliest parts of the book are possibly chapters 2–11, the story of the conquest; these chapters were later incorporated into an early form of Joshua written late in the reign of king Josiah (reigned 640–609 BC), but the book was not completed until after the fall of Jerusalem to the Neo-Babylonian Empire in 586 BC, and possibly not until after the return from the Babylonian exile in 539 BC.

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JOSHUA CHAPTER 1

1 Now after the death of Moses the servant of the LORD it came to pass, that the LORD spake unto Joshua the son of Nun, Moses' minister, saying,
2 Moses my servant is dead; now therefore arise, go over this Jordan, thou, and all this people, unto the land which I do give to them, even to the children of Israel.
3 Every place that the sole of your foot shall tread upon, that have I given unto you, as I said unto Moses.
4 From the wilderness and this Lebanon even unto the great river, the river Euphrates, all the land of the Hittites, and unto the great sea toward the going down of the sun, shall be your coast.
5 There shall not any man be able to stand before thee all the days of thy life: as I was with Moses, so I will be with thee: I will not fail thee, nor forsake thee.
6 Be strong and of a good courage: for unto this people shalt thou divide for an inheritance the land, which I sware unto their fathers to give them.
7 Only be thou strong and very courageous, that thou mayest observe to do according to all the law, which Moses my servant commanded thee: turn not from it to the right hand or to the left, that thou mayest prosper withersoever thou goest.
8 This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth; but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do according to all that is written therein: for then thou shalt make thy way prosperous, and then thou shalt have good success.
9 Have not I commanded thee? Be strong and of a good courage; be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed: for the LORD thy God is with thee whithersoever thou goest.
10 Then Joshua commanded the officers of the people, saying,
11 Pass through the host, and command the people, saying, Prepare you victuals; for within three days ye shall pass over this Jordan, to go in to possess the land, which the LORD your God giveth you to possess it.
12 And to the Reubenites, and to the Gadites, and to half the tribe of Manasseh, spake Joshua, saying,
13 Remember the word which Moses the servant of the LORD commanded you, saying, The LORD your God hath given you rest, and hath given you this land.
14 Your wives, your little ones, and your cattle, shall remain in the land which Moses gave you on this side Jordan; but ye shall pass before your brethren armed, all the mighty men of valour, and help them;
15 Until the LORD have given your brethren rest, as he hath given you, and they also have possessed the land which the LORD your God giveth them: then ye shall return unto the land of your possession, and enjoy it, which Moses the LORD's servant gave you on this side Jordan toward the sunrising.
16 And they answered Joshua, saying, All that thou commandest us we will do, and whithersoever thou sendest us, we will go.
17 According as we hearkened unto Moses in all things, so will we hearken unto thee: only the LORD thy God be with thee, as he was with Moses.
18 Whosoever he be that doth rebel against thy commandment, and will not hearken unto thy words in all that thou commandest him, he shall be put to death: only be strong and of a good courage.

JOSHUA CHAPTER 2

1 And Joshua the son of Nun sent out of Shittim two men to spy secretly, saying, Go view the land, even Jericho. And they went, and came into an harlot's house, named Rahab, and lodged there.
2 And it was told the king of Jericho, saying, Behold, there came men in hither to night of the children of Israel to search out the country.
3 And the king of Jericho sent unto Rahab, saying, Bring forth the men that are come to thee, which are entered into thine house: for they be come to search out all the country.
4 And the woman took the two men, and hid them, and said thus, There came men unto me, but I wist not whence they were:
5 And it came to pass about the time of shutting of the gate, when it was dark, that the men went out: whither the men went I wot not: pursue after them quickly; for ye shall overtake them.
6 But she had brought them up to the roof of the house, and hid them with the stalks of flax, which she had laid in order upon the roof.
7 And the men pursued after them the way to Jordan unto the fords: and as soon as they which pursued after them were gone out, they shut the gate.
8 And before they were laid down, she came up unto them upon the roof;
9 And she said unto the men, I know that the LORD hath given you the land, and that your terror is fallen upon us, and that all the inhabitants of the land faint because of you.
10 For we have heard how the LORD dried up the water of the Red sea for you, when ye came out of Egypt; and what ye did unto the two kings of the Amorites, that were on the other side Jordan, Sihon and Og, whom ye utterly destroyed.
11 And as soon as we had heard these things, our hearts did melt, neither did there remain any more courage in any man, because of you: for the LORD your God, he is God in heaven above, and in earth beneath.
12 Now therefore, I pray you, swear unto me by the LORD, since I have shewed you kindness, that ye will also shew kindness unto my father's house, and give me a true token:
13 And that ye will save alive my father, and my mother, and my brethren, and my sisters, and all that they have, and deliver our lives from death.

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14 And the men answered her, Our life for yours, if ye utter not this our business. And it shall be, when the LORD hath given us the land, that we will deal kindly and truly with thee.
15 Then she let them down by a cord through the window: for her house was upon the town wall, and she dwelt upon the wall.
16 And she said unto them, Get you to the mountain, lest the pursuers meet you; and hide yourselves there three days, until the pursuers be returned: and afterward may ye go your way.
17 And the men said unto her, We will be blameless of this thine oath which thou hast made us swear.
18 Behold, when we come into the land, thou shalt bind this line of scarlet thread in the window which thou didst let us down by: and thou shalt bring thy father, and thy mother, and thy brethren, and all thy father's household, home unto thee.
19 And it shall be, that whosoever shall go out of the doors of thy house into the street, his blood shall be upon his head, and we will be guiltless: and whosoever shall be with thee in the house, his blood shall be on our head, if any hand be upon him.
20 And if thou utter this our business, then we will be quit of thine oath which thou hast made us to swear.
21 And she said, According unto your words, so be it. And she sent them away, and they departed: and she bound the scarlet line in the window.
22 And they went, and came unto the mountain, and abode there three days, until the pursuers were returned: and the pursuers sought them throughout all the way, but found them not.
23 So the two men returned, and descended from the mountain, and passed over, and came to Joshua the son of Nun, and told him all things that befell them:
24 And they said unto Joshua, Truly the LORD hath delivered into our hands all the land; for even all the inhabitants of the country do faint because of us.

JOSHUA CHAPTER 3

1 And Joshua rose early in the morning; and they removed from Shittim, and came to Jordan, he and all the children of Israel, and lodged there before they passed over.
2 And it came to pass after three days, that the officers went through the host;
3 And they commanded the people, saying, When ye see the ark of the covenant of the LORD your God, and the priests the Levites bearing it, then ye shall remove from your place, and go after it.
4 Yet there shall be a space between you and it, about two thousand cubits by measure: come not near unto it, that ye may know the way by which ye must go: for ye have not passed this way heretofore.
5 And Joshua said unto the people, Sanctify yourselves: for to morrow the LORD will do wonders among you.
6 And Joshua spake unto the priests, saying, Take up the ark of the covenant, and pass over before the people. And they took up the ark of the covenant, and went before the people.
7 And the LORD said unto Joshua, This day will I begin to magnify thee in the sight of all Israel, that they may know that, as I was with Moses, so I will be with thee.
8 And thou shalt command the priests that bear the ark of the covenant, saying, When ye are come to the brink of the water of Jordan, ye shall stand still in Jordan.
9 And Joshua said unto the children of Israel, Come hither, and hear the words of the LORD your God.
10 And Joshua said, Hereby ye shall know that the living God is among you, and that he will without fail drive out from before you the Canaanites, and the Hittites, and the Hivites, and the Perizzites, and the Girgashites, and the Amorites, and the Jebusites.
11 Behold, the ark of the covenant of the LORD of all the earth passeth over before you into Jordan.
12 Now therefore take you twelve men out of the tribes of Israel, out of every tribe a man.
13 And it shall come to pass, as soon as the soles of the feet of the priests that bear the ark of the LORD, the LORD of all the earth, shall rest in the waters of Jordan, that the waters of Jordan shall be cut off from the waters that come down from above; and they shall stand upon an heap.
14 And it came to pass, when the people removed from their tents, to pass over Jordan, and the priests bearing the ark of the covenant before the people;
15 And as they that bare the ark were come unto Jordan, and the feet of the priests that bare the ark were dipped in the brim of the water, (for Jordan overfloweth all his banks all the time of harvest,)
16 That the waters which came down from above stood and rose up upon an heap very far from the city Adam, that is beside Zaretan: and those that came down toward the sea of the plain, even the salt sea, failed, and were cut off: and the people passed over right against Jericho.
17 And the priests that bare the ark of the covenant of the LORD stood firm on dry ground in the midst of Jordan, and all the Israelites passed over on dry ground, until all the people were passed clean over Jordan.

JOSHUA CHAPTER 4

1 And it came to pass, when all the people were clean passed over Jordan, that the LORD spake unto Joshua, saying,
2 Take you twelve men out of the people, out of every tribe a man,
3 And command ye them, saying, Take you hence out of the midst of Jordan, out of the place where the priests' feet stood firm, twelve stones, and ye shall carry them over with you, and leave them in the lodging place, where ye shall lodge this night.
4 Then Joshua called the twelve men, whom he had prepared of the children of Israel, out of every tribe a man:
5 And Joshua said unto them, Pass over before the ark of the LORD your God into the midst of Jordan, and take you up every man of you a stone upon his shoulder, according unto the number of the tribes of the children of Israel:
6 That this may be a sign among you, that when your children ask their fathers in time to come, saying, What mean ye by these stones?
7 Then ye shall answer them, That the waters of Jordan were cut off before the ark of the covenant of the LORD; when it passed over Jordan, the waters of Jordan were cut off: and these stones shall be for a memorial unto the children of Israel for ever.
8 And the children of Israel did so as Joshua commanded, and took up twelve stones out of the midst of Jordan, as the LORD spake unto Joshua, according to the number of the tribes of the children of Israel, and carried them over with them unto the place where they lodged, and laid them down there.
9 And Joshua set up twelve stones in the midst of Jordan, in the place where the feet of the priests which bare the ark of the covenant stood: and they are there unto this day.
10 For the priests which bare the ark stood in the midst of Jordan, until everything was finished that the LORD commanded Joshua to speak unto the people, according to all that Moses commanded Joshua: and the people hasted and passed over.
11 And it came to pass, when all the people were clean passed over, that the ark of the LORD passed over, and the priests, in the presence of the people.
12 And the children of Reuben, and the children of Gad, and half the tribe of Manasseh, passed over armed before the children of Israel, as Moses spake unto them:
13 About forty thousand prepared for war passed over before the LORD unto battle, to the plains of Jericho.
14 On that day the LORD magnified Joshua in the sight of all Israel; and they feared him, as they feared Moses, all the days of his life.
15 And the LORD spake unto Joshua, saying,
16 Command the priests that bear the ark of the testimony, that they come up out of Jordan.
17 Joshua therefore commanded the priests, saying, Come ye up out of Jordan.
18 And it came to pass, when the priests that bare the ark of the covenant of the LORD were come up out of the midst of Jordan, and the soles of the priests' feet were lifted up unto the dry land, that the waters of Jordan returned unto their place, and flowed over all his banks, as they did before.
19 And the people came up out of Jordan on the tenth day of the first month, and encamped in Gilgal, in the east border of Jericho.
20 And those twelve stones, which they took out of Jordan, did Joshua pitch in Gilgal.
21 And he spake unto the children of Israel, saying, When your children shall ask their fathers in time to come, saying, What mean these stones?
22 Then ye shall let your children know, saying, Israel came over this Jordan on dry land.
23 For the LORD your God dried up the waters of Jordan from before you, until ye were passed over, as the LORD your God did to the Red sea, which he dried up from before us, until we were gone over:
24 That all the people of the earth might know the hand of the LORD, that it is mighty: that ye might fear the LORD your God for ever.

JOSHUA CHAPTER 5

1 And it came to pass, when all the kings of the Amorites, which were on the side of Jordan westward, and all the kings of the Canaanites, which were by the sea, heard that the LORD had dried up the waters of Jordan from before the children of Israel, until we were passed over, that their heart melted, neither was there spirit in them any more, because of the children of Israel.
2 At that time the LORD said unto Joshua, Make thee sharp knives, and circumcise again the children of Israel the second time.
3 And Joshua made him sharp knives, and circumcised the children of Israel at the hill of the foreskins.
4 And this is the cause why Joshua did circumcise: All the people that came out of Egypt, that were males, even all the men of war, died in the wilderness by the way, after they came out of Egypt.
5 Now all the people that came out were circumcised: but all the people that were born in the wilderness by the way as they came forth out of Egypt, them they had not circumcised.
6 For the children of Israel walked forty years in the wilderness, till all the people that were men of war, which came out of Egypt, were consumed, because they obeyed not the voice of the LORD: unto whom the LORD sware that he would not shew them the land, which the LORD sware unto their fathers that he would give us, a land that floweth with milk and honey.
7 And their children, whom he raised up in their stead, them Joshua circumcised: for they were uncircumcised, because they had not circumcised them by the way.
8 And it came to pass, when they had done circumcising all the people, that they abode in their places in the camp, till they were whole.
9 And the LORD said unto Joshua, This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you. Wherefore the name of the place is called Gilgal unto this day.
10 And the children of Israel encamped in Gilgal, and kept the passover on the fourteenth day of the month at even in the plains of Jericho.
11 And they did eat of the old corn of the land on the morrow after the passover, unleavened cakes, and parched corn in the selfsame day.
12 And the manna ceased on the morrow after they had eaten of the old corn of the land; neither had the children of Israel manna any more; but they did eat of the fruit of the land of Canaan that year.
13 And it came to pass, when Joshua was by Jericho, that he lifted up his eyes and looked, and, behold, there stood a man over against him with his sword drawn in his hand: and Joshua went unto him, and said unto him, Art thou for us, or for our adversaries?
14 And he said, Nay; but as captain of the host of the LORD am I now come. And Joshua fell on his face to the earth, and did worship, and said unto him, What saith my Lord unto his servant?
15 And the captain of the LORD's host said unto Joshua, Loose thy shoe from off thy foot; for the place whereon thou standest is holy. And Joshua did so.

JOSHUA CHAPTER 6

1 Now Jericho was straitly shut up because of the children of Israel: none went out, and none came in.
2 And the LORD said unto Joshua, See, I have given into thine hand Jericho, and the king thereof, and the mighty men of valour.
3 And ye shall compass the city, all ye men of war, and go round about the city once. Thus shalt thou do six days.
4 And seven priests shall bear before the ark seven trumpets of rams' horns: and the seventh day ye shall compass the city seven times, and the priests shall blow with the trumpets.
5 And it shall come to pass, that when they make a long blast with the ram's horn, and when ye hear the sound of the trumpet, all the people shall shout with a great shout; and the wall of the city shall fall down flat, and the people shall ascend up every man straight before him.
6 And Joshua the son of Nun called the priests, and said unto them, Take up the ark of the covenant, and let seven priests bear seven trumpets of rams' horns before the ark of the LORD.
7 And he said unto the people, Pass on, and compass the city, and let him that is armed pass on before the ark of the LORD.
8 And it came to pass, when Joshua had spoken unto the people, that the seven priests bearing the seven trumpets of rams' horns passed on before the LORD, and blew with the trumpets: and the ark of the covenant of the LORD followed them.
9 And the armed men went before the priests that blew with the trumpets, and the rereward came after the ark, the priests going on, and blowing with the trumpets.
10 And Joshua had commanded the people, saying, Ye shall not shout, nor make any noise with your voice, neither shall any word proceed out of your mouth, until the day I bid you shout; then shall ye shout.
11 So the ark of the LORD compassed the city, going about it once: and they came into the camp, and lodged in the camp.
12 And Joshua rose early in the morning, and the priests took up the ark of the LORD.
13 And seven priests bearing seven trumpets of rams' horns before the ark of the LORD went on continually, and blew with the trumpets: and the armed men went before them; but the rereward came after the ark of the LORD, the priests going on, and blowing with the trumpets.
14 And the second day they compassed the city once, and returned into the camp: so they did six days.
15 And it came to pass on the seventh day, that they rose early about the dawning of the day, and compassed the city

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after the same manner seven times: only on that day they compassed the city seven times.

16 And it came to pass at the seventh time, when the priests blew with the trumpets, Joshua said unto the people, Shout; for the LORD hath given you the city.

17 And the city shall be accursed, even it, and all that are therein, to the LORD: only Rahab the harlot shall live, she and all that are with her in the house, because she hid the messengers that we sent.

18 And ye, in any wise keep yourselves from the accursed thing, lest ye make yourselves accursed, when ye take of the accursed thing, and make the camp of Israel a curse, and trouble it.

19 But all the silver, and gold, and vessels of brass and iron, are consecrated unto the LORD: they shall come into the treasury of the LORD.

20 So the people shouted when the priests blew with the trumpets: and it came to pass, when the people heard the sound of the trumpet, and the people shouted with a great shout, that the wall fell down flat, so that the people went up into the city, every man straight before him, and they took the city.

21 And they utterly destroyed all that was in the city, both man and woman, young and old, and ox, and sheep, and ass, with the edge of the sword.

22 But Joshua had said unto the two men that had spied out the country, Go into the harlot's house, and bring out thence the woman, and all that she hath, as ye sware unto her.

23 And the young men that were spies went in, and brought out Rahab, and her father, and her mother, and her brethren, and all that she had; and they brought out all her kindred, and left them without the camp of Israel.

24 And they burnt the city with fire, and all that was therein: only the silver, and the gold, and the vessels of brass and of iron, they put into the treasury of the house of the LORD.

25 And Joshua saved Rahab the harlot alive, and her father's household, and all that she had; and she dwelleth in Israel even unto this day; because she hid the messengers, which Joshua sent to spy out Jericho.

26 And Joshua adjured them at that time, saying, Cursed be the man before the LORD, that riseth up and buildeth this city Jericho: he shall lay the foundation thereof in his firstborn, and in his youngest son shall he set up the gates of it.

27 So the LORD was with Joshua; and his fame was noised throughout all the country.

JOSHUA CHAPTER 7

1 But the children of Israel committed a trespass in the accursed thing: for Achan, the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zerah, of the tribe of Judah, took of the accursed thing: and the anger of the LORD was kindled against the children of Israel.

2 And Joshua sent men from Jericho to Ai, which is beside Bethaven, on the east of Bethel, and spake unto them, saying, Go up and view the country. And the men went up and viewed Ai.

3 And they returned to Joshua, and said unto him, Let not all the people go up; but let about two or three thousand men go up and smite Ai; and make not all the people to labour thither; for they are but few.

4 So there went up thither of the people about three thousand men: and they fled before the men of Ai.

5 And the men of Ai smote of them about thirty and six men: for they chased them from before the gate even unto Shebarim, and smote them in the going down: wherefore the hearts of the people melted, and became as water.

6 And Joshua rent his clothes, and fell to the earth upon his face before the ark of the LORD until the eventide, he and the elders of Israel, and put dust upon their heads.

7 And Joshua said, Alas, O LORD God, wherefore hast thou at all brought this people over Jordan, to deliver us into the hand of the Amorites, to destroy us? would to God we had been content, and dwelt on the other side Jordan!

8 O LORD, what shall I say, when Israel turneth their backs before their enemies!

9 For the Canaanites and all the inhabitants of the land shall hear of it, and shall environ us round, and cut off our name from the earth: and what wilt thou do unto thy great name?

10 And the LORD said unto Joshua, Get thee up; wherefore liest thou thus upon thy face?

11 Israel hath sinned, and they have also transgressed my covenant which I commanded them: for they have even taken of the accursed thing, and have also stolen, and dissembled also, and they have put it even among their own stuff.

12 Therefore the children of Israel could not stand before their enemies, but turned their backs before their enemies, because they were accursed: neither will I be with you any more, except ye destroy the accursed from among you.

13 Up, sanctify the people, and say, Sanctify yourselves against to morrow: for thus saith the LORD God of Israel, There is an accursed thing in the midst of thee, O Israel: thou canst not stand before thine enemies, until ye take away the accursed thing from among you.

14 In the morning therefore ye shall be brought according to your tribes: and it shall be, that the tribe which the LORD taketh shall come according to the families thereof; and the family which the LORD shall take shall come by households; and the household which the LORD shall take shall come man by man.

15 And it shall be, that he that is taken with the accursed thing shall be burnt with fire, he and all that he hath: because he hath transgressed the covenant of the LORD, and because he hath wrought folly in Israel.

16 So Joshua rose up early in the morning, and brought Israel by their tribes; and the tribe of Judah was taken:

17 And he brought the family of Judah; and he took the family of the Zarhites: and he brought the family of the Zarhites man by man; and Zabdi was taken:

18 And he brought his household man by man; and Achan, the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zerah, of the tribe of Judah, was taken.

19 And Joshua said unto Achan, My son, give, I pray thee, glory to the LORD God of Israel, and make confession unto him; and tell me now what thou hast done; hide it not from me.

20 And Achan answered Joshua, and said, Indeed I have sinned against the LORD God of Israel, and thus and thus have I done:

21 When I saw among the spoils a goodly Babylonish garment, and two hundred shekels of silver, and a wedge of gold of fifty shekels weight, then I coveted them, and took them; and, behold, they are hid in the earth in the midst of my tent, and the silver under it.

22 So Joshua sent messengers, and they ran unto the tent; and, behold, it was hid in his tent, and the silver under it.

23 And they took them out of the midst of the tent, and brought them unto Joshua, and unto all the children of Israel, and laid them out before the LORD.

24 And Joshua, and all Israel with him, took Achan the son of Zerah, and the silver, and the garment, and the wedge of gold, and his sons, and his daughters, and his oxen, and his asses, and his sheep, and his tent, and all that he had: and they brought them unto the valley of Achor.

25 And Joshua said, Why hast thou troubled us? the LORD shall trouble thee this day. And all Israel stoned him with stones, and burned them with fire, after they had stoned them with stones.

26 And they raised over him a great heap of stones unto this day. So the LORD turned from the fierceness of his anger. Wherefore the name of that place was called, The valley of Achor, unto this day.

JOSHUA CHAPTER 8

1 And the LORD said unto Joshua, Fear not, neither be thou dismayed: take all the people of war with thee, and arise, go up to Ai: see, I have given into thy hand the king of Ai, and his people, and his city, and his land:

2 And thou shalt do to Ai and her king as thou didst unto Jericho and her king: only the spoil thereof, and the cattle thereof, shall ye take for a prey unto yourselves: lay thee an ambush for the city behind it.

3 So Joshua arose, and all the people of war, to go up against Ai: and Joshua chose out thirty thousand mighty men of valour, and sent them away by night.

4 And he commanded them, saying, Behold, ye shall lie in wait against the city, even behind the city: go not very far from the city, but be ye all ready:

5 And I, and all the people that are with me, will approach unto the city: and it shall come to pass, when they come out against us, as at the first, that we will flee before them,

6 (For they will come out after us) till we have drawn them from the city; for they will say, They flee before us, as at the first: therefore we will flee before them.

7 Then ye shall rise up from the ambush, and seize upon the city: for the LORD your God will deliver it into your hand.

8 And it shall be, when ye have taken the city, that ye shall set the city on fire: according to the commandment of the LORD shall ye do. See, I have commanded you.

9 Joshua therefore sent them forth: and they went to lie in ambush, and abode between Bethel and Ai, on the west side of Ai: but Joshua lodged that night among the people.

10 And Joshua rose up early in the morning, and numbered the people, and went up, he and the elders of Israel, before the people to Ai.

11 And all the people, even the people of war that were with him, went up, and drew nigh, and came before the city, and pitched on the north side of Ai: now there was a valley between them and Ai.

12 And he took about five thousand men, and set them to lie in ambush between Bethel and Ai, on the west side of the city.

13 And when they had set the people, even all the host that was on the north of the city, and their liers in wait on the west of the city, Joshua went that night into the midst of the valley.

14 And it came to pass, when the king of Ai saw it, that they hasted and rose up early, and the men of the city went out against Israel to battle, he and all his people, at a time appointed, before the plain; but he wist not that there were liers in ambush against him behind the city.

15 And Joshua and all Israel made as if they were beaten before them, and fled by the way of the wilderness.

16 And all the people that were in Ai were called together to pursue after them: and they pursued after Joshua, and were drawn away from the city.

17 And there was not a man left in Ai or Bethel, that went not out after Israel: and they left the city open, and pursued after Israel.

18 And the LORD said unto Joshua, Stretch out the spear that is in thy hand toward Ai; for I will give it into thine hand. And Joshua stretched out the spear that he had in his hand toward the city.

19 And the ambush arose quickly out of their place, and they ran as soon as he had stretched out his hand: and they entered into the city, and took it, and hasted and set the city on fire.

20 And when the men of Ai looked behind them, they saw, and, behold, the smoke of the city ascended up to heaven, and they had no power to flee this way or that way: and the people that fled to the wilderness turned back upon the pursuers.

21 And when Joshua and all Israel saw that the ambush had taken the city, and that the smoke of the city ascended, then they turned again, and slew the men of Ai.

22 And the other issued out of the city against them; so they were in the midst of Israel, some on this side, and some on that side: and they smote them, so that they let none of them remain or escape.

23 And the king of Ai they took alive, and brought him to Joshua.

24 And it came to pass, when Israel had made an end of slaying all the inhabitants of Ai in the field, in the wilderness wherein they chased them, and when they were all fallen on the edge of the sword, until they were consumed, that all the Israelites returned unto Ai, and smote it with the edge of the sword.

25 And so it was, that all that fell that day, both of men and women, were twelve thousand, even all the men of Ai.

26 For Joshua drew not his hand back, wherewith he stretched out the spear, until he had utterly destroyed all the inhabitants of Ai.

27 Only the cattle and the spoil of that city Israel took for a prey unto themselves, according unto the word of the LORD which he commanded Joshua.

28 And Joshua burnt Ai, and made it an heap for ever, even a desolation unto this day.

29 And the king of Ai he hanged on a tree until eventide: and as soon as the sun was down, Joshua commanded that they should take his carcase down from the tree, and cast it at the entering of the gate of the city, and raise thereon a great heap of stones, that remaineth unto this day.

30 Then Joshua built an altar unto the LORD God of Israel in mount Ebal,

31 As Moses the servant of the LORD commanded the children of Israel, as it is written in the book of the law of Moses, an altar of whole stones, over which no man hath lift up any iron: and they offered thereon burnt offerings unto the LORD, and sacrificed peace offerings.

32 And he wrote there upon the stones a copy of the law of Moses, which he wrote in the presence of the children of Israel.

33 And all Israel, and their elders, and officers, and their judges, stood on this side the ark and on that side before the priests the Levites, which bare the ark of the covenant of the LORD, as well the stranger, as he that was born among them; half of them over against mount Gerizim, and half of them over against mount Ebal; as Moses the servant of the LORD had commanded before, that they should bless the people of Israel.

34 And afterward he read all the words of the law, the blessings and cursings, according to all that is written in the book of the law.

35 There was not a word of all that Moses commanded, which Joshua read not before all the congregation of Israel, with the women, and the little ones, and the strangers that were conversant among them.

JOSHUA CHAPTER 9

1 And it came to pass, when all the kings which were on this side Jordan, in the hills, and in the valleys, and in all the coasts of the great sea over against Lebanon, the Hittite, and the Amorite, the Canaanite, the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite, heard thereof;

2 That they gathered themselves together, to fight with Joshua and with Israel, with one accord.

3 And when the inhabitants of Gibeon heard what Joshua had done unto Jericho and to Ai,

4 They did work wilily, and went and made as if they had been ambassadors, and took old sacks upon their asses, and wine bottles, old, and rent, and bound up;

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5 And old shoes and clouted upon their feet, and old garments upon them; and all the bread of their provision was dry and mouldy.
6 And they went to Joshua unto the camp at Gilgal, and said unto him, and to the men of Israel, We be come from a far country: now therefore make ye a league with us.
7 And the men of Israel said unto the Hivites, Peradventure ye dwell among us; and how shall we make a league with you?
8 And they said unto Joshua, We are thy servants. And Joshua said unto them, Who are ye? and from whence come ye?
9 And they said unto him, From a very far country thy servants are come because of the name of the LORD thy God: for we have heard the fame of him, and all that he did in Egypt,
10 And all that he did to the two kings of the Amorites, that were beyond Jordan, to Sihon king of Heshbon, and to Og king of Bashan, which was at Ashtaroth.
11 Wherefore our elders and all the inhabitants of our country spake to us, saying, Take victuals with you for the journey, and go to meet them, and say unto them, We are your servants: therefore now make ye a league with us.
12 This our bread we took hot for our provision out of our houses on the day we came forth to go unto you; but now, behold, it is dry, and it is mouldy:
13 And these bottles of wine, which we filled, were new; and, behold, they be rent: and these our garments and our shoes are become old by reason of the very long journey.
14 And the men took of their victuals, and asked not counsel at the mouth of the LORD.
15 And Joshua made peace with them, and made a league with them, to let them live: and the princes of the congregation sware unto them.
16 And it came to pass at the end of three days after they had made a league with them, that they heard that they were their neighbours, and that they dwelt among them.
17 And the children of Israel journeyed, and came unto their cities on the third day. Now their cities were Gibeon, and Chephirah, and Beeroth, and Kirjathjearim.
18 And the children of Israel smote them not, because the princes of the congregation had sworn unto them by the LORD God of Israel. And all the congregation murmured against the princes.
19 But all the princes said unto all the congregation, We have sworn unto them by the LORD God of Israel: now therefore we may not touch them.
20 This we will do to them; we will even let them live, lest wrath be upon us, because of the oath which we sware unto them.
21 And the princes said unto them, Let them live; but let them be hewers of wood and drawers of water unto all the congregation; as the princes had promised them.
22 And Joshua called for them, and he spake unto them, saying, Wherefore have ye beguiled us, saying, We are very far from you; when ye dwell among us?
23 Now therefore ye are cursed, and there shall none of you be freed from being bondmen, and hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of my God.
24 And they answered Joshua, and said, Because it was certainly told thy servants, how that the LORD thy God commanded his servant Moses to give you all the land, and to destroy all the inhabitants of the land from before you, therefore we were sore afraid of our lives because of you, and have done this thing.
25 And now, behold, we are in thine hand: as it seemeth good and right unto thee to do unto us, do.
26 And so did he unto them, and delivered them out of the hand of the children of Israel, that they slew them not.
27 And Joshua made them that day hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation, and for the altar of the LORD, even unto this day, in the place which he should choose.

JOSHUA CHAPTER 10

1 Now it came to pass, when Adonizedec king of Jerusalem had heard how Joshua had taken Ai, and had utterly destroyed it; as he had done to Jericho and her king, so he had done to Ai and her king; and how the inhabitants of Gibeon had made peace with Israel, and were among them;
2 That they feared greatly, because Gibeon was a great city, as one of the royal cities, and because it was greater than Ai, and all the men thereof were mighty.
3 Wherefore Adonizedec king of Jerusalem, sent unto Hoham king of Hebron, and unto Piram king of Jarmuth, and unto Japhia king of Lachish, and unto Debir king of Eglon, saying,
4 Come up unto me, and help me, that we may smite Gibeon: for it hath made peace with Joshua and with the children of Israel.
5 Therefore the five kings of the Amorites, the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, the king of Eglon, gathered themselves together, and went up, they and all their hosts, and encamped before Gibeon, and made war against it.
6 And the men of Gibeon sent unto Joshua to the camp to Gilgal, saying, Slack not thy hand from thy servants; come up to us quickly, and save us, and help us: for all the kings of the Amorites that dwell in the mountains are gathered together against us.
7 So Joshua ascended from Gilgal, he, and all the people of war with him, and all the mighty men of valour.
8 And the LORD said unto Joshua, Fear them not: for I have delivered them into thine hand; there shall not a man of them stand before thee.
9 Joshua therefore came unto them suddenly, and went up from Gilgal all night.
10 And the LORD discomfited them before Israel, and slew them with a great slaughter at Gibeon, and chased them along the way that goeth up to Bethhoron, and smote them to Azekah, and unto Makkedah.
11 And it came to pass, as they fled from before Israel, and were in the going down to Bethhoron, that the LORD cast down great stones from heaven upon them unto Azekah, and they died: they were more which died with hailstones than they whom the children of Israel slew with the sword.
12 Then spake Joshua to the LORD in the day when the LORD delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel, and he said in the sight of Israel, Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon; and thou, Moon, in the valley of Ajalon.
13 And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed, until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies. Is not this written in the book of Jasher? So the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day.
14 And there was no day like that before it or after it, that the LORD hearkened unto the voice of a man: for the LORD fought for Israel.
15 And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, unto the camp to Gilgal.
16 But these five kings fled, and hid themselves in a cave at Makkedah.
17 And it was told Joshua, saying, The five kings are found hid in a cave at Makkedah.
18 And Joshua said, Roll great stones upon the mouth of the cave, and set men by it for to keep them:
19 And stay ye not, but pursue after your enemies, and smite the hindmost of them; suffer them not to enter into their cities: for the LORD your God hath delivered them into your hand.
20 And it came to pass, when Joshua and the children of Israel had made an end of slaying them with a very great slaughter, till they were consumed, that the rest which remained of them entered into fenced cities.
21 And all the people returned to the camp to Joshua at Makkedah in peace: none moved his tongue against any of the children of Israel.
22 Then said Joshua, Open the mouth of the cave, and bring out those five kings unto me out of the cave.
23 And they did so, and brought forth those five kings unto him out of the cave, the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, and the king of Eglon.
24 And it came to pass, when they brought out those kings unto Joshua, that Joshua called for all the men of Israel, and said unto the captains of the men of war which went with him, Come near, put your feet upon the necks of these kings. And they came near, and put their feet upon the necks of them.
25 And Joshua said unto them, Fear not, nor be dismayed, be strong and of good courage: for thus shall the LORD do to all your enemies against whom ye fight.
26 And afterward Joshua smote them, and slew them, and hanged them on five trees: and they were hanging upon the trees until the evening.
27 And it came to pass at the time of the going down of the sun, that Joshua commanded, and they took them down off the trees, and cast them into the cave wherein they had been hid, and laid great stones in the cave's mouth, which remain until this very day.
28 And that day Joshua took Makkedah, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and the king thereof he utterly destroyed, them, and all the souls that were therein; he let none remain: and he did to the king of Makkedah as he did unto the king of Jericho.
29 Then Joshua passed from Makkedah, and all Israel with him, unto Libnah, and fought against Libnah:
30 And the LORD delivered it also, and the king thereof, into the hand of Israel; and he smote it with the edge of the sword, and all the souls that were therein; he let none remain in it; but did unto the king thereof as he did unto the king of Jericho.
31 And Joshua passed from Libnah, and all Israel with him, unto Lachish, and encamped against it, and fought against it:
32 And the LORD delivered Lachish into the hand of Israel, which took it on the second day, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and all the souls that were therein, according to all that he had done to Libnah.
33 Then Horam king of Gezer came up to help Lachish; and Joshua smote him and his people, until he had left him none remaining.
34 And from Lachish Joshua passed unto Eglon, and all Israel with him; and they encamped against it, and fought against it:
35 And they took it on that day, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and all the souls that were therein he utterly destroyed that day, according to all that he had done to Lachish.
36 And Joshua went up from Eglon, and all Israel with him, unto Hebron; and they fought against it:
37 And they took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and the king thereof, and all the cities thereof, and all the souls that were therein; he left none remaining, according to all that he had done to Eglon; but destroyed it utterly, and all the souls that were therein.
38 And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, to Debir; and fought against it:
39 And he took it, and the king thereof, and all the cities thereof; and they smote them with the edge of the sword, and utterly destroyed all the souls that were therein; he left none remaining: as he had done to Hebron, so he did to Debir, and to the king thereof; as he had done also to Libnah, and to her king.
40 So Joshua smote all the country of the hills, and of the south, and of the vale, and of the springs, and all their kings: he left none remaining, but utterly destroyed all that breathed, as the LORD God of Israel commanded.
41 And Joshua smote them from Kadeshbarnea even unto Gaza, and all the country of Goshen, even unto Gibeon.
42 And all these kings and their land did Joshua take at one time, because the LORD God of Israel fought for Israel.
43 And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, unto the camp to Gilgal.

JOSHUA CHAPTER 11

1 And it came to pass, when Jabin king of Hazor had heard those things, that he sent to Jobab king of Madon, and to the king of Shimron, and to the king of Achshaph,
2 And to the kings that were on the north of the mountains, and of the plains south of Chinneroth, and in the valley, and in the borders of Dor on the west,
3 And to the Canaanite on the east and on the west, and to the Amorite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Jebusite in the mountains, and to the Hivite under Hermon in the land of Mizpeh.
4 And they went out, they and all their hosts with them, much people, even as the sand that is upon the sea shore in multitude, with horses and chariots very many.
5 And when all these kings were met together, they came and pitched together at the waters of Merom, to fight against Israel.
6 And the LORD said unto Joshua, Be not afraid because of them: for to morrow about this time will I deliver them up all slain before Israel: thou shalt hough their horses, and burn their chariots with fire.
7 So Joshua came, and all the people of war with him, against them by the waters of Merom suddenly; and they fell upon them.
8 And the LORD delivered them into the hand of Israel, who smote them, and chased them unto great Zidon, and unto Misrephothmaim, and unto the valley of Mizpeh eastward; and they smote them, until they left them none remaining.
9 And Joshua did unto them as the LORD bade him: he houghed their horses, and burnt their chariots with fire.
10 And Joshua at that time turned back, and took Hazor, and smote the king thereof with the sword: for Hazor beforetime was the head of all those kingdoms.
11 And they smote all the souls that were therein with the edge of the sword, utterly destroying them: there was not any left to breathe: and he burnt Hazor with fire.
12 And all the cities of those kings, and all the kings of them, did Joshua take, and smote them with the edge of the sword, and he utterly destroyed them, as Moses the servant of the LORD commanded.
13 But as for the cities that stood still in their strength, Israel burned none of them, save Hazor only; that did Joshua burn.
14 And all the spoil of these cities, and the cattle, the children of Israel took for a prey unto themselves; but every man they smote with the edge of the sword, until they had destroyed them, neither left they any to breathe.
15 As the LORD commanded Moses his servant, so did Moses command Joshua, and so did Joshua; he left nothing undone of all that the LORD commanded Moses.
16 So Joshua took all that land, the hills, and all the south country, and all the land of Goshen, and the valley, and the plain, and the mountain of Israel, and the valley of the same;
17 Even from the mount Halak, that goeth up to Seir, even unto Baalgad in the valley of Lebanon under mount Hermon: and all their kings he took, and smote them, and slew them.
18 Joshua made war a long time with all those kings.

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19 There was not a city that made peace with the children of Israel, save the Hivites the inhabitants of Gibeon: all other they took in battle.
20 For it was of the LORD to harden their hearts, that they should come against Israel in battle, that he might destroy them utterly, and that they might have no favour, but that he might destroy them, as the LORD commanded Moses.
21 And at that time came Joshua, and cut off the Anakims from the mountains, from Hebron, from Debir, from Anab, and from all the mountains of Judah, and from all the mountains of Israel: Joshua destroyed them utterly with their cities.
22 There was none of the Anakims left in the land of the children of Israel: only in Gaza, in Gath, and in Ashdod, there remained.
23 So Joshua took the whole land, according to all that the LORD said unto Moses; and Joshua gave it for an inheritance unto Israel according to their divisions by their tribes. And the land rested from war.

JOSHUA CHAPTER 12
1 Now these are the kings of the land, which the children of Israel smote, and possessed their land on the other side Jordan toward the rising of the sun, from the river Arnon unto mount Hermon, and all the plain on the east:
2 Sihon king of the Amorites, who dwelt in Heshbon, and ruled from Aroer, which is upon the bank of the river Arnon, and from the middle of the river, and from half Gilead, even unto the river Jabbok, which is the border of the children of Ammon;
3 And from the plain to the sea of Chinneroth on the east, and unto the sea of the plain, even the salt sea on the east, the way to Bethjeshimoth; and from the south, under Ashdothpisgah:
4 And the coast of Og king of Bashan, which was of the remnant of the giants, that dwelt at Ashtaroth and at Edrei,
5 And reigned in mount Hermon, and in Salcah, and in all Bashan, unto the border of the Geshurites and the Maachathites, and half Gilead, the border of Sihon king of Heshbon.
6 Them did Moses the servant of the LORD and the children of Israel smite: and Moses the servant of the LORD gave it for a possession unto the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh.
7 And these are the kings of the country which Joshua and the children of Israel smote on this side Jordan on the west, from Baalgad in the valley of Lebanon even unto the mount Halak, that goeth up to Seir; which Joshua gave unto the tribes of Israel for a possession according to their divisions;
8 In the mountains, and in the valleys, and in the plains, and in the springs, and in the wilderness, and in the south country; the Hittites, the Amorites, and the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites:
9 The king of Jericho, one; the king of Ai, which is beside Bethel, one;
10 The king of Jerusalem, one; the king of Hebron, one;
11 The king of Jarmuth, one; the king of Lachish, one;
12 The king of Eglon, one; the king of Gezer, one;
13 The king of Debir, one; the king of Geder, one;
14 The king of Hormah, one; the king of Arad, one;
15 The king of Libnah, one; the king of Adullam, one;
16 The king of Makkedah, one; the king of Bethel, one;
17 The king of Tappuah, one; the king of Hepher, one;
18 The king of Aphek, one; the king of Lasharon, one;
19 The king of Madon, one; the king of Hazor, one;
20 The king of Shimronmeron, one; the king of Achshaph, one;
21 The king of Taanach, one; the king of Megiddo, one;
22 The king of Kedesh, one; the king of Jokneam of Carmel, one;
23 The king of Dor in the coast of Dor, one; the king of the nations of Gilgal, one;
24 The king of Tirzah, one: all the kings thirty and one.

JOSHUA CHAPTER 13
1 Now Joshua was old and stricken in years; and the LORD said unto him, Thou art old and stricken in years, and there remaineth yet very much land to be possessed.
2 This is the land that yet remaineth: all the borders of the Philistines, and all Geshuri,
3 From Sihor, which is before Egypt, even unto the borders of Ekron northward, which is counted to the Canaanite: five lords of the Philistines; the Gazathites, and the Ashdothites, the Eshkalonites, the Gittites, and the Ekronites; also the Avites:
4 From the south, all the land of the Canaanites, and Mearah that is beside the Sidonians unto Aphek, to the borders of the Amorites:
5 And the land of the Giblites, and all Lebanon, toward the sunrising, from Baalgad under mount Hermon unto the entering into Hamath.
6 All the inhabitants of the hill country from Lebanon unto Misrephothmaim, and all the Sidonians, them will I drive out from before the children of Israel: only divide thou it by lot unto the Israelites for an inheritance, as I have commanded thee.
7 Now therefore divide this land for an inheritance unto the nine tribes, and the half tribe of Manasseh,
8 With whom the Reubenites and the Gadites have received their inheritance, which Moses gave them, beyond Jordan eastward, even as Moses the servant of the LORD gave them;
9 From Aroer, that is upon the bank of the river Arnon, and the city that is in the midst of the river, and all the plain of Medeba unto Dibon;
10 And all the cities of Sihon king of the Amorites, which reigned in Heshbon, unto the border of the children of Ammon;
11 And Gilead, and the border of the Geshurites and Maachathites, and all mount Hermon, and all Bashan unto Salcah;
12 All the kingdom of Og in Bashan, which reigned in Ashtaroth and in Edrei, who remained of the remnant of the giants: for these did Moses smite, and cast them out.
13 Nevertheless the children of Israel expelled not the Geshurites, nor the Maachathites: but the Geshurites and the Maachathites dwell among the Israelites until this day.
14 Only unto the tribes of Levi he gave none inheritance; the sacrifices of the LORD God of Israel made by fire are their inheritance, as he said unto them.
15 And Moses gave unto the tribe of the children of Reuben inheritance according to their families.
16 And their coast was from Aroer, that is on the bank of the river Arnon, and the city that is in the midst of the river, and all the plain by Medeba;
17 Heshbon, and all her cities that are in the plain; Dibon, and Bamothbaal, and Bethbaalmeon,
18 And Jahaza, and Kedemoth, and Mephaath,
19 And Kirjathaim, and Sibmah, and Zarethshahar in the mount of the valley,
20 And Bethpeor, and Ashdothpisgah, and Bethjeshimoth,
21 And all the cities of the plain, and all the kingdom of Sihon king of the Amorites, which reigned in Heshbon, whom Moses smote with the princes of Midian, Evi, and Rekem, and Zur, and Hur, and Reba, which were dukes of Sihon, dwelling in the country.
22 Balaam also the son of Beor, the soothsayer, did the children of Israel slay with the sword among them that were slain by them.
23 And the border of the children of Reuben was Jordan, and the border thereof. This was the inheritance of the children of Reuben after their families, the cities and the villages thereof.
24 And Moses gave inheritance unto the tribe of Gad, even unto the children of Gad according to their families.
25 And their coast was Jazer, and all the cities of Gilead, and half the land of the children of Ammon, unto Aroer that is before Rabbah;
26 And from Heshbon unto Ramathmizpeh, and Betonim; and from Mahanaim unto the border of Debir;
27 And in the valley, Betharam, and Bethnimrah, and Succoth, and Zaphon, the rest of the kingdom of Sihon king of Heshbon, Jordan and his border, even unto the edge of the sea of Chinnereth on the other side Jordan eastward.
28 This is the inheritance of the children of Gad after their families, the cities, and their villages.
29 And Moses gave inheritance unto the half tribe of Manasseh: and this was the possession of the half tribe of the children of Manasseh by their families.
30 And their coast was from Mahanaim, all Bashan, all the kingdom of Og king of Bashan, and all the towns of Jair, which are in Bashan, threescore cities:
31 And half Gilead, and Ashtaroth, and Edrei, cities of the kingdom of Og in Bashan, were pertaining unto the children of Machir the son of Manasseh, even to the one half of the children of Machir by their families.
32 These are the countries which Moses did distribute for inheritance in the plains of Moab, on the other side Jordan, by Jericho, eastward.
33 But unto the tribe of Levi Moses gave not any inheritance: the LORD God of Israel was their inheritance, as he said unto them.

JOSHUA CHAPTER 14
1 And these are the countries which the children of Israel inherited in the land of Canaan, which Eleazar the priest, and Joshua the son of Nun, and the heads of the fathers of the tribes of the children of Israel, distributed for inheritance to them.
2 By lot was their inheritance, as the LORD commanded by the hand of Moses, for the nine tribes, and for the half tribe.
3 For Moses had given the inheritance of two tribes and an half tribe on the other side Jordan: but unto the Levites he gave none inheritance among them.
4 For the children of Joseph were two tribes, Manasseh and Ephraim: therefore they gave no part unto the Levites in the land, save cities to dwell in, with their suburbs for their cattle and for their substance.
5 As the LORD commanded Moses, so the children of Israel did, and they divided the land.
6 Then the children of Judah came unto Joshua in Gilgal: and Caleb the son of Jephunneh the Kenezite said unto him, Thou knowest the thing that the LORD said unto Moses the man of God concerning me and thee in Kadeshbarnea.
7 Forty years old was I when Moses the servant of the LORD sent me from Kadeshbarnea to espy out the land; and I brought him word again as it was in mine heart.
8 Nevertheless my brethren that went up with me made the heart of the people melt: but I wholly followed the LORD my God.
9 And Moses sware on that day, saying, Surely the land whereon thy feet have trodden shall be thine inheritance, and thy children's for ever, because thou hast wholly followed the LORD my God.
10 And now, behold, the LORD hath kept me alive, as he said, these forty and five years, even since the LORD spake this word unto Moses, while the children of Israel wandered in the wilderness: and now, lo, I am this day fourscore and five years old.
11 As yet I am as strong this day as I was in the day that Moses sent me: as my strength was then, even so is my strength now, for war, both to go out, and to come in.
12 Now therefore give me this mountain, whereof the LORD spake in that day; for thou heardest in that day how the Anakims were there, and that the cities were great and fenced: if so be the LORD will be with me, then I shall be able to drive them out, as the LORD said.
13 And Joshua blessed him, and gave unto Caleb the son of Jephunneh Hebron for an inheritance.
14 Hebron therefore became the inheritance of Caleb the son of Jephunneh the Kenezite unto this day, because that he wholly followed the LORD God of Israel.
15 And the name of Hebron before was Kirjatharba; which Arba was a great man among the Anakims. And the land had rest from war.

JOSHUA CHAPTER 15
1 This then was the lot of the tribe of the children of Judah by their families; even to the border of Edom the wilderness of Zin southward was the uttermost part of the south coast.
2 And their south border was from the shore of the salt sea, from the bay that looketh southward:
3 And it went out to the south side to Maalehacrabbim, and passed along to Zin, and ascended up on the south side unto Kadeshbarnea, and passed along to Hezron, and went up to Adar, and fetched a compass to Karkaa:
4 From thence it passed toward Azmon, and went out unto the river of Egypt; and the goings out of that coast were at the sea: this shall be your south coast.
5 And the east border was the salt sea, even unto the end of Jordan. And their border in the north quarter was from the bay of the sea at the uttermost part of Jordan:
6 And the border went up to Bethhogla, and passed along by the north of Betharabah; and the border went up to the stone of Bohan the son of Reuben:
7 And the border went up toward Debir from the valley of Achor, and so northward, looking toward Gilgal, that is before the going up to Adummim, which is on the south side of the river: and the border passed toward the waters of Enshemesh, and the goings out thereof were at Enrogel:
8 And the border went up by the valley of the son of Hinnom unto the south side of the Jebusite; the same is Jerusalem: and the border went up to the top of the mountain that lieth before the valley of Hinnom westward, which is at the end of the valley of the giants northward:
9 And the border was drawn from the top of the hill unto the fountain of the water of Nephtoah, and went out to the cities of mount Ephron; and the border was drawn to Baalah, which is Kirjathjearim:
10 And the border compassed from Baalah westward unto mount Seir, and passed along unto the side of mount Jearim, which is Chesalon, on the north side, and went down to Bethshemesh, and passed on to Timnah:
11 And the border went out unto the side of Ekron northward: and the border was drawn to Shicron, and passed along to mount Baalah, and went out unto Jabneel; and the goings out of the border were at the sea.
12 And the west border was to the great sea, and the coast thereof. This is the coast of the children of Judah round about according to their families.
13 And unto Caleb the son of Jephunneh he gave a part among the children of Judah, according to the commandment of the LORD to Joshua, even the city of Arba the father of Anak, which city is Hebron.
14 And Caleb drove thence the three sons of Anak, Sheshai, and Ahiman, and Talmai, the children of Anak.
15 And he went up thence to the inhabitants of Debir: and the name of Debir before was Kirjathsepher.
16 And Caleb said, He that smiteth Kirjathsepher, and taketh it, to him will I give Achsah my daughter to wife.
17 And Othniel the son of Kenaz, the brother of Caleb, took it: and he gave him Achsah his daughter to wife.

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18 And it came to pass, as she came unto him, that she moved him to ask of her father a field: and she lighted off her ass; and Caleb said unto her, What wouldest thou?
19 Who answered, Give me a blessing; for thou hast given me a south land; give me also springs of water. And he gave her the upper springs, and the nether springs.
20 This is the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Judah according to their families.
21 And the uttermost cities of the tribe of the children of Judah toward the coast of Edom southward were Kabzeel, and Eder, and Jagur,
22 And Kinah, and Dimonah, and Adadah,
23 And Kedesh, and Hazor, and Ithnan,
24 Ziph, and Telem, and Bealoth,
25 And Hazor, Hadattah, and Kerioth, and Hezron, which is Hazor,
26 Amam, and Shema, and Moladah,
27 And Hazargaddah, and Heshmon, and Bethpalet,
28 And Hazarshual, and Beersheba, and Bizjothjah,
29 Baalah, and Iim, and Azem,
30 And Eltolad, and Chesil, and Hormah,
31 And Ziklag, and Madmannah, and Sansannah,
32 And Lebaoth, and Shilhim, and Ain, and Rimmon: all the cities are twenty and nine, with their villages:
33 And in the valley, Eshtaol, and Zoreah, and Ashnah,
34 And Zanoah, and Engannim, Tappuah, and Enam,
35 Jarmuth, and Adullam, Socoh, and Azekah,
36 And Sharaim, and Adithaim, and Gederah, and Gederothaim; fourteen cities with their villages:
37 Zenan, and Hadashah, and Migdalgad,
38 And Dilean, and Mizpeh, and Joktheel,
39 Lachish, and Bozkath, and Eglon,
40 And Cabbon, and Lahmam, and Kithlish,
41 And Gederoth, Bethdagon, and Naamah, and Makkedah; sixteen cities with their villages:
42 Libnah, and Ether, and Ashan,
43 And Jiphtah, and Ashnah, and Nezib,
44 And Keilah, and Achzib, and Mareshah; nine cities with their villages:
45 Ekron, with her towns and her villages:
46 From Ekron even unto the sea, all that lay near Ashdod, with their villages:
47 Ashdod with her towns and her villages, Gaza with her towns and her villages, unto the river of Egypt, and the great sea, and the border thereof:
48 And in the mountains, Shamir, and Jattir, and Socoh,
49 And Dannah, and Kirjathsannah, which is Debir,
50 And Anab, and Eshtemoh, and Anim,
51 And Goshen, and Holon, and Giloh; eleven cities with their villages:
52 Arab, and Dumah, and Eshean,
53 And Janum, and Bethtappuah, and Aphekah,
54 And Humtah, and Kirjatharba, which is Hebron, and Zior; nine cities with their villages:
55 Maon, Carmel, and Ziph, and Juttah,
56 And Jezreel, and Jokdeam, and Zanoah,
57 Cain, Gibeah, and Timnah; ten cities with their villages:
58 Halhul, Bethzur, and Gedor,
59 And Maarath, and Bethanoth, and Eltekon; six cities with their villages:
60 Kirjathbaal, which is Kirjathjearim, and Rabbah; two cities with their villages:
61 In the wilderness, Betharabah, Middin, and Secacah,
62 And Nibshan, and the city of Salt, and Engedi; six cities with their villages.
63 As for the Jebusites the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the children of Judah could not drive them out; but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Judah at Jerusalem unto this day.

JOSHUA CHAPTER 16

1 And the lot of the children of Joseph fell from Jordan by Jericho, unto the water of Jericho on the east, to the wilderness that goeth up from Jericho throughout mount Bethel,
2 And goeth out from Bethel to Luz, and passeth along unto the borders of Archi to Ataroth,
3 And goeth down westward to the coast of Japhleti, unto the coast of Bethhoron the nether, and to Gezer; and the goings out thereof are at the sea.
4 So the children of Joseph, Manasseh and Ephraim, took their inheritance.
5 And the border of the children of Ephraim according to their families was thus: even the border of their inheritance on the east side was Atarothaddar, unto Bethhoron the upper;
6 And the border went out toward the sea to Michmethah on the north side; and the border went about eastward unto Taanathshiloh, and passed by it on the east to Janohah;
7 And it went down from Janohah to Ataroth, and to Naarath, and came to Jericho, and went out at Jordan.
8 The border went out from Tappuah westward unto the river Kanah; and the goings out thereof were at the sea. This is the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Ephraim by their families.
9 And the separate cities for the children of Ephraim were among the inheritance of the children of Manasseh, all the cities with their villages.
10 And they drave not out the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer: but the Canaanites dwell among the Ephraimites unto this day, and serve under tribute.

JOSHUA CHAPTER 17

1 There was also a lot for the tribe of Manasseh; for he was the firstborn of Joseph; to wit, for Machir the firstborn of Manasseh, the father of Gilead: because he was a man of war, therefore he had Gilead and Bashan.
2 There was also a lot for the rest of the children of Manasseh by their families; for the children of Abiezer, and for the children of Helek, and for the children of Asriel, and for the children of Shechem, and for the children of Hepher, and for the children of Shemida: these were the male children of Manasseh the son of Joseph by their families.
3 But Zelophehad, the son of Hepher, the son of Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh, had no sons, but daughters: and these are the names of his daughters, Mahlah, and Noah, Hoglah, Milcah, and Tirzah.
4 And they came near before Eleazar the priest, and before Joshua the son of Nun, and before the princes, saying, The LORD commanded Moses to give us an inheritance among our brethren. Therefore according to the commandment of the LORD he gave them an inheritance among the brethren of their father.
5 And there fell ten portions to Manasseh, beside the land of Gilead and Bashan, which were on the other side Jordan;
6 Because the daughters of Manasseh had an inheritance among his sons: and the rest of Manasseh's sons had the land of Gilead.
7 And the coast of Manasseh was from Asher to Michmethah, that lieth before Shechem; and the border went along on the right hand unto the inhabitants of Entappuah.
8 Now Manasseh had the land of Tappuah: but Tappuah on the border of Manasseh belonged to the children of Ephraim;
9 And the coast descended unto the river Kanah, southward of the river: these cities of Ephraim are among the cities of Manasseh: the coast of Manasseh also was on the north side of the river, and the outgoings of it were at the sea:
10 Southward it was Ephraim's, and northward it was Manasseh's, and the sea is his border; and they met together in Asher on the north, and in Issachar on the east.
11 And Manasseh had in Issachar and in Asher Bethshean and her towns, and Ibleam and her towns, and the inhabitants of Dor and her towns, and the inhabitants of Endor and her towns, and the inhabitants of Taanach and her towns, and the inhabitants of Megiddo and her towns, even three countries.
12 Yet the children of Manasseh could not drive out the inhabitants of those cities; but the Canaanites would dwell in that land.
13 Yet it came to pass, when the children of Israel were waxen strong, that they put the Canaanites to tribute, but did not utterly drive them out.
14 And the children of Joseph spake unto Joshua, saying, Why hast thou given me but one lot and one portion to inherit, seeing I am a great people, forasmuch as the LORD hath blessed me hitherto?
15 And Joshua answered them, If thou be a great people, then get thee up to the wood country, and cut down for thyself there in the land of the Perizzites and of the giants, if mount Ephraim be too narrow for thee.
16 And the children of Joseph said, The hill is not enough for us: and all the Canaanites that dwell in the land of the valley have chariots of iron, both they who are of Bethshean and her towns, and they who are of the valley of Jezreel.
17 And Joshua spake unto the house of Joseph, even to Ephraim and to Manasseh, saying, Thou art a great people, and hast great power: thou shalt not have one lot only:
18 But the mountain shall be thine; for it is a wood, and thou shalt cut it down: and the outgoings of it shall be thine: for thou shalt drive out the Canaanites, though they have iron chariots, and though they be strong.

JOSHUA CHAPTER 18

1 And the whole congregation of the children of Israel assembled together at Shiloh, and set up the tabernacle of the congregation there. And the land was subdued before them.
2 And there remained among the children of Israel seven tribes, which had not yet received their inheritance.
3 And Joshua said unto the children of Israel, How long are ye slack to go to possess the land, which the LORD God of your fathers hath given you?
4 Give out from among you three men for each tribe: and I will send them, and they shall rise, and go through the land, and describe it according to the inheritance of them; and they shall come again to me.
5 And they shall divide it into seven parts: Judah shall abide in their coast on the south, and the house of Joseph shall abide in their coasts on the north.
6 Ye shall therefore describe the land into seven parts, and bring the description hither to me, that I may cast lots for you here before the LORD our God.
7 But the Levites have no part among you; for the priesthood of the LORD is their inheritance: and Gad, and Reuben, and half the tribe of Manasseh, have received their inheritance beyond Jordan on the east, which Moses the servant of the LORD gave them.
8 And the men arose, and went away: and Joshua charged them that went to describe the land, saying, Go and walk through the land, and describe it, and come again to me, that I may here cast lots for you before the LORD in Shiloh.
9 And the men went and passed through the land, and described it by cities into seven parts in a book, and came again to Joshua to the host at Shiloh.
10 And Joshua cast lots for them in Shiloh before the LORD: and there Joshua divided the land unto the children of Israel according to their divisions.
11 And the lot of the tribe of the children of Benjamin came up according to their families: and the coast of their lot came forth between the children of Judah and the children of Joseph.
12 And their border on the north side was from Jordan; and the border went up to the side of Jericho on the north side, and went up through the mountains westward; and the goings out thereof were at the wilderness of Bethaven.
13 And the border went over from thence toward Luz, to the side of Luz, which is Bethel, southward; and the border descended to Atarothadar, near the hill that lieth on the south side of the nether Bethhoron.
14 And the border was drawn thence, and compassed the corner of the sea southward, from the hill that lieth before Bethhoron southward; and the goings out thereof were at Kirjathbaal, which is Kirjathjearim, a city of the children of Judah: this was the west quarter.
15 And the south quarter was from the end of Kirjathjearim, and the border went out on the west, and went out to the well of waters of Nephtoah:
16 And the border came down to the end of the mountain that lieth before the valley of the son of Hinnom, and which is in the valley of the giants on the north, and descended to the valley of Hinnom, to the side of Jebusi on the south, and descended to Enrogel,
17 And was drawn from the north, and went forth to Enshemesh, and went forth toward Geliloth, which is over against the going up of Adummim, and descended to the stone of Bohan the son of Reuben,
18 And passed along toward the side over against Arabah northward, and went down unto Arabah:
19 And the border passed along to the side of Bethhoglah northward: and the outgoings of the border were at the north bay of the salt sea at the south end of Jordan: this was the south coast.
20 And Jordan was the border of it on the east side. This was the inheritance of the children of Benjamin, by the coasts thereof round about, according to their families.
21 Now the cities of the tribe of the children of Benjamin according to their families were Jericho, and Bethhoglah, and the valley of Keziz,
22 And Betharabah, and Zemaraim, and Bethel,
23 And Avim, and Pharah, and Ophrah,
24 And Chepharhaammonai, and Ophni, and Gaba; twelve cities with their villages:
25 Gibeon, and Ramah, and Beeroth,
26 And Mizpeh, and Chephirah, and Mozah,
27 And Rekem, and Irpeel, and Taralah,
28 And Zelah, Eleph, and Jebusi, which is Jerusalem, Gibeath, and Kirjath; fourteen cities with their villages. This is the inheritance of the children of Benjamin according to their families.

JOSHUA CHAPTER 19

1 And the second lot came forth to Simeon, even for the tribe of the children of Simeon according to their families: and their inheritance was within the inheritance of the children of Judah.
2 And they had in their inheritance Beersheba, and Sheba, and Moladah,
3 And Hazarshual, and Balah, and Azem,
4 And Eltolad, and Bethul, and Hormah,
5 And Ziklag, and Bethmarcaboth, and Hazarsusah,
6 And Bethlebaoth, and Sharuhen; thirteen cities and their villages:
7 Ain, Remmon, and Ether, and Ashan; four cities and their villages:
8 And all the villages that were round about these cities to Baalathbeer, Ramath of the south. This is the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Simeon according to their families.
9 Out of the portion of the children of Judah was the inheritance of the children of Simeon: for the part of the children of Judah was too much for them: therefore the children of Simeon had their inheritance within the inheritance of them.

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10 And the third lot came up for the children of Zebulun according to their families: and the border of their inheritance was unto Sarid:
11 And their border went up toward the sea, and Maralah, and reached to Dabbasheth, and reached to the river that is before Jokneam;
12 And turned from Sarid eastward toward the sunrising unto the border of Chislothtabor, and then goeth out to Daberath, and goeth up to Japhia,
13 And from thence passeth on along on the east to Gittahhepher, to Ittahkazin, and goeth out to Remmonmethoar to Neah;
14 And the border compasseth it on the north side to Hannathon: and the outgoings thereof are in the valley of Jiphthahel:
15 And Kattath, and Nahallal, and Shimron, and Idalah, and Bethlehem: twelve cities with their villages.
16 This is the inheritance of the children of Zebulun according to their families, these cities with their villages.
17 And the fourth lot came out to Issachar, for the children of Issachar according to their families.
18 And their border was toward Jezreel, and Chesulloth, and Shunem,
19 And Haphraim, and Shihon, and Anaharath,
20 And Rabbith, and Kishion, and Abez,
21 And Remeth, and Engannim, and Enhaddah, and Bethpazzez;
22 And the coast reacheth to Tabor, and Shahazimah, and Bethshemesh; and the outgoings of their border were at Jordan: sixteen cities with their villages.
23 This is the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Issachar according to their families, the cities and their villages.
24 And the fifth lot came out for the tribe of the children of Asher according to their families.
25 And their border was Helkath, and Hali, and Beten, and Achshaph,
26 And Alammelech, and Amad, and Misheal; and reacheth to Carmel westward, and to Shihorlibnath;
27 And turneth toward the sunrising to Bethdagon, and reacheth to Zebulun, and to the valley of Jiphthahel toward the north side of Bethemek, and Neiel, and goeth out to Cabul on the left hand,
28 And Hebron, and Rehob, and Hammon, and Kanah, even unto great Zidon;
29 And then the coast turneth to Ramah, and to the strong city Tyre; and the coast turneth to Hosah; and the outgoings thereof are at the sea from the coast to Achzib:
30 Ummah also, and Aphek, and Rehob: twenty and two cities with their villages.
31 This is the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Asher according to their families, these cities with their villages.
32 The sixth lot came out to the children of Naphtali, even for the children of Naphtali according to their families.
33 And their coast was from Heleph, from Allon to Zaananim, and Adami, Nekeb, and Jabneel, unto Lakum; and the outgoings thereof were at Jordan:
34 And then the coast turneth westward to Aznothtabor, and goeth out from thence to Hukkok, and reacheth to Zebulun on the south side, and reacheth to Asher on the west side, and to Judah upon Jordan toward the sunrising.
35 And the fenced cities are Ziddim, Zer, and Hammath, Rakkath, and Chinnereth,
36 And Adamah, and Ramah, and Hazor,
37 And Kedesh, and Edrei, and Enhazor,
38 And Iron, and Migdalel, Horem, and Bethanath, and Bethshemesh; nineteen cities with their villages.
39 This is the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Naphtali according to their families, the cities and their villages.
40 And the seventh lot came out for the tribe of the children of Dan according to their families.
41 And the coast of their inheritance was Zorah, and Eshtaol, and Irshemesh,
42 And Shaalabbin, and Ajalon, and Jethlah,
43 And Elon, and Thimnathah, and Ekron,
44 And Eltekeh, and Gibbethon, and Baalath,
45 And Jehud, and Beneberak, and Gathrimmon,
46 And Mejarkon, and Rakkon, with the border before Japho.
47 And the coast of the children of Dan went out too little for them: therefore the children of Dan went up to fight against Leshem, and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and possessed it, and dwelt therein, and called Leshem, Dan, after the name of Dan their father.
48 This is the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Dan according to their families, these cities with their villages.
49 When they had made an end of dividing the land for inheritance by their coasts, the children of Israel gave an inheritance to Joshua the son of Nun among them:
50 According to the word of the LORD they gave him the city which he asked, even Timnathserah in mount Ephraim: and he built the city, and dwelt therein.
51 These are the inheritances, which Eleazar the priest, and Joshua the son of Nun, and the heads of the fathers of the tribes of the children of Israel, divided for an inheritance by lot in Shiloh before the LORD, at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation. So they made an end of dividing the country.

JOSHUA CHAPTER 20

1 The LORD also spake unto Joshua, saying,
2 Speak to the children of Israel, saying, Appoint out for you cities of refuge, whereof I spake unto you by the hand of Moses:
3 That the slayer that killeth any person unawares and unwittingly may flee thither: and they shall be your refuge from the avenger of blood.
4 And when he that doth flee unto one of those cities shall stand at the entering of the gate of the city, and shall declare his cause in the ears of the elders of that city, they shall take him into the city unto them, and give him a place, that he may dwell among them.
5 And if the avenger of blood pursue after him, then they shall not deliver the slayer up into his hand; because he smote his neighbour unwittingly, and hated him not beforetime.
6 And he shall dwell in that city, until he stand before the congregation for judgement, and until the death of the high priest that shall be in those days: then shall the slayer return, and come unto his own city, and unto his own house, unto the city from whence he fled.
7 And they appointed Kedesh in Galilee in mount Naphtali, and Shechem in mount Ephraim, and Kirjatharba, which is Hebron, in the mountain of Judah.
8 And on the other side Jordan by Jericho eastward, they assigned Bezer in the wilderness upon the plain out of the tribe of Reuben, and Ramoth in Gilead out of the tribe of Gad, and Golan in Bashan out of the tribe of Manasseh.
9 These were the cities appointed for all the children of Israel, and for the stranger that sojourneth among them, that whosoever killeth any person at unawares might flee thither, and not die by the hand of the avenger of blood, until he stood before the congregation.

JOSHUA CHAPTER 21

1 Then came near the heads of the fathers of the Levites unto Eleazar the priest, and unto Joshua the son of Nun, and unto the heads of the fathers of the tribes of the children of Israel;
2 And they spake unto them at Shiloh in the land of Canaan, saying, The LORD commanded by the hand of Moses to give us cities to dwell in, with the suburbs thereof for our cattle.
3 And the children of Israel gave unto the Levites out of their inheritance, at the commandment of the LORD, these cities and their suburbs.
4 And the lot came out for the families of the Kohathites: and the children of Aaron the priest, which were of the Levites, had by lot out of the tribe of Judah, and out of the tribe of Simeon, and out of the tribe of Benjamin, thirteen cities.
5 And the rest of the children of Kohath had by lot out of the families of the tribe of Ephraim, and out of the tribe of Dan, and out of the half tribe of Manasseh, ten cities.
6 And the children of Gershon had by lot out of the families of the tribe of Issachar, and out of the tribe of Asher, and out of the tribe of Naphtali, and out of the half tribe of Manasseh in Bashan, thirteen cities.
7 The children of Merari by their families had out of the tribe of Reuben, and out of the tribe of Gad, and out of the tribe of Zebulun, twelve cities.
8 And the children of Israel gave by lot unto the Levites these cities with their suburbs, as the LORD commanded by the hand of Moses.
9 And they gave out of the tribe of the children of Judah, and out of the tribe of the children of Simeon, these cities which are here mentioned by name.
10 Which the children of Aaron, being of the families of the Kohathites, who were of the children of Levi, had: for theirs was the first lot.
11 And they gave them the city of Arba the father of Anak, which city is Hebron, in the hill country of Judah, with the suburbs thereof round about it.
12 But the fields of the city, and the villages thereof, gave they to Caleb the son of Jephunneh for his possession.
13 Thus they gave to the children of Aaron the priest Hebron with her suburbs, to be a city of refuge for the slayer; and Libnah with her suburbs,
14 And Jattir with her suburbs, and Eshtemoa with her suburbs,
15 And Holon with her suburbs, and Debir with her suburbs,
16 And Ain with her suburbs, and Juttah with her suburbs, and Bethshemesh with her suburbs; nine cities out of those two tribes.
17 And out of the tribe of Benjamin, Gibeon with her suburbs, Geba with her suburbs,
18 Anathoth with her suburbs, and Almon with her suburbs; four cities.
19 All the cities of the children of Aaron, the priests, were thirteen cities with their suburbs.
20 And the families of the children of Kohath, the Levites which remained of the children of Kohath, even they had the cities of their lot out of the tribe of Ephraim.
21 For they gave them Shechem with her suburbs in mount Ephraim, to be a city of refuge for the slayer; and Gezer with her suburbs,
22 And Kibzaim with her suburbs, and Bethhoron with her suburbs; four cities.
23 And out of the tribe of Dan, Eltekeh with her suburbs, Gibbethon with her suburbs,
24 Aijalon with her suburbs, Gathrimmon with her suburbs; four cities.
25 And out of the half tribe of Manasseh, Tanach with her suburbs, and Gathrimmon with her suburbs; two cities.
26 All the cities were ten with their suburbs for the families of the children of Kohath that remained.
27 And unto the children of Gershon, of the families of the Levites, out of the other half tribe of Manasseh they gave Golan in Bashan with her suburbs, to be a city of refuge for the slayer; and Beeshterah with her suburbs; two cities.
28 And out of the tribe of Issachar, Kishon with her suburbs, Dabareh with her suburbs,
29 Jarmuth with her suburbs, Engannim with her suburbs; four cities.
30 And out of the tribe of Asher, Mishal with her suburbs, Abdon with her suburbs,
31 Helkath with her suburbs, and Rehob with her suburbs; four cities.
32 And out of the tribe of Naphtali, Kedesh in Galilee with her suburbs, to be a city of refuge for the slayer; and Hammothdor with her suburbs, and Kartan with her suburbs; three cities.
33 All the cities of the Gershonites according to their families were thirteen cities with their suburbs.
34 And unto the families of the children of Merari, the rest of the Levites, out of the tribe of Zebulun, Jokneam with her suburbs, and Kartah with her suburbs,
35 Dimnah with her suburbs, Nahalal with her suburbs; four cities.
36 And out of the tribe of Reuben, Bezer with her suburbs, and Jahazah with her suburbs,
37 Kedemoth with her suburbs, and Mephaath with her suburbs; four cities.
38 And out of the tribe of Gad, Ramoth in Gilead with her suburbs, to be a city of refuge for the slayer; and Mahanaim with her suburbs,
39 Heshbon with her suburbs, Jazer with her suburbs; four cities in all.
40 So all the cities for the children of Merari by their families, which were remaining of the families of the Levites, were by their lot twelve cities.
41 All the cities of the Levites within the possession of the children of Israel were forty and eight cities with their suburbs.
42 These cities were every one with their suburbs round about them: thus were all these cities.
43 And the LORD gave unto Israel all the land which he sware to give unto their fathers; and they possessed it, and dwelt therein.
44 And the LORD gave them rest round about, according to all that he sware unto their fathers: and there stood not a man of all their enemies before them; the LORD delivered all their enemies into their hand.
45 There failed not ought of any good thing which the LORD had spoken unto the house of Israel; all came to pass.

JOSHUA CHAPTER 22

1 Then Joshua called the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh,
2 And said unto them, Ye have kept all that Moses the servant of the LORD commanded you, and have obeyed my voice in all that I commanded you:
3 Ye have not left your brethren these many days unto this day, but have kept the charge of the commandment of the LORD your God.
4 And now the LORD your God hath given rest unto your brethren, as he promised them: therefore now return ye, and get you unto your tents, and unto the land of your possession, which Moses the servant of the LORD gave you on the other side Jordan.
5 But take diligent heed to do the commandment and the law, which Moses the servant of the LORD charged you, to love the LORD your God, and to walk in all his ways, and to keep his commandments, and to cleave unto him, and to serve him with all your heart and with all your soul.
6 So Joshua blessed them, and sent them away: and they went unto their tents.
7 Now to the one half of the tribe of Manasseh Moses had given possession in Bashan: but unto the other half thereof gave Joshua among their brethren on this side Jordan westward. And when Joshua sent them away also unto their tents, then he blessed them,

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8 And he spake unto them, saying, Return with much riches unto your tents, and with very much cattle, with silver, and with gold, and with brass, and with iron, and with very much raiment: divide the spoil of your enemies with your brethren.

9 And the children of Reuben and the children of Gad and the half tribe of Manasseh returned, and departed from the children of Israel out of Shiloh, which is in the land of Canaan, to go unto the country of Gilead, to the land of their possession, whereof they were possessed, according to the word of the LORD by the hand of Moses.

10 And when they came unto the borders of Jordan, that are in the land of Canaan, the children of Reuben and the children of Gad and the half tribe of Manasseh built there an altar by Jordan, a great altar to see to.

11 And the children of Israel heard say, Behold, the children of Reuben and the children of Gad and the half tribe of Manasseh have built an altar over against the land of Canaan, in the borders of Jordan, at the passage of the children of Israel.

12 And when the children of Israel heard of it, the whole congregation of the children of Israel gathered themselves together at Shiloh, to go up to war against them.

13 And the children of Israel sent unto the children of Reuben, and to the children of Gad, and to the half tribe of Manasseh, into the land of Gilead, Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest,

14 And with him ten princes, of each chief house a prince throughout all the tribes of Israel; and each one was an head of the house of their fathers among the thousands of Israel.

15 And they came unto the children of Reuben, and to the children of Gad, and to the half tribe of Manasseh, unto the land of Gilead, and they spake with them, saying,

16 Thus saith the whole congregation of the LORD, What trespass is this that ye have committed against the God of Israel, to turn away this day from following the LORD, in that ye have builded you an altar, that ye might rebel this day against the LORD?

17 Is the iniquity of Peor too little for us, from which we are not cleansed until this day, although there was a plague in the congregation of the LORD,

18 But that ye must turn away this day from following the LORD? and it will be, seeing ye rebel to day against the LORD, that to morrow he will be wroth with the whole congregation of Israel.

19 Notwithstanding, if the land of your possession be unclean, then pass ye over unto the land of the possession of the LORD, wherein the LORD's tabernacle dwelleth, and take possession among us: but rebel not against the LORD, nor rebel against us, in building you an altar beside the altar of the LORD our God.

20 Did not Achan the son of Zerah commit a trespass in the accursed thing, and wrath fell on all the congregation of Israel? and that man perished not alone in his iniquity.

21 Then the children of Reuben and the children of Gad and the half tribe of Manasseh answered, and said unto the heads of the thousands of Israel,

22 The LORD God of gods, the LORD God of gods, he knoweth, and Israel he shall know; if it be in rebellion, or if in transgression against the LORD, (save us not this day,)

23 That we have built us an altar to turn from following the LORD, or if to offer thereon burnt offering or meat offering, or if to offer peace offerings thereon, let the LORD himself require it;

24 And if we have not rather done it for fear of this thing, saying, In time to come your children might speak unto our children, saying, What have ye to do with the LORD God of Israel?

25 For the LORD hath made Jordan a border between us and you, ye children of Reuben and children of Gad; ye have no part in the LORD: so shall your children make our children cease from fearing the LORD.

26 Therefore we said, Let us now prepare to build us an altar, not for burnt offering, nor for sacrifice:

27 But that it may be a witness between us, and you, and our generations after us, that we might do the service of the LORD before him with our burnt offerings, and with our sacrifices, and with our peace offerings; that your children may not say to our children in time to come, Ye have no part in the LORD.

28 Therefore said we, that it shall be, when they should so say to us or to our generations in time to come, that we may say again, Behold the pattern of the altar of the LORD, which our fathers made, not for burnt offerings, nor for sacrifices; but it is a witness between us and you.

29 God forbid that we should rebel against the LORD, and turn this day from following the LORD, to build an altar for burnt offerings, for meat offerings, or for sacrifices, beside the altar of the LORD our God that is before his tabernacle.

30 And when Phinehas the priest, and the princes of the congregation and heads of the thousands of Israel which were with him, heard the words that the children of Reuben and the children of Gad and the children of Manasseh spake, it pleased them.

31 And Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest said unto the children of Reuben, and to the children of Gad, and to the children of Manasseh, This day we perceive that the LORD is among us, because ye have not committed this trespass against the LORD: now ye have delivered the children of Israel out of the hand of the LORD.

32 And Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest, and the princes, returned from the children of Reuben, and from the children of Gad, out of the land of Gilead, unto the land of Canaan, to the children of Israel, and brought them word again.

33 And the thing pleased the children of Israel; and the children of Israel blessed God, and did not intend to go up against them in battle, to destroy the land wherein the children of Reuben and Gad dwelt.

34 And the children of Reuben and the children of Gad called the altar Ed: for it shall be a witness between us that the LORD is God.

JOSHUA CHAPTER 23

1 And it came to pass a long time after that the LORD had given rest unto Israel from all their enemies round about, that Joshua waxed old and stricken in age.

2 And Joshua called for all Israel, and for their elders, and for their heads, and for their judges, and for their officers, and said unto them, I am old and stricken in age:

3 And ye have seen all that the LORD your God hath done unto all these nations because of you; for the LORD your God is he that hath fought for you.

4 Behold, I have divided unto you by lot these nations that remain, to be an inheritance for your tribes, from Jordan, with all the nations that I have cut off, even unto the great sea westward.

5 And the LORD your God, he shall expel them from before you, and drive them from out of your sight; and ye shall possess their land, as the LORD your God hath promised unto you.

6 Be ye therefore very courageous to keep and to do all that is written in the book of the law of Moses, that ye turn not aside therefrom to the right hand or to the left;

7 That ye come not among these nations, these that remain among you; neither make mention of the name of their gods, nor cause to swear by them, neither serve them, nor bow yourselves unto them:

8 But cleave unto the LORD your God, as ye have done unto this day.

9 For the LORD hath driven out from before you great nations and strong: but as for you, no man hath been able to stand before you unto this day.

10 One man of you shall chase a thousand: for the LORD your God, he it is that fighteth for you, as he hath promised you.

11 Take good heed therefore unto yourselves, that ye love the LORD your God.

12 Else if ye do in any wise go back, and cleave unto the remnant of these nations, even these that remain among you, and shall make marriages with them, and go in unto them, and they to you:

13 Know for a certainty that the LORD your God will no more drive out any of these nations from before you; but they shall be snares and traps unto you, and scourges in your sides, and thorns in your eyes, until ye perish from off this good land which the LORD your God hath given you.

14 And, behold, this day I am going the way of all the earth: and ye know in all your hearts and in all your souls, that not one thing hath failed of all the good things which the LORD your God spake concerning you; all are come to pass unto you, and not one thing hath failed thereof.

15 Therefore it shall come to pass, that as all good things are come upon you, which the LORD your God promised you; so shall the LORD bring upon you all evil things, until he have destroyed you from off this good land which the LORD your God hath given you.

16 When ye have transgressed the covenant of the LORD your God, which he commanded you, and have gone and served other gods, and bowed yourselves to them; then shall the anger of the LORD be kindled against you, and ye shall perish quickly from off the good land which he hath given unto you.

JOSHUA CHAPTER 24

1 And Joshua gathered all the tribes of Israel to Shechem, and called for the elders of Israel, and for their heads, and for their judges, and for their officers; and they presented themselves before God.

2 And Joshua said unto all the people, Thus saith the LORD God of Israel, Your fathers dwelt on the other side of the flood in old time, even Terah, the father of Abraham, and the father of Nachor: and they served other gods.

3 And I took your father Abraham from the other side of the flood, and led him throughout all the land of Canaan, and multiplied his seed, and gave him Isaac.

4 And I gave unto Isaac Jacob and Esau: and I gave unto Esau mount Seir, to possess it; but Jacob and his children went down into Egypt.

5 I sent Moses also and Aaron, and I plagued Egypt, according to that which I did among them: and afterward I brought you out.

6 And I brought your fathers out of Egypt: and ye came unto the sea; and the Egyptians pursued after your fathers with chariots and horsemen unto the Red sea.

7 And when they cried unto the LORD, he put darkness between you and the Egyptians, and brought the sea upon them, and covered them; and your eyes have seen what I have done in Egypt: and ye dwelt in the wilderness a long season.

8 And I brought you into the land of the Amorites, which dwelt on the other side Jordan; and they fought with you: and I gave them into your hand, that ye might possess their land; and I destroyed them from before you.

9 Then Balak the son of Zippor, king of Moab, arose and warred against Israel, and sent and called Balaam the son of Beor to curse you:

10 But I would not hearken unto Balaam; therefore he blessed you still: so I delivered you out of his hand.

11 And you went over Jordan, and came unto Jericho: and the men of Jericho fought against you, the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Canaanites, and the Hittites, and the Girgashites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites; and I delivered them into your hand.

12 And I sent the hornet before you, which drave them out from before you, even the two kings of the Amorites; but not with thy sword, nor with thy bow.

13 And I have given you a land for which ye did not labour, and cities which ye built not, and ye dwell in them; of the vineyards and oliveyards which ye planted not do ye eat.

14 Now therefore fear the LORD, and serve him in sincerity and in truth: and put away the gods which your fathers served on the other side of the flood, and in Egypt; and serve ye the LORD.

15 And if it seem evil unto you to serve the LORD, choose you this day whom ye will serve; whether the gods which your fathers served that were on the other side of the flood, or the gods of the Amorites, in whose land ye dwell: but as for me and my house, we will serve the LORD.

16 And the people answered and said, God forbid that we should forsake the LORD, to serve other gods;

17 For the LORD our God, he it is that brought us up and our fathers out of the land of Egypt, from the house of bondage, and which did those great signs in our sight, and preserved us in all the way wherein we went, and among all the people through whom we passed:

18 And the LORD drave out from before us all the people, even the Amorites which dwelt in the land: therefore will we also serve the LORD; for he is our God.

19 And Joshua said unto the people, Ye cannot serve the LORD: for he is an holy God; he is a jealous God; he will not forgive your transgressions nor your sins.

20 If ye forsake the LORD, and serve strange gods, then he will turn and do you hurt, and consume you, after that he hath done you good.

21 And the people said unto Joshua, Nay; but we will serve the LORD.

22 And Joshua said unto the people, Ye are witnesses against yourselves that ye have chosen you the LORD, to serve him. And they said, We are witnesses.

23 Now therefore put away, said he, the strange gods which are among you, and incline your heart unto the LORD God of Israel.

24 And the people said unto Joshua, The LORD our God will we serve, and his voice will we obey.

25 So Joshua made a covenant with the people that day, and set them a statute and an ordinance in Shechem.

26 And Joshua wrote these words in the book of the law of God, and took a great stone, and set it up there under an oak, that was by the sanctuary of the LORD.

27 And Joshua said unto all the people, Behold, this stone shall be a witness unto us; for it hath heard all the words of the LORD which he spake unto us: it shall be therefore a witness unto you, lest ye deny your God.

28 So Joshua let the people depart, every man unto his inheritance.

29 And it came to pass after these things, that Joshua the son of Nun, the servant of the LORD, died, being an hundred and ten years old.

30 And they buried him in the border of his inheritance in Timnathserah, which is in mount Ephraim, on the north side of the hill of Gaash.

31 And Israel served the LORD all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that overlived Joshua, and which had known all the works of the LORD, that he had done for Israel.

32 And the bones of Joseph, which the children of Israel brought up out of Egypt, buried they in Shechem, in a parcel of ground which Jacob bought of the sons of Hamor the father of Shechem for an hundred pieces of silver: and it became the inheritance of the children of Joseph.

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33 And Eleazar the son of Aaron died; and they buried him in a hill that pertained to Phinehas his son, which was given him in mount Ephraim.

THE BOOK OF JUDGES
Hebrew Title: Sefer Shofetim
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 7th–6th century B.C.

(The Book of Judges (Sefer Shofetim) is the seventh book of the Hebrew Bible and the Christian Old Testament. In the narrative of the Hebrew Bible, it covers the time between the conquest described in the Book of Joshua and the establishment of a kingdom in the Books of Samuel, during which Biblical judges served as temporary leaders. The stories follow a consistent pattern: the people are unfaithful to Yahweh and he therefore delivers them into the hands of their enemies; the people repent and entreat Yahweh for mercy, which he sends in the form of a leader or champion (a "judge"; see shophet); the judge delivers the Israelites from oppression and they prosper, but soon they fall again into unfaithfulness and the cycle is repeated. Scholars consider many of the stories in Judges to be the oldest in the Deuteronomistic history, with their major redaction dated to the 8th century BC and with materials such as the Song of Deborah dating from much earlier.

Contents:

The main text (3:11–16:31) gives accounts of six major judges and their struggles against the oppressive kings of surrounding nations, as well as the story of Abimelech, an Israelite leader (a judge [shofet] in the sense of "chieftain") who oppresses his own people. The cyclical pattern set out in the prologue is readily apparent at the beginning, but as the stories progress it begins to disintegrate, mirroring the disintegration of the world of the Israelites. Although some scholars consider the stories not to be presented in chronological order, the judges in the order in which they appear in the text are:

- *Othniel (3:9–11) vs. Chushan-Rishathaim, King of Aram; Israel has 40 years of peace until the death of Othniel. (The statement that Israel has a certain period of peace after each judge is a recurrent theme.)*
- *Ehud (3:11–29) vs. Eglon of Moab*
- *Deborah the prophetess, accompanied by Barak the army leader (4–5), vs. Jabin of Hazor (a city in Canaan) and Sisera, his captain (Battle of Mount Tabor)*
- *Gideon (6–8) vs. Midian, Amalek, and the "children of the East" (apparently desert tribes)*
- *Abimelech (9) (who is traditionally counted as a king not a judge, and is considered evil[citation needed]) vs. all the Israelites who oppose him*
- *Jephthah (11–12:7) vs. the Ammonites*
- *Samson (13–16) vs. the Philistines*

There are also brief glosses on six minor judges: Shamgar (3:31), Tola and Jair (10:1–5), Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon (12:8–15). Some scholars have inferred that the minor judges were actual adjudicators, whereas the major judges were leaders and did not actually make legal judgements. The only major judge described as making legal judgements is Deborah (4:4).)

JUDGES CHAPTER 1

1 Now after the death of Joshua it came to pass, that the children of Israel asked the LORD, saying, Who shall go up for us against the Canaanites first, to fight against them?

2 And the LORD said, Judah shall go up: behold, I have delivered the land into his hand.

3 And Judah said unto Simeon his brother, Come up with me into my lot, that we may fight against the Canaanites; and I likewise will go with thee into thy lot. So Simeon went with him.

4 And Judah went up; and the LORD delivered the Canaanites and the Perizzites into their hand: and they slew of them in Bezek ten thousand men.

5 And they found Adonibezek in Bezek: and they fought against him, and they slew the Canaanites and the Perizzites.

6 But Adonibezek fled; and they pursued after him, and caught him, and cut off his thumbs and his great toes.

7 And Adonibezek said, Threescore and ten kings, having their thumbs and their great toes cut off, gathered their meat under my table: as I have done, so God hath requited me. And they brought him to Jerusalem, and there he died.

8 Now the children of Judah had fought against Jerusalem, and had taken it, and smitten it with the edge of the sword, and set the city on fire.

9 And afterward the children of Judah went down to fight against the Canaanites, that dwelt in the mountain, and in the south, and in the valley.

10 And Judah went against the Canaanites that dwelt in Hebron: (now the name of Hebron before was Kirjatharba:) and they slew Sheshai, and Ahiman, and Talmai.

11 And from thence he went against the inhabitants of Debir: and the name of Debir before was Kirjathsepher:

12 And Caleb said, He that smiteth Kirjathsepher, and taketh it, to him will I give Achsah my daughter to wife.

13 And Othniel the son of Kenaz, Caleb's younger brother, took it: and he gave him Achsah his daughter to wife.

14 And it came to pass, when she came to him, that she moved him to ask of her father a field: and she lighted from off her ass; and Caleb said unto her, What wilt thou?

15 And she said unto him, Give me a blessing: for thou hast given me a south land; give me also springs of water. And Caleb gave her the upper springs and the nether springs.

16 And the children of the Kenite, Moses' father in law, went up out of the city of palm trees with the children of Judah into the wilderness of Judah, which lieth in the south of Arad; and they went and dwelt among the people.

17 And Judah went with Simeon his brother, and they slew the Canaanites that inhabited Zephath, and utterly destroyed it. And the name of the city was called Hormah.

18 Also Judah took Gaza with the coast thereof, and Askelon with the coast thereof, and Ekron with the coast thereof.

19 And the LORD was with Judah; and he drave out the inhabitants of the mountain; but could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley, because they had chariots of iron.

20 And they gave Hebron unto Caleb, as Moses said: and he expelled thence the three sons of Anak.

21 And the children of Benjamin did not drive out the Jebusites that inhabited Jerusalem; but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem unto this day.

22 And the house of Joseph, they also went up against Bethel: and the LORD was with them.

23 And the house of Joseph sent to descry Bethel. (Now the name of the city before was Luz.)

24 And the spies saw a man come forth out of the city, and they said unto him, Shew us, we pray thee, the entrance into the city, and we will shew thee mercy.

25 And when he shewed them the entrance into the city, they smote the city with the edge of the sword; but they let go the man and all his family.

26 And the man went into the land of the Hittites, and built a city, and called the name thereof Luz: which is the name thereof unto this day.

27 Neither did Manasseh drive out the inhabitants of Bethshean and her towns, nor Taanach and her towns, nor the inhabitants of Dor and her towns, nor the inhabitants of Ibleam and her towns, nor the inhabitants of Megiddo and her towns: but the Canaanites would dwell in that land.

28 And it came to pass, when Israel was strong, that they put the Canaanites to tribute, and did not utterly drive them out.

29 Neither did Ephraim drive out the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer; but the Canaanites dwelt in Gezer among them.

30 Neither did Zebulun drive out the inhabitants of Kitron, nor the inhabitants of Nahalol; but the Canaanites dwelt among them, and became tributaries.

31 Neither did Asher drive out the inhabitants of Accho, nor the inhabitants of Zidon, nor of Ahlab, nor of Achzib, nor of Helbah, nor of Aphik, nor of Rehob:

32 But the Asherites dwelt among the Canaanites, the inhabitants of the land: for they did not drive them out.

33 Neither did Naphtali drive out the inhabitants of Bethshemesh, nor the inhabitants of Bethanath; but he dwelt among the Canaanites, the inhabitants of the land: nevertheless the inhabitants of Bethshemesh and of Bethanath became tributaries unto them.

34 And the Amorites forced the children of Dan into the mountain: for they would not suffer them to come down to the valley:

35 But the Amorites would dwell in mount Heres in Aijalon, and in Shaalbim: yet the hand of the house of Joseph prevailed, so that they became tributaries.

36 And the coast of the Amorites was from the going up to Akrabbim, from the rock, and upward.

JUDGES CHAPTER 2

1 And an angel of the LORD came up from Gilgal to Bochim, and said, I made you to go up out of Egypt, and have brought you unto the land which I sware unto your fathers; and I said, I will never break my covenant with you.

2 And ye shall make no league with the inhabitants of this land; ye shall throw down their altars: but ye have not obeyed my voice: why have ye done this?

3 Wherefore I also said, I will not drive them out from before you; but they shall be as thorns in your sides, and their gods shall be a snare unto you.

4 And it came to pass, when the angel of the LORD spake these words unto all the children of Israel, that the people lifted up their voice, and wept.

5 And they called the name of that place Bochim: and they sacrificed there unto the LORD.

6 And when Joshua had let the people go, the children of Israel went every man unto his inheritance to possess the land.

7 And the people served the LORD all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that outlived Joshua, who had seen all the great works of the LORD, that he did for Israel.

8 And Joshua the son of Nun, the servant of the LORD, died, being an hundred and ten years old.

9 And they buried him in the border of his inheritance in Timnathheres, in the mount of Ephraim, on the north side of the hill Gaash.

10 And also all that generation were gathered unto their fathers: and there arose another generation after them, which knew not the LORD, nor yet the works which he had done for Israel.

11 And the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the LORD, and served Baalim:

12 And they forsook the LORD God of their fathers, which brought them out of the land of Egypt, and followed other gods, of the gods of the people that were round about them, and bowed themselves unto them, and provoked the LORD to anger.

13 And they forsook the LORD, and served Baal and Ashtaroth.

14 And the anger of the LORD was hot against Israel, and he delivered them into the hands of spoilers that spoiled them, and he sold them into the hands of their enemies round about, so that they could not any longer stand before their enemies.

15 Whithersoever they went out, the hand of the LORD was against them for evil, as the LORD had said, and as the LORD had sworn unto them: and they were greatly distressed.

16 Nevertheless the LORD raised up judges, which delivered them out of the hand of those that spoiled them.

17 And yet they would not hearken unto their judges, but they went a whoring after other gods, and bowed themselves unto them: they turned quickly out of the way which their fathers walked in, obeying the commandments of the LORD; but they did not so.

18 And when the LORD raised them up judges, then the LORD was with the judge, and delivered them out of the hand of their enemies all the days of the judge: for it repented the LORD because of their groanings by reason of them that oppressed them and vexed them.

19 And it came to pass, when the judge was dead, that they returned, and corrupted themselves more than their fathers, in following other gods to serve them, and to bow down unto them; they ceased not from their own doings, nor from their stubborn way.

20 And the anger of the LORD was hot against Israel; and he said, Because that this people hath transgressed my covenant which I commanded their fathers, and have not hearkened unto my voice;

21 I also will not henceforth drive out any from before them of the nations which Joshua left when he died:

22 That through them I may prove Israel, whether they will keep the way of the LORD to walk therein, as their fathers did keep it, or not.

23 Therefore the LORD left those nations, without driving them out hastily; neither delivered he them into the hand of Joshua.

JUDGES CHAPTER 3

1 Now these are the nations which the LORD left, to prove Israel by them, even as many of Israel as had not known all the wars of Canaan;

2 Only that the generations of the children of Israel might know, to teach them war, at the least such as before knew nothing thereof;

3 Namely, five lords of the Philistines, and all the Canaanites, and the Sidonians, and the Hivites that dwelt in mount Lebanon, from mount Baalhermon unto the entering in of Hamath.

4 And they were to prove Israel by them, to know whether they would hearken unto the commandments of the LORD, which he commanded their fathers by the hand of Moses.

5 And the children of Israel dwelt among the Canaanites, Hittites, and Amorites, and Perizzites, and Hivites, and Jebusites:

6 And they took their daughters to be their wives, and gave their daughters to their sons, and served their gods.

7 And the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the LORD, and forgat the LORD their God, and served Baalim and the groves.

8 Therefore the anger of the LORD was hot against Israel, and he sold them into the hand of Chushanrishathaim king of Mesopotamia: and the children of Israel served Chushanrishathaim eight years.

9 And when the children of Israel cried unto the LORD, the LORD raised up a deliverer to the children of Israel, who delivered them, even Othniel the son of Kenaz, Caleb's younger brother.

10 And the Spirit of the LORD came upon him, and he judged Israel, and went out to war: and the LORD delivered Chushanrishathaim king of Mesopotamia into his hand; and his hand prevailed against Chushanrishathaim.

11 And the land had rest forty years. And Othniel the son of Kenaz died.

12 And the children of Israel did evil again in the sight of the LORD: and the LORD strengthened Eglon the king of

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Moab against Israel, because they had done evil in the sight of the LORD.

13 And he gathered unto him the children of Ammon and Amalek, and went and smote Israel, and possessed the city of palm trees.

14 So the children of Israel served Eglon the king of Moab eighteen years.

15 But when the children of Israel cried unto the LORD, the LORD raised them up a deliverer, Ehud the son of Gera, a Benjamite, a man lefthanded: and by him the children of Israel sent a present unto Eglon the king of Moab.

16 But Ehud made him a dagger which had two edges, of a cubit length; and he did gird it under his raiment upon his right thigh.

17 And he brought the present unto Eglon king of Moab: and Eglon was a very fat man.

18 And when he had made an end to offer the present, he sent away the people that bare the present.

19 But he himself turned again from the quarries that were by Gilgal, and said, I have a secret errand unto thee, O king: who said, Keep silence. And all that stood by him went out from him.

20 And Ehud came unto him; and he was sitting in a summer parlour, which he had for himself alone. And Ehud said, I have a message from God unto thee. And he arose out of his seat.

21 And Ehud put forth his left hand, and took the dagger from his right thigh, and thrust it into his belly:

22 And the haft also went in after the blade; and the fat closed upon the blade, so that he could not draw the dagger out of his belly; and the dirt came out.

23 Then Ehud went forth through the porch, and shut the doors of the parlour upon him, and locked them.

24 When he was gone out, his servants came; and when they saw that, behold, the doors of the parlour were locked, they said, Surely he covereth his feet in his summer chamber.

25 And they tarried till they were ashamed: and, behold, he opened not the doors of the parlour; therefore they took a key, and opened them: and, behold, their lord was fallen down dead on the earth.

26 And Ehud escaped while they tarried, and passed beyond the quarries, and escaped unto Seirath.

27 And it came to pass, when he was come, that he blew a trumpet in the mountain of Ephraim, and the children of Israel went down with him from the mount, and he before them.

28 And he said unto them, Follow after me: for the LORD hath delivered your enemies the Moabites into your hand. And they went down after him, and took the fords of Jordan toward Moab, and suffered not a man to pass over.

29 And they slew of Moab at that time about ten thousand men, all lusty, and all men of valour; and there escaped not a man.

30 So Moab was subdued that day under the hand of Israel. And the land had rest fourscore years.

31 And after him was Shamgar the son of Anath, which slew of the Philistines six hundred men with an ox goad: and he also delivered Israel.

JUDGES CHAPTER 4

1 And the children of Israel again did evil in the sight of the LORD, when Ehud was dead.

2 And the LORD sold them into the hand of Jabin king of Canaan, that reigned in Hazor; the captain of whose host was Sisera, which dwelt in Harosheth of the Gentiles.

3 And the children of Israel cried unto the LORD: for he had nine hundred chariots of iron; and twenty years he mightily oppressed the children of Israel.

4 And Deborah, a prophetess, the wife of Lapidoth, she judged Israel at that time.

5 And she dwelt under the palm tree of Deborah between Ramah and Bethel in mount Ephraim: and the children of Israel came up to her for judgement.

6 And she sent and called Barak the son of Abinoam out of Kedeshnaphtali, and said unto him, Hath not the LORD God of Israel commanded, saying, Go and draw toward mount Tabor, and take with thee ten thousand men of the children of Naphtali and of the children of Zebulun?

7 And I will draw unto thee to the river Kishon Sisera, the captain of Jabin's army, with his chariots and his multitude; and I will deliver him into thine hand.

8 And Barak said unto her, If thou wilt go with me, then I will go: but if thou wilt not go with me, then I will not go.

9 And she said, I will surely go with thee: notwithstanding the journey that thou takest shall not be for thine honour; for the LORD shall sell Sisera into the hand of a woman. And Deborah arose, and went with Barak to Kedesh.

10 And Barak called Zebulun and Naphtali to Kedesh; and he went up with ten thousand men at his feet: and Deborah went up with him.

11 Now Heber the Kenite, which was of the children of Hobab the father in law of Moses, had severed himself from the Kenites, and pitched his tent unto the plain of Zaanaim, which is by Kedesh.

12 And they shewed Sisera that Barak the son of Abinoam was gone up to mount Tabor.

13 And Sisera gathered together all his chariots, even nine hundred chariots of iron, and all the people that were with him, from Harosheth of the Gentiles unto the river of Kishon.

14 And Deborah said unto Barak, Up; for this is the day in which the LORD hath delivered Sisera into thine hand: is not the LORD gone out before thee? So Barak went down from mount Tabor, and ten thousand men after him.

15 And the LORD discomfited Sisera, and all his chariots, and all his host, with the edge of the sword before Barak; so that Sisera lighted down off his chariot, and fled away on his feet.

16 But Barak pursued after the chariots, and after the host, unto Harosheth of the Gentiles: and all the host of Sisera fell upon the edge of the sword; and there was not a man left.

17 Howbeit Sisera fled away on his feet to the tent of Jael the wife of Heber the Kenite: for there was peace between Jabin the king of Hazor and the house of Heber the Kenite.

18 And Jael went out to meet Sisera, and said unto him, Turn in, my lord, turn in to me; fear not. And when he had turned in unto her into the tent, she covered him with a mantle.

19 And he said unto her, Give me, I pray thee, a little water to drink; for I am thirsty. And she opened a bottle of milk, and gave him drink, and covered him.

20 Again he said unto her, Stand in the door of the tent, and it shall be, when any man doth come and enquire of thee, and say, Is there any man here? that thou shalt say, No.

21 Then Jael Heber's wife took a nail of the tent, and took an hammer in her hand, and went softly unto him, and smote the nail into his temples, and fastened it into the ground: for he was fast asleep and weary. So he died.

22 And, behold, as Barak pursued Sisera, Jael came out to meet him, and said unto him, Come, and I will shew thee the man whom thou seekest. And when he came into her tent, behold, Sisera lay dead, and the nail was in his temples.

23 So God subdued on that day Jabin the king of Canaan before the children of Israel.

24 And the hand of the children of Israel prospered, and prevailed against Jabin the king of Canaan, until they had destroyed Jabin king of Canaan.

JUDGES CHAPTER 5

1 Then sang Deborah and Barak the son of Abinoam on that day, saying,

2 Praise ye the LORD for the avenging of Israel, when the people willingly offered themselves.

3 Hear, O ye kings; give ear, O ye princes; I, even I, will sing unto the LORD; I will sing praise to the LORD God of Israel.

4 LORD, when thou wentest out of Seir, when thou marchedst out of the field of Edom, the earth trembled, and the heavens dropped, the clouds also dropped water.

5 The mountains melted from before the LORD, even that Sinai from before the LORD God of Israel.

6 In the days of Shamgar the son of Anath, in the days of Jael, the highways were unoccupied, and the travellers walked through byways.

7 The inhabitants of the villages ceased, they ceased in Israel, until that I Deborah arose, that I arose a mother in Israel.

8 They chose new gods; then was war in the gates: was there a shield or spear seen among forty thousand in Israel?

9 My heart is toward the governors of Israel, that offered themselves willingly among the people. Bless ye the LORD.

10 Speak, ye that ride on white asses, ye that sit in judgement, and walk by the way.

11 They that are delivered from the noise of archers in the places of drawing water, there shall they rehearse the righteous acts of the LORD, even the righteous acts toward the inhabitants of his villages in Israel: then shall the people of the LORD go down to the gates.

12 Awake, awake, Deborah: awake, awake, utter a song: arise, Barak, and lead thy captivity captive, thou son of Abinoam.

13 Then he made him that remaineth have dominion over the nobles among the people: the LORD made me have dominion over the mighty.

14 Out of Ephraim was there a root of them against Amalek; after thee, Benjamin, among thy people; out of Machir came down governors, and out of Zebulun they that handle the pen of the writer.

15 And the princes of Issachar were with Deborah; even Issachar, and also Barak: he was sent on foot into the valley. For the divisions of Reuben there were great thoughts of heart.

16 Why abodest thou among the sheepfolds, to hear the bleatings of the flocks? For the divisions of Reuben there were great searchings of heart.

17 Gilead abode beyond Jordan: and why did Dan remain in ships? Asher continued on the sea shore, and abode in his breaches.

18 Zebulun and Naphtali were a people that jeoparded their lives unto the death in the high places of the field.

19 The kings came and fought, then fought the kings of Canaan in Taanach by the waters of Megiddo; they took no gain of money.

20 They fought from heaven; the stars in their courses fought against Sisera.

21 The river of Kishon swept them away, that ancient river, the river Kishon. O my soul, thou hast trodden down strength.

22 Then were the horsehoofs broken by the means of the pransings, the pransings of their mighty ones.

23 Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of the LORD, curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof; because they came not to the help of the LORD, to the help of the LORD against the mighty.

24 Blessed above women shall Jael the wife of Heber the Kenite be, blessed shall she be above women in the tent.

25 He asked water, and she gave him milk; she brought forth butter in a lordly dish.

26 She put her hand to the nail, and her right hand to the workmen's hammer; and with the hammer she smote Sisera, she smote off his head, when she had pierced and stricken through his temples.

27 At her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay down: at her feet he bowed, he fell: where he bowed, there he fell down dead.

28 The mother of Sisera looked out at a window, and cried through the lattice, Why is his chariot so long in coming? why tarry the wheels of his chariots?

29 Her wise ladies answered her, yea, she returned answer to herself,

30 Have they not sped? have they not divided the prey; to every man a damsel or two; to Sisera a prey of divers colours, a prey of divers colours of needlework, of divers colours of needlework on both sides, meet for the necks of them that take the spoil?

31 So let all thine enemies perish, O LORD: but let them that love him be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might. And the land had rest forty years.

JUDGES CHAPTER 6

1 And the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the LORD: and the LORD delivered them into the hand of Midian seven years.

2 And the hand of Midian prevailed against Israel: and because of the Midianites the children of Israel made them the dens which are in the mountains, and caves, and strong holds.

3 And so it was, when Israel had sown, that the Midianites came up, and the Amalekites, and the children of the east, even they came up against them;

4 And they encamped against them, and destroyed the increase of the earth, till thou come unto Gaza, and left no sustenance for Israel, neither sheep, nor ox, nor ass.

5 For they came up with their cattle and their tents, and they came as grasshoppers for multitude; for both they and their camels were without number: and they entered into the land to destroy it.

6 And Israel was greatly impoverished because of the Midianites; and the children of Israel cried unto the LORD.

7 And it came to pass, when the children of Israel cried unto the LORD because of the Midianites,

8 That the LORD sent a prophet unto the children of Israel, which said unto them, Thus saith the LORD God of Israel, I brought you up from Egypt, and brought you forth out of the house of bondage;

9 And I delivered you out of the hand of the Egyptians, and out of the hand of all that oppressed you, and drave them out from before you, and gave you their land;

10 And I said unto you, I am the LORD your God; fear not the gods of the Amorites, in whose land ye dwell: but ye have not obeyed my voice.

11 And there came an angel of the LORD, and sat under an oak which was in Ophrah, that pertained unto Joash the Abiezrite: and his son Gideon threshed wheat by the winepress, to hide it from the Midianites.

12 And the angel of the LORD appeared unto him, and said unto him, The LORD is with thee, thou mighty man of valour.

13 And Gideon said unto him, Oh my Lord, if the LORD be with us, why then is all this befallen us? and where be all his miracles which our fathers told us of, saying, Did not the LORD bring us up from Egypt? but now the LORD hath forsaken us, and delivered us into the hands of the Midianites.

14 And the LORD looked upon him, and said, Go in this thy might, and thou shalt save Israel from the hand of the Midianites: have not I sent thee?

15 And he said unto him, Oh my Lord, wherewith shall I save Israel? behold, my family is poor in Manasseh, and I am the least in my father's house.

16 And the LORD said unto him, Surely I will be with thee, and thou shalt smite the Midianites as one man.

17 And he said unto him, If now I have found grace in thy sight, then shew me a sign that thou talkest with me.

18 Depart not hence, I pray thee, until I come unto thee, and bring forth my present, and set it before thee. And he said, I will tarry until thou come again.

19 And Gideon went in, and made ready a kid, and unleavened cakes of an ephah of flour: the flesh he put in a

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basket, and he put the broth in a pot, and brought it out unto him under the oak, and presented it.

20 And the angel of God said unto him, Take the flesh and the unleavened cakes, and lay them upon this rock, and pour out the broth. And he did so.

21 Then the angel of the LORD put forth the end of the staff that was in his hand, and touched the flesh and the unleavened cakes; and there rose up fire out of the rock, and consumed the flesh and the unleavened cakes. Then the angel of the LORD departed out of his sight.

22 And when Gideon perceived that he was an angel of the LORD, Gideon said, Alas, O LORD God! for because I have seen an angel of the LORD face to face.

23 And the LORD said unto him, Peace be unto thee; fear not: thou shalt not die.

24 Then Gideon built an altar there unto the LORD, and called it Jehovahshalom: unto this day it is yet in Ophrah of the Abiezrites.

25 And it came to pass the same night, that the LORD said unto him, Take thy father's young bullock, even the second bullock of seven years old, and throw down the altar of Baal that thy father hath, and cut down the grove that is by it:

26 And build an altar unto the LORD thy God upon the top of this rock, in the ordered place, and take the second bullock, and offer a burnt sacrifice with the wood of the grove which thou shalt cut down.

27 Then Gideon took ten men of his servants, and did as the LORD had said unto him: and so it was, because he feared his father's household, and the men of the city, that he could not do it by day, that he did it by night.

28 And when the men of the city arose early in the morning, behold, the altar of Baal was cast down, and the grove was cut down that was by it, and the second bullock was offered upon the altar that was built.

29 And they said one to another, Who hath done this thing? And when they enquired and asked, they said, Gideon the son of Joash hath done this thing.

30 Then the men of the city said unto Joash, Bring out thy son, that he may die: because he hath cast down the altar of Baal, and because he hath cut down the grove that was by it.

31 And Joash said unto all that stood against him, Will ye plead for Baal? will ye save him? he that will plead for him, let him be put to death whilst it is yet morning: if he be a god, let him plead for himself, because one hath cast down his altar.

32 Therefore on that day he called him Jerubbaal, saying, Let Baal plead against him, because he hath thrown down his altar.

33 Then all the Midianites and the Amalekites and the children of the east were gathered together, and went over, and pitched in the valley of Jezreel.

34 But the Spirit of the LORD came upon Gideon, and he blew a trumpet; and Abiezer was gathered after him.

35 And he sent messengers throughout all Manasseh; who also was gathered after him: and he sent messengers unto Asher, and unto Zebulun, and unto Naphtali; and they came up to meet them.

36 And Gideon said unto God, If thou wilt save Israel by mine hand, as thou hast said,

37 Behold, I will put a fleece of wool in the floor; and if the dew be on the fleece only, and it be dry upon all the earth beside, then shall I know that thou wilt save Israel by mine hand, as thou hast said.

38 And it was so: for he rose up early on the morrow, and thrust the fleece together, and wringed the dew out of the fleece, a bowl full of water.

39 And Gideon said unto God, Let not thine anger be hot against me, and I will speak but this once: let me prove, I pray thee, but this once with the fleece; let it now be dry only upon the fleece, and upon all the ground let there be dew.

40 And God did so that night: for it was dry upon the fleece only, and there was dew on all the ground.

JUDGES CHAPTER 7

1 Then Jerubbaal, who is Gideon, and all the people that were with him, rose up early, and pitched beside the well of Harod: so that the host of the Midianites were on the north side of them, by the hill of Moreh, in the valley.

2 And the LORD said unto Gideon, The people that are with thee are too many for me to give the Midianites into their hands, lest Israel vaunt themselves against me, saying, Mine own hand hath saved me.

3 Now therefore go to, proclaim in the ears of the people, saying, Whosoever is fearful and afraid, let him return and depart early from mount Gilead. And there returned of the people twenty and two thousand; and there remained ten thousand.

4 And the LORD said unto Gideon, The people are yet too many; bring them down unto the water, and I will try them for thee there: and it shall be, that of whom I say unto thee, This shall go with thee, the same shall go with thee; and of whomsoever I say unto thee, This shall not go with thee, the same shall not go.

5 So he brought down the people unto the water: and the LORD said unto Gideon, Every one that lappeth of the water with his tongue, as a dog lappeth, him shalt thou set by himself; likewise every one that boweth down upon his knees to drink.

6 And the number of them that lapped, putting their hand to their mouth, were three hundred men: but all the rest of the people bowed down upon their knees to drink water.

7 And the LORD said unto Gideon, By the three hundred men that lapped will I save you, and deliver the Midianites into thine hand: and let all the other people go every man unto his place.

8 So the people took victuals in their hand, and their trumpets: and he sent all the rest of Israel every man unto his tent, and retained those three hundred men: and the host of Midian was beneath him in the valley.

9 And it came to pass the same night, that the LORD said unto him, Arise, get thee down unto the host; for I have delivered it into thine hand.

10 But if thou fear to go down, go thou with Phurah thy servant down to the host:

11 And thou shalt hear what they say; and afterward shall thine hands be strengthened to go down unto the host. Then went he down with Phurah his servant unto the outside of the armed men that were in the host.

12 And the Midianites and the Amalekites and all the children of the east lay along in the valley like grasshoppers for multitude; and their camels were without number, as the sand by the sea side for multitude.

13 And when Gideon was come, behold, there was a man that told a dream unto his fellow, and said, Behold, I dreamed a dream, and, lo, a cake of barley bread tumbled into the host of Midian, and came unto a tent, and smote it that it fell, and overturned it, that the tent lay along.

14 And his fellow answered and said, This is nothing else save the sword of Gideon the son of Joash, a man of Israel: for into his hand hath God delivered Midian, and all the host.

15 And it was so, when Gideon heard the telling of the dream, and the interpretation thereof, that he worshipped, and returned into the host of Israel, and said, Arise; for the LORD hath delivered into your hand the host of Midian.

16 And he divided the three hundred men into three companies, and he put a trumpet in every man's hand, with empty pitchers, and lamps within the pitchers.

17 And he said unto them, Look on me, and do likewise: and, behold, when I come to the outside of the camp, it shall be that, as I do, so shall ye do.

18 When I blow with a trumpet, I and all that are with me, then blow ye the trumpets also on every side of all the camp, and say, The sword of the LORD, and of Gideon.

19 So Gideon, and the hundred men that were with him, came unto the outside of the camp in the beginning of the middle watch; and they had but newly set the watch: and they blew the trumpets, and brake the pitchers that were in their hands.

20 And the three companies blew the trumpets, and brake the pitchers, and held the lamps in their left hands, and the trumpets in their right hands to blow withal: and they cried, The sword of the LORD, and of Gideon.

21 And they stood every man in his place round about the camp; and all the host ran, and cried, and fled.

22 And the three hundred blew the trumpets, and the LORD set every man's sword against his fellow, even throughout all the host: and the host fled to Bethshittah in Zererath, and to the border of Abelmeholah, unto Tabbath.

23 And the men of Israel gathered themselves together out of Naphtali, and out of Asher, and out of all Manasseh, and pursued after the Midianites.

24 And Gideon sent messengers throughout all mount Ephraim, saying, come down against the Midianites, and take before them the waters unto Bethbarah and Jordan. Then all the men of Ephraim gathered themselves together, and took the waters unto Bethbarah and Jordan.

25 And they took two princes of the Midianites, Oreb and Zeeb; and they slew Oreb upon the rock Oreb, and Zeeb they slew at the winepress of Zeeb, and pursued Midian, and brought the heads of Oreb and Zeeb to Gideon on the other side Jordan.

JUDGES CHAPTER 8

1 And the men of Ephraim said unto him, Why hast thou served us thus, that thou calledst us not, when thou wentest to fight with the Midianites? And they did chide with him sharply.

2 And he said unto them, What have I done now in comparison of you? Is not the gleaning of the grapes of Ephraim better than the vintage of Abiezer?

3 God hath delivered into your hands the princes of Midian, Oreb and Zeeb: and what was I able to do in comparison of you? Then their anger was abated toward him, when he had said that.

4 And Gideon came to Jordan, and passed over, he, and the three hundred men that were with him, faint, yet pursuing them.

5 And he said unto the men of Succoth, Give, I pray you, loaves of bread unto the people that follow me; for they be faint, and I am pursuing after Zebah and Zalmunna, kings of Midian.

6 And the princes of Succoth said, Are the hands of Zebah and Zalmunna now in thine hand, that we should give bread unto thine army?

7 And Gideon said, Therefore when the LORD hath delivered Zebah and Zalmunna into mine hand, then I will tear your flesh with the thorns of the wilderness and with briers.

8 And he went up thence to Penuel, and spake unto them likewise: and the men of Penuel answered him as the men of Succoth had answered him.

9 And he spake also unto the men of Penuel, saying, When I come again in peace, I will break down this tower.

10 Now Zebah and Zalmunna were in Karkor, and their hosts with them, about fifteen thousand men, all that were left of all the hosts of the children of the east: for there fell an hundred and twenty thousand men that drew sword.

11 And Gideon went up by the way of them that dwelt in tents on the east of Nobah and Jogbehah, and smote the host; for the host was secure.

12 And when Zebah and Zalmunna fled, he pursued after them, and took the two kings of Midian, Zebah and Zalmunna, and discomfited all the host.

13 And Gideon the son of Joash returned from battle before the sun was up,

14 And caught a young man of the men of Succoth, and enquired of him: and he described unto him the princes of Succoth, and the elders thereof, even threescore and seventeen men.

15 And he came unto the men of Succoth, and said, Behold Zebah and Zalmunna, with whom ye did upbraid me, saying, Are the hands of Zebah and Zalmunna now in thine hand, that we should give bread unto thy men that are weary?

16 And he took the elders of the city, and thorns of the wilderness and briers, and with them he taught the men of Succoth.

17 And he beat down the tower of Penuel, and slew the men of the city.

18 Then said he unto Zebah and Zalmunna, What manner of men were they whom ye slew at Tabor? And they answered, As thou art, so were they; each one resembled the children of a king.

19 And he said, They were my brethren, even the sons of my mother: as the LORD liveth, if ye had saved them alive, I would not slay you.

20 And he said unto Jether his firstborn, Up, and slay them. But the youth drew not his sword: for he feared, because he was yet a youth.

21 Then Zebah and Zalmunna said, Rise thou, and fall upon us: for as the man is, so is his strength. And Gideon arose, and slew Zebah and Zalmunna, and took away the ornaments that were on their camels' necks.

22 Then the men of Israel said unto Gideon, Rule thou over us, both thou, and thy son, and thy son's son also: for thou hast delivered us from the hand of Midian.

23 And Gideon said unto them, I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you: the LORD shall rule over you.

24 And Gideon said unto them, I would desire a request of you, that ye would give me every man the earrings of his prey. (For they had golden earrings, because they were Ishmaelites.)

25 And they answered, We will willingly give them. And they spread a garment, and did cast therein every man the earrings of his prey.

26 And the weight of the golden earrings that he requested was a thousand and seven hundred shekels of gold; beside ornaments, and collars, and purple raiment that was on the kings of Midian, and beside the chains that were about their camels' necks.

27 And Gideon made an ephod thereof, and put it in his city, even in Ophrah: and all Israel went thither a whoring after it: which thing became a snare unto Gideon, and to his house.

28 Thus was Midian subdued before the children of Israel, so that they lifted up their heads no more. And the country was in quietness forty years in the days of Gideon.

29 And Jerubbaal the son of Joash went and dwelt in his own house.

30 And Gideon had threescore and ten sons of his body begotten: for he had many wives.

31 And his concubine that was in Shechem, she also bare him a son, whose name he called Abimelech.

32 And Gideon the son of Joash died in a good old age, and was buried in the sepulchre of Joash his father, in Ophrah of the Abiezrites.

33 And it came to pass, as soon as Gideon was dead, that the children of Israel turned again, and went a whoring after Baalim, and made Baalberith their god.

34 And the children of Israel remembered not the LORD their God, who had delivered them out of the hands of all their enemies on every side:

35 Neither shewed they kindness to the house of Jerubbaal, namely, Gideon, according to all the goodness which he had shewed unto Israel.

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JUDGES CHAPTER 9

1 And Abimelech the son of Jerubbaal went to Shechem unto his mother's brethren, and communed with them, and with all the family of the house of his mother's father, saying,

2 Speak, I pray you, in the ears of all the men of Shechem, Whether is better for you, either that all the sons of Jerubbaal, which are threescore and ten persons, reign over you, or that one reign over you? remember also that I am your bone and your flesh.

3 And his mother's brethren spake of him in the ears of all the men of Shechem all these words: and their hearts inclined to follow Abimelech; for they said, He is our brother.

4 And they gave him threescore and ten pieces of silver out of the house of Baalberith, wherewith Abimelech hired vain and light persons, which followed him.

5 And he went unto his father's house at Ophrah, and slew his brethren the sons of Jerubbaal, being threescore and ten persons, upon one stone: notwithstanding yet Jotham the youngest son of Jerubbaal was left; for he hid himself.

6 And all the men of Shechem gathered together, and all the house of Millo, and went, and made Abimelech king, by the plain of the pillar that was in Shechem.

7 And when they told it to Jotham, he went and stood in the top of mount Gerizim, and lifted up his voice, and cried, and said unto them, Hearken unto me, ye men of Shechem, that God may hearken unto you.

8 The trees went forth on a time to anoint a king over them; and they said unto the olive tree, Reign thou over us.

9 But the olive tree said unto them, Should I leave my fatness, wherewith by me they honour God and man, and go to be promoted over the trees?

10 And the trees said to the fig tree, Come thou, and reign over us.

11 But the fig tree said unto them, Should I forsake my sweetness, and my good fruit, and go to be promoted over the trees?

12 Then said the trees unto the vine, Come thou, and reign over us.

13 And the vine said unto them, Should I leave my wine, which cheereth God and man, and go to be promoted over the trees?

14 Then said all the trees unto the bramble, Come thou, and reign over us.

15 And the bramble said unto the trees, If in truth ye anoint me king over you, then come and put your trust in my shadow: and if not, let fire come out of the bramble, and devour the cedars of Lebanon.

16 Now therefore, if ye have done truly and sincerely, in that ye have made Abimelech king, and if ye have dealt well with Jerubbaal and his house, and have done unto him according to the deserving of his hands;

17 (For my father fought for you, and adventured his life far, and delivered you out of the hand of Midian:

18 And ye are risen up against my father's house this day, and have slain his sons, threescore and ten persons, upon one stone, and have made Abimelech, the son of his maidservant, king over the men of Shechem, because he is your brother;)

19 If ye then have dealt truly and sincerely with Jerubbaal and with his house this day, then rejoice ye in Abimelech, and let him also rejoice in you:

20 But if not, let fire come out from Abimelech, and devour the men of Shechem, and the house of Millo; and let fire come out from the men of Shechem, and from the house of Millo, and devour Abimelech.

21 And Jotham ran away, and fled, and went to Beer, and dwelt there, for fear of Abimelech his brother.

22 When Abimelech had reigned three years over Israel,

23 Then God sent an evil spirit between Abimelech and the men of Shechem; and the men of Shechem dealt treacherously with Abimelech:

24 That the cruelty done to the threescore and ten sons of Jerubbaal might come, and their blood be laid upon Abimelech their brother, which slew them; and upon the men of Shechem, which aided him in the killing of his brethren.

25 And the men of Shechem set liers in wait for him in the top of the mountains, and they robbed all that came along that way by them: and it was told Abimelech.

26 And Gaal the son of Ebed came with his brethren, and went over to Shechem: and the men of Shechem put their confidence in him.

27 And they went out into the fields, and gathered their vineyards, and trode the grapes, and made merry, and went into the house of their god, and did eat and drink, and cursed Abimelech.

28 And Gaal the son of Ebed said, Who is Abimelech, and who is Shechem, that we should serve him? is not he the son of Jerubbaal? and Zebul his officer? serve the men of Hamor the father of Shechem: for why should we serve him?

29 And would to God this people were under my hand! then would I remove Abimelech. And he said to Abimelech, Increase thine army, and come out.

30 And when Zebul the ruler of the city heard the words of Gaal the son of Ebed, his anger was kindled.

31 And he sent messengers unto Abimelech privily, saying, Behold, Gaal the son of Ebed and his brethren be come to Shechem; and, behold, they fortify the city against thee.

32 Now therefore up by night, thou and the people that is with thee, and lie in wait in the field:

33 And it shall be, that in the morning, as soon as the sun is up, thou shalt rise early, and set upon the city: and, behold, when he and the people that is with him come out against thee, then mayest thou do to them as thou shalt find occasion.

34 And Abimelech rose up, and all the people that were with him, by night, and they laid wait against Shechem in four companies.

35 And Gaal the son of Ebed went out, and stood in the entering of the gate of the city: and Abimelech rose up, and the people that were with him, from lying in wait.

36 And when Gaal saw the people, he said to Zebul, Behold, there come people down from the top of the mountains. And Zebul said unto him, Thou seest the shadow of the mountains as if they were men.

37 And Gaal spake again, and said, See there come people down by the middle of the land, and another company come along by the plain of Meonenim.

38 Then said Zebul unto him, Where is now thy mouth, wherewith thou saidst, Who is Abimelech, that we should serve him? is not this the people that thou hast despised? go out, I pray now, and fight with them.

39 And Gaal went out before the men of Shechem, and fought with Abimelech.

40 And Abimelech chased him, and he fled before him, and many were overthrown and wounded, even unto the entering of the gate.

41 And Abimelech dwelt at Arumah: and Zebul thrust out Gaal and his brethren, that they should not dwell in Shechem.

42 And it came to pass on the morrow, that the people went out into the field; and they told Abimelech.

43 And he took the people, and divided them into three companies, and laid wait in the field, and looked, and, behold, the people were come forth out of the city; and he rose up against them, and smote them.

44 And Abimelech, and the company that was with him, rushed forward, and stood in the entering of the gate of the city: and the two other companies ran upon all the people that were in the fields, and slew them.

45 And Abimelech fought against the city all that day; and he took the city, and slew the people that was therein, and beat down the city, and sowed it with salt.

46 And when all the men of the tower of Shechem heard that, they entered into an hold of the house of the god Berith.

47 And it was told Abimelech, that all the men of the tower of Shechem were gathered together.

48 And Abimelech gat him up to mount Zalmon, he and all the people that were with him; and Abimelech took an axe in his hand, and cut down a bough from the trees, and took it, and laid it on his shoulder, and said unto the people that were with him, What ye have seen me do, make haste, and do as I have done.

49 And all the people likewise cut down every man his bough, and followed Abimelech, and put them to the hold, and set the hold on fire upon them; so that all the men of the tower of Shechem died also, about a thousand men and women.

50 Then went Abimelech to Thebez, and encamped against Thebez, and took it.

51 But there was a strong tower within the city, and thither fled all the men and women, and all they of the city, and shut it to them, and gat them up to the top of the tower.

52 And Abimelech came unto the tower, and fought against it, and went hard unto the door of the tower to burn it with fire.

53 And a certain woman cast a piece of a millstone upon Abimelech's head, and all to brake his skull.

54 Then he called hastily unto the young man his armourbearer, and said unto him, Draw thy sword, and slay me, that men say not of me, A women slew him. And his young man thrust him through, and he died.

55 And when the men of Israel saw that Abimelech was dead, they departed every man unto his place.

56 Thus God rendered the wickedness of Abimelech, which he did unto his father, in slaying his seventy brethren:

57 And all the evil of the men of Shechem did God render upon their heads: and upon them came the curse of Jotham the son of Jerubbaal.

JUDGES CHAPTER 10

1 And after Abimelech there arose to defend Israel Tola the son of Puah, the son of Dodo, a man of Issachar; and he dwelt in Shamir in mount Ephraim.

2 And he judged Israel twenty and three years, and died, and was buried in Shamir.

3 And after him arose Jair, a Gileadite, and judged Israel twenty and two years.

4 And he had thirty sons that rode on thirty ass colts, and they had thirty cities, which are called Havothjair unto this day, which are in the land of Gilead.

5 And Jair died, and was buried in Camon.

6 And the children of Israel did evil again in the sight of the LORD, and served Baalim, and Ashtaroth, and the gods of Syria, and the gods of Zidon, and the gods of Moab, and the gods of the children of Ammon, and the gods of the Philistines, and forsook the LORD, and served not him.

7 And the anger of the LORD was hot against Israel, and he sold them into the hands of the Philistines, and into the hands of the children of Ammon.

8 And that year they vexed and oppressed the children of Israel: eighteen years, all the children of Israel that were on the other side Jordan in the land of the Amorites, which is in Gilead.

9 Moreover the children of Ammon passed over Jordan to fight also against Judah, and against Benjamin, and against the house of Ephraim; so that Israel was sore distressed.

10 And the children of Israel cried unto the LORD, saying, We have sinned against thee, both because we have forsaken our God, and also served Baalim.

11 And the LORD said unto the children of Israel, Did not I deliver you from the Egyptians, and from the Amorites, from the children of Ammon, and from the Philistines?

12 The Zidonians also, and the Amalekites, and the Maonites, did oppress you; and ye cried to me, and I delivered you out of their hand.

13 Yet ye have forsaken me, and served other gods: wherefore I will deliver you no more.

14 Go and cry unto the gods which ye have chosen; let them deliver you in the time of your tribulation.

15 And the children of Israel said unto the LORD, We have sinned: do thou unto us whatsoever seemeth good unto thee; deliver us only, we pray thee, this day.

16 And they put away the strange gods from among them, and served the LORD: and his soul was grieved for the misery of Israel.

17 Then the children of Ammon were gathered together, and encamped in Gilead. And the children of Israel assembled themselves together, and encamped in Mizpeh.

18 And the people and princes of Gilead said one to another, What man is he that will begin to fight against the children of Ammon? he shall be head over all the inhabitants of Gilead.

JUDGES CHAPTER 11

1 Now Jephthah the Gileadite was a mighty man of valour, and he was the son of an harlot: and Gilead begat Jephthah.

2 And Gilead's wife bare him sons; and his wife's sons grew up, and they thrust out Jephthah, and said unto him, Thou shalt not inherit in our father's house; for thou art the son of a strange woman.

3 Then Jephthah fled from his brethren, and dwelt in the land of Tob: and there were gathered vain men to Jephthah, and went out with him.

4 And it came to pass in process of time, that the children of Ammon made war against Israel.

5 And it was so, that when the children of Ammon made war against Israel, the elders of Gilead went to fetch Jephthah out of the land of Tob:

6 And they said unto Jephthah, Come, and be our captain, that we may fight with the children of Ammon.

7 And Jephthah said unto the elders of Gilead, Did not ye hate me, and expel me out of my father's house? and why are ye come unto me now when ye are in distress?

8 And the elders of Gilead said unto Jephthah, Therefore we turn again to thee now, that thou mayest go with us, and fight against the children of Ammon, and be our head over all the inhabitants of Gilead.

9 And Jephthah said unto the elders of Gilead, If ye bring me home again to fight against the children of Ammon, and the LORD deliver them before me, shall I be your head?

10 And the elders of Gilead said unto Jephthah, The LORD be witness between us, if we do not so according to thy words.

11 Then Jephthah went with the elders of Gilead, and the people made him head and captain over them: and Jephthah uttered all his words before the LORD in Mizpeh.

12 And Jephthah sent messengers unto the king of the children of Ammon, saying, What hast thou to do with me, that thou art come against me to fight in my land?

13 And the king of the children of Ammon answered unto the messengers of Jephthah, Because Israel took away my land, when they came up out of Egypt, from Arnon even unto Jabbok, and unto Jordan: now therefore restore those lands again peaceably.

14 And Jephthah sent messengers again unto the king of the children of Ammon:

15 And said unto him, Thus saith Jephthah, Israel took not away the land of Moab, nor the land of the children of Ammon:

16 But when Israel came up from Egypt, and walked through the wilderness unto the Red sea, and came to Kadesh;

17 Then Israel sent messengers unto the king of Edom, saying, Let me, I pray thee, pass through thy land: but the king of Edom would not hearken thereto. And in like manner they sent unto the king of Moab: but he would not consent: and Israel abode in Kadesh.

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18 Then they went along through the wilderness, and compassed the land of Edom, and the land of Moab, and came by the east side of the land of Moab, and pitched on the other side of Arnon, but came not within the border of Moab: for Arnon was the border of Moab.

19 And Israel sent messengers unto Sihon king of the Amorites, the king of Heshbon; and Israel said unto him, Let us pass, we pray thee, through thy land into my place.

20 But Sihon trusted not Israel to pass through his coast: but Sihon gathered all his people together, and pitched in Jahaz, and fought against Israel.

21 And the LORD God of Israel delivered Sihon and all his people into the hand of Israel, and they smote them: so Israel possessed all the land of the Amorites, the inhabitants of that country.

22 And they possessed all the coasts of the Amorites, from Arnon even unto Jabbok, and from the wilderness even unto Jordan.

23 So now the LORD God of Israel hath dispossessed the Amorites from before his people Israel, and shouldest thou possess it?

24 Wilt not thou possess that which Chemosh thy god giveth thee to possess? So whomsoever the LORD our God shall drive out from before us, them will we possess.

25 And now art thou any thing better than Balak the son of Zippor, king of Moab? did he ever strive against Israel, or did he ever fight against them,

26 While Israel dwelt in Heshbon and her towns, and in Aroer and her towns, and in all the cities that be along by the coasts of Arnon, three hundred years? why therefore did ye not recover them within that time?

27 Wherefore I have not sinned against thee, but thou doest me wrong to war against me: the LORD the Judge be judge this day between the children of Israel and the children of Ammon.

28 Howbeit the king of the children of Ammon hearkened not unto the words of Jephthah which he sent him.

29 Then the Spirit of the LORD came upon Jephthah, and he passed over Gilead, and Manasseh, and passed over Mizpeh of Gilead, and from Mizpeh of Gilead he passed over unto the children of Ammon.

30 And Jephthah vowed a vow unto the LORD, and said, If thou shalt without fail deliver the children of Ammon into mine hands,

31 Then it shall be, that whatsoever cometh forth of the doors of my house to meet me, when I return in peace from the children of Ammon, shall surely be the LORD's, and I will offer it up for a burnt offering.

32 So Jephthah passed over unto the children of Ammon to fight against them; and the LORD delivered them into his hands.

33 And he smote them from Aroer, even till thou come to Minnith, even twenty cities, and unto the plain of the vineyards, with a very great slaughter. Thus the children of Ammon were subdued before the children of Israel.

34 And Jephthah came to Mizpeh unto his house, and, behold, his daughter came out to meet him with timbrels and with dances: and she was his only child; beside her he had neither son nor daughter.

35 And it came to pass, when he saw her, that he rent his clothes, and said, Alas, my daughter! thou hast brought me very low, and thou art one of them that trouble me: for I have opened my mouth unto the LORD, and I cannot go back.

36 And she said unto him, My father, if thou hast opened thy mouth unto the LORD, do to me according to that which hath proceeded out of thy mouth; forasmuch as the LORD hath taken vengeance for thee of thine enemies, even of the children of Ammon.

37 And she said unto her father, Let this thing be done for me: let me alone two months, that I may go up and down upon the mountains, and bewail my virginity, I and my fellows.

38 And he said, Go. And he sent her away for two months: and she went with her companions, and bewailed her virginity upon the mountains.

39 And it came to pass at the end of two months, that she returned unto her father, who did with her according to his vow which he had vowed: and she knew no man. And it was a custom in Israel,

40 That the daughters of Israel went yearly to lament the daughter of Jephthah the Gileadite four days in a year.

JUDGES CHAPTER 12

1 And the men of Ephraim gathered themselves together, and went northward, and said unto Jephthah, Wherefore passedst thou over to fight against the children of Ammon, and didst not call us to go with thee? we will burn thine house upon thee with fire.

2 And Jephthah said unto them, I and my people were at great strife with the children of Ammon; and when I called you, ye delivered me not out of their hands.

3 And when I saw that ye delivered me not, I put my life in my hands, and passed over against the children of Ammon, and the LORD delivered them into my hand: wherefore then are ye come up unto me this day, to fight against me?

4 Then Jephthah gathered together all the men of Gilead, and fought with Ephraim: and the men of Gilead smote Ephraim, because they said, Ye Gileadites are fugitives of Ephraim among the Ephraimites, and among the Manassites.

5 And the Gileadites took the passages of Jordan before the Ephraimites: and it was so, that when those Ephraimites which were escaped said, Let me go over; that the men of Gilead said unto him, Art thou an Ephraimite? If he said, Nay;

6 Then said they unto him, Say now Shibboleth: and he said Sibboleth: for he could not frame to pronounce it right. Then they took him, and slew him at the passages of Jordan: and there fell at that time of the Ephraimites forty and two thousand.

7 And Jephthah judged Israel six years. Then died Jephthah the Gileadite, and was buried in one of the cities of Gilead.

8 And after him Ibzan of Bethlehem judged Israel.

9 And he had thirty sons, and thirty daughters, whom he sent abroad, and took in thirty daughters from abroad for his sons. And he judged Israel seven years.

10 Then died Ibzan, and was buried at Bethlehem.

11 And after him Elon, a Zebulonite, judged Israel; and he judged Israel ten years.

12 And Elon the Zebulonite died, and was buried in Aijalon in the country of Zebulun.

13 And after him Abdon the son of Hillel, a Pirathonite, judged Israel.

14 And he had forty sons and thirty nephews, that rode on threescore and ten ass colts: and he judged Israel eight years.

15 And Abdon the son of Hillel the Pirathonite died, and was buried in Pirathon in the land of Ephraim, in the mount of the Amalekites.

JUDGES CHAPTER 13

1 And the children of Israel did evil again in the sight of the LORD; and the LORD delivered them into the hand of the Philistines forty years.

2 And there was a certain man of Zorah, of the family of the Danites, whose name was Manoah; and his wife was barren, and bare not.

3 And the angel of the LORD appeared unto the woman, and said unto her, Behold now, thou art barren, and bearest not: but thou shalt conceive, and bear a son.

4 Now therefore beware, I pray thee, and drink not wine nor strong drink, and eat not any unclean thing:

5 For, lo, thou shalt conceive, and bear a son; and no razor shall come on his head: for the child shall be a Nazarite unto God from the womb: and he shall begin to deliver Israel out of the hand of the Philistines.

6 Then the woman came and told her husband, saying, A man of God came unto me, and his countenance was like the countenance of an angel of God, very terrible: but I asked him not whence he was, neither told he me his name:

7 But he said unto me, Behold, thou shalt conceive, and bear a son; and now drink no wine nor strong drink, neither eat any unclean thing: for the child shall be a Nazarite to God from the womb to the day of his death.

8 Then Manoah intreated the LORD, and said, O my Lord, let the man of God which thou didst send come again unto us, and teach us what we shall do unto the child that shall be born.

9 And God hearkened to the voice of Manoah; and the angel of God came again unto the woman as she sat in the field: but Manoah her husband was not with her.

10 And the woman made haste, and ran, and shewed her husband, and said unto him, Behold, the man hath appeared unto me, that came unto me the other day.

11 And Manoah arose, and went after his wife, and came to the man, and said unto him, Art thou the man that spakest unto the woman? And he said, I am.

12 And Manoah said, Now let thy words come to pass. How shall we order the child, and how shall we do unto him?

13 And the angel of the LORD said unto Manoah, Of all that I said unto the woman let her beware.

14 She may not eat of any thing that cometh of the vine, neither let her drink wine or strong drink, nor eat any unclean thing: all that I commanded her let her observe.

15 And Manoah said unto the angel of the LORD, I pray thee, let us detain thee, until we shall have made ready a kid for thee.

16 And the angel of the LORD said unto Manoah, Though thou detain me, I will not eat of thy bread: and if thou wilt offer a burnt offering, thou must offer it unto the LORD. For Manoah knew not that he was an angel of the LORD.

17 And Manoah said unto the angel of the LORD, What is thy name, that when thy sayings come to pass we may do thee honour?

18 And the angel of the LORD said unto him, Why askest thou thus after my name, seeing it is secret?

19 So Manoah took a kid with a meat offering, and offered it upon a rock unto the LORD: and the angel did wonderously; and Manoah and his wife looked on.

20 For it came to pass, when the flame went up toward heaven from off the altar, that the angel of the LORD ascended in the flame of the altar. And Manoah and his wife looked on it, and fell on their faces to the ground.

21 But the angel of the LORD did no more appear to Manoah and to his wife. Then Manoah knew that he was an angel of the LORD.

22 And Manoah said unto his wife, We shall surely die, because we have seen God.

23 But his wife said unto him, If the LORD were pleased to kill us, he would not have received a burnt offering and a meat offering at our hands, neither would he have shewed us all these things, nor would as at this time have told us such things as these.

24 And the woman bare a son, and called his name Samson: and the child grew, and the LORD blessed him.

25 And the Spirit of the LORD began to move him at times in the camp of Dan between Zorah and Eshtaol.

JUDGES CHAPTER 14

1 And Samson went down to Timnath, and saw a woman in Timnath of the daughters of the Philistines.

2 And he came up, and told his father and his mother, and said, I have seen a woman in Timnath of the daughters of the Philistines: now therefore get her for me to wife.

3 Then his father and his mother said unto him, Is there never a woman among the daughters of thy brethren, or among all my people, that thou goest to take a wife of the uncircumcised Philistines? And Samson said unto his father, Get her for me; for she pleaseth me well.

4 But his father and his mother knew not that it was of the LORD, that he sought an occasion against the Philistines: for at that time the Philistines had dominion over Israel.

5 Then went Samson down, and his father and his mother, to Timnath, and came to the vineyards of Timnath: and, behold, a young lion roared against him.

6 And the Spirit of the LORD came mightily upon him, and he rent him as he would have rent a kid, and he had nothing in his hand: but he told not his father or his mother what he had done.

7 And he went down, and talked with the woman; and she pleased Samson well.

8 And after a time he returned to take her, and he turned aside to see the carcase of the lion: and, behold, there was a swarm of bees and honey in the carcase of the lion.

9 And he took thereof in his hands, and went on eating, and came to his father and mother, and he gave them, and they did eat: but he told not them that he had taken the honey out of the carcase of the lion.

10 So his father went down unto the woman: and Samson made there a feast; for so used the young men to do.

11 And it came to pass, when they saw him, that they brought thirty companions to be with him.

12 And Samson said unto them, I will now put forth a riddle unto you: if ye can certainly declare it me within the seven days of the feast, and find it out, then I will give you thirty sheets and thirty change of garments:

13 But if ye cannot declare it me, then shall ye give me thirty sheets and thirty change of garments. And they said unto him, Put forth thy riddle, that we may hear it.

14 And he said unto them, Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness. And they could not in three days expound the riddle.

15 And it came to pass on the seventh day, that they said unto Samson's wife, Entice thy husband, that he may declare unto us the riddle, lest we burn thee and thy father's house with fire: have ye called us to take that we have? is it not so?

16 And Samson's wife wept before him, and said, Thou dost but hate me, and lovest me not: thou hast put forth a riddle unto the children of my people, and hast not told it me. And he said unto her, Behold, I have not told it my father nor my mother, and shall I tell it thee?

17 And she wept before him the seven days, while their feast lasted: and it came to pass on the seventh day, that he told her, because she lay sore upon him: and she told the riddle to the children of her people.

18 And the men of the city said unto him on the seventh day before the sun went down, What is sweeter than honey? And what is stronger than a lion? and he said unto them, If ye had not plowed with my heifer, ye had not found out my riddle.

19 And the Spirit of the LORD came upon him, and he went down to Ashkelon, and slew thirty men of them, and took their spoil, and gave change of garments unto them which expounded the riddle. And his anger was kindled, and he went up to his father's house.

20 But Samson's wife was given to his companion, whom he had used as his friend.

JUDGES CHAPTER 15

1 But it came to pass within a while after, in the time of wheat harvest, that Samson visited his wife with a kid; and he said, I will go in to my wife into the chamber. But her father would not suffer him to go in.

2 And her father said, I verily thought that thou hadst utterly hated her; therefore I gave her to thy companion: is

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not her younger sister fairer than she? take her, I pray thee, instead of her.

3 And Samson said concerning them, Now shall I be more blameless than the Philistines, though I do them a displeasure.

4 And Samson went and caught three hundred foxes, and took firebrands, and turned tail to tail, and put a firebrand in the midst between two tails.

5 And when he had set the brands on fire, he let them go into the standing corn of the Philistines, and burnt up both the shocks, and also the standing corn, with the vineyards and olives.

6 Then the Philistines said, Who hath done this? And they answered, Samson, the son in law of the Timnite, because he had taken his wife, and given her to his companion. And the Philistines came up, and burnt her and her father with fire.

7 And Samson said unto them, Though ye have done this, yet will I be avenged of you, and after that I will cease.

8 And he smote them hip and thigh with a great slaughter: and he went down and dwelt in the top of the rock Etam.

9 Then the Philistines went up, and pitched in Judah, and spread themselves in Lehi.

10 And the men of Judah said, Why are ye come up against us? And they answered, To bind Samson are we come up, to do to him as he hath done to us.

11 Then three thousand men of Judah went to the top of the rock Etam, and said to Samson, Knowest thou not that the Philistines are rulers over us? what is this that thou hast done unto us? And he said unto them, As they did unto me, so have I done unto them.

12 And they said unto him, We are come down to bind thee, that we may deliver thee into the hand of the Philistines. And Samson said unto them, Swear unto me, that ye will not fall upon me yourselves.

13 And they spake unto him, saying, No; but we will bind thee fast, and deliver thee into their hand: but surely we will not kill thee. And they bound him with two new cords, and brought him up from the rock.

14 And when he came unto Lehi, the Philistines shouted against him: and the Spirit of the LORD came mightily upon him, and the cords that were upon his arms became as flax that was burnt with fire, and his bands loosed from off his hands.

15 And he found a new jawbone of an ass, and put forth his hand, and took it, and slew a thousand men therewith.

16 And Samson said, With the jawbone of an ass, heaps upon heaps, with the jaw of an ass have I slain a thousand men.

17 And it came to pass, when he had made an end of speaking, that he cast away the jawbone out of his hand, and called that place Ramathlehi.

18 And he was sore athirst, and called on the LORD, and said, Thou hast given this great deliverance into the hand of thy servant: and now shall I die for thirst, and fall into the hand of the uncircumcised?

19 But God clave an hollow place that was in the jaw, and there came water thereout; and when he had drunk, his spirit came again, and he revived: wherefore he called the name thereof Enhakkore, which is in Lehi unto this day.

20 And he judged Israel in the days of the Philistines twenty years.

JUDGES CHAPTER 16

1 Then went Samson to Gaza, and saw there an harlot, and went in unto her.

2 And it was told the Gazites, saying, Samson is come hither. And they compassed him in, and laid wait for him all night in the gate of the city, and were quiet all the night, saying, In the morning, when it is day, we shall kill him.

3 And Samson lay till midnight, and arose at midnight, and took the doors of the gate of the city, and the two posts, and went away with them, bar and all, and put them upon his shoulders, and carried them up to the top of an hill that is before Hebron.

4 And it came to pass afterward, that he loved a woman in the valley of Sorek, whose name was Delilah.

5 And the lords of the Philistines came up unto her, and said unto her, Entice him, and see wherein his great strength lieth, and by what means we may prevail against him, that we may bind him to afflict him; and we will give thee every one of us eleven hundred pieces of silver.

6 And Delilah said to Samson, Tell me, I pray thee, wherein thy great strength lieth, and wherewith thou mightest be bound to afflict thee.

7 And Samson said unto her, If they bind me with seven green withs that were never dried, then shall I be weak, and be as another man.

8 Then the lords of the Philistines brought up to her seven green withs which had not been dried, and she bound him with them.

9 Now there were men lying in wait, abiding with her in the chamber. And she said unto him, The Philistines be upon thee, Samson. And he brake the withs, as a thread of tow is broken when it toucheth the fire. So his strength was not known.

10 And Delilah said unto Samson, Behold, thou hast mocked me, and told me lies: now tell me, I pray thee, wherewith thou mightest be bound.

11 And he said unto her, If they bind me fast with new ropes that never were occupied, then shall I be weak, and be as another man.

12 Delilah therefore took new ropes, and bound him therewith, and said unto him, The Philistines be upon thee, Samson. And there were liers in wait abiding in the chamber. And he brake them from off his arms like a thread.

13 And Delilah said unto Samson, Hitherto thou hast mocked me, and told me lies: tell me wherewith thou mightest be bound. And he said unto her, If thou weavest the seven locks of my head with the web.

14 And she fastened it with the pin, and said unto him, The Philistines be upon thee, Samson. And he awaked out of his sleep, and went away with the pin of the beam, and with the web.

15 And she said unto him, How canst thou say, I love thee, when thine heart is not with me? thou hast mocked me these three times, and hast not told me wherein thy great strength lieth.

16 And it came to pass, when she pressed him daily with her words, and urged him, so that his soul was vexed unto death;

17 That he told her all his heart, and said unto her, There hath not come a razor upon mine head; for I have been a Nazarite unto God from my mother's womb: if I be shaven, then my strength will go from me, and I shall become weak, and be like any other man.

18 And when Delilah saw that he had told her all his heart, she sent and called for the lords of the Philistines, saying, Come up this once, for he hath shewed me all his heart. Then the lords of the Philistines came up unto her, and brought money in their hand.

19 And she made him sleep upon her knees; and she called for a man, and she caused him to shave off the seven locks of his head; and she began to afflict him, and his strength went from him.

20 And she said, The Philistines be upon thee, Samson. And he awoke out of his sleep, and said, I will go out as at other times before, and shake myself. And he wist not that the LORD was departed from him.

21 But the Philistines took him, and put out his eyes, and brought him down to Gaza, and bound him with fetters of brass; and he did grind in the prison house.

22 Howbeit the hair of his head began to grow again after he was shaven.

23 Then the lords of the Philistines gathered them together for to offer a great sacrifice unto Dagon their god, and to rejoice: for they said, Our god hath delivered Samson our enemy into our hand.

24 And when the people saw him, they praised their god: for they said, Our god hath delivered into our hands our enemy, and the destroyer of our country, which slew many of us.

25 And it came to pass, when their hearts were merry, that they said, Call for Samson, that he may make us sport. And they called for Samson out of the prison house; and he made them sport: and they set him between the pillars.

26 And Samson said unto the lad that held him by the hand, Suffer me that I may feel the pillars whereupon the house standeth, that I may lean upon them.

27 Now the house was full of men and women; and all the lords of the Philistines were there; and there were upon the roof about three thousand men and women, that beheld while Samson made sport.

28 And Samson called unto the LORD, and said, O Lord God, remember me, I pray thee, and strengthen me, I pray thee, only this once, O God, that I may be at once avenged of the Philistines for my two eyes.

29 And Samson took hold of the two middle pillars upon which the house stood, and on which it was borne up, of the one with his right hand, and of the other with his left.

30 And Samson said, Let me die with the Philistines. And he bowed himself with all his might; and the house fell upon the lords, and upon all the people that were therein. So the dead which he slew at his death were more than they which he slew in his life.

31 Then his brethren and all the house of his father came down, and took him, and brought him up, and buried him between Zorah and Eshtaol in the buryingplace of Manoah his father. And he judged Israel twenty years.

JUDGES CHAPTER 17

1 And there was a man of mount Ephraim, whose name was Micah.

2 And he said unto his mother, The eleven hundred shekels of silver that were taken from thee, about which thou cursedst, and spakest of also in mine ears, behold, the silver is with me; I took it. And his mother said, Blessed be thou of the LORD, my son.

3 And when he had restored the eleven hundred shekels of silver to his mother, his mother said, I had wholly dedicated the silver unto the LORD from my hand for my son, to make a graven image and a molten image: now therefore I will restore it unto thee.

4 Yet he restored the money unto his mother; and his mother took two hundred shekels of silver, and gave them to the founder, who made thereof a graven image and a molten image: and they were in the house of Micah.

5 And the man Micah had an house of gods, and made an ephod, and teraphim, and consecrated one of his sons, who became his priest.

6 In those days there was no king in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes.

7 And there was a young man out of Bethlehemjudah of the family of Judah, who was a Levite, and he sojourned there.

8 And the man departed out of the city from Bethlehemjudah to sojourn where he could find a place: and he came to mount Ephraim to the house of Micah, as he journeyed.

9 And Micah said unto him, Whence comest thou? And he said unto him, I am a Levite of Bethlehemjudah, and I go to sojourn where I may find a place.

10 And Micah said unto him, Dwell with me, and be unto me a father and a priest, and I will give thee ten shekels of silver by the year, and a suit of apparel, and thy victuals. So the Levite went in.

11 And the Levite was content to dwell with the man; and the young man was unto him as one of his sons.

12 And Micah consecrated the Levite; and the young man became his priest, and was in the house of Micah.

13 Then said Micah, Now know I that the LORD will do me good, seeing I have a Levite to my priest.

JUDGES CHAPTER 18

1 In those days there was no king in Israel: and in those days the tribe of the Danites sought them an inheritance to dwell in; for unto that day all their inheritance had not fallen unto them among the tribes of Israel.

2 And the children of Dan sent of their family five men from their coasts, men of valour, from Zorah, and from Eshtaol, to spy out the land, and to search it; and they said unto them, Go, search the land: who when they came to mount Ephraim, to the house of Micah, they lodged there.

3 When they were by the house of Micah, they knew the voice of the young man the Levite: and they turned in thither, and said unto him, Who brought thee hither? and what makest thou in this place? and what hast thou here?

4 And he said unto them, Thus and thus dealeth Micah with me, and hath hired me, and I am his priest.

5 And they said unto him, Ask counsel, we pray thee, of God, that we may know whether our way which we go shall be prosperous.

6 And the priest said unto them, Go in peace: before the LORD is your way wherein ye go.

7 Then the five men departed, and came to Laish, and saw the people that were therein, how they dwelt careless, after the manner of the Zidonians, quiet and secure; and there was no magistrate in the land, that might put them to shame in any thing; and they were far from the Zidonians, and had no business with any man.

8 And they came unto their brethren to Zorah and Eshtaol: and their brethren said unto them, What say ye?

9 And they said, Arise, that we may go up against them: for we have seen the land, and, behold, it is very good: and are ye still? be not slothful to go, and to enter to possess the land.

10 When ye go, ye shall come unto a people secure, and to a large land: for God hath given it into your hands; a place where there is no want of any thing that is in the earth.

11 And there went from thence of the family of the Danites, out of Zorah and out of Eshtaol, six hundred men appointed with weapons of war.

12 And they went up, and pitched in Kirjathjearim, in Judah: wherefore they called that place Mahanehdan unto this day: behold, it is behind Kirjathjearim.

13 And they passed thence unto mount Ephraim, and came unto the house of Micah.

14 Then answered the five men that went to spy out the country of Laish, and said unto their brethren, Do ye know that there is in these houses an ephod, and teraphim, and a graven image, and a molten image? now therefore consider what ye have to do.

15 And they turned thitherward, and came to the house of the young man the Levite, even unto the house of Micah, and saluted him.

16 And the six hundred men appointed with their weapons of war, which were of the children of Dan, stood by the entering of the gate.

17 And the five men that went to spy out the land went up, and came in thither, and took the graven image, and the ephod, and the teraphim, and the molten image: and the priest stood in the entering of the gate with the six hundred men that were appointed with weapons of war.

18 And these went into Micah's house, and fetched the carved image, the ephod, and the teraphim, and the molten image. Then said the priest unto them, What do ye?

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19 And they said unto him, Hold thy peace, lay thine hand upon thy mouth, and go with us, and be to us a father and a priest: is it better for thee to be a priest unto the house of one man, or that thou be a priest unto a tribe and a family in Israel?

20 And the priest's heart was glad, and he took the ephod, and the teraphim, and the graven image, and went in the midst of the people.

21 So they turned and departed, and put the little ones and the cattle and the carriage before them.

22 And when they were a good way from the house of Micah, the men that were in the houses near to Micah's house were gathered together, and overtook the children of Dan.

23 And they cried unto the children of Dan. And they turned their faces, and said unto Micah, What aileth thee, that thou comest with such a company?

24 And he said, Ye have taken away my gods which I made, and the priest, and ye are gone away: and what have I more? and what is this that ye say unto me, What aileth thee?

25 And the children of Dan said unto him, Let not thy voice be heard among us, lest angry fellows run upon thee, and thou lose thy life, with the lives of thy household.

26 And the children of Dan went their way: and when Micah saw that they were too strong for him, he turned and went back unto his house.

27 And they took the things which Micah had made, and the priest which he had, and came unto Laish, unto a people that were at quiet and secure: and they smote them with the edge of the sword, and burnt the city with fire.

28 And there was no deliverer, because it was far from Zidon, and they had no business with any man; and it was in the valley that lieth by Bethrehob. And they built a city, and dwelt therein.

29 And they called the name of the city Dan, after the name of Dan their father, who was born unto Israel: howbeit the name of the city was Laish at the first.

30 And the children of Dan set up the graven image: and Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Manasseh, he and his sons were priests to the tribe of Dan until the day of the captivity of the land.

31 And they set them up Micah's graven image, which he made, all the time that the house of God was in Shiloh.

JUDGES CHAPTER 19

1 And it came to pass in those days, when there was no king in Israel, that there was a certain Levite sojourning on the side of mount Ephraim, who took to him a concubine out of Bethlehemjudah.

2 And his concubine played the whore against him, and went away from him unto her father's house to Bethlehemjudah, and was there four whole months.

3 And her husband arose, and went after her, to speak friendly unto her, and to bring her again, having his servant with him, and a couple of asses: and she brought him into her father's house: and when the father of the damsel saw him, he rejoiced to meet him.

4 And his father in law, the damsel's father, retained him; and he abode with him three days: so they did eat and drink, and lodged there.

5 And it came to pass on the fourth day, when they arose early in the morning, that he rose up to depart: and the damsel's father said unto his son in law, Comfort thine heart with a morsel of bread, and afterward go your way.

6 And they sat down, and did eat and drink both of them together: for the damsel's father had said unto the man, Be content, I pray thee, and tarry all night, and let thine heart be merry.

7 And when the man rose up to depart, his father in law urged him: therefore he lodged there again.

8 And he arose early in the morning on the fifth day to depart; and the damsel's father said, Comfort thine heart, I pray thee. And they tarried until afternoon, and they did eat both of them.

9 And when the man rose up to depart, he, and his concubine, and his servant, his father in law, the damsel's father, said unto him, Behold, now the day draweth toward evening, I pray you tarry all night: behold, the day groweth to an end, lodge here, that thine heart may be merry; and to morrow get you early on your way, that thou mayest go home.

10 But the man would not tarry that night, but he rose up and departed, and came over against Jebus, which is Jerusalem; and there were with him two asses saddled, his concubine also was with him.

11 And when they were by Jebus, the day was far spent; and the servant said unto his master, Come, I pray thee, and let us turn in into this city of the Jebusites, and lodge in it.

12 And his master said unto him, We will not turn aside hither into the city of a stranger, that is not of the children of Israel; we will pass over to Gibeah.

13 And he said unto his servant, Come, and let us draw near to one of these places to lodge all night, in Gibeah, or in Ramah.

14 And they passed on and went their way; and the sun went down upon them when they were by Gibeah, which belongeth to Benjamin.

15 And they turned aside thither, to go in and to lodge in Gibeah: and when he went in, he sat him down in a street of the city: for there was no man that took them into his house to lodging.

16 And, behold, there came an old man from his work out of the field at even, which was also of mount Ephraim; and he sojourned in Gibeah: but the men of the place were Benjamites.

17 And when he had lifted up his eyes, he saw a wayfaring man in the street of the city: and the old man said, Whither goest thou? and whence comest thou?

18 And he said unto him, We are passing from Bethlehemjudah toward the side of mount Ephraim; from thence am I: and I went to Bethlehemjudah, but I am now going to the house of the LORD; and there is no man that receiveth me to house.

19 Yet there is both straw and provender for our asses; and there is bread and wine also for me, and for thy handmaid, and for the young man which is with thy servants: there is no want of any thing.

20 And the old man said, Peace be with thee; howsoever let all thy wants lie upon me; only lodge not in the street.

21 So he brought him into his house, and gave provender unto the asses: and they washed their feet, and did eat and drink.

22 Now as they were making their hearts merry, behold, the men of the city, certain sons of Belial, beset the house round about, and beat at the door, and spake to the master of the house, the old man, saying, Bring forth the man that came into thine house, that we may know him.

23 And the man, the master of the house, went out unto them, and said unto them, Nay, my brethren, nay, I pray you, do not so wickedly; seeing that this man is come into mine house, do not this folly.

24 Behold, here is my daughter a maiden, and his concubine; them I will bring out now, and humble ye them, and do with them what seemeth good unto you: but unto this man do not so vile a thing.

25 But the men would not hearken to him: so the man took his concubine, and brought her forth unto them; and they knew her, and abused her all the night until the morning: and when the day began to spring, they let her go.

26 Then came the woman in the dawning of the day, and fell down at the door of the man's house where her lord was, till it was light.

27 And her lord rose up in the morning, and opened the doors of the house, and went out to go his way: and, behold, the woman his concubine was fallen down at the door of the house, and her hands were upon the threshold.

28 And he said unto her, Up, and let us be going. But none answered. Then the man took her up upon an ass, and the man rose up, and gat him unto his place.

29 And when he was come into his house, he took a knife, and laid hold on his concubine, and divided her, together with her bones, into twelve pieces, and sent her into all the coasts of Israel.

30 And it was so, that all that saw it said, There was no such deed done nor seen from the day that the children of Israel came up out of the land of Egypt unto this day: consider of it, take advice, and speak your minds.

JUDGES CHAPTER 20

1 Then all the children of Israel went out, and the congregation was gathered together as one man, from Dan even to Beersheba, with the land of Gilead, unto the LORD in Mizpeh.

2 And the chief of all the people, even of all the tribes of Israel, presented themselves in the assembly of the people of God, four hundred thousand footmen that drew sword.

3 (Now the children of Benjamin heard that the children of Israel were gone up to Mizpeh.) Then said the children of Israel, Tell us, how was this wickedness?

4 And the Levite, the husband of the woman that was slain, answered and said, I came into Gibeah that belongeth to Benjamin, I and my concubine, to lodge.

5 And the men of Gibeah rose against me, and beset the house round about upon me by night, and thought to have slain me: and my concubine have they forced, that she is dead.

6 And I took my concubine, and cut her in pieces, and sent her throughout all the country of the inheritance of Israel: for they have committed lewdness and folly in Israel.

7 Behold, ye are all children of Israel; give here your advice and counsel.

8 And all the people arose as one man, saying, We will not any of us go to his tent, neither will we any of us turn into his house.

9 But now this shall be the thing which we will do to Gibeah; we will go up by lot against it;

10 And we will take ten men of an hundred throughout all the tribes of Israel, and an hundred of a thousand, and a thousand out of ten thousand, to fetch victual for the people, that they may do, when they come to Gibeah of Benjamin, according to all the folly that they have wrought in Israel.

11 So all the men of Israel were gathered against the city, knit together as one man.

12 And the tribes of Israel sent men through all the tribe of Benjamin, saying, What wickedness is this that is done among you?

13 Now therefore deliver us the men, the children of Belial, which are in Gibeah, that we may put them to death, and put away evil from Israel. But the children of Benjamin would not hearken to the voice of their brethren the children of Israel.

14 But the children of Benjamin gathered themselves together out of the cities unto Gibeah, to go out to battle against the children of Israel.

15 And the children of Benjamin were numbered at that time out of the cities twenty and six thousand men that drew sword, beside the inhabitants of Gibeah, which were numbered seven hundred chosen men.

16 Among all this people there were seven hundred chosen men lefthanded; every one could sling stones at an hair breadth, and not miss.

17 And the men of Israel, beside Benjamin, were numbered four hundred thousand men that drew sword: all these were men of war.

18 And the children of Israel arose, and went up to the house of God, and asked counsel of God, and said, Which of us shall go up first to the battle against the children of Benjamin? And the LORD said, Judah shall go up first.

19 And the children of Israel rose up in the morning, and encamped against Gibeah.

20 And the men of Israel went out to battle against Benjamin; and the men of Israel put themselves in array to fight against them at Gibeah.

21 And the children of Benjamin came forth out of Gibeah, and destroyed down to the ground of the Israelites that day twenty and two thousand men.

22 And the people the men of Israel encouraged themselves, and set their battle again in array in the place where they put themselves in array the first day.

23 (And the children of Israel went up and wept before the LORD until even, and asked counsel of the LORD, saying, Shall I go up again to battle against the children of Benjamin my brother? And the LORD said, Go up against him.)

24 And the children of Israel came near against the children of Benjamin the second day.

25 And Benjamin went forth against them out of Gibeah the second day, and destroyed down to the ground of the children of Israel again eighteen thousand men; all these drew the sword.

26 Then all the children of Israel, and all the people, went up, and came unto the house of God, and wept, and sat there before the LORD, and fasted that day until even, and offered burnt offerings and peace offerings before the LORD.

27 And the children of Israel enquired of the LORD, (for the ark of the covenant of God was there in those days,

28 And Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, stood before it in those days,) saying, Shall I yet again go out to battle against the children of Benjamin my brother, or shall I cease? And the LORD said, Go up; for to morrow I will deliver them into thine hand.

29 And Israel set liers in wait round about Gibeah.

30 And the children of Israel went up against the children of Benjamin on the third day, and put themselves in array against Gibeah, as at other times.

31 And the children of Benjamin went out against the people, and were drawn away from the city; and they began to smite of the people, and kill, as at other times, in the highways, of which one goeth up to the house of God, and the other to Gibeah in the field, about thirty men of Israel.

32 And the children of Benjamin said, They are smitten down before us, as at the first. But the children of Israel said, Let us flee, and draw them from the city unto the highways.

33 And all the men of Israel rose up out of their place, and put themselves in array at Baaltamar: and the liers in wait of Israel came forth out of their places, even out of the meadows of Gibeah.

34 And there came against Gibeah ten thousand chosen men out of all Israel, and the battle was sore: but they knew not that evil was near them.

35 And the LORD smote Benjamin before Israel: and the children of Israel destroyed of the Benjamites that day twenty and five thousand and an hundred men: all these drew the sword.

36 So the children of Benjamin saw that they were smitten: for the men of Israel gave place to the Benjamites, because they trusted unto the liers in wait which they had set beside Gibeah.

37 And the liers in wait hasted, and rushed upon Gibeah; and the liers in wait drew themselves along, and smote all the city with the edge of the sword.

38 Now there was an appointed sign between the men of Israel and the liers in wait, that they should make a great flame with smoke rise up out of the city.

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39 And when the men of Israel retired in the battle, Benjamin began to smite and kill of the men of Israel about thirty persons: for they said, Surely they are smitten down before us, as in the first battle.

40 But when the flame began to arise up out of the city with a pillar of smoke, the Benjamites looked behind them, and, behold, the flame of the city ascended up to heaven.

41 And when the men of Israel turned again, the men of Benjamin were amazed: for they saw that evil was come upon them.

42 Therefore they turned their backs before the men of Israel unto the way of the wilderness; but the battle overtook them; and them which came out of the cities they destroyed in the midst of them.

43 Thus they inclosed the Benjamites round about, and chased them, and trode them down with ease over against Gibeah toward the sunrising.

44 And there fell of Benjamin eighteen thousand men; all these were men of valour.

45 And they turned and fled toward the wilderness unto the rock of Rimmon: and they gleaned of them in the highways five thousand men; and pursued hard after them unto Gidom, and slew two thousand men of them.

46 So that all which fell that day of Benjamin were twenty and five thousand men that drew the sword; all these were men of valour.

47 But six hundred men turned and fled to the wilderness unto the rock Rimmon, and abode in the rock Rimmon four months.

48 And the men of Israel turned again upon the children of Benjamin, and smote them with the edge of the sword, as well the men of every city, as the beast, and all that came to hand: also they set on fire all the cities that they came to.

JUDGES CHAPTER 21

1 Now the men of Israel had sworn in Mizpeh, saying, There shall not any of us give his daughter unto Benjamin to wife.

2 And the people came to the house of God, and abode there till even before God, and lifted up their voices, and wept sore;

3 And said, O LORD God of Israel, why is this come to pass in Israel, that there should be to day one tribe lacking in Israel?

4 And it came to pass on the morrow, that the people rose early, and built there an altar, and offered burnt offerings and peace offerings.

5 And the children of Israel said, Who is there among all the tribes of Israel that came not up with the congregation unto the LORD? For they had made a great oath concerning him that came not up to the LORD to Mizpeh, saying, He shall surely be put to death.

6 And the children of Israel repented them for Benjamin their brother, and said, There is one tribe cut off from Israel this day.

7 How shall we do for wives for them that remain, seeing we have sworn by the LORD that we will not give them of our daughters to wives?

8 And they said, What one is there of the tribes of Israel that came not up to Mizpeh to the LORD? And, behold, there came none to the camp from Jabeshgilead to the assembly.

9 For the people were numbered, and, behold, there were none of the inhabitants of Jabeshgilead there.

10 And the congregation sent thither twelve thousand men of the valiantest, and commanded them, saying, Go and smite the inhabitants of Jabeshgilead with the edge of the sword, with the women and the children.

11 And this is the thing that ye shall do, Ye shall utterly destroy every male, and every woman that hath lain by man.

12 And they found among the inhabitants of Jabeshgilead four hundred young virgins, that had known no man by lying with any male: and they brought them unto the camp to Shiloh, which is in the land of Canaan.

13 And the whole congregation sent some to speak to the children of Benjamin that were in the rock Rimmon, and to call peaceably unto them.

14 And Benjamin came again at that time; and they gave them wives which they had saved alive of the women of Jabeshgilead: and yet so they sufficed them not.

15 And the people repented them for Benjamin, because that the LORD had made a breach in the tribes of Israel.

16 Then the elders of the congregation said, How shall we do for wives for them that remain, seeing the women are destroyed out of Benjamin?

17 And they said, There must be an inheritance for them that be escaped of Benjamin, that a tribe be not destroyed out of Israel.

18 Howbeit we may not give them wives of our daughters: for the children of Israel have sworn, saying, Cursed be he that giveth a wife to Benjamin.

19 Then they said, Behold, there is a feast of the LORD in Shiloh yearly in a place which is on the north side of Bethel, on the east side of the highway that goeth up from Bethel to Shechem, and on the south of Lebonah.

20 Therefore they commanded the children of Benjamin, saying, Go and lie in wait in the vineyards;

21 And see, and, behold, if the daughters of Shiloh come out to dance in dances, then come ye out of the vineyards, and catch you every man his wife of the daughters of Shiloh, and go to the land of Benjamin.

22 And it shall be, when their fathers or their brethren come unto us to complain, that we will say unto them, Be favourable unto them for our sakes: because we reserved not to each man his wife in the war: for ye did not give unto them at this time, that ye should be guilty.

23 And the children of Benjamin did so, and took them wives, according to their number, of them that danced, whom they caught: and they went and returned unto their inheritance, and repaired the cities, and dwelt in them.

24 And the children of Israel departed thence at that time, every man to his tribe and to his family, and they went out from thence every man to his inheritance.

25 In those days there was no king in Israel: every man did that which was right in his own eyes.

THE FIRST BOOK OF SAMUEL

Hebrew Title: Sefer Shemuel 1
(in some Bibles also called: The First Book of Kings)
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 630–540 B.C

(The Book of Samuel, or 1 Samuel and 2 Samuel, form part of the narrative history of Israel in the Nevi'im or "prophets" section of the Hebrew Bible / Old Testament, called the Deuteronomistic history, a series of books (Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings) that constitute a theological history of the Israelites and aim to explain God's law for Israel under the guidance of the prophets.

1 and 2 Samuel were originally (and, in most Jewish bibles, still are) a single book, but the first Greek translation, called Septuagint and produced around the second century BC, divided it for unknown reasons into two; this was adopted by the Latin translations used in the early Christian church of the West, and finally introduced into Jewish bibles around the early 16th century. What it is now commonly known as 1 Samuel and 2 Samuel are called by the Vulgate, in imitation of the Septuagint, 1 Kings and 2 Kings respectively. Then, what it is now commonly known as 1 Kings and 2 Kings would be 3 Kings and 4 Kings in old Bibles before the year 1516.

Samuel begins with the prophet Samuel's birth and God's call to him as a boy. The story of the Ark of the Covenant that follows tells of Israel's oppression by the Philistines, which brought about Samuel's anointing of Saul as Israel's first king. But Saul proved unworthy and God's choice turned to David, who defeated Israel's enemies, purchased the threshing floor (2 Samuel 24:24), where his son, Solomon built the Temple and brought the Ark to Jerusalem. The narrative stresses that he gained the throne lawfully, always respecting "the Lord's anointed" (i.e. Saul) and never taking any of his numerous chances to seize the throne by violence. As God's chosen king over Israel, David is also the son of God ("I will be a father to him, and he shall be a son to me..." – 2 Samuel 7:14). God enters into an eternal covenant (treaty) with David and his line, promising divine protection of the dynasty and of Jerusalem through all time.)

1 SAMUEL CHAPTER 1

1 Now there was a certain man of Ramathaimzophim, of mount Ephraim, and his name was Elkanah, the son of Jeroham, the son of Elihu, the son of Tohu, the son of Zuph, an Ephrathite:

2 And he had two wives; the name of the one was Hannah, and the name of the other Peninnah: and Peninnah had children, but Hannah had no children.

3 And this man went up out of his city yearly to worship and to sacrifice unto the LORD of hosts in Shiloh. And the two sons of Eli, Hophni and Phinehas, the priests of the LORD, were there.

4 And when the time was that Elkanah offered, he gave to Peninnah his wife, and to all her sons and her daughters, portions:

5 But unto Hannah he gave a worthy portion; for he loved Hannah: but the LORD had shut up her womb.

6 And her adversary also provoked her sore, for to make her fret, because the LORD had shut up her womb.

7 And as he did so year by year, when she went up to the house of the LORD, so she provoked her; therefore she wept, and did not eat.

8 Then said Elkanah her husband to her, Hannah, why weepest thou? and why eatest thou not? and why is thy heart grieved? am not I better to thee than ten sons?

9 So Hannah rose up after they had eaten in Shiloh, and after they had drunk. Now Eli the priest sat upon a seat by a post of the temple of the LORD.

10 And she was in bitterness of soul, and prayed unto the LORD, and wept sore.

11 And she vowed a vow, and said, O LORD of hosts, if thou wilt indeed look on the affliction of thine handmaid, and remember me, and not forget thine handmaid, but wilt give unto thine handmaid a man child, then I will give him unto the LORD all the days of his life, and there shall no razor come upon his head.

12 And it came to pass, as she continued praying before the LORD, that Eli marked her mouth.

13 Now Hannah, she spake in her heart; only her lips moved, but her voice was not heard: therefore Eli thought she had been drunken.

14 And Eli said unto her, How long wilt thou be drunken? put away thy wine from thee.

15 And Hannah answered and said, No, my lord, I am a woman of a sorrowful spirit: I have drunk neither wine nor strong drink, but have poured out my soul before the LORD.

16 Count not thine handmaid for a daughter of Belial: for out of the abundance of my complaint and grief have I spoken hitherto.

17 Then Eli answered and said, Go in peace: and the God of Israel grant thee thy petition that thou hast asked of him.

18 And she said, Let thine handmaid find grace in thy sight. So the woman went her way, and did eat, and her countenance was no more sad.

19 And they rose up in the morning early, and worshipped before the LORD, and returned, and came to their house to Ramah: and Elkanah knew Hannah his wife; and the LORD remembered her.

20 Wherefore it came to pass, when the time was come about after Hannah had conceived, that she bare a son, and called his name Samuel, saying, Because I have asked him of the LORD.

21 And the man Elkanah, and all his house, went up to offer unto the LORD the yearly sacrifice, and his vow.

22 But Hannah went not up; for she said unto her husband, I will not go up until the child be weaned, and then I will bring him, that he may appear before the LORD, and there abide for ever.

23 And Elkanah her husband said unto her, Do what seemeth thee good; tarry until thou have weaned him; only the LORD establish his word. So the woman abode, and gave her son suck until she weaned him.

24 And when she had weaned him, she took him up with her, with three bullocks, and one ephah of flour, and a bottle of wine, and brought him unto the house of the LORD in Shiloh: and the child was young.

25 And they slew a bullock, and brought the child to Eli.

26 And she said, Oh my lord, as thy soul liveth, my lord, I am the woman that stood by thee here, praying unto the LORD.

27 For this child I prayed; and the LORD hath given me my petition which I asked of him:

28 Therefore also I have lent him to the LORD; as long as he liveth he shall be lent to the LORD. And he worshipped the LORD there.

1 SAMUEL CHAPTER 2

1 And Hannah prayed, and said, My heart rejoiceth in the LORD, mine horn is exalted in the LORD: my mouth is enlarged over mine enemies; because I rejoice in thy salvation.

2 There is none holy as the LORD: for there is none beside thee: neither is there any rock like our God.

3 Talk no more so exceeding proudly; let not arrogancy come out of your mouth: for the LORD is a God of knowledge, and by him actions are weighed.

4 The bows of the mighty men are broken, and they that stumbled are girded with strength.

5 They that were full have hired out themselves for bread; and they that were hungry ceased: so that the barren hath born seven; and she that hath many children is waxed feeble.

6 The LORD killeth, and maketh alive: he bringeth down to the grave, and bringeth up.

7 The LORD maketh poor, and maketh rich: he bringeth low, and lifteth up.

8 He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth up the beggar from the dunghill, to set them among princes, and to make them inherit the throne of glory: for the pillars of the earth are the LORD's, and he hath set the world upon them.

9 He will keep the feet of his saints, and the wicked shall be silent in darkness; for by strength shall no man prevail.

10 The adversaries of the LORD shall be broken to pieces; out of heaven shall he thunder upon them: the LORD shall judge the ends of the earth; and he shall give strength unto his king, and exalt the horn of his anointed.

11 And Elkanah went to Ramah to his house. And the child did minister unto the LORD before Eli the priest.

12 Now the sons of Eli were sons of Belial; they knew not the LORD.

13 And the priest's custom with the people was, that, when any man offered sacrifice, the priest's servant came, while the flesh was in seething, with a fleshhook of three teeth in his hand;

14 And he struck it into the pan, or kettle, or caldron, or pot; all that the fleshhook brought up the priest took for himself. So they did in Shiloh unto all the Israelites that came thither.

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15 Also before they burnt the fat, the priest's servant came, and said to the man that sacrificed, Give flesh to roast for the priest; for he will not have sodden flesh of thee, but raw.
16 And if any man said unto him, Let them not fail to burn the fat presently, and then take as much as thy soul desireth; then he would answer him, Nay; but thou shalt give it me now: and if not, I will take it by force.
17 Wherefore the sin of the young men was very great before the LORD: for men abhorred the offering of the LORD.
18 But Samuel ministered before the LORD, being a child, girded with a linen ephod.
19 Moreover his mother made him a little coat, and brought it to him from year to year, when she came up with her husband to offer the yearly sacrifice.
20 And Eli blessed Elkanah and his wife, and said, The LORD give thee seed of this woman for the loan which is lent to the LORD. And they went unto their own home.
21 And the LORD visited Hannah, so that she conceived, and bare three sons and two daughters. And the child Samuel grew before the LORD.
22 Now Eli was very old, and heard all that his sons did unto all Israel; and how they lay with the women that assembled at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.
23 And he said unto them, Why do ye such things? for I hear of your evil dealings by all this people.
24 Nay, my sons; for it is no good report that I hear: ye make the LORD's people to transgress.
25 If one man sin against another, the judge shall judge him: but if a man sin against the LORD, who shall intreat for him? Notwithstanding they hearkened not unto the voice of their father, because the LORD would slay them.
26 And the child Samuel grew on, and was in favour both with the LORD, and also with men.
27 And there came a man of God unto Eli, and said unto him, Thus saith the LORD, Did I plainly appear unto the house of thy father, when they were in Egypt in Pharaoh's house?
28 And did I choose him out of all the tribes of Israel to be my priest, to offer upon mine altar, to burn incense, to wear an ephod before me? and did I give unto the house of thy father all the offerings made by fire of the children of Israel?
29 Wherefore kick ye at my sacrifice and at mine offering, which I have commanded in my habitation; and honourest thy sons above me, to make yourselves fat with the chiefest of all the offerings of Israel my people?
30 Wherefore the LORD God of Israel saith, I said indeed that thy house, and the house of thy father, should walk before me for ever: but now the LORD saith, Be it far from me; for them that honour me I will honour, and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed.
31 Behold, the days come, that I will cut off thine arm, and the arm of thy father's house, that there shall not be an old man in thine house.
32 And thou shalt see an enemy in my habitation, in all the wealth which God shall give Israel: and there shall not be an old man in thine house for ever.
33 And the man of thine, whom I shall not cut off from mine altar, shall be to consume thine eyes, and to grieve thine heart: and all the increase of thine house shall die in the flower of their age.
34 And this shall be a sign unto thee, that shall come upon thy two sons, on Hophni and Phinehas; in one day they shall die both of them.
35 And I will raise me up a faithful priest, that shall do according to that which is in mine heart and in my mind: and I will build him a sure house; and he shall walk before mine anointed for ever.
36 And it shall come to pass, that every one that is left in thine house shall come and crouch to him for a piece of silver and a morsel of bread, and shall say, Put me, I pray thee, into one of the priests' offices, that I may eat a piece of bread.

1 SAMUEL CHAPTER 3
1 And the child Samuel ministered unto the LORD before Eli. And the word of the LORD was precious in those days; there was no open vision.
2 And it came to pass at that time, when Eli was laid down in his place, and his eyes began to wax dim, that he could not see;
3 And ere the lamp of God went out in the temple of the LORD, where the ark of God was, and Samuel was laid down to sleep;
4 That the LORD called Samuel: and he answered, Here am I.
5 And he ran unto Eli, and said, Here am I; for thou calledst me. And he said, I called not; lie down again. And he went and lay down.
6 And the LORD called yet again, Samuel. And Samuel arose and went to Eli, and said, Here am I; for thou didst call me. And he answered, I called not, my son; lie down again.
7 Now Samuel did not yet know the LORD, neither was the word of the LORD yet revealed unto him.
8 And the LORD called Samuel again the third time. And he arose and went to Eli, and said, Here am I; for thou didst call me. And Eli perceived that the LORD had called the child.
9 Therefore Eli said unto Samuel, Go, lie down: and it shall be, if he call thee, that thou shalt say, Speak, LORD; for thy servant heareth. So Samuel went and lay down in his place.
10 And the LORD came, and stood, and called as at other times, Samuel, Samuel. Then Samuel answered, Speak; for thy servant heareth.
11 And the LORD said to Samuel, Behold, I will do a thing in Israel, at which both the ears of every one that heareth it shall tingle.
12 In that day I will perform against Eli all things which I have spoken concerning his house: when I begin, I will also make an end.
13 For I have told him that I will judge his house for ever for the iniquity which he knoweth; because his sons made themselves vile, and he restrained them not.
14 And therefore I have sworn unto the house of Eli, that the iniquity of Eli's house shall not be purged with sacrifice nor offering for ever.
15 And Samuel lay until the morning, and opened the doors of the house of the LORD. And Samuel feared to shew Eli the vision.
16 Then Eli called Samuel, and said, Samuel, my son. And he answered, Here am I.
17 And he said, What is the thing that the LORD hath said unto thee? I pray thee hide it not from me: God do so to thee, and more also, if thou hide any thing from me of all the things that he said unto thee.
18 And Samuel told him every whit, and hid nothing from him. And he said, It is the LORD: let him do what seemeth him good.
19 And Samuel grew, and the LORD was with him, and did let none of his words fall to the ground.
20 And all Israel from Dan even to Beersheba knew that Samuel was established to be a prophet of the LORD.
21 And the LORD appeared again in Shiloh: for the LORD revealed himself to Samuel in Shiloh by the word of the LORD.

1 SAMUEL CHAPTER 4
1 And the word of Samuel came to all Israel. Now Israel went out against the Philistines to battle, and pitched beside Ebenezer: and the Philistines pitched in Aphek.
2 And the Philistines put themselves in array against Israel: and when they joined battle, Israel was smitten before the Philistines: and they slew of the army in the field about four thousand men.
3 And when the people were come into the camp, the elders of Israel said, Wherefore hath the LORD smitten us to day before the Philistines? Let us fetch the ark of the covenant of the LORD out of Shiloh unto us, that, when it cometh among us, it may save us out of the hand of our enemies.
4 So the people sent to Shiloh, that they might bring from thence the ark of the covenant of the LORD of hosts, which dwelleth between the cherubims: and the two sons of Eli, Hophni and Phinehas, were there with the ark of the covenant of God.
5 And when the ark of the covenant of the LORD came into the camp, all Israel shouted with a great shout, so that the earth rang again.
6 And when the Philistines heard the noise of the shout, they said, What meaneth the noise of this great shout in the camp of the Hebrews? And they understood that the ark of the LORD was come into the camp.
7 And the Philistines were afraid, for they said, God is come into the camp. And they said, Woe unto us! for there hath not been such a thing heretofore.
8 Woe unto us! who shall deliver us out of the hand of these mighty Gods? these are the Gods that smote the Egyptians with all the plagues in the wilderness.
9 Be strong and quit yourselves like men, O ye Philistines, that ye be not servants unto the Hebrews, as they have been to you: quit yourselves like men, and fight.
10 And the Philistines fought, and Israel was smitten, and they fled every man into his tent: and there was a very great slaughter; for there fell of Israel thirty thousand footmen.
11 And the ark of God was taken; and the two sons of Eli, Hophni and Phinehas, were slain.
12 And there ran a man of Benjamin out of the army, and came to Shiloh the same day with his clothes rent, and with earth upon his head.
13 And when he came, lo, Eli sat upon a seat by the wayside watching: for his heart trembled for the ark of God. And when the man came into the city, and told it, all the city cried out.
14 And when Eli heard the noise of the crying, he said, What meaneth the noise of this tumult? And the man came in hastily, and told Eli.
15 Now Eli was ninety and eight years old; and his eyes were dim, that he could not see.
16 And the man said unto Eli, I am he that came out of the army, and I fled to day out of the army. And he said, What is there done, my son?
17 And the messenger answered and said, Israel is fled before the Philistines, and there hath been also a great slaughter among the people, and thy two sons also, Hophni and Phinehas, are dead, and the ark of God is taken.
18 And it came to pass, when he made mention of the ark of God, that he fell from off the seat backward by the side of the gate, and his neck brake, and he died: for he was an old man, and heavy. And he had judged Israel forty years.
19 And his daughter in law, Phinehas' wife, was with child, near to be delivered: and when she heard the tidings that the ark of God was taken, and that her father in law and her husband were dead, she bowed herself and travailed; for her pains came upon her.
20 And about the time of her death the women that stood by her said unto her, Fear not; for thou hast born a son. But she answered not, neither did she regard it.
21 And she named the child Ichabod, saying, The glory is departed from Israel: because the ark of God was taken, and because of her father in law and her husband.
22 And she said, The glory is departed from Israel: for the ark of God is taken.

1 SAMUEL CHAPTER 5
1 And the Philistines took the ark of God, and brought it from Ebenezer unto Ashdod.
2 When the Philistines took the ark of God, they brought it into the house of Dagon, and set it by Dagon.
3 And when they of Ashdod arose early on the morrow, behold, Dagon was fallen upon his face to the earth before the ark of the LORD. And they took Dagon, and set him in his place again.
4 And when they arose early on the morrow morning, behold, Dagon was fallen upon his face to the ground before the ark of the LORD; and the head of Dagon and both the palms of his hands were cut off upon the threshold; only the stump of Dagon was left to him.
5 Therefore neither the priests of Dagon, nor any that come into Dagon's house, tread on the threshold of Dagon in Ashdod unto this day.
6 But the hand of the LORD was heavy upon them of Ashdod, and he destroyed them, and smote them with emerods, even Ashdod and the coasts thereof.
7 And when the men of Ashdod saw that it was so, they said, The ark of the God of Israel shall not abide with us: for his hand is sore upon us, and upon Dagon our god.
8 They sent therefore and gathered all the lords of the Philistines unto them, and said, What shall we do with the ark of the God of Israel? And they answered, Let the ark of the God of Israel be carried about unto Gath. And they carried the ark of the God of Israel about thither.
9 And it was so, that, after they had carried it about, the hand of the LORD was against the city with a very great destruction: and he smote the men of the city, both small and great, and they had emerods in their secret parts.
10 Therefore they sent the ark of God to Ekron. And it came to pass, as the ark of God came to Ekron, that the Ekronites cried out, saying, They have brought about the ark of the God of Israel to us, to slay us and our people.
11 So they sent and gathered together all the lords of the Philistines, and said, Send away the ark of the God of Israel, and let it go again to his own place, that it slay us not, and our people: for there was a deadly destruction throughout all the city; the hand of God was very heavy there.
12 And the men that died not were smitten with the emerods: and the cry of the city went up to heaven.

1 SAMUEL CHAPTER 6
1 And the ark of the LORD was in the country of the Philistines seven months.
2 And the Philistines called for the priests and the diviners, saying, What shall we do to the ark of the LORD? tell us wherewith we shall send it to his place.
3 And they said, If ye send away the ark of the God of Israel, send it not empty; but in any wise return him a trespass offering: then ye shall be healed, and it shall be known to you why his hand is not removed from you.
4 Then said they, What shall be the trespass offering which we shall return to him? They answered, Five golden emerods, and five golden mice, according to the number of the lords of the Philistines: for one plague was on you all, and on your lords.
5 Wherefore ye shall make images of your emerods, and images of your mice that mar the land; and ye shall give glory unto the God of Israel: peradventure he will lighten his hand from off you, and from off your gods, and from off your land.
6 Wherefore then do ye harden your hearts, as the Egyptians and Pharaoh hardened their hearts? when he had wrought wonderfully among them, did they not let the people go, and they departed?

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7 Now therefore make a new cart, and take two milch kine, on which there hath come no yoke, and tie the kine to the cart, and bring their calves home from them:

8 And take the ark of the LORD, and lay it upon the cart; and put the jewels of gold, which ye return him for a trespass offering, in a coffer by the side thereof; and send it away, that it may go.

9 And see, if it goeth up by the way of his own coast to Bethshemesh, then he hath done us this great evil: but if not, then we shall know that it is not his hand that smote us: it was a chance that happened to us.

10 And the men did so; and took two milch kine, and tied them to the cart, and shut up their calves at home:

11 And they laid the ark of the LORD upon the cart, and the coffer with the mice of gold and the images of their emerods.

12 And the kine took the straight way to the way of Bethshemesh, and went along the highway, lowing as they went, and turned not aside to the right hand or to the left; and the lords of the Philistines went after them unto the border of Bethshemesh.

13 And they of Bethshemesh were reaping their wheat harvest in the valley: and they lifted up their eyes, and saw the ark, and rejoiced to see it.

14 And the cart came into the field of Joshua, a Bethshemite, and stood there, where there was a great stone: and they clave the wood of the cart, and offered the kine a burnt offering unto the LORD.

15 And the Levites took down the ark of the LORD, and the coffer that was with it, wherein the jewels of gold were, and put them on the great stone: and the men of Bethshemesh offered burnt offerings and sacrificed sacrifices the same day unto the LORD.

16 And when the five lords of the Philistines had seen it, they returned to Ekron the same day.

17 And these are the golden emerods which the Philistines returned for a trespass offering unto the LORD; for Ashdod one, for Gaza one, for Askelon one, for Gath one, for Ekron one;

18 And the golden mice, according to the number of all the cities of the Philistines belonging to the five lords, both of fenced cities, and of country villages, even unto the great stone of Abel, whereon they set down the ark of the LORD: which stone remaineth unto this day in the field of Joshua, the Bethshemite.

19 And he smote the men of Bethshemesh, because they had looked into the ark of the LORD, even he smote of the people fifty thousand and threescore and ten men: and the people lamented, because the LORD had smitten many of the people with a great slaughter.

20 And the men of Bethshemesh said, Who is able to stand before this holy LORD God? and to whom shall he go up from us?

21 And they sent messengers to the inhabitants of Kirjathjearim, saying, The Philistines have brought again the ark of the LORD; come ye down, and fetch it up to you.

1 SAMUEL CHAPTER 7

1 And the men of Kirjathjearim came, and fetched up the ark of the LORD, and brought it into the house of Abinadab in the hill, and sanctified Eleazar his son to keep the ark of the LORD.

2 And it came to pass, while the ark abode in Kirjathjearim, that the time was long; for it was twenty years: and all the house of Israel lamented after the LORD.

3 And Samuel spake unto all the house of Israel, saying, If ye do return unto the LORD with all your hearts, then put away the strange gods and Ashtaroth from among you, and prepare your hearts unto the LORD, and serve him only: and he will deliver you out of the hand of the Philistines.

4 Then the children of Israel did put away Baalim and Ashtaroth, and served the LORD only.

5 And Samuel said, Gather all Israel to Mizpeh, and I will pray for you unto the LORD.

6 And they gathered together to Mizpeh, and drew water, and poured it out before the LORD, and fasted on that day, and said there, We have sinned against the LORD. And Samuel judged the children of Israel in Mizpeh.

7 And when the Philistines heard that the children of Israel were gathered together to Mizpeh, the lords of the Philistines went up against Israel. And when the children of Israel heard it, they were afraid of the Philistines.

8 And the children of Israel said to Samuel, Cease not to cry unto the LORD our God for us, that he will save us out of the hand of the Philistines.

9 And Samuel took a sucking lamb, and offered it for a burnt offering wholly unto the LORD: and Samuel cried unto the LORD for Israel; and the LORD heard him.

10 And as Samuel was offering up the burnt offering, the Philistines drew near to battle against Israel: but the LORD thundered with a great thunder on that day upon the Philistines, and discomfited them; and they were smitten before Israel.

11 And the men of Israel went out of Mizpeh, and pursued the Philistines, and smote them, until they came under Bethcar.

12 Then Samuel took a stone, and set it between Mizpeh and Shen, and called the name of it Ebenezer, saying, Hitherto hath the LORD helped us.

13 So the Philistines were subdued, and they came no more into the coast of Israel: and the hand of the LORD was against the Philistines all the days of Samuel.

14 And the cities which the Philistines had taken from Israel were restored to Israel, from Ekron even unto Gath; and the coasts thereof did Israel deliver out of the hands of the Philistines. And there was peace between Israel and the Amorites.

15 And Samuel judged Israel all the days of his life.

16 And he went from year to year in circuit to Bethel, and Gilgal, and Mizpeh, and judged Israel in all those places.

17 And his return was to Ramah; for there was his house; and there he judged Israel; and there he built an altar unto the LORD.

1 SAMUEL CHAPTER 8

1 And it came to pass, when Samuel was old, that he made his sons judges over Israel.

2 Now the name of his firstborn was Joel; and the name of his second, Abiah: they were judges in Beersheba.

3 And his sons walked not in his ways, but turned aside after lucre, and took bribes, and perverted judgement.

4 Then all the elders of Israel gathered themselves together, and came to Samuel unto Ramah,

5 And said unto him, Behold, thou art old, and thy sons walk not in thy ways: now make us a king to judge us like all the nations.

6 But the thing displeased Samuel, when they said, Give us a king to judge us. And Samuel prayed unto the LORD.

7 And the LORD said unto Samuel, Hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee: for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them.

8 According to all the works which they have done since the day that I brought them up out of Egypt even unto this day, wherewith they have forsaken me, and served other gods, so do they also unto thee.

9 Now therefore hearken unto their voice: howbeit yet protest solemnly unto them, and shew them the manner of the king that shall reign over them.

10 And Samuel told all the words of the LORD unto the people that asked of him a king.

11 And he said, This will be the manner of the king that shall reign over you: He will take your sons, and appoint them for himself, for his chariots, and to be his horsemen; and some shall run before his chariots.

12 And he will appoint him captains over thousands, and captains over fifties; and will set them to ear his ground, and to reap his harvest, and to make his instruments of war, and instruments of his chariots.

13 And he will take your daughters to be confectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be bakers.

14 And he will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your oliveyards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants.

15 And he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give to his officers, and to his servants.

16 And he will take your menservants, and your maidservants, and your goodliest young men, and your asses, and put them to his work.

17 He will take the tenth of your sheep: and ye shall be his servants.

18 And ye shall cry out in that day because of your king which ye shall have chosen you; and the LORD will not hear you in that day.

19 Nevertheless the people refused to obey the voice of Samuel; and they said, Nay; but we will have a king over us;

20 That we also may be like all the nations; and that our king may judge us, and go out before us, and fight our battles.

21 And Samuel heard all the words of the people, and he rehearsed them in the ears of the LORD.

22 And the LORD said to Samuel, Hearken unto their voice, and make them a king. And Samuel said unto the men of Israel, Go ye every man unto his city.

1 SAMUEL CHAPTER 9

1 Now there was a man of Benjamin, whose name was Kish, the son of Abiel, the son of Zeror, the son of Bechorath, the son of Aphiah, a Benjamite, a mighty man of power.

2 And he had a son, whose name was Saul, a choice young man, and a goodly: and there was not among the children of Israel a goodlier person than he: from his shoulders and upward he was higher than any of the people.

3 And the asses of Kish Saul's father were lost. And Kish said to Saul his son, Take now one of the servants with thee, and arise, go seek the asses.

4 And he passed through mount Ephraim, and passed through the land of Shalisha, but they found them not: then they passed through the land of Shalim, and there they were not: and he passed through the land of the Benjamites, but they found them not.

5 And when they were come to the land of Zuph, Saul said to his servant that was with him, Come, and let us return; lest my father leave caring for the asses, and take thought for us.

6 And he said unto him, Behold now, there is in this city a man of God, and he is an honourable man; all that he saith cometh surely to pass: now let us go thither; peradventure he can shew us our way that we should go.

7 Then said Saul to his servant, But, behold, if we go, what shall we bring the man? for the bread is spent in our vessels, and there is not a present to bring to the man of God: what have we?

8 And the servant answered Saul again, and said, Behold, I have here at hand the fourth part of a shekel of silver: that will I give to the man of God, to tell us our way.

9 (Beforetime in Israel, when a man went to enquire of God, thus he spake, Come, and let us go to the seer: for he that is now called a Prophet was beforetime called a Seer.)

10 Then said Saul to his servant, Well said; come, let us go. So they went unto the city where the man of God was.

11 And as they went up the hill to the city, they found young maidens going out to draw water, and said unto them, Is the seer here?

12 And they answered them, and said, He is; behold, he is before you: make haste now, for he came to day to the city; for there is a sacrifice of the people to day in the high place:

13 As soon as ye be come into the city, ye shall straightway find him, before he go up to the high place to eat: for the people will not eat until he come, because he doth bless the sacrifice; and afterwards they eat that be bidden. Now therefore get you up; for about this time ye shall find him.

14 And they went up into the city: and when they were come into the city, behold, Samuel came out against them, for to go up to the high place.

15 Now the LORD had told Samuel in his ear a day before Saul came, saying,

16 To morrow about this time I will send thee a man out of the land of Benjamin, and thou shalt anoint him to be captain over my people Israel, that he may save my people out of the hand of the Philistines: for I have looked upon my people, because their cry is come unto me.

17 And when Samuel saw Saul, the LORD said unto him, Behold the man whom I spake to thee of! this same shall reign over my people.

18 Then Saul drew near to Samuel in the gate, and said, Tell me, I pray thee, where the seer's house is.

19 And Samuel answered Saul, and said, I am the seer: go up before me unto the high place; for ye shall eat with me to day, and to morrow I will let thee go, and will tell thee all that is in thine heart.

20 And as for thine asses that were lost three days ago, set not thy mind on them; for they are found. And on whom is all the desire of Israel? Is it not on thee, and on all thy father's house?

21 And Saul answered and said, Am not I a Benjamite, of the smallest of the tribes of Israel? and my family the least of all the families of the tribe of Benjamin? wherefore then speakest thou so to me?

22 And Samuel took Saul and his servant, and brought them into the parlour, and made them sit in the chiefest place among them that were bidden, which were about thirty persons.

23 And Samuel said unto the cook, Bring the portion which I gave thee, of which I said unto thee, Set it by thee.

24 And the cook took up the shoulder, and that which was upon it, and set it before Saul. And Samuel said, Behold that which is left! set it before thee, and eat: for unto this time hath it been kept for thee since I said, I have invited the people. So Saul did eat with Samuel that day.

25 And when they were come down from the high place into the city, Samuel communed with Saul upon the top of the house.

26 And they arose early: and it came to pass about the spring of the day, that Samuel called Saul to the top of the house, saying, Up, that I may send thee away. And Saul arose, and they went out both of them, he and Samuel, abroad.

27 And as they were going down to the end of the city, Samuel said to Saul, Bid the servant pass on before us, (and he passed on), but stand thou still a while, that I may shew thee the word of God.

1 SAMUEL CHAPTER 10

1 Then Samuel took a vial of oil, and poured it upon his head, and kissed him, and said, Is it not because the LORD hath anointed thee to be captain over his inheritance?

2 When thou art departed from me to day, then thou shalt find two men by Rachel's sepulchre in the border of Benjamin at Zelzah; and they will say unto thee, The asses which thou wentest to seek are found: and, lo, thy father hath left the care of the asses, and sorroweth for you, saying, What shall I do for my son?

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3 Then shalt thou go on forward from thence, and thou shalt come to the plain of Tabor, and there shall meet thee three men going up to God to Bethel, one carrying three kids, and another carrying three loaves of bread, and another carrying a bottle of wine:

4 And they will salute thee, and give thee two loaves of bread; which thou shalt receive of their hands.

5 After that thou shalt come to the hill of God, where is the garrison of the Philistines: and it shall come to pass, when thou art come thither to the city, that thou shalt meet a company of prophets coming down from the high place with a psaltery, and a tabret, and a pipe, and a harp, before them; and they shall prophesy:

6 And the Spirit of the LORD will come upon thee, and thou shalt prophesy with them, and shalt be turned into another man.

7 And let it be, when these signs are come unto thee, that thou do as occasion serve thee; for God is with thee.

8 And thou shalt go down before me to Gilgal; and, behold, I will come down unto thee, to offer burnt offerings, and to sacrifice sacrifices of peace offerings: seven days shalt thou tarry, till I come to thee, and shew thee what thou shalt do.

9 And it was so, that when he had turned his back to go from Samuel, God gave him another heart: and all those signs came to pass that day.

10 And when they came thither to the hill, behold, a company of prophets met him; and the Spirit of God came upon him, and he prophesied among them.

11 And it came to pass, when all that knew him beforetime saw that, behold, he prophesied among the prophets, then the people said one to another, What is this that is come unto the son of Kish? Is Saul also among the prophets?

12 And one of the same place answered and said, But who is their father? Therefore it became a proverb, Is Saul also among the prophets?

13 And when he had made an end of prophesying, he came to the high place.

14 And Saul's uncle said unto him and to his servant, Whither went ye? And he said, To seek the asses: and when we saw that they were no where, we came to Samuel.

15 And Saul's uncle said, Tell me, I pray thee, what Samuel said unto you.

16 And Saul said unto his uncle, He told us plainly that the asses were found. But of the matter of the kingdom, whereof Samuel spake, he told him not.

17 And Samuel called the people together unto the LORD to Mizpeh;

18 And said unto the children of Israel, Thus saith the LORD God of Israel, I brought up Israel out of Egypt, and delivered you out of the hand of the Egyptians, and out of the hand of all kingdoms, and of them that oppressed you:

19 And ye have this day rejected your God, who himself saved you out of all your adversities and your tribulations; and ye have said unto him, Nay, but set a king over us. Now therefore present yourselves before the LORD by your tribes, and by your thousands.

20 And when Samuel had caused all the tribes of Israel to come near, the tribe of Benjamin was taken.

21 When he had caused the tribe of Benjamin to come near by their families, the family of Matri was taken, and Saul the son of Kish was taken: and when they sought him, he could not be found.

22 Therefore they enquired of the LORD further, if the man should yet come thither. And the LORD answered, Behold he hath hid himself among the stuff.

23 And they ran and fetched him thence: and when he stood among the people, he was higher than any of the people from his shoulders and upward.

24 And Samuel said to all the people, See ye him whom the LORD hath chosen, that there is none like him among all the people? And all the people shouted, and said, God save the king.

25 Then Samuel told the people the manner of the kingdom, and wrote it in a book, and laid it up before the LORD. And Samuel sent all the people away, every man to his house.

26 And Saul also went home to Gibeah; and there went with him a band of men, whose hearts God had touched.

27 But the children of Belial said, How shall this man save us? And they despised him, and brought no presents. But he held his peace.

1 SAMUEL CHAPTER 11

1 Then Nahash the Ammonite came up, and encamped against Jabeshgilead: and all the men of Jabesh said unto Nahash, Make a covenant with us, and we will serve thee.

2 And Nahash the Ammonite answered them, On this condition will I make a covenant with you, that I may thrust out all your right eyes, and lay it for a reproach upon all Israel.

3 And the elders of Jabesh said unto him, Give us seven days' respite, that we may send messengers unto all the coasts of Israel: and then, if there be no man to save us, we will come out to thee.

4 Then came the messengers to Gibeah of Saul, and told the tidings in the ears of the people: and all the people lifted up their voices, and wept.

5 And, behold, Saul came after the herd out of the field; and Saul said, What aileth the people that they weep? And they told him the tidings of the men of Jabesh.

6 And the Spirit of God came upon Saul when he heard those tidings, and his anger was kindled greatly.

7 And he took a yoke of oxen, and hewed them in pieces, and sent them throughout all the coasts of Israel by the hands of messengers, saying, Whosoever cometh not forth after Saul and after Samuel, so shall it be done unto his oxen. And the fear of the LORD fell on the people, and they came out with one consent.

8 And when he numbered them in Bezek, the children of Israel were three hundred thousand, and the men of Judah thirty thousand.

9 And they said unto the messengers that came, Thus shall ye say unto the men of Jabeshgilead, To morrow, by that time the sun be hot, ye shall have help. And the messengers came and shewed it to the men of Jabesh; and they were glad.

10 Therefore the men of Jabesh said, To morrow we will come out unto you, and ye shall do with us all that seemeth good unto you.

11 And it was so on the morrow, that Saul put the people in three companies; and they came into the midst of the host in the morning watch, and slew the Ammonites until the heat of the day: and it came to pass, that they which remained were scattered, so that two of them were not left together.

12 And the people said unto Samuel, Who is he that said, Shall Saul reign over us? bring the men, that we may put them to death.

13 And Saul said, There shall not a man be put to death this day: for to day the LORD hath wrought salvation in Israel.

14 Then said Samuel to the people, Come, and let us go to Gilgal, and renew the kingdom there.

15 And all the people went to Gilgal; and there they made Saul king before the LORD in Gilgal; and there they sacrificed sacrifices of peace offerings before the LORD; and there Saul and all the men of Israel rejoiced greatly.

1 SAMUEL CHAPTER 12

1 And Samuel said unto all Israel, Behold, I have hearkened unto your voice in all that ye said unto me, and have made a king over you.

2 And now, behold, the king walketh before you: and I am old and grayheaded; and, behold, my sons are with you: and I have walked before you from my childhood unto this day.

3 Behold, here I am: witness against me before the LORD, and before his anointed: whose ox have I taken? or whose ass have I taken? or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed? or of whose hand have I received any bribe to blind mine eyes therewith? and I will restore it you.

4 And they said, Thou hast not defrauded us, nor oppressed us, neither hast thou taken ought of any man's hand.

5 And he said unto them, The LORD is witness against you, and his anointed is witness this day, that ye have not found ought in my hand. And they answered, He is witness.

6 And Samuel said unto the people, It is the LORD that advanced Moses and Aaron, and that brought your fathers up out of the land of Egypt.

7 Now therefore stand still, that I may reason with you before the LORD of all the righteous acts of the LORD, which he did to you and to your fathers.

8 When Jacob was come into Egypt, and your fathers cried unto the LORD, then the LORD sent Moses and Aaron, which brought forth your fathers out of Egypt, and made them dwell in this place.

9 And when they forgat the LORD their God, he sold them into the hand of Sisera, captain of the host of Hazor, and into the hand of the Philistines, and into the hand of the king of Moab, and they fought against them.

10 And they cried unto the LORD, and said, We have sinned, because we have forsaken the LORD, and have served Baalim and Ashtaroth: but now deliver us out of the hand of our enemies, and we will serve thee.

11 And the LORD sent Jerubbaal, and Bedan, and Jephthah, and Samuel, and delivered you out of the hand of your enemies on every side, and ye dwelled safe.

12 And when ye saw that Nahash the king of the children of Ammon came against you, ye said unto me, Nay; but a king shall reign over us: when the LORD your God was your king.

13 Now therefore behold the king whom ye have chosen, and whom ye have desired! and, behold, the LORD hath set a king over you.

14 If ye will fear the LORD, and serve him, and obey his voice, and not rebel against the commandment of the LORD, then shall both ye and also the king that reigneth over you continue following the LORD your God:

15 But if ye will not obey the voice of the LORD, but rebel against the commandment of the LORD, then shall the hand of the LORD be against you, as it was against your fathers.

16 Now therefore stand and see this great thing, which the LORD will do before your eyes.

17 Is it not wheat harvest to day? I will call unto the LORD, and he shall send thunder and rain; that ye may perceive and see that your wickedness is great, which ye have done in the sight of the LORD, in asking you a king.

18 So Samuel called unto the LORD; and the LORD sent thunder and rain that day: and all the people greatly feared the LORD and Samuel.

19 And all the people said unto Samuel, Pray for thy servants unto the LORD thy God, that we die not: for we have added unto all our sins this evil, to ask us a king.

20 And Samuel said unto the people, Fear not: ye have done all this wickedness: yet turn not aside from following the LORD, but serve the LORD with all your heart;

21 And turn ye not aside: for then should ye go after vain things, which cannot profit nor deliver; for they are vain.

22 For the LORD will not forsake his people for his great name's sake: because it hath pleased the LORD to make you his people.

23 Moreover as for me, God forbid that I should sin against the LORD in ceasing to pray for you: but I will teach you the good and the right way:

24 Only fear the LORD, and serve him in truth with all your heart: for consider how great things he hath done for you.

25 But if ye shall still do wickedly, ye shall be consumed, both ye and your king.

1 SAMUEL CHAPTER 13

1 Saul reigned one year; and when he had reigned two years over Israel,

2 Saul chose him three thousand men of Israel; whereof two thousand were with Saul in Michmash and in mount Bethel, and a thousand were with Jonathan in Gibeah of Benjamin: and the rest of the people he sent every man to his tent.

3 And Jonathan smote the garrison of the Philistines that was in Geba, and the Philistines heard of it. And Saul blew the trumpet throughout all the land, saying, Let the Hebrews hear.

4 And all Israel heard say that Saul had smitten a garrison of the Philistines, and that Israel also was had in abomination with the Philistines. And the people were called together after Saul to Gilgal.

5 And the Philistines gathered themselves together to fight with Israel, thirty thousand chariots, and six thousand horsemen, and people as the sand which is on the sea shore in multitude: and they came up, and pitched in Michmash, eastward from Bethaven.

6 When the men of Israel saw that they were in a strait, (for the people were distressed,) then the people did hide themselves in caves, and in thickets, and in rocks, and in high places, and in pits.

7 And some of the Hebrews went over Jordan to the land of Gad and Gilead. As for Saul, he was yet in Gilgal, and all the people followed him trembling.

8 And he tarried seven days, according to the set time that Samuel had appointed: but Samuel came not to Gilgal; and the people were scattered from him.

9 And Saul said, Bring hither a burnt offering to me, and peace offerings. And he offered the burnt offering.

10 And it came to pass, that as soon as he had made an end of offering the burnt offering, behold, Samuel came; and Saul went out to meet him, that he might salute him.

11 And Samuel said, What hast thou done? And Saul said, Because I saw that the people were scattered from me, and that thou camest not within the days appointed, and that the Philistines gathered themselves together at Michmash;

12 Therefore said I, The Philistines will come down now upon me to Gilgal, and I have not made supplication unto the LORD: I forced myself therefore, and offered a burnt offering.

13 And Samuel said to Saul, Thou hast done foolishly: thou hast not kept the commandment of the LORD thy God, which he commanded thee: for now would the LORD have established thy kingdom upon Israel for ever.

14 But now thy kingdom shall not continue: the LORD hath sought him a man after his own heart, and the LORD hath commanded him to be captain over his people, because thou hast not kept that which the LORD commanded thee.

15 And Samuel arose, and gat him up from Gilgal unto Gibeah of Benjamin. And Saul numbered the people that were present with him, about six hundred men.

16 And Saul, and Jonathan his son, and the people that were present with them, abode in Gibeah of Benjamin: but the Philistines encamped in Michmash.

17 And the spoilers came out of the camp of the Philistines in three companies: one company turned unto the way that leadeth to Ophrah, unto the land of Shual:

18 And another company turned the way to Bethhoron: and another company turned to the way of the border that looketh to the valley of Zeboim toward the wilderness.

19 Now there was no smith found throughout all the land of Israel: for the Philistines said, Lest the Hebrews make them swords or spears:

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20 But all the Israelites went down to the Philistines, to sharpen every man his share, and his coulter, and his axe, and his mattock.
21 Yet they had a file for the mattocks, and for the coulters, and for the forks, and for the axes, and to sharpen the goads.
22 So it came to pass in the day of battle, that there was neither sword nor spear found in the hand of any of the people that were with Saul and Jonathan: but with Saul and with Jonathan his son was there found.
23 And the garrison of the Philistines went out to the passage of Michmash.

1 SAMUEL CHAPTER 14

1 Now it came to pass upon a day, that Jonathan the son of Saul said unto the young man that bare his armour, Come, and let us go over to the Philistines' garrison, that is on the other side. But he told not his father.
2 And Saul tarried in the uttermost part of Gibeah under a pomegranate tree which is in Migron: and the people that were with him were about six hundred men;
3 And Ahiah, the son of Ahitub, Ichabod's brother, the son of Phinehas, the son of Eli, the LORD's priest in Shiloh, wearing an ephod. And the people knew not that Jonathan was gone.
4 And between the passages, by which Jonathan sought to go over unto the Philistines' garrison, there was a sharp rock on the one side, and a sharp rock on the other side: and the name of the one was Bozez, and the name of the other Seneh.
5 The forefront of the one was situate northward over against Michmash, and the other southward over against Gibeah.
6 And Jonathan said to the young man that bare his armour, Come, and let us go over unto the garrison of these uncircumcised: it may be that the LORD will work for us: for there is no restraint to the LORD to save by many or by few.
7 And his armourbearer said unto him, Do all that is in thine heart: turn thee; behold, I am with thee according to thy heart.
8 Then said Jonathan, Behold, we will pass over unto these men, and we will discover ourselves unto them.
9 If they say thus unto us, Tarry until we come to you; then we will stand still in our place, and will not go up unto them.
10 But if they say thus, Come up unto us; then we will go up: for the LORD hath delivered them into our hand: and this shall be a sign unto us.
11 And both of them discovered themselves unto the garrison of the Philistines: and the Philistines said, Behold, the Hebrews come forth out of the holes where they had hid themselves.
12 And the men of the garrison answered Jonathan and his armourbearer, and said, Come up to us, and we will shew you a thing. And Jonathan said unto his armourbearer, Come up after me: for the LORD hath delivered them into the hand of Israel.
13 And Jonathan climbed up upon his hands and upon his feet, and his armourbearer after him: and they fell before Jonathan; and his armourbearer slew after him.
14 And that first slaughter, which Jonathan and his armourbearer made, was about twenty men, within as it were an half acre of land, which a yoke of oxen might plow.
15 And there was trembling in the host, in the field, and among all the people: the garrison, and the spoilers, they also trembled, and the earth quaked: so it was a very great trembling.
16 And the watchmen of Saul in Gibeah of Benjamin looked; and, behold, the multitude melted away, and they went on beating down one another.
17 Then said Saul unto the people that were with him, Number now, and see who is gone from us. And when they had numbered, behold, Jonathan and his armourbearer were not there.
18 And Saul said unto Ahiah, Bring hither the ark of God. For the ark of God was at that time with the children of Israel.
19 And it came to pass, while Saul talked unto the priest, that the noise that was in the host of the Philistines went on and increased: and Saul said unto the priest, Withdraw thine hand.
20 And Saul and all the people that were with him assembled themselves, and they came to the battle: and, behold, every man's sword was against his fellow, and there was a very great discomfiture.
21 Moreover the Hebrews that were with the Philistines before that time, which went up with them into the camp from the country round about, even they also turned to be with the Israelites that were with Saul and Jonathan.
22 Likewise all the men of Israel which had hid themselves in mount Ephraim, when they heard that the Philistines fled, even they also followed hard after them in the battle.
23 So the LORD saved Israel that day: and the battle passed over unto Bethaven.
24 And the men of Israel were distressed that day: for Saul had adjured the people, saying, Cursed be the man that eateth any food until evening, that I may be avenged on mine enemies. So none of the people tasted any food.
25 And all they of the land came to a wood; and there was honey upon the ground.
26 And when the people were come into the wood, behold, the honey dropped; but no man put his hand to his mouth: for the people feared the oath.
27 But Jonathan heard not when his father charged the people with the oath: wherefore he put forth the end of the rod that was in his hand, and dipped it in an honeycomb, and put his hand to his mouth; and his eyes were enlightened.
28 Then answered one of the people, and said, Thy father straitly charged the people with an oath, saying, Cursed be the man that eateth any food this day. And the people were faint.
29 Then said Jonathan, My father hath troubled the land: see, I pray you, how mine eyes have been enlightened, because I tasted a little of this honey.
30 How much more, if haply the people had eaten freely to day of the spoil of their enemies which they found? for had there not been now a much greater slaughter among the Philistines?
31 And they smote the Philistines that day from Michmash to Aijalon: and the people were very faint.
32 And the people flew upon the spoil, and took sheep, and oxen, and calves, and slew them on the ground: and the people did eat them with the blood.
33 Then they told Saul, saying, Behold, the people sin against the LORD, in that they eat with the blood. And he said, Ye have transgressed: roll a great stone unto me this day.
34 And Saul said, Disperse yourselves among the people, and say unto them, Bring me hither every man his ox, and every man his sheep, and slay them here, and eat; and sin not against the LORD in eating with the blood. And all the people brought every man his ox with him that night, and slew them there.
35 And Saul built an altar unto the LORD: the same was the first altar that he built unto the LORD.
36 And Saul said, Let us go down after the Philistines by night, and spoil them until the morning light, and let us not leave a man of them. And they said, Do whatsoever seemeth good unto thee. Then said the priest, Let us draw near hither unto God.
37 And Saul asked counsel of God, Shall I go down after the Philistines? wilt thou deliver them into the hand of Israel? But he answered him not that day.
38 And Saul said, Draw ye near hither, all the chief of the people: and know and see wherein this sin hath been this day.
39 For, as the LORD liveth, which saveth Israel, though it be in Jonathan my son, he shall surely die. But there was not a man among all the people that answered him.
40 Then said he unto all Israel, Be ye on one side, and I and Jonathan my son will be on the other side. And the people said unto Saul, Do what seemeth good unto thee.
41 Therefore Saul said unto the LORD God of Israel, Give a perfect lot. And Saul and Jonathan were taken: but the people escaped.
42 And Saul said, Cast lots between me and Jonathan my son. And Jonathan was taken.
43 Then Saul said to Jonathan, Tell me what thou hast done. And Jonathan told him, and said, I did but taste a little honey with the end of the rod that was in mine hand, and, lo, I must die.
44 And Saul answered, God do so and more also: for thou shalt surely die, Jonathan.
45 And the people said unto Saul, Shall Jonathan die, who hath wrought this great salvation in Israel? God forbid: as the LORD liveth, there shall not one hair of his head fall to the ground; for he hath wrought with God this day. So the people rescued Jonathan, that he died not.
46 Then Saul went up from following the Philistines: and the Philistines went to their own place.
47 So Saul took the kingdom over Israel, and fought against all his enemies on every side, against Moab, and against the children of Ammon, and against Edom, and against the kings of Zobah, and against the Philistines: and whithersoever he turned himself, he vexed them.
48 And he gathered an host, and smote the Amalekites, and delivered Israel out of the hands of them that spoiled them.
49 Now the sons of Saul were Jonathan, and Ishui, and Melchishua: and the names of his two daughters were these; the name of the firstborn Merab, and the name of the younger Michal:
50 And the name of Saul's wife was Ahinoam, the daughter of Ahimaaz: and the name of the captain of his host was Abner, the son of Ner, Saul's uncle.
51 And Kish was the father of Saul; and Ner the father of Abner was the son of Abiel.
52 And there was sore war against the Philistines all the days of Saul: and when Saul saw any strong man, or any valiant man, he took him unto him.

1 SAMUEL CHAPTER 15

1 Samuel also said unto Saul, The LORD sent me to anoint thee to be king over his people, over Israel: now therefore hearken thou unto the voice of the words of the LORD.
2 Thus saith the LORD of hosts, I remember that which Amalek did to Israel, how he laid wait for him in the way, when he came up from Egypt.
3 Now go and smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not; but slay both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass.
4 And Saul gathered the people together, and numbered them in Telaim, two hundred thousand footmen, and ten thousand men of Judah.
5 And Saul came to a city of Amalek, and laid wait in the valley.
6 And Saul said unto the Kenites, Go, depart, get you down from among the Amalekites, lest I destroy you with them: for ye shewed kindness to all the children of Israel, when they came up out of Egypt. So the Kenites departed from among the Amalekites.
7 And Saul smote the Amalekites from Havilah until thou comest to Shur, that is over against Egypt.
8 And he took Agag the king of the Amalekites alive, and utterly destroyed all the people with the edge of the sword.
9 But Saul and the people spared Agag, and the best of the sheep, and of the oxen, and of the fatlings, and the lambs, and all that was good, and would not utterly destroy them: but every thing that was vile and refuse, that they destroyed utterly.
10 Then came the word of the LORD unto Samuel, saying,
11 It repenteth me that I have set up Saul to be king: for he is turned back from following me, and hath not performed my commandments. And it grieved Samuel; and he cried unto the LORD all night.
12 And when Samuel rose early to meet Saul in the morning, it was told Samuel, saying, Saul came to Carmel, and, behold, he set him up a place, and is gone about, and passed on, and gone down to Gilgal.
13 And Samuel came to Saul: and Saul said unto him, Blessed be thou of the LORD: I have performed the commandment of the LORD.
14 And Samuel said, What meaneth then this bleating of the sheep in mine ears, and the lowing of the oxen which I hear?
15 And Saul said, They have brought them from the Amalekites: for the people spared the best of the sheep and of the oxen, to sacrifice unto the LORD thy God; and the rest we have utterly destroyed.
16 Then Samuel said unto Saul, Stay, and I will tell thee what the LORD hath said to me this night. And he said unto him, Say on.
17 And Samuel said, When thou wast little in thine own sight, wast thou not made the head of the tribes of Israel, and the LORD anointed thee king over Israel?
18 And the LORD sent thee on a journey, and said, Go and utterly destroy the sinners the Amalekites, and fight against them until they be consumed.
19 Wherefore then didst thou not obey the voice of the LORD, but didst fly upon the spoil, and didst evil in the sight of the LORD?
20 And Saul said unto Samuel, Yea, I have obeyed the voice of the LORD, and have gone the way which the LORD sent me, and have brought Agag the king of Amalek, and have utterly destroyed the Amalekites.
21 But the people took of the spoil, sheep and oxen, the chief of the things which should have been utterly destroyed, to sacrifice unto the LORD thy God in Gilgal.
22 And Samuel said, Hath the LORD as great delight in burnt offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the LORD? Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams.
23 For rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry. Because thou hast rejected the word of the LORD, he hath also rejected thee from being king.
24 And Saul said unto Samuel, I have sinned: for I have transgressed the commandment of the LORD, and thy words: because I feared the people, and obeyed their voice.
25 Now therefore, I pray thee, pardon my sin, and turn again with me, that I may worship the LORD.
26 And Samuel said unto Saul, I will not return with thee: for thou hast rejected the word of the LORD, and the LORD hath rejected thee from being king over Israel.
27 And as Samuel turned about to go away, he laid hold upon the skirt of his mantle, and it rent.
28 And Samuel said unto him, The LORD hath rent the kingdom of Israel from thee this day, and hath given it to a neighbour of thine, that is better than thou.
29 And also the Strength of Israel will not lie nor repent: for he is not a man, that he should repent.
30 Then he said, I have sinned: yet honour me now, I pray thee, before the elders of my people, and before Israel, and turn again with me, that I may worship the LORD thy God.
31 So Samuel turned again after Saul; and Saul worshipped the LORD.
32 Then said Samuel, Bring ye hither to me Agag the king of the Amalekites. And Agag came unto him delicately. And Agag said, Surely the bitterness of death is past.

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33 And Samuel said, As the sword hath made women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among women. And Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the LORD in Gilgal.

34 Then Samuel went to Ramah; and Saul went up to his house to Gibeah of Saul.

35 And Samuel came no more to see Saul until the day of his death: nevertheless Samuel mourned for Saul: and the LORD repented that he had made Saul king over Israel.

1 SAMUEL CHAPTER 16

1 And the LORD said unto Samuel, How long wilt thou mourn for Saul, seeing I have rejected him from reigning over Israel? fill thine horn with oil, and go, I will send thee to Jesse the Bethlehemite: for I have provided me a king among his sons.

2 And Samuel said, How can I go? if Saul hear it, he will kill me. And the LORD said, Take an heifer with thee, and say, I am come to sacrifice to the LORD.

3 And call Jesse to the sacrifice, and I will shew thee what thou shalt do: and thou shalt anoint unto me him whom I name unto thee.

4 And Samuel did that which the LORD spake, and came to Bethlehem. And the elders of the town trembled at his coming, and said, Comest thou peaceably?

5 And he said, Peaceably: I am come to sacrifice unto the LORD: sanctify yourselves, and come with me to the sacrifice. And he sanctified Jesse and his sons, and called them to the sacrifice.

6 And it came to pass, when they were come, that he looked on Eliab, and said, Surely the LORD's anointed is before him.

7 But the LORD said unto Samuel, Look not on his countenance, or on the height of his stature; because I have refused him: for the LORD seeth not as man seeth; for man looketh on the outward appearance, but the LORD looketh on the heart.

8 Then Jesse called Abinadab, and made him pass before Samuel. And he said, Neither hath the LORD chosen this.

9 Then Jesse made Shammah to pass by. And he said, Neither hath the LORD chosen this.

10 Again, Jesse made seven of his sons to pass before Samuel. And Samuel said unto Jesse, The LORD hath not chosen these.

11 And Samuel said unto Jesse, Are here all thy children? And he said, There remaineth yet the youngest, and, behold, he keepeth the sheep. And Samuel said unto Jesse, Send and fetch him: for we will not sit down till he come hither.

12 And he sent, and brought him in. Now he was ruddy, and withal of a beautiful countenance, and goodly to look to. And the LORD said, Arise, anoint him: for this is he.

13 Then Samuel took the horn of oil, and anointed him in the midst of his brethren: and the Spirit of the LORD came upon David from that day forward. So Samuel rose up, and went to Ramah.

14 But the Spirit of the LORD departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the LORD troubled him.

15 And Saul's servants said unto him, Behold now, an evil spirit from God troubleth thee.

16 Let our lord now command thy servants, which are before thee, to seek out a man, who is a cunning player on an harp: and it shall come to pass, when the evil spirit from God is upon thee, that he shall play with his hand, and thou shalt be well.

17 And Saul said unto his servants, Provide me now a man that can play well, and bring him to me.

18 Then answered one of the servants, and said, Behold, I have seen a son of Jesse the Bethlehemite, that is cunning in playing, and a mighty valiant man, and a man of war, and prudent in matters, and a comely person, and the LORD is with him.

19 Wherefore Saul sent messengers unto Jesse, and said, Send me David thy son, which is with the sheep.

20 And Jesse took an ass laden with bread, and a bottle of wine, and a kid, and sent them by David his son unto Saul.

21 And David came to Saul, and stood before him: and he loved him greatly; and he became his armourbearer.

22 And Saul sent to Jesse, saying, Let David, I pray thee, stand before me; for he hath found favour in my sight.

23 And it came to pass, when the evil spirit from God was upon Saul, that David took an harp, and played with his hand: so Saul was refreshed, and was well, and the evil spirit departed from him.

1 SAMUEL CHAPTER 17

1 Now the Philistines gathered together their armies to battle, and were gathered together at Shochoh, which belongeth to Judah, and pitched between Shochoh and Azekah, in Ephesdammim.

2 And Saul and the men of Israel were gathered together, and pitched by the valley of Elah, and set the battle in array against the Philistines.

3 And the Philistines stood on a mountain on the one side, and Israel stood on a mountain on the other side: and there was a valley between them.

4 And there went out a champion out of the camp of the Philistines, named Goliath, of Gath, whose height was six cubits and a span.

5 And he had an helmet of brass upon his head, and he was armed with a coat of mail; and the weight of the coat was five thousand shekels of brass.

6 And he had greaves of brass upon his legs, and a target of brass between his shoulders.

7 And the staff of his spear was like a weaver's beam; and his spear's head weighed six hundred shekels of iron: and one bearing a shield went before him.

8 And he stood and cried unto the armies of Israel, and said unto them, Why are ye come out to set your battle in array? am not I a Philistine, and ye servants to Saul? choose you a man for you, and let him come down to me.

9 If he be able to fight with me, and to kill me, then will we be your servants: but if I prevail against him, and kill him, then shall ye be our servants, and serve us.

10 And the Philistine said, I defy the armies of Israel this day; give me a man, that we may fight together.

11 When Saul and all Israel heard those words of the Philistine, they were dismayed, and greatly afraid.

12 Now David was the son of that Ephrathite of Bethlehemjudah, whose name was Jesse; and he had eight sons: and the man went among men for an old man in the days of Saul.

13 And the three eldest sons of Jesse went and followed Saul to the battle: and the names of his three sons that went to the battle were Eliab the firstborn, and next unto him Abinadab, and the third Shammah.

14 And David was the youngest: and the three eldest followed Saul.

15 But David went and returned from Saul to feed his father's sheep at Bethlehem.

16 And the Philistine drew near morning and evening, and presented himself forty days.

17 And Jesse said unto David his son, Take now for thy brethren an ephah of this parched corn, and these ten loaves, and run to the camp of thy brethren;

18 And carry these ten cheeses unto the captain of their thousand, and look how thy brethren fare, and take their pledge.

19 Now Saul, and they, and all the men of Israel, were in the valley of Elah, fighting with the Philistines.

20 And David rose up early in the morning, and left the sheep with a keeper, and took, and went, as Jesse had commanded him; and he came to the trench, as the host was going forth to the fight, and shouted for the battle.

21 For Israel and the Philistines had put the battle in array, army against army.

22 And David left his carriage in the hand of the keeper of the carriage, and ran into the army, and came and saluted his brethren.

23 And as he talked with them, behold, there came up the champion, the Philistine of Gath, Goliath by name, out of the armies of the Philistines, and spake according to the same words: and David heard them.

24 And all the men of Israel, when they saw the man, fled from him, and were sore afraid.

25 And the men of Israel said, Have ye seen this man that is come up? surely to defy Israel is he come up: and it shall be, that the man who killeth him, the king will enrich him with great riches, and will give him his daughter, and make his father's house free in Israel.

26 And David spake to the men that stood by him, saying, What shall be done to the man that killeth this Philistine, and taketh away the reproach from Israel? for who is this uncircumcised Philistine, that he should defy the armies of the living God?

27 And the people answered him after this manner, saying, So shall it be done to the man that killeth him.

28 And Eliab his eldest brother heard when he spake unto the men; and Eliab's anger was kindled against David, and he said, Why camest thou down hither? and with whom hast thou left those few sheep in the wilderness? I know thy pride, and the naughtiness of thine heart; for thou art come down that thou mightest see the battle.

29 And David said, What have I now done? Is there not a cause?

30 And he turned from him toward another, and spake after the same manner: and the people answered him again after the former manner.

31 And when the words were heard which David spake, they rehearsed them before Saul: and he sent for him.

32 And David said to Saul, Let no man's heart fail because of him; thy servant will go and fight with this Philistine.

33 And Saul said to David, Thou art not able to go against this Philistine to fight with him: for thou art but a youth, and he a man of war from his youth.

34 And David said unto Saul, Thy servant kept his father's sheep, and there came a lion, and a bear, and took a lamb out of the flock:

35 And I went out after him, and smote him, and delivered it out of his mouth: and when he arose against me, I caught him by his beard, and smote him, and slew him.

36 Thy servant slew both the lion and the bear: and this uncircumcised Philistine shall be as one of them, seeing he hath defied the armies of the living God.

37 David said moreover, The LORD that delivered me out of the paw of the lion, and out of the paw of the bear, he will deliver me out of the hand of this Philistine. And Saul said unto David, Go, and the LORD be with thee.

38 And Saul armed David with his armour, and he put an helmet of brass upon his head; also he armed him with a coat of mail.

39 And David girded his sword upon his armour, and he assayed to go; for he had not proved it. And David said unto Saul, I cannot go with these; for I have not proved them. And David put them off him.

40 And he took his staff in his hand, and chose him five smooth stones out of the brook, and put them in a shepherd's bag which he had, even in a scrip; and his sling was in his hand: and he drew near to the Philistine.

41 And the Philistine came on and drew near unto David; and the man that bare the shield went before him.

42 And when the Philistine looked about, and saw David, he disdained him: for he was but a youth, and ruddy, and of a fair countenance.

43 And the Philistine said unto David, Am I a dog, that thou comest to me with staves? And the Philistine cursed David by his gods.

44 And the Philistine said to David, Come to me, and I will give thy flesh unto the fowls of the air, and to the beasts of the field.

45 Then said David to the Philistine, Thou comest to me with a sword, and with a spear, and with a shield: but I come to thee in the name of the LORD of hosts, the God of the armies of Israel, whom thou hast defied.

46 This day will the LORD deliver thee into mine hand; and I will smite thee, and take thine head from thee; and I will give the carcases of the host of the Philistines this day unto the fowls of the air, and to the wild beasts of the earth; that all the earth may know that there is a God in Israel.

47 And all this assembly shall know that the LORD saveth not with sword and spear: for the battle is the LORD's, and he will give you into our hands.

48 And it came to pass, when the Philistine arose, and came, and drew nigh to meet David, that David hastened, and ran toward the army to meet the Philistine.

49 And David put his hand in his bag, and took thence a stone, and slang it, and smote the Philistine in his forehead, that the stone sunk into his forehead; and he fell upon his face to the earth.

50 So David prevailed over the Philistine with a sling and with a stone, and smote the Philistine, and slew him; but there was no sword in the hand of David.

51 Therefore David ran, and stood upon the Philistine, and took his sword, and drew it out of the sheath thereof, and slew him, and cut off his head therewith. And when the Philistines saw their champion was dead, they fled.

52 And the men of Israel and of Judah arose, and shouted, and pursued the Philistines, until thou come to the valley, and to the gates of Ekron. And the wounded of the Philistines fell down by the way to Shaaraim, even unto Gath, and unto Ekron.

53 And the children of Israel returned from chasing after the Philistines, and they spoiled their tents.

54 And David took the head of the Philistine, and brought it to Jerusalem; but he put his armour in his tent.

55 And when Saul saw David go forth against the Philistine, he said unto Abner, the captain of the host, Abner, whose son is this youth? And Abner said, As thy soul liveth, O king, I cannot tell.

56 And the king said, Enquire thou whose son the stripling is.

57 And as David returned from the slaughter of the Philistine, Abner took him, and brought him before Saul with the head of the Philistine in his hand.

58 And Saul said to him, Whose son art thou, thou young man? And David answered, I am the son of thy servant Jesse the Bethlehemite.

1 SAMUEL CHAPTER 18

1 And it came to pass, when he had made an end of speaking unto Saul, that the soul of Jonathan was knit with the soul of David, and Jonathan loved him as his own soul.

2 And Saul took him that day, and would let him go no more home to his father's house.

3 Then Jonathan and David made a covenant, because he loved him as his own soul.

4 And Jonathan stripped himself of the robe that was upon him, and gave it to David, and his garments, even to his sword, and to his bow, and to his girdle.

5 And David went out whithersoever Saul sent him, and behaved himself wisely: and Saul set him over the men of war,

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and he was accepted in the sight of all the people, and also in the sight of Saul's servants.

6 And it came to pass as they came, when David was returned from the slaughter of the Philistine, that the women came out of all cities of Israel, singing and dancing, to meet king Saul, with tabrets, with joy, and with instruments of musick.

7 And the women answered one another as they played, and said, Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands.

8 And Saul was very wroth, and the saying displeased him; and he said, They have ascribed unto David ten thousands, and to me they have ascribed but thousands: and what can he have more but the kingdom?

9 And Saul eyed David from that day and forward.

10 And it came to pass on the morrow, that the evil spirit from God came upon Saul, and he prophesied in the midst of the house: and David played with his hand, as at other times: and there was a javelin in Saul's hand.

11 And Saul cast the javelin; for he said, I will smite David even to the wall with it. And David avoided out of his presence twice.

12 And Saul was afraid of David, because the LORD was with him, and was departed from Saul.

13 Therefore Saul removed him from him, and made him his captain over a thousand; and he went out and came in before the people.

14 And David behaved himself wisely in all his ways; and the LORD was with him.

15 Wherefore when Saul saw that he behaved himself very wisely, he was afraid of him.

16 But all Israel and Judah loved David, because he went out and came in before them.

17 And Saul said to David, Behold my elder daughter Merab, her will I give thee to wife: only be thou valiant for me, and fight the LORD's battles. For Saul said, Let not mine hand be upon him, but let the hand of the Philistines be upon him.

18 And David said unto Saul, Who am I? and what is my life, or my father's family in Israel, that I should be son in law to the king?

19 But it came to pass at the time when Merab Saul's daughter should have been given to David, that she was given unto Adriel the Meholathite to wife.

20 And Michal Saul's daughter loved David: and they told Saul, and the thing pleased him.

21 And Saul said, I will give him her, that she may be a snare to him, and that the hand of the Philistines may be against him. Wherefore Saul said to David, Thou shalt this day be my son in law in the one of the twain.

22 And Saul commanded his servants, saying, Commune with David secretly, and say, Behold, the king hath delight in thee, and all his servants love thee: now therefore be the king's son in law.

23 And Saul's servants spake those words in the ears of David. And David said, Seemeth it to you a light thing to be a king's son in law, seeing that I am a poor man, and lightly esteemed?

24 And the servants of Saul told him, saying, On this manner spake David.

25 And Saul said, Thus shall ye say to David, The king desireth not any dowry, but an hundred foreskins of the Philistines, to be avenged of the king's enemies. But Saul thought to make David fall by the hand of the Philistines.

26 And when his servants told David these words, it pleased David well to be the king's son in law: and the days were not expired.

27 Wherefore David arose and went, he and his men, and slew of the Philistines two hundred men; and David brought their foreskins, and they gave them in full tale to the king, that he might be the king's son in law. And Saul gave him Michal his daughter to wife.

28 And Saul saw and knew that the LORD was with David, and that Michal Saul's daughter loved him.

29 And Saul was yet the more afraid of David; and Saul became David's enemy continually.

30 Then the princes of the Philistines went forth: and it came to pass, after they went forth, that David behaved himself more wisely than all the servants of Saul; so that his name was much set by.

1 SAMUEL CHAPTER 19

1 And Saul spake to Jonathan his son, and to all his servants, that they should kill David.

2 But Jonathan Saul's son delighted much in David: and Jonathan told David, saying, Saul my father seeketh to kill thee: now therefore, I pray thee, take heed to thyself until the morning, and abide in a secret place, and hide thyself:

3 And I will go out and stand beside my father in the field where thou art, and I will commune with my father of thee; and what I see, that I will tell thee.

4 And Jonathan spake good of David unto Saul his father, and said unto him, Let not the king sin against his servant, against David; because he hath not sinned against thee, and because his works have been to thee-ward very good:

5 For he did put his life in his hand, and slew the Philistine, and the LORD wrought a great salvation for all Israel: thou sawest it, and didst rejoice: wherefore then wilt thou sin against innocent blood, to slay David without a cause?

6 And Saul hearkened unto the voice of Jonathan: and Saul sware, As the LORD liveth, he shall not be slain.

7 And Jonathan called David, and Jonathan shewed him all those things. And Jonathan brought David to Saul, and he was in his presence, as in times past.

8 And there was war again: and David went out, and fought with the Philistines, and slew them with a great slaughter; and they fled from him.

9 And the evil spirit from the LORD was upon Saul, as he sat in his house with his javelin in his hand: and David played with his hand.

10 And Saul sought to smite David even to the wall with the javelin: but he slipped away out of Saul's presence, and he smote the javelin into the wall: and David fled, and escaped that night.

11 Saul also sent messengers unto David's house, to watch him, and to slay him in the morning: and Michal David's wife told him, saying, If thou save not thy life to night, to morrow thou shalt be slain.

12 So Michal let David down through a window: and he went, and fled, and escaped.

13 And Michal took an image, and laid it in the bed, and put a pillow of goats' hair for his bolster, and covered it with a cloth.

14 And when Saul sent messengers to take David, she said, He is sick.

15 And Saul sent the messengers again to see David, saying, Bring him up to me in the bed, that I may slay him.

16 And when the messengers were come in, behold, there was an image in the bed, with a pillow of goats' hair for his bolster.

17 And Saul said unto Michal, Why hast thou deceived me so, and sent away mine enemy, that he is escaped? And Michal answered Saul, He said unto me, Let me go; why should I kill thee?

18 So David fled, and escaped, and came to Samuel to Ramah, and told him all that Saul had done to him. And he and Samuel went and dwelt in Naioth.

19 And it was told Saul, saying, Behold, David is at Naioth in Ramah.

20 And Saul sent messengers to take David: and when they saw the company of the prophets prophesying, and Samuel standing as appointed over them, the Spirit of God was upon the messengers of Saul, and they also prophesied.

21 And when it was told Saul, he sent other messengers, and they prophesied likewise. And Saul sent messengers again the third time, and they prophesied also.

22 Then went he also to Ramah, and came to a great well that is in Sechu: and he asked and said, Where are Samuel and David? And one said, Behold, they be at Naioth in Ramah.

23 And he went thither to Naioth in Ramah: and the Spirit of God was upon him also, and he went on, and prophesied, until he came to Naioth in Ramah.

24 And he stripped off his clothes also, and prophesied before Samuel in like manner, and lay down naked all that day and all that night. Wherefore they say, Is Saul also among the prophets?

1 SAMUEL CHAPTER 20

1 And David fled from Naioth in Ramah, and came and said before Jonathan, What have I done? what is mine iniquity? and what is my sin before thy father, that he seeketh my life?

2 And he said unto him, God forbid; thou shalt not die: behold, my father will do nothing either great or small, but that he will shew it me: and why should my father hide this thing from me? it is not so.

3 And David sware moreover, and said, Thy father certainly knoweth that I have found grace in thine eyes; and he saith, Let not Jonathan know this, lest he be grieved: but truly as the LORD liveth, and as thy soul liveth, there is but a step between me and death.

4 Then said Jonathan unto David, Whatsoever thy soul desireth, I will even do it for thee.

5 And David said unto Jonathan, Behold, to morrow is the new moon, and I should not fail to sit with the king at meat: but let me go, that I may hide myself in the field unto the third day at even.

6 If thy father at all miss me, then say, David earnestly asked leave of me that he might run to Bethlehem his city: for there is a yearly sacrifice there for all the family.

7 If he say thus, It is well; thy servant shall have peace: but if he be very wroth, then be sure that evil is determined by him.

8 Therefore thou shalt deal kindly with thy servant; for thou hast brought thy servant into a covenant of the LORD with thee: notwithstanding, if there be in me iniquity, slay me thyself; for why shouldest thou bring me to thy father?

9 And Jonathan said, Far be it from thee: for if I knew certainly that evil were determined by my father to come upon thee, then would not I tell it thee?

10 Then said David to Jonathan, Who shall tell me? or what if thy father answer thee roughly?

11 And Jonathan said unto David, Come, and let us go out into the field. And they went out both of them into the field.

12 And Jonathan said unto David, O LORD God of Israel, when I have sounded my father about to morrow any time, or the third day, and, behold, if there be good toward David, and I then send not unto thee, and shew it thee;

13 The LORD do so and much more to Jonathan: but if it please my father to do thee evil, then I will shew it thee, and send thee away, that thou mayest go in peace: and the LORD be with thee, as he hath been with my father.

14 And thou shalt not only while yet I live shew me the kindness of the LORD, that I die not:

15 But also thou shalt not cut off thy kindness from my house for ever: no, not when the LORD hath cut off the enemies of David every one from the face of the earth.

16 So Jonathan made a covenant with the house of David, saying, Let the LORD even require it at the hand of David's enemies.

17 And Jonathan caused David to swear again, because he loved him: for he loved him as he loved his own soul.

18 Then Jonathan said to David, To morrow is the new moon: and thou shalt be missed, because thy seat will be empty.

19 And when thou hast stayed three days, then thou shalt go down quickly, and come to the place where thou didst hide thyself when the business was in hand, and shalt remain by the stone Ezel.

20 And I will shoot three arrows on the side thereof, as though I shot at a mark.

21 And, behold, I will send a lad, saying, Go, find out the arrows. If I expressly say unto the lad, Behold, the arrows are on this side of thee, take them; then come thou: for there is peace to thee, and no hurt; as the LORD liveth.

22 But if I say thus unto the young man, Behold, the arrows are beyond thee; go thy way: for the LORD hath sent thee away.

23 And as touching the matter which thou and I have spoken of, behold, the LORD be between thee and me for ever.

24 So David hid himself in the field: and when the new moon was come, the king sat him down to eat meat.

25 And the king sat upon his seat, as at other times, even upon a seat by the wall: and Jonathan arose, and Abner sat by Saul's side, and David's place was empty.

26 Nevertheless Saul spake not any thing that day: for he thought, Something hath befallen him, he is not clean; surely he is not clean.

27 And it came to pass on the morrow, which was the second day of the month, that David's place was empty: and Saul said unto Jonathan his son, Wherefore cometh not the son of Jesse to meat, neither yesterday, nor to day?

28 And Jonathan answered Saul, David earnestly asked leave of me to go to Bethlehem:

29 And he said, Let me go, I pray thee; for our family hath a sacrifice in the city; and my brother, he hath commanded me to be there: and now, if I have found favour in thine eyes, let me get away, I pray thee, and see my brethren. Therefore he cometh not unto the king's table.

30 Then Saul's anger was kindled against Jonathan, and he said unto him, Thou son of the perverse rebellious woman, do not I know that thou hast chosen the son of Jesse to thine own confusion, and unto the confusion of thy mother's nakedness?

31 For as long as the son of Jesse liveth upon the ground, thou shalt not be established, nor thy kingdom. Wherefore now send and fetch him unto me, for he shall surely die.

32 And Jonathan answered Saul his father, and said unto him, Wherefore shall he be slain? what hath he done?

33 And Saul cast a javelin at him to smite him: whereby Jonathan knew that it was determined of his father to slay David.

34 So Jonathan arose from the table in fierce anger, and did eat no meat the second day of the month: for he was grieved for David, because his father had done him shame.

35 And it came to pass in the morning, that Jonathan went out into the field at the time appointed with David, and a little lad with him.

36 And he said unto his lad, Run, find out now the arrows which I shoot. And as the lad ran, he shot an arrow beyond him.

37 And when the lad was come to the place of the arrow which Jonathan had shot, Jonathan cried after the lad, and said, Is not the arrow beyond thee?

38 And Jonathan cried after the lad, Make speed, haste, stay not. And Jonathan's lad gathered up the arrows, and came to his master.

39 But the lad knew not any thing: only Jonathan and David knew the matter.

40 And Jonathan gave his artillery unto his lad, and said unto him, Go, carry them to the city.

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41 And as soon as the lad was gone, David arose out of a place toward the south, and fell on his face to the ground, and bowed himself three times: and they kissed one another, and wept one with another, until David exceeded.

42 And Jonathan said to David, Go in peace, forasmuch as we have sworn both of us in the name of the LORD, saying, The LORD be between me and thee, and between my seed and thy seed for ever. And he arose and departed: and Jonathan went into the city.

1 SAMUEL CHAPTER 21

1 Then came David to Nob to Ahimelech the priest: and Ahimelech was afraid at the meeting of David, and said unto him, Why art thou alone, and no man with thee?

2 And David said unto Ahimelech the priest, The king hath commanded me a business, and hath said unto me, Let no man know any thing of the business whereabout I send thee, and what I have commanded thee: and I have appointed my servants to such and such a place.

3 Now therefore what is under thine hand? give me five loaves of bread in mine hand, or what there is present.

4 And the priest answered David, and said, There is no common bread under mine hand, but there is hallowed bread; if the young men have kept themselves at least from women.

5 And David answered the priest, and said unto him, Of a truth women have been kept from us about these three days, since I came out, and the vessels of the young men are holy, and the bread is in a manner common, yea, though it were sanctified this day in the vessel.

6 So the priest gave him hallowed bread: for there was no bread there but the shewbread, that was taken from before the LORD, to put hot bread in the day when it was taken away.

7 Now a certain man of the servants of Saul was there that day, detained before the LORD; and his name was Doeg, an Edomite, the chiefest of the herdmen that belonged to Saul.

8 And David said unto Ahimelech, And is there not here under thine hand spear or sword? for I have neither brought my sword nor my weapons with me, because the king's business required haste.

9 And the priest said, The sword of Goliath the Philistine, whom thou slewest in the valley of Elah, behold, it is here wrapped in a cloth behind the ephod: if thou wilt take that, take it: for there is no other save that here. And David said, There is none like that; give it me.

10 And David arose and fled that day for fear of Saul, and went to Achish the king of Gath.

11 And the servants of Achish said unto him, Is not this David the king of the land? did they not sing one to another of him in dances, saying, Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands?

12 And David laid up these words in his heart, and was sore afraid of Achish the king of Gath.

13 And he changed his behaviour before them, and feigned himself mad in their hands, and scrabbled on the doors of the gate, and let his spittle fall down upon his beard.

14 Then said Achish unto his servants, Lo, ye see the man is mad: wherefore then have ye brought him to me?

15 Have I need of mad men, that ye have brought this fellow to play the mad man in my presence? shall this fellow come into my house?

1 SAMUEL CHAPTER 22

1 David therefore departed thence, and escaped to the cave Adullam: and when his brethren and all his father's house heard it, they went down thither to him.

2 And every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented, gathered themselves unto him; and he became a captain over them: and there were with him about four hundred men.

3 And David went thence to Mizpeh of Moab: and he said unto the king of Moab, Let my father and my mother, I pray thee, come forth, and be with you, till I know what God will do for me.

4 And he brought them before the king of Moab: and they dwelt with him all the while that David was in the hold.

5 And the prophet Gad said unto David, Abide not in the hold; depart, and get thee into the land of Judah. Then David departed, and came into the forest of Hareth.

6 When Saul heard that David was discovered, and the men that were with him, (now Saul abode in Gibeah under a tree in Ramah, having his spear in his hand, and all his servants were standing about him;)

7 Then Saul said unto his servants that stood about him, Hear now, ye Benjamites; will the son of Jesse give every one of you fields and vineyards, and make you all captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds;

8 That all of you have conspired against me, and there is none that sheweth me that my son hath made a league with the son of Jesse, and there is none of you that is sorry for me, or sheweth unto me that my son hath stirred up my servant against me, to lie in wait, as at this day?

9 Then answered Doeg the Edomite, which was set over the servants of Saul, and said, I saw the son of Jesse coming to Nob, to Ahimelech the son of Ahitub.

10 And he enquired of the LORD for him, and gave him victuals, and gave him the sword of Goliath the Philistine.

11 Then the king sent to call Ahimelech the priest, the son of Ahitub, and all his father's house, the priests that were in Nob: and they came all of them to the king.

12 And Saul said, Hear now, thou son of Ahitub. And he answered, Here I am, my lord.

13 And Saul said unto him, Why have ye conspired against me, thou and the son of Jesse, in that thou hast given him bread, and a sword, and hast enquired of God for him, that he should rise against me, to lie in wait, as at this day?

14 Then Ahimelech answered the king, and said, And who is so faithful among all thy servants as David, which is the king's son in law, and goeth at thy bidding, and is honourable in thine house?

15 Did I then begin to enquire of God for him? be it far from me: let not the king impute any thing unto his servant, nor to all the house of my father: for thy servant knew nothing of all this, less or more.

16 And the king said, Thou shalt surely die, Ahimelech, thou, and all thy father's house.

17 And the king said unto the footmen that stood about him, Turn, and slay the priests of the LORD: because their hand also is with David, and because they knew when he fled, and did not shew it to me. But the servants of the king would not put forth their hand to fall upon the priests of the LORD.

18 And the king said to Doeg, Turn thou, and fall upon the priests. And Doeg the Edomite turned, and he fell upon the priests, and slew on that day fourscore and five persons that did wear a linen ephod.

19 And Nob, the city of the priests, smote he with the edge of the sword, both men and women, children and sucklings, and oxen, and asses, and sheep, with the edge of the sword.

20 And one of the sons of Ahimelech the son of Ahitub, named Abiathar, escaped, and fled after David.

21 And Abiathar shewed David that Saul had slain the LORD's priests.

22 And David said unto Abiathar, I knew it that day, when Doeg the Edomite was there, that he would surely tell Saul: I have occasioned the death of all the persons of thy father's house.

23 Abide thou with me, fear not: for he that seeketh my life seeketh thy life: but with me thou shalt be in safeguard.

1 SAMUEL CHAPTER 23

1 Then they told David, saying, Behold, the Philistines fight against Keilah, and they rob the threshingfloors.

2 Therefore David enquired of the LORD, saying, Shall I go and smite these Philistines? And the LORD said unto David, Go, and smite the Philistines, and save Keilah.

3 And David's men said unto him, Behold, we be afraid here in Judah: how much more then if we come to Keilah against the armies of the Philistines?

4 Then David enquired of the LORD yet again. And the LORD answered him and said, Arise, go down to Keilah; for I will deliver the Philistines into thine hand.

5 So David and his men went to Keilah, and fought with the Philistines, and brought away their cattle, and smote them with a great slaughter. So David saved the inhabitants of Keilah.

6 And it came to pass, when Abiathar the son of Ahimelech fled to David to Keilah, that he came down with an ephod in his hand.

7 And it was told Saul that David was come to Keilah. And Saul said, God hath delivered him into mine hand; for he is shut in, by entering into a town that hath gates and bars.

8 And Saul called all the people together to war, to go down to Keilah, to besiege David and his men.

9 And David knew that Saul secretly practised mischief against him; and he said to Abiathar the priest, Bring hither the ephod.

10 Then said David, O LORD God of Israel, thy servant hath certainly heard that Saul seeketh to come to Keilah, to destroy the city for my sake.

11 Will the men of Keilah deliver me up into his hand? will Saul come down, as thy servant hath heard? O LORD God of Israel, I beseech thee, tell thy servant. And the LORD said, He will come down.

12 Then said David, Will the men of Keilah deliver me and my men into the hand of Saul? And the LORD said, They will deliver thee up.

13 Then David and his men, which were about six hundred, arose and departed out of Keilah, and went whithersoever they could go. And it was told Saul that David was escaped from Keilah; and he forbare to go forth.

14 And David abode in the wilderness in strong holds, and remained in a mountain in the wilderness of Ziph. And Saul sought him every day, but God delivered him not into his hand.

15 And David saw that Saul was come out to seek his life: and David was in the wilderness of Ziph in a wood.

16 And Jonathan Saul's son arose, and went to David into the wood, and strengthened his hand in God.

17 And he said unto him, Fear not: for the hand of Saul my father shall not find thee; and thou shalt be king over Israel, and I shall be next unto thee; and that also Saul my father knoweth.

18 And they two made a covenant before the LORD: and David abode in the wood, and Jonathan went to his house.

19 Then came up the Ziphites to Saul to Gibeah, saying, Doth not David hide himself with us in strong holds in the wood, in the hill of Hachilah, which is on the south of Jeshimon?

20 Now therefore, O king, come down according to all the desire of thy soul to come down; and our part shall be to deliver him into the king's hand.

21 And Saul said, Blessed be ye of the LORD; for ye have compassion on me.

22 Go, I pray you, prepare yet, and know and see his place where his haunt is, and who hath seen him there: for it is told me that he dealeth very subtilly.

23 See therefore, and take knowledge of all the lurking places where he hideth himself, and come ye again to me with the certainty, and I will go with you: and it shall come to pass, if he be in the land, that I will search him out throughout all the thousands of Judah.

24 And they arose, and went to Ziph before Saul: but David and his men were in the wilderness of Maon, in the plain on the south of Jeshimon.

25 Saul also and his men went to seek him. And they told David; wherefore he came down into a rock, and abode in the wilderness of Maon. And when Saul heard that, he pursued after David in the wilderness of Maon.

26 And Saul went on this side of the mountain, and David and his men on that side of the mountain: and David made haste to get away for fear of Saul; for Saul and his men compassed David and his men round about to take them.

27 But there came a messenger unto Saul, saying, Haste thee, and come; for the Philistines have invaded the land.

28 Wherefore Saul returned from pursuing after David, and went against the Philistines: therefore they called that place Selahammahlekoth.

29 And David went up from thence, and dwelt in strong holds at Engedi.

1 SAMUEL CHAPTER 24

1 And it came to pass, when Saul was returned from following the Philistines, that it was told him, saying, Behold, David is in the wilderness of Engedi.

2 Then Saul took three thousand chosen men out of all Israel, and went to seek David and his men upon the rocks of the wild goats.

3 And he came to the sheepcotes by the way, where was a cave; and Saul went in to cover his feet: and David and his men remained in the sides of the cave.

4 And the men of David said unto him, Behold the day of which the LORD said unto thee, Behold, I will deliver thine enemy into thine hand, that thou mayest do to him as it shall seem good unto thee. Then David arose, and cut off the skirt of Saul's robe privily.

5 And it came to pass afterward, that David's heart smote him, because he had cut off Saul's skirt.

6 And he said unto his men, The LORD forbid that I should do this thing unto my master, the LORD's anointed, to stretch forth mine hand against him, seeing he is the anointed of the LORD.

7 So David stayed his servants with these words, and suffered them not to rise against Saul. But Saul rose up out of the cave, and went on his way.

8 David also arose afterward, and went out of the cave, and cried after Saul, saying, My lord the king. And when Saul looked behind him, David stooped with his face to the earth, and bowed himself.

9 And David said to Saul, Wherefore hearest thou men's words, saying, Behold, David seeketh thy hurt?

10 Behold, this day thine eyes have seen how that the LORD had delivered thee to day into mine hand in the cave: and some bade me kill thee: but mine eye spared thee; and I said, I will not put forth mine hand against my lord; for he is the LORD's anointed.

11 Moreover, my father, see, yea, see the skirt of thy robe in my hand: for in that I cut off the skirt of thy robe, and killed thee not, know thou and see that there is neither evil nor transgression in mine hand, and I have not sinned against thee; yet thou huntest my soul to take it.

12 The LORD judge between me and thee, and the LORD avenge me of thee: but mine hand shall not be upon thee.

13 As saith the proverb of the ancients, Wickedness proceedeth from the wicked: but mine hand shall not be upon thee.

14 After whom is the king of Israel come out? after whom dost thou pursue? after a dead dog, after a flea.

15 The LORD therefore be judge, and judge between me and thee, and see, and plead my cause, and deliver me out of thine hand.

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16 And it came to pass, when David had made an end of speaking these words unto Saul, that Saul said, Is this thy voice, my son David? And Saul lifted up his voice, and wept.
17 And he said to David, Thou art more righteous than I: for thou hast rewarded me good, whereas I have rewarded thee evil.
18 And thou hast shewed this day how that thou hast dealt well with me: forasmuch as when the LORD had delivered me into thine hand, thou killedst me not.
19 For if a man find his enemy, will he let him go well away? wherefore the LORD reward thee good for that thou hast done unto me this day.
20 And now, behold, I know well that thou shalt surely be king, and that the kingdom of Israel shall be established in thine hand.
21 Swear now therefore unto me by the LORD, that thou wilt not cut off my seed after me, and that thou wilt not destroy my name out of my father's house.
22 And David sware unto Saul. And Saul went home; but David and his men gat them up unto the hold.

1 SAMUEL CHAPTER 25

1 And Samuel died; and all the Israelites were gathered together, and lamented him, and buried him in his house at Ramah. And David arose, and went down to the wilderness of Paran.
2 And there was a man in Maon, whose possessions were in Carmel; and the man was very great, and he had three thousand sheep, and a thousand goats: and he was shearing his sheep in Carmel.
3 Now the name of the man was Nabal; and the name of his wife Abigail: and she was a woman of good understanding, and of a beautiful countenance: but the man was churlish and evil in his doings; and he was of the house of Caleb.
4 And David heard in the wilderness that Nabal did shear his sheep.
5 And David sent out ten young men, and David said unto the young men, Get you up to Carmel, and go to Nabal, and greet him in my name:
6 And thus shall ye say to him that liveth in prosperity, Peace be both to thee, and peace be to thine house, and peace be unto all that thou hast.
7 And now I have heard that thou hast shearers: now thy shepherds which were with us, we hurt them not, neither was there ought missing unto them, all the while they were in Carmel.
8 Ask thy young men, and they will shew thee. Wherefore let the young men find favour in thine eyes: for we come in a good day: give, I pray thee, whatsoever cometh to thine hand unto thy servants, and to thy son David.
9 And when David's young men came, they spake to Nabal according to all those words in the name of David, and ceased.
10 And Nabal answered David's servants, and said, Who is David? and who is the son of Jesse? there be many servants now a days that break away every man from his master.
11 Shall I then take my bread, and my water, and my flesh that I have killed for my shearers, and give it unto men, whom I know not whence they be?
12 So David's young men turned their way, and went again, and came and told him all those sayings.
13 And David said unto his men, Gird ye on every man his sword. And they girded on every man his sword; and David also girded on his sword: and there went up after David about four hundred men; and two hundred abode by the stuff.
14 But one of the young men told Abigail, Nabal's wife, saying, Behold, David sent messengers out of the wilderness to salute our master; and he railed on them.
15 But the men were very good unto us, and we were not hurt, neither missed we any thing, as long as we were conversant with them, when we were in the fields:
16 They were a wall unto us both by night and day, all the while we were with them keeping the sheep.
17 Now therefore know and consider what thou wilt do; for evil is determined against our master, and against all his household: for he is such a son of Belial, that a man cannot speak to him.
18 Then Abigail made haste, and took two hundred loaves, and two bottles of wine, and five sheep ready dressed, and five measures of parched corn, and an hundred clusters of raisins, and two hundred cakes of figs, and laid them on asses.
19 And she said unto her servants, Go on before me; behold, I come after you. But she told not her husband Nabal.
20 And it was so, as she rode on the ass, that she came down by the covert on the hill, and, behold, David and his men came down against her; and she met them.
21 Now David had said, Surely in vain have I kept all that this fellow hath in the wilderness, so that nothing was missed of all that pertained unto him: and he hath requited me evil for good.
22 So and more also do God unto the enemies of David, if I leave of all that pertain to him by the morning light any that pisseth against the wall.
23 And when Abigail saw David, she hasted, and lighted off the ass, and fell before David on her face, and bowed herself to the ground,
24 And fell at his feet, and said, Upon me, my lord, upon me let this iniquity be: and let thine handmaid, I pray thee, speak in thine audience, and hear the words of thine handmaid.
25 Let not my lord, I pray thee, regard this man of Belial, even Nabal: for as his name is, so is he; Nabal is his name, and folly is with him: but I thine handmaid saw not the young men of my lord, whom thou didst send.
26 Now therefore, my lord, as the LORD liveth, and as thy soul liveth, seeing the LORD hath withholden thee from coming to shed blood, and from avenging thyself with thine own hand, now let thine enemies, and they that seek evil to my lord, be as Nabal.
27 And now this blessing which thine handmaid hath brought unto my lord, let it even be given unto the young men that follow my lord.
28 I pray thee, forgive the trespass of thine handmaid: for the LORD will certainly make my lord a sure house; because my lord fighteth the battles of the LORD, and evil hath not been found in thee all thy days.
29 Yet a man is risen to pursue thee, and to seek thy soul: but the soul of my lord shall be bound in the bundle of life with the LORD thy God; and the souls of thine enemies, them shall he sling out, as out of the middle of a sling.
30 And it shall come to pass, when the LORD shall have done to my lord according to all the good that he hath spoken concerning thee, and shall have appointed thee ruler over Israel;
31 That this shall be no grief unto thee, nor offence of heart unto my lord, either that thou hast shed blood causeless, or that my lord hath avenged himself: but when the LORD shall have dealt well with my lord, then remember thine handmaid.
32 And David said to Abigail, Blessed be the LORD God of Israel, which sent thee this day to meet me:
33 And blessed be thy advice, and blessed be thou, which hast kept me this day from coming to shed blood, and from avenging myself with mine own hand.
34 For in very deed, as the LORD God of Israel liveth, which hath kept me back from hurting thee, except thou hadst hasted and come to meet me, surely there had not been left unto Nabal by the morning light any that pisseth against the wall.
35 So David received of her hand that which she had brought him, and said unto her, Go up in peace to thine house; see, I have hearkened to thy voice, and have accepted thy person.
36 And Abigail came to Nabal; and, behold, he held a feast in his house, like the feast of a king; and Nabal's heart was merry within him, for he was very drunken: wherefore she told him nothing, less or more, until the morning light.
37 But it came to pass in the morning, when the wine was gone out of Nabal, and his wife had told him these things, that his heart died within him, and he became as a stone.
38 And it came to pass about ten days after, that the LORD smote Nabal, that he died.
39 And when David heard that Nabal was dead, he said, Blessed be the LORD, that hath pleaded the cause of my reproach from the hand of Nabal, and hath kept his servant from evil: for the LORD hath returned the wickedness of Nabal upon his own head. And David sent and communed with Abigail, to take her to him to wife.
40 And when the servants of David were come to Abigail to Carmel, they spake unto her, saying, David sent us unto thee, to take thee to him to wife.
41 And she arose, and bowed herself on her face to the earth, and said, Behold, let thine handmaid be a servant to wash the feet of the servants of my lord.
42 And Abigail hasted, and arose and rode upon an ass, with five damsels of hers that went after her; and she went after the messengers of David, and became his wife.
43 David also took Ahinoam of Jezreel; and they were also both of them his wives.
44 But Saul had given Michal his daughter, David's wife, to Phalti the son of Laish, which was of Gallim.

1 SAMUEL CHAPTER 26

1 And the Ziphites came unto Saul to Gibeah, saying, Doth not David hide himself in the hill of Hachilah, which is before Jeshimon?
2 Then Saul arose, and went down to the wilderness of Ziph, having three thousand chosen men of Israel with him, to seek David in the wilderness of Ziph.
3 And Saul pitched in the hill of Hachilah, which is before Jeshimon, by the way. But David abode in the wilderness, and he saw that Saul came after him into the wilderness.
4 David therefore sent out spies, and understood that Saul was come in very deed.
5 And David arose, and came to the place where Saul had pitched: and David beheld the place where Saul lay, and Abner the son of Ner, the captain of his host: and Saul lay in the trench, and the people pitched round about him.
6 Then answered David and said to Ahimelech the Hittite, and to Abishai the son of Zeruiah, brother to Joab, saying, Who will go down with me to Saul to the camp? And Abishai said, I will go down with thee.
7 So David and Abishai came to the people by night: and, behold, Saul lay sleeping within the trench, and his spear stuck in the ground at his bolster: but Abner and the people lay round about him.
8 Then said Abishai to David, God hath delivered thine enemy into thine hand this day: now therefore let me smite him, I pray thee, with the spear even to the earth at once, and I will not smite him the second time.
9 And David said to Abishai, Destroy him not: for who can stretch forth his hand against the LORD's anointed, and be guiltless?
10 David said furthermore, As the LORD liveth, the LORD shall smite him; or his day shall come to die; or he shall descend into battle, and perish.
11 The LORD forbid that I should stretch forth mine hand against the LORD's anointed: but, I pray thee, take thou now the spear that is at his bolster, and the cruse of water, and let us go.
12 So David took the spear and the cruse of water from Saul's bolster; and they gat them away, and no man saw it, nor knew it, neither awaked: for they were all asleep; because a deep sleep from the LORD was fallen upon them.
13 Then David went over to the other side, and stood on the top of an hill afar off; a great space being between them:
14 And David cried to the people, and to Abner the son of Ner, saying, Answerest thou not, Abner? Then Abner answered and said, Who art thou that criest to the king?
15 And David said to Abner, Art not thou a valiant man? and who is like to thee in Israel? wherefore then hast thou not kept thy lord the king? for there came one of the people in to destroy the king thy lord.
16 This thing is not good that thou hast done. As the LORD liveth, ye are worthy to die, because ye have not kept your master, the LORD's anointed. And now see where the king's spear is, and the cruse of water that was at his bolster.
17 And Saul knew David's voice, and said, Is this thy voice, my son David? And David said, It is my voice, my lord, O king.
18 And he said, Wherefore doth my lord thus pursue after his servant? for what have I done? or what evil is in mine hand?
19 Now therefore, I pray thee, let my lord the king hear the words of his servant. If the LORD have stirred thee up against me, let him accept an offering: but if they be the children of men, cursed be they before the LORD; for they have driven me out this day from abiding in the inheritance of the LORD, saying, Go, serve other gods.
20 Now therefore, let not my blood fall to the earth before the face of the LORD: for the king of Israel is come out to seek a flea, as when one doth hunt a partridge in the mountains.
21 Then said Saul, I have sinned: return, my son David: for I will no more do thee harm, because my soul was precious in thine eyes this day: behold, I have played the fool, and have erred exceedingly.
22 And David answered and said, Behold the king's spear! and let one of the young men come over and fetch it.
23 The LORD render to every man his righteousness and his faithfulness; for the LORD delivered thee into my hand to day, but I would not stretch forth mine hand against the LORD's anointed.
24 And, behold, as thy life was much set by this day in mine eyes, so let my life be much set by in the eyes of the LORD, and let him deliver me out of all tribulation.
25 Then Saul said to David, Blessed be thou, my son David: thou shalt both do great things, and also shalt still prevail. So David went on his way, and Saul returned to his place.

1 SAMUEL CHAPTER 27

1 And David said in his heart, I shall now perish one day by the hand of Saul: there is nothing better for me than that I should speedily escape into the land of the Philistines; and Saul shall despair of me, to seek me any more in any coast of Israel: so shall I escape out of his hand.
2 And David arose, and he passed over with the six hundred men that were with him unto Achish, the son of Maoch, king of Gath.
3 And David dwelt with Achish at Gath, he and his men, every man with his household, even David with his two wives, Ahinoam the Jezreelitess, and Abigail the Carmelitess, Nabal's wife.
4 And it was told Saul that David was fled to Gath: and he sought no more again for him.
5 And David said unto Achish, If I have now found grace in thine eyes, let them give me a place in some town in the country, that I may dwell there: for why should thy servant dwell in the royal city with thee?
6 Then Achish gave him Ziklag that day: wherefore Ziklag pertaineth unto the kings of Judah unto this day.
7 And the time that David dwelt in the country of the Philistines was a full year and four months.

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8 And David and his men went up, and invaded the Geshurites, and the Gezrites, and the Amalekites: for those nations were of old the inhabitants of the land, as thou goest to Shur, even unto the land of Egypt.

9 And David smote the land, and left neither man nor woman alive, and took away the sheep, and the oxen, and the asses, and the camels, and the apparel, and returned, and came to Achish.

10 And Achish said, Whither have ye made a road to day? And David said, Against the south of Judah, and against the south of the Jerahmeelites, and against the south of the Kenites.

11 And David saved neither man nor woman alive, to bring tidings to Gath, saying, Lest they should tell on us, saying, So did David, and so will be his manner all the while he dwelleth in the country of the Philistines.

12 And Achish believed David, saying, He hath made his people Israel utterly to abhor him; therefore he shall be my servant for ever.

1 SAMUEL CHAPTER 28

1 And it came to pass in those days, that the Philistines gathered their armies together for warfare, to fight with Israel. And Achish said unto David, Know thou assuredly, that thou shalt go out with me to battle, thou and thy men.

2 And David said to Achish, Surely thou shalt know what thy servant can do. And Achish said to David, Therefore will I make thee keeper of mine head for ever.

3 Now Samuel was dead, and all Israel had lamented him, and buried him in Ramah, even in his own city. And Saul had put away those that had familiar spirits, and the wizards, out of the land.

4 And the Philistines gathered themselves together, and came and pitched in Shunem: and Saul gathered all Israel together, and they pitched in Gilboa.

5 And when Saul saw the host of the Philistines, he was afraid, and his heart greatly trembled.

6 And when Saul enquired of the LORD, the LORD answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophets.

7 Then said Saul unto his servants, Seek me a woman that hath a familiar spirit, that I may go to her, and enquire of her. And his servants said to him, Behold, there is a woman that hath a familiar spirit at Endor.

8 And Saul disguised himself, and put on other raiment, and he went, and two men with him, and they came to the woman by night: and he said, I pray thee, divine unto me by the familiar spirit, and bring me him up, whom I shall name unto thee.

9 And the woman said unto him, Behold, thou knowest what Saul hath done, how he hath cut off those that have familiar spirits, and the wizards, out of the land: wherefore then layest thou a snare for my life, to cause me to die?

10 And Saul sware to her by the LORD, saying, As the LORD liveth, there shall no punishment happen to thee for this thing.

11 Then said the woman, Whom shall I bring up unto thee? And he said, Bring me up Samuel.

12 And when the woman saw Samuel, she cried with a loud voice: and the woman spake to Saul, saying, Why hast thou deceived me? for thou art Saul.

13 And the king said unto her, Be not afraid: for what sawest thou? And the woman said unto Saul, I saw gods ascending out of the earth.

14 And he said unto her, What form is he of? And she said, An old man cometh up; and he is covered with a mantle. And Saul perceived that it was Samuel, and he stooped with his face to the ground, and bowed himself.

15 And Samuel said to Saul, Why hast thou disquieted me, to bring me up? And Saul answered, I am sore distressed; for the Philistines make war against me, and God is departed from me, and answereth me no more, neither by prophets, nor by dreams: therefore I have called thee, that thou mayest make known unto me what I shall do.

16 Then said Samuel, Wherefore then dost thou ask of me, seeing the LORD is departed from thee, and is become thine enemy?

17 And the LORD hath done to him, as he spake by me: for the LORD hath rent the kingdom out of thine hand, and given it to thy neighbour, even to David:

18 Because thou obeyedst not the voice of the LORD, nor executedst his fierce wrath upon Amalek, therefore hath the LORD done this thing unto thee this day.

19 Moreover the LORD will also deliver Israel with thee into the hand of the Philistines: and to morrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me: the LORD also shall deliver the host of Israel into the hand of the Philistines.

20 Then Saul fell straightway all along on the earth, and was sore afraid, because of the words of Samuel: and there was no strength in him; for he had eaten no bread all the day, nor all the night.

21 And the woman came unto Saul, and saw that he was sore troubled, and said unto him, Behold, thine handmaid hath obeyed thy voice, and I have put my life in my hand, and have hearkened unto thy words which thou spakest unto me.

22 Now therefore, I pray thee, hearken thou also unto the voice of thine handmaid, and let me set a morsel of bread before thee; and eat, that thou mayest have strength, when thou goest on thy way.

23 But he refused, and said, I will not eat. But his servants, together with the woman, compelled him; and he hearkened unto their voice. So he arose from the earth, and sat upon the bed.

24 And the woman had a fat calf in the house; and she hasted, and killed it, and took flour, and kneaded it, and did bake unleavened bread thereof:

25 And she brought it before Saul, and before his servants; and they did eat. Then they rose up, and went away that night.

1 SAMUEL CHAPTER 29

1 Now the Philistines gathered together all their armies to Aphek: and the Israelites pitched by a fountain which is in Jezreel.

2 And the lords of the Philistines passed on by hundreds, and by thousands: but David and his men passed on in the rereward with Achish.

3 Then said the princes of the Philistines, What do these Hebrews here? And Achish said unto the princes of the Philistines, Is not this David, the servant of Saul the king of Israel, which hath been with me these days, or these years, and I have found no fault in him since he fell unto me unto this day?

4 And the princes of the Philistines were wroth with him; and the princes of the Philistines said unto him, Make this fellow return, that he may go again to his place which thou hast appointed him, and let him not go down with us to battle, lest in the battle he be an adversary to us: for wherewith should he reconcile himself unto his master? should it not be with the heads of these men?

5 Is not this David, of whom they sang one to another in dances, saying, Saul slew his thousands, and David his ten thousands?

6 Then Achish called David, and said unto him, Surely, as the LORD liveth, thou hast been upright, and thy going out and thy coming in with me in the host is good in my sight: for I have not found evil in thee since the day of thy coming unto me unto this day: nevertheless the lords favour thee not.

7 Wherefore now return, and go in peace, that thou displease not the lords of the Philistines.

8 And David said unto Achish, But what have I done? and what hast thou found in thy servant so long as I have been with thee unto this day, that I may not go fight against the enemies of my lord the king?

9 And Achish answered and said to David, I know that thou art good in my sight, as an angel of God: notwithstanding the princes of the Philistines have said, He shall not go up with us to the battle.

10 Wherefore now rise up early in the morning with thy master's servants that are come with thee: and as soon as ye be up early in the morning, and have light, depart.

11 So David and his men rose up early to depart in the morning, to return into the land of the Philistines. And the Philistines went up to Jezreel.

1 SAMUEL CHAPTER 30

1 And it came to pass, when David and his men were come to Ziklag on the third day, that the Amalekites had invaded the south, and Ziklag, and smitten Ziklag, and burned it with fire;

2 And had taken the women captives, that were therein: they slew not any, either great or small, but carried them away, and went on their way.

3 So David and his men came to the city, and, behold, it was burned with fire; and their wives, and their sons, and their daughters, were taken captives.

4 Then David and the people that were with him lifted up their voice and wept, until they had no more power to weep.

5 And David's two wives were taken captives, Ahinoam the Jezreelitess, and Abigail the wife of Nabal the Carmelite.

6 And David was greatly distressed; for the people spake of stoning him, because the soul of all the people was grieved, every man for his sons and for his daughters: but David encouraged himself in the LORD his God.

7 And David said to Abiathar the priest, Ahimelech's son, I pray thee, bring me hither the ephod. And Abiathar brought thither the ephod to David.

8 And David enquired at the LORD, saying, Shall I pursue after this troop? shall I overtake them? And he answered him, Pursue: for thou shalt surely overtake them, and without fail recover all.

9 So David went, he and the six hundred men that were with him, and came to the brook Besor, where those that were left behind stayed.

10 But David pursued, he and four hundred men: for two hundred abode behind, which were so faint that they could not go over the brook Besor.

11 And they found an Egyptian in the field, and brought him to David, and gave him bread, and he did eat; and they made him drink water;

12 And they gave him a piece of a cake of figs, and two clusters of raisins: and when he had eaten, his spirit came again to him: for he had eaten no bread, nor drunk any water, three days and three nights.

13 And David said unto him, To whom belongest thou? and whence art thou? And he said, I am a young man of Egypt, servant to an Amalekite; and my master left me, because three days agone I fell sick.

14 We made an invasion upon the south of the Cherethites, and upon the coast which belongeth to Judah, and upon the south of Caleb; and we burned Ziklag with fire.

15 And David said to him, Canst thou bring me down to this company? And he said, Swear unto me by God, that thou wilt neither kill me, nor deliver me into the hands of my master, and I will bring thee down to this company.

16 And when he had brought him down, behold, they were spread abroad upon all the earth, eating and drinking, and dancing, because of all the great spoil that they had taken out of the land of the Philistines, and out of the land of Judah.

17 And David smote them from the twilight even unto the evening of the next day: and there escaped not a man of them, save four hundred young men, which rode upon camels, and fled.

18 And David recovered all that the Amalekites had carried away: and David rescued his two wives.

19 And there was nothing lacking to them, neither small nor great, neither sons nor daughters, neither spoil, nor any thing that they had taken to them: David recovered all.

20 And David took all the flocks and the herds, which they drave before those other cattle, and said, This is David's spoil.

21 And David came to the two hundred men, which were so faint that they could not follow David, whom they had made also to abide at the brook Besor: and they went forth to meet David, and to meet the people that were with him: and when David came near to the people, he saluted them.

22 Then answered all the wicked men and men of Belial, of those that went with David, and said, Because they went not with us, we will not give them ought of the spoil that we have recovered, save to every man his wife and his children, that they may lead them away, and depart.

23 Then said David, Ye shall not do so, my brethren, with that which the LORD hath given us, who hath preserved us, and delivered the company that came against us into our hand.

24 For who will hearken unto you in this matter? but as his part is that goeth down to the battle, so shall his part be that tarrieth by the stuff: they shall part alike.

25 And it was so from that day forward, that he made it a statute and an ordinance for Israel unto this day.

26 And when David came to Ziklag, he sent of the spoil unto the elders of Judah, even to his friends, saying, Behold a present for you of the spoil of the enemies of the LORD;

27 To them which were in Bethel, and to them which were in south Ramoth, and to them which were in Jattir,

28 And to them which were in Aroer, and to them which were in Siphmoth, and to them which were in Eshtemoa,

29 And to them which were in Rachal, and to them which were in the cities of the Jerahmeelites, and to them which were in the cities of the Kenites,

30 And to them which were in Hormah, and to them which were in Chorashan, and to them which were in Athach,

31 And to them which were in Hebron, and to all the places where David himself and his men were wont to haunt.

1 SAMUEL CHAPTER 31

1 Now the Philistines fought against Israel: and the men of Israel fled from before the Philistines, and fell down slain in mount Gilboa.

2 And the Philistines followed hard upon Saul and upon his sons; and the Philistines slew Jonathan, and Abinadab, and Melchishua, Saul's sons.

3 And the battle went sore against Saul, and the archers hit him; and he was sore wounded of the archers.

4 Then said Saul unto his armourbearer, Draw thy sword, and thrust me through therewith; lest these uncircumcised come and thrust me through, and abuse me. But his armourbearer would not; for he was sore afraid. Therefore Saul took a sword, and fell upon it.

5 And when his armourbearer saw that Saul was dead, he fell likewise upon his sword, and died with him.

6 So Saul died, and his three sons, and his armourbearer, and all his men, that same day together.

7 And when the men of Israel that were on the other side of the valley, and they that were on the other side Jordan, saw that the men of Israel fled, and that Saul and his sons were dead, they forsook the cities, and fled; and the Philistines came and dwelt in them.

8 And it came to pass on the morrow, when the Philistines came to strip the slain, that they found Saul and his three sons fallen in mount Gilboa.

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9 And they cut off his head, and stripped off his armour, and sent into the land of the Philistines round about, to publish it in the house of their idols, and among the people.
10 And they put his armour in the house of Ashtaroth: and they fastened his body to the wall of Bethshan.
11 And when the inhabitants of Jabeshgilead heard of that which the Philistines had done to Saul;
12 All the valiant men arose, and went all night, and took the body of Saul and the bodies of his sons from the wall of Bethshan, and came to Jabesh, and burnt them there.
13 And they took their bones, and buried them under a tree at Jabesh, and fasted seven days.

THE SECOND BOOK OF SAMUEL
Hebrew Title: SHEMUEL 2
(in some Bibles also called: The Second Book of Kings)
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 630–540 B.C

2 SAMUEL CHAPTER 1
1 Now it came to pass after the death of Saul, when David was returned from the slaughter of the Amalekites, and David had abode two days in Ziklag;
2 It came even to pass on the third day, that, behold, a man came out of the camp from Saul with his clothes rent, and earth upon his head: and so it was, when he came to David, that he fell to the earth, and did obeisance.
3 And David said unto him, From whence comest thou? And he said unto him, Out of the camp of Israel am I escaped.
4 And David said unto him, How went the matter? I pray thee, tell me. And he answered, That the people are fled from the battle, and many of the people also are fallen and dead; and Saul and Jonathan his son are dead also.
5 And David said unto the young man that told him, How knowest thou that Saul and Jonathan his son be dead?
6 And the young man that told him said, As I happened by chance upon mount Gilboa, behold, Saul leaned upon his spear; and, lo, the chariots and horsemen followed hard after him.
7 And when he looked behind him, he saw me, and called unto me. And I answered, Here am I.
8 And he said unto me, Who art thou? And I answered him, I am an Amalekite.
9 He said unto me again, Stand, I pray thee, upon me, and slay me: for anguish is come upon me, because my life is yet whole in me.
10 So I stood upon him, and slew him, because I was sure that he could not live after that he was fallen: and I took the crown that was upon his head, and the bracelet that was on his arm, and have brought them hither unto my lord.
11 Then David took hold on his clothes, and rent them; and likewise all the men that were with him:
12 And they mourned, and wept, and fasted until even, for Saul, and for Jonathan his son, and for the people of the LORD, and for the house of Israel; because they were fallen by the sword.
13 And David said unto the young man that told him, Whence art thou? And he answered, I am the son of a stranger, an Amalekite.
14 And David said unto him, How wast thou not afraid to stretch forth thine hand to destroy the LORD's anointed?
15 And David called one of the young men, and said, Go near, and fall upon him. And he smote him that he died.
16 And David said unto him, Thy blood be upon thy head; for thy mouth hath testified against thee, saying, I have slain the LORD's anointed.
17 And David lamented with this lamentation over Saul and over Jonathan his son:
18 (Also he bade them teach the children of Judah the use of the bow: behold, it is written in the book of Jasher.)
19 The beauty of Israel is slain upon thy high places: how are the mighty fallen!
20 Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon; lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice, lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph.
21 Ye mountains of Gilboa, let there be no dew, neither let there be rain, upon you, nor fields of offerings: for there the shield of the mighty is vilely cast away, the shield of Saul, as though he had not been anointed with oil.
22 From the blood of the slain, from the fat of the mighty, the bow of Jonathan turned not back, and the sword of Saul returned not empty.
23 Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death they were not divided: they were swifter than eagles, they were stronger than lions.
24 Ye daughters of Israel, weep over Saul, who clothed you in scarlet, with other delights, who put on ornaments of gold upon your apparel.
25 How are the mighty fallen in the midst of the battle! O Jonathan, thou wast slain in thine high places.
26 I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan: very pleasant hast thou been unto me: thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women.
27 How are the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war perished!

2 SAMUEL CHAPTER 2
1 And it came to pass after this, that David enquired of the LORD, saying, Shall I go up into any of the cities of Judah? And the LORD said unto him, Go up. And David said, Whither shall I go up? And he said, Unto Hebron.
2 So David went up thither, and his two wives also, Ahinoam the Jezreelitess, and Abigail Nabal's wife the Carmelite.
3 And his men that were with him did David bring up, every man with his household: and they dwelt in the cities of Hebron.
4 And the men of Judah came, and there they anointed David king over the house of Judah. And they told David, saying, That the men of Jabeshgilead were they that buried Saul.
5 And David sent messengers unto the men of Jabeshgilead, and said unto them, Blessed be ye of the LORD, that ye have shewed this kindness unto your lord, even unto Saul, and have buried him.
6 And now the LORD shew kindness and truth unto you: and I also will requite you this kindness, because ye have done this thing.
7 Therefore now let your hands be strengthened, and be ye valiant: for your master Saul is dead, and also the house of Judah have anointed me king over them.
8 But Abner the son of Ner, captain of Saul's host, took Ishbosheth the son of Saul, and brought him over to Mahanaim;
9 And made him king over Gilead, and over the Ashurites, and over Jezreel, and over Ephraim, and over Benjamin, and over all Israel.
10 Ishbosheth Saul's son was forty years old when he began to reign over Israel, and reigned two years. But the house of Judah followed David.
11 And the time that David was king in Hebron over the house of Judah was seven years and six months.
12 And Abner the son of Ner, and the servants of Ishbosheth the son of Saul, went out from Mahanaim to Gibeon.
13 And Joab the son of Zeruiah, and the servants of David, went out, and met together by the pool of Gibeon: and they sat down, the one on the one side of the pool, and the other on the other side of the pool.
14 And Abner said to Joab, Let the young men now arise, and play before us. And Joab said, Let them arise.
15 Then there arose and went over by number twelve of Benjamin, which pertained to Ishbosheth the son of Saul, and twelve of the servants of David.
16 And they caught every one his fellow by the head, and thrust his sword in his fellow's side; so they fell down together: wherefore that place was called Helkathhazzurim, which is in Gibeon.
17 And there was a very sore battle that day; and Abner was beaten, and the men of Israel, before the servants of David.
18 And there were three sons of Zeruiah there, Joab, and Abishai, and Asahel: and Asahel was as light of foot as a wild roe.
19 And Asahel pursued after Abner; and in going he turned not to the right hand nor to the left from following Abner.
20 Then Abner looked behind him, and said, Art thou Asahel? And he answered, I am.
21 And Abner said to him, Turn thee aside to thy right hand or to thy left, and lay thee hold on one of the young men, and take thee his armour. But Asahel would not turn aside from following of him.
22 And Abner said again to Asahel, Turn thee aside from following me: wherefore should I smite thee to the ground? how then should I hold up my face to Joab thy brother?
23 Howbeit he refused to turn aside: wherefore Abner with the hinder end of the spear smote him under the fifth rib, that the spear came out behind him; and he fell down there, and died in the same place: and it came to pass, that as many as came to the place where Asahel fell down and died stood still.
24 Joab also and Abishai pursued after Abner: and the sun went down when they were come to the hill of Ammah, that lieth before Giah by the way of the wilderness of Gibeon.
25 And the children of Benjamin gathered themselves together after Abner, and became one troop, and stood on the top of an hill.
26 Then Abner called to Joab, and said, Shall the sword devour for ever? knowest thou not that it will be bitterness in the latter end? how long shall it be then, ere thou bid the people return from following their brethren?
27 And Joab said, As God liveth, unless thou hadst spoken, surely then in the morning the people had gone up every one from following his brother.
28 So Joab blew a trumpet, and all the people stood still, and pursued after Israel no more, neither fought they any more.
29 And Abner and his men walked all that night through the plain, and passed over Jordan, and went through all Bithron, and they came to Mahanaim.
30 And Joab returned from following Abner: and when he had gathered all the people together, there lacked of David's servants nineteen men and Asahel.
31 But the servants of David had smitten of Benjamin, and of Abner's men, so that three hundred and threescore men died.
32 And they took up Asahel, and buried him in the sepulchre of his father, which was in Bethlehem. And Joab and his men went all night, and they came to Hebron at break of day.

2 SAMUEL CHAPTER 3
1 Now there was long war between the house of Saul and the house of David: but David waxed stronger and stronger, and the house of Saul waxed weaker and weaker.
2 And unto David were sons born in Hebron: and his firstborn was Amnon, of Ahinoam the Jezreelitess;
3 And his second, Chileab, of Abigail the wife of Nabal the Carmelite; and the third, Absalom the son of Maacah the daughter of Talmai king of Geshur;
4 And the fourth, Adonijah the son of Haggith; and the fifth, Shephatiah the son of Abital;
5 And the sixth, Ithream, by Eglah David's wife. These were born to David in Hebron.
6 And it came to pass, while there was war between the house of Saul and the house of David, that Abner made himself strong for the house of Saul.
7 And Saul had a concubine, whose name was Rizpah, the daughter of Aiah: and Ishbosheth said to Abner, Wherefore hast thou gone in unto my father's concubine?
8 Then was Abner very wroth for the words of Ishbosheth, and said, Am I a dog's head, which against Judah do shew kindness this day unto the house of Saul thy father, to his brethren, and to his friends, and have not delivered thee into the hand of David, that thou chargest me to day with a fault concerning this woman?
9 So do God to Abner, and more also, except, as the LORD hath sworn to David, even so I do to him;
10 To translate the kingdom from the house of Saul, and to set up the throne of David over Israel and over Judah, from Dan even to Beersheba.
11 And he could not answer Abner a word again, because he feared him.
12 And Abner sent messengers to David on his behalf, saying, Whose is the land? saying also, Make thy league with me, and, behold, my hand shall be with thee, to bring about all Israel unto thee.
13 And he said, Well; I will make a league with thee: but one thing I require of thee, that is, Thou shalt not see my face, except thou first bring Michal Saul's daughter, when thou comest to see my face.
14 And David sent messengers to Ishbosheth Saul's son, saying, Deliver me my wife Michal, which I espoused to me for an hundred foreskins of the Philistines.
15 And Ishbosheth sent, and took her from her husband, even from Phaltiel the son of Laish.
16 And her husband went with her along weeping behind her to Bahurim. Then said Abner unto him, Go, return. And he returned.
17 And Abner had communication with the elders of Israel, saying, Ye sought for David in times past to be king over you:
18 Now then do it: for the LORD hath spoken of David, saying, By the hand of my servant David I will save my people Israel out of the hand of the Philistines, and out of the hand of all their enemies.
19 And Abner also spake in the ears of Benjamin: and Abner went also to speak in the ears of David in Hebron all that seemed good to Israel, and that seemed good to the whole house of Benjamin.
20 So Abner came to David to Hebron, and twenty men with him. And David made Abner and the men that were with him a feast.
21 And Abner said unto David, I will arise and go, and will gather all Israel unto my lord the king, that they may make a league with thee, and that thou mayest reign over all that thine heart desireth. And David sent Abner away; and he went in peace.
22 And, behold, the servants of David and Joab came from pursuing a troop, and brought in a great spoil with them: but Abner was not with David in Hebron; for he had sent him away, and he was gone in peace.
23 When Joab and all the host that was with him were come, they told Joab, saying, Abner the son of Ner came to the king, and he hath sent him away, and he is gone in peace.
24 Then Joab came to the king, and said, What hast thou done? behold, Abner came unto thee; why is it that thou hast sent him away, and he is quite gone?
25 Thou knowest Abner the son of Ner, that he came to deceive thee, and to know thy going out and thy coming in, and to know all that thou doest.

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26 And when Joab was come out from David, he sent messengers after Abner, which brought him again from the well of Sirah: but David knew it not.

27 And when Abner was returned to Hebron, Joab took him aside in the gate to speak with him quietly, and smote him there under the fifth rib, that he died, for the blood of Asahel his brother.

28 And afterward when David heard it, he said, I and my kingdom are guiltless before the LORD for ever from the blood of Abner the son of Ner:

29 Let it rest on the head of Joab, and on all his father's house; and let there not fail from the house of Joab one that hath an issue, or that is a leper, or that leaneth on a staff, or that falleth on the sword, or that lacketh bread.

30 So Joab, and Abishai his brother slew Abner, because he had slain their brother Asahel at Gibeon in the battle.

31 And David said to Joab, and to all the people that were with him, Rend your clothes, and gird you with sackcloth, and mourn before Abner. And king David himself followed the bier.

32 And they buried Abner in Hebron: and the king lifted up his voice, and wept at the grave of Abner; and all the people wept.

33 And the king lamented over Abner, and said, Died Abner as a fool dieth?

34 Thy hands were not bound, nor thy feet put into fetters: as a man falleth before wicked men, so fellest thou. And all the people wept again over him.

35 And when all the people came to cause David to eat meat while it was yet day, David sware, saying, So do God to me, and more also, if I taste bread, or ought else, till the sun be down.

36 And all the people took notice of it, and it pleased them: as whatsoever the king did pleased all the people.

37 For all the people and all Israel understood that day that it was not of the king to slay Abner the son of Ner.

38 And the king said unto his servants, Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?

39 And I am this day weak, though anointed king; and these men the sons of Zeruiah be too hard for me: the LORD shall reward the doer of evil according to his wickedness.

2 SAMUEL CHAPTER 4

1 And when Saul's son heard that Abner was dead in Hebron, his hands were feeble, and all the Israelites were troubled.

2 And Saul's son had two men that were captains of bands: the name of the one was Baanah, and the name of the other Rechab, the sons of Rimmon a Beerothite, of the children of Benjamin: (for Beeroth also was reckoned to Benjamin.

3 And the Beerothites fled to Gittaim, and were sojourners there until this day.)

4 And Jonathan, Saul's son, had a son that was lame of his feet. He was five years old when the tidings came of Saul and Jonathan out of Jezreel, and his nurse took him up, and fled: and it came to pass, as she made haste to flee, that he fell, and became lame. And his name was Mephibosheth.

5 And the sons of Rimmon the Beerothite, Rechab and Baanah, went, and came about the heat of the day to the house of Ishbosheth, who lay on a bed at noon.

6 And they came thither into the midst of the house, as though they would have fetched wheat; and they smote him under the fifth rib: and Rechab and Baanah his brother escaped.

7 For when they came into the house, he lay on his bed in his bedchamber, and they smote him, and slew him, and beheaded him, and took his head, and gat them away through the plain all night.

8 And they brought the head of Ishbosheth unto David to Hebron, and said to the king, Behold the head of Ishbosheth the son of Saul thine enemy, which sought thy life; and the LORD hath avenged my lord the king this day of Saul, and of his seed.

9 And David answered Rechab and Baanah his brother, the sons of Rimmon the Beerothite, and said unto them, As the LORD liveth, who hath redeemed my soul out of all adversity,

10 When one told me, saying, Behold, Saul is dead, thinking to have brought good tidings, I took hold of him, and slew him in Ziklag, who thought that I would have given him a reward for his tidings:

11 How much more, when wicked men have slain a righteous person in his own house upon his bed? shall I not therefore now require his blood of your hand, and take you away from the earth?

12 And David commanded his young men, and they slew them, and cut off their hands and their feet, and hanged them up over the pool in Hebron. But they took the head of Ishbosheth, and buried it in the sepulchre of Abner in Hebron.

2 SAMUEL CHAPTER 5

1 Then came all the tribes of Israel to David unto Hebron, and spake, saying, Behold, we are thy bone and thy flesh.

2 Also in time past, when Saul was king over us, thou wast he that leddest out and broughtest in Israel: and the LORD said to thee, Thou shalt feed my people Israel, and thou shalt be a captain over Israel.

3 So all the elders of Israel came to the king to Hebron; and king David made a league with them in Hebron before the LORD: and they anointed David king over Israel.

4 David was thirty years old when he began to reign, and he reigned forty years.

5 In Hebron he reigned over Judah seven years and six months: and in Jerusalem he reigned thirty and three years over all Israel and Judah.

6 And the king and his men went to Jerusalem unto the Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land: which spake unto David, saying, Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither: thinking, David cannot come in hither.

7 Nevertheless David took the strong hold of Zion: the same is the city of David.

8 And David said on that day, Whosoever getteth up to the gutter, and smiteth the Jebusites, and the lame and the blind that are hated of David's soul, he shall be chief and captain. Wherefore they said, The blind and the lame shall not come into the house.

9 So David dwelt in the fort, and called it the city of David. And David built round about from Millo and inward.

10 And David went on, and grew great, and the LORD God of hosts was with him.

11 And Hiram king of Tyre sent messengers to David, and cedar trees, and carpenters, and masons: and they built David an house.

12 And David perceived that the LORD had established him king over Israel, and that he had exalted his kingdom for his people Israel's sake.

13 And David took him more concubines and wives out of Jerusalem, after he was come from Hebron: and there were yet sons and daughters born to David.

14 And these be the names of those that were born unto him in Jerusalem; Shammuah, and Shobab, and Nathan, and Solomon,

15 Ibhar also, and Elishua, and Nepheg, and Japhia,

16 And Elishama, and Eliada, and Eliphalet.

17 But when the Philistines heard that they had anointed David king over Israel, all the Philistines came up to seek David; and David heard of it, and went down to the hold.

18 The Philistines also came and spread themselves in the valley of Rephaim.

19 And David enquired of the LORD, saying, Shall I go up to the Philistines? wilt thou deliver them into mine hand? And the LORD said unto David, Go up: for I will doubtless deliver the Philistines into thine hand.

20 And David came to Baalperazim, and David smote them there, and said, The LORD hath broken forth upon mine enemies before me, as the breach of waters. Therefore he called the name of that place Baalperazim.

21 And there they left their images, and David and his men burned them.

22 And the Philistines came up yet again, and spread themselves in the valley of Rephaim.

23 And when David enquired of the LORD, he said, Thou shalt not go up; but fetch a compass behind them, and come upon them over against the mulberry trees.

24 And let it be, when thou hearest the sound of a going in the tops of the mulberry trees, that then thou shalt bestir thyself: for then shall the LORD go out before thee, to smite the host of the Philistines.

25 And David did so, as the LORD had commanded him; and smote the Philistines from Geba until thou come to Gazer.

2 SAMUEL CHAPTER 6

1 Again, David gathered together all the chosen men of Israel, thirty thousand.

2 And David arose, and went with all the people that were with him from Baale of Judah, to bring up from thence the ark of God, whose name is called by the name of the LORD of hosts that dwelleth between the cherubims.

3 And they set the ark of God upon a new cart, and brought it out of the house of Abinadab that was in Gibeah: and Uzzah and Ahio, the sons of Abinadab, drave the new cart.

4 And they brought it out of the house of Abinadab which was at Gibeah, accompanying the ark of God: and Ahio went before the ark.

5 And David and all the house of Israel played before the LORD on all manner of instruments made of fir wood, even on harps, and on psalteries, and on timbrels, and on cornets, and on cymbals.

6 And when they came to Nachon's threshingfloor, Uzzah put forth his hand to the ark of God, and took hold of it; for the oxen shook it.

7 And the anger of the LORD was kindled against Uzzah; and God smote him there for his error; and there he died by the ark of God.

8 And David was displeased, because the LORD had made a breach upon Uzzah: and he called the name of the place Perezuzzah to this day.

9 And David was afraid of the LORD that day, and said, How shall the ark of the LORD come to me?

10 So David would not remove the ark of the LORD unto him into the city of David: but David carried it aside into the house of Obededom the Gittite.

11 And the ark of the LORD continued in the house of Obededom the Gittite three months: and the LORD blessed Obededom, and all his household.

12 And it was told king David, saying, The LORD hath blessed the house of Obededom, and all that pertaineth unto him, because of the ark of God. So David went and brought up the ark of God from the house of Obededom into the city of David with gladness.

13 And it was so, that when they that bare the ark of the LORD had gone six paces, he sacrificed oxen and fatlings.

14 And David danced before the LORD with all his might; and David was girded with a linen ephod.

15 So David and all the house of Israel brought up the ark of the LORD with shouting, and with the sound of the trumpet.

16 And as the ark of the LORD came into the city of David, Michal Saul's daughter looked through a window, and saw king David leaping and dancing before the LORD; and she despised him in her heart.

17 And they brought in the ark of the LORD, and set it in his place, in the midst of the tabernacle that David had pitched for it: and David offered burnt offerings and peace offerings before the LORD.

18 And as soon as David had made an end of offering burnt offerings and peace offerings, he blessed the people in the name of the LORD of hosts.

19 And he dealt among all the people, even among the whole multitude of Israel, as well to the women as men, to every one a cake of bread, and a good piece of flesh, and a flagon of wine. So all the people departed every one to his house.

20 Then David returned to bless his household. And Michal the daughter of Saul came out to meet David, and said, How glorious was the king of Israel to day, who uncovered himself to day in the eyes of the handmaids of his servants, as one of the vain fellows shamelessly uncovereth himself!

21 And David said unto Michal, It was before the LORD, which chose me before thy father, and before all his house, to appoint me ruler over the people of the LORD, over Israel: therefore will I play before the LORD.

22 And I will yet be more vile than thus, and will be base in mine own sight: and of the maidservants which thou hast spoken of, of them shall I be had in honour.

23 Therefore Michal the daughter of Saul had no child unto the day of her death.

2 SAMUEL CHAPTER 7

1 And it came to pass, when the king sat in his house, and the LORD had given him rest round about from all his enemies;

2 That the king said unto Nathan the prophet, See now, I dwell in an house of cedar, but the ark of God dwelleth within curtains.

3 And Nathan said to the king, Go, do all that is in thine heart; for the LORD is with thee.

4 And it came to pass that night, that the word of the LORD came unto Nathan, saying,

5 Go and tell my servant David, Thus saith the LORD, Shalt thou build me an house for me to dwell in?

6 Whereas I have not dwelt in any house since the time that I brought up the children of Israel out of Egypt, even to this day, but have walked in a tent and in a tabernacle.

7 In all the places wherein I have walked with all the children of Israel spake I a word with any of the tribes of Israel, whom I commanded to feed my people Israel, saying, Why build ye not me an house of cedar?

8 Now therefore so shalt thou say unto my servant David, Thus saith the LORD of hosts, I took thee from the sheepcote, from following the sheep, to be ruler over my people, over Israel:

9 And I was with thee whithersoever thou wentest, and have cut off all thine enemies out of thy sight, and have made thee a great name, like unto the name of the great men that are in the earth.

10 Moreover I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and will plant them, that they may dwell in a place of their own, and move no more; neither shall the children of wickedness afflict them any more, as beforetime,

11 And as since the time that I commanded judges to be over my people Israel, and have caused thee to rest from all thine enemies. Also the LORD telleth thee that he will make thee an house.

12 And when thy days be fulfilled, and thou shalt sleep with thy fathers, I will set up thy seed after thee, which shall proceed out of thy bowels, and I will establish his kingdom.

13 He shall build an house for my name, and I will stablish the throne of his kingdom for ever.

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14 I will be his father, and he shall be my son. If he commit iniquity, I will chasten him with the rod of men, and with the stripes of the children of men:
15 But my mercy shall not depart away from him, as I took it from Saul, whom I put away before thee.
16 And thine house and thy kingdom shall be established for ever before thee: thy throne shall be established for ever.
17 According to all these words, and according to all this vision, so did Nathan speak unto David.
18 Then went king David in, and sat before the LORD, and he said, Who am I, O Lord GOD? and what is my house, that thou hast brought me hitherto?
19 And this was yet a small thing in thy sight, O Lord GOD; but thou hast spoken also of thy servant's house for a great while to come. And is this the manner of man, O Lord GOD?
20 And what can David say more unto thee? for thou, Lord GOD, knowest thy servant.
21 For thy word's sake, and according to thine own heart, hast thou done all these great things, to make thy servant know them.
22 Wherefore thou art great, O LORD God: for there is none like thee, neither is there any God beside thee, according to all that we have heard with our ears.
23 And what one nation in the earth is like thy people, even like Israel, whom God went to redeem for a people to himself, and to make him a name, and to do for you great things and terrible, for thy land, before thy people, which thou redeemedst to thee from Egypt, from the nations and their gods?
24 For thou hast confirmed to thyself thy people Israel to be a people unto thee for ever: and thou, LORD, art become their God.
25 And now, O LORD God, the word that thou hast spoken concerning thy servant, and concerning his house, establish it for ever, and do as thou hast said.
26 And let thy name be magnified for ever, saying, The LORD of hosts is the God over Israel: and let the house of thy servant David be established before thee.
27 For thou, O LORD of hosts, God of Israel, hast revealed to thy servant, saying, I will build thee an house: therefore hath thy servant found in his heart to pray this prayer unto thee.
28 And now, O Lord GOD, thou art that God, and thy words be true, and thou hast promised this goodness unto thy servant:
29 Therefore now let it please thee to bless the house of thy servant, that it may continue for ever before thee: for thou, O Lord GOD, hast spoken it: and with thy blessing let the house of thy servant be blessed for ever.

2 SAMUEL CHAPTER 8

1 And after this it came to pass that David smote the Philistines, and subdued them: and David took Methegammah out of the hand of the Philistines.
2 And he smote Moab, and measured them with a line, casting them down to the ground; even with two lines measured he to put to death, and with one full line to keep alive. And so the Moabites became David's servants, and brought gifts.
3 David smote also Hadadezer, the son of Rehob, king of Zobah, as he went to recover his border at the river Euphrates.
4 And David took from him a thousand chariots, and seven hundred horsemen, and twenty thousand footmen: and David houghed all the chariot horses, but reserved of them for an hundred chariots.
5 And when the Syrians of Damascus came to succour Hadadezer king of Zobah, David slew of the Syrians two and twenty thousand men.
6 Then David put garrisons in Syria of Damascus: and the Syrians became servants to David, and brought gifts. And the LORD preserved David whithersoever he went.
7 And David took the shields of gold that were on the servants of Hadadezer, and brought them to Jerusalem.
8 And from Betah, and from Berothai, cities of Hadadezer, king David took exceeding much brass.
9 When Toi king of Hamath heard that David had smitten all the host of Hadadezer,
10 Then Toi sent Joram his son unto king David, to salute him, and to bless him, because he had fought against Hadadezer, and smitten him: for Hadadezer had wars with Toi. And Joram brought with him vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and vessels of brass:
11 Which also king David did dedicate unto the LORD, with the silver and gold that he had dedicated of all nations which he subdued;
12 Of Syria, and of Moab, and of the children of Ammon, and of the Philistines, and of Amalek, and of the spoil of Hadadezer, son of Rehob, king of Zobah.
13 And David gat him a name when he returned from smiting of the Syrians in the valley of salt, being eighteen thousand men.
14 And he put garrisons in Edom; throughout all Edom put he garrisons, and all they of Edom became David's servants. And the LORD preserved David whithersoever he went.
15 And David reigned over all Israel; and David executed judgement and justice unto all his people.
16 And Joab the son of Zeruiah was over the host; and Jehoshaphat the son of Ahilud was recorder;
17 And Zadok the son of Ahitub, and Ahimelech the son of Abiathar, were the priests; and Seraiah was the scribe;
18 And Benaiah the son of Jehoiada was over both the Cherethites and the Pelethites; and David's sons were chief rulers.

2 SAMUEL CHAPTER 9

1 And David said, Is there yet any that is left of the house of Saul, that I may shew him kindness for Jonathan's sake?
2 And there was of the house of Saul a servant whose name was Ziba. And when they had called him unto David, the king said unto him, Art thou Ziba? And he said, Thy servant is he.
3 And the king said, Is there not yet any of the house of Saul, that I may shew the kindness of God unto him? And Ziba said unto the king, Jonathan hath yet a son, which is lame on his feet.
4 And the king said unto him, Where is he? And Ziba said unto the king, Behold, he is in the house of Machir, the son of Ammiel, in Lodebar.
5 Then king David sent, and fetched him out of the house of Machir, the son of Ammiel, from Lodebar.
6 Now when Mephibosheth, the son of Jonathan, the son of Saul, was come unto David, he fell on his face, and did reverence. And David said, Mephibosheth. And he answered, Behold thy servant!
7 And David said unto him, Fear not: for I will surely shew thee kindness for Jonathan thy father's sake, and will restore thee all the land of Saul thy father; and thou shalt eat bread at my table continually.
8 And he bowed himself, and said, What is thy servant, that thou shouldest look upon such a dead dog as I am?
9 Then the king called to Ziba, Saul's servant, and said unto him, I have given unto thy master's son all that pertained to Saul and to all his house.
10 Thou therefore, and thy sons, and thy servants, shall till the land for him, and thou shalt bring in the fruits, that thy master's son may have food to eat: but Mephibosheth thy master's son shall eat bread alway at my table. Now Ziba had fifteen sons and twenty servants.
11 Then said Ziba unto the king, According to all that my lord the king hath commanded his servant, so shall thy servant do. As for Mephibosheth, said the king, he shall eat at my table, as one of the king's sons.
12 And Mephibosheth had a young son, whose name was Micha. And all that dwelt in the house of Ziba were servants unto Mephibosheth.
13 So Mephibosheth dwelt in Jerusalem: for he did eat continually at the king's table; and was lame on both his feet.

2 SAMUEL CHAPTER 10

1 And it came to pass after this, that the king of the children of Ammon died, and Hanun his son reigned in his stead.
2 Then said David, I will shew kindness unto Hanun the son of Nahash, as his father shewed kindness unto me. And David sent to comfort him by the hand of his servants for his father. And David's servants came into the land of the children of Ammon.
3 And the princes of the children of Ammon said unto Hanun their lord, Thinkest thou that David doth honour thy father, that he hath sent comforters unto thee? hath not David rather sent his servants unto thee, to search the city, and to spy it out, and to overthrow it?
4 Wherefore Hanun took David's servants, and shaved off the one half of their beards, and cut off their garments in the middle, even to their buttocks, and sent them away.
5 When they told it unto David, he sent to meet them, because the men were greatly ashamed: and the king said, Tarry at Jericho until your beards be grown, and then return.
6 And when the children of Ammon saw that they stank before David, the children of Ammon sent and hired the Syrians of Bethrehob and the Syrians of Zoba, twenty thousand footmen, and of king Maacah a thousand men, and of Ishtob twelve thousand men.
7 And when David heard of it, he sent Joab, and all the host of the mighty men.
8 And the children of Ammon came out, and put the battle in array at the entering in of the gate: and the Syrians of Zoba, and of Rehob, and Ishtob, and Maacah, were by themselves in the field.
9 When Joab saw that the front of the battle was against him before and behind, he chose of all the choice men of Israel, and put them in array against the Syrians:
10 And the rest of the people he delivered into the hand of Abishai his brother, that he might put them in array against the children of Ammon.
11 And he said, If the Syrians be too strong for me, then thou shalt help me: but if the children of Ammon be too strong for thee, then I will come and help thee.
12 Be of good courage, and let us play the men for our people, and for the cities of our God: and the LORD do that which seemeth him good.
13 And Joab drew nigh, and the people that were with him, unto the battle against the Syrians: and they fled before him.
14 And when the children of Ammon saw that the Syrians were fled, then fled they also before Abishai, and entered into the city. So Joab returned from the children of Ammon, and came to Jerusalem.
15 And when the Syrians saw that they were smitten before Israel, they gathered themselves together.
16 And Hadarezer sent, and brought out the Syrians that were beyond the river: and they came to Helam; and Shobach the captain of the host of Hadarezer went before them.
17 And when it was told David, he gathered all Israel together, and passed over Jordan, and came to Helam. And the Syrians set themselves in array against David, and fought with him.
18 And the Syrians fled before Israel; and David slew the men of seven hundred chariots of the Syrians, and forty thousand horsemen, and smote Shobach the captain of their host, who died there.
19 And when all the kings that were servants to Hadarezer saw that they were smitten before Israel, they made peace with Israel, and served them. So the Syrians feared to help the children of Ammon any more.

2 SAMUEL CHAPTER 11

1 And it came to pass, after the year was expired, at the time when kings go forth to battle, that David sent Joab, and his servants with him, and all Israel; and they destroyed the children of Ammon, and besieged Rabbah. But David tarried still at Jerusalem.
2 And it came to pass in an eveningtide, that David arose from off his bed, and walked upon the roof of the king's house: and from the roof he saw a woman washing herself; and the woman was very beautiful to look upon.
3 And David sent and enquired after the woman. And one said, Is not this Bathsheba, the daughter of Eliam, the wife of Uriah the Hittite?
4 And David sent messengers, and took her; and she came in unto him, and he lay with her; for she was purified from her uncleanness: and she returned unto her house.
5 And the woman conceived, and sent and told David, and said, I am with child.
6 And David sent to Joab, saying, Send me Uriah the Hittite. And Joab sent Uriah to David.
7 And when Uriah was come unto him, David demanded of him how Joab did, and how the people did, and how the war prospered.
8 And David said to Uriah, Go down to thy house, and wash thy feet. And Uriah departed out of the king's house, and there followed him a mess of meat from the king.
9 But Uriah slept at the door of the king's house with all the servants of his lord, and went not down to his house.
10 And when they had told David, saying, Uriah went not down unto his house, David said unto Uriah, Camest thou not from thy journey? why then didst thou not go down unto thine house?
11 And Uriah said unto David, The ark, and Israel, and Judah, abide in tents; and my lord Joab, and the servants of my lord, are encamped in the open fields; shall I then go into mine house, to eat and to drink, and to lie with my wife? as thou livest, and as thy soul liveth, I will not do this thing.
12 And David said to Uriah, Tarry here to day also, and to morrow I will let thee depart. So Uriah abode in Jerusalem that day, and the morrow.
13 And when David had called him, he did eat and drink before him; and he made him drunk: and at even he went out to lie on his bed with the servants of his lord, but went not down to his house.
14 And it came to pass in the morning, that David wrote a letter to Joab, and sent it by the hand of Uriah.
15 And he wrote in the letter, saying, Set ye Uriah in the forefront of the hottest battle, and retire ye from him, that he may be smitten, and die.
16 And it came to pass, when Joab observed the city, that he assigned Uriah unto a place where he knew that valiant men were.
17 And the men of the city went out, and fought with Joab: and there fell some of the people of the servants of David; and Uriah the Hittite died also.
18 Then Joab sent and told David all the things concerning the war;
19 And charged the messenger, saying, When thou hast made an end of telling the matters of the war unto the king,
20 And if so be that the king's wrath arise, and he say unto thee, Wherefore approached ye so nigh unto the city when ye did fight? knew ye not that they would shoot from the wall?
21 Who smote Abimelech the son of Jerubbesheth? did not a woman cast a piece of a millstone upon him from the wall, that he died in Thebez? why went ye nigh the wall? then say thou, Thy servant Uriah the Hittite is dead also.

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22 So the messenger went, and came and shewed David all that Joab had sent him for.
23 And the messenger said unto David, Surely the men prevailed against us, and came out unto us into the field, and we were upon them even unto the entering of the gate.
24 And the shooters shot from off the wall upon thy servants; and some of the king's servants be dead, and thy servant Uriah the Hittite is dead also.
25 Then David said unto the messenger, Thus shalt thou say unto Joab, Let not this thing displease thee, for the sword devoureth one as well as another: make thy battle more strong against the city, and overthrow it: and encourage thou him.
26 And when the wife of Uriah heard that Uriah her husband was dead, she mourned for her husband.
27 And when the mourning was past, David sent and fetched her to his house, and she became his wife, and bare him a son. But the thing that David had done displeased the LORD.

2 SAMUEL CHAPTER 12

1 And the LORD sent Nathan unto David. And he came unto him, and said unto him, There were two men in one city; the one rich, and the other poor.
2 The rich man had exceeding many flocks and herds:
3 But the poor man had nothing, save one little ewe lamb, which he had bought and nourished up: and it grew up together with him, and with his children; it did eat of his own meat, and drank of his own cup, and lay in his bosom, and was unto him as a daughter.
4 And there came a traveller unto the rich man, and he spared to take of his own flock and of his own herd, to dress for the wayfaring man that was come unto him; but took the poor man's lamb, and dressed it for the man that was come to him.
5 And David's anger was greatly kindled against the man; and he said to Nathan, As the LORD liveth, the man that hath done this thing shall surely die:
6 And he shall restore the lamb fourfold, because he did this thing, and because he had no pity.
7 And Nathan said to David, Thou art the man. Thus saith the LORD God of Israel, I anointed thee king over Israel, and I delivered thee out of the hand of Saul;
8 And I gave thee thy master's house, and thy master's wives into thy bosom, and gave thee the house of Israel and of Judah; and if that had been too little, I would moreover have given unto thee such and such things.
9 Wherefore hast thou despised the commandment of the LORD, to do evil in his sight? thou hast killed Uriah the Hittite with the sword, and hast taken his wife to be thy wife, and hast slain him with the sword of the children of Ammon.
10 Now therefore the sword shall never depart from thine house; because thou hast despised me, and hast taken the wife of Uriah the Hittite to be thy wife.
11 Thus saith the LORD, Behold, I will raise up evil against thee out of thine own house, and I will take thy wives before thine eyes, and give them unto thy neighbour, and he shall lie with thy wives in the sight of this sun.
12 For thou didst it secretly: but I will do this thing before all Israel, and before the sun.
13 And David said unto Nathan, I have sinned against the LORD. And Nathan said unto David, The LORD also hath put away thy sin; thou shalt not die.
14 Howbeit, because by this deed thou hast given great occasion to the enemies of the LORD to blaspheme, the child also that is born unto thee shall surely die.
15 And Nathan departed unto his house. And the LORD struck the child that Uriah's wife bare unto David, and it was very sick.
16 David therefore besought God for the child; and David fasted, and went in, and lay all night upon the earth.
17 And the elders of his house arose, and went to him, to raise him up from the earth: but he would not, neither did he eat bread with them.
18 And it came to pass on the seventh day, that the child died. And the servants of David feared to tell him that the child was dead: for they said, Behold, while the child was yet alive, we spake unto him, and he would not hearken unto our voice: how will he then vex himself, if we tell him that the child is dead?
19 But when David saw that his servants whispered, David perceived that the child was dead: therefore David said unto his servants, Is the child dead? And they said, He is dead.
20 Then David arose from the earth, and washed, and anointed himself, and changed his apparel, and came into the house of the LORD, and worshipped: then he came to his own house; and when he required, they set bread before him, and he did eat.
21 Then said his servants unto him, What thing is this that thou hast done? thou didst fast and weep for the child, while it was alive; but when the child was dead, thou didst rise and eat bread.
22 And he said, While the child was yet alive, I fasted and wept: for I said, Who can tell whether GOD will be gracious to me, that the child may live?
23 But now he is dead, wherefore should I fast? can I bring him back again? I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me.
24 And David comforted Bathsheba his wife, and went in unto her, and lay with her: and she bare a son, and he called his name Solomon: and the LORD loved him.
25 And he sent by the hand of Nathan the prophet; and he called his name Jedidiah, because of the LORD.
26 And Joab fought against Rabbah of the children of Ammon, and took the royal city.
27 And Joab sent messengers to David, and said, I have fought against Rabbah, and have taken the city of waters.
28 Now therefore gather the rest of the people together, and encamp against the city, and take it: lest I take the city, and it be called after my name.
29 And David gathered all the people together, and went to Rabbah, and fought against it, and took it.
30 And he took their king's crown from off his head, the weight whereof was a talent of gold with the precious stones: and it was set on David's head. And he brought forth the spoil of the city in great abundance.
31 And he brought forth the people that were therein, and put them under saws, and under harrows of iron, and under axes of iron, and made them pass through the brick-kiln: and thus did he unto all the cities of the children of Ammon. So David and all the people returned unto Jerusalem.

2 SAMUEL CHAPTER 13

1 And it came to pass after this, that Absalom the son of David had a fair sister, whose name was Tamar; and Amnon the son of David loved her.
2 And Amnon was so vexed, that he fell sick for his sister Tamar; for she was a virgin; and Amnon thought it hard for him to do anything to her.
3 But Amnon had a friend, whose name was Jonadab, the son of Shimeah David's brother: and Jonadab was a very subtil man.
4 And he said unto him, Why art thou, being the king's son, lean from day to day? wilt thou not tell me? And Amnon said unto him, I love Tamar, my brother Absalom's sister.
5 And Jonadab said unto him, Lay thee down on thy bed, and make thyself sick: and when thy father cometh to see thee, say unto him, I pray thee, let my sister Tamar come, and give me meat, and dress the meat in my sight, that I may see it, and eat it at her hand.
6 So Amnon lay down, and made himself sick: and when the king was come to see him, Amnon said unto the king, I pray thee, let Tamar my sister come, and make me a couple of cakes in my sight, that I may eat at her hand.
7 Then David sent home to Tamar, saying, Go now to thy brother Amnon's house, and dress him meat.
8 So Tamar went to her brother Amnon's house; and he was laid down. And she took flour, and kneaded it, and made cakes in his sight, and did bake the cakes.
9 And she took a pan, and poured them out before him; but he refused to eat. And Amnon said, Have out all men from me. And they went out every man from him.
10 And Amnon said unto Tamar, Bring the meat into the chamber, that I may eat of thine hand. And Tamar took the cakes which she had made, and brought them into the chamber to Amnon her brother.
11 And when she had brought them unto him to eat, he took hold of her, and said unto her, Come lie with me, my sister.
12 And she answered him, Nay, my brother, do not force me; for no such thing ought to be done in Israel: do not thou this folly.
13 And I, whither shall I cause my shame to go? and as for thee, thou shalt be as one of the fools in Israel. Now therefore, I pray thee, speak unto the king; for he will not withhold me from thee.
14 Howbeit he would not hearken unto her voice: but, being stronger than she, forced her, and lay with her.
15 Then Amnon hated her exceedingly; so that the hatred wherewith he hated her was greater than the love wherewith he had loved her. And Amnon said unto her, Arise, be gone.
16 And she said unto him, There is no cause: this evil in sending me away is greater than the other that thou didst unto me. But he would not hearken unto her.
17 Then he called his servant that ministered unto him, and said, Put now this woman out from me, and bolt the door after her.
18 And she had a garment of divers colours upon her: for with such robes were the king's daughters that were virgins apparelled. Then his servant brought her out, and bolted the door after her.
19 And Tamar put ashes on her head, and rent her garment of divers colours that was on her, and laid her hand on her head, and went on crying.
20 And Absalom her brother said unto her, Hath Amnon thy brother been with thee? but hold now thy peace, my sister: he is thy brother; regard not this thing. So Tamar remained desolate in her brother Absalom's house.
21 But when king David heard of all these things, he was very wroth.
22 And Absalom spake unto his brother Amnon neither good nor bad: for Absalom hated Amnon, because he had forced his sister Tamar.
23 And it came to pass after two full years, that Absalom had sheepshearers in Baalhazor, which is beside Ephraim: and Absalom invited all the king's sons.
24 And Absalom came to the king, and said, Behold now, thy servant hath sheepshearers; let the king, I beseech thee, and his servants go with thy servant.
25 And the king said to Absalom, Nay, my son, let us not all now go, lest we be chargeable unto thee. And he pressed him: howbeit he would not go, but blessed him.
26 Then said Absalom, If not, I pray thee, let my brother Amnon go with us. And the king said unto him, Why should he go with thee?
27 But Absalom pressed him, that he let Amnon and all the king's sons go with him.
28 Now Absalom had commanded his servants, saying, Mark ye now when Amnon's heart is merry with wine, and when I say unto you, Smite Amnon; then kill him, fear not: have not I commanded you? be courageous, and be valiant.
29 And the servants of Absalom did unto Amnon as Absalom had commanded. Then all the king's sons arose, and every man gat him up upon his mule, and fled.
30 And it came to pass, while they were in the way, that tidings came to David, saying, Absalom hath slain all the king's sons, and there is not one of them left.
31 Then the king arose, and tare his garments, and lay on the earth; and all his servants stood by with their clothes rent.
32 And Jonadab, the son of Shimeah David's brother, answered and said, Let not my lord suppose that they have slain all the young men the king's sons; for Amnon only is dead: for by the appointment of Absalom this hath been determined from the day that he forced his sister Tamar.
33 Now therefore let not my lord the king take the thing to his heart, to think that all the king's sons are dead: for Amnon only is dead.
34 But Absalom fled. And the young man that kept the watch lifted up his eyes, and looked, and, behold, there came much people by the way of the hill side behind him.
35 And Jonadab said unto the king, Behold, the king's sons come: as thy servant said, so it is.
36 And it came to pass, as soon as he had made an end of speaking, that, behold, the king's sons came, and lifted up their voice and wept: and the king also and all his servants wept very sore.
37 But Absalom fled, and went to Talmai, the son of Ammihud, king of Geshur. And David mourned for his son every day.
38 So Absalom fled, and went to Geshur, and was there three years.
39 And the soul of king David longed to go forth unto Absalom: for he was comforted concerning Amnon, seeing he was dead.

2 SAMUEL CHAPTER 14

1 Now Joab the son of Zeruiah perceived that the king's heart was toward Absalom.
2 And Joab sent to Tekoah, and fetched thence a wise woman, and said unto her, I pray thee, feign thyself to be a mourner, and put on now mourning apparel, and anoint not thyself with oil, but be as a woman that had a long time mourned for the dead:
3 And come to the king, and speak on this manner unto him. So Joab put the words in her mouth.
4 And when the woman of Tekoah spake to the king, she fell on her face to the ground, and did obeisance, and said, Help, O king.
5 And the king said unto her, What aileth thee? And she answered, I am indeed a widow woman, and mine husband is dead.
6 And thy handmaid had two sons, and they two strove together in the field, and there was none to part them, but the one smote the other, and slew him.
7 And, behold, the whole family is risen against thine handmaid, and they said, Deliver him that smote his brother, that we may kill him, for the life of his brother whom he slew; and we will destroy the heir also: and so they shall quench my coal which is left, and shall not leave to my husband neither name nor remainder upon the earth.
8 And the king said unto the woman, Go to thine house, and I will give charge concerning thee.
9 And the woman of Tekoah said unto the king, My lord, O king, the iniquity be on me, and on my father's house: and the king and his throne be guiltless.
10 And the king said, Whoever saith ought unto thee, bring him to me, and he shall not touch thee any more.
11 Then said she, I pray thee, let the king remember the LORD thy God, that thou wouldest not suffer the revengers of blood to destroy any more, lest they destroy my son. And he said, As the LORD liveth, there shall not one hair of thy son fall to the earth.

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12 Then the woman said, Let thine handmaid, I pray thee, speak one word unto my lord the king. And he said, Say on.
13 And the woman said, Wherefore then hast thou thought such a thing against the people of God? for the king doth speak this thing as one which is faulty, in that the king doth not fetch home again his banished.
14 For we must needs die, and are as water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up again; neither doth God respect any person: yet doth he devise means, that his banished be not expelled from him.
15 Now therefore that I am come to speak of this thing unto my lord the king, it is because the people have made me afraid: and thy handmaid said, I will now speak unto the king; it may be that the king will perform the request of his handmaid.
16 For the king will hear, to deliver his handmaid out of the hand of the man that would destroy me and my son together out of the inheritance of God.
17 Then thine handmaid said, The word of my lord the king shall now be comfortable: for as an angel of God, so is my lord the king to discern good and bad: therefore the LORD thy God will be with thee.
18 Then the king answered and said unto the woman, Hide not from me, I pray thee, the thing that I shall ask thee. And the woman said, Let my lord the king now speak.
19 And the king said, Is not the hand of Joab with thee in all this? And the woman answered and said, As thy soul liveth, my lord the king, none can turn to the right hand or to the left from ought that my lord the king hath spoken: for thy servant Joab, he bade me, and he put all these words in the mouth of thine handmaid:
20 To fetch about this form of speech hath thy servant Joab done this thing: and my lord is wise, according to the wisdom of an angel of God, to know all things that are in the earth.
21 And the king said unto Joab, Behold now, I have done this thing: go therefore, bring the young man Absalom again.
22 And Joab fell to the ground on his face, and bowed himself, and thanked the king: and Joab said, To day thy servant knoweth that I have found grace in thy sight, my lord, O king, in that the king hath fulfilled the request of his servant.
23 So Joab arose and went to Geshur, and brought Absalom to Jerusalem.
24 And the king said, Let him turn to his own house, and let him not see my face. So Absalom returned to his own house, and saw not the king's face.
25 But in all Israel there was none to be so much praised as Absalom for his beauty: from the sole of his foot even to the crown of his head there was no blemish in him.
26 And when he polled his head, (for it was at every year's end that he polled it: because the hair was heavy on him, therefore he polled it:) he weighed the hair of his head at two hundred shekels after the king's weight.
27 And unto Absalom there were born three sons, and one daughter, whose name was Tamar: she was a woman of a fair countenance.
28 So Absalom dwelt two full years in Jerusalem, and saw not the king's face.
29 Therefore Absalom sent for Joab, to have sent him to the king; but he would not come to him: and when he sent again the second time, he would not come.
30 Therefore he said unto his servants, See, Joab's field is near mine, and he hath barley there; go and set it on fire. And Absalom's servants set the field on fire.
31 Then Joab arose, and came to Absalom unto his house, and said unto him, Wherefore have thy servants set my field on fire?
32 And Absalom answered Joab, Behold, I sent unto thee, saying, Come hither, that I may send thee to the king, to say, Wherefore am I come from Geshur? it had been good for me to have been there still: now therefore let me see the king's face; and if there be any iniquity in me, let him kill me.
33 So Joab came to the king, and told him: and when he had called for Absalom, he came to the king, and bowed himself on his face to the ground before the king: and the king kissed Absalom.

2 SAMUEL CHAPTER 15

1 And it came to pass after this, that Absalom prepared him chariots and horses, and fifty men to run before him.
2 And Absalom rose up early, and stood beside the way of the gate: and it was so, that when any man that had a controversy came to the king for judgement, then Absalom called unto him, and said, Of what city art thou? And he said, Thy servant is of one of the tribes of Israel.
3 And Absalom said unto him, See, thy matters are good and right; but there is no man deputed of the king to hear thee.
4 Absalom said moreover, Oh that I were made judge in the land, that every man which hath any suit or cause might come unto me, and I would do him justice!
5 And it was so, that when any man came nigh to him to do him obeisance, he put forth his hand, and took him, and kissed him.
6 And on this manner did Absalom to all Israel that came to the king for judgement: so Absalom stole the hearts of the men of Israel.
7 And it came to pass after forty years, that Absalom said unto the king, I pray thee, let me go and pay my vow, which I have vowed unto the LORD, in Hebron.
8 For thy servant vowed a vow while I abode at Geshur in Syria, saying, If the LORD shall bring me again indeed to Jerusalem, then I will serve the LORD.
9 And the king said unto him, Go in peace. So he arose, and went to Hebron.
10 But Absalom sent spies throughout all the tribes of Israel, saying, As soon as ye hear the sound of the trumpet, then ye shall say, Absalom reigneth in Hebron.
11 And with Absalom went two hundred men out of Jerusalem, that were called; and they went in their simplicity, and they knew not any thing.
12 And Absalom sent for Ahithophel the Gilonite, David's counsellor, from his city, even from Giloh, while he offered sacrifices. And the conspiracy was strong; for the people increased continually with Absalom.
13 And there came a messenger to David, saying, The hearts of the men of Israel are after Absalom.
14 And David said unto all his servants that were with him at Jerusalem, Arise, and let us flee; for we shall not else escape from Absalom: make speed to depart, lest he overtake us suddenly, and bring evil upon us, and smite the city with the edge of the sword.
15 And the king's servants said unto the king, Behold, thy servants are ready to do whatsoever my lord the king shall appoint.
16 And the king went forth, and all his household after him. And the king left ten women, which were concubines, to keep the house.
17 And the king went forth, and all the people after him, and tarried in a place that was far off.
18 And all his servants passed on beside him; and all the Cherethites, and all the Pelethites, and all the Gittites, six hundred men which came after him from Gath, passed on before the king.
19 Then said the king to Ittai the Gittite, Wherefore goest thou also with us? return to thy place, and abide with the king: for thou art a stranger, and also an exile.
20 Whereas thou camest but yesterday, should I this day make thee go up and down with us? seeing I go whither I may, return thou, and take back thy brethren: mercy and truth be with thee.
21 And Ittai answered the king, and said, As the LORD liveth, and as my lord the king liveth, surely in what place my lord the king shall be, whether in death or life, even there also will thy servant be.
22 And David said to Ittai, Go and pass over. And Ittai the Gittite passed over, and all his men, and all the little ones that were with him.
23 And all the country wept with a loud voice, and all the people passed over: the king also himself passed over the brook Kidron, and all the people passed over, toward the way of the wilderness.
24 And lo Zadok also, and all the Levites were with him, bearing the ark of the covenant of God: and they set down the ark of God; and Abiathar went up, until all the people had done passing out of the city.
25 And the king said unto Zadok, Carry back the ark of God into the city: if I shall find favour in the eyes of the LORD, he will bring me again, and shew me both it, and his habitation:
26 But if he thus say, I have no delight in thee; behold, here am I, let him do to me as seemeth good unto him.
27 The king said also unto Zadok the priest, Art not thou a seer? return into the city in peace, and your two sons with you, Ahimaaz thy son, and Jonathan the son of Abiathar.
28 See, I will tarry in the plain of the wilderness, until there come word from you to certify me.
29 Zadok therefore and Abiathar carried the ark of God again to Jerusalem: and they tarried there.
30 And David went up by the ascent of mount Olivet, and wept as he went up, and had his head covered, and he went barefoot: and all the people that was with him covered every man his head, and they went up, weeping as they went up.
31 And one told David, saying, Ahithophel is among the conspirators with Absalom. And David said, O LORD, I pray thee, turn the counsel of Ahithophel into foolishness.
32 And it came to pass, that when David was come to the top of the mount, where he worshipped God, behold, Hushai the Archite came to meet him with his coat rent, and earth upon his head:
33 Unto whom David said, If thou passest on with me, then thou shalt be a burden unto me:
34 But if thou return to the city, and say unto Absalom, I will be thy servant, O king; as I have been thy father's servant hitherto, so will I now also be thy servant: then mayest thou for me defeat the counsel of Ahithophel.
35 And hast thou not there with thee Zadok and Abiathar the priests? therefore it shall be, that what thing soever thou shalt hear out of the king's house, thou shalt tell it to Zadok and Abiathar the priests.
36 Behold, they have there with them their two sons, Ahimaaz Zadok's son, and Jonathan Abiathar's son; and by them ye shall send unto me every thing that ye can hear.
37 So Hushai David's friend came into the city, and Absalom came into Jerusalem.

2 SAMUEL CHAPTER 16

1 And when David was a little past the top of the hill, behold, Ziba the servant of Mephibosheth met him, with a couple of asses saddled, and upon them two hundred loaves of bread, and an hundred bunches of raisins, and an hundred of summer fruits, and a bottle of wine.
2 And the king said unto Ziba, What meanest thou by these? And Ziba said, The asses be for the king's household to ride on; and the bread and summer fruit for the young men to eat; and the wine, that such as be faint in the wilderness may drink.
3 And the king said, And where is thy master's son? And Ziba said unto the king, Behold, he abideth at Jerusalem: for he said, To day shall the house of Israel restore me the kingdom of my father.
4 Then said the king to Ziba, Behold, thine are all that pertained unto Mephibosheth. And Ziba said, I humbly beseech thee that I may find grace in thy sight, my lord, O king.
5 And when king David came to Bahurim, behold, thence came out a man of the family of the house of Saul, whose name was Shimei, the son of Gera: he came forth, and cursed still as he came.
6 And he cast stones at David, and at all the servants of king David: and all the people and all the mighty men were on his right hand and on his left.
7 And thus said Shimei when he cursed, Come out, come out, thou bloody man, and thou man of Belial:
8 The LORD hath returned upon thee all the blood of the house of Saul, in whose stead thou hast reigned; and the LORD hath delivered the kingdom into the hand of Absalom thy son: and, behold, thou art taken in thy mischief, because thou art a bloody man.
9 Then said Abishai the son of Zeruiah unto the king, Why should this dead dog curse my lord the king? let me go over, I pray thee, and take off his head.
10 And the king said, What have I to do with you, ye sons of Zeruiah? so let him curse, because the LORD hath said unto him, Curse David. Who shall then say, Wherefore hast thou done so?
11 And David said to Abishai, and to all his servants, Behold, my son, which came forth of my bowels, seeketh my life: how much more now may this Benjamite do it? let him alone, and let him curse; for the LORD hath bidden him.
12 It may be that the LORD will look on mine affliction, and that the LORD will requite me good for his cursing this day.
13 And as David and his men went by the way, Shimei went along on the hill's side over against him, and cursed as he went, and threw stones at him, and cast dust.
14 And the king, and all the people that were with him, came weary, and refreshed themselves there.
15 And Absalom, and all the people the men of Israel, came to Jerusalem, and Ahithophel with him.
16 And it came to pass, when Hushai the Archite, David's friend, was come unto Absalom, that Hushai said unto Absalom, God save the king, God save the king.
17 And Absalom said to Hushai, Is this thy kindness to thy friend? why wentest thou not with thy friend?
18 And Hushai said unto Absalom, Nay; but whom the LORD, and this people, and all the men of Israel, choose, his will I be, and with him will I abide.
19 And again, whom should I serve? should I not serve in the presence of his son? as I have served in thy father's presence, so will I be in thy presence.
20 Then said Absalom to Ahithophel, Give counsel among you what we shall do.
21 And Ahithophel said unto Absalom, Go in unto thy father's concubines, which he hath left to keep the house; and all Israel shall hear that thou art abhorred of thy father: then shall the hands of all that are with thee be strong.
22 So they spread Absalom a tent upon the top of the house; and Absalom went in unto his father's concubines in the sight of all Israel.
23 And the counsel of Ahithophel, which he counselled in those days, was as if a man had enquired at the oracle of God: so was all the counsel of Ahithophel both with David and with Absalom.

2 SAMUEL CHAPTER 17

1 Moreover Ahithophel said unto Absalom, Let me now choose out twelve thousand men, and I will arise and pursue after David this night:
2 And I will come upon him while he is weary and weak handed, and will make him afraid: and all the people that are with him shall flee; and I will smite the king only:

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3 And I will bring back all the people unto thee: the man whom thou seekest is as if all returned: so all the people shall be in peace.

4 And the saying pleased Absalom well, and all the elders of Israel.

5 Then said Absalom, Call now Hushai the Archite also, and let us hear likewise what he saith.

6 And when Hushai was come to Absalom, Absalom spake unto him, saying, Ahithophel hath spoken after this manner: shall we do after his saying? if not; speak thou.

7 And Hushai said unto Absalom, The counsel that Ahithophel hath given is not good at this time.

8 For, said Hushai, thou knowest thy father and his men, that they be mighty men, and they be chafed in their minds, as a bear robbed of her whelps in the field: and thy father is a man of war, and will not lodge with the people.

9 Behold, he is hid now in some pit, or in some other place: and it will come to pass, when some of them be overthrown at the first, that whosoever heareth it will say, There is a slaughter among the people that follow Absalom.

10 And he also that is valiant, whose heart is as the heart of a lion, shall utterly melt: for all Israel knoweth that thy father is a mighty man, and they which be with him are valiant men.

11 Therefore I counsel that all Israel be generally gathered unto thee, from Dan even to Beersheba, as the sand that is by the sea for multitude; and that thou go to battle in thine own person.

12 So shall we come upon him in some place where he shall be found, and we will light upon him as the dew falleth on the ground: and of him and of all the men that are with him there shall not be left so much as one.

13 Moreover, if he be gotten into a city, then shall all Israel bring ropes to that city, and we will draw it into the river, until there be not one small stone found there.

14 And Absalom and all the men of Israel said, The counsel of Hushai the Archite is better than the counsel of Ahithophel. For the LORD had appointed to defeat the good counsel of Ahithophel, to the intent that the LORD might bring evil upon Absalom.

15 Then said Hushai unto Zadok and to Abiathar the priests, Thus and thus did Ahithophel counsel Absalom and the elders of Israel; and thus and thus have I counselled.

16 Now therefore send quickly, and tell David, saying, Lodge not this night in the plains of the wilderness, but speedily pass over; lest the king be swallowed up, and all the people that are with him.

17 Now Jonathan and Ahimaaz stayed by Enrogel; for they might not be seen to come into the city: and a wench went and told them; and they went and told king David.

18 Nevertheless a lad saw them, and told Absalom: but they went both of them away quickly, and came to a man's house in Bahurim, which had a well in his court; whither they went down.

19 And the woman took and spread a covering over the well's mouth, and spread ground corn thereon; and the thing was not known.

20 And when Absalom's servants came to the woman to the house, they said, Where is Ahimaaz and Jonathan? And the woman said unto them, They be gone over the brook of water. And when they had sought and could not find them, they returned to Jerusalem.

21 And it came to pass, after they were departed, that they came up out of the well, and went and told king David, and said unto David, Arise, and pass quickly over the water: for thus hath Ahithophel counselled against you.

22 Then David arose, and all the people that were with him, and they passed over Jordan: by the morning light there lacked not one of them that was not gone over Jordan.

23 And when Ahithophel saw that his counsel was not followed, he saddled his ass, and arose, and gat him home to his house, to his city, and put his household in order, and hanged himself, and died, and was buried in the sepulchre of his father.

24 Then David came to Mahanaim. And Absalom passed over Jordan, he and all the men of Israel with him.

25 And Absalom made Amasa captain of the host instead of Joab: which Amasa was a man's son, whose name was Ithra an Israelite, that went in to Abigail the daughter of Nahash, sister to Zeruiah Joab's mother.

26 So Israel and Absalom pitched in the land of Gilead.

27 And it came to pass, when David was come to Mahanaim, that Shobi the son of Nahash of Rabbah of the children of Ammon, and Machir the son of Ammiel of Lodebar, and Barzillai the Gileadite of Rogelim,

28 Brought beds, and basons, and earthen vessels, and wheat, and barley, and flour, and parched corn, and beans, and lentiles, and parched pulse,

29 And honey, and butter, and sheep, and cheese of kine, for David, and for the people that were with him, to eat: for they said, The people is hungry, and weary, and thirsty, in the wilderness.

2 SAMUEL CHAPTER 18

1 And David numbered the people that were with him, and set captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds over them.

2 And David sent forth a third part of the people under the hand of Joab, and a third part under the hand of Abishai the son of Zeruiah, Joab's brother, and a third part under the hand of Ittai the Gittite. And the king said unto the people, I will surely go forth with you myself also.

3 But the people answered, Thou shalt not go forth: for if we flee away, they will not care for us; neither if half of us die, will they care for us: but now thou art worth ten thousand of us: therefore now it is better that thou succour us out of the city.

4 And the king said unto them, What seemeth you best I will do. And the king stood by the gate side, and all the people came out by hundreds and by thousands.

5 And the king commanded Joab and Abishai and Ittai, saying, Deal gently for my sake with the young man, even with Absalom. And all the people heard when the king gave all the captains charge concerning Absalom.

6 So the people went out into the field against Israel: and the battle was in the wood of Ephraim;

7 Where the people of Israel were slain before the servants of David, and there was there a great slaughter that day of twenty thousand men.

8 For the battle was there scattered over the face of all the country: and the wood devoured more people that day than the sword devoured.

9 And Absalom met the servants of David. And Absalom rode upon a mule, and the mule went under the thick boughs of a great oak, and his head caught hold of the oak, and he was taken up between the heaven and the earth; and the mule that was under him went away.

10 And a certain man saw it, and told Joab, and said, Behold, I saw Absalom hanged in an oak.

11 And Joab said unto the man that told him, And, behold, thou sawest him, and why didst thou not smite him there to the ground? and I would have given thee ten shekels of silver, and a girdle.

12 And the man said unto Joab, Though I should receive a thousand shekels of silver in mine hand, yet would I not put forth mine hand against the king's son: for in our hearing the king charged thee and Abishai and Ittai, saying, Beware that none touch the young man Absalom.

13 Otherwise I should have wrought falsehood against mine own life: for there is no matter hid from the king, and thou thyself wouldest have set thyself against me.

14 Then said Joab, I may not tarry thus with thee. And he took three darts in his hand, and thrust them through the heart of Absalom, while he was yet alive in the midst of the oak.

15 And ten young men that bare Joab's armour compassed about and smote Absalom, and slew him.

16 And Joab blew the trumpet, and the people returned from pursuing after Israel: for Joab held back the people.

17 And they took Absalom, and cast him into a great pit in the wood, and laid a very great heap of stones upon him: and all Israel fled every one to his tent.

18 Now Absalom in his lifetime had taken and reared up for himself a pillar, which is in the king's dale: for he said, I have no son to keep my name in remembrance: and he called the pillar after his own name: and it is called unto this day, Absalom's place.

19 Then said Ahimaaz the son of Zadok, Let me now run, and bear the king tidings, how that the LORD hath avenged him of his enemies.

20 And Joab said unto him, Thou shalt not bear tidings this day, but thou shalt bear tidings another day: but this day thou shalt bear no tidings, because the king's son is dead.

21 Then said Joab to Cushi, Go tell the king what thou hast seen. And Cushi bowed himself unto Joab, and ran.

22 Then said Ahimaaz the son of Zadok yet again to Joab, But howsoever, let me, I pray thee, also run after Cushi. And Joab said, Wherefore wilt thou run, my son, seeing that thou hast no tidings ready?

23 But howsoever, said he, let me run. And he said unto him, Run. Then Ahimaaz ran by the way of the plain, and overran Cushi.

24 And David sat between the two gates: and the watchman went up to the roof over the gate unto the wall, and lifted up his eyes, and looked, and behold a man running alone.

25 And the watchman cried, and told the king. And the king said, If he be alone, there is tidings in his mouth. And he came apace, and drew near.

26 And the watchman saw another man running: and the watchman called unto the porter, and said, Behold another man running alone. And the king said, He also bringeth tidings.

27 And the watchman said, Me thinketh the running of the foremost is like the running of Ahimaaz the son of Zadok. And the king said, He is a good man, and cometh with good tidings.

28 And Ahimaaz called, and said unto the king, All is well. And he fell down to the earth upon his face before the king, and said, Blessed be the LORD thy God, which hath delivered up the men that lifted up their hand against my lord the king.

29 And the king said, Is the young man Absalom safe? And Ahimaaz answered, When Joab sent the king's servant, and me thy servant, I saw a great tumult, but I knew not what it was.

30 And the king said unto him, Turn aside, and stand here. And he turned aside, and stood still.

31 And, behold, Cushi came; and Cushi said, Tidings, my lord the king: for the LORD hath avenged thee this day of all them that rose up against thee.

32 And the king said unto Cushi, Is the young man Absalom safe? And Cushi answered, The enemies of my lord the king, and all that rise against thee to do thee hurt, be as that young man is.

33 And the king was much moved, and went up to the chamber over the gate, and wept: and as he went, thus he said, O my son Absalom, my son, my son Absalom! would God I had died for thee, O Absalom, my son, my son!

2 SAMUEL CHAPTER 19

1 And it was told Joab, Behold, the king weepeth and mourneth for Absalom.

2 And the victory that day was turned into mourning unto all the people: for the people heard say that day how the king was grieved for his son.

3 And the people gat them by stealth that day into the city, as people being ashamed steal away when they flee in battle.

4 But the king covered his face, and the king cried with a loud voice, O my son Absalom, O Absalom, my son, my son!

5 And Joab came into the house to the king, and said, Thou hast shamed this day the faces of all thy servants, which this day have saved thy life, and the lives of thy sons and of thy daughters, and the lives of thy wives, and the lives of thy concubines;

6 In that thou lovest thine enemies, and hatest thy friends. For thou hast declared this day, that thou regardest neither princes nor servants: for this day I perceive, that if Absalom had lived, and all we had died this day, then it had pleased thee well.

7 Now therefore arise, go forth, and speak comfortably unto thy servants: for I swear by the LORD, if thou go not forth, there will not tarry one with thee this night: and that will be worse unto thee than all the evil that befell thee from thy youth until now.

8 Then the king arose, and sat in the gate. And they told unto all the people, saying, Behold, the king doth sit in the gate. And all the people came before the king: for Israel had fled every man to his tent.

9 And all the people were at strife throughout all the tribes of Israel, saying, The king saved us out of the hand of our enemies, and he delivered us out of the hand of the Philistines; and now he is fled out of the land for Absalom.

10 And Absalom, whom we anointed over us, is dead in battle. Now therefore why speak ye not a word of bringing the king back?

11 And king David sent to Zadok and to Abiathar the priests, saying, Speak unto the elders of Judah, saying, Why are ye the last to bring the king back to his house? seeing the speech of all Israel is come to the king, even to his house.

12 Ye are my brethren, ye are my bones and my flesh: wherefore then are ye the last to bring back the king?

13 And say ye to Amasa, Art thou not of my bone, and of my flesh? God do so to me, and more also, if thou be not captain of the host before me continually in the room of Joab.

14 And he bowed the heart of all the men of Judah, even as the heart of one man; so that they sent this word unto the king, Return thou, and all thy servants.

15 So the king returned, and came to Jordan. And Judah came to Gilgal, to go to meet the king, to conduct the king over Jordan.

16 And Shimei the son of Gera, a Benjamite, which was of Bahurim, hasted and came down with the men of Judah to meet king David.

17 And there were a thousand men of Benjamin with him, and Ziba the servant of the house of Saul, and his fifteen sons and his twenty servants with him; and they went over Jordan before the king.

18 And there went over a ferry boat to carry over the king's household, and to do what he thought good. And Shimei the son of Gera fell down before the king, as he was come over Jordan;

19 And said unto the king, Let not my lord impute iniquity unto me, neither do thou remember that which thy servant did perversely the day that my lord the king went out of Jerusalem, that the king should take it to his heart.

20 For thy servant doth know that I have sinned: therefore, behold, I am come the first this day of all the house of Joseph to go down to meet my lord the king.

21 But Abishai the son of Zeruiah answered and said, Shall not Shimei be put to death for this, because he cursed the LORD's anointed?

22 And David said, What have I to do with you, ye sons of Zeruiah, that ye should this day be adversaries unto me? shall

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there any man be put to death this day in Israel? for do not I know that I am this day king over Israel?

23 Therefore the king said unto Shimei, Thou shalt not die. And the king sware unto him.

24 And Mephibosheth the son of Saul came down to meet the king, and had neither dressed his feet, nor trimmed his beard, nor washed his clothes, from the day the king departed until the day he came again in peace.

25 And it came to pass, when he was come to Jerusalem to meet the king, that the king said unto him, Wherefore wentest not thou with me, Mephibosheth?

26 And he answered, My lord, O king, my servant deceived me: for thy servant said, I will saddle me an ass, that I may ride thereon, and go to the king; because thy servant is lame.

27 And he hath slandered thy servant unto my lord the king; but my lord the king is as an angel of God: do therefore what is good in thine eyes.

28 For all of my father's house were but dead men before my lord the king: yet didst thou set thy servant among them that did eat at thine own table. What right therefore have I yet to cry any more unto the king?

29 And the king said unto him, Why speakest thou any more of thy matters? I have said, Thou and Ziba divide the land.

30 And Mephibosheth said unto the king, Yea, let him take all, forasmuch as my lord the king is come again in peace unto his own house.

31 And Barzillai the Gileadite came down from Rogelim, and went over Jordan with the king, to conduct him over Jordan.

32 Now Barzillai was a very aged man, even fourscore years old: and he had provided the king of sustenance while he lay at Mahanaim; for he was a very great man.

33 And the king said unto Barzillai, Come thou over with me, and I will feed thee with me in Jerusalem.

34 And Barzillai said unto the king, How long have I to live, that I should go up with the king unto Jerusalem?

35 I am this day fourscore years old: and can I discern between good and evil? can thy servant taste what I eat or what I drink? can I hear any more the voice of singing men and singing women? wherefore then should thy servant be yet a burden unto my lord the king?

36 Thy servant will go a little way over Jordan with the king: and why should the king recompense it me with such a reward?

37 Let thy servant, I pray thee, turn back again, that I may die in mine own city, and be buried by the grave of my father and of my mother. But behold thy servant Chimham; let him go over with my lord the king; and do to him what shall seem good unto thee.

38 And the king answered, Chimham shall go over with me, and I will do to him that which shall seem good unto thee: and whatsoever thou shalt require of me, that will I do for thee.

39 And all the people went over Jordan. And when the king was come over, the king kissed Barzillai, and blessed him; and he returned unto his own place.

40 Then the king went on to Gilgal, and Chimham went on with him: and all the people of Judah conducted the king, and also half the people of Israel.

41 And, behold, all the men of Israel came to the king, and said unto the king, Why have our brethren the men of Judah stolen thee away, and have brought the king, and his household, and all David's men with him, over Jordan?

42 And all the men of Judah answered the men of Israel, Because the king is near of kin to us: wherefore then be ye angry for this matter? have we eaten at all of the king's cost? or hath he given us any gift?

43 And the men of Israel answered the men of Judah, and said, We have ten parts in the king, and we have also more right in David than ye: why then did ye despise us, that our advice should not be first had in bringing back our king? And the words of the men of Judah were fiercer than the words of the men of Israel.

2 SAMUEL CHAPTER 20

1 And there happened to be there a man of Belial, whose name was Sheba, the son of Bichri, a Benjamite: and he blew a trumpet, and said, We have no part in David, neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse: every man to his tents, O Israel.

2 So every man of Israel went up from after David, and followed Sheba the son of Bichri: but the men of Judah clave unto their king, from Jordan even to Jerusalem.

3 And David came to his house at Jerusalem; and the king took the ten women his concubines, whom he had left to keep the house, and put them in ward, and fed them, but went not in unto them. So they were shut up unto the day of their death, living in widowhood.

4 Then said the king to Amasa, Assemble me the men of Judah within three days, and be thou here present.

5 So Amasa went to assemble the men of Judah: but he tarried longer than the set time which he had appointed him.

6 And David said to Abishai, Now shall Sheba the son of Bichri do us more harm than did Absalom: take thou thy lord's servants, and pursue after him, lest he get him fenced cities, and escape us.

7 And there went out after him Joab's men, and the Cherethites, and the Pelethites, and all the mighty men: and they went out of Jerusalem, to pursue after Sheba the son of Bichri.

8 When they were at the great stone which is in Gibeon, Amasa went before them. And Joab's garment that he had put on was girded unto him, and upon it a girdle with a sword fastened upon his loins in the sheath thereof; and as he went forth it fell out.

9 And Joab said to Amasa, Art thou in health, my brother? And Joab took Amasa by the beard with the right hand to kiss him.

10 But Amasa took no heed to the sword that was in Joab's hand: so he smote him therewith in the fifth rib, and shed out his bowels to the ground, and struck him not again; and he died. So Joab and Abishai his brother pursued after Sheba the son of Bichri.

11 And one of Joab's men stood by him, and said, He that favoureth Joab, and he that is for David, let him go after Joab.

12 And Amasa wallowed in blood in the midst of the highway. And when the man saw that all the people stood still, he removed Amasa out of the highway into the field, and cast a cloth upon him, when he saw that every one that came by him stood still.

13 When he was removed out of the highway, all the people went on after Joab, to pursue after Sheba the son of Bichri.

14 And he went through all the tribes of Israel unto Abel, and to Bethmaachah, and all the Berites: and they were gathered together, and went also after him.

15 And they came and besieged him in Abel of Bethmaachah, and they cast up a bank against the city, and it stood in the trench: and all the people that were with Joab battered the wall, to throw it down.

16 Then cried a wise woman out of the city, Hear, hear; say, I pray you, unto Joab, Come near hither, that I may speak with thee.

17 And when he was come near unto her, the woman said, Art thou Joab? And he answered, I am he. Then she said unto him, Hear the words of thine handmaid. And he answered, I do hear.

18 Then she spake, saying, They were wont to speak in old time, saying, They shall surely ask counsel at Abel: and so they ended the matter.

19 I am one of them that are peaceable and faithful in Israel: thou seekest to destroy a city and a mother in Israel: why wilt thou swallow up the inheritance of the LORD?

20 And Joab answered and said, Far be it, far be it from me, that I should swallow up or destroy.

21 The matter is not so: but a man of mount Ephraim, Sheba the son of Bichri by name, hath lifted up his hand against the king, even against David: deliver him only, and I will depart from the city. And the woman said unto Joab, Behold, his head shall be thrown to thee over the wall.

22 Then the woman went unto all the people in her wisdom. And they cut off the head of Sheba the son of Bichri, and cast it out to Joab. And he blew a trumpet, and they retired from the city, every man to his tent. And Joab returned to Jerusalem unto the king.

23 Now Joab was over all the host of Israel: and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada was over the Cherethites and over the Pelethites:

24 And Adoram was over the tribute: and Jehoshaphat the son of Ahilud was recorder:

25 And Sheva was scribe: and Zadok and Abiathar were the priests:

26 And Ira also the Jairite was a chief ruler about David.

2 SAMUEL CHAPTER 21

1 Then there was a famine in the days of David three years, year after year; and David enquired of the LORD. And the LORD answered, It is for Saul, and for his bloody house, because he slew the Gibeonites.

2 And the king called the Gibeonites, and said unto them; (now the Gibeonites were not of the children of Israel, but of the remnant of the Amorites; and the children of Israel had sworn unto them: and Saul sought to slay them in his zeal to the children of Israel and Judah.)

3 Wherefore David said unto the Gibeonites, What shall I do for you? and wherewith shall I make the atonement, that ye may bless the inheritance of the LORD?

4 And the Gibeonites said unto him, We will have no silver nor gold of Saul, nor of his house; neither for us shalt thou kill any man in Israel. And he said, What ye shall say, that will I do for you.

5 And they answered the king, The man that consumed us, and that devised against us that we should be destroyed from remaining in any of the coasts of Israel,

6 Let seven men of his sons be delivered unto us, and we will hang them up unto the LORD in Gibeah of Saul, whom the LORD did choose. And the king said, I will give them.

7 But the king spared Mephibosheth, the son of Jonathan the son of Saul, because of the LORD's oath that was between them, between David and Jonathan the son of Saul.

8 But the king took the two sons of Rizpah the daughter of Aiah, whom she bare unto Saul, Armoni and Mephibosheth; and the five sons of Michal the daughter of Saul, whom she brought up for Adriel the son of Barzillai the Meholathite:

9 And he delivered them into the hands of the Gibeonites, and they hanged them in the hill before the LORD: and they fell all seven together, and were put to death in the days of harvest, in the first days, in the beginning of barley harvest.

10 And Rizpah the daughter of Aiah took sackcloth, and spread it for her upon the rock, from the beginning of harvest until water dropped upon them out of heaven, and suffered neither the birds of the air to rest on them by day, nor the beasts of the field by night.

11 And it was told David what Rizpah the daughter of Aiah, the concubine of Saul, had done.

12 And David went and took the bones of Saul and the bones of Jonathan his son from the men of Jabeshgilead, which had stolen them from the street of Bethshan, where the Philistines had hanged them, when the Philistines had slain Saul in Gilboa:

13 And he brought up from thence the bones of Saul and the bones of Jonathan his son; and they gathered the bones of them that were hanged.

14 And the bones of Saul and Jonathan his son buried they in the country of Benjamin in Zelah, in the sepulchre of Kish his father: and they performed all that the king commanded. And after that God was intreated for the land.

15 Moreover the Philistines had yet war again with Israel; and David went down, and his servants with him, and fought against the Philistines: and David waxed faint.

16 And Ishbibenob, which was of the sons of the giant, the weight of whose spear weighed three hundred shekels of brass in weight, he being girded with a new sword, thought to have slain David.

17 But Abishai the son of Zeruiah succoured him, and smote the Philistine, and killed him. Then the men of David sware unto him, saying, Thou shalt go no more out with us to battle, that thou quench not the light of Israel.

18 And it came to pass after this, that there was again a battle with the Philistines at Gob: then Sibbechai the Hushathite slew Saph, which was of the sons of the giant.

19 And there was again a battle in Gob with the Philistines, where Elhanan the son of Jaareoregim, a Bethlehemite, slew the brother of Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam.

20 And there was yet a battle in Gath, where was a man of great stature, that had on every hand six fingers, and on every foot six toes, four and twenty in number; and he also was born to the giant.

21 And when he defied Israel, Jonathan the son of Shimeah the brother of David slew him.

22 These four were born to the giant in Gath, and fell by the hand of David, and by the hand of his servants.

2 SAMUEL CHAPTER 22

1 And David spake unto the LORD the words of this song in the day that the LORD had delivered him out of the hand of all his enemies, and out of the hand of Saul:

2 And he said, The LORD is my rock, and my fortress, and my deliverer;

3 The God of my rock; in him will I trust: he is my shield, and the horn of my salvation, my high tower, and my refuge, my saviour; thou savest me from violence.

4 I will call on the LORD, who is worthy to be praised: so shall I be saved from mine enemies.

5 When the waves of death compassed me, the floods of ungodly men made me afraid;

6 The sorrows of hell compassed me about; the snares of death prevented me;

7 In my distress I called upon the LORD, and cried to my God: and he did hear my voice out of his temple, and my cry did enter into his ears.

8 Then the earth shook and trembled; the foundations of heaven moved and shook, because he was wroth.

9 There went up a smoke out of his nostrils, and fire out of his mouth devoured: coals were kindled by it.

10 He bowed the heavens also, and came down; and darkness was under his feet.

11 And he rode upon a cherub, and did fly: and he was seen upon the wings of the wind.

12 And he made darkness pavilions round about him, dark waters, and thick clouds of the skies.

13 Through the brightness before him were coals of fire kindled.

14 The LORD thundered from heaven, and the most High uttered his voice.

15 And he sent out arrows, and scattered them; lightning, and discomfited them.

16 And the channels of the sea appeared, the foundations of the world were discovered, at the rebuking of the LORD, at the blast of the breath of his nostrils.

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17 He sent from above, he took me; he drew me out of many waters;
18 He delivered me from my strong enemy, and from them that hated me: for they were too strong for me.
19 They prevented me in the day of my calamity: but the LORD was my stay.
20 He brought me forth also into a large place: he delivered me, because he delighted in me.
21 The LORD rewarded me according to my righteousness: according to the cleanness of my hands hath he recompensed me.
22 For I have kept the ways of the LORD, and have not wickedly departed from my God.
23 For all his judgements were before me: and as for his statutes, I did not depart from them.
24 I was also upright before him, and have kept myself from mine iniquity.
25 Therefore the LORD hath recompensed me according to my righteousness; according to my cleanness in his eye sight.
26 With the merciful thou wilt shew thyself merciful, and with the upright man thou wilt shew thyself upright.
27 With the pure thou wilt shew thyself pure; and with the froward thou wilt shew thyself unsavoury.
28 And the afflicted people thou wilt save: but thine eyes are upon the haughty, that thou mayest bring them down.
29 For thou art my lamp, O LORD: and the LORD will lighten my darkness.
30 For by thee I have run through a troop: by my God have I leaped over a wall.
31 As for God, his way is perfect; the word of the LORD is tried: he is a buckler to all them that trust in him.
32 For who is God, save the LORD? and who is a rock, save our God?
33 God is my strength and power: and he maketh my way perfect.
34 He maketh my feet like hinds' feet: and setteth me upon my high places.
35 He teacheth my hands to war; so that a bow of steel is broken by mine arms.
36 Thou hast also given me the shield of thy salvation: and thy gentleness hath made me great.
37 Thou hast enlarged my steps under me; so that my feet did not slip.
38 I have pursued mine enemies, and destroyed them; and turned not again until I had consumed them.
39 And I have consumed them, and wounded them, that they could not arise: yea, they are fallen under my feet.
40 For thou hast girded me with strength to battle: them that rose up against me hast thou subdued under me.
41 Thou hast also given me the necks of mine enemies, that I might destroy them that hate me.
42 They looked, but there was none to save; even unto the LORD, but he answered them not.
43 Then did I beat them as small as the dust of the earth, I did stamp them as the mire of the street, and did spread them abroad.
44 Thou also hast delivered me from the strivings of my people, thou hast kept me to be head of the heathen: a people which I knew not shall serve me.
45 Strangers shall submit themselves unto me: as soon as they hear, they shall be obedient unto me.
46 Strangers shall fade away, and they shall be afraid out of their close places.
47 The LORD liveth; and blessed be my rock; and exalted be the God of the rock of my salvation.
48 It is God that avengeth me, and that bringeth down the people under me.
49 And that bringeth me forth from mine enemies: thou also hast lifted me up on high above them that rose up against me: thou hast delivered me from the violent man.
50 Therefore I will give thanks unto thee, O LORD, among the heathen, and I will sing praises unto thy name.
51 He is the tower of salvation for his king: and sheweth mercy to his anointed, unto David, and to his seed for evermore.

2 SAMUEL CHAPTER 23

1 Now these be the last words of David. David the son of Jesse said, and the man who was raised up on high, the anointed of the God of Jacob, and the sweet psalmist of Israel, said,
2 The Spirit of the LORD spake by me, and his word was in my tongue.
3 The God of Israel said, the Rock of Israel spake to me, He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God.
4 And he shall be as the light of the morning, when the sun riseth, even a morning without clouds; as the tender grass springing out of the earth by clear shining after rain.
5 Although my house be not so with God; yet he hath made with me an everlasting covenant, ordered in all things, and sure: for this is all my salvation, and all my desire, although he make it not to grow.
6 But the sons of Belial shall be all of them as thorns thrust away, because they cannot be taken with hands:
7 But the man that shall touch them must be fenced with iron and the staff of a spear; and they shall be utterly burned with fire in the same place.
8 These be the names of the mighty men whom David had: The Tachmonite that sat in the seat, chief among the captains; the same was Adino the Eznite: he lift up his spear against eight hundred, whom he slew at one time.
9 And after him was Eleazar the son of Dodo the Ahohite, one of the three mighty men with David, when they defied the Philistines that were there gathered together to battle, and the men of Israel were gone away:
10 He arose, and smote the Philistines until his hand was weary, and his hand clave unto the sword: and the LORD wrought a great victory that day; and the people returned after him only to spoil.
11 And after him was Shammah the son of Agee the Hararite. And the Philistines were gathered together into a troop, where was a piece of ground full of lentiles: and the people fled from the Philistines.
12 But he stood in the midst of the ground, and defended it, and slew the Philistines: and the LORD wrought a great victory.
13 And three of the thirty chief went down, and came to David in the harvest time unto the cave of Adullam: and the troop of the Philistines pitched in the valley of Rephaim.
14 And David was then in an hold, and the garrison of the Philistines was then in Bethlehem.
15 And David longed, and said, Oh that one would give me drink of the water of the well of Bethlehem, which is by the gate!
16 And the three mighty men brake through the host of the Philistines, and drew water out of the well of Bethlehem, that was by the gate, and took it, and brought it to David: nevertheless he would not drink thereof, but poured it out unto the LORD.
17 And he said, Be it far from me, O LORD, that I should do this: is not this the blood of the men that went in jeopardy of their lives? therefore he would not drink it. These things did these three mighty men.
18 And Abishai, the brother of Joab, the son of Zeruiah, was chief among three. And he lifted up his spear against three hundred, and slew them, and had the name among three.
19 Was he not most honourable of three? therefore he was their captain: howbeit he attained not unto the first three.
20 And Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, the son of a valiant man, of Kabzeel, who had done many acts, he slew two lionlike men of Moab: he went down also and slew a lion in the midst of a pit in time of snow:
21 And he slew an Egyptian, a goodly man: and the Egyptian had a spear in his hand; but he went down to him with a staff, and plucked the spear out of the Egyptian's hand, and slew him with his own spear.
22 These things did Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, and had the name among three mighty men.
23 He was more honourable than the thirty, but he attained not to the first three. And David set him over his guard.
24 Asahel the brother of Joab was one of the thirty; Elhanan the son of Dodo of Bethlehem,
25 Shammah the Harodite, Elika the Harodite,
26 Helez the Paltite, Ira the son of Ikkesh the Tekoite,
27 Abiezer the Anethothite, Mebunnai the Hushathite,
28 Zalmon the Ahohite, Maharai the Netophathite,
29 Heleb the son of Baanah, a Netophathite, Ittai the son of Ribai out of Gibeah of the children of Benjamin,
30 Benaiah the Pirathonite, Hiddai of the brooks of Gaash,
31 Abialbon the Arbathite, Azmaveth the Barhumite,
32 Eliahba the Shaalbonite, of the sons of Jashen, Jonathan,
33 Shammah the Hararite, Ahiam the son of Sharar the Hararite,
34 Eliphelet the son of Ahasbai, the son of the Maachathite, Eliam the son of Ahithophel the Gilonite,
35 Hezrai the Carmelite, Paarai the Arbite,
36 Igal the son of Nathan of Zobah, Bani the Gadite,
37 Zelek the Ammonite, Nahari the Beerothite, armourbearer to Joab the son of Zeruiah,
38 Ira an Ithrite, Gareb an Ithrite,
39 Uriah the Hittite: thirty and seven in all.

2 SAMUEL CHAPTER 24

1 And again the anger of the LORD was kindled against Israel, and he moved David against them to say, Go, number Israel and Judah.
2 For the king said to Joab the captain of the host, which was with him, Go now through all the tribes of Israel, from Dan even to Beersheba, and number ye the people, that I may know the number of the people.
3 And Joab said unto the king, Now the LORD thy God add unto the people, how many soever they be, an hundredfold, and that the eyes of my lord the king may see it: but why doth my lord the king delight in this thing?
4 Notwithstanding the king's word prevailed against Joab, and against the captains of the host. And Joab and the captains of the host went out from the presence of the king, to number the people of Israel.
5 And they passed over Jordan, and pitched in Aroer, on the right side of the city that lieth in the midst of the river of Gad, and toward Jazer:
6 Then they came to Gilead, and to the land of Tahtimhodshi; and they came to Danjaan, and about to Zidon,
7 And came to the strong hold of Tyre, and to all the cities of the Hivites, and of the Canaanites: and they went out to the south of Judah, even to Beersheba.
8 So when they had gone through all the land, they came to Jerusalem at the end of nine months and twenty days.
9 And Joab gave up the sum of the number of the people unto the king: and there were in Israel eight hundred thousand valiant men that drew the sword; and the men of Judah were five hundred thousand men.
10 And David's heart smote him after that he had numbered the people. And David said unto the LORD, I have sinned greatly in that I have done: and now, I beseech thee, O LORD, take away the iniquity of thy servant; for I have done very foolishly.
11 For when David was up in the morning, the word of the LORD came unto the prophet Gad, David's seer, saying,
12 Go and say unto David, Thus saith the LORD, I offer thee three things; choose thee one of them, that I may do it unto thee.
13 So Gad came to David, and told him, and said unto him, Shall seven years of famine come unto thee in thy land? or wilt thou flee three months before thine enemies, while they pursue thee? or that there be three days' pestilence in thy land? now advise, and see what answer I shall return to him that sent me.
14 And David said unto Gad, I am in a great strait: let us fall now into the hand of the LORD; for his mercies are great: and let me not fall into the hand of man.
15 So the LORD sent a pestilence upon Israel from the morning even to the time appointed: and there died of the people from Dan even to Beersheba seventy thousand men.
16 And when the angel stretched out his hand upon Jerusalem to destroy it, the LORD repented him of the evil, and said to the angel that destroyed the people, It is enough: stay now thine hand. And the angel of the LORD was by the threshingplace of Araunah the Jebusite.
17 And David spake unto the LORD when he saw the angel that smote the people, and said, Lo, I have sinned, and I have done wickedly: but these sheep, what have they done? let thine hand, I pray thee, be against me, and against my father's house.
18 And Gad came that day to David, and said unto him, Go up, rear an altar unto the LORD in the threshingfloor of Araunah the Jebusite.
19 And David, according to the saying of Gad, went up as the LORD commanded.
20 And Araunah looked, and saw the king and his servants coming on toward him: and Araunah went out, and bowed himself before the king on his face upon the ground.
21 And Araunah said, Wherefore is my lord the king come to his servant? And David said, To buy the threshingfloor of thee, to build an altar unto the LORD, that the plague may be stayed from the people.
22 And Araunah said unto David, Let my lord the king take and offer up what seemeth good unto him: behold, here be oxen for burnt sacrifice, and threshing instruments and other instruments of the oxen for wood.
23 All these things did Araunah, as a king, give unto the king. And Araunah said unto the king, The LORD thy God accept thee.
24 And the king said unto Araunah, Nay; but I will surely buy it of thee at a price: neither will I offer burnt offerings unto the LORD my God of that which doth cost me nothing. So David bought the threshingfloor and the oxen for fifty shekels of silver.
25 And David built there an altar unto the LORD, and offered burnt offerings and peace offerings. So the LORD was intreated for the land, and the plague was stayed from Israel.

THE FIRST BOOK OF KINGS

Hebrew Title: Melakhim 1
(in some Bibles also called The Third Book of Kings;
the previous two Books of Samuel bear then the names
The First and the Second Book of Kings)
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 7th–6th century B.C

(The Book of Kings is the ninth book of the Hebrew Bible or the eleventh and twelfth books of the Christian Old Testament. It concludes the Deuteronomistic history, a history of Israel also comprising the books of Joshua and Judges and the Book of Samuel, which biblical commentators believe was written to provide a theological explanation for the destruction of the Kingdom of Judah by Babylon in c. 586 BC and a foundation for a return from exile. The two books of Kings present a history of ancient Israel and Judah from the death of King David to the release of Jehoiachin from imprisonment in Babylon, a period of some 400 years (c. 960 – c. 560 BC).

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1 and 2 Kings, like 1 and 2 Samuel and 1 and 2 Books of Chronicles are actually one book. It was simply called "Kings." However, it was divided into two books by the translators of the Septuagint (the Greek translation of the Old Testament), and so it was written as 1 and 2 Kings by the Latin translation and many other versions. In those Bibles in which the Book of Samuel is called 1 and 2 Kings, the Book of Kings is called 3 and 4 Kings.

According to text style and contents, scholars suppose that it was written between the 7th and the 6th century BC. It is not known for sure who is the author (writer) of 1,2 Kings. The author knew the book of Deuteronomy. He also used lots of sources, like "the books of the annals of Solomon" (11:41, NIV), "the book of the annals of the kings of Israel" (14:19 NIV), and "the book of the annals of the kings of Judah" (14:29 NIV)". Probably other sources were used as well.)

1 KINGS CHAPTER 1

1 Now king David was old and stricken in years; and they covered him with clothes, but he gat no heat.

2 Wherefore his servants said unto him, Let there be sought for my lord the king a young virgin: and let her stand before the king, and let her cherish him, and let her lie in thy bosom, that my lord the king may get heat.

3 So they sought for a fair damsel throughout all the coasts of Israel, and found Abishag a Shunammite, and brought her to the king.

4 And the damsel was very fair, and cherished the king, and ministered to him: but the king knew her not.

5 Then Adonijah the son of Haggith exalted himself, saying, I will be king: and he prepared him chariots and horsemen, and fifty men to run before him.

6 And his father had not displeased him at any time in saying, Why hast thou done so? and he also was a very goodly man; and his mother bare him after Absalom.

7 And he conferred with Joab the son of Zeruiah, and with Abiathar the priest: and they following Adonijah helped him.

8 But Zadok the priest, and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, and Nathan the prophet, and Shimei, and Rei, and the mighty men which belonged to David, were not with Adonijah.

9 And Adonijah slew sheep and oxen and fat cattle by the stone of Zoheleth, which is by Enrogel, and called all his brethren the king's sons, and all the men of Judah the king's servants:

10 But Nathan the prophet, and Benaiah, and the mighty men, and Solomon his brother, he called not.

11 Wherefore Nathan spake unto Bathsheba the mother of Solomon, saying, Hast thou not heard that Adonijah the son of Haggith doth reign, and David our lord knoweth it not?

12 Now therefore come, let me, I pray thee, give thee counsel, that thou mayest save thine own life, and the life of thy son Solomon.

13 Go and get thee in unto king David, and say unto him, Didst not thou, my lord, O king, swear unto thine handmaid, saying, Assuredly Solomon thy son shall reign after me, and he shall sit upon my throne? why then doth Adonijah reign?

14 Behold, while thou yet talkest there with the king, I also will come in after thee, and confirm thy words.

15 And Bathsheba went in unto the king into the chamber: and the king was very old; and Abishag the Shunammite ministered unto the king.

16 And Bathsheba bowed, and did obeisance unto the king. And the king said, What wouldest thou?

17 And she said unto him, My lord, thou swarest by the LORD thy God unto thine handmaid, saying, Assuredly Solomon thy son shall reign after me, and he shall sit upon my throne.

18 And now, behold, Adonijah reigneth; and now, my lord the king, thou knowest it not:

19 And he hath slain oxen and fat cattle and sheep in abundance, and hath called all the sons of the king, and Abiathar the priest, and Joab the captain of the host: but Solomon thy servant hath he not called.

20 And thou, my lord, O king, the eyes of all Israel are upon thee, that thou shouldest tell them who shall sit on the throne of my lord the king after him.

21 Otherwise it shall come to pass, when my lord the king shall sleep with his fathers, that I and my son Solomon shall be counted offenders.

22 And, lo, while she yet talked with the king, Nathan the prophet also came in.

23 And they told the king, saying, Behold Nathan the prophet. And when he was come in before the king, he bowed himself before the king with his face to the ground.

24 And Nathan said, My lord, O king, hast thou said, Adonijah shall reign after me, and he shall sit upon my throne?

25 For he is gone down this day, and hath slain oxen and fat cattle and sheep in abundance, and hath called all the king's sons, and the captains of the host, and Abiathar the priest; and, behold, they eat and drink before him, and say, God save king Adonijah.

26 But me, even me thy servant, and Zadok the priest, and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, and thy servant Solomon, hath he not called.

27 Is this thing done by my lord the king, and thou hast not shewed it unto thy servant, who should sit on the throne of my lord the king after him?

28 Then king David answered and said, Call me Bathsheba. And she came into the king's presence, and stood before the king.

29 And the king sware, and said, As the LORD liveth, that hath redeemed my soul out of all distress,

30 Even as I sware unto thee by the LORD God of Israel, saying, Assuredly Solomon thy son shall reign after me, and he shall sit upon my throne in my stead; even so will I certainly do this day.

31 Then Bathsheba bowed with her face to the earth, and did reverence to the king, and said, Let my lord king David live for ever.

32 And king David said, Call me Zadok the priest, and Nathan the prophet, and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada. And they came before the king.

33 The king also said unto them, Take with you the servants of your lord, and cause Solomon my son to ride upon mine own mule, and bring him down to Gihon:

34 And let Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet anoint him there king over Israel: and blow ye with the trumpet, and say, God save king Solomon.

35 Then ye shall come up after him, that he may come and sit upon my throne; for he shall be king in my stead: and I have appointed him to be ruler over Israel and over Judah.

36 And Benaiah the son of Jehoiada answered the king, and said, Amen: the LORD God of my lord the king say so too.

37 As the LORD hath been with my lord the king, even so be he with Solomon, and make his throne greater than the throne of my lord king David.

38 So Zadok the priest, and Nathan the prophet, and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, and the Cherethites, and the Pelethites, went down, and caused Solomon to ride upon king David's mule, and brought him to Gihon.

39 And Zadok the priest took an horn of oil out of the tabernacle, and anointed Solomon. And they blew the trumpet; and all the people said, God save king Solomon.

40 And all the people came up after him, and the people piped with pipes, and rejoiced with great joy, so that the earth rent with the sound of them.

41 And Adonijah and all the guests that were with him heard it as they had made an end of eating. And when Joab heard the sound of the trumpet, he said, Wherefore is this noise of the city being in an uproar?

42 And while he yet spake, behold, Jonathan the son of Abiathar the priest came; and Adonijah said unto him, Come in; for thou art a valiant man, and bringest good tidings.

43 And Jonathan answered and said to Adonijah, Verily our lord king David hath made Solomon king.

44 And the king hath sent with him Zadok the priest, and Nathan the prophet, and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, and the Cherethites, and the Pelethites, and they have caused him to ride upon the king's mule:

45 And Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet have anointed him king in Gihon: and they are come up from thence rejoicing, so that the city rang again. This is the noise that ye have heard.

46 And also Solomon sitteth on the throne of the kingdom.

47 And moreover the king's servants came to bless our lord king David, saying, God make the name of Solomon better than thy name, and make his throne greater than thy throne. And the king bowed himself upon the bed.

48 And also thus said the king, Blessed be the LORD God of Israel, which hath given one to sit on my throne this day, mine eyes even seeing it.

49 And all the guests that were with Adonijah were afraid, and rose up, and went every man his way.

50 And Adonijah feared because of Solomon, and arose, and went, and caught hold on the horns of the altar.

51 And it was told Solomon, saying, Behold, Adonijah feareth king Solomon: for, lo, he hath caught hold on the horns of the altar, saying, Let king Solomon swear unto me today that he will not slay his servant with the sword.

52 And Solomon said, If he will shew himself a worthy man, there shall not an hair of him fall to the earth: but if wickedness shall be found in him, he shall die.

53 So king Solomon sent, and they brought him down from the altar. And he came and bowed himself to king Solomon: and Solomon said unto him, Go to thine house.

1 KINGS CHAPTER 2

1 Now the days of David drew nigh that he should die; and he charged Solomon his son, saying,

2 I go the way of all the earth: be thou strong therefore, and shew thyself a man;

3 And keep the charge of the LORD thy God, to walk in his ways, to keep his statutes, and his commandments, and his judgements, and his testimonies, as it is written in the law of Moses, that thou mayest prosper in all that thou doest, and whithersoever thou turnest thyself:

4 That the LORD may continue his word which he spake concerning me, saying, If thy children take heed to their way, to walk before me in truth with all their heart and with all their soul, there shall not fail thee (said he) a man on the throne of Israel.

5 Moreover thou knowest also what Joab the son of Zeruiah did to me, and what he did to the two captains of the hosts of Israel, unto Abner the son of Ner, and unto Amasa the son of Jether, whom he slew, and shed the blood of war in peace, and put the blood of war upon his girdle that was about his loins, and in his shoes that were on his feet.

6 Do therefore according to thy wisdom, and let not his hoar head go down to the grave in peace.

7 But shew kindness unto the sons of Barzillai the Gileadite, and let them be of those that eat at thy table: for so they came to me when I fled because of Absalom thy brother.

8 And, behold, thou hast with thee Shimei the son of Gera, a Benjamite of Bahurim, which cursed me with a grievous curse in the day when I went to Mahanaim: but he came down to meet me at Jordan, and I sware to him by the LORD, saying, I will not put thee to death with the sword.

9 Now therefore hold him not guiltless: for thou art a wise man, and knowest what thou oughtest to do unto him; but his hoar head bring thou down to the grave with blood.

10 So David slept with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David.

11 And the days that David reigned over Israel were forty years: seven years reigned he in Hebron, and thirty and three years reigned he in Jerusalem.

12 Then sat Solomon upon the throne of David his father; and his kingdom was established greatly.

13 And Adonijah the son of Haggith came to Bathsheba the mother of Solomon. And she said, Comest thou peaceably? And he said, Peaceably.

14 He said moreover, I have somewhat to say unto thee. And she said, Say on.

15 And he said, Thou knowest that the kingdom was mine, and that all Israel set their faces on me, that I should reign: howbeit the kingdom is turned about, and is become my brother's: for it was his from the LORD.

16 And now I ask one petition of thee, deny me not. And she said unto him, Say on.

17 And he said, Speak, I pray thee, unto Solomon the king, (for he will not say thee nay,) that he give me Abishag the Shunammite to wife.

18 And Bathsheba said, Well; I will speak for thee unto the king.

19 Bathsheba therefore went unto king Solomon, to speak unto him for Adonijah. And the king rose up to meet her, and bowed himself unto her, and sat down on his throne, and caused a seat to be set for the king's mother; and she sat on his right hand.

20 Then she said, I desire one small petition of thee; I pray thee, say me not nay. And the king said unto her, Ask on, my mother: for I will not say thee nay.

21 And she said, Let Abishag the Shunammite be given to Adonijah thy brother to wife.

22 And king Solomon answered and said unto his mother, And why dost thou ask Abishag the Shunammite for Adonijah? ask for him the kingdom also; for he is mine elder brother; even for him, and for Abiathar the priest, and for Joab the son of Zeruiah.

23 Then king Solomon sware by the LORD, saying, God do so to me, and more also, if Adonijah have not spoken this word against his own life.

24 Now therefore, as the LORD liveth, which hath established me, and set me on the throne of David my father, and who hath made me an house, as he promised, Adonijah shall be put to death this day.

25 And king Solomon sent by the hand of Benaiah the son of Jehoiada; and he fell upon him that he died.

26 And unto Abiathar the priest said the king, Get thee to Anathoth, unto thine own fields; for thou art worthy of death: but I will not at this time put thee to death, because thou barest the ark of the LORD God before David my father, and because thou hast been afflicted in all wherein my father was afflicted.

27 So Solomon thrust out Abiathar from being priest unto the LORD; that he might fulfil the word of the LORD, which he spake concerning the house of Eli in Shiloh.

28 Then tidings came to Joab: for Joab had turned after Adonijah, though he turned not after Absalom. And Joab fled unto the tabernacle of the LORD, and caught hold on the horns of the altar.

29 And it was told king Solomon that Joab was fled unto the tabernacle of the LORD; and, behold, he is by the altar. Then Solomon sent Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, saying, Go, fall upon him.

30 And Benaiah came to the tabernacle of the LORD, and said unto him, Thus saith the king, Come forth. And he said, Nay; but I will die here. And Benaiah brought the king word again, saying, Thus said Joab, and thus he answered me.

31 And the king said unto him, Do as he hath said, and fall upon him, and bury him; that thou mayest take away the innocent blood, which Joab shed, from me, and from the house of my father.

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32 And the LORD shall return his blood upon his own head, who fell upon two men more righteous and better than he, and slew them with the sword, my father David not knowing thereof, to wit, Abner the son of Ner, captain of the host of Israel, and Amasa the son of Jether, captain of the host of Judah.

33 Their blood shall therefore return upon the head of Joab, and upon the head of his seed for ever: but upon David, and upon his seed, and upon his house, and upon his throne, shall there be peace for ever from the LORD.

34 So Benaiah the son of Jehoiada went up, and fell upon him, and slew him: and he was buried in his own house in the wilderness.

35 And the king put Benaiah the son of Jehoiada in his room over the host: and Zadok the priest did the king put in the room of Abiathar.

36 And the king sent and called for Shimei, and said unto him, Build thee an house in Jerusalem, and dwell there, and go not forth thence any whither.

37 For it shall be, that on the day thou goest out, and passest over the brook Kidron, thou shalt know for certain that thou shalt surely die: thy blood shall be upon thine own head.

38 And Shimei said unto the king, The saying is good: as my lord the king hath said, so will thy servant do. And Shimei dwelt in Jerusalem many days.

39 And it came to pass at the end of three years, that two of the servants of Shimei ran away unto Achish son of Maachah king of Gath. And they told Shimei, saying, Behold, thy servants be in Gath.

40 And Shimei arose, and saddled his ass, and went to Gath to Achish to seek his servants: and Shimei went, and brought his servants from Gath.

41 And it was told Solomon that Shimei had gone from Jerusalem to Gath, and was come again.

42 And the king sent and called for Shimei, and said unto him, Did I not make thee to swear by the LORD, and protested unto thee, saying, Know for a certain, on the day thou goest out, and walkest abroad any whither, that thou shalt surely die? and thou saidst unto me, The word that I have heard is good.

43 Why then hast thou not kept the oath of the LORD, and the commandment that I have charged thee with?

44 The king said moreover to Shimei, Thou knowest all the wickedness which thine heart is privy to, that thou didst to David my father: therefore the LORD shall return thy wickedness upon thine own head;

45 And king Solomon shall be blessed, and the throne of David shall be established before the LORD for ever.

46 So the king commanded Benaiah the son of Jehoiada; which went out, and fell upon him, that he died. And the kingdom was established in the hand of Solomon.

1 KINGS CHAPTER 3

1 And Solomon made affinity with Pharaoh king of Egypt, and took Pharaoh's daughter, and brought her into the city of David, until he had made an end of building his own house, and the house of the LORD, and the wall of Jerusalem round about.

2 Only the people sacrificed in high places, because there was no house built unto the name of the LORD, until those days.

3 And Solomon loved the LORD, walking in the statutes of David his father: only he sacrificed and burnt incense in high places.

4 And the king went to Gibeon to sacrifice there; for that was the great high place: a thousand burnt offerings did Solomon offer upon that altar.

5 In Gibeon the LORD appeared to Solomon in a dream by night: and God said, Ask what I shall give thee.

6 And Solomon said, Thou hast shewed unto thy servant David my father great mercy, according as he walked before thee in truth, and in righteousness, and in uprightness of heart with thee; and thou hast kept for him this great kindness, that thou hast given him a son to sit on his throne, as it is this day.

7 And now, O LORD my God, thou hast made thy servant king instead of David my father: and I am but a little child: I know not how to go out or come in.

8 And thy servant is in the midst of thy people which thou hast chosen, a great people, that cannot be numbered nor counted for multitude.

9 Give therefore thy servant an understanding heart to judge thy people, that I may discern between good and bad: for who is able to judge this thy so great a people?

10 And the speech pleased the LORD, that Solomon had asked this thing.

11 And God said unto him, Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thyself long life; neither hast asked riches for thyself, nor hast asked the life of thine enemies; but hast asked for thyself understanding to discern judgement;

12 Behold, I have done according to thy words: lo, I have given thee a wise and an understanding heart; so that there was none like thee before thee, neither after thee shall any arise like unto thee.

13 And I have also given thee that which thou hast not asked, both riches, and honour: so that there shall not be any among the kings like unto thee all thy days.

14 And if thou wilt walk in my ways, to keep my statutes and my commandments, as thy father David did walk, then I will lengthen thy days.

15 And Solomon awoke; and, behold, it was a dream. And he came to Jerusalem, and stood before the ark of the covenant of the LORD, and offered up burnt offerings, and offered peace offerings, and made a feast to all his servants.

16 Then came there two women, that were harlots, unto the king, and stood before him.

17 And the one woman said, O my lord, I and this woman dwell in one house; and I was delivered of a child with her in the house.

18 And it came to pass the third day after that I was delivered, that this woman was delivered also: and we were together; there was no stranger with us in the house, save we two in the house.

19 And this woman's child died in the night; because she overlaid it.

20 And she arose at midnight, and took my son from beside me, while thine handmaid slept, and laid it in her bosom, and laid her dead child in my bosom.

21 And when I rose in the morning to give my child suck, behold, it was dead: but when I had considered it in the morning, behold, it was not my son, which I did bear.

22 And the other woman said, Nay; but the living is my son, and the dead is thy son. And this said, No; but the dead is thy son, and the living is my son. Thus they spake before the king.

23 Then said the king, The one saith, This is my son that liveth, and thy son is the dead: and the other saith, Nay; but thy son is the dead, and my son is the living.

24 And the king said, Bring me a sword. And they brought a sword before the king.

25 And the king said, Divide the living child in two, and give half to the one, and half to the other.

26 Then spake the woman whose the living child was unto the king, for her bowels yearned upon her son, and she said, O my lord, give her the living child, and in no wise slay it. But the other said, Let it be neither mine nor thine, but divide it.

27 Then the king answered and said, Give her the living child, and in no wise slay it: she is the mother thereof.

28 And all Israel heard of the judgement which the king had judged; and they feared the king: for they saw that the wisdom of God was in him, to do judgement.

1 KINGS CHAPTER 4

1 So king Solomon was king over all Israel.

2 And these were the princes which he had; Azariah the son of Zadok the priest,

3 Elihoreph and Ahiah, the sons of Shisha, scribes; Jehoshaphat the son of Ahilud, the recorder.

4 And Benaiah the son of Jehoiada was over the host: and Zadok and Abiathar were the priests:

5 And Azariah the son of Nathan was over the officers: and Zabud the son of Nathan was principal officer, and the king's friend:

6 And Ahishar was over the household: and Adoniram the son of Abda was over the tribute.

7 And Solomon had twelve officers over all Israel, which provided victuals for the king and his household: each man his month in a year made provision.

8 And these are their names: The son of Hur, in mount Ephraim:

9 The son of Dekar, in Makaz, and in Shaalbim, and Bethshemesh, and Elonbethhanan:

10 The son of Hesed, in Aruboth; to him pertained Sochoh, and all the land of Hepher:

11 The son of Abinadab, in all the region of Dor; which had Taphath the daughter of Solomon to wife:

12 Baana the son of Ahilud; to him pertained Taanach and Megiddo, and all Bethshean, which is by Zartanah beneath Jezreel, from Bethshean to Abelmeholah, even unto the place that is beyond Jokneam:

13 The son of Geber, in Ramothgilead; to him pertained the towns of Jair the son of Manasseh, which are in Gilead; to him also pertained the region of Argob, which is in Bashan, threescore great cities with walls and brasen bars:

14 Ahinadab the son of Iddo had Mahanaim:

15 Ahimaaz was in Naphtali; he also took Basmath the daughter of Solomon to wife:

16 Baanah the son of Hushai was in Asher and in Aloth:

17 Jehoshaphat the son of Paruah, in Issachar:

18 Shimei the son of Elah, in Benjamin:

19 Geber the son of Uri was in the country of Gilead, in the country of Sihon king of the Amorites, and of Og king of Bashan; and he was the only officer which was in the land.

20 Judah and Israel were many, as the sand which is by the sea in multitude, eating and drinking, and making merry.

21 And Solomon reigned over all kingdoms from the river unto the land of the Philistines, and unto the border of Egypt: they brought presents, and served Solomon all the days of his life.

22 And Solomon's provision for one day was thirty measures of fine flour, and threescore measures of meal,

23 Ten fat oxen, and twenty oxen out of the pastures, and an hundred sheep, beside harts, and roebucks, and fallowdeer, and fatted fowl.

24 For he had dominion over all the region on this side the river, from Tiphsah even to Azzah, over all the kings on this side the river: and he had peace on all sides round about him.

25 And Judah and Israel dwelt safely, every man under his vine and under his fig tree, from Dan even to Beersheba, all the days of Solomon.

26 And Solomon had forty thousand stalls of horses for his chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen.

27 And those officers provided victual for king Solomon, and for all that came unto king Solomon's table, every man in his month: they lacked nothing.

28 Barley also and straw for the horses and dromedaries brought they unto the place where the officers were, every man according to his charge.

29 And God gave Solomon wisdom and understanding exceeding much, and largeness of heart, even as the sand that is on the sea shore.

30 And Solomon's wisdom excelled the wisdom of all the children of the east country, and all the wisdom of Egypt.

31 For he was wiser than all men; than Ethan the Ezrahite, and Heman, and Chalcol, and Darda, the sons of Mahol: and his fame was in all nations round about.

32 And he spake three thousand proverbs: and his songs were a thousand and five.

33 And he spake of trees, from the cedar tree that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall: he spake also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes.

34 And there came of all people to hear the wisdom of Solomon, from all kings of the earth, which had heard of his wisdom.

1 KINGS CHAPTER 5

1 And Hiram king of Tyre sent his servants unto Solomon; for he had heard that they had anointed him king in the room of his father: for Hiram was ever a lover of David.

2 And Solomon sent to Hiram, saying,

3 Thou knowest how that David my father could not build an house unto the name of the LORD his God for the wars which were about him on every side, until the LORD put them under the soles of his feet.

4 But now the LORD my God hath given me rest on every side, so that there is neither adversary nor evil occurrent.

5 And, behold, I purpose to build an house unto the name of the LORD my God, as the LORD spake unto David my father, saying, Thy son, whom I will set upon thy throne in thy room, he shall build an house unto my name.

6 Now therefore command thou that they hew me cedar trees out of Lebanon; and my servants shall be with thy servants: and unto thee will I give hire for thy servants according to all that thou shalt appoint: for thou knowest that there is not among us any that can skill to hew timber like unto the Sidonians.

7 And it came to pass, when Hiram heard the words of Solomon, that he rejoiced greatly, and said, Blessed be the LORD this day, which hath given unto David a wise son over this great people.

8 And Hiram sent to Solomon, saying, I have considered the things which thou sentest to me for: and I will do all thy desire concerning timber of cedar, and concerning timber of fir.

9 My servants shall bring them down from Lebanon unto the sea: and I will convey them by sea in floats unto the place that thou shalt appoint me, and will cause them to be discharged there, and thou shalt receive them: and thou shalt accomplish my desire, in giving food for my household.

10 So Hiram gave Solomon cedar trees and fir trees according to all his desire.

11 And Solomon gave Hiram twenty thousand measures of wheat for food to his household, and twenty measures of pure oil: thus gave Solomon to Hiram year by year.

12 And the LORD gave Solomon wisdom, as he promised him: and there was peace between Hiram and Solomon; and they two made a league together.

13 And king Solomon raised a levy out of all Israel; and the levy was thirty thousand men.

14 And he sent them to Lebanon, ten thousand a month by courses: a month they were in Lebanon, and two months at home: and Adoniram was over the levy.

15 And Solomon had threescore and ten thousand that bare burdens, and fourscore thousand hewers in the mountains;

16 Beside the chief of Solomon's officers which were over the work, three thousand and three hundred, which ruled over the people that wrought in the work.

17 And the king commanded, and they brought great stones, costly stones, and hewed stones, to lay the foundation of the house.

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18 And Solomon's builders and Hiram's builders did hew them, and the stonesquarers: so they prepared timber and stones to build the house.

1 KINGS CHAPTER 6

1 And it came to pass in the four hundred and eightieth year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt, in the fourth year of Solomon's reign over Israel, in the month Zif, which is the second month, that he began to build the house of the LORD.

2 And the house which king Solomon built for the LORD, the length thereof was threescore cubits, and the breadth thereof twenty cubits, and the height thereof thirty cubits.

3 And the porch before the temple of the house, twenty cubits was the length thereof, according to the breadth of the house; and ten cubits was the breadth thereof before the house.

4 And for the house he made windows of narrow lights.

5 And against the wall of the house he built chambers round about, against the walls of the house round about, both of the temple and of the oracle: and he made chambers round about:

6 The nethermost chamber was five cubits broad, and the middle was six cubits broad, and the third was seven cubits broad: for without in the wall of the house he made narrowed rests round about, that the beams should not be fastened in the walls of the house.

7 And the house, when it was in building, was built of stone made ready before it was brought thither: so that there was neither hammer nor axe nor any tool of iron heard in the house, while it was in building.

8 The door for the middle chamber was in the right side of the house: and they went up with winding stairs into the middle chamber, and out of the middle into the third.

9 So he built the house, and finished it; and covered the house with beams and boards of cedar.

10 And then he built chambers against all the house, five cubits high: and they rested on the house with timber of cedar.

11 And the word of the LORD came to Solomon, saying,

12 Concerning this house which thou art in building, if thou wilt walk in my statutes, and execute my judgements, and keep all my commandments to walk in them; then will I perform my word with thee, which I spake unto David thy father:

13 And I will dwell among the children of Israel, and will not forsake my people Israel.

14 So Solomon built the house, and finished it.

15 And he built the walls of the house within with boards of cedar, both the floor of the house, and the walls of the ceiling: and he covered them on the inside with wood, and covered the floor of the house with planks of fir.

16 And he built twenty cubits on the sides of the house, both the floor and the walls with boards of cedar: he even built them for it within, even for the oracle, even for the most holy place.

17 And the house, that is, the temple before it, was forty cubits long.

18 And the cedar of the house within was carved with knops and open flowers: all was cedar; there was no stone seen.

19 And the oracle he prepared in the house within, to set there the ark of the covenant of the LORD.

20 And the oracle in the forepart was twenty cubits in length, and twenty cubits in breadth, and twenty cubits in the height thereof: and he overlaid it with pure gold; and so covered the altar which was of cedar.

21 So Solomon overlaid the house within with pure gold: and he made a partition by the chains of gold before the oracle; and he overlaid it with gold.

22 And the whole house he overlaid with gold, until he had finished all the house: also the whole altar that was by the oracle he overlaid with gold.

23 And within the oracle he made two cherubims of olive tree, each ten cubits high.

24 And five cubits was the one wing of the cherub, and five cubits the other wing of the cherub: from the uttermost part of the one wing unto the uttermost part of the other were ten cubits.

25 And the other cherub was ten cubits: both the cherubims were of one measure and one size.

26 The height of the one cherub was ten cubits, and so was it of the other cherub.

27 And he set the cherubims within the inner house: and they stretched forth the wings of the cherubims, so that the wing of the one touched the one wall, and the wing of the other cherub touched the other wall; and their wings touched one another in the midst of the house.

28 And he overlaid the cherubims with gold.

29 And he carved all the walls of the house round about with carved figures of cherubims and palm trees and open flowers, within and without.

30 And the floors of the house he overlaid with gold, within and without.

31 And for the entering of the oracle he made doors of olive tree: the lintel and side posts were a fifth part of the wall.

32 The two doors also were of olive tree; and he carved upon them carvings of cherubims and palm trees and open flowers, and overlaid them with gold, and spread gold upon the cherubims, and upon the palm trees.

33 So also made he for the door of the temple posts of olive tree, a fourth part of the wall.

34 And the two doors were of fir tree: the two leaves of the one door were folding, and the two leaves of the other door were folding.

35 And he carved thereon cherubims and palm trees and open flowers: and covered them with gold fitted upon the carved work.

36 And he built the inner court with three rows of hewed stone, and a row of cedar beams.

37 In the fourth year was the foundation of the house of the LORD laid, in the month Zif:

38 And in the eleventh year, in the month Bul, which is the eighth month, was the house finished throughout all the parts thereof, and according to all the fashion of it. So was he seven years in building it.

1 KINGS CHAPTER 7

1 But Solomon was building his own house thirteen years, and he finished all his house.

2 He built also the house of the forest of Lebanon; the length thereof was an hundred cubits, and the breadth thereof fifty cubits, and the height thereof thirty cubits, upon four rows of cedar pillars, with cedar beams upon the pillars.

3 And it was covered with cedar above upon the beams, that lay on forty five pillars, fifteen in a row.

4 And there were windows in three rows, and light was against light in three ranks.

5 And all the doors and posts were square, with the windows: and light was against light in three ranks.

6 And he made a porch of pillars; the length thereof was fifty cubits, and the breadth thereof thirty cubits: and the porch was before them: and the other pillars and the thick beam were before them.

7 Then he made a porch for the throne where he might judge, even the porch of judgement: and it was covered with cedar from one side of the floor to the other.

8 And his house where he dwelt had another court within the porch, which was of the like work. Solomon made also an house for Pharaoh's daughter, whom he had taken to wife, like unto this porch.

9 All these were of costly stones, according to the measures of hewed stones, sawed with saws, within and without, even from the foundation unto the coping, and so on the outside toward the great court.

10 And the foundation was of costly stones, even great stones, stones of ten cubits, and stones of eight cubits.

11 And above were costly stones, after the measures of hewed stones, and cedars.

12 And the great court round about was with three rows of hewed stones, and a row of cedar beams, both for the inner court of the house of the LORD, and for the porch of the house.

13 And king Solomon sent and fetched Hiram out of Tyre.

14 He was a widow's son of the tribe of Naphtali, and his father was a man of Tyre, a worker in brass: and he was filled with wisdom, and understanding, and cunning to work all works in brass. And he came to king Solomon, and wrought all his work.

15 For he cast two pillars of brass, of eighteen cubits high apiece: and a line of twelve cubits did compass either of them about.

16 And he made two chapiters of molten brass, to set upon the tops of the pillars: the height of the one chapiter was five cubits, and the height of the other chapiter was five cubits:

17 And nets of checker work, and wreaths of chain work, for the chapiters which were upon the top of the pillars; seven for the one chapiter, and seven for the other chapiter.

18 And he made the pillars, and two rows round about upon the one network, to cover the chapiters that were upon the top, with pomegranates: and so did he for the other chapiter.

19 And the chapiters that were upon the top of the pillars were of lily work in the porch, four cubits.

20 And the chapiters upon the two pillars had pomegranates also above, over against the belly which was by the network: and the pomegranates were two hundred in rows round about upon the other chapiter.

21 And he set up the pillars in the porch of the temple: and he set up the right pillar, and called the name thereof Jachin: and he set up the left pillar, and called the name thereof Boaz.

22 And upon the top of the pillars was lily work: so was the work of the pillars finished.

23 And he made a molten sea, ten cubits from the one brim to the other: it was round all about, and his height was five cubits: and a line of thirty cubits did compass it round about.

24 And under the brim of it round about there were knops compassing it, ten in a cubit, compassing the sea round about: the knops were cast in two rows, when it was cast.

25 It stood upon twelve oxen, three looking toward the north, and three looking toward the west, and three looking toward the south, and three looking toward the east: and the sea was set above upon them, and all their hinder parts were inward.

26 And it was an hand breadth thick, and the brim thereof was wrought like the brim of a cup, with flowers of lilies: it contained two thousand baths.

27 And he made ten bases of brass; four cubits was the length of one base, and four cubits the breadth thereof, and three cubits the height of it.

28 And the work of the bases was on this manner: they had borders, and the borders were between the ledges:

29 And on the borders that were between the ledges were lions, oxen, and cherubims: and upon the ledges there was a base above: and beneath the lions and oxen were certain additions made of thin work.

30 And every base had four brasen wheels, and plates of brass: and the four corners thereof had undersetters: under the laver were undersetters molten, at the side of every addition.

31 And the mouth of it within the chapiter and above was a cubit: but the mouth thereof was round after the work of the base, a cubit and an half: and also upon the mouth of it were gravings with their borders, foursquare, not round.

32 And under the borders were four wheels; and the axletrees of the wheels were joined to the base: and the height of a wheel was a cubit and half a cubit.

33 And the work of the wheels was like the work of a chariot wheel: their axletrees, and their naves, and their felloes, and their spokes, were all molten.

34 And there were four undersetters to the four corners of one base: and the undersetters were of the very base itself.

35 And in the top of the base was there a round compass of half a cubit high: and on the top of the base the ledges thereof and the borders thereof were of the same.

36 For on the plates of the ledges thereof, and on the borders thereof, he graved cherubims, lions, and palm trees, according to the proportion of every one, and additions round about.

37 After this manner he made the ten bases: all of them had one casting, one measure, and one size.

38 Then made he ten lavers of brass: one laver contained forty baths: and every laver was four cubits: and upon every one of the ten bases one laver.

39 And he put five bases on the right side of the house, and five on the left side of the house: and he set the sea on the right side of the house eastward over against the south.

40 And Hiram made the lavers, and the shovels, and the basons. So Hiram made an end of doing all the work that he made king Solomon for the house of the LORD:

41 The two pillars, and the two bowls of the chapiters that were on the top of the two pillars; and the two networks, to cover the two bowls of the chapiters which were upon the top of the pillars;

42 And four hundred pomegranates for the two networks, even two rows of pomegranates for one network, to cover the two bowls of the chapiters that were upon the pillars;

43 And the ten bases, and ten lavers on the bases;

44 And one sea, and twelve oxen under the sea;

45 And the pots, and the shovels, and the basons: and all these vessels, which Hiram made to king Solomon for the house of the LORD, were of bright brass.

46 In the plain of Jordan did the king cast them, in the clay ground between Succoth and Zarthan.

47 And Solomon left all the vessels unweighed, because they were exceeding many: neither was the weight of the brass found out.

48 And Solomon made all the vessels that pertained unto the house of the LORD: the altar of gold, and the table of gold, whereupon the shewbread was,

49 And the candlesticks of pure gold, five on the right side, and five on the left, before the oracle, with the flowers, and the lamps, and the tongs of gold,

50 And the bowls, and the snuffers, and the basons, and the spoons, and the censers of pure gold; and the hinges of gold, both for the doors of the inner house, the most holy place, and for the doors of the house, to wit, of the temple.

51 So was ended all the work that king Solomon made for the house of the LORD. And Solomon brought in the things which David his father had dedicated; even the silver, and the gold, and the vessels, did he put among the treasures of the house of the LORD.

1 KINGS CHAPTER 8

1 Then Solomon assembled the elders of Israel, and all the heads of the tribes, the chief of the fathers of the children of Israel, unto king Solomon in Jerusalem, that they might bring up the ark of the covenant of the LORD out of the city of David, which is Zion.

2 And all the men of Israel assembled themselves unto king Solomon at the feast in the month Ethanim, which is the seventh month.

3 And all the elders of Israel came, and the priests took up the ark.

4 And they brought up the ark of the LORD, and the tabernacle of the congregation, and all the holy vessels that

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were in the tabernacle, even those did the priests and the Levites bring up.

5 And king Solomon, and all the congregation of Israel, that were assembled unto him, were with him before the ark, sacrificing sheep and oxen, that could not be told nor numbered for multitude.

6 And the priests brought in the ark of the covenant of the LORD unto his place, into the oracle of the house, to the most holy place, even under the wings of the cherubims.

7 For the cherubims spread forth their two wings over the place of the ark, and the cherubims covered the ark and the staves thereof above.

8 And they drew out the staves, that the ends of the staves were seen out in the holy place before the oracle, and they were not seen without: and there they are unto this day.

9 There was nothing in the ark save the two tables of stone, which Moses put there at Horeb, when the LORD made a covenant with the children of Israel, when they came out of the land of Egypt.

10 And it came to pass, when the priests were come out of the holy place, that the cloud filled the house of the LORD,

11 So that the priests could not stand to minister because of the cloud: for the glory of the LORD had filled the house of the LORD.

12 Then spake Solomon, The LORD said that he would dwell in the thick darkness.

13 I have surely built thee an house to dwell in, a settled place for thee to abide in for ever.

14 And the king turned his face about, and blessed all the congregation of Israel: (and all the congregation of Israel stood;)

15 And he said, Blessed be the LORD God of Israel, which spake with his mouth unto David my father, and hath with his hand fulfilled it, saying,

16 Since the day that I brought forth my people Israel out of Egypt, I chose no city out of all the tribes of Israel to build an house, that my name might be therein; but I chose David to be over my people Israel.

17 And it was in the heart of David my father to build an house for the name of the LORD God of Israel.

18 And the LORD said unto David my father, Whereas it was in thine heart to build an house unto my name, thou didst well that it was in thine heart.

19 Nevertheless thou shalt not build the house; but thy son that shall come forth out of thy loins, he shall build the house unto my name.

20 And the LORD hath performed his word that he spake, and I am risen up in the room of David my father, and sit on the throne of Israel, as the LORD promised, and have built an house for the name of the LORD God of Israel.

21 And I have set there a place for the ark, wherein is the covenant of the LORD, which he made with our fathers, when he brought them out of the land of Egypt.

22 And Solomon stood before the altar of the LORD in the presence of all the congregation of Israel, and spread forth his hands toward heaven:

23 And he said, LORD God of Israel, there is no God like thee, in heaven above, or on earth beneath, who keepest covenant and mercy with thy servants that walk before thee with all their heart:

24 Who hast kept with thy servant David my father that thou promisedst him: thou spakest also with thy mouth, and hast fulfilled it with thine hand, as it is this day.

25 Therefore now, LORD God of Israel, keep with thy servant David my father that thou promisedst him, saying, There shall not fail thee a man in my sight to sit on the throne of Israel; so that thy children take heed to their way, that they walk before me as thou hast walked before me.

26 And now, O God of Israel, let thy word, I pray thee, be verified, which thou spakest unto thy servant David my father.

27 But will God indeed dwell on the earth? behold, the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain thee; how much less this house that I have builded?

28 Yet have thou respect unto the prayer of thy servant, and to his supplication, O LORD my God, to hearken unto the cry and to the prayer, which thy servant prayeth before thee to day:

29 That thine eyes may be open toward this house night and day, even toward the place of which thou hast said, My name shall be there: that thou mayest hearken unto the prayer which thy servant shall make toward this place.

30 And hearken thou to the supplication of thy servant, and of thy people Israel, when they shall pray toward this place: and hear thou in heaven thy dwelling place: and when thou hearest, forgive.

31 If any man trespass against his neighbour, and an oath be laid upon him to cause him to swear, and the oath come before thine altar in this house:

32 Then hear thou in heaven, and do, and judge thy servants, condemning the wicked, to bring his way upon his head; and justifying the righteous, to give him according to his righteousness.

33 When thy people Israel be smitten down before the enemy, because they have sinned against thee, and shall turn again to thee, and confess thy name, and pray, and make supplication unto thee in this house:

34 Then hear thou in heaven, and forgive the sin of thy people Israel, and bring them again unto the land which thou gavest unto their fathers.

35 When heaven is shut up, and there is no rain, because they have sinned against thee; if they pray toward this place, and confess thy name, and turn from their sin, when thou afflictest them:

36 Then hear thou in heaven, and forgive the sin of thy servants, and of thy people Israel, that thou teach them the good way wherein they should walk, and give rain upon thy land, which thou hast given to thy people for an inheritance.

37 If there be in the land famine, if there be pestilence, blasting, mildew, locust, or if there be caterpiller; if their enemy besiege them in the land of their cities; whatsoever plague, whatsoever sickness there be;

38 What prayer and supplication soever be made by any man, or by all thy people Israel, which shall know every man the plague of his own heart, and spread forth his hands toward this house:

39 Then hear thou in heaven thy dwelling place, and forgive, and do, and give to every man according to his ways, whose heart thou knowest; (for thou, even thou only, knowest the hearts of all the children of men;)

40 That they may fear thee all the days that they live in the land which thou gavest unto our fathers.

41 Moreover concerning a stranger, that is not of thy people Israel, but cometh out of a far country for thy name's sake;

42 (For they shall hear of thy great name, and of thy strong hand, and of thy stretched out arm;) when he shall come and pray toward this house;

43 Hear thou in heaven thy dwelling place, and do according to all that the stranger calleth to thee for: that all people of the earth may know thy name, to fear thee, as do thy people Israel; and that they may know that this house, which I have builded, is called by thy name.

44 If thy people go out to battle against their enemy, whithersoever thou shalt send them, and shall pray unto the LORD toward the city which thou hast chosen, and toward the house that I have built for thy name:

45 Then hear thou in heaven their prayer and their supplication, and maintain their cause.

46 If they sin against thee, (for there is no man that sinneth not,) and thou be angry with them, and deliver them to the enemy, so that they carry them away captives unto the land of the enemy, far or near;

47 Yet if they shall bethink themselves in the land whither they were carried captives, and repent, and make supplication unto thee in the land of them that carried them captives, saying, We have sinned, and have done perversely, we have committed wickedness;

48 And so return unto thee with all their heart, and with all their soul, in the land of their enemies, which led them away captive, and pray unto thee toward their land, which thou gavest unto their fathers, the city which thou hast chosen, and the house which I have built for thy name:

49 Then hear thou their prayer and their supplication in heaven thy dwelling place, and maintain their cause,

50 And forgive thy people that have sinned against thee, and all their transgressions wherein they have transgressed against thee, and give them compassion before them who carried them captive, that they may have compassion on them:

51 For they be thy people, and thine inheritance, which thou broughtest forth out of Egypt, from the midst of the furnace of iron:

52 That thine eyes may be open unto the supplication of thy servant, and unto the supplication of thy people Israel, to hearken unto them in all that they call for unto thee.

53 For thou didst separate them from among all the people of the earth, to be thine inheritance, as thou spakest by the hand of Moses thy servant, when thou broughtest our fathers out of Egypt, O LORD God.

54 And it was so, that when Solomon had made an end of praying all this prayer and supplication unto the LORD, he arose from before the altar of the LORD, from kneeling on his knees with his hands spread up to heaven.

55 And he stood, and blessed all the congregation of Israel with a loud voice, saying,

56 Blessed be the LORD, that hath given rest unto his people Israel, according to all that he promised: there hath not failed one word of all his good promise, which he promised by the hand of Moses his servant.

57 The LORD our God be with us, as he was with our fathers: let him not leave us, nor forsake us:

58 That he may incline our hearts unto him, to walk in all his ways, and to keep his commandments, and his statutes, and his judgements, which he commanded our fathers.

59 And let these my words, wherewith I have made supplication before the LORD, be nigh unto the LORD our God day and night, that he maintain the cause of his servant, and the cause of his people Israel at all times, as the matter shall require:

60 That all the people of the earth may know that the LORD is God, and that there is none else.

61 Let your heart therefore be perfect with the LORD our God, to walk in his statutes, and to keep his commandments, as at this day.

62 And the king, and all Israel with him, offered sacrifice before the LORD.

63 And Solomon offered a sacrifice of peace offerings, which he offered unto the LORD, two and twenty thousand oxen, and an hundred and twenty thousand sheep. So the king and all the children of Israel dedicated the house of the LORD.

64 The same day did the king hallow the middle of the court that was before the house of the LORD: for there he offered burnt offerings, and meat offerings, and the fat of the peace offerings: because the brasen altar that was before the LORD was too little to receive the burnt offerings, and meat offerings, and the fat of the peace offerings.

65 And at that time Solomon held a feast, and all Israel with him, a great congregation, from the entering in of Hamath unto the river of Egypt, before the LORD our God, seven days and seven days, even fourteen days.

66 On the eighth day he sent the people away: and they blessed the king, and went unto their tents joyful and glad of heart for all the goodness that the LORD had done for David his servant, and for Israel his people.

1 KINGS CHAPTER 9

1 And it came to pass, when Solomon had finished the building of the house of the LORD, and the king's house, and all Solomon's desire which he was pleased to do,

2 That the LORD appeared to Solomon the second time, as he had appeared unto him at Gibeon.

3 And the LORD said unto him, I have heard thy prayer and thy supplication, that thou hast made before me: I have hallowed this house, which thou hast built, to put my name there for ever; and mine eyes and mine heart shall be there perpetually.

4 And if thou wilt walk before me, as David thy father walked, in integrity of heart, and in uprightness, to do according to all that I have commanded thee, and wilt keep my statutes and my judgements:

5 Then I will establish the throne of thy kingdom upon Israel for ever, as I promised to David thy father, saying, There shall not fail thee a man upon the throne of Israel.

6 But if ye shall at all turn from following me, ye or your children, and will not keep my commandments and my statutes which I have set before you, but go and serve other gods, and worship them:

7 Then will I cut off Israel out of the land which I have given them; and this house, which I have hallowed for my name, will I cast out of my sight; and Israel shall be a proverb and a byword among all people:

8 And at this house, which is high, every one that passeth by it shall be astonished, and shall hiss; and they shall say, Why hath the LORD done thus unto this land, and to this house?

9 And they shall answer, Because they forsook the LORD their God, who brought forth their fathers out of the land of Egypt, and have taken hold upon other gods, and have worshipped them, and served them: therefore hath the LORD brought upon them all this evil.

10 And it came to pass at the end of twenty years, when Solomon had built the two houses, the house of the LORD, and the king's house,

11 (Now Hiram the king of Tyre had furnished Solomon with cedar trees and fir trees, and with gold, according to all his desire,) that then king Solomon gave Hiram twenty cities in the land of Galilee.

12 And Hiram came out from Tyre to see the cities which Solomon had given him; and they pleased him not.

13 And he said, What cities are these which thou hast given me, my brother? And he called them the land of Cabul unto this day.

14 And Hiram sent to the king sixscore talents of gold.

15 And this is the reason of the levy which king Solomon raised; for to build the house of the LORD, and his own house, and Millo, and the wall of Jerusalem, and Hazor, and Megiddo, and Gezer.

16 For Pharaoh king of Egypt had gone up, and taken Gezer, and burnt it with fire, and slain the Canaanites that dwelt in the city, and given it for a present unto his daughter, Solomon's wife.

17 And Solomon built Gezer, and Bethhoron the nether,

18 And Baalath, and Tadmor in the wilderness, in the land,

19 And all the cities of store that Solomon had, and cities for his chariots, and cities for his horsemen, and that which Solomon desired to build in Jerusalem, and in Lebanon, and in all the land of his dominion.

20 And all the people that were left of the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites, which were not of the children of Israel,

21 Their children that were left after them in the land, whom the children of Israel also were not able utterly to destroy, upon those did Solomon levy a tribute of bondservice unto this day.

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22 But of the children of Israel did Solomon make no bondmen: but they were men of war, and his servants, and his princes, and his captains, and rulers of his chariots, and his horsemen.

23 These were the chief of the officers that were over Solomon's work, five hundred and fifty, which bare rule over the people that wrought in the work.

24 But Pharaoh's daughter came up out of the city of David unto her house which Solomon had built for her: then did he build Millo.

25 And three times in a year did Solomon offer burnt offerings and peace offerings upon the altar which he built unto the LORD, and he burnt incense upon the altar that was before the LORD. So he finished the house.

26 And king Solomon made a navy of ships in Eziongeber, which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red sea, in the land of Edom.

27 And Hiram sent in the navy his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon.

28 And they came to Ophir, and fetched from thence gold, four hundred and twenty talents, and brought it to king Solomon.

1 KINGS CHAPTER 10

1 And when the queen of Sheba heard of the fame of Solomon concerning the name of the LORD, she came to prove him with hard questions.

2 And she came to Jerusalem with a very great train, with camels that bare spices, and very much gold, and precious stones: and when she was come to Solomon, she communed with him of all that was in her heart.

3 And Solomon told her all her questions: there was not any thing hid from the king, which he told her not.

4 And when the queen of Sheba had seen all Solomon's wisdom, and the house that he had built,

5 And the meat of his table, and the sitting of his servants, and the attendance of his ministers, and their apparel, and his cupbearers, and his ascent by which he went up unto the house of the LORD; there was no more spirit in her.

6 And she said to the king, It was a true report that I heard in mine own land of thy acts and of thy wisdom.

7 Howbeit I believed not the words, until I came, and mine eyes had seen it: and, behold, the half was not told me: thy wisdom and prosperity exceedeth the fame which I heard.

8 Happy are thy men, happy are these thy servants, which stand continually before thee, and that hear thy wisdom.

9 Blessed be the LORD thy God, which delighted in thee, to set thee on the throne of Israel: because the LORD loved Israel for ever, therefore made he thee king, to do judgement and justice.

10 And she gave the king an hundred and twenty talents of gold, and of spices very great store, and precious stones: there came no more such abundance of spices as these which the queen of Sheba gave to king Solomon.

11 And the navy also of Hiram, that brought gold from Ophir, brought in from Ophir great plenty of almug trees, and precious stones.

12 And the king made of the almug trees pillars for the house of the LORD, and for the king's house, harps also and psalteries for singers: there came no such almug trees, nor were seen unto this day.

13 And king Solomon gave unto the queen of Sheba all her desire, whatsoever she asked, beside that which Solomon gave her of his royal bounty. So she turned and went to her own country, she and her servants.

14 Now the weight of gold that came to Solomon in one year was six hundred threescore and six talents of gold,

15 Beside that he had of the merchantmen, and of the traffick of the spice merchants, and of all the kings of Arabia, and of the governors of the country.

16 And king Solomon made two hundred targets of beaten gold: six hundred shekels of gold went to one target.

17 And he made three hundred shields of beaten gold; three pound of gold went to one shield: and the king put them in the house of the forest of Lebanon.

18 Moreover the king made a great throne of ivory, and overlaid it with the best gold.

19 The throne had six steps, and the top of the throne was round behind: and there were stays on either side on the place of the seat, and two lions stood beside the stays.

20 And twelve lions stood there on the one side and on the other upon the six steps: there was not the like made in any kingdom.

21 And all king Solomon's drinking vessels were of gold, and all the vessels of the house of the forest of Lebanon were of pure gold; none were of silver: it was nothing accounted of in the days of Solomon.

22 For the king had at sea a navy of Tharshish with the navy of Hiram: once in three years came the navy of Tharshish, bringing gold, and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks.

23 So king Solomon exceeded all the kings of the earth for riches and for wisdom.

24 And all the earth sought to Solomon, to hear his wisdom, which God had put in his heart.

25 And they brought every man his present, vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and garments, and armour, and spices, horses, and mules, a rate year by year.

26 And Solomon gathered together chariots and horsemen: and he had a thousand and four hundred chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen, whom he bestowed in the cities for chariots, and with the king at Jerusalem.

27 And the king made silver to be in Jerusalem as stones, and cedars made he to be as the sycomore trees that are in the vale, for abundance.

28 And Solomon had horses brought out of Egypt, and linen yarn: the king's merchants received the linen yarn at a price.

29 And a chariot came up and went out of Egypt for six hundred shekels of silver, and an horse for an hundred and fifty: and so for all the kings of the Hittites, and for the kings of Syria, did they bring them out by their means.

1 KINGS CHAPTER 11

1 But king Solomon loved many strange women, together with the daughter of Pharaoh, women of the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Zidonians, and Hittites:

2 Of the nations concerning which the LORD said unto the children of Israel, Ye shall not go in to them, neither shall they come in unto you: for surely they will turn away your heart after their gods: Solomon clave unto these in love.

3 And he had seven hundred wives, princesses, and three hundred concubines: and his wives turned away his heart.

4 For it came to pass, when Solomon was old, that his wives turned away his heart after other gods: and his heart was not perfect with the LORD his God, as was the heart of David his father.

5 For Solomon went after Ashtoreth the goddess of the Zidonians, and after Milcom the abomination of the Ammonites.

6 And Solomon did evil in the sight of the LORD, and went not fully after the LORD, as did David his father.

7 Then did Solomon build an high place for Chemosh, the abomination of Moab, in the hill that is before Jerusalem, and for Molech, the abomination of the children of Ammon.

8 And likewise did he for all his strange wives, which burnt incense and sacrificed unto their gods.

9 And the LORD was angry with Solomon, because his heart was turned from the LORD God of Israel, which had appeared unto him twice,

10 And had commanded him concerning this thing, that he should not go after other gods: but he kept not that which the LORD commanded.

11 Wherefore the LORD said unto Solomon, Forasmuch as this is done of thee, and thou hast not kept my covenant and my statutes, which I have commanded thee, I will surely rend the kingdom from thee, and will give it to thy servant.

12 Notwithstanding in thy days I will not do it for David thy father's sake: but I will rend it out of the hand of thy son.

13 Howbeit I will not rend away all the kingdom; but will give one tribe to thy son for David my servant's sake, and for Jerusalem's sake which I have chosen.

14 And the LORD stirred up an adversary unto Solomon, Hadad the Edomite: he was of the king's seed in Edom.

15 For it came to pass, when David was in Edom, and Joab the captain of the host was gone up to bury the slain, after he had smitten every male in Edom;

16 (For six months did Joab remain there with all Israel, until he had cut off every male in Edom:)

17 That Hadad fled, he and certain Edomites of his father's servants with him, to go into Egypt; Hadad being yet a little child.

18 And they arose out of Midian, and came to Paran: and they took men with them out of Paran, and they came to Egypt, unto Pharaoh king of Egypt; which gave him an house, and appointed him victuals, and gave him land.

19 And Hadad found great favour in the sight of Pharaoh, so that he gave him to wife the sister of his own wife, the sister of Tahpenes the queen.

20 And the sister of Tahpenes bare him Genubath his son, whom Tahpenes weaned in Pharaoh's house: and Genubath was in Pharaoh's household among the sons of Pharaoh.

21 And when Hadad heard in Egypt that David slept with his fathers, and that Joab the captain of the host was dead, Hadad said to Pharaoh, Let me depart, that I may go to mine own country.

22 Then Pharaoh said unto him, But what hast thou lacked with me, that, behold, thou seekest to go to thine own country? And he answered, Nothing: howbeit let me go in any wise.

23 And God stirred him up another adversary, Rezon the son of Eliadah, which fled from his lord Hadadezer king of Zobah:

24 And he gathered men unto him, and became captain over a band, when David slew them of Zobah: and they went to Damascus, and dwelt therein, and reigned in Damascus.

25 And he was an adversary to Israel all the days of Solomon, beside the mischief that Hadad did: and he abhorred Israel, and reigned over Syria.

26 And Jeroboam the son of Nebat, an Ephrathite of Zereda, Solomon's servant, whose mother's name was Zeruah, a widow woman, even he lifted up his hand against the king.

27 And this was the cause that he lifted up his hand against the king: Solomon built Millo, and repaired the breaches of the city of David his father.

28 And the man Jeroboam was a mighty man of valour: and Solomon seeing the young man that he was industrious, he made him ruler over all the charge of the house of Joseph.

29 And it came to pass at that time when Jeroboam went out of Jerusalem, that the prophet Ahijah the Shilonite found him in the way; and he had clad himself with a new garment; and they two were alone in the field:

30 And Ahijah caught the new garment that was on him, and rent it in twelve pieces:

31 And he said to Jeroboam, Take thee ten pieces: for thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel, Behold, I will rend the kingdom out of the hand of Solomon, and will give ten tribes to thee:

32 (But he shall have one tribe for my servant David's sake, and for Jerusalem's sake, the city which I have chosen out of all the tribes of Israel:)

33 Because that they have forsaken me, and have worshipped Ashtoreth the goddess of the Zidonians, Chemosh the god of the Moabites, and Milcom the god of the children of Ammon, and have not walked in my ways, to do that which is right in mine eyes, and to keep my statutes and my judgements, as did David his father.

34 Howbeit I will not take the whole kingdom out of his hand: but I will make him prince all the days of his life for David my servant's sake, whom I chose, because he kept my commandments and my statutes:

35 But I will take the kingdom out of his son's hand, and will give it unto thee, even ten tribes.

36 And unto his son will I give one tribe, that David my servant may have a light alway before me in Jerusalem, the city which I have chosen me to put my name there.

37 And I will take thee, and thou shalt reign according to all that thy soul desireth, and shalt be king over Israel.

38 And it shall be, if thou wilt hearken unto all that I command thee, and wilt walk in my ways, and do that is right in my sight, to keep my statutes and my commandments, as David my servant did; that I will be with thee, and build thee a sure house, as I built for David, and will give Israel unto thee.

39 And I will for this afflict the seed of David, but not for ever.

40 Solomon sought therefore to kill Jeroboam. And Jeroboam arose, and fled into Egypt, unto Shishak king of Egypt, and was in Egypt until the death of Solomon.

41 And the rest of the acts of Solomon, and all that he did, and his wisdom, are they not written in the book of the acts of Solomon?

42 And the time that Solomon reigned in Jerusalem over all Israel was forty years.

43 And Solomon slept with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David his father: and Rehoboam his son reigned in his stead.

1 KINGS CHAPTER 12

1 And Rehoboam went to Shechem: for all Israel were come to Shechem to make him king.

2 And it came to pass, when Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who was yet in Egypt, heard of it, (for he was fled from the presence of king Solomon, and Jeroboam dwelt in Egypt;)

3 That they sent and called him. And Jeroboam and all the congregation of Israel came, and spake unto Rehoboam, saying,

4 Thy father made our yoke grievous: now therefore make thou the grievous service of thy father, and his heavy yoke which he put upon us, lighter, and we will serve thee.

5 And he said unto them, Depart yet for three days, then come again to me. And the people departed.

6 And king Rehoboam consulted with the old men, that stood before Solomon his father while he yet lived, and said, How do ye advise that I may answer this people?

7 And they spake unto him, saying, If thou wilt be a servant unto this people this day, and wilt serve them, and answer them, and speak good words to them, then they will be thy servants for ever.

8 But he forsook the counsel of the old men, which they had given him, and consulted with the young men that were grown up with him, and which stood before him:

9 And he said unto them, What counsel give ye that we may answer this people, who have spoken to me, saying, Make the yoke which thy father did put upon us lighter?

10 And the young men that were grown up with him spake unto him, saying, Thus shalt thou speak unto this people that spake unto thee, saying, Thy father made our yoke heavy, but make thou it lighter unto us; thus shalt thou say unto them, My little finger shall be thicker than my father's loins.

11 And now whereas my father did lade you with a heavy yoke, I will add to your yoke: my father hath chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions.

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12 So Jeroboam and all the people came to Rehoboam the third day, as the king had appointed, saying, Come to me again the third day.
13 And the king answered the people roughly, and forsook the old men's counsel that they gave him;
14 And spake to them after the counsel of the young men, saying, My father made your yoke heavy, and I will add to your yoke: my father also chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions.
15 Wherefore the king hearkened not unto the people; for the cause was from the LORD, that he might perform his saying, which the LORD spake by Ahijah the Shilonite unto Jeroboam the son of Nebat.
16 So when all Israel saw that the king hearkened not unto them, the people answered the king, saying, What portion have we in David? neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse: to your tents, O Israel: now see to thine own house, David. So Israel departed unto their tents.
17 But as for the children of Israel which dwelt in the cities of Judah, Rehoboam reigned over them.
18 Then king Rehoboam sent Adoram, who was over the tribute; and all Israel stoned him with stones, that he died. Therefore king Rehoboam made speed to get him up to his chariot, to flee to Jerusalem.
19 So Israel rebelled against the house of David unto this day.
20 And it came to pass, when all Israel heard that Jeroboam was come again, that they sent and called him unto the congregation, and made him king over all Israel: there was none that followed the house of David, but the tribe of Judah only.
21 And when Rehoboam was come to Jerusalem, he assembled all the house of Judah, with the tribe of Benjamin, an hundred and fourscore thousand chosen men, which were warriors, to fight against the house of Israel, to bring the kingdom again to Rehoboam the son of Solomon.
22 But the word of God came unto Shemaiah the man of God, saying,
23 Speak unto Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, king of Judah, and unto all the house of Judah and Benjamin, and to the remnant of the people, saying,
24 Thus saith the LORD, Ye shall not go up, nor fight against your brethren the children of Israel: return every man to his house; for this thing is from me. They hearkened therefore to the word of the LORD, and returned to depart, according to the word of the LORD.
25 Then Jeroboam built Shechem in mount Ephraim, and dwelt therein; and went out from thence, and built Penuel.
26 And Jeroboam said in his heart, Now shall the kingdom return to the house of David:
27 If this people go up to do sacrifice in the house of the LORD at Jerusalem, then shall the heart of this people turn again unto their lord, even unto Rehoboam king of Judah, and they shall kill me, and go again to Rehoboam king of Judah.
28 Whereupon the king took counsel, and made two calves of gold, and said unto them, It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem: behold thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.
29 And he set the one in Bethel, and the other put he in Dan.
30 And this thing became a sin: for the people went to worship before the one, even unto Dan.
31 And he made an house of high places, and made priests of the lowest of the people, which were not of the sons of Levi.
32 And Jeroboam ordained a feast in the eighth month, on the fifteenth day of the month, like unto the feast that is in Judah, and he offered upon the altar. So did he in Bethel, sacrificing unto the calves that he had made: and he placed in Bethel the priests of the high places which he had made.
33 So he offered upon the altar which he had made in Bethel the fifteenth day of the eighth month, even in the month which he had devised of his own heart; and ordained a feast unto the children of Israel: and he offered upon the altar, and burnt incense.

1 KINGS CHAPTER 13

1 And, behold, there came a man of God out of Judah by the word of the LORD unto Bethel: and Jeroboam stood by the altar to burn incense.
2 And he cried against the altar in the word of the LORD, and said, O altar, altar, thus saith the LORD; Behold, a child shall be born unto the house of David, Josiah by name; and upon thee shall he offer the priests of the high places that burn incense upon thee, and men's bones shall be burnt upon thee.
3 And he gave a sign the same day, saying, This is the sign which the LORD hath spoken; Behold, the altar shall be rent, and the ashes that are upon it shall be poured out.
4 And it came to pass, when king Jeroboam heard the saying of the man of God, which had cried against the altar in Bethel, that he put forth his hand from the altar, saying, Lay hold on him. And his hand, which he put forth against him, dried up, so that he could not pull it in again to him.
5 The altar also was rent, and the ashes poured out from the altar, according to the sign which the man of God had given by the word of the LORD.
6 And the king answered and said unto the man of God, Intreat now the face of the LORD thy God, and pray for me, that my hand may be restored me again. And the man of God besought the LORD, and the king's hand was restored him again, and became as it was before.
7 And the king said unto the man of God, Come home with me, and refresh thyself, and I will give thee a reward.
8 And the man of God said unto the king, If thou wilt give me half thine house, I will not go in with thee, neither will I eat bread nor drink water in this place:
9 For so was it charged me by the word of the LORD, saying, Eat no bread, nor drink water, nor turn again by the same way that thou camest.
10 So he went another way, and returned not by the way that he came to Bethel.
11 Now there dwelt an old prophet in Bethel; and his sons came and told him all the works that the man of God had done that day in Bethel: the words which he had spoken unto the king, them they told also to their father.
12 And their father said unto them, What way went he? For his sons had seen what way the man of God went, which came from Judah.
13 And he said unto his sons, Saddle me the ass. So they saddled him the ass: and he rode thereon,
14 And went after the man of God, and found him sitting under an oak: and he said unto him, Art thou the man of God that camest from Judah? And he said, I am.
15 Then he said unto him, Come home with me, and eat bread.
16 And he said, I may not return with thee, nor go in with thee: neither will I eat bread nor drink water with thee in this place:
17 For it was said to me by the word of the LORD, Thou shalt eat no bread nor drink water there, nor turn again to go by the way that thou camest.
18 He said unto him, I am a prophet also as thou art; and an angel spake unto me by the word of the LORD, saying, Bring him back with thee into thine house, that he may eat bread and drink water. But he lied unto him.
19 So he went back with him, and did eat bread in his house, and drank water.
20 And it came to pass, as they sat at the table, that the word of the LORD came unto the prophet that brought him back:
21 And he cried unto the man of God that came from Judah, saying, Thus saith the LORD, Forasmuch as thou hast disobeyed the mouth of the LORD, and hast not kept the commandment which the LORD thy God commanded thee,
22 But camest back, and hast eaten bread and drunk water in the place, of the which the Lord did say to thee, Eat no bread, and drink no water; thy carcase shall not come unto the sepulchre of thy fathers.
23 And it came to pass, after he had eaten bread, and after he had drunk, that he saddled for him the ass, to wit, for the prophet whom he had brought back.
24 And when he was gone, a lion met him by the way, and slew him: and his carcase was cast in the way, and the ass stood by it, the lion also stood by the carcase.
25 And, behold, men passed by, and saw the carcase cast in the way, and the lion standing by the carcase: and they came and told it in the city where the old prophet dwelt.
26 And when the prophet that brought him back from the way heard thereof, he said, It is the man of God, who was disobedient unto the word of the LORD: therefore the LORD hath delivered him unto the lion, which hath torn him, and slain him, according to the word of the LORD, which he spake unto him.
27 And he spake to his sons, saying, Saddle me the ass. And they saddled him.
28 And he went and found his carcase cast in the way, and the ass and the lion standing by the carcase: the lion had not eaten the carcase, nor torn the ass.
29 And the prophet took up the carcase of the man of God, and laid it upon the ass, and brought it back: and the old prophet came to the city, to mourn and to bury him.
30 And he laid his carcase in his own grave; and they mourned over him, saying, Alas, my brother!
31 And it came to pass, after he had buried him, that he spake to his sons, saying, When I am dead, then bury me in the sepulchre wherein the man of God is buried; lay my bones beside his bones:
32 For the saying which he cried by the word of the LORD against the altar in Bethel, and against all the houses of the high places which are in the cities of Samaria, shall surely come to pass.
33 After this thing Jeroboam returned not from his evil way, but made again of the lowest of the people priests of the high places: whosoever would, he consecrated him, and he became one of the priests of the high places.
34 And this thing became sin unto the house of Jeroboam, even to cut it off, and to destroy it from off the face of the earth.

1 KINGS CHAPTER 14

1 At that time Abijah the son of Jeroboam fell sick.
2 And Jeroboam said to his wife, Arise, I pray thee, and disguise thyself, that thou be not known to be the wife of Jeroboam; and get thee to Shiloh: behold, there is Ahijah the prophet, which told me that I should be king over this people.
3 And take with thee ten loaves, and cracknels, and a cruse of honey, and go to him: he shall tell thee what shall become of the child.
4 And Jeroboam's wife did so, and arose, and went to Shiloh, and came to the house of Ahijah. But Ahijah could not see; for his eyes were set by reason of his age.
5 And the LORD said unto Ahijah, Behold, the wife of Jeroboam cometh to ask a thing of thee for her son; for he is sick: thus and thus shalt thou say unto her: for it shall be, when she cometh in, that she shall feign herself to be another woman.
6 And it was so, when Ahijah heard the sound of her feet, as she came in at the door, that he said, Come in, thou wife of Jeroboam; why feignest thou thyself to be another? for I am sent to thee with heavy tidings.
7 Go, tell Jeroboam, Thus saith the LORD God of Israel, Forasmuch as I exalted thee from among the people, and made thee prince over my people Israel,
8 And rent the kingdom away from the house of David, and gave it thee: and yet thou hast not been as my servant David, who kept my commandments, and who followed me with all his heart, to do that only which was right in mine eyes;
9 But hast done evil above all that were before thee: for thou hast gone and made thee other gods, and molten images, to provoke me to anger, and hast cast me behind thy back:
10 Therefore, behold, I will bring evil upon the house of Jeroboam, and will cut off from Jeroboam him that pisseth against the wall, and him that is shut up and left in Israel, and will take away the remnant of the house of Jeroboam, as a man taketh away dung, till it be all gone.
11 Him that dieth of Jeroboam in the city shall the dogs eat; and him that dieth in the field shall the fowls of the air eat: for the LORD hath spoken it.
12 Arise thou therefore, get thee to thine own house: and when thy feet enter into the city, the child shall die.
13 And all Israel shall mourn for him, and bury him: for he only of Jeroboam shall come to the grave, because in him there is found some good thing toward the LORD God of Israel in the house of Jeroboam.
14 Moreover the LORD shall raise him up a king over Israel, who shall cut off the house of Jeroboam that day: but what? even now.
15 For the LORD shall smite Israel, as a reed is shaken in the water, and he shall root up Israel out of this good land, which he gave to their fathers, and shall scatter them beyond the river, because they have made their groves, provoking the LORD to anger.
16 And he shall give Israel up because of the sins of Jeroboam, who did sin, and who made Israel to sin.
17 And Jeroboam's wife arose, and departed, and came to Tirzah: and when she came to the threshold of the door, the child died;
18 And they buried him; and all Israel mourned for him, according to the word of the LORD, which he spake by the hand of his servant Ahijah the prophet.
19 And the rest of the acts of Jeroboam, how he warred, and how he reigned, behold, they are written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel.
20 And the days which Jeroboam reigned were two and twenty years: and he slept with his fathers, and Nadab his son reigned in his stead.
21 And Rehoboam the son of Solomon reigned in Judah. Rehoboam was forty and one years old when he began to reign, and he reigned seventeen years in Jerusalem, the city which the LORD did choose out of all the tribes of Israel, to put his name there. And his mother's name was Naamah an Ammonitess.
22 And Judah did evil in the sight of the LORD, and they provoked him to jealousy with their sins which they had committed, above all that their fathers had done.
23 For they also built them high places, and images, and groves, on every high hill, and under every green tree.
24 And there were also sodomites in the land: and they did according to all the abominations of the nations which the LORD cast out before the children of Israel.
25 And it came to pass in the fifth year of king Rehoboam, that Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem:
26 And he took away the treasures of the house of the LORD, and the treasures of the king's house; he even took away all: and he took away all the shields of gold which Solomon had made.
27 And king Rehoboam made in their stead brasen shields, and committed them unto the hands of the chief of the guard, which kept the door of the king's house.

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28 And it was so, when the king went into the house of the LORD, that the guard bare them, and brought them back into the guard chamber.
29 Now the rest of the acts of Rehoboam, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah?
30 And there was war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam all their days.
31 And Rehoboam slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers in the city of David. And his mother's name was Naamah an Ammonitess. And Abijam his son reigned in his stead.

1 KINGS CHAPTER 15

1 Now in the eighteenth year of king Jeroboam the son of Nebat reigned Abijam over Judah.
2 Three years reigned he in Jerusalem. and his mother's name was Maachah, the daughter of Abishalom.
3 And he walked in all the sins of his father, which he had done before him: and his heart was not perfect with the LORD his God, as the heart of David his father.
4 Nevertheless for David's sake did the LORD his God give him a lamp in Jerusalem, to set up his son after him, and to establish Jerusalem:
5 Because David did that which was right in the eyes of the LORD, and turned not aside from any thing that he commanded him all the days of his life, save only in the matter of Uriah the Hittite.
6 And there was war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam all the days of his life.
7 Now the rest of the acts of Abijam, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah? And there was war between Abijam and Jeroboam.
8 And Abijam slept with his fathers; and they buried him in the city of David: and Asa his son reigned in his stead.
9 And in the twentieth year of Jeroboam king of Israel reigned Asa over Judah.
10 And forty and one years reigned he in Jerusalem. And his mother's name was Maachah, the daughter of Abishalom.
11 And Asa did that which was right in the eyes of the LORD, as did David his father.
12 And he took away the sodomites out of the land, and removed all the idols that his fathers had made.
13 And also Maachah his mother, even her he removed from being queen, because she had made an idol in a grove; and Asa destroyed her idol, and burnt it by the brook Kidron.
14 But the high places were not removed: nevertheless Asa's heart was perfect with the LORD all his days.
15 And he brought in the things which his father had dedicated, and the things which himself had dedicated, into the house of the LORD, silver, and gold, and vessels.
16 And there was war between Asa and Baasha king of Israel all their days.
17 And Baasha king of Israel went up against Judah, and built Ramah, that he might not suffer any to go out or come in to Asa king of Judah.
18 Then Asa took all the silver and the gold that were left in the treasures of the house of the LORD, and the treasures of the king's house, and delivered them into the hand of his servants: and king Asa sent them to Benhadad, the son of Tabrimon, the son of Hezion, king of Syria, that dwelt at Damascus, saying,
19 There is a league between me and thee, and between my father and thy father: behold, I have sent unto thee a present of silver and gold; come and break thy league with Baasha king of Israel, that he may depart from me.
20 So Benhadad hearkened unto king Asa, and sent the captains of the hosts which he had against the cities of Israel, and smote Ijon, and Dan, and Abelbethmaachah, and all Cinneroth, with all the land of Naphtali.
21 And it came to pass, when Baasha heard thereof, that he left off building of Ramah, and dwelt in Tirzah.
22 Then king Asa made a proclamation throughout all Judah; none was exempted: and they took away the stones of Ramah, and the timber thereof, wherewith Baasha had builded; and king Asa built with them Geba of Benjamin, and Mizpah.
23 The rest of all the acts of Asa, and all his might, and all that he did, and the cities which he built, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah? Nevertheless in the time of his old age he was diseased in his feet.
24 And Asa slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers in the city of David his father: and Jehoshaphat his son reigned in his stead.
25 And Nadab the son of Jeroboam began to reign over Israel in the second year of Asa king of Judah, and reigned over Israel two years.
26 And he did evil in the sight of the LORD, and walked in the way of his father, and in his sin wherewith he made Israel to sin.
27 And Baasha the son of Ahijah, of the house of Issachar, conspired against him; and Baasha smote him at Gibbethon, which belonged to the Philistines; for Nadab and all Israel laid siege to Gibbethon.
28 Even in the third year of Asa king of Judah did Baasha slay him, and reigned in his stead.
29 And it came to pass, when he reigned, that he smote all the house of Jeroboam; he left not to Jeroboam any that breathed, until he had destroyed him, according unto the saying of the LORD, which he spake by his servant Ahijah the Shilonite:
30 Because of the sins of Jeroboam which he sinned, and which he made Israel sin, by his provocation wherewith he provoked the LORD God of Israel to anger.
31 Now the rest of the acts of Nadab, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?
32 And there was war between Asa and Baasha king of Israel all their days.
33 In the third year of Asa king of Judah began Baasha the son of Ahijah to reign over all Israel in Tirzah, twenty and four years.
34 And he did evil in the sight of the LORD, and walked in the way of Jeroboam, and in his sin wherewith he made Israel to sin.

1 KINGS CHAPTER 16

1 Then the word of the LORD came to Jehu the son of Hanani against Baasha, saying,
2 Forasmuch as I exalted thee out of the dust, and made thee prince over my people Israel; and thou hast walked in the way of Jeroboam, and hast made my people Israel to sin, to provoke me to anger with their sins;
3 Behold, I will take away the posterity of Baasha, and the posterity of his house; and will make thy house like the house of Jeroboam the son of Nebat.
4 Him that dieth of Baasha in the city shall the dogs eat; and him that dieth of his in the fields shall the fowls of the air eat.
5 Now the rest of the acts of Baasha, and what he did, and his might, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?
6 So Baasha slept with his fathers, and was buried in Tirzah: and Elah his son reigned in his stead.
7 And also by the hand of the prophet Jehu the son of Hanani came the word of the LORD against Baasha, and against his house, even for all the evil that he did in the sight of the LORD, in provoking him to anger with the work of his hands, in being like the house of Jeroboam; and because he killed him.
8 In the twenty and sixth year of Asa king of Judah began Elah the son of Baasha to reign over Israel in Tirzah, two years.
9 And his servant Zimri, captain of half his chariots, conspired against him, as he was in Tirzah, drinking himself drunk in the house of Arza steward of his house in Tirzah.
10 And Zimri went in and smote him, and killed him, in the twenty and seventh year of Asa king of Judah, and reigned in his stead.
11 And it came to pass, when he began to reign, as soon as he sat on his throne, that he slew all the house of Baasha: he left him not one that pisseth against a wall, neither of his kinsfolks, nor of his friends.
12 Thus did Zimri destroy all the house of Baasha, according to the word of the LORD, which he spake against Baasha by Jehu the prophet.
13 For all the sins of Baasha, and the sins of Elah his son, by which they sinned, and by which they made Israel to sin, in provoking the LORD God of Israel to anger with their vanities.
14 Now the rest of the acts of Elah, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?
15 In the twenty and seventh year of Asa king of Judah did Zimri reign seven days in Tirzah. And the people were encamped against Gibbethon, which belonged to the Philistines.
16 And the people that were encamped heard say, Zimri hath conspired, and hath also slain the king: wherefore all Israel made Omri, the captain of the host, king over Israel that day in the camp.
17 And Omri went up from Gibbethon, and all Israel with him, and they besieged Tirzah.
18 And it came to pass, when Zimri saw that the city was taken, that he went into the palace of the king's house, and burnt the king's house over him with fire, and died.
19 For his sins which he sinned in doing evil in the sight of the LORD, in walking in the way of Jeroboam, and in his sin which he did, to make Israel to sin.
20 Now the rest of the acts of Zimri, and his treason that he wrought, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?
21 Then were the people of Israel divided into two parts: half of the people followed Tibni the son of Ginath, to make him king; and half followed Omri.
22 But the people that followed Omri prevailed against the people that followed Tibni the son of Ginath: so Tibni died, and Omri reigned.
23 In the thirty and first year of Asa king of Judah began Omri to reign over Israel, twelve years: six years reigned he in Tirzah.
24 And he bought the hill Samaria of Shemer for two talents of silver, and built on the hill, and called the name of the city which he built, after the name of Shemer, owner of the hill, Samaria.
25 But Omri wrought evil in the eyes of the LORD, and did worse than all that were before him.
26 For he walked in all the way of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and in his sin wherewith he made Israel to sin, to provoke the LORD God of Israel to anger with their vanities.
27 Now the rest of the acts of Omri which he did, and his might that he shewed, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?
28 So Omri slept with his fathers, and was buried in Samaria: and Ahab his son reigned in his stead.
29 And in the thirty and eighth year of Asa king of Judah began Ahab the son of Omri to reign over Israel: and Ahab the son of Omri reigned over Israel in Samaria twenty and two years.
30 And Ahab the son of Omri did evil in the sight of the LORD above all that were before him.
31 And it came to pass, as if it had been a light thing for him to walk in the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, that he took to wife Jezebel the daughter of Ethbaal king of the Zidonians, and went and served Baal, and worshipped him.
32 And he reared up an altar for Baal in the house of Baal, which he had built in Samaria.
33 And Ahab made a grove; and Ahab did more to provoke the LORD God of Israel to anger than all the kings of Israel that were before him.
34 In his days did Hiel the Bethelite build Jericho: he laid the foundation thereof in Abiram his firstborn, and set up the gates thereof in his youngest son Segub, according to the word of the LORD, which he spake by Joshua the son of Nun.

1 KINGS CHAPTER 17

1 And Elijah the Tishbite, who was of the inhabitants of Gilead, said unto Ahab, As the LORD God of Israel liveth, before whom I stand, there shall not be dew nor rain these years, but according to my word.
2 And the word of the LORD came unto him, saying,
3 Get thee hence, and turn thee eastward, and hide thyself by the brook Cherith, that is before Jordan.
4 And it shall be, that thou shalt drink of the brook; and I have commanded the ravens to feed thee there.
5 So he went and did according unto the word of the LORD: for he went and dwelt by the brook Cherith, that is before Jordan.
6 And the ravens brought him bread and flesh in the morning, and bread and flesh in the evening; and he drank of the brook.
7 And it came to pass after a while, that the brook dried up, because there had been no rain in the land.
8 And the word of the LORD came unto him, saying,
9 Arise, get thee to Zarephath, which belongeth to Zidon, and dwell there: behold, I have commanded a widow woman there to sustain thee.
10 So he arose and went to Zarephath. And when he came to the gate of the city, behold, the widow woman was there gathering of sticks: and he called to her, and said, Fetch me, I pray thee, a little water in a vessel, that I may drink.
11 And as she was going to fetch it, he called to her, and said, Bring me, I pray thee, a morsel of bread in thine hand.
12 And she said, As the LORD thy God liveth, I have not a cake, but an handful of meal in a barrel, and a little oil in a cruse: and, behold, I am gathering two sticks, that I may go in and dress it for me and my son, that we may eat it, and die.
13 And Elijah said unto her, Fear not; go and do as thou hast said: but make me thereof a little cake first, and bring it unto me, and after make for thee and for thy son.
14 For thus saith the LORD God of Israel, The barrel of meal shall not waste, neither shall the cruse of oil fail, until the day that the LORD sendeth rain upon the earth.
15 And she went and did according to the saying of Elijah: and she, and he, and her house, did eat many days.
16 And the barrel of meal wasted not, neither did the cruse of oil fail, according to the word of the LORD, which he spake by Elijah.
17 And it came to pass after these things, that the son of the woman, the mistress of the house, fell sick; and his sickness was so sore, that there was no breath left in him.
18 And she said unto Elijah, What have I to do with thee, O thou man of God? art thou come unto me to call my sin to remembrance, and to slay my son?
19 And he said unto her, Give me thy son. And he took him out of her bosom, and carried him up into a loft, where he abode, and laid him upon his own bed.

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20 And he cried unto the LORD, and said, O LORD my God, hast thou also brought evil upon the widow with whom I sojourn, by slaying her son?
21 And he stretched himself upon the child three times, and cried unto the LORD, and said, O LORD my God, I pray thee, let this child's soul come into him again.
22 And the LORD heard the voice of Elijah; and the soul of the child came into him again, and he revived.
23 And Elijah took the child, and brought him down out of the chamber into the house, and delivered him unto his mother: and Elijah said, See, thy son liveth.
24 And the woman said to Elijah, Now by this I know that thou art a man of God, and that the word of the LORD in thy mouth is truth.

1 KINGS CHAPTER 18

1 And it came to pass after many days, that the word of the LORD came to Elijah in the third year, saying, Go, shew thyself unto Ahab; and I will send rain upon the earth.
2 And Elijah went to shew himself unto Ahab. And there was a sore famine in Samaria.
3 And Ahab called Obadiah, which was the governor of his house. (Now Obadiah feared the LORD greatly:
4 For it was so, when Jezebel cut off the prophets of the LORD, that Obadiah took an hundred prophets, and hid them by fifty in a cave, and fed them with bread and water.)
5 And Ahab said unto Obadiah, Go into the land, unto all fountains of water, and unto all brooks: peradventure we may find grass to save the horses and mules alive, that we lose not all the beasts.
6 So they divided the land between them to pass throughout it: Ahab went one way by himself, and Obadiah went another way by himself.
7 And as Obadiah was in the way, behold, Elijah met him: and he knew him, and fell on his face, and said, Art thou that my lord Elijah?
8 And he answered him, I am: go, tell thy lord, Behold, Elijah is here.
9 And he said, What have I sinned, that thou wouldest deliver thy servant into the hand of Ahab, to slay me?
10 As the LORD thy God liveth, there is no nation or kingdom, whither my lord hath not sent to seek thee: and when they said, He is not there; he took an oath of the kingdom and nation, that they found thee not.
11 And now thou sayest, Go, tell thy lord, Behold, Elijah is here.
12 And it shall come to pass, as soon as I am gone from thee, that the Spirit of the LORD shall carry thee whither I know not; and so when I come and tell Ahab, and he cannot find thee, he shall slay me: but I thy servant fear the LORD from my youth.
13 Was it not told my lord what I did when Jezebel slew the prophets of the LORD, how I hid an hundred men of the LORD's prophets by fifty in a cave, and fed them with bread and water?
14 And now thou sayest, Go, tell thy lord, Behold, Elijah is here: and he shall slay me.
15 And Elijah said, As the LORD of hosts liveth, before whom I stand, I will surely shew myself unto him to day.
16 So Obadiah went to meet Ahab, and told him: and Ahab went to meet Elijah.
17 And it came to pass, when Ahab saw Elijah, that Ahab said unto him, Art thou he that troubleth Israel?
18 And he answered, I have not troubled Israel; but thou, and thy father's house, in that ye have forsaken the commandments of the LORD, and thou hast followed Baalim.
19 Now therefore send, and gather to me all Israel unto mount Carmel, and the prophets of Baal four hundred and fifty, and the prophets of the groves four hundred, which eat at Jezebel's table.
20 So Ahab sent unto all the children of Israel, and gathered the prophets together unto mount Carmel.
21 And Elijah came unto all the people, and said, How long halt ye between two opinions? if the LORD be God, follow him: but if Baal, then follow him. And the people answered him not a word.
22 Then said Elijah unto the people, I, even I only, remain a prophet of the LORD; but Baal's prophets are four hundred and fifty men.
23 Let them therefore give us two bullocks; and let them choose one bullock for themselves, and cut it in pieces, and lay it on wood, and put no fire under: and I will dress the other bullock, and lay it on wood, and put no fire under:
24 And call ye on the name of your gods, and I will call on the name of the LORD: and the God that answereth by fire, let him be God. And all the people answered and said, It is well spoken.
25 And Elijah said unto the prophets of Baal, Choose you one bullock for yourselves, and dress it first; for ye are many; and call on the name of your gods, but put no fire under.
26 And they took the bullock which was given them, and they dressed it, and called on the name of Baal from morning even until noon, saying, O Baal, hear us. But there was no voice, nor any that answered. And they leaped upon the altar which was made.
27 And it came to pass at noon, that Elijah mocked them, and said, Cry aloud: for he is a god; either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is in a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth, and must be awaked.
28 And they cried aloud, and cut themselves after their manner with knives and lancets, till the blood gushed out upon them.
29 And it came to pass, when midday was past, and they prophesied until the time of the offering of the evening sacrifice, that there was neither voice, nor any to answer, nor any that regarded.
30 And Elijah said unto all the people, Come near unto me. And all the people came near unto him. And he repaired the altar of the LORD that was broken down.
31 And Elijah took twelve stones, according to the number of the tribes of the sons of Jacob, unto whom the word of the LORD came, saying, Israel shall be thy name:
32 And with the stones he built an altar in the name of the LORD: and he made a trench about the altar, as great as would contain two measures of seed.
33 And he put the wood in order, and cut the bullock in pieces, and laid him on the wood, and said, Fill four barrels with water, and pour it on the burnt sacrifice, and on the wood.
34 And he said, Do it the second time. And they did it the second time. And he said, Do it the third time. And they did it the third time.
35 And the water ran round about the altar; and he filled the trench also with water.
36 And it came to pass at the time of the offering of the evening sacrifice, that Elijah the prophet came near, and said, LORD God of Abraham, Isaac, and of Israel, let it be known this day that thou art God in Israel, and that I am thy servant, and that I have done all these things at thy word.
37 Hear me, O LORD, hear me, that this people may know that thou art the LORD God, and that thou hast turned their heart back again.
38 Then the fire of the LORD fell, and consumed the burnt sacrifice, and the wood, and the stones, and the dust, and licked up the water that was in the trench.
39 And when all the people saw it, they fell on their faces: and they said, The LORD, he is the God; the LORD, he is the God.
40 And Elijah said unto them, Take the prophets of Baal; let not one of them escape. And they took them: and Elijah brought them down to the brook Kishon, and slew them there.
41 And Elijah said unto Ahab, Get thee up, eat and drink; for there is a sound of abundance of rain.
42 So Ahab went up to eat and to drink. And Elijah went up to the top of Carmel; and he cast himself down upon the earth, and put his face between his knees,
43 And said to his servant, Go up now, look toward the sea. And he went up, and looked, and said, There is nothing. And he said, Go again seven times.
44 And it came to pass at the seventh time, that he said, Behold, there ariseth a little cloud out of the sea, like a man's hand. And he said, Go up, say unto Ahab, Prepare thy chariot, and get thee down that the rain stop thee not.
45 And it came to pass in the mean while, that the heaven was black with clouds and wind, and there was a great rain. And Ahab rode, and went to Jezreel.
46 And the hand of the LORD was on Elijah; and he girded up his loins, and ran before Ahab to the entrance of Jezreel.

1 KINGS CHAPTER 19

1 And Ahab told Jezebel all that Elijah had done, and withal how he had slain all the prophets with the sword.
2 Then Jezebel sent a messenger unto Elijah, saying, So let the gods do to me, and more also, if I make not thy life as the life of one of them by to morrow about this time.
3 And when he saw that, he arose, and went for his life, and came to Beersheba, which belongeth to Judah, and left his servant there.
4 But he himself went a day's journey into the wilderness, and came and sat down under a juniper tree: and he requested for himself that he might die; and said, It is enough; now, O LORD, take away my life; for I am not better than my fathers.
5 And as he lay and slept under a juniper tree, behold, then an angel touched him, and said unto him, Arise and eat.
6 And he looked, and, behold, there was a cake baken on the coals, and a cruse of water at his head. And he did eat and drink, and laid him down again.
7 And the angel of the LORD came again the second time, and touched him, and said, Arise and eat; because the journey is too great for thee.
8 And he arose, and did eat and drink, and went in the strength of that meat forty days and forty nights unto Horeb the mount of God.
9 And he came thither unto a cave, and lodged there; and, behold, the word of the LORD came to him, and he said unto him, What doest thou here, Elijah?
10 And he said, I have been very jealous for the LORD God of hosts: for the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thine altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword; and I, even I only, am left; and they seek my life, to take it away.
11 And he said, Go forth, and stand upon the mount before the LORD. And, behold, the LORD passed by, and a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the LORD; but the LORD was not in the wind: and after the wind an earthquake; but the LORD was not in the earthquake:
12 And after the earthquake a fire; but the LORD was not in the fire: and after the fire a still small voice.
13 And it was so, when Elijah heard it, that he wrapped his face in his mantle, and went out, and stood in the entering in of the cave. And, behold, there came a voice unto him, and said, What doest thou here, Elijah?
14 And he said, I have been very jealous for the LORD God of hosts: because the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thine altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword; and I, even I only, am left; and they seek my life, to take it away.
15 And the LORD said unto him, Go, return on thy way to the wilderness of Damascus: and when thou comest, anoint Hazael to be king over Syria:
16 And Jehu the son of Nimshi shalt thou anoint to be king over Israel: and Elisha the son of Shaphat of Abelmeholah shalt thou anoint to be prophet in thy room.
17 And it shall come to pass, that him that escapeth the sword of Hazael shall Jehu slay: and him that escapeth from the sword of Jehu shall Elisha slay.
18 Yet I have left me seven thousand in Israel, all the knees which have not bowed unto Baal, and every mouth which hath not kissed him.
19 So he departed thence, and found Elisha the son of Shaphat, who was plowing with twelve yoke of oxen before him, and he with the twelfth: and Elijah passed by him, and cast his mantle upon him.
20 And he left the oxen, and ran after Elijah, and said, Let me, I pray thee, kiss my father and my mother, and then I will follow thee. And he said unto him, Go back again: for what have I done to thee?
21 And he returned back from him, and took a yoke of oxen, and slew them, and boiled their flesh with the instruments of the oxen, and gave unto the people, and they did eat. Then he arose, and went after Elijah, and ministered unto him.

1 KINGS CHAPTER 20

1 And Benhadad the king of Syria gathered all his host together: and there were thirty and two kings with him, and horses, and chariots; and he went up and besieged Samaria, and warred against it.
2 And he sent messengers to Ahab king of Israel into the city, and said unto him, Thus saith Benhadad,
3 Thy silver and thy gold is mine; thy wives also and thy children, even the goodliest, are mine.
4 And the king of Israel answered and said, My lord, O king, according to thy saying, I am thine, and all that I have.
5 And the messengers came again, and said, Thus speaketh Benhadad, saying, Although I have sent unto thee, saying, Thou shalt deliver me thy silver, and thy gold, and thy wives, and thy children;
6 Yet I will send my servants unto thee to morrow about this time, and they shall search thine house, and the houses of thy servants; and it shall be, that whatsoever is pleasant in thine eyes, they shall put it in their hand, and take it away.
7 Then the king of Israel called all the elders of the land, and said, Mark, I pray you, and see how this man seeketh mischief: for he sent unto me for my wives, and for my children, and for my silver, and for my gold; and I denied him not.
8 And all the elders and all the people said unto him, Hearken not unto him, nor consent.
9 Wherefore he said unto the messengers of Benhadad, Tell my lord the king, All that thou didst send for to thy servant at the first I will do: but this thing I may not do. And the messengers departed, and brought him word again.
10 And Benhadad sent unto him, and said, The gods do so unto me, and more also, if the dust of Samaria shall suffice for handfuls for all the people that follow me.
11 And the king of Israel answered and said, Tell him, Let not him that girdeth on his harness boast himself as he that putteth it off.
12 And it came to pass, when Ben-hadad heard this message, as he was drinking, he and the kings in the pavilions, that he said unto his servants, Set yourselves in array. And they set themselves in array against the city.
13 And, behold, there came a prophet unto Ahab king of Israel, saying, Thus saith the LORD, Hast thou seen all this great multitude? behold, I will deliver it into thine hand this day; and thou shalt know that I am the LORD.
14 And Ahab said, By whom? And he said, Thus saith the LORD, Even by the young men of the princes of the provinces.

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Then he said, Who shall order the battle? And he answered, Thou.

15 Then he numbered the young men of the princes of the provinces, and they were two hundred and thirty two: and after them he numbered all the people, even all the children of Israel, being seven thousand.

16 And they went out at noon. But Benhadad was drinking himself drunk in the pavilions, he and the kings, the thirty and two kings that helped him.

17 And the young men of the princes of the provinces went out first; and Benhadad sent out, and they told him, saying, There are men come out of Samaria.

18 And he said, Whether they be come out for peace, take them alive; or whether they be come out for war, take them alive.

19 So these young men of the princes of the provinces came out of the city, and the army which followed them.

20 And they slew every one his man: and the Syrians fled; and Israel pursued them: and Benhadad the king of Syria escaped on an horse with the horsemen.

21 And the king of Israel went out, and smote the horses and chariots, and slew the Syrians with a great slaughter.

22 And the prophet came to the king of Israel, and said unto him, Go, strengthen thyself, and mark, and see what thou doest: for at the return of the year the king of Syria will come up against thee.

23 And the servants of the king of Syria said unto him, Their gods are gods of the hills; therefore they were stronger than we; but let us fight against them in the plain, and surely we shall be stronger than they.

24 And do this thing, Take the kings away, every man out of his place, and put captains in their rooms:

25 And number thee an army, like the army that thou hast lost, horse for horse, and chariot for chariot: and we will fight against them in the plain, and surely we shall be stronger than they. And he hearkened unto their voice, and did so.

26 And it came to pass at the return of the year, that Benhadad numbered the Syrians, and went up to Aphek, to fight against Israel.

27 And the children of Israel were numbered, and were all present, and went against them: and the children of Israel pitched before them like two little flocks of kids; but the Syrians filled the country.

28 And there came a man of God, and spake unto the king of Israel, and said, Thus saith the LORD, Because the Syrians have said, The LORD is God of the hills, but he is not God of the valleys, therefore will I deliver all this great multitude into thine hand, and ye shall know that I am the LORD.

29 And they pitched one over against the other seven days. And so it was, that in the seventh day the battle was joined: and the children of Israel slew of the Syrians an hundred thousand footmen in one day.

30 But the rest fled to Aphek, into the city; and there a wall fell upon twenty and seven thousand of the men that were left. And Benhadad fled, and came into the city, into an inner chamber.

31 And his servants said unto him, Behold now, we have heard that the kings of the house of Israel are merciful kings: let us, I pray thee, put sackcloth on our loins, and ropes upon our heads, and go out to the king of Israel: peradventure he will save thy life.

32 So they girded sackcloth on their loins, and put ropes on their heads, and came to the king of Israel, and said, Thy servant Benhadad saith, I pray thee, let me live. And he said, Is he yet alive? he is my brother.

33 Now the men did diligently observe whether any thing would come from him, and did hastily catch it: and they said, Thy brother Benhadad. Then he said, Go ye, bring him. Then Benhadad came forth to him; and he caused him to come up into the chariot.

34 And Ben-hadad said unto him, The cities, which my father took from thy father, I will restore; and thou shalt make streets for thee in Damascus, as my father made in Samaria. Then said Ahab, I will send thee away with this covenant. So he made a covenant with him, and sent him away.

35 And a certain man of the sons of the prophets said unto his neighbour in the word of the LORD, Smite me, I pray thee. And the man refused to smite him.

36 Then said he unto him, Because thou hast not obeyed the voice of the LORD, behold, as soon as thou art departed from me, a lion shall slay thee. And as soon as he was departed from him, a lion found him, and slew him.

37 Then he found another man, and said, Smite me, I pray thee. And the man smote him, so that in smiting he wounded him.

38 So the prophet departed, and waited for the king by the way, and disguised himself with ashes upon his face.

39 And as the king passed by, he cried unto the king: and he said, Thy servant went out into the midst of the battle; and, behold, a man turned aside, and brought a man unto me, and said, Keep this man: if by any means he be missing, then shall thy life be for his life, or else thou shalt pay a talent of silver.

40 And as thy servant was busy here and there, he was gone. And the king of Israel said unto him, So shall thy judgement be; thyself hast decided it.

41 And he hasted, and took the ashes away from his face; and the king of Israel discerned him that he was of the prophets.

42 And he said unto him, Thus saith the LORD, Because thou hast let go out of thy hand a man whom I appointed to utter destruction, therefore thy life shall go for his life, and thy people for his people.

43 And the king of Israel went to his house heavy and displeased, and came to Samaria.

1 KINGS CHAPTER 21

1 And it came to pass after these things, that Naboth the Jezreelite had a vineyard, which was in Jezreel, hard by the palace of Ahab king of Samaria.

2 And Ahab spake unto Naboth, saying, Give me thy vineyard, that I may have it for a garden of herbs, because it is near unto my house: and I will give thee for it a better vineyard than it; or, if it seem good to thee, I will give thee the worth of it in money.

3 And Naboth said to Ahab, The LORD forbid it me, that I should give the inheritance of my fathers unto thee.

4 And Ahab came into his house heavy and displeased because of the word which Naboth the Jezreelite had spoken to him: for he had said, I will not give thee the inheritance of my fathers. And he laid him down upon his bed, and turned away his face, and would eat no bread.

5 But Jezebel his wife came to him, and said unto him, Why is thy spirit so sad, that thou eatest no bread?

6 And he said unto her, Because I spake unto Naboth the Jezreelite, and said unto him, Give me thy vineyard for money; or else, if it please thee, I will give thee another vineyard for it: and he answered, I will not give thee my vineyard.

7 And Jezebel his wife said unto him, Dost thou now govern the kingdom of Israel? arise, and eat bread, and let thine heart be merry: I will give thee the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite.

8 So she wrote letters in Ahab's name, and sealed them with his seal, and sent the letters unto the elders and to the nobles that were in his city, dwelling with Naboth.

9 And she wrote in the letters, saying, Proclaim a fast, and set Naboth on high among the people:

10 And set two men, sons of Belial, before him, to bear witness against him, saying, Thou didst blaspheme God and the king. And then carry him out, and stone him, that he may die.

11 And the men of his city, even the elders and the nobles who were the inhabitants in his city, did as Jezebel had sent unto them, and as it was written in the letters which she had sent unto them.

12 They proclaimed a fast, and set Naboth on high among the people.

13 And there came in two men, children of Belial, and sat before him: and the men of Belial witnessed against him, even against Naboth, in the presence of the people, saying, Naboth did blaspheme God and the king. Then they carried him forth out of the city, and stoned him with stones, that he died.

14 Then they sent to Jezebel, saying, Naboth is stoned, and is dead.

15 And it came to pass, when Jezebel heard that Naboth was stoned, and was dead, that Jezebel said to Ahab, Arise, take possession of the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite, which he refused to give thee for money: for Naboth is not alive, but dead.

16 And it came to pass, when Ahab heard that Naboth was dead, that Ahab rose up to go down to the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite, to take possession of it.

17 And the word of the LORD came to Elijah the Tishbite, saying,

18 Arise, go down to meet Ahab king of Israel, which is in Samaria: behold, he is in the vineyard of Naboth, whither he is gone down to possess it.

19 And thou shalt speak unto him, saying, Thus saith the LORD, Hast thou killed, and also taken possession? And thou shalt speak unto him, saying, Thus saith the LORD, In the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth shall dogs lick thy blood, even thine.

20 And Ahab said to Elijah, Hast thou found me, O mine enemy? And he answered, I have found thee: because thou hast sold thyself to work evil in the sight of the LORD.

21 Behold, I will bring evil upon thee, and will take away thy posterity, and will cut off from Ahab him that pisseth against the wall, and him that is shut up and left in Israel,

22 And will make thine house like the house of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and like the house of Baasha the son of Ahijah, for the provocation wherewith thou hast provoked me to anger, and made Israel to sin.

23 And of Jezebel also spake the LORD, saying, The dogs shall eat Jezebel by the wall of Jezreel.

24 Him that dieth of Ahab in the city the dogs shall eat; and him that dieth in the field shall the fowls of the air eat.

25 But there was none like unto Ahab, which did sell himself to work wickedness in the sight of the LORD, whom Jezebel his wife stirred up.

26 And he did very abominably in following idols, according to all things as did the Amorites, whom the LORD cast out before the children of Israel.

27 And it came to pass, when Ahab heard those words, that he rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his flesh, and fasted, and lay in sackcloth, and went softly.

28 And the word of the LORD came to Elijah the Tishbite, saying,

29 Seest thou how Ahab humbleth himself before me? because he humbleth himself before me, I will not bring the evil in his days: but in his son's days will I bring the evil upon his house.

1 KINGS CHAPTER 22

1 And they continued three years without war between Syria and Israel.

2 And it came to pass in the third year, that Jehoshaphat the king of Judah came down to the king of Israel.

3 And the king of Israel said unto his servants, Know ye that Ramoth in Gilead is ours, and we be still, and take it not out of the hand of the king of Syria?

4 And he said unto Jehoshaphat, Wilt thou go with me to battle to Ramothgilead? And Jehoshaphat said to the king of Israel, I am as thou art, my people as thy people, my horses as thy horses.

5 And Jehoshaphat said unto the king of Israel, Enquire, I pray thee, at the word of the LORD to day.

6 Then the king of Israel gathered the prophets together, about four hundred men, and said unto them, Shall I go against Ramothgilead to battle, or shall I forbear? And they said, Go up; for the LORD shall deliver it into the hand of the king.

7 And Jehoshaphat said, Is there not here a prophet of the LORD besides, that we might enquire of him?

8 And the king of Israel said unto Jehoshaphat, There is yet one man, Micaiah the son of Imlah, by whom we may enquire of the LORD: but I hate him; for he doth not prophesy good concerning me, but evil. And Jehoshaphat said, Let not the king say so.

9 Then the king of Israel called an officer, and said, Hasten hither Micaiah the son of Imlah.

10 And the king of Israel and Jehoshaphat the king of Judah sat each on his throne, having put on their robes, in a void place in the entrance of the gate of Samaria; and all the prophets prophesied before them.

11 And Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah made him horns of iron: and he said, Thus saith the LORD, With these shalt thou push the Syrians, until thou have consumed them.

12 And all the prophets prophesied so, saying, Go up to Ramothgilead, and prosper: for the LORD shall deliver it into the king's hand.

13 And the messenger that was gone to call Micaiah spake unto him, saying, Behold now, the words of the prophets declare good unto the king with one mouth: let thy word, I pray thee, be like the word of one of them, and speak that which is good.

14 And Micaiah said, As the LORD liveth, what the LORD saith unto me, that will I speak.

15 So he came to the king. And the king said unto him, Micaiah, shall we go against Ramothgilead to battle, or shall we forbear? And he answered him, Go, and prosper: for the LORD shall deliver it into the hand of the king.

16 And the king said unto him, How many times shall I adjure thee that thou tell me nothing but that which is true in the name of the LORD?

17 And he said, I saw all Israel scattered upon the hills, as sheep that have not a shepherd: and the LORD said, These have no master: let them return every man to his house in peace.

18 And the king of Israel said unto Jehoshaphat, Did I not tell thee that he would prophesy no good concerning me, but evil?

19 And he said, Hear thou therefore the word of the LORD: I saw the LORD sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven standing by him on his right hand and on his left.

20 And the LORD said, Who shall persuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramothgilead? And one said on this manner, and another said on that manner.

21 And there came forth a spirit, and stood before the LORD, and said, I will persuade him.

22 And the LORD said unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And he said, Thou shalt persude him, and prevail also: go forth, and do so.

23 Now therefore, behold, the LORD hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these thy prophets, and the LORD hath spoken evil concerning thee.

24 But Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah went near, and smote Micaiah on the cheek, and said, Which way went the Spirit of the LORD from me to speak unto thee?

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25 And Micaiah said, Behold, thou shalt see in that day, when thou shalt go into an inner chamber to hide thyself.
26 And the king of Israel said, Take Micaiah, and carry him back unto Amon the governor of the city, and to Joash the king's son;
27 And say, Thus saith the king, Put this fellow in the prison, and feed him with bread of affliction and with water of affliction, until I come in peace.
28 And Micaiah said, If thou return at all in peace, the LORD hath not spoken by me. And he said, Hearken, O people, every one of you.
29 So the king of Israel and Jehoshaphat the king of Judah went up to Ramothgilead.
30 And the king of Israel said unto Jehoshaphat, I will disguise myself, and enter into the battle; but put thou on thy robes. And the king of Israel disguised himself, and went into the battle.
31 But the king of Syria commanded his thirty and two captains that had rule over his chariots, saying, Fight neither with small nor great, save only with the king of Israel.
32 And it came to pass, when the captains of the chariots saw Jehoshaphat, that they said, Surely it is the king of Israel. And they turned aside to fight against him: and Jehoshaphat cried out.
33 And it came to pass, when the captains of the chariots perceived that it was not the king of Israel, that they turned back from pursuing him.
34 And a certain man drew a bow at a venture, and smote the king of Israel between the joints of the harness: wherefore he said unto the driver of his chariot, Turn thine hand, and carry me out of the host; for I am wounded.
35 And the battle increased that day: and the king was stayed up in his chariot against the Syrians, and died at even: and the blood ran out of the wound into the midst of the chariot.
36 And there went a proclamation throughout the host about the going down of the sun, saying, Every man to his city, and every man to his own country.
37 So the king died, and was brought to Samaria; and they buried the king in Samaria.
38 And one washed the chariot in the pool of Samaria; and the dogs licked up his blood; and they washed his armour; according unto the word of the LORD which he spake.
39 Now the rest of the acts of Ahab, and all that he did, and the ivory house which he made, and all the cities that he built, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?
40 So Ahab slept with his fathers; and Ahaziah his son reigned in his stead.
41 And Jehoshaphat the son of Asa began to reign over Judah in the fourth year of Ahab king of Israel.
42 Jehoshaphat was thirty and five years old when he began to reign; and he reigned twenty and five years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name was Azubah the daughter of Shilhi.
43 And he walked in all the ways of Asa his father; he turned not aside from it, doing that which was right in the eyes of the LORD: nevertheless the high places were not taken away; for the people offered and burnt incense yet in the high places.
44 And Jehoshaphat made peace with the king of Israel.
45 Now the rest of the acts of Jehoshaphat, and his might that he shewed, and how he warred, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah?
46 And the remnant of the sodomites, which remained in the days of his father Asa, he took out of the land.
47 There was then no king in Edom: a deputy was king.
48 Jehoshaphat made ships of Tharshish to go to Ophir for gold: but they went not; for the ships were broken at Eziongeber.
49 Then said Ahaziah the son of Ahab unto Jehoshaphat, Let my servants go with thy servants in the ships. But Jehoshaphat would not.
50 And Jehoshaphat slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers in the city of David his father: and Jehoram his son reigned in his stead.
51 Ahaziah the son of Ahab began to reign over Israel in Samaria the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, and reigned two years over Israel.
52 And he did evil in the sight of the LORD, and walked in the way of his father, and in the way of his mother, and in the way of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin:
53 For he served Baal, and worshipped him, and provoked to anger the LORD God of Israel, according to all that his father had done.

THE SECOND BOOK OF KINGS

Hebrew Title: Melakhim 2
(in some Bibles also called The Fourth Book of Kings;
the previous two Books of Samuel bear then the names
The First and the Second Book of Kings)
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 7th–6th century B.C.

2 KINGS CHAPTER 1

1 Then Moab rebelled against Israel after the death of Ahab.
2 And Ahaziah fell down through a lattice in his upper chamber that was in Samaria, and was sick: and he sent messengers, and said unto them, Go, enquire of Baalzebub the god of Ekron whether I shall recover of this disease.
3 But the angel of the LORD said to Elijah the Tishbite, Arise, go up to meet the messengers of the king of Samaria, and say unto them, Is it not because there is not a God in Israel, that ye go to enquire of Baalzebub the god of Ekron?
4 Now therefore thus saith the LORD, Thou shalt not come down from that bed on which thou art gone up, but shalt surely die. And Elijah departed.
5 And when the messengers turned back unto him, he said unto them, Why are ye now turned back?
6 And they said unto him, There came a man up to meet us, and said unto us, Go, turn again unto the king that sent you, and say unto him, Thus saith the LORD, Is it not because there is not a God in Israel, that thou sendest to enquire of Baalzebub the god of Ekron? therefore thou shalt not come down from that bed on which thou art gone up, but shalt surely die.
7 And he said unto them, What manner of man was he which came up to meet you, and told you these words?
8 And they answered him, He was an hairy man, and girt with a girdle of leather about his loins. And he said, It is Elijah the Tishbite.
9 Then the king sent unto him a captain of fifty with his fifty. And he went up to him: and, behold, he sat on the top of an hill. And he spake unto him, Thou man of God, the king hath said, Come down.
10 And Elijah answered and said to the captain of fifty, If I be a man of God, then let fire come down from heaven, and consume thee and thy fifty. And there came down fire from heaven, and consumed him and his fifty.
11 Again also he sent unto him another captain of fifty with his fifty. And he answered and said unto him, O man of God, thus hath the king said, Come down quickly.
12 And Elijah answered and said unto them, If I be a man of God, let fire come down from heaven, and consume thee and thy fifty. And the fire of God came down from heaven, and consumed him and his fifty.
13 And he sent again a captain of the third fifty with his fifty. And the third captain of fifty went up, and came and fell on his knees before Elijah, and besought him, and said unto him, O man of God, I pray thee, let my life, and the life of these fifty thy servants, be precious in thy sight.
14 Behold, there came fire down from heaven, and burnt up the two captains of the former fifties with their fifties: therefore let my life now be precious in thy sight.
15 And the angel of the LORD said unto Elijah, Go down with him: be not afraid of him. And he arose, and went down with him unto the king.
16 And he said unto him, Thus saith the LORD, Forasmuch as thou hast sent messengers to enquire of Baalzebub the god of Ekron, is it not because there is no God in Israel to enquire of his word? therefore thou shalt not come down off that bed on which thou art gone up, but shalt surely die.
17 So he died according to the word of the LORD which Elijah had spoken. And Jehoram reigned in his stead in the second year of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat king of Judah; because he had no son.
18 Now the rest of the acts of Ahaziah which he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?

2 KINGS CHAPTER 2

1 And it came to pass, when the LORD would take up Elijah into heaven by a whirlwind, that Elijah went with Elisha from Gilgal.
2 And Elijah said unto Elisha, Tarry here, I pray thee; for the LORD hath sent me to Bethel. And Elisha said unto him, As the LORD liveth, and as thy soul liveth, I will not leave thee. So they went down to Bethel.
3 And the sons of the prophets that were at Bethel came forth to Elisha, and said unto him, Knowest thou that the LORD will take away thy master from thy head to day? And he said, Yea, I know it; hold ye your peace.
4 And Elijah said unto him, Elisha, tarry here, I pray thee; for the LORD hath sent me to Jericho. And he said, As the LORD liveth, and as thy soul liveth, I will not leave thee. So they came to Jericho.
5 And the sons of the prophets that were at Jericho came to Elisha, and said unto him, Knowest thou that the LORD will take away thy master from thy head to day? And he answered, Yea, I know it; hold ye your peace.
6 And Elijah said unto him, Tarry, I pray thee, here; for the LORD hath sent me to Jordan. And he said, As the LORD liveth, and as thy soul liveth, I will not leave thee. And they two went on.
7 And fifty men of the sons of the prophets went, and stood to view afar off: and they two stood by Jordan.
8 And Elijah took his mantle, and wrapped it together, and smote the waters, and they were divided hither and thither, so that they two went over on dry ground.
9 And it came to pass, when they were gone over, that Elijah said unto Elisha, Ask what I shall do for thee, before I be taken away from thee. And Elisha said, I pray thee, let a double portion of thy spirit be upon me.
10 And he said, Thou hast asked a hard thing: nevertheless, if thou see me when I am taken from thee, it shall be so unto thee; but if not, it shall not be so.
11 And it came to pass, as they still went on, and talked, that, behold, there appeared a chariot of fire, and horses of fire, and parted them both asunder; and Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven.
12 And Elisha saw it, and he cried, My father, my father, the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof. And he saw him no more: and he took hold of his own clothes, and rent them in two pieces.
13 He took up also the mantle of Elijah that fell from him, and went back, and stood by the bank of Jordan;
14 And he took the mantle of Elijah that fell from him, and smote the waters, and said, Where is the LORD God of Elijah? and when he also had smitten the waters, they parted hither and thither: and Elisha went over.
15 And when the sons of the prophets which were to view at Jericho saw him, they said, The spirit of Elijah doth rest on Elisha. And they came to meet him, and bowed themselves to the ground before him.
16 And they said unto him, Behold now, there be with thy servants fifty strong men; let them go, we pray thee, and seek thy master: lest peradventure the Spirit of the LORD hath taken him up, and cast him upon some mountain, or into some valley. And he said, Ye shall not send.
17 And when they urged him till he was ashamed, he said, Send. They sent therefore fifty men; and they sought three days, but found him not.
18 And when they came again to him, (for he tarried at Jericho,) he said unto them, Did I not say unto you, Go not?
19 And the men of the city said unto Elisha, Behold, I pray thee, the situation of this city is pleasant, as my lord seeth: but the water is naught, and the ground barren.
20 And he said, Bring me a new cruse, and put salt therein. And they brought it to him.
21 And he went forth unto the spring of the waters, and cast the salt in there, and said, Thus saith the LORD, I have healed these waters; there shall not be from thence any more death or barren land.
22 So the waters were healed unto this day, according to the saying of Elisha which he spake.
23 And he went up from thence unto Bethel: and as he was going up by the way, there came forth little children out of the city, and mocked him, and said unto him, Go up, thou bald head; go up, thou bald head.
24 And he turned back, and looked on them, and cursed them in the name of the LORD. And there came forth two she bears out of the wood, and tare forty and two children of them.
25 And he went from thence to mount Carmel, and from thence he returned to Samaria.

2 KINGS CHAPTER 3

1 Now Jehoram the son of Ahab began to reign over Israel in Samaria the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, and reigned twelve years.
2 And he wrought evil in the sight of the LORD; but not like his father, and like his mother: for he put away the image of Baal that his father had made.
3 Nevertheless he cleaved unto the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, which made Israel to sin; he departed not therefrom.
4 And Mesha king of Moab was a sheepmaster, and rendered unto the king of Israel an hundred thousand lambs, and an hundred thousand rams, with the wool.
5 But it came to pass, when Ahab was dead, that the king of Moab rebelled against the king of Israel.
6 And king Jehoram went out of Samaria the same time, and numbered all Israel.
7 And he went and sent to Jehoshaphat the king of Judah, saying, The king of Moab hath rebelled against me: wilt thou go with me against Moab to battle? And he said, I will go up: I am as thou art, my people as thy people, and my horses as thy horses.
8 And he said, Which way shall we go up? And he answered, The way through the wilderness of Edom.
9 So the king of Israel went, and the king of Judah, and the king of Edom: and they fetched a compass of seven days' journey: and there was no water for the host, and for the cattle that followed them.
10 And the king of Israel said, Alas! that the LORD hath called these three kings together, to deliver them into the hand of Moab!
11 But Jehoshaphat said, Is there not here a prophet of the LORD, that we may enquire of the LORD by him? And one of the king of Israel's servants answered and said, Here is Elisha

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the son of Shaphat, which poured water on the hands of Elijah.

12 And Jehoshaphat said, The word of the LORD is with him. So the king of Israel and Jehoshaphat and the king of Edom went down to him.

13 And Elisha said unto the king of Israel, What have I to do with thee? get thee to the prophets of thy father, and to the prophets of thy mother. And the king of Israel said unto him, Nay: for the LORD hath called these three kings together, to deliver them into the hand of Moab.

14 And Elisha said, As the LORD of hosts liveth, before whom I stand, surely, were it not that I regard the presence of Jehoshaphat the king of Judah, I would not look toward thee, nor see thee.

15 But now bring me a minstrel. And it came to pass, when the minstrel played, that the hand of the LORD came upon him.

16 And he said, Thus saith the LORD, Make this valley full of ditches.

17 For thus saith the LORD, Ye shall not see wind, neither shall ye see rain; yet that valley shall be filled with water, that ye may drink, both ye, and your cattle, and your beasts.

18 And this is but a light thing in the sight of the LORD: he will deliver the Moabites also into your hand.

19 And ye shall smite every fenced city, and every choice city, and shall fell every good tree, and stop all wells of water, and mar every good piece of land with stones.

20 And it came to pass in the morning, when the meat offering was offered, that, behold, there came water by the way of Edom, and the country was filled with water.

21 And when all the Moabites heard that the kings were come up to fight against them, they gathered all that were able to put on armour, and upward, and stood in the border.

22 And they rose up early in the morning, and the sun shone upon the water, and the Moabites saw the water on the other side as red as blood:

23 And they said, This is blood: the kings are surely slain, and they have smitten one another: now therefore, Moab, to the spoil.

24 And when they came to the camp of Israel, the Israelites rose up and smote the Moabites, so that they fled before them: but they went forward smiting the Moabites, even in their country.

25 And they beat down the cities, and on every good piece of land cast every man his stone, and filled it; and they stopped all the wells of water, and felled all the good trees: only in Kirharaseth left they the stones thereof; howbeit the slingers went about it, and smote it.

26 And when the king of Moab saw that the battle was too sore for him, he took with him seven hundred men that drew swords, to break through even unto the king of Edom: but they could not.

27 Then he took his eldest son that should have reigned in his stead, and offered him for a burnt offering upon the wall. And there was great indignation against Israel: and they departed from him, and returned to their own land.

2 KINGS CHAPTER 4

1 Now there cried a certain woman of the wives of the sons of the prophets unto Elisha, saying, Thy servant my husband is dead; and thou knowest that thy servant did fear the LORD: and the creditor is come to take unto him my two sons to be bondmen.

2 And Elisha said unto her, What shall I do for thee? tell me, what hast thou in the house? And she said, Thine handmaid hath not any thing in the house, save a pot of oil.

3 Then he said, Go, borrow thee vessels abroad of all thy neighbours, even empty vessels; borrow not a few.

4 And when thou art come in, thou shalt shut the door upon thee and upon thy sons, and shalt pour out into all those vessels, and thou shalt set aside that which is full.

5 So she went from him, and shut the door upon her and upon her sons, who brought the vessels to her; and she poured out.

6 And it came to pass, when the vessels were full, that she said unto her son, Bring me yet a vessel. And he said unto her, There is not a vessel more. And the oil stayed.

7 Then she came and told the man of God. And he said, Go, sell the oil, and pay thy debt, and live thou and thy children of the rest.

8 And it fell on a day, that Elisha passed to Shunem, where was a great woman; and she constrained him to eat bread. And so it was, that as oft as he passed by, he turned in thither to eat bread.

9 And she said unto her husband, Behold now, I perceive that this is an holy man of God, which passeth by us continually.

10 Let us make a little chamber, I pray thee, on the wall; and let us set for him there a bed, and a table, and a stool, and a candlestick: and it shall be, when he cometh to us, that he shall turn in thither.

11 And it fell on a day, that he came thither, and he turned into the chamber, and lay there.

12 And he said to Gehazi his servant, Call this Shunammite. And when he had called her, she stood before him.

13 And he said unto him, Say now unto her, Behold, thou hast been careful for us with all this care; what is to be done for thee? wouldest thou be spoken for to the king, or to the captain of the host? And she answered, I dwell among mine own people.

14 And he said, What then is to be done for her? And Gehazi answered, Verily she hath no child, and her husband is old.

15 And he said, Call her. And when he had called her, she stood in the door.

16 And he said, About this season, according to the time of life, thou shalt embrace a son. And she said, Nay, my lord, thou man of God, do not lie unto thine handmaid.

17 And the woman conceived, and bare a son at that season that Elisha had said unto her, according to the time of life.

18 And when the child was grown, it fell on a day, that he went out to his father to the reapers.

19 And he said unto his father, My head, my head. And he said to a lad, Carry him to his mother.

20 And when he had taken him, and brought him to his mother, he sat on her knees till noon, and then died.

21 And she went up, and laid him on the bed of the man of God, and shut the door upon him, and went out.

22 And she called unto her husband, and said, Send me, I pray thee, one of the young men, and one of the asses, that I may run to the man of God, and come again.

23 And he said, Wherefore wilt thou go to him to day? it is neither new moon, nor sabbath. And she said, It shall be well.

24 Then she saddled an ass, and said to her servant, Drive, and go forward; slack not thy riding for me, except I bid thee.

25 So she went and came unto the man of God to mount Carmel. And it came to pass, when the man of God saw her afar off, that he said to Gehazi his servant, Behold, yonder is that Shunammite:

26 Run now, I pray thee, to meet her, and say unto her, Is it well with thee? is it well with thy husband? is it well with the child? And she answered, It is well:

27 And when she came to the man of God to the hill, she caught him by the feet: but Gehazi came near to thrust her away. And the man of God said, Let her alone; for her soul is vexed within her: and the LORD hath hid it from me, and hath not told me.

28 Then she said, Did I desire a son of my lord? did I not say, Do not deceive me?

29 Then he said to Gehazi, Gird up thy loins, and take my staff in thine hand, and go thy way: if thou meet any man, salute him not; and if any salute thee, answer him not again: and lay my staff upon the face of the child.

30 And the mother of the child said, As the LORD liveth, and as thy soul liveth, I will not leave thee. And he arose, and followed her.

31 And Gehazi passed on before them, and laid the staff upon the face of the child; but there was neither voice, nor hearing. Wherefore he went again to meet him, and told him, saying, The child is not awaked.

32 And when Elisha was come into the house, behold, the child was dead, and laid upon his bed.

33 He went in therefore, and shut the door upon them twain, and prayed unto the LORD.

34 And he went up, and lay upon the child, and put his mouth upon his mouth, and his eyes upon his eyes, and his hands upon his hands: and stretched himself upon the child; and the flesh of the child waxed warm.

35 Then he returned, and walked in the house to and fro; and went up, and stretched himself upon him: and the child sneezed seven times, and the child opened his eyes.

36 And he called Gehazi, and said, Call this Shunammite. So he called her. And when she was come in unto him, he said, Take up thy son.

37 Then she went in, and fell at his feet, and bowed herself to the ground, and took up her son, and went out.

38 And Elisha came again to Gilgal: and there was a dearth in the land; and the sons of the prophets were sitting before him: and he said unto his servant, Set on the great pot, and seethe pottage for the sons of the prophets.

39 And one went out into the field to gather herbs, and found a wild vine, and gathered thereof wild gourds his lap full, and came and shred them into the pot of pottage: for they knew them not.

40 So they poured out for the men to eat. And it came to pass, as they were eating of the pottage, that they cried out, and said, O thou man of God, there is death in the pot. And they could not eat thereof.

41 But he said, Then bring meal. And he cast it into the pot; and he said, Pour out for the people, that they may eat. And there was no harm in the pot.

42 And there came a man from Baalshalisha, and brought the man of God bread of the firstfruits, twenty loaves of barley, and full ears of corn in the husk thereof. And he said, Give unto the people, that they may eat.

43 And his servitor said, What, should I set this before an hundred men? He said again, Give the people, that they may eat: for thus saith the LORD, They shall eat, and shall leave thereof.

44 So he set it before them, and they did eat, and left thereof, according to the word of the LORD.

2 KINGS CHAPTER 5

1 Now Naaman, captain of the host of the king of Syria, was a great man with his master, and honourable, because by him the LORD had given deliverance unto Syria: he was also a mighty man in valour, but he was a leper.

2 And the Syrians had gone out by companies, and had brought away captive out of the land of Israel a little maid; and she waited on Naaman's wife.

3 And she said unto her mistress, Would God my lord were with the prophet that is in Samaria! for he would recover him of his leprosy.

4 And one went in, and told his lord, saying, Thus and thus said the maid that is of the land of Israel.

5 And the king of Syria said, Go to, go, and I will send a letter unto the king of Israel. And he departed, and took with him ten talents of silver, and six thousand pieces of gold, and ten changes of raiment.

6 And he brought the letter to the king of Israel, saying, Now when this letter is come unto thee, behold, I have therewith sent Naaman my servant to thee, that thou mayest recover him of his leprosy.

7 And it came to pass, when the king of Israel had read the letter, that he rent his clothes, and said, Am I God, to kill and to make alive, that this man doth send unto me to recover a man of his leprosy? wherefore consider, I pray you, and see how he seeketh a quarrel against me.

8 And it was so, when Elisha the man of God had heard that the king of Israel had rent his clothes, that he sent to the king, saying, Wherefore hast thou rent thy clothes? let him come now to me, and he shall know that there is a prophet in Israel.

9 So Naaman came with his horses and with his chariot, and stood at the door of the house of Elisha.

10 And Elisha sent a messenger unto him, saying, Go and wash in Jordan seven times, and thy flesh shall come again to thee, and thou shalt be clean.

11 But Naaman was wroth, and went away, and said, Behold, I thought, He will surely come out to me, and stand, and call on the name of the LORD his God, and strike his hand over the place, and recover the leper.

12 Are not Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel? may I not wash in them, and be clean? So he turned and went away in a rage.

13 And his servants came near, and spake unto him, and said, My father, if the prophet had bid thee do some great thing, wouldest thou not have done it? how much rather then, when he saith to thee, Wash, and be clean?

14 Then went he down, and dipped himself seven times in Jordan, according to the saying of the man of God: and his flesh came again like unto the flesh of a little child, and he was clean.

15 And he returned to the man of God, he and all his company, and came, and stood before him: and he said, Behold, now I know that there is no God in all the earth, but in Israel: now therefore, I pray thee, take a blessing of thy servant.

16 But he said, As the LORD liveth, before whom I stand, I will receive none. And he urged him to take it; but he refused.

17 And Naaman said, Shall there not then, I pray thee, be given to thy servant two mules' burden of earth? for thy servant will henceforth offer neither burnt offering nor sacrifice unto other gods, but unto the LORD.

18 In this thing the LORD pardon thy servant, that when my master goeth into the house of Rimmon to worship there, and he leaneth on my hand, and I bow myself in the house of Rimmon: when I bow down myself in the house of Rimmon, the LORD pardon thy servant in this thing.

19 And he said unto him, Go in peace. So he departed from him a little way.

20 But Gehazi, the servant of Elisha the man of God, said, Behold, my master hath spared Naaman this Syrian, in not receiving at his hands that which he brought: but, as the LORD liveth, I will run after him, and take somewhat of him.

21 So Gehazi followed after Naaman. And when Naaman saw him running after him, he lighted down from the chariot to meet him, and said, Is all well?

22 And he said, All is well. My master hath sent me, saying, Behold, even now there be come to me from mount Ephraim two young men of the sons of the prophets: give them, I pray thee, a talent of silver, and two changes of garments.

23 And Naaman said, Be content, take two talents. And he urged him, and bound two talents of silver in two bags, with two changes of garments, and laid them upon two of his servants; and they bare them before him.

24 And when he came to the tower, he took them from their hand, and bestowed them in the house: and he let the men go, and they departed.

25 But he went in, and stood before his master. And Elisha said unto him, Whence comest thou, Gehazi? And he said, Thy servant went no whither.

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26 And he said unto him, Went not mine heart with thee, when the man turned again from his chariot to meet thee? Is it a time to receive money, and to receive garments, and oliveyards, and vineyards, and sheep, and oxen, and menservants, and maidservants?

27 The leprosy therefore of Naaman shall cleave unto thee, and unto thy seed for ever. And he went out from his presence a leper as white as snow.

2 KINGS CHAPTER 6

1 And the sons of the prophets said unto Elisha, Behold now, the place where we dwell with thee is too strait for us.

2 Let us go, we pray thee, unto Jordan, and take thence every man a beam, and let us make us a place there, where we may dwell. And he answered, Go ye.

3 And one said, Be content, I pray thee, and go with thy servants. And he answered, I will go.

4 So he went with them. And when they came to Jordan, they cut down wood.

5 But as one was felling a beam, the axe head fell into the water: and he cried, and said, Alas, master! for it was borrowed.

6 And the man of God said, Where fell it? And he shewed him the place. And he cut down a stick, and cast it in thither; and the iron did swim.

7 Therefore said he, Take it up to thee. And he put out his hand, and took it.

8 Then the king of Syria warred against Israel, and took counsel with his servants, saying, In such and such a place shall be my camp.

9 And the man of God sent unto the king of Israel, saying, Beware that thou pass not such a place; for thither the Syrians are come down.

10 And the king of Israel sent to the place which the man of God told him and warned him of, and saved himself there, not once nor twice.

11 Therefore the heart of the king of Syria was sore troubled for this thing; and he called his servants, and said unto them, Will ye not shew me which of us is for the king of Israel?

12 And one of his servants said, None, my lord, O king: but Elisha, the prophet that is in Israel, telleth the king of Israel the words that thou speakest in thy bedchamber.

13 And he said, Go and spy where he is, that I may send and fetch him. And it was told him, saying, Behold, he is in Dothan.

14 Therefore sent he thither horses, and chariots, and a great host: and they came by night, and compassed the city about.

15 And when the servant of the man of God was risen early, and gone forth, behold, an host compassed the city both with horses and chariots. And his servant said unto him, Alas, my master! how shall we do?

16 And he answered, Fear not: for they that be with us are more than they that be with them.

17 And Elisha prayed, and said, LORD, I pray thee, open his eyes, that he may see. And the LORD opened the eyes of the young man; and he saw: and, behold, the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha.

18 And when they came down to him, Elisha prayed unto the LORD, and said, Smite this people, I pray thee, with blindness. And he smote them with blindness according to the word of Elisha.

19 And Elisha said unto them, This is not the way, neither is this the city: follow me, and I will bring you to the man whom ye seek. But he led them to Samaria.

20 And it came to pass, when they were come into Samaria, that Elisha said, LORD, open the eyes of these men, that they may see. And the LORD opened their eyes, and they saw; and, behold, they were in the midst of Samaria.

21 And the king of Israel said unto Elisha, when he saw them, My father, shall I smite them? shall I smite them?

22 And he answered, Thou shalt not smite them: wouldest thou smite those whom thou hast taken captive with thy sword and with thy bow? set bread and water before them, that they may eat and drink, and go to their master.

23 And he prepared great provision for them: and when they had eaten and drunk, he sent them away, and they went to their master. So the bands of Syria came no more into the land of Israel.

24 And it came to pass after this, that Benhadad king of Syria gathered all his host, and went up, and besieged Samaria.

25 And there was a great famine in Samaria: and, behold, they besieged it, until an ass's head was sold for fourscore pieces of silver, and the fourth part of a cab of dove's dung for five pieces of silver.

26 And as the king of Israel was passing by upon the wall, there cried a woman unto him, saying, Help, my lord, O king.

27 And he said, If the LORD do not help thee, whence shall I help thee? out of the barnfloor, or out of the winepress?

28 And the king said unto her, What aileth thee? And she answered, This woman said unto me, Give thy son, that we may eat him to day, and we will eat my son to morrow.

29 So we boiled my son, and did eat him: and I said unto her on the next day, Give thy son, that we may eat him: and she hath hid her son.

30 And it came to pass, when the king heard the words of the woman, that he rent his clothes; and he passed by upon the wall, and the people looked, and, behold, he had sackcloth within upon his flesh.

31 Then he said, God do so and more also to me, if the head of Elisha the son of Shaphat shall stand on him this day.

32 But Elisha sat in his house, and the elders sat with him; and the king sent a man from before him: but ere the messenger came to him, he said to the elders, See ye how this son of a murderer hath sent to take away mine head? look, when the messenger cometh, shut the door, and hold him fast at the door: is not the sound of his master's feet behind him?

33 And while he yet talked with them, behold, the messenger came down unto him: and he said, Behold, this evil is of the LORD; what should I wait for the LORD any longer?

2 KINGS CHAPTER 7

1 Then Elisha said, Hear ye the word of the LORD; Thus saith the LORD, To morrow about this time shall a measure of fine flour be sold for a shekel, and two measures of barley for a shekel, in the gate of Samaria.

2 Then a lord on whose hand the king leaned answered the man of God, and said, Behold, if the LORD would make windows in heaven, might this thing be? And he said, Behold, thou shalt see it with thine eyes, but shalt not eat thereof.

3 And there were four leprous men at the entering in of the gate: and they said one to another, Why sit we here until we die?

4 If we say, We will enter into the city, then the famine is in the city, and we shall die there: and if we sit still here, we die also. Now therefore come, and let us fall unto the host of the Syrians: if they save us alive, we shall live; and if they kill us, we shall but die.

5 And they rose up in the twilight, to go unto the camp of the Syrians: and when they were come to the uttermost part of the camp of Syria, behold, there was no man there.

6 For the LORD had made the host of the Syrians to hear a noise of chariots, and a noise of horses, even the noise of a great host: and they said one to another, Lo, the king of Israel hath hired against us the kings of the Hittites, and the kings of the Egyptians, to come upon us.

7 Wherefore they arose and fled in the twilight, and left their tents, and their horses, and their asses, even the camp as it was, and fled for their life.

8 And when these lepers came to the uttermost part of the camp, they went into one tent, and did eat and drink, and carried thence silver, and gold, and raiment, and went and hid it; and came again, and entered into another tent, and carried thence also, and went and hid it.

9 Then they said one to another, We do not well: this day is a day of good tidings, and we hold our peace: if we tarry till the morning light, some mischief will come upon us: now therefore come, that we may go and tell the king's household.

10 So they came and called unto the porter of the city: and they told them, saying, We came to the camp of the Syrians, and, behold, there was no man there, neither voice of man, but horses tied, and asses tied, and the tents as they were.

11 And he called the porters; and they told it to the king's house within.

12 And the king arose in the night, and said unto his servants, I will now shew you what the Syrians have done to us. They know that we be hungry; therefore are they gone out of the camp to hide themselves in the field, saying, When they come out of the city, we shall catch them alive, and get into the city.

13 And one of his servants answered and said, Let some take, I pray thee, five of the horses that remain, which are left in the city, (behold, they are as all the multitude of Israel that are left in it: behold, I say, they are even as all the multitude of the Israelites that are consumed:) and let us send and see.

14 They took therefore two chariot horses; and the king sent after the host of the Syrians, saying, Go and see.

15 And they went after them unto Jordan: and, lo, all the way was full of garments and vessels, which the Syrians had cast away in their haste. And the messengers returned, and told the king.

16 And the people went out, and spoiled the tents of the Syrians. So a measure of fine flour was sold for a shekel, and two measures of barley for a shekel, according to the word of the LORD.

17 And the king appointed the lord on whose hand he leaned to have the charge of the gate: and the people trode upon him in the gate, and he died, as the man of God had said, who spake when the king came down to him.

18 And it came to pass as the man of God had spoken to the king, saying, Two measures of barley for a shekel, and a measure of fine flour for a shekel, shall be to morrow about this time in the gate of Samaria:

19 And that lord answered the man of God, and said, Now, behold, if the LORD should make windows in heaven, might such a thing be? And he said, Behold, thou shalt see it with thine eyes, but shalt not eat thereof.

20 And so it fell out unto him: for the people trode upon him in the gate, and he died.

2 KINGS CHAPTER 8

1 Then spake Elisha unto the woman, whose son he had restored to life, saying, Arise, and go thou and thine household, and sojourn wheresoever thou canst sojourn: for the LORD hath called for a famine; and it shall also come upon the land seven years.

2 And the woman arose, and did after the saying of the man of God: and she went with her household, and sojourned in the land of the Philistines seven years.

3 And it came to pass at the seven years' end, that the woman returned out of the land of the Philistines: and she went forth to cry unto the king for her house and for her land.

4 And the king talked with Gehazi the servant of the man of God, saying, Tell me, I pray thee, all the great things that Elisha hath done.

5 And it came to pass, as he was telling the king how he had restored a dead body to life, that, behold, the woman, whose son he had restored to life, cried to the king for her house and for her land. And Gehazi said, My lord, O king, this is the woman, and this is her son, whom Elisha restored to life.

6 And when the king asked the woman, she told him. So the king appointed unto her a certain officer, saying, Restore all that was hers, and all the fruits of the field since the day that she left the land, even until now.

7 And Elisha came to Damascus; and Benhadad the king of Syria was sick; and it was told him, saying, The man of God is come hither.

8 And the king said unto Hazael, Take a present in thine hand, and go, meet the man of God, and enquire of the LORD by him, saying, Shall I recover of this disease?

9 So Hazael went to meet him, and took a present with him, even of every good thing of Damascus, forty camels' burden, and came and stood before him, and said, Thy son Benhadad king of Syria hath sent me to thee, saying, Shall I recover of this disease?

10 And Elisha said unto him, Go, say unto him, Thou mayest certainly recover: howbeit the LORD hath shewed me that he shall surely die.

11 And he settled his countenance stedfastly, until he was ashamed: and the man of God wept.

12 And Hazael said, Why weepeth my lord? And he answered, Because I know the evil that thou wilt do unto the children of Israel: their strong holds wilt thou set on fire, and their young men wilt thou slay with the sword, and wilt dash their children, and rip up their women with child.

13 And Hazael said, But what, is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing? And Elisha answered, The LORD hath shewed me that thou shalt be king over Syria.

14 So he departed from Elisha, and came to his master; who said to him, What said Elisha to thee? And he answered, He told me that thou shouldest surely recover.

15 And it came to pass on the morrow, that he took a thick cloth, and dipped it in water, and spread it on his face, so that he died: and Hazael reigned in his stead.

16 And in the fifth year of Joram the son of Ahab king of Israel, Jehoshaphat being then king of Judah, Jehoram the son of Je hoshaphat king of Judah began to reign.

17 Thirty and two years old was he when he began to reign; and he reigned eight years in Jerusalem.

18 And he walked in the way of the kings of Israel, as did the house of Ahab: for the daughter of Ahab was his wife: and he did evil in the sight of the LORD.

19 Yet the LORD would not destroy Judah for David his servant's sake, as he promised him to give him alway a light, and to his children.

20 In his days Edom revolted from under the hand of Judah, and made a king over themselves.

21 So Joram went over to Zair, and all the chariots with him: and he rose by night, and smote the Edomites which compassed him about, and the captains of the chariots: and the people fled into their tents.

22 Yet Edom revolted from under the hand of Judah unto this day. Then Libnah revolted at the same time.

23 And the rest of the acts of Joram, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah?

24 And Joram slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers in the city of David: and Ahaziah his son reigned in his stead.

25 In the twelfth year of Joram the son of Ahab king of Israel did Ahaziah the son of Jehoram king of Judah begin to reign.

26 Two and twenty years old was Ahaziah when he began to reign; and he reigned one year in Jerusalem. And his mother's name was Athaliah, the daughter of Omri king of Israel.

27 And he walked in the way of the house of Ahab, and did evil in the sight of the LORD, as did the house of Ahab: for he was the son in law of the house of Ahab.

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28 And he went with Joram the son of Ahab to the war against Hazael king of Syria in Ramothgilead; and the Syrians wounded Joram.

29 And king Joram went back to be healed in Jezreel of the wounds which the Syrians had given him at Ramah, when he fought against Hazael king of Syria. And Ahaziah the son of Jehoram king of Judah went down to see Joram the son of Ahab in Jezreel, because he was sick.

2 KINGS CHAPTER 9

1 And Elisha the prophet called one of the children of the prophets, and said unto him, Gird up thy loins, and take this box of oil in thine hand, and go to Ramothgilead:

2 And when thou comest thither, look out there Jehu the son of Jehoshaphat the son of Nimshi, and go in, and make him arise up from among his brethren, and carry him to an inner chamber;

3 Then take the box of oil, and pour it on his head, and say, Thus saith the LORD, I have anointed thee king over Israel. Then open the door, and flee, and tarry not.

4 So the young man, even the young man the prophet, went to Ramothgilead.

5 And when he came, behold, the captains of the host were sitting; and he said, I have an errand to thee, O captain. And Jehu said, Unto which of all us? And he said, To thee, O captain.

6 And he arose, and went into the house; and he poured the oil on his head, and said unto him, Thus saith the LORD God of Israel, I have anointed thee king over the people of the LORD, even over Israel.

7 And thou shalt smite the house of Ahab thy master, that I may avenge the blood of my servants the prophets, and the blood of all the servants of the LORD, at the hand of Jezebel.

8 For the whole house of Ahab shall perish: and I will cut off from Ahab him that pisseth against the wall, and him that is shut up and left in Israel:

9 And I will make the house of Ahab like the house of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and like the house of Baasha the son of Ahijah:

10 And the dogs shall eat Jezebel in the portion of Jezreel, and there shall be none to bury her. And he opened the door, and fled.

11 Then Jehu came forth to the servants of his lord: and one said unto him, Is all well? wherefore came this mad fellow to thee? And he said unto them, Ye know the man, and his communication.

12 And they said, It is false; tell us now. And he said, Thus and thus spake he to me, saying, Thus saith the LORD, I have anointed thee king over Israel.

13 Then they hasted, and took every man his garment, and put it under him on the top of the stairs, and blew with trumpets, saying, Jehu is king.

14 So Jehu the son of Jehoshaphat the son of Nimshi conspired against Joram. (Now Joram had kept Ramothgilead, he and all Israel, because of Hazael king of Syria.

15 But king Joram was returned to be healed in Jezreel of the wounds which the Syrians had given him, when he fought with Hazael king of Syria.) And Jehu said, If it be your minds, then let none go forth nor escape out of the city to go to tell it in Jezreel.

16 So Jehu rode in a chariot, and went to Jezreel; for Joram lay there. And Ahaziah king of Judah was come down to see Joram.

17 And there stood a watchman on the tower in Jezreel, and he spied the company of Jehu as he came, and said, I see a company. And Joram said, Take an horseman, and send to meet them, and let him say, Is it peace?

18 So there went one on horseback to meet him, and said, Thus saith the king, Is it peace? And Jehu said, What hast thou to do with peace? turn thee behind me. And the watchman told, saying, The messenger came to them, but he cometh not again.

19 Then he sent out a second on horseback, which came to them, and said, Thus saith the king, Is it peace? And Jehu answered, What hast thou to do with peace? turn thee behind me.

20 And the watchman told, saying, He came even unto them, and cometh not again: and the driving is like the driving of Jehu the son of Nimshi; for he driveth furiously.

21 And Joram said, Make ready. And his chariot was made ready. And Joram king of Israel and Ahaziah king of Judah went out, each in his chariot, and they went out against Jehu, and met him in the portion of Naboth the Jezreelite.

22 And it came to pass, when Joram saw Jehu, that he said, Is it peace, Jehu? And he answered, What peace, so long as the whoredoms of thy mother Jezebel and her witchcrafts are so many?

23 And Joram turned his hands, and fled, and said to Ahaziah, There is treachery, O Ahaziah.

24 And Jehu drew a bow with his full strength, and smote Jehoram between his arms, and the arrow went out at his heart, and he sunk down in his chariot.

25 Then said Jehu to Bidkar his captain, Take up, and cast him in the portion of the field of Naboth the Jezreelite: for remember how that, when I and thou rode together after Ahab his father, the LORD laid this burden upon him;

26 Surely I have seen yesterday the blood of Naboth, and the blood of his sons, saith the LORD; and I will requite thee in this plat, saith the LORD. Now therefore take and cast him into the plat of ground, according to the word of the LORD.

27 But when Ahaziah the king of Judah saw this, he fled by the way of the garden house. And Jehu followed after him, and said, Smite him also in the chariot. And they did so at the going up to Gur, which is by Ibleam. And he fled to Megiddo, and died there.

28 And his servants carried him in a chariot to Jerusalem, and buried him in his sepulchre with his fathers in the city of David.

29 And in the eleventh year of Joram the son of Ahab began Ahaziah to reign over Judah.

30 And when Jehu was come to Jezreel, Jezebel heard of it; and she painted her face, and tired her head, and looked out at a window.

31 And as Jehu entered in at the gate, she said, Had Zimri peace, who slew his master?

32 And he lifted up his face to the window, and said, Who is on my side? who? And there looked out to him two or three eunuchs.

33 And he said, Throw her down. So they threw her down: and some of her blood was sprinkled on the wall, and on the horses: and he trode her under foot.

34 And when he was come in, he did eat and drink, and said, Go, see now this cursed woman, and bury her: for she is a king's daughter.

35 And they went to bury her: but they found no more of her than the skull, and the feet, and the palms of her hands.

36 Wherefore they came again, and told him. And he said, This is the word of the LORD, which he spake by his servant Elijah the Tishbite, saying, In the portion of Jezreel shall dogs eat the flesh of Jezebel:

37 And the carcase of Jezebel shall be as dung upon the face of the field in the portion of Jezreel; so that they shall not say, This is Jezebel.

2 KINGS CHAPTER 10

1 And Ahab had seventy sons in Samaria. And Jehu wrote letters, and sent to Samaria, unto the rulers of Jezreel, to the elders, and to them that brought up Ahab's children, saying,

2 Now as soon as this letter cometh to you, seeing your master's sons are with you, and there are with you chariots and horses, a fenced city also, and armour;

3 Look even out the best and meetest of your master's sons, and set him on his father's throne, and fight for your master's house.

4 But they were exceedingly afraid, and said, Behold, two kings stood not before him: how then shall we stand?

5 And he that was over the house, and he that was over the city, the elders also, and the bringers up of the children, sent to Jehu, saying, We are thy servants, and will do all that thou shalt bid us; we will not make any king: do thou that which is good in thine eyes.

6 Then he wrote a letter the second time to them, saying, If ye be mine, and if ye will hearken unto my voice, take ye the heads of the men your master's sons, and come to me to Jezreel by to morrow this time. Now the king's sons, being seventy persons, were with the great men of the city, which brought them up.

7 And it came to pass, when the letter came to them, that they took the king's sons, and slew seventy persons, and put their heads in baskets, and sent him them to Jezreel.

8 And there came a messenger, and told him, saying, They have brought the heads of the king's sons. And he said, Lay ye them in two heaps at the entering in of the gate until the morning.

9 And it came to pass in the morning, that he went out, and stood, and said to all the people, Ye be righteous: behold, I conspired against my master, and slew him: but who slew all these?

10 Know now that there shall fall unto the earth nothing of the word of the LORD, which the LORD spake concerning the house of Ahab: for the LORD hath done that which he spake by his servant Elijah.

11 So Jehu slew all that remained of the house of Ahab in Jezreel, and all his great men, and his kinsfolks, and his priests, until he left him none remaining.

12 And he arose and departed, and came to Samaria. And as he was at the shearing house in the way,

13 Jehu met with the brethren of Ahaziah king of Judah, and said, Who are ye? And they answered, We are the brethren of Ahaziah; and we go down to salute the children of the king and the children of the queen.

14 And he said, Take them alive. And they took them alive, and slew them at the pit of the shearing house, even two and forty men; neither left he any of them.

15 And when he was departed thence, he lighted on Jehonadab the son of Rechab coming to meet him: and he saluted him, and said to him, Is thine heart right, as my heart is with thy heart? And Jehonadab answered, It is. If it be, give me thine hand. And he gave him his hand; and he took him up to him into the chariot.

16 And he said, Come with me, and see my zeal for the LORD. So they made him ride in his chariot.

17 And when he came to Samaria, he slew all that remained unto Ahab in Samaria, till he had destroyed him, according to the saying of the LORD, which he spake to Elijah.

18 And Jehu gathered all the people together, and said unto them, Ahab served Baal a little; but Jehu shall serve him much.

19 Now therefore call unto me all the prophets of Baal, all his servants, and all his priests; let none be wanting: for I have a great sacrifice to do to Baal; whosoever shall be wanting, he shall not live. But Jehu did it in subtilty, to the intent that he might destroy the worshippers of Baal.

20 And Jehu said, Proclaim a solemn assembly for Baal. And they proclaimed it.

21 And Jehu sent through all Israel: and all the worshippers of Baal came, so that there was not a man left that came not. And they came into the house of Baal; and the house of Baal was full from one end to another.

22 And he said unto him that was over the vestry, Bring forth vestments for all the worshippers of Baal. And he brought them forth vestments.

23 And Jehu went, and Jehonadab the son of Rechab, into the house of Baal, and said unto the worshippers of Baal, Search, and look that there be here with you none of the servants of the LORD, but the worshippers of Baal only.

24 And when they went in to offer sacrifices and burnt offerings, Jehu appointed fourscore men without, and said, If any of the men whom I have brought into your hands escape, he that letteth him go, his life shall be for the life of him.

25 And it came to pass, as soon as he had made an end of offering the burnt offering, that Jehu said to the guard and to the captains, Go in, and slay them; let none come forth. And they smote them with the edge of the sword; and the guard and the captains cast them out, and went to the city of the house of Baal.

26 And they brought forth the images out of the house of Baal, and burned them.

27 And they brake down the image of Baal, and brake down the house of Baal, and made it a draught house unto this day.

28 Thus Jehu destroyed Baal out of Israel.

29 Howbeit from the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin, Jehu departed not from after them, to wit, the golden calves that were in Bethel, and that were in Dan.

30 And the LORD said unto Jehu, Because thou hast done well in executing that which is right in mine eyes, and hast done unto the house of Ahab according to all that was in mine heart, thy children of the fourth generation shall sit on the throne of Israel.

31 But Jehu took no heed to walk in the law of the LORD God of Israel with all his heart: for he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam, which made Israel to sin.

32 In those days the LORD began to cut Israel short: and Hazael smote them in all the coasts of Israel;

33 From Jordan eastward, all the land of Gilead, the Gadites, and the Reubenites, and the Manassites, from Aroer, which is by the river Arnon, even Gilead and Bashan.

34 Now the rest of the acts of Jehu, and all that he did, and all his might, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?

35 And Jehu slept with his fathers: and they buried him in Samaria. And Jehoahaz his son reigned in his stead.

36 And the time that Jehu reigned over Israel in Samaria was twenty and eight years.

2 KINGS CHAPTER 11

1 And when Athaliah the mother of Ahaziah saw that her son was dead, she arose and destroyed all the seed royal.

2 But Jehosheba, the daughter of king Joram, sister of Ahaziah, took Joash the son of Ahaziah, and stole him from among the king's sons which were slain; and they hid him, even him and his nurse, in the bedchamber from Athaliah, so that he was not slain.

3 And he was with her hid in the house of the LORD six years. And Athaliah did reign over the land.

4 And the seventh year Jehoiada sent and fetched the rulers over hundreds, with the captains and the guard, and brought them to him into the house of the LORD, and made a covenant with them, and took an oath of them in the house of the LORD, and shewed them the king's son.

5 And he commanded them, saying, This is the thing that ye shall do; A third part of you that enter in on the sabbath shall even be keepers of the watch of the king's house;

6 And a third part shall be at the gate of Sur; and a third part at the gate behind the guard: so shall ye keep the watch of the house, that it be not broken down.

7 And two parts of all you that go forth on the sabbath, even they shall keep the watch of the house of the LORD about the king.

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8 And ye shall compass the king round about, every man with his weapons in his hand: and he that cometh within the ranges, let him be slain: and be ye with the king as he goeth out and as he cometh in.

9 And the captains over the hundreds did according to all things that Jehoiada the priest commanded: and they took every man his men that were to come in on the sabbath, with them that should go out on the sabbath, and came to Jehoiada the priest.

10 And to the captains over hundreds did the priest give king David's spears and shields, that were in the temple of the LORD.

11 And the guard stood, every man with his weapons in his hand, round about the king, from the right corner of the temple to the left corner of the temple, along by the altar and the temple.

12 And he brought forth the king's son, and put the crown upon him, and gave him the testimony; and they made him king, and anointed him; and they clapped their hands, and said, God save the king.

13 And when Athaliah heard the noise of the guard and of the people, she came to the people into the temple of the LORD.

14 And when she looked, behold, the king stood by a pillar, as the manner was, and the princes and the trumpeters by the king, and all the people of the land rejoiced, and blew with trumpets: and Athaliah rent her clothes, and cried, Treason, Treason.

15 But Jehoiada the priest commanded the captains of the hundreds, the officers of the host, and said unto them, Have her forth without the ranges: and him that followeth her kill with the sword. For the priest had said, Let her not be slain in the house of the LORD.

16 And they laid hands on her; and she went by the way by the which the horses came into the king's house: and there was she slain.

17 And Jehoiada made a covenant between the LORD and the king and the people, that they should be the LORD's people; between the king also and the people.

18 And all the people of the land went into the house of Baal, and brake it down; his altars and his images brake they in pieces thoroughly, and slew Mattan the priest of Baal before the altars. And the priest appointed officers over the house of the LORD.

19 And he took the rulers over hundreds, and the captains, and the guard, and all the people of the land; and they brought down the king from the house of the LORD, and came by the way of the gate of the guard to the king's house. And he sat on the throne of the kings.

20 And all the people of the land rejoiced, and the city was in quiet: and they slew Athaliah with the sword beside the king's house.

21 Seven years old was Jehoash when he began to reign.

2 KINGS CHAPTER 12

1 In the seventh year of Jehu Jehoash began to reign; and forty years reigned he in Jerusalem. And his mother's name was Zibiah of Beersheba.

2 And Jehoash did that which was right in the sight of the LORD all his days wherein Jehoiada the priest instructed him.

3 But the high places were not taken away: the people still sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places.

4 And Jehoash said to the priests, All the money of the dedicated things that is brought into the house of the LORD, even the money of every one that passeth the account, the money that every man is set at, and all the money that cometh into any man's heart to bring into the house of the LORD,

5 Let the priests take it to them, every man of his acquaintance: and let them repair the breaches of the house, wheresoever any breach shall be found.

6 But it was so, that in the three and twentieth year of king Jehoash the priests had not repaired the breaches of the house.

7 Then king Jehoash called for Jehoiada the priest, and the other priests, and said unto them, Why repair ye not the breaches of the house? now therefore receive no more money of your acquaintance, but deliver it for the breaches of the house.

8 And the priests consented to receive no more money of the people, neither to repair the breaches of the house.

9 But Jehoiada the priest took a chest, and bored a hole in the lid of it, and set it beside the altar, on the right side as one cometh into the house of the LORD: and the priests that kept the door put therein all the money that was brought into the house of the LORD.

10 And it was so, when they saw that there was much money in the chest, that the king's scribe and the high priest came up, and they put up in bags, and told the money that was found in the house of the LORD.

11 And they gave the money, being told, into the hands of them that did the work, that had the oversight of the house of the LORD: and they laid it out to the carpenters and builders, that wrought upon the house of the LORD,

12 And to masons, and hewers of stone, and to buy timber and hewed stone to repair the breaches of the house of the LORD, and for all that was laid out for the house to repair it.

13 Howbeit there were not made for the house of the LORD bowls of silver, snuffers, basons, trumpets, any vessels of gold, or vessels of silver, of the money that was brought into the house of the LORD:

14 But they gave that to the workmen, and repaired therewith the house of the LORD.

15 Moreover they reckoned not with the men, into whose hand they delivered the money to be bestowed on workmen: for they dealt faithfully.

16 The trespass money and sin money was not brought into the house of the LORD: it was the priests'.

17 Then Hazael king of Syria went up, and fought against Gath, and took it: and Hazael set his face to go up to Jerusalem.

18 And Jehoash king of Judah took all the hallowed things that Jehoshaphat, and Jehoram, and Ahaziah, his fathers, kings of Judah, had dedicated, and his own hallowed things, and all the gold that was found in the treasures of the house of the LORD, and in the king's house, and sent it to Hazael king of Syria: and he went away from Jerusalem.

19 And the rest of the acts of Joash, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah?

20 And his servants arose, and made a conspiracy, and slew Joash in the house of Millo, which goeth down to Silla.

21 For Jozachar the son of Shimeath, and Jehozabad the son of Shomer, his servants, smote him, and he died; and they buried him with his fathers in the city of David: and Amaziah his son reigned in his stead.

2 KINGS CHAPTER 13

1 In the three and twentieth year of Joash the son of Ahaziah king of Judah Jehoahaz the son of Jehu began to reign over Israel in Samaria, and reigned seventeen years.

2 And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, and followed the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, which made Israel to sin; he departed not therefrom.

3 And the anger of the LORD was kindled against Israel, and he delivered them into the hand of Hazael king of Syria, and into the hand of Benhadad the son of Hazael, all their days.

4 And Jehoahaz besought the LORD, and the LORD hearkened unto him: for he saw the oppression of Israel, because the king of Syria oppressed them.

5 (And the LORD gave Israel a saviour, so that they went out from under the hand of the Syrians: and the children of Israel dwelt in their tents, as beforetime.

6 Nevertheless they departed not from the sins of the house of Jeroboam, who made Israel sin, but walked therein: and there remained the grove also in Samaria.)

7 Neither did he leave of the people to Jehoahaz but fifty horsemen, and ten chariots, and ten thousand footmen; for the king of Syria had destroyed them, and had made them like the dust by threshing.

8 Now the rest of the acts of Jehoahaz, and all that he did, and his might, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?

9 And Jehoahaz slept with his fathers; and they buried him in Samaria: and Joash his son reigned in his stead.

10 In the thirty and seventh year of Joash king of Judah began Jehoash the son of Jehoahaz to reign over Israel in Samaria, and reigned sixteen years.

11 And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD; he departed not from all the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel sin: but he walked therein.

12 And the rest of the acts of Joash, and all that he did, and his might wherewith he fought against Amaziah king of Judah, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?

13 And Joash slept with his fathers; and Jeroboam sat upon his throne: and Joash was buried in Samaria with the kings of Israel.

14 Now Elisha was fallen sick of his sickness whereof he died. And Joash the king of Israel came down unto him, and wept over his face, and said, O my father, my father, the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof.

15 And Elisha said unto him, Take bow and arrows. And he took unto him bow and arrows.

16 And he said to the king of Israel, Put thine hand upon the bow. And he put his hand upon it: and Elisha put his hands upon the king's hands.

17 And he said, Open the window eastward. And he opened it. Then Elisha said, Shoot. And he shot. And he said, The arrow of the LORD's deliverance, and the arrow of deliverance from Syria: for thou shalt smite the Syrians in Aphek, till thou have consumed them.

18 And he said, Take the arrows. And he took them. And he said unto the king of Israel, Smite upon the ground. And he smote thrice, and stayed.

19 And the man of God was wroth with him, and said, Thou shouldest have smitten five or six times; then hadst thou smitten Syria till thou hadst consumed it: whereas now thou shalt smite Syria but thrice.

20 And Elisha died, and they buried him. And the bands of the Moabites invaded the land at the coming in of the year.

21 And it came to pass, as they were burying a man, that, behold, they spied a band of men; and they cast the man into the sepulchre of Elisha: and when the man was let down, and touched the bones of Elisha, he revived, and stood up on his feet.

22 But Hazael king of Syria oppressed Israel all the days of Jehoahaz.

23 And the LORD was gracious unto them, and had compassion on them, and had respect unto them, because of his covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and would not destroy them, neither cast he them from his presence as yet.

24 So Hazael king of Syria died; and Benhadad his son reigned in his stead.

25 And Jehoash the son of Jehoahaz took again out of the hand of Benhadad the son of Hazael the cities, which he had taken out of the hand of Jehoahaz his father by war. Three times did Joash beat him, and recovered the cities of Israel.

2 KINGS CHAPTER 14

1 In the second year of Joash son of Jehoahaz king of Israel reigned Amaziah the son of Joash king of Judah.

2 He was twenty and five years old when he began to reign, and reigned twenty and nine years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name was Jehoaddan of Jerusalem.

3 And he did that which was right in the sight of the LORD, yet not like David his father: he did according to all things as Joash his father did.

4 Howbeit the high places were not taken away: as yet the people did sacrifice and burnt incense on the high places.

5 And it came to pass, as soon as the kingdom was confirmed in his hand, that he slew his servants which had slain the king his father.

6 But the children of the murderers he slew not: according unto that which is written in the book of the law of Moses, wherein the LORD commanded, saying, The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, nor the children be put to death for the fathers; but every man shall be put to death for his own sin.

7 He slew of Edom in the valley of salt ten thousand, and took Selah by war, and called the name of it Joktheel unto this day.

8 Then Amaziah sent messengers to Jehoash, the son of Jehoahaz son of Jehu, king of Israel, saying, Come, let us look one another in the face.

9 And Jehoash the king of Israel sent to Amaziah king of Judah, saying, The thistle that was in Lebanon sent to the cedar that was in Lebanon, saying, Give thy daughter to my son to wife: and there passed by a wild beast that was in Lebanon, and trode down the thistle.

10 Thou hast indeed smitten Edom, and thine heart hath lifted thee up: glory of this, and tarry at home: for why shouldest thou meddle to thy hurt, that thou shouldest fall, even thou, and Judah with thee?

11 But Amaziah would not hear. Therefore Jehoash king of Israel went up; and he and Amaziah king of Judah looked one another in the face at Bethshemesh, which belongeth to Judah.

12 And Judah was put to the worse before Israel; and they fled every man to their tents.

13 And Jehoash king of Israel took Amaziah king of Judah, the son of Jehoash the son of Ahaziah, at Bethshemesh, and came to Jerusalem, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem from the gate of Ephraim unto the corner gate, four hundred cubits.

14 And he took all the gold and silver, and all the vessels that were found in the house of the LORD, and in the treasures of the king's house, and hostages, and returned to Samaria.

15 Now the rest of the acts of Jehoash which he did, and his might, and how he fought with Amaziah king of Judah, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?

16 And Jehoash slept with his fathers, and was buried in Samaria with the kings of Israel; and Jeroboam his son reigned in his stead.

17 And Amaziah the son of Joash king of Judah lived after the death of Jehoash son of Jehoahaz king of Israel fifteen years.

18 And the rest of the acts of Amaziah, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah?

19 Now they made a conspiracy against him in Jerusalem: and he fled to Lachish; but they sent after him to Lachish, and slew him there.

20 And they brought him on horses: and he was buried at Jerusalem with his fathers in the city of David.

21 And all the people of Judah took Azariah, which was sixteen years old, and made him king instead of his father Amaziah.

22 He built Elath, and restored it to Judah, after that the king slept with his fathers.

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23 In the fifteenth year of Amaziah the son of Joash king of Judah Jeroboam the son of Joash king of Israel began to reign in Samaria, and reigned forty and one years.
24 And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD: he departed not from all the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin.
25 He restored the coast of Israel from the entering of Hamath unto the sea of the plain, according to the word of the LORD God of Israel, which he spake by the hand of his servant Jonah, the son of Amittai, the prophet, which was of Gathhepher.
26 For the LORD saw the affliction of Israel, that it was very bitter: for there was not any shut up, nor any left, nor any helper for Israel.
27 And the LORD said not that he would blot out the name of Israel from under heaven: but he saved them by the hand of Jeroboam the son of Joash.
28 Now the rest of the acts of Jeroboam, and all that he did, and his might, how he warred, and how he recovered Damascus, and Hamath, which belonged to Judah, for Israel, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?
29 And Jeroboam slept with his fathers, even with the kings of Israel; and Zachariah his son reigned in his stead.

2 KINGS CHAPTER 15
1 In the twenty and seventh year of Jeroboam king of Israel began Azariah son of Amaziah king of Judah to reign.
2 Sixteen years old was he when he began to reign, and he reigned two and fifty years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name was Jecholiah of Jerusalem.
3 And he did that which was right in the sight of the LORD, according to all that his father Amaziah had done;
4 Save that the high places were not removed: the people sacrificed and burnt incense still on the high places.
5 And the LORD smote the king, so that he was a leper unto the day of his death, and dwelt in a several house. And Jotham the king's son was over the house, judging the people of the land.
6 And the rest of the acts of Azariah, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah?
7 So Azariah slept with his fathers; and they buried him with his fathers in the city of David: and Jotham his son reigned in his stead.
8 In the thirty and eighth year of Azariah king of Judah did Zachariah the son of Jeroboam reign over Israel in Samaria six months.
9 And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, as his fathers had done: he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin.
10 And Shallum the son of Jabesh conspired against him, and smote him before the people, and slew him, and reigned in his stead.
11 And the rest of the acts of Zachariah, behold, they are written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel.
12 This was the word of the LORD which he spake unto Jehu, saying, Thy sons shall sit on the throne of Israel unto the fourth generation. And so it came to pass.
13 Shallum the son of Jabesh began to reign in the nine and thirtieth year of Uzziah king of Judah; and he reigned a full month in Samaria.
14 For Menahem the son of Gadi went up from Tirzah, and came to Samaria, and smote Shallum the son of Jabesh in Samaria, and slew him, and reigned in his stead.
15 And the rest of the acts of Shallum, and his conspiracy which he made, behold, they are written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel.
16 Then Menahem smote Tiphsah, and all that were therein, and the coasts thereof from Tirzah: because they opened not to him, therefore he smote it; and all the women therein that were with child he ripped up.
17 In the nine and thirtieth year of Azariah king of Judah began Menahem the son of Gadi to reign over Israel, and reigned ten years in Samaria.
18 And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD: he departed not all his days from the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin.
19 And Pul the king of Assyria came against the land: and Menahem gave Pul a thousand talents of silver, that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand.
20 And Menahem exacted the money of Israel, even of all the mighty men of wealth, of each man fifty shekels of silver, to give to the king of Assyria. So the king of Assyria turned back, and stayed not there in the land.
21 And the rest of the acts of Menahem, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?
22 And Menahem slept with his fathers; and Pekahiah his son reigned in his stead.
23 In the fiftieth year of Azariah king of Judah Pekahiah the son of Menahem began to reign over Israel in Samaria, and reigned two years.
24 And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD: he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin.
25 But Pekah the son of Remaliah, a captain of his, conspired against him, and smote him in Samaria, in the palace of the king's house, with Argob and Arieh, and with him fifty men of the Gileadites: and he killed him, and reigned in his room.
26 And the rest of the acts of Pekahiah, and all that he did, behold, they are written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel.
27 In the two and fiftieth year of Azariah king of Judah Pekah the son of Remaliah began to reign over Israel in Samaria, and reigned twenty years.
28 And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD: he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin.
29 In the days of Pekah king of Israel came Tiglathpileser king of Assyria, and took Ijon, and Abelbethmaachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria.
30 And Hoshea the son of Elah made a conspiracy against Pekah the son of Remaliah, and smote him, and slew him, and reigned in his stead, in the twentieth year of Jotham the son of Uzziah.
31 And the rest of the acts of Pekah, and all that he did, behold, they are written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel.
32 In the second year of Pekah the son of Remaliah king of Israel began Jotham the son of Uzziah king of Judah to reign.
33 Five and twenty years old was he when he began to reign, and he reigned sixteen years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name was Jerusha, the daughter of Zadok.
34 And he did that which was right in the sight of the LORD: he did according to all that his father Uzziah had done.
35 Howbeit the high places were not removed: the people sacrificed and burned incense still in the high places. He built the higher gate of the house of the LORD.
36 Now the rest of the acts of Jotham, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah?
37 In those days the LORD began to send against Judah Rezin the king of Syria, and Pekah the son of Remaliah.
38 And Jotham slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers in the city of David his father: and Ahaz his son reigned in his stead.

2 KINGS CHAPTER 16
1 In the seventeenth year of Pekah the son of Remaliah Ahaz the son of Jotham king of Judah began to reign.
2 Twenty years old was Ahaz when he began to reign, and reigned sixteen years in Jerusalem, and did not that which was right in the sight of the LORD his God, like David his father.
3 But he walked in the way of the kings of Israel, yea, and made his son to pass through the fire, according to the abominations of the heathen, whom the LORD cast out from before the children of Israel.
4 And he sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places, and on the hills, and under every green tree.
5 Then Rezin king of Syria and Pekah son of Remaliah king of Israel came up to Jerusalem to war: and they besieged Ahaz, but could not overcome him.
6 At that time Rezin king of Syria recovered Elath to Syria, and drave the Jews from Elath: and the Syrians came to Elath, and dwelt there unto this day.
7 So Ahaz sent messengers to Tiglathpileser king of Assyria, saying, I am thy servant and thy son: come up, and save me out of the hand of the king of Syria, and out of the hand of the king of Israel, which rise up against me.
8 And Ahaz took the silver and gold that was found in the house of the LORD, and in the treasures of the king's house, and sent it for a present to the king of Assyria.
9 And the king of Assyria hearkened unto him: for the king of Assyria went up against Damascus, and took it, and carried the people of it captive to Kir, and slew Rezin.
10 And king Ahaz went to Damascus to meet Tiglathpileser king of Assyria, and saw an altar that was at Damascus: and king Ahaz sent to Urijah the priest the fashion of the altar, and the pattern of it, according to all the workmanship thereof.
11 And Urijah the priest built an altar according to all that king Ahaz had sent from Damascus: so Urijah the priest made it against king Ahaz came from Damascus.
12 And when the king was come from Damascus, the king saw the altar: and the king approached to the altar, and offered thereon.
13 And he burnt his burnt offering and his meat offering, and poured his drink offering, and sprinkled the blood of his peace offerings, upon the altar.
14 And he brought also the brasen altar, which was before the LORD, from the forefront of the house, from between the altar and the house of the LORD, and put it on the north side of the altar.
15 And king Ahaz commanded Urijah the priest, saying, Upon the great altar burn the morning burnt offering, and the evening meat offering, and the king's burnt sacrifice, and his meat offering, with the burnt offering of all the people of the land, and their meat offering, and their drink offerings; and sprinkle upon it all the blood of the burnt offering, and all the blood of the sacrifice: and the brasen altar shall be for me to enquire by.
16 Thus did Urijah the priest, according to all that king Ahaz commanded.
17 And king Ahaz cut off the borders of the bases, and removed the laver from off them; and took down the sea from off the brasen oxen that were under it, and put it upon the pavement of stones.
18 And the covert for the sabbath that they had built in the house, and the king's entry without, turned he from the house of the LORD for the king of Assyria.
19 Now the rest of the acts of Ahaz which he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah?
20 And Ahaz slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers in the city of David: and Hezekiah his son reigned in his stead.

2 KINGS CHAPTER 17
1 In the twelfth year of Ahaz king of Judah began Hoshea the son of Elah to reign in Samaria over Israel nine years.
2 And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, but not as the kings of Israel that were before him.
3 Against him came up Shalmaneser king of Assyria; and Hoshea became his servant, and gave him presents.
4 And the king of Assyria found conspiracy in Hoshea: for he had sent messengers to So king of Egypt, and brought no present to the king of Assyria, as he had done year by year: therefore the king of Assyria shut him up, and bound him in prison.
5 Then the king of Assyria came up throughout all the land, and went up to Samaria, and besieged it three years.
6 In the ninth year of Hoshea the king of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes.
7 For so it was, that the children of Israel had sinned against the LORD their God, which had brought them up out of the land of Egypt, from under the hand of Pharaoh king of Egypt, and had feared other gods,
8 And walked in the statutes of the heathen, whom the LORD cast out from before the children of Israel, and of the kings of Israel, which they had made.
9 And the children of Israel did secretly those things that were not right against the LORD their God, and they built them high places in all their cities, from the tower of the watchmen to the fenced city.
10 And they set them up images and groves in every high hill, and under every green tree:
11 And there they burnt incense in all the high places, as did the heathen whom the LORD carried away before them; and wrought wicked things to provoke the LORD to anger:
12 For they served idols, whereof the LORD had said unto them, Ye shall not do this thing.
13 Yet the LORD testified against Israel, and against Judah, by all the prophets, and by all the seers, saying, Turn ye from your evil ways, and keep my commandments and my statutes, according to all the law which I commanded your fathers, and which I sent to you by my servants the prophets.
14 Notwithstanding they would not hear, but hardened their necks, like to the neck of their fathers, that did not believe in the LORD their God.
15 And they rejected his statutes, and his covenant that he made with their fathers, and his testimonies which he testified against them; and they followed vanity, and became vain, and went after the heathen that were round about them, concerning whom the LORD had charged them, that they should not do like them.
16 And they left all the commandments of the LORD their God, and made them molten images, even two calves, and made a grove, and worshipped all the host of heaven, and served Baal.
17 And they caused their sons and their daughters to pass through the fire, and used divination and enchantments, and sold themselves to do evil in the sight of the LORD, to provoke him to anger.
18 Therefore the LORD was very angry with Israel, and removed them out of his sight: there was none left but the tribe of Judah only.
19 Also Judah kept not the commandments of the LORD their God, but walked in the statutes of Israel which they made.
20 And the LORD rejected all the seed of Israel, and afflicted them, and delivered them into the hand of spoilers, until he had cast them out of his sight.
21 For he rent Israel from the house of David; and they made Jeroboam the son of Nebat king: and Jeroboam drave Israel from following the LORD, and made them sin a great sin.

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22 For the children of Israel walked in all the sins of Jeroboam which he did; they departed not from them;
23 Until the LORD removed Israel out of his sight, as he had said by all his servants the prophets. So was Israel carried away out of their own land to Assyria unto this day.
24 And the king of Assyria brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Ava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel: and they possessed Samaria, and dwelt in the cities thereof.
25 And so it was at the beginning of their dwelling there, that they feared not the LORD: therefore the LORD sent lions among them, which slew some of them.
26 Wherefore they spake to the king of Assyria, saying, The nations which thou hast removed, and placed in the cities of Samaria, know not the manner of the God of the land: therefore he hath sent lions among them, and, behold, they slay them, because they know not the manner of the God of the land.
27 Then the king of Assyria commanded, saying, Carry thither one of the priests whom ye brought from thence; and let them go and dwell there, and let him teach them the manner of the God of the land.
28 Then one of the priests whom they had carried away from Samaria came and dwelt in Bethel, and taught them how they should fear the LORD.
29 Howbeit every nation made gods of their own, and put them in the houses of the high places which the Samaritans had made, every nation in their cities wherein they dwelt.
30 And the men of Babylon made Succothbenoth, and the men of Cuth made Nergal, and the men of Hamath made Ashima,
31 And the Avites made Nibhaz and Tartak, and the Sepharvites burnt their children in fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech, the gods of Sepharvaim.
32 So they feared the LORD, and made unto themselves of the lowest of them priests of the high places, which sacrificed for them in the houses of the high places.
33 They feared the LORD, and served their own gods, after the manner of the nations whom they carried away from thence.
34 Unto this day they do after the former manners: they fear not the LORD, neither do they after their statutes, or after their ordinances, or after the law and commandment which the LORD commanded the children of Jacob, whom he named Israel;
35 With whom the LORD had made a covenant, and charged them, saying, Ye shall not fear other gods, nor bow yourselves to them, nor serve them, nor sacrifice to them:
36 But the LORD, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt with great power and a stretched out arm, him shall ye fear, and him shall ye worship, and to him shall ye do sacrifice.
37 And the statutes, and the ordinances, and the law, and the commandment, which he wrote for you, ye shall observe to do for evermore; and ye shall not fear other gods.
38 And the covenant that I have made with you ye shall not forget; neither shall ye fear other gods.
39 But the LORD your God ye shall fear; and he shall deliver you out of the hand of all your enemies.
40 Howbeit they did not hearken, but they did after their former manner.
41 So these nations feared the LORD, and served their graven images, both their children, and their children's children: as did their fathers, so do they unto this day.

2 KINGS CHAPTER 18

1 Now it came to pass in the third year of Hoshea son of Elah king of Israel, that Hezekiah the son of Ahaz king of Judah began to reign.
2 Twenty and five years old was he when he began to reign; and he reigned twenty and nine years in Jerusalem. His mother's name also was Abi, the daughter of Zachariah.
3 And he did that which was right in the sight of the LORD, according to all that David his father did.
4 He removed the high places, and brake the images, and cut down the groves, and brake in pieces the brasen serpent that Moses had made: for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it: and he called it Nehushtan.
5 He trusted in the LORD God of Israel; so that after him was none like him among all the kings of Judah, nor any that were before him.
6 For he clave to the LORD, and departed not from following him, but kept his commandments, which the LORD commanded Moses.
7 And the LORD was with him; and he prospered whithersoever he went forth: and he rebelled against the king of Assyria, and served him not.
8 He smote the Philistines, even unto Gaza, and the borders thereof, from the tower of the watchmen to the fenced city.
9 And it came to pass in the fourth year of king Hezekiah, which was the seventh year of Hoshea son of Elah king of Israel, that Shalmaneser king of Assyria came up against Samaria, and besieged it.
10 And at the end of three years they took it: even in the sixth year of Hezekiah, that is in the ninth year of Hoshea king of Israel, Samaria was taken.
11 And the king of Assyria did carry away Israel unto Assyria, and put them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes:
12 Because they obeyed not the voice of the LORD their God, but transgressed his covenant, and all that Moses the servant of the LORD commanded, and would not hear them, nor do them.
13 Now in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah did Sennacherib king of Assyria come up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them.
14 And Hezekiah king of Judah sent to the king of Assyria to Lachish, saying, I have offended; return from me: that which thou puttest on me will I bear. And the king of Assyria appointed unto Hezekiah king of Judah three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold.
15 And Hezekiah gave him all the silver that was found in the house of the LORD, and in the treasures of the king's house.
16 At that time did Hezekiah cut off the gold from the doors of the temple of the LORD, and from the pillars which Hezekiah king of Judah had overlaid, and gave it to the king of Assyria.
17 And the king of Assyria sent Tartan and Rabsaris and Rabshakeh from Lachish to king Hezekiah with a great host against Jerusalem. And they went up and came to Jerusalem. And when they were come up, they came and stood by the conduit of the upper pool, which is in the highway of the fuller's field.
18 And when they had called to the king, there came out to them Eliakim the son of Hilkiah, which was over the household, and Shebna the scribe, and Joah the son of Asaph the recorder.
19 And Rabshakeh said unto them, Speak ye now to Hezekiah, Thus saith the great king, the king of Assyria, What confidence is this wherein thou trustest?
20 Thou sayest, (but they are but vain words,) I have counsel and strength for the war. Now on whom dost thou trust, that thou rebellest against me?
21 Now, behold, thou trustest upon the staff of this bruised reed, even upon Egypt, on which if a man lean, it will go into his hand, and pierce it: so is Pharaoh king of Egypt unto all that trust on him.
22 But if ye say unto me, We trust in the LORD our God: is not that he, whose high places and whose altars Hezekiah hath taken away, and hath said to Judah and Jerusalem, Ye shall worship before this altar in Jerusalem?
23 Now therefore, I pray thee, give pledges to my lord the king of Assyria, and I will deliver thee two thousand horses, if thou be able on thy part to set riders upon them.
24 How then wilt thou turn away the face of one captain of the least of my master's servants, and put thy trust on Egypt for chariots and for horsemen?
25 Am I now come up without the LORD against this place to destroy it? The LORD said to me, Go up against this land, and destroy it.
26 Then said Eliakim the son of Hilkiah, and Shebna, and Joah, unto Rabshakeh, Speak, I pray thee, to thy servants in the Syrian language; for we understand it: and talk not with us in the Jews' language in the ears of the people that are on the wall.
27 But Rabshakeh said unto them, Hath my master sent me to thy master, and to thee, to speak these words? hath he not sent me to the men which sit on the wall, that they may eat their own dung, and drink their own piss with you?
28 Then Rabshakeh stood and cried with a loud voice in the Jews' language, and spake, saying, Hear the word of the great king, the king of Assyria:
29 Thus saith the king, Let not Hezekiah deceive you: for he shall not be able to deliver you out of his hand:
30 Neither let Hezekiah make you trust in the LORD, saying, The LORD will surely deliver us, and this city shall not be delivered into the hand of the king of Assyria.
31 Hearken not to Hezekiah: for thus saith the king of Assyria, Make an agreement with me by a present, and come out to me, and then eat ye every man of his own vine, and every one of his fig tree, and drink ye every one the waters of his cistern:
32 Until I come and take you away to a land like your own land, a land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards, a land of oil olive and of honey, that ye may live, and not die: and hearken not unto Hezekiah, when he persuadeth you, saying, The LORD will deliver us.
33 Hath any of the gods of the nations delivered at all his land out of the hand of the king of Assyria?
34 Where are the gods of Hamath, and of Arpad? where are the gods of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivah? have they delivered Samaria out of mine hand?
35 Who are they among all the gods of the countries, that have delivered their country out of mine hand, that the LORD should deliver Jerusalem out of mine hand?
36 But the people held their peace, and answered him not a word: for the king's commandment was, saying, Answer him not.
37 Then came Eliakim the son of Hilkiah, which was over the household, and Shebna the scribe, and Joah the son of Asaph the recorder, to Hezekiah with their clothes rent, and told him the words of Rabshakeh.

2 KINGS CHAPTER 19

1 And it came to pass, when king Hezekiah heard it, that he rent his clothes, and covered himself with sackcloth, and went into the house of the LORD.
2 And he sent Eliakim, which was over the household, and Shebna the scribe, and the elders of the priests, covered with sackcloth, to Isaiah the prophet the son of Amoz.
3 And they said unto him, Thus saith Hezekiah, This day is a day of trouble, and of rebuke, and blasphemy; for the children are come to the birth, and there is not strength to bring forth.
4 It may be the LORD thy God will hear all the words of Rabshakeh, whom the king of Assyria his master hath sent to reproach the living God; and will reprove the words which the LORD thy God hath heard: wherefore lift up thy prayer for the remnant that are left.
5 So the servants of king Hezekiah came to Isaiah.
6 And Isaiah said unto them, Thus shall ye say to your master, Thus saith the LORD, Be not afraid of the words which thou hast heard, with which the servants of the king of Assyria have blasphemed me.
7 Behold, I will send a blast upon him, and he shall hear a rumour, and shall return to his own land; and I will cause him to fall by the sword in his own land.
8 So Rabshakeh returned, and found the king of Assyria warring against Libnah: for he had heard that he was departed from Lachish.
9 And when he heard say of Tirhakah king of Ethiopia, Behold, he is come out to fight against thee: he sent messengers again unto Hezekiah, saying,
10 Thus shall ye speak to Hezekiah king of Judah, saying, Let not thy God in whom thou trustest deceive thee, saying, Jerusalem shall not be delivered into the hand of the king of Assyria.
11 Behold, thou hast heard what the kings of Assyria have done to all lands, by destroying them utterly: and shalt thou be delivered?
12 Have the gods of the nations delivered them which my fathers have destroyed; as Gozan, and Haran, and Rezeph, and the children of Eden which were in Thelasar?
13 Where is the king of Hamath, and the king of Arpad, and the king of the city of Sepharvaim, of Hena, and Ivah?
14 And Hezekiah received the letter of the hand of the messengers, and read it: and Hezekiah went up into the house of the LORD, and spread it before the LORD.
15 And Hezekiah prayed before the LORD, and said, O LORD God of Israel, which dwellest between the cherubims, thou art the God, even thou alone, of all the kingdoms of the earth; thou hast made heaven and earth.
16 LORD, bow down thine ear, and hear: open, LORD, thine eyes, and see: and hear the words of Sennacherib, which hath sent him to reproach the living God.
17 Of a truth, LORD, the kings of Assyria have destroyed the nations and their lands,
18 And have cast their gods into the fire: for they were no gods, but the work of men's hands, wood and stone: therefore they have destroyed them.
19 Now therefore, O LORD our God, I beseech thee, save thou us out of his hand, that all the kingdoms of the earth may know that thou art the LORD God, even thou only.
20 Then Isaiah the son of Amoz sent to Hezekiah, saying, Thus saith the LORD God of Israel, That which thou hast prayed to me against Sennacherib king of Assyria I have heard.
21 This is the word that the LORD hath spoken concerning him; The virgin the daughter of Zion hath despised thee, and laughed thee to scorn; the daughter of Jerusalem hath shaken her head at thee.
22 Whom hast thou reproached and blasphemed? and against whom hast thou exalted thy voice, and lifted up thine eyes on high? even against the Holy One of Israel.
23 By thy messengers thou hast reproached the LORD, and hast said, With the multitude of my chariots I am come up to the height of the mountains, to the sides of Lebanon, and will cut down the tall cedar trees thereof, and the choice fir trees thereof: and I will enter into the lodgings of his borders, and into the forest of his Carmel.
24 I have digged and drunk strange waters, and with the sole of my feet have I dried up all the rivers of besieged places.
25 Hast thou not heard long ago how I have done it, and of ancient times that I have formed it? now have I brought it to pass, that thou shouldest be to lay waste fenced cities into ruinous heaps.
26 Therefore their inhabitants were of small power, they were dismayed and confounded; they were as the grass of the field, and as the green herb, as the grass on the house tops, and as corn blasted before it be grown up.

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27 But I know thy abode, and thy going out, and thy coming in, and thy rage against me.
28 Because thy rage against me and thy tumult is come up into mine ears, therefore I will put my hook in thy nose, and my bridle in thy lips, and I will turn thee back by the way by which thou camest.
29 And this shall be a sign unto thee, Ye shall eat this year such things as grow of themselves, and in the second year that which springeth of the same; and in the third year sow ye, and reap, and plant vineyards, and eat the fruits thereof.
30 And the remnant that is escaped of the house of Judah shall yet again take root downward, and bear fruit upward.
31 For out of Jerusalem shall go forth a remnant, and they that escape out of mount Zion: the zeal of the LORD of hosts shall do this.
32 Therefore thus saith the LORD concerning the king of Assyria, He shall not come into this city, nor shoot an arrow there, nor come before it with shield, nor cast a bank against it.
33 By the way that he came, by the same shall he return, and shall not come into this city, saith the LORD.
34 For I will defend this city, to save it, for mine own sake, and for my servant David's sake.
35 And it came to pass that night, that the angel of the LORD went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand: and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses.
36 So Sennacherib king of Assyria departed, and went and returned, and dwelt at Nineveh.
37 And it came to pass, as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god, that Adrammelech and Sharezer his sons smote him [Sennacherib] with the sword: and they escaped into the land of Armenia. And Esarhaddon his son reigned in his stead.

2 KINGS CHAPTER 20
1 In those days was Hezekiah sick unto death. And the prophet Isaiah the son of Amoz came to him, and said unto him, Thus saith the LORD, Set thine house in order; for thou shalt die, and not live.
2 Then he turned his face to the wall, and prayed unto the LORD, saying,
3 I beseech thee, O LORD, remember now how I have walked before thee in truth and with a perfect heart, and have done that which is good in thy sight. And Hezekiah wept sore.
4 And it came to pass, afore Isaiah was gone out into the middle court, that the word of the LORD came to him, saying,
5 Turn again, and tell Hezekiah the captain of my people, Thus saith the LORD, the God of David thy father, I have heard thy prayer, I have seen thy tears: behold, I will heal thee: on the third day thou shalt go up unto the house of the LORD.
6 And I will add unto thy days fifteen years; and I will deliver thee and this city out of the hand of the king of Assyria; and I will defend this city for mine own sake, and for my servant David's sake.
7 And Isaiah said, Take a lump of figs. And they took and laid it on the boil, and he recovered.
8 And Hezekiah said unto Isaiah, What shall be the sign that the LORD will heal me, and that I shall go up into the house of the LORD the third day?
9 And Isaiah said, This sign shalt thou have of the LORD, that the LORD will do the thing that he hath spoken: shall the shadow go forward ten degrees, or go back ten degrees?
10 And Hezekiah answered, It is a light thing for the shadow to go down ten degrees: nay, but let the shadow return backward ten degrees.
11 And Isaiah the prophet cried unto the LORD: and he brought the shadow ten degrees backward, by which it had gone down in the dial of Ahaz.
12 At that time Berodachbaladan, the son of Baladan, king of Babylon, sent letters and a present unto Hezekiah: for he had heard that Hezekiah had been sick.
13 And Hezekiah hearkened unto them, and shewed them all the house of his precious things, the silver, and the gold, and the spices, and the precious ointment, and all the house of his armour, and all that was found in his treasures: there was nothing in his house, nor in all his dominion, that Hezekiah shewed them not.
14 Then came Isaiah the prophet unto king Hezekiah, and said unto him, What said these men? and from whence came they unto thee? And Hezekiah said, They are come from a far country, even from Babylon.
15 And he said, What have they seen in thine house? And Hezekiah answered, All the things that are in mine house have they seen: there is nothing among my treasures that I have not shewed them.
16 And Isaiah said unto Hezekiah, Hear the word of the LORD.
17 Behold, the days come, that all that is in thine house, and that which thy fathers have laid up in store unto this day, shall be carried into Babylon: nothing shall be left, saith the LORD.
18 And of thy sons that shall issue from thee, which thou shalt beget, shall they take away; and they shall be eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon.
19 Then said Hezekiah unto Isaiah, Good is the word of the LORD which thou hast spoken. And he said, Is it not good, if peace and truth be in my days?
20 And the rest of the acts of Hezekiah, and all his might, and how he made a pool, and a conduit, and brought water into the city, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah?
21 And Hezekiah slept with his fathers: and Manasseh his son reigned in his stead.

2 KINGS CHAPTER 21
1 Manasseh was twelve years old when he began to reign, and reigned fifty and five years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name was Hephzibah.
2 And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, after the abominations of the heathen, whom the LORD cast out before the children of Israel.
3 For he built up again the high places which Hezekiah his father had destroyed; and he reared up altars for Baal, and made a grove, as did Ahab king of Israel; and worshipped all the host of heaven, and served them.
4 And he built altars in the house of the LORD, of which the LORD said, In Jerusalem will I put my name.
5 And he built altars for all the host of heaven in the two courts of the house of the LORD.
6 And he made his son pass through the fire, and observed times, and used enchantments, and dealt with familiar spirits and wizards: he wrought much wickedness in the sight of the LORD, to provoke him to anger.
7 And he set a graven image of the grove that he had made in the house, of which the LORD said to David, and to Solomon his son, In this house, and in Jerusalem, which I have chosen out of all tribes of Israel, will I put my name for ever:
8 Neither will I make the feet of Israel move any more out of the land which I gave their fathers; only if they will observe to do according to all that I have commanded them, and according to all the law that my servant Moses commanded them.
9 But they hearkened not: and Manasseh seduced them to do more evil than did the nations whom the LORD destroyed before the children of Israel.
10 And the LORD spake by his servants the prophets, saying,
11 Because Manasseh king of Judah hath done these abominations, and hath done wickedly above all that the Amorites did, which were before him, and hath made Judah also to sin with his idols:
12 Therefore thus saith the LORD God of Israel, Behold, I am bringing such evil upon Jerusalem and Judah, that whosoever heareth of it, both his ears shall tingle.
13 And I will stretch over Jerusalem the line of Samaria, and the plummet of the house of Ahab: and I will wipe Jerusalem as a man wipeth a dish, wiping it, and turning it upside down.
14 And I will forsake the remnant of mine inheritance, and deliver them into the hand of their enemies; and they shall become a prey and a spoil to all their enemies;
15 Because they have done that which was evil in my sight, and have provoked me to anger, since the day their fathers came forth out of Egypt, even unto this day.
16 Moreover Manasseh shed innocent blood very much, till he had filled Jerusalem from one end to another; beside his sin wherewith he made Judah to sin, in doing that which was evil in the sight of the LORD.
17 Now the rest of the acts of Manasseh, and all that he did, and his sin that he sinned, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah?
18 And Manasseh slept with his fathers, and was buried in the garden of his own house, in the garden of Uzza: and Amon his son reigned in his stead.
19 Amon was twenty and two years old when he began to reign, and he reigned two years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name was Meshullemeth, the daughter of Haruz of Jotbah.
20 And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, as his father Manasseh did.
21 And he walked in all the way that his father walked in, and served the idols that his father served, and worshipped them:
22 And he forsook the LORD God of his fathers, and walked not in the way of the LORD.
23 And the servants of Amon conspired against him, and slew the king in his own house.
24 And the people of the land slew all them that had conspired against king Amon; and the people of the land made Josiah his son king in his stead.
25 Now the rest of the acts of Amon which he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah?
26 And he was buried in his sepulchre in the garden of Uzza: and Josiah his son reigned in his stead.

2 KINGS CHAPTER 22
1 Josiah was eight years old when he began to reign, and he reigned thirty and one years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name was Jedidah, the daughter of Adaiah of Boscath.
2 And he did that which was right in the sight of the LORD, and walked in all the way of David his father, and turned not aside to the right hand or to the left.
3 And it came to pass in the eighteenth year of king Josiah, that the king sent Shaphan the son of Azaliah, the son of Meshullam, the scribe, to the house of the LORD, saying,
4 Go up to Hilkiah the high priest, that he may sum the silver which is brought into the house of the LORD, which the keepers of the door have gathered of the people:
5 And let them deliver it into the hand of the doers of the work, that have the oversight of the house of the LORD: and let them give it to the doers of the work which is in the house of the LORD, to repair the breaches of the house,
6 Unto carpenters, and builders, and masons, and to buy timber and hewn stone to repair the house.
7 Howbeit there was no reckoning made with them of the money that was delivered into their hand, because they dealt faithfully.
8 And Hilkiah the high priest said unto Shaphan the scribe, I have found the book of the law in the house of the LORD. And Hilkiah gave the book to Shaphan, and he read it.
9 And Shaphan the scribe came to the king, and brought the king word again, and said, Thy servants have gathered the money that was found in the house, and have delivered it into the hand of them that do the work, that have the oversight of the house of the LORD.
10 And Shaphan the scribe shewed the king, saying, Hilkiah the priest hath delivered me a book. And Shaphan read it before the king.
11 And it came to pass, when the king had heard the words of the book of the law, that he rent his clothes.
12 And the king commanded Hilkiah the priest, and Ahikam the son of Shaphan, and Achbor the son of Michaiah, and Shaphan the scribe, and Asahiah a servant of the king's, saying,
13 Go ye, enquire of the LORD for me, and for the people, and for all Judah, concerning the words of this book that is found: for great is the wrath of the LORD that is kindled against us, because our fathers have not hearkened unto the words of this book, to do according unto all that which is written concerning us.
14 So Hilkiah the priest, and Ahikam, and Achbor, and Shaphan, and Asahiah, went unto Huldah the prophetess, the wife of Shallum the son of Tikvah, the son of Harhas, keeper of the wardrobe; (now she dwelt in Jerusalem in the college;) and they communed with her.
15 And she said unto them, Thus saith the LORD God of Israel, Tell the man that sent you to me,
16 Thus saith the LORD, Behold, I will bring evil upon this place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the words of the book which the king of Judah hath read:
17 Because they have forsaken me, and have burned incense unto other gods, that they might provoke me to anger with all the works of their hands; therefore my wrath shall be kindled against this place, and shall not be quenched.
18 But to the king of Judah which sent you to enquire of the LORD, thus shall ye say to him, Thus saith the LORD God of Israel, As touching the words which thou hast heard;
19 Because thine heart was tender, and thou hast humbled thyself before the LORD, when thou heardest what I spake against this place, and against the inhabitants thereof, that they should become a desolation and a curse, and hast rent thy clothes, and wept before me; I also have heard thee, saith the LORD.
20 Behold therefore, I will gather thee unto thy fathers, and thou shalt be gathered into thy grave in peace; and thine eyes shall not see all the evil which I will bring upon this place. And they brought the king word again.

2 KINGS CHAPTER 23
1 And the king sent, and they gathered unto him all the elders of Judah and of Jerusalem.
2 And the king went up into the house of the LORD, and all the men of Judah and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem with him, and the priests, and the prophets, and all the people, both small and great: and he read in their ears all the words of the book of the covenant which was found in the house of the LORD.
3 And the king stood by a pillar, and made a covenant before the LORD, to walk after the LORD, and to keep his commandments and his testimonies and his statutes with all their heart and all their soul, to perform the words of this covenant that were written in this book. And all the people stood to the covenant.
4 And the king commanded Hilkiah the high priest, and the priests of the second order, and the keepers of the door, to bring forth out of the temple of the LORD all the vessels that were made for Baal, and for the grove, and for all the host of heaven: and he burned them without Jerusalem in the fields of Kidron, and carried the ashes of them unto Bethel.

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5 And he put down the idolatrous priests, whom the kings of Judah had ordained to burn incense in the high places in the cities of Judah, and in the places round about Jerusalem; them also that burned incense unto Baal, to the sun, and to the moon, and to the planets, and to all the host of heaven.

6 And he brought out the grove from the house of the LORD, without Jerusalem, unto the brook Kidron, and burned it at the brook Kidron, and stamped it small to powder, and cast the powder thereof upon the graves of the children of the people.

7 And he brake down the houses of the sodomites, that were by the house of the LORD, where the women wove hangings for the grove.

8 And he brought all the priests out of the cities of Judah, and defiled the high places where the priests had burned incense, from Geba to Beersheba, and brake down the high places of the gates that were in the entering in of the gate of Joshua the governor of the city, which were on a man's left hand at the gate of the city.

9 Nevertheless the priests of the high places came not up to the altar of the LORD in Jerusalem, but they did eat of the unleavened bread among their brethren.

10 And he defiled Topheth, which is in the valley of the children of Hinnom, that no man might make his son or his daughter to pass through the fire to Molech.

11 And he took away the horses that the kings of Judah had given to the sun, at the entering in of the house of the LORD, by the chamber of Nathanmelech the chamberlain, which was in the suburbs, and burned the chariots of the sun with fire.

12 And the altars that were on the top of the upper chamber of Ahaz, which the kings of Judah had made, and the altars which Manasseh had made in the two courts of the house of the LORD, did the king beat down, and brake them down from thence, and cast the dust of them into the brook Kidron.

13 And the high places that were before Jerusalem, which were on the right hand of the mount of corruption, which Solomon the king of Israel had builded for Ashtoreth the abomination of the Zidonians, and for Chemosh the abomination of the Moabites, and for Milcom the abomination of the children of Ammon, did the king defile.

14 And he brake in pieces the images, and cut down the groves, and filled their places with the bones of men.

15 Moreover the altar that was at Bethel, and the high place which Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin, had made, both that altar and the high place he brake down, and burned the high place, and stamped it small to powder, and burned the grove.

16 And as Josiah turned himself, he spied the sepulchres that were there in the mount, and sent, and took the bones out of the sepulchres, and burned them upon the altar, and polluted it, according to the word of the LORD which the man of God proclaimed, who proclaimed these words.

17 Then he said, What title is that that I see? And the men of the city told him, It is the sepulchre of the man of God, which came from Judah, and proclaimed these things that thou hast done against the altar of Bethel.

18 And he said, Let him alone; let no man move his bones. So they let his bones alone, with the bones of the prophet that came out of Samaria.

19 And all the houses also of the high places that were in the cities of Samaria, which the kings of Israel had made to provoke the Lord to anger, Josiah took away, and did to them according to all the acts that he had done in Bethel.

20 And he slew all the priests of the high places that were there upon the altars, and burned men's bones upon them, and returned to Jerusalem.

21 And the king commanded all the people, saying, Keep the passover unto the LORD your God, as it is written in the book of this covenant.

22 Surely there was not holden such a passover from the days of the judges that judged Israel, nor in all the days of the kings of Israel, nor of the kings of Judah;

23 But in the eighteenth year of king Josiah, wherein this passover was holden to the LORD in Jerusalem.

24 Moreover the workers with familiar spirits, and the wizards, and the images, and the idols, and all the abominations that were spied in the land of Judah and in Jerusalem, did Josiah put away, that he might perform the words of the law which were written in the book that Hilkiah the priest found in the house of the LORD.

25 And like unto him was there no king before him, that turned to the LORD with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his might, according to all the law of Moses; neither after him arose there any like him.

26 Notwithstanding the LORD turned not from the fierceness of his great wrath, wherewith his anger was kindled against Judah, because of all the provocations that Manasseh had provoked him withal.

27 And the LORD said, I will remove Judah also out of my sight, as I have removed Israel, and will cast off this city Jerusalem which I have chosen, and the house of which I said, My name shall be there.

28 Now the rest of the acts of Josiah, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah?

29 In his days Pharaohnechoh king of Egypt went up against the king of Assyria to the river Euphrates: and king Josiah went against him; and he slew him at Megiddo, when he had seen him.

30 And his servants carried him in a chariot dead from Megiddo, and brought him to Jerusalem, and buried him in his own sepulchre. And the people of the land took Jehoahaz the son of Josiah, and anointed him, and made him king in his father's stead.

31 Jehoahaz was twenty and three years old when he began to reign; and he reigned three months in Jerusalem. And his mother's name was Hamutal, the daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah.

32 And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, according to all that his fathers had done.

33 And Pharaohnechoh put him in bands at Riblah in the land of Hamath, that he might not reign in Jerusalem; and put the land to a tribute of an hundred talents of silver, and a talent of gold.

34 And Pharaohnechoh made Eliakim the son of Josiah king in the room of Josiah his father, and turned his name to Jehoiakim, and took Jehoahaz away: and he came to Egypt, and died there.

35 And Jehoiakim gave the silver and the gold to Pharaoh; but he taxed the land to give the money according to the commandment of Pharaoh: he exacted the silver and the gold of the people of the land, of every one according to his taxation, to give it unto Pharaohnechoh.

36 Jehoiakim was twenty and five years old when he began to reign; and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name was Zebudah, the daughter of Pedaiah of Rumah.

37 And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, according to all that his fathers had done.

2 KINGS CHAPTER 24

1 In his days Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up, and Jehoiakim became his servant three years: then he turned and rebelled against him.

2 And the LORD sent against him bands of the Chaldees, and bands of the Syrians, and bands of the Moabites, and bands of the children of Ammon, and sent them against Judah to destroy it, according to the word of the LORD, which he spake by his servants the prophets.

3 Surely at the commandment of the LORD came this upon Judah, to remove them out of his sight, for the sins of Manasseh, according to all that he did;

4 And also for the innocent blood that he shed: for he filled Jerusalem with innocent blood; which the LORD would not pardon.

5 Now the rest of the acts of Jehoiakim, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah?

6 So Jehoiakim slept with his fathers: and Jehoiachin his son reigned in his stead.

7 And the king of Egypt came not again any more out of his land: for the king of Babylon had taken from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates all that pertained to the king of Egypt.

8 Jehoiachin was eighteen years old when he began to reign, and he reigned in Jerusalem three months. And his mother's name was Nehushta, the daughter of Elnathan of Jerusalem.

9 And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, according to all that his father had done.

10 At that time the servants of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up against Jerusalem, and the city was besieged.

11 And Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came against the city, and his servants did besiege it.

12 And Jehoiachin the king of Judah went out to the king of Babylon, he, and his mother, and his servants, and his princes, and his officers: and the king of Babylon took him in the eighth year of his reign.

13 And he carried out thence all the treasures of the house of the LORD, and the treasures of the king's house, and cut in pieces all the vessels of gold which Solomon king of Israel had made in the temple of the LORD, as the LORD had said.

14 And he carried away all Jerusalem, and all the princes, and all the mighty men of valour, even ten thousand captives, and all the craftsmen and smiths: none remained, save the poorest sort of the people of the land.

15 And he carried away Jehoiachin to Babylon, and the king's mother, and the king's wives, and his officers, and the mighty of the land, those carried he into captivity from Jerusalem to Babylon.

16 And all the men of might, even seven thousand, and craftsmen and smiths a thousand, all that were strong and apt for war, even them the king of Babylon brought captive to Babylon.

17 And the king of Babylon made Mattaniah his father's brother king in his stead, and changed his name to Zedekiah.

18 Zedekiah was twenty and one years old when he began to reign, and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name was Hamutal, the daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah.

19 And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, according to all that Jehoiakim had done.

20 For through the anger of the LORD it came to pass in Jerusalem and Judah, until he had cast them out from his presence, that Zedekiah rebelled against the king of Babylon.

2 KINGS CHAPTER 25

1 And it came to pass in the ninth year of his reign, in the tenth month, in the tenth day of the month, that Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came, he, and all his host, against Jerusalem, and pitched against it; and they built forts against it round about.

2 And the city was besieged unto the eleventh year of king Zedekiah.

3 And on the ninth day of the fourth month the famine prevailed in the city, and there was no bread for the people of the land.

4 And the city was broken up, and all the men of war fled by night by the way of the gate between two walls, which is by the king's garden: (now the Chaldees were against the city round about:) and the king went the way toward the plain.

5 And the army of the Chaldees pursued after the king, and overtook him in the plains of Jericho: and all his army were scattered from him.

6 So they took the king, and brought him up to the king of Babylon to Riblah; and they gave judgement upon him.

7 And they slew the sons of Zedekiah before his eyes, and put out the eyes of Zedekiah, and bound him with fetters of brass, and carried him to Babylon.

8 And in the fifth month, on the seventh day of the month, which is the nineteenth year of king Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, came Nebuzaradan, captain of the guard, a servant of the king of Babylon, unto Jerusalem:

9 And he burnt the house of the LORD, and the king's house, and all the houses of Jerusalem, and every great man's house burnt he with fire.

10 And all the army of the Chaldees, that were with the captain of the guard, brake down the walls of Jerusalem round about.

11 Now the rest of the people that were left in the city, and the fugitives that fell away to the king of Babylon, with the remnant of the multitude, did Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard carry away.

12 But the captain of the guard left of the door of the poor of the land to be vinedressers and husbandmen.

13 And the pillars of brass that were in the house of the LORD, and the bases, and the brasen sea that was in the house of the LORD, did the Chaldees break in pieces, and carried the brass of them to Babylon.

14 And the pots, and the shovels, and the snuffers, and the spoons, and all the vessels of brass wherewith they ministered, took they away.

15 And the firepans, and the bowls, and such things as were of gold, in gold, and of silver, in silver, the captain of the guard took away.

16 The two pillars, one sea, and the bases which Solomon had made for the house of the LORD; the brass of all these vessels was without weight.

17 The height of the one pillar was eighteen cubits, and the chapiter upon it was brass: and the height of the chapiter three cubits; and the wreathen work, and pomegranates upon the chapiter round about, all of brass: and like unto these had the second pillar with wreathen work.

18 And the captain of the guard took Seraiah the chief priest, and Zephaniah the second priest, and the three keepers of the door:

19 And out of the city he took an officer that was set over the men of war, and five men of them that were in the king's presence, which were found in the city, and the principal scribe of the host, which mustered the people of the land, and threescore men of the people of the land that were found in the city:

20 And Nebuzaradan captain of the guard took these, and brought them to the king of Babylon to Riblah:

21 And the king of Babylon smote them, and slew them at Riblah in the land of Hamath. So Judah was carried away out of their land.

22 And as for the people that remained in the land of Judah, whom Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon had left, even over them he made Gedaliah the son of Ahikam, the son of Shaphan, ruler.

23 And when all the captains of the armies, they and their men, heard that the king of Babylon had made Gedaliah governor, there came to Gedaliah to Mizpah, even Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, and Johanan the son of Careah, and Seraiah the son of Tanhumeth the Netophathite, and Jaazaniah the son of a Maachathite, they and their men.

24 And Gedaliah sware to them, and to their men, and said unto them, Fear not to be the servants of the Chaldees: dwell

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in the land, and serve the king of Babylon; and it shall be well with you.

25 But it came to pass in the seventh month, that Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, the son of Elishama, of the seed royal, came, and ten men with him, and smote Gedaliah, that he died, and the Jews and the Chaldees that were with him at Mizpah.

26 And all the people, both small and great, and the captains of the armies, arose, and came to Egypt: for they were afraid of the Chaldees.

27 And it came to pass in the seven and thirtieth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin king of Judah, in the twelfth month, on the seven and twentieth day of the month, that Evilmerodach king of Babylon in the year that he began to reign did lift up the head of Jehoiachin king of Judah out of prison;

28 And he spake kindly to him, and set his throne above the throne of the kings that were with him in Babylon;

29 And changed his prison garments: and he did eat bread continually before him all the days of his life.

30 And his allowance was a continual allowance given him of the king, a daily rate for every day, all the days of his life.

THE NEVI'IM AHARONIM
The Secondary Major Prophets
(Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel)

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET ISAIAH
Hebrew title: Sefer Yeshayahu
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 6th-century B.C.

(The Book of Isaiah is the first of the Latter Prophets in the Hebrew Bible and the first of the Major Prophets or Teachers in the Christian Old Testament. It is identified by a superscription as the words of the 8th-century BC teacher Isaiah ben Amoz, but there is extensive evidence that much of it was composed during the Babylonian captivity and later. Isaiah, the son of Amoz lived in the Kingdom of Judah during the time of four kings from the mid to late 8th-century BC. During this time, Assyria was growing to the west from what is now Iraq towards the Mediterranean, destroying first Aram [modern Syria] in 734–732 BC, then the Kingdom of Israel in 722–721, and Judah in 701.

It seems likely that Isaiah was the teacher of Hezekiah. King Hezekiah [reigned c. 715 and 686 BC.] was, according to the Bible, the son of Ahaz and the 13th king of Judah. He is considered a very righteous king in the Books of Kings. Hezekiah is most important to Jewish history for it was him who enacted sweeping religious reforms, including a strict mandate for the sole worship of Yahweh and a prohibition on venerating other deities within the Temple of Jerusalem. So, the is no surprise that Isaiah 44:6 contains the first clear statement of monotheism: "I am the first and I am the last; beside me there is no God". In Isaiah 44:09–20, this is developed into a satire [a genre of literture which we also find in the gospels] on the making and worship of idols, mocking the foolishness of the carpenter who worships the idol that he himself has carved. While Yahweh had shown his superiority to other gods before, in Second Isaiah, he becomes the sole God of the world. This model of monotheism became later the basis for Christianity and Islam.

The defeat of Jerusalem by Babylon and the exile of its ruling elite in 586 BC followed. Chapters 40 to 55 are given to the Jews in exile, telling them about the hope of return. This was the time of king Cyrus the Great. In 559 BC he became ruler of a small kingdom in what is today Iran. By 540 he ruled a big empire from the Mediterranean to Central Asia, and in 539 he conquered Babylon. Isaiah's "predictions" of the fall of Babylon and his talk about the glory of Cyrus as one who would help Israel mean these prophecies are about the period of 550–539 BC. [* It is better called 'report' because this passage was most likely written after the fall of Babylon. This is a literary tool which was used in the gospels too. Here it talks about the "predictions" of Jerusalem's encirclement and fall.]*

The Persians ended the exile of Jewish teachers and leaders, and by 515 BC some of the exiles had returned to Jerusalem and rebuilt the Temple. This is what the final chapters of Isaiah are about. The Cyrus Cylinder, a Cunei script document, states that Cyrus was responsible for sending all captives home from Babylonia although it does not mention the Jews by name. Cyrus was a master of religious propaganda and presented himself as liberator rather than conqueror. It appears to have been effective with Jews as well. In the lengthy prophetic book attributed to the prophet Isaiah, the author explicitly states that Cyrus is God's anointed: "Thus says the Lord to his Anointed [Messiah], to Cyrus whom I took by his right hand" (Isa 45:1). The overwhelming majority of scholars believe that the Chapters 40—55 of Isaiah were written around the time of the return from exile and the years that followed.

Speculations florish as to the reasoning for Cyrus' release of the Jews from Babylon. The strongest argument is that Cyrus was a follower of Zoroaster [Zarathustra] the monotheistic prophet. His Zoroastrianism played a dominant religious role in Persia throughout its history until the Islamic conquest. As such, Cyrus would have felt a kindred spirit with the monotheistic Jews.)

ISAIAH CHAPTER 1

1 The vision of Isaiah the son of Amoz, which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah.

2 Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth: for the LORD hath spoken, I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me.

3 The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib: but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider.

4 Ah sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evildoers, children that are corrupters: they have forsaken the LORD, they have provoked the Holy One of Israel unto anger, they are gone away backward.

5 Why should ye be stricken any more? ye will revolt more and more: the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint.

6 From the sole of the foot even unto the head there is no soundness in it; but wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores: they have not been closed, neither bound up, neither mollified with ointment.

7 Your country is desolate, your cities are burned with fire: your land, strangers devour it in your presence, and it is desolate, as overthrown by strangers.

8 And the daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a besieged city.

9 Except the LORD of hosts had left unto us a very small remnant, we should have been as Sodom, and we should have been like unto Gomorrah.

10 Hear the word of the LORD, ye rulers of Sodom; give ear unto the law of our God, ye people of Gomorrah.

11 To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the LORD: I am full of the burnt offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he goats.

12 When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand, to tread my courts?

13 Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting.

14 Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth: they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them.

15 And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you: yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands are full of blood.

16 Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil;

17 Learn to do well; seek judgement, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow.

18 Come now, and let us reason together, saith the LORD: though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool.

19 If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land:

20 But if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword: for the mouth of the LORD hath spoken it.

21 How is the faithful city become an harlot! it was full of judgement; righteousness lodged in it; but now murderers.

22 Thy silver is become dross, thy wine mixed with water:

23 Thy princes are rebellious, and companions of thieves: every one loveth gifts, and followeth after rewards: they judge not the fatherless, neither doth the cause of the widow come unto them.

24 Therefore saith the LORD, the LORD of hosts, the mighty One of Israel, Ah, I will ease me of mine adversaries, and avenge me of mine enemies:

25 And I will turn my hand upon thee, and purely purge away thy dross, and take away all thy tin:

26 And I will restore thy judges as at the first, and thy counsellors as at the beginning: afterward thou shalt be called, The city of righteousness, the faithful city.

27 Zion shall be redeemed with judgement, and her converts with righteousness.

28 And the destruction of the transgressors and of the sinners shall be together, and they that forsake the LORD shall be consumed.

29 For they shall be ashamed of the oaks which ye have desired, and ye shall be confounded for the gardens that ye have chosen.

30 For ye shall be as an oak whose leaf fadeth, and as a garden that hath no water.

31 And the strong shall be as tow, and the maker of it as a spark, and they shall both burn together, and none shall quench them.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 2

1 The word that Isaiah the son of Amoz saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem.

2 And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the LORD's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it.

3 And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the LORD, to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the LORD from Jerusalem.

4 And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people: and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.

5 O house of Jacob, come ye, and let us walk in the light of the LORD.

6 Therefore thou hast forsaken thy people the house of Jacob, because they be replenished from the east, and are soothsayers like the Philistines, and they please themselves in the children of strangers.

7 Their land also is full of silver and gold, neither is there any end of their treasures; their land is also full of horses, neither is there any end of their chariots:

8 Their land also is full of idols; they worship the work of their own hands, that which their own fingers have made:

9 And the mean man boweth down, and the great man humbleth himself: therefore forgive them not.

10 Enter into the rock, and hide thee in the dust, for fear of the LORD, and for the glory of his majesty.

11 The lofty looks of man shall be humbled, and the haughtiness of men shall be bowed down, and the LORD alone shall be exalted in that day.

12 For the day of the LORD of hosts shall be upon every one that is proud and lofty, and upon every one that is lifted up; and he shall be brought low:

13 And upon all the cedars of Lebanon, that are high and lifted up, and upon all the oaks of Bashan,

14 And upon all the high mountains, and upon all the hills that are lifted up,

15 And upon every high tower, and upon every fenced wall,

16 And upon all the ships of Tarshish, and upon all pleasant pictures.

17 And the loftiness of man shall be bowed down, and the haughtiness of men shall be made low: and the LORD alone shall be exalted in that day.

18 And the idols he shall utterly abolish.

19 And they shall go into the holes of the rocks, and into the caves of the earth, for fear of the LORD, and for the glory of his majesty, when he ariseth to shake terribly the earth.

20 In that day a man shall cast his idols of silver, and his idols of gold, which they made each one for himself to worship, to the moles and to the bats;

21 To go into the clefts of the rocks, and into the tops of the ragged rocks, for fear of the LORD, and for the glory of his majesty, when he ariseth to shake terribly the earth.

22 Cease ye from man, whose breath is in his nostrils: for wherein is he to be accounted of?

ISAIAH CHAPTER 3

1 For, behold, the Lord, the LORD of hosts, doth take away from Jerusalem and from Judah the stay and the staff, the whole stay of bread, and the whole stay of water.

2 The mighty man, and the man of war, the judge, and the prophet, and the prudent, and the ancient,

3 The captain of fifty, and the honourable man, and the counsellor, and the cunning artificer, and the eloquent orator.

4 And I will give children to be their princes, and babes shall rule over them.

5 And the people shall be oppressed, every one by another, and every one by his neighbour: the child shall behave himself proudly against the ancient, and the base against the honourable.

6 When a man shall take hold of his brother of the house of his father, saying, Thou hast clothing, be thou our ruler, and let this ruin be under thy hand:

7 In that day shall he swear, saying, I will not be an healer; for in my house is neither bread nor clothing: make me not a ruler of the people.

8 For Jerusalem is ruined, and Judah is fallen: because their tongue and their doings are against the LORD, to provoke the eyes of his glory.

9 The shew of their countenance doth witness against them; and they declare their sin as Sodom, they hide it not. Woe unto their soul! for they have rewarded evil unto themselves.

10 Say ye to the righteous, that it shall be well with him: for they shall eat the fruit of their doings.

11 Woe unto the wicked! it shall be ill with him: for the reward of his hands shall be given him.

12 As for my people, children are their oppressors, and women rule over them. O my people, they which lead thee cause thee to err, and destroy the way of thy paths.

13 The LORD standeth up to plead, and standeth to judge the people.

14 The LORD will enter into judgement with the ancients of his people, and the princes thereof: for ye have eaten up the vineyard; the spoil of the poor is in your houses.

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15 What mean ye that ye beat my people to pieces, and grind the faces of the poor? saith the Lord GOD of hosts.
16 Moreover the LORD saith, Because the daughters of Zion are haughty, and walk with stretched forth necks and wanton eyes, walking and mincing as they go, and making a tinkling with their feet:
17 Therefore the LORD will smite with a scab the crown of the head of the daughters of Zion, and the LORD will discover their secret parts.
18 In that day the Lord will take away the bravery of their tinkling ornaments about their feet, and their cauls, and their round tires like the moon,
19 The chains, and the bracelets, and the mufflers,
20 The bonnets, and the ornaments of the legs, and the headbands, and the tablets, and the earrings,
21 The rings, and nose jewels,
22 The changeable suits of apparel, and the mantles, and the wimples, and the crisping pins,
23 The glasses, and the fine linen, and the hoods, and the vails.
24 And it shall come to pass, that instead of sweet smell there shall be stink; and instead of a girdle a rent; and instead of well set hair baldness; and instead of a stomacher a girding of sackcloth; and burning instead of beauty.
25 Thy men shall fall by the sword, and thy mighty in the war.
26 And her gates shall lament and mourn; and she being desolate shall sit upon the ground.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 4

1 And in that day seven women shall take hold of one man, saying, We will eat our own bread, and wear our own apparel: only let us be called by thy name, to take away our reproach.
2 In that day shall the branch of the LORD be beautiful and glorious, and the fruit of the earth shall be excellent and comely for them that are escaped of Israel.
3 And it shall come to pass, that he that is left in Zion, and he that remaineth in Jerusalem, shall be called holy, even every one that is written among the living in Jerusalem:
4 When the Lord shall have washed away the filth of the daughters of Zion, and shall have purged the blood of Jerusalem from the midst thereof by the spirit of judgement, and by the spirit of burning.
5 And the LORD will create upon every dwelling place of mount Zion, and upon her assemblies, a cloud and smoke by day, and the shining of a flaming fire by night: for upon all the glory shall be a defence.
6 And there shall be a tabernacle for a shadow in the day time from the heat, and for a place of refuge, and for a covert from storm and from rain.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 5

1 Now will I sing to my wellbeloved a song of my beloved touching his vineyard. My wellbeloved hath a vineyard in a very fruitful hill:
2 And he fenced it, and gathered out the stones thereof, and planted it with the choicest vine, and built a tower in the midst of it, and also made a winepress therein: and he looked that it should bring forth grapes, and it brought forth wild grapes.
3 And now, O inhabitants of Jerusalem, and men of Judah, judge, I pray you, betwixt me and my vineyard.
4 What could have been done more to my vineyard, that I have not done in it? wherefore, when I looked that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes?
5 And now go to; I will tell you what I will do to my vineyard: I will take away the hedge thereof, and it shall be eaten up; and break down the wall thereof, and it shall be trodden down:
6 And I will lay it waste: it shall not be pruned, nor digged; but there shall come up briers and thorns: I will also command the clouds that they rain no rain upon it.
7 For the vineyard of the LORD of hosts is the house of Israel, and the men of Judah his pleasant plant: and he looked for judgement, but behold oppression; for righteousness, but behold a cry.
8 Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth!
9 In mine ears said the LORD of hosts, Of a truth many houses shall be desolate, even great and fair, without inhabitant.
10 Yea, ten acres of vineyard shall yield one bath, and the seed of an homer shall yield an ephah.
11 Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning, that they may follow strong drink; that continue until night, till wine inflame them!
12 And the harp, and the viol, the tabret, and pipe, and wine, are in their feasts: but they regard not the work of the LORD, neither consider the operation of his hands.
13 Therefore my people are gone into captivity, because they have no knowledge: and their honourable men are famished, and their multitude dried up with thirst.
14 Therefore hell hath enlarged herself, and opened her mouth without measure: and their glory, and their multitude, and their pomp, and he that rejoiceth, shall descend into it.
15 And the mean man shall be brought down, and the mighty man shall be humbled, and the eyes of the lofty shall be humbled:
16 But the LORD of hosts shall be exalted in judgement, and God that is holy shall be sanctified in righteousness.
17 Then shall the lambs feed after their manner, and the waste places of the fat ones shall strangers eat.
18 Woe unto them that draw iniquity with cords of vanity, and sin as it were with a cart rope:
19 That say, Let him make speed, and hasten his work, that we may see it: and let the counsel of the Holy One of Israel draw nigh and come, that we may know it!
20 Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter!
21 Woe unto them that are wise in their own eyes, and prudent in their own sight!
22 Woe unto them that are mighty to drink wine, and men of strength to mingle strong drink:
23 Which justify the wicked for reward, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him!
24 Therefore as the fire devoureth the stubble, and the flame consumeth the chaff, so their root shall be as rottenness, and their blossom shall go up as dust: because they have cast away the law of the LORD of hosts, and despised the word of the Holy One of Israel.
25 Therefore is the anger of the LORD kindled against his people, and he hath stretched forth his hand against them, and hath smitten them: and the hills did tremble, and their carcases were torn in the midst of the streets. For all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out still.
26 And he will lift up an ensign to the nations from far, and will hiss unto them from the end of the earth: and, behold, they shall come with speed swiftly:
27 None shall be weary nor stumble among them; none shall slumber nor sleep; neither shall the girdle of their loins be loosed, nor the latchet of their shoes be broken:
28 Whose arrows are sharp, and all their bows bent, their horses' hoofs shall be counted like flint, and their wheels like a whirlwind:
29 Their roaring shall be like a lion, they shall roar like young lions: yea, they shall roar, and lay hold of the prey, and shall carry it away safe, and none shall deliver it.
30 And in that day they shall roar against them like the roaring of the sea: and if one look unto the land, behold darkness and sorrow, and the light is darkened in the heavens thereof.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 6

1 In the year that king Uzziah died I saw also the LORD sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple.
2 Above it stood the seraphims: each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly.
3 And one cried unto another, and said, Holy, holy, holy, is the LORD of hosts: the whole earth is full of his glory.
4 And the posts of the door moved at the voice of him that cried, and the house was filled with smoke.
5 Then said I, Woe is me! for I am undone; because I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips: for mine eyes have seen the King, the LORD of hosts.
6 Then flew one of the seraphims unto me, having a live coal in his hand, which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar:
7 And he laid it upon my mouth, and said, Lo, this hath touched thy lips; and thine iniquity is taken away, and thy sin purged.
8 Also I heard the voice of the Lord, saying, Whom shall I send, and who will go for us? Then said I, Here am I; send me.
9 And he said, Go, and tell this people, Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but perceive not.
10 Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed.
11 Then said I, Lord, how long? And he answered, Until the cities be wasted without inhabitant, and the houses without man, and the land be utterly desolate,
12 And the LORD have removed men far away, and there be a great forsaking in the midst of the land.
13 But yet in it shall be a tenth, and it shall return, and shall be eaten: as a teil tree, and as an oak, whose substance is in them, when they cast their leaves: so the holy seed shall be the substance thereof.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 7

1 And it came to pass in the days of Ahaz the son of Jotham, the son of Uzziah, king of Judah, that Rezin the king of Syria, and Pekah the son of Remaliah, king of Israel, went up toward Jerusalem to war against it, but could not prevail against it.
2 And it was told the house of David, saying, Syria is confederate with Ephraim. And his heart was moved, and the heart of his people, as the trees of the wood are moved with the wind.
3 Then said the LORD unto Isaiah, Go forth now to meet Ahaz, thou, and Shearjashub thy son, at the end of the conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's field;
4 And say unto him, Take heed, and be quiet; fear not, neither be fainthearted for the two tails of these smoking firebrands, for the fierce anger of Rezin with Syria, and of the son of Remaliah.
5 Because Syria, Ephraim, and the son of Remaliah, have taken evil counsel against thee, saying,
6 Let us go up against Judah, and vex it, and let us make a breach therein for us, and set a king in the midst of it, even the son of Tabeal:
7 Thus saith the Lord GOD, It shall not stand, neither shall it come to pass.
8 For the head of Syria is Damascus, and the head of Damascus is Rezin; and within threescore and five years shall Ephraim be broken, that it be not a people.
9 And the head of Ephraim is Samaria, and the head of Samaria is Remaliah's son. If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established.
10 Moreover the LORD spake again unto Ahaz, saying,
11 Ask thee a sign of the LORD thy God; ask it either in the depth, or in the height above.
12 But Ahaz said, I will not ask, neither will I tempt the LORD.
13 And he said, Hear ye now, O house of David; Is it a small thing for you to weary men, but will ye weary my God also?
14 Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign; Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel.
15 Butter and honey shall he eat, that he may know to refuse the evil, and choose the good.
16 For before the child shall know to refuse the evil, and choose the good, the land that thou abhorrest shall be forsaken of both her kings.
17 The LORD shall bring upon thee, and upon thy people, and upon thy father's house, days that have not come, from the day that Ephraim departed from Judah; even the king of Assyria.
18 And it shall come to pass in that day, that the LORD shall hiss for the fly that is in the uttermost part of the rivers of Egypt, and for the bee that is in the land of Assyria.
19 And they shall come, and shall rest all of them in the desolate valleys, and in the holes of the rocks, and upon all thorns, and upon all bushes.
20 In the same day shall the Lord shave with a razor that is hired, namely, by them beyond the river, by the king of Assyria, the head, and the hair of the feet: and it shall also consume the beard.
21 And it shall come to pass in that day, that a man shall nourish a young cow, and two sheep;
22 And it shall come to pass, for the abundance of milk that they shall give he shall eat butter: for butter and honey shall every one eat that is left in the land.
23 And it shall come to pass in that day, that every place shall be, where there were a thousand vines at a thousand silverlings, it shall even be for briers and thorns.
24 With arrows and with bows shall men come thither; because all the land shall become briers and thorns.
25 And on all hills that shall be digged with the mattock, there shall not come thither the fear of briers and thorns: but it shall be for the sending forth of oxen, and for the treading of lesser cattle.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 8

1 Moreover the LORD said unto me, Take thee a great roll, and write in it with a man's pen concerning Mahershalalhashbaz.
2 And I took unto me faithful witnesses to record, Uriah the priest, and Zechariah the son of Jeberechiah.
3 And I went unto the propheteess; and she conceived, and bare a son. Then said the LORD to me, Call his name Mahershalalhashbaz.
4 For before the child shall have knowledge to cry, My father, and my mother, the riches of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria shall be taken away before the king of Assyria.
5 The LORD spake also unto me again, saying,
6 Forasmuch as this people refuseth the waters of Shiloah that go softly, and rejoice in Rezin and Remaliah's son;
7 Now therefore, behold, the Lord bringeth up upon them the waters of the river, strong and many, even the king of Assyria, and all his glory: and he shall come up over all his channels, and go over all his banks:
8 And he shall pass through Judah; he shall overflow and go over, he shall reach even to the neck; and the stretching out of his wings shall fill the breadth of thy land, O Immanuel.
9 Associate yourselves, O ye people, and ye shall be broken in pieces; and give ear, all ye of far countries: gird yourselves,

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and ye shall be broken in pieces; gird yourselves, and ye shall be broken in pieces.
10 Take counsel together, and it shall come to nought; speak the word, and it shall not stand: for God is with us.
11 For the LORD spake thus to me with a strong hand, and instructed me that I should not walk in the way of this people, saying,
12 Say ye not, A confederacy, to all them to whom this people shall say, A confederacy; neither fear ye their fear, nor be afraid.
13 Sanctify the LORD of hosts himself; and let him be your fear, and let him be your dread.
14 And he shall be for a sanctuary; but for a stone of stumbling and for a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel, for a gin and for a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem.
15 And many among them shall stumble, and fall, and be broken, and be snared, and be taken.
16 Bind up the testimony, seal the law among my disciples.
17 And I will wait upon the LORD, that hideth his face from the house of Jacob, and I will look for him.
18 Behold, I and the children whom the LORD hath given me are for signs and for wonders in Israel from the LORD of hosts, which dwelleth in mount Zion.
19 And when they shall say unto you, Seek unto them that have familiar spirits, and unto wizards that peep, and that mutter: should not a people seek unto their God? for the living to the dead?
20 To the law and to the testimony: if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them.
21 And they shall pass through it, hardly bestead and hungry: and it shall come to pass, that when they shall be hungry, they shall fret themselves, and curse their king and their God, and look upward.
22 And they shall look unto the earth; and behold trouble and darkness, dimness of anguish; and they shall be driven to darkness.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 9

1 Nevertheless the dimness shall not be such as was in her vexation, when at the first he lightly afflicted the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali, and afterward did more grievously afflict her by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, in Galilee of the nations.
2 The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.
3 Thou hast multiplied the nation, and not increased the joy: they joy before thee according to the joy in harvest, and as men rejoice when they divide the spoil.
4 For thou hast broken the yoke of his burden, and the staff of his shoulder, the rod of his oppressor, as in the day of Midian.
5 For every battle of the warrior is with confused noise, and garments rolled in blood; but this shall be with burning and fuel of fire.
6 For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace.
7 Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgement and with justice from henceforth even for ever. The zeal of the LORD of hosts will perform this.
8 The Lord sent a word into Jacob, and it hath lighted upon Israel.
9 And all the people shall know, even Ephraim and the inhabitant of Samaria, that say in the pride and stoutness of heart,
10 The bricks are fallen down, but we will build with hewn stones: the sycomores are cut down, but we will change them into cedars.
11 Therefore the LORD shall set up the adversaries of Rezin against him, and join his enemies together;
12 The Syrians before, and the Philistines behind; and they shall devour Israel with open mouth. For all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out still.
13 For the people turneth not unto him that smiteth them, neither do they seek the LORD of hosts.
14 Therefore the LORD will cut off from Israel head and tail, branch and rush, in one day.
15 The ancient and honourable, he is the head; and the prophet that teacheth lies, he is the tail.
16 For the leaders of this people cause them to err; and they that are led of them are destroyed.
17 Therefore the LORD shall have no joy in their young men, neither shall have mercy on their fatherless and widows: for every one is an hypocrite and an evildoer, and every mouth speaketh folly. For all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out still.
18 For wickedness burneth as the fire: it shall devour the briers and thorns, and shall kindle in the thickets of the forest, and they shall mount up like the lifting up of smoke.
19 Through the wrath of the LORD of hosts is the land darkened, and the people shall be as the fuel of the fire: no man shall spare his brother.
20 And he shall snatch on the right hand, and be hungry; and he shall eat on the left hand, and they shall not be satisfied: they shall eat every man the flesh of his own arm:
21 Manasseh, Ephraim; and Ephraim, Manasseh: and they together shall be against Judah. For all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out still.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 10

1 Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousness which they have prescribed;
2 To turn aside the needy from judgement, and to take away the right from the poor of my people, that widows may be their prey, and that they may rob the fatherless!
3 And what will ye do in the day of visitation, and in the desolation which shall come from far? to whom will ye flee for help? and where will ye leave your glory?
4 Without me they shall bow down under the prisoners, and they shall fall under the slain. For all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out still.
5 O Assyrian, the rod of mine anger, and the staff in their hand is mine indignation.
6 I will send him against an hypocritical nation, and against the people of my wrath will I give him a charge, to take the spoil, and to take the prey, and to tread them down like the mire of the streets.
7 Howbeit he meaneth not so, neither doth his heart think so; but it is in his heart to destroy and cut off nations not a few.
8 For he saith, Are not my princes altogether kings?
9 Is not Calno as Carchemish? is not Hamath as Arpad? is not Samaria as Damascus?
10 As my hand hath found the kingdoms of the idols, and whose graven images did excel them of Jerusalem and of Samaria;
11 Shall I not, as I have done unto Samaria and her idols, so do to Jerusalem and her idols?
12 Wherefore it shall come to pass, that when the Lord hath performed his whole work upon mount Zion and on Jerusalem, I will punish the fruit of the stout heart of the king of Assyria, and the glory of his high looks.
13 For he saith, By the strength of my hand I have done it, and by my wisdom; for I am prudent: and I have removed the bounds of the people, and have robbed their treasures, and I have put down the inhabitants like a valiant man:
14 And my hand hath found as a nest the riches of the people: and as one gathereth eggs that are left, have I gathered all the earth; and there was none that moved the wing, or opened the mouth, or peeped.
15 Shall the axe boast itself against him that heweth therewith? or shall the saw magnify itself against him that shaketh it? as if the rod should shake itself against them that lift it up, or as if the staff should lift up itself, as if it were no wood.
16 Therefore shall the Lord, the Lord of hosts, send among his fat ones leanness; and under his glory he shall kindle a burning like the burning of a fire.
17 And the light of Israel shall be for a fire, and his Holy One for a flame: and it shall burn and devour his thorns and his briers in one day;
18 And shall consume the glory of his forest, and of his fruitful field, both soul and body: and they shall be as when a standard-bearer fainteth.
19 And the rest of the trees of his forest shall be few, that a child may write them.
20 And it shall come to pass in that day, that the remnant of Israel, and such as are escaped of the house of Jacob, shall no more again stay upon him that smote them; but shall stay upon the LORD, the Holy One of Israel, in truth.
21 The remnant shall return, even the remnant of Jacob, unto the mighty God.
22 For though thy people Israel be as the sand of the sea, yet a remnant of them shall return: the consumption decreed shall overflow with righteousness.
23 For the Lord GOD of hosts shall make a consumption, even determined, in the midst of all the land.
24 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD of hosts, O my people that dwellest in Zion, be not afraid of the Assyrian: he shall smite thee with a rod, and shall lift up his staff against thee, after the manner of Egypt.
25 For yet a very little while, and the indignation shall cease, and mine anger in their destruction.
26 And the LORD of hosts shall stir up a scourge for him according to the slaughter of Midian at the rock of Oreb: and as his rod was upon the sea, so shall he lift it up after the manner of Egypt.
27 And it shall come to pass in that day, that his burden shall be taken away from off thy shoulder, and his yoke from off thy neck, and the yoke shall be destroyed because of the anointing.
28 He is come to Aiath, he is passed to Migron; at Michmash he hath laid up his carriages:
29 They are gone over the passage: they have taken up their lodging at Geba; Ramah is afraid; Gibeah of Saul is fled.
30 Lift up thy voice, O daughter of Gallim: cause it to be heard unto Laish, O poor Anathoth.
31 Madmenah is removed; the inhabitants of Gebim gather themselves to flee.
32 As yet shall he remain at Nob that day: he shall shake his hand against the mount of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem.
33 Behold, the Lord, the LORD of hosts, shall lop the bough with terror: and the high ones of stature shall be hewn down, and the haughty shall be humbled.
34 And he shall cut down the thickets of the forest with iron, and Lebanon shall fall by a mighty one.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 11

1 And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his roots:
2 And the spirit of the LORD shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the LORD;
3 And shall make him of quick understanding in the fear of the LORD: and he shall not judge after the sight of his eyes, neither reprove after the hearing of his ears:
4 But with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth: and he shall smite the earth: with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked.
5 And righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins.
6 The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them.
7 And the cow and the bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together: and the lion shall eat straw like the ox.
8 And the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice' den.
9 They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the LORD, as the waters cover the sea.
10 And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek: and his rest shall be glorious.
11 And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall set his hand again the second time to recover the remnant of his people, which shall be left, from Assyria, and from Egypt, and from Pathros, and from Cush, and from Elam, and from Shinar, and from Hamath, and from the islands of the sea.
12 And he shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth.
13 The envy also of Ephraim shall depart, and the adversaries of Judah shall be cut off: Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim.
14 But they shall fly upon the shoulders of the Philistines toward the west; they shall spoil them of the east together: they shall lay their hand upon Edom and Moab; and the children of Ammon shall obey them.
15 And the LORD shall utterly destroy the tongue of the Egyptian sea; and with his mighty wind shall he shake his hand over the river, and shall smite it in the seven streams, and make men go over dryshod.
16 And there shall be an highway for the remnant of his people, which shall be left, from Assyria; like as it was to Israel in the day that he came up out of the land of Egypt.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 12

1 And in that day thou shalt say, O LORD, I will praise thee: though thou wast angry with me, thine anger is turned away, and thou comfortedst me.
2 Behold, God is my salvation; I will trust, and not be afraid: for the LORD JEHOVAH is my strength and my song; he also is become my salvation.
3 Therefore with joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation.
4 And in that day shall ye say, Praise the LORD, call upon his name, declare his doings among the people, make mention that his name is exalted.
5 Sing unto the LORD; for he hath done excellent things: this is known in all the earth.
6 Cry out and shout, thou inhabitant of Zion: for great is the Holy One of Israel in the midst of thee.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 13

1 The burden of Babylon, which Isaiah the son of Amoz did see.
2 Lift ye up a banner upon the high mountain, exalt the voice unto them, shake the hand, that they may go into the gates of the nobles.
3 I have commanded my sanctified ones, I have also called my mighty ones for mine anger, even them that rejoice in my highness.
4 The noise of a multitude in the mountains, like as of a great people; a tumultuous noise of the kingdoms of nations

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gathered together: the LORD of hosts mustereth the host of the battle.

5 They come from a far country, from the end of heaven, even the LORD, and the weapons of his indignation, to destroy the whole land.

6 Howl ye; for the day of the LORD is at hand; it shall come as a destruction from the Almighty.

7 Therefore shall all hands be faint, and every man's heart shall melt:

8 And they shall be afraid: pangs and sorrows shall take hold of them; they shall be in pain as a woman that travaileth: they shall be amazed one at another; their faces shall be as flames.

9 Behold, the day of the LORD cometh, cruel both with wrath and fierce anger, to lay the land desolate: and he shall destroy the sinners thereof out of it.

10 For the stars of heaven and the constellations thereof shall not give their light: the sun shall be darkened in his going forth, and the moon shall not cause her light to shine.

11 And I will punish the world for their evil, and the wicked for their iniquity; and I will cause the arrogancy of the proud to cease, and will lay low the haughtiness of the terrible.

12 I will make a man more precious than fine gold; even a man than the golden wedge of Ophir.

13 Therefore I will shake the heavens, and the earth shall remove out of her place, in the wrath of the LORD of hosts, and in the day of his fierce anger.

14 And it shall be as the chased roe, and as a sheep that no man taketh up: they shall every man turn to his own people, and flee every one into his own land.

15 Every one that is found shall be thrust through; and every one that is joined unto them shall fall by the sword.

16 Their children also shall be dashed to pieces before their eyes; their houses shall be spoiled, and their wives ravished.

17 Behold, I will stir up the Medes against them, which shall not regard silver; and as for gold, they shall not delight in it.

18 Their bows also shall dash the young men to pieces; and they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb; their eyes shall not spare children.

19 And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah.

20 It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there; neither shall the shepherds make their fold there.

21 But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there.

22 And the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces: and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 14

1 For the LORD will have mercy on Jacob, and will yet choose Israel, and set them in their own land: and the strangers shall be joined with them, and they shall cleave to the house of Jacob.

2 And the people shall take them, and bring them to their place: and the house of Israel shall possess them in the land of the LORD for servants and handmaids: and they shall take them captives, whose captives they were; and they shall rule over their oppressors.

3 And it shall come to pass in the day that the LORD shall give thee rest from thy sorrow, and from thy fear, and from the hard bondage wherein thou wast made to serve,

4 That thou shalt take up this proverb against the king of Babylon, and say, How hath the oppressor ceased! the golden city ceased!

5 The LORD hath broken the staff of the wicked, and the sceptre of the rulers.

6 He who smote the people in wrath with a continual stroke, he that ruled the nations in anger, is persecuted, and none hindereth.

7 The whole earth is at rest, and is quiet: they break forth into singing.

8 Yea, the fir trees rejoice at thee, and the cedars of Lebanon, saying, Since thou art laid down, no feller is come up against us.

9 Hell from beneath is moved for thee to meet thee at thy coming: it stirreth up the dead for thee, even all the chief ones of the earth; it hath raised up from their thrones all the kings of the nations.

10 All they shall speak and say unto thee, Art thou also become weak as we? art thou become like unto us?

11 Thy pomp is brought down to the grave, and the noise of thy viols: the worm is spread under thee, and the worms cover thee.

12 How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! how art thou cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the nations!

13 For thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God: I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the north:

14 I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the most High.

15 Yet thou shalt be brought down to hell, to the sides of the pit.

16 They that see thee shall narrowly look upon thee, and consider thee, saying, Is this the man that made the earth to tremble, that did shake kingdoms;

17 That made the world as a wilderness, and destroyed the cities thereof; that opened not the house of his prisoners?

18 All the kings of the nations, even all of them, lie in glory, every one in his own house.

19 But thou art cast out of thy grave like an abominable branch, and as the raiment of those that are slain, thrust through with a sword, that go down to the stones of the pit; as a carcase trodden under feet.

20 Thou shalt not be joined with them in burial, because thou hast destroyed thy land, and slain thy people: the seed of evildoers shall never be renowned.

21 Prepare slaughter for his children for the iniquity of their fathers; that they do not rise, nor possess the land, nor fill the face of the world with cities.

22 For I will rise up against them, saith the LORD of hosts, and cut off from Babylon the name, and remnant, and son, and nephew, saith the LORD.

23 I will also make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water: and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the LORD of hosts.

24 The LORD of hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely as I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and as I have purposed, so shall it stand:

25 That I will break the Assyrian in my land, and upon my mountains tread him under foot: then shall his yoke depart from off them, and his burden depart from off their shoulders.

26 This is the purpose that is purposed upon the whole earth: and this is the hand that is stretched out upon all the nations.

27 For the LORD of hosts hath purposed, and who shall disannul it? and his hand is stretched out, and who shall turn it back?

28 In the year that king Ahaz died was this burden.

29 Rejoice not thou, whole Palestina, because the rod of him that smote thee is broken: for out of the serpent's root shall come forth a cockatrice, and his fruit shall be a fiery flying serpent.

30 And the firstborn of the poor shall feed, and the needy shall lie down in safety: and I will kill thy root with famine, and he shall slay thy remnant.

31 Howl, O gate; cry, O city; thou, whole Palestina, art dissolved: for there shall come from the north a smoke, and none shall be alone in his appointed times.

32 What shall one then answer the messengers of the nation? That the LORD hath founded Zion, and the poor of his people shall trust in it.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 15

1 The burden of Moab. Because in the night Ar of Moab is laid waste, and brought to silence; because in the night Kir of Moab is laid waste, and brought to silence;

2 He is gone up to Bajith, and to Dibon, the high places, to weep: Moab shall howl over Nebo, and over Medeba: on all their heads shall be baldness, and every beard cut off.

3 In their streets they shall gird themselves with sackcloth: on the tops of their houses, and in their streets, every one shall howl, weeping abundantly.

4 And Heshbon shall cry, and Elealeh: their voice shall be heard even unto Jahaz: therefore the armed soldiers of Moab shall cry out; his life shall be grievous unto him.

5 My heart shall cry out for Moab; his fugitives shall flee unto Zoar, an heifer of three years old: for by the mounting up of Luhith with weeping shall they go it up; for in the way of Horonaim they shall raise up a cry of destruction.

6 For the waters of Nimrim shall be desolate: for the hay is withered away, the grass faileth, there is no green thing.

7 Therefore the abundance they have gotten, and that which they have laid up, shall they carry away to the brook of the willows.

8 For the cry is gone round about the borders of Moab; the howling thereof unto Eglaim, and the howling thereof unto Beerelim.

9 For the waters of Dimon shall be full of blood: for I will bring more upon Dimon, lions upon him that escapeth of Moab, and upon the remnant of the land.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 16

1 Send ye the lamb to the ruler of the land from Sela to the wilderness, unto the mount of the daughter of Zion.

2 For it shall be, that, as a wandering bird cast out of the nest, so the daughters of Moab shall be at the fords of Arnon.

3 Take counsel, execute judgement; make thy shadow as the night in the midst of the noonday; hide the outcasts; bewray not him that wandereth.

4 Let mine outcasts dwell with thee, Moab; be thou a covert to them from the face of the spoiler: for the extortioner is at an end, the spoiler ceaseth, the oppressors are consumed out of the land.

5 And in mercy shall the throne be established: and he shall sit upon it in truth in the tabernacle of David, judging, and seeking judgement, and hasting righteousness.

6 We have heard of the pride of Moab; he is very proud: even of his haughtiness, and his pride, and his wrath: but his lies shall not be so.

7 Therefore shall Moab howl for Moab, every one shall howl: for the foundations of Kirhareseth shall ye mourn; surely they are stricken.

8 For the fields of Heshbon languish, and the vine of Sibmah: the lords of the heathen have broken down the principal plants thereof, they are come even unto Jazer, they wandered through the wilderness: her branches are stretched out, they are gone over the sea.

9 Therefore I will bewail with the weeping of Jazer the vine of Sibmah: I will water thee with my tears, O Heshbon, and Elealeh: for the shouting for thy summer fruits and for thy harvest is fallen.

10 And gladness is taken away, and joy out of the plentiful field; and in the vineyards there shall be no singing, neither shall there be shouting: the treaders shall tread out no wine in their presses; I have made their vintage shouting to cease.

11 Wherefore my bowels shall sound like an harp for Moab, and mine inward parts for Kirharesh.

12 And it shall come to pass, when it is seen that Moab is weary on the high place, that he shall come to his sanctuary to pray; but he shall not prevail.

13 This is the word that the LORD hath spoken concerning Moab since that time.

14 But now the LORD hath spoken, saying, Within three years, as the years of an hireling, and the glory of Moab shall be contemned, with all that great multitude; and the remnant shall be very small and feeble.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 17

1 The burden of Damascus. Behold, Damascus is taken away from being a city, and it shall be a ruinous heap.

2 The cities of Aroer are forsaken: they shall be for flocks, which shall lie down, and none shall make them afraid.

3 The fortress also shall cease from Ephraim, and the kingdom from Damascus, and the remnant of Syria: they shall be as the glory of the children of Israel, saith the LORD of hosts.

4 And in that day it shall come to pass, that the glory of Jacob shall be made thin, and the fatness of his flesh shall wax lean.

5 And it shall be as when the harvestman gathereth the corn, and reapeth the ears with his arm; and it shall be as he that gathereth ears in the valley of Rephaim.

6 Yet gleaning grapes shall be left in it, as the shaking of an olive tree, two or three berries in the top of the uppermost bough, four or five in the outmost fruitful branches thereof, saith the LORD God of Israel.

7 At that day shall a man look to his Maker, and his eyes shall have respect to the Holy One of Israel.

8 And he shall not look to the altars, the work of his hands, neither shall respect that which his fingers have made, either the groves, or the images.

9 In that day shall his strong cities be as a forsaken bough, and an uppermost branch, which they left because of the children of Israel: and there shall be desolation.

10 Because thou hast forgotten the God of thy salvation, and hast not been mindful of the rock of thy strength, therefore shalt thou plant pleasant plants, and shalt set it with strange slips:

11 In the day shalt thou make thy plant to grow, and in the morning shalt thou make thy seed to flourish: but the harvest shall be a heap in the day of grief and of desperate sorrow.

12 Woe to the multitude of many people, which make a noise like the noise of the seas; and to the rushing of nations, that make a rushing like the rushing of mighty waters!

13 The nations shall rush like the rushing of many waters: but God shall rebuke them, and they shall flee far off, and shall be chased as the chaff of the mountains before the wind, and like a rolling thing before the whirlwind.

14 And behold at eveningtide trouble; and before the morning he is not. This is the portion of them that spoil us, and the lot of them that rob us.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 18

1 Woe to the land shadowing with wings, which is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia:

2 That sendeth ambassadors by the sea, even in vessels of bulrushes upon the waters, saying, Go, ye swift messengers, to a nation scattered and peeled, to a people terrible from their beginning hitherto; a nation meted out and trodden down, whose land the rivers have spoiled!

3 All ye inhabitants of the world, and dwellers on the earth, see ye, when he lifteth up an ensign on the mountains; and when he bloweth a trumpet, hear ye.

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4 For so the LORD said unto me, I will take my rest, and I will consider in my dwelling place like a clear heat upon herbs, and like a cloud of dew in the heat of harvest.

5 For afore the harvest, when the bud is perfect, and the sour grape is ripening in the flower, he shall both cut off the sprigs with pruning hooks, and take away and cut down the branches.

6 They shall be left together unto the fowls of the mountains, and to the beasts of the earth: and the fowls shall summer upon them, and all the beasts of the earth shall winter upon them.

7 In that time shall the present be brought unto the LORD of hosts of a people scattered and peeled, and from a people terrible from their beginning hitherto; a nation meted out and trodden under foot, whose land the rivers have spoiled, to the place of the name of the LORD of hosts, the mount Zion.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 19

1 The burden of Egypt. Behold, the LORD rideth upon a swift cloud, and shall come into Egypt: and the idols of Egypt shall be moved at his presence, and the heart of Egypt shall melt in the midst of it.

2 And I will set the Egyptians against the Egyptians: and they shall fight every one against his brother, and every one against his neighbour; city against city, and kingdom against kingdom.

3 And the spirit of Egypt shall fail in the midst thereof; and I will destroy the counsel thereof: and they shall seek to the idols, and to the charmers, and to them that have familiar spirits, and to the wizards.

4 And the Egyptians will I give over into the hand of a cruel lord; and a fierce king shall rule over them, saith the Lord, the LORD of hosts.

5 And the waters shall fail from the sea, and the river shall be wasted and dried up.

6 And they shall turn the rivers far away; and the brooks of defence shall be emptied and dried up: the reeds and flags shall wither.

7 The paper reeds by the brooks, by the mouth of the brooks, and every thing sown by the brooks, shall wither, be driven away, and be no more.

8 The fishers also shall mourn, and all they that cast angle into the brooks shall lament, and they that spread nets upon the waters shall languish.

9 Moreover they that work in fine flax, and they that weave networks, shall be confounded.

10 And they shall be broken in the purposes thereof, all that make sluices and ponds for fish.

11 Surely the princes of Zoan are fools, the counsel of the wise counsellors of Pharaoh is become brutish: how say ye unto Pharaoh, I am the son of the wise, the son of ancient kings?

12 Where are they? where are thy wise men? and let them tell thee now, and let them know what the LORD of hosts hath purposed upon Egypt.

13 The princes of Zoan are become fools, the princes of Noph are deceived; they have also seduced Egypt, even they that are the stay of the tribes thereof.

14 The LORD hath mingled a perverse spirit in the midst thereof: and they have caused Egypt to err in every work thereof, as a drunken man staggereth in his vomit.

15 Neither shall there be any work for Egypt, which the head or tail, branch or rush, may do.

16 In that day shall Egypt be like unto women: and it shall be afraid and fear because of the shaking of the hand of the LORD of hosts, which he shaketh over it.

17 And the land of Judah shall be a terror unto Egypt, every one that maketh mention thereof shall be afraid in himself, because of the counsel of the LORD of hosts, which he hath determined against it.

18 In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the LORD of hosts; one shall be called, The city of destruction.

19 In that day shall there be an altar to the LORD in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the LORD.

20 And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto the LORD of hosts in the land of Egypt: for they shall cry unto the LORD because of the oppressors, and he shall send them a saviour, and a great one, and he shall deliver them.

21 And the LORD shall be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know the LORD in that day, and shall do sacrifice and oblation; yea, they shall vow a vow unto the LORD, and perform it.

22 And the LORD shall smite Egypt: he shall smite and heal it: and they shall return even to the LORD, and he shall be intreated of them, and shall heal them.

23 In that day shall there be a highway out of Egypt to Assyria, and the Assyrian shall come into Egypt, and the Egyptian into Assyria, and the Egyptians shall serve with the Assyrians.

24 In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, even a blessing in the midst of the land:

25 Whom the LORD of hosts shall bless, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 20

1 In the year that Tartan came unto Ashdod, (when Sargon the king of Assyria sent him,) and fought against Ashdod, and took it;

2 At the same time spake the LORD by Isaiah the son of Amoz, saying, Go and loose the sackcloth from off thy loins, and put off thy shoe from thy foot. And he did so, walking naked and barefoot.

3 And the LORD said, Like as my servant Isaiah hath walked naked and barefoot three years for a sign and wonder upon Egypt and upon Ethiopia;

4 So shall the king of Assyria lead away the Egyptians prisoners, and the Ethiopians captives, young and old, naked and barefoot, even with their buttocks uncovered, to the shame of Egypt.

5 And they shall be afraid and ashamed of Ethiopia their expectation, and of Egypt their glory.

6 And the inhabitant of this isle shall say in that day, Behold, such is our expectation, whither we flee for help to be delivered from the king of Assyria: and how shall we escape?

ISAIAH CHAPTER 21

1 The burden of the desert of the sea. As whirlwinds in the south pass through; so it cometh from the desert, from a terrible land.

2 A grievous vision is declared unto me; the treacherous dealer dealeth treacherously, and the spoiler spoileth. Go up, O Elam: besiege, O Media; all the sighing thereof have I made to cease.

3 Therefore are my loins filled with pain: pangs have taken hold upon me, as the pangs of a woman that travaileth: I was bowed down at the hearing of it; I was dismayed at the seeing of it.

4 My heart panted, fearfulness affrighted me: the night of my pleasure hath he turned into fear unto me.

5 Prepare the table, watch in the watchtower, eat, drink: arise, ye princes, and anoint the shield.

6 For thus hath the LORD said unto me, Go, set a watchman, let him declare what he seeth.

7 And he saw a chariot with a couple of horsemen, a chariot of asses, and a chariot of camels; and he hearkened diligently with much heed:

8 And he cried, A lion: My lord, I stand continually upon the watchtower in the daytime, and I am set in my ward whole nights:

9 And, behold, here cometh a chariot of men, with a couple of horsemen. And he answered and said, Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and all the graven images of her gods he hath broken unto the ground.

10 O my threshing, and the corn of my floor: that which I have heard of the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel, have I declared unto you.

11 The burden of Dumah. He calleth to me out of Seir, Watchman, what of the night? Watchman, what of the night?

12 The watchman said, The morning cometh, and also the night: if ye will enquire, enquire ye: return, come.

13 The burden upon Arabia. In the forest in Arabia shall ye lodge, O ye travelling companies of Dedanim.

14 The inhabitants of the land of Tema brought water to him that was thirsty, they prevented with their bread him that fled.

15 For they fled from the swords, from the drawn sword, and from the bent bow, and from the grievousness of war.

16 For thus hath the LORD said unto me, Within a year, according to the years of an hireling, and all the glory of Kedar shall fail:

17 And the residue of the number of archers, the mighty men of the children of Kedar, shall be diminished: for the LORD God of Israel hath spoken it.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 22

1 The burden of the valley of vision. What aileth thee now, that thou art wholly gone up to the housetops?

2 Thou that art full of stirs, a tumultuous city, joyous city: thy slain men are not slain with the sword, nor dead in battle.

3 All thy rulers are fled together, they are bound by the archers: all that are found in thee are bound together, which have fled from far.

4 Therefore said I, Look away from me; I will weep bitterly, labour not to comfort me, because of the spoiling of the daughter of my people.

5 For it is a day of trouble, and of treading down, and of perplexity by the Lord GOD of hosts in the valley of vision, breaking down the walls, and of crying to the mountains.

6 And Elam bare the quiver with chariots of men and horsemen, and Kir uncovered the shield.

7 And it shall come to pass, that thy choicest valleys shall be full of chariots, and the horsemen shall set themselves in array at the gate.

8 And he discovered the covering of Judah, and thou didst look in that day to the armour of the house of the forest.

9 Ye have seen also the breaches of the city of David, that they are many: and ye gathered together the waters of the lower pool.

10 And ye have numbered the houses of Jerusalem, and the houses have ye broken down to fortify the wall.

11 Ye made also a ditch between the two walls for the water of the old pool: but ye have not looked unto the maker thereof, neither had respect unto him that fashioned it long ago.

12 And in that day did the Lord GOD of hosts call to weeping, and to mourning, and to baldness, and to girding with sackcloth:

13 And behold joy and gladness, slaying oxen, and killing sheep, eating flesh, and drinking wine: let us eat and drink; for to morrow we shall die.

14 And it was revealed in mine ears by the LORD of hosts, Surely this iniquity shall not be purged from you till ye die, saith the Lord GOD of hosts.

15 Thus saith the Lord GOD of hosts, Go, get thee unto this treasurer, even unto Shebna, which is over the house, and say,

16 What hast thou here? and whom hast thou here, that thou hast hewed thee out a sepulchre here, as he that heweth him out a sepulchre on high, and that graveth an habitation for himself in a rock?

17 Behold, the LORD will carry thee away with a mighty captivity, and will surely cover thee.

18 He will surely violently turn and toss thee like a ball into a large country: there shalt thou die, and there the chariots of thy glory shall be the shame of thy lord's house.

19 And I will drive thee from thy station, and from thy state shall he pull thee down.

20 And it shall come to pass in that day, that I will call my servant Eliakim the son of Hilkiah:

21 And I will clothe him with thy robe, and strengthen him with thy girdle, and I will commit thy government into his hand: and he shall be a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and to the house of Judah.

22 And the key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder; so he shall open, and none shall shut; and he shall shut, and none shall open.

23 And I will fasten him as a nail in a sure place; and he shall be for a glorious throne to his father's house.

24 And they shall hang upon him all the glory of his father's house, the offspring and the issue, all vessels of small quantity, from the vessels of cups, even to all the vessels of flagons.

25 In that day, saith the LORD of hosts, shall the nail that is fastened in the sure place be removed, and be cut down, and fall; and the burden that was upon it shall be cut off: for the LORD hath spoken it.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 23

1 The burden of Tyre. Howl, ye ships of Tarshish; for it is laid waste, so that there is no house, no entering in: from the land of Chittim it is revealed to them.

2 Be still, ye inhabitants of the isle; thou whom the merchants of Zidon, that pass over the sea, have replenished.

3 And by great waters the seed of Sihor, the harvest of the river, is her revenue; and she is a mart of nations.

4 Be thou ashamed, O Zidon: for the sea hath spoken, even the strength of the sea, saying, I travail not, nor bring forth children, neither do I nourish up young men, nor bring up virgins.

5 As at the report concerning Egypt, so shall they be sorely pained at the report of Tyre.

6 Pass ye over to Tarshish; howl, ye inhabitants of the isle.

7 Is this your joyous city, whose antiquity is of ancient days? her own feet shall carry her afar off to sojourn.

8 Who hath taken this counsel against Tyre, the crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth?

9 The LORD of hosts hath purposed it, to stain the pride of all glory, and to bring into contempt all the honourable of the earth.

10 Pass through thy land as a river, O daughter of Tarshish: there is no more strength.

11 He stretched out his hand over the sea, he shook the kingdoms: the LORD hath given a commandment against the merchant city, to destroy the strong holds thereof.

12 And he said, Thou shalt no more rejoice, O thou oppressed virgin, daughter of Zidon: arise, pass over to Chittim; there also shalt thou have no rest.

13 Behold the land of the Chaldeans; this people was not, till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness: they set up the towers thereof, they raised up the palaces thereof; and he brought it to ruin.

14 Howl, ye ships of Tarshish: for your strength is laid waste.

15 And it shall come to pass in that day, that Tyre shall be forgotten seventy years, according to the days of one king: after the end of seventy years shall Tyre sing as an harlot.

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16 Take an harp, go about the city, thou harlot that hast been forgotten; make sweet melody, sing many songs, that thou mayest be remembered.
17 And it shall come to pass after the end of seventy years, that the LORD will visit Tyre, and she shall turn to her hire, and shall commit fornication with all the kingdoms of the world upon the face of the earth.
18 And her merchandise and her hire shall be holiness to the LORD: it shall not be treasured nor laid up; for her merchandise shall be for them that dwell before the LORD, to eat sufficiently, and for durable clothing.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 24
1 Behold, the LORD maketh the earth empty, and maketh it waste, and turneth it upside down, and scattereth abroad the inhabitants thereof.
2 And it shall be, as with the people, so with the priest; as with the servant, so with his master; as with the maid, so with her mistress; as with the buyer, so with the seller; as with the lender, so with the borrower; as with the taker of usury, so with the giver of usury to him.
3 The land shall be utterly emptied, and utterly spoiled: for the LORD hath spoken this word.
4 The earth mourneth and fadeth away, the world languisheth and fadeth away, the haughty people of the earth do languish.
5 The earth also is defiled under the inhabitants thereof; because they have transgressed the laws, changed the ordinance, broken the everlasting covenant.
6 Therefore hath the curse devoured the earth, and they that dwell therein are desolate: therefore the inhabitants of the earth are burned, and few men left.
7 The new wine mourneth, the vine languisheth, all the merryhearted do sigh.
8 The mirth of tabrets ceaseth, the noise of them that rejoice endeth, the joy of the harp ceaseth.
9 They shall not drink wine with a song; strong drink shall be bitter to them that drink it.
10 The city of confusion is broken down: every house is shut up, that no man may come in.
11 There is a crying for wine in the streets; all joy is darkened, the mirth of the land is gone.
12 In the city is left desolation, and the gate is smitten with destruction.
13 When thus it shall be in the midst of the land among the people, there shall be as the shaking of an olive tree, and as the gleaning grapes when the vintage is done.
14 They shall lift up their voice, they shall sing for the majesty of the LORD, they shall cry aloud from the sea.
15 Wherefore glorify ye the LORD in the fires, even the name of the LORD God of Israel in the isles of the sea.
16 From the uttermost part of the earth have we heard songs, even glory to the righteous. But I said, My leanness, my leanness, woe unto me! the treacherous dealers have dealt treacherously; yea, the treacherous dealers have dealt very treacherously.
17 Fear, and the pit, and the snare, are upon thee, O inhabitant of the earth.
18 And it shall come to pass, that he who fleeth from the noise of the fear shall fall into the pit; and he that cometh up out of the midst of the pit shall be taken in the snare: for the windows from on high are open, and the foundations of the earth do shake.
19 The earth is utterly broken down, the earth is clean dissolved, the earth is moved exceedingly.
20 The earth shall reel to and fro like a drunkard, and shall be removed like a cottage; and the transgression thereof shall be heavy upon it; and it shall fall, and not rise again.
21 And it shall come to pass in that day, that the LORD shall punish the host of the high ones that are on high, and the kings of the earth upon the earth.
22 And they shall be gathered together, as prisoners are gathered in the pit, and shall be shut up in the prison, and after many days shall they be visited.
23 Then the moon shall be confounded, and the sun ashamed, when the LORD of hosts shall reign in mount Zion, and in Jerusalem, and before his ancients gloriously.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 25
1 O Lord, thou art my God; I will exalt thee, I will praise thy name; for thou hast done wonderful things; thy counsels of old are faithfulness and truth.
2 For thou hast made of a city an heap; of a defenced city a ruin: a palace of strangers to be no city; it shall never be built.
3 Therefore shall the strong people glorify thee, the city of the terrible nations shall fear thee.
4 For thou hast been a strength to the poor, a strength to the needy in his distress, a refuge from the storm, a shadow from the heat, when the blast of the terrible ones is as a storm against the wall.
5 Thou shalt bring down the noise of strangers, as the heat in a dry place; even the heat with the shadow of a cloud: the branch of the terrible ones shall be brought low.
6 And in this mountain shall the LORD of hosts make unto all people a feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wines on the lees well refined.
7 And he will destroy in this mountain the face of the covering cast over all people, and the vail that is spread over all nations.
8 He will swallow up death in victory; and the Lord GOD will wipe away tears from off all faces; and the rebuke of his people shall he take away from off all the earth: for the LORD hath spoken it.
9 And it shall be said in that day, Lo, this is our God; we have waited for him, and he will save us: this is the LORD; we have waited for him, we will be glad and rejoice in his salvation.
10 For in this mountain shall the hand of the LORD rest, and Moab shall be trodden down under him, even as straw is trodden down for the dunghill.
11 And he shall spread forth his hands in the midst of them, as he that swimmeth spreadeth forth his hands to swim: and he shall bring down their pride together with the spoils of their hands.
12 And the fortress of the high fort of thy walls shall he bring down, lay low, and bring to the ground, even to the dust.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 26
1 In that day shall this song be sung in the land of Judah; We have a strong city; salvation will God appoint for walls and bulwarks.
2 Open ye the gates, that the righteous nation which keepeth the truth may enter in.
3 Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on thee: because he trusteth in thee.
4 Trust ye in the LORD for ever: for in the LORD JEHOVAH is everlasting strength:
5 For he bringeth down them that dwell on high; the lofty city, he layeth it low; he layeth it low, even to the ground; he bringeth it even to the dust.
6 The foot shall tread it down, even the feet of the poor, and the steps of the needy.
7 The way of the just is uprightness: thou, most upright, dost weigh the path of the just.
8 Yea, in the way of thy judgements, O LORD, have we waited for thee; the desire of our soul is to thy name, and to the remembrance of thee.
9 With my soul have I desired thee in the night; yea, with my spirit within me will I seek thee early: for when thy judgements are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness.
10 Let favour be shewed to the wicked, yet will he not learn righteousness: in the land of uprightness will he deal unjustly, and will not behold the majesty of the LORD.
11 LORD, when thy hand is lifted up, they will not see: but they shall see, and be ashamed for their envy at the people; yea, the fire of thine enemies shall devour them.
12 LORD, thou wilt ordain peace for us: for thou also hast wrought all our works in us.
13 O LORD our God, other lords beside thee have had dominion over us: but by thee only will we make mention of thy name.
14 They are dead, they shall not live; they are deceased, they shall not rise: therefore hast thou visited and destroyed them, and made all their memory to perish.
15 Thou hast increased the nation, O LORD, thou hast increased the nation: thou art glorified: thou hadst removed it far unto all the ends of the earth.
16 LORD, in trouble have they visited thee, they poured out a prayer when thy chastening was upon them.
17 Like as a woman with child, that draweth near the time of her delivery, is in pain, and crieth out in her pangs; so have we been in thy sight, O LORD.
18 We have been with child, we have been in pain, we have as it were brought forth wind; we have not wrought any deliverance in the earth; neither have the inhabitants of the world fallen.
19 Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in dust: for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead.
20 Come, my people, enter thou into thy chambers, and shut thy doors about thee: hide thyself as it were for a little moment, until the indignation be overpast.
21 For, behold, the LORD cometh out of his place to punish the inhabitants of the earth for their iniquity: the earth also shall disclose her blood, and shall no more cover her slain.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 27
1 In that day the LORD with his sore and great and strong sword shall punish leviathan the piercing serpent, even leviathan that crooked serpent; and he shall slay the dragon that is in the sea.
2 In that day sing ye unto her, A vineyard of red wine.
3 I the LORD do keep it; I will water it every moment: lest any hurt it, I will keep it night and day.
4 Fury is not in me: who would set the briers and thorns against me in battle? I would go through them, I would burn them together.
5 Or let him take hold of my strength, that he may make peace with me; and he shall make peace with me.
6 He shall cause them that come of Jacob to take root: Israel shall blossom and bud, and fill the face of the world with fruit.
7 Hath he smitten him, as he smote those that smote him? or is he slain according to the slaughter of them that are slain by him?
8 In measure, when it shooteth forth, thou wilt debate with it: he stayeth his rough wind in the day of the east wind.
9 By this therefore shall the iniquity of Jacob be purged; and this is all the fruit to take away his sin; when he maketh all the stones of the altar as chalkstones that are beaten in sunder, the groves and images shall not stand up.
10 Yet the defenced city shall be desolate, and the habitation forsaken, and left like a wilderness: there shall the calf feed, and there shall he lie down, and consume the branches thereof.
11 When the boughs thereof are withered, they shall be broken off: the women come, and set them on fire: for it is a people of no understanding: therefore he that made them will not have mercy on them, and he that formed them will shew them no favour.
12 And it shall come to pass in that day, that the LORD shall beat off from the channel of the river unto the stream of Egypt, and ye shall be gathered one by one, O ye children of Israel.
13 And it shall come to pass in that day, that the great trumpet shall be blown, and they shall come which were ready to perish in the land of Assyria, and the outcasts in the land of Egypt, and shall worship the LORD in the holy mount at Jerusalem.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 28
1 Woe to the crown of pride, to the drunkards of Ephraim, whose glorious beauty is a fading flower, which are on the head of the fat valleys of them that are overcome with wine!
2 Behold, the Lord hath a mighty and strong one, which as a tempest of hail and a destroying storm, as a flood of mighty waters overflowing, shall cast down to the earth with the hand.
3 The crown of pride, the drunkards of Ephraim, shall be trodden under feet:
4 And the glorious beauty, which is on the head of the fat valley, shall be a fading flower, and as the hasty fruit before the summer; which when he that looketh upon it seeth, while it is yet in his hand he eateth it up.
5 In that day shall the LORD of hosts be for a crown of glory, and for a diadem of beauty, unto the residue of his people,
6 And for a spirit of judgement to him that sitteth in judgement, and for strength to them that turn the battle to the gate.
7 But they also have erred through wine, and through strong drink are out of the way; the priest and the prophet have erred through strong drink, they are swallowed up of wine, they are out of the way through strong drink; they err in vision, they stumble in judgement.
8 For all tables are full of vomit and filthiness, so that there is no place clean.
9 Whom shall he teach knowledge? and whom shall he make to understand doctrine? them that are weaned from the milk, and drawn from the breasts.
10 For precept must be upon precept, precept upon precept; line upon line, line upon line; here a little, and there a little:
11 For with stammering lips and another tongue will he speak to this people.
12 To whom he said, This is the rest wherewith ye may cause the weary to rest; and this is the refreshing: yet they would not hear.
13 But the word of the LORD was unto them precept upon precept, precept upon precept; line upon line, line upon line; here a little, and there a little; that they might go, and fall backward, and be broken, and snared, and taken.
14 Wherefore hear the word of the LORD, ye scornful men, that rule this people which is in Jerusalem.
15 Because ye have said, We have made a covenant with death, and with hell are we at agreement; when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, it shall not come unto us: for we have made lies our refuge, and under falsehood have we hid ourselves:
16 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD, Behold, I lay in Zion for a foundation a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner stone, a sure foundation: he that believeth shall not make haste.
17 Judgement also will I lay to the line, and righteousness to the plummet: and the hail shall sweep away the refuge of lies, and the waters shall overflow the hiding place.
18 And your covenant with death shall be disannulled, and your agreement with hell shall not stand; when the

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overflowing scourge shall pass through, then ye shall be trodden down by it.
19 From the time that it goeth forth it shall take you: for morning by morning shall it pass over, by day and by night: and it shall be a vexation only to understand the report.
20 For the bed is shorter than that a man can stretch himself on it: and the covering narrower than that he can wrap himself in it.
21 For the LORD shall rise up as in mount Perazim, he shall be wroth as in the valley of Gibeon, that he may do his work, his strange work; and bring to pass his act, his strange act.
22 Now therefore be ye not mockers, lest your bands be made strong: for I have heard from the Lord GOD of hosts a consumption, even determined upon the whole earth.
23 Give ye ear, and hear my voice; hearken, and hear my speech.
24 Doth the plowman plow all day to sow? doth he open and break the clods of his ground?
25 When he hath made plain the face thereof, doth he not cast abroad the fitches, and scatter the cummin, and cast in the principal wheat and the appointed barley and the rie in their place?
26 For his God doth instruct him to discretion, and doth teach him.
27 For the fitches are not threshed with a threshing instrument, neither is a cart wheel turned about upon the cummin; but the fitches are beaten out with a staff, and the cummin with a rod.
28 Bread corn is bruised; because he will not ever be threshing it, nor break it with the wheel of his cart, nor bruise it with his horsemen.
29 This also cometh forth from the LORD of hosts, which is wonderful in counsel, and excellent in working.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 29
1 Woe to Ariel, to Ariel, the city where David dwelt! add ye year to year; let them kill sacrifices.
2 Yet I will distress Ariel, and there shall be heaviness and sorrow: and it shall be unto me as Ariel.
3 And I will camp against thee round about, and will lay siege against thee with a mount, and I will raise forts against thee.
4 And thou shalt be brought down, and shalt speak out of the ground, and thy speech shall be low out of the dust, and thy voice shall be, as of one that hath a familiar spirit, out of the ground, and thy speech shall whisper out of the dust.
5 Moreover the multitude of thy strangers shall be like small dust, and the multitude of the terrible ones shall be as chaff that passeth away: yea, it shall be at an instant suddenly.
6 Thou shalt be visited of the LORD of hosts with thunder, and with earthquake, and great noise, with storm and tempest, and the flame of devouring fire.
7 And the multitude of all the nations that fight against Ariel, even all that fight against her and her munition, and that distress her, shall be as a dream of a night vision.
8 It shall even be as when an hungry man dreameth, and, behold, he eateth; but he awaketh, and his soul is empty: or as when a thirsty man dreameth, and, behold, he drinketh; but he awaketh, and, behold, he is faint, and his soul hath appetite: so shall the multitude of all the nations be, that fight against mount Zion.
9 Stay yourselves, and wonder; cry ye out, and cry: they are drunken, but not with wine; they stagger, but not with strong drink.
10 For the LORD hath poured out upon you the spirit of deep sleep, and hath closed your eyes: the prophets and your rulers, the seers hath he covered.
11 And the vision of all is become unto you as the words of a book that is sealed, which men deliver to one that is learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee: and he saith, I cannot; for it is sealed:
12 And the book is delivered to him that is not learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee: and he saith, I am not learned.
13 Wherefore the Lord said, Forasmuch as this people draw near me with their mouth, and with their lips do honour me, but have removed their heart far from me, and their fear toward me is taught by the precept of men:
14 Therefore, behold, I will proceed to do a marvellous work among this people, even a marvellous work and a wonder: for the wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and the understanding of their prudent men shall be hid.
15 Woe unto them that seek deep to hide their counsel from the LORD, and their works are in the dark, and they say, Who seeth us? and who knoweth us?
16 Surely your turning of things upside down shall be esteemed as the potter's clay: for shall the work say of him that made it, He made me not? or shall the thing framed say of him that framed it, He had no understanding?
17 Is it not yet a very little while, and Lebanon shall be turned into a fruitful field, and the fruitful field shall be esteemed as a forest?
18 And in that day shall the deaf hear the words of the book, and the eyes of the blind shall see out of obscurity, and out of darkness.
19 The meek also shall increase their joy in the LORD, and the poor among men shall rejoice in the Holy One of Israel.
20 For the terrible one is brought to nought, and the scorner is consumed, and all that watch for iniquity are cut off:
21 That make a man an offender for a word, and lay a snare for him that reproveth in the gate, and turn aside the just for a thing of nought.
22 Therefore thus saith the LORD, who redeemed Abraham, concerning the house of Jacob, Jacob shall not now be ashamed, neither shall his face now wax pale.
23 But when he seeth his children, the work of mine hands, in the midst of him, they shall sanctify my name, and sanctify the Holy One of Jacob, and shall fear the God of Israel.
24 They also that erred in spirit shall come to understanding, and they that murmured shall learn doctrine.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 30
1 Woe to the rebellious children, saith the LORD, that take counsel, but not of me; and that cover with a covering, but not of my spirit, that they may add sin to sin:
2 That walk to go down into Egypt, and have not asked at my mouth; to strengthen themselves in the strength of Pharaoh, and to trust in the shadow of Egypt!
3 Therefore shall the strength of Pharaoh be your shame, and the trust in the shadow of Egypt your confusion.
4 For his princes were at Zoan, and his ambassadors came to Hanes.
5 They were all ashamed of a people that could not profit them, nor be an help nor profit, but a shame, and also a reproach.
6 The burden of the beasts of the south: into the land of trouble and anguish, from whence come the young and old lion, the viper and fiery flying serpent, they will carry their riches upon the shoulders of young asses, and their treasures upon the bunches of camels, to a people that shall not profit them.
7 For the Egyptians shall help in vain, and to no purpose: therefore have I cried concerning this, Their strength is to sit still.
8 Now go, write it before them in a table, and note it in a book, that it may be for the time to come for ever and ever:
9 That this is a rebellious people, lying children, children that will not hear the law of the LORD:
10 Which say to the seers, See not; and to the prophets, Prophesy not unto us right things, speak unto us smooth things, prophesy deceits:
11 Get you out of the way, turn aside out of the path, cause the Holy One of Israel to cease from before us.
12 Wherefore thus saith the Holy One of Israel, Because ye despise this word, and trust in oppression and perverseness, and stay thereon:
13 Therefore this iniquity shall be to you as a breach ready to fall, swelling out in a high wall, whose breaking cometh suddenly at an instant.
14 And he shall break it as the breaking of the potters' vessel that is broken in pieces; he shall not spare: so that there shall not be found in the bursting of it a sherd to take fire from the hearth, or to take water withal out of the pit.
15 For thus saith the Lord GOD, the Holy One of Israel; In returning and rest shall ye be saved; in quietness and in confidence shall be your strength: and ye would not.
16 But ye said, No; for we will flee upon horses; therefore shall ye flee: and, We will ride upon the swift; therefore shall they that pursue you be swift.
17 One thousand shall flee at the rebuke of one; at the rebuke of five shall ye flee: till ye be left as a beacon upon the top of a mountain, and as an ensign on an hill.
18 And therefore will the LORD wait, that he may be gracious unto you, and therefore will he be exalted, that he may have mercy upon you: for the LORD is a God of judgement: blessed are all they that wait for him.
19 For the people shall dwell in Zion at Jerusalem: thou shalt weep no more: he will be very gracious unto thee at the voice of thy cry; when he shall hear it, he will answer thee.
20 And though the Lord give you the bread of adversity, and the water of affliction, yet shall not thy teachers be removed into a corner any more, but thine eyes shall see thy teachers:
21 And thine ears shall hear a word behind thee, saying, This is the way, walk ye in it, when ye turn to the right hand, and when ye turn to the left.
22 Ye shall defile also the covering of thy graven images of silver, and the ornament of thy molten images of gold: thou shalt cast them away as a menstruous cloth; thou shalt say unto it, Get thee hence.
23 Then shall he give the rain of thy seed, that thou shalt sow the ground withal; and bread of the increase of the earth, and it shall be fat and plenteous: in that day shall thy cattle feed in large pastures.
24 The oxen likewise and the young asses that ear the ground shall eat clean provender, which hath been winnowed with the shovel and with the fan.
25 And there shall be upon every high mountain, and upon every high hill, rivers and streams of waters in the day of the great slaughter, when the towers fall.
26 Moreover the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold, as the light of seven days, in the day that the LORD bindeth up the breach of his people, and healeth the stroke of their wound.
27 Behold, the name of the LORD cometh from far, burning with his anger, and the burden thereof is heavy: his lips are full of indignation, and his tongue as a devouring fire:
28 And his breath, as an overflowing stream, shall reach to the midst of the neck, to sift the nations with the sieve of vanity: and there shall be a bridle in the jaws of the people, causing them to err.
29 Ye shall have a song, as in the night when a holy solemnity is kept; and gladness of heart, as when one goeth with a pipe to come into the mountain of the LORD, to the mighty One of Israel.
30 And the LORD shall cause his glorious voice to be heard, and shall shew the lighting down of his arm, with the indignation of his anger, and with the flame of a devouring fire, with scattering, and tempest, and hailstones.
31 For through the voice of the LORD shall the Assyrian be beaten down, which smote with a rod.
32 And in every place where the grounded staff shall pass, which the LORD shall lay upon him, it shall be with tabrets and harps: and in battles of shaking will he fight with it.
33 For Tophet is ordained of old; yea, for the king it is prepared; he hath made it deep and large: the pile thereof is fire and much wood; the breath of the LORD, like a stream of brimstone, doth kindle it.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 31
1 Woe to them that go down to Egypt for help; and stay on horses, and trust in chariots, because they are many; and in horsemen, because they are very strong; but they look not unto the Holy One of Israel, neither seek the LORD!
2 Yet he also is wise, and will bring evil, and will not call back his words: but will arise against the house of the evildoers, and against the help of them that work iniquity.
3 Now the Egyptians are men, and not God; and their horses flesh, and not spirit. When the LORD shall stretch out his hand, both he that helpeth shall fall, and he that is holpen shall fall down, and they all shall fail together.
4 For thus hath the LORD spoken unto me, Like as the lion and the young lion roaring on his prey, when a multitude of shepherds is called forth against him, he will not be afraid of their voice, nor abase himself for the noise of them: so shall the LORD of hosts come down to fight for mount Zion, and for the hill thereof.
5 As birds flying, so will the LORD of hosts defend Jerusalem; defending also he will deliver it; and passing over he will preserve it.
6 Turn ye unto him from whom the children of Israel have deeply revolted.
7 For in that day every man shall cast away his idols of silver, and his idols of gold, which your own hands have made unto you for a sin.
8 Then shall the Assyrian fall with the sword, not of a mighty man; and the sword, not of a mean man, shall devour him: but he shall flee from the sword, and his young men shall be discomfited.
9 And he shall pass over to his strong hold for fear, and his princes shall be afraid of the ensign, saith the LORD, whose fire is in Zion, and his furnace in Jerusalem.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 32
1 Behold, a king shall reign in righteousness, and princes shall rule in judgement.
2 And a man shall be as an hiding place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest; as rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land.
3 And the eyes of them that see shall not be dim, and the ears of them that hear shall hearken.
4 The heart also of the rash shall understand knowledge, and the tongue of the stammerers shall be ready to speak plainly.
5 The vile person shall be no more called liberal, nor the churl said to be bountiful.
6 For the vile person will speak villany, and his heart will work iniquity, to practise hypocrisy, and to utter error against the LORD, to make empty the soul of the hungry, and he will cause the drink of the thirsty to fail.
7 The instruments also of the churl are evil: he deviseth wicked devices to destroy the poor with lying words, even when the needy speaketh right.
8 But the liberal deviseth liberal things; and by liberal things shall he stand.
9 Rise up, ye women that are at ease; hear my voice, ye careless daughters; give ear unto my speech.

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10 Many days and years shall ye be troubled, ye careless women: for the vintage shall fail, the gathering shall not come.
11 Tremble, ye women that are at ease; be troubled, ye careless ones: strip you, and make you bare, and gird sackcloth upon your loins.
12 They shall lament for the teats, for the pleasant fields, for the fruitful vine.
13 Upon the land of my people shall come up thorns and briers; yea, upon all the houses of joy in the joyous city:
14 Because the palaces shall be forsaken; the multitude of the city shall be left; the forts and towers shall be for dens for ever, a joy of wild asses, a pasture of flocks;
15 Until the spirit be poured upon us from on high, and the wilderness be a fruitful field, and the fruitful field be counted for a forest.
16 Then judgement shall dwell in the wilderness, and righteousness remain in the fruitful field.
17 And the work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness quietness and assurance for ever.
18 And my people shall dwell in a peaceable habitation, and in sure dwellings, and in quiet resting places;
19 When it shall hail, coming down on the forest; and the city shall be low in a low place.
20 Blessed are ye that sow beside all waters, that send forth thither the feet of the ox and the ass.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 33

1 Woe to thee that spoilest, and thou wast not spoiled; and dealest treacherously, and they dealt not treacherously with thee! when thou shalt cease to spoil, thou shalt be spoiled; and when thou shalt make an end to deal treacherously, they shall deal treacherously with thee.
2 O LORD, be gracious unto us; we have waited for thee: be thou their arm every morning, our salvation also in the time of trouble.
3 At the noise of the tumult the people fled; at the lifting up of thyself the nations were scattered.
4 And your spoil shall be gathered like the gathering of the caterpiller: as the running to and fro of locusts shall he run upon them.
5 The LORD is exalted; for he dwelleth on high: he hath filled Zion with judgement and righteousness.
6 And wisdom and knowledge shall be the stability of thy times, and strength of salvation: the fear of the LORD is his treasure.
7 Behold, their valiant ones shall cry without: the ambassadors of peace shall weep bitterly.
8 The highways lie waste, the wayfaring man ceaseth: he hath broken the covenant, he hath despised the cities, he regardeth no man.
9 The earth mourneth and languisheth: Lebanon is ashamed and hewn down: Sharon is like a wilderness; and Bashan and Carmel shake off their fruits.
10 Now will I rise, saith the LORD; now will I be exalted; now will I lift up myself.
11 Ye shall conceive chaff, ye shall bring forth stubble: your breath, as fire, shall devour you.
12 And the people shall be as the burnings of lime: as thorns cut up shall they be burned in the fire.
13 Hear, ye that are far off, what I have done; and, ye that are near, acknowledge my might.
14 The sinners in Zion are afraid; fearfulness hath surprised the hypocrites. Who among us shall dwell with the devouring fire? who among us shall dwell with everlasting burnings?
15 He that walketh righteously, and speaketh uprightly; he that despiseth the gain of oppressions, that shaketh his hands from holding of bribes, that stoppeth his ears from hearing of blood, and shutteth his eyes from seeing evil;
16 He shall dwell on high: his place of defence shall be the munitions of rocks: bread shall be given him; his waters shall be sure.
17 Thine eyes shall see the king in his beauty: they shall behold the land that is very far off.
18 Thine heart shall meditate terror. Where is the scribe? where is the receiver? where is he that counted the towers?
19 Thou shalt not see a fierce people, a people of a deeper speech than thou canst perceive; of a stammering tongue, that thou canst not understand.
20 Look upon Zion, the city of our solemnities: thine eyes shall see Jerusalem a quiet habitation, a tabernacle that shall not be taken down; not one of the stakes thereof shall ever be removed, neither shall any of the cords thereof be broken.
21 But there the glorious LORD will be unto us a place of broad rivers and streams; wherein shall go no galley with oars, neither shall gallant ship pass thereby.
22 For the LORD is our judge, the LORD is our lawgiver, the LORD is our king; he will save us.
23 Thy tacklings are loosed; they could not well strengthen their mast, they could not spread the sail: then is the prey of a great spoil divided; the lame take the prey.
24 And the inhabitant shall not say, I am sick: the people that dwell therein shall be forgiven their iniquity.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 34

1 Come near, ye nations, to hear; and hearken, ye people: let the earth hear, and all that is therein; the world, and all things that come forth of it.
2 For the indignation of the LORD is upon all nations, and his fury upon all their armies: he hath utterly destroyed them, he hath delivered them to the slaughter.
3 Their slain also shall be cast out, and their stink shall come up out of their carcases, and the mountains shall be melted with their blood.
4 And all the host of heaven shall be dissolved, and the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll: and all their host shall fall down, as the leaf falleth off from the vine, and as a falling fig from the fig tree.
5 For my sword shall be bathed in heaven: behold, it shall come down upon Idumea, and upon the people of my curse, to judgement.
6 The sword of the LORD is filled with blood, it is made fat with fatness, and with the blood of lambs and goats, with the fat of the kidneys of rams: for the LORD hath a sacrifice in Bozrah, and a great slaughter in the land of Idumea.
7 And the unicorns shall come down with them, and the bullocks with the bulls; and their land shall be soaked with blood, and their dust made fat with fatness.
8 For it is the day of the LORD's vengeance, and the year of recompences for the controversy of Zion.
9 And the streams thereof shall be turned into pitch, and the dust thereof into brimstone, and the land thereof shall become burning pitch.
10 It shall not be quenched night nor day; the smoke thereof shall go up for ever: from generation to generation it shall lie waste; none shall pass through it for ever and ever.
11 But the cormorant and the bittern shall possess it; the owl also and the raven shall dwell in it: and he shall stretch out upon it the line of confusion, and the stones of emptiness.
12 They shall call the nobles thereof to the kingdom, but none shall be there, and all her princes shall be nothing.
13 And thorns shall come up in her palaces, nettles and brambles in the fortresses thereof: and it shall be an habitation of dragons, and a court for owls.
14 The wild beasts of the desert shall also meet with the wild beasts of the island, and the satyr shall cry to his fellow; the screech owl also shall rest there, and find for herself a place of rest.
15 There shall the great owl make her nest, and lay, and hatch, and gather under her shadow: there shall the vultures also be gathered, every one with her mate.
16 Seek ye out of the book of the LORD, and read: no one of these shall fail, none shall want her mate: for my mouth it hath commanded, and his spirit it hath gathered them.
17 And he hath cast the lot for them, and his hand hath divided it unto them by line: they shall possess it for ever, from generation to generation shall they dwell therein.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 35

1 The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose.
2 It shall blossom abundantly, and rejoice even with joy and singing: the glory of Lebanon shall be given unto it, the excellency of Carmel and Sharon, they shall see the glory of the LORD, and the excellency of our God.
3 Strengthen ye the weak hands, and confirm the feeble knees.
4 Say to them that are of a fearful heart, Be strong, fear not: behold, your God will come with vengeance, even God with a recompence; he will come and save you.
5 Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped.
6 Then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing: for in the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the desert.
7 And the parched ground shall become a pool, and the thirsty land springs of water: in the habitation of dragons, where each lay, shall be grass with reeds and rushes.
8 And an highway shall be there, and a way, and it shall be called The way of holiness; the unclean shall not pass over it; but it shall be for those: the wayfaring men, though fools, shall not err therein.
9 No lion shall be there, nor any ravenous beast shall go up thereon, it shall not be found there; but the redeemed shall walk there:
10 And the ransomed of the LORD shall return, and come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads: they shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 36

1 Now it came to pass in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah, that Sennacherib king of Assyria came up against all the defenced cities of Judah, and took them.
2 And the king of Assyria sent Rabshakeh from Lachish to Jerusalem unto king Hezekiah with a great army. And he stood by the conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's field.
3 Then came forth unto him Eliakim, Hilkiah's son, which was over the house, and Shebna the scribe, and Joah, Asaph's son, the recorder.
4 And Rabshakeh said unto them, Say ye now to Hezekiah, Thus saith the great king, the king of Assyria, What confidence is this wherein thou trustest?
5 I say, sayest thou, (but they are but vain words) I have counsel and strength for war: now on whom dost thou trust, that thou rebellest against me?
6 Lo, thou trustest in the staff of this broken reed, on Egypt; whereon if a man lean, it will go into his hand, and pierce it: so is Pharaoh king of Egypt to all that trust in him.
7 But if thou say to me, We trust in the LORD our God: is it not he, whose high places and whose altars Hezekiah hath taken away, and said to Judah and to Jerusalem, Ye shall worship before this altar?
8 Now therefore give pledges, I pray thee, to my master the king of Assyria, and I will give thee two thousand horses, if thou be able on thy part to set riders upon them.
9 How then wilt thou turn away the face of one captain of the least of my master's servants, and put thy trust on Egypt for chariots and for horsemen?
10 And am I now come up without the LORD against this land to destroy it? the LORD said unto me, Go up against this land, and destroy it.
11 Then said Eliakim and Shebna and Joah unto Rabshakeh, Speak, I pray thee, unto thy servants in the Syrian language; for we understand it: and speak not to us in the Jews' language, in the ears of the people that are on the wall.
12 But Rabshakeh said, Hath my master sent me to thy master and to thee to speak these words? hath he not sent me to the men that sit upon the wall, that they may eat their own dung, and drink their own piss with you?
13 Then Rabshakeh stood, and cried with a loud voice in the Jews' language, and said, Hear ye the words of the great king, the king of Assyria.
14 Thus saith the king, Let not Hezekiah deceive you: for he shall not be able to deliver you.
15 Neither let Hezekiah make you trust in the LORD, saying, The LORD will surely deliver us: this city shall not be delivered into the hand of the king of Assyria.
16 Hearken not to Hezekiah: for thus saith the king of Assyria, Make an agreement with me by a present, and come out to me: and eat ye every one of his vine, and every one of his fig tree, and drink ye every one the waters of his own cistern;
17 Until I come and take you away to a land like your own land, a land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards.
18 Beware lest Hezekiah persuade you, saying, the LORD will deliver us. Hath any of the gods of the nations delivered his land out of the hand of the king of Assyria?
19 Where are the gods of Hamath and Arphad? where are the gods of Sepharvaim? and have they delivered Samaria out of my hand?
20 Who are they among all the gods of these lands, that have delivered their land out of my hand, that the LORD should deliver Jerusalem out of my hand?
21 But they held their peace, and answered him not a word: for the king's commandment was, saying, Answer him not.
22 Then came Eliakim, the son of Hilkiah, that was over the household, and Shebna the scribe, and Joah, the son of Asaph, the recorder, to Hezekiah with their clothes rent, and told him the words of Rabshakeh.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 37

1 And it came to pass, when king Hezekiah heard it, that he rent his clothes, and covered himself with sackcloth, and went into the house of the LORD.
2 And he sent Eliakim, who was over the household, and Shebna the scribe, and the elders of the priests covered with sackcloth, unto Isaiah the prophet the son of Amoz.
3 And they said unto him, Thus saith Hezekiah, This day is a day of trouble, and of rebuke, and of blasphemy: for the children are come to the birth, and there is not strength to bring forth.
4 It may be the LORD thy God will hear the words of Rabshakeh, whom the king of Assyria his master hath sent to reproach the living God, and will reprove the words which the LORD thy God hath heard: wherefore lift up thy prayer for the remnant that is left.
5 So the servants of king Hezekiah came to Isaiah.
6 And Isaiah said unto them, Thus shall ye say unto your master, Thus saith the LORD, Be not afraid of the words that thou hast heard, wherewith the servants of the king of Assyria have blasphemed me.
7 Behold, I will send a blast upon him, and he shall hear a rumour, and return to his own land; and I will cause him to fall by the sword in his own land.
8 So Rabshakeh returned, and found the king of Assyria warring against Libnah: for he had heard that he was departed from Lachish.
9 And he heard say concerning Tirhakah king of Ethiopia, He is come forth to make war with thee. And when he heard it, he sent messengers to Hezekiah, saying,

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10 Thus shall ye speak to Hezekiah king of Judah, saying, Let not thy God, in whom thou trustest, deceive thee, saying, Jerusalem shall not be given into the hand of the king of Assyria.

11 Behold, thou hast heard what the kings of Assyria have done to all lands by destroying them utterly; and shalt thou be delivered?

12 Have the gods of the nations delivered them which my fathers have destroyed, as Gozan, and Haran, and Rezeph, and the children of Eden which were in Telassar?

13 Where is the king of Hamath, and the king of Arphad, and the king of the city of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivah?

14 And Hezekiah received the letter from the hand of the messengers, and read it: and Hezekiah went up unto the house of the LORD, and spread it before the LORD.

15 And Hezekiah prayed unto the LORD, saying,

16 O LORD of hosts, God of Israel, that dwellest between the cherubims, thou art the God, even thou alone, of all the kingdoms of the earth: thou hast made heaven and earth.

17 Incline thine ear, O LORD, and hear; open thine eyes, O LORD, and see: and hear all the words of Sennacherib, which hath sent to reproach the living God.

18 Of a truth, LORD, the kings of Assyria have laid waste all the nations, and their countries,

19 And have cast their gods into the fire: for they were no gods, but the work of men's hands, wood and stone: therefore they have destroyed them.

20 Now therefore, O LORD our God, save us from his hand, that all the kingdoms of the earth may know that thou art the LORD, even thou only.

21 Then Isaiah the son of Amoz sent unto Hezekiah, saying, Thus saith the LORD God of Israel, Whereas thou hast prayed to me against Sennacherib king of Assyria:

22 This is the word which the LORD hath spoken concerning him; The virgin, the daughter of Zion, hath despised thee, and laughed thee to scorn; the daughter of Jerusalem hath shaken her head at thee.

23 Whom hast thou reproached and blasphemed? and against whom hast thou exalted thy voice, and lifted up thine eyes on high? even against the Holy One of Israel.

24 By thy servants hast thou reproached the Lord, and hast said, By the multitude of my chariots am I come up to the height of the mountains, to the sides of Lebanon; and I will cut down the tall cedars thereof, and the choice fir trees thereof: and I will enter into the height of his border, and the forest of his Carmel.

25 I have digged, and drunk water; and with the sole of my feet have I dried up all the rivers of the besieged places.

26 Hast thou not heard long ago, how I have done it; and of ancient times, that I have formed it? now have I brought it to pass, that thou shouldest be to lay waste defenced cities into ruinous heaps.

27 Therefore their inhabitants were of small power, they were dismayed and confounded: they were as the grass of the field, and as the green herb, as the grass on the housetops, and as corn blasted before it be grown up.

28 But I know thy abode, and thy going out, and thy coming in, and thy rage against me.

29 Because thy rage against me, and thy tumult, is come up into mine ears, therefore will I put my hook in thy nose, and my bridle in thy lips, and I will turn thee back by the way by which thou camest.

30 And this shall be a sign unto thee, Ye shall eat this year such as groweth of itself; and the second year that which springeth of the same: and in the third year sow ye, and reap, and plant vineyards, and eat the fruit thereof.

31 And the remnant that is escaped of the house of Judah shall again take root downward, and bear fruit upward:

32 For out of Jerusalem shall go forth a remnant, and they that escape out of mount Zion: the zeal of the LORD of hosts shall do this.

33 Therefore thus saith the LORD concerning the king of Assyria, He shall not come into this city, nor shoot an arrow there, nor come before it with shields, nor cast a bank against it.

34 By the way that he came, by the same shall he return, and shall not come into this city, saith the LORD.

35 For I will defend this city to save it for mine own sake, and for my servant David's sake.

36 Then the angel of the LORD went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians a hundred and fourscore and five thousand: and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses.

37 So Sennacherib king of Assyria departed, and went and returned, and dwelt at Nineveh.

38 And it came to pass, as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god, that Adrammelech and Sharezer his sons smote him with the sword; and they escaped into the land of Armenia: and Esarhaddon his son reigned in his stead.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 38

1 In those days was Hezekiah sick unto death. And Isaiah the prophet the son of Amoz came unto him, and said unto him, Thus saith the LORD, Set thine house in order: for thou shalt die, and not live.

2 Then Hezekiah turned his face toward the wall, and prayed unto the LORD,

3 And said, Remember now, O LORD, I beseech thee, how I have walked before thee in truth and with a perfect heart, and have done that which is good in thy sight. And Hezekiah wept sore.

4 Then came the word of the LORD to Isaiah, saying,

5 Go, and say to Hezekiah, Thus saith the LORD, the God of David thy father, I have heard thy prayer, I have seen thy tears: behold, I will add unto thy days fifteen years.

6 And I will deliver thee and this city out of the hand of the king of Assyria: and I will defend this city.

7 And this shall be a sign unto thee from the LORD, that the LORD will do this thing that he hath spoken;

8 Behold, I will bring again the shadow of the degrees, which is gone down in the sun dial of Ahaz, ten degrees backward. So the sun returned ten degrees, by which degrees it was gone down.

9 The writing of Hezekiah king of Judah, when he had been sick, and was recovered of his sickness:

10 I said in the cutting off of my days, I shall go to the gates of the grave: I am deprived of the residue of my years.

11 I said, I shall not see the LORD, even the LORD, in the land of the living: I shall behold man no more with the inhabitants of the world.

12 Mine age is departed, and is removed from me as a shepherd's tent: I have cut off like a weaver my life: he will cut me off with pining sickness: from day even to night wilt thou make an end of me.

13 I reckoned till morning, that, as a lion, so will he break all my bones: from day even to night wilt thou make an end of me.

14 Like a crane or a swallow, so did I chatter: I did mourn as a dove: mine eyes fail with looking upward: O LORD, I am oppressed; undertake for me.

15 What shall I say? he hath both spoken unto me, and himself hath done it: I shall go softly all my years in the bitterness of my soul.

16 O LORD, by these things men live, and in all these things is the life of my spirit: so wilt thou recover me, and make me to live.

17 Behold, for peace I had great bitterness: but thou hast in love to my soul delivered it from the pit of corruption: for thou hast cast all my sins behind thy back.

18 For the grave cannot praise thee, death can not celebrate thee: they that go down into the pit cannot hope for thy truth.

19 The living, the living, he shall praise thee, as I do this day: the father to the children shall make known thy truth.

20 The LORD was ready to save me: therefore we will sing my songs to the stringed instruments all the days of our life in the house of the LORD.

21 For Isaiah had said, Let them take a lump of figs, and lay it for a plaister upon the boil, and he shall recover.

22 Hezekiah also had said, What is the sign that I shall go up to the house of the LORD?

ISAIAH CHAPTER 39

1 At that time Merodachbaladan, the son of Baladan, king of Babylon, sent letters and a present to Hezekiah: for he had heard that he had been sick, and was recovered.

2 And Hezekiah was glad of them, and shewed them the house of his precious things, the silver, and the gold, and the spices, and the precious ointment, and all the house of his armour, and all that was found in his treasures: there was nothing in his house, nor in all his dominion, that Hezekiah shewed them not.

3 Then came Isaiah the prophet unto king Hezekiah, and said unto him, What said these men? and from whence came they unto thee? And Hezekiah said, They are come from a far country unto me, even from Babylon.

4 Then said he, What have they seen in thine house? And Hezekiah answered, All that is in mine house have they seen: there is nothing among my treasures that I have not shewed them.

5 Then said Isaiah to Hezekiah, Hear the word of the LORD of hosts:

6 Behold, the days come, that all that is in thine house, and that which thy fathers have laid up in store until this day, shall be carried to Babylon: nothing shall be left, saith the LORD.

7 And of thy sons that shall issue from thee, which thou shalt beget, shall they take away; and they shall be eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon.

8 Then said Hezekiah to Isaiah, Good is the word of the LORD which thou hast spoken. He said moreover, For there shall be peace and truth in my days.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 40

1 Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God.

2 Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her, that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned: for she hath received of the LORD's hand double for all her sins.

3 The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the LORD, make straight in the desert a highway for our God.

4 Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low: and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain:

5 And the glory of the LORD shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together: for the mouth of the LORD hath spoken it.

6 The voice said, Cry. And he said, What shall I cry? All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field:

7 The grass withereth, the flower fadeth: because the spirit of the LORD bloweth upon it: surely the people is grass.

8 The grass withereth, the flower fadeth: but the word of our God shall stand for ever.

9 O Zion, that bringest good tidings, get thee up into the high mountain; O Jerusalem, that bringest good tidings, lift up thy voice with strength; lift it up, be not afraid; say unto the cities of Judah, Behold your God!

10 Behold, the Lord GOD will come with strong hand, and his arm shall rule for him: behold, his reward is with him, and his work before him.

11 He shall feed his flock like a shepherd: he shall gather the lambs with his arm, and carry them in his bosom, and shall gently lead those that are with young.

12 Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance?

13 Who hath directed the Spirit of the LORD, or being his counsellor hath taught him?

14 With whom took he counsel, and who instructed him, and taught him in the path of judgement, and taught him knowledge, and shewed to him the way of understanding?

15 Behold, the nations are as a drop of a bucket, and are counted as the small dust of the balance: behold, he taketh up the isles as a very little thing.

16 And Lebanon is not sufficient to burn, nor the beasts thereof sufficient for a burnt offering.

17 All nations before him are as nothing; and they are counted to him less than nothing, and vanity.

18 To whom then will ye liken God? or what likeness will ye compare unto him?

19 The workman melteth a graven image, and the goldsmith spreadeth it over with gold, and casteth silver chains.

20 He that is so impoverished that he hath no oblation chooseth a tree that will not rot; he seeketh unto him a cunning workman to prepare a graven image, that shall not be moved.

21 Have ye not known? have ye not heard? hath it not been told you from the beginning? have ye not understood from the foundations of the earth?

22 It is he that sitteth upon the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants thereof are as grasshoppers; that stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain, and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in:

23 That bringeth the princes to nothing; he maketh the judges of the earth as vanity.

24 Yea, they shall not be planted; yea, they shall not be sown: yea, their stock shall not take root in the earth: and he shall also blow upon them, and they shall wither, and the whirlwind shall take them away as stubble.

25 To whom then will ye liken me, or shall I be equal? saith the Holy One.

26 Lift up your eyes on high, and behold who hath created these things, that bringeth out their host by number: he calleth them all by names by the greatness of his might, for that he is strong in power; not one faileth.

27 Why sayest thou, O Jacob, and speakest, O Israel, My way is hid from the LORD, and my judgement is passed over from my God?

28 Hast thou not known? hast thou not heard, that the everlasting God, the LORD, the Creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary? there is no searching of his understanding.

29 He giveth power to the faint; and to them that have no might he increaseth strength.

30 Even the youths shall faint and be weary, and the young men shall utterly fall:

31 But they that wait upon the LORD shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary; and they shall walk, and not faint.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 41

1 Keep silence before me, O islands; and let the people renew their strength: let them come near; then let them speak: let us come near together to judgement.

2 Who raised up the righteous man from the east, called him to his foot, gave the nations before him, and made him rule over kings? he gave them as the dust to his sword, and as driven stubble to his bow.

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3 He pursued them, and passed safely; even by the way that he had not gone with his feet.
4 Who hath wrought and done it, calling the generations from the beginning? I the LORD, the first, and with the last; I am he.
5 The isles saw it, and feared; the ends of the earth were afraid, drew near, and came.
6 They helped every one his neighbour; and every one said to his brother, Be of good courage.
7 So the carpenter encouraged the goldsmith, and he that smootheth with the hammer him that smote the anvil, saying, It is ready for the sodering: and he fastened it with nails, that it should not be moved.
8 But thou, Israel, art my servant, Jacob whom I have chosen, the seed of Abraham my friend.
9 Thou whom I have taken from the ends of the earth, and called thee from the chief men thereof, and said unto thee, Thou art my servant; I have chosen thee, and not cast thee away.
10 Fear thou not; for I am with thee: be not dismayed; for I am thy God: I will strengthen thee; yea, I will help thee; yea, I will uphold thee with the right hand of my righteousness.
11 Behold, all they that were incensed against thee shall be ashamed and confounded: they shall be as nothing; and they that strive with thee shall perish.
12 Thou shalt seek them, and shalt not find them, even them that contended with thee: they that war against thee shall be as nothing, and as a thing of nought.
13 For I the LORD thy God will hold thy right hand, saying unto thee, Fear not; I will help thee.
14 Fear not, thou worm Jacob, and ye men of Israel; I will help thee, saith the LORD, and thy redeemer, the Holy One of Israel.
15 Behold, I will make thee a new sharp threshing instrument having teeth: thou shalt thresh the mountains, and beat them small, and shalt make the hills as chaff.
16 Thou shalt fan them, and the wind shall carry them away, and the whirlwind shall scatter them: and thou shalt rejoice in the LORD, and shalt glory in the Holy One of Israel.
17 When the poor and needy seek water, and there is none, and their tongue faileth for thirst, I the LORD will hear them, I the God of Israel will not forsake them.
18 I will open rivers in high places, and fountains in the midst of the valleys: I will make the wilderness a pool of water, and the dry land springs of water.
19 I will plant in the wilderness the cedar, the shittah tree, and the myrtle, and the oil tree; I will set in the desert the fir tree, and the pine, and the box tree together:
20 That they may see, and know, and consider, and understand together, that the hand of the LORD hath done this, and the Holy One of Israel hath created it.
21 Produce your cause, saith the LORD; bring forth your strong reasons, saith the King of Jacob.
22 Let them bring them forth, and shew us what shall happen: let them shew the former things, what they be, that we may consider them, and know the latter end of them; or declare us things for to come.
23 Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are gods: yea, do good, or do evil, that we may be dismayed, and behold it together.
24 Behold, ye are of nothing, and your work of nought: an abomination is he that chooseth you.
25 I have raised up one from the north, and he shall come: from the rising of the sun shall he call upon my name: and he shall come upon princes as upon morter, and as the potter treadeth clay.
26 Who hath declared from the beginning, that we may know? and beforetime, that we may say, He is righteous? yea, there is none that sheweth, yea, there is none that declareth, yea, there is none that heareth your words.
27 The first shall say to Zion, Behold, behold them: and I will give to Jerusalem one that bringeth good tidings.
28 For I beheld, and there was no man; even among them, and there was no counsellor, that, when I asked of them, could answer a word.
29 Behold, they are all vanity; their works are nothing: their molten images are wind and confusion.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 42

1 Behold my servant, whom I uphold; mine elect, in whom my soul delighteth; I have put my spirit upon him: he shall bring forth judgement to the Gentiles.
2 He shall not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street.
3 A bruised reed shall he not break, and the smoking flax shall he not quench: he shall bring forth judgement unto truth.
4 He shall not fail nor be discouraged, till he have set judgement in the earth: and the isles shall wait for his law.
5 Thus saith God the LORD, he that created the heavens, and stretched them out; he that spread forth the earth, and that which cometh out of it; he that giveth breath unto the people upon it, and spirit to them that walk therein:
6 I the LORD have called thee in righteousness, and will hold thine hand, and will keep thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles;
7 To open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the prison, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison house.
8 I am the LORD: that is my name: and my glory will I not give to another, neither my praise to graven images.
9 Behold, the former things are come to pass, and new things do I declare: before they spring forth I tell you of them.
10 Sing unto the LORD a new song, and his praise from the end of the earth, ye that go down to the sea, and all that is therein; the isles, and the inhabitants thereof.
11 Let the wilderness and the cities thereof lift up their voice, the villages that Kedar doth inhabit: let the inhabitants of the rock sing, let them shout from the top of the mountains.
12 Let them give glory unto the LORD, and declare his praise in the islands.
13 The LORD shall go forth as a mighty man, he shall stir up jealousy like a man of war: he shall cry, yea, roar; he shall prevail against his enemies.
14 I have long time holden my peace; I have been still, and refrained myself: now will I cry like a travailing woman; I will destroy and devour at once.
15 I will make waste mountains and hills, and dry up all their herbs; and I will make the rivers islands, and I will dry up the pools.
16 And I will bring the blind by a way that they knew not; I will lead them in paths that they have not known: I will make darkness light before them, and crooked things straight. These things will I do unto them, and not forsake them.
17 They shall be turned back, they shall be greatly ashamed, that trust in graven images, that say to the molten images, Ye are our gods.
18 Hear, ye deaf; and look, ye blind, that ye may see.
19 Who is blind, but my servant? or deaf, as my messenger that I sent? who is blind as he that is perfect, and blind as the LORD's servant?
20 Seeing many things, but thou observest not; opening the ears, but he heareth not.
21 The LORD is well pleased for his righteousness' sake; he will magnify the law, and make it honourable.
22 But this is a people robbed and spoiled; they are all of them snared in holes, and they are hid in prison houses: they are for a prey, and none delivereth; for a spoil, and none saith, Restore.
23 Who among you will give ear to this? who will hearken and hear for the time to come?
24 Who gave Jacob for a spoil, and Israel to the robbers? did not the LORD, he against whom we have sinned? for they would not walk in his ways, neither were they obedient unto his law.
25 Therefore he hath poured upon him the fury of his anger, and the strength of battle: and it hath set him on fire round about, yet he knew not; and it burned him, yet he laid it not to heart.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 43

1 But now thus saith the LORD that created thee, O Jacob, and he that formed thee, O Israel, Fear not: for I have redeemed thee, I have called thee by thy name; thou art mine.
2 When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee: when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned; neither shall the flame kindle upon thee.
3 For I am the LORD thy God, the Holy One of Israel, thy Saviour: I gave Egypt for thy ransom, Ethiopia and Seba for thee.
4 Since thou wast precious in my sight, thou hast been honourable, and I have loved thee: therefore will I give men for thee, and people for thy life.
5 Fear not: for I am with thee: I will bring thy seed from the east, and gather thee from the west;
6 I will say to the north, Give up; and to the south, Keep not back: bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth;
7 Even every one that is called by my name: for I have created him for my glory, I have formed him; yea, I have made him.
8 Bring forth the blind people that have eyes, and the deaf that have ears.
9 Let all the nations be gathered together, and let the people be assembled: who among them can declare this, and shew us former things? let them bring forth their witnesses, that they may be justified: or let them hear, and say, It is truth.
10 Ye are my witnesses, saith the LORD, and my servant whom I have chosen: that ye may know and believe me, and understand that I am he: before me there was no God formed, neither shall there be after me.
11 I, even I, am the LORD; and beside me there is no saviour.
12 I have declared, and have saved, and I have shewed, when there was no strange god among you: therefore ye are my witnesses, saith the LORD, that I am God.
13 Yea, before the day was I am he; and there is none that can deliver out of my hand: I will work, and who shall let it?
14 Thus saith the LORD, your redeemer, the Holy One of Israel; For your sake I have sent to Babylon, and have brought down all their nobles, and the Chaldeans, whose cry is in the ships.
15 I am the LORD, your Holy One, the creator of Israel, your King.
16 Thus saith the LORD, which maketh a way in the sea, and a path in the mighty waters;
17 Which bringeth forth the chariot and horse, the army and the power; they shall lie down together, they shall not rise: they are extinct, they are quenched as tow.
18 Remember ye not the former things, neither consider the things of old.
19 Behold, I will do a new thing; now it shall spring forth; shall ye not know it? I will even make a way in the wilderness, and rivers in the desert.
20 The beast of the field shall honour me, the dragons and the owls: because I give waters in the wilderness, and rivers in the desert, to give drink to my people, my chosen.
21 This people have I formed for myself; they shall shew forth my praise.
22 But thou hast not called upon me, O Jacob; but thou hast been weary of me, O Israel.
23 Thou hast not brought me the small cattle of thy burnt offerings; neither hast thou honoured me with thy sacrifices. I have not caused thee to serve with an offering, nor wearied thee with incense.
24 Thou hast bought me no sweet cane with money, neither hast thou filled me with the fat of thy sacrifices: but thou hast made me to serve with thy sins, thou hast wearied me with thine iniquities.
25 I, even I, am he that blotteth out thy transgressions for mine own sake, and will not remember thy sins.
26 Put me in remembrance: let us plead together: declare thou, that thou mayest be justified.
27 Thy first father hath sinned, and thy teachers have transgressed against me.
28 Therefore I have profaned the princes of the sanctuary, and have given Jacob to the curse, and Israel to reproaches.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 44

1 Yet now hear, O Jacob my servant; and Israel, whom I have chosen:
2 Thus saith the LORD that made thee, and formed thee from the womb, which will help thee; Fear not, O Jacob, my servant; and thou, Jesurun, whom I have chosen.
3 For I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground: I will pour my spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring:
4 And they shall spring up as among the grass, as willows by the water courses.
5 One shall say, I am the LORD's; and another shall call himself by the name of Jacob; and another shall subscribe with his hand unto the LORD, and surname himself by the name of Israel.
6 Thus saith the LORD the King of Israel, and his redeemer the LORD of hosts; I am the first, and I am the last; and beside me there is no God.
7 And who, as I, shall call, and shall declare it, and set it in order for me, since I appointed the ancient people? and the things that are coming, and shall come, let them shew unto them.
8 Fear ye not, neither be afraid: have not I told thee from that time, and have declared it? ye are even my witnesses. Is there a God beside me? yea, there is no God; I know not any.
9 They that make a graven image are all of them vanity; and their delectable things shall not profit; and they are their own witnesses; they see not, nor know; that they may be ashamed.
10 Who hath formed a god, or molten a graven image that is profitable for nothing?
11 Behold, all his fellows shall be ashamed: and the workmen, they are of men: let them all be gathered together, let them stand up; yet they shall fear, and they shall be ashamed together.
12 The smith with the tongs both worketh in the coals, and fashioneth it with hammers, and worketh it with the strength of his arms: yea, he is hungry, and his strength faileth: he drinketh no water, and is faint.
13 The carpenter stretcheth out his rule; he marketh it out with a line; he fitteth it with planes, and he marketh it out with the compass, and maketh it after the figure of a man, according to the beauty of a man; that it may remain in the house.
14 He heweth him down cedars, and taketh the cypress and the oak, which he strengtheneth for himself among the trees of the forest: he planteth an ash, and the rain doth nourish it.
15 Then shall it be for a man to burn: for he will take thereof, and warm himself; yea, he kindleth it, and baketh bread; yea, he maketh a god, and worshippeth it; he maketh it a graven image, and falleth down thereto.
16 He burneth part thereof in the fire; with part thereof he eateth flesh; he roasteth roast, and is satisfied: yea, he

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warmeth himself, and saith, Aha, I am warm, I have seen the fire:
17 And the residue thereof he maketh a god, even his graven image: he falleth down unto it, and worshippeth it, and prayeth unto it, and saith, Deliver me; for thou art my god.
18 They have not known nor understood: for he hath shut their eyes, that they cannot see; and their hearts, that they cannot understand.
19 And none considereth in his heart, neither is there knowledge nor understanding to say, I have burned part of it in the fire; yea, also I have baked bread upon the coals thereof; I have roasted flesh, and eaten it: and shall I make the residue thereof an abomination? shall I fall down to the stock of a tree?
20 He feedeth on ashes: a deceived heart hath turned him aside, that he cannot deliver his soul, nor say, Is there not a lie in my right hand?
21 Remember these, O Jacob and Israel; for thou art my servant: I have formed thee; thou art my servant: O Israel, thou shalt not be forgotten of me.
22 I have blotted out, as a thick cloud, thy transgressions, and, as a cloud, thy sins: return unto me; for I have redeemed thee.
23 Sing, O ye heavens; for the LORD hath done it: shout, ye lower parts of the earth: break forth into singing, ye mountains, O forest, and every tree therein: for the LORD hath redeemed Jacob, and glorified himself in Israel.
24 Thus saith the LORD, thy redeemer, and he that formed thee from the womb, I am the LORD that maketh all things; that stretcheth forth the heavens alone; that spreadeth abroad the earth by myself;
25 That frustrateth the tokens of the liars, and maketh diviners mad; that turneth wise men backward, and maketh their knowledge foolish;
26 That confirmeth the word of his servant, and performeth the counsel of his messengers; that saith to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be inhabited; and to the cities of Judah, Ye shall be built, and I will raise up the decayed places thereof:
27 That saith to the deep, Be dry, and I will dry up thy rivers:
28 That saith of Cyrus, He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure: even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built; and to the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 45

1 Thus saith the LORD to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him; and I will loose the loins of kings, to open before him the two leaved gates; and the gates shall not be shut;
2 I will go before thee, and make the crooked places straight: I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron:
3 And I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places, that thou mayest know that I, the LORD, which call thee by thy name, am the God of Israel.
4 For Jacob my servant's sake, and Israel mine elect, I have even called thee by thy name: I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me.
5 I am the LORD, and there is none else, there is no God beside me: I girded thee, though thou hast not known me:
6 That they may know from the rising of the sun, and from the west, that there is none beside me. I am the LORD, and there is none else.
7 I form the light, and create darkness: I make peace, and create evil: I the LORD do all these things.
8 Drop down, ye heavens, from above, and let the skies pour down righteousness: let the earth open, and let them bring forth salvation, and let righteousness spring up together; I the LORD have created it.
9 Woe unto him that striveth with his Maker! Let the potsherd strive with the potsherds of the earth. Shall the clay say to him that fashioneth it, What makest thou? or thy work, He hath no hands?
10 Woe unto him that saith unto his father, What begettest thou? or to the woman, What hast thou brought forth?
11 Thus saith the LORD, the Holy One of Israel, and his Maker, Ask me of things to come concerning my sons, and concerning the work of my hands command ye me.
12 I have made the earth, and created man upon it: I, even my hands, have stretched out the heavens, and all their host have I commanded.
13 I have raised him up in righteousness, and I will direct all his ways: he shall build my city, and he shall let go my captives, not for price nor reward, saith the LORD of hosts.
14 Thus saith the LORD, The labour of Egypt, and merchandise of Ethiopia and of the Sabeans, men of stature, shall come over unto thee, and they shall be thine: they shall come after thee; in chains they shall come over, and they shall fall down unto thee, they shall make supplication unto thee, saying, Surely God is in thee; and there is none else, there is no God.
15 Verily thou art a God that hidest thyself, O God of Israel, the Saviour.
16 They shall be ashamed, and also confounded, all of them: they shall go to confusion together that are makers of idols.
17 But Israel shall be saved in the LORD with an everlasting salvation: ye shall not be ashamed nor confounded world without end.
18 For thus saith the LORD that created the heavens; God himself that formed the earth and made it; he hath established it, he created it not in vain, he formed it to be inhabited: I am the LORD; and there is none else.
19 I have not spoken in secret, in a dark place of the earth: I said not unto the seed of Jacob, Seek ye me in vain: I the LORD speak righteousness, I declare things that are right.
20 Assemble yourselves and come; draw near together, ye that are escaped of the nations: they have no knowledge that set up the wood of their graven image, and pray unto a god that cannot save.
21 Tell ye, and bring them near; yea, let them take counsel together: who hath declared this from ancient time? who hath told it from that time? have not I the LORD? and there is no God else beside me; a just God and a Saviour; there is none beside me.
22 Look unto me, and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth: for I am God, and there is none else.
23 I have sworn by myself, the word is gone out of my mouth in righteousness, and shall not return, That unto me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear.
24 Surely, shall one say, in the LORD have I righteousness and strength: even to him shall men come; and all that are incensed against him shall be ashamed.
25 In the LORD shall all the seed of Israel be justified, and shall glory.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 46

1 Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth, their idols were upon the beasts, and upon the cattle: your carriages were heavy loaden; they are a burden to the weary beast.
2 They stoop, they bow down together; they could not deliver the burden, but themselves are gone into captivity.
3 Hearken unto me, O house of Jacob, and all the remnant of the house of Israel, which are borne by me from the belly, which are carried from the womb:
4 And even to your old age I am he; and even to hoar hairs will I carry you: I have made, and I will bear; even I will carry, and will deliver you.
5 To whom will ye liken me, and make me equal, and compare me, that we may be like?
6 They lavish gold out of the bag, and weigh silver in the balance, and hire a goldsmith; and he maketh it a god: they fall down, yea, they worship.
7 They bear him upon the shoulder, they carry him, and set him in his place, and he standeth; from his place shall he not remove: yea, one shall cry unto him, yet can he not answer, nor save him out of his trouble.
8 Remember this, and shew yourselves men: bring it again to mind, O ye transgressors.
9 Remember the former things of old: for I am God, and there is none else; I am God, and there is none like me,
10 Declaring the end from the beginning, and from ancient times the things that are not yet done, saying, My counsel shall stand, and I will do all my pleasure:
11 Calling a ravenous bird from the east, the man that executeth my counsel from a far country: yea, I have spoken it, I will also bring it to pass; I have purposed it, I will also do it.
12 Hearken unto me, ye stouthearted, that are far from righteousness:
13 I bring near my righteousness; it shall not be far off, and my salvation shall not tarry: and I will place salvation in Zion for Israel my glory.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 47

1 Come down, and sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon, sit on the ground: there is no throne, O daughter of the Chaldeans: for thou shalt no more be called tender and delicate.
2 Take the millstones, and grind meal: uncover thy locks, make bare the leg, uncover the thigh, pass over the rivers.
3 Thy nakedness shall be uncovered, yea, thy shame shall be seen: I will take vengeance, and I will not meet thee as a man.
4 As for our redeemer, the LORD of hosts is his name, the Holy One of Israel.
5 Sit thou silent, and get thee into darkness, O daughter of the Chaldeans: for thou shalt no more be called, The lady of kingdoms.
6 I was wroth with my people, I have polluted mine inheritance, and given them into thine hand: thou didst shew them no mercy; upon the ancient hast thou very heavily laid thy yoke.
7 And thou saidst, I shall be a lady for ever: so that thou didst not lay these things to thy heart, neither didst remember the latter end of it.
8 Therefore hear now this, thou that art given to pleasures, that dwellest carelessly, that sayest in thine heart, I am, and none else beside me; I shall not sit as a widow, neither shall I know the loss of children:
9 But these two things shall come to thee in a moment in one day, the loss of children, and widowhood: they shall come upon thee in their perfection for the multitude of thy sorceries, and for the great abundance of thine enchantments.
10 For thou hast trusted in thy wickedness: thou hast said, None seeth me. Thy wisdom and thy knowledge, it hath perverted thee; and thou hast said in thine heart, I am, and none else beside me.
11 Therefore shall evil come upon thee; thou shalt not know from whence it riseth: and mischief shall fall upon thee; thou shalt not be able to put it off: and desolation shall come upon thee suddenly, which thou shalt not know.
12 Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries, wherein thou hast laboured from thy youth; if so be thou shalt be able to profit, if so be thou mayest prevail.
13 Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels. Let now the astrologers, the stargazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up, and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee.
14 Behold, they shall be as stubble; the fire shall burn them; they shall not deliver themselves from the power of the flame: there shall not be a coal to warm at, nor fire to sit before it.
15 Thus shall they be unto thee with whom thou hast laboured, even thy merchants, from thy youth: they shall wander every one to his quarter; none shall save thee.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 48

1 Hear ye this, O house of Jacob, which are called by the name of Israel, and are come forth out of the waters of Judah, which swear by the name of the LORD, and make mention of the God of Israel, but not in truth, nor in righteousness.
2 For they call themselves of the holy city, and stay themselves upon the God of Israel; The LORD of hosts is his name.
3 I have declared the former things from the beginning; and they went forth out of my mouth, and I shewed them; I did them suddenly, and they came to pass.
4 Because I knew that thou art obstinate, and thy neck is an iron sinew, and thy brow brass;
5 I have even from the beginning declared it to thee; before it came to pass I shewed it thee: lest thou shouldest say, Mine idol hath done them, and my graven image, and my molten image, hath commanded them.
6 Thou hast heard, see all this; and will not ye declare it? I have shewed thee new things from this time, even hidden things, and thou didst not know them.
7 They are created now, and not from the beginning; even before the day when thou heardest them not; lest thou shouldest say, Behold, I knew them.
8 Yea, thou heardest not; yea, thou knewest not; yea, from that time that thine ear was not opened: for I knew that thou wouldest deal very treacherously, and wast called a transgressor from the womb.
9 For my name's sake will I defer mine anger, and for my praise will I refrain for thee, that I cut thee not off.
10 Behold, I have refined thee, but not with silver; I have chosen thee in the furnace of affliction.
11 For mine own sake, even for mine own sake, will I do it: for how should my name be polluted? and I will not give my glory unto another.
12 Hearken unto me, O Jacob and Israel, my called; I am he; I am the first, I also am the last.
13 Mine hand also hath laid the foundation of the earth, and my right hand hath spanned the heavens: when I call unto them, they stand up together.
14 All ye, assemble yourselves, and hear; which among them hath declared these things? The LORD hath loved him: he will do his pleasure on Babylon, and his arm shall be on the Chaldeans.
15 I, even I, have spoken; yea, I have called him: I have brought him, and he shall make his way prosperous.
16 Come ye near unto me, hear ye this; I have not spoken in secret from the beginning; from the time that it was, there am I: and now the Lord GOD, and his Spirit, hath sent me.
17 Thus saith the LORD, thy Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel; I am the LORD thy God which teacheth thee to profit, which leadeth thee by the way that thou shouldest go.
18 O that thou hadst hearkened to my commandments! then had thy peace been as a river, and thy righteousness as the waves of the sea:
19 Thy seed also had been as the sand, and the offspring of thy bowels like the gravel thereof; his name should not have been cut off nor destroyed from before me.
20 Go ye forth of Babylon, flee ye from the Chaldeans, with a voice of singing declare ye, tell this, utter it even to the end of the earth; say ye, The LORD hath redeemed his servant Jacob.
21 And they thirsted not when he led them through the deserts: he caused the waters to flow out of the rock for them: he clave the rock also, and the waters gushed out.
22 There is no peace, saith the LORD, unto the wicked.

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ISAIAH CHAPTER 49

1 Listen, O isles, unto me; and hearken, ye people, from far; The LORD hath called me from the womb; from the bowels of my mother hath he made mention of my name.

2 And he hath made my mouth like a sharp sword; in the shadow of his hand hath he hid me, and made me a polished shaft; in his quiver hath he hid me;

3 And said unto me, Thou art my servant, O Israel, in whom I will be glorified.

4 Then I said, I have laboured in vain, I have spent my strength for nought, and in vain: yet surely my judgement is with the LORD, and my work with my God.

5 And now, saith the LORD that formed me from the womb to be his servant, to bring Jacob again to him, Though Israel be not gathered, yet shall I be glorious in the eyes of the LORD, and my God shall be my strength.

6 And he said, It is a light thing that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth.

7 Thus saith the LORD, the Redeemer of Israel, and his Holy One, to him whom man despiseth, to him whom the nation abhorreth, to a servant of rulers, Kings shall see and arise, princes also shall worship, because of the LORD that is faithful, and the Holy One of Israel, and he shall choose thee.

8 Thus saith the LORD, In an acceptable time have I heard thee, and in a day of salvation have I helped thee: and I will preserve thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people, to establish the earth, to cause to inherit the desolate heritages;

9 That thou mayest say to the prisoners, Go forth; to them that are in darkness, Shew yourselves. They shall feed in the ways, and their pastures shall be in all high places.

10 They shall not hunger nor thirst; neither shall the heat nor sun smite them: for he that hath mercy on them shall lead them, even by the springs of water shall he guide them.

11 And I will make all my mountains a way, and my highways shall be exalted.

12 Behold, these shall come from far: and, lo, these from the north and from the west; and these from the land of Sinim.

13 Sing, O heavens; and be joyful, O earth; and break forth into singing, O mountains: for the LORD hath comforted his people, and will have mercy upon his afflicted.

14 But Zion said, The LORD hath forsaken me, and my Lord hath forgotten me.

15 Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? yea, they may forget, yet will I not forget thee.

16 Behold, I have graven thee upon the palms of my hands; thy walls are continually before me.

17 Thy children shall make haste; thy destroyers and they that made thee waste shall go forth of thee.

18 Lift up thine eyes round about, and behold: all these gather themselves together, and come to thee. As I live, saith the LORD, thou shalt surely clothe thee with them all, as with an ornament, and bind them on thee, as a bride doeth.

19 For thy waste and thy desolate places, and the land of thy destruction, shall even now be too narrow by reason of the inhabitants, and they that swallowed thee up shall be far away.

20 The children which thou shalt have, after thou hast lost the other, shall say again in thine ears, The place is too strait for me: give place to me that I may dwell.

21 Then shalt thou say in thine heart, Who hath begotten me these, seeing I have lost my children, and am desolate, a captive, and removing to and fro? and who hath brought up these? Behold, I was left alone; these, where had they been?

22 Thus saith the Lord GOD, Behold, I will lift up mine hand to the Gentiles, and set up my standard to the people: and they shall bring thy sons in their arms, and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders.

23 And kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers: they shall bow down to thee with their face toward the earth, and lick up the dust of thy feet; and thou shalt know that I am the LORD: for they shall not be ashamed that wait for me.

24 Shall the prey be taken from the mighty, or the lawful captive delivered?

25 But thus saith the LORD, Even the captives of the mighty shall be taken away, and the prey of the terrible shall be delivered: for I will contend with him that contendeth with thee, and I will save thy children.

26 And I will feed them that oppress thee with their own flesh; and they shall be drunken with their own blood, as with sweet wine: and all flesh shall know that I the LORD am thy Saviour and thy Redeemer, the mighty One of Jacob.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 50

1 Thus saith the LORD, Where is the bill of your mother's divorcement, whom I have put away? or which of my creditors is it to whom I have sold you? Behold, for your iniquities have ye sold yourselves, and for your transgressions is your mother put away.

2 Wherefore, when I came, was there no man? when I called, was there none to answer? Is my hand shortened at all, that it cannot redeem? or have I no power to deliver? behold, at my rebuke I dry up the sea, I make the rivers a wilderness: their fish stinketh, because there is no water, and dieth for thirst.

3 I clothe the heavens with blackness, and I make sackcloth their covering.

4 The Lord GOD hath given me the tongue of the learned, that I should know how to speak a word in season to him that is weary: he wakeneth morning by morning, he wakeneth mine ear to hear as the learned.

5 The Lord GOD hath opened mine ear, and I was not rebellious, neither turned away back.

6 I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair: I hid not my face from shame and spitting.

7 For the Lord GOD will help me; therefore shall I not be confounded: therefore have I set my face like a flint, and I know that I shall not be ashamed.

8 He is near that justifieth me; who will contend with me? let us stand together: who is mine adversary? let him come near to me.

9 Behold, the Lord GOD will help me; who is he that shall condemn me? lo, they all shall wax old as a garment; the moth shall eat them up.

10 Who is among you that feareth the LORD, that obeyeth the voice of his servant, that walketh in darkness, and hath no light? let him trust in the name of the LORD, and stay upon his God.

11 Behold, all ye that kindle a fire, that compass yourselves about with sparks: walk in the light of your fire, and in the sparks that ye have kindled. This shall ye have of mine hand; ye shall lie down in sorrow.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 51

1 Hearken to me, ye that follow after righteousness, ye that seek the LORD: look unto the rock whence ye are hewn, and to the hole of the pit whence ye are digged.

2 Look unto Abraham your father, and unto Sarah that bare you: for I called him alone, and blessed him, and increased him.

3 For the LORD shall comfort Zion: he will comfort all her waste places; and he will make her wilderness like Eden, and her desert like the garden of the LORD; joy and gladness shall be found therein, thanksgiving, and the voice of melody.

4 Hearken unto me, my people; and give ear unto me, O my nation: for a law shall proceed from me, and I will make my judgement to rest for a light of the people.

5 My righteousness is near; my salvation is gone forth, and mine arms shall judge the people; the isles shall wait upon me, and on mine arm shall they trust.

6 Lift up your eyes to the heavens, and look upon the earth beneath: for the heavens shall vanish away like smoke, and the earth shall wax old like a garment, and they that dwell therein shall die in like manner: but my salvation shall be for ever, and my righteousness shall not be abolished.

7 Hearken unto me, ye that know righteousness, the people in whose heart is my law; fear ye not the reproach of men, neither be ye afraid of their revilings.

8 For the moth shall eat them up like a garment, and the worm shall eat them like wool: but my righteousness shall be for ever, and my salvation from generation to generation.

9 Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the LORD; awake, as in the ancient days, in the generations of old. Art thou not it that hath cut Rahab, and wounded the dragon?

10 Art thou not it which hath dried the sea, the waters of the great deep; that hath made the depths of the sea a way for the ransomed to pass over?

11 Therefore the redeemed of the LORD shall return, and come with singing unto Zion; and everlasting joy shall be upon their head: they shall obtain gladness and joy; and sorrow and mourning shall flee away.

12 I, even I, am he that comforteth you: who art thou, that thou shouldest be afraid of a man that shall die, and of the son of man which shall be made as grass;

13 And forgettest the LORD thy maker, that hath stretched forth the heavens, and laid the foundations of the earth; and hast feared continually every day because of the fury of the oppressor, as if he were ready to destroy? and where is the fury of the oppressor?

14 The captive exile hasteneth that he may be loosed, and that he should not die in the pit, nor that his bread should fail.

15 But I am the LORD thy God, that divided the sea, whose waves roared: The LORD of hosts is his name.

16 And I have put my words in thy mouth, and I have covered thee in the shadow of mine hand, that I may plant the heavens, and lay the foundations of the earth, and say unto Zion, Thou art my people.

17 Awake, awake, stand up, O Jerusalem, which hast drunk at the hand of the LORD the cup of his fury; thou hast drunken the dregs of the cup of trembling, and wrung them out.

18 There is none to guide her among all the sons whom she hath brought forth; neither is there any that taketh her by the hand of all the sons that she hath brought up.

19 These two things are come unto thee; who shall be sorry for thee? desolation, and destruction, and the famine, and the sword: by whom shall I comfort thee?

20 Thy sons have fainted, they lie at the head of all the streets, as a wild bull in a net: they are full of the fury of the LORD, the rebuke of thy God.

21 Therefore hear now this, thou afflicted, and drunken, but not with wine:

22 Thus saith thy Lord the LORD, and thy God that pleadeth the cause of his people, Behold, I have taken out of thine hand the cup of trembling, even the dregs of the cup of my fury; thou shalt no more drink it again:

23 But I will put it into the hand of them that afflict thee; which have said to thy soul, Bow down, that we may go over: and thou hast laid thy body as the ground, and as the street, to them that went over.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 52

1 Awake, awake; put on thy strength, O Zion; put on thy beautiful garments, O Jerusalem, the holy city: for henceforth there shall no more come into thee the uncircumcised and the unclean.

2 Shake thyself from the dust; arise, and sit down, O Jerusalem: loose thyself from the bands of thy neck, O captive daughter of Zion.

3 For thus saith the LORD, Ye have sold yourselves for nought; and ye shall be redeemed without money.

4 For thus saith the Lord GOD, My people went down aforetime into Egypt to sojourn there; and the Assyrian oppressed them without cause.

5 Now therefore, what have I here, saith the LORD, that my people is taken away for nought? they that rule over them make them to howl, saith the LORD; and my name continually every day is blasphemed.

6 Therefore my people shall know my name: therefore they shall know in that day that I am he that doth speak: behold, it is I.

7 How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace; that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation; that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth!

8 Thy watchmen shall lift up the voice; with the voice together shall they sing: for they shall see eye to eye, when the LORD shall bring again Zion.

9 Break forth into joy, sing together, ye waste places of Jerusalem: for the LORD hath comforted his people, he hath redeemed Jerusalem.

10 The LORD hath made bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the nations; and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God.

11 Depart ye, depart ye, go ye out from thence, touch no unclean thing; go ye out of the midst of her; be ye clean, that bear the vessels of the LORD.

12 For ye shall not go out with haste, nor go by flight: for the LORD will go before you; and the God of Israel will be your rereward.

13 Behold, my servant shall deal prudently, he shall be exalted and extolled, and be very high.

14 As many were astonied at thee; his visage was so marred more than any man, and his form more than the sons of men:

15 So shall he sprinkle many nations; the kings shall shut their mouths at him: for that which had not been told them shall they see; and that which they had not heard shall they consider.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 53

1 Who hath believed our report? and to whom is the arm of the LORD revealed?

2 For he shall grow up before him as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground: he hath no form nor comeliness; and when we shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him.

3 He is despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief: and we hid as it were our faces from him; he was despised, and we esteemed him not.

4 Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows: yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted.

5 But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed.

6 All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way; and the LORD hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.

7 He was oppressed, and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth: he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth.

8 He was taken from prison and from judgement: and who shall declare his generation? for he was cut off out of the land of the living: for the transgression of my people was he stricken.

9 And he made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death; because he had done no violence, neither was any deceit in his mouth.

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10 Yet it pleased the LORD to bruise him; he hath put him to grief: when thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of the LORD shall prosper in his hand.

11 He shall see of the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied: by his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many; for he shall bear their iniquities.

12 Therefore will I divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong; because he hath poured out his soul unto death: and he was numbered with the transgressors; and he bare the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 54

1 Sing, O barren, thou that didst not bear; break forth into singing, and cry aloud, thou that didst not travail with child: for more are the children of the desolate than the children of the married wife, saith the LORD.

2 Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thine habitations: spare not, lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes;

3 For thou shalt break forth on the right hand and on the left; and thy seed shall inherit the Gentiles, and make the desolate cities to be inhabited.

4 Fear not; for thou shalt not be ashamed: neither be thou confounded; for thou shalt not be put to shame: for thou shalt forget the shame of thy youth, and shalt not remember the reproach of thy widowhood any more.

5 For thy Maker is thine husband; the LORD of hosts is his name; and thy Redeemer the Holy One of Israel; The God of the whole earth shall he be called.

6 For the LORD hath called thee as a woman forsaken and grieved in spirit, and a wife of youth, when thou wast refused, saith thy God.

7 For a small moment have I forsaken thee; but with great mercies will I gather thee.

8 In a little wrath I hid my face from thee for a moment; but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee, saith the LORD thy Redeemer.

9 For this is as the waters of Noah unto me: for as I have sworn that the waters of Noah should no more go over the earth; so have I sworn that I would not be wroth with thee, nor rebuke thee.

10 For the mountains shall depart, and the hills be removed; but my kindness shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of my peace be removed, saith the LORD that hath mercy on thee.

11 O thou afflicted, tossed with tempest, and not comforted, behold, I will lay thy stones with fair colours, and lay thy foundations with sapphires.

12 And I will make thy windows of agates, and thy gates of carbuncles, and all thy borders of pleasant stones.

13 And all thy children shall be taught of the LORD; and great shall be the peace of thy children.

14 In righteousness shalt thou be established: thou shalt be far from oppression; for thou shalt not fear: and from terror; for it shall not come near thee.

15 Behold, they shall surely gather together, but not by me: whosoever shall gather together against thee shall fall for thy sake.

16 Behold, I have created the smith that bloweth the coals in the fire, and that bringeth forth an instrument for his work; and I have created the waster to destroy.

17 No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper; and every tongue that shall rise against thee in judgement thou shalt condemn. This is the heritage of the servants of the LORD, and their righteousness is of me, saith the LORD.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 55

1 Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye, buy, and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price.

2 Wherefore do ye spend money for that which is not bread? and your labour for that which satisfieth not? hearken diligently unto me, and eat ye that which is good, and let your soul delight itself in fatness.

3 Incline your ear, and come unto me: hear, and your soul shall live; and I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David.

4 Behold, I have given him for a witness to the people, a leader and commander to the people.

5 Behold, thou shalt call a nation that thou knowest not, and nations that knew not thee shall run unto thee because of the LORD thy God, and for the Holy One of Israel; for he hath glorified thee.

6 Seek ye the LORD while he may be found, call ye upon him while he is near:

7 Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts: and let him return unto the LORD, and he will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon.

8 For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the LORD.

9 For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts.

10 For as the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower, and bread to the eater:

11 So shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth: it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it.

12 For ye shall go out with joy, and be led forth with peace: the mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands.

13 Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir tree, and instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle tree: and it shall be to the LORD for a name, for an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 56

1 Thus saith the LORD, Keep ye judgement, and do justice: for my salvation is near to come, and my righteousness to be revealed.

2 Blessed is the man that doeth this, and the son of man that layeth hold on it; that keepeth the sabbath from polluting it, and keepeth his hand from doing any evil.

3 Neither let the son of the stranger, that hath joined himself to the LORD, speak, saying, The LORD hath utterly separated me from his people: neither let the eunuch say, Behold, I am a dry tree.

4 For thus saith the LORD unto the eunuchs that keep my sabbaths, and choose the things that please me, and take hold of my covenant;

5 Even unto them will I give in mine house and within my walls a place and a name better than of sons and of daughters: I will give them an everlasting name, that shall not be cut off.

6 Also the sons of the stranger, that join themselves to the LORD, to serve him, and to love the name of the LORD, to be his servants, every one that keepeth the sabbath from polluting it, and taketh hold of my covenant;

7 Even them will I bring to my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my house of prayer: their burnt offerings and their sacrifices shall be accepted upon mine altar; for mine house shall be called an house of prayer for all people.

8 The Lord GOD, which gathereth the outcasts of Israel saith, Yet will I gather others to him, beside those that are gathered unto him.

9 All ye beasts of the field, come to devour, yea, all ye beasts in the forest.

10 His watchmen are blind: they are all ignorant, they are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark; sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber.

11 Yea, they are greedy dogs which can never have enough, and they are shepherds that cannot understand: they all look to their own way, every one for his gain, from his quarter.

12 Come ye, say they, I will fetch wine, and we will fill ourselves with strong drink; and to morrow shall be as this day, and much more abundant.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 57

1 The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart: and merciful men are taken away, none considering that the righteous is taken away from the evil to come.

2 He shall enter into peace: they shall rest in their beds, each one walking in his uprightness.

3 But draw near hither, ye sons of the sorceress, the seed of the adulterer and the whore.

4 Against whom do ye sport yourselves? against whom make ye a wide mouth, and draw out the tongue? are ye not children of transgression, a seed of falsehood.

5 Enflaming yourselves with idols under every green tree, slaying the children in the valleys under the clifts of the rocks?

6 Among the smooth stones of the stream is thy portion; they, they are thy lot: even to them hast thou poured a drink offering, thou hast offered a meat offering. Should I receive comfort in these?

7 Upon a lofty and high mountain hast thou set thy bed: even thither wentest thou up to offer sacrifice.

8 Behind the doors also and the posts hast thou set up thy remembrance: for thou hast discovered thyself to another than me, and art gone up; thou hast enlarged thy bed, and made thee a covenant with them; thou lovedst their bed where thou sawest it.

9 And thou wentest to the king with ointment, and didst increase thy perfumes, and didst send thy messengers far off, and didst debase thyself even unto hell.

10 Thou art wearied in the greatness of thy way; yet saidst thou not, There is no hope: thou hast found the life of thine hand; therefore thou wast not grieved.

11 And of whom hast thou been afraid or feared, that thou hast lied, and hast not remembered me, nor laid it to thy heart? have not I held my peace even of old, and thou fearest me not?

12 I will declare thy righteousness, and thy works; for they shall not profit thee.

13 When thou criest, let thy companies deliver thee; but the wind shall carry them all away; vanity shall take them: but he that putteth his trust in me shall possess the land, and shall inherit my holy mountain;

14 And shall say, Cast ye up, cast ye up, prepare the way, take up the stumblingblock out of the way of my people.

15 For thus saith the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy; I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones.

16 For I will not contend for ever, neither will I be always wroth: for the spirit should fail before me, and the souls which I have made.

17 For the iniquity of his covetousness was I wroth, and smote him: I hid me, and was wroth, and he went on frowardly in the way of his heart.

18 I have seen his ways, and will heal him: I will lead him also, and restore comforts unto him and to his mourners.

19 I create the fruit of the lips; Peace, peace to him that is far off, and to him that is near, saith the LORD; and I will heal him.

20 But the wicked are like the troubled sea, when it cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt.

21 There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 58

1 Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and shew my people their transgression, and the house of Jacob their sins.

2 Yet they seek me daily, and delight to know my ways, as a nation that did righteousness, and forsook not the ordinance of their God: they ask of me the ordinances of justice; they take delight in approaching to God.

3 Wherefore have we fasted, say they, and thou seest not? wherefore have we afflicted our soul, and thou takest no knowledge? Behold, in the day of your fast ye find pleasure, and exact all your labours.

4 Behold, ye fast for strife and debate, and to smite with the fist of wickedness: ye shall not fast as ye do this day, to make your voice to be heard on high.

5 Is it such a fast that I have chosen? a day for a man to afflict his soul? is it to bow down his head as a bulrush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the LORD?

6 Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?

7 Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? when thou seest the naked, that thou cover him; and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh?

8 Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thine health shall spring forth speedily: and thy righteousness shall go before thee; the glory of the LORD shall be thy rereward.

9 Then shalt thou call, and the LORD shall answer; thou shalt cry, and he shall say, Here I am. If thou take away from the midst of thee the yoke, the putting forth of the finger, and speaking vanity;

10 And if thou draw out thy soul to the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul; then shall thy light rise in obscurity, and thy darkness be as the noon day:

11 And the LORD shall guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in drought, and make fat thy bones: and thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not.

12 And they that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places: thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called, The repairer of the breach, The restorer of paths to dwell in.

13 If thou turn away thy foot from the sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day; and call the sabbath a delight, the holy of the LORD, honourable; and shalt honour him, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words:

14 Then shalt thou delight thyself in the LORD; and I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth, and feed thee with the heritage of Jacob thy father: for the mouth of the LORD hath spoken it.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 59

1 Behold, the LORD's hand is not shortened, that it cannot save; neither his ear heavy, that it cannot hear:

2 But your iniquities have separated between you and your God, and your sins have hid his face from you, that he will not hear.

3 For your hands are defiled with blood, and your fingers with iniquity; your lips have spoken lies, your tongue hath muttered perverseness.

4 None calleth for justice, nor any pleadeth for truth: they trust in vanity, and speak lies; they conceive mischief, and bring forth iniquity.

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5 They hatch cockatrice' eggs, and weave the spider's web: he that eateth of their eggs dieth, and that which is crushed breaketh out into a viper.
6 Their webs shall not become garments, neither shall they cover themselves with their works: their works are works of iniquity, and the act of violence is in their hands.
7 Their feet run to evil, and they make haste to shed innocent blood: their thoughts are thoughts of iniquity; wasting and destruction are in their paths.
8 The way of peace they know not; and there is no judgement in their goings: they have made them crooked paths: whosoever goeth therein shall not know peace.
9 Therefore is judgement far from us, neither doth justice overtake us: we wait for light, but behold obscurity; for brightness, but we walk in darkness.
10 We grope for the wall like the blind, and we grope as if we had no eyes: we stumble at noon day as in the night; we are in desolate places as dead men.
11 We roar all like bears, and mourn sore like doves: we look for judgement, but there is none; for salvation, but it is far off from us.
12 For our transgressions are multiplied before thee, and our sins testify against us: for our transgressions are with us; and as for our iniquities, we know them;
13 In transgressing and lying against the LORD, and departing away from our God, speaking oppression and revolt, conceiving and uttering from the heart words of falsehood.
14 And judgement is turned away backward, and justice standeth afar off: for truth is fallen in the street, and equity cannot enter.
15 Yea, truth faileth; and he that departeth from evil maketh himself a prey: and the LORD saw it, and it displeased him that there was no judgement.
16 And he saw that there was no man, and wondered that there was no intercessor: therefore his arm brought salvation unto him; and his righteousness, it sustained him.
17 For he put on righteousness as a breastplate, and an helmet of salvation upon his head; and he put on the garments of vengeance for clothing, and was clad with zeal as a cloak.
18 According to their deeds, accordingly he will repay, fury to his adversaries, recompence to his enemies; to the islands he will repay recompence.
19 So shall they fear the name of the LORD from the west, and his glory from the rising of the sun. When the enemy shall come in like a flood, the Spirit of the LORD shall lift up a standard against him.
20 And the Redeemer shall come to Zion, and unto them that turn from transgression in Jacob, saith the LORD.
21 As for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the LORD; My spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the LORD, from henceforth and for ever.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 60

1 Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the LORD is risen upon thee.
2 For, behold, the darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people: but the LORD shall arise upon thee, and his glory shall be seen upon thee.
3 And the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising.
4 Lift up thine eyes round about, and see: all they gather themselves together, they come to thee: thy sons shall come from far, and thy daughters shall be nursed at thy side.
5 Then thou shalt see, and flow together, and thine heart shall fear, and be enlarged; because the abundance of the sea shall be converted unto thee, the forces of the Gentiles shall come unto thee.
6 The multitude of camels shall cover thee, the dromedaries of Midian and Ephah; all they from Sheba shall come: they shall bring gold and incense; and they shall shew forth the praises of the LORD.
7 All the flocks of Kedar shall be gathered together unto thee, the rams of Nebaioth shall minister unto thee: they shall come up with acceptance on mine altar, and I will glorify the house of my glory.
8 Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as the doves to their windows?
9 Surely the isles shall wait for me, and the ships of Tarshish first, to bring thy sons from far, their silver and their gold with them, unto the name of the LORD thy God, and to the Holy One of Israel, because he hath glorified thee.
10 And the sons of strangers shall build up thy walls, and their kings shall minister unto thee: for in my wrath I smote thee, but in my favour have I had mercy on thee.
11 Therefore thy gates shall be open continually; they shall not be shut day nor night; that men may bring unto thee the forces of the Gentiles, and that their kings may be brought.
12 For the nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish; yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted.
13 The glory of Lebanon shall come unto thee, the fir tree, the pine tree, and the box together, to beautify the place of my sanctuary; and I will make the place of my feet glorious.
14 The sons also of them that afflicted thee shall come bending unto thee; and all they that despised thee shall bow themselves down at the soles of thy feet; and they shall call thee; The city of the LORD, The Zion of the Holy One of Israel.
15 Whereas thou has been forsaken and hated, so that no man went through thee, I will make thee an eternal excellency, a joy of many generations.
16 Thou shalt also suck the milk of the Gentiles, and shalt suck the breast of kings: and thou shalt know that I the LORD am thy Saviour and thy Redeemer, the mighty One of Jacob.
17 For brass I will bring gold, and for iron I will bring silver, and for wood brass, and for stones iron: I will also make thy officers peace, and thine exactors righteousness.
18 Violence shall no more be heard in thy land, wasting nor destruction within thy borders; but thou shalt call thy walls Salvation, and thy gates Praise.
19 The sun shall be no more thy light by day; neither for brightness shall the moon give light unto thee: but the LORD shall be unto thee an everlasting light, and thy God thy glory.
20 Thy sun shall no more go down; neither shall thy moon withdraw itself: for the LORD shall be thine everlasting light, and the days of thy mourning shall be ended.
21 Thy people also shall be all righteous: they shall inherit the land for ever, the branch of my planting, the work of my hands, that I may be glorified.
22 A little one shall become a thousand, and a small one a strong nation: I the LORD will hasten it in his time.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 61

1 The Spirit of the Lord GOD is upon me; because the LORD hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound;
2 To proclaim the acceptable year of the LORD, and the day of vengeance of our God; to comfort all that mourn;
3 To appoint unto them that mourn in Zion, to give unto them beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness; that they might be called trees of righteousness, the planting of the LORD, that he might be glorified.
4 And they shall build the old wastes, they shall raise up the former desolations, and they shall repair the waste cities, the desolations of many generations.
5 And strangers shall stand and feed your flocks, and the sons of the alien shall be your plowmen and your vinedressers.
6 But ye shall be named the Priests of the LORD: men shall call you the Ministers of our God: ye shall eat the riches of the Gentiles, and in their glory shall ye boast yourselves.
7 For your shame ye shall have double; and for confusion they shall rejoice in their portion: therefore in their land they shall possess the double: everlasting joy shall be unto them.
8 For I the LORD love judgement, I hate robbery for burnt offering; and I will direct their work in truth, and I will make an everlasting covenant with them.
9 And their seed shall be known among the Gentiles, and their offspring among the people: all that see them shall acknowledge them, that they are the seed which the LORD hath blessed.
10 I will greatly rejoice in the LORD, my soul shall be joyful in my God; for he hath clothed me with the garments of salvation, he hath covered me with the robe of righteousness, as a bridegroom decketh himself with ornaments, and as a bride adorneth herself with her jewels.
11 For as the earth bringeth forth her bud, and as the garden causeth the things that are sown in it to spring forth; so the Lord GOD will cause righteousness and praise to spring forth before all the nations.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 62

1 For Zion's sake will I not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, until the righteousness thereof go forth as brightness, and the salvation thereof as a lamp that burneth.
2 And the Gentiles shall see thy righteousness, and all kings thy glory: and thou shalt be called by a new name, which the mouth of the LORD shall name.
3 Thou shalt also be a crown of glory in the hand of the LORD, and a royal diadem in the hand of thy God.
4 Thou shalt no more be termed Forsaken; neither shall thy land any more be termed Desolate: but thou shalt be called Hephzibah, and thy land Beulah: for the LORD delighteth in thee, and thy land shall be married.
5 For as a young man marrieth a virgin, so shall thy sons marry thee: and as the bridegroom rejoiceth over the bride, so shall thy God rejoice over thee.
6 I have set watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem, which shall never hold their peace day nor night: ye that make mention of the LORD, keep not silence,
7 And give him no rest, till he establish, and till he make Jerusalem a praise in the earth.
8 The LORD hath sworn by his right hand, and by the arm of his strength, Surely I will no more give thy corn to be meat for thine enemies; and the sons of the stranger shall not drink thy wine, for the which thou hast laboured:
9 But they that have gathered it shall eat it, and praise the LORD; and they that have brought it together shall drink it in the courts of my holiness.
10 Go through, go through the gates; prepare ye the way of the people; cast up, cast up the highway; gather out the stones; lift up a standard for the people.
11 Behold, the LORD hath proclaimed unto the end of the world, Say ye to the daughter of Zion, Behold, thy salvation cometh; behold, his reward is with him, and his work before him.
12 And they shall call them, The holy people, The redeemed of the LORD: and thou shalt be called, Sought out, A city not forsaken.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 63

1 Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah? this that is glorious in his apparel, travelling in the greatness of his strength? I that speak in righteousness, mighty to save.
2 Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel, and thy garments like him that treadeth in the winefat?
3 I have trodden the winepress alone; and of the people there was none with me: for I will tread them in mine anger, and trample them in my fury; and their blood shall be sprinkled upon my garments, and I will stain all my raiment.
4 For the day of vengeance is in mine heart, and the year of my redeemed is come.
5 And I looked, and there was none to help; and I wondered that there was none to uphold: therefore mine own arm brought salvation unto me; and my fury, it upheld me.
6 And I will tread down the people in mine anger, and make them drunk in my fury, and I will bring down their strength to the earth.
7 I will mention the lovingkindnesses of the LORD, and the praises of the LORD, according to all that the LORD hath bestowed on us, and the great goodness toward the house of Israel, which he hath bestowed on them according to his mercies, and according to the multitude of his lovingkindnesses.
8 For he said, Surely they are my people, children that will not lie: so he was their Saviour.
9 In all their affliction he was afflicted, and the angel of his presence saved them: in his love and in his pity he redeemed them; and he bare them, and carried them all the days of old.
10 But they rebelled, and vexed his holy Spirit: therefore he was turned to be their enemy, and he fought against them.
11 Then he remembered the days of old, Moses, and his people, saying, Where is he that brought them up out of the sea with the shepherd of his flock? where is he that put his holy Spirit within him?
12 That led them by the right hand of Moses with his glorious arm, dividing the water before them, to make himself an everlasting name?
13 That led them through the deep, as an horse in the wilderness, that they should not stumble?
14 As a beast goeth down into the valley, the Spirit of the LORD caused him to rest: so didst thou lead thy people, to make thyself a glorious name.
15 Look down from heaven, and behold from the habitation of thy holiness and of thy glory: where is thy zeal and thy strength, the sounding of thy bowels and of thy mercies toward me? are they restrained?
16 Doubtless thou art our father, though Abraham be ignorant of us, and Israel acknowledge us not: thou, O LORD, art our father, our redeemer; thy name is from everlasting.
17 O LORD, why hast thou made us to err from thy ways, and hardened our heart from thy fear? Return for thy servants' sake, the tribes of thine inheritance.
18 The people of thy holiness have possessed it but a little while: our adversaries have trodden down thy sanctuary.
19 We are thine: thou never barest rule over them; they were not called by thy name.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 64

1 Oh that thou wouldest rend the heavens, that thou wouldest come down, that the mountains might flow down at thy presence,
2 As when the melting fire burneth, the fire causeth the waters to boil, to make thy name known to thine adversaries, that the nations may tremble at thy presence!
3 When thou didst terrible things which we looked not for, thou camest down, the mountains flowed down at thy presence.
4 For since the beginning of the world men have not heard, nor perceived by the ear, neither hath the eye seen, O God, beside thee, what he hath prepared for him that waiteth for him.

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5 Thou meetest him that rejoiceth and worketh righteousness, those that remember thee in thy ways: behold, thou art wroth; for we have sinned: in those is continuance, and we shall be saved.

6 But we are all as an unclean thing, and all our righteousnesses are as filthy rags; and we all do fade as a leaf; and our iniquities, like the wind, have taken us away.

7 And there is none that calleth upon thy name, that stirreth up himself to take hold of thee: for thou hast hid thy face from us, and hast consumed us, because of our iniquities.

8 But now, O LORD, thou art our father; we are the clay, and thou our potter; and we all are the work of thy hand.

9 Be not wroth very sore, O LORD, neither remember iniquity for ever: behold, see, we beseech thee, we are all thy people.

10 Thy holy cities are a wilderness, Zion is a wilderness, Jerusalem a desolation.

11 Our holy and our beautiful house, where our fathers praised thee, is burned up with fire: and all our pleasant things are laid waste.

12 Wilt thou refrain thyself for these things, O LORD? wilt thou hold thy peace, and afflict us very sore?

ISAIAH CHAPTER 65

1 I am sought of them that asked not for me; I am found of them that sought me not: I said, Behold me, behold me, unto a nation that was not called by my name.

2 I have spread out my hands all the day unto a rebellious people, which walketh in a way that was not good, after their own thoughts;

3 A people that provoketh me to anger continually to my face; that sacrificeth in gardens, and burneth incense upon altars of brick;

4 Which remain among the graves, and lodge in the monuments, which eat swine's flesh, and broth of abominable things is in their vessels;

5 Which say, Stand by thyself, come not near to me; for I am holier than thou. These are a smoke in my nose, a fire that burneth all the day.

6 Behold, it is written before me: I will not keep silence, but will recompense, even recompense into their bosom,

7 Your iniquities, and the iniquities of your fathers together, saith the LORD, which have burned incense upon the mountains, and blasphemed me upon the hills: therefore will I measure their former work into their bosom.

8 Thus saith the LORD, As the new wine is found in the cluster, and one saith, Destroy it not; for a blessing is in it: so will I do for my servants' sakes, that I may not destroy them all.

9 And I will bring forth a seed out of Jacob, and out of Judah an inheritor of my mountains: and mine elect shall inherit it, and my servants shall dwell there.

10 And Sharon shall be a fold of flocks, and the valley of Achor a place for the herds to lie down in, for my people that have sought me.

11 But ye are they that forsake the LORD, that forget my holy mountain, that prepare a table for that troop, and that furnish the drink offering unto that number.

12 Therefore will I number you to the sword, and ye shall all bow down to the slaughter: because when I called, ye did not answer; when I spake, ye did not hear; but did evil before mine eyes, and did choose that wherein I delighted not.

13 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD, Behold, my servants shall eat, but ye shall be hungry: behold, my servants shall drink, but ye shall be thirsty: behold, my servants shall rejoice, but ye shall be ashamed:

14 Behold, my servants shall sing for joy of heart, but ye shall cry for sorrow of heart, and shall howl for vexation of spirit.

15 And ye shall leave your name for a curse unto my chosen: for the Lord GOD shall slay thee, and call his servants by another name:

16 That he who blesseth himself in the earth shall bless himself in the God of truth; and he that sweareth in the earth shall swear by the God of truth; because the former troubles are forgotten, and because they are hid from mine eyes.

17 For, behold, I create new heavens and a new earth: and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind.

18 But be ye glad and rejoice for ever in that which I create: for, behold, I create Jerusalem a rejoicing, and her people a joy.

19 And I will rejoice in Jerusalem, and joy in my people: and the voice of weeping shall be no more heard in her, nor the voice of crying.

20 There shall be no more thence an infant of days, nor an old man that hath not filled his days: for the child shall die an hundred years old; but the sinner being an hundred years old shall be accursed.

21 And they shall build houses, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit of them.

22 They shall not build, and another inhabit; they shall not plant, and another eat: for as the days of a tree are the days of my people, and mine elect shall long enjoy the work of their hands.

23 They shall not labour in vain, nor bring forth for trouble; for they are the seed of the blessed of the LORD, and their offspring with them.

24 And it shall come to pass, that before they call, I will answer; and while they are yet speaking, I will hear.

25 The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the bullock: and dust shall be the serpent's meat. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain, saith the LORD.

ISAIAH CHAPTER 66

1 Thus saith the LORD, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool: where is the house that ye build unto me? and where is the place of my rest?

2 For all those things hath mine hand made, and all those things have been, saith the LORD: but to this man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word.

3 He that killeth an ox is as if he slew a man; he that sacrificeth a lamb, as if he cut off a dog's neck; he that offereth an oblation, as if he offered swine's blood; he that burneth incense, as if he blessed an idol. Yea, they have chosen their own ways, and their soul delighteth in their abominations.

4 I also will choose their delusions, and will bring their fears upon them; because when I called, none did answer; when I spake, they did not hear: but they did evil before mine eyes, and chose that in which I delighted not.

5 Hear the word of the LORD, ye that tremble at his word; Your brethren that hated you, that cast you out for my name's sake, said, Let the LORD be glorified: but he shall appear to your joy, and they shall be ashamed.

6 A voice of noise from the city, a voice from the temple, a voice of the LORD that rendereth recompence to his enemies.

7 Before she travailed, she brought forth; before her pain came, she was delivered of a man child.

8 Who hath heard such a thing? who hath seen such things? Shall the earth be made to bring forth in one day? or shall a nation be born at once? for as soon as Zion travailed, she brought forth her children.

9 Shall I bring to the birth, and not cause to bring forth? saith the LORD: shall I cause to bring forth, and shut the womb? saith thy God.

10 Rejoice ye with Jerusalem, and be glad with her, all ye that love her: rejoice for joy with her, all ye that mourn for her:

11 That ye may suck, and be satisfied with the breasts of her consolations; that ye may milk out, and be delighted with the abundance of her glory.

12 For thus saith the LORD, Behold, I will extend peace to her like a river, and the glory of the Gentiles like a flowing stream: then shall ye suck, ye shall be borne upon her sides, and be dandled upon her knees.

13 As one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you; and ye shall be comforted in Jerusalem.

14 And when ye see this, your heart shall rejoice, and your bones shall flourish like an herb: and the hand of the LORD shall be known toward his servants, and his indignation toward his enemies.

15 For, behold, the LORD will come with fire, and with his chariots like a whirlwind, to render his anger with fury, and his rebuke with flames of fire.

16 For by fire and by his sword will the LORD plead with all flesh: and the slain of the LORD shall be many.

17 They that sanctify themselves, and purify themselves in the gardens behind one tree in the midst, eating swine's flesh, and the abomination, and the mouse, shall be consumed together, saith the LORD.

18 For I know their works and their thoughts: it shall come, that I will gather all nations and tongues; and they shall come, and see my glory.

19 And I will set a sign among them, and I will send those that escape of them unto the nations, to Tarshish, Pul, and Lud, that draw the bow, to Tubal, and Javan, to the isles afar off, that have not heard my fame, neither have seen my glory; and they shall declare my glory among the Gentiles.

20 And they shall bring all your brethren for an offering unto the LORD out of all nations upon horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and upon mules, and upon swift beasts, to my holy mountain Jerusalem, saith the LORD, as the children of Israel bring an offering in a clean vessel into the house of the LORD.

21 And I will also take of them for priests and for Levites, saith the LORD.

22 For as the new heavens and the new earth, which I will make, shall remain before me, saith the LORD, so shall your seed and your name remain.

23 And it shall come to pass, that from one new moon to another, and from one sabbath to another, shall all flesh come to worship before me, saith the LORD.

24 And they shall go forth, and look upon the carcases of the men that have transgressed against me: for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh.

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET JEREMIAH

Hebrew title: Sefer Yirmeyahu
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 7th–6th century B.C.

(The Book of Jeremiah, or Jeremiah (Hebrew: Sefer Yirməyahu), is part of the Hebrew Bible, Judaism's Tanakh, and later became a part of Christianity's Old Testament. Jeremiah Chapter 1, verses 1 to 3 says that the book is "the words of Jeremiah son of Hilkiah". Jeremiah is seen as a real person, talking to his scribe Baruch about his role as a servant of God who had bad news for the people. His book is a message to the Jews in exile in Babylon, saying that the disaster of exile is God's response to Israel's pagan worship.

Jeremiah began began his work in the thirteenth year of king Josiah (about 627 BC) and finished in the eleventh year of king Zedekiah (586 BC), when Jerusalem went into exile. During this period, Josiah reformed their religion, Babylon destroyed Assyria and Egypt briefly made Judah their subject. Then Babylon defeated Egypt and made Judah their subject (605 BC). Judah revolted several times and after the final time, Babylon destroyed Jerusalem and its Temple and took away its king and many of the leading people in 586 BC.

It is generally agreed that the three types of material interspersed through the book – poetic, narrative, and biographical – come from different sources or circles. Authentic oracles of Jeremiah are probably to be found in the poetic sections of chapters 1–25, but the book as a whole has been heavily edited and added to by followers (including perhaps the prophet's companion, the scribe Baruch) and later generations of Deuteronomists. The date of the final versions of the book (Greek and Hebrew) can be suggested by the fact that the Greek shows concerns typical of the early Persian period, while the Masoretic (i.e., Hebrew) shows perspectives which, although known in the Persian period, did not reach their realisation until the 2nd century BC.

Jeremiah exists in two versions, a Greek translation, called the Septuagint, dating from the last few centuries before Christ and found in the earliest Christian manuscripts, and the Masoretic Hebrew text of traditional Jewish bibles – the Greek version is shorter than the Hebrew by about one eighth, and arranges the material differently. Equivalents of both versions were found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, so that is clear that the differences mark important stages in the transmission of the text. Most scholars hold that the Hebrew text underlying the Septuagint version is older than the Masoretic text, and that the Masoretic evolved either from this or from a closely related version. The shorter version ultimately became canonical in Greek Orthodox churches, while the longer was adopted in Judaism and in Western Christian churches.)

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 1

1 The words of Jeremiah the son of Hilkiah, of the priests that were in Anathoth in the land of Benjamin:

2 To whom the word of the LORD came in the days of Josiah the son of Amon king of Judah, in the thirteenth year of his reign.

3 It came also in the days of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah, unto the end of the eleventh year of Zedekiah the son of Josiah king of Judah, unto the carrying away of Jerusalem captive in the fifth month.

4 Then the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

5 Before I formed thee in the belly I knew thee; and before thou camest forth out of the womb I sanctified thee, and I ordained thee a prophet unto the nations.

6 Then said I, Ah, Lord GOD! behold, I cannot speak: for I am a child.

7 But the LORD said unto me, Say not, I am a child: for thou shalt go to all that I shall send thee, and whatsoever I command thee thou shalt speak.

8 Be not afraid of their faces: for I am with thee to deliver thee, saith the LORD.

9 Then the LORD put forth his hand, and touched my mouth. And the LORD said unto me, Behold, I have put my words in thy mouth.

10 See, I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant.

11 Moreover the word of the LORD came unto me, saying, Jeremiah, what seest thou? And I said, I see a rod of an almond tree.

12 Then said the LORD unto me, Thou hast well seen: for I will hasten my word to perform it.

13 And the word of the LORD came unto me the second time, saying, What seest thou? And I said, I see a seething pot; and the face thereof is toward the north.

14 Then the LORD said unto me, Out of the north an evil shall break forth upon all the inhabitants of the land.

15 For, lo, I will call all the families of the kingdoms of the north, saith the LORD; and they shall come, and they shall set every one his throne at the entering of the gates of Jerusalem, and against all the walls thereof round about, and against all the cities of Judah.

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16 And I will utter my judgements against them touching all their wickedness, who have forsaken me, and have burned incense unto other gods, and worshipped the works of their own hands.

17 Thou therefore gird up thy loins, and arise, and speak unto them all that I command thee: be not dismayed at their faces, lest I confound thee before them.

18 For, behold, I have made thee this day a defenced city, and an iron pillar, and brasen walls against the whole land, against the kings of Judah, against the princes thereof, against the priests thereof, and against the people of the land.

19 And they shall fight against thee; but they shall not prevail against thee; for I am with thee, saith the LORD, to deliver thee.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 2

1 Moreover the word of the LORD came to me, saying,

2 Go and cry in the ears of Jerusalem, saying, Thus saith the LORD; I remember thee, the kindness of thy youth, the love of thine espousals, when thou wentest after me in the wilderness, in a land that was not sown.

3 Israel was holiness unto the LORD, and the firstfruits of his increase: all that devour him shall offend; evil shall come upon them, saith the LORD.

4 Hear ye the word of the LORD, O house of Jacob, and all the families of the house of Israel:

5 Thus saith the LORD, What iniquity have your fathers found in me, that they are gone far from me, and have walked after vanity, and are become vain?

6 Neither said they, Where is the LORD that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, that led us through the wilderness, through a land of deserts and of pits, through a land of drought, and of the shadow of death, through a land that no man passed through, and where no man dwelt?

7 And I brought you into a plentiful country, to eat the fruit thereof and the goodness thereof; but when ye entered, ye defiled my land, and made mine heritage an abomination.

8 The priests said not, Where is the LORD? and they that handle the law knew me not: the pastors also transgressed against me, and the prophets prophesied by Baal, and walked after things that do not profit.

9 Wherefore I will yet plead with you, saith the LORD, and with your children's children will I plead.

10 For pass over the isles of Chittim, and see; and send unto Kedar, and consider diligently, and see if there be such a thing.

11 Hath a nation changed their gods, which are yet no gods? but my people have changed their glory for that which doth not profit.

12 Be astonished, O ye heavens, at this, and be horribly afraid, be ye very desolate, saith the LORD.

13 For my people have committed two evils; they have forsaken me the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water.

14 Is Israel a servant? is he a homeborn slave? why is he spoiled?

15 The young lions roared upon him, and yelled, and they made his land waste: his cities are burned without inhabitant.

16 Also the children of Noph and Tahapanes have broken the crown of thy head.

17 Hast thou not procured this unto thyself, in that thou hast forsaken the LORD thy God, when he led thee by the way?

18 And now what hast thou to do in the way of Egypt, to drink the waters of Sihor? or what hast thou to do in the way of Assyria, to drink the waters of the river?

19 Thine own wickedness shall correct thee, and thy backslidings shall reprove thee: know therefore and see that it is an evil thing and bitter, that thou hast forsaken the LORD thy God, and that my fear is not in thee, saith the Lord GOD of hosts.

20 For of old time I have broken thy yoke, and burst thy bands; and thou saidst, I will not transgress; when upon every high hill and under every green tree thou wanderest, playing the harlot.

21 Yet I had planted thee a noble vine, wholly a right seed: how then art thou turned into the degenerate plant of a strange vine unto me?

22 For though thou wash thee with nitre, and take thee much soap, yet thine iniquity is marked before me, saith the Lord GOD.

23 How canst thou say, I am not polluted, I have not gone after Baalim? see thy way in the valley, know what thou hast done: thou art a swift dromedary traversing her ways;

24 A wild ass used to the wilderness, that snuffeth up the wind at her pleasure; in her occasion who can turn her away? all they that seek her will not weary themselves; in her month they shall find her.

25 Withhold thy foot from being unshod, and thy throat from thirst: but thou saidst, There is no hope: no; for I have loved strangers, and after them will I go.

26 As the thief is ashamed when he is found, so is the house of Israel ashamed; they, their kings, their princes, and their priests, and their prophets.

27 Saying to a stock, Thou art my father; and to a stone, Thou hast brought me forth: for they have turned their back unto me, and not their face: but in the time of their trouble they will say, Arise, and save us.

28 But where are thy gods that thou hast made thee? let them arise, if they can save thee in the time of thy trouble: for according to the number of thy cities are thy gods, O Judah.

29 Wherefore will ye plead with me? ye all have transgressed against me, saith the LORD.

30 In vain have I smitten your children; they received no correction: your own sword hath devoured your prophets, like a destroying lion.

31 O generation, see ye the word of the LORD. Have I been a wilderness unto Israel? a land of darkness? wherefore say my people, We are lords; we will come no more unto thee?

32 Can a maid forget her ornaments, or a bride her attire? yet my people have forgotten me days without number.

33 Why trimmest thou thy way to seek love? therefore hast thou also taught the wicked ones thy ways.

34 Also in thy skirts is found the blood of the souls of the poor innocents: I have not found it by secret search, but upon all these.

35 Yet thou sayest, Because I am innocent, surely his anger shall turn from me. Behold, I will plead with thee, because thou sayest, I have not sinned.

36 Why gaddest thou about so much to change thy way? thou also shalt be ashamed of Egypt, as thou wast ashamed of Assyria.

37 Yea, thou shalt go forth from him, and thine hands upon thine head: for the LORD hath rejected thy confidences, and thou shalt not prosper in them.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 3

1 They say, If a man put away his wife, and she go from him, and become another man's, shall he return unto her again? shall not that land be greatly polluted? but thou hast played the harlot with many lovers; yet return again to me, saith the LORD.

2 Lift up thine eyes unto the high places, and see where thou hast not been lien with. In the ways hast thou sat for them, as the Arabian in the wilderness; and thou hast polluted the land with thy whoredoms and with thy wickedness.

3 Therefore the showers have been withholden, and there hath been no latter rain; and thou hadst a whore's forehead, thou refusedst to be ashamed.

4 Wilt thou not from this time cry unto me, My father, thou art the guide of my youth?

5 Will he reserve his anger for ever? will he keep it to the end? Behold, thou hast spoken and done evil things as thou couldest.

6 The LORD said also unto me in the days of Josiah the king, Hast thou seen that which backsliding Israel hath done? she is gone up upon every high mountain and under every green tree, and there hath played the harlot.

7 And I said after she had done all these things, Turn thou unto me. But she returned not. And her treacherous sister Judah saw it.

8 And I saw, when for all the causes whereby backsliding Israel committed adultery I had put her away, and given her a bill of divorce; yet her treacherous sister Judah feared not, but went and played the harlot also.

9 And it came to pass through the lightness of her whoredom, that she defiled the land, and committed adultery with stones and with stocks.

10 And yet for all this her treacherous sister Judah hath not turned unto me with her whole heart, but feignedly, saith the LORD.

11 And the LORD said unto me, The backsliding Israel hath justified herself more than treacherous Judah.

12 Go and proclaim these words toward the north, and say, Return, thou backsliding Israel, saith the LORD; and I will not cause mine anger to fall upon you: for I am merciful, saith the LORD, and I will not keep anger for ever.

13 Only acknowledge thine iniquity, that thou hast transgressed against the LORD thy God, and hast scattered thy ways to the strangers under every green tree, and ye have not obeyed my voice, saith the LORD.

14 Turn, O backsliding children, saith the LORD; for I am married unto you: and I will take you one of a city, and two of a family, and I will bring you to Zion:

15 And I will give you pastors according to mine heart, which shall feed you with knowledge and understanding.

16 And it shall come to pass, when ye be multiplied and increased in the land, in those days, saith the LORD, they shall say no more, The ark of the covenant of the LORD: neither shall it come to mind: neither shall they remember it; neither shall they visit it; neither shall that be done any more.

17 At that time they shall call Jerusalem the throne of the LORD; and all the nations shall be gathered unto it, to the name of the LORD, to Jerusalem: neither shall they walk any more after the imagination of their evil heart.

18 In those days the house of Judah shall walk with the house of Israel, and they shall come together out of the land of the north to the land that I have given for an inheritance unto your fathers.

19 But I said, How shall I put thee among the children, and give thee a pleasant land, a goodly heritage of the hosts of nations? and I said, Thou shalt call me, My father; and shalt not turn away from me.

20 Surely as a wife treacherously departeth from her husband, so have ye dealt treacherously with me, O house of Israel, saith the LORD.

21 A voice was heard upon the high places, weeping and supplications of the children of Israel: for they have perverted their way, and they have forgotten the LORD their God.

22 Return, ye backsliding children, and I will heal your backslidings. Behold, we come unto thee; for thou art the LORD our God.

23 Truly in vain is salvation hoped for from the hills, and from the multitude of mountains: truly in the LORD our God is the salvation of Israel.

24 For shame hath devoured the labour of our fathers from our youth; their flocks and their herds, their sons and their daughters.

25 We lie down in our shame, and our confusion covereth us: for we have sinned against the LORD our God, we and our fathers, from our youth even unto this day, and have not obeyed the voice of the LORD our God.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 4

1 If thou wilt return, O Israel, saith the LORD, return unto me: and if thou wilt put away thine abominations out of my sight, then shalt thou not remove.

2 And thou shalt swear, The LORD liveth, in truth, in judgement, and in righteousness; and the nations shall bless themselves in him, and in him shall they glory.

3 For thus saith the LORD to the men of Judah and Jerusalem, Break up your fallow ground, and sow not among thorns.

4 Circumcise yourselves to the LORD, and take away the foreskins of your heart, ye men of Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem: lest my fury come forth like fire, and burn that none can quench it, because of the evil of your doings.

5 Declare ye in Judah, and publish in Jerusalem; and say, Blow ye the trumpet in the land: cry, gather together, and say, Assemble yourselves, and let us go into the defenced cities.

6 Set up the standard toward Zion: retire, stay not: for I will bring evil from the north, and a great destruction.

7 The lion is come up from his thicket, and the destroyer of the Gentiles is on his way; he is gone forth from his place to make thy land desolate; and thy cities shall be laid waste, without an inhabitant.

8 For this gird you with sackcloth, lament and howl: for the fierce anger of the LORD is not turned back from us.

9 And it shall come to pass at that day, saith the LORD, that the heart of the king shall perish, and the heart of the princes; and the priests shall be astonished, and the prophets shall wonder.

10 Then said I, Ah, Lord GOD! surely thou hast greatly deceived this people and Jerusalem, saying, Ye shall have peace; whereas the sword reacheth unto the soul.

11 At that time shall it be said to this people and to Jerusalem, A dry wind of the high places in the wilderness toward the daughter of my people, not to fan, nor to cleanse,

12 Even a full wind from those places shall come unto me: now also will I give sentence against them.

13 Behold, he shall come up as clouds, and his chariots shall be as a whirlwind: his horses are swifter than eagles. Woe unto us! for we are spoiled.

14 O Jerusalem, wash thine heart from wickedness, that thou mayest be saved. How long shall thy vain thoughts lodge within thee?

15 For a voice declareth from Dan, and publisheth affliction from mount Ephraim.

16 Make ye mention to the nations; behold, publish against Jerusalem, that watchers come from a far country, and give out their voice against the cities of Judah.

17 As keepers of a field, are they against her round about; because she hath been rebellious against me, saith the LORD.

18 Thy way and thy doings have procured these things unto thee; this is thy wickedness, because it is bitter, because it reacheth unto thine heart.

19 My bowels, my bowels! I am pained at my very heart; my heart maketh a noise in me; I cannot hold my peace, because thou hast heard, O my soul, the sound of the trumpet, the alarm of war.

20 Destruction upon destruction is cried; for the whole land is spoiled: suddenly are my tents spoiled, and my curtains in a moment.

21 How long shall I see the standard, and hear the sound of the trumpet?

22 For my people is foolish, they have not known me; they are sottish children, and they have none understanding: they are wise to do evil, but to do good they have no knowledge.

23 I beheld the earth, and, lo, it was without form, and void; and the heavens, and they had no light.

24 I beheld the mountains, and, lo, they trembled, and all the hills moved lightly.

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25 I beheld, and, lo, there was no man, and all the birds of the heavens were fled.
26 I beheld, and, lo, the fruitful place was a wilderness, and all the cities thereof were broken down at the presence of the LORD, and by his fierce anger.
27 For thus hath the LORD said, The whole land shall be desolate; yet will I not make a full end.
28 For this shall the earth mourn, and the heavens above be black; because I have spoken it, I have purposed it, and will not repent, neither will I turn back from it.
29 The whole city shall flee for the noise of the horsemen and bowmen; they shall go into thickets, and climb up upon the rocks: every city shall be forsaken, and not a man dwell therein.
30 And when thou art spoiled, what wilt thou do? Though thou clothest thyself with crimson, though thou deckest thee with ornaments of gold, though thou rentest thy face with painting, in vain shalt thou make thyself fair; thy lovers will despise thee, they will seek thy life.
31 For I have heard a voice as of a woman in travail, and the anguish as of her that bringeth forth her first child, the voice of the daughter of Zion, that bewaileth herself, that spreadeth her hands, saying, Woe is me now! for my soul is wearied because of murderers.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 5

1 Run ye to and fro through the streets of Jerusalem, and see now, and know, and seek in the broad places thereof, if ye can find a man, if there be any that executeth judgement, that seeketh the truth; and I will pardon it.
2 And though they say, The LORD liveth; surely they swear falsely.
3 O LORD, are not thine eyes upon the truth? thou hast stricken them, but they have not grieved; thou hast consumed them, but they have refused to receive correction: they have made their faces harder than a rock; they have refused to return.
4 Therefore I said, Surely these are poor; they are foolish: for they know not the way of the LORD, nor the judgement of their God.
5 I will get me unto the great men, and will speak unto them; for they have known the way of the LORD, and the judgement of their God: but these have altogether broken the yoke, and burst the bonds.
6 Wherefore a lion out of the forest shall slay them, and a wolf of the evenings shall spoil them, a leopard shall watch over their cities: every one that goeth out thence shall be torn in pieces: because their transgressions are many, and their backslidings are increased.
7 How shall I pardon thee for this? thy children have forsaken me, and sworn by them that are no gods: when I had fed them to the full, they then committed adultery, and assembled themselves by troops in the harlots' houses.
8 They were as fed horses in the morning: every one neighed after his neighbour's wife.
9 Shall I not visit for these things? saith the LORD: and shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?
10 Go ye up upon her walls, and destroy; but make not a full end: take away her battlements; for they are not the LORD's.
11 For the house of Israel and the house of Judah have dealt very treacherously against me, saith the LORD.
12 They have belied the LORD, and said, It is not he; neither shall evil come upon us; neither shall we see sword nor famine:
13 And the prophets shall become wind, and the word is not in them: thus shall it be done unto them.
14 Wherefore thus saith the LORD God of hosts, Because ye speak this word, behold, I will make my words in thy mouth fire, and this people wood, and it shall devour them.
15 Lo, I will bring a nation upon you from far, O house of Israel, saith the LORD: it is a mighty nation, it is an ancient nation, a nation whose language thou knowest not, neither understandest what they say.
16 Their quiver is as an open sepulchre, they are all mighty men.
17 And they shall eat up thine harvest, and thy bread, which thy sons and thy daughters should eat: they shall eat up thy flocks and thine herds: they shall eat up thy vines and thy fig trees: they shall impoverish thy fenced cities, wherein thou trustedst, with the sword.
18 Nevertheless in those days, saith the LORD, I will not make a full end with you.
19 And it shall come to pass, when ye shall say, Wherefore doeth the LORD our God all these things unto us? then shalt thou answer them, Like as ye have forsaken me, and served strange gods in your land, so shall ye serve strangers in a land that is not your's.
20 Declare this in the house of Jacob, and publish it in Judah, saying,
21 Hear now this, O foolish people, and without understanding; which have eyes, and see not; which have ears, and hear not:
22 Fear ye not me? saith the LORD: will ye not tremble at my presence, which have placed the sand for the bound of the sea by a perpetual decree, that it cannot pass it: and though the waves thereof toss themselves, yet can they not prevail; though they roar, yet can they not pass over it?
23 But this people hath a revolting and a rebellious heart; they are revolted and gone.
24 Neither say they in their heart, Let us now fear the LORD our God, that giveth rain, both the former and the latter, in his season: he reserveth unto us the appointed weeks of the harvest.
25 Your iniquities have turned away these things, and your sins have withholden good things from you.
26 For among my people are found wicked men: they lay wait, as he that setteth snares; they set a trap, they catch men.
27 As a cage is full of birds, so are their houses full of deceit: therefore they are become great, and waxen rich.
28 They are waxen fat, they shine: yea, they overpass the deeds of the wicked: they judge not the cause, the cause of the fatherless, yet they prosper; and the right of the needy do they not judge.
29 Shall I not visit for these things? saith the LORD: shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?
30 A wonderful and horrible thing is committed in the land;
31 The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means; and my people love to have it so: and what will ye do in the end thereof?

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 6

1 O ye children of Benjamin, gather yourselves to flee out of the midst of Jerusalem, and blow the trumpet in Tekoa, and set up a sign of fire in Bethhaccerem: for evil appeareth out of the north, and great destruction.
2 I have likened the daughter of Zion to a comely and delicate woman.
3 The shepherds with their flocks shall come unto her; they shall pitch their tents against her round about; they shall feed every one in his place.
4 Prepare ye war against her; arise, and let us go up at noon. Woe unto us! for the day goeth away, for the shadows of the evening are stretched out.
5 Arise, and let us go by night, and let us destroy her palaces.
6 For thus hath the LORD of hosts said, Hew ye down trees, and cast a mount against Jerusalem: this is the city to be visited; she is wholly oppression in the midst of her.
7 As a fountain casteth out her waters, so she casteth out her wickedness: violence and spoil is heard in her; before me continually is grief and wounds.
8 Be thou instructed, O Jerusalem, lest my soul depart from thee; lest I make thee desolate, a land not inhabited.
9 Thus saith the LORD of hosts, They shall throughly glean the remnant of Israel as a vine: turn back thine hand as a grapegatherer into the baskets.
10 To whom shall I speak, and give warning, that they may hear? behold, their ear is uncircumcised, and they cannot hearken: behold, the word of the LORD is unto them a reproach; they have no delight in it.
11 Therefore I am full of the fury of the LORD; I am weary with holding in: I will pour it out upon the children abroad, and upon the assembly of young men together: for even the husband with the wife shall be taken, the aged with him that is full of days.
12 And their houses shall be turned unto others, with their fields and wives together: for I will stretch out my hand upon the inhabitants of the land, saith the LORD.
13 For from the least of them even unto the greatest of them every one is given to covetousness; and from the prophet even unto the priest every one dealeth falsely.
14 They have healed also the hurt of the daughter of my people slightly, saying, Peace, peace; when there is no peace.
15 Were they ashamed when they had committed abomination? nay, they were not at all ashamed, neither could they blush: therefore they shall fall among them that fall: at the time that I visit them they shall be cast down, saith the LORD.
16 Thus saith the LORD, Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls. But they said, We will not walk therein.
17 Also I set watchmen over you, saying, Hearken to the sound of the trumpet. But they said, We will not hearken.
18 Therefore hear, ye nations, and know, O congregation, what is among them.
19 Hear, O earth: behold, I will bring evil upon this people, even the fruit of their thoughts, because they have not hearkened unto my words, nor to my law, but rejected it.
20 To what purpose cometh there to me incense from Sheba, and the sweet cane from a far country? your burnt offerings are not acceptable, nor your sacrifices sweet unto me.
21 Therefore thus saith the LORD, Behold, I will lay stumblingblocks before this people, and the fathers and the sons together shall fall upon them; the neighbour and his friend shall perish.
22 Thus saith the LORD, Behold, a people cometh from the north country, and a great nation shall be raised from the sides of the earth.
23 They shall lay hold on bow and spear; they are cruel, and have no mercy; their voice roareth like the sea; and they ride upon horses, set in array as men for war against thee, O daughter of Zion.
24 We have heard the fame thereof: our hands wax feeble: anguish hath taken hold of us, and pain, as of a woman in travail.
25 Go not forth into the field, nor walk by the way; for the sword of the enemy and fear is on every side.
26 O daughter of my people, gird thee with sackcloth, and wallow thyself in ashes: make thee mourning, as for an only son, most bitter lamentation: for the spoiler shall suddenly come upon us.
27 I have set thee for a tower and a fortress among my people, that thou mayest know and try their way.
28 They are all grievous revolters, walking with slanders: they are brass and iron; they are all corrupters.
29 The bellows are burned, the lead is consumed of the fire; the founder melteth in vain: for the wicked are not plucked away.
30 Reprobate silver shall men call them, because the LORD hath rejected them.Jeremiah Chapter 6
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3 The shepherds with their flocks shall come unto her; they shall pitch their tents against her round about; they shall feed every one in his place.
4 Prepare ye war against her; arise, and let us go up at noon. Woe unto us! for the day goeth away, for the shadows of the evening are stretched out.
5 Arise, and let us go by night, and let us destroy her palaces.
6 For thus hath the LORD of hosts said, Hew ye down trees, and cast a mount against Jerusalem: this is the city to be visited; she is wholly oppression in the midst of her.
7 As a fountain casteth out her waters, so she casteth out her wickedness: violence and spoil is heard in her; before me continually is grief and wounds.
8 Be thou instructed, O Jerusalem, lest my soul depart from thee; lest I make thee desolate, a land not inhabited.
9 Thus saith the LORD of hosts, They shall throughly glean the remnant of Israel as a vine: turn back thine hand as a grapegatherer into the baskets.
10 To whom shall I speak, and give warning, that they may hear? behold, their ear is uncircumcised, and they cannot hearken: behold, the word of the LORD is unto them a reproach; they have no delight in it.
11 Therefore I am full of the fury of the LORD; I am weary with holding in: I will pour it out upon the children abroad, and upon the assembly of young men together: for even the husband with the wife shall be taken, the aged with him that is full of days.
12 And their houses shall be turned unto others, with their fields and wives together: for I will stretch out my hand upon the inhabitants of the land, saith the LORD.
13 For from the least of them even unto the greatest of them every one is given to covetousness; and from the prophet even unto the priest every one dealeth falsely.
14 They have healed also the hurt of the daughter of my people slightly, saying, Peace, peace; when there is no peace.
15 Were they ashamed when they had committed abomination? nay, they were not at all ashamed, neither could they blush: therefore they shall fall among them that fall: at the time that I visit them they shall be cast down, saith the LORD.
16 Thus saith the LORD, Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls. But they said, We will not walk therein.
17 Also I set watchmen over you, saying, Hearken to the sound of the trumpet. But they said, We will not hearken.
18 Therefore hear, ye nations, and know, O congregation, what is among them.
19 Hear, O earth: behold, I will bring evil upon this people, even the fruit of their thoughts, because they have not hearkened unto my words, nor to my law, but rejected it.
20 To what purpose cometh there to me incense from Sheba, and the sweet cane from a far country? your burnt offerings are not acceptable, nor your sacrifices sweet unto me.
21 Therefore thus saith the LORD, Behold, I will lay stumblingblocks before this people, and the fathers and the sons together shall fall upon them; the neighbour and his friend shall perish.
22 Thus saith the LORD, Behold, a people cometh from the north country, and a great nation shall be raised from the sides of the earth.

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23 They shall lay hold on bow and spear; they are cruel, and have no mercy; their voice roareth like the sea; and they ride upon horses, set in array as men for war against thee, O daughter of Zion.

24 We have heard the fame thereof: our hands wax feeble: anguish hath taken hold of us, and pain, as of a woman in travail.

25 Go not forth into the field, nor walk by the way; for the sword of the enemy and fear is on every side.

26 O daughter of my people, gird thee with sackcloth, and wallow thyself in ashes: make thee mourning, as for an only son, most bitter lamentation: for the spoiler shall suddenly come upon us.

27 I have set thee for a tower and a fortress among my people, that thou mayest know and try their way.

28 They are all grievous revolters, walking with slanders: they are brass and iron; they are all corrupters.

29 The bellows are burned, the lead is consumed of the fire; the founder melteth in vain: for the wicked are not plucked away.

30 Reprobate silver shall men call them, because the LORD hath rejected them.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 7

1 The word that came to Jeremiah from the LORD, saying,

2 Stand in the gate of the LORD's house, and proclaim there this word, and say, Hear the word of the LORD, all ye of Judah, that enter in at these gates to worship the LORD.

3 Thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel, Amend your ways and your doings, and I will cause you to dwell in this place.

4 Trust ye not in lying words, saying, The temple of the LORD, The temple of the LORD, The temple of the LORD, are these.

5 For if ye throughly amend your ways and your doings; if ye throughly execute judgement between a man and his neighbour;

6 If ye oppress not the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, and shed not innocent blood in this place, neither walk after other gods to your hurt:

7 Then will I cause you to dwell in this place, in the land that I gave to your fathers, for ever and ever.

8 Behold, ye trust in lying words, that cannot profit.

9 Will ye steal, murder, and commit adultery, and swear falsely, and burn incense unto Baal, and walk after other gods whom ye know not;

10 And come and stand before me in this house, which is called by my name, and say, We are delivered to do all these abominations?

11 Is this house, which is called by my name, become a den of robbers in your eyes? Behold, even I have seen it, saith the LORD.

12 But go ye now unto my place which was in Shiloh, where I set my name at the first, and see what I did to it for the wickedness of my people Israel.

13 And now, because ye have done all these works, saith the LORD, and I spake unto you, rising up early and speaking, but ye heard not; and I called you, but ye answered not;

14 Therefore will I do unto this house, which is called by my name, wherein ye trust, and unto the place which I gave to you and to your fathers, as I have done to Shiloh.

15 And I will cast you out of my sight, as I have cast out all your brethren, even the whole seed of Ephraim.

16 Therefore pray not thou for this people, neither lift up cry nor prayer for them, neither make intercession to me: for I will not hear thee.

17 Seest thou not what they do in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem?

18 The children gather wood, and the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead their dough, to make cakes to the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink offerings unto other gods, that they may provoke me to anger.

19 Do they provoke me to anger? saith the LORD: do they not provoke themselves to the confusion of their own faces?

20 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, mine anger and my fury shall be poured out upon this place, upon man, and upon beast, and upon the trees of the field, and upon the fruit of the ground; and it shall burn, and shall not be quenched.

21 Thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel; Put your burnt offerings unto your sacrifices, and eat flesh.

22 For I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices:

23 But this thing commanded I them, saying, Obey my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people: and walk ye in all the ways that I have commanded you, that it may be well unto you.

24 But they hearkened not, nor inclined their ear, but walked in the counsels and in the imagination of their evil heart, and went backward, and not forward.

25 Since the day that your fathers came forth out of the land of Egypt unto this day I have even sent unto you all my servants the prophets, daily rising up early and sending them:

26 Yet they hearkened not unto me, nor inclined their ear, but hardened their neck: they did worse than their fathers.

27 Therefore thou shalt speak all these words unto them; but they will not hearken to thee: thou shalt also call unto them; but they will not answer thee.

28 But thou shalt say unto them, This is a nation that obeyeth not the voice of the LORD their God, nor receiveth correction: truth is perished, and is cut off from their mouth.

29 Cut off thine hair, O Jerusalem, and cast it away, and take up a lamentation on high places; for the LORD hath rejected and forsaken the generation of his wrath.

30 For the children of Judah have done evil in my sight, saith the LORD: they have set their abominations in the house which is called by my name, to pollute it.

31 And they have built the high places of Tophet, which is in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to burn their sons and their daughters in the fire; which I commanded them not, neither came it into my heart.

32 Therefore, behold, the days come, saith the LORD, that it shall no more be called Tophet, nor the valley of the son of Hinnom, but the valley of slaughter: for they shall bury in Tophet, till there be no place.

33 And the carcases of this people shall be meat for the fowls of the heaven, and for the beasts of the earth; and none shall fray them away.

34 Then will I cause to cease from the cities of Judah, and from the streets of Jerusalem, the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom, and the voice of the bride: for the land shall be desolate.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 8

1 At that time, saith the LORD, they shall bring out the bones of the kings of Judah, and the bones of his princes, and the bones of the priests, and the bones of the prophets, and the bones of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, out of their graves:

2 And they shall spread them before the sun, and the moon, and all the host of heaven, whom they have loved, and whom they have served, and after whom they have walked, and whom they have sought, and whom they have worshipped: they shall not be gathered, nor be buried; they shall be for dung upon the face of the earth.

3 And death shall be chosen rather than life by all the residue of them that remain of this evil family, which remain in all the places whither I have driven them, saith the LORD of hosts.

4 Moreover thou shalt say unto them, Thus saith the LORD; Shall they fall, and not arise? shall he turn away, and not return?

5 Why then is this people of Jerusalem slidden back by a perpetual backsliding? they hold fast deceit, they refuse to return.

6 I hearkened and heard, but they spake not aright: no man repented him of his wickedness, saying, What have I done? every one turned to his course, as the horse rusheth into the battle.

7 Yea, the stork in the heaven knoweth her appointed times; and the turtle and the crane and the swallow observe the time of their coming; but my people know not the judgement of the LORD.

8 How do ye say, We are wise, and the law of the LORD is with us? Lo, certainly in vain made he it; the pen of the scribes is in vain.

9 The wise men are ashamed, they are dismayed and taken: lo, they have rejected the word of the LORD; and what wisdom is in them?

10 Therefore will I give their wives unto others, and their fields to them that shall inherit them: for every one from the least even unto the greatest is given to covetousness, from the prophet even unto the priest every one dealeth falsely.

11 For they have healed the hurt of the daughter of my people slightly, saying, Peace, peace; when there is no peace.

12 Were they ashamed when they had committed abomination? nay, they were not at all ashamed, neither could they blush: therefore shall they fall among them that fall: in the time of their visitation they shall be cast down, saith the LORD.

13 I will surely consume them, saith the LORD: there shall be no grapes on the vine, nor figs on the fig tree, and the leaf shall fade; and the things that I have given them shall pass away from them.

14 Why do we sit still? assemble yourselves, and let us enter into the defenced cities, and let us be silent there: for the LORD our God hath put us to silence, and given us water of gall to drink, because we have sinned against the LORD.

15 We looked for peace, but no good came; and for a time of health, and behold trouble!

16 The snorting of his horses was heard from Dan: the whole land trembled at the sound of the neighing of his strong ones; for they are come, and have devoured the land, and all that is in it; the city, and those that dwell therein.

17 For, behold, I will send serpents, cockatrices, among you, which will not be charmed, and they shall bite you, saith the LORD.

18 When I would comfort myself against sorrow, my heart is faint in me.

19 Behold the voice of the cry of the daughter of my people because of them that dwell in a far country: Is not the LORD in Zion? is not her king in her? Why have they provoked me to anger with their graven images, and with strange vanities?

20 The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved.

21 For the hurt of the daughter of my people am I hurt; I am black; astonishment hath taken hold on me.

22 Is there no balm in Gilead; is there no physician there? why then is not the health of the daughter of my people recovered?

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 9

1 Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people!

2 Oh that I had in the wilderness a lodging place of wayfaring men; that I might leave my people, and go from them! for they be all adulterers, an assembly of treacherous men.

3 And they bend their tongues like their bow for lies: but they are not valiant for the truth upon the earth; for they proceed from evil to evil, and they know not me, saith the LORD.

4 Take ye heed every one of his neighbour, and trust ye not in any brother: for every brother will utterly supplant, and every neighbour will walk with slanders.

5 And they will deceive every one his neighbour, and will not speak the truth: they have taught their tongue to speak lies, and weary themselves to commit iniquity.

6 Thine habitation is in the midst of deceit; through deceit they refuse to know me, saith the LORD.

7 Therefore thus saith the LORD of hosts, Behold, I will melt them, and try them; for how shall I do for the daughter of my people?

8 Their tongue is as an arrow shot out; it speaketh deceit: one speaketh peaceably to his neighbour with his mouth, but in heart he layeth his wait.

9 Shall I not visit them for these things? saith the LORD: shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?

10 For the mountains will I take up a weeping and wailing, and for the habitations of the wilderness a lamentation, because they are burned up, so that none can pass through them; neither can men hear the voice of the cattle; both the fowl of the heavens and the beast are fled; they are gone.

11 And I will make Jerusalem heaps, and a den of dragons; and I will make the cities of Judah desolate, without an inhabitant.

12 Who is the wise man, that may understand this? and who is he to whom the mouth of the LORD hath spoken, that he may declare it, for what the land perisheth and is burned up like a wilderness, that none passeth through?

13 And the LORD saith, Because they have forsaken my law which I set before them, and have not obeyed my voice, neither walked therein;

14 But have walked after the imagination of their own heart, and after Baalim, which their fathers taught them:

15 Therefore thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel; Behold, I will feed them, even this people, with wormwood, and give them water of gall to drink.

16 I will scatter them also among the heathen, whom neither they nor their fathers have known: and I will send a sword after them, till I have consumed them.

17 Thus saith the LORD of hosts, Consider ye, and call for the mourning women, that they may come; and send for cunning women, that they may come:

18 And let them make haste, and take up a wailing for us, that our eyes may run down with tears, and our eyelids gush out with waters.

19 For a voice of wailing is heard out of Zion, How are we spoiled! we are greatly confounded, because we have forsaken the land, because our dwellings have cast us out.

20 Yet hear the word of the LORD, O ye women, and let your ear receive the word of his mouth, and teach your daughters wailing, and every one her neighbour lamentation.

21 For death is come up into our windows, and is entered into our palaces, to cut off the children from without, and the young men from the streets.

22 Speak, Thus saith the LORD, Even the carcases of men shall fall as dung upon the open field, and as the handful after the harvestman, and none shall gather them.

23 Thus saith the LORD, Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might, let not the rich man glory in his riches:

24 But let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I am the LORD which exercise lovingkindness, judgement, and righteousness, in the earth: for in these things I delight, saith the LORD.

25 Behold, the days come, saith the LORD, that I will punish all them which are circumcised with the uncircumcised;

26 Egypt, and Judah, and Edom, and the children of Ammon, and Moab, and all that are in the utmost corners,

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that dwell in the wilderness: for all these nations are uncircumcised, and all the house of Israel are uncircumcised in the heart.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 10

1 Hear ye the word which the LORD speaketh unto you, O house of Israel:

2 Thus saith the LORD, Learn not the way of the heathen, and be not dismayed at the signs of heaven; for the heathen are dismayed at them.

3 For the customs of the people are vain: for one cutteth a tree out of the forest, the work of the hands of the workman, with the axe.

4 They deck it with silver and with gold; they fasten it with nails and with hammers, that it move not.

5 They are upright as the palm tree, but speak not: they must needs be borne, because they cannot go. Be not afraid of them; for they cannot do evil, neither also is it in them to do good.

6 Forasmuch as there is none like unto thee, O LORD; thou art great, and thy name is great in might.

7 Who would not fear thee, O King of nations? for to thee doth it appertain: forasmuch as among all the wise men of the nations, and in all their kingdoms, there is none like unto thee.

8 But they are altogether brutish and foolish: the stock is a doctrine of vanities.

9 Silver spread into plates is brought from Tarshish, and gold from Uphaz, the work of the workman, and of the hands of the founder: blue and purple is their clothing: they are all the work of cunning men.

10 But the LORD is the true God, he is the living God, and an everlasting king: at his wrath the earth shall tremble, and the nations shall not be able to abide his indignation.

11 Thus shall ye say unto them, The gods that have not made the heavens and the earth, even they shall perish from the earth, and from under these heavens.

12 He hath made the earth by his power, he hath established the world by his wisdom, and hath stretched out the heavens by his discretion.

13 When he uttereth his voice, there is a multitude of waters in the heavens, and he causeth the vapours to ascend from the ends of the earth; he maketh lightnings with rain, and bringeth forth the wind out of his treasures.

14 Every man is brutish in his knowledge: every founder is confounded by the graven image: for his molten image is falsehood, and there is no breath in them.

15 They are vanity, and the work of errors: in the time of their visitation they shall perish.

16 The portion of Jacob is not like them: for he is the former of all things; and Israel is the rod of his inheritance: The LORD of hosts is his name.

17 Gather up thy wares out of the land, O inhabitant of the fortress.

18 For thus saith the LORD, Behold, I will sling out the inhabitants of the land at this once, and will distress them, that they may find it so.

19 Woe is me for my hurt! my wound is grievous; but I said, Truly this is a grief, and I must bear it.

20 My tabernacle is spoiled, and all my cords are broken: my children are gone forth of me, and they are not: there is none to stretch forth my tent any more, and to set up my curtains.

21 For the pastors are become brutish, and have not sought the LORD: therefore they shall not prosper, and all their flocks shall be scattered.

22 Behold, the noise of the bruit is come, and a great commotion out of the north country, to make the cities of Judah desolate, and a den of dragons.

23 O LORD, I know that the way of man is not in himself: it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps.

24 O LORD, correct me, but with judgement; not in thine anger, lest thou bring me to nothing.

25 Pour out thy fury upon the heathen that know thee not, and upon the families that call not on thy name: for they have eaten up Jacob, and devoured him, and consumed him, and have made his habitation desolate.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 11

1 The word that came to Jeremiah from the LORD saying,

2 Hear ye the words of this covenant, and speak unto the men of Judah, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem;

3 And say thou unto them, Thus saith the LORD God of Israel; Cursed be the man that obeyeth not the words of this covenant,

4 Which I commanded your fathers in the day that I brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, from the iron furnace, saying, Obey my voice, and do them, according to all which I command you: so shall ye be my people, and I will be your God:

5 That I may perform the oath which I have sworn unto your fathers, to give them a land flowing with milk and honey, as it is this day. Then answered I, and said, So be it, O LORD.

6 Then the LORD said unto me, Proclaim all these words in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem, saying, Hear ye the words of this covenant, and do them.

7 For I earnestly protested unto your fathers in the day that I brought them up out of the land of Egypt, even unto this day, rising early and protesting, saying, Obey my voice.

8 Yet they obeyed not, nor inclined their ear, but walked every one in the imagination of their evil heart: therefore I will bring upon them all the words of this covenant, which I commanded them to do: but they did them not.

9 And the LORD said unto me, A conspiracy is found among the men of Judah, and among the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

10 They are turned back to the iniquities of their forefathers, which refused to hear my words; and they went after other gods to serve them: the house of Israel and the house of Judah have broken my covenant which I made with their fathers.

11 Therefore thus saith the LORD, Behold, I will bring evil upon them, which they shall not be able to escape; and though they shall cry unto me, I will not hearken unto them.

12 Then shall the cities of Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem go, and cry unto the gods unto whom they offer incense: but they shall not save them at all in the time of their trouble.

13 For according to the number of thy cities were thy gods, O Judah; and according to the number of the streets of Jerusalem have ye set up altars to that shameful thing, even altars to burn incense unto Baal.

14 Therefore pray not thou for this people, neither lift up a cry or prayer for them: for I will not hear them in the time that they cry unto me for their trouble.

15 What hath my beloved to do in mine house, seeing she hath wrought lewdness with many, and the holy flesh is passed from thee? when thou doest evil, then thou rejoicest.

16 The LORD called thy name, A green olive tree, fair, and of goodly fruit: with the noise of a great tumult he hath kindled fire upon it, and the branches of it are broken.

17 For the LORD of hosts, that planted thee, hath pronounced evil against thee, for the evil of the house of Israel and of the house of Judah, which they have done against themselves to provoke me to anger in offering incense unto Baal.

18 And the LORD hath given me knowledge of it, and I know it: then thou shewedst me their doings.

19 But I was like a lamb or an ox that is brought to the slaughter; and I knew not that they had devised devices against me, saying, Let us destroy the tree with the fruit thereof, and let us cut him off from the land of the living, that his name may be no more remembered.

20 But, O LORD of hosts, that judgest righteously, that triest the reins and the heart, let me see thy vengeance on them: for unto thee have I revealed my cause.

21 Therefore thus saith the LORD of the men of Anathoth, that seek thy life, saying, Prophesy not in the name of the LORD, that thou die not by our hand:

22 Therefore thus saith the LORD of hosts, Behold, I will punish them: the young men shall die by the sword; their sons and their daughters shall die by famine:

23 And there shall be no remnant of them: for I will bring evil upon the men of Anathoth, even the year of their visitation.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 12

1 Righteous art thou, O LORD, when I plead with thee: yet let me talk with thee of thy judgements: Wherefore doth the way of the wicked prosper? wherefore are all they happy that deal very treacherously?

2 Thou hast planted them, yea, they have taken root: they grow, yea, they bring forth fruit: thou art near in their mouth, and far from their reins.

3 But thou, O LORD, knowest me: thou hast seen me, and tried mine heart toward thee: pull them out like sheep for the slaughter, and prepare them for the day of slaughter.

4 How long shall the land mourn, and the herbs of every field wither, for the wickedness of them that dwell therein? the beasts are consumed, and the birds; because they said, He shall not see our last end.

5 If thou hast run with the footmen, and they have wearied thee, then how canst thou contend with horses? and if in the land of peace, wherein thou trustedst, they wearied thee, then how wilt thou do in the swelling of Jordan?

6 For even thy brethren, and the house of thy father, even they have dealt treacherously with thee; yea, they have called a multitude after thee: believe them not, though they speak fair words unto thee.

7 I have forsaken mine house, I have left mine heritage; I have given the dearly beloved of my soul into the hand of her enemies.

8 Mine heritage is unto me as a lion in the forest; it crieth out against me: therefore have I hated it.

9 Mine heritage is unto me as a speckled bird, the birds round about are against her; come ye, assemble all the beasts of the field, come to devour.

10 Many pastors have destroyed my vineyard, they have trodden my portion under foot, they have made my pleasant portion a desolate wilderness.

11 They have made it desolate, and being desolate it mourneth unto me; the whole land is made desolate, because no man layeth it to heart.

12 The spoilers are come upon all high places through the wilderness: for the sword of the LORD shall devour from the one end of the land even to the other end of the land: no flesh shall have peace.

13 They have sown wheat, but shall reap thorns: they have put themselves to pain, but shall not profit: and they shall be ashamed of your revenues because of the fierce anger of the LORD.

14 Thus saith the LORD against all mine evil neighbours, that touch the inheritance which I have caused my people Israel to inherit; Behold, I will pluck them out of their land, and pluck out the house of Judah from among them.

15 And it shall come to pass, after that I have plucked them out I will return, and have compassion on them, and will bring them again, every man to his heritage, and every man to his land.

16 And it shall come to pass, if they will diligently learn the ways of my people, to swear by my name, The LORD liveth; as they taught my people to swear by Baal; then shall they be built in the midst of my people.

17 But if they will not obey, I will utterly pluck up and destroy that nation, saith the LORD.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 13

1 Thus saith the LORD unto me, Go and get thee a linen girdle, and put it upon thy loins, and put it not in water.

2 So I got a girdle according to the word of the LORD, and put it on my loins.

3 And the word of the LORD came unto me the second time, saying,

4 Take the girdle that thou hast got, which is upon thy loins, and arise, go to Euphrates, and hide it there in a hole of the rock.

5 So I went, and hid it by Euphrates, as the LORD commanded me.

6 And it came to pass after many days, that the LORD said unto me, Arise, go to Euphrates, and take the girdle from thence, which I commanded thee to hide there.

7 Then I went to Euphrates, and digged, and took the girdle from the place where I had hid it: and, behold, the girdle was marred, it was profitable for nothing.

8 Then the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

9 Thus saith the LORD, After this manner will I mar the pride of Judah, and the great pride of Jerusalem.

10 This evil people, which refuse to hear my words, which walk in the imagination of their heart, and walk after other gods, to serve them, and to worship them, shall even be as this girdle, which is good for nothing.

11 For as the girdle cleaveth to the loins of a man, so have I caused to cleave unto me the whole house of Israel and the whole house of Judah, saith the LORD; that they might be unto me for a people, and for a name, and for a praise, and for a glory: but they would not hear.

12 Therefore thou shalt speak unto them this word; Thus saith the LORD God of Israel, Every bottle shall be filled with wine: and they shall say unto thee, Do we not certainly know that every bottle shall be filled with wine?

13 Then shalt thou say unto them, Thus saith the LORD, Behold, I will fill all the inhabitants of this land, even the kings that sit upon David's throne, and the priests, and the prophets, and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, with drunkenness.

14 And I will dash them one against another, even the fathers and the sons together, saith the LORD: I will not pity, nor spare, nor have mercy, but destroy them.

15 Hear ye, and give ear; be not proud: for the LORD hath spoken.

16 Give glory to the LORD your God, before he cause darkness, and before your feet stumble upon the dark mountains, and, while ye look for light, he turn it into the shadow of death, and make it gross darkness.

17 But if ye will not hear it, my soul shall weep in secret places for your pride; and mine eye shall weep sore, and run down with tears, because the LORD's flock is carried away captive.

18 Say unto the king and to the queen, Humble yourselves, sit down: for your principalities shall come down, even the crown of your glory.

19 The cities of the south shall be shut up, and none shall open them: Judah shall be carried away captive all of it, it shall be wholly carried away captive.

20 Lift up your eyes, and behold them that come from the north: where is the flock that was given thee, thy beautiful flock?

21 What wilt thou say when he shall punish thee? for thou hast taught them to be captains, and as chief over thee: shall not sorrows take thee, as a woman in travail?

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22 And if thou say in thine heart, Wherefore come these things upon me? For the greatness of thine iniquity are thy skirts discovered, and thy heels made bare.

23 Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? then may ye also do good, that are accustomed to do evil.

24 Therefore will I scatter them as the stubble that passeth away by the wind of the wilderness.

25 This is thy lot, the portion of thy measures from me, saith the LORD; because thou hast forgotten me, and trusted in falsehood.

26 Therefore will I discover thy skirts upon thy face, that thy shame may appear.

27 I have seen thine adulteries, and thy neighings, the lewdness of thy whoredom, and thine abominations on the hills in the fields. Woe unto thee, O Jerusalem! wilt thou not be made clean? when shall it once be?

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 14

1 The word of the LORD that came to Jeremiah concerning the dearth.

2 Judah mourneth, and the gates thereof languish; they are black unto the ground; and the cry of Jerusalem is gone up.

3 And their nobles have sent their little ones to the waters: they came to the pits, and found no water; they returned with their vessels empty; they were ashamed and confounded, and covered their heads.

4 Because the ground is chapt, for there was no rain in the earth, the plowmen were ashamed, they covered their heads.

5 Yea, the hind also calved in the field, and forsook it, because there was no grass.

6 And the wild asses did stand in the high places, they snuffed up the wind like dragons; their eyes did fail, because there was no grass.

7 O LORD, though our iniquities testify against us, do thou it for thy name's sake: for our backslidings are many; we have sinned against thee.

8 O the hope of Israel, the saviour thereof in time of trouble, why shouldest thou be as a stranger in the land, and as a wayfaring man that turneth aside to tarry for a night?

9 Why shouldest thou be as a man astonied, as a mighty man that cannot save? yet thou, O LORD, art in the midst of us, and we are called by thy name; leave us not.

10 Thus saith the LORD unto this people, Thus have they loved to wander, they have not refrained their feet, therefore the LORD doth not accept them; he will now remember their iniquity, and visit their sins.

11 Then said the LORD unto me, Pray not for this people for their good.

12 When they fast, I will not hear their cry; and when they offer burnt offering and an oblation, I will not accept them: but I will consume them by the sword, and by the famine, and by the pestilence.

13 Then said I, Ah, Lord GOD! behold, the prophets say unto them, Ye shall not see the sword, neither shall ye have famine; but I will give you assured peace in this place.

14 Then the LORD said unto me, The prophets prophesy lies in my name: I sent them not, neither have I commanded them, neither spake unto them: they prophesy unto you a false vision and divination, and a thing of nought, and the deceit of their heart.

15 Therefore thus saith the LORD concerning the prophets that prophesy in my name, and I sent them not, yet they say, Sword and famine shall not be in this land; By sword and famine shall those prophets be consumed.

16 And the people to whom they prophesy shall be cast out in the streets of Jerusalem because of the famine and the sword; and they shall have none to bury them, them, their wives, nor their sons, nor their daughters: for I will pour their wickedness upon them.

17 Therefore thou shalt say this word unto them; Let mine eyes run down with tears night and day, and let them not cease: for the virgin daughter of my people is broken with a great breach, with a very grievous blow.

18 If I go forth into the field, then behold the slain with the sword! and if I enter into the city, then behold them that are sick with famine! yea, both the prophet and the priest go about into a land that they know not.

19 Hast thou utterly rejected Judah? hath thy soul lothed Zion? why hast thou smitten us, and there is no healing for us? we looked for peace, and there is no good; and for the time of healing, and behold trouble!

20 We acknowledge, O LORD, our wickedness, and the iniquity of our fathers: for we have sinned against thee.

21 Do not abhor us, for thy name's sake, do not disgrace the throne of thy glory: remember, break not thy covenant with us.

22 Are there any among the vanities of the Gentiles that can cause rain? or can the heavens give showers? art not thou he, O LORD our God? therefore we will wait upon thee: for thou hast made all these things.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 15

1 Then said the LORD unto me, Though Moses and Samuel stood before me, yet my mind could not be toward this people: cast them out of my sight, and let them go forth.

2 And it shall come to pass, if they say unto thee, Whither shall we go forth? then thou shalt tell them, Thus saith the LORD; Such as are for death, to death; and such as are for the sword, to the sword; and such as are for the famine, to the famine; and such as are for the captivity, to the captivity.

3 And I will appoint over them four kinds, saith the LORD: the sword to slay, and the dogs to tear, and the fowls of the heaven, and the beasts of the earth, to devour and destroy.

4 And I will cause them to be removed into all kingdoms of the earth, because of Manasseh the son of Hezekiah king of Judah, for that which he did in Jerusalem.

5 For who shall have pity upon thee, O Jerusalem? or who shall bemoan thee? or who shall go aside to ask how thou doest?

6 Thou hast forsaken me, saith the LORD, thou art gone backward: therefore will I stretch out my hand against thee, and destroy thee; I am weary with repenting.

7 And I will fan them with a fan in the gates of the land; I will bereave them of children, I will destroy my people since they return not from their ways.

8 Their widows are increased to me above the sand of the seas: I have brought upon them against the mother of the young men a spoiler at noonday: I have caused him to fall upon it suddenly, and terrors upon the city.

9 She that hath borne seven languisheth: she hath given up the ghost; her sun is gone down while it was yet day: she hath been ashamed and confounded: and the residue of them will I deliver to the sword before their enemies, saith the LORD.

10 Woe is me, my mother, that thou hast borne me a man of strife and a man of contention to the whole earth! I have neither lent on usury, nor men have lent to me on usury; yet every one of them doth curse me.

11 The LORD said, Verily it shall be well with thy remnant; verily I will cause the enemy to entreat thee well in the time of evil and in the time of affliction.

12 Shall iron break the northern iron and the steel?

13 Thy substance and thy treasures will I give to the spoil without price, and that for all thy sins, even in all thy borders.

14 And I will make thee to pass with thine enemies into a land which thou knowest not: for a fire is kindled in mine anger, which shall burn upon you.

15 O LORD, thou knowest: remember me, and visit me, and revenge me of my persecutors; take me not away in thy longsuffering: know that for thy sake I have suffered rebuke.

16 Thy words were found, and I did eat them; and thy word was unto me the joy and rejoicing of mine heart: for I am called by thy name, O LORD God of hosts.

17 I sat not in the assembly of the mockers, nor rejoiced; I sat alone because of thy hand: for thou hast filled me with indignation.

18 Why is my pain perpetual, and my wound incurable, which refuseth to be healed? wilt thou be altogether unto me as a liar, and as waters that fail?

19 Therefore thus saith the LORD, If thou return, then will I bring thee again, and thou shalt stand before me: and if thou take forth the precious from the vile, thou shalt be as my mouth: let them return unto thee; but return not thou unto them.

20 And I will make thee unto this people a fenced brasen wall: and they shall fight against thee, but they shall not prevail against thee: for I am with thee to save thee and to deliver thee, saith the LORD.

21 And I will deliver thee out of the hand of the wicked, and I will redeem thee out of the hand of the terrible.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 16

1 The word of the LORD came also unto me, saying,

2 Thou shalt not take thee a wife, neither shalt thou have sons or daughters in this place.

3 For thus saith the LORD concerning the sons and concerning the daughters that are born in this place, and concerning their mothers that bare them, and concerning their fathers that begat them in this land;

4 They shall die of grievous deaths; they shall not be lamented; neither shall they be buried; but they shall be as dung upon the face of the earth: and they shall be consumed by the sword, and by famine; and their carcases shall be meat for the fowls of heaven, and for the beasts of the earth.

5 For thus saith the LORD, Enter not into the house of mourning, neither go to lament nor bemoan them: for I have taken away my peace from this people, saith the LORD, even lovingkindness and mercies.

6 Both the great and the small shall die in this land: they shall not be buried, neither shall men lament for them, nor cut themselves, nor make themselves bald for them:

7 Neither shall men tear themselves for them in mourning, to comfort them for the dead; neither shall men give them the cup of consolation to drink for their father or for their mother.

8 Thou shalt not also go into the house of feasting, to sit with them to eat and to drink.

9 For thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel; Behold, I will cause to cease out of this place in your eyes, and in your days, the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom, and the voice of the bride.

10 And it shall come to pass, when thou shalt shew this people all these words, and they shall say unto thee, Wherefore hath the LORD pronounced all this great evil against us? or what is our iniquity? or what is our sin that we have committed against the LORD our God?

11 Then shalt thou say unto them, Because your fathers have forsaken me, saith the LORD, and have walked after other gods, and have served them, and have worshipped them, and have forsaken me, and have not kept my law;

12 And ye have done worse than your fathers; for, behold, ye walk every one after the imagination of his evil heart, that they may not hearken unto me:

13 Therefore will I cast you out of this land into a land that ye know not, neither ye nor your fathers; and there shall ye serve other gods day and night; where I will not shew you favour.

14 Therefore, behold, the days come, saith the LORD, that it shall no more be said, The LORD liveth, that brought up the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt;

15 But, The LORD liveth, that brought up the children of Israel from the land of the north, and from all the lands whither he had driven them: and I will bring them again into their land that I gave unto their fathers.

16 Behold, I will send for many fishers, saith the LORD, and they shall fish them; and after will I send for many hunters, and they shall hunt them from every mountain, and from every hill, and out of the holes of the rocks.

17 For mine eyes are upon all their ways: they are not hid from my face, neither is their iniquity hid from mine eyes.

18 And first I will recompense their iniquity and their sin double; because they have defiled my land, they have filled mine inheritance with the carcases of their detestable and abominable things.

19 O LORD, my strength, and my fortress, and my refuge in the day of affliction, the Gentiles shall come unto thee from the ends of the earth, and shall say, Surely our fathers have inherited lies, vanity, and things wherein there is no profit.

20 Shall a man make gods unto himself, and they are no gods?

21 Therefore, behold, I will this once cause them to know, I will cause them to know mine hand and my might; and they shall know that my name is The LORD.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 17

1 The sin of Judah is written with a pen of iron, and with the point of a diamond: it is graven upon the table of their heart, and upon the horns of your altars;

2 Whilst their children remember their altars and their groves by the green trees upon the high hills.

3 O my mountain in the field, I will give thy substance and all thy treasures to the spoil, and thy high places for sin, throughout all thy borders.

4 And thou, even thyself, shalt discontinue from thine heritage that I gave thee; and I will cause thee to serve thine enemies in the land which thou knowest not: for ye have kindled a fire in mine anger, which shall burn for ever.

5 Thus saith the LORD; Cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart departeth from the LORD.

6 For he shall be like the heath in the desert, and shall not see when good cometh; but shall inhabit the parched places in the wilderness, in a salt land and not inhabited.

7 Blessed is the man that trusteth in the LORD, and whose hope the LORD is.

8 For he shall be as a tree planted by the waters, and that spreadeth out her roots by the river, and shall not see when heat cometh, but her leaf shall be green; and shall not be careful in the year of drought, neither shall cease from yielding fruit.

9 The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked: who can know it?

10 I the LORD search the heart, I try the reins, even to give every man according to his ways, and according to the fruit of his doings.

11 As the partridge sitteth on eggs, and hatcheth them not; so he that getteth riches, and not by right, shall leave them in the midst of his days, and at his end shall be a fool.

12 A glorious high throne from the beginning is the place of our sanctuary.

13 O LORD, the hope of Israel, all that forsake thee shall be ashamed, and they that depart from me shall be written in the earth, because they have forsaken the LORD, the fountain of living waters.

14 Heal me, O LORD, and I shall be healed; save me, and I shall be saved: for thou art my praise.

15 Behold, they say unto me, Where is the word of the LORD? let it come now.

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16 As for me, I have not hastened from being a pastor to follow thee: neither have I desired the woeful day; thou knowest: that which came out of my lips was right before thee.
17 Be not a terror unto me: thou art my hope in the day of evil.
18 Let them be confounded that persecute me, but let not me be confounded: let them be dismayed, but let not me be dismayed: bring upon them the day of evil, and destroy them with double destruction.
19 Thus said the LORD unto me; Go and stand in the gate of the children of the people, whereby the kings of Judah come in, and by the which they go out, and in all the gates of Jerusalem;
20 And say unto them, Hear ye the word of the LORD, ye kings of Judah, and all Judah, and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, that enter in by these gates:
21 Thus saith the LORD; Take heed to yourselves, and bear no burden on the sabbath day, nor bring it in by the gates of Jerusalem;
22 Neither carry forth a burden out of your houses on the sabbath day, neither do ye any work, but hallow ye the sabbath day, as I commanded your fathers.
23 But they obeyed not, neither inclined their ear, but made their neck stiff, that they might not hear, nor receive instruction.
24 And it shall come to pass, if ye diligently hearken unto me, saith the LORD, to bring in no burden through the gates of this city on the sabbath day, but hallow the sabbath day, to do no work therein;
25 Then shall there enter into the gates of this city kings and princes sitting upon the throne of David, riding in chariots and on horses, they, and their princes, the men of Judah, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem: and this city shall remain for ever.
26 And they shall come from the cities of Judah, and from the places about Jerusalem, and from the land of Benjamin, and from the plain, and from the mountains, and from the south, bringing burnt offerings, and sacrifices, and meat offerings, and incense, and bringing sacrifices of praise, unto the house of the LORD.
27 But if ye will not hearken unto me to hallow the sabbath day, and not to bear a burden, even entering in at the gates of Jerusalem on the sabbath day; then will I kindle a fire in the gates thereof, and it shall devour the palaces of Jerusalem, and it shall not be quenched.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 18

1 The word which came to Jeremiah from the LORD, saying,
2 Arise, and go down to the potter's house, and there I will cause thee to hear my words.
3 Then I went down to the potter's house, and, behold, he wrought a work on the wheels.
4 And the vessel that he made of clay was marred in the hand of the potter: so he made it again another vessel, as seemed good to the potter to make it.
5 Then the word of the LORD came to me, saying,
6 O house of Israel, cannot I do with you as this potter? saith the LORD. Behold, as the clay is in the potter's hand, so are ye in mine hand, O house of Israel.
7 At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up, and to pull down, and to destroy it;
8 If that nation, against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them.
9 And at what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to build and to plant it;
10 If it do evil in my sight, that it obey not my voice, then I will repent of the good, wherewith I said I would benefit them.
11 Now therefore go to, speak to the men of Judah, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, saying, Thus saith the LORD; Behold, I frame evil against you, and devise a device against you: return ye now every one from his evil way, and make your ways and your doings good.
12 And they said, There is no hope: but we will walk after our own devices, and we will every one do the imagination of his evil heart.
13 Therefore thus saith the LORD; Ask ye now among the heathen, who hath heard such things: the virgin of Israel hath done a very horrible thing.
14 Will a man leave the snow of Lebanon which cometh from the rock of the field? or shall the cold flowing waters that come from another place be forsaken?
15 Because my people hath forgotten me, they have burned incense to vanity, and they have caused them to stumble in their ways from the ancient paths, to walk in paths, in a way not cast up;
16 To make their land desolate, and a perpetual hissing; every one that passeth thereby shall be astonished, and wag his head.
17 I will scatter them as with an east wind before the enemy; I will shew them the back, and not the face, in the day of their calamity.
18 Then said they, Come and let us devise devices against Jeremiah; for the law shall not perish from the priest, nor counsel from the wise, nor the word from the prophet. Come, and let us smite him with the tongue, and let us not give heed to any of his words.
19 Give heed to me, O LORD, and hearken to the voice of them that contend with me.
20 Shall evil be recompensed for good? for they have digged a pit for my soul. Remember that I stood before thee to speak good for them, and to turn away thy wrath from them.
21 Therefore deliver up their children to the famine, and pour out their blood by the force of the sword; and let their wives be bereaved of their children, and be widows; and let their men be put to death; let their young men be slain by the sword in battle.
22 Let a cry be heard from their houses, when thou shalt bring a troop suddenly upon them: for they have digged a pit to take me, and hid snares for my feet.
23 Yet, LORD, thou knowest all their counsel against me to slay me: forgive not their iniquity, neither blot out their sin from thy sight, but let them be overthrown before thee; deal thus with them in the time of thine anger.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 19

1 Thus saith the LORD, Go and get a potter's earthen bottle, and take of the ancients of the people, and of the ancients of the priests;
2 And go forth unto the valley of the son of Hinnom, which is by the entry of the east gate, and proclaim there the words that I shall tell thee,
3 And say, Hear ye the word of the LORD, O kings of Judah, and inhabitants of Jerusalem; Thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel; Behold, I will bring evil upon this place, the which whosoever heareth, his ears shall tingle.
4 Because they have forsaken me, and have estranged this place, and have burned incense in it unto other gods, whom neither they nor their fathers have known, nor the kings of Judah, and have filled this place with the blood of innocents;
5 They have built also the high places of Baal, to burn their sons with fire for burnt offerings unto Baal, which I commanded not, nor spake it, neither came it into my mind:
6 Therefore, behold, the days come, saith the LORD, that this place shall no more be called Tophet, nor The valley of the son of Hinnom, but The valley of slaughter.
7 And I will make void the counsel of Judah and Jerusalem in this place; and I will cause them to fall by the sword before their enemies, and by the hands of them that seek their lives: and their carcases will I give to be meat for the fowls of the heaven, and for the beasts of the earth.
8 And I will make this city desolate, and an hissing; every one that passeth thereby shall be astonished and hiss because of all the plagues thereof.
9 And I will cause them to eat the flesh of their sons and the flesh of their daughters, and they shall eat every one the flesh of his friend in the siege and straitness, wherewith their enemies, and they that seek their lives, shall straiten them.
10 Then shalt thou break the bottle in the sight of the men that go with thee,
11 And shalt say unto them, Thus saith the LORD of hosts; Even so will I break this people and this city, as one breaketh a potter's vessel, that cannot be made whole again: and they shall bury them in Tophet, till there be no place to bury.
12 Thus will I do unto this place, saith the LORD, and to the inhabitants thereof, and even make this city as Tophet:
13 And the houses of Jerusalem, and the houses of the kings of Judah, shall be defiled as the place of Tophet, because of all the houses upon whose roofs they have burned incense unto all the host of heaven, and have poured out drink offerings unto other gods.
14 Then came Jeremiah from Tophet, whither the LORD had sent him to prophesy; and he stood in the court of the LORD's house; and said to all the people,
15 Thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel; Behold, I will bring upon this city and upon all her towns all the evil that I have pronounced against it, because they have hardened their necks, that they might not hear my words.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 20

1 Now Pashur the son of Immer the priest, who was also chief governor in the house of the LORD, heard that Jeremiah prophesied these things.
2 Then Pashur smote Jeremiah the prophet, and put him in the stocks that were in the high gate of Benjamin, which was by the house of the LORD.
3 And it came to pass on the morrow, that Pashur brought forth Jeremiah out of the stocks. Then said Jeremiah unto him, The LORD hath not called thy name Pashur, but Magormissabib.
4 For thus saith the LORD, Behold, I will make thee a terror to thyself, and to all thy friends: and they shall fall by the sword of their enemies, and thine eyes shall behold it: and I will give all Judah into the hand of the king of Babylon, and he shall carry them captive into Babylon, and shall slay them with the sword.
5 Moreover I will deliver all the strength of this city, and all the labours thereof, and all the precious things thereof, and all the treasures of the kings of Judah will I give into the hand of their enemies, which shall spoil them, and take them, and carry them to Babylon.
6 And thou, Pashur, and all that dwell in thine house shall go into captivity: and thou shalt come to Babylon, and there thou shalt die, and shalt be buried there, thou, and all thy friends, to whom thou hast prophesied lies.
7 O LORD, thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived; thou art stronger than I, and hast prevailed: I am in derision daily, every one mocketh me.
8 For since I spake, I cried out, I cried violence and spoil; because the word of the LORD was made a reproach unto me, and a derision, daily.
9 Then I said, I will not make mention of him, nor speak any more in his name. But his word was in mine heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not stay.
10 For I heard the defaming of many, fear on every side. Report, say they, and we will report it. All my familiars watched for my halting, saying, Peradventure he will be enticed, and we shall prevail against him, and we shall take our revenge on him.
11 But the LORD is with me as a mighty terrible one: therefore my persecutors shall stumble, and they shall not prevail: they shall be greatly ashamed; for they shall not prosper: their everlasting confusion shall never be forgotten.
12 But, O LORD of hosts, that triest the righteous, and seest the reins and the heart, let me see thy vengeance on them: for unto thee have I opened my cause.
13 Sing unto the LORD, praise ye the LORD: for he hath delivered the soul of the poor from the hand of evildoers.
14 Cursed be the day wherein I was born: let not the day wherein my mother bare me be blessed.
15 Cursed be the man who brought tidings to my father, saying, A man child is born unto thee; making him very glad.
16 And let that man be as the cities which the LORD overthrew, and repented not: and let him hear the cry in the morning, and the shouting at noontide;
17 Because he slew me not from the womb; or that my mother might have been my grave, and her womb to be always great with me.
18 Wherefore came I forth out of the womb to see labour and sorrow, that my days should be consumed with shame?

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 21

1 The word which came unto Jeremiah from the LORD, when king Zedekiah sent unto him Pashur the son of Melchiah, and Zephaniah the son of Maaseiah the priest, saying,
2 Enquire, I pray thee, of the LORD for us; for Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon maketh war against us; if so be that the LORD will deal with us according to all his wondrous works, that he may go up from us.
3 Then said Jeremiah unto them, Thus shall ye say to Zedekiah:
4 Thus saith the LORD God of Israel; Behold, I will turn back the weapons of war that are in your hands, wherewith ye fight against the king of Babylon, and against the Chaldeans, which besiege you without the walls, and I will assemble them into the midst of this city.
5 And I myself will fight against you with an outstretched hand and with a strong arm, even in anger, and in fury, and in great wrath.
6 And I will smite the inhabitants of this city, both man and beast: they shall die of a great pestilence.
7 And afterward, saith the LORD, I will deliver Zedekiah king of Judah, and his servants, and the people, and such as are left in this city from the pestilence, from the sword, and from the famine, into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon, and into the hand of their enemies, and into the hand of those that seek their life: and he shall smite them with the edge of the sword; he shall not spare them, neither have pity, nor have mercy.
8 And unto this people thou shalt say, Thus saith the LORD; Behold, I set before you the way of life, and the way of death.
9 He that abideth in this city shall die by the sword, and by the famine, and by the pestilence: but he that goeth out, and falleth to the Chaldeans that besiege you, he shall live, and his life shall be unto him for a prey.
10 For I have set my face against this city for evil, and not for good, saith the LORD: it shall be given into the hand of the king of Babylon, and he shall burn it with fire.
11 And touching the house of the king of Judah, say, Hear ye the word of the LORD;
12 O house of David, thus saith the LORD; Execute judgement in the morning, and deliver him that is spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor, lest my fury go out like fire, and burn that none can quench it, because of the evil of your doings.
13 Behold, I am against thee, O inhabitant of the valley, and rock of the plain, saith the LORD; which say, Who shall come down against us? or who shall enter into our habitations?

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14 But I will punish you according to the fruit of your doings, saith the LORD: and I will kindle a fire in the forest thereof, and it shall devour all things round about it.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 22

1 Thus saith the LORD; Go down to the house of the king of Judah, and speak there this word,

2 And say, Hear the word of the LORD, O king of Judah, that sittest upon the throne of David, thou, and thy servants, and thy people that enter in by these gates:

3 Thus saith the LORD; Execute ye judgement and righteousness, and deliver the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor: and do no wrong, do no violence to the stranger, the fatherless, nor the widow, neither shed innocent blood in this place.

4 For if ye do this thing indeed, then shall there enter in by the gates of this house kings sitting upon the throne of David, riding in chariots and on horses, he, and his servants, and his people.

5 But if ye will not hear these words, I swear by myself, saith the LORD, that this house shall become a desolation.

6 For thus saith the LORD unto the king's house of Judah; Thou art Gilead unto me, and the head of Lebanon: yet surely I will make thee a wilderness, and cities which are not inhabited.

7 And I will prepare destroyers against thee, every one with his weapons: and they shall cut down thy choice cedars, and cast them into the fire.

8 And many nations shall pass by this city, and they shall say every man to his neighbour, Wherefore hath the LORD done thus unto this great city?

9 Then they shall answer, Because they have forsaken the covenant of the LORD their God, and worshipped other gods, and served them.

10 Weep ye not for the dead, neither bemoan him: but weep sore for him that goeth away: for he shall return no more, nor see his native country.

11 For thus saith the LORD touching Shallum the son of Josiah king of Judah, which reigned instead of Josiah his father, which went forth out of this place; He shall not return thither any more:

12 But he shall die in the place whither they have led him captive, and shall see this land no more.

13 Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong; that useth his neighbour's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work;

14 That saith, I will build me a wide house and large chambers, and cutteth him out windows; and it is cieled with cedar, and painted with vermilion.

15 Shalt thou reign, because thou closest thyself in cedar? did not thy father eat and drink, and do judgement and justice, and then it was well with him?

16 He judged the cause of the poor and needy; then it was well with him: was not this to know me? saith the LORD.

17 But thine eyes and thine heart are not but for thy covetousness, and for to shed innocent blood, and for oppression, and for violence, to do it.

18 Therefore thus saith the LORD concerning Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah; They shall not lament for him, saying, Ah my brother! or, Ah sister! they shall not lament for him, saying, Ah lord! or, Ah his glory!

19 He shall be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem.

20 Go up to Lebanon, and cry; and lift up thy voice in Bashan, and cry from the passages: for all thy lovers are destroyed.

21 I spake unto thee in thy prosperity; but thou saidst, I will not hear. This hath been thy manner from thy youth, that thou obeyedst not my voice.

22 The wind shall eat up all thy pastors, and thy lovers shall go into captivity: surely then shalt thou be ashamed and confounded for all thy wickedness.

23 O inhabitant of Lebanon, that makest thy nest in the cedars, how gracious shalt thou be when pangs come upon thee, the pain as of a woman in travail!

24 As I live, saith the LORD, though Coniah the son of Jehoiakim king of Judah were the signet upon my right hand, yet would I pluck thee thence;

25 And I will give thee into the hand of them that seek thy life, and into the hand of them whose face thou fearest, even into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon, and into the hand of the Chaldeans.

26 And I will cast thee out, and thy mother that bare thee, into another country, where ye were not born; and there shall ye die.

27 But to the land whereunto they desire to return, thither shall they not return.

28 Is this man Coniah a despised broken idol? is he a vessel wherein is no pleasure? wherefore are they cast out, he and his seed, and are cast into a land which they know not?

29 O earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the LORD.

30 Thus saith the LORD, Write ye this man childless, a man that shall not prosper in his days: for no man of his seed shall prosper, sitting upon the throne of David, and ruling any more in Judah.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 23

1 Woe be unto the pastors that destroy and scatter the sheep of my pasture! saith the LORD.

2 Therefore thus saith the LORD God of Israel against the pastors that feed my people; Ye have scattered my flock, and driven them away, and have not visited them: behold, I will visit upon you the evil of your doings, saith the LORD.

3 And I will gather the remnant of my flock out of all countries whither I have driven them, and will bring them again to their folds; and they shall be fruitful and increase.

4 And I will set up shepherds over them which shall feed them: and they shall fear no more, nor be dismayed, neither shall they be lacking, saith the LORD.

5 Behold, the days come, saith the LORD, that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch, and a King shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgement and justice in the earth.

6 In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely: and this is his name whereby he shall be called, THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS.

7 Therefore, behold, the days come, saith the LORD, that they shall no more say, The LORD liveth, which brought up the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt;

8 But, The LORD liveth, which brought up and which led the seed of the house of Israel out of the north country, and from all countries whither I had driven them; and they shall dwell in their own land.

9 Mine heart within me is broken because of the prophets; all my bones shake; I am like a drunken man, and like a man whom wine hath overcome, because of the LORD, and because of the words of his holiness.

10 For the land is full of adulterers; for because of swearing the land mourneth; the pleasant places of the wilderness are dried up, and their course is evil, and their force is not right.

11 For both prophet and priest are profane; yea, in my house have I found their wickedness, saith the LORD.

12 Wherefore their way shall be unto them as slippery ways in the darkness: they shall be driven on, and fall therein: for I will bring evil upon them, even the year of their visitation, saith the LORD.

13 And I have seen folly in the prophets of Samaria; they prophesied in Baal, and caused my people Israel to err.

14 I have seen also in the prophets of Jerusalem an horrible thing: they commit adultery, and walk in lies: they strengthen also the hands of evildoers, that none doth return from his wickedness; they are all of them unto me as Sodom, and the inhabitants thereof as Gomorrah.

15 Therefore thus saith the LORD of hosts concerning the prophets; Behold, I will feed them with wormwood, and make them drink the water of gall: for from the prophets of Jerusalem is profaneness gone forth into all the land.

16 Thus saith the LORD of hosts, Hearken not unto the words of the prophets that prophesy unto you: they make you vain: they speak a vision of their own heart, and not out of the mouth of the LORD.

17 They say still unto them that despise me, The LORD hath said, Ye shall have peace; and they say unto every one that walketh after the imagination of his own heart, No evil shall come upon you.

18 For who hath stood in the counsel of the LORD, and hath perceived and heard his word? who hath marked his word, and heard it?

19 Behold, a whirlwind of the LORD is gone forth in fury, even a grievous whirlwind: it shall fall grievously upon the head of the wicked.

20 The anger of the LORD shall not return, until he have executed, and till he have performed the thoughts of his heart: in the latter days ye shall consider it perfectly.

21 I have not sent these prophets, yet they ran: I have not spoken to them, yet they prophesied.

22 But if they had stood in my counsel, and had caused my people to hear my words, then they should have turned them from their evil way, and from the evil of their doings.

23 Am I a God at hand, saith the LORD, and not a God afar off?

24 Can any hide himself in secret places that I shall not see him? saith the LORD. Do not I fill heaven and earth? saith the LORD.

25 I have heard what the prophets said, that prophesy lies in my name, saying, I have dreamed, I have dreamed.

26 How long shall this be in the heart of the prophets that prophesy lies? yea, they are prophets of the deceit of their own heart;

27 Which think to cause my people to forget my name by their dreams which they tell every man to his neighbour, as their fathers have forgotten my name for Baal.

28 The prophet that hath a dream, let him tell a dream; and he that hath my word, let him speak my word faithfully. What is the chaff to the wheat? saith the LORD.

29 Is not my word like as a fire? saith the LORD; and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?

30 Therefore, behold, I am against the prophets, saith the LORD, that steal my words every one from his neighbour.

31 Behold, I am against the prophets, saith the LORD, that use their tongues, and say, He saith.

32 Behold, I am against them that prophesy false dreams, saith the LORD, and do tell them, and cause my people to err by their lies, and by their lightness; yet I sent them not, nor commanded them: therefore they shall not profit this people at all, saith the LORD.

33 And when this people, or the prophet, or a priest, shall ask thee, saying, What is the burden of the LORD? thou shalt then say unto them, What burden? I will even forsake you, saith the LORD.

34 And as for the prophet, and the priest, and the people, that shall say, The burden of the LORD, I will even punish that man and his house.

35 Thus shall ye say every one to his neighbour, and every one to his brother, What hath the LORD answered? and, What hath the LORD spoken?

36 And the burden of the LORD shall ye mention no more: for every man's word shall be his burden; for ye have perverted the words of the living God, of the LORD of hosts our God.

37 Thus shalt thou say to the prophet, What hath the LORD answered thee? and, What hath the LORD spoken?

38 But since ye say, The burden of the LORD; therefore thus saith the LORD; Because ye say this word, The burden of the LORD, and I have sent unto you, saying, Ye shall not say, The burden of the LORD;

39 Therefore, behold, I, even I, will utterly forget you, and I will forsake you, and the city that I gave you and your fathers, and cast you out of my presence:

40 And I will bring an everlasting reproach upon you, and a perpetual shame, which shall not be forgotten.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 24

1 The LORD shewed me, and, behold, two baskets of figs were set before the temple of the LORD, after that Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon had carried away captive Jeconiah the son of Jehoiakim king of Judah, and the princes of Judah, with the carpenters and smiths, from Jerusalem, and had brought them to Babylon.

2 One basket had very good figs, even like the figs that are first ripe: and the other basket had very naughty figs, which could not be eaten, they were so bad.

3 Then said the LORD unto me, What seest thou, Jeremiah? And I said, Figs; the good figs, very good; and the evil, very evil, that cannot be eaten, they are so evil.

4 Again the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

5 Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel; Like these good figs, so will I acknowledge them that are carried away captive of Judah, whom I have sent out of this place into the land of the Chaldeans for their good.

6 For I will set mine eyes upon them for good, and I will bring them again to this land: and I will build them, and not pull them down; and I will plant them, and not pluck them up.

7 And I will give them an heart to know me, that I am the LORD: and they shall be my people, and I will be their God: for they shall return unto me with their whole heart.

8 And as the evil figs, which cannot be eaten, they are so evil; surely thus saith the LORD, So will I give Zedekiah the king of Judah, and his princes, and the residue of Jerusalem, that remain in this land, and them that dwell in the land of Egypt:

9 And I will deliver them to be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth for their hurt, to be a reproach and a proverb, a taunt and a curse, in all places whither I shall drive them.

10 And I will send the sword, the famine, and the pestilence, among them, till they be consumed from off the land that I gave unto them and to their fathers.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 25

1 The word that came to Jeremiah concerning all the people of Judah in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah, that was the first year of Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon;

2 The which Jeremiah the prophet spake unto all the people of Judah, and to all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, saying,

3 From the thirteenth year of Josiah the son of Amon king of Judah, even unto this day, that is the three and twentieth year, the word of the LORD hath come unto me, and I have spoken unto you, rising early and speaking; but ye have not hearkened.

4 And the LORD hath sent unto you all his servants the prophets, rising early and sending them; but ye have not hearkened, nor inclined your ear to hear.

5 They said, Turn ye again now every one from his evil way, and from the evil of your doings, and dwell in the land that the LORD hath given unto you and to your fathers for ever and ever:

6 And go not after other gods to serve them, and to worship them, and provoke me not to anger with the works of your hands; and I will do you no hurt.

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7 Yet ye have not hearkened unto me, saith the LORD; that ye might provoke me to anger with the works of your hands to your own hurt.
8 Therefore thus saith the LORD of hosts; Because ye have not heard my words,
9 Behold, I will send and take all the families of the north, saith the LORD, and Nebuchadrezzar the king of Babylon, my servant, and will bring them against this land, and against the inhabitants thereof, and against all these nations round about, and will utterly destroy them, and make them an astonishment, and an hissing, and perpetual desolations.
10 Moreover I will take from them the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom, and the voice of the bride, the sound of the millstones, and the light of the candle.
11 And this whole land shall be a desolation, and an astonishment; and these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years.
12 And it shall come to pass, when seventy years are accomplished, that I will punish the king of Babylon, and that nation, saith the LORD, for their iniquity, and the land of the Chaldeans, and will make it perpetual desolations.
13 And I will bring upon that land all my words which I have pronounced against it, even all that is written in this book, which Jeremiah hath prophesied against all the nations.
14 For many nations and great kings shall serve themselves of them also: and I will recompense them according to their deeds, and according to the works of their own hands.
15 For thus saith the LORD God of Israel unto me; Take the wine cup of this fury at my hand, and cause all the nations, to whom I send thee, to drink it.
16 And they shall drink, and be moved, and be mad, because of the sword that I will send among them.
17 Then took I the cup at the LORD's hand, and made all the nations to drink, unto whom the LORD had sent me:
18 To wit, Jerusalem, and the cities of Judah, and the kings thereof, and the princes thereof, to make them a desolation, an astonishment, an hissing, and a curse; as it is this day;
19 Pharaoh king of Egypt, and his servants, and his princes, and all his people;
20 And all the mingled people, and all the kings of the land of Uz, and all the kings of the land of the Philistines, and Ashkelon, and Azzah, and Ekron, and the remnant of Ashdod,
21 Edom, and Moab, and the children of Ammon,
22 And all the kings of Tyrus, and all the kings of Zidon, and the kings of the isles which are beyond the sea,
23 Dedan, and Tema, and Buz, and all that are in the utmost corners,
24 And all the kings of Arabia, and all the kings of the mingled people that dwell in the desert,
25 And all the kings of Zimri, and all the kings of Elam, and all the kings of the Medes,
26 And all the kings of the north, far and near, one with another, and all the kingdoms of the world, which are upon the face of the earth: and the king of Sheshach shall drink after them.
27 Therefore thou shalt say unto them, Thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel; Drink ye, and be drunken, and spue, and fall, and rise no more, because of the sword which I will send among you.
28 And it shall be, if they refuse to take the cup at thine hand to drink, then shalt thou say unto them, Thus saith the LORD of hosts; Ye shall certainly drink.
29 For, lo, I begin to bring evil on the city which is called by my name, and should ye be utterly unpunished? Ye shall not be unpunished: for I will call for a sword upon all the inhabitants of the earth, saith the LORD of hosts.
30 Therefore prophesy thou against them all these words, and say unto them, The LORD shall roar from on high, and utter his voice from his holy habitation; he shall mightily roar upon his habitation; he shall give a shout, as they that tread the grapes, against all the inhabitants of the earth.
31 A noise shall come even to the ends of the earth; for the LORD hath a controversy with the nations, he will plead with all flesh; he will give them that are wicked to the sword, saith the LORD.
32 Thus saith the LORD of hosts, Behold, evil shall go forth from nation to nation, and a great whirlwind shall be raised up from the coasts of the earth.
33 And the slain of the LORD shall be at that day from one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth: they shall not be lamented, neither gathered, nor buried; they shall be dung upon the ground.
34 Howl, ye shepherds, and cry; and wallow yourselves in the ashes, ye principal of the flock: for the days of your slaughter and of your dispersions are accomplished; and ye shall fall like a pleasant vessel.
35 And the shepherds shall have no way to flee, nor the principal of the flock to escape.
36 A voice of the cry of the shepherds, and an howling of the principal of the flock, shall be heard: for the LORD hath spoiled their pasture.
37 And the peaceable habitations are cut down because of the fierce anger of the LORD.
38 He hath forsaken his covert, as the lion: for their land is desolate because of the fierceness of the oppressor, and because of his fierce anger.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 26

1 In the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah came this word from the LORD, saying,
2 Thus saith the LORD; Stand in the court of the LORD's house, and speak unto all the cities of Judah, which come to worship in the LORD's house, all the words that I command thee to speak unto them; diminish not a word:
3 If so be they will hearken, and turn every man from his evil way, that I may repent me of the evil, which I purpose to do unto them because of the evil of their doings.
4 And thou shalt say unto them, Thus saith the LORD; If ye will not hearken to me, to walk in my law, which I have set before you,
5 To hearken to the words of my servants the prophets, whom I sent unto you, both rising up early, and sending them, but ye have not hearkened;
6 Then will I make this house like Shiloh, and will make this city a curse to all the nations of the earth.
7 So the priests and the prophets and all the people heard Jeremiah speaking these words in the house of the LORD.
8 Now it came to pass, when Jeremiah had made an end of speaking all that the LORD had commanded him to speak unto all the people, that the priests and the prophets and all the people took him, saying, Thou shalt surely die.
9 Why hast thou prophesied in the name of the LORD, saying, This house shall be like Shiloh, and this city shall be desolate without an inhabitant? And all the people were gathered against Jeremiah in the house of the LORD.
10 When the princes of Judah heard these things, then they came up from the king's house unto the house of the LORD, and sat down in the entry of the new gate of the LORD's house.
11 Then spake the priests and the prophets unto the princes and to all the people, saying, This man is worthy to die; for he hath prophesied against this city, as ye have heard with your ears.
12 Then spake Jeremiah unto all the princes and to all the people, saying, The LORD sent me to prophesy against this house and against this city all the words that ye have heard.
13 Therefore now amend your ways and your doings, and obey the voice of the LORD your God; and the LORD will repent him of the evil that he hath pronounced against you.
14 As for me, behold, I am in your hand: do with me as seemeth good and meet unto you.
15 But know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon yourselves, and upon this city, and upon the inhabitants thereof: for of a truth the LORD hath sent me unto you to speak all these words in your ears.
16 Then said the princes and all the people unto the priests and to the prophets; This man is not worthy to die: for he hath spoken to us in the name of the LORD our God.
17 Then rose up certain of the elders of the land, and spake to all the assembly of the people, saying,
18 Micah the Morasthite prophesied in the days of Hezekiah king of Judah, and spake to all the people of Judah, saying, Thus saith the LORD of hosts; Zion shall be plowed like a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of a forest.
19 Did Hezekiah king of Judah and all Judah put him at all to death? did he not fear the LORD, and besought the LORD, and the LORD repented him of the evil which he had pronounced against them? Thus might we procure great evil against our souls.
20 And there was also a man that prophesied in the name of the LORD, Urijah the son of Shemaiah of Kirjathjearim, who prophesied against this city and against this land according to all the words of Jeremiah.
21 And when Jehoiakim the king, with all his mighty men, and all the princes, heard his words, the king sought to put him to death: but when Urijah heard it, he was afraid, and fled, and went into Egypt;
22 And Jehoiakim the king sent men into Egypt, namely, Elnathan the son of Achbor, and certain men with him into Egypt.
23 And they fetched forth Urijah out of Egypt, and brought him unto Jehoiakim the king; who slew him with the sword, and cast his dead body into the graves of the common people.
24 Nevertheless the hand of Ahikam the son of Shaphan was with Jeremiah, that they should not give him into the hand of the people to put him to death.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 27

1 In the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah came this word unto Jeremiah from the LORD, saying,
2 Thus saith the LORD to me; Make thee bonds and yokes, and put them upon thy neck,
3 And send them to the king of Edom, and to the king of Moab, and to the king of the Ammonites, and to the king of Tyrus, and to the king of Zidon, by the hand of the messengers which come to Jerusalem unto Zedekiah king of Judah;
4 And command them to say unto their masters, Thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel; Thus shall ye say unto your masters;
5 I have made the earth, the man and the beast that are upon the ground, by my great power and by my outstretched arm, and have given it unto whom it seemed meet unto me.
6 And now have I given all these lands into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, my servant; and the beasts of the field have I given him also to serve him.
7 And all nations shall serve him, and his son, and his son's son, until the very time of his land come: and then many nations and great kings shall serve themselves of him.
8 And it shall come to pass, that the nation and kingdom which will not serve the same Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, and that will not put their neck under the yoke of the king of Babylon, that nation will I punish, saith the LORD, with the sword, and with the famine, and with the pestilence, until I have consumed them by his hand.
9 Therefore hearken not ye to your prophets, nor to your diviners, nor to your dreamers, nor to your enchanters, nor to your sorcerers, which speak unto you, saying, Ye shall not serve the king of Babylon:
10 For they prophesy a lie unto you, to remove you far from your land; and that I should drive you out, and ye should perish.
11 But the nations that bring their neck under the yoke of the king of Babylon, and serve him, those will I let remain still in their own land, saith the LORD; and they shall till it, and dwell therein.
12 I spake also to Zedekiah king of Judah according to all these words, saying, Bring your necks under the yoke of the king of Babylon, and serve him and his people, and live.
13 Why will ye die, thou and thy people, by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence, as the LORD hath spoken against the nation that will not serve the king of Babylon?
14 Therefore hearken not unto the words of the prophets that speak unto you, saying, Ye shall not serve the king of Babylon: for they prophesy a lie unto you.
15 For I have not sent them, saith the LORD, yet they prophesy a lie in my name; that I might drive you out, and that ye might perish, ye, and the prophets that prophesy unto you.
16 Also I spake to the priests and to all this people, saying, Thus saith the LORD; Hearken not to the words of your prophets that prophesy unto you, saying, Behold, the vessels of the LORD's house shall now shortly be brought again from Babylon: for they prophesy a lie unto you.
17 Hearken not unto them; serve the king of Babylon, and live: wherefore should this city be laid waste?
18 But if they be prophets, and if the word of the LORD be with them, let them now make intercession to the LORD of hosts, that the vessels which are left in the house of the LORD, and in the house of the king of Judah, and at Jerusalem, go not to Babylon.
19 For thus saith the LORD of hosts concerning the pillars, and concerning the sea, and concerning the bases, and concerning the residue of the vessels that remain in this city.
20 Which Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon took not, when he carried away captive Jeconiah the son of Jehoiakim king of Judah from Jerusalem to Babylon, and all the nobles of Judah and Jerusalem;
21 Yea, thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel, concerning the vessels that remain in the house of the LORD, and in the house of the king of Judah and of Jerusalem;
22 They shall be carried to Babylon, and there shall they be until the day that I visit them, saith the LORD; then will I bring them up, and restore them to this place.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 28

1 And it came to pass the same year, in the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah king of Judah, in the fourth year, and in the fifth month, that Hananiah the son of Azur the prophet, which was of Gibeon, spake unto me in the house of the LORD, in the presence of the priests and of all the people, saying,
2 Thus speaketh the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel, saying, I have broken the yoke of the king of Babylon.
3 Within two full years will I bring again into this place all the vessels of the LORD's house, that Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon took away from this place, and carried them to Babylon:
4 And I will bring again to this place Jeconiah the son of Jehoiakim king of Judah, with all the captives of Judah, that went into Babylon, saith the LORD: for I will break the yoke of the king of Babylon.
5 Then the prophet Jeremiah said unto the prophet Hananiah in the presence of the priests, and in the presence of all the people that stood in the house of the LORD,
6 Even the prophet Jeremiah said, Amen: the LORD do so: the LORD perform thy words which thou hast prophesied, to

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bring again the vessels of the LORD's house, and all that is carried away captive, from Babylon into this place.

7 Nevertheless hear thou now this word that I speak in thine ears, and in the ears of all the people;

8 The prophets that have been before me and before thee of old prophesied both against many countries, and against great kingdoms, of war, and of evil, and of pestilence.

9 The prophet which prophesieth of peace, when the word of the prophet shall come to pass, then shall the prophet be known, that the LORD hath truly sent him.

10 Then Hananiah the prophet took the yoke from off the prophet Jeremiah's neck, and brake it.

11 And Hananiah spake in the presence of all the people, saying, Thus saith the LORD; Even so will I break the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon from the neck of all nations within the space of two full years. And the prophet Jeremiah went his way.

12 Then the word of the LORD came unto Jeremiah the prophet, after that Hananiah the prophet had broken the yoke from off the neck of the prophet Jeremiah, saying,

13 Go and tell Hananiah, saying, Thus saith the LORD; Thou hast broken the yokes of wood; but thou shalt make for them yokes of iron.

14 For thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel; I have put a yoke of iron upon the neck of all these nations, that they may serve Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon; and they shall serve him: and I have given him the beasts of the field also.

15 Then said the prophet Jeremiah unto Hananiah the prophet, Hear now, Hananiah; The LORD hath not sent thee; but thou makest this people to trust in a lie.

16 Therefore thus saith the LORD; Behold, I will cast thee from off the face of the earth: this year thou shalt die, because thou hast taught rebellion against the LORD.

17 So Hananiah the prophet died the same year in the seventh month.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 29

1 Now these are the words of the letter that Jeremiah the prophet sent from Jerusalem unto the residue of the elders which were carried away captives, and to the priests, and to the prophets, and to all the people whom Nebuchadnezzar had carried away captive from Jerusalem to Babylon;

2 (After that Jeconiah the king, and the queen, and the eunuchs, the princes of Judah and Jerusalem, and the carpenters, and the smiths, were departed from Jerusalem;)

3 By the hand of Elasah the son of Shaphan, and Gemariah the son of Hilkiah, (whom Zedekiah king of Judah sent unto Babylon to Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon) saying,

4 Thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel, unto all that are carried away captives, whom I have caused to be carried away from Jerusalem unto Babylon;

5 Build ye houses, and dwell in them; and plant gardens, and eat the fruit of them;

6 Take ye wives, and beget sons and daughters; and take wives for your sons, and give your daughters to husbands, that they may bear sons and daughters; that ye may be increased there, and not diminished.

7 And seek the peace of the city whither I have caused you to be carried away captives, and pray unto the LORD for it: for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace.

8 For thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel; Let not your prophets and your diviners, that be in the midst of you, deceive you, neither hearken to your dreams which ye cause to be dreamed.

9 For they prophesy falsely unto you in my name: I have not sent them, saith the LORD.

10 For thus saith the LORD, That after seventy years be accomplished at Babylon I will visit you, and perform my good word toward you, in causing you to return to this place.

11 For I know the thoughts that I think toward you, saith the LORD, thoughts of peace, and not of evil, to give you an expected end.

12 Then shall ye call upon me, and ye shall go and pray unto me, and I will hearken unto you.

13 And ye shall seek me, and find me, when ye shall search for me with all your heart.

14 And I will be found of you, saith the LORD: and I will turn away your captivity, and I will gather you from all the nations, and from all the places whither I have driven you, saith the LORD; and I will bring you again into the place whence I caused you to be carried away captive.

15 Because ye have said, The LORD hath raised us up prophets in Babylon;

16 Know that thus saith the LORD of the king that sitteth upon the throne of David, and of all the people that dwelleth in this city, and of your brethren that are not gone forth with you into captivity;

17 Thus saith the LORD of hosts; Behold, I will send upon them the sword, the famine, and the pestilence, and will make them like vile figs, that cannot be eaten, they are so evil.

18 And I will persecute them with the sword, with the famine, and with the pestilence, and will deliver them to be removed to all the kingdoms of the earth, to be a curse, and an astonishment, and an hissing, and a reproach, among all the nations whither I have driven them:

19 Because they have not hearkened to my words, saith the LORD, which I sent unto them by my servants the prophets, rising up early and sending them; but ye would not hear, saith the LORD.

20 Hear ye therefore the word of the LORD, all ye of the captivity, whom I have sent from Jerusalem to Babylon:

21 Thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel, of Ahab the son of Kolaiah, and of Zedekiah the son of Maaseiah, which prophesy a lie unto you in my name; Behold, I will deliver them into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon; and he shall slay them before your eyes;

22 And of them shall be taken up a curse by all the captivity of Judah which are in Babylon, saying, The LORD make thee like Zedekiah and like Ahab, whom the king of Babylon roasted in the fire;

23 Because they have committed villany in Israel, and have committed adultery with their neighbours' wives, and have spoken lying words in my name, which I have not commanded them; even I know, and am a witness, saith the LORD.

24 Thus shalt thou also speak to Shemaiah the Nehelamite, saying,

25 Thus speaketh the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel, saying, Because thou hast sent letters in thy name unto all the people that are at Jerusalem, and to Zephaniah the son of Maaseiah the priest, and to all the priests, saying,

26 The LORD hath made thee priest in the stead of Jehoiada the priest, that ye should be officers in the house of the LORD, for every man that is mad, and maketh himself a prophet, that thou shouldest put him in prison, and in the stocks.

27 Now therefore why hast thou not reproved Jeremiah of Anathoth, which maketh himself a prophet to you?

28 For therefore he sent unto us in Babylon, saying, This captivity is long: build ye houses, and dwell in them; and plant gardens, and eat the fruit of them.

29 And Zephaniah the priest read this letter in the ears of Jeremiah the prophet.

30 Then came the word of the LORD unto Jeremiah, saying,

31 Send to all them of the captivity, saying, Thus saith the LORD concerning Shemaiah the Nehelamite; Because that Shemaiah hath prophesied unto you, and I sent him not, and he caused you to trust in a lie:

32 Therefore thus saith the LORD; Behold, I will punish Shemaiah the Nehelamite, and his seed: he shall not have a man to dwell among this people; neither shall he behold the good that I will do for my people, saith the LORD; because he hath taught rebellion against the LORD.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 30

1 The word that came to Jeremiah from the LORD, saying,

2 Thus speaketh the LORD God of Israel, saying, Write thee all the words that I have spoken unto thee in a book.

3 For, lo, the days come, saith the LORD, that I will bring again the captivity of my people Israel and Judah, saith the LORD: and I will cause them to return to the land that I gave to their fathers, and they shall possess it.

4 And these are the words that the LORD spake concerning Israel and concerning Judah.

5 For thus saith the LORD; We have heard a voice of trembling, of fear, and not of peace.

6 Ask ye now, and see whether a man doth travail with child? wherefore do I see every man with his hands on his loins, as a woman in travail, and all faces are turned into paleness?

7 Alas! for that day is great, so that none is like it: it is even the time of Jacob's trouble, but he shall be saved out of it.

8 For it shall come to pass in that day, saith the LORD of hosts, that I will break his yoke from off thy neck, and will burst thy bonds, and strangers shall no more serve themselves of him:

9 But they shall serve the LORD their God, and David their king, whom I will raise up unto them.

10 Therefore fear thou not, O my servant Jacob, saith the LORD; neither be dismayed, O Israel: for, lo, I will save thee from afar, and thy seed from the land of their captivity; and Jacob shall return, and shall be in rest, and be quiet, and none shall make him afraid.

11 For I am with thee, saith the LORD, to save thee: though I make a full end of all nations whither I have scattered thee, yet I will not make a full end of thee: but I will correct thee in measure, and will not leave thee altogether unpunished.

12 For thus saith the LORD, Thy bruise is incurable, and thy wound is grievous.

13 There is none to plead thy cause, that thou mayest be bound up: thou hast no healing medicines.

14 All thy lovers have forgotten thee; they seek thee not; for I have wounded thee with the wound of an enemy, with the chastisement of a cruel one, for the multitude of thine iniquity; because thy sins were increased.

15 Why criest thou for thine affliction? thy sorrow is incurable for the multitude of thine iniquity: because thy sins were increased, I have done these things unto thee.

16 Therefore all they that devour thee shall be devoured; and all thine adversaries, every one of them, shall go into captivity; and they that spoil thee shall be a spoil, and all that prey upon thee will I give for a prey.

17 For I will restore health unto thee, and I will heal thee of thy wounds, saith the LORD; because they called thee an Outcast, saying, This is Zion, whom no man seeketh after.

18 Thus saith the LORD; Behold, I will bring again the captivity of Jacob's tents, and have mercy on his dwellingplaces; and the city shall be builded upon her own heap, and the palace shall remain after the manner thereof.

19 And out of them shall proceed thanksgiving and the voice of them that make merry: and I will multiply them, and they shall not be few; I will also glorify them, and they shall not be small.

20 Their children also shall be as aforetime, and their congregation shall be established before me, and I will punish all that oppress them.

21 And their nobles shall be of themselves, and their governor shall proceed from the midst of them; and I will cause him to draw near, and he shall approach unto me: for who is this that engaged his heart to approach unto me? saith the LORD.

22 And ye shall be my people, and I will be your God.

23 Behold, the whirlwind of the LORD goeth forth with fury, a continuing whirlwind: it shall fall with pain upon the head of the wicked.

24 The fierce anger of the LORD shall not return, until he hath done it, and until he have performed the intents of his heart: in the latter days ye shall consider it.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 31

1 At the same time, saith the LORD, will I be the God of all the families of Israel, and they shall be my people.

2 Thus saith the LORD, The people which were left of the sword found grace in the wilderness; even Israel, when I went to cause him to rest.

3 The LORD hath appeared of old unto me, saying, Yea, I have loved thee with an everlasting love: therefore with lovingkindness have I drawn thee.

4 Again I will build thee, and thou shalt be built, O virgin of Israel: thou shalt again be adorned with thy tabrets, and shalt go forth in the dances of them that make merry.

5 Thou shalt yet plant vines upon the mountains of Samaria: the planters shall plant, and shall eat them as common things.

6 For there shall be a day, that the watchmen upon the mount Ephraim shall cry, Arise ye, and let us go up to Zion unto the LORD our God.

7 For thus saith the LORD; Sing with gladness for Jacob, and shout among the chief of the nations: publish ye, praise ye, and say, O LORD, save thy people, the remnant of Israel.

8 Behold, I will bring them from the north country, and gather them from the coasts of the earth, and with them the blind and the lame, the woman with child and her that travaileth with child together: a great company shall return thither.

9 They shall come with weeping, and with supplications will I lead them: I will cause them to walk by the rivers of waters in a straight way, wherein they shall not stumble: for I am a father to Israel, and Ephraim is my firstborn.

10 Hear the word of the LORD, O ye nations, and declare it in the isles afar off, and say, He that scattered Israel will gather him, and keep him, as a shepherd doth his flock.

11 For the LORD hath redeemed Jacob, and ransomed him from the hand of him that was stronger than he.

12 Therefore they shall come and sing in the height of Zion, and shall flow together to the goodness of the LORD, for wheat, and for wine, and for oil, and for the young of the flock and of the herd: and their soul shall be as a watered garden; and they shall not sorrow any more at all.

13 Then shall the virgin rejoice in the dance, both young men and old together: for I will turn their mourning into joy, and will comfort them, and make them rejoice from their sorrow.

14 And I will satiate the soul of the priests with fatness, and my people shall be satisfied with my goodness, saith the LORD.

15 Thus saith the LORD; A voice was heard in Ramah, lamentation, and bitter weeping; Rahel weeping for her children refused to be comforted for her children, because they were not.

16 Thus saith the LORD; Refrain thy voice from weeping, and thine eyes from tears: for thy work shall be rewarded, saith the LORD; and they shall come again from the land of the enemy.

17 And there is hope in thine end, saith the LORD, that thy children shall come again to their own border.

18 I have surely heard Ephraim bemoaning himself thus; Thou hast chastised me, and I was chastised, as a bullock unaccustomed to the yoke: turn thou me, and I shall be turned; for thou art the LORD my God.

19 Surely after that I was turned, I repented; and after that I was instructed, I smote upon my thigh: I was ashamed, yea, even confounded, because I did bear the reproach of my youth.

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20 Is Ephraim my dear son? is he a pleasant child? for since I spake against him, I do earnestly remember him still: therefore my bowels are troubled for him; I will surely have mercy upon him, saith the LORD.

21 Set thee up waymarks, make thee high heaps: set thine heart toward the highway, even the way which thou wentest: turn again, O virgin of Israel, turn again to these thy cities.

22 How long wilt thou go about, O thou backsliding daughter? for the LORD hath created a new thing in the earth, A woman shall compass a man.

23 Thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel; As yet they shall use this speech in the land of Judah and in the cities thereof, when I shall bring again their captivity; The LORD bless thee, O habitation of justice, and mountain of holiness.

24 And there shall dwell in Judah itself, and in all the cities thereof together, husbandmen, and they that go forth with flocks.

25 For I have satiated the weary soul, and I have replenished every sorrowful soul.

26 Upon this I awaked, and beheld; and my sleep was sweet unto me.

27 Behold, the days come, saith the LORD, that I will sow the house of Israel and the house of Judah with the seed of man, and with the seed of beast.

28 And it shall come to pass, that like as I have watched over them, to pluck up, and to break down, and to throw down, and to destroy, and to afflict; so will I watch over them, to build, and to plant, saith the LORD.

29 In those days they shall say no more, The fathers have eaten a sour grape, and the children's teeth are set on edge.

30 But every one shall die for his own iniquity: every man that eateth the sour grape, his teeth shall be set on edge.

31 Behold, the days come, saith the LORD, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah:

32 Not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt; which my covenant they brake, although I was an husband unto them, saith the LORD:

33 But this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel; After those days, saith the LORD, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts; and will be their God, and they shall be my people.

34 And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the LORD: for they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the LORD: for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more.

35 Thus saith the LORD, which giveth the sun for a light by day, and the ordinances of the moon and of the stars for a light by night, which divideth the sea when the waves thereof roar; The LORD of hosts is his name:

36 If those ordinances depart from before me, saith the LORD, then the seed of Israel also shall cease from being a nation before me for ever.

37 Thus saith the LORD; If heaven above can be measured, and the foundations of the earth searched out beneath, I will also cast off all the seed of Israel for all that they have done, saith the LORD.

38 Behold, the days come, saith the LORD, that the city shall be built to the LORD from the tower of Hananeel unto the gate of the corner.

39 And the measuring line shall yet go forth over against it upon the hill Gareb, and shall compass about to Goath.

40 And the whole valley of the dead bodies, and of the ashes, and all the fields unto the brook of Kidron, unto the corner of the horse gate toward the east, shall be holy unto the LORD; it shall not be plucked up, nor thrown down any more for ever.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 32

1 The word that came to Jeremiah from the LORD in the tenth year of Zedekiah king of Judah, which was the eighteenth year of Nebuchadrezzar.

2 For then the king of Babylon's army besieged Jerusalem: and Jeremiah the prophet was shut up in the court of the prison, which was in the king of Judah's house.

3 For Zedekiah king of Judah had shut him up, saying, Wherefore dost thou prophesy, and say, Thus saith the LORD, Behold, I will give this city into the hand of the king of Babylon, and he shall take it;

4 And Zedekiah king of Judah shall not escape out of the hand of the Chaldeans, but shall surely be delivered into the hand of the king of Babylon, and shall speak with him mouth to mouth, and his eyes shall behold his eyes;

5 And he shall lead Zedekiah to Babylon, and there shall he be until I visit him, saith the LORD: though ye fight with the Chaldeans, ye shall not prosper.

6 And Jeremiah said, The word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

7 Behold, Hanameel the son of Shallum thine uncle shall come unto thee saying, Buy thee my field that is in Anathoth: for the right of redemption is thine to buy it.

8 So Hanameel mine uncle's son came to me in the court of the prison according to the word of the LORD, and said unto me, Buy my field, I pray thee, that is in Anathoth, which is in the country of Benjamin: for the right of inheritance is thine, and the redemption is thine; buy it for thyself. Then I knew that this was the word of the LORD.

9 And I bought the field of Hanameel my uncle's son, that was in Anathoth, and weighed him the money, even seventeen shekels of silver.

10 And I subscribed the evidence, and sealed it, and took witnesses, and weighed him the money in the balances.

11 So I took the evidence of the purchase, both that which was sealed according to the law and custom, and that which was open:

12 And I gave the evidence of the purchase unto Baruch the son of Neriah, the son of Maaseiah, in the sight of Hanameel mine uncle's son, and in the presence of the witnesses that subscribed the book of the purchase, before all the Jews that sat in the court of the prison.

13 And I charged Baruch before them, saying,

14 Thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel; Take these evidences, this evidence of the purchase, both which is sealed, and this evidence which is open; and put them in an earthen vessel, that they may continue many days.

15 For thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel; Houses and fields and vineyards shall be possessed again in this land.

16 Now when I had delivered the evidence of the purchase unto Baruch the son of Neriah, I prayed unto the LORD, saying,

17 Ah Lord GOD! behold, thou hast made the heaven and the earth by thy great power and stretched out arm, and there is nothing too hard for thee:

18 Thou shewest lovingkindness unto thousands, and recompensest the iniquity of the fathers into the bosom of their children after them: the Great, the Mighty God, the LORD of hosts, is his name,

19 Great in counsel, and mighty in work: for thine eyes are open upon all the ways of the sons of men: to give every one according to his ways, and according to the fruit of his doings:

20 Which hast set signs and wonders in the land of Egypt, even unto this day, and in Israel, and among other men; and hast made thee a name, as at this day;

21 And hast brought forth thy people Israel out of the land of Egypt with signs, and with wonders, and with a strong hand, and with a stretched out arm, and with great terror;

22 And hast given them this land, which thou didst swear to their fathers to give them, a land flowing with milk and honey;

23 And they came in, and possessed it; but they obeyed not thy voice, neither walked in thy law; they have done nothing of all that thou commandedst them to do: therefore thou hast caused all this evil to come upon them:

24 Behold the mounts, they are come unto the city to take it; and the city is given into the hand of the Chaldeans, that fight against it, because of the sword, and of the famine, and of the pestilence: and what thou hast spoken is come to pass; and, behold, thou seest it.

25 And thou hast said unto me, O Lord GOD, Buy thee the field for money, and take witnesses; for the city is given into the hand of the Chaldeans.

26 Then came the word of the LORD unto Jeremiah, saying,

27 Behold, I am the LORD, the God of all flesh: is there any thing too hard for me?

28 Therefore thus saith the LORD; Behold, I will give this city into the hand of the Chaldeans, and into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon, and he shall take it:

29 And the Chaldeans, that fight against this city, shall come and set fire on this city, and burn it with the houses, upon whose roofs they have offered incense unto Baal, and poured out drink offerings unto other gods, to provoke me to anger.

30 For the children of Israel and the children of Judah have only done evil before me from their youth: for the children of Israel have only provoked me to anger with the work of their hands, saith the LORD.

31 For this city hath been to me as a provocation of mine anger and of my fury from the day that they built it even unto this day; that I should remove it from before my face,

32 Because of all the evil of the children of Israel and of the children of Judah, which they have done to provoke me to anger, they, their kings, their princes, their priests, and their prophets, and the men of Judah, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

33 And they have turned unto me the back, and not the face: though I taught them, rising up early and teaching them, yet they have not hearkened to receive instruction.

34 But they set their abominations in the house, which is called by my name, to defile it.

35 And they built the high places of Baal, which are in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to cause their sons and their daughters to pass through the fire unto Molech; which I commanded them not, neither came it into my mind, that they should do this abomination, to cause Judah to sin.

36 And now therefore thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel, concerning this city, whereof ye say, It shall be delivered into the hand of the king of Babylon by the sword, and by the famine, and by the pestilence;

37 Behold, I will gather them out of all countries, whither I have driven them in mine anger, and in my fury, and in great wrath; and I will bring them again unto this place, and I will cause them to dwell safely:

38 And they shall be my people, and I will be their God:

39 And I will give them one heart, and one way, that they may fear me for ever, for the good of them, and of their children after them:

40 And I will make an everlasting covenant with them, that I will not turn away from them, to do them good; but I will put my fear in their hearts, that they shall not depart from me.

41 Yea, I will rejoice over them to do them good, and I will plant them in this land assuredly with my whole heart and with my whole soul.

42 For thus saith the LORD; Like as I have brought all this great evil upon this people, so will I bring upon them all the good that I have promised them.

43 And fields shall be bought in this land, whereof ye say, It is desolate without man or beast; it is given into the hand of the Chaldeans.

44 Men shall buy fields for money, and subscribe evidences, and seal them, and take witnesses in the land of Benjamin, and in the places about Jerusalem, and in the cities of Judah, and in the cities of the mountains, and in the cities of the valley, and in the cities of the south: for I will cause their captivity to return, saith the LORD.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 33

1 Moreover the word of the LORD came unto Jeremiah the second time, while he was yet shut up in the court of the prison, saying,

2 Thus saith the LORD the maker thereof, the LORD that formed it, to establish it; the LORD is his name;

3 Call unto me, and I will answer thee, and shew thee great and mighty things, which thou knowest not.

4 For thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel, concerning the houses of this city, and concerning the houses of the kings of Judah, which are thrown down by the mounts, and by the sword;

5 They come to fight with the Chaldeans, but it is to fill them with the dead bodies of men, whom I have slain in mine anger and in my fury, and for all whose wickedness I have hid my face from this city.

6 Behold, I will bring it health and cure, and I will cure them, and will reveal unto them the abundance of peace and truth.

7 And I will cause the captivity of Judah and the captivity of Israel to return, and will build them, as at the first.

8 And I will cleanse them from all their iniquity, whereby they have sinned against me; and I will pardon all their iniquities, whereby they have sinned, and whereby they have transgressed against me.

9 And it shall be to me a name of joy, a praise and an honour before all the nations of the earth, which shall hear all the good that I do unto them: and they shall fear and tremble for all the goodness and for all the prosperity that I procure unto it.

10 Thus saith the LORD; Again there shall be heard in this place, which ye say shall be desolate without man and without beast, even in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem, that are desolate, without man, and without inhabitant, and without beast,

11 The voice of joy, and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom, and the voice of the bride, the voice of them that shall say, Praise the LORD of hosts: for the LORD is good; for his mercy endureth for ever: and of them that shall bring the sacrifice of praise into the house of the LORD. For I will cause to return the captivity of the land, as at the first, saith the LORD.

12 Thus saith the LORD of hosts; Again in this place, which is desolate without man and without beast, and in all the cities thereof, shall be an habitation of shepherds causing their flocks to lie down.

13 In the cities of the mountains, in the cities of the vale, and in the cities of the south, and in the land of Benjamin, and in the places about Jerusalem, and in the cities of Judah, shall the flocks pass again under the hands of him that telleth them, saith the LORD.

14 Behold, the days come, saith the LORD, that I will perform that good thing which I have promised unto the house of Israel and to the house of Judah.

15 In those days, and at that time, will I cause the Branch of righteousness to grow up unto David; and he shall execute judgement and righteousness in the land.

16 In those days shall Judah be saved, and Jerusalem shall dwell safely: and this is the name wherewith she shall be called, The LORD our righteousness.

17 For thus saith the LORD; David shall never want a man to sit upon the throne of the house of Israel;

18 Neither shall the priests the Levites want a man before me to offer burnt offerings, and to kindle meat offerings, and to do sacrifice continually.

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19 And the word of the LORD came unto Jeremiah, saying,
20 Thus saith the LORD; If ye can break my covenant of the day, and my covenant of the night, and that there should not be day and night in their season;
21 Then may also my covenant be broken with David my servant, that he should not have a son to reign upon his throne; and with the Levites the priests, my ministers.
22 As the host of heaven cannot be numbered, neither the sand of the sea measured: so will I multiply the seed of David my servant, and the Levites that minister unto me.
23 Moreover the word of the LORD came to Jeremiah, saying,
24 Considerest thou not what this people have spoken, saying, The two families which the LORD hath chosen, he hath even cast them off? thus they have despised my people, that they should be no more a nation before them.
25 Thus saith the LORD; If my covenant be not with day and night, and if I have not appointed the ordinances of heaven and earth;
26 Then will I cast away the seed of Jacob and David my servant, so that I will not take any of his seed to be rulers over the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: for I will cause their captivity to return, and have mercy on them.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 34

1 The word which came unto Jeremiah from the LORD, when Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and all his army, and all the kingdoms of the earth of his dominion, and all the people, fought against Jerusalem, and against all the cities thereof, saying,
2 Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel; Go and speak to Zedekiah king of Judah, and tell him, Thus saith the LORD; Behold, I will give this city into the hand of the king of Babylon, and he shall burn it with fire:
3 And thou shalt not escape out of his hand, but shalt surely be taken, and delivered into his hand; and thine eyes shall behold the eyes of the king of Babylon, and he shall speak with thee mouth to mouth, and thou shalt go to Babylon.
4 Yet hear the word of the LORD, O Zedekiah king of Judah; Thus saith the LORD of thee, Thou shalt not die by the sword:
5 But thou shalt die in peace: and with the burnings of thy fathers, the former kings which were before thee, so shall they burn odours for thee; and they will lament thee, saying, Ah lord! for I have pronounced the word, saith the LORD.
6 Then Jeremiah the prophet spake all these words unto Zedekiah king of Judah in Jerusalem,
7 When the king of Babylon's army fought against Jerusalem, and against all the cities of Judah that were left, against Lachish, and against Azekah: for these defenced cities remained of the cities of Judah.
8 This is the word that came unto Jeremiah from the LORD, after that the king Zedekiah had made a covenant with all the people which were at Jerusalem, to proclaim liberty unto them;
9 That every man should let his manservant, and every man his maidservant, being an Hebrew or an Hebrewess, go free; that none should serve himself of them, to wit, of a Jew his brother.
10 Now when all the princes, and all the people, which had entered into the covenant, heard that every one should let his manservant, and every one his maidservant, go free, that none should serve themselves of them any more, then they obeyed, and let them go.
11 But afterward they turned, and caused the servants and the handmaids, whom they had let go free, to return, and brought them into subjection for servants and for handmaids.
12 Therefore the word of the LORD came to Jeremiah from the LORD, saying,
13 Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel; I made a covenant with your fathers in the day that I brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondmen, saying,
14 At the end of seven years let ye go every man his brother an Hebrew, which hath been sold unto thee; and when he hath served thee six years, thou shalt let him go free from thee: but your fathers hearkened not unto me, neither inclined their ear.
15 And ye were now turned, and had done right in my sight, in proclaiming liberty every man to his neighbour; and ye had made a covenant before me in the house which is called by my name:
16 But ye turned and polluted my name, and caused every man his servant, and every man his handmaid, whom he had set at liberty at their pleasure, to return, and brought them into subjection, to be unto you for servants and for handmaids.
17 Therefore thus saith the LORD; Ye have not hearkened unto me, in proclaiming liberty, every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbour: behold, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the LORD, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine; and I will make you to be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth.
18 And I will give the men that have transgressed my covenant, which have not performed the words of the covenant which they had made before me, when they cut the calf in twain, and passed between the parts thereof,
19 The princes of Judah, and the princes of Jerusalem, the eunuchs, and the priests, and all the people of the land, which passed between the parts of the calf;
20 I will even give them into the hand of their enemies, and into the hand of them that seek their life: and their dead bodies shall be for meat unto the fowls of the heaven, and to the beasts of the earth.
21 And Zedekiah king of Judah and his princes will I give into the hand of their enemies, and into the hand of them that seek their life, and into the hand of the king of Babylon's army, which are gone up from you.
22 Behold, I will command, saith the LORD, and cause them to return to this city; and they shall fight against it, and take it, and burn it with fire: and I will make the cities of Judah a desolation without an inhabitant.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 35

1 The word which came unto Jeremiah from the LORD in the days of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah, saying,
2 Go unto the house of the Rechabites, and speak unto them, and bring them into the house of the LORD, into one of the chambers, and give them wine to drink.
3 Then I took Jaazaniah the son of Jeremiah, the son of Habaziniah, and his brethren, and all his sons, and the whole house of the Rechabites;
4 And I brought them into the house of the LORD, into the chamber of the sons of Hanan, the son of Igdaliah, a man of God, which was by the chamber of the princes, which was above the chamber of Maaseiah the son of Shallum, the keeper of the door:
5 And I set before the sons of the house of the Rechabites pots full of wine, and cups, and I said unto them, Drink ye wine.
6 But they said, We will drink no wine: for Jonadab the son of Rechab our father commanded us, saying, Ye shall drink no wine, neither ye, nor your sons for ever:
7 Neither shall ye build house, nor sow seed, nor plant vineyard, nor have any: but all your days ye shall dwell in tents; that ye may live many days in the land where ye be strangers.
8 Thus have we obeyed the voice of Jonadab the son of Rechab our father in all that he hath charged us, to drink no wine all our days, we, our wives, our sons, nor our daughters;
9 Nor to build houses for us to dwell in: neither have we vineyard, nor field, nor seed:
10 But we have dwelt in tents, and have obeyed, and done according to all that Jonadab our father commanded us.
11 But it came to pass, when Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon came up into the land, that we said, Come, and let us go to Jerusalem for fear of the army of the Chaldeans, and for fear of the army of the Syrians: so we dwell at Jerusalem.
12 Then came the word of the LORD unto Jeremiah, saying,
13 Thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel; Go and tell the men of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, Will ye not receive instruction to hearken to my words? saith the LORD.
14 The words of Jonadab the son of Rechab, that he commanded his sons not to drink wine, are performed; for unto this day they drink none, but obey their father's commandment: notwithstanding I have spoken unto you, rising early and speaking; but ye hearkened not unto me.
15 I have sent also unto you all my servants the prophets, rising up early and sending them, saying, Return ye now every man from his evil way, and amend your doings, and go not after other gods to serve them, and ye shall dwell in the land which I have given to you and to your fathers: but ye have not inclined your ear, nor hearkened unto me.
16 Because the sons of Jonadab the son of Rechab have performed the commandment of their father, which he commanded them; but this people hath not hearkened unto me:
17 Therefore thus saith the LORD God of hosts, the God of Israel; Behold, I will bring upon Judah and upon all the inhabitants of Jerusalem all the evil that I have pronounced against them: because I have spoken unto them, but they have not heard; and I have called unto them, but they have not answered.
18 And Jeremiah said unto the house of the Rechabites, Thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel; Because ye have obeyed the commandment of Jonadab your father, and kept all his precepts, and done according unto all that he hath commanded you:
19 Therefore thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel; Jonadab the son of Rechab shall not want a man to stand before me for ever.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 36

1 And it came to pass in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah, that this word came unto Jeremiah from the LORD, saying,
2 Take thee a roll of a book, and write therein all the words that I have spoken unto thee against Israel, and against Judah, and against all the nations, from the day I spake unto thee, from the days of Josiah, even unto this day.
3 It may be that the house of Judah will hear all the evil which I purpose to do unto them; that they may return every man from his evil way; that I may forgive their iniquity and their sin.
4 Then Jeremiah called Baruch the son of Neriah: and Baruch wrote from the mouth of Jeremiah all the words of the LORD, which he had spoken unto him, upon a roll of a book.
5 And Jeremiah commanded Baruch, saying, I am shut up; I cannot go into the house of the LORD:
6 Therefore go thou, and read in the roll, which thou hast written from my mouth, the words of the LORD in the ears of the people in the LORD's house upon the fasting day: and also thou shalt read them in the ears of all Judah that come out of their cities.
7 It may be they will present their supplication before the LORD, and will return every one from his evil way: for great is the anger and the fury that the LORD hath pronounced against this people.
8 And Baruch the son of Neriah did according to all that Jeremiah the prophet commanded him, reading in the book the words of the LORD in the LORD's house.
9 And it came to pass in the fifth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah, in the ninth month, that they proclaimed a fast before the LORD to all the people in Jerusalem, and to all the people that came from the cities of Judah unto Jerusalem.
10 Then read Baruch in the book the words of Jeremiah in the house of the LORD, in the chamber of Gemariah the son of Shaphan the scribe, in the higher court, at the entry of the new gate of the LORD's house, in the ears of all the people.
11 When Michaiah the son of Gemariah, the son of Shaphan, had heard out of the book all the words of the LORD,
12 Then he went down into the king's house, into the scribe's chamber: and, lo, all the princes sat there, even Elishama the scribe, and Delaiah the son of Shemaiah, and Elnathan the son of Achbor, and Gemariah the son of Shaphan, and Zedekiah the son of Hananiah, and all the princes.
13 Then Michaiah declared unto them all the words that he had heard, when Baruch read the book in the ears of the people.
14 Therefore all the princes sent Jehudi the son of Nethaniah, the son of Shelemiah, the son of Cushi, unto Baruch, saying, Take in thine hand the roll wherein thou hast read in the ears of the people, and come. So Baruch the son of Neriah took the roll in his hand, and came unto them.
15 And they said unto him, Sit down now, and read it in our ears. So Baruch read it in their ears.
16 Now it came to pass, when they had heard all the words, they were afraid both one and other, and said unto Baruch, We will surely tell the king of all these words.
17 And they asked Baruch, saying, Tell us now, How didst thou write all these words at his mouth?
18 Then Baruch answered them, He pronounced all these words unto me with his mouth, and I wrote them with ink in the book.
19 Then said the princes unto Baruch, Go, hide thee, thou and Jeremiah; and let no man know where ye be.
20 And they went in to the king into the court, but they laid up the roll in the chamber of Elishama the scribe, and told all the words in the ears of the king.
21 So the king sent Jehudi to fetch the roll: and he took it out of Elishama the scribe's chamber. And Jehudi read it in the ears of the king, and in the ears of all the princes which stood beside the king.
22 Now the king sat in the winterhouse in the ninth month: and there was a fire on the hearth burning before him.
23 And it came to pass, that when Jehudi had read three or four leaves, he cut it with the penknife, and cast it into the fire that was on the hearth, until all the roll was consumed in the fire that was on the hearth.
24 Yet they were not afraid, nor rent their garments, neither the king, nor any of his servants that heard all these words.
25 Nevertheless Elnathan and Delaiah and Gemariah had made intercession to the king that he would not burn the roll: but he would not hear them.
26 But the king commanded Jerahmeel the son of Hammelech, and Seraiah the son of Azriel, and Shelemiah the son of Abdeel, to take Baruch the scribe and Jeremiah the prophet: but the LORD hid them.
27 Then the word of the LORD came to Jeremiah, after that the king had burned the roll, and the words which Baruch wrote at the mouth of Jeremiah, saying,
28 Take thee again another roll, and write in it all the former words that were in the first roll, which Jehoiakim the king of Judah hath burned.
29 And thou shalt say to Jehoiakim king of Judah, Thus saith the LORD; Thou hast burned this roll, saying, Why hast thou written therein, saying, The king of Babylon shall certainly come and destroy this land, and shall cause to cease from thence man and beast?

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30 Therefore thus saith the LORD of Jehoiakim king of Judah; He shall have none to sit upon the throne of David: and his dead body shall be cast out in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost.

31 And I will punish him and his seed and his servants for their iniquity; and I will bring upon them, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and upon the men of Judah, all the evil that I have pronounced against them; but they hearkened not.

32 Then took Jeremiah another roll, and gave it to Baruch the scribe, the son of Neriah; who wrote therein from the mouth of Jeremiah all the words of the book which Jehoiakim king of Judah had burned in the fire: and there were added besides unto them many like words.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 37

1 And king Zedekiah the son of Josiah reigned instead of Coniah the son of Jehoiakim, whom Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon made king in the land of Judah.

2 But neither he, nor his servants, nor the people of the land, did hearken unto the words of the LORD, which he spake by the prophet Jeremiah.

3 And Zedekiah the king sent Jehucal the son of Shelemiah and Zephaniah the son of Maaseiah the priest to the prophet Jeremiah, saying, Pray now unto the LORD our God for us.

4 Now Jeremiah came in and went out among the people: for they had not put him into prison.

5 Then Pharaoh's army was come forth out of Egypt: and when the Chaldeans that besieged Jerusalem heard tidings of them, they departed from Jerusalem.

6 Then came the word of the LORD unto the prophet Jeremiah saying,

7 Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel; Thus shall ye say to the king of Judah, that sent you unto me to enquire of me; Behold, Pharaoh's army, which is come forth to help you, shall return to Egypt into their own land.

8 And the Chaldeans shall come again, and fight against this city, and take it, and burn it with fire.

9 Thus saith the LORD; Deceive not yourselves, saying, The Chaldeans shall surely depart from us: for they shall not depart.

10 For though ye had smitten the whole army of the Chaldeans that fight against you, and there remained but wounded men among them, yet should they rise up every man in his tent, and burn this city with fire.

11 And it came to pass, that when the army of the Chaldeans was broken up from Jerusalem for fear of Pharaoh's army,

12 Then Jeremiah went forth out of Jerusalem to go into the land of Benjamin, to separate himself thence in the midst of the people.

13 And when he was in the gate of Benjamin, a captain of the ward was there, whose name was Irijah, the son of Shelemiah, the son of Hananiah; and he took Jeremiah the prophet, saying, Thou fallest away to the Chaldeans.

14 Then said Jeremiah, It is false; I fall not away to the Chaldeans. But he hearkened not to him: so Irijah took Jeremiah, and brought him to the princes.

15 Wherefore the princes were wroth with Jeremiah, and smote him, and put him in prison in the house of Jonathan the scribe: for they had made that the prison.

16 When Jeremiah was entered into the dungeon, and into the cabins, and Jeremiah had remained there many days;

17 Then Zedekiah the king sent, and took him out: and the king asked him secretly in his house, and said, Is there any word from the LORD? And Jeremiah said, There is: for, said he, thou shalt be delivered into the hand of the king of Babylon.

18 Moreover Jeremiah said unto king Zedekiah, What have I offended against thee, or against thy servants, or against this people, that ye have put me in prison?

19 Where are now your prophets which prophesied unto you, saying, The king of Babylon shall not come against you, nor against this land?

20 Therefore hear now, I pray thee, O my lord the king: let my supplication, I pray thee, be accepted before thee; that thou cause me not to return to the house of Jonathan the scribe, lest I die there.

21 Then Zedekiah the king commanded that they should commit Jeremiah into the court of the prison, and that they should give him daily a piece of bread out of the bakers' street, until all the bread in the city were spent. Thus Jeremiah remained in the court of the prison.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 38

1 Then Shephatiah the son of Mattan, and Gedaliah the son of Pashur, and Jucal the son of Shelemiah, and Pashur the son of Malchiah, heard the words that Jeremiah had spoken unto all the people, saying,

2 Thus saith the LORD, He that remaineth in this city shall die by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence: but he that goeth forth to the Chaldeans shall live; for he shall have his life for a prey, and shall live.

3 Thus saith the LORD, This city shall surely be given into the hand of the king of Babylon's army, which shall take it.

4 Therefore the princes said unto the king, We beseech thee, let this man be put to death: for thus he weakeneth the hands of the men of war that remain in this city, and the hands of all the people, in speaking such words unto them: for this man seeketh not the welfare of this people, but the hurt.

5 Then Zedekiah the king said, Behold, he is in your hand: for the king is not he that can do any thing against you.

6 Then took they Jeremiah, and cast him into the dungeon of Malchiah the son of Hammelech, that was in the court of the prison: and they let down Jeremiah with cords. And in the dungeon there was no water, but mire: so Jeremiah sunk in the mire.

7 Now when Ebedmelech the Ethiopian, one of the eunuchs which was in the king's house, heard that they had put Jeremiah in the dungeon; the king then sitting in the gate of Benjamin;

8 Ebedmelech went forth out of the king's house, and spake to the king saying,

9 My lord the king, these men have done evil in all that they have done to Jeremiah the prophet, whom they have cast into the dungeon; and he is like to die for hunger in the place where he is: for there is no more bread in the city.

10 Then the king commanded Ebedmelech the Ethiopian, saying, Take from hence thirty men with thee, and take up Jeremiah the prophet out of the dungeon, before he die.

11 So Ebedmelech took the men with him, and went into the house of the king under the treasury, and took thence old cast clouts and old rotten rags, and let them down by cords into the dungeon to Jeremiah.

12 And Ebedmelech the Ethiopian said unto Jeremiah, Put now these old cast clouts and rotten rags under thine armholes under the cords. And Jeremiah did so.

13 So they drew up Jeremiah with cords, and took him up out of the dungeon: and Jeremiah remained in the court of the prison.

14 Then Zedekiah the king sent, and took Jeremiah the prophet unto him into the third entry that is in the house of the LORD: and the king said unto Jeremiah, I will ask thee a thing; hide nothing from me.

15 Then Jeremiah said unto Zedekiah, If I declare it unto thee, wilt thou not surely put me to death? and if I give thee counsel, wilt thou not hearken unto me?

16 So Zedekiah the king sware secretly unto Jeremiah, saying, As the LORD liveth, that made us this soul, I will not put thee to death, neither will I give thee into the hand of these men that seek thy life.

17 Then said Jeremiah unto Zedekiah, Thus saith the LORD, the God of hosts, the God of Israel; If thou wilt assuredly go forth unto the king of Babylon's princes, then thy soul shall live, and this city shall not be burned with fire; and thou shalt live, and thine house:

18 But if thou wilt not go forth to the king of Babylon's princes, then shall this city be given into the hand of the Chaldeans, and they shall burn it with fire, and thou shalt not escape out of their hand.

19 And Zedekiah the king said unto Jeremiah, I am afraid of the Jews that are fallen to the Chaldeans, lest they deliver me into their hand, and they mock me.

20 But Jeremiah said, They shall not deliver thee. Obey, I beseech thee, the voice of the LORD, which I speak unto thee: so it shall be well unto thee, and thy soul shall live.

21 But if thou refuse to go forth, this is the word that the LORD hath shewed me:

22 And, behold, all the women that are left in the king of Judah's house shall be brought forth to the king of Babylon's princes, and those women shall say, Thy friends have set thee on, and have prevailed against thee: thy feet are sunk in the mire, and they are turned away back.

23 So they shall bring out all thy wives and thy children to the Chaldeans: and thou shalt not escape out of their hand, but shalt be taken by the hand of the king of Babylon: and thou shalt cause this city to be burned with fire.

24 Then said Zedekiah unto Jeremiah, Let no man know of these words, and thou shalt not die.

25 But if the princes hear that I have talked with thee, and they come unto thee, and say unto thee, Declare unto us now what thou hast said unto the king, hide it not from us, and we will not put thee to death; also what the king said unto thee:

26 Then thou shalt say unto them, I presented my supplication before the king, that he would not cause me to return to Jonathan's house, to die there.

27 Then came all the princes unto Jeremiah, and asked him: and he told them according to all these words that the king had commanded. So they left off speaking with him; for the matter was not perceived.

28 So Jeremiah abode in the court of the prison until the day that Jerusalem was taken: and he was there when Jerusalem was taken.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 39

1 In the ninth year of Zedekiah king of Judah, in the tenth month, came Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon and all his army against Jerusalem, and they besieged it.

2 And in the eleventh year of Zedekiah, in the fourth month, the ninth day of the month, the city was broken up.

3 And all the princes of the king of Babylon came in, and sat in the middle gate, even Nergalsharezer, Samgarnebo, Sarsechim, Rabsaris, Nergalsharezer, Rabmag, with all the residue of the princes of the king of Babylon.

4 And it came to pass, that when Zedekiah the king of Judah saw them, and all the men of war, then they fled, and went forth out of the city by night, by the way of the king's garden, by the gate betwixt the two walls: and he went out the way of the plain.

5 But the Chaldeans' army pursued after them, and overtook Zedekiah in the plains of Jericho: and when they had taken him, they brought him up to Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon to Riblah in the land of Hamath, where he gave judgement upon him.

6 Then the king of Babylon slew the sons of Zedekiah in Riblah before his eyes: also the king of Babylon slew all the nobles of Judah.

7 Moreover he put out Zedekiah's eyes, and bound him with chains, to carry him to Babylon.

8 And the Chaldeans burned the king's house, and the houses of the people, with fire, and brake down the walls of Jerusalem.

9 Then Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard carried away captive into Babylon the remnant of the people that remained in the city, and those that fell away, that fell to him, with the rest of the people that remained.

10 But Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard left of the poor of the people, which had nothing, in the land of Judah, and gave them vineyards and fields at the same time.

11 Now Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon gave charge concerning Jeremiah to Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard, saying,

12 Take him, and look well to him, and do him no harm; but do unto him even as he shall say unto thee.

13 So Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard sent, and Nebushasban, Rabsaris, and Nergalsharezer, Rabmag, and all the king of Babylon's princes;

14 Even they sent, and took Jeremiah out of the court of the prison, and committed him unto Gedaliah the son of Ahikam the son of Shaphan, that he should carry him home: so he dwelt among the people.

15 Now the word of the LORD came unto Jeremiah, while he was shut up in the court of the prison, saying,

16 Go and speak to Ebedmelech the Ethiopian, saying, Thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel; Behold, I will bring my words upon this city for evil, and not for good; and they shall be accomplished in that day before thee.

17 But I will deliver thee in that day, saith the LORD: and thou shalt not be given into the hand of the men of whom thou art afraid.

18 For I will surely deliver thee, and thou shalt not fall by the sword, but thy life shall be for a prey unto thee: because thou hast put thy trust in me, saith the LORD.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 40

1 The word that came to Jeremiah from the LORD, after that Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard had let him go from Ramah, when he had taken him being bound in chains among all that were carried away captive of Jerusalem and Judah, which were carried away captive unto Babylon.

2 And the captain of the guard took Jeremiah, and said unto him, The LORD thy God hath pronounced this evil upon this place.

3 Now the LORD hath brought it, and done according as he hath said: because ye have sinned against the LORD, and have not obeyed his voice, therefore this thing is come upon you.

4 And now, behold, I loose thee this day from the chains which were upon thine hand. If it seem good unto thee to come with me into Babylon, come; and I will look well unto thee: but if it seem ill unto thee to come with me into Babylon, forbear: behold, all the land is before thee: whither it seemeth good and convenient for thee to go, thither go.

5 Now while he was not yet gone back, he said, Go back also to Gedaliah the son of Ahikam the son of Shaphan, whom the king of Babylon hath made governor over the cities of Judah, and dwell with him among the people: or go wheresoever it seemeth convenient unto thee to go. So the captain of the guard gave him victuals and a reward, and let him go.

6 Then went Jeremiah unto Gedaliah the son of Ahikam to Mizpah; and dwelt with him among the people that were left in the land.

7 Now when all the captains of the forces which were in the fields, even they and their men, heard that the king of Babylon had made Gedaliah the son of Ahikam governor in the land, and had committed unto him men, and women, and

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children, and of the poor of the land, of them that were not carried away captive to Babylon;

8 Then they came to Gedaliah to Mizpah, even Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, and Johanan and Jonathan the sons of Kareah, and Seraiah the son of Tanhumeth, and the sons of Ephai the Netophathite, and Jezaniah the son of a Maachathite, they and their men.

9 And Gedaliah the son of Ahikam the son of Shaphan sware unto them and to their men, saying, Fear not to serve the Chaldeans: dwell in the land, and serve the king of Babylon, and it shall be well with you.

10 As for me, behold, I will dwell at Mizpah, to serve the Chaldeans, which will come unto us: but ye, gather ye wine, and summer fruits, and oil, and put them in your vessels, and dwell in your cities that ye have taken.

11 Likewise when all the Jews that were in Moab, and among the Ammonites, and in Edom, and that were in all the countries, heard that the king of Babylon had left a remnant of Judah, and that he had set over them Gedaliah the son of Ahikam the son of Shaphan;

12 Even all the Jews returned out of all places whither they were driven, and came to the land of Judah, to Gedaliah, unto Mizpah, and gathered wine and summer fruits very much.

13 Moreover Johanan the son of Kareah, and all the captains of the forces that were in the fields, came to Gedaliah to Mizpah,

14 And said unto him, Dost thou certainly know that Baalis the king of the Ammonites hath sent Ishmael the son of Nethaniah to slay thee? But Gedaliah the son of Ahikam believed them not.

15 Then Johanan the son of Kareah spake to Gedaliah in Mizpah secretly saying, Let me go, I pray thee, and I will slay Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, and no man shall know it: wherefore should he slay thee, that all the Jews which are gathered unto thee should be scattered, and the remnant in Judah perish?

16 But Gedaliah the son of Ahikam said unto Johanan the son of Kareah, Thou shalt not do this thing: for thou speakest falsely of Ishmael.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 41

1 Now it came to pass in the seventh month, that Ishmael the son of Nethaniah the son of Elishama, of the seed royal, and the princes of the king, even ten men with him, came unto Gedaliah the son of Ahikam to Mizpah; and there they did eat bread together in Mizpah.

2 Then arose Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, and the ten men that were with him, and smote Gedaliah the son of Ahikam the son of Shaphan with the sword, and slew him, whom the king of Babylon had made governor over the land.

3 Ishmael also slew all the Jews that were with him, even with Gedaliah, at Mizpah, and the Chaldeans that were found there, and the men of war.

4 And it came to pass the second day after he had slain Gedaliah, and no man knew it,

5 That there came certain from Shechem, from Shiloh, and from Samaria, even fourscore men, having their beards shaven, and their clothes rent, and having cut themselves, with offerings and incense in their hand, to bring them to the house of the LORD.

6 And Ishmael the son of Nethaniah went forth from Mizpah to meet them, weeping all along as he went: and it came to pass, as he met them, he said unto them, Come to Gedaliah the son of Ahikam.

7 And it was so, when they came into the midst of the city, that Ishmael the son of Nethaniah slew them, and cast them into the midst of the pit, he, and the men that were with him.

8 But ten men were found among them that said unto Ishmael, Slay us not: for we have treasures in the field, of wheat, and of barley, and of oil, and of honey. So he forbare, and slew them not among their brethren.

9 Now the pit wherein Ishmael had cast all the dead bodies of the men, whom he had slain because of Gedaliah, was it which Asa the king had made for fear of Baasha king of Israel: and Ishmael the son of Nethaniah filled it with them that were slain.

10 Then Ishmael carried away captive all the residue of the people that were in Mizpah, even the king's daughters, and all the people that remained in Mizpah, whom Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard had committed to Gedaliah the son of Ahikam: and Ishmael the son of Nethaniah carried them away captive, and departed to go over to the Ammonites.

11 But when Johanan the son of Kareah, and all the captains of the forces that were with him, heard of all the evil that Ishmael the son of Nethaniah had done,

12 Then they took all the men, and went to fight with Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, and found him by the great waters that are in Gibeon.

13 Now it came to pass, that when all the people which were with Ishmael saw Johanan the son of Kareah, and all the captains of the forces that were with him, then they were glad.

14 So all the people that Ishmael had carried away captive from Mizpah cast about and returned, and went unto Johanan the son of Kareah.

15 But Ishmael the son of Nethaniah escaped from Johanan with eight men, and went to the Ammonites.

16 Then took Johanan the son of Kareah, and all the captains of the forces that were with him, all the remnant of the people whom he had recovered from Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, from Mizpah, after that he had slain Gedaliah the son of Ahikam, even mighty men of war, and the women, and the children, and the eunuchs, whom he had brought again from Gibeon:

17 And they departed, and dwelt in the habitation of Chimham, which is by Bethlehem, to go to enter into Egypt,

18 Because of the Chaldeans: for they were afraid of them, because Ishmael the son of Nethaniah had slain Gedaliah the son of Ahikam, whom the king of Babylon made governor in the land.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 42

1 Then all the captains of the forces, and Johanan the son of Kareah, and Jezaniah the son of Hoshaiah, and all the people from the least even unto the greatest, came near,

2 And said unto Jeremiah the prophet, Let, we beseech thee, our supplication be accepted before thee, and pray for us unto the LORD thy God, even for all this remnant; (for we are left but a few of many, as thine eyes do behold us:)

3 That the LORD thy God may shew us the way wherein we may walk, and the thing that we may do.

4 Then Jeremiah the prophet said unto them, I have heard you; behold, I will pray unto the LORD your God according to your words; and it shall come to pass, that whatsoever thing the LORD shall answer you, I will declare it unto you; I will keep nothing back from you.

5 Then they said to Jeremiah, The LORD be a true and faithful witness between us, if we do not even according to all things for the which the LORD thy God shall send thee to us.

6 Whether it be good, or whether it be evil, we will obey the voice of the LORD our God, to whom we send thee; that it may be well with us, when we obey the voice of the LORD our God.

7 And it came to pass after ten days, that the word of the LORD came unto Jeremiah.

8 Then called he Johanan the son of Kareah, and all the captains of the forces which were with him, and all the people from the least even to the greatest,

9 And said unto them, Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel, unto whom ye sent me to present your supplication before him;

10 If ye will still abide in this land, then will I build you, and not pull you down, and I will plant you, and not pluck you up: for I repent me of the evil that I have done unto you.

11 Be not afraid of the king of Babylon, of whom ye are afraid; be not afraid of him, saith the LORD: for I am with you to save you, and to deliver you from his hand.

12 And I will shew mercies unto you, that he may have mercy upon you, and cause you to return to your own land.

13 But if ye say, We will not dwell in this land, neither obey the voice of the LORD your God,

14 Saying, No; but we will go into the land of Egypt, where we shall see no war, nor hear the sound of the trumpet, nor have hunger of bread; and there will we dwell:

15 And now therefore hear the word of the LORD, ye remnant of Judah; Thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel; If ye wholly set your faces to enter into Egypt, and go to sojourn there;

16 Then it shall come to pass, that the sword, which ye feared, shall overtake you there in the land of Egypt, and the famine, whereof ye were afraid, shall follow close after you there in Egypt; and there ye shall die.

17 So shall it be with all the men that set their faces to go into Egypt to sojourn there; they shall die by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence: and none of them shall remain or escape from the evil that I will bring upon them.

18 For thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel; As mine anger and my fury hath been poured forth upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem; so shall my fury be poured forth upon you, when ye shall enter into Egypt: and ye shall be an execration, and an astonishment, and a curse, and a reproach; and ye shall see this place no more.

19 The LORD hath said concerning you, O ye remnant of Judah; Go ye not into Egypt: know certainly that I have admonished you this day.

20 For ye dissembled in your hearts, when ye sent me unto the LORD your God, saying, Pray for us unto the LORD our God; and according unto all that the LORD our God shall say, so declare unto us, and we will do it.

21 And now I have this day declared it to you; but ye have not obeyed the voice of the LORD your God, nor any thing for the which he hath sent me unto you.

22 Now therefore know certainly that ye shall die by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence, in the place whither ye desire to go and to sojourn.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 43

1 And it came to pass, that when Jeremiah had made an end of speaking unto all the people all the words of the LORD their God, for which the LORD their God had sent him to them, even all these words,

2 Then spake Azariah the son of Hoshaiah, and Johanan the son of Kareah, and all the proud men, saying unto Jeremiah, Thou speakest falsely: the LORD our God hath not sent thee to say, Go not into Egypt to sojourn there:

3 But Baruch the son of Neriah setteth thee on against us, for to deliver us into the hand of the Chaldeans, that they might put us to death, and carry us away captives into Babylon.

4 So Johanan the son of Kareah, and all the captains of the forces, and all the people, obeyed not the voice of the LORD, to dwell in the land of Judah.

5 But Johanan the son of Kareah, and all the captains of the forces, took all the remnant of Judah, that were returned from all nations, whither they had been driven, to dwell in the land of Judah;

6 Even men, and women, and children, and the king's daughters, and every person that Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard had left with Gedaliah the son of Ahikam the son of Shaphan, and Jeremiah the prophet, and Baruch the son of Neriah.

7 So they came into the land of Egypt: for they obeyed not the voice of the LORD: thus came they even to Tahpanhes.

8 Then came the word of the LORD unto Jeremiah in Tahpanhes, saying,

9 Take great stones in thine hand, and hide them in the clay in the brickkiln, which is at the entry of Pharaoh's house in Tahpanhes, in the sight of the men of Judah;

10 And say unto them, Thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel; Behold, I will send and take Nebuchadrezzar the king of Babylon, my servant, and will set his throne upon these stones that I have hid; and he shall spread his royal pavilion over them.

11 And when he cometh, he shall smite the land of Egypt, and deliver such as are for death to death; and such as are for captivity to captivity; and such as are for the sword to the sword.

12 And I will kindle a fire in the houses of the gods of Egypt; and he shall burn them, and carry them away captives: and he shall array himself with the land of Egypt, as a shepherd putteth on his garment; and he shall go forth from thence in peace.

13 He shall break also the images of Bethshemesh, that is in the land of Egypt; and the houses of the gods of the Egyptians shall he burn with fire.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 44

1 The word that came to Jeremiah concerning all the Jews which dwell in the land of Egypt, which dwell at Migdol, and at Tahpanhes, and at Noph, and in the country of Pathros, saying,

2 Thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel; Ye have seen all the evil that I have brought upon Jerusalem, and upon all the cities of Judah; and, behold, this day they are a desolation, and no man dwelleth therein,

3 Because of their wickedness which they have committed to provoke me to anger, in that they went to burn incense, and to serve other gods, whom they knew not, neither they, ye, nor your fathers.

4 Howbeit I sent unto you all my servants the prophets, rising early and sending them, saying, Oh, do not this abominable thing that I hate.

5 But they hearkened not, nor inclined their ear to turn from their wickedness, to burn no incense unto other gods.

6 Wherefore my fury and mine anger was poured forth, and was kindled in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem; and they are wasted and desolate, as at this day.

7 Therefore now thus saith the LORD, the God of hosts, the God of Israel; Wherefore commit ye this great evil against your souls, to cut off from you man and woman, child and suckling, out of Judah, to leave you none to remain;

8 In that ye provoke me unto wrath with the works of your hands, burning incense unto other gods in the land of Egypt, whither ye be gone to dwell, that ye might cut yourselves off, and that ye might be a curse and a reproach among all the nations of the earth?

9 Have ye forgotten the wickedness of your fathers, and the wickedness of the kings of Judah, and the wickedness of their wives, and your own wickedness, and the wickedness of your wives, which they have committed in the land of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem?

10 They are not humbled even unto this day, neither have they feared, nor walked in my law, nor in my statutes, that I set before you and before your fathers.

11 Therefore thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel; Behold, I will set my face against you for evil, and to cut off all Judah.

12 And I will take the remnant of Judah, that have set their faces to go into the land of Egypt to sojourn there, and they shall all be consumed, and fall in the land of Egypt; they shall even be consumed by the sword and by the famine: they shall die, from the least even unto the greatest, by the sword and by

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the famine: and they shall be an execration, and an astonishment, and a curse, and a reproach.

13 For I will punish them that dwell in the land of Egypt, as I have punished Jerusalem, by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence:

14 So that none of the remnant of Judah, which are gone into the land of Egypt to sojourn there, shall escape or remain, that they should return into the land of Judah, to the which they have a desire to return to dwell there: for none shall return but such as shall escape.

15 Then all the men which knew that their wives had burned incense unto other gods, and all the women that stood by, a great multitude, even all the people that dwelt in the land of Egypt, in Pathros, answered Jeremiah, saying,

16 As for the word that thou hast spoken unto us in the name of the LORD, we will not hearken unto thee.

17 But we will certainly do whatsoever thing goeth forth out of our own mouth, to burn incense unto the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink offerings unto her, as we have done, we, and our fathers, our kings, and our princes, in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem: for then had we plenty of victuals, and were well, and saw no evil.

18 But since we left off to burn incense to the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink offerings unto her, we have wanted all things, and have been consumed by the sword and by the famine.

19 And when we burned incense to the queen of heaven, and poured out drink offerings unto her, did we make her cakes to worship her, and pour out drink offerings unto her, without our men?

20 Then Jeremiah said unto all the people, to the men, and to the women, and to all the people which had given him that answer, saying,

21 The incense that ye burned in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem, ye, and your fathers, your kings, and your princes, and the people of the land, did not the LORD remember them, and came it not into his mind?

22 So that the LORD could no longer bear, because of the evil of your doings, and because of the abominations which ye have committed; therefore is your land a desolation, and an astonishment, and a curse, without an inhabitant, as at this day.

23 Because ye have burned incense, and because ye have sinned against the LORD, and have not obeyed the voice of the LORD, nor walked in his law, nor in his statutes, nor in his testimonies; therefore this evil is happened unto you, as at this day.

24 Moreover Jeremiah said unto all the people, and to all the women, Hear the word of the LORD, all Judah that are in the land of Egypt:

25 Thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel, saying; Ye and your wives have both spoken with your mouths, and fulfilled with your hand, saying, We will surely perform our vows that we have vowed, to burn incense to the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink offerings unto her: ye will surely accomplish your vows, and surely perform your vows.

26 Therefore hear ye the word of the LORD, all Judah that dwell in the land of Egypt; Behold, I have sworn by my great name, saith the LORD, that my name shall no more be named in the mouth of any man of Judah in all the land of Egypt, saying, The Lord GOD liveth.

27 Behold, I will watch over them for evil, and not for good: and all the men of Judah that are in the land of Egypt shall be consumed by the sword and by the famine, until there be an end of them.

28 Yet a small number that escape the sword shall return out of the land of Egypt into the land of Judah, and all the remnant of Judah, that are gone into the land of Egypt to sojourn there, shall know whose words shall stand, mine, or their's.

29 And this shall be a sign unto you, saith the LORD, that I will punish you in this place, that ye may know that my words shall surely stand against you for evil:

30 Thus saith the LORD; Behold, I will give Pharaohhophra king of Egypt into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life; as I gave Zedekiah king of Judah into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon, his enemy, and that sought his life.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 45

1 The word that Jeremiah the prophet spake unto Baruch the son of Neriah, when he had written these words in a book at the mouth of Jeremiah, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah, saying,

2 Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel, unto thee, O Baruch:

3 Thou didst say, Woe is me now! for the LORD hath added grief to my sorrow; I fainted in my sighing, and I find no rest.

4 Thus shalt thou say unto him, The LORD saith thus; Behold, that which I have built will I break down, and that which I have planted I will pluck up, even this whole land.

5 And seekest thou great things for thyself? seek them not: for, behold, I will bring evil upon all flesh, saith the LORD: but thy life will I give unto thee for a prey in all places whither thou goest.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 46

1 The word of the LORD which came to Jeremiah the prophet against the Gentiles;

2 Against Egypt, against the army of Pharaohnecho king of Egypt, which was by the river Euphrates in Carchemish, which Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon smote in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah.

3 Order ye the buckler and shield, and draw near to battle.

4 Harness the horses; and get up, ye horsemen, and stand forth with your helmets; furbish the spears, and put on the brigandines.

5 Wherefore have I seen them dismayed and turned away back? and their mighty ones are beaten down, and are fled apace, and look not back: for fear was round about, saith the LORD.

6 Let not the swift flee away, nor the mighty man escape; they shall stumble, and fall toward the north by the river Euphrates.

7 Who is this that cometh up as a flood, whose waters are moved as the rivers?

8 Egypt riseth up like a flood, and his waters are moved like the rivers; and he saith, I will go up, and will cover the earth; I will destroy the city and the inhabitants thereof.

9 Come up, ye horses; and rage, ye chariots; and let the mighty men come forth; the Ethiopians and the Libyans, that handle the shield; and the Lydians, that handle and bend the bow.

10 For this is the day of the Lord GOD of hosts, a day of vengeance, that he may avenge him of his adversaries: and the sword shall devour, and it shall be satiate and made drunk with their blood: for the Lord GOD of hosts hath a sacrifice in the north country by the river Euphrates.

11 Go up into Gilead, and take balm, O virgin, the daughter of Egypt: in vain shalt thou use many medicines; for thou shalt not be cured.

12 The nations have heard of thy shame, and thy cry hath filled the land: for the mighty man hath stumbled against the mighty, and they are fallen both together.

13 The word that the LORD spake to Jeremiah the prophet, how Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon should come and smite the land of Egypt.

14 Declare ye in Egypt, and publish in Migdol, and publish in Noph and in Tahpanhes: say ye, Stand fast, and prepare thee; for the sword shall devour round about thee.

15 Why are thy valiant men swept away? they stood not, because the LORD did drive them.

16 He made many to fall, yea, one fell upon another: and they said, Arise, and let us go again to our own people, and to the land of our nativity, from the oppressing sword.

17 They did cry there, Pharaoh king of Egypt is but a noise; he hath passed the time appointed.

18 As I live, saith the King, whose name is the LORD of hosts, Surely as Tabor is among the mountains, and as Carmel by the sea, so shall he come.

19 O thou daughter dwelling in Egypt, furnish thyself to go into captivity: for Noph shall be waste and desolate without an inhabitant.

20 Egypt is like a very fair heifer, but destruction cometh; it cometh out of the north.

21 Also her hired men are in the midst of her like fatted bullocks; for they also are turned back, and are fled away together: they did not stand, because the day of their calamity was come upon them, and the time of their visitation.

22 The voice thereof shall go like a serpent; for they shall march with an army, and come against her with axes, as hewers of wood.

23 They shall cut down her forest, saith the LORD, though it cannot be searched; because they are more than the grasshoppers, and are innumerable.

24 The daughter of Egypt shall be confounded; she shall be delivered into the hand of the people of the north.

25 The LORD of hosts, the God of Israel, saith; Behold, I will punish the multitude of No, and Pharaoh, and Egypt, with their gods, and their kings; even Pharaoh, and all them that trust in him:

26 And I will deliver them into the hand of those that seek their lives, and into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon, and into the hand of his servants: and afterward it shall be inhabited, as in the days of old, saith the LORD.

27 But fear not thou, O my servant Jacob, and be not dismayed, O Israel: for, behold, I will save thee from afar off, and thy seed from the land of their captivity; and Jacob shall return, and be in rest and at ease, and none shall make him afraid.

28 Fear thou not, O Jacob my servant, saith the LORD: for I am with thee; for I will make a full end of all the nations whither I have driven thee: but I will not make a full end of thee, but correct thee in measure; yet will I not leave thee wholly unpunished.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 47

1 The word of the LORD that came to Jeremiah the prophet against the Philistines, before that Pharaoh smote Gaza.

2 Thus saith the LORD; Behold, waters rise up out of the north, and shall be an overflowing flood, and shall overflow the land, and all that is therein; the city, and them that dwell therein: then the men shall cry, and all the inhabitants of the land shall howl.

3 At the noise of the stamping of the hoofs of his strong horses, at the rushing of his chariots, and at the rumbling of his wheels, the fathers shall not look back to their children for feebleness of hands;

4 Because of the day that cometh to spoil all the Philistines, and to cut off from Tyrus and Zidon every helper that remaineth: for the LORD will spoil the Philistines, the remnant of the country of Caphtor.

5 Baldness is come upon Gaza; Ashkelon is cut off with the remnant of their valley: how long wilt thou cut thyself?

6 O thou sword of the LORD, how long will it be ere thou be quiet? put up thyself into thy scabbard, rest, and be still.

7 How can it be quiet, seeing the LORD hath given it a charge against Ashkelon, and against the sea shore? there hath he appointed it.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 48

1 Against Moab thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel; Woe unto Nebo! for it is spoiled: Kiriathaim is confounded and taken: Misgab is confounded and dismayed.

2 There shall be no more praise of Moab: in Heshbon they have devised evil against it; come, and let us cut it off from being a nation. Also thou shalt be cut down, O Madmen; the sword shall pursue thee.

3 A voice of crying shall be from Horonaim, spoiling and great destruction.

4 Moab is destroyed; her little ones have caused a cry to be heard.

5 For in the going up of Luhith continual weeping shall go up; for in the going down of Horonaim the enemies have heard a cry of destruction.

6 Flee, save your lives, and be like the heath in the wilderness.

7 For because thou hast trusted in thy works and in thy treasures, thou shalt also be taken: and Chemosh shall go forth into captivity with his priests and his princes together.

8 And the spoiler shall come upon every city, and no city shall escape: the valley also shall perish, and the plain shall be destroyed, as the LORD hath spoken.

9 Give wings unto Moab, that it may flee and get away: for the cities thereof shall be desolate, without any to dwell therein.

10 Cursed be he that doeth the work of the LORD deceitfully, and cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood.

11 Moab hath been at ease from his youth, and he hath settled on his lees, and hath not been emptied from vessel to vessel, neither hath he gone into captivity: therefore his taste remained in him, and his scent is not changed.

12 Therefore, behold, the days come, saith the LORD, that I will send unto him wanderers, that shall cause him to wander, and shall empty his vessels, and break their bottles.

13 And Moab shall be ashamed of Chemosh, as the house of Israel was ashamed of Bethel their confidence.

14 How say ye, We are mighty and strong men for the war?

15 Moab is spoiled, and gone up out of her cities, and his chosen young men are gone down to the slaughter, saith the King, whose name is the LORD of hosts.

16 The calamity of Moab is near to come, and his affliction hasteth fast.

17 All ye that are about him, bemoan him; and all ye that know his name, say, How is the strong staff broken, and the beautiful rod!

18 Thou daughter that dost inhabit Dibon, come down from thy glory, and sit in thirst; for the spoiler of Moab shall come upon thee, and he shall destroy thy strong holds.

19 O inhabitant of Aroer, stand by the way, and espy; ask him that fleeth, and her that escapeth, and say, What is done?

20 Moab is confounded; for it is broken down: howl and cry; tell ye it in Arnon, that Moab is spoiled,

21 And judgement is come upon the plain country; upon Holon, and upon Jahazah, and upon Mephaath,

22 And upon Dibon, and upon Nebo, and upon Bethdiblathaim,

23 And upon Kiriathaim, and upon Bethgamul, and upon Bethmeon,

24 And upon Kerioth, and upon Bozrah, and upon all the cities of the land of Moab, far or near.

25 The horn of Moab is cut off, and his arm is broken, saith the LORD.

26 Make ye him drunken: for he magnified himself against the LORD: Moab also shall wallow in his vomit, and he also shall be in derision.

27 For was not Israel a derision unto thee? was he found among thieves? for since thou spakest of him, thou skippedst for joy.

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28 O ye that dwell in Moab, leave the cities, and dwell in the rock, and be like the dove that maketh her nest in the sides of the hole's mouth.

29 We have heard the pride of Moab, (he is exceeding proud) his loftiness, and his arrogancy, and his pride, and the haughtiness of his heart.

30 I know his wrath, saith the LORD; but it shall not be so; his lies shall not so effect it.

31 Therefore will I howl for Moab, and I will cry out for all Moab; mine heart shall mourn for the men of Kirheres.

32 O vine of Sibmah, I will weep for thee with the weeping of Jazer: thy plants are gone over the sea, they reach even to the sea of Jazer: the spoiler is fallen upon thy summer fruits and upon thy vintage.

33 And joy and gladness is taken from the plentiful field, and from the land of Moab, and I have caused wine to fail from the winepresses: none shall tread with shouting; their shouting shall be no shouting.

34 From the cry of Heshbon even unto Elealeh, and even unto Jahaz, have they uttered their voice, from Zoar even unto Horonaim, as an heifer of three years old: for the waters also of Nimrim shall be desolate.

35 Moreover I will cause to cease in Moab, saith the LORD, him that offereth in the high places, and him that burneth incense to his gods.

36 Therefore mine heart shall sound for Moab like pipes, and mine heart shall sound like pipes for the men of Kirheres: because the riches that he hath gotten are perished.

37 For every head shall be bald, and every beard clipped: upon all the hands shall be cuttings, and upon the loins sackcloth.

38 There shall be lamentation generally upon all the housetops of Moab, and in the streets thereof: for I have broken Moab like a vessel wherein is no pleasure, saith the LORD.

39 They shall howl, saying, How is it broken down! how hath Moab turned the back with shame! so shall Moab be a derision and a dismaying to all them about him.

40 For thus saith the LORD; Behold, he shall fly as an eagle, and shall spread his wings over Moab.

41 Kerioth is taken, and the strong holds are surprised, and the mighty men's hearts in Moab at that day shall be as the heart of a woman in her pangs.

42 And Moab shall be destroyed from being a people, because he hath magnified himself against the LORD.

43 Fear, and the pit, and the snare, shall be upon thee, O inhabitant of Moab, saith the LORD.

44 He that fleeth from the fear shall fall into the pit; and he that getteth up out of the pit shall be taken in the snare: for I will bring upon it, even upon Moab, the year of their visitation, saith the LORD.

45 They that fled stood under the shadow of Heshbon because of the force: but a fire shall come forth out of Heshbon, and a flame from the midst of Sihon, and shall devour the corner of Moab, and the crown of the head of the tumultuous ones.

46 Woe be unto thee, O Moab! the people of Chemosh perisheth: for thy sons are taken captives, and thy daughters captives.

47 Yet will I bring again the captivity of Moab in the latter days, saith the LORD. Thus far is the judgement of Moab.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 49

1 Concerning the Ammonites, thus saith the LORD; Hath Israel no sons? hath he no heir? why then doth their king inherit Gad, and his people dwell in his cities?

2 Therefore, behold, the days come, saith the LORD, that I will cause an alarm of war to be heard in Rabbah of the Ammonites; and it shall be a desolate heap, and her daughters shall be burned with fire: then shall Israel be heir unto them that were his heirs, saith the LORD.

3 Howl, O Heshbon, for Ai is spoiled: cry, ye daughters of Rabbah, gird you with sackcloth; lament, and run to and fro by the hedges; for their king shall go into captivity, and his priests and his princes together.

4 Wherefore gloriest thou in the valleys, thy flowing valley, O backsliding daughter? that trusted in her treasures, saying, Who shall come unto me?

5 Behold, I will bring a fear upon thee, saith the Lord GOD of hosts, from all those that be about thee; and ye shall be driven out every man right forth; and none shall gather up him that wandereth.

6 And afterward I will bring again the captivity of the children of Ammon, saith the LORD.

7 Concerning Edom, thus saith the LORD of hosts; Is wisdom no more in Teman? is counsel perished from the prudent? is their wisdom vanished?

8 Flee ye, turn back, dwell deep, O inhabitants of Dedan; for I will bring the calamity of Esau upon him, the time that I will visit him.

9 If grapegatherers come to thee, would they not leave some gleaning grapes? if thieves by night, they will destroy till they have enough.

10 But I have made Esau bare, I have uncovered his secret places, and he shall not be able to hide himself: his seed is spoiled, and his brethren, and his neighbours, and he is not.

11 Leave thy fatherless children, I will preserve them alive; and let thy widows trust in me.

12 For thus saith the LORD; Behold, they whose judgement was not to drink of the cup have assuredly drunken; and art thou he that shall altogether go unpunished? thou shalt not go unpunished, but thou shalt surely drink of it.

13 For I have sworn by myself, saith the LORD, that Bozrah shall become a desolation, a reproach, a waste, and a curse; and all the cities thereof shall be perpetual wastes.

14 I have heard a rumour from the LORD, and an ambassador is sent unto the heathen, saying, Gather ye together, and come against her, and rise up to the battle.

15 For, lo, I will make thee small among the heathen, and despised among men.

16 Thy terribleness hath deceived thee, and the pride of thine heart, O thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, that holdest the height of the hill: though thou shouldest make thy nest as high as the eagle, I will bring thee down from thence, saith the LORD.

17 Also Edom shall be a desolation: every one that goeth by it shall be astonished, and shall hiss at all the plagues thereof.

18 As in the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah and the neighbour cities thereof, saith the LORD, no man shall abide there, neither shall a son of man dwell in it.

19 Behold, he shall come up like a lion from the swelling of Jordan against the habitation of the strong: but I will suddenly make him run away from her: and who is a chosen man, that I may appoint over her? for who is like me? and who will appoint me the time? and who is that shepherd that will stand before me?

20 Therefore hear the counsel of the LORD, that he hath taken against Edom; and his purposes, that he hath purposed against the inhabitants of Teman: Surely the least of the flock shall draw them out: surely he shall make their habitations desolate with them.

21 The earth is moved at the noise of their fall, at the cry the noise thereof was heard in the Red sea.

22 Behold, he shall come up and fly as the eagle, and spread his wings over Bozrah: and at that day shall the heart of the mighty men of Edom be as the heart of a woman in her pangs.

23 Concerning Damascus. Hamath is confounded, and Arpad: for they have heard evil tidings: they are fainthearted; there is sorrow on the sea; it cannot be quiet.

24 Damascus is waxed feeble, and turneth herself to flee, and fear hath seized on her: anguish and sorrows have taken her, as a woman in travail.

25 How is the city of praise not left, the city of my joy!

26 Therefore her young men shall fall in her streets, and all the men of war shall be cut off in that day, saith the LORD of hosts.

27 And I will kindle a fire in the wall of Damascus, and it shall consume the palaces of Benhadad.

28 Concerning Kedar, and concerning the kingdoms of Hazor, which Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon shall smite, thus saith the LORD; Arise ye, go up to Kedar, and spoil the men of the east.

29 Their tents and their flocks shall they take away: they shall take to themselves their curtains, and all their vessels, and their camels; and they shall cry unto them, Fear is on every side.

30 Flee, get you far off, dwell deep, O ye inhabitants of Hazor, saith the LORD; for Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon hath taken counsel against you, and hath conceived a purpose against you.

31 Arise, get you up unto the wealthy nation, that dwelleth without care, saith the LORD, which have neither gates nor bars, which dwell alone.

32 And their camels shall be a booty, and the multitude of their cattle a spoil: and I will scatter into all winds them that are in the utmost corners; and I will bring their calamity from all sides thereof, saith the LORD.

33 And Hazor shall be a dwelling for dragons, and a desolation for ever: there shall no man abide there, nor any son of man dwell in it.

34 The word of the LORD that came to Jeremiah the prophet against Elam in the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah king of Judah, saying,

35 Thus saith the LORD of hosts; Behold, I will break the bow of Elam, the chief of their might.

36 And upon Elam will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of heaven, and will scatter them toward all those winds; and there shall be no nation whither the outcasts of Elam shall not come.

37 For I will cause Elam to be dismayed before their enemies, and before them that seek their life: and I will bring evil upon them, even my fierce anger, saith the LORD; and I will send the sword after them, till I have consumed them:

38 And I will set my throne in Elam, and will destroy from thence the king and the princes, saith the LORD.

39 But it shall come to pass in the latter days, that I will bring again the captivity of Elam, saith the LORD.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 50

1 The word that the LORD spake against Babylon and against the land of the Chaldeans by Jeremiah the prophet.

2 Declare ye among the nations, and publish, and set up a standard; publish, and conceal not: say, Babylon is taken, Bel is confounded, Merodach is broken in pieces; her idols are confounded, her images are broken in pieces.

3 For out of the north there cometh up a nation against her, which shall make her land desolate, and none shall dwell therein: they shall remove, they shall depart, both man and beast.

4 In those days, and in that time, saith the LORD, the children of Israel shall come, they and the children of Judah together, going and weeping: they shall go, and seek the LORD their God.

5 They shall ask the way to Zion with their faces thitherward, saying, Come, and let us join ourselves to the LORD in a perpetual covenant that shall not be forgotten.

6 My people hath been lost sheep: their shepherds have caused them to go astray, they have turned them away on the mountains: they have gone from mountain to hill, they have forgotten their restingplace.

7 All that found them have devoured them: and their adversaries said, We offend not, because they have sinned against the LORD, the habitation of justice, even the LORD, the hope of their fathers.

8 Remove out of the midst of Babylon, and go forth out of the land of the Chaldeans, and be as the he goats before the flocks.

9 For, lo, I will raise and cause to come up against Babylon an assembly of great nations from the north country: and they shall set themselves in array against her; from thence she shall be taken: their arrows shall be as of a mighty expert man; none shall return in vain.

10 And Chaldea shall be a spoil: all that spoil her shall be satisfied, saith the LORD.

11 Because ye were glad, because ye rejoiced, O ye destroyers of mine heritage, because ye are grown fat as the heifer at grass, and bellow as bulls;

12 Your mother shall be sore confounded; she that bare you shall be ashamed: behold, the hindermost of the nations shall be a wilderness, a dry land, and a desert.

13 Because of the wrath of the LORD it shall not be inhabited, but it shall be wholly desolate: every one that goeth by Babylon shall be astonished, and hiss at all her plagues.

14 Put yourselves in array against Babylon round about: all ye that bend the bow, shoot at her, spare no arrows: for she hath sinned against the LORD.

15 Shout against her round about: she hath given her hand: her foundations are fallen, her walls are thrown down: for it is the vengeance of the LORD: take vengeance upon her; as she hath done, do unto her.

16 Cut off the sower from Babylon, and him that handleth the sickle in the time of harvest: for fear of the oppressing sword they shall turn every one to his people, and they shall flee every one to his own land.

17 Israel is a scattered sheep; the lions have driven him away: first the king of Assyria hath devoured him; and last this Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon hath broken his bones.

18 Therefore thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel; Behold, I will punish the king of Babylon and his land, as I have punished the king of Assyria.

19 And I will bring Israel again to his habitation, and he shall feed on Carmel and Bashan, and his soul shall be satisfied upon mount Ephraim and Gilead.

20 In those days, and in that time, saith the LORD, the iniquity of Israel shall be sought for, and there shall be none; and the sins of Judah, and they shall not be found: for I will pardon them whom I reserve.

21 Go up against the land of Merathaim, even against it, and against the inhabitants of Pekod: waste and utterly destroy after them, saith the LORD, and do according to all that I have commanded thee.

22 A sound of battle is in the land, and of great destruction.

23 How is the hammer of the whole earth cut asunder and broken! how is Babylon become a desolation among the nations!

24 I have laid a snare for thee, and thou art also taken, O Babylon, and thou wast not aware: thou art found, and also caught, because thou hast striven against the LORD.

25 The LORD hath opened his armoury, and hath brought forth the weapons of his indignation: for this is the work of the Lord GOD of hosts in the land of the Chaldeans.

26 Come against her from the utmost border, open her storehouses: cast her up as heaps, and destroy her utterly: let nothing of her be left.

27 Slay all her bullocks; let them go down to the slaughter: woe unto them! for their day is come, the time of their visitation.

28 The voice of them that flee and escape out of the land of Babylon, to declare in Zion the vengeance of the LORD our God, the vengeance of his temple.

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29 Call together the archers against Babylon: all ye that bend the bow, camp against it round about; let none thereof escape: recompense her according to her work; according to all that she hath done, do unto her: for she hath been proud against the LORD, against the Holy One of Israel.

30 Therefore shall her young men fall in the streets, and all her men of war shall be cut off in that day, saith the LORD.

31 Behold, I am against thee, O thou most proud, saith the Lord GOD of hosts: for thy day is come, the time that I will visit thee.

32 And the most proud shall stumble and fall, and none shall raise him up: and I will kindle a fire in his cities, and it shall devour all round about him.

33 Thus saith the LORD of hosts; The children of Israel and the children of Judah were oppressed together: and all that took them captives held them fast; they refused to let them go.

34 Their Redeemer is strong; the LORD of hosts is his name: he shall throughly plead their cause, that he may give rest to the land, and disquiet the inhabitants of Babylon.

35 A sword is upon the Chaldeans, saith the LORD, and upon the inhabitants of Babylon, and upon her princes, and upon her wise men.

36 A sword is upon the liars; and they shall dote: a sword is upon her mighty men; and they shall be dismayed.

37 A sword is upon their horses, and upon their chariots, and upon all the mingled people that are in the midst of her; and they shall become as women: a sword is upon her treasures; and they shall be robbed.

38 A drought is upon her waters; and they shall be dried up: for it is the land of graven images, and they are mad upon their idols.

39 Therefore the wild beasts of the desert with the wild beasts of the islands shall dwell there, and the owls shall dwell therein: and it shall be no more inhabited for ever; neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation.

40 As God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah and the neighbour cities thereof, saith the LORD; so shall no man abide there, neither shall any son of man dwell therein.

41 Behold, a people shall come from the north, and a great nation, and many kings shall be raised up from the coasts of the earth.

42 They shall hold the bow and the lance: they are cruel, and will not shew mercy: their voice shall roar like the sea, and they shall ride upon horses, every one put in array, like a man to the battle, against thee, O daughter of Babylon.

43 The king of Babylon hath heard the report of them, and his hands waxed feeble: anguish took hold of him, and pangs as of a woman in travail.

44 Behold, he shall come up like a lion from the swelling of Jordan unto the habitation of the strong: but I will make them suddenly run away from her: and who is a chosen man, that I may appoint over her? for who is like me? and who will appoint me the time? and who is that shepherd that will stand before me?

45 Therefore hear ye the counsel of the LORD, that he hath taken against Babylon; and his purposes, that he hath purposed against the land of the Chaldeans: Surely the least of the flock shall draw them out: surely he shall make their habitation desolate with them.

46 At the noise of the taking of Babylon the earth is moved, and the cry is heard among the nations.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 51

1 Thus saith the LORD; Behold, I will raise up against Babylon, and against them that dwell in the midst of them that rise up against me, a destroying wind;

2 And will send unto Babylon fanners, that shall fan her, and shall empty her land: for in the day of trouble they shall be against her round about.

3 Against him that bendeth let the archer bend his bow, and against him that lifteth himself up in his brigandine: and spare ye not her young men; destroy ye utterly all her host.

4 Thus the slain shall fall in the land of the Chaldeans, and they that are thrust through in her streets.

5 For Israel hath not been forsaken, nor Judah of his God, of the LORD of hosts; though their land was filled with sin against the Holy One of Israel.

6 Flee out of the midst of Babylon, and deliver every man his soul: be not cut off in her iniquity; for this is the time of the LORD's vengeance; he will render unto her a recompence.

7 Babylon hath been a golden cup in the LORD's hand, that made all the earth drunken: the nations have drunken of her wine; therefore the nations are mad.

8 Babylon is suddenly fallen and destroyed: howl for her; take balm for her pain, if so be she may be healed.

9 We would have healed Babylon, but she is not healed: forsake her, and let us go every one into his own country: for her judgement reacheth unto heaven, and is lifted up even to the skies.

10 The LORD hath brought forth our righteousness: come, and let us declare in Zion the work of the LORD our God.

11 Make bright the arrows; gather the shields: the LORD hath raised up the spirit of the kings of the Medes: for his device is against Babylon, to destroy it; because it is the vengeance of the LORD, the vengeance of his temple.

12 Set up the standard upon the walls of Babylon, make the watch strong, set up the watchmen, prepare the ambushes: for the LORD hath both devised and done that which he spake against the inhabitants of Babylon.

13 O thou that dwellest upon many waters, abundant in treasures, thine end is come, and the measure of thy covetousness.

14 The LORD of hosts hath sworn by himself, saying, Surely I will fill thee with men, as with caterpillers; and they shall lift up a shout against thee.

15 He hath made the earth by his power, he hath established the world by his wisdom, and hath stretched out the heaven by his understanding.

16 When he uttereth his voice, there is a multitude of waters in the heavens; and he causeth the vapours to ascend from the ends of the earth: he maketh lightnings with rain, and bringeth forth the wind out of his treasures.

17 Every man is brutish by his knowledge; every founder is confounded by the graven image: for his molten image is falsehood, and there is no breath in them.

18 They are vanity, the work of errors: in the time of their visitation they shall perish.

19 The portion of Jacob is not like them; for he is the former of all things: and Israel is the rod of his inheritance: the LORD of hosts is his name.

20 Thou art my battle axe and weapons of war: for with thee will I break in pieces the nations, and with thee will I destroy kingdoms;

21 And with thee will I break in pieces the horse and his rider; and with thee will I break in pieces the chariot and his rider;

22 With thee also will I break in pieces man and woman; and with thee will I break in pieces old and young; and with thee will I break in pieces the young man and the maid;

23 I will also break in pieces with thee the shepherd and his flock; and with thee will I break in pieces the husbandman and his yoke of oxen; and with thee will I break in pieces captains and rulers.

24 And I will render unto Babylon and to all the inhabitants of Chaldea all their evil that they have done in Zion in your sight, saith the LORD.

25 Behold, I am against thee, O destroying mountain, saith the LORD, which destroyest all the earth: and I will stretch out mine hand upon thee, and roll thee down from the rocks, and will make thee a burnt mountain.

26 And they shall not take of thee a stone for a corner, nor a stone for foundations; but thou shalt be desolate for ever, saith the LORD.

27 Set ye up a standard in the land, blow the trumpet among the nations, prepare the nations against her, call together against her the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashchenaz; appoint a captain against her; cause the horses to come up as the rough caterpillers.

28 Prepare against her the nations with the kings of the Medes, the captains thereof, and all the rulers thereof, and all the land of his dominion.

29 And the land shall tremble and sorrow: for every purpose of the LORD shall be performed against Babylon, to make the land of Babylon a desolation without an inhabitant.

30 The mighty men of Babylon have forborn to fight, they have remained in their holds: their might hath failed; they became as women: they have burned her dwellingplaces; her bars are broken.

31 One post shall run to meet another, and one messenger to meet another, to shew the king of Babylon that his city is taken at one end,

32 And that the passages are stopped, and the reeds they have burned with fire, and the men of war are affrighted.

33 For thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel; The daughter of Babylon is like a threshingfloor, it is time to thresh her: yet a little while, and the time of her harvest shall come.

34 Nebuchadrezzar the king of Babylon hath devoured me, he hath crushed me, he hath made me an empty vessel, he hath swallowed me up like a dragon, he hath filled his belly with my delicates, he hath cast me out.

35 The violence done to me and to my flesh be upon Babylon, shall the inhabitant of Zion say; and my blood upon the inhabitants of Chaldea, shall Jerusalem say.

36 Therefore thus saith the LORD; Behold, I will plead thy cause, and take vengeance for thee; and I will dry up her sea, and make her springs dry.

37 And Babylon shall become heaps, a dwellingplace for dragons, an astonishment, and an hissing, without an inhabitant.

38 They shall roar together like lions: they shall yell as lions' whelps.

39 In their heat I will make their feasts, and I will make them drunken, that they may rejoice, and sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake, saith the LORD.

40 I will bring them down like lambs to the slaughter, like rams with he goats.

41 How is Sheshach taken! and how is the praise of the whole earth surprised! how is Babylon become an astonishment among the nations!

42 The sea is come up upon Babylon: she is covered with the multitude of the waves thereof.

43 Her cities are a desolation, a dry land, and a wilderness, a land wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth any son of man pass thereby.

44 And I will punish Bel in Babylon, and I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed up: and the nations shall not flow together any more unto him: yea, the wall of Babylon shall fall.

45 My people, go ye out of the midst of her, and deliver ye every man his soul from the fierce anger of the LORD.

46 And lest your heart faint, and ye fear for the rumour that shall be heard in the land; a rumour shall both come one year, and after that in another year shall come a rumour, and violence in the land, ruler against ruler.

47 Therefore, behold, the days come, that I will do judgement upon the graven images of Babylon: and her whole land shall be confounded, and all her slain shall fall in the midst of her.

48 Then the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein, shall sing for Babylon: for the spoilers shall come unto her from the north, saith the LORD.

49 As Babylon hath caused the slain of Israel to fall, so at Babylon shall fall the slain of all the earth.

50 Ye that have escaped the sword, go away, stand not still: remember the LORD afar off, and let Jerusalem come into your mind.

51 We are confounded, because we have heard reproach: shame hath covered our faces: for strangers are come into the sanctuaries of the LORD's house.

52 Wherefore, behold, the days come, saith the LORD, that I will do judgement upon her graven images: and through all her land the wounded shall groan.

53 Though Babylon should mount up to heaven, and though she should fortify the height of her strength, yet from me shall spoilers come unto her, saith the LORD.

54 A sound of a cry cometh from Babylon, and great destruction from the land of the Chaldeans:

55 Because the LORD hath spoiled Babylon, and destroyed out of her the great voice; when her waves do roar like great waters, a noise of their voice is uttered:

56 Because the spoiler is come upon her, even upon Babylon, and her mighty men are taken, every one of their bows is broken: for the LORD God of recompences shall surely requite.

57 And I will make drunk her princes, and her wise men, her captains, and her rulers, and her mighty men: and they shall sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake, saith the King, whose name is the LORD of hosts.

58 Thus saith the LORD of hosts; The broad walls of Babylon shall be utterly broken, and her high gates shall be burned with fire; and the people shall labour in vain, and the folk in the fire, and they shall be weary.

59 The word which Jeremiah the prophet commanded Seraiah the son of Neriah, the son of Maaseiah, when he went with Zedekiah the king of Judah into Babylon in the fourth year of his reign. And this Seraiah was a quiet prince.

60 So Jeremiah wrote in a book all the evil that should come upon Babylon, even all these words that are written against Babylon.

61 And Jeremiah said to Seraiah, When thou comest to Babylon, and shalt see, and shalt read all these words;

62 Then shalt thou say, O LORD, thou hast spoken against this place, to cut it off, that none shall remain in it, neither man nor beast, but that it shall be desolate for ever.

63 And it shall be, when thou hast made an end of reading this book, that thou shalt bind a stone to it, and cast it into the midst of Euphrates:

64 And thou shalt say, Thus shall Babylon sink, and shall not rise from the evil that I will bring upon her: and they shall be weary. Thus far are the words of Jeremiah.

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 52

1 Zedekiah was one and twenty years old when he began to reign, and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name was Hamutal the daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah.

2 And he did that which was evil in the eyes of the LORD, according to all that Jehoiakim had done.

3 For through the anger of the LORD it came to pass in Jerusalem and Judah, till he had cast them out from his presence, that Zedekiah rebelled against the king of Babylon.

4 And it came to pass in the ninth year of his reign, in the tenth month, in the tenth day of the month, that Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon came, he and all his army, against Jerusalem, and pitched against it, and built forts against it round about.

5 So the city was besieged unto the eleventh year of king Zedekiah.

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6 And in the fourth month, in the ninth day of the month, the famine was sore in the city, so that there was no bread for the people of the land.

7 Then the city was broken up, and all the men of war fled, and went forth out of the city by night by the way of the gate between the two walls, which was by the king's garden; (now the Chaldeans were by the city round about:) and they went by the way of the plain.

8 But the army of the Chaldeans pursued after the king, and overtook Zedekiah in the plains of Jericho; and all his army was scattered from him.

9 Then they took the king, and carried him up unto the king of Babylon to Riblah in the land of Hamath; where he gave judgement upon him.

10 And the king of Babylon slew the sons of Zedekiah before his eyes: he slew also all the princes of Judah in Riblah.

11 Then he put out the eyes of Zedekiah; and the king of Babylon bound him in chains, and carried him to Babylon, and put him in prison till the day of his death.

12 Now in the fifth month, in the tenth day of the month, which was the nineteenth year of Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon, came Nebuzaradan, captain of the guard, which served the king of Babylon, into Jerusalem,

13 And burned the house of the LORD, and the king's house; and all the houses of Jerusalem, and all the houses of the great men, burned he with fire:

14 And all the army of the Chaldeans, that were with the captain of the guard, brake down all the walls of Jerusalem round about.

15 Then Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard carried away captive certain of the poor of the people, and the residue of the people that remained in the city, and those that fell away, that fell to the king of Babylon, and the rest of the multitude.

16 But Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard left certain of the poor of the land for vinedressers and for husbandmen.

17 Also the pillars of brass that were in the house of the LORD, and the bases, and the brasen sea that was in the house of the LORD, the Chaldeans brake, and carried all the brass of them to Babylon.

18 The caldrons also, and the shovels, and the snuffers, and the bowls, and the spoons, and all the vessels of brass wherewith they ministered, took they away.

19 And the basons, and the firepans, and the bowls, and the caldrons, and the candlesticks, and the spoons, and the cups; that which was of gold in gold, and that which was of silver in silver, took the captain of the guard away.

20 The two pillars, one sea, and twelve brasen bulls that were under the bases, which king Solomon had made in the house of the LORD: the brass of all these vessels was without weight.

21 And concerning the pillars, the height of one pillar was eighteen cubits; and a fillet of twelve cubits did compass it; and the thickness thereof was four fingers: it was hollow.

22 And a chapiter of brass was upon it; and the height of one chapiter was five cubits, with network and pomegranates upon the chapiters round about, all of brass. The second pillar also and the pomegranates were like unto these.

23 And there were ninety and six pomegranates on a side; and all the pomegranates upon the network were an hundred round about.

24 And the captain of the guard took Seraiah the chief priest, and Zephaniah the second priest, and the three keepers of the door:

25 He took also out of the city an eunuch, which had the charge of the men of war; and seven men of them that were near the king's person, which were found in the city; and the principal scribe of the host, who mustered the people of the land; and threescore men of the people of the land, that were found in the midst of the city.

26 So Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard took them, and brought them to the king of Babylon to Riblah.

27 And the king of Babylon smote them, and put them to death in Riblah in the land of Hamath. Thus Judah was carried away captive out of his own land.

28 This is the people whom Nebuchadrezzar carried away captive: in the seventh year three thousand Jews and three and twenty:

29 In the eighteenth year of Nebuchadrezzar he carried away captive from Jerusalem eight hundred thirty and two persons:

30 In the three and twentieth year of Nebuchadrezzar Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard carried away captive of the Jews seven hundred forty and five persons: all the persons were four thousand and six hundred.

31 And it came to pass in the seven and thirtieth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin king of Judah, in the twelfth month, in the five and twentieth day of the month, that Evilmerodach king of Babylon in the first year of his reign lifted up the head of Jehoiachin king of Judah, and brought him forth out of prison.

32 And spake kindly unto him, and set his throne above the throne of the kings that were with him in Babylon,

33 And changed his prison garments: and he did continually eat bread before him all the days of his life.

34 And for his diet, there was a continual diet given him of the king of Babylon, every day a portion until the day of his death, all the days of his life.

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET EZEKIEL

Hebrew title: Sefer Yekhezkel

Estimated Range of Dating: c. 6th-century B.C.

(The Book of Ezekiel belongs to the Nevi'im (Prophets) and consists of 48 chapters and is the third of the Latter Prophets in the Tanakh and one of the major prophetic books in the Old Testament, following Isaiah and Jeremiah. According to the book itself, it records six visions of the prophet Ezekiel, exiled in Babylon, during the 22 years from 593 to 571 BC, although it is the product of a long and complex history and does not necessarily preserve the very words of the prophet.

The visions, and the book, are structured around three themes: (1st) Judgement on Israel (chapters 1–24); (2nd) Judgement on the nations (chapters 25–32); and (3rd) Future blessings for Israel (chapters 33–48). Its themes include the concepts of the presence of God, purity, Israel as a divine community, and individual responsibility to God. Its later influence has included the development of mystical and apocalyptic traditions in Second Temple and rabbinic Judaism and Christianity.

In the Chapters 10 and 11, the book contains a vision of God in heaven and describes wheels and strange beings around his throne. In fact, these two chapters deliver the most remarkable descriptions of the entire Hebrew Bible. It has a very technological character and gives the reader the impression that a kind of flying machine is described. Some scholars hold that Ezekiel's vision might be a report and detailed description of a kind of aircraft or, as Erich von Däniken had pointed out, an extraterrestrial spacecraft. NASA engineer Josef F. Blumrich decided to disprove the hypothesis. However, a thorough examination convinced him that Ezekiel might have seen a flying vehicle or spaceship of which he then made detailed drawings of the alien craft.

Descriptions of such vehicles are not entirely unique but can also be found in the Indian Ramayana Epic. In the Ramayana, a "vimana" called vehicle is described as follows: "The Pushpaka Vimana that resembles the Sun and belongs to my brother was brought by the powerful Ravana; that aerial and excellent Vimana going everywhere at will ... that chariot resembling a bright cloud in the sky ... and the King [Rama] got in, and the excellent chariot at the command of the Raghira, rose up into the higher atmosphere.'" It is the first flying vimana mentioned in existing Hindu texts. With the size of an encyclopaedia, the Ramayana is one of the largest ancient epics in the world. Scholars estimate the age of the text from the 7th to 4th centuries BC. [Ramayana, Elysium Press, Calcutta, 1892]

The book opens with a vision of YHWH. The book moves on to anticipate the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, explains this as God's punishment, and closes with the promise of a new beginning and a new Temple.

1. Inaugural vision Ezekiel 1:1–3:27: God approaches Ezekiel as the divine warrior, riding in his battle chariot. The chariot is drawn by four living creatures, each having four faces (those of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle) and four wings. Beside each "living creature" is a "wheel within a wheel", with "tall and awesome" rims full of eyes all around. God commissions Ezekiel as a prophet and as a "watchman" in Israel: "Son of man, I am sending you to the Israelites." (2:3)

2. Judgement on Jerusalem and Judah and on the nations: God warns of the certain destruction of Jerusalem and of the devastation of the nations that have troubled his people: the Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites and Philistines, the Phoenician cities of Tyre and Sidon, and Egypt.

3. Building a new city: The Jewish exile will come to an end, a new city and new Temple will be built, and the Israelites will be gathered and blessed as never before.

Some of the highlights include:

• The "throne vision", in which Ezekiel sees God enthroned in the Temple among the heavenly host;

• The first "temple vision", in which Ezekiel sees God leave the Temple because of the abominations practiced there (meaning the worship of idols rather than YHWH, the official God of Judah;

• Images of Israel, in which Israel is seen as a harlot bride, among other things;

• The "valley of dry bones", in which the prophet sees the dead of the house of Israel rise again;

• The destruction of Gog and Magog, in which Ezekiel sees Israel's enemies destroyed and a new age of peace established;

• The final temple vision, in which Ezekiel sees a new commonwealth centered around a new temple in Jerusalem, sometimes called the Third Temple, to which God's Shekinah (Divine Presence) has returned.)

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 1

1 Now it came to pass in the thirtieth year, in the fourth month, in the fifth day of the month, as I was among the captives by the river of Chebar, that the heavens were opened, and I saw visions of God.

2 In the fifth day of the month, which was the fifth year of king Jehoiachin's captivity,

3 The word of the LORD came expressly unto Ezekiel the priest, the son of Buzi, in the land of the Chaldeans by the river Chebar; and the hand of the LORD was there upon him.

4 And I looked, and, behold, a whirlwind came out of the north, a great cloud, and a fire infolding itself, and a brightness was about it, and out of the midst thereof as the colour of amber, out of the midst of the fire.

5 Also out of the midst thereof came the likeness of four living creatures. And this was their appearance; they had the likeness of a man.

6 And every one had four faces, and every one had four wings.

7 And their feet were straight feet; and the sole of their feet was like the sole of a calf's foot: and they sparkled like the colour of burnished brass.

8 And they had the hands of a man under their wings on their four sides; and they four had their faces and their wings.

9 Their wings were joined one to another; they turned not when they went; they went every one straight forward.

10 As for the likeness of their faces, they four had the face of a man, and the face of a lion, on the right side: and they four had the face of an ox on the left side; they four also had the face of an eagle.

11 Thus were their faces: and their wings were stretched upward; two wings of every one were joined one to another, and two covered their bodies.

12 And they went every one straight forward: whither the spirit was to go, they went; and they turned not when they went.

13 As for the likeness of the living creatures, their appearance was like burning coals of fire, and like the appearance of lamps: it went up and down among the living creatures; and the fire was bright, and out of the fire went forth lightning.

14 And the living creatures ran and returned as the appearance of a flash of lightning.

15 Now as I beheld the living creatures, behold one wheel upon the earth by the living creatures, with his four faces.

16 The appearance of the wheels and their work was like unto the colour of a beryl: and they four had one likeness: and their appearance and their work was as it were a wheel in the middle of a wheel.

17 When they went, they went upon their four sides: and they turned not when they went.

18 As for their rings, they were so high that they were dreadful; and their rings were full of eyes round about them four.

19 And when the living creatures went, the wheels went by them: and when the living creatures were lifted up from the earth, the wheels were lifted up.

20 Whithersoever the spirit was to go, they went, thither was their spirit to go; and the wheels were lifted up over against them: for the spirit of the living creature was in the wheels.

21 When those went, these went; and when those stood, these stood; and when those were lifted up from the earth, the wheels were lifted up over against them: for the spirit of the living creature was in the wheels.

22 And the likeness of the firmament upon the heads of the living creature was as the colour of the terrible crystal, stretched forth over their heads above.

23 And under the firmament were their wings straight, the one toward the other: every one had two, which covered on this side, and every one had two, which covered on that side, their bodies.

24 And when they went, I heard the noise of their wings, like the noise of great waters, as the voice of the Almighty, the voice of speech, as the noise of an host: when they stood, they let down their wings.

25 And there was a voice from the firmament that was over their heads, when they stood, and had let down their wings.

26 And above the firmament that was over their heads was the likeness of a throne, as the appearance of a sapphire stone: and upon the likeness of the throne was the likeness as the appearance of a man above upon it.

27 And I saw as the colour of amber, as the appearance of fire round about within it, from the appearance of his loins even upward, and from the appearance of his loins even downward, I saw as it were the appearance of fire, and it had brightness round about.

28 As the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain, so was the appearance of the brightness round about. This was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the LORD. And when I saw it, I fell upon my face, and I heard a voice of one that spake.

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EZEKIEL CHAPTER 2

1 And he said unto me, Son of man, stand upon thy feet, and I will speak unto thee.

2 And the spirit entered into me when he spake unto me, and set me upon my feet, that I heard him that spake unto me.

3 And he said unto me, Son of man, I send thee to the children of Israel, to a rebellious nation that hath rebelled against me: they and their fathers have transgressed against me, even unto this very day.

4 For they are impudent children and stiffhearted. I do send thee unto them; and thou shalt say unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD.

5 And they, whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear, (for they are a rebellious house,) yet shall know that there hath been a prophet among them.

6 And thou, son of man, be not afraid of them, neither be afraid of their words, though briers and thorns be with thee, and thou dost dwell among scorpions: be not afraid of their words, nor be dismayed at their looks, though they be a rebellious house.

7 And thou shalt speak my words unto them, whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear: for they are most rebellious.

8 But thou, son of man, hear what I say unto thee; Be not thou rebellious like that rebellious house: open thy mouth, and eat that I give thee.

9 And when I looked, behold, an hand was sent unto me; and, lo, a roll of a book was therein;

10 And he spread it before me; and it was written within and without: and there was written therein lamentations, and mourning, and woe.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 3

1 Moreover he said unto me, Son of man, eat that thou findest; eat this roll, and go speak unto the house of Israel.

2 So I opened my mouth, and he caused me to eat that roll.

3 And he said unto me, Son of man, cause thy belly to eat, and fill thy bowels with this roll that I give thee. Then did I eat it; and it was in my mouth as honey for sweetness.

4 And he said unto me, Son of man, go, get thee unto the house of Israel, and speak with my words unto them.

5 For thou art not sent to a people of a strange speech and of an hard language, but to the house of Israel;

6 Not to many people of a strange speech and of an hard language, whose words thou canst not understand. Surely, had I sent thee to them, they would have hearkened unto thee.

7 But the house of Israel will not hearken unto thee; for they will not hearken unto me: for all the house of Israel are impudent and hardhearted.

8 Behold, I have made thy face strong against their faces, and thy forehead strong against their foreheads.

9 As an adamant harder than flint have I made thy forehead: fear them not, neither be dismayed at their looks, though they be a rebellious house.

10 Moreover he said unto me, Son of man, all my words that I shall speak unto thee receive in thine heart, and hear with thine ears.

11 And go, get thee to them of the captivity, unto the children of thy people, and speak unto them, and tell them, Thus saith the Lord GOD; whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear.

12 Then the spirit took me up, and I heard behind me a voice of a great rushing, saying, Blessed be the glory of the LORD from his place.

13 I heard also the noise of the wings of the living creatures that touched one another, and the noise of the wheels over against them, and a noise of a great rushing.

14 So the spirit lifted me up, and took me away, and I went in bitterness, in the heat of my spirit; but the hand of the LORD was strong upon me.

15 Then I came to them of the captivity at Telabib, that dwelt by the river of Chebar, and I sat where they sat, and remained there astonished among them seven days.

16 And it came to pass at the end of seven days, that the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

17 Son of man, I have made thee a watchman unto the house of Israel: therefore hear the word at my mouth, and give them warning from me.

18 When I say unto the wicked, Thou shalt surely die; and thou givest him not warning, nor speakest to warn the wicked from his wicked way, to save his life; the same wicked man shall die in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at thine hand.

19 Yet if thou warn the wicked, and he turn not from his wickedness, nor from his wicked way, he shall die in his iniquity; but thou hast delivered thy soul.

20 Again, When a righteous man doth turn from his righteousness, and commit iniquity, and I lay a stumbling-block before him, he shall die: because thou hast not given him warning, he shall die in his sin, and his righteousness which he hath done shall not be remembered; but his blood will I require at thine hand.

21 Nevertheless if thou warn the righteous man, that the righteous sin not, and he doth not sin, he shall surely live, because he is warned; also thou hast delivered thy soul.

22 And the hand of the LORD was there upon me; and he said unto me, Arise, go forth into the plain, and I will there talk with thee.

23 Then I arose, and went forth into the plain: and, behold, the glory of the LORD stood there, as the glory which I saw by the river of Chebar: and I fell on my face.

24 Then the spirit entered into me, and set me upon my feet, and spake with me, and said unto me, Go, shut thyself within thine house.

25 But thou, O son of man, behold, they shall put bands upon thee, and shall bind thee with them, and thou shalt not go out among them:

26 And I will make thy tongue cleave to the roof of thy mouth, that thou shalt be dumb, and shalt not be to them a reprover: for they are a rebellious house.

27 But when I speak with thee, I will open thy mouth, and thou shalt say unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD; He that heareth, let him hear; and he that forbeareth, let him forbear: for they are a rebellious house.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 4

1 Thou also, son of man, take thee a tile, and lay it before thee, and pourtray upon it the city, even Jerusalem:

2 And lay siege against it, and build a fort against it, and cast a mount against it; set the camp also against it, and set battering rams against it round about.

3 Moreover take thou unto thee an iron pan, and set it for a wall of iron between thee and the city: and set thy face against it, and it shall be besieged, and thou shalt lay siege against it. This shall be a sign to the house of Israel.

4 Lie thou also upon thy left side, and lay the iniquity of the house of Israel upon it: according to the number of the days that thou shalt lie upon it thou shalt bear their iniquity.

5 For I have laid upon thee the years of their iniquity, according to the number of the days, three hundred and ninety days: so shalt thou bear the iniquity of the house of Israel.

6 And when thou hast accomplished them, lie again on thy right side, and thou shalt bear the iniquity of the house of Judah forty days: I have appointed thee each day for a year.

7 Therefore thou shalt set thy face toward the siege of Jerusalem, and thine arm shall be uncovered, and thou shalt prophesy against it.

8 And, behold, I will lay bands upon thee, and thou shalt not turn thee from one side to another, till thou hast ended the days of thy siege.

9 Take thou also unto thee wheat, and barley, and beans, and lentiles, and millet, and fitches, and put them in one vessel, and make thee bread thereof, according to the number of the days that thou shalt lie upon thy side, three hundred and ninety days shalt thou eat thereof.

10 And thy meat which thou shalt eat shall be by weight, twenty shekels a day: from time to time shalt thou eat it.

11 Thou shalt drink also water by measure, the sixth part of an hin: from time to time shalt thou drink.

12 And thou shalt eat it as barley cakes, and thou shalt bake it with dung that cometh out of man, in their sight.

13 And the LORD said, Even thus shall the children of Israel eat their defiled bread among the Gentiles, whither I will drive them.

14 Then said I, Ah Lord GOD! behold, my soul hath not been polluted: for from my youth up even till now have I not eaten of that which dieth of itself, or is torn in pieces; neither came there abominable flesh into my mouth.

15 Then he said unto me, Lo, I have given thee cow's dung for man's dung, and thou shalt prepare thy bread therewith.

16 Moreover he said unto me, Son of man, behold, I will break the staff of bread in Jerusalem: and they shall eat bread by weight, and with care; and they shall drink water by measure, and with astonishment:

17 That they may want bread and water, and be astonied one with another, and consume away for their iniquity.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 5

1 And thou, son of man, take thee a sharp knife, take thee a barber's razor, and cause it to pass upon thine head and upon thy beard: then take thee balances to weigh, and divide the hair.

2 Thou shalt burn with fire a third part in the midst of the city, when the days of the siege are fulfilled: and thou shalt take a third part, and smite about it with a knife: and a third part thou shalt scatter in the wind; and I will draw out a sword after them.

3 Thou shalt also take thereof a few in number, and bind them in thy skirts.

4 Then take of them again, and cast them into the midst of the fire, and burn them in the fire; for thereof shall a fire come forth into all the house of Israel.

5 Thus saith the Lord GOD; This is Jerusalem: I have set it in the midst of the nations and countries that are round about her.

6 And she hath changed my judgements into wickedness more than the nations, and my statutes more than the countries that are round about her: for they have refused my judgements and my statutes, they have not walked in them.

7 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Because ye multiplied more than the nations that are round about you, and have not walked in my statutes, neither have kept my judgements, neither have done according to the judgements of the nations that are round about you;

8 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I, even I, am against thee, and will execute judgements in the midst of thee in the sight of the nations.

9 And I will do in thee that which I have not done, and whereunto I will not do any more the like, because of all thine abominations.

10 Therefore the fathers shall eat the sons in the midst of thee, and the sons shall eat their fathers; and I will execute judgements in thee, and the whole remnant of thee will I scatter into all the winds.

11 Wherefore, as I live, saith the Lord GOD; Surely, because thou hast defiled my sanctuary with all thy detestable things, and with all thine abominations, therefore will I also diminish thee; neither shall mine eye spare, neither will I have any pity.

12 A third part of thee shall die with the pestilence, and with famine shall they be consumed in the midst of thee: and a third part shall fall by the sword round about thee; and I will scatter a third part into all the winds, and I will draw out a sword after them.

13 Thus shall mine anger be accomplished, and I will cause my fury to rest upon them, and I will be comforted: and they shall know that I the LORD have spoken it in my zeal, when I have accomplished my fury in them.

14 Moreover I will make thee waste, and a reproach among the nations that are round about thee, in the sight of all that pass by.

15 So it shall be a reproach and a taunt, an instruction and an astonishment unto the nations that are round about thee, when I shall execute judgements in thee in anger and in fury and in furious rebukes. I the LORD have spoken it.

16 When I shall send upon them the evil arrows of famine, which shall be for their destruction, and which I will send to destroy you: and I will increase the famine upon you, and will break your staff of bread:

17 So will I send upon you famine and evil beasts, and they shall bereave thee: and pestilence and blood shall pass through thee; and I will bring the sword upon thee. I the LORD have spoken it.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 6

1 And the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

2 Son of man, set thy face toward the mountains of Israel, and prophesy against them,

3 And say, Ye mountains of Israel, hear the word of the Lord GOD; Thus saith the Lord GOD to the mountains, and to the hills, to the rivers, and to the valleys; Behold, I, even I, will bring a sword upon you, and I will destroy your high places.

4 And your altars shall be desolate, and your images shall be broken: and I will cast down your slain men before your idols.

5 And I will lay the dead carcases of the children of Israel before their idols; and I will scatter your bones round about your altars.

6 In all your dwellingplaces the cities shall be laid waste, and the high places shall be desolate; that your altars may be laid waste and made desolate, and your idols may be broken and cease, and your images may be cut down, and your works may be abolished.

7 And the slain shall fall in the midst of you, and ye shall know that I am the LORD.

8 Yet will I leave a remnant, that ye may have some that shall escape the sword among the nations, when ye shall be scattered through the countries.

9 And they that escape of you shall remember me among the nations whither they shall be carried captives, because I am broken with their whorish heart, which hath departed from me, and with their eyes, which go a whoring after their idols: and they shall lothe themselves for the evils which they have committed in all their abominations.

10 And they shall know that I am the LORD, and that I have not said in vain that I would do this evil unto them.

11 Thus saith the Lord GOD; Smite with thine hand, and stamp with thy foot, and say, Alas for all the evil abominations of the house of Israel! for they shall fall by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence.

12 He that is far off shall die of the pestilence; and he that is near shall fall by the sword; and he that remaineth and is besieged shall die by the famine: thus will I accomplish my fury upon them.

13 Then shall ye know that I am the LORD, when their slain men shall be among their idols round about their altars, upon every high hill, in all the tops of the mountains, and

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under every green tree, and under every thick oak, the place where they did offer sweet savour to all their idols.

14 So will I stretch out my hand upon them, and make the land desolate, yea, more desolate than the wilderness toward Diblath, in all their habitations: and they shall know that I am the LORD.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 7

1 Moreover the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

2 Also, thou son of man, thus saith the Lord GOD unto the land of Israel; An end, the end is come upon the four corners of the land.

3 Now is the end come upon thee, and I will send mine anger upon thee, and will judge thee according to thy ways, and will recompense upon thee all thine abominations.

4 And mine eye shall not spare thee, neither will I have pity: but I will recompense thy ways upon thee, and thine abominations shall be in the midst of thee: and ye shall know that I am the LORD.

5 Thus saith the Lord GOD; An evil, an only evil, behold, is come.

6 An end is come, the end is come: it watcheth for thee; behold, it is come.

7 The morning is come unto thee, O thou that dwellest in the land: the time is come, the day of trouble is near, and not the sounding again of the mountains.

8 Now will I shortly pour out my fury upon thee, and accomplish mine anger upon thee: and I will judge thee according to thy ways, and will recompense thee for all thine abominations.

9 And mine eye shall not spare, neither will I have pity: I will recompense thee according to thy ways and thine abominations that are in the midst of thee; and ye shall know that I am the LORD that smiteth.

10 Behold the day, behold, it is come: the morning is gone forth; the rod hath blossomed, pride hath budded.

11 Violence is risen up into a rod of wickedness: none of them shall remain, nor of their multitude, nor of any of their's: neither shall there be wailing for them.

12 The time is come, the day draweth near: let not the buyer rejoice, nor the seller mourn: for wrath is upon all the multitude thereof.

13 For the seller shall not return to that which is sold, although they were yet alive: for the vision is touching the whole multitude thereof, which shall not return; neither shall any strengthen himself in the iniquity of his life.

14 They have blown the trumpet, even to make all ready; but none goeth to the battle: for my wrath is upon all the multitude thereof.

15 The sword is without, and the pestilence and the famine within: he that is in the field shall die with the sword; and he that is in the city, famine and pestilence shall devour him.

16 But they that escape of them shall escape, and shall be on the mountains like doves of the valleys, all of them mourning, every one for his iniquity.

17 All hands shall be feeble, and all knees shall be weak as water.

18 They shall also gird themselves with sackcloth, and horror shall cover them; and shame shall be upon all faces, and baldness upon all their heads.

19 They shall cast their silver in the streets, and their gold shall be removed: their silver and their gold shall not be able to deliver them in the day of the wrath of the LORD: they shall not satisfy their souls, neither fill their bowels: because it is the stumblingblock of their iniquity.

20 As for the beauty of his ornament, he set it in majesty: but they made the images of their abominations and of their detestable things therein: therefore have I set it far from them.

21 And I will give it into the hands of the strangers for a prey, and to the wicked of the earth for a spoil; and they shall pollute it.

22 My face will I turn also from them, and they shall pollute my secret place: for the robbers shall enter into it, and defile it.

23 Make a chain: for the land is full of bloody crimes, and the city is full of violence.

24 Wherefore I will bring the worst of the heathen, and they shall possess their houses: I will also make the pomp of the strong to cease; and their holy places shall be defiled.

25 Destruction cometh; and they shall seek peace, and there shall be none.

26 Mischief shall come upon mischief, and rumour shall be upon rumour; then shall they seek a vision of the prophet; but the law shall perish from the priest, and counsel from the ancients.

27 The king shall mourn, and the prince shall be clothed with desolation, and the hands of the people of the land shall be troubled: I will do unto them after their way, and according to their deserts will I judge them; and they shall know that I am the LORD.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 8

1 And it came to pass in the sixth year, in the sixth month, in the fifth day of the month, as I sat in mine house, and the elders of Judah sat before me, that the hand of the Lord GOD fell there upon me.

2 Then I beheld, and lo a likeness as the appearance of fire: from the appearance of his loins even downward, fire; and from his loins even upward, as the appearance of brightness, as the colour of amber.

3 And he put forth the form of an hand, and took me by a lock of mine head; and the spirit lifted me up between the earth and the heaven, and brought me in the visions of God to Jerusalem, to the door of the inner gate that looketh toward the north; where was the seat of the image of jealousy, which provoketh to jealousy.

4 And, behold, the glory of the God of Israel was there, according to the vision that I saw in the plain.

5 Then said he unto me, Son of man, lift up thine eyes now the way toward the north. So I lifted up mine eyes the way toward the north, and behold northward at the gate of the altar this image of jealousy in the entry.

6 He said furthermore unto me, Son of man, seest thou what they do? even the great abominations that the house of Israel committeth here, that I should go far off from my sanctuary? but turn thee yet again, and thou shalt see greater abominations.

7 And he brought me to the door of the court; and when I looked, behold a hole in the wall.

8 Then said he unto me, Son of man, dig now in the wall: and when I had digged in the wall, behold a door.

9 And he said unto me, Go in, and behold the wicked abominations that they do here.

10 So I went in and saw; and behold every form of creeping things, and abominable beasts, and all the idols of the house of Israel, pourtrayed upon the wall round about.

11 And there stood before them seventy men of the ancients of the house of Israel, and in the midst of them stood Jaazaniah the son of Shaphan, with every man his censer in his hand; and a thick cloud of incense went up.

12 Then said he unto me, Son of man, hast thou seen what the ancients of the house of Israel do in the dark, every man in the chambers of his imagery? for they say, the LORD seeth us not; the LORD hath forsaken the earth.

13 He said also unto me, Turn thee yet again, and thou shalt see greater abominations that they do.

14 Then he brought me to the door of the gate of the LORD's house which was toward the north; and, behold, there sat women weeping for Tammuz.

15 Then said he unto me, Hast thou seen this, O son of man? turn thee yet again, and thou shalt see greater abominations than these.

16 And he brought me into the inner court of the LORD's house, and, behold, at the door of the temple of the LORD, between the porch and the altar, were about five and twenty men, with their backs toward the temple of the LORD, and their faces toward the east; and they worshipped the sun toward the east.

17 Then he said unto me, Hast thou seen this, O son of man? Is it a light thing to the house of Judah that they commit the abominations which they commit here? for they have filled the land with violence, and have returned to provoke me to anger: and, lo, they put the branch to their nose.

18 Therefore will I also deal in fury: mine eye shall not spare, neither will I have pity: and though they cry in mine ears with a loud voice, yet will I not hear them.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 9

1 He cried also in mine ears with a loud voice, saying, Cause them that have charge over the city to draw near, even every man with his destroying weapon in his hand.

2 And, behold, six men came from the way of the higher gate, which lieth toward the north, and every man a slaughter weapon in his hand; and one man among them was clothed with linen, with a writer's inkhorn by his side: and they went in, and stood beside the brasen altar.

3 And the glory of the God of Israel was gone up from the cherub, whereupon he was, to the threshold of the house. And he called to the man clothed with linen, which had the writer's inkhorn by his side;

4 And the LORD said unto him, Go through the midst of the city, through the midst of Jerusalem, and set a mark upon the foreheads of the men that sigh and that cry for all the abominations that be done in the midst thereof.

5 And to the others he said in mine hearing, Go ye after him through the city, and smite: let not your eye spare, neither have ye pity:

6 Slay utterly old and young, both maids, and little children, and women: but come not near any man upon whom is the mark; and begin at my sanctuary. Then they began at the ancient men which were before the house.

7 And he said unto them, Defile the house, and fill the courts with the slain: go ye forth. And they went forth, and slew in the city.

8 And it came to pass, while they were slaying them, and I was left, that I fell upon my face, and cried, and said, Ah Lord GOD! wilt thou destroy all the residue of Israel in thy pouring out of thy fury upon Jerusalem?

9 Then said he unto me, The iniquity of the house of Israel and Judah is exceeding great, and the land is full of blood, and the city full of perverseness: for they say, The LORD hath forsaken the earth, and the LORD seeth not.

10 And as for me also, mine eye shall not spare, neither will I have pity, but I will recompense their way upon their head.

11 And, behold, the man clothed with linen, which had the inkhorn by his side, reported the matter, saying, I have done as thou hast commanded me.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 10

1 Then I looked, and, behold, in the firmament that was above the head of the cherubims there appeared over them as it were a sapphire stone, as the appearance of the likeness of a throne.

2 And he spake unto the man clothed with linen, and said, Go in between the wheels, even under the cherub, and fill thine hand with coals of fire from between the cherubims, and scatter them over the city. And he went in in my sight.

3 Now the cherubims stood on the right side of the house, when the man went in; and the cloud filled the inner court.

4 Then the glory of the LORD went up from the cherub, and stood over the threshold of the house; and the house was filled with the cloud, and the court was full of the brightness of the LORD's glory.

5 And the sound of the cherubims' wings was heard even to the outer court, as the voice of the Almighty God when he speaketh.

6 And it came to pass, that when he had commanded the man clothed with linen, saying, Take fire from between the wheels, from between the cherubims; then he went in, and stood beside the wheels.

7 And one cherub stretched forth his hand from between the cherubims unto the fire that was between the cherubims, and took thereof, and put it into the hands of him that was clothed with linen: who took it, and went out.

8 And there appeared in the cherubims the form of a man's hand under their wings.

9 And when I looked, behold the four wheels by the cherubims, one wheel by one cherub, and another wheel by another cherub: and the appearance of the wheels was as the colour of a beryl stone.

10 And as for their appearances, they four had one likeness, as if a wheel had been in the midst of a wheel.

11 When they went, they went upon their four sides; they turned not as they went, but to the place whither the head looked they followed it; they turned not as they went.

12 And their whole body, and their backs, and their hands, and their wings, and the wheels, were full of eyes round about, even the wheels that they four had.

13 As for the wheels, it was cried unto them in my hearing, O wheel.

14 And every one had four faces: the first face was the face of a cherub, and the second face was the face of a man, and the third the face of a lion, and the fourth the face of an eagle.

15 And the cherubims were lifted up. This is the living creature that I saw by the river of Chebar.

16 And when the cherubims went, the wheels went by them: and when the cherubims lifted up their wings to mount up from the earth, the same wheels also turned not from beside them.

17 When they stood, these stood; and when they were lifted up, these lifted up themselves also: for the spirit of the living creature was in them.

18 Then the glory of the LORD departed from off the threshold of the house, and stood over the cherubims.

19 And the cherubims lifted up their wings, and mounted up from the earth in my sight: when they went out, the wheels also were beside them, and every one stood at the door of the east gate of the LORD's house; and the glory of the God of Israel was over them above.

20 This is the living creature that I saw under the God of Israel by the river of Chebar; and I knew that they were the cherubims.

21 Every one had four faces apiece, and every one four wings; and the likeness of the hands of a man was under their wings.

22 And the likeness of their faces was the same faces which I saw by the river of Chebar, their appearances and themselves: they went every one straight forward.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 11

1 Moreover the spirit lifted me up, and brought me unto the east gate of the LORD's house, which looketh eastward: and behold at the door of the gate five and twenty men; among whom I saw Jaazaniah the son of Azur, and Pelatiah the son of Benaiah, princes of the people.

2 Then said he unto me, Son of man, these are the men that devise mischief, and give wicked counsel in this city:

3 Which say, It is not near; let us build houses: this city is the caldron, and we be the flesh.

4 Therefore prophesy against them, prophesy, O son of man.

5 And the Spirit of the LORD fell upon me, and said unto me, Speak; Thus saith the LORD; Thus have ye said, O house

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of Israel: for I know the things that come into your mind, every one of them.

6 Ye have multiplied your slain in this city, and ye have filled the streets thereof with the slain.

7 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Your slain whom ye have laid in the midst of it, they are the flesh, and this city is the caldron: but I will bring you forth out of the midst of it.

8 Ye have feared the sword; and I will bring a sword upon you, saith the Lord GOD.

9 And I will bring you out of the midst thereof, and deliver you into the hands of strangers, and will execute judgements among you.

10 Ye shall fall by the sword; I will judge you in the border of Israel; and ye shall know that I am the LORD.

11 This city shall not be your caldron, neither shall ye be the flesh in the midst thereof; but I will judge you in the border of Israel:

12 And ye shall know that I am the LORD: for ye have not walked in my statutes, neither executed my judgements, but have done after the manners of the heathen that are round about you.

13 And it came to pass, when I prophesied, that Pelatiah the son of Benaiah died. Then fell I down upon my face, and cried with a loud voice, and said, Ah Lord GOD! wilt thou make a full end of the remnant of Israel?

14 Again the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

15 Son of man, thy brethren, even thy brethren, the men of thy kindred, and all the house of Israel wholly, are they unto whom the inhabitants of Jerusalem have said, Get you far from the LORD: unto us is this land given in possession.

16 Therefore say, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Although I have cast them far off among the heathen, and although I have scattered them among the countries, yet will I be to them as a little sanctuary in the countries where they shall come.

17 Therefore say, Thus saith the Lord GOD; I will even gather you from the people, and assemble you out of the countries where ye have been scattered, and I will give you the land of Israel.

18 And they shall come thither, and they shall take away all the detestable things thereof and all the abominations thereof from thence.

19 And I will give them one heart, and I will put a new spirit within you; and I will take the stony heart out of their flesh, and will give them an heart of flesh:

20 That they may walk in my statutes, and keep mine ordinances, and do them: and they shall be my people, and I will be their God.

21 But as for them whose heart walketh after the heart of their detestable things and their abominations, I will recompense their way upon their own heads, saith the Lord GOD.

22 Then did the cherubims lift up their wings, and the wheels beside them; and the glory of the God of Israel was over them above.

23 And the glory of the LORD went up from the midst of the city, and stood upon the mountain which is on the east side of the city.

24 Afterwards the spirit took me up, and brought me in a vision by the Spirit of God into Chaldea, to them of the captivity. So the vision that I had seen went up from me.

25 Then I spake unto them of the captivity all the things that the LORD had shewed me.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 12

1 The word of the LORD also came unto me, saying,

2 Son of man, thou dwellest in the midst of a rebellious house, which have eyes to see, and see not; they have ears to hear, and hear not: for they are a rebellious house.

3 Therefore, thou son of man, prepare thee stuff for removing, and remove by day in their sight; and thou shalt remove from thy place to another place in their sight: it may be they will consider, though they be a rebellious house.

4 Then shalt thou bring forth thy stuff by day in their sight, as stuff for removing: and thou shalt go forth at even in their sight, as they that go forth into captivity.

5 Dig thou through the wall in their sight, and carry out thereby.

6 In their sight shalt thou bear it upon thy shoulders, and carry it forth in the twilight: thou shalt cover thy face, that thou see not the ground: for I have set thee for a sign unto the house of Israel.

7 And I did so as I was commanded: I brought forth my stuff by day, as stuff for captivity, and in the even I digged through the wall with mine hand; I brought it forth in the twilight, and I bare it upon my shoulder in their sight.

8 And in the morning came the word of the LORD unto me, saying,

9 Son of man, hath not the house of Israel, the rebellious house, said unto thee, What doest thou?

10 Say thou unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD; This burden concerneth the prince in Jerusalem, and all the house of Israel that are among them.

11 Say, I am your sign: like as I have done, so shall it be done unto them: they shall remove and go into captivity.

12 And the prince that is among them shall bear upon his shoulder in the twilight, and shall go forth: they shall dig through the wall to carry out thereby: he shall cover his face, that he see not the ground with his eyes.

13 My net also will I spread upon him, and he shall be taken in my snare: and I will bring him to Babylon to the land of the Chaldeans; yet shall he not see it, though he shall die there.

14 And I will scatter toward every wind all that are about him to help him, and all his bands; and I will draw out the sword after them.

15 And they shall know that I am the LORD, when I shall scatter them among the nations, and disperse them in the countries.

16 But I will leave a few men of them from the sword, from the famine, and from the pestilence; that they may declare all their abominations among the heathen whither they come; and they shall know that I am the LORD.

17 Moreover the word of the LORD came to me, saying,

18 Son of man, eat thy bread with quaking, and drink thy water with trembling and with carefulness;

19 And say unto the people of the land, Thus saith the Lord GOD of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and of the land of Israel; They shall eat their bread with carefulness, and drink their water with astonishment, that her land may be desolate from all that is therein, because of the violence of all them that dwell therein.

20 And the cities that are inhabited shall be laid waste, and the land shall be desolate; and ye shall know that I am the LORD.

21 And the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

22 Son of man, what is that proverb that ye have in the land of Israel, saying, The days are prolonged, and every vision faileth?

23 Tell them therefore, Thus saith the Lord GOD; I will make this proverb to cease, and they shall no more use it as a proverb in Israel; but say unto them, The days are at hand, and the effect of every vision.

24 For there shall be no more any vain vision nor flattering divination within the house of Israel.

25 For I am the LORD: I will speak, and the word that I shall speak shall come to pass; it shall be no more prolonged: for in your days, O rebellious house, will I say the word, and will perform it, saith the Lord GOD.

26 Again the word of the LORD came to me, saying.

27 Son of man, behold, they of the house of Israel say, The vision that he seeth is for many days to come, and he prophesieth of the times that are far off.

28 Therefore say unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD; There shall none of my words be prolonged any more, but the word which I have spoken shall be done, saith the Lord GOD.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 13

1 And the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

2 Son of man, prophesy against the prophets of Israel that prophesy, and say thou unto them that prophesy out of their own hearts, Hear ye the word of the LORD;

3 Thus saith the Lord GOD; Woe unto the foolish prophets, that follow their own spirit, and have seen nothing!

4 O Israel, thy prophets are like the foxes in the deserts.

5 Ye have not gone up into the gaps, neither made up the hedge for the house of Israel to stand in the battle in the day of the LORD.

6 They have seen vanity and lying divination, saying, The LORD saith: and the LORD hath not sent them: and they have made others to hope that they would confirm the word.

7 Have ye not seen a vain vision, and have ye not spoken a lying divination, whereas ye say, The LORD saith it; albeit I have not spoken?

8 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Because ye have spoken vanity, and seen lies, therefore, behold, I am against you, saith the Lord GOD.

9 And mine hand shall be upon the prophets that see vanity, and that divine lies: they shall not be in the assembly of my people, neither shall they be written in the writing of the house of Israel, neither shall they enter into the land of Israel; and ye shall know that I am the Lord GOD.

10 Because, even because they have seduced my people, saying, Peace; and there was no peace; and one built up a wall, and, lo, others daubed it with untempered morter:

11 Say unto them which daub it with untempered morter, that it shall fall: there shall be an overflowing shower; and ye, O great hailstones, shall fall; and a stormy wind shall rend it.

12 Lo, when the wall is fallen, shall it not be said unto you, Where is the daubing wherewith ye have daubed it?

13 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; I will even rend it with a stormy wind in my fury; and there shall be an overflowing shower in mine anger, and great hailstones in my fury to consume it.

14 So will I break down the wall that ye have daubed with untempered morter, and bring it down to the ground, so that the foundation thereof shall be discovered, and it shall fall, and ye shall be consumed in the midst thereof: and ye shall know that I am the LORD.

15 Thus will I accomplish my wrath upon the wall, and upon them that have daubed it with untempered morter, and will say unto you, The wall is no more, neither they that daubed it;

16 To wit, the prophets of Israel which prophesy concerning Jerusalem, and which see visions of peace for her, and there is no peace, saith the Lord GOD.

17 Likewise, thou son of man, set thy face against the daughters of thy people, which prophesy out of their own heart; and prophesy thou against them,

18 And say, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Woe to the women that sew pillows to all armholes, and make kerchiefs upon the head of every stature to hunt souls! Will ye hunt the souls of my people, and will ye save the souls alive that come unto you?

19 And will ye pollute me among my people for handfuls of barley and for pieces of bread, to slay the souls that should not die, and to save the souls alive that should not live, by your lying to my people that hear your lies?

20 Wherefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I am against your pillows, wherewith ye there hunt the souls to make them fly, and I will tear them from your arms, and will let the souls go, even the souls that ye hunt to make them fly.

21 Your kerchiefs also will I tear, and deliver my people out of your hand, and they shall be no more in your hand to be hunted; and ye shall know that I am the LORD.

22 Because with lies ye have made the heart of the righteous sad, whom I have not made sad; and strengthened the hands of the wicked, that he should not return from his wicked way, by promising him life:

23 Therefore ye shall see no more vanity, nor divine divinations: for I will deliver my people out of your hand: and ye shall know that I am the LORD.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 14

1 Then came certain of the elders of Israel unto me, and sat before me.

2 And the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

3 Son of man, these men have set up their idols in their heart, and put the stumblingblock of their iniquity before their face: should I be enquired of at all by them?

4 Therefore speak unto them, and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Every man of the house of Israel that setteth up his idols in his heart, and putteth the stumblingblock of his iniquity before his face, and cometh to the prophet; I the LORD will answer him that cometh according to the multitude of his idols;

5 That I may take the house of Israel in their own heart, because they are all estranged from me through their idols.

6 Therefore say unto the house of Israel, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Repent, and turn yourselves from your idols; and turn away your faces from all your abominations.

7 For every one of the house of Israel, or of the stranger that sojourneth in Israel, which separateth himself from me, and setteth up his idols in his heart, and putteth the stumblingblock of his iniquity before his face, and cometh to a prophet to enquire of him concerning me; I the LORD will answer him by myself:

8 And I will set my face against that man, and will make him a sign and a proverb, and I will cut him off from the midst of my people; and ye shall know that I am the LORD.

9 And if the prophet be deceived when he hath spoken a thing, I the LORD have deceived that prophet, and I will stretch out my hand upon him, and will destroy him from the midst of my people Israel.

10 And they shall bear the punishment of their iniquity: the punishment of the prophet shall be even as the punishment of him that seeketh unto him;

11 That the house of Israel may go no more astray from me, neither be polluted any more with all their transgressions; but that they may be my people, and I may be their God, saith the Lord GOD.

12 The word of the LORD came again to me, saying,

13 Son of man, when the land sinneth against me by trespassing grievously, then will I stretch out mine hand upon it, and will break the staff of the bread thereof, and will send famine upon it, and will cut off man and beast from it:

14 Though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it, they should deliver but their own souls by their righteousness, saith the Lord GOD.

15 If I cause noisome beasts to pass through the land, and they spoil it, so that it be desolate, that no man may pass through because of the beasts:

16 Though these three men were in it, as I live, saith the Lord GOD, they shall deliver neither sons nor daughters; they only shall be delivered, but the land shall be desolate.

17 Or if I bring a sword upon that land, and say, Sword, go through the land; so that I cut off man and beast from it:

18 Though these three men were in it, as I live, saith the Lord GOD, they shall deliver neither sons nor daughters, but they only shall be delivered themselves.

19 Or if I send a pestilence into that land, and pour out my fury upon it in blood, to cut off from it man and beast:

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20 Though Noah, Daniel, and Job were in it, as I live, saith the Lord GOD, they shall deliver neither son nor daughter; they shall but deliver their own souls by their righteousness.
21 For thus saith the Lord GOD; How much more when I send my four sore judgements upon Jerusalem, the sword, and the famine, and the noisome beast, and the pestilence, to cut off from it man and beast?
22 Yet, behold, therein shall be left a remnant that shall be brought forth, both sons and daughters: behold, they shall come forth unto you, and ye shall see their way and their doings: and ye shall be comforted concerning the evil that I have brought upon Jerusalem, even concerning all that I have brought upon it.
23 And they shall comfort you, when ye see their ways and their doings: and ye shall know that I have not done without cause all that I have done in it, saith the Lord GOD.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 15
1 And the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,
2 Son of man, what is the vine tree more than any tree, or than a branch which is among the trees of the forest?
3 Shall wood be taken thereof to do any work? or will men take a pin of it to hang any vessel thereon?
4 Behold, it is cast into the fire for fuel; the fire devoureth both the ends of it, and the midst of it is burned. Is it meet for any work?
5 Behold, when it was whole, it was meet for no work: how much less shall it be meet yet for any work, when the fire hath devoured it, and it is burned?
6 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; As the vine tree among the trees of the forest, which I have given to the fire for fuel, so will I give the inhabitants of Jerusalem.
7 And I will set my face against them; they shall go out from one fire, and another fire shall devour them; and ye shall know that I am the LORD, when I set my face against them.
8 And I will make the land desolate, because they have committed a trespass, saith the Lord GOD.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 16
1 Again the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,
2 Son of man, cause Jerusalem to know her abominations,
3 And say, Thus saith the Lord GOD unto Jerusalem; Thy birth and thy nativity is of the land of Canaan; thy father was an Amorite, and thy mother an Hittite.
4 And as for thy nativity, in the day thou wast born thy navel was not cut, neither wast thou washed in water to supple thee; thou wast not salted at all, nor swaddled at all.
5 None eye pitied thee, to do any of these unto thee, to have compassion upon thee; but thou wast cast out in the open field, to the lothing of thy person, in the day that thou wast born.
6 And when I passed by thee, and saw thee polluted in thine own blood, I said unto thee when thou wast in thy blood, Live; yea, I said unto thee when thou wast in thy blood, Live.
7 I have caused thee to multiply as the bud of the field, and thou hast increased and waxen great, and thou art come to excellent ornaments: thy breasts are fashioned, and thine hair is grown, whereas thou wast naked and bare.
8 Now when I passed by thee, and looked upon thee, behold, thy time was the time of love; and I spread my skirt over thee, and covered thy nakedness: yea, I sware unto thee, and entered into a covenant with thee, saith the Lord GOD, and thou becamest mine.
9 Then washed I thee with water; yea, I throughly washed away thy blood from thee, and I anointed thee with oil.
10 I clothed thee also with broidered work, and shod thee with badgers' skin, and I girded thee about with fine linen, and I covered thee with silk.
11 I decked thee also with ornaments, and I put bracelets upon thy hands, and a chain on thy neck.
12 And I put a jewel on thy forehead, and earrings in thine ears, and a beautiful crown upon thine head.
13 Thus wast thou decked with gold and silver; and thy raiment was of fine linen, and silk, and broidered work; thou didst eat fine flour, and honey, and oil: and thou wast exceeding beautiful, and thou didst prosper into a kingdom.
14 And thy renown went forth among the heathen for thy beauty: for it was perfect through my comeliness, which I had put upon thee, saith the Lord GOD.
15 But thou didst trust in thine own beauty, and playedst the harlot because of thy renown, and pouredst out thy fornications on every one that passed by; his it was.
16 And of thy garments thou didst take, and deckedst thy high places with divers colours, and playedst the harlot thereupon: the like things shall not come, neither shall it be so.
17 Thou hast also taken thy fair jewels of my gold and of my silver, which I had given thee, and madest to thyself images of men, and didst commit whoredom with them,
18 And tookest thy broidered garments, and coveredst them: and thou hast set mine oil and mine incense before them.
19 My meat also which I gave thee, fine flour, and oil, and honey, wherewith I fed thee, thou hast even set it before them for a sweet savour: and thus it was, saith the Lord GOD.
20 Moreover thou hast taken thy sons and thy daughters, whom thou hast borne unto me, and these hast thou sacrificed unto them to be devoured. Is this of thy whoredoms a small matter,
21 That thou hast slain my children, and delivered them to cause them to pass through the fire for them?
22 And in all thine abominations and thy whoredoms thou hast not remembered the days of thy youth, when thou wast naked and bare, and wast polluted in thy blood.
23 And it came to pass after all thy wickedness, (woe, woe unto thee! saith the LORD GOD;)
24 That thou hast also built unto thee an eminent place, and hast made thee an high place in every street.
25 Thou hast built thy high place at every head of the way, and hast made thy beauty to be abhorred, and hast opened thy feet to every one that passed by, and multiplied thy whoredoms.
26 Thou hast also committed fornication with the Egyptians thy neighbours, great of flesh; and hast increased thy whoredoms, to provoke me to anger.
27 Behold, therefore I have stretched out my hand over thee, and have diminished thine ordinary food, and delivered thee unto the will of them that hate thee, the daughters of the Philistines, which are ashamed of thy lewd way.
28 Thou hast played the whore also with the Assyrians, because thou wast unsatiable; yea, thou hast played the harlot with them, and yet couldest not be satisfied.
29 Thou hast moreover multiplied thy fornication in the land of Canaan unto Chaldea; and yet thou wast not satisfied therewith.
30 How weak is thine heart, saith the LORD GOD, seeing thou doest all these things, the work of an imperious whorish woman;
31 In that thou buildest thine eminent place in the head of every way, and makest thine high place in every street; and hast not been as an harlot, in that thou scornest hire;
32 But as a wife that committeth adultery, which taketh strangers instead of her husband!
33 They give gifts to all whores: but thou givest thy gifts to all thy lovers, and hirest them, that they may come unto thee on every side for thy whoredom.
34 And the contrary is in thee from other women in thy whoredoms, whereas none followeth thee to commit whoredoms: and in that thou givest a reward, and no reward is given unto thee, therefore thou art contrary.
35 Wherefore, O harlot, hear the word of the LORD:
36 Thus saith the Lord GOD; Because thy filthiness was poured out, and thy nakedness discovered through thy whoredoms with thy lovers, and with all the idols of thy abominations, and by the blood of thy children, which thou didst give unto them;
37 Behold, therefore I will gather all thy lovers, with whom thou hast taken pleasure, and all them that thou hast loved, with all them that thou hast hated; I will even gather them round about against thee, and will discover thy nakedness unto them, that they may see all thy nakedness.
38 And I will judge thee, as women that break wedlock and shed blood are judged; and I will give thee blood in fury and jealousy.
39 And I will also give thee into their hand, and they shall throw down thine eminent place, and shall break down thy high places: they shall strip thee also of thy clothes, and shall take thy fair jewels, and leave thee naked and bare.
40 They shall also bring up a company against thee, and they shall stone thee with stones, and thrust thee through with their swords.
41 And they shall burn thine houses with fire, and execute judgements upon thee in the sight of many women: and I will cause thee to cease from playing the harlot, and thou also shalt give no hire any more.
42 So will I make my fury toward thee to rest, and my jealousy shall depart from thee, and I will be quiet, and will be no more angry.
43 Because thou hast not remembered the days of thy youth, but hast fretted me in all these things; behold, therefore I also will recompense thy way upon thine head, saith the Lord GOD: and thou shalt not commit this lewdness above all thine abominations.
44 Behold, every one that useth proverbs shall use this proverb against thee, saying, As is the mother, so is her daughter.
45 Thou art thy mother's daughter, that lotheth her husband and her children; and thou art the sister of thy sisters, which lothed their husbands and their children: your mother was an Hittite, and your father an Amorite.
46 And thine elder sister is Samaria, she and her daughters that dwell at thy left hand: and thy younger sister, that dwelleth at thy right hand, is Sodom and her daughters.
47 Yet hast thou not walked after their ways, nor done after their abominations: but, as if that were a very little thing, thou wast corrupted more than they in all thy ways.
48 As I live, saith the Lord GOD, Sodom thy sister hath not done, she nor her daughters, as thou hast done, thou and thy daughters.
49 Behold, this was the iniquity of thy sister Sodom, pride, fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness was in her and in her daughters, neither did she strengthen the hand of the poor and needy.
50 And they were haughty, and committed abomination before me: therefore I took them away as I saw good.
51 Neither hath Samaria committed half of thy sins; but thou hast multiplied thine abominations more than they, and hast justified thy sisters in all thine abominations which thou hast done.
52 Thou also, which hast judged thy sisters, bear thine own shame for thy sins that thou hast committed more abominable than they: they are more righteous than thou: yea, be thou confounded also, and bear thy shame, in that thou hast justified thy sisters.
53 When I shall bring again their captivity, the captivity of Sodom and her daughters, and the captivity of Samaria and her daughters, then will I bring again the captivity of thy captives in the midst of them:
54 That thou mayest bear thine own shame, and mayest be confounded in all that thou hast done, in that thou art a comfort unto them.
55 When thy sisters, Sodom and her daughters, shall return to their former estate, and Samaria and her daughters shall return to their former estate, then thou and thy daughters shall return to your former estate.
56 For thy sister Sodom was not mentioned by thy mouth in the day of thy pride,
57 Before thy wickedness was discovered, as at the time of thy reproach of the daughters of Syria, and all that are round about her, the daughters of the Philistines, which despise thee round about.
58 Thou hast borne thy lewdness and thine abominations, saith the LORD.
59 For thus saith the Lord GOD; I will even deal with thee as thou hast done, which hast despised the oath in breaking the covenant.
60 Nevertheless I will remember my covenant with thee in the days of thy youth, and I will establish unto thee an everlasting covenant.
61 Then thou shalt remember thy ways, and be ashamed, when thou shalt receive thy sisters, thine elder and thy younger: and I will give them unto thee for daughters, but not by thy covenant.
62 And I will establish my covenant with thee; and thou shalt know that I am the LORD:
63 That thou mayest remember, and be confounded, and never open thy mouth any more because of thy shame, when I am pacified toward thee for all that thou hast done, saith the Lord GOD.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 17
1 And the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,
2 Son of man, put forth a riddle, and speak a parable unto the house of Israel;
3 And say, Thus saith the Lord GOD; A great eagle with great wings, longwinged, full of feathers, which had divers colours, came unto Lebanon, and took the highest branch of the cedar:
4 He cropped off the top of his young twigs, and carried it into a land of traffick; he set it in a city of merchants.
5 He took also of the seed of the land, and planted it in a fruitful field; he placed it by great waters, and set it as a willow tree.
6 And it grew, and became a spreading vine of low stature, whose branches turned toward him, and the roots thereof were under him: so it became a vine, and brought forth branches, and shot forth sprigs.
7 There was also another great eagle with great wings and many feathers: and, behold, this vine did bend her roots toward him, and shot forth her branches toward him, that he might water it by the furrows of her plantation.
8 It was planted in a good soil by great waters, that it might bring forth branches, and that it might bear fruit, that it might be a goodly vine.
9 Say thou, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Shall it prosper? shall he not pull up the roots thereof, and cut off the fruit thereof, that it wither? it shall wither in all the leaves of her spring, even without great power or many people to pluck it up by the roots thereof.
10 Yea, behold, being planted, shall it prosper? shall it not utterly wither, when the east wind toucheth it? it shall wither in the furrows where it grew.
11 Moreover the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,
12 Say now to the rebellious house, Know ye not what these things mean? tell them, Behold, the king of Babylon is come to Jerusalem, and hath taken the king thereof, and the princes thereof, and led them with him to Babylon;
13 And hath taken of the king's seed, and made a covenant with him, and hath taken an oath of him: he hath also taken the mighty of the land:
14 That the kingdom might be base, that it might not lift itself up, but that by keeping of his covenant it might stand.
15 But he rebelled against him in sending his ambassadors into Egypt, that they might give him horses and much people.

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Shall he prosper? shall he escape that doeth such things? or shall he break the covenant, and be delivered?

16 As I live, saith the Lord GOD, surely in the place where the king dwelleth that made him king, whose oath he despised, and whose covenant he brake, even with him in the midst of Babylon he shall die.

17 Neither shall Pharaoh with his mighty army and great company make for him in the war, by casting up mounts, and building forts, to cut off many persons:

18 Seeing he despised the oath by breaking the covenant, when, lo, he had given his hand, and hath done all these things, he shall not escape.

19 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; As I live, surely mine oath that he hath despised, and my covenant that he hath broken, even it will I recompense upon his own head.

20 And I will spread my net upon him, and he shall be taken in my snare, and I will bring him to Babylon, and will plead with him there for his trespass that he hath trespassed against me.

21 And all his fugitives with all his bands shall fall by the sword, and they that remain shall be scattered toward all winds: and ye shall know that I the LORD have spoken it.

22 Thus saith the Lord GOD; I will also take of the highest branch of the high cedar, and will set it; I will crop off from the top of his young twigs a tender one, and will plant it upon an high mountain and eminent:

23 In the mountain of the height of Israel will I plant it: and it shall bring forth boughs, and bear fruit, and be a goodly cedar: and under it shall dwell all fowl of every wing; in the shadow of the branches thereof shall they dwell.

24 And all the trees of the field shall know that I the LORD have brought down the high tree, have exalted the low tree, have dried up the green tree, and have made the dry tree to flourish: I the LORD have spoken and have done it.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 18

1 The word of the LORD came unto me again, saying,

2 What mean ye, that ye use this proverb concerning the land of Israel, saying, The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge?

3 As I live, saith the Lord GOD, ye shall not have occasion any more to use this proverb in Israel.

4 Behold, all souls are mine; as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine: the soul that sinneth, it shall die.

5 But if a man be just, and do that which is lawful and right,

6 And hath not eaten upon the mountains, neither hath lifted up his eyes to the idols of the house of Israel, neither hath defiled his neighbour's wife, neither hath come near to a menstruous woman,

7 And hath not oppressed any, but hath restored to the debtor his pledge, hath spoiled none by violence, hath given his bread to the hungry, and hath covered the naked with a garment;

8 He that hath not given forth upon usury, neither hath taken any increase, that hath withdrawn his hand from iniquity, hath executed true judgement between man and man,

9 Hath walked in my statutes, and hath kept my judgements, to deal truly; he is just, he shall surely live, saith the Lord GOD.

10 If he beget a son that is a robber, a shedder of blood, and that doeth the like to any one of these things,

11 And that doeth not any of those duties, but even hath eaten upon the mountains, and defiled his neighbour's wife,

12 Hath oppressed the poor and needy, hath spoiled by violence, hath not restored the pledge, and hath lifted up his eyes to the idols, hath committed abomination,

13 Hath given forth upon usury, and hath taken increase: shall he then live? he shall not live: he hath done all these abominations; he shall surely die; his blood shall be upon him.

14 Now, lo, if he beget a son, that seeth all his father's sins which he hath done, and considereth, and doeth not such like,

15 That hath not eaten upon the mountains, neither hath lifted up his eyes to the idols of the house of Israel, hath not defiled his neighbour's wife,

16 Neither hath oppressed any, hath not withholden the pledge, neither hath spoiled by violence, but hath given his bread to the hungry, and hath covered the naked with a garment,

17 That hath taken off his hand from the poor, that hath not received usury nor increase, hath executed my judgements, hath walked in my statutes; he shall not die for the iniquity of his father, he shall surely live.

18 As for his father, because he cruelly oppressed, spoiled his brother by violence, and did that which is not good among his people, lo, even he shall die in his iniquity.

19 Yet say ye, Why? doth not the son bear the iniquity of the father? When the son hath done that which is lawful and right, and hath kept all my statutes, and hath done them, he shall surely live.

20 The soul that sinneth, it shall die. The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son: the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him.

21 But if the wicked will turn from all his sins that he hath committed, and keep all my statutes, and do that which is lawful and right, he shall surely live, he shall not die.

22 All his transgressions that he hath committed, they shall not be mentioned unto him: in his righteousness that he hath done he shall live.

23 Have I any pleasure at all that the wicked should die? saith the Lord GOD: and not that he should return from his ways, and live?

24 But when the righteous turneth away from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity, and doeth according to all the abominations that the wicked man doeth, shall he live? All his righteousness that he hath done shall not be mentioned: in his trespass that he hath trespassed, and in his sin that he hath sinned, in them shall he die.

25 Yet ye say, The way of the LORD is not equal. Hear now, O house of Israel; Is not my way equal? are not your ways unequal?

26 When a righteous man turneth away from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity, and dieth in them; for his iniquity that he hath done shall he die.

27 Again, when the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness that he hath committed, and doeth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive.

28 Because he considereth, and turneth away from all his transgressions that he hath committed, he shall surely live, he shall not die.

29 Yet saith the house of Israel, The way of the LORD is not equal. O house of Israel, are not my ways equal? are not your ways unequal?

30 Therefore I will judge you, O house of Israel, every one according to his ways, saith the Lord GOD. Repent, and turn yourselves from all your transgressions; so iniquity shall not be your ruin.

31 Cast away from you all your transgressions, whereby ye have transgressed; and make you a new heart and a new spirit: for why will ye die, O house of Israel?

32 For I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord GOD: wherefore turn yourselves, and live ye.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 19

1 Moreover take thou up a lamentation for the princes of Israel,

2 And say, What is thy mother? A lioness: she lay down among lions, she nourished her whelps among young lions.

3 And she brought up one of her whelps: it became a young lion, and it learned to catch the prey; it devoured men.

4 The nations also heard of him; he was taken in their pit, and they brought him with chains unto the land of Egypt.

5 Now when she saw that she had waited, and her hope was lost, then she took another of her whelps, and made him a young lion.

6 And he went up and down among the lions, he became a young lion, and learned to catch the prey, and devoured men.

7 And he knew their desolate palaces, and he laid waste their cities; and the land was desolate, and the fulness thereof, by the noise of his roaring.

8 Then the nations set against him on every side from the provinces, and spread their net over him: he was taken in their pit.

9 And they put him in ward in chains, and brought him to the king of Babylon: they brought him into holds, that his voice should no more be heard upon the mountains of Israel.

10 Thy mother is like a vine in thy blood, planted by the waters: she was fruitful and full of branches by reason of many waters.

11 And she had strong rods for the sceptres of them that bare rule, and her stature was exalted among the thick branches, and she appeared in her height with the multitude of her branches.

12 But she was plucked up in fury, she was cast down to the ground, and the east wind dried up her fruit: her strong rods were broken and withered; the fire consumed them.

13 And now she is planted in the wilderness, in a dry and thirsty ground.

14 And fire is gone out of a rod of her branches, which hath devoured her fruit, so that she hath no strong rod to be a sceptre to rule. This is a lamentation, and shall be for a lamentation.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 20

1 And it came to pass in the seventh year, in the fifth month, the tenth day of the month, that certain of the elders of Israel came to enquire of the LORD, and sat before me.

2 Then came the word of the LORD unto me, saying,

3 Son of man, speak unto the elders of Israel, and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Are ye come to enquire of me? As I live, saith the Lord GOD, I will not be enquired of by you.

4 Wilt thou judge them, son of man, wilt thou judge them? cause them to know the abominations of their fathers:

5 And say unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD; In the day when I chose Israel, and lifted up mine hand unto the seed of the house of Jacob, and made myself known unto them in the land of Egypt, when I lifted up mine hand unto them, saying, I am the LORD your God;

6 In the day that I lifted up mine hand unto them, to bring them forth of the land of Egypt into a land that I had espied for them, flowing with milk and honey, which is the glory of all lands:

7 Then said I unto them, Cast ye away every man the abominations of his eyes, and defile not yourselves with the idols of Egypt: I am the LORD your God.

8 But they rebelled against me, and would not hearken unto me: they did not every man cast away the abominations of their eyes, neither did they forsake the idols of Egypt: then I said, I will pour out my fury upon them, to accomplish my anger against them in the midst of the land of Egypt.

9 But I wrought for my name's sake, that it should not be polluted before the heathen, among whom they were, in whose sight I made myself known unto them, in bringing them forth out of the land of Egypt.

10 Wherefore I caused them to go forth out of the land of Egypt, and brought them into the wilderness.

11 And I gave them my statutes, and shewed them my judgements, which if a man do, he shall even live in them.

12 Moreover also I gave them my sabbaths, to be a sign between me and them, that they might know that I am the LORD that sanctify them.

13 But the house of Israel rebelled against me in the wilderness: they walked not in my statutes, and they despised my judgements, which if a man do, he shall even live in them; and my sabbaths they greatly polluted: then I said, I would pour out my fury upon them in the wilderness, to consume them.

14 But I wrought for my name's sake, that it should not be polluted before the heathen, in whose sight I brought them out.

15 Yet also I lifted up my hand unto them in the wilderness, that I would not bring them into the land which I had given them, flowing with milk and honey, which is the glory of all lands;

16 Because they despised my judgements, and walked not in my statutes, but polluted my sabbaths: for their heart went after their idols.

17 Nevertheless mine eye spared them from destroying them, neither did I make an end of them in the wilderness.

18 But I said unto their children in the wilderness, Walk ye not in the statutes of your fathers, neither observe their judgements, nor defile yourselves with their idols:

19 I am the LORD your God; walk in my statutes, and keep my judgements, and do them;

20 And hallow my sabbaths; and they shall be a sign between me and you, that ye may know that I am the LORD your God.

21 Notwithstanding the children rebelled against me: they walked not in my statutes, neither kept my judgements to do them, which if a man do, he shall even live in them; they polluted my sabbaths: then I said, I would pour out my fury upon them, to accomplish my anger against them in the wilderness.

22 Nevertheless I withdrew mine hand, and wrought for my name's sake, that it should not be polluted in the sight of the heathen, in whose sight I brought them forth.

23 I lifted up mine hand unto them also in the wilderness, that I would scatter them among the heathen, and disperse them through the countries;

24 Because they had not executed my judgements, but had despised my statutes, and had polluted my sabbaths, and their eyes were after their fathers' idols.

25 Wherefore I gave them also statutes that were not good, and judgements whereby they should not live;

26 And I polluted them in their own gifts, in that they caused to pass through the fire all that openeth the womb, that I might make them desolate, to the end that they might know that I am the LORD.

27 Therefore, son of man, speak unto the house of Israel, and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Yet in this your fathers have blasphemed me, in that they have committed a trespass against me.

28 For when I had brought them into the land, for the which I lifted up mine hand to give it to them, then they saw every high hill, and all the thick trees, and they offered there their sacrifices, and there they presented the provocation of their offering: there also they made their sweet savour, and poured out there their drink offerings.

29 Then I said unto them, What is the high place whereunto ye go? And the name whereof is called Bamah unto this day.

30 Wherefore say unto the house of Israel, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Are ye polluted after the manner of your fathers? and commit ye whoredom after their abominations?

31 For when ye offer your gifts, when ye make your sons to pass through the fire, ye pollute yourselves with all your idols, even unto this day: and shall I be enquired of by you, O house of Israel? As I live, saith the Lord GOD, I will not be enquired of by you.

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32 And that which cometh into your mind shall not be at all, that ye say, We will be as the heathen, as the families of the countries, to serve wood and stone.

33 As I live, saith the Lord GOD, surely with a mighty hand, and with a stretched out arm, and with fury poured out, will I rule over you:

34 And I will bring you out from the people, and will gather you out of the countries wherein ye are scattered, with a mighty hand, and with a stretched out arm, and with fury poured out.

35 And I will bring you into the wilderness of the people, and there will I plead with you face to face.

36 Like as I pleaded with your fathers in the wilderness of the land of Egypt, so will I plead with you, saith the Lord GOD.

37 And I will cause you to pass under the rod, and I will bring you into the bond of the covenant:

38 And I will purge out from among you the rebels, and them that transgress against me: I will bring them forth out of the country where they sojourn, and they shall not enter into the land of Israel: and ye shall know that I am the LORD.

39 As for you, O house of Israel, thus saith the Lord GOD; Go ye, serve ye every one his idols, and hereafter also, if ye will not hearken unto me: but pollute ye my holy name no more with your gifts, and with your idols.

40 For in mine holy mountain, in the mountain of the height of Israel, saith the Lord GOD, there shall all the house of Israel, all of them in the land, serve me: there will I accept them, and there will I require your offerings, and the firstfruits of your oblations, with all your holy things.

41 I will accept you with your sweet savour, when I bring you out from the people, and gather you out of the countries wherein ye have been scattered; and I will be sanctified in you before the heathen.

42 And ye shall know that I am the LORD, when I shall bring you into the land of Israel, into the country for the which I lifted up mine hand to give it to your fathers.

43 And there shall ye remember your ways, and all your doings, wherein ye have been defiled; and ye shall lothe yourselves in your own sight for all your evils that ye have committed.

44 And ye shall know that I am the LORD when I have wrought with you for my name's sake, not according to your wicked ways, nor according to your corrupt doings, O ye house of Israel, saith the Lord GOD.

45 Moreover the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

46 Son of man, set thy face toward the south, and drop thy word toward the south, and prophesy against the forest of the south field;

47 And say to the forest of the south, Hear the word of the LORD; Thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I will kindle a fire in thee, and it shall devour every green tree in thee, and every dry tree: the flaming flame shall not be quenched, and all faces from the south to the north shall be burned therein.

48 And all flesh shall see that I the LORD have kindled it: it shall not be quenched.

49 Then said I, Ah Lord GOD! they say of me, Doth he not speak parables?

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 21

1 And the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

2 Son of man, set thy face toward Jerusalem, and drop thy word toward the holy places, and prophesy against the land of Israel,

3 And say to the land of Israel, Thus saith the LORD; Behold, I am against thee, and will draw forth my sword out of his sheath, and will cut off from thee the righteous and the wicked.

4 Seeing then that I will cut off from thee the righteous and the wicked, therefore shall my sword go forth out of his sheath against all flesh from the south to the north:

5 That all flesh may know that I the LORD have drawn forth my sword out of his sheath: it shall not return any more.

6 Sigh therefore, thou son of man, with the breaking of thy loins; and with bitterness sigh before their eyes.

7 And it shall be, when they say unto thee, Wherefore sighest thou? that thou shalt answer, For the tidings; because it cometh: and every heart shall melt, and all hands shall be feeble, and every spirit shall faint, and all knees shall be weak as water: behold, it cometh, and shall be brought to pass, saith the Lord GOD.

8 Again the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

9 Son of man, prophesy, and say, Thus saith the LORD; Say, A sword, a sword is sharpened, and also furbished:

10 It is sharpened to make a sore slaughter; it is furbished that it may glitter: should we then make mirth? it contemneth the rod of my son, as every tree.

11 And he hath given it to be furbished, that it may be handled: this sword is sharpened, and it is furbished, to give it into the hand of the slayer.

12 Cry and howl, son of man: for it shall be upon my people, it shall be upon all the princes of Israel: terrors by reason of the sword shall be upon my people: smite therefore upon thy thigh.

13 Because it is a trial, and what if the sword contemn even the rod? it shall be no more, saith the Lord GOD.

14 Thou therefore, son of man, prophesy, and smite thine hands together. and let the sword be doubled the third time, the sword of the slain: it is the sword of the great men that are slain, which entereth into their privy chambers.

15 I have set the point of the sword against all their gates, that their heart may faint, and their ruins be multiplied: ah! it is made bright, it is wrapped up for the slaughter.

16 Go thee one way or other, either on the right hand, or on the left, whithersoever thy face is set.

17 I will also smite mine hands together, and I will cause my fury to rest: I the LORD have said it.

18 The word of the LORD came unto me again, saying,

19 Also, thou son of man, appoint thee two ways, that the sword of the king of Babylon may come: both twain shall come forth out of one land: and choose thou a place, choose it at the head of the way to the city.

20 Appoint a way, that the sword may come to Rabbath of the Ammonites, and to Judah in Jerusalem the defenced.

21 For the king of Babylon stood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to use divination: he made his arrows bright, he consulted with images, he looked in the liver.

22 At his right hand was the divination for Jerusalem, to appoint captains, to open the mouth in the slaughter, to lift up the voice with shouting, to appoint battering rams against the gates, to cast a mount, and to build a fort.

23 And it shall be unto them as a false divination in their sight, to them that have sworn oaths: but he will call to remembrance the iniquity, that they may be taken.

24 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Because ye have made your iniquity to be remembered, in that your transgressions are discovered, so that in all your doings your sins do appear; because, I say, that ye are come to remembrance, ye shall be taken with the hand.

25 And thou, profane wicked prince of Israel, whose day is come, when iniquity shall have an end,

26 Thus saith the Lord GOD; Remove the diadem, and take off the crown: this shall not be the same: exalt him that is low, and abase him that is high.

27 I will overturn, overturn, overturn, it: and it shall be no more, until he come whose right it is; and I will give it him.

28 And thou, son of man, prophesy and say, Thus saith the Lord GOD concerning the Ammonites, and concerning their reproach; even say thou, The sword, the sword is drawn: for the slaughter it is furbished, to consume because of the glittering:

29 Whiles they see vanity unto thee, whiles they divine a lie unto thee, to bring thee upon the necks of them that are slain, of the wicked, whose day is come, when their iniquity shall have an end.

30 Shall I cause it to return into his sheath? I will judge thee in the place where thou wast created, in the land of thy nativity.

31 And I will pour out mine indignation upon thee, I will blow against thee in the fire of my wrath, and deliver thee into the hand of brutish men, and skilful to destroy.

32 Thou shalt be for fuel to the fire; thy blood shall be in the midst of the land; thou shalt be no more remembered: for I the LORD have spoken it.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 22

1 Moreover the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

2 Now, thou son of man, wilt thou judge, wilt thou judge the bloody city? yea, thou shalt shew her all her abominations.

3 Then say thou, Thus saith the Lord GOD, The city sheddeth blood in the midst of it, that her time may come, and maketh idols against herself to defile herself.

4 Thou art become guilty in thy blood that thou hast shed; and hast defiled thyself in thine idols which thou hast made; and thou hast caused thy days to draw near, and art come even unto thy years: therefore have I made thee a reproach unto the heathen, and a mocking to all countries.

5 Those that be near, and those that be far from thee, shall mock thee, which art infamous and much vexed.

6 Behold, the princes of Israel, every one were in thee to their power to shed blood.

7 In thee have they set light by father and mother: in the midst of thee have they dealt by oppression with the stranger: in thee have they vexed the fatherless and the widow.

8 Thou hast despised mine holy things, and hast profaned my sabbaths.

9 In thee are men that carry tales to shed blood: and in thee they eat upon the mountains: in the midst of thee they commit lewdness.

10 In thee have they discovered their fathers' nakedness: in thee have they humbled her that was set apart for pollution.

11 And one hath committed abomination with his neighbour's wife; and another hath lewdly defiled his daughter in law; and another in thee hath humbled his sister, his father's daughter.

12 In thee have they taken gifts to shed blood; thou hast taken usury and increase, and thou hast greedily gained of thy neighbours by extortion, and hast forgotten me, saith the Lord GOD.

13 Behold, therefore I have smitten mine hand at thy dishonest gain which thou hast made, and at thy blood which hath been in the midst of thee.

14 Can thine heart endure, or can thine hands be strong, in the days that I shall deal with thee? I the LORD have spoken it, and will do it.

15 And I will scatter thee among the heathen, and disperse thee in the countries, and will consume thy filthiness out of thee.

16 And thou shalt take thine inheritance in thyself in the sight of the heathen, and thou shalt know that I am the LORD.

17 And the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

18 Son of man, the house of Israel is to me become dross: all they are brass, and tin, and iron, and lead, in the midst of the furnace; they are even the dross of silver.

19 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Because ye are all become dross, behold, therefore I will gather you into the midst of Jerusalem.

20 As they gather silver, and brass, and iron, and lead, and tin, into the midst of the furnace, to blow the fire upon it, to melt it; so will I gather you in mine anger and in my fury, and I will leave you there, and melt you.

21 Yea, I will gather you, and blow upon you in the fire of my wrath, and ye shall be melted in the midst therof.

22 As silver is melted in the midst of the furnace, so shall ye be melted in the midst thereof; and ye shall know that I the LORD have poured out my fury upon you.

23 And the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

24 Son of man, say unto her, Thou art the land that is not cleansed, nor rained upon in the day of indignation.

25 There is a conspiracy of her prophets in the midst thereof, like a roaring lion ravening the prey; they have devoured souls; they have taken the treasure and precious things; they have made her many widows in the midst thereof.

26 Her priests have violated my law, and have profaned mine holy things: they have put no difference between the holy and profane, neither have they shewed difference between the unclean and the clean, and have hid their eyes from my sabbaths, and I am profaned among them.

27 Her princes in the midst thereof are like wolves ravening the prey, to shed blood, and to destroy souls, to get dishonest gain.

28 And her prophets have daubed them with untempered morter, seeing vanity, and divining lies unto them, saying, Thus saith the Lord GOD, when the LORD hath not spoken.

29 The people of the land have used oppression, and exercised robbery, and have vexed the poor and needy: yea, they have oppressed the stranger wrongfully.

30 And I sought for a man among them, that should make up the hedge, and stand in the gap before me for the land, that I should not destroy it: but I found none.

31 Therefore have I poured out mine indignation upon them; I have consumed them with the fire of my wrath: their own way have I recompensed upon their heads, saith the Lord GOD.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 23

1 The word of the LORD came again unto me, saying,

2 Son of man, there were two women, the daughters of one mother:

3 And they committed whoredoms in Egypt; they committed whoredoms in their youth: there were their breasts pressed, and there they bruised the teats of their virginity.

4 And the names of them were Aholah the elder, and Aholibah her sister: and they were mine, and they bare sons and daughters. Thus were their names; Samaria is Aholah, and Jerusalem Aholibah.

5 And Aholah played the harlot when she was mine; and she doted on her lovers, on the Assyrians her neighbours,

6 Which were clothed with blue, captains and rulers, all of them desirable young men, horsemen riding upon horses.

7 Thus she committed her whoredoms with them, with all them that were the chosen men of Assyria, and with all on whom she doted: with all their idols she defiled herself.

8 Neither left she her whoredoms brought from Egypt: for in her youth they lay with her, and they bruised the breasts of her virginity, and poured their whoredom upon her.

9 Wherefore I have delivered her into the hand of her lovers, into the hand of the Assyrians, upon whom she doted.

10 These discovered her nakedness: they took her sons and her daughters, and slew her with the sword: and she became famous among women; for they had executed judgement upon her.

11 And when her sister Aholibah saw this, she was more corrupt in her inordinate love than she, and in her whoredoms more than her sister in her whoredoms.

12 She doted upon the Assyrians her neighbours, captains and rulers clothed most gorgeously, horsemen riding upon horses, all of them desirable young men.

13 Then I saw that she was defiled, that they took both one way,

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14 And that she increased her whoredoms: for when she saw men pourtrayed upon the wall, the images of the Chaldeans pourtrayed with vermilion,
15 Girded with girdles upon their loins, exceeding in dyed attire upon their heads, all of them princes to look to, after the manner of the Babylonians of Chaldea, the land of their nativity:
16 And as soon as she saw them with her eyes, she doted upon them, and sent messengers unto them into Chaldea.
17 And the Babylonians came to her into the bed of love, and they defiled her with their whoredom, and she was polluted with them, and her mind was alienated from them.
18 So she discovered her whoredoms, and discovered her nakedness: then my mind was alienated from her, like as my mind was alienated from her sister.
19 Yet she multiplied her whoredoms, in calling to remembrance the days of her youth, wherein she had played the harlot in the land of Egypt.
20 For she doted upon their paramours, whose flesh is as the flesh of asses, and whose issue is like the issue of horses.
21 Thus thou calledst to remembrance the lewdness of thy youth, in bruising thy teats by the Egyptians for the paps of thy youth.
22 Therefore, O Aholibah, thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I will raise up thy lovers against thee, from whom thy mind is alienated, and I will bring them against thee on every side;
23 The Babylonians, and all the Chaldeans, Pekod, and Shoa, and Koa, and all the Assyrians with them: all of them desirable young men, captains and rulers, great lords and renowned, all of them riding upon horses.
24 And they shall come against thee with chariots, wagons, and wheels, and with an assembly of people, which shall set against thee buckler and shield and helmet round about: and I will set judgement before them, and they shall judge thee according to their judgements.
25 And I will set my jealousy against thee, and they shall deal furiously with thee: they shall take away thy nose and thine ears; and thy remnant shall fall by the sword: they shall take thy sons and thy daughters; and thy residue shall be devoured by the fire.
26 They shall also strip thee out of thy clothes, and take away thy fair jewels.
27 Thus will I make thy lewdness to cease from thee, and thy whoredom brought from the land of Egypt: so that thou shalt not lift up thine eyes unto them, nor remember Egypt any more.
28 For thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I will deliver thee into the hand of them whom thou hatest, into the hand of them from whom thy mind is alienated:
29 And they shall deal with thee hatefully, and shall take away all thy labour, and shall leave thee naked and bare: and the nakedness of thy whoredoms shall be discovered, both thy lewdness and thy whoredoms.
30 I will do these things unto thee, because thou hast gone a whoring after the heathen, and because thou art polluted with their idols.
31 Thou hast walked in the way of thy sister; therefore will I give her cup into thine hand.
32 Thus saith the Lord GOD; Thou shalt drink of thy sister's cup deep and large: thou shalt be laughed to scorn and had in derision; it containeth much.
33 Thou shalt be filled with drunkenness and sorrow, with the cup of astonishment and desolation, with the cup of thy sister Samaria.
34 Thou shalt even drink it and suck it out, and thou shalt break the sherds thereof, and pluck off thine own breasts: for I have spoken it, saith the Lord GOD.
35 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Because thou hast forgotten me, and cast me behind thy back, therefore bear thou also thy lewdness and thy whoredoms.
36 The LORD said moreover unto me; Son of man, wilt thou judge Aholah and Aholibah? yea, declare unto them their abominations;
37 That they have committed adultery, and blood is in their hands, and with their idols have they committed adultery, and have also caused their sons, whom they bare unto me, to pass for them through the fire, to devour them.
38 Moreover this they have done unto me: they have defiled my sanctuary in the same day, and have profaned my sabbaths.
39 For when they had slain their children to their idols, then they came the same day into my sanctuary to profane it; and, lo, thus have they done in the midst of mine house.
40 And furthermore, that ye have sent for men to come from far, unto whom a messenger was sent; and, lo, they came: for whom thou didst wash thyself, paintedst thy eyes, and deckedst thyself with ornaments,
41 And satest upon a stately bed, and a table prepared before it, whereupon thou hast set mine incense and mine oil.
42 And a voice of a multitude being at ease was with her: and with the men of the common sort were brought Sabeans from the wilderness, which put bracelets upon their hands, and beautiful crowns upon their heads.
43 Then said I unto her that was old in adulteries, Will they now commit whoredoms with her, and she with them?
44 Yet they went in unto her, as they go in unto a woman that playeth the harlot: so went they in unto Aholah and unto Aholibah, the lewd women.
45 And the righteous men, they shall judge them after the manner of adulteresses, and after the manner of women that shed blood; because they are adulteresses, and blood is in their hands.
46 For thus saith the Lord GOD; I will bring up a company upon them, and will give them to be removed and spoiled.
47 And the company shall stone them with stones, and dispatch them with their swords; they shall slay their sons and their daughters, and burn up their houses with fire.
48 Thus will I cause lewdness to cease out of the land, that all women may be taught not to do after your lewdness.
49 And they shall recompense your lewdness upon you, and ye shall bear the sins of your idols: and ye shall know that I am the Lord GOD.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 24

1 Again in the ninth year, in the tenth month, in the tenth day of the month, the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,
2 Son of man, write thee the name of the day, even of this same day: the king of Babylon set himself against Jerusalem this same day.
3 And utter a parable unto the rebellious house, and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Set on a pot, set it on, and also pour water into it:
4 Gather the pieces thereof into it, even every good piece, the thigh, and the shoulder; fill it with the choice bones.
5 Take the choice of the flock, and burn also the bones under it, and make it boil well, and let them seethe the bones of it therein.
6 Wherefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Woe to the bloody city, to the pot whose scum is therein, and whose scum is not gone out of it! bring it out piece by piece; let no lot fall upon it.
7 For her blood is in the midst of her; she set it upon the top of a rock; she poured it not upon the ground, to cover it with dust;
8 That it might cause fury to come up to take vengeance; I have set her blood upon the top of a rock, that it should not be covered.
9 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Woe to the bloody city! I will even make the pile for fire great.
10 Heap on wood, kindle the fire, consume the flesh, and spice it well, and let the bones be burned.
11 Then set it empty upon the coals thereof, that the brass of it may be hot, and may burn, and that the filthiness of it may be molten in it, that the scum of it may be consumed.
12 She hath wearied herself with lies, and her great scum went not forth out of her: her scum shall be in the fire.
13 In thy filthiness is lewdness: because I have purged thee, and thou wast not purged, thou shalt not be purged from thy filthiness any more, till I have caused my fury to rest upon thee.
14 I the LORD have spoken it: it shall come to pass, and I will do it; I will not go back, neither will I spare, neither will I repent; according to thy ways, and according to thy doings, shall they judge thee, saith the Lord GOD.
15 Also the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,
16 Son of man, behold, I take away from thee the desire of thine eyes with a stroke: yet neither shalt thou mourn nor weep, neither shall thy tears run down.
17 Forbear to cry, make no mourning for the dead, bind the tire of thine head upon thee, and put on thy shoes upon thy feet, and cover not thy lips, and eat not the bread of men.
18 So I spake unto the people in the morning: and at even my wife died; and I did in the morning as I was commanded.
19 And the people said unto me, Wilt thou not tell us what these things are to us, that thou doest so?
20 Then I answered them, The word of the LORD came unto me, saying,
21 Speak unto the house of Israel, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I will profane my sanctuary, the excellency of your strength, the desire of your eyes, and that which your soul pitieth; and your sons and your daughters whom ye have left shall fall by the sword.
22 And ye shall do as I have done: ye shall not cover your lips, nor eat the bread of men.
23 And your tires shall be upon your heads, and your shoes upon your feet: ye shall not mourn nor weep; but ye shall pine away for your iniquities, and mourn one toward another.
24 Thus Ezekiel is unto you a sign: according to all that he hath done shall ye do: and when this cometh, ye shall know that I am the Lord GOD.
25 Also, thou son of man, shall it not be in the day when I take from them their strength, the joy of their glory, the desire of their eyes, and that whereupon they set their minds, their sons and their daughters,
26 That he that escapeth in that day shall come unto thee, to cause thee to hear it with thine ears?
27 In that day shall thy mouth be opened to him which is escaped, and thou shalt speak, and be no more dumb: and thou shalt be a sign unto them; and they shall know that I am the LORD.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 25

1 The word of the LORD came again unto me, saying,
2 Son of man, set thy face against the Ammonites, and prophesy against them;
3 And say unto the Ammonites, Hear the word of the Lord GOD; Thus saith the Lord GOD; Because thou saidst, Aha, against my sanctuary, when it was profaned; and against the land of Israel, when it was desolate; and against the house of Judah, when they went into captivity;
4 Behold, therefore I will deliver thee to the men of the east for a possession, and they shall set their palaces in thee, and make their dwellings in thee: they shall eat thy fruit, and they shall drink thy milk.
5 And I will make Rabbah a stable for camels, and the Ammonites a couching place for flocks: and ye shall know that I am the LORD.
6 For thus saith the Lord GOD; Because thou hast clapped thine hands, and stamped with the feet, and rejoiced in heart with all thy despite against the land of Israel;
7 Behold, therefore I will stretch out mine hand upon thee, and will deliver thee for a spoil to the heathen; and I will cut thee off from the people, and I will cause thee to perish out of the countries: I will destroy thee; and thou shalt know that I am the LORD.
8 Thus saith the Lord GOD; Because that Moab and Seir do say, Behold, the house of Judah is like unto all the heathen;
9 Therefore, behold, I will open the side of Moab from the cities, from his cities which are on his frontiers, the glory of the country, Bethjeshimoth, Baalmeon, and Kiriathaim,
10 Unto the men of the east with the Ammonites, and will give them in possession, that the Ammonites may not be remembered among the nations.
11 And I will execute judgements upon Moab; and they shall know that I am the LORD.
12 Thus saith the Lord GOD; Because that Edom hath dealt against the house of Judah by taking vengeance, and hath greatly offended, and revenged himself upon them;
13 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; I will also stretch out mine hand upon Edom, and will cut off man and beast from it; and I will make it desolate from Teman; and they of Dedan shall fall by the sword.
14 And I will lay my vengeance upon Edom by the hand of my people Israel: and they shall do in Edom according to mine anger and according to my fury; and they shall know my vengeance, saith the Lord GOD.
15 Thus saith the Lord GOD; Because the Philistines have dealt by revenge, and have taken vengeance with a despiteful heart, to destroy it for the old hatred;
16 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I will stretch out mine hand upon the Philistines, and I will cut off the Cherethims, and destroy the remnant of the sea coast.
17 And I will execute great vengeance upon them with furious rebukes; and they shall know that I am the LORD, when I shall lay my vengeance upon them.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 26

1 And it came to pass in the eleventh year, in the first day of the month, that the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,
2 Son of man, because that Tyrus hath said against Jerusalem, Aha, she is broken that was the gates of the people: she is turned unto me: I shall be replenished, now she is laid waste:
3 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I am against thee, O Tyrus, and will cause many nations to come up against thee, as the sea causeth his waves to come up.
4 And they shall destroy the walls of Tyrus, and break down her towers: I will also scrape her dust from her, and make her like the top of a rock.
5 It shall be a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea: for I have spoken it, saith the Lord GOD: and it shall become a spoil to the nations.
6 And her daughters which are in the field shall be slain by the sword; and they shall know that I am the LORD.
7 For thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I will bring upon Tyrus Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon, a king of kings, from the north, with horses, and with chariots, and with horsemen, and companies, and much people.
8 He shall slay with the sword thy daughters in the field: and he shall make a fort against thee, and cast a mount against thee, and lift up the buckler against thee.
9 And he shall set engines of war against thy walls, and with his axes he shall break down thy towers.
10 By reason of the abundance of his horses their dust shall cover thee: thy walls shall shake at the noise of the horsemen, and of the wheels, and of the chariots, when he shall enter into thy gates, as men enter into a city wherein is made a breach.
11 With the hoofs of his horses shall he tread down all thy streets: he shall slay thy people by the sword, and thy strong garrisons shall go down to the ground.

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12 And they shall make a spoil of thy riches, and make a prey of thy merchandise: and they shall break down thy walls, and destroy thy pleasant houses: and they shall lay thy stones and thy timber and thy dust in the midst of the water.

13 And I will cause the noise of thy songs to cease; and the sound of thy harps shall be no more heard.

14 And I will make thee like the top of a rock: thou shalt be a place to spread nets upon; thou shalt be built no more: for I the LORD have spoken it, saith the Lord GOD.

15 Thus saith the Lord GOD to Tyrus; Shall not the isles shake at the sound of thy fall, when the wounded cry, when the slaughter is made in the midst of thee?

16 Then all the princes of the sea shall come down from their thrones, and lay away their robes, and put off their broidered garments: they shall clothe themselves with trembling; they shall sit upon the ground, and shall tremble at every moment, and be astonished at thee.

17 And they shall take up a lamentation for thee, and say to thee, How art thou destroyed, that wast inhabited of seafaring men, the renowned city, which wast strong in the sea, she and her inhabitants, which cause their terror to be on all that haunt it!

18 Now shall the isles tremble in the day of thy fall; yea, the isles that are in the sea shall be troubled at thy departure.

19 For thus saith the Lord GOD; When I shall make thee a desolate city, like the cities that are not inhabited; when I shall bring up the deep upon thee, and great waters shall cover thee;

20 When I shall bring thee down with them that descend into the pit, with the people of old time, and shall set thee in the low parts of the earth, in places desolate of old, with them that go down to the pit, that thou be not inhabited; and I shall set glory in the land of the living;

21 I will make thee a terror, and thou shalt be no more: though thou be sought for, yet shalt thou never be found again, saith the Lord GOD.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 27

1 The word of the LORD came again unto me, saying,

2 Now, thou son of man, take up a lamentation for Tyrus;

3 And say unto Tyrus, O thou that art situate at the entry of the sea, which art a merchant of the people for many isles, Thus saith the Lord GOD; O Tyrus, thou hast said, I am of perfect beauty.

4 Thy borders are in the midst of the seas, thy builders have perfected thy beauty.

5 They have made all thy ship boards of fir trees of Senir: they have taken cedars from Lebanon to make masts for thee.

6 Of the oaks of Bashan have they made thine oars; the company of the Ashurites have made thy benches of ivory, brought out of the isles of Chittim.

7 Fine linen with broidered work from Egypt was that which thou spreadest forth to be thy sail; blue and purple from the isles of Elishah was that which covered thee.

8 The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were thy mariners: thy wise men, O Tyrus, that were in thee, were thy pilots.

9 The ancients of Gebal and the wise men thereof were in thee thy calkers: all the ships of the sea with their mariners were in thee to occupy thy merchandise.

10 They of Persia and of Lud and of Phut were in thine army, thy men of war: they hanged the shield and helmet in thee; they set forth thy comeliness.

11 The men of Arvad with thine army were upon thy walls round about, and the Gammadims were in thy towers: they hanged their shields upon thy walls round about; they have made thy beauty perfect.

12 Tarshish was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of all kind of riches; with silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded in thy fairs.

13 Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, they were thy merchants: they traded the persons of men and vessels of brass in thy market.

14 They of the house of Togarmah traded in thy fairs with horses and horsemen and mules.

15 The men of Dedan were thy merchants; many isles were the merchandise of thine hand: they brought thee for a present horns of ivory and ebony.

16 Syria was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of the wares of thy making: they occupied in thy fairs with emeralds, purple, and broidered work, and fine linen, and coral, and agate.

17 Judah, and the land of Israel, they were thy merchants: they traded in thy market wheat of Minnith, and Pannag, and honey, and oil, and balm.

18 Damascus was thy merchant in the multitude of the wares of thy making, for the multitude of all riches; in the wine of Helbon, and white wool.

19 Dan also and Javan going to and fro occupied in thy fairs: bright iron, cassia, and calamus, were in thy market.

20 Dedan was thy merchant in precious clothes for chariots.

21 Arabia, and all the princes of Kedar, they occupied with thee in lambs, and rams, and goats: in these were they thy merchants.

22 The merchants of Sheba and Raamah, they were thy merchants: they occupied in thy fairs with chief of all spices, and with all precious stones, and gold.

23 Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Asshur, and Chilmad, were thy merchants.

24 These were thy merchants in all sorts of things, in blue clothes, and broidered work, and in chests of rich apparel, bound with cords, and made of cedar, among thy merchandise.

25 The ships of Tarshish did sing of thee in thy market: and thou wast replenished, and made very glorious in the midst of the seas.

26 Thy rowers have brought thee into great waters: the east wind hath broken thee in the midst of the seas.

27 Thy riches, and thy fairs, thy merchandise, thy mariners, and thy pilots, thy calkers, and the occupiers of thy merchandise, and all thy men of war, that are in thee, and in all thy company which is in the midst of thee, shall fall into the midst of the seas in the day of thy ruin.

28 The suburbs shall shake at the sound of the cry of thy pilots.

29 And all that handle the oar, the mariners, and all the pilots of the sea, shall come down from their ships, they shall stand upon the land;

30 And shall cause their voice to be heard against thee, and shall cry bitterly, and shall cast up dust upon their heads, they shall wallow themselves in the ashes:

31 And they shall make themselves utterly bald for thee, and gird them with sackcloth, and they shall weep for thee with bitterness of heart and bitter wailing.

32 And in their wailing they shall take up a lamentation for thee, and lament over thee, saying, What city is like Tyrus, like the destroyed in the midst of the sea?

33 When thy wares went forth out of the seas, thou filledst many people; thou didst enrich the kings of the earth with the multitude of thy riches and of thy merchandise.

34 In the time when thou shalt be broken by the seas in the depths of the waters thy merchandise and all thy company in the midst of thee shall fall.

35 All the inhabitants of the isles shall be astonished at thee, and their kings shall be sore afraid, they shall be troubled in their countenance.

36 The merchants among the people shall hiss at thee; thou shalt be a terror, and never shalt be any more.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 28

1 The word of the LORD came again unto me, saying,

2 Son of man, say unto the prince of Tyrus, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Because thine heart is lifted up, and thou hast said, I am a God, I sit in the seat of God, in the midst of the seas; yet thou art a man, and not God, though thou set thine heart as the heart of God:

3 Behold, thou art wiser than Daniel; there is no secret that they can hide from thee:

4 With thy wisdom and with thine understanding thou hast gotten thee riches, and hast gotten gold and silver into thy treasures:

5 By thy great wisdom and by thy traffick hast thou increased thy riches, and thine heart is lifted up because of thy riches:

6 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Because thou hast set thine heart as the heart of God;

7 Behold, therefore I will bring strangers upon thee, the terrible of the nations: and they shall draw their swords against the beauty of thy wisdom, and they shall defile thy brightness.

8 They shall bring thee down to the pit, and thou shalt die the deaths of them that are slain in the midst of the seas.

9 Wilt thou yet say before him that slayeth thee, I am God? but thou shalt be a man, and no God, in the hand of him that slayeth thee.

10 Thou shalt die the deaths of the uncircumcised by the hand of strangers: for I have spoken it, saith the Lord GOD.

11 Moreover the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

12 Son of man, take up a lamentation upon the king of Tyrus, and say unto him, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Thou sealest up the sum, full of wisdom, and perfect in beauty.

13 Thou hast been in Eden the garden of God; every precious stone was thy covering, the sardius, topaz, and the diamond, the beryl, the onyx, and the jasper, the sapphire, the emerald, and the carbuncle, and gold: the workmanship of thy tabrets and of thy pipes was prepared in thee in the day that thou wast created.

14 Thou art the anointed cherub that covereth; and I have set thee so: thou wast upon the holy mountain of God; thou hast walked up and down in the midst of the stones of fire.

15 Thou wast perfect in thy ways from the day that thou wast created, till iniquity was found in thee.

16 By the multitude of thy merchandise they have filled the midst of thee with violence, and thou hast sinned: therefore I will cast thee as profane out of the mountain of God: and I will destroy thee, O covering cherub, from the midst of the stones of fire.

17 Thine heart was lifted up because of thy beauty, thou hast corrupted thy wisdom by reason of thy brightness: I will cast thee to the ground, I will lay thee before kings, that they may behold thee.

18 Thou hast defiled thy sanctuaries by the multitude of thine iniquities, by the iniquity of thy traffick; therefore will I bring forth a fire from the midst of thee, it shall devour thee, and I will bring thee to ashes upon the earth in the sight of all them that behold thee.

19 All they that know thee among the people shall be astonished at thee: thou shalt be a terror, and never shalt thou be any more.

20 Again the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

21 Son of man, set thy face against Zidon, and prophesy against it,

22 And say, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I am against thee, O Zidon; and I will be glorified in the midst of thee: and they shall know that I am the LORD, when I shall have executed judgements in her, and shall be sanctified in her.

23 For I will send into her pestilence, and blood into her streets; and the wounded shall be judged in the midst of her by the sword upon her on every side; and they shall know that I am the LORD.

24 And there shall be no more a pricking brier unto the house of Israel, nor any grieving thorn of all that are round about them, that despised them; and they shall know that I am the Lord GOD.

25 Thus saith the Lord GOD; When I shall have gathered the house of Israel from the people among whom they are scattered, and shall be sanctified in them in the sight of the heathen, then shall they dwell in their land that I have given to my servant Jacob.

26 And they shall dwell safely therein, and shall build houses, and plant vineyards; yea, they shall dwell with confidence, when I have executed judgements upon all those that despise them round about them; and they shall know that I am the LORD their God.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 29

1 In the tenth year, in the tenth month, in the twelfth day of the month, the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

2 Son of man, set thy face against Pharaoh king of Egypt, and prophesy against him, and against all Egypt:

3 Speak, and say, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is mine own, and I have made it for myself.

4 But I will put hooks in thy jaws, and I will cause the fish of thy rivers to stick unto thy scales, and I will bring thee up out of the midst of thy rivers, and all the fish of thy rivers shall stick unto thy scales.

5 And I will leave thee thrown into the wilderness, thee and all the fish of thy rivers: thou shalt fall upon the open fields; thou shalt not be brought together, nor gathered: I have given thee for meat to the beasts of the field and to the fowls of the heaven.

6 And all the inhabitants of Egypt shall know that I am the LORD, because they have been a staff of reed to the house of Israel.

7 When they took hold of thee by thy hand, thou didst break, and rend all their shoulder: and when they leaned upon thee, thou brakest, and madest all their loins to be at a stand.

8 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I will bring a sword upon thee, and cut off man and beast out of thee.

9 And the land of Egypt shall be desolate and waste; and they shall know that I am the LORD: because he hath said, The river is mine, and I have made it.

10 Behold, therefore I am against thee, and against thy rivers, and I will make the land of Egypt utterly waste and desolate, from the tower of Syene even unto the border of Ethiopia.

11 No foot of man shall pass through it, nor foot of beast shall pass through it, neither shall it be inhabited forty years.

12 And I will make the land of Egypt desolate in the midst of the countries that are desolate, and her cities among the cities that are laid waste shall be desolate forty years: and I will scatter the Egyptians among the nations, and will disperse them through the countries.

13 Yet thus saith the Lord GOD; At the end of forty years will I gather the Egyptians from the people whither they were scattered:

14 And I will bring again the captivity of Egypt, and will cause them to return into the land of Pathros, into the land of their habitation; and they shall be there a base kingdom.

15 It shall be the basest of the kingdoms; neither shall it exalt itself any more above the nations: for I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule over the nations.

16 And it shall be no more the confidence of the house of Israel, which bringeth their iniquity to remembrance, when they shall look after them: but they shall know that I am the Lord GOD.

17 And it came to pass in the seven and twentieth year, in the first month, in the first day of the month, the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

18 Son of man, Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus: every head was

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made bald, and every shoulder was peeled: yet had he no wages, nor his army, for Tyrus, for the service that he had served against it:

19 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon; and he shall take her multitude, and take her spoil, and take her prey; and it shall be the wages for his army.

20 I have given him the land of Egypt for his labour wherewith he served against it, because they wrought for me, saith the Lord GOD.

21 In that day will I cause the horn of the house of Israel to bud forth, and I will give thee the opening of the mouth in the midst of them; and they shall know that I am the LORD.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 30

1 The word of the LORD came again unto me, saying,

2 Son of man, prophesy and say, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Howl ye, Woe worth the day!

3 For the day is near, even the day of the LORD is near, a cloudy day; it shall be the time of the heathen.

4 And the sword shall come upon Egypt, and great pain shall be in Ethiopia, when the slain shall fall in Egypt, and they shall take away her multitude, and her foundations shall be broken down.

5 Ethiopia, and Libya, and Lydia, and all the mingled people, and Chub, and the men of the land that is in league, shall fall with them by the sword.

6 Thus saith the LORD; They also that uphold Egypt shall fall; and the pride of her power shall come down: from the tower of Syene shall they fall in it by the sword, saith the Lord GOD.

7 And they shall be desolate in the midst of the countries that are desolate, and her cities shall be in the midst of the cities that are wasted.

8 And they shall know that I am the LORD, when I have set a fire in Egypt, and when all her helpers shall be destroyed.

9 In that day shall messengers go forth from me in ships to make the careless Ethiopians afraid, and great pain shall come upon them, as in the day of Egypt: for, lo, it cometh.

10 Thus saith the Lord GOD; I will also make the multitude of Egypt to cease by the hand of Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon.

11 He and his people with him, the terrible of the nations, shall be brought to destroy the land: and they shall draw their swords against Egypt, and fill the land with the slain.

12 And I will make the rivers dry, and sell the land into the hand of the wicked: and I will make the land waste, and all that is therein, by the hand of strangers: I the LORD have spoken it.

13 Thus saith the Lord GOD; I will also destroy the idols, and I will cause their images to cease out of Noph; and there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt: and I will put a fear in the land of Egypt.

14 And I will make Pathros desolate, and will set fire in Zoan, and will execute judgements in No.

15 And I will pour my fury upon Sin, the strength of Egypt; and I will cut off the multitude of No.

16 And I will set fire in Egypt: Sin shall have great pain, and No shall be rent asunder, and Noph shall have distresses daily.

17 The young men of Aven and of Pibeseth shall fall by the sword: and these cities shall go into captivity.

18 At Tehaphnehes also the day shall be darkened, when I shall break there the yokes of Egypt: and the pomp of her strength shall cease in her: as for her, a cloud shall cover her, and her daughters shall go into captivity.

19 Thus will I execute judgements in Egypt: and they shall know that I am the LORD.

20 And it came to pass in the eleventh year, in the first month, in the seventh day of the month, that the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

21 Son of man, I have broken the arm of Pharaoh king of Egypt; and, lo, it shall not be bound up to be healed, to put a roller to bind it, to make it strong to hold the sword.

22 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I am against Pharaoh king of Egypt, and will break his arms, the strong, and that which was broken; and I will cause the sword to fall out of his hand.

23 And I will scatter the Egyptians among the nations, and will disperse them through the countries.

24 And I will strengthen the arms of the king of Babylon, and put my sword in his hand: but I will break Pharaoh's arms, and he shall groan before him with the groanings of a deadly wounded man.

25 But I will strengthen the arms of the king of Babylon, and the arms of Pharaoh shall fall down; and they shall know that I am the LORD, when I shall put my sword into the hand of the king of Babylon, and he shall stretch it out upon the land of Egypt.

26 And I will scatter the Egyptians among the nations, and disperse them among the countries; and they shall know that I am the LORD.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 31

1 And it came to pass in the eleventh year, in the third month, in the first day of the month, that the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

2 Son of man, speak unto Pharaoh king of Egypt, and to his multitude; Whom art thou like in thy greatness?

3 Behold, the Assyrian was a cedar in Lebanon with fair branches, and with a shadowing shroud, and of an high stature; and his top was among the thick boughs.

4 The waters made him great, the deep set him up on high with her rivers running round about his plants, and sent her little rivers unto all the trees of the field.

5 Therefore his height was exalted above all the trees of the field, and his boughs were multiplied, and his branches became long because of the multitude of waters, when he shot forth.

6 All the fowls of heaven made their nests in his boughs, and under his branches did all the beasts of the field bring forth their young, and under his shadow dwelt all great nations.

7 Thus was he fair in his greatness, in the length of his branches: for his root was by great waters.

8 The cedars in the garden of God could not hide him: the fir trees were not like his boughs, and the chestnut trees were not like his branches; nor any tree in the garden of God was like unto him in his beauty.

9 I have made him fair by the multitude of his branches: so that all the trees of Eden, that were in the garden of God, envied him.

10 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Because thou hast lifted up thyself in height, and he hath shot up his top among the thick boughs, and his heart is lifted up in his height;

11 I have therefore delivered him into the hand of the mighty one of the heathen; he shall surely deal with him: I have driven him out for his wickedness.

12 And strangers, the terrible of the nations, have cut him off, and have left him: upon the mountains and in all the valleys his branches are fallen, and his boughs are broken by all the rivers of the land; and all the people of the earth are gone down from his shadow, and have left him.

13 Upon his ruin shall all the fowls of the heaven remain, and all the beasts of the field shall be upon his branches:

14 To the end that none of all the trees by the waters exalt themselves for their height, neither shoot up their top among the thick boughs, neither their trees stand up in their height, all that drink water: for they are all delivered unto death, to the nether parts of the earth, in the midst of the children of men, with them that go down to the pit.

15 Thus saith the Lord GOD; In the day when he went down to the grave I caused a mourning: I covered the deep for him, and I restrained the floods thereof, and the great waters were stayed: and I caused Lebanon to mourn for him, and all the trees of the field fainted for him.

16 I made the nations to shake at the sound of his fall, when I cast him down to hell with them that descend into the pit: and all the trees of Eden, the choice and best of Lebanon, all that drink water, shall be comforted in the nether parts of the earth.

17 They also went down into hell with him unto them that be slain with the sword; and they that were his arm, that dwelt under his shadow in the midst of the heathen.

18 To whom art thou thus like in glory and in greatness among the trees of Eden? yet shalt thou be brought down with the trees of Eden unto the nether parts of the earth: thou shalt lie in the midst of the uncircumcised with them that be slain by the sword. This is Pharaoh and all his multitude, saith the Lord GOD.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 32

1 And it came to pass in the twelfth year, in the twelfth month, in the first day of the month, that the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

2 Son of man, take up a lamentation for Pharaoh king of Egypt, and say unto him, Thou art like a young lion of the nations, and thou art as a whale in the seas: and thou camest forth with thy rivers, and troubledst the waters with thy feet, and fouledst their rivers.

3 Thus saith the Lord GOD; I will therefore spread out my net over thee with a company of many people; and they shall bring thee up in my net.

4 Then will I leave thee upon the land, I will cast thee forth upon the open field, and will cause all the fowls of the heaven to remain upon thee, and I will fill the beasts of the whole earth with thee.

5 And I will lay thy flesh upon the mountains, and fill the valleys with thy height.

6 I will also water with thy blood the land wherein thou swimmest, even to the mountains; and the rivers shall be full of thee.

7 And when I shall put thee out, I will cover the heaven, and make the stars thereof dark; I will cover the sun with a cloud, and the moon shall not give her light.

8 All the bright lights of heaven will I make dark over thee, and set darkness upon thy land, saith the Lord GOD.

9 I will also vex the hearts of many people, when I shall bring thy destruction among the nations, into the countries which thou hast not known.

10 Yea, I will make many people amazed at thee, and their kings shall be horribly afraid for thee, when I shall brandish my sword before them; and they shall tremble at every moment, every man for his own life, in the day of thy fall.

11 For thus saith the Lord GOD; The sword of the king of Babylon shall come upon thee.

12 By the swords of the mighty will I cause thy multitude to fall, the terrible of the nations, all of them: and they shall spoil the pomp of Egypt, and all the multitude thereof shall be destroyed.

13 I will destroy also all the beasts thereof from beside the great waters; neither shall the foot of man trouble them any more, nor the hoofs of beasts trouble them.

14 Then will I make their waters deep, and cause their rivers to run like oil, saith the Lord GOD.

15 When I shall make the land of Egypt desolate, and the country shall be destitute of that whereof it was full, when I shall smite all them that dwell therein, then shall they know that I am the LORD.

16 This is the lamentation wherewith they shall lament her: the daughters of the nations shall lament her: they shall lament for her, even for Egypt, and for all her multitude, saith the Lord GOD.

17 It came to pass also in the twelfth year, in the fifteenth day of the month, that the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

18 Son of man, wail for the multitude of Egypt, and cast them down, even her, and the daughters of the famous nations, unto the nether parts of the earth, with them that go down into the pit.

19 Whom dost thou pass in beauty? go down, and be thou laid with the uncircumcised.

20 They shall fall in the midst of them that are slain by the sword: she is delivered to the sword: draw her and all her multitudes.

21 The strong among the mighty shall speak to him out of the midst of hell with them that help him: they are gone down, they lie uncircumcised, slain by the sword.

22 Asshur is there and all her company: his graves are about him: all of them slain, fallen by the sword:

23 Whose graves are set in the sides of the pit, and her company is round about her grave: all of them slain, fallen by the sword, which caused terror in the land of the living.

24 There is Elam and all her multitude round about her grave, all of them slain, fallen by the sword, which are gone down uncircumcised into the nether parts of the earth, which caused their terror in the land of the living; yet have they borne their shame with them that go down to the pit.

25 They have set her a bed in the midst of the slain with all her multitude: her graves are round about him: all of them uncircumcised, slain by the sword: though their terror was caused in the land of the living, yet have they borne their shame with them that go down to the pit: he is put in the midst of them that be slain.

26 There is Meshech, Tubal, and all her multitude: her graves are round about him: all of them uncircumcised, slain by the sword, though they caused their terror in the land of the living.

27 And they shall not lie with the mighty that are fallen of the uncircumcised, which are gone down to hell with their weapons of war: and they have laid their swords under their heads, but their iniquities shall be upon their bones, though they were the terror of the mighty in the land of the living.

28 Yea, thou shalt be broken in the midst of the uncircumcised, and shalt lie with them that are slain with the sword.

29 There is Edom, her kings, and all her princes, which with their might are laid by them that were slain by the sword: they shall lie with the uncircumcised, and with them that go down to the pit.

30 There be the princes of the north, all of them, and all the Zidonians, which are gone down with the slain; with their terror they are ashamed of their might; and they lie uncircumcised with them that be slain by the sword, and bear their shame with them that go down to the pit.

31 Pharaoh shall see them, and shall be comforted over all his multitude, even Pharaoh and all his army slain by the sword, saith the Lord GOD.

32 For I have caused my terror in the land of the living: and he shall be laid in the midst of the uncircumcised with them that are slain with the sword, even Pharaoh and all his multitude, saith the Lord GOD.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 33

1 Again the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

2 Son of man, speak to the children of thy people, and say unto them, When I bring the sword upon a land, if the people of the land take a man of their coasts, and set him for their watchman:

3 If when he seeth the sword come upon the land, he blow the trumpet, and warn the people;

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4 Then whosoever heareth the sound of the trumpet, and taketh not warning; if the sword come, and take him away, his blood shall be upon his own head.

5 He heard the sound of the trumpet, and took not warning; his blood shall be upon him. But he that taketh warning shall deliver his soul.

6 But if the watchman see the sword come, and blow not the trumpet, and the people be not warned; if the sword come, and take any person from among them, he is taken away in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at the watchman's hand.

7 So thou, O son of man, I have set thee a watchman unto the house of Israel; therefore thou shalt hear the word at my mouth, and warn them from me.

8 When I say unto the wicked, O wicked man, thou shalt surely die; if thou dost not speak to warn the wicked from his way, that wicked man shall die in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at thine hand.

9 Nevertheless, if thou warn the wicked of his way to turn from it; if he do not turn from his way, he shall die in his iniquity; but thou hast delivered thy soul.

10 Therefore, O thou son of man, speak unto the house of Israel; Thus ye speak, saying, If our transgressions and our sins be upon us, and we pine away in them, how should we then live?

11 Say unto them, As I live, saith the Lord GOD, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live: turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways; for why will ye die, O house of Israel?

12 Therefore, thou son of man, say unto the children of thy people, The righteousness of the righteous shall not deliver him in the day of his transgression: as for the wickedness of the wicked, he shall not fall thereby in the day that he turneth from his wickedness; neither shall the righteous be able to live for his righteousness in the day that he sinneth.

13 When I shall say to the righteous, that he shall surely live; if he trust to his own righteousness, and commit iniquity, all his righteousnesses shall not be remembered; but for his iniquity that he hath committed, he shall die for it.

14 Again, when I say unto the wicked, Thou shalt surely die; if he turn from his sin, and do that which is lawful and right;

15 If the wicked restore the pledge, give again that he had robbed, walk in the statutes of life, without committing iniquity; he shall surely live, he shall not die.

16 None of his sins that he hath committed shall be mentioned unto him: he hath done that which is lawful and right; he shall surely live.

17 Yet the children of thy people say, The way of the Lord is not equal: but as for them, their way is not equal.

18 When the righteous turneth from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity, he shall even die thereby.

19 But if the wicked turn from his wickedness, and do that which is lawful and right, he shall live thereby.

20 Yet ye say, The way of the Lord is not equal. O ye house of Israel, I will judge you every one after his ways.

21 And it came to pass in the twelfth year of our captivity, in the tenth month, in the fifth day of the month, that one that had escaped out of Jerusalem came unto me, saying, The city is smitten.

22 Now the hand of the LORD was upon me in the evening, afore he that was escaped came; and had opened my mouth, until he came to me in the morning; and my mouth was opened, and I was no more dumb.

23 Then the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

24 Son of man, they that inhabit those wastes of the land of Israel speak, saying, Abraham was one, and he inherited the land: but we are many; the land is given us for inheritance.

25 Wherefore say unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Ye eat with the blood, and lift up your eyes toward your idols, and shed blood: and shall ye possess the land?

26 Ye stand upon your sword, ye work abomination, and ye defile every one his neighbour's wife: and shall ye possess the land?

27 Say thou thus unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD; As I live, surely they that are in the wastes shall fall by the sword, and him that is in the open field will I give to the beasts to be devoured, and they that be in the forts and in the caves shall die of the pestilence.

28 For I will lay the land most desolate, and the pomp of her strength shall cease; and the mountains of Israel shall be desolate, that none shall pass through.

29 Then shall they know that I am the LORD, when I have laid the land most desolate because of all their abominations which they have committed.

30 Also, thou son of man, the children of thy people still are talking against thee by the walls and in the doors of the houses, and speak one to another, every one to his brother, saying, Come, I pray you, and hear what is the word that cometh forth from the LORD.

31 And they come unto thee as the people cometh, and they sit before thee as my people, and they hear thy words, but they will not do them: for with their mouth they shew much love, but their heart goeth after their covetousness.

32 And, lo, thou art unto them as a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice, and can play well on an instrument: for they hear thy words, but they do them not.

33 And when this cometh to pass, (lo, it will come,) then shall they know that a prophet hath been among them.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 34

1 And the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

2 Son of man, prophesy against the shepherds of Israel, prophesy, and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD unto the shepherds; Woe be to the shepherds of Israel that do feed themselves! should not the shepherds feed the flocks?

3 Ye eat the fat, and ye clothe you with the wool, ye kill them that are fed: but ye feed not the flock.

4 The diseased have ye not strengthened, neither have ye healed that which was sick, neither have ye bound up that which was broken, neither have ye brought again that which was driven away, neither have ye sought that which was lost; but with force and with cruelty have ye ruled them.

5 And they were scattered, because there is no shepherd: and they became meat to all the beasts of the field, when they were scattered.

6 My sheep wandered through all the mountains, and upon every high hill: yea, my flock was scattered upon all the face of the earth, and none did search or seek after them.

7 Therefore, ye shepherds, hear the word of the LORD;

8 As I live, saith the Lord GOD, surely because my flock became a prey, and my flock became meat to every beast of the field, because there was no shepherd, neither did my shepherds search for my flock, but the shepherds fed themselves, and fed not my flock;

9 Therefore, O ye shepherds, hear the word of the LORD;

10 Thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I am against the shepherds; and I will require my flock at their hand, and cause them to cease from feeding the flock; neither shall the shepherds feed themselves any more; for I will deliver my flock from their mouth, that they may not be meat for them.

11 For thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I, even I, will both search my sheep, and seek them out.

12 As a shepherd seeketh out his flock in the day that he is among his sheep that are scattered; so will I seek out my sheep, and will deliver them out of all places where they have been scattered in the cloudy and dark day.

13 And I will bring them out from the people, and gather them from the countries, and will bring them to their own land, and feed them upon the mountains of Israel by the rivers, and in all the inhabited places of the country.

14 I will feed them in a good pasture, and upon the high mountains of Israel shall their fold be: there shall they lie in a good fold, and in a fat pasture shall they feed upon the mountains of Israel.

15 I will feed my flock, and I will cause them to lie down, saith the Lord GOD.

16 I will seek that which was lost, and bring again that which was driven away, and will bind up that which was broken, and will strengthen that which was sick: but I will destroy the fat and the strong; I will feed them with judgement.

17 And as for you, O my flock, thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I judge between cattle and cattle, between the rams and the he goats.

18 Seemeth it a small thing unto you to have eaten up the good pasture, but ye must tread down with your feet the residue of your pastures? and to have drunk of the deep waters, but ye must foul the residue with your feet?

19 And as for my flock, they eat that which ye have trodden with your feet; and they drink that which ye have fouled with your feet.

20 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD unto them; Behold, I, even I, will judge between the fat cattle and between the lean cattle.

21 Because ye have thrust with side and with shoulder, and pushed all the diseased with your horns, till ye have scattered them abroad;

22 Therefore will I save my flock, and they shall no more be a prey; and I will judge between cattle and cattle.

23 And I will set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed them, even my servant David; he shall feed them, and he shall be their shepherd.

24 And I the LORD will be their God, and my servant David a prince among them; I the LORD have spoken it.

25 And I will make with them a covenant of peace, and will cause the evil beasts to cease out of the land: and they shall dwell safely in the wilderness, and sleep in the woods.

26 And I will make them and the places round about my hill a blessing; and I will cause the shower to come down in his season; there shall be showers of blessing.

27 And the tree of the field shall yield her fruit, and the earth shall yield her increase, and they shall be safe in their land, and shall know that I am the LORD, when I have broken the bands of their yoke, and delivered them out of the hand of those that served themselves of them.

28 And they shall no more be a prey to the heathen, neither shall the beast of the land devour them; but they shall dwell safely, and none shall make them afraid.

29 And I will raise up for them a plant of renown, and they shall be no more consumed with hunger in the land, neither bear the shame of the heathen any more.

30 Thus shall they know that I the LORD their God am with them, and that they, even the house of Israel, are my people, saith the Lord GOD.

31 And ye my flock, the flock of my pasture, are men, and I am your God, saith the Lord GOD.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 35

1 Moreover the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

2 Son of man, set thy face against mount Seir, and prophesy against it,

3 And say unto it, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, O mount Seir, I am against thee, and I will stretch out mine hand against thee, and I will make thee most desolate.

4 I will lay thy cities waste, and thou shalt be desolate, and thou shalt know that I am the LORD.

5 Because thou hast had a perpetual hatred, and hast shed the blood of the children of Israel by the force of the sword in the time of their calamity, in the time that their iniquity had an end:

6 Therefore, as I live, saith the Lord GOD, I will prepare thee unto blood, and blood shall pursue thee: sith thou hast not hated blood, even blood shall pursue thee.

7 Thus will I make mount Seir most desolate, and cut off from it him that passeth out and him that returneth.

8 And I will fill his mountains with his slain men: in thy hills, and in thy valleys, and in all thy rivers, shall they fall that are slain with the sword.

9 I will make thee perpetual desolations, and thy cities shall not return: and ye shall know that I am the LORD.

10 Because thou hast said, These two nations and these two countries shall be mine, and we will possess it; whereas the LORD was there:

11 Therefore, as I live, saith the Lord GOD, I will even do according to thine anger, and according to thine envy which thou hast used out of thy hatred against them; and I will make myself known among them, when I have judged thee.

12 And thou shalt know that I am the LORD, and that I have heard all thy blasphemies which thou hast spoken against the mountains of Israel, saying, They are laid desolate, they are given us to consume.

13 Thus with your mouth ye have boasted against me, and have multiplied your words against me: I have heard them.

14 Thus saith the Lord GOD; When the whole earth rejoiceth, I will make thee desolate.

15 As thou didst rejoice at the inheritance of the house of Israel, because it was desolate, so will I do unto thee: thou shalt be desolate, O mount Seir, and all Idumea, even all of it: and they shall know that I am the LORD.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 36

1 Also, thou son of man, prophesy unto the mountains of Israel, and say, Ye mountains of Israel, hear the word of the LORD:

2 Thus saith the Lord GOD; Because the enemy hath said against you, Aha, even the ancient high places are ours in possession:

3 Therefore prophesy and say, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Because they have made you desolate, and swallowed you up on every side, that ye might be a possession unto the residue of the heathen, and ye are taken up in the lips of talkers, and are an infamy of the people:

4 Therefore, ye mountains of Israel, hear the word of the Lord GOD; Thus saith the Lord GOD to the mountains, and to the hills, to the rivers, and to the valleys, to the desolate wastes, and to the cities that are forsaken, which became a prey and derision to the residue of the heathen that are round about;

5 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Surely in the fire of my jealousy have I spoken against the residue of the heathen, and against all Idumea, which have appointed my land into their possession with the joy of all their heart, with despiteful minds, to cast it out for a prey.

6 Prophesy therefore concerning the land of Israel, and say unto the mountains, and to the hills, to the rivers, and to the valleys, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I have spoken in my jealousy and in my fury, because ye have borne the shame of the heathen:

7 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; I have lifted up mine hand, Surely the heathen that are about you, they shall bear their shame.

8 But ye, O mountains of Israel, ye shall shoot forth your branches, and yield your fruit to my people of Israel; for they are at hand to come.

9 For, behold, I am for you, and I will turn unto you, and ye shall be tilled and sown:

10 And I will multiply men upon you, all the house of Israel, even all of it: and the cities shall be inhabited, and the wastes shall be builded:

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11 And I will multiply upon you man and beast; and they shall increase and bring fruit: and I will settle you after your old estates, and will do better unto you than at your beginnings: and ye shall know that I am the LORD.

12 Yea, I will cause men to walk upon you, even my people Israel; and they shall possess thee, and thou shalt be their inheritance, and thou shalt no more henceforth bereave them of men.

13 Thus saith the Lord GOD; Because they say unto you, Thou land devourest up men, and hast bereaved thy nations:

14 Therefore thou shalt devour men no more, neither bereave thy nations any more, saith the Lord GOD.

15 Neither will I cause men to hear in thee the shame of the heathen any more, neither shalt thou bear the reproach of the people any more, neither shalt thou cause thy nations to fall any more, saith the Lord GOD.

16 Moreover the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

17 Son of man, when the house of Israel dwelt in their own land, they defiled it by their own way and by their doings: their way was before me as the uncleanness of a removed woman.

18 Wherefore I poured my fury upon them for the blood that they had shed upon the land, and for their idols wherewith they had polluted it:

19 And I scattered them among the heathen, and they were dispersed through the countries: according to their way and according to their doings I judged them.

20 And when they entered unto the heathen, whither they went, they profaned my holy name, when they said to them, These are the people of the LORD, and are gone forth out of his land.

21 But I had pity for mine holy name, which the house of Israel had profaned among the heathen, whither they went.

22 Therefore say unto the house of Israel, thus saith the Lord GOD; I do not this for your sakes, O house of Israel, but for mine holy name's sake, which ye have profaned among the heathen, whither ye went.

23 And I will sanctify my great name, which was profaned among the heathen, which ye have profaned in the midst of them; and the heathen shall know that I am the LORD, saith the Lord GOD, when I shall be sanctified in you before their eyes.

24 For I will take you from among the heathen, and gather you out of all countries, and will bring you into your own land.

25 Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you.

26 A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you an heart of flesh.

27 And I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgements, and do them.

28 And ye shall dwell in the land that I gave to your fathers; and ye shall be my people, and I will be your God.

29 I will also save you from all your uncleannesses: and I will call for the corn, and will increase it, and lay no famine upon you.

30 And I will multiply the fruit of the tree, and the increase of the field, that ye shall receive no more reproach of famine among the heathen.

31 Then shall ye remember your own evil ways, and your doings that were not good, and shall lothe yourselves in your own sight for your iniquities and for your abominations.

32 Not for your sakes do I this, saith the Lord GOD, be it known unto you: be ashamed and confounded for your own ways, O house of Israel.

33 Thus saith the Lord GOD; In the day that I shall have cleansed you from all your iniquities I will also cause you to dwell in the cities, and the wastes shall be builded.

34 And the desolate land shall be tilled, whereas it lay desolate in the sight of all that passed by.

35 And they shall say, This land that was desolate is become like the garden of Eden; and the waste and desolate and ruined cities are become fenced, and are inhabited.

36 Then the heathen that are left round about you shall know that I the LORD build the ruined places, and plant that that was desolate: I the LORD have spoken it, and I will do it.

37 Thus saith the Lord GOD; I will yet for this be enquired of by the house of Israel, to do it for them; I will increase them with men like a flock.

38 As the holy flock, as the flock of Jerusalem in her solemn feasts; so shall the waste cities be filled with flocks of men: and they shall know that I am the LORD.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 37

1 The hand of the LORD was upon me, and carried me out in the spirit of the LORD, and set me down in the midst of the valley which was full of bones,

2 And caused me to pass by them round about: and, behold, there were very many in the open valley; and, lo, they were very dry.

3 And he said unto me, Son of man, can these bones live? And I answered, O Lord GOD, thou knowest.

4 Again he said unto me, Prophesy upon these bones, and say unto them, O ye dry bones, hear the word of the LORD.

5 Thus saith the Lord GOD unto these bones; Behold, I will cause breath to enter into you, and ye shall live:

6 And I will lay sinews upon you, and will bring up flesh upon you, and cover you with skin, and put breath in you, and ye shall live; and ye shall know that I am the LORD.

7 So I prophesied as I was commanded: and as I prophesied, there was a noise, and behold a shaking, and the bones came together, bone to his bone.

8 And when I beheld, lo, the sinews and the flesh came up upon them, and the skin covered them above: but there was no breath in them.

9 Then said he unto me, Prophesy unto the wind, prophesy, son of man, and say to the wind, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live.

10 So I prophesied as he commanded me, and the breath came into them, and they lived, and stood up upon their feet, an exceeding great army.

11 Then he said unto me, Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel: behold, they say, Our bones are dried, and our hope is lost: we are cut off for our parts.

12 Therefore prophesy and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, O my people, I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves, and bring you into the land of Israel.

13 And ye shall know that I am the LORD, when I have opened your graves, O my people, and brought you up out of your graves,

14 And shall put my spirit in you, and ye shall live, and I shall place you in your own land: then shall ye know that I the LORD have spoken it, and performed it, saith the LORD.

15 The word of the LORD came again unto me, saying,

16 Moreover, thou son of man, take thee one stick, and write upon it, For Judah, and for the children of Israel his companions: then take another stick, and write upon it, For Joseph, the stick of Ephraim and for all the house of Israel his companions:

17 And join them one to another into one stick; and they shall become one in thine hand.

18 And when the children of thy people shall speak unto thee, saying, Wilt thou not shew us what thou meanest by these?

19 Say unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I will take the stick of Joseph, which is in the hand of Ephraim, and the tribes of Israel his fellows, and will put them with him, even with the stick of Judah, and make them one stick, and they shall be one in mine hand.

20 And the sticks whereon thou writest shall be in thine hand before their eyes.

21 And say unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, whither they be gone, and will gather them on every side, and bring them into their own land:

22 And I will make them one nation in the land upon the mountains of Israel; and one king shall be king to them all: and they shall be no more two nations, neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms any more at all.

23 Neither shall they defile themselves any more with their idols, nor with their detestable things, nor with any of their transgressions: but I will save them out of all their dwellingplaces, wherein they have sinned, and will cleanse them: so shall they be my people, and I will be their God.

24 And David my servant shall be king over them; and they all shall have one shepherd: they shall also walk in my judgements, and observe my statutes, and do them.

25 And they shall dwell in the land that I have given unto Jacob my servant, wherein your fathers have dwelt; and they shall dwell therein, even they, and their children, and their children's children for ever: and my servant David shall be their prince for ever.

26 Moreover I will make a covenant of peace with them; it shall be an everlasting covenant with them: and I will place them, and multiply them, and will set my sanctuary in the midst of them for evermore.

27 My tabernacle also shall be with them: yea, I will be their God, and they shall be my people.

28 And the heathen shall know that I the LORD do sanctify Israel, when my sanctuary shall be in the midst of them for evermore.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 38

1 And the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

2 Son of man, set thy face against Gog, the land of Magog, the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal, and prophesy against him,

3 And say, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I am against thee, O Gog, the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal:

4 And I will turn thee back, and put hooks into thy jaws, and I will bring thee forth, and all thine army, horses and horsemen, all of them clothed with all sorts of armour, even a great company with bucklers and shields, all of them handling swords:

5 Persia, Ethiopia, and Libya with them; all of them with shield and helmet:

6 Gomer, and all his bands; the house of Togarmah of the north quarters, and all his bands: and many people with thee.

7 Be thou prepared, and prepare for thyself, thou, and all thy company that are assembled unto thee, and be thou a guard unto them.

8 After many days thou shalt be visited: in the latter years thou shalt come into the land that is brought back from the sword, and is gathered out of many people, against the mountains of Israel, which have been always waste: but it is brought forth out of the nations, and they shall dwell safely all of them.

9 Thou shalt ascend and come like a storm, thou shalt be like a cloud to cover the land, thou, and all thy bands, and many people with thee.

10 Thus saith the Lord GOD; It shall also come to pass, that at the same time shall things come into thy mind, and thou shalt think an evil thought:

11 And thou shalt say, I will go up to the land of unwalled villages; I will go to them that are at rest, that dwell safely, all of them dwelling without walls, and having neither bars nor gates,

12 To take a spoil, and to take a prey; to turn thine hand upon the desolate places that are now inhabited, and upon the people that are gathered out of the nations, which have gotten cattle and goods, that dwell in the midst of the land.

13 Sheba, and Dedan, and the merchants of Tarshish, with all the young lions thereof, shall say unto thee, Art thou come to take a spoil? hast thou gathered thy company to take a prey? to carry away silver and gold, to take away cattle and goods, to take a great spoil?

14 Therefore, son of man, prophesy and say unto Gog, Thus saith the Lord GOD; In that day when my people of Israel dwelleth safely, shalt thou not know it?

15 And thou shalt come from thy place out of the north parts, thou, and many people with thee, all of them riding upon horses, a great company, and a mighty army:

16 And thou shalt come up against my people of Israel, as a cloud to cover the land; it shall be in the latter days, and I will bring thee against my land, that the heathen may know me, when I shall be sanctified in thee, O Gog, before their eyes.

17 Thus saith the Lord GOD; Art thou he of whom I have spoken in old time by my servants the prophets of Israel, which prophesied in those days many years that I would bring thee against them?

18 And it shall come to pass at the same time when Gog shall come against the land of Israel, saith the Lord GOD, that my fury shall come up in my face.

19 For in my jealousy and in the fire of my wrath have I spoken, Surely in that day there shall be a great shaking in the land of Israel;

20 So that the fishes of the sea, and the fowls of the heaven, and the beasts of the field, and all creeping things that creep upon the earth, and all the men that are upon the face of the earth, shall shake at my presence, and the mountains shall be thrown down, and the steep places shall fall, and every wall shall fall to the ground.

21 And I will call for a sword against him throughout all my mountains, saith the Lord GOD: every man's sword shall be against his brother.

22 And I will plead against him with pestilence and with blood; and I will rain upon him, and upon his bands, and upon the many people that are with him, an overflowing rain, and great hailstones, fire, and brimstone.

23 Thus will I magnify myself, and sanctify myself; and I will be known in the eyes of many nations, and they shall know that I am the LORD.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 39

1 Therefore, thou son of man, prophesy against Gog, and say, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I am against thee, O Gog, the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal:

2 And I will turn thee back, and leave but the sixth part of thee, and will cause thee to come up from the north parts, and will bring thee upon the mountains of Israel:

3 And I will smite thy bow out of thy left hand, and will cause thine arrows to fall out of thy right hand.

4 Thou shalt fall upon the mountains of Israel, thou, and all thy bands, and the people that is with thee: I will give thee unto the ravenous birds of every sort, and to the beasts of the field to be devoured.

5 Thou shalt fall upon the open field: for I have spoken it, saith the Lord GOD.

6 And I will send a fire on Magog, and among them that dwell carelessly in the isles: and they shall know that I am the LORD.

7 So will I make my holy name known in the midst of my people Israel; and I will not let them pollute my holy name any more: and the heathen shall know that I am the LORD, the Holy One in Israel.

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8 Behold, it is come, and it is done, saith the Lord GOD; this is the day whereof I have spoken.

9 And they that dwell in the cities of Israel shall go forth, and shall set on fire and burn the weapons, both the shields and the bucklers, the bows and the arrows, and the handstaves, and the spears, and they shall burn them with fire seven years:

10 So that they shall take no wood out of the field, neither cut down any out of the forests; for they shall burn the weapons with fire: and they shall spoil those that spoiled them, and rob those that robbed them, saith the Lord GOD.

11 And it shall come to pass in that day, that I will give unto Gog a place there of graves in Israel, the valley of the passengers on the east of the sea: and it shall stop the noses of the passengers: and there shall they bury Gog and all his multitude: and they shall call it The valley of Hamongog.

12 And seven months shall the house of Israel be burying of them, that they may cleanse the land.

13 Yea, all the people of the land shall bury them; and it shall be to them a renown the day that I shall be glorified, saith the Lord GOD.

14 And they shall sever out men of continual employment, passing through the land to bury with the passengers those that remain upon the face of the earth, to cleanse it: after the end of seven months shall they search.

15 And the passengers that pass through the land, when any seeth a man's bone, then shall he set up a sign by it, till the buriers have buried it in the valley of Hamongog.

16 And also the name of the city shall be Hamonah. Thus shall they cleanse the land.

17 And, thou son of man, thus saith the Lord GOD; Speak unto every feathered fowl, and to every beast of the field, Assemble yourselves, and come; gather yourselves on every side to my sacrifice that I do sacrifice for you, even a great sacrifice upon the mountains of Israel, that ye may eat flesh, and drink blood.

18 Ye shall eat the flesh of the mighty, and drink the blood of the princes of the earth, of rams, of lambs, and of goats, of bullocks, all of them fatlings of Bashan.

19 And ye shall eat fat till ye be full, and drink blood till ye be drunken, of my sacrifice which I have sacrificed for you.

20 Thus ye shall be filled at my table with horses and chariots, with mighty men, and with all men of war, saith the Lord GOD.

21 And I will set my glory among the heathen, and all the heathen shall see my judgement that I have executed, and my hand that I have laid upon them.

22 So the house of Israel shall know that I am the LORD their God from that day and forward.

23 And the heathen shall know that the house of Israel went into captivity for their iniquity: because they trespassed against me, therefore hid I my face from them, and gave them into the hand of their enemies: so fell they all by the sword.

24 According to their uncleanness and according to their transgressions have I done unto them, and hid my face from them.

25 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Now will I bring again the captivity of Jacob, and have mercy upon the whole house of Israel, and will be jealous for my holy name;

26 After that they have borne their shame, and all their trespasses whereby they have trespassed against me, when they dwelt safely in their land, and none made them afraid.

27 When I have brought them again from the people, and gathered them out of their enemies' lands, and am sanctified in them in the sight of many nations;

28 Then shall they know that I am the LORD their God, which caused them to be led into captivity among the heathen: but I have gathered them unto their own land, and have left none of them any more there.

29 Neither will I hide my face any more from them: for I have poured out my spirit upon the house of Israel, saith the Lord GOD.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 40

1 In the five and twentieth year of our captivity, in the beginning of the year, in the tenth day of the month, in the fourteenth year after that the city was smitten, in the selfsame day the hand of the LORD was upon me, and brought me thither.

2 In the visions of God brought he me into the land of Israel, and set me upon a very high mountain, by which was as the frame of a city on the south.

3 And he brought me thither, and, behold, there was a man, whose appearance was like the appearance of brass, with a line of flax in his hand, and a measuring reed; and he stood in the gate.

4 And the man said unto me, Son of man, behold with thine eyes, and hear with thine ears, and set thine heart upon all that I shall shew thee; for to the intent that I might shew them unto thee art thou brought hither: declare all that thou seest to the house of Israel.

5 And behold a wall on the outside of the house round about, and in the man's hand a measuring reed of six cubits long by the cubit and an hand breadth: so he measured the breadth of the building, one reed; and the height, one reed.

6 Then came he unto the gate which looketh toward the east, and went up the stairs thereof, and measured the threshold of the gate, which was one reed broad; and the other threshold of the gate, which was one reed broad.

7 And every little chamber was one reed long, and one reed broad; and between the little chambers were five cubits; and the threshold of the gate by the porch of the gate within was one reed.

8 He measured also the porch of the gate within, one reed.

9 Then measured he the porch of the gate, eight cubits; and the posts thereof, two cubits; and the porch of the gate was inward.

10 And the little chambers of the gate eastward were three on this side, and three on that side; they three were of one measure: and the posts had one measure on this side and on that side.

11 And he measured the breadth of the entry of the gate, ten cubits; and the length of the gate, thirteen cubits.

12 The space also before the little chambers was one cubit on this side, and the space was one cubit on that side: and the little chambers were six cubits on this side, and six cubits on that side.

13 He measured then the gate from the roof of one little chamber to the roof of another: the breadth was five and twenty cubits, door against door.

14 He made also posts of threescore cubits, even unto the post of the court round about the gate.

15 And from the face of the gate of the entrance unto the face of the porch of the inner gate were fifty cubits.

16 And there were narrow windows to the little chambers, and to their posts within the gate round about, and likewise to the arches: and windows were round about inward: and upon each post were palm trees.

17 Then brought he me into the outward court, and, lo, there were chambers, and a pavement made for the court round about: thirty chambers were upon the pavement.

18 And the pavement by the side of the gates over against the length of the gates was the lower pavement.

19 Then he measured the breadth from the forefront of the lower gate unto the forefront of the inner court without, an hundred cubits eastward and northward.

20 And the gate of the outward court that looked toward the north, he measured the length thereof, and the breadth thereof.

21 And the little chambers thereof were three on this side and three on that side; and the posts thereof and the arches thereof were after the measure of the first gate: the length thereof was fifty cubits, and the breadth five and twenty cubits.

22 And their windows, and their arches, and their palm trees, were after the measure of the gate that looketh toward the east; and they went up unto it by seven steps; and the arches thereof were before them.

23 And the gate of the inner court was over against the gate toward the north, and toward the east; and he measured from gate to gate an hundred cubits.

24 After that he brought me toward the south, and behold a gate toward the south: and he measured the posts thereof and the arches thereof according to these measures.

25 And there were windows in it and in the arches thereof round about, like those windows: the length was fifty cubits, and the breadth five and twenty cubits.

26 And there were seven steps to go up to it, and the arches thereof were before them: and it had palm trees, one on this side, and another on that side, upon the posts thereof.

27 And there was a gate in the inner court toward the south: and he measured from gate to gate toward the south an hundred cubits.

28 And he brought me to the inner court by the south gate: and he measured the south gate according to these measures;

29 And the little chambers thereof, and the posts thereof, and the arches thereof, according to these measures: and there were windows in it and in the arches thereof round about: it was fifty cubits long, and five and twenty cubits broad.

30 And the arches round about were five and twenty cubits long, and five cubits broad.

31 And the arches thereof were toward the utter court; and palm trees were upon the posts thereof: and the going up to it had eight steps.

32 And he brought me into the inner court toward the east: and he measured the gate according to these measures.

33 And the little chambers thereof, and the posts thereof, and the arches thereof, were according to these measures: and there were windows therein and in the arches thereof round about: it was fifty cubits long, and five and twenty cubits broad.

34 And the arches thereof were toward the outward court; and palm trees were upon the posts thereof, on this side, and on that side: and the going up to it had eight steps.

35 And he brought me to the north gate, and measured it according to these measures;

36 The little chambers thereof, the posts thereof, and the arches thereof, and the windows to it round about: the length was fifty cubits, and the breadth five and twenty cubits.

37 And the posts thereof were toward the utter court; and palm trees were upon the posts thereof, on this side, and on that side: and the going up to it had eight steps.

38 And the chambers and the entries thereof were by the posts of the gates, where they washed the burnt offering.

39 And in the porch of the gate were two tables on this side, and two tables on that side, to slay thereon the burnt offering and the sin offering and the trespass offering.

40 And at the side without, as one goeth up to the entry of the north gate, were two tables; and on the other side, which was at the porch of the gate, were two tables.

41 Four tables were on this side, and four tables on that side, by the side of the gate; eight tables, whereupon they slew their sacrifices.

42 And the four tables were of hewn stone for the burnt offering, of a cubit and an half long, and a cubit and an half broad, and one cubit high: whereupon also they laid the instruments wherewith they slew the burnt offering and the sacrifice.

43 And within were hooks, an hand broad, fastened round about: and upon the tables was the flesh of the offering.

44 And without the inner gate were the chambers of the singers in the inner court, which was at the side of the north gate; and their prospect was toward the south: one at the side of the east gate having the prospect toward the north.

45 And he said unto me, This chamber, whose prospect is toward the south, is for the priests, the keepers of the charge of the house.

46 And the chamber whose prospect is toward the north is for the priests, the keepers of the charge of the altar: these are the sons of Zadok among the sons of Levi, which come near to the LORD to minister unto him.

47 So he measured the court, an hundred cubits long, and an hundred cubits broad, foursquare; and the altar that was before the house.

48 And he brought me to the porch of the house, and measured each post of the porch, five cubits on this side, and five cubits on that side: and the breadth of the gate was three cubits on this side, and three cubits on that side.

49 The length of the porch was twenty cubits, and the breadth eleven cubits, and he brought me by the steps whereby they went up to it: and there were pillars by the posts, one on this side, and another on that side.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 41

1 Afterward he brought me to the temple, and measured the posts, six cubits broad on the one side, and six cubits broad on the other side, which was the breadth of the tabernacle.

2 And the breadth of the door was ten cubits; and the sides of the door were five cubits on the one side, and five cubits on the other side: and he measured the length thereof, forty cubits: and the breadth, twenty cubits.

3 Then went he inward, and measured the post of the door, two cubits; and the door, six cubits; and the breadth of the door, seven cubits.

4 So he measured the length thereof, twenty cubits; and the breadth, twenty cubits, before the temple: and he said unto me, This is the most holy place.

5 After he measured the wall of the house, six cubits; and the breadth of every side chamber, four cubits, round about the house on every side.

6 And the side chambers were three, one over another, and thirty in order; and they entered into the wall which was of the house for the side chambers round about, that they might have hold, but they had not hold in the wall of the house.

7 And there was an enlarging, and a winding about still upward to the side chambers: for the winding about of the house went still upward round about the house: therefore the breadth of the house was still upward, and so increased from the lowest chamber to the highest by the midst.

8 I saw also the height of the house round about: the foundations of the side chambers were a full reed of six great cubits.

9 The thickness of the wall, which was for the side chamber without, was five cubits: and that which was left was the place of the side chambers that were within.

10 And between the chambers was the wideness of twenty cubits round about the house on every side.

11 And the doors of the side chambers were toward the place that was left, one door toward the north, and another door toward the south: and the breadth of the place that was left was five cubits round about.

12 Now the building that was before the separate place at the end toward the west was seventy cubits broad; and the wall of the building was five cubits thick round about, and the length thereof ninety cubits.

13 So he measured the house, an hundred cubits long; and the separate place, and the building, with the walls thereof, an hundred cubits long;

14 Also the breadth of the face of the house, and of the separate place toward the east, an hundred cubits.

15 And he measured the length of the building over against the separate place which was behind it, and the galleries

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thereof on the one side and on the other side, an hundred cubits, with the inner temple, and the porches of the court;
16 The door posts, and the narrow windows, and the galleries round about on their three stories, over against the door, cieled with wood round about, and from the ground up to the windows, and the windows were covered;
17 To that above the door, even unto the inner house, and without, and by all the wall round about within and without, by measure.
18 And it was made with cherubims and palm trees, so that a palm tree was between a cherub and a cherub; and every cherub had two faces;
19 So that the face of a man was toward the palm tree on the one side, and the face of a young lion toward the palm tree on the other side: it was made through all the house round about.
20 From the ground unto above the door were cherubims and palm trees made, and on the wall of the temple.
21 The posts of the temple were squared, and the face of the sanctuary; the appearance of the one as the appearance of the other.
22 The altar of wood was three cubits high, and the length thereof two cubits; and the corners thereof, and the length thereof, and the walls thereof, were of wood: and he said unto me, This is the table that is before the LORD.
23 And the temple and the sanctuary had two doors.
24 And the doors had two leaves apiece, two turning leaves; two leaves for the one door, and two leaves for the other door.
25 And there were made on them, on the doors of the temple, cherubims and palm trees, like as were made upon the walls; and there were thick planks upon the face of the porch without.
26 And there were narrow windows and palm trees on the one side and on the other side, on the sides of the porch, and upon the side chambers of the house, and thick planks.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 42
1 Then he brought me forth into the utter court, the way toward the north: and he brought me into the chamber that was over against the separate place, and which was before the building toward the north.
2 Before the length of an hundred cubits was the north door, and the breadth was fifty cubits.
3 Over against the twenty cubits which were for the inner court, and over against the pavement which was for the utter court, was gallery against gallery in three stories.
4 And before the chambers was a walk to ten cubits breadth inward, a way of one cubit; and their doors toward the north.
5 Now the upper chambers were shorter: for the galleries were higher than these, than the lower, and than the middlemost of the building.
6 For they were in three stories, but had not pillars as the pillars of the courts: therefore the building was straitened more than the lowest and the middlemost from the ground.
7 And the wall that was without over against the chambers, toward the utter court on the forepart of the chambers, the length thereof was fifty cubits.
8 For the length of the chambers that were in the utter court was fifty cubits: and, lo, before the temple were an hundred cubits.
9 And from under these chambers was the entry on the east side, as one goeth into them from the utter court.
10 The chambers were in the thickness of the wall of the court toward the east, over against the separate place, and over against the building.
11 And the way before them was like the appearance of the chambers which were toward the north, as long as they, and as broad as they: and all their goings out were both according to their fashions, and according to their doors.
12 And according to the doors of the chambers that were toward the south was a door in the head of the way, even the way directly before the wall toward the east, as one entereth into them.
13 Then said he unto me, The north chambers and the south chambers, which are before the separate place, they be holy chambers, where the priests that approach unto the LORD shall eat the most holy things: there shall they lay the most holy things, and the meat offering, and the sin offering, and the trespass offering; for the place is holy.
14 When the priests enter therein, then shall they not go out of the holy place into the utter court, but there they shall lay their garments wherein they minister; for they are holy; and shall put on other garments, and shall approach to those things which are for the people.
15 Now when he had made an end of measuring the inner house, he brought me forth toward the gate whose prospect is toward the east, and measured it round about.
16 He measured the east side with the measuring reed, five hundred reeds, with the measuring reed round about.
17 He measured the north side, five hundred reeds, with the measuring reed round about.
18 He measured the south side, five hundred reeds, with the measuring reed.
19 He turned about to the west side, and measured five hundred reeds with the measuring reed.
20 He measured it by the four sides: it had a wall round about, five hundred reeds long, and five hundred broad, to make a separation between the sanctuary and the profane place.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 43
1 Afterward he brought me to the gate, even the gate that looketh toward the east:
2 And, behold, the glory of the God of Israel came from the way of the east: and his voice was like a noise of many waters: and the earth shined with his glory.
3 And it was according to the appearance of the vision which I saw, even according to the vision that I saw when I came to destroy the city: and the visions were like the vision that I saw by the river Chebar; and I fell upon my face.
4 And the glory of the LORD came into the house by the way of the gate whose prospect is toward the east.
5 So the spirit took me up, and brought me into the inner court; and, behold, the glory of the LORD filled the house.
6 And I heard him speaking unto me out of the house; and the man stood by me.
7 And he said unto me, Son of man, the place of my throne, and the place of the soles of my feet, where I will dwell in the midst of the children of Israel for ever, and my holy name, shall the house of Israel no more defile, neither they, nor their kings, by their whoredom, nor by the carcases of their kings in their high places.
8 In their setting of their threshold by my thresholds, and their post by my posts, and the wall between me and them, they have even defiled my holy name by their abominations that they have committed: wherefore I have consumed them in mine anger.
9 Now let them put away their whoredom, and the carcases of their kings, far from me, and I will dwell in the midst of them for ever.
10 Thou son of man, shew the house to the house of Israel, that they may be ashamed of their iniquities: and let them measure the pattern.
11 And if they be ashamed of all that they have done, shew them the form of the house, and the fashion thereof, and the goings out thereof, and the comings in thereof, and all the forms thereof, and all the ordinances thereof, and all the forms thereof, and all the laws thereof: and write it in their sight, that they may keep the whole form thereof, and all the ordinances thereof, and do them.
12 This is the law of the house; Upon the top of the mountain the whole limit thereof round about shall be most holy. Behold, this is the law of the house.
13 And these are the measures of the altar after the cubits: The cubit is a cubit and an hand breadth; even the bottom shall be a cubit, and the breadth a cubit, and the border thereof by the edge thereof round about shall be a span: and this shall be the higher place of the altar.
14 And from the bottom upon the ground even to the lower settle shall be two cubits, and the breadth one cubit; and from the lesser settle even to the greater settle shall be four cubits, and the breadth one cubit.
15 So the altar shall be four cubits; and from the altar and upward shall be four horns.
16 And the altar shall be twelve cubits long, twelve broad, square in the four squares thereof.
17 And the settle shall be fourteen cubits long and fourteen broad in the four squares thereof; and the border about it shall be half a cubit; and the bottom thereof shall be a cubit about; and his stairs shall look toward the east.
18 And he said unto me, Son of man, thus saith the Lord GOD; These are the ordinances of the altar in the day when they shall make it, to offer burnt offerings thereon, and to sprinkle blood thereon.
19 And thou shalt give to the priests the Levites that be of the seed of Zadok, which approach unto me, to minister unto me, saith the Lord GOD, a young bullock for a sin offering.
20 And thou shalt take of the blood thereof, and put it on the four horns of it, and on the four corners of the settle, and upon the border round about: thus shalt thou cleanse and purge it.
21 Thou shalt take the bullock also of the sin offering, and he shall burn it in the appointed place of the house, without the sanctuary.
22 And on the second day thou shalt offer a kid of the goats without blemish for a sin offering; and they shall cleanse the altar, as they did cleanse it with the bullock.
23 When thou hast made an end of cleansing it, thou shalt offer a young bullock without blemish, and a ram out of the flock without blemish.
24 And thou shalt offer them before the LORD, and the priests shall cast salt upon them, and they shall offer them up for a burnt offering unto the LORD.
25 Seven days shalt thou prepare every day a goat for a sin offering: they shall also prepare a young bullock, and a ram out of the flock, without blemish.
26 Seven days shall they purge the altar and purify it; and they shall consecrate themselves.
27 And when these days are expired, it shall be, that upon the eighth day, and so forward, the priests shall make your burnt offerings upon the altar, and your peace offerings; and I will accept you, saith the Lord GOD.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 44
1 Then he brought me back the way of the gate of the outward sanctuary which looketh toward the east; and it was shut.
2 Then said the LORD unto me; This gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no man shall enter in by it; because the LORD, the God of Israel, hath entered in by it, therefore it shall be shut.
3 It is for the prince; the prince, he shall sit in it to eat bread before the LORD; he shall enter by the way of the porch of that gate, and shall go out by the way of the same.
4 Then brought he me the way of the north gate before the house: and I looked, and, behold, the glory of the LORD filled the house of the LORD: and I fell upon my face.
5 And the LORD said unto me, Son of man, mark well, and behold with thine eyes, and hear with thine ears all that I say unto thee concerning all the ordinances of the house of the LORD, and all the laws thereof; and mark well the entering in of the house, with every going forth of the sanctuary.
6 And thou shalt say to the rebellious, even to the house of Israel, Thus saith the Lord GOD; O ye house of Israel, let it suffice you of all your abominations,
7 In that ye have brought into my sanctuary strangers, uncircumcised in heart, and uncircumcised in flesh, to be in my sanctuary, to pollute it, even my house, when ye offer my bread, the fat and the blood, and they have broken my covenant because of all your abominations.
8 And ye have not kept the charge of mine holy things: but ye have set keepers of my charge in my sanctuary for yourselves.
9 Thus saith the Lord GOD; No stranger, uncircumcised in heart, nor uncircumcised in flesh, shall enter into my sanctuary, of any stranger that is among the children of Israel.
10 And the Levites that are gone away far from me, when Israel went astray, which went astray away from me after their idols; they shall even bear their iniquity.
11 Yet they shall be ministers in my sanctuary, having charge at the gates of the house, and ministering to the house: they shall slay the burnt offering and the sacrifice for the people, and they shall stand before them to minister unto them.
12 Because they ministered unto them before their idols, and caused the house of Israel to fall into iniquity; therefore have I lifted up mine hand against them, saith the Lord GOD, and they shall bear their iniquity.
13 And they shall not come near unto me, to do the office of a priest unto me, nor to come near to any of my holy things, in the most holy place: but they shall bear their shame, and their abominations which they have committed.
14 But I will make them keepers of the charge of the house, for all the service thereof, and for all that shall be done therein.
15 But the priests the Levites, the sons of Zadok, that kept the charge of my sanctuary when the children of Israel went astray from me, they shall come near to me to minister unto me, and they shall stand before me to offer unto me the fat and the blood, saith the Lord GOD:
16 They shall enter into my sanctuary, and they shall come near to my table, to minister unto me, and they shall keep my charge.
17 And it shall come to pass, that when they enter in at the gates of the inner court, they shall be clothed with linen garments; and no wool shall come upon them, whiles they minister in the gates of the inner court, and within.
18 They shall have linen bonnets upon their heads, and shall have linen breeches upon their loins; they shall not gird themselves with any thing that causeth sweat.
19 And when they go forth into the utter court, even into the utter court to the people, they shall put off their garments wherein they ministered, and lay them in the holy chambers, and they shall put on other garments; and they shall not sanctify the people with their garments.
20 Neither shall they shave their heads, nor suffer their locks to grow long; they shall only poll their heads.
21 Neither shall any priest drink wine, when they enter into the inner court.
22 Neither shall they take for their wives a widow, nor her that is put away: but they shall take maidens of the seed of the house of Israel, or a widow that had a priest before.
23 And they shall teach my people the difference between the holy and profane, and cause them to discern between the unclean and the clean.
24 And in controversy they shall stand in judgement; and they shall judge it according to my judgements: and they shall keep my laws and my statutes in all mine assemblies; and they shall hallow my sabbaths.

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25 And they shall come at no dead person to defile themselves: but for father, or for mother, or for son, or for daughter, for brother, or for sister that hath had no husband, they may defile themselves.

26 And after he is cleansed, they shall reckon unto him seven days.

27 And in the day that he goeth into the sanctuary, unto the inner court, to minister in the sanctuary, he shall offer his sin offering, saith the Lord GOD.

28 And it shall be unto them for an inheritance: I am their inheritance: and ye shall give them no possession in Israel: I am their possession.

29 They shall eat the meat offering, and the sin offering, and the trespass offering: and every dedicated thing in Israel shall be theirs.

30 And the first of all the firstfruits of all things, and every oblation of all, of every sort of your oblations, shall be the priest's: ye shall also give unto the priest the first of your dough, that he may cause the blessing to rest in thine house.

31 The priests shall not eat of any thing that is dead of itself, or torn, whether it be fowl or beast.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 45

1 Moreover, when ye shall divide by lot the land for inheritance, ye shall offer an oblation unto the LORD, an holy portion of the land: the length shall be the length of five and twenty thousand reeds, and the breadth shall be ten thousand. This shall be holy in all the borders thereof round about.

2 Of this there shall be for the sanctuary five hundred in length, with five hundred in breadth, square round about; and fifty cubits round about for the suburbs thereof.

3 And of this measure shalt thou measure the length of five and twenty thousand, and the breadth of ten thousand: and in it shall be the sanctuary and the most holy place.

4 The holy portion of the land shall be for the priests the ministers of the sanctuary, which shall come near to minister unto the LORD: and it shall be a place for their houses, and an holy place for the sanctuary.

5 And the five and twenty thousand of length, and the ten thousand of breadth shall also the Levites, the ministers of the house, have for themselves, for a possession for twenty chambers.

6 And ye shall appoint the possession of the city five thousand broad, and five and twenty thousand long, over against the oblation of the holy portion: it shall be for the whole house of Israel.

7 And a portion shall be for the prince on the one side and on the other side of the oblation of the holy portion, and of the possession of the city, before the oblation of the holy portion, and before the possession of the city, from the west side westward, and from the east side eastward: and the length shall be over against one of the portions, from the west border unto the east border.

8 In the land shall be his possession in Israel: and my princes shall no more oppress my people; and the rest of the land shall they give to the house of Israel according to their tribes.

9 Thus saith the Lord GOD; Let it suffice you, O princes of Israel: remove violence and spoil, and execute judgement and justice, take away your exactions from my people, saith the Lord GOD.

10 Ye shall have just balances, and a just ephah, and a just bath.

11 The ephah and the bath shall be of one measure, that the bath may contain the tenth part of an homer, and the ephah the tenth part of an homer: the measure thereof shall be after the homer.

12 And the shekel shall be twenty gerahs: twenty shekels, five and twenty shekels, fifteen shekels, shall be your maneh.

13 This is the oblation that ye shall offer; the sixth part of an ephah of an homer of wheat, and ye shall give the sixth part of an ephah of an homer of barley:

14 Concerning the ordinance of oil, the bath of oil, ye shall offer the tenth part of a bath out of the cor, which is an homer of ten baths; for ten baths are an homer:

15 And one lamb out of the flock, out of two hundred, out of the fat pastures of Israel; for a meat offering, and for a burnt offering, and for peace offerings, to make reconciliation for them, saith the Lord GOD.

16 All the people of the land shall give this oblation for the prince in Israel.

17 And it shall be the prince's part to give burnt offerings, and meat offerings, and drink offerings, in the feasts, and in the new moons, and in the sabbaths, in all solemnities of the house of Israel: he shall prepare the sin offering, and the meat offering, and the burnt offering, and the peace offerings, to make reconciliation for the house of Israel.

18 Thus saith the Lord GOD; In the first month, in the first day of the month, thou shalt take a young bullock without blemish, and cleanse the sanctuary:

19 And the priest shall take of the blood of the sin offering, and put it upon the posts of the house, and upon the four corners of the settle of the altar, and upon the posts of the gate of the inner court.

20 And so thou shalt do the seventh day of the month for every one that erreth, and for him that is simple: so shall ye reconcile the house.

21 In the first month, in the fourteenth day of the month, ye shall have the passover, a feast of seven days; unleavened bread shall be eaten.

22 And upon that day shall the prince prepare for himself and for all the people of the land a bullock for a sin offering.

23 And seven days of the feast he shall prepare a burnt offering to the LORD, seven bullocks and seven rams without blemish daily the seven days; and a kid of the goats daily for a sin offering.

24 And he shall prepare a meat offering of an ephah for a bullock, and an ephah for a ram, and an hin of oil for an ephah.

25 In the seventh month, in the fifteenth day of the month, shall he do the like in the feast of the seven days, according to the sin offering, according to the burnt offering, and according to the meat offering, and according to the oil.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 46

1 Thus saith the Lord GOD; The gate of the inner court that looketh toward the east shall be shut the six working days; but on the sabbath it shall be opened, and in the day of the new moon it shall be opened.

2 And the prince shall enter by the way of the porch of that gate without, and shall stand by the post of the gate, and the priests shall prepare his burnt offering and his peace offerings, and he shall worship at the threshold of the gate: then he shall go forth; but the gate shall not be shut until the evening.

3 Likewise the people of the land shall worship at the door of this gate before the LORD in the sabbaths and in the new moons.

4 And the burnt offering that the prince shall offer unto the LORD in the sabbath day shall be six lambs without blemish, and a ram without blemish.

5 And the meat offering shall be an ephah for a ram, and the meat offering for the lambs as he shall be able to give, and an hin of oil to an ephah.

6 And in the day of the new moon it shall be a young bullock without blemish, and six lambs, and a ram: they shall be without blemish.

7 And he shall prepare a meat offering, an ephah for a bullock, and an ephah for a ram, and for the lambs according as his hand shall attain unto, and an hin of oil to an ephah.

8 And when the prince shall enter, he shall go in by the way of the porch of that gate, and he shall go forth by the way thereof.

9 But when the people of the land shall come before the LORD in the solemn feasts, he that entereth in by the way of the north gate to worship shall go out by the way of the south gate; and he that entereth by the way of the south gate shall go forth by the way of the north gate: he shall not return by the way of the gate whereby he came in, but shall go forth over against it.

10 And the prince in the midst of them, when they go in, shall go in; and when they go forth, shall go forth.

11 And in the feasts and in the solemnities the meat offering shall be an ephah to a bullock, and an ephah to a ram, and to the lambs as he is able to give, and an hin of oil to an ephah.

12 Now when the prince shall prepare a voluntary burnt offering or peace offerings voluntarily unto the LORD, one shall then open him the gate that looketh toward the east, and he shall prepare his burnt offering and his peace offerings, as he did on the sabbath day: then he shall go forth; and after his going forth one shall shut the gate.

13 Thou shalt daily prepare a burnt offering unto the LORD of a lamb of the first year without blemish: thou shalt prepare it every morning.

14 And thou shalt prepare a meat offering for it every morning, the sixth part of an ephah, and the third part of an hin of oil, to temper with the fine flour; a meat offering continually by a perpetual ordinance unto the LORD.

15 Thus shall they prepare the lamb, and the meat offering, and the oil, every morning for a continual burnt offering.

16 Thus saith the Lord GOD; If the prince give a gift unto any of his sons, the inheritance thereof shall be his sons'; it shall be their possession by inheritance.

17 But if he give a gift of his inheritance to one of his servants, then it shall be his to the year of liberty; after it shall return to the prince: but his inheritance shall be his sons' for them.

18 Moreover the prince shall not take of the people's inheritance by oppression, to thrust them out of their possession; but he shall give his sons inheritance out of his own possession: that my people be not scattered every man from his possession.

19 After he brought me through the entry, which was at the side of the gate, into the holy chambers of the priests, which looked toward the north: and, behold, there was a place on the two sides westward.

20 Then said he unto me, This is the place where the priests shall boil the trespass offering and the sin offering, where they shall bake the meat offering; that they bear them not out into the utter court, to sanctify the people.

21 Then he brought me forth into the utter court, and caused me to pass by the four corners of the court; and, behold, in every corner of the court there was a court.

22 In the four corners of the court there were courts joined of forty cubits long and thirty broad: these four corners were of one measure.

23 And there was a row of building round about in them, round about them four, and it was made with boiling places under the rows round about.

24 Then said he unto me, These are the places of them that boil, where the ministers of the house shall boil the sacrifice of the people.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 47

1 Afterward he brought me again unto the door of the house; and, behold, waters issued out from under the threshold of the house eastward: for the forefront of the house stood toward the east, and the waters came down from under from the right side of the house, at the south side of the altar.

2 Then brought he me out of the way of the gate northward, and led me about the way without unto the utter gate by the way that looketh eastward; and, behold, there ran out waters on the right side.

3 And when the man that had the line in his hand went forth eastward, he measured a thousand cubits, and he brought me through the waters; the waters were to the ankles.

4 Again he measured a thousand, and brought me through the waters; the waters were to the knees. Again he measured a thousand, and brought me through; the waters were to the loins.

5 Afterward he measured a thousand; and it was a river that I could not pass over: for the waters were risen, waters to swim in, a river that could not be passed over.

6 And he said unto me, Son of man, hast thou seen this? Then he brought me, and caused me to return to the brink of the river.

7 Now when I had returned, behold, at the bank of the river were very many trees on the one side and on the other.

8 Then said he unto me, These waters issue out toward the east country, and go down into the desert, and go into the sea: which being brought forth into the sea, the waters shall be healed.

9 And it shall come to pass, that every thing that liveth, which moveth, whithersoever the rivers shall come, shall live: and there shall be a very great multitude of fish, because these waters shall come thither: for they shall be healed; and every thing shall live whither the river cometh.

10 And it shall come to pass, that the fishers shall stand upon it from Engedi even unto Eneglaim; they shall be a place to spread forth nets; their fish shall be according to their kinds, as the fish of the great sea, exceeding many.

11 But the miry places thereof and the marishes thereof shall not be healed; they shall be given to salt.

12 And by the river upon the bank thereof, on this side and on that side, shall grow all trees for meat, whose leaf shall not fade, neither shall the fruit thereof be consumed: it shall bring forth new fruit according to his months, because their waters they issued out of the sanctuary: and the fruit thereof shall be for meat, and the leaf thereof for medicine.

13 Thus saith the Lord GOD; This shall be the border, whereby ye shall inherit the land according to the twelve tribes of Israel: Joseph shall have two portions.

14 And ye shall inherit it, one as well as another: concerning the which I lifted up mine hand to give it unto your fathers: and this land shall fall unto you for inheritance.

15 And this shall be the border of the land toward the north side, from the great sea, the way of Hethlon, as men go to Zedad;

16 Hamath, Berothah, Sibraim, which is between the border of Damascus and the border of Hamath; Hazarhatticon, which is by the coast of Hauran.

17 And the border from the sea shall be Hazarenan, the border of Damascus, and the north northward, and the border of Hamath. And this is the north side.

18 And the east side ye shall measure from Hauran, and from Damascus, and from Gilead, and from the land of Israel by Jordan, from the border unto the east sea. And this is the east side.

19 And the south side southward, from Tamar even to the waters of strife in Kadesh, the river to the great sea. And this is the south side southward.

20 The west side also shall be the great sea from the border, till a man come over against Hamath. This is the west side.

21 So shall ye divide this land unto you according to the tribes of Israel.

22 And it shall come to pass, that ye shall divide it by lot for an inheritance unto you, and to the strangers that sojourn among you, which shall beget children among you: and they shall be unto you as born in the country among the children of Israel; they shall have inheritance with you among the tribes of Israel.

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23 And it shall come to pass, that in what tribe the stranger sojourneth, there shall ye give him his inheritance, saith the Lord GOD.

EZEKIEL CHAPTER 48

1 Now these are the names of the tribes. From the north end to the coast of the way of Hethlon, as one goeth to Hamath, Hazarenan, the border of Damascus northward, to the coast of Hamath; for these are his sides east and west; a portion for Dan.

2 And by the border of Dan, from the east side unto the west side, a portion for Asher.

3 And by the border of Asher, from the east side even unto the west side, a portion for Naphtali.

4 And by the border of Naphtali, from the east side unto the west side, a portion for Manasseh.

5 And by the border of Manasseh, from the east side unto the west side, a portion for Ephraim.

6 And by the border of Ephraim, from the east side even unto the west side, a portion for Reuben.

7 And by the border of Reuben, from the east side unto the west side, a portion for Judah.

8 And by the border of Judah, from the east side unto the west side, shall be the offering which ye shall offer of five and twenty thousand reeds in breadth, and in length as one of the other parts, from the east side unto the west side: and the sanctuary shall be in the midst of it.

9 The oblation that ye shall offer unto the LORD shall be of five and twenty thousand in length, and of ten thousand in breadth.

10 And for them, even for the priests, shall be this holy oblation; toward the north five and twenty thousand in length, and toward the west ten thousand in breadth, and toward the east ten thousand in breadth, and toward the south five and twenty thousand in length: and the sanctuary of the LORD shall be in the midst thereof.

11 It shall be for the priests that are sanctified of the sons of Zadok; which have kept my charge, which went not astray when the children of Israel went astray, as the Levites went astray.

12 And this oblation of the land that is offered shall be unto them a thing most holy by the border of the Levites.

13 And over against the border of the priests the Levites shall have five and twenty thousand in length, and ten thousand in breadth: all the length shall be five and twenty thousand, and the breadth ten thousand.

14 And they shall not sell of it, neither exchange, nor alienate the firstfruits of the land: for it is holy unto the LORD.

15 And the five thousand, that are left in the breadth over against the five and twenty thousand, shall be a profane place for the city, for dwelling, and for suburbs: and the city shall be in the midst thereof.

16 And these shall be the measures thereof; the north side four thousand and five hundred, and the south side four thousand and five hundred, and on the east side four thousand and five hundred, and the west side four thousand and five hundred.

17 And the suburbs of the city shall be toward the north two hundred and fifty, and toward the south two hundred and fifty, and toward the east two hundred and fifty, and toward the west two hundred and fifty.

18 And the residue in length over against the oblation of the holy portion shall be ten thousand eastward, and ten thousand westward: and it shall be over against the oblation of the holy portion; and the increase thereof shall be for food unto them that serve the city.

19 And they that serve the city shall serve it out of all the tribes of Israel.

20 All the oblation shall be five and twenty thousand by five and twenty thousand: ye shall offer the holy oblation foursquare, with the possession of the city.

21 And the residue shall be for the prince, on the one side and on the other of the holy oblation, and of the possession of the city, over against the five and twenty thousand of the oblation toward the east border, and westward over against the five and twenty thousand toward the west border, over against the portions for the prince: and it shall be the holy oblation; and the sanctuary of the house shall be in the midst thereof.

22 Moreover from the possession of the Levites, and from the possession of the city, being in the midst of that which is the prince's, between the border of Judah and the border of Benjamin, shall be for the prince.

23 As for the rest of the tribes, from the east side unto the west side, Benjamin shall have a portion.

24 And by the border of Benjamin, from the east side unto the west side, Simeon shall have a portion.

25 And by the border of Simeon, from the east side unto the west side, Issachar a portion.

26 And by the border of Issachar, from the east side unto the west side, Zebulun a portion.

27 And by the border of Zebulun, from the east side unto the west side, Gad a portion.

28 And by the border of Gad, at the south side southward, the border shall be even from Tamar unto the waters of strife in Kadesh, and to the river toward the great sea.

29 This is the land which ye shall divide by lot unto the tribes of Israel for inheritance, and these are their portions, saith the Lord GOD.

30 And these are the goings out of the city on the north side, four thousand and five hundred measures.

31 And the gates of the city shall be after the names of the tribes of Israel: three gates northward; one gate of Reuben, one gate of Judah, one gate of Levi.

32 And at the east side four thousand and five hundred: and three gates; and one gate of Joseph, one gate of Benjamin, one gate of Dan.

33 And at the south side four thousand and five hundred measures: and three gates; one gate of Simeon, one gate of Issachar, one gate of Zebulun.

34 At the west side four thousand and five hundred, with their three gates; one gate of Gad, one gate of Asher, one gate of Naphtali.

35 It was round about eighteen thousand measures: and the name of the city from that day shall be, The LORD is there.

THE TREI ASAR- (THE MINOR PROPHETS)

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET HOSEA

Hebrew title: Sefer Hosea
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 760–720 B.C.

(The Book of Hosea (Hebrew: Sefer Hosea) is one of the books of the Hebrew Bible. According to the traditional order of most Hebrew Bibles, it is the first of the twelve Minor Prophets. Dated to c. 760–720 BC, it is one of the oldest books of the Hebrew Bible, predating most of the Torah (Pentateuch).

Set around the fall of the Northern Kingdom of Israel, the Book of Hosea denounces the worship of gods other than Yahweh, metaphorically comparing Israel's abandonment of Yahweh to a woman being unfaithful to her husband. According to the book's narrative, the relationship between Hosea and his unfaithful wife Gomer is comparable to the relationship between Yahweh and his unfaithful people Israel. The eventual reconciliation of Hosea and Gomer is treated as a hopeful metaphor for the eventual reconciliation between Yahweh and Israel.

A brief outline of the concepts:

• Chapters 1–2; Account of Hosea's marriage with Gomer biographically which is a metaphor for the relationship with Yahweh and Israel.

• Chapter 3; Account of Hosea's marriage autobiographically. This is possibly a marriage to different women

• Chapters 4–14:9 / 14:10; Oracle judging Israel, Ephraim in particular, for not living up to the covenant.)

HOSEA CHAPTER 1

1 The word of the LORD that came unto Hosea, the son of Beeri, in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam the son of Joash, king of Israel.

2 The beginning of the word of the LORD by Hosea. And the LORD said to Hosea, Go, take unto thee a wife of whoredoms and children of whoredoms: for the land hath committed great whoredom, departing from the LORD.

3 So he went and took Gomer the daughter of Diblaim; which conceived, and bare him a son.

4 And the LORD said unto him, Call his name Jezreel; for yet a little while, and I will avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu, and will cause to cease the kingdom of the house of Israel.

5 And it shall come to pass at that day, that I will break the bow of Israel, in the valley of Jezreel.

6 And she conceived again, and bare a daughter. And God said unto him, Call her name Loruhamah: for I will no more have mercy upon the house of Israel; but I will utterly take them away.

7 But I will have mercy upon the house of Judah, and will save them by the LORD their God, and will not save them by bow, nor by sword, nor by battle, by horses, nor by horsemen.

8 Now when she had weaned Loruhamah, she conceived, and bare a son.

9 Then said God, Call his name Loammi: for ye are not my people, and I will not be your God.

10 Yet the number of the children of Israel shall be as the sand of the sea, which cannot be measured nor numbered; and it shall come to pass, that in the place where it was said unto them, Ye are not my people, there it shall be said unto them, Ye are the sons of the living God.

11 Then shall the children of Judah and the children of Israel be gathered together, and appoint themselves one head, and they shall come up out of the land: for great shall be the day of Jezreel.

HOSEA CHAPTER 2

1 Say ye unto your brethren, Ammi; and to your sisters, Ruhamah.

2 Plead with your mother, plead: for she is not my wife, neither am I her husband: let her therefore put away her whoredoms out of her sight, and her adulteries from between her breasts;

3 Lest I strip her naked, and set her as in the day that she was born, and make her as a wilderness, and set her like a dry land, and slay her with thirst.

4 And I will not have mercy upon her children; for they be the children of whoredoms.

5 For their mother hath played the harlot: she that conceived them hath done shamefully: for she said, I will go after my lovers, that give me my bread and my water, my wool and my flax, mine oil and my drink.

6 Therefore, behold, I will hedge up thy way with thorns, and make a wall, that she shall not find her paths.

7 And she shall follow after her lovers, but she shall not overtake them; and she shall seek them, but shall not find them: then shall she say, I will go and return to my first husband; for then was it better with me than now.

8 For she did not know that I gave her corn, and wine, and oil, and multiplied her silver and gold, which they prepared for Baal.

9 Therefore will I return, and take away my corn in the time thereof, and my wine in the season thereof, and will recover my wool and my flax given to cover her nakedness.

10 And now will I discover her lewdness in the sight of her lovers, and none shall deliver her out of mine hand.

11 I will also cause all her mirth to cease, her feast days, her new moons, and her sabbaths, and all her solemn feasts.

12 And I will destroy her vines and her fig trees, whereof she hath said, These are my rewards that my lovers have given me: and I will make them a forest, and the beasts of the field shall eat them.

13 And I will visit upon her the days of Baalim, wherein she burned incense to them, and she decked herself with her earrings and her jewels, and she went after her lovers, and forgat me, saith the LORD.

14 Therefore, behold, I will allure her, and bring her into the wilderness, and speak comfortably unto her.

15 And I will give her her vineyards from thence, and the valley of Achor for a door of hope: and she shall sing there, as in the days of her youth, and as in the day when she came up out of the land of Egypt.

16 And it shall be at that day, saith the LORD, that thou shalt call me Ishi; and shalt call me no more Baali.

17 For I will take away the names of Baalim out of her mouth, and they shall no more be remembered by their name.

18 And in that day will I make a covenant for them with the beasts of the field and with the fowls of heaven, and with the creeping things of the ground: and I will break the bow and the sword and the battle out of the earth, and will make them to lie down safely.

19 And I will betroth thee unto me for ever; yea, I will betroth thee unto me in righteousness, and in judgement, and in lovingkindness, and in mercies.

20 I will even betroth thee unto me in faithfulness: and thou shalt know the LORD.

21 And it shall come to pass in that day, I will hear, saith the LORD, I will hear the heavens, and they shall hear the earth;

22 And the earth shall hear the corn, and the wine, and the oil; and they shall hear Jezreel.

23 And I will sow her unto me in the earth; and I will have mercy upon her that had not obtained mercy; and I will say to them which were not my people, Thou art my people; and they shall say, Thou art my God.

HOSEA CHAPTER 3

1 Then said the LORD unto me, Go yet, love a woman beloved of her friend, yet an adulteress, according to the love of the LORD toward the children of Israel, who look to other gods, and love flagons of wine.

2 So I bought her to me for fifteen pieces of silver, and for an homer of barley, and an half homer of barley:

3 And I said unto her, Thou shalt abide for me many days; thou shalt not play the harlot, and thou shalt not be for another man: so will I also be for thee.

4 For the children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without teraphim:

5 Afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek the LORD their God, and David their king; and shall fear the LORD and his goodness in the latter days.

HOSEA CHAPTER 4

1 Hear the word of the LORD, ye children of Israel: for the LORD hath a controversy with the inhabitants of the land, because there is no truth, nor mercy, nor knowledge of God in the land.

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2 By swearing, and lying, and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery, they break out, and blood toucheth blood.
3 Therefore shall the land mourn, and every one that dwelleth therein shall languish, with the beasts of the field, and with the fowls of heaven; yea, the fishes of the sea also shall be taken away.
4 Yet let no man strive, nor reprove another: for thy people are as they that strive with the priest.
5 Therefore shalt thou fall in the day, and the prophet also shall fall with thee in the night, and I will destroy thy mother.
6 My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge: because thou hast rejected knowledge, I will also reject thee, that thou shalt be no priest to me: seeing thou hast forgotten the law of thy God, I will also forget thy children.
7 As they were increased, so they sinned against me: therefore will I change their glory into shame.
8 They eat up the sin of my people, and they set their heart on their iniquity.
9 And there shall be, like people, like priest: and I will punish them for their ways, and reward them their doings.
10 For they shall eat, and not have enough: they shall commit whoredom, and shall not increase: because they have left off to take heed to the LORD.
11 Whoredom and wine and new wine take away the heart.
12 My people ask counsel at their stocks, and their staff declareth unto them: for the spirit of whoredoms hath caused them to err, and they have gone a whoring from under their God.
13 They sacrifice upon the tops of the mountains, and burn incense upon the hills, under oaks and poplars and elms, because the shadow thereof is good: therefore your daughters shall commit whoredom, and your spouses shall commit adultery.
14 I will not punish your daughters when they commit whoredom, nor your spouses when they commit adultery: for themselves are separated with whores, and they sacrifice with harlots: therefore the people that doth not understand shall fall.
15 Though thou, Israel, play the harlot, yet let not Judah offend; and come not ye unto Gilgal, neither go ye up to Bethaven, nor swear, The LORD liveth.
16 For Israel slideth back as a backsliding heifer: now the LORD will feed them as a lamb in a large place.
17 Ephraim is joined to idols: let him alone.
18 Their drink is sour: they have committed whoredom continually: her rulers with shame do love, Give ye.
19 The wind hath bound her up in her wings, and they shall be ashamed because of their sacrifices.

HOSEA CHAPTER 4

1 Hear the word of the LORD, ye children of Israel: for the LORD hath a controversy with the inhabitants of the land, because there is no truth, nor mercy, nor knowledge of God in the land.
2 By swearing, and lying, and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery, they break out, and blood toucheth blood.
3 Therefore shall the land mourn, and every one that dwelleth therein shall languish, with the beasts of the field, and with the fowls of heaven; yea, the fishes of the sea also shall be taken away.
4 Yet let no man strive, nor reprove another: for thy people are as they that strive with the priest.
5 Therefore shalt thou fall in the day, and the prophet also shall fall with thee in the night, and I will destroy thy mother.
6 My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge: because thou hast rejected knowledge, I will also reject thee, that thou shalt be no priest to me: seeing thou hast forgotten the law of thy God, I will also forget thy children.
7 As they were increased, so they sinned against me: therefore will I change their glory into shame.
8 They eat up the sin of my people, and they set their heart on their iniquity.
9 And there shall be, like people, like priest: and I will punish them for their ways, and reward them their doings.
10 For they shall eat, and not have enough: they shall commit whoredom, and shall not increase: because they have left off to take heed to the LORD.
11 Whoredom and wine and new wine take away the heart.
12 My people ask counsel at their stocks, and their staff declareth unto them: for the spirit of whoredoms hath caused them to err, and they have gone a whoring from under their God.
13 They sacrifice upon the tops of the mountains, and burn incense upon the hills, under oaks and poplars and elms, because the shadow thereof is good: therefore your daughters shall commit whoredom, and your spouses shall commit adultery.
14 I will not punish your daughters when they commit whoredom, nor your spouses when they commit adultery: for themselves are separated with whores, and they sacrifice with harlots: therefore the people that doth not understand shall fall.
15 Though thou, Israel, play the harlot, yet let not Judah offend; and come not ye unto Gilgal, neither go ye up to Bethaven, nor swear, The LORD liveth.
16 For Israel slideth back as a backsliding heifer: now the LORD will feed them as a lamb in a large place.
17 Ephraim is joined to idols: let him alone.
18 Their drink is sour: they have committed whoredom continually: her rulers with shame do love, Give ye.
19 The wind hath bound her up in her wings, and they shall be ashamed because of their sacrifices.

HOSEA CHAPTER 5

1 Hear ye this, O priests; and hearken, ye house of Israel; and give ye ear, O house of the king; for judgement is toward you, because ye have been a snare on Mizpah, and a net spread upon Tabor.
2 And the revolters are profound to make slaughter, though I have been a rebuker of them all.
3 I know Ephraim, and Israel is not hid from me: for now, O Ephraim, thou committest whoredom, and Israel is defiled.
4 They will not frame their doings to turn unto their God: for the spirit of whoredoms is in the midst of them, and they have not known the LORD.
5 And the pride of Israel doth testify to his face: therefore shall Israel and Ephraim fall in their iniquity: Judah also shall fall with them.
6 They shall go with their flocks and with their herds to seek the LORD; but they shall not find him; he hath withdrawn himself from them.
7 They have dealt treacherously against the LORD: for they have begotten strange children: now shall a month devour them with their portions.
8 Blow ye the cornet in Gibeah, and the trumpet in Ramah: cry aloud at Bethaven, after thee, O Benjamin.
9 Ephraim shall be desolate in the day of rebuke: among the tribes of Israel have I made known that which shall surely be.
10 The princes of Judah were like them that remove the bound: therefore I will pour out my wrath upon them like water.
11 Ephraim is oppressed and broken in judgement, because he willingly walked after the commandment.
12 Therefore will I be unto Ephraim as a moth, and to the house of Judah as rottenness.
13 When Ephraim saw his sickness, and Judah saw his wound, then went Ephraim to the Assyrian, and sent to king Jareb: yet could he not heal you, nor cure you of your wound.
14 For I will be unto Ephraim as a lion, and as a young lion to the house of Judah: I, even I, will tear and go away; I will take away, and none shall rescue him.
15 I will go and return to my place, till they acknowledge their offence, and seek my face: in their affliction they will seek me early.

HOSEA CHAPTER 6

1 Come, and let us return unto the LORD: for he hath torn, and he will heal us; he hath smitten, and he will bind us up.
2 After two days will he revive us: in the third day he will raise us up, and we shall live in his sight.
3 Then shall we know, if we follow on to know the LORD: his going forth is prepared as the morning; and he shall come unto us as the rain, as the latter and former rain unto the earth.
4 O Ephraim, what shall I do unto thee? O Judah, what shall I do unto thee? for your goodness is as a morning cloud, and as the early dew it goeth away.
5 Therefore have I hewed them by the prophets; I have slain them by the words of my mouth: and thy judgements are as the light that goeth forth.
6 For I desired mercy, and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings.
7 But they like men have transgressed the covenant: there have they dealt treacherously against me.
8 Gilead is a city of them that work iniquity, and is polluted with blood.
9 And as troops of robbers wait for a man, so the company of priests murder in the way by consent: for they commit lewdness.
10 I have seen an horrible thing in the house of Israel: there is the whoredom of Ephraim, Israel is defiled.
11 Also, O Judah, he hath set an harvest for thee, when I returned the captivity of my people.

HOSEA CHAPTER 7

1 When I would have healed Israel, then the iniquity of Ephraim was discovered, and the wickedness of Samaria: for they commit falsehood; and the thief cometh in, and the troop of robbers spoileth without.
2 And they consider not in their hearts that I remember all their wickedness: now their own doings have beset them about; they are before my face.
3 They make the king glad with their wickedness, and the princes with their lies.
4 They are all adulterers, as an oven heated by the baker, who ceaseth from raising after he hath kneaded the dough, until it be leavened.
5 In the day of our king the princes have made him sick with bottles of wine; he stretched out his hand with scorners.
6 For they have made ready their heart like an oven, whiles they lie in wait: their baker sleepeth all the night; in the morning it burneth as a flaming fire.
7 They are all hot as an oven, and have devoured their judges; all their kings are fallen: there is none among them that calleth unto me.
8 Ephraim, he hath mixed himself among the people; Ephraim is a cake not turned.
9 Strangers have devoured his strength, and he knoweth it not: yea, gray hairs are here and there upon him, yet he knoweth not.
10 And the pride of Israel testifieth to his face: and they do not return to the LORD their God, nor seek him for all this.
11 Ephraim also is like a silly dove without heart: they call to Egypt, they go to Assyria.
12 When they shall go, I will spread my net upon them; I will bring them down as the fowls of the heaven; I will chastise them, as their congregation hath heard.
13 Woe unto them! for they have fled from me: destruction unto them! because they have transgressed against me: though I have redeemed them, yet they have spoken lies against me.
14 And they have not cried unto me with their heart, when they howled upon their beds: they assemble themselves for corn and wine, and they rebel against me.
15 Though I have bound and strengthened their arms, yet do they imagine mischief against me.
16 They return, but not to the most High: they are like a deceitful bow: their princes shall fall by the sword for the rage of their tongue: this shall be their derision in the land of Egypt.

HOSEA CHAPTER 8

1 Set the trumpet to thy mouth. He shall come as an eagle against the house of the LORD, because they have transgressed my covenant, and trespassed against my law.
2 Israel shall cry unto me, My God, we know thee.
3 Israel hath cast off the thing that is good: the enemy shall pursue him.
4 They have set up kings, but not by me: they have made princes, and I knew it not: of their silver and their gold have they made them idols, that they may be cut off.
5 Thy calf, O Samaria, hath cast thee off; mine anger is kindled against them: how long will it be ere they attain to innocency?
6 For from Israel was it also: the workman made it; therefore it is not God: but the calf of Samaria shall be broken in pieces.
7 For they have sown the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind: it hath no stalk; the bud shall yield no meal: if so be it yield, the strangers shall swallow it up.
8 Israel is swallowed up: now shall they be among the Gentiles as a vessel wherein is no pleasure.
9 For they are gone up to Assyria, a wild ass alone by himself: Ephraim hath hired lovers.
10 Yea, though they have hired among the nations, now will I gather them, and they shall sorrow a little for the burden of the king of princes.
11 Because Ephraim hath made many altars to sin, altars shall be unto him to sin.
12 I have written to him the great things of my law, but they were counted as a strange thing.
13 They sacrifice flesh for the sacrifices of mine offerings, and eat it; but the LORD accepteth them not; now will he remember their iniquity, and visit their sins: they shall return to Egypt.
14 For Israel hath forgotten his Maker, and buildeth temples; and Judah hath multiplied fenced cities: but I will send a fire upon his cities, and it shall devour the palaces thereof.

HOSEA CHAPTER 9

1 Rejoice not, O Israel, for joy, as other people: for thou hast gone a whoring from thy God, thou hast loved a reward upon every cornfloor.
2 The floor and the winepress shall not feed them, and the new wine shall fail in her.
3 They shall not dwell in the LORD's land; but Ephraim shall return to Egypt, and they shall eat unclean things in Assyria.
4 They shall not offer wine offerings to the LORD, neither shall they be pleasing unto him: their sacrifices shall be unto them as the bread of mourners; all that eat thereof shall be polluted: for their bread for their soul shall not come into the house of the LORD.
5 What will ye do in the solemn day, and in the day of the feast of the LORD?
6 For, lo, they are gone because of destruction: Egypt shall gather them up, Memphis shall bury them: the pleasant places

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for their silver, nettles shall possess them: thorns shall be in their tabernacles.

7 The days of visitation are come, the days of recompence are come; Israel shall know it: the prophet is a fool, the spiritual man is mad, for the multitude of thine iniquity, and the great hatred.

8 The watchman of Ephraim was with my God: but the prophet is a snare of a fowler in all his ways, and hatred in the house of his God.

9 They have deeply corrupted themselves, as in the days of Gibeah: therefore he will remember their iniquity, he will visit their sins.

10 I found Israel like grapes in the wilderness; I saw your fathers as the firstripe in the fig tree at her first time: but they went to Baalpeor, and separated themselves unto that shame; and their abominations were according as they loved.

11 As for Ephraim, their glory shall fly away like a bird, from the birth, and from the womb, and from the conception.

12 Though they bring up their children, yet will I bereave them, that there shall not be a man left: yea, woe also to them when I depart from them!

13 Ephraim, as I saw Tyrus, is planted in a pleasant place: but Ephraim shall bring forth his children to the murderer.

14 Give them, O LORD: what wilt thou give? give them a miscarrying womb and dry breasts.

15 All their wickedness is in Gilgal: for there I hated them: for the wickedness of their doings I will drive them out of mine house, I will love them no more: all their princes are revolters.

16 Ephraim is smitten, their root is dried up, they shall bear no fruit: yea, though they bring forth, yet will I slay even the beloved fruit of their womb.

17 My God will cast them away, because they did not hearken unto him: and they shall be wanderers among the nations.

HOSEA CHAPTER 10

1 Israel is an empty vine, he bringeth forth fruit unto himself: according to the multitude of his fruit he hath increased the altars; according to the goodness of his land they have made goodly images.

2 Their heart is divided; now shall they be found faulty: he shall break down their altars, he shall spoil their images.

3 For now they shall say, We have no king, because we feared not the LORD; what then should a king do to us?

4 They have spoken words, swearing falsely in making a covenant: thus judgement springeth up as hemlock in the furrows of the field.

5 The inhabitants of Samaria shall fear because of the calves of Bethaven: for the people thereof shall mourn over it, and the priests thereof that rejoiced on it, for the glory thereof, because it is departed from it.

6 It shall be also carried unto Assyria for a present to king Jareb: Ephraim shall receive shame, and Israel shall be ashamed of his own counsel.

7 As for Samaria, her king is cut off as the foam upon the water.

8 The high places also of Aven, the sin of Israel, shall be destroyed: the thorn and the thistle shall come up on their altars; and they shall say to the mountains, Cover us; and to the hills, Fall on us.

9 O Israel, thou hast sinned from the days of Gibeah: there they stood: the battle in Gibeah against the children of iniquity did not overtake them.

10 It is in my desire that I should chastise them; and the people shall be gathered against them, when they shall bind themselves in their two furrows.

11 And Ephraim is as an heifer that is taught, and loveth to tread out the corn; but I passed over upon her fair neck: I will make Ephraim to ride; Judah shall plow, and Jacob shall break his clods.

12 Sow to yourselves in righteousness, reap in mercy; break up your fallow ground: for it is time to seek the LORD, till he come and rain righteousness upon you.

13 Ye have plowed wickedness, ye have reaped iniquity; ye have eaten the fruit of lies: because thou didst trust in thy way, in the multitude of thy mighty men.

14 Therefore shall a tumult arise among thy people, and all thy fortresses shall be spoiled, as Shalman spoiled Betharbel in the day of battle: the mother was dashed in pieces upon her children.

15 So shall Bethel do unto you because of your great wickedness: in a morning shall the king of Israel utterly be cut off.

HOSEA CHAPTER 11

1 When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt.

2 As they called them, so they went from them: they sacrificed unto Baalim, and burned incense to graven images.

3 I taught Ephraim also to go, taking them by their arms; but they knew not that I healed them.

4 I drew them with cords of a man, with bands of love: and I was to them as they that take off the yoke on their jaws, and I laid meat unto them.

5 He shall not return into the land of Egypt, and the Assyrian shall be his king, because they refused to return.

6 And the sword shall abide on his cities, and shall consume his branches, and devour them, because of their own counsels.

7 And my people are bent to backsliding from me: though they called them to the most High, none at all would exalt him.

8 How shall I give thee up, Ephraim? how shall I deliver thee, Israel? how shall I make thee as Admah? how shall I set thee as Zeboim? mine heart is turned within me, my repentings are kindled together.

9 I will not execute the fierceness of mine anger, I will not return to destroy Ephraim: for I am God, and not man; the Holy One in the midst of thee: and I will not enter into the city.

10 They shall walk after the LORD: he shall roar like a lion: when he shall roar, then the children shall tremble from the west.

11 They shall tremble as a bird out of Egypt, and as a dove out of the land of Assyria: and I will place them in their houses, saith the LORD.

12 Ephraim compasseth me about with lies, and the house of Israel with deceit: but Judah yet ruleth with God, and is faithful with the saints.

HOSEA CHAPTER 12

1 Ephraim feedeth on wind, and followeth after the east wind: he daily increaseth lies and desolation; and they do make a covenant with the Assyrians, and oil is carried into Egypt.

2 The LORD hath also a controversy with Judah, and will punish Jacob according to his ways; according to his doings will he recompense him.

3 He took his brother by the heel in the womb, and by his strength he had power with God:

4 Yea, he had power over the angel, and prevailed: he wept, and made supplication unto him: he found him in Bethel, and there he spake with us;

5 Even the LORD God of hosts; the LORD is his memorial.

6 Therefore turn thou to thy God: keep mercy and judgement and wait on thy God continually.

7 He is a merchant, the balances of deceit are in his hand: he loveth to oppress.

8 And Ephraim said, Yet I am become rich, I have found me out substance: in all my labours they shall find none iniquity in me that were sin.

9 And I that am the LORD thy God from the land of Egypt will yet make thee to dwell in tabernacles, as in the days of the solemn feast.

10 I have also spoken by the prophets, and I have multiplied visions, and used similitudes, by the ministry of the prophets.

11 Is there iniquity in Gilead? surely they are vanity: they sacrifice bullocks in Gilgal; yea, their altars are as heaps in the furrows of the fields.

12 And Jacob fled into the country of Syria, and Israel served for a wife, and for a wife he kept sheep.

13 And by a prophet the LORD brought Israel out of Egypt, and by a prophet was he preserved.

14 Ephraim provoked him to anger most bitterly: therefore shall he leave his blood upon him, and his reproach shall his LORD return unto him.

HOSEA CHAPTER 13

1 When Ephraim spake trembling, he exalted himself in Israel; but when he offended in Baal, he died.

2 And now they sin more and more, and have made them molten images of their silver, and idols according to their own understanding, all of it the work of the craftsmen: they say of them, Let the men that sacrifice kiss the calves.

3 Therefore they shall be as the morning cloud and as the early dew that passeth away, as the chaff that is driven with the whirlwind out of the floor, and as the smoke out of the chimney.

4 Yet I am the LORD thy God from the land of Egypt, and thou shalt know no god but me: for there is no saviour beside me.

5 I did know thee in the wilderness, in the land of great drought.

6 According to their pasture, so were they filled; they were filled, and their heart was exalted; therefore have they forgotten me.

7 Therefore I will be unto them as a lion: as a leopard by the way will I observe them:

8 I will meet them as a bear that is bereaved of her whelps, and will rend the caul of their heart, and there will I devour them like a lion: the wild beast shall tear them.

9 O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself; but in me is thine help.

10 I will be thy king: where is any other that may save thee in all thy cities? and thy judges of whom thou saidst, Give me a king and princes?

11 I gave thee a king in mine anger, and took him away in my wrath.

12 The iniquity of Ephraim is bound up; his sin is hid.

13 The sorrows of a travailing woman shall come upon him: he is an unwise son; for he should not stay long in the place of the breaking forth of children.

14 I will ransom them from the power of the grave; I will redeem them from death: O death, I will be thy plagues; O grave, I will be thy destruction: repentance shall be hid from mine eyes.

15 Though he be fruitful among his brethren, an east wind shall come, the wind of the LORD shall come up from the wilderness, and his spring shall become dry, and his fountain shall be dried up: he shall spoil the treasure of all pleasant vessels.

16 Samaria shall become desolate; for she hath rebelled against her God: they shall fall by the sword: their infants shall be dashed in pieces, and their women with child shall be ripped up.

HOSEA CHAPTER 14

1 O israel, return unto the LORD thy God; for thou hast fallen by thine iniquity.

2 Take with you words, and turn to the LORD: say unto him, Take away all iniquity, and receive us graciously: so will we render the calves of our lips.

3 Asshur shall not save us; we will not ride upon horses: neither will we say any more to the work of our hands, Ye are our gods: for in thee the fatherless findeth mercy.

4 I will heal their backsliding, I will love them freely: for mine anger is turned away from him.

5 I will be as the dew unto Israel: he shall grow as the lily, and cast forth his roots as Lebanon.

6 His branches shall spread, and his beauty shall be as the olive tree, and his smell as Lebanon.

7 They that dwell under his shadow shall return; they shall revive as the corn, and grow as the vine: the scent thereof shall be as the wine of Lebanon.

8 Ephraim shall say, What have I to do any more with idols? I have heard him, and observed him: I am like a green fir tree. From me is thy fruit found.

9 Who is wise, and he shall understand these things? prudent, and he shall know them? for the ways of the LORD are right, and the just shall walk in them: but the transgressors shall fall therein.

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET JOEL

Hebrew title: Sefer Joel
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 520–400 B.C.

(The Book of Joel is part of the Hebrew Bible, one of twelve prophetic books known as the Twelve Minor Prophets. (The term indicates the short length of the text in relation to longer prophetic texts known as the Major Prophets.

The Book of Hosea is one of the books of the Hebrew Bible and of the Christian Old Testament. The book is about a man who was told by God to marry a woman who would not live with him as she should have done. Even though Hosea brought her back to his house and had some children with her, she kept leaving him and going away to other men. Hosea was told that his story was a picture of the way God's people treated God, by going after other gods (idols) even though God wanted them to stay with Him and love Him.)

After a superscription ascribing the prophecy to Joel (son of Pethuel), the book may be broken down into the following sections:

• Lament over a great locust plague and a severe drought (1:1–2:17).

1. The effects of these events on agriculture, farmers, and on the supply of agricultural offerings for the Temple in Jerusalem, interspersed with a call to national lament (1:1–20).

2. A more apocalyptic passage comparing the locusts to an army, and revealing that they are God's army (2:1–11).

3. A call to national repentance in the face of God's judgement (2:12–17).

• Promise of future blessings (2:18–32 or 2:18–3:5).

1. Banishment of the locusts and restoration of agricultural productivity as a divine response to national penitence (2:18–27).

2. Future prophetic gifts to all God's people, and the safety of God's people in the face of cosmic cataclysm (2:28–32 or 3:1–5).

• Coming judgement on the Kingdom of Judah's enemies: the Philistines, the Kingdom of Edom, and the Kingdom of Egypt (3:1–21 or 4:1–21).)

JOEL CHAPTER 1

1 The word of the LORD that came to Joel the son of Pethuel.

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2 Hear this, ye old men, and give ear, all ye inhabitants of the land. Hath this been in your days, or even in the days of your fathers?

3 Tell ye your children of it, and let your children tell their children, and their children another generation.

4 That which the palmerworm hath left hath the locust eaten; and that which the locust hath left hath the cankerworm eaten; and that which the cankerworm hath left hath the caterpiller eaten.

5 Awake, ye drunkards, and weep; and howl, all ye drinkers of wine, because of the new wine; for it is cut off from your mouth.

6 For a nation is come up upon my land, strong, and without number, whose teeth are the teeth of a lion, and he hath the cheek teeth of a great lion.

7 He hath laid my vine waste, and barked my fig tree: he hath made it clean bare, and cast it away; the branches thereof are made white.

8 Lament like a virgin girded with sackcloth for the husband of her youth.

9 The meat offering and the drink offering is cut off from the house of the LORD; the priests, the LORD's ministers, mourn.

10 The field is wasted, the land mourneth; for the corn is wasted: the new wine is dried up, the oil languisheth.

11 Be ye ashamed, O ye husbandmen; howl, O ye vinedressers, for the wheat and for the barley; because the harvest of the field is perished.

12 The vine is dried up, and the fig tree languisheth; the pomegranate tree, the palm tree also, and the apple tree, even all the trees of the field, are withered: because joy is withered away from the sons of men.

13 Gird yourselves, and lament, ye priests: howl, ye ministers of the altar: come, lie all night in sackcloth, ye ministers of my God: for the meat offering and the drink offering is withholden from the house of your God.

14 Sanctify ye a fast, call a solemn assembly, gather the elders and all the inhabitants of the land into the house of the LORD your God, and cry unto the LORD,

15 Alas for the day! for the day of the LORD is at hand, and as a destruction from the Almighty shall it come.

16 Is not the meat cut off before our eyes, yea, joy and gladness from the house of our God?

17 The seed is rotten under their clods, the garners are laid desolate, the barns are broken down; for the corn is withered.

18 How do the beasts groan! the herds of cattle are perplexed, because they have no pasture; yea, the flocks of sheep are made desolate.

19 O LORD, to thee will I cry: for the fire hath devoured the pastures of the wilderness, and the flame hath burned all the trees of the field.

20 The beasts of the field cry also unto thee: for the rivers of waters are dried up, and the fire hath devoured the pastures of the wilderness.

JOEL CHAPTER 2

1 Blow ye the trumpet in Zion, and sound an alarm in my holy mountain: let all the inhabitants of the land tremble: for the day of the LORD cometh, for it is nigh at hand;

2 A day of darkness and of gloominess, a day of clouds and of thick darkness, as the morning spread upon the mountains: a great people and a strong; there hath not been ever the like, neither shall be any more after it, even to the years of many generations.

3 A fire devoureth before them; and behind them a flame burneth: the land is as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness; yea, and nothing shall escape them.

4 The appearance of them is as the appearance of horses; and as horsemen, so shall they run.

5 Like the noise of chariots on the tops of mountains shall they leap, like the noise of a flame of fire that devoureth the stubble, as a strong people set in battle array.

6 Before their face the people shall be much pained: all faces shall gather blackness.

7 They shall run like mighty men; they shall climb the wall like men of war; and they shall march every one on his ways, and they shall not break their ranks:

8 Neither shall one thrust another; they shall walk every one in his path: and when they fall upon the sword, they shall not be wounded.

9 They shall run to and fro in the city; they shall run upon the wall, they shall climb up upon the houses; they shall enter in at the windows like a thief.

10 The earth shall quake before them; the heavens shall tremble: the sun and the moon shall be dark, and the stars shall withdraw their shining:

11 And the LORD shall utter his voice before his army: for his camp is very great: for he is strong that executeth his word: for the day of the LORD is great and very terrible; and who can abide it?

12 Therefore also now, saith the LORD, turn ye even to me with all your heart, and with fasting, and with weeping, and with mourning:

13 And rend your heart, and not your garments, and turn unto the LORD your God: for he is gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and repenteth him of the evil.

14 Who knoweth if he will return and repent, and leave a blessing behind him; even a meat offering and a drink offering unto the LORD your God?

15 Blow the trumpet in Zion, sanctify a fast, call a solemn assembly:

16 Gather the people, sanctify the congregation, assemble the elders, gather the children, and those that suck the breasts: let the bridegroom go forth of his chamber, and the bride out of her closet.

17 Let the priests, the ministers of the LORD, weep between the porch and the altar, and let them say, Spare thy people, O LORD, and give not thine heritage to reproach, that the heathen should rule over them: wherefore should they say among the people, Where is their God?

18 Then will the LORD be jealous for his land, and pity his people.

19 Yea, the LORD will answer and say unto his people, Behold, I will send you corn, and wine, and oil, and ye shall be satisfied therewith: and I will no more make you a reproach among the heathen:

20 But I will remove far off from you the northern army, and will drive him into a land barren and desolate, with his face toward the east sea, and his hinder part toward the utmost sea, and his stink shall come up, and his ill savour shall come up, because he hath done great things.

21 Fear not, O land; be glad and rejoice: for the LORD will do great things.

22 Be not afraid, ye beasts of the field: for the pastures of the wilderness do spring, for the tree beareth her fruit, the fig tree and the vine do yield their strength.

23 Be glad then, ye children of Zion, and rejoice in the LORD your God: for he hath given you the former rain moderately, and he will cause to come down for you the rain, the former rain, and the latter rain in the first month.

24 And the floors shall be full of wheat, and the vats shall overflow with wine and oil.

25 And I will restore to you the years that the locust hath eaten, the cankerworm, and the caterpiller, and the palmerworm, my great army which I sent among you.

26 And ye shall eat in plenty, and be satisfied, and praise the name of the LORD your God, that hath dealt wondrously with you: and my people shall never be ashamed.

27 And ye shall know that I am in the midst of Israel, and that I am the LORD your God, and none else: and my people shall never be ashamed.

28 And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions:

29 And also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out my spirit.

30 And I will shew wonders in the heavens and in the earth, blood, and fire, and pillars of smoke.

31 The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and terrible day of the LORD come.

32 And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the LORD shall be delivered: for in mount Zion and in Jerusalem shall be deliverance, as the LORD hath said, and in the remnant whom the LORD shall call.

JOEL CHAPTER 3

1 For, behold, in those days, and in that time, when I shall bring again the captivity of Judah and Jerusalem,

2 I will also gather all nations, and will bring them down into the valley of Jehoshaphat, and will plead with them there for my people and for my heritage Israel, whom they have scattered among the nations, and parted my land.

3 And they have cast lots for my people; and have given a boy for an harlot, and sold a girl for wine, that they might drink.

4 Yea, and what have ye to do with me, O Tyre, and Zidon, and all the coasts of Palestine? will ye render me a recompence? and if ye recompense me, swiftly and speedily will I return your recompence upon your own head;

5 Because ye have taken my silver and my gold, and have carried into your temples my goodly pleasant things:

6 The children also of Judah and the children of Jerusalem have ye sold unto the Grecians, that ye might remove them far from their border.

7 Behold, I will raise them out of the place whither ye have sold them, and will return your recompence upon your own head:

8 And I will sell your sons and your daughters into the hand of the children of Judah, and they shall sell them to the Sabeans, to a people far off: for the LORD hath spoken it.

9 Proclaim ye this among the Gentiles; Prepare war, wake up the mighty men, let all the men of war draw near; let them come up:

10 Beat your plowshares into swords and your pruninghooks into spears: let the weak say, I am strong.

11 Assemble yourselves, and come, all ye heathen, and gather yourselves together round about: thither cause thy mighty ones to come down, O LORD.

12 Let the heathen be wakened, and come up to the valley of Jehoshaphat: for there will I sit to judge all the heathen round about.

13 Put ye in the sickle, for the harvest is ripe: come, get you down; for the press is full, the fats overflow; for their wickedness is great.

14 Multitudes, multitudes in the valley of decision: for the day of the LORD is near in the valley of decision.

15 The sun and the moon shall be darkened, and the stars shall withdraw their shining.

16 The LORD also shall roar out of Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem; and the heavens and the earth shall shake: but the LORD will be the hope of his people, and the strength of the children of Israel.

17 So shall ye know that I am the LORD your God dwelling in Zion, my holy mountain: then shall Jerusalem be holy, and there shall no strangers pass through her any more.

18 And it shall come to pass in that day, that the mountains shall drop down new wine, and the hills shall flow with milk, and all the rivers of Judah shall flow with waters, and a fountain shall come forth out of the house of the LORD, and shall water the valley of Shittim.

19 Egypt shall be a desolation, and Edom shall be a desolate wilderness, for the violence against the children of Judah, because they have shed innocent blood in their land.

20 But Judah shall dwell for ever, and Jerusalem from generation to generation.

21 For I will cleanse their blood that I have not cleansed: for the LORD dwelleth in Zion.

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET AMOS

Hebrew title: Sefer Amos
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 790–740 B.C.

(The Book of Amos belongs to the Nevi'im (Hebrew for: "prophets") and of the third of the Twelve Minor Prophets in the Tanakh / Old Testament.

Amos lived during the time of two other prophets,Hosea and Isaiah, around 750 BC while Jeroboam II (785–745 BC) was king of Israel and Uzziah (c. 770–750 BC) was king of Judah. Amos lived in the kingdom of Judah but preached in the northern Kingdom of Israel. His major themes of social justice, God's omnipotence, and divine judgement became the main elements of his teachings.

The book of Amos is probably the oldest book of a prophet in the Bible and it has 9 chapters. Its message is harsh, but Amos wrote some of the most poetic parts of the Bible. The author (we do not know with certainty if it was Amos or one of his disciples) was not a simpleton, he was well-educated. In the first chapter, he says that God will punish many of the nations around Israel. Then in the second chapter he uses similar words to say that Judah and Israel will also be punished. The rest of the book tells the reasons for that punishment before ending with a promise that Israel would then be restored. He wrote about social justice, God's power, judgement and eventual restoration.

Structure
Oracles against the nations (1.3–2.6)
Addresses to groups in Israel
• Women of Samaria (4.1–3)
• Rich persons in Samaria (6.1–7)
• Rich persons in Jerusalem (8.4–8)
Five symbolic visions of God's judgement on Israel, interrupted by a confrontation between Amos and his listeners at Bethel (7.10–17):
• Locusts (7.1–3)
• Fire (7.4–6)
• A plumb line (7.7–9)
• A basket of fruit (8.1–3)
• God beside the altar (9.1–8a)
Epilogue 9:8b–15.)

AMOS CHAPTER 1

1 The words of Amos, who was among the herdmen of Tekoa, which he saw concerning Israel in the days of Uzziah king of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam the son of Joash king of Israel, two years before the earthquake.

2 And he said, The LORD will roar from Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem; and the habitations of the shepherds shall mourn, and the top of Carmel shall wither.

3 Thus saith the LORD; For three transgressions of Damascus, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they have threshed Gilead with threshing instruments of iron:

4 But I will send a fire into the house of Hazael, which shall devour the palaces of Benhadad.

5 I will break also the bar of Damascus, and cut off the inhabitant from the plain of Aven, and him that holdeth the sceptre from the house of Eden: and the people of Syria shall go into captivity unto Kir, saith the LORD.

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6 Thus saith the LORD; For three transgressions of Gaza, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they carried away captive the whole captivity, to deliver them up to Edom:
7 But I will send a fire on the wall of Gaza, which shall devour the palaces thereof:
8 And I will cut off the inhabitant from Ashdod, and him that holdeth the sceptre from Ashkelon, and I will turn mine hand against Ekron: and the remnant of the Philistines shall perish, saith the Lord GOD.
9 Thus saith the LORD; For three transgressions of Tyrus, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they delivered up the whole captivity to Edom, and remembered not the brotherly covenant:
10 But I will send a fire on the wall of Tyrus, which shall devour the palaces thereof.
11 Thus saith the LORD; For three transgressions of Edom, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because he did pursue his brother with the sword, and did cast off all pity, and his anger did tear perpetually, and he kept his wrath for ever:
12 But I will send a fire upon Teman, which shall devour the palaces of Bozrah.
13 Thus saith the LORD; For three transgressions of the children of Ammon, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they have ripped up the women with child of Gilead, that they might enlarge their border:
14 But I will kindle a fire in the wall of Rabbah, and it shall devour the palaces thereof, with shouting in the day of battle, with a tempest in the day of the whirlwind:
15 And their king shall go into captivity, he and his princes together, saith the LORD.

AMOS CHAPTER 2

1 Thus saith the LORD; For three transgressions of Moab, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because he burned the bones of the king of Edom into lime:
2 But I will send a fire upon Moab, and it shall devour the palaces of Kirioth: and Moab shall die with tumult, with shouting, and with the sound of the trumpet:
3 And I will cut off the judge from the midst thereof, and will slay all the princes thereof with him, saith the LORD.
4 Thus saith the LORD; For three transgressions of Judah, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they have despised the law of the LORD, and have not kept his commandments, and their lies caused them to err, after the which their fathers have walked:
5 But I will send a fire upon Judah, and it shall devour the palaces of Jerusalem.
6 Thus saith the LORD; For three transgressions of Israel, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they sold the righteous for silver, and the poor for a pair of shoes;
7 That pant after the dust of the earth on the head of the poor, and turn aside the way of the meek: and a man and his father will go in unto the same maid, to profane my holy name:
8 And they lay themselves down upon clothes laid to pledge by every altar, and they drink the wine of the condemned in the house of their god.
9 Yet destroyed I the Amorite before them, whose height was like the height of the cedars, and he was strong as the oaks; yet I destroyed his fruit from above, and his roots from beneath.
10 Also I brought you up from the land of Egypt, and led you forty years through the wilderness, to possess the land of the Amorite.
11 And I raised up of your sons for prophets, and of your young men for Nazarites. Is it not even thus, O ye children of Israel? saith the LORD.
12 But ye gave the Nazarites wine to drink; and commanded the prophets, saying, Prophesy not.
13 Behold, I am pressed under you, as a cart is pressed that is full of sheaves.
14 Therefore the flight shall perish from the swift, and the strong shall not strengthen his force, neither shall the mighty deliver himself:
15 Neither shall he stand that handleth the bow; and he that is swift of foot shall not deliver himself: neither shall he that rideth the horse deliver himself.
16 And he that is courageous among the mighty shall flee away naked in that day, saith the LORD.

AMOS CHAPTER 3

1 Hear this word that the LORD hath spoken against you, O children of Israel, against the whole family which I brought up from the land of Egypt, saying,
2 You only have I known of all the families of the earth: therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities.
3 Can two walk together, except they be agreed?
4 Will a lion roar in the forest, when he hath no prey? will a young lion cry out of his den, if he have taken nothing?
5 Can a bird fall in a snare upon the earth, where no gin is for him? shall one take up a snare from the earth, and have taken nothing at all?
6 Shall a trumpet be blown in the city, and the people not be afraid? shall there be evil in a city, and the LORD hath not done it?
7 Surely the Lord GOD will do nothing, but he revealeth his secret unto his servants the prophets.
8 The lion hath roared, who will not fear? the Lord GOD hath spoken, who can but prophesy?
9 Publish in the palaces at Ashdod, and in the palaces in the land of Egypt, and say, Assemble yourselves upon the mountains of Samaria, and behold the great tumults in the midst thereof, and the oppressed in the midst thereof.
10 For they know not to do right, saith the LORD, who store up violence and robbery in their palaces.
11 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; An adversary there shall be even round about the land; and he shall bring down thy strength from thee, and thy palaces shall be spoiled.
12 Thus saith the LORD; As the shepherd taketh out of the mouth of the lion two legs, or a piece of an ear; so shall the children of Israel be taken out that dwell in Samaria in the corner of a bed, and in Damascus in a couch.
13 Hear ye, and testify in the house of Jacob, saith the Lord GOD, the God of hosts,
14 That in the day that I shall visit the transgressions of Israel upon him I will also visit the altars of Bethel: and the horns of the altar shall be cut off, and fall to the ground.
15 And I will smite the winter house with the summer house; and the houses of ivory shall perish, and the great houses shall have an end, saith the LORD.

AMOS CHAPTER 4

1 Hear this word, ye kine of Bashan, that are in the mountain of Samaria, which oppress the poor, which crush the needy, which say to their masters, Bring, and let us drink.
2 The Lord GOD hath sworn by his holiness, that, lo, the days shall come upon you, that he will take you away with hooks, and your posterity with fishhooks.
3 And ye shall go out at the breaches, every cow at that which is before her; and ye shall cast them into the palace, saith the LORD.
4 Come to Bethel, and transgress; at Gilgal multiply transgression; and bring your sacrifices every morning, and your tithes after three years:
5 And offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving with leaven, and proclaim and publish the free offerings: for this liketh you, O ye children of Israel, saith the Lord GOD.
6 And I also have given you cleanness of teeth in all your cities, and want of bread in all your places: yet have ye not returned unto me, saith the LORD.
7 And also I have withholden the rain from you, when there were yet three months to the harvest: and I caused it to rain upon one city, and caused it not to rain upon another city: one piece was rained upon, and the piece whereupon it rained not withered.
8 So two or three cities wandered unto one city, to drink water; but they were not satisfied: yet have ye not returned unto me, saith the LORD.
9 I have smitten you with blasting and mildew: when your gardens and your vineyards and your fig trees and your olive trees increased, the palmerworm devoured them: yet have ye not returned unto me, saith the LORD.
10 I have sent among you the pestilence after the manner of Egypt: your young men have I slain with the sword, and have taken away your horses; and I have made the stink of your camps to come up unto your nostrils: yet have ye not returned unto me, saith the LORD.
11 I have overthrown some of you, as God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah, and ye were as a firebrand plucked out of the burning: yet have ye not returned unto me, saith the LORD.
12 Therefore thus will I do unto thee, O Israel: and because I will do this unto thee, prepare to meet thy God, O Israel.
13 For, lo, he that formeth the mountains, and createth the wind, and declareth unto man what is his thought, that maketh the morning darkness, and treadeth upon the high places of the earth, The LORD, The God of hosts, is his name.

AMOS CHAPTER 5

1 Hear ye this word which I take up against you, even a lamentation, O house of Israel.
2 The virgin of Israel is fallen; she shall no more rise: she is forsaken upon her land; there is none to raise her up.
3 For thus saith the Lord GOD; The city that went out by a thousand shall leave an hundred, and that which went forth by an hundred shall leave ten, to the house of Israel.
4 For thus saith the LORD unto the house of Israel, Seek ye me, and ye shall live:
5 But seek not Bethel, nor enter into Gilgal, and pass not to Beersheba: for Gilgal shall surely go into captivity, and Bethel shall come to nought.
6 Seek the LORD, and ye shall live; lest he break out like fire in the house of Joseph, and devour it, and there be none to quench it in Bethel.
7 Ye who turn judgement to wormwood, and leave off righteousness in the earth,
8 Seek him that maketh the seven stars and Orion, and turneth the shadow of death into the morning, and maketh the day dark with night: that calleth for the waters of the sea, and poureth them out upon the face of the earth: The LORD is his name:
9 That strengtheneth the spoiled against the strong, so that the spoiled shall come against the fortress.
10 They hate him that rebuketh in the gate, and they abhor him that speaketh uprightly.
11 Forasmuch therefore as your treading is upon the poor, and ye take from him burdens of wheat: ye have built houses of hewn stone, but ye shall not dwell in them; ye have planted pleasant vineyards, but ye shall not drink wine of them.
12 For I know your manifold transgressions and your mighty sins: they afflict the just, they take a bribe, and they turn aside the poor in the gate from their right.
13 Therefore the prudent shall keep silence in that time; for it is an evil time.
14 Seek good, and not evil, that ye may live: and so the LORD, the God of hosts, shall be with you, as ye have spoken.
15 Hate the evil, and love the good, and establish judgement in the gate: it may be that the LORD God of hosts will be gracious unto the remnant of Joseph.
16 Therefore the LORD, the God of hosts, the LORD, saith thus; Wailing shall be in all streets; and they shall say in all the highways, Alas! alas! and they shall call the husbandman to mourning, and such as are skilful of lamentation to wailing.
17 And in all vineyards shall be wailing: for I will pass through thee, saith the LORD.
18 Woe unto you that desire the day of the LORD! to what end is it for you? the day of the LORD is darkness, and not light.
19 As if a man did flee from a lion, and a bear met him; or went into the house, and leaned his hand on the wall, and a serpent bit him.
20 Shall not the day of the LORD be darkness, and not light? even very dark, and no brightness in it?
21 I hate, I despise your feast days, and I will not smell in your solemn assemblies.
22 Though ye offer me burnt offerings and your meat offerings, I will not accept them: neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts.
23 Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs; for I will not hear the melody of thy viols.
24 But let judgement run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream.
25 Have ye offered unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel?
26 But ye have borne the tabernacle of your Moloch and Chiun your images, the star of your god, which ye made to yourselves.
27 Therefore will I cause you to go into captivity beyond Damascus, saith the LORD, whose name is The God of hosts.

AMOS CHAPTER 6

1 Woe to them that are at ease in Zion, and trust in the mountain of Samaria, which are named chief of the nations, to whom the house of Israel came!
2 Pass ye unto Calneh, and see; and from thence go ye to Hamath the great: then go down to Gath of the Philistines: be they better than these kingdoms? or their border greater than your border?
3 Ye that put far away the evil day, and cause the seat of violence to come near;
4 That lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches, and eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the stall;
5 That chant to the sound of the viol, and invent to themselves instruments of musick, like David;
6 That drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the chief ointments: but they are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph.
7 Therefore now shall they go captive with the first that go captive, and the banquet of them that stretched themselves shall be removed.
8 The Lord GOD hath sworn by himself, saith the LORD the God of hosts, I abhor the excellency of Jacob, and hate his palaces: therefore will I deliver up the city with all that is therein.
9 And it shall come to pass, if there remain ten men in one house, that they shall die.
10 And a man's uncle shall take him up, and he that burneth him, to bring out the bones out of the house, and shall say unto him that is by the sides of the house, Is there yet any with thee? and he shall say, No. Then shall he say, Hold thy tongue: for we may not make mention of the name of the LORD.
11 For, behold, the LORD commandeth, and he will smite the great house with breaches, and the little house with clefts.
12 Shall horses run upon the rock? will one plow there with oxen? for ye have turned judgement into gall, and the fruit of righteousness into hemlock:
13 Ye which rejoice in a thing of nought, which say, Have we not taken to us horns by our own strength?

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14 But, behold, I will raise up against you a nation, O house of Israel, saith the LORD the God of hosts; and they shall afflict you from the entering in of Hemath unto the river of the wilderness.

AMOS CHAPTER 7

1 Thus hath the Lord GOD shewed unto me; and, behold, he formed grasshoppers in the beginning of the shooting up of the latter growth; and, lo, it was the latter growth after the king's mowings.

2 And it came to pass, that when they had made an end of eating the grass of the land, then I said, O Lord GOD, forgive, I beseech thee: by whom shall Jacob arise? for he is small.

3 The LORD repented for this: It shall not be, saith the LORD.

4 Thus hath the Lord GOD shewed unto me: and, behold, the Lord GOD called to contend by fire, and it devoured the great deep, and did eat up a part.

5 Then said I, O Lord GOD, cease, I beseech thee: by whom shall Jacob arise? for he is small.

6 The LORD repented for this: This also shall not be, saith the Lord GOD.

7 Thus he shewed me: and, behold, the LORD stood upon a wall made by a plumbline, with a plumbline in his hand.

8 And the LORD said unto me, Amos, what seest thou? And I said, A plumbline. Then said the LORD, Behold, I will set a plumbline in the midst of my people Israel: I will not again pass by them any more:

9 And the high places of Isaac shall be desolate, and the sanctuaries of Israel shall be laid waste; and I will rise against the house of Jeroboam with the sword.

10 Then Amaziah the priest of Bethel sent to Jeroboam king of Israel, saying, Amos hath conspired against thee in the midst of the house of Israel: the land is not able to bear all his words.

11 For thus Amos saith, Jeroboam shall die by the sword, and Israel shall surely be led away captive out of their own land.

12 Also Amaziah said unto Amos, O thou seer, go, flee thee away into the land of Judah, and there eat bread, and prophesy there:

13 But prophesy not again any more at Bethel: for it is the king's chapel, and it is the king's court.

14 Then answered Amos, and said to Amaziah, I was no prophet, neither was I a prophet's son; but I was an herdman, and a gatherer of sycomore fruit:

15 And the LORD took me as I followed the flock, and the LORD said unto me, Go, prophesy unto my people Israel.

16 Now therefore hear thou the word of the LORD: Thou sayest, Prophesy not against Israel, and drop not thy word against the house of Isaac.

17 Therefore thus saith the LORD; Thy wife shall be an harlot in the city, and thy sons and thy daughters shall fall by the sword, and thy land shall be divided by line; and thou shalt die in a polluted land: and Israel shall surely go into captivity forth of his land.

AMOS CHAPTER 8

1 Thus hath the Lord GOD shewed unto me: and behold a basket of summer fruit.

2 And he said, Amos, what seest thou? And I said, A basket of summer fruit. Then said the LORD unto me, The end is come upon my people of Israel; I will not again pass by them any more.

3 And the songs of the temple shall be howlings in that day, saith the Lord GOD: there shall be many dead bodies in every place; they shall cast them forth with silence.

4 Hear this, O ye that swallow up the needy, even to make the poor of the land to fail,

5 Saying, When will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? and the sabbath, that we may set forth wheat, making the ephah small, and the shekel great, and falsifying the balances by deceit?

6 That we may buy the poor for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes; yea, and sell the refuse of the wheat?

7 The LORD hath sworn by the excellency of Jacob, Surely I will never forget any of their works.

8 Shall not the land tremble for this, and every one mourn that dwelleth therein? and it shall rise up wholly as a flood; and it shall be cast out and drowned, as by the flood of Egypt.

9 And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the Lord GOD, that I will cause the sun to go down at noon, and I will darken the earth in the clear day:

10 And I will turn your feasts into mourning, and all your songs into lamentation; and I will bring up sackcloth upon all loins, and baldness upon every head; and I will make it as the mourning of an only son, and the end thereof as a bitter day.

11 Behold, the days come, saith the Lord GOD, that I will send a famine in the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the LORD:

12 And they shall wander from sea to sea, and from the north even to the east, they shall run to and fro to seek the word of the LORD, and shall not find it.

13 In that day shall the fair virgins and young men faint for thirst.

14 They that swear by the sin of Samaria, and say, Thy god, O Dan, liveth; and, The manner of Beersheba liveth; even they shall fall, and never rise up again.

AMOS CHAPTER 9

1 I saw the LORD standing upon the altar: and he said, Smite the lintel of the door, that the posts may shake: and cut them in the head, all of them; and I will slay the last of them with the sword: he that fleeth of them shall not flee away, and he that escapeth of them shall not be delivered.

2 Though they dig into hell, thence shall mine hand take them; though they climb up to heaven, thence will I bring them down:

3 And though they hide themselves in the top of Carmel, I will search and take them out thence; and though they be hid from my sight in the bottom of the sea, thence will I command the serpent, and he shall bite them:

4 And though they go into captivity before their enemies, thence will I command the sword, and it shall slay them: and I will set mine eyes upon them for evil, and not for good.

5 And the Lord GOD of hosts is he that toucheth the land, and it shall melt, and all that dwell therein shall mourn: and it shall rise up wholly like a flood; and shall be drowned, as by the flood of Egypt.

6 It is he that buildeth his stories in the heaven, and hath founded his troop in the earth; he that calleth for the waters of the sea, and poureth them out upon the face of the earth: The LORD is his name.

7 Are ye not as children of the Ethiopians unto me, O children of Israel? saith the LORD. Have not I brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt? and the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Syrians from Kir?

8 Behold, the eyes of the Lord GOD are upon the sinful kingdom, and I will destroy it from off the face of the earth; saving that I will not utterly destroy the house of Jacob, saith the LORD.

9 For, lo, I will command, and I will sift the house of Israel among all nations, like as corn is sifted in a sieve, yet shall not the least grain fall upon the earth.

10 All the sinners of my people shall die by the sword, which say, The evil shall not overtake nor prevent us.

11 In that day will I raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen, and close up the breaches thereof; and I will raise up his ruins, and I will build it as in the days of old:

12 That they may possess the remnant of Edom, and of all the heathen, which are called by my name, saith the LORD that doeth this.

13 Behold, the days come, saith the LORD, that the plowman shall overtake the reaper, and the treader of grapes him that soweth seed; and the mountains shall drop sweet wine, and all the hills shall melt.

14 And I will bring again the captivity of my people of Israel, and they shall build the waste cities, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and drink the wine thereof; they shall also make gardens, and eat the fruit of them.

15 And I will plant them upon their land, and they shall no more be pulled up out of their land which I have given them, saith the LORD thy God.

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET OBADIAH

Hebrew title: Sefer Ovadyah

Estimated Range of Dating: 7th to 6th centuries B.C.

(The book of Obadiah is based on a prophetic vision concerning the fall of Edom,[verse 1,4,18] a mountain dwelling nation[v.8,9,19,21] whose founding father was Esau [v.6][Genesis 36:9]. The text consists of a single chapter, divided into 21 verses, making it the shortest book in the Hebrew Bible. The text of Obadiah is most interesting as it bears witness to the animosities Hebrews and Arabs feel to one another from very early times onwards.

Obadiah describes an encounter with God, who addresses Edom's arrogance and charges them for their violent actions against their brother nation, the House of Jacob (Israel)[v.10]. Edom (also called Idumaea) refers to an Arabic tribe that ruled the region which the Romans knew under the name Arabia Petraea, meaning Arabia whose capital was the City of Petra. The western half of ancient Edom is the Negev desert all the way to Eilat, all part of modern Israel. The eastern half is possessed by the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan.

The historian Tovma (Thomas) Artsruni, who began writing History sometime in the 870s, uses the name "Mecca" or "Makka" for the ancient City of "Petra" (city of rocks) when he writes about Mohammed [who was a Hashemite]: "At that time, in a place of Petrea Arabia Pharan, named Makka - The Mecca - he showed himself to brothers bandits, warriors and band chiefs, who were worshiping in a temple the idols of Ammonites, Samam and Kabar." (Brosset, 1894, Livre II, 4. Pg 89).

Throughout most of the history of Judah, Edom was controlled absolutely from Jerusalem as a vassal state. Among the region's great powers, Edom was held in low regard, probably due to the different Arabic lifestyle which was more adapted to desert and mountains than to life in cities. Obadiah said that the high elevation of their dwelling place in the mountains of Seir had gone to their head, and they had puffed themselves up in pride. "'Though thou exalt thyself as the eagle, and though thou set thy nest among the stars, thence will I bring thee down', saith the Lord." (Obadiah 1:4).

In 597 BC, Nebuchadnezzar II sacked Jerusalem, carted away the King of Judah, and installed a puppet ruler. The Edomites helped the Babylonians loot the city. Obadiah, writing this prophecy around 590 BC, suggests the Edomites should have remembered that blood was thicker than water. "In the day that thou stoodest on the other side, in the day that the strangers carried away captive his forces, and foreigners entered into his gates, and cast lots upon Jerusalem, even thou wast as one of them [Obadiah 1:11]." Obadiah said in judgement God would wipe out the house of Esau forever, and not even a remnant would remain. The Edomites' land would be possessed by Egypt and they would cease to exist as a people. But the Day of the Lord was at hand for all nations, and someday the children of Israel would return from their exile and possess the land of Edom.

The following text talks about Israel's relations to the Zoroastrian Persians whose religion also was monotheistic. It goes: "And the captivity of this host of the children of Israel shall possess that of the Canaanites, even unto Zarephath [the ancient Phoenician City of Sarepta, now Sarafand, Lebanon]; and the captivity of Jerusalem, which is in Sepharad [the modern Bijar area in northwestern Iran], shall possess the cities of the south."

Both, Zarephath and Sepharad, were part of the Median Empire or Median Dynasty of Persia [Madai] that was in power between c. 678 BC and 549 BC. The Medes had an ancient Iranian religion (a form of pre-Zoroastrian Mazdaism or Mithra worshipping) with a priesthood named as "Magi" [from which we got our word 'magician'. A magus was a 'wise or learned man']. Later, during the reigns of the last Median kings, the reforms of Zoroaster spread into western Iran. Through the Israelite-Persian relatinships, Zoroastrian philosophy entered also Judaism.

Scriptural parallels: The exact expression "the Day of the Lord", from Obadiah 1:15, has been used by other authors throughout the Old and New Testaments, as follows:

Old Testament: Isaiah 2,13, 34, 58, Jeremiah 46:10, Lamentations 2:22, Ezekiel 13:5, Joel 1, 2, 3, Amos 5:18, 5:20, Zephaniah 1, 2, Zechariah 14:1, Malachi 4:5

New Testament: 1 Thessalonians 5:2, 2 Peter 3:10, Acts 2:20, 1 Corinthians 5:5, 2 Corinthians 1:14

For other parallels, compare Obadiah 1:1–8 with Jeremiah 49:7–16.)

OBADIAH CHAPTER 1

1 The vision of Obadiah. Thus saith the Lord GOD concerning Edom; We have heard a rumour from the LORD, and an ambassador is sent among the heathen, Arise ye, and let us rise up against her in battle.

2 Behold, I have made thee small among the heathen: thou art greatly despised.

3 The pride of thine heart hath deceived thee, thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, whose habitation is high; that saith in his heart, Who shall bring me down to the ground?

4 Though thou exalt thyself as the eagle, and though thou set thy nest among the stars, thence will I bring thee down, saith the LORD.

5 If thieves came to thee, if robbers by night, (how art thou cut off!) would they not have stolen till they had enough? if the grapegatherers came to thee, would they not leave some grapes?

6 How are the things of Esau searched out! how are his hidden things sought up!

7 All the men of thy confederacy have brought thee even to the border: the men that were at peace with thee have deceived thee, and prevailed against thee; that they eat thy bread have laid a wound under thee: there is none understanding in him.

8 Shall I not in that day, saith the LORD, even destroy the wise men out of Edom, and understanding out of the mount of Esau?

9 And thy mighty men, O Teman, shall be dismayed, to the end that every one of the mount of Esau may be cut off by slaughter.

10 For thy violence against thy brother Jacob shame shall cover thee, and thou shalt be cut off for ever.

11 In the day that thou stoodest on the other side, in the day that the strangers carried away captive his forces, and foreigners entered into his gates, and cast lots upon Jerusalem, even thou wast as one of them.

12 But thou shouldest not have looked on the day of thy brother in the day that he became a stranger; neither shouldest thou have rejoiced over the children of Judah in the day of their destruction; neither shouldest thou have spoken proudly in the day of distress.

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13 Thou shouldest not have entered into the gate of my people in the day of their calamity; yea, thou shouldest not have looked on their affliction in the day of their calamity, nor have laid hands on their substance in the day of their calamity;

14 Neither shouldest thou have stood in the crossway, to cut off those of his that did escape; neither shouldest thou have delivered up those of his that did remain in the day of distress.

15 For the day of the LORD is near upon all the heathen: as thou hast done, it shall be done unto thee: thy reward shall return upon thine own head.

16 For as ye have drunk upon my holy mountain, so shall all the heathen drink continually, yea, they shall drink, and they shall swallow down, and they shall be as though they had not been.

17 But upon mount Zion shall be deliverance, and there shall be holiness; and the house of Jacob shall possess their possessions.

18 And the house of Jacob shall be a fire, and the house of Joseph a flame, and the house of Esau for stubble, and they shall kindle in them, and devour them; and there shall not be any remaining of the house of Esau; for the LORD hath spoken it.

19 And they of the south shall possess the mount of Esau; and they of the plain the Philistines: and they shall possess the fields of Ephraim, and the fields of Samaria: and Benjamin shall possess Gilead.

20 And the captivity of this host of the children of Israel shall possess that of the Canaanites, even unto Zarephath; and the captivity of Jerusalem, which is in Sepharad, shall possess the cities of the south.

21 And saviours shall come up on mount Zion to judge the mount of Esau; and the kingdom shall be the LORD's.

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET JONAH

Hebrew title: Sefer Yonah

Estimated Range of Dating: 5th century B.C.

(The Book of Jonah is a book of the Nevi'im ("Prophets") in the Hebrew Bible. It tells of a Hebrew prophet named Jonah son of Amittai who is sent by God to prophesy the destruction of Nineveh but tries to escape the divine mission. Set in the reign of Jeroboam II (786–746 BC), it was probably written in the post-exilic period, some time between the late 5th to early 4th century BC. The story has a long interpretive history and has become well known through popular children's stories. In Judaism, it is the Haftarah portion read during the afternoon of Yom Kippur to instill reflection on God's willingness to forgive those who repent; it remains a popular story among Christians. It is also retold in the Koran.

Unlike the other Prophets, the book of Jonah is almost entirely narrative, with the exception of the poem in chapter 2. The actual prophetic word against Nineveh is given only in passing through the narrative. As with any good narrative, the story of Jonah has a setting, characters, a plot, and themes. It also relies heavily on such literary devices as irony, satire, and allusion as a device of deception. As it deals with the anger and scorn of conquered people, it is also highly political.

Outline:

1. Jonah Flees His Mission (chapters 1–2)

• Jonah's Commission and Flight (1:1–3)

• Endangered 'Sailors' (citizens) Cry to Their gods (1:4–6)

• Jonah's Disobedience Exposed (1:7–10)

• Jonah's punishment and Deliverance (1:11–2:1;2:10)

• His Prayer of Thanksgiving (2:2–9)

2. Jonah Reluctantly fulfills His Mission (chapters 3–4)

• Jonah's Renewed Commission and Obedience (3:1–4)

• Endangered Ninevites Repentant Appeal to God (3:4–9)

• The Ninevites' Repentance Acknowledged (3:10–4:4)

• Jonah's Deliverance and Rebuke (4:5–11)

Jonah is the central character in the Book of Jonah, in which God commands him to go to the city of Nineveh to prophesy against it "for their great wickedness is come up before me," but Jonah instead attempts to flee from "the presence of the Lord" by going to Jaffa and sailing to Tarshish. A huge storm arises and the sailors, realising that it is no ordinary storm, cast lots and discover that Jonah is to blame. Jonah admits this and states that if he is thrown overboard, the storm will cease. The sailors refuse to do this and continue rowing, but all their efforts fail and they are eventually forced to throw Jonah overboard. As a result, the storm calms and the sailors then offer sacrifices to God. Jonah is miraculously saved by being swallowed by a large fish, in whose belly he spends three days and three nights. While in the great fish, Jonah prays to God in his affliction and commits to thanksgiving and to paying what he has vowed. God then commands the fish to vomit Jonah out.*

[Tarshish, Phoenician and Hebrew: t-r-s-s, Tarsis, occurs in the Hebrew Bible most frequently as a place name that could be reached by crossing the sea from Phoenicia (modern Lebanon) and the Land of Israel. Titus Flavius Josephus clearly identifies "Tarshush" in his Jewish Antiquities (Antiquitates Iudaicae i. 6, § 1) as the City of Tarsus in southern Asia Minor (modern Turkey), which some have later equated with the Tarsisi mentioned in Assyrian records from the reign of Esarhaddon. It was the hometown of Saul of Tarsos, better known as Paul the Apostle.*

Tarsus is first mentioned as Tarsisi in Neo-Assyrian [911 and 609 BC] records of the campaigns of Esarhaddon, as well as several times in the records of Shalmaneser I and Sennacherib, the latter having the city rebuilt. The city may have been of Semitic origin or was founded by Semites again. Legends seem to confirm that: Japheth (Hebrew: Yepet, Greek: Iapheth; Latin: Iapetus), is one of the three sons of Noah in the Book of Genesis. Through his son Javan, he got his grandson Tarshish. Stephanus of Byzantium quotes Athenodorus of Tarsus as relating another legend: Anchiale, daughter of Iapetus [Japheth] and sister of Javan, founded Anchiale (a city near Tarsus): her son Cydnus gave his name to the River Cydnus (today: River Berdan, sometimes called River Tarsos) at Tarsus. The son of Cydnus was Parthenius, from whom the city was called Parthenia: afterwards the name was changed to Tarshish, after Cydnus' cousin. And today that is Tarsus.]

The question why Jonah took the route to Niniveh via Tarsos becomes clear only at a second glance. It may well have been safer as he did not need to cross the Syrian Desert but could join a caravan from its starting point in Tarsos to the main eastbound trading road that led him through the 'Fertile Crescent' directly to the River Tigris. From there he went south on a river boat directly to Niniveh. This journey would have lasted only a few days.

Generations of Bible readers wondered what the story with the fish mean. The name of the great city itself is the solution to this riddle. The city name "Niniveh" comes from the Akkadian word "Ninua" (or Nina). The cuneiform character for 'Nina' means "fish in a house" or the "Great Fish". In Aramaic, the common language of Israel and Judaea, "Nuna" means "fish" as well. So "Niniveh" is the "Place of Fish" or the "Great City of Fish". We deal here with a marvellous allusion. When Jonah is swallowed by a large fish, in whose belly he spends three days and three nights, it means nothing else but that he enters Niniveh, stays for three days, and is finally thrown out; may be because of the trouble he has made. The author might have been compelled to compose this allusion in order to protect his readers from the Assyrian authorities in Israel and Judah who also could read the story.

The significance of Niniveh cannot be overestimated. The City of Nineveh (Akkadian: Uru Ninua) was an ancient Assyrian city of Upper Mesopotamia, located on the eastern bank of the Tigris River, near the outskirts of modern-day Mosul in northern Iraq. It was the capital of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. In fact, at that time it was the largest city in the world for approximately fifty years until the year 612 BC when, after a bitter period of civil war in Assyria, it was sacked by a coalition of its former subject peoples, the Babylonians, Medes, Chaldeans, Persians, Scythians and Cimmerians. The Israelites might have taken part in that raid as the Kingdom of Israel was destroyed around 720 BC, when it was conquered by the Neo-Assyrian Empire.

At this time, the total area of Nineveh comprised about 7 square kilometres (1,730 acres), and fifteen great gates penetrated its walls. An elaborate system of eighteen canals brought water from the hills to Nineveh, and several sections of a magnificently constructed aqueduct erected by Sennacherib were discovered at Jerwan, about 65 kilometres (40 mi) distant. Archaeologist found the palace which has overall dimensions of about 503 by 242 metres (1,650 ft × 794 ft) and was built on a massive limestone platform 22m (70 ft) high. In total, the foundation is made of roughly 2,680,000 cubic metres (3,505,308 cu yd) of brick (approximately 160 million bricks). The walls on top, made out of mud brick, were an additional 20 metres (66 ft) tall. The enclosed area of the city had between 100,000 and 150,000 inhabitants, about twice as many as Babylon at the time, placing it among the largest settlements worldwide. And Jonah confirms it: "Then said the LORD, Thou hast had pity on the gourd, for the which thou hast not laboured, neither madest it grow; which came up in a night, and perished in a night: 11And should not I spare Nineveh, that great city, wherein are more than sixscore thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand; and also much cattle?" [A score is 20; 6 x 20 = 120; 1,000 x 120 = 120,000 inhabitants.]

The stone carvings found in Niniveh tell the story of the Assyrian conquest in shocking details. In the inscriptions, King Sennacherib boasted of his conquests. He wrote of Babylon: "Its inhabitants, young and old, I did not spare, and with their corpses I filled the streets of the city." A full and characteristic set shows the campaign leading up to the siege of Lachish in 701; it is the "finest" from the reign of Sennacherib, and now in the British Museum. He later wrote about a battle in Lachish: "And Hezekiah of Judah who had not submitted to my yoke ... him I shut up in Jerusalem his royal city like a caged bird. Earthworks I threw up against him, and anyone coming out of his city gate I made pay for his crime. His cities which I had plundered I had cut off from his land." No wonder that the Jews were angry and the author of this book casted their anger into a masterpiece of world literature.)

JONAH CHAPTER 1

1 Now the word of the LORD came unto Jonah the son of Amittai, saying,

2 Arise, go to Nineveh, that great city, and cry against it; for their wickedness is come up before me.

3 But Jonah rose up to flee unto Tarshish from the presence of the LORD, and went down to Joppa; and he found a ship going to Tarshish: so he paid the fare thereof, and went down into it, to go with them unto Tarshish from the presence of the LORD.

4 But the LORD sent out a great wind into the sea, and there was a mighty tempest in the sea, so that the ship was like to be broken.

5 Then the mariners were afraid, and cried every man unto his god, and cast forth the wares that were in the ship into the sea, to lighten it of them. But Jonah was gone down into the sides of the ship; and he lay, and was fast asleep.

6 So the shipmaster came to him, and said unto him, What meanest thou, O sleeper? arise, call upon thy God, if so be that God will think upon us, that we perish not.

7 And they said every one to his fellow, Come, and let us cast lots, that we may know for whose cause this evil is upon us. So they cast lots, and the lot fell upon Jonah.

8 Then said they unto him, Tell us, we pray thee, for whose cause this evil is upon us; What is thine occupation? and whence comest thou? what is thy country? and of what people art thou?

9 And he said unto them, I am an Hebrew; and I fear the LORD, the God of heaven, which hath made the sea and the dry land.

10 Then were the men exceedingly afraid, and said unto him. Why hast thou done this? For the men knew that he fled from the presence of the LORD, because he had told them.

11 Then said they unto him, What shall we do unto thee, that the sea may be calm unto us? for the sea wrought, and was tempestuous.

12 And he said unto them, Take me up, and cast me forth into the sea; so shall the sea be calm unto you: for I know that for my sake this great tempest is upon you.

13 Nevertheless the men rowed hard to bring it to the land; but they could not: for the sea wrought, and was tempestuous against them.

14 Wherefore they cried unto the LORD, and said, We beseech thee, O LORD, we beseech thee, let us not perish for this man's life, and lay not upon us innocent blood: for thou, O LORD, hast done as it pleased thee.

15 So they took up Jonah, and cast him forth into the sea: and the sea ceased from her raging.

16 Then the men feared the LORD exceedingly, and offered a sacrifice unto the LORD, and made vows.

17 Now the LORD had prepared a great fish to swallow up Jonah. And Jonah was in the belly of the fish three days and three nights.

JONAH CHAPTER 2

1 Then Jonah prayed unto the LORD his God out of the fish's belly,

2 And said, I cried by reason of mine affliction unto the LORD, and he heard me; out of the belly of hell cried I, and thou heardest my voice.

3 For thou hadst cast me into the deep, in the midst of the seas; and the floods compassed me about: all thy billows and thy waves passed over me.

4 Then I said, I am cast out of thy sight; yet I will look again toward thy holy temple.

5 The waters compassed me about, even to the soul: the depth closed me round about, the weeds were wrapped about my head.

6 I went down to the bottoms of the mountains; the earth with her bars was about me for ever: yet hast thou brought up my life from corruption, O LORD my God.

7 When my soul fainted within me I remembered the LORD: and my prayer came in unto thee, into thine holy temple.

8 They that observe lying vanities forsake their own mercy.

9 But I will sacrifice unto thee with the voice of thanksgiving; I will pay that that I have vowed. Salvation is of the LORD.

10 And the LORD spake unto the fish, and it vomited out Jonah upon the dry land.

JONAH CHAPTER 3

1 And the word of the LORD came unto Jonah the second time, saying,

2 Arise, go unto Nineveh, that great city, and preach unto it the preaching that I bid thee.

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3 So Jonah arose, and went unto Nineveh, according to the word of the LORD. Now Nineveh was an exceeding great city of three days' journey.

4 And Jonah began to enter into the city a day's journey, and he cried, and said, Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown.

5 So the people of Nineveh believed God, and proclaimed a fast, and put on sackcloth, from the greatest of them even to the least of them.

6 For word came unto the king of Nineveh, and he arose from his throne, and he laid his robe from him, and covered him with sackcloth, and sat in ashes.

7 And he caused it to be proclaimed and published through Nineveh by the decree of the king and his nobles, saying, Let neither man nor beast, herd nor flock, taste any thing: let them not feed, nor drink water:

8 But let man and beast be covered with sackcloth, and cry mightily unto God: yea, let them turn every one from his evil way, and from the violence that is in their hands.

9 Who can tell if God will turn and repent, and turn away from his fierce anger, that we perish not?

10 And God saw their works, that they turned from their evil way; and God repented of the evil, that he had said that he would do unto them; and he did it not.

JONAH CHAPTER 4

1 But it displeased Jonah exceedingly, and he was very angry.

2 And he prayed unto the LORD, and said, I pray thee, O LORD, was not this my saying, when I was yet in my country? Therefore I fled before unto Tarshish: for I knew that thou art a gracious God, and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and repentest thee of the evil.

3 Therefore now, O LORD, take, I beseech thee, my life from me; for it is better for me to die than to live.

4 Then said the LORD, Doest thou well to be angry?

5 So Jonah went out of the city, and sat on the east side of the city, and there made him a booth, and sat under it in the shadow, till he might see what would become of the city.

6 And the LORD God prepared a gourd, and made it to come up over Jonah, that it might be a shadow over his head, to deliver him from his grief. So Jonah was exceeding glad of the gourd.

7 But God prepared a worm when the morning rose the next day, and it smote the gourd that it withered.

8 And it came to pass, when the sun did arise, that God prepared a vehement east wind; and the sun beat upon the head of Jonah, that he fainted, and wished in himself to die, and said, It is better for me to die than to live.

9 And God said to Jonah, Doest thou well to be angry for the gourd? And he said, I do well to be angry, even unto death.

10 Then said the LORD, Thou hast had pity on the gourd, for the which thou hast not laboured, neither madest it grow; which came up in a night, and perished in a night:

11 And should not I spare Nineveh, that great city, wherein are more then sixscore thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand; and also much cattle?

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET MICAH

Hebrew title: Sefer Mikayahu
Estimated Range of Dating: early 5th century B.C.

(The Book of Micah is the sixth of the twelve minor prophets in the Hebrew Bible / Old Testament. It records the sayings of Micah, whose real name is Mikayahu, meaning "Who is like Yahweh?". Chapter 1:1 identifies the prophet as "Micah of Moresheth" (a town in southern Judah), and states that he lived during the reigns of Yehotam, Ahaz and Hezekiah, roughly 750–700 BC.

Scholars accept that only chapters 1–3 contain material from the late 8th century prophet Micah. The latest material comes from the post-Exilic period after the Temple was rebuilt in 515 BC, so that the early 5th century BC seems to be the period when the book was completedThe book has three major divisions, chapters 1–2, 3–5 and 6–7, each introduced by the word "Hear," with a pattern of alternating announcements of doom and expressions of hope within each division. Micah reproaches unjust leaders, defends the rights of the poor against the rich and powerful; while looking forward to a world at peace centered on Zion under the leadership of a new Davidic monarch. While the book is relatively short, it includes lament (1.8–16; 7.8–10), theophany (1.3–4), hymnic prayer of petition and confidence (7.14–20), and the "covenant lawsuit" (6.1–8), a distinct genre in which Yahweh (God) sues Israel for breach of contract of the Mosaic covenant.

Just like Jonah, the Book of Micah is very political. After a long period of peace, Israel, Judah, and the other nations of the region came under increasing pressure from the aggressive and rapidly expanding Neo-Assyrian empire. Between 734 and 727 Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria conducted almost annual campaigns in Palestine, reducing the Kingdom of Israel, the Kingdom of Judah and the Philistine cities to vassalage, receiving tribute from Ammon, Moab and Edom, and absorbing Damascus (the Kingdom of Aram) into the Empire. On Tiglath-Pileser's death Israel rebelled, resulting in an Assyrian counter-attack and the destruction of the capital, Samaria, in 721 after a three-year siege. Micah 1:2–7 draws on this event: Samaria, says the prophet, has been destroyed by God because of its crimes of idolatry, oppression of the poor, and misuse of power. The Assyrian attacks on Israel (the northern kingdom) led to an influx of refugees into Judah, which would have increased social stresses, while at the same time the authorities in Jerusalem had to invest huge amounts in tribute and defense.

Contents:

• The Heading (1:1): As is typical of prophetic books, an anonymous editor has supplied the name of the prophet, an indication of his time of activity, and an identification of his speech as the "word of Yahweh", a generic term carrying a claim to prophetic legitimacy and authority. Samaria and Jerusalem are given prominence as the foci of the prophet's attention.

• Judgement against Samaria (1:2–7): Drawing upon ancient traditions for depicting a theophany, the prophet depicts the coming of Yahweh to punish the city, whose sins are idolatry and the abuse of the poor.

• Warnings to the cities of Judah (1:8–16): Samaria has fallen, Judah is next. Micah describes the destruction of the lesser towns of Judah (referring to the invasion of Judah by Sennacherib, 701 BC). For these passages of doom on the various cities, paronomasia is used. Paronomasia is a literary device which 'plays' on the sound of each word for literary effect. For example, the inhabitants of Beth-le-aphrah ("house of dust") are told to "roll yourselves in the dust." 1:14. Though most of the Paronomasia is lost in translation, it is the equivalent of 'Ashdod shall be but ashes,' where the fate of the city matches its name.

• Misuse of power denounced (2:1–5): Denounces those who appropriate the land and houses of others. The context may be simply the amassing wealth for its own sake, or could be connected with the militarisation of the region for the expected Assyrian attack.

• Threats against the prophet (2:6–11): The prophet is warned not to prophesy. He answers that the rulers are harming God's people, and want to listen only to those who advocate the virtues of wine.

• A later promise (2:12–13): These verses assume that judgement has already fallen and Israel is already scattered abroad.

• Judgement on wicked Zion (3:1–4): Israel's rulers are accused of gaining more wealth at the expense of the poor, by any means. The metaphor of flesh being torn illustrates the length to which the ruling classes and socialites would go to further increase their wealth. Prophets are corrupt, seeking personal gain. Jerusalem's rulers believe that God will always be with them, but God will be with his people, and Jerusalem will be destroyed.

• Zion's future hope (4:1–5) This is a later passage, almost identical with Isaiah 2:2–4. Zion (meaning the Temple) will be rebuilt, but by God, and based not on violence and corruption but on the desire to learn God's laws, beat swords to ploughshares and live in peace.

• Further promises to Zion (4:6–7) This is another later passage, promising Zion that she will once more enjoy her former independence and power.

• Deliverance from Distress in Babylon (4:9–5:1) The similarities to Isaiah 41:15–16 and the references to Babylon suggest the period of this material, although it is unclear whether a period during or after the siege of 586 is meant. Despite their trials, God will not desert his people.

• The promised ruler from Bethlehem (5:1–14): This passage is usually dated to the exile. Although chapters 4:9–10 have said that there is "no king in Zion", these chapters predict the coming Messiah will emerge from Bethlehem, the traditional home of the Davidic monarchy, to restore Israel. Assyria will be stricken, and Israel's punishment will lead to the punishment of the nations.

• A Covenant lawsuit (6:1–5): Yahweh accuses Israel (the people of Judah) of breaking the covenant through their lack of justice and honesty, after the pattern of the kings of Israel (northern kingdom).

• Torah Liturgy (6:6–8): Micah speaks on behalf of the community asking what they should do in order to get back on God's good side. Micah then responds by saying that God requires only "to do justice, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with your God." Thus declaring that the burnt offering of both animals and humans (which may have been practiced in Judah under Kings Ahaz and Manasseh) is not necessary for God.

• The City as a Cheat (6:9–16): The city is reprimanded for its dishonest trade practices.

• Lament (7:1–7): The first passage in the book in the first person: whether it comes from Micah himself is disputed. Honesty and decency have vanished, families are filled with strife.

• A song of fallen Jerusalem (7:8–10): The first person voice continues, but now it is the city who speaks. She recognises that her destruction is deserved punishment from God. The recognition gives grounds for hope that God is still with her.

• A prophecy of restoration (7:11–13): Fallen Jerusalem is promised that she will be rebuilt and that her power will be greater than ever (a contrast with the vision of peace in 4:1–5).

• A prayer for future prosperity (7:14–17): The mood switches from a request for power to grateful astonishment at God's mercy.)

MICAH CHAPTER 1

1 The word of the LORD that came to Micah the Morasthite in the days of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah, which he saw concerning Samaria and Jerusalem.

2 Hear, all ye people; hearken, O earth, and all that therein is: and let the Lord GOD be witness against you, the LORD from his holy temple.

3 For, behold, the LORD cometh forth out of his place, and will come down, and tread upon the high places of the earth.

4 And the mountains shall be molten under him, and the valleys shall be cleft, as wax before the fire, and as the waters that are poured down a steep place.

5 For the transgression of Jacob is all this, and for the sins of the house of Israel. What is the transgression of Jacob? is it not Samaria? and what are the high places of Judah? are they not Jerusalem?

6 Therefore I will make Samaria as an heap of the field, and as plantings of a vineyard: and I will pour down the stones thereof into the valley, and I will discover the foundations thereof.

7 And all the graven images thereof shall be beaten to pieces, and all the hires thereof shall be burned with the fire, and all the idols thereof will I lay desolate: for she gathered it of the hire of an harlot, and they shall return to the hire of an harlot.

8 Therefore I will wail and howl, I will go stripped and naked: I will make a wailing like the dragons, and mourning as the owls.

9 For her wound is incurable; for it is come unto Judah; he is come unto the gate of my people, even to Jerusalem.

10 Declare ye it not at Gath, weep ye not at all: in the house of Aphrah roll thyself in the dust.

11 Pass ye away, thou inhabitant of Saphir, having thy shame naked: the inhabitant of Zaanan came not forth in the mourning of Bethezel; he shall receive of you his standing.

12 For the inhabitant of Maroth waited carefully for good: but evil came down from the LORD unto the gate of Jerusalem.

13 O thou inhabitant of Lachish, bind the chariot to the swift beast: she is the beginning of the sin to the daughter of Zion: for the transgressions of Israel were found in thee.

14 Therefore shalt thou give presents to Moreshethgath: the houses of Achzib shall be a lie to the kings of Israel.

15 Yet will I bring an heir unto thee, O inhabitant of Mareshah: he shall come unto Adullam the glory of Israel.

16 Make thee bald, and poll thee for thy delicate children; enlarge thy baldness as the eagle; for they are gone into captivity from thee.

MICAH CHAPTER 2

1 Woe to them that devise iniquity, and work evil upon their beds! when the morning is light, they practise it, because it is in the power of their hand.

2 And they covet fields, and take them by violence; and houses, and take them away: so they oppress a man and his house, even a man and his heritage.

3 Therefore thus saith the LORD; Behold, against this family do I devise an evil, from which ye shall not remove your necks; neither shall ye go haughtily: for this time is evil.

4 In that day shall one take up a parable against you, and lament with a doleful lamentation, and say, We be utterly spoiled: he hath changed the portion of my people: how hath he removed it from me! turning away he hath divided our fields.

5 Therefore thou shalt have none that shall cast a cord by lot in the congregation of the LORD.

6 Prophesy ye not, say they to them that prophesy: they shall not prophesy to them, that they shall not take shame.

7 O thou that art named the house of Jacob, is the spirit of the LORD straitened? are these his doings? do not my words do good to him that walketh uprightly?

8 Even of late my people is risen up as an enemy: ye pull off the robe with the garment from them that pass by securely as men averse from war.

9 The women of my people have ye cast out from their pleasant houses; from their children have ye taken away my glory for ever.

10 Arise ye, and depart; for this is not your rest: because it is polluted, it shall destroy you, even with a sore destruction.

11 If a man walking in the spirit and falsehood do lie, saying, I will prophesy unto thee of wine and of strong drink; he shall even be the prophet of this people.

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12 I will surely assemble, O Jacob, all of thee; I will surely gather the remnant of Israel; I will put them together as the sheep of Bozrah, as the flock in the midst of their fold: they shall make great noise by reason of the multitude of men.

13 The breaker is come up before them: they have broken up, and have passed through the gate, and are gone out by it: and their king shall pass before them, and the LORD on the head of them.

MICAH CHAPTER 3

1 And I said, Hear, I pray you, O heads of Jacob, and ye princes of the house of Israel; Is it not for you to know judgement?

2 Who hate the good, and love the evil; who pluck off their skin from off them, and their flesh from off their bones;

3 Who also eat the flesh of my people, and flay their skin from off them; and they break their bones, and chop them in pieces, as for the pot, and as flesh within the caldron.

4 Then shall they cry unto the LORD, but he will not hear them: he will even hide his face from them at that time, as they have behaved themselves ill in their doings.

5 Thus saith the LORD concerning the prophets that make my people err, that bite with their teeth, and cry, Peace; and he that putteth not into their mouths, they even prepare war against him.

6 Therefore night shall be unto you, that ye shall not have a vision; and it shall be dark unto you, that ye shall not divine; and the sun shall go down over the prophets, and the day shall be dark over them.

7 Then shall the seers be ashamed, and the diviners confounded: yea, they shall all cover their lips; for there is no answer of God.

8 But truly I am full of power by the spirit of the LORD, and of judgement, and of might, to declare unto Jacob his transgression, and to Israel his sin.

9 Hear this, I pray you, ye heads of the house of Jacob, and princes of the house of Israel, that abhor judgement, and pervert all equity.

10 They build up Zion with blood, and Jerusalem with iniquity.

11 The heads thereof judge for reward, and the priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets thereof divine for money: yet will they lean upon the LORD, and say, Is not the LORD among us? none evil can come upon us.

12 Therefore shall Zion for your sake be plowed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of the forest.

MICAH CHAPTER 4

1 But in the last days it shall come to pass, that the mountain of the house of the LORD shall be established in the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills; and people shall flow unto it.

2 And many nations shall come, and say, Come, and let us go up to the mountain of the LORD, and to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for the law shall go forth of Zion, and the word of the LORD from Jerusalem.

3 And he shall judge among many people, and rebuke strong nations afar off; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.

4 But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree; and none shall make them afraid: for the mouth of the LORD of hosts hath spoken it.

5 For all people will walk every one in the name of his god, and we will walk in the name of the LORD our God for ever and ever.

6 In that day, saith the LORD, will I assemble her that halteth, and I will gather her that is driven out, and her that I have afflicted;

7 And I will make her that halted a remnant, and her that was cast far off a strong nation: and the LORD shall reign over them in mount Zion from henceforth, even for ever.

8 And thou, O tower of the flock, the strong hold of the daughter of Zion, unto thee shall it come, even the first dominion; the kingdom shall come to the daughter of Jerusalem.

9 Now why dost thou cry out aloud? is there no king in thee? is thy counsellor perished? for pangs have taken thee as a woman in travail.

10 Be in pain, and labour to bring forth, O daughter of Zion, like a woman in travail: for now shalt thou go forth out of the city, and thou shalt dwell in the field, and thou shalt go even to Babylon; there shalt thou be delivered; there the LORD shall redeem thee from the hand of thine enemies.

11 Now also many nations are gathered against thee, that say, Let her be defiled, and let our eye look upon Zion.

12 But they know not the thoughts of the LORD, neither understand they his counsel: for he shall gather them as the sheaves into the floor.

13 Arise and thresh, O daughter of Zion: for I will make thine horn iron, and I will make thy hoofs brass: and thou shalt beat in pieces many people: and I will consecrate their gain unto the LORD, and their substance unto the Lord of the whole earth.

MICAH CHAPTER 5

1 Now gather thyself in troops, O daughter of troops: he hath laid siege against us: they shall smite the judge of Israel with a rod upon the cheek.

2 But thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel; whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting.

3 Therefore will he give them up, until the time that she which travaileth hath brought forth: then the remnant of his brethren shall return unto the children of Israel.

4 And he shall stand and feed in the strength of the LORD, in the majesty of the name of the LORD his God; and they shall abide: for now shall he be great unto the ends of the earth.

5 And this man shall be the peace, when the Assyrian shall come into our land: and when he shall tread in our palaces, then shall we raise against him seven shepherds, and eight principal men.

6 And they shall waste the land of Assyria with the sword, and the land of Nimrod in the entrances thereof: thus shall he deliver us from the Assyrian, when he cometh into our land, and when he treadeth within our borders.

7 And the remnant of Jacob shall be in the midst of many people as a dew from the LORD, as the showers upon the grass, that tarrieth not for man, nor waiteth for the sons of men.

8 And the remnant of Jacob shall be among the Gentiles in the midst of many people as a lion among the beasts of the forest, as a young lion among the flocks of sheep: who, if he go through, both treadeth down, and teareth in pieces, and none can deliver.

9 Thine hand shall be lifted up upon thine adversaries, and all thine enemies shall be cut off.

10 And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the LORD, that I will cut off thy horses out of the midst of thee, and I will destroy thy chariots:

11 And I will cut off the cities of thy land, and throw down all thy strong holds:

12 And I will cut off witchcrafts out of thine hand; and thou shalt have no more soothsayers:

13 Thy graven images also will I cut off, and thy standing images out of the midst of thee; and thou shalt no more worship the work of thine hands.

14 And I will pluck up thy groves out of the midst of thee: so will I destroy thy cities.

15 And I will execute vengeance in anger and fury upon the heathen, such as they have not heard.

MICAH CHAPTER 6

1 Hear ye now what the LORD saith; Arise, contend thou before the mountains, and let the hills hear thy voice.

2 Hear ye, O mountains, the LORD's controversy, and ye strong foundations of the earth: for the LORD hath a controversy with his people, and he will plead with Israel.

3 O my people, what have I done unto thee? and wherein have I wearied thee? testify against me.

4 For I brought thee up out of the land of Egypt, and redeemed thee out of the house of servants; and I sent before thee Moses, Aaron, and Miriam.

5 O my people, remember now what Balak king of Moab consulted, and what Balaam the son of Beor answered him from Shittim unto Gilgal; that ye may know the righteousness of the LORD.

6 Wherewith shall I come before the LORD, and bow myself before the high God? shall I come before him with burnt offerings, with calves of a year old?

7 Will the LORD be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?

8 He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the LORD require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?

9 The LORD's voice crieth unto the city, and the man of wisdom shall see thy name: hear ye the rod, and who hath appointed it.

10 Are there yet the treasures of wickedness in the house of the wicked, and the scant measure that is abominable?

11 Shall I count them pure with the wicked balances, and with the bag of deceitful weights?

12 For the rich men thereof are full of violence, and the inhabitants thereof have spoken lies, and their tongue is deceitful in their mouth.

13 Therefore also will I make thee sick in smiting thee, in making thee desolate because of thy sins.

14 Thou shalt eat, but not be satisfied; and thy casting down shall be in the midst of thee; and thou shalt take hold, but shalt not deliver; and that which thou deliverest will I give up to the sword.

15 Thou shalt sow, but thou shalt not reap; thou shalt tread the olives, but thou shalt not anoint thee with oil; and sweet wine, but shalt not drink wine.

16 For the statutes of Omri are kept, and all the works of the house of Ahab, and ye walk in their counsels; that I should make thee a desolation, and the inhabitants thereof an hissing: therefore ye shall bear the reproach of my people.

MICAH CHAPTER 7

1 Woe is me! for I am as when they have gathered the summer fruits, as the grapegleanings of the vintage: there is no cluster to eat: my soul desired the firstripe fruit.

2 The good man is perished out of the earth: and there is none upright among men: they all lie in wait for blood; they hunt every man his brother with a net.

3 That they may do evil with both hands earnestly, the prince asketh, and the judge asketh for a reward; and the great man, he uttereth his mischievous desire: so they wrap it up.

4 The best of them is as a brier: the most upright is sharper than a thorn hedge: the day of thy watchmen and thy visitation cometh; now shall be their perplexity.

5 Trust ye not in a friend, put ye not confidence in a guide: keep the doors of thy mouth from her that lieth in thy bosom.

6 For the son dishonoureth the father, the daughter riseth up against her mother, the daughter in law against her mother in law; a man's enemies are the men of his own house.

7 Therefore I will look unto the LORD; I will wait for the God of my salvation: my God will hear me.

8 Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy: when I fall, I shall arise; when I sit in darkness, the LORD shall be a light unto me.

9 I will bear the indignation of the LORD, because I have sinned against him, until he plead my cause, and execute judgement for me: he will bring me forth to the light, and I shall behold his righteousness.

10 Then she that is mine enemy shall see it, and shame shall cover her which said unto me, Where is the LORD thy God? mine eyes shall behold her: now shall she be trodden down as the mire of the streets.

11 In the day that thy walls are to be built, in that day shall the decree be far removed.

12 In that day also he shall come even to thee from Assyria, and from the fortified cities, and from the fortress even to the river, and from sea to sea, and from mountain to mountain.

13 Notwithstanding the land shall be desolate because of them that dwell therein, for the fruit of their doings.

14 Feed thy people with thy rod, the flock of thine heritage, which dwell solitarily in the wood, in the midst of Carmel: let them feed in Bashan and Gilead, as in the days of old.

15 According to the days of thy coming out of the land of Egypt will I shew unto him marvellous things.

16 The nations shall see and be confounded at all their might: they shall lay their hand upon their mouth, their ears shall be deaf.

17 They shall lick the dust like a serpent, they shall move out of their holes like worms of the earth: they shall be afraid of the LORD our God, and shall fear because of thee.

18 Who is a God like unto thee, that pardoneth iniquity, and passeth by the transgression of the remnant of his heritage? he retaineth not his anger for ever, because he delighteth in mercy.

19 He will turn again, he will have compassion upon us; he will subdue our iniquities; and thou wilt cast all their sins into the depths of the sea.

20 Thou wilt perform the truth to Jacob, and the mercy to Abraham, which thou hast sworn unto our fathers from the days of old.

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET NAHUM

Hebrew title: Sefer Nakhum

Estimated Range of Dating: c. 7th century B.C.

(The Book of Nahum is the seventh book of the 12 minor prophets of the Hebrew Bible. It is attributed to the prophet Nahum. Not much is known about Nahum. His name means "comforter", and he was from the town of Elkosh or Alqosh (Nahum 1:1), which may have been a town of northern Galilee. The scholarly consensus is that the "book of vision" was written at the time of the fall of Nineveh at the hands of the Medes and Babylonians in 612 BC. This theory is demonstrated by the fact that the oracles must be dated after the Assyrian destruction of Thebes, Egypt in 663 BC, as this event is mentioned in Nahum 3:8.

In his book "Jewish Antiquities" [Books IX–XI.], Titus Flavius Josephus places Nahum during the reign of Jotham, while others place him in the beginning of the reign of Ahaz, Judah's next king, or even the latter half of the reign of Hezekiah, Ahaz's son. All three accounts date the book to the 8th century BC. The book would then have been written in Jerusalem, where Nahum would have witnessed the invasion of Sennacherib and the destruction of his host (2 Kings 19:35).

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The subject of Nahum's prophecy is the approaching complete and final destruction of Nineveh, the capital of the great and at that time flourishing Assyrian empire. Ashurbanipal was at the height of his glory. Nineveh was a city of vast extent, and was then the centre of the civilisation and commerce of the world, according to Nahum a "bloody city all full of lies and robbery" (Nahum 3:1), a reference to the Neo-Assyrian Empire's military campaigns and demand of tribute and plunder from conquered cities.

All conquered nations were full of hatred and Jonah had already uttered his message of warning, and Nahum was followed by Zephaniah, who also predicted (Zephaniah 2:4–15) the destruction of the city.

Nineveh was destroyed apparently by fire around 625 BC, and the Assyrian empire came to an end, an event which changed the face of Asia.

The Babylonian chronicle of the fall of Nineveh tells the story of the end of Nineveh. Nabopolassar of Babylon joined forces with Cyaxares, king of the Medes, and laid siege for three months. Assyria lasted a few more years after the loss of its fortress, but attempts by Egyptian Pharaoh Neco II to rally the Assyrians failed due to opposition from king Josiah of Judah, and it seemed to be all over by 609 BC.)

Archaeological digs have uncovered the splendour of Nineveh in its zenith under Sennacherib (705–681 BC), Esarhaddon (681–669 BC), and Ashurbanipal (669–633 BC). Massive walls were eight miles in circumference. It had a water aqueduct, palaces and a rich library with 20,000 clay tablets, including accounts of a creation in Enuma Elish and a flood in the Epic of Gilgamesh. They served once as blueprint for some of the most exciting narratives of the Tanakh.)

NAHUM CHAPTER 1

1 The burden of Nineveh. The book of the vision of Nahum the Elkoshite.

2 God is jealous, and the LORD revengeth; the LORD revengeth, and is furious; the LORD will take vengeance on his adversaries, and he reserveth wrath for his enemies.

3 The LORD is slow to anger, and great in power, and will not at all acquit the wicked: the LORD hath his way in the whirlwind and in the storm, and the clouds are the dust of his feet.

4 He rebuketh the sea, and maketh it dry, and drieth up all the rivers: Bashan languisheth, and Carmel, and the flower of Lebanon languisheth.

5 The mountains quake at him, and the hills melt, and the earth is burned at his presence, yea, the world, and all that dwell therein.

6 Who can stand before his indignation? and who can abide in the fierceness of his anger? his fury is poured out like fire, and the rocks are thrown down by him.

7 The LORD is good, a strong hold in the day of trouble; and he knoweth them that trust in him.

8 But with an overrunning flood he will make an utter end of the place thereof, and darkness shall pursue his enemies.

9 What do ye imagine against the LORD? he will make an utter end: affliction shall not rise up the second time.

10 For while they be folden together as thorns, and while they are drunken as drunkards, they shall be devoured as stubble fully dry.

11 There is one come out of thee, that imagineth evil against the LORD, a wicked counsellor.

12 Thus saith the LORD; Though they be quiet, and likewise many, yet thus shall they be cut down, when he shall pass through. Though I have afflicted thee, I will afflict thee no more.

13 For now will I break his yoke from off thee, and will burst thy bonds in sunder.

14 And the LORD hath given a commandment concerning thee, that no more of thy name be sown: out of the house of thy gods will I cut off the graven image and the molten image: I will make thy grave; for thou art vile.

15 Behold upon the mountains the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace! O Judah, keep thy solemn feasts, perform thy vows: for the wicked shall no more pass through thee; he is utterly cut off.

NAHUM CHAPTER 2

1 He that dasheth in pieces is come up before thy face: keep the munition, watch the way, make thy loins strong, fortify thy power mightily.

2 For the LORD hath turned away the excellency of Jacob, as the excellency of Israel: for the emptiers have emptied them out, and marred their vine branches.

3 The shield of his mighty men is made red, the valiant men are in scarlet: the chariots shall be with flaming torches in the day of his preparation, and the fir trees shall be terribly shaken.

4 The chariots shall rage in the streets, they shall justle one against another in the broad ways: they shall seem like torches, they shall run like the lightnings.

5 He shall recount his worthies: they shall stumble in their walk; they shall make haste to the wall thereof, and the defence shall be prepared.

6 The gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved.

7 And Huzzab shall be led away captive, she shall be brought up, and her maids shall lead her as with the voice of doves, tabering upon their breasts.

8 But Nineveh is of old like a pool of water: yet they shall flee away. Stand, stand, shall they cry; but none shall look back.

9 Take ye the spoil of silver, take the spoil of gold: for there is none end of the store and glory out of all the pleasant furniture.

10 She is empty, and void, and waste: and the heart melteth, and the knees smite together, and much pain is in all loins, and the faces of them all gather blackness.

11 Where is the dwelling of the lions, and the feedingplace of the young lions, where the lion, even the old lion, walked, and the lion's whelp, and none made them afraid?

12 The lion did tear in pieces enough for his whelps, and strangled for his lionesses, and filled his holes with prey, and his dens with ravin.

13 Behold, I am against thee, saith the LORD of hosts, and I will burn her chariots in the smoke, and the sword shall devour thy young lions: and I will cut off thy prey from the earth, and the voice of thy messengers shall no more be heard.

NAHUM CHAPTER 3

1 Woe to the bloody city! it is all full of lies and robbery; the prey departeth not;

2 The noise of a whip, and the noise of the rattling of the wheels, and of the pransing horses, and of the jumping chariots.

3 The horseman lifteth up both the bright sword and the glittering spear: and there is a multitude of slain, and a great number of carcases; and there is none end of their corpses; they stumble upon their corpses:

4 Because of the multitude of the whoredoms of the wellfavoured harlot, the mistress of witchcrafts, that selleth nations through her whoredoms, and families through her witchcrafts.

5 Behold, I am against thee, saith the LORD of hosts; and I will discover thy skirts upon thy face, and I will shew the nations thy nakedness, and the kingdoms thy shame.

6 And I will cast abominable filth upon thee, and make thee vile, and will set thee as a gazingstock.

7 And it shall come to pass, that all they that look upon thee shall flee from thee, and say, Nineveh is laid waste: who will bemoan her? whence shall I seek comforters for thee?

8 Art thou better than populous No, that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it, whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was from the sea?

9 Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite; Put and Lubim were thy helpers.

10 Yet was she carried away, she went into captivity: her young children also were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets: and they cast lots for her honourable men, and all her great men were bound in chains.

11 Thou also shalt be drunken: thou shalt be hid, thou also shalt seek strength because of the enemy.

12 All thy strong holds shall be like fig trees with the firstripe figs: if they be shaken, they shall even fall into the mouth of the eater.

13 Behold, thy people in the midst of thee are women: the gates of thy land shall be set wide open unto thine enemies: the fire shall devour thy bars.

14 Draw thee waters for the siege, fortify thy strong holds: go into clay, and tread the morter, make strong the brickkiln.

15 There shall the fire devour thee; the sword shall cut thee off, it shall eat thee up like the cankerworm: make thyself many as the cankerworm, make thyself many as the locusts.

16 Thou hast multiplied thy merchants above the stars of heaven: the cankerworm spoileth, and fleeth away.

17 Thy crowned are as the locusts, and thy captains as the great grasshoppers, which camp in the hedges in the cold day, but when the sun ariseth they flee away, and their place is not known where they are.

18 Thy shepherds slumber, O king of Assyria: thy nobles shall dwell in the dust: thy people is scattered upon the mountains, and no man gathereth them.

19 There is no healing of thy bruise; thy wound is grievous: all that hear the bruit of thee shall clap the hands over thee: for upon whom hath not thy wickedness passed continually?

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET HABAKKUK

Hebrew title: Sefer Havakuk

Estimated Range of Dating: c. 640–590 B.C.

(The Book of Habakkuk is the eighth book of the 12 minor prophets of the Bible. It is attributed to the prophet Habakkuk, and was probably composed between the 7th and the 6th centuries BC., not long before the Babylonians' siege and capture of Jerusalem in 586 BC. Of the three chapters in the book, the first two are a dialog between Yahweh and the prophet. A copy of these chapters is included in the Habakkuk Commentary, found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. Chapter 3 may be an independent addition, now recognised as a liturgical piece, but was possibly written by the same author as chapters 1 and 2.

Habakkuk identifies himself as a prophet in the opening verse. Due to the liturgical nature of the book of Habakkuk, there have been some scholars who think that the author may have been a temple prophet. Temple prophets are described in 1 Chronicles 25:1 as using lyres, harps and cymbals. Some feel that this is echoed in Habakkuk 3:19b, and that Habakkuk may have been a Levite and singer in the Temple. There is no biographical information on the prophet Habakkuk; in fact less is known about him than any other writer of the Bible. The only canonical information that exists comes from the book that is named for him. His name comes either from the Hebrew word khavak meaning "embrace" or else from an Akkadian word hambakuku for a kind of plant.

Although his name does not appear in any other part of the Jewish Bible, Rabbinic tradition holds Habakkuk to be the Shunammite woman's son, who was restored to life by Elisha in 2 Kings 4:16. The prophet Habakkuk is also mentioned in the narrative of Bel and the Dragon, part of the deuterocanonical additions to Daniel in a late section of that book. In the superscription of the Old Greek version, Habakkuk is called the son of Joshua of the tribe of Levi. In this book Habakkuk is lifted by an angel to Babylon to provide Daniel with some food while he is in the lion's den.

It is unknown when Habakkuk lived and preached, but the reference to the rise and advance of the Chaldeans (New Babylonians) in 1:6–11 places him in the middle to last quarter of the 7th century BC One possible period might be during the reign of Jehoiakim, from 609–598 BC. The reasoning for this date is that it is during his reign that the Neo-Babylonian Empire of the Chaldeans was growing in power. The Babylonians marched against Jerusalem in 598 BC. Jehoiakim died while the Babylonians were marching towards Jerusalem and Jehoiakim's eighteen-year-old son Jehoiachin assumed the throne. Upon the Babylonians' arrival, Jehoiachin and his advisors surrendered Jerusalem after a short time. With the transition of rulers and the young age and inexperience of Jehoiachin, they were not able to stand against Chaldean forces. There is a sense of an intimate knowledge of the Babylonian brutality in 1:12–17.)

HABAKKUK CHAPTER 1

1 The burden which Habakkuk the prophet did see.

2 O LORD, how long shall I cry, and thou wilt not hear! even cry out unto thee of violence, and thou wilt not save!

3 Why dost thou shew me iniquity, and cause me to behold grievance? for spoiling and violence are before me: and there are that raise up strife and contention.

4 Therefore the law is slacked, and judgement doth never go forth: for the wicked doth compass about the righteous; therefore wrong judgement proceedeth.

5 Behold ye among the heathen, and regard, and wonder marvelously: for I will work a work in your days which ye will not believe, though it be told you.

6 For, lo, I raise up the Chaldeans, that bitter and hasty nation, which shall march through the breadth of the land, to possess the dwellingplaces that are not their's.

7 They are terrible and dreadful: their judgement and their dignity shall proceed of themselves.

8 Their horses also are swifter than the leopards, and are more fierce than the evening wolves: and their horsemen shall spread themselves, and their horsemen shall come from far; they shall fly as the eagle that hasteth to eat.

9 They shall come all for violence: their faces shall sup up as the east wind, and they shall gather the captivity as the sand.

10 And they shall scoff at the kings, and the princes shall be a scorn unto them: they shall deride every strong hold; for they shall heap dust, and take it.

11 Then shall his mind change, and he shall pass over, and offend, imputing this his power unto his god.

12 Art thou not from everlasting, O LORD my God, mine Holy One? we shall not die. O LORD, thou hast ordained them for judgement; and, O mighty God, thou hast established them for correction.

13 Thou art of purer eyes than to behold evil, and canst not look on iniquity: wherefore lookest thou upon them that deal treacherously, and holdest thy tongue when the wicked devoureth the man that is more righteous than he?

14 And makest men as the fishes of the sea, as the creeping things, that have no ruler over them?

15 They take up all of them with the angle, they catch them in their net, and gather them in their drag: therefore they rejoice and are glad.

16 Therefore they sacrifice unto their net, and burn incense unto their drag; because by them their portion is fat, and their meat plenteous.

17 Shall they therefore empty their net, and not spare continually to slay the nations?

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HABAKKUK CHAPTER 2

1 I will stand upon my watch, and set me upon the tower, and will watch to see what he will say unto me, and what I shall answer when I am reproved.

2 And the LORD answered me, and said, Write the vision, and make it plain upon tables, that he may run that readeth it.

3 For the vision is yet for an appointed time, but at the end it shall speak, and not lie: though it tarry, wait for it; because it will surely come, it will not tarry.

4 Behold, his soul which is lifted up is not upright in him: but the just shall live by his faith.

5 Yea also, because he transgresseth by wine, he is a proud man, neither keepeth at home, who enlargeth his desire as hell, and is as death, and cannot be satisfied, but gathereth unto him all nations, and heapeth unto him all people:

6 Shall not all these take up a parable against him, and a taunting proverb against him, and say, Woe to him that increaseth that which is not his! how long? and to him that ladeth himself with thick clay!

7 Shall they not rise up suddenly that shall bite thee, and awake that shall vex thee, and thou shalt be for booties unto them?

8 Because thou hast spoiled many nations, all the remnant of the people shall spoil thee; because of men's blood, and for the violence of the land, of the city, and of all that dwell therein.

9 Woe to him that coveteth an evil covetousness to his house, that he may set his nest on high, that he may be delivered from the power of evil!

10 Thou hast consulted shame to thy house by cutting off many people, and hast sinned against thy soul.

11 For the stone shall cry out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber shall answer it.

12 Woe to him that buildeth a town with blood, and stablisheth a city by iniquity!

13 Behold, is it not of the LORD of hosts that the people shall labour in the very fire, and the people shall weary themselves for very vanity?

14 For the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the LORD, as the waters cover the sea.

15 Woe unto him that giveth his neighbour drink, that puttest thy bottle to him, and makest him drunken also, that thou mayest look on their nakedness!

16 Thou art filled with shame for glory: drink thou also, and let thy foreskin be uncovered: the cup of the LORD's right hand shall be turned unto thee, and shameful spewing shall be on thy glory.

17 For the violence of Lebanon shall cover thee, and the spoil of beasts, which made them afraid, because of men's blood, and for the violence of the land, of the city, and of all that dwell therein.

18 What profiteth the graven image that the maker thereof hath graven it; the molten image, and a teacher of lies, that the maker of his work trusteth therein, to make dumb idols?

19 Woe unto him that saith to the wood, Awake; to the dumb stone, Arise, it shall teach! Behold, it is laid over with gold and silver, and there is no breath at all in the midst of it.

20 But the LORD is in his holy temple: let all the earth keep silence before him.

HABAKKUK CHAPTER 3

1 A prayer of Habakkuk the prophet upon Shigionoth.

2 O LORD, I have heard thy speech, and was afraid: O LORD, revive thy work in the midst of the years, in the midst of the years make known; in wrath remember mercy.

3 God came from Teman, and the Holy One from mount Paran. Selah. His glory covered the heavens, and the earth was full of his praise.

4 And his brightness was as the light; he had horns coming out of his hand: and there was the hiding of his power.

5 Before him went the pestilence, and burning coals went forth at his feet.

6 He stood, and measured the earth: he beheld, and drove asunder the nations; and the everlasting mountains were scattered, the perpetual hills did bow: his ways are everlasting.

7 I saw the tents of Cushan in affliction: and the curtains of the land of Midian did tremble.

8 Was the LORD displeased against the rivers? was thine anger against the rivers? was thy wrath against the sea, that thou didst ride upon thine horses and thy chariots of salvation?

9 Thy bow was made quite naked, according to the oaths of the tribes, even thy word. Selah. Thou didst cleave the earth with rivers.

10 The mountains saw thee, and they trembled: the overflowing of the water passed by: the deep uttered his voice, and lifted up his hands on high.

11 The sun and moon stood still in their habitation: at the light of thine arrows they went, and at the shining of thy glittering spear.

12 Thou didst march through the land in indignation, thou didst thresh the heathen in anger.

13 Thou wentest forth for the salvation of thy people, even for salvation with thine anointed; thou woundedst the head out of the house of the wicked, by discovering the foundation unto the neck. Selah.

14 Thou didst strike through with his staves the head of his villages: they came out as a whirlwind to scatter me: their rejoicing was as to devour the poor secretly.

15 Thou didst walk through the sea with thine horses, through the heap of great waters.

16 When I heard, my belly trembled; my lips quivered at the voice: rottenness entered into my bones, and I trembled in myself, that I might rest in the day of trouble: when he cometh up unto the people, he will invade them with his troops.

17 Although the fig tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labour of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls:

18 Yet I will rejoice in the LORD, I will joy in the God of my salvation.

19 The LORD God is my strength, and he will make my feet like hinds' feet, and he will make me to walk upon mine high places. To the chief singer on my stringed instruments.

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET ZEPHANIAH
Hebrew title: Sefer Tsephanyah
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 580–540 B.C.

(The Book of Zephaniah (Hebrew: Tsfanya) is the ninth of the Twelve Minor Prophets, preceded by the Book of Habakkuk and followed by the Book of Haggai. Zephaniah means "Yahweh has hidden / protected," or "Yahweh hides". The book begins with: "The word of the Lord which came unto Zephaniah the son of Cushi, the son of Gedaliah, the son of Amariah, the son of Hizkiah [King Hezekiah], in the days of Josiah the son of Amon, king of Judah." That is all we know about Zephaniah.

However, the name "Cushi," is interesting. It was the name of Zephaniah's father and it means "Kushite". The text of Zephaniah mentions the sin and restoration of "Ethiopia." There is some confusion when it comes to the name "Ethiopia" in the Bible. Ethiopia here means "Nubia" [which is in today's Sudan] and refers to the ancient kingdom of Kush that had its centres around the 4th and 5th cataracts of the River Nile. Hezekiah's reign was between c. 715 and 686 BC.

The Kingdom of Kush survived longer than that of Egypt, invaded Egypt (under the leadership of King Piye), and controlled Egypt during the 8th century BC as the 25th Dynasty [744–656 BC] of Egypt.

Of the Nubian kings of this era, Taharka is perhaps the best known. A son and the third successor of the founding pharaoh, Piye, he was crowned in Memphis, Egypt c. 690. Taharka ruled over both Nubia and Egypt, restored Egyptian temples at Karnak, and built new temples and pyramids in Nubia before being driven from Lower Egypt by the Assyrians. Napata and Meroë were the capitals of Kush.

As with many of the other prophets, there is no external evidence to directly associate composition of the book with a prophet by the name of Zephaniah. Some scholars consider the words in Zephaniah to reflect a time early in the reign of King Josiah (640–609 BC) before his reforms of 622 BC took full effect, in which case the prophet may have been born during the reign of Manasseh (698/687–642 BC). Others agree that some portion of the book is postmonarchic, that is, dating to later than 586 BC when the Kingdom of Judah fell in the Siege of Jerusalem. Some who consider the book to have largely been written by a historical Zephaniah have suggested that he may have been a disciple of Isaiah because of the two books' similar focus on rampant corruption and injustice in Judah.)

ZEPHANIAH CHAPTER 1

1 The word of the LORD which came unto Zephaniah the son of Cushi, the son of Gedaliah, the son of Amariah, the son of Hizkiah, in the days of Josiah the son of Amon, king of Judah.

2 I will utterly consume all things from off the land, saith the LORD.

3 I will consume man and beast; I will consume the fowls of the heaven, and the fishes of the sea, and the stumbling blocks with the wicked: and I will cut off man from off the land, saith the LORD.

4 I will also stretch out mine hand upon Judah, and upon all the inhabitants of Jerusalem; and I will cut off the remnant of Baal from this place, and the name of the Chemarims with the priests;

5 And them that worship the host of heaven upon the housetops; and them that worship and that swear by the LORD, and that swear by Malcham;

6 And them that are turned back from the LORD; and those that have not sought the LORD, nor enquired for him.

7 Hold thy peace at the presence of the Lord GOD: for the day of the LORD is at hand: for the LORD hath prepared a sacrifice, he hath bid his guests.

8 And it shall come to pass in the day of the LORD's sacrifice, that I will punish the princes, and the king's children, and all such as are clothed with strange apparel.

9 In the same day also will I punish all those that leap on the threshold, which fill their masters' houses with violence and deceit.

10 And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the LORD, that there shall be the noise of a cry from the fish gate, and an howling from the second, and a great crashing from the hills.

11 Howl, ye inhabitants of Maktesh, for all the merchant people are cut down; all they that bear silver are cut off.

12 And it shall come to pass at that time, that I will search Jerusalem with candles, and punish the men that are settled on their lees: that say in their heart, The LORD will not do good, neither will he do evil.

13 Therefore their goods shall become a booty, and their houses a desolation: they shall also build houses, but not inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, but not drink the wine thereof.

14 The great day of the LORD is near, it is near, and hasteth greatly, even the voice of the day of the LORD: the mighty man shall cry there bitterly.

15 That day is a day of wrath, a day of trouble and distress, a day of wasteness and desolation, a day of darkness and gloominess, a day of clouds and thick darkness,

16 A day of the trumpet and alarm against the fenced cities, and against the high towers.

17 And I will bring distress upon men, that they shall walk like blind men, because they have sinned against the LORD: and their blood shall be poured out as dust, and their flesh as the dung.

18 Neither their silver nor their gold shall be able to deliver them in the day of the LORD's wrath; but the whole land shall be devoured by the fire of his jealousy: for he shall make even a speedy riddance of all them that dwell in the land.

ZEPHANIAH CHAPTER 2

1 Gather yourselves together, yea, gather together, O nation not desired;

2 Before the decree bring forth, before the day pass as the chaff, before the fierce anger of the LORD come upon you, before the day of the LORD's anger come upon you.

3 Seek ye the LORD, all ye meek of the earth, which have wrought his judgement; seek righteousness, seek meekness: it may be ye shall be hid in the day of the LORD's anger.

4 For Gaza shall be forsaken, and Ashkelon a desolation: they shall drive out Ashdod at the noon day, and Ekron shall be rooted up.

5 Woe unto the inhabitants of the sea coast, the nation of the Cherethites! the word of the LORD is against you; O Canaan, the land of the Philistines, I will even destroy thee, that there shall be no inhabitant.

6 And the sea coast shall be dwellings and cottages for shepherds, and folds for flocks.

7 And the coast shall be for the remnant of the house of Judah; they shall feed thereupon: in the houses of Ashkelon shall they lie down in the evening: for the LORD their God shall visit them, and turn away their captivity.

8 I have heard the reproach of Moab, and the revilings of the children of Ammon, whereby they have reproached my people, and magnified themselves against their border.

9 Therefore as I live, saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel, Surely Moab shall be as Sodom, and the children of Ammon as Gomorrah, even the breeding of nettles, and saltpits, and a perpetual desolation: the residue of my people shall spoil them, and the remnant of my people shall possess them.

10 This shall they have for their pride, because they have reproached and magnified themselves against the people of the LORD of hosts.

11 The LORD will be terrible unto them: for he will famish all the gods of the earth; and men shall worship him, every one from his place, even all the isles of the heathen.

12 Ye Ethiopians also, ye shall be slain by my sword.

13 And he will stretch out his hand against the north, and destroy Assyria; and will make Nineveh a desolation, and dry like a wilderness.

14 And flocks shall lie down in the midst of her, all the beasts of the nations: both the cormorant and the bittern shall lodge in the upper lintels of it; their voice shall sing in the windows; desolation shall be in the thresholds; for he shall uncover the cedar work.

15 This is the rejoicing city that dwelt carelessly, that said in her heart, I am, and there is none beside me: how is she become a desolation, a place for beasts to lie down in! every one that passeth by her shall hiss, and wag his hand.

ZEPHANIAH CHAPTER 3

1 Woe to her that is filthy and polluted, to the oppressing city!

2 She obeyed not the voice; she received not correction; she trusted not in the LORD; she drew not near to her God.

3 Her princes within her are roaring lions; her judges are evening wolves; they gnaw not the bones till the morrow.

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4 Her prophets are light and treacherous persons: her priests have polluted the sanctuary, they have done violence to the law.

5 The just LORD is in the midst thereof; he will not do iniquity: every morning doth he bring his judgement to light, he faileth not; but the unjust knoweth no shame.

6 I have cut off the nations: their towers are desolate; I made their streets waste, that none passeth by: their cities are destroyed, so that there is no man, that there is none inhabitant.

7 I said, Surely thou wilt fear me, thou wilt receive instruction; so their dwelling should not be cut off, howsoever I punished them: but they rose early, and corrupted all their doings.

8 Therefore wait ye upon me, saith the LORD, until the day that I rise up to the prey: for my determination is to gather the nations, that I may assemble the kingdoms, to pour upon them mine indignation, even all my fierce anger: for all the earth shall be devoured with the fire of my jealousy.

9 For then will I turn to the people a pure language, that they may all call upon the name of the LORD, to serve him with one consent.

10 From beyond the rivers of Ethiopia my suppliants, even the daughter of my dispersed, shall bring mine offering.

11 In that day shalt thou not be ashamed for all thy doings, wherein thou hast transgressed against me: for then I will take away out of the midst of thee them that rejoice in thy pride, and thou shalt no more be haughty because of my holy mountain.

12 I will also leave in the midst of thee an afflicted and poor people, and they shall trust in the name of the LORD.

13 The remnant of Israel shall not do iniquity, nor speak lies; neither shall a deceitful tongue be found in their mouth: for they shall feed and lie down, and none shall make them afraid.

14 Sing, O daughter of Zion; shout, O Israel; be glad and rejoice with all the heart, O daughter of Jerusalem.

15 The LORD hath taken away thy judgements, he hath cast out thine enemy: the king of Israel, even the LORD, is in the midst of thee: thou shalt not see evil any more.

16 In that day it shall be said to Jerusalem, Fear thou not: and to Zion, Let not thine hands be slack.

17 The LORD thy God in the midst of thee is mighty; he will save, he will rejoice over thee with joy; he will rest in his love, he will joy over thee with singing.

18 I will gather them that are sorrowful for the solemn assembly, who are of thee, to whom the reproach of it was a burden.

19 Behold, at that time I will undo all that afflict thee: and I will save her that halteth, and gather her that was driven out; and I will get them praise and fame in every land where they have been put to shame.

20 At that time will I bring you again, even in the time that I gather you: for I will make you a name and a praise among all people of the earth, when I turn back your captivity before your eyes, saith the LORD.

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET HAGGAI

Hebrew title: Sefer Khagai

Estimated Range of Dating: c. 520 B.C.

(The Book of Haggai, also known as the Book of Aggeus, is a book of the Hebrew Bible or Tanakh, and has its place as the third-to-last of the Minor Prophets. It is a short book, consisting of only two chapters. The Book of Haggai was written in 520 BC, some 18 years after Cyrus had conquered Babylon and issued a decree in 538 BC, allowing the captive Jews to return to Judea. The Book of Haggai is named after its presumed author, the prophet Haggai. There is no biographical information given about the prophet in the Book of Haggai. Haggai's name is derived from the Hebrew verbal root h-g-g, which means "to make a pilgrimage." Haggai's name might come from his single-minded effort to bring about the reconstruction of that destination of ancient Judean pilgrims, the Temple in Jerusalem.

Haggai's message is filled with an urgency for the people to proceed with the rebuilding of the second Jerusalem temple. Haggai attributes a recent drought to the people's refusal to rebuild the temple, which he sees as key to Jerusalem's glory. The book ends with the prediction of the downfall of kingdoms, with one Zerubbabel, governor of Judah, as the Lord's chosen leader. [According to the biblical narrative, Zerubbabel was a governor of the Achaemenid Persian Empire's province Yehud Medinata [Judah] and the grandson of Jeconiah, penultimate king of Judah. Zerubbabel led the first group of Jews, numbering 42,360, who returned from the Babylonian captivity in the first year of Cyrus the Great, the king of the Achaemenid Empire. The date is generally thought to have been between 538 and 520 BC. Zerubbabel also laid the foundation of the Second Temple in Jerusalem soon after.]

The first chapter contains the first address (2–11) and its effects (12–15).

The second chapter contains:

1. The second prophecy (1–9), which was delivered a month after the first

2. The third prophecy (10–19), delivered two months and three days after the second; and

3. The fourth prophecy (20–23), delivered on the same day as the third

These discourses are referred to in Ezra 5:1 and 6:14. (Compare Haggai 2:7, 8 and 22)

Haggai [1:14–15] reports that three weeks after his first prophecy, the rebuilding of the Temple began in c. 521 BC and the Book of Ezra [6:15] indicates that it was finished in 516 BC. "The Temple was completed on the third day of the month Adar, in the sixth year of the reign of King Darius.")

HAGGAI CHAPTER 1

1 In the second year of Darius the king, in the sixth month, in the first day of the month, came the word of the LORD by Haggai the prophet unto Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, governor of Judah, and to Joshua the son of Josedech, the high priest, saying,

2 Thus speaketh the LORD of hosts, saying, This people say, The time is not come, the time that the LORD's house should be built.

3 Then came the word of the LORD by Haggai the prophet, saying,

4 Is it time for you, O ye, to dwell in your cieled houses, and this house lie waste?

5 Now therefore thus saith the LORD of hosts; Consider your ways.

6 Ye have sown much, and bring in little; ye eat, but ye have not enough; ye drink, but ye are not filled with drink; ye clothe you, but there is none warm; and he that earneth wages earneth wages to put it into a bag with holes.

7 Thus saith the LORD of hosts; Consider your ways.

8 Go up to the mountain, and bring wood, and build the house; and I will take pleasure in it, and I will be glorified, saith the LORD.

9 Ye looked for much, and, lo it came to little; and when ye brought it home, I did blow upon it. Why? saith the LORD of hosts. Because of mine house that is waste, and ye run every man unto his own house.

10 Therefore the heaven over you is stayed from dew, and the earth is stayed from her fruit.

11 And I called for a drought upon the land, and upon the mountains, and upon the corn, and upon the new wine, and upon the oil, and upon that which the ground bringeth forth, and upon men, and upon cattle, and upon all the labour of the hands.

12 Then Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, and Joshua the son of Josedech, the high priest, with all the remnant of the people, obeyed the voice of the LORD their God, and the words of Haggai the prophet, as the LORD their God had sent him, and the people did fear before the LORD.

13 Then spake Haggai the LORD's messenger in the LORD's message unto the people, saying, I am with you, saith the LORD.

14 And the LORD stirred up the spirit of Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, governor of Judah, and the spirit of Joshua the son of Josedech, the high priest, and the spirit of all the remnant of the people; and they came and did work in the house of the LORD of hosts, their God,

15 In the four and twentieth day of the sixth month, in the second year of Darius the king.

HAGGAI CHAPTER 2

1 In the seventh month, in the one and twentieth day of the month, came the word of the LORD by the prophet Haggai, saying,

2 Speak now to Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, governor of Judah, and to Joshua the son of Josedech, the high priest, and to the residue of the people, saying,

3 Who is left among you that saw this house in her first glory? and how do ye see it now? is it not in your eyes in comparison of it as nothing?

4 Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the LORD; and be strong, O Joshua, son of Josedech, the high priest; and be strong, all ye people of the land, saith the LORD, and work: for I am with you, saith the LORD of hosts:

5 According to the word that I covenanted with you when ye came out of Egypt, so my spirit remaineth among you: fear ye not.

6 For thus saith the LORD of hosts; Yet once, it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land;

7 And I will shake all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come: and I will fill this house with glory, saith the LORD of hosts.

8 The silver is mine, and the gold is mine, saith the LORD of hosts.

9 The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former, saith the LORD of hosts: and in this place will I give peace, saith the LORD of hosts.

10 In the four and twentieth day of the ninth month, in the second year of Darius, came the word of the LORD by Haggai the prophet, saying,

11 Thus saith the LORD of hosts; Ask now the priests concerning the law, saying,

12 If one bear holy flesh in the skirt of his garment, and with his skirt do touch bread, or pottage, or wine, or oil, or any meat, shall it be holy? And the priests answered and said, No.

13 Then said Haggai, If one that is unclean by a dead body touch any of these, shall it be unclean? And the priests answered and said, It shall be unclean.

14 Then answered Haggai, and said, So is this people, and so is this nation before me, saith the LORD; and so is every work of their hands; and that which they offer there is unclean.

15 And now, I pray you, consider from this day and upward, from before a stone was laid upon a stone in the temple of the LORD:

16 Since those days were, when one came to an heap of twenty measures, there were but ten: when one came to the pressfat for to draw out fifty vessels out of the press, there were but twenty.

17 I smote you with blasting and with mildew and with hail in all the labours of your hands; yet ye turned not to me, saith the LORD.

18 Consider now from this day and upward, from the four and twentieth day of the ninth month, even from the day that the foundation of the LORD's temple was laid, consider it.

19 Is the seed yet in the barn? yea, as yet the vine, and the fig tree, and the pomegranate, and the olive tree, hath not brought forth: from this day will I bless you.

20 And again the word of the LORD came unto Haggai in the four and twentieth day of the month, saying,

21 Speak to Zerubbabel, governor of Judah, saying, I will shake the heavens and the earth;

22 And I will overthrow the throne of kingdoms, and I will destroy the strength of the kingdoms of the heathen; and I will overthrow the chariots, and those that ride in them; and the horses and their riders shall come down, every one by the sword of his brother.

23 In that day, saith the LORD of hosts, will I take thee, O Zerubbabel, my servant, the son of Shealtiel, saith the LORD, and will make thee as a signet: for I have chosen thee, saith the LORD of hosts.

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET ZECHARIAH

Hebrew title: Sefer Zekharyah

Estimated Range of Dating: c. 520–518 BC

(The Book of Zechariah, attributed to the Hebrew prophet Zechariah, is included in the Twelve Minor Prophets in the Hebrew Bible. The name "Zechariah" means "God remembered." Not much is known about Zechariah's life other than what may be inferred from the book. It has been speculated that his grandfather Iddo was the head of a priestly family who returned with Zerubbabel, and that Zechariah may himself have been a priest as well as a prophet. This is supported by Zechariah's interest in the Temple and the priesthood, and from Iddo's preaching in the Books of Chronicles.

The Book of Zechariah was written by at least two different people. Zechariah 1–8, sometimes referred to as First Zechariah, was written in the 6th century BC. Zechariah 9–14, often called Second Zechariah, contains within the text no datable references to specific events or individuals but most scholars give the text a date in the fifth century BC.

Second Zechariah, probably written by a disciple of Zechariah, appears to make use of the books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, the Deuteronomistic History, and the themes from First Zechariah.

Contents and Structure:

Chapters 1 to 6

The book begins with a preface, which recalls the nation's history, for the purpose of presenting a solemn warning to the present generation. Then follows a series of eight visions, succeeding one another in one night, which may be regarded as a symbolical history of Israel, intended to furnish consolation to the returned exiles and stir up hope in their minds. The symbolic action, the crowning of Joshua, describes how the kingdoms of the world become the kingdom of God's Messiah.

Chapters 7 and 8

Chapters Zechariah 7 and Zechariah 8, written two years later, are an answer to the question whether the days of mourning for the destruction of the city should be kept any longer, and an encouraging address to the people, assuring them of God's presence and blessing.

Chapters 9 to 11 [sometimes called 'The First Oracle] tell of a future time when the nations around them would be destroyed by an army, but Jerusalem would be kept from destruction. The coming of a Messiah is mentioned here [a Jewish teaching that craves for firm leadership].

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Chapters 12 to 14 [sometimes called 'The Second Oracle] tell about the glories that await Israel in "the latter day", the final conflict and triumph of God's kingdom.)

ZECHARIAH CHAPTER 1

1 In the eighth month, in the second year of Darius, came the word of the LORD unto Zechariah, the son of Berechiah, the son of Iddo the prophet, saying,

2 The LORD hath been sore displeased with your fathers.

3 Therefore say thou unto them, Thus saith the LORD of hosts; Turn ye unto me, saith the LORD of hosts, and I will turn unto you, saith the LORD of hosts.

4 Be ye not as your fathers, unto whom the former prophets have cried, saying, Thus saith the LORD of hosts; Turn ye now from your evil ways, and from your evil doings: but they did not hear, nor hearken unto me, saith the LORD.

5 Your fathers, where are they? and the prophets, do they live for ever?

6 But my words and my statutes, which I commanded my servants the prophets, did they not take hold of your fathers? and they returned and said, Like as the LORD of hosts thought to do unto us, according to our ways, and according to our doings, so hath he dealt with us.

7 Upon the four and twentieth day of the eleventh month, which is the month Sebat, in the second year of Darius, came the word of the LORD unto Zechariah, the son of Berechiah, the son of Iddo the prophet, saying,

8 I saw by night, and behold a man riding upon a red horse, and he stood among the myrtle trees that were in the bottom; and behind him were there red horses, speckled, and white.

9 Then said I, O my lord, what are these? And the angel that talked with me said unto me, I will shew thee what these be.

10 And the man that stood among the myrtle trees answered and said, These are they whom the LORD hath sent to walk to and fro through the earth.

11 And they answered the angel of the LORD that stood among the myrtle trees, and said, We have walked to and fro through the earth, and, behold, all the earth sitteth still, and is at rest.

12 Then the angel of the LORD answered and said, O LORD of hosts, how long wilt thou not have mercy on Jerusalem and on the cities of Judah, against which thou hast had indignation these threescore and ten years?

13 And the LORD answered the angel that talked with me with good words and comfortable words.

14 So the angel that communed with me said unto me, Cry thou, saying, Thus saith the LORD of hosts; I am jealous for Jerusalem and for Zion with a great jealousy.

15 And I am very sore displeased with the heathen that are at ease: for I was but a little displeased, and they helped forward the affliction.

16 Therefore thus saith the LORD; I am returned to Jerusalem with mercies: my house shall be built in it, saith the LORD of hosts, and a line shall be stretched forth upon Jerusalem.

17 Cry yet, saying, Thus saith the LORD of hosts; My cities through prosperity shall yet be spread abroad; and the LORD shall yet comfort Zion, and shall yet choose Jerusalem.

18 Then lifted I up mine eyes, and saw, and behold four horns.

19 And I said unto the angel that talked with me, What be these? And he answered me, These are the horns which have scattered Judah, Israel, and Jerusalem.

20 And the LORD shewed me four carpenters.

21 Then said I, What come these to do? And he spake, saying, These are the horns which have scattered Judah, so that no man did lift up his head: but these are come to fray them, to cast out the horns of the Gentiles, which lifted up their horn over the land of Judah to scatter it.

ZECHARIAH CHAPTER 2

1 I lifted up mine eyes again, and looked, and behold a man with a measuring line in his hand.

2 Then said I, Whither goest thou? And he said unto me, To measure Jerusalem, to see what is the breadth thereof, and what is the length thereof.

3 And, behold, the angel that talked with me went forth, and another angel went out to meet him,

4 And said unto him, Run, speak to this young man, saying, Jerusalem shall be inhabited as towns without walls for the multitude of men and cattle therein:

5 For I, saith the LORD, will be unto her a wall of fire round about, and will be the glory in the midst of her.

6 Ho, ho, come forth, and flee from the land of the north, saith the LORD: for I have spread you abroad as the four winds of the heaven, saith the LORD.

7 Deliver thyself, O Zion, that dwellest with the daughter of Babylon.

8 For thus saith the LORD of hosts; After the glory hath he sent me unto the nations which spoiled you: for he that toucheth you toucheth the apple of his eye.

9 For, behold, I will shake mine hand upon them, and they shall be a spoil to their servants: and ye shall know that the LORD of hosts hath sent me.

10 Sing and rejoice, O daughter of Zion: for, lo, I come, and I will dwell in the midst of thee, saith the LORD.

11 And many nations shall be joined to the LORD in that day, and shall be my people: and I will dwell in the midst of thee, and thou shalt know that the LORD of hosts hath sent me unto thee.

12 And the LORD shall inherit Judah his portion in the holy land, and shall choose Jerusalem again.

13 Be silent, O all flesh, before the LORD: for he is raised up out of his holy habitation.

ZECHARIAH CHAPTER 3

1 And he shewed me Joshua the high priest standing before the angel of the LORD, and Satan standing at his right hand to resist him.

2 And the LORD said unto Satan, The LORD rebuke thee, O Satan; even the LORD that hath chosen Jerusalem rebuke thee: is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?

3 Now Joshua was clothed with filthy garments, and stood before the angel.

4 And he answered and spake unto those that stood before him, saying, Take away the filthy garments from him. And unto him he said, Behold, I have caused thine iniquity to pass from thee, and I will clothe thee with change of raiment.

5 And I said, Let them set a fair mitre upon his head. So they set a fair mitre upon his head, and clothed him with garments. And the angel of the LORD stood by.

6 And the angel of the LORD protested unto Joshua, saying,

7 Thus saith the LORD of hosts; If thou wilt walk in my ways, and if thou wilt keep my charge, then thou shalt also judge my house, and shalt also keep my courts, and I will give thee places to walk among these that stand by.

8 Hear now, O Joshua the high priest, thou, and thy fellows that sit before thee: for they are men wondered at: for, behold, I will bring forth my servant the BRANCH.

9 For behold the stone that I have laid before Joshua; upon one stone shall be seven eyes: behold, I will engrave the graving thereof, saith the LORD of hosts, and I will remove the iniquity of that land in one day.

10 In that day, saith the LORD of hosts, shall ye call every man his neighbour under the vine and under the fig tree.

ZECHARIAH CHAPTER 4

1 And the angel that talked with me came again, and waked me, as a man that is wakened out of his sleep.

2 And said unto me, What seest thou? And I said, I have looked, and behold a candlestick all of gold, with a bowl upon the top of it, and his seven lamps thereon, and seven pipes to the seven lamps, which are upon the top thereof:

3 And two olive trees by it, one upon the right side of the bowl, and the other upon the left side thereof.

4 So I answered and spake to the angel that talked with me, saying, What are these, my lord?

5 Then the angel that talked with me answered and said unto me, Knowest thou not what these be? And I said, No, my lord.

6 Then he answered and spake unto me, saying, This is the word of the LORD unto Zerubbabel, saying, Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the LORD of hosts.

7 Who art thou, O great mountain? before Zerubbabel thou shalt become a plain: and he shall bring forth the headstone thereof with shoutings, crying, Grace, grace unto it.

8 Moreover the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

9 The hands of Zerubbabel have laid the foundation of this house; his hands shall also finish it; and thou shalt know that the LORD of hosts hath sent me unto you.

10 For who hath despised the day of small things? for they shall rejoice, and shall see the plummet in the hand of Zerubbabel with those seven; they are the eyes of the LORD, which run to and fro through the whole earth.

11 Then answered I, and said unto him, What are these two olive trees upon the right side of the candlestick and upon the left side thereof?

12 And I answered again, and said unto him, What be these two olive branches which through the two golden pipes empty the golden oil out of themselves?

13 And he answered me and said, Knowest thou not what these be? And I said, No, my lord.

14 Then said he, These are the two anointed ones, that stand by the LORD of the whole earth.

ZECHARIAH CHAPTER 5

1 Then I turned, and lifted up mine eyes, and looked, and behold a flying roll.

2 And he said unto me, What seest thou? And I answered, I see a flying roll; the length thereof is twenty cubits, and the breadth thereof ten cubits.

3 Then said he unto me, This is the curse that goeth forth over the face of the whole earth: for every one that stealeth shall be cut off as on this side according to it; and every one that sweareth shall be cut off as on that side according to it.

4 I will bring it forth, saith the LORD of hosts, and it shall enter into the house of the thief, and into the house of him that sweareth falsely by my name: and it shall remain in the midst of his house, and shall consume it with the timber thereof and the stones thereof.

5 Then the angel that talked with me went forth, and said unto me, Lift up now thine eyes, and see what is this that goeth forth.

6 And I said, What is it? And he said, This is an ephah that goeth forth. He said moreover, This is their resemblance through all the earth.

7 And, behold, there was lifted up a talent of lead: and this is a woman that sitteth in the midst of the ephah.

8 And he said, This is wickedness. And he cast it into the midst of the ephah; and he cast the weight of lead upon the mouth thereof.

9 Then lifted I up mine eyes, and looked, and, behold, there came out two women, and the wind was in their wings; for they had wings like the wings of a stork: and they lifted up the ephah between the earth and the heaven.

10 Then said I to the angel that talked with me, Whither do these bear the ephah?

11 And he said unto me, To build it an house in the land of Shinar: and it shall be established, and set there upon her own base.

ZECHARIAH CHAPTER 6

1 And I turned, and lifted up mine eyes, and looked, and, behold, there came four chariots out from between two mountains; and the mountains were mountains of brass.

2 In the first chariot were red horses; and in the second chariot black horses;

3 And in the third chariot white horses; and in the fourth chariot grisled and bay horses.

4 Then I answered and said unto the angel that talked with me, What are these, my lord?

5 And the angel answered and said unto me, These are the four spirits of the heavens, which go forth from standing before the LORD of all the earth.

6 The black horses which are therein go forth into the north country; and the white go forth after them; and the grisled go forth toward the south country.

7 And the bay went forth, and sought to go that they might walk to and fro through the earth: and he said, Get you hence, walk to and fro through the earth. So they walked to and fro through the earth.

8 Then cried he upon me, and spake unto me, saying, Behold, these that go toward the north country have quieted my spirit in the north country.

9 And the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

10 Take of them of the captivity, even of Heldai, of Tobijah, and of Jedaiah, which are come from Babylon, and come thou the same day, and go into the house of Josiah the son of Zephaniah;

11 Then take silver and gold, and make crowns, and set them upon the head of Joshua the son of Josedech, the high priest;

12 And speak unto him, saying, Thus speaketh the LORD of hosts, saying, Behold the man whose name is The BRANCH; and he shall grow up out of his place, and he shall build the temple of the LORD:

13 Even he shall build the temple of the LORD; and he shall bear the glory, and shall sit and rule upon his throne; and he shall be a priest upon his throne: and the counsel of peace shall be between them both.

14 And the crowns shall be to Helem, and to Tobijah, and to Jedaiah, and to Hen the son of Zephaniah, for a memorial in the temple of the LORD.

15 And they that are far off shall come and build in the temple of the LORD, and ye shall know that the LORD of hosts hath sent me unto you. And this shall come to pass, if ye will diligently obey the voice of the LORD your God.

ZECHARIAH CHAPTER 7

1 And it came to pass in the fourth year of king Darius, that the word of the LORD came unto Zechariah in the fourth day of the ninth month, even in Chisleu;

2 When they had sent unto the house of God Sherezer and Regemmelech, and their men, to pray before the LORD,

3 And to speak unto the priests which were in the house of the LORD of hosts, and to the prophets, saying, Should I weep in the fifth month, separating myself, as I have done these so many years?

4 Then came the word of the LORD of hosts unto me, saying,

5 Speak unto all the people of the land, and to the priests, saying, When ye fasted and mourned in the fifth and seventh month, even those seventy years, did ye at all fast unto me, even to me?

6 And when ye did eat, and when ye did drink, did not ye eat for yourselves, and drink for yourselves?

7 Should ye not hear the words which the LORD hath cried by the former prophets, when Jerusalem was inhabited and in prosperity, and the cities thereof round about her, when men inhabited the south and the plain?

8 And the word of the LORD came unto Zechariah, saying,

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9 Thus speaketh the LORD of hosts, saying, Execute true judgement, and shew mercy and compassions every man to his brother:

10 And oppress not the widow, nor the fatherless, the stranger, nor the poor; and let none of you imagine evil against his brother in your heart.

11 But they refused to hearken, and pulled away the shoulder, and stopped their ears, that they should not hear.

12 Yea, they made their hearts as an adamant stone, lest they should hear the law, and the words which the LORD of hosts hath sent in his spirit by the former prophets: therefore came a great wrath from the LORD of hosts.

13 Therefore it is come to pass, that as he cried, and they would not hear; so they cried, and I would not hear, saith the LORD of hosts:

14 But I scattered them with a whirlwind among all the nations whom they knew not. Thus the land was desolate after them, that no man passed through nor returned: for they laid the pleasant land desolate.

ZECHARIAH CHAPTER 8

1 Again the word of the LORD of hosts came to me, saying,

2 Thus saith the LORD of hosts; I was jealous for Zion with great jealousy, and I was jealous for her with great fury.

3 Thus saith the LORD; I am returned unto Zion, and will dwell in the midst of Jerusalem: and Jerusalem shall be called a city of truth; and the mountain of the LORD of hosts the holy mountain.

4 Thus saith the LORD of hosts; There shall yet old men and old women dwell in the streets of Jerusalem, and every man with his staff in his hand for very age.

5 And the streets of the city shall be full of boys and girls playing in the streets thereof.

6 Thus saith the LORD of hosts; If it be marvellous in the eyes of the remnant of this people in these days, should it also be marvellous in mine eyes? saith the LORD of hosts.

7 Thus saith the LORD of hosts; Behold, I will save my people from the east country, and from the west country;

8 And I will bring them, and they shall dwell in the midst of Jerusalem: and they shall be my people, and I will be their God, in truth and in righteousness.

9 Thus saith the LORD of hosts; Let your hands be strong, ye that hear in these days these words by the mouth of the prophets, which were in the day that the foundation of the house of the LORD of hosts was laid, that the temple might be built.

10 For before these days there was no hire for man, nor any hire for beast; neither was there any peace to him that went out or came in because of the affliction: for I set all men every one against his neighbour.

11 But now I will not be unto the residue of this people as in the former days, saith the LORD of hosts.

12 For the seed shall be prosperous; the vine shall give her fruit, and the ground shall give her increase, and the heavens shall give their dew; and I will cause the remnant of this people to possess all these things.

13 And it shall come to pass, that as ye were a curse among the heathen, O house of Judah, and house of Israel; so will I save you, and ye shall be a blessing: fear not, but let your hands be strong.

14 For thus saith the LORD of hosts; As I thought to punish you, when your fathers provoked me to wrath, saith the LORD of hosts, and I repented not:

15 So again have I thought in these days to do well unto Jerusalem and to the house of Judah: fear ye not.

16 These are the things that ye shall do; Speak ye every man the truth to his neighbour; execute the judgement of truth and peace in your gates:

17 And let none of you imagine evil in your hearts against his neighbour; and love no false oath: for all these are things that I hate, saith the LORD.

18 And the word of the LORD of hosts came unto me, saying,

19 Thus saith the LORD of hosts; The fast of the fourth month, and the fast of the fifth, and the fast of the seventh, and the fast of the tenth, shall be to the house of Judah joy and gladness, and cheerful feasts; therefore love the truth and peace.

20 Thus saith the LORD of hosts; It shall yet come to pass, that there shall come people, and the inhabitants of many cities:

21 And the inhabitants of one city shall go to another, saying, Let us go speedily to pray before the LORD, and to seek the LORD of hosts: I will go also.

22 Yea, many people and strong nations shall come to seek the LORD of hosts in Jerusalem, and to pray before the LORD.

23 Thus saith the LORD of hosts; In those days it shall come to pass, that ten men shall take hold out of all languages of the nations, even shall take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, We will go with you: for we have heard that God is with you.

ZECHARIAH CHAPTER 9

1 The burden of the word of the LORD in the land of Hadrach, and Damascus shall be the rest thereof: when the eyes of man, as of all the tribes of Israel, shall be toward the LORD.

2 And Hamath also shall border thereby; Tyrus, and Zidon, though it be very wise.

3 And Tyrus did build herself a strong hold, and heaped up silver as the dust, and fine gold as the mire of the streets.

4 Behold, the LORD will cast her out, and he will smite her power in the sea; and she shall be devoured with fire.

5 Ashkelon shall see it, and fear; Gaza also shall see it, and be very sorrowful, and Ekron; for her expectation shall be ashamed; and the king shall perish from Gaza, and Ashkelon shall not be inhabited.

6 And a bastard shall dwell in Ashdod, and I will cut off the pride of the Philistines.

7 And I will take away his blood out of his mouth, and his abominations from between his teeth: but he that remaineth, even he, shall be for our God, and he shall be as a governor in Judah, and Ekron as a Jebusite.

8 And I will encamp about mine house because of the army, because of him that passeth by, and because of him that returneth: and no oppressor shall pass through them any more: for now have I seen with mine eyes.

9 Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold, thy King cometh unto thee: he is just, and having salvation; lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass.

10 And I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horse from Jerusalem, and the battle bow shall be cut off: and he shall speak peace unto the heathen: and his dominion shall be from sea even to sea, and from the river even to the ends of the earth.

11 As for thee also, by the blood of thy covenant I have sent forth thy prisoners out of the pit wherein is no water.

12 Turn you to the strong hold, ye prisoners of hope: even to day do I declare that I will render double unto thee;

13 When I have bent Judah for me, filled the bow with Ephraim, and raised up thy sons, O Zion, against thy sons, O Greece, and made thee as the sword of a mighty man.

14 And the LORD shall be seen over them, and his arrow shall go forth as the lightning: and the LORD God shall blow the trumpet, and shall go with whirlwinds of the south.

15 The LORD of hosts shall defend them; and they shall devour, and subdue with sling stones; and they shall drink, and make a noise as through wine; and they shall be filled like bowls, and as the corners of the altar.

16 And the LORD their God shall save them in that day as the flock of his people: for they shall be as the stones of a crown, lifted up as an ensign upon his land.

17 For how great is his goodness, and how great is his beauty! corn shall make the young men cheerful, and new wine the maids.

ZECHARIAH CHAPTER 10

1 Ask ye of the LORD rain in the time of the latter rain; so the LORD shall make bright clouds, and give them showers of rain, to every one grass in the field.

2 For the idols have spoken vanity, and the diviners have seen a lie, and have told false dreams; they comfort in vain: therefore they went their way as a flock, they were troubled, because there was no shepherd.

3 Mine anger was kindled against the shepherds, and I punished the goats: for the LORD of hosts hath visited his flock the house of Judah, and hath made them as his goodly horse in the battle.

4 Out of him came forth the corner, out of him the nail, out of him the battle bow, out of him every oppressor together.

5 And they shall be as mighty men, which tread down their enemies in the mire of the streets in the battle: and they shall fight, because the LORD is with them, and the riders on horses shall be confounded.

6 And I will strengthen the house of Judah, and I will save the house of Joseph, and I will bring them again to place them; for I have mercy upon them: and they shall be as though I had not cast them off: for I am the LORD their God, and will hear them.

7 And they of Ephraim shall be like a mighty man, and their heart shall rejoice as through wine: yea, their children shall see it, and be glad; their heart shall rejoice in the LORD.

8 I will hiss for them, and gather them; for I have redeemed them: and they shall increase as they have increased.

9 And I will sow them among the people: and they shall remember me in far countries; and they shall live with their children, and turn again.

10 I will bring them again also out of the land of Egypt, and gather them out of Assyria; and I will bring them into the land of Gilead and Lebanon; and place shall not be found for them.

11 And he shall pass through the sea with affliction, and shall smite the waves in the sea, and all the deeps of the river shall dry up: and the pride of Assyria shall be brought down, and the sceptre of Egypt shall depart away.

12 And I will strengthen them in the LORD; and they shall walk up and down in his name, saith the LORD.

ZECHARIAH CHAPTER 11

1 Open thy doors, O Lebanon, that the fire may devour thy cedars.

2 Howl, fir tree; for the cedar is fallen; because the mighty are spoiled: howl, O ye oaks of Bashan; for the forest of the vintage is come down.

3 There is a voice of the howling of the shepherds; for their glory is spoiled: a voice of the roaring of young lions; for the pride of Jordan is spoiled.

4 Thus saith the LORD my God; Feed the flock of the slaughter;

5 Whose possessors slay them, and hold themselves not guilty: and they that sell them say, Blessed be the LORD; for I am rich: and their own shepherds pity them not.

6 For I will no more pity the inhabitants of the land, saith the LORD: but, lo, I will deliver the men every one into his neighbour's hand, and into the hand of his king: and they shall smite the land, and out of their hand I will not deliver them.

7 And I will feed the flock of slaughter, even you, O poor of the flock. And I took unto me two staves; the one I called Beauty, and the other I called Bands; and I fed the flock.

8 Three shepherds also I cut off in one month; and my soul lothed them, and their soul also abhorred me.

9 Then said I, I will not feed you: that that dieth, let it die; and that that is to be cut off, let it be cut off; and let the rest eat every one the flesh of another.

10 And I took my staff, even Beauty, and cut it asunder, that I might break my covenant which I had made with all the people.

11 And it was broken in that day: and so the poor of the flock that waited upon me knew that it was the word of the LORD.

12 And I said unto them, If ye think good, give me my price; and if not, forbear. So they weighed for my price thirty pieces of silver.

13 And the LORD said unto me, Cast it unto the potter: a goodly price that I was prised at of them. And I took the thirty pieces of silver, and cast them to the potter in the house of the LORD.

14 Then I cut asunder mine other staff, even Bands, that I might break the brotherhood between Judah and Israel.

15 And the LORD said unto me, Take unto thee yet the instruments of a foolish shepherd.

16 For, lo, I will raise up a shepherd in the land, which shall not visit those that be cut off, neither shall seek the young one, nor heal that that is broken, nor feed that that standeth still: but he shall eat the flesh of the fat, and tear their claws in pieces.

17 Woe to the idol shepherd that leaveth the flock! the sword shall be upon his arm, and upon his right eye: his arm shall be clean dried up, and his right eye shall be utterly darkened.

ZECHARIAH CHAPTER 12

1 The burden of the word of the LORD for Israel, saith the LORD, which stretcheth forth the heavens, and layeth the foundation of the earth, and formeth the spirit of man within him.

2 Behold, I will make Jerusalem a cup of trembling unto all the people round about, when they shall be in the siege both against Judah and against Jerusalem.

3 And in that day will I make Jerusalem a burdensome stone for all people: all that burden themselves with it shall be cut in pieces, though all the people of the earth be gathered together against it.

4 In that day, saith the LORD, I will smite every horse with astonishment, and his rider with madness: and I will open mine eyes upon the house of Judah, and will smite every horse of the people with blindness.

5 And the governors of Judah shall say in their heart, The inhabitants of Jerusalem shall be my strength in the LORD of hosts their God.

6 In that day will I make the governors of Judah like an hearth of fire among the wood, and like a torch of fire in a sheaf; and they shall devour all the people round about, on the right hand and on the left: and Jerusalem shall be inhabited again in her own place, even in Jerusalem.

7 The LORD also shall save the tents of Judah first, that the glory of the house of David and the glory of the inhabitants of Jerusalem do not magnify themselves against Judah.

8 In that day shall the LORD defend the inhabitants of Jerusalem; and he that is feeble among them at that day shall be as David; and the house of David shall be as God, as the angel of the LORD before them.

9 And it shall come to pass in that day, that I will seek to destroy all the nations that come against Jerusalem.

10 And I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplications: and they shall look upon me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for

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his only son, and shall be in bitterness for him, as one that is in bitterness for his firstborn.

11 In that day shall there be a great mourning in Jerusalem, as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon.

12 And the land shall mourn, every family apart; the family of the house of David apart, and their wives apart; the family of the house of Nathan apart, and their wives apart;

13 The family of the house of Levi apart, and their wives apart; the family of Shimei apart, and their wives apart;

14 All the families that remain, every family apart, and their wives apart.

ZECHARIAH CHAPTER 13

1 In that day there shall be a fountain opened to the house of David and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem for sin and for uncleanness.

2 And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the LORD of hosts, that I will cut off the names of the idols out of the land, and they shall no more be remembered: and also I will cause the prophets and the unclean spirit to pass out of the land.

3 And it shall come to pass, that when any shall yet prophesy, then his father and his mother that begat him shall say unto him, Thou shalt not live; for thou speakest lies in the name of the LORD: and his father and his mother that begat him shall thrust him through when he prophesieth.

4 And it shall come to pass in that day, that the prophets shall be ashamed every one of his vision, when he hath prophesied; neither shall they wear a rough garment to deceive:

5 But he shall say, I am no prophet, I am an husbandman; for man taught me to keep cattle from my youth.

6 And one shall say unto him, What are these wounds in thine hands? Then he shall answer, Those with which I was wounded in the house of my friends.

7 Awake, O sword, against my shepherd, and against the man that is my fellow, saith the LORD of hosts: smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered: and I will turn mine hand upon the little ones.

8 And it shall come to pass, that in all the land, saith the LORD, two parts therein shall be cut off and die; but the third shall be left therein.

9 And I will bring the third part through the fire, and will refine them as silver is refined, and will try them as gold is tried: they shall call on my name, and I will hear them: I will say, It is my people: and they shall say, The LORD is my God.

ZECHARIAH CHAPTER 14

1 Behold, the day of the LORD cometh, and thy spoil shall be divided in the midst of thee.

2 For I will gather all nations against Jerusalem to battle; and the city shall be taken, and the houses rifled, and the women ravished; and half of the city shall go forth into captivity, and the residue of the people shall not be cut off from the city.

3 Then shall the LORD go forth, and fight against those nations, as when he fought in the day of battle.

4 And his feet shall stand in that day upon the mount of Olives, which is before Jerusalem on the east, and the mount of Olives shall cleave in the midst thereof toward the east and toward the west, and there shall be a very great valley; and half of the mountain shall remove toward the north, and half of it toward the south.

5 And ye shall flee to the valley of the mountains; for the valley of the mountains shall reach unto Azal: yea, ye shall flee, like as ye fled from before the earthquake in the days of Uzziah king of Judah: and the LORD my God shall come, and all the saints with thee.

6 And it shall come to pass in that day, that the light shall not be clear, nor dark:

7 But it shall be one day which shall be known to the LORD, not day, nor night: but it shall come to pass, that at evening time it shall be light.

8 And it shall be in that day, that living waters shall go out from Jerusalem; half of them toward the former sea, and half of them toward the hinder sea: in summer and in winter shall it be.

9 And the LORD shall be king over all the earth: in that day shall there be one LORD, and his name one.

10 All the land shall be turned as a plain from Geba to Rimmon south of Jerusalem: and it shall be lifted up, and inhabited in her place, from Benjamin's gate unto the place of the first gate, unto the corner gate, and from the tower of Hananeel unto the king's winepresses.

11 And men shall dwell in it, and there shall be no more utter destruction; but Jerusalem shall be safely inhabited.

12 And this shall be the plague wherewith the LORD will smite all the people that have fought against Jerusalem; Their flesh shall consume away while they stand upon their feet, and their eyes shall consume away in their holes, and their tongue shall consume away in their mouth.

13 And it shall come to pass in that day, that a great tumult from the LORD shall be among them; and they shall lay hold every one on the hand of his neighbour, and his hand shall rise up against the hand of his neighbour.

14 And Judah also shall fight at Jerusalem; and the wealth of all the heathen round about shall be gathered together, gold, and silver, and apparel, in great abundance.

15 And so shall be the plague of the horse, of the mule, of the camel, and of the ass, and of all the beasts that shall be in these tents, as this plague.

16 And it shall come to pass, that every one that is left of all the nations which came against Jerusalem shall even go up from year to year to worship the King, the LORD of hosts, and to keep the feast of tabernacles.

17 And it shall be, that whoso will not come up of all the families of the earth unto Jerusalem to worship the King, the LORD of hosts, even upon them shall be no rain.

18 And if the family of Egypt go not up, and come not, that have no rain; there shall be the plague, wherewith the LORD will smite the heathen that come not up to keep the feast of tabernacles.

19 This shall be the punishment of Egypt, and the punishment of all nations that come not up to keep the feast of tabernacles.

20 In that day shall there be upon the bells of the horses, HOLINESS UNTO THE LORD; and the pots in the LORD's house shall be like the bowls before the altar.

21 Yea, every pot in Jerusalem and in Judah shall be holiness unto the LORD of hosts: and all they that sacrifice shall come and take of them, and seethe therein: and in that day there shall be no more the Canaanite in the house of the LORD of hosts.

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET MALACHI

Hebrew title: Sefer Malakhiyah
Estimated Range of Dating: c.510–440 B.C.

(Malachi [or Malachias; Malahi, Malakhi] is the last book of the Neviim contained in the Tanakh, canonically the last of the Twelve Minor Prophets. In the Christian ordering, the grouping of the Prophetic Books is the last section of the Old Testament, making Malachi the last book before The New Testament.

This gives Christian Bible readers the false impression that after Malachi was a 500-years long gap called the "Intertestamental Period", with no writing activites at all, and the New Testament would then be continueing the once dropped writing traditions. This believe was desired by Christian Bible compilers [designated by Emperor Flavius Constantinus and his right-hand man Eusebius of Caesarea Maritima]. This is the reason why the Christian Old Testament differs from arrangement in the Hebrew Bible, although both have almost the same contents. Christian Church authorities wanted to point out by this arrangement, that the Jews [once the Christians' greatest rivals] were abandoned by God and the 'baton of faithfulness' had been passed over to the Christians. The silent removal of the Hebrew Deuterocanon from Protestant Bibles in 1885 had pretty much the same reasons as background.

The word "Malachi," is a title meaning "My Messenger" or simply "The Messenger". The title has been chosen because there is no author attributed to this book and it occurs in the superscription at 1:1. It is quite common that Semites use in their book titles the most significant-looking word from the first verse or line of the first chapter. One of the Targums identifies Ezra (or Esdras) as the author of Malachi. [The word Targum is Hebrew for interpretation, translation, version. Targums or Targumim were originally spoken translations of the Jewish scriptures that a professional interpreter would give in the common language of the listeners. This procedure had become necessary as Aramaic became the common language of the Jewish people in the centuries BC. Hebrew was only used for lithurgy and worship and it was not understood anymore.]

The book of Malachi is divided into three chapters in the Hebrew Bible and the Greek Septuagint and four chapters in the Latin Vulgate. The fourth chapter in the Vulgate consists of the remainder of the third chapter starting at verse 3:19.

There are very few historical details in the Book of Malachi. The greatest clue as to its dating may lie in the fact that the Persian-era term for governor (peha) is used in 1:8 of the Hebrew original. This points to a composition date after the Babylonian Exile (1st) because of the use of the Persian period term 'peha' and (2nd) because Judah had a king before the exile, not a governor. Since, in Malachi, the temple has already been rebuilt, the book must be composed later than 515 BC. Malachi was apparently known to the author of Ecclesiasticus early in the 2nd century BC. Because of the development of themes in the book of Malachi, most scholars assign it to a position after Haggai and Zechariah, close to the time when Ezra and Nehemiah came to Jerusalem in 445 BC.

The Book of Malachi was written to correct the lax religious and social behaviour of the Israelites – particularly the priests – in post-exilic Jerusalem. In 1:2, Malachi has the people of Israel question God's love for them. This introduction to the book illustrates the severity of the situation which Malachi addresses. The graveness of the situation is also indicated by the dialectical style with which Malachi confronts his audience. Malachi proceeds to accuse his audience of failing to respect God as God deserves.

In 2:1, Malachi states Yahweh Sabaoth is sending a curse on the priests who have not honored him with appropriate animal sacrifices: "Now, watch how I am going to paralyze your arm and throw dung in your face--the dung from your very solemnities--and sweep you away with it. Then you shall learn that it is I who have given you this warning of my intention to abolish my covenant with Levi, says Yahweh Sabaoth."

In 2:10, Malachi addresses the issue of divorce. On this topic, Malachi deals with divorce both as a social problem ("Why then are we faithless to one another ... ?" 2:10) and as a religious problem ("Judah ... has married the daughter of a foreign god" 2:11). In contrast to the book of Ezra, Malachi urges each to remain steadfast to the wife of his youth.

Malachi also criticises his audience for questioning God's justice. He reminds them that God is just, exhorting them to be faithful as they await that justice. Malachi quickly goes on to point out that the people have not been faithful. In fact, the people are not giving God all that God deserves. Just as the priests have been offering unacceptable sacrifices, so the people have been neglecting to offer their full tithe to God. The result of these shortcomings is that the people come to believe that no good comes out of serving God.

Malachi assures the faithful among his audience that in the eschaton, the differences between those who served God faithfully and those who did not will become clear. The book concludes by calling upon the teachings of Moses and by promising that Elijah will return prior to the Day of Yahweh. [The Last Judgement or The Day of the Lord (Hebrew: 'Day of Resurrection' or Arabic: 'Day of Judgement') is part of the eschatological world view of the Abrahamic religions and in the Frashokereti of Zoroastrianism.]

Primarily because of the following quote (3:1), the Book of Malachi is frequently referred to in the Christian New Testament: ""Behold, I am going to send My messenger, and he will clear the way for Me. And the Lord, whom you seek, will suddenly come to His temple; and the messenger of the covenant, in whom you delight, behold, He is coming,' says the LORD of hosts." Christians believe that the messianic prophecies of the Book of Malachi have been fulfilled in the life, ministry, transfiguration, death and resurrection of Jesus. Most Jews and Muslims continue to await the coming of the prophet Elijah who will prepare the way for the Lord.)

MALACHI CHAPTER 1

1 The burden of the word of the LORD to Israel by Malachi.

2 I have loved you, saith the LORD. Yet ye say, Wherein hast thou loved us? Was not Esau Jacob's brother? saith the LORD: yet I loved Jacob,

3 And I hated Esau, and laid his mountains and his heritage waste for the dragons of the wilderness.

4 Whereas Edom saith, We are impoverished, but we will return and build the desolate places; thus saith the LORD of hosts, They shall build, but I will throw down; and they shall call them, The border of wickedness, and, The people against whom the LORD hath indignation for ever.

5 And your eyes shall see, and ye shall say, The LORD will be magnified from the border of Israel.

6 A son honoureth his father, and a servant his master: if then I be a father, where is mine honour? and if I be a master, where is my fear? saith the LORD of hosts unto you, O priests, that despise my name. And ye say, Wherein have we despised thy name?

7 Ye offer polluted bread upon mine altar; and ye say, Wherein have we polluted thee? In that ye say, The table of the LORD is contemptible.

8 And if ye offer the blind for sacrifice, is it not evil? and if ye offer the lame and sick, is it not evil? offer it now unto thy governor; will he be pleased with thee, or accept thy person? saith the LORD of hosts.

9 And now, I pray you, beseech God that he will be gracious unto us: this hath been by your means: will he regard your persons? saith the LORD of hosts.

10 Who is there even among you that would shut the doors for nought? neither do ye kindle fire on mine altar for nought. I have no pleasure in you, saith the LORD of hosts, neither will I accept an offering at your hand.

11 For from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same my name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering: for my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the LORD of hosts.

12 But ye have profaned it, in that ye say, The table of the LORD is polluted; and the fruit thereof, even his meat, is contemptible.

13 Ye said also, Behold, what a weariness is it! and ye have snuffed at it, saith the LORD of hosts; and ye brought that which was torn, and the lame, and the sick; thus ye brought an offering: should I accept this of your hand? saith the LORD.

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14 But cursed be the deceiver, which hath in his flock a male, and voweth, and sacrificeth unto the LORD a corrupt thing: for I am a great King, saith the LORD of hosts, and my name is dreadful among the heathen.

MALACHI CHAPTER 2

1 And now, O ye priests, this commandment is for you.

2 If ye will not hear, and if ye will not lay it to heart, to give glory unto my name, saith the LORD of hosts, I will even send a curse upon you, and I will curse your blessings: yea, I have cursed them already, because ye do not lay it to heart.

3 Behold, I will corrupt your seed, and spread dung upon your faces, even the dung of your solemn feasts; and one shall take you away with it.

4 And ye shall know that I have sent this commandment unto you, that my covenant might be with Levi, saith the LORD of hosts.

5 My covenant was with him of life and peace; and I gave them to him for the fear wherewith he feared me, and was afraid before my name.

6 The law of truth was in his mouth, and iniquity was not found in his lips: he walked with me in peace and equity, and did turn many away from iniquity.

7 For the priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth: for he is the messenger of the LORD of hosts.

8 But ye are departed out of the way; ye have caused many to stumble at the law; ye have corrupted the covenant of Levi, saith the LORD of hosts.

9 Therefore have I also made you contemptible and base before all the people, according as ye have not kept my ways, but have been partial in the law.

10 Have we not all one father? hath not one God created us? why do we deal treacherously every man against his brother, by profaning the covenant of our fathers?

11 Judah hath dealt treacherously, and an abomination is committed in Israel and in Jerusalem; for Judah hath profaned the holiness of the LORD which he loved, and hath married the daughter of a strange god.

12 The LORD will cut off the man that doeth this, the master and the scholar, out of the tabernacles of Jacob, and him that offereth an offering unto the LORD of hosts.

13 And this have ye done again, covering the altar of the LORD with tears, with weeping, and with crying out, insomuch that he regardeth not the offering any more, or receiveth it with good will at your hand.

14 Yet ye say, Wherefore? Because the LORD hath been witness between thee and the wife of thy youth, against whom thou hast dealt treacherously: yet is she thy companion, and the wife of thy covenant.

15 And did not he make one? Yet had he the residue of the spirit. And wherefore one? That he might seek a godly seed. Therefore take heed to your spirit, and let none deal treacherously against the wife of his youth.

16 For the LORD, the God of Israel, saith that he hateth putting away: for one covereth violence with his garment, saith the LORD of hosts: therefore take heed to your spirit, that ye deal not treacherously.

17 Ye have wearied the LORD with your words. Yet ye say, Wherein have we wearied him? When ye say, Every one that doeth evil is good in the sight of the LORD, and he delighteth in them; or, Where is the God of judgement?

MALACHI CHAPTER 3

1 Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me: and the LORD, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple, even the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in: behold, he shall come, saith the LORD of hosts.

2 But who may abide the day of his coming? and who shall stand when he appeareth? for he is like a refiner's fire, and like fullers' soap:

3 And he shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver: and he shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver, that they may offer unto the LORD an offering in righteousness.

4 Then shall the offering of Judah and Jerusalem be pleasant unto the LORD, as in the days of old, and as in former years.

5 And I will come near to you to judgement; and I will be a swift witness against the sorcerers, and against the adulterers, and against false swearers, and against those that oppress the hireling in his wages, the widow, and the fatherless, and that turn aside the stranger from his right, and fear not me, saith the LORD of hosts.

6 For I am the LORD, I change not; therefore ye sons of Jacob are not consumed.

7 Even from the days of your fathers ye are gone away from mine ordinances, and have not kept them. Return unto me, and I will return unto you, saith the LORD of hosts. But ye said, Wherein shall we return?

8 Will a man rob God? Yet ye have robbed me. But ye say, Wherein have we robbed thee? In tithes and offerings.

9 Ye are cursed with a curse: for ye have robbed me, even this whole nation.

10 Bring ye all the tithes into the storehouse, that there may be meat in mine house, and prove me now herewith, saith the LORD of hosts, if I will not open you the windows of heaven, and pour you out a blessing, that there shall not be room enough to receive it.

11 And I will rebuke the devourer for your sakes, and he shall not destroy the fruits of your ground; neither shall your vine cast her fruit before the time in the field, saith the LORD of hosts.

12 And all nations shall call you blessed: for ye shall be a delightsome land, saith the LORD of hosts.

13 Your words have been stout against me, saith the LORD. Yet ye say, What have we spoken so much against thee?

14 Ye have said, It is vain to serve God: and what profit is it that we have kept his ordinance, and that we have walked mournfully before the LORD of hosts?

15 And now we call the proud happy; yea, they that work wickedness are set up; yea, they that tempt God are even delivered.

16 Then they that feared the LORD spake often one to another: and the LORD hearkened, and heard it, and a book of remembrance was written before him for them that feared the LORD, and that thought upon his name.

17 And they shall be mine, saith the LORD of hosts, in that day when I make up my jewels; and I will spare them, as a man spareth his own son that serveth him.

18 Then shall ye return, and discern between the righteous and the wicked, between him that serveth God and him that serveth him not.

MALACHI CHAPTER 4

1 For, behold, the day cometh, that shall burn as an oven; and all the proud, yea, and all that do wickedly, shall be stubble: and the day that cometh shall burn them up, saith the LORD of hosts, that it shall leave them neither root nor branch.

2 But unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of righteousness arise with healing in his wings; and ye shall go forth, and grow up as calves of the stall.

3 And ye shall tread down the wicked; for they shall be ashes under the soles of your feet in the day that I shall do this, saith the LORD of hosts.

4 Remember ye the law of Moses my servant, which I commanded unto him in Horeb for all Israel, with the statutes and judgements.

5 Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the LORD:

6 And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse.

THE KETUVIM
or The Writings

(This third part of The Old Testament, or The Tanakh, contains these book collections:
1. Sifrei Emet or The Three Poetic Books,
2. Hamesh Megillot or The Five Lectionary Scrolls,
3. The Uncovering or Revelation of Knowledge

Estimated time of composition: 6th - 4th c. B.C.
Oldest surviving copy: Qumran scrolls, 3rd - 2nd c. B.C.
Used by: Judaism, Chrstianity
Original Language: Hebrew
English Translation: King James Version

SIFREI EMET
The Three Poetic Books
(Psalms, Book of Proverbs, Book of Job)

THE BOOK OF PSALMS
Hebrew title: Tehillim
("Praises"; or: Hymns, Odes, Lyrics and Poems to God)
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 5th to 1st centuries B.C.

(The Book of Psalms (Tehillim, "praises"), commonly referred to simply as Psalms, the Psalter or "the Psalms", is the first book of the Ketuvim ("Writings"), the third section of the Hebrew Bible, and thus a book of the Christian Old Testament. The title is derived from the Greek translation, psalmoi, meaning "instrumental music" and, by extension, "the words accompanying the music". The book is an anthology of individual psalms, with 150 in the Jewish and Western Christian tradition and more in the Eastern Christian churches. Many are linked to the name of David, but his authorship is not accepted by modern scholars.

The Psalter is poetry, though it has many prayers and not all Old Testament prayers were poetic. In fact, not all praise was poetic either. The Psalms are full of images, comparisons and metaphor. The Hebrew text often plays with words and repeats the same words, adding synonyms (words with the same meaning) to fill out the description. Important words show the main themes in the prayer or song.

The Psalms were written not merely as poems, but as songs for singing. More than a third of the psalms are addressed to the Director of Music. Some psalms exhort the worshipper to sing (e.g. Pss. 33:1-3; 92:1-3; 96:1-3; 98:1; 101:1; 150). Some headings denote the musical instruments on which the psalm should be played (Pss. 4, 5, 6, 8, 67). Some refer to singing at the sheminit or octave (Pss. 6, 12). And others preserve the name for ancient eastern modes, like mut la-ben (Death of the son; Ps. 9), ayelet ha-shachar (hind of the dawn; Ps. 22); shoshanim (Lilies; Ps. 45); or alamoth (Maidens?; Ps. 46).

USE IN JEWISH RITUAL

The reading of psalms is viewed in Jewish tradition as a vehicle for gaining God's favor. They are thus often specially recited in times of trouble, such as poverty, disease, or physical danger; in many synagogues, Psalms are recited after services for the security of the State of Israel. Sefer ha-Chinuch states that this practice is designed not to achieve favor, as such, but rather to inculcate belief in Divine Providence into one's consciousness, consistently with Maimonides' general view on Providence. (Relatedly, the Hebrew verb for prayer, hitpalal התפלל, is in fact the reflexive form of palal פלל, to judge. Thus, "to pray" conveys the notion of "judging oneself": ultimately, the purpose of prayer—tefilah תפלה—is to transform ourselves.)

Many Jews complete the Book of Psalms on a weekly or monthly basis. Each week, some also say a Psalm connected to that week's events or the Torah portion read during that week. In addition, many Jews (notably Lubavitch, and other Chasidim) read the entire Book of Psalms prior to the morning service, on the Sabbath preceding the calculated appearance of the new moon.

Some of the titles given to the Psalms have descriptions which suggest their use in worship:

• Some bear the Hebrew description shir (שיר; Greek: ᾠδή, ōdḗ, 'song'). Thirteen have this description. It means the flow of speech, as it were, in a straight line or in a regular strain. This description includes secular as well as sacred song.

• Fifty-eight Psalms bear the description mizmor (מזמור; ψαλμός), a lyric ode, or a song set to music; a sacred song accompanied with a musical instrument.

• Psalm 145 alone has the designation tehillah (תהלה; ὕμνος), meaning a song of praise; a song the prominent thought of which is the praise of God.

• Thirteen psalms are described as maskil ('wise'): 32, 42, 44, 45, 52–55, 74, 78, 88, 89, and 142. Psalm 41:2, although not in the above list, has the description ashrei maskil.

• Six Psalms (16, 56–60) have the title michtam (מכתם, 'gold').[38] Rashi suggests that michtam refers to an item that a person carries with him at all times, hence, these Psalms contain concepts or ideas that are pertinent at every stage and setting throughout life, deemed vital as part of day-to-day spiritual awareness.[39]

• Psalm 7 (along with Habakkuk chapter 3)[40] bears the title shigayon (שיגיון). There are three interpretations: (1st) According to Rashi and others, this term stems from the root shegaga, meaning "mistake"—David committed some sin and is singing in the form of a prayer to redeem himself from it; (2nd) shigayon was a type of musical instrument; (3rd) Ibn Ezra considers the word to mean "longing", as for example in the verse in Proverbs 5:19 tishge tamid.

USE IN CHRISTIAN RITUAL:

New Testament references show that the earliest Christians used the Psalms in worship, and the Psalms have remained an important part of worship in most Christian Churches. The Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, Oriental Orthodox, Eastern Catholic, Presbyterian, Lutheran and Anglican Churches have always made systematic use of the Psalms, with a cycle for the recitation of all or most of them over the course of one or more weeks. In the early centuries of the Church, it was expected that any candidate for bishop would be able to recite the entire Psalter from memory, something they often learned automatically during their time as monks.

Several conservative Protestant denominations sing only the Psalms (some churches also sing the small number of hymns found elsewhere in the Bible) in worship, and do not accept the use of any non-Biblical hymns; examples are the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America, the Presbyterian Reformed Church (North America) and the Free Church of Scotland (Continuing).

• Psalm 22 is of particular importance during the season of Lent as a Psalm of continued faith during severe testing.

• Psalm 23, The LORD is My Shepherd, offers an immediately appealing message of comfort and is widely chosen for church funeral services, either as a reading or in one of several popular hymn settings;

• Psalm 51, Have mercy on me O God, called the Miserere from the first word in its Latin version, in both Divine Liturgy and Hours, in the sacrament of repentance or confession, and in other settings;

• Psalm 82 is found in the Book of Common Prayer as a funeral recitation.

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• Psalm 137, By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down and wept, the Eastern Orthodox Church uses this hymn during the weeks preceding Great Lent.

New translations and settings of the Psalms continue to be produced. An individually printed volume of Psalms for use in Christian religious rituals is called a Psalter.

Psalms have often been set as part of a larger work. The psalms feature large in settings of Vespers, including those by Claudio Monteverdi, Antonio Vivaldi, and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, who wrote such settings as part of their responsibilities as church musicians. Psalms are inserted in Requiem compositions, such as Psalm 126 in A German Requiem of Johannes Brahms and Psalms 130 and 23 in John Rutter's Requiem.

The Septuagint, present in Eastern Orthodox churches, includes a Psalm 151; a Hebrew version of this was found in the Psalms Scroll of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Some versions of the Peshitta (the Bible used in Syriac churches in the Middle East) include Psalms 152–155. There are also the Psalms of Solomon, which are a further 18 psalms of Jewish origin, likely originally written in Hebrew, but surviving only in Greek and Syriac translation. These and other indications suggest that the current Western Christian and Jewish collection of 150 psalms were selected from a wider set.)

PSALMS CHAPTER 1

1 Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful.

2 But his delight is in the law of the LORD; and in his law doth he meditate day and night.

3 And he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season; his leaf also shall not wither; and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper.

4 The ungodly are not so: but are like the chaff which the wind driveth away.

5 Therefore the ungodly shall not stand in the judgement, nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous.

6 For the LORD knoweth the way of the righteous: but the way of the ungodly shall perish.

PSALMS CHAPTER 2

1 Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing?

2 The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the LORD, and against his anointed, saying,

3 Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us.

4 He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh: the LORD shall have them in derision.

5 Then shall he speak unto them in his wrath, and vex them in his sore displeasure.

6 Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill of Zion.

7 I will declare the decree: the LORD hath said unto me, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee.

8 Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.

9 Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel.

10 Be wise now therefore, O ye kings: be instructed, ye judges of the earth.

11 Serve the LORD with fear, and rejoice with trembling.

12 Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little. Blessed are all they that put their trust in him.

PSALMS CHAPTER 3

1 Lord, how are they increased that trouble me! many are they that rise up against me.

2 Many there be which say of my soul, There is no help for him in God. Selah.

3 But thou, O LORD, art a shield for me; my glory, and the lifter up of mine head.

4 I cried unto the LORD with my voice, and he heard me out of his holy hill. Selah.

5 I laid me down and slept; I awaked; for the LORD sustained me.

6 I will not be afraid of ten thousands of people, that have set themselves against me round about.

7 Arise, O LORD; save me, O my God: for thou hast smitten all mine enemies upon the cheek bone; thou hast broken the teeth of the ungodly.

8 Salvation belongeth unto the LORD: thy blessing is upon thy people. Selah.

PSALMS CHAPTER 4

1 Hear me when I call, O God of my righteousness: thou hast enlarged me when I was in distress; have mercy upon me, and hear my prayer.

2 O ye sons of men, how long will ye turn my glory into shame? how long will ye love vanity, and seek after leasing? Selah.

3 But know that the LORD hath set apart him that is godly for himself: the LORD will hear when I call unto him.

4 Stand in awe, and sin not: commune with your own heart upon your bed, and be still. Selah.

5 Offer the sacrifices of righteousness, and put your trust in the LORD.

6 There be many that say, Who will shew us any good? LORD, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us.

7 Thou hast put gladness in my heart, more than in the time that their corn and their wine increased.

8 I will both lay me down in peace, and sleep: for thou, LORD, only makest me dwell in safety.

PSALMS CHAPTER 5

1 Give ear to my words, O LORD, consider my meditation.

2 Hearken unto the voice of my cry, my King, and my God: for unto thee will I pray.

3 My voice shalt thou hear in the morning, O LORD; in the morning will I direct my prayer unto thee, and will look up.

4 For thou art not a God that hath pleasure in wickedness: neither shall evil dwell with thee.

5 The foolish shall not stand in thy sight: thou hatest all workers of iniquity.

6 Thou shalt destroy them that speak leasing: the LORD will abhor the bloody and deceitful man.

7 But as for me, I will come into thy house in the multitude of thy mercy: and in thy fear will I worship toward thy holy temple.

8 Lead me, O LORD, in thy righteousness because of mine enemies; make thy way straight before my face.

9 For there is no faithfulness in their mouth; their inward part is very wickedness; their throat is an open sepulchre; they flatter with their tongue.

10 Destroy thou them, O God; let them fall by their own counsels; cast them out in the multitude of their transgressions; for they have rebelled against thee.

11 But let all those that put their trust in thee rejoice: let them ever shout for joy, because thou defendest them: let them also that love thy name be joyful in thee.

12 For thou, LORD, wilt bless the righteous; with favour wilt thou compass him as with a shield.

PSALMS CHAPTER 6

1 O LORD, rebuke me not in thine anger, neither chasten me in thy hot displeasure.

2 Have mercy upon me, O LORD; for I am weak: O LORD, heal me; for my bones are vexed.

3 My soul is also sore vexed: but thou, O LORD, how long?

4 Return, O LORD, deliver my soul: oh save me for thy mercies' sake.

5 For in death there is no remembrance of thee: in the grave who shall give thee thanks?

6 I am weary with my groaning; all the night make I my bed to swim; I water my couch with my tears.

7 Mine eye is consumed because of grief; it waxeth old because of all mine enemies.

8 Depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity; for the LORD hath heard the voice of my weeping.

9 The LORD hath heard my supplication; the LORD will receive my prayer.

10 Let all mine enemies be ashamed and sore vexed: let them return and be ashamed suddenly.

PSALMS CHAPTER 7

1 O LORD my God, in thee do I put my trust: save me from all them that persecute me, and deliver me:

2 Lest he tear my soul like a lion, rending it in pieces, while there is none to deliver.

3 O LORD my God, If I have done this; if there be iniquity in my hands;

4 If I have rewarded evil unto him that was at peace with me; (yea, I have delivered him that without cause is mine enemy:)

5 Let the enemy persecute my soul, and take it; yea, let him tread down my life upon the earth, and lay mine honour in the dust. Selah.

6 Arise, O LORD, in thine anger, lift up thyself because of the rage of mine enemies: and awake for me to the judgement that thou hast commanded.

7 So shall the congregation of the people compass thee about: for their sakes therefore return thou on high.

8 The LORD shall judge the people: judge me, O LORD, according to my righteousness, and according to mine integrity that is in me.

9 Oh let the wickedness of the wicked come to an end; but establish the just: for the righteous God trieth the hearts and reins.

10 My defence is of God, which saveth the upright in heart.

11 God judgeth the righteous, and God is angry with the wicked every day.

12 If he turn not, he will whet his sword; he hath bent his bow, and made it ready.

13 He hath also prepared for him the instruments of death; he ordaineth his arrows against the persecutors.

14 Behold, he travaileth with iniquity, and hath conceived mischief, and brought forth falsehood.

15 He made a pit, and digged it, and is fallen into the ditch which he made.

16 His mischief shall return upon his own head, and his violent dealing shall come down upon his own pate.

17 I will praise the LORD according to his righteousness: and will sing praise to the name of the LORD most high.

PSALMS CHAPTER 8

1 O LORD, our Lord, how excellent is thy name in all the earth! who hast set thy glory above the heavens.

2 Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength because of thine enemies, that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger.

3 When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars, which thou hast ordained;

4 What is man, that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man, that thou visitest him?

5 For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honour.

6 Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands; thou hast put all things under his feet:

7 All sheep and oxen, yea, and the beasts of the field;

8 The fowl of the air, and the fish of the sea, and whatsoever passeth through the paths of the seas.

9 O LORD our Lord, how excellent is thy name in all the earth!

PSALMS CHAPTER 9

1 I will praise thee, O LORD, with my whole heart; I will shew forth all thy marvellous works.

2 I will be glad and rejoice in thee: I will sing praise to thy name, O thou most High.

3 When mine enemies are turned back, they shall fall and perish at thy presence.

4 For thou hast maintained my right and my cause; thou satest in the throne judging right.

5 Thou hast rebuked the heathen, thou hast destroyed the wicked, thou hast put out their name for ever and ever.

6 O thou enemy, destructions are come to a perpetual end: and thou hast destroyed cities; their memorial is perished with them.

7 But the LORD shall endure for ever: he hath prepared his throne for judgement.

8 And he shall judge the world in righteousness, he shall minister judgement to the people in uprightness.

9 The LORD also will be a refuge for the oppressed, a refuge in times of trouble.

10 And they that know thy name will put their trust in thee: for thou, LORD, hast not forsaken them that seek thee.

11 Sing praises to the LORD, which dwelleth in Zion: declare among the people his doings.

12 When he maketh inquisition for blood, he remembereth them: he forgetteth not the cry of the humble.

13 Have mercy upon me, O LORD; consider my trouble which I suffer of them that hate me, thou that liftest me up from the gates of death:

14 That I may shew forth all thy praise in the gates of the daughter of Zion: I will rejoice in thy salvation.

15 The heathen are sunk down in the pit that they made: in the net which they hid is their own foot taken.

16 The LORD is known by the judgement which he executeth: the wicked is snared in the work of his own hands. Higgaion. Selah.

17 The wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God.

18 For the needy shall not alway be forgotten: the expectation of the poor shall not perish for ever.

19 Arise, O LORD; let not man prevail: let the heathen be judged in thy sight.

20 Put them in fear, O LORD: that the nations may know themselves to be but men. Selah.

PSALMS CHAPTER 10

1 Why standest thou afar off, O LORD? why hidest thou thyself in times of trouble?

2 The wicked in his pride doth persecute the poor: let them be taken in the devices that they have imagined.

3 For the wicked boasteth of his heart's desire, and blesseth the covetous, whom the LORD abhorreth.

4 The wicked, through the pride of his countenance, will not seek after God: God is not in all his thoughts.

5 His ways are always grievous; thy judgements are far above out of his sight: as for all his enemies, he puffeth at them.

6 He hath said in his heart, I shall not be moved: for I shall never be in adversity.

7 His mouth is full of cursing and deceit and fraud: under his tongue is mischief and vanity.

8 He sitteth in the lurking places of the villages: in the secret places doth he murder the innocent: his eyes are privily set against the poor.

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9 He lieth in wait secretly as a lion in his den: he lieth in wait to catch the poor: he doth catch the poor, when he draweth him into his net.
10 He croucheth, and humbleth himself, that the poor may fall by his strong ones.
11 He hath said in his heart, God hath forgotten: he hideth his face; he will never see it.
12 Arise, O LORD; O God, lift up thine hand: forget not the humble.
13 Wherefore doth the wicked contemn God? he hath said in his heart, Thou wilt not require it.
14 Thou hast seen it; for thou beholdest mischief and spite, to requite it with thy hand: the poor committeth himself unto thee; thou art the helper of the fatherless.
15 Break thou the arm of the wicked and the evil man: seek out his wickedness till thou find none.
16 The LORD is King for ever and ever: the heathen are perished out of his land.
17 LORD, thou hast heard the desire of the humble: thou wilt prepare their heart, thou wilt cause thine ear to hear:
18 To judge the fatherless and the oppressed, that the man of the earth may no more oppress.

PSALMS CHAPTER 11
1 In the LORD put I my trust: how say ye to my soul, Flee as a bird to your mountain?
2 For, lo, the wicked bend their bow, they make ready their arrow upon the string, that they may privily shoot at the upright in heart.
3 If the foundations be destroyed, what can the righteous do?
4 The LORD is in his holy temple, the LORD's throne is in heaven: his eyes behold, his eyelids try, the children of men.
5 The LORD trieth the righteous: but the wicked and him that loveth violence his soul hateth.
6 Upon the wicked he shall rain snares, fire and brimstone, and an horrible tempest: this shall be the portion of their cup.
7 For the righteous LORD loveth righteousness; his countenance doth behold the upright.

PSALMS CHAPTER 12
1 Help, LORD; for the godly man ceaseth; for the faithful fail from among the children of men.
2 They speak vanity every one with his neighbour: with flattering lips and with a double heart do they speak.
3 The LORD shall cut off all flattering lips, and the tongue that speaketh proud things:
4 Who have said, With our tongue will we prevail; our lips are our own: who is lord over us?
5 For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the LORD; I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him.
6 The words of the LORD are pure words: as silver tried in a furnace of earth, purified seven times.
7 Thou shalt keep them, O LORD, thou shalt preserve them from this generation for ever.
8 The wicked walk on every side, when the vilest men are exalted.

PSALMS CHAPTER 13
1 How long wilt thou forget me, O LORD? for ever? how long wilt thou hide thy face from me?
2 How long shall I take counsel in my soul, having sorrow in my heart daily? how long shall mine enemy be exalted over me?
3 Consider and hear me, O LORD my God: lighten mine eyes, lest I sleep the sleep of death;
4 Lest mine enemy say, I have prevailed against him; and those that trouble me rejoice when I am moved.
5 But I have trusted in thy mercy; my heart shall rejoice in thy salvation.
6 I will sing unto the LORD, because he hath dealt bountifully with me.

PSALMS CHAPTER 14
1 The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God. They are corrupt, they have done abominable works, there is none that doeth good.
2 The LORD looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were any that did understand, and seek God.
3 They are all gone aside, they are all together become filthy: there is none that doeth good, no, not one.
4 Have all the workers of iniquity no knowledge? who eat up my people as they eat bread, and call not upon the LORD.
5 There were they in great fear: for God is in the generation of the righteous.
6 Ye have shamed the counsel of the poor, because the LORD is his refuge.
7 Oh that the salvation of Israel were come out of Zion! when the LORD bringeth back the captivity of his people, Jacob shall rejoice, and Israel shall be glad.

PSALMS CHAPTER 15
1 Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? who shall dwell in thy holy hill?
2 He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart.
3 He that backbiteth not with his tongue, nor doeth evil to his neighbour, nor taketh up a reproach against his neighbour.
4 In whose eyes a vile person is contemned; but he honoureth them that fear the LORD. He that sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not.
5 He that putteth not out his money to usury, nor taketh reward against the innocent. He that doeth these things shall never be moved.

PSALMS CHAPTER 16
1 Preserve me, O God: for in thee do I put my trust.
2 O my soul, thou hast said unto the LORD, Thou art my Lord: my goodness extendeth not to thee;
3 But to the saints that are in the earth, and to the excellent, in whom is all my delight.
4 Their sorrows shall be multiplied that hasten after another god: their drink offerings of blood will I not offer, nor take up their names into my lips.
5 The LORD is the portion of mine inheritance and of my cup: thou maintainest my lot.
6 The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places; yea, I have a goodly heritage.
7 I will bless the LORD, who hath given me counsel: my reins also instruct me in the night seasons.
8 I have set the LORD always before me: because he is at my right hand, I shall not be moved.
9 Therefore my heart is glad, and my glory rejoiceth: my flesh also shall rest in hope.
10 For thou wilt not leave my soul in hell; neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption.
11 Thou wilt shew me the path of life: in thy presence is fulness of joy; at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.

PSALMS CHAPTER 17
1 Hear the right, O LORD, attend unto my cry, give ear unto my prayer, that goeth not out of feigned lips.
2 Let my sentence come forth from thy presence; let thine eyes behold the things that are equal.
3 Thou hast proved mine heart; thou hast visited me in the night; thou hast tried me, and shalt find nothing; I am purposed that my mouth shall not transgress.
4 Concerning the works of men, by the word of thy lips I have kept me from the paths of the destroyer.
5 Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my footsteps slip not.
6 I have called upon thee, for thou wilt hear me, O God: incline thine ear unto me, and hear my speech.
7 Shew thy marvellous lovingkindness, O thou that savest by thy right hand them which put their trust in thee from those that rise up against them.
8 Keep me as the apple of the eye, hide me under the shadow of thy wings,
9 From the wicked that oppress me, from my deadly enemies, who compass me about.
10 They are inclosed in their own fat: with their mouth they speak proudly.
11 They have now compassed us in our steps: they have set their eyes bowing down to the earth;
12 Like as a lion that is greedy of his prey, and as it were a young lion lurking in secret places.
13 Arise, O LORD, disappoint him, cast him down: deliver my soul from the wicked, which is thy sword:
14 From men which are thy hand, O LORD, from men of the world, which have their portion in this life, and whose belly thou fillest with thy hid treasure: they are full of children, and leave the rest of their substance to their babes.
15 As for me, I will behold thy face in righteousness: I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with thy likeness.

PSALMS CHAPTER 18
1 I will love thee, O LORD, my strength.
2 The LORD is my rock, and my fortress, and my deliverer; my God, my strength, in whom I will trust; my buckler, and the horn of my salvation, and my high tower.
3 I will call upon the LORD, who is worthy to be praised: so shall I be saved from mine enemies.
4 The sorrows of death compassed me, and the floods of ungodly men made me afraid.
5 The sorrows of hell compassed me about: the snares of death prevented me.
6 In my distress I called upon the LORD, and cried unto my God: he heard my voice out of his temple, and my cry came before him, even into his ears.
7 Then the earth shook and trembled; the foundations also of the hills moved and were shaken, because he was wroth.
8 There went up a smoke out of his nostrils, and fire out of his mouth devoured: coals were kindled by it.
9 He bowed the heavens also, and came down: and darkness was under his feet.
10 And he rode upon a cherub, and did fly: yea, he did fly upon the wings of the wind.
11 He made darkness his secret place; his pavilion round about him were dark waters and thick clouds of the skies.
12 At the brightness that was before him his thick clouds passed, hail stones and coals of fire.
13 The LORD also thundered in the heavens, and the Highest gave his voice; hail stones and coals of fire.
14 Yea, he sent out his arrows, and scattered them; and he shot out lightnings, and discomfited them.
15 Then the channels of waters were seen, and the foundations of the world were discovered at thy rebuke, O LORD, at the blast of the breath of thy nostrils.
16 He sent from above, he took me, he drew me out of many waters.
17 He delivered me from my strong enemy, and from them which hated me: for they were too strong for me.
18 They prevented me in the day of my calamity: but the LORD was my stay.
19 He brought me forth also into a large place; he delivered me, because he delighted in me.
20 The LORD rewarded me according to my righteousness; according to the cleanness of my hands hath he recompensed me.
21 For I have kept the ways of the LORD, and have not wickedly departed from my God.
22 For all his judgements were before me, and I did not put away his statutes from me.
23 I was also upright before him, and I kept myself from mine iniquity.
24 Therefore hath the LORD recompensed me according to my righteousness, according to the cleanness of my hands in his eyesight.
25 With the merciful thou wilt shew thyself merciful; with an upright man thou wilt shew thyself upright;
26 With the pure thou wilt shew thyself pure; and with the froward thou wilt shew thyself froward.
27 For thou wilt save the afflicted people; but wilt bring down high looks.
28 For thou wilt light my candle: the LORD my God will enlighten my darkness.
29 For by thee I have run through a troop; and by my God have I leaped over a wall.
30 As for God, his way is perfect: the word of the LORD is tried: he is a buckler to all those that trust in him.
31 For who is God save the LORD? or who is a rock save our God?
32 It is God that girdeth me with strength, and maketh my way perfect.
33 He maketh my feet like hinds' feet, and setteth me upon my high places.
34 He teacheth my hands to war, so that a bow of steel is broken by mine arms.
35 Thou hast also given me the shield of thy salvation: and thy right hand hath holden me up, and thy gentleness hath made me great.
36 Thou hast enlarged my steps under me, that my feet did not slip.
37 I have pursued mine enemies, and overtaken them: neither did I turn again till they were consumed.
38 I have wounded them that they were not able to rise: they are fallen under my feet.
39 For thou hast girded me with strength unto the battle: thou hast subdued under me those that rose up against me.
40 Thou hast also given me the necks of mine enemies; that I might destroy them that hate me.
41 They cried, but there was none to save them: even unto the LORD, but he answered them not.
42 Then did I beat them small as the dust before the wind: I did cast them out as the dirt in the streets.
43 Thou hast delivered me from the strivings of the people; and thou hast made me the head of the heathen: a people whom I have not known shall serve me.
44 As soon as they hear of me, they shall obey me: the strangers shall submit themselves unto me.
45 The strangers shall fade away, and be afraid out of their close places.
46 The LORD liveth; and blessed be my rock; and let the God of my salvation be exalted.
47 It is God that avengeth me, and subdueth the people under me.
48 He delivereth me from mine enemies: yea, thou liftest me up above those that rise up against me: thou hast delivered me from the violent man.
49 Therefore will I give thanks unto thee, O LORD, among the heathen, and sing praises unto thy name.
50 Great deliverance giveth he to his king; and sheweth mercy to his anointed, to David, and to his seed for evermore.

PSALMS CHAPTER 19
1 The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament sheweth his handywork.

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2 Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night sheweth knowledge.
3 There is no speech nor language, where their voice is not heard.
4 Their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world. In them hath he set a tabernacle for the sun,
5 Which is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, and rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race.
6 His going forth is from the end of the heaven, and his circuit unto the ends of it: and there is nothing hid from the heat thereof.
7 The law of the LORD is perfect, converting the soul: the testimony of the LORD is sure, making wise the simple.
8 The statutes of the LORD are right, rejoicing the heart: the commandment of the LORD is pure, enlightening the eyes.
9 The fear of the LORD is clean, enduring for ever: the judgements of the LORD are true and righteous altogether.
10 More to be desired are they than gold, yea, than much fine gold: sweeter also than honey and the honeycomb.
11 Moreover by them is thy servant warned: and in keeping of them there is great reward.
12 Who can understand his errors? cleanse thou me from secret faults.
13 Keep back thy servant also from presumptuous sins; let them not have dominion over me: then shall I be upright, and I shall be innocent from the great transgression.
14 Let the words of my mouth, and the meditation of my heart, be acceptable in thy sight, O LORD, my strength, and my redeemer.

PSALMS CHAPTER 20
1 The LORD hear thee in the day of trouble; the name of the God of Jacob defend thee;
2 Send thee help from the sanctuary, and strengthen thee out of Zion;
3 Remember all thy offerings, and accept thy burnt sacrifice; Selah.
4 Grant thee according to thine own heart, and fulfil all thy counsel.
5 We will rejoice in thy salvation, and in the name of our God we will set up our banners: the LORD fulfil all thy petitions.
6 Now know I that the LORD saveth his anointed; he will hear him from his holy heaven with the saving strength of his right hand.
7 Some trust in chariots, and some in horses: but we will remember the name of the LORD our God.
8 They are brought down and fallen: but we are risen, and stand upright.
9 Save, LORD: let the king hear us when we call.

PSALMS CHAPTER 21
1 The king shall joy in thy strength, O LORD; and in thy salvation how greatly shall he rejoice!
2 Thou hast given him his heart's desire, and hast not withholden the request of his lips. Selah.
3 For thou preventest him with the blessings of goodness: thou settest a crown of pure gold on his head.
4 He asked life of thee, and thou gavest it him, even length of days for ever and ever.
5 His glory is great in thy salvation: honour and majesty hast thou laid upon him.
6 For thou hast made him most blessed for ever: thou hast made him exceeding glad with thy countenance.
7 For the king trusteth in the LORD, and through the mercy of the most High he shall not be moved.
8 Thine hand shall find out all thine enemies: thy right hand shall find out those that hate thee.
9 Thou shalt make them as a fiery oven in the time of thine anger: the LORD shall swallow them up in his wrath, and the fire shall devour them.
10 Their fruit shalt thou destroy from the earth, and their seed from among the children of men.
11 For they intended evil against thee: they imagined a mischievous device, which they are not able to perform.
12 Therefore shalt thou make them turn their back, when thou shalt make ready thine arrows upon thy strings against the face of them.
13 Be thou exalted, LORD, in thine own strength: so will we sing and praise thy power.

PSALMS CHAPTER 22
1 My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? why art thou so far from helping me, and from the words of my roaring?
2 O my God, I cry in the day time, but thou hearest not; and in the night season, and am not silent.
3 But thou art holy, O thou that inhabitest the praises of Israel.
4 Our fathers trusted in thee: they trusted, and thou didst deliver them.
5 They cried unto thee, and were delivered: they trusted in thee, and were not confounded.
6 But I am a worm, and no man; a reproach of men, and despised of the people.
7 All they that see me laugh me to scorn: they shoot out the lip, they shake the head, saying,
8 He trusted on the LORD that he would deliver him: let him deliver him, seeing he delighted in him.
9 But thou art he that took me out of the womb: thou didst make me hope when I was upon my mother's breasts.
10 I was cast upon thee from the womb: thou art my God from my mother's belly.
11 Be not far from me; for trouble is near; for there is none to help.
12 Many bulls have compassed me: strong bulls of Bashan have beset me round.
13 They gaped upon me with their mouths, as a ravening and a roaring lion.
14 I am poured out like water, and all my bones are out of joint: my heart is like wax; it is melted in the midst of my bowels.
15 My strength is dried up like a potsherd; and my tongue cleaveth to my jaws; and thou hast brought me into the dust of death.
16 For dogs have compassed me: the assembly of the wicked have inclosed me: they pierced my hands and my feet.
17 I may tell all my bones: they look and stare upon me.
18 They part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture.
19 But be not thou far from me, O LORD: O my strength, haste thee to help me.
20 Deliver my soul from the sword; my darling from the power of the dog.
21 Save me from the lion's mouth: for thou hast heard me from the horns of the unicorns.
22 I will declare thy name unto my brethren: in the midst of the congregation will I praise thee.
23 Ye that fear the LORD, praise him; all ye the seed of Jacob, glorify him; and fear him, all ye the seed of Israel.
24 For he hath not despised nor abhorred the affliction of the afflicted; neither hath he hid his face from him; but when he cried unto him, he heard.
25 My praise shall be of thee in the great congregation: I will pay my vows before them that fear him.
26 The meek shall eat and be satisfied: they shall praise the LORD that seek him: your heart shall live for ever.
27 All the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the LORD: and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before thee.
28 For the kingdom is the LORD's: and he is the governor among the nations.
29 All they that be fat upon earth shall eat and worship: all they that go down to the dust shall bow before him: and none can keep alive his own soul.
30 A seed shall serve him; it shall be accounted to the Lord for a generation.
31 They shall come, and shall declare his righteousness unto a people that shall be born, that he hath done this.

PSALMS CHAPTER 23
1 The LORD is my shepherd; I shall not want.
2 He maketh me to lie down in green pastures: he leadeth me beside the still waters.
3 He restoreth my soul: he leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake.
4 Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.
5 Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies: thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over.
6 Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life: and I will dwell in the house of the LORD for ever.

PSALMS CHAPTER 24
1 The earth is the LORD's, and the fulness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein.
2 For he hath founded it upon the seas, and established it upon the floods.
3 Who shall ascend into the hill of the LORD? or who shall stand in his holy place?
4 He that hath clean hands, and a pure heart; who hath not lifted up his soul unto vanity, nor sworn deceitfully.
5 He shall receive the blessing from the LORD, and righteousness from the God of his salvation.
6 This is the generation of them that seek him, that seek thy face, O Jacob. Selah.
7 Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of glory shall come in.
8 Who is this King of glory? The LORD strong and mighty, the LORD mighty in battle.
9 Lift up your heads, O ye gates; even lift them up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of glory shall come in.
10 Who is this King of glory? The LORD of hosts, he is the King of glory. Selah.

PSALMS CHAPTER 25
1 Unto thee, O LORD, do I lift up my soul.
2 O my God, I trust in thee: let me not be ashamed, let not mine enemies triumph over me.
3 Yea, let none that wait on thee be ashamed: let them be ashamed which transgress without cause.
4 Shew me thy ways, O LORD; teach me thy paths.
5 Lead me in thy truth, and teach me: for thou art the God of my salvation; on thee do I wait all the day.
6 Remember, O LORD, thy tender mercies and thy lovingkindnesses; for they have been ever of old.
7 Remember not the sins of my youth, nor my transgressions: according to thy mercy remember thou me for thy goodness' sake, O LORD.
8 Good and upright is the LORD: therefore will he teach sinners in the way.
9 The meek will he guide in judgement: and the meek will he teach his way.
10 All the paths of the LORD are mercy and truth unto such as keep his covenant and his testimonies.
11 For thy name's sake, O LORD, pardon mine iniquity; for it is great.
12 What man is he that feareth the LORD? him shall he teach in the way that he shall choose.
13 His soul shall dwell at ease; and his seed shall inherit the earth.
14 The secret of the LORD is with them that fear him; and he will shew them his covenant.
15 Mine eyes are ever toward the LORD; for he shall pluck my feet out of the net.
16 Turn thee unto me, and have mercy upon me; for I am desolate and afflicted.
17 The troubles of my heart are enlarged: O bring thou me out of my distresses.
18 Look upon mine affliction and my pain; and forgive all my sins.
19 Consider mine enemies; for they are many; and they hate me with cruel hatred.
20 O keep my soul, and deliver me: let me not be ashamed; for I put my trust in thee.
21 Let integrity and uprightness preserve me; for I wait on thee.
22 Redeem Israel, O God, out of all his troubles.

PSALMS CHAPTER 26
1 Judge me, O LORD; for I have walked in mine integrity: I have trusted also in the LORD; therefore I shall not slide.
2 Examine me, O LORD, and prove me; try my reins and my heart.
3 For thy lovingkindness is before mine eyes: and I have walked in thy truth.
4 I have not sat with vain persons, neither will I go in with dissemblers.
5 I have hated the congregation of evil doers; and will not sit with the wicked.
6 I will wash mine hands in innocency: so will I compass thine altar, O LORD:
7 That I may publish with the voice of thanksgiving, and tell of all thy wondrous works.
8 LORD, I have loved the habitation of thy house, and the place where thine honour dwelleth.
9 Gather not my soul with sinners, nor my life with bloody men:
10 In whose hands is mischief, and their right hand is full of bribes.
11 But as for me, I will walk in mine integrity: redeem me, and be merciful unto me.
12 My foot standeth in an even place: in the congregations will I bless the LORD.

PSALMS CHAPTER 27
1 The LORD is my light and my salvation; whom shall I fear? the LORD is the strength of my life; of whom shall I be afraid?
2 When the wicked, even mine enemies and my foes, came upon me to eat up my flesh, they stumbled and fell.
3 Though an host should encamp against me, my heart shall not fear: though war should rise against me, in this will I be confident.
4 One thing have I desired of the LORD, that will I seek after; that I may dwell in the house of the LORD all the days of my life, to behold the beauty of the LORD, and to enquire in his temple.
5 For in the time of trouble he shall hide me in his pavilion: in the secret of his tabernacle shall he hide me; he shall set me up upon a rock.
6 And now shall mine head be lifted up above mine enemies round about me: therefore will I offer in his tabernacle sacrifices of joy; I will sing, yea, I will sing praises unto the LORD.
7 Hear, O LORD, when I cry with my voice: have mercy also upon me, and answer me.
8 When thou saidst, Seek ye my face; my heart said unto thee, Thy face, LORD, will I seek.

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9 Hide not thy face far from me; put not thy servant away in anger: thou hast been my help; leave me not, neither forsake me, O God of my salvation.
10 When my father and my mother forsake me, then the LORD will take me up.
11 Teach me thy way, O LORD, and lead me in a plain path, because of mine enemies.
12 Deliver me not over unto the will of mine enemies: for false witnesses are risen up against me, and such as breathe out cruelty.
13 I had fainted, unless I had believed to see the goodness of the LORD in the land of the living.
14 Wait on the LORD: be of good courage, and he shall strengthen thine heart: wait, I say, on the LORD.

PSALMS CHAPTER 28
1 Unto thee will I cry, O LORD my rock; be not silent to me: lest, if thou be silent to me, I become like them that go down into the pit.
2 Hear the voice of my supplications, when I cry unto thee, when I lift up my hands toward thy holy oracle.
3 Draw me not away with the wicked, and with the workers of iniquity, which speak peace to their neighbours, but mischief is in their hearts.
4 Give them according to their deeds, and according to the wickedness of their endeavours: give them after the work of their hands; render to them their desert.
5 Because they regard not the works of the LORD, nor the operation of his hands, he shall destroy them, and not build them up.
6 Blessed be the LORD, because he hath heard the voice of my supplications.
7 The LORD is my strength and my shield; my heart trusted in him, and I am helped: therefore my heart greatly rejoiceth; and with my song will I praise him.
8 The LORD is their strength, and he is the saving strength of his anointed.
9 Save thy people, and bless thine inheritance: feed them also, and lift them up for ever.

PSALMS CHAPTER 29
1 Give unto the LORD, O ye mighty, give unto the LORD glory and strength.
2 Give unto the LORD the glory due unto his name; worship the LORD in the beauty of holiness.
3 The voice of the LORD is upon the waters: the God of glory thundereth: the LORD is upon many waters.
4 The voice of the LORD is powerful; the voice of the LORD is full of majesty.
5 The voice of the LORD breaketh the cedars; yea, the LORD breaketh the cedars of Lebanon.
6 He maketh them also to skip like a calf; Lebanon and Sirion like a young unicorn.
7 The voice of the LORD divideth the flames of fire.
8 The voice of the LORD shaketh the wilderness; the LORD shaketh the wilderness of Kadesh.
9 The voice of the LORD maketh the hinds to calve, and discovereth the forests: and in his temple doth every one speak of his glory.
10 The LORD sitteth upon the flood; yea, the LORD sitteth King for ever.
11 The LORD will give strength unto his people; the LORD will bless his people with peace.

PSALMS CHAPTER 30
1 I will extol thee, O LORD; for thou hast lifted me up, and hast not made my foes to rejoice over me.
2 O LORD my God, I cried unto thee, and thou hast healed me.
3 O LORD, thou hast brought up my soul from the grave: thou hast kept me alive, that I should not go down to the pit.
4 Sing unto the LORD, O ye saints of his, and give thanks at the remembrance of his holiness.
5 For his anger endureth but a moment; in his favour is life: weeping may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning.
6 And in my prosperity I said, I shall never be moved.
7 LORD, by thy favour thou hast made my mountain to stand strong: thou didst hide thy face, and I was troubled.
8 I cried to thee, O LORD; and unto the LORD I made supplication.
9 What profit is there in my blood, when I go down to the pit? Shall the dust praise thee? shall it declare thy truth?
10 Hear, O LORD, and have mercy upon me: LORD, be thou my helper.
11 Thou hast turned for me my mourning into dancing: thou hast put off my sackcloth, and girded me with gladness;
12 To the end that my glory may sing praise to thee, and not be silent. O LORD my God, I will give thanks unto thee for ever.

PSALMS CHAPTER 31
1 In thee, O LORD, do I put my trust; let me never be ashamed: deliver me in thy righteousness.
2 Bow down thine ear to me; deliver me speedily: be thou my strong rock, for an house of defence to save me.
3 For thou art my rock and my fortress; therefore for thy name's sake lead me, and guide me.
4 Pull me out of the net that they have laid privily for me: for thou art my strength.
5 Into thine hand I commit my spirit: thou hast redeemed me, O LORD God of truth.
6 I have hated them that regard lying vanities: but I trust in the LORD.
7 I will be glad and rejoice in thy mercy: for thou hast considered my trouble; thou hast known my soul in adversities;
8 And hast not shut me up into the hand of the enemy: thou hast set my feet in a large room.
9 Have mercy upon me, O LORD, for I am in trouble: mine eye is consumed with grief, yea, my soul and my belly.
10 For my life is spent with grief, and my years with sighing: my strength faileth because of mine iniquity, and my bones are consumed.
11 I was a reproach among all mine enemies, but especially among my neighbours, and a fear to mine acquaintance: they that did see me without fled from me.
12 I am forgotten as a dead man out of mind: I am like a broken vessel.
13 For I have heard the slander of many: fear was on every side: while they took counsel together against me, they devised to take away my life.
14 But I trusted in thee, O LORD: I said, Thou art my God.
15 My times are in thy hand: deliver me from the hand of mine enemies, and from them that persecute me.
16 Make thy face to shine upon thy servant: save me for thy mercies' sake.
17 Let me not be ashamed, O LORD; for I have called upon thee: let the wicked be ashamed, and let them be silent in the grave.
18 Let the lying lips be put to silence; which speak grievous things proudly and contemptuously against the righteous.
19 Oh how great is thy goodness, which thou hast laid up for them that fear thee; which thou hast wrought for them that trust in thee before the sons of men!
20 Thou shalt hide them in the secret of thy presence from the pride of man: thou shalt keep them secretly in a pavilion from the strife of tongues.
21 Blessed be the LORD: for he hath shewed me his marvellous kindness in a strong city.
22 For I said in my haste, I am cut off from before thine eyes: nevertheless thou heardest the voice of my supplications when I cried unto thee.
23 O love the LORD, all ye his saints: for the LORD preserveth the faithful, and plentifully rewardeth the proud doer.
24 Be of good courage, and he shall strengthen your heart, all ye that hope in the LORD.

PSALMS CHAPTER 32
1 Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered.
2 Blessed is the man unto whom the LORD imputeth not iniquity, and in whose spirit there is no guile.
3 When I kept silence, my bones waxed old through my roaring all the day long.
4 For day and night thy hand was heavy upon me: my moisture is turned into the drought of summer. Selah.
5 I acknowledge my sin unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid. I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the LORD; and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin. Selah.
6 For this shall every one that is godly pray unto thee in a time when thou mayest be found: surely in the floods of great waters they shall not come nigh unto him.
7 Thou art my hiding place; thou shalt preserve me from trouble; thou shalt compass me about with songs of deliverance. Selah.
8 I will instruct thee and teach thee in the way which thou shalt go: I will guide thee with mine eye.
9 Be ye not as the horse, or as the mule, which have no understanding: whose mouth must be held in with bit and bridle, lest they come near unto thee.
10 Many sorrows shall be to the wicked: but he that trusteth in the LORD, mercy shall compass him about.
11 Be glad in the LORD, and rejoice, ye righteous: and shout for joy, all ye that are upright in heart.

PSALMS CHAPTER 33
1 Rejoice in the LORD, O ye righteous: for praise is comely for the upright.
2 Praise the LORD with harp: sing unto him with the psaltery and an instrument of ten strings.
3 Sing unto him a new song; play skilfully with a loud noise.
4 For the word of the LORD is right; and all his works are done in truth.
5 He loveth righteousness and judgement: the earth is full of the goodness of the LORD.
6 By the word of the LORD were the heavens made; and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth.
7 He gathereth the waters of the sea together as an heap: he layeth up the depth in storehouses.
8 Let all the earth fear the LORD: let all the inhabitants of the world stand in awe of him.
9 For he spake, and it was done; he commanded, and it stood fast.
10 The LORD bringeth the counsel of the heathen to nought: he maketh the devices of the people of none effect.
11 The counsel of the LORD standeth for ever, the thoughts of his heart to all generations.
12 Blessed is the nation whose God is the LORD; and the people whom he hath chosen for his own inheritance.
13 The LORD looketh from heaven; he beholdeth all the sons of men.
14 From the place of his habitation he looketh upon all the inhabitants of the earth.
15 He fashioneth their hearts alike; he considereth all their works.
16 There is no king saved by the multitude of an host: a mighty man is not delivered by much strength.
17 An horse is a vain thing for safety: neither shall he deliver any by his great strength.
18 Behold, the eye of the LORD is upon them that fear him, upon them that hope in his mercy;
19 To deliver their soul from death, and to keep them alive in famine.
20 Our soul waiteth for the LORD: he is our help and our shield.
21 For our heart shall rejoice in him, because we have trusted in his holy name.
22 Let thy mercy, O LORD, be upon us, according as we hope in thee.

PSALMS CHAPTER 34
1 I will bless the LORD at all times: his praise shall continually be in my mouth.
2 My soul shall make her boast in the LORD: the humble shall hear thereof, and be glad.
3 O magnify the LORD with me, and let us exalt his name together.
4 I sought the LORD, and he heard me, and delivered me from all my fears.
5 They looked unto him, and were lightened: and their faces were not ashamed.
6 This poor man cried, and the LORD heard him, and saved him out of all his troubles.
7 The angel of the LORD encampeth round about them that fear him, and delivereth them.
8 O taste and see that the LORD is good: blessed is the man that trusteth in him.
9 O fear the LORD, ye his saints: for there is no want to them that fear him.
10 The young lions do lack, and suffer hunger: but they that seek the LORD shall not want any good thing.
11 Come, ye children, hearken unto me: I will teach you the fear of the LORD.
12 What man is he that desireth life, and loveth many days, that he may see good?
13 Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile.
14 Depart from evil, and do good; seek peace, and pursue it.
15 The eyes of the LORD are upon the righteous, and his ears are open unto their cry.
16 The face of the LORD is against them that do evil, to cut off the remembrance of them from the earth.
17 The righteous cry, and the LORD heareth, and delivereth them out of all their troubles.
18 The LORD is nigh unto them that are of a broken heart; and saveth such as be of a contrite spirit.
19 Many are the afflictions of the righteous: but the LORD delivereth him out of them all.
20 He keepeth all his bones: not one of them is broken.
21 Evil shall slay the wicked: and they that hate the righteous shall be desolate.
22 The LORD redeemeth the soul of his servants: and none of them that trust in him shall be desolate.

PSALMS CHAPTER 35
1 Plead my cause, O LORD, with them that strive with me: fight against them that fight against me.
2 Take hold of shield and buckler, and stand up for mine help.
3 Draw out also the spear, and stop the way against them that persecute me: say unto my soul, I am thy salvation.
4 Let them be confounded and put to shame that seek after my soul: let them be turned back and brought to confusion that devise my hurt.
5 Let them be as chaff before the wind: and let the angel of the LORD chase them.
6 Let their way be dark and slippery: and let the angel of the LORD persecute them.

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7 For without cause have they hid for me their net in a pit, which without cause they have digged for my soul.
8 Let destruction come upon him at unawares; and let his net that he hath hid catch himself: into that very destruction let him fall.
9 And my soul shall be joyful in the LORD: it shall rejoice in his salvation.
10 All my bones shall say, LORD, who is like unto thee, which deliverest the poor from him that is too strong for him, yea, the poor and the needy from him that spoileth him?
11 False witnesses did rise up; they laid to my charge things that I knew not.
12 They rewarded me evil for good to the spoiling of my soul.
13 But as for me, when they were sick, my clothing was sackcloth: I humbled my soul with fasting; and my prayer returned into mine own bosom.
14 I behaved myself as though he had been my friend or brother: I bowed down heavily, as one that mourneth for his mother.
15 But in mine adversity they rejoiced, and gathered themselves together: yea, the abjects gathered themselves together against me, and I knew it not; they did tear me, and ceased not:
16 With hypocritical mockers in feasts, they gnashed upon me with their teeth.
17 Lord, how long wilt thou look on? rescue my soul from their destructions, my darling from the lions.
18 I will give thee thanks in the great congregation: I will praise thee among much people.
19 Let not them that are mine enemies wrongfully rejoice over me: neither let them wink with the eye that hate me without a cause.
20 For they speak not peace: but they devise deceitful matters against them that are quiet in the land.
21 Yea, they opened their mouth wide against me, and said, Aha, aha, our eye hath seen it.
22 This thou hast seen, O LORD: keep not silence: O Lord, be not far from me.
23 Stir up thyself, and awake to my judgement, even unto my cause, my God and my Lord.
24 Judge me, O LORD my God, according to thy righteousness; and let them not rejoice over me.
25 Let them not say in their hearts, Ah, so would we have it: let them not say, We have swallowed him up.
26 Let them be ashamed and brought to confusion together that rejoice at mine hurt: let them be clothed with shame and dishonour that magnify themselves against me.
27 Let them shout for joy, and be glad, that favour my righteous cause: yea, let them say continually, Let the LORD be magnified, which hath pleasure in the prosperity of his servant.
28 And my tongue shall speak of thy righteousness and of thy praise all the day long.

PSALMS CHAPTER 36
1 The transgression of the wicked saith within my heart, that there is no fear of God before his eyes.
2 For he flattereth himself in his own eyes, until his iniquity be found to be hateful.
3 The words of his mouth are iniquity and deceit: he hath left off to be wise, and to do good.
4 He deviseth mischief upon his bed; he setteth himself in a way that is not good; he abhorreth not evil.
5 Thy mercy, O LORD, is in the heavens; and thy faithfulness reacheth unto the clouds.
6 Thy righteousness is like the great mountains; thy judgements are a great deep: O LORD, thou preservest man and beast.
7 How excellent is thy lovingkindness, O God! therefore the children of men put their trust under the shadow of thy wings.
8 They shall be abundantly satisfied with the fatness of thy house; and thou shalt make them drink of the river of thy pleasures.
9 For with thee is the fountain of life: in thy light shall we see light.
10 O continue thy lovingkindness unto them that know thee; and thy righteousness to the upright in heart.
11 Let not the foot of pride come against me, and let not the hand of the wicked remove me.
12 There are the workers of iniquity fallen: they are cast down, and shall not be able to rise.

PSALMS CHAPTER 37
1 Fret not thyself because of evildoers, neither be thou envious against the workers of iniquity.
2 For they shall soon be cut down like the grass, and wither as the green herb.
3 Trust in the LORD, and do good; so shalt thou dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed.
4 Delight thyself also in the LORD: and he shall give thee the desires of thine heart.
5 Commit thy way unto the LORD; trust also in him; and he shall bring it to pass.
6 And he shall bring forth thy righteousness as the light, and thy judgement as the noonday.
7 Rest in the LORD, and wait patiently for him: fret not thyself because of him who prospereth in his way, because of the man who bringeth wicked devices to pass.
8 Cease from anger, and forsake wrath: fret not thyself in any wise to do evil.
9 For evildoers shall be cut off: but those that wait upon the LORD, they shall inherit the earth.
10 For yet a little while, and the wicked shall not be: yea, thou shalt diligently consider his place, and it shall not be.
11 But the meek shall inherit the earth; and shall delight themselves in the abundance of peace.
12 The wicked plotteth against the just, and gnasheth upon him with his teeth.
13 The LORD shall laugh at him: for he seeth that his day is coming.
14 The wicked have drawn out the sword, and have bent their bow, to cast down the poor and needy, and to slay such as be of upright conversation.
15 Their sword shall enter into their own heart, and their bows shall be broken.
16 A little that a righteous man hath is better than the riches of many wicked.
17 For the arms of the wicked shall be broken: but the LORD upholdeth the righteous.
18 The LORD knoweth the days of the upright: and their inheritance shall be for ever.
19 They shall not be ashamed in the evil time: and in the days of famine they shall be satisfied.
20 But the wicked shall perish, and the enemies of the LORD shall be as the fat of lambs: they shall consume; into smoke shall they consume away.
21 The wicked borroweth, and payeth not again: but the righteous sheweth mercy, and giveth.
22 For such as be blessed of him shall inherit the earth; and they that be cursed of him shall be cut off.
23 The steps of a good man are ordered by the LORD: and he delighteth in his way.
24 Though he fall, he shall not be utterly cast down: for the LORD upholdeth him with his hand.
25 I have been young, and now am old; yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread.
26 He is ever merciful, and lendeth; and his seed is blessed.
27 Depart from evil, and do good; and dwell for evermore.
28 For the LORD loveth judgement, and forsaketh not his saints; they are preserved for ever: but the seed of the wicked shall be cut off.
29 The righteous shall inherit the land, and dwell therein for ever.
30 The mouth of the righteous speaketh wisdom, and his tongue talketh of judgement.
31 The law of his God is in his heart; none of his steps shall slide.
32 The wicked watcheth the righteous, and seeketh to slay him.
33 The LORD will not leave him in his hand, nor condemn him when he is judged.
34 Wait on the LORD, and keep his way, and he shall exalt thee to inherit the land: when the wicked are cut off, thou shalt see it.
35 I have seen the wicked in great power, and spreading himself like a green bay tree.
36 Yet he passed away, and, lo, he was not: yea, I sought him, but he could not be found.
37 Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright: for the end of that man is peace.
38 But the transgressors shall be destroyed together: the end of the wicked shall be cut off.
39 But the salvation of the righteous is of the LORD: he is their strength in the time of trouble.
40 And the LORD shall help them, and deliver them: he shall deliver them from the wicked, and save them, because they trust in him.

PSALMS CHAPTER 38
1 O lord, rebuke me not in thy wrath: neither chasten me in thy hot displeasure.
2 For thine arrows stick fast in me, and thy hand presseth me sore.
3 There is no soundness in my flesh because of thine anger; neither is there any rest in my bones because of my sin.
4 For mine iniquities are gone over mine head: as an heavy burden they are too heavy for me.
5 My wounds stink and are corrupt because of my foolishness.
6 I am troubled; I am bowed down greatly; I go mourning all the day long.
7 For my loins are filled with a loathsome disease: and there is no soundness in my flesh.
8 I am feeble and sore broken: I have roared by reason of the disquietness of my heart.
9 Lord, all my desire is before thee; and my groaning is not hid from thee.
10 My heart panteth, my strength faileth me: as for the light of mine eyes, it also is gone from me.
11 My lovers and my friends stand aloof from my sore; and my kinsmen stand afar off.
12 They also that seek after my life lay snares for me: and they that seek my hurt speak mischievous things, and imagine deceits all the day long.
13 But I, as a deaf man, heard not; and I was as a dumb man that openeth not his mouth.
14 Thus I was as a man that heareth not, and in whose mouth are no reproofs.
15 For in thee, O LORD, do I hope: thou wilt hear, O Lord my God.
16 For I said, Hear me, lest otherwise they should rejoice over me: when my foot slippeth, they magnify themselves against me.
17 For I am ready to halt, and my sorrow is continually before me.
18 For I will declare mine iniquity; I will be sorry for my sin.
19 But mine enemies are lively, and they are strong: and they that hate me wrongfully are multiplied.
20 They also that render evil for good are mine adversaries; because I follow the thing that good is.
21 Forsake me not, O LORD: O my God, be not far from me.
22 Make haste to help me, O Lord my salvation.

PSALMS CHAPTER 39
1 I said, I will take heed to my ways, that I sin not with my tongue: I will keep my mouth with a bridle, while the wicked is before me.
2 I was dumb with silence, I held my peace, even from good; and my sorrow was stirred.
3 My heart was hot within me, while I was musing the fire burned: then spake I with my tongue,
4 LORD, make me to know mine end, and the measure of my days, what it is: that I may know how frail I am.
5 Behold, thou hast made my days as an handbreadth; and mine age is as nothing before thee: verily every man at his best state is altogether vanity. Selah.
6 Surely every man walketh in a vain shew: surely they are disquieted in vain: he heapeth up riches, and knoweth not who shall gather them.
7 And now, Lord, what wait I for? my hope is in thee.
8 Deliver me from all my transgressions: make me not the reproach of the foolish.
9 I was dumb, I opened not my mouth; because thou didst it.
10 Remove thy stroke away from me: I am consumed by the blow of thine hand.
11 When thou with rebukes dost correct man for iniquity, thou makest his beauty to consume away like a moth: surely every man is vanity. Selah.
12 Hear my prayer, O LORD, and give ear unto my cry; hold not thy peace at my tears: for I am a stranger with thee, and a sojourner, as all my fathers were.
13 O spare me, that I may recover strength, before I go hence, and be no more.

PSALMS CHAPTER 40
1 I waited patiently for the LORD; and he inclined unto me, and heard my cry.
2 He brought me up also out of an horrible pit, out of the miry clay, and set my feet upon a rock, and established my goings.
3 And he hath put a new song in my mouth, even praise unto our God: many shall see it, and fear, and shall trust in the LORD.
4 Blessed is that man that maketh the LORD his trust, and respecteth not the proud, nor such as turn aside to lies.
5 Many, O LORD my God, are thy wonderful works which thou hast done, and thy thoughts which are to us-ward: they cannot be reckoned up in order unto thee: if I would declare and speak of them, they are more than can be numbered.
6 Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire; mine ears hast thou opened: burnt offering and sin offering hast thou not required.
7 Then said I, Lo, I come: in the volume of the book it is written of me,
8 I delight to do thy will, O my God: yea, thy law is within my heart.
9 I have preached righteousness in the great congregation: lo, I have not refrained my lips, O LORD, thou knowest.
10 I have not hid thy righteousness within my heart; I have declared thy faithfulness and thy salvation: I have not concealed thy lovingkindness and thy truth from the great congregation.
11 Withhold not thou thy tender mercies from me, O LORD: let thy lovingkindness and thy truth continually preserve me.
12 For innumerable evils have compassed me about: mine iniquities have taken hold upon me, so that I am not able to look up; they are more than the hairs of mine head: therefore my heart faileth me.

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13 Be pleased, O LORD, to deliver me: O LORD, make haste to help me.
14 Let them be ashamed and confounded together that seek after my soul to destroy it; let them be driven backward and put to shame that wish me evil.
15 Let them be desolate for a reward of their shame that say unto me, Aha, aha.
16 Let all those that seek thee rejoice and be glad in thee: let such as love thy salvation say continually, The LORD be magnified.
17 But I am poor and needy; yet the Lord thinketh upon me: thou art my help and my deliverer; make no tarrying, O my God.

PSALMS CHAPTER 41
1 Blessed is he that considereth the poor: the LORD will deliver him in time of trouble.
2 The LORD will preserve him, and keep him alive; and he shall be blessed upon the earth: and thou wilt not deliver him unto the will of his enemies.
3 The LORD will strengthen him upon the bed of languishing: thou wilt make all his bed in his sickness.
4 I said, LORD, be merciful unto me: heal my soul; for I have sinned against thee.
5 Mine enemies speak evil of me, When shall he die, and his name perish?
6 And if he come to see me, he speaketh vanity: his heart gathereth iniquity to itself; when he goeth abroad, he telleth it.
7 All that hate me whisper together against me: against me do they devise my hurt.
8 An evil disease, say they, cleaveth fast unto him: and now that he lieth he shall rise up no more.
9 Yea, mine own familiar friend, in whom I trusted, which did eat of my bread, hath lifted up his heel against me.
10 But thou, O LORD, be merciful unto me, and raise me up, that I may requite them.
11 By this I know that thou favourest me, because mine enemy doth not triumph over me.
12 And as for me, thou upholdest me in mine integrity, and settest me before thy face for ever.
13 Blessed be the LORD God of Israel from everlasting, and to everlasting. Amen, and Amen.

PSALMS CHAPTER 42
1 As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God.
2 My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God: when shall I come and appear before God?
3 My tears have been my meat day and night, while they continually say unto me, Where is thy God?
4 When I remember these things, I pour out my soul in me: for I had gone with the multitude, I went with them to the house of God, with the voice of joy and praise, with a multitude that kept holyday.
5 Why art thou cast down, O my soul? and why art thou disquieted in me? hope thou in God: for I shall yet praise him for the help of his countenance.
6 O my God, my soul is cast down within me: therefore will I remember thee from the land of Jordan, and of the Hermonites, from the hill Mizar.
7 Deep calleth unto deep at the noise of thy waterspouts: all thy waves and thy billows are gone over me.
8 Yet the LORD will command his lovingkindness in the day time, and in the night his song shall be with me, and my prayer unto the God of my life.
9 I will say unto God my rock, Why hast thou forgotten me? why go I mourning because of the oppression of the enemy?
10 As with a sword in my bones, mine enemies reproach me; while they say daily unto me, Where is thy God?
11 Why art thou cast down, O my soul? and why art thou disquieted within me? hope thou in God: for I shall yet praise him, who is the health of my countenance, and my God.

PSALMS CHAPTER 43
1 Judge me, O God, and plead my cause against an ungodly nation: O deliver me from the deceitful and unjust man.
2 For thou art the God of my strength: why dost thou cast me off? why go I mourning because of the oppression of the enemy?
3 O send out thy light and thy truth: let them lead me; let them bring me unto thy holy hill, and to thy tabernacles.
4 Then will I go unto the altar of God, unto God my exceeding joy: yea, upon the harp will I praise thee, O God my God.
5 Why art thou cast down, O my soul? and why art thou disquieted within me? hope in God: for I shall yet praise him, who is the health of my countenance, and my God.

PSALMS CHAPTER 44
1 We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us, what work thou didst in their days, in the times of old.
2 How thou didst drive out the heathen with thy hand, and plantedst them; how thou didst afflict the people, and cast them out.
3 For they got not the land in possession by their own sword, neither did their own arm save them: but thy right hand, and thine arm, and the light of thy countenance, because thou hadst a favour unto them.
4 Thou art my King, O God: command deliverances for Jacob.
5 Through thee will we push down our enemies: through thy name will we tread them under that rise up against us.
6 For I will not trust in my bow, neither shall my sword save me.
7 But thou hast saved us from our enemies, and hast put them to shame that hated us.
8 In God we boast all the day long, and praise thy name for ever. Selah.
9 But thou hast cast off, and put us to shame; and goest not forth with our armies.
10 Thou makest us to turn back from the enemy: and they which hate us spoil for themselves.
11 Thou hast given us like sheep appointed for meat; and hast scattered us among the heathen.
12 Thou sellest thy people for nought, and dost not increase thy wealth by their price.
13 Thou makest us a reproach to our neighbours, a scorn and a derision to them that are round about us.
14 Thou makest us a byword among the heathen, a shaking of the head among the people.
15 My confusion is continually before me, and the shame of my face hath covered me,
16 For the voice of him that reproacheth and blasphemeth; by reason of the enemy and avenger.
17 All this is come upon us; yet have we not forgotten thee, neither have we dealt falsely in thy covenant.
18 Our heart is not turned back, neither have our steps declined from thy way;
19 Though thou hast sore broken us in the place of dragons, and covered us with the shadow of death.
20 If we have forgotten the name of our God, or stretched out our hands to a strange god;
21 Shall not God search this out? for he knoweth the secrets of the heart.
22 Yea, for thy sake are we killed all the day long; we are counted as sheep for the slaughter.
23 Awake, why sleepest thou, O Lord? arise, cast us not off for ever.
24 Wherefore hidest thou thy face, and forgettest our affliction and our oppression?
25 For our soul is bowed down to the dust: our belly cleaveth unto the earth.
26 Arise for our help, and redeem us for thy mercies' sake.

PSALMS CHAPTER 45
1 My heart is inditing a good matter: I speak of the things which I have made touching the king: my tongue is the pen of a ready writer.
2 Thou art fairer than the children of men: grace is poured into thy lips: therefore God hath blessed thee for ever.
3 Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O most mighty, with thy glory and thy majesty.
4 And in thy majesty ride prosperously because of truth and meekness and righteousness; and thy right hand shall teach thee terrible things.
5 Thine arrows are sharp in the heart of the king's enemies; whereby the people fall under thee.
6 Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever: the sceptre of thy kingdom is a right sceptre.
7 Thou lovest righteousness, and hatest wickedness: therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.
8 All thy garments smell of myrrh, and aloes, and cassia, out of the ivory palaces, whereby they have made thee glad.
9 Kings' daughters were among thy honourable women: upon thy right hand did stand the queen in gold of Ophir.
10 Hearken, O daughter, and consider, and incline thine ear; forget also thine own people, and thy father's house;
11 So shall the king greatly desire thy beauty: for he is thy Lord; and worship thou him.
12 And the daughter of Tyre shall be there with a gift; even the rich among the people shall intreat thy favour.
13 The king's daughter is all glorious within: her clothing is of wrought gold.
14 She shall be brought unto the king in raiment of needlework: the virgins her companions that follow her shall be brought unto thee.
15 With gladness and rejoicing shall they be brought: they shall enter into the king's palace.
16 Instead of thy fathers shall be thy children, whom thou mayest make princes in all the earth.
17 I will make thy name to be remembered in all generations: therefore shall the people praise thee for ever and ever.

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PSALMS CHAPTER 46
1 God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble.
2 Therefore will not we fear, though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea;
3 Though the waters thereof roar and be troubled, though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof. Selah.
4 There is a river, the streams whereof shall make glad the city of God, the holy place of the tabernacles of the most High.
5 God is in the midst of her; she shall not be moved: God shall help her, and that right early.
6 The heathen raged, the kingdoms were moved: he uttered his voice, the earth melted.
7 The LORD of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge. Selah.
8 Come, behold the works of the LORD, what desolations he hath made in the earth.
9 He maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth; he breaketh the bow, and cutteth the spear in sunder; he burneth the chariot in the fire.
10 Be still, and know that I am God: I will be exalted among the heathen, I will be exalted in the earth.
11 The LORD of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge. Selah.

PSALMS CHAPTER 47
1 O clap your hands, all ye people; shout unto God with the voice of triumph.
2 For the LORD most high is terrible; he is a great King over all the earth.
3 He shall subdue the people under us, and the nations under our feet.
4 He shall choose our inheritance for us, the excellency of Jacob whom he loved. Selah.
5 God is gone up with a shout, the LORD with the sound of a trumpet.
6 Sing praises to God, sing praises: sing praises unto our King, sing praises.
7 For God is the King of all the earth: sing ye praises with understanding.
8 God reigneth over the heathen: God sitteth upon the throne of his holiness.
9 The princes of the people are gathered together, even the people of the God of Abraham: for the shields of the earth belong unto God: he is greatly exalted.

PSALMS CHAPTER 48
1 Great is the LORD, and greatly to be praised in the city of our God, in the mountain of his holiness.
2 Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, is mount Zion, on the sides of the north, the city of the great King.
3 God is known in her palaces for a refuge.

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4 For, lo, the kings were assembled, they passed by together.
5 They saw it, and so they marvelled; they were troubled, and hasted away.
6 Fear took hold upon them there, and pain, as of a woman in travail.
7 Thou breakest the ships of Tarshish with an east wind.
8 As we have heard, so have we seen in the city of the LORD of hosts, in the city of our God: God will establish it for ever. Selah.
9 We have thought of thy lovingkindness, O God, in the midst of thy temple.
10 According to thy name, O God, so is thy praise unto the ends of the earth: thy right hand is full of righteousness.
11 Let mount Zion rejoice, let the daughters of Judah be glad, because of thy judgements.
12 Walk about Zion, and go round about her: tell the towers thereof.
13 Mark ye well her bulwarks, consider her palaces; that ye may tell it to the generation following.
14 For this God is our God for ever and ever: he will be our guide even unto death.

PSALMS CHAPTER 49

1 Hear this, all ye people; give ear, all ye inhabitants of the world:
2 Both low and high, rich and poor, together.
3 My mouth shall speak of wisdom; and the meditation of my heart shall be of understanding.
4 I will incline mine ear to a parable: I will open my dark saying upon the harp.
5 Wherefore should I fear in the days of evil, when the iniquity of my heels shall compass me about?
6 They that trust in their wealth, and boast themselves in the multitude of their riches;
7 None of them can by any means redeem his brother, nor give to God a ransom for him:
8 (For the redemption of their soul is precious, and it ceaseth for ever:)
9 That he should still live for ever, and not see corruption.
10 For he seeth that wise men die, likewise the fool and the brutish person perish, and leave their wealth to others.
11 Their inward thought is, that their houses shall continue for ever, and their dwelling places to all generations; they call their lands after their own names.
12 Nevertheless man being in honour abideth not: he is like the beasts that perish.
13 This their way is their folly: yet their posterity approve their sayings. Selah.
14 Like sheep they are laid in the grave; death shall feed on them; and the upright shall have dominion over them in the morning; and their beauty shall consume in the grave from their dwelling.
15 But God will redeem my soul from the power of the grave: for he shall receive me. Selah.
16 Be not thou afraid when one is made rich, when the glory of his house is increased;
17 For when he dieth he shall carry nothing away: his glory shall not descend after him.
18 Though while he lived he blessed his soul: and men will praise thee, when thou doest well to thyself.
19 He shall go to the generation of his fathers; they shall never see light.
20 Man that is in honour, and understandeth not, is like the beasts that perish.

PSALMS CHAPTER 50

1 The mighty God, even the LORD, hath spoken, and called the earth from the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof.
2 Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty, God hath shined.
3 Our God shall come, and shall not keep silence: a fire shall devour before him, and it shall be very tempestuous round about him.
4 He shall call to the heavens from above, and to the earth, that he may judge his people.
5 Gather my saints together unto me; those that have made a covenant with me by sacrifice.
6 And the heavens shall declare his righteousness: for God is judge himself. Selah.
7 Hear, O my people, and I will speak; O Israel, and I will testify against thee: I am God, even thy God.
8 I will not reprove thee for thy sacrifices or thy burnt offerings, to have been continually before me.
9 I will take no bullock out of thy house, nor he goats out of thy folds.
10 For every beast of the forest is mine, and the cattle upon a thousand hills.
11 I know all the fowls of the mountains: and the wild beasts of the field are mine.
12 If I were hungry, I would not tell thee: for the world is mine, and the fulness thereof.
13 Will I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats?
14 Offer unto God thanksgiving; and pay thy vows unto the most High:
15 And call upon me in the day of trouble: I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me.
16 But unto the wicked God saith, What hast thou to do to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldest take my covenant in thy mouth?
17 Seeing thou hatest instruction, and casteth my words behind thee.
18 When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him, and hast been partaker with adulterers.
19 Thou givest thy mouth to evil, and thy tongue frameth deceit.
20 Thou sittest and speakest against thy brother; thou slanderest thine own mother's son.
21 These things hast thou done, and I kept silence; thou thoughtest that I was altogether such an one as thyself: but I will reprove thee, and set them in order before thine eyes.
22 Now consider this, ye that forget God, lest I tear you in pieces, and there be none to deliver.
23 Whoso offereth praise glorifieth me: and to him that ordereth his conversation aright will I shew the salvation of God.

PSALMS CHAPTER 51

1 Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy lovingkindness: according unto the multitude of thy tender mercies blot out my transgressions.
2 Wash me throughly from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin.
3 For I acknowledge my transgressions: and my sin is ever before me.
4 Against thee, thee only, have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight: that thou mightest be justified when thou speakest, and be clear when thou judgest.
5 Behold, I was shapen in iniquity; and in sin did my mother conceive me.
6 Behold, thou desirest truth in the inward parts: and in the hidden part thou shalt make me to know wisdom.
7 Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean: wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow.
8 Make me to hear joy and gladness; that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice.
9 Hide thy face from my sins, and blot out all mine iniquities.
10 Create in me a clean heart, O God; and renew a right spirit within me.
11 Cast me not away from thy presence; and take not thy holy spirit from me.
12 Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation; and uphold me with thy free spirit.
13 Then will I teach transgressors thy ways; and sinners shall be converted unto thee.
14 Deliver me from bloodguiltiness, O God, thou God of my salvation: and my tongue shall sing aloud of thy righteousness.
15 O Lord, open thou my lips; and my mouth shall shew forth thy praise.
16 For thou desirest not sacrifice; else would I give it: thou delightest not in burnt offering.
17 The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.
18 Do good in thy good pleasure unto Zion: build thou the walls of Jerusalem.
19 Then shalt thou be pleased with the sacrifices of righteousness, with burnt offering and whole burnt offering: then shall they offer bullocks upon thine altar.

PSALMS CHAPTER 52

1 Why boastest thou thyself in mischief, O mighty man? the goodness of God endureth continually.
2 The tongue deviseth mischiefs; like a sharp razor, working deceitfully.
3 Thou lovest evil more than good; and lying rather than to speak righteousness. Selah.
4 Thou lovest all devouring words, O thou deceitful tongue.
5 God shall likewise destroy thee for ever, he shall take thee away, and pluck thee out of thy dwelling place, and root thee out of the land of the living. Selah.
6 The righteous also shall see, and fear, and shall laugh at him:
7 Lo, this is the man that made not God his strength; but trusted in the abundance of his riches, and strengthened himself in his wickedness.
8 But I am like a green olive tree in the house of God: I trust in the mercy of God for ever and ever.
9 I will praise thee for ever, because thou hast done it: and I will wait on thy name; for it is good before thy saints.

PSALMS CHAPTER 53

1 The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God. Corrupt are they, and have done abominable iniquity: there is none that doeth good.
2 God looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were any that did understand, that did seek God.
3 Every one of them is gone back: they are altogether become filthy; there is none that doeth good, no, not one.
4 Have the workers of iniquity no knowledge? who eat up my people as they eat bread: they have not called upon God.
5 There were they in great fear, where no fear was: for God hath scattered the bones of him that encampeth against thee: thou hast put them to shame, because God hath despised them.
6 Oh that the salvation of Israel were come out of Zion! When God bringeth back the captivity of his people, Jacob shall rejoice, and Israel shall be glad.

PSALMS CHAPTER 54

1 Save me, O God, by thy name, and judge me by thy strength.
2 Hear my prayer, O God; give ear to the words of my mouth.
3 For strangers are risen up against me, and oppressors seek after my soul: they have not set God before them. Selah.
4 Behold, God is mine helper: the Lord is with them that uphold my soul.
5 He shall reward evil unto mine enemies: cut them off in thy truth.
6 I will freely sacrifice unto thee: I will praise thy name, O LORD; for it is good.
7 For he hath delivered me out of all trouble: and mine eye hath seen his desire upon mine enemies.

PSALMS CHAPTER 55

1 Give ear to my prayer, O God; and hide not thyself from my supplication.
2 Attend unto me, and hear me: I mourn in my complaint, and make a noise;
3 Because of the voice of the enemy, because of the oppression of the wicked: for they cast iniquity upon me, and in wrath they hate me.
4 My heart is sore pained within me: and the terrors of death are fallen upon me.
5 Fearfulness and trembling are come upon me, and horror hath overwhelmed me.
6 And I said, Oh that I had wings like a dove! for then would I fly away, and be at rest.
7 Lo, then would I wander far off, and remain in the wilderness. Selah.
8 I would hasten my escape from the windy storm and tempest.
9 Destroy, O Lord, and divide their tongues: for I have seen violence and strife in the city.
10 Day and night they go about it upon the walls thereof: mischief also and sorrow are in the midst of it.
11 Wickedness is in the midst thereof: deceit and guile depart not from her streets.
12 For it was not an enemy that reproached me; then I could have borne it: neither was it he that hated me that did magnify himself against me; then I would have hid myself from him:
13 But it was thou, a man mine equal, my guide, and mine acquaintance.
14 We took sweet counsel together, and walked unto the house of God in company.
15 Let death seize upon them, and let them go down quick into hell: for wickedness is in their dwellings, and among them.
16 As for me, I will call upon God; and the LORD shall save me.
17 Evening, and morning, and at noon, will I pray, and cry aloud: and he shall hear my voice.
18 He hath delivered my soul in peace from the battle that was against me: for there were many with me.
19 God shall hear, and afflict them, even he that abideth of old. Selah. Because they have no changes, therefore they fear not God.
20 He hath put forth his hands against such as be at peace with him: he hath broken his covenant.
21 The words of his mouth were smoother than butter, but war was in his heart: his words were softer than oil, yet were they drawn swords.
22 Cast thy burden upon the LORD, and he shall sustain thee: he shall never suffer the righteous to be moved.
23 But thou, O God, shalt bring them down into the pit of destruction: bloody and deceitful men shall not live out half their days; but I will trust in thee.

PSALMS CHAPTER 56

1 Be merciful unto me, O God: for man would swallow me up; he fighting daily oppresseth me.
2 Mine enemies would daily swallow me up: for they be many that fight against me, O thou most High.
3 What time I am afraid, I will trust in thee.
4 In God I will praise his word, in God I have put my trust; I will not fear what flesh can do unto me.
5 Every day they wrest my words: all their thoughts are against me for evil.
6 They gather themselves together, they hide themselves, they mark my steps, when they wait for my soul.

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7 Shall they escape by iniquity? in thine anger cast down the people, O God.
8 Thou tellest my wanderings: put thou my tears into thy bottle: are they not in thy book?
9 When I cry unto thee, then shall mine enemies turn back: this I know; for God is for me.
10 In God will I praise his word: in the LORD will I praise his word.
11 In God have I put my trust: I will not be afraid what man can do unto me.
12 Thy vows are upon me, O God: I will render praises unto thee.
13 For thou hast delivered my soul from death: wilt not thou deliver my feet from falling, that I may walk before God in the light of the living?

PSALMS CHAPTER 57
1 Be merciful unto me, O God, be merciful unto me: for my soul trusteth in thee: yea, in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge, until these calamities be overpast.
2 I will cry unto God most high; unto God that performeth all things for me.
3 He shall send from heaven, and save me from the reproach of him that would swallow me up. Selah. God shall send forth his mercy and his truth.
4 My soul is among lions: and I lie even among them that are set on fire, even the sons of men, whose teeth are spears and arrows, and their tongue a sharp sword.
5 Be thou exalted, O God, above the heavens; let thy glory be above all the earth.
6 They have prepared a net for my steps; my soul is bowed down: they have digged a pit before me, into the midst whereof they are fallen themselves. Selah.
7 My heart is fixed, O God, my heart is fixed: I will sing and give praise.
8 Awake up, my glory; awake, psaltery and harp: I myself will awake early.
9 I will praise thee, O Lord, among the people: I will sing unto thee among the nations.
10 For thy mercy is great unto the heavens, and thy truth unto the clouds.
11 Be thou exalted, O God, above the heavens: let thy glory be above all the earth.

PSALMS CHAPTER 58
1 Do ye indeed speak righteousness, O congregation? do ye judge uprightly, O ye sons of men?
2 Yea, in heart ye work wickedness; ye weigh the violence of your hands in the earth.
3 The wicked are estranged from the womb: they go astray as soon as they be born, speaking lies.
4 Their poison is like the poison of a serpent: they are like the deaf adder that stoppeth her ear;
5 Which will not hearken to the voice of charmers, charming never so wisely.
6 Break their teeth, O God, in their mouth: break out the great teeth of the young lions, O LORD.
7 Let them melt away as waters which run continually: when he bendeth his bow to shoot his arrows, let them be as cut in pieces.
8 As a snail which melteth, let every one of them pass away: like the untimely birth of a woman, that they may not see the sun.
9 Before your pots can feel the thorns, he shall take them away as with a whirlwind, both living, and in his wrath.
10 The righteous shall rejoice when he seeth the vengeance: he shall wash his feet in the blood of the wicked.
11 So that a man shall say, Verily there is a reward for the righteous: verily he is a God that judgeth in the earth.

PSALMS CHAPTER 59
1 Deliver me from mine enemies, O my God: defend me from them that rise up against me.
2 Deliver me from the workers of iniquity, and save me from bloody men.
3 For, lo, they lie in wait for my soul: the mighty are gathered against me; not for my transgression, nor for my sin, O LORD.
4 They run and prepare themselves without my fault: awake to help me, and behold.
5 Thou therefore, O LORD God of hosts, the God of Israel, awake to visit all the heathen: be not merciful to any wicked transgressors. Selah.
6 They return at evening: they make a noise like a dog, and go round about the city.
7 Behold, they belch out with their mouth: swords are in their lips: for who, say they, doth hear?
8 But thou, O LORD, shalt laugh at them; thou shalt have all the heathen in derision.
9 Because of his strength will I wait upon thee: for God is my defence.
10 The God of my mercy shall prevent me: God shall let me see my desire upon mine enemies.
11 Slay them not, lest my people forget: scatter them by thy power; and bring them down, O Lord our shield.
12 For the sin of their mouth and the words of their lips let them even be taken in their pride: and for cursing and lying which they speak.
13 Consume them in wrath, consume them, that they may not be: and let them know that God ruleth in Jacob unto the ends of the earth. Selah.
14 And at evening let them return; and let them make a noise like a dog, and go round about the city.
15 Let them wander up and down for meat, and grudge if they be not satisfied.
16 But I will sing of thy power; yea, I will sing aloud of thy mercy in the morning: for thou hast been my defence and refuge in the day of my trouble.
17 Unto thee, O my strength, will I sing: for God is my defence, and the God of my mercy.

PSALMS CHAPTER 60
1 O God, thou hast cast us off, thou hast scattered us, thou hast been displeased; O turn thyself to us again.
2 Thou hast made the earth to tremble; thou hast broken it: heal the breaches thereof; for it shaketh.
3 Thou hast shewed thy people hard things: thou hast made us to drink the wine of astonishment.
4 Thou hast given a banner to them that fear thee, that it may be displayed because of the truth. Selah.
5 That thy beloved may be delivered; save with thy right hand, and hear me.
6 God hath spoken in his holiness; I will rejoice, I will divide Shechem, and mete out the valley of Succoth.
7 Gilead is mine, and Manasseh is mine; Ephraim also is the strength of mine head; Judah is my lawgiver;
8 Moab is my washpot; over Edom will I cast out my shoe: Philistia, triumph thou because of me.
9 Who will bring me into the strong city? who will lead me into Edom?
10 Wilt not thou, O God, which hadst cast us off? and thou, O God, which didst not go out with our armies?
11 Give us help from trouble: for vain is the help of man.
12 Through God we shall do valiantly: for he it is that shall tread down our enemies.

PSALMS CHAPTER 61
1 Hear my cry, O God; attend unto my prayer.
2 From the end of the earth will I cry unto thee, when my heart is overwhelmed: lead me to the rock that is higher than I.
3 For thou hast been a shelter for me, and a strong tower from the enemy.
4 I will abide in thy tabernacle for ever: I will trust in the covert of thy wings. Selah.
5 For thou, O God, hast heard my vows: thou hast given me the heritage of those that fear thy name.
6 Thou wilt prolong the king's life: and his years as many generations.
7 He shall abide before God for ever: O prepare mercy and truth, which may preserve him.
8 So will I sing praise unto thy name for ever, that I may daily perform my vows.

PSALMS CHAPTER 62
1 Truly my soul waiteth upon God: from him cometh my salvation.
2 He only is my rock and my salvation; he is my defence; I shall not be greatly moved.
3 How long will ye imagine mischief against a man? ye shall be slain all of you: as a bowing wall shall ye be, and as a tottering fence.
4 They only consult to cast him down from his excellency: they delight in lies: they bless with their mouth, but they curse inwardly. Selah.
5 My soul, wait thou only upon God; for my expectation is from him.
6 He only is my rock and my salvation: he is my defence; I shall not be moved.
7 In God is my salvation and my glory: the rock of my strength, and my refuge, is in God.
8 Trust in him at all times; ye people, pour out your heart before him: God is a refuge for us. Selah.
9 Surely men of low degree are vanity, and men of high degree are a lie: to be laid in the balance, they are altogether lighter than vanity.
10 Trust not in oppression, and become not vain in robbery: if riches increase, set not your heart upon them.
11 God hath spoken once; twice have I heard this; that power belongeth unto God.
12 Also unto thee, O Lord, belongeth mercy: for thou renderest to every man according to his work.

PSALMS CHAPTER 63
1 O God, thou art my God; early will I seek thee: my soul thirsteth for thee, my flesh longeth for thee in a dry and thirsty land, where no water is;
2 To see thy power and thy glory, so as I have seen thee in the sanctuary.
3 Because thy lovingkindness is better than life, my lips shall praise thee.
4 Thus will I bless thee while I live: I will lift up my hands in thy name.
5 My soul shall be satisfied as with marrow and fatness; and my mouth shall praise thee with joyful lips:
6 When I remember thee upon my bed, and meditate on thee in the night watches.
7 Because thou hast been my help, therefore in the shadow of thy wings will I rejoice.
8 My soul followeth hard after thee: thy right hand upholdeth me.
9 But those that seek my soul, to destroy it, shall go into the lower parts of the earth.
10 They shall fall by the sword: they shall be a portion for foxes.
11 But the king shall rejoice in God; every one that sweareth by him shall glory: but the mouth of them that speak lies shall be stopped.

PSALMS CHAPTER 64
1 Hear my voice, O God, in my prayer: preserve my life from fear of the enemy.
2 Hide me from the secret counsel of the wicked; from the insurrection of the workers of iniquity:
3 Who whet their tongue like a sword, and bend their bows to shoot their arrows, even bitter words:
4 That they may shoot in secret at the perfect: suddenly do they shoot at him, and fear not.
5 They encourage themselves in an evil matter: they commune of laying snares privily; they say, Who shall see them?
6 They search out iniquities; they accomplish a diligent search: both the inward thought of every one of them, and the heart, is deep.
7 But God shall shoot at them with an arrow; suddenly shall they be wounded.
8 So they shall make their own tongue to fall upon themselves: all that see them shall flee away.
9 And all men shall fear, and shall declare the work of God; for they shall wisely consider of his doing.
10 The righteous shall be glad in the LORD, and shall trust in him; and all the upright in heart shall glory.

PSALMS CHAPTER 65
1 Praise waiteth for thee, O God, in Sion: and unto thee shall the vow be performed.
2 O thou that hearest prayer, unto thee shall all flesh come.
3 Iniquities prevail against me: as for our transgressions, thou shalt purge them away.
4 Blessed is the man whom thou choosest, and causest to approach unto thee, that he may dwell in thy courts: we shall be satisfied with the goodness of thy house, even of thy holy temple.
5 By terrible things in righteousness wilt thou answer us, O God of our salvation; who art the confidence of all the ends of the earth, and of them that are afar off upon the sea:
6 Which by his strength setteth fast the mountains; being girded with power:
7 Which stilleth the noise of the seas, the noise of their waves, and the tumult of the people.
8 They also that dwell in the uttermost parts are afraid at thy tokens: thou makest the outgoings of the morning and evening to rejoice.
9 Thou visitest the earth, and waterest it: thou greatly enrichest it with the river of God, which is full of water: thou preparest them corn, when thou hast so provided for it.
10 Thou waterest the ridges thereof abundantly: thou settlest the furrows thereof: thou makest it soft with showers: thou blessest the springing thereof.
11 Thou crownest the year with thy goodness; and thy paths drop fatness.
12 They drop upon the pastures of the wilderness: and the little hills rejoice on every side.
13 The pastures are clothed with flocks; the valleys also are covered over with corn; they shout for joy, they also sing.

PSALMS CHAPTER 66
1 Make a joyful noise unto God, all ye lands:
2 Sing forth the honour of his name: make his praise glorious.
3 Say unto God, How terrible art thou in thy works! through the greatness of thy power shall thine enemies submit themselves unto thee.
4 All the earth shall worship thee, and shall sing unto thee; they shall sing to thy name. Selah.
5 Come and see the works of God: he is terrible in his doing toward the children of men.
6 He turned the sea into dry land: they went through the flood on foot: there did we rejoice in him.
7 He ruleth by his power for ever; his eyes behold the nations: let not the rebellious exalt themselves. Selah.

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8 O bless our God, ye people, and make the voice of his praise to be heard:
9 Which holdeth our soul in life, and suffereth not our feet to be moved.
10 For thou, O God, hast proved us: thou hast tried us, as silver is tried.
11 Thou broughtest us into the net; thou laidst affliction upon our loins.
12 Thou hast caused men to ride over our heads; we went through fire and through water: but thou broughtest us out into a wealthy place.
13 I will go into thy house with burnt offerings: I will pay thee my vows,
14 Which my lips have uttered, and my mouth hath spoken, when I was in trouble.
15 I will offer unto thee burnt sacrifices of fatlings, with the incense of rams; I will offer bullocks with goats. Selah.
16 Come and hear, all ye that fear God, and I will declare what he hath done for my soul.
17 I cried unto him with my mouth, and he was extolled with my tongue.
18 If I regard iniquity in my heart, the Lord will not hear me:
19 But verily God hath heard me; he hath attended to the voice of my prayer.
20 Blessed be God, which hath not turned away my prayer, nor his mercy from me.

PSALMS CHAPTER 67
1 God be merciful unto us, and bless us; and cause his face to shine upon us; Selah.
2 That thy way may be known upon earth, thy saving health among all nations.
3 Let the people praise thee, O God; let all the people praise thee.
4 O let the nations be glad and sing for joy: for thou shalt judge the people righteously, and govern the nations upon earth. Selah.
5 Let the people praise thee, O God; let all the people praise thee.
6 Then shall the earth yield her increase; and God, even our own God, shall bless us.
7 God shall bless us; and all the ends of the earth shall fear him.

PSALMS CHAPTER 68
1 Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered: let them also that hate him flee before him.
2 As smoke is driven away, so drive them away: as wax melteth before the fire, so let the wicked perish at the presence of God.
3 But let the righteous be glad; let them rejoice before God: yea, let them exceedingly rejoice.
4 Sing unto God, sing praises to his name: extol him that rideth upon the heavens by his name JAH, and rejoice before him.
5 A father of the fatherless, and a judge of the widows, is God in his holy habitation.
6 God setteth the solitary in families: he bringeth out those which are bound with chains: but the rebellious dwell in a dry land.
7 O God, when thou wentest forth before thy people, when thou didst march through the wilderness; Selah:
8 The earth shook, the heavens also dropped at the presence of God: even Sinai itself was moved at the presence of God, the God of Israel.
9 Thou, O God, didst send a plentiful rain, whereby thou didst confirm thine inheritance, when it was weary.
10 Thy congregation hath dwelt therein: thou, O God, hast prepared of thy goodness for the poor.
11 The Lord gave the word: great was the company of those that published it.
12 Kings of armies did flee apace: and she that tarried at home divided the spoil.
13 Though ye have lien among the pots, yet shall ye be as the wings of a dove covered with silver, and her feathers with yellow gold.
14 When the Almighty scattered kings in it, it was white as snow in Salmon.
15 The hill of God is as the hill of Bashan; an high hill as the hill of Bashan.
16 Why leap ye, ye high hills? this is the hill which God desireth to dwell in; yea, the LORD will dwell in it for ever.
17 The chariots of God are twenty thousand, even thousands of angels: the Lord is among them, as in Sinai, in the holy place.
18 Thou hast ascended on high, thou hast led captivity captive: thou hast received gifts for men; yea, for the rebellious also, that the LORD God might dwell among them.
19 Blessed be the Lord, who daily loadeth us with benefits, even the God of our salvation. Selah.
20 He that is our God is the God of salvation; and unto GOD the Lord belong the issues from death.
21 But God shall wound the head of his enemies, and the hairy scalp of such an one as goeth on still in his trespasses.
22 The Lord said, I will bring again from Bashan, I will bring my people again from the depths of the sea:
23 That thy foot may be dipped in the blood of thine enemies, and the tongue of thy dogs in the same.
24 They have seen thy goings, O God; even the goings of my God, my King, in the sanctuary.
25 The singers went before, the players on instruments followed after; among them were the damsels playing with timbrels.
26 Bless ye God in the congregations, even the Lord, from the fountain of Israel.
27 There is little Benjamin with their ruler, the princes of Judah and their council, the princes of Zebulun, and the princes of Naphtali.
28 Thy God hath commanded thy strength: strengthen, O God, that which thou hast wrought for us.
29 Because of thy temple at Jerusalem shall kings bring presents unto thee.
30 Rebuke the company of spearmen, the multitude of the bulls, with the calves of the people, till every one submit himself with pieces of silver: scatter thou the people that delight in war.
31 Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God.
32 Sing unto God, ye kingdoms of the earth; O sing praises unto the Lord; Selah:
33 To him that rideth upon the heavens of heavens, which were of old; lo, he doth send out his voice, and that a mighty voice.
34 Ascribe ye strength unto God: his excellency is over Israel, and his strength is in the clouds.
35 O God, thou art terrible out of thy holy places: the God of Israel is he that giveth strength and power unto his people. Blessed be God.

PSALMS CHAPTER 69
1 Save me, O God; for the waters are come in unto my soul.
2 I sink in deep mire, where there is no standing: I am come into deep waters, where the floods overflow me.
3 I am weary of my crying: my throat is dried: mine eyes fail while I wait for my God.
4 They that hate me without a cause are more than the hairs of mine head: they that would destroy me, being mine enemies wrongfully, are mighty: then I restored that which I took not away.
5 O God, thou knowest my foolishness; and my sins are not hid from thee.
6 Let not them that wait on thee, O Lord GOD of hosts, be ashamed for my sake: let not those that seek thee be confounded for my sake, O God of Israel.
7 Because for thy sake I have borne reproach; shame hath covered my face.
8 I am become a stranger unto my brethren, and an alien unto my mother's children.
9 For the zeal of thine house hath eaten me up; and the reproaches of them that reproached thee are fallen upon me.
10 When I wept, and chastened my soul with fasting, that was to my reproach.
11 I made sackcloth also my garment; and I became a proverb to them.
12 They that sit in the gate speak against me; and I was the song of the drunkards.
13 But as for me, my prayer is unto thee, O LORD, in an acceptable time: O God, in the multitude of thy mercy hear me, in the truth of thy salvation.
14 Deliver me out of the mire, and let me not sink: let me be delivered from them that hate me, and out of the deep waters.
15 Let not the waterflood overflow me, neither let the deep swallow me up, and let not the pit shut her mouth upon me.
16 Hear me, O LORD; for thy lovingkindness is good: turn unto me according to the multitude of thy tender mercies.
17 And hide not thy face from thy servant; for I am in trouble: hear me speedily.
18 Draw nigh unto my soul, and redeem it: deliver me because of mine enemies.
19 Thou hast known my reproach, and my shame, and my dishonour: mine adversaries are all before thee.
20 Reproach hath broken my heart; and I am full of heaviness: and I looked for some to take pity, but there was none; and for comforters, but I found none.
21 They gave me also gall for my meat; and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.
22 Let their table become a snare before them: and that which should have been for their welfare, let it become a trap.
23 Let their eyes be darkened, that they see not; and make their loins continually to shake.
24 Pour out thine indignation upon them, and let thy wrathful anger take hold of them.
25 Let their habitation be desolate; and let none dwell in their tents.
26 For they persecute him whom thou hast smitten; and they talk to the grief of those whom thou hast wounded.
27 Add iniquity unto their iniquity: and let them not come into thy righteousness.
28 Let them be blotted out of the book of the living, and not be written with the righteous.
29 But I am poor and sorrowful: let thy salvation, O God, set me up on high.
30 I will praise the name of God with a song, and will magnify him with thanksgiving.
31 This also shall please the LORD better than an ox or bullock that hath horns and hoofs.
32 The humble shall see this, and be glad: and your heart shall live that seek God.
33 For the LORD heareth the poor, and despiseth not his prisoners.
34 Let the heaven and earth praise him, the seas, and every thing that moveth therein.
35 For God will save Zion, and will build the cities of Judah: that they may dwell there, and have it in possession.
36 The seed also of his servants shall inherit it: and they that love his name shall dwell therein.

PSALMS CHAPTER 70
1 *MAKE HASTE, O GOD, TO DELIVER ME; MAKE HASTE TO HELP ME, O LORD.*
2 Let them be ashamed and confounded that seek after my soul: let them be turned backward, and put to confusion, that desire my hurt.
3 Let them be turned back for a reward of their shame that say, Aha, aha.
4 Let all those that seek thee rejoice and be glad in thee: and let such as love thy salvation say continually, Let God be magnified.
5 But I am poor and needy: make haste unto me, O God: thou art my help and my deliverer; O LORD, make no tarrying.

PSALMS CHAPTER 71
1 In thee, O LORD, do I put my trust: let me never be put to confusion.
2 Deliver me in thy righteousness, and cause me to escape: incline thine ear unto me, and save me.
3 Be thou my strong habitation, whereunto I may continually resort: thou hast given commandment to save me; for thou art my rock and my fortress.
4 Deliver me, O my God, out of the hand of the wicked, out of the hand of the unrighteous and cruel man.
5 For thou art my hope, O Lord GOD: thou art my trust from my youth.
6 By thee have I been holden up from the womb: thou art he that took me out of my mother's bowels: my praise shall be continually of thee.
7 I am as a wonder unto many; but thou art my strong refuge.
8 Let my mouth be filled with thy praise and with thy honour all the day.
9 Cast me not off in the time of old age; forsake me not when my strength faileth.
10 For mine enemies speak against me; and they that lay wait for my soul take counsel together,
11 Saying, God hath forsaken him: persecute and take him; for there is none to deliver him.
12 O God, be not far from me: O my God, make haste for my help.
13 Let them be confounded and consumed that are adversaries to my soul; let them be covered with reproach and dishonour that seek my hurt.
14 But I will hope continually, and will yet praise thee more and more.
15 My mouth shall shew forth thy righteousness and thy salvation all the day; for I know not the numbers thereof.
16 I will go in the strength of the Lord GOD: I will make mention of thy righteousness, even of thine only.
17 O God, thou hast taught me from my youth: and hitherto have I declared thy wondrous works.
18 Now also when I am old and greyheaded, O God, forsake me not; until I have shewed thy strength unto this generation, and thy power to every one that is to come.
19 Thy righteousness also, O God, is very high, who hast done great things: O God, who is like unto thee!
20 Thou, which hast shewed me great and sore troubles, shalt quicken me again, and shalt bring me up again from the depths of the earth.
21 Thou shalt increase my greatness, and comfort me on every side.
22 I will also praise thee with the psaltery, even thy truth, O my God: unto thee will I sing with the harp, O thou Holy One of Israel.
23 My lips shall greatly rejoice when I sing unto thee; and my soul, which thou hast redeemed.
24 My tongue also shall talk of thy righteousness all the day long: for they are confounded, for they are brought unto shame, that seek my hurt.

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PSALMS CHAPTER 72

1 Give the king thy judgements, O God, and thy righteousness unto the king's son.
2 He shall judge thy people with righteousness, and thy poor with judgement.
3 The mountains shall bring peace to the people, and the little hills, by righteousness.
4 He shall judge the poor of the people, he shall save the children of the needy, and shall break in pieces the oppressor.
5 They shall fear thee as long as the sun and moon endure, throughout all generations.
6 He shall come down like rain upon the mown grass: as showers that water the earth.
7 In his days shall the righteous flourish; and abundance of peace so long as the moon endureth.
8 He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth.
9 They that dwell in the wilderness shall bow before him; and his enemies shall lick the dust.
10 The kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents: the kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts.
11 Yea, all kings shall fall down before him: all nations shall serve him.
12 For he shall deliver the needy when he crieth; the poor also, and him that hath no helper.
13 He shall spare the poor and needy, and shall save the souls of the needy.
14 He shall redeem their soul from deceit and violence: and precious shall their blood be in his sight.
15 And he shall live, and to him shall be given of the gold of Sheba: prayer also shall be made for him continually; and daily shall he be praised.
16 There shall be an handful of corn in the earth upon the top of the mountains; the fruit thereof shall shake like Lebanon: and they of the city shall flourish like grass of the earth.
17 His name shall endure for ever: his name shall be continued as long as the sun: and men shall be blessed in him: all nations shall call him blessed.
18 Blessed be the LORD God, the God of Israel, who only doeth wondrous things.
19 And blessed be his glorious name for ever: and let the whole earth be filled with his glory; Amen, and Amen.
20 The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended.

PSALMS CHAPTER 73

1 Truly God is good to Israel, even to such as are of a clean heart.
2 But as for me, my feet were almost gone; my steps had well nigh slipped.
3 For I was envious at the foolish, when I saw the prosperity of the wicked.
4 For there are no bands in their death: but their strength is firm.
5 They are not in trouble as other men; neither are they plagued like other men.
6 Therefore pride compasseth them about as a chain; violence covereth them as a garment.
7 Their eyes stand out with fatness: they have more than heart could wish.
8 They are corrupt, and speak wickedly concerning oppression: they speak loftily.
9 They set their mouth against the heavens, and their tongue walketh through the earth.
10 Therefore his people return hither: and waters of a full cup are wrung out to them.
11 And they say, How doth God know? and is there knowledge in the most High?
12 Behold, these are the ungodly, who prosper in the world; they increase in riches.
13 Verily I have cleansed my heart in vain, and washed my hands in innocency.
14 For all the day long have I been plagued, and chastened every morning.
15 If I say, I will speak thus; behold, I should offend against the generation of thy children.
16 When I thought to know this, it was too painful for me;
17 Until I went into the sanctuary of God; then understood I their end.
18 Surely thou didst set them in slippery places: thou castedst them down into destruction.
19 How are they brought into desolation, as in a moment! they are utterly consumed with terrors.
20 As a dream when one awaketh; so, O Lord, when thou awakest, thou shalt despise their image.
21 Thus my heart was grieved, and I was pricked in my reins.
22 So foolish was I, and ignorant: I was as a beast before thee.
23 Nevertheless I am continually with thee: thou hast holden me by my right hand.
24 Thou shalt guide me with thy counsel, and afterward receive me to glory.
25 Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire beside thee.
26 My flesh and my heart faileth: but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever.
27 For, lo, they that are far from thee shall perish: thou hast destroyed all them that go a whoring from thee.
28 But it is good for me to draw near to God: I have put my trust in the Lord GOD, that I may declare all thy works.

PSALMS CHAPTER 74

1 O God, why hast thou cast us off for ever? why doth thine anger smoke against the sheep of thy pasture?
2 Remember thy congregation, which thou hast purchased of old; the rod of thine inheritance, which thou hast redeemed; this mount Zion, wherein thou hast dwelt.
3 Lift up thy feet unto the perpetual desolations; even all that the enemy hath done wickedly in the sanctuary.
4 Thine enemies roar in the midst of thy congregations; they set up their ensigns for signs.
5 A man was famous according as he had lifted up axes upon the thick trees.
6 But now they break down the carved work thereof at once with axes and hammers.
7 They have cast fire into thy sanctuary, they have defiled by casting down the dwelling place of thy name to the ground.
8 They said in their hearts, Let us destroy them together: they have burned up all the synagogues of God in the land.
9 We see not our signs: there is no more any prophet: neither is there among us any that knoweth how long.
10 O God, how long shall the adversary reproach? shall the enemy blaspheme thy name for ever?
11 Why withdrawest thou thy hand, even thy right hand? pluck it out of thy bosom.
12 For God is my King of old, working salvation in the midst of the earth.
13 Thou didst divide the sea by thy strength: thou brakest the heads of the dragons in the waters.
14 Thou brakest the heads of leviathan in pieces, and gavest him to be meat to the people inhabiting the wilderness.
15 Thou didst cleave the fountain and the flood: thou driedst up mighty rivers.
16 The day is thine, the night also is thine: thou hast prepared the light and the sun.
17 Thou hast set all the borders of the earth: thou hast made summer and winter.
18 Remember this, that the enemy hath reproached, O LORD, and that the foolish people have blasphemed thy name.
19 O deliver not the soul of thy turtledove unto the multitude of the wicked: forget not the congregation of thy poor for ever.
20 Have respect unto the covenant: for the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty.
21 O let not the oppressed return ashamed: let the poor and needy praise thy name.
22 Arise, O God, plead thine own cause: remember how the foolish man reproacheth thee daily.
23 Forget not the voice of thine enemies: the tumult of those that rise up against thee increaseth continually.

PSALMS CHAPTER 75

1 Unto thee, O God, do we give thanks, unto thee do we give thanks: for that thy name is near thy wondrous works declare.
2 When I shall receive the congregation I will judge uprightly.
3 The earth and all the inhabitants thereof are dissolved: I bear up the pillars of it. Selah.
4 I said unto the fools, Deal not foolishly: and to the wicked, Lift not up the horn:
5 Lift not up your horn on high: speak not with a stiff neck.
6 For promotion cometh neither from the east, nor from the west, nor from the south.
7 But God is the judge: he putteth down one, and setteth up another.
8 For in the hand of the LORD there is a cup, and the wine is red; it is full of mixture; and he poureth out of the same: but the dregs thereof, all the wicked of the earth shall wring them out, and drink them.
9 But I will declare for ever; I will sing praises to the God of Jacob.
10 All the horns of the wicked also will I cut off; but the horns of the righteous shall be exalted.

PSALMS CHAPTER 76

1 In Judah is God known: his name is great in Israel.
2 In Salem also is his tabernacle, and his dwelling place in Zion.
3 There brake he the arrows of the bow, the shield, and the sword, and the battle. Selah.
4 Thou art more glorious and excellent than the mountains of prey.
5 The stouthearted are spoiled, they have slept their sleep: and none of the men of might have found their hands.
6 At thy rebuke, O God of Jacob, both the chariot and horse are cast into a dead sleep.
7 Thou, even thou, art to be feared: and who may stand in thy sight when once thou art angry?
8 Thou didst cause judgement to be heard from heaven; the earth feared, and was still,
9 When God arose to judgement, to save all the meek of the earth. Selah.
10 Surely the wrath of man shall praise thee: the remainder of wrath shalt thou restrain.
11 Vow, and pay unto the LORD your God: let all that be round about him bring presents unto him that ought to be feared.
12 He shall cut off the spirit of princes: he is terrible to the kings of the earth.

PSALMS CHAPTER 77

1 I cried unto God with my voice, even unto God with my voice; and he gave ear unto me.
2 In the day of my trouble I sought the Lord: my sore ran in the night, and ceased not: my soul refused to be comforted.
3 I remembered God, and was troubled: I complained, and my spirit was overwhelmed. Selah.
4 Thou holdest mine eyes waking: I am so troubled that I cannot speak.
5 I have considered the days of old, the years of ancient times.
6 I call to remembrance my song in the night: I commune with mine own heart: and my spirit made diligent search.
7 Will the Lord cast off for ever? and will he be favourable no more?
8 Is his mercy clean gone for ever? doth his promise fail for evermore?
9 Hath God forgotten to be gracious? hath he in anger shut up his tender mercies? Selah.
10 And I said, This is my infirmity: but I will remember the years of the right hand of the most High.
11 I will remember the works of the LORD: surely I will remember thy wonders of old.
12 I will meditate also of all thy work, and talk of thy doings.
13 Thy way, O God, is in the sanctuary: who is so great a God as our God?
14 Thou art the God that doest wonders: thou hast declared thy strength among the people.
15 Thou hast with thine arm redeemed thy people, the sons of Jacob and Joseph. Selah.
16 The waters saw thee, O God, the waters saw thee; they were afraid: the depths also were troubled.
17 The clouds poured out water: the skies sent out a sound: thine arrows also went abroad.
18 The voice of thy thunder was in the heaven: the lightnings lightened the world: the earth trembled and shook.
19 Thy way is in the sea, and thy path in the great waters, and thy footsteps are not known.
20 Thou leddest thy people like a flock by the hand of Moses and Aaron.

PSALMS CHAPTER 78

1 Give ear, O my people, to my law: incline your ears to the words of my mouth.
2 I will open my mouth in a parable: I will utter dark sayings of old:
3 Which we have heard and known, and our fathers have told us.
4 We will not hide them from their children, shewing to the generation to come the praises of the LORD, and his strength, and his wonderful works that he hath done.
5 For he established a testimony in Jacob, and appointed a law in Israel, which he commanded our fathers, that they should make them known to their children:
6 That the generation to come might know them, even the children which should be born; who should arise and declare them to their children:
7 That they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God, but keep his commandments:
8 And might not be as their fathers, a stubborn and rebellious generation; a generation that set not their heart aright, and whose spirit was not stedfast with God.
9 The children of Ephraim, being armed, and carrying bows, turned back in the day of battle.
10 They kept not the covenant of God, and refused to walk in his law;
11 And forgat his works, and his wonders that he had shewed them.
12 Marvellous things did he in the sight of their fathers, in the land of Egypt, in the field of Zoan.
13 He divided the sea, and caused them to pass through; and he made the waters to stand as an heap.
14 In the daytime also he led them with a cloud, and all the night with a light of fire.
15 He clave the rocks in the wilderness, and gave them drink as out of the great depths.
16 He brought streams also out of the rock, and caused waters to run down like rivers.

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17 And they sinned yet more against him by provoking the most High in the wilderness.
18 And they tempted God in their heart by asking meat for their lust.
19 Yea, they spake against God; they said, Can God furnish a table in the wilderness?
20 Behold, he smote the rock, that the waters gushed out, and the streams overflowed; can he give bread also? can he provide flesh for his people?
21 Therefore the LORD heard this, and was wroth: so a fire was kindled against Jacob, and anger also came up against Israel;
22 Because they believed not in God, and trusted not in his salvation:
23 Though he had commanded the clouds from above, and opened the doors of heaven,
24 And had rained down manna upon them to eat, and had given them of the corn of heaven.
25 Man did eat angels' food: he sent them meat to the full.
26 He caused an east wind to blow in the heaven: and by his power he brought in the south wind.
27 He rained flesh also upon them as dust, and feathered fowls like as the sand of the sea:
28 And he let it fall in the midst of their camp, round about their habitations.
29 So they did eat, and were well filled: for he gave them their own desire;
30 They were not estranged from their lust. But while their meat was yet in their mouths,
31 The wrath of God came upon them, and slew the fattest of them, and smote down the chosen men of Israel.
32 For all this they sinned still, and believed not for his wondrous works.
33 Therefore their days did he consume in vanity, and their years in trouble.
34 When he slew them, then they sought him: and they returned and enquired early after God.
35 And they remembered that God was their rock, and the high God their redeemer.
36 Nevertheless they did flatter him with their mouth, and they lied unto him with their tongues.
37 For their heart was not right with him, neither were they stedfast in his covenant.
38 But he, being full of compassion, forgave their iniquity, and destroyed them not: yea, many a time turned he his anger away, and did not stir up all his wrath.
39 For he remembered that they were but flesh; a wind that passeth away, and cometh not again.
40 How oft did they provoke him in the wilderness, and grieve him in the desert!
41 Yea, they turned back and tempted God, and limited the Holy One of Israel.
42 They remembered not his hand, nor the day when he delivered them from the enemy.
43 How he had wrought his signs in Egypt, and his wonders in the field of Zoan.
44 And had turned their rivers into blood; and their floods, that they could not drink.
45 He sent divers sorts of flies among them, which devoured them; and frogs, which destroyed them.
46 He gave also their increase unto the caterpiller, and their labour unto the locust.
47 He destroyed their vines with hail, and their sycomore trees with frost.
48 He gave up their cattle also to the hail, and their flocks to hot thunderbolts.
49 He cast upon them the fierceness of his anger, wrath, and indignation, and trouble, by sending evil angels among them.
50 He made a way to his anger; he spared not their soul from death, but gave their life over to the pestilence;
51 And smote all the firstborn in Egypt; the chief of their strength in the tabernacles of Ham:
52 But made his own people to go forth like sheep, and guided them in the wilderness like a flock.
53 And he led them on safely, so that they feared not: but the sea overwhelmed their enemies.
54 And he brought them to the border of his sanctuary, even to this mountain, which his right hand had purchased.
55 He cast out the heathen also before them, and divided them an inheritance by line, and made the tribes of Israel to dwell in their tents.
56 Yet they tempted and provoked the most high God, and kept not his testimonies:
57 But turned back, and dealt unfaithfully like their fathers: they were turned aside like a deceitful bow.
58 For they provoked him to anger with their high places, and moved him to jealousy with their graven images.
59 When God heard this, he was wroth, and greatly abhorred Israel:
60 So that he forsook the tabernacle of Shiloh, the tent which he placed among men;
61 And delivered his strength into captivity, and his glory into the enemy's hand.
62 He gave his people over also unto the sword; and was wroth with his inheritance.
63 The fire consumed their young men; and their maidens were not given to marriage.
64 Their priests fell by the sword; and their widows made no lamentation.
65 Then the LORD awaked as one out of sleep, and like a mighty man that shouteth by reason of wine.
66 And he smote his enemies in the hinder parts: he put them to a perpetual reproach.
67 Moreover he refused the tabernacle of Joseph, and chose not the tribe of Ephraim:
68 But chose the tribe of Judah, the mount Zion which he loved.
69 And he built his sanctuary like high palaces, like the earth which he hath established for ever.
70 He chose David also his servant, and took him from the sheepfolds:
71 From following the ewes great with young he brought him to feed Jacob his people, and Israel his inheritance.
72 So he fed them according to the integrity of his heart; and guided them by the skilfulness of his hands.

PSALMS CHAPTER 79

1 O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance; thy holy temple have they defiled; they have laid Jerusalem on heaps.
2 The dead bodies of thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the heaven, the flesh of thy saints unto the beasts of the earth.
3 Their blood have they shed like water round about Jerusalem; and there was none to bury them.
4 We are become a reproach to our neighbours, a scorn and derision to them that are round about us.
5 How long, LORD? wilt thou be angry for ever? shall thy jealousy burn like fire?
6 Pour out thy wrath upon the heathen that have not known thee, and upon the kingdoms that have not called upon thy name.
7 For they have devoured Jacob, and laid waste his dwelling place.
8 O remember not against us former iniquities: let thy tender mercies speedily prevent us: for we are brought very low.
9 Help us, O God of our salvation, for the glory of thy name: and deliver us, and purge away our sins, for thy name's sake.
10 Wherefore should the heathen say, Where is their God? let him be known among the heathen in our sight by the revenging of the blood of thy servants which is shed.
11 Let the sighing of the prisoner come before thee; according to the greatness of thy power preserve thou those that are appointed to die;
12 And render unto our neighbours sevenfold into their bosom their reproach, wherewith they have reproached thee, O Lord.
13 So we thy people and sheep of thy pasture will give thee thanks for ever: we will shew forth thy praise to all generations.

PSALMS CHAPTER 80

1 Give ear, O Shepherd of Israel, thou that leadest Joseph like a flock; thou that dwellest between the cherubims, shine forth.
2 Before Ephraim and Benjamin and Manasseh stir up thy strength, and come and save us.
3 Turn us again, O God, and cause thy face to shine; and we shall be saved.
4 O LORD God of hosts, how long wilt thou be angry against the prayer of thy people?
5 Thou feedest them with the bread of tears; and givest them tears to drink in great measure.
6 Thou makest us a strife unto our neighbours: and our enemies laugh among themselves.
7 Turn us again, O God of hosts, and cause thy face to shine; and we shall be saved.
8 Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt: thou hast cast out the heathen, and planted it.
9 Thou preparedst room before it, and didst cause it to take deep root, and it filled the land.
10 The hills were covered with the shadow of it, and the boughs thereof were like the goodly cedars.
11 She sent out her boughs unto the sea, and her branches unto the river.
12 Why hast thou then broken down her hedges, so that all they which pass by the way do pluck her?
13 The boar out of the wood doth waste it, and the wild beast of the field doth devour it.
14 Return, we beseech thee, O God of hosts: look down from heaven, and behold, and visit this vine;
15 And the vineyard which thy right hand hath planted, and the branch that thou madest strong for thyself.
16 It is burned with fire, it is cut down: they perish at the rebuke of thy countenance.
17 Let thy hand be upon the man of thy right hand, upon the son of man whom thou madest strong for thyself.
18 So will not we go back from thee: quicken us, and we will call upon thy name.
19 Turn us again, O LORD God of hosts, cause thy face to shine; and we shall be saved.

PSALMS CHAPTER 81

1 Sing aloud unto God our strength: make a joyful noise unto the God of Jacob.
2 Take a psalm, and bring hither the timbrel, the pleasant harp with the psaltery.
3 Blow up the trumpet in the new moon, in the time appointed, on our solemn feast day.
4 For this was a statute for Israel, and a law of the God of Jacob.
5 This he ordained in Joseph for a testimony, when he went out through the land of Egypt: where I heard a language that I understood not.
6 I removed his shoulder from the burden: his hands were delivered from the pots.
7 Thou calledst in trouble, and I delivered thee; I answered thee in the secret place of thunder: I proved thee at the waters of Meribah. Selah.
8 Hear, O my people, and I will testify unto thee: O Israel, if thou wilt hearken unto me;
9 There shall no strange god be in thee; neither shalt thou worship any strange god.
10 I am the LORD thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt: open thy mouth wide, and I will fill it.
11 But my people would not hearken to my voice; and Israel would none of me.
12 So I gave them up unto their own hearts' lust: and they walked in their own counsels.
13 Oh that my people had hearkened unto me, and Israel had walked in my ways!
14 I should soon have subdued their enemies, and turned my hand against their adversaries.
15 The haters of the LORD should have submitted themselves unto him: but their time should have endured for ever.
16 He should have fed them also with the finest of the wheat: and with honey out of the rock should I have satisfied thee.

PSALMS CHAPTER 82

1 God standeth in the congregation of the mighty; he judgeth among the gods.
2 How long will ye judge unjustly, and accept the persons of the wicked? Selah.
3 Defend the poor and fatherless: do justice to the afflicted and needy.
4 Deliver the poor and needy: rid them out of the hand of the wicked.
5 They know not, neither will they understand; they walk on in darkness: all the foundations of the earth are out of course.
6 I have said, Ye are gods; and all of you are children of the most High.
7 But ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes.
8 Arise, O God, judge the earth: for thou shalt inherit all nations.

PSALMS CHAPTER 83

1 Keep not thou silence, O God: hold not thy peace, and be not still, O God.
2 For, lo, thine enemies make a tumult: and they that hate thee have lifted up the head.
3 They have taken crafty counsel against thy people, and consulted against thy hidden ones.
4 They have said, Come, and let us cut them off from being a nation; that the name of Israel may be no more in remembrance.
5 For they have consulted together with one consent: they are confederate against thee:
6 The tabernacles of Edom, and the Ishmaelites; of Moab, and the Hagarenes;
7 Gebal, and Ammon, and Amalek; the Philistines with the inhabitants of Tyre;
8 Assur also is joined with them: they have holpen the children of Lot. Selah.
9 Do unto them as unto the Midianites; as to Sisera, as to Jabin, at the brook of Kison:
10 Which perished at Endor: they became as dung for the earth.
11 Make their nobles like Oreb, and like Zeeb: yea, all their princes as Zebah, and as Zalmunna:
12 Who said, Let us take to ourselves the houses of God in possession.
13 O my God, make them like a wheel; as the stubble before the wind.
14 As the fire burneth a wood, and as the flame setteth the mountains on fire;
15 So persecute them with thy tempest, and make them afraid with thy storm.

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16 Fill their faces with shame; that they may seek thy name, O LORD.
17 Let them be confounded and troubled for ever; yea, let them be put to shame, and perish:
18 That men may know that thou, whose name alone is JEHOVAH, art the most high over all the earth.

PSALMS CHAPTER 84
1 How amiable are thy tabernacles, O LORD of hosts!
2 My soul longeth, yea, even fainteth for the courts of the LORD: my heart and my flesh crieth out for the living God.
3 Yea, the sparrow hath found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself, where she may lay her young, even thine altars, O LORD of hosts, my King, and my God.
4 Blessed are they that dwell in thy house: they will be still praising thee. Selah.
5 Blessed is the man whose strength is in thee; in whose heart are the ways of them.
6 Who passing through the valley of Baca (Becca = Petra, in the Arabah Valley) make it a well; the rain also filleth the pools.
7 They go from strength to strength, every one of them in Zion appeareth before God.
8 O LORD God of hosts, hear my prayer: give ear, O God of Jacob. Selah.
9 Behold, O God our shield, and look upon the face of thine anointed.
10 For a day in thy courts is better than a thousand. I had rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God, than to dwell in the tents of wickedness.
11 For the LORD God is a sun and shield: the LORD will give grace and glory: no good thing will he withhold from them that walk uprightly.
12 O LORD of hosts, blessed is the man that trusteth in thee.

PSALMS CHAPTER 85
1 Lord, thou hast been favourable unto thy land: thou hast brought back the captivity of Jacob.
2 Thou hast forgiven the iniquity of thy people, thou hast covered all their sin. Selah.
3 Thou hast taken away all thy wrath: thou hast turned thyself from the fierceness of thine anger.
4 Turn us, O God of our salvation, and cause thine anger toward us to cease.
5 Wilt thou be angry with us for ever? wilt thou draw out thine anger to all generations?
6 Wilt thou not revive us again: that thy people may rejoice in thee?
7 Shew us thy mercy, O LORD, and grant us thy salvation.
8 I will hear what God the LORD will speak: for he will speak peace unto his people, and to his saints: but let them not turn again to folly.
9 Surely his salvation is nigh them that fear him; that glory may dwell in our land.
10 Mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other.
11 Truth shall spring out of the earth; and righteousness shall look down from heaven.
12 Yea, the LORD shall give that which is good; and our land shall yield her increase.
13 Righteousness shall go before him; and shall set us in the way of his steps.

PSALMS CHAPTER 86
1 Bow down thine ear, O LORD, hear me: for I am poor and needy.
2 Preserve my soul; for I am holy: O thou my God, save thy servant that trusteth in thee.
3 Be merciful unto me, O Lord: for I cry unto thee daily.
4 Rejoice the soul of thy servant: for unto thee, O Lord, do I lift up my soul.
5 For thou, Lord, art good, and ready to forgive; and plenteous in mercy unto all them that call upon thee.
6 Give ear, O LORD, unto my prayer; and attend to the voice of my supplications.
7 In the day of my trouble I will call upon thee: for thou wilt answer me.
8 Among the gods there is none like unto thee, O Lord; neither are there any works like unto thy works.
9 All nations whom thou hast made shall come and worship before thee, O Lord; and shall glorify thy name.
10 For thou art great, and doest wondrous things: thou art God alone.
11 Teach me thy way, O LORD; I will walk in thy truth: unite my heart to fear thy name.
12 I will praise thee, O Lord my God, with all my heart: and I will glorify thy name for evermore.
13 For great is thy mercy toward me: and thou hast delivered my soul from the lowest hell.
14 O God, the proud are risen against me, and the assemblies of violent men have sought after my soul; and have not set thee before them.
15 But thou, O Lord, art a God full of compassion, and gracious, long suffering, and plenteous in mercy and truth.
16 O turn unto me, and have mercy upon me; give thy strength unto thy servant, and save the son of thine handmaid.
17 Shew me a token for good; that they which hate me may see it, and be ashamed: because thou, LORD, hast holpen me, and comforted me.

PSALMS CHAPTER 87
1 His foundation is in the holy mountains.
2 The LORD loveth the gates of Zion more than all the dwellings of Jacob.
3 Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God. Selah.
4 I will make mention of Rahab and Babylon to them that know me: behold Philistia, and Tyre, with Ethiopia; this man was born there.
5 And of Zion it shall be said, This and that man was born in her: and the highest himself shall establish her.
6 The LORD shall count, when he writeth up the people, that this man was born there. Selah.
7 As well the singers as the players on instruments shall be there: all my springs are in thee.

PSALMS CHAPTER 88
1 O lord God of my salvation, I have cried day and night before thee:
2 Let my prayer come before thee: incline thine ear unto my cry;
3 For my soul is full of troubles: and my life draweth nigh unto the grave.
4 I am counted with them that go down into the pit: I am as a man that hath no strength:
5 Free among the dead, like the slain that lie in the grave, whom thou rememberest no more: and they are cut off from thy hand.
6 Thou hast laid me in the lowest pit, in darkness, in the deeps.
7 Thy wrath lieth hard upon me, and thou hast afflicted me with all thy waves. Selah.
8 Thou hast put away mine acquaintance far from me; thou hast made me an abomination unto them: I am shut up, and I cannot come forth.
9 Mine eye mourneth by reason of affliction: LORD, I have called daily upon thee, I have stretched out my hands unto thee.
10 Wilt thou shew wonders to the dead? shall the dead arise and praise thee? Selah.
11 Shall thy lovingkindness be declared in the grave? or thy faithfulness in destruction?
12 Shall thy wonders be known in the dark? and thy righteousness in the land of forgetfulness?
13 But unto thee have I cried, O LORD; and in the morning shall my prayer prevent thee.
14 LORD, why castest thou off my soul? why hidest thou thy face from me?
15 I am afflicted and ready to die from my youth up: while I suffer thy terrors I am distracted.
16 Thy fierce wrath goeth over me; thy terrors have cut me off.
17 They came round about me daily like water; they compassed me about together.
18 Lover and friend hast thou put far from me, and mine acquaintance into darkness.

PSALMS CHAPTER 89
1 I will sing of the mercies of the LORD for ever: with my mouth will I make known thy faithfulness to all generations.
2 For I have said, Mercy shall be built up for ever: thy faithfulness shalt thou establish in the very heavens.
3 I have made a covenant with my chosen, I have sworn unto David my servant,
4 Thy seed will I establish for ever, and build up thy throne to all generations. Selah.
5 And the heavens shall praise thy wonders, O LORD: thy faithfulness also in the congregation of the saints.
6 For who in the heaven can be compared unto the LORD? who among the sons of the mighty can be likened unto the LORD?
7 God is greatly to be feared in the assembly of the saints, and to be had in reverence of all them that are about him.
8 O LORD God of hosts, who is a strong LORD like unto thee? or to thy faithfulness round about thee?
9 Thou rulest the raging of the sea: when the waves thereof arise, thou stillest them.
10 Thou hast broken Rahab in pieces, as one that is slain; thou hast scattered thine enemies with thy strong arm.
11 The heavens are thine, the earth also is thine: as for the world and the fulness thereof, thou hast founded them.
12 The north and the south thou hast created them: Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in thy name.
13 Thou hast a mighty arm: strong is thy hand, and high is thy right hand.
14 Justice and judgement are the habitation of thy throne: mercy and truth shall go before thy face.
15 Blessed is the people that know the joyful sound: they shall walk, O LORD, in the light of thy countenance.
16 In thy name shall they rejoice all the day: and in thy righteousness shall they be exalted.
17 For thou art the glory of their strength: and in thy favour our horn shall be exalted.
18 For the LORD is our defence; and the Holy One of Israel is our king.
19 Then thou spakest in vision to thy holy one, and saidst, I have laid help upon one that is mighty; I have exalted one chosen out of the people.
20 I have found David my servant; with my holy oil have I anointed him:
21 With whom my hand shall be established: mine arm also shall strengthen him.
22 The enemy shall not exact upon him; nor the son of wickedness afflict him.
23 And I will beat down his foes before his face, and plague them that hate him.
24 But my faithfulness and my mercy shall be with him: and in my name shall his horn be exalted.
25 I will set his hand also in the sea, and his right hand in the rivers.
26 He shall cry unto me, Thou art my father, my God, and the rock of my salvation.
27 Also I will make him my firstborn, higher than the kings of the earth.
28 My mercy will I keep for him for evermore, and my covenant shall stand fast with him.
29 His seed also will I make to endure for ever, and his throne as the days of heaven.
30 If his children forsake my law, and walk not in my judgements;
31 If they break my statutes, and keep not my commandments;
32 Then will I visit their transgression with the rod, and their iniquity with stripes.
33 Nevertheless my lovingkindness will I not utterly take from him, nor suffer my faithfulness to fail.
34 My covenant will I not break, nor alter the thing that is gone out of my lips.
35 Once have I sworn by my holiness that I will not lie unto David.
36 His seed shall endure for ever, and his throne as the sun before me.
37 It shall be established for ever as the moon, and as a faithful witness in heaven. Selah.
38 But thou hast cast off and abhorred, thou hast been wroth with thine anointed.
39 Thou hast made void the covenant of thy servant: thou hast profaned his crown by casting it to the ground.
40 Thou hast broken down all his hedges; thou hast brought his strong holds to ruin.
41 All that pass by the way spoil him: he is a reproach to his neighbours.
42 Thou hast set up the right hand of his adversaries; thou hast made all his enemies to rejoice.
43 Thou hast also turned the edge of his sword, and hast not made him to stand in the battle.
44 Thou hast made his glory to cease, and cast his throne down to the ground.
45 The days of his youth hast thou shortened: thou hast covered him with shame. Selah.
46 How long, LORD? wilt thou hide thyself for ever? shall thy wrath burn like fire?
47 Remember how short my time is: wherefore hast thou made all men in vain?
48 What man is he that liveth, and shall not see death? shall he deliver his soul from the hand of the grave? Selah.
49 Lord, where are thy former lovingkindnesses, which thou swarest unto David in thy truth?
50 Remember, Lord, the reproach of thy servants; how I do bear in my bosom the reproach of all the mighty people;
51 Wherewith thine enemies have reproached, O LORD; wherewith they have reproached the footsteps of thine anointed.
52 Blessed be the LORD for evermore. Amen, and Amen.

PSALMS CHAPTER 90
1 Lord, thou hast been our dwelling place in all generations.
2 Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever thou hadst formed the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting, thou art God.
3 Thou turnest man to destruction; and sayest, Return, ye children of men.
4 For a thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past, and as a watch in the night.
5 Thou carriest them away as with a flood; they are as a sleep: in the morning they are like grass which groweth up.
6 In the morning it flourisheth, and groweth up; in the evening it is cut down, and withereth.
7 For we are consumed by thine anger, and by thy wrath are we troubled.
8 Thou hast set our iniquities before thee, our secret sins in the light of thy countenance.

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9 For all our days are passed away in thy wrath: we spend our years as a tale that is told.
10 The days of our years are threescore years and ten; and if by reason of strength they be fourscore years, yet is their strength labour and sorrow; for it is soon cut off, and we fly away.
11 Who knoweth the power of thine anger? even according to thy fear, so is thy wrath.
12 So teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom.
13 Return, O LORD, how long? and let it repent thee concerning thy servants.
14 O satisfy us early with thy mercy; that we may rejoice and be glad all our days.
15 Make us glad according to the days wherein thou hast afflicted us, and the years wherein we have seen evil.
16 Let thy work appear unto thy servants, and thy glory unto their children.
17 And let the beauty of the LORD our God be upon us: and establish thou the work of our hands upon us; yea, the work of our hands establish thou it.

PSALMS CHAPTER 91
1 He that dwelleth in the secret place of the most High shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty.
2 I will say of the LORD, He is my refuge and my fortress: my God; in him will I trust.
3 Surely he shall deliver thee from the snare of the fowler, and from the noisome pestilence.
4 He shall cover thee with his feathers, and under his wings shalt thou trust: his truth shall be thy shield and buckler.
5 Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night; nor for the arrow that flieth by day;
6 Nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness; nor for the destruction that wasteth at noonday.
7 A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand; but it shall not come nigh thee.
8 Only with thine eyes shalt thou behold and see the reward of the wicked.
9 Because thou hast made the LORD, which is my refuge, even the most High, thy habitation;
10 There shall no evil befall thee, neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling.
11 For he shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways.
12 They shall bear thee up in their hands, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone.
13 Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet.
14 Because he hath set his love upon me, therefore will I deliver him: I will set him on high, because he hath known my name.
15 He shall call upon me, and I will answer him: I will be with him in trouble; I will deliver him, and honour him.
16 With long life will I satisfy him, and shew him my salvation.

PSALMS CHAPTER 92
1 *IT IS A GOOD THING TO GIVE THANKS UNTO THE LORD, AND TO SING PRAISES UNTO THY NAME, O MOST HIGH:*
2 To shew forth thy lovingkindness in the morning, and thy faithfulness every night,
3 Upon an instrument of ten strings, and upon the psaltery; upon the harp with a solemn sound.
4 For thou, LORD, hast made me glad through thy work: I will triumph in the works of thy hands.
5 O LORD, how great are thy works! and thy thoughts are very deep.
6 A brutish man knoweth not; neither doth a fool understand this.
7 When the wicked spring as the grass, and when all the workers of iniquity do flourish; it is that they shall be destroyed for ever:
8 But thou, LORD, art most high for evermore.
9 For, lo, thine enemies, O LORD, for, lo, thine enemies shall perish; all the workers of iniquity shall be scattered.
10 But my horn shalt thou exalt like the horn of an unicorn: I shall be anointed with fresh oil.
11 Mine eye also shall see my desire on mine enemies, and mine ears shall hear my desire of the wicked that rise up against me.
12 The righteous shall flourish like the palm tree: he shall grow like a cedar in Lebanon.
13 Those that be planted in the house of the LORD shall flourish in the courts of our God.
14 They shall still bring forth fruit in old age; they shall be fat and flourishing;
15 To shew that the LORD is upright: he is my rock, and there is no unrighteousness in him.

PSALMS CHAPTER 93
1 The LORD reigneth, he is clothed with majesty; the LORD is clothed with strength, wherewith he hath girded himself: the world also is stablished, that it cannot be moved.
2 Thy throne is established of old: thou art from everlasting.
3 The floods have lifted up, O LORD, the floods have lifted up their voice; the floods lift up their waves.
4 The LORD on high is mightier than the noise of many waters, yea, than the mighty waves of the sea.
5 Thy testimonies are very sure: holiness becometh thine house, O LORD, for ever.

PSALMS CHAPTER 94
1 O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth; O God, to whom vengeance belongeth, shew thyself.
2 Lift up thyself, thou judge of the earth: render a reward to the proud.
3 LORD, how long shall the wicked, how long shall the wicked triumph?
4 How long shall they utter and speak hard things? and all the workers of iniquity boast themselves?
5 They break in pieces thy people, O LORD, and afflict thine heritage.
6 They slay the widow and the stranger, and murder the fatherless.
7 Yet they say, The LORD shall not see, neither shall the God of Jacob regard it.
8 Understand, ye brutish among the people: and ye fools, when will ye be wise?
9 He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? he that formed the eye, shall he not see?
10 He that chastiseth the heathen, shall not he correct? he that teacheth man knowledge, shall not he know?
11 The LORD knoweth the thoughts of man, that they are vanity.
12 Blessed is the man whom thou chastenest, O LORD, and teachest him out of thy law;
13 That thou mayest give him rest from the days of adversity, until the pit be digged for the wicked.
14 For the LORD will not cast off his people, neither will he forsake his inheritance.
15 But judgement shall return unto righteousness: and all the upright in heart shall follow it.
16 Who will rise up for me against the evildoers? or who will stand up for me against the workers of iniquity?
17 Unless the LORD had been my help, my soul had almost dwelt in silence.
18 When I said, My foot slippeth; thy mercy, O LORD, held me up.
19 In the multitude of my thoughts within me thy comforts delight my soul.
20 Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with thee, which frameth mischief by a law?
21 They gather themselves together against the soul of the righteous, and condemn the innocent blood.
22 But the LORD is my defence; and my God is the rock of my refuge.
23 And he shall bring upon them their own iniquity, and shall cut them off in their own wickedness; yea, the LORD our God shall cut them off.

PSALMS CHAPTER 95
1 O come, let us sing unto the LORD: let us make a joyful noise to the rock of our salvation.
2 Let us come before his presence with thanksgiving, and make a joyful noise unto him with psalms.
3 For the LORD is a great God, and a great King above all gods.
4 In his hand are the deep places of the earth: the strength of the hills is his also.
5 The sea is his, and he made it: and his hands formed the dry land.
6 O come, let us worship and bow down: let us kneel before the LORD our maker.
7 For he is our God; and we are the people of his pasture, and the sheep of his hand. To day if ye will hear his voice,
8 Harden not your heart, as in the provocation, and as in the day of temptation in the wilderness:
9 When your fathers tempted me, proved me, and saw my work.
10 Forty years long was I grieved with this generation, and said, It is a people that do err in their heart, and they have not known my ways:
11 Unto whom I sware in my wrath that they should not enter into my rest.

PSALMS CHAPTER 96
1 O sing unto the LORD a new song: sing unto the LORD, all the earth.
2 Sing unto the LORD, bless his name; shew forth his salvation from day to day.
3 Declare his glory among the heathen, his wonders among all people.
4 For the LORD is great, and greatly to be praised: he is to be feared above all gods.
5 For all the gods of the nations are idols: but the LORD made the heavens.
6 Honour and majesty are before him: strength and beauty are in his sanctuary.
7 Give unto the LORD, O ye kindreds of the people, give unto the LORD glory and strength.
8 Give unto the LORD the glory due unto his name: bring an offering, and come into his courts.
9 O worship the LORD in the beauty of holiness: fear before him, all the earth.
10 Say among the heathen that the LORD reigneth: the world also shall be established that it shall not be moved: he shall judge the people righteously.
11 Let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad; let the sea roar, and the fulness thereof.
12 Let the field be joyful, and all that is therein: then shall all the trees of the wood rejoice
13 Before the LORD: for he cometh, for he cometh to judge the earth: he shall judge the world with righteousness, and the people with his truth.

PSALMS CHAPTER 97
1 The LORD reigneth; let the earth rejoice; let the multitude of isles be glad thereof.
2 Clouds and darkness are round about him: righteousness and judgement are the habitation of his throne.
3 A fire goeth before him, and burneth up his enemies round about.
4 His lightnings enlightened the world: the earth saw, and trembled.
5 The hills melted like wax at the presence of the LORD, at the presence of the Lord of the whole earth.
6 The heavens declare his righteousness, and all the people see his glory.
7 Confounded be all they that serve graven images, that boast themselves of idols: worship him, all ye gods.
8 Zion heard, and was glad; and the daughters of Judah rejoiced because of thy judgements, O LORD.
9 For thou, LORD, art high above all the earth: thou art exalted far above all gods.
10 Ye that love the LORD, hate evil: he preserveth the souls of his saints; he delivereth them out of the hand of the wicked.
11 Light is sown for the righteous, and gladness for the upright in heart.
12 Rejoice in the LORD, ye righteous; and give thanks at the remembrance of his holiness.

PSALMS CHAPTER 98
1 O sing unto the LORD a new song; for he hath done marvellous things: his right hand, and his holy arm, hath gotten him the victory.
2 The LORD hath made known his salvation: his righteousness hath he openly shewed in the sight of the heathen.
3 He hath remembered his mercy and his truth toward the house of Israel: all the ends of the earth have seen the salvation of our God.
4 Make a joyful noise unto the LORD, all the earth: make a loud noise, and rejoice, and sing praise.
5 Sing unto the LORD with the harp; with the harp, and the voice of a psalm.
6 With trumpets and sound of cornet make a joyful noise before the LORD, the King.
7 Let the sea roar, and the fulness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein.
8 Let the floods clap their hands: let the hills be joyful together
9 Before the LORD; for he cometh to judge the earth: with righteousness shall he judge the world, and the people with equity.

PSALMS CHAPTER 99
1 The LORD reigneth; let the people tremble: he sitteth between the cherubims; let the earth be moved.
2 The LORD is great in Zion; and he is high above all the people.
3 Let them praise thy great and terrible name; for it is holy.
4 The king's strength also loveth judgement; thou dost establish equity, thou executest judgement and righteousness in Jacob.
5 Exalt ye the LORD our God, and worship at his footstool; for he is holy.
6 Moses and Aaron among his priests, and Samuel among them that call upon his name; they called upon the LORD, and he answered them.
7 He spake unto them in the cloudy pillar: they kept his testimonies, and the ordinance that he gave them.
8 Thou answeredst them, O LORD our God: thou wast a God that forgavest them, though thou tookest vengeance of their inventions.
9 Exalt the LORD our God, and worship at his holy hill; for the LORD our God is holy.

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PSALMS CHAPTER 100

1 Make a joyful noise unto the LORD, all ye lands.
2 Serve the LORD with gladness: come before his presence with singing.
3 Know ye that the LORD he is God: it is he that hath made us, and not we ourselves; we are his people, and the sheep of his pasture.
4 Enter into his gates with thanksgiving, and into his courts with praise: be thankful unto him, and bless his name.
5 For the LORD is good; his mercy is everlasting; and his truth endureth to all generations.

PSALMS CHAPTER 101

1 I will sing of mercy and judgement: unto thee, O LORD, will I sing.
2 I will behave myself wisely in a perfect way. O when wilt thou come unto me? I will walk within my house with a perfect heart.
3 I will set no wicked thing before mine eyes: I hate the work of them that turn aside; it shall not cleave to me.
4 A froward heart shall depart from me: I will not know a wicked person.
5 Whoso privily slandereth his neighbour, him will I cut off: him that hath an high look and a proud heart will not I suffer.
6 Mine eyes shall be upon the faithful of the land, that they may dwell with me: he that walketh in a perfect way, he shall serve me.
7 He that worketh deceit shall not dwell within my house: he that telleth lies shall not tarry in my sight.

8 I will early destroy all the wicked of the land; that I may cut off all wicked doers from the city of the LORD.

PSALMS CHAPTER 102

1 Hear my prayer, O LORD, and let my cry come unto thee.
2 Hide not thy face from me in the day when I am in trouble; incline thine ear unto me: in the day when I call answer me speedily.
3 For my days are consumed like smoke, and my bones are burned as an hearth.
4 My heart is smitten, and withered like grass; so that I forget to eat my bread.
5 By reason of the voice of my groaning my bones cleave to my skin.
6 I am like a pelican of the wilderness: I am like an owl of the desert.
7 I watch, and am as a sparrow alone upon the house top.
8 Mine enemies reproach me all the day; and they that are mad against me are sworn against me.
9 For I have eaten ashes like bread, and mingled my drink with weeping.
10 Because of thine indignation and thy wrath: for thou hast lifted me up, and cast me down.
11 My days are like a shadow that declineth; and I am withered like grass.
12 But thou, O LORD, shall endure for ever; and thy remembrance unto all generations.
13 Thou shalt arise, and have mercy upon Zion: for the time to favour her, yea, the set time, is come.
14 For thy servants take pleasure in her stones, and favour the dust thereof.
15 So the heathen shall fear the name of the LORD, and all the kings of the earth thy glory.
16 When the LORD shall build up Zion, he shall appear in his glory.
17 He will regard the prayer of the destitute, and not despise their prayer.
18 This shall be written for the generation to come: and the people which shall be created shall praise the LORD.
19 For he hath looked down from the height of his sanctuary; from heaven did the LORD behold the earth;
20 To hear the groaning of the prisoner; to loose those that are appointed to death;
21 To declare the name of the LORD in Zion, and his praise in Jerusalem;
22 When the people are gathered together, and the kingdoms, to serve the LORD.
23 He weakened my strength in the way; he shortened my days.
24 I said, O my God, take me not away in the midst of my days: thy years are throughout all generations.
25 Of old hast thou laid the foundation of the earth: and the heavens are the work of thy hands.
26 They shall perish, but thou shalt endure: yea, all of them shall wax old like a garment; as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed:
27 But thou art the same, and thy years shall have no end.
28 The children of thy servants shall continue, and their seed shall be established before thee.

PSALMS CHAPTER 103

1 Bless the LORD, O my soul: and all that is within me, bless his holy name.
2 Bless the LORD, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits:
3 Who forgiveth all thine iniquities; who healeth all thy diseases;
4 Who redeemeth thy life from destruction; who crowneth thee with lovingkindness and tender mercies;
5 Who satisfieth thy mouth with good things; so that thy youth is renewed like the eagle's.
6 The LORD executeth righteousness and judgement for all that are oppressed.
7 He made known his ways unto Moses, his acts unto the children of Israel.
8 The LORD is merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy.
9 He will not always chide: neither will he keep his anger for ever.
10 He hath not dealt with us after our sins; nor rewarded us according to our iniquities.
11 For as the heaven is high above the earth, so great is his mercy toward them that fear him.
12 As far as the east is from the west, so far hath he removed our transgressions from us.
13 Like as a father pitieth his children, so the LORD pitieth them that fear him.
14 For he knoweth our frame; he remembereth that we are dust.
15 As for man, his days are as grass: as a flower of the field, so he flourisheth.
16 For the wind passeth over it, and it is gone; and the place thereof shall know it no more.
17 But the mercy of the LORD is from everlasting to everlasting upon them that fear him, and his righteousness unto children's children;
18 To such as keep his covenant, and to those that remember his commandments to do them.
19 The LORD hath prepared his throne in the heavens; and his kingdom ruleth over all.
20 Bless the LORD, ye his angels, that excel in strength, that do his commandments, hearkening unto the voice of his word.
21 Bless ye the LORD, all ye his hosts; ye ministers of his, that do his pleasure.
22 Bless the LORD, all his works in all places of his dominion: bless the LORD, O my soul.

PSALMS CHAPTER 104

1 Bless the LORD, O my soul. O LORD my God, thou art very great; thou art clothed with honour and majesty.
2 Who coverest thyself with light as with a garment: who stretchest out the heavens like a curtain:
3 Who layeth the beams of his chambers in the waters: who maketh the clouds his chariot: who walketh upon the wings of the wind:
4 Who maketh his angels spirits; his ministers a flaming fire:
5 Who laid the foundations of the earth, that it should not be removed for ever.
6 Thou coveredst it with the deep as with a garment: the waters stood above the mountains.
7 At thy rebuke they fled; at the voice of thy thunder they hasted away.
8 They go up by the mountains; they go down by the valleys unto the place which thou hast founded for them.
9 Thou hast set a bound that they may not pass over; that they turn not again to cover the earth.
10 He sendeth the springs into the valleys, which run among the hills.
11 They give drink to every beast of the field: the wild asses quench their thirst.
12 By them shall the fowls of the heaven have their habitation, which sing among the branches.
13 He watereth the hills from his chambers: the earth is satisfied with the fruit of thy works.
14 He causeth the grass to grow for the cattle, and herb for the service of man: that he may bring forth food out of the earth;
15 And wine that maketh glad the heart of man, and oil to make his face to shine, and bread which strengtheneth man's heart.
16 The trees of the LORD are full of sap; the cedars of Lebanon, which he hath planted;
17 Where the birds make their nests: as for the stork, the fir trees are her house.
18 The high hills are a refuge for the wild goats; and the rocks for the conies.
19 He appointed the moon for seasons: the sun knoweth his going down.
20 Thou makest darkness, and it is night: wherein all the beasts of the forest do creep forth.
21 The young lions roar after their prey, and seek their meat from God.
22 The sun ariseth, they gather themselves together, and lay them down in their dens.
23 Man goeth forth unto his work and to his labour until the evening.
24 O LORD, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all: the earth is full of thy riches.
25 So is this great and wide sea, wherein are things creeping innumerable, both small and great beasts.
26 There go the ships: there is that leviathan, whom thou hast made to play therein.
27 These wait all upon thee; that thou mayest give them their meat in due season.
28 That thou givest them they gather: thou openest thine hand, they are filled with good.
29 Thou hidest thy face, they are troubled: thou takest away their breath, they die, and return to their dust.
30 Thou sendest forth thy spirit, they are created: and thou renewest the face of the earth.
31 The glory of the LORD shall endure for ever: the LORD shall rejoice in his works.
32 He looketh on the earth, and it trembleth: he toucheth the hills, and they smoke.
33 I will sing unto the LORD as long as I live: I will sing praise to my God while I have my being.
34 My meditation of him shall be sweet: I will be glad in the LORD.
35 Let the sinners be consumed out of the earth, and let the wicked be no more. Bless thou the LORD, O my soul. Praise ye the LORD.

PSALMS CHAPTER 105

1 O give thanks unto the LORD; call upon his name: make known his deeds among the people.
2 Sing unto him, sing psalms unto him: talk ye of all his wondrous works.
3 Glory ye in his holy name: let the heart of them rejoice that seek the LORD.
4 Seek the LORD, and his strength: seek his face evermore.
5 Remember his marvellous works that he hath done; his wonders, and the judgements of his mouth;
6 O ye seed of Abraham his servant, ye children of Jacob his chosen.
7 He is the LORD our God: his judgements are in all the earth.
8 He hath remembered his covenant for ever, the word which he commanded to a thousand generations.
9 Which covenant he made with Abraham, and his oath unto Isaac;
10 And confirmed the same unto Jacob for a law, and to Israel for an everlasting covenant:
11 Saying, Unto thee will I give the land of Canaan, the lot of your inheritance:
12 When they were but a few men in number; yea, very few, and strangers in it.
13 When they went from one nation to another, from one kingdom to another people;
14 He suffered no man to do them wrong: yea, he reproved kings for their sakes;
15 Saying, Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm.
16 Moreover he called for a famine upon the land: he brake the whole staff of bread.
17 He sent a man before them, even Joseph, who was sold for a servant:
18 Whose feet they hurt with fetters: he was laid in iron:
19 Until the time that his word came: the word of the LORD tried him.
20 The king sent and loosed him; even the ruler of the people, and let him go free.
21 He made him lord of his house, and ruler of all his substance:
22 To bind his princes at his pleasure; and teach his senators wisdom.
23 Israel also came into Egypt; and Jacob sojourned in the land of Ham.
24 And he increased his people greatly; and made them stronger than their enemies.
25 He turned their heart to hate his people, to deal subtilly with his servants.
26 He sent Moses his servant; and Aaron whom he had chosen.
27 They shewed his signs among them, and wonders in the land of Ham.
28 He sent darkness, and made it dark; and they rebelled not against his word.
29 He turned their waters into blood, and slew their fish.
30 Their land brought forth frogs in abundance, in the chambers of their kings.
31 He spake, and there came divers sorts of flies, and lice in all their coasts.
32 He gave them hail for rain, and flaming fire in their land.
33 He smote their vines also and their fig trees; and brake the trees of their coasts.
34 He spake, and the locusts came, and caterpillers, and that without number,
35 And did eat up all the herbs in their land, and devoured the fruit of their ground.
36 He smote also all the firstborn in their land, the chief of all their strength.

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37 He brought them forth also with silver and gold: and there was not one feeble person among their tribes.
38 Egypt was glad when they departed: for the fear of them fell upon them.
39 He spread a cloud for a covering; and fire to give light in the night.
40 The people asked, and he brought quails, and satisfied them with the bread of heaven.
41 He opened the rock, and the waters gushed out; they ran in the dry places like a river.
42 For he remembered his holy promise, and Abraham his servant.
43 And he brought forth his people with joy, and his chosen with gladness:
44 And gave them the lands of the heathen: and they inherited the labour of the people;
45 That they might observe his statutes, and keep his laws. Praise ye the LORD.

PSALMS CHAPTER 106
1 Praise ye the LORD. O give thanks unto the LORD; for he is good: for his mercy endureth for ever.
2 Who can utter the mighty acts of the LORD? who can shew forth all his praise?
3 Blessed are they that keep judgement, and he that doeth righteousness at all times.
4 Remember me, O LORD, with the favour that thou bearest unto thy people: O visit me with thy salvation;
5 That I may see the good of thy chosen, that I may rejoice in the gladness of thy nation, that I may glory with thine inheritance.
6 We have sinned with our fathers, we have committed iniquity, we have done wickedly.
7 Our fathers understood not thy wonders in Egypt; they remembered not the multitude of thy mercies; but provoked him at the sea, even at the Red sea.
8 Nevertheless he saved them for his name's sake, that he might make his mighty power to be known.
9 He rebuked the Red sea also, and it was dried up: so he led them through the depths, as through the wilderness.
10 And he saved them from the hand of him that hated them, and redeemed them from the hand of the enemy.
11 And the waters covered their enemies: there was not one of them left.
12 Then believed they his words; they sang his praise.
13 They soon forgat his works; they waited not for his counsel:
14 But lusted exceedingly in the wilderness, and tempted God in the desert.
15 And he gave them their request; but sent leanness into their soul.
16 They envied Moses also in the camp, and Aaron the saint of the LORD.
17 The earth opened and swallowed up Dathan and covered the company of Abiram.
18 And a fire was kindled in their company; the flame burned up the wicked.
19 They made a calf in Horeb, and worshipped the molten image.
20 Thus they changed their glory into the similitude of an ox that eateth grass.
21 They forgat God their saviour, which had done great things in Egypt;
22 Wondrous works in the land of Ham, and terrible things by the Red sea.
23 Therefore he said that he would destroy them, had not Moses his chosen stood before him in the breach, to turn away his wrath, lest he should destroy them.
24 Yea, they despised the pleasant land, they believed not his word:
25 But murmured in their tents, and hearkened not unto the voice of the LORD.
26 Therefore he lifted up his hand against them, to overthrow them in the wilderness:
27 To overthrow their seed also among the nations, and to scatter them in the lands.
28 They joined themselves also unto Baalpeor, and ate the sacrifices of the dead.
29 Thus they provoked him to anger with their inventions: and the plague brake in upon them.
30 Then stood up Phinehas, and executed judgement: and so the plague was stayed.
31 And that was counted unto him for righteousness unto all generations for evermore.
32 They angered him also at the waters of strife, so that it went ill with Moses for their sakes:
33 Because they provoked his spirit, so that he spake unadvisedly with his lips.
34 They did not destroy the nations, concerning whom the LORD commanded them:
35 But were mingled among the heathen, and learned their works.
36 And they served their idols: which were a snare unto them.
37 Yea, they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto devils,
38 And shed innocent blood, even the blood of their sons and of their daughters, whom they sacrificed unto the idols of Canaan: and the land was polluted with blood.
39 Thus were they defiled with their own works, and went a whoring with their own inventions.
40 Therefore was the wrath of the LORD kindled against his people, insomuch that he abhorred his own inheritance.
41 And he gave them into the hand of the heathen; and they that hated them ruled over them.
42 Their enemies also oppressed them, and they were brought into subjection under their hand.
43 Many times did he deliver them; but they provoked him with their counsel, and were brought low for their iniquity.
44 Nevertheless he regarded their affliction, when he heard their cry:
45 And he remembered for them his covenant, and repented according to the multitude of his mercies.
46 He made them also to be pitied of all those that carried them captives.
47 Save us, O LORD our God, and gather us from among the heathen, to give thanks unto thy holy name, and to triumph in thy praise.
48 Blessed be the LORD God of Israel from everlasting to everlasting: and let all the people say, Amen. Praise ye the LORD.

PSALMS CHAPTER 107
1 O give thanks unto the LORD, for he is good: for his mercy endureth for ever.
2 Let the redeemed of the LORD say so, whom he hath redeemed from the hand of the enemy;
3 And gathered them out of the lands, from the east, and from the west, from the north, and from the south.
4 They wandered in the wilderness in a solitary way; they found no city to dwell in.
5 Hungry and thirsty, their soul fainted in them.
6 Then they cried unto the LORD in their trouble, and he delivered them out of their distresses.
7 And he led them forth by the right way, that they might go to a city of habitation.
8 Oh that men would praise the LORD for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men!
9 For he satisfieth the longing soul, and filleth the hungry soul with goodness.
10 Such as sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, being bound in affliction and iron;
11 Because they rebelled against the words of God, and contemned the counsel of the most High:
12 Therefore he brought down their heart with labour; they fell down, and there was none to help.
13 Then they cried unto the LORD in their trouble, and he saved them out of their distresses.
14 He brought them out of darkness and the shadow of death, and brake their bands in sunder.
15 Oh that men would praise the LORD for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men!
16 For he hath broken the gates of brass, and cut the bars of iron in sunder.
17 Fools because of their transgression, and because of their iniquities, are afflicted.
18 Their soul abhorreth all manner of meat; and they draw near unto the gates of death.
19 Then they cry unto the LORD in their trouble, and he saveth them out of their distresses.
20 He sent his word, and healed them, and delivered them from their destructions.
21 Oh that men would praise the LORD for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men!
22 And let them sacrifice the sacrifices of thanksgiving, and declare his works with rejoicing.
23 They that go down to the sea in ships, that do business in great waters;
24 These see the works of the LORD, and his wonders in the deep.
25 For he commandeth, and raiseth the stormy wind, which lifteth up the waves thereof.
26 They mount up to the heaven, they go down again to the depths: their soul is melted because of trouble.
27 They reel to and fro, and stagger like a drunken man, and are at their wit's end.
28 Then they cry unto the LORD in their trouble, and he bringeth them out of their distresses.
29 He maketh the storm a calm, so that the waves thereof are still.
30 Then are they glad because they be quiet; so he bringeth them unto their desired haven.
31 Oh that men would praise the LORD for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men!
32 Let them exalt him also in the congregation of the people, and praise him in the assembly of the elders.
33 He turneth rivers into a wilderness, and the watersprings into dry ground;
34 A fruitful land into barrenness, for the wickedness of them that dwell therein.
35 He turneth the wilderness into a standing water, and dry ground into watersprings.
36 And there he maketh the hungry to dwell, that they may prepare a city for habitation;
37 And sow the fields, and plant vineyards, which may yield fruits of increase.
38 He blesseth them also, so that they are multiplied greatly; and suffereth not their cattle to decrease.
39 Again, they are minished and brought low through oppression, affliction, and sorrow.
40 He poureth contempt upon princes, and causeth them to wander in the wilderness, where there is no way.
41 Yet setteth he the poor on high from affliction, and maketh him families like a flock.
42 The righteous shall see it, and rejoice: and all iniquity shall stop her mouth.
43 Whoso is wise, and will observe these things, even they shall understand the lovingkindness of the LORD.

PSALMS CHAPTER 108
1 O god, my heart is fixed; I will sing and give praise, even with my glory.
2 Awake, psaltery and harp: I myself will awake early.
3 I will praise thee, O LORD, among the people: and I will sing praises unto thee among the nations.
4 For thy mercy is great above the heavens: and thy truth reacheth unto the clouds.
5 Be thou exalted, O God, above the heavens: and thy glory above all the earth;
6 That thy beloved may be delivered: save with thy right hand, and answer me.
7 God hath spoken in his holiness; I will rejoice, I will divide Shechem, and mete out the valley of Succoth.
8 Gilead is mine; Manasseh is mine; Ephraim also is the strength of mine head; Judah is my lawgiver;
9 Moab is my washpot; over Edom will I cast out my shoe; over Philistia will I triumph.
10 Who will bring me into the strong city? who will lead me into Edom?
11 Wilt not thou, O God, who hast cast us off? and wilt not thou, O God, go forth with our hosts?
12 Give us help from trouble: for vain is the help of man.
13 Through God we shall do valiantly: for he it is that shall tread down our enemies.

PSALMS CHAPTER 109
1 Hold not thy peace, O God of my praise;
2 For the mouth of the wicked and the mouth of the deceitful are opened against me: they have spoken against me with a lying tongue.
3 They compassed me about also with words of hatred; and fought against me without a cause.
4 For my love they are my adversaries: but I give myself unto prayer.
5 And they have rewarded me evil for good, and hatred for my love.
6 Set thou a wicked man over him: and let Satan stand at his right hand.
7 When he shall be judged, let him be condemned: and let his prayer become sin.
8 Let his days be few; and let another take his office.
9 Let his children be fatherless, and his wife a widow.
10 Let his children be continually vagabonds, and beg: let them seek their bread also out of their desolate places.
11 Let the extortioner catch all that he hath; and let the strangers spoil his labour.
12 Let there be none to extend mercy unto him: neither let there be any to favour his fatherless children.
13 Let his posterity be cut off; and in the generation following let their name be blotted out.
14 Let the iniquity of his fathers be remembered with the LORD; and let not the sin of his mother be blotted out.
15 Let them be before the LORD continually, that he may cut off the memory of them from the earth.
16 Because that he remembered not to shew mercy, but persecuted the poor and needy man, that he might even slay the broken in heart.
17 As he loved cursing, so let it come unto him: as he delighted not in blessing, so let it be far from him.
18 As he clothed himself with cursing like as with his garment, so let it come into his bowels like water, and like oil into his bones.
19 Let it be unto him as the garment which covereth him, and for a girdle wherewith he is girded continually.
20 Let this be the reward of mine adversaries from the LORD, and of them that speak evil against my soul.
21 But do thou for me, O GOD the Lord, for thy name's sake: because thy mercy is good, deliver thou me.
22 For I am poor and needy, and my heart is wounded within me.
23 I am gone like the shadow when it declineth: I am tossed up and down as the locust.

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24 My knees are weak through fasting; and my flesh faileth of fatness.
25 I became also a reproach unto them: when they looked upon me they shaked their heads.
26 Help me, O LORD my God: O save me according to thy mercy:
27 That they may know that this is thy hand; that thou, LORD, hast done it.
28 Let them curse, but bless thou: when they arise, let them be ashamed; but let thy servant rejoice.
29 Let mine adversaries be clothed with shame, and let them cover themselves with their own confusion, as with a mantle.
30 I will greatly praise the LORD with my mouth; yea, I will praise him among the multitude.
31 For he shall stand at the right hand of the poor, to save him from those that condemn his soul.

PSALMS CHAPTER 110
1 The LORD said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.
2 The LORD shall send the rod of thy strength out of Zion: rule thou in the midst of thine enemies.
3 Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power, in the beauties of holiness from the womb of the morning: thou hast the dew of thy youth.
4 The LORD hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedek.
5 The Lord at thy right hand shall strike through kings in the day of his wrath.
6 He shall judge among the heathen, he shall fill the places with the dead bodies; he shall wound the heads over many countries.
7 He shall drink of the brook in the way: therefore shall he lift up the head.

PSALMS CHAPTER 111
1 Praise ye the LORD. I will praise the LORD with my whole heart, in the assembly of the upright, and in the congregation.
2 The works of the LORD are great, sought out of all them that have pleasure therein.
3 His work is honourable and glorious: and his righteousness endureth for ever.
4 He hath made his wonderful works to be remembered: the LORD is gracious and full of compassion.
5 He hath given meat unto them that fear him: he will ever be mindful of his covenant.
6 He hath shewed his people the power of his works, that he may give them the heritage of the heathen.
7 The works of his hands are verity and judgement; all his commandments are sure.
8 They stand fast for ever and ever, and are done in truth and uprightness.
9 He sent redemption unto his people: he hath commanded his covenant for ever: holy and reverend is his name.
10 The fear of the LORD is the beginning of wisdom: a good understanding have all they that do his commandments: his praise endureth for ever.
PSALMS CHAPTER 112
1 Praise ye the LORD. Blessed is the man that feareth the LORD, that delighteth greatly in his commandments.
2 His seed shall be mighty upon earth: the generation of the upright shall be blessed.
3 Wealth and riches shall be in his house: and his righteousness endureth for ever.
4 Unto the upright there ariseth light in the darkness: he is gracious, and full of compassion, and righteous.
5 A good man sheweth favour, and lendeth: he will guide his affairs with discretion.
6 Surely he shall not be moved for ever: the righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance.
7 He shall not be afraid of evil tidings: his heart is fixed, trusting in the LORD.
8 His heart is established, he shall not be afraid, until he see his desire upon his enemies.
9 He hath dispersed, he hath given to the poor; his righteousness endureth for ever; his horn shall be exalted with honour.
10 The wicked shall see it, and be grieved; he shall gnash with his teeth, and melt away: the desire of the wicked shall perish.

PSALMS CHAPTER 113
1 Praise ye the LORD. Praise, O ye servants of the LORD, praise the name of the LORD.
2 Blessed be the name of the LORD from this time forth and for evermore.
3 From the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same the LORD's name is to be praised.
4 The LORD is high above all nations, and his glory above the heavens.
5 Who is like unto the LORD our God, who dwelleth on high,
6 Who humbleth himself to behold the things that are in heaven, and in the earth!
7 He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth the needy out of the dunghill;
8 That he may set him with princes, even with the princes of his people.
9 He maketh the barren woman to keep house, and to be a joyful mother of children. Praise ye the LORD.

PSALMS CHAPTER 114
1 When Israel went out of Egypt, the house of Jacob from a people of strange language;
2 Judah was his sanctuary, and Israel his dominion.
3 The sea saw it, and fled: Jordan was driven back.
4 The mountains skipped like rams, and the little hills like lambs.
5 What ailed thee, O thou sea, that thou fleddest? thou Jordan, that thou wast driven back?
6 Ye mountains, that ye skipped like rams; and ye little hills, like lambs?
7 Tremble, thou earth, at the presence of the Lord, at the presence of the God of Jacob;
8 Which turned the rock into a standing water, the flint into a fountain of waters.

PSALMS CHAPTER 115
1 Not unto us, O LORD, not unto us, but unto thy name give glory, for thy mercy, and for thy truth's sake.
2 Wherefore should the heathen say, Where is now their God?
3 But our God is in the heavens: he hath done whatsoever he hath pleased.
4 Their idols are silver and gold, the work of men's hands.
5 They have mouths, but they speak not: eyes have they, but they see not:
6 They have ears, but they hear not: noses have they, but they smell not:
7 They have hands, but they handle not: feet have they, but they walk not: neither speak they through their throat.
8 They that make them are like unto them; so is every one that trusteth in them.
9 O Israel, trust thou in the LORD: he is their help and their shield.
10 O house of Aaron, trust in the LORD: he is their help and their shield.
11 Ye that fear the LORD, trust in the LORD: he is their help and their shield.
12 The LORD hath been mindful of us: he will bless us; he will bless the house of Israel; he will bless the house of Aaron.
13 He will bless them that fear the LORD, both small and great.
14 The LORD shall increase you more and more, you and your children.
15 Ye are blessed of the LORD which made heaven and earth.
16 The heaven, even the heavens, are the LORD's: but the earth hath he given to the children of men.
17 The dead praise not the LORD, neither any that go down into silence.
18 But we will bless the LORD from this time forth and for evermore. Praise the LORD.

PSALMS CHAPTER 116
1 I love the LORD, because he hath heard my voice and my supplications.
2 Because he hath inclined his ear unto me, therefore will I call upon him as long as I live.
3 The sorrows of death compassed me, and the pains of hell gat hold upon me: I found trouble and sorrow.
4 Then called I upon the name of the LORD; O LORD, I beseech thee, deliver my soul.
5 Gracious is the LORD, and righteous; yea, our God is merciful.
6 The LORD preserveth the simple: I was brought low, and he helped me.
7 Return unto thy rest, O my soul; for the LORD hath dealt bountifully with thee.
8 For thou hast delivered my soul from death, mine eyes from tears, and my feet from falling.
9 I will walk before the LORD in the land of the living.
10 I believed, therefore have I spoken: I was greatly afflicted:
11 I said in my haste, All men are liars.
12 What shall I render unto the LORD for all his benefits toward me?
13 I will take the cup of salvation, and call upon the name of the LORD.
14 I will pay my vows unto the LORD now in the presence of all his people.
15 Precious in the sight of the LORD is the death of his saints.
16 O LORD, truly I am thy servant; I am thy servant, and the son of thine handmaid: thou hast loosed my bonds.
17 I will offer to thee the sacrifice of thanksgiving, and will call upon the name of the LORD.
18 I will pay my vows unto the LORD now in the presence of all his people.
19 In the courts of the LORD's house, in the midst of thee, O Jerusalem. Praise ye the LORD.

PSALMS CHAPTER 117
1 O praise the LORD, all ye nations: praise him, all ye people.
2 For his merciful kindness is great toward us: and the truth of the LORD endureth for ever. Praise ye the LORD.

PSALMS CHAPTER 118
1 O give thanks unto the LORD; for he is good: because his mercy endureth for ever.
2 Let Israel now say, that his mercy endureth for ever.
3 Let the house of Aaron now say, that his mercy endureth for ever.
4 Let them now that fear the LORD say, that his mercy endureth for ever.
5 I called upon the LORD in distress: the LORD answered me, and set me in a large place.
6 The LORD is on my side; I will not fear: what can man do unto me?
7 The LORD taketh my part with them that help me: therefore shall I see my desire upon them that hate me.
8 It is better to trust in the LORD than to put confidence in man.
9 It is better to trust in the LORD than to put confidence in princes.
10 All nations compassed me about: but in the name of the LORD will I destroy them.
11 They compassed me about; yea, they compassed me about: but in the name of the LORD I will destroy them.
12 They compassed me about like bees: they are quenched as the fire of thorns: for in the name of the LORD I will destroy them.
13 Thou hast thrust sore at me that I might fall: but the LORD helped me.
14 The LORD is my strength and song, and is become my salvation.
15 The voice of rejoicing and salvation is in the tabernacles of the righteous: the right hand of the LORD doeth valiantly.
16 The right hand of the LORD is exalted: the right hand of the LORD doeth valiantly.
17 I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the LORD.
18 The LORD hath chastened me sore: but he hath not given me over unto death.
19 Open to me the gates of righteousness: I will go into them, and I will praise the LORD:
20 This gate of the LORD, into which the righteous shall enter.
21 I will praise thee: for thou hast heard me, and art become my salvation.
22 The stone which the builders refused is become the head stone of the corner.
23 This is the LORD's doing; it is marvellous in our eyes.
24 This is the day which the LORD hath made; we will rejoice and be glad in it.
25 Save now, I beseech thee, O LORD: O LORD, I beseech thee, send now prosperity.
26 Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the LORD: we have blessed you out of the house of the LORD.
27 God is the LORD, which hath shewed us light: bind the sacrifice with cords, even unto the horns of the altar.
28 Thou art my God, and I will praise thee: thou art my God, I will exalt thee.
29 O give thanks unto the LORD; for he is good: for his mercy endureth for ever.

PSALMS CHAPTER 119
1 Blessed are the undefiled in the way, who walk in the law of the LORD.
2 Blessed are they that keep his testimonies, and that seek him with the whole heart.
3 They also do no iniquity: they walk in his ways.
4 Thou hast commanded us to keep thy precepts diligently.
5 O that my ways were directed to keep thy statutes!
6 Then shall I not be ashamed, when I have respect unto all thy commandments.
7 I will praise thee with uprightness of heart, when I shall have learned thy righteous judgements.
8 I will keep thy statutes: O forsake me not utterly.
9 Wherewithal shall a young man cleanse his way? by taking heed thereto according to thy word.
10 With my whole heart have I sought thee: O let me not wander from thy commandments.
11 Thy word have I hid in mine heart, that I might not sin against thee.
12 Blessed art thou, O LORD: teach me thy statutes.
13 With my lips have I declared all the judgements of thy mouth.
14 I have rejoiced in the way of thy testimonies, as much as in all riches.

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15 I will meditate in thy precepts, and have respect unto thy ways.
16 I will delight myself in thy statutes: I will not forget thy word.
17 Deal bountifully with thy servant, that I may live, and keep thy word.
18 Open thou mine eyes, that I may behold wondrous things out of thy law.
19 I am a stranger in the earth: hide not thy commandments from me.
20 My soul breaketh for the longing that it hath unto thy judgements at all times.
21 Thou hast rebuked the proud that are cursed, which do err from thy commandments.
22 Remove from me reproach and contempt; for I have kept thy testimonies.
23 Princes also did sit and speak against me: but thy servant did meditate in thy statutes.
24 Thy testimonies also are my delight and my counsellors.leth.
25 My soul cleaveth unto the dust: quicken thou me according to thy word.
26 I have declared my ways, and thou heardest me: teach me thy statutes.
27 Make me to understand the way of thy precepts: so shall I talk of thy wondrous works.
28 My soul melteth for heaviness: strengthen thou me according unto thy word.
29 Remove from me the way of lying: and grant me thy law graciously.
30 I have chosen the way of truth: thy judgements have I laid before me.
31 I have stuck unto thy testimonies: O LORD, put me not to shame.
32 I will run the way of thy commandments, when thou shalt enlarge my heart.
33 Teach me, O LORD, the way of thy statutes; and I shall keep it unto the end.
34 Give me understanding, and I shall keep thy law; yea, I shall observe it with my whole heart.
35 Make me to go in the path of thy commandments; for therein do I delight.
36 Incline my heart unto thy testimonies, and not to covetousness.
37 Turn away mine eyes from beholding vanity; and quicken thou me in thy way.
38 Stablish thy word unto thy servant, who is devoted to thy fear.
39 Turn away my reproach which I fear: for thy judgements are good.
40 Behold, I have longed after thy precepts: quicken me in thy righteousness.
41 Let thy mercies come also unto me, O LORD, even thy salvation, according to thy word.
42 So shall I have wherewith to answer him that reproacheth me: for I trust in thy word.
43 And take not the word of truth utterly out of my mouth; for I have hoped in thy judgements.
44 So shall I keep thy law continually for ever and ever.
45 And I will walk at liberty: for I seek thy precepts.
46 I will speak of thy testimonies also before kings, and will not be ashamed.
47 And I will delight myself in thy commandments, which I have loved.
48 My hands also will I lift up unto thy commandments, which I have loved; and I will meditate in thy statutes.
49 Remember the word unto thy servant, upon which thou hast caused me to hope.
50 This is my comfort in my affliction: for thy word hath quickened me.
51 The proud have had me greatly in derision: yet have I not declined from thy law.
52 I remembered thy judgements of old, O LORD; and have comforted myself.
53 Horror hath taken hold upon me because of the wicked that forsake thy law.
54 Thy statutes have been my songs in the house of my pilgrimage.
55 I have remembered thy name, O LORD, in the night, and have kept thy law.
56 This I had, because I kept thy precepts.
57 Thou art my portion, O LORD: I have said that I would keep thy words.
58 I intreated thy favour with my whole heart: be merciful unto me according to thy word.
59 I thought on my ways, and turned my feet unto thy testimonies.
60 I made haste, and delayed not to keep thy commandments.
61 The bands of the wicked have robbed me: but I have not forgotten thy law.
62 At midnight I will rise to give thanks unto thee because of thy righteous judgements.
63 I am a companion of all them that fear thee, and of them that keep thy precepts.
64 The earth, O LORD, is full of thy mercy: teach me thy statutes.
65 Thou hast dealt well with thy servant, O LORD, according unto thy word.
66 Teach me good judgement and knowledge: for I have believed thy commandments.
67 Before I was afflicted I went astray: but now have I kept thy word.
68 Thou art good, and doest good; teach me thy statutes.
69 The proud have forged a lie against me: but I will keep thy precepts with my whole heart.
70 Their heart is as fat as grease; but I delight in thy law.
71 It is good for me that I have been afflicted; that I might learn thy statutes.
72 The law of thy mouth is better unto me than thousands of gold and silver.
73 Thy hands have made me and fashioned me: give me understanding, that I may learn thy commandments.
74 They that fear thee will be glad when they see me; because I have hoped in thy word.
75 I know, O LORD, that thy judgements are right, and that thou in faithfulness hast afflicted me.
76 Let, I pray thee, thy merciful kindness be for my comfort, according to thy word unto thy servant.
77 Let thy tender mercies come unto me, that I may live: for thy law is my delight.
78 Let the proud be ashamed; for they dealt perversely with me without a cause: but I will meditate in thy precepts.
79 Let those that fear thee turn unto me, and those that have known thy testimonies.
80 Let my heart be sound in thy statutes; that I be not ashamed.
81 My soul fainteth for thy salvation: but I hope in thy word.
82 Mine eyes fail for thy word, saying, When wilt thou comfort me?
83 For I am become like a bottle in the smoke; yet do I not forget thy statutes.
84 How many are the days of thy servant? when wilt thou execute judgement on them that persecute me?
85 The proud have digged pits for me, which are not after thy law.
86 All thy commandments are faithful: they persecute me wrongfully; help thou me.
87 They had almost consumed me upon earth; but I forsook not thy precepts.
88 Quicken me after thy lovingkindness; so shall I keep the testimony of thy mouth.
89 For ever, O LORD, thy word is settled in heaven.
90 Thy faithfulness is unto all generations: thou hast established the earth, and it abideth.
91 They continue this day according to thine ordinances: for all are thy servants.
92 Unless thy law had been my delights, I should then have perished in mine affliction.
93 I will never forget thy precepts: for with them thou hast quickened me.
94 I am thine, save me: for I have sought thy precepts.
95 The wicked have waited for me to destroy me: but I will consider thy testimonies.
96 I have seen an end of all perfection: but thy commandment is exceeding broad.
97 O how I love thy law! it is my meditation all the day.
98 Thou through thy commandments hast made me wiser than mine enemies: for they are ever with me.
99 I have more understanding than all my teachers: for thy testimonies are my meditation.
100 I understand more than the ancients, because I keep thy precepts.
101 I have refrained my feet from every evil way, that I might keep thy word.
102 I have not departed from thy judgements: for thou hast taught me.
103 How sweet are thy words unto my taste! yea, sweeter than honey to my mouth!
104 Through thy precepts I get understanding: therefore I hate every false way.
105 Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path.
106 I have sworn, and I will perform it, that I will keep thy righteous judgements.
107 I am afflicted very much: quicken me, O LORD, according unto thy word.
108 Accept, I beseech thee, the freewill offerings of my mouth, O LORD, and teach me thy judgements.
109 My soul is continually in my hand: yet do I not forget thy law.
110 The wicked have laid a snare for me: yet I erred not from thy precepts.
111 Thy testimonies have I taken as an heritage for ever: for they are the rejoicing of my heart.
112 I have inclined mine heart to perform thy statutes alway, even unto the end.
113 I hate vain thoughts: but thy law do I love.
114 Thou art my hiding place and my shield: I hope in thy word.
115 Depart from me, ye evildoers: for I will keep the commandments of my God.
116 Uphold me according unto thy word, that I may live: and let me not be ashamed of my hope.
117 Hold thou me up, and I shall be safe: and I will have respect unto thy statutes continually.
118 Thou hast trodden down all them that err from thy statutes: for their deceit is falsehood.
119 Thou puttest away all the wicked of the earth like dross: therefore I love thy testimonies.
120 My flesh trembleth for fear of thee; and I am afraid of thy judgements.
121 I have done judgement and justice: leave me not to mine oppressors.
122 Be surety for thy servant for good: let not the proud oppress me.
123 Mine eyes fail for thy salvation, and for the word of thy righteousness.
124 Deal with thy servant according unto thy mercy, and teach me thy statutes.
125 I am thy servant; give me understanding, that I may know thy testimonies.
126 It is time for thee, LORD, to work: for they have made void thy law.
127 Therefore I love thy commandments above gold; yea, above fine gold.
128 Therefore I esteem all thy precepts concerning all things to be right; and I hate every false way.
129 Thy testimonies are wonderful: therefore doth my soul keep them.
130 The entrance of thy words giveth light; it giveth understanding unto the simple.
131 I opened my mouth, and panted: for I longed for thy commandments.
132 Look thou upon me, and be merciful unto me, as thou usest to do unto those that love thy name.
133 Order my steps in thy word: and let not any iniquity have dominion over me.
134 Deliver me from the oppression of man: so will I keep thy precepts.
135 Make thy face to shine upon thy servant; and teach me thy statutes.
136 Rivers of waters run down mine eyes, because they keep not thy law.
137 Righteous art thou, O LORD, and upright are thy judgements.
138 Thy testimonies that thou hast commanded are righteous and very faithful.
139 My zeal hath consumed me, because mine enemies have forgotten thy words.
140 Thy word is very pure: therefore thy servant loveth it.
141 I am small and despised: yet do not I forget thy precepts.
142 Thy righteousness is an everlasting righteousness, and thy law is the truth.
143 Trouble and anguish have taken hold on me: yet thy commandments are my delights.
144 The righteousness of thy testimonies is everlasting: give me understanding, and I shall live.
145 I cried with my whole heart; hear me, O LORD: I will keep thy statutes.
146 I cried unto thee; save me, and I shall keep thy testimonies.
147 I prevented the dawning of the morning, and cried: I hoped in thy word.
148 Mine eyes prevent the night watches, that I might meditate in thy word.
149 Hear my voice according unto thy lovingkindness: O LORD, quicken me according to thy judgement.
150 They draw nigh that follow after mischief: they are far from thy law.
151 Thou art near, O LORD; and all thy commandments are truth.
152 Concerning thy testimonies, I have known of old that thou hast founded them for ever.
153 Consider mine affliction, and deliver me: for I do not forget thy law.
154 Plead my cause, and deliver me: quicken me according to thy word.
155 Salvation is far from the wicked: for they seek not thy statutes.
156 Great are thy tender mercies, O LORD: quicken me according to thy judgements.
157 Many are my persecutors and mine enemies; yet do I not decline from thy testimonies.
158 I beheld the transgressors, and was grieved; because they kept not thy word.
159 Consider how I love thy precepts: quicken me, O LORD, according to thy lovingkindness.

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160 Thy word is true from the beginning: and every one of thy righteous judgements endureth for ever.
161 Princes have persecuted me without a cause: but my heart standeth in awe of thy word.
162 I rejoice at thy word, as one that findeth great spoil.
163 I hate and abhor lying: but thy law do I love.
164 Seven times a day do I praise thee because of thy righteous judgements.
165 Great peace have they which love thy law: and nothing shall offend them.
166 LORD, I have hoped for thy salvation, and done thy commandments.
167 My soul hath kept thy testimonies; and I love them exceedingly.
168 I have kept thy precepts and thy testimonies: for all my ways are before thee.
169 Let my cry come near before thee, O LORD: give me understanding according to thy word.
170 Let my supplication come before thee: deliver me according to thy word.
171 My lips shall utter praise, when thou hast taught me thy statutes.
172 My tongue shall speak of thy word: for all thy commandments are righteousness.
173 Let thine hand help me; for I have chosen thy precepts.
174 I have longed for thy salvation, O LORD; and thy law is my delight.
175 Let my soul live, and it shall praise thee; and let thy judgements help me.
176 I have gone astray like a lost sheep; seek thy servant; for I do not forget thy commandments.

PSALMS CHAPTER 120
1 In my distress I cried unto the LORD, and he heard me.
2 Deliver my soul, O LORD, from lying lips, and from a deceitful tongue.
3 What shall be given unto thee? or what shall be done unto thee, thou false tongue?
4 Sharp arrows of the mighty, with coals of juniper.
5 Woe is me, that I sojourn in Mesech, that I dwell in the tents of Kedar!
6 My soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace.
7 I am for peace: but when I speak, they are for war.

PSALMS CHAPTER 121
1 I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help.
2 My help cometh from the LORD, which made heaven and earth.
3 He will not suffer thy foot to be moved: he that keepeth thee will not slumber.
4 Behold, he that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep.
5 The LORD is thy keeper: the LORD is thy shade upon thy right hand.
6 The sun shall not smite thee by day, nor the moon by night.
7 The LORD shall preserve thee from all evil: he shall preserve thy soul.
8 The LORD shall preserve thy going out and thy coming in from this time forth, and even for evermore.

PSALMS CHAPTER 122
1 I was glad when they said unto me, Let us go into the house of the LORD.
2 Our feet shall stand within thy gates, O Jerusalem.
3 Jerusalem is builded as a city that is compact together:
4 Whither the tribes go up, the tribes of the LORD, unto the testimony of Israel, to give thanks unto the name of the LORD.
5 For there are set thrones of judgement, the thrones of the house of David.
6 Pray for the peace of Jerusalem: they shall prosper that love thee.
7 Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces.
8 For my brethren and companions' sakes, I will now say, Peace be within thee.
9 Because of the house of the LORD our God I will seek thy good.

PSALMS CHAPTER 123
1 Unto thee lift I up mine eyes, O thou that dwellest in the heavens.
2 Behold, as the eyes of servants look unto the hand of their masters, and as the eyes of a maiden unto the hand of her mistress; so our eyes wait upon the LORD our God, until that he have mercy upon us.
3 Have mercy upon us, O LORD, have mercy upon us: for we are exceedingly filled with contempt.
4 Our soul is exceedingly filled with the scorning of those that are at ease, and with the contempt of the proud.

PSALMS CHAPTER 124
1 If it had not been the LORD who was on our side, now may Israel say;
2 If it had not been the LORD who was on our side, when men rose up against us:
3 Then they had swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us:
4 Then the waters had overwhelmed us, the stream had gone over our soul:
5 Then the proud waters had gone over our soul.
6 Blessed be the LORD, who hath not given us as a prey to their teeth.
7 Our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers: the snare is broken, and we are escaped.
8 Our help is in the name of the LORD, who made heaven and earth.

PSALMS CHAPTER 125
1 They that trust in the LORD shall be as mount Zion, which cannot be removed, but abideth for ever.
2 As the mountains are round about Jerusalem, so the LORD is round about his people from henceforth even for ever.
3 For the rod of the wicked shall not rest upon the lot of the righteous; lest the righteous put forth their hands unto iniquity.
4 Do good, O LORD, unto those that be good, and to them that are upright in their hearts.
5 As for such as turn aside unto their crooked ways, the LORD shall lead them forth with the workers of iniquity: but peace shall be upon Israel.

PSALMS CHAPTER 126
1 When the LORD turned again the captivity of Zion, we were like them that dream.
2 Then was our mouth filled with laughter, and our tongue with singing: then said they among the heathen, The LORD hath done great things for them.
3 The LORD hath done great things for us; whereof we are glad.
4 Turn again our captivity, O LORD, as the streams in the south.
5 They that sow in tears shall reap in joy.
6 He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him.

PSALMS CHAPTER 127
1 Except the LORD build the house, they labour in vain that build it: except the LORD keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain.
2 It is vain for you to rise up early, to sit up late, to eat the bread of sorrows: for so he giveth his beloved sleep.
3 Lo, children are an heritage of the LORD: and the fruit of the womb is his reward.
4 As arrows are in the hand of a mighty man; so are children of the youth.
5 Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them: they shall not be ashamed, but they shall speak with the enemies in the gate.

PSALMS CHAPTER 128
1 Blessed is every one that feareth the LORD; that walketh in his ways.
2 For thou shalt eat the labour of thine hands: happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee.
3 Thy wife shall be as a fruitful vine by the sides of thine house: thy children like olive plants round about thy table.
4 Behold, that thus shall the man be blessed that feareth the LORD.
5 The LORD shall bless thee out of Zion: and thou shalt see the good of Jerusalem all the days of thy life.
6 Yea, thou shalt see thy children's children, and peace upon Israel.

PSALMS CHAPTER 129
1 Many a time have they afflicted me from my youth, may Israel now say:
2 Many a time have they afflicted me from my youth: yet they have not prevailed against me.
3 The plowers plowed upon my back: they made long their furrows.
4 The LORD is righteous: he hath cut asunder the cords of the wicked.
5 Let them all be confounded and turned back that hate Zion.
6 Let them be as the grass upon the housetops, which withereth afore it groweth up:
7 Wherewith the mower filleth not his hand; nor he that bindeth sheaves his bosom.
8 Neither do they which go by say, The blessing of the LORD be upon you: we bless you in the name of the LORD.

PSALMS CHAPTER 130
1 Out of the depths have I cried unto thee, O LORD.
2 Lord, hear my voice: let thine ears be attentive to the voice of my supplications.
3 If thou, LORD, shouldest mark iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand?
4 But there is forgiveness with thee, that thou mayest be feared.
5 I wait for the LORD, my soul doth wait, and in his word do I hope.
6 My soul waiteth for the Lord more than they that watch for the morning: I say, more than they that watch for the morning.
7 Let Israel hope in the LORD: for with the LORD there is mercy, and with him is plenteous redemption.
8 And he shall redeem Israel from all his iniquities.

PSALMS CHAPTER 131
1 Lord, my heart is not haughty, nor mine eyes lofty: neither do I exercise myself in great matters, or in things too high for me.
2 Surely I have behaved and quieted myself, as a child that is weaned of his mother: my soul is even as a weaned child.
3 Let Israel hope in the LORD from henceforth and for ever.

PSALMS CHAPTER 132
1 Lord, remember David, and all his afflictions:
2 How he sware unto the LORD, and vowed unto the mighty God of Jacob;
3 Surely I will not come into the tabernacle of my house, nor go up into my bed;
4 I will not give sleep to mine eyes, or slumber to mine eyelids,
5 Until I find out a place for the LORD, an habitation for the mighty God of Jacob.
6 Lo, we heard of it at Ephratah: we found it in the fields of the wood.
7 We will go into his tabernacles: we will worship at his footstool.
8 Arise, O LORD, into thy rest; thou, and the ark of thy strength.
9 Let thy priests be clothed with righteousness; and let thy saints shout for joy.
10 For thy servant David's sake turn not away the face of thine anointed.
11 The LORD hath sworn in truth unto David; he will not turn from it; Of the fruit of thy body will I set upon thy throne.
12 If thy children will keep my covenant and my testimony that I shall teach them, their children shall also sit upon thy throne for evermore.
13 For the LORD hath chosen Zion; he hath desired it for his habitation.
14 This is my rest for ever: here will I dwell; for I have desired it.
15 I will abundantly bless her provision: I will satisfy her poor with bread.
16 I will also clothe her priests with salvation: and her saints shall shout aloud for joy.
17 There will I make the horn of David to bud: I have ordained a lamp for mine anointed.
18 His enemies will I clothe with shame: but upon himself shall his crown flourish.

PSALMS CHAPTER 133
1 Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!
2 It is like the precious ointment upon the head, that ran down upon the beard, even Aaron's beard: that went down to the skirts of his garments;
3 As the dew of Hermon, and as the dew that descended upon the mountains of Zion: for there the LORD commanded the blessing, even life for evermore.

PSALMS CHAPTER 134
1 Behold, bless ye the LORD, all ye servants of the LORD, which by night stand in the house of the LORD.
2 Lift up your hands in the sanctuary, and bless the LORD.
3 The LORD that made heaven and earth bless thee out of Zion.

PSALMS CHAPTER 135
1 Praise ye the LORD. Praise ye the name of the LORD; praise him, O ye servants of the LORD.
2 Ye that stand in the house of the LORD, in the courts of the house of our God.
3 Praise the LORD; for the LORD is good: sing praises unto his name; for it is pleasant.
4 For the LORD hath chosen Jacob unto himself, and Israel for his peculiar treasure.
5 For I know that the LORD is great, and that our Lord is above all gods.
6 Whatsoever the LORD pleased, that did he in heaven, and in earth, in the seas, and all deep places.

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7 He causeth the vapours to ascend from the ends of the earth; he maketh lightnings for the rain; he bringeth the wind out of his treasuries.
8 Who smote the firstborn of Egypt, both of man and beast.
9 Who sent tokens and wonders into the midst of thee, O Egypt, upon Pharaoh, and upon all his servants.
10 Who smote great nations, and slew mighty kings;
11 Sihon king of the Amorites, and Og king of Bashan, and all the kingdoms of Canaan:
12 And gave their land for an heritage, an heritage unto Israel his people.
13 Thy name, O LORD, endureth for ever; and thy memorial, O LORD, throughout all generations.
14 For the LORD will judge his people, and he will repent himself concerning his servants.
15 The idols of the heathen are silver and gold, the work of men's hands.
16 They have mouths, but they speak not; eyes have they, but they see not;
17 They have ears, but they hear not; neither is there any breath in their mouths.
18 They that make them are like unto them: so is every one that trusteth in them.
19 Bless the LORD, O house of Israel: bless the LORD, O house of Aaron:
20 Bless the LORD, O house of Levi: ye that fear the LORD, bless the LORD.
21 Blessed be the LORD out of Zion, which dwelleth at Jerusalem. Praise ye the LORD.

PSALMS CHAPTER 136
1 O give thanks unto the LORD; for he is good: for his mercy endureth for ever.
2 O give thanks unto the God of gods: for his mercy endureth for ever.
3 O give thanks to the Lord of lords: for his mercy endureth for ever.
4 To him who alone doeth great wonders: for his mercy endureth for ever.
5 To him that by wisdom made the heavens: for his mercy endureth for ever.
6 To him that stretched out the earth above the waters: for his mercy endureth for ever.
7 To him that made great lights: for his mercy endureth for ever:
8 The sun to rule by day: for his mercy endureth for ever:
9 The moon and stars to rule by night: for his mercy endureth for ever.
10 To him that smote Egypt in their firstborn: for his mercy endureth for ever:
11 And brought out Israel from among them: for his mercy endureth for ever:
12 With a strong hand, and with a stretched out arm: for his mercy endureth for ever.
13 To him which divided the Red sea into parts: for his mercy endureth for ever:
14 And made Israel to pass through the midst of it: for his mercy endureth for ever:
15 But overthrew Pharaoh and his host in the Red sea: for his mercy endureth for ever.
16 To him which led his people through the wilderness: for his mercy endureth for ever.
17 To him which smote great kings: for his mercy endureth for ever:
18 And slew famous kings: for his mercy endureth for ever:
19 Sihon king of the Amorites: for his mercy endureth for ever:
20 And Og the king of Bashan: for his mercy endureth for ever:
21 And gave their land for an heritage: for his mercy endureth for ever:
22 Even an heritage unto Israel his servant: for his mercy endureth for ever.
23 Who remembered us in our low estate: for his mercy endureth for ever:
24 And hath redeemed us from our enemies: for his mercy endureth for ever.
25 Who giveth food to all flesh: for his mercy endureth for ever.
26 O give thanks unto the God of heaven: for his mercy endureth for ever.

PSALMS CHAPTER 137
1 By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion.
2 We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof.
3 For there they that carried us away captive required of us a song; and they that wasted us required of us mirth, saying, Sing us one of the songs of Zion.
4 How shall we sing the LORD's song in a strange land?
5 If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning.
6 If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy.
7 Remember, O LORD, the children of Edom in the day of Jerusalem; who said, Rase it, rase it, even to the foundation thereof.
8 O daughter of Babylon, who art to be destroyed; happy shall he be, that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us.
9 Happy shall he be, that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the stones.

PSALMS CHAPTER 138
1 I will praise thee with my whole heart: before the gods will I sing praise unto thee.

2 I will worship toward thy holy temple, and praise thy name for thy lovingkindness and for thy truth: for thou hast magnified thy word above all thy name.
3 In the day when I cried thou answeredst me, and strengthenedst me with strength in my soul.
4 All the kings of the earth shall praise thee, O LORD, when they hear the words of thy mouth.
5 Yea, they shall sing in the ways of the LORD: for great is the glory of the LORD.
6 Though the LORD be high, yet hath he respect unto the lowly: but the proud he knoweth afar off.
7 Though I walk in the midst of trouble, thou wilt revive me: thou shalt stretch forth thine hand against the wrath of mine enemies, and thy right hand shall save me.
8 The LORD will perfect that which concerneth me: thy mercy, O LORD, endureth for ever: forsake not the works of thine own hands.

PSALMS CHAPTER 139
1 O lord, thou hast searched me, and known me.
2 Thou knowest my downsitting and mine uprising, thou understandest my thought afar off.
3 Thou compassest my path and my lying down, and art acquainted with all my ways.
4 For there is not a word in my tongue, but, lo, O LORD, thou knowest it altogether.
5 Thou hast beset me behind and before, and laid thine hand upon me.
6 Such knowledge is too wonderful for me; it is high, I cannot attain unto it.
7 Whither shall I go from thy spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence?
8 If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there: if I make my bed in hell, behold, thou art there.
9 If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea;
10 Even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me.
11 If I say, Surely the darkness shall cover me; even the night shall be light about me.
12 Yea, the darkness hideth not from thee; but the night shineth as the day: the darkness and the light are both alike to thee.
13 For thou hast possessed my reins: thou hast covered me in my mother's womb.
14 I will praise thee; for I am fearfully and wonderfully made: marvellous are thy works; and that my soul knoweth right well.
15 My substance was not hid from thee, when I was made in secret, and curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth.
16 Thine eyes did see my substance, yet being unperfect; and in thy book all my members were written, which in continuance were fashioned, when as yet there was none of them.
17 How precious also are thy thoughts unto me, O God! how great is the sum of them!
18 If I should count them, they are more in number than the sand: when I awake, I am still with thee.
19 Surely thou wilt slay the wicked, O God: depart from me therefore, ye bloody men.
20 For they speak against thee wickedly, and thine enemies take thy name in vain.
21 Do not I hate them, O LORD, that hate thee? and am not I grieved with those that rise up against thee?
22 I hate them with perfect hatred: I count them mine enemies.
23 Search me, O God, and know my heart: try me, and know my thoughts:
24 And see if there be any wicked way in me, and lead me in the way everlasting.

PSALMS CHAPTER 140
1 Deliver me, O LORD, from the evil man: preserve me from the violent man;
2 Which imagine mischiefs in their heart; continually are they gathered together for war.
3 They have sharpened their tongues like a serpent; adders' poison is under their lips. Selah.
4 Keep me, O LORD, from the hands of the wicked; preserve me from the violent man; who have purposed to overthrow my goings.
5 The proud have hid a snare for me, and cords; they have spread a net by the wayside; they have set gins for me. Selah.
6 I said unto the LORD, Thou art my God: hear the voice of my supplications, O LORD.
7 O GOD the Lord, the strength of my salvation, thou hast covered my head in the day of battle.
8 Grant not, O LORD, the desires of the wicked: further not his wicked device; lest they exalt themselves. Selah.
9 As for the head of those that compass me about, let the mischief of their own lips cover them.
10 Let burning coals fall upon them: let them be cast into the fire; into deep pits, that they rise not up again.
11 Let not an evil speaker be established in the earth: evil shall hunt the violent man to overthrow him.
12 I know that the LORD will maintain the cause of the afflicted, and the right of the poor.
13 Surely the righteous shall give thanks unto thy name: the upright shall dwell in thy presence.

PSALMS CHAPTER 141
1 Lord, I cry unto thee: make haste unto me; give ear unto my voice, when I cry unto thee.
2 Let my prayer be set forth before thee as incense; and the lifting up of my hands as the evening sacrifice.
3 Set a watch, O LORD, before my mouth; keep the door of my lips.
4 Incline not my heart to any evil thing, to practise wicked works with men that work iniquity: and let me not eat of their dainties.
5 Let the righteous smite me; it shall be a kindness: and let him reprove me; it shall be an excellent oil, which shall not break my head: for yet my prayer also shall be in their calamities.
6 When their judges are overthrown in stony places, they shall hear my words; for they are sweet.
7 Our bones are scattered at the grave's mouth, as when one cutteth and cleaveth wood upon the earth.
8 But mine eyes are unto thee, O GOD the Lord: in thee is my trust; leave not my soul destitute.
9 Keep me from the snares which they have laid for me, and the gins of the workers of iniquity.
10 Let the wicked fall into their own nets, whilst that I withal escape.

PSALMS CHAPTER 142
1 I cried unto the LORD with my voice; with my voice unto the LORD did I make my supplication.
2 I poured out my complaint before him; I shewed before him my trouble.
3 When my spirit was overwhelmed within me, then thou knewest my path. In the way wherein I walked have they privily laid a snare for me.
4 I looked on my right hand, and beheld, but there was no man that would know me: refuge failed me; no man cared for my soul.
5 I cried unto thee, O LORD: I said, Thou art my refuge and my portion in the land of the living.
6 Attend unto my cry; for I am brought very low: deliver me from my persecutors; for they are stronger than I.
7 Bring my soul out of prison, that I may praise thy name: the righteous shall compass me about; for thou shalt deal bountifully with me.

PSALMS CHAPTER 143
1 Hear my prayer, O LORD, give ear to my supplications: in thy faithfulness answer me, and in thy righteousness.
2 And enter not into judgement with thy servant: for in thy sight shall no man living be justified.
3 For the enemy hath persecuted my soul; he hath smitten my life down to the ground; he hath made me to dwell in darkness, as those that have been long dead.
4 Therefore is my spirit overwhelmed within me; my heart within me is desolate.
5 I remember the days of old; I meditate on all thy works; I muse on the work of thy hands.
6 I stretch forth my hands unto thee: my soul thirsteth after thee, as a thirsty land. Selah.
7 Hear me speedily, O LORD: my spirit faileth: hide not thy face from me, lest I be like unto them that go down into the pit.
8 Cause me to hear thy lovingkindness in the morning; for in thee do I trust: cause me to know the way wherein I should walk; for I lift up my soul unto thee.
9 Deliver me, O LORD, from mine enemies: I flee unto thee to hide me.
10 Teach me to do thy will; for thou art my God: thy spirit is good; lead me into the land of uprightness.
11 Quicken me, O LORD, for thy name's sake: for thy righteousness' sake bring my soul out of trouble.
12 And of thy mercy cut off mine enemies, and destroy all them that afflict my soul: for I am thy servant.

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PSALMS CHAPTER 144

1 Blessed be the LORD my strength which teacheth my hands to war, and my fingers to fight:

2 My goodness, and my fortress; my high tower, and my deliverer; my shield, and he in whom I trust; who subdueth my people under me.

3 LORD, what is man, that thou takest knowledge of him! or the son of man, that thou makest account of him!

4 Man is like to vanity: his days are as a shadow that passeth away.

5 Bow thy heavens, O LORD, and come down: touch the mountains, and they shall smoke.

6 Cast forth lightning, and scatter them: shoot out thine arrows, and destroy them.

7 Send thine hand from above; rid me, and deliver me out of great waters, from the hand of strange children;

8 Whose mouth speaketh vanity, and their right hand is a right hand of falsehood.

9 I will sing a new song unto thee, O God: upon a psaltery and an instrument of ten strings will I sing praises unto thee.

10 It is he that giveth salvation unto kings: who delivereth David his servant from the hurtful sword.

11 Rid me, and deliver me from the hand of strange children, whose mouth speaketh vanity, and their right hand is a right hand of falsehood:

12 That our sons may be as plants grown up in their youth; that our daughters may be as corner stones, polished after the similitude of a palace:

13 That our garners may be full, affording all manner of store: that our sheep may bring forth thousands and ten thousands in our streets:

14 That our oxen may be strong to labour; that there be no breaking in, nor going out; that there be no complaining in our streets.

15 Happy is that people, that is in such a case: yea, happy is that people, whose God is the LORD.

PSALMS CHAPTER 145

1 I will extol thee, my God, O king; and I will bless thy name for ever and ever.

2 Every day will I bless thee; and I will praise thy name for ever and ever.

3 Great is the LORD, and greatly to be praised; and his greatness is unsearchable.

4 One generation shall praise thy works to another, and shall declare thy mighty acts.

5 I will speak of the glorious honour of thy majesty, and of thy wondrous works.

6 And men shall speak of the might of thy terrible acts: and I will declare thy greatness.

7 They shall abundantly utter the memory of thy great goodness, and shall sing of thy righteousness.

8 The LORD is gracious, and full of compassion; slow to anger, and of great mercy.

9 The LORD is good to all: and his tender mercies are over all his works.

10 All thy works shall praise thee, O LORD; and thy saints shall bless thee.

11 They shall speak of the glory of thy kingdom, and talk of thy power;

12 To make known to the sons of men his mighty acts, and the glorious majesty of his kingdom.

13 Thy kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and thy dominion endureth throughout all generations.

14 The LORD upholdeth all that fall, and raiseth up all those that be bowed down.

15 The eyes of all wait upon thee; and thou givest them their meat in due season.

16 Thou openest thine hand, and satisfiest the desire of every living thing.

17 The LORD is righteous in all his ways, and holy in all his works.

18 The LORD is nigh unto all them that call upon him, to all that call upon him in truth.

19 He will fulfil the desire of them that fear him: he also will hear their cry, and will save them.

20 The LORD preserveth all them that love him: but all the wicked will he destroy.

21 My mouth shall speak the praise of the LORD: and let all flesh bless his holy name for ever and ever.

PSALMS CHAPTER 146

1 Praise ye the LORD. Praise the LORD, O my soul.

2 While I live will I praise the LORD: I will sing praises unto my God while I have any being.

3 Put not your trust in princes, nor in the son of man, in whom there is no help.

4 His breath goeth forth, he returneth to his earth; in that very day his thoughts perish.

5 Happy is he that hath the God of Jacob for his help, whose hope is in the LORD his God:

6 Which made heaven, and earth, the sea, and all that therein is: which keepeth truth for ever:

7 Which executeth judgement for the oppressed: which giveth food to the hungry. The LORD looseth the prisoners:

8 The LORD openeth the eyes of the blind: the LORD raiseth them that are bowed down: the LORD loveth the righteous:

9 The LORD preserveth the strangers; he relieveth the fatherless and widow: but the way of the wicked he turneth upside down.

10 The LORD shall reign for ever, even thy God, O Zion, unto all generations. Praise ye the LORD.

PSALMS CHAPTER 147

1 Praise ye the LORD: for it is good to sing praises unto our God; for it is pleasant; and praise is comely.

2 The LORD doth build up Jerusalem: he gathereth together the outcasts of Israel.

3 He healeth the broken in heart, and bindeth up their wounds.

4 He telleth the number of the stars; he calleth them all by their names.

5 Great is our Lord, and of great power: his understanding is infinite.

6 The LORD lifteth up the meek: he casteth the wicked down to the ground.

7 Sing unto the LORD with thanksgiving; sing praise upon the harp unto our God:

8 Who covereth the heaven with clouds, who prepareth rain for the earth, who maketh grass to grow upon the mountains.

9 He giveth to the beast his food, and to the young ravens which cry.

10 He delighteth not in the strength of the horse: he taketh not pleasure in the legs of a man.

11 The LORD taketh pleasure in them that fear him, in those that hope in his mercy.

12 Praise the LORD, O Jerusalem; praise thy God, O Zion.

13 For he hath strengthened the bars of thy gates; he hath blessed thy children within thee.

14 He maketh peace in thy borders, and filleth thee with the finest of the wheat.

15 He sendeth forth his commandment upon earth: his word runneth very swiftly.

16 He giveth snow like wool: he scattereth the hoarfrost like ashes.

17 He casteth forth his ice like morsels: who can stand before his cold?

18 He sendeth out his word, and melteth them: he causeth his wind to blow, and the waters flow.

19 He sheweth his word unto Jacob, his statutes and his judgements unto Israel.

20 He hath not dealt so with any nation: and as for his judgements, they have not known them. Praise ye the LORD.

PSALMS CHAPTER 148

1 Praise ye the LORD. Praise ye the LORD from the heavens: praise him in the heights.

2 Praise ye him, all his angels: praise ye him, all his hosts.

3 Praise ye him, sun and moon: praise him, all ye stars of light.

4 Praise him, ye heavens of heavens, and ye waters that be above the heavens.

5 Let them praise the name of the LORD: for he commanded, and they were created.

6 He hath also stablished them for ever and ever: he hath made a decree which shall not pass.

7 Praise the LORD from the earth, ye dragons, and all deeps:

8 Fire, and hail; snow, and vapours; stormy wind fulfilling his word:

9 Mountains, and all hills; fruitful trees, and all cedars:

10 Beasts, and all cattle; creeping things, and flying fowl:

11 Kings of the earth, and all people; princes, and all judges of the earth:

12 Both young men, and maidens; old men, and children:

13 Let them praise the name of the LORD: for his name alone is excellent; his glory is above the earth and heaven.

14 He also exalteth the horn of his people, the praise of all his saints; even of the children of Israel, a people near unto him. Praise ye the LORD.

PSALMS CHAPTER 149

1 Praise ye the LORD. Sing unto the LORD a new song, and his praise in the congregation of saints.

2 Let Israel rejoice in him that made him: let the children of Zion be joyful in their King.

3 Let them praise his name in the dance: let them sing praises unto him with the timbrel and harp.

4 For the LORD taketh pleasure in his people: he will beautify the meek with salvation.

5 Let the saints be joyful in glory: let them sing aloud upon their beds.

6 Let the high praises of God be in their mouth, and a two-edged sword in their hand;

7 To execute vengeance upon the heathen, and punishments upon the people;

8 To bind their kings with chains, and their nobles with fetters of iron;

9 To execute upon them the judgement written: this honour have all his saints. Praise ye the LORD.

PSALMS CHAPTER 150

1 Praise ye the LORD. Praise God in his sanctuary: praise him in the firmament of his power.

2 Praise him for his mighty acts: praise him according to his excellent greatness.

3 Praise him with the sound of the trumpet: praise him with the psaltery and harp.

4 Praise him with the timbrel and dance: praise him with stringed instruments and organs.

5 Praise him upon the loud cymbals: praise him upon the high sounding cymbals.

6 Let every thing that hath breath praise the LORD. Praise ye the LORD.

THE HIDDEN OR LOST PSALMS 151-155
The Apocryphal Psalms in Syriac Aramaic

(The psalms 151-155 were considered fake by most Jewish and Christian authorities, but not by the Eastern Orthodox communities were we can find them in copies of the Greek Septuagint, Ethiopic, Syriac and Armenian Bibles. With the Dead Sea Scrolls found in the caves of Qumran in 1947 and 1956, we know that at least Psalms 151, 154 and 155 are authentic.)

PSALMS CHAPTER 151

(Dead Sea scroll 11QPs(a) or 11Q5) This Psalm narrates the story of David when he slew Goliath in single combat.)

Superscription:

This psalm was written by David himself after he fought single-handedly with Goliath.

1 I was the youngest among my brethren, and a youth in my father's house.

2 I used to feed my father's flock, and I found a lion and a wolf, and slew them and rent them.

3 My hands made a harp, and my fingers fashioned a lyre.

4 Who will show me my Lord? He, my Lord, is become my God.

5 He sent His angel and took me away from my father's sheep, and anointed me with the oil of anointing.

6 My brethren, the fair and the tall, in them the Lord had no pleasure.

7 And I went forth to meet the Philistine, and he cursed me by his idols.

8 But I drew his sword and cut off his head, and took away the reproach from the children of Israel.

PSALMS CHAPTER 152

(This text survived only in Syriac. The original language may be Hebrew from about 323-31 BC.) Spoken by David when he was contending with the lion and the wolf which took a sheep from his flock.)

1 With a loud voice glorify ye God; in the assembly of many proclaim ye His glory.

2 Amid the multitude of the upright glorify His praise; and speak of His glory with the righteous.

3 Join yourselves literally, your soul to the good and to the perfect, to glorify the Most High.

4 Gather yourselves together to make known His strength; and be not slow in showing forth His deliverance [and His strength] and His glory to all babes.

5 That the honour of the Lord may be known, wisdom hath been given; and to tell of His works it hath been made known to men:

6 to make known unto babes His strength, and to make them that lack understanding literally, heart to comprehend His glory;

7 who are far from His entrances and distant from His gates:

8 because the Lord of Jacob is exalted, and His glory is upon all His works.

9 And a man who glorifies the Most High, in him will He take pleasure; as in one who offers fine meal, and as in one who offers he-goats and calves;

10 and as in one who makes fat the altar with a multitude of burnt offerings; and as the smell of incense from the hands of the just.

11 From thy upright gates 2 shall be heard His voice, and from the voice of the upright admonition.

12 And in their eating shall be satisfying in truth, and in their drinking, when they share together.

13 Their dwelling is in the law of the Most High, and their speech is to make known His strength.

14 How far from the wicked is speech of Him, and from all transgressors to know Him!

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15 Lo, the eye of the Lord taketh pity on the good, and unto them that glorify Him will He multiply mercy, and from the time of evil will He deliver their soul.
16 Blessed be the Lord, who hath delivered the wretched from the hand of the wicked; who raiseth up a horn out of Jacob and a judge of the nations out of Israel;
17 that He may prolong His dwelling in Zion, and may adorn our age in Jerusalem.

PSALMS CHAPTER 153
(Spoken by David when returning thanks to God, who had delivered him from the lion and the wolf and he had slain both of them. This text survived only in Syriac. Date and provenance are like Psalm 152.)

1 O Lord, I have cried unto Thee; hearken Thou unto me.
2 I have lifted up my hands to Thy holy dwelling-place; incline Thine ear unto me.
3 And grant me my request;3 my prayer withhold not from me.
4 Build up my soul, and destroy it not; and lay it not bare before the wicked.
5 Them that recompense evil things turn Thou away from me, O judge of truth.
6 O Lord, judge me not according to my sins, because no flesh is innocent before Thee.
7 Make plain to me, O Lord, Thy law, and teach me Thy judgements;
8 and many shall hear of Thy works, and the nations shall praise Thine honour.
9 Remember me and forget me not; and lead me not into things that be too hard for me.
10 The sins of my youth make Thou to pass from me, and my chastisement let them not remember against me.
11 Cleanse me, O Lord, from the evil leprosy, and let it no more come unto me.
12 Dry up its roots in literally, from me, and let not its leaves sprout within me.
13 Great art Thou, O Lord; therefore my request shall be fulfilled from before Thee.
14 To whom shall I complain that he may give unto me? and what can the strength of men add [unto me]?
15 From before Thee, O Lord, is my confidence; I cried unto the Lord and He heard me, and healed the breaking of my heart.
16 I slumbered and slept; I dreamed and was helped, and the Lord sustained me.
17 They sorely pained my heart; I will return thanks because the Lord delivered me.
18 Now will I rejoice in their shame; I have hoped in Thee, and I shall not be ashamed.
19 Give Thou honour for ever, even for ever and ever.
20 Deliver Israel Thine elect, and them of the house of Jacob Thy proved one.

PSALMS CHAPTER 154
(This Psalm survived in Syriac biblical manuscripts and also was found in Hebrew, in the Dead Sea scroll 11QPs(a)154 (also known as 11Q5), a first-century AD manuscript.) Spoken by David when he was contending with the lion and the wolf which took a sheep from his flock.).

1 O God, O God, come to my aid; help Thou me and save me; deliver Thou my soul from the slayer.
2 Shall I go down to Sheol by the mouth of the lion? or shall the wolf confound me?
3 Was it not enough for them that they lay in wait for my father's flock, and rent in pieces a sheep of my father's drove, but they were wishing also to destroy my soul?
4 Have pity, O Lord, and save Thy holy one from destruction; that he may rehearse Thy glories in all his times, and may praise Thy great name:
5 when Thou hast delivered him from the hands of the destroying lion and of the ravening wolf, and when Thou hast rescued my captivity from the hands of the wild beasts.
6 Quickly, O my Lord Adonai, send from before Thee a deliverer, and draw me out of the gaping pit, which imprisons me in its depths.

PSALMS CHAPTER 155
(This psalm is extant in Syriac and was also found in the Dead Sea scroll 11QPs(a)155 (also called 11Q5), a first-century AD Hebrew manuscript. The theme of this psalm is similar to Psalm 22, date and origin unclear but its origin is clearly pre-Christian.) Spoken by David when returning thanks to God, who had delivered him from the lion and the wolf and he had slain both of them.)

1 Praise the Lord, all ye nations; glorify Him, and bless His name:
2 Who rescued the soul of His elect from the hands of death, and delivered His holy one from destruction:
3 and saved me from the nets of Sheol, and my soul from the pit that cannot be fathomed.
4 Because, ere my deliverance could go forth from before Him, I was well nigh rent in two pieces by two wild beasts.
5 But He sent His angel, and shut up from me the gaping mouths, and rescued my life from destruction.
6 My soul shall glorify Him and exalt Him, because of all His kindnesses which He hath done and will do unto me.

THE BOOK OF PROVERBS
Proverbs of Solomon
Hebrew title: Mishle Shlomoh
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 5th - 1st centuries B.C.

(The Book of Proverbs (Hebrew: Mishle (Shlomoh), "Proverbs (of Solomon)") is a book in the third section (called Ketuvim) of the Hebrew Bible and a book of the Christian Old Testament. When translated into Greek and Latin, the title took on different forms: in the Greek Septuagint (LXX) it became Paroimiai ("Proverbs"); in the Latin Vulgate the title was Proverbia, from which the English name is derived.

Proverbs is not merely an anthology but a "collection of collections" relating to a pattern of life which lasted for more than a millennium. It is an example of the Biblical wisdom tradition, and raises questions of values, moral behaviour, the meaning of human life, and right conduct. The repeated theme is that "the fear of God (meaning submission to the will of God) is the beginning of wisdom." Wisdom is praised for her role in creation; God acquired her before all else, and through her he gave order to chaos; and since humans have life and prosperity by conforming to the order of creation, seeking wisdom is the essence and goal of the religious life.

The superscriptions divide the collections as follows:

- *Proverbs 1–9: "Proverbs of Solomon, Son of David, King of Israel"*
- *Proverbs 10–22:16: "Proverbs of Solomon"*
- *Proverbs 22:17–24:22: "The Sayings of the Wise"*
- *Proverbs 24:23–34: "These Also are Sayings of the Wise"*
- *Proverbs 25–29: "These are Other Proverbs of Solomon that the Officials of King Hezekiah of Judah Copied"*
- *Proverbs 30: "The Words of Agur"*
- *Proverbs 31:1–9: "The Words of King Lemuel of Massa, Which his Mother Taught Him"*
- *Proverbs 31:10–31: the ideal wise woman (elsewhere called the "woman of substance").*

It is impossible to offer precise dates for the sayings in Proverbs, a "collection of collections" relating to a pattern of life which lasted for more than a millennium. The phrase conventionally used for the title is taken from chapter 1:1, mishley shelomoh, Proverbs of Solomon (the phrase is repeated at 10:1 and 25:1), is likely more concerned with labeling the material than ascribing authorship.)

PROVERBS CHAPTER 1
1 The proverbs of Solomon the son of David, king of Israel;
2 To know wisdom and instruction; to perceive the words of understanding;
3 To receive the instruction of wisdom, justice, and judgement, and equity;
4 To give subtilty to the simple, to the young man knowledge and discretion.
5 A wise man will hear, and will increase learning; and a man of understanding shall attain unto wise counsels:
6 To understand a proverb, and the interpretation; the words of the wise, and their dark sayings.
7 The fear of the LORD is the beginning of knowledge: but fools despise wisdom and instruction.
8 My son, hear the instruction of thy father, and forsake not the law of thy mother:
9 For they shall be an ornament of grace unto thy head, and chains about thy neck.
10 My son, if sinners entice thee, consent thou not.
11 If they say, Come with us, let us lay wait for blood, let us lurk privily for the innocent without cause:
12 Let us swallow them up alive as the grave; and whole, as those that go down into the pit:
13 We shall find all precious substance, we shall fill our houses with spoil:
14 Cast in thy lot among us; let us all have one purse:
15 My son, walk not thou in the way with them; refrain thy foot from their path:
16 For their feet run to evil, and make haste to shed blood.
17 Surely in vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird.
18 And they lay wait for their own blood; they lurk privily for their own lives.
19 So are the ways of every one that is greedy of gain; which taketh away the life of the owners thereof.
20 Wisdom crieth without; she uttereth her voice in the streets:
21 She crieth in the chief place of concourse, in the openings of the gates: in the city she uttereth her words, saying,
22 How long, ye simple ones, will ye love simplicity? and the scorners delight in their scorning, and fools hate knowledge?
23 Turn you at my reproof: behold, I will pour out my spirit unto you, I will make known my words unto you.
24 Because I have called, and ye refused; I have stretched out my hand, and no man regarded;
25 But ye have set at nought all my counsel, and would none of my reproof:
26 I also will laugh at your calamity; I will mock when your fear cometh;
27 When your fear cometh as desolation, and your destruction cometh as a whirlwind; when distress and anguish cometh upon you.
28 Then shall they call upon me, but I will not answer; they shall seek me early, but they shall not find me:
29 For that they hated knowledge, and did not choose the fear of the LORD:
30 They would none of my counsel: they despised all my reproof.
31 Therefore shall they eat of the fruit of their own way, and be filled with their own devices.
32 For the turning away of the simple shall slay them, and the prosperity of fools shall destroy them.
33 But whoso hearkeneth unto me shall dwell safely, and shall be quiet from fear of evil.

PROVERBS CHAPTER 2
1 My son, if thou wilt receive my words, and hide my commandments with thee;
2 So that thou incline thine ear unto wisdom, and apply thine heart to understanding;
3 Yea, if thou criest after knowledge, and liftest up thy voice for understanding;
4 If thou seekest her as silver, and searchest for her as for hid treasures;
5 Then shalt thou understand the fear of the LORD, and find the knowledge of God.
6 For the LORD giveth wisdom: out of his mouth cometh knowledge and understanding.
7 He layeth up sound wisdom for the righteous: he is a buckler to them that walk uprightly.
8 He keepeth the paths of judgement, and preserveth the way of his saints.
9 Then shalt thou understand righteousness, and judgement, and equity; yea, every good path.
10 When wisdom entereth into thine heart, and knowledge is pleasant unto thy soul;
11 Discretion shall preserve thee, understanding shall keep thee:
12 To deliver thee from the way of the evil man, from the man that speaketh froward things;
13 Who leave the paths of uprightness, to walk in the ways of darkness;
14 Who rejoice to do evil, and delight in the frowardness of the wicked;
15 Whose ways are crooked, and they froward in their paths:
16 To deliver thee from the strange woman, even from the stranger which flattereth with her words;
17 Which forsaketh the guide of her youth, and forgetteth the covenant of her God.
18 For her house inclineth unto death, and her paths unto the dead.
19 None that go unto her return again, neither take they hold of the paths of life.
20 That thou mayest walk in the way of good men, and keep the paths of the righteous.
21 For the upright shall dwell in the land, and the perfect shall remain in it.
22 But the wicked shall be cut off from the earth, and the transgressors shall be rooted out of it.

PROVERBS CHAPTER 3
1 My son, forget not my law; but let thine heart keep my commandments:
2 For length of days, and long life, and peace, shall they add to thee.
3 Let not mercy and truth forsake thee: bind them about thy neck; write them upon the table of thine heart:
4 So shalt thou find favour and good understanding in the sight of God and man.
5 Trust in the LORD with all thine heart; and lean not unto thine own understanding.
6 In all thy ways acknowledge him, and he shall direct thy paths.
7 Be not wise in thine own eyes: fear the LORD, and depart from evil.
8 It shall be health to thy navel, and marrow to thy bones.
9 Honour the LORD with thy substance, and with the firstfruits of all thine increase:
10 So shall thy barns be filled with plenty, and thy presses shall burst out with new wine.
11 My son, despise not the chastening of the LORD; neither be weary of his correction:
12 For whom the LORD loveth he correcteth; even as a father the son in whom he delighteth.

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13 Happy is the man that findeth wisdom, and the man that getteth understanding.
14 For the merchandise of it is better than the merchandise of silver, and the gain thereof than fine gold.
15 She is more precious than rubies: and all the things thou canst desire are not to be compared unto her.
16 Length of days is in her right hand; and in her left hand riches and honour.
17 Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace.
18 She is a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her: and happy is every one that retaineth her.
19 The LORD by wisdom hath founded the earth; by understanding hath he established the heavens.
20 By his knowledge the depths are broken up, and the clouds drop down the dew.
21 My son, let not them depart from thine eyes: keep sound wisdom and discretion:
22 So shall they be life unto thy soul, and grace to thy neck.
23 Then shalt thou walk in thy way safely, and thy foot shall not stumble.
24 When thou liest down, thou shalt not be afraid: yea, thou shalt lie down, and thy sleep shall be sweet.
25 Be not afraid of sudden fear, neither of the desolation of the wicked, when it cometh.
26 For the LORD shall be thy confidence, and shall keep thy foot from being taken.
27 Withhold not good from them to whom it is due, when it is in the power of thine hand to do it.
28 Say not unto thy neighbour, Go, and come again, and to morrow I will give; when thou hast it by thee.
29 Devise not evil against thy neighbour, seeing he dwelleth securely by thee.
30 Strive not with a man without cause, if he have done thee no harm.
31 Envy thou not the oppressor, and choose none of his ways.
32 For the froward is abomination to the LORD: but his secret is with the righteous.
33 The curse of the LORD is in the house of the wicked: but he blesseth the habitation of the just.
34 Surely he scorneth the scorners: but he giveth grace unto the lowly.
35 The wise shall inherit glory: but shame shall be the promotion of fools.

PROVERBS CHAPTER 4
1 Hear, ye children, the instruction of a father, and attend to know understanding.
2 For I give you good doctrine, forsake ye not my law.
3 For I was my father's son, tender and only beloved in the sight of my mother.
4 He taught me also, and said unto me, Let thine heart retain my words: keep my commandments, and live.
5 Get wisdom, get understanding: forget it not; neither decline from the words of my mouth.
6 Forsake her not, and she shall preserve thee: love her, and she shall keep thee.
7 Wisdom is the principal thing; therefore get wisdom: and with all thy getting get understanding.
8 Exalt her, and she shall promote thee: she shall bring thee to honour, when thou dost embrace her.
9 She shall give to thine head an ornament of grace: a crown of glory shall she deliver to thee.
10 Hear, O my son, and receive my sayings; and the years of thy life shall be many.
11 I have taught thee in the way of wisdom; I have led thee in right paths.
12 When thou goest, thy steps shall not be straitened; and when thou runnest, thou shalt not stumble.
13 Take fast hold of instruction; let her not go: keep her; for she is thy life.
14 Enter not into the path of the wicked, and go not in the way of evil men.
15 Avoid it, pass not by it, turn from it, and pass away.
16 For they sleep not, except they have done mischief; and their sleep is taken away, unless they cause some to fall.
17 For they eat the bread of wickedness, and drink the wine of violence.
18 But the path of the just is as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.
19 The way of the wicked is as darkness: they know not at what they stumble.
20 My son, attend to my words; incline thine ear unto my sayings.
21 Let them not depart from thine eyes; keep them in the midst of thine heart.
22 For they are life unto those that find them, and health to all their flesh.
23 Keep thy heart with all diligence; for out of it are the issues of life.
24 Put away from thee a froward mouth, and perverse lips put far from thee.
25 Let thine eyes look right on, and let thine eyelids look straight before thee.
26 Ponder the path of thy feet, and let all thy ways be established.
27 Turn not to the right hand nor to the left: remove thy foot from evil.

PROVERBS CHAPTER 5
1 My son, attend unto my wisdom, and bow thine ear to my understanding:
2 That thou mayest regard discretion, and that thy lips may keep knowledge.
3 For the lips of a strange woman drop as an honeycomb, and her mouth is smoother than oil:
4 But her end is bitter as wormwood, sharp as a two-edged sword.
5 Her feet go down to death; her steps take hold on hell.
6 Lest thou shouldest ponder the path of life, her ways are moveable, that thou canst not know them.
7 Hear me now therefore, O ye children, and depart not from the words of my mouth.
8 Remove thy way far from her, and come not nigh the door of her house:
9 Lest thou give thine honour unto others, and thy years unto the cruel:
10 Lest strangers be filled with thy wealth; and thy labours be in the house of a stranger;
11 And thou mourn at the last, when thy flesh and thy body are consumed,
12 And say, How have I hated instruction, and my heart despised reproof;
13 And have not obeyed the voice of my teachers, nor inclined mine ear to them that instructed me!
14 I was almost in all evil in the midst of the congregation and assembly.
15 Drink waters out of thine own cistern, and running waters out of thine own well.
16 Let thy fountains be dispersed abroad, and rivers of waters in the streets.
17 Let them be only thine own, and not strangers' with thee.
18 Let thy fountain be blessed: and rejoice with the wife of thy youth.
19 Let her be as the loving hind and pleasant roe; let her breasts satisfy thee at all times; and be thou ravished always with her love.
20 And why wilt thou, my son, be ravished with a strange woman, and embrace the bosom of a stranger?
21 For the ways of man are before the eyes of the LORD, and he pondereth all his goings.
22 His own iniquities shall take the wicked himself, and he shall be holden with the cords of his sins.
23 He shall die without instruction; and in the greatness of his folly he shall go astray.

PROVERBS CHAPTER 6
1 My son, if thou be surety for thy friend, if thou hast stricken thy hand with a stranger,
2 Thou art snared with the words of thy mouth, thou art taken with the words of thy mouth.
3 Do this now, my son, and deliver thyself, when thou art come into the hand of thy friend; go, humble thyself, and make sure thy friend.
4 Give not sleep to thine eyes, nor slumber to thine eyelids.
5 Deliver thyself as a roe from the hand of the hunter, and as a bird from the hand of the fowler.
6 Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways, and be wise:
7 Which having no guide, overseer, or ruler,
8 Provideth her meat in the summer, and gathereth her food in the harvest.
9 How long wilt thou sleep, O sluggard? when wilt thou arise out of thy sleep?
10 Yet a little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to sleep:
11 So shall thy poverty come as one that travelleth, and thy want as an armed man.
12 A naughty person, a wicked man, walketh with a froward mouth.
13 He winketh with his eyes, he speaketh with his feet, he teacheth with his fingers;
14 Frowardness is in his heart, he deviseth mischief continually; he soweth discord.
15 Therefore shall his calamity come suddenly; suddenly shall he be broken without remedy.
16 These six things doth the LORD hate: yea, seven are an abomination unto him:
17 A proud look, a lying tongue, and hands that shed innocent blood,
18 An heart that deviseth wicked imaginations, feet that be swift in running to mischief,
19 A false witness that speaketh lies, and he that soweth discord among brethren.
20 My son, keep thy father's commandment, and forsake not the law of thy mother:
21 Bind them continually upon thine heart, and tie them about thy neck.
22 When thou goest, it shall lead thee; when thou sleepest, it shall keep thee; and when thou awakest, it shall talk with thee.
23 For the commandment is a lamp; and the law is light; and reproofs of instruction are the way of life:
24 To keep thee from the evil woman, from the flattery of the tongue of a strange woman.
25 Lust not after her beauty in thine heart; neither let her take thee with her eyelids.
26 For by means of a whorish woman a man is brought to a piece of bread: and the adultress will hunt for the precious life.
27 Can a man take fire in his bosom, and his clothes not be burned?
28 Can one go upon hot coals, and his feet not be burned?
29 So he that goeth in to his neighbour's wife; whosoever toucheth her shall not be innocent.
30 Men do not despise a thief, if he steal to satisfy his soul when he is hungry;
31 But if he be found, he shall restore sevenfold; he shall give all the substance of his house.
32 But whoso committeth adultery with a woman lacketh understanding: he that doeth it destroyeth his own soul.
33 A wound and dishonour shall he get; and his reproach shall not be wiped away.
34 For jealousy is the rage of a man: therefore he will not spare in the day of vengeance.
35 He will not regard any ransom; neither will he rest content, though thou givest many gifts.

PROVERBS CHAPTER 7
1 My son, keep my words, and lay up my commandments with thee.
2 Keep my commandments, and live; and my law as the apple of thine eye.
3 Bind them upon thy fingers, write them upon the table of thine heart.
4 Say unto wisdom, Thou art my sister; and call understanding thy kinswoman:
5 That they may keep thee from the strange woman, from the stranger which flattereth with her words.
6 For at the window of my house I looked through my casement,
7 And beheld among the simple ones, I discerned among the youths, a young man void of understanding,
8 Passing through the street near her corner; and he went the way to her house,
9 In the twilight, in the evening, in the black and dark night:
10 And, behold, there met him a woman with the attire of an harlot, and subtil of heart.
11 (She is loud and stubborn; her feet abide not in her house:
12 Now is she without, now in the streets, and lieth in wait at every corner.)
13 So she caught him, and kissed him, and with an impudent face said unto him,
14 I have peace offerings with me; this day have I payed my vows.
15 Therefore came I forth to meet thee, diligently to seek thy face, and I have found thee.
16 I have decked my bed with coverings of tapestry, with carved works, with fine linen of Egypt.
17 I have perfumed my bed with myrrh, aloes, and cinnamon.
18 Come, let us take our fill of love until the morning: let us solace ourselves with loves.
19 For the goodman is not at home, he is gone a long journey:
20 He hath taken a bag of money with him, and will come home at the day appointed.
21 With her much fair speech she caused him to yield, with the flattering of her lips she forced him.
22 He goeth after her straightway, as an ox goeth to the slaughter, or as a fool to the correction of the stocks;
23 Till a dart strike through his liver; as a bird hasteth to the snare, and knoweth not that it is for his life.
24 Hearken unto me now therefore, O ye children, and attend to the words of my mouth.
25 Let not thine heart decline to her ways, go not astray in her paths.
26 For she hath cast down many wounded: yea, many strong men have been slain by her.
27 Her house is the way to hell, going down to the chambers of death.

PROVERBS CHAPTER 8
1 Doth not wisdom cry? and understanding put forth her voice?
2 She standeth in the top of high places, by the way in the places of the paths.
3 She crieth at the gates, at the entry of the city, at the coming in at the doors.

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4 Unto you, O men, I call; and my voice is to the sons of man.
5 O ye simple, understand wisdom: and, ye fools, be ye of an understanding heart.
6 Hear; for I will speak of excellent things; and the opening of my lips shall be right things.
7 For my mouth shall speak truth; and wickedness is an abomination to my lips.
8 All the words of my mouth are in righteousness; there is nothing froward or perverse in them.
9 They are all plain to him that understandeth, and right to them that find knowledge.
10 Receive my instruction, and not silver; and knowledge rather than choice gold.
11 For wisdom is better than rubies; and all the things that may be desired are not to be compared to it.
12 I wisdom dwell with prudence, and find out knowledge of witty inventions.
13 The fear of the LORD is to hate evil: pride, and arrogancy, and the evil way, and the froward mouth, do I hate.
14 Counsel is mine, and sound wisdom: I am understanding; I have strength.
15 By me kings reign, and princes decree justice.
16 By me princes rule, and nobles, even all the judges of the earth.
17 I love them that love me; and those that seek me early shall find me.
18 Riches and honour are with me; yea, durable riches and righteousness.
19 My fruit is better than gold, yea, than fine gold; and my revenue than choice silver.
20 I lead in the way of righteousness, in the midst of the paths of judgement:
21 That I may cause those that love me to inherit substance; and I will fill their treasures.
22 The LORD possessed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old.
23 I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was.
24 When there were no depths, I was brought forth; when there were no fountains abounding with water.
25 Before the mountains were settled, before the hills was I brought forth:
26 While as yet he had not made the earth, nor the fields, nor the highest part of the dust of the world.
27 When he prepared the heavens, I was there: when he set a compass upon the face of the depth:
28 When he established the clouds above: when he strengthened the fountains of the deep:
29 When he gave to the sea his decree, that the waters should not pass his commandment: when he appointed the foundations of the earth:
30 Then I was by him, as one brought up with him: and I was daily his delight, rejoicing always before him;
31 Rejoicing in the habitable part of his earth; and my delights were with the sons of men.
32 Now therefore hearken unto me, O ye children: for blessed are they that keep my ways.
33 Hear instruction, and be wise, and refuse it not.
34 Blessed is the man that heareth me, watching daily at my gates, waiting at the posts of my doors.
35 For whoso findeth me findeth life, and shall obtain favour of the LORD.
36 But he that sinneth against me wrongeth his own soul: all they that hate me love death.

PROVERBS CHAPTER 9

1 Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars:
2 She hath killed her beasts; she hath mingled her wine; she hath also furnished her table.
3 She hath sent forth her maidens: she crieth upon the highest places of the city,
4 Whoso is simple, let him turn in hither: as for him that wanteth understanding, she saith to him,
5 Come, eat of my bread, and drink of the wine which I have mingled.
6 Forsake the foolish, and live; and go in the way of understanding.
7 He that reproveth a scorner getteth to himself shame: and he that rebuketh a wicked man getteth himself a blot.
8 Reprove not a scorner, lest he hate thee: rebuke a wise man, and he will love thee.
9 Give instruction to a wise man, and he will be yet wiser: teach a just man, and he will increase in learning.
10 The fear of the LORD is the beginning of wisdom: and the knowledge of the holy is understanding.
11 For by me thy days shall be multiplied, and the years of thy life shall be increased.
12 If thou be wise, thou shalt be wise for thyself: but if thou scornest, thou alone shalt bear it.
13 A foolish woman is clamorous: she is simple, and knoweth nothing.
14 For she sitteth at the door of her house, on a seat in the high places of the city,
15 To call passengers who go right on their ways:
16 Whoso is simple, let him turn in hither: and as for him that wanteth understanding, she saith to him,
17 Stolen waters are sweet, and bread eaten in secret is pleasant.
18 But he knoweth not that the dead are there; and that her guests are in the depths of hell.

PROVERBS CHAPTER 10

1 The proverbs of Solomon. A wise son maketh a glad father: but a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother.
2 Treasures of wickedness profit nothing: but righteousness delivereth from death.
3 The LORD will not suffer the soul of the righteous to famish: but he casteth away the substance of the wicked.
4 He becometh poor that dealeth with a slack hand: but the hand of the diligent maketh rich.
5 He that gathereth in summer is a wise son: but he that sleepeth in harvest is a son that causeth shame.
6 Blessings are upon the head of the just: but violence covereth the mouth of the wicked.
7 The memory of the just is blessed: but the name of the wicked shall rot.
8 The wise in heart will receive commandments: but a prating fool shall fall.
9 He that walketh uprightly walketh surely: but he that perverteth his ways shall be known.
10 He that winketh with the eye causeth sorrow: but a prating fool shall fall.
11 The mouth of a righteous man is a well of life: but violence covereth the mouth of the wicked.
12 Hatred stirreth up strifes: but love covereth all sins.
13 In the lips of him that hath understanding wisdom is found: but a rod is for the back of him that is void of understanding.
14 Wise men lay up knowledge: but the mouth of the foolish is near destruction.
15 The rich man's wealth is his strong city: the destruction of the poor is their poverty.
16 The labour of the righteous tendeth to life: the fruit of the wicked to sin.
17 He is in the way of life that keepeth instruction: but he that refuseth reproof erreth.
18 He that hideth hatred with lying lips, and he that uttereth a slander, is a fool.
19 In the multitude of words there wanteth not sin: but he that refraineth his lips is wise.
20 The tongue of the just is as choice silver: the heart of the wicked is little worth.
21 The lips of the righteous feed many: but fools die for want of wisdom.
22 The blessing of the LORD, it maketh rich, and he addeth no sorrow with it.
23 It is as sport to a fool to do mischief: but a man of understanding hath wisdom.
24 The fear of the wicked, it shall come upon him: but the desire of the righteous shall be granted.
25 As the whirlwind passeth, so is the wicked no more: but the righteous is an everlasting foundation.
26 As vinegar to the teeth, and as smoke to the eyes, so is the sluggard to them that send him.
27 The fear of the LORD prolongeth days: but the years of the wicked shall be shortened.
28 The hope of the righteous shall be gladness: but the expectation of the wicked shall perish.
29 The way of the LORD is strength to the upright: but destruction shall be to the workers of iniquity.
30 The righteous shall never be removed: but the wicked shall not inhabit the earth.
31 The mouth of the just bringeth forth wisdom: but the froward tongue shall be cut out.
32 The lips of the righteous know what is acceptable: but the mouth of the wicked speaketh frowardness.

PROVERBS CHAPTER 11

1 A false balance is abomination to the LORD: but a just weight is his delight.
2 When pride cometh, then cometh shame: but with the lowly is wisdom.
3 The integrity of the upright shall guide them: but the perverseness of transgressors shall destroy them.
4 Riches profit not in the day of wrath: but righteousness delivereth from death.
5 The righteousness of the perfect shall direct his way: but the wicked shall fall by his own wickedness.
6 The righteousness of the upright shall deliver them: but transgressors shall be taken in their own naughtiness.
7 When a wicked man dieth, his expectation shall perish: and the hope of unjust men perisheth.
8 The righteous is delivered out of trouble, and the wicked cometh in his stead.
9 An hypocrite with his mouth destroyeth his neighbour: but through knowledge shall the just be delivered.
10 When it goeth well with the righteous, the city rejoiceth: and when the wicked perish, there is shouting.
11 By the blessing of the upright the city is exalted: but it is overthrown by the mouth of the wicked.
12 He that is void of wisdom despiseth his neighbour: but a man of understanding holdeth his peace.
13 A talebearer revealeth secrets: but he that is of a faithful spirit concealeth the matter.
14 Where no counsel is, the people fall: but in the multitude of counsellors there is safety.
15 He that is surety for a stranger shall smart for it: and he that hateth suretiship is sure.
16 A gracious woman retaineth honour: and strong men retain riches.
17 The merciful man doeth good to his own soul: but he that is cruel troubleth his own flesh.
18 The wicked worketh a deceitful work: but to him that soweth righteousness shall be a sure reward.
19 As righteousness tendeth to life: so he that pursueth evil pursueth it to his own death.
20 They that are of a froward heart are abomination to the LORD: but such as are upright in their way are his delight.
21 Though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not be unpunished: but the seed of the righteous shall be delivered.
22 As a jewel of gold in a swine's snout, so is a fair woman which is without discretion.
23 The desire of the righteous is only good: but the expectation of the wicked is wrath.
24 There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth; and there is that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to poverty.
25 The liberal soul shall be made fat: and he that watereth shall be watered also himself.
26 He that withholdeth corn, the people shall curse him: but blessing shall be upon the head of him that selleth it.
27 He that diligently seeketh good procureth favour: but he that seeketh mischief, it shall come unto him.
28 He that trusteth in his riches shall fall; but the righteous shall flourish as a branch.
29 He that troubleth his own house shall inherit the wind: and the fool shall be servant to the wise of heart.
30 The fruit of the righteous is a tree of life; and he that winneth souls is wise.
31 Behold, the righteous shall be recompensed in the earth: much more the wicked and the sinner.

PROVERBS CHAPTER 12

1 Whoso loveth instruction loveth knowledge: but he that hateth reproof is brutish.
2 A good man obtaineth favour of the LORD: but a man of wicked devices will he condemn.
3 A man shall not be established by wickedness: but the root of the righteous shall not be moved.
4 A virtuous woman is a crown to her husband: but she that maketh ashamed is as rottenness in his bones.
5 The thoughts of the righteous are right: but the counsels of the wicked are deceit.
6 The words of the wicked are to lie in wait for blood: but the mouth of the upright shall deliver them.
7 The wicked are overthrown, and are not: but the house of the righteous shall stand.
8 A man shall be commended according to his wisdom: but he that is of a perverse heart shall be despised.
9 He that is despised, and hath a servant, is better than he that honoureth himself, and lacketh bread.
10 A righteous man regardeth the life of his beast: but the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel.
11 He that tilleth his land shall be satisfied with bread: but he that followeth vain persons is void of understanding.
12 The wicked desireth the net of evil men: but the root of the righteous yieldeth fruit.
13 The wicked is snared by the transgression of his lips: but the just shall come out of trouble.
14 A man shall be satisfied with good by the fruit of his mouth: and the recompence of a man's hands shall be rendered unto him.
15 The way of a fool is right in his own eyes: but he that hearkeneth unto counsel is wise.
16 A fool's wrath is presently known: but a prudent man covereth shame.
17 He that speaketh truth sheweth forth righteousness: but a false witness deceit.
18 There is that speaketh like the piercings of a sword: but the tongue of the wise is health.
19 The lip of truth shall be established for ever: but a lying tongue is but for a moment.
20 Deceit is in the heart of them that imagine evil: but to the counsellors of peace is joy.
21 There shall no evil happen to the just: but the wicked shall be filled with mischief.
22 Lying lips are abomination to the LORD: but they that deal truly are his delight.

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23 A prudent man concealeth knowledge: but the heart of fools proclaimeth foolishness.
24 The hand of the diligent shall bear rule: but the slothful shall be under tribute.
25 Heaviness in the heart of man maketh it stoop: but a good word maketh it glad.
26 The righteous is more excellent than his neighbour: but the way of the wicked seduceth them.
27 The slothful man roasteth not that which he took in hunting: but the substance of a diligent man is precious.
28 In the way of righteousness is life: and in the pathway thereof there is no death.

PROVERBS CHAPTER 13
1 A wise son heareth his father's instruction: but a scorner heareth not rebuke.
2 A man shall eat good by the fruit of his mouth: but the soul of the transgressors shall eat violence.
3 He that keepeth his mouth keepeth his life: but he that openeth wide his lips shall have destruction.
4 The soul of the sluggard desireth, and hath nothing: but the soul of the diligent shall be made fat.
5 A righteous man hateth lying: but a wicked man is loathsome, and cometh to shame.
6 Righteousness keepeth him that is upright in the way: but wickedness overthroweth the sinner.
7 There is that maketh himself rich, yet hath nothing: there is that maketh himself poor, yet hath great riches.
8 The ransom of a man's life are his riches: but the poor heareth not rebuke.
9 The light of the righteous rejoiceth: but the lamp of the wicked shall be put out.
10 Only by pride cometh contention: but with the well advised is wisdom.
11 Wealth gotten by vanity shall be diminished: but he that gathereth by labour shall increase.
12 Hope deferred maketh the heart sick: but when the desire cometh, it is a tree of life.
13 Whoso despiseth the word shall be destroyed: but he that feareth the commandment shall be rewarded.
14 The law of the wise is a fountain of life, to depart from the snares of death.
15 Good understanding giveth favour: but the way of transgressors is hard.
16 Every prudent man dealeth with knowledge: but a fool layeth open his folly.
17 A wicked messenger falleth into mischief: but a faithful ambassador is health.
18 Poverty and shame shall be to him that refuseth instruction: but he that regardeth reproof shall be honoured.
19 The desire accomplished is sweet to the soul: but it is abomination to fools to depart from evil.
20 He that walketh with wise men shall be wise: but a companion of fools shall be destroyed.
21 Evil pursueth sinners: but to the righteous good shall be repayed.
22 A good man leaveth an inheritance to his children's children: and the wealth of the sinner is laid up for the just.
23 Much food is in the tillage of the poor: but there is that is destroyed for want of judgement.
24 He that spareth his rod hateth his son: but he that loveth him chasteneth him betimes.
25 The righteous eateth to the satisfying of his soul: but the belly of the wicked shall want.

PROVERBS CHAPTER 14
1 Every wise woman buildeth her house: but the foolish plucketh it down with her hands.
2 He that walketh in his uprightness feareth the LORD: but he that is perverse in his ways despiseth him.
3 In the mouth of the foolish is a rod of pride: but the lips of the wise shall preserve them.
4 Where no oxen are, the crib is clean: but much increase is by the strength of the ox.
5 A faithful witness will not lie: but a false witness will utter lies.
6 A scorner seeketh wisdom, and findeth it not: but knowledge is easy unto him that understandeth.
7 Go from the presence of a foolish man, when thou perceivest not in him the lips of knowledge.
8 The wisdom of the prudent is to understand his way: but the folly of fools is deceit.
9 Fools make a mock at sin: but among the righteous there is favour.
10 The heart knoweth his own bitterness; and a stranger doth not intermeddle with his joy.
11 The house of the wicked shall be overthrown: but the tabernacle of the upright shall flourish.
12 There is a way which seemeth right unto a man, but the end thereof are the ways of death.
13 Even in laughter the heart is sorrowful; and the end of that mirth is heaviness.
14 The backslider in heart shall be filled with his own ways: and a good man shall be satisfied from himself.
15 The simple believeth every word: but the prudent man looketh well to his going.
16 A wise man feareth, and departeth from evil: but the fool rageth, and is confident.
17 He that is soon angry dealeth foolishly: and a man of wicked devices is hated.
18 The simple inherit folly: but the prudent are crowned with knowledge.
19 The evil bow before the good; and the wicked at the gates of the righteous.
20 The poor is hated even of his own neighbour: but the rich hath many friends.
21 He that despiseth his neighbour sinneth: but he that hath mercy on the poor, happy is he.
22 Do they not err that devise evil? but mercy and truth shall be to them that devise good.
23 In all labour there is profit: but the talk of the lips tendeth only to penury.
24 The crown of the wise is their riches: but the foolishness of fools is folly.
25 A true witness delivereth souls: but a deceitful witness speaketh lies.
26 In the fear of the LORD is strong confidence: and his children shall have a place of refuge.
27 The fear of the LORD is a fountain of life, to depart from the snares of death.
28 In the multitude of people is the king's honour: but in the want of people is the destruction of the prince.
29 He that is slow to wrath is of great understanding: but he that is hasty of spirit exalteth folly.
30 A sound heart is the life of the flesh: but envy the rottenness of the bones.
31 He that oppresseth the poor reproacheth his Maker: but he that honoureth him hath mercy on the poor.
32 The wicked is driven away in his wickedness: but the righteous hath hope in his death.
33 Wisdom resteth in the heart of him that hath understanding: but that which is in the midst of fools is made known.
34 Righteousness exalteth a nation: but sin is a reproach to any people.
35 The king's favour is toward a wise servant: but his wrath is against him that causeth shame.

PROVERBS CHAPTER 15
1 A soft answer turneth away wrath: but grievous words stir up anger.
2 The tongue of the wise useth knowledge aright: but the mouth of fools poureth out foolishness.
3 The eyes of the LORD are in every place, beholding the evil and the good.
4 A wholesome tongue is a tree of life: but perverseness therein is a breach in the spirit.
5 A fool despiseth his father's instruction: but he that regardeth reproof is prudent.
6 In the house of the righteous is much treasure: but in the revenues of the wicked is trouble.
7 The lips of the wise disperse knowledge: but the heart of the foolish doeth not so.
8 The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to the LORD: but the prayer of the upright is his delight.
9 The way of the wicked is an abomination unto the LORD: but he loveth him that followeth after righteousness.
10 Correction is grievous unto him that forsaketh the way: and he that hateth reproof shall die.
11 Hell and destruction are before the LORD: how much more then the hearts of the children of men?
12 A scorner loveth not one that reproveth him: neither will he go unto the wise.
13 A merry heart maketh a cheerful countenance: but by sorrow of the heart the spirit is broken.
14 The heart of him that hath understanding seeketh knowledge: but the mouth of fools feedeth on foolishness.
15 All the days of the afflicted are evil: but he that is of a merry heart hath a continual feast.
16 Better is little with the fear of the LORD than great treasure and trouble therewith.
17 Better is a dinner of herbs where love is, than a stalled ox and hatred therewith.
18 A wrathful man stirreth up strife: but he that is slow to anger appeaseth strife.
19 The way of the slothful man is as an hedge of thorns: but the way of the righteous is made plain.
20 A wise son maketh a glad father: but a foolish man despiseth his mother.
21 Folly is joy to him that is destitute of wisdom: but a man of understanding walketh uprightly.
22 Without counsel purposes are disappointed: but in the multitude of counsellors they are established.
23 A man hath joy by the answer of his mouth: and a word spoken in due season, how good is it!
24 The way of life is above to the wise, that he may depart from hell beneath.
25 The LORD will destroy the house of the proud: but he will establish the border of the widow.
26 The thoughts of the wicked are an abomination to the LORD: but the words of the pure are pleasant words.
27 He that is greedy of gain troubleth his own house; but he that hateth gifts shall live.
28 The heart of the righteous studieth to answer: but the mouth of the wicked poureth out evil things.
29 The LORD is far from the wicked: but he heareth the prayer of the righteous.
30 The light of the eyes rejoiceth the heart: and a good report maketh the bones fat.
31 The ear that heareth the reproof of life abideth among the wise.
32 He that refuseth instruction despiseth his own soul: but he that heareth reproof getteth understanding.
33 The fear of the LORD is the instruction of wisdom; and before honour is humility.

PROVERBS CHAPTER 16
1 The preparations of the heart in man, and the answer of the tongue, is from the LORD.
2 All the ways of a man are clean in his own eyes; but the LORD weigheth the spirits.
3 Commit thy works unto the LORD, and thy thoughts shall be established.
4 The LORD hath made all things for himself: yea, even the wicked for the day of evil.
5 Every one that is proud in heart is an abomination to the LORD: though hand join in hand, he shall not be unpunished.
6 By mercy and truth iniquity is purged: and by the fear of the LORD men depart from evil.
7 When a man's ways please the LORD, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him.
8 Better is a little with righteousness than great revenues without right.
9 A man's heart deviseth his way: but the LORD directeth his steps.
10 A divine sentence is in the lips of the king: his mouth transgresseth not in judgement.
11 A just weight and balance are the LORD's: all the weights of the bag are his work.
12 It is an abomination to kings to commit wickedness: for the throne is established by righteousness.
13 Righteous lips are the delight of kings; and they love him that speaketh right.
14 The wrath of a king is as messengers of death: but a wise man will pacify it.
15 In the light of the king's countenance is life; and his favour is as a cloud of the latter rain.
16 How much better is it to get wisdom than gold! and to get understanding rather to be chosen than silver!
17 The highway of the upright is to depart from evil: he that keepeth his way preserveth his soul.
18 Pride goeth before destruction, and an haughty spirit before a fall.
19 Better it is to be of an humble spirit with the lowly, than to divide the spoil with the proud.
20 He that handleth a matter wisely shall find good: and whoso trusteth in the LORD, happy is he.
21 The wise in heart shall be called prudent: and the sweetness of the lips increaseth learning.
22 Understanding is a wellspring of life unto him that hath it: but the instruction of fools is folly.
23 The heart of the wise teacheth his mouth, and addeth learning to his lips.
24 Pleasant words are as an honeycomb, sweet to the soul, and health to the bones.
25 There is a way that seemeth right unto a man, but the end thereof are the ways of death.
26 He that laboureth laboureth for himself; for his mouth craveth it of him.
27 An ungodly man diggeth up evil: and in his lips there is as a burning fire.
28 A froward man soweth strife: and a whisperer separateth chief friends.
29 A violent man enticeth his neighbour, and leadeth him into the way that is not good.
30 He shutteth his eyes to devise froward things: moving his lips he bringeth evil to pass.
31 The hoary head is a crown of glory, if it be found in the way of righteousness.
32 He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty; and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city.
33 The lot is cast into the lap; but the whole disposing thereof is of the LORD.

PROVERBS CHAPTER 17
1 Better is a dry morsel, and quietness therewith, than an house full of sacrifices with strife.
2 A wise servant shall have rule over a son that causeth shame, and shall have part of the inheritance among the brethren.

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3 The fining pot is for silver, and the furnace for gold: but the LORD trieth the hearts.
4 A wicked doer giveth heed to false lips; and a liar giveth ear to a naughty tongue.
5 Whoso mocketh the poor reproacheth his Maker: and he that is glad at calamities shall not be unpunished.
6 Children's children are the crown of old men; and the glory of children are their fathers.
7 Excellent speech becometh not a fool: much less do lying lips a prince.
8 A gift is as a precious stone in the eyes of him that hath it: whithersoever it turneth, it prospereth.
9 He that covereth a transgression seeketh love; but he that repeateth a matter separateth very friends.
10 A reproof entereth more into a wise man than an hundred stripes into a fool.
11 An evil man seeketh only rebellion: therefore a cruel messenger shall be sent against him.
12 Let a bear robbed of her whelps meet a man, rather than a fool in his folly.
13 Whoso rewardeth evil for good, evil shall not depart from his house.
14 The beginning of strife is as when one letteth out water: therefore leave off contention, before it be meddled with.
15 He that justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the just, even they both are abomination to the LORD.
16 Wherefore is there a price in the hand of a fool to get wisdom, seeing he hath no heart to it?
17 A friend loveth at all times, and a brother is born for adversity.
18 A man void of understanding striketh hands, and becometh surety in the presence of his friend.
19 He loveth transgression that loveth strife: and he that exalteth his gate seeketh destruction.
20 He that hath a froward heart findeth no good: and he that hath a perverse tongue falleth into mischief.
21 He that begetteth a fool doeth it to his sorrow: and the father of a fool hath no joy.
22 A merry heart doeth good like a medicine: but a broken spirit drieth the bones.
23 A wicked man taketh a gift out of the bosom to pervert the ways of judgement.
24 Wisdom is before him that hath understanding; but the eyes of a fool are in the ends of the earth.
25 A foolish son is a grief to his father, and bitterness to her that bare him.
26 Also to punish the just is not good, nor to strike princes for equity.
27 He that hath knowledge spareth his words: and a man of understanding is of an excellent spirit.
28 Even a fool, when he holdeth his peace, is counted wise: and he that shutteth his lips is esteemed a man of understanding.

PROVERBS CHAPTER 18

1 Through desire a man, having separated himself, seeketh and intermeddleth with all wisdom.
2 A fool hath no delight in understanding, but that his heart may discover itself.
3 When the wicked cometh, then cometh also contempt, and with ignominy reproach.
4 The words of a man's mouth are as deep waters, and the wellspring of wisdom as a flowing brook.
5 It is not good to accept the person of the wicked, to overthrow the righteous in judgement.
6 A fool's lips enter into contention, and his mouth calleth for strokes.
7 A fool's mouth is his destruction, and his lips are the snare of his soul.
8 The words of a talebearer are as wounds, and they go down into the innermost parts of the belly.
9 He also that is slothful in his work is brother to him that is a great waster.
10 The name of the LORD is a strong tower: the righteous runneth into it, and is safe.
11 The rich man's wealth is his strong city, and as an high wall in his own conceit.
12 Before destruction the heart of man is haughty, and before honour is humility.
13 He that answereth a matter before he heareth it, it is folly and shame unto him.
14 The spirit of a man will sustain his infirmity; but a wounded spirit who can bear?
15 The heart of the prudent getteth knowledge; and the ear of the wise seeketh knowledge.
16 A man's gift maketh room for him, and bringeth him before great men.
17 He that is first in his own cause seemeth just; but his neighbour cometh and searcheth him.
18 The lot causeth contentions to cease, and parteth between the mighty.
19 A brother offended is harder to be won than a strong city: and their contentions are like the bars of a castle.
20 A man's belly shall be satisfied with the fruit of his mouth; and with the increase of his lips shall he be filled.
21 Death and life are in the power of the tongue: and they that love it shall eat the fruit thereof.
22 Whoso findeth a wife findeth a good thing, and obtaineth favour of the LORD.
23 The poor useth intreaties; but the rich answereth roughly.
24 A man that hath friends must shew himself friendly: and there is a friend that sticketh closer than a brother.

PROVERBS CHAPTER 19

1 Better is the poor that walketh in his integrity, than he that is perverse in his lips, and is a fool.
2 Also, that the soul be without knowledge, it is not good; and he that hasteth with his feet sinneth.
3 The foolishness of man perverteth his way: and his heart fretteth against the LORD.
4 Wealth maketh many friends; but the poor is separated from his neighbour.
5 A false witness shall not be unpunished, and he that speaketh lies shall not escape.
6 Many will intreat the favour of the prince: and every man is a friend to him that giveth gifts.
7 All the brethren of the poor do hate him: how much more do his friends go far from him? he pursueth them with words, yet they are wanting to him.
8 He that getteth wisdom loveth his own soul: he that keepeth understanding shall find good.
9 A false witness shall not be unpunished, and he that speaketh lies shall perish.
10 Delight is not seemly for a fool; much less for a servant to have rule over princes.
11 The discretion of a man deferreth his anger; and it is his glory to pass over a transgression.
12 The king's wrath is as the roaring of a lion; but his favour is as dew upon the grass.
13 A foolish son is the calamity of his father: and the contentions of a wife are a continual dropping.
14 House and riches are the inheritance of fathers: and a prudent wife is from the LORD.
15 Slothfulness casteth into a deep sleep; and an idle soul shall suffer hunger.
16 He that keepeth the commandment keepeth his own soul; but he that despiseth his ways shall die.
17 He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth unto the LORD; and that which he hath given will he pay him again.
18 Chasten thy son while there is hope, and let not thy soul spare for his crying.
19 A man of great wrath shall suffer punishment: for if thou deliver him, yet thou must do it again.
20 Hear counsel, and receive instruction, that thou mayest be wise in thy latter end.
21 There are many devices in a man's heart; nevertheless the counsel of the LORD, that shall stand.
22 The desire of a man is his kindness: and a poor man is better than a liar.
23 The fear of the LORD tendeth to life: and he that hath it shall abide satisfied; he shall not be visited with evil.
24 A slothful man hideth his hand in his bosom, and will not so much as bring it to his mouth again.
25 Smite a scorner, and the simple will beware: and reprove one that hath understanding, and he will understand knowledge.
26 He that wasteth his father, and chaseth away his mother, is a son that causeth shame, and bringeth reproach.
27 Cease, my son, to hear the instruction that causeth to err from the words of knowledge.
28 An ungodly witness scorneth judgement: and the mouth of the wicked devoureth iniquity.
29 Judgements are prepared for scorners, and stripes for the back of fools.

PROVERBS CHAPTER 20

1 Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging: and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise.
2 The fear of a king is as the roaring of a lion: whoso provoketh him to anger sinneth against his own soul.
3 It is an honour for a man to cease from strife: but every fool will be meddling.
4 The sluggard will not plow by reason of the cold; therefore shall he beg in harvest, and have nothing.
5 Counsel in the heart of man is like deep water; but a man of understanding will draw it out.
6 Most men will proclaim every one his own goodness: but a faithful man who can find?
7 The just man walketh in his integrity: his children are blessed after him.
8 A king that sitteth in the throne of judgement scattereth away all evil with his eyes.
9 Who can say, I have made my heart clean, I am pure from my sin?
10 Divers weights, and divers measures, both of them are alike abomination to the LORD.
11 Even a child is known by his doings, whether his work be pure, and whether it be right.
12 The hearing ear, and the seeing eye, the LORD hath made even both of them.
13 Love not sleep, lest thou come to poverty; open thine eyes, and thou shalt be satisfied with bread.
14 It is naught, it is naught, saith the buyer: but when he is gone his way, then he boasteth.
15 There is gold, and a multitude of rubies: but the lips of knowledge are a precious jewel.
16 Take his garment that is surety for a stranger: and take a pledge of him for a strange woman.
17 Bread of deceit is sweet to a man; but afterwards his mouth shall be filled with gravel.
18 Every purpose is established by counsel: and with good advice make war.
19 He that goeth about as a talebearer revealeth secrets: therefore meddle not with him that flattereth with his lips.
20 Whoso curseth his father or his mother, his lamp shall be put out in obscure darkness.
21 An inheritance may be gotten hastily at the beginning; but the end thereof shall not be blessed.
22 Say not thou, I will recompense evil; but wait on the LORD, and he shall save thee.
23 Divers weights are an abomination unto the LORD; and a false balance is not good.
24 Man's goings are of the LORD; how can a man then understand his own way?
25 It is a snare to the man who devoureth that which is holy, and after vows to make enquiry.
26 A wise king scattereth the wicked, and bringeth the wheel over them.
27 The spirit of man is the candle of the LORD, searching all the inward parts of the belly.
28 Mercy and truth preserve the king: and his throne is upholden by mercy.
29 The glory of young men is their strength: and the beauty of old men is the grey head.
30 The blueness of a wound cleanseth away evil: so do stripes the inward parts of the belly.

PROVERBS CHAPTER 21

1 The king's heart is in the hand of the LORD, as the rivers of water: he turneth it whithersoever he will.
2 Every way of a man is right in his own eyes: but the LORD pondereth the hearts.
3 To do justice and judgement is more acceptable to the LORD than sacrifice.
4 An high look, and a proud heart, and the plowing of the wicked, is sin.
5 The thoughts of the diligent tend only to plenteousness; but of every one that is hasty only to want.
6 The getting of treasures by a lying tongue is a vanity tossed to and fro of them that seek death.
7 The robbery of the wicked shall destroy them; because they refuse to do judgement.
8 The way of man is froward and strange: but as for the pure, his work is right.
9 It is better to dwell in a corner of the housetop, than with a brawling woman in a wide house.
10 The soul of the wicked desireth evil: his neighbour findeth no favour in his eyes.
11 When the scorner is punished, the simple is made wise: and when the wise is instructed, he receiveth knowledge.
12 The righteous man wisely considereth the house of the wicked: but God overthroweth the wicked for their wickedness.
13 Whoso stoppeth his ears at the cry of the poor, he also shall cry himself, but shall not be heard.
14 A gift in secret pacifieth anger: and a reward in the bosom strong wrath.
15 It is joy to the just to do judgement: but destruction shall be to the workers of iniquity.
16 The man that wandereth out of the way of understanding shall remain in the congregation of the dead.
17 He that loveth pleasure shall be a poor man: he that loveth wine and oil shall not be rich.
18 The wicked shall be a ransom for the righteous, and the transgressor for the upright.
19 It is better to dwell in the wilderness, than with a contentious and an angry woman.
20 There is treasure to be desired and oil in the dwelling of the wise; but a foolish man spendeth it up.
21 He that followeth after righteousness and mercy findeth life, righteousness, and honour.
22 A wise man scaleth the city of the mighty, and casteth down the strength of the confidence thereof.
23 Whoso keepeth his mouth and his tongue keepeth his soul from troubles.
24 Proud and haughty scorner is his name, who dealeth in proud wrath.
25 The desire of the slothful killeth him; for his hands refuse to labour.

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26 He coveteth greedily all the day long: but the righteous giveth and spareth not.
27 The sacrifice of the wicked is abomination: how much more, when he bringeth it with a wicked mind?
28 A false witness shall perish: but the man that heareth speaketh constantly.
29 A wicked man hardeneth his face: but as for the upright, he directeth his way.
30 There is no wisdom nor understanding nor counsel against the LORD.
31 The horse is prepared against the day of battle: but safety is of the LORD.

PROVERBS CHAPTER 22

1 A GOOD name is rather to be chosen than great riches, and loving favour rather than silver and gold.
2 The rich and poor meet together: the LORD is the maker of them all.
3 A prudent man foreseeth the evil, and hideth himself: but the simple pass on, and are punished.
4 By humility and the fear of the LORD are riches, and honour, and life.
5 Thorns and snares are in the way of the froward: he that doth keep his soul shall be far from them.
6 Train up a child in the way he should go: and when he is old, he will not depart from it.
7 The rich ruleth over the poor, and the borrower is servant to the lender.
8 He that soweth iniquity shall reap vanity: and the rod of his anger shall fail.
9 He that hath a bountiful eye shall be blessed; for he giveth of his bread to the poor.
10 Cast out the scorner, and contention shall go out; yea, strife and reproach shall cease.
11 He that loveth pureness of heart, for the grace of his lips the king shall be his friend.
12 The eyes of the LORD preserve knowledge, and he overthroweth the words of the transgressor.
13 The slothful man saith, There is a lion without, I shall be slain in the streets.
14 The mouth of strange women is a deep pit: he that is abhorred of the LORD shall fall therein.
15 Foolishness is bound in the heart of a child; but the rod of correction shall drive it far from him.
16 He that oppresseth the poor to increase his riches, and he that giveth to the rich, shall surely come to want.
17 Bow down thine ear, and hear the words of the wise, and apply thine heart unto my knowledge.
18 For it is a pleasant thing if thou keep them within thee; they shall withal be fitted in thy lips.
19 That thy trust may be in the LORD, I have made known to thee this day, even to thee.
20 Have not I written to thee excellent things in counsels and knowledge,
21 That I might make thee know the certainty of the words of truth; that thou mightest answer the words of truth to them that send unto thee?
22 Rob not the poor, because he is poor: neither oppress the afflicted in the gate:
23 For the LORD will plead their cause, and spoil the soul of those that spoiled them.
24 Make no friendship with an angry man; and with a furious man thou shalt not go:
25 Lest thou learn his ways, and get a snare to thy soul.
26 Be not thou one of them that strike hands, or of them that are sureties for debts.
27 If thou hast nothing to pay, why should he take away thy bed from under thee?
28 Remove not the ancient landmark, which thy fathers have set.
29 Seest thou a man diligent in his business? he shall stand before kings; he shall not stand before mean men.

PROVERBS CHAPTER 23

1 When thou sittest to eat with a ruler, consider diligently what is before thee:
2 And put a knife to thy throat, if thou be a man given to appetite.
3 Be not desirous of his dainties: for they are deceitful meat.
4 Labour not to be rich: cease from thine own wisdom.
5 Wilt thou set thine eyes upon that which is not? for riches certainly make themselves wings; they fly away as an eagle toward heaven.
6 Eat thou not the bread of him that hath an evil eye, neither desire thou his dainty meats:
7 For as he thinketh in his heart, so is he: Eat and drink, saith he to thee; but his heart is not with thee.
8 The morsel which thou hast eaten shalt thou vomit up, and lose thy sweet words.
9 Speak not in the ears of a fool: for he will despise the wisdom of thy words.
10 Remove not the old landmark; and enter not into the fields of the fatherless:
11 For their redeemer is mighty; he shall plead their cause with thee.
12 Apply thine heart unto instruction, and thine ears to the words of knowledge.
13 Withhold not correction from the child: for if thou beatest him with the rod, he shall not die.
14 Thou shalt beat him with the rod, and shalt deliver his soul from hell.
15 My son, if thine heart be wise, my heart shall rejoice, even mine.
16 Yea, my reins shall rejoice, when thy lips speak right things.
17 Let not thine heart envy sinners: but be thou in the fear of the LORD all the day long.
18 For surely there is an end; and thine expectation shall not be cut off.
19 Hear thou, my son, and be wise, and guide thine heart in the way.
20 Be not among winebibbers; among riotous eaters of flesh:
21 For the drunkard and the glutton shall come to poverty: and drowsiness shall clothe a man with rags.
22 Hearken unto thy father that begat thee, and despise not thy mother when she is old.
23 Buy the truth, and sell it not; also wisdom, and instruction, and understanding.
24 The father of the righteous shall greatly rejoice: and he that begetteth a wise child shall have joy of him.
25 Thy father and thy mother shall be glad, and she that bare thee shall rejoice.
26 My son, give me thine heart, and let thine eyes observe my ways.
27 For a whore is a deep ditch; and a strange woman is a narrow pit.
28 She also lieth in wait as for a prey, and increaseth the transgressors among men.
29 Who hath woe? who hath sorrow? who hath contentions? who hath babbling? who hath wounds without cause? who hath redness of eyes?
30 They that tarry long at the wine; they that go to seek mixed wine.
31 Look not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth his colour in the cup, when it moveth itself aright.
32 At the last it biteth like a serpent, and stingeth like an adder.
33 Thine eyes shall behold strange women, and thine heart shall utter perverse things.
34 Yea, thou shalt be as he that lieth down in the midst of the sea, or as he that lieth upon the top of a mast.
35 They have stricken me, shalt thou say, and I was not sick; they have beaten me, and I felt it not: when shall I awake? I will seek it yet again.

PROVERBS CHAPTER 24

1 Be not thou envious against evil men, neither desire to be with them.
2 For their heart studieth destruction, and their lips talk of mischief.
3 Through wisdom is an house builded; and by understanding it is established:
4 And by knowledge shall the chambers be filled with all precious and pleasant riches.
5 A wise man is strong; yea, a man of knowledge increaseth strength.
6 For by wise counsel thou shalt make thy war: and in multitude of counsellors there is safety.
7 Wisdom is too high for a fool: he openeth not his mouth in the gate.
8 He that deviseth to do evil shall be called a mischievous person.
9 The thought of foolishness is sin: and the scorner is an abomination to men.
10 If thou faint in the day of adversity, thy strength is small.
11 If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain;
12 If thou sayest, Behold, we knew it not; doth not he that pondereth the heart consider it? and he that keepeth thy soul, doth not he know it? and shall not he render to every man according to his works?
13 My son, eat thou honey, because it is good; and the honeycomb, which is sweet to thy taste:
14 So shall the knowledge of wisdom be unto thy soul: when thou hast found it, then there shall be a reward, and thy expectation shall not be cut off.
15 Lay not wait, O wicked man, against the dwelling of the righteous; spoil not his resting place:
16 For a just man falleth seven times, and riseth up again: but the wicked shall fall into mischief.
17 Rejoice not when thine enemy falleth, and let not thine heart be glad when he stumbleth:
18 Lest the LORD see it, and it displease him, and he turn away his wrath from him.
19 Fret not thyself because of evil men, neither be thou envious at the wicked:
20 For there shall be no reward to the evil man; the candle of the wicked shall be put out.
21 My son, fear thou the LORD and the king: and meddle not with them that are given to change:
22 For their calamity shall rise suddenly; and who knoweth the ruin of them both?
23 These things also belong to the wise. It is not good to have respect of persons in judgement.
24 He that saith unto the wicked, Thou are righteous; him shall the people curse, nations shall abhor him:
25 But to them that rebuke him shall be delight, and a good blessing shall come upon them.
26 Every man shall kiss his lips that giveth a right answer.
27 Prepare thy work without, and make it fit for thyself in the field; and afterwards build thine house.
28 Be not a witness against thy neighbour without cause; and deceive not with thy lips.
29 Say not, I will do so to him as he hath done to me: I will render to the man according to his work.
30 I went by the field of the slothful, and by the vineyard of the man void of understanding;
31 And, lo, it was all grown over with thorns, and nettles had covered the face thereof, and the stone wall thereof was broken down.
32 Then I saw, and considered it well: I looked upon it, and received instruction.
33 Yet a little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to sleep:
34 So shall thy poverty come as one that travelleth; and thy want as an armed man.

PROVERBS CHAPTER 25

1 These are also proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah king of Judah copied out.
2 It is the glory of God to conceal a thing: but the honour of kings is to search out a matter.
3 The heaven for height, and the earth for depth, and the heart of kings is unsearchable.
4 Take away the dross from the silver, and there shall come forth a vessel for the finer.
5 Take away the wicked from before the king, and his throne shall be established in righteousness.
6 Put not forth thyself in the presence of the king, and stand not in the place of great men:
7 For better it is that it be said unto thee, Come up hither; than that thou shouldest be put lower in the presence of the prince whom thine eyes have seen.
8 Go not forth hastily to strive, lest thou know not what to do in the end thereof, when thy neighbour hath put thee to shame.
9 Debate thy cause with thy neighbour himself; and discover not a secret to another:
10 Lest he that heareth it put thee to shame, and thine infamy turn not away.
11 A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in pictures of silver.
12 As an earring of gold, and an ornament of fine gold, so is a wise reprover upon an obedient ear.
13 As the cold of snow in the time of harvest, so is a faithful messenger to them that send him: for he refresheth the soul of his masters.
14 Whoso boasteth himself of a false gift is like clouds and wind without rain.
15 By long forbearing is a prince persuaded, and a soft tongue breaketh the bone.
16 Hast thou found honey? eat so much as is sufficient for thee, lest thou be filled therewith, and vomit it.
17 Withdraw thy foot from thy neighbour's house; lest he be weary of thee, and so hate thee.
18 A man that beareth false witness against his neighbour is a maul, and a sword, and a sharp arrow.
19 Confidence in an unfaithful man in time of trouble is like a broken tooth, and a foot out of joint.
20 As he that taketh away a garment in cold weather, and as vinegar upon nitre, so is he that singeth songs to an heavy heart.
21 If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat; and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink:
22 For thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head, and the LORD shall reward thee.
23 The north wind driveth away rain: so doth an angry countenance a backbiting tongue.
24 It is better to dwell in the corner of the housetop, than with a brawling woman and in a wide house.
25 As cold waters to a thirsty soul, so is good news from a far country.
26 A righteous man falling down before the wicked is as a troubled fountain, and a corrupt spring.
27 It is not good to eat much honey: so for men to search their own glory is not glory.
28 He that hath no rule over his own spirit is like a city that is broken down, and without walls.

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PROVERBS CHAPTER 26

1 As snow in summer, and as rain in harvest, so honour is not seemly for a fool.
2 As the bird by wandering, as the swallow by flying, so the curse causeless shall not come.
3 A whip for the horse, a bridle for the ass, and a rod for the fool's back.
4 Answer not a fool according to his folly, lest thou also be like unto him.
5 Answer a fool according to his folly, lest he be wise in his own conceit.
6 He that sendeth a message by the hand of a fool cutteth off the feet, and drinketh damage.
7 The legs of the lame are not equal: so is a parable in the mouth of fools.
8 As he that bindeth a stone in a sling, so is he that giveth honour to a fool.
9 As a thorn goeth up into the hand of a drunkard, so is a parable in the mouths of fools.
10 The great God that formed all things both rewardeth the fool, and rewardeth transgressors.
11 As a dog returneth to his vomit, so a fool returneth to his folly.
12 Seest thou a man wise in his own conceit? there is more hope of a fool than of him.
13 The slothful man saith, There is a lion in the way; a lion is in the streets.
14 As the door turneth upon his hinges, so doth the slothful upon his bed.
15 The slothful hideth his hand in his bosom; it grieveth him to bring it again to his mouth.
16 The sluggard is wiser in his own conceit than seven men that can render a reason.
17 He that passeth by, and meddleth with strife belonging not to him, is like one that taketh a dog by the ears.
18 As a mad man who casteth firebrands, arrows, and death,
19 So is the man that deceiveth his neighbour, and saith, Am not I in sport?
20 Where no wood is, there the fire goeth out: so where there is no talebearer, the strife ceaseth.
21 As coals are to burning coals, and wood to fire; so is a contentious man to kindle strife.
22 The words of a talebearer are as wounds, and they go down into the innermost parts of the belly.
23 Burning lips and a wicked heart are like a potsherd covered with silver dross.
24 He that hateth dissembleth with his lips, and layeth up deceit within him;
25 When he speaketh fair, believe him not: for there are seven abominations in his heart.
26 Whose hatred is covered by deceit, his wickedness shall be shewed before the whole congregation.
27 Whoso diggeth a pit shall fall therein: and he that rolleth a stone, it will return upon him.
28 A lying tongue hateth those that are afflicted by it; and a flattering mouth worketh ruin.

PROVERBS CHAPTER 27

1 Boast not thyself of to morrow; for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth.
2 Let another man praise thee, and not thine own mouth; a stranger, and not thine own lips.
3 A stone is heavy, and the sand weighty; but a fool's wrath is heavier than them both.
4 Wrath is cruel, and anger is outrageous; but who is able to stand before envy?
5 Open rebuke is better than secret love.
6 Faithful are the wounds of a friend; but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful.
7 The full soul loatheth an honeycomb; but to the hungry soul every bitter thing is sweet.
8 As a bird that wandereth from her nest, so is a man that wandereth from his place.
9 Ointment and perfume rejoice the heart: so doth the sweetness of a man's friend by hearty counsel.
10 Thine own friend, and thy father's friend, forsake not; neither go into thy brother's house in the day of thy calamity: for better is a neighbour that is near than a brother far off.
11 My son, be wise, and make my heart glad, that I may answer him that reproacheth me.
12 A prudent man foreseeth the evil, and hideth himself; but the simple pass on, and are punished.
13 Take his garment that is surety for a stranger, and take a pledge of him for a strange woman.
14 He that blesseth his friend with a loud voice, rising early in the morning, it shall be counted a curse to him.
15 A continual dropping in a very rainy day and a contentious woman are alike.
16 Whosoever hideth her hideth the wind, and the ointment of his right hand, which bewrayeth itself.
17 Iron sharpeneth iron; so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend.
18 Whoso keepeth the fig tree shall eat the fruit thereof: so he that waiteth on his master shall be honoured.
19 As in water face answereth to face, so the heart of man to man.
20 Hell and destruction are never full; so the eyes of man are never satisfied.
21 As the fining pot for silver, and the furnace for gold; so is a man to his praise.
22 Though thou shouldest bray a fool in a mortar among wheat with a pestle, yet will not his foolishness depart from him.
23 Be thou diligent to know the state of thy flocks, and look well to thy herds.
24 For riches are not for ever: and doth the crown endure to every generation?
25 The hay appeareth, and the tender grass sheweth itself, and herbs of the mountains are gathered.
26 The lambs are for thy clothing, and the goats are the price of the field.
27 And thou shalt have goats' milk enough for thy food, for the food of thy household, and for the maintenance for thy maidens.

PROVERBS CHAPTER 28

1 The wicked flee when no man pursueth: but the righteous are bold as a lion.
2 For the transgression of a land many are the princes thereof: but by a man of understanding and knowledge the state thereof shall be prolonged.
3 A poor man that oppresseth the poor is like a sweeping rain which leaveth no food.
4 They that forsake the law praise the wicked: but such as keep the law contend with them.
5 Evil men understand not judgement: but they that seek the LORD understand all things.
6 Better is the poor that walketh in his uprightness, than he that is perverse in his ways, though he be rich.
7 Whoso keepeth the law is a wise son: but he that is a companion of riotous men shameth his father.
8 He that by usury and unjust gain increaseth his substance, he shall gather it for him that will pity the poor.
9 He that turneth away his ear from hearing the law, even his prayer shall be abomination.
10 Whoso causeth the righteous to go astray in an evil way, he shall fall himself into his own pit: but the upright shall have good things in possession.
11 The rich man is wise in his own conceit; but the poor that hath understanding searcheth him out.
12 When righteous men do rejoice, there is great glory: but when the wicked rise, a man is hidden.
13 He that covereth his sins shall not prosper: but whoso confesseth and forsaketh them shall have mercy.
14 Happy is the man that feareth alway: but he that hardeneth his heart shall fall into mischief.
15 As a roaring lion, and a ranging bear; so is a wicked ruler over the poor people.
16 The prince that wanteth understanding is also a great oppressor: but he that hateth covetousness shall prolong his days.
17 A man that doeth violence to the blood of any person shall flee to the pit; let no man stay him.
18 Whoso walketh uprightly shall be saved: but he that is perverse in his ways shall fall at once.
19 He that tilleth his land shall have plenty of bread: but he that followeth after vain persons shall have poverty enough.
20 A faithful man shall abound with blessings: but he that maketh haste to be rich shall not be innocent.
21 To have respect of persons is not good: for for a piece of bread that man will transgress.
22 He that hasteth to be rich hath an evil eye, and considereth not that poverty shall come upon him.
23 He that rebuketh a man afterwards shall find more favour than he that flattereth with the tongue.
24 Whoso robbeth his father or his mother, and saith, It is no transgression; the same is the companion of a destroyer.
25 He that is of a proud heart stirreth up strife: but he that putteth his trust in the LORD shall be made fat.
26 He that trusteth in his own heart is a fool: but whoso walketh wisely, he shall be delivered.
27 He that giveth unto the poor shall not lack: but he that hideth his eyes shall have many a curse.
28 When the wicked rise, men hide themselves: but when they perish, the righteous increase.

PROVERBS CHAPTER 29

1 He, that being often reproved hardeneth his neck, shall suddenly be destroyed, and that without remedy.
2 When the righteous are in authority, the people rejoice: but when the wicked beareth rule, the people mourn.
3 Whoso loveth wisdom rejoiceth his father: but he that keepeth company with harlots spendeth his substance.
4 The king by judgement establisheth the land: but he that receiveth gifts overthroweth it.
5 A man that flattereth his neighbour spreadeth a net for his feet.
6 In the transgression of an evil man there is a snare: but the righteous doth sing and rejoice.
7 The righteous considereth the cause of the poor: but the wicked regardeth not to know it.
8 Scornful men bring a city into a snare: but wise men turn away wrath.
9 If a wise man contendeth with a foolish man, whether he rage or laugh, there is no rest.
10 The bloodthirsty hate the upright: but the just seek his soul.
11 A fool uttereth all his mind: but a wise man keepeth it in till afterwards.
12 If a ruler hearken to lies, all his servants are wicked.
13 The poor and the deceitful man meet together: the LORD lighteneth both their eyes.
14 The king that faithfully judgeth the poor, his throne shall be established for ever.
15 The rod and reproof give wisdom: but a child left to himself bringeth his mother to shame.
16 When the wicked are multiplied, transgression increaseth: but the righteous shall see their fall.
17 Correct thy son, and he shall give thee rest; yea, he shall give delight unto thy soul.
18 Where there is no vision, the people perish: but he that keepeth the law, happy is he.
19 A servant will not be corrected by words: for though he understand he will not answer.
20 Seest thou a man that is hasty in his words? there is more hope of a fool than of him.
21 He that delicately bringeth up his servant from a child shall have him become his son at the length.
22 An angry man stirreth up strife, and a furious man aboundeth in transgression.
23 A man's pride shall bring him low: but honour shall uphold the humble in spirit.
24 Whoso is partner with a thief hateth his own soul: he heareth cursing, and bewrayeth it not.
25 The fear of man bringeth a snare: but whoso putteth his trust in the LORD shall be safe.
26 Many seek the ruler's favour; but every man's judgement cometh from the LORD.
27 An unjust man is an abomination to the just: and he that is upright in the way is abomination to the wicked.

PROVERBS CHAPTER 30

1 The words of Agur the son of Jakeh, even the prophecy: the man spake unto Ithiel, even unto Ithiel and Ucal,
2 Surely I am more brutish than any man, and have not the understanding of a man.
3 I neither learned wisdom, nor have the knowledge of the holy.
4 Who hath ascended up into heaven, or descended? who hath gathered the wind in his fists? who hath bound the waters in a garment? who hath established all the ends of the earth? what is his name, and what is his son's name, if thou canst tell?
5 Every word of God is pure: he is a shield unto them that put their trust in him.
6 Add thou not unto his words, lest he reprove thee, and thou be found a liar.
7 Two things have I required of thee; deny me them not before I die:
8 Remove far from me vanity and lies: give me neither poverty nor riches; feed me with food convenient for me:
9 Lest I be full, and deny thee, and say, Who is the LORD? or lest I be poor, and steal, and take the name of my God in vain.
10 Accuse not a servant unto his master, lest he curse thee, and thou be found guilty.
11 There is a generation that curseth their father, and doth not bless their mother.
12 There is a generation that are pure in their own eyes, and yet is not washed from their filthiness.
13 There is a generation, O how lofty are their eyes! and their eyelids are lifted up.
14 There is a generation, whose teeth are as swords, and their jaw teeth as knives, to devour the poor from off the earth, and the needy from among men.
15 The horseleach hath two daughters, crying, Give, give. There are three things that are never satisfied, yea, four things say not, It is enough:
16 The grave; and the barren womb; the earth that is not filled with water; and the fire that saith not, It is enough.
17 The eye that mocketh at his father, and despiseth to obey his mother, the ravens of the valley shall pick it out, and the young eagles shall eat it.
18 There be three things which are too wonderful for me, yea, four which I know not:
19 The way of an eagle in the air; the way of a serpent upon a rock; the way of a ship in the midst of the sea; and the way of a man with a maid.
20 Such is the way of an adulterous woman; she eateth, and wipeth her mouth, and saith, I have done no wickedness.

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21 For three things the earth is disquieted, and for four which it cannot bear:
22 For a servant when he reigneth; and a fool when he is filled with meat;
23 For an odious woman when she is married; and an handmaid that is heir to her mistress.
24 There be four things which are little upon the earth, but they are exceeding wise:
25 The ants are a people not strong, yet they prepare their meat in the summer;
26 The conies are but a feeble folk, yet make they their houses in the rocks;
27 The locusts have no king, yet go they forth all of them by bands;
28 The spider taketh hold with her hands, and is in kings' palaces.
29 There be three things which go well, yea, four are comely in going:
30 A lion which is strongest among beasts, and turneth not away for any;
31 A greyhound; an he goat also; and a king, against whom there is no rising up.
32 If thou hast done foolishly in lifting up thyself, or if thou hast thought evil, lay thine hand upon thy mouth.
33 Surely the churning of milk bringeth forth butter, and the wringing of the nose bringeth forth blood: so the forcing of wrath bringeth forth strife.

PROVERBS CHAPTER 31
1 The words of king Lemuel, the prophecy that his mother taught him.
2 What, my son? and what, the son of my womb? and what, the son of my vows?
3 Give not thy strength unto women, nor thy ways to that which destroyeth kings.
4 It is not for kings, O Lemuel, it is not for kings to drink wine; nor for princes strong drink:
5 Lest they drink, and forget the law, and pervert the judgement of any of the afflicted.
6 Give strong drink unto him that is ready to perish, and wine unto those that be of heavy hearts.
7 Let him drink, and forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more.
8 Open thy mouth for the dumb in the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction.
9 Open thy mouth, judge righteously, and plead the cause of the poor and needy.
10 Who can find a virtuous woman? for her price is far above rubies.
11 The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her, so that he shall have no need of spoil.
12 She will do him good and not evil all the days of her life.
13 She seeketh wool, and flax, and worketh willingly with her hands.
14 She is like the merchants' ships; she bringeth her food from afar.
15 She riseth also while it is yet night, and giveth meat to her household, and a portion to her maidens.
16 She considereth a field, and buyeth it: with the fruit of her hands she planteth a vineyard.
17 She girdeth her loins with strength, and strengtheneth her arms.
18 She perceiveth that her merchandise is good: her candle goeth not out by night.
19 She layeth her hands to the spindle, and her hands hold the distaff.
20 She stretcheth out her hand to the poor; yea, she reacheth forth her hands to the needy.
21 She is not afraid of the snow for her household: for all her household are clothed with scarlet.
22 She maketh herself coverings of tapestry; her clothing is silk and purple.
23 Her husband is known in the gates, when he sitteth among the elders of the land.
24 She maketh fine linen, and selleth it; and delivereth girdles unto the merchant.
25 Strength and honour are her clothing; and she shall rejoice in time to come.
26 She openeth her mouth with wisdom; and in her tongue is the law of kindness.
27 She looketh well to the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness.
28 Her children arise up, and call her blessed; her husband also, and he praiseth her.
29 Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all.
30 Favour is deceitful, and beauty is vain: but a woman that feareth the LORD, she shall be praised.
31 Give her of the fruit of her hands; and let her own works praise her in the gates.

THE BOOK OF JOB
Hebrew title: Sefer Iyob
Estimated Range of Dating: 550-450 B.C.

(The Book of Job (Hebrew: Iyob) is a book in the Ketuvim ("Writings") section of the Hebrew Bible (Tanakh), and the first poetic book in the Old Testament of the Christian Bible. Addressing the problem of theodicy – the vindication of the justice of God in the light of humanity's suffering – it is a rich theological work setting out a variety of perspectives. The language of Job stands out for its conservative spelling and for its exceptionally large number of words and forms not found elsewhere in the Bible. It is a masterpiece of wisdom, philosophy and literature.

Job appears in the 6th-century BC Book of Ezekiel as a man of antiquity renowned for his righteousness, and the author of the Book of Job has apparently chosen this legendary hero for his parable. Rabbinic tradition ascribes it to Moses, but scholars generally agree that it was written between the 6th and 5th centuries BC. The anonymous author was almost certainly an Israelite, although he has set his story outside Israel, in southern Edom or northern Arabia, and makes allusion to places as far apart as Mesopotamia and Egypt.

Job, Ecclesiastes and the Book of Proverbs belong to the genre of wisdom literature, sharing a perspective that they themselves call the "way of wisdom". Wisdom means both a way of thinking and a body of knowledge gained through such thinking, as well as the ability to apply it to life. It is attainable in part through human effort and in part as a gift from God, but never in its entirety – except by God. The three books share attitudes and assumptions but differ in their conclusions: Proverbs makes confident statements about the world and its workings that are flatly contradicted by Job and Ecclesiastes. Wisdom literature from Sumeria and Babylonia can be dated to the second millennium BC. Several texts from ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt offer parallels to Job, and while it is impossible to tell whether the author of Job was influenced by any of them, their existence suggests that he was the recipient of a long tradition of reflection on the existence of inexplicable suffering.)

JOB CHAPTER 1
1 There was a man in the land of Uz, whose name was Job; and that man was perfect and upright, and one that feared God, and eschewed evil.
2 And there were born unto him seven sons and three daughters.
3 His substance also was seven thousand sheep, and three thousand camels, and five hundred yoke of oxen, and five hundred she asses, and a very great household; so that this man was the greatest of all the men of the east.
4 And his sons went and feasted in their houses, every one his day; and sent and called for their three sisters to eat and to drink with them.
5 And it was so, when the days of their feasting were gone about, that Job sent and sanctified them, and rose up early in the morning, and offered burnt offerings according to the number of them all: for Job said, It may be that my sons have sinned, and cursed God in their hearts. Thus did Job continually.
6 Now there was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before the LORD, and Satan came also among them.
7 And the LORD said unto Satan, Whence comest thou? Then Satan answered the LORD, and said, From going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down in it.
8 And the LORD said unto Satan, Hast thou considered my servant Job, that there is none like him in the earth, a perfect and an upright man, one that feareth God, and escheweth evil?
9 Then Satan answered the LORD, and said, Doth Job fear God for nought?
10 Hast not thou made an hedge about him, and about his house, and about all that he hath on every side? thou hast blessed the work of his hands, and his substance is increased in the land.
11 But put forth thine hand now, and touch all that he hath, and he will curse thee to thy face.
12 And the LORD said unto Satan, Behold, all that he hath is in thy power; only upon himself put not forth thine hand. So Satan went forth from the presence of the LORD.
13 And there was a day when his sons and his daughters were eating and drinking wine in their eldest brother's house:
14 And there came a messenger unto Job, and said, The oxen were plowing, and the asses feeding beside them:
15 And the Sabeans fell upon them, and took them away; yea, they have slain the servants with the edge of the sword; and I only am escaped alone to tell thee.
16 While he was yet speaking, there came also another, and said, The fire of God is fallen from heaven, and hath burned up the sheep, and the servants, and consumed them; and I only am escaped alone to tell thee.
17 While he was yet speaking, there came also another, and said, The Chaldeans made out three bands, and fell upon the camels, and have carried them away, yea, and slain the servants with the edge of the sword; and I only am escaped alone to tell thee.
18 While he was yet speaking, there came also another, and said, Thy sons and thy daughters were eating and drinking wine in their eldest brother's house:
19 And, behold, there came a great wind from the wilderness, and smote the four corners of the house, and it fell upon the young men, and they are dead; and I only am escaped alone to tell thee.
20 Then Job arose, and rent his mantle, and shaved his head, and fell down upon the ground, and worshipped,
21 And said, Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither: the LORD gave, and the LORD hath taken away; blessed be the name of the LORD.
22 In all this Job sinned not, nor charged God foolishly.

JOB CHAPTER 2
1 Again there was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before the LORD, and Satan came also among them to present himself before the LORD.
2 And the LORD said unto Satan, From whence comest thou? And Satan answered the LORD, and said, From going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down in it.
3 And the LORD said unto Satan, Hast thou considered my servant Job, that there is none like him in the earth, a perfect and an upright man, one that feareth God, and escheweth evil? and still he holdeth fast his integrity, although thou movedst me against him, to destroy him without cause.
4 And Satan answered the LORD, and said, Skin for skin, yea, all that a man hath will he give for his life.
5 But put forth thine hand now, and touch his bone and his flesh, and he will curse thee to thy face.
6 And the LORD said unto Satan, Behold, he is in thine hand; but save his life.
7 So went Satan forth from the presence of the LORD, and smote Job with sore boils from the sole of his foot unto his crown.
8 And he took him a potsherd to scrape himself withal; and he sat down among the ashes.
9 Then said his wife unto him, Dost thou still retain thine integrity? curse God, and die.
10 But he said unto her, Thou speakest as one of the foolish women speaketh. What? shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil? In all this did not Job sin with his lips.
11 Now when Job's three friends heard of all this evil that was come upon him, they came every one from his own place; Eliphaz the Temanite, and Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar the Naamathite: for they had made an appointment together to come to mourn with him and to comfort him.
12 And when they lifted up their eyes afar off, and knew him not, they lifted up their voice, and wept; and they rent every one his mantle, and sprinkled dust upon their heads toward heaven.
13 So they sat down with him upon the ground seven days and seven nights, and none spake a word unto him: for they saw that his grief was very great.

JOB CHAPTER 3
1 After this opened Job his mouth, and cursed his day.
2 And Job spake, and said,
3 Let the day perish wherein I was born, and the night in which it was said, There is a man child conceived.
4 Let that day be darkness; let not God regard it from above, neither let the light shine upon it.
5 Let darkness and the shadow of death stain it; let a cloud dwell upon it; let the blackness of the day terrify it.
6 As for that night, let darkness seize upon it; let it not be joined unto the days of the year, let it not come into the number of the months.
7 Lo, let that night be solitary, let no joyful voice come therein.
8 Let them curse it that curse the day, who are ready to raise up their mourning.
9 Let the stars of the twilight thereof be dark; let it look for light, but have none; neither let it see the dawning of the day:
10 Because it shut not up the doors of my mother's womb, nor hid sorrow from mine eyes.
11 Why died I not from the womb? why did I not give up the ghost when I came out of the belly?
12 Why did the knees prevent me? or why the breasts that I should suck?
13 For now should I have lain still and been quiet, I should have slept: then had I been at rest,
14 With kings and counsellors of the earth, which build desolate places for themselves;
15 Or with princes that had gold, who filled their houses with silver:
16 Or as an hidden untimely birth I had not been; as infants which never saw light.
17 There the wicked cease from troubling; and there the weary be at rest.
18 There the prisoners rest together; they hear not the voice of the oppressor.

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19 The small and great are there; and the servant is free from his master.
20 Wherefore is light given to him that is in misery, and life unto the bitter in soul;
21 Which long for death, but it cometh not; and dig for it more than for hid treasures;
22 Which rejoice exceedingly, and are glad, when they can find the grave?
23 Why is light given to a man whose way is hid, and whom God hath hedged in?
24 For my sighing cometh before I eat, and my roarings are poured out like the waters.
25 For the thing which I greatly feared is come upon me, and that which I was afraid of is come unto me.
26 I was not in safety, neither had I rest, neither was I quiet; yet trouble came.

JOB CHAPTER 4

1 Then Eliphaz the Temanite answered and said,
2 If we assay to commune with thee, wilt thou be grieved? but who can withhold himself from speaking?
3 Behold, thou hast instructed many, and thou hast strengthened the weak hands.
4 Thy words have upholden him that was falling, and thou hast strengthened the feeble knees.
5 But now it is come upon thee, and thou faintest; it toucheth thee, and thou art troubled.
6 Is not this thy fear, thy confidence, thy hope, and the uprightness of thy ways?
7 Remember, I pray thee, who ever perished, being innocent? or where were the righteous cut off?
8 Even as I have seen, they that plow iniquity, and sow wickedness, reap the same.
9 By the blast of God they perish, and by the breath of his nostrils are they consumed.
10 The roaring of the lion, and the voice of the fierce lion, and the teeth of the young lions, are broken.
11 The old lion perisheth for lack of prey, and the stout lion's whelps are scattered abroad.
12 Now a thing was secretly brought to me, and mine ear received a little thereof.
13 In thoughts from the visions of the night, when deep sleep falleth on men,
14 Fear came upon me, and trembling, which made all my bones to shake.
15 Then a spirit passed before my face; the hair of my flesh stood up:
16 It stood still, but I could not discern the form thereof: an image was before mine eyes, there was silence, and I heard a voice, saying,
17 Shall mortal man be more just than God? shall a man be more pure than his maker?
18 Behold, he put no trust in his servants; and his angels he charged with folly:
19 How much less in them that dwell in houses of clay, whose foundation is in the dust, which are crushed before the moth?
20 They are destroyed from morning to evening: they perish for ever without any regarding it.
21 Doth not their excellency which is in them go away? they die, even without wisdom.

JOB CHAPTER 5

1 Call now, if there be any that will answer thee; and to which of the saints wilt thou turn?
2 For wrath killeth the foolish man, and envy slayeth the silly one.
3 I have seen the foolish taking root: but suddenly I cursed his habitation.
4 His children are far from safety, and they are crushed in the gate, neither is there any to deliver them.
5 Whose harvest the hungry eateth up, and taketh it even out of the thorns, and the robber swalloweth up their substance.
6 Although affliction cometh not forth of the dust, neither doth trouble spring out of the ground;
7 Yet man is born unto trouble, as the sparks fly upward.
8 I would seek unto God, and unto God would I commit my cause:
9 Which doeth great things and unsearchable; marvellous things without number:
10 Who giveth rain upon the earth, and sendeth waters upon the fields:
11 To set up on high those that be low; that those which mourn may be exalted to safety.
12 He disappointeth the devices of the crafty, so that their hands cannot perform their enterprise.
13 He taketh the wise in their own craftiness: and the counsel of the froward is carried headlong.
14 They meet with darkness in the day time, and grope in the noonday as in the night.
15 But he saveth the poor from the sword, from their mouth, and from the hand of the mighty.
16 So the poor hath hope, and iniquity stoppeth her mouth.
17 Behold, happy is the man whom God correcteth: therefore despise not thou the chastening of the Almighty:
18 For he maketh sore, and bindeth up: he woundeth, and his hands make whole.
19 He shall deliver thee in six troubles: yea, in seven there shall no evil touch thee.
20 In famine he shall redeem thee from death: and in war from the power of the sword.
21 Thou shalt be hid from the scourge of the tongue: neither shalt thou be afraid of destruction when it cometh.
22 At destruction and famine thou shalt laugh: neither shalt thou be afraid of the beasts of the earth.
23 For thou shalt be in league with the stones of the field: and the beasts of the field shall be at peace with thee.
24 And thou shalt know that thy tabernacle shall be in peace; and thou shalt visit thy habitation, and shalt not sin.
25 Thou shalt know also that thy seed shall be great, and thine offspring as the grass of the earth.
26 Thou shalt come to thy grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in in his season.
27 Lo this, we have searched it, so it is; hear it, and know thou it for thy good.

JOB CHAPTER 6

1 But Job answered and said,
2 Oh that my grief were throughly weighed, and my calamity laid in the balances together!
3 For now it would be heavier than the sand of the sea: therefore my words are swallowed up.
4 For the arrows of the Almighty are within me, the poison whereof drinketh up my spirit: the terrors of God do set themselves in array against me.
5 Doth the wild ass bray when he hath grass? or loweth the ox over his fodder?
6 Can that which is unsavoury be eaten without salt? or is there any taste in the white of an egg?
7 The things that my soul refused to touch are as my sorrowful meat.
8 Oh that I might have my request; and that God would grant me the thing that I long for!
9 Even that it would please God to destroy me; that he would let loose his hand, and cut me off!
10 Then should I yet have comfort; yea, I would harden myself in sorrow: let him not spare; for I have not concealed the words of the Holy One.
11 What is my strength, that I should hope? and what is mine end, that I should prolong my life?
12 Is my strength the strength of stones? or is my flesh of brass?
13 Is not my help in me? and is wisdom driven quite from me?
14 To him that is afflicted pity should be shewed from his friend; but he forsaketh the fear of the Almighty.
15 My brethren have dealt deceitfully as a brook, and as the stream of brooks they pass away;
16 Which are blackish by reason of the ice, and wherein the snow is hid:
17 What time they wax warm, they vanish: when it is hot, they are consumed out of their place.
18 The paths of their way are turned aside; they go to nothing, and perish.
19 The troops of Tema looked, the companies of Sheba waited for them.
20 They were confounded because they had hoped; they came thither, and were ashamed.
21 For now ye are nothing; ye see my casting down, and are afraid.
22 Did I say, Bring unto me? or, Give a reward for me of your substance?
23 Or, Deliver me from the enemy's hand? or, Redeem me from the hand of the mighty?
24 Teach me, and I will hold my tongue: and cause me to understand wherein I have erred.
25 How forcible are right words! but what doth your arguing reprove?
26 Do ye imagine to reprove words, and the speeches of one that is desperate, which are as wind?
27 Yea, ye overwhelm the fatherless, and ye dig a pit for your friend.
28 Now therefore be content, look upon me; for it is evident unto you if I lie.
29 Return, I pray you, let it not be iniquity; yea, return again, my righteousness is in it.
30 Is there iniquity in my tongue? cannot my taste discern perverse things?

JOB CHAPTER 7

1 Is there not an appointed time to man upon earth? are not his days also like the days of an hireling?
2 As a servant earnestly desireth the shadow, and as an hireling looketh for the reward of his work:
3 So am I made to possess months of vanity, and wearisome nights are appointed to me.
4 When I lie down, I say, When shall I arise, and the night be gone? and I am full of tossings to and fro unto the dawning of the day.
5 My flesh is clothed with worms and clods of dust; my skin is broken, and become loathsome.
6 My days are swifter than a weaver's shuttle, and are spent without hope.
7 O remember that my life is wind: mine eye shall no more see good.
8 The eye of him that hath seen me shall see me no more: thine eyes are upon me, and I am not.
9 As the cloud is consumed and vanisheth away: so he that goeth down to the grave shall come up no more.
10 He shall return no more to his house, neither shall his place know him any more.
11 Therefore I will not refrain my mouth; I will speak in the anguish of my spirit; I will complain in the bitterness of my soul.
12 Am I a sea, or a whale, that thou settest a watch over me?
13 When I say, My bed shall comfort me, my couch shall ease my complaints;
14 Then thou scarest me with dreams, and terrifiest me through visions:
15 So that my soul chooseth strangling, and death rather than my life.
16 I loathe it; I would not live alway: let me alone; for my days are vanity.
17 What is man, that thou shouldest magnify him? and that thou shouldest set thine heart upon him?
18 And that thou shouldest visit him every morning, and try him every moment?
19 How long wilt thou not depart from me, nor let me alone till I swallow down my spittle?
20 I have sinned; what shall I do unto thee, O thou preserver of men? why hast thou set me as a mark against thee, so that I am a burden to myself?
21 And why dost thou not pardon my transgression, and take away my iniquity? for now shall I sleep in the dust; and thou shalt seek me in the morning, but I shall not be.

JOB CHAPTER 8

1 Then answered Bildad the Shuhite, and said,
2 How long wilt thou speak these things? and how long shall the words of thy mouth be like a strong wind?
3 Doth God pervert judgement? or doth the Almighty pervert justice?
4 If thy children have sinned against him, and he have cast them away for their transgression;
5 If thou wouldest seek unto God betimes, and make thy supplication to the Almighty;
6 If thou wert pure and upright; surely now he would awake for thee, and make the habitation of thy righteousness prosperous.
7 Though thy beginning was small, yet thy latter end should greatly increase.
8 For enquire, I pray thee, of the former age, and prepare thyself to the search of their fathers:
9 (For we are but of yesterday, and know nothing, because our days upon earth are a shadow:)
10 Shall not they teach thee, and tell thee, and utter words out of their heart?
11 Can the rush grow up without mire? can the flag grow without water?
12 Whilst it is yet in his greenness, and not cut down, it withereth before any other herb.
13 So are the paths of all that forget God; and the hypocrite's hope shall perish:
14 Whose hope shall be cut off, and whose trust shall be a spider's web.
15 He shall lean upon his house, but it shall not stand: he shall hold it fast, but it shall not endure.
16 He is green before the sun, and his branch shooteth forth in his garden.
17 His roots are wrapped about the heap, and seeth the place of stones.
18 If he destroy him from his place, then it shall deny him, saying, I have not seen thee.
19 Behold, this is the joy of his way, and out of the earth shall others grow.
20 Behold, God will not cast away a perfect man, neither will he help the evil doers:
21 Till he fill thy mouth with laughing, and thy lips with rejoicing.
22 They that hate thee shall be clothed with shame; and the dwelling place of the wicked shall come to nought.

JOB CHAPTER 9

1 Then Job answered and said,
2 I know it is so of a truth: but how should man be just with God?
3 If he will contend with him, he cannot answer him one of a thousand.
4 He is wise in heart, and mighty in strength: who hath hardened himself against him, and hath prospered?

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5 Which removeth the mountains, and they know not: which overturneth them in his anger.
6 Which shaketh the earth out of her place, and the pillars thereof tremble.
7 Which commandeth the sun, and it riseth not; and sealeth up the stars.
8 Which alone spreadeth out the heavens, and treadeth upon the waves of the sea.
9 Which maketh Arcturus, Orion, and Pleiades, and the chambers of the south.
10 Which doeth great things past finding out; yea, and wonders without number.
11 Lo, he goeth by me, and I see him not: he passeth on also, but I perceive him not.
12 Behold, he taketh away, who can hinder him? who will say unto him, What doest thou?
13 If God will not withdraw his anger, the proud helpers do stoop under him.
14 How much less shall I answer him, and choose out my words to reason with him?
15 Whom, though I were righteous, yet would I not answer, but I would make supplication to my judge.
16 If I had called, and he had answered me; yet would I not believe that he had hearkened unto my voice.
17 For he breaketh me with a tempest, and multiplieth my wounds without cause.
18 He will not suffer me to take my breath, but filleth me with bitterness.
19 If I speak of strength, lo, he is strong: and if of judgement, who shall set me a time to plead?
20 If I justify myself, mine own mouth shall condemn me: if I say, I am perfect, it shall also prove me perverse.
21 Though I were perfect, yet would I not know my soul: I would despise my life.
22 This is one thing, therefore I said it, He destroyeth the perfect and the wicked.
23 If the scourge slay suddenly, he will laugh at the trial of the innocent.
24 The earth is given into the hand of the wicked: he covereth the faces of the judges thereof; if not, where, and who is he?
25 Now my days are swifter than a post: they flee away, they see no good.
26 They are passed away as the swift ships: as the eagle that hasteth to the prey.
27 If I say, I will forget my complaint, I will leave off my heaviness, and comfort myself:
28 I am afraid of all my sorrows, I know that thou wilt not hold me innocent.
29 If I be wicked, why then labour I in vain?
30 If I wash myself with snow water, and make my hands never so clean;
31 Yet shalt thou plunge me in the ditch, and mine own clothes shall abhor me.
32 For he is not a man, as I am, that I should answer him, and we should come together in judgement.
33 Neither is there any daysman betwixt us, that might lay his hand upon us both.
34 Let him take his rod away from me, and let not his fear terrify me:
35 Then would I speak, and not fear him; but it is not so with me.

JOB CHAPTER 10

1 My soul is weary of my life; I will leave my complaint upon myself; I will speak in the bitterness of my soul.
2 I will say unto God, Do not condemn me; shew me wherefore thou contendest with me.
3 Is it good unto thee that thou shouldest oppress, that thou shouldest despise the work of thine hands, and shine upon the counsel of the wicked?
4 Hast thou eyes of flesh? or seest thou as man seeth?
5 Are thy days as the days of man? are thy years as man's days,
6 That thou enquirest after mine iniquity, and searchest after my sin?
7 Thou knowest that I am not wicked; and there is none that can deliver out of thine hand.
8 Thine hands have made me and fashioned me together round about; yet thou dost destroy me.
9 Remember, I beseech thee, that thou hast made me as the clay; and wilt thou bring me into dust again?
10 Hast thou not poured me out as milk, and curdled me like cheese?
11 Thou hast clothed me with skin and flesh, and hast fenced me with bones and sinews.
12 Thou hast granted me life and favour, and thy visitation hath preserved my spirit.
13 And these things hast thou hid in thine heart: I know that this is with thee.
14 If I sin, then thou markest me, and thou wilt not acquit me from mine iniquity.
15 If I be wicked, woe unto me; and if I be righteous, yet will I not lift up my head. I am full of confusion; therefore see thou mine affliction;
16 For it increaseth. Thou huntest me as a fierce lion: and again thou shewest thyself marvellous upon me.
17 Thou renewest thy witnesses against me, and increasest thine indignation upon me; changes and war are against me.
18 Wherefore then hast thou brought me forth out of the womb? Oh that I had given up the ghost, and no eye had seen me!
19 I should have been as though I had not been; I should have been carried from the womb to the grave.
20 Are not my days few? cease then, and let me alone, that I may take comfort a little,
21 Before I go whence I shall not return, even to the land of darkness and the shadow of death;
22 A land of darkness, as darkness itself; and of the shadow of death, without any order, and where the light is as darkness.

JOB CHAPTER 11

1 Then answered Zophar the Naamathite, and said,
2 Should not the multitude of words be answered? and should a man full of talk be justified?
3 Should thy lies make men hold their peace? and when thou mockest, shall no man make thee ashamed?
4 For thou hast said, My doctrine is pure, and I am clean in thine eyes.
5 But oh that God would speak, and open his lips against thee;
6 And that he would shew thee the secrets of wisdom, that they are double to that which is! Know therefore that God exacteth of thee less than thine iniquity deserveth.
7 Canst thou by searching find out God? canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection?
8 It is as high as heaven; what canst thou do? deeper than hell; what canst thou know?
9 The measure thereof is longer than the earth, and broader than the sea.
10 If he cut off, and shut up, or gather together, then who can hinder him?
11 For he knoweth vain men: he seeth wickedness also; will he not then consider it?
12 For vain men would be wise, though man be born like a wild ass's colt.
13 If thou prepare thine heart, and stretch out thine hands toward him;
14 If iniquity be in thine hand, put it far away, and let not wickedness dwell in thy tabernacles.
15 For then shalt thou lift up thy face without spot; yea, thou shalt be stedfast, and shalt not fear:
16 Because thou shalt forget thy misery, and remember it as waters that pass away:
17 And thine age shall be clearer than the noonday: thou shalt shine forth, thou shalt be as the morning.
18 And thou shalt be secure, because there is hope; yea, thou shalt dig about thee, and thou shalt take thy rest in safety.
19 Also thou shalt lie down, and none shall make thee afraid; yea, many shall make suit unto thee.
20 But the eyes of the wicked shall fail, and they shall not escape, and their hope shall be as the giving up of the ghost.

JOB CHAPTER 12

1 And Job answered and said,
2 No doubt but ye are the people, and wisdom shall die with you.
3 But I have understanding as well as you; I am not inferior to you: yea, who knoweth not such things as these?
4 I am as one mocked of his neighbour, who calleth upon God, and he answereth him: the just upright man is laughed to scorn.
5 He that is ready to slip with his feet is as a lamp despised in the thought of him that is at ease.
6 The tabernacles of robbers prosper, and they that provoke God are secure; into whose hand God bringeth abundantly.
7 But ask now the beasts, and they shall teach thee; and the fowls of the air, and they shall tell thee:
8 Or speak to the earth, and it shall teach thee: and the fishes of the sea shall declare unto thee.
9 Who knoweth not in all these that the hand of the LORD hath wrought this?
10 In whose hand is the soul of every living thing, and the breath of all mankind.
11 Doth not the ear try words? and the mouth taste his meat?
12 With the ancient is wisdom; and in length of days understanding.
13 With him is wisdom and strength, he hath counsel and understanding.
14 Behold, he breaketh down, and it cannot be built again: he shutteth up a man, and there can be no opening.
15 Behold, he withholdeth the waters, and they dry up: also he sendeth them out, and they overturn the earth.
16 With him is strength and wisdom: the deceived and the deceiver are his.
17 He leadeth counsellors away spoiled, and maketh the judges fools.
18 He looseth the bond of kings, and girdeth their loins with a girdle.
19 He leadeth princes away spoiled, and overthroweth the mighty.
20 He removeth away the speech of the trusty, and taketh away the understanding of the aged.
21 He poureth contempt upon princes, and weakeneth the strength of the mighty.
22 He discovereth deep things out of darkness, and bringeth out to light the shadow of death.
23 He increaseth the nations, and destroyeth them: he enlargeth the nations, and straiteneth them again.
24 He taketh away the heart of the chief of the people of the earth, and causeth them to wander in a wilderness where there is no way.
25 They grope in the dark without light, and he maketh them to stagger like a drunken man.

JOB CHAPTER 13

1 Lo, mine eye hath seen all this, mine ear hath heard and understood it.
2 What ye know, the same do I know also: I am not inferior unto you.
3 Surely I would speak to the Almighty, and I desire to reason with God.
4 But ye are forgers of lies, ye are all physicians of no value.
5 O that ye would altogether hold your peace! and it should be your wisdom.
6 Hear now my reasoning, and hearken to the pleadings of my lips.
7 Will ye speak wickedly for God? and talk deceitfully for him?
8 Will ye accept his person? will ye contend for God?
9 Is it good that he should search you out? or as one man mocketh another, do ye so mock him?
10 He will surely reprove you, if ye do secretly accept persons.
11 Shall not his excellency make you afraid? and his dread fall upon you?
12 Your remembrances are like unto ashes, your bodies to bodies of clay.
13 Hold your peace, let me alone, that I may speak, and let come on me what will.
14 Wherefore do I take my flesh in my teeth, and put my life in mine hand?
15 Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him: but I will maintain mine own ways before him.
16 He also shall be my salvation: for an hypocrite shall not come before him.
17 Hear diligently my speech, and my declaration with your ears.
18 Behold now, I have ordered my cause; I know that I shall be justified.
19 Who is he that will plead with me? for now, if I hold my tongue, I shall give up the ghost.
20 Only do not two things unto me: then will I not hide myself from thee.
21 Withdraw thine hand far from me: and let not thy dread make me afraid.
22 Then call thou, and I will answer: or let me speak, and answer thou me.
23 How many are mine iniquities and sins? make me to know my transgression and my sin.
24 Wherefore hidest thou thy face, and holdest me for thine enemy?
25 Wilt thou break a leaf driven to and fro? and wilt thou pursue the dry stubble?
26 For thou writest bitter things against me, and makest me to possess the iniquities of my youth.
27 Thou puttest my feet also in the stocks, and lookest narrowly unto all my paths; thou settest a print upon the heels of my feet.
28 And he, as a rotten thing, consumeth, as a garment that is moth eaten.

JOB CHAPTER 14

1 Man that is born of a woman is of few days and full of trouble.
2 He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down: he fleeth also as a shadow, and continueth not.
3 And doth thou open thine eyes upon such an one, and bringest me into judgement with thee?
4 Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? not one.
5 Seeing his days are determined, the number of his months are with thee, thou hast appointed his bounds that he cannot pass;
6 Turn from him, that he may rest, till he shall accomplish, as an hireling, his day.

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7 For there is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again, and that the tender branch thereof will not cease.
8 Though the root thereof wax old in the earth, and the stock thereof die in the ground;
9 Yet through the scent of water it will bud, and bring forth boughs like a plant.
10 But man dieth, and wasteth away: yea, man giveth up the ghost, and where is he?
11 As the waters fail from the sea, and the flood decayeth and drieth up:
12 So man lieth down, and riseth not: till the heavens be no more, they shall not awake, nor be raised out of their sleep.
13 O that thou wouldest hide me in the grave, that thou wouldest keep me secret, until thy wrath be past, that thou wouldest appoint me a set time, and remember me!
14 If a man die, shall he live again? all the days of my appointed time will I wait, till my change come.
15 Thou shalt call, and I will answer thee: thou wilt have a desire to the work of thine hands.
16 For now thou numberest my steps: dost thou not watch over my sin?
17 My transgression is sealed up in a bag, and thou sewest up mine iniquity.
18 And surely the mountains falling cometh to nought, and the rock is removed out of his place.
19 The waters wear the stones: thou washest away the things which grow out of the dust of the earth; and thou destroyest the hope of man.
20 Thou prevailest for ever against him, and he passeth: thou changest his countenance, and sendest him away.
21 His sons come to honour, and he knoweth it not; and they are brought low, but he perceiveth it not of them.
22 But his flesh upon him shall have pain, and his soul within him shall mourn.

JOB CHAPTER 15

1 Then answered Eliphaz the Temanite, and said,
2 Should a wise man utter vain knowledge, and fill his belly with the east wind?
3 Should he reason with unprofitable talk? or with speeches wherewith he can do no good?
4 Yea, thou castest off fear, and restrainest prayer before God.
5 For thy mouth uttereth thine iniquity, and thou choosest the tongue of the crafty.
6 Thine own mouth condemneth thee, and not I: yea, thine own lips testify against thee.
7 Art thou the first man that was born? or wast thou made before the hills?
8 Hast thou heard the secret of God? and dost thou restrain wisdom to thyself?
9 What knowest thou, that we know not? what understandest thou, which is not in us?
10 With us are both the grayheaded and very aged men, much elder than thy father.
11 Are the consolations of God small with thee? is there any secret thing with thee?
12 Why doth thine heart carry thee away? and what do thy eyes wink at,
13 That thou turnest thy spirit against God, and lettest such words go out of thy mouth?
14 What is man, that he should be clean? and he which is born of a woman, that he should be righteous?
15 Behold, he putteth no trust in his saints; yea, the heavens are not clean in his sight.
16 How much more abominable and filthy is man, which drinketh iniquity like water?
17 I will shew thee, hear me; and that which I have seen I will declare;
18 Which wise men have told from their fathers, and have not hid it:
19 Unto whom alone the earth was given, and no stranger passed among them.
20 The wicked man travaileth with pain all his days, and the number of years is hidden to the oppressor.
21 A dreadful sound is in his ears: in prosperity the destroyer shall come upon him.
22 He believeth not that he shall return out of darkness, and he is waited for of the sword.
23 He wandereth abroad for bread, saying, Where is it? he knoweth that the day of darkness is ready at his hand.
24 Trouble and anguish shall make him afraid; they shall prevail against him, as a king ready to the battle.
25 For he stretcheth out his hand against God, and strengtheneth himself against the Almighty.
26 He runneth upon him, even on his neck, upon the thick bosses of his bucklers:
27 Because he covereth his face with his fatness, and maketh collops of fat on his flanks.
28 And he dwelleth in desolate cities, and in houses which no man inhabiteth, which are ready to become heaps.
29 He shall not be rich, neither shall his substance continue, neither shall he prolong the perfection thereof upon the earth.
30 He shall not depart out of darkness; the flame shall dry up his branches, and by the breath of his mouth shall he go away.
31 Let not him that is deceived trust in vanity: for vanity shall be his recompence.
32 It shall be accomplished before his time, and his branch shall not be green.
33 He shall shake off his unripe grape as the vine, and shall cast off his flower as the olive.
34 For the congregation of hypocrites shall be desolate, and fire shall consume the tabernacles of bribery.
35 They conceive mischief, and bring forth vanity, and their belly prepareth deceit.

JOB CHAPTER 16

1 Then Job answered and said,
2 I have heard many such things: miserable comforters are ye all.
3 Shall vain words have an end? or what emboldeneth thee that thou answerest?
4 I also could speak as ye do: if your soul were in my soul's stead, I could heap up words against you, and shake mine head at you.
5 But I would strengthen you with my mouth, and the moving of my lips should asswage your grief.
6 Though I speak, my grief is not asswaged: and though I forbear, what am I eased?
7 But now he hath made me weary: thou hast made desolate all my company.
8 And thou hast filled me with wrinkles, which is a witness against me: and my leanness rising up in me beareth witness to my face.
9 He teareth me in his wrath, who hateth me: he gnasheth upon me with his teeth; mine enemy sharpeneth his eyes upon me.
10 They have gaped upon me with their mouth; they have smitten me upon the cheek reproachfully; they have gathered themselves together against me.
11 God hath delivered me to the ungodly, and turned me over into the hands of the wicked.
12 I was at ease, but he hath broken me asunder: he hath also taken me by my neck, and shaken me to pieces, and set me up for his mark.
13 His archers compass me round about, he cleaveth my reins asunder, and doth not spare; he poureth out my gall upon the ground.
14 He breaketh me with breach upon breach, he runneth upon me like a giant.
15 I have sewed sackcloth upon my skin, and defiled my horn in the dust.
16 My face is foul with weeping, and on my eyelids is the shadow of death;
17 Not for any injustice in mine hands: also my prayer is pure.
18 O earth, cover not thou my blood, and let my cry have no place.
19 Also now, behold, my witness is in heaven, and my record is on high.
20 My friends scorn me: but mine eye poureth out tears unto God.
21 O that one might plead for a man with God, as a man pleadeth for his neighbour!
22 When a few years are come, then I shall go the way whence I shall not return.

JOB CHAPTER 17

1 My breath is corrupt, my days are extinct, the graves are ready for me.
2 Are there not mockers with me? and doth not mine eye continue in their provocation?
3 Lay down now, put me in a surety with thee; who is he that will strike hands with me?
4 For thou hast hid their heart from understanding: therefore shalt thou not exalt them.
5 He that speaketh flattery to his friends, even the eyes of his children shall fail.
6 He hath made me also a byword of the people; and aforetime I was as a tabret.
7 Mine eye also is dim by reason of sorrow, and all my members are as a shadow.
8 Upright men shall be astonied at this, and the innocent shall stir up himself against the hypocrite.
9 The righteous also shall hold on his way, and he that hath clean hands shall be stronger and stronger.
10 But as for you all, do ye return, and come now: for I cannot find one wise man among you.
11 My days are past, my purposes are broken off, even the thoughts of my heart.
12 They change the night into day: the light is short because of darkness.
13 If I wait, the grave is mine house: I have made my bed in the darkness.
14 I have said to corruption, Thou art my father: to the worm, Thou art my mother, and my sister.
15 And where is now my hope? as for my hope, who shall see it?
16 They shall go down to the bars of the pit, when our rest together is in the dust.

JOB CHAPTER 18

1 Then answered Bildad the Shuhite, and said,
2 How long will it be ere ye make an end of words? mark, and afterwards we will speak.
3 Wherefore are we counted as beasts, and reputed vile in your sight?
4 He teareth himself in his anger: shall the earth be forsaken for thee? and shall the rock be removed out of his place?
5 Yea, the light of the wicked shall be put out, and the spark of his fire shall not shine.
6 The light shall be dark in his tabernacle, and his candle shall be put out with him.
7 The steps of his strength shall be straitened, and his own counsel shall cast him down.
8 For he is cast into a net by his own feet, and he walketh upon a snare.
9 The gin shall take him by the heel, and the robber shall prevail against him.
10 The snare is laid for him in the ground, and a trap for him in the way.
11 Terrors shall make him afraid on every side, and shall drive him to his feet.
12 His strength shall be hungerbitten, and destruction shall be ready at his side.
13 It shall devour the strength of his skin: even the firstborn of death shall devour his strength.
14 His confidence shall be rooted out of his tabernacle, and it shall bring him to the king of terrors.
15 It shall dwell in his tabernacle, because it is none of his: brimstone shall be scattered upon his habitation.
16 His roots shall be dried up beneath, and above shall his branch be cut off.
17 His remembrance shall perish from the earth, and he shall have no name in the street.
18 He shall be driven from light into darkness, and chased out of the world.
19 He shall neither have son nor nephew among his people, nor any remaining in his dwellings.
20 They that come after him shall be astonied at his day, as they that went before were affrighted.
21 Surely such are the dwellings of the wicked, and this is the place of him that knoweth not God.

JOB CHAPTER 19

1 Then Job answered and said,
2 How long will ye vex my soul, and break me in pieces with words?
3 These ten times have ye reproached me: ye are not ashamed that ye make yourselves strange to me.
4 And be it indeed that I have erred, mine error remaineth with myself.
5 If indeed ye will magnify yourselves against me, and plead against me my reproach:
6 Know now that God hath overthrown me, and hath compassed me with his net.
7 Behold, I cry out of wrong, but I am not heard: I cry aloud, but there is no judgement.
8 He hath fenced up my way that I cannot pass, and he hath set darkness in my paths.
9 He hath stripped me of my glory, and taken the crown from my head.
10 He hath destroyed me on every side, and I am gone: and mine hope hath he removed like a tree.
11 He hath also kindled his wrath against me, and he counteth me unto him as one of his enemies.
12 His troops come together, and raise up their way against me, and encamp round about my tabernacle.
13 He hath put my brethren far from me, and mine acquaintance are verily estranged from me.
14 My kinsfolk have failed, and my familiar friends have forgotten me.
15 They that dwell in mine house, and my maids, count me for a stranger: I am an alien in their sight.
16 I called my servant, and he gave me no answer; I intreated him with my mouth.
17 My breath is strange to my wife, though I intreated for the children's sake of mine own body.
18 Yea, young children despised me; I arose, and they spake against me.
19 All my inward friends abhorred me: and they whom I loved are turned against me.
20 My bone cleaveth to my skin and to my flesh, and I am escaped with the skin of my teeth.
21 Have pity upon me, have pity upon me, O ye my friends; for the hand of God hath touched me.
22 Why do ye persecute me as God, and are not satisfied with my flesh?
23 Oh that my words were now written! oh that they were printed in a book!

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24 That they were graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever!
25 For I know that my redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth:
26 And though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God:
27 Whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another; though my reins be consumed within me.
28 But ye should say, Why persecute we him, seeing the root of the matter is found in me?
29 Be ye afraid of the sword: for wrath bringeth the punishments of the sword, that ye may know there is a judgement.

JOB CHAPTER 20
1 Then answered Zophar the Naamathite, and said,
2 Therefore do my thoughts cause me to answer, and for this I make haste.
3 I have heard the check of my reproach, and the spirit of my understanding causeth me to answer.
4 Knowest thou not this of old, since man was placed upon earth,
5 That the triumphing of the wicked is short, and the joy of the hypocrite but for a moment?
6 Though his excellency mount up to the heavens, and his head reach unto the clouds;
7 Yet he shall perish for ever like his own dung: they which have seen him shall say, Where is he?
8 He shall fly away as a dream, and shall not be found: yea, he shall be chased away as a vision of the night.
9 The eye also which saw him shall see him no more; neither shall his place any more behold him.
10 His children shall seek to please the poor, and his hands shall restore their goods.
11 His bones are full of the sin of his youth, which shall lie down with him in the dust.
12 Though wickedness be sweet in his mouth, though he hide it under his tongue;
13 Though he spare it, and forsake it not; but keep it still within his mouth:
14 Yet his meat in his bowels is turned, it is the gall of asps within him.
15 He hath swallowed down riches, and he shall vomit them up again: God shall cast them out of his belly.
16 He shall suck the poison of asps: the viper's tongue shall slay him.
17 He shall not see the rivers, the floods, the brooks of honey and butter.
18 That which he laboured for shall he restore, and shall not swallow it down: according to his substance shall the restitution be, and he shall not rejoice therein.
19 Because he hath oppressed and hath forsaken the poor; because he hath violently taken away an house which he builded not;
20 Surely he shall not feel quietness in his belly, he shall not save of that which he desired.
21 There shall none of his meat be left; therefore shall no man look for his goods.
22 In the fulness of his sufficiency he shall be in straits: every hand of the wicked shall come upon him.
23 When he is about to fill his belly, God shall cast the fury of his wrath upon him, and shall rain it upon him while he is eating.
24 He shall flee from the iron weapon, and the bow of steel shall strike him through.
25 It is drawn, and cometh out of the body; yea, the glittering sword cometh out of his gall: terrors are upon him.
26 All darkness shall be hid in his secret places: a fire not blown shall consume him; it shall go ill with him that is left in his tabernacle.
27 The heaven shall reveal his iniquity; and the earth shall rise up against him.
28 The increase of his house shall depart, and his goods shall flow away in the day of his wrath.
29 This is the portion of a wicked man from God, and the heritage appointed unto him by God.

JOB CHAPTER 21
1 But Job answered and said,
2 Hear diligently my speech, and let this be your consolations.
3 Suffer me that I may speak; and after that I have spoken, mock on.
4 As for me, is my complaint to man? and if it were so, why should not my spirit be troubled?
5 Mark me, and be astonished, and lay your hand upon your mouth.
6 Even when I remember I am afraid, and trembling taketh hold on my flesh.
7 Wherefore do the wicked live, become old, yea, are mighty in power?
8 Their seed is established in their sight with them, and their offspring before their eyes.
9 Their houses are safe from fear, neither is the rod of God upon them.
10 Their bull gendereth, and faileth not; their cow calveth, and casteth not her calf.
11 They send forth their little ones like a flock, and their children dance.
12 They take the timbrel and harp, and rejoice at the sound of the organ.
13 They spend their days in wealth, and in a moment go down to the grave.
14 Therefore they say unto God, Depart from us; for we desire not the knowledge of thy ways.
15 What is the Almighty, that we should serve him? and what profit should we have, if we pray unto him?
16 Lo, their good is not in their hand: the counsel of the wicked is far from me.
17 How oft is the candle of the wicked put out! and how oft cometh their destruction upon them! God distributeth sorrows in his anger.
18 They are as stubble before the wind, and as chaff that the storm carrieth away.
19 God layeth up his iniquity for his children: he rewardeth him, and he shall know it.
20 His eyes shall see his destruction, and he shall drink of the wrath of the Almighty.
21 For what pleasure hath he in his house after him, when the number of his months is cut off in the midst?
22 Shall any teach God knowledge? seeing he judgeth those that are high.
23 One dieth in his full strength, being wholly at ease and quiet.
24 His breasts are full of milk, and his bones are moistened with marrow.
25 And another dieth in the bitterness of his soul, and never eateth with pleasure.
26 They shall lie down alike in the dust, and the worms shall cover them.
27 Behold, I know your thoughts, and the devices which ye wrongfully imagine against me.
28 For ye say, Where is the house of the prince? and where are the dwelling places of the wicked?
29 Have ye not asked them that go by the way? and do ye not know their tokens,
30 That the wicked is reserved to the day of destruction? they shall be brought forth to the day of wrath.
31 Who shall declare his way to his face? and who shall repay him what he hath done?
32 Yet shall he be brought to the grave, and shall remain in the tomb.
33 The clods of the valley shall be sweet unto him, and every man shall draw after him, as there are innumerable before him.
34 How then comfort ye me in vain, seeing in your answers there remaineth falsehood?

JOB CHAPTER 22
1 Then Eliphaz the Temanite answered and said,
2 Can a man be profitable unto God, as he that is wise may be profitable unto himself?
3 Is it any pleasure to the Almighty, that thou art righteous? or is it gain to him, that thou makest thy ways perfect?
4 Will he reprove thee for fear of thee? will he enter with thee into judgement?
5 Is not thy wickedness great? and thine iniquities infinite?
6 For thou hast taken a pledge from thy brother for nought, and stripped the naked of their clothing.
7 Thou hast not given water to the weary to drink, and thou hast withholden bread from the hungry.
8 But as for the mighty man, he had the earth; and the honourable man dwelt in it.
9 Thou hast sent widows away empty, and the arms of the fatherless have been broken.
10 Therefore snares are round about thee, and sudden fear troubleth thee;
11 Or darkness, that thou canst not see; and abundance of waters cover thee.
12 Is not God in the height of heaven? and behold the height of the stars, how high they are!
13 And thou sayest, How doth God know? can he judge through the dark cloud?
14 Thick clouds are a covering to him, that he seeth not; and he walketh in the circuit of heaven.
15 Hast thou marked the old way which wicked men have trodden?
16 Which were cut down out of time, whose foundation was overflown with a flood:
17 Which said unto God, Depart from us: and what can the Almighty do for them?
18 Yet he filled their houses with good things: but the counsel of the wicked is far from me.
19 The righteous see it, and are glad: and the innocent laugh them to scorn.
20 Whereas our substance is not cut down, but the remnant of them the fire consumeth.
21 Acquaint now thyself with him, and be at peace: thereby good shall come unto thee.
22 Receive, I pray thee, the law from his mouth, and lay up his words in thine heart.
23 If thou return to the Almighty, thou shalt be built up, thou shalt put away iniquity far from thy tabernacles.
24 Then shalt thou lay up gold as dust, and the gold of Ophir as the stones of the brooks.
25 Yea, the Almighty shall be thy defence, and thou shalt have plenty of silver.
26 For then shalt thou have thy delight in the Almighty, and shalt lift up thy face unto God.
27 Thou shalt make thy prayer unto him, and he shall hear thee, and thou shalt pay thy vows.
28 Thou shalt also decree a thing, and it shall be established unto thee: and the light shall shine upon thy ways.
29 When men are cast down, then thou shalt say, There is lifting up; and he shall save the humble person.
30 He shall deliver the island of the innocent: and it is delivered by the pureness of thine hands.

JOB CHAPTER 23
1 Then Job answered and said,
2 Even to day is my complaint bitter: my stroke is heavier than my groaning.
3 Oh that I knew where I might find him! that I might come even to his seat!
4 I would order my cause before him, and fill my mouth with arguments.
5 I would know the words which he would answer me, and understand what he would say unto me.
6 Will he plead against me with his great power? No; but he would put strength in me.
7 There the righteous might dispute with him; so should I be delivered for ever from my judge.
8 Behold, I go forward, but he is not there; and backward, but I cannot perceive him:
9 On the left hand, where he doth work, but I cannot behold him: he hideth himself on the right hand, that I cannot see him:
10 But he knoweth the way that I take: when he hath tried me, I shall come forth as gold.
11 My foot hath held his steps, his way have I kept, and not declined.
12 Neither have I gone back from the commandment of his lips; I have esteemed the words of his mouth more than my necessary food.
13 But he is in one mind, and who can turn him? and what his soul desireth, even that he doeth.
14 For he performeth the thing that is appointed for me: and many such things are with him.
15 Therefore am I troubled at his presence: when I consider, I am afraid of him.
16 For God maketh my heart soft, and the Almighty troubleth me:
17 Because I was not cut off before the darkness, neither hath he covered the darkness from my face.

JOB CHAPTER 24
1 Why, seeing times are not hidden from the Almighty, do they that know him not see his days?
2 Some remove the landmarks; they violently take away flocks, and feed thereof.
3 They drive away the ass of the fatherless, they take the widow's ox for a pledge.
4 They turn the needy out of the way: the poor of the earth hide themselves together.
5 Behold, as wild asses in the desert, go they forth to their work; rising betimes for a prey: the wilderness yieldeth food for them and for their children.
6 They reap every one his corn in the field: and they gather the vintage of the wicked.
7 They cause the naked to lodge without clothing, that they have no covering in the cold.
8 They are wet with the showers of the mountains, and embrace the rock for want of a shelter.
9 They pluck the fatherless from the breast, and take a pledge of the poor.
10 They cause him to go naked without clothing, and they take away the sheaf from the hungry;
11 Which make oil within their walls, and tread their winepresses, and suffer thirst.
12 Men groan from out of the city, and the soul of the wounded crieth out: yet God layeth not folly to them.
13 They are of those that rebel against the light; they know not the ways thereof, nor abide in the paths thereof.
14 The murderer rising with the light killeth the poor and needy, and in the night is as a thief.
15 The eye also of the adulterer waiteth for the twilight, saying, No eye shall see me: and disguiseth his face.
16 In the dark they dig through houses, which they had marked for themselves in the daytime: they know not the light.

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17 For the morning is to them even as the shadow of death: if one know them, they are in the terrors of the shadow of death.
18 He is swift as the waters; their portion is cursed in the earth: he beholdeth not the way of the vineyards.
19 Drought and heat consume the snow waters: so doth the grave those which have sinned.
20 The womb shall forget him; the worm shall feed sweetly on him; he shall be no more remembered; and wickedness shall be broken as a tree.
21 He evil entreateth the barren that beareth not: and doeth not good to the widow.
22 He draweth also the mighty with his power: he riseth up, and no man is sure of life.
23 Though it be given him to be in safety, whereon he resteth; yet his eyes are upon their ways.
24 They are exalted for a little while, but are gone and brought low; they are taken out of the way as all other, and cut off as the tops of the ears of corn.
25 And if it be not so now, who will make me a liar, and make my speech nothing worth?

JOB CHAPTER 25
1 Then answered Bildad the Shuhite, and said,
2 Dominion and fear are with him, he maketh peace in his high places.
3 Is there any number of his armies? and upon whom doth not his light arise?
4 How then can man be justified with God? or how can he be clean that is born of a woman?
5 Behold even to the moon, and it shineth not; yea, the stars are not pure in his sight.
6 How much less man, that is a worm? and the son of man, which is a worm?

JOB CHAPTER 26
1 But Job answered and said,
2 How hast thou helped him that is without power? how savest thou the arm that hath no strength?
3 How hast thou counselled him that hath no wisdom? and how hast thou plentifully declared the thing as it is?
4 To whom hast thou uttered words? and whose spirit came from thee?
5 Dead things are formed from under the waters, and the inhabitants thereof.
6 Hell is naked before him, and destruction hath no covering.
7 He stretcheth out the north over the empty place, and hangeth the earth upon nothing.
8 He bindeth up the waters in his thick clouds; and the cloud is not rent under them.
9 He holdeth back the face of his throne, and spreadeth his cloud upon it.
10 He hath compassed the waters with bounds, until the day and night come to an end.
11 The pillars of heaven tremble and are astonished at his reproof.
12 He divideth the sea with his power, and by his understanding he smiteth through the proud.
13 By his spirit he hath garnished the heavens; his hand hath formed the crooked serpent.
14 Lo, these are parts of his ways: but how little a portion is heard of him? but the thunder of his power who can understand?

JOB CHAPTER 27
1 Moreover Job continued his parable, and said,
2 As God liveth, who hath taken away my judgement; and the Almighty, who hath vexed my soul;
3 All the while my breath is in me, and the spirit of God is in my nostrils;
4 My lips shall not speak wickedness, nor my tongue utter deceit.
5 God forbid that I should justify you: till I die I will not remove mine integrity from me.
6 My righteousness I hold fast, and will not let it go: my heart shall not reproach me so long as I live.
7 Let mine enemy be as the wicked, and he that riseth up against me as the unrighteous.
8 For what is the hope of the hypocrite, though he hath gained, when God taketh away his soul?
9 Will God hear his cry when trouble cometh upon him?
10 Will he delight himself in the Almighty? will he always call upon God?
11 I will teach you by the hand of God: that which is with the Almighty will I not conceal.
12 Behold, all ye yourselves have seen it; why then are ye thus altogether vain?
13 This is the portion of a wicked man with God, and the heritage of oppressors, which they shall receive of the Almighty.
14 If his children be multiplied, it is for the sword: and his offspring shall not be satisfied with bread.
15 Those that remain of him shall be buried in death: and his widows shall not weep.
16 Though he heap up silver as the dust, and prepare raiment as the clay;
17 He may prepare it, but the just shall put it on, and the innocent shall divide the silver.
18 He buildeth his house as a moth, and as a booth that the keeper maketh.
19 The rich man shall lie down, but he shall not be gathered: he openeth his eyes, and he is not.
20 Terrors take hold on him as waters, a tempest stealeth him away in the night.
21 The east wind carrieth him away, and he departeth: and as a storm hurleth him out of his place.
22 For God shall cast upon him, and not spare: he would fain flee out of his hand.
23 Men shall clap their hands at him, and shall hiss him out of his place.

JOB CHAPTER 28
1 Surely there is a vein for the silver, and a place for gold where they fine it.
2 Iron is taken out of the earth, and brass is molten out of the stone.
3 He setteth an end to darkness, and searcheth out all perfection: the stones of darkness, and the shadow of death.
4 The flood breaketh out from the inhabitant; even the waters forgotten of the foot: they are dried up, they are gone away from men.
5 As for the earth, out of it cometh bread: and under it is turned up as it were fire.
6 The stones of it are the place of sapphires: and it hath dust of gold.
7 There is a path which no fowl knoweth, and which the vulture's eye hath not seen:
8 The lion's whelps have not trodden it, nor the fierce lion passed by it.
9 He putteth forth his hand upon the rock; he overturneth the mountains by the roots.
10 He cutteth out rivers among the rocks; and his eye seeth every precious thing.
11 He bindeth the floods from overflowing; and the thing that is hid bringeth he forth to light.
12 But where shall wisdom be found? and where is the place of understanding?
13 Man knoweth not the price thereof; neither is it found in the land of the living.
14 The depth saith, It is not in me: and the sea saith, It is not with me.
15 It cannot be gotten for gold, neither shall silver be weighed for the price thereof.
16 It cannot be valued with the gold of Ophir, with the precious onyx, or the sapphire.
17 The gold and the crystal cannot equal it: and the exchange of it shall not be for jewels of fine gold.
18 No mention shall be made of coral, or of pearls: for the price of wisdom is above rubies.
19 The topaz of Ethiopia shall not equal it, neither shall it be valued with pure gold.
20 Whence then cometh wisdom? and where is the place of understanding?
21 Seeing it is hid from the eyes of all living, and kept close from the fowls of the air.
22 Destruction and death say, We have heard the fame thereof with our ears.
23 God understandeth the way thereof, and he knoweth the place thereof.
24 For he looketh to the ends of the earth, and seeth under the whole heaven;
25 To make the weight for the winds; and he weigheth the waters by measure.
26 When he made a decree for the rain, and a way for the lightning of the thunder:
27 Then did he see it, and declare it; he prepared it, yea, and searched it out.
28 And unto man he said, Behold, the fear of the LORD, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil is understanding.

JOB CHAPTER 29
1 Moreover Job continued his parable, and said,
2 Oh that I were as in months past, as in the days when God preserved me;
3 When his candle shined upon my head, and when by his light I walked through darkness;
4 As I was in the days of my youth, when the secret of God was upon my tabernacle;
5 When the Almighty was yet with me, when my children were about me;
6 When I washed my steps with butter, and the rock poured me out rivers of oil;
7 When I went out to the gate through the city, when I prepared my seat in the street!
8 The young men saw me, and hid themselves: and the aged arose, and stood up.
9 The princes refrained talking, and laid their hand on their mouth.
10 The nobles held their peace, and their tongue cleaved to the roof of their mouth.
11 When the ear heard me, then it blessed me; and when the eye saw me, it gave witness to me:
12 Because I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him.
13 The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me: and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy.
14 I put on righteousness, and it clothed me: my judgement was as a robe and a diadem.
15 I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame.
16 I was a father to the poor: and the cause which I knew not I searched out.
17 And I brake the jaws of the wicked, and plucked the spoil out of his teeth.
18 Then I said, I shall die in my nest, and I shall multiply my days as the sand.
19 My root was spread out by the waters, and the dew lay all night upon my branch.
20 My glory was fresh in me, and my bow was renewed in my hand.
21 Unto me men gave ear, and waited, and kept silence at my counsel.
22 After my words they spake not again; and my speech dropped upon them.
23 And they waited for me as for the rain; and they opened their mouth wide as for the latter rain.
24 If I laughed on them, they believed it not; and the light of my countenance they cast not down.
25 I chose out their way, and sat chief, and dwelt as a king in the army, as one that comforteth the mourners.

JOB CHAPTER 30
1 But now they that are younger than I have me in derision, whose fathers I would have disdained to have set with the dogs of my flock.
2 Yea, whereto might the strength of their hands profit me, in whom old age was perished?
3 For want and famine they were solitary; fleeing into the wilderness in former time desolate and waste.
4 Who cut up mallows by the bushes, and juniper roots for their meat.
5 They were driven forth from among men, (they cried after them as after a thief;)
6 To dwell in the cliffs of the valleys, in caves of the earth, and in the rocks.
7 Among the bushes they brayed; under the nettles they were gathered together.
8 They were children of fools, yea, children of base men: they were viler than the earth.
9 And now am I their song, yea, I am their byword.
10 They abhor me, they flee far from me, and spare not to spit in my face.
11 Because he hath loosed my cord, and afflicted me, they have also let loose the bridle before me.
12 Upon my right hand rise the youth; they push away my feet, and they raise up against me the ways of their destruction.
13 They mar my path, they set forward my calamity, they have no helper.
14 They came upon me as a wide breaking in of waters: in the desolation they rolled themselves upon me.
15 Terrors are turned upon me: they pursue my soul as the wind: and my welfare passeth away as a cloud.
16 And now my soul is poured out upon me; the days of affliction have taken hold upon me.
17 My bones are pierced in me in the night season: and my sinews take no rest.
18 By the great force of my disease is my garment changed: it bindeth me about as the collar of my coat.
19 He hath cast me into the mire, and I am become like dust and ashes.
20 I cry unto thee, and thou dost not hear me: I stand up, and thou regardest me not.
21 Thou art become cruel to me: with thy strong hand thou opposest thyself against me.
22 Thou liftest me up to the wind; thou causest me to ride upon it, and dissolvest my substance.
23 For I know that thou wilt bring me to death, and to the house appointed for all living.
24 Howbeit he will not stretch out his hand to the grave, though they cry in his destruction.
25 Did not I weep for him that was in trouble? was not my soul grieved for the poor?
26 When I looked for good, then evil came unto me: and when I waited for light, there came darkness.
27 My bowels boiled, and rested not: the days of affliction prevented me.
28 I went mourning without the sun: I stood up, and I cried in the congregation.
29 I am a brother to dragons, and a companion to owls.
30 My skin is black upon me, and my bones are burned with heat.

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31 My harp also is turned to mourning, and my organ into the voice of them that weep.

JOB CHAPTER 31

1 I made a covenant with mine eyes; why then should I think upon a maid?
2 For what portion of God is there from above? and what inheritance of the Almighty from on high?
3 Is not destruction to the wicked? and a strange punishment to the workers of iniquity?
4 Doth not he see my ways, and count all my steps?
5 If I have walked with vanity, or if my foot hath hasted to deceit;
6 Let me be weighed in an even balance that God may know mine integrity.
7 If my step hath turned out of the way, and mine heart walked after mine eyes, and if any blot hath cleaved to mine hands;
8 Then let me sow, and let another eat; yea, let my offspring be rooted out.
9 If mine heart have been deceived by a woman, or if I have laid wait at my neighbour's door;
10 Then let my wife grind unto another, and let others bow down upon her.
11 For this is an heinous crime; yea, it is an iniquity to be punished by the judges.
12 For it is a fire that consumeth to destruction, and would root out all mine increase.
13 If I did despise the cause of my manservant or of my maidservant, when they contended with me;
14 What then shall I do when God riseth up? and when he visiteth, what shall I answer him?
15 Did not he that made me in the womb make him? and did not one fashion us in the womb?
16 If I have withheld the poor from their desire, or have caused the eyes of the widow to fail;
17 Or have eaten my morsel myself alone, and the fatherless hath not eaten thereof;
18 (For from my youth he was brought up with me, as with a father, and I have guided her from my mother's womb;)
19 If I have seen any perish for want of clothing, or any poor without covering;
20 If his loins have not blessed me, and if he were not warmed with the fleece of my sheep;
21 If I have lifted up my hand against the fatherless, when I saw my help in the gate:
22 Then let mine arm fall from my shoulder blade, and mine arm be broken from the bone.
23 For destruction from God was a terror to me, and by reason of his highness I could not endure.
24 If I have made gold my hope, or have said to the fine gold, Thou art my confidence;
25 If I rejoice because my wealth was great, and because mine hand had gotten much;
26 If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness;
27 And my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand:
28 This also were an iniquity to be punished by the judge: for I should have denied the God that is above.
29 If I rejoice at the destruction of him that hated me, or lifted up myself when evil found him:
30 Neither have I suffered my mouth to sin by wishing a curse to his soul.
31 If the men of my tabernacle said not, Oh that we had of his flesh! we cannot be satisfied.
32 The stranger did not lodge in the street: but I opened my doors to the traveller.
33 If I covered my transgressions as Adam, by hiding mine iniquity in my bosom:
34 Did I fear a great multitude, or did the contempt of families terrify me, that I kept silence, and went not out of the door?
35 Oh that one would hear me! behold, my desire is, that the Almighty would answer me, and that mine adversary had written a book.
36 Surely I would take it upon my shoulder, and bind it as a crown to me.
37 I would declare unto him the number of my steps; as a prince would I go near unto him.
38 If my land cry against me, or that the furrows likewise thereof complain;
39 If I have eaten the fruits thereof without money, or have caused the owners thereof to lose their life:
40 Let thistles grow instead of wheat, and cockle instead of barley. The words of Job are ended.

JOB CHAPTER 32

1 So these three men ceased to answer Job, because he was righteous in his own eyes.
2 Then was kindled the wrath of Elihu the son of Barachel the Buzite, of the kindred of Ram: against Job was his wrath kindled, because he justified himself rather than God.
3 Also against his three friends was his wrath kindled, because they had found no answer, and yet had condemned Job.
4 Now Elihu had waited till Job had spoken, because they were elder than he.
5 When Elihu saw that there was no answer in the mouth of these three men, then his wrath was kindled.
6 And Elihu the son of Barachel the Buzite answered and said, I am young, and ye are very old; wherefore I was afraid, and durst not shew you mine opinion.
7 I said, Days should speak, and multitude of years should teach wisdom.
8 But there is a spirit in man: and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding.
9 Great men are not always wise: neither do the aged understand judgement.
10 Therefore I said, Hearken to me; I also will shew mine opinion.
11 Behold, I waited for your words; I gave ear to your reasons, whilst ye searched out what to say.
12 Yea, I attended unto you, and, behold, there was none of you that convinced Job, or that answered his words:
13 Lest ye should say, We have found out wisdom: God thrusteth him down, not man.
14 Now he hath not directed his words against me: neither will I answer him with your speeches.
15 They were amazed, they answered no more: they left off speaking.
16 When I had waited, (for they spake not, but stood still, and answered no more;)
17 I said, I will answer also my part, I also will shew mine opinion.
18 For I am full of matter, the spirit within me constraineth me.
19 Behold, my belly is as wine which hath no vent; it is ready to burst like new bottles.
20 I will speak, that I may be refreshed: I will open my lips and answer.
21 Let me not, I pray you, accept any man's person, neither let me give flattering titles unto man.
22 For I know not to give flattering titles; in so doing my maker would soon take me away.

JOB CHAPTER 33

1 Wherefore, Job, I pray thee, hear my speeches, and hearken to all my words.
2 Behold, now I have opened my mouth, my tongue hath spoken in my mouth.
3 My words shall be of the uprightness of my heart: and my lips shall utter knowledge clearly.
4 The spirit of God hath made me, and the breath of the Almighty hath given me life.
5 If thou canst answer me, set thy words in order before me, stand up.
6 Behold, I am according to thy wish in God's stead: I also am formed out of the clay.
7 Behold, my terror shall not make thee afraid, neither shall my hand be heavy upon thee.
8 Surely thou hast spoken in mine hearing, and I have heard the voice of thy words, saying,
9 I am clean without transgression, I am innocent; neither is there iniquity in me.
10 Behold, he findeth occasions against me, he counteth me for his enemy,
11 He putteth my feet in the stocks, he marketh all my paths.
12 Behold, in this thou art not just: I will answer thee, that God is greater than man.
13 Why dost thou strive against him? for he giveth not account of any of his matters.
14 For God speaketh once, yea twice, yet man perceiveth it not.
15 In a dream, in a vision of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon men, in slumberings upon the bed;
16 Then he openeth the ears of men, and sealeth their instruction,
17 That he may withdraw man from his purpose, and hide pride from man.
18 He keepeth back his soul from the pit, and his life from perishing by the sword.
19 He is chastened also with pain upon his bed, and the multitude of his bones with strong pain:
20 So that his life abhorreth bread, and his soul dainty meat.
21 His flesh is consumed away, that it cannot be seen; and his bones that were not seen stick out.
22 Yea, his soul draweth near unto the grave, and his life to the destroyers.
23 If there be a messenger with him, an interpreter, one among a thousand, to shew unto man his uprightness:
24 Then he is gracious unto him, and saith, Deliver him from going down to the pit: I have found a ransom.
25 His flesh shall be fresher than a child's: he shall return to the days of his youth:
26 He shall pray unto God, and he will be favourable unto him: and he shall see his face with joy: for he will render unto man his righteousness.
27 He looketh upon men, and if any say, I have sinned, and perverted that which was right, and it profited me not;
28 He will deliver his soul from going into the pit, and his life shall see the light.
29 Lo, all these things worketh God oftentimes with man,
30 To bring back his soul from the pit, to be enlightened with the light of the living.
31 Mark well, O Job, hearken unto me: hold thy peace, and I will speak.
32 If thou hast anything to say, answer me: speak, for I desire to justify thee.
33 If not, hearken unto me: hold thy peace, and I shall teach thee wisdom.

JOB CHAPTER 34

1 Furthermore Elihu answered and said,
2 Hear my words, O ye wise men; and give ear unto me, ye that have knowledge.
3 For the ear trieth words, as the mouth tasteth meat.
4 Let us choose to us judgement: let us know among ourselves what is good.
5 For Job hath said, I am righteous: and God hath taken away my judgement.
6 Should I lie against my right? my wound is incurable without transgression.
7 What man is like Job, who drinketh up scorning like water?
8 Which goeth in company with the workers of iniquity, and walketh with wicked men.
9 For he hath said, It profiteth a man nothing that he should delight himself with God.
10 Therefore hearken unto me ye men of understanding: far be it from God, that he should do wickedness; and from the Almighty, that he should commit iniquity.
11 For the work of a man shall he render unto him, and cause every man to find according to his ways.
12 Yea, surely God will not do wickedly, neither will the Almighty pervert judgement.
13 Who hath given him a charge over the earth? or who hath disposed the whole world?
14 If he set his heart upon man, if he gather unto himself his spirit and his breath;
15 All flesh shall perish together, and man shall turn again unto dust.
16 If now thou hast understanding, hear this: hearken to the voice of my words.
17 Shall even he that hateth right govern? and wilt thou condemn him that is most just?
18 Is it fit to say to a king, Thou art wicked? and to princes, Ye are ungodly?
19 How much less to him that accepteth not the persons of princes, nor regardeth the rich more than the poor? for they all are the work of his hands.
20 In a moment shall they die, and the people shall be troubled at midnight, and pass away: and the mighty shall be taken away without hand.
21 For his eyes are upon the ways of man, and he seeth all his goings.
22 There is no darkness, nor shadow of death, where the workers of iniquity may hide themselves.
23 For he will not lay upon man more than right; that he should enter into judgement with God.
24 He shall break in pieces mighty men without number, and set others in their stead.
25 Therefore he knoweth their works, and he overturneth them in the night, so that they are destroyed.
26 He striketh them as wicked men in the open sight of others;
27 Because they turned back from him, and would not consider any of his ways:
28 So that they cause the cry of the poor to come unto him, and he heareth the cry of the afflicted.
29 When he giveth quietness, who then can make trouble? and when he hideth his face, who then can behold him? whether it be done against a nation, or against a man only:
30 That the hypocrite reign not, lest the people be ensnared.
31 Surely it is meet to be said unto God, I have borne chastisement, I will not offend any more:
32 That which I see not teach thou me: if I have done iniquity, I will do no more.
33 Should it be according to thy mind? he will recompense it, whether thou refuse, or whether thou choose; and not I: therefore speak what thou knowest.
34 Let men of understanding tell me, and let a wise man hearken unto me.
35 Job hath spoken without knowledge, and his words were without wisdom.
36 My desire is that Job may be tried unto the end because of his answers for wicked men.
37 For he addeth rebellion unto his sin, he clappeth his hands among us, and multiplieth his words against God.

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JOB CHAPTER 35

1 Elihu spake moreover, and said,
2 Thinkest thou this to be right, that thou saidst, My righteousness is more than God's?
3 For thou saidst, What advantage will it be unto thee? and, What profit shall I have, if I be cleansed from my sin?
4 I will answer thee, and thy companions with thee.
5 Look unto the heavens, and see; and behold the clouds which are higher than thou.
6 If thou sinnest, what doest thou against him? or if thy transgressions be multiplied, what doest thou unto him?
7 If thou be righteous, what givest thou him? or what receiveth he of thine hand?
8 Thy wickedness may hurt a man as thou art; and thy righteousness may profit the son of man.
9 By reason of the multitude of oppressions they make the oppressed to cry: they cry out by reason of the arm of the mighty.
10 But none saith, Where is God my maker, who giveth songs in the night;
11 Who teacheth us more than the beasts of the earth, and maketh us wiser than the fowls of heaven?
12 There they cry, but none giveth answer, because of the pride of evil men.
13 Surely God will not hear vanity, neither will the Almighty regard it.
14 Although thou sayest thou shalt not see him, yet judgement is before him; therefore trust thou in him.
15 But now, because it is not so, he hath visited in his anger; yet he knoweth it not in great extremity:
16 Therefore doth Job open his mouth in vain; he multiplieth words without knowledge.

JOB CHAPTER 36

1 Elihu also proceeded, and said,
2 Suffer me a little, and I will shew thee that I have yet to speak on God's behalf.
3 I will fetch my knowledge from afar, and will ascribe righteousness to my Maker.
4 For truly my words shall not be false: he that is perfect in knowledge is with thee.
5 Behold, God is mighty, and despiseth not any: he is mighty in strength and wisdom.
6 He preserveth not the life of the wicked: but giveth right to the poor.
7 He withdraweth not his eyes from the righteous: but with kings are they on the throne; yea, he doth establish them for ever, and they are exalted.
8 And if they be bound in fetters, and be holden in cords of affliction;
9 Then he sheweth them their work, and their transgressions that they have exceeded.
10 He openeth also their ear to discipline, and commandeth that they return from iniquity.
11 If they obey and serve him, they shall spend their days in prosperity, and their years in pleasures.
12 But if they obey not, they shall perish by the sword, and they shall die without knowledge.
13 But the hypocrites in heart heap up wrath: they cry not when he bindeth them.
14 They die in youth, and their life is among the unclean.
15 He delivereth the poor in his affliction, and openeth their ears in oppression.
16 Even so would he have removed thee out of the strait into a broad place, where there is no straitness; and that which should be set on thy table should be full of fatness.
17 But thou hast fulfilled the judgement of the wicked: judgement and justice take hold on thee.
18 Because there is wrath, beware lest he take thee away with his stroke: then a great ransom cannot deliver thee.
19 Will he esteem thy riches? no, not gold, nor all the forces of strength.
20 Desire not the night, when people are cut off in their place.
21 Take heed, regard not iniquity: for this hast thou chosen rather than affliction.
22 Behold, God exalteth by his power: who teacheth like him?
23 Who hath enjoined him his way? or who can say, Thou hast wrought iniquity?
24 Remember that thou magnify his work, which men behold.
25 Every man may see it; man may behold it afar off.
26 Behold, God is great, and we know him not, neither can the number of his years be searched out.
27 For he maketh small the drops of water: they pour down rain according to the vapour thereof:
28 Which the clouds do drop and distil upon man abundantly.
29 Also can any understand the spreadings of the clouds, or the noise of his tabernacle?
30 Behold, he spreadeth his light upon it, and covereth the bottom of the sea.
31 For by them judgeth he the people; he giveth meat in abundance.
32 With clouds he covereth the light; and commandeth it not to shine by the cloud that cometh betwixt.
33 The noise thereof sheweth concerning it, the cattle also concerning the vapour.

JOB CHAPTER 37

1 At this also my heart trembleth, and is moved out of his place.
2 Hear attentively the noise of his voice, and the sound that goeth out of his mouth.
3 He directeth it under the whole heaven, and his lightning unto the ends of the earth.
4 After it a voice roareth: he thundereth with the voice of his excellency; and he will not stay them when his voice is heard.
5 God thundereth marvellously with his voice; great things doeth he, which we cannot comprehend.
6 For he saith to the snow, Be thou on the earth; likewise to the small rain, and to the great rain of his strength.
7 He sealeth up the hand of every man; that all men may know his work.
8 Then the beasts go into dens, and remain in their places.
9 Out of the south cometh the whirlwind: and cold out of the north.
10 By the breath of God frost is given: and the breadth of the waters is straitened.
11 Also by watering he wearieth the thick cloud: he scattereth his bright cloud:
12 And it is turned round about by his counsels: that they may do whatsoever he commandeth them upon the face of the world in the earth.
13 He causeth it to come, whether for correction, or for his land, or for mercy.
14 Hearken unto this, O Job: stand still, and consider the wondrous works of God.
15 Dost thou know when God disposed them, and caused the light of his cloud to shine?
16 Dost thou know the balancings of the clouds, the wondrous works of him which is perfect in knowledge?
17 How thy garments are warm, when he quieteth the earth by the south wind?
18 Hast thou with him spread out the sky, which is strong, and as a molten looking glass?
19 Teach us what we shall say unto him; for we cannot order our speech by reason of darkness.
20 Shall it be told him that I speak? if a man speak, surely he shall be swallowed up.
21 And now men see not the bright light which is in the clouds: but the wind passeth, and cleanseth them.
22 Fair weather cometh out of the north: with God is terrible majesty.
23 Touching the Almighty, we cannot find him out: he is excellent in power, and in judgement, and in plenty of justice: he will not afflict.
24 Men do therefore fear him: he respecteth not any that are wise of heart.

JOB CHAPTER 38

1 Then the LORD answered Job out of the whirlwind, and said,
2 Who is this that darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge?
3 Gird up now thy loins like a man; for I will demand of thee, and answer thou me.
4 Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth? declare, if thou hast understanding.
5 Who hath laid the measures thereof, if thou knowest? or who hath stretched the line upon it?
6 Whereupon are the foundations thereof fastened? or who laid the corner stone thereof;
7 When the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy?
8 Or who shut up the sea with doors, when it brake forth, as if it had issued out of the womb?
9 When I made the cloud the garment thereof, and thick darkness a swaddlingband for it,
10 And brake up for it my decreed place, and set bars and doors,
11 And said, Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further: and here shall thy proud waves be stayed?
12 Hast thou commanded the morning since thy days; and caused the dayspring to know his place;
13 That it might take hold of the ends of the earth, that the wicked might be shaken out of it?
14 It is turned as clay to the seal; and they stand as a garment.
15 And from the wicked their light is withholden, and the high arm shall be broken.
16 Hast thou entered into the springs of the sea? or hast thou walked in the search of the depth?
17 Have the gates of death been opened unto thee? or hast thou seen the doors of the shadow of death?
18 Hast thou perceived the breadth of the earth? declare if thou knowest it all.
19 Where is the way where light dwelleth? and as for darkness, where is the place thereof,
20 That thou shouldest take it to the bound thereof, and that thou shouldest know the paths to the house thereof?
21 Knowest thou it, because thou wast then born? or because the number of thy days is great?
22 Hast thou entered into the treasures of the snow? or hast thou seen the treasures of the hail,
23 Which I have reserved against the time of trouble, against the day of battle and war?
24 By what way is the light parted, which scattereth the east wind upon the earth?
25 Who hath divided a watercourse for the overflowing of waters, or a way for the lightning of thunder;
26 To cause it to rain on the earth, where no man is; on the wilderness, wherein there is no man;
27 To satisfy the desolate and waste ground; and to cause the bud of the tender herb to spring forth?
28 Hath the rain a father? or who hath begotten the drops of dew?
29 Out of whose womb came the ice? and the hoary frost of heaven, who hath gendered it?
30 The waters are hid as with a stone, and the face of the deep is frozen.
31 Canst thou bind the sweet influences of Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion?
32 Canst thou bring forth Mazzaroth in his season? or canst thou guide Arcturus with his sons?
33 Knowest thou the ordinances of heaven? canst thou set the dominion thereof in the earth?
34 Canst thou lift up thy voice to the clouds, that abundance of waters may cover thee?
35 Canst thou send lightnings, that they may go and say unto thee, Here we are?
36 Who hath put wisdom in the inward parts? or who hath given understanding to the heart?
37 Who can number the clouds in wisdom? or who can stay the bottles of heaven,
38 When the dust groweth into hardness, and the clods cleave fast together?
39 Wilt thou hunt the prey for the lion? or fill the appetite of the young lions,
40 When they couch in their dens, and abide in the covert to lie in wait?
41 Who provideth for the raven his food? when his young ones cry unto God, they wander for lack of meat.

JOB CHAPTER 39

1 Knowest thou the time when the wild goats of the rock bring forth? or canst thou mark when the hinds do calve?
2 Canst thou number the months that they fulfil? or knowest thou the time when they bring forth?
3 They bow themselves, they bring forth their young ones, they cast out their sorrows.
4 Their young ones are in good liking, they grow up with corn; they go forth, and return not unto them.
5 Who hath sent out the wild ass free? or who hath loosed the bands of the wild ass?
6 Whose house I have made the wilderness, and the barren land his dwellings.
7 He scorneth the multitude of the city, neither regardeth he the crying of the driver.
8 The range of the mountains is his pasture, and he searcheth after every green thing.
9 Will the unicorn be willing to serve thee, or abide by thy crib?
10 Canst thou bind the unicorn with his band in the furrow? or will he harrow the valleys after thee?
11 Wilt thou trust him, because his strength is great? or wilt thou leave thy labour to him?
12 Wilt thou believe him, that he will bring home thy seed, and gather it into thy barn?
13 Gavest thou the goodly wings unto the peacocks? or wings and feathers unto the ostrich?
14 Which leaveth her eggs in the earth, and warmeth them in dust,
15 And forgetteth that the foot may crush them, or that the wild beast may break them.
16 She is hardened against her young ones, as though they were not her's: her labour is in vain without fear;
17 Because God hath deprived her of wisdom, neither hath he imparted to her understanding.
18 What time she lifteth up herself on high, she scorneth the horse and his rider.
19 Hast thou given the horse strength? hast thou clothed his neck with thunder?
20 Canst thou make him afraid as a grasshopper? the glory of his nostrils is terrible.
21 He paweth in the valley, and rejoiceth in his strength: he goeth on to meet the armed men.
22 He mocketh at fear, and is not affrighted; neither turneth he back from the sword.

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23 The quiver rattleth against him, the glittering spear and the shield.
24 He swalloweth the ground with fierceness and rage: neither believeth he that it is the sound of the trumpet.
25 He saith among the trumpets, Ha, ha; and he smelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains, and the shouting.
26 Doth the hawk fly by thy wisdom, and stretch her wings toward the south?
27 Doth the eagle mount up at thy command, and make her nest on high?
28 She dwelleth and abideth on the rock, upon the crag of the rock, and the strong place.
29 From thence she seeketh the prey, and her eyes behold afar off.
30 Her young ones also suck up blood: and where the slain are, there is she.

JOB CHAPTER 40
1 Moreover the LORD answered Job, and said,
2 Shall he that contendeth with the Almighty instruct him? he that reproveth God, let him answer it.
3 Then Job answered the LORD, and said,
4 Behold, I am vile; what shall I answer thee? I will lay mine hand upon my mouth.
5 Once have I spoken; but I will not answer: yea, twice; but I will proceed no further.
6 Then answered the LORD unto Job out of the whirlwind, and said,
7 Gird up thy loins now like a man: I will demand of thee, and declare thou unto me.
8 Wilt thou also disannul my judgement? wilt thou condemn me, that thou mayest be righteous?
9 Hast thou an arm like God? or canst thou thunder with a voice like him?
10 Deck thyself now with majesty and excellency; and array thyself with glory and beauty.
11 Cast abroad the rage of thy wrath: and behold every one that is proud, and abase him.
12 Look on every one that is proud, and bring him low; and tread down the wicked in their place.
13 Hide them in the dust together; and bind their faces in secret.
14 Then will I also confess unto thee that thine own right hand can save thee.
15 Behold now behemoth, which I made with thee; he eateth grass as an ox.
16 Lo now, his strength is in his loins, and his force is in the navel of his belly.
17 He moveth his tail like a cedar: the sinews of his stones are wrapped together.
18 His bones are as strong pieces of brass; his bones are like bars of iron.
19 He is the chief of the ways of God: he that made him can make his sword to approach unto him.
20 Surely the mountains bring him forth food, where all the beasts of the field play.
21 He lieth under the shady trees, in the covert of the reed, and fens.
22 The shady trees cover him with their shadow; the willows of the brook compass him about.
23 Behold, he drinketh up a river, and hasteth not: he trusteth that he can draw up Jordan into his mouth.
24 He taketh it with his eyes: his nose pierceth through snares.

JOB CHAPTER 41
1 Canst thou draw out leviathan with an hook? or his tongue with a cord which thou lettest down?
2 Canst thou put an hook into his nose? or bore his jaw through with a thorn?
3 Will he make many supplications unto thee? will he speak soft words unto thee?
4 Will he make a covenant with thee? wilt thou take him for a servant for ever?
5 Wilt thou play with him as with a bird? or wilt thou bind him for thy maidens?
6 Shall the companions make a banquet of him? shall they part him among the merchants?
7 Canst thou fill his skin with barbed irons? or his head with fish spears?
8 Lay thine hand upon him, remember the battle, do no more.
9 Behold, the hope of him is in vain: shall not one be cast down even at the sight of him?
10 None is so fierce that dare stir him up: who then is able to stand before me?
11 Who hath prevented me, that I should repay him? whatsoever is under the whole heaven is mine.
12 I will not conceal his parts, nor his power, nor his comely proportion.
13 Who can discover the face of his garment? or who can come to him with his double bridle?
14 Who can open the doors of his face? his teeth are terrible round about.
15 His scales are his pride, shut up together as with a close seal.
16 One is so near to another, that no air can come between them.
17 They are joined one to another, they stick together, that they cannot be sundered.
18 By his neesings a light doth shine, and his eyes are like the eyelids of the morning.
19 Out of his mouth go burning lamps, and sparks of fire leap out.
20 Out of his nostrils goeth smoke, as out of a seething pot or caldron.
21 His breath kindleth coals, and a flame goeth out of his mouth.
22 In his neck remaineth strength, and sorrow is turned into joy before him.
23 The flakes of his flesh are joined together: they are firm in themselves; they cannot be moved.
24 His heart is as firm as a stone; yea, as hard as a piece of the nether millstone.
25 When he raiseth up himself, the mighty are afraid: by reason of breakings they purify themselves.
26 The sword of him that layeth at him cannot hold: the spear, the dart, nor the habergeon.
27 He esteemeth iron as straw, and brass as rotten wood.
28 The arrow cannot make him flee: slingstones are turned with him into stubble.
29 Darts are counted as stubble: he laugheth at the shaking of a spear.
30 Sharp stones are under him: he spreadeth sharp pointed things upon the mire.
31 He maketh the deep to boil like a pot: he maketh the sea like a pot of ointment.
32 He maketh a path to shine after him; one would think the deep to be hoary.
33 Upon earth there is not his like, who is made without fear.
34 He beholdeth all high things: he is a king over all the children of pride.

JOB CHAPTER 42
1 Then Job answered the LORD, and said,
2 I know that thou canst do every thing, and that no thought can be withholden from thee.
3 Who is he that hideth counsel without knowledge? therefore have I uttered that I understood not; things too wonderful for me, which I knew not.
4 Hear, I beseech thee, and I will speak: I will demand of thee, and declare thou unto me.
5 I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear: but now mine eye seeth thee.
6 Wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes.
7 And it was so, that after the LORD had spoken these words unto Job, the LORD said to Eliphaz the Temanite, My wrath is kindled against thee, and against thy two friends: for ye have not spoken of me the thing that is right, as my servant Job hath.
8 Therefore take unto you now seven bullocks and seven rams, and go to my servant Job, and offer up for yourselves a burnt offering; and my servant Job shall pray for you: for him will I accept: lest I deal with you after your folly, in that ye have not spoken of me the thing which is right, like my servant Job.
9 So Eliphaz the Temanite and Bildad the Shuhite and Zophar the Naamathite went, and did according as the LORD commanded them: the LORD also accepted Job.
10 And the LORD turned the captivity of Job, when he prayed for his friends: also the LORD gave Job twice as much as he had before.
11 Then came there unto him all his brethren, and all his sisters, and all they that had been of his acquaintance before, and did eat bread with him in his house: and they bemoaned him, and comforted him over all the evil that the LORD had brought upon him: every man also gave him a piece of money, and every one an earring of gold.
12 So the LORD blessed the latter end of Job more than his beginning: for he had fourteen thousand sheep, and six thousand camels, and a thousand yoke of oxen, and a thousand she asses.
13 He had also seven sons and three daughters.
14 And he called the name of the first, Jemima; and the name of the second, Kezia; and the name of the third, Kerenhappuch.
15 And in all the land were no women found so fair as the daughters of Job: and their father gave them inheritance among their brethren.
16 After this lived Job an hundred and forty years, and saw his sons, and his sons' sons, even four generations.
17 So Job died, being old and full of days.

HAMESH MEGILLOT
The Five Lectionary Scrolls
(Song of Songs, Book of Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Book of Esther)

THE SCROLL OF THE SONG OF SONGS
Song of Solomon or Song for Solomon
Hebrew title: Megilath Shir Hashirim
Estimated Range of Dating: 4th to 3rd centuries B.C.

(The Song of Songs, also Song of Solomon or Canticles (Hebrew: Shir Hashirim, Greek and Ancient Greek: Asma Asmaton; Latin: Canticum Canticorum), is one of the megillot (scrolls) found in the last section of the Tanakh, known as the Ketuvim (or "Writings"), and a book of the Old Testament. The Song of Songs is unique within the Hebrew Bible: it shows no interest in Law or Covenant or the God of Israel, nor does it teach or explore wisdom like Proverbs or Ecclesiastes (although it does have some affinities to wisdom literature, as the ascription to Solomon indicates); instead, it celebrates sexual love, giving "the voices of two lovers, praising each other, yearning for each other, proffering invitations to enjoy". The two are in harmony, each desiring the other and rejoicing in sexual intimacy; the women of Jerusalem form a chorus to the lovers, functioning as an audience whose participation in the lovers' erotic encounters facilitates the participation of the reader.

The Song offers no clue to its author or to the date, place, or circumstances of its composition. The superscription states that it is "Solomon's", but even if this is meant to identify the author, it cannot be read as strictly as a similar modern statement. The most reliable evidence for its date is its language: Aramaic gradually replaced Hebrew after the end of the Babylonian exile in the late 6th century BC, and the evidence of vocabulary, morphology, idiom and syntax clearly points to a late date, centuries after King Solomon to whom it is traditionally attributed.

It has parallels with Mesopotamian and Egyptian love poetry from the first half of the 1st millennium, and with the pastoral idylls of Theocritus, a Greek poet who wrote in the first half of the 3rd century BC; as a result of these conflicting signs, speculation ranges from the 10th to the 2nd centuries BC, with the language supporting a date around the 3rd century.

There is widespread consensus that, although the book has no plot, it does have what can be called a framework, as indicated by the links between its beginning and end. Beyond this, however, there appears to be little agreement and attempts to find a structure can only be indicative:

- *Introduction (1:1–6)*
- *Dialogue between the lovers (1:7–2:7)*
- *The woman recalls a visit from her lover (2:8–17)*
- *The woman addresses the daughters of Zion (3:1–5)*
- *Sighting a royal wedding procession (3:6–11)*
- *The man describes his lover's beauty (4:1–5:1)*
- *The woman addresses the daughters of Jerusalem (5:2–6:4)*
- *The man describes his lover, who visits him (6:5–12)*
- *Observers describe the woman's beauty (6:13–8:4)*
- *Appendix (8:5–14)*

In modern Judaism the Song is read on the Sabbath during the Passover, which marks the beginning of the grain harvest as well as commemorating the Exodus from Egypt. Jewish tradition reads it as an allegory of the relationship between God and Israel, Christianity as an allegory of Christ and his "bride", the Church.)

SONG OF SOLOMON (CANTICLES) CHAPTER 1
1 The song of songs, which is Solomon's.
2 Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth: for thy love is better than wine.
3 Because of the savour of thy good ointments thy name is as ointment poured forth, therefore do the virgins love thee.
4 Draw me, we will run after thee: the king hath brought me into his chambers: we will be glad and rejoice in thee, we will remember thy love more than wine: the upright love thee.
5 I am black, but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, as the tents of Kedar, as the curtains of Solomon.
6 Look not upon me, because I am black, because the sun hath looked upon me: my mother's children were angry with me; they made me the keeper of the vineyards; but mine own vineyard have I not kept.
7 Tell me, O thou whom my soul loveth, where thou feedest, where thou makest thy flock to rest at noon: for why should I be as one that turneth aside by the flocks of thy companions?
8 If thou know not, O thou fairest among women, go thy way forth by the footsteps of the flock, and feed thy kids beside the shepherds' tents.
9 I have compared thee, O my love, to a company of horses in Pharaoh's chariots.
10 Thy cheeks are comely with rows of jewels, thy neck with chains of gold.
11 We will make thee borders of gold with studs of silver.
12 While the king sitteth at his table, my spikenard sendeth forth the smell thereof.

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13 A bundle of myrrh is my well-beloved unto me; he shall lie all night betwixt my breasts.
14 My beloved is unto me as a cluster of camphire in the vineyards of Engedi.
15 Behold, thou art fair, my love; behold, thou art fair; thou hast doves' eyes.
16 Behold, thou art fair, my beloved, yea, pleasant: also our bed is green.
17 The beams of our house are cedar, and our rafters of fir.

SONG OF SOLOMON (CANTICLES) CHAPTER 2
1 I am the rose of Sharon, and the lily of the valleys.
2 As the lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters.
3 As the apple tree among the trees of the wood, so is my beloved among the sons. I sat down under his shadow with great delight, and his fruit was sweet to my taste.
4 He brought me to the banqueting house, and his banner over me was love.
5 Stay me with flagons, comfort me with apples: for I am sick of love.
6 His left hand is under my head, and his right hand doth embrace me.
7 I charge you, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, by the roes, and by the hinds of the field, that ye stir not up, nor awake my love, till he please.
8 The voice of my beloved! behold, he cometh leaping upon the mountains, skipping upon the hills.
9 My beloved is like a roe or a young hart: behold, he standeth behind our wall, he looketh forth at the windows, shewing himself through the lattice.
10 My beloved spake, and said unto me, Rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away.
11 For, lo, the winter is past, the rain is over and gone;
12 The flowers appear on the earth; the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land;
13 The fig tree putteth forth her green figs, and the vines with the tender grape give a good smell. Arise, my love, my fair one, and come away.
14 O my dove, that art in the clefts of the rock, in the secret places of the stairs, let me see thy countenance, let me hear thy voice; for sweet is thy voice, and thy countenance is comely.
15 Take us the foxes, the little foxes, that spoil the vines: for our vines have tender grapes.
16 My beloved is mine, and I am his: he feedeth among the lilies.
17 Until the day break, and the shadows flee away, turn, my beloved, and be thou like a roe or a young hart upon the mountains of Bether.

SONG OF SOLOMON (CANTICLES) CHAPTER 3
1 By night on my bed I sought him whom my soul loveth: I sought him, but I found him not.
2 I will rise now, and go about the city in the streets, and in the broad ways I will seek him whom my soul loveth: I sought him, but I found him not.
3 The watchmen that go about the city found me: to whom I said, Saw ye him whom my soul loveth?
4 It was but a little that I passed from them, but I found him whom my soul loveth: I held him, and would not let him go, until I had brought him into my mother's house, and into the chamber of her that conceived me.
5 I charge you, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, by the roes, and by the hinds of the field, that ye stir not up, nor awake my love, till he please.
6 Who is this that cometh out of the wilderness like pillars of smoke, perfumed with myrrh and frankincense, with all powders of the merchant?
7 Behold his bed, which is Solomon's; threescore valiant men are about it, of the valiant of Israel.
8 They all hold swords, being expert in war: every man hath his sword upon his thigh because of fear in the night.
9 King Solomon made himself a chariot of the wood of Lebanon.
10 He made the pillars thereof of silver, the bottom thereof of gold, the covering of it of purple, the midst thereof being paved with love, for the daughters of Jerusalem.
11 Go forth, O ye daughters of Zion, and behold king Solomon with the crown wherewith his mother crowned him in the day of his espousals, and in the day of the gladness of his heart.

SONG OF SOLOMON (CANTICLES) CHAPTER 4
1 Behold, thou art fair, my love; behold, thou art fair; thou hast doves' eyes within thy locks: thy hair is as a flock of goats, that appear from mount Gilead.
2 Thy teeth are like a flock of sheep that are even shorn, which came up from the washing; whereof every one bear twins, and none is barren among them.
3 Thy lips are like a thread of scarlet, and thy speech is comely: thy temples are like a piece of a pomegranate within thy locks.
4 Thy neck is like the tower of David builded for an armoury, whereon there hang a thousand bucklers, all shields of mighty men.
5 Thy two breasts are like two young roes that are twins, which feed among the lilies.
6 Until the day break, and the shadows flee away, I will get me to the mountain of myrrh, and to the hill of frankincense.
7 Thou art all fair, my love; there is no spot in thee.
8 Come with me from Lebanon, my spouse, with me from Lebanon: look from the top of Amana, from the top of Shenir and Hermon, from the lions' dens, from the mountains of the leopards.
9 Thou hast ravished my heart, my sister, my spouse; thou hast ravished my heart with one of thine eyes, with one chain of thy neck.
10 How fair is thy love, my sister, my spouse! how much better is thy love than wine! and the smell of thine ointments than all spices!
11 Thy lips, O my spouse, drop as the honeycomb: honey and milk are under thy tongue; and the smell of thy garments is like the smell of Lebanon.
12 A garden inclosed is my sister, my spouse; a spring shut up, a fountain sealed.
13 Thy plants are an orchard of pomegranates, with pleasant fruits; camphire, with spikenard,
14 Spikenard and saffron; calamus and cinnamon, with all trees of frankincense; myrrh and aloes, with all the chief spices:
15 A fountain of gardens, a well of living waters, and streams from Lebanon.
16 Awake, O north wind; and come, thou south; blow upon my garden, that the spices thereof may flow out. Let my beloved come into his garden, and eat his pleasant fruits.

SONG OF SOLOMON (CANTICLES) CHAPTER 5
1 I am come into my garden, my sister, my spouse: I have gathered my myrrh with my spice; I have eaten my honeycomb with my honey; I have drunk my wine with my milk: eat, O friends; drink, yea, drink abundantly, O beloved.
2 I sleep, but my heart waketh: it is the voice of my beloved that knocketh, saying, Open to me, my sister, my love, my dove, my undefiled: for my head is filled with dew, and my locks with the drops of the night.
3 I have put off my coat; how shall I put it on? I have washed my feet; how shall I defile them?
4 My beloved put in his hand by the hole of the door, and my bowels were moved for him.
5 I rose up to open to my beloved; and my hands dropped with myrrh, and my fingers with sweet smelling myrrh, upon the handles of the lock.
6 I opened to my beloved; but my beloved had withdrawn himself, and was gone: my soul failed when he spake: I sought him, but I could not find him; I called him, but he gave me no answer.
7 The watchmen that went about the city found me, they smote me, they wounded me; the keepers of the walls took away my veil from me.
8 I charge you, O daughters of Jerusalem, if ye find my beloved, that ye tell him, that I am sick of love.
9 What is thy beloved more than another beloved, O thou fairest among women? what is thy beloved more than another beloved, that thou dost so charge us?
10 My beloved is white and ruddy, the chiefest among ten thousand.
11 His head is as the most fine gold, his locks are bushy, and black as a raven.
12 His eyes are as the eyes of doves by the rivers of waters, washed with milk, and fitly set.
13 His cheeks are as a bed of spices, as sweet flowers: his lips like lilies, dropping sweet smelling myrrh.
14 His hands are as gold rings set with the beryl: his belly is as bright ivory overlaid with sapphires.
15 His legs are as pillars of marble, set upon sockets of fine gold: his countenance is as Lebanon, excellent as the cedars.
16 His mouth is most sweet: yea, he is altogether lovely. This is my beloved, and this is my friend, O daughters of Jerusalem.

SONG OF SOLOMON (CANTICLES) CHAPTER 6
1 Whither is thy beloved gone, O thou fairest among women? whither is thy beloved turned aside? that we may seek him with thee.
2 My beloved is gone down into his garden, to the beds of spices, to feed in the gardens, and to gather lilies.
3 I am my beloved's, and my beloved is mine: he feedeth among the lilies.
4 Thou art beautiful, O my love, as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem, terrible as an army with banners.
5 Turn away thine eyes from me, for they have overcome me: thy hair is as a flock of goats that appear from Gilead.
6 Thy teeth are as a flock of sheep which go up from the washing, whereof every one beareth twins, and there is not one barren among them.
7 As a piece of a pomegranate are thy temples within thy locks.
8 There are threescore queens, and fourscore concubines, and virgins without number.
9 My dove, my undefiled is but one; she is the only one of her mother, she is the choice one of her that bare her. The daughters saw her, and blessed her; yea, the queens and the concubines, and they praised her.
10 Who is she that looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners?
11 I went down into the garden of nuts to see the fruits of the valley, and to see whether the vine flourished and the pomegranates budded.
12 Or ever I was aware, my soul made me like the chariots of Amminadib.
13 Return, return, O Shulamite; return, return, that we may look upon thee. What will ye see in the Shulamite? As it were the company of two armies.

SONG OF SOLOMON (CANTICLES) CHAPTER 7
1 How beautiful are thy feet with shoes, O prince's daughter! the joints of thy thighs are like jewels, the work of the hands of a cunning workman.
2 Thy navel is like a round goblet, which wanteth not liquor: thy belly is like an heap of wheat set about with lilies.
3 Thy two breasts are like two young roes that are twins.
4 Thy neck is as a tower of ivory; thine eyes like the fishpools in Heshbon, by the gate of Bathrabbim: thy nose is as the tower of Lebanon which looketh toward Damascus.
5 Thine head upon thee is like Carmel, and the hair of thine head like purple; the king is held in the galleries.
6 How fair and how pleasant art thou, O love, for delights!
7 This thy stature is like to a palm tree, and thy breasts to clusters of grapes.
8 I said, I will go up to the palm tree, I will take hold of the boughs thereof: now also thy breasts shall be as clusters of the vine, and the smell of thy nose like apples;
9 And the roof of thy mouth like the best wine for my beloved, that goeth down sweetly, causing the lips of those that are asleep to speak.
10 I am my beloved's, and his desire is toward me.
11 Come, my beloved, let us go forth into the field; let us lodge in the villages.
12 Let us get up early to the vineyards; let us see if the vine flourish, whether the tender grape appear, and the pomegranates bud forth: there will I give thee my loves.
13 The mandrakes give a smell, and at our gates are all manner of pleasant fruits, new and old, which I have laid up for thee, O my beloved.

SONG OF SOLOMON (CANTICLES) CHAPTER 8
1 O that thou wert as my brother, that sucked the breasts of my mother! when I should find thee without, I would kiss thee; yea, I should not be despised.
2 I would lead thee, and bring thee into my mother's house, who would instruct me: I would cause thee to drink of spiced wine of the juice of my pomegranate.
3 His left hand should be under my head, and his right hand should embrace me.
4 I charge you, O daughters of Jerusalem, that ye stir not up, nor awake my love, until he please.
5 Who is this that cometh up from the wilderness, leaning upon her beloved? I raised thee up under the apple tree: there thy mother brought thee forth: there she brought thee forth that bare thee.
6 Set me as a seal upon thine heart, as a seal upon thine arm: for love is strong as death; jealousy is cruel as the grave: the coals thereof are coals of fire, which hath a most vehement flame.
7 Many waters cannot quench love, neither can the floods drown it: if a man would give all the substance of his house for love, it would utterly be contemned.
8 We have a little sister, and she hath no breasts: what shall we do for our sister in the day when she shall be spoken for?
9 If she be a wall, we will build upon her a palace of silver: and if she be a door, we will inclose her with boards of cedar.
10 I am a wall, and my breasts like towers: then was I in his eyes as one that found favour.
11 Solomon had a vineyard at Baalhamon; he let out the vineyard unto keepers; every one for the fruit thereof was to bring a thousand pieces of silver.
12 My vineyard, which is mine, is before me: thou, O Solomon, must have a thousand, and those that keep the fruit thereof two hundred.
13 Thou that dwellest in the gardens, the companions hearken to thy voice: cause me to hear it.
14 Make haste, my beloved, and be thou like to a roe or to a young hart upon the mountains of spices.

THE SCROLL OF RUTH

Hebrew title: Megilath Ruth
Estimated Range of Dating: 5th–4th centuries B.C.

(The Book of Ruth (Hebrew: Megilath Ruth, "the Scroll of Ruth", one of the Five Megillot) is included in the third

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division, or the Writings (Ketuvim), of the Hebrew Bible; in most Christian canons it is treated as a history book and placed between Judges and 1 Samuel. It is one of the shortest books in both the Jewish and Christian holy books, consisting of only four chapters. The name Ruth means compassion, pity, remorse, sorrow or grief. It is unknown who wrote the book. It is traditionally ascribed to the prophet Samuel, but Ruth's identity as a non-Israelite and the stress on the need for an inclusive attitude towards foreigners suggests an origin in the fifth century BC, when intermarriage had become controversial (as seen in Ezra 9:1 and Nehemiah 13:1). A substantial number of scholars therefore date it to the Persian period (5th–4th centuries BC). The genealogy that concludes the book is believed to be a post-exilic Priestly addition, as it adds nothing to the plot; nevertheless, it is carefully crafted and integrates the book into the history of Israel running from Genesis to Kings.

Contents and Structure
The book is structured in four chapters:
1. Prologue and Problem: Death and Emptiness (1:1–22)
A. Setting the scene (1:1–5)
B. Naomi returns home (1:6–18)
C. Arrival of Naomi and Ruth in Bethlehem (1:19–22)
2. Ruth Meets Boaz, Naomi's Relative, on the Harvest Field (2:1–23)
A. Ruth in the field of Boaz (2:1–17)
B. Ruth reports to Naomi (2:18–23)
3. Naomi Sends Ruth to Boaz on the Threshing Floor (3:1–18)
A. Naomi Reveals Her Plan (3:1–5)
B. Ruth at the threshing-floor of Boaz (3:6–15)
C. Ruth reports to Naomi (3:16–18)
4. Resolution and Epilogue: Life and Fullness (4:1–22)
A. Boaz with the men at the gate (4:1–12)
B. A son is born to Ruth (4:13–17)
Genealogical appendix (4:18–22)

The book tells of Ruth accepting the god of the Israelites as her god and the Israelite people as her own. In Ruth 1:16–17, Ruth tells Naomi, her Israelite mother-in-law, "Where you go I will go, and where you stay I will stay. Your people will be my people and your God my God. Where you die I will die, and there I will be buried. May the Lord deal with me, be it ever so severely, if even death separates you and me." The book is held in esteem by Jews who fall under the category of Jews-by-choice, as is evidenced by the considerable presence of Boaz in rabbinic literature. The Book of Ruth also functions liturgically, as it is read during the Jewish holiday of Shavuot ("Weeks").

The book can be read as a political parable relating to issues around the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (the 4th century BC). The realistic nature of the story is established from the start through the names of the participants: the husband and father is Elimelech, meaning "My God is King", and his wife is Naomi, "Pleasing", but after the deaths of her sons Mahlon, "Sickness", and Chilion, "Wasting", she asks to be called Mara, "Bitter". The reference to Moab raises questions, since in the rest of the biblical literature it is associated with hostility to Israel, sexual perversity, and idolatry, and Deuteronomy 23:3–6 excluded an Ammonite or a Moabite from "the congregation of the LORD; even to their tenth generation". Despite this, Ruth the Moabite married a Judahite and even after his death still regarded herself a member of his family; she then married another Judahite and bore him a son who became an ancestor of David. Contrary to the message of Ezra–Nehemiah, where marriages between Jewish men and non-Jewish women were broken up, Ruth teaches that foreigners who convert to Judaism can become good Jews, foreign wives can become exemplary followers of Jewish law, and there is no reason to exclude them or their offspring from the community.

RUTH CHAPTER 1

1 Now it came to pass in the days when the judges ruled, that there was a famine in the land. And a certain man of Bethlehemjudah went to sojourn in the country of Moab, he, and his wife, and his two sons.

2 And the name of the man was Elimelech, and the name of his wife Naomi, and the name of his two sons Mahlon and Chilion, Ephrathites of Bethlehemjudah. And they came into the country of Moab, and continued there.

3 And Elimelech Naomi's husband died; and she was left, and her two sons.

4 And they took them wives of the women of Moab; the name of the one was Orpah, and the name of the other Ruth: and they dwelled there about ten years.

5 And Mahlon and Chilion died also both of them; and the woman was left of her two sons and her husband.

6 Then she arose with her daughters in law, that she might return from the country of Moab: for she had heard in the country of Moab how that the LORD had visited his people in giving them bread.

7 Wherefore she went forth out of the place where she was, and her two daughters in law with her; and they went on the way to return unto the land of Judah.

8 And Naomi said unto her two daughters in law, Go, return each to her mother's house: the LORD deal kindly with you, as ye have dealt with the dead, and with me.

9 The LORD grant you that ye may find rest, each of you in the house of her husband. Then she kissed them; and they lifted up their voice, and wept.

10 And they said unto her, Surely we will return with thee unto thy people.

11 And Naomi said, Turn again, my daughters: why will ye go with me? are there yet any more sons in my womb, that they may be your husbands?

12 Turn again, my daughters, go your way; for I am too old to have an husband. If I should say, I have hope, if I should have an husband also to night, and should also bear sons;

13 Would ye tarry for them till they were grown? would ye stay for them from having husbands? nay, my daughters; for it grieveth me much for your sakes that the hand of the LORD is gone out against me.

14 And they lifted up their voice, and wept again: and Orpah kissed her mother in law; but Ruth clave unto her.

15 And she said, Behold, thy sister in law is gone back unto her people, and unto her gods: return thou after thy sister in law.

16 And Ruth said, Intreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee: for whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge: thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God:

17 Where thou diest, will I die, and there will I be buried: the LORD do so to me, and more also, if ought but death part thee and me.

18 When she saw that she was stedfastly minded to go with her, then she left speaking unto her.

19 So they two went until they came to Bethlehem. And it came to pass, when they were come to Bethlehem, that all the city was moved about them, and they said, Is this Naomi?

20 And she said unto them, Call me not Naomi, call me Mara: for the Almighty hath dealt very bitterly with me.

21 I went out full and the LORD hath brought me home again empty: why then call ye me Naomi, seeing the LORD hath testified against me, and the Almighty hath afflicted me?

22 So Naomi returned, and Ruth the Moabitess, her daughter in law, with her, which returned out of the country of Moab: and they came to Bethlehem in the beginning of barley harvest.

RUTH CHAPTER 2

1 And Naomi had a kinsman of her husband's, a mighty man of wealth, of the family of Elimelech; and his name was Boaz.

2 And Ruth the Moabitess said unto Naomi, Let me now go to the field, and glean ears of corn after him in whose sight I shall find grace. And she said unto her, Go, my daughter.

3 And she went, and came, and gleaned in the field after the reapers: and her hap was to light on a part of the field belonging unto Boaz, who was of the kindred of Elimelech.

4 And, behold, Boaz came from Bethlehem, and said unto the reapers, The LORD be with you. And they answered him, The LORD bless thee.

5 Then said Boaz unto his servant that was set over the reapers, Whose damsel is this?

6 And the servant that was set over the reapers answered and said, It is the Moabitish damsel that came back with Naomi out of the country of Moab:

7 And she said, I pray you, let me glean and gather after the reapers among the sheaves: so she came, and hath continued even from the morning until now, that she tarried a little in the house.

8 Then said Boaz unto Ruth, Hearest thou not, my daughter? Go not to glean in another field, neither go from hence, but abide here fast by my maidens:

9 Let thine eyes be on the field that they do reap, and go thou after them: have I not charged the young men that they shall not touch thee? and when thou art athirst, go unto the vessels, and drink of that which the young men have drawn.

10 Then she fell on her face, and bowed herself to the ground, and said unto him, Why have I found grace in thine eyes, that thou shouldest take knowledge of me, seeing I am a stranger?

11 And Boaz answered and said unto her, It hath fully been shewed me, all that thou hast done unto thy mother in law since the death of thine husband: and how thou hast left thy father and thy mother, and the land of thy nativity, and art come unto a people which thou knewest not heretofore.

12 The LORD recompense thy work, and a full reward be given thee of the LORD God of Israel, under whose wings thou art come to trust.

13 Then she said, Let me find favour in thy sight, my lord; for that thou hast comforted me, and for that thou hast spoken friendly unto thine handmaid, though I be not like unto one of thine handmaidens.

14 And Boaz said unto her, At mealtime come thou hither, and eat of the bread, and dip thy morsel in the vinegar. And she sat beside the reapers: and he reached her parched corn, and she did eat, and was sufficed, and left.

15 And when she was risen up to glean, Boaz commanded his young men, saying, Let her glean even among the sheaves, and reproach her not:

16 And let fall also some of the handfuls of purpose for her, and leave them, that she may glean them, and rebuke her not.

17 So she gleaned in the field until even, and beat out that she had gleaned: and it was about an ephah of barley.

18 And she took it up, and went into the city: and her mother in law saw what she had gleaned: and she brought forth, and gave to her that she had reserved after she was sufficed.

19 And her mother in law said unto her, Where hast thou gleaned to day? and where wroughtest thou? blessed be he that did take knowledge of thee. And she shewed her mother in law with whom she had wrought, and said, The man's name with whom I wrought to day is Boaz.

20 And Naomi said unto her daughter in law, Blessed be he of the LORD, who hath not left off his kindness to the living and to the dead. And Naomi said unto her, The man is near of kin unto us, one of our next kinsmen.

21 And Ruth the Moabitess said, He said unto me also, Thou shalt keep fast by my young men, until they have ended all my harvest.

22 And Naomi said unto Ruth her daughter in law, It is good, my daughter, that thou go out with his maidens, that they meet thee not in any other field.

23 So she kept fast by the maidens of Boaz to glean unto the end of barley harvest and of wheat harvest; and dwelt with her mother in law.

RUTH CHAPTER 3

1 Then Naomi her mother in law said unto her, My daughter, shall I not seek rest for thee, that it may be well with thee?

2 And now is not Boaz of our kindred, with whose maidens thou wast? Behold, he winnoweth barley to night in the threshingfloor.

3 Wash thyself therefore, and anoint thee, and put thy raiment upon thee, and get thee down to the floor: but make not thyself known unto the man, until he shall have done eating and drinking.

4 And it shall be, when he lieth down, that thou shalt mark the place where he shall lie, and thou shalt go in, and uncover his feet, and lay thee down; and he will tell thee what thou shalt do.

5 And she said unto her, All that thou sayest unto me I will do.

6 And she went down unto the floor, and did according to all that her mother in law bade her.

7 And when Boaz had eaten and drunk, and his heart was merry, he went to lie down at the end of the heap of corn: and she came softly, and uncovered his feet, and laid her down.

8 And it came to pass at midnight, that the man was afraid, and turned himself: and, behold, a woman lay at his feet.

9 And he said, Who art thou? And she answered, I am Ruth thine handmaid: spread therefore thy skirt over thine handmaid; for thou art a near kinsman.

10 And he said, Blessed be thou of the LORD, my daughter: for thou hast shewed more kindness in the latter end than at the beginning, inasmuch as thou followedst not young men, whether poor or rich.

11 And now, my daughter, fear not; I will do to thee all that thou requirest: for all the city of my people doth know that thou art a virtuous woman.

12 And now it is true that I am thy near kinsman: howbeit there is a kinsman nearer than I.

13 Tarry this night, and it shall be in the morning, that if he will perform unto thee the part of a kinsman, well; let him do the kinsman's part: but if he will not do the part of a kinsman to thee, then will I do the part of a kinsman to thee, as the LORD liveth: lie down until the morning.

14 And she lay at his feet until the morning: and she rose up before one could know another. And he said, Let it not be known that a woman came into the floor.

15 Also he said, Bring the vail that thou hast upon thee, and hold it. And when she held it, he measured six measures of barley, and laid it on her: and she went into the city.

16 And when she came to her mother in law, she said, Who art thou, my daughter? And she told her all that the man had done to her.

17 And she said, These six measures of barley gave he me; for he said to me, Go not empty unto thy mother in law.

18 Then said she, Sit still, my daughter, until thou know how the matter will fall: for the man will not be in rest, until he have finished the thing this day.

RUTH CHAPTER 4

1 Then went Boaz up to the gate, and sat him down there: and, behold, the kinsman of whom Boaz spake came by; unto

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whom he said, Ho, such a one! turn aside, sit down here. And he turned aside, and sat down.

2 And he took ten men of the elders of the city, and said, Sit ye down here. And they sat down.

3 And he said unto the kinsman, Naomi, that is come again out of the country of Moab, selleth a parcel of land, which was our brother Elimelech's:

4 And I thought to advertise thee, saying, Buy it before the inhabitants, and before the elders of my people. If thou wilt redeem it, redeem it: but if thou wilt not redeem it, then tell me, that I may know: for there is none to redeem it beside thee; and I am after thee. And he said, I will redeem it.

5 Then said Boaz, What day thou buyest the field of the hand of Naomi, thou must buy it also of Ruth the Moabitess, the wife of the dead, to raise up the name of the dead upon his inheritance.

6 And the kinsman said, I cannot redeem it for myself, lest I mar mine own inheritance: redeem thou my right to thyself; for I cannot redeem it.

7 Now this was the manner in former time in Israel concerning redeeming and concerning changing, for to confirm all things; a man plucked off his shoe, and gave it to his neighbour: and this was a testimony in Israel.

8 Therefore the kinsman said unto Boaz, Buy it for thee. So he drew off his shoe.

9 And Boaz said unto the elders, and unto all the people, Ye are witnesses this day, that I have bought all that was Elimelech's, and all that was Chilion's and Mahlon's, of the hand of Naomi.

10 Moreover Ruth the Moabitess, the wife of Mahlon, have I purchased to be my wife, to raise up the name of the dead upon his inheritance, that the name of the dead be not cut off from among his brethren, and from the gate of his place: ye are witnesses this day.

11 And all the people that were in the gate, and the elders, said, We are witnesses. The LORD make the woman that is come into thine house like Rachel and like Leah, which two did build the house of Israel: and do thou worthily in Ephratah, and be famous in Bethlehem:

12 And let thy house be like the house of Pharez, whom Tamar bare unto Judah, of the seed which the LORD shall give thee of this young woman.

13 So Boaz took Ruth, and she was his wife: and when he went in unto her, the LORD gave her conception, and she bare a son.

14 And the women said unto Naomi, Blessed be the LORD, which hath not left thee this day without a kinsman, that his name may be famous in Israel.

15 And he shall be unto thee a restorer of thy life, and a nourisher of thine old age: for thy daughter in law, which loveth thee, which is better to thee than seven sons, hath born him.

16 And Naomi took the child, and laid it in her bosom, and became nurse unto it.

17 And the women her neighbours gave it a name, saying, There is a son born to Naomi; and they called his name Obed: he is the father of Jesse, the father of David.

18 Now these are the generations of Pharez: Pharez begat Hezron,

19 And Hezron begat Ram, and Ram begat Amminadab,

20 And Amminadab begat Nahshon, and Nahshon begat Salmon,

21 And Salmon begat Boaz, and Boaz begat Obed,

22 And Obed begat Jesse, and Jesse begat David.

THE SCROLL OF LAMENTATIONS

Hebrew title: Megilath Eikhah

Estimated Range of Dating: 6th to 5th centuries B.C.

(The Book of Lamentations (Hebrew: אֵיכָה, 'Êykhôh, from its incipit meaning "how") is a collection of poetic laments for the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 BC. In the Hebrew Bible it appears in the Ketuvim ("Writings"), beside the Song of Songs, Book of Ruth, Ecclesiastes and the Book of Esther (the Megilot or "Five Scrolls"), although there is no set order; in the Christian Old Testament it follows the Book of Jeremiah, as the prophet Jeremiah is its traditional author. Jeremiah's authorship is no longer generally accepted, although it is generally accepted that the destruction of Jerusalem by Babylon in 586 BC forms the background to the poems. The book is partly a traditional "city lament" mourning the desertion of the city by God, its destruction, and the ultimate return of the divinity, and partly a funeral dirge in which the bereaved bewails and addresses the dead. The tone is bleak: God does not speak, the degree of suffering is presented as overwhelming, and expectations of future redemption are minimal. None the less the author repeatedly makes clear that the city (and even the author himself) had profusely sinned against God, to which God had strongly responded. In doing so the author does not blame God but rather presents him as righteous, just and sometimes even as merciful. (See chapter 1,17-19 & 3,31-33)

Lamentations has traditionally been ascribed to Jeremiah, probably on the grounds of the reference in 2 Chronicles 35:25 to the prophet composing a lament on the death of King Josiah, but there is no reference to Josiah in the book and no reason to connect it to Jeremiah. The language fits an Exilic date (586–520 BC), and the poems probably originated from Judeans who remained in the land. Scholars are divided over whether they are the work of one or multiple authors. One clue pointing to multiple authors is that the gender and situation of the first-person witness changes – the narration is feminine in the first and second lamentation, and masculine in the third, while the fourth and fifth are eyewitness reports of Jerusalem's destruction; conversely, the similarities of style, vocabulary, and theological outlook, as well as the uniform historical setting, are arguments for one author.

The book is traditionally recited on the fast day of Tisha B'Av ("Ninth of Av"), mourning the destruction of both the First Temple and the Second.)

LAMENTATIONS CHAPTER 1

1 How doth the city sit solitary, that was full of people! how is she become as a widow! she that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces, how is she become tributary!

2 She weepeth sore in the night, and her tears are on her cheeks: among all her lovers she hath none to comfort her: all her friends have dealt treacherously with her, they are become her enemies.

3 Judah is gone into captivity because of affliction, and because of great servitude: she dwelleth among the heathen, she findeth no rest: all her persecutors overtook her between the straits.

4 The ways of Zion do mourn, because none come to the solemn feasts: all her gates are desolate: her priests sigh, her virgins are afflicted, and she is in bitterness.

5 Her adversaries are the chief, her enemies prosper; for the LORD hath afflicted her for the multitude of her transgressions: her children are gone into captivity before the enemy.

6 And from the daughter of Zion all her beauty is departed: her princes are become like harts that find no pasture, and they are gone without strength before the pursuer.

7 Jerusalem remembered in the days of her affliction and of her miseries all her pleasant things that she had in the days of old, when her people fell into the hand of the enemy, and none did help her: the adversaries saw her, and did mock at her sabbaths.

8 Jerusalem hath grievously sinned; therefore she is removed: all that honoured her despise her, because they have seen her nakedness: yea, she sigheth, and turneth backward.

9 Her filthiness is in her skirts; she remembereth not her last end; therefore she came down wonderfully: she had no comforter. O LORD, behold my affliction: for the enemy hath magnified himself.

10 The adversary hath spread out his hand upon all her pleasant things: for she hath seen that the heathen entered into her sanctuary, whom thou didst command that they should not enter into thy congregation.

11 All her people sigh, they seek bread; they have given their pleasant things for meat to relieve the soul: see, O LORD, and consider; for I am become vile.

12 Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by? behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, which is done unto me, wherewith the LORD hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger.

13 From above hath he sent fire into my bones, and it prevaileth against them: he hath spread a net for my feet, he hath turned me back: he hath made me desolate and faint all the day.

14 The yoke of my transgressions is bound by his hand: they are wreathed, and come up upon my neck: he hath made my strength to fall, the LORD hath delivered me into their hands, from whom I am not able to rise up.

15 The LORD hath trodden under foot all my mighty men in the midst of me: he hath called an assembly against me to crush my young men: the LORD hath trodden the virgin, the daughter of Judah, as in a winepress.

16 For these things I weep; mine eye, mine eye runneth down with water, because the comforter that should relieve my soul is far from me: my children are desolate, because the enemy prevailed.

17 Zion spreadeth forth her hands, and there is none to comfort her: the LORD hath commanded concerning Jacob, that his adversaries should be round about him: Jerusalem is as a menstruous woman among them.

18 The LORD is righteous; for I have rebelled against his commandment: hear, I pray you, all people, and behold my sorrow: my virgins and my young men are gone into captivity.

19 I called for my lovers, but they deceived me: my priests and mine elders gave up the ghost in the city, while they sought their meat to relieve their souls.

20 Behold, O LORD; for I am in distress: my bowels are troubled; mine heart is turned within me; for I have grievously rebelled: abroad the sword bereaveth, at home there is as death.

21 They have heard that I sigh: there is none to comfort me: all mine enemies have heard of my trouble; they are glad that thou hast done it: thou wilt bring the day that thou hast called, and they shall be like unto me.

22 Let all their wickedness come before thee; and do unto them, as thou hast done unto me for all my transgressions: for my sighs are many, and my heart is faint.

LAMENTATIONS CHAPTER 2

1 How hath the LORD covered the daughter of Zion with a cloud in his anger, and cast down from heaven unto the earth the beauty of Israel, and remembered not his footstool in the day of his anger!

2 The LORD hath swallowed up all the habitations of Jacob, and hath not pitied: he hath thrown down in his wrath the strong holds of the daughter of Judah; he hath brought them down to the ground: he hath polluted the kingdom and the princes thereof.

3 He hath cut off in his fierce anger all the horn of Israel: he hath drawn back his right hand from before the enemy, and he burned against Jacob like a flaming fire, which devoureth round about.

4 He hath bent his bow like an enemy: he stood with his right hand as an adversary, and slew all that were pleasant to the eye in the tabernacle of the daughter of Zion: he poured out his fury like fire.

5 The LORD was as an enemy: he hath swallowed up Israel, he hath swallowed up all her palaces: he hath destroyed his strong holds, and hath increased in the daughter of Judah mourning and lamentation.

6 And he hath violently taken away his tabernacle, as if it were of a garden: he hath destroyed his places of the assembly: the LORD hath caused the solemn feasts and sabbaths to be forgotten in Zion, and hath despised in the indignation of his anger the king and the priest.

7 The LORD hath cast off his altar, he hath abhorred his sanctuary, he hath given up into the hand of the enemy the walls of her palaces; they have made a noise in the house of the LORD, as in the day of a solemn feast.

8 The LORD hath purposed to destroy the wall of the daughter of Zion: he hath stretched out a line, he hath not withdrawn his hand from destroying: therefore he made the rampart and the wall to lament; they languished together.

9 Her gates are sunk into the ground; he hath destroyed and broken her bars: her king and her princes are among the Gentiles: the law is no more; her prophets also find no vision from the LORD.

10 The elders of the daughter of Zion sit upon the ground, and keep silence: they have cast up dust upon their heads; they have girded themselves with sackcloth: the virgins of Jerusalem hang down their heads to the ground.

11 Mine eyes do fail with tears, my bowels are troubled, my liver is poured upon the earth, for the destruction of the daughter of my people; because the children and the sucklings swoon in the streets of the city.

12 They say to their mothers, Where is corn and wine? when they swooned as the wounded in the streets of the city, when their soul was poured out into their mothers' bosom.

13 What thing shall I take to witness for thee? what thing shall I liken to thee, O daughter of Jerusalem? what shall I equal to thee, that I may comfort thee, O virgin daughter of Zion? for thy breach is great like the sea: who can heal thee?

14 Thy prophets have seen vain and foolish things for thee: and they have not discovered thine iniquity, to turn away thy captivity; but have seen for thee false burdens and causes of banishment.

15 All that pass by clap their hands at thee; they hiss and wag their head at the daughter of Jerusalem, saying, Is this the city that men call The perfection of beauty, The joy of the whole earth?

16 All thine enemies have opened their mouth against thee: they hiss and gnash the teeth: they say, We have swallowed her up: certainly this is the day that we looked for; we have found, we have seen it.

17 The LORD hath done that which he had devised; he hath fulfilled his word that he had commanded in the days of old: he hath thrown down, and hath not pitied: and he hath caused thine enemy to rejoice over thee, he hath set up the horn of thine adversaries.

18 Their heart cried unto the LORD, O wall of the daughter of Zion, let tears run down like a river day and night: give thyself no rest; let not the apple of thine eye cease.

19 Arise, cry out in the night: in the beginning of the watches pour out thine heart like water before the face of the LORD: lift up thy hands toward him for the life of thy young children, that faint for hunger in the top of every street.

20 Behold, O LORD, and consider to whom thou hast done this. Shall the women eat their fruit, and children of a span long? shall the priest and the prophet be slain in the sanctuary of the Lord?

21 The young and the old lie on the ground in the streets: my virgins and my young men are fallen by the sword; thou

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hast slain them in the day of thine anger; thou hast killed, and not pitied.
22 Thou hast called as in a solemn day my terrors round about, so that in the day of the LORD's anger none escaped nor remained: those that I have swaddled and brought up hath mine enemy consumed.

LAMENTATIONS CHAPTER 3
1 I AM the man that hath seen affliction by the rod of his wrath.
2 He hath led me, and brought me into darkness, but not into light.
3 Surely against me is he turned; he turneth his hand against me all the day.
4 My flesh and my skin hath he made old; he hath broken my bones.
5 He hath builded against me, and compassed me with gall and travail.
6 He hath set me in dark places, as they that be dead of old.
7 He hath hedged me about, that I cannot get out: he hath made my chain heavy.
8 Also when I cry and shout, he shutteth out my prayer.
9 He hath inclosed my ways with hewn stone, he hath made my paths crooked.
10 He was unto me as a bear lying in wait, and as a lion in secret places.
11 He hath turned aside my ways, and pulled me in pieces: he hath made me desolate.
12 He hath bent his bow, and set me as a mark for the arrow.
13 He hath caused the arrows of his quiver to enter into my reins.
14 I was a derision to all my people; and their song all the day.
15 He hath filled me with bitterness, he hath made me drunken with wormwood.
16 He hath also broken my teeth with gravel stones, he hath covered me with ashes.
17 And thou hast removed my soul far off from peace: I forgat prosperity.
18 And I said, My strength and my hope is perished from the LORD:
19 Remembering mine affliction and my misery, the wormwood and the gall.
20 My soul hath them still in remembrance, and is humbled in me.
21 This I recall to my mind, therefore have I hope.
22 It is of the LORD's mercies that we are not consumed, because his compassions fail not.
23 They are new every morning: great is thy faithfulness.
24 The LORD is my portion, saith my soul; therefore will I hope in him.
25 The LORD is good unto them that wait for him, to the soul that seeketh him.
26 It is good that a man should both hope and quietly wait for the salvation of the LORD.
27 It is good for a man that he bear the yoke of his youth.
28 He sitteth alone and keepeth silence, because he hath borne it upon him.
29 He putteth his mouth in the dust; if so be there may be hope.
30 He giveth his cheek to him that smiteth him: he is filled full with reproach.
31 For the LORD will not cast off for ever:
32 But though he cause grief, yet will he have compassion according to the multitude of his mercies.
33 For he doth not afflict willingly nor grieve the children of men.
34 To crush under his feet all the prisoners of the earth.
35 To turn aside the right of a man before the face of the most High,
36 To subvert a man in his cause, the LORD approveth not.
37 Who is he that saith, and it cometh to pass, when the Lord commandeth it not?
38 Out of the mouth of the most High proceedeth not evil and good?
39 Wherefore doth a living man complain, a man for the punishment of his sins?
40 Let us search and try our ways, and turn again to the LORD.
41 Let us lift up our heart with our hands unto God in the heavens.
42 We have transgressed and have rebelled: thou hast not pardoned.
43 Thou hast covered with anger, and persecuted us: thou hast slain, thou hast not pitied.
44 Thou hast covered thyself with a cloud, that our prayer should not pass through.
45 Thou hast made us as the offscouring and refuse in the midst of the people.
46 All our enemies have opened their mouths against us.
47 Fear and a snare is come upon us, desolation and destruction.
48 Mine eye runneth down with rivers of water for the destruction of the daughter of my people.
49 Mine eye trickleth down, and ceaseth not, without any intermission.
50 Till the LORD look down, and behold from heaven.
51 Mine eye affecteth mine heart because of all the daughters of my city.
52 Mine enemies chased me sore, like a bird, without cause.
53 They have cut off my life in the dungeon, and cast a stone upon me.
54 Waters flowed over mine head; then I said, I am cut off.
55 I called upon thy name, O LORD, out of the low dungeon.
56 Thou hast heard my voice: hide not thine ear at my breathing, at my cry.
57 Thou drewest near in the day that I called upon thee: thou saidst, Fear not.
58 O LORD, thou hast pleaded the causes of my soul; thou hast redeemed my life.
59 O LORD, thou hast seen my wrong: judge thou my cause.
60 Thou hast seen all their vengeance and all their imaginations against me.
61 Thou hast heard their reproach, O LORD, and all their imaginations against me;
62 The lips of those that rose up against me, and their device against me all the day.
63 Behold their sitting down, and their rising up; I am their musick.
64 Render unto them a recompence, O LORD, according to the work of their hands.
65 Give them sorrow of heart, thy curse unto them.
66 Persecute and destroy them in anger from under the heavens of the LORD.

LAMENTATIONS CHAPTER 4
1 How is the gold become dim! how is the most fine gold changed! the stones of the sanctuary are poured out in the top of every street.
2 The precious sons of Zion, comparable to fine gold, how are they esteemed as earthen pitchers, the work of the hands of the potter!
3 Even the sea monsters draw out the breast, they give suck to their young ones: the daughter of my people is become cruel, like the ostriches in the wilderness.
4 The tongue of the sucking child cleaveth to the roof of his mouth for thirst: the young children ask bread, and no man breaketh it unto them.
5 They that did feed delicately are desolate in the streets: they that were brought up in scarlet embrace dunghills.
6 For the punishment of the iniquity of the daughter of my people is greater than the punishment of the sin of Sodom, that was overthrown as in a moment, and no hands stayed on her.
7 Her Nazarites were purer than snow, they were whiter than milk, they were more ruddy in body than rubies, their polishing was of sapphire:
8 Their visage is blacker than a coal; they are not known in the streets: their skin cleaveth to their bones; it is withered, it is become like a stick.
9 They that be slain with the sword are better than they that be slain with hunger: for these pine away, stricken through for want of the fruits of the field.
10 The hands of the pitiful women have sodden their own children: they were their meat in the destruction of the daughter of my people.
11 The LORD hath accomplished his fury; he hath poured out his fierce anger, and hath kindled a fire in Zion, and it hath devoured the foundations thereof.
12 The kings of the earth, and all the inhabitants of the world, would not have believed that the adversary and the enemy should have entered into the gates of Jerusalem.
13 For the sins of her prophets, and the iniquities of her priests, that have shed the blood of the just in the midst of her,
14 They have wandered as blind men in the streets, they have polluted themselves with blood, so that men could not touch their garments.
15 They cried unto them, Depart ye; it is unclean; depart, depart, touch not: when they fled away and wandered, they said among the heathen, They shall no more sojourn there.
16 The anger of the LORD hath divided them; he will no more regard them: they respected not the persons of the priests, they favoured not the elders.
17 As for us, our eyes as yet failed for our vain help: in our watching we have watched for a nation that could not save us.
18 They hunt our steps, that we cannot go in our streets: our end is near, our days are fulfilled; for our end is come.
19 Our persecutors are swifter than the eagles of the heaven: they pursued us upon the mountains, they laid wait for us in the wilderness.
20 The breath of our nostrils, the anointed of the LORD, was taken in their pits, of whom we said, Under his shadow we shall live among the heathen.
21 Rejoice and be glad, O daughter of Edom, that dwellest in the land of Uz; the cup also shall pass through unto thee: thou shalt be drunken, and shalt make thyself naked.
22 The punishment of thine iniquity is accomplished, O daughter of Zion; he will no more carry thee away into captivity: he will visit thine iniquity, O daughter of Edom; he will discover thy sins.

LAMENTATIONS CHAPTER 5
1 Remember, O LORD, what is come upon us: consider, and behold our reproach.
2 Our inheritance is turned to strangers, our houses to aliens.
3 We are orphans and fatherless, our mothers are as widows.
4 We have drunken our water for money; our wood is sold unto us.
5 Our necks are under persecution: we labour, and have no rest.
6 We have given the hand to the Egyptians, and to the Assyrians, to be satisfied with bread.
7 Our fathers have sinned, and are not; and we have borne their iniquities.
8 Servants have ruled over us: there is none that doth deliver us out of their hand.
9 We gat our bread with the peril of our lives because of the sword of the wilderness.
10 Our skin was black like an oven because of the terrible famine.
11 They ravished the women in Zion, and the maids in the cities of Judah.
12 Princes are hanged up by their hand: the faces of elders were not honoured.
13 They took the young men to grind, and the children fell under the wood.
14 The elders have ceased from the gate, the young men from their musick.
15 The joy of our heart is ceased; our dance is turned into mourning.
16 The crown is fallen from our head: woe unto us, that we have sinned!
17 For this our heart is faint; for these things our eyes are dim.
18 Because of the mountain of Zion, which is desolate, the foxes walk upon it.
19 Thou, O LORD, remainest for ever; thy throne from generation to generation.
20 Wherefore dost thou forget us for ever, and forsake us so long time?
21 Turn thou us unto thee, O LORD, and we shall be turned; renew our days as of old.
22 But thou hast utterly rejected us; thou art very wroth against us.

THE SCROLL OF ECCLESIASTES

Hebrew title: Megilath Kohelet
Estimated Range of Dating: 400-200 B.C.

(Ecclesiastes (Hebrew: Kohelet) is one of 24 books of the Tanakh (Hebrew Bible), where it is classified as one of the Ketuvim (Writings). The book takes its name from the Greek ekklesiastes, a translation of the title by which the central figure refers to himself: Kohelet, meaning something like "one who convenes or addresses an assembly". Originally written c. 400–200 BC, it is also among the canonical Wisdom literature of the Old Testament in most denominations of Christianity.

According to rabbinic tradition, Ecclesiastes was written by Solomon in his old age (an alternative tradition that "Hezekiah and his colleagues wrote Isaiah, Proverbs, the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes" probably means simply that the book was edited under Hezekiah), but critical scholars have long rejected the idea of a pre-exilic origin. The presence of Persian loan-words and Aramaisms points to a date no earlier than about 450 BC, while the latest possible date for its composition is 180 BC, when the Jewish writer Ben Sira quotes from it. The dispute as to whether Ecclesiastes belongs to the Persian or the Hellenistic periods (i.e., the earlier or later part of this period) revolves around the degree of Hellenization (influence of Greek culture and thought) present in the book. Scholars arguing for a Persian date (c. 450–330 BC) hold that there is a complete lack of Greek influence; those who argue for a Hellenistic date (c. 330–180 BC) argue that it shows internal evidence of Greek thought and social setting.

Contents and Structure:
- *Title (1:1)*
- *Initial poem (1:2–11)*
- *I: Kohelet's investigation of life (1:12–6:9)*
- *II: Kohelet's conclusions (6:10–11:6)*
- *Introduction (6:10–12)*
- *A: Man cannot discover what is good for him to do (7:1–8:17)*
- *B: Man does not know what will come after him (9:1–11:6)*
- *Concluding poem (11:7–12:8)*
- *Epilogue (12:9–14)*

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Ecclesiastes has taken its literary form from the Middle Eastern tradition of the fictional autobiography, in which a character, often a king, relates his experiences and draws lessons from them, often self-critical: Kohelet likewise identifies himself as a king, speaks of his search for wisdom, relates his conclusions, and recognises his limitations. It belongs to the category of wisdom literature, the body of biblical writings which give advice on life, together with reflections on its problems and meanings—other examples include the Book of Job, Proverbs, and some of the Psalms.

Ecclesiastes is presented as biography of "Kohelet". Kohelet's story is framed by voice of the narrator, who refers to Kohelet in the third person, praises his wisdom, but reminds the reader that wisdom has its limitations and is not man's main concern. Kohelet reports what he planned, did, experienced and thought. His journey to knowledge is, in the end, incomplete. The reader is not only to hear Kohelet's wisdom, but to observe his journey towards understanding and acceptance of life's frustrations and uncertainties: the journey itself is important.)

ECCLESIASTES CHAPTER 1

1 The words of the Preacher, the son of David, king in Jerusalem.

2 Vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher, vanity of vanities; all is vanity.

3 What profit hath a man of all his labour which he taketh under the sun?

4 One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh: but the earth abideth for ever.

5 The sun also ariseth, and the sun goeth down, and hasteth to his place where he arose.

6 The wind goeth toward the south, and turneth about unto the north; it whirleth about continually, and the wind returneth again according to his circuits.

7 All the rivers run into the sea; yet the sea is not full; unto the place from whence the rivers come, thither they return again.

8 All things are full of labour; man cannot utter it: the eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear filled with hearing.

9 The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done is that which shall be done: and there is no new thing under the sun.

10 Is there any thing whereof it may be said, See, this is new? it hath been already of old time, which was before us.

11 There is no remembrance of former things; neither shall there be any remembrance of things that are to come with those that shall come after.

12 I the Preacher was king over Israel in Jerusalem.

13 And I gave my heart to seek and search out by wisdom concerning all things that are done under heaven: this sore travail hath God given to the sons of man to be exercised therewith.

14 I have seen all the works that are done under the sun; and, behold, all is vanity and vexation of spirit.

15 That which is crooked cannot be made straight: and that which is wanting cannot be numbered.

16 I communed with mine own heart, saying, Lo, I am come to great estate, and have gotten more wisdom than all they that have been before me in Jerusalem: yea, my heart had great experience of wisdom and knowledge.

17 And I gave my heart to know wisdom, and to know madness and folly: I perceived that this also is vexation of spirit.

18 For in much wisdom is much grief: and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow.

ECCLESIASTES CHAPTER 2

1 I said in mine heart, Go to now, I will prove thee with mirth, therefore enjoy pleasure: and, behold, this also is vanity.

2 I said of laughter, It is mad: and of mirth, What doeth it?

3 I sought in mine heart to give myself unto wine, yet acquainting mine heart with wisdom; and to lay hold on folly, till I might see what was that good for the sons of men, which they should do under the heaven all the days of their life.

4 I made me great works; I builded me houses; I planted me vineyards:

5 I made me gardens and orchards, and I planted trees in them of all kind of fruits:

6 I made me pools of water, to water therewith the wood that bringeth forth trees:

7 I got me servants and maidens, and had servants born in my house; also I had great possessions of great and small cattle above all that were in Jerusalem before me:

8 I gathered me also silver and gold, and the peculiar treasure of kings and of the provinces: I gat me men singers and women singers, and the delights of the sons of men, as musical instruments, and that of all sorts.

9 So I was great, and increased more than all that were before me in Jerusalem: also my wisdom remained with me.

10 And whatsoever mine eyes desired I kept not from them, I withheld not my heart from any joy; for my heart rejoiced in all my labour: and this was my portion of all my labour.

11 Then I looked on all the works that my hands had wrought, and on the labour that I had laboured to do: and, behold, all was vanity and vexation of spirit, and there was no profit under the sun.

12 And I turned myself to behold wisdom, and madness, and folly: for what can the man do that cometh after the king? even that which hath been already done.

13 Then I saw that wisdom excelleth folly, as far as light excelleth darkness.

14 The wise man's eyes are in his head; but the fool walketh in darkness: and I myself perceived also that one event happeneth to them all.

15 Then said I in my heart, As it happeneth to the fool, so it happeneth even to me; and why was I then more wise? Then I said in my heart, that this also is vanity.

16 For there is no remembrance of the wise more than of the fool for ever; seeing that which now is in the days to come shall all be forgotten. And how dieth the wise man? as the fool.

17 Therefore I hated life; because the work that is wrought under the sun is grievous unto me: for all is vanity and vexation of spirit.

18 Yea, I hated all my labour which I had taken under the sun: because I should leave it unto the man that shall be after me.

19 And who knoweth whether he shall be a wise man or a fool? yet shall he have rule over all my labour wherein I have laboured, and wherein I have shewed myself wise under the sun. This is also vanity.

20 Therefore I went about to cause my heart to despair of all the labour which I took under the sun.

21 For there is a man whose labour is in wisdom, and in knowledge, and in equity; yet to a man that hath not laboured therein shall he leave it for his portion. This also is vanity and a great evil.

22 For what hath man of all his labour, and of the vexation of his heart, wherein he hath laboured under the sun?

23 For all his days are sorrows, and his travail grief; yea, his heart taketh not rest in the night. This is also vanity.

24 There is nothing better for a man, than that he should eat and drink, and that he should make his soul enjoy good in his labour. This also I saw, that it was from the hand of God.

25 For who can eat, or who else can hasten hereunto, more than I?

26 For God giveth to a man that is good in his sight wisdom, and knowledge, and joy: but to the sinner he giveth travail, to gather and to heap up, that he may give to him that is good before God. This also is vanity and vexation of spirit.

ECCLESIASTES CHAPTER 3

1 To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven:

2 A time to be born, and a time to die; a time to plant, and a time to pluck up that which is planted;

3 A time to kill, and a time to heal; a time to break down, and a time to build up;

4 A time to weep, and a time to laugh; a time to mourn, and a time to dance;

5 A time to cast away stones, and a time to gather stones together; a time to embrace, and a time to refrain from embracing;

6 A time to get, and a time to lose; a time to keep, and a time to cast away;

7 A time to rend, and a time to sew; a time to keep silence, and a time to speak;

8 A time to love, and a time to hate; a time of war, and a time of peace.

9 What profit hath he that worketh in that wherein he laboureth?

10 I have seen the travail, which God hath given to the sons of men to be exercised in it.

11 He hath made every thing beautiful in his time: also he hath set the world in their heart, so that no man can find out the work that God maketh from the beginning to the end.

12 I know that there is no good in them, but for a man to rejoice, and to do good in his life.

13 And also that every man should eat and drink, and enjoy the good of all his labour, it is the gift of God.

14 I know that, whatsoever God doeth, it shall be for ever: nothing can be put to it, nor any thing taken from it: and God doeth it, that men should fear before him.

15 That which hath been is now; and that which is to be hath already been; and God requireth that which is past.

16 And moreover I saw under the sun the place of judgement, that wickedness was there; and the place of righteousness, that iniquity was there.

17 I said in mine heart, God shall judge the righteous and the wicked: for there is a time there for every purpose and for every work.

18 I said in mine heart concerning the estate of the sons of men, that God might manifest them, and that they might see that they themselves are beasts.

19 For that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts; even one thing befalleth them: as the one dieth, so dieth the other; yea, they have all one breath; so that a man hath no preeminence above a beast: for all is vanity.

20 All go unto one place; all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again.

21 Who knoweth the spirit of man that goeth upward, and the spirit of the beast that goeth downward to the earth?

22 Wherefore I perceive that there is nothing better, than that a man should rejoice in his own works; for that is his portion: for who shall bring him to see what shall be after him?

ECCLESIASTES CHAPTER 4

1 So I returned, and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun: and behold the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter; and on the side of their oppressors there was power; but they had no comforter.

2 Wherefore I praised the dead which are already dead more than the living which are yet alive.

3 Yea, better is he than both they, which hath not yet been, who hath not seen the evil work that is done under the sun.

4 Again, I considered all travail, and every right work, that for this a man is envied of his neighbour. This is also vanity and vexation of spirit.

5 The fool foldeth his hands together, and eateth his own flesh.

6 Better is an handful with quietness, than both the hands full with travail and vexation of spirit.

7 Then I returned, and I saw vanity under the sun.

8 There is one alone, and there is not a second; yea, he hath neither child nor brother: yet is there no end of all his labour; neither is his eye satisfied with riches; neither saith he, For whom do I labour, and bereave my soul of good? This is also vanity, yea, it is a sore travail.

9 Two are better than one; because they have a good reward for their labour.

10 For if they fall, the one will lift up his fellow: but woe to him that is alone when he falleth; for he hath not another to help him up.

11 Again, if two lie together, then they have heat: but how can one be warm alone?

12 And if one prevail against him, two shall withstand him; and a threefold cord is not quickly broken.

13 Better is a poor and a wise child than an old and foolish king, who will no more be admonished.

14 For out of prison he cometh to reign; whereas also he that is born in his kingdom becometh poor.

15 I considered all the living which walk under the sun, with the second child that shall stand up in his stead.

16 There is no end of all the people, even of all that have been before them: they also that come after shall not rejoice in him. Surely this also is vanity and vexation of spirit.

ECCLESIASTES CHAPTER 5

1 Keep thy foot when thou goest to the house of God, and be more ready to hear, than to give the sacrifice of fools: for they consider not that they do evil.

2 Be not rash with thy mouth, and let not thine heart be hasty to utter any thing before God: for God is in heaven, and thou upon earth: therefore let thy words be few.

3 For a dream cometh through the multitude of business; and a fool's voice is known by multitude of words.

4 When thou vowest a vow unto God, defer not to pay it; for he hath no pleasure in fools: pay that which thou hast vowed.

5 Better is it that thou shouldest not vow, than that thou shouldest vow and not pay.

6 Suffer not thy mouth to cause thy flesh to sin; neither say thou before the angel, that it was an error: wherefore should God be angry at thy voice, and destroy the work of thine hands?

7 For in the multitude of dreams and many words there are also divers vanities: but fear thou God.

8 If thou seest the oppression of the poor, and violent perverting of judgement and justice in a province, marvel not at the matter: for he that is higher than the highest regardeth; and there be higher than they.

9 Moreover the profit of the earth is for all: the king himself is served by the field.

10 He that loveth silver shall not be satisfied with silver; nor he that loveth abundance with increase: this is also vanity.

11 When goods increase, they are increased that eat them: and what good is there to the owners thereof, saving the beholding of them with their eyes?

12 The sleep of a labouring man is sweet, whether he eat little or much: but the abundance of the rich will not suffer him to sleep.

13 There is a sore evil which I have seen under the sun, namely, riches kept for the owners thereof to their hurt.

14 But those riches perish by evil travail: and he begetteth a son, and there is nothing in his hand.

15 As he came forth of his mother's womb, naked shall he return to go as he came, and shall take nothing of his labour, which he may carry away in his hand.

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16 And this also is a sore evil, that in all points as he came, so shall he go: and what profit hath he that hath laboured for the wind?
17 All his days also he eateth in darkness, and he hath much sorrow and wrath with his sickness.
18 Behold that which I have seen: it is good and comely for one to eat and to drink, and to enjoy the good of all his labour that he taketh under the sun all the days of his life, which God giveth him: for it is his portion.
19 Every man also to whom God hath given riches and wealth, and hath given him power to eat thereof, and to take his portion, and to rejoice in his labour; this is the gift of God.
20 For he shall not much remember the days of his life; because God answereth him in the joy of his heart.

ECCLESIASTES CHAPTER 6
1 There is an evil which I have seen under the sun, and it is common among men:
2 A man to whom God hath given riches, wealth, and honour, so that he wanteth nothing for his soul of all that he desireth, yet God giveth him not power to eat thereof, but a stranger eateth it: this is vanity, and it is an evil disease.
3 If a man beget an hundred children, and live many years, so that the days of his years be many, and his soul be not filled with good, and also that he have no burial; I say, that an untimely birth is better than he.
4 For he cometh in with vanity, and departeth in darkness, and his name shall be covered with darkness.
5 Moreover he hath not seen the sun, nor known any thing: this hath more rest than the other.
6 Yea, though he live a thousand years twice told, yet hath he seen no good: do not all go to one place?
7 All the labour of man is for his mouth, and yet the appetite is not filled.
8 For what hath the wise more than the fool? what hath the poor, that knoweth to walk before the living?
9 Better is the sight of the eyes than the wandering of the desire: this is also vanity and vexation of spirit.
10 That which hath been is named already, and it is known that it is man: neither may he contend with him that is mightier than he.
11 Seeing there be many things that increase vanity, what is man the better?
12 For who knoweth what is good for man in this life, all the days of his vain life which he spendeth as a shadow? for who can tell a man what shall be after him under the sun?

ECCLESIASTES CHAPTER 7
1 A good name is better than precious ointment; and the day of death than the day of one's birth.
2 It is better to go to the house of mourning, than to go to the house of feasting: for that is the end of all men; and the living will lay it to his heart.
3 Sorrow is better than laughter: for by the sadness of the countenance the heart is made better.
4 The heart of the wise is in the house of mourning; but the heart of fools is in the house of mirth.
5 It is better to hear the rebuke of the wise, than for a man to hear the song of fools.
6 For as the crackling of thorns under a pot, so is the laughter of the fool: this also is vanity.
7 Surely oppression maketh a wise man mad; and a gift destroyeth the heart.
8 Better is the end of a thing than the beginning thereof: and the patient in spirit is better than the proud in spirit.
9 Be not hasty in thy spirit to be angry: for anger resteth in the bosom of fools.
10 Say not thou, What is the cause that the former days were better than these? for thou dost not enquire wisely concerning this.
11 Wisdom is good with an inheritance: and by it there is profit to them that see the sun.
12 For wisdom is a defence, and money is a defence: but the excellency of knowledge is, that wisdom giveth life to them that have it.
13 Consider the work of God: for who can make that straight, which he hath made crooked?
14 In the day of prosperity be joyful, but in the day of adversity consider: God also hath set the one over against the other, to the end that man should find nothing after him.
15 All things have I seen in the days of my vanity: there is a just man that perisheth in his righteousness, and there is a wicked man that prolongeth his life in his wickedness.
16 Be not righteous over much; neither make thyself over wise: why shouldest thou destroy thyself?
17 Be not over much wicked, neither be thou foolish: why shouldest thou die before thy time?
18 It is good that thou shouldest take hold of this; yea, also from this withdraw not thine hand: for he that feareth God shall come forth of them all.
19 Wisdom strengtheneth the wise more than ten mighty men which are in the city.
20 For there is not a just man upon earth, that doeth good, and sinneth not.
21 Also take no heed unto all words that are spoken; lest thou hear thy servant curse thee:
22 For oftentimes also thine own heart knoweth that thou thyself likewise hast cursed others.
23 All this have I proved by wisdom: I said, I will be wise; but it was far from me.
24 That which is far off, and exceeding deep, who can find it out?
25 I applied mine heart to know, and to search, and to seek out wisdom, and the reason of things, and to know the wickedness of folly, even of foolishness and madness:
26 And I find more bitter than death the woman, whose heart is snares and nets, and her hands as bands: whoso pleaseth God shall escape from her; but the sinner shall be taken by her.
27 Behold, this have I found, saith the preacher, counting one by one, to find out the account:
28 Which yet my soul seeketh, but I find not: one man among a thousand have I found; but a woman among all those have I not found.
29 Lo, this only have I found, that God hath made man upright; but they have sought out many inventions.

ECCLESIASTES CHAPTER 8
1 Who is as the wise man? and who knoweth the interpretation of a thing? a man's wisdom maketh his face to shine, and the boldness of his face shall be changed.
2 I counsel thee to keep the king's commandment, and that in regard of the oath of God.
3 Be not hasty to go out of his sight: stand not in an evil thing; for he doeth whatsoever pleaseth him.
4 Where the word of a king is, there is power: and who may say unto him, What doest thou?
5 Whoso keepeth the commandment shall feel no evil thing: and a wise man's heart discerneth both time and judgement.
6 Because to every purpose there is time and judgement, therefore the misery of man is great upon him.
7 For he knoweth not that which shall be: for who can tell him when it shall be?
8 There is no man that hath power over the spirit to retain the spirit; neither hath he power in the day of death: and there is no discharge in that war; neither shall wickedness deliver those that are given to it.
9 All this have I seen, and applied my heart unto every work that is done under the sun: there is a time wherein one man ruleth over another to his own hurt.
10 And so I saw the wicked buried, who had come and gone from the place of the holy, and they were forgotten in the city where they had so done: this is also vanity.
11 Because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the heart of the sons of men is fully set in them to do evil.
12 Though a sinner do evil an hundred times, and his days be prolonged, yet surely I know that it shall be well with them that fear God, which fear before him:
13 But it shall not be well with the wicked, neither shall he prolong his days, which are as a shadow; because he feareth not before God.
14 There is a vanity which is done upon the earth; that there be just men, unto whom it happeneth according to the work of the wicked; again, there be wicked men, to whom it happeneth according to the work of the righteous: I said that this also is vanity.
15 Then I commended mirth, because a man hath no better thing under the sun, than to eat, and to drink, and to be merry: for that shall abide with him of his labour the days of his life, which God giveth him under the sun.
16 When I applied mine heart to know wisdom, and to see the business that is done upon the earth: (for also there is that neither day nor night seeth sleep with his eyes:)
17 Then I beheld all the work of God, that a man cannot find out the work that is done under the sun: because though a man labour to seek it out, yet he shall not find it; yea farther; though a wise man think to know it, yet shall he not be able to find it.

ECCLESIASTES CHAPTER 9
1 For all this I considered in my heart even to declare all this, that the righteous, and the wise, and their works, are in the hand of God: no man knoweth either love or hatred by all that is before them.
2 All things come alike to all: there is one event to the righteous, and to the wicked; to the good and to the clean, and to the unclean; to him that sacrificeth, and to him that sacrificeth not: as is the good, so is the sinner; and he that sweareth, as he that feareth an oath.
3 This is an evil among all things that are done under the sun, that there is one event unto all: yea, also the heart of the sons of men is full of evil, and madness is in their heart while they live, and after that they go to the dead.
4 For to him that is joined to all the living there is hope: for a living dog is better than a dead lion.
5 For the living know that they shall die: but the dead know not any thing, neither have they any more a reward; for the memory of them is forgotten.
6 Also their love, and their hatred, and their envy, is now perished; neither have they any more a portion for ever in any thing that is done under the sun.
7 Go thy way, eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine with a merry heart; for God now accepteth thy works.
8 Let thy garments be always white; and let thy head lack no ointment.
9 Live joyfully with the wife whom thou lovest all the days of the life of thy vanity, which he hath given thee under the sun, all the days of thy vanity: for that is thy portion in this life, and in thy labour which thou takest under the sun.
10 Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest.
11 I returned, and saw under the sun, that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all.
12 For man also knoweth not his time: as the fishes that are taken in an evil net, and as the birds that are caught in the snare; so are the sons of men snared in an evil time, when it falleth suddenly upon them.
13 This wisdom have I seen also under the sun, and it seemed great unto me:
14 There was a little city, and few men within it; and there came a great king against it, and besieged it, and built great bulwarks against it:
15 Now there was found in it a poor wise man, and he by his wisdom delivered the city; yet no man remembered that same poor man.
16 Then said I, Wisdom is better than strength: nevertheless the poor man's wisdom is despised, and his words are not heard.
17 The words of wise men are heard in quiet more than the cry of him that ruleth among fools.
18 Wisdom is better than weapons of war: but one sinner destroyeth much good.

ECCLESIASTES CHAPTER 10
1 Dead flies cause the ointment of the apothecary to send forth a stinking savour: so doth a little folly him that is in reputation for wisdom and honour.
2 A wise man's heart is at his right hand; but a fool's heart at his left.
3 Yea also, when he that is a fool walketh by the way, his wisdom faileth him, and he saith to every one that he is a fool.
4 If the spirit of the ruler rise up against thee, leave not thy place; for yielding pacifieth great offences.
5 There is an evil which I have seen under the sun, as an error which proceedeth from the ruler:
6 Folly is set in great dignity, and the rich sit in low place.
7 I have seen servants upon horses, and princes walking as servants upon the earth.
8 He that diggeth a pit shall fall into it; and whoso breaketh an hedge, a serpent shall bite him.
9 Whoso removeth stones shall be hurt therewith; and he that cleaveth wood shall be endangered thereby.
10 If the iron be blunt, and he do not whet the edge, then must he put to more strength: but wisdom is profitable to direct.
11 Surely the serpent will bite without enchantment; and a babbler is no better.
12 The words of a wise man's mouth are gracious; but the lips of a fool will swallow up himself.
13 The beginning of the words of his mouth is foolishness: and the end of his talk is mischievous madness.
14 A fool also is full of words: a man cannot tell what shall be; and what shall be after him, who can tell him?
15 The labour of the foolish wearieth every one of them, because he knoweth not how to go to the city.
16 Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child, and thy princes eat in the morning!
17 Blessed art thou, O land, when thy king is the son of nobles, and thy princes eat in due season, for strength, and not for drunkenness!
18 By much slothfulness the building decayeth; and through idleness of the hands the house droppeth through.
19 A feast is made for laughter, and wine maketh merry: but money answereth all things.
20 Curse not the king, no not in thy thought; and curse not the rich in thy bedchamber: for a bird of the air shall carry the voice, and that which hath wings shall tell the matter.

ECCLESIASTES CHAPTER 11
1 Cast thy bread upon the waters: for thou shalt find it after many days.
2 Give a portion to seven, and also to eight; for thou knowest not what evil shall be upon the earth.
3 If the clouds be full of rain, they empty themselves upon the earth: and if the tree fall toward the south, or toward the north, in the place where the tree falleth, there it shall be.

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4 He that observeth the wind shall not sow; and he that regardeth the clouds shall not reap.

5 As thou knowest not what is the way of the spirit, nor how the bones do grow in the womb of her that is with child: even so thou knowest not the works of God who maketh all.

6 In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thine hand: for thou knowest not whether shall prosper, either this or that, or whether they both shall be alike good.

7 Truly the light is sweet, and a pleasant thing it is for the eyes to behold the sun:

8 But if a man live many years, and rejoice in them all; yet let him remember the days of darkness; for they shall be many. All that cometh is vanity.

9 Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth; and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thine heart, and in the sight of thine eyes: but know thou, that for all these things God will bring thee into judgement.

10 Therefore remove sorrow from thy heart, and put away evil from thy flesh: for childhood and youth are vanity.

ECCLESIASTES CHAPTER 12

1 Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not, nor the years draw nigh, when thou shalt say, I have no pleasure in them;

2 While the sun, or the light, or the moon, or the stars, be not darkened, nor the clouds return after the rain:

3 In the day when the keepers of the house shall tremble, and the strong men shall bow themselves, and the grinders cease because they are few, and those that look out of the windows be darkened,

4 And the doors shall be shut in the streets, when the sound of the grinding is low, and he shall rise up at the voice of the bird, and all the daughters of musick shall be brought low;

5 Also when they shall be afraid of that which is high, and fears shall be in the way, and the almond tree shall flourish, and the grasshopper shall be a burden, and desire shall fail: because man goeth to his long home, and the mourners go about the streets:

6 Or ever the silver cord be loosed, or the golden bowl be broken, or the pitcher be broken at the fountain, or the wheel broken at the cistern.

7 Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was: and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it.

8 Vanity of vanities, saith the preacher; all is vanity.

9 And moreover, because the preacher was wise, he still taught the people knowledge; yea, he gave good heed, and sought out, and set in order many proverbs.

10 The preacher sought to find out acceptable words: and that which was written was upright, even words of truth.

11 The words of the wise are as goads, and as nails fastened by the masters of assemblies, which are given from one shepherd.

12 And further, by these, my son, be admonished: of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh.

13 Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter: Fear God, and keep his commandments: for this is the whole duty of man.

14 For God shall bring every work into judgement, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil.

THE SCROLL OF ESTHER

Hebrew title: Megilath Esther
Estimated Range of Dating: 4th century B.C.

*(The Scroll of Esther is a book in the third section (Ketuvim, "Writings") of the Jewish Tanakh (the Hebrew Bible) and in the Christian Old Testament. It is one of the five Scrolls (Megillot) in the Hebrew Bible. The Megillat Esther (Scroll of Esther) became the last of the 24 books of the Tanakh to be canonised by the Sages of the "Great Assembly" **. According to the Talmud, it was a redaction by the Great Assembly of an original text by Mordecai. It is usually dated to the 4th century BC.*

The book tells us the story of a Hebrew woman in Persia, born as Hadassah but known as Esther, who becomes Queen of Persia and prevents a genocide of her people. The story forms the core of the Jewish festival of Purim, during which it is read aloud twice: once in the evening and again the following morning. The books of Esther and Song of Songs are the only books in the Hebrew Bible that do not mention God.

The biblical Book of Esther is set in the Persian capital of Susa (Shushan) in the third year of the reign of the Persian king Ahasuerus. The name Ahasuerus is equivalent to Artaxerxes. Titus Flavius Josephus identifies Ahasuerus as either Xerxes I (reigned 465 to 424 BC) or Artaxerxes II (reigned 404 to 358 BC). The Hebrew-Aramaic Ahasuerus is most likely derived from Persian Xšayārša, the origin of the Greek Xerxes. On his accession, however, Artaxerxes II lost Egypt to pharaoh Amyrtaeus, after which it was no longer part of the Persian empire. Ahasuerus (Esther 1:1) as Artaxerxes III (358–338 BC) reconquered Egypt, and therefore may well be the king in whose time the story plays.

Classical sources such as Josephus, the Jewish commentary Esther Rabbah and the Christian theologian Bar-Hebraeus, as well as the Greek Septuagint translation of Esther, instead identify Ahasuerus as either Artaxerxes I (reigned 465 to 424 BC) or Artaxerxes II (reigned 404 to 358 BC).

On his accession, however, Artaxerxes II lost Egypt to pharaoh Amyrtaeus, after which it was no longer part of the Persian empire. In his Historia Scholastica Petrus Comestor identified Ahasuerus (Esther 1:1) as Artaxerxes III (358–38 BC) who reconquered Egypt.

King Ahasuerus, ruler of the Persian Empire, holds a lavish 180-day banquet, initially for his court and dignitaries and afterwards a seven-day banquet for all inhabitants of the capital city, Shushan (Esther 1:1–9). On the seventh day of the latter banquet, Ahasuerus orders the queen, Vashti, to display her beauty before the guests by coming before them wearing her crown (1:10–11). She refuses, infuriating Ahasuerus, who on the advice of his counselors removes her from her position as an example to other women who might be emboldened to disobey their husbands (1:12–19). A decree follows that "every man should bear rule in his own house" (1:20–22).

Ahasuerus then makes arrangements to choose a new queen from a selection of beautiful young women from throughout the empire (2:1–4). Among these women is a Jewish orphan named Esther, who was raised by her cousin or uncle, Mordecai (2:5–7). She finds favour in the King's eyes, and is crowned his new queen, but does not reveal her Jewish heritage (2:8–20). Shortly afterwards, Mordecai discovers a plot by two courtiers, Bigthan and Teresh, to assassinate Ahasuerus. The conspirators are apprehended and hanged, and Mordecai's service to the King is recorded (2:21–23).

Ahasuerus appoints Haman as his viceroy (3:1). Mordecai, who sits at the palace gates, falls into Haman's disfavour, as he refuses to bow down to him (3:2–5). Haman discovers that Mordecai refused to bow on account of his Jewishness, and in revenge plots to kill not just Mordecai, but all the Jews in the empire (3:6). He obtains Ahasuerus' permission to execute this plan, against payment of ten thousand talents of silver, and casts lots ("purim") to choose the date on which to do this – the thirteenth of the month of Adar (3:7–12). A royal decree is issued throughout the kingdom to slay all Jews on that date. (3:13–15).

When Mordecai discovers the plan, he goes into mourning and implores Esther to intercede with the King (4:1–5). But she is afraid to present herself to the King unsummoned, an offense punishable by death (4:6–12). Instead, she directs Mordecai to have all Jews fast for three days for her, and vows to fast as well (4:15–16.). On the third day she goes to Ahasuerus, who stretches out his sceptre to her to indicate that she is not to be punished (5:1–2). She invites him to a feast in the company of Haman (5:3–5). During the feast, she asks them to attend a further feast the next evening (5:6–8). Meanwhile, Haman is again offended by Mordecai and, at his wife's suggestion, has a gallows built to hang him (5:9–14).

That night, Ahasuerus cannot sleep, and orders the court records be read to him (6:1). He is reminded that Mordecai interceded in the previous plot against his life, and discovers that Mordecai never received any recognition (6:2–3). Just then, Haman appears to request the King's permission to hang Mordecai, but before he can make this request, Ahasuerus asks Haman what should be done for the man that the King wishes to honor (6:4–6). Assuming that the King is referring to Haman himself, Haman suggests that the man be dressed in the King's royal robes, and crown and led around on the King's royal horse, while a herald calls: "See how the King honours a man he wishes to reward!" (6:7–9). To his surprise and horror, the King instructs Haman to do so to Mordecai (6:10–11).

Immediately after, Ahasuerus and Haman attend Esther's second banquet. The King promises to grant her any request, and she reveals that she is Jewish and that Haman is planning to exterminate her people, including her (7:1–6). Overcome by rage, Ahasuerus leaves the room; meanwhile Haman stays behind and begs Esther for his life, falling upon her in desperation (7:7). The King returns in at this very moment and thinks Haman is assaulting the queen; this makes him angrier and he orders Haman hanged on the very gallows that Haman had prepared for Mordecai (7:8–10).

Unable to annul a formal royal decree, the King instead adds to it, permitting the Jews to join together and destroy any and all of those seeking to kill them (8:1–14). On 13 Adar, Haman's ten sons and 500 other men are killed in Shushan (9:1–12). Upon hearing of this Esther requests it be repeated the next day, whereupon 300 more men are killed (9:13–15). Over 75,000 people are slaughtered by the Jews, who are careful to take no plunder (9:16–17). Mordecai and Esther send letters throughout the provinces instituting an annual commemoration of the Jewish people's redemption, in a holiday called Purim (lots) (9:20–28). Ahasuerus remains very powerful and continues his reign, with Mordecai assuming a prominent position in his court (10:1–3).

*[** The Great Assembly: According to Jewish tradition the Men of the Great Assembly or Anshei Knesset HaGedolah, also known as the Great Synagogue, or Synod, was an assembly of 120 scribes, sages, and prophets, in the period from the end of the Biblical prophets since the early Second Temple period (which started around 516 BC) to the early Hellenistic period (which began with Alexander's conquests of 333-332 BC). It comprised such prophets as Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi (who is Ezra), Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, Azariah, Nehemiah b. Hachaliah, Mordechai and Zerubabel b. Shaaltiel, among others. Sometimes, the Great Assembly is simply designated as "Ezra and his court of law" (Beit Din).*

Among the developments in Judaism that are attributed to them are the fixing of the Jewish Biblical canon, including the Book of Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther, and the Twelve Minor Prophets; the introduction of the Feast of Purim; and the institution of the prayer known as the "Shemoneh 'Esreh" as well as the synagogal prayers, rituals, and benedictions.])

ESTHER CHAPTER 1

1 Now it came to pass in the days of Ahasuerus, (this is Ahasuerus which reigned, from India even unto Ethiopia, over an hundred and seven and twenty provinces:)

2 That in those days, when the king Ahasuerus sat on the throne of his kingdom, which was in Shushan the palace,

3 In the third year of his reign, he made a feast unto all his princes and his servants; the power of Persia and Media, the nobles and princes of the provinces, being before him:

4 When he shewed the riches of his glorious kingdom and the honour of his excellent majesty many days, even an hundred and fourscore days.

5 And when these days were expired, the king made a feast unto all the people that were present in Shushan the palace, both unto great and small, seven days, in the court of the garden of the king's palace;

6 Where were white, green, and blue, hangings, fastened with cords of fine linen and purple to silver rings and pillars of marble: the beds were of gold and silver, upon a pavement of red, and blue, and white, and black, marble.

7 And they gave them drink in vessels of gold, (the vessels being diverse one from another,) and royal wine in abundance, according to the state of the king.

8 And the drinking was according to the law; none did compel: for so the king had appointed to all the officers of his house, that they should do according to every man's pleasure.

9 Also Vashti the queen made a feast for the women in the royal house which belonged to king Ahasuerus.

10 On the seventh day, when the heart of the king was merry with wine, he commanded Mehuman, Biztha, Harbona, Bigtha, and Abagtha, Zethar, and Carcas, the seven chamberlains that served in the presence of Ahasuerus the king,

11 To bring Vashti the queen before the king with the crown royal, to shew the people and the princes her beauty: for she was fair to look on.

12 But the queen Vashti refused to come at the king's commandment by his chamberlains: therefore was the king very wroth, and his anger burned in him.

13 Then the king said to the wise men, which knew the times, (for so was the king's manner toward all that knew law and judgement:

14 And the next unto him was Carshena, Shethar, Admatha, Tarshish, Meres, Marsena, and Memucan, the seven princes of Persia and Media, which saw the king's face, and which sat the first in the kingdom;)

15 What shall we do unto the queen Vashti according to law, because she hath not performed the commandment of the king Ahasuerus by the chamberlains?

16 And Memucan answered before the king and the princes, Vashti the queen hath not done wrong to the king only, but also to all the princes, and to all the people that are in all the provinces of the king Ahasuerus.

17 For this deed of the queen shall come abroad unto all women, so that they shall despise their husbands in their eyes, when it shall be reported, The king Ahasuerus commanded Vashti the queen to be brought in before him, but she came not.

18 Likewise shall the ladies of Persia and Media say this day unto all the king's princes, which have heard of the deed of the queen. Thus shall there arise too much contempt and wrath.

19 If it please the king, let there go a royal commandment from him, and let it be written among the laws of the Persians and the Medes, that it be not altered, That Vashti come no more before king Ahasuerus; and let the king give her royal estate unto another that is better than she.

20 And when the king's decree which he shall make shall be published throughout all his empire, (for it is great,) all the wives shall give to their husbands honour, both to great and small.

21 And the saying pleased the king and the princes; and the king did according to the word of Memucan:

22 For he sent letters into all the king's provinces, into every province according to the writing thereof, and to every people after their language, that every man should bear rule

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in his own house, and that it should be published according to the language of every people.

ESTHER CHAPTER 2

1 After these things, when the wrath of king Ahasuerus was appeased, he remembered Vashti, and what she had done, and what was decreed against her.

2 Then said the king's servants that ministered unto him, Let there be fair young virgins sought for the king:

3 And let the king appoint officers in all the provinces of his kingdom, that they may gather together all the fair young virgins unto Shushan the palace, to the house of the women, unto the custody of Hege the king's chamberlain, keeper of the women; and let their things for purification be given them:

4 And let the maiden which pleaseth the king be queen instead of Vashti. And the thing pleased the king; and he did so.

5 Now in Shushan the palace there was a certain Jew, whose name was Mordecai, the son of Jair, the son of Shimei, the son of Kish, a Benjamite;

6 Who had been carried away from Jerusalem with the captivity which had been carried away with Jeconiah king of Judah, whom Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon had carried away.

7 And he brought up Hadassah, that is, Esther, his uncle's daughter: for she had neither father nor mother, and the maid was fair and beautiful; whom Mordecai, when her father and mother were dead, took for his own daughter.

8 So it came to pass, when the king's commandment and his decree was heard, and when many maidens were gathered together unto Shushan the palace, to the custody of Hegai, that Esther was brought also unto the king's house, to the custody of Hegai, keeper of the women.

9 And the maiden pleased him, and she obtained kindness of him; and he speedily gave her her things for purification, with such things as belonged to her, and seven maidens, which were meet to be given her, out of the king's house: and he preferred her and her maids unto the best place of the house of the women.

10 Esther had not shewed her people nor her kindred: for Mordecai had charged her that she should not shew it.

11 And Mordecai walked every day before the court of the women's house, to know how Esther did, and what should become of her.

12 Now when every maid's turn was come to go in to king Ahasuerus, after that she had been twelve months, according to the manner of the women, (for so were the days of their purifications accomplished, to wit, six months with oil of myrrh, and six months with sweet odours, and with other things for the purifying of the women;)

13 Then thus came every maiden unto the king; whatsoever she desired was given her to go with her out of the house of the women unto the king's house.

14 In the evening she went, and on the morrow she returned into the second house of the women, to the custody of Shaashgaz, the king's chamberlain, which kept the concubines: she came in unto the king no more, except the king delighted in her, and that she were called by name.

15 Now when the turn of Esther, the daughter of Abihail the uncle of Mordecai, who had taken her for his daughter, was come to go in unto the king, she required nothing but what Hegai the king's chamberlain, the keeper of the women, appointed. And Esther obtained favour in the sight of all them that looked upon her.

16 So Esther was taken unto king Ahasuerus into his house royal in the tenth month, which is the month Tebeth, in the seventh year of his reign.

17 And the king loved Esther above all the women, and she obtained grace and favour in his sight more than all the virgins; so that he set the royal crown upon her head, and made her queen instead of Vashti.

18 Then the king made a great feast unto all his princes and his servants, even Esther's feast; and he made a release to the provinces, and gave gifts, according to the state of the king.

19 And when the virgins were gathered together the second time, then Mordecai sat in the king's gate.

20 Esther had not yet shewed her kindred nor her people; as Mordecai had charged her: for Esther did the commandment of Mordecai, like as when she was brought up with him.

21 In those days, while Mordecai sat in the king's gate, two of the king's chamberlains, Bigthan and Teresh, of those which kept the door, were wroth, and sought to lay hands on the king Ahasuerus.

22 And the thing was known to Mordecai, who told it unto Esther the queen; and Esther certified the king thereof in Mordecai's name.

23 And when inquisition was made of the matter, it was found out; therefore they were both hanged on a tree: and it was written in the book of the chronicles before the king.

ESTHER CHAPTER 3

1 After these things did king Ahasuerus promote Haman the son of Hammedatha the Agagite, and advanced him, and set his seat above all the princes that were with him.

2 And all the king's servants, that were in the king's gate, bowed, and reverenced Haman: for the king had so commanded concerning him. But Mordecai bowed not, nor did him reverence.

3 Then the king's servants, which were in the king's gate, said unto Mordecai, Why transgressest thou the king's commandment?

4 Now it came to pass, when they spake daily unto him, and he hearkened not unto them, that they told Haman, to see whether Mordecai's matters would stand: for he had told them that he was a Jew.

5 And when Haman saw that Mordecai bowed not, nor did him reverence, then was Haman full of wrath.

6 And he thought scorn to lay hands on Mordecai alone; for they had shewed him the people of Mordecai: wherefore Haman sought to destroy all the Jews that were throughout the whole kingdom of Ahasuerus, even the people of Mordecai.

7 In the first month, that is, the month Nisan, in the twelfth year of king Ahasuerus, they cast Pur, that is, the lot, before Haman from day to day, and from month to month, to the twelfth month, that is, the month Adar.

8 And Haman said unto king Ahasuerus, There is a certain people scattered abroad and dispersed among the people in all the provinces of thy kingdom; and their laws are diverse from all people; neither keep they the king's laws: therefore it is not for the king's profit to suffer them.

9 If it please the king, let it be written that they may be destroyed: and I will pay ten thousand talents of silver to the hands of those that have the charge of the business, to bring it into the king's treasuries.

10 And the king took his ring from his hand, and gave it unto Haman the son of Hammedatha the Agagite, the Jews' enemy.

11 And the king said unto Haman, The silver is given to thee, the people also, to do with them as it seemeth good to thee.

12 Then were the king's scribes called on the thirteenth day of the first month, and there was written according to all that Haman had commanded unto the king's lieutenants, and to the governors that were over every province, and to the rulers of every people of every province according to the writing thereof, and to every people after their language; in the name of king Ahasuerus was it written, and sealed with the king's ring.

13 And the letters were sent by posts into all the king's provinces, to destroy, to kill, and to cause to perish, all Jews, both young and old, little children and women, in one day, even upon the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which is the month Adar, and to take the spoil of them for a prey.

14 The copy of the writing for a commandment to be given in every province was published unto all people, that they should be ready against that day.

15 The posts went out, being hastened by the king's commandment, and the decree was given in Shushan the palace. And the king and Haman sat down to drink; but the city Shushan was perplexed.

ESTHER CHAPTER 4

1 When Mordecai perceived all that was done, Mordecai rent his clothes, and put on sackcloth with ashes, and went out into the midst of the city, and cried with a loud and a bitter cry;

2 And came even before the king's gate: for none might enter into the king's gate clothed with sackcloth.

3 And in every province, whithersoever the king's commandment and his decree came, there was great mourning among the Jews, and fasting, and weeping, and wailing; and many lay in sackcloth and ashes.

4 So Esther's maids and her chamberlains came and told it her. Then was the queen exceedingly grieved; and she sent raiment to clothe Mordecai, and to take away his sackcloth from him: but he received it not.

5 Then called Esther for Hatach, one of the king's chamberlains, whom he had appointed to attend upon her, and gave him a commandment to Mordecai, to know what it was, and why it was.

6 So Hatach went forth to Mordecai unto the street of the city, which was before the king's gate.

7 And Mordecai told him of all that had happened unto him, and of the sum of the money that Haman had promised to pay to the king's treasuries for the Jews, to destroy them.

8 Also he gave him the copy of the writing of the decree that was given at Shushan to destroy them, to shew it unto Esther, and to declare it unto her, and to charge her that she should go in unto the king, to make supplication unto him, and to make request before him for her people.

9 And Hatach came and told Esther the words of Mordecai.

10 Again Esther spake unto Hatach, and gave him commandment unto Mordecai;

11 All the king's servants, and the people of the king's provinces, do know, that whosoever, whether man or women, shall come unto the king into the inner court, who is not called, there is one law of his to put him to death, except such to whom the king shall hold out the golden sceptre, that he may live: but I have not been called to come in unto the king these thirty days.

12 And they told to Mordecai Esther's words.

13 Then Mordecai commanded to answer Esther, Think not with thyself that thou shalt escape in the king's house, more than all the Jews.

14 For if thou altogether holdest thy peace at this time, then shall there enlargement and deliverance arise to the Jews from another place; but thou and thy father's house shall be destroyed: and who knoweth whether thou art come to the kingdom for such a time as this?

15 Then Esther bade them return Mordecai this answer,

16 Go, gather together all the Jews that are present in Shushan, and fast ye for me, and neither eat nor drink three days, night or day: I also and my maidens will fast likewise; and so will I go in unto the king, which is not according to the law: and if I perish, I perish.

17 So Mordecai went his way, and did according to all that Esther had commanded him.

ESTHER CHAPTER 5

1 Now it came to pass on the third day, that Esther put on her royal apparel, and stood in the inner court of the king's house, over against the king's house: and the king sat upon his royal throne in the royal house, over against the gate of the house.

2 And it was so, when the king saw Esther the queen standing in the court, that she obtained favour in his sight: and the king held out to Esther the golden sceptre that was in his hand. So Esther drew near, and touched the top of the sceptre.

3 Then said the king unto her, What wilt thou, queen Esther? and what is thy request? it shall be even given thee to the half of the kingdom.

4 And Esther answered, If it seem good unto the king, let the king and Haman come this day unto the banquet that I have prepared for him.

5 Then the king said, Cause Haman to make haste, that he may do as Esther hath said. So the king and Haman came to the banquet that Esther had prepared.

6 And the king said unto Esther at the banquet of wine, What is thy petition? and it shall be granted thee: and what is thy request? even to the half of the kingdom it shall be performed.

7 Then answered Esther, and said, My petition and my request is;

8 If I have found favour in the sight of the king, and if it please the king to grant my petition, and to perform my request, let the king and Haman come to the banquet that I shall prepare for them, and I will do to morrow as the king hath said.

9 Then went Haman forth that day joyful and with a glad heart: but when Haman saw Mordecai in the king's gate, that he stood not up, nor moved for him, he was full of indignation against Mordecai.

10 Nevertheless Haman refrained himself: and when he came home, he sent and called for his friends, and Zeresh his wife.

11 And Haman told them of the glory of his riches, and the multitude of his children, and all the things wherein the king had promoted him, and how he had advanced him above the princes and servants of the king.

12 Haman said moreover, Yea, Esther the queen did let no man come in with the king unto the banquet that she had prepared but myself; and to morrow am I invited unto her also with the king.

13 Yet all this availeth me nothing, so long as I see Mordecai the Jew sitting at the king's gate.

14 Then said Zeresh his wife and all his friends unto him, Let a gallows be made of fifty cubits high, and to morrow speak thou unto the king that Mordecai may be hanged thereon: then go thou in merrily with the king unto the banquet. And the thing pleased Haman; and he caused the gallows to be made.

ESTHER CHAPTER 6

1 On that night could not the king sleep, and he commanded to bring the book of records of the chronicles; and they were read before the king.

2 And it was found written, that Mordecai had told of Bigthana and Teresh, two of the king's chamberlains, the keepers of the door, who sought to lay hand on the king Ahasuerus.

3 And the king said, What honour and dignity hath been done to Mordecai for this? Then said the king's servants that ministered unto him, There is nothing done for him.

4 And the king said, Who is in the court? Now Haman was come into the outward court of the king's house, to speak unto the king to hang Mordecai on the gallows that he had prepared for him.

5 And the king's servants said unto him, Behold, Haman standeth in the court. And the king said, Let him come in.

6 So Haman came in. And the king said unto him, What shall be done unto the man whom the king delighteth to

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honour? Now Haman thought in his heart, To whom would the king delight to do honour more than to myself?

7 And Haman answered the king, For the man whom the king delighteth to honour,

8 Let the royal apparel be brought which the king useth to wear, and the horse that the king rideth upon, and the crown royal which is set upon his head:

9 And let this apparel and horse be delivered to the hand of one of the king's most noble princes, that they may array the man withal whom the king delighteth to honour, and bring him on horseback through the street of the city, and proclaim before him, Thus shall it be done to the man whom the king delighteth to honour.

10 Then the king said to Haman, Make haste, and take the apparel and the horse, as thou hast said, and do even so to Mordecai the Jew, that sitteth at the king's gate: let nothing fail of all that thou hast spoken.

11 Then took Haman the apparel and the horse, and arrayed Mordecai, and brought him on horseback through the street of the city, and proclaimed before him, Thus shall it be done unto the man whom the king delighteth to honour.

12 And Mordecai came again to the king's gate. But Haman hasted to his house mourning, and having his head covered.

13 And Haman told Zeresh his wife and all his friends every thing that had befallen him. Then said his wise men and Zeresh his wife unto him, If Mordecai be of the seed of the Jews, before whom thou hast begun to fall, thou shalt not prevail against him, but shalt surely fall before him.

14 And while they were yet talking with him, came the king's chamberlains, and hasted to bring Haman unto the banquet that Esther had prepared.

ESTHER CHAPTER 7

1 So the king and Haman came to banquet with Esther the queen.

2 And the king said again unto Esther on the second day at the banquet of wine, What is thy petition, queen Esther? and it shall be granted thee: and what is thy request? and it shall be performed, even to the half of the kingdom.

3 Then Esther the queen answered and said, If I have found favour in thy sight, O king, and if it please the king, let my life be given me at my petition, and my people at my request:

4 For we are sold, I and my people, to be destroyed, to be slain, and to perish. But if we had been sold for bondmen and bondwomen, I had held my tongue, although the enemy could not countervail the king's damage.

5 Then the king Ahasuerus answered and said unto Esther the queen, Who is he, and where is he, that durst presume in his heart to do so?

6 And Esther said, The adversary and enemy is this wicked Haman. Then Haman was afraid before the king and the queen.

7 And the king arising from the banquet of wine in his wrath went into the palace garden: and Haman stood up to make request for his life to Esther the queen; for he saw that there was evil determined against him by the king.

8 Then the king returned out of the palace garden into the place of the banquet of wine; and Haman was fallen upon the bed whereon Esther was. Then said the king, Will he force the queen also before me in the house? As the word went out of king's mouth, they covered Haman's face.

9 And Harbonah, one of the chamberlains, said before the king, Behold also, the gallows fifty cubits high, which Haman had made for Mordecai, who spoken good for the king, standeth in the house of Haman. Then the king said, Hang him thereon.

10 So they hanged Haman on the gallows that he had prepared for Mordecai. Then was the king's wrath pacified.

ESTHER CHAPTER 8

1 On that day did the king Ahasuerus give the house of Haman the Jews' enemy unto Esther the queen. And Mordecai came before the king; for Esther had told what he was unto her.

2 And the king took off his ring, which he had taken from Haman, and gave it unto Mordecai. And Esther set Mordecai over the house of Haman.

3 And Esther spake yet again before the king, and fell down at his feet, and besought him with tears to put away the mischief of Haman the Agagite, and his device that he had devised against the Jews.

4 Then the king held out the golden sceptre toward Esther. So Esther arose, and stood before the king,

5 And said, If it please the king, and if I have favour in his sight, and the thing seem right before the king, and I be pleasing in his eyes, let it be written to reverse the letters devised by Haman the son of Hammedatha the Agagite, which he wrote to destroy the Jews which are in all the king's provinces:

6 For how can I endure to see the evil that shall come unto my people? or how can I endure to see the destruction of my kindred?

7 Then the king Ahasuerus said unto Esther the queen and to Mordecai the Jew, Behold, I have given Esther the house of Haman, and him they have hanged upon the gallows, because he laid his hand upon the Jews.

8 Write ye also for the Jews, as it liketh you, in the king's name, and seal it with the king's ring: for the writing which is written in the king's name, and sealed with the king's ring, may no man reverse.

9 Then were the king's scribes called at that time in the third month, that is, the month Sivan, on the three and twentieth day thereof; and it was written according to all that Mordecai commanded unto the Jews, and to the lieutenants, and the deputies and rulers of the provinces which are from India unto Ethiopia, an hundred twenty and seven provinces, unto every province according to the writing thereof, and unto every people after their language, and to the Jews according to their writing, and according to their language.

10 And he wrote in the king Ahasuerus' name, and sealed it with the king's ring, and sent letters by posts on horseback, and riders on mules, camels, and young dromedaries:

11 Wherein the king granted the Jews which were in every city to gather themselves together, and to stand for their life, to destroy, to slay and to cause to perish, all the power of the people and province that would assault them, both little ones and women, and to take the spoil of them for a prey,

12 Upon one day in all the provinces of king Ahasuerus, namely, upon the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which is the month Adar.

13 The copy of the writing for a commandment to be given in every province was published unto all people, and that the Jews should be ready against that day to avenge themselves on their enemies.

14 So the posts that rode upon mules and camels went out, being hastened and pressed on by the king's commandment. And the decree was given at Shushan the palace.

15 And Mordecai went out from the presence of the king in royal apparel of blue and white, and with a great crown of gold, and with a garment of fine linen and purple: and the city of Shushan rejoiced and was glad.

16 The Jews had light, and gladness, and joy, and honour.

17 And in every province, and in every city, whithersoever the king's commandment and his decree came, the Jews had joy and gladness, a feast and a good day. And many of the people of the land became Jews; for the fear of the Jews fell upon them.

ESTHER CHAPTER 9

1 Now in the twelfth month, that is, the month Adar, on the thirteenth day of the same, when the king's commandment and his decree drew near to be put in execution, in the day that the enemies of the Jews hoped to have power over them, (though it was turned to the contrary, that the Jews had rule over them that hated them;)

2 The Jews gathered themselves together in their cities throughout all the provinces of the king Ahasuerus, to lay hand on such as sought their hurt: and no man could withstand them; for the fear of them fell upon all people.

3 And all the rulers of the provinces, and the lieutenants, and the deputies, and officers of the king, helped the Jews; because the fear of Mordecai fell upon them.

4 For Mordecai was great in the king's house, and his fame went out throughout all the provinces: for this man Mordecai waxed greater and greater.

5 Thus the Jews smote all their enemies with the stroke of the sword, and slaughter, and destruction, and did what they would unto those that hated them.

6 And in Shushan the palace the Jews slew and destroyed five hundred men.

7 And Parshandatha, and Dalphon, and Aspatha,

8 And Poratha, and Adalia, and Aridatha,

9 And Parmashta, and Arisai, and Aridai, and Vajezatha,

10 The ten sons of Haman the son of Hammedatha, the enemy of the Jews, slew they; but on the spoil laid they not their hand.

11 On that day the number of those that were slain in Shushan the palace was brought before the king.

12 And the king said unto Esther the queen, The Jews have slain and destroyed five hundred men in Shushan the palace, and the ten sons of Haman; what have they done in the rest of the king's provinces? now what is thy petition? and it shall be granted thee: or what is thy request further? and it shall be done.

13 Then said Esther, If it please the king, let it be granted to the Jews which are in Shushan to do to morrow also according unto this day's decree, and let Haman's ten sons be hanged upon the gallows.

14 And the king commanded it so to be done: and the decree was given at Shushan; and they hanged Haman's ten sons.

15 For the Jews that were in Shushan gathered themselves together on the fourteenth day also of the month Adar, and slew three hundred men at Shushan; but on the prey they laid not their hand.

16 But the other Jews that were in the king's provinces gathered themselves together, and stood for their lives, and had rest from their enemies, and slew of their foes seventy and five thousand, but they laid not their hands on the prey,

17 On the thirteenth day of the month Adar; and on the fourteenth day of the same rested they, and made it a day of feasting and gladness.

18 But the Jews that were at Shushan assembled together on the thirteenth day thereof, and on the fourteenth thereof; and on the fifteenth day of the same they rested, and made it a day of feasting and gladness.

19 Therefore the Jews of the villages, that dwelt in the unwalled towns, made the fourteenth day of the month Adar a day of gladness and feasting, and a good day, and of sending portions one to another.

20 And Mordecai wrote these things, and sent letters unto all the Jews that were in all the provinces of the king Ahasuerus, both nigh and far,

21 To stablish this among them, that they should keep the fourteenth day of the month Adar, and the fifteenth day of the same, yearly,

22 As the days wherein the Jews rested from their enemies, and the month which was turned unto them from sorrow to joy, and from mourning into a good day: that they should make them days of feasting and joy, and of sending portions one to another, and gifts to the poor.

23 And the Jews undertook to do as they had begun, and as Mordecai had written unto them;

24 Because Haman the son of Hammedatha, the Agagite, the enemy of all the Jews, had devised against the Jews to destroy them, and had cast Pur, that is, the lot, to consume them, and to destroy them;

25 But when Esther came before the king, he commanded by letters that his wicked device, which he devised against the Jews, should return upon his own head, and that he and his sons should be hanged on the gallows.

26 Wherefore they called these days Purim after the name of Pur. Therefore for all the words of this letter, and of that which they had seen concerning this matter, and which had come unto them,

27 The Jews ordained, and took upon them, and upon their seed, and upon all such as joined themselves unto them, so as it should not fail, that they would keep these two days according to their writing, and according to their appointed time every year;

28 And that these days should be remembered and kept throughout every generation, every family, every province, and every city; and that these days of Purim should not fail from among the Jews, nor the memorial of them perish from their seed.

29 Then Esther the queen, the daughter of Abihail, and Mordecai the Jew, wrote with all authority, to confirm this second letter of Purim.

30 And he sent the letters unto all the Jews, to the hundred twenty and seven provinces of the kingdom of Ahasuerus, with words of peace and truth,

31 To confirm these days of Purim in their times appointed, according as Mordecai the Jew and Esther the queen had enjoined them, and as they had decreed for themselves and for their seed, the matters of the fastings and their cry.

32 And the decree of Esther confirmed these matters of Purim; and it was written in the book.

ESTHER CHAPTER 10

1 And the king Ahasuerus laid a tribute upon the land, and upon the isles of the sea.

2 And all the acts of his power and of his might, and the declaration of the greatness of Mordecai, whereunto the king advanced him, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Media and Persia?

3 For Mordecai the Jew was next unto king Ahasuerus, and great among the Jews, and accepted of the multitude of his brethren, seeking the wealth of his people, and speaking peace to all his seed.

[See Additions to Esther, Deuterocanon.]

THE UNCOVERING OF KNOWLEDGE

The Revelation of Knowledge
(Book of Daniel, Book of Ezra or Nehemiah, Chronicles)

THE BOOK OF DANIEL

Hebrew title: Sefer Daniyel
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd century B.C.

(The Book of Daniel is a 2nd-century BC biblical apocalypse with an ostensible 6th century setting, combining a prophecy of history with an eschatology (a portrayal of end times) both cosmic in scope and political in focus. It gives "an account of the activities and visions of Daniel, a noble Jew exiled at Babylon", and its message is that just as the God of Israel saves Daniel from his enemies, so he would save all Israel in their present oppression. This messianic-apocalyptic message influenced the Jewish Messianic Movement, the New Testament as well as the Protestant Reformation.

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The Hebrew Bible includes the Book of Daniel in the Ketuvim (writings), while Christian Bibles group the work with the Major Prophets. It divides into two parts, a set of six court tales in chapters 1–6, written mostly in Aramaic, and four apocalyptic visions in chapters 7–12, written mostly in Hebrew; the deuterocanon contains three additional sections, the Song of the Three Holy Children, Susanna, and Bel and the Dragon.

The Book of Daniel is divided between the court tales of chapters 1–6 and the apocalyptic visions of 7–12, and between the Hebrew of chapters 1 and 8–12 and the Aramaic of chapters 2–7. Basic structure:

PART I: Tales (chapters 1:1–6:29)

• 1: Introduction (1:1–21 – set in the Babylonian era, written in Hebrew)

• 2: Nebuchadnezzar's dream of four kingdoms (2:1–49 – Babylonian era; Aramaic)

• 3: The fiery furnace (3:1–30/3:1-23, 91-97 – Babylonian era; Aramaic)

• 4: Nebuchadnezzar's madness (3:31/98–4:34/4:1-37 – Babylonian era; Aramaic)

• 5: Belshazzar's feast (5:1–6:1 – Babylonian era; Aramaic)

• 6: Daniel in the lions' den (6:2–29 – Median era with mention of Persia; Aramaic)

PART II: Visions (chapters 7:1–12:13)

• 7: The beasts from the sea (7:1–28 – Babylonian era: Aramaic)

• 8: The ram and the he-goat (8:1–27 – Babylonian era; Hebrew)

• 9: Interpretation of Jeremiah's prophecy of the seventy weeks (9:1–27 – Median era; Hebrew)

• 10: The angel's revelation: kings of the north and south (10:1–12:13 – Persian era, mention of Greek era; Hebrew)

The Book of Daniel is preserved in the 12-chapter Masoretic Text and in two longer Greek versions, the original Septuagint version, c. 100 BC, and the later Theodotion version from c. 2nd century AD.

[The Masoretic Text (MT) is the authoritative Hebrew Aramaic text of the 24 books of the Tanakh in Rabbinic Judaism. The Masoretic Text defines the Jewish canon and its precise letter-text, with its vocalisation and accentuation known as the masorah. It was primarily copied, edited and distributed by a group of Jews known as the Masoretes between the 7th and 10th centuries AD.]

Both Greek texts contain three additions to Daniel: The Prayer of Azariah and Song of the Three Holy Children; the story of Susannah and the Elders; and the story of Bel and the Dragon. Theodotion is much closer to the Masoretic Text and became so popular that it replaced the original Septuagint version in all but two manuscripts of the Septuagint itself. The Greek additions were apparently never part of the Hebrew text.

Eight copies of the Book of Daniel, all incomplete, have been found at Qumran, two in Cave 1, five in Cave 4, and one in Cave 6. Between them, they preserve text from eleven of Daniel's twelve chapters, and the twelfth is quoted in the Florilegium (a compilation scroll) 4Q174, showing that the book at Qumran did not lack this conclusion. All eight manuscripts were copied between 125 BC (4QDanc) and about 50 AD (4QDanb), showing that Daniel was being read at Qumran only about 40 years after its composition. All appear to preserve the 12-chapter Masoretic version rather than the longer Greek text.

The prophecies of Daniel are accurate down to the career of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, king of Syria and oppressor of the Jews, but not in its prediction of his death: the author seems to know about Antiochus' two campaigns in Egypt (169 and 167 BC), the desecration of the Temple (the "abomination of desolation"), and the fortification of the Akra (a fortress built inside Jerusalem), but he seems to know nothing about the reconstruction of the Temple or about the actual circumstances of Antiochus' death in late 164 BCE. Chapters 10–12 must therefore have been written between 167 and 164 BC. There is no evidence of a significant time lapse between those chapters and chapters 8 and 9, and chapter 7 may have been written just a few months earlier again.

Further evidence of the book's date is in the fact that Daniel is excluded from the Hebrew Bible's canon of the prophets, which was closed around 200 BC, and the Wisdom of Sirach, a work dating from around 180 BC, draws on almost every book of the Old Testament except Daniel, leading scholars to suppose that its author was unaware of it. Daniel is, however, quoted in a section of the Sibylline Oracles commonly dated to the middle of the 2nd century BC, and was popular at Qumran at much the same time, suggesting that it was known from the middle of that century.

The author/editor was probably an educated Jew, knowledgeable in Greek learning, and of high standing in his own community. It is possible that the name of Daniel was chosen for the hero of the book because of his reputation as a wise seer in Hebrew tradition.

Daniel is one of a large number of Jewish apocalypses, all of them pseudonymous. The stories of the first half are legendary in origin, and the visions of the second the product of anonymous authors in the Maccabean period (2nd century BC). Chapters 1–6 are in the voice of an anonymous narrator, except for chapter 4 which is in the form of a letter from king Nebuchadnezzar; the second half (chapters 7–12) is presented by Daniel himself, introduced by the anonymous narrator in chapters 7 and 10.

The visions of chapters 7–12 reflect the crisis which took place in Judea in 167–164 BC when Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the Greek king of the Seleucid Empire, threatened to destroy traditional Jewish worship in Jerusalem. When Antiochus came to the throne in 175 BC the Jews were largely pro-Seleucid. The High Priestly family was split by rivalry, and one member, Jason, offered the king a large sum to be made High Priest. Jason also asked—or more accurately, paid—to be allowed to make Jerusalem a polis, or Greek city. This meant, among other things, that city government would be in the hands of the citizens, which meant in turn that citizenship would be a valuable commodity, to be purchased from Jason. None of this threatened the Jewish religion, and the reforms were widely welcomed, especially among the Jerusalem aristocracy and the leading priests. Three years later Jason was deposed when another priest, Menelaus, offered Antiochus an even larger sum for the post of High Priest.

Antiochus invaded Egypt twice, in 169 BC with success, but on the second incursion, in late 168 BC, he was forced to withdraw by the Romans. Jason, hearing a rumour that Antiochus was dead, attacked Menelaus to take back the High Priesthood. Antiochus drove Jason out of Jerusalem, plundered the Temple, and introduced measures to pacify his Egyptian border by imposing complete Hellenisation: the Jewish Book of the Law was prohibited and on 15 December 167 BC an "abomination of desolation", probably a Greek altar, was introduced into the Temple. With the Jewish religion now clearly under threat a resistance movement sprang up, led by the Maccabee brothers, and over the next three years it won sufficient victories over Antiochus to take back and purify the Temple.

The crisis which the author of Daniel addresses is the defilement of the altar in Jerusalem in 167 BC (first introduced in chapter 8:11): the daily offering which used to take place twice a day, at morning and evening, stopped, and the phrase "evenings and mornings" recurs through the following chapters as a reminder of the missed sacrifices. But whereas the events leading up to the sacking of the Temple in 167 BC and the immediate aftermath are remarkably accurate, the predicted war between the Syrians and the Egyptians (11:40–43) never took place, and the prophecy that Antiochus would die in Palestine (11:44–45) was inaccurate (he died in Persia). The obvious conclusion is that the account must have been completed near the end of the reign of Antiochus but before his death in December 164 BC, or at least before news of it reached Jerusalem, and the consensus of modern scholarship is accordingly that the book dates to the period 167–163 BC.)

DANIEL CHAPTER 1

1 In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah came Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon unto Jerusalem, and besieged it.

2 And the Lord gave Jehoiakim king of Judah into his hand, with part of the vessels of the house of God: which he carried into the land of Shinar to the house of his god; and he brought the vessels into the treasure house of his god.

3 And the king spake unto Ashpenaz the master of his eunuchs, that he should bring certain of the children of Israel, and of the king's seed, and of the princes;

4 Children in whom was no blemish, but well favoured, and skilful in all wisdom, and cunning in knowledge, and understanding science, and such as had ability in them to stand in the king's palace, and whom they might teach the learning and the tongue of the Chaldeans.

5 And the king appointed them a daily provision of the king's meat, and of the wine which he drank: so nourishing them three years, that at the end thereof they might stand before the king.

6 Now among these were of the children of Judah, Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah:

7 Unto whom the prince of the eunuchs gave names: for he gave unto Daniel the name of Belteshazzar; and to Hananiah, of Shadrach; and to Mishael, of Meshach; and to Azariah, of Abednego.

8 But Daniel purposed in his heart that he would not defile himself with the portion of the king's meat, nor with the wine which he drank: therefore he requested of the prince of the eunuchs that he might not defile himself.

9 Now God had brought Daniel into favour and tender love with the prince of the eunuchs.

10 And the prince of the eunuchs said unto Daniel, I fear my lord the king, who hath appointed your meat and your drink: for why should he see your faces worse liking than the children which are of your sort? then shall ye make me endanger my head to the king.

11 Then said Daniel to Melzar, whom the prince of the eunuchs had set over Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah,

12 Prove thy servants, I beseech thee, ten days; and let them give us pulse to eat, and water to drink.

13 Then let our countenances be looked upon before thee, and the countenance of the children that eat of the portion of the king's meat: and as thou seest, deal with thy servants.

14 So he consented to them in this matter, and proved them ten days.

15 And at the end of ten days their countenances appeared fairer and fatter in flesh than all the children which did eat the portion of the king's meat.

16 Thus Melzar took away the portion of their meat, and the wine that they should drink; and gave them pulse.

17 As for these four children, God gave them knowledge and skill in all learning and wisdom: and Daniel had understanding in all visions and dreams.

18 Now at the end of the days that the king had said he should bring them in, then the prince of the eunuchs brought them in before Nebuchadnezzar.

19 And the king communed with them; and among them all was found none like Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah: therefore stood they before the king.

20 And in all matters of wisdom and understanding, that the king enquired of them, he found them ten times better than all the magicians and astrologers that were in all his realm.

21 And Daniel continued even unto the first year of king Cyrus.

DANIEL CHAPTER 2

1 And in the second year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar Nebuchadnezzar dreamed dreams, wherewith his spirit was troubled, and his sleep brake from him.

2 Then the king commanded to call the magicians, and the astrologers, and the sorcerers, and the Chaldeans, for to shew the king his dreams. So they came and stood before the king.

3 And the king said unto them, I have dreamed a dream, and my spirit was troubled to know the dream.

4 Then spake the Chaldeans to the king in Syriack, O king, live for ever: tell thy servants the dream, and we will shew the interpretation.

5 The king answered and said to the Chaldeans, The thing is gone from me: if ye will not make known unto me the dream, with the interpretation thereof, ye shall be cut in pieces, and your houses shall be made a dunghill.

6 But if ye shew the dream, and the interpretation thereof, ye shall receive of me gifts and rewards and great honour: therefore shew me the dream, and the interpretation thereof.

7 They answered again and said, Let the king tell his servants the dream, and we will shew the interpretation of it.

8 The king answered and said, I know of certainty that ye would gain the time, because ye see the thing is gone from me.

9 But if ye will not make known unto me the dream, there is but one decree for you: for ye have prepared lying and corrupt words to speak before me, till the time be changed: therefore tell me the dream, and I shall know that ye can shew me the interpretation thereof.

10 The Chaldeans answered before the king, and said, There is not a man upon the earth that can shew the king's matter: therefore there is no king, lord, nor ruler, that asked such things at any magician, or astrologer, or Chaldean.

11 And it is a rare thing that the king requireth, and there is none other that can shew it before the king, except the gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh.

12 For this cause the king was angry and very furious, and commanded to destroy all the wise men of Babylon.

13 And the decree went forth that the wise men should be slain; and they sought Daniel and his fellows to be slain.

14 Then Daniel answered with counsel and wisdom to Arioch the captain of the king's guard, which was gone forth to slay the wise men of Babylon:

15 He answered and said to Arioch the king's captain, Why is the decree so hasty from the king? Then Arioch made the thing known to Daniel.

16 Then Daniel went in, and desired of the king that he would give him time, and that he would shew the king the interpretation.

17 Then Daniel went to his house, and made the thing known to Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, his companions:

18 That they would desire mercies of the God of heaven concerning this secret; that Daniel and his fellows should not perish with the rest of the wise men of Babylon.

19 Then was the secret revealed unto Daniel in a night vision. Then Daniel blessed the God of heaven.

20 Daniel answered and said, Blessed be the name of God for ever and ever: for wisdom and might are his:

21 And he changeth the times and the seasons: he removeth kings, and setteth up kings: he giveth wisdom unto the wise, and knowledge to them that know understanding:

22 He revealeth the deep and secret things: he knoweth what is in the darkness, and the light dwelleth with him.

23 I thank thee, and praise thee, O thou God of my fathers, who hast given me wisdom and might, and hast made known unto me now what we desired of thee: for thou hast now made known unto us the king's matter.

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24 Therefore Daniel went in unto Arioch, whom the king had ordained to destroy the wise men of Babylon: he went and said thus unto him; Destroy not the wise men of Babylon: bring me in before the king, and I will shew unto the king the interpretation.

25 Then Arioch brought in Daniel before the king in haste, and said thus unto him, I have found a man of the captives of Judah, that will make known unto the king the interpretation.

26 The king answered and said to Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, Art thou able to make known unto me the dream which I have seen, and the interpretation thereof?

27 Daniel answered in the presence of the king, and said, The secret which the king hath demanded cannot the wise men, the astrologers, the magicians, the soothsayers, shew unto the king;

28 But there is a God in heaven that revealeth secrets, and maketh known to the king Nebuchadnezzar what shall be in the latter days. Thy dream, and the visions of thy head upon thy bed, are these;

29 As for thee, O king, thy thoughts came into thy mind upon thy bed, what should come to pass hereafter: and he that revealeth secrets maketh known to thee what shall come to pass.

30 But as for me, this secret is not revealed to me for any wisdom that I have more than any living, but for their sakes that shall make known the interpretation to the king, and that thou mightest know the thoughts of thy heart.

31 Thou, O king, sawest, and behold a great image. This great image, whose brightness was excellent, stood before thee; and the form thereof was terrible.

32 This image's head was of fine gold, his breast and his arms of silver, his belly and his thighs of brass,

33 His legs of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay.

34 Thou sawest till that a stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces.

35 Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshingfloors; and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them: and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.

36 This is the dream; and we will tell the interpretation thereof before the king.

37 Thou, O king, art a king of kings: for the God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, power, and strength, and glory.

38 And wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field and the fowls of the heaven hath he given into thine hand, and hath made thee ruler over them all. Thou art this head of gold.

39 And after thee shall arise another kingdom inferior to thee, and another third kingdom of brass, which shall bear rule over all the earth.

40 And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron: forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and subdueth all things: and as iron that breaketh all these, shall it break in pieces and bruise.

41 And whereas thou sawest the feet and toes, part of potters' clay, and part of iron, the kingdom shall be divided; but there shall be in it of the strength of the iron, forasmuch as thou sawest the iron mixed with miry clay.

42 And as the toes of the feet were part of iron, and part of clay, so the kingdom shall be partly strong, and partly broken.

43 And whereas thou sawest iron mixed with miry clay, they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men: but they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay.

44 And in the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed: and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever.

45 Forasmuch as thou sawest that the stone was cut out of the mountain without hands, and that it brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver, and the gold; the great God hath made known to the king what shall come to pass hereafter: and the dream is certain, and the interpretation thereof sure.

46 Then the king Nebuchadnezzar fell upon his face, and worshipped Daniel, and commanded that they should offer an oblation and sweet odours unto him.

47 The king answered unto Daniel, and said, Of a truth it is, that your God is a God of gods, and a Lord of kings, and a revealer of secrets, seeing thou couldest reveal this secret.

48 Then the king made Daniel a great man, and gave him many great gifts, and made him ruler over the whole province of Babylon, and chief of the governors over all the wise men of Babylon.

49 Then Daniel requested of the king, and he set Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, over the affairs of the province of Babylon: but Daniel sat in the gate of the king.

DANIEL CHAPTER 3

1 Nebuchadnezzar the king made an image of gold, whose height was threescore cubits, and the breadth thereof six cubits: he set it up in the plain of Dura, in the province of Babylon.

2 Then Nebuchadnezzar the king sent to gather together the princes, the governors, and the captains, the judges, the treasurers, the counsellors, the sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces, to come to the dedication of the image which Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up.

3 Then the princes, the governors, and captains, the judges, the treasurers, the counsellors, the sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces, were gathered together unto the dedication of the image that Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up; and they stood before the image that Nebuchadnezzar had set up.

4 Then an herald cried aloud, To you it is commanded, O people, nations, and languages,

5 That at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of musick, ye fall down and worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king hath set up:

6 And whoso falleth not down and worshippeth shall the same hour be cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace.

7 Therefore at that time, when all the people heard the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and all kinds of musick, all the people, the nations, and the languages, fell down and worshipped the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up.

8 Wherefore at that time certain Chaldeans came near, and accused the Jews.

9 They spake and said to the king Nebuchadnezzar, O king, live for ever.

10 Thou, O king, hast made a decree, that every man that shall hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and dulcimer, and all kinds of musick, shall fall down and worship the golden image:

11 And whoso falleth not down and worshippeth, that he should be cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace.

12 There are certain Jews whom thou hast set over the affairs of the province of Babylon, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego; these men, O king, have not regarded thee: they serve not thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up.

13 Then Nebuchadnezzar in his rage and fury commanded to bring Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego. Then they brought these men before the king.

14 Nebuchadnezzar spake and said unto them, Is it true, O Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, do not ye serve my gods, nor worship the golden image which I have set up?

15 Now if ye be ready that at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and dulcimer, and all kinds of musick, ye fall down and worship the image which I have made; well: but if ye worship not, ye shall be cast the same hour into the midst of a burning fiery furnace; and who is that God that shall deliver you out of my hands?

16 Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, answered and said to the king, O Nebuchadnezzar, we are not careful to answer thee in this matter.

17 If it be so, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and he will deliver us out of thine hand, O king.

18 But if not, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up.

19 Then was Nebuchadnezzar full of fury, and the form of his visage was changed against Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego: therefore he spake, and commanded that they should heat the furnace one seven times more than it was wont to be heated.

20 And he commanded the most mighty men that were in his army to bind Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, and to cast them into the burning fiery furnace.

21 Then these men were bound in their coats, their hosen, and their hats, and their other garments, and were cast into the midst of the burning fiery furnace.

22 Therefore because the king's commandment was urgent, and the furnace exceeding hot, the flames of the fire slew those men that took up Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego.

23 And these three men, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, fell down bound into the midst of the burning fiery furnace.

24 Then Nebuchadnezzar the king was astonied, and rose up in haste, and spake, and said unto his counsellors, Did not we cast three men bound into the midst of the fire? They answered and said unto the king, True, O king.

25 He answered and said, Lo, I see four men loose, walking in the midst of the fire, and they have no hurt; and the form of the fourth is like the Son of God.

26 Then Nebuchadnezzar came near to the mouth of the burning fiery furnace, and spake, and said, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, ye servants of the most high God, come forth, and come hither. Then Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, came forth of the midst of the fire.

27 And the princes, governors, and captains, and the king's counsellors, being gathered together, saw these men, upon whose bodies the fire had no power, nor was an hair of their head singed, neither were their coats changed, nor the smell of fire had passed on them.

28 Then Nebuchadnezzar spake, and said, Blessed be the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, who hath sent his angel, and delivered his servants that trusted in him, and have changed the king's word, and yielded their bodies, that they might not serve nor worship any god, except their own God.

29 Therefore I make a decree, That every people, nation, and language, which speak any thing amiss against the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, shall be cut in pieces, and their houses shall be made a dunghill: because there is no other God that can deliver after this sort.

30 Then the king promoted Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, in the province of Babylon.

DANIEL CHAPTER 4

1 Nebuchadnezzar the king, unto all people, nations, and languages, that dwell in all the earth; Peace be multiplied unto you.

2 I thought it good to shew the signs and wonders that the high God hath wrought toward me.

3 How great are his signs! and how mighty are his wonders! his kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and his dominion is from generation to generation.

4 I Nebuchadnezzar was at rest in mine house, and flourishing in my palace:

5 I saw a dream which made me afraid, and the thoughts upon my bed and the visions of my head troubled me.

6 Therefore made I a decree to bring in all the wise men of Babylon before me, that they might make known unto me the interpretation of the dream.

7 Then came in the magicians, the astrologers, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers: and I told the dream before them; but they did not make known unto me the interpretation thereof.

8 But at the last Daniel came in before me, whose name was Belteshazzar, according to the name of my God, and in whom is the spirit of the holy gods: and before him I told the dream, saying,

9 O Belteshazzar, master of the magicians, because I know that the spirit of the holy gods is in thee, and no secret troubleth thee, tell me the visions of my dream that I have seen, and the interpretation thereof.

10 Thus were the visions of mine head in my bed; I saw, and behold a tree in the midst of the earth, and the height thereof was great.

11 The tree grew, and was strong, and the height thereof reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of all the earth:

12 The leaves thereof were fair, and the fruit thereof much, and in it was meat for all: the beasts of the field had shadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven dwelt in the boughs thereof, and all flesh was fed of it.

13 I saw in the visions of my head upon my bed, and, behold, a watcher and an holy one came down from heaven;

14 He cried aloud, and said thus, Hew down the tree, and cut off his branches, shake off his leaves, and scatter his fruit: let the beasts get away from under it, and the fowls from his branches:

15 Nevertheless leave the stump of his roots in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field; and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and let his portion be with the beasts in the grass of the earth:

16 Let his heart be changed from man's, and let a beast's heart be given unto him; and let seven times pass over him.

17 This matter is by the decree of the watchers, and the demand by the word of the holy ones: to the intent that the living may know that the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men.

18 This dream I king Nebuchadnezzar have seen. Now thou, O Belteshazzar, declare the interpretation thereof, forasmuch as all the wise men of my kingdom are not able to make known unto me the interpretation: but thou art able; for the spirit of the holy gods is in thee.

19 Then Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, was astonied for one hour, and his thoughts troubled him. The king spake, and said, Belteshazzar, let not the dream, or the interpretation thereof, trouble thee. Belteshazzar answered and said, My lord, the dream be to them that hate thee, and the interpretation thereof to thine enemies.

20 The tree that thou sawest, which grew, and was strong, whose height reached unto the heaven, and the sight thereof to all the earth;

21 Whose leaves were fair, and the fruit thereof much, and in it was meat for all; under which the beasts of the field dwelt, and upon whose branches the fowls of the heaven had their habitation:

22 It is thou, O king, that art grown and become strong: for thy greatness is grown, and reacheth unto heaven, and thy dominion to the end of the earth.

23 And whereas the king saw a watcher and an holy one coming down from heaven, and saying, Hew the tree down, and destroy it; yet leave the stump of the roots thereof in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field; and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and let

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his portion be with the beasts of the field, till seven times pass over him;

24 This is the interpretation, O king, and this is the decree of the most High, which is come upon my lord the king:

25 That they shall drive thee from men, and thy dwelling shall be with the beasts of the field, and they shall make thee to eat grass as oxen, and they shall wet thee with the dew of heaven, and seven times shall pass over thee, till thou know that the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will.

26 And whereas they commanded to leave the stump of the tree roots; thy kingdom shall be sure unto thee, after that thou shalt have known that the heavens do rule.

27 Wherefore, O king, let my counsel be acceptable unto thee, and break off thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor; if it may be a lengthening of thy tranquillity.

28 All this came upon the king Nebuchadnezzar.

29 At the end of twelve months he walked in the palace of the kingdom of Babylon.

30 The king spake, and said, Is not this great Babylon, that I have built for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?

31 While the word was in the king's mouth, there fell a voice from heaven, saying, O king Nebuchadnezzar, to thee it is spoken; The kingdom is departed from thee.

32 And they shall drive thee from men, and thy dwelling shall be with the beasts of the field: they shall make thee to eat grass as oxen, and seven times shall pass over thee, until thou know that the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will.

33 The same hour was the thing fulfilled upon Nebuchadnezzar: and he was driven from men, and did eat grass as oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles' feathers, and his nails like birds' claws.

34 And at the end of the days I Nebuchadnezzar lifted up mine eyes unto heaven, and mine understanding returned unto me, and I blessed the most High, and I praised and honoured him that liveth for ever, whose dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom is from generation to generation:

35 And all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing: and he doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth: and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What doest thou?

36 At the same time my reason returned unto me; and for the glory of my kingdom, mine honour and brightness returned unto me; and my counsellors and my lords sought unto me; and I was established in my kingdom, and excellent majesty was added unto me.

37 Now I Nebuchadnezzar praise and extol and honour the King of heaven, all whose works are truth, and his ways judgement: and those that walk in pride he is able to abase.

DANIEL CHAPTER 5

1 Belshazzar the king made a great feast to a thousand of his lords, and drank wine before the thousand.

2 Belshazzar, whiles he tasted the wine, commanded to bring the golden and silver vessels which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple which was in Jerusalem; that the king, and his princes, his wives, and his concubines, might drink therein.

3 Then they brought the golden vessels that were taken out of the temple of the house of God which was at Jerusalem; and the king, and his princes, his wives, and his concubines, drank in them.

4 They drank wine, and praised the gods of gold, and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone.

5 In the same hour came forth fingers of a man's hand, and wrote over against the candlestick upon the plaister of the wall of the king's palace: and the king saw the part of the hand that wrote.

6 Then the king's countenance was changed, and his thoughts troubled him, so that the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against another.

7 The king cried aloud to bring in the astrologers, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers. And the king spake, and said to the wise men of Babylon, Whosoever shall read this writing, and shew me the interpretation thereof, shall be clothed with scarlet, and have a chain of gold about his neck, and shall be the third ruler in the kingdom.

8 Then came in all the king's wise men: but they could not read the writing, nor make known to the king the interpretation thereof.

9 Then was king Belshazzar greatly troubled, and his countenance was changed in him, and his lords were astonied.

10 Now the queen by reason of the words of the king and his lords came into the banquet house: and the queen spake and said, O king, live for ever: let not thy thoughts trouble thee, nor let thy countenance be changed:

11 There is a man in thy kingdom, in whom is the spirit of the holy gods; and in the days of thy father light and understanding and wisdom, like the wisdom of the gods, was found in him; whom the king Nebuchadnezzar thy father, the king, I say, thy father, made master of the magicians, astrologers, Chaldeans, and soothsayers;

12 Forasmuch as an excellent spirit, and knowledge, and understanding, interpreting of dreams, and shewing of hard sentences, and dissolving of doubts, were found in the same Daniel, whom the king named Belteshazzar: now let Daniel be called, and he will shew the interpretation.

13 Then was Daniel brought in before the king. And the king spake and said unto Daniel, Art thou that Daniel, which art of the children of the captivity of Judah, whom the king my father brought out of Jewry?

14 I have even heard of thee, that the spirit of the gods is in thee, and that light and understanding and excellent wisdom is found in thee.

15 And now the wise men, the astrologers, have been brought in before me, that they should read this writing, and make known unto me the interpretation thereof: but they could not shew the interpretation of the thing:

16 And I have heard of thee, that thou canst make interpretations, and dissolve doubts: now if thou canst read the writing, and make known to me the interpretation thereof, thou shalt be clothed with scarlet, and have a chain of gold about thy neck, and shalt be the third ruler in the kingdom.

17 Then Daniel answered and said before the king, Let thy gifts be to thyself, and give thy rewards to another; yet I will read the writing unto the king, and make known to him the interpretation.

18 O thou king, the most high God gave Nebuchadnezzar thy father a kingdom, and majesty, and glory, and honour:

19 And for the majesty that he gave him, all people, nations, and languages, trembled and feared before him: whom he would he slew; and whom he would he kept alive; and whom he would he set up; and whom he would he put down.

20 But when his heart was lifted up, and his mind hardened in pride, he was deposed from his kingly throne, and they took his glory from him:

21 And he was driven from the sons of men; and his heart was made like the beasts, and his dwelling was with the wild asses: they fed him with grass like oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven; till he knew that the most high God ruled in the kingdom of men, and that he appointeth over it whomsoever he will.

22 And thou his son, O Belshazzar, hast not humbled thine heart, though thou knewest all this;

23 But hast lifted up thyself against the Lord of heaven; and they have brought the vessels of his house before thee, and thou, and thy lords, thy wives, and thy concubines, have drunk wine in them; and thou hast praised the gods of silver, and gold, of brass, iron, wood, and stone, which see not, nor hear, nor know: and the God in whose hand thy breath is, and whose are all thy ways, hast thou not glorified:

24 Then was the part of the hand sent from him; and this writing was written.

25 And this is the writing that was written, MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN.

26 This is the interpretation of the thing: MENE; God hath numbered thy kingdom, and finished it.

27 TEKEL; Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting.

28 PERES; Thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians.

29 Then commanded Belshazzar, and they clothed Daniel with scarlet, and put a chain of gold about his neck, and made a proclamation concerning him, that he should be the third ruler in the kingdom.

30 In that night was Belshazzar the king of the Chaldeans slain.

31 And Darius the Median took the kingdom, being about threescore and two years old.

DANIEL CHAPTER 6

1 It pleased Darius to set over the kingdom an hundred and twenty princes, which should be over the whole kingdom;

2 And over these three presidents; of whom Daniel was first: that the princes might give accounts unto them, and the king should have no damage.

3 Then this Daniel was preferred above the presidents and princes, because an excellent spirit was in him; and the king thought to set him over the whole realm.

4 Then the presidents and princes sought to find occasion against Daniel concerning the kingdom; but they could find none occasion nor fault; forasmuch as he was faithful, neither was there any error or fault found in him.

5 Then said these men, We shall not find any occasion against this Daniel, except we find it against him concerning the law of his God.

6 Then these presidents and princes assembled together to the king, and said thus unto him, King Darius, live for ever.

7 All the presidents of the kingdom, the governors, and the princes, the counsellors, and the captains, have consulted together to establish a royal statute, and to make a firm decree, that whosoever shall ask a petition of any God or man for thirty days, save of thee, O king, he shall be cast into the den of lions.

8 Now, O king, establish the decree, and sign the writing, that it be not changed, according to the law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not.

9 Wherefore king Darius signed the writing and the decree.

10 Now when Daniel knew that the writing was signed, he went into his house; and his windows being open in his chamber toward Jerusalem, he kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks before his God, as he did aforetime.

11 Then these men assembled, and found Daniel praying and making supplication before his God.

12 Then they came near, and spake before the king concerning the king's decree; Hast thou not signed a decree, that every man that shall ask a petition of any God or man within thirty days, save of thee, O king, shall be cast into the den of lions? The king answered and said, The thing is true, according to the law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not.

13 Then answered they and said before the king, That Daniel, which is of the children of the captivity of Judah, regardeth not thee, O king, nor the decree that thou hast signed, but maketh his petition three times a day.

14 Then the king, when he heard these words, was sore displeased with himself, and set his heart on Daniel to deliver him: and he laboured till the going down of the sun to deliver him.

15 Then these men assembled unto the king, and said unto the king, Know, O king, that the law of the Medes and Persians is, That no decree nor statute which the king establisheth may be changed.

16 Then the king commanded, and they brought Daniel, and cast him into the den of lions. Now the king spake and said unto Daniel, Thy God whom thou servest continually, he will deliver thee.

17 And a stone was brought, and laid upon the mouth of the den; and the king sealed it with his own signet, and with the signet of his lords; that the purpose might not be changed concerning Daniel.

18 Then the king went to his palace, and passed the night fasting: neither were instruments of musick brought before him: and his sleep went from him.

19 Then the king arose very early in the morning, and went in haste unto the den of lions.

20 And when he came to the den, he cried with a lamentable voice unto Daniel: and the king spake and said to Daniel, O Daniel, servant of the living God, is thy God, whom thou servest continually, able to deliver thee from the lions?

21 Then said Daniel unto the king, O king, live for ever.

22 My God hath sent his angel, and hath shut the lions' mouths, that they have not hurt me: forasmuch as before him innocency was found in me; and also before thee, O king, have I done no hurt.

23 Then was the king exceedingly glad for him, and commanded that they should take Daniel up out of the den. So Daniel was taken up out of the den, and no manner of hurt was found upon him, because he believed in his God.

24 And the king commanded, and they brought those men which had accused Daniel, and they cast them into the den of lions, them, their children, and their wives; and the lions had the mastery of them, and brake all their bones in pieces or ever they came at the bottom of the den.

25 Then king Darius wrote unto all people, nations, and languages, that dwell in all the earth; Peace be multiplied unto you.

26 I make a decree, That in every dominion of my kingdom men tremble and fear before the God of Daniel: for he is the living God, and stedfast for ever, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed, and his dominion shall be even unto the end.

27 He delivereth and rescueth, and he worketh signs and wonders in heaven and in earth, who hath delivered Daniel from the power of the lions.

28 So this Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian.

DANIEL CHAPTER 7

1 In the first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon Daniel had a dream and visions of his head upon his bed: then he wrote the dream, and told the sum of the matters.

2 Daniel spake and said, I saw in my vision by night, and, behold, the four winds of the heaven strove upon the great sea.

3 And four great beasts came up from the sea, diverse one from another.

4 The first was like a lion, and had eagle's wings: I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it.

5 And behold another beast, a second, like to a bear, and it raised up itself on one side, and it had three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it: and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh.

6 After this I beheld, and lo another, like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl; the beast had also four heads; and dominion was given to it.

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7 After this I saw in the night visions, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth: it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it: and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it; and it had ten horns.

8 I considered the horns, and, behold, there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots: and, behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things.

9 I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool: his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire.

10 A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him: thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgement was set, and the books were opened.

11 I beheld then because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake: I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame.

12 As concerning the rest of the beasts, they had their dominion taken away: yet their lives were prolonged for a season and time.

13 I saw in the night visions, and, behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him.

14 And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.

15 I Daniel was grieved in my spirit in the midst of my body, and the visions of my head troubled me.

16 I came near unto one of them that stood by, and asked him the truth of all this. So he told me, and made me know the interpretation of the things.

17 These great beasts, which are four, are four kings, which shall arise out of the earth.

18 But the saints of the most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever.

19 Then I would know the truth of the fourth beast, which was diverse from all the others, exceeding dreadful, whose teeth were of iron, and his nails of brass; which devoured, brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet;

20 And of the ten horns that were in his head, and of the other which came up, and before whom three fell; even of that horn that had eyes, and a mouth that spake very great things, whose look was more stout than his fellows.

21 I beheld, and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them;

22 Until the Ancient of days came, and judgement was given to the saints of the most High; and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom.

23 Thus he said, The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be diverse from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces.

24 And the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings that shall arise: and another shall rise after them; and he shall be diverse from the first, and he shall subdue three kings.

25 And he shall speak great words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws: and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time.

26 But the judgement shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto the end.

27 And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him.

28 Hitherto is the end of the matter. As for me Daniel, my cogitations much troubled me, and my countenance changed in me: but I kept the matter in my heart.

DANIEL CHAPTER 8

1 In the third year of the reign of king Belshazzar a vision appeared unto me, even unto me Daniel, after that which appeared unto me at the first.

2 And I saw in a vision; and it came to pass, when I saw, that I was at Shushan in the palace, which is in the province of Elam; and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river of Ulai.

3 Then I lifted up mine eyes, and saw, and, behold, there stood before the river a ram which had two horns: and the two horns were high; but one was higher than the other, and the higher came up last.

4 I saw the ram pushing westward, and northward, and southward; so that no beasts might stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand; but he did according to his will, and became great.

5 And as I was considering, behold, an he goat came from the west on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground: and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes.

6 And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power.

7 And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns: and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him: and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand.

8 Therefore the he goat waxed very great: and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones toward the four winds of heaven.

9 And out of one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great, toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land.

10 And it waxed great, even to the host of heaven; and it cast down some of the host and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them.

11 Yea, he magnified himself even to the prince of the host, and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of the sanctuary was cast down.

12 And an host was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground; and it practised, and prospered.

13 Then I heard one saint speaking, and another saint said unto that certain saint which spake, How long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice, and the transgression of desolation, to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot?

14 And he said unto me, Unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed.

15 And it came to pass, when I, even I Daniel, had seen the vision, and sought for the meaning, then, behold, there stood before me as the appearance of a man.

16 And I heard a man's voice between the banks of Ulai, which called, and said, Gabriel, make this man to understand the vision.

17 So he came near where I stood: and when he came, I was afraid, and fell upon my face: but he said unto me, Understand, O son of man: for at the time of the end shall be the vision.

18 Now as he was speaking with me, I was in a deep sleep on my face toward the ground: but he touched me, and set me upright.

19 And he said, Behold, I will make thee know what shall be in the last end of the indignation: for at the time appointed the end shall be.

20 The ram which thou sawest having two horns are the kings of Media and Persia.

21 And the rough goat is the king of Grecia: and the great horn that is between his eyes is the first king.

22 Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power.

23 And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up.

24 And his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power: and he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people.

25 And through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand; and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by peace shall destroy many: he shall also stand up against the Prince of princes; but he shall be broken without hand.

26 And the vision of the evening and the morning which was told is true: wherefore shut thou up the vision; for it shall be for many days.

27 And I Daniel fainted, and was sick certain days; afterward I rose up, and did the king's business; and I was astonished at the vision, but none understood it.

DANIEL CHAPTER 9

1 In the first year of Darius the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, which was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans;

2 In the first year of his reign I Daniel understood by books the number of the years, whereof the word of the LORD came to Jeremiah the prophet, that he would accomplish seventy years in the desolations of Jerusalem.

3 And I set my face unto the Lord God, to seek by prayer and supplications, with fasting, and sackcloth, and ashes:

4 And I prayed unto the LORD my God, and made my confession, and said, O Lord, the great and dreadful God, keeping the covenant and mercy to them that love him, and to them that keep his commandments;

5 We have sinned, and have committed iniquity, and have done wickedly, and have rebelled, even by departing from thy precepts and from thy judgements:

6 Neither have we hearkened unto thy servants the prophets, which spake in thy name to our kings, our princes, and our fathers, and to all the people of the land.

7 O LORD, righteousness belongeth unto thee, but unto us confusion of faces, as at this day; to the men of Judah, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and unto all Israel, that are near, and that are far off, through all the countries whither thou hast driven them, because of their trespass that they have trespassed against thee.

8 O Lord, to us belongeth confusion of face, to our kings, to our princes, and to our fathers, because we have sinned against thee.

9 To the Lord our God belong mercies and forgivenesses, though we have rebelled against him;

10 Neither have we obeyed the voice of the LORD our God, to walk in his laws, which he set before us by his servants the prophets.

11 Yea, all Israel have transgressed thy law, even by departing, that they might not obey thy voice; therefore the curse is poured upon us, and the oath that is written in the law of Moses the servant of God, because we have sinned against him.

12 And he hath confirmed his words, which he spake against us, and against our judges that judged us, by bringing upon us a great evil: for under the whole heaven hath not been done as hath been done upon Jerusalem.

13 As it is written in the law of Moses, all this evil is come upon us: yet made we not our prayer before the LORD our God, that we might turn from our iniquities, and understand thy truth.

14 Therefore hath the LORD watched upon the evil, and brought it upon us: for the LORD our God is righteous in all his works which he doeth: for we obeyed not his voice.

15 And now, O Lord our God, that hast brought thy people forth out of the land of Egypt with a mighty hand, and hast gotten thee renown, as at this day; we have sinned, we have done wickedly.

16 O LORD, according to all thy righteousness, I beseech thee, let thine anger and thy fury be turned away from thy city Jerusalem, thy holy mountain: because for our sins, and for the iniquities of our fathers, Jerusalem and thy people are become a reproach to all that are about us.

17 Now therefore, O our God, hear the prayer of thy servant, and his supplications, and cause thy face to shine upon thy sanctuary that is desolate, for the Lord's sake.

18 O my God, incline thine ear, and hear; open thine eyes, and behold our desolations, and the city which is called by thy name: for we do not present our supplications before thee for our righteousnesses, but for thy great mercies.

19 O Lord, hear; O Lord, forgive; O Lord, hearken and do; defer not, for thine own sake, O my God: for thy city and thy people are called by thy name.

20 And whiles I was speaking, and praying, and confessing my sin and the sin of my people Israel, and presenting my supplication before the LORD my God for the holy mountain of my God;

21 Yea, whiles I was speaking in prayer, even the man Gabriel, whom I had seen in the vision at the beginning, being caused to fly swiftly, touched me about the time of the evening oblation.

22 And he informed me, and talked with me, and said, O Daniel, I am now come forth to give thee skill and understanding.

23 At the beginning of thy supplications the commandment came forth, and I am come to shew thee; for thou art greatly beloved: therefore understand the matter, and consider the vision.

24 Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most Holy.

25 Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks: the street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times.

26 And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself: and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined.

27 And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week: and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate.

DANIEL CHAPTER 10

1 In the third year of Cyrus king of Persia a thing was revealed unto Daniel, whose name was called Belteshazzar; and the thing was true, but the time appointed was long: and he understood the thing, and had understanding of the vision.

2 In those days I Daniel was mourning three full weeks.

3 I ate no pleasant bread, neither came flesh nor wine in my mouth, neither did I anoint myself at all, till three whole weeks were fulfilled.

4 And in the four and twentieth day of the first month, as I was by the side of the great river, which is Hiddekel;

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5 Then I lifted up mine eyes, and looked, and behold a certain man clothed in linen, whose loins were girded with fine gold of Uphaz:
6 His body also was like the beryl, and his face as the appearance of lightning, and his eyes as lamps of fire, and his arms and his feet like in colour to polished brass, and the voice of his words like the voice of a multitude.
7 And I Daniel alone saw the vision: for the men that were with me saw not the vision; but a great quaking fell upon them, so that they fled to hide themselves.
8 Therefore I was left alone, and saw this great vision, and there remained no strength in me: for my comeliness was turned in me into corruption, and I retained no strength.
9 Yet heard I the voice of his words: and when I heard the voice of his words, then was I in a deep sleep on my face, and my face toward the ground.
10 And, behold, an hand touched me, which set me upon my knees and upon the palms of my hands.
11 And he said unto me, O Daniel, a man greatly beloved, understand the words that I speak unto thee, and stand upright: for unto thee am I now sent. And when he had spoken this word unto me, I stood trembling.
12 Then said he unto me, Fear not, Daniel: for from the first day that thou didst set thine heart to understand, and to chasten thyself before thy God, thy words were heard, and I am come for thy words.
13 But the prince of the kingdom of Persia withstood me one and twenty days: but, lo, Michael, one of the chief princes, came to help me; and I remained there with the kings of Persia.
14 Now I am come to make thee understand what shall befall thy people in the latter days: for yet the vision is for many days.
15 And when he had spoken such words unto me, I set my face toward the ground, and I became dumb.
16 And, behold, one like the similitude of the sons of men touched my lips: then I opened my mouth, and spake, and said unto him that stood before me, O my lord, by the vision my sorrows are turned upon me, and I have retained no strength.
17 For how can the servant of this my lord talk with this my lord? for as for me, straightway there remained no strength in me, neither is there breath left in me.
18 Then there came again and touched me one like the appearance of a man, and he strengthened me,
19 And said, O man greatly beloved, fear not: peace be unto thee, be strong, yea, be strong. And when he had spoken unto me, I was strengthened, and said, Let my lord speak; for thou hast strengthened me.
20 Then said he, Knowest thou wherefore I come unto thee? and now will I return to fight with the prince of Persia: and when I am gone forth, lo, the prince of Grecia shall come.
21 But I will shew thee that which is noted in the scripture of truth: and there is none that holdeth with me in these things, but Michael your prince.

DANIEL CHAPTER 11
1 Also I in the first year of Darius the Mede, even I, stood to confirm and to strengthen him.
2 And now will I shew thee the truth. Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia; and the fourth shall be far richer than they all: and by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia.
3 And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will.
4 And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided toward the four winds of heaven; and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled: for his kingdom shall be plucked up, even for others beside those.
5 And the king of the south shall be strong, and one of his princes; and he shall be strong above him, and have dominion; his dominion shall be a great dominion.
6 And in the end of years they shall join themselves together; for the king's daughter of the south shall come to the king of the north to make an agreement: but she shall not retain the power of the arm; neither shall he stand, nor his arm: but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in these times.
7 But out of a branch of her roots shall one stand up in his estate, which shall come with an army, and shall enter into the fortress of the king of the north, and shall deal against them, and shall prevail:
8 And shall also carry captives into Egypt their gods, with their princes, and with their precious vessels of silver and of gold; and he shall continue more years than the king of the north.
9 So the king of the south shall come into his kingdom, and shall return into his own land.
10 But his sons shall be stirred up, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces: and one shall certainly come, and overflow, and pass through: then shall he return, and be stirred up, even to his fortress.
11 And the king of the south shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth and fight with him, even with the king of the north: and he shall set forth a great multitude; but the multitude shall be given into his hand.
12 And when he hath taken away the multitude, his heart shall be lifted up; and he shall cast down many ten thousands: but he shall not be strengthened by it.
13 For the king of the north shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come after certain years with a great army and with much riches.
14 And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the south: also the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision; but they shall fall.
15 So the king of the north shall come, and cast up a mount, and take the most fenced cities: and the arms of the south shall not withstand, neither his chosen people, neither shall there be any strength to withstand.
16 But he that cometh against him shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him: and he shall stand in the glorious land, which by his hand shall be consumed.
17 He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom, and upright ones with him; thus shall he do: and he shall give him the daughter of women, corrupting her: but she shall not stand on his side, neither be for him.
18 After this shall he turn his face unto the isles, and shall take many: but a prince for his own behalf shall cause the reproach offered by him to cease; without his own reproach he shall cause it to turn upon him.
19 Then he shall turn his face toward the fort of his own land: but he shall stumble and fall, and not be found.
20 Then shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom: but within few days he shall be destroyed, neither in anger, nor in battle.
21 And in his estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom: but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries.
22 And with the arms of a flood shall they be overflown from before him, and shall be broken; yea, also the prince of the covenant.
23 And after the league made with him he shall work deceitfully: for he shall come up, and shall become strong with a small people.
24 He shall enter peaceably even upon the fattest places of the province; and he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers' fathers; he shall scatter among them the prey, and spoil, and riches: yea, and he shall forecast his devices against the strong holds, even for a time.
25 And he shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the south with a great army; and the king of the south shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army; but he shall not stand: for they shall forecast devices against him.
26 Yea, they that feed of the portion of his meat shall destroy him, and his army shall overflow: and many shall fall down slain.
27 And both of these kings' hearts shall be to do mischief, and they shall speak lies at one table; but it shall not prosper: for yet the end shall be at the time appointed.
28 Then shall he return into his land with great riches; and his heart shall be against the holy covenant; and he shall do exploits, and return to his own land.
29 At the time appointed he shall return, and come toward the south; but it shall not be as the former, or as the latter.
30 For the ships of Chittim shall come against him: therefore he shall be grieved, and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant: so shall he do; he shall even return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant.
31 And arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily sacrifice, and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate.
32 And such as do wickedly against the covenant shall he corrupt by flatteries: but the people that do know their God shall be strong, and do exploits.
33 And they that understand among the people shall instruct many: yet they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil, many days.
34 Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a little help: but many shall cleave to them with flatteries.
35 And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the end: because it is yet for a time appointed.
36 And the king shall do according to his will; and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished: for that that is determined shall be done.
37 Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor regard any god: for he shall magnify himself above all.
38 But in his estate shall he honour the God of forces: and a god whom his fathers knew not shall he honour with gold, and silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things.
39 Thus shall he do in the most strong holds with a strange god, whom he shall acknowledge and increase with glory: and he shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain.
40 And at the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him: and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships; and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass over.
41 He shall enter also into the glorious land, and many countries shall be overthrown: but these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon.
42 He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries: and the land of Egypt shall not escape.
43 But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt: and the Libyans and the Ethiopians shall be at his steps.
44 But tidings out of the east and out of the north shall trouble him: therefore he shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many.
45 And he shall plant the tabernacles of his palace between the seas in the glorious holy mountain; yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him.

DANIEL CHAPTER 12
1 And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people: and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time: and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book.
2 And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.
3 And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever.
4 But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, even to the time of the end: many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.
5 Then I Daniel looked, and, behold, there stood other two, the one on this side of the bank of the river, and the other on that side of the bank of the river.
6 And one said to the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, How long shall it be to the end of these wonders?
7 And I heard the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, when he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and sware by him that liveth for ever that it shall be for a time, times, and an half; and when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished.
8 And I heard, but I understood not: then said I, O my Lord, what shall be the end of these things?
9 And he said, Go thy way, Daniel: for the words are closed up and sealed till the time of the end.
10 Many shall be purified, and made white, and tried; but the wicked shall do wickedly: and none of the wicked shall understand; but the wise shall understand.
11 And from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days.
12 Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days.
13 But go thou thy way till the end be: for thou shalt rest, and stand in thy lot at the end of the days.

THE BOOK OF EZRA

Estimated Rage of Dating: 5th - 4th centuries B.C.

(The Book of Ezra is a book of the Hebrew Bible; which formerly included the Book of Nehemiah in a single book, commonly distinguished in scholarship as Ezra–Nehemiah. The two became separated with the first printed rabbinic bibles of the early 16th century, following late medieval Latin Christian tradition. Composed in Hebrew and Aramaic, its subject is the Return to Zion following the close of the Babylonian captivity, and it is divided into two parts, the first telling the story of the first return of exiles in the first year of Cyrus the Great (538 BC) and the completion and dedication of the new Temple in Jerusalem in the sixth year of Darius I (515 BC), the second telling of the subsequent mission of Ezra to Jerusalem and his struggle to purify the Jews from marriage with non-Jews. Together with the Book of Nehemiah, it represents the final chapter in the historical narrative of the Hebrew Bible.
Ezra is written to fit a schematic pattern in which the God of Israel inspires a king of Persia to commission a leader from the Jewish community to carry out a mission; three successive leaders carry out three such missions, the first rebuilding the Temple, the second purifying the Jewish community, and the third sealing the holy city itself behind a wall. (This last mission, that of Nehemiah, is not part of the Book of Ezra.) The theological program of the book explains the many problems its chronological structure presents. It probably

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appeared in its earliest version around 399 BC, and continued to be revised and edited for several centuries before being accepted as scriptural in the early Christian era.
In the early 6th century BC, the Kingdom of Judah rebelled against the Neo-Babylonian Empire and was destroyed. As a result, the royal court, the priests, the prophets and scribes were taken into captivity in the city of Babylon. There a profound intellectual revolution took place, the exiles blaming their fate on disobedience to their God and looking forward to a future when he would allow a purified people to return to Jerusalem and rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem. The same period saw the rapid rise of Persia, previously an unimportant kingdom in present-day southern Iran, to a position of great power. In 539 BC Cyrus II, the Persian ruler, conquered Babylon and he set the Jewish captives free.
The contents of Ezra–Nehemiah are structured in a theological rather than chronological order: "The Temple must come first, then the purifying of the community, then the building of the outer walls of the city, and so finally all could reach a grand climax in the reading of the law."
The Book of Ezra consists of ten chapters: chapters 1–6, covering the period from the Cyrus the Great to the dedication of the Second Temple, are told in the third person; chapters 7–10, dealing with the mission of Ezra, are told largely in the first person. The book contains several documents presented as historical inclusions, written in Aramaic while the surrounding text is in Hebrew (1:2–4, 4:8–16, 4:17–22, 5:7–17, 6:3–5, 6:6–12, 7:12–26) [5]

Chapters 1–6:
1. Decree of Cyrus, first version: Cyrus, inspired by God, returns the Temple vessels to Sheshbazzar, "prince of Judah", and directs the Israelites to return to Jerusalem with him and rebuild the Temple.
2. 42,360 exiles, with men servants, women servants and "singing men and women", return from Babylon to Jerusalem and Judah under the leadership of Zerubbabel and Jeshua the High Priest.
3. Jeshua the High Priest and Zerubbabel build the altar and celebrate the Feast of Tabernacles. In the second year the foundations of the Temple are laid and the dedication takes place with great rejoicing.
4. Letter of the Samaritans to Artaxerxes, and reply of Artaxerxes: The "enemies of Judah and Benjamin" offer to help with the rebuilding, but are rebuffed; they then work to frustrate the builders "down to the reign of Darius." The officials of Samaria write to king Artaxerxes warning him that Jerusalem is being rebuilt, and the king orders the work to stop. "Thus the work on the house of God in Jerusalem came to a standstill until the second year of the reign of Darius king of Persia."
5. Tattenai's letter to Darius: Through the exhortations of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, Zerubbabel and Joshua recommence the building of the Temple. Tattenai, satrap over both Judah and Samaria, writes to Darius warning him that Jerusalem is being rebuilt and advising that the archives be searched to discover the decree of Cyrus.
6. Decree of Cyrus, second version, and decree of Darius: Darius finds the decree, directs Tattenai not to disturb the Jews in their work, and exempts them from tribute and supplies everything necessary for the offerings. The Temple is finished in the month of Adar in the sixth year of Darius, and the Israelites assemble to celebrate its completion.

Chapters 7–10:
7. Letter of Artaxerxes to Ezra (Artaxerxes' rescript): King Artaxerxes is moved by God to commission Ezra "to inquire about Judah and Jerusalem with regard to the Law of your God" and to "appoint magistrates and judges to administer justice to all the people of Trans-Euphrates—all who know the laws of your God." Artaxerxes gives Ezra much gold and directs all Persian officials to aid him.
8. Ezra gathers a large body of returnees and much gold and silver and precious vessels for the Temple and camps by a canal outside Babylon. There he discovers he has no Levites, and so sends messengers to gather some. The exiles then return to Jerusalem, where they distribute the gold and silver and offer sacrifices to God.
9. Ezra is informed that some of the Jews already in Jerusalem have married non-Jewish women. Ezra is appalled at this proof of sin, and prays to God: "O God of Israel, you are righteous! We are left this day as a remnant. Here we are before you in our guilt, though because of it not one of us can stand in your presence."
10. Despite the opposition of some of their number, the Israelites assemble and send away their foreign wives and children.)

EZRA CHAPTER 1

1 Now in the first year of Cyrus king of Persia, that the word of the LORD by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled, the LORD stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and put it also in writing, saying,

2 Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia, The LORD God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth; and he hath charged me to build him an house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah.

3 Who is there among you of all his people? his God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and build the house of the LORD God of Israel, (he is the God,) which is in Jerusalem.

4 And whosoever remaineth in any place where he sojourneth, let the men of his place help him with silver, and with gold, and with goods, and with beasts, beside the freewill offering for the house of God that is in Jerusalem.

5 Then rose up the chief of the fathers of Judah and Benjamin, and the priests, and the Levites, with all them whose spirit God had raised, to go up to build the house of the LORD which is in Jerusalem.

6 And all they that were about them strengthened their hands with vessels of silver, with gold, with goods, and with beasts, and with precious things, beside all that was willingly offered.

7 Also Cyrus the king brought forth the vessels of the house of the LORD, which Nebuchadnezzar had brought forth out of Jerusalem, and had put them in the house of his gods;

8 Even those did Cyrus king of Persia bring forth by the hand of Mithredath the treasurer, and numbered them unto Sheshbazzar, the prince of Judah.

9 And this is the number of them: thirty chargers of gold, a thousand chargers of silver, nine and twenty knives,

10 Thirty basons of gold, silver basons of a second sort four hundred and ten, and other vessels a thousand.

11 All the vessels of gold and of silver were five thousand and four hundred. All these did Sheshbazzar bring up with them of the captivity that were brought up from Babylon unto Jerusalem.

EZRA CHAPTER 2

1 Now these are the children of the province that went up out of the captivity, of those which had been carried away, whom Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon had carried away unto Babylon, and came again unto Jerusalem and Judah, every one unto his city;

2 Which came with Zerubbabel: Jeshua, Nehemiah, Seraiah, Reelaiah, Mordecai, Bilshan, Mizpar, Bigvai, Rehum, Baanah. The number of the men of the people of Israel:

3 The children of Parosh, two thousand an hundred seventy and two.

4 The children of Shephatiah, three hundred seventy and two.

5 The children of Arah, seven hundred seventy and five.

6 The children of Pahathmoab, of the children of Jeshua and Joab, two thousand eight hundred and twelve.

7 The children of Elam, a thousand two hundred fifty and four.

8 The children of Zattu, nine hundred forty and five.

9 The children of Zaccai, seven hundred and threescore.

10 The children of Bani, six hundred forty and two.

11 The children of Bebai, six hundred twenty and three.

12 The children of Azgad, a thousand two hundred twenty and two.

13 The children of Adonikam, six hundred sixty and six.

14 The children of Bigvai, two thousand fifty and six.

15 The children of Adin, four hundred fifty and four.

16 The children of Ater of Hezekiah, ninety and eight.

17 The children of Bezai, three hundred twenty and three.

18 The children of Jorah, an hundred and twelve.

19 The children of Hashum, two hundred twenty and three.

20 The children of Gibbar, ninety and five.

21 The children of Bethlehem, an hundred twenty and three.

22 The men of Netophah, fifty and six.

23 The men of Anathoth, an hundred twenty and eight.

24 The children of Azmaveth, forty and two.

25 The children of Kirjatharim, Chephirah, and Beeroth, seven hundred and forty and three.

26 The children of Ramah and Gaba, six hundred twenty and one.

27 The men of Michmas, an hundred twenty and two.

28 The men of Bethel and Ai, two hundred twenty and three.

29 The children of Nebo, fifty and two.

30 The children of Magbish, an hundred fifty and six.

31 The children of the other Elam, a thousand two hundred fifty and four.

32 The children of Harim, three hundred and twenty.

33 The children of Lod, Hadid, and Ono, seven hundred twenty and five.

34 The children of Jericho, three hundred forty and five.

35 The children of Senaah, three thousand and six hundred and thirty.

36 The priests: the children of Jedaiah, of the house of Jeshua, nine hundred seventy and three.

37 The children of Immer, a thousand fifty and two.

38 The children of Pashur, a thousand two hundred forty and seven.

39 The children of Harim, a thousand and seventeen.

40 The Levites: the children of Jeshua and Kadmiel, of the children of Hodaviah, seventy and four.

41 The singers: the children of Asaph, an hundred twenty and eight.

42 The children of the porters: the children of Shallum, the children of Ater, the children of Talmon, the children of Akkub, the children of Hatita, the children of Shobai, in all an hundred thirty and nine.

43 The Nethinims: the children of Ziha, the children of Hasupha, the children of Tabbaoth,

44 The children of Keros, the children of Siaha, the children of Padon,

45 The children of Lebanah, the children of Hagabah, the children of Akkub,

46 The children of Hagab, the children of Shalmai, the children of Hanan,

47 The children of Giddel, the children of Gahar, the children of Reaiah,

48 The children of Rezin, the children of Nekoda, the children of Gazzam,

49 The children of Uzza, the children of Paseah, the children of Besai,

50 The children of Asnah, the children of Mehunim, the children of Nephusim,

51 The children of Bakbuk, the children of Hakupha, the children of Harhur,

52 The children of Bazluth, the children of Mehida, the children of Harsha,

53 The children of Barkos, the children of Sisera, the children of Thamah,

54 The children of Neziah, the children of Hatipha.

55 The children of Solomon's servants: the children of Sotai, the children of Sophereth, the children of Peruda,

56 The children of Jaalah, the children of Darkon, the children of Giddel,

57 The children of Shephatiah, the children of Hattil, the children of Pochereth of Zebaim, the children of Ami.

58 All the Nethinims, and the children of Solomon's servants, were three hundred ninety and two.

59 And these were they which went up from Telmelah, Telharsa, Cherub, Addan, and Immer: but they could not shew their father's house, and their seed, whether they were of Israel:

60 The children of Delaiah, the children of Tobiah, the children of Nekoda, six hundred fifty and two.

61 And of the children of the priests: the children of Habaiah, the children of Koz, the children of Barzillai; which took a wife of the daughters of Barzillai the Gileadite, and was called after their name:

62 These sought their register among those that were reckoned by genealogy, but they were not found: therefore were they, as polluted, put from the priesthood.

63 And the Tirshatha said unto them, that they should not eat of the most holy things, till there stood up a priest with Urim and with Thummim.

64 The whole congregation together was forty and two thousand three hundred and threescore,

65 Beside their servants and their maids, of whom there were seven thousand three hundred thirty and seven: and there were among them two hundred singing men and singing women.

66 Their horses were seven hundred thirty and six; their mules, two hundred forty and five;

67 Their camels, four hundred thirty and five; their asses, six thousand seven hundred and twenty.

68 And some of the chief of the fathers, when they came to the house of the LORD which is at Jerusalem, offered freely for the house of God to set it up in his place:

69 They gave after their ability unto the treasure of the work threescore and one thousand drams of gold, and five thousand pound of silver, and one hundred priests' garments.

70 So the priests, and the Levites, and some of the people, and the singers, and the porters, and the Nethinims, dwelt in their cities, and all Israel in their cities.

EZRA CHAPTER 3

1 And when the seventh month was come, and the children of Israel were in the cities, the people gathered themselves together as one man to Jerusalem.

2 Then stood up Jeshua the son of Jozadak, and his brethren the priests, and Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, and his brethren, and builded the altar of the God of Israel, to offer burnt offerings thereon, as it is written in the law of Moses the man of God.

3 And they set the altar upon his bases; for fear was upon them because of the people of those countries: and they offered burnt offerings thereon unto the LORD, even burnt offerings morning and evening.

4 They kept also the feast of tabernacles, as it is written, and offered the daily burnt offerings by number, according to the custom, as the duty of every day required;

5 And afterward offered the continual burnt offering, both of the new moons, and of all the set feasts of the LORD that

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were consecrated, and of every one that willingly offered a freewill offering unto the LORD.

6 From the first day of the seventh month began they to offer burnt offerings unto the LORD. But the foundation of the temple of the LORD was not yet laid.

7 They gave money also unto the masons, and to the carpenters; and meat, and drink, and oil, unto them of Zidon, and to them of Tyre, to bring cedar trees from Lebanon to the sea of Joppa, according to the grant that they had of Cyrus king of Persia.

8 Now in the second year of their coming unto the house of God at Jerusalem, in the second month, began Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, and Jeshua the son of Jozadak, and the remnant of their brethren the priests and the Levites, and all they that were come out of the captivity unto Jerusalem; and appointed the Levites, from twenty years old and upward, to set forward the work of the house of the LORD.

9 Then stood Jeshua with his sons and his brethren, Kadmiel and his sons, the sons of Judah, together, to set forward the workmen in the house of God: the sons of Henadad, with their sons and their brethren the Levites.

10 And when the builders laid the foundation of the temple of the LORD, they set the priests in their apparel with trumpets, and the Levites the sons of Asaph with cymbals, to praise the LORD, after the ordinance of David king of Israel.

11 And they sang together by course in praising and giving thanks unto the LORD; because he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever toward Israel. And all the people shouted with a great shout, when they praised the LORD, because the foundation of the house of the LORD was laid.

12 But many of the priests and Levites and chief of the fathers, who were ancient men, that had seen the first house, when the foundation of this house was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice; and many shouted aloud for joy:

13 So that the people could not discern the noise of the shout of joy from the noise of the weeping of the people: for the people shouted with a loud shout, and the noise was heard afar off.

EZRA CHAPTER 4

1 Now when the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin heard that the children of the captivity builded the temple unto the LORD God of Israel;

2 Then they came to Zerubbabel, and to the chief of the fathers, and said unto them, Let us build with you: for we seek your God, as ye do; and we do sacrifice unto him since the days of Esarhaddon king of Assur, which brought us up hither.

3 But Zerubbabel, and Jeshua, and the rest of the chief of the fathers of Israel, said unto them, Ye have nothing to do with us to build an house unto our God; but we ourselves together will build unto the LORD God of Israel, as king Cyrus the king of Persia hath commanded us.

4 Then the people of the land weakened the hands of the people of Judah, and troubled them in building,

5 And hired counsellors against them, to frustrate their purpose, all the days of Cyrus king of Persia, even until the reign of Darius king of Persia.

6 And in the reign of Ahasuerus, in the beginning of his reign, wrote they unto him an accusation against the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem.

7 And in the days of Artaxerxes wrote Bishlam, Mithredath, Tabeel, and the rest of their companions, unto Artaxerxes king of Persia; and the writing of the letter was written in the Syrian tongue, and interpreted in the Syrian tongue.

8 Rehum the chancellor and Shimshai the scribe wrote a letter against Jerusalem to Artaxerxes the king in this sort:

9 Then wrote Rehum the chancellor, and Shimshai the scribe, and the rest of their companions; the Dinaites, the Apharsathchites, the Tarpelites, the Apharsites, the Archevites, the Babylonians, the Susanchites, the Dehavites, and the Elamites,

10 And the rest of the nations whom the great and noble Asnapper brought over, and set in the cities of Samaria, and the rest that are on this side the river, and at such a time.

11 This is the copy of the letter that they sent unto him, even unto Artaxerxes the king; Thy servants the men on this side the river, and at such a time.

12 Be it known unto the king, that the Jews which came up from thee to us are come unto Jerusalem, building the rebellious and the bad city, and have set up the walls thereof, and joined the foundations.

13 Be it known now unto the king, that, if this city be builded, and the walls set up again, then will they not pay toll, tribute, and custom, and so thou shalt endamage the revenue of the kings.

14 Now because we have maintenance from the king's palace, and it was not meet for us to see the king's dishonour, therefore have we sent and certified the king;

15 That search may be made in the book of the records of thy fathers: so shalt thou find in the book of the records, and know that this city is a rebellious city, and hurtful unto kings and provinces, and that they have moved sedition within the same of old time: for which cause was this city destroyed.

16 We certify the king that, if this city be builded again, and the walls thereof set up, by this means thou shalt have no portion on this side the river.

17 Then sent the king an answer unto Rehum the chancellor, and to Shimshai the scribe, and to the rest of their companions that dwell in Samaria, and unto the rest beyond the river, Peace, and at such a time.

18 The letter which ye sent unto us hath been plainly read before me.

19 And I commanded, and search hath been made, and it is found that this city of old time hath made insurrection against kings, and that rebellion and sedition have been made therein.

20 There have been mighty kings also over Jerusalem, which have ruled over all countries beyond the river; and toll, tribute, and custom, was paid unto them.

21 Give ye now commandment to cause these men to cease, and that this city be not builded, until another commandment shall be given from me.

22 Take heed now that ye fail not to do this: why should damage grow to the hurt of the kings?

23 Now when the copy of king Artaxerxes' letter was read before Rehum, and Shimshai the scribe, and their companions, they went up in haste to Jerusalem unto the Jews, and made them to cease by force and power.

24 Then ceased the work of the house of God which is at Jerusalem. So it ceased unto the second year of the reign of Darius king of Persia.

EZRA CHAPTER 5

1 Then the prophets, Haggai the prophet, and Zechariah the son of Iddo, prophesied unto the Jews that were in Judah and Jerusalem in the name of the God of Israel, even unto them.

2 Then rose up Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, and Jeshua the son of Jozadak, and began to build the house of God which is at Jerusalem: and with them were the prophets of God helping them.

3 At the same time came to them Tatnai, governor on this side the river, and Shetharboznai and their companions, and said thus unto them, Who hath commanded you to build this house, and to make up this wall?

4 Then said we unto them after this manner, What are the names of the men that make this building?

5 But the eye of their God was upon the elders of the Jews, that they could not cause them to cease, till the matter came to Darius: and then they returned answer by letter concerning this matter.

6 The copy of the letter that Tatnai, governor on this side the river, and Shetharboznai and his companions the Apharsachites, which were on this side the river, sent unto Darius the king:

7 They sent a letter unto him, wherein was written thus; Unto Darius the king, all peace.

8 Be it known unto the king, that we went into the province of Judea, to the house of the great God, which is builded with great stones, and timber is laid in the walls, and this work goeth fast on, and prospereth in their hands.

9 Then asked we those elders, and said unto them thus, Who commanded you to build this house, and to make up these walls?

10 We asked their names also, to certify thee, that we might write the names of the men that were the chief of them.

11 And thus they returned us answer, saying, We are the servants of the God of heaven and earth, and build the house that was builded these many years ago, which a great king of Israel builded and set up.

12 But after that our fathers had provoked the God of heaven unto wrath, he gave them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, the Chaldean, who destroyed this house, and carried the people away into Babylon.

13 But in the first year of Cyrus the king of Babylon the same king Cyrus made a decree to build this house of God.

14 And the vessels also of gold and silver of the house of God, which Nebuchadnezzar took out of the temple that was in Jerusalem, and brought them into the temple of Babylon, those did Cyrus the king take out of the temple of Babylon, and they were delivered unto one, whose name was Sheshbazzar, whom he had made governor;

15 And said unto him, Take these vessels, go, carry them into the temple that is in Jerusalem, and let the house of God be builded in his place.

16 Then came the same Sheshbazzar, and laid the foundation of the house of God which is in Jerusalem: and since that time even until now hath it been in building, and yet it is not finished.

17 Now therefore, if it seem good to the king, let there be search made in the king's treasure house, which is there at Babylon, whether it be so, that a decree was made of Cyrus the king to build this house of God at Jerusalem, and let the king send his pleasure to us concerning this matter.

EZRA CHAPTER 6

1 Then Darius the king made a decree, and search was made in the house of the rolls, where the treasures were laid up in Babylon.

2 And there was found at Achmetha, in the palace that is in the province of the Medes, a roll, and therein was a record thus written:

3 In the first year of Cyrus the king the same Cyrus the king made a decree concerning the house of God at Jerusalem, Let the house be builded, the place where they offered sacrifices, and let the foundations thereof be strongly laid; the height thereof threescore cubits, and the breadth thereof threescore cubits;

4 With three rows of great stones, and a row of new timber: and let the expenses be given out of the king's house:

5 And also let the golden and silver vessels of the house of God, which Nebuchadnezzar took forth out of the temple which is at Jerusalem, and brought unto Babylon, be restored, and brought again unto the temple which is at Jerusalem, every one to his place, and place them in the house of God.

6 Now therefore, Tatnai, governor beyond the river, Shetharboznai, and your companions the Apharsachites, which are beyond the river, be ye far from thence:

7 Let the work of this house of God alone; let the governor of the Jews and the elders of the Jews build this house of God in his place.

8 Moreover I make a decree what ye shall do to the elders of these Jews for the building of this house of God: that of the king's goods, even of the tribute beyond the river, forthwith expenses be given unto these men, that they be not hindered.

9 And that which they have need of, both young bullocks, and rams, and lambs, for the burnt offerings of the God of heaven, wheat, salt, wine, and oil, according to the appointment of the priests which are at Jerusalem, let it be given them day by day without fail:

10 That they may offer sacrifices of sweet savours unto the God of heaven, and pray for the life of the king, and of his sons.

11 Also I have made a decree, that whosoever shall alter this word, let timber be pulled down from his house, and being set up, let him be hanged thereon; and let his house be made a dunghill for this.

12 And the God that hath caused his name to dwell there destroy all kings and people, that shall put to their hand to alter and to destroy this house of God which is at Jerusalem. I Darius have made a decree; let it be done with speed.

13 Then Tatnai, governor on this side the river, Shetharboznai, and their companions, according to that which Darius the king had sent, so they did speedily.

14 And the elders of the Jews builded, and they prospered through the prophesying of Haggai the prophet and Zechariah the son of Iddo. And they builded, and finished it, according to the commandment of the God of Israel, and according to the commandment of Cyrus, and Darius, and Artaxerxes king of Persia.

15 And this house was finished on the third day of the month Adar, which was in the sixth year of the reign of Darius the king.

16 And the children of Israel, the priests, and the Levites, and the rest of the children of the captivity, kept the dedication of this house of God with joy.

17 And offered at the dedication of this house of God an hundred bullocks, two hundred rams, four hundred lambs; and for a sin offering for all Israel, twelve he goats, according to the number of the tribes of Israel.

18 And they set the priests in their divisions, and the Levites in their courses, for the service of God, which is at Jerusalem; as it is written in the book of Moses.

19 And the children of the captivity kept the passover upon the fourteenth day of the first month.

20 For the priests and the Levites were purified together, all of them were pure, and killed the passover for all the children of the captivity, and for their brethren the priests, and for themselves.

21 And the children of Israel, which were come again out of captivity, and all such as had separated themselves unto them from the filthiness of the heathen of the land, to seek the LORD God of Israel, did eat,

22 And kept the feast of unleavened bread seven days with joy: for the LORD had made them joyful, and turned the heart of the king of Assyria unto them, to strengthen their hands in the work of the house of God, the God of Israel.

EZRA CHAPTER 7

1 Now after these things, in the reign of Artaxerxes king of Persia, Ezra the son of Seraiah, the son of Azariah, the son of Hilkiah,

2 The son of Shallum, the son of Zadok, the son of Ahitub,

3 The son of Amariah, the son of Azariah, the son of Meraioth,

4 The son of Zerahiah, the son of Uzzi, the son of Bukki,

5 The son of Abishua, the son of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the chief priest:

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6 This Ezra went up from Babylon; and he was a ready scribe in the law of Moses, which the LORD God of Israel had given: and the king granted him all his request, according to the hand of the LORD his God upon him.

7 And there went up some of the children of Israel, and of the priests, and the Levites, and the singers, and the porters, and the Nethinims, unto Jerusalem, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes the king.

8 And he came to Jerusalem in the fifth month, which was in the seventh year of the king.

9 For upon the first day of the first month began he to go up from Babylon, and on the first day of the fifth month came he to Jerusalem, according to the good hand of his God upon him.

10 For Ezra had prepared his heart to seek the law of the LORD, and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgements.

11 Now this is the copy of the letter that the king Artaxerxes gave unto Ezra the priest, the scribe, even a scribe of the words of the commandments of the LORD, and of his statutes to Israel.

12 Artaxerxes, king of kings, unto Ezra the priest, a scribe of the law of the God of heaven, perfect peace, and at such a time.

13 I make a decree, that all they of the people of Israel, and of his priests and Levites, in my realm, which are minded of their own freewill to go up to Jerusalem, go with thee.

14 Forasmuch as thou art sent of the king, and of his seven counsellors, to enquire concerning Judah and Jerusalem, according to the law of thy God which is in thine hand;

15 And to carry the silver and gold, which the king and his counsellors have freely offered unto the God of Israel, whose habitation is in Jerusalem,

16 And all the silver and gold that thou canst find in all the province of Babylon, with the freewill offering of the people, and of the priests, offering willingly for the house of their God which is in Jerusalem:

17 That thou mayest buy speedily with this money bullocks, rams, lambs, with their meat offerings and their drink offerings, and offer them upon the altar of the house of your God which is in Jerusalem.

18 And whatsoever shall seem good to thee, and to thy brethren, to do with the rest of the silver and the gold, that do after the will of your God.

19 The vessels also that are given thee for the service of the house of thy God, those deliver thou before the God of Jerusalem.

20 And whatsoever more shall be needful for the house of thy God, which thou shalt have occasion to bestow, bestow it out of the king's treasure house.

21 And I, even I Artaxerxes the king, do make a decree to all the treasurers which are beyond the river, that whatsoever Ezra the priest, the scribe of the law of the God of heaven, shall require of you, it be done speedily,

22 Unto an hundred talents of silver, and to an hundred measures of wheat, and to an hundred baths of wine, and to an hundred baths of oil, and salt without prescribing how much.

23 Whatsoever is commanded by the God of heaven, let it be diligently done for the house of the God of heaven: for why should there be wrath against the realm of the king and his sons?

24 Also we certify you, that touching any of the priests and Levites, singers, porters, Nethinims, or ministers of this house of God, it shall not be lawful to impose toll, tribute, or custom, upon them.

25 And thou, Ezra, after the wisdom of thy God, that is in thine hand, set magistrates and judges, which may judge all the people that are beyond the river, all such as know the laws of thy God; and teach ye them that know them not.

26 And whosoever will not do the law of thy God, and the law of the king, let judgement be executed speedily upon him, whether it be unto death, or to banishment, or to confiscation of goods, or to imprisonment.

27 Blessed be the LORD God of our fathers, which hath put such a thing as this in the king's heart, to beautify the house of the LORD which is in Jerusalem:

28 And hath extended mercy unto me before the king, and his counsellors, and before all the king's mighty princes. And I was strengthened as the hand of the LORD my God was upon me, and I gathered together out of Israel chief men to go up with me.

EZRA CHAPTER 8

1 These are now the chief of their fathers, and this is the genealogy of them that went up with me from Babylon, in the reign of Artaxerxes the king.

2 Of the sons of Phinehas; Gershom: of the sons of Ithamar; Daniel: of the sons of David; Hattush.

3 Of the sons of Shechaniah, of the sons of Pharosh; Zechariah: and with him were reckoned by genealogy of the males an hundred and fifty.

4 Of the sons of Pahathmoab; Elihoenai the son of Zerahiah, and with him two hundred males.

5 Of the sons of Shechaniah; the son of Jahaziel, and with him three hundred males.

6 Of the sons also of Adin; Ebed the son of Jonathan, and with him fifty males.

7 And of the sons of Elam; Jeshaiah the son of Athaliah, and with him seventy males.

8 And of the sons of Shephatiah; Zebadiah the son of Michael, and with him fourscore males.

9 Of the sons of Joab; Obadiah the son of Jehiel, and with him two hundred and eighteen males.

10 And of the sons of Shelomith; the son of Josiphiah, and with him an hundred and threescore males.

11 And of the sons of Bebai; Zechariah the son of Bebai, and with him twenty and eight males.

12 And of the sons of Azgad; Johanan the son of Hakkatan, and with him an hundred and ten males.

13 And of the last sons of Adonikam, whose names are these, Eliphelet, Jeiel, and Shemaiah, and with them threescore males.

14 Of the sons also of Bigvai; Uthai, and Zabbud, and with them seventy males.

15 And I gathered them together to the river that runneth to Ahava; and there abode we in tents three days: and I viewed the people, and the priests, and found there none of the sons of Levi.

16 Then sent I for Eliezer, for Ariel, for Shemaiah, and for Elnathan, and for Jarib, and for Elnathan, and for Nathan, and for Zechariah, and for Meshullam, chief men; also for Joiarib, and for Elnathan, men of understanding.

17 And I sent them with commandment unto Iddo the chief at the place Casiphia, and I told them what they should say unto Iddo, and to his brethren the Nethinims, at the place Casiphia, that they should bring unto us ministers for the house of our God.

18 And by the good hand of our God upon us they brought us a man of understanding, of the sons of Mahli, the son of Levi, the son of Israel; and Sherebiah, with his sons and his brethren, eighteen;

19 And Hashabiah, and with him Jeshaiah of the sons of Merari, his brethren and their sons, twenty;

20 Also of the Nethinims, whom David and the princes had appointed for the service of the Levites, two hundred and twenty Nethinims: all of them were expressed by name.

21 Then I proclaimed a fast there, at the river of Ahava, that we might afflict ourselves before our God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance.

22 For I was ashamed to require of the king a band of soldiers and horsemen to help us against the enemy in the way: because we had spoken unto the king, saying, The hand of our God is upon all them for good that seek him; but his power and his wrath is against all them that forsake him.

23 So we fasted and besought our God for this: and he was intreated of us.

24 Then I separated twelve of the chief of the priests, Sherebiah, Hashabiah, and ten of their brethren with them,

25 And weighed unto them the silver, and the gold, and the vessels, even the offering of the house of our God, which the king, and his counsellors, and his lords, and all Israel there present, had offered:

26 I even weighed unto their hand six hundred and fifty talents of silver, and silver vessels an hundred talents, and of gold an hundred talents;

27 Also twenty basons of gold, of a thousand drams; and two vessels of fine copper, precious as gold.

28 And I said unto them, Ye are holy unto the LORD; the vessels are holy also; and the silver and the gold are a freewill offering unto the LORD God of your fathers.

29 Watch ye, and keep them, until ye weigh them before the chief of the priests and the Levites, and chief of the fathers of Israel, at Jerusalem, in the chambers of the house of the LORD.

30 So took the priests and the Levites the weight of the silver, and the gold, and the vessels, to bring them to Jerusalem unto the house of our God.

31 Then we departed from the river of Ahava on the twelfth day of the first month, to go unto Jerusalem: and the hand of our God was upon us, and he delivered us from the hand of the enemy, and of such as lay in wait by the way.

32 And we came to Jerusalem, and abode there three days.

33 Now on the fourth day was the silver and the gold and the vessels weighed in the house of our God by the hand of Meremoth the son of Uriah the priest; and with him was Eleazar the son of Phinehas; and with them was Jozabad the son of Jeshua, and Noadiah the son of Binnui, Levites;

34 By number and by weight of every one: and all the weight was written at that time.

35 Also the children of those that had been carried away, which were come out of the captivity, offered burnt offerings unto the God of Israel, twelve bullocks for all Israel, ninety and six rams, seventy and seven lambs, twelve he goats for a sin offering: all this was a burnt offering unto the LORD.

36 And they delivered the king's commissions unto the king's lieutenants, and to the governors on this side the river: and they furthered the people, and the house of God.

EZRA CHAPTER 9

1 Now when these things were done, the princes came to me, saying, The people of Israel, and the priests, and the Levites, have not separated themselves from the people of the lands, doing according to their abominations, even of the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Jebusites, the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Egyptians, and the Amorites.

2 For they have taken of their daughters for themselves, and for their sons: so that the holy seed have mingled themselves with the people of those lands: yea, the hand of the princes and rulers hath been chief in this trespass.

3 And when I heard this thing, I rent my garment and my mantle, and plucked off the hair of my head and of my beard, and sat down astonied.

4 Then were assembled unto me every one that trembled at the words of the God of Israel, because of the transgression of those that had been carried away; and I sat astonied until the evening sacrifice.

5 And at the evening sacrifice I arose up from my heaviness; and having rent my garment and my mantle, I fell upon my knees, and spread out my hands unto the LORD my God,

6 And said, O my God, I am ashamed and blush to lift up my face to thee, my God: for our iniquities are increased over our head, and our trespass is grown up unto the heavens.

7 Since the days of our fathers have we been in a great trespass unto this day; and for our iniquities have we, our kings, and our priests, been delivered into the hand of the kings of the lands, to the sword, to captivity, and to a spoil, and to confusion of face, as it is this day.

8 And now for a little space grace hath been shewed from the LORD our God, to leave us a remnant to escape, and to give us a nail in his holy place, that our God may lighten our eyes, and give us a little reviving in our bondage.

9 For we were bondmen; yet our God hath not forsaken us in our bondage, but hath extended mercy unto us in the sight of the kings of Persia, to give us a reviving, to set up the house of our God, and to repair the desolations thereof, and to give us a wall in Judah and in Jerusalem.

10 And now, O our God, what shall we say after this? for we have forsaken thy commandments,

11 Which thou hast commanded by thy servants the prophets, saying, The land, unto which ye go to possess it, is an unclean land with the filthiness of the people of the lands, with their abominations, which have filled it from one end to another with their uncleanness.

12 Now therefore give not your daughters unto their sons, neither take their daughters unto your sons, nor seek their peace or their wealth for ever: that ye may be strong, and eat the good of the land, and leave it for an inheritance to your children for ever.

13 And after all that is come upon us for our evil deeds, and for our great trespass, seeing that thou our God hast punished us less than our iniquities deserve, and hast given us such deliverance as this;

14 Should we again break thy commandments, and join in affinity with the people of these abominations? wouldest not thou be angry with us till thou hadst consumed us, so that there should be no remnant nor escaping?

15 O LORD God of Israel, thou art righteous: for we remain yet escaped, as it is this day: behold, we are before thee in our trespasses: for we cannot stand before thee because of this.

EZRA CHAPTER 10

1 Now when Ezra had prayed, and when he had confessed, weeping and casting himself down before the house of God, there assembled unto him out of Israel a very great congregation of men and women and children: for the people wept very sore.

2 And Shechaniah the son of Jehiel, one of the sons of Elam, answered and said unto Ezra, We have trespassed against our God, and have taken strange wives of the people of the land: yet now there is hope in Israel concerning this thing.

3 Now therefore let us make a covenant with our God to put away all the wives, and such as are born of them, according to the counsel of my lord, and of those that tremble at the commandment of our God; and let it be done according to the law.

4 Arise; for this matter belongeth unto thee: we also will be with thee: be of good courage, and do it.

5 Then arose Ezra, and made the chief priests, the Levites, and all Israel, to swear that they should do according to this word. And they sware.

6 Then Ezra rose up from before the house of God, and went into the chamber of Johanan the son of Eliashib: and when he came thither, he did eat no bread, nor drink water: for he mourned because of the transgression of them that had been carried away.

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7 And they made proclamation throughout Judah and Jerusalem unto all the children of the captivity, that they should gather themselves together unto Jerusalem;

8 And that whosoever would not come within three days, according to the counsel of the princes and the elders, all his substance should be forfeited, and himself separated from the congregation of those that had been carried away.

9 Then all the men of Judah and Benjamin gathered themselves together unto Jerusalem within three days. It was the ninth month, on the twentieth day of the month; and all the people sat in the street of the house of God, trembling because of this matter, and for the great rain.

10 And Ezra the priest stood up, and said unto them, Ye have transgressed, and have taken strange wives, to increase the trespass of Israel.

11 Now therefore make confession unto the LORD God of your fathers, and do his pleasure: and separate yourselves from the people of the land, and from the strange wives.

12 Then all the congregation answered and said with a loud voice, As thou hast said, so must we do.

13 But the people are many, and it is a time of much rain, and we are not able to stand without, neither is this a work of one day or two: for we are many that have transgressed in this thing.

14 Let now our rulers of all the congregation stand, and let all them which have taken strange wives in our cities come at appointed times, and with them the elders of every city, and the judges thereof, until the fierce wrath of our God for this matter be turned from us.

15 Only Jonathan the son of Asahel and Jahaziah the son of Tikvah were employed about this matter: and Meshullam and Shabbethai the Levite helped them.

16 And the children of the captivity did so. And Ezra the priest, with certain chief of the fathers, after the house of their fathers, and all of them by their names, were separated, and sat down in the first day of the tenth month to examine the matter.

17 And they made an end with all the men that had taken strange wives by the first day of the first month.

18 And among the sons of the priests there were found that had taken strange wives: namely, of the sons of Jeshua the son of Jozadak, and his brethren; Maaseiah, and Eliezer, and Jarib, and Gedaliah.

19 And they gave their hands that they would put away their wives; and being guilty, they offered a ram of the flock for their trespass.

20 And of the sons of Immer; Hanani, and Zebadiah.

21 And of the sons of Harim; Maaseiah, and Elijah, and Shemaiah, and Jehiel, and Uzziah.

22 And of the sons of Pashur; Elioenai, Maaseiah, Ishmael, Nethaneel, Jozabad, and Elasah.

23 Also of the Levites; Jozabad, and Shimei, and Kelaiah, (the same is Kelita,) Pethahiah, Judah, and Eliezer.

24 Of the singers also; Eliashib: and of the porters; Shallum, and Telem, and Uri.

25 Moreover of Israel: of the sons of Parosh; Ramiah, and Jeziah, and Malchiah, and Miamin, and Eleazar, and Malchijah, and Benaiah.

26 And of the sons of Elam; Mattaniah, Zechariah, and Jehiel, and Abdi, and Jeremoth, and Eliah.

27 And of the sons of Zattu; Elioenai, Eliashib, Mattaniah, and Jeremoth, and Zabad, and Aziza.

28 Of the sons also of Bebai; Jehohanan, Hananiah, Zabbai, and Athlai.

29 And of the sons of Bani; Meshullam, Malluch, and Adaiah, Jashub, and Sheal, and Ramoth.

30 And of the sons of Pahathmoab; Adna, and Chelal, Benaiah, Maaseiah, Mattaniah, Bezaleel, and Binnui, and Manasseh.

31 And of the sons of Harim; Eliezer, Ishijah, Malchiah, Shemaiah, Shimeon,

32 Benjamin, Malluch, and Shemariah.

33 Of the sons of Hashum; Mattenai, Mattathah, Zabad, Eliphelet, Jeremai, Manasseh, and Shimei.

34 Of the sons of Bani; Maadai, Amram, and Uel,

35 Benaiah, Bedeiah, Chelluh,

36 Vaniah, Meremoth, Eliashib,

37 Mattaniah, Mattenai, and Jaasau,

38 And Bani, and Binnui, Shimei,

39 And Shelemiah, and Nathan, and Adaiah,

40 Machnadebai, Shashai, Sharai,

41 Azareel, and Shelemiah, Shemariah,

42 Shallum, Amariah, and Joseph.

43 Of the sons of Nebo; Jeiel, Mattithiah, Zabad, Zebina, Jadau, and Joel, Benaiah.

44 All these had taken strange wives: and some of them had wives by whom they had children.

THE BOOK OF NEHEMIAH

or Second Book of Ezra or 2 Ezra

Estimated Range of Dating: 5th century B.C.

(The Book of Nehemiah, in the Hebrew Bible, largely takes the form of a first-person memoir concerning the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem after the Babylonian exile by Nehemiah, a Jew who is a high official at the Persian court, and the dedication of the city and its people to God's laws (Torah).

Since the 16th century it has generally been treated as a separate book within the Bible. Before that date, it had been included in the Book of Ezra; but in Latin Christian bibles from the 13th century onwards, the Vulgate Book of Ezra was divided into two texts, called respectively the First and Second books of Ezra; a separation which became canonised with the first printed bibles in Hebrew and Latin. Mid 16th century Reformed Protestant bible translations produced in Geneva were the first to introduce the name 'Book of Nehemiah' for the text formerly called the 'Second Book of Ezra'.

The book is set in the 5th century BC. Judah is one of several provinces within a larger satrapy (a large administrative unit) within the Achaemenid Empire. The capital of the empire is at Susa (Elam, western Iran). Nehemiah is a cup-bearer to king Artaxerxes I of Persia – an important official position. At his own request Nehemiah is sent to Jerusalem as governor of Yehud, the official Persian name for Judah. Jerusalem had been conquered and destroyed by the Babylonians in 586 BC and Nehemiah finds it still in ruins. His task is to rebuild the walls and to re-populate the city. He faces opposition from three powerful neighbours, the Samaritans, the Ammonites, and the Arabs, as well as the city of Ashdod, but manages to rebuild the walls. He then purifies the Jewish community by enforcing its segregation from its neighbours and enforces the laws of Moses.

The combined book Ezra–Nehemiah of the earliest Christian and Jewish period was known as Ezra and was probably attributed to Ezra himself; according to a rabbinic tradition, however, Nehemiah was the real author but was forbidden to claim authorship because of his bad habit of disparaging others. The first edition of the combined Ezra–Nehemiah may date from the early 4th century BC; further editing continued well into the following centuries.

The single Hebrew book Ezra–Nehemiah, with title "Ezra", was translated into Greek around the middle of the 2nd century BC. Slightly later a second, and very different Greek translation was made, in the form of 1 Esdras, from which the deeds of Nehemiah are entirely absent, those sections either being omitted or re-attributed to Ezra instead. From the third century the Christian Old Testament in Greek supplemented the text of 1 Esdras with the older translation of Ezra-Nehemiah, naming the two books Esdras A and Esdras B respectively; and this usage is noted by the early Christian scholar Origen, who remarked that the Hebrew 'book of Ezra' might then be considered a 'double' book. Jerome, writing in the early 5th century, noted that this duplication had since been adopted by Greek and Latin Christians. In later medieval Christian commentary, this book is referred to as the 'second book of Ezra', and never as the 'Book of Nehemiah".

The Nehemiah Memorial, chapters 1–7 and 11–13, may have circulated as an independent work before being combined with the Ezra material to form Ezra–Nehemiah. Determining the composition of the Memorial depends on the dates of Nehemiah's mission: It is commonly accepted that "Artaxerxes" was Artaxerxes I (there were two later kings of the same name), and that Nehemiah's first period in Jerusalem was therefore 445–433 BC; allowing for his return to Susa and second journey to Jerusalem, the end of the 5th century BC is therefore the earliest possible date for the Memorial. The Nehemiah Memorial is interrupted by chapters 8–10, which concern Ezra. These have sometimes been identified as another, separate work, the Ezra Memorial (EM), but other scholars believe the EM to be fictional and heavily altered by later editors. Both the Nehemiah and Ezra material are combined with numerous lists, Censuses and other material.)

NEHEMIAH CHAPTER 1

1 The words of Nehemiah the son of Hachaliah. And it came to pass in the month Chisleu, in the twentieth year, as I was in Shushan the palace,

2 That Hanani, one of my brethren, came, he and certain men of Judah; and I asked them concerning the Jews that had escaped, which were left of the captivity, and concerning Jerusalem.

3 And they said unto me, The remnant that are left of the captivity there in the province are in great affliction and reproach: the wall of Jerusalem also is broken down, and the gates thereof are burned with fire.

4 And it came to pass, when I heard these words, that I sat down and wept, and mourned certain days, and fasted, and prayed before the God of heaven,

5 And said, I beseech thee, O LORD God of heaven, the great and terrible God, that keepeth covenant and mercy for them that love him and observe his commandments:

6 Let thine ear now be attentive, and thine eyes open, that thou mayest hear the prayer of thy servant, which I pray before thee now, day and night, for the children of Israel thy servants, and confess the sins of the children of Israel, which we have sinned against thee: both I and my father's house have sinned.

7 We have dealt very corruptly against thee, and have not kept the commandments, nor the statutes, nor the judgements, which thou commandedst thy servant Moses.

8 Remember, I beseech thee, the word that thou commandedst thy servant Moses, saying, If ye transgress, I will scatter you abroad among the nations:

9 But if ye turn unto me, and keep my commandments, and do them; though there were of you cast out unto the uttermost part of the heaven, yet will I gather them from thence, and will bring them unto the place that I have chosen to set my name there.

10 Now these are thy servants and thy people, whom thou hast redeemed by thy great power, and by thy strong hand.

11 O LORD, I beseech thee, let now thine ear be attentive to the prayer of thy servant, and to the prayer of thy servants, who desire to fear thy name: and prosper, I pray thee, thy servant this day, and grant him mercy in the sight of this man. For I was the king's cupbearer.

NEHEMIAH CHAPTER 2

1 And it came to pass in the month Nisan, in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes the king, that wine was before him: and I took up the wine, and gave it unto the king. Now I had not been beforetime sad in his presence.

2 Wherefore the king said unto me, Why is thy countenance sad, seeing thou art not sick? this is nothing else but sorrow of heart. Then I was very sore afraid,

3 And said unto the king, Let the king live for ever: why should not my countenance be sad, when the city, the place of my fathers' sepulchres, lieth waste, and the gates thereof are consumed with fire?

4 Then the king said unto me, For what dost thou make request? So I prayed to the God of heaven.

5 And I said unto the king, If it please the king, and if thy servant have found favour in thy sight, that thou wouldest send me unto Judah, unto the city of my fathers' sepulchres, that I may build it.

6 And the king said unto me, (the queen also sitting by him,) For how long shall thy journey be? and when wilt thou return? So it pleased the king to send me; and I set him a time.

7 Moreover I said unto the king, If it please the king, let letters be given me to the governors beyond the river, that they may convey me over till I come into Judah;

8 And a letter unto Asaph the keeper of the king's forest, that he may give me timber to make beams for the gates of the palace which appertained to the house, and for the wall of the city, and for the house that I shall enter into. And the king granted me, according to the good hand of my God upon me.

9 Then I came to the governors beyond the river, and gave them the king's letters. Now the king had sent captains of the army and horsemen with me.

10 When Sanballat the Horonite, and Tobiah the servant, the Ammonite, heard of it, it grieved them exceedingly that there was come a man to seek the welfare of the children of Israel.

11 So I came to Jerusalem, and was there three days.

12 And I arose in the night, I and some few men with me; neither told I any man what my God had put in my heart to do at Jerusalem: neither was there any beast with me, save the beast that I rode upon.

13 And I went out by night by the gate of the valley, even before the dragon well, and to the dung port, and viewed the walls of Jerusalem, which were broken down, and the gates thereof were consumed with fire.

14 Then I went on to the gate of the fountain, and to the king's pool: but there was no place for the beast that was under me to pass.

15 Then went I up in the night by the brook, and viewed the wall, and turned back, and entered by the gate of the valley, and so returned.

16 And the rulers knew not whither I went, or what I did; neither had I as yet told it to the Jews, nor to the priests, nor to the nobles, nor to the rulers, nor to the rest that did the work.

17 Then said I unto them, Ye see the distress that we are in, how Jerusalem lieth waste, and the gates thereof are burned with fire: come, and let us build up the wall of Jerusalem, that we be no more a reproach.

18 Then I told them of the hand of my God which was good upon me; as also the king's words that he had spoken unto me. And they said, Let us rise up and build. So they strengthened their hands for this good work.

19 But when Sanballat the Horonite, and Tobiah the servant, the Ammonite, and Geshem the Arabian, heard it,

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they laughed us to scorn, and despised us, and said, What is this thing that ye do? will ye rebel against the king?

20 Then answered I them, and said unto them, The God of heaven, he will prosper us; therefore we his servants will arise and build: but ye have no portion, nor right, nor memorial, in Jerusalem.

NEHEMIAH CHAPTER 3

1 Then Eliashib the high priest rose up with his brethren the priests, and they builded the sheep gate; they sanctified it, and set up the doors of it; even unto the tower of Meah they sanctified it, unto the tower of Hananeel.

2 And next unto him builded the men of Jericho. And next to them builded Zaccur the son of Imri.

3 But the fish gate did the sons of Hassenaah build, who also laid the beams thereof, and set up the doors thereof, the locks thereof, and the bars thereof.

4 And next unto them repaired Meremoth the son of Urijah, the son of Koz. And next unto them repaired Meshullam the son of Berechiah, the son of Meshezabeel. And next unto them repaired Zadok the son of Baana.

5 And next unto them the Tekoites repaired; but their nobles put not their necks to the work of their LORD.

6 Moreover the old gate repaired Jehoiada the son of Paseah, and Meshullam the son of Besodeiah; they laid the beams thereof, and set up the doors thereof, and the locks thereof, and the bars thereof.

7 And next unto them repaired Melatiah the Gibeonite, and Jadon the Meronothite, the men of Gibeon, and of Mizpah, unto the throne of the governor on this side the river.

8 Next unto him repaired Uzziel the son of Harhaiah, of the goldsmiths. Next unto him also repaired Hananiah the son of one of the apothecaries, and they fortified Jerusalem unto the broad wall.

9 And next unto them repaired Rephaiah the son of Hur, the ruler of the half part of Jerusalem.

10 And next unto them repaired Jedaiah the son of Harumaph, even over against his house. And next unto him repaired Hattush the son of Hashabniah.

11 Malchijah the son of Harim, and Hashub the son of Pahathmoab, repaired the other piece, and the tower of the furnaces.

12 And next unto him repaired Shallum the son of Halohesh, the ruler of the half part of Jerusalem, he and his daughters.

13 The valley gate repaired Hanun, and the inhabitants of Zanoah; they built it, and set up the doors thereof, the locks thereof, and the bars thereof, and a thousand cubits on the wall unto the dung gate.

14 But the dung gate repaired Malchiah the son of Rechab, the ruler of part of Bethhaccerem; he built it, and set up the doors thereof, the locks thereof, and the bars thereof.

15 But the gate of the fountain repaired Shallun the son of Colhozeh, the ruler of part of Mizpah; he built it, and covered it, and set up the doors thereof, the locks thereof, and the bars thereof, and the wall of the pool of Siloah by the king's garden, and unto the stairs that go down from the city of David.

16 After him repaired Nehemiah the son of Azbuk, the ruler of the half part of Bethzur, unto the place over against the sepulchres of David, and to the pool that was made, and unto the house of the mighty.

17 After him repaired the Levites, Rehum the son of Bani. Next unto him repaired Hashabiah, the ruler of the half part of Keilah, in his part.

18 After him repaired their brethren, Bavai the son of Henadad, the ruler of the half part of Keilah.

19 And next to him repaired Ezer the son of Jeshua, the ruler of Mizpah, another piece over against the going up to the armoury at the turning of the wall.

20 After him Baruch the son of Zabbai earnestly repaired the other piece, from the turning of the wall unto the door of the house of Eliashib the high priest.

21 After him repaired Meremoth the son of Urijah the son of Koz another piece, from the door of the house of Eliashib even to the end of the house of Eliashib.

22 And after him repaired the priests, the men of the plain.

23 After him repaired Benjamin and Hashub over against their house. After him repaired Azariah the son of Maaseiah the son of Ananiah by his house.

24 After him repaired Binnui the son of Henadad another piece, from the house of Azariah unto the turning of the wall, even unto the corner.

25 Palal the son of Uzai, over against the turning of the wall, and the tower which lieth out from the king's high house, that was by the court of the prison. After him Pedaiah the son of Parosh.

26 Moreover the Nethinims dwelt in Ophel, unto the place over against the water gate toward the east, and the tower that lieth out.

27 After them the Tekoites repaired another piece, over against the great tower that lieth out, even unto the wall of Ophel.

28 From above the horse gate repaired the priests, every one over against his house.

29 After them repaired Zadok the son of Immer over against his house. After him repaired also Shemaiah the son of Shechaniah, the keeper of the east gate.

30 After him repaired Hananiah the son of Shelemiah, and Hanun the sixth son of Zalaph, another piece. After him repaired Meshullam the son of Berechiah over against his chamber.

31 After him repaired Malchiah the goldsmith's son unto the place of the Nethinims, and of the merchants, over against the gate Miphkad, and to the going up of the corner.

32 And between the going up of the corner unto the sheep gate repaired the goldsmiths and the merchants.

NEHEMIAH CHAPTER 4

1 But it came to pass, that when Sanballat heard that we builded the wall, he was wroth, and took great indignation, and mocked the Jews.

2 And he spake before his brethren and the army of Samaria, and said, What do these feeble Jews? will they fortify themselves? will they sacrifice? will they make an end in a day? will they revive the stones out of the heaps of the rubbish which are burned?

3 Now Tobiah the Ammonite was by him, and he said, Even that which they build, if a fox go up, he shall even break down their stone wall.

4 Hear, O our God; for we are despised: and turn their reproach upon their own head, and give them for a prey in the land of captivity:

5 And cover not their iniquity, and let not their sin be blotted out from before thee: for they have provoked thee to anger before the builders.

6 So built we the wall; and all the wall was joined together unto the half thereof: for the people had a mind to work.

7 But it came to pass, that when Sanballat, and Tobiah, and the Arabians, and the Ammonites, and the Ashdodites, heard that the walls of Jerusalem were made up, and that the breaches began to be stopped, then they were very wroth,

8 And conspired all of them together to come and to fight against Jerusalem, and to hinder it.

9 Nevertheless we made our prayer unto our God, and set a watch against them day and night, because of them.

10 And Judah said, The strength of the bearers of burdens is decayed, and there is much rubbish; so that we are not able to build the wall.

11 And our adversaries said, They shall not know, neither see, till we come in the midst among them, and slay them, and cause the work to cease.

12 And it came to pass, that when the Jews which dwelt by them came, they said unto us ten times, From all places whence ye shall return unto us they will be upon you.

13 Therefore set I in the lower places behind the wall, and on the higher places, I even set the people after their families with their swords, their spears, and their bows.

14 And I looked, and rose up, and said unto the nobles, and to the rulers, and to the rest of the people, Be not ye afraid of them: remember the LORD, which is great and terrible, and fight for your brethren, your sons, and your daughters, your wives, and your houses.

15 And it came to pass, when our enemies heard that it was known unto us, and God had brought their counsel to nought, that we returned all of us to the wall, every one unto his work.

16 And it came to pass from that time forth, that the half of my servants wrought in the work, and the other half of them held both the spears, the shields, and the bows, and the habergeons; and the rulers were behind all the house of Judah.

17 They which builded on the wall, and they that bare burdens, with those that laded, every one with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other hand held a weapon.

18 For the builders, every one had his sword girded by his side, and so builded. And he that sounded the trumpet was by me.

19 And I said unto the nobles, and to the rulers, and to the rest of the people, The work is great and large, and we are separated upon the wall, one far from another.

20 In what place therefore ye hear the sound of the trumpet, resort ye thither unto us: our God shall fight for us.

21 So we laboured in the work: and half of them held the spears from the rising of the morning till the stars appeared.

22 Likewise at the same time said I unto the people, Let every one with his servant lodge within Jerusalem, that in the night they may be a guard to us, and labour on the day.

23 So neither I, nor my brethren, nor my servants, nor the men of the guard which followed me, none of us put off our clothes, saving that every one put them off for washing.

NEHEMIAH CHAPTER 5

1 And there was a great cry of the people and of their wives against their brethren the Jews.

2 For there were that said, We, our sons, and our daughters, are many: therefore we take up corn for them, that we may eat, and live.

3 Some also there were that said, We have mortgaged our lands, vineyards, and houses, that we might buy corn, because of the dearth.

4 There were also that said, We have borrowed money for the king's tribute, and that upon our lands and vineyards.

5 Yet now our flesh is as the flesh of our brethren, our children as their children: and, lo, we bring into bondage our sons and our daughters to be servants, and some of our daughters are brought unto bondage already: neither is it in our power to redeem them; for other men have our lands and vineyards.

6 And I was very angry when I heard their cry and these words.

7 Then I consulted with myself, and I rebuked the nobles, and the rulers, and said unto them, Ye exact usury, every one of his brother. And I set a great assembly against them.

8 And I said unto them, We after our ability have redeemed our brethren the Jews, which were sold unto the heathen; and will ye even sell your brethren? or shall they be sold unto us? Then held they their peace, and found nothing to answer.

9 Also I said, It is not good that ye do: ought ye not to walk in the fear of our God because of the reproach of the heathen our enemies?

10 I likewise, and my brethren, and my servants, might exact of them money and corn: I pray you, let us leave off this usury.

11 Restore, I pray you, to them, even this day, their lands, their vineyards, their oliveyards, and their houses, also the hundredth part of the money, and of the corn, the wine, and the oil, that ye exact of them.

12 Then said they, We will restore them, and will require nothing of them; so will we do as thou sayest. Then I called the priests, and took an oath of them, that they should do according to this promise.

13 Also I shook my lap, and said, So God shake out every man from his house, and from his labour, that performeth not this promise, even thus be he shaken out, and emptied. And all the congregation said, Amen, and praised the LORD. And the people did according to this promise.

14 Moreover from the time that I was appointed to be their governor in the land of Judah, from the twentieth year even unto the two and thirtieth year of Artaxerxes the king, that is, twelve years, I and my brethren have not eaten the bread of the governor.

15 But the former governors that had been before me were chargeable unto the people, and had taken of them bread and wine, beside forty shekels of silver; yea, even their servants bare rule over the people: but so did not I, because of the fear of God.

16 Yea, also I continued in the work of this wall, neither bought we any land: and all my servants were gathered thither unto the work.

17 Moreover there were at my table an hundred and fifty of the Jews and rulers, beside those that came unto us from among the heathen that are about us.

18 Now that which was prepared for me daily was one ox and six choice sheep; also fowls were prepared for me, and once in ten days store of all sorts of wine: yet for all this required not I the bread of the governor, because the bondage was heavy upon this people.

19 Think upon me, my God, for good, according to all that I have done for this people.

NEHEMIAH CHAPTER 6

1 Now it came to pass when Sanballat, and Tobiah, and Geshem the Arabian, and the rest of our enemies, heard that I had builded the wall, and that there was no breach left therein; (though at that time I had not set up the doors upon the gates;)

2 That Sanballat and Geshem sent unto me, saying, Come, let us meet together in some one of the villages in the plain of Ono. But they thought to do me mischief.

3 And I sent messengers unto them, saying, I am doing a great work, so that I cannot come down: why should the work cease, whilst I leave it, and come down to you?

4 Yet they sent unto me four times after this sort; and I answered them after the same manner.

5 Then sent Sanballat his servant unto me in like manner the fifth time with an open letter in his hand;

6 Wherein was written, It is reported among the heathen, and Gashmu saith it, that thou and the Jews think to rebel: for which cause thou buildest the wall, that thou mayest be their king, according to these words.

7 And thou hast also appointed prophets to preach of thee at Jerusalem, saying, There is a king in Judah: and now shall it be reported to the king according to these words. Come now therefore, and let us take counsel together.

8 Then I sent unto him, saying, There are no such things done as thou sayest, but thou feignest them out of thine own heart.

9 For they all made us afraid, saying, Their hands shall be weakened from the work, that it be not done. Now therefore, O God, strengthen my hands.

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10 Afterward I came unto the house of Shemaiah the son of Delaiah the son of Mehetabeel, who was shut up; and he said, Let us meet together in the house of God, within the temple, and let us shut the doors of the temple: for they will come to slay thee; yea, in the night will they come to slay thee.

11 And I said, Should such a man as I flee? and who is there, that, being as I am, would go into the temple to save his life? I will not go in.

12 And, lo, I perceived that God had not sent him; but that he pronounced this prophecy against me: for Tobiah and Sanballat had hired him.

13 Therefore was he hired, that I should be afraid, and do so, and sin, and that they might have matter for an evil report, that they might reproach me.

14 My God, think thou upon Tobiah and Sanballat according to these their works, and on the prophetess Noadiah, and the rest of the prophets, that would have put me in fear.

15 So the wall was finished in the twenty and fifth day of the month Elul, in fifty and two days.

16 And it came to pass, that when all our enemies heard thereof, and all the heathen that were about us saw these things, they were much cast down in their own eyes: for they perceived that this work was wrought of our God.

17 Moreover in those days the nobles of Judah sent many letters unto Tobiah, and the letters of Tobiah came unto them.

18 For there were many in Judah sworn unto him, because he was the son in law of Shechaniah the son of Arah; and his son Johanan had taken the daughter of Meshullam the son of Berechiah.

19 Also they reported his good deeds before me, and uttered my words to him. And Tobiah sent letters to put me in fear.

NEHEMIAH CHAPTER 7

1 Now it came to pass, when the wall was built, and I had set up the doors, and the porters and the singers and the Levites were appointed,

2 That I gave my brother Hanani, and Hananiah the ruler of the palace, charge over Jerusalem: for he was a faithful man, and feared God above many.

3 And I said unto them, Let not the gates of Jerusalem be opened until the sun be hot; and while they stand by, let them shut the doors, and bar them: and appoint watches of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, every one in his watch, and every one to be over against his house.

4 Now the city was large and great: but the people were few therein, and the houses were not builded.

5 And my God put into mine heart to gather together the nobles, and the rulers, and the people, that they might be reckoned by genealogy. And I found a register of the genealogy of them which came up at the first, and found written therein,

6 These are the children of the province, that went up out of the captivity, of those that had been carried away, whom Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon had carried away, and came again to Jerusalem and to Judah, every one unto his city;

7 Who came with Zerubbabel, Jeshua, Nehemiah, Azariah, Raamiah, Nahamani, Mordecai, Bilshan, Mispereth, Bigvai, Nehum, Baanah. The number, I say, of the men of the people of Israel was this;

8 The children of Parosh, two thousand an hundred seventy and two.

9 The children of Shephatiah, three hundred seventy and two.

10 The children of Arah, six hundred fifty and two.

11 The children of Pahathmoab, of the children of Jeshua and Joab, two thousand and eight hundred and eighteen.

12 The children of Elam, a thousand two hundred fifty and four.

13 The children of Zattu, eight hundred forty and five.

14 The children of Zaccai, seven hundred and threescore.

15 The children of Binnui, six hundred forty and eight.

16 The children of Bebai, six hundred twenty and eight.

17 The children of Azgad, two thousand three hundred twenty and two.

18 The children of Adonikam, six hundred threescore and seven.

19 The children of Bigvai, two thousand threescore and seven.

20 The children of Adin, six hundred fifty and five.

21 The children of Ater of Hezekiah, ninety and eight.

22 The children of Hashum, three hundred twenty and eight.

23 The children of Bezai, three hundred twenty and four.

24 The children of Hariph, an hundred and twelve.

25 The children of Gibeon, ninety and five.

26 The men of Bethlehem and Netophah, an hundred fourscore and eight.

27 The men of Anathoth, an hundred twenty and eight.

28 The men of Bethazmaveth, forty and two.

29 The men of Kirjathjearim, Chephirah, and Beeroth, seven hundred forty and three.

30 The men of Ramah and Gaba, six hundred twenty and one.

31 The men of Michmas, an hundred and twenty and two.

32 The men of Bethel and Ai, an hundred twenty and three.

33 The men of the other Nebo, fifty and two.

34 The children of the other Elam, a thousand two hundred fifty and four.

35 The children of Harim, three hundred and twenty.

36 The children of Jericho, three hundred forty and five.

37 The children of Lod, Hadid, and Ono, seven hundred twenty and one.

38 The children of Senaah, three thousand nine hundred and thirty.

39 The priests: the children of Jedaiah, of the house of Jeshua, nine hundred seventy and three.

40 The children of Immer, a thousand fifty and two.

41 The children of Pashur, a thousand two hundred forty and seven.

42 The children of Harim, a thousand and seventeen.

43 The Levites: the children of Jeshua, of Kadmiel, and of the children of Hodevah, seventy and four.

44 The singers: the children of Asaph, an hundred forty and eight.

45 The porters: the children of Shallum, the children of Ater, the children of Talmon, the children of Akkub, the children of Hatita, the children of Shobai, an hundred thirty and eight.

46 The Nethinims: the children of Ziha, the children of Hashupha, the children of Tabbaoth,

47 The children of Keros, the children of Sia, the children of Padon,

48 The children of Lebana, the children of Hagaba, the children of Shalmai,

49 The children of Hanan, the children of Giddel, the children of Gahar,

50 The children of Reaiah, the children of Rezin, the children of Nekoda,

51 The children of Gazzam, the children of Uzza, the children of Phaseah,

52 The children of Besai, the children of Meunim, the children of Nephishesim,

53 The children of Bakbuk, the children of Hakupha, the children of Harhur,

54 The children of Bazlith, the children of Mehida, the children of Harsha,

55 The children of Barkos, the children of Sisera, the children of Tamah,

56 The children of Neziah, the children of Hatipha.

57 The children of Solomon's servants: the children of Sotai, the children of Sophereth, the children of Perida,

58 The children of Jaala, the children of Darkon, the children of Giddel,

59 The children of Shephatiah, the children of Hattil, the children of Pochereth of Zebaim, the children of Amon.

60 All the Nethinims, and the children of Solomon's servants, were three hundred ninety and two.

61 And these were they which went up also from Telmelah, Telharesha, Cherub, Addon, and Immer: but they could not shew their father's house, nor their seed, whether they were of Israel.

62 The children of Delaiah, the children of Tobiah, the children of Nekoda, six hundred forty and two.

63 And of the priests: the children of Habaiah, the children of Koz, the children of Barzillai, which took one of the daughters of Barzillai the Gileadite to wife, and was called after their name.

64 These sought their register among those that were reckoned by genealogy, but it was not found: therefore were they, as polluted, put from the priesthood.

65 And the Tirshatha said unto them, that they should not eat of the most holy things, till there stood up a priest with Urim and Thummim.

66 The whole congregation together was forty and two thousand three hundred and threescore,

67 Beside their manservants and their maidservants, of whom there were seven thousand three hundred thirty and seven: and they had two hundred forty and five singing men and singing women.

68 Their horses, seven hundred thirty and six: their mules, two hundred forty and five:

69 Their camels, four hundred thirty and five: six thousand seven hundred and twenty asses.

70 And some of the chief of the fathers gave unto the work. The Tirshatha gave to the treasure a thousand drams of gold, fifty basons, five hundred and thirty priests' garments.

71 And some of the chief of the fathers gave to the treasure of the work twenty thousand drams of gold, and two thousand and two hundred pound of silver.

72 And that which the rest of the people gave was twenty thousand drams of gold, and two thousand pound of silver, and threescore and seven priests' garments.

73 So the priests, and the Levites, and the porters, and the singers, and some of the people, and the Nethinims, and all Israel, dwelt in their cities; and when the seventh month came, the children of Israel were in their cities.

NEHEMIAH CHAPTER 8

1 And all the people gathered themselves together as one man into the street that was before the water gate; and they spake unto Ezra the scribe to bring the book of the law of Moses, which the LORD had commanded to Israel.

2 And Ezra the priest brought the law before the congregation both of men and women, and all that could hear with understanding, upon the first day of the seventh month.

3 And he read therein before the street that was before the water gate from the morning until midday, before the men and the women, and those that could understand; and the ears of all the people were attentive unto the book of the law.

4 And Ezra the scribe stood upon a pulpit of wood, which they had made for the purpose; and beside him stood Mattithiah, and Shema, and Anaiah, and Urijah, and Hilkiah, and Maaseiah, on his right hand; and on his left hand, Pedaiah, and Mishael, and Malchiah, and Hashum, and Hashbadana, Zechariah, and Meshullam.

5 And Ezra opened the book in the sight of all the people; (for he was above all the people;) and when he opened it, all the people stood up:

6 And Ezra blessed the LORD, the great God. And all the people answered, Amen, Amen, with lifting up their hands: and they bowed their heads, and worshipped the LORD with their faces to the ground.

7 Also Jeshua, and Bani, and Sherebiah, Jamin, Akkub, Shabbethai, Hodijah, Maaseiah, Kelita, Azariah, Jozabad, Hanan, Pelaiah, and the Levites, caused the people to understand the law: and the people stood in their place.

8 So they read in the book in the law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading.

9 And Nehemiah, which is the Tirshatha, and Ezra the priest the scribe, and the Levites that taught the people, said unto all the people, This day is holy unto the LORD your God; mourn not, nor weep. For all the people wept, when they heard the words of the law.

10 Then he said unto them, Go your way, eat the fat, and drink the sweet, and send portions unto them for whom nothing is prepared: for this day is holy unto our LORD: neither be ye sorry; for the joy of the LORD is your strength.

11 So the Levites stilled all the people, saying, Hold your peace, for the day is holy; neither be ye grieved.

12 And all the people went their way to eat, and to drink, and to send portions, and to make great mirth, because they had understood the words that were declared unto them.

13 And on the second day were gathered together the chief of the fathers of all the people, the priests, and the Levites, unto Ezra the scribe, even to understand the words of the law.

14 And they found written in the law which the LORD had commanded by Moses, that the children of Israel should dwell in booths in the feast of the seventh month:

15 And that they should publish and proclaim in all their cities, and in Jerusalem, saying, Go forth unto the mount, and fetch olive branches, and pine branches, and myrtle branches, and palm branches, and branches of thick trees, to make booths, as it is written.

16 So the people went forth, and brought them, and made themselves booths, every one upon the roof of his house, and in their courts, and in the courts of the house of God, and in the street of the water gate, and in the street of the gate of Ephraim.

17 And all the congregation of them that were come again out of the captivity made booths, and sat under the booths: for since the days of Jeshua the son of Nun unto that day had not the children of Israel done so. And there was very great gladness.

18 Also day by day, from the first day unto the last day, he read in the book of the law of God. And they kept the feast seven days; and on the eighth day was a solemn assembly, according unto the manner.

NEHEMIAH CHAPTER 9

1 Now in the twenty and fourth day of this month the children of Israel were assembled with fasting, and with sackclothes, and earth upon them.

2 And the seed of Israel separated themselves from all strangers, and stood and confessed their sins, and the iniquities of their fathers.

3 And they stood up in their place, and read in the book of the law of the LORD their God one fourth part of the day; and another fourth part they confessed, and worshipped the LORD their God.

4 Then stood up upon the stairs, of the Levites, Jeshua, and Bani, Kadmiel, Shebaniah, Bunni, Sherebiah, Bani, and Chenani, and cried with a loud voice unto the LORD their God.

5 Then the Levites, Jeshua, and Kadmiel, Bani, Hashabniah, Sherebiah, Hodijah, Shebaniah, and Pethahiah, said, Stand up and bless the LORD your God for ever and ever: and blessed be thy glorious name, which is exalted above all blessing and praise.

6 Thou, even thou, art LORD alone; thou hast made heaven, the heaven of heavens, with all their host, the earth, and all things that are therein, the seas, and all that is therein, and

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thou preservest them all; and the host of heaven worshippeth thee.

7 Thou art the LORD the God, who didst choose Abram, and broughtest him forth out of Ur of the Chaldees, and gavest him the name of Abraham;

8 And foundest his heart faithful before thee, and madest a covenant with him to give the land of the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Jebusites, and the Girgashites, to give it, I say, to his seed, and hast performed thy words; for thou art righteous:

9 And didst see the affliction of our fathers in Egypt, and heardest their cry by the Red sea;

10 And shewedst signs and wonders upon Pharaoh, and on all his servants, and on all the people of his land: for thou knewest that they dealt proudly against them. So didst thou get thee a name, as it is this day.

11 And thou didst divide the sea before them, so that they went through the midst of the sea on the dry land; and their persecutors thou threwest into the deeps, as a stone into the mighty waters.

12 Moreover thou leddest them in the day by a cloudy pillar; and in the night by a pillar of fire, to give them light in the way wherein they should go.

13 Thou camest down also upon mount Sinai, and spakest with them from heaven, and gavest them right judgements, and true laws, good statutes and commandments:

14 And madest known unto them thy holy sabbath, and commandedst them precepts, statutes, and laws, by the hand of Moses thy servant:

15 And gavest them bread from heaven for their hunger, and broughtest forth water for them out of the rock for their thirst, and promisedst them that they should go in to possess the land which thou hadst sworn to give them.

16 But they and our fathers dealt proudly, and hardened their necks, and hearkened not to thy commandments,

17 And refused to obey, neither were mindful of thy wonders that thou didst among them; but hardened their necks, and in their rebellion appointed a captain to return to their bondage: but thou art a God ready to pardon, gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and forsookest them not.

18 Yea, when they had made them a molten calf, and said, This is thy God that brought thee up out of Egypt, and had wrought great provocations;

19 Yet thou in thy manifold mercies forsookest them not in the wilderness: the pillar of the cloud departed not from them by day, to lead them in the way; neither the pillar of fire by night, to shew them light, and the way wherein they should go.

20 Thou gavest also thy good spirit to instruct them, and withheldest not thy manna from their mouth, and gavest them water for their thirst.

21 Yea, forty years didst thou sustain them in the wilderness, so that they lacked nothing; their clothes waxed not old, and their feet swelled not.

22 Moreover thou gavest them kingdoms and nations, and didst divide them into corners: so they possessed the land of Sihon, and the land of the king of Heshbon, and the land of Og king of Bashan.

23 Their children also multipliedst thou as the stars of heaven, and broughtest them into the land, concerning which thou hadst promised to their fathers, that they should go in to possess it.

24 So the children went in and possessed the land, and thou subduedst before them the inhabitants of the land, the Canaanites, and gavest them into their hands, with their kings, and the people of the land, that they might do with them as they would.

25 And they took strong cities, and a fat land, and possessed houses full of all goods, wells digged, vineyards, and oliveyards, and fruit trees in abundance: so they did eat, and were filled, and became fat, and delighted themselves in thy great goodness.

26 Nevertheless they were disobedient, and rebelled against thee, and cast thy law behind their backs, and slew thy prophets which testified against them to turn them to thee, and they wrought great provocations.

27 Therefore thou deliveredst them into the hand of their enemies, who vexed them: and in the time of their trouble, when they cried unto thee, thou heardest them from heaven; and according to thy manifold mercies thou gavest them saviours, who saved them out of the hand of their enemies.

28 But after they had rest, they did evil again before thee: therefore leftest thou them in the land of their enemies, so that they had the dominion over them: yet when they returned, and cried unto thee, thou heardest them from heaven; and many times didst thou deliver them according to thy mercies;

29 And testifiedst against them, that thou mightest bring them again unto thy law: yet they dealt proudly, and hearkened not unto thy commandments, but sinned against thy judgements, (which if a man do, he shall live in them;) and withdrew the shoulder, and hardened their neck, and would not hear.

30 Yet many years didst thou forbear them, and testifiedst against them by thy spirit in thy prophets: yet would they not give ear: therefore gavest thou them into the hand of the people of the lands.

31 Nevertheless for thy great mercies' sake thou didst not utterly consume them, nor forsake them; for thou art a gracious and merciful God.

32 Now therefore, our God, the great, the mighty, and the terrible God, who keepest covenant and mercy, let not all the trouble seem little before thee, that hath come upon us, on our kings, on our princes, and on our priests, and on our prophets, and on our fathers, and on all thy people, since the time of the kings of Assyria unto this day.

33 Howbeit thou art just in all that is brought upon us; for thou hast done right, but we have done wickedly:

34 Neither have our kings, our princes, our priests, nor our fathers, kept thy law, nor hearkened unto thy commandments and thy testimonies, wherewith thou didst testify against them.

35 For they have not served thee in their kingdom, and in thy great goodness that thou gavest them, and in the large and fat land which thou gavest before them, neither turned they from their wicked works.

36 Behold, we are servants this day, and for the land that thou gavest unto our fathers to eat the fruit thereof and the good thereof, behold, we are servants in it:

37 And it yieldeth much increase unto the kings whom thou hast set over us because of our sins: also they have dominion over our bodies, and over our cattle, at their pleasure, and we are in great distress.

38 And because of all this we make a sure covenant, and write it; and our princes, Levites, and priests, seal unto it.

NEHEMIAH CHAPTER 10

1 Now those that sealed were, Nehemiah, the Tirshatha, the son of Hachaliah, and Zidkijah,

2 Seraiah, Azariah, Jeremiah,

3 Pashur, Amariah, Malchijah,

4 Hattush, Shebaniah, Malluch,

5 Harim, Meremoth, Obadiah,

6 Daniel, Ginnethon, Baruch,

7 Meshullam, Abijah, Mijamin,

8 Maaziah, Bilgai, Shemaiah: these were the priests.

9 And the Levites: both Jeshua the son of Azaniah, Binnui of the sons of Henadad, Kadmiel;

10 And their brethren, Shebaniah, Hodijah, Kelita, Pelaiah, Hanan,

11 Micha, Rehob, Hashabiah,

12 Zaccur, Sherebiah, Shebaniah,

13 Hodijah, Bani, Beninu.

14 The chief of the people; Parosh, Pahathmoab, Elam, Zatthu, Bani,

15 Bunni, Azgad, Bebai,

16 Adonijah, Bigvai, Adin,

17 Ater, Hizkijah, Azzur,

18 Hodijah, Hashum, Bezai,

19 Hariph, Anathoth, Nebai,

20 Magpiash, Meshullam, Hezir,

21 Meshezabeel, Zadok, Jaddua,

22 Pelatiah, Hanan, Anaiah,

23 Hoshea, Hananiah, Hashub,

24 Hallohesh, Pileha, Shobek,

25 Rehum, Hashabnah, Maaseiah,

26 And Ahijah, Hanan, Anan,

27 Malluch, Harim, Baanah.

28 And the rest of the people, the priests, the Levites, the porters, the singers, the Nethinims, and all they that had separated themselves from the people of the lands unto the law of God, their wives, their sons, and their daughters, every one having knowledge, and having understanding;

29 They clave to their brethren, their nobles, and entered into a curse, and into an oath, to walk in God's law, which was given by Moses the servant of God, and to observe and do all the commandments of the LORD our Lord, and his judgements and his statutes;

30 And that we would not give our daughters unto the people of the land, not take their daughters for our sons:

31 And if the people of the land bring ware or any victuals on the sabbath day to sell, that we would not buy it of them on the sabbath, or on the holy day: and that we would leave the seventh year, and the exaction of every debt.

32 Also we made ordinances for us, to charge ourselves yearly with the third part of a shekel for the service of the house of our God;

33 For the shewbread, and for the continual meat offering, and for the continual burnt offering, of the sabbaths, of the new moons, for the set feasts, and for the holy things, and for the sin offerings to make an atonement for Israel, and for all the work of the house of our God.

34 And we cast the lots among the priests, the Levites, and the people, for the wood offering, to bring it into the house of our God, after the houses of our fathers, at times appointed year by year, to burn upon the altar of the LORD our God, as it is written in the law:

35 And to bring the firstfruits of our ground, and the firstfruits of all fruit of all trees, year by year, unto the house of the LORD:

36 Also the firstborn of our sons, and of our cattle, as it is written in the law, and the firstlings of our herds and of our flocks, to bring to the house of our God, unto the priests that minister in the house of our God:

37 And that we should bring the firstfruits of our dough, and our offerings, and the fruit of all manner of trees, of wine and of oil, unto the priests, to the chambers of the house of our God; and the tithes of our ground unto the Levites, that the same Levites might have the tithes in all the cities of our tillage.

38 And the priest the son of Aaron shall be with the Levites, when the Levites take tithes: and the Levites shall bring up the tithe of the tithes unto the house of our God, to the chambers, into the treasure house.

39 For the children of Israel and the children of Levi shall bring the offering of the corn, of the new wine, and the oil, unto the chambers, where are the vessels of the sanctuary, and the priests that minister, and the porters, and the singers: and we will not forsake the house of our God.

NEHEMIAH CHAPTER 11

1 And the rulers of the people dwelt at Jerusalem: the rest of the people also cast lots, to bring one of ten to dwell in Jerusalem the holy city, and nine parts to dwell in other cities.

2 And the people blessed all the men, that willingly offered themselves to dwell at Jerusalem.

3 Now these are the chief of the province that dwelt in Jerusalem: but in the cities of Judah dwelt every one in his possession in their cities, to wit, Israel, the priests, and the Levites, and the Nethinims, and the children of Solomon's servants.

4 And at Jerusalem dwelt certain of the children of Judah, and of the children of Benjamin. Of the children of Judah; Athaiah the son of Uzziah, the son of Zechariah, the son of Amariah, the son of Shephatiah, the son of Mahalaleel, of the children of Perez;

5 And Maaseiah the son of Baruch, the son of Colhozeh, the son of Hazaiah, the son of Adaiah, the son of Joiarib, the son of Zechariah, the son of Shiloni.

6 All the sons of Perez that dwelt at Jerusalem were four hundred threescore and eight valiant men.

7 And these are the sons of Benjamin; Sallu the son of Meshullam, the son of Joed, the son of Pedaiah, the son of Kolaiah, the son of Maaseiah, the son of Ithiel, the son of Jesaiah.

8 And after him Gabbai, Sallai, nine hundred twenty and eight.

9 And Joel the son of Zichri was their overseer: and Judah the son of Senuah was second over the city.

10 Of the priests: Jedaiah the son of Joiarib, Jachin.

11 Seraiah the son of Hilkiah, the son of Meshullam, the son of Zadok, the son of Meraioth, the son of Ahitub, was the ruler of the house of God.

12 And their brethren that did the work of the house were eight hundred twenty and two: and Adaiah the son of Jeroham, the son of Pelaliah, the son of Amzi, the son of Zechariah, the son of Pashur, the son of Malchiah.

13 And his brethren, chief of the fathers, two hundred forty and two: and Amashai the son of Azareel, the son of Ahasai, the son of Meshillemoth, the son of Immer,

14 And their brethren, mighty men of valour, an hundred twenty and eight: and their overseer was Zabdiel, the son of one of the great men.

15 Also of the Levites: Shemaiah the son of Hashub, the son of Azrikam, the son of Hashabiah, the son of Bunni;

16 And Shabbethai and Jozabad, of the chief of the Levites, had the oversight of the outward business of the house of God.

17 And Mattaniah the son of Micha, the son of Zabdi, the son of Asaph, was the principal to begin the thanksgiving in prayer: and Bakbukiah the second among his brethren, and Abda the son of Shammua, the son of Galal, the son of Jeduthun.

18 All the Levites in the holy city were two hundred fourscore and four.

19 Moreover the porters, Akkub, Talmon, and their brethren that kept the gates, were an hundred seventy and two.

20 And the residue of Israel, of the priests, and the Levites, were in all the cities of Judah, every one in his inheritance.

21 But the Nethinims dwelt in Ophel: and Ziha and Gispa were over the Nethinims.

22 The overseer also of the Levites at Jerusalem was Uzzi the son of Bani, the son of Hashabiah, the son of Mattaniah, the son of Micha. Of the sons of Asaph, the singers were over the business of the house of God.

23 For it was the king's commandment concerning them, that a certain portion should be for the singers, due for every day.

24 And Pethahiah the son of Meshezabeel, of the children of Zerah the son of Judah, was at the king's hand in all matters concerning the people.

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25 And for the villages, with their fields, some of the children of Judah dwelt at Kirjatharba, and in the villages thereof, and at Dibon, and in the villages thereof, and at Jekabzeel, and in the villages thereof,
26 And at Jeshua, and at Moladah, and at Bethphelet,
27 And at Hazarshual, and at Beersheba, and in the villages thereof,
28 And at Ziklag, and at Mekonah, and in the villages thereof,
29 And at Enrimmon, and at Zareah, and at Jarmuth,
30 Zanoah, Adullam, and in their villages, at Lachish, and the fields thereof, at Azekah, and in the villages thereof. And they dwelt from Beersheba unto the valley of Hinnom.
31 The children also of Benjamin from Geba dwelt at Michmash, and Aija, and Bethel, and in their villages.
32 And at Anathoth, Nob, Ananiah,
33 Hazor, Ramah, Gittaim,
34 Hadid, Zeboim, Neballat,
35 Lod, and Ono, the valley of craftsmen.
36 And of the Levites were divisions in Judah, and in Benjamin.

NEHEMIAH CHAPTER 12

1 Now these are the priests and the Levites that went up with Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, and Jeshua: Seraiah, Jeremiah, Ezra,
2 Amariah, Malluch, Hattush,
3 Shechaniah, Rehum, Meremoth,
4 Iddo, Ginnetho, Abijah,
5 Miamin, Maadiah, Bilgah,
6 Shemaiah, and Joiarib, Jedaiah,
7 Sallu, Amok, Hilkiah, Jedaiah. These were the chief of the priests and of their brethren in the days of Jeshua.
8 Moreover the Levites: Jeshua, Binnui, Kadmiel, Sherebiah, Judah, and Mattaniah, which was over the thanksgiving, he and his brethren.
9 Also Bakbukiah and Unni, their brethren, were over against them in the watches.
10 And Jeshua begat Joiakim, Joiakim also begat Eliashib, and Eliashib begat Joiada,
11 And Joiada begat Jonathan, and Jonathan begat Jaddua.
12 And in the days of Joiakim were priests, the chief of the fathers: of Seraiah, Meraiah; of Jeremiah, Hananiah;
13 Of Ezra, Meshullam; of Amariah, Jehohanan;
14 Of Melicu, Jonathan; of Shebaniah, Joseph;
15 Of Harim, Adna; of Meraioth, Helkai;
16 Of Iddo, Zechariah; of Ginnethon, Meshullam;
17 Of Abijah, Zichri; of Miniamin, of Moadiah, Piltai:
18 Of Bilgah, Shammua; of Shemaiah, Jehonathan;
19 And of Joiarib, Mattenai; of Jedaiah, Uzzi;
20 Of Sallai, Kallai; of Amok, Eber;
21 Of Hilkiah, Hashabiah; of Jedaiah, Nethaneel.
22 The Levites in the days of Eliashib, Joiada, and Johanan, and Jaddua, were recorded chief of the fathers: also the priests, to the reign of Darius the Persian.
23 The sons of Levi, the chief of the fathers, were written in the book of the chronicles, even until the days of Johanan the son of Eliashib.
24 And the chief of the Levites: Hashabiah, Sherebiah, and Jeshua the son of Kadmiel, with their brethren over against them, to praise and to give thanks, according to the commandment of David the man of God, ward over against ward.
25 Mattaniah, and Bakbukiah, Obadiah, Meshullam, Talmon, Akkub, were porters keeping the ward at the thresholds of the gates.
26 These were in the days of Joiakim the son of Jeshua, the son of Jozadak, and in the days of Nehemiah the governor, and of Ezra the priest, the scribe.
27 And at the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem they sought the Levites out of all their places, to bring them to Jerusalem, to keep the dedication with gladness, both with thanksgivings, and with singing, with cymbals, psalteries, and with harps.
28 And the sons of the singers gathered themselves together, both out of the plain country round about Jerusalem, and from the villages of Netophathi;
29 Also from the house of Gilgal, and out of the fields of Geba and Azmaveth: for the singers had builded them villages round about Jerusalem.
30 And the priests and the Levites purified themselves, and purified the people, and the gates, and the wall.
31 Then I brought up the princes of Judah upon the wall, and appointed two great companies of them that gave thanks, whereof one went on the right hand upon the wall toward the dung gate:
32 And after them went Hoshaiah, and half of the princes of Judah,
33 And Azariah, Ezra, and Meshullam,
34 Judah, and Benjamin, and Shemaiah, and Jeremiah,
35 And certain of the priests' sons with trumpets; namely, Zechariah the son of Jonathan, the son of Shemaiah, the son of Mattaniah, the son of Michaiah, the son of Zaccur, the son of Asaph:
36 And his brethren, Shemaiah, and Azarael, Milalai, Gilalai, Maai, Nethaneel, and Judah, Hanani, with the musical instruments of David the man of God, and Ezra the scribe before them.
37 And at the fountain gate, which was over against them, they went up by the stairs of the city of David, at the going up of the wall, above the house of David, even unto the water gate eastward.
38 And the other company of them that gave thanks went over against them, and I after them, and the half of the people upon the wall, from beyond the tower of the furnaces even unto the broad wall;
39 And from above the gate of Ephraim, and above the old gate, and above the fish gate, and the tower of Hananeel, and the tower of Meah, even unto the sheep gate: and they stood still in the prison gate.
40 So stood the two companies of them that gave thanks in the house of God, and I, and the half of the rulers with me:
41 And the priests; Eliakim, Maaseiah, Miniamin, Michaiah, Elioenai, Zechariah, and Hananiah, with trumpets;
42 And Maaseiah, and Shemaiah, and Eleazar, and Uzzi, and Jehohanan, and Malchijah, and Elam, and Ezer. And the singers sang loud, with Jezrahiah their overseer.

43 Also that day they offered great sacrifices, and rejoiced: for God had made them rejoice with great joy: the wives also and the children rejoiced: so that the joy of Jerusalem was heard even afar off.
44 And at that time were some appointed over the chambers for the treasures, for the offerings, for the firstfruits, and for the tithes, to gather into them out of the fields of the cities the portions of the law for the priests and Levites: for Judah rejoiced for the priests and for the Levites that waited.
45 And both the singers and the porters kept the ward of their God, and the ward of the purification, according to the commandment of David, and of Solomon his son.
46 For in the days of David and Asaph of old there were chief of the singers, and songs of praise and thanksgiving unto God.
47 And all Israel in the days of Zerubbabel, and in the days of Nehemiah, gave the portions of the singers and the porters, every day his portion: and they sanctified holy things unto the Levites; and the Levites sanctified them unto the children of Aaron.

NEHEMIAH CHAPTER 13

1 On that day they read in the book of Moses in the audience of the people; and therein was found written, that the Ammonite and the Moabite should not come into the congregation of God for ever;
2 Because they met not the children of Israel with bread and with water, but hired Balaam against them, that he should curse them: howbeit our God turned the curse into a blessing.
3 Now it came to pass, when they had heard the law, that they separated from Israel all the mixed multitude.
4 And before this, Eliashib the priest, having the oversight of the chamber of the house of our God, was allied unto Tobiah:
5 And he had prepared for him a great chamber, where aforetime they laid the meat offerings, the frankincense, and the vessels, and the tithes of the corn, the new wine, and the oil, which was commanded to be given to the Levites, and the singers, and the porters; and the offerings of the priests.
6 But in all this time was not I at Jerusalem: for in the two and thirtieth year of Artaxerxes king of Babylon came I unto the king, and after certain days obtained I leave of the king:
7 And I came to Jerusalem, and understood of the evil that Eliashib did for Tobiah, in preparing him a chamber in the courts of the house of God.
8 And it grieved me sore: therefore I cast forth all the household stuff to Tobiah out of the chamber.
9 Then I commanded, and they cleansed the chambers: and thither brought I again the vessels of the house of God, with the meat offering and the frankincense.
10 And I perceived that the portions of the Levites had not been given them: for the Levites and the singers, that did the work, were fled every one to his field.
11 Then contended I with the rulers, and said, Why is the house of God forsaken? And I gathered them together, and set them in their place.
12 Then brought all Judah the tithe of the corn and the new wine and the oil unto the treasuries.
13 And I made treasurers over the treasuries, Shelemiah the priest, and Zadok the scribe, and of the Levites, Pedaiah: and next to them was Hanan the son of Zaccur, the son of Mattaniah: for they were counted faithful, and their office was to distribute unto their brethren.
14 Remember me, O my God, concerning this, and wipe not out my good deeds that I have done for the house of my God, and for the offices thereof.
15 In those days saw I in Judah some treading wine presses on the sabbath, and bringing in sheaves, and lading asses; as also wine, grapes, and figs, and all manner of burdens, which they brought into Jerusalem on the sabbath day: and I testified against them in the day wherein they sold victuals.
16 There dwelt men of Tyre also therein, which brought fish, and all manner of ware, and sold on the sabbath unto the children of Judah, and in Jerusalem.
17 Then I contended with the nobles of Judah, and said unto them, What evil thing is this that ye do, and profane the sabbath day?
18 Did not your fathers thus, and did not our God bring all this evil upon us, and upon this city? yet ye bring more wrath upon Israel by profaning the sabbath.
19 And it came to pass, that when the gates of Jerusalem began to be dark before the sabbath, I commanded that the gates should be shut, and charged that they should not be opened till after the sabbath: and some of my servants set I at the gates, that there should no burden be brought in on the sabbath day.
20 So the merchants and sellers of all kind of ware lodged without Jerusalem once or twice.
21 Then I testified against them, and said unto them, Why lodge ye about the wall? if ye do so again, I will lay hands on you. From that time forth came they no more on the sabbath.
22 And I commanded the Levites that they should cleanse themselves, and that they should come and keep the gates, to sanctify the sabbath day. Remember me, O my God, concerning this also, and spare me according to the greatness of thy mercy.
23 In those days also saw I Jews that had married wives of Ashdod, of Ammon, and of Moab:
24 And their children spake half in the speech of Ashdod, and could not speak in the Jews' language, but according to the language of each people.
25 And I contended with them, and cursed them, and smote certain of them, and plucked off their hair, and made them swear by God, saying, Ye shall not give your daughters unto their sons, nor take their daughters unto your sons, or for yourselves.
26 Did not Solomon king of Israel sin by these things? yet among many nations was there no king like him, who was beloved of his God, and God made him king over all Israel: nevertheless even him did outlandish women cause to sin.
27 Shall we then hearken unto you to do all this great evil, to transgress against our God in marrying strange wives?
28 And one of the sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib the high priest, was son in law to Sanballat the Horonite: therefore I chased him from me.
29 Remember them, O my God, because they have defiled the priesthood, and the covenant of the priesthood, and of the Levites.
30 Thus cleansed I them from all strangers, and appointed the wards of the priests and the Levites, every one in his business;
31 And for the wood offering, at times appointed, and for the firstfruits. Remember me, O my God, for good.

THE FIRST BOOK OF CHRONICLES

or 1 Chronicles

Estimated Range of Dating: 6th to 5th centuries B.C.

(The Book of Chronicles (Hebrew: Dibre Hayyamim 'The Matters of the Days') is a Hebrew prose work constituting part of Jewish and Christian scripture. Chronicles is the final book of the Hebrew Bible, concluding the third section of Ketuvim, the last section of the Jewish Tanakh. It was divided into two books in the Septuagint, the Paralipoménōn (Greek: lit. "things left on one side"). In Christian contexts it is therefore known as the Books of Chronicles, after the Latin name chronikon given to the text by the scholar Jerome. In the Christian Bible, the books (commonly referred to as 1 Chronicles and 2 Chronicles, or First Chronicles and Second Chronicles) generally follow the two Books of Kings, and precede Ezra–Nehemiah; thus they conclude the history-oriented books of the Old Testament.

Originally a single work, Chronicles was divided into two in the Greek Septuagint: 1 Chronicles is divided into 29 chapters and 2 Chronicles into 36 chapters. It contains a genealogy from a human being, Adam, and a narrative of the history of ancient Judah and Israel. The last events in Chronicles take place in the reign of Cyrus the Great, the Persian king who conquered Babylon in 539 BC; this sets the earliest possible date for the book.

Chronicles appears to be largely the work of a single individual. The writer was probably male, probably a Levite (temple priest), and probably from Jerusalem. He was well-read, a skilled editor, and a sophisticated theologian. His intention was to use Israel's past to convey religious messages to his peers, the literary and political elite of Jerusalem in the time of the Achaemenid Empire. Jewish and Christian tradition identified this author as the 5th century BC figure Ezra, who gives his name to the Book of Ezra; Ezra is also believed to be the author of both Chronicles and Ezra–Nehemiah. Many scholars maintain support for Ezra's authorship, not only based on centuries of work by Jewish

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historians, but also due to the consistency of language and speech patterns between Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah.

One of the most striking, although inconclusive, features of Chronicles is that its closing sentence is repeated as the opening of Ezra–Nehemiah. These repeated verses are called "catch-lines." In antiquity, catch-lines were often placed at the end of a scroll to facilitate the reader's passing on to the correct second book-scroll after completing the first. This scribal device was employed in works that exceeded the scope of a single scroll and had to be continued on another scroll.

Scholars suggest it was probably composed between 400–250 BC, with the period 350–300 BC the most likely. This timeframe is achieved by estimates made based on genealogies appearing in the Greek Septuagint. This theory bases its premise on latest person mentioned in Chronicles, Anani. Anani is an eighth-generation descendant of King Jehoiachin according to the Masoretic Text. They roughly estimate Anani's birth to have been sometime between 425 and 400 BC using an additional five generations in the genealogy of Anani appearing in the Septuagint. Based on this, the theory has persuaded many supporters of the Septuagint's reading to place Anani's likely date of birth a century later than what has been largely accepted for two millennia.

Much of the content of Chronicles is a repetition of material from other books of the Bible, from Genesis to Kings, and so the usual scholarly view is that these books, or an early version of them, provided the author with the bulk of his material. The Chronicles narrative begins with Adam, Seth and Enosh, and the story is then carried forward, almost entirely through genealogical lists, down to the founding of the first Kingdom of Israel (in the "introductory chapters", 1 Chronicles 1–9). The bulk of the remainder of 1 Chronicles, after a brief account of Saul in chapter 10, is concerned with the reign of David (1 Chronicles 11–29). The next long section concerns David's son Solomon (2 Chronicles 1–9), and the final part is concerned with the Kingdom of Judah, with occasional references to the second kingdom of Israel (2 Chronicles 10–36). The final chapter covers briefly the reigns of the last four kings, until Judah is destroyed and the people taken into exile in Babylon. In the two final verses, identical to the opening verses of the Book of Ezra, the Persian king Cyrus the Great conquers the Neo-Babylonian Empire, and authorises the restoration of the Temple in Jerusalem and the return of the exiles.)

1 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 1

1 Adam, Sheth, Enosh,
2 Kenan, Mahalaleel, Jered,
3 Henoch, Methuselah, Lamech,
4 Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japheth.
5 The sons of Japheth; Gomer, and Magog, and Madai, and Javan, and Tubal, and Meshech, and Tiras.
6 And the sons of Gomer; Ashchenaz, and Riphath, and Togarmah.
7 And the sons of Javan; Elishah, and Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim.
8 The sons of Ham; Cush, and Mizraim, Put, and Canaan.
9 And the sons of Cush; Seba, and Havilah, and Sabta, and Raamah, and Sabtecha. And the sons of Raamah; Sheba, and Dedan.
10 And Cush begat Nimrod: he began to be mighty upon the earth.
11 And Mizraim begat Ludim, and Anamim, and Lehabim, and Naphtuhim,
12 And Pathrusim, and Casluhim, (of whom came the Philistines,) and Caphthorim.
13 And Canaan begat Zidon his firstborn, and Heth,
14 The Jebusite also, and the Amorite, and the Girgashite,
15 And the Hivite, and the Arkite, and the Sinite,
16 And the Arvadite, and the Zemarite, and the Hamathite.
17 The sons of Shem; Elam, and Asshur, and Arphaxad, and Lud, and Aram, and Uz, and Hul, and Gether, and Meshech.
18 And Arphaxad begat Shelah, and Shelah begat Eber.
19 And unto Eber were born two sons: the name of the one was Peleg; because in his days the earth was divided: and his brother's name was Joktan.
20 And Joktan begat Almodad, and Sheleph, and Hazarmaveth, and Jerah,
21 Hadoram also, and Uzal, and Diklah,
22 And Ebal, and Abimael, and Sheba,
23 And Ophir, and Havilah, and Jobab. All these were the sons of Joktan.
24 Shem, Arphaxad, Shelah,
25 Eber, Peleg, Reu,
26 Serug, Nahor, Terah,
27 Abram; the same is Abraham.
28 The sons of Abraham; Isaac, and Ishmael.
29 These are their generations: The firstborn of Ishmael, Nebaioth; then Kedar, and Adbeel, and Mibsam,
30 Mishma, and Dumah, Massa, Hadad, and Tema,
31 Jetur, Naphish, and Kedemah. These are the sons of Ishmael.
32 Now the sons of Keturah, Abraham's concubine: she bare Zimran, and Jokshan, and Medan, and Midian, and Ishbak, and Shuah. And the sons of Jokshan; Sheba, and Dedan.
33 And the sons of Midian; Ephah, and Epher, and Henoch, and Abida, and Eldaah. All these are the sons of Keturah.
34 And Abraham begat Isaac. The sons of Isaac; Esau and Israel.
35 The sons of Esau; Eliphaz, Reuel, and Jeush, and Jaalam, and Korah.
36 The sons of Eliphaz; Teman, and Omar, Zephi, and Gatam, Kenaz, and Timna, and Amalek.
37 The sons of Reuel; Nahath, Zerah, Shammah, and Mizzah.
38 And the sons of Seir; Lotan, and Shobal, and Zibeon, and Anah, and Dishon, and Ezar, and Dishan.
39 And the sons of Lotan; Hori, and Homam: and Timna was Lotan's sister.
40 The sons of Shobal; Alian, and Manahath, and Ebal, Shephi, and Onam. And the sons of Zibeon; Aiah, and Anah.
41 The sons of Anah; Dishon. And the sons of Dishon; Amram, and Eshban, and Ithran, and Cheran.
42 The sons of Ezer; Bilhan, and Zavan, and Jakan. The sons of Dishan; Uz, and Aran.
43 Now these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom before any king reigned over the children of Israel; Bela the son of Beor: and the name of his city was Dinhabah.
44 And when Bela was dead, Jobab the son of Zerah of Bozrah reigned in his stead.
45 And when Jobab was dead, Husham of the land of the Temanites reigned in his stead.
46 And when Husham was dead, Hadad the son of Bedad, which smote Midian in the field of Moab, reigned in his stead: and the name of his city was Avith.
47 And when Hadad was dead, Samlah of Masrekah reigned in his stead.
48 And when Samlah was dead, Shaul of Rehoboth by the river reigned in his stead.
49 And when Shaul was dead, Baalhanan the son of Achbor reigned in his stead.
50 And when Baalhanan was dead, Hadad reigned in his stead: and the name of his city was Pai; and his wife's name was Mehetabel, the daughter of Matred, the daughter of Mezahab.
51 Hadad died also. And the dukes of Edom were; duke Timnah, duke Aliah, duke Jetheth,
52 Duke Aholibamah, duke Elah, duke Pinon,
53 Duke Kenaz, duke Teman, duke Mibzar,
54 Duke Magdiel, duke Iram. These are the dukes of Edom.

1 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 2

1 These are the sons of Israel; Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun,
2 Dan, Joseph, and Benjamin, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher.
3 The sons of Judah; Er, and Onan, and Shelah: which three were born unto him of the daughter of Shua the Canaanitess. And Er, the firstborn of Judah, was evil in the sight of the LORD; and he slew him.
4 And Tamar his daughter in law bore him Pharez and Zerah. All the sons of Judah were five.
5 The sons of Pharez; Hezron, and Hamul.
6 And the sons of Zerah; Zimri, and Ethan, and Heman, and Calcol, and Dara: five of them in all.
7 And the sons of Carmi; Achar, the troubler of Israel, who transgressed in the thing accursed.
8 And the sons of Ethan; Azariah.
9 The sons also of Hezron, that were born unto him; Jerahmeel, and Ram, and Chelubai.
10 And Ram begat Amminadab; and Amminadab begat Nahshon, prince of the children of Judah;
11 And Nahshon begat Salma, and Salma begat Boaz,
12 And Boaz begat Obed, and Obed begat Jesse,
13 And Jesse begat his firstborn Eliab, and Abinadab the second, and Shimma the third,
14 Nethaneel the fourth, Raddai the fifth,
15 Ozem the sixth, David the seventh:
16 Whose sisters were Zeruiah, and Abigail. And the sons of Zeruiah; Abishai, and Joab, and Asahel, three.
17 And Abigail bare Amasa: and the father of Amasa was Jether the Ishmeelite.
18 And Caleb the son of Hezron begat children of Azubah his wife, and of Jerioth: her sons are these; Jesher, and Shobab, and Ardon.
19 And when Azubah was dead, Caleb took unto him Ephrath, which bare him Hur.
20 And Hur begat Uri, and Uri begat Bezaleel.
21 And afterward Hezron went in to the daughter of Machir the father of Gilead, whom he married when he was threescore years old; and she bare him Segub.
22 And Segub begat Jair, who had three and twenty cities in the land of Gilead.
23 And he took Geshur, and Aram, with the towns of Jair, from them, with Kenath, and the towns thereof, even threescore cities. All these belonged to the sons of Machir the father of Gilead.
24 And after that Hezron was dead in Calebephratah, then Abiah Hezron's wife bare him Ashur the father of Tekoa.
25 And the sons of Jerahmeel the firstborn of Hezron were, Ram the firstborn, and Bunah, and Oren, and Ozem, and Ahijah.
26 Jerahmeel had also another wife, whose name was Atarah; she was the mother of Onam.
27 And the sons of Ram the firstborn of Jerahmeel were, Maaz, and Jamin, and Eker.
28 And the sons of Onam were, Shammai, and Jada. And the sons of Shammai; Nadab and Abishur.
29 And the name of the wife of Abishur was Abihail, and she bare him Ahban, and Molid.
30 And the sons of Nadab; Seled, and Appaim: but Seled died without children.
31 And the sons of Appaim; Ishi. And the sons of Ishi; Sheshan. And the children of Sheshan; Ahlai.
32 And the sons of Jada the brother of Shammai; Jether, and Jonathan: and Jether died without children.
33 And the sons of Jonathan; Peleth, and Zaza. These were the sons of Jerahmeel.
34 Now Sheshan had no sons, but daughters. And Sheshan had a servant, an Egyptian, whose name was Jarha.
35 And Sheshan gave his daughter to Jarha his servant to wife; and she bare him Attai.
36 And Attai begat Nathan, and Nathan begat Zabad,
37 And Zabad begat Ephlal, and Ephlal begat Obed,
38 And Obed begat Jehu, and Jehu begat Azariah,
39 And Azariah begat Helez, and Helez begat Eleasah,
40 And Eleasah begat Sisamai, and Sisamai begat Shallum,
41 And Shallum begat Jekamiah, and Jekamiah begat Elishama.
42 Now the sons of Caleb the brother of Jerahmeel were, Mesha his firstborn, which was the father of Ziph; and the sons of Mareshah the father of Hebron.
43 And the sons of Hebron; Korah, and Tappuah, and Rekem, and Shema.
44 And Shema begat Raham, the father of Jorkoam: and Rekem begat Shammai.
45 And the son of Shammai was Maon: and Maon was the father of Bethzur.
46 And Ephah, Caleb's concubine, bare Haran, and Moza, and Gazez: and Haran begat Gazez.
47 And the sons of Jahdai; Regem, and Jotham, and Gesham, and Pelet, and Ephah, and Shaaph.
48 Maachah, Caleb's concubine, bare Sheber, and Tirhanah.
49 She bare also Shaaph the father of Madmannah, Sheva the father of Machbenah, and the father of Gibea: and the daughter of Caleb was Achsa.
50 These were the sons of Caleb the son of Hur, the firstborn of Ephratah; Shobal the father of Kirjathjearim.
51 Salma the father of Bethlehem, Hareph the father of Bethgader.
52 And Shobal the father of Kirjathjearim had sons; Haroeh, and half of the Manahethites.
53 And the families of Kirjathjearim; the Ithrites, and the Puhites, and the Shumathites, and the Mishraites; of them came the Zareathites, and the Eshtaulites,
54 The sons of Salma; Bethlehem, and the Netophathites, Ataroth, the house of Joab, and half of the Manahethites, the Zorites.
55 And the families of the scribes which dwelt at Jabez; the Tirathites, the Shimeathites, and Suchathites. These are the Kenites that came of Hemath, the father of the house of Rechab.

1 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 3

1 Now these were the sons of David, which were born unto him in Hebron; the firstborn Amnon, of Ahinoam the Jezreelitess; the second Daniel, of Abigail the Carmelitess:
2 The third, Absalom the son of Maachah the daughter of Talmai king of Geshur: the fourth, Adonijah the son of Haggith:
3 The fifth, Shephatiah of Abital: the sixth, Ithream by Eglah his wife.
4 These six were born unto him in Hebron; and there he reigned seven years and six months: and in Jerusalem he reigned thirty and three years.
5 And these were born unto him in Jerusalem; Shimea, and Shobab, and Nathan, and Solomon, four, of Bathshua the daughter of Ammiel:
6 Ibhar also, and Elishama, and Eliphelet,
7 And Nogah, and Nepheg, and Japhia,
8 And Elishama, and Eliada, and Eliphelet, nine.
9 These were all the sons of David, beside the sons of the concubines, and Tamar their sister.
10 And Solomon's son was Rehoboam, Abia his son, Asa his son, Jehoshaphat his son,
11 Joram his son, Ahaziah his son, Joash his son,
12 Amaziah his son, Azariah his son, Jotham his son,
13 Ahaz his son, Hezekiah his son, Manasseh his son,
14 Amon his son, Josiah his son.
15 And the sons of Josiah were, the firstborn Johanan, the second Jehoiakim, the third Zedekiah, the fourth Shallum.

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16 And the sons of Jehoiakim: Jeconiah his son, Zedekiah his son.
17 And the sons of Jeconiah; Assir, Salathiel his son,
18 Malchiram also, and Pedaiah, and Shenazar, Jecamiah, Hoshama, and Nedabiah.
19 And the sons of Pedaiah were, Zerubbabel, and Shimei: and the sons of Zerubbabel; Meshullam, and Hananiah, and Shelomith their sister:
20 And Hashubah, and Ohel, and Berechiah, and Hasadiah, Jushabhesed, five.
21 And the sons of Hananiah; Pelatiah, and Jesaiah: the sons of Rephaiah, the sons of Arnan, the sons of Obadiah, the sons of Shechaniah.
22 And the sons of Shechaniah; Shemaiah: and the sons of Shemaiah; Hattush, and Igeal, and Bariah, and Neariah, and Shaphat, six.
23 And the sons of Neariah; Elioenai, and Hezekiah, and Azrikam, three.
24 And the sons of Elioenai were, Hodaiah, and Eliashib, and Pelaiah, and Akkub, and Johanan, and Dalaiah, and Anani, seven.

1 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 4

1 The sons of Judah; Pharez, Hezron, and Carmi, and Hur, and Shobal.
2 And Reaiah the son of Shobal begat Jahath; and Jahath begat Ahumai, and Lahad. These are the families of the Zorathites.
3 And these were of the father of Etam; Jezreel, and Ishma, and Idbash: and the name of their sister was Hazelelponi:
4 And Penuel the father of Gedor, and Ezer the father of Hushah. These are the sons of Hur, the firstborn of Ephratah, the father of Bethlehem.
5 And Ashur the father of Tekoa had two wives, Helah and Naarah.
6 And Naarah bare him Ahuzam, and Hepher, and Temeni, and Haahashtari. These were the sons of Naarah.
7 And the sons of Helah were, Zereth, and Jezoar, and Ethnan.
8 And Coz begat Anub, and Zobebah, and the families of Aharhel the son of Harum.
9 And Jabez was more honourable than his brethren: and his mother called his name Jabez, saying, Because I bare him with sorrow.
10 And Jabez called on the God of Israel, saying, Oh that thou wouldest bless me indeed, and enlarge my coast, and that thine hand might be with me, and that thou wouldest keep me from evil, that it may not grieve me! And God granted him that which he requested.
11 And Chelub the brother of Shuah begat Mehir, which was the father of Eshton.
12 And Eshton begat Bethrapha, and Paseah, and Tehinnah the father of Irnahash. These are the men of Rechah.
13 And the sons of Kenaz; Othniel, and Seraiah: and the sons of Othniel; Hathath.
14 And Meonothai begat Ophrah: and Seraiah begat Joab, the father of the valley of Charashim; for they were craftsmen.
15 And the sons of Caleb the son of Jephunneh; Iru, Elah, and Naam: and the sons of Elah, even Kenaz.
16 And the sons of Jehaleleel; Ziph, and Ziphah, Tiria, and Asareel.
17 And the sons of Ezra were, Jether, and Mered, and Epher, and Jalon: and she bare Miriam, and Shammai, and Ishbah the father of Eshtemoa.
18 And his wife Jehudijah bare Jered the father of Gedor, and Heber the father of Socho, and Jekuthiel the father of Zanoah. And these are the sons of Bithiah the daughter of Pharaoh, which Mered took.
19 And the sons of his wife Hodiah the sister of Naham, the father of Keilah the Garmite, and Eshtemoa the Maachathite.
20 And the sons of Shimon were, Amnon, and Rinnah, Benhanan, and Tilon. And the sons of Ishi were, Zoheth, and Benzoheth.
21 The sons of Shelah the son of Judah were, Er the father of Lecah, and Laadah the father of Mareshah, and the families of the house of them that wrought fine linen, of the house of Ashbea,
22 And Jokim, and the men of Chozeba, and Joash, and Saraph, who had the dominion in Moab, and Jashubilehem. And these are ancient things.
23 These were the potters, and those that dwelt among plants and hedges: there they dwelt with the king for his work.
24 The sons of Simeon were, Nemuel, and Jamin, Jarib, Zerah, and Shaul:
25 Shallum his son, Mibsam his son, Mishma his son.
26 And the sons of Mishma; Hamuel his son, Zacchur his son, Shimei his son.
27 And Shimei had sixteen sons and six daughters: but his brethren had not many children, neither did all their family multiply, like to the children of Judah.
28 And they dwelt at Beersheba, and Moladah, and Hazarshual,
29 And at Bilhah, and at Ezem, and at Tolad,
30 And at Bethuel, and at Hormah, and at Ziklag,
31 And at Bethmarcaboth, and Hazarsusim, and at Bethbirei, and at Shaaraim. These were their cities unto the reign of David.
32 And their villages were, Etam, and Ain, Rimmon, and Tochen, and Ashan, five cities:
33 And all their villages that were round about the same cities, unto Baal. These were their habitations, and their genealogy.
34 And Meshobab, and Jamlech, and Joshah, the son of Amaziah,
35 And Joel, and Jehu the son of Josibiah, the son of Seraiah, the son of Asiel,
36 And Elioenai, and Jaakobah, and Jeshohaiah, and Asaiah, and Adiel, and Jesimiel, and Benaiah,
37 And Ziza the son of Shiphi, the son of Allon, the son of Jedaiah, the son of Shimri, the son of Shemaiah;
38 These mentioned by their names were princes in their families: and the house of their fathers increased greatly.
39 And they went to the entrance of Gedor, even unto the east side of the valley, to seek pasture for their flocks.
40 And they found fat pasture and good, and the land was wide, and quiet, and peaceable; for they of Ham had dwelt there of old.
41 And these written by name came in the days of Hezekiah king of Judah, and smote their tents, and the habitations that were found there, and destroyed them utterly unto this day, and dwelt in their rooms: because there was pasture there for their flocks.
42 And some of them, even of the sons of Simeon, five hundred men, went to mount Seir, having for their captains Pelatiah, and Neariah, and Rephaiah, and Uzziel, the sons of Ishi.
43 And they smote the rest of the Amalekites that were escaped, and dwelt there unto this day.

1 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 5

1 Now the sons of Reuben the firstborn of Israel, (for he was the firstborn; but forasmuch as he defiled his father's bed, his birthright was given unto the sons of Joseph the son of Israel: and the genealogy is not to be reckoned after the birthright.
2 For Judah prevailed above his brethren, and of him came the chief ruler; but the birthright was Joseph's:)
3 The sons, I say, of Reuben the firstborn of Israel were, Hanoch, and Pallu, Hezron, and Carmi.
4 The sons of Joel; Shemaiah his son, Gog his son, Shimei his son,
5 Micah his son, Reaia his son, Baal his son,
6 Beerah his son, whom Tilgathpilneser king of Assyria carried away captive: he was prince of the Reubenites.
7 And his brethren by their families, when the genealogy of their generations was reckoned, were the chief, Jeiel, and Zechariah,
8 And Bela the son of Azaz, the son of Shema, the son of Joel, who dwelt in Aroer, even unto Nebo and Baalmeon:
9 And eastward he inhabited unto the entering in of the wilderness from the river Euphrates: because their cattle were multiplied in the land of Gilead.
10 And in the days of Saul they made war with the Hagarites, who fell by their hand: and they dwelt in their tents throughout all the east land of Gilead.
11 And the children of Gad dwelt over against them, in the land of Bashan unto Salcah:
12 Joel the chief, and Shapham the next, and Jaanai, and Shaphat in Bashan.
13 And their brethren of the house of their fathers were, Michael, and Meshullam, and Sheba, and Jorai, and Jachan, and Zia, and Heber, seven.
14 These are the children of Abihail the son of Huri, the son of Jaroah, the son of Gilead, the son of Michael, the son of Jeshishai, the son of Jahdo, the son of Buz;
15 Ahi the son of Abdiel, the son of Guni, chief of the house of their fathers.
16 And they dwelt in Gilead in Bashan, and in her towns, and in all the suburbs of Sharon, upon their borders.
17 All these were reckoned by genealogies in the days of Jotham king of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam king of Israel.
18 The sons of Reuben, and the Gadites, and half the tribe of Manasseh, of valiant men, men able to bear buckler and sword, and to shoot with bow, and skilful in war, were four and forty thousand seven hundred and threescore, that went out to the war.
19 And they made war with the Hagarites, with Jetur, and Nephish, and Nodab.
20 And they were helped against them, and the Hagarites were delivered into their hand, and all that were with them: for they cried to God in the battle, and he was intreated of them; because they put their trust in him.
21 And they took away their cattle; of their camels fifty thousand, and of sheep two hundred and fifty thousand, and of asses two thousand, and of men an hundred thousand.
22 For there fell down many slain, because the war was of God. And they dwelt in their steads until the captivity.
23 And the children of the half tribe of Manasseh dwelt in the land: they increased from Bashan unto Baalhermon and Senir, and unto mount Hermon.
24 And these were the heads of the house of their fathers, even Epher, and Ishi, and Eliel, and Azriel, and Jeremiah, and Hodaviah, and Jahdiel, mighty men of valour, famous men, and heads of the house of their fathers.
25 And they transgressed against the God of their fathers, and went a whoring after the gods of the people of the land, whom God destroyed before them.
26 And the God of Israel stirred up the spirit of Pul king of Assyria, and the spirit of Tilgathpilneser king of Assyria, and he carried them away, even the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh, and brought them unto Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and to the river Gozan, unto this day.

1 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 6

1 The sons of Levi; Gershon, Kohath, and Merari.
2 And the sons of Kohath; Amram, Izhar, and Hebron, and Uzziel.
3 And the children of Amram; Aaron, and Moses, and Miriam. The sons also of Aaron; Nadab, and Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar.
4 Eleazar begat Phinehas, Phinehas begat Abishua,
5 And Abishua begat Bukki, and Bukki begat Uzzi,
6 And Uzzi begat Zerahiah, and Zerahiah begat Meraioth,
7 Meraioth begat Amariah, and Amariah begat Ahitub,
8 And Ahitub begat Zadok, and Zadok begat Ahimaaz,
9 And Ahimaaz begat Azariah, and Azariah begat Johanan,
10 And Johanan begat Azariah, (he it is that executed the priest's office in the temple that Solomon built in Jerusalem:)
11 And Azariah begat Amariah, and Amariah begat Ahitub,
12 And Ahitub begat Zadok, and Zadok begat Shallum,
13 And Shallum begat Hilkiah, and Hilkiah begat Azariah,
14 And Azariah begat Seraiah, and Seraiah begat Jehozadak,
15 And Jehozadak went into captivity, when the LORD carried away Judah and Jerusalem by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar.
16 The sons of Levi; Gershom, Kohath, and Merari.
17 And these be the names of the sons of Gershom; Libni, and Shimei.
18 And the sons of Kohath were, Amram, and Izhar, and Hebron, and Uzziel.
19 The sons of Merari; Mahli, and Mushi. And these are the families of the Levites according to their fathers.
20 Of Gershom; Libni his son, Jahath his son, Zimmah his son,
21 Joah his son, Iddo his son, Zerah his son, Jeaterai his son.
22 The sons of Kohath; Amminadab his son, Korah his son, Assir his son,
23 Elkanah his son, and Ebiasaph his son, and Assir his son,
24 Tahath his son, Uriel his son, Uzziah his son, and Shaul his son.
25 And the sons of Elkanah; Amasai, and Ahimoth.
26 As for Elkanah: the sons of Elkanah; Zophai his son, and Nahath his son,
27 Eliab his son, Jeroham his son, Elkanah his son.
28 And the sons of Samuel; the firstborn Vashni, and Abiah.
29 The sons of Merari; Mahli, Libni his son, Shimei his son, Uzza his son,
30 Shimea his son, Haggiah his son, Asaiah his son.
31 And these are they whom David set over the service of song in the house of the LORD, after that the ark had rest.
32 And they ministered before the dwelling place of the tabernacle of the congregation with singing, until Solomon had built the house of the LORD in Jerusalem: and then they waited on their office according to their order.
33 And these are they that waited with their children. Of the sons of the Kohathites: Heman a singer, the son of Joel, the son of Shemuel,
34 The son of Elkanah, the son of Jeroham, the son of Eliel, the son of Toah,
35 The son of Zuph, the son of Elkanah, the son of Mahath, the son of Amasai,
36 The son of Elkanah, the son of Joel, the son of Azariah, the son of Zephaniah,
37 The son of Tahath, the son of Assir, the son of Ebiasaph, the son of Korah,
38 The son of Izhar, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi, the son of Israel.
39 And his brother Asaph, who stood on his right hand, even Asaph the son of Berachiah, the son of Shimea,
40 The son of Michael, the son of Baaseiah, the son of Malchiah,
41 The son of Ethni, the son of Zerah, the son of Adaiah,
42 The son of Ethan, the son of Zimmah, the son of Shimei,
43 The son of Jahath, the son of Gershom, the son of Levi.
44 And their brethren the sons of Merari stood on the left hand: Ethan the son of Kishi, the son of Abdi, the son of Malluch,
45 The son of Hashabiah, the son of Amaziah, the son of Hilkiah,
46 The son of Amzi, the son of Bani, the son of Shamer,

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47 The son of Mahli, the son of Mushi, the son of Merari, the son of Levi.
48 Their brethren also the Levites were appointed unto all manner of service of the tabernacle of the house of God.
49 But Aaron and his sons offered upon the altar of the burnt offering, and on the altar of incense, and were appointed for all the work of the place most holy, and to make an atonement for Israel, according to all that Moses the servant of God had commanded.
50 And these are the sons of Aaron; Eleazar his son, Phinehas his son, Abishua his son,
51 Bukki his son, Uzzi his son, Zerahiah his son,
52 Meraioth his son, Amariah his son, Ahitub his son,
53 Zadok his son, Ahimaaz his son.
54 Now these are their dwelling places throughout their castles in their coasts, of the sons of Aaron, of the families of the Kohathites: for theirs was the lot.
55 And they gave them Hebron in the land of Judah, and the suburbs thereof round about it.
56 But the fields of the city, and the villages thereof, they gave to Caleb the son of Jephunneh.
57 And to the sons of Aaron they gave the cities of Judah, namely, Hebron, the city of refuge, and Libnah with her suburbs, and Jattir, and Eshtemoa, with their suburbs,
58 And Hilen with her suburbs, Debir with her suburbs,
59 And Ashan with her suburbs, and Bethshemesh with her suburbs:
60 And out of the tribe of Benjamin; Geba with her suburbs, and Alemeth with her suburbs, and Anathoth with her suburbs. All their cities throughout their families were thirteen cities.
61 And unto the sons of Kohath, which were left of the family of that tribe, were cities given out of the half tribe, namely, out of the half tribe of Manasseh, by lot, ten cities.
62 And to the sons of Gershom throughout their families out of the tribe of Issachar, and out of the tribe of Asher, and out of the tribe of Naphtali, and out of the tribe of Manasseh in Bashan, thirteen cities.
63 Unto the sons of Merari were given by lot, throughout their families, out of the tribe of Reuben, and out of the tribe of Gad, and out of the tribe of Zebulun, twelve cities.
64 And the children of Israel gave to the Levites these cities with their suburbs.
65 And they gave by lot out of the tribe of the children of Judah, and out of the tribe of the children of Simeon, and out of the tribe of the children of Benjamin, these cities, which are called by their names.
66 And the residue of the families of the sons of Kohath had cities of their coasts out of the tribe of Ephraim.
67 And they gave unto them, of the cities of refuge, Shechem in mount Ephraim with her suburbs; they gave also Gezer with her suburbs,
68 And Jokmeam with her suburbs, and Bethhoron with her suburbs,
69 And Aijalon with her suburbs, and Gathrimmon with her suburbs:
70 And out of the half tribe of Manasseh; Aner with her suburbs, and Bileam with her suburbs, for the family of the remnant of the sons of Kohath.
71 Unto the sons of Gershom were given out of the family of the half tribe of Manasseh, Golan in Bashan with her suburbs, and Ashtaroth with her suburbs:
72 And out of the tribe of Issachar; Kedesh with her suburbs, Daberath with her suburbs,
73 And Ramoth with her suburbs, and Anem with her suburbs:
74 And out of the tribe of Asher; Mashal with her suburbs, and Abdon with her suburbs,
75 And Hukok with her suburbs, and Rehob with her suburbs:
76 And out of the tribe of Naphtali; Kedesh in Galilee with her suburbs, and Hammon with her suburbs, and Kirjathaim with her suburbs.
77 Unto the rest of the children of Merari were given out of the tribe of Zebulun, Rimmon with her suburbs, Tabor with her suburbs:
78 And on the other side Jordan by Jericho, on the east side of Jordan, were given them out of the tribe of Reuben, Bezer in the wilderness with her suburbs, and Jahzah with her suburbs,
79 Kedemoth also with her suburbs, and Mephaath with her suburbs:
80 And out of the tribe of Gad; Ramoth in Gilead with her suburbs, and Mahanaim with her suburbs,
81 And Heshbon with her suburbs, and Jazer with her suburbs.

1 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 7

1 Now the sons of Issachar were, Tola, and Puah, Jashub, and Shimrom, four.
2 And the sons of Tola; Uzzi, and Rephaiah, and Jeriel, and Jahmai, and Jibsam, and Shemuel, heads of their father's house, to wit, of Tola: they were valiant men of might in their generations; whose number was in the days of David two and twenty thousand and six hundred.
3 And the sons of Uzzi; Izrahiah: and the sons of Izrahiah; Michael, and Obadiah, and Joel, Ishiah, five: all of them chief men.
4 And with them, by their generations, after the house of their fathers, were bands of soldiers for war, six and thirty thousand men: for they had many wives and sons.
5 And their brethren among all the families of Issachar were valiant men of might, reckoned in all by their genealogies fourscore and seven thousand.
6 The sons of Benjamin; Bela, and Becher, and Jediael, three.
7 And the sons of Bela; Ezbon, and Uzzi, and Uzziel, and Jerimoth, and Iri, five; heads of the house of their fathers, mighty men of valour; and were reckoned by their genealogies twenty and two thousand and thirty and four.
8 And the sons of Becher; Zemira, and Joash, and Eliezer, and Elioenai, and Omri, and Jerimoth, and Abiah, and Anathoth, and Alameth. All these are the sons of Becher.
9 And the number of them, after their genealogy by their generations, heads of the house of their fathers, mighty men of valour, was twenty thousand and two hundred.
10 The sons also of Jediael; Bilhan: and the sons of Bilhan; Jeush, and Benjamin, and Ehud, and Chenaanah, and Zethan, and Tharshish, and Ahishahar.
11 All these the sons of Jediael, by the heads of their fathers, mighty men of valour, were seventeen thousand and two hundred soldiers, fit to go out for war and battle.
12 Shuppim also, and Huppim, the children of Ir, and Hushim, the sons of Aher.
13 The sons of Naphtali; Jahziel, and Guni, and Jezer, and Shallum, the sons of Bilhah.
14 The sons of Manasseh; Ashriel, whom she bare: (but his concubine the Aramitess bare Machir the father of Gilead:
15 And Machir took to wife the sister of Huppim and Shuppim, whose sister's name was Maachah;) and the name of the second was Zelophehad: and Zelophehad had daughters.
16 And Maachah the wife of Machir bare a son, and she called his name Peresh; and the name of his brother was Sheresh; and his sons were Ulam and Rakem.
17 And the sons of Ulam; Bedan. These were the sons of Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh.
18 And his sister Hammoleketh bare Ishod, and Abiezer, and Mahalah.
19 And the sons of Shemidah were, Ahian, and Shechem, and Likhi, and Aniam.
20 And the sons of Ephraim; Shuthelah, and Bered his son, and Tahath his son, and Eladah his son, and Tahath his son,
21 And Zabad his son, and Shuthelah his son, and Ezer, and Elead, whom the men of Gath that were born in that land slew, because they came down to take away their cattle.
22 And Ephraim their father mourned many days, and his brethren came to comfort him.
23 And when he went in to his wife, she conceived, and bare a son, and he called his name Beriah, because it went evil with his house.
24 (And his daughter was Sherah, who built Bethhoron the nether, and the upper, and Uzzensherah.)
25 And Rephah was his son, also Resheph, and Telah his son, and Tahan his son.
26 Laadan his son, Ammihud his son, Elishama his son.
27 Non his son, Jehoshuah his son.
28 And their possessions and habitations were, Bethel and the towns thereof, and eastward Naaran, and westward Gezer, with the towns thereof; Shechem also and the towns thereof, unto Gaza and the towns thereof:
29 And by the borders of the children of Manasseh, Bethshean and her towns, Taanach and her towns, Megiddo and her towns, Dor and her towns. In these dwelt the children of Joseph the son of Israel.
30 The sons of Asher; Imnah, and Isuah, and Ishuai, and Beriah, and Serah their sister.
31 And the sons of Beriah; Heber, and Malchiel, who is the father of Birzavith.
32 And Heber begat Japhlet, and Shomer, and Hotham, and Shua their sister.
33 And the sons of Japhlet; Pasach, and Bimhal, and Ashvath. These are the children of Japhlet.
34 And the sons of Shamer; Ahi, and Rohgah, Jehubbah, and Aram.
35 And the sons of his brother Helem; Zophah, and Imna, and Shelesh, and Amal.
36 The sons of Zophah; Suah, and Harnepher, and Shual, and Beri, and Imrah,
37 Bezer, and Hod, and Shamma, and Shilshah, and Ithran, and Beera.
38 And the sons of Jether; Jephunneh, and Pispah, and Ara.
39 And the sons of Ulla; Arah, and Haniel, and Rezia.
40 All these were the children of Asher, heads of their father's house, choice and mighty men of valour, chief of the princes. And the number throughout the genealogy of them that were apt to the war and to battle was twenty and six thousand men.

1 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 8

1 Now Benjamin begat Bela his firstborn, Ashbel the second, and Aharah the third,
2 Nohah the fourth, and Rapha the fifth.
3 And the sons of Bela were, Addar, and Gera, and Abihud,
4 And Abishua, and Naaman, and Ahoah,
5 And Gera, and Shephuphan, and Huram.
6 And these are the sons of Ehud: these are the heads of the fathers of the inhabitants of Geba, and they removed them to Manahath:
7 And Naaman, and Ahiah, and Gera, he removed them, and begat Uzza, and Ahihud.
8 And Shaharaim begat children in the country of Moab, after he had sent them away; Hushim and Baara were his wives.
9 And he begat of Hodesh his wife, Jobab, and Zibia, and Mesha, and Malcham,
10 And Jeuz, and Shachia, and Mirma. These were his sons, heads of the fathers.
11 And of Hushim he begat Abitub, and Elpaal.
12 The sons of Elpaal; Eber, and Misham, and Shamed, who built Ono, and Lod, with the towns thereof:
13 Beriah also, and Shema, who were heads of the fathers of the inhabitants of Aijalon, who drove away the inhabitants of Gath:
14 And Ahio, Shashak, and Jeremoth,
15 And Zebadiah, and Arad, and Ader,
16 And Michael, and Ispah, and Joha, the sons of Beriah;
17 And Zebadiah, and Meshullam, and Hezeki, and Heber,
18 Ishmerai also, and Jezliah, and Jobab, the sons of Elpaal;
19 And Jakim, and Zichri, and Zabdi,
20 And Elienai, and Zilthai, and Eliel,
21 And Adaiah, and Beraiah, and Shimrath, the sons of Shimhi;
22 And Ishpan, and Heber, and Eliel,
23 And Abdon, and Zichri, and Hanan,
24 And Hananiah, and Elam, and Antothijah,
25 And Iphedeiah, and Penuel, the sons of Shashak;
26 And Shamsherai, and Shehariah, and Athaliah,
27 And Jaresiah, and Eliah, and Zichri, the sons of Jeroham.
28 These were heads of the fathers, by their generations, chief men. These dwelt in Jerusalem.
29 And at Gibeon dwelt the father of Gibeon; whose wife's name was Maachah:
30 And his firstborn son Abdon, and Zur, and Kish, and Baal, and Nadab,
31 And Gedor, and Ahio, and Zacher.
32 And Mikloth begat Shimeah. And these also dwelt with their brethren in Jerusalem, over against them.
33 And Ner begat Kish, and Kish begat Saul, and Saul begat Jonathan, and Malchishua, and Abinadab, and Eshbaal.
34 And the son of Jonathan was Meribbaal; and Meribbaal begat Micah.
35 And the sons of Micah were, Pithon, and Melech, and Tarea, and Ahaz.
36 And Ahaz begat Jehoadah; and Jehoadah begat Alemeth, and Azmaveth, and Zimri; and Zimri begat Moza,
37 And Moza begat Binea: Rapha was his son, Eleasah his son, Azel his son:
38 And Azel had six sons, whose names are these, Azrikam, Bocheru, and Ishmael, and Sheariah, and Obadiah, and Hanan. All these were the sons of Azel.
39 And the sons of Eshek his brother were, Ulam his firstborn, Jehush the second, and Eliphelet the third.
40 And the sons of Ulam were mighty men of valour, archers, and had many sons, and sons' sons, an hundred and fifty. All these are of the sons of Benjamin.

1 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 9

1 So all Israel were reckoned by genealogies; and, behold, they were written in the book of the kings of Israel and Judah, who were carried away to Babylon for their transgression.
2 Now the first inhabitants that dwelt in their possessions in their cities were, the Israelites, the priests, Levites, and the Nethinims.
3 And in Jerusalem dwelt of the children of Judah, and of the children of Benjamin, and of the children of Ephraim, and Manasseh;
4 Uthai the son of Ammihud, the son of Omri, the son of Imri, the son of Bani, of the children of Pharez the son of Judah.
5 And of the Shilonites; Asaiah the firstborn, and his sons.
6 And of the sons of Zerah; Jeuel, and their brethren, six hundred and ninety.
7 And of the sons of Benjamin; Sallu the son of Meshullam, the son of Hodaviah, the son of Hasenuah,
8 And Ibneiah the son of Jeroham, and Elah the son of Uzzi, the son of Michri, and Meshullam the son of Shephathiah, the son of Reuel, the son of Ibnijah;
9 And their brethren, according to their generations, nine hundred and fifty and six. All these men were chief of the fathers in the house of their fathers.
10 And of the priests; Jedaiah, and Jehoiarib, and Jachin,

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11 And Azariah the son of Hilkiah, the son of Meshullam, the son of Zadok, the son of Meraioth, the son of Ahitub, the ruler of the house of God;
12 And Adaiah the son of Jeroham, the son of Pashur, the son of Malchijah, and Maasiai the son of Adiel, the son of Jahzerah, the son of Meshullam, the son of Meshillemith, the son of Immer;
13 And their brethren, heads of the house of their fathers, a thousand and seven hundred and threescore; very able men for the work of the service of the house of God.
14 And of the Levites; Shemaiah the son of Hasshub, the son of Azrikam, the son of Hashabiah, of the sons of Merari;
15 And Bakbakkar, Heresh, and Galal, and Mattaniah the son of Micah, the son of Zichri, the son of Asaph;
16 And Obadiah the son of Shemaiah, the son of Galal, the son of Jeduthun, and Berechiah the son of Asa, the son of Elkanah, that dwelt in the villages of the Netophathites.
17 And the porters were, Shallum, and Akkub, and Talmon, and Ahiman, and their brethren: Shallum was the chief;
18 Who hitherto waited in the king's gate eastward: they were porters in the companies of the children of Levi.
19 And Shallum the son of Kore, the son of Ebiasaph, the son of Korah, and his brethren, of the house of his father, the Korahites, were over the work of the service, keepers of the gates of the tabernacle: and their fathers, being over the host of the LORD, were keepers of the entry.
20 And Phinehas the son of Eleazar was the ruler over them in time past, and the LORD was with him.
21 And Zechariah the son of Meshelemiah was porter of the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.
22 All these which were chosen to be porters in the gates were two hundred and twelve. These were reckoned by their genealogy in their villages, whom David and Samuel the seer did ordain in their set office.
23 So they and their children had the oversight of the gates of the house of the LORD, namely, the house of the tabernacle, by wards.
24 In four quarters were the porters, toward the east, west, north, and south.
25 And their brethren, which were in their villages, were to come after seven days from time to time with them.
26 For these Levites, the four chief porters, were in their set office, and were over the chambers and treasuries of the house of God.
27 And they lodged round about the house of God, because the charge was upon them, and the opening thereof every morning pertained to them.
28 And certain of them had the charge of the ministering vessels, that they should bring them in and out by tale.
29 Some of them also were appointed to oversee the vessels, and all the instruments of the sanctuary, and the fine flour, and the wine, and the oil, and the frankincense, and the spices.
30 And some of the sons of the priests made the ointment of the spices.
31 And Mattithiah, one of the Levites, who was the firstborn of Shallum the Korahite, had the set office over the things that were made in the pans.
32 And other of their brethren, of the sons of the Kohathites, were over the shewbread, to prepare it every sabbath.
33 And these are the singers, chief of the fathers of the Levites, who remaining in the chambers were free: for they were employed in that work day and night.
34 These chief fathers of the Levites were chief throughout their generations; these dwelt at Jerusalem.
35 And in Gibeon dwelt the father of Gibeon, Jehiel, whose wife's name was Maachah:
36 And his firstborn son Abdon, then Zur, and Kish, and Baal, and Ner, and Nadab.
37 And Gedor, and Ahio, and Zechariah, and Mikloth.
38 And Mikloth begat Shimeam. And they also dwelt with their brethren at Jerusalem, over against their brethren.
39 And Ner begat Kish; and Kish begat Saul; and Saul begat Jonathan, and Malchishua, and Abinadab, and Eshbaal.
40 And the son of Jonathan was Meribbaal: and Meribbaal begat Micah.
41 And the sons of Micah were, Pithon, and Melech, and Tahrea, and Ahaz.
42 And Ahaz begat Jarah; and Jarah begat Alemeth, and Azmaveth, and Zimri; and Zimri begat Moza;
43 And Moza begat Binea; and Rephaiah his son, Eleasah his son, Azel his son.
44 And Azel had six sons, whose names are these, Azrikam, Bocheru, and Ishmael, and Shearíah, and Obadiah, and Hanan: these were the sons of Azel.

1 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 10

1 Now the Philistines fought against Israel; and the men of Israel fled from before the Philistines, and fell down slain in mount Gilboa.
2 And the Philistines followed hard after Saul, and after his sons; and the Philistines slew Jonathan, and Abinadab, and Malchishua, the sons of Saul.
3 And the battle went sore against Saul, and the archers hit him, and he was wounded of the archers.
4 Then said Saul to his armourbearer, Draw thy sword, and thrust me through therewith; lest these uncircumcised come and abuse me. But his armourbearer would not; for he was sore afraid. So Saul took a sword, and fell upon it.
5 And when his armourbearer saw that Saul was dead, he fell likewise on the sword, and died.
6 So Saul died, and his three sons, and all his house died together.
7 And when all the men of Israel that were in the valley saw that they fled, and that Saul and his sons were dead, then they forsook their cities, and fled: and the Philistines came and dwelt in them.
8 And it came to pass on the morrow, when the Philistines came to strip the slain, that they found Saul and his sons fallen in mount Gilboa.
9 And when they had stripped him, they took his head, and his armour, and sent into the land of the Philistines round about, to carry tidings unto their idols, and to the people.
10 And they put his armour in the house of their gods, and fastened his head in the temple of Dagon.
11 And when all Jabeshgilead heard all that the Philistines had done to Saul,
12 They arose, all the valiant men, and took away the body of Saul, and the bodies of his sons, and brought them to Jabesh, and buried their bones under the oak in Jabesh, and fasted seven days.
13 So Saul died for his transgression which he committed against the LORD, even against the word of the LORD, which he kept not, and also for asking counsel of one that had a familiar spirit, to enquire of it;
14 And enquired not of the LORD: therefore he slew him, and turned the kingdom unto David the son of Jesse.

1 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 11

1 Then all Israel gathered themselves to David unto Hebron, saying, Behold, we are thy bone and thy flesh.
2 And moreover in time past, even when Saul was king, thou wast he that leddest out and broughtest in Israel: and the LORD thy God said unto thee, Thou shalt feed my people Israel, and thou shalt be ruler over my people Israel.
3 Therefore came all the elders of Israel to the king to Hebron; and David made a covenant with them in Hebron before the LORD; and they anointed David king over Israel, according to the word of the LORD by Samuel.
4 And David and all Israel went to Jerusalem, which is Jebus; where the Jebusites were, the inhabitants of the land.
5 And the inhabitants of Jebus said to David, Thou shalt not come hither. Nevertheless David took the castle of Zion, which is the city of David.
6 And David said, Whosoever smiteth the Jebusites first shall be chief and captain. So Joab the son of Zeruiah went first up, and was chief.
7 And David dwelt in the castle; therefore they called it the city of David.
8 And he built the city round about, even from Millo round about: and Joab repaired the rest of the city.
9 So David waxed greater and greater: for the LORD of hosts was with him.
10 These also are the chief of the mighty men whom David had, who strengthened themselves with him in his kingdom, and with all Israel, to make him king, according to the word of the LORD concerning Israel.
11 And this is the number of the mighty men whom David had; Jashobeam, an Hachmonite, the chief of the captains: he lifted up his spear against three hundred slain by him at one time.
12 And after him was Eleazar the son of Dodo, the Ahohite, who was one of the three mighties.
13 He was with David at Pasdammim, and there the Philistines were gathered together to battle, where was a parcel of ground full of barley; and the people fled from before the Philistines.
14 And they set themselves in the midst of that parcel, and delivered it, and slew the Philistines; and the LORD saved them by a great deliverance.
15 Now three of the thirty captains went down to the rock to David, into the cave of Adullam; and the host of the Philistines encamped in the valley of Rephaim.
16 And David was then in the hold, and the Philistines' garrison was then at Bethlehem.
17 And David longed, and said, Oh that one would give me drink of the water of the well of Bethlehem, that is at the gate!
18 And the three brake through the host of the Philistines, and drew water out of the well of Bethlehem, that was by the gate, and took it, and brought it to David: but David would not drink of it, but poured it out to the LORD.
19 And said, My God forbid it me, that I should do this thing: shall I drink the blood of these men that have put their lives in jeopardy? for with the jeopardy of their lives they brought it. Therefore he would not drink it. These things did these three mightiest.
20 And Abishai the brother of Joab, he was chief of the three: for lifting up his spear against three hundred, he slew them, and had a name among the three.
21 Of the three, he was more honourable than the two; for he was their captain: howbeit he attained not to the first three.
22 Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, the son of a valiant man of Kabzeel, who had done many acts; he slew two lionlike men of Moab: also he went down and slew a lion in a pit in a snowy day.
23 And he slew an Egyptian, a man of great stature, five cubits high; and in the Egyptian's hand was a spear like a weaver's beam; and he went down to him with a staff, and plucked the spear out of the Egyptian's hand, and slew him with his own spear.
24 These things did Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, and had the name among the three mighties.
25 Behold, he was honourable among the thirty, but attained not to the first three: and David set him over his guard.
26 Also the valiant men of the armies were, Asahel the brother of Joab, Elhanan the son of Dodo of Bethlehem,
27 Shammoth the Harorite, Helez the Pelonite,
28 Ira the son of Ikkesh the Tekoite, Abiezer the Antothite,
29 Sibbecai the Hushathite, Ilai the Ahohite,
30 Maharai the Netophathite, Heled the son of Baanah the Netophathite,
31 Ithai the son of Ribai of Gibeah, that pertained to the children of Benjamin, Benaiah the Pirathonite,
32 Hurai of the brooks of Gaash, Abiel the Arbathite,
33 Azmaveth the Baharumite, Eliahba the Shaalbonite,
34 The sons of Hashem the Gizonite, Jonathan the son of Shage the Hararite,
35 Ahiam the son of Sacar the Hararite, Eliphal the son of Ur,
36 Hepher the Mecherathite, Ahijah the Pelonite,
37 Hezro the Carmelite, Naarai the son of Ezbai,
38 Joel the brother of Nathan, Mibhar the son of Haggeri,
39 Zelek the Ammonite, Naharai the Berothite, the armourbearer of Joab the son of Zeruiah,
40 Ira the Ithrite, Gareb the Ithrite,
41 Uriah the Hittite, Zabad the son of Ahlai,
42 Adina the son of Shiza the Reubenite, a captain of the Reubenites, and thirty with him,
43 Hanan the son of Maachah, and Joshaphat the Mithnite,
44 Uzzia the Ashterathite, Shama and Jehiel the sons of Hothan the Aroerite,
45 Jediael the son of Shimri, and Joha his brother, the Tizite,
46 Eliel the Mahavite, and Jeribai, and Joshaviah, the sons of Elnaam, and Ithmah the Moabite,
47 Eliel, and Obed, and Jasiel the Mesobaite.

1 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 12

1 Now these are they that came to David to Ziklag, while he yet kept himself close because of Saul the son of Kish: and they were among the mighty men, helpers of the war.
2 They were armed with bows, and could use both the right hand and the left in hurling stones and shooting arrows out of a bow, even of Saul's brethren of Benjamin.
3 The chief was Ahiezer, then Joash, the sons of Shemaah the Gibeathite; and Jeziel, and Pelet, the sons of Azmaveth; and Berachah, and Jehu the Antothite.
4 And Ismaiah the Gibeonite, a mighty man among the thirty, and over the thirty; and Jeremiah, and Jahaziel, and Johanan, and Josabad the Gederathite,
5 Eluzai, and Jerimoth, and Bealiah, and Shemariah, and Shephatiah the Haruphite,
6 Elkanah, and Jesiah, and Azareel, and Joezer, and Jashobeam, the Korhites,
7 And Joelah, and Zebadiah, the sons of Jeroham of Gedor.
8 And of the Gadites there separated themselves unto David into the hold to the wilderness men of might, and men of war fit for the battle, that could handle shield and buckler, whose faces were like the faces of lions, and were as swift as the roes upon the mountains;
9 Ezer the first, Obadiah the second, Eliab the third,
10 Mishmannah the fourth, Jeremiah the fifth,
11 Attai the sixth, Eliel the seventh,
12 Johanan the eighth, Elzabad the ninth,
13 Jeremiah the tenth, Machbanai the eleventh.
14 These were of the sons of Gad, captains of the host: one of the least was over an hundred, and the greatest over a thousand.
15 These are they that went over Jordan in the first month, when it had overflown all his banks; and they put to flight all them of the valleys, both toward the east, and toward the west.
16 And there came of the children of Benjamin and Judah to the hold unto David.
17 And David went out to meet them, and answered and said unto them, If ye be come peaceably unto me to help me, mine heart shall be knit unto you: but if ye be come to betray me to mine enemies, seeing there is no wrong in mine hands, the God of our fathers look thereon, and rebuke it.

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18 Then the spirit came upon Amasai, who was chief of the captains, and he said, Thine are we, David, and on thy side, thou son of Jesse: peace, peace be unto thee, and peace be to thine helpers; for thy God helpeth thee. Then David received them, and made them captains of the band.

19 And there fell some of Manasseh to David, when he came with the Philistines against Saul to battle: but they helped them not: for the lords of the Philistines upon advisement sent him away, saying, He will fall to his master Saul to the jeopardy of our heads.

20 As he went to Ziklag, there fell to him of Manasseh, Adnah, and Jozabad, and Jediael, and Michael, and Jozabad, and Elihu, and Zilthai, captains of the thousands that were of Manasseh.

21 And they helped David against the band of the rovers: for they were all mighty men of valour, and were captains in the host.

22 For at that time day by day there came to David to help him, until it was a great host, like the host of God.

23 And these are the numbers of the bands that were ready armed to the war, and came to David to Hebron, to turn the kingdom of Saul to him, according to the word of the LORD.

24 The children of Judah that bare shield and spear were six thousand and eight hundred, ready armed to the war.

25 Of the children of Simeon, mighty men of valour for the war, seven thousand and one hundred.

26 Of the children of Levi four thousand and six hundred.

27 And Jehoiada was the leader of the Aaronites, and with him were three thousand and seven hundred;

28 And Zadok, a young man mighty of valour, and of his father's house twenty and two captains.

29 And of the children of Benjamin, the kindred of Saul, three thousand: for hitherto the greatest part of them had kept the ward of the house of Saul.

30 And of the children of Ephraim twenty thousand and eight hundred, mighty men of valour, famous throughout the house of their fathers.

31 And of the half tribe of Manasseh eighteen thousand, which were expressed by name, to come and make David king.

32 And of the children of Issachar, which were men that had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do; the heads of them were two hundred; and all their brethren were at their commandment.

33 Of Zebulun, such as went forth to battle, expert in war, with all instruments of war, fifty thousand, which could keep rank: they were not of double heart.

34 And of Naphtali a thousand captains, and with them with shield and spear thirty and seven thousand.

35 And of the Danites expert in war twenty and eight thousand and six hundred.

36 And of Asher, such as went forth to battle, expert in war, forty thousand.

37 And on the other side of Jordan, of the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and of the half tribe of Manasseh, with all manner of instruments of war for the battle, an hundred and twenty thousand.

38 All these men of war, that could keep rank, came with a perfect heart to Hebron, to make David king over all Israel: and all the rest also of Israel were of one heart to make David king.

39 And there they were with David three days, eating and drinking: for their brethren had prepared for them.

40 Moreover they that were nigh them, even unto Issachar and Zebulun and Naphtali, brought bread on asses, and on camels, and on mules, and on oxen, and meat, meal, cakes of figs, and bunches of raisins, and wine, and oil, and oxen, and sheep abundantly: for there was joy in Israel.

1 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 13

1 And David consulted with the captains of thousands and hundreds, and with every leader.

2 And David said unto all the congregation of Israel, If it seem good unto you, and that it be of the LORD our God, let us send abroad unto our brethren every where, that are left in all the land of Israel, and with them also to the priests and Levites which are in their cities and suburbs, that they may gather themselves unto us:

3 And let us bring again the ark of our God to us: for we enquired not at it in the days of Saul.

4 And all the congregation said that they would do so: for the thing was right in the eyes of all the people.

5 So David gathered all Israel together, from Shihor of Egypt even unto the entering of Hemath, to bring the ark of God from Kirjathjearim.

6 And David went up, and all Israel, to Baalah, that is, to Kirjathjearim, which belonged to Judah, to bring up thence the ark of God the LORD, that dwelleth between the cherubims, whose name is called on it.

7 And they carried the ark of God in a new cart out of the house of Abinadab: and Uzza and Ahio drave the cart.

8 And David and all Israel played before God with all their might, and with singing, and with harps, and with psalteries, and with timbrels, and with cymbals, and with trumpets.

9 And when they came unto the threshingfloor of Chidon, Uzza put forth his hand to hold the ark; for the oxen stumbled.

10 And the anger of the LORD was kindled against Uzza, and he smote him, because he put his hand to the ark: and there he died before God.

11 And David was displeased, because the LORD had made a breach upon Uzza: wherefore that place is called Perezuzza to this day.

12 And David was afraid of God that day, saying, How shall I bring the ark of God home to me?

13 So David brought not the ark home to himself to the city of David, but carried it aside into the house of Obededom the Gittite.

14 And the ark of God remained with the family of Obededom in his house three months. And the LORD blessed the house of Obededom, and all that he had.

1 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 14

1 Now Hiram king of Tyre sent messengers to David, and timber of cedars, with masons and carpenters, to build him an house.

2 And David perceived that the LORD had confirmed him king over Israel, for his kingdom was lifted up on high, because of his people Israel.

3 And David took more wives at Jerusalem: and David begat more sons and daughters.

4 Now these are the names of his children which he had in Jerusalem; Shammua, and Shobab, Nathan, and Solomon,

5 And Ibhar, and Elishua, and Elpalet,

6 And Nogah, and Nepheg, and Japhia,

7 And Elishama, and Beeliada, and Eliphalet.

8 And when the Philistines heard that David was anointed king over all Israel, all the Philistines went up to seek David. And David heard of it, and went out against them.

9 And the Philistines came and spread themselves in the valley of Rephaim.

10 And David enquired of God, saying, Shall I go up against the Philistines? And wilt thou deliver them into mine hand? And the LORD said unto him, Go up; for I will deliver them into thine hand.

11 So they came up to Baalperazim; and David smote them there. Then David said, God hath broken in upon mine enemies by mine hand like the breaking forth of waters: therefore they called the name of that place Baalperazim.

12 And when they had left their gods there, David gave a commandment, and they were burned with fire.

13 And the Philistines yet again spread themselves abroad in the valley.

14 Therefore David enquired again of God; and God said unto him, Go not up after them; turn away from them, and come upon them over against the mulberry trees.

15 And it shall be, when thou shalt hear a sound of going in the tops of the mulberry trees, that then thou shalt go out to battle: for God is gone forth before thee to smite the host of the Philistines.

16 David therefore did as God commanded him: and they smote the host of the Philistines from Gibeon even to Gazer.

17 And the fame of David went out into all lands; and the LORD brought the fear of him upon all nations.

1 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 15

1 And David made him houses in the city of David, and prepared a place for the ark of God, and pitched for it a tent.

2 Then David said, None ought to carry the ark of God but the Levites: for them hath the LORD chosen to carry the ark of God, and to minister unto him for ever.

3 And David gathered all Israel together to Jerusalem, to bring up the ark of the LORD unto his place, which he had prepared for it.

4 And David assembled the children of Aaron, and the Levites:

5 Of the sons of Kohath; Uriel the chief, and his brethren an hundred and twenty:

6 Of the sons of Merari; Asaiah the chief, and his brethren two hundred and twenty:

7 Of the sons of Gershom; Joel the chief and his brethren an hundred and thirty:

8 Of the sons of Elizaphan; Shemaiah the chief, and his brethren two hundred:

9 Of the sons of Hebron; Eliel the chief, and his brethren fourscore:

10 Of the sons of Uzziel; Amminadab the chief, and his brethren an hundred and twelve.

11 And David called for Zadok and Abiathar the priests, and for the Levites, for Uriel, Asaiah, and Joel, Shemaiah, and Eliel, and Amminadab,

12 And said unto them, Ye are the chief of the fathers of the Levites: sanctify yourselves, both ye and your brethren, that ye may bring up the ark of the LORD God of Israel unto the place that I have prepared for it.

13 For because ye did it not at the first, the LORD our God made a breach upon us, for that we sought him not after the due order.

14 So the priests and the Levites sanctified themselves to bring up the ark of the LORD God of Israel.

15 And the children of the Levites bare the ark of God upon their shoulders with the staves thereon, as Moses commanded according to the word of the LORD.

16 And David spake to the chief of the Levites to appoint their brethren to be the singers with instruments of musick, psalteries and harps and cymbals, sounding, by lifting up the voice with joy.

17 So the Levites appointed Heman the son of Joel; and of his brethren, Asaph the son of Berechiah; and of the sons of Merari their brethren, Ethan the son of Kushaiah;

18 And with them their brethren of the second degree, Zechariah, Ben, and Jaaziel, and Shemiramoth, and Jehiel, and Unni, Eliab, and Benaiah, and Maaseiah, and Mattithiah, and Elipheleh, and Mikneiah, and Obededom, and Jeiel, the porters.

19 So the singers, Heman, Asaph, and Ethan, were appointed to sound with cymbals of brass;

20 And Zechariah, and Aziel, and Shemiramoth, and Jehiel, and Unni, and Eliab, and Maaseiah, and Benaiah, with psalteries on Alamoth;

21 And Mattithiah, and Elipheleh, and Mikneiah, and Obededom, and Jeiel, and Azaziah, with harps on the Sheminith to excel.

22 And Chenaniah, chief of the Levites, was for song: he instructed about the song, because he was skilful.

23 And Berechiah and Elkanah were doorkeepers for the ark.

24 And Shebaniah, and Jehoshaphat, and Nethaneel, and Amasai, and Zechariah, and Benaiah, and Eliezer, the priests, did blow with the trumpets before the ark of God: and Obededom and Jehiah were doorkeepers for the ark.

25 So David, and the elders of Israel, and the captains over thousands, went to bring up the ark of the covenant of the LORD out of the house of Obededom with joy.

26 And it came to pass, when God helped the Levites that bare the ark of the covenant of the LORD, that they offered seven bullocks and seven rams.

27 And David was clothed with a robe of fine linen, and all the Levites that bare the ark, and the singers, and Chenaniah the master of the song with the singers: David also had upon him an ephod of linen.

28 Thus all Israel brought up the ark of the covenant of the LORD with shouting, and with sound of the cornet, and with trumpets, and with cymbals, making a noise with psalteries and harps.

29 And it came to pass, as the ark of the covenant of the LORD came to the city of David, that Michal, the daughter of Saul looking out at a window saw king David dancing and playing: and she despised him in her heart.

1 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 16

1 So they brought the ark of God, and set it in the midst of the tent that David had pitched for it: and they offered burnt sacrifices and peace offerings before God.

2 And when David had made an end of offering the burnt offerings and the peace offerings, he blessed the people in the name of the LORD.

3 And he dealt to every one of Israel, both man and woman, to every one a loaf of bread, and a good piece of flesh, and a flagon of wine.

4 And he appointed certain of the Levites to minister before the ark of the LORD, and to record, and to thank and praise the LORD God of Israel:

5 Asaph the chief, and next to him Zechariah, Jeiel, and Shemiramoth, and Jehiel, and Mattithiah, and Eliab, and Benaiah, and Obededom: and Jeiel with psalteries and with harps; but Asaph made a sound with cymbals;

6 Benaiah also and Jahaziel the priests with trumpets continually before the ark of the covenant of God.

7 Then on that day David delivered first this psalm to thank the LORD into the hand of Asaph and his brethren.

8 Give thanks unto the LORD, call upon his name, make known his deeds among the people.

9 Sing unto him, sing psalms unto him, talk ye of all his wondrous works.

10 Glory ye in his holy name: let the heart of them rejoice that seek the LORD.

11 Seek the LORD and his strength, seek his face continually.

12 Remember his marvellous works that he hath done, his wonders, and the judgements of his mouth;

13 O ye seed of Israel his servant, ye children of Jacob, his chosen ones.

14 He is the LORD our God; his judgements are in all the earth.

15 Be ye mindful always of his covenant; the word which he commanded to a thousand generations;

16 Even of the covenant which he made with Abraham, and of his oath unto Isaac;

17 And hath confirmed the same to Jacob for a law, and to Israel for an everlasting covenant,

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18 Saying, Unto thee will I give the land of Canaan, the lot of your inheritance;
19 When ye were but few, even a few, and strangers in it.
20 And when they went from nation to nation, and from one kingdom to another people;
21 He suffered no man to do them wrong: yea, he reproved kings for their sakes,
22 Saying, Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm.
23 Sing unto the LORD, all the earth; shew forth from day to day his salvation.
24 Declare his glory among the heathen; his marvellous works among all nations.
25 For great is the LORD, and greatly to be praised: he also is to be feared above all gods.
26 For all the gods of the people are idols: but the LORD made the heavens.
27 Glory and honour are in his presence; strength and gladness are in his place.
28 Give unto the LORD, ye kindreds of the people, give unto the LORD glory and strength.
29 Give unto the LORD the glory due unto his name: bring an offering, and come before him: worship the LORD in the beauty of holiness.
30 Fear before him, all the earth: the world also shall be stable, that it be not moved.
31 Let the heavens be glad, and let the earth rejoice: and let men say among the nations, The LORD reigneth.
32 Let the sea roar, and the fulness thereof: let the fields rejoice, and all that is therein.
33 Then shall the trees of the wood sing out at the presence of the LORD, because he cometh to judge the earth.
34 O give thanks unto the LORD; for he is good; for his mercy endureth for ever.
35 And say ye, Save us, O God of our salvation, and gather us together, and deliver us from the heathen, that we may give thanks to thy holy name, and glory in thy praise.
36 Blessed be the LORD God of Israel for ever and ever. And all the people said, Amen, and praised the LORD.
37 So he left there before the ark of the covenant of the LORD Asaph and his brethren, to minister before the ark continually, as every day's work required:
38 And Obededom with their brethren, threescore and eight; Obededom also the son of Jeduthun and Hosah to be porters:
39 And Zadok the priest, and his brethren the priests, before the tabernacle of the LORD in the high place that was at Gibeon,
40 To offer burnt offerings unto the LORD upon the altar of the burnt offering continually morning and evening, and to do according to all that is written in the law of the LORD, which he commanded Israel;
41 And with them Heman and Jeduthun, and the rest that were chosen, who were expressed by name, to give thanks to the LORD, because his mercy endureth for ever;
42 And with them Heman and Jeduthun with trumpets and cymbals for those that should make a sound, and with musical instruments of God. And the sons of Jeduthun were porters.
43 And all the people departed every man to his house: and David returned to bless his house.

1 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 17

1 Now it came to pass, as David sat in his house, that David said to Nathan the prophet, Lo, I dwell in an house of cedars, but the ark of the covenant of the LORD remaineth under curtains.
2 Then Nathan said unto David, Do all that is in thine heart; for God is with thee.
3 And it came to pass the same night, that the word of God came to Nathan, saying,
4 Go and tell David my servant, Thus saith the LORD, Thou shalt not build me an house to dwell in:
5 For I have not dwelt in an house since the day that I brought up Israel unto this day; but have gone from tent to tent, and from one tabernacle to another.
6 Wheresoever I have walked with all Israel, spake I a word to any of the judges of Israel, whom I commanded to feed my people, saying, Why have ye not built me an house of cedars?
7 Now therefore thus shalt thou say unto my servant David, Thus saith the LORD of hosts, I took thee from the sheepcote, even from following the sheep, that thou shouldest be ruler over my people Israel:
8 And I have been with thee whithersoever thou hast walked, and have cut off all thine enemies from before thee, and have made thee a name like the name of the great men that are in the earth.
9 Also I will ordain a place for my people Israel, and will plant them, and they shall dwell in their place, and shall be moved no more; neither shall the children of wickedness waste them any more, as at the beginning,
10 And since the time that I commanded judges to be over my people Israel. Moreover I will subdue all thine enemies. Furthermore I tell thee that the LORD will build thee an house.
11 And it shall come to pass, when thy days be expired that thou must go to be with thy fathers, that I will raise up thy seed after thee, which shall be of thy sons; and I will establish his kingdom.
12 He shall build me an house, and I will stablish his throne for ever.
13 I will be his father, and he shall be my son: and I will not take my mercy away from him, as I took it from him that was before thee:
14 But I will settle him in mine house and in my kingdom for ever: and his throne shall be established for evermore.
15 According to all these words, and according to all this vision, so did Nathan speak unto David.
16 And David the king came and sat before the LORD, and said, Who am I, O LORD God, and what is mine house, that thou hast brought me hitherto?
17 And yet this was a small thing in thine eyes, O God; for thou hast also spoken of thy servant's house for a great while to come, and hast regarded me according to the estate of a man of high degree, O LORD God.
18 What can David speak more to thee for the honour of thy servant? for thou knowest thy servant.
19 O LORD, for thy servant's sake, and according to thine own heart, hast thou done all this greatness, in making known all these great things.
20 O LORD, there is none like thee, neither is there any God beside thee, according to all that we have heard with our ears.
21 And what one nation in the earth is like thy people Israel, whom God went to redeem to be his own people, to make thee a name of greatness and terribleness, by driving out nations from before thy people whom thou hast redeemed out of Egypt?
22 For thy people Israel didst thou make thine own people for ever; and thou, LORD, becamest their God.
23 Therefore now, LORD, let the thing that thou hast spoken concerning thy servant and concerning his house be established for ever, and do as thou hast said.
24 Let it even be established, that thy name may be magnified for ever, saying, The LORD of hosts is the God of Israel, even a God to Israel: and let the house of David thy servant be established before thee.
25 For thou, O my God, hast told thy servant that thou wilt build him an house: therefore thy servant hath found in his heart to pray before thee.
26 And now, LORD, thou art God, and hast promised this goodness unto thy servant:
27 Now therefore let it please thee to bless the house of thy servant, that it may be before thee for ever: for thou blessest, O LORD, and it shall be blessed for ever.

1 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 18

1 Now after this it came to pass, that David smote the Philistines, and subdued them, and took Gath and her towns out of the hand of the Philistines.
2 And he smote Moab; and the Moabites became David's servants, and brought gifts.
3 And David smote Hadarezer king of Zobah unto Hamath, as he went to stablish his dominion by the river Euphrates.
4 And David took from him a thousand chariots, and seven thousand horsemen, and twenty thousand footmen: David also houghed all the chariot horses, but reserved of them an hundred chariots.
5 And when the Syrians of Damascus came to help Hadarezer king of Zobah, David slew of the Syrians two and twenty thousand men.
6 Then David put garrisons in Syriadamascus; and the Syrians became David's servants, and brought gifts. Thus the LORD preserved David whithersoever he went.
7 And David took the shields of gold that were on the servants of Hadarezer, and brought them to Jerusalem.
8 Likewise from Tibhath, and from Chun, cities of Hadarezer, brought David very much brass, wherewith Solomon made the brasen sea, and the pillars, and the vessels of brass.
9 Now when Tou king of Hamath heard how David had smitten all the host of Hadarezer king of Zobah;
10 He sent Hadoram his son to king David, to enquire of his welfare, and to congratulate him, because he had fought against Hadarezer, and smitten him; (for Hadarezer had war with Tou;) and with him all manner of vessels of gold and silver and brass.
11 Them also king David dedicated unto the LORD, with the silver and the gold that he brought from all these nations; from Edom, and from Moab, and from the children of Ammon, and from the Philistines, and from Amalek.
12 Moreover Abishai the son of Zeruiah slew of the Edomites in the valley of salt eighteen thousand.
13 And he put garrisons in Edom; and all the Edomites became David's servants. Thus the LORD preserved David whithersoever he went.
14 So David reigned over all Israel, and executed judgement and justice among all his people.
15 And Joab the son of Zeruiah was over the host; and Jehoshaphat the son of Ahilud, recorder.
16 And Zadok the son of Ahitub, and Abimelech the son of Abiathar, were the priests; and Shavsha was scribe;
17 And Benaiah the son of Jehoiada was over the Cherethites and the Pelethites; and the sons of David were chief about the king.

1 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 19

1 Now it came to pass after this, that Nahash the king of the children of Ammon died, and his son reigned in his stead.
2 And David said, I will shew kindness unto Hanun the son of Nahash, because his father shewed kindness to me. And David sent messengers to comfort him concerning his father. So the servants of David came into the land of the children of Ammon to Hanun, to comfort him.
3 But the princes of the children of Ammon said to Hanun, Thinkest thou that David doth honour thy father, that he hath sent comforters unto thee? are not his servants come unto thee for to search, and to overthrow, and to spy out the land?
4 Wherefore Hanun took David's servants, and shaved them, and cut off their garments in the midst hard by their buttocks, and sent them away.
5 Then there went certain, and told David how the men were served. And he sent to meet them: for the men were greatly ashamed. And the king said, Tarry at Jericho until your beards be grown, and then return.
6 And when the children of Ammon saw that they had made themselves odious to David, Hanun and the children of Ammon sent a thousand talents of silver to hire them chariots and horsemen out of Mesopotamia, and out of Syriamaachah, and out of Zobah.
7 So they hired thirty and two thousand chariots, and the king of Maachah and his people; who came and pitched before Medeba. And the children of Ammon gathered themselves together from their cities, and came to battle.
8 And when David heard of it, he sent Joab, and all the host of the mighty men.
9 And the children of Ammon came out, and put the battle in array before the gate of the city: and the kings that were come were by themselves in the field.
10 Now when Joab saw that the battle was set against him before and behind, he chose out of all the choice of Israel, and put them in array against the Syrians.
11 And the rest of the people he delivered unto the hand of Abishai his brother, and they set themselves in array against the children of Ammon.
12 And he said, If the Syrians be too strong for me, then thou shalt help me: but if the children of Ammon be too strong for thee, then I will help thee.
13 Be of good courage, and let us behave ourselves valiantly for our people, and for the cities of our God: and let the LORD do that which is good in his sight.
14 So Joab and the people that were with him drew nigh before the Syrians unto the battle; and they fled before him.
15 And when the children of Ammon saw that the Syrians were fled, they likewise fled before Abishai his brother, and entered into the city. Then Joab came to Jerusalem.
16 And when the Syrians saw that they were put to the worse before Israel, they sent messengers, and drew forth the Syrians that were beyond the river: and Shophach the captain of the host of Hadarezer went before them.
17 And it was told David; and he gathered all Israel, and passed over Jordan, and came upon them, and set the battle in array against them. So when David had put the battle in array against the Syrians, they fought with him.
18 But the Syrians fled before Israel; and David slew of the Syrians seven thousand men which fought in chariots, and forty thousand footmen, and killed Shophach the captain of the host.
19 And when the servants of Hadarezer saw that they were put to the worse before Israel, they made peace with David, and became his servants: neither would the Syrians help the children of Ammon any more.

1 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 20

1 And it came to pass, that after the year was expired, at the time that kings go out to battle, Joab led forth the power of the army, and wasted the country of the children of Ammon, and came and besieged Rabbah. But David tarried at Jerusalem. And Joab smote Rabbah, and destroyed it.
2 And David took the crown of their king from off his head, and found it to weigh a talent of gold, and there were precious stones in it; and it was set upon David's head: and he brought also exceeding much spoil out of the city.
3 And he brought out the people that were in it, and cut them with saws, and with harrows of iron, and with axes. Even so dealt David with all the cities of the children of Ammon. And David and all the people returned to Jerusalem.
4 And it came to pass after this, that there arose war at Gezer with the Philistines; at which time Sibbechai the Hushathite slew Sippai, that was of the children of the giant: and they were subdued.

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5 And there was war again with the Philistines; and Elhanan the son of Jair slew Lahmi the brother of Goliath the Gittite, whose spear staff was like a weaver's beam.

6 And yet again there was war at Gath, where was a man of great stature, whose fingers and toes were four and twenty, six on each hand, and six on each foot and he also was the son of the giant.

7 But when he defied Israel, Jonathan the son of Shimea David's brother slew him.

8 These were born unto the giant in Gath; and they fell by the hand of David, and by the hand of his servants.

1 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 21

1 And Satan stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number Israel.

2 And David said to Joab and to the rulers of the people, Go, number Israel from Beersheba even to Dan; and bring the number of them to me, that I may know it.

3 And Joab answered, The LORD make his people an hundred times so many more as they be: but, my lord the king, are they not all my lord's servants? why then doth my lord require this thing? why will he be a cause of trespass to Israel?

4 Nevertheless the king's word prevailed against Joab. Wherefore Joab departed, and went throughout all Israel, and came to Jerusalem.

5 And Joab gave the sum of the number of the people unto David. And all they of Israel were a thousand thousand and an hundred thousand men that drew sword: and Judah was four hundred threescore and ten thousand men that drew sword.

6 But Levi and Benjamin counted he not among them: for the king's word was abominable to Joab.

7 And God was displeased with this thing; therefore he smote Israel.

8 And David said unto God, I have sinned greatly, because I have done this thing: but now, I beseech thee, do away the iniquity of thy servant; for I have done very foolishly.

9 And the LORD spake unto Gad, David's seer, saying,

10 Go and tell David, saying, Thus saith the LORD, I offer thee three things: choose thee one of them, that I may do it unto thee.

11 So Gad came to David, and said unto him, Thus saith the LORD, Choose thee

12 Either three years' famine; or three months to be destroyed before thy foes, while that the sword of thine enemies overtaketh thee; or else three days the sword of the LORD, even the pestilence, in the land, and the angel of the LORD destroying throughout all the coasts of Israel. Now therefore advise thyself what word I shall bring again to him that sent me.

13 And David said unto Gad, I am in a great strait: let me fall now into the hand of the LORD; for very great are his mercies: but let me not fall into the hand of man.

14 So the LORD sent pestilence upon Israel: and there fell of Israel seventy thousand men.

15 And God sent an angel unto Jerusalem to destroy it: and as he was destroying, the LORD beheld, and he repented him of the evil, and said to the angel that destroyed, It is enough, stay now thine hand. And the angel of the LORD stood by the threshingfloor of Ornan the Jebusite.

16 And David lifted up his eyes, and saw the angel of the LORD stand between the earth and the heaven, having a drawn sword in his hand stretched out over Jerusalem. Then David and the elders of Israel, who were clothed in sackcloth, fell upon their faces.

17 And David said unto God, Is it not I that commanded the people to be numbered? even I it is that have sinned and done evil indeed; but as for these sheep, what have they done? let thine hand, I pray thee, O LORD my God, be on me, and on my father's house; but not on thy people, that they should be plagued.

18 Then the angel of the LORD commanded Gad to say to David, that David should go up, and set up an altar unto the LORD in the threshingfloor of Ornan the Jebusite.

19 And David went up at the saying of Gad, which he spake in the name of the LORD.

20 And Ornan turned back, and saw the angel; and his four sons with him hid themselves. Now Ornan was threshing wheat.

21 And as David came to Ornan, Ornan looked and saw David, and went out of the threshingfloor, and bowed himself to David with his face to the ground.

22 Then David said to Ornan, Grant me the place of this threshingfloor, that I may build an altar therein unto the LORD: thou shalt grant it me for the full price: that the plague may be stayed from the people.

23 And Ornan said unto David, Take it to thee, and let my lord the king do that which is good in his eyes: lo, I give thee the oxen also for burnt offerings, and the threshing instruments for wood, and the wheat for the meat offering; I give it all.

24 And king David said to Ornan, Nay; but I will verily buy it for the full price: for I will not take that which is thine for the LORD, nor offer burnt offerings without cost.

25 So David gave to Ornan for the place six hundred shekels of gold by weight.

26 And David built there an altar unto the LORD, and offered burnt offerings and peace offerings, and called upon the LORD; and he answered him from heaven by fire upon the altar of burnt offering.

27 And the LORD commanded the angel; and he put up his sword again into the sheath thereof.

28 At that time when David saw that the LORD had answered him in the threshingfloor of Ornan the Jebusite, then he sacrificed there.

29 For the tabernacle of the LORD, which Moses made in the wilderness, and the altar of the burnt offering, were at that season in the high place at Gibeon.

30 But David could not go before it to enquire of God: for he was afraid because of the sword of the angel of the LORD.

1 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 22

1 Then David said, This is the house of the LORD God, and this is the altar of the burnt offering for Israel.

2 And David commanded to gather together the strangers that were in the land of Israel; and he set masons to hew wrought stones to build the house of God.

3 And David prepared iron in abundance for the nails for the doors of the gates, and for the joinings; and brass in abundance without weight;

4 Also cedar trees in abundance: for the Zidonians and they of Tyre brought much cedar wood to David.

5 And David said, Solomon my son is young and tender, and the house that is to be builded for the LORD must be exceeding magnifical, of fame and of glory throughout all countries: I will therefore now make preparation for it. So David prepared abundantly before his death.

6 Then he called for Solomon his son, and charged him to build an house for the LORD God of Israel.

7 And David said to Solomon, My son, as for me, it was in my mind to build an house unto the name of the LORD my God:

8 But the word of the LORD came to me, saying, Thou hast shed blood abundantly, and hast made great wars: thou shalt not build an house unto my name, because thou hast shed much blood upon the earth in my sight.

9 Behold, a son shall be born to thee, who shall be a man of rest; and I will give him rest from all his enemies round about: for his name shall be Solomon, and I will give peace and quietness unto Israel in his days.

10 He shall build an house for my name; and he shall be my son, and I will be his father; and I will establish the throne of his kingdom over Israel for ever.

11 Now, my son, the LORD be with thee; and prosper thou, and build the house of the LORD thy God, as he hath said of thee.

12 Only the LORD give thee wisdom and understanding, and give thee charge concerning Israel, that thou mayest keep the law of the LORD thy God.

13 Then shalt thou prosper, if thou takest heed to fulfil the statutes and judgements which the LORD charged Moses with concerning Israel: be strong, and of good courage; dread not, nor be dismayed.

14 Now, behold, in my trouble I have prepared for the house of the LORD an hundred thousand talents of gold, and a thousand thousand talents of silver; and of brass and iron without weight; for it is in abundance: timber also and stone have I prepared; and thou mayest add thereto.

15 Moreover there are workmen with thee in abundance, hewers and workers of stone and timber, and all manner of cunning men for every manner of work.

16 Of the gold, the silver, and the brass, and the iron, there is no number. Arise therefore, and be doing, and the LORD be with thee.

17 David also commanded all the princes of Israel to help Solomon his son, saying,

18 Is not the LORD your God with you? and hath he not given you rest on every side? for he hath given the inhabitants of the land into mine hand; and the land is subdued before the LORD, and before his people.

19 Now set your heart and your soul to seek the LORD your God; arise therefore, and build ye the sanctuary of the LORD God, to bring the ark of the covenant of the LORD, and the holy vessels of God, into the house that is to be built to the name of the LORD.

1 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 23

1 So when David was old and full of days, he made Solomon his son king over Israel.

2 And he gathered together all the princes of Israel, with the priests and the Levites.

3 Now the Levites were numbered from the age of thirty years and upward: and their number by their polls, man by man, was thirty and eight thousand.

4 Of which, twenty and four thousand were to set forward the work of the house of the LORD; and six thousand were officers and judges:

5 Moreover four thousand were porters; and four thousand praised the LORD with the instruments which I made, said David, to praise therewith.

6 And David divided them into courses among the sons of Levi, namely, Gershon, Kohath, and Merari.

7 Of the Gershonites were, Laadan, and Shimei.

8 The sons of Laadan; the chief was Jehiel, and Zetham, and Joel, three.

9 The sons of Shimei; Shelomith, and Haziel, and Haran, three. These were the chief of the fathers of Laadan.

10 And the sons of Shimei were, Jahath, Zina, and Jeush, and Beriah. These four were the sons of Shimei.

11 And Jahath was the chief, and Zizah the second: but Jeush and Beriah had not many sons; therefore they were in one reckoning, according to their father's house.

12 The sons of Kohath; Amram, Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel, four.

13 The sons of Amram; Aaron and Moses: and Aaron was separated, that he should sanctify the most holy things, he and his sons for ever, to burn incense before the LORD, to minister unto him, and to bless in his name for ever.

14 Now concerning Moses the man of God, his sons were named of the tribe of Levi.

15 The sons of Moses were, Gershom, and Eliezer.

16 Of the sons of Gershom, Shebuel was the chief.

17 And the sons of Eliezer were, Rehabiah the chief. And Eliezer had none other sons; but the sons of Rehabiah were very many.

18 Of the sons of Izhar; Shelomith the chief.

19 Of the sons of Hebron; Jeriah the first, Amariah the second, Jahaziel the third, and Jekameam the fourth.

20 Of the sons of Uzziel; Micah the first and Jesiah the second.

21 The sons of Merari; Mahli, and Mushi. The sons of Mahli; Eleazar, and Kish.

22 And Eleazar died, and had no sons, but daughters: and their brethren the sons of Kish took them.

23 The sons of Mushi; Mahli, and Eder, and Jeremoth, three.

24 These were the sons of Levi after the house of their fathers; even the chief of the fathers, as they were counted by number of names by their polls, that did the work for the service of the house of the LORD, from the age of twenty years and upward.

25 For David said, The LORD God of Israel hath given rest unto his people, that they may dwell in Jerusalem for ever:

26 And also unto the Levites; they shall no more carry the tabernacle, nor any vessels of it for the service thereof.

27 For by the last words of David the Levites were numbered from twenty years old and above:

28 Because their office was to wait on the sons of Aaron for the service of the house of the LORD, in the courts, and in the chambers, and in the purifying of all holy things, and the work of the service of the house of God;

29 Both for the shewbread, and for the fine flour for meat offering, and for the unleavened cakes, and for that which is baked in the pan, and for that which is fried, and for all manner of measure and size;

30 And to stand every morning to thank and praise the LORD, and likewise at even:

31 And to offer all burnt sacrifices unto the LORD in the sabbaths, in the new moons, and on the set feasts, by number, according to the order commanded unto them, continually before the LORD:

32 And that they should keep the charge of the tabernacle of the congregation, and the charge of the holy place, and the charge of the sons of Aaron their brethren, in the service of the house of the LORD.

1 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 24

1 Now these are the divisions of the sons of Aaron. The sons of Aaron; Nadab, and Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar.

2 But Nadab and Abihu died before their father, and had no children: therefore Eleazar and Ithamar executed the priest's office.

3 And David distributed them, both Zadok of the sons of Eleazar, and Ahimelech of the sons of Ithamar, according to their offices in their service.

4 And there were more chief men found of the sons of Eleazar than of the sons of Ithamar, and thus were they divided. Among the sons of Eleazar there were sixteen chief men of the house of their fathers, and eight among the sons of Ithamar according to the house of their fathers.

5 Thus were they divided by lot, one sort with another; for the governors of the sanctuary, and governors of the house of God, were of the sons of Eleazar, and of the sons of Ithamar.

6 And Shemaiah the son of Nethaneel the scribe, one of the Levites, wrote them before the king, and the princes, and Zadok the priest, and Ahimelech the son of Abiathar, and before the chief of the fathers of the priests and Levites: one principal household being taken for Eleazar, and one taken for Ithamar.

7 Now the first lot came forth to Jehoiarib, the second to Jedaiah,

8 The third to Harim, the fourth to Seorim,

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9 The fifth to Malchijah, the sixth to Mijamin,
10 The seventh to Hakkoz, the eighth to Abijah,
11 The ninth to Jeshuah, the tenth to Shecaniah,
12 The eleventh to Eliashib, the twelfth to Jakim,
13 The thirteenth to Huppah, the fourteenth to Jeshebeab,
14 The fifteenth to Bilgah, the sixteenth to Immer,
15 The seventeenth to Hezir, the eighteenth to Aphses,
16 The nineteenth to Pethahiah, the twentieth to Jehezekel,
17 The one and twentieth to Jachin, the two and twentieth to Gamul,
18 The three and twentieth to Delaiah, the four and twentieth to Maaziah.
19 These were the orderings of them in their service to come into the house of the LORD, according to their manner, under Aaron their father, as the LORD God of Israel had commanded him.
20 And the rest of the sons of Levi were these: Of the sons of Amram; Shubael: of the sons of Shubael; Jehdeiah.
21 Concerning Rehabiah: of the sons of Rehabiah, the first was Isshiah.
22 Of the Izharites; Shelomoth: of the sons of Shelomoth; Jahath.
23 And the sons of Hebron; Jeriah the first, Amariah the second, Jahaziel the third, Jekameam the fourth.
24 Of the sons of Uzziel; Michah: of the sons of Michah; Shamir.
25 The brother of Michah was Isshiah: of the sons of Isshiah; Zechariah.
26 The sons of Merari were Mahli and Mushi: the sons of Jaaziah; Beno.
27 The sons of Merari by Jaaziah; Beno, and Shoham, and Zaccur, and Ibri.
28 Of Mahli came Eleazar, who had no sons.
29 Concerning Kish: the son of Kish was Jerahmeel.
30 The sons also of Mushi; Mahli, and Eder, and Jerimoth. These were the sons of the Levites after the house of their fathers.
31 These likewise cast lots over against their brethren the sons of Aaron in the presence of David the king, and Zadok, and Ahimelech, and the chief of the fathers of the priests and Levites, even the principal fathers over against their younger brethren.

1 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 25

1 Moreover David and the captains of the host separated to the service of the sons of Asaph, and of Heman, and of Jeduthun, who should prophesy with harps, with psalteries, and with cymbals: and the number of the workmen according to their service was:
2 Of the sons of Asaph; Zaccur, and Joseph, and Nethaniah, and Asarelah, the sons of Asaph under the hands of Asaph, which prophesied according to the order of the king.
3 Of Jeduthun: the sons of Jeduthun; Gedaliah, and Zeri, and Jeshaiah, Hashabiah, and Mattithiah, six, under the hands of their father Jeduthun, who prophesied with a harp, to give thanks and to praise the LORD.
4 Of Heman: the sons of Heman: Bukkiah, Mattaniah, Uzziel, Shebuel, and Jerimoth, Hananiah, Hanani, Eliathah, Giddalti, and Romamtiezer, Joshbekashah, Mallothi, Hothir, and Mahazioth:
5 All these were the sons of Heman the king's seer in the words of God, to lift up the horn. And God gave to Heman fourteen sons and three daughters.
6 All these were under the hands of their father for song in the house of the LORD, with cymbals, psalteries, and harps, for the service of the house of God, according to the king's order to Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman.
7 So the number of them, with their brethren that were instructed in the songs of the LORD, even all that were cunning, was two hundred fourscore and eight.
8 And they cast lots, ward against ward, as well the small as the great, the teacher as the scholar.
9 Now the first lot came forth for Asaph to Joseph: the second to Gedaliah, who with his brethren and sons were twelve:
10 The third to Zaccur, he, his sons, and his brethren, were twelve:
11 The fourth to Izri, he, his sons, and his brethren, were twelve:
12 The fifth to Nethaniah, he, his sons, and his brethren, were twelve:
13 The sixth to Bukkiah, he, his sons, and his brethren, were twelve:
14 The seventh to Jesharelah, he, his sons, and his brethren, were twelve:
15 The eighth to Jeshaiah, he, his sons, and his brethren, were twelve:
16 The ninth to Mattaniah, he, his sons, and his brethren, were twelve:
17 The tenth to Shimei, he, his sons, and his brethren, were twelve:
18 The eleventh to Azareel, he, his sons, and his brethren, were twelve:
19 The twelfth to Hashabiah, he, his sons, and his brethren, were twelve:
20 The thirteenth to Shubael, he, his sons, and his brethren, were twelve:
21 The fourteenth to Mattithiah, he, his sons, and his brethren, were twelve:
22 The fifteenth to Jeremoth, he, his sons, and his brethren, were twelve:
23 The sixteenth to Hananiah, he, his sons, and his brethren, were twelve:
24 The seventeenth to Joshbekashah, he, his sons, and his brethren, were twelve:
25 The eighteenth to Hanani, he, his sons, and his brethren, were twelve:
26 The nineteenth to Mallothi, he, his sons, and his brethren, were twelve:
27 The twentieth to Eliathah, he, his sons, and his brethren, were twelve:
28 The one and twentieth to Hothir, he, his sons, and his brethren, were twelve:
29 The two and twentieth to Giddalti, he, his sons, and his brethren, were twelve:
30 The three and twentieth to Mahazioth, he, his sons, and his brethren, were twelve:
31 The four and twentieth to Romamtiezer, he, his sons, and his brethren, were twelve.

1 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 26

1 Concerning the divisions of the porters: Of the Korhites was Meshelemiah the son of Kore, of the sons of Asaph.
2 And the sons of Meshelemiah were, Zechariah the firstborn, Jediael the second, Zebadiah the third, Jathniel the fourth,
3 Elam the fifth, Jehohanan the sixth, Elioenai the seventh.
4 Moreover the sons of Obededom were, Shemaiah the firstborn, Jehozabad the second, Joah the third, and Sacar the fourth, and Nethaneel the fifth.
5 Ammiel the sixth, Issachar the seventh, Peulthai the eighth: for God blessed him.
6 Also unto Shemaiah his son were sons born, that ruled throughout the house of their father: for they were mighty men of valour.
7 The sons of Shemaiah; Othni, and Rephael, and Obed, Elzabad, whose brethren were strong men, Elihu, and Semachiah.
8 All these of the sons of Obededom: they and their sons and their brethren, able men for strength for the service, were threescore and two of Obededom.
9 And Meshelemiah had sons and brethren, strong men, eighteen.
10 Also Hosah, of the children of Merari, had sons; Simri the chief, (for though he was not the firstborn, yet his father made him the chief;)
11 Hilkiah the second, Tebaliah the third, Zechariah the fourth: all the sons and brethren of Hosah were thirteen.
12 Among these were the divisions of the porters, even among the chief men, having wards one against another, to minister in the house of the LORD.
13 And they cast lots, as well the small as the great, according to the house of their fathers, for every gate.
14 And the lot eastward fell to Shelemiah. Then for Zechariah his son, a wise counsellor, they cast lots; and his lot came out northward.
15 To Obededom southward; and to his sons the house of Asuppim.
16 To Shuppim and Hosah the lot came forth westward, with the gate Shallecheth, by the causeway of the going up, ward against ward.
17 Eastward were six Levites, northward four a day, southward four a day, and toward Asuppim two and two.
18 At Parbar westward, four at the causeway, and two at Parbar.
19 These are the divisions of the porters among the sons of Kore, and among the sons of Merari.
20 And of the Levites, Ahijah was over the treasures of the house of God, and over the treasures of the dedicated things.
21 As concerning the sons of Laadan; the sons of the Gershonite Laadan, chief fathers, even of Laadan the Gershonite, were Jehieli.
22 The sons of Jehieli; Zetham, and Joel his brother, which were over the treasures of the house of the LORD.
23 Of the Amramites, and the Izharites, the Hebronites, and the Uzzielites:
24 And Shebuel the son of Gershom, the son of Moses, was ruler of the treasures.
25 And his brethren by Eliezer; Rehabiah his son, and Jeshaiah his son, and Joram his son, and Zichri his son, and Shelomith his son.
26 Which Shelomith and his brethren were over all the treasures of the dedicated things, which David the king, and the chief fathers, the captains over thousands and hundreds, and the captains of the host, had dedicated.
27 Out of the spoils won in battles did they dedicate to maintain the house of the LORD.
28 And all that Samuel the seer, and Saul the son of Kish, and Abner the son of Ner, and Joab the son of Zeruiah, had dedicated; and whosoever had dedicated any thing, it was under the hand of Shelomith, and of his brethren.
29 Of the Izharites, Chenaniah and his sons were for the outward business over Israel, for officers and judges.
30 And of the Hebronites, Hashabiah and his brethren, men of valour, a thousand and seven hundred, were officers among them of Israel on this side Jordan westward in all the business of the LORD, and in the service of the king.
31 Among the Hebronites was Jerijah the chief, even among the Hebronites, according to the generations of his fathers. In the fortieth year of the reign of David they were sought for, and there were found among them mighty men of valour at Jazer of Gilead.
32 And his brethren, men of valour, were two thousand and seven hundred chief fathers, whom king David made rulers over the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh, for every matter pertaining to God, and affairs of the king.

1 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 27

1 Now the children of Israel after their number, to wit, the chief fathers and captains of thousands and hundreds, and their officers that served the king in any matter of the courses, which came in and went out month by month throughout all the months of the year, of every course were twenty and four thousand.
2 Over the first course for the first month was Jashobeam the son of Zabdiel: and in his course were twenty and four thousand.
3 Of the children of Perez was the chief of all the captains of the host for the first month.
4 And over the course of the second month was Dodai an Ahohite, and of his course was Mikloth also the ruler: in his course likewise were twenty and four thousand.
5 The third captain of the host for the third month was Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, a chief priest: and in his course were twenty and four thousand.
6 This is that Benaiah, who was mighty among the thirty, and above the thirty: and in his course was Ammizabad his son.
7 The fourth captain for the fourth month was Asahel the brother of Joab, and Zebadiah his son after him: and in his course were twenty and four thousand.
8 The fifth captain for the fifth month was Shamhuth the Izrahite: and in his course were twenty and four thousand.
9 The sixth captain for the sixth month was Ira the son of Ikkesh the Tekoite: and in his course were twenty and four thousand.
10 The seventh captain for the seventh month was Helez the Pelonite, of the children of Ephraim: and in his course were twenty and four thousand.
11 The eighth captain for the eighth month was Sibbecai the Hushathite, of the Zarhites: and in his course were twenty and four thousand.
12 The ninth captain for the ninth month was Abiezer the Anetothite, of the Benjamites: and in his course were twenty and four thousand.
13 The tenth captain for the tenth month was Maharai the Netophathite, of the Zarhites: and in his course were twenty and four thousand.
14 The eleventh captain for the eleventh month was Benaiah the Pirathonite, of the children of Ephraim: and in his course were twenty and four thousand.
15 The twelfth captain for the twelfth month was Heldai the Netophathite, of Othniel: and in his course were twenty and four thousand.
16 Furthermore over the tribes of Israel: the ruler of the Reubenites was Eliezer the son of Zichri: of the Simeonites, Shephatiah the son of Maachah:
17 Of the Levites, Hashabiah the son of Kemuel: of the Aaronites, Zadok:
18 Of Judah, Elihu, one of the brethren of David: of Issachar, Omri the son of Michael:
19 Of Zebulun, Ishmaiah the son of Obadiah: of Naphtali, Jerimoth the son of Azriel:
20 Of the children of Ephraim, Hoshea the son of Azaziah: of the half tribe of Manasseh, Joel the son of Pedaiah:
21 Of the half tribe of Manasseh in Gilead, Iddo the son of Zechariah: of Benjamin, Jaasiel the son of Abner:
22 Of Dan, Azareel the son of Jeroham. These were the princes of the tribes of Israel.
23 But David took not the number of them from twenty years old and under: because the LORD had said he would increase Israel like to the stars of the heavens.
24 Joab the son of Zeruiah began to number, but he finished not, because there fell wrath for it against Israel; neither was the number put in the account of the chronicles of king David.
25 And over the king's treasures was Azmaveth the son of Adiel: and over the storehouses in the fields, in the cities, and in the villages, and in the castles, was Jehonathan the son of Uzziah:

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26 And over them that did the work of the field for tillage of the ground was Ezri the son of Chelub:
27 And over the vineyards was Shimei the Ramathite: over the increase of the vineyards for the wine cellars was Zabdi the Shiphmite:
28 And over the olive trees and the sycomore trees that were in the low plains was Baalhanan the Gederite: and over the cellars of oil was Joash:
29 And over the herds that fed in Sharon was Shitrai the Sharonite: and over the herds that were in the valleys was Shaphat the son of Adlai:
30 Over the camels also was Obil the Ishmaelite: and over the asses was Jehdeiah the Meronothite:
31 And over the flocks was Jaziz the Hagerite. All these were the rulers of the substance which was king David's.
32 Also Jonathan David's uncle was a counsellor, a wise man, and a scribe: and Jehiel the son of Hachmoni was with the king's sons:
33 And Ahithophel was the king's counsellor: and Hushai the Archite was the king's companion:
34 And after Ahithophel was Jehoiada the son of Benaiah, and Abiathar: and the general of the king's army was Joab.

1 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 28
1 And David assembled all the princes of Israel, the princes of the tribes, and the captains of the companies that ministered to the king by course, and the captains over the thousands, and captains over the hundreds, and the stewards over all the substance and possession of the king, and of his sons, with the officers, and with the mighty men, and with all the valiant men, unto Jerusalem.
2 Then David the king stood up upon his feet, and said, Hear me, my brethren, and my people: As for me, I had in mine heart to build an house of rest for the ark of the covenant of the LORD, and for the footstool of our God, and had made ready for the building:
3 But God said unto me, Thou shalt not build an house for my name, because thou hast been a man of war, and hast shed blood.
4 Howbeit the LORD God of Israel chose me before all the house of my father to be king over Israel for ever: for he hath chosen Judah to be the ruler; and of the house of Judah, the house of my father; and among the sons of my father he liked me to make me king over all Israel:
5 And of all my sons, (for the LORD hath given me many sons,) he hath chosen Solomon my son to sit upon the throne of the kingdom of the LORD over Israel.
6 And he said unto me, Solomon thy son, he shall build my house and my courts: for I have chosen him to be my son, and I will be his father.
7 Moreover I will establish his kingdom for ever, if he be constant to do my commandments and my judgements, as at this day.
8 Now therefore in the sight of all Israel the congregation of the LORD, and in the audience of our God, keep and seek for all the commandments of the LORD your God: that ye may possess this good land, and leave it for an inheritance for your children after you for ever.
9 And thou, Solomon my son, know thou the God of thy father, and serve him with a perfect heart and with a willing mind: for the LORD searcheth all hearts, and understandeth all the imaginations of the thoughts: if thou seek him, he will be found of thee; but if thou forsake him, he will cast thee off for ever.
10 Take heed now; for the LORD hath chosen thee to build an house for the sanctuary: be strong, and do it.
11 Then David gave to Solomon his son the pattern of the porch, and of the houses thereof, and of the treasuries thereof, and of the upper chambers thereof, and of the inner parlours thereof, and of the place of the mercy seat,
12 And the pattern of all that he had by the spirit, of the courts of the house of the LORD, and of all the chambers round about, of the treasuries of the house of God, and of the treasuries of the dedicated things:
13 Also for the courses of the priests and the Levites, and for all the work of the service of the house of the LORD, and for all the vessels of service in the house of the LORD.
14 He gave of gold by weight for things of gold, for all instruments of all manner of service; silver also for all instruments of silver by weight, for all instruments of every kind of service:
15 Even the weight for the candlesticks of gold, and for their lamps of gold, by weight for every candlestick, and for the lamps thereof: and for the candlesticks of silver by weight, both for the candlestick, and also for the lamps thereof, according to the use of every candlestick.
16 And by weight he gave gold for the tables of shewbread, for every table; and likewise silver for the tables of silver:
17 Also pure gold for the fleshhooks, and the bowls, and the cups: and for the golden basons he gave gold by weight for every bason; and likewise silver by weight for every bason of silver:
18 And for the altar of incense refined gold by weight; and gold for the pattern of the chariot of the cherubims, that spread out their wings, and covered the ark of the covenant of the LORD.
19 All this, said David, the LORD made me understand in writing by his hand upon me, even all the works of this pattern.
20 And David said to Solomon his son, Be strong and of good courage, and do it: fear not, nor be dismayed: for the LORD God, even my God, will be with thee; he will not fail thee, nor forsake thee, until thou hast finished all the work for the service of the house of the LORD.
21 And, behold, the courses of the priests and the Levites, even they shall be with thee for all the service of the house of God: and there shall be with thee for all manner of workmanship every willing skilful man, for any manner of service: also the princes and all the people will be wholly at thy commandment.

1 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 29
1 Furthermore David the king said unto all the congregation, Solomon my son, whom alone God hath chosen, is yet young and tender, and the work is great: for the palace is not for man, but for the LORD God.
2 Now I have prepared with all my might for the house of my God the gold for things to be made of gold, and the silver for things of silver, and the brass for things of brass, the iron for things of iron, and wood for things of wood; onyx stones, and stones to be set, glistering stones, and of divers colours, and all manner of precious stones, and marble stones in abundance.
3 Moreover, because I have set my affection to the house of my God, I have of mine own proper good, of gold and silver, which I have given to the house of my God, over and above all that I have prepared for the holy house.
4 Even three thousand talents of gold, of the gold of Ophir, and seven thousand talents of refined silver, to overlay the walls of the houses withal:
5 The gold for things of gold, and the silver for things of silver, and for all manner of work to be made by the hands of artificers. And who then is willing to consecrate his service this day unto the LORD?
6 Then the chief of the fathers and princes of the tribes of Israel and the captains of thousands and of hundreds, with the rulers of the king's work, offered willingly,
7 And gave for the service of the house of God of gold five thousand talents and ten thousand drams, and of silver ten thousand talents, and of brass eighteen thousand talents, and one hundred thousand talents of iron.
8 And they with whom precious stones were found gave them to the treasure of the house of the LORD, by the hand of Jehiel the Gershonite.
9 Then the people rejoiced, for that they offered willingly, because with perfect heart they offered willingly to the LORD: and David the king also rejoiced with great joy.
10 Wherefore David blessed the LORD before all the congregation: and David said, Blessed be thou, LORD God of Israel our father, for ever and ever.
11 Thine, O LORD is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty: for all that is in the heaven and in the earth is thine; thine is the kingdom, O LORD, and thou art exalted as head above all.
12 Both riches and honour come of thee, and thou reignest over all; and in thine hand is power and might; and in thine hand it is to make great, and to give strength unto all.
13 Now therefore, our God, we thank thee, and praise thy glorious name.
14 But who am I, and what is my people, that we should be able to offer so willingly after this sort? for all things come of thee, and of thine own have we given thee.
15 For we are strangers before thee, and sojourners, as were all our fathers: our days on the earth are as a shadow, and there is none abiding.
16 O LORD our God, all this store that we have prepared to build thee an house for thine holy name cometh of thine hand, and is all thine own.
17 I know also, my God, that thou triest the heart, and hast pleasure in uprightness. As for me, in the uprightness of mine heart I have willingly offered all these things: and now have I seen with joy thy people, which are present here, to offer willingly unto thee.
18 O LORD God of Abraham, Isaac, and of Israel, our fathers, keep this for ever in the imagination of the thoughts of the heart of thy people, and prepare their heart unto thee:
19 And give unto Solomon my son a perfect heart, to keep thy commandments, thy testimonies, and thy statutes, and to do all these things, and to build the palace, for the which I have made provision.
20 And David said to all the congregation, Now bless the LORD your God. And all the congregation blessed the LORD God of their fathers, and bowed down their heads, and worshipped the LORD, and the king.
21 And they sacrificed sacrifices unto the LORD, and offered burnt offerings unto the LORD, on the morrow after that day, even a thousand bullocks, a thousand rams, and a thousand lambs, with their drink offerings, and sacrifices in abundance for all Israel:
22 And did eat and drink before the LORD on that day with great gladness. And they made Solomon the son of David king the second time, and anointed him unto the LORD to be the chief governor, and Zadok to be priest.
23 Then Solomon sat on the throne of the LORD as king instead of David his father, and prospered; and all Israel obeyed him.
24 And all the princes, and the mighty men, and all the sons likewise of king David, submitted themselves unto Solomon the king.
25 And the LORD magnified Solomon exceedingly in the sight of all Israel, and bestowed upon him such royal majesty as had not been on any king before him in Israel.
26 Thus David the son of Jesse reigned over all Israel.
27 And the time that he reigned over Israel was forty years; seven years reigned he in Hebron, and thirty and three years reigned he in Jerusalem.
28 And he died in a good old age, full of days, riches, and honour: and Solomon his son reigned in his stead.
29 Now the acts of David the king, first and last, behold, they are written in the book of Samuel the seer, and in the book of Nathan the prophet, and in the book of Gad the seer,
30 With all his reign and his might, and the times that went over him, and over Israel, and over all the kingdoms of the countries.

THE SECOND BOOK OF CHRONICLES
or 2 Chronicles
Estimated Range of Dating: 6th - 5th centuries B.C.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 1
1 And Solomon the son of David was strengthened in his kingdom, and the LORD his God was with him, and magnified him exceedingly.
2 Then Solomon spake unto all Israel, to the captains of thousands and of hundreds, and to the judges, and to every governor in all Israel, the chief of the fathers.
3 So Solomon, and all the congregation with him, went to the high place that was at Gibeon; for there was the tabernacle of the congregation of God, which Moses the servant of the LORD had made in the wilderness.
4 But the ark of God had David brought up from Kirjathjearim to the place which David had prepared for it: for he had pitched a tent for it at Jerusalem.
5 Moreover the brasen altar, that Bezaleel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, had made, he put before the tabernacle of the LORD: and Solomon and the congregation sought unto it.
6 And Solomon went up thither to the brasen altar before the LORD, which was at the tabernacle of the congregation, and offered a thousand burnt offerings upon it.
7 In that night did God appear unto Solomon, and said unto him, Ask what I shall give thee.
8 And Solomon said unto God, Thou hast shewed great mercy unto David my father, and hast made me to reign in his stead.
9 Now, O LORD God, let thy promise unto David my father be established: for thou hast made me king over a people like the dust of the earth in multitude.
10 Give me now wisdom and knowledge, that I may go out and come in before this people: for who can judge this thy people, that is so great?
11 And God said to Solomon, Because this was in thine heart, and thou hast not asked riches, wealth, or honour, nor the life of thine enemies, neither yet hast asked long life; but hast asked wisdom and knowledge for thyself, that thou mayest judge my people, over whom I have made thee king:
12 Wisdom and knowledge is granted unto thee; and I will give thee riches, and wealth, and honour, such as none of the kings have had that have been before thee, neither shall there any after thee have the like.
13 Then Solomon came from his journey to the high place that was at Gibeon to Jerusalem, from before the tabernacle of the congregation, and reigned over Israel.
14 And Solomon gathered chariots and horsemen: and he had a thousand and four hundred chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen, which he placed in the chariot cities, and with the king at Jerusalem.
15 And the king made silver and gold at Jerusalem as plenteous as stones, and cedar trees made he as the sycomore trees that are in the vale for abundance.
16 And Solomon had horses brought out of Egypt, and linen yarn: the king's merchants received the linen yarn at a price.
17 And they fetched up, and brought forth out of Egypt a chariot for six hundred shekels of silver, and an horse for an hundred and fifty: and so brought they out horses for all the kings of the Hittites, and for the kings of Syria, by their means.

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2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 2

1 And Solomon determined to build an house for the name of the LORD, and an house for his kingdom.

2 And Solomon told out threescore and ten thousand men to bear burdens, and fourscore thousand to hew in the mountain, and three thousand and six hundred to oversee them.

3 And Solomon sent to Huram the king of Tyre, saying, As thou didst deal with David my father, and didst send him cedars to build him an house to dwell therein, even so deal with me.

4 Behold, I build an house to the name of the LORD my God, to dedicate it to him, and to burn before him sweet incense, and for the continual shewbread, and for the burnt offerings morning and evening, on the sabbaths, and on the new moons, and on the solemn feasts of the LORD our God. This is an ordinance for ever to Israel.

5 And the house which I build is great: for great is our God above all gods.

6 But who is able to build him an house, seeing the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain him? who am I then, that I should build him an house, save only to burn sacrifice before him?

7 Send me now therefore a man cunning to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, and in iron, and in purple, and crimson, and blue, and that can skill to grave with the cunning men that are with me in Judah and in Jerusalem, whom David my father did provide.

8 Send me also cedar trees, fir trees, and algum trees, out of Lebanon: for I know that thy servants can skill to cut timber in Lebanon; and, behold, my servants shall be with thy servants,

9 Even to prepare me timber in abundance: for the house which I am about to build shall be wonderful great.

10 And, behold, I will give to thy servants, the hewers that cut timber, twenty thousand measures of beaten wheat, and twenty thousand measures of barley, and twenty thousand baths of wine, and twenty thousand baths of oil.

11 Then Huram the king of Tyre answered in writing, which he sent to Solomon, Because the LORD hath loved his people, he hath made thee king over them.

12 Huram said moreover, Blessed be the LORD God of Israel, that made heaven and earth, who hath given to David the king a wise son, endued with prudence and understanding, that might build an house for the LORD, and an house for his kingdom.

13 And now I have sent a cunning man, endued with understanding, of Huram my father's,

14 The son of a woman of the daughters of Dan, and his father was a man of Tyre, skilful to work in gold, and in silver, in brass, in iron, in stone, and in timber, in purple, in blue, and in fine linen, and in crimson; also to grave any manner of graving, and to find out every device which shall be put to him, with thy cunning men, and with the cunning men of my lord David thy father.

15 Now therefore the wheat, and the barley, the oil, and the wine, which my lord hath spoken of, let him send unto his servants:

16 And we will cut wood out of Lebanon, as much as thou shalt need: and we will bring it to thee in floats by sea to Joppa; and thou shalt carry it up to Jerusalem.

17 And Solomon numbered all the strangers that were in the land of Israel, after the numbering wherewith David his father had numbered them; and they were found an hundred and fifty thousand and three thousand and six hundred.

18 And he set threescore and ten thousand of them to be bearers of burdens, and fourscore thousand to be hewers in the mountain, and three thousand and six hundred overseers to set the people a work.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 3

1 Then Solomon began to build the house of the LORD at Jerusalem in mount Moriah, where the Lord appeared unto David his father, in the place that David had prepared in the threshingfloor of Ornan the Jebusite.

2 And he began to build in the second day of the second month, in the fourth year of his reign.

3 Now these are the things wherein Solomon was instructed for the building of the house of God. The length by cubits after the first measure was threescore cubits, and the breadth twenty cubits.

4 And the porch that was in the front of the house, the length of it was according to the breadth of the house, twenty cubits, and the height was an hundred and twenty: and he overlaid it within with pure gold.

5 And the greater house he cieled with fir tree, which he overlaid with fine gold, and set thereon palm trees and chains.

6 And he garnished the house with precious stones for beauty: and the gold was gold of Parvaim.

7 He overlaid also the house, the beams, the posts, and the walls thereof, and the doors thereof, with gold; and graved cherubims on the walls.

8 And he made the most holy house, the length whereof was according to the breadth of the house, twenty cubits, and the breadth thereof twenty cubits: and he overlaid it with fine gold, amounting to six hundred talents.

9 And the weight of the nails was fifty shekels of gold. And he overlaid the upper chambers with gold.

10 And in the most holy house he made two cherubims of image work, and overlaid them with gold.

11 And the wings of the cherubims were twenty cubits long: one wing of the one cherub was five cubits, reaching to the wall of the house: and the other wing was likewise five cubits, reaching to the wing of the other cherub.

12 And one wing of the other cherub was five cubits, reaching to the wall of the house: and the other wing was five cubits also, joining to the wing of the other cherub.

13 The wings of these cherubims spread themselves forth twenty cubits: and they stood on their feet, and their faces were inward.

14 And he made the vail of blue, and purple, and crimson, and fine linen, and wrought cherubims thereon.

15 Also he made before the house two pillars of thirty and five cubits high, and the chapiter that was on the top of each of them was five cubits.

16 And he made chains, as in the oracle, and put them on the heads of the pillars; and made an hundred pomegranates, and put them on the chains.

17 And he reared up the pillars before the temple, one on the right hand, and the other on the left; and called the name of that on the right hand Jachin, and the name of that on the left Boaz.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 4

1 Moreover he made an altar of brass, twenty cubits the length thereof, and twenty cubits the breadth thereof, and ten cubits the height thereof.

2 Also he made a molten sea of ten cubits from brim to brim, round in compass, and five cubits the height thereof; and a line of thirty cubits did compass it round about.

3 And under it was the similitude of oxen, which did compass it round about: ten in a cubit, compassing the sea round about. Two rows of oxen were cast, when it was cast.

4 It stood upon twelve oxen, three looking toward the north, and three looking toward the west, and three looking toward the south, and three looking toward the east: and the sea was set above upon them, and all their hinder parts were inward.

5 And the thickness of it was an handbreadth, and the brim of it like the work of the brim of a cup, with flowers of lilies; and it received and held three thousand baths.

6 He made also ten lavers, and put five on the right hand, and five on the left, to wash in them: such things as they offered for the burnt offering they washed in them; but the sea was for the priests to wash in.

7 And he made ten candlesticks of gold according to their form, and set them in the temple, five on the right hand, and five on the left.

8 He made also ten tables, and placed them in the temple, five on the right side, and five on the left. And he made an hundred basons of gold.

9 Furthermore he made the court of the priests, and the great court, and doors for the court, and overlaid the doors of them with brass.

10 And he set the sea on the right side of the east end, over against the south.

11 And Huram made the pots, and the shovels, and the basons. And Huram finished the work that he was to make for king Solomon for the house of God;

12 To wit, the two pillars, and the pommels, and the chapiters which were on the top of the two pillars, and the two wreaths to cover the two pommels of the chapiters which were on the top of the pillars;

13 And four hundred pomegranates on the two wreaths; two rows of pomegranates on each wreath, to cover the two pommels of the chapiters which were upon the pillars.

14 He made also bases, and lavers made he upon the bases;

15 One sea, and twelve oxen under it.

16 The pots also, and the shovels, and the fleshhooks, and all their instruments, did Huram his father make to king Solomon for the house of the LORD of bright brass.

17 In the plain of Jordan did the king cast them, in the clay ground between Succoth and Zeredathah.

18 Thus Solomon made all these vessels in great abundance: for the weight of the brass could not be found out.

19 And Solomon made all the vessels that were for the house of God, the golden altar also, and the tables whereon the shewbread was set;

20 Moreover the candlesticks with their lamps, that they should burn after the manner before the oracle, of pure gold;

21 And the flowers, and the lamps, and the tongs, made he of gold, and that perfect gold;

22 And the snuffers, and the basons, and the spoons, and the censers, of pure gold: and the entry of the house, the inner doors thereof for the most holy place, and the doors of the house of the temple, were of gold.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 5

1 Thus all the work that Solomon made for the house of the LORD was finished: and Solomon brought in all the things that David his father had dedicated; and the silver, and the gold, and all the instruments, put he among the treasures of the house of God.

2 Then Solomon assembled the elders of Israel, and all the heads of the tribes, the chief of the fathers of the children of Israel, unto Jerusalem, to bring up the ark of the covenant of the LORD out of the city of David, which is Zion.

3 Wherefore all the men of Israel assembled themselves unto the king in the feast which was in the seventh month.

4 And all the elders of Israel came; and the Levites took up the ark.

5 And they brought up the ark, and the tabernacle of the congregation, and all the holy vessels that were in the tabernacle, these did the priests and the Levites bring up.

6 Also king Solomon, and all the congregation of Israel that were assembled unto him before the ark, sacrificed sheep and oxen, which could not be told nor numbered for multitude.

7 And the priests brought in the ark of the covenant of the LORD unto his place, to the oracle of the house, into the most holy place, even under the wings of the cherubims:

8 For the cherubims spread forth their wings over the place of the ark, and the cherubims covered the ark and the staves thereof above.

9 And they drew out the staves of the ark, that the ends of the staves were seen from the ark before the oracle; but they were not seen without. And there it is unto this day.

10 There was nothing in the ark save the two tables which Moses put therein at Horeb, when the LORD made a covenant with the children of Israel, when they came out of Egypt.

11 And it came to pass, when the priests were come out of the holy place: (for all the priests that were present were sanctified, and did not then wait by course:

12 Also the Levites which were the singers, all of them of Asaph, of Heman, of Jeduthun, with their sons and their brethren, being arrayed in white linen, having cymbals and psalteries and harps, stood at the east end of the altar, and with them an hundred and twenty priests sounding with trumpets:)

13 It came even to pass, as the trumpeters and singers were as one, to make one sound to be heard in praising and thanking the LORD; and when they lifted up their voice with the trumpets and cymbals and instruments of musick, and praised the LORD, saying, For he is good; for his mercy endureth for ever: that then the house was filled with a cloud, even the house of the LORD;

14 So that the priests could not stand to minister by reason of the cloud: for the glory of the LORD had filled the house of God.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 6

1 Then said Solomon, The LORD hath said that he would dwell in the thick darkness.

2 But I have built an house of habitation for thee, and a place for thy dwelling for ever.

3 And the king turned his face, and blessed the whole congregation of Israel: and all the congregation of Israel stood.

4 And he said, Blessed be the LORD God of Israel, who hath with his hands fulfilled that which he spake with his mouth to my father David, saying,

5 Since the day that I brought forth my people out of the land of Egypt I chose no city among all the tribes of Israel to build an house in, that my name might be there; neither chose I any man to be a ruler over my people Israel:

6 But I have chosen Jerusalem, that my name might be there; and have chosen David to be over my people Israel.

7 Now it was in the heart of David my father to build an house for the name of the LORD God of Israel.

8 But the LORD said to David my father, Forasmuch as it was in thine heart to build an house for my name, thou didst well in that it was in thine heart:

9 Notwithstanding thou shalt not build the house; but thy son which shall come forth out of thy loins, he shall build the house for my name.

10 The LORD therefore hath performed his word that he hath spoken: for I am risen up in the room of David my father, and am set on the throne of Israel, as the LORD promised, and have built the house for the name of the LORD God of Israel.

11 And in it have I put the ark, wherein is the covenant of the LORD, that he made with the children of Israel.

12 And he stood before the altar of the LORD in the presence of all the congregation of Israel, and spread forth his hands:

13 For Solomon had made a brasen scaffold of five cubits long, and five cubits broad, and three cubits high, and had set it in the midst of the court: and upon it he stood, and kneeled down upon his knees before all the congregation of Israel, and spread forth his hands toward heaven.

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14 And said, O LORD God of Israel, there is no God like thee in the heaven, nor in the earth; which keepest covenant, and shewest mercy unto thy servants, that walk before thee with all their hearts:

15 Thou which hast kept with thy servant David my father that which thou hast promised him; and spakest with thy mouth, and hast fulfilled it with thine hand, as it is this day.

16 Now therefore, O LORD God of Israel, keep with thy servant David my father that which thou hast promised him, saying, There shall not fail thee a man in my sight to sit upon the throne of Israel; yet so that thy children take heed to their way to walk in my law, as thou hast walked before me.

17 Now then, O LORD God of Israel, let thy word be verified, which thou hast spoken unto thy servant David.

18 But will God in very deed dwell with men on the earth? behold, heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee; how much less this house which I have built!

19 Have respect therefore to the prayer of thy servant, and to his supplication, O LORD my God, to hearken unto the cry and the prayer which thy servant prayeth before thee:

20 That thine eyes may be open upon this house day and night, upon the place whereof thou hast said that thou wouldest put thy name there; to hearken unto the prayer which thy servant prayeth toward this place.

21 Hearken therefore unto the supplications of thy servant, and of thy people Israel, which they shall make toward this place: hear thou from thy dwelling place, even from heaven; and when thou hearest, forgive.

22 If a man sin against his neighbour, and an oath be laid upon him to make him swear, and the oath come before thine altar in this house;

23 Then hear thou from heaven, and do, and judge thy servants, by requiting the wicked, by recompensing his way upon his own head; and by justifying the righteous, by giving him according to his righteousness.

24 And if thy people Israel be put to the worse before the enemy, because they have sinned against thee; and shall return and confess thy name, and pray and make supplication before thee in this house;

25 Then hear thou from the heavens, and forgive the sin of thy people Israel, and bring them again unto the land which thou gavest to them and to their fathers.

26 When the heaven is shut up, and there is no rain, because they have sinned against thee; yet if they pray toward this place, and confess thy name, and turn from their sin, when thou dost afflict them;

27 Then hear thou from heaven, and forgive the sin of thy servants, and of thy people Israel, when thou hast taught them the good way, wherein they should walk; and send rain upon thy land, which thou hast given unto thy people for an inheritance.

28 If there be dearth in the land, if there be pestilence, if there be blasting, or mildew, locusts, or caterpillers; if their enemies besiege them in the cities of their land; whatsoever sore or whatsoever sickness there be:

29 Then what prayer or what supplication soever shall be made of any man, or of all thy people Israel, when every one shall know his own sore and his own grief, and shall spread forth his hands in this house:

30 Then hear thou from heaven thy dwelling place, and forgive, and render unto every man according unto all his ways, whose heart thou knowest; (for thou only knowest the hearts of the children of men:)

31 That they may fear thee, to walk in thy ways, so long as they live in the land which thou gavest unto our fathers.

32 Moreover concerning the stranger, which is not of thy people Israel, but is come from a far country for thy great name's sake, and thy mighty hand, and thy stretched out arm; if they come and pray in this house;

33 Then hear thou from the heavens, even from thy dwelling place, and do according to all that the stranger calleth to thee for; that all people of the earth may know thy name, and fear thee, as doth thy people Israel, and may know that this house which I have built is called by thy name.

34 If thy people go out to war against their enemies by the way that thou shalt send them, and they pray unto thee toward this city which thou hast chosen, and the house which I have built for thy name;

35 Then hear thou from the heavens their prayer and their supplication, and maintain their cause.

36 If they sin against thee, (for there is no man which sinneth not,) and thou be angry with them, and deliver them over before their enemies, and they carry them away captives unto a land far off or near;

37 Yet if they bethink themselves in the land whither they are carried captive, and turn and pray unto thee in the land of their captivity, saying, We have sinned, we have done amiss, and have dealt wickedly;

38 If they return to thee with all their heart and with all their soul in the land of their captivity, whither they have carried them captives, and pray toward their land, which thou gavest unto their fathers, and toward the city which thou hast chosen, and toward the house which I have built for thy name:

39 Then hear thou from the heavens, even from thy dwelling place, their prayer and their supplications, and maintain their cause, and forgive thy people which have sinned against thee.

40 Now, my God, let, I beseech thee, thine eyes be open, and let thine ears be attent unto the prayer that is made in this place.

41 Now therefore arise, O LORD God, into thy resting place, thou, and the ark of thy strength: let thy priests, O LORD God, be clothed with salvation, and let thy saints rejoice in goodness.

42 O LORD God, turn not away the face of thine anointed: remember the mercies of David thy servant.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 7

1 Now when Solomon had made an end of praying, the fire came down from heaven, and consumed the burnt offering and the sacrifices; and the glory of the LORD filled the house.

2 And the priests could not enter into the house of the LORD, because the glory of the LORD had filled the LORD's house.

3 And when all the children of Israel saw how the fire came down, and the glory of the LORD upon the house, they bowed themselves with their faces to the ground upon the pavement, and worshipped, and praised the LORD, saying, For he is good; for his mercy endureth for ever.

4 Then the king and all the people offered sacrifices before the LORD.

5 And king Solomon offered a sacrifice of twenty and two thousand oxen, and an hundred and twenty thousand sheep: so the king and all the people dedicated the house of God.

6 And the priests waited on their offices: the Levites also with instruments of musick of the LORD, which David the king had made to praise the LORD, because his mercy endureth for ever, when David praised by their ministry; and the priests sounded trumpets before them, and all Israel stood.

7 Moreover Solomon hallowed the middle of the court that was before the house of the LORD: for there he offered burnt offerings, and the fat of the peace offerings, because the brasen altar which Solomon had made was not able to receive the burnt offerings, and the meat offerings, and the fat.

8 Also at the same time Solomon kept the feast seven days, and all Israel with him, a very great congregation, from the entering in of Hamath unto the river of Egypt.

9 And in the eighth day they made a solemn assembly: for they kept the dedication of the altar seven days, and the feast seven days.

10 And on the three and twentieth day of the seventh month he sent the people away into their tents, glad and merry in heart for the goodness that the LORD had shewed unto David, and to Solomon, and to Israel his people.

11 Thus Solomon finished the house of the LORD, and the king's house: and all that came into Solomon's heart to make in the house of the LORD, and in his own house, he prosperously effected.

12 And the LORD appeared to Solomon by night, and said unto him, I have heard thy prayer, and have chosen this place to myself for an house of sacrifice.

13 If I shut up heaven that there be no rain, or if I command the locusts to devour the land, or if I send pestilence among my people;

14 If my people, which are called by my name, shall humble themselves, and pray, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways; then will I hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin, and will heal their land.

15 Now mine eyes shall be open, and mine ears attent unto the prayer that is made in this place.

16 For now have I chosen and sanctified this house, that my name may be there for ever: and mine eyes and mine heart shall be there perpetually.

17 And as for thee, if thou wilt walk before me, as David thy father walked, and do according to all that I have commanded thee, and shalt observe my statutes and my judgements;

18 Then will I stablish the throne of thy kingdom, according as I have covenanted with David thy father, saying, There shall not fail thee a man to be ruler in Israel.

19 But if ye turn away, and forsake my statutes and my commandments, which I have set before you, and shall go and serve other gods, and worship them;

20 Then will I pluck them up by the roots out of my land which I have given them; and this house, which I have sanctified for my name, will I cast out of my sight, and will make it to be a proverb and a byword among all nations.

21 And this house, which is high, shall be an astonishment to every one that passeth by it; so that he shall say, Why hath the LORD done thus unto this land, and unto this house?

22 And it shall be answered, Because they forsook the LORD God of their fathers, which brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, and laid hold on other gods, and worshipped them, and served them: therefore hath he brought all this evil upon them.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 8

1 And it came to pass at the end of twenty years, wherein Solomon had built the house of the LORD, and his own house,

2 That the cities which Huram had restored to Solomon, Solomon built them, and caused the children of Israel to dwell there.

3 And Solomon went to Hamathzobah, and prevailed against it.

4 And he built Tadmor in the wilderness, and all the store cities, which he built in Hamath.

5 Also he built Bethhoron the upper, and Bethhoron the nether, fenced cities, with walls, gates, and bars;

6 And Baalath, and all the store cities that Solomon had, and all the chariot cities, and the cities of the horsemen, and all that Solomon desired to build in Jerusalem, and in Lebanon, and throughout all the land of his dominion.

7 As for all the people that were left of the Hittites, and the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, which were not of Israel,

8 But of their children, who were left after them in the land, whom the children of Israel consumed not, them did Solomon make to pay tribute until this day.

9 But of the children of Israel did Solomon make no servants for his work; but they were men of war, and chief of his captains, and captains of his chariots and horsemen.

10 And these were the chief of king Solomon's officers, even two hundred and fifty, that bare rule over the people.

11 And Solomon brought up the daughter of Pharaoh out of the city of David unto the house that he had built for her: for he said, My wife shall not dwell in the house of David king of Israel, because the places are holy, whereunto the ark of the LORD hath come.

12 Then Solomon offered burnt offerings unto the LORD on the altar of the LORD, which he had built before the porch,

13 Even after a certain rate every day, offering according to the commandment of Moses, on the sabbaths, and on the new moons, and on the solemn feasts, three times in the year, even in the feast of unleavened bread, and in the feast of weeks, and in the feast of tabernacles.

14 And he appointed, according to the order of David his father, the courses of the priests to their service, and the Levites to their charges, to praise and minister before the priests, as the duty of every day required: the porters also by their courses at every gate: for so had David the man of God commanded.

15 And they departed not from the commandment of the king unto the priests and Levites concerning any matter, or concerning the treasures.

16 Now all the work of Solomon was prepared unto the day of the foundation of the house of the LORD, and until it was finished. So the house of the LORD was perfected.

17 Then went Solomon to Eziongeber, and to Eloth, at the sea side in the land of Edom.

18 And Huram sent him by the hands of his servants ships, and servants that had knowledge of the sea; and they went with the servants of Solomon to Ophir, and took thence four hundred and fifty talents of gold, and brought them to king Solomon.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 9

1 And when the queen of Sheba heard of the fame of Solomon, she came to prove Solomon with hard questions at Jerusalem, with a very great company, and camels that bare spices, and gold in abundance, and precious stones: and when she was come to Solomon, she communed with him of all that was in her heart.

2 And Solomon told her all her questions: and there was nothing hid from Solomon which he told her not.

3 And when the queen of Sheba had seen the wisdom of Solomon, and the house that he had built,

4 And the meat of his table, and the sitting of his servants, and the attendance of his ministers, and their apparel; his cupbearers also, and their apparel; and his ascent by which he went up into the house of the LORD; there was no more spirit in her.

5 And she said to the king, It was a true report which I heard in mine own land of thine acts, and of thy wisdom:

6 Howbeit I believed not their words, until I came, and mine eyes had seen it: and, behold, the one half of the greatness of thy wisdom was not told me: for thou exceedest the fame that I heard.

7 Happy are thy men, and happy are these thy servants, which stand continually before thee, and hear thy wisdom.

8 Blessed be the LORD thy God, which delighted in thee to set thee on his throne, to be king for the LORD thy God: because thy God loved Israel, to establish them for ever, therefore made he thee king over them, to do judgement and justice.

9 And she gave the king an hundred and twenty talents of gold, and of spices great abundance, and precious stones: neither was there any such spice as the queen of Sheba gave king Solomon.

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10 And the servants also of Huram, and the servants of Solomon, which brought gold from Ophir, brought algum trees and precious stones.
11 And the king made of the algum trees terraces to the house of the LORD, and to the king's palace, and harps and psalteries for singers: and there were none such seen before in the land of Judah.
12 And king Solomon gave to the queen of Sheba all her desire, whatsoever she asked, beside that which she had brought unto the king. So she turned, and went away to her own land, she and her servants.
13 Now the weight of gold that came to Solomon in one year was six hundred and threescore and six talents of gold;
14 Beside that which chapmen and merchants brought. And all the kings of Arabia and governors of the country brought gold and silver to Solomon.
15 And king Solomon made two hundred targets of beaten gold: six hundred shekels of beaten gold went to one target.
16 And three hundred shields made he of beaten gold: three hundred shekels of gold went to one shield. And the king put them in the house of the forest of Lebanon.
17 Moreover the king made a great throne of ivory, and overlaid it with pure gold.
18 And there were six steps to the throne, with a footstool of gold, which were fastened to the throne, and stays on each side of the sitting place, and two lions standing by the stays:
19 And twelve lions stood there on the one side and on the other upon the six steps. There was not the like made in any kingdom.
20 And all the drinking vessels of king Solomon were of gold, and all the vessels of the house of the forest of Lebanon were of pure gold: none were of silver; it was not any thing accounted of in the days of Solomon.
21 For the king's ships went to Tarshish with the servants of Huram: every three years once came the ships of Tarshish bringing gold, and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks.
22 And king Solomon passed all the kings of the earth in riches and wisdom.
23 And all the kings of the earth sought the presence of Solomon, to hear his wisdom, that God had put in his heart.
24 And they brought every man his present, vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and raiment, harness, and spices, horses, and mules, a rate year by year.
25 And Solomon had four thousand stalls for horses and chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen; whom he bestowed in the chariot cities, and with the king at Jerusalem.
26 And he reigned over all the kings from the river even unto the land of the Philistines, and to the border of Egypt.
27 And the king made silver in Jerusalem as stones, and cedar trees made he as the sycomore trees that are in the low plains in abundance.
28 And they brought unto Solomon horses out of Egypt, and out of all lands.
29 Now the rest of the acts of Solomon, first and last, are they not written in the book of Nathan the prophet, and in the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite, and in the visions of Iddo the seer against Jeroboam the son of Nebat?
30 And Solomon reigned in Jerusalem over all Israel forty years.
31 And Solomon slept with his fathers, and he was buried in the city of David his father: and Rehoboam his son reigned in his stead.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 10
1 And Rehoboam went to Shechem: for to Shechem were all Israel come to make him king.
2 And it came to pass, when Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who was in Egypt, whither he fled from the presence of Solomon the king, heard it, that Jeroboam returned out of Egypt.
3 And they sent and called him. So Jeroboam and all Israel came and spake to Rehoboam, saying,
4 Thy father made our yoke grievous: now therefore ease thou somewhat the grievous servitude of thy father, and his heavy yoke that he put upon us, and we will serve thee.
5 And he said unto them, Come again unto me after three days. And the people departed.
6 And king Rehoboam took counsel with the old men that had stood before Solomon his father while he yet lived, saying, What counsel give ye me to return answer to this people?
7 And they spake unto him, saying, If thou be kind to this people, and please them, and speak good words to them, they will be thy servants for ever.
8 But he forsook the counsel which the old men gave him, and took counsel with the young men that were brought up with him, that stood before him.
9 And he said unto them, What advice give ye that we may return answer to this people, which have spoken to me, saying, Ease somewhat the yoke that thy father did put upon us?
10 And the young men that were brought up with him spake unto him, saying, Thus shalt thou answer the people that spake unto thee, saying, Thy father made our yoke heavy, but make thou it somewhat lighter for us; thus shalt thou say unto them, My little finger shall be thicker than my father's loins.
11 For whereas my father put a heavy yoke upon you, I will put more to your yoke: my father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions.
12 So Jeroboam and all the people came to Rehoboam on the third day, as the king bade, saying, Come again to me on the third day.
13 And the king answered them roughly; and king Rehoboam forsook the counsel of the old men,
14 And answered them after the advice of the young men, saying, My father made your yoke heavy, but I will add thereto: my father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions.
15 So the king hearkened not unto the people: for the cause was of God, that the LORD might perform his word, which he spake by the hand of Ahijah the Shilonite to Jeroboam the son of Nebat.
16 And when all Israel saw that the king would not hearken unto them, the people answered the king, saying, What portion have we in David? and we have none inheritance in the son of Jesse: every man to your tents, O Israel: and now, David, see to thine own house. So all Israel went to their tents.
17 But as for the children of Israel that dwelt in the cities of Judah, Rehoboam reigned over them.
18 Then king Rehoboam sent Hadoram that was over the tribute; and the children of Israel stoned him with stones, that he died. But king Rehoboam made speed to get him up to his chariot, to flee to Jerusalem.
19 And Israel rebelled against the house of David unto this day.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 11
1 And when Rehoboam was come to Jerusalem, he gathered of the house of Judah and Benjamin an hundred and fourscore thousand chosen men, which were warriors, to fight against Israel, that he might bring the kingdom again to Rehoboam.
2 But the word of the LORD came to Shemaiah the man of God, saying,
3 Speak unto Rehoboam the son of Solomon, king of Judah, and to all Israel in Judah and Benjamin, saying,
4 Thus saith the LORD, Ye shall not go up, nor fight against your brethren: return every man to his house: for this thing is done of me. And they obeyed the words of the LORD, and returned from going against Jeroboam.
5 And Rehoboam dwelt in Jerusalem, and built cities for defence in Judah.
6 He built even Bethlehem, and Etam, and Tekoa,
7 And Bethzur, and Shoco, and Adullam,
8 And Gath, and Mareshah, and Ziph,
9 And Adoraim, and Lachish, and Azekah,
10 And Zorah, and Aijalon, and Hebron, which are in Judah and in Benjamin fenced cities.
11 And he fortified the strong holds, and put captains in them, and store of victual, and of oil and wine.
12 And in every several city he put shields and spears, and made them exceeding strong, having Judah and Benjamin on his side.
13 And the priests and the Levites that were in all Israel resorted to him out of all their coasts.
14 For the Levites left their suburbs and their possession, and came to Judah and Jerusalem: for Jeroboam and his sons had cast them off from executing the priest's office unto the LORD:
15 And he ordained him priests for the high places, and for the devils, and for the calves which he had made.
16 And after them out of all the tribes of Israel such as set their hearts to seek the LORD God of Israel came to Jerusalem, to sacrifice unto the LORD God of their fathers.
17 So they strengthened the kingdom of Judah, and made Rehoboam the son of Solomon strong, three years: for three years they walked in the way of David and Solomon.
18 And Rehoboam took him Mahalath the daughter of Jerimoth the son of David to wife, and Abihail the daughter of Eliab the son of Jesse;
19 Which bare him children; Jeush, and Shamariah, and Zaham.
20 And after her he took Maachah the daughter of Absalom; which bare him Abijah, and Attai, and Ziza, and Shelomith.
21 And Rehoboam loved Maachah the daughter of Absalom above all his wives and his concubines: (for he took eighteen wives, and threescore concubines; and begat twenty and eight sons, and threescore daughters.)
22 And Rehoboam made Abijah the son of Maachah the chief, to be ruler among his brethren: for he thought to make him king.
23 And he dealt wisely, and dispersed of all his children throughout all the countries of Judah and Benjamin, unto every fenced city: and he gave them victual in abundance. And he desired many wives.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 12
1 And it came to pass, when Rehoboam had established the kingdom, and had strengthened himself, he forsook the law of the LORD, and all Israel with him.
2 And it came to pass, that in the fifth year of king Rehoboam Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem, because they had transgressed against the LORD,
3 With twelve hundred chariots, and threescore thousand horsemen: and the people were without number that came with him out of Egypt; the Lubims, the Sukkiims, and the Ethiopians.
4 And he took the fenced cities which pertained to Judah, and came to Jerusalem.
5 Then came Shemaiah the prophet to Rehoboam, and to the princes of Judah, that were gathered together to Jerusalem because of Shishak, and said unto them, Thus saith the LORD, Ye have forsaken me, and therefore have I also left you in the hand of Shishak.
6 Whereupon the princes of Israel and the king humbled themselves; and they said, The LORD is righteous.
7 And when the LORD saw that they humbled themselves, the word of the LORD came to Shemaiah, saying, They have humbled themselves; therefore I will not destroy them, but I will grant them some deliverance; and my wrath shall not be poured out upon Jerusalem by the hand of Shishak.
8 Nevertheless they shall be his servants; that they may know my service, and the service of the kingdoms of the countries.
9 So Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem, and took away the treasures of the house of the LORD, and the treasures of the king's house; he took all: he carried away also the shields of gold which Solomon had made.
10 Instead of which king Rehoboam made shields of brass, and committed them to the hands of the chief of the guard, that kept the entrance of the king's house.
11 And when the king entered into the house of the LORD, the guard came and fetched them, and brought them again into the guard chamber.
12 And when he humbled himself, the wrath of the LORD turned from him, that he would not destroy him altogether: and also in Judah things went well.
13 So king Rehoboam strengthened himself in Jerusalem, and reigned: for Rehoboam was one and forty years old when he began to reign, and he reigned seventeen years in Jerusalem, the city which the LORD had chosen out of all the tribes of Israel, to put his name there. And his mother's name was Naamah an Ammonitess.
14 And he did evil, because he prepared not his heart to seek the LORD.
15 Now the acts of Rehoboam, first and last, are they not written in the book of Shemaiah the prophet, and of Iddo the seer concerning genealogies? And there were wars between Rehoboam and Jeroboam continually.
16 And Rehoboam slept with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David: and Abijah his son reigned in his stead.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 13
1 Now in the eighteenth year of king Jeroboam began Abijah to reign over Judah.
2 He reigned three years in Jerusalem. His mother's name also was Michaiah the daughter of Uriel of Gibeah. And there was war between Abijah and Jeroboam.
3 And Abijah set the battle in array with an army of valiant men of war, even four hundred thousand chosen men: Jeroboam also set the battle in array against him with eight hundred thousand chosen men, being mighty men of valour.
4 And Abijah stood up upon mount Zemaraim, which is in mount Ephraim, and said, Hear me, thou Jeroboam, and all Israel;
5 Ought ye not to know that the LORD God of Israel gave the kingdom over Israel to David for ever, even to him and to his sons by a covenant of salt?
6 Yet Jeroboam the son of Nebat, the servant of Solomon the son of David, is risen up, and hath rebelled against his lord.
7 And there are gathered unto him vain men, the children of Belial, and have strengthened themselves against Rehoboam the son of Solomon, when Rehoboam was young and tenderhearted, and could not withstand them.
8 And now ye think to withstand the kingdom of the LORD in the hand of the sons of David; and ye be a great multitude, and there are with your golden calves, which Jeroboam made you for gods.
9 Have ye not cast out the priests of the LORD, the sons of Aaron, and the Levites, and have made you priests after the manner of the nations of other lands? so that whosoever cometh to consecrate himself with a young bullock and seven rams, the same may be a priest of them that are no gods.
10 But as for us, the LORD is our God, and we have not forsaken him; and the priests, which minister unto the LORD, are the sons of Aaron, and the Levites wait upon their business:
11 And they burn unto the LORD every morning and every evening burnt sacrifices and sweet incense: the shewbread also

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set they in order upon the pure table; and the candlestick of gold with the lamps thereof, to burn every evening: for we keep the charge of the LORD our God; but ye have forsaken him.

12 And, behold, God himself is with us for our captain, and his priests with sounding trumpets to cry alarm against you. O children of Israel, fight ye not against the LORD God of your fathers; for ye shall not prosper.

13 But Jeroboam caused an ambushment to come about behind them: so they were before Judah, and the ambushment was behind them.

14 And when Judah looked back, behold, the battle was before and behind: and they cried unto the LORD, and the priests sounded with the trumpets.

15 Then the men of Judah gave a shout: and as the men of Judah shouted, it came to pass, that God smote Jeroboam and all Israel before Abijah and Judah.

16 And the children of Israel fled before Judah: and God delivered them into their hand.

17 And Abijah and his people slew them with a great slaughter: so there fell down slain of Israel five hundred thousand chosen men.

18 Thus the children of Israel were brought under at that time, and the children of Judah prevailed, because they relied upon the LORD God of their fathers.

19 And Abijah pursued after Jeroboam, and took cities from him, Bethel with the towns thereof, and Jeshanah with the towns thereof, and Ephraim with the towns thereof.

20 Neither did Jeroboam recover strength again in the days of Abijah: and the LORD struck him, and he died.

21 But Abijah waxed mighty, and married fourteen wives, and begat twenty and two sons, and sixteen daughters.

22 And the rest of the acts of Abijah, and his ways, and his sayings, are written in the story of the prophet Iddo.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 14

1 So Abijah slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the city of David: and Asa his son reigned in his stead. In his days the land was quiet ten years.

2 And Asa did that which was good and right in the eyes of the LORD his God:

3 For he took away the altars of the strange gods, and the high places, and brake down the images, and cut down the groves:

4 And commanded Judah to seek the LORD God of their fathers, and to do the law and the commandment.

5 Also he took away out of all the cities of Judah the high places and the images: and the kingdom was quiet before him.

6 And he built fenced cities in Judah: for the land had rest, and he had no war in those years; because the LORD had given him rest.

7 Therefore he said unto Judah, Let us build these cities, and make about them walls, and towers, gates, and bars, while the land is yet before us; because we have sought the LORD our God, we have sought him, and he hath given us rest on every side. So they built and prospered.

8 And Asa had an army of men that bare targets and spears, out of Judah three hundred thousand; and out of Benjamin, that bare shields and drew bows, two hundred and fourscore thousand: all these were mighty men of valour.

9 And there came out against them Zerah the Ethiopian with an host of a thousand thousand, and three hundred chariots; and came unto Mareshah.

10 Then Asa went out against him, and they set the battle in array in the valley of Zephathah at Mareshah.

11 And Asa cried unto the LORD his God, and said, LORD, it is nothing with thee to help, whether with many, or with them that have no power: help us, O LORD our God; for we rest on thee, and in thy name we go against this multitude. O LORD, thou art our God; let no man prevail against thee.

12 So the LORD smote the Ethiopians before Asa, and before Judah; and the Ethiopians fled.

13 And Asa and the people that were with him pursued them unto Gerar: and the Ethiopians were overthrown, that they could not recover themselves; for they were destroyed before the LORD, and before his host; and they carried away very much spoil.

14 And they smote all the cities round about Gerar; for the fear of the LORD came upon them: and they spoiled all the cities; for there was exceeding much spoil in them.

15 They smote also the tents of cattle, and carried away sheep and camels in abundance, and returned to Jerusalem.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 13

1 Now in the eighteenth year of king Jeroboam began Abijah to reign over Judah.

2 He reigned three years in Jerusalem. His mother's name also was Michaiah the daughter of Uriel of Gibeah. And there was war between Abijah and Jeroboam.

3 And Abijah set the battle in array with an army of valiant men of war, even four hundred thousand chosen men: Jeroboam also set the battle in array against him with eight hundred thousand chosen men, being mighty men of valour.

4 And Abijah stood up upon mount Zemaraim, which is in mount Ephraim, and said, Hear me, thou Jeroboam, and all Israel;

5 Ought ye not to know that the LORD God of Israel gave the kingdom over Israel to David for ever, even to him and to his sons by a covenant of salt?

6 Yet Jeroboam the son of Nebat, the servant of Solomon the son of David, is risen up, and hath rebelled against his lord.

7 And there are gathered unto him vain men, the children of Belial, and have strengthened themselves against Rehoboam the son of Solomon, when Rehoboam was young and tenderhearted, and could not withstand them.

8 And now ye think to withstand the kingdom of the LORD in the hand of the sons of David; and ye be a great multitude, and there are with your golden calves, which Jeroboam made you for gods.

9 Have ye not cast out the priests of the LORD, the sons of Aaron, and the Levites, and have made you priests after the manner of the nations of other lands? so that whosoever cometh to consecrate himself with a young bullock and seven rams, the same may be a priest of them that are no gods.

10 But as for us, the LORD is our God, and we have not forsaken him; and the priests, which minister unto the LORD, are the sons of Aaron, and the Levites wait upon their business:

11 And they burn unto the LORD every morning and every evening burnt sacrifices and sweet incense: the shewbread also set they in order upon the pure table; and the candlestick of gold with the lamps thereof, to burn every evening: for we keep the charge of the LORD our God; but ye have forsaken him.

12 And, behold, God himself is with us for our captain, and his priests with sounding trumpets to cry alarm against you. O children of Israel, fight ye not against the LORD God of your fathers; for ye shall not prosper.

13 But Jeroboam caused an ambushment to come about behind them: so they were before Judah, and the ambushment was behind them.

14 And when Judah looked back, behold, the battle was before and behind: and they cried unto the LORD, and the priests sounded with the trumpets.

15 Then the men of Judah gave a shout: and as the men of Judah shouted, it came to pass, that God smote Jeroboam and all Israel before Abijah and Judah.

16 And the children of Israel fled before Judah: and God delivered them into their hand.

17 And Abijah and his people slew them with a great slaughter: so there fell down slain of Israel five hundred thousand chosen men.

18 Thus the children of Israel were brought under at that time, and the children of Judah prevailed, because they relied upon the LORD God of their fathers.

19 And Abijah pursued after Jeroboam, and took cities from him, Bethel with the towns thereof, and Jeshanah with the towns thereof, and Ephraim with the towns thereof.

20 Neither did Jeroboam recover strength again in the days of Abijah: and the LORD struck him, and he died.

21 But Abijah waxed mighty, and married fourteen wives, and begat twenty and two sons, and sixteen daughters.

22 And the rest of the acts of Abijah, and his ways, and his sayings, are written in the story of the prophet Iddo.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 14

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3 For he took away the altars of the strange gods, and the high places, and brake down the images, and cut down the groves:

4 And commanded Judah to seek the LORD God of their fathers, and to do the law and the commandment.

5 Also he took away out of all the cities of Judah the high places and the images: and the kingdom was quiet before him.

6 And he built fenced cities in Judah: for the land had rest, and he had no war in those years; because the LORD had given him rest.

7 Therefore he said unto Judah, Let us build these cities, and make about them walls, and towers, gates, and bars, while the land is yet before us; because we have sought the LORD our God, we have sought him, and he hath given us rest on every side. So they built and prospered.

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9 And there came out against them Zerah the Ethiopian with an host of a thousand thousand, and three hundred chariots; and came unto Mareshah.

10 Then Asa went out against him, and they set the battle in array in the valley of Zephathah at Mareshah.

11 And Asa cried unto the LORD his God, and said, LORD, it is nothing with thee to help, whether with many, or with them that have no power: help us, O LORD our God; for we rest on thee, and in thy name we go against this multitude. O LORD, thou art our God; let no man prevail against thee.

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14 And they smote all the cities round about Gerar; for the fear of the LORD came upon them: and they spoiled all the cities; for there was exceeding much spoil in them.

15 They smote also the tents of cattle, and carried away sheep and camels in abundance, and returned to Jerusalem.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 15

1 And the Spirit of God came upon Azariah the son of Oded:

2 And he went out to meet Asa, and said unto him, Hear ye me, Asa, and all Judah and Benjamin; The LORD is with you, while ye be with him; and if ye seek him, he will be found of you; but if ye forsake him, he will forsake you.

3 Now for a long season Israel hath been without the true God, and without a teaching priest, and without law.

4 But when they in their trouble did turn unto the LORD God of Israel, and sought him, he was found of them.

5 And in those times there was no peace to him that went out, nor to him that came in, but great vexations were upon all the inhabitants of the countries.

6 And nation was destroyed of nation, and city of city: for God did vex them with all adversity.

7 Be ye strong therefore, and let not your hands be weak: for your work shall be rewarded.

8 And when Asa heard these words, and the prophecy of Oded the prophet, he took courage, and put away the abominable idols out of all the land of Judah and Benjamin, and out of the cities which he had taken from mount Ephraim, and renewed the altar of the LORD, that was before the porch of the LORD.

9 And he gathered all Judah and Benjamin, and the strangers with them out of Ephraim and Manasseh, and out of Simeon: for they fell to him out of Israel in abundance, when they saw that the LORD his God was with him.

10 So they gathered themselves together at Jerusalem in the third month, in the fifteenth year of the reign of Asa.

11 And they offered unto the LORD the same time, of the spoil which they had brought, seven hundred oxen and seven thousand sheep.

12 And they entered into a covenant to seek the LORD God of their fathers with all their heart and with all their soul;

13 That whosoever would not seek the LORD God of Israel should be put to death, whether small or great, whether man or woman.

14 And they sware unto the LORD with a loud voice, and with shouting, and with trumpets, and with cornets.

15 And all Judah rejoiced at the oath: for they had sworn with all their heart, and sought him with their whole desire; and he was found of them: and the LORD gave them rest round about.

16 And also concerning Maachah the mother of Asa the king, he removed her from being queen, because she had made an idol in a grove: and Asa cut down her idol, and stamped it, and burnt it at the brook Kidron.

17 But the high places were not taken away out of Israel: nevertheless the heart of Asa was perfect all his days.

18 And he brought into the house of God the things that his father had dedicated, and that he himself had dedicated, silver, and gold, and vessels.

19 And there was no more war unto the five and thirtieth year of the reign of Asa.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 16

1 In the six and thirtieth year of the reign of Asa Baasha king of Israel came up against Judah, and built Ramah, to the intent that he might let none go out or come in to Asa king of Judah.

2 Then Asa brought out silver and gold out of the treasures of the house of the LORD and of the king's house, and sent to Benhadad king of Syria, that dwelt at Damascus, saying,

3 There is a league between me and thee, as there was between my father and thy father: behold, I have sent thee silver and gold; go, break thy league with Baasha king of Israel, that he may depart from me.

4 And Benhadad hearkened unto king Asa, and sent the captains of his armies against the cities of Israel; and they smote Ijon, and Dan, and Abelmaim, and all the store cities of Naphtali.

5 And it came to pass, when Baasha heard it, that he left off building of Ramah, and let his work cease.

6 Then Asa the king took all Judah; and they carried away the stones of Ramah, and the timber thereof, wherewith

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Baasha was building; and he built therewith Geba and Mizpah.
7 And at that time Hanani the seer came to Asa king of Judah, and said unto him, Because thou hast relied on the king of Syria, and not relied on the LORD thy God, therefore is the host of the king of Syria escaped out of thine hand.
8 Were not the Ethiopians and the Lubims a huge host, with very many chariots and horsemen? yet, because thou didst rely on the LORD, he delivered them into thine hand.
9 For the eyes of the LORD run to and fro throughout the whole earth, to shew himself strong in the behalf of them whose heart is perfect toward him. Herein thou hast done foolishly: therefore from henceforth thou shalt have wars.
10 Then Asa was wroth with the seer, and put him in a prison house; for he was in a rage with him because of this thing. And Asa oppressed some of the people the same time.
11 And, behold, the acts of Asa, first and last, lo, they are written in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel.
12 And Asa in the thirty and ninth year of his reign was diseased in his feet, until his disease was exceeding great: yet in his disease he sought not to the LORD, but to the physicians.
13 And Asa slept with his fathers, and died in the one and fortieth year of his reign.
14 And they buried him in his own sepulchres, which he had made for himself in the city of David, and laid him in the bed which was filled with sweet odours and divers kinds of spices prepared by the apothecaries' art: and they made a very great burning for him.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 17

1 And Jehoshaphat his son reigned in his stead, and strengthened himself against Israel.
2 And he placed forces in all the fenced cities of Judah, and set garrisons in the land of Judah, and in the cities of Ephraim, which Asa his father had taken.
3 And the LORD was with Jehoshaphat, because he walked in the first ways of his father David, and sought not unto Baalim;
4 But sought to the Lord God of his father, and walked in his commandments, and not after the doings of Israel.
5 Therefore the LORD stablished the kingdom in his hand; and all Judah brought to Jehoshaphat presents; and he had riches and honour in abundance.
6 And his heart was lifted up in the ways of the LORD: moreover he took away the high places and groves out of Judah.
7 Also in the third year of his reign he sent to his princes, even to Benhail, and to Obadiah, and to Zechariah, and to Nethaneel, and to Michaiah, to teach in the cities of Judah.
8 And with them he sent Levites, even Shemaiah, and Nethaniah, and Zebadiah, and Asahel, and Shemiramoth, and Jehonathan, and Adonijah, and Tobijah, and Tobadonijah, Levites; and with them Elishama and Jehoram, priests.
9 And they taught in Judah, and had the book of the law of the LORD with them, and went about throughout all the cities of Judah, and taught the people.
10 And the fear of the LORD fell upon all the kingdoms of the lands that were round about Judah, so that they made no war against Jehoshaphat.
11 Also some of the Philistines brought Jehoshaphat presents, and tribute silver; and the Arabians brought him flocks, seven thousand and seven hundred rams, and seven thousand and seven hundred he goats.
12 And Jehoshaphat waxed great exceedingly; and he built in Judah castles, and cities of store.
13 And he had much business in the cities of Judah: and the men of war, mighty men of valour, were in Jerusalem.
14 And these are the numbers of them according to the house of their fathers: Of Judah, the captains of thousands; Adnah the chief, and with him mighty men of valour three hundred thousand.
15 And next to him was Jehohanan the captain, and with him two hundred and fourscore thousand.
16 And next him was Amasiah the son of Zichri, who willingly offered himself unto the LORD; and with him two hundred thousand mighty men of valour.
17 And of Benjamin; Eliada a mighty man of valour, and with him armed men with bow and shield two hundred thousand.
18 And next him was Jehozabad, and with him an hundred and fourscore thousand ready prepared for the war.
19 These waited on the king, beside those whom the king put in the fenced cities throughout all Judah.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 18

1 Now Jehoshaphat had riches and honour in abundance, and joined affinity with Ahab.
2 And after certain years he went down to Ahab to Samaria. And Ahab killed sheep and oxen for him in abundance, and for the people that he had with him, and persuaded him to go up with him to Ramothgilead.
3 And Ahab king of Israel said unto Jehoshaphat king of Judah, Wilt thou go with me to Ramothgilead? And he answered him, I am as thou art, and my people as thy people; and we will be with thee in the war.
4 And Jehoshaphat said unto the king of Israel, Enquire, I pray thee, at the word of the LORD to day.
5 Therefore the king of Israel gathered together of prophets four hundred men, and said unto them, Shall we go to Ramothgilead to battle, or shall I forbear? And they said, Go up; for God will deliver it into the king's hand.
6 But Jehoshaphat said, Is there not here a prophet of the LORD besides, that we might enquire of him?
7 And the king of Israel said unto Jehoshaphat, There is yet one man, by whom we may enquire of the LORD: but I hate him; for he never prophesied good unto me, but always evil: the same is Micaiah the son of Imla. And Jehoshaphat said, Let not the king say so.
8 And the king of Israel called for one of his officers, and said, Fetch quickly Micaiah the son of Imla.
9 And the king of Israel and Jehoshaphat king of Judah sat either of them on his throne, clothed in their robes, and they sat in a void place at the entering in of the gate of Samaria; and all the prophets prophesied before them.
10 And Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah had made him horns of iron, and said, Thus saith the LORD, With these thou shalt push Syria until they be consumed.
11 And all the prophets prophesied so, saying, Go up to Ramothgilead, and prosper: for the LORD shall deliver it into the hand of the king.
12 And the messenger that went to call Micaiah spake to him, saying, Behold, the words of the prophets declare good to the king with one assent; let thy word therefore, I pray thee, be like one of their's, and speak thou good.
13 And Micaiah said, As the LORD liveth, even what my God saith, that will I speak.
14 And when he was come to the king, the king said unto him, Micaiah, shall we go to Ramothgilead to battle, or shall I forbear? And he said, Go ye up, and prosper, and they shall be delivered into your hand.
15 And the king said to him, How many times shall I adjure thee that thou say nothing but the truth to me in the name of the LORD?
16 Then he said, I did see all Israel scattered upon the mountains, as sheep that have no shepherd: and the LORD said, These have no master; let them return therefore every man to his house in peace.
17 And the king of Israel said to Jehoshaphat, Did I not tell thee that he would not prophesy good unto me, but evil?
18 Again he said, Therefore hear the word of the LORD; I saw the LORD sitting upon his throne, and all the host of heaven standing on his right hand and on his left.
19 And the LORD said, Who shall entice Ahab king of Israel, that he may go up and fall at Ramothgilead? And one spake saying after this manner, and another saying after that manner.
20 Then there came out a spirit, and stood before the LORD, and said, I will entice him. And the LORD said unto him, Wherewith?
21 And he said, I will go out, and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And the Lord said, Thou shalt entice him, and thou shalt also prevail: go out, and do even so.
22 Now therefore, behold, the LORD hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of these thy prophets, and the LORD hath spoken evil against thee.
23 Then Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah came near, and smote Micaiah upon the cheek, and said, Which way went the Spirit of the LORD from me to speak unto thee?
24 And Micaiah said, Behold, thou shalt see on that day when thou shalt go into an inner chamber to hide thyself.
25 Then the king of Israel said, Take ye Micaiah, and carry him back to Amon the governor of the city, and to Joash the king's son;
26 And say, Thus saith the king, Put this fellow in the prison, and feed him with bread of affliction and with water of affliction, until I return in peace.
27 And Micaiah said, If thou certainly return in peace, then hath not the LORD spoken by me. And he said, Hearken, all ye people.
28 So the king of Israel and Jehoshaphat the king of Judah went up to Ramothgilead.
29 And the king of Israel said unto Jehoshaphat, I will disguise myself, and I will go to the battle; but put thou on thy robes. So the king of Israel disguised himself; and they went to the battle.
30 Now the king of Syria had commanded the captains of the chariots that were with him, saying, Fight ye not with small or great, save only with the king of Israel.
31 And it came to pass, when the captains of the chariots saw Jehoshaphat, that they said, It is the king of Israel. Therefore they compassed about him to fight: but Jehoshaphat cried out, and the LORD helped him; and God moved them to depart from him.
32 For it came to pass, that, when the captains of the chariots perceived that it was not the king of Israel, they turned back again from pursuing him.
33 And a certain man drew a bow at a venture, and smote the king of Israel between the joints of the harness: therefore he said to his chariot man, Turn thine hand, that thou mayest carry me out of the host; for I am wounded.
34 And the battle increased that day: howbeit the king of Israel stayed himself up in his chariot against the Syrians until the even: and about the time of the sun going down he died.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 19

1 And Jehoshaphat the king of Judah returned to his house in peace to Jerusalem.
2 And Jehu the son of Hanani the seer went out to meet him, and said to king Jehoshaphat, Shouldest thou help the ungodly, and love them that hate the LORD? therefore is wrath upon thee from before the LORD.
3 Nevertheless there are good things found in thee, in that thou hast taken away the groves out of the land, and hast prepared thine heart to seek God.
4 And Jehoshaphat dwelt at Jerusalem: and he went out again through the people from Beersheba to mount Ephraim, and brought them back unto the LORD God of their fathers.
5 And he set judges in the land throughout all the fenced cities of Judah, city by city,
6 And said to the judges, Take heed what ye do: for ye judge not for man, but for the LORD, who is with you in the judgement.
7 Wherefore now let the fear of the LORD be upon you; take heed and do it: for there is no iniquity with the LORD our God, nor respect of persons, nor taking of gifts.
8 Moreover in Jerusalem did Jehoshaphat set of the Levites, and of the priests, and of the chief of the fathers of Israel, for the judgement of the LORD, and for controversies, when they returned to Jerusalem.
9 And he charged them, saying, Thus shall ye do in the fear of the LORD, faithfully, and with a perfect heart.
10 And what cause soever shall come to you of your brethren that dwell in your cities, between blood and blood, between law and commandment, statutes and judgements, ye shall even warn them that they trespass not against the LORD, and so wrath come upon you, and upon your brethren: this do, and ye shall not trespass.
11 And, behold, Amariah the chief priest is over you in all matters of the LORD; and Zebadiah the son of Ishmael, the ruler of the house of Judah, for all the king's matters: also the Levites shall be officers before you. Deal courageously, and the LORD shall be with the good.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 20

1 It came to pass after this also, that the children of Moab, and the children of Ammon, and with them other beside the Ammonites, came against Jehoshaphat to battle.
2 Then there came some that told Jehoshaphat, saying, There cometh a great multitude against thee from beyond the sea on this side Syria; and, behold, they be in Hazazontamar, which is Engedi.
3 And Jehoshaphat feared, and set himself to seek the LORD, and proclaimed a fast throughout all Judah.
4 And Judah gathered themselves together, to ask help of the LORD: even out of all the cities of Judah they came to seek the LORD.
5 And Jehoshaphat stood in the congregation of Judah and Jerusalem, in the house of the LORD, before the new court,
6 And said, O LORD God of our fathers, art not thou God in heaven? and rulest not thou over all the kingdoms of the heathen? and in thine hand is there not power and might, so that none is able to withstand thee?
7 Art not thou our God, who didst drive out the inhabitants of this land before thy people Israel, and gavest it to the seed of Abraham thy friend for ever?
8 And they dwelt therein, and have built thee a sanctuary therein for thy name, saying,
9 If, when evil cometh upon us, as the sword, judgement, or pestilence, or famine, we stand before this house, and in thy presence, (for thy name is in this house,) and cry unto thee in our affliction, then thou wilt hear and help.
10 And now, behold, the children of Ammon and Moab and mount Seir, whom thou wouldest not let Israel invade, when they came out of the land of Egypt, but they turned from them, and destroyed them not;
11 Behold, I say, how they reward us, to come to cast us out of thy possession, which thou hast given us to inherit.
12 O our God, wilt thou not judge them? for we have no might against this great company that cometh against us; neither know we what to do: but our eyes are upon thee.
13 And all Judah stood before the LORD, with their little ones, their wives, and their children.
14 Then upon Jahaziel the son of Zechariah, the son of Benaiah, the son of Jeiel, the son of Mattaniah, a Levite of the sons of Asaph, came the Spirit of the LORD in the midst of the congregation;
15 And he said, Hearken ye, all Judah, and ye inhabitants of Jerusalem, and thou king Jehoshaphat, Thus saith the LORD unto you, Be not afraid nor dismayed by reason of this great multitude; for the battle is not yours, but God's.

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16 To morrow go ye down against them: behold, they come up by the cliff of Ziz; and ye shall find them at the end of the brook, before the wilderness of Jeruel.
17 Ye shall not need to fight in this battle: set yourselves, stand ye still, and see the salvation of the LORD with you, O Judah and Jerusalem: fear not, nor be dismayed; to morrow go out against them: for the LORD will be with you.
18 And Jehoshaphat bowed his head with his face to the ground: and all Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem fell before the LORD, worshipping the LORD.
19 And the Levites, of the children of the Kohathites, and of the children of the Korhites, stood up to praise the LORD God of Israel with a loud voice on high.
20 And they rose early in the morning, and went forth into the wilderness of Tekoa: and as they went forth, Jehoshaphat stood and said, Hear me, O Judah, and ye inhabitants of Jerusalem; Believe in the LORD your God, so shall ye be established; believe his prophets, so shall ye prosper.
21 And when he had consulted with the people, he appointed singers unto the LORD, and that should praise the beauty of holiness, as they went out before the army, and to say, Praise the LORD; for his mercy endureth for ever.
22 And when they began to sing and to praise, the LORD set ambushments against the children of Ammon, Moab, and mount Seir, which were come against Judah; and they were smitten.
23 For the children of Ammon and Moab stood up against the inhabitants of mount Seir, utterly to slay and destroy them: and when they had made an end of the inhabitants of Seir, every one helped to destroy another.
24 And when Judah came toward the watch tower in the wilderness, they looked unto the multitude, and, behold, they were dead bodies fallen to the earth, and none escaped.
25 And when Jehoshaphat and his people came to take away the spoil of them, they found among them in abundance both riches with the dead bodies, and precious jewels, which they stripped off for themselves, more than they could carry away: and they were three days in gathering of the spoil, it was so much.
26 And on the fourth day they assembled themselves in the valley of Berachah; for there they blessed the LORD: therefore the name of the same place was called, The valley of Berachah, unto this day.
27 Then they returned, every man of Judah and Jerusalem, and Jehoshaphat in the forefront of them, to go again to Jerusalem with joy; for the LORD had made them to rejoice over their enemies.
28 And they came to Jerusalem with psalteries and harps and trumpets unto the house of the LORD.
29 And the fear of God was on all the kingdoms of those countries, when they had heard that the LORD fought against the enemies of Israel.
30 So the realm of Jehoshaphat was quiet: for his God gave him rest round about.
31 And Jehoshaphat reigned over Judah: he was thirty and five years old when he began to reign, and he reigned twenty and five years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name was Azubah the daughter of Shilhi.
32 And he walked in the way of Asa his father, and departed not from it, doing that which was right in the sight of the LORD.
33 Howbeit the high places were not taken away: for as yet the people had not prepared their hearts unto the God of their fathers.
34 Now the rest of the acts of Jehoshaphat, first and last, behold, they are written in the book of Jehu the son of Hanani, who is mentioned in the book of the kings of Israel.
35 And after this did Jehoshaphat king of Judah join himself with Ahaziah king of Israel, who did very wickedly:
36 And he joined himself with him to make ships to go to Tarshish: and they made the ships in Eziongaber.
37 Then Eliezer the son of Dodavah of Mareshah prophesied against Jehoshaphat, saying, Because thou hast joined thyself with Ahaziah, the LORD hath broken thy works. And the ships were broken, that they were not able to go to Tarshish.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 21

1 Now Jehoshaphat slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers in the city of David. And Jehoram his son reigned in his stead.
2 And he had brethren the sons of Jehoshaphat, Azariah, and Jehiel, and Zechariah, and Azariah, and Michael, and Shephatiah: all these were the sons of Jehoshaphat king of Israel.
3 And their father gave them great gifts of silver, and of gold, and of precious things, with fenced cities in Judah: but the kingdom gave he to Jehoram; because he was the firstborn.
4 Now when Jehoram was risen up to the kingdom of his father, he strengthened himself, and slew all his brethren with the sword, and divers also of the princes of Israel.
5 Jehoram was thirty and two years old when he began to reign, and he reigned eight years in Jerusalem.
6 And he walked in the way of the kings of Israel, like as did the house of Ahab: for he had the daughter of Ahab to wife: and he wrought that which was evil in the eyes of the LORD.
7 Howbeit the LORD would not destroy the house of David, because of the covenant that he had made with David, and as he promised to give a light to him and to his sons for ever.
8 In his days the Edomites revolted from under the dominion of Judah, and made themselves a king.
9 Then Jehoram went forth with his princes, and all his chariots with him: and he rose up by night, and smote the Edomites which compassed him in, and the captains of the chariots.
10 So the Edomites revolted from under the hand of Judah unto this day. The same time also did Libnah revolt from under his hand; because he had forsaken the LORD God of his fathers.
11 Moreover he made high places in the mountains of Judah and caused the inhabitants of Jerusalem to commit fornication, and compelled Judah thereto.
12 And there came a writing to him from Elijah the prophet, saying, Thus saith the LORD God of David thy father, Because thou hast not walked in the ways of Jehoshaphat thy father, nor in the ways of Asa king of Judah,
13 But hast walked in the way of the kings of Israel, and hast made Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem to go a whoring, like to the whoredoms of the house of Ahab, and also hast slain thy brethren of thy father's house, which were better than thyself:
14 Behold, with a great plague will the LORD smite thy people, and thy children, and thy wives, and all thy goods:
15 And thou shalt have great sickness by disease of thy bowels, until thy bowels fall out by reason of the sickness day by day.
16 Moreover the LORD stirred up against Jehoram the spirit of the Philistines, and of the Arabians, that were near the Ethiopians:
17 And they came up into Judah, and brake into it, and carried away all the substance that was found in the king's house, and his sons also, and his wives; so that there was never a son left him, save Jehoahaz, the youngest of his sons.
18 And after all this the LORD smote him in his bowels with an incurable disease.
19 And it came to pass, that in process of time, after the end of two years, his bowels fell out by reason of his sickness: so he died of sore diseases. And his people made no burning for him, like the burning of his fathers.
20 Thirty and two years old was he when he began to reign, and he reigned in Jerusalem eight years, and departed without being desired. Howbeit they buried him in the city of David, but not in the sepulchres of the kings.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 22

1 And the inhabitants of Jerusalem made Ahaziah his youngest son king in his stead: for the band of men that came with the Arabians to the camp had slain all the eldest. So Ahaziah the son of Jehoram king of Judah reigned.
2 Forty and two years old was Ahaziah when he began to reign, and he reigned one year in Jerusalem. His mother's name also was Athaliah the daughter of Omri.
3 He also walked in the ways of the house of Ahab: for his mother was his counsellor to do wickedly.
4 Wherefore he did evil in the sight of the LORD like the house of Ahab: for they were his counsellors after the death of his father to his destruction.
5 He walked also after their counsel, and went with Jehoram the son of Ahab king of Israel to war against Hazael king of Syria at Ramothgilead: and the Syrians smote Joram.
6 And he returned to be healed in Jezreel because of the wounds which were given him at Ramah, when he fought with Hazael king of Syria. And Azariah the son of Jehoram king of Judah went down to see Jehoram the son of Ahab at Jezreel, because he was sick.
7 And the destruction of Ahaziah was of God by coming to Joram: for when he was come, he went out with Jehoram against Jehu the son of Nimshi, whom the LORD had anointed to cut off the house of Ahab.
8 And it came to pass, that, when Jehu was executing judgement upon the house of Ahab, and found the princes of Judah, and the sons of the brethren of Ahaziah, that ministered to Ahaziah, he slew them.
9 And he sought Ahaziah: and they caught him, (for he was hid in Samaria,) and brought him to Jehu: and when they had slain him, they buried him: Because, said they, he is the son of Jehoshaphat, who sought the LORD with all his heart. So the house of Ahaziah had no power to keep still the kingdom.
10 But when Athaliah the mother of Ahaziah saw that her son was dead, she arose and destroyed all the seed royal of the house of Judah.
11 But Jehoshabeath, the daughter of the king, took Joash the son of Ahaziah, and stole him from among the king's sons that were slain, and put him and his nurse in a bedchamber. So Jehoshabeath, the daughter of king Jehoram, the wife of Jehoiada the priest, (for she was the sister of Ahaziah,) hid him from Athaliah, so that she slew him not.
12 And he was with them hid in the house of God six years: and Athaliah reigned over the land.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 23

1 And in the seventh year Jehoiada strengthened himself, and took the captains of hundreds, Azariah the son of Jeroham, and Ishmael the son of Jehohanan, and Azariah the son of Obed, and Maaseiah the son of Adaiah, and Elishaphat the son of Zichri, into covenant with him.
2 And they went about in Judah, and gathered the Levites out of all the cities of Judah, and the chief of the fathers of Israel, and they came to Jerusalem.
3 And all the congregation made a covenant with the king in the house of God. And he said unto them, Behold, the king's son shall reign, as the LORD hath said of the sons of David.
4 This is the thing that ye shall do; A third part of you entering on the sabbath, of the priests and of the Levites, shall be porters of the doors;
5 And a third part shall be at the king's house; and a third part at the gate of the foundation: and all the people shall be in the courts of the house of the LORD.
6 But let none come into the house of the LORD, save the priests, and they that minister of the Levites; they shall go in, for they are holy: but all the people shall keep the watch of the LORD.
7 And the Levites shall compass the king round about, every man with his weapons in his hand; and whosoever else cometh into the house, he shall be put to death: but be ye with the king when he cometh in, and when he goeth out.
8 So the Levites and all Judah did according to all things that Jehoiada the priest had commanded, and took every man his men that were to come in on the sabbath, with them that were to go out on the sabbath: for Jehoiada the priest dismissed not the courses.
9 Moreover Jehoiada the priest delivered to the captains of hundreds spears, and bucklers, and shields, that had been king David's, which were in the house of God.
10 And he set all the people, every man having his weapon in his hand, from the right side of the temple to the left side of the temple, along by the altar and the temple, by the king round about.
11 Then they brought out the king's son, and put upon him the crown, and gave him the testimony, and made him king. And Jehoiada and his sons anointed him, and said, God save the king.
12 Now when Athaliah heard the noise of the people running and praising the king, she came to the people into the house of the LORD:
13 And she looked, and, behold, the king stood at his pillar at the entering in, and the princes and the trumpets by the king: and all the people of the land rejoiced, and sounded with trumpets, also the singers with instruments of musick, and such as taught to sing praise. Then Athaliah rent her clothes, and said, Treason, Treason.
14 Then Jehoiada the priest brought out the captains of hundreds that were set over the host, and said unto them, Have her forth of the ranges: and whoso followeth her, let him be slain with the sword. For the priest said, Slay her not in the house of the LORD.
15 So they laid hands on her; and when she was come to the entering of the horse gate by the king's house, they slew her there.
16 And Jehoiada made a covenant between him, and between all the people, and between the king, that they should be the LORD's people.
17 Then all the people went to the house of Baal, and brake it down, and brake his altars and his images in pieces, and slew Mattan the priest of Baal before the altars.
18 Also Jehoiada appointed the offices of the house of the LORD by the hand of the priests the Levites, whom David had distributed in the house of the LORD, to offer the burnt offerings of the LORD, as it is written in the law of Moses, with rejoicing and with singing, as it was ordained by David.
19 And he set the porters at the gates of the house of the LORD, that none which was unclean in any thing should enter in.
20 And he took the captains of hundreds, and the nobles, and the governors of the people, and all the people of the land, and brought down the king from the house of the LORD: and they came through the high gate into the king's house, and set the king upon the throne of the kingdom.
21 And all the people of the land rejoiced: and the city was quiet, after that they had slain Athaliah with the sword.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 24

1 Joash was seven years old when he began to reign, and he reigned forty years in Jerusalem. His mother's name also was Zibiah of Beersheba.
2 And Joash did that which was right in the sight of the LORD all the days of Jehoiada the priest.
3 And Jehoiada took for him two wives; and he begat sons and daughters.

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4 And it came to pass after this, that Joash was minded to repair the house of the LORD.

5 And he gathered together the priests and the Levites, and said to them, Go out unto the cities of Judah, and gather of all Israel money to repair the house of your God from year to year, and see that ye hasten the matter. Howbeit the Levites hastened it not.

6 And the king called for Jehoiada the chief, and said unto him, Why hast thou not required of the Levites to bring in out of Judah and out of Jerusalem the collection, according to the commandment of Moses the servant of the LORD, and of the congregation of Israel, for the tabernacle of witness?

7 For the sons of Athaliah, that wicked woman, had broken up the house of God; and also all the dedicated things of the house of the LORD did they bestow upon Baalim.

8 And at the king's commandment they made a chest, and set it without at the gate of the house of the LORD.

9 And they made a proclamation through Judah and Jerusalem, to bring in to the LORD the collection that Moses the servant of God laid upon Israel in the wilderness.

10 And all the princes and all the people rejoiced, and brought in, and cast into the chest, until they had made an end.

11 Now it came to pass, that at what time the chest was brought unto the king's office by the hand of the Levites, and when they saw that there was much money, the king's scribe and the high priest's officer came and emptied the chest, and took it, and carried it to his place again. Thus they did day by day, and gathered money in abundance.

12 And the king and Jehoiada gave it to such as did the work of the service of the house of the LORD, and hired masons and carpenters to repair the house of the LORD, and also such as wrought iron and brass to mend the house of the LORD.

13 So the workmen wrought, and the work was perfected by them, and they set the house of God in his state, and strengthened it.

14 And when they had finished it, they brought the rest of the money before the king and Jehoiada, whereof were made vessels for the house of the LORD, even vessels to minister, and to offer withal, and spoons, and vessels of gold and silver. And they offered burnt offerings in the house of the LORD continually all the days of Jehoiada.

15 But Jehoiada waxed old, and was full of days when he died; an hundred and thirty years old was he when he died.

16 And they buried him in the city of David among the kings, because he had done good in Israel, both toward God, and toward his house.

17 Now after the death of Jehoiada came the princes of Judah, and made obeisance to the king. Then the king hearkened unto them.

18 And they left the house of the LORD God of their fathers, and served groves and idols: and wrath came upon Judah and Jerusalem for this their trespass.

19 Yet he sent prophets to them, to bring them again unto the LORD; and they testified against them: but they would not give ear.

20 And the Spirit of God came upon Zechariah the son of Jehoiada the priest, which stood above the people, and said unto them, Thus saith God, Why transgress ye the commandments of the LORD, that ye cannot prosper? because ye have forsaken the LORD, he hath also forsaken you.

21 And they conspired against him, and stoned him with stones at the commandment of the king in the court of the house of the LORD.

22 Thus Joash the king remembered not the kindness which Jehoiada his father had done to him, but slew his son. And when he died, he said, The LORD look upon it, and require it.

23 And it came to pass at the end of the year, that the host of Syria came up against him: and they came to Judah and Jerusalem, and destroyed all the princes of the people from among the people, and sent all the spoil of them unto the king of Damascus.

24 For the army of the Syrians came with a small company of men, and the LORD delivered a very great host into their hand, because they had forsaken the LORD God of their fathers. So they executed judgement against Joash.

25 And when they were departed from him, (for they left him in great diseases,) his own servants conspired against him for the blood of the sons of Jehoiada the priest, and slew him on his bed, and he died: and they buried him in the city of David, but they buried him not in the sepulchres of the kings.

26 And these are they that conspired against him; Zabad the son of Shimeath an Ammonitess, and Jehozabad the son of Shimrith a Moabitess.

27 Now concerning his sons, and the greatness of the burdens laid upon him, and the repairing of the house of God, behold, they are written in the story of the book of the kings. And Amaziah his son reigned in his stead.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 25

1 Amaziah was twenty and five years old when he began to reign, and he reigned twenty and nine years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name was Jehoaddan of Jerusalem.

2 And he did that which was right in the sight of the LORD, but not with a perfect heart.

3 Now it came to pass, when the kingdom was established to him, that he slew his servants that had killed the king his father.

4 But he slew not their children, but did as it is written in the law in the book of Moses, where the LORD commanded, saying, The fathers shall not die for the children, neither shall the children die for the fathers, but every man shall die for his own sin.

5 Moreover Amaziah gathered Judah together, and made them captains over thousands, and captains over hundreds, according to the houses of their fathers, throughout all Judah and Benjamin: and he numbered them from twenty years old and above, and found them three hundred thousand choice men, able to go forth to war, that could handle spear and shield.

6 He hired also an hundred thousand mighty men of valour out of Israel for an hundred talents of silver.

7 But there came a man of God to him, saying, O king, let not the army of Israel go with thee; for the LORD is not with Israel, to wit, with all the children of Ephraim.

8 But if thou wilt go, do it; be strong for the battle: God shall make thee fall before the enemy: for God hath power to help, and to cast down.

9 And Amaziah said to the man of God, But what shall we do for the hundred talents which I have given to the army of Israel? And the man of God answered, The LORD is able to give thee much more than this.

10 Then Amaziah separated them, to wit, the army that was come to him out of Ephraim, to go home again: wherefore their anger was greatly kindled against Judah, and they returned home in great anger.

11 And Amaziah strengthened himself, and led forth his people, and went to the valley of salt, and smote of the children of Seir ten thousand.

12 And other ten thousand left alive did the children of Judah carry away captive, and brought them unto the top of the rock, and cast them down from the top of the rock, that they all were broken in pieces.

13 But the soldiers of the army which Amaziah sent back, that they should not go with him to battle, fell upon the cities of Judah, from Samaria even unto Bethhoron, and smote three thousand of them, and took much spoil.

14 Now it came to pass, after that Amaziah was come from the slaughter of the Edomites, that he brought the gods of the children of Seir, and set them up to be his gods, and bowed down himself before them, and burned incense unto them.

15 Wherefore the anger of the LORD was kindled against Amaziah, and he sent unto him a prophet, which said unto him, Why hast thou sought after the gods of the people, which could not deliver their own people out of thine hand?

16 And it came to pass, as he talked with him, that the king said unto him, Art thou made of the king's counsel? forbear; why shouldest thou be smitten? Then the prophet forbare, and said, I know that God hath determined to destroy thee, because thou hast done this, and hast not hearkened unto my counsel.

17 Then Amaziah king of Judah took advice, and sent to Joash, the son of Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, king of Israel, saying, Come, let us see one another in the face.

18 And Joash king of Israel sent to Amaziah king of Judah, saying, The thistle that was in Lebanon sent to the cedar that was in Lebanon, saying, Give thy daughter to my son to wife: and there passed by a wild beast that was in Lebanon, and trode down the thistle.

19 Thou sayest, Lo, thou hast smitten the Edomites; and thine heart lifteth thee up to boast: abide now at home; why shouldest thou meddle to thine hurt, that thou shouldest fall, even thou, and Judah with thee?

20 But Amaziah would not hear; for it came of God, that he might deliver them into the hand of their enemies, because they sought after the gods of Edom.

21 So Joash the king of Israel went up; and they saw one another in the face, both he and Amaziah king of Judah, at Bethshemesh, which belongeth to Judah.

22 And Judah was put to the worse before Israel, and they fled every man to his tent.

23 And Joash the king of Israel took Amaziah king of Judah, the son of Joash, the son of Jehoahaz, at Bethshemesh, and brought him to Jerusalem, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem from the gate of Ephraim to the corner gate, four hundred cubits.

24 And he took all the gold and the silver, and all the vessels that were found in the house of God with Obededom, and the treasures of the king's house, the hostages also, and returned to Samaria.

25 And Amaziah the son of Joash king of Judah lived after the death of Joash son of Jehoahaz king of Israel fifteen years.

26 Now the rest of the acts of Amaziah, first and last, behold, are they not written in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel?

27 Now after the time that Amaziah did turn away from following the LORD they made a conspiracy against him in Jerusalem; and he fled to Lachish: but they sent to Lachish after him, and slew him there.

28 And they brought him upon horses, and buried him with his fathers in the city of Judah.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 26

1 Then all the people of Judah took Uzziah, who was sixteen years old, and made him king in the room of his father Amaziah.

2 He built Eloth, and restored it to Judah, after that the king slept with his fathers.

3 Sixteen years old was Uzziah when he began to reign, and he reigned fifty and two years in Jerusalem. His mother's name also was Jecoliah of Jerusalem.

4 And he did that which was right in the sight of the LORD, according to all that his father Amaziah did.

5 And he sought God in the days of Zechariah, who had understanding in the visions of God: and as long as he sought the LORD, God made him to prosper.

6 And he went forth and warred against the Philistines, and brake down the wall of Gath, and the wall of Jabneh, and the wall of Ashdod, and built cities about Ashdod, and among the Philistines.

7 And God helped him against the Philistines, and against the Arabians that dwelt in Gurbaal, and the Mehunims.

8 And the Ammonites gave gifts to Uzziah: and his name spread abroad even to the entering in of Egypt; for he strengthened himself exceedingly.

9 Moreover Uzziah built towers in Jerusalem at the corner gate, and at the valley gate, and at the turning of the wall, and fortified them.

10 Also he built towers in the desert, and digged many wells: for he had much cattle, both in the low country, and in the plains: husbandmen also, and vine dressers in the mountains, and in Carmel: for he loved husbandry.

11 Moreover Uzziah had an host of fighting men, that went out to war by bands, according to the number of their account by the hand of Jeiel the scribe and Maaseiah the ruler, under the hand of Hananiah, one of the king's captains.

12 The whole number of the chief of the fathers of the mighty men of valour were two thousand and six hundred.

13 And under their hand was an army, three hundred thousand and seven thousand and five hundred, that made war with mighty power, to help the king against the enemy.

14 And Uzziah prepared for them throughout all the host shields, and spears, and helmets, and habergeons, and bows, and slings to cast stones.

15 And he made in Jerusalem engines, invented by cunning men, to be on the towers and upon the bulwarks, to shoot arrows and great stones withal. And his name spread far abroad; for he was marvellously helped, till he was strong.

16 But when he was strong, his heart was lifted up to his destruction: for he transgressed against the LORD his God, and went into the temple of the LORD to burn incense upon the altar of incense.

17 And Azariah the priest went in after him, and with him fourscore priests of the LORD, that were valiant men:

18 And they withstood Uzziah the king, and said unto him, It appertaineth not unto thee, Uzziah, to burn incense unto the LORD, but to the priests the sons of Aaron, that are consecrated to burn incense: go out of the sanctuary; for thou hast trespassed; neither shall it be for thine honour from the LORD God.

19 Then Uzziah was wroth, and had a censer in his hand to burn incense: and while he was wroth with the priests, the leprosy even rose up in his forehead before the priests in the house of the LORD, from beside the incense altar.

20 And Azariah the chief priest, and all the priests, looked upon him, and, behold, he was leprous in his forehead, and they thrust him out from thence; yea, himself hasted also to go out, because the LORD had smitten him.

21 And Uzziah the king was a leper unto the day of his death, and dwelt in a several house, being a leper; for he was cut off from the house of the LORD: and Jotham his son was over the king's house, judging the people of the land.

22 Now the rest of the acts of Uzziah, first and last, did Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amoz, write.

23 So Uzziah slept with his fathers, and they buried him with his fathers in the field of the burial which belonged to the kings; for they said, He is a leper: and Jotham his son reigned in his stead.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 27

1 Jotham was twenty and five years old when he began to reign, and he reigned sixteen years in Jerusalem. His mother's name also was Jerushah, the daughter of Zadok.

2 And he did that which was right in the sight of the LORD, according to all that his father Uzziah did: howbeit he entered not into the temple of the LORD. And the people did yet corruptly.

3 He built the high gate of the house of the LORD, and on the wall of Ophel he built much.

4 Moreover he built cities in the mountains of Judah, and in the forests he built castles and towers.

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5 He fought also with the king of the Ammonites, and prevailed against them. And the children of Ammon gave him the same year an hundred talents of silver, and ten thousand measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barley. So much did the children of Ammon pay unto him, both the second year, and the third.

6 So Jotham became mighty, because he prepared his ways before the LORD his God.

7 Now the rest of the acts of Jotham, and all his wars, and his ways, lo, they are written in the book of the kings of Israel and Judah.

8 He was five and twenty years old when he began to reign, and reigned sixteen years in Jerusalem.

9 And Jotham slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the city of David: and Ahaz his son reigned in his stead.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 28

1 Ahaz was twenty years old when he began to reign, and he reigned sixteen years in Jerusalem: but he did not that which was right in the sight of the LORD, like David his father:

2 For he walked in the ways of the kings of Israel, and made also molten images for Baalim.

3 Moreover he burnt incense in the valley of the son of Hinnom, and burnt his children in the fire, after the abominations of the heathen whom the LORD had cast out before the children of Israel.

4 He sacrificed also and burnt incense in the high places, and on the hills, and under every green tree.

5 Wherefore the LORD his God delivered him into the hand of the king of Syria; and they smote him, and carried away a great multitude of them captives, and brought them to Damascus. And he was also delivered into the hand of the king of Israel, who smote him with a great slaughter.

6 For Pekah the son of Remaliah slew in Judah an hundred and twenty thousand in one day, which were all valiant men; because they had forsaken the LORD God of their fathers.

7 And Zichri, a mighty man of Ephraim, slew Maaseiah the king's son, and Azrikam the governor of the house, and Elkanah that was next to the king.

8 And the children of Israel carried away captive of their brethren two hundred thousand, women, sons, and daughters, and took also away much spoil from them, and brought the spoil to Samaria.

9 But a prophet of the LORD was there, whose name was Oded: and he went out before the host that came to Samaria, and said unto them, Behold, because the LORD God of your fathers was wroth with Judah, he hath delivered them into your hand, and ye have slain them in a rage that reacheth up unto heaven.

10 And now ye purpose to keep under the children of Judah and Jerusalem for bondmen and bondwomen unto you: but are there not with you, even with you, sins against the LORD your God?

11 Now hear me therefore, and deliver the captives again, which ye have taken captive of your brethren: for the fierce wrath of the LORD is upon you.

12 Then certain of the heads of the children of Ephraim, Azariah the son of Johanan, Berechiah the son of Meshillemoth, and Jehizkiah the son of Shallum, and Amasa the son of Hadlai, stood up against them that came from the war,

13 And said unto them, Ye shall not bring in the captives hither: for whereas we have offended against the LORD already, ye intend to add more to our sins and to our trespass: for our trespass is great, and there is fierce wrath against Israel.

14 So the armed men left the captives and the spoil before the princes and all the congregation.

15 And the men which were expressed by name rose up, and took the captives, and with the spoil clothed all that were naked among them, and arrayed them, and shod them, and gave them to eat and to drink, and anointed them, and carried all the feeble of them upon asses, and brought them to Jericho, the city of palm trees, to their brethren: then they returned to Samaria.

16 At that time did king Ahaz send unto the kings of Assyria to help him.

17 For again the Edomites had come and smitten Judah, and carried away captives.

18 The Philistines also had invaded the cities of the low country, and of the south of Judah, and had taken Bethshemesh, and Ajalon, and Gederoth, and Shocho with the villages thereof, and Timnah with the villages thereof, Gimzo also and the villages thereof: and they dwelt there.

19 For the LORD brought Judah low because of Ahaz king of Israel; for he made Judah naked, and transgressed sore against the LORD.

20 And Tilgathpilneser king of Assyria came unto him, and distressed him, but strengthened him not.

21 For Ahaz took away a portion out of the house of the LORD, and out of the house of the king, and of the princes, and gave it unto the king of Assyria: but he helped him not.

22 And in the time of his distress did he trespass yet more against the LORD: this is that king Ahaz.

23 For he sacrificed unto the gods of Damascus, which smote him: and he said, Because the gods of the kings of Syria help them, therefore will I sacrifice to them, that they may help me. But they were the ruin of him, and of all Israel.

24 And Ahaz gathered together the vessels of the house of God, and cut in pieces the vessels of the house of God, and shut up the doors of the house of the LORD, and he made him altars in every corner of Jerusalem.

25 And in every several city of Judah he made high places to burn incense unto other gods, and provoked to anger the LORD God of his fathers.

26 Now the rest of his acts and of all his ways, first and last, behold, they are written in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel.

27 And Ahaz slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the city, even in Jerusalem: but they brought him not into the sepulchres of the kings of Israel: and Hezekiah his son reigned in his stead.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 29

1 Hezekiah began to reign when he was five and twenty years old, and he reigned nine and twenty years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name was Abijah, the daughter of Zechariah.

2 And he did that which was right in the sight of the LORD, according to all that David his father had done.

3 He in the first year of his reign, in the first month, opened the doors of the house of the LORD, and repaired them.

4 And he brought in the priests and the Levites, and gathered them together into the east street,

5 And said unto them, Hear me, ye Levites, sanctify now yourselves, and sanctify the house of the LORD God of your fathers, and carry forth the filthiness out of the holy place.

6 For our fathers have trespassed, and done that which was evil in the eyes of the LORD our God, and have forsaken him, and have turned away their faces from the habitation of the LORD, and turned their backs.

7 Also they have shut up the doors of the porch, and put out the lamps, and have not burned incense nor offered burnt offerings in the holy place unto the God of Israel.

8 Wherefore the wrath of the LORD was upon Judah and Jerusalem, and he hath delivered them to trouble, to astonishment, and to hissing, as ye see with your eyes.

9 For, lo, our fathers have fallen by the sword, and our sons and our daughters and our wives are in captivity for this.

10 Now it is in mine heart to make a covenant with the LORD God of Israel, that his fierce wrath may turn away from us.

11 My sons, be not now negligent: for the LORD hath chosen you to stand before him, to serve him, and that ye should minister unto him, and burn incense.

12 Then the Levites arose, Mahath the son of Amasai, and Joel the son of Azariah, of the sons of the Kohathites: and of the sons of Merari, Kish the son of Abdi, and Azariah the son of Jehalelel: and of the Gershonites; Joah the son of Zimmah, and Eden the son of Joah:

13 And of the sons of Elizaphan; Shimri, and Jeiel: and of the sons of Asaph; Zechariah, and Mattaniah:

14 And of the sons of Heman; Jehiel, and Shimei: and of the sons of Jeduthun; Shemaiah, and Uzziel.

15 And they gathered their brethren, and sanctified themselves, and came, according to the commandment of the king, by the words of the LORD, to cleanse the house of the LORD.

16 And the priests went into the inner part of the house of the LORD, to cleanse it, and brought out all the uncleanness that they found in the temple of the LORD into the court of the house of the LORD. And the Levites took it, to carry it out abroad into the brook Kidron.

17 Now they began on the first day of the first month to sanctify, and on the eighth day of the month came they to the porch of the LORD: so they sanctified the house of the LORD in eight days; and in the sixteenth day of the first month they made an end.

18 Then they went in to Hezekiah the king, and said, We have cleansed all the house of the LORD, and the altar of burnt offering, with all the vessels thereof, and the shewbread table, with all the vessels thereof.

19 Moreover all the vessels, which king Ahaz in his reign did cast away in his transgression, have we prepared and sanctified, and, behold, they are before the altar of the LORD.

20 Then Hezekiah the king rose early, and gathered the rulers of the city, and went up to the house of the LORD.

21 And they brought seven bullocks, and seven rams, and seven lambs, and seven he goats, for a sin offering for the kingdom, and for the sanctuary, and for Judah. And he commanded the priests the sons of Aaron to offer them on the altar of the LORD.

22 So they killed the bullocks, and the priests received the blood, and sprinkled it on the altar: likewise, when they had killed the rams, they sprinkled the blood upon the altar: they killed also the lambs, and they sprinkled the blood upon the altar.

23 And they brought forth the he goats for the sin offering before the king and the congregation; and they laid their hands upon them:

24 And the priests killed them, and they made reconciliation with their blood upon the altar, to make an atonement for all Israel: for the king commanded that the burnt offering and the sin offering should be made for all Israel.

25 And he set the Levites in the house of the LORD with cymbals, with psalteries, and with harps, according to the commandment of David, and of Gad the king's seer, and Nathan the prophet: for so was the commandment of the LORD by his prophets.

26 And the Levites stood with the instruments of David, and the priests with the trumpets.

27 And Hezekiah commanded to offer the burnt offering upon the altar. And when the burnt offering began, the song of the LORD began also with the trumpets, and with the instruments ordained by David king of Israel.

28 And all the congregation worshipped, and the singers sang, and the trumpeters sounded: and all this continued until the burnt offering was finished.

29 And when they had made an end of offering, the king and all that were present with him bowed themselves, and worshipped.

30 Moreover Hezekiah the king and the princes commanded the Levites to sing praise unto the LORD with the words of David, and of Asaph the seer. And they sang praises with gladness, and they bowed their heads and worshipped.

31 Then Hezekiah answered and said, Now ye have consecrated yourselves unto the LORD, come near and bring sacrifices and thank offerings into the house of the LORD. And the congregation brought in sacrifices and thank offerings; and as many as were of a free heart burnt offerings.

32 And the number of the burnt offerings, which the congregation brought, was threescore and ten bullocks, an hundred rams, and two hundred lambs: all these were for a burnt offering to the LORD.

33 And the consecrated things were six hundred oxen and three thousand sheep.

34 But the priests were too few, so that they could not flay all the burnt offerings: wherefore their brethren the Levites did help them, till the work was ended, and until the other priests had sanctified themselves: for the Levites were more upright in heart to sanctify themselves than the priests.

35 And also the burnt offerings were in abundance, with the fat of the peace offerings, and the drink offerings for every burnt offering. So the service of the house of the LORD was set in order.

36 And Hezekiah rejoiced, and all the people, that God had prepared the people: for the thing was done suddenly.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 30

1 And Hezekiah sent to all Israel and Judah, and wrote letters also to Ephraim and Manasseh, that they should come to the house of the LORD at Jerusalem, to keep the passover unto the LORD God of Israel.

2 For the king had taken counsel, and his princes, and all the congregation in Jerusalem, to keep the passover in the second month.

3 For they could not keep it at that time, because the priests had not sanctified themselves sufficiently, neither had the people gathered themselves together to Jerusalem.

4 And the thing pleased the king and all the congregation.

5 So they established a decree to make proclamation throughout all Israel, from Beersheba even to Dan, that they should come to keep the passover unto the LORD God of Israel at Jerusalem: for they had not done it of a long time in such sort as it was written.

6 So the posts went with the letters from the king and his princes throughout all Israel and Judah, and according to the commandment of the king, saying, Ye children of Israel, turn again unto the LORD God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, and he will return to the remnant of you, that are escaped out of the hand of the kings of Assyria.

7 And be not ye like your fathers, and like your brethren, which trespassed against the LORD God of their fathers, who therefore gave them up to desolation, as ye see.

8 Now be ye not stiffnecked, as your fathers were, but yield yourselves unto the LORD, and enter into his sanctuary, which he hath sanctified for ever: and serve the LORD your God, that the fierceness of his wrath may turn away from you.

9 For if ye turn again unto the LORD, your brethren and your children shall find compassion before them that lead them captive, so that they shall come again into this land: for the LORD your God is gracious and merciful, and will not turn away his face from you, if ye return unto him.

10 So the posts passed from city to city through the country of Ephraim and Manasseh even unto Zebulun: but they laughed them to scorn, and mocked them.

11 Nevertheless divers of Asher and Manasseh and of Zebulun humbled themselves, and came to Jerusalem.

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12 Also in Judah the hand of God was to give them one heart to do the commandment of the king and of the princes, by the word of the LORD.
13 And there assembled at Jerusalem much people to keep the feast of unleavened bread in the second month, a very great congregation.
14 And they arose and took away the altars that were in Jerusalem, and all the altars for incense took they away, and cast them into the brook Kidron.
15 Then they killed the passover on the fourteenth day of the second month: and the priests and the Levites were ashamed, and sanctified themselves, and brought in the burnt offerings into the house of the LORD.
16 And they stood in their place after their manner, according to the law of Moses the man of God: the priests sprinkled the blood, which they received of the hand of the Levites.
17 For there were many in the congregation that were not sanctified: therefore the Levites had the charge of the killing of the passovers for every one that was not clean, to sanctify them unto the LORD.
18 For a multitude of the people, even many of Ephraim, and Manasseh, Issachar, and Zebulun, had not cleansed themselves, yet did they eat the passover otherwise than it was written. But Hezekiah prayed for them, saying, The good LORD pardon every one
19 That prepareth his heart to seek God, the LORD God of his fathers, though he be not cleansed according to the purification of the sanctuary.
20 And the LORD hearkened to Hezekiah, and healed the people.
21 And the children of Israel that were present at Jerusalem kept the feast of unleavened bread seven days with great gladness: and the Levites and the priests praised the LORD day by day, singing with loud instruments unto the LORD.
22 And Hezekiah spake comfortably unto all the Levites that taught the good knowledge of the LORD: and they did eat throughout the feast seven days, offering peace offerings, and making confession to the LORD God of their fathers.
23 And the whole assembly took counsel to keep other seven days: and they kept other seven days with gladness.
24 For Hezekiah king of Judah did give to the congregation a thousand bullocks and seven thousand sheep; and the princes gave to the congregation a thousand bullocks and ten thousand sheep: and a great number of priests sanctified themselves.
25 And all the congregation of Judah, with the priests and the Levites, and all the congregation that came out of Israel, and the strangers that came out of the land of Israel, and that dwelt in Judah, rejoiced.
26 So there was great joy in Jerusalem: for since the time of Solomon the son of David king of Israel there was not the like in Jerusalem.
27 Then the priests the Levites arose and blessed the people: and their voice was heard, and their prayer came up to his holy dwelling place, even unto heaven.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 31

1 Now when all this was finished, all Israel that were present went out to the cities of Judah, and brake the images in pieces, and cut down the groves, and threw down the high places and the altars out of all Judah and Benjamin, in Ephraim also and Manasseh, until they had utterly destroyed them all. Then all the children of Israel returned, every man to his possession, into their own cities.
2 And Hezekiah appointed the courses of the priests and the Levites after their courses, every man according to his service, the priests and Levites for burnt offerings and for peace offerings, to minister, and to give thanks, and to praise in the gates of the tents of the LORD.
3 He appointed also the king's portion of his substance for the burnt offerings, to wit, for the morning and evening burnt offerings, and the burnt offerings for the sabbaths, and for the new moons, and for the set feasts, as it is written in the law of the LORD.
4 Moreover he commanded the people that dwelt in Jerusalem to give the portion of the priests and the Levites, that they might be encouraged in the law of the LORD.
5 And as soon as the commandment came abroad, the children of Israel brought in abundance the firstfruits of corn, wine, and oil, and honey, and of all the increase of the field; and the tithe of all things brought they in abundantly.
6 And concerning the children of Israel and Judah, that dwelt in the cities of Judah, they also brought in the tithe of oxen and sheep, and the tithe of holy things which were consecrated unto the LORD their God, and laid them by heaps.
7 In the third month they began to lay the foundation of the heaps, and finished them in the seventh month.
8 And when Hezekiah and the princes came and saw the heaps, they blessed the LORD, and his people Israel.
9 Then Hezekiah questioned with the priests and the Levites concerning the heaps.
10 And Azariah the chief priest of the house of Zadok answered him, and said, Since the people began to bring the offerings into the house of the LORD, we have had enough to eat, and have left plenty: for the LORD hath blessed his people; and that which is left is this great store.
11 Then Hezekiah commanded to prepare chambers in the house of the LORD; and they prepared them,
12 And brought in the offerings and the tithes and the dedicated things faithfully: over which Cononiah the Levite was ruler, and Shimei his brother was the next.
13 And Jehiel, and Azaziah, and Nahath, and Asahel, and Jerimoth, and Jozabad, and Eliel, and Ismachiah, and Mahath, and Benaiah, were overseers under the hand of Cononiah and Shimei his brother, at the commandment of Hezekiah the king, and Azariah the ruler of the house of God.
14 And Kore the son of Imnah the Levite, the porter toward the east, was over the freewill offerings of God, to distribute the oblations of the LORD, and the most holy things.
15 And next him were Eden, and Miniamin, and Jeshua, and Shemaiah, Amariah, and Shecaniah, in the cities of the priests, in their set office, to give to their brethren by courses, as well to the great as to the small:
16 Beside their genealogy of males, from three years old and upward, even unto every one that entereth into the house of the LORD, his daily portion for their service in their charges according to their courses;
17 Both to the genealogy of the priests by the house of their fathers, and the Levites from twenty years old and upward, in their charges by their courses;
18 And to the genealogy of all their little ones, their wives, and their sons, and their daughters, through all the congregation: for in their set office they sanctified themselves in holiness:
19 Also of the sons of Aaron the priests, which were in the fields of the suburbs of their cities, in every several city, the men that were expressed by name, to give portions to all the males among the priests, and to all that were reckoned by genealogies among the Levites.
20 And thus did Hezekiah throughout all Judah, and wrought that which was good and right and truth before the LORD his God.
21 And in every work that he began in the service of the house of God, and in the law, and in the commandments, to seek his God, he did it with all his heart, and prospered.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 32

1 After these things, and the establishment thereof, Sennacherib king of Assyria came, and entered into Judah, and encamped against the fenced cities, and thought to win them for himself.
2 And when Hezekiah saw that Sennacherib was come, and that he was purposed to fight against Jerusalem,
3 He took counsel with his princes and his mighty men to stop the waters of the fountains which were without the city: and they did help him.
4 So there was gathered much people together, who stopped all the fountains, and the brook that ran through the midst of the land, saying, Why should the kings of Assyria come, and find much water?
5 Also he strengthened himself, and built up all the wall that was broken, and raised it up to the towers, and another wall without, and repaired Millo in the city of David, and made darts and shields in abundance.
6 And he set captains of war over the people, and gathered them together to him in the street of the gate of the city, and spake comfortably to them, saying,
7 Be strong and courageous, be not afraid nor dismayed for the king of Assyria, nor for all the multitude that is with him: for there be more with us than with him:
8 With him is an arm of flesh; but with us is the LORD our God to help us, and to fight our battles. And the people rested themselves upon the words of Hezekiah king of Judah.
9 After this did Sennacherib king of Assyria send his servants to Jerusalem, (but he himself laid siege against Lachish, and all his power with him,) unto Hezekiah king of Judah, and unto all Judah that were at Jerusalem, saying,
10 Thus saith Sennacherib king of Assyria, Whereon do ye trust, that ye abide in the siege in Jerusalem?
11 Doth not Hezekiah persuade you to give over yourselves to die by famine and by thirst, saying, The LORD our God shall deliver us out of the hand of the king of Assyria?
12 Hath not the same Hezekiah taken away his high places and his altars, and commanded Judah and Jerusalem, saying, Ye shall worship before one altar, and burn incense upon it?
13 Know ye not what I and my fathers have done unto all the people of other lands? were the gods of the nations of those lands any ways able to deliver their lands out of mine hand?
14 Who was there among all the gods of those nations that my fathers utterly destroyed, that could deliver his people out of mine hand, that your God should be able to deliver you out of mine hand?
15 Now therefore let not Hezekiah deceive you, nor persuade you on this manner, neither yet believe him: for no god of any nation or kingdom was able to deliver his people out of mine hand, and out of the hand of my fathers: how much less shall your God deliver you out of mine hand?
16 And his servants spake yet more against the LORD God, and against his servant Hezekiah.
17 He wrote also letters to rail on the LORD God of Israel, and to speak against him, saying, As the gods of the nations of other lands have not delivered their people out of mine hand, so shall not the God of Hezekiah deliver his people out of mine hand.
18 Then they cried with a loud voice in the Jews' speech unto the people of Jerusalem that were on the wall, to affright them, and to trouble them; that they might take the city.
19 And they spake against the God of Jerusalem, as against the gods of the people of the earth, which were the work of the hands of man.
20 And for this cause Hezekiah the king, and the prophet Isaiah the son of Amoz, prayed and cried to heaven.
21 And the LORD sent an angel, which cut off all the mighty men of valour, and the leaders and captains in the camp of the king of Assyria. So he returned with shame of face to his own land. And when he was come into the house of his god, they that came forth of his own bowels slew him there with the sword.
22 Thus the LORD saved Hezekiah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem from the hand of Sennacherib the king of Assyria, and from the hand of all other, and guided them on every side.
23 And many brought gifts unto the LORD to Jerusalem, and presents to Hezekiah king of Judah: so that he was magnified in the sight of all nations from thenceforth.
24 In those days Hezekiah was sick to the death, and prayed unto the LORD: and he spake unto him, and he gave him a sign.
25 But Hezekiah rendered not again according to the benefit done unto him; for his heart was lifted up: therefore there was wrath upon him, and upon Judah and Jerusalem.
26 Notwithstanding Hezekiah humbled himself for the pride of his heart, both he and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, so that the wrath of the LORD came not upon them in the days of Hezekiah.
27 And Hezekiah had exceeding much riches and honour: and he made himself treasuries for silver, and for gold, and for precious stones, and for spices, and for shields, and for all manner of pleasant jewels;
28 Storehouses also for the increase of corn, and wine, and oil; and stalls for all manner of beasts, and cotes for flocks.
29 Moreover he provided him cities, and possessions of flocks and herds in abundance: for God had given him substance very much.
30 This same Hezekiah also stopped the upper watercourse of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David. And Hezekiah prospered in all his works.
31 Howbeit in the business of the ambassadors of the princes of Babylon, who sent unto him to enquire of the wonder that was done in the land, God left him, to try him, that he might know all that was in his heart.
32 Now the rest of the acts of Hezekiah, and his goodness, behold, they are written in the vision of Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amoz, and in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel.
33 And Hezekiah slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the chiefest of the sepulchres of the sons of David: and all Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem did him honour at his death. And Manasseh his son reigned in his stead.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 33

1 Manasseh was twelve years old when he began to reign, and he reigned fifty and five years in Jerusalem:
2 But did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, like unto the abominations of the heathen, whom the LORD had cast out before the children of Israel.
3 For he built again the high places which Hezekiah his father had broken down, and he reared up altars for Baalim, and made groves, and worshipped all the host of heaven, and served them.
4 Also he built altars in the house of the LORD, whereof the LORD had said, In Jerusalem shall my name be for ever.
5 And he built altars for all the host of heaven in the two courts of the house of the LORD.
6 And he caused his children to pass through the fire in the valley of the son of Hinnom: also he observed times, and used enchantments, and used witchcraft, and dealt with a familiar spirit, and with wizards: he wrought much evil in the sight of the LORD, to provoke him to anger.
7 And he set a carved image, the idol which he had made, in the house of God, of which God had said to David and to Solomon his son, In this house, and in Jerusalem, which I have chosen before all the tribes of Israel, will I put my name for ever:
8 Neither will I any more remove the foot of Israel from out of the land which I have appointed for your fathers; so that they will take heed to do all that I have commanded them,

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according to the whole law and the statutes and the ordinances by the hand of Moses.

9 So Manasseh made Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem to err, and to do worse than the heathen, whom the LORD had destroyed before the children of Israel.

10 And the LORD spake to Manasseh, and to his people: but they would not hearken.

11 Wherefore the LORD brought upon them the captains of the host of the king of Assyria, which took Manasseh among the thorns, and bound him with fetters, and carried him to Babylon.

12 And when he was in affliction, he besought the LORD his God, and humbled himself greatly before the God of his fathers,

13 And prayed unto him: and he was intreated of him, and heard his supplication, and brought him again to Jerusalem into his kingdom. Then Manasseh knew that the LORD he was God.

14 Now after this he built a wall without the city of David, on the west side of Gihon, in the valley, even to the entering in at the fish gate, and compassed about Ophel, and raised it up a very great height, and put captains of war in all the fenced cities of Judah.

15 And he took away the strange gods, and the idol out of the house of the LORD, and all the altars that he had built in the mount of the house of the LORD, and in Jerusalem, and cast them out of the city.

16 And he repaired the altar of the LORD, and sacrificed thereon peace offerings and thank offerings, and commanded Judah to serve the LORD God of Israel.

17 Nevertheless the people did sacrifice still in the high places, yet unto the LORD their God only.

18 Now the rest of the acts of Manasseh, and his prayer unto his God, and the words of the seers that spake to him in the name of the LORD God of Israel, behold, they are written in the book of the kings of Israel.

19 His prayer also, and how God was intreated of him, and all his sins, and his trespass, and the places wherein he built high places, and set up groves and graven images, before he was humbled: behold, they are written among the sayings of the seers.

20 So Manasseh slept with his fathers, and they buried him in his own house: and Amon his son reigned in his stead.

21 Amon was two and twenty years old when he began to reign, and reigned two years in Jerusalem.

22 But he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, as did Manasseh his father: for Amon sacrificed unto all the carved images which Manasseh his father had made, and served them;

23 And humbled not himself before the LORD, as Manasseh his father had humbled himself; but Amon trespassed more and more.

24 And his servants conspired against him, and slew him in his own house.

25 But the people of the land slew all them that had conspired against king Amon; and the people of the land made Josiah his son king in his stead.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 34

1 Josiah was eight years old when he began to reign, and he reigned in Jerusalem one and thirty years.

2 And he did that which was right in the sight of the LORD, and walked in the ways of David his father, and declined neither to the right hand, nor to the left.

3 For in the eighth year of his reign, while he was yet young, he began to seek after the God of David his father: and in the twelfth year he began to purge Judah and Jerusalem from the high places, and the groves, and the carved images, and the molten images.

4 And they brake down the altars of Baalim in his presence; and the images, that were on high above them, he cut down; and the groves, and the carved images, and the molten images, he brake in pieces, and made dust of them, and strowed it upon the graves of them that had sacrificed unto them.

5 And he burnt the bones of the priests upon their altars, and cleansed Judah and Jerusalem.

6 And so did he in the cities of Manasseh, and Ephraim, and Simeon, even unto Naphtali, with their mattocks round about.

7 And when he had broken down the altars and the groves, and had beaten the graven images into powder, and cut down all the idols throughout all the land of Israel, he returned to Jerusalem.

8 Now in the eighteenth year of his reign, when he had purged the land, and the house, he sent Shaphan the son of Azaliah, and Maaseiah the governor of the city, and Joah the son of Joahaz the recorder, to repair the house of the LORD his God.

9 And when they came to Hilkiah the high priest, they delivered the money that was brought into the house of God, which the Levites that kept the doors had gathered of the hand of Manasseh and Ephraim, and of all the remnant of Israel, and of all Judah and Benjamin; and they returned to Jerusalem.

10 And they put it in the hand of the workmen that had the oversight of the house of the LORD, and they gave it to the workmen that wrought in the house of the LORD, to repair and amend the house:

11 Even to the artificers and builders gave they it, to buy hewn stone, and timber for couplings, and to floor the houses which the kings of Judah had destroyed.

12 And the men did the work faithfully: and the overseers of them were Jahath and Obadiah, the Levites, of the sons of Merari; and Zechariah and Meshullam, of the sons of the Kohathites, to set it forward; and other of the Levites, all that could skill of instruments of musick.

13 Also they were over the bearers of burdens, and were overseers of all that wrought the work in any manner of service: and of the Levites there were scribes, and officers, and porters.

14 And when they brought out the money that was brought into the house of the LORD, Hilkiah the priest found a book of the law of the LORD given by Moses.

15 And Hilkiah answered and said to Shaphan the scribe, I have found the book of the law in the house of the LORD. And Hilkiah delivered the book to Shaphan.

16 And Shaphan carried the book to the king, and brought the king word back again, saying, All that was committed to thy servants, they do it.

17 And they have gathered together the money that was found in the house of the LORD, and have delivered it into the hand of the overseers, and to the hand of the workmen.

18 Then Shaphan the scribe told the king, saying, Hilkiah the priest hath given me a book. And Shaphan read it before the king.

19 And it came to pass, when the king had heard the words of the law, that he rent his clothes.

20 And the king commanded Hilkiah, and Ahikam the son of Shaphan, and Abdon the son of Micah, and Shaphan the scribe, and Asaiah a servant of the king's, saying,

21 Go, enquire of the LORD for me, and for them that are left in Israel and in Judah, concerning the words of the book that is found: for great is the wrath of the LORD that is poured out upon us, because our fathers have not kept the word of the LORD, to do after all that is written in this book.

22 And Hilkiah, and they that the king had appointed, went to Huldah the prophetess, the wife of Shallum the son of Tikvath, the son of Hasrah, keeper of the wardrobe; (now she dwelt in Jerusalem in the college:) and they spake to her to that effect.

23 And she answered them, Thus saith the LORD God of Israel, Tell ye the man that sent you to me,

24 Thus saith the LORD, Behold, I will bring evil upon this place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the curses that are written in the book which they have read before the king of Judah:

25 Because they have forsaken me, and have burned incense unto other gods, that they might provoke me to anger with all the works of their hands; therefore my wrath shall be poured out upon this place, and shall not be quenched.

26 And as for the king of Judah, who sent you to enquire of the LORD, so shall ye say unto him, Thus saith the LORD God of Israel concerning the words which thou hast heard;

27 Because thine heart was tender, and thou didst humble thyself before God, when thou heardest his words against this place, and against the inhabitants thereof, and humbledst thyself before me, and didst rend thy clothes, and weep before me; I have even heard thee also, saith the LORD.

28 Behold, I will gather thee to thy fathers, and thou shalt be gathered to thy grave in peace, neither shall thine eyes see all the evil that I will bring upon this place, and upon the inhabitants of the same. So they brought the king word again.

29 Then the king sent and gathered together all the elders of Judah and Jerusalem.

30 And the king went up into the house of the LORD, and all the men of Judah, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the priests, and the Levites, and all the people, great and small: and he read in their ears all the words of the book of the covenant that was found in the house of the LORD.

31 And the king stood in his place, and made a covenant before the LORD, to walk after the LORD, and to keep his commandments, and his testimonies, and his statutes, with all his heart, and with all his soul, to perform the words of the covenant which are written in this book.

32 And he caused all that were present in Jerusalem and Benjamin to stand to it. And the inhabitants of Jerusalem did according to the covenant of God, the God of their fathers.

33 And Josiah took away all the abominations out of all the countries that pertained to the children of Israel, and made all that were present in Israel to serve, even to serve the LORD their God. And all his days they departed not from following the LORD, the God of their fathers.

2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 35

1 Moreover Josiah kept a passover unto the LORD in Jerusalem: and they killed the passover on the fourteenth day of the first month.

2 And he set the priests in their charges, and encouraged them to the service of the house of the LORD,

3 And said unto the Levites that taught all Israel, which were holy unto the LORD, Put the holy ark in the house which Solomon the son of David king of Israel did build; it shall not be a burden upon your shoulders: serve now the LORD your God, and his people Israel,

4 And prepare yourselves by the houses of your fathers, after your courses, according to the writing of David king of Israel, and according to the writing of Solomon his son.

5 And stand in the holy place according to the divisions of the families of the fathers of your brethren the people, and after the division of the families of the Levites.

6 So kill the passover, and sanctify yourselves, and prepare your brethren, that they may do according to the word of the LORD by the hand of Moses.

7 And Josiah gave to the people, of the flock, lambs and kids, all for the passover offerings, for all that were present, to the number of thirty thousand, and three thousand bullocks: these were of the king's substance.

8 And his princes gave willingly unto the people, to the priests, and to the Levites: Hilkiah and Zechariah and Jehiel, rulers of the house of God, gave unto the priests for the passover offerings two thousand and six hundred small cattle and three hundred oxen.

9 Conaniah also, and Shemaiah and Nethaneel, his brethren, and Hashabiah and Jeiel and Jozabad, chief of the Levites, gave unto the Levites for passover offerings five thousand small cattle, and five hundred oxen.

10 So the service was prepared, and the priests stood in their place, and the Levites in their courses, according to the king's commandment.

11 And they killed the passover, and the priests sprinkled the blood from their hands, and the Levites flayed them.

12 And they removed the burnt offerings, that they might give according to the divisions of the families of the people, to offer unto the LORD, as it is written in the book of Moses. And so did they with the oxen.

13 And they roasted the passover with fire according to the ordinance: but the other holy offerings sod they in pots, and in caldrons, and in pans, and divided them speedily among all the people.

14 And afterward they made ready for themselves, and for the priests: because the priests the sons of Aaron were busied in offering of burnt offerings and the fat until night; therefore the Levites prepared for themselves, and for the priests the sons of Aaron.

15 And the singers the sons of Asaph were in their place, according to the commandment of David, and Asaph, and Heman, and Jeduthun the king's seer; and the porters waited at every gate; they might not depart from their service; for their brethren the Levites prepared for them.

16 So all the service of the LORD was prepared the same day, to keep the passover, and to offer burnt offerings upon the altar of the LORD, according to the commandment of king Josiah.

17 And the children of Israel that were present kept the passover at that time, and the feast of unleavened bread seven days.

18 And there was no passover like to that kept in Israel from the days of Samuel the prophet; neither did all the kings of Israel keep such a passover as Josiah kept, and the priests, and the Levites, and all Judah and Israel that were present, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

19 In the eighteenth year of the reign of Josiah was this passover kept.

20 After all this, when Josiah had prepared the temple, Necho king of Egypt came up to fight against Charchemish by Euphrates: and Josiah went out against him.

21 But he sent ambassadors to him, saying, What have I to do with thee, thou king of Judah? I come not against thee this day, but against the house wherewith I have war: for God commanded me to make haste: forbear thee from meddling with God, who is with me, that he destroy thee not.

22 Nevertheless Josiah would not turn his face from him, but disguised himself, that he might fight with him, and hearkened not unto the words of Necho from the mouth of God, and came to fight in the valley of Megiddo.

23 And the archers shot at king Josiah; and the king said to his servants, Have me away; for I am sore wounded.

24 His servants therefore took him out of that chariot, and put him in the second chariot that he had; and they brought him to Jerusalem, and he died, and was buried in one of the sepulchres of his fathers. And all Judah and Jerusalem mourned for Josiah.

25 And Jeremiah lamented for Josiah: and all the singing men and the singing women spake of Josiah in their lamentations to this day, and made them an ordinance in Israel: and, behold, they are written in the lamentations.

26 Now the rest of the acts of Josiah, and his goodness, according to that which was written in the law of the LORD,

27 And his deeds, first and last, behold, they are written in the book of the kings of Israel and Judah.

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2 CHRONICLES CHAPTER 36

1 Then the people of the land took Jehoahaz the son of Josiah, and made him king in his father's stead in Jerusalem.
2 Jehoahaz was twenty and three years old when he began to reign, and he reigned three months in Jerusalem.
3 And the king of Egypt put him down at Jerusalem, and condemned the land in an hundred talents of silver and a talent of gold.
4 And the king of Egypt made Eliakim his brother king over Judah and Jerusalem, and turned his name to Jehoiakim. And Necho took Jehoahaz his brother, and carried him to Egypt.
5 Jehoiakim was twenty and five years old when he began to reign, and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem: and he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD his God.
6 Against him came up Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and bound him in fetters, to carry him to Babylon.
7 Nebuchadnezzar also carried of the vessels of the house of the LORD to Babylon, and put them in his temple at Babylon.
8 Now the rest of the acts of Jehoiakim, and his abominations which he did, and that which was found in him, behold, they are written in the book of the kings of Israel and Judah: and Jehoiachin his son reigned in his stead.
9 Jehoiachin was eight years old when he began to reign, and he reigned three months and ten days in Jerusalem: and he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD.
10 And when the year was expired, king Nebuchadnezzar sent, and brought him to Babylon, with the goodly vessels of the house of the LORD, and made Zedekiah his brother king over Judah and Jerusalem.
11 Zedekiah was one and twenty years old when he began to reign, and reigned eleven years in Jerusalem.
12 And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD his God, and humbled not himself before Jeremiah the prophet speaking from the mouth of the LORD.
13 And he also rebelled against king Nebuchadnezzar, who had made him swear by God: but he stiffened his neck, and hardened his heart from turning unto the LORD God of Israel.
14 Moreover all the chief of the priests, and the people, transgressed very much after all the abominations of the heathen; and polluted the house of the LORD which he had hallowed in Jerusalem.
15 And the LORD God of their fathers sent to them by his messengers, rising up betimes, and sending; because he had compassion on his people, and on his dwelling place:
16 But they mocked the messengers of God, and despised his words, and misused his prophets, until the wrath of the LORD arose against his people, till there was no remedy.
17 Therefore he brought upon them the king of the Chaldees, who slew their young men with the sword in the house of their sanctuary, and had no compassion upon young man or maiden, old man, or him that stooped for age: he gave them all into his hand.
18 And all the vessels of the house of God, great and small, and the treasures of the house of the LORD, and the treasures of the king, and of his princes; all these he brought to Babylon.
19 And they burnt the house of God, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem, and burnt all the palaces thereof with fire, and destroyed all the goodly vessels thereof.
20 And them that had escaped from the sword carried he away to Babylon; where they were servants to him and his sons until the reign of the kingdom of Persia:
21 To fulfil the word of the LORD by the mouth of Jeremiah, until the land had enjoyed her sabbaths: for as long as she lay desolate she kept sabbath, to fulfil threescore and ten years.
22 Now in the first year of Cyrus king of Persia, that the word of the LORD spoken by the mouth of Jeremiah might be accomplished, the LORD stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and put it also in writing, saying,
23 Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia, All the kingdoms of the earth hath the LORD God of heaven given me; and he hath charged me to build him an house in Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Who is there among you of all his people? The LORD his God be with him, and let him go up.

THE END
Of The Tanakh Or The Old Testament

THE HEBREW DEUTEROCANON

The Secondary Canon of the Hebrew Bible
The Hebrew Apocrypha or Hidden Books

(Judaism has a much older history in Greece and the Roman Republic than most modern people are aware of. The Septuagint (Latin word for 'seventy'; often abbreviated in Roman numerals, LXX) or The Old Testament in Greek, proves this fact. The Septuagint is the earliest extant Greek translation of books from the Hebrew Bible, complete with its Deuterocanon and various biblical apocrypha, dating back to the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC.

At the time of Julius Caesar and Augustus Caesar, already 5-10% of the Greek and Roman population was Jewish. The Hebrew Bible was (through its Greek translation) well known among Greeks and Romans. The first Jews came already together with Phoenician traders and settlers. According to the Letter of Aristeas, the Hebrew Torah was translated into Greek at the request of King Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt (285–247 BC) by 70 Jewish scholars or, according to later tradition, 72: six scholars from each of the Twelve Tribes of Israel, who independently produced identical translations.

The miraculous character of the Aristeas legend might indicate the esteem and disdain in which the translation was held at the time; Greek translations of Hebrew scriptures were in circulation among the Alexandrian Jews. Egyptian papyri from the period have led most scholars to view as probable Aristeas's dating of the translation of the Pentateuch to the third century BC. Whatever share the royal court of Ptolemy may have had in the translation, it satisfied a need felt by the Jewish community of Alexandria and other places in Egypt (in whom the knowledge of Hebrew was waning).

The Old Testament in Greek was in wide use by the time of Caesar, Jesus and Saul of Tarsos (Paul of Tarsus, Paul the Apostle, the man who created Roman Christianity, the forerunner of modern Christianity) because most Christian proselytes, God-fearers, and other gentile sympathisers of Greek Judaism could not read Hebrew. Greek was the main language of the educated elite in the rising Roman Republic and the Roman Empire. The text of the Greek Old Testament is quoted more often than the original Hebrew Bible text in the Greek New Testament (particularly the Pauline epistles because Paul spoke Greek much better than Hebrew) by the Apostolic Fathers, and later by the Greek Church Fathers.

The first five books of the Hebrew Bible, known as the Torah or the Pentateuch, were translated in the mid-3rd century BC; they did not survive as original-translation texts, however, we have some fragments of them. The remaining books of the Greek Old Testament are presumably translations of the 2nd century BC. The Septuagint translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek, which the early church used as its Old Testament, included all of the deuterocanonical books.

Modern critical editions of the Greek Old Testament are based on the Codices Alexandrinus (c. 400 AD), Sinaiticus (c.330 AD), and Vaticanus (c.330 AD). The fourth- and fifth-century Greek Old Testament manuscripts have different lengths. The Codex Alexandrinus, for example, contains all four books of the Maccabees (indicating that the Jewish population accounted for much more than just 10 or 20% in Alexandria); the Codex Sinaiticus contains 1 and 4 Maccabees, and the Codex Vaticanus contains none of the four books.

The deuterocanonical books (from the Greek meaning "belonging to the second canon") are books and passages considered by the Catholic Church, the Eastern Orthodox Church, the Oriental Orthodox Churches and the Assyrian Church of the East to be canonical books of the Old Testament but which are considered non-canonical by Protestant denominations. They date from the period 300 BC–AD 100 approximately (mostly from 200 BC–AD 70, i.e. before the definite separation of the Church from Judaism). While the New Testament never quotes from or ascribes canonical authority to these books, some say there is a correspondence of thought, while others see texts from these books being paraphrased, referred or alluded to many times in the New Testament, particularly in the Pauline epistles depending in large measure on what is counted as a reference.

Though there is no scholarly consensus as to when the Hebrew Bible canon was fixed, some scholars hold that the Hebrew canon was established well before the first century AD – even as early as the fourth century BC, or by the Hasmonean dynasty (140–40 BC). The Hebrew canon does not include the seven deuterocanonical books and this formed the basis for their exclusion from the Protestant Old Testament.

The Council of Rome (382 AD) defined a list of books of Scripture presented as having been made canonical. It included most of the deuterocanonical books. Since the 16th century, most Protestant Churches have accepted only works in the Masoretic Text of the Hebrew Bible as canonical books of the Old Testament, and hence classify all deuterocanonical texts (of whichever definition) with the Apocrypha.

The Masoretic Text is the authoritative Hebrew Aramaic text of the 24 books of the Tanakh in Rabbinic Judaism. The Masoretic Text defines the Jewish canon and its precise letter-text, with its vocalisation and accentuation known as the masorah. It was primarily copied, edited and distributed by a group of Jews known as the Masoretes between the 7th and 10th centuries AD.)

1 ESDRAS

(also called Greek Esdras or 3 Ezra)
Original language: Greek
Estimated Range of Dating: 1st century B.C.

(1 Esdras (Greek: "Εσδρας Α'), also Esdras A, Greek Esdras, Greek Ezra, or 3 Esdras , is an ancient Greek version of the biblical Book of Ezra in use among the early church, and many modern Christians with varying degrees of canonicity. 1 Esdras is substantially derived from Masoretic Ezra–Nehemiah, with the passages specific to the career of Nehemiah removed or re-attributed to Ezra, and some additional material.

As part of the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament, it is now regarded as canonical in the churches of the East, but apocryphal in the West; either presented in a separate section, or excluded altogether. 1 Esdras is found in Origen's Hexapla. The Greek Septuagint, the Old Latin bible and related bible versions include both Esdras A' (English title: 1 Esdras) and Esdras B' (Ezra–Nehemiah) as separate books.

There is scope for considerable confusion with references to 1 Esdras. The name refers primarily to translations of the original Greek 'Esdras A'. The Septuagint calls it Esdras A, while the Vulgate calls it 3 Esdras. It was considered apocryphal by Jerome. The Vulgate book of Ezra, translated from the Hebrew was, from the 8th century onwards, occasionally split into two books, which were then denoted 1 Esdras (Ezra) and 2 Esdras (Nehemiah) respectively. Vulgate Bible editions of the 13th century, and in what later became the usage of the Clementine Vulgate and the Anglican Articles of Religion, '1 Esdras' is applied to the Book of Ezra; while the Book of Nehemiah corresponds to '2 Esdras'. Septuagint version Esdras A is called in the Clementine Vulgate 3 Esdras. The 'Apocalypse of Ezra', an additional work associated with the name Ezra, is denoted '4 Esdras' in the Clementine Vulgate and the Articles of Religion, but called '2 Esdras' in the King James Version and in most modern English bibles. 1 Esdras continues to be accepted as canonical by Eastern Orthodoxy and the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church, with 2 Esdras varying in canonicity between particular denominations within the Eastern churches.

Overwhelmingly, citations in early Christian writings claimed from the scriptural 'Book of Ezra'(without any qualification) are taken from 1 Esdras, and never from the 'Ezra' sections of Ezra–Nehemiah (Septuagint 'Esdras B') ; the majority of early citations being taken from the 1 Esdras section containing the 'Tale of the Three Guardsmen', which is interpreted as Christological prophecy.

1 Esdras contains the whole of Ezra with the addition of one section; its verses are numbered differently. Just as Ezra begins with the last two verses of 2 Chronicles, 1 Esdras begins with the last two chapters; this suggests that Chronicles and Esdras may have been read as one book at sometime in the past.

Ezra 4:6 includes a reference to a King Ahasuerus. Etymologically, Ahasuerus is the same as Xerxes, who reigned between Darius I and Artaxerxes I. Eighteenth-century expositor John Gill, who deemed the reference to Xerxes out of place, identified Ahasuerus with Cambyses II. Nineteenth-century commentator Adam Clarke identified him with Bardiya, who both reigned before Darius I. In 1 Esdras, the section is reorganised, leading up to the additional section, and the reference to Ahasuerus is removed.

The additional section begins with a story variously known as the 'Darius contest' or 'Tale of the Three Guardsmen' which was interpolated into 1 Esdras 3:4 to 4:4. This section forms the core of 1 Esdras with Ezra 5, which together are arranged in a literary chiasm around the celebration in Jerusalem at the exiles' return. This chiastic core forms 1 Esdras into a complete literary unit, allowing it to stand independently from the book of Nehemiah. Indeed, some scholars, such as W. F. Albright and Edwin M. Yamauchi, believe that Nehemiah came back to Jerusalem before Ezra.

The purpose of the book seems to be the presentation of the dispute among the courtiers, the 'Tale of the Three Guardsmen', to which details from the other books are added to complete the story. Since there are various discrepancies in the account, most scholars hold that the work was written by more than one author. Furthermore, there is disagreement as to what the original language of the work was, Greek, Aramaic, or Hebrew.

Josephus makes use of the 1 Esdras which he treats as Scripture, while generally disregarding the canonical text of Ezra–Nehemiah. Some scholars believe that the composition is likely to have taken place in the first century BC or the first century AD. Many Protestant and Catholic scholars assign no historical value to the sections of the book not duplicated in

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Ezra–Nehemiah. The citations of the other books of the Bible, however, provide an early alternative to the Septuagint for those texts, which increases its value to scholars.

In the current Greek texts, the book breaks off in the middle of a sentence; that particular verse thus had to be reconstructed from an early Latin translation. However, it is generally presumed that the original work extended to the Feast of Tabernacles, as described in Nehemiah 8:13–18. An additional difficulty with the text appears to readers who are unfamiliar with chiastic structures common in Semitic literature. If the text is assumed to be a Western-style, purely linear narrative, then Artaxerxes seems to be mentioned before Darius, who is mentioned before Cyrus. (Such jumbling of the order of events, however, is also presumed by some readers to exist in the canonical Ezra and Nehemiah.) The Semitic chiasm is corrected in at least one manuscript of Josephus in the Antiquities of the Jews, Book 11, chapter 2 where we find that the name of the above-mentioned Artaxerxes is called Cambyses.)

1 ESDRAS CHAPTER 1

1 And Josias held the feast of the passover in Jerusalem unto his Lord, and offered the passover the fourteenth day of the first month;

2 Having set the priests according to their daily courses, being arrayed in long garments, in the temple of the Lord.

3 And he spake unto the Levites, the holy ministers of Israel, that they should hallow themselves unto the Lord, to set the holy ark of the Lord in the house that king Solomon the son of David had built:

4 And said, Ye shall no more bear the ark upon your shoulders: now therefore serve the Lord your God, and minister unto his people Israel, and prepare you after your families and kindreds,

5 According as David the king of Israel prescribed, and according to the magnificence of Solomon his son: and standing in the temple according to the several dignity of the families of you the Levites, who minister in the presence of your brethren the children of Israel,

6 Offer the passover in order, and make ready the sacrifices for your brethren, and keep the passover according to the commandment of the Lord, which was given unto Moses.

7 And unto the people that was found there Josias gave thirty thousand lambs and kids, and three thousand calves: these things were given of the king's allowance, according as he promised, to the people, to the priests, and to the Levites.

8 And Helkias, Zacharias, and Syelus, the governors of the temple, gave to the priests for the passover two thousand and six hundred sheep, and three hundred calves.

9 And Jeconias, and Samaias, and Nathanael his brother, and Assabias, and Ochiel, and Joram, captains over thousands, gave to the Levites for the passover five thousand sheep, and seven hundred calves.

10 And when these things were done, the priests and Levites, having the unleavened bread, stood in very comely order according to the kindreds,

11 And according to the several dignities of the fathers, before the people, to offer to the Lord, as it is written in the book of Moses: and thus did they in the morning.

12 And they roasted the passover with fire, as appertaineth: as for the sacrifices, they sod them in brass pots and pans with a good savour,

13 And set them before all the people: and afterward they prepared for themselves, and for the priests their brethren, the sons of Aaron.

14 For the priests offered the fat until night: and the Levites prepared for themselves, and the priests their brethren, the sons of Aaron.

15 The holy singers also, the sons of Asaph, were in their order, according to the appointment of David, to wit, Asaph, Zacharias, and Jeduthun, who was of the king's retinue.

16 Moreover the porters were at every gate; it was not lawful for any to go from his ordinary service: for their brethren the Levites prepared for them.

17 Thus were the things that belonged to the sacrifices of the Lord accomplished in that day, that they might hold the passover,

18 And offer sacrifices upon the altar of the Lord, according to the commandment of king Josias.

19 So the children of Israel which were present held the passover at that time, and the feast of sweet bread seven days.

20 And such a passover was not kept in Israel since the time of the prophet Samuel.

21 Yea, all the kings of Israel held not such a passover as Josias, and the priests, and the Levites, and the Jews, held with all Israel that were found dwelling at Jerusalem.

22 In the eighteenth year of the reign of Josias was this passover kept.

23 And the works or Josias were upright before his Lord with an heart full of godliness.

24 As for the things that came to pass in his time, they were written in former times, concerning those that sinned, and did wickedly against the Lord above all people and kingdoms, and how they grieved him exceedingly, so that the words of the Lord rose up against Israel.

25 Now after all these acts of Josias it came to pass, that Pharaoh the king of Egypt came to raise war at Carchamis upon Euphrates: and Josias went out against him.

26 But the king of Egypt sent to him, saying, What have I to do with thee, O king of Judea?

27 I am not sent out from the Lord God against thee; for my war is upon Euphrates: and now the Lord is with me, yea, the Lord is with me hasting me forward: depart from me, and be not against the Lord.

28 Howbeit Josias did not turn back his chariot from him, but undertook to fight with him, not regarding the words of the prophet Jeremy spoken by the mouth of the Lord:

29 But joined battle with him in the plain of Magiddo, and the princes came against king Josias.

30 Then said the king unto his servants, Carry me away out of the battle; for I am very weak. And immediately his servants took him away out of the battle.

31 Then gat he up upon his second chariot; and being brought back to Jerusalem died, and was buried in his father's sepulchre.

32 And in all Jewry they mourned for Josias, yea, Jeremy the prophet lamented for Josias, and the chief men with the women made lamentation for him unto this day: and this was given out for an ordinance to be done continually in all the nation of Israel.

33 These things are written in the book of the stories of the kings of Judah, and every one of the acts that Josias did, and his glory, and his understanding in the law of the Lord, and the things that he had done before, and the things now recited, are reported in the book of the kings of Israel and Judea.

34 And the people took Joachaz the son of Josias, and made him king instead of Josias his father, when he was twenty and three years old.

35 And he reigned in Judea and in Jerusalem three months: and then the king of Egypt deposed him from reigning in Jerusalem.

36 And he set a tax upon the land of an hundred talents of silver and one talent of gold.

37 The king of Egypt also made king Joacim his brother king of Judea and Jerusalem.

38 And he bound Joacim and the nobles: but Zaraces his brother he apprehended, and brought him out of Egypt.

39 Five and twenty years old was Joacim when he was made king in the land of Judea and Jerusalem; and he did evil before the Lord.

40 Wherefore against him Nabuchodonosor the king of Babylon came up, and bound him with a chain of brass, and carried him into Babylon.

41 Nabuchodonosor also took of the holy vessels of the Lord, and carried them away, and set them in his own temple at Babylon.

42 But those things that are recorded of him, and of his uncleaness and impiety, are written in the chronicles of the kings.

43 And Joacim his son reigned in his stead: he was made king being eighteen years old;

44 And reigned but three months and ten days in Jerusalem; and did evil before the Lord.

45 So after a year Nabuchodonosor sent and caused him to be brought into Babylon with the holy vessels of the Lord;

46 And made Zedechias king of Judea and Jerusalem, when he was one and twenty years old; and he reigned eleven years:

47 And he did evil also in the sight of the Lord, and cared not for the words that were spoken unto him by the prophet Jeremy from the mouth of the Lord.

48 And after that king Nabuchodonosor had made him to swear by the name of the Lord, he forswore himself, and rebelled; and hardening his neck, his heart, he transgressed the laws of the Lord God of Israel.

49 The governors also of the people and of the priests did many things against the laws, and passed all the pollutions of all nations, and defiled the temple of the Lord, which was sanctified in Jerusalem.

50 Nevertheless the God of their fathers sent by his messenger to call them back, because he spared them and his tabernacle also.

51 But they had his messengers in derision; and, look, when the Lord spake unto them, they made a sport of his prophets:

52 So far forth, that he, being wroth with his people for their great ungodliness, commanded the kings of the Chaldees to come up against them;

53 Who slew their young men with the sword, yea, even within the compass of their holy temple, and spared neither young man nor maid, old man nor child, among them; for he delivered all into their hands.

54 And they took all the holy vessels of the Lord, both great and small, with the vessels of the ark of God, and the king's treasures, and carried them away into Babylon.

55 As for the house of the Lord, they burnt it, and brake down the walls of Jerusalem, and set fire upon her towers:

56 And as for her glorious things, they never ceased till they had consumed and brought them all to nought: and the people that were not slain with the sword he carried unto Babylon:

57 Who became servants to him and his children, till the Persians reigned, to fulfil the word of the Lord spoken by the mouth of Jeremy:

58 Until the land had enjoyed her sabbaths, the whole time of her desolation shall she rest, until the full term of seventy years.

1 ESDRAS CHAPTER 2

1 In the first year of Cyrus king of the Persians, that the word of the Lord might be accomplished, that he had promised by the mouth of Jeremy;

2 The Lord raised up the spirit of Cyrus the king of the Persians, and he made proclamation through all his kingdom, and also by writing,

3 Saying, Thus saith Cyrus king of the Persians; The Lord of Israel, the most high Lord, hath made me king of the whole world,

4 And commanded me to build him an house at Jerusalem in Jewry.

5 If therefore there be any of you that are of his people, let the Lord, even his Lord, be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem that is in Judea, and build the house of the Lord of Israel: for he is the Lord that dwelleth in Jerusalem.

6 Whosoever then dwell in the places about, let them help him, those, I say, that are his neighbours, with gold, and with silver,

7 With gifts, with horses, and with cattle, and other things, which have been set forth by vow, for the temple of the Lord at Jerusalem.

8 Then the chief of the families of Judea and of the tribe of Benjamin stood up; the priests also, and the Levites, and all they whose mind the Lord had moved to go up, and to build an house for the Lord at Jerusalem,

9 And they that dwelt round about them, and helped them in all things with silver and gold, with horses and cattle, and with very many free gifts of a great number whose minds were stirred up thereto.

10 King Cyrus also brought forth the holy vessels, which Nabuchodonosor had carried away from Jerusalem, and had set up in his temple of idols.

11 Now when Cyrus king of the Persians had brought them forth, he delivered them to Mithridates his treasurer:

12 And by him they were delivered to Sanabassar the governor of Judea.

13 And this was the number of them; A thousand golden cups, and a thousand of silver, censers of silver twenty nine, vials of gold thirty, and of silver two thousand four hundred and ten, and a thousand other vessels.

14 So all the vessels of gold and of silver, which were carried away, were five thousand four hundred threescore and nine.

15 These were brought back by Sanabassar, together with them of the captivity, from Babylon to Jerusalem.

16 But in the time of Artexerxes king of the Persians Belemus, and Mithridates, and Tabellius, and Rathumus, and Beeltethmus, and Semellius the secretary, with others that were in commission with them, dwelling in Samaria and other places, wrote unto him against them that dwelt in Judea and Jerusalem these letters following;

17 To king Artexerxes our lord, Thy servants, Rathumus the storywriter, and Semellius the scribe, and the rest of their council, and the judges that are in Celosyria and Phenice.

18 Be it now known to the lord king, that the Jews that are up from you to us, being come into Jerusalem, that rebellious and wicked city, do build the marketplaces, and repair the walls of it and do lay the foundation of the temple.

19 Now if this city and the walls thereof be made up again, they will not only refuse to give tribute, but also rebel against kings.

20 And forasmuch as the things pertaining to the temple are now in hand, we think it meet not to neglect such a matter,

21 But to speak unto our lord the king, to the intent that, if it be thy pleasure it may be sought out in the books of thy fathers:

22 And thou shalt find in the chronicles what is written concerning these things, and shalt understand that that city was rebellious, troubling both kings and cities:

23 And that the Jews were rebellious, and raised always wars therein; for the which cause even this city was made desolate.

24 Wherefore now we do declare unto thee, O lord the king, that if this city be built again, and the walls thereof set up anew, thou shalt from henceforth have no passage into Celosyria and Phenice.

25 Then the king wrote back again to Rathumus the storywriter, to Beeltethmus, to Semellius the scribe, and to the rest that were in commission, and dwellers in Samaria and Syria and Phenice, after this manner;

26 I have read the epistle which ye have sent unto me: therefore I commanded to make diligent search, and it hath been found that that city was from the beginning practising against kings;

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27 And the men therein were given to rebellion and war: and that mighty kings and fierce were in Jerusalem, who reigned and exacted tributes in Celosyria and Phenice.
28 Now therefore I have commanded to hinder those men from building the city, and heed to be taken that there be no more done in it;
29 And that those wicked workers proceed no further to the annoyance of kings,
30 Then king Artexerxes his letters being read, Rathumus, and Semellius the scribe, and the rest that were in commission with them, removing in haste toward Jerusalem with a troop of horsemen and a multitude of people in battle array, began to hinder the builders; and the building of the temple in Jerusalem ceased until the second year of the reign of Darius king of the Persians.

1 ESDRAS CHAPTER 3
1 Now when Darius reigned, he made a great feast unto all his subjects, and unto all his household, and unto all the princes of Media and Persia,
2 And to all the governors and captains and lieutenants that were under him, from India unto Ethiopia, of an hundred twenty and seven provinces.
3 And when they had eaten and drunken, and being satisfied were gone home, then Darius the king went into his bedchamber, and slept, and soon after awaked.
4 Then three young men, that were of the guard that kept the king's body, spake one to another;
5 Let every one of us speak a sentence: he that shall overcome, and whose sentence shall seem wiser than the others, unto him shall the king Darius give great gifts, and great things in token of victory:
6 As, to be clothed in purple, to drink in gold, and to sleep upon gold, and a chariot with bridles of gold, and an headtire of fine linen, and a chain about his neck:
7 And he shall sit next to Darius because of his wisdom, and shall be called Darius his cousin.
8 And then every one wrote his sentence, sealed it, and laid it under king Darius his pillow;
9 And said that, when the king is risen, some will give him the writings; and of whose side the king and the three princes of Persia shall judge that his sentence is the wisest, to him shall the victory be given, as was appointed.
10 The first wrote, Wine is the strongest.
11 The second wrote, The king is strongest.
12 The third wrote, Women are strongest: but above all things Truth beareth away the victory.
13 Now when the king was risen up, they took their writings, and delivered them unto him, and so he read them:
14 And sending forth he called all the princes of Persia and Media, and the governors, and the captains, and the lieutenants, and the chief officers;
15 And sat him down in the royal seat of judgement; and the writings were read before them.
16 And he said, Call the young men, and they shall declare their own sentences. So they were called, and came in.
17 And he said unto them, Declare unto us your mind concerning the writings. Then began the first, who had spoken of the strength of wine;
18 And he said thus, O ye men, how exceeding strong is wine! it causeth all men to err that drink it:
19 It maketh the mind of the king and of the fatherless child to be all one; of the bondman and of the freeman, of the poor man and of the rich:
20 It turneth also every thought into jollity and mirth, so that a man remembereth neither sorrow nor debt:
21 And it maketh every heart rich, so that a man remembereth neither king nor governor; and it maketh to speak all things by talents:
22 And when they are in their cups, they forget their love both to friends and brethren, and a little after draw out swords:
23 But when they are from the wine, they remember not what they have done.
24 O ye men, is not wine the strongest, that enforceth to do thus? And when he had so spoken, he held his peace.

1 ESDRAS CHAPTER 4
1 Then the second, that had spoken of the strength of the king, began to say,
2 O ye men, do not men excel in strength that bear rule over sea and land and all things in them?
3 But yet the king is more mighty: for he is lord of all these things, and hath dominion over them; and whatsoever he commandeth them they do.
4 If he bid them make war the one against the other, they do it: if he send them out against the enemies, they go, and break down mountains walls and towers.
5 They slay and are slain, and transgress not the king's commandment: if they get the victory, they bring all to the king, as well the spoil, as all things else.
6 Likewise for those that are no soldiers, and have not to do with wars, but use husbundry, when they have reaped again that which they had sown, they bring it to the king, and compel one another to pay tribute unto the king.
7 And yet he is but one man: if he command to kill, they kill; if he command to spare, they spare;
8 If he command to smite, they smite; if he command to make desolate, they make desolate; if he command to build, they build;
9 If he command to cut down, they cut down; if he command to plant, they plant.
10 So all his people and his armies obey him: furthermore he lieth down, he eateth and drinketh, and taketh his rest:
11 And these keep watch round about him, neither may any one depart, and do his own business, neither disobey they him in any thing.
12 O ye men, how should not the king be mightiest, when in such sort he is obeyed? And he held his tongue.
13 Then the third, who had spoken of women, and of the truth, (this was Zorobabel) began to speak.
14 O ye men, it is not the great king, nor the multitude of men, neither is it wine, that excelleth; who is it then that ruleth them, or hath the lordship over them? are they not women?
15 Women have borne the king and all the people that bear rule by sea and land.
16 Even of them came they: and they nourished them up that planted the vineyards, from whence the wine cometh.
17 These also make garments for men; these bring glory unto men; and without women cannot men be.
18 Yea, and if men have gathered together gold and silver, or any other goodly thing, do they not love a woman which is comely in favour and beauty?
19 And letting all those things go, do they not gape, and even with open mouth fix their eyes fast on her; and have not all men more desire unto her than unto silver or gold, or any goodly thing whatsoever?
20 A man leaveth his own father that brought him up, and his own country, and cleaveth unto his wife.
21 He sticketh not to spend his life with his wife. and remembereth neither father, nor mother, nor country.
22 By this also ye must know that women have dominion over you: do ye not labour and toil, and give and bring all to the woman?
23 Yea, a man taketh his sword, and goeth his way to rob and to steal, to sail upon the sea and upon rivers;
24 And looketh upon a lion, and goeth in the darkness; and when he hath stolen, spoiled, and robbed, he bringeth it to his love.
25 Wherefore a man loveth his wife better than father or mother.
26 Yea, many there be that have run out of their wits for women, and become servants for their sakes.
27 Many also have perished, have erred, and sinned, for women.
28 And now do ye not believe me? is not the king great in his power? do not all regions fear to touch him?
29 Yet did I see him and Apame the king's concubine, the daughter of the admirable Bartacus, sitting at the right hand of the king,
30 And taking the crown from the king's head, and setting it upon her own head; she also struck the king with her left hand.
31 And yet for all this the king gaped and gazed upon her with open mouth: if she laughed upon him, he laughed also: but if she took any displeasure at him, the king was fain to flatter, that she might be reconciled to him again.
32 O ye men, how can it be but women should be strong, seeing they do thus?
33 Then the king and the princes looked one upon another: so he began to speak of the truth.
34 O ye men, are not women strong? great is the earth, high is the heaven, swift is the sun in his course, for he compasseth the heavens round about, and fetcheth his course again to his own place in one day.
35 Is he not great that maketh these things? therefore great is the truth, and stronger than all things.
36 All the earth crieth upon the truth, and the heaven blesseth it: all works shake and tremble at it, and with it is no unrighteous thing.
37 Wine is wicked, the king is wicked, women are wicked, all the children of men are wicked, and such are all their wicked works; and there is no truth in them; in their unrighteousness also they shall perish.
38 As for the truth, it endureth, and is always strong; it liveth and conquereth for evermore.
39 With her there is no accepting of persons or rewards; but she doeth the things that are just, and refraineth from all unjust and wicked things; and all men do well like of her works.
40 Neither in her judgement is any unrighteousness; and she is the strength, kingdom, power, and majesty, of all ages. Blessed be the God of truth.
41 And with that he held his peace. And all the people then shouted, and said, Great is Truth, and mighty above all things.
42 Then said the king unto him, Ask what thou wilt more than is appointed in the writing, and we will give it thee, because thou art found wisest; and thou shalt sit next me, and shalt be called my cousin.
43 Then said he unto the king, Remember thy vow, which thou hast vowed to build Jerusalem, in the day when thou camest to thy kingdom,
44 And to send away all the vessels that were taken away out of Jerusalem, which Cyrus set apart, when he vowed to destroy Babylon, and to send them again thither.
45 Thou also hast vowed to build up the temple, which the Edomites burned when Judea was made desolate by the Chaldees.
46 And now, O lord the king, this is that which I require, and which I desire of thee, and this is the princely liberality proceeding from thyself: I desire therefore that thou make good the vow, the performance whereof with thine own mouth thou hast vowed to the King of heaven.
47 Then Darius the king stood up, and kissed him, and wrote letters for him unto all the treasurers and lieutenants and captains and governors, that they should safely convey on their way both him, and all those that go up with him to build Jerusalem.
48 He wrote letters also unto the lieutenants that were in Celosyria and Phenice, and unto them in Libanus, that they should bring cedar wood from Libanus unto Jerusalem, and that they should build the city with him.
49 Moreover he wrote for all the Jews that went out of his realm up into Jewry, concerning their freedom, that no officer, no ruler, no lieutenant, nor treasurer, should forcibly enter into their doors;
50 And that all the country which they hold should be free without tribute; and that the Edomites should give over the villages of the Jews which then they held:
51 Yea, that there should be yearly given twenty talents to the building of the temple, until the time that it were built;
52 And other ten talents yearly, to maintain the burnt offerings upon the altar every day, as they had a commandment to offer seventeen:
53 And that all they that went from Babylon to build the city should have free liberty, as well they as their posterity, and all the priests that went away.
54 He wrote also concerning. the charges, and the priests' vestments wherein they minister;
55 And likewise for the charges of the Levites, to be given them until the day that the house were finished, and Jerusalem builded up.
56 And he commanded to give to all that kept the city pensions and wages.
57 He sent away also all the vessels from Babylon, that Cyrus had set apart; and all that Cyrus had given in commandment, the same charged he also to be done, and sent unto Jerusalem.
58 Now when this young man was gone forth, he lifted up his face to heaven toward Jerusalem, and praised the King of heaven,
59 And said, From thee cometh victory, from thee cometh wisdom, and thine is the glory, and I am thy servant.
60 Blessed art thou, who hast given me wisdom: for to thee I give thanks, O Lord of our fathers.
61 And so he took the letters, and went out, and came unto Babylon, and told it all his brethren.
62 And they praised the God of their fathers, because he had given them freedom and liberty
63 To go up, and to build Jerusalem, and the temple which is called by his name: and they feasted with instruments of musick and gladness seven days.

1 ESDRAS CHAPTER 5
1 After this were the principal men of the families chosen according to their tribes, to go up with their wives and sons and daughters, with their menservants and maidservants, and their cattle.
2 And Darius sent with them a thousand horsemen, till they had brought them back to Jerusalem safely, and with musical instruments tabrets and flutes.
3 And all their brethren played, and he made them go up together with them.
4 And these are the names of the men which went up, according to their families among their tribes, after their several heads.
5 The priests, the sons of Phinees the son of Aaron: Jesus the son of Josedec, the son of Saraias, and Joacim the son of Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, of the house of David, out of the kindred of Phares, of the tribe of Judah;
6 Who spake wise sentences before Darius the king of Persia in the second year of his reign, in the month Nisan, which is the first month.
7 And these are they of Jewry that came up from the captivity, where they dwelt as strangers, whom Nabuchodonosor the king of Babylon had carried away unto Babylon.
8 And they returned unto Jerusalem, and to the other parts of Jewry, every man to his own city, who came with Zorobabel,

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with Jesus, Nehemias, and Zacharias, and Reesaias, Enenius, Mardocheus. Beelsarus, Aspharasus, Reelius, Roimus, and Baana, their guides.

9 The number of them of the nation, and their governors, sons of Phoros, two thousand an hundred seventy and two; the sons of Saphat, four hundred seventy and two:

10 The sons of Ares, seven hundred fifty and six:

11 The sons of Phaath Moab, two thousand eight hundred and twelve:

12 The sons of Elam, a thousand two hundred fifty and four: the sons of Zathul, nine hundred forty and five: the sons of Corbe, seven hundred and five: the sons of Bani, six hundred forty and eight:

13 The sons of Bebai, six hundred twenty and three: the sons of Sadas, three thousand two hundred twenty and two:

14 The sons of Adonikam, six hundred sixty and seven: the sons of Bagoi, two thousand sixty and six: the sons of Adin, four hundred fifty and four:

15 The sons of Aterezias, ninety and two: the sons of Ceilan and Azetas threescore and seven: the sons of Azuran, four hundred thirty and two:

16 The sons of Ananias, an hundred and one: the sons of Arom, thirty two: and the sons of Bassa, three hundred twenty and three: the sons of Azephurith, an hundred and two:

17 The sons of Meterus, three thousand and five: the sons of Bethlomon, an hundred twenty and three:

18 They of Netophah, fifty and five: they of Anathoth, an hundred fifty and eight: they of Bethsamos, forty and two:

19 They of Kiriathiarius, twenty and five: they of Caphira and Beroth, seven hundred forty and three: they of Pira, seven hundred:

20 They of Chadias and Ammidoi, four hundred twenty and two: they of Cirama and Gabdes, six hundred twenty and one:

21 They of Macalon, an hundred twenty and two: they of Betolius, fifty and two: the sons of Nephis, an hundred fifty and six:

22 The sons of Calamolalus and Onus, seven hundred twenty and five: the sons of Jerechus, two hundred forty and five:

23 The sons of Annas, three thousand three hundred and thirty.

24 The priests: the sons of Jeddu, the son of Jesus among the sons of Sanasib, nine hundred seventy and two: the sons of Meruth, a thousand fifty and two:

25 The sons of Phassaron, a thousand forty and seven: the sons of Carme, a thousand and seventeen.

26 The Levites: the sons of Jessue, and Cadmiel, and Banuas, and Sudias, seventy and four.

27 The holy singers: the sons of Asaph, an hundred twenty and eight.

28 The porters: the sons of Salum, the sons of Jatal, the sons of Talmon, the sons of Dacobi, the sons of Teta, the sons of Sami, in all an hundred thirty and nine.

29 The servants of the temple: the sons of Esau, the sons of Asipha, the sons of Tabaoth, the sons of Ceras, the sons of Sud, the sons of Phaleas, the sons of Labana, the sons of Graba,

30 The sons of Acua, the sons of Uta, the sons of Cetab, the sons of Agaba, the sons of Subai, the sons of Anan, the sons of Cathua, the sons of Geddur,

31 The sons of Airus, the sons of Daisan, the sons of Noeba, the sons of Chaseba, the sons of Gazera, the sons of Azia, the sons of Phinees, the sons of Azare, the sons of Bastai, the sons of Asana, the sons of Meani, the sons of Naphisi, the sons of Acub, the sons of Acipha, the sons of Assur, the sons of Pharacim, the sons of Basaloth,

32 The sons of Meeda, the sons of Coutha, the sons of Charea, the sons of Charcus, the sons of Aserer, the sons of Thomoi, the sons of Nasith, the sons of Atipha.

33 The sons of the servants of Solomon: the sons of Azaphion, the sons of Pharira, the sons of Jeeli, the sons of Lozon, the sons of Israel, the sons of Sapheth,

34 The sons of Hagia, the sons of Pharacareth, the sons of Sabi, the sons of Sarothie, the sons of Masias, the sons of Gar, the sons of Addus, the sons of Suba, the sons of Apherra, the sons of Barodis, the sons of Sabat, the sons of Allom.

35 All the ministers of the temple, and the sons of the servants of Solomon, were three hundred seventy and two.

36 These came up from Thermeleth and Thelersas, Charaathalar leading them, and Aalar;

37 Neither could they shew their families, nor their stock, how they were of Israel: the sons of Ladan, the son of Ban, the sons of Necodan, six hundred fifty and two.

38 And of the priests that usurped the office of the priesthood, and were not found: the sons of Obdia, the sons of Accoz, the sons of Addus, who married Augia one of the daughters of Barzelus, and was named after his name.

39 And when the description of the kindred of these men was sought in the register, and was not found, they were removed from executing the office of the priesthood:

40 For unto them said Nehemias and Atharias, that they should not be partakers of the holy things, till there arose up an high priest clothed with doctrine and truth.

41 So of Israel, from them of twelve years old and upward, they were all in number forty thousand, beside menservants and womenservants two thousand three hundred and sixty.

42 Their menservants and handmaids were seven thousand three hundred forty and seven: the singing men and singing women, two hundred forty and five:

43 Four hundred thirty and five camels, seven thousand thirty and six horses, two hundred forty and five mules, five thousand five hundred twenty and five beasts used to the yoke.

44 And certain of the chief of their families, when they came to the temple of God that is in Jerusalem, vowed to set up the house again in his own place according to their ability,

45 And to give into the holy treasury of the works a thousand pounds of gold, five thousand of silver, and an hundred priestly vestments.

46 And so dwelt the priests and the Levites and the people in Jerusalem, and in the country, the singers also and the porters; and all Israel in their villages.

47 But when the seventh month was at hand, and when the children of Israel were every man in his own place, they came all together with one consent into the open place of the first gate which is toward the east.

48 Then stood up Jesus the son of Josedec, and his brethren the priests and Zorobabel the son of Salathiel, and his brethren, and made ready the altar of the God of Israel,

49 To offer burnt sacrifices upon it, according as it is expressly commanded in the book of Moses the man of God.

50 And there were gathered unto them out of the other nations of the land, and they erected the altar upon his own place, because all the nations of the land were at enmity with them, and oppressed them; and they offered sacrifices according to the time, and burnt offerings to the Lord both morning and evening.

51 Also they held the feast of tabernacles, as it is commanded in the law, and offered sacrifices daily, as was meet:

52 And after that, the continual oblations, and the sacrifice of the sabbaths, and of the new moons, and of all holy feasts.

53 And all they that had made any vow to God began to offer sacrifices to God from the first day of the seventh month, although the temple of the Lord was not yet built.

54 And they gave unto the masons and carpenters money, meat, and drink, with cheerfulness.

55 Unto them of Zidon also and Tyre they gave carrs, that they should bring cedar trees from Libanus, which should be brought by floats to the haven of Joppa, according as it was commanded them by Cyrus king of the Persians.

56 And in the second year and second month after his coming to the temple of God at Jerusalem began Zorobabel the son of Salathiel, and Jesus the son of Josedec, and their brethren, and the priests, and the Levites, and all they that were come unto Jerusalem out of the captivity:

57 And they laid the foundation of the house of God in the first day of the second month, in the second year after they were come to Jewry and Jerusalem.

58 And they appointed the Levites from twenty years old over the works of the Lord. Then stood up Jesus, and his sons and brethren, and Cadmiel his brother, and the sons of Madiabun, with the sons of Joda the son of Eliadun, with their sons and brethren, all Levites, with one accord setters forward of the business, labouring to advance the works in the house of God. So the workmen built the temple of the Lord.

59 And the priests stood arrayed in their vestments with musical instruments and trumpets; and the Levites the sons of Asaph had cymbals,

60 Singing songs of thanksgiving, and praising the Lord, according as David the king of Israel had ordained.

61 And they sung with loud voices songs to the praise of the Lord, because his mercy and glory is for ever in all Israel.

62 And all the people sounded trumpets, and shouted with a loud voice, singing songs of thanksgiving unto the Lord for the rearing up of the house of the Lord.

63 Also of the priests and Levites, and of the chief of their families, the ancients who had seen the former house came to the building of this with weeping and great crying.

64 But many with trumpets and joy shouted with loud voice,

65 Insomuch that the trumpets might not be heard for the weeping of the people: yet the multitude sounded marvellously, so that it was heard afar off.

66 Wherefore when the enemies of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin heard it, they came to know what that noise of trumpets should mean.

67 And they perceived that they that were of the captivity did build the temple unto the Lord God of Israel.

68 So they went to Zorobabel and Jesus, and to the chief of the families, and said unto them, We will build together with you.

69 For we likewise, as ye, do obey your Lord, and do sacrifice unto him from the days of Azbazareth the king of the Assyrians, who brought us hither.

70 Then Zorobabel and Jesus and the chief of the families of Israel said unto them, It is not for us and you to build together an house unto the Lord our God.

71 We ourselves alone will build unto the Lord of Israel, according as Cyrus the king of the Persians hath commanded us.

72 But the heathen of the land lying heavy upon the inhabitants of Judea, and holding them strait, hindered their building;

73 And by their secret plots, and popular persuasions and commotions, they hindered the finishing of the building all the time that king Cyrus lived: so they were hindered from building for the space of two years, until the reign of Darius.

1 ESDRAS CHAPTER 6

1 Now in the second year of the reign of Darius Aggeus and Zacharias the son of Addo, the prophets, prophesied unto the Jews in Jewry and Jerusalem in the name of the Lord God of Israel, which was upon them.

2 Then stood up Zorobabel the son of Salatiel, and Jesus the son of Josedec, and began to build the house of the Lord at Jerusalem, the prophets of the Lord being with them, and helping them.

3 At the same time came unto them Sisinnes the governor of Syria and Phenice, with Sathrabuzanes and his companions, and said unto them,

4 By whose appointment do ye build this house and this roof, and perform all the other things? and who are the workmen that perform these things?

5 Nevertheless the elders of the Jews obtained favour, because the Lord had visited the captivity;

6 And they were not hindered from building, until such time as signification was given unto Darius concerning them, and an answer received.

7 The copy of the letters which Sisinnes, governor of Syria and Phenice, and Sathrabuzanes, with their companions, rulers in Syria and Phenice, wrote and sent unto Darius; To king Darius, greeting:

8 Let all things be known unto our lord the king, that being come into the country of Judea, and entered into the city of Jerusalem we found in the city of Jerusalem the ancients of the Jews that were of the captivity

9 Building an house unto the Lord, great and new, of hewn and costly stones, and the timber already laid upon the walls.

10 And those works are done with great speed, and the work goeth on prosperously in their hands, and with all glory and diligence is it made.

11 Then asked we these elders, saying, By whose commandment build ye this house, and lay the foundations of these works?

12 Therefore to the intent that we might give knowledge unto thee by writing, we demanded of them who were the chief doers, and we required of them the names in writing of their principal men.

13 So they gave us this answer, We are the servants of the Lord which made heaven and earth.

14 And as for this house, it was builded many years ago by a king of Israel great and strong, and was finished.

15 But when our fathers provoked God unto wrath, and sinned against the Lord of Israel which is in heaven, he gave them over into the power of Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon, of the Chaldees;

16 Who pulled down the house, and burned it, and carried away the people captives unto Babylon.

17 But in the first year that king Cyrus reigned over the country of Babylon Cyrus the king wrote to build up this house.

18 And the holy vessels of gold and of silver, that Nabuchodonosor had carried away out of the house at Jerusalem, and had set them in his own temple those Cyrus the king brought forth again out of the temple at Babylon, and they were delivered to Zorobabel and to Sanabassarus the ruler,

19 With commandment that he should carry away the same vessels, and put them in the temple at Jerusalem; and that the temple of the Lord should be built in his place.

20 Then the same Sanabassarus, being come hither, laid the foundations of the house of the Lord at Jerusalem; and from that time to this being still a building, it is not yet fully ended.

21 Now therefore, if it seem good unto the king, let search be made among the records of king Cyrus:

22 And if it be found that the building of the house of the Lord at Jerusalem hath been done with the consent of king Cyrus, and if our lord the king be so minded, let him signify unto us thereof.

23 Then commanded king Darius to seek among the records at Babylon: and so at Ecbatane the palace, which is in the country of Media, there was found a roll wherein these things were recorded.

24 In the first year of the reign of Cyrus king Cyrus commanded that the house of the Lord at Jerusalem should be built again, where they do sacrifice with continual fire:

25 Whose height shall be sixty cubits and the breadth sixty cubits, with three rows of hewn stones, and one row of new wood of that country; and the expences thereof to be given out of the house of king Cyrus:

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26 And that the holy vessels of the house of the Lord, both of gold and silver, that Nabuchodonosor took out of the house at Jerusalem, and brought to Babylon, should be restored to the house at Jerusalem, and be set in the place where they were before.

27 And also he commanded that Sisinnes the governor of Syria and Phenice, and Sathrabuzanes, and their companions, and those which were appointed rulers in Syria and Phenice, should be careful not to meddle with the place, but suffer Zorobabel, the servant of the Lord, and governor of Judea, and the elders of the Jews, to build the house of the Lord in that place.

28 I have commanded also to have it built up whole again; and that they look diligently to help those that be of the captivity of the Jews, till the house of the Lord be finished:

29 And out of the tribute of Celosyria and Phenice a portion carefully to be given these men for the sacrifices of the Lord, that is, to Zorobabel the governor, for bullocks, and rams, and lambs;

30 And also corn, salt, wine, and oil, and that continually every year without further question, according as the priests that be in Jerusalem shall signify to be daily spent:

31 That offerings may be made to the most high God for the king and for his children, and that they may pray for their lives.

32 And he commanded that whosoever should transgress, yea, or make light of any thing afore spoken or written, out of his own house should a tree be taken, and he thereon be hanged, and all his goods seized for the king.

33 The Lord therefore, whose name is there called upon, utterly destroy every king and nation, that stretcheth out his hand to hinder or endamage that house of the Lord in Jerusalem.

34 I Darius the king have ordained that according unto these things it be done with diligence.

1 ESDRAS CHAPTER 7

1 Then Sisinnes the governor of Celosyria and Phenice, and Sathrabuzanes, with their companions following the commandments of king Darius,

2 Did very carefully oversee the holy works, assisting the ancients of the Jews and governors of the temple.

3 And so the holy works prospered, when Aggeus and Zacharias the prophets prophesied.

4 And they finished these things by the commandment of the Lord God of Israel, and with the consent of Cyrus, Darius, and Artexerxes, kings of Persia.

5 And thus was the holy house finished in the three and twentieth day of the month Adar, in the sixth year of Darius king of the Persians

6 And the children of Israel, the priests, and the Levites, and others that were of the captivity, that were added unto them, did according to the things written in the book of Moses.

7 And to the dedication of the temple of the Lord they offered an hundred bullocks two hundred rams, four hundred lambs;

8 And twelve goats for the sin of all Israel, according to the number of the chief of the tribes of Israel.

9 The priests also and the Levites stood arrayed in their vestments, according to their kindreds, in the service of the Lord God of Israel, according to the book of Moses: and the porters at every gate.

10 And the children of Israel that were of the captivity held the passover the fourteenth day of the first month, after that the priests and the Levites were sanctified.

11 They that were of the captivity were not all sanctified together: but the Levites were all sanctified together.

12 And so they offered the passover for all them of the captivity, and for their brethren the priests, and for themselves.

13 And the children of Israel that came out of the captivity did eat, even all they that had separated themselves from the abominations of the people of the land, and sought the Lord.

14 And they kept the feast of unleavened bread seven days, making merry before the Lord,

15 For that he had turned the counsel of the king of Assyria toward them, to strengthen their hands in the works of the Lord God of Israel.

1 ESDRAS CHAPTER 8

1 And after these things, when Artexerxes the king of the Persians reigned came Esdras the son of Saraias, the son of Ezerias, the son of Helchiah, the son of Salum,

2 The son of Sadduc, the son of Achitob, the son of Amarias, the son of Ezias, the son of Meremoth, the son of Zaraias, the son of Savias, the son of Boccas, the son of Abisum, the son of Phinees, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the chief priest.

3 This Esdras went up from Babylon, as a scribe, being very ready in the law of Moses, that was given by the God of Israel.

4 And the king did him honour: for he found grace in his sight in all his requests.

5 There went up with him also certain of the children of Israel, of the priest of the Levites, of the holy singers, porters, and ministers of the temple, unto Jerusalem,

6 In the seventh year of the reign of Artexerxes, in the fifth month, this was the king's seventh year; for they went from Babylon in the first day of the first month, and came to Jerusalem, according to the prosperous journey which the Lord gave them.

7 For Esdras had very great skill, so that he omitted nothing of the law and commandments of the Lord, but taught all Israel the ordinances and judgements.

8 Now the copy of the commission, which was written from Artexerxes the king, and came to Esdras the priest and reader of the law of the Lord, is this that followeth;

9 King Artexerxes unto Esdras the priest and reader of the law of the Lord sendeth greeting:

10 Having determined to deal graciously, I have given order, that such of the nation of the Jews, and of the priests and Levites being within our realm, as are willing and desirous should go with thee unto Jerusalem.

11 As many therefore as have a mind thereunto, let them depart with thee, as it hath seemed good both to me and my seven friends the counsellors;

12 That they may look unto the affairs of Judea and Jerusalem, agreeably to that which is in the law of the Lord;

13 And carry the gifts unto the Lord of Israel to Jerusalem, which I and my friends have vowed, and all the gold and silver that in the country of Babylon can be found, to the Lord in Jerusalem,

14 With that also which is given of the people for the temple of the Lord their God at Jerusalem: and that silver and gold may be collected for bullocks, rams, and lambs, and things thereunto appertaining;

15 To the end that they may offer sacrifices unto the Lord upon the altar of the Lord their God, which is in Jerusalem.

16 And whatsoever thou and thy brethren will do with the silver and gold, that do, according to the will of thy God.

17 And the holy vessels of the Lord, which are given thee for the use of the temple of thy God, which is in Jerusalem, thou shalt set before thy God in Jerusalem.

18 And whatsoever thing else thou shalt remember for the use of the temple of thy God, thou shalt give it out of the king's treasury.

19 And I king Artexerxes have also commanded the keepers of the treasures in Syria and Phenice, that whatsoever Esdras the priest and the reader of the law of the most high God shall send for, they should give it him with speed,

20 To the sum of an hundred talents of silver, likewise also of wheat even to an hundred cors, and an hundred pieces of wine, and other things in abundance.

21 Let all things be performed after the law of God diligently unto the most high God, that wrath come not upon the kingdom of the king and his sons.

22 I command you also, that ye require no tax, nor any other imposition, of any of the priests, or Levites, or holy singers, or porters, or ministers of the temple, or of any that have doings in this temple, and that no man have authority to impose any thing upon them.

23 And thou, Esdras, according to the wisdom of God ordain judges and justices, that they may judge in all Syria and Phenice all those that know the law of thy God; and those that know it not thou shalt teach.

24 And whosoever shall transgress the law of thy God, and of the king, shall be punished diligently, whether it be by death, or other punishment, by penalty of money, or by imprisonment.

25 Then said Esdras the scribe, Blessed be the only Lord God of my fathers, who hath put these things into the heart of the king, to glorify his house that is in Jerusalem:

26 And hath honoured me in the sight of the king, and his counsellors, and all his friends and nobles.

27 Therefore was I encouraged by the help of the Lord my God, and gathered together men of Israel to go up with me.

28 And these are the chief according to their families and several dignities, that went up with me from Babylon in the reign of king Artexerxes:

29 Of the sons of Phinees, Gerson: of the sons of Ithamar, Gamael: of the sons of David, Lettus the son of Sechenias:

30 Of the sons of Pharez, Zacharias; and with him were counted an hundred and fifty men:

31 Of the sons of Pahath Moab, Eliaonias, the son of Zaraias, and with him two hundred men:

32 Of the sons of Zathoe, Sechenias the son of Jezelus, and with him three hundred men: of the sons of Adin, Obeth the son of Jonathan, and with him two hundred and fifty men:

33 Of the sons of Elam, Josias son of Gotholias, and with him seventy men:

34 Of the sons of Saphatias, Zaraias son of Michael, and with him threescore and ten men:

35 Of the sons of Joab, Abadias son of Jezelus, and with him two hundred and twelve men:

36 Of the sons of Banid, Assalimoth son of Josaphias, and with him an hundred and threescore men:

37 Of the sons of Babi, Zacharias son of Bebai, and with him twenty and eight men:

38 Of the sons of Astath, Johannes son of Acatan, and with him an hundred and ten men:

39 Of the sons of Adonikam the last, and these are the names of them, Eliphalet, Jewel, and Samaias, and with them seventy men:

40 Of the sons of Bago, Uthi the son of Istalcurus, and with him seventy men.

41 And these I gathered together to the river called Theras, where we pitched our tents three days: and then I surveyed them.

42 But when I had found there none of the priests and Levites,

43 Then sent I unto Eleazar, and Iduel, and Masman,

44 And Alnathan, and Mamaias, and Joribas, and Nathan, Eunatan, Zacharias, and Mosollamon, principal men and learned.

45 And I bade them that they should go unto Saddeus the captain, who was in the place of the treasury:

46 And commanded them that they should speak unto Daddeus, and to his brethren, and to the treasurers in that place, to send us such men as might execute the priests' office in the house of the Lord.

47 And by the mighty hand of our Lord they brought unto us skilful men of the sons of Moli the son of Levi, the son of Israel, Asebebia, and his sons, and his brethren, who were eighteen.

48 And Asebia, and Annus, and Osaias his brother, of the sons of Channuneus, and their sons, were twenty men.

49 And of the servants of the temple whom David had ordained, and the principal men for the service of the Levites to wit, the servants of the temple two hundred and twenty, the catalogue of whose names were shewed.

50 And there I vowed a fast unto the young men before our Lord, to desire of him a prosperous journey both for us and them that were with us, for our children, and for the cattle:

51 For I was ashamed to ask the king footmen, and horsemen, and conduct for safeguard against our adversaries.

52 For we had said unto the king, that the power of the Lord our God should be with them that seek him, to support them in all ways.

53 And again we besought our Lord as touching these things, and found him favourable unto us.

54 Then I separated twelve of the chief of the priests, Esebrias, and Assanias, and ten men of their brethren with them:

55 And I weighed them the gold, and the silver, and the holy vessels of the house of our Lord, which the king, and his council, and the princes, and all Israel, had given.

56 And when I had weighed it, I delivered unto them six hundred and fifty talents of silver, and silver vessels of an hundred talents, and an hundred talents of gold,

57 And twenty golden vessels, and twelve vessels of brass, even of fine brass, glittering like gold.

58 And I said unto them, Both ye are holy unto the Lord, and the vessels are holy, and the gold and the silver is a vow unto the Lord, the Lord of our fathers.

59 Watch ye, and keep them till ye deliver them to the chief of the priests and Levites, and to the principal men of the families of Israel, in Jerusalem, into the chambers of the house of our God.

60 So the priests and the Levites, who had received the silver and the gold and the vessels, brought them unto Jerusalem, into the temple of the Lord.

61 And from the river Theras we departed the twelfth day of the first month, and came to Jerusalem by the mighty hand of our Lord, which was with us: and from the beginning of our journey the Lord delivered us from every enemy, and so we came to Jerusalem.

62 And when we had been there three days, the gold and silver that was weighed was delivered in the house of our Lord on the fourth day unto Marmoth the priest the son of Iri.

63 And with him was Eleazar the son of Phinees, and with them were Josabad the son of Jesu and Moeth the son of Sabban, Levites: all was delivered them by number and weight.

64 And all the weight of them was written up the same hour.

65 Moreover they that were come out of the captivity offered sacrifice unto the Lord God of Israel, even twelve bullocks for all Israel, fourscore and sixteen rams,

66 Threescore and twelve lambs, goats for a peace offering, twelve; all of them a sacrifice to the Lord.

67 And they delivered the king's commandments unto the king's stewards' and to the governors of Celosyria and Phenice; and they honoured the people and the temple of God.

68 Now when these things were done, the rulers came unto me, and said,

69 The nation of Israel, the princes, the priests and Levites, have not put away from them the strange people of the land, nor the pollutions of the Gentiles to wit, of the Canaanites, Hittites, Pheresites, Jebusites, and the Moabites, Egyptians, and Edomites.

70 For both they and their sons have married with their daughters, and the holy seed is mixed with the strange people

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of the land; and from the beginning of this matter the rulers and the great men have been partakers of this iniquity.

71 And as soon as I had heard these things, I rent my clothes, and the holy garment, and pulled off the hair from off my head and beard, and sat me down sad and very heavy.

72 So all they that were then moved at the word of the Lord God of Israel assembled unto me, whilst I mourned for the iniquity: but I sat still full of heaviness until the evening sacrifice.

73 Then rising up from the fast with my clothes and the holy garment rent, and bowing my knees, and stretching forth my hands unto the Lord,

74 I said, O Lord, I am confounded and ashamed before thy face;

75 For our sins are multiplied above our heads, and our ignorances have reached up unto heaven.

76 For ever since the time of our fathers we have been and are in great sin, even unto this day.

77 And for our sins and our fathers' we with our brethren and our kings and our priests were given up unto the kings of the earth, to the sword, and to captivity, and for a prey with shame, unto this day.

78 And now in some measure hath mercy been shewed unto us from thee, O Lord, that there should be left us a root and a name in the place of thy sanctuary;

79 And to discover unto us a light in the house of the Lord our God, and to give us food in the time of our servitude.

80 Yea, when we were in bondage, we were not forsaken of our Lord; but he made us gracious before the kings of Persia, so that they gave us food;

81 Yea, and honoured the temple of our Lord, and raised up the desolate Sion, that they have given us a sure abiding in Jewry and Jerusalem.

82 And now, O Lord, what shall we say, having these things? for we have transgressed thy commandments, which thou gavest by the hand of thy servants the prophets, saying,

83 That the land, which ye enter into to possess as an heritage, is a land polluted with the pollutions of the strangers of the land, and they have filled it with their uncleanness.

84 Therefore now shall ye not join your daughters unto their sons, neither shall ye take their daughters unto your sons.

85 Moreover ye shall never seek to have peace with them, that ye may be strong, and eat the good things of the land, and that ye may leave the inheritance of the land unto your children for evermore.

86 And all that is befallen is done unto us for our wicked works and great sins; for thou, O Lord, didst make our sins light,

87 And didst give unto us such a root: but we have turned back again to transgress thy law, and to mingle ourselves with the uncleanness of the nations of the land.

88 Mightest not thou be angry with us to destroy us, till thou hadst left us neither root, seed, nor name?

89 O Lord of Israel, thou art true: for we are left a root this day.

90 Behold, now are we before thee in our iniquities, for we cannot stand any longer by reason of these things before thee.

91 And as Esdras in his prayer made his confession, weeping, and lying flat upon the ground before the temple, there gathered unto him from Jerusalem a very great multitude of men and women and children: for there was great weeping among the multitude.

92 Then Jechonias the son of Jeelus, one of the sons of Israel, called out, and said, O Esdras, we have sinned against the Lord God, we have married strange women of the nations of the land, and now is all Israel aloft.

93 Let us make an oath to the Lord, that we will put away all our wives, which we have taken of the heathen, with their children,

94 Like as thou hast decreed, and as many as do obey the law of the Lord.

95 Arise and put in execution: for to thee doth this matter appertain, and we will be with thee: do valiantly.

96 So Esdras arose, and took an oath of the chief of the priests and Levites of all Israel to do after these things; and so they sware.

1 ESDRAS CHAPTER 9

1 Then Esdras rising from the court of the temple went to the chamber of Joanan the son of Eliasib,

2 And remained there, and did eat no meat nor drink water, mourning for the great iniquities of the multitude.

3 And there was a proclamation in all Jewry and Jerusalem to all them that were of the captivity, that they should be gathered together at Jerusalem:

4 And that whosoever met not there within two or three days according as the elders that bare rule appointed, their cattle should be seized to the use of the temple, and himself cast out from them that were of the captivity.

5 And in three days were all they of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin gathered together at Jerusalem the twentieth day of the ninth month.

6 And all the multitude sat trembling in the broad court of the temple because of the present foul weather.

7 So Esdras arose up, and said unto them, Ye have transgressed the law in marrying strange wives, thereby to increase the sins of Israel.

8 And now by confessing give glory unto the Lord God of our fathers,

9 And do his will, and separate yourselves from the heathen of the land, and from the strange women.

10 Then cried the whole multitude, and said with a loud voice, Like as thou hast spoken, so will we do.

11 But forasmuch as the people are many, and it is foul weather, so that we cannot stand without, and this is not a work of a day or two, seeing our sin in these things is spread far:

12 Therefore let the rulers of the multitude stay, and let all them of our habitations that have strange wives come at the time appointed,

13 And with them the rulers and judges of every place, till we turn away the wrath of the Lord from us for this matter.

14 Then Jonathan the son of Azael and Ezechias the son of Theocanus accordingly took this matter upon them: and Mosollam and Levis and Sabbatheus helped them.

15 And they that were of the captivity did according to all these things.

16 And Esdras the priest chose unto him the principal men of their families, all by name: and in the first day of the tenth month they sat together to examine the matter.

17 So their cause that held strange wives was brought to an end in the first day of the first month.

18 And of the priests that were come together, and had strange wives, there were found:

19 Of the sons of Jesus the son of Josedec, and his brethren; Matthelas and Eleazar, and Joribus and Joadanus.

20 And they gave their hands to put away their wives and to offer rams to make reconcilement for their errors.

21 And of the sons of Emmer; Ananias, and Zabdeus, and Eanes, and Sameius, and Hiereel, and Azarias.

22 And of the sons of Phaisur; Elionas, Massias Israel, and Nathanael, and Ocidelus and Talsas.

23 And of the Levites; Jozabad, and Semis, and Colius, who was called Calitas, and Patheus, and Judas, and Jonas.

24 Of the holy singers; Eleazurus, Bacchurus.

25 Of the porters; Sallumus, and Tolbanes.

26 Of them of Israel, of the sons of Phoros; Hiermas, and Eddias, and Melchias, and Maelus, and Eleazar, and Asibias, and Baanias.

27 Of the sons of Ela; Matthanias, Zacharias, and Hierielus, and Hieremoth, and Aedias.

28 And of the sons of Zamoth; Eliadas, Elisimus, Othonias, Jarimoth, and Sabatus, and Sardeus.

29 Of the sons of Babai; Johannes, and Ananias and Josabad, and Amatheis.

30 Of the sons of Mani; Olamus, Mamuchus, Jedeus, Jasubus, Jasael, and Hieremoth.

31 And of the sons of Addi; Naathus, and Moosias, Lacunus, and Naidus, and Mathanias, and Sesthel, Balnuus, and Manasseas.

32 And of the sons of Annas; Elionas and Aseas, and Melchias, and Sabbeus, and Simon Chosameus.

33 And of the sons of Asom; Altaneus, and Matthias, and Baanaia, Eliphalet, and Manasses, and Semei.

34 And of the sons of Maani; Jeremias, Momdis, Omaerus, Juel, Mabdai, and Pelias, and Anos, Carabasion, and Enasibus, and Mamnitanaimus, Eliasis, Bannus, Eliali, Samis, Selemias, Nathanias: and of the sons of Ozora; Sesis, Esril, Azaelus, Samatus, Zambis, Josephus.

35 And of the sons of Ethma; Mazitias, Zabadaias, Edes, Juel, Banaias.

36 All these had taken strange wives, and they put them away with their children.

37 And the priests and Levites, and they that were of Israel, dwelt in Jerusalem, and in the country, in the first day of the seventh month: so the children of Israel were in their habitations.

38 And the whole multitude came together with one accord into the broad place of the holy porch toward the east:

39 And they spake unto Esdras the priest and reader, that he would bring the law of Moses, that was given of the Lord God of Israel.

40 So Esdras the chief priest brought the law unto the whole multitude from man to woman, and to all the priests, to hear law in the first day of the seventh month.

41 And he read in the broad court before the holy porch from morning unto midday, before both men and women; and the multitude gave heed unto the law.

42 And Esdras the priest and reader of the law stood up upon a pulpit of wood, which was made for that purpose.

43 And there stood up by him Mattathias, Sammus, Ananias, Azarias, Urias, Ezecias, Balasamus, upon the right hand:

44 And upon his left hand stood Phaldaius, Misael, Melchias, Lothasubus, and Nabarias.

45 Then took Esdras the book of the law before the multitude: for he sat honourably in the first place in the sight of them all.

46 And when he opened the law, they stood all straight up. So Esdras blessed the Lord God most High, the God of hosts, Almighty.

47 And all the people answered, Amen; and lifting up their hands they fell to the ground, and worshipped the Lord.

48 Also Jesus, Anus, Sarabias, Adinus, Jacubus, Sabateas, Auteas, Maianeas, and Calitas, Asrias, and Joazabdus, and Ananias, Biatas, the Levites, taught the law of the Lord, making them withal to understand it.

49 Then spake Attharates unto Esdras the chief priest. and reader, and to the Levites that taught the multitude, even to all, saying,

50 This day is holy unto the Lord; (for they all wept when they heard the law:)

51 Go then, and eat the fat, and drink the sweet, and send part to them that have nothing;

52 For this day is holy unto the Lord: and be not sorrowful; for the Lord will bring you to honour.

53 So the Levites published all things to the people, saying, This day is holy to the Lord; be not sorrowful.

54 Then went they their way, every one to eat and drink, and make merry, and to give part to them that had nothing, and to make great cheer;

55 Because they understood the words wherein they were instructed, and for the which they had been assembled.

2 ESDRAS

(Chapters 3–14 (4 Ezra) Hebrew origin,
Chapters 1–2 (5 Ezra); 15–16 (6 Ezra) Latin origin)

(2 Esdras (also called 4 Esdras, Latin Esdras, or Latin Ezra) is the name of an apocalyptic book in many English versions of the Bible. Its authorship is ascribed to Ezra, a scribe and priest of the 5th century BC, although modern scholarship places its composition between 70 and 218 AD. It is reckoned among the apocrypha by Roman Catholics, Protestants, and most Eastern Orthodox Christians. 2 Esdras was excluded by Jerome from his Vulgate version of the Old Testament, but from the 9th century onwards the Latin text is sporadically found as an appendix to the Vulgate, inclusion becoming more general after the 13th century.

Chapters 3–14, or the great bulk of 2 Esdras, is a Jewish apocalypse, also sometimes known as 4 Ezra or the Jewish Apocalypse of Ezra. The latter name should not be confused with a later work called the Greek Apocalypse of Ezra.

The Ethiopian Church considers 4 Ezra to be canonical, written during the Babylonian captivity, and calls it Izra Sutuel. It was also often cited by the Fathers of the Church. In the Eastern Armenian tradition it is called 3 Ezra. It was written in the late 1st century AD following the destruction of the Second Temple.

Among Greek Fathers of the Church, 4 Ezra is generally cited as "The Prophet Ezra" or "Apocalypse of Ezra". Most scholars agree that 4 Ezra was composed in Hebrew, which was translated into Greek, and then to Latin, Armenian, Ethiopian and Georgian, but the Hebrew and Greek editions have been lost.

Slightly differing Latin, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Georgian, and Armenian translations have survived; the Greek version can be reconstructed, though without absolute certainty, from these different translations, while the Hebrew text remains more elusive. The modern Slavonic version is translated from the Latin.

4 Ezra consists of seven visions of Ezra the scribe. Ezra (fl. 480–440 BC), also called Ezra the Scribe (Ezra ha-Sofer) and Ezra the Priest in the Book of Ezra, was a Jewish scribe (sofer) and priest (kohen). In Greco-Latin Ezra is called Esdras (in Greek). According to the Hebrew Bible he was a descendant of Sraya (Ezra 7:1) the last High Priest to serve in the First Temple (2 Kings 25:18), and a close relative of Joshua the first High Priest of the Second Temple (Ezra 3:2). He returned from Babylonian exile and reintroduced the Torah in Jerusalem (Ezra 7–10 and Neh 8). According to 1 Esdras, a Greek translation of the Book of Ezra still in use in Eastern Orthodoxy, he was also a High Priest. Rabbinic tradition holds that he was an ordinary member of the priesthood. Several traditions have developed over his place of burial. One tradition says that he is buried in al-Uzayr near Basra (Iraq), while another tradition alleges that he is buried in Tadif near Aleppo, in northern Syria. His name may be an abbreviation of עזריהו Azaryahu, "Yah helps". In the Greek Septuagint the name is rendered Ésdrās ("Εσδρας), from which the Latin name Esdras comes.

The apocalyptic fourth book of Ezra (also sometimes called the 'second book of Esdras' or the 'third book of Esdras') was written c. 100 AD, probably in Hebrew-Aramaic, but now survives in Latin, Slavonic and Ethiopic. It was one of the most important sources for Jewish theology at the end of the 1st century.[citation needed] In this book, Ezra has a seven part prophetic revelation, converses with an angel of God

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three times and has four visions. Ezra, thirty years into the Babylonian Exile (4 Ezra 3:1 / 2 Esdras 1:1), recounts the siege of Jerusalem and the destruction of Solomon's Temple. This would place these revelations in the year 557 BC, a full century before the date given in the canonical Ezra. The central theological themes are "the question of theodicy, God's justness in the face of the triumph of the heathens over the pious, the course of world history in terms of the teaching of the four kingdoms, the function of the law, the eschatological judgment, the appearance on Earth of the heavenly Jerusalem, the Messianic Period, at the end of which the Messiah will die, the end of this world and the coming of the next, and the Last Judgement." Ezra restores the law that was destroyed with the burning of the Temple in Jerusalem. He dictates 24 books for the public (i.e. the Hebrew Bible) and another 70 for the wise alone (70 unnamed revelatory works). At the end, he is taken up to heaven like Enoch and Elijah. Ezra is seen as a new Moses in this book.

The last two chapters, also called 6 Ezra by scholars, and found in the Latin, but not in the Eastern texts, predict wars and rebuke sinners. Many assume that they probably date from a much later period (perhaps late third century) and may be Christian in origin; it is possible, though not certain, that they were added at the same time as the first two chapters of the Latin version. It is possible that they are Jewish in origin, however; 15:57–59 have been found in Greek, which most scholars agree was translated from a Hebrew original.)

2 ESDRAS CHAPTER 1

(Origin: Roman-Latin)

1 The second book of the prophet Esdras, the son of Saraias, the son of Azarias, the son of Helchias, the son of Sadamias, the son of Sadoc, the son of Achitob,

2 The son of Achias, the son of Phinees, the son of Heli, the son of Amarias, the son of Aziei, the son of Marimoth, the son of Arna, the son of Ozias, the son of Borith, the son of Abisei, the son of Phinees, the son of Eleazar,

3 The son of Aaron, of the tribe of Levi; which was captive in the land of the Medes, in the reign of Artexerxes king of the Persians.

4 And the word of the Lord came unto me, saying,

5 Go thy way, and shew my people their sinful deeds, and their children their wickedness which they have done against me; that they may tell their children's children:

6 Because the sins of their fathers are increased in them: for they have forgotten me, and have offered unto strange gods.

7 Am not I even he that brought them out of the land of Egypt, from the house of bondage? but they have provoked me unto wrath, and despised my counsels.

8 Pull thou off then the hair of thy head, and cast all evil upon them, for they have not been obedient unto my law, but it is a rebellious people.

9 How long shall I forbear them, into whom I have done so much good?

10 Many kings have I destroyed for their sakes; Pharaoh with his servants and all his power have I smitten down.

11 All the nations have I destroyed before them, and in the east I have scattered the people of two provinces, even of Tyrus and Sidon, and have slain all their enemies.

12 Speak thou therefore unto them, saying, Thus saith the Lord,

13 I led you through the sea and in the beginning gave you a large and safe passage; I gave you Moses for a leader, and Aaron for a priest.

14 I gave you light in a pillar of fire, and great wonders have I done among you; yet have ye forgotten me, saith the Lord.

15 Thus saith the Almighty Lord, The quails were as a token to you; I gave you tents for your safeguard: nevertheless ye murmured there,

16 And triumphed not in my name for the destruction of your enemies, but ever to this day do ye yet murmur.

17 Where are the benefits that I have done for you? when ye were hungry and thirsty in the wilderness, did ye not cry unto me,

18 Saying, Why hast thou brought us into this wilderness to kill us? it had been better for us to have served the Egyptians, than to die in this wilderness.

19 Then had I pity upon your mournings, and gave you manna to eat; so ye did eat angels' bread.

20 When ye were thirsty, did I not cleave the rock, and waters flowed out to your fill? for the heat I covered you with the leaves of the trees.

21 I divided among you a fruitful land, I cast out the Canaanites, the Pherezites, and the Philistines, before you: what shall I yet do more for you? saith the Lord.

22 Thus saith the Almighty Lord, When ye were in the wilderness, in the river of the Amorites, being athirst, and blaspheming my name,

23 I gave you not fire for your blasphemies, but cast a tree in the water, and made the river sweet.

24 What shall I do unto thee, O Jacob? thou, Juda, wouldest not obey me: I will turn me to other nations, and unto those will I give my name, that they may keep my statutes.

25 Seeing ye have forsaken me, I will forsake you also; when ye desire me to be gracious unto you, I shall have no mercy upon you.

26 Whensoever ye shall call upon me, I will not hear you: for ye have defiled your hands with blood, and your feet are swift to commit manslaughter.

27 Ye have not as it were forsaken me, but your own selves, saith the Lord.

28 Thus saith the Almighty Lord, Have I not prayed you as a father his sons, as a mother her daughters, and a nurse her young babes,

29 That ye would be my people, and I should be your God; that ye would be my children, and I should be your father?

30 I gathered you together, as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings: but now, what shall I do unto you? I will cast you out from my face.

31 When ye offer unto me, I will turn my face from you: for your solemn feastdays, your new moons, and your circumcisions, have I forsaken.

32 I sent unto you my servants the prophets, whom ye have taken and slain, and torn their bodies in pieces, whose blood I will require of your hands, saith the Lord.

33 Thus saith the Almighty Lord, Your house is desolate, I will cast you out as the wind doth stubble.

34 And your children shall not be fruitful; for they have despised my commandment, and done the thing that is an evil before me.

35 Your houses will I give to a people that shall come; which not having heard of me yet shall believe me; to whom I have shewed no signs, yet they shall do that I have commanded them.

36 They have seen no prophets, yet they shall call their sins to remembrance, and acknowledge them.

37 I take to witness the grace of the people to come, whose little ones rejoice in gladness: and though they have not seen me with bodily eyes, yet in spirit they believe the thing that I say.

38 And now, brother, behold what glory; and see the people that come from the east:

39 Unto whom I will give for leaders, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Oseas, Amos, and Micheas, Joel, Abdias, and Jonas,

40 Nahum, and Abacuc, Sophonias, Aggeus, Zachary, and Malachy, which is called also an angel of the Lord.

2 ESDRAS CHAPTER 2

(Origin: Roman-Latin)

1 Thus saith the Lord, I brought this people out of bondage, and I gave them my commandments by menservants the prophets; whom they would not hear, but despised my counsels.

2 The mother that bare them saith unto them, Go your way, ye children; for I am a widow and forsaken.

3 I brought you up with gladness; but with sorrow and heaviness have I lost you: for ye have sinned before the Lord your God, and done that thing that is evil before him.

4 But what shall I now do unto you? I am a widow and forsaken: go your way, O my children, and ask mercy of the Lord.

5 As for me, O father, I call upon thee for a witness over the mother of these children, which would not keep my covenant,

6 That thou bring them to confusion, and their mother to a spoil, that there may be no offspring of them.

7 Let them be scattered abroad among the heathen, let their names be put out of the earth: for they have despised my covenant.

8 Woe be unto thee, Assur, thou that hidest the unrighteous in thee! O thou wicked people, remember what I did unto Sodom and Gomorrha;

9 Whose land lieth in clods of pitch and heaps of ashes: even so also will I do unto them that hear me not, saith the Almighty Lord.

10 Thus saith the Lord unto Esdras, Tell my people that I will give them the kingdom of Jerusalem, which I would have given unto Israel.

11 Their glory also will I take unto me, and give these the everlasting tabernacles, which I had prepared for them.

12 They shall have the tree of life for an ointment of sweet savour; they shall neither labour, nor be weary.

13 Go, and ye shall receive: pray for few days unto you, that they may be shortened: the kingdom is already prepared for you: watch.

14 Take heaven and earth to witness; for I have broken the evil in pieces, and created the good: for I live, saith the Lord.

15 Mother, embrace thy children, and bring them up with gladness, make their feet as fast as a pillar: for I have chosen thee, saith the Lord.

16 And those that be dead will I raise up again from their places, and bring them out of the graves: for I have known my name in Israel.

17 Fear not, thou mother of the children: for I have chosen thee, saith the Lord.

18 For thy help will I send my servants Esau and Jeremy, after whose counsel I have sanctified and prepared for thee twelve trees laden with divers fruits,

19 And as many fountains flowing with milk and honey, and seven mighty mountains, whereupon there grow roses and lilies, whereby I will fill thy children with joy.

20 Do right to the widow, judge for the fatherless, give to the poor, defend the orphan, clothe the naked,

21 Heal the broken and the weak, laugh not a lame man to scorn, defend the maimed, and let the blind man come into the sight of my clearness.

22 Keep the old and young within thy walls.

23 Wheresoever thou findest the dead, take them and bury them, and I will give thee the first place in my resurrection.

24 Abide still, O my people, and take thy rest, for thy quietness still come.

25 Nourish thy children, O thou good nurse; stablish their feet.

26 As for the servants whom I have given thee, there shall not one of them perish; for I will require them from among thy number.

27 Be not weary: for when the day of trouble and heaviness cometh, others shall weep and be sorrowful, but thou shalt be merry and have abundance.

28 The heathen shall envy thee, but they shall be able to do nothing against thee, saith the Lord.

29 My hands shall cover thee, so that thy children shall not see hell.

30 Be joyful, O thou mother, with thy children; for I will deliver thee, saith the Lord.

31 Remember thy children that sleep, for I shall bring them out of the sides of the earth, and shew mercy unto them: for I am merciful, saith the Lord Almighty.

32 Embrace thy children until I come and shew mercy unto them: for my wells run over, and my grace shall not fail.

33 I Esdras received a charge of the Lord upon the mount Oreb, that I should go unto Israel; but when I came unto them, they set me at nought, and despised the commandment of the Lord.

34 And therefore I say unto you, O ye heathen, that hear and understand, look for your Shepherd, he shall give you everlasting rest; for he is nigh at hand, that shall come in the end of the world.

35 Be ready to the reward of the kingdom, for the everlasting light shall shine upon you for evermore.

36 Flee the shadow of this world, receive the joyfulness of your glory: I testify my Saviour openly.

37 O receive the gift that is given you, and be glad, giving thanks unto him that hath led you to the heavenly kingdom.

38 Arise up and stand, behold the number of those that be sealed in the feast of the Lord;

39 Which are departed from the shadow of the world, and have received glorious garments of the Lord.

40 Take thy number, O Sion, and shut up those of thine that are clothed in white, which have fulfilled the law of the Lord.

41 The number of thy children, whom thou longedst for, is fulfilled: beseech the power of the Lord, that thy people, which have been called from the beginning, may be hallowed.

42 I Esdras saw upon the mount Sion a great people, whom I could not number, and they all praised the Lord with songs.

43 And in the midst of them there was a young man of a high stature, taller than all the rest, and upon every one of their heads he set crowns, and was more exalted; which I marvelled at greatly.

44 So I asked the angel, and said, Sir, what are these?

45 He answered and said unto me, These be they that have put off the mortal clothing, and put on the immortal, and have confessed the name of God: now are they crowned, and receive palms.

46 Then said I unto the angel, What young person is it that crowneth them, and giveth them palms in their hands?

47 So he answered and said unto me, It is the Son of God, whom they have confessed in the world. Then began I greatly to commend them that stood so stiffly for the name of the Lord.

48 Then the angel said unto me, Go thy way, and tell my people what manner of things, and how great wonders of the Lord thy God, thou hast seen.

2 ESDRAS CHAPTER 3

(Origin: Hebrew)

1 In the thirtieth year after the ruin of the city I was in Babylon, and lay troubled upon my bed, and my thoughts came up over my heart:

2 For I saw the desolation of Sion, and the wealth of them that dwelt at Babylon.

3 And my spirit was sore moved, so that I began to speak words full of fear to the most High, and said,

4 O Lord, who bearest rule, thou spakest at the beginning, when thou didst plant the earth, and that thyself alone, and commandedst the people,

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5 And gavest a body unto Adam without soul, which was the workmanship of thine hands, and didst breathe into him the breath of life, and he was made living before thee.
6 And thou leadest him into paradise, which thy right hand had planted, before ever the earth came forward.
7 And unto him thou gavest commandment to love thy way: which he transgressed, and immediately thou appointedst death in him and in his generations, of whom came nations, tribes, people, and kindreds, out of number.
8 And every people walked after their own will, and did wonderful things before thee, and despised thy commandments.
9 And again in process of time thou broughtest the flood upon those that dwelt in the world, and destroyedst them.
10 And it came to pass in every of them, that as death was to Adam, so was the flood to these.
11 Nevertheless one of them thou leftest, namely, Noah with his household, of whom came all righteous men.
12 And it happened, that when they that dwelt upon the earth began to multiply, and had gotten them many children, and were a great people, they began again to be more ungodly than the first.
13 Now when they lived so wickedly before thee, thou didst choose thee a man from among them, whose name was Abraham.
14 Him thou lovedst, and unto him only thou shewedst thy will:
15 And madest an everlasting covenant with him, promising him that thou wouldest never forsake his seed.
16 And unto him thou gavest Isaac, and unto Isaac also thou gavest Jacob and Esau. As for Jacob, thou didst choose him to thee, and put by Esau: and so Jacob became a great multitude.
17 And it came to pass, that when thou leadest his seed out of Egypt, thou broughtest them up to the mount Sinai.
18 And bowing the heavens, thou didst set fast the earth, movedst the whole world, and madest the depths to tremble, and troubledst the men of that age.
19 And thy glory went through four gates, of fire, and of earthquake, and of wind, and of cold; that thou mightest give the law unto the seed of Jacob, and diligence unto the generation of Israel.
20 And yet tookest thou not away from them a wicked heart, that thy law might bring forth fruit in them.
21 For the first Adam bearing a wicked heart transgressed, and was overcome; and so be all they that are born of him.
22 Thus infirmity was made permanent; and the law (also) in the heart of the people with the malignity of the root; so that the good departed away, and the evil abode still.
23 So the times passed away, and the years were brought to an end: then didst thou raise thee up a servant, called David:
24 Whom thou commandedst to build a city unto thy name, and to offer incense and oblations unto thee therein.
25 When this was done many years, then they that inhabited the city forsook thee,
26 And in all things did even as Adam and all his generations had done: for they also had a wicked heart:
27 And so thou gavest thy city over into the hands of thine enemies.
28 Are their deeds then any better that inhabit Babylon, that they should therefore have the dominion over Sion?
29 For when I came thither, and had seen impieties without number, then my soul saw many evildoers in this thirtieth year, so that my heart failed me.
30 For I have seen how thou sufferest them sinning, and hast spared wicked doers: and hast destroyed thy people, and hast preserved thine enemies, and hast not signified it.
31 I do not remember how this way may be left: Are they then of Babylon better than they of Sion?
32 Or is there any other people that knoweth thee beside Israel? or what generation hath so believed thy covenants as Jacob?
33 And yet their reward appeareth not, and their labour hath no fruit: for I have gone here and there through the heathen, and I see that they flow in wealth, and think not upon thy commandments.
34 Weigh thou therefore our wickedness now in the balance, and their's also that dwell the world; and so shall thy name no where be found but in Israel.
35 Or when was it that they which dwell upon the earth have not sinned in thy sight? or what people have so kept thy commandments?
36 Thou shalt find that Israel by name hath kept thy precepts; but not the heathen.

2 ESDRAS CHAPTER 4
(Origin: Hebrew)
1 And the angel that was sent unto me, whose name was Uriel, gave me an answer,
2 And said, Thy heart hath gone to far in this world, and thinkest thou to comprehend the way of the most High?
3 Then said I, Yea, my lord. And he answered me, and said, I am sent to shew thee three ways, and to set forth three similitudes before thee:
4 Whereof if thou canst declare me one, I will shew thee also the way that thou desirest to see, and I shall shew thee from whence the wicked heart cometh.
5 And I said, Tell on, my lord. Then said he unto me, Go thy way, weigh me the weight of the fire, or measure me the blast of the wind, or call me again the day that is past.
6 Then answered I and said, What man is able to do that, that thou shouldest ask such things of me?
7 And he said unto me, If I should ask thee how great dwellings are in the midst of the sea, or how many springs are in the beginning of the deep, or how many springs are above the firmament, or which are the outgoings of paradise:
8 Peradventure thou wouldest say unto me, I never went down into the deep, nor as yet into hell, neither did I ever climb up into heaven.
9 Nevertheless now have I asked thee but only of the fire and wind, and of the day wherethrough thou hast passed, and of things from which thou canst not be separated, and yet canst thou give me no answer of them.
10 He said moreover unto me, Thine own things, and such as are grown up with thee, canst thou not know;
11 How should thy vessel then be able to comprehend the way of the Highest, and, the world being now outwardly corrupted to understand the corruption that is evident in my sight?
12 Then said I unto him, It were better that we were not at all, than that we should live still in wickedness, and to suffer, and not to know wherefore.
13 He answered me, and said, I went into a forest into a plain, and the trees took counsel,
14 And said, Come, let us go and make war against the sea that it may depart away before us, and that we may make us more woods.
15 The floods of the sea also in like manner took counsel, and said, Come, let us go up and subdue the woods of the plain, that there also we may make us another country.
16 The thought of the wood was in vain, for the fire came and consumed it.
17 The thought of the floods of the sea came likewise to nought, for the sand stood up and stopped them.
18 If thou wert judge now betwixt these two, whom wouldest thou begin to justify? or whom wouldest thou condemn?
19 I answered and said, Verily it is a foolish thought that they both have devised, for the ground is given unto the wood, and the sea also hath his place to bear his floods.
20 Then answered he me, and said, Thou hast given a right judgement, but why judgest thou not thyself also?
21 For like as the ground is given unto the wood, and the sea to his floods: even so they that dwell upon the earth may understand nothing but that which is upon the earth: and he that dwelleth above the heavens may only understand the things that are above the height of the heavens.
22 Then answered I and said, I beseech thee, O Lord, let me have understanding:
23 For it was not my mind to be curious of the high things, but of such as pass by us daily, namely, wherefore Israel is given up as a reproach to the heathen, and for what cause the people whom thou hast loved is given over unto ungodly nations, and why the law of our forefathers is brought to nought, and the written covenants come to none effect,
24 And we pass away out of the world as grasshoppers, and our life is astonishment and fear, and we are not worthy to obtain mercy.
25 What will he then do unto his name whereby we are called? of these things have I asked.
26 Then answered he me, and said, The more thou searchest, the more thou shalt marvel; for the world hasteth fast to pass away,
27 And cannot comprehend the things that are promised to the righteous in time to come: for this world is full of unrighteousness and infirmities.
28 But as concerning the things whereof thou askest me, I will tell thee; for the evil is sown, but the destruction thereof is not yet come.
29 If therefore that which is sown be not turned upside down, and if the place where the evil is sown pass not away, then cannot it come that is sown with good.
30 For the grain of evil seed hath been sown in the heart of Adam from the beginning, and how much ungodliness hath it brought up unto this time? and how much shall it yet bring forth until the time of threshing come?
31 Ponder now by thyself, how great fruit of wickedness the grain of evil seed hath brought forth.
32 And when the ears shall be cut down, which are without number, how great a floor shall they fill?
33 Then I answered and said, How, and when shall these things come to pass? wherefore are our years few and evil?
34 And he answered me, saying, Do not thou hasten above the most Highest: for thy haste is in vain to be above him, for thou hast much exceeded.
35 Did not the souls also of the righteous ask question of these things in their chambers, saying, How long shall I hope on this fashion? when cometh the fruit of the floor of our reward?
36 And unto these things Uriel the archangel gave them answer, and said, Even when the number of seeds is filled in you: for he hath weighed the world in the balance.
37 By measure hath he measured the times; and by number hath he numbered the times; and he doth not move nor stir them, until the said measure be fulfilled.
38 Then answered I and said, O Lord that bearest rule, even we all are full of impiety.
39 And for our sakes peradventure it is that the floors of the righteous are not filled, because of the sins of them that dwell upon the earth.
40 So he answered me, and said, Go thy way to a woman with child, and ask of her when she hath fulfilled her nine months, if her womb may keep the birth any longer within her.
41 Then said I, No, Lord, that can she not. And he said unto me, In the grave the chambers of souls are like the womb of a woman:
42 For like as a woman that travaileth maketh haste to escape the necessity of the travail: even so do these places haste to deliver those things that are committed unto them.
43 From the beginning, look, what thou desirest to see, it shall be shewed thee.
44 Then answered I and said, If I have found favour in thy sight, and if it be possible, and if I be meet therefore,
45 Shew me then whether there be more to come than is past, or more past than is to come.
46 What is past I know, but what is for to come I know not.
47 And he said unto me, Stand up upon the right side, and I shall expound the similitude unto thee.
48 So I stood, and saw, and, behold, an hot burning oven passed by before me: and it happened that when the flame was gone by I looked, and, behold, the smoke remained still.
49 After this there passed by before me a watery cloud, and sent down much rain with a storm; and when the stormy rain was past, the drops remained still.
50 Then said he unto me, Consider with thyself; as the rain is more than the drops, and as the fire is greater than the smoke; but the drops and the smoke remain behind: so the quantity which is past did more exceed.
51 Then I prayed, and said, May I live, thinkest thou, until that time? or what shall happen in those days?
52 He answered me, and said, As for the tokens whereof thou askest me, I may tell thee of them in part: but as touching thy life, I am not sent to shew thee; for I do not know it.

2 ESDRAS CHAPTER 5
(Origin: Hebrew)
1 Nevertheless as coming the tokens, behold, the days shall come, that they which dwell upon earth shall be taken in a great number, and the way of truth shall be hidden, and the land shall be barren of faith.
2 But iniquity shall be increased above that which now thou seest, or that thou hast heard long ago.
3 And the land, that thou seest now to have root, shalt thou see wasted suddenly.
4 But if the most High grant thee to live, thou shalt see after the third trumpet that the sun shall suddenly shine again in the night, and the moon thrice in the day:
5 And blood shall drop out of wood, and the stone shall give his voice, and the people shall be troubled:
6 And even he shall rule, whom they look not for that dwell upon the earth, and the fowls shall take their flight away together:
7 And the Sodomitish sea shall cast out fish, and make a noise in the night, which many have not known: but they shall all hear the voice thereof.
8 There shall be a confusion also in many places, and the fire shall be oft sent out again, and the wild beasts shall change their places, and menstruous women shall bring forth monsters:
9 And salt waters shall be found in the sweet, and all friends shall destroy one another; then shall wit hide itself, and understanding withdraw itself into his secret chamber,
10 And shall be sought of many, and yet not be found: then shall unrighteousness and incontinency be multiplied upon earth.
11 One land also shall ask another, and say, Is righteousness that maketh a man righteous gone through thee? And it shall say, No.
12 At the same time shall men hope, but nothing obtain: they shall labour, but their ways shall not prosper.
13 To shew thee such tokens I have leave; and if thou wilt pray again, and weep as now, and fast even days, thou shalt hear yet greater things.
14 Then I awaked, and an extreme fearfulness went through all my body, and my mind was troubled, so that it fainted.
15 So the angel that was come to talk with me held me, comforted me, and set me up upon my feet.
16 And in the second night it came to pass, that Salathiel the captain of the people came unto me, saying, Where hast thou been? and why is thy countenance so heavy?

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17 Knowest thou not that Israel is committed unto thee in the land of their captivity?
18 Up then, and eat bread, and forsake us not, as the shepherd that leaveth his flock in the hands of cruel wolves.
19 Then said I unto him, Go thy ways from me, and come not nigh me. And he heard what I said, and went from me.
20 And so I fasted seven days, mourning and weeping, like as Uriel the angel commanded me.
21 And after seven days so it was, that the thoughts of my heart were very grievous unto me again,
22 And my soul recovered the spirit of understanding, and I began to talk with the most High again,
23 And said, O Lord that bearest rule, of every wood of the earth, and of all the trees thereof, thou hast chosen thee one only vine:
24 And of all lands of the whole world thou hast chosen thee one pit: and of all the flowers thereof one lily:
25 And of all the depths of the sea thou hast filled thee one river: and of all builded cities thou hast hallowed Sion unto thyself:
26 And of all the fowls that are created thou hast named thee one dove: and of all the cattle that are made thou hast provided thee one sheep:
27 And among all the multitudes of people thou hast gotten thee one people: and unto this people, whom thou lovedst, thou gavest a law that is approved of all.
28 And now, O Lord, why hast thou given this one people over unto many? and upon the one root hast thou prepared others, and why hast thou scattered thy only one people among many?
29 And they which did gainsay thy promises, and believed not thy covenants, have trodden them down.
30 If thou didst so much hate thy people, yet shouldest thou punish them with thine own hands.
31 Now when I had spoken these words, the angel that came to me the night afore was sent unto me,
32 And said unto me, Hear me, and I will instruct thee; hearken to the thing that I say, and I shall tell thee more.
33 And I said, Speak on, my Lord. Then said he unto me, Thou art sore troubled in mind for Israel's sake: lovest thou that people better than he that made them?
34 And I said, No, Lord: but of very grief have I spoken: for my reins pain me every hour, while I labour to comprehend the way of the most High, and to seek out part of his judgement.
35 And he said unto me, Thou canst not. And I said, Wherefore, Lord? whereunto was I born then? or why was not my mother's womb then my grave, that I might not have seen the travail of Jacob, and the wearisome toil of the stock of Israel?
36 And he said unto me, Number me the things that are not yet come, gather me together the dross that are scattered abroad, make me the flowers green again that are withered,
37 Open me the places that are closed, and bring me forth the winds that in them are shut up, shew me the image of a voice: and then I will declare to thee the thing that thou labourest to know.
38 And I said, O Lord that bearest rule, who may know these things, but he that hath not his dwelling with men?
39 As for me, I am unwise: how may I then speak of these things whereof thou askest me?
40 Then said he unto me, Like as thou canst do none of these things that I have spoken of, even so canst thou not find out my judgement, or in the end the love that I have promised unto my people.
41 And I said, Behold, O Lord, yet art thou nigh unto them that be reserved till the end: and what shall they do that have been before me, or we that be now, or they that shall come after us?
42 And he said unto me, I will liken my judgement unto a ring: like as there is no slackness of the last, even so there is no swiftness of the first.
43 So I answered and said, Couldest thou not make those that have been made, and be now, and that are for to come, at once; that thou mightest shew thy judgement the sooner?
44 Then answered he me, and said, The creature may not haste above the maker; neither may the world hold them at once that shall be created therein.
45 And I said, As thou hast said unto thy servant, that thou, which givest life to all, hast given life at once to the creature that thou hast created, and the creature bare it: even so it might now also bear them that now be present at once.
46 And he said unto me, Ask the womb of a woman, and say unto her, If thou bringest forth children, why dost thou it not together, but one after another? pray her therefore to bring forth ten children at once.
47 And I said, She cannot: but must do it by distance of time.
48 Then said he unto me, Even so have I given the womb of the earth to those that be sown in it in their times.
49 For like as a young child may not bring forth the things that belong to the aged, even so have I disposed the world which I created.
50 And I asked, and said, Seeing thou hast now given me the way, I will proceed to speak before thee: for our mother, of whom thou hast told me that she is young, draweth now nigh unto age.
51 He answered me, and said, Ask a woman that beareth children, and she shall tell thee.
52 Say unto her, Wherefore are unto they whom thou hast now brought forth like those that were before, but less of stature?
53 And she shall answer thee, They that be born in the strength of youth are of one fashion, and they that are born in the time of age, when the womb faileth, are otherwise.
54 Consider thou therefore also, how that ye are less of stature than those that were before you.
55 And so are they that come after you less than ye, as the creatures which now begin to be old, and have passed over the strength of youth.
56 Then said I, Lord, I beseech thee, if I have found favour in thy sight, shew thy servant by whom thou visitest thy creature.

2 ESDRAS CHAPTER 6

(Origin: Hebrew)

1 And he said unto me, In the beginning, when the earth was made, before the borders of the world stood, or ever the winds blew,
2 Before it thundered and lightened, or ever the foundations of paradise were laid,
3 Before the fair flowers were seen, or ever the moveable powers were established, before the innumerable multitude of angels were gathered together,
4 Or ever the heights of the air were lifted up, before the measures of the firmament were named, or ever the chimneys in Sion were hot,
5 And ere the present years were sought out, and or ever the inventions of them that now sin were turned, before they were sealed that have gathered faith for a treasure:
6 Then did I consider these things, and they all were made through me alone, and through none other: by me also they shall be ended, and by none other.
7 Then answered I and said, What shall be the parting asunder of the times? or when shall be the end of the first, and the beginning of it that followeth?
8 And he said unto me, From Abraham unto Isaac, when Jacob and Esau were born of him, Jacob's hand held first the heel of Esau.
9 For Esau is the end of the world, and Jacob is the beginning of it that followeth.
10 The hand of man is betwixt the heel and the hand: other question, Esdras, ask thou not.
11 I answered then and said, O Lord that bearest rule, if I have found favour in thy sight,
12 I beseech thee, shew thy servant the end of thy tokens, whereof thou shewedst me part the last night.
13 So he answered and said unto me, Stand up upon thy feet, and hear a mighty sounding voice.
14 And it shall be as it were a great motion; but the place where thou standest shall not be moved.
15 And therefore when it speaketh be not afraid: for the word is of the end, and the foundation of the earth is understood.
16 And why? because the speech of these things trembleth and is moved: for it knoweth that the end of these things must be changed.
17 And it happened, that when I had heard it I stood up upon my feet, and hearkened, and, behold, there was a voice that spake, and the sound of it was like the sound of many waters.
18 And it said, Behold, the days come, that I will begin to draw nigh, and to visit them that dwell upon the earth,
19 And will begin to make inquisition of them, what they be that have hurt unjustly with their unrighteousness, and when the affliction of Sion shall be fulfilled;
20 And when the world, that shall begin to vanish away, shall be finished, then will I shew these tokens: the books shall be opened before the firmament, and they shall see all together:
21 And the children of a year old shall speak with their voices, the women with child shall bring forth untimely children of three or four months old, and they shall live, and be raised up.
22 And suddenly shall the sown places appear unsown, the full storehouses shall suddenly be found empty:
23 And the trumpet shall give a sound, which when every man heareth, they shall be suddenly afraid.
24 At that time shall friends fight one against another like enemies, and the earth shall stand in fear with those that dwell therein, the springs of the fountains shall stand still, and in three hours they shall not run.
25 Whosoever remaineth from all these that I have told thee shall escape, and see my salvation, and the end of your world.
26 And the men that are received shall see it, who have not tasted death from their birth: and the heart of the inhabitants shall be changed, and turned into another meaning.
27 For evil shall be put out, and deceit shall be quenched.
28 As for faith, it shall flourish, corruption shall be overcome, and the truth, which hath been so long without fruit, shall be declared.
29 And when he talked with me, behold, I looked by little and little upon him before whom I stood.
30 And these words said he unto me; I am come to shew thee the time of the night to come.
31 If thou wilt pray yet more, and fast seven days again, I shall tell thee greater things by day than I have heard.
32 For thy voice is heard before the most High: for the Mighty hath seen thy righteous dealing, he hath seen also thy chastity, which thou hast had ever since thy youth.
33 And therefore hath he sent me to shew thee all these things, and to say unto thee, Be of good comfort and fear not
34 And hasten not with the times that are past, to think vain things, that thou mayest not hasten from the latter times.
35 And it came to pass after this, that I wept again, and fasted seven days in like manner, that I might fulfil the three weeks which he told me.
36 And in the eighth night was my heart vexed within me again, and I began to speak before the most High.
37 For my spirit was greatly set on fire, and my soul was in distress.
38 And I said, O Lord, thou spakest from the beginning of the creation, even the first day, and saidst thus; Let heaven and earth be made; and thy word was a perfect work.
39 And then was the spirit, and darkness and silence were on every side; the sound of man's voice was not yet formed.
40 Then commandedst thou a fair light to come forth of thy treasures, that thy work might appear.
41 Upon the second day thou madest the spirit of the firmament, and commandedst it to part asunder, and to make a division betwixt the waters, that the one part might go up, and the other remain beneath.
42 Upon the third day thou didst command that the waters should be gathered in the seventh part of the earth: six parts hast thou dried up, and kept them, to the intent that of these some being planted of God and tilled might serve thee.
43 For as soon as thy word went forth the work was made.
44 For immediately there was great and innumerable fruit, and many and divers pleasures for the taste, and flowers of unchangeable colour, and odours of wonderful smell: and this was done the third day.
45 Upon the fourth day thou commandedst that the sun should shine, and the moon give her light, and the stars should be in order:
46 And gavest them a charge to do service unto man, that was to be made.
47 Upon the fifth day thou saidst unto the seventh part, where the waters were gathered that it should bring forth living creatures, fowls and fishes: and so it came to pass.
48 For the dumb water and without life brought forth living things at the commandment of God, that all people might praise thy wondrous works.
49 Then didst thou ordain two living creatures, the one thou calledst Enoch, and the other Leviathan;
50 And didst separate the one from the other: for the seventh part, namely, where the water was gathered together, might not hold them both.
51 Unto Enoch thou gavest one part, which was dried up the third day, that he should dwell in the same part, wherein are a thousand hills:
52 But unto Leviathan thou gavest the seventh part, namely, the moist; and hast kept him to be devoured of whom thou wilt, and when.
53 Upon the sixth day thou gavest commandment unto the earth, that before thee it should bring forth beasts, cattle, and creeping things:
54 And after these, Adam also, whom thou madest lord of all thy creatures: of him come we all, and the people also whom thou hast chosen.
55 All this have I spoken before thee, O Lord, because thou madest the world for our sakes
56 As for the other people, which also come of Adam, thou hast said that they are nothing, but be like unto spittle: and hast likened the abundance of them unto a drop that falleth from a vessel.
57 And now, O Lord, behold, these heathen, which have ever been reputed as nothing, have begun to be lords over us, and to devour us.
58 But we thy people, whom thou hast called thy firstborn, thy only begotten, and thy fervent lover, are given into their hands.
59 If the world now be made for our sakes, why do we not possess an inheritance with the world? how long shall this endure?

2 ESDRAS CHAPTER 7

(Origin: Hebrew)

1 And when I had made an end of speaking these words, there was sent unto me the angel which had been sent unto me the nights afore:
2 And he said unto me, Up, Esdras, and hear the words that I am come to tell thee.

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3 And I said, Speak on, my God. Then said he unto me, The sea is set in a wide place, that it might be deep and great.
4 But put the case the entrance were narrow, and like a river;
5 Who then could go into the sea to look upon it, and to rule it? if he went not through the narrow, how could he come into the broad?
6 There is also another thing; A city is builded, and set upon a broad field, and is full of all good things:
7 The entrance thereof is narrow, and is set in a dangerous place to fall, like as if there were a fire on the right hand, and on the left a deep water:
8 And one only path between them both, even between the fire and the water, so small that there could but one man go there at once.
9 If this city now were given unto a man for an inheritance, if he never shall pass the danger set before it, how shall he receive this inheritance?
10 And I said, It is so, Lord. Then said he unto me, Even so also is Israel's portion.
11 Because for their sakes I made the world: and when Adam transgressed my statutes, then was decreed that now is done.
12 Then were the entrances of this world made narrow, full of sorrow and travail: they are but few and evil, full of perils,: and very painful.
13 For the entrances of the elder world were wide and sure, and brought immortal fruit.
14 If then they that live labour not to enter these strait and vain things, they can never receive those that are laid up for them.
15 Now therefore why disquietest thou thyself, seeing thou art but a corruptible man? and why art thou moved, whereas thou art but mortal?
16 Why hast thou not considered in thy mind this thing that is to come, rather than that which is present?
17 Then answered I and said, O Lord that bearest rule, thou hast ordained in thy law, that the righteous should inherit these things, but that the ungodly should perish.
18 Nevertheless the righteous shall suffer strait things, and hope for wide: for they that have done wickedly have suffered the strait things, and yet shall not see the wide.
19 And he said unto me. There is no judge above God, and none that hath understanding above the Highest.
20 For there be many that perish in this life, because they despise the law of God that is set before them.
21 For God hath given strait commandment to such as came, what they should do to live, even as they came, and what they should observe to avoid punishment.
22 Nevertheless they were not obedient unto him; but spake against him, and imagined vain things;
23 And deceived themselves by their wicked deeds; and said of the most High, that he is not; and knew not his ways:
24 But his law have they despised, and denied his covenants; in his statutes have they not been faithful, and have not performed his works.
25 And therefore, Esdras, for the empty are empty things, and for the full are the full things.
26 Behold, the time shall come, that these tokens which I have told thee shall come to pass, and the bride shall appear, and she coming forth shall be seen, that now is withdrawn from the earth.
27 And whosoever is delivered from the foresaid evils shall see my wonders.
28 For my son Jesus shall be revealed with those that be with him, and they that remain shall rejoice within four hundred years.
29 After these years shall my son Christ die, and all men that have life.
30 And the world shall be turned into the old silence seven days, like as in the former judgements: so that no man shall remain.
31 And after seven days the world, that yet awaketh not, shall be raised up, and that shall die that is corrupt
32 And the earth shall restore those that are asleep in her, and so shall the dust those that dwell in silence, and the secret places shall deliver those souls that were committed unto them.
33 And the most High shall appear upon the seat of judgement, and misery shall pass away, and the long suffering shall have an end:
34 But judgement only shall remain, truth shall stand, and faith shall wax strong:
35 And the work shall follow, and the reward shall be shewed, and the good deeds shall be of force, and wicked deeds shall bear no rule.
36 Then said I, Abraham prayed first for the Sodomites, and Moses for the fathers that sinned in the wilderness:
37 And Jesus after him for Israel in the time of Achan:
38 And Samuel and David for the destruction: and Solomon for them that should come to the sanctuary:
39 And Helias for those that received rain; and for the dead, that he might live:
40 And Ezechias for the people in the time of Sennacherib: and many for many.
41 Even so now, seeing corruption is grown up, and wickedness increased, and the righteous have prayed for the ungodly: wherefore shall it not be so now also?
42 He answered me, and said, This present life is not the end where much glory doth abide; therefore have they prayed for the weak.
43 But the day of doom shall be the end of this time, and the beginning of the immortality for to come, wherein corruption is past,
44 Intemperance is at an end, infidelity is cut off, righteousness is grown, and truth is sprung up.
45 Then shall no man be able to save him that is destroyed, nor to oppress him that hath gotten the victory.
46 I answered then and said, This is my first and last saying, that it had been better not to have given the earth unto Adam: or else, when it was given him, to have restrained him from sinning.
47 For what profit is it for men now in this present time to live in heaviness, and after death to look for punishment?
48 O thou Adam, what hast thou done? for though it was thou that sinned, thou art not fallen alone, but we all that come of thee.
49 For what profit is it unto us, if there be promised us an immortal time, whereas we have done the works that bring death?
50 And that there is promised us an everlasting hope, whereas ourselves being most wicked are made vain?
51 And that there are laid up for us dwellings of health and safety, whereas we have lived wickedly?
52 And that the glory of the most High is kept to defend them which have led a wary life, whereas we have walked in the most wicked ways of all?
53 And that there should be shewed a paradise, whose fruit endureth for ever, wherein is security and medicine, since we shall not enter into it?
54 (For we have walked in unpleasant places.)
55 And that the faces of them which have used abstinence shall shine above the stars, whereas our faces shall be blacker than darkness?
56 For while we lived and committed iniquity, we considered not that we should begin to suffer for it after death.
57 Then answered he me, and said, This is the condition of the battle, which man that is born upon the earth shall fight;
58 That, if he be overcome, he shall suffer as thou hast said: but if he get the victory, he shall receive the thing that I say.
59 For this is the life whereof Moses spake unto the people while he lived, saying, Choose thee life, that thou mayest live.
60 Nevertheless they believed not him, nor yet the prophets after him, no nor me which have spoken unto them,
61 That there should not be such heaviness in their destruction, as shall be joy over them that are persuaded to salvation.
62 I answered then, and said, I know, Lord, that the most High is called merciful, in that he hath mercy upon them which are not yet come into the world,
63 And upon those also that turn to his law;
64 And that he is patient, and long suffereth those that have sinned, as his creatures;
65 And that he is bountiful, for he is ready to give where it needeth;
66 And that he is of great mercy, for he multiplieth more and more mercies to them that are present, and that are past, and also to them which are to come.
67 For if he shall not multiply his mercies, the world would not continue with them that inherit therein.
68 And he pardoneth; for if he did not so of his goodness, that they which have committed iniquities might be eased of them, the ten thousandth part of men should not remain living.
69 And being judge, if he should not forgive them that are cured with his word, and put out the multitude of contentions,
70 There should be very few left peradventure in an innumerable multitude.

2 ESDRAS CHAPTER 8

(Origin: Hebrew)

1 And he answered me, saying, The most High hath made this world for many, but the world to come for few.
2 I will tell thee a similitude, Esdras; As when thou askest the earth, it shall say unto thee, that it giveth much mould whereof earthen vessels are made, but little dust that gold cometh of: even so is the course of this present world.
3 There be many created, but few shall be saved.
4 So answered I and said, Swallow then down, O my soul, understanding, and devour wisdom.
5 For thou hast agreed to give ear, and art willing to prophesy: for thou hast no longer space than only to live.
6 O Lord, if thou suffer not thy servant, that we may pray before thee, and thou give us seed unto our heart, and culture to our understanding, that there may come fruit of it; how shall each man live that is corrupt, who beareth the place of a man?
7 For thou art alone, and we all one workmanship of thine hands, like as thou hast said.
8 For when the body is fashioned now in the mother's womb, and thou givest it members, thy creature is preserved in fire and water, and nine months doth thy workmanship endure thy creature which is created in her.
9 But that which keepeth and is kept shall both be preserved: and when the time cometh, the womb preserved delivereth up the things that grew in it.
10 For thou hast commanded out of the parts of the body, that is to say, out of the breasts, milk to be given, which is the fruit of the breasts,
11 That the thing which is fashioned may be nourished for a time, till thou disposest it to thy mercy.
12 Thou broughtest it up with thy righteousness, and nurturedst it in thy law, and reformedst it with thy judgement.
13 And thou shalt mortify it as thy creature, and quicken it as thy work.
14 If therefore thou shalt destroy him which with so great labour was fashioned, it is an easy thing to be ordained by thy commandment, that the thing which was made might be preserved.
15 Now therefore, Lord, I will speak; touching man in general, thou knowest best; but touching thy people, for whose sake I am sorry;
16 And for thine inheritance, for whose cause I mourn; and for Israel, for whom I am heavy; and for Jacob, for whose sake I am troubled;
17 Therefore will I begin to pray before thee for myself and for them: for I see the falls of us that dwell in the land.
18 But I have heard the swiftness of the judge which is to come.
19 Therefore hear my voice, and understand my words, and I shall speak before thee. This is the beginning of the words of Esdras, before he was taken up: and I said,
20 O Lord, thou that dwellest in everlastingness which beholdest from above things in the heaven and in the air;
21 Whose throne is inestimable; whose glory may not be comprehended; before whom the hosts of angels stand with trembling,
22 Whose service is conversant in wind and fire; whose word is true, and sayings constant; whose commandment is strong, and ordinance fearful;
23 Whose look drieth up the depths, and indignation maketh the mountains to melt away; which the truth witnesseth:
24 O hear the prayer of thy servant, and give ear to the petition of thy creature.
25 For while I live I will speak, and so long as I have understanding I will answer.
26 O look not upon the sins of thy people; but on them which serve thee in truth.
27 Regard not the wicked inventions of the heathen, but the desire of those that keep thy testimonies in afflictions.
28 Think not upon those that have walked feignedly before thee: but remember them, which according to thy will have known thy fear.
29 Let it not be thy will to destroy them which have lived like beasts; but to look upon them that have clearly taught thy law.
30 Take thou no indignation at them which are deemed worse than beasts; but love them that always put their trust in thy righteousness and glory.
31 For we and our fathers do languish of such diseases: but because of us sinners thou shalt be called merciful.
32 For if thou hast a desire to have mercy upon us, thou shalt be called merciful, to us namely, that have no works of righteousness.
33 For the just, which have many good works laid up with thee, shall out of their own deeds receive reward.
34 For what is man, that thou shouldest take displeasure at him? or what is a corruptible generation, that thou shouldest be so bitter toward it?
35 For in truth them is no man among them that be born, but he hath dealt wickedly; and among the faithful there is none which hath not done amiss.
36 For in this, O Lord, thy righteousness and thy goodness shall be declared, if thou be merciful unto them which have not the confidence of good works.
37 Then answered he me, and said, Some things hast thou spoken aright, and according unto thy words it shall be.
38 For indeed I will not think on the disposition of them which have sinned before death, before judgement, before destruction:
39 But I will rejoice over the disposition of the righteous, and I will remember also their pilgrimage, and the salvation, and the reward, that they shall have.
40 Like as I have spoken now, so shall it come to pass.
41 For as the husbandman soweth much seed upon the ground, and planteth many trees, and yet the thing that is sown good in his season cometh not up, neither doth all that is planted take root: even so is it of them that are sown in the world; they shall not all be saved.
42 I answered then and said, If I have found grace, let me speak.

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43 Like as the husbandman's seed perisheth, if it come not up, and receive not thy rain in due season; or if there come too much rain, and corrupt it:
44 Even so perisheth man also, which is formed with thy hands, and is called thine own image, because thou art like unto him, for whose sake thou hast made all things, and likened him unto the husbandman's seed.
45 Be not wroth with us but spare thy people, and have mercy upon thine own inheritance: for thou art merciful unto thy creature.
46 Then answered he me, and said, Things present are for the present, and things to cometh for such as be to come.
47 For thou comest far short that thou shouldest be able to love my creature more than I: but I have ofttimes drawn nigh unto thee, and unto it, but never to the unrighteous.
48 In this also thou art marvellous before the most High:
49 In that thou hast humbled thyself, as it becometh thee, and hast not judged thyself worthy to be much glorified among the righteous.
50 For many great miseries shall be done to them that in the latter time shall dwell in the world, because they have walked in great pride.
51 But understand thou for thyself, and seek out the glory for such as be like thee.
52 For unto you is paradise opened, the tree of life is planted, the time to come is prepared, plenteousness is made ready, a city is builded, and rest is allowed, yea, perfect goodness and wisdom.
53 The root of evil is sealed up from you, weakness and the moth is hid from you, and corruption is fled into hell to be forgotten:
54 Sorrows are passed, and in the end is shewed the treasure of immortality.
55 And therefore ask thou no more questions concerning the multitude of them that perish.
56 For when they had taken liberty, they despised the most High, thought scorn of his law, and forsook his ways.
57 Moreover they have trodden down his righteous,
58 And said in their heart, that there is no God; yea, and that knowing they must die.
59 For as the things aforesaid shalt receive you, so thirst and pain are prepared for them: for it was not his will that men should come to nought:
60 But they which be created have defiled the name of him that made them, and were unthankful unto him which prepared life for them.
61 And therefore is my judgement now at hand.
62 These things have I not shewed unto all men, but unto thee, and a few like thee. Then answered I and said,
63 Behold, O Lord, now hast thou shewed me the multitude of the wonders, which thou wilt begin to do in the last times: but at what time, thou hast not shewed me.

2 ESDRAS CHAPTER 9

(Origin: Hebrew)

1 He answered me then, and said, Measure thou the time diligently in itself: and when thou seest part of the signs past, which I have told thee before,
2 Then shalt thou understand, that it is the very same time, wherein the Highest will begin to visit the world which he made.
3 Therefore when there shall be seen earthquakes and uproars of the people in the world:
4 Then shalt thou well understand, that the most High spake of those things from the days that were before thee, even from the beginning.
5 For like as all that is made in the world hath a beginning and an end, and the end is manifest:
6 Even so the times also of the Highest have plain beginnings in wonder and powerful works, and endings in effects and signs.
7 And every one that shall be saved, and shall be able to escape by his works, and by faith, whereby ye have believed,
8 Shall be preserved from the said perils, and shall see my salvation in my land, and within my borders: for I have sanctified them for me from the beginning.
9 Then shall they be in pitiful case, which now have abused my ways: and they that have cast them away despitefully shall dwell in torments.
10 For such as in their life have received benefits, and have not known me;
11 And they that have loathed my law, while they had yet liberty, and, when as yet place of repentance was open unto them, understood not, but despised it;
12 The same must know it after death by pain.
13 And therefore be thou not curious how the ungodly shall be punished, and when: but enquire how the righteous shall be saved, whose the world is, and for whom the world is created.
14 Then answered I and said,
15 I have said before, and now do speak, and will speak it also hereafter, that there be many more of them which perish, than of them which shall be saved:
16 Like as a wave is greater than a drop.
17 And he answered me, saying, Like as the field is, so is also the seed; as the flowers be, such are the colours also; such as the workman is, such also is the work; and as the husbandman is himself, so is his husbandry also: for it was the time of the world.
18 And now when I prepared the world, which was not yet made, even for them to dwell in that now live, no man spake against me.
19 For then every one obeyed: but now the manners of them which are created in this world that is made are corrupted by a perpetual seed, and by a law which is unsearchable rid themselves.
20 So I considered the world, and, behold, there was peril because of the devices that were come into it.
21 And I saw, and spared it greatly, and have kept me a grape of the cluster, and a plant of a great people.
22 Let the multitude perish then, which was born in vain; and let my grape be kept, and my plant; for with great labour have I made it perfect.
23 Nevertheless, if thou wilt cease yet seven days more, (but thou shalt not fast in them,
24 But go into a field of flowers, where no house is builded, and eat only the flowers of the field; taste no flesh, drink no wine, but eat flowers only;)
25 And pray unto the Highest continually, then will I come and talk with thee.
26 So I went my way into the field which is called Ardath, like as he commanded me; and there I sat among the flowers, and did eat of the herbs of the field, and the meat of the same satisfied me.
27 After seven days I sat upon the grass, and my heart was vexed within me, like as before:
28 And I opened my mouth, and began to talk before the most High, and said,
29 O Lord, thou that shewest thyself unto us, thou wast shewed unto our fathers in the wilderness, in a place where no man treadeth, in a barren place, when they came out of Egypt.
30 And thou spakest saying, Hear me, O Israel; and mark my words, thou seed of Jacob.
31 For, behold, I sow my law in you, and it shall bring fruit in you, and ye shall be honoured in it for ever.
32 But our fathers, which received the law, kept it not, and observed not thy ordinances: and though the fruit of thy law did not perish, neither could it, for it was thine;
33 Yet they that received it perished, because they kept not the thing that was sown in them.
34 And, lo, it is a custom, when the ground hath received seed, or the sea a ship, or any vessel meat or drink, that, that being perished wherein it was sown or cast into,
35 That thing also which was sown, or cast therein, or received, doth perish, and remaineth not with us: but with us it hath not happened so.
36 For we that have received the law perish by sin, and our heart also which received it
37 Notwithstanding the law perisheth not, but remaineth in his force.
38 And when I spake these things in my heart, I looked back with mine eyes, and upon the right side I saw a woman, and, behold, she mourned and wept with a loud voice, and was much grieved in heart, and her clothes were rent, and she had ashes upon her head.
39 Then let I my thoughts go that I was in, and turned me unto her,
40 And said unto her, Wherefore weepest thou? why art thou so grieved in thy mind?
41 And she said unto me, Sir, let me alone, that I may bewail myself, and add unto my sorrow, for I am sore vexed in my mind, and brought very low.
42 And I said unto her, What aileth thee? tell me.
43 She said unto me, I thy servant have been barren, and had no child, though I had an husband thirty years,
44 And those thirty years I did nothing else day and night, and every hour, but make my, prayer to the Highest.
45 After thirty years God heard me thine handmaid, looked upon my misery, considered my trouble, and gave me a son: and I was very glad of him, so was my husband also, and all my neighbours: and we gave great honour unto the Almighty.
46 And I nourished him with great travail.
47 So when he grew up, and came to the time that he should have a wife, I made a feast.

2 ESDRAS CHAPTER 10

(Origin: Hebrew)

1 And it so came to pass, that when my son was entered into his wedding chamber, he fell down, and died.
2 Then we all overthrew the lights, and all my neighbours rose up to comfort me: so I took my rest unto the second day at night.
3 And it came to pass, when they had all left off to comfort me, to the end I might be quiet; then rose I up by night and fled, and came hither into this field, as thou seest.
4 And I do now purpose not to return into the city, but here to stay, and neither to eat nor drink, but continually to mourn and to fast until I die.
5 Then left I the meditations wherein I was, and spake to her in anger, saying,
6 Thou foolish woman above all other, seest thou not our mourning, and what happeneth unto us?
7 How that Sion our mother is full of all heaviness, and much humbled, mourning very sore?
8 And now, seeing we all mourn and are sad, for we are all in heaviness, art thou grieved for one son?
9 For ask the earth, and she shall tell thee, that it is she which ought to mourn for the fall of so many that grow upon her.
10 For out of her came all at the first, and out of her shall all others come, and, behold, they walk almost all into destruction, and a multitude of them is utterly rooted out.
11 Who then should make more mourning than she, that hath lost so great a multitude; and not thou, which art sorry but for one?
12 But if thou sayest unto me, My lamentation is not like the earth's, because I have lost the fruit of my womb, which I brought forth with pains, and bare with sorrows;
13 But the earth not so: for the multitude present in it according to the course of the earth is gone, as it came:
14 Then say I unto thee, Like as thou hast brought forth with labour; even so the earth also hath given her fruit, namely, man, ever since the beginning unto him that made her.
15 Now therefore keep thy sorrow to thyself, and bear with a good courage that which hath befallen thee.
16 For if thou shalt acknowledge the determination of God to be just, thou shalt both receive thy son in time, and shalt be commended among women.
17 Go thy way then into the city to thine husband.
18 And she said unto me, That will I not do: I will not go into the city, but here will I die.
19 So I proceeded to speak further unto her, and said,
20 Do not so, but be counselled. by me: for how many are the adversities of Sion? be comforted in regard of the sorrow of Jerusalem.
21 For thou seest that our sanctuary is laid waste, our altar broken down, our temple destroyed;
22 Our psaltery is laid on the ground, our song is put to silence, our rejoicing is at an end, the light of our candlestick is put out, the ark of our covenant is spoiled, our holy things are defiled, and the name that is called upon us is almost profaned: our children are put to shame, our priests are burnt, our Levites are gone into captivity, our virgins are defiled, and our wives ravished; our righteous men carried away, our little ones destroyed, our young men are brought in bondage, and our strong men are become weak;
23 And, which is the greatest of all, the seal of Sion hath now lost her honour; for she is delivered into the hands of them that hate us.
24 And therefore shake off thy great heaviness, and put away the multitude of sorrows, that the Mighty may be merciful unto thee again, and the Highest shall give thee rest and ease from thy labour.
25 And it came to pass while I was talking with her, behold, her face upon a sudden shined exceedingly, and her countenance glistered, so that I was afraid of her, and mused what it might be.
26 And, behold, suddenly she made a great cry very fearful: so that the earth shook at the noise of the woman.
27 And I looked, and, behold, the woman appeared unto me no more, but there was a city builded, and a large place shewed itself from the foundations: then was I afraid, and cried with a loud voice, and said,
28 Where is Uriel the angel, who came unto me at the first? for he hath caused me to fall into many trances, and mine end is turned into corruption, and my prayer to rebuke.
29 And as I was speaking these words behold, he came unto me, and looked upon me.
30 And, lo, I lay as one that had been dead, and mine understanding was taken from me: and he took me by the right hand, and comforted me, and set me upon my feet, and said unto me,
31 What aileth thee? and why art thou so disquieted? and why is thine understanding troubled, and the thoughts of thine heart?
32 And I said, Because thou hast forsaken me, and yet I did according to thy words, and I went into the field, and, lo, I have seen, and yet see, that I am not able to express.
33 And he said unto me, Stand up manfully, and I will advise thee.
34 Then said I, Speak on, my lord, in me; only forsake me not, lest I die frustrate of my hope.
35 For I have seen that I knew not, and hear that I do not know.
36 Or is my sense deceived, or my soul in a dream?
37 Now therefore I beseech thee that thou wilt shew thy servant of this vision.
38 He answered me then, and said, Hear me, and I shall inform thee, and tell thee wherefore thou art afraid: for the Highest will reveal many secret things unto thee.

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39 He hath seen that thy way is right: for that thou sorrowest continually for thy people, and makest great lamentation for Sion.
40 This therefore is the meaning of the vision which thou lately sawest:
41 Thou sawest a woman mourning, and thou begannest to comfort her:
42 But now seest thou the likeness of the woman no more, but there appeared unto thee a city builded.
43 And whereas she told thee of the death of her son, this is the solution:
44 This woman, whom thou sawest is Sion: and whereas she said unto thee, even she whom thou seest as a city builded,
45 Whereas, I say, she said unto thee, that she hath been thirty years barren: those are the thirty years wherein there was no offering made in her.
46 But after thirty years Solomon builded the city and offered offerings: and then bare the barren a son.
47 And whereas she told thee that she nourished him with labour: that was the dwelling in Jerusalem.
48 But whereas she said unto thee, That my son coming into his marriage chamber happened to have a fail, and died: this was the destruction that came to Jerusalem.
49 And, behold, thou sawest her likeness, and because she mourned for her son, thou begannest to comfort her: and of these things which have chanced, these are to be opened unto thee.
50 For now the most High seeth that thou art grieved unfeignedly, and sufferest from thy whole heart for her, so hath he shewed thee the brightness of her glory, and the comeliness of her beauty:
51 And therefore I bade thee remain in the field where no house was builded:
52 For I knew that the Highest would shew this unto thee.
53 Therefore I commanded thee to go into the field, where no foundation of any building was.
54 For in the place wherein the Highest beginneth to shew his city, there can no man's building be able to stand.
55 And therefore fear not, let not thine heart be affrighted, but go thy way in, and see the beauty and greatness of the building, as much as thine eyes be able to see:
56 And then shalt thou hear as much as thine ears may comprehend.
57 For thou art blessed above many other, and art called with the Highest; and so are but few.
58 But to morrow at night thou shalt remain here;
59 And so shall the Highest shew thee visions of the high things, which the most High will do unto them that dwell upon the earth in the last days. So I slept that night and another, like as he commanded me.

2 ESDRAS CHAPTER 11
(Origin: Hebrew)
1 Then saw I a dream, and, behold, there came up from the sea an eagle, which had twelve feathered wings, and three heads.
2 And I saw, and, behold, she spread her wings over all the earth, and all the winds of the air blew on her, and were gathered together.
3 And I beheld, and out of her feathers there grew other contrary feathers; and they became little feathers and small.
4 But her heads were at rest: the head in the midst was greater than the other, yet rested it with the residue.
5 Moreover I beheld, and, lo, the eagle flew with her feathers, and reigned upon earth, and over them that dwelt therein.
6 And I saw that all things under heaven were subject unto her, and no man spake against her, no, not one creature upon earth.
7 And I beheld, and, lo, the eagle rose upon her talons, and spake to her feathers, saying,
8 Watch not all at once: sleep every one in his own place, and watch by course:
9 But let the heads be preserved for the last.
10 And I beheld, and, lo, the voice went not out of her heads, but from the midst of her body.
11 And I numbered her contrary feathers, and, behold, there were eight of them.
12 And I looked, and, behold, on the right side there arose one feather, and reigned over all the earth;
13 And so it was, that when it reigned, the end of it came, and the place thereof appeared no more: so the next following stood up. and reigned, and had a great time;
14 And it happened, that when it reigned, the end of it came also, like as the first, so that it appeared no more.
15 Then came there a voice unto it, and said,
16 Hear thou that hast borne rule over the earth so long: this I say unto thee, before thou beginnest to appear no more,
17 There shall none after thee attain unto thy time, neither unto the half thereof.
18 Then arose the third, and reigned as the other before, and appeared no more also.
19 So went it with all the residue one after another, as that every one reigned, and then appeared no more.
20 Then I beheld, and, lo, in process of time the feathers that followed stood up upon the right side, that they might rule also; and some of them ruled, but within a while they appeared no more:
21 For some of them were set up, but ruled not.
22 After this I looked, and, behold, the twelve feathers appeared no more, nor the two little feathers:
23 And there was no more upon the eagle's body, but three heads that rested, and six little wings.
24 Then saw I also that two little feathers divided themselves from the six, and remained under the head that was upon the right side: for the four continued in their place.
25 And I beheld, and, lo, the feathers that were under the wing thought to set up themselves and to have the rule.
26 And I beheld, and, lo, there was one set up, but shortly it appeared no more.
27 And the second was sooner away than the first.
28 And I beheld, and, lo, the two that remained thought also in themselves to reign:
29 And when they so thought, behold, there awaked one of the heads that were at rest, namely, it that was in the midst; for that was greater than the two other heads.
30 And then I saw that the two other heads were joined with it.
31 And, behold, the head was turned with them that were with it, and did eat up the two feathers under the wing that would have reigned.
32 But this head put the whole earth in fear, and bare rule in it over all those that dwelt upon the earth with much oppression; and it had the governance of the world more than all the wings that had been.
33 And after this I beheld, and, lo, the head that was in the midst suddenly appeared no more, like as the wings.
34 But there remained the two heads, which also in like sort ruled upon the earth, and over those that dwelt therein.
35 And I beheld, and, lo, the head upon the right side devoured it that was upon the left side.
36 Then I head a voice, which said unto me, Look before thee, and consider the thing that thou seest.
37 And I beheld, and lo, as it were a roaring lion chased out of the wood: and I saw that he sent out a man's voice unto the eagle, and said,
38 Hear thou, I will talk with thee, and the Highest shall say unto thee,
39 Art not thou it that remainest of the four beasts, whom I made to reign in my world, that the end of their times might come through them?
40 And the fourth came, and overcame all the beasts that were past, and had power over the world with great fearfulness, and over the whole compass of the earth with much wicked oppression; and so long time dwelt he upon the earth with deceit.
41 For the earth hast thou not judged with truth.
42 For thou hast afflicted the meek, thou hast hurt the peaceable, thou hast loved liars, and destroyed the dwellings of them that brought forth fruit, and hast cast down the walls of such as did thee no harm.
43 Therefore is thy wrongful dealing come up unto the Highest, and thy pride unto the Mighty.
44 The Highest also hath looked upon the proud times, and, behold, they are ended, and his abominations are fulfilled.
45 And therefore appear no more, thou eagle, nor thy horrible wings, nor thy wicked feathers nor thy malicious heads, nor thy hurtful claws, nor all thy vain body:
46 That all the earth may be refreshed, and may return, being delivered from thy violence, and that she may hope for the judgement and mercy of him that made her.

2 ESDRAS CHAPTER 12
(Origin: Hebrew)
1 And it came to pass, whiles the lion spake these words unto the eagle, I saw,
2 And, behold, the head that remained and the four wings appeared no more, and the two went unto it and set themselves up to reign, and their kingdom was small, and fill of uproar.
3 And I saw, and, behold, they appeared no more, and the whole body of the eagle was burnt so that the earth was in great fear: then awaked I out of the trouble and trance of my mind, and from great fear, and said unto my spirit,
4 Lo, this hast thou done unto me, in that thou searchest out the ways of the Highest.
5 Lo, yet am I weary in my mind, and very weak in my spirit; and little strength is there in me, for the great fear wherewith I was afflicted this night.
6 Therefore will I now beseech the Highest, that he will comfort me unto the end.
7 And I said, Lord that bearest rule, if I have found grace before thy sight, and if I am justified with thee before many others, and if my prayer indeed be come up before thy face;
8 Comfort me then, and shew me thy servant the interpretation and plain difference of this fearful vision, that thou mayest perfectly comfort my soul.
9 For thou hast judged me worthy to shew me the last times.
10 And he said unto me, This is the interpretation of the vision:
11 The eagle, whom thou sawest come up from the sea, is the kingdom which was seen in the vision of thy brother Daniel.
12 But it was not expounded unto him, therefore now I declare it unto thee.
13 Behold, the days will come, that there shall rise up a kingdom upon earth, and it shall be feared above all the kingdoms that were before it.
14 In the same shall twelve kings reign, one after another:
15 Whereof the second shall begin to reign, and shall have more time than any of the twelve.
16 And this do the twelve wings signify, which thou sawest.
17 As for the voice which thou heardest speak, and that thou sawest not to go out from the heads but from the midst of the body thereof, this is the interpretation:
18 That after the time of that kingdom there shall arise great strivings, and it shall stand in peril of failing: nevertheless it shall not then fall, but shall be restored again to his beginning.
19 And whereas thou sawest the eight small under feathers sticking to her wings, this is the interpretation:
20 That in him there shall arise eight kings, whose times shall be but small, and their years swift.
21 And two of them shall perish, the middle time approaching: four shall be kept until their end begin to approach: but two shall be kept unto the end.
22 And whereas thou sawest three heads resting, this is the interpretation:
23 In his last days shall the most High raise up three kingdoms, and renew many things therein, and they shall have the dominion of the earth,
24 And of those that dwell therein, with much oppression, above all those that were before them: therefore are they called the heads of the eagle.
25 For these are they that shall accomplish his wickedness, and that shall finish his last end.
26 And whereas thou sawest that the great head appeared no more, it signifieth that one of them shall die upon his bed, and yet with pain.
27 For the two that remain shall be slain with the sword.
28 For the sword of the one shall devour the other: but at the last shall he fall through the sword himself.
29 And whereas thou sawest two feathers under the wings passing over the head that is on the right side;
30 It signifieth that these are they, whom the Highest hath kept unto their end: this is the small kingdom and full of trouble, as thou sawest.
31 And the lion, whom thou sawest rising up out of the wood, and roaring, and speaking to the eagle, and rebuking her for her unrighteousness with all the words which thou hast heard;
32 This is the anointed, which the Highest hath kept for them and for their wickedness unto the end: he shall reprove them, and shall upbraid them with their cruelty.
33 For he shall set them before him alive in judgement, and shall rebuke them, and correct them.
34 For the rest of my people shall he deliver with mercy, those that have been pressed upon my borders, and he shall make them joyful until the coming of the day of judgement, whereof I have spoken unto thee from the beginning.
35 This is the dream that thou sawest, and these are the interpretations.
36 Thou only hast been meet to know this secret of the Highest.
37 Therefore write all these things that thou hast seen in a book, and hide them:
38 And teach them to the wise of the people, whose hearts thou knowest may comprehend and keep these secrets.
39 But wait thou here thyself yet seven days more, that it may be shewed thee, whatsoever it pleaseth the Highest to declare unto thee. And with that he went his way.
40 And it came to pass, when all the people saw that the seven days were past, and I not come again into the city, they gathered them all together, from the least unto the greatest, and came unto me, and said,
41 What have we offended thee? and what evil have we done against thee, that thou forsakest us, and sittest here in this place?
42 For of all the prophets thou only art left us, as a cluster of the vintage, and as a candle in a dark place, and as a haven or ship preserved from the tempest.
43 Are not the evils which are come to us sufficient?
44 If thou shalt forsake us, how much better had it been for us, if we also had been burned in the midst of Sion?
45 For we are not better than they that died there. And they wept with a loud voice. Then answered I them, and said,
46 Be of good comfort, O Israel; and be not heavy, thou house of Jacob:
47 For the Highest hath you in remembrance, and the Mighty hath not forgotten you in temptation.
48 As for me, I have not forsaken you, neither am I departed from you: but am come into this place, to pray for the

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desolation of Sion, and that I might seek mercy for the low estate of your sanctuary.
49 And now go your way home every man, and after these days will I come unto you.
50 So the people went their way into the city, like as I commanded them:
51 But I remained still in the field seven days, as the angel commanded me; and did eat only in those days of the flowers of the field, and had my meat of the herbs

2 ESDRAS CHAPTER 13
(Origin: Hebrew)
1 And it came to pass after seven days, I dreamed a dream by night:
2 And, lo, there arose a wind from the sea, that it moved all the waves thereof.
3 And I beheld, and, lo, that man waxed strong with the thousands of heaven: and when he turned his countenance to look, all the things trembled that were seen under him.
4 And whensoever the voice went out of his mouth, all they burned that heard his voice, like as the earth faileth when it feeleth the fire.
5 And after this I beheld, and, lo, there was gathered together a multitude of men, out of number, from the four winds of the heaven, to subdue the man that came out of the sea
6 But I beheld, and, lo, he had graved himself a great mountain, and flew up upon it.
7 But I would have seen the region or place whereout the hill was graven, and I could not.
8 And after this I beheld, and, lo, all they which were gathered together to subdue him were sore afraid, and yet durst fight.
9 And, lo, as he saw the violence of the multitude that came, he neither lifted up his hand, nor held sword, nor any instrument of war:
10 But only I saw that he sent out of his mouth as it had been a blast of fire, and out of his lips a flaming breath, and out of his tongue he cast out sparks and tempests.
11 And they were all mixed together; the blast of fire, the flaming breath, and the great tempest; and fell with violence upon the multitude which was prepared to fight, and burned them up every one, so that upon a sudden of an innumerable multitude nothing was to be perceived, but only dust and smell of smoke: when I saw this I was afraid.
12 Afterward saw I the same man come down from the mountain, and call unto him another peaceable Multitude.
13 And there came much people unto him, whereof some were glad, some were sorry, and some of them were bound, and other some brought of them that were offered: then was I sick through great fear, and I awaked, and said,
14 Thou hast shewed thy servant these wonders from the beginning, and hast counted me worthy that thou shouldest receive my prayer:
15 Shew me now yet the interpretation of this dream.
16 For as I conceive in mine understanding, woe unto them that shall be left in those days and much more woe unto them that are not left behind!
17 For they that were not left were in heaviness.
18 Now understand I the things that are laid up in the latter days, which shall happen unto them, and to those that are left behind.
19 Therefore are they come into great perils and many necessities, like as these dreams declare.
20 Yet is it easier for him that is in danger to come into these things, than to pass away as a cloud out of the world, and not to see the things that happen in the last days. And he answered unto me, and said,
21 The interpretation of the vision shall I shew thee, and I will open unto thee the thing that thou hast required.
22 Whereas thou hast spoken of them that are left behind, this is the interpretation:
23 He that shall endure the peril in that time hath kept himself: they that be fallen into danger are such as have works, and faith toward the Almighty.
24 Know this therefore, that they which be left behind are more blessed than they that be dead.
25 This is the meaning of the vision: Whereas thou sawest a man coming up from the midst of the sea:
26 The same is he whom God the Highest hath kept a great season, which by his own self shall deliver his creature: and he shall order them that are left behind.
27 And whereas thou sawest, that out of his mouth there came as a blast of wind, and fire, and storm;
28 And that he held neither sword, nor any instrument of war, but that the rushing in of him destroyed the whole multitude that came to subdue him; this is the interpretation:
29 Behold, the days come, when the most High will begin to deliver them that are upon the earth.
30 And he shall come to the astonishment of them that dwell on the earth.
31 And one shall undertake to fight against another, one city against another, one place against another, one people against another, and one realm against another.
32 And the time shall be when these things shall come to pass, and the signs shall happen which I shewed thee before, and then shall my Son be declared, whom thou sawest as a man ascending.
33 And when all the people hear his voice, every man shall in their own land leave the battle they have one against another.
34 And an innumerable multitude shall be gathered together, as thou sawest them, willing to come, and to overcome him by fighting.
35 But he shall stand upon the top of the mount Sion.
36 And Sion shall come, and shall be shewed to all men, being prepared and builded, like as thou sawest the hill graven without hands.
37 And this my Son shall rebuke the wicked inventions of those nations, which for their wicked life are fallen into the tempest;
38 And shall lay before them their evil thoughts, and the torments wherewith they shall begin to be tormented, which are like unto a flame: and he shall destroy them without labour by the law which is like unto me.
39 And whereas thou sawest that he gathered another peaceable multitude unto him;
40 Those are the ten tribes, which were carried away prisoners out of their own land in the time of Osea the king, whom Salmanasar the king of Assyria led away captive, and he carried them over the waters, and so came they into another land.
41 But they took this counsel among themselves, that they would leave the multitude of the heathen, and go forth into a further country, where never mankind dwelt,
42 That they might there keep their statutes, which they never kept in their own land.
43 And they entered into Euphrates by the narrow places of the river.
44 For the most High then shewed signs for them, and held still the flood, till they were passed over.
45 For through that country there was a great way to go, namely, of a year and a half: and the same region is called Arsareth.
46 Then dwelt they there until the latter time; and now when they shall begin to come,
47 The Highest shall stay the springs of the stream again, that they may go through: therefore sawest thou the multitude with peace.
48 But those that be left behind of thy people are they that are found within my borders.
49 Now when he destroyeth the multitude of the nations that are gathered together, he shall defend his people that remain.
50 And then shall he shew them great wonders.
51 Then said I, O Lord that bearest rule, shew me this: Wherefore have I seen the man coming up from the midst of the sea?
52 And he said unto me, Like as thou canst neither seek out nor know the things that are in the deep of the sea: even so can no man upon earth see my Son, or those that be with him, but in the day time.
53 This is the interpretation of the dream which thou sawest, and whereby thou only art here lightened.
54 For thou hast forsaken thine own way, and applied thy diligence unto my law, and sought it.
55 Thy life hast thou ordered in wisdom, and hast called understanding thy mother.
56 And therefore have I shewed thee the treasures of the Highest: after other three days I will speak other things unto thee, and declare unto thee mighty and wondrous things.
57 Then went I forth into the field, giving praise and thanks greatly unto the most High because of his wonders which he did in time;
58 And because he governeth the same, and such things as fall in their seasons: and there I sat three days.

2 ESDRAS CHAPTER 14
(Origin: Hebrew)
1 And it came to pass upon the third day, I sat under an oak, and, behold, there came a voice out of a bush over against me, and said, Esdras, Esdras.
2 And I said, Here am I, Lord And I stood up upon my feet.
3 Then said he unto me, In the bush I did manifestly reveal myself unto Moses, and talked with him, when my people served in Egypt:
4 And I sent him and led my people out of Egypt, and brought him up to the mount of where I held him by me a long season,
5 And told him many wondrous things, and shewed him the secrets of the times, and the end; and commanded him, saying,
6 These words shalt thou declare, and these shalt thou hide.
7 And now I say unto thee,
8 That thou lay up in thy heart the signs that I have shewed, and the dreams that thou hast seen, and the interpretations which thou hast heard:
9 For thou shalt be taken away from all, and from henceforth thou shalt remain with my Son, and with such as be like thee, until the times be ended.
10 For the world hath lost his youth, and the times begin to wax old.
11 For the world is divided into twelve parts, and the ten parts of it are gone already, and half of a tenth part:
12 And there remaineth that which is after the half of the tenth part.
13 Now therefore set thine house in order, and reprove thy people, comfort such of them as be in trouble, and now renounce corruption,
14 Let go from thee mortal thoughts, cast away the burdens of man, put off now the weak nature,
15 And set aside the thoughts that are most heavy unto thee, and haste thee to flee from these times.
16 For yet greater evils than those which thou hast seen happen shall be done hereafter.
17 For look how much the world shall be weaker through age, so much the more shall evils increase upon them that dwell therein.
18 For the time is fled far away, and leasing is hard at hand: for now hasteth the vision to come, which thou hast seen.
19 Then answered I before thee, and said,
20 Behold, Lord, I will go, as thou hast commanded me, and reprove the people which are present: but they that shall be born afterward, who shall admonish them? thus the world is set in darkness, and they that dwell therein are without light.
21 For thy law is burnt, therefore no man knoweth the things that are done of thee, or the work that shall begin.
22 But if I have found grace before thee, send the Holy Ghost into me, and I shall write all that hath been done in the world since the beginning, which were written in thy law, that men may find thy path, and that they which will live in the latter days may live.
23 And he answered me, saying, Go thy way, gather the people together, and say unto them, that they seek thee not for forty days.
24 But look thou prepare thee many box trees, and take with thee Sarea, Dabria, Selemia, Ecanus, and Asiel, these five which are ready to write swiftly;
25 And come hither, and I shall light a candle of understanding in thine heart, which shall not be put out, till the things be performed which thou shalt begin to write.
26 And when thou hast done, some things shalt thou publish, and some things shalt thou shew secretly to the wise: to morrow this hour shalt thou begin to write.
27 Then went I forth, as he commanded, and gathered all the people together, and said,
28 Hear these words, O Israel.
29 Our fathers at the beginning were strangers in Egypt, from whence they were delivered:
30 And received the law of life, which they kept not, which ye also have transgressed after them.
31 Then was the land, even the land of Sion, parted among you by lot: but your fathers, and ye yourselves, have done unrighteousness, and have not kept the ways which the Highest commanded you.
32 And forasmuch as he is a righteous judge, he took from you in time the thing that he had given you.
33 And now are ye here, and your brethren among you.
34 Therefore if so be that ye will subdue your own understanding, and reform your hearts, ye shall be kept alive and after death ye shall obtain mercy.
35 For after death shall the judgement come, when we shall live again: and then shall the names of the righteous be manifest, and the works of the ungodly shall be declared.
36 Let no man therefore come unto me now, nor seek after me these forty days.
37 So I took the five men, as he commanded me, and we went into the field, and remained there.
38 And the next day, behold, a voice called me, saying, Esdras, open thy mouth, and drink that I give thee to drink.
39 Then opened I my mouth, and, behold, he reached me a full cup, which was full as it were with water, but the colour of it was like fire.
40 And I took it, and drank: and when I had drunk of it, my heart uttered understanding, and wisdom grew in my breast, for my spirit strengthened my memory:
41 And my mouth was opened, and shut no more.
42 The Highest gave understanding unto the five men, and they wrote the wonderful visions of the night that were told, which they knew not: and they sat forty days, and they wrote in the day, and at night they ate bread.
43 As for me. I spake in the day, and I held not my tongue by night.
44 In forty days they wrote two hundred and four books.
45 And it came to pass, when the forty days were filled, that the Highest spake, saying, The first that thou hast written publish openly, that the worthy and unworthy may read it:
46 But keep the seventy last, that thou mayest deliver them only to such as be wise among the people:

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47 For in them is the spring of understanding, the fountain of wisdom, and the stream of knowledge.
48 And I did so.

2 ESDRAS CHAPTER 15
(Origin: Roman-Latin)
1 Behold, speak thou in the ears of my people the words of prophecy, which I will put in thy mouth, saith the Lord:
2 And cause them to be written in paper: for they are faithful and true.
3 Fear not the imaginations against thee, let not the incredulity of them trouble thee, that speak against thee.
4 For all the unfaithful shall die in their unfaithfulness.
5 Behold, saith the Lord, I will bring plagues upon the world; the sword, famine, death, and destruction.
6 For wickedness hath exceedingly polluted the whole earth, and their hurtful works are fulfilled.
7 Therefore saith the Lord,
8 I will hold my tongue no more as touching their wickedness, which they profanely commit, neither will I suffer them in those things, in which they wickedly exercise themselves: behold, the innocent and righteous blood crieth unto me, and the souls of the just complain continually.
9 And therefore, saith the Lord, I will surely avenge them, and receive unto me all the innocent blood from among them.
10 Behold, my people is led as a flock to the slaughter: I will not suffer them now to dwell in the land of Egypt:
11 But I will bring them with a mighty hand and a stretched out arm, and smite Egypt with plagues, as before, and will destroy all the land thereof.
12 Egypt shall mourn, and the foundation of it shall be smitten with the plague and punishment that God shall bring upon it.
13 They that till the ground shall mourn: for their seeds shall fail through the blasting and hail, and with a fearful constellation.
14 Woe to the world and them that dwell therein!
15 For the sword and their destruction draweth nigh, and one people shall stand up and fight against another, and swords in their hands.
16 For there shall be sedition among men, and invading one another; they shall not regard their kings nor princes, and the course of their actions shall stand in their power.
17 A man shall desire to go into a city, and shall not be able.
18 For because of their pride the cities shall be troubled, the houses shall be destroyed, and men shall be afraid.
19 A man shall have no pity upon his neighbour, but shall destroy their houses with the sword, and spoil their goods, because of the lack of bread, and for great tribulation.
20 Behold, saith God, I will call together all the kings of the earth to reverence me, which are from the rising of the sun, from the south, from the east, and Libanus; to turn themselves one against another, and repay the things that they have done to them.
21 Like as they do yet this day unto my chosen, so will I do also, and recompense in their bosom. Thus saith the Lord God;
22 My right hand shall not spare the sinners, and my sword shall not cease over them that shed innocent blood upon the earth.
23 The fire is gone forth from his wrath, and hath consumed the foundations of the earth, and the sinners, like the straw that is kindled.
24 Woe to them that sin, and keep not my commandments! saith the Lord.
25 I will not spare them: go your way, ye children, from the power, defile not my sanctuary.
26 For the Lord knoweth all them that sin against him, and therefore delivereth he them unto death and destruction.
27 For now are the plagues come upon the whole earth and ye shall remain in them: for God shall not deliver you, because ye have sinned against him.
28 Behold an horrible vision, and the appearance thereof from the east:
29 Where the nations of the dragons of Arabia shall come out with many chariots, and the multitude of them shall be carried as the wind upon earth, that all they which hear them may fear and tremble.
30 Also the Carmanians raging in wrath shall go forth as the wild boars of the wood, and with great power shall they come, and join battle with them, and shall waste a portion of the land of the Assyrians.
31 And then shall the dragons have the upper hand, remembering their nature; and if they shall turn themselves, conspiring together in great power to persecute them,
32 Then these shall be troubled bled, and keep silence through their power, and shall flee.
33 And from the land of the Assyrians shall the enemy besiege them, and consume some of them, and in their host shall be fear and dread, and strife among their kings.
34 Behold clouds from the east and from the north unto the south, and they are very horrible to look upon, full of wrath and storm.
35 They shall smite one upon another, and they shall smite down a great multitude of stars upon the earth, even their own star; and blood shall be from the sword unto the belly,
36 And dung of men unto the camel's hough.
37 And there shall be great fearfulness and trembling upon earth: and they that see the wrath shall be afraid, and trembling shall come upon them.
38 And then shall there come great storms from the south, and from the north, and another part from the west.
39 And strong winds shall arise from the east, and shall open it; and the cloud which he raised up in wrath, and the star stirred to cause fear toward the east and west wind, shall be destroyed.
40 The great and mighty clouds shall be puffed up full of wrath, and the star, that they may make all the earth afraid, and them that dwell therein; and they shall pour out over every high and eminent place an horrible star,
41 Fire, and hail, and flying swords, and many waters, that all fields may be full, and all rivers, with the abundance of great waters.
42 And they shall break down the cities and walls, mountains and hills, trees of the wood, and grass of the meadows, and their corn.
43 And they shall go stedfastly unto Babylon, and make her afraid.
44 They shall come to her, and besiege her, the star and all wrath shall they pour out upon her: then shall the dust and smoke go up unto the heaven, and all they that be about her shall bewail her.
45 And they that remain under her shall do service unto them that have put her in fear.
46 And thou, Asia, that art partaker of the hope of Babylon, and art the glory of her person:
47 Woe be unto thee, thou wretch, because thou hast made thyself like unto her; and hast decked thy daughters in whoredom, that they might please and glory in thy lovers, which have always desired to commit whoredom with thee.
48 Thou hast followed her that is hated in all her works and inventions: therefore saith God,
49 I will send plagues upon thee; widowhood, poverty, famine, sword, and pestilence, to waste thy houses with destruction and death.
50 And the glory of thy Power shall be dried up as a flower, the heat shall arise that is sent over thee.
51 Thou shalt be weakened as a poor woman with stripes, and as one chastised with wounds, so that the mighty and lovers shall not be able to receive thee.
52 Would I with jealousy have so proceeded against thee, saith the Lord,
53 If thou hadst not always slain my chosen, exalting the stroke of thine hands, and saying over their dead, when thou wast drunken,
54 Set forth the beauty of thy countenance?
55 The reward of thy whoredom shall be in thy bosom, therefore shalt thou receive recompence.
56 Like as thou hast done unto my chosen, saith the Lord, even so shall God do unto thee, and shall deliver thee into mischief
57 Thy children shall die of hunger, and thou shalt fall through the sword: thy cities shall be broken down, and all thine shall perish with the sword in the field.
58 They that be in the mountains shall die of hunger, and eat their own flesh, and drink their own blood, for very hunger of bread, and thirst of water.
59 Thou as unhappy shalt come through the sea, and receive plagues again.
60 And in the passage they shall rush on the idle city, and shall destroy some portion of thy land, and consume part of thy glory, and shall return to Babylon that was destroyed.
61 And thou shalt be cast down by them as stubble, and they shall be unto thee as fire;
62 And shall consume thee, and thy cities, thy land, and thy mountains; all thy woods and thy fruitful trees shall they burn up with fire.
63 Thy children shall they carry away captive, and, look, what thou hast, they shall spoil it, and mar the beauty of thy face.

2 ESDRAS CHAPTER 16
(Origin: Roman-Latin)
1 Woe be unto thee, Babylon, and Asia! woe be unto thee, Egypt and Syria!
2 Gird up yourselves with cloths of sack and hair, bewail your children, and be sorry; for your destruction is at hand.
3 A sword is sent upon you, and who may turn it back?
4 A fire is sent among you, and who may quench it?
5 Plagues are sent unto you, and what is he that may drive them away?
6 May any man drive away an hungry lion in the wood? or may any one quench the fire in stubble, when it hath begun to burn?
7 May one turn again the arrow that is shot of a strong archer?
8 The mighty Lord sendeth the plagues and who is he that can drive them away?
9 A fire shall go forth from his wrath, and who is he that may quench it?
10 He shall cast lightnings, and who shall not fear? he shall thunder, and who shall not be afraid?
11 The Lord shall threaten, and who shall not be utterly beaten to powder at his presence?
12 The earth quaketh, and the foundations thereof; the sea ariseth up with waves from the deep, and the waves of it are troubled, and the fishes thereof also, before the Lord, and before the glory of his power:
13 For strong is his right hand that bendeth the bow, his arrows that he shooteth are sharp, and shall not miss, when they begin to be shot into the ends of the world.
14 Behold, the plagues are sent, and shall not return again, until they come upon the earth.
15 The fire is kindled, and shall not be put out, till it consume the foundation of the earth.
16 Like as an arrow which is shot of a mighty archer returneth not backward: even so the plagues that shall be sent upon earth shall not return again.
17 Woe is me! woe is me! who will deliver me in those days?
18 The beginning of sorrows and great mournings; the beginning of famine and great death; the beginning of wars, and the powers shall stand in fear; the beginning of evils! what shall I do when these evils shall come?
19 Behold, famine and plague, tribulation and anguish, are sent as scourges for amendment.
20 But for all these things they shall not turn from their wickedness, nor be always mindful of the scourges.
21 Behold, victuals shall be so good cheap upon earth, that they shall think themselves to be in good case, and even then shall evils grow upon earth, sword, famine, and great confusion.
22 For many of them that dwell upon earth shall perish of famine; and the other, that escape the hunger, shall the sword destroy.
23 And the dead shall be cast out as dung, and there shall be no man to comfort them: for the earth shall be wasted, and the cities shall be cast down.
24 There shall be no man left to till the earth, and to sow it
25 The trees shall give fruit, and who shall gather them?
26 The grapes shall ripen, and who shall tread them? for all places shall be desolate of men:
27 So that one man shall desire to see another, and to hear his voice.
28 For of a city there shall be ten left, and two of the field, which shall hide themselves in the thick groves, and in the clefts of the rocks.
29 As in an orchard of Olives upon every tree there are left three or four olives;
30 Or as when a vineyard is gathered, there are left some clusters of them that diligently seek through the vineyard:
31 Even so in those days there shall be three or four left by them that search their houses with the sword.
32 And the earth shall be laid waste, and the fields thereof shall wax old, and her ways and all her paths shall grow full of thorns, because no man shall travel therethrough.
33 The virgins shall mourn, having no bridegrooms; the women shall mourn, having no husbands; their daughters shall mourn, having no helpers.
34 In the wars shall their bridegrooms be destroyed, and their husbands shall perish of famine.
35 Hear now these things and understand them, ye servants of the Lord.
36 Behold, the word of the Lord, receive it: believe not the gods of whom the Lord spake.
37 Behold, the plagues draw nigh, and are not slack.
38 As when a woman with child in the ninth month bringeth forth her son, with two or three hours of her birth great pains compass her womb, which pains, when the child cometh forth, they slack not a moment:
39 Even so shall not the plagues be slack to come upon the earth, and the world shall mourn, and sorrows shall come upon it on every side.
40 O my people, hear my word: make you ready to thy battle, and in those evils be even as pilgrims upon the earth.
41 He that selleth, let him be as he that fleeth away: and he that buyeth, as one that will lose:
42 He that occupieth merchandise, as he that hath no profit by it: and he that buildeth, as he that shall not dwell therein:
43 He that soweth, as if he should not reap: so also he that planteth the vineyard, as he that shall not gather the grapes:
44 They that marry, as they that shall get no children; and they that marry not, as the widowers.
45 And therefore they that labour labour in vain:
46 For strangers shall reap their fruits, and spoil their goods, overthrow their houses, and take their children captives, for in captivity and famine shall they get children.
47 And they that occupy their merchandise with robbery, the more they deck their cities, their houses, their possessions, and their own persons:

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48 The more will I be angry with them for their sin, saith the Lord.

49 Like as a whore envieth a right honest and virtuous woman:

50 So shall righteousness hate iniquity, when she decketh herself, and shall accuse her to her face, when he cometh that shall defend him that diligently searcheth out every sin upon earth.

51 And therefore be ye not like thereunto, nor to the works thereof.

52 For yet a little, and iniquity shall be taken away out of the earth, and righteousness shall reign among you.

53 Let not the sinner say that he hath not sinned: for God shall burn coals of fire upon his head, which saith before the Lord God and his glory, I have not sinned.

54 Behold, the Lord knoweth all the works of men, their imaginations, their thoughts, and their hearts:

55 Which spake but the word, Let the earth be made; and it was made: Let the heaven be made; and it was created.

56 In his word were the stars made, and he knoweth the number of them.

57 He searcheth the deep, and the treasures thereof; he hath measured the sea, and what it containeth.

58 He hath shut the sea in the midst of the waters, and with his word hath he hanged the earth upon the waters.

59 He spreadeth out the heavens like a vault; upon the waters hath he founded it.

60 In the desert hath he made springs of water, and pools upon the tops of the mountains, that the floods might pour down from the high rocks to water the earth.

61 He made man, and put his heart in the midst of the body, and gave him breath, life, and understanding.

62 Yea and the Spirit of Almighty God, which made all things, and searcheth out all hidden things in the secrets of the earth,

63 Surely he knoweth your inventions, and what ye think in your hearts, even them that sin, and would hide their sin.

64 Therefore hath the Lord exactly searched out all your works, and he will put you all to shame.

65 And when your sins are brought forth, ye shall be ashamed before men, and your own sins shall be your accusers in that day.

66 What will ye do? or how will ye hide your sins before God and his angels?

67 Behold, God himself is the judge, fear him: leave off from your sins, and forget your iniquities, to meddle no more with them for ever: so shall God lead you forth, and deliver you from all trouble.

68 For, behold, the burning wrath of a great multitude is kindled over you, and they shall take away certain of you, and feed you, being idle, with things offered unto idols.

69 And they that consent unto them shall be had in derision and in reproach, and trodden under foot.

70 For there shall be in every place, and in the next cities, a great insurrection upon those that fear the Lord.

71 They shall be like mad men, sparing none, but still spoiling and destroying those that fear the Lord.

72 For they shall waste and take away their goods, and cast them out of their houses.

73 Then shall they be known, who are my chosen; and they shall be tried as the gold in the fire.

74 Hear, O ye my beloved, saith the Lord: behold, the days of trouble are at hand, but I will deliver you from the same.

75 Be ye not afraid neither doubt; for God is your guide,

76 And the guide of them who keep my commandments and precepts, saith the Lord God: let not your sins weigh you down, and let not your iniquities lift up themselves.

77 Woe be unto them that are bound with their sins, and covered with their iniquities like as a field is covered over with bushes, and the path thereof covered with thorns, that no man may travel through!

78 It is left undressed, and is cast into the fire to be consumed therewith.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT

Etimated Range of Dating: 100 A.D.

(The Book of Tobit is a book of scripture that is part of the Catholic and Orthodox biblical canons. It was recognized as canonical by the Council of Hippo (in 393), the Councils of Carthage of 397 and 417, and the Council of Florence (in 1442), and confirmed in the Counter-Reformation by the Council of Trent (1546). Many Anglicans, Lutherans, and Methodists have it in their canon of scripture.

The Book of Tobit is listed as a canonical book by the Council of Rome (382 AD), the Council of Hippo (393 AD), the Council of Carthage (397) and (A.D. 419), the Council of Florence (1442) and finally the Council of Trent (1546), and is part of the canon of both the Catholic Church and Eastern Orthodox Churches. Catholics refer to it as deuterocanonical.

Augustine (c. 397 AD) and Pope Innocent I (405 AD) affirmed Tobit as part of the Old Testament Canon. Athanasius (367 AD) mentioned that certain other books, including the book of Tobit, while not being part of the Canon, "were appointed by the Fathers to be read".

According to Rufinus of Aquileia (c. 400 AD) the book of Tobit and other deuterocanonical books were not called Canonical but Ecclesiastical books.

Article VI of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England lists it as a book of the "Apocrypha". Historically evangelical Anglicans viewed it as worthy to be read and it is still read in churches. Many high church Anglicans view it as part of the canon of scripture.

In Judaism: Before the 1952 discovery of Aramaic and Hebrew fragments of Tobit among the Dead Sea Scrolls in a cave at Qumran, scholars believed Tobit was not included in the Jewish canon because of late authorship, estimated to A.D. 100. Qumran fragments of the text, which were copied between 100 B.C. to A.D. 25, evidence a much earlier origin than previously thought. These fragments evidence authorship no later than the 2nd century BC and, likely, contemporary with the date ascribed, by modern scholars, to the final compilation of the Book of Daniel, which did attain canonical status.

Other scholars have postulated that Tobit was excluded from the Jewish Scriptures for a halakhic reason because Raguel, the bride's father, wrote the marriage document discussed in Tobit 7:13, instead of the bridegroom, as required by Jewish rabbinical law.

However, some ancient Jewish rabbinic scholars possibly considered Tobit to be canonical. Midrash Bereishit Rabbah, an aggadic commentary on the Book of Genesis compiled circa 400–600 AD, includes a truncated Aramaic version of Tobit. Tobit was also part of the Septuagint, the first Greek translation of the Bible. In more contemporary times, a number of Jews in Israel have sought to reclaim Tobit as part of the canon.

This book tells the story of Tobit, a righteous Israelite of the tribe of Naphtali, living in Nineveh after Sargon II had deported the northern tribes of Israel to Assyria in 721 BC. In the two Greek versions, the first two and a half chapters are written in the first person; in the Vulgate version, they are written in the third person. Tobit, raised by his paternal grandmother, Deborah, remains loyal to the worship of God at the temple in Jerusalem, refusing the cult of the golden calves that Jeroboam, king of the northern kingdom of Israel, set up at Dan. He is particularly noted for his diligence in attempting to provide proper burials for fallen Israelites whom Sargon's successor, Sennacherib, has slain. For this behavior the king seizes his property and exiles him. After Sennacherib's death, Tobit is allowed to return to Nineveh, where he buries a man who has been murdered on the street. That night, he sleeps in the open and is blinded by bird droppings which fall into his eyes. His blindness subsequently leads him to falsely accuse his wife, Anna, of stealing a baby goat she had received as partial payment for work she had done. This strains his marriage and, ultimately, he prays for death.

Meanwhile, in faraway Media, a young woman named Sarah has prayed for death in despair. The demon of lust, Asmodeus ("the worst of demons"), abducts and kills every man Sarah marries on their wedding night before the marriage can be consummated. God sends the angel Raphael, disguised as a human, to heal Tobit and free Sarah from the demon.

The main narrative is dedicated to Tobit's son, Tobiah or Tobiyah (Greek: Τωβίας Tobias), who is sent by his father to collect money that the elder has deposited in distant Media. Raphael presents himself as Tobit's kinsman, Azariah, and offers to aid and protect Tobias. Under Raphael's guidance, Tobias journeys to Media with his dog.

Along the way, while washing his feet in the river Tigris, a fish tries to swallow his foot. By the angel's order, he captures it and removes its heart, liver and gall bladder.

Upon arriving in Media, Raphael tells Tobias of the beautiful Sarah, whom Tobias has the right to marry because he is her cousin and closest relative. The angel instructs the young man to burn the fish's liver and heart to drive away the demon when he attacks on the wedding night. The two marry, and the fumes of the burning organs drive the demon to Upper Egypt, where Raphael follows and binds him. Sarah's father had been digging a grave to secretly bury Tobias under the assumption that he would be killed. Surprised to find his son-in-law alive and well, he orders a double-length wedding feast and has the grave secretly filled. Since the feast prevents him from leaving, Tobias sends Raphael to recover his father's money.

After the feast, Tobias and Sarah return to Nineveh. There, Raphael tells the youth to use the fish's gall to cure his father's blindness. Raphael then reveals his identity and returns to heaven, and Tobit sings a hymn of praise.

Tobit tells his son to leave Nineveh before God destroys it according to prophecy (compare the Book of Nahum). After the prayer, Tobit dies at an advanced age. After burying his father and mother, Tobias returns to Media with his family.)

TOBIT CHAPTER 1

1 The book of the words of Tobit, son of Tobiel, the son of Ananiel, the son of Aduel, the son of Gabael, of the seed of Asael, of the tribe of Nephthali;

2 Who in the time of Enemessar king of the Assyrians was led captive out of Thisbe, which is at the right hand of that city, which is called properly Nephthali in Galilee above Aser.

3 I Tobit have walked all the days of my life in the ways of truth and justice, and I did many almsdeeds to my brethren, and my nation, who came with me to Nineve, into the land of the Assyrians.

4 And when I was in mine own country, in the land of Israel being but young, all the tribe of Nephthali my father fell from the house of Jerusalem, which was chosen out of all the tribes of Israel, that all the tribes should sacrifice there, where the temple of the habitation of the most High was consecrated and built for all ages.

5 Now all the tribes which together revolted, and the house of my father Nephthali, sacrificed unto the heifer Baal.

6 But I alone went often to Jerusalem at the feasts, as it was ordained unto all the people of Israel by an everlasting decree, having the firstfruits and tenths of increase, with that which was first shorn; and them gave I at the altar to the priests the children of Aaron.

7 The first tenth part of all increase I gave to the sons of Aaron, who ministered at Jerusalem: another tenth part I sold away, and went, and spent it every year at Jerusalem:

8 And the third I gave unto them to whom it was meet, as Debora my father's mother had commanded me, because I was left an orphan by my father.

9 Furthermore, when I was come to the age of a man, I married Anna of mine own kindred, and of her I begat Tobias.

10 And when we were carried away captives to Nineve, all my brethren and those that were of my kindred did eat of the bread of the Gentiles.

11 But I kept myself from eating;

12 Because I remembered God with all my heart.

13 And the most High gave me grace and favour before Enemessar, so that I was his purveyor.

14 And I went into Media, and left in trust with Gabael, the brother of Gabrias, at Rages a city of Media ten talents of silver.

15 Now when Enemessar was dead, Sennacherib his son reigned in his stead; whose estate was troubled, that I could not go into Media.

16 And in the time of Enemessar I gave many alms to my brethren, and gave my bread to the hungry,

17 And my clothes to the naked: and if I saw any of my nation dead, or cast about the walls of Nineve, I buried him.

18 And if the king Sennacherib had slain any, when he was come, and fled from Judea, I buried them privily; for in his wrath he killed many; but the bodies were not found, when they were sought for of the king.

19 And when one of the Ninevites went and complained of me to the king, that I buried them, and hid myself; understanding that I was sought for to be put to death, I withdrew myself for fear.

20 Then all my goods were forcibly taken away, neither was there any thing left me, beside my wife Anna and my son Tobias.

21 And there passed not five and fifty days, before two of his sons killed him, and they fled into the mountains of Ararath; and Sarchedonus his son reigned in his stead; who appointed over his father's accounts, and over all his affairs, Achiacharus my brother Anael's son.

22 And Achiacharus intreating for me, I returned to Nineve. Now Achiacharus was cupbearer, and keeper of the signet, and steward, and overseer of the accounts: and Sarchedonus appointed him next unto him: and he was my brother's son.

TOBIT CHAPTER 2

1 Now when I was come home again, and my wife Anna was restored unto me, with my son Tobias, in the feast of Pentecost, which is the holy feast of the seven weeks, there was a good dinner prepared me, in the which I sat down to eat.

2 And when I saw abundance of meat, I said to my son, Go and bring what poor man soever thou shalt find out of our brethren, who is mindful of the Lord; and, lo, I tarry for thee.

3 But he came again, and said, Father, one of our nation is strangled, and is cast out in the marketplace.

4 Then before I had tasted of any meat, I started up, and took him up into a room until the going down of the sun.

5 Then I returned, and washed myself, and ate my meat in heaviness,

6 Remembering that prophecy of Amos, as he said, Your feasts shall be turned into mourning, and all your mirth into lamentation.

7 Therefore I wept: and after the going down of the sun I went and made a grave, and buried him.

8 But my neighbours mocked me, and said, This man is not yet afraid to be put to death for this matter: who fled away; and yet, lo, he burieth the dead again.

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9 The same night also I returned from the burial, and slept by the wall of my courtyard, being polluted and my face was uncovered:

10 And I knew not that there were sparrows in the wall, and mine eyes being open, the sparrows muted warm dung into mine eyes, and a whiteness came in mine eyes: and I went to the physicians, but they helped me not: moreover Achiacharus did nourish me, until I went into Elymais.

11 And my wife Anna did take women's works to do.

12 And when she had sent them home to the owners, they paid her wages, and gave her also besides a kid.

13 And when it was in my house, and began to cry, I said unto her, From whence is this kid? is it not stolen? render it to the owners; for it is not lawful to eat any thing that is stolen.

14 But she replied upon me, It was given for a gift more than the wages. Howbeit I did not believe her, but bade her render it to the owners: and I was abashed at her. But she replied upon me, Where are thine alms and thy righteous deeds? behold, thou and all thy works are known.

TOBIT CHAPTER 3

1 Then I being grieved did weep, and in my sorrow prayed, saying,

2 O Lord, thou art just, and all thy works and all thy ways are mercy and truth, and thou judgest truly and justly for ever.

3 Remember me, and look on me, punish me not for my sins and ignorances, and the sins of my fathers, who have sinned before thee:

4 For they obeyed not thy commandments: wherefore thou hast delivered us for a spoil, and unto captivity, and unto death, and for a proverb of reproach to all the nations among whom we are dispersed.

5 And now thy judgements are many and true: deal with me according to my sins and my fathers': because we have not kept thy commandments, neither have walked in truth before thee.

6 Now therefore deal with me as seemeth best unto thee, and command my spirit to be taken from me, that I may be dissolved, and become earth: for it is profitable for me to die rather than to live, because I have heard false reproaches, and have much sorrow: command therefore that I may now be delivered out of this distress, and go into the everlasting place: turn not thy face away from me.

7 It came to pass the same day, that in Ecbatane a city of Media Sara the daughter of Raguel was also reproached by her father's maids;

8 Because that she had been married to seven husbands, whom Asmodeus the evil spirit had killed, before they had lain with her. Dost thou not know, said they, that thou hast strangled thine husbands? thou hast had already seven husbands, neither wast thou named after any of them.

9 Wherefore dost thou beat us for them? if they be dead, go thy ways after them, let us never see of thee either son or daughter.

10 Whe she heard these things, she was very sorrowful, so that she thought to have strangled herself; and she said, I am the only daughter of my father, and if I do this, it shall be a reproach unto him, and I shall bring his old age with sorrow unto the grave.

11 Then she prayed toward the window, and said, Blessed art thou, O Lord my God, and thine holy and glorious name is blessed and honourable for ever: let all thy works praise thee for ever.

12 And now, O Lord, I set mine eyes and my face toward thee,

13 And say, Take me out of the earth, that I may hear no more the reproach.

14 Thou knowest, Lord, that I am pure from all sin with man,

15 And that I never polluted my name, nor the name of my father, in the land of my captivity: I am the only daughter of my father, neither hath he any child to be his heir, neither any near kinsman, nor any son of his alive, to whom I may keep myself for a wife: my seven husbands are already dead; and why should I live? but if it please not thee that I should die, command some regard to be had of me, and pity taken of me, that I hear no more reproach.

16 So the prayers of them both were heard before the majesty of the great God.

17 And Raphael was sent to heal them both, that is, to scale away the whiteness of Tobit's eyes, and to give Sara the daughter of Raguel for a wife to Tobias the son of Tobit; and to bind Asmodeus the evil spirit; because she belonged to Tobias by right of inheritance. The selfsame time came Tobit home, and entered into his house, and Sara the daughter of Raguel came down from her upper chamber.

TOBIT CHAPTER 4

1 In that day Tobit remembered the money which he had committed to Gabael in Rages of Media,

2 And said with himself, I have wished for death; wherefore do I not call for my son Tobias that I may signify to him of the money before I die?

3 And when he had called him, he said, My son, when I am dead, bury me; and despise not thy mother, but honour her all the days of thy life, and do that which shall please her, and grieve her not.

4 Remember, my son, that she saw many dangers for thee, when thou wast in her womb: and when she is dead, bury her by me in one grave.

5 My son, be mindful of the Lord our God all thy days, and let not thy will be set to sin, or to transgress his commandments: do uprightly all thy life long, and follow not the ways of unrighteousness.

6 For if thou deal truly, thy doings shall prosperously succeed to thee, and to all them that live justly.

7 Give alms of thy substance; and when thou givest alms, let not thine eye be envious, neither turn thy face from any poor, and the face of God shall not be turned away from thee.

8 If thou hast abundance give alms accordingly: if thou have but a little, be not afraid to give according to that little:

9 For thou layest up a good treasure for thyself against the day of necessity.

10 Because that alms do deliver from death, and suffereth not to come into darkness.

11 For alms is a good gift unto all that give it in the sight of the most High.

12 Beware of all whoredom, my son, and chiefly take a wife of the seed of thy fathers, and take not a strange woman to wife, which is not of thy father's tribe: for we are the children of the prophets, Noe, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: remember, my son, that our fathers from the beginning, even that they all married wives of their own kindred, and were blessed in their children, and their seed shall inherit the land.

13 Now therefore, my son, love thy brethren, and despise not in thy heart thy brethren, the sons and daughters of thy people, in not taking a wife of them: for in pride is destruction and much trouble, and in lewdness is decay and great want: for lewdness is the mother of famine.

14 Let not the wages of any man, which hath wrought for thee, tarry with thee, but give him it out of hand: for if thou serve God, he will also repay thee: be circumspect my son, in all things thou doest, and be wise in all thy conversation.

15 Do that to no man which thou hatest: drink not wine to make thee drunken: neither let drunkenness go with thee in thy journey.

16 Give of thy bread to the hungry, and of thy garments to them that are naked; and according to thine abundance give alms: and let not thine eye be envious, when thou givest alms.

17 Pour out thy bread on the burial of the just, but give nothing to the wicked.

18 Ask counsel of all that are wise, and despise not any counsel that is profitable.

19 Bless the Lord thy God alway, and desire of him that thy ways may be directed, and that all thy paths and counsels may prosper: for every nation hath not counsel; but the Lord himself giveth all good things, and he humbleth whom he will, as he will; now therefore, my son, remember my commandments, neither let them be put out of thy mind.

20 And now I signify this to they that I committed ten talents to Gabael the son of Gabrias at Rages in Media.

21 And fear not, my son, that we are made poor: for thou hast much wealth, if thou fear God, and depart from all sin, and do that which is pleasing in his sight.

TOBIT CHAPTER 5

1 Tobias then answered and said, Father, I will do all things which thou hast commanded me:

2 But how can I receive the money, seeing I know him not?

3 Then he gave him the handwriting, and said unto him, Seek thee a man which may go with thee, whiles I yet live, and I will give him wages: and go and receive the money.

4 Therefore when he went to seek a man, he found Raphael that was an angel.

5 But he knew not; and he said unto him, Canst thou go with me to Rages? and knowest thou those places well?

6 To whom the angel said, I will go with thee, and I know the way well: for I have lodged with our brother Gabael.

7 Then Tobias said unto him, Tarry for me, till I tell my father.

8 Then he said unto him, Go and tarry not. So he went in and said to his father, Behold, I have found one which will go with me. Then he said, Call him unto me, that I may know of what tribe he is, and whether he be a trusty man to go with thee.

9 So he called him, and he came in, and they saluted one another.

10 Then Tobit said unto him, Brother, shew me of what tribe and family thou art.

11 To whom he said, Dost thou seek for a tribe or family, or an hired man to go with thy son? Then Tobit said unto him, I would know, brother, thy kindred and name.

12 Then he said, I am Azarias, the son of Ananias the great, and of thy brethren.

13 Then Tobit said, Thou art welcome, brother; be not now angry with me, because I have enquired to know thy tribe and thy family; for thou art my brother, of an honest and good stock: for I know Ananias and Jonathas, sons of that great Samaias, as we went together to Jerusalem to worship, and offered the firstborn, and the tenths of the fruits; and they were not seduced with the error of our brethren: my brother, thou art of a good stock.

14 But tell me, what wages shall I give thee? wilt thou a drachm a day, and things necessary, as to mine own son?

15 Yea, moreover, if ye return safe, I will add something to thy wages.

16 So they were well pleased. Then said he to Tobias, Prepare thyself for the journey, and God send you a good journey. And when his son had prepared all things for the journey, his father said, Go thou with this man, and God, which dwelleth in heaven, prosper your journey, and the angel of God keep you company. So they went forth both, and the young man's dog with them.

17 But Anna his mother wept, and said to Tobit, Why hast thou sent away our son? is he not the staff of our hand, in going in and out before us?

18 Be not greedy to add money to money: but let it be as refuse in respect of our child.

19 For that which the Lord hath given us to live with doth suffice us.

20 Then said Tobit to her, Take no care, my sister; he shall return in safety, and thine eyes shall see him.

21 For the good angel will keep him company, and his journey shall be prosperous, and he shall return safe.

22 Then she made an end of weeping.

TOBIT CHAPTER 6

1 And as they went on their journey, they came in the evening to the river Tigris, and they lodged there.

2 And when the young man went down to wash himself, a fish leaped out of the river, and would have devoured him.

3 Then the angel said unto him, Take the fish. And the young man laid hold of the fish, and drew it to land.

4 To whom the angel said, Open the fish, and take the heart and the liver and the gall, and put them up safely.

5 So the young man did as the angel commanded him; and when they had roasted the fish, they did eat it: then they both went on their way, till they drew near to Ecbatane.

6 Then the young man said to the angel, Brother Azarias, to what use is the heart and the liver and the gal of the fish?

7 And he said unto him, Touching the heart and the liver, if a devil or an evil spirit trouble any, we must make a smoke thereof before the man or the woman, and the party shall be no more vexed.

8 As for the gall, it is good to anoint a man that hath whiteness in his eyes, and he shall be healed.

9 And when they were come near to Rages,

10 The angel said to the young man, Brother, to day we shall lodge with Raguel, who is thy cousin; he also hath one only daughter, named Sara; I will speak for her, that she may be given thee for a wife.

11 For to thee doth the right of her appertain, seeing thou only art of her kindred.

12 And the maid is fair and wise: now therefore hear me, and I will speak to her father; and when we return from Rages we will celebrate the marriage: for I know that Raguel cannot marry her to another according to the law of Moses, but he shall be guilty of death, because the right of inheritance doth rather appertain to thee than to any other.

13 Then the young man answered the angel, I have heard, brother Azarias that this maid hath been given to seven men, who all died in the marriage chamber.

14 And now I am the only son of my father, and I am afraid, lest if I go in unto her, I die, as the other before: for a wicked spirit loveth her, which hurteth no body, but those which come unto her; wherefore I also fear lest I die, and bring my father's and my mother's life because of me to the grave with sorrow: for they have no other son to bury them.

15 Then the angel said unto him, Dost thou not remember the precepts which thy father gave thee, that thou shouldest marry a wife of thine own kindred? wherefore hear me, O my brother; for she shall be given thee to wife; and make thou no reckoning of the evil spirit; for this same night shall she be given thee in marriage.

16 And when thou shalt come into the marriage chamber, thou shalt take the ashes of perfume, and shalt lay upon them some of the heart and liver of the fish, and shalt make a smoke with it:

17 And the devil shall smell it, and flee away, and never come again any more: but when thou shalt come to her, rise up both of you, and pray to God which is merciful, who will have pity on you, and save you: fear not, for she is appointed unto thee from the beginning; and thou shalt preserve her, and she shall go with thee. Moreover I suppose that she shall bear thee children. Now when Tobias had heard these things, he loved her, and his heart was effectually joined to her.

TOBIT CHAPTER 7

1 And when they were come to Ecbatane, they came to the house of Raguel, and Sara met them: and after they had saluted one another, she brought them into the house.

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2 Then said Raguel to Edna his wife, How like is this young man to Tobit my cousin!
3 And Raguel asked them, From whence are ye, brethren? To whom they said, We are of the sons of Nephthalim, which are captives in Nineve.
4 Then he said to them, Do ye know Tobit our kinsman? And they said, We know him. Then said he, Is he in good health?
5 And they said, He is both alive, and in good health: and Tobias said, He is my father.
6 Then Raguel leaped up, and kissed him, and wept,
7 And blessed him, and said unto him, Thou art the son of an honest and good man. But when he had heard that Tobit was blind, he was sorrowful, and wept.
8 And likewise Edna his wife and Sara his daughter wept. Moreover they entertained them cheerfully; and after that they had killed a ram of the flock, they set store of meat on the table. Then said Tobias to Raphael, Brother Azarias, speak of those things of which thou didst talk in the way, and let this business be dispatched.
9 So he communicated the matter with Raguel: and Raguel said to Tobias, Eat and drink, and make merry:
10 For it is meet that thou shouldest marry my daughter: nevertheless I will declare unto thee the truth.
11 I have given my daughter in marriage to seven men, who died that night they came in unto her: nevertheless for the present be merry. But Tobias said, I will eat nothing here, till we agree and swear one to another.
12 Raguel said, Then take her from henceforth according to the manner, for thou art her cousin, and she is thine, and the merciful God give you good success in all things.
13 Then he called his daughter Sara, and she came to her father, and he took her by the hand, and gave her to be wife to Tobias, saying, Behold, take her after the law of Moses, and lead her away to thy father. And he blessed them;
14 And called Edna his wife, and took paper, and did write an instrument of covenants, and sealed it.
15 Then they began to eat.
16 After Raguel called his wife Edna, and said unto her, Sister, prepare another chamber, and bring her in thither.
17 Which when she had done as he had bidden her, she brought her thither: and she wept, and she received the tears of her daughter, and said unto her,
18 Be of good comfort, my daughter; the Lord of heaven and earth give thee joy for this thy sorrow: be of good comfort, my daughter.

TOBIT CHAPTER 8

1 And when they had supped, they brought Tobias in unto her.
2 And as he went, he remembered the words of Raphael, and took the ashes of the perfumes, and put the heart and the liver of the fish thereupon, and made a smoke therewith.
3 The which smell when the evil spirit had smelled, he fled into the utmost parts of Egypt, and the angel bound him.
4 And after that they were both shut in together, Tobias rose out of the bed, and said, Sister, arise, and let us pray that God would have pity on us.
5 Then began Tobias to say, Blessed art thou, O God of our fathers, and blessed is thy holy and glorious name for ever; let the heavens bless thee, and all thy creatures.
6 Thou madest Adam, and gavest him Eve his wife for an helper and stay: of them came mankind: thou hast said, It is not good that man should be alone; let us make unto him an aid like unto himself.
7 And now, O Lord, I take not this my sister for lust but uprightly: therefore mercifully ordain that we may become aged together.
8 And she said with him, Amen.
9 So they slept both that night. And Raguel arose, and went and made a grave,
10 Saying, I fear lest he also be dead.
11 But when Raguel was come into his house,
12 He said unto his wife Edna. Send one of the maids, and let her see whether he be alive: if he be not, that we may bury him, and no man know it.
13 So the maid opened the door, and went in, and found them both asleep,
14 And came forth, and told them that he was alive.
15 Then Raguel praised God, and said, O God, thou art worthy to be praised with all pure and holy praise; therefore let thy saints praise thee with all thy creatures; and let all thine angels and thine elect praise thee for ever.
16 Thou art to be praised, for thou hast made me joyful; and that is not come to me which I suspected; but thou hast dealt with us according to thy great mercy.
17 Thou art to be praised because thou hast had mercy of two that were the only begotten children of their fathers: grant them mercy, O Lord, and finish their life in health with joy and mercy.
18 Then Raguel bade his servants to fill the grave.
19 And he kept the wedding feast fourteen days.
20 For before the days of the marriage were finished, Raguel had said unto him by an oath, that he should not depart till the fourteen days of the marriage were expired;
21 And then he should take the half of his goods, and go in safety to his father; and should have the rest when I and my wife be dead.

TOBIT CHAPTER 9

1 Then Tobias called Raphael, and said unto him,
2 Brother Azarias, take with thee a servant, and two camels, and go to Rages of Media to Gabael, and bring me the money, and bring him to the wedding.
3 For Raguel hath sworn that I shall not depart.
4 But my father counteth the days; and if I tarry long, he will be very sorry.
5 So Raphael went out, and lodged with Gabael, and gave him the handwriting: who brought forth bags which were sealed up, and gave them to him.
6 And early in the morning they went forth both together, and came to the wedding: and Tobias blessed his wife.

TOBIT CHAPTER 10

1 Now Tobit his father counted every day: and when the days of the journey were expired, and they came not,
2 Then Tobit said, Are they detained? or is Gabael dead, and there is no man to give him the money?
3 Therefore he was very sorry.
4 Then his wife said unto him, My son is dead, seeing he stayeth long; and she began to wail him, and said,
5 Now I care for nothing, my son, since I have let thee go, the light of mine eyes.
6 To whom Tobit said, Hold thy peace, take no care, for he is safe.
7 But she said, Hold thy peace, and deceive me not; my son is dead. And she went out every day into the way which they went, and did eat no meat on the daytime, and ceased not whole nights to bewail her son Tobias, until the fourteen days of the wedding were expired, which Raguel had sworn that he should spend there. Then Tobias said to Raguel, Let me go, for my father and my mother look no more to see me.
8 But his father in law said unto him, Tarry with me, and I will send to thy father, and they shall declare unto him how things go with thee.
9 But Tobias said, No; but let me go to my father.
10 Then Raguel arose, and gave him Sara his wife, and half his goods, servants, and cattle, and money:
11 And he blessed them, and sent them away, saying, The God of heaven give you a prosperous journey, my children.
12 And he said to his daughter, Honour thy father and thy mother in law, which are now thy parents, that I may hear good report of thee. And he kissed her. Edna also said to Tobias, The Lord of heaven restore thee, my dear brother, and grant that I may see thy children of my daughter Sara before I die, that I may rejoice before the Lord: behold, I commit my daughter unto thee of special trust; where are do not entreat her evil.

TOBIT CHAPTER 11

1 After these things Tobias went his way, praising God that he had given him a prosperous journey, and blessed Raguel and Edna his wife, and went on his way till they drew near unto Nineve.
2 Then Raphael said to Tobias, Thou knowest, brother, how thou didst leave thy father:
3 Let us haste before thy wife, and prepare the house.
4 And take in thine hand the gall of the fish. So they went their way, and the dog went after them.
5 Now Anna sat looking about toward the way for her son.
6 And when she espied him coming, she said to his father, Behold, thy son cometh, and the man that went with him.
7 Then said Raphael, I know, Tobias, that thy father will open his eyes.
8 Therefore anoint thou his eyes with the gall, and being pricked therewith, he shall rub, and the whiteness shall fall away, and he shall see thee.
9 Then Anna ran forth, and fell upon the neck of her son, and said unto him, Seeing I have seen thee, my son, from henceforth I am content to die. And they wept both.
10 Tobit also went forth toward the door, and stumbled: but his son ran unto him,
11 And took hold of his father: and he strake of the gall on his fathers' eyes, saying, Be of good hope, my father.
12 And when his eyes began to smart, he rubbed them;
13 And the whiteness pilled away from the corners of his eyes: and when he saw his son, he fell upon his neck.
14 And he wept, and said, Blessed art thou, O God, and blessed is thy name for ever; and blessed are all thine holy angels:
15 For thou hast scourged, and hast taken pity on me: for, behold, I see my son Tobias. And his son went in rejoicing, and told his father the great things that had happened to him in Media.
16 Then Tobit went out to meet his daughter in law at the gate of Nineve, rejoicing and praising God: and they which saw him go marvelled, because he had received his sight.
17 But Tobias gave thanks before them, because God had mercy on him. And when he came near to Sara his daughter in law, he blessed her, saying, Thou art welcome, daughter: God be blessed, which hath brought thee unto us, and blessed be thy father and thy mother. And there was joy among all his brethren which were at Nineve.
18 And Achiacharus, and Nasbas his brother's son, came:
19 And Tobias' wedding was kept seven days with great joy.

TOBIT CHAPTER 12

1 Then Tobit called his son Tobias, and said unto him, My son, see that the man have his wages, which went with thee, and thou must give him more.
2 And Tobias said unto him, O father, it is no harm to me to give him half of those things which I have brought:
3 For he hath brought me again to thee in safety, and made whole my wife, and brought me the money, and likewise healed thee.
4 Then the old man said, It is due unto him.
5 So he called the angel, and he said unto him, Take half of all that ye have brought and go away in safety.
6 Then he took them both apart, and said unto them, Bless God, praise him, and magnify him, and praise him for the things which he hath done unto you in the sight of all that live. It is good to praise God, and exalt his name, and honourably to shew forth the works of God; therefore be not slack to praise him.
7 It is good to keep close the secret of a king, but it is honourable to reveal the works of God. Do that which is good, and no evil shall touch you.
8 Prayer is good with fasting and alms and righteousness. A little with righteousness is better than much with unrighteousness. It is better to give alms than to lay up gold:
9 For alms doth deliver from death, and shall purge away all sin. Those that exercise alms and righteousness shall be filled with life:
10 But they that sin are enemies to their own life.
11 Surely I will keep close nothing from you. For I said, It was good to keep close the secret of a king, but that it was honourable to reveal the works of God.
12 Now therefore, when thou didst pray, and Sara thy daughter in law, I did bring the remembrance of your prayers before the Holy One: and when thou didst bury the dead, I was with thee likewise.
13 And when thou didst not delay to rise up, and leave thy dinner, to go and cover the dead, thy good deed was not hid from me: but I was with thee.
14 And now God hath sent me to heal thee and Sara thy daughter in law.
15 I am Raphael, one of the seven holy angels, which present the prayers of the saints, and which go in and out before the glory of the Holy One.
16 Then they were both troubled, and fell upon their faces: for they feared.
17 But he said unto them, Fear not, for it shall go well with you; praise God therefore.
18 For not of any favour of mine, but by the will of our God I came; wherefore praise him for ever.
19 All these days I did appear unto you; but I did neither eat nor drink, but ye did see a vision.
20 Now therefore give God thanks: for I go up to him that sent me; but write all things which are done in a book.
21 And when they arose, they saw him no more.
22 Then they confessed the great and wonderful works of God, and how the angel of the Lord had appeared unto them.

TOBIT CHAPTER 13

1 Then Tobit wrote a prayer of rejoicing, and said, Blessed be God that liveth for ever, and blessed be his kingdom.
2 For he doth scourge, and hath mercy: he leadeth down to hell, and bringeth up again: neither is there any that can avoid his hand.
3 Confess him before the Gentiles, ye children of Israel: for he hath scattered us among them.
4 There declare his greatness, and extol him before all the living: for he is our Lord, and he is the God our Father for ever.
5 And he will scourge us for our iniquities, and will have mercy again, and will gather us out of all nations, among whom he hath scattered us.
6 If ye turn to him with your whole heart, and with your whole mind, and deal uprightly before him, then will he turn unto you, and will not hide his face from you. Therefore see what he will do with you, and confess him with your whole mouth, and praise the Lord of might, and extol the everlasting King. In the land of my captivity do I praise him, and declare his might and majesty to a sinful nation. O ye sinners, turn and do justice before him: who can tell if he will accept you, and have mercy on you?
7 I will extol my God, and my soul shall praise the King of heaven, and shall rejoice in his greatness.

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8 Let all men speak, and let all praise him for his righteousness.

9 O Jerusalem, the holy city, he will scourge thee for thy children's works, and will have mercy again on the sons of the righteous.

10 Give praise to the Lord, for he is good: and praise the everlasting King, that his tabernacle may be builded in thee again with joy, and let him make joyful there in thee those that are captives, and love in thee for ever those that are miserable.

11 Many nations shall come from far to the name of the Lord God with gifts in their hands, even gifts to the King of heaven; all generations shall praise thee with great joy.

12 Cursed are all they which hate thee, and blessed shall all be which love thee for ever.

13 Rejoice and be glad for the children of the just: for they shall be gathered together, and shall bless the Lord of the just.

14 O blessed are they which love thee, for they shall rejoice in thy peace: blessed are they which have been sorrowful for all thy scourges; for they shall rejoice for thee, when they have seen all thy glory, and shall be glad for ever.

15 Let my soul bless God the great King.

16 For Jerusalem shall be built up with sapphires and emeralds, and precious stone: thy walls and towers and battlements with pure gold.

17 And the streets of Jerusalem shall be paved with beryl and carbuncle and stones of Ophir.

18 And all her streets shall say, Alleluia; and they shall praise him, saying, Blessed be God, which hath extolled it for ever.

TOBIT CHAPTER 14

1 So Tobit made an end of praising God.

2 And he was eight and fifty years old when he lost his sight, which was restored to him after eight years: and he gave alms, and he increased in the fear of the Lord God, and praised him.

3 And when he was very aged he called his son, and the sons of his son, and said to him, My son, take thy children; for, behold, I am aged, and am ready to depart out of this life.

4 Go into Media my son, for I surely believe those things which Jonas the prophet spake of Nineve, that it shall be overthrown; and that for a time peace shall rather be in Media; and that our brethren shall lie scattered in the earth from that good land: and Jerusalem shall be desolate, and the house of God in it shall be burned, and shall be desolate for a time;

5 And that again God will have mercy on them, and bring them again into the land, where they shall build a temple, but not like to the first, until the time of that age be fulfilled; and afterward they shall return from all places of their captivity, and build up Jerusalem gloriously, and the house of God shall be built in it for ever with a glorious building, as the prophets have spoken thereof.

6 And all nations shall turn, and fear the Lord God truly, and shall bury their idols.

7 So shall all nations praise the Lord, and his people shall confess God, and the Lord shall exalt his people; and all those which love the Lord God in truth and justice shall rejoice, shewing mercy to our brethren.

8 And now, my son, depart out of Nineve, because that those things which the prophet Jonas spake shall surely come to pass.

9 But keep thou the law and the commandments, and shew thyself merciful and just, that it may go well with thee.

10 And bury me decently, and thy mother with me; but tarry no longer at Nineve. Remember, my son, how Aman handled Achiacharus that brought him up, how out of light he brought him into darkness, and how he rewarded him again: yet Achiacharus was saved, but the other had his reward: for he went down into darkness. Manasses gave alms, and escaped the snares of death which they had set for him: but Aman fell into the snare, and perished.

11 Wherefore now, my son, consider what alms doeth, and how righteousness doth deliver. When he had said these things, he gave up the ghost in the bed, being an hundred and eight and fifty years old; and he buried him honourably.

12 And when Anna his mother was dead, he buried her with his father. But Tobias departed with his wife and children to Ecbatane to Raguel his father in law,

13 Where he became old with honour, and he buried his father and mother in law honourably, and he inherited their substance, and his father Tobit's.

14 And he died at Ecbatane in Media, being an hundred and seven and twenty years old.

15 But before he died he heard of the destruction of Nineve, which was taken by Nabuchodonosor and Assuerus: and before his death he rejoiced over Nineve.

THE BOOK OF JUDITH
(A parable or analogy, often called
"the first historical novel")
Estimated Range of Dating: 200 B.C. - 200 A.D.

(The name Judith (Hebrew: Yehudit, "Jewess" or "Praised") is the feminine form of Judah, Judas, Jude, etc. meaning "Jew". So, the name Judith simply can mean any Jewish woman. The Book of Judith is a book in the Hebrew Deuterocanon or Second Canon. It is included in the Septuagint and the Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Christian Old Testament of the Bible, and assigned by Protestants to their Apocrypha. It tells of a Jewish widow, Judith, who uses her beauty and charm to destroy an Assyrian general and save Israel from oppression. The surviving Greek manuscripts contain several historical anachronisms, which is why some scholars now consider the book non-historical: a parable, a theological novel, or perhaps the first historical novel.

It is not clear whether the Book of Judith was originally written in Hebrew or in Greek. The oldest existing version is the Septuagint and might either be a translation from Hebrew or composed in Greek. Details of vocabulary and phrasing point to a Greek text written in a language modeled on the Greek developed through translating the other books in the Septuagint. The extant Hebrew language versions, whether identical to the Greek, or in the shorter Hebrew version, date to the Middle Ages. The Hebrew versions name important figures directly such as the Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes, thus placing the events in the Hellenistic period when the Maccabees battled the Seleucid monarchs. The Greek version uses deliberately cryptic and anachronistic references such as "Nebuchadnezzar", a "King of Assyria", who "reigns in Nineveh", for the same king. The adoption of that name, though unhistorical, has been sometimes explained either as a copyist's addition, or an arbitrary name assigned to the ruler of Babylon.

Although the author was likely Jewish, there is no evidence that the Book of Judith was ever considered authoritative or a candidate for canonicity by any Jewish group.

The Masoretic Text of the Hebrew Bible does not contain it, nor was it found among the Dead Sea Scrolls or referred to in any early Rabbinic literature.

Reasons for its exclusion include the lateness of its composition, possible Greek origin, open support of the Hasmonean dynasty (to which the early rabbinate was opposed), and perhaps the brash and seductive character of Judith herself.

However, after disappearing from circulation among Jews for over a millennium, references to the Book of Judith, and the figure of Judith herself, resurfaced in the religious literature of crypto-Jews who escaped capitulation by the Caliphate of Córdoba. The renewed interest took the form of "tales of the heroine, liturgical poems, commentaries on the Talmud, and passages in Jewish legal codes."

Ithough the text itself does not mention Hanukkah, it became customary for a Hebrew midrashic variant of the Judith story to be read on the Shabbat of Hanukkah as the story of Hanukkah takes place during the time of the Hasmonean dynasty.

That midrash, whose heroine is portrayed as gorging the enemy on cheese and wine before cutting off his head, may have formed the basis of the minor Jewish tradition to eat dairy products during Hanukkah.

In that respect, Medieval Jewry appears to have viewed Judith as the Hasmonean counterpart to Queen Esther, the heroine of the holiday of Purim. The textual reliability of the Book of Judith was also taken for granted, to the extent that Biblical commentator Nachmanides (Ramban) quoted several passages from a Peshitta (Syriac version) of Judith in support of his rendering of Deuteronomy 21:14.

Judith is also made reference to in chapter 28 of 1 Meqabyan, a book considered canonical in the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church.

The story revolves around Judith, a daring and beautiful widow, who is upset with her Jewish countrymen for not trusting God to deliver them from their foreign conquerors. She goes with her loyal maid to the camp of the enemy general, Holofernes, with whom she slowly ingratiates herself, promising him information on the Israelites. Gaining his trust, she is allowed access to his tent one night as he lies in a drunken stupor. She decapitates him, then takes his head back to her fearful countrymen. The Assyrians, having lost their leader, disperse, and Israel is saved. Though she is courted by many, Judith remains unmarried for the rest of her life.

Literary structure

The Book of Judith can be split into two parts or "acts" of approximately equal length. Chapters 1–7 describe the rise of the threat to Israel, led by the evil king Nebuchadnezzar and his sycophantic general Holofernes, and is concluded as Holofernes' worldwide campaign has converged at the mountain pass where Judith's village, Bethulia, is located. Chapters 8–16 then introduce Judith and depict her heroic actions to save her people. Part I, although at times tedious in its description of the military developments, develops important themes by alternating battles with reflections and rousing action with rest. In contrast, the second half is devoted mainly to Judith's strength of character and the beheading scene.)

JUDITH CHAPTER 1

In the twelfth year of the reign of Nabuchodonosor, who reigned in Nineve, the great city; in the days of Arphaxad, which reigned over the Medes in Ecbatane,

2 And built in Ecbatane walls round about of stones hewn three cubits broad and six cubits long, and made the height of the wall seventy cubits, and the breadth thereof fifty cubits:

3 And set the towers thereof upon the gates of it an hundred cubits high, and the breadth thereof in the foundation threescore cubits:

4 And he made the gates thereof, even gates that were raised to the height of seventy cubits, and the breadth of them was forty cubits, for the going forth of his mighty armies, and for the setting in array of his footmen:

5 Even in those days king Nabuchodonosor made war with king Arphaxad in the great plain, which is the plain in the borders of Ragau.

6 And there came unto him all they that dwelt in the hill country, and all that dwelt by Euphrates, and Tigris and Hydaspes, and the plain of Arioch the king of the Elymeans, and very many nations of the sons of Chelod, assembled themselves to the battle.

7 Then Nabuchodonosor king of the Assyrians sent unto all that dwelt in Persia, and to all that dwelt westward, and to those that dwelt in Cilicia, and Damascus, and Libanus, and Antilibanus, and to all that dwelt upon the sea coast,

8 And to those among the nations that were of Carmel, and Galaad, and the higher Galilee, and the great plain of Esdrelom,

9 And to all that were in Samaria and the cities thereof, and beyond Jordan unto Jerusalem, and Betane, and Chelus, and Kades, and the river of Egypt, and Taphnes, and Ramesse, and all the land of Gesem,

10 Until ye come beyond Tanis and Memphis, and to all the inhabitants of Egypt, until ye come to the borders of Ethiopia.

11 But all the inhabitants of the land made light of the commandment of Nabuchodonosor king of the Assyrians, neither went they with him to the battle; for they were not afraid of him: yea, he was before them as one man, and they sent away his ambassadors from them without effect, and with disgrace.

12 Therefore Nabuchodonosor was very angry with all this country, and sware by his throne and kingdom, that he would surely be avenged upon all those coasts of Cilicia, and Damascus, and Syria, and that he would slay with the sword all the inhabitants of the land of Moab, and the children of Ammon, and all Judea, and all that were in Egypt, till ye come to the borders of the two seas.

13 Then he marched in battle array with his power against king Arphaxad in the seventeenth year, and he prevailed in his battle: for he overthrew all the power of Arphaxad, and all his horsemen, and all his chariots,

14 And became lord of his cities, and came unto Ecbatane, and took the towers, and spoiled the streets thereof, and turned the beauty thereof into shame.

15 He took also Arphaxad in the mountains of Ragau, and smote him through with his darts, and destroyed him utterly that day.

16 So he returned afterward to Nineve, both he and all his company of sundry nations being a very great multitude of men of war, and there he took his ease, and banqueted, both he and his army, an hundred and twenty days.

JUDITH CHAPTER 2

1 And in the eighteenth year, the two and twentieth day of the first month, there was talk in the house of Nabuchodonosor king of the Assyrians that he should, as he said, avenge himself on all the earth.

2 So he called unto him all his officers, and all his nobles, and communicated with them his secret counsel, and concluded the afflicting of the whole earth out of his own mouth.

3 Then they decreed to destroy all flesh, that did not obey the commandment of his mouth.

4 And when he had ended his counsel, Nabuchodonosor king of the Assyrians called Holofernes the chief captain of his army, which was next unto him, and said unto him.

5 Thus saith the great king, the lord of the whole earth, Behold, thou shalt go forth from my presence, and take with thee men that trust in their own strength, of footmen an hundred and twenty thousand; and the number of horses with their riders twelve thousand.

6 And thou shalt go against all the west country, because they disobeyed my commandment.

7 And thou shalt declare unto that they prepare for me earth and water: for I will go forth in my wrath against them and will cover the whole face of the earth with the feet of mine army, and I will give them for a spoil unto them:

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8 So that their slain shall fill their valleys and brooks and the river shall be filled with their dead, till it overflow:
9 And I will lead them captives to the utmost parts of all the earth.
10 Thou therefore shalt go forth. and take beforehand for me all their coasts: and if they will yield themselves unto thee, thou shalt reserve them for me till the day of their punishment.
11 But concerning them that rebel, let not thine eye spare them; but put them to the slaughter, and spoil them wheresoever thou goest.
12 For as I live, and by the power of my kingdom, whatsoever I have spoken, that will I do by mine hand.
13 And take thou heed that thou transgress none of the commandments of thy lord, but accomplish them fully, as I have commanded thee, and defer not to do them.
14 Then Holofernes went forth from the presence of his lord, and called all the governors and captains, and the officers of the army of Assur;
15 And he mustered the chosen men for the battle, as his lord had commanded him, unto an hundred and twenty thousand, and twelve thousand archers on horseback;
16 And he ranged them, as a great army is ordered for the war.
17 And he took camels and asses for their carriages, a very great number; and sheep and oxen and goats without number for their provision:
18 And plenty of victual for every man of the army, and very much gold and silver out of the king's house.
19 Then he went forth and all his power to go before king Nabuchodonosor in the voyage, and to cover all the face of the earth westward with their chariots, and horsemen, and their chosen footmen.
20 A great number also sundry countries came with them like locusts, and like the sand of the earth: for the multitude was without number.
21 And they went forth of Nineve three days' journey toward the plain of Bectileth, and pitched from Bectileth near the mountain which is at the left hand of the upper Cilicia.
22 Then he took all his army, his footmen, and horsemen and chariots, and went from thence into the hill country;
23 And destroyed Phud and Lud, and spoiled all the children of Rasses, and the children of Israel, which were toward the wilderness at the south of the land of the Chellians.
24 Then he went over Euphrates, and went through Mesopotamia, and destroyed all the high cities that were upon the river Arbonai, till ye come to the sea.
25 And he took the borders of Cilicia, and killed all that resisted him, and came to the borders of Japheth, which were toward the south, over against Arabia.
26 He compassed also all the children of Madian, and burned up their tabernacles, and spoiled their sheepcotes.
27 Then he went down into the plain of Damascus in the time of wheat harvest, and burnt up all their fields, and destroyed their flocks and herds, also he spoiled their cities, and utterly wasted their countries, and smote all their young men with the edge of the sword.
28 Therefore the fear and dread of him fell upon all the inhabitants of the sea coasts, which were in Sidon and Tyrus, and them that dwelt in Sur and Ocina, and all that dwelt in Jemnaan; and they that dwelt in Azotus and Ascalon feared him greatly.

JUDITH CHAPTER 3

1 So they sent ambassadors unto him to treat of peace, saying,
2 Behold, we the servants of Nabuchodonosor the great king lie before thee; use us as shall be good in thy sight.
3 Behold, our houses, and all our places, and all our fields of wheat, and flocks, and herds, and all the lodges of our tents lie before thy face; use them as it pleaseth thee.
4 Behold, even our cities and the inhabitants thereof are thy servants; come and deal with them as seemeth good unto thee.
5 So the men came to Holofernes, and declared unto him after this manner.
6 Then came he down toward the sea coast, both he and his army, and set garrisons in the high cities, and took out of them chosen men for aid.
7 So they and all the country round about received them with garlands, with dances, and with timbrels.
8 Yet he did cast down their frontiers, and cut down their groves: for he had decreed to destroy all the gods of the land, that all nations should worship Nabuchodonosor only, and that all tongues and tribes should call upon him as god.
9 Also he came over against Esdraelon near unto Judea, over against the great strait of Judea.
10 And he pitched between Geba and Scythopolis, and there he tarried a whole month, that he might gather together all the carriages of his army.
3 And set the towers thereof upon the gates of it an hundred cubits high, and the breadth thereof in the foundation threescore cubits:
4 And he made the gates thereof, even gates that were raised to the height of seventy cubits, and the breadth of them was forty cubits, for the going forth of his mighty armies, and for the setting in array of his footmen:
5 Even in those days king Nabuchodonosor made war with king Arphaxad in the great plain, which is the plain in the borders of Ragau.
6 And there came unto him all they that dwelt in the hill country, and all that dwelt by Euphrates, and Tigris and Hydaspes, and the plain of Arioch the king of the Elymeans, and very many nations of the sons of Chelod, assembled themselves to the battle.
7 Then Nabuchodonosor king of the Assyrians sent unto all that dwelt in Persia, and to all that dwelt westward, and to those that dwelt in Cilicia, and Damascus, and Libanus, and Antilibanus, and to all that dwelt upon the sea coast,
8 And to those among the nations that were of Carmel, and Galaad, and the higher Galilee, and the great plain of Esdrelom,
9 And to all that were in Samaria and the cities thereof, and beyond Jordan unto Jerusalem, and Betane, and Chelus, and Kades, and the river of Egypt, and Taphnes, and Ramesse, and all the land of Gesem,
10 Until ye come beyond Tanis and Memphis, and to all the inhabitants of Egypt, until ye come to the borders of Ethiopia.
11 But all the inhabitants of the land made light of the commandment of Nabuchodonosor king of the Assyrians, neither went they with him to the battle; for they were not afraid of him: yea, he was before them as one man, and they sent away his ambassadors from them without effect, and with disgrace.
12 Therefore Nabuchodonosor was very angry with all this country, and sware by his throne and kingdom, that he would surely be avenged upon all those coasts of Cilicia, and Damascus, and Syria, and that he would slay with the sword all the inhabitants of the land of Moab, and the children of Ammon, and all Judea, and all that were in Egypt, till ye come to the borders of the two seas.
13 Then he marched in battle array with his power against king Arphaxad in the seventeenth year, and he prevailed in his battle: for he overthrew all the power of Arphaxad, and all his horsemen, and all his chariots,
14 And became lord of his cities, and came unto Ecbatane, and took the towers, and spoiled the streets thereof, and turned the beauty thereof into shame.
15 He took also Arphaxad in the mountains of Ragau, and smote him through with his darts, and destroyed him utterly that day.
16 So he returned afterward to Nineve, both he and all his company of sundry nations being a very great multitude of men of war, and there he took his ease, and banqueted, both he and his army, an hundred and twenty days.

JUDITH CHAPTER 4

1 Now the children of Israel, that dwelt in Judea, heard all that Holofernes the chief captain of Nabuchodonosor king of the Assyrians had done to the nations, and after what manner he had spoiled all their temples, and brought them to nought.
2 Therefore they were exceedingly afraid of him, and were troubled for Jerusalem, and for the temple of the Lord their God:
3 For they were newly returned from the captivity, and all the people of Judea were lately gathered together: and the vessels, and the altar, and the house, were sanctified after the profanation.
4 Therefore they sent into all the coasts of Samaria, and the villages and to Bethoron, and Belmen, and Jericho, and to Choba, and Esora, and to the valley of Salem:
5 And possessed themselves beforehand of all the tops of the high mountains, and fortified the villages that were in them, and laid up victuals for the provision of war: for their fields were of late reaped.
6 Also Joacim the high priest, which was in those days in Jerusalem, wrote to them that dwelt in Bethulia, and Betomestham, which is over against Esdraelon toward the open country, near to Dothaim,
7 Charging them to keep the passages of the hill country: for by them there was an entrance into Judea, and it was easy to stop them that would come up, because the passage was straight, for two men at the most.
8 And the children of Israel did as Joacim the high priest had commanded them, with the ancients of all the people of Israel, which dwelt at Jerusalem.
9 Then every man of Israel cried to God with great fervency, and with great vehemency did they humble their souls:
10 Both they, and their wives and their children, and their cattle, and every stranger and hireling, and their servants bought with money, put sackcloth upon their loins.
11 Thus every man and women, and the little children, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, fell before the temple, and cast ashes upon their heads, and spread out their sackcloth before the face of the Lord: also they put sackcloth about the altar,
12 And cried to the God of Israel all with one consent earnestly, that he would not give their children for a prey, and their wives for a spoil, and the cities of their inheritance to destruction, and the sanctuary to profanation and reproach, and for the nations to rejoice at.
13 So God heard their prayers, and looked upon their afflictions: for the people fasted many days in all Judea and Jerusalem before the sanctuary of the Lord Almighty.
14 And Joacim the high priest, and all the priests that stood before the Lord, and they which ministered unto the Lord, had their loins girt with sackcloth, and offered the daily burnt offerings, with the vows and free gifts of the people,
15 And had ashes on their mitres, and cried unto the Lord with all their power, that he would look upon all the house of Israel graciously.

JUDITH CHAPTER 5

1 Then was it declared to Holofernes, the chief captain of the army of Assur, that the children of Israel had prepared for war, and had shut up the passages of the hill country, and had fortified all the tops of the high hills and had laid impediments in the champaign countries:
2 Wherewith he was very angry, and called all the princes of Moab, and the captains of Ammon, and all the governors of the sea coast,
3 And he said unto them, Tell me now, ye sons of Chanaan, who this people is, that dwelleth in the hill country, and what are the cities that they inhabit, and what is the multitude of their army, and wherein is their power and strength, and what king is set over them, or captain of their army;
4 And why have they determined not to come and meet me, more than all the inhabitants of the west.
5 Then said Achior, the captain of all the sons of Ammon, Let my lord now hear a word from the mouth of thy servant, and I will declare unto thee the truth concerning this people, which dwelleth near thee, and inhabiteth the hill countries: and there shall no lie come out of the mouth of thy servant.
6 This people are descended of the Chaldeans:
7 And they sojourned heretofore in Mesopotamia, because they would not follow the gods of their fathers, which were in the land of Chaldea.
8 For they left the way of their ancestors, and worshipped the God of heaven, the God whom they knew: so they cast them out from the face of their gods, and they fled into Mesopotamia, and sojourned there many days.
9 Then their God commanded them to depart from the place where they sojourned, and to go into the land of Chanaan: where they dwelt, and were increased with gold and silver, and with very much cattle.
10 But when a famine covered all the land of Chanaan, they went down into Egypt, and sojourned there, while they were nourished, and became there a great multitude, so that one could not number their nation.
11 Therefore the king of Egypt rose up against them, and dealt subtilly with them, and brought them low with labouring in brick, and made them slaves.
12 Then they cried unto their God, and he smote all the land of Egypt with incurable plagues: so the Egyptians cast them out of their sight.
13 And God dried the Red sea before them,
14 And brought them to mount Sina, and Cades-Barne, and cast forth all that dwelt in the wilderness.
15 So they dwelt in the land of the Amorites, and they destroyed by their strength all them of Esebon, and passing over Jordan they possessed all the hill country.
16 And they cast forth before them the Chanaanite, the Pherezite, the Jebusite, and the Sychemite, and all the Gergesites, and they dwelt in that country many days.
17 And whilst they sinned not before their God, they prospered, because the God that hateth iniquity was with them.
18 But when they departed from the way which he appointed them, they were destroyed in many battles very sore, and were led captives into a land that was not their's, and the temple of their God was cast to the ground, and their cities were taken by the enemies.
19 But now are they returned to their God, and are come up from the places where they were scattered, and have possessed Jerusalem, where their sanctuary is, and are seated in the hill country; for it was desolate.
20 Now therefore, my lord and governor, if there be any error against this people, and they sin against their God, let us consider that this shall be their ruin, and let us go up, and we shall overcome them.
21 But if there be no iniquity in their nation, let my lord now pass by, lest their Lord defend them, and their God be for them, and we become a reproach before all the world.
22 And when Achior had finished these sayings, all the people standing round about the tent murmured, and the chief men of Holofernes, and all that dwelt by the sea side, and in Moab, spake that he should kill him.
23 For, say they, we will not be afraid of the face of the children of Israel: for, lo, it is a people that have no strength nor power for a strong battle
24 Now therefore, lord Holofernes, we will go up, and they shall be a prey to be devoured of all thine army.

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JUDITH CHAPTER 6

1 And when the tumult of men that were about the council was ceased, Holofernes the chief captain of the army of Assur said unto Achior and all the Moabites before all the company of other nations,

2 And who art thou, Achior, and the hirelings of Ephraim, that thou hast prophesied against us as to day, and hast said, that we should not make war with the people of Israel, because their God will defend them? and who is God but Nabuchodonosor?

3 He will send his power, and will destroy them from the face of the earth, and their God shall not deliver them: but we his servants will destroy them as one man; for they are not able to sustain the power of our horses.

4 For with them we will tread them under foot, and their mountains shall be drunken with their blood, and their fields shall be filled with their dead bodies, and their footsteps shall not be able to stand before us, for they shall utterly perish, saith king Nabuchodonosor, lord of all the earth: for he said, None of my words shall be in vain.

5 And thou, Achior, an hireling of Ammon, which hast spoken these words in the day of thine iniquity, shalt see my face no more from this day, until I take vengeance of this nation that came out of Egypt.

6 And then shall the sword of mine army, and the multitude of them that serve me, pass through thy sides, and thou shalt fall among their slain, when I return.

7 Now therefore my servants shall bring thee back into the hill country, and shall set thee in one of the cities of the passages:

8 And thou shalt not perish, till thou be destroyed with them.

9 And if thou persuade thyself in thy mind that they shall be taken, let not thy countenance fall: I have spoken it, and none of my words shall be in vain.

10 Then Holofernes commanded his servants, that waited in his tent, to take Achior, and bring him to Bethulia, and deliver him into the hands of the children of Israel.

11 So his servants took him, and brought him out of the camp into the plain, and they went from the midst of the plain into the hill country, and came unto the fountains that were under Bethulia.

12 And when the men of the city saw them, they took up their weapons, and went out of the city to the top of the hill: and every man that used a sling kept them from coming up by casting of stones against them.

13 Nevertheless having gotten privily under the hill, they bound Achior, and cast him down, and left him at the foot of the hill, and returned to their lord.

14 But the Israelites descended from their city, and came unto him, and loosed him, and brought him to Bethulia, and presented him to the governors of the city:

15 Which were in those days Ozias the son of Micha, of the tribe of Simeon, and Chabris the son of Gothoniel, and Charmis the son of Melchiel.

16 And they called together all the ancients of the city, and all their youth ran together, and their women, to the assembly, and they set Achior in the midst of all their people. Then Ozias asked him of that which was done.

17 And he answered and declared unto them the words of the council of Holofernes, and all the words that he had spoken in the midst of the princes of Assur, and whatsoever Holofernes had spoken proudly against the house of Israel.

18 Then the people fell down and worshipped God, and cried unto God. saying,

19 O Lord God of heaven, behold their pride, and pity the low estate of our nation, and look upon the face of those that are sanctified unto thee this day.

20 Then they comforted Achior, and praised him greatly.

21 And Ozias took him out of the assembly unto his house, and made a feast to the elders; and they called on the God of Israel all that night for help.

JUDITH CHAPTER 7

1 The next day Holofernes commanded all his army, and all his people which were come to take his part, that they should remove their camp against Bethulia, to take aforehand the ascents of the hill country, and to make war against the children of Israel.

2 Then their strong men removed their camps in that day, and the army of the men of war was an hundred and seventy thousand footmen, and twelve thousand horsemen, beside the baggage, and other men that were afoot among them, a very great multitude.

3 And they camped in the valley near unto Bethulia, by the fountain, and they spread themselves in breadth over Dothaim even to Belmaim, and in length from Bethulia unto Cynamon, which is over against Esdraelon.

4 Now the children of Israel, when they saw the multitude of them, were greatly troubled, and said every one to his neighbour, Now will these men lick up the face of the earth; for neither the high mountains, nor the valleys, nor the hills, are able to bear their weight.

5 Then every man took up his weapons of war, and when they had kindled fires upon their towers, they remained and watched all that night.

6 But in the second day Holofernes brought forth all his horsemen in the sight of the children of Israel which were in Bethulia,

7 And viewed the passages up to the city, and came to the fountains of their waters, and took them, and set garrisons of men of war over them, and he himself removed toward his people.

8 Then came unto him all the chief of the children of Esau, and all the governors of the people of Moab, and the captains of the sea coast, and said,

9 Let our lord now hear a word, that there be not an overthrow in thine army.

10 For this people of the children of Israel do not trust in their spears, but in the height of the mountains wherein they dwell, because it is not easy to come up to the tops of their mountains.

11 Now therefore, my lord, fight not against them in battle array, and there shall not so much as one man of thy people perish.

12 Remain in thy camp, and keep all the men of thine army, and let thy servants get into their hands the fountain of water, which issueth forth of the foot of the mountain:

13 For all the inhabitants of Bethulia have their water thence; so shall thirst kill them, and they shall give up their city, and we and our people shall go up to the tops of the mountains that are near, and will camp upon them, to watch that none go out of the city.

14 So they and their wives and their children shall be consumed with fire, and before the sword come against them, they shall be overthrown in the streets where they dwell.

15 Thus shalt thou render them an evil reward; because they rebelled, and met not thy person peaceably.

16 And these words pleased Holofernes and all his servants, and he appointed to do as they had spoken.

17 So the camp of the children of Ammon departed, and with them five thousand of the Assyrians, and they pitched in the valley, and took the waters, and the fountains of the waters of the children of Israel.

18 Then the children of Esau went up with the children of Ammon, and camped in the hill country over against Dothaim: and they sent some of them toward the south, and toward the east over against Ekrebel, which is near unto Chusi, that is upon the brook Mochmur; and the rest of the army of the Assyrians camped in the plain, and covered the face of the whole land; and their tents and carriages were pitched to a very great multitude.

19 Then the children of Israel cried unto the Lord their God, because their heart failed, for all their enemies had compassed them round about, and there was no way to escape out from among them.

20 Thus all the company of Assur remained about them, both their footmen, chariots, and horsemen, four and thirty days, so that all their vessels of water failed all the inhibitants of Bethulia.

21 And the cisterns were emptied, and they had not water to drink their fill for one day; for they gave them drink by measure.

22 Therefore their young children were out of heart, and their women and young men fainted for thirst, and fell down in the streets of the city, and by the passages of the gates, and there was no longer any strength in them.

23 Then all the people assembled to Ozias, and to the chief of the city, both young men, and women, and children, and cried with a loud voice, and said before all the elders,

24 God be judge between us and you: for ye have done us great injury, in that ye have not required peace of the children of Assur.

25 For now we have no helper: but God hath sold us into their hands, that we should be thrown down before them with thirst and great destruction.

26 Now therefore call them unto you, and deliver the whole city for a spoil to the people of Holofernes, and to all his army.

27 For it is better for us to be made a spoil unto them, than to die for thirst: for we will be his servants, that our souls may live, and not see the death of our infants before our eyes, nor our wives nor our children to die.

28 We take to witness against you the heaven and the earth, and our God and Lord of our fathers, which punisheth us according to our sins and the sins of our fathers, that he do not according as we have said this day.

29 Then there was great weeping with one consent in the midst of the assembly; and they cried unto the Lord God with a loud voice.

30 Then said Ozias to them, Brethren, be of good courage, let us yet endure five days, in the which space the Lord our God may turn his mercy toward us; for he will not forsake us utterly.

31 And if these days pass, and there come no help unto us, I will do according to your word.

32 And he dispersed the people, every one to their own charge; and they went unto the walls and towers of their city, and sent the women and children into their houses: and they were very low brought in the city.

JUDITH CHAPTER 8

1 Now at that time Judith heard thereof, which was the daughter of Merari, the son of Ox, the son of Joseph, the son of Ozel, the son of Elcia, the son of Ananias, the son of Gedeon, the son of Raphaim, the son of Acitho, the son of Eliu, the son of Eliab, the son of Nathanael, the son of Samael, the son of Salasadal, the son of Israel.

2 And Manasses was her husband, of her tribe and kindred, who died in the barley harvest.

3 For as he stood overseeing them that bound sheaves in the field, the heat came upon his head, and he fell on his bed, and died in the city of Bethulia: and they buried him with his fathers in the field between Dothaim and Balamo.

4 So Judith was a widow in her house three years and four months.

5 And she made her a tent upon the top of her house, and put on sackcloth upon her loins and ware her widow's apparel.

6 And she fasted all the days of her widowhood, save the eves of the sabbaths, and the sabbaths, and the eves of the new moons, and the new moons and the feasts and solemn days of the house of Israel.

7 She was also of a goodly countenance, and very beautiful to behold: and her husband Manasses had left her gold, and silver, and menservants and maidservants, and cattle, and lands; and she remained upon them.

8 And there was none that gave her an ill word; as she feared God greatly.

9 Now when she heard the evil words of the people against the governor, that they fainted for lack of water; for Judith had heard all the words that Ozias had spoken unto them, and that he had sworn to deliver the city unto the Assyrians after five days;

10 Then she sent her waitingwoman, that had the government of all things that she had, to call Ozias and Chabris and Charmis, the ancients of the city.

11 And they came unto her, and she said unto them, Hear me now, O ye governors of the inhabitants of Bethulia: for your words that ye have spoken before the people this day are not right, touching this oath which ye made and pronounced between God and you, and have promised to deliver the city to our enemies, unless within these days the Lord turn to help you.

12 And now who are ye that have tempted God this day, and stand instead of God among the children of men?

13 And now try the Lord Almighty, but ye shall never know any thing.

14 For ye cannot find the depth of the heart of man, neither can ye perceive the things that he thinketh: then how can ye search out God, that hath made all these things, and know his mind, or comprehend his purpose? Nay, my brethren, provoke not the Lord our God to anger.

15 For if he will not help us within these five days, he hath power to defend us when he will, even every day, or to destroy us before our enemies.

16 Do not bind the counsels of the Lord our God: for God is not as man, that he may be threatened; neither is he as the son of man, that he should be wavering.

17 Therefore let us wait for salvation of him, and call upon him to help us, and he will hear our voice, if it please him.

18 For there arose none in our age, neither is there any now in these days neither tribe, nor family, nor people, nor city among us, which worship gods made with hands, as hath been aforetime.

19 For the which cause our fathers were given to the sword, and for a spoil, and had a great fall before our enemies.

20 But we know none other god, therefore we trust that he will not despise us, nor any of our nation.

21 For if we be taken so, all Judea shall lie waste, and our sanctuary shall be spoiled; and he will require the profanation thereof at our mouth.

22 And the slaughter of our brethren, and the captivity of the country, and the desolation of our inheritance, will he turn upon our heads among the Gentiles, wheresoever we shall be in bondage; and we shall be an offence and a reproach to all them that possess us.

23 For our servitude shall not be directed to favour: but the Lord our God shall turn it to dishonour.

24 Now therefore, O brethren, let us shew an example to our brethren, because their hearts depend upon us, and the sanctuary, and the house, and the altar, rest upon us.

25 Moreover let us give thanks to the Lord our God, which trieth us, even as he did our fathers.

26 Remember what things he did to Abraham, and how he tried Isaac, and what happened to Jacob in Mesopotamia of Syria, when he kept the sheep of Laban his mother's brother.

27 For he hath not tried us in the fire, as he did them, for the examination of their hearts, neither hath he taken vengeance on us: but the Lord doth scourge them that come near unto him, to admonish them.

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28 Then said Ozias to her, All that thou hast spoken hast thou spoken with a good heart, and there is none that may gainsay thy words.

29 For this is not the first day wherein thy wisdom is manifested; but from the beginning of thy days all the people have known thy understanding, because the disposition of thine heart is good.

30 But the people were very thirsty, and compelled us to do unto them as we have spoken, and to bring an oath upon ourselves, which we will not break.

31 Therefore now pray thou for us, because thou art a godly woman, and the Lord will send us rain to fill our cisterns, and we shall faint no more.

32 Then said Judith unto them, Hear me, and I will do a thing, which shall go throughout all generations to the children of our nation.

33 Ye shall stand this night in the gate, and I will go forth with my waitingwoman: and within the days that ye have promised to deliver the city to our enemies the Lord will visit Israel by mine hand.

34 But enquire not ye of mine act: for I will not declare it unto you, till the things be finished that I do.

35 Then said Ozias and the princes unto her, Go in peace, and the Lord God be before thee, to take vengeance on our enemies.

36 So they returned from the tent, and went to their wards.

JUDITH CHAPTER 9

1 Judith fell upon her face, and put ashes upon her head, and uncovered the sackcloth wherewith she was clothed; and about the time that the incense of that evening was offered in Jerusalem in the house of the Lord Judith cried with a loud voice, and said,

2 O Lord God of my father Simeon, to whom thou gavest a sword to take vengeance of the strangers, who loosened the girdle of a maid to defile her, and discovered the thigh to her shame, and polluted her virginity to her reproach; for thou saidst, It shall not be so; and yet they did so:

3 Wherefore thou gavest their rulers to be slain, so that they dyed their bed in blood, being deceived, and smotest the servants with their lords, and the lords upon their thrones;

4 And hast given their wives for a prey, and their daughters to be captives, and all their spoils to be divided among thy dear children; which were moved with thy zeal, and abhorred the pollution of their blood, and called upon thee for aid: O God, O my God, hear me also a widow.

5 For thou hast wrought not only those things, but also the things which fell out before, and which ensued after; thou hast thought upon the things which are now, and which are to come.

6 Yea, what things thou didst determine were ready at hand, and said, Lo, we are here: for all thy ways are prepared, and thy judgements are in thy foreknowledge.

7 For, behold, the Assyrians are multiplied in their power; they are exalted with horse and man; they glory in the strength of their footmen; they trust in shield, and spear, and bow, and sling; and know not that thou art the Lord that breakest the battles: the Lord is thy name.

8 Throw down their strength in thy power, and bring down their force in thy wrath: for they have purposed to defile thy sanctuary, and to pollute the tabernacle where thy glorious name resteth and to cast down with sword the horn of thy altar.

9 Behold their pride, and send thy wrath upon their heads: give into mine hand, which am a widow, the power that I have conceived.

10 Smite by the deceit of my lips the servant with the prince, and the prince with the servant: break down their stateliness by the hand of a woman.

11 For thy power standeth not in multitude nor thy might in strong men: for thou art a God of the afflicted, an helper of the oppressed, an upholder of the weak, a protector of the forlorn, a saviour of them that are without hope.

12 I pray thee, I pray thee, O God of my father, and God of the inheritance of Israel, Lord of the heavens and earth, Creator of the waters, king of every creature, hear thou my prayer:

13 And make my speech and deceit to be their wound and stripe, who have purposed cruel things against thy covenant, and thy hallowed house, and against the top of Sion, and against the house of the possession of thy children.

14 And make every nation and tribe to acknowledge that thou art the God of all power and might, and that there is none other that protecteth the people of Israel but thou.

JUDITH CHAPTER 10

1 Now after that she had ceased to cry unto the God of Israel, and had made an end of all these words.

2 She rose where she had fallen down, and called her maid, and went down into the house in the which she abode in the sabbath days, and in her feast days,

3 And pulled off the sackcloth which she had on, and put off the garments of her widowhood, and washed her body all over with water, and anointed herself with precious ointment, and braided the hair of her head, and put on a tire upon it, and put on her garments of gladness, wherewith she was clad during the life of Manasses her husband.

4 And she took sandals upon her feet, and put about her her bracelets, and her chains, and her rings, and her earrings, and all her ornaments, and decked herself bravely, to allure the eyes of all men that should see her.

5 Then she gave her maid a bottle of wine, and a cruse of oil, and filled a bag with parched corn, and lumps of figs, and with fine bread; so she folded all these things together, and laid them upon her.

6 Thus they went forth to the gate of the city of Bethulia, and found standing there Ozias and the ancients of the city, Chabris and Charmis.

7 And when they saw her, that her countenance was altered, and her apparel was changed, they wondered at her beauty very greatly, and said unto her.

8 The God, the God of our fathers give thee favour, and accomplish thine enterprizes to the glory of the children of Israel, and to the exaltation of Jerusalem. Then they worshipped God.

9 And she said unto them, Command the gates of the city to be opened unto me, that I may go forth to accomplish the things whereof ye have spoken with me. So they commanded the young men to open unto her, as she had spoken.

10 And when they had done so, Judith went out, she, and her maid with her; and the men of the city looked after her, until she was gone down the mountain, and till she had passed the valley, and could see her no more.

11 Thus they went straight forth in the valley: and the first watch of the Assyrians met her,

12 And took her, and asked her, Of what people art thou? and whence comest thou? and whither goest thou? And she said, I am a woman of the Hebrews, and am fled from them: for they shall be given you to be consumed:

13 And I am coming before Holofernes the chief captain of your army, to declare words of truth; and I will shew him a way, whereby he shall go, and win all the hill country, without losing the body or life of any one of his men.

14 Now when the men heard her words, and beheld her countenance, they wondered greatly at her beauty, and said unto her,

15 Thou hast saved thy life, in that thou hast hasted to come down to the presence of our lord: now therefore come to his tent, and some of us shall conduct thee, until they have delivered thee to his hands.

16 And when thou standest before him, be not afraid in thine heart, but shew unto him according to thy word; and he will entreat thee well.

17 Then they chose out of them an hundred men to accompany her and her maid; and they brought her to the tent of Holofernes.

18 Then was there a concourse throughout all the camp: for her coming was noised among the tents, and they came about her, as she stood without the tent of Holofernes, till they told him of her.

19 And they wondered at her beauty, and admired the children of Israel because of her, and every one said to his neighbour, Who would despise this people, that have among them such women? surely it is not good that one man of them be left who being let go might deceive the whole earth.

20 And they that lay near Holofernes went out, and all his servants and they brought her into the tent.

21 Now Holofernes rested upon his bed under a canopy, which was woven with purple, and gold, and emeralds, and precious stones.

22 So they shewed him of her; and he came out before his tent with silver lamps going before him.

23 And when Judith was come before him and his servants they all marvelled at the beauty of her countenance; and she fell down upon her face, and did reverence unto him: and his servants took her up.

JUDITH CHAPTER 11

1 Then said Holofernes unto her, Woman, be of good comfort, fear not in thine heart: for I never hurt any that was willing to serve Nabuchodonosor, the king of all the earth.

2 Now therefore, if thy people that dwelleth in the mountains had not set light by me, I would not have lifted up my spear against them: but they have done these things to themselves.

3 But now tell me wherefore thou art fled from them, and art come unto us: for thou art come for safeguard; be of good comfort, thou shalt live this night, and hereafter:

4 For none shall hurt thee, but entreat thee well, as they do the servants of king Nabuchodonosor my lord.

5 Then Judith said unto him, Receive the words of thy servant, and suffer thine handmaid to speak in thy presence, and I will declare no lie to my lord this night.

6 And if thou wilt follow the words of thine handmaid, God will bring the thing perfectly to pass by thee; and my lord shall not fail of his purposes.

7 As Nabuchodonosor king of all the earth liveth, and as his power liveth, who hath sent thee for the upholding of every living thing: for not only men shall serve him by thee, but also the beasts of the field, and the cattle, and the fowls of the air, shall live by thy power under Nabuchodonosor and all his house.

8 For we have heard of thy wisdom and thy policies, and it is reported in all the earth, that thou only art excellent in all the kingdom, and mighty in knowledge, and wonderful in feats of war.

9 Now as concerning the matter, which Achior did speak in thy council, we have heard his words; for the men of Bethulia saved him, and he declared unto them all that he had spoken unto thee.

10 Therefore, O lord and governor, reject not his word; but lay it up in thine heart, for it is true: for our nation shall not be punished, neither can sword prevail against them, except they sin against their God.

11 And now, that my lord be not defeated and frustrate of his purpose, even death is now fallen upon them, and their sin hath overtaken them, wherewith they will provoke their God to anger whensoever they shall do that which is not fit to be done:

12 For their victuals fail them, and all their water is scant, and they have determined to lay hands upon their cattle, and purposed to consume all those things, that God hath forbidden them to eat by his laws:

13 And are resolved to spend the firstfruits of the corn, and the tenths of wine and oil, which they had sanctified, and reserved for the priests that serve in Jerusalem before the face of our God; the which things it is not lawful for any of the people so much as to touch with their hands.

14 For they have sent some to Jerusalem, because they also that dwell there have done the like, to bring them a licence from the senate.

15 Now when they shall bring them word, they will forthwith do it, and they shall be given to thee to be destroyed the same day.

16 Wherefore I thine handmaid, knowing all this, am fled from their presence; and God hath sent me to work things with thee, whereat all the earth shall be astonished, and whosoever shall hear it.

17 For thy servant is religious, and serveth the God of heaven day and night: now therefore, my lord, I will remain with thee, and thy servant will go out by night into the valley, and I will pray unto God, and he will tell me when they have committed their sins:

18 And I will come and shew it unto thee: then thou shalt go forth with all thine army, and there shall be none of them that shall resist thee.

19 And I will lead thee through the midst of Judea, until thou come before Jerusalem; and I will set thy throne in the midst thereof; and thou shalt drive them as sheep that have no shepherd, and a dog shall not so much as open his mouth at thee: for these things were told me according to my foreknowledge, and they were declared unto me, and I am sent to tell thee.

20 Then her words pleased Holofernes and all his servants; and they marvelled at her wisdom, and said,

21 There is not such a woman from one end of the earth to the other, both for beauty of face, and wisdom of words.

22 Likewise Holofernes said unto her. God hath done well to send thee before the people, that strength might be in our hands and destruction upon them that lightly regard my lord.

23 And now thou art both beautiful in thy countenance, and witty in thy words: surely if thou do as thou hast spoken thy God shall be my God, and thou shalt dwell in the house of king Nabuchodonosor, and shalt be renowned through the whole earth.

JUDITH CHAPTER 12

1 Then he commanded to bring her in where his plate was set; and bade that they should prepare for her of his own meats, and that she should drink of his own wine.

2 And Judith said, I will not eat thereof, lest there be an offence: but provision shall be made for me of the things that I have brought.

3 Then Holofernes said unto her, If thy provision should fail, how should we give thee the like? for there be none with us of thy nation.

4 Then said Judith unto him As thy soul liveth, my lord, thine handmaid shall not spend those things that I have, before the Lord work by mine hand the things that he hath determined.

5 Then the servants of Holofernes brought her into the tent, and she slept till midnight, and she arose when it was toward the morning watch,

6 And sent to Holofernes, saying, Let my lord now command that thine handmaid may go forth unto prayer.

7 Then Holofernes commanded his guard that they should not stay her: thus she abode in the camp three days, and went out in the night into the valley of Bethulia, and washed herself in a fountain of water by the camp.

8 And when she came out, she besought the Lord God of Israel to direct her way to the raising up of the children of her people.

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9 So she came in clean, and remained in the tent, until she did eat her meat at evening.

10 And in the fourth day Holofernes made a feast to his own servants only, and called none of the officers to the banquet.

11 Then said he to Bagoas the eunuch, who had charge over all that he had, Go now, and persuade this Hebrew woman which is with thee, that she come unto us, and eat and drink with us.

12 For, lo, it will be a shame for our person, if we shall let such a woman go, not having had her company; for if we draw her not unto us, she will laugh us to scorn.

13 Then went Bagoas from the presence of Holofernes, and came to her, and he said, Let not this fair damsel fear to come to my lord, and to be honoured in his presence, and drink wine, and be merry with us and be made this day as one of the daughters of the Assyrians, which serve in the house of Nabuchodonosor.

14 Then said Judith unto him, Who am I now, that I should gainsay my lord? surely whatsoever pleaseth him I will do speedily, and it shall be my joy unto the day of my death.

15 So she arose, and decked herself with her apparel and all her woman's attire, and her maid went and laid soft skins on the ground for her over against Holofernes, which she had received of Bagoas for her daily use, that she might sit and eat upon them.

16 Now when Judith came in and sat down, Holofernes his heart was ravished with her, and his mind was moved, and he desired greatly her company; for he waited a time to deceive her, from the day that he had seen her.

17 Then said Holofernes unto her, Drink now, and be merry with us.

18 So Judith said, I will drink now, my lord, because my life is magnified in me this day more than all the days since I was born.

19 Then she took and ate and drank before him what her maid had prepared.

20 And Holofernes took great delight in her, and drank more wine than he had drunk at any time in one day since he was born.

JUDITH CHAPTER 13

1 Now when the evening was come, his servants made haste to depart, and Bagoas shut his tent without, and dismissed the waiters from the presence of his lord; and they went to their beds: for they were all weary, because the feast had been long.

2 And Judith was left alone in the tent, and Holofernes lying alone upon his bed: for he was filled with wine.

3 Now Judith had commanded her maid to stand without her bedchamber, and to wait for her. coming forth, as she did daily: for she said she would go forth to her prayers, and she spake to Bagoas according to the same purpose.

4 So all went forth and none was left in the bedchamber, neither little nor great. Then Judith, standing by his bed, said in her heart, O Lord God of all power, look at this present upon the works of mine hands for the exaltation of Jerusalem.

5 For now is the time to help thine inheritance, and to execute thine enterprizes to the destruction of the enemies which are risen against us.

6 Then she came to the pillar of the bed, which was at Holofernes' head, and took down his fauchion from thence,

7 And approached to his bed, and took hold of the hair of his head, and said, Strengthen me, O Lord God of Israel, this day.

8 And she smote twice upon his neck with all her might, and she took away his head from him.

9 And tumbled his body down from the bed, and pulled down the canopy from the pillars; and anon after she went forth, and gave Holofernes his head to her maid;

10 And she put it in her bag of meat: so they twain went together according to their custom unto prayer: and when they passed the camp, they compassed the valley, and went up the mountain of Bethulia, and came to the gates thereof.

11 Then said Judith afar off, to the watchmen at the gate, Open, open now the gate: God, even our God, is with us, to shew his power yet in Jerusalem, and his forces against the enemy, as he hath even done this day.

12 Now when the men of her city heard her voice, they made haste to go down to the gate of their city, and they called the elders of the city.

13 And then they ran all together, both small and great, for it was strange unto them that she was come: so they opened the gate, and received them, and made a fire for a light, and stood round about them.

14 Then she said to them with a loud voice, Praise, praise God, praise God, I say, for he hath not taken away his mercy from the house of Israel, but hath destroyed our enemies by mine hands this night.

15 So she took the head out of the bag, and shewed it, and said unto them, behold the head of Holofernes, the chief captain of the army of Assur, and behold the canopy, wherein he did lie in his drunkenness; and the Lord hath smitten him by the hand of a woman.

16 As the Lord liveth, who hath kept me in my way that I went, my countenance hath deceived him to his destruction, and yet hath he not committed sin with me, to defile and shame me.

17 Then all the people were wonderfully astonished, and bowed themselves and worshipped God, and said with one accord, Blessed be thou, O our God, which hast this day brought to nought the enemies of thy people.

18 Then said Ozias unto her, O daughter, blessed art thou of the most high God above all the women upon the earth; and blessed be the Lord God, which hath created the heavens and the earth, which hath directed thee to the cutting off of the head of the chief of our enemies.

19 For this thy confidence shall not depart from the heart of men, which remember the power of God for ever.

20 And God turn these things to thee for a perpetual praise, to visit thee in good things because thou hast not spared thy life for the affliction of our nation, but hast revenged our ruin, walking a straight way before our God. And all the people said; So be it, so be it.

JUDITH CHAPTER 14

1 Then said Judith unto them, Hear me now, my brethren, and take this head, and hang it upon the highest place of your walls.

2 And so soon as the morning shall appear, and the sun shall come forth upon the earth, take ye every one his weapons, and go forth every valiant man out of the city, and set ye a captain over them, as though ye would go down into the field toward the watch of the Assyrians; but go not down.

3 Then they shall take their armour, and shall go into their camp, and raise up the captains of the army of Assur, and shall run to the tent of Holofernes, but shall not find him: then fear shall fall upon them, and they shall flee before your face.

4 So ye, and all that inhabit the coast of Israel, shall pursue them, and overthrow them as they go.

5 But before ye do these things, call me Achior the Ammonite, that he may see and know him that despised the house of Israel, and that sent him to us as it were to his death.

6 Then they called Achior out of the house of Ozias; and when he was come, and saw the head of Holofernes in a man's hand in the assembly of the people, he fell down on his face, and his spirit failed.

7 But when they had recovered him, he fell at Judith's feet, and reverenced her, and said, Blessed art thou in all the tabernacles of Juda, and in all nations, which hearing thy name shall be astonished.

8 Now therefore tell me all the things that thou hast done in these days. Then Judith declared unto him in the midst of the people all that she had done, from the day that she went forth until that hour she spake unto them.

9 And when she had left off speaking, the people shouted with a loud voice, and made a joyful noise in their city.

10 And when Achior had seen all that the God of Israel had done, he believed in God greatly, and circumcised the flesh of his foreskin, and was joined unto the house of Israel unto this day.

11 And as soon as the morning arose, they hanged the head of Holofernes upon the wall, and every man took his weapons, and they went forth by bands unto the straits of the mountain.

12 But when the Assyrians saw them, they sent to their leaders, which came to their captains and tribunes, and to every one of their rulers.

13 So they came to Holofernes' tent, and said to him that had the charge of all his things, Waken now our lord: for the slaves have been bold to come down against us to battle, that they may be utterly destroyed.

14 Then went in Bagoas, and knocked at the door of the tent; for he thought that he had slept with Judith.

15 But because none answered, he opened it, and went into the bedchamber, and found him cast upon the floor dead, and his head was taken from him.

16 Therefore he cried with a loud voice, with weeping, and sighing, and a mighty cry, and rent his garments.

17 After he went into the tent where Judith lodged: and when he found her not, he leaped out to the people, and cried,

18 These slaves have dealt treacherously; one woman of the Hebrews hath brought shame upon the house of king Nabuchodonosor: for, behold, Holofernes lieth upon the ground without a head.

19 When the captains of the Assyrians' army heard these words, they rent their coats and their minds were wonderfully troubled, and there was a cry and a very great noise throughout the camp.

JUDITH CHAPTER 15

1 And when they that were in the tents heard, they were astonished at the thing that was done.

2 And fear and trembling fell upon them, so that there was no man that durst abide in the sight of his neighbour, but rushing out all together, they fled into every way of the plain, and of the hill country.

3 They also that had camped in the mountains round about Bethulia fled away. Then the children of Israel, every one that was a warrior among them, rushed out upon them.

4 Then sent Ozias to Betomasthem, and to Bebai, and Chobai, and Cola and to all the coasts of Israel, such as should tell the things that were done, and that all should rush forth upon their enemies to destroy them.

5 Now when the children of Israel heard it, they all fell upon them with one consent, and slew them unto Chobai: likewise also they that came from Jerusalem, and from all the hill country, (for men had told them what things were done in the camp of their enemies) and they that were in Galaad, and in Galilee, chased them with a great slaughter, until they were past Damascus and the borders thereof.

6 And the residue that dwelt at Bethulia, fell upon the camp of Assur, and spoiled them, and were greatly enriched.

7 And the children of Israel that returned from the slaughter had that which remained; and the villages and the cities, that were in the mountains and in the plain, gat many spoils: for the multitude was very great.

8 Then Joacim the high priest, and the ancients of the children of Israel that dwelt in Jerusalem, came to behold the good things that God had shewed to Israel, and to see Judith, and to salute her.

9 And when they came unto her, they blessed her with one accord, and said unto her, Thou art the exaltation of Jerusalem, thou art the great glory of Israel, thou art the great rejoicing of our nation:

10 Thou hast done all these things by thine hand: thou hast done much good to Israel, and God is pleased therewith: blessed be thou of the Almighty Lord for evermore. And all the people said, So be it.

11 And the people spoiled the camp the space of thirty days: and they gave unto Judith Holofernes his tent, and all his plate, and beds, and vessels, and all his stuff: and she took it and laid it on her mule; and made ready her carts, and laid them thereon.

12 Then all the women of Israel ran together to see her, and blessed her, and made a dance among them for her: and she took branches in her hand, and gave also to the women that were with her.

13 And they put a garland of olive upon her and her maid that was with her, and she went before all the people in the dance, leading all the women: and all the men of Israel followed in their armour with garlands, and with songs in their mouths.

JUDITH CHAPTER 16

1 Then Judith began to sing this thanksgiving in all Israel, and all the people sang after her this song of praise.

2 And Judith said, Begin unto my God with timbrels, sing unto my Lord with cymbals: tune unto him a new psalm: exalt him, and call upon his name.

3 For God breaketh the battles: for among the camps in the midst of the people he hath delivered me out of the hands of them that persecuted me.

4 Assur came out of the mountains from the north, he came with ten thousands of his army, the multitude whereof stopped the torrents, and their horsemen have covered the hills.

5 He bragged that he would burn up my borders, and kill my young men with the sword, and dash the sucking children against the ground, and make mine infants as a prey, and my virgins as a spoil.

6 But the Almighty Lord hath disappointed them by the hand of a woman.

7 For the mighty one did not fall by the young men, neither did the sons of the Titans smite him, nor high giants set upon him: but Judith the daughter of Merari weakened him with the beauty of her countenance.

8 For she put off the garment of her widowhood for the exaltation of those that were oppressed in Israel, and anointed her face with ointment, and bound her hair in a tire, and took a linen garment to deceive him.

9 Her sandals ravished his eyes, her beauty took his mind prisoner, and the fauchion passed through his neck.

10 The Persians quaked at her boldness, and the Medes were daunted at her hardiness.

11 Then my afflicted shouted for joy, and my weak ones cried aloud; but they were astonished: these lifted up their voices, but they were overthrown.

12 The sons of the damsels have pierced them through, and wounded them as fugatives' children: they perished by the battle of the Lord.

13 I will sing unto the Lord a new song: O Lord, thou art great and glorious, wonderful in strength, and invincible.

14 Let all creatures serve thee: for thou spakest, and they were made, thou didst send forth thy spirit, and it created them, and there is none that can resist thy voice.

15 For the mountains shall be moved from their foundations with the waters, the rocks shall melt as wax at thy presence: yet thou art merciful to them that fear thee.

16 For all sacrifice is too little for a sweet savour unto thee, and all the fat is not sufficient for thy burnt offering: but he that feareth the Lord is great at all times.

17 Woe to the nations that rise up against my kindred! the Lord Almighty will take vengeance of them in the day of

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judgement, in putting fire and worms in their flesh; and they shall feel them, and weep for ever.

18 Now as soon as they entered into Jerusalem, they worshipped the Lord; and as soon as the people were purified, they offered their burnt offerings, and their free offerings, and their gifts.

19 Judith also dedicated all the stuff of Holofernes, which the people had given her, and gave the canopy, which she had taken out of his bedchamber, for a gift unto the Lord.

20 So the people continued feasting in Jerusalem before the sanctuary for the space of three months and Judith remained with them.

21 After this time every one returned to his own inheritance, and Judith went to Bethulia, and remained in her own possession, and was in her time honourable in all the country.

22 And many desired her, but none knew her all the days of her life, after that Manasses her husband was dead, and was gathered to his people.

23 But she increased more and more in honour, and waxed old in her husband's house, being an hundred and five years old, and made her maid free; so she died in Bethulia: and they buried her in the cave of her husband Manasses.

24 And the house of Israel lamented her seven days: and before she died, she did distribute her goods to all them that were nearest of kindred to Manasses her husband, and to them that were the nearest of her kindred.

25 And there was none that made the children of Israel any more afraid in the days of Judith, nor a long time after her death.

ADDITIONS TO THE BOOK OF ESTHER

or The rest of the Book of Esther

Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd century B.C.

(The canonicity of these Greek additions has been a subject of scholarly disagreement practically since their first appearance in the Greek Septuagint Bible. They argue that the following chapters were made later than the original Book of Esther. Therefore, they usully placed in the Deuterocanon of the Hebrew Bible. An additional six chapters appear interspersed in Esther in the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Bible. This was noted by Jerome in compiling the Latin Vulgate. Additionally, the Greek text contains many small changes in the meaning of the main text. Jerome recognised the former as additions not present in the Hebrew Text and placed them at the end of his Latin translation. This placement and numbering system is used in Catholic Bible translations based primarily on the Vulgate, such as the Douay–Rheims Bible and the Knox Bible. In contrast, the 1979 revision of the Vulgate, the Nova Vulgata, incorporates the additions to Esther directly into the narrative itself, as do most modern Catholic English translations based on the original Hebrew and Greek (e.g., Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition, New American Bible, New Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition). The numbering system for the additions differs with each translation.

These additions include:

• an opening prologue that describes a dream had by Mordecai

• the contents of the decree against the Jews

• prayers for God's intervention offered by Mordecai and by Esther

• an expansion of the scene in which Esther appears before the king, with a mention of God's intervention

• a copy of the decree in favor of the Jews

• a passage in which Mordecai interprets his dream (from the prologue) in terms of the events that followed

• a colophon appended to the end, which reads: "In the fourth year of the reign of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, Dositheus, who said that he was a priest and a Levite, and his son Ptolemy brought to Egypt the preceding Letter about Purim, which they said was authentic and had been translated by Lysimachus son of Ptolemy, one of the residents of Jerusalem" (NRSV). It is unclear to which version of Greek Esther this colophon refers, and who exactly are the figures mentioned in it.

By the time the Greek version of Esther was written, the foreign power visible on the horizon as a future threat to Judah was the Macedonians of Alexander the Great, who defeated the Persian empire about 150 years after the time of the story of Esther; the Septuagint version noticeably calls Haman a "Bougaion" [incomprehensible] where the Hebrew text describes him as an Agagite.

The canonicity of these Greek additions has been a subject of scholarly disagreement practically since their first appearance in the Septuagint – Martin Luther, being perhaps the most vocal Reformation-era critic of the work, considered even the original Hebrew version to be of very doubtful value. Luther's complaints against the book carried past the point of scholarly critique and may reflect Luther's antisemitism.

The Council of Trent, the summation of the Roman Catholic Counter-Reformation, reconfirmed the entire book, both Hebrew text and Greek additions, as canonical. The Book of Esther is used twice in commonly used sections of the Catholic Lectionary. In both cases, the text used is not only taken from a Greek addition, the readings also are the prayer of Mordecai, and nothing of Esther's own words is ever used. The Eastern Orthodox Church uses the Septuagint version of Esther, as it does for all of the Old Testament.

In contrast, the additions are included in the Biblical apocrypha, usually printed in a separate section (if at all) in Protestant bibles. The additions, called "The rest of the Book of Esther", are specifically listed in the Thirty-Nine Articles, Article VI, of the Church of England as non-canonical.)

[. . . . .]

4 Then Mardocheus said, God hath done these things.

5 For I remember a dream which I saw concerning these matters, and nothing thereof hath failed.

6 A little fountain became a river, and there was light, and the sun, and much water: this river is Esther, whom the king married, and made queen:

7 And the two dragons are I and Aman.

8 And the nations were those that were assembled to destroy the name of the Jews:

9 And my nation is this Israel, which cried to God, and were saved: for the Lord hath saved his people, and the Lord hath delivered us from all those evils, and God hath wrought signs and great wonders, which have not been done among the Gentiles.

10 Therefore hath he made two lots, one for the people of God, and another for all the Gentiles.

11 And these two lots came at the hour, and time, and day of judgement, before God among all nations.

12 So God remembered his people, and justified his inheritance.

13 Therefore those days shall be unto them in the month Adar, the fourteenth and fifteenth day of the same month, with an assembly, and joy, and with gladness before God, according to the generations for ever among his people.

ESTHER CHAPTER 11

1 In the fourth year of the reign of Ptolemeus and Cleopatra, Dositheus, who said he was a priest and Levite, and Ptolemeus his son, brought this epistle of Phurim, which they said was the same, and that Lysimachus the son of Ptolemeus, that was in Jerusalem, had interpreted it.

2 In the second year of the reign of Artexerxes the great, in the first day of the month Nisan, Mardocheus the son of Jairus, the son of Semei, the son of Cisai, of the tribe of Benjamin, had a dream;

3 Who was a Jew, and dwelt in the city of Susa, a great man, being a servitor in the king's court.

4 He was also one of the captives, which Nabuchodonosor the king of Babylon carried from Jerusalem with Jechonias king of Judea; and this was his dream:

5 Behold a noise of a tumult, with thunder, and earthquakes, and uproar in the land:

6 And, behold, two great dragons came forth ready to fight, and their cry was great.

7 And at their cry all nations were prepared to battle, that they might fight against the righteous people.

8 And lo a day of darkness and obscurity, tribulation and anguish, affliction and great uproar, upon earth.

9 And the whole righteous nation was troubled, fearing their own evils, and were ready to perish.

10 Then they cried unto God, and upon their cry, as it were from a little fountain, was made a great flood, even much water.

11 The light and the sun rose up, and the lowly were exalted, and devoured the glorious.

12 Now when Mardocheus, who had seen this dream, and what God had determined to do, was awake, he bare this dream in mind, and until night by all means was desirous to know it.

ESTHER CHAPTER 12

1 And Mardocheus took his rest in the court with Gabatha and Tharra, the two eunuchs of the king, and keepers of the palace.

2 And he heard their devices, and searched out their purposes, and learned that they were about to lay hands upon Artexerxes the king; and so he certified the king of them.

3 Then the king examined the two eunuchs, and after that they had confessed it, they were strangled.

4 And the king made a record of these things, and Mardocheus also wrote thereof.

5 So the king commanded, Mardocheus to serve in the court, and for this he rewarded him.

6 Howbeit Aman the son of Amadathus the Agagite, who was in great honour with the king, sought to molest Mardocheus and his people because of the two eunuchs of the king.

ESTHER CHAPTER 13

1 The copy of the letters was this: The great king Artexerxes writeth these things to the princes and governours that are under him from India unto Ethiopia in an hundred and seven and twenty provinces.

2 After that I became lord over many nations and had dominion over the whole world, not lifted up with presumption of my authority, but carrying myself always with equity and mildness, I purposed to settle my subjects continually in a quiet life, and making my kingdom peaceable, and open for passage to the utmost coasts, to renew peace, which is desired of all men.

3 Now when I asked my counsellors how this might be brought to pass, Aman, that excelled in wisdom among us, and was approved for his constant good will and steadfast fidelity, and had the honour of the second place in the kingdom,

4 Declared unto us, that in all nations throughout the world there was scattered a certain malicious people, that had laws contrary to all nations, and continually despised the commandments of kings, so as the uniting of our kingdoms, honourably intended by us cannot go forward.

5 Seeing then we understand that this people alone is continually in opposition unto all men, differing in the strange manner of their laws, and evil affected to our state, working all the mischief they can that our kingdom may not be firmly established:

6 Therefore have we commanded, that all they that are signified in writing unto you by Aman, who is ordained over the affairs, and is next unto us, shall all, with their wives and children, be utterly destroyed by the sword of their enemies, without all mercy and pity, the fourteenth day of the twelfth month Adar of this present year:

7 That they, who of old and now also are malicious, may in one day with violence go into the grave, and so ever hereafter cause our affairs to be well settled, and without trouble.

8 Then Mardocheus thought upon all the works of the Lord, and made his prayer unto him,

9 Saying, O Lord, Lord, the King Almighty: for the whole world is in thy power, and if thou hast appointed to save Israel, there is no man that can gainsay thee:

10 For thou hast made heaven and earth, and all the wondrous things under the heaven.

11 Thou art Lord of all things, and there is no man that can resist thee, which art the Lord.

12 Thou knowest all things, and thou knowest, Lord, that it was neither in contempt nor pride, nor for any desire of glory, that I did not bow down to proud Aman.

13 For I could have been content with good will for the salvation of Israel to kiss the soles of his feet.

14 But I did this, that I might not prefer the glory of man above the glory of God: neither will I worship any but thee, O God, neither will I do it in pride.

15 And now, O Lord God and King, spare thy people: for their eyes are upon us to bring us to nought; yea, they desire to destroy the inheritance, that hath been thine from the beginning.

16 Despise not the portion, which thou hast delivered out of Egypt for thine own self.

17 Hear my prayer, and be merciful unto thine inheritance: turn our sorrow into joy, that we may live, O Lord, and praise thy name: and destroy not the mouths of them that praise thee, O Lord.

18 All Israel in like manner cried most earnestly unto the Lord, because their death was before their eyes.

ESTHER CHAPTER 14

1 Queen Esther also, being in fear of death, resorted unto the Lord:

2 And laid away her glorious apparel, and put on the garments of anguish and mourning: and instead of precious ointments, she covered her head with ashes and dung, and she humbled her body greatly, and all the places of her joy she filled with her torn hair.

3 And she prayed unto the Lord God of Israel, saying, O my Lord, thou only art our King: help me, desolate woman, which have no helper but thee:

4 For my danger is in mine hand.

5 From my youth up I have heard in the tribe of my family that thou, O Lord, tookest Israel from among all people, and our fathers from all their predecessors, for a perpetual inheritance, and thou hast performed whatsoever thou didst promise them.

6 And now we have sinned before thee: therefore hast thou given us into the hands of our enemies,

7 Because we worshipped their gods: O Lord, thou art righteous.

8 Nevertheless it satisfieth them not, that we are in bitter captivity: but they have stricken hands with their idols,

9 That they will abolish the thing that thou with thy mouth hast ordained, and destroy thine inheritance, and stop the mouth of them that praise thee, and quench the glory of thy house, and of thine altar,

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10 And open the mouths of the heathen to set forth the praises of the idols, and to magnify a fleshly king for ever.
11 O Lord, give not thy sceptre unto them that be nothing, and let them not laugh at our fall; but turn their device upon themselves, and make him an example, that hath begun this against us.
12 Remember, O Lord, make thyself known in time of our affliction, and give me boldness, O King of the nations, and Lord of all power.
13 Give me eloquent speech in my mouth before the lion: turn his heart to hate him that fighteth against us, that there may be an end of him, and of all that are likeminded to him:
14 But deliver us with thine hand, and help me that am desolate, and which have no other help but thee.
15 Thou knowest all things, O Lord; thou knowest that I hate the glory of the unrighteous, and abhor the bed of the uncircumcised, and of all the heathen.
16 Thou knowest my necessity: for I abhor the sign of my high estate, which is upon mine head in the days wherein I shew myself, and that I abhor it as a menstruous rag, and that I wear it not when I am private by myself.
17 And that thine handmaid hath not eaten at Aman's table, and that I have not greatly esteemed the king's feast, nor drunk the wine of the drink offerings.
18 Neither had thine handmaid any joy since the day that I was brought hither to this present, but in thee, O Lord God of Abraham.
19 O thou mighty God above all, hear the voice of the forlorn and deliver us out of the hands of the mischievous, and deliver me out of my fear.

ESTHER CHAPTER 15
1 And upon the third day, when she had ended her prayers, she laid away her mourning garments, and put on her glorious apparel.
2 And being gloriously adorned, after she had called upon God, who is the beholder and saviour of all things, she took two maids with her:
3 And upon the one she leaned, as carrying herself daintily;
4 And the other followed, bearing up her train.
5 And she was ruddy through the perfection of her beauty, and her countenance was cheerful and very amiable: but her heart was in anguish for fear.
6 Then having passed through all the doors, she stood before the king, who sat upon his royal throne, and was clothed with all his robes of majesty, all glittering with gold and precious stones; and he was very dreadful.
7 Then lifting up his countenance that shone with majesty, he looked very fiercely upon her: and the queen fell down, and was pale, and fainted, and bowed herself upon the head of the maid that went before her.
8 Then God changed the spirit of the king into mildness, who in a fear leaped from his throne, and took her in his arms, till she came to herself again, and comforted her with loving words and said unto her,
9 Esther, what is the matter? I am thy brother, be of good cheer:
10 Thou shalt not die, though our our commandment be general: come near.
11 And so he held up his golden sceptre, and laid it upon her neck,
12 And embraced her, and said, Speak unto me.
13 Then said she unto him, I saw thee, my lord, as an angel of God, and my heart was troubled for fear of thy majesty.
14 For wonderful art thou, lord, and thy countenance is full of grace.
15 And as she was speaking, she fell down for faintness.
16 Then the king was troubled, and all his servants comforted her.

ESTHER CHAPTER 16
1 The great king Artexerxes unto the princes and governors of an hundred and seven and twenty provinces from India unto Ethiopia, and unto all our faithful subjects, greeting.
2 Many, the more often they are honoured with the great bounty of their gracious princes, the more proud they are waxen,
3 And endeavour to hurt not our subjects only, but not being able to bear abundance, do take in hand to practise also against those that do them good:
4 And take not only thankfulness away from among men, but also lifted up with the glorious words of lewd persons, that were never good, they think to escape the justice of God, that seeth all things and hateth evil.
5 Oftentimes also fair speech of those, that are put in trust to manage their friends' affairs, hath caused many that are in authority to be partakers of innocent blood, and hath enwrapped them in remediless calamities:
6 Beguiling with the falsehood and deceit of their lewd disposition the innocency and goodness of princes.
7 Now ye may see this, as we have declared, not so much by ancient histories, as ye may, if ye search what hath been wickedly done of late through the pestilent behaviour of them that are unworthily placed in authority.
8 And we must take care for the time to come, that our kingdom may be quiet and peaceable for all men,
9 Both by changing our purposes, and always judging things that are evident with more equal proceeding.
10 For Aman, a Macedonian, the son of Amadatha, being indeed a stranger from the Persian blood, and far distant from our goodness, and as a stranger received of us,
11 Had so far forth obtained the favour that we shew toward every nation, as that he was called our father, and was continually honoured of all the next person unto the king.
12 But he, not bearing his great dignity, went about to deprive us of our kingdom and life:
13 Having by manifold and cunning deceits sought of us the destruction, as well of Mardocheus, who saved our life, and continually procured our good, as also of blameless Esther, partaker of our kingdom, with their whole nation.
14 For by these means he thought, finding us destitute of friends to have translated the kingdom of the Persians to the Macedonians.
15 But we find that the Jews, whom this wicked wretch hath delivered to utter destruction, are no evildoers, but live by most just laws:
16 And that they be children of the most high and most mighty, living God, who hath ordered the kingdom both unto us and to our progenitors in the most excellent manner.
17 Wherefore ye shall do well not to put in execution the letters sent unto you by Aman the son of Amadatha.
18 For he that was the worker of these things, is hanged at the gates of Susa with all his family: God, who ruleth all things, speedily rendering vengeance to him according to his deserts.
19 Therefore ye shall publish the copy of this letter in all places, that the Jews may freely live after their own laws.
20 And ye shall aid them, that even the same day, being the thirteenth day of the twelfth month Adar, they may be avenged on them, who in the time of their affliction shall set upon them.
21 For Almighty God hath turned to joy unto them the day, wherein the chosen people should have perished.
22 Ye shall therefore among your solemn feasts keep it an high day with all feasting:
23 That both now and hereafter there may be safety to us and the well affected Persians; but to those which do conspire against us a memorial of destruction.
24 Therefore every city and country whatsoever, which shall not do according to these things, shall be destroyed without mercy with fire and sword, and shall be made not only unpassable for men, but also most hateful to wild beasts and fowls for ever.

WISDOM OF SOLOMON

The Book of Wisdom
Estimated Range of Dating: 1st century B.C.

(The Book of Wisdom, or the Wisdom of Solomon, is a Jewish work written in Greek and most likely composed in Alexandria, Egypt, in the late 1st century BC or early 1st century AD. The central theme of the work is "Wisdom" itself, appearing under two principal aspects. In its relation to man, Wisdom is the perfection of knowledge of the righteous as a gift from God showing itself in action. In direct relation to God, Wisdom is with God from all eternity. It is one of the seven Sapiential or wisdom books comprising the Septuagint, the others being Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs (Song of Solomon), Job, and Sirach. It is included in the canon of Deuterocanonical books by the Roman Catholic Church and of the Eastern Orthodox Church. Most Protestants consider it part of the Apocrypha.

The author's prime literary source was the Septuagint, in particular the Wisdom literature and the Book of Isaiah, and he was familiar with late Jewish works as the Book of Enoch and with Greek philosophical literature. It is uncertain whether the book has a single author or comes from a school of writers, but recent scholarship has favoured regarding it as a unified work. In either case its blend of Greek and Jewish features suggests a learned Hellenistic background, and despite the address to the "rulers of the world" the actual audience was probably members of the author's own community who were tempted to give up their Jewishness in the face of the temptations of Greek culture and the hostile conditions facing Jews in the Greek world.

The book is addressed to the rulers of the earth, urging them to love righteousness and seek wisdom; the wicked think that all is chance and that they should enjoy each day, but they are deluded. In the second section Solomon (not explicitly named, but strongly implied) tells of his search for wisdom.

The Wisdom of Solomon can be linked to several forms of ancient literature, both Jewish and non-Jewish, but it clearly belongs with biblical Wisdom books such as the Book of Job, one of only five such books among ancient Jewish literature. In terms of classical genre it has been identified as an encomium and with the Greek genre of the "exhortatory discourse", by which a teacher attempts to persuade others to a certain course of action.

Structure and content

The structure can be divided into three sections:
1. Book of Eschatology
• exhortation to justice
• speech of the impious, contrasts of the wicked and the just
• exhortation to wisdom
2. Book of Wisdom
• Solomon's speech concerning wisdom, wealth, power and prayer
3. Book of History
• introduction, followed by diptychs of plagues
• digression on God's power and mercy
• digression on false worship and further plagues
• recapitulation and concluding doxology.

Melito of Sardis in the 2nd century AD, Augustine (c. 397 AD) and Pope Innocent I (405 AD) considered Wisdom of Solomon as part of the Old Testament. Athanasius writes that the Book of Wisdom along with three other deuterocanonical books, while not being part of the Canon, "were appointed by the Fathers to be read". Epiphanius of Salamis (c. 385 AD) mentions that the Wisdom of Solomon was of disputed canonicity. According to the monk Rufinus of Aquileia (c. 400 AD) the Book of Wisdom was not called a canonical but ecclesiastical book.)

WISDOM OF SOLOMON CHAPTER1
1 Love righteousness, ye that be judges of the earth: think of the Lord with a good (heart,) and in simplicity of heart seek him.
2 For he will be found of them that tempt him not; and sheweth himself unto such as do not distrust him.
3 For froward thoughts separate from God: and his power, when it is tried, reproveth the unwise.
4 For into a malicious soul wisdom shall not enter; nor dwell in the body that is subject unto sin.
5 For the holy spirit of discipline will flee deceit, and remove from thoughts that are without understanding, and will not abide when unrighteousness cometh in.
6 For wisdom is a loving spirit; and will not acquit a blasphemer of his words: for God is witness of his reins, and a true beholder of his heart, and a hearer of his tongue.
7 For the Spirit of the Lord filleth the world: and that which containeth all things hath knowledge of the voice.
8 Therefore he that speaketh unrighteous things cannot be hid: neither shall vengeance, when it punisheth, pass by him.
9 For inquisition shall be made into the counsels of the ungodly: and the sound of his words shall come unto the Lord for the manifestation of his wicked deeds.
10 For the ear of jealousy heareth all things: and the noise of murmurings is not hid.
11 Therefore beware of murmuring, which is unprofitable; and refrain your tongue from backbiting: for there is no word so secret, that shall go for nought: and the mouth that belieth slayeth the soul.
12 Seek not death in the error of your life: and pull not upon yourselves destruction with the works of your hands.
13 For God made not death: neither hath he pleasure in the destruction of the living.
14 For he created all things, that they might have their being: and the generations of the world were healthful; and there is no poison of destruction in them, nor the kingdom of death upon the earth:
15 (For righteousness is immortal:)
16 But ungodly men with their works and words called it to them: for when they thought to have it their friend, they consumed to nought, and made a covenant with it, because they are worthy to take part with it.

WISDOM OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 2
1 For the ungodly said, reasoning with themselves, but not aright, Our life is short and tedious, and in the death of a man there is no remedy: neither was there any man known to have returned from the grave.
2 For we are born at all adventure: and we shall be hereafter as though we had never been: for the breath in our nostrils is as smoke, and a little spark in the moving of our heart:
3 Which being extinguished, our body shall be turned into ashes, and our spirit shall vanish as the soft air,
4 And our name shall be forgotten in time, and no man shall have our works in remembrance, and our life shall pass away as the trace of a cloud, and shall be dispersed as a mist, that is driven away with the beams of the sun, and overcome with the heat thereof.
5 For our time is a very shadow that passeth away; and after our end there is no returning: for it is fast sealed, so that no man cometh again.
6 Come on therefore, let us enjoy the good things that are present: and let us speedily use the creatures like as in youth.

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7 Let us fill ourselves with costly wine and ointments: and let no flower of the spring pass by us:
8 Let us crown ourselves with rosebuds, before they be withered:
9 Let none of us go without his part of our voluptuousness: let us leave tokens of our joyfulness in every place: for this is our portion, and our lot is this.
10 Let us oppress the poor righteous man, let us not spare the widow, nor reverence the ancient gray hairs of the aged.
11 Let our strength be the law of justice: for that which is feeble is found to be nothing worth.
12 Therefore let us lie in wait for the righteous; because he is not for our turn, and he is clean contrary to our doings: he upbraideth us with our offending the law, and objecteth to our infamy the transgressings of our education.
13 He professeth to have the knowledge of God: and he calleth himself the child of the Lord.
14 He was made to reprove our thoughts.
15 He is grievous unto us even to behold: for his life is not like other men's, his ways are of another fashion.
16 We are esteemed of him as counterfeits: he abstaineth from our ways as from filthiness: he pronounceth the end of the just to be blessed, and maketh his boast that God is his father.
17 Let us see if his words be true: and let us prove what shall happen in the end of him.
18 For if the just man be the son of God, he will help him, and deliver him from the hand of his enemies.
19 Let us examine him with despitefulness and torture, that we may know his meekness, and prove his patience.
20 Let us condemn him with a shameful death: for by his own saying he shall be respected.
21 Such things they did imagine, and were deceived: for their own wickedness hath blinded them.
22 As for the mysteries of God, they knew them not: neither hoped they for the wages of righteousness, nor discerned a reward for blameless souls.
23 For God created man to be immortal, and made him to be an image of his own eternity.
24 Nevertheless through envy of the devil came death into the world: and they that do hold of his side do find it.

WISDOM OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 3

1 But the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and there shall no torment touch them.
2 In the sight of the unwise they seemed to die: and their departure is taken for misery,
3 And their going from us to be utter destruction: but they are in peace.
4 For though they be punished in the sight of men, yet is their hope full of immortality.
5 And having been a little chastised, they shall be greatly rewarded: for God proved them, and found them worthy for himself.
6 As gold in the furnace hath he tried them, and received them as a burnt offering.
7 And in the time of their visitation they shall shine, and run to and fro like sparks among the stubble.
8 They shall judge the nations, and have dominion over the people, and their Lord shall reign for ever.
9 They that put their trust in him shall understand the truth: and such as be faithful in love shall abide with him: for grace and mercy is to his saints, and he hath care for his elect.
10 But the ungodly shall be punished according to their own imaginations, which have neglected the righteous, and forsaken the Lord.
11 For whoso despiseth wisdom and nurture, he is miserable, and their hope is vain, their labours unfruitful, and their works unprofitable:
12 Their wives are foolish, and their children wicked:
13 Their offspring is cursed. Wherefore blessed is the barren that is undefiled, which hath not known the sinful bed: she shall have fruit in the visitation of souls.
14 And blessed is the eunuch, which with his hands hath wrought no iniquity, nor imagined wicked things against God: for unto him shall be given the special gift of faith, and an inheritance in the temple of the Lord more acceptable to his mind.
15 For glorious is the fruit of good labours: and the root of wisdom shall never fall away.
16 As for the children of adulterers, they shall not come to their perfection, and the seed of an unrighteous bed shall be rooted out.
17 For though they live long, yet shall they be nothing regarded: and their last age shall be without honour.
18 Or, if they die quickly, they have no hope, neither comfort in the day of trial.
19 For horrible is the end of the unrighteous generation.

WISDOM OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 4

1 Better it is to have no children, and to have virtue: for the memorial thereof is immortal: because it is known with God, and with men.
2 When it is present, men take example at it; and when it is gone, they desire it: it weareth a crown, and triumpheth for ever, having gotten the victory, striving for undefiled rewards.
3 But the multiplying brood of the ungodly shall not thrive, nor take deep rooting from bastard slips, nor lay any fast foundation.
4 For though they flourish in branches for a time; yet standing not last, they shall be shaken with the wind, and through the force of winds they shall be rooted out.
5 The imperfect branches shall be broken off, their fruit unprofitable, not ripe to eat, yea, meet for nothing.
6 For children begotten of unlawful beds are witnesses of wickedness against their parents in their trial.
7 But though the righteous be prevented with death, yet shall he be in rest.
8 For honourable age is not that which standeth in length of time, nor that is measured by number of years.
9 But wisdom is the gray hair unto men, and an unspotted life is old age.
10 He pleased God, and was beloved of him: so that living among sinners he was translated.
11 Yea speedily was he taken away, lest that wickedness should alter his understanding, or deceit beguile his soul.
12 For the bewitching of naughtiness doth obscure things that are honest; and the wandering of concupiscence doth undermine the simple mind.
13 He, being made perfect in a short time, fulfilled a long time:
14 For his soul pleased the Lord: therefore hasted he to take him away from among the wicked.
15 This the people saw, and understood it not, neither laid they up this in their minds, That his grace and mercy is with his saints, and that he hath respect unto his chosen.
16 Thus the righteous that is dead shall condemn the ungodly which are living; and youth that is soon perfected the many years and old age of the unrighteous.
17 For they shall see the end of the wise, and shall not understand what God in his counsel hath decreed of him, and to what end the Lord hath set him in safety.
18 They shall see him, and despise him; but God shall laugh them to scorn: and they shall hereafter be a vile carcase, and a reproach among the dead for evermore.
19 For he shall rend them, and cast them down headlong, that they shall be speechless; and he shall shake them from the foundation; and they shall be utterly laid waste, and be in sorrow; and their memorial shall perish.
20 And when they cast up the accounts of their sins, they shall come with fear: and their own iniquities shall convince them to their face.

WISDOM OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 5

1 Then shall the righteous man stand in great boldness before the face of such as have afflicted him, and made no account of his labours.
2 When they see it, they shall be troubled with terrible fear, and shall be amazed at the strangeness of his salvation, so far beyond all that they looked for.
3 And they repenting and groaning for anguish of spirit shall say within themselves, This was he, whom we had sometimes in derision, and a proverb of reproach:
4 We fools accounted his life madness, and his end to be without honour:
5 How is he numbered among the children of God, and his lot is among the saints!
6 Therefore have we erred from the way of truth, and the light of righteousness hath not shined unto us, and the sun of righteousness rose not upon us.
7 We wearied ourselves in the way of wickedness and destruction: yea, we have gone through deserts, where there lay no way: but as for the way of the Lord, we have not known it.
8 What hath pride profited us? or what good hath riches with our vaunting brought us?
9 All those things are passed away like a shadow, and as a post that hasted by;
10 And as a ship that passeth over the waves of the water, which when it is gone by, the trace thereof cannot be found, neither the pathway of the keel in the waves;
11 Or as when a bird hath flown through the air, there is no token of her way to be found, but the light air being beaten with the stroke of her wings and parted with the violent noise and motion of them, is passed through, and therein afterwards no sign where she went is to be found;
12 Or like as when an arrow is shot at a mark, it parteth the air, which immediately cometh together again, so that a man cannot know where it went through:
13 Even so we in like manner, as soon as we were born, began to draw to our end, and had no sign of virtue to shew; but were consumed in our own wickedness.
14 For the hope of the ungodly is like dust that is blown away with the wind; like a thin froth that is driven away with the storm; like as the smoke which is dispersed here and there with a tempest, and passeth away as the remembrance of a guest that tarrieth but a day.
15 But the righteous live for evermore; their reward also is with the Lord, and the care of them is with the most High.
16 Therefore shall they receive a glorious kingdom, and a beautiful crown from the Lord's hand: for with his right hand shall he cover them, and with his arm shall he protect them.
17 He shall take to him his jealousy for complete armour, and make the creature his weapon for the revenge of his enemies.
18 He shall put on righteousness as a breastplate, and true judgement instead of an helmet.
19 He shall take holiness for an invincible shield.
20 His severe wrath shall he sharpen for a sword, and the world shall fight with him against the unwise.
21 Then shall the right aiming thunderbolts go abroad; and from the clouds, as from a well drawn bow, shall they fly to the mark.
22 And hailstones full of wrath shall be cast as out of a stone bow, and the water of the sea shall rage against them, and the floods shall cruelly drown them.
23 Yea, a mighty wind shall stand up against them, and like a storm shall blow them away: thus iniquity shall lay waste the whole earth, and ill dealing shall overthrow the thrones of the mighty.

WISDOM OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 6

1 Hear therefore, O ye kings, and understand; learn, ye that be judges of the ends of the earth.
2 Give ear, ye that rule the people, and glory in the multitude of nations.
3 For power is given you of the Lord, and sovereignty from the Highest, who shall try your works, and search out your counsels.
4 Because, being ministers of his kingdom, ye have not judged aright, nor kept the law, nor walked after the counsel of God;
5 Horribly and speedily shall he come upon you: for a sharp judgement shall be to them that be in high places.
6 For mercy will soon pardon the meanest: but mighty men shall be mightily tormented.
7 For he which is Lord over all shall fear no man's person, neither shall he stand in awe of any man's greatness: for he hath made the small and great, and careth for all alike.
8 But a sore trial shall come upon the mighty.
9 Unto you therefore, O kings, do I speak, that ye may learn wisdom, and not fall away.
10 For they that keep holiness holily shall be judged holy: and they that have learned such things shall find what to answer.
11 Wherefore set your affection upon my words; desire them, and ye shall be instructed.
12 Wisdom is glorious, and never fadeth away: yea, she is easily seen of them that love her, and found of such as seek her.
13 She preventeth them that desire her, in making herself first known unto them.
14 Whoso seeketh her early shall have no great travail: for he shall find her sitting at his doors.
15 To think therefore upon her is perfection of wisdom: and whoso watcheth for her shall quickly be without care.
16 For she goeth about seeking such as are worthy of her, sheweth herself favourably unto them in the ways, and meeteth them in every thought.
17 For the very true beginning of her is the desire of discipline; and the care of discipline is love;
18 And love is the keeping of her laws; and the giving heed unto her laws is the assurance of incorruption;
19 And incorruption maketh us near unto God:
20 Therefore the desire of wisdom bringeth to a kingdom.
21 If your delight be then in thrones and sceptres, O ye kings of the people, honour wisdom, that ye may reign for evermore.
22 As for wisdom, what she is, and how she came up, I will tell you, and will not hide mysteries from you: but will seek her out from the beginning of her nativity, and bring the knowledge of her into light, and will not pass over the truth.
23 Neither will I go with consuming envy; for such a man shall have no fellowship with wisdom.
24 But the multitude of the wise is the welfare of the world: and a wise king is the upholding of the people.
25 Receive therefore instruction through my words, and it shall do you good.

WISDOM OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 7

1 I myself also am a mortal man, like to all, and the offspring of him that was first made of the earth,
2 And in my mother's womb was fashioned to be flesh in the time of ten months, being compacted in blood, of the seed of man, and the pleasure that came with sleep.
3 And when I was born, I drew in the common air, and fell upon the earth, which is of like nature, and the first voice which I uttered was crying, as all others do.
4 I was nursed in swaddling clothes, and that with cares.
5 For there is no king that had any other beginning of birth.
6 For all men have one entrance into life, and the like going out.

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7 Wherefore I prayed, and understanding was given me: I called upon God, and the spirit of wisdom came to me.
8 I preferred her before sceptres and thrones, and esteemed riches nothing in comparison of her.
9 Neither compared I unto her any precious stone, because all gold in respect of her is as a little sand, and silver shall be counted as clay before her.
10 I loved her above health and beauty, and chose to have her instead of light: for the light that cometh from her never goeth out.
11 All good things together came to me with her, and innumerable riches in her hands.
12 And I rejoiced in them all, because wisdom goeth before them: and I knew not that she was the mother of them.
13 I learned diligently, and do communicate her liberally: I do not hide her riches.
14 For she is a treasure unto men that never faileth: which they that use become the friends of God, being commended for the gifts that come from learning.
15 God hath granted me to speak as I would, and to conceive as is meet for the things that are given me: because it is he that leadeth unto wisdom, and directeth the wise.
16 For in his hand are both we and our words; all wisdom also, and knowledge of workmanship.
17 For he hath given me certain knowledge of the things that are, namely, to know how the world was made, and the operation of the elements:
18 The beginning, ending, and midst of the times: the alterations of the turning of the sun, and the change of seasons:
19 The circuits of years, and the positions of stars:
20 The natures of living creatures, and the furies of wild beasts: the violence of winds, and the reasonings of men: the diversities of plants and the virtues of roots:
21 And all such things as are either secret or manifest, them I know.
22 For wisdom, which is the worker of all things, taught me: for in her is an understanding spirit holy, one only, manifold, subtil, lively, clear, undefiled, plain, not subject to hurt, loving the thing that is good quick, which cannot be letted, ready to do good,
23 Kind to man, steadfast, sure, free from care, having all power, overseeing all things, and going through all understanding, pure, and most subtil, spirits.
24 For wisdom is more moving than any motion: she passeth and goeth through all things by reason of her pureness.
25 For she is the breath of the power of God, and a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty: therefore can no defiled thing fall into her.
26 For she is the brightness of the everlasting light, the unspotted mirror of the power of God, and the image of his goodness.
27 And being but one, she can do all things: and remaining in herself, she maketh all things new: and in all ages entering into holy souls, she maketh them friends of God, and prophets.
28 For God loveth none but him that dwelleth with wisdom.
29 For she is more beautiful than the sun, and above all the order of stars: being compared with the light, she is found before it.
30 For after this cometh night: but vice shall not prevail against wisdom.

WISDOM OF SOLOMON CHAPTER8

1 Wisdom reacheth from one end to another mightily: and sweetly doth she order all things.
2 I loved her, and sought her out from my youth, I desired to make her my spouse, and I was a lover of her beauty.
3 In that she is conversant with God, she magnifieth her nobility: yea, the Lord of all things himself loved her.
4 For she is privy to the mysteries of the knowledge of God, and a lover of his works.
5 If riches be a possession to be desired in this life; what is richer than wisdom, that worketh all things?
6 And if prudence work; who of all that are is a more cunning workman than she?
7 And if a man love righteousness her labours are virtues: for she teacheth temperance and prudence, justice and fortitude: which are such things, as men can have nothing more profitable in their life.
8 If a man desire much experience, she knoweth things of old, and conjectureth aright what is to come: she knoweth the subtilties of speeches, and can expound dark sentences: she foreseeth signs and wonders, and the events of seasons and times.
9 Therefore I purposed to take her to me to live with me, knowing that she would be a counsellor of good things, and a comfort in cares and grief.
10 For her sake I shall have estimation among the multitude, and honour with the elders, though I be young.
11 I shall be found of a quick conceit in judgement, and shall be admired in the sight of great men.
12 When I hold my tongue, they shall bide my leisure, and when I speak, they shall give good ear unto me: if I talk much, they shall lay their hands upon their mouth.
13 Moreover by the means of her I shall obtain immortality, and leave behind me an everlasting memorial to them that come after me.
14 I shall set the people in order, and the nations shall be subject unto me.
15 Horrible tyrants shall be afraid, when they do but hear of me; I shall be found good among the multitude, and valiant in war.
16 After I am come into mine house, I will repose myself with her: for her conversation hath no bitterness; and to live with her hath no sorrow, but mirth and joy.
17 Now when I considered these things in myself, and pondered them in my heart, how that to be allied unto wisdom is immortality;
18 And great pleasure it is to have her friendship; and in the works of her hands are infinite riches; and in the exercise of conference with her, prudence; and in talking with her, a good report; I went about seeking how to take her to me.
19 For I was a witty child, and had a good spirit.
20 Yea rather, being good, I came into a body undefiled.
21 Nevertheless, when I perceived that I could not otherwise obtain her, except God gave her me; and that was a point of wisdom also to know whose gift she was; I prayed unto the Lord, and besought him, and with my whole heart I said,

WISDOM OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 9

1 O God of my fathers, and Lord of mercy, who hast made all things with thy word,
2 And ordained man through thy wisdom, that he should have dominion over the creatures which thou hast made,
3 And order the world according to equity and righteousness, and execute judgement with an upright heart:
4 Give me wisdom, that sitteth by thy throne; and reject me not from among thy children:
5 For I thy servant and son of thine handmaid am a feeble person, and of a short time, and too young for the understanding of judgement and laws.
6 For though a man be never so perfect among the children of men, yet if thy wisdom be not with him, he shall be nothing regarded.
7 Thou hast chosen me to be a king of thy people, and a judge of thy sons and daughters:
8 Thou hast commanded me to build a temple upon thy holy mount, and an altar in the city wherein thou dwellest, a resemblance of the holy tabernacle, which thou hast prepared from the beginning.
9 And wisdom was with thee: which knoweth thy works, and was present when thou madest the world, and knew what was acceptable in thy sight, and right in thy commandments.
10 O send her out of thy holy heavens, and from the throne of thy glory, that being present she may labour with me, that I may know what is pleasing unto thee.
11 For she knoweth and understandeth all things, and she shall lead me soberly in my doings, and preserve me in her power.
12 So shall my works be acceptable, and then shall I judge thy people righteously, and be worthy to sit in my father's seat.
13 For what man is he that can know the counsel of God? or who can think what the will of the Lord is?
14 For the thoughts of mortal men are miserable, and our devices are but uncertain.
15 For the corruptible body presseth down the soul, and the earthy tabernacle weigheth down the mind that museth upon many things.
16 And hardly do we guess aright at things that are upon earth, and with labour do we find the things that are before us: but the things that are in heaven who hath searched out?
17 And thy counsel who hath known, except thou give wisdom, and send thy Holy Spirit from above?
18 For so the ways of them which lived on the earth were reformed, and men were taught the things that are pleasing unto thee, and were saved through wisdom.

WISDOM OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 10

1 She preserved the first formed father of the world, that was created alone, and brought him out of his fall,
2 And gave him power to rule all things.
3 But when the unrighteous went away from her in his anger, he perished also in the fury wherewith he murdered his brother.
4 For whose cause the earth being drowned with the flood, wisdom again preserved it, and directed the course of the righteous in a piece of wood of small value.
5 Moreover, the nations in their wicked conspiracy being confounded, she found out the righteous, and preserved him blameless unto God, and kept him strong against his tender compassion toward his son.
6 When the ungodly perished, she delivered the righteous man, who fled from the fire which fell down upon the five cities.
7 Of whose wickedness even to this day the waste land that smoketh is a testimony, and plants bearing fruit that never come to ripeness: and a standing pillar of salt is a monument of an unbelieving soul.
8 For regarding not wisdom, they gat not only this hurt, that they knew not the things which were good; but also left behind them to the world a memorial of their foolishness: so that in the things wherein they offended they could not so much as be hid.
9 But wisdom delivered from pain those that attended upon her.
10 When the righteous fled from his brother's wrath she guided him in right paths, shewed him the kingdom of God, and gave him knowledge of holy things, made him rich in his travels, and multiplied the fruit of his labours.
11 In the covetousness of such as oppressed him she stood by him, and made him rich.
12 She defended him from his enemies, and kept him safe from those that lay in wait, and in a sore conflict she gave him the victory; that he might know that goodness is stronger than all.
13 When the righteous was sold, she forsook him not, but delivered him from sin: she went down with him into the pit,
14 And left him not in bonds, till she brought him the sceptre of the kingdom, and power against those that oppressed him: as for them that had accused him, she shewed them to be liars, and gave him perpetual glory.
15 She delivered the righteous people and blameless seed from the nation that oppressed them.
16 She entered into the soul of the servant of the Lord, and withstood dreadful kings in wonders and signs;
17 Rendered to the righteous a reward of their labours, guided them in a marvellous way, and was unto them for a cover by day, and a light of stars in the night season;
18 Brought them through the Red sea, and led them through much water:
19 But she drowned their enemies, and cast them up out of the bottom of the deep.
20 Therefore the righteous spoiled the ungodly, and praised thy holy name, O Lord, and magnified with one accord thine hand, that fought for them.
21 For wisdom opened the mouth of the dumb, and made the tongues of them that cannot speak eloquent.

WISDOM OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 11

1 She prospered their works in the hand of the holy prophet.
2 They went through the wilderness that was not inhabited, and pitched tents in places where there lay no way.
3 They stood against their enemies, and were avenged of their adversaries.
4 When they were thirsty, they called upon thee, and water was given them out of the flinty rock, and their thirst was quenched out of the hard stone.
5 For by what things their enemies were punished, by the same they in their need were benefited.
6 For instead of a perpetual running river troubled with foul blood,
7 For a manifest reproof of that commandment, whereby the infants were slain, thou gavest unto them abundance of water by a means which they hoped not for:
8 Declaring by that thirst then how thou hadst punished their adversaries.
9 For when they were tried albeit but in mercy chastised, they knew how the ungodly were judged in wrath and tormented, thirsting in another manner than the just.
10 For these thou didst admonish and try, as a father: but the other, as a severe king, thou didst condemn and punish.
11 Whether they were absent or present, they were vexed alike.
12 For a double grief came upon them, and a groaning for the remembrance of things past.
13 For when they heard by their own punishments the other to be benefited, they had some feeling of the Lord.
14 For whom they respected with scorn, when he was long before thrown out at the casting forth of the infants, him in the end, when they saw what came to pass, they admired.
15 But for the foolish devices of their wickedness, wherewith being deceived they worshipped serpents void of reason, and vile beasts, thou didst send a multitude of unreasonable beasts upon them for vengeance;
16 That they might know, that wherewithal a man sinneth, by the same also shall he be punished.
17 For thy Almighty hand, that made the world of matter without form, wanted not means to send among them a multitude of bears or fierce lions,
18 Or unknown wild beasts, full of rage, newly created, breathing out either a fiery vapour, or filthy scents of scattered smoke, or shooting horrible sparkles out of their eyes:
19 Whereof not only the harm might dispatch them at once, but also the terrible sight utterly destroy them.
20 Yea, and without these might they have fallen down with one blast, being persecuted of vengeance, and scattered abroad through the breath of thy power: but thou hast ordered all things in measure and number and weight.
21 For thou canst shew thy great strength at all times when thou wilt; and who may withstand the power of thine arm?

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22 For the whole world before thee is as a little grain of the balance, yea, as a drop of the morning dew that falleth down upon the earth.
23 But thou hast mercy upon all; for thou canst do all things, and winkest at the sins of men, because they should amend.
24 For thou lovest all the things that are, and abhorrest nothing which thou hast made: for never wouldest thou have made any thing, if thou hadst hated it.
25 And how could any thing have endured, if it had not been thy will? or been preserved, if not called by thee?
26 But thou sparest all: for they are thine, O Lord, thou lover of souls.

WISDOM OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 12
1 For thine incorruptible Spirit is in all things.
2 Therefore chastenest thou them by little and little that offend, and warnest them by putting them in remembrance wherein they have offended, that leaving their wickedness they may believe on thee, O Lord.
3 For it was thy will to destroy by the hands of our fathers both those old inhabitants of thy holy land,
4 Whom thou hatedst for doing most odious works of witchcrafts, and wicked sacrifices;
5 And also those merciless murderers of children, and devourers of man's flesh, and the feasts of blood,
6 With their priests out of the midst of their idolatrous crew, and the parents, that killed with their own hands souls destitute of help:
7 That the land, which thou esteemedst above all other, might receive a worthy colony of God's children.
8 Nevertheless even those thou sparedst as men, and didst send wasps, forerunners of thine host, to destroy them by little and little.
9 Not that thou wast unable to bring the ungodly under the hand of the righteous in battle, or to destroy them at once with cruel beasts, or with one rough word:
10 But executing thy judgements upon them by little and little, thou gavest them place of repentance, not being ignorant that they were a naughty generation, and that their malice was bred in them, and that their cogitation would never be changed.
11 For it was a cursed seed from the beginning; neither didst thou for fear of any man give them pardon for those things wherein they sinned.
12 For who shall say, What hast thou done? or who shall withstand thy judgement? or who shall accuse thee for the nations that perish, whom thou made? or who shall come to stand against thee, to be revenged for the unrighteous men?
13 For neither is there any God but thou that careth for all, to whom thou mightest shew that thy judgement is not unright.
14 Neither shall king or tyrant be able to set his face against thee for any whom thou hast punished.
15 Forsomuch then as thou art righteous thyself, thou orderest all things righteously: thinking it not agreeable with thy power to condemn him that hath not deserved to be punished.
16 For thy power is the beginning of righteousness, and because thou art the Lord of all, it maketh thee to be gracious unto all.
17 For when men will not believe that thou art of a full power, thou shewest thy strength, and among them that know it thou makest their boldness manifest.
18 But thou, mastering thy power, judgest with equity, and orderest us with great favour: for thou mayest use power when thou wilt.
19 But by such works hast thou taught thy people that the just man should be merciful, and hast made thy children to be of a good hope that thou givest repentance for sins.
20 For if thou didst punish the enemies of thy children, and the condemned to death, with such deliberation, giving them time and place, whereby they might be delivered from their malice:
21 With how great circumspection didst thou judge thine own sons, unto whose fathers thou hast sworn, and made covenants of good promises?
22 Therefore, whereas thou dost chasten us, thou scourgest our enemies a thousand times more, to the intent that, when we judge, we should carefully think of thy goodness, and when we ourselves are judged, we should look for mercy.
23 Wherefore, whereas men have lived dissolutely and unrighteously, thou hast tormented them with their own abominations.
24 For they went astray very far in the ways of error, and held them for gods, which even among the beasts of their enemies were despised, being deceived, as children of no understanding.
25 Therefore unto them, as to children without the use of reason, thou didst send a judgement to mock them.
26 But they that would not be reformed by that correction, wherein he dallied with them, shall feel a judgement worthy of God.
27 For, look, for what things they grudged, when they were punished, that is, for them whom they thought to be gods; now being punished in them, when they saw it, they acknowledged him to be the true God, whom before they denied to know: and therefore came extreme damnation upon them.

WISDOM OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 13
1 Surely vain are all men by nature, who are ignorant of God, and could not out of the good things that are seen know him that is: neither by considering the works did they acknowledge the workmaster;
2 But deemed either fire, or wind, or the swift air, or the circle of the stars, or the violent water, or the lights of heaven, to be the gods which govern the world.
3 With whose beauty if they being delighted took them to be gods; let them know how much better the Lord of them is: for the first author of beauty hath created them.
4 But if they were astonished at their power and virtue, let them understand by them, how much mightier he is that made them.
5 For by the greatness and beauty of the creatures proportionably the maker of them is seen.
6 But yet for this they are the less to be blamed: for they peradventure err, seeking God, and desirous to find him.
7 For being conversant in his works they search him diligently, and believe their sight: because the things are beautiful that are seen.
8 Howbeit neither are they to be pardoned.
9 For if they were able to know so much, that they could aim at the world; how did they not sooner find out the Lord thereof?
10 But miserable are they, and in dead things is their hope, who call them gods, which are the works of men's hands, gold and silver, to shew art in, and resemblances of beasts, or a stone good for nothing, the work of an ancient hand.
11 Now a carpenter that felleth timber, after he hath sawn down a tree meet for the purpose, and taken off all the bark skilfully round about, and hath wrought it handsomely, and made a vessel thereof fit for the service of man's life;
12 And after spending the refuse of his work to dress his meat, hath filled himself;
13 And taking the very refuse among those which served to no use, being a crooked piece of wood, and full of knots, hath carved it diligently, when he had nothing else to do, and formed it by the skill of his understanding, and fashioned it to the image of a man;
14 Or made it like some vile beast, laying it over with vermilion, and with paint colouring it red, and covering every spot therein;
15 And when he had made a convenient room for it, set it in a wall, and made it fast with iron:
16 For he provided for it that it might not fall, knowing that it was unable to help itself; for it is an image, and hath need of help:
17 Then maketh he prayer for his goods, for his wife and children, and is not ashamed to speak to that which hath no life.
18 For health he calleth upon that which is weak: for life prayeth to that which is dead; for aid humbly beseecheth that which hath least means to help: and for a good journey he asketh of that which cannot set a foot forward:
19 And for gaining and getting, and for good success of his hands, asketh ability to do of him, that is most unable to do any thing.

WISDOM OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 14
1 Again, one preparing himself to sail, and about to pass through the raging waves, calleth upon a piece of wood more rotten than the vessel that carrieth him.
2 For verily desire of gain devised that, and the workman built it by his skill.
3 But thy providence, O Father, governeth it: for thou hast made a way in the sea, and a safe path in the waves;
4 Shewing that thou canst save from all danger: yea, though a man went to sea without art.
5 Nevertheless thou wouldest not that the works of thy wisdom should be idle, and therefore do men commit their lives to a small piece of wood, and passing the rough sea in a weak vessel are saved.
6 For in the old time also, when the proud giants perished, the hope of the world governed by thy hand escaped in a weak vessel, and left to all ages a seed of generation.
7 For blessed is the wood whereby righteousness cometh.
8 But that which is made with hands is cursed, as well it, as he that made it: he, because he made it; and it, because, being corruptible, it was called god.
9 For the ungodly and his ungodliness are both alike hateful unto God.
10 For that which is made shall be punished together with him that made it.
11 Therefore even upon the idols of the Gentiles shall there be a visitation: because in the creature of God they are become an abomination, and stumblingblocks to the souls of men, and a snare to the feet of the unwise.
12 For the devising of idols was the beginning of spiritual fornication, and the invention of them the corruption of life.
13 For neither were they from the beginning, neither shall they be for ever.
14 For by the vain glory of men they entered into the world, and therefore shall they come shortly to an end.
15 For a father afflicted with untimely mourning, when he hath made an image of his child soon taken away, now honoured him as a god, which was then a dead man, and delivered to those that were under him ceremonies and sacrifices.
16 Thus in process of time an ungodly custom grown strong was kept as a law, and graven images were worshipped by the commandments of kings.
17 Whom men could not honour in presence, because they dwelt far off, they took the counterfeit of his visage from far, and made an express image of a king whom they honoured, to the end that by this their forwardness they might flatter him that was absent, as if he were present.
18 Also the singular diligence of the artificer did help to set forward the ignorant to more superstition.
19 For he, peradventure willing to please one in authority, forced all his skill to make the resemblance of the best fashion.
20 And so the multitude, allured by the grace of the work, took him now for a god, which a little before was but honoured.
21 And this was an occasion to deceive the world: for men, serving either calamity or tyranny, did ascribe unto stones and stocks the incommunicable name.
22 Moreover this was not enough for them, that they erred in the knowledge of God; but whereas they lived in the great war of ignorance, those so great plagues called they peace.
23 For whilst they slew their children in sacrifices, or used secret ceremonies, or made revellings of strange rites;
24 They kept neither lives nor marriages any longer undefiled: but either one slew another traiterously, or grieved him by adultery.
25 So that there reigned in all men without exception blood, manslaughter, theft, and dissimulation, corruption, unfaithfulness, tumults, perjury,
26 Disquieting of good men, forgetfulness of good turns, defiling of souls, changing of kind, disorder in marriages, adultery, and shameless uncleanness.
27 For the worshipping of idols not to be named is the beginning, the cause, and the end, of all evil.
28 For either they are mad when they be merry, or prophesy lies, or live unjustly, or else lightly forswear themselves.
29 For insomuch as their trust is in idols, which have no life; though they swear falsely, yet they look not to be hurt.
30 Howbeit for both causes shall they be justly punished: both because they thought not well of God, giving heed unto idols, and also unjustly swore in deceit, despising holiness.
31 For it is not the power of them by whom they swear: but it is the just vengeance of sinners, that punisheth always the offence of the ungodly.

WISDOM OF SOLOMON CHAPTER15
1 But thou, O God, art gracious and true, longsuffering, and in mercy ordering all things,
2 For if we sin, we are thine, knowing thy power: but we will not sin, knowing that we are counted thine.
3 For to know thee is perfect righteousness: yea, to know thy power is the root of immortality.
4 For neither did the mischievous invention of men deceive us, nor an image spotted with divers colours, the painter's fruitless labour;
5 The sight whereof enticeth fools to lust after it, and so they desire the form of a dead image, that hath no breath.
6 Both they that make them, they that desire them, and they that worship them, are lovers of evil things, and are worthy to have such things to trust upon.
7 For the potter, tempering soft earth, fashioneth every vessel with much labour for our service: yea, of the same clay he maketh both the vessels that serve for clean uses, and likewise also all such as serve to the contrary: but what is the use of either sort, the potter himself is the judge.
8 And employing his labours lewdly, he maketh a vain god of the same clay, even he which a little before was made of earth himself, and within a little while after returneth to the same, out when his life which was lent him shall be demanded.
9 Notwithstanding his care is, not that he shall have much labour, nor that his life is short: but striveth to excel goldsmiths and silversmiths, and endeavoureth to do like the workers in brass, and counteth it his glory to make counterfeit things.
10 His heart is ashes, his hope is more vile than earth, and his life of less value than clay:
11 Forasmuch as he knew not his Maker, and him that inspired into him an active soul, and breathed in a living spirit.

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12 But they counted our life a pastime, and our time here a market for gain: for, say they, we must be getting every way, though it be by evil means.
13 For this man, that of earthly matter maketh brittle vessels and graven images, knoweth himself to offend above all others.
14 And all the enemies of thy people, that hold them in subjection, are most foolish, and are more miserable than very babes.
15 For they counted all the idols of the heathen to be gods: which neither have the use of eyes to see, nor noses to draw breath, nor ears to hear, nor fingers of hands to handle; and as for their feet, they are slow to go.
16 For man made them, and he that borrowed his own spirit fashioned them: but no man can make a god like unto himself.
17 For being mortal, he worketh a dead thing with wicked hands: for he himself is better than the things which he worshippeth: whereas he lived once, but they never.
18 Yea, they worshipped those beasts also that are most hateful: for being compared together, some are worse than others.
19 Neither are they beautiful, so much as to be desired in respect of beasts: but they went without the praise of God and his blessing.

WISDOM OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 16

1 Therefore by the like were they punished worthily, and by the multitude of beasts tormented.
2 Instead of which punishment, dealing graciously with thine own people, thou preparedst for them meat of a strange taste, even quails to stir up their appetite:
3 To the end that they, desiring food, might for the ugly sight of the beasts sent among them lothe even that, which they must needs desire; but these, suffering penury for a short space, might be made partakers of a strange taste.
4 For it was requisite, that upon them exercising tyranny should come penury, which they could not avoid: but to these it should only be shewed how their enemies were tormented.
5 For when the horrible fierceness of beasts came upon these, and they perished with the stings of crooked serpents, thy wrath endured not for ever:
6 But they were troubled for a small season, that they might be admonished, having a sign of salvation, to put them in remembrance of the commandment of thy law.
7 For he that turned himself toward it was not saved by the thing that he saw, but by thee, that art the Saviour of all.
8 And in this thou madest thine enemies confess, that it is thou who deliverest from all evil:
9 For them the bitings of grasshoppers and flies killed, neither was there found any remedy for their life: for they were worthy to be punished by such.

10 But thy sons not the very teeth of venomous dragons overcame: for thy mercy was ever by them, and healed them.
11 For they were pricked, that they should remember thy words; and were quickly saved, that not falling into deep forgetfulness, they might be continually mindful of thy goodness.
12 For it was neither herb, nor mollifying plaister, that restored them to health: but thy word, O Lord, which healeth all things.
13 For thou hast power of life and death: thou leadest to the gates of hell, and bringest up again.
14 A man indeed killeth through his malice: and the spirit, when it is gone forth, returneth not; neither the soul received up cometh again.
15 But it is not possible to escape thine hand.
16 For the ungodly, that denied to know thee, were scourged by the strength of thine arm: with strange rains, hails, and showers, were they persecuted, that they could not avoid, and through fire were they consumed.
17 For, which is most to be wondered at, the fire had more force in the water, that quencheth all things: for the world fighteth for the righteous.
18 For sometime the flame was mitigated, that it might not burn up the beasts that were sent against the ungodly; but themselves might see and perceive that they were persecuted with the judgement of God.
19 And at another time it burneth even in the midst of water above the power of fire, that it might destroy the fruits of an unjust land.
20 Instead whereof thou feddest thine own people with angels' food, and didst send them from heaven bread prepared without their labour, able to content every man's delight, and agreeing to every taste.
21 For thy sustenance declared thy sweetness unto thy children, and serving to the appetite of the eater, tempered itself to every man's liking.
22 But snow and ice endured the fire, and melted not, that they might know that fire burning in the hail, and sparkling in the rain, did destroy the fruits of the enemies.
23 But this again did even forget his own strength, that the righteous might be nourished.
24 For the creature that serveth thee, who art the Maker increaseth his strength against the unrighteous for their punishment, and abateth his strength for the benefit of such as put their trust in thee.
25 Therefore even then was it altered into all fashions, and was obedient to thy grace, that nourisheth all things, according to the desire of them that had need:
26 That thy children, O Lord, whom thou lovest, might know, that it is not the growing of fruits that nourisheth man: but that it is thy word, which preserveth them that put their trust in thee.
27 For that which was not destroyed of the fire, being warmed with a little sunbeam, soon melted away:
28 That it might be known, that we must prevent the sun to give thee thanks, and at the dayspring pray unto thee.
29 For the hope of the unthankful shall melt away as the winter's hoar frost, and shall run away as unprofitable water.

WISDOM OF SOLOMON CHAPTER17

1 For great are thy judgements, and cannot be expressed: therefore unnurtured souls have erred.
2 For when unrighteous men thought to oppress the holy nation; they being shut up in their houses, the prisoners of darkness, and fettered with the bonds of a long night, lay there exiled from the eternal providence.
3 For while they supposed to lie hid in their secret sins, they were scattered under a dark veil of forgetfulness, being horribly astonished, and troubled with strange apparitions.
4 For neither might the corner that held them keep them from fear: but noises as of waters falling down sounded about them, and sad visions appeared unto them with heavy countenances.
5 No power of the fire might give them light: neither could the bright flames of the stars endure to lighten that horrible night.
6 Only there appeared unto them a fire kindled of itself, very dreadful: for being much terrified, they thought the things which they saw to be worse than the sight they saw not.
7 As for the illusions of art magick, they were put down, and their vaunting in wisdom was reproved with disgrace.
8 For they, that promised to drive away terrors and troubles from a sick soul, were sick themselves of fear, worthy to be laughed at.
9 For though no terrible thing did fear them; yet being scared with beasts that passed by, and hissing of serpents,
10 They died for fear, denying that they saw the air, which could of no side be avoided.
11 For wickedness, condemned by her own witness, is very timorous, and being pressed with conscience, always forecasteth grievous things.
12 For fear is nothing else but a betraying of the succours which reason offereth.
13 And the expectation from within, being less, counteth the ignorance more than the cause which bringeth the torment.
14 But they sleeping the same sleep that night, which was indeed intolerable, and which came upon them out of the bottoms of inevitable hell,
15 Were partly vexed with monstrous apparitions, and partly fainted, their heart failing them: for a sudden fear, and not looked for, came upon them.
16 So then whosoever there fell down was straitly kept, shut up in a prison without iron bars,
17 For whether he were husbandman, or shepherd, or a labourer in the field, he was overtaken, and endured that necessity, which could not be avoided: for they were all bound with one chain of darkness.
18 Whether it were a whistling wind, or a melodious noise of birds among the spreading branches, or a pleasing fall of water running violently,
19 Or a terrible sound of stones cast down, or a running that could not be seen of skipping beasts, or a roaring voice of most savage wild beasts, or a rebounding echo from the hollow mountains; these things made them to swoon for fear.
20 For the whole world shined with clear light, and none were hindered in their labour:
21 Over them only was spread an heavy night, an image of that darkness which should afterward receive them: but yet were they unto themselves more grievous than the darkness.

WISDOM OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 18

1 Nevertheless thy saints had a very great light, whose voice they hearing, and not seeing their shape, because they also had not suffered the same things, they counted them happy.
2 But for that they did not hurt them now, of whom they had been wronged before, they thanked them, and besought them pardon for that they had been enemies.
3 Instead whereof thou gavest them a burning pillar of fire, both to be a guide of the unknown journey, and an harmless sun to entertain them honourably.
4 For they were worthy to be deprived of light and imprisoned in darkness, who had kept thy sons shut up, by whom the uncorrupt light of the law was to be given unto the world.
5 And when they had determined to slay the babes of the saints, one child being cast forth, and saved, to reprove them, thou tookest away the multitude of their children, and destroyedst them altogether in a mighty water.
6 Of that night were our fathers certified afore, that assuredly knowing unto what oaths they had given credence, they might afterwards be of good cheer.
7 So of thy people was accepted both the salvation of the righteous, and destruction of the enemies.
8 For wherewith thou didst punish our adversaries, by the same thou didst glorify us, whom thou hadst called.
9 For the righteous children of good men did sacrifice secretly, and with one consent made a holy law, that the saints should be like partakers of the same good and evil, the fathers now singing out the songs of praise.
10 But on the other side there sounded an ill according cry of the enemies, and a lamentable noise was carried abroad for children that were bewailed.
11 The master and the servant were punished after one manner; and like as the king, so suffered the common person.
12 So they all together had innumerable dead with one kind of death; neither were the living sufficient to bury them: for in one moment the noblest offspring of them was destroyed.
13 For whereas they would not believe any thing by reason of the enchantments; upon the destruction of the firstborn, they acknowledged this people to be the sons of God.
14 For while all things were in quiet silence, and that night was in the midst of her swift course,
15 Thine Almighty word leaped down from heaven out of thy royal throne, as a fierce man of war into the midst of a land of destruction,
16 And brought thine unfeigned commandment as a sharp sword, and standing up filled all things with death; and it touched the heaven, but it stood upon the earth.
17 Then suddenly visions of horrible dreams troubled them sore, and terrors came upon them unlooked for.
18 And one thrown here, and another there, half dead, shewed the cause of his death.
19 For the dreams that troubled them did foreshew this, lest they should perish, and not know why they were afflicted.
20 Yea, the tasting of death touched the righteous also, and there was a destruction of the multitude in the wilderness: but the wrath endured not long.
21 For then the blameless man made haste, and stood forth to defend them; and bringing the shield of his proper ministry, even prayer, and the propitiation of incense, set himself against the wrath, and so brought the calamity to an end, declaring that he was thy servant.
22 So he overcame the destroyer, not with strength of body, nor force of arms, but with a word subdued him that punished, alleging the oaths and covenants made with the fathers.
23 For when the dead were now fallen down by heaps one upon another, standing between, he stayed the wrath, and parted the way to the living.
24 For in the long garment was the whole world, and in the four rows of the stones was the glory of the fathers graven, and thy Majesty upon the diadem of his head.
25 Unto these the destroyer gave place, and was afraid of them: for it was enough that they only tasted of the wrath.

WISDOM OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 19

1 As for the ungodly, wrath came upon them without mercy unto the end: for he knew before what they would do;
2 How that having given them leave to depart, and sent them hastily away, they would repent and pursue them.
3 For whilst they were yet mourning and making lamentation at the graves of the dead, they added another foolish device, and pursued them as fugitives, whom they had intreated to be gone.
4 For the destiny, whereof they were worthy, drew them unto this end, and made them forget the things that had already happened, that they might fulfil the punishment which was wanting to their torments:
5 And that thy people might pass a wonderful way: but they might find a strange death.
6 For the whole creature in his proper kind was fashioned again anew, serving the peculiar commandments that were given unto them, that thy children might be kept without hurt:
7 As namely, a cloud shadowing the camp; and where water stood before, dry land appeared; and out of the Red sea a way without impediment; and out of the violent stream a green field:
8 Wherethrough all the people went that were defended with thy hand, seeing thy marvellous strange wonders.
9 For they went at large like horses, and leaped like lambs, praising thee, O Lord, who hadst delivered them.
10 For they were yet mindful of the things that were done while they sojourned in the strange land, how the ground brought forth flies instead of cattle, and how the river cast up a multitude of frogs instead of fishes.
11 But afterwards they saw a new generation of fowls, when, being led with their appetite, they asked delicate meats.

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12 For quails came up unto them from the sea for their contentment.

13 And punishments came upon the sinners not without former signs by the force of thunders: for they suffered justly according to their own wickedness, insomuch as they used a more hard and hateful behaviour toward strangers.

14 For the Sodomites did not receive those, whom they knew not when they came: but these brought friends into bondage, that had well deserved of them.

15 And not only so, but peradventure some respect shall be had of those, because they used strangers not friendly:

16 But these very grievously afflicted them, whom they had received with feastings, and were already made partakers of the same laws with them.

17 Therefore even with blindness were these stricken, as those were at the doors of the righteous man: when, being compassed about with horrible great darkness, every one sought the passage of his own doors.

18 For the elements were changed in themselves by a kind of harmony, like as in a psaltery notes change the name of the tune, and yet are always sounds; which may well be perceived by the sight of the things that have been done.

19 For earthly things were turned into watery, and the things, that before swam in the water, now went upon the ground.

20 The fire had power in the water, forgetting his own virtue: and the water forgat his own quenching nature.

21 On the other side, the flames wasted not the flesh of the corruptible living things, though they walked therein; neither melted they the icy kind of heavenly meat that was of nature apt to melt.

22 For in all things, O Lord, thou didst magnify thy people, and glorify them, neither didst thou lightly regard them: but didst assist them in every time and place.

SIRACH - THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTICUS

The Wisdom of Sirach / Hokhmat ben Sira
The Book of Sirach / Sefer ben Sira
Sirach, Ecclesiasticus
Proverbs of ben Sirach / Mishley ben Sira
The Wisdom of Joshua ben Sirach
The Book of Ecclesiasticus of Ben Sira
The Book of the All-Virtuous Wisdom of Yeshua ben Sira
The Book of Wisdom of Jesus of Sirach or just Sirach
Author: Yeshua ben Eliezer ben Sira
Estimated Range of Dating: 250 - 175 B.C.

(The Book of Sirach, also called the Wisdom of Sirach or simply Sirach, and also known as the Book of Ecclesiasticus (abbreviated Ecclus.) or Ben Sira, is a Jewish work originally in Hebrew of ethical teachings, from approximately 200 to 175 BC, written by the Jewish scribe Ben Sira of Jerusalem, on the inspiration of his father Joshua son of Sirach, sometimes called Jesus son of Sirach or Yeshua ben Eliezer ben Sira.

In Egypt, it was translated into Greek by the author's unnamed grandson, who added a prologue. This prologue is generally considered the earliest witness to a canon of the books of the prophets, and thus the date of the text is the subject of intense scrutiny. The book itself is the largest wisdom book from antiquity to have survived.

Joshua ben Sirach, or, according to the Greek text "Jesus the son of Sirach of Jerusalem", was a Jewish scribe who had been living in Jerusalem, and may have authored the work in Alexandria, Egypt ca. 180–175 BC, where he is thought to have established a school. Ben Sirach is unique among all Old Testament and Apocryphal writers in that he signed his work.

The Prologue, attributed to Ben Sira's grandson and dated to 132 BC, is generally considered the earliest witness to a canon of the books of the prophets. Thus the date of the text, has been the subject of intense scrutiny by biblical scholars.

Joshua ben Sirach's grandson was in Egypt, translating and editing after the usurping Hasmonean line had definitively ousted Simon's heirs in long struggles and was finally in control of the High Priesthood in Jerusalem. Comparing the Hebrew and Greek versions shows that he altered the prayer for Simon and broadened its application ("may He entrust to us his mercy"), in order to avoid closing a work praising God's covenanted faithfulness on an unanswered prayer.

The Greek translator states in his preface that he was the grandson of the author, and that he came to Egypt in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of "Euergetes". This epithet was borne by only two of the Ptolemies. Of these, Ptolemy III Euergetes reigned only twenty-five years (247–222 BC) and thus Ptolemy VIII Euergetes must be intended; he ascended the throne in the year 170 BC, together with his brother Ptolemy VI Philometor, but he soon became sole ruler of Cyrene, and from 146 to 117 BC held sway over all Egypt. He dated his reign from the year in which he received the crown (i.e., from 170 BC). The translator must therefore have gone to Egypt in 132 BC.

The translation into Greek is believed to have been done after 117 BC. In Egypt, it was translated into Greek by the author's unnamed grandson, who added a prologue. This prologue is generally considered the earliest witness to a canon of the books of the prophets, and thus the date of the text is the subject of intense scrutiny. The book itself is the largest wisdom book from antiquity to have survived.

Manuscripts: The work of Sirach is presently known through various versions, which scholars still struggle to disentangle. The Greek version of Sirach is found in many codices of the Septuagint.

As early as 1896, several substantial Hebrew texts of Sirach, copied in the 11th and 12th centuries, were found in the Cairo Geniza (a synagogue storage room for damaged manuscripts). Although none of these manuscripts is complete, together they provide the text for about two-thirds of the Wisdom of Sirach. According to scholars including Solomon Schechter and Frederic Kenyon, this shows that the book was originally written in Hebrew.

In the 1950s and 1960s three copies of portions of Sirach were found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. The largest scroll was discovered at Masada, the Jewish fortress destroyed in 73 AD. The earliest of these scrolls (2Q18) has been dated to the second part of the 1st century BC, approximately 150 years after Sirach was first composed. These early Hebrew texts are in substantial agreement with the Hebrew texts discovered in Cairo, although there are numerous minor textual variants. With these findings, scholars are now more confident that the Cairo texts are reliable witnesses to the Hebrew original.

Language and alternative titles: The "Book of ben Sirach" (Sefer ben Sira) was originally written in Hebrew, and was also known in Hebrew as the "Proverbs of ben Sirach" (Misley ben Sira) or the "Wisdom of ben Sirach" (Hokhmat ben Sira). The book was not accepted into the Hebrew Bible and the original Hebrew text was not preserved in the Jewish canon. However, various original Hebrew versions have since been recovered, including fragments recovered within the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Cairo Genizah, the latter of which includes fragments from six separate manuscripts.

The Greek translation was accepted in the Septuagint under the (abbreviated) name of the author: Sirakh. Some Greek manuscripts give as the title the "Wisdom of Iesous Son of Sirakh" or in short the "Wisdom of Sirakh". The older Latin versions were based on the Septuagint, and simply transliterated the Greek title in Latin letters: Sirach. In the Vulgate the book is called Liber Iesu filii Sirach ("Book of Joshua Son of Sirach").

The Greek Church Fathers also called it the "All-Virtuous Wisdom", while the Latin Church Fathers, beginning with Cyprian, termed it Ecclesiasticus because it was frequently read in churches, leading the early Latin Fathers to call it liber ecclesiasticus (Latin and Latinised Greek for "church book"). Similarly, the Nova Vulgata and many modern English translations of the Apocrypha use the title Ecclesiasticus, literally "of the Church" because of its frequent use in Christian teaching and worship.

The Babylonian Talmud occasionally cites Ben-Sira (Sanhedrin 100b; Hagigah 13a, Baba Bathra 98b, etc.), but even so, it only paraphrases his citations, without quoting from him verbatim. This is shown by comparing fragmented texts of the original Hebrew "Book of Wisdom" (Ecclesiasticus) discovered in Qumran with the same quotes as given in the Babylonian Talmud.

Structure and Contents: As with other wisdom books, there is no easily recognizable structure in Sirach; in many parts it is difficult to discover a logical progression of thought or to discern the principles of arrangement. However, a series of six poems about the search for and attainment of wisdom (1:1–10, 4:11–19; 6:18–37; 14:20–15:10; 24:1–33; and 38:24–39:11) divide the book into something resembling chapters, although the divisions are not thematically based. The exceptions are the first two chapters, whose reflections on wisdom and fear of God provide the theological framework for what follows, and the last nine chapters, which function as a sort of climax, first in an extended praise of God's glory as manifested through creation (42:15–43:33) and second in the celebration of the heroes of ancient Israel's history dating back to before the Great Flood through contemporary times (see previous section).

Despite the lack of structure, there are certain themes running through the Book that reappear at various points. The New Oxford Annotated Apocrypha identifies ten major recurring topics:

1. The Creation (16:24–17:24, 18:1–14; 33:7–15; 39:12–35; and 42:15–43:33);

2. Death (11:26–28; 22:11–12; 38:16–23; and 41:1–13);

3. Friendship (6:5–17; 9:10–16: 19:13–17; 22:19–26: 27:16–21; and 36:23–37:15);

4. Happiness (25:1–11; 30:14–25; and 40:1–30);

5. Honour and shame (4:20–6:4; 10:19–11:6; and 41:14–42:8);

6. Money matters (3:30–4:10; 11:7–28; 13:1–14:19; 29:1–28; and 31:1–11);

7. Sin (7:1–17; 15:11–20; 16:1–17:32; 18:30–19:3; 21:1–10; 22:27–23:27; and 26:28–28:7);

8. Social justice (4:1–10; 34:21–27; and 35:14–26);

9. Speech (5:6,9-15; 18:15–29; 19:4–17; 20:1–31; 23:7–15; 27:4–7; 27:11–15; and 28:8–26); and

10. Women (9:1–9; 23:22–27; 25:13–26:27; 36:26–31; and 42:9–14).

Sirach is accepted as part of the Canon by Catholics, Eastern Orthodox, and most of Oriental Orthodoxy. Anglican tradition considers Sirach (which was published with other Greek Jewish books in a separate section of the King James Bible) among the apocryphal or deuterocanonical books, and read them "for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet [do] not apply them to establish any doctrine." The Lutheran Churches take a similar position. It was cited in some writings in early Christianity.)

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 1

1 The Prologue of the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach. Whereas many and great things have been delivered unto us by the law and the prophets, and by others that have followed their steps, for the which things Israel ought to be commended for learning and wisdom; and whereof not only the readers must needs become skilful themselves, but also they that desire to learn be able to profit them which are without, both by speaking and writing: my grandfather Jesus, when he had much given himself to the reading of the law, and the prophets, and other books of our fathers, and had gotten therein good judgement, was drawn on also himself to write something pertaining to learning and wisdom; to the intent that those which are desirous to learn, and are addicted to these things, might profit much more in living according to the law. Wherefore let me intreat you to read it with favour and attention, and to pardon us, wherein we may seem to come short of some words, which we have laboured to interpret. For the same things uttered in Hebrew, and translated into another tongue, have not the same force in them: and not only these things, but the law itself, and the prophets, and the rest of the books, have no small difference, when they are spoken in their own language. For in the eight and thirtieth year coming into Egypt, when Euergetes was king, and continuing there some time, I found a book of no small learning: therefore I thought it most necessary for me to bestow some diligence and travail to interpret it; using great watchfulness and skill in that space to bring the book to an end, and set it forth for them also, which in a strange country are willing to learn, being prepared before in manners to live after the law. All wisdom cometh from the Lord, and is with him for ever.

2 Who can number the sand of the sea, and the drops of rain, and the days of eternity?

3 Who can find out the height of heaven, and the breadth of the earth, and the deep, and wisdom?

4 Wisdom hath been created before all things, and the understanding of prudence from everlasting.

5 The word of God most high is the fountain of wisdom; and her ways are everlasting commandments.

6 To whom hath the root of wisdom been revealed? or who hath known her wise counsels?

7 Unto whom hath the knowledge of wisdom been made manifest? and who hath understood her great experience?

8 There is one wise and greatly to be feared, the Lord sitting upon his throne.

9 He created her, and saw her, and numbered her, and poured her out upon all his works.

10 She is with all flesh according to his gift, and he hath given her to them that love him.

11 The fear of the Lord is honour, and glory, and gladness, and a crown of rejoicing.

12 The fear of the Lord maketh a merry heart, and giveth joy, and gladness, and a long life.

13 Whoso feareth the Lord, it shall go well with him at the last, and he shall find favour in the day of his death.

14 To fear the Lord is the beginning of wisdom: and it was created with the faithful in the womb.

15 She hath built an everlasting foundation with men, and she shall continue with their seed.

16 To fear the Lord is fulness of wisdom, and filleth men with her fruits.

17 She filleth all their house with things desirable, and the garners with her increase.

18 The fear of the Lord is a crown of wisdom, making peace and perfect health to flourish; both which are the gifts of God: and it enlargeth their rejoicing that love him.

19 Wisdom raineth down skill and knowledge of understanding standing, and exalteth them to honour that hold her fast.

20 The root of wisdom is to fear the Lord, and the branches thereof are long life.

21 The fear of the Lord driveth away sins: and where it is present, it turneth away wrath.

22 A furious man cannot be justified; for the sway of his fury shall be his destruction.

23 A patient man will tear for a time, and afterward joy shall spring up unto him.

24 He will hide his words for a time, and the lips of many shall declare his wisdom.

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25 The parables of knowledge are in the treasures of wisdom: but godliness is an abomination to a sinner.
26 If thou desire wisdom, keep the commandments, and the Lord shall give her unto thee.
27 For the fear of the Lord is wisdom and instruction: and faith and meekness are his delight.
28 Distrust not the fear of the Lord when thou art poor: and come not unto him with a double heart.
29 Be not an hypocrite in the sight of men, and take good heed what thou speakest.
30 Exalt not thyself, lest thou fall, and bring dishonour upon thy soul, and so God discover thy secrets, and cast thee down in the midst of the congregation, because thou camest not in truth to the fear of the Lord, but thy heart is full of deceit.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 2
1 My son, if thou come to serve the Lord, prepare thy soul for temptation.
2 Set thy heart aright, and constantly endure, and make not haste in time of trouble.
3 Cleave unto him, and depart not away, that thou mayest be increased at thy last end.
4 Whatsoever is brought upon thee take cheerfully, and be patient when thou art changed to a low estate.
5 For gold is tried in the fire, and acceptable men in the furnace of adversity.
6 Believe in him, and he will help thee; order thy way aright, and trust in him.
7 Ye that fear the Lord, wait for his mercy; and go not aside, lest ye fall.
8 Ye that fear the Lord, believe him; and your reward shall not fail.
9 Ye that fear the Lord, hope for good, and for everlasting joy and mercy.
10 Look at the generations of old, and see; did ever any trust in the Lord, and was confounded? or did any abide in his fear, and was forsaken? or whom did he ever despise, that called upon him?
11 For the Lord is full of compassion and mercy, longsuffering, and very pitiful, and forgiveth sins, and saveth in time of affliction.
12 Woe be to fearful hearts, and faint hands, and the sinner that goeth two ways!
13 Woe unto him that is fainthearted! for he believeth not; therefore shall he not be defended.
14 Woe unto you that have lost patience! and what will ye do when the Lord shall visit you?
15 They that fear the Lord will not disobey his Word; and they that love him will keep his ways.
16 They that fear the Lord will seek that which is well, pleasing unto him; and they that love him shall be filled with the law.
17 They that fear the Lord will prepare their hearts, and humble their souls in his sight,
18 Saying, We will fall into the hands of the Lord, and not into the hands of men: for as his majesty is, so is his mercy.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 3
1 Hear me your father, O children, and do thereafter, that ye may be safe.
2 For the Lord hath given the father honour over the children, and hath confirmed the authority of the mother over the sons.
3 Whoso honoureth his father maketh an atonement for his sins:
4 And he that honoureth his mother is as one that layeth up treasure.
5 Whoso honoureth his father shall have joy of his own children; and when he maketh his prayer, he shall be heard.
6 He that honoureth his father shall have a long life; and he that is obedient unto the Lord shall be a comfort to his mother.
7 He that feareth the Lord will honour his father, and will do service unto his parents, as to his masters.
8 Honour thy father and mother both in word and deed, that a blessing may come upon thee from them.
9 For the blessing of the father establisheth the houses of children; but the curse of the mother rooteth out foundations.
10 Glory not in the dishonour of thy father; for thy father's dishonour is no glory unto thee.
11 For the glory of a man is from the honour of his father; and a mother in dishonour is a reproach to the children.
12 My son, help thy father in his age, and grieve him not as long as he liveth.
13 And if his understanding fail, have patience with him; and despise him not when thou art in thy full strength.
14 For the relieving of thy father shall not be forgotten: and instead of sins it shall be added to build thee up.
15 In the day of thine affliction it shall be remembered; thy sins also shall melt away, as the ice in the fair warm weather.
16 He that forsaketh his father is as a blasphemer; and he that angereth his mother is cursed: of God.
17 My son, go on with thy business in meekness; so shalt thou be beloved of him that is approved.
18 The greater thou art, the more humble thyself, and thou shalt find favour before the Lord.
19 Many are in high place, and of renown: but mysteries are revealed unto the meek.
20 For the power of the Lord is great, and he is honoured of the lowly.
21 Seek not out things that are too hard for thee, neither search the things that are above thy strength.
22 But what is commanded thee, think thereupon with reverence, for it is not needful for thee to see with thine eyes the things that are in secret.
23 Be not curious in unnecessary matters: for more things are shewed unto thee than men understand.
24 For many are deceived by their own vain opinion; and an evil suspicion hath overthrown their judgement.
25 Without eyes thou shalt want light: profess not the knowledge therefore that thou hast not.
26 A stubborn heart shall fare evil at the last; and he that loveth danger shall perish therein.
27 An obstinate heart shall be laden with sorrows; and the wicked man shall heap sin upon sin.
28 In the punishment of the proud there is no remedy; for the plant of wickedness hath taken root in him.
29 The heart of the prudent will understand a parable; and an attentive ear is the desire of a wise man.
30 Water will quench a flaming fire; and alms maketh an atonement for sins.
31 And he that requiteth good turns is mindful of that which may come hereafter; and when he falleth, he shall find a stay.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 4
1 My son, defraud not the poor of his living, and make not the needy eyes to wait long.
2 Make not an hungry soul sorrowful; neither provoke a man in his distress.
3 Add not more trouble to an heart that is vexed; and defer not to give to him that is in need.
4 Reject not the supplication of the afflicted; neither turn away thy face from a poor man.
5 Turn not away thine eye from the needy, and give him none occasion to curse thee:
6 For if he curse thee in the bitterness of his soul, his prayer shall be heard of him that made him.
7 Get thyself the love of the congregation, and bow thy head to a great man.
8 Let it not grieve thee to bow down thine ear to the poor, and give him a friendly answer with meekness.
9 Deliver him that suffereth wrong from the hand of the oppressor; and be not fainthearted when thou sittest in judgement.
10 Be as a father unto the fatherless, and instead of an husband unto their mother: so shalt thou be as the son of the most High, and he shall love thee more than thy mother doth.
11 Wisdom exalteth her children, and layeth hold of them that seek her.
12 He that loveth her loveth life; and they that seek to her early shall be filled with joy.
13 He that holdeth her fast shall inherit glory; and wheresoever she entereth, the Lord will bless.
14 They that serve her shall minister to the Holy One: and them that love her the Lord doth love.
15 Whoso giveth ear unto her shall judge the nations: and he that attendeth unto her shall dwell securely.
16 If a man commit himself unto her, he shall inherit her; and his generation shall hold her in possession.
17 For at the first she will walk with him by crooked ways, and bring fear and dread upon him, and torment him with her discipline, until she may trust his soul, and try him by her laws.
18 Then will she return the straight way unto him, and comfort him, and shew him her secrets.
19 But if he go wrong, she will forsake him, and give him over to his own ruin.
20 Observe the opportunity, and beware of evil; and be not ashamed when it concerneth thy soul.
21 For there is a shame that bringeth sin; and there is a shame which is glory and grace.
22 Accept no person against thy soul, and let not the reverence of any man cause thee to fall.
23 And refrain not to speak, when there is occasion to do good, and hide not thy wisdom in her beauty.
24 For by speech wisdom shall be known: and learning by the word of the tongue.
25 In no wise speak against the truth; but be abashed of the error of thine ignorance.
26 Be not ashamed to confess thy sins; and force not the course of the river.
27 Make not thyself an underling to a foolish man; neither accept the person of the mighty.
28 Strive for the truth unto death, and the Lord shall fight for thee.
29 Be not hasty in thy tongue, and in thy deeds slack and remiss.
30 Be not as a lion in thy house, nor frantick among thy servants.
31 Let not thine hand be stretched out to receive, and shut when thou shouldest repay.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 5
1 Set thy heart upon thy goods; and say not, I have enough for my life.
2 Follow not thine own mind and thy strength, to walk in the ways of thy heart:
3 And say not, Who shall controul me for my works? for the Lord will surely revenge thy pride.
4 Say not, I have sinned, and what harm hath happened unto me? for the Lord is longsuffering, he will in no wise let thee go.
5 Concerning propitiation, be not without fear to add sin unto sin:
6 And say not His mercy is great; he will be pacified for the multitude of my sins: for mercy and wrath come from him, and his indignation resteth upon sinners.
7 Make no tarrying to turn to the Lord, and put not off from day to day: for suddenly shall the wrath of the Lord come forth, and in thy security thou shalt be destroyed, and perish in the day of vengeance.
8 Set not thine heart upon goods unjustly gotten, for they shall not profit thee in the day of calamity.
9 Winnow not with every wind, and go not into every way: for so doth the sinner that hath a double tongue.
10 Be stedfast in thy understanding; and let thy word be the same.
11 Be swift to hear; and let thy life be sincere; and with patience give answer.
12 If thou hast understanding, answer thy neighbour; if not, lay thy hand upon thy mouth.
13 Honour and shame is in talk: and the tongue of man is his fall.
14 Be not called a whisperer, and lie not in wait with thy tongue: for a foul shame is upon the thief, and an evil condemnation upon the double tongue.
15 Be not ignorant of any thing in a great matter or a small.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 6
1 Instead of a friend become not an enemy; for thereby thou shalt inherit an ill name, shame, and reproach: even so shall a sinner that hath a double tongue.
2 Extol not thyself in the counsel of thine own heart; that thy soul be not torn in pieces as a bull straying alone.
3 Thou shalt eat up thy leaves, and lose thy fruit, and leave thyself as a dry tree.
4 A wicked soul shall destroy him that hath it, and shall make him to be laughed to scorn of his enemies.
5 Sweet language will multiply friends: and a fairspeaking tongue will increase kind greetings.
6 Be in peace with many: nevertheless have but one counsellor of a thousand.
7 If thou wouldest get a friend, prove him first and be not hasty to credit him.
8 For some man is a friend for his own occasion, and will not abide in the day of thy trouble.
9 And there is a friend, who being turned to enmity, and strife will discover thy reproach.
10 Again, some friend is a companion at the table, and will not continue in the day of thy affliction.
11 But in thy prosperity he will be as thyself, and will be bold over thy servants.
12 If thou be brought low, he will be against thee, and will hide himself from thy face.
13 Separate thyself from thine enemies, and take heed of thy friends.
14 A faithfull friend is a strong defence: and he that hath found such an one hath found a treasure.
15 Nothing doth countervail a faithful friend, and his excellency is invaluable.
16 A faithful friend is the medicine of life; and they that fear the Lord shall find him.
17 Whoso feareth the Lord shall direct his friendship aright: for as he is, so shall his neighbour be also.
18 My son, gather instruction from thy youth up: so shalt thou find wisdom till thine old age.
19 Come unto her as one that ploweth and soweth, and wait for her good fruits: for thou shalt not toil much in labouring about her, but thou shalt eat of her fruits right soon.
20 She is very unpleasant to the unlearned: he that is without understanding will not remain with her.
21 She will lie upon him as a mighty stone of trial; and he will cast her from him ere it be long.
22 For wisdom is according to her name, and she is not manifest unto many.
23 Give ear, my son, receive my advice, and refuse not my counsel,
24 And put thy feet into her fetters, and thy neck into her chain.

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25 Bow down thy shoulder, and bear her, and be not grieved with her bonds.
26 Come unto her with thy whole heart, and keep her ways with all thy power.
27 Search, and seek, and she shall be made known unto thee: and when thou hast got hold of her, let her not go.
28 For at the last thou shalt find her rest, and that shall be turned to thy joy.
29 Then shall her fetters be a strong defence for thee, and her chains a robe of glory.
30 For there is a golden ornament upon her, and her bands are purple lace.
31 Thou shalt put her on as a robe of honour, and shalt put her about thee as a crown of joy.
32 My son, if thou wilt, thou shalt be taught: and if thou wilt apply thy mind, thou shalt be prudent.
33 If thou love to hear, thou shalt receive understanding: and if thou bow thine ear, thou shalt be wise,
34 Stand in the multitude of the elders; and cleave unto him that is wise.
35 Be willing to hear every godly discourse; and let not the parables of understanding escape thee.
36 And if thou seest a man of understanding, get thee betimes unto him, and let thy foot wear the steps of his door.
37 Let thy mind be upon the ordinances of the Lord and meditate continually in his commandments: he shall establish thine heart, and give thee wisdom at thine owns desire.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 7

1 Do no evil, so shall no harm come unto thee.
2 Depart from the unjust, and iniquity shall turn away from thee.
3 My son, sow not upon the furrows of unrighteousness, and thou shalt not reap them sevenfold.
4 Seek not of the Lord preeminence, neither of the king the seat of honour.
5 Justify not thyself before the Lord; and boast not of thy wisdom before the king.
6 Seek not to be judge, being not able to take away iniquity; lest at any time thou fear the person of the mighty, an stumblingblock in the way of thy uprightness.
7 Offend not against the multitude of a city, and then thou shalt not cast thyself down among the people.
8 Bind not one sin upon another; for in one thou shalt not be unpunished.
9 Say not, God will look upon the multitude of my oblations, and when I offer to the most high God, he will accept it.
10 Be not fainthearted when thou makest thy prayer, and neglect not to give alms.
11 Laugh no man to scorn in the bitterness of his soul: for there is one which humbleth and exalteth.
12 Devise not a lie against thy brother; neither do the like to thy friend.
13 Use not to make any manner of lie: for the custom thereof is not good.
14 Use not many words in a multitude of elders, and make not much babbling when thou prayest.
15 Hate not laborious work, neither husbandry, which the most High hath ordained.
16 Number not thyself among the multitude of sinners, but remember that wrath will not tarry long.
17 Humble thyself greatly: for the vengeance of the ungodly is fire and worms.
18 Change not a friend for any good by no means; neither a faithful brother for the gold of Ophir.
19 Forego not a wise and good woman: for her grace is above gold.
20 Whereas thy servant worketh truly, entreat him not evil, nor the hireling that bestoweth himself wholly for thee.
21 Let thy soul love a good servant, and defraud him not of liberty.
22 Hast thou cattle? have an eye to them: and if they be for thy profit, keep them with thee.
23 Hast thou children? instruct them, and bow down their neck from their youth.
24 Hast thou daughters? have a care of their body, and shew not thyself cheerful toward them.
25 Marry thy daughter, and so shalt thou have performed a weighty matter: but give her to a man of understanding.
26 Hast thou a wife after thy mind? forsake her not: but give not thyself over to a light woman.
27 Honour thy father with thy whole heart, and forget not the sorrows of thy mother.
28 Remember that thou wast begotten of them; and how canst thou recompense them the things that they have done for thee?
29 Fear the Lord with all thy soul, and reverence his priests.
30 Love him that made thee with all thy strength, and forsake not his ministers.
31 Fear the Lord, and honor the priest; and give him his portion, as it is commanded thee; the firstfruits, and the trespass offering, and the gift of the shoulders, and the sacrifice of sanctification, and the firstfruits of the holy things.
32 And stretch thine hand unto the poor, that thy blessing may be perfected.
33 A gift hath grace in the sight of every man living; and for the dead detain it not.
34 Fail not to be with them that weep, and mourn with them that mourn.
35 Be not slow to visit the sick: for that shall make thee to be beloved.
36 Whatsoever thou takest in hand, remember the end, and thou shalt never do amiss.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 8

1 Strive not with a mighty man' lest thou fall into his hands.
2 Be not at variance with a rich man, lest he overweigh thee: for gold hath destroyed many, and perverted the hearts of kings.
3 Strive not with a man that is full of tongue, and heap not wood upon his fire.
4 Jest not with a rude man, lest thy ancestors be disgraced.
5 Reproach not a man that turneth from sin, but remember that we are all worthy of punishment.
6 Dishonour not a man in his old age: for even some of us wax old.
7 Rejoice not over thy greatest enemy being dead, but remember that we die all.
8 Despise not the discourse of the wise, but acquaint thyself with their proverbs: for of them thou shalt learn instruction, and how to serve great men with ease.
9 Miss not the discourse of the elders: for they also learned of their fathers, and of them thou shalt learn understanding, and to give answer as need requireth.
10 Kindle not the coals of a sinner, lest thou be burnt with the flame of his fire.
11 Rise not up in anger at the presence of an injurious person, lest he lie in wait to entrap thee in thy words
12 Lend not unto him that is mightier than thyself; for if thou lendest him, count it but lost.
13 Be not surety above thy power: for if thou be surety, take care to pay it.
14 Go not to law with a judge; for they will judge for him according to his honour.
15 Travel not by the way with a bold fellow, lest he become grievous unto thee: for he will do according to his own will, and thou shalt perish with him through his folly.
16 Strive not with an angry man, and go not with him into a solitary place: for blood is as nothing in his sight, and where there is no help, he will overthrow thee.
17 Consult not with a fool; for he cannot keep counsel.
18 Do no secret thing before a stranger; for thou knowest not what he will bring forth.
19 Open not thine heart to every man, lest he requite thee with a shrewd turn.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 9

1 Be not jealous over the wife of thy bosom, and teach her not an evil lesson against thyself.
2 Give not thy soul unto a woman to set her foot upon thy substance.
3 Meet not with an harlot, lest thou fall into her snares.
4 Use not much the company of a woman that is a singer, lest thou be taken with her attempts.
5 Gaze not on a maid, that thou fall not by those things that are precious in her.
6 Give not thy soul unto harlots, that thou lose not thine inheritance.
7 Look not round about thee in the streets of the city, neither wander thou in the solitary place thereof.
8 Turn away thine eye from a beautiful woman, and look not upon another's beauty; for many have been deceived by the beauty of a woman; for herewith love is kindled as a fire.
9 Sit not at all with another man's wife, nor sit down with her in thine arms, and spend not thy money with her at the wine; lest thine heart incline unto her, and so through thy desire thou fall into destruction.
10 Forsake not an old friend; for the new is not comparable to him: a new friend is as new wine; when it is old, thou shalt drink it with pleasure.
11 Envy not the glory of a sinner: for thou knowest not what shall be his end.
12 Delight not in the thing that the ungodly have pleasure in; but remember they shall not go unpunished unto their grave.
13 Keep thee far from the man that hath power to kill; so shalt thou not doubt the fear of death: and if thou come unto him, make no fault, lest he take away thy life presently: remember that thou goest in the midst of snares, and that thou walkest upon the battlements of the city.
14 As near as thou canst, guess at thy neighbour, and consult with the wise.
15 Let thy talk be with the wise, and all thy communication in the law of the most High.
16 And let just men eat and drink with thee; and let thy glorying be in the fear of the Lord.
17 For the hand of the artificer the work shall be commended: and the wise ruler of the people for his speech.
18 A man of an ill tongue is dangerous in his city; and he that is rash in his talk shall be hated.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 10

1 A wise judge will instruct his people; and the government of a prudent man is well ordered.
2 As the judge of the people is himself, so are his officers; and what manner of man the ruler of the city is, such are all they that dwell therein.
3 An unwise king destroyeth his people; but through the prudence of them which are in authority the city shall be inhabited.
4 The power of the earth is in the hand of the Lord, and in due time he will set over it one that is profitable.
5 In the hand of God is the prosperity of man: and upon the person of the scribe shall he lay his honour.
6 Bear not hatred to thy neighbour for every wrong; and do nothing at all by injurious practices.
7 Pride is hateful before God and man: and by both doth one commit iniquity.
8 Because of unrighteous dealings, injuries, and riches got by deceit, the kingdom is translated from one people to another.
9 Why is earth and ashes proud? There is not a more wicked thing than a covetous man: for such an one setteth his own soul to sale; because while he liveth he casteth away his bowels.
10 The physician cutteth off a long disease; and he that is to day a king to morrow shall die.
11 For when a man is dead, he shall inherit creeping things, beasts, and worms.
12 The beginning of pride is when one departeth from God, and his heart is turned away from his Maker.
13 For pride is the beginning of sin, and he that hath it shall pour out abomination: and therefore the Lord brought upon them strange calamities, and overthrew them utterly.
14 The Lord hath cast down the thrones of proud princes, and set up the meek in their stead.
15 The Lord hath plucked up the roots of the proud nations, and planted the lowly in their place.
16 The Lord overthrew countries of the heathen, and destroyed them to the foundations of the earth.
17 He took some of them away, and destroyed them, and hath made their memorial to cease from the earth.
18 Pride was not made for men, nor furious anger for them that are born of a woman.
19 They that fear the Lord are a sure seed, and they that love him an honourable plant: they that regard not the law are a dishonourable seed; they that transgress the commandments are a deceivable seed.
20 Among brethren he that is chief is honorable; so are they that fear the Lord in his eyes.
21 The fear of the Lord goeth before the obtaining of authority: but roughness and pride is the losing thereof.
22 Whether he be rich, noble, or poor, their glory is the fear of the Lord.
23 It is not meet to despise the poor man that hath understanding; neither is it convenient to magnify a sinful man.
24 Great men, and judges, and potentates, shall be honoured; yet is there none of them greater than he that feareth the Lord.
25 Unto the servant that is wise shall they that are free do service: and he that hath knowledge will not grudge when he is reformed.
26 Be not overwise in doing thy business; and boast not thyself in the time of thy distress.
27 Better is he that laboureth, and aboundeth in all things, than he that boasteth himself, and wanteth bread.
28 My son, glorify thy soul in meekness, and give it honour according to the dignity thereof.
29 Who will justify him that sinneth against his own soul? and who will honour him that dishonoureth his own life?
30 The poor man is honoured for his skill, and the rich man is honoured for his riches.
31 He that is honoured in poverty, how much more in riches? and he that is dishonourable in riches, how much more in poverty?

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 11

1 Wisdom lifteth up the head of him that is of low degree, and maketh him to sit among great men.
2 Commend not a man for his beauty; neither abhor a man for his outward appearance.
3 The bee is little among such as fly; but her fruit is the chief of sweet things.
4 Boast not of thy clothing and raiment, and exalt not thyself in the day of honour: for the works of the Lord are wonderful, and his works among men are hidden.
5 Many kings have sat down upon the ground; and one that was never thought of hath worn the crown.
6 Many mighty men have been greatly disgraced; and the honourable delivered into other men's hands.

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7 Blame not before thou hast examined the truth: understand first, and then rebuke.
8 Answer not before thou hast heard the cause: neither interrupt men in the midst of their talk.
9 Strive not in a matter that concerneth thee not; and sit not in judgement with sinners.
10 My son, meddle not with many matters: for if thou meddle much, thou shalt not be innocent; and if thou follow after, thou shalt not obtain, neither shalt thou escape by fleeing.
11 There is one that laboureth, and taketh pains, and maketh haste, and is so much the more behind.
12 Again, there is another that is slow, and hath need of help, wanting ability, and full of poverty; yet the eye of the Lord looked upon him for good, and set him up from his low estate,
13 And lifted up his head from misery; so that many that saw it marvelled at him.
14 Prosperity and adversity, life and death, poverty and riches, come of the Lord.
15 Wisdom, knowledge, and understanding of the law, are of the Lord: love, and the way of good works, are from him.
16 Error and darkness had their beginning together with sinners: and evil shall wax old with them that glory therein.
17 The gift of the Lord remaineth with the godly, and his favour bringeth prosperity for ever.
18 There is that waxeth rich by his wariness and pinching, and this his the portion of his reward:
19 Whereas he saith, I have found rest, and now will eat continually of my goods; and yet he knoweth not what time shall come upon him, and that he must leave those things to others, and die.
20 Be stedfast in thy covenant, and be conversant therein, and wax old in thy work.
21 Marvel not at the works of sinners; but trust in the Lord, and abide in thy labour: for it is an easy thing in the sight of the Lord on the sudden to make a poor man rich.
22 The blessing of the Lord is in the reward of the godly, and suddenly he maketh his blessing flourish.
23 Say not, What profit is there of my service? and what good things shall I have hereafter?
24 Again, say not, I have enough, and possess many things, and what evil shall I have hereafter?
25 In the day of prosperity there is a forgetfulness of affliction: and in the day of affliction there is no more remembrance of prosperity.
26 For it is an easy thing unto the Lord in the day of death to reward a man according to his ways.
27 The affliction of an hour maketh a man forget pleasure: and in his end his deeds shall be discovered.
28 Judge none blessed before his death: for a man shall be known in his children.
29 Bring not every man into thine house: for the deceitful man hath many trains.
30 Like as a partridge taken and kept in a cage, so is the heart of the proud; and like as a spy, watcheth he for thy fall:
31 For he lieth in wait, and turneth good into evil, and in things worthy praise will lay blame upon thee.
32 Of a spark of fire a heap of coals is kindled: and a sinful man layeth wait for blood.
33 Take heed of a mischievous man, for he worketh wickedness; lest he bring upon thee a perpetual blot.
34 Receive a stranger into thine house, and he will disturb thee, and turn thee out of thine own.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 12

1 When thou wilt do good know to whom thou doest it; so shalt thou be thanked for thy benefits.
2 Do good to the godly man, and thou shalt find a recompence; and if not from him, yet from the most High.
3 There can no good come to him that is always occupied in evil, nor to him that giveth no alms.
4 Give to the godly man, and help not a sinner.
5 Do well unto him that is lowly, but give not to the ungodly: hold back thy bread, and give it not unto him, lest he overmaster thee thereby: for else thou shalt receive twice as much evil for all the good thou shalt have done unto him.
6 For the most High hateth sinners, and will repay vengeance unto the ungodly, and keepeth them against the mighty day of their punishment.
7 Give unto the good, and help not the sinner.
8 A friend cannot be known in prosperity: and an enemy cannot be hidden in adversity.
9 In the prosperity of a man enemies will be grieved: but in his adversity even a friend will depart.
10 Never trust thine enemy: for like as iron rusteth, so is his wickedness.
11 Though he humble himself, and go crouching, yet take good heed and beware of him, and thou shalt be unto him as if thou hadst wiped a lookingglass, and thou shalt know that his rust hath not been altogether wiped away.
12 Set him not by thee, lest, when he hath overthrown thee, he stand up in thy place; neither let him sit at thy right hand, lest he seek to take thy seat, and thou at the last remember my words, and be pricked therewith.
13 Who will pity a charmer that is bitten with a serpent, or any such as come nigh wild beasts?
14 So one that goeth to a sinner, and is defiled with him in his sins, who will pity?
15 For a while he will abide with thee, but if thou begin to fall, he will not tarry.
16 An enemy speaketh sweetly with his lips, but in his heart he imagineth how to throw thee into a pit: he will weep with his eyes, but if he find opportunity, he will not be satisfied with blood.
17 If adversity come upon thee, thou shalt find him there first; and though he pretend to help thee, yet shall he undermine thee.
18 He will shake his head, and clap his hands, and whisper much, and change his countenance.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 13

1 He that toucheth pitch shall be defiled therewith; and he that hath fellowship with a proud man shall be like unto him.
2 Burden not thyself above thy power while thou livest; and have no fellowship with one that is mightier and richer than thyself: for how agree the kettle and the earthen pot together? for if the one be smitten against the other, it shall be broken.
3 The rich man hath done wrong, and yet he threateneth withal: the poor is wronged, and he must intreat also.
4 If thou be for his profit, he will use thee: but if thou have nothing, he will forsake thee.
5 If thou have any thing, he will live with thee: yea, he will make thee bare, and will not be sorry for it.
6 If he have need of thee, he will deceive thee, and smile upon thee, and put thee in hope; he will speak thee fair, and say, What wantest thou?
7 And he will shame thee by his meats, until he have drawn thee dry twice or thrice, and at the last he will laugh thee to scorn afterward, when he seeth thee, he will forsake thee, and shake his head at thee.
8 Beware that thou be not deceived and brought down in thy jollity.
9 If thou be invited of a mighty man, withdraw thyself, and so much the more will he invite thee.
10 Press thou not upon him, lest thou be put back; stand not far off, lest thou be forgotten.
11 Affect not to be made equal unto him in talk, and believe not his many words: for with much communication will he tempt thee, and smiling upon thee will get out thy secrets:
12 But cruelly he will lay up thy words, and will not spare to do thee hurt, and to put thee in prison.
13 Observe, and take good heed, for thou walkest in peril of thy overthrowing: when thou hearest these things, awake in thy sleep.
14 Love the Lord all thy life, and call upon him for thy salvation.
15 Every beast loveth his like, and every man loveth his neighbour.
16 All flesh consorteth according to kind, and a man will cleave to his like.
17 What fellowship hath the wolf with the lamb? so the sinner with the godly.
18 What agreement is there between the hyena and a dog? and what peace between the rich and the poor?
19 As the wild ass is the lion's prey in the wilderness: so the rich eat up the poor.
20 As the proud hate humility: so doth the rich abhor the poor.
21 A rich man beginning to fall is held up of his friends: but a poor man being down is thrust away by his friends.
22 When a rich man is fallen, he hath many helpers: he speaketh things not to be spoken, and yet men justify him: the poor man slipped, and yet they rebuked him too; he spake wisely, and could have no place.
23 When a rich man speaketh, every man holdeth his tongue, and, look, what he saith, they extol it to the clouds: but if the poor man speak, they say, What fellow is this? and if he stumble, they will help to overthrow him.
24 Riches are good unto him that hath no sin, and poverty is evil in the mouth of the ungodly.
25 The heart of a man changeth his countenance, whether it be for good or evil: and a merry heart maketh a cheerful countenance.
26 A cheerful countenance is a token of a heart that is in prosperity; and the finding out of parables is a wearisome labour of the mind.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 14

1 Blessed is the man that hath not slipped with his mouth, and is not pricked with the multitude of sins.
2 Blessed is he whose conscience hath not condemned him, and who is not fallen from his hope in the Lord.
3 Riches are not comely for a niggard: and what should an envious man do with money?
4 He that gathereth by defrauding his own soul gathereth for others, that shall spend his goods riotously.
5 He that is evil to himself, to whom will he be good? he shall not take pleasure in his goods.
6 There is none worse than he that envieth himself; and this is a recompence of his wickedness.
7 And if he doeth good, he doeth it unwillingly; and at the last he will declare his wickedness.
8 The envious man hath a wicked eye; he turneth away his face, and despiseth men.
9 A covetous man's eye is not satisfied with his portion; and the iniquity of the wicked drieth up his soul.
10 A wicked eye envieth his bread, and he is a niggard at his table.
11 My son, according to thy ability do good to thyself, and give the Lord his due offering.
12 Remember that death will not be long in coming, and that the covenant of the grave is not shewed unto thee.
13 Do good unto thy friend before thou die, and according to thy ability stretch out thy hand and give to him.
14 Defraud not thyself of the good day, and let not the part of a good desire overpass thee.
15 Shalt thou not leave thy travails unto another? and thy labours to be divided by lot?
16 Give, and take, and sanctify thy soul; for there is no seeking of dainties in the grave.
17 All flesh waxeth old as a garment: for the covenant from the beginning is, Thou shalt die the death.
18 As of the green leaves on a thick tree, some fall, and some grow; so is the generation of flesh and blood, one cometh to an end, and another is born.
19 Every work rotteth and consumeth away, and the worker thereof shall go withal.
20 Blessed is the man that doth meditate good things in wisdom, and that reasoneth of holy things by his understanding.
21 He that considereth her ways in his heart shall also have understanding in her secrets.
22 Go after her as one that traceth, and lie in wait in her ways.
23 He that prieth in at her windows shall also hearken at her doors.
24 He that doth lodge near her house shall also fasten a pin in her walls.
25 He shall pitch his tent nigh unto her, and shall lodge in a lodging where good things are.
26 He shall set his children under her shelter, and shall lodge under her branches.
27 By her he shall be covered from heat, and in her glory shall he dwell.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 15

1 He that feareth the Lord will do good, and he that hath the knowledge of the law shall obtain her.
2 And as a mother shall she meet him, and receive him as a wife married of a virgin.
3 With the bread of understanding shall she feed him, and give him the water of wisdom to drink.
4 He shall be stayed upon her, and shall not be moved; and shall rely upon her, and shall not be confounded.
5 She shall exalt him above his neighbours, and in the midst of the congregation shall she open his mouth.
6 He shall find joy and a crown of gladness, and she shall cause him to inherit an everlasting name.
7 But foolish men shall not attain unto her, and sinners shall not see her.
8 For she is far from pride, and men that are liars cannot remember her.
9 Praise is not seemly in the mouth of a sinner, for it was not sent him of the Lord.
10 For praise shall be uttered in wisdom, and the Lord will prosper it.
11 Say not thou, It is through the Lord that I fell away: for thou oughtest not to do the things that he hateth.
12 Say not thou, He hath caused me to err: for he hath no need of the sinful man.
13 The Lord hateth all abomination; and they that fear God love it not.
14 He himself made man from the beginning, and left him in the hand of his counsel;
15 If thou wilt, to keep the commandments, and to perform acceptable faithfulness.
16 He hath set fire and water before thee: stretch forth thy hand unto whether thou wilt.
17 Before man is life and death; and whether him liketh shall be given him.
18 For the wisdom of the Lord is great, and he is mighty in power, and beholdeth all things:
19 And his eyes are upon them that fear him, and he knoweth every work of man.
20 He hath commanded no man to do wickedly, neither hath he given any man licence to sin.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 16

1 Desire not a multitude of unprofitable children, neither delight in ungodly sons.

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2 Though they multiply, rejoice not in them, except the fear of the Lord be with them.
3 Trust not thou in their life, neither respect their multitude: for one that is just is better than a thousand; and better it is to die without children, than to have them that are ungodly.
4 For by one that hath understanding shall the city be replenished: but the kindred of the wicked shall speedily become desolate.
5 Many such things have I seen with mine eyes, and mine ear hath heard greater things than these.
6 In the congregation of the ungodly shall a fire be kindled; and in a rebellious nation wrath is set on fire.
7 He was not pacified toward the old giants, who fell away in the strength of their foolishness.
8 Neither spared he the place where Lot sojourned, but abhorred them for their pride.
9 He pitied not the people of perdition, who were taken away in their sins:
10 Nor the six hundred thousand footmen, who were gathered together in the hardness of their hearts.
11 And if there be one stiffnecked among the people, it is marvel if he escape unpunished: for mercy and wrath are with him; he is mighty to forgive, and to pour out displeasure.
12 As his mercy is great, so is his correction also: he judgeth a man according to his works
13 The sinner shall not escape with his spoils: and the patience of the godly shall not be frustrate.
14 Make way for every work of mercy: for every man shall find according to his works.
15 The Lord hardened Pharaoh, that he should not know him, that his powerful works might be known to the world.
16 His mercy is manifest to every creature; and he hath separated his light from the darkness with an adamant.
17 Say not thou, I will hide myself from the Lord: shall any remember me from above? I shall not be remembered among so many people: for what is my soul among such an infinite number of creatures?
18 Behold, the heaven, and the heaven of heavens, the deep, and the earth, and all that therein is, shall be moved when he shall visit.
19 The mountains also and foundations of the earth be shaken with trembling, when the Lord looketh upon them.
20 No heart can think upon these things worthily: and who is able to conceive his ways?
21 It is a tempest which no man can see: for the most part of his works are hid.
22 Who can declare the works of his justice? or who can endure them? for his covenant is afar off, and the trial of all things is in the end.
23 He that wanteth understanding will think upon vain things: and a foolish man erring imagineth follies.
24 my son, hearken unto me, and learn knowledge, and mark my words with thy heart.
25 I will shew forth doctrine in weight, and declare his knowledge exactly.
26 The works of the Lord are done in judgement from the beginning: and from the time he made them he disposed the parts thereof.
27 He garnished his works for ever, and in his hand are the chief of them unto all generations: they neither labour, nor are weary, nor cease from their works.
28 None of them hindereth another, and they shall never disobey his word.
29 After this the Lord looked upon the earth, and filled it with his blessings.
30 With all manner of living things hath he covered the face thereof; and they shall return into it again.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 17

1 The Lord created man of the earth, and turned him into it again.
2 He gave them few days, and a short time, and power also over the things therein.
3 He endued them with strength by themselves, and made them according to his image,
4 And put the fear of man upon all flesh, and gave him dominion over beasts and fowls.
5 They received the use of the five operations of the Lord, and in the sixth place he imparted them understanding, and in the seventh speech, an interpreter of the cogitations thereof.
6 Counsel, and a tongue, and eyes, ears, and a heart, gave he them to understand.
7 Withal he filled them with the knowledge of understanding, and shewed them good and evil.
8 He set his eye upon their hearts, that he might shew them the greatness of his works.
9 He gave them to glory in his marvellous acts for ever, that they might declare his works with understanding.
10 And the elect shall praise his holy name.
11 Beside this he gave them knowledge, and the law of life for an heritage.
12 He made an everlasting covenant with them, and shewed them his judgements.
13 Their eyes saw the majesty of his glory, and their ears heard his glorious voice.
14 And he said unto them, Beware of all unrighteousness; and he gave every man commandment concerning his neighbour.
15 Their ways are ever before him, and shall not be hid from his eyes.
16 Every man from his youth is given to evil; neither could they make to themselves fleshy hearts for stony.
17 For in the division of the nations of the whole earth he set a ruler over every people; but Israel is the Lord's portion:
18 Whom, being his firstborn, he nourisheth with discipline, and giving him the light of his love doth not forsake him.
19 Therefore all their works are as the sun before him, and his eyes are continually upon their ways.
20 None of their unrighteous deeds are hid from him, but all their sins are before the Lord
21 But the Lord being gracious and knowing his workmanship, neither left nor forsook them, but spared them.
22 The alms of a man is as a signet with him, and he will keep the good deeds of man as the apple of the eye, and give repentance to his sons and daughters.
23 Afterwards he will rise up and reward them, and render their recompence upon their heads.
24 But unto them that repent, he granted them return, and comforted those that failed in patience.
25 Return unto the Lord, and forsake thy sins, make thy prayer before his face, and offend less.
26 Turn again to the most High, and turn away from iniquity: for he will lead thee out of darkness into the light of health, and hate thou abomination vehemently.
27 Who shall praise the most High in the grave, instead of them which live and give thanks?
28 Thanksgiving perisheth from the dead, as from one that is not: the living and sound in heart shall praise the Lord.
29 How great is the lovingkindness of the Lord our God, and his compassion unto such as turn unto him in holiness!
30 For all things cannot be in men, because the son of man is not immortal.
31 What is brighter than the sun? yet the light thereof faileth; and flesh and blood will imagine evil.
32 He vieweth the power of the height of heaven; and all men are but earth and ashes.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 18

1 He that liveth for ever Hath created all things in general.
2 The Lord only is righteous, and there is none other but he,
3 Who governeth the world with the palm of his hand, and all things obey his will: for he is the King of all, by his power dividing holy things among them from profane.
4 To whom hath he given power to declare his works? and who shall find out his noble acts?
5 Who shall number the strength of his majesty? and who shall also tell out his mercies?
6 As for the wondrous works of the Lord, there may nothing be taken from them, neither may any thing be put unto them, neither can the ground of them be found out.
7 When a man hath done, then he beginneth; and when he leaveth off, then he shall be doubtful.
8 What is man, and whereto serveth he? what is his good, and what is his evil?
9 The number of a man's days at the most are an hundred years.
10 As a drop of water unto the sea, and a gravelstone in comparison of the sand; so are a thousand years to the days of eternity.
11 Therefore is God patient with them, and poureth forth his mercy upon them.
12 He saw and perceived their end to be evil; therefore he multiplied his compassion.
13 The mercy of man is toward his neighbour; but the mercy of the Lord is upon all flesh: he reproveth, and nurtureth, and teacheth and bringeth again, as a shepherd his flock.
14 He hath mercy on them that receive discipline, and that diligently seek after his judgements.
15 My son, blemish not thy good deeds, neither use uncomfortable words when thou givest any thing.
16 Shall not the dew asswage the heat? so is a word better than a gift.
17 Lo, is not a word better than a gift? but both are with a gracious man.
18 A fool will upbraid churlishly, and a gift of the envious consumeth the eyes.
19 Learn before thou speak, and use physick or ever thou be sick.
20 Before judgement examine thyself, and in the day of visitation thou shalt find mercy.
21 Humble thyself before thou be sick, and in the time of sins shew repentance.
22 Let nothing hinder thee to pay thy vow in due time, and defer not until death to be justified.
23 Before thou prayest, prepare thyself; and be not as one that tempteth the Lord.
24 Think upon the wrath that shall be at the end, and the time of vengeance, when he shall turn away his face.
25 When thou hast enough, remember the time of hunger: and when thou art rich, think upon poverty and need.
26 From the morning until the evening the time is changed, and all things are soon done before the Lord.
27 A wise man will fear in every thing, and in the day of sinning he will beware of offence: but a fool will not observe time.
28 Every man of understanding knoweth wisdom, and will give praise unto him that found her.
29 They that were of understanding in sayings became also wise themselves, and poured forth exquisite parables.
30 Go not after thy lusts, but refrain thyself from thine appetites.
31 If thou givest thy soul the desires that please her, she will make thee a laughingstock to thine enemies that malign thee.
32 Take not pleasure in much good cheer, neither be tied to the expence thereof.
33 Be not made a beggar by banqueting upon borrowing, when thou hast nothing in thy purse: for thou shalt lie in wait for thine own life, and be talked on.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 19

1 A labouring man that A is given to drunkenness shall not be rich: and he that contemneth small things shall fall by little and little.
2 Wine and women will make men of understanding to fall away: and he that cleaveth to harlots will become impudent.
3 Moths and worms shall have him to heritage, and a bold man shall be taken away.
4 He that is hasty to give credit is lightminded; and he that sinneth shall offend against his own soul.
5 Whoso taketh pleasure in wickedness shall be condemned: but he that resisteth pleasures crowneth his life.
6 He that can rule his tongue shall live without strife; and he that hateth babbling shall have less evil.
7 Rehearse not unto another that which is told unto thee, and thou shalt fare never the worse.
8 Whether it be to friend or foe, talk not of other men's lives; and if thou canst without offence, reveal them not.
9 For he heard and observed thee, and when time cometh he will hate thee.
10 If thou hast heard a word, let it die with thee; and be bold, it will not burst thee.
11 A fool travaileth with a word, as a woman in labour of a child.
12 As an arrow that sticketh in a man's thigh, so is a word within a fool's belly.
13 Admonish a friend, it may be he hath not done it: and if he have done it, that he do it no more.
14 Admonish thy friend, it may be he hath not said it: and if he have, that he speak it not again.
15 Admonish a friend: for many times it is a slander, and believe not every tale.
16 There is one that slippeth in his speech, but not from his heart; and who is he that hath not offended with his tongue?
17 Admonish thy neighbour before thou threaten him; and not being angry, give place to the law of the most High.
18 The fear of the Lord is the first step to be accepted of him, and wisdom obtaineth his love.
19 The knowledge of the commandments of the Lord is the doctrine of life: and they that do things that please him shall receive the fruit of the tree of immortality.
20 The fear of the Lord is all wisdom; and in all wisdom is the performance of the law, and the knowledge of his omnipotency.
21 If a servant say to his master, I will not do as it pleaseth thee; though afterward he do it, he angereth him that nourisheth him.
22 The knowledge of wickedness is not wisdom, neither at any time the counsel of sinners prudence.
23 There is a wickedness, and the same an abomination; and there is a fool wanting in wisdom.
24 He that hath small understanding, and feareth God, is better than one that hath much wisdom, and transgresseth the law of the most High.
25 There is an exquisite subtilty, and the same is unjust; and there is one that turneth aside to make judgement appear; and there is a wise man that justifieth in judgement.
26 There is a wicked man that hangeth down his head sadly; but inwardly he is full of deceit,
27 Casting down his countenance, and making as if he heard not: where he is not known, he will do thee a mischief before thou be aware.
28 And if for want of power he be hindered from sinning, yet when he findeth opportunity he will do evil.
29 A man may be known by his look, and one that hath understanding by his countenance, when thou meetest him.
30 A man's attire, and excessive laughter, and gait, shew what he is.

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SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 20

1 There is a reproof that is not comely: again, some man holdeth his tongue, and he is wise.
2 It is much better to reprove, than to be angry secretly: and he that confesseth his fault shall be preserved from hurt.
3 How good is it, when thou art reproved, to shew repentance! for so shalt thou escape wilful sin.
4 As is the lust of an eunuch to deflower a virgin; so is he that executeth judgement with violence.
5 There is one that keepeth silence, and is found wise: and another by much babbling becometh hateful.
6 Some man holdeth his tongue, because he hath not to answer: and some keepeth silence, knowing his time.
7 A wise man will hold his tongue till he see opportunity: but a babbler and a fool will regard no time.
8 He that useth many words shall be abhorred; and he that taketh to himself authority therein shall be hated.
9 There is a sinner that hath good success in evil things; and there is a gain that turneth to loss.
10 There is a gift that shall not profit thee; and there is a gift whose recompence is double.
11 There is an abasement because of glory; and there is that lifteth up his head from a low estate.
12 There is that buyeth much for a little, and repayeth it sevenfold.
13 A wise man by his words maketh him beloved: but the graces of fools shall be poured out.
14 The gift of a fool shall do thee no good when thou hast it; neither yet of the envious for his necessity: for he looketh to receive many things for one.
15 He giveth little, and upbraideth much; he openeth his mouth like a crier; to day he lendeth, and to morrow will he ask it again: such an one is to be hated of God and man.
16 The fool saith, I have no friends, I have no thank for all my good deeds, and they that eat my bread speak evil of me.
17 How oft, and of how many shall he be laughed to scorn! for he knoweth not aright what it is to have; and it is all one unto him as if he had it not.
18 To slip upon a pavement is better than to slip with the tongue: so the fall of the wicked shall come speedily.
19 An unseasonable tale will always be in the mouth of the unwise.
20 A wise sentence shall be rejected when it cometh out of a fool's mouth; for he will not speak it in due season.
21 There is that is hindered from sinning through want: and when he taketh rest, he shall not be troubled.
22 There is that destroyeth his own soul through bashfulness, and by accepting of persons overthroweth himself.
23 There is that for bashfulness promiseth to his friend, and maketh him his enemy for nothing.
24 A lie is a foul blot in a man, yet it is continually in the mouth of the untaught.
25 A thief is better than a man that is accustomed to lie: but they both shall have destruction to heritage.
26 The disposition of a liar is dishonourable, and his shame is ever with him.
27 A wise man shall promote himself to honour with his words: and he that hath understanding will please great men.
28 He that tilleth his land shall increase his heap: and he that pleaseth great men shall get pardon for iniquity.
29 Presents and gifts blind the eyes of the wise, and stop up his mouth that he cannot reprove.
30 Wisdom that is hid, and treasure that is hoarded up, what profit is in them both?
31 Better is he that hideth his folly than a man that hideth his wisdom.
32 Necessary patience in seeking the Lord is better than he that leadeth his life without a guide.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 21

1 My son, hast thou sinned? do so no more, but ask pardon for thy former sins.
2 Flee from sin as from the face of a serpent: for if thou comest too near it, it will bite thee: the teeth thereof are as the teeth of a lion, slaying the souls of men.
3 All iniquity is as a two edged sword, the wounds whereof cannot be healed.
4 To terrify and do wrong will waste riches: thus the house of proud men shall be made desolate.
5 A prayer out of a poor man's mouth reacheth to the ears of God, and his judgement cometh speedily.
6 He that hateth to be reproved is in the way of sinners: but he that feareth the Lord will repent from his heart.
7 An eloquent man is known far and near; but a man of understanding knoweth when he slippeth.
8 He that buildeth his house with other men's money is like one that gathereth himself stones for the tomb of his burial.
9 The congregation of the wicked is like tow wrapped together: and the end of them is a flame of fire to destroy them.
10 The way of sinners is made plain with stones, but at the end thereof is the pit of hell.
11 He that keepeth the law of the Lord getteth the understanding thereof: and the perfection of the fear of the Lord is wisdom.
12 He that is not wise will not be taught: but there is a wisdom which multiplieth bitterness.
13 The knowledge of a wise man shall abound like a flood: and his counsel is like a pure fountain of life.
14 The inner parts of a fool are like a broken vessel, and he will hold no knowledge as long as he liveth.
15 If a skilful man hear a wise word, he will commend it, and add unto it: but as soon as one of no understanding heareth it, it displeaseth him, and he casteth it behind his back.
16 The talking of a fool is like a burden in the way: but grace shall be found in the lips of the wise.
17 They enquire at the mouth of the wise man in the congregation, and they shall ponder his words in their heart.
18 As is a house that is destroyed, so is wisdom to a fool: and the knowledge of the unwise is as talk without sense.
19 Doctrine unto fools is as fetters on the feet, and like manacles on the right hand.
20 A fool lifteth up his voice with laughter; but a wise man doth scarce smile a little.
21 Learning is unto a wise man as an ornament of gold, and like a bracelet upon his right arm.
22 A foolish man's foot is soon in his neighbour's house: but a man of experience is ashamed of him.
23 A fool will peep in at the door into the house: but he that is well nurtured will stand without.
24 It is the rudeness of a man to hearken at the door: but a wise man will be grieved with the disgrace.
25 The lips of talkers will be telling such things as pertain not unto them: but the words of such as have understanding are weighed in the balance.
26 The heart of fools is in their mouth: but the mouth of the wise is in their heart.
27 When the ungodly curseth Satan, he curseth his own soul.
28 A whisperer defileth his own soul, and is hated wheresoever he dwelleth.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 22

1 A slothful man is compared to a filthy stone, and every one will hiss him out to his disgrace.
2 A slothful man is compared to the filth of a dunghill: every man that takes it up will shake his hand.
3 An evilnurtured man is the dishonour of his father that begat him: and a foolish daughter is born to his loss.
4 A wise daughter shall bring an inheritance to her husband: but she that liveth dishonestly is her father's heaviness.
5 She that is bold dishonoureth both her father and her husband, but they both shall despise her.
6 A tale out of season is as musick in mourning: but stripes and correction of wisdom are never out of time.
7 Whoso teacheth a fool is as one that glueth a potsherd together, and as he that waketh one from a sound sleep.
8 He that telleth a tale to a fool speaketh to one in a slumber: when he hath told his tale, he will say, What is the matter?
9 If children live honestly, and have wherewithal, they shall cover the baseness of their parents.
10 But children, being haughty, through disdain and want of nurture do stain the nobility of their kindred.
11 Weep for the dead, for he hath lost the light: and weep for the fool, for he wanteth understanding: make little weeping for the dead, for he is at rest: but the life of the fool is worse than death.
12 Seven days do men mourn for him that is dead; but for a fool and an ungodly man all the days of his life.
13 Talk not much with a fool, and go not to him that hath no understanding: beware of him, lest thou have trouble, and thou shalt never be defiled with his fooleries: depart from him, and thou shalt find rest, and never be disquieted with madness.
14 What is heavier than lead? and what is the name thereof, but a fool?
15 Sand, and salt, and a mass of iron, is easier to bear, than a man without understanding.
16 As timber girt and bound together in a building cannot be loosed with shaking: so the heart that is stablished by advised counsel shall fear at no time.
17 A heart settled upon a thought of understanding is as a fair plaistering on the wall of a gallery.
18 Pales set on an high place will never stand against the wind: so a fearful heart in the imagination of a fool cannot stand against any fear.
19 He that pricketh the eye will make tears to fall: and he that pricketh the heart maketh it to shew her knowledge.
20 Whoso casteth a stone at the birds frayeth them away: and he that upbraideth his friend breaketh friendship.
21 Though thou drewest a sword at thy friend, yet despair not: for there may be a returning to favour.
22 If thou hast opened thy mouth against thy friend, fear not; for there may be a reconciliation: except for upbraiding, or pride, or disclosing of secrets, or a treacherous wound: for for these things every friend will depart.
23 Be faithful to thy neighbour in his poverty, that thou mayest rejoice in his prosperity: abide stedfast unto him in the time of his trouble, that thou mayest be heir with him in his heritage: for a mean estate is not always to be contemned: nor the rich that is foolish to be had in admiration.
24 As the vapour and smoke of a furnace goeth before the fire; so reviling before blood.
25 I will not be ashamed to defend a friend; neither will I hide myself from him.
26 And if any evil happen unto me by him, every one that heareth it will beware of him.
27 Who shall set a watch before my mouth, and a seal of wisdom upon my lips, that I fall not suddenly by them, and that my tongue destroy me not?

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 23

1 O Lord, Father and Governor of all my whole life, leave me not to their counsels, and let me not fall by them.
2 Who will set scourges over my thoughts, and the discipline of wisdom over mine heart? that they spare me not for mine ignorances, and it pass not by my sins:
3 Lest mine ignorances increase, and my sins abound to my destruction, and I fall before mine adversaries, and mine enemy rejoice over me, whose hope is far from thy mercy.
4 O Lord, Father and God of my life, give me not a proud look, but turn away from thy servants always a haughty mind.
5 Turn away from me vain hopes and concupiscence, and thou shalt hold him up that is desirous always to serve thee.
6 Let not the greediness of the belly nor lust of the flesh take hold of me; and give not over me thy servant into an impudent mind.
7 Hear, O ye children, the discipline of the mouth: he that keepeth it shall never be taken in his lips.
8 The sinner shall be left in his foolishness: both the evil speaker and the proud shall fall thereby.
9 Accustom not thy mouth to swearing; neither use thyself to the naming of the Holy One.
10 For as a servant that is continually beaten shall not be without a blue mark: so he that sweareth and nameth God continually shall not be faultless.
11 A man that useth much swearing shall be filled with iniquity, and the plague shall never depart from his house: if he shall offend, his sin shall be upon him: and if he acknowledge not his sin, he maketh a double offence: and if he swear in vain, he shall not be innocent, but his house shall be full of calamities.
12 There is a word that is clothed about with death: God grant that it be not found in the heritage of Jacob; for all such things shall be far from the godly, and they shall not wallow in their sins.
13 Use not thy mouth to intemperate swearing, for therein is the word of sin.
14 Remember thy father and thy mother, when thou sittest among great men. Be not forgetful before them, and so thou by thy custom become a fool, and wish that thou hadst not been born, and curse they day of thy nativity.
15 The man that is accustomed to opprobrious words will never be reformed all the days of his life.
16 Two sorts of men multiply sin, and the third will bring wrath: a hot mind is as a burning fire, it will never be quenched till it be consumed: a fornicator in the body of his flesh will never cease till he hath kindled a fire.
17 All bread is sweet to a whoremonger, he will not leave off till he die.
18 A man that breaketh wedlock, saying thus in his heart, Who seeth me? I am compassed about with darkness, the walls cover me, and no body seeth me; what need I to fear? the most High will not remember my sins:
19 Such a man only feareth the eyes of men, and knoweth not that the eyes of the Lord are ten thousand times brighter than the sun, beholding all the ways of men, and considering the most secret parts.
20 He knew all things ere ever they were created; so also after they were perfected he looked upon them all.
21 This man shall be punished in the streets of the city, and where he suspecteth not he shall be taken.
22 Thus shall it go also with the wife that leaveth her husband, and bringeth in an heir by another.
23 For first, she hath disobeyed the law of the most High; and secondly, she hath trespassed against her own husband; and thirdly, she hath played the whore in adultery, and brought children by another man.
24 She shall be brought out into the congregation, and inquisition shall be made of her children.
25 Her children shall not take root, and her branches shall bring forth no fruit.
26 She shall leave her memory to be cursed, and her reproach shall not be blotted out.
27 And they that remain shall know that there is nothing better than the fear of the Lord, and that there is nothing sweeter than to take heed unto the commandments of the Lord.
28 It is great glory to follow the Lord, and to be received of him is long life.

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SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 24

1 Wisdom shall praise herself, and shall glory in the midst of her people.
2 In the congregation of the most High shall she open her mouth, and triumph before his power.
3 I came out of the mouth of the most High, and covered the earth as a cloud.
4 I dwelt in high places, and my throne is in a cloudy pillar.
5 I alone compassed the circuit of heaven, and walked in the bottom of the deep.
6 In the waves of the sea and in all the earth, and in every people and nation, I got a possession.
7 With all these I sought rest: and in whose inheritance shall I abide?
8 So the Creator of all things gave me a commandment, and he that made me caused my tabernacle to rest, and said, Let thy dwelling be in Jacob, and thine inheritance in Israel.
9 He created me from the beginning before the world, and I shall never fail.
10 In the holy tabernacle I served before him; and so was I established in Sion.
11 Likewise in the beloved city he gave me rest, and in Jerusalem was my power.
12 And I took root in an honourable people, even in the portion of the Lord's inheritance.
13 I was exalted like a cedar in Libanus, and as a cypress tree upon the mountains of Hermon.
14 I was exalted like a palm tree in En-gaddi, and as a rose plant in Jericho, as a fair olive tree in a pleasant field, and grew up as a plane tree by the water.
15 I gave a sweet smell like cinnamon and aspalathus, and I yielded a pleasant odour like the best myrrh, as galbanum, and onyx, and sweet storax, and as the fume of frankincense in the tabernacle.
16 As the turpentine tree I stretched out my branches, and my branches are the branches of honour and grace.
17 As the vine brought I forth pleasant savour, and my flowers are the fruit of honour and riches.
18 I am the mother of fair love, and fear, and knowledge, and holy hope: I therefore, being eternal, am given to all my children which are named of him.
19 Come unto me, all ye that be desirous of me, and fill yourselves with my fruits.
20 For my memorial is sweeter than honey, and mine inheritance than the honeycomb.
21 They that eat me shall yet be hungry, and they that drink me shall yet be thirsty.
22 He that obeyeth me shall never be confounded, and they that work by me shall not do amiss.
23 All these things are the book of the covenant of the most high God, even the law which Moses commanded for an heritage unto the congregations of Jacob.
24 Faint not to be strong in the Lord; that he may confirm you, cleave unto him: for the Lord Almighty is God alone, and beside him there is no other Saviour.
25 He filleth all things with his wisdom, as Phison and as Tigris in the time of the new fruits.
26 He maketh the understanding to abound like Euphrates, and as Jordan in the time of the harvest.
27 He maketh the doctrine of knowledge appear as the light, and as Geon in the time of vintage.
28 The first man knew her not perfectly: no more shall the last find her out.
29 For her thoughts are more than the sea, and her counsels profounder than the great deep.
30 I also came out as a brook from a river, and as a conduit into a garden.
31 I said, I will water my best garden, and will water abundantly my garden bed: and, lo, my brook became a river, and my river became a sea.
32 I will yet make doctrine to shine as the morning, and will send forth her light afar off.
33 I will yet pour out doctrine as prophecy, and leave it to all ages for ever.
34 Behold that I have not laboured for myself only, but for all them that seek wisdom.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 25

1 In three things I was beautified, and stood up beautiful both before God and men: the unity of brethren, the love of neighbours, a man and a wife that agree together.
2 Three sorts of men my soul hateth, and I am greatly offended at their life: a poor man that is proud, a rich man that is a liar, and an old adulterer that doateth.
3 If thou hast gathered nothing in thy youth, how canst thou find any thing in thine age?
4 O how comely a thing is judgement for gray hairs, and for ancient men to know counsel!
5 O how comely is the wisdom of old men, and understanding and counsel to men of honour.
6 Much experience is the crown of old men, and the fear of God is their glory.
7 There be nine things which I have judged in mine heart to be happy, and the tenth I will utter with my tongue: A man that hath joy of his children; and he that liveth to see the fall of his enemy:
8 Well is him that dwelleth with a wife of understanding, and that hath not slipped with his tongue, and that hath not served a man more unworthy than himself:
9 Well is him that hath found prudence, and he that speaketh in the ears of them that will hear:
10 O how great is he that findeth wisdom! yet is there none above him that feareth the Lord.
11 But the love of the Lord passeth all things for illumination: he that holdeth it, whereto shall he be likened?
12 The fear of the Lord is the beginning of his love: and faith is the beginning of cleaving unto him.
13 Give me any plague, but the plague of the heart: and any wickedness, but the wickedness of a woman:
14 And any affliction, but the affliction from them that hate me: and any revenge, but the revenge of enemies.
15 There is no head above the head of a serpent; and there is no wrath above the wrath of an enemy.
16 I had rather dwell with a lion and a dragon, than to keep house with a wicked woman.
17 The wickedness of a woman changeth her face, and darkeneth her countenance like sackcloth.
18 Her husband shall sit among his neighbours; and when he heareth it shall sigh bitterly.
19 All wickedness is but little to the wickedness of a woman: let the portion of a sinner fall upon her.
20 As the climbing up a sandy way is to the feet of the aged, so is a wife full of words to a quiet man.
21 Stumble not at the beauty of a woman, and desire her not for pleasure.
22 A woman, if she maintain her husband, is full of anger, impudence, and much reproach.
23 A wicked woman abateth the courage, maketh an heavy countenance and a wounded heart: a woman that will not comfort her husband in distress maketh weak hands and feeble knees.
24 Of the woman came the beginning of sin, and through her we all die.
25 Give the water no passage; neither a wicked woman liberty to gad abroad.
26 If she go not as thou wouldest have her, cut her off from thy flesh, and give her a bill of divorce, and let her go.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 26

1 Blessed is the man that hath a virtuous wife, for the number of his days shall be double.
2 A virtuous woman rejoiceth her husband, and he shall fulfil the years of his life in peace.
3 A good wife is a good portion, which shall be given in the portion of them that fear the Lord.
4 Whether a man be rich or poor, if he have a good heart toward the Lord, he shall at all times rejoice with a cheerful countenance.
5 There be three things that mine heart feareth; and for the fourth I was sore afraid: the slander of a city, the gathering together of an unruly multitude, and a false accusation: all these are worse than death.
6 But a grief of heart and sorrow is a woman that is jealous over another woman, and a scourge of the tongue which communicateth with all.
7 An evil wife is a yoke shaken to and fro: he that hath hold of her is as though he held a scorpion.
8 A drunken woman and a gadder abroad causeth great anger, and she will not cover her own shame.
9 The whoredom of a woman may be known in her haughty looks and eyelids.
10 If thy daughter be shameless, keep her in straitly, lest she abuse herself through overmuch liberty.
11 Watch over an impudent eye: and marvel not if she trespass against thee.
12 She will open her mouth, as a thirsty traveller when he hath found a fountain, and drink of every water near her: by every hedge will she sit down, and open her quiver against every arrow.
13 The grace of a wife delighteth her husband, and her discretion will fatten his bones.
14 A silent and loving woman is a gift of the Lord; and there is nothing so much worth as a mind well instructed.
15 A shamefaced and faithful woman is a double grace, and her continent mind cannot be valued.
16 As the sun when it ariseth in the high heaven; so is the beauty of a good wife in the ordering of her house.
17 As the clear light is upon the holy candlestick; so is the beauty of the face in ripe age.
18 As the golden pillars are upon the sockets of silver; so are the fair feet with a constant heart.
19 My son, keep the flower of thine age sound; and give not thy strength to strangers.
20 When thou hast gotten a fruitful possession through all the field, sow it with thine own seed, trusting in the goodness of thy stock.
21 So thy race which thou leavest shall be magnified, having the confidence of their good descent.
22 An harlot shall be accounted as spittle; but a married woman is a tower against death to her husband.
23 A wicked woman is given as a portion to a wicked man: but a godly woman is given to him that feareth the Lord.
24 A dishonest woman contemneth shame: but an honest woman will reverence her husband.
25 A shameless woman shall be counted as a dog; but she that is shamefaced will fear the Lord.
26 A woman that honoureth her husband shall be judged wise of all; but she that dishonoureth him in her pride shall be counted ungodly of all.
27 A loud crying woman and a scold shall be sought out to drive away the enemies.
28 There be two things that grieve my heart; and the third maketh me angry: a man of war that suffereth poverty; and men of understanding that are not set by; and one that returneth from righteousness to sin; the Lord prepareth such an one for the sword.
29 A merchant shall hardly keep himself from doing wrong; and an huckster shall not be freed from sin.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 27

1 Many have sinned for a small matter; and he that seeketh for abundance will turn his eyes away.
2 As a nail sticketh fast between the joinings of the stones; so doth sin stick close between buying and selling.
3 Unless a man hold himself diligently in the fear of the Lord, his house shall soon be overthrown.
4 As when one sifteth with a sieve, the refuse remaineth; so the filth of man in his talk.
5 The furnace proveth the potter's vessels; so the trial of man is in his reasoning.
6 The fruit declareth if the tree have been dressed; so is the utterance of a conceit in the heart of man.
7 Praise no man before thou hearest him speak; for this is the trial of men.
8 If thou followest righteousness, thou shalt obtain her, and put her on, as a glorious long robe.
9 The birds will resort unto their like; so will truth return unto them that practise in her.
10 As the lion lieth in wait for the prey; so sin for them that work iniquity.
11 The discourse of a godly man is always with wisdom; but a fool changeth as the moon.
12 If thou be among the indiscreet, observe the time; but be continually among men of understanding.
13 The discourse of fools is irksome, and their sport is the wantonness of sin.
14 The talk of him that sweareth much maketh the hair stand upright; and their brawls make one stop his ears.
15 The strife of the proud is bloodshedding, and their revilings are grievous to the ear.
16 Whoso discovereth secrets loseth his credit; and shall never find friend to his mind.
17 Love thy friend, and be faithful unto him: but if thou betrayest his secrets, follow no more after him.
18 For as a man hath destroyed his enemy; so hast thou lost the love of thy neighbour.
19 As one that letteth a bird go out of his hand, so hast thou let thy neighbour go, and shalt not get him again
20 Follow after him no more, for he is too far off; he is as a roe escaped out of the snare.
21 As for a wound, it may be bound up; and after reviling there may be reconcilement: but he that betrayeth secrets is without hope.
22 He that winketh with the eyes worketh evil: and he that knoweth him will depart from him.
23 When thou art present, he will speak sweetly, and will admire thy words: but at the last he will writhe his mouth, and slander thy sayings.
24 I have hated many things, but nothing like him; for the Lord will hate him.
25 Whoso casteth a stone on high casteth it on his own head; and a deceitful stroke shall make wounds.
26 Whoso diggeth a pit shall fall therein: and he that setteth a trap shall be taken therein.
27 He that worketh mischief, it shall fall upon him, and he shall not know whence it cometh.
28 Mockery and reproach are from the proud; but vengeance, as a lion, shall lie in wait for them.
29 They that rejoice at the fall of the righteous shall be taken in the snare; and anguish shall consume them before they die.
30 Malice and wrath, even these are abominations; and the sinful man shall have them both.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 28

1 He that revengeth shall find vengeance from the Lord, and he will surely keep his sins in remembrance.
2 Forgive thy neighbour the hurt that he hath done unto thee, so shall thy sins also be forgiven when thou prayest.
3 One man beareth hatred against another, and doth he seek pardon from the Lord?

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4 He sheweth no mercy to a man, which is like himself: and doth he ask forgiveness of his own sins?
5 If he that is but flesh nourish hatred, who will intreat for pardon of his sins?
6 Remember thy end, and let enmity cease; remember corruption and death, and abide in the commandments.
7 Remember the commandments, and bear no malice to thy neighbour: remember the covenant of the Highest, and wink at ignorance.
8 Abstain from strife, and thou shalt diminish thy sins: for a furious man will kindle strife,
9 A sinful man disquieteth friends, and maketh debate among them that be at peace.
10 As the matter of the fire is, so it burneth: and as a man's strength is, so is his wrath; and according to his riches his anger riseth; and the stronger they are which contend, the more they will be inflamed.
11 An hasty contention kindleth a fire: and an hasty fighting sheddeth blood.
12 If thou blow the spark, it shall burn: if thou spit upon it, it shall be quenched: and both these come out of thy mouth.
13 Curse the whisperer and doubletongued: for such have destroyed many that were at peace.
14 A backbiting tongue hath disquieted many, and driven them from nation to nation: strong cities hath it pulled down, and overthrown the houses of great men.
15 A backbiting tongue hath cast out virtuous women, and deprived them of their labours.
16 Whoso hearkeneth unto it shall never find rest, and never dwell quietly.
17 The stroke of the whip maketh marks in the flesh: but the stroke of the tongue breaketh the bones.
18 Many have fallen by the edge of the sword: but not so many as have fallen by the tongue.
19 Well is he that is defended through the venom thereof; who hath not drawn the yoke thereof, nor hath been bound in her bands.
20 For the yoke thereof is a yoke of iron, and the bands thereof are bands of brass.
21 The death thereof is an evil death, the grave were better than it.
22 It shall not have rule over them that fear God, neither shall they be burned with the flame thereof.
23 Such as forsake the Lord shall fall into it; and it shall burn in them, and not be quenched; it shall be sent upon them as a lion, and devour them as a leopard.
24 Look that thou hedge thy possession about with thorns, and bind up thy silver and gold,
25 And weigh thy words in a balance, and make a door and bar for thy mouth.
26 Beware thou slide not by it, lest thou fall before him that lieth in wait.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 29

1 He that is merciful will lend unto his neighbour; and he that strengtheneth his hand keepeth the commandments.
2 Lend to thy neighbour in time of his need, and pay thou thy neighbour again in due season.
3 Keep thy word, and deal faithfully with him, and thou shalt always find the thing that is necessary for thee.
4 Many, when a thing was lent them, reckoned it to be found, and put them to trouble that helped them.
5 Till he hath received, he will kiss a man's hand; and for his neighbour's money he will speak submissly: but when he should repay, he will prolong the time, and return words of grief, and complain of the time.
6 If he prevail, he shall hardly receive the half, and he will count as if he had found it: if not, he hath deprived him of his money, and he hath gotten him an enemy without cause: he payeth him with cursings and railings; and for honour he will pay him disgrace.
7 Many therefore have refused to lend for other men's ill dealing, fearing to be defrauded.
8 Yet have thou patience with a man in poor estate, and delay not to shew him mercy.
9 Help the poor for the commandment's sake, and turn him not away because of his poverty.
10 Lose thy money for thy brother and thy friend, and let it not rust under a stone to be lost.
11 Lay up thy treasure according to the commandments of the most High, and it shall bring thee more profit than gold.
12 Shut up alms in thy storehouses: and it shall deliver thee from all affliction.
13 It shall fight for thee against thine enemies better than a mighty shield and strong spear.
14 An honest man is surety for his neighbour: but he that is impudent will forsake him.
15 Forget not the friendship of thy surety, for he hath given his life for thee.
16 A sinner will overthrow the good estate of his surety:
17 And he that is of an unthankful mind will leave him in danger that delivered him.
18 Suretiship hath undone many of good estate, and shaken them as a wave of the sea: mighty men hath it driven from their houses, so that they wandered among strange nations.
19 A wicked man transgressing the commandments of the Lord shall fall into suretiship: and he that undertaketh and followeth other men's business for gain shall fall into suits.
20 Help thy neighbour according to thy power, and beware that thou thyself fall not into the same.
21 The chief thing for life is water, and bread, and clothing, and an house to cover shame.
22 Better is the life of a poor man in a mean cottage, than delicate fare in another man's house.
23 Be it little or much, hold thee contented, that thou hear not the reproach of thy house.
24 For it is a miserable life to go from house to house: for where thou art a stranger, thou darest not open thy mouth.
25 Thou shalt entertain, and feast, and have no thanks: moreover thou shalt hear bitter words:
26 Come, thou stranger, and furnish a table, and feed me of that thou hast ready.
27 Give place, thou stranger, to an honourable man; my brother cometh to be lodged, and I have need of mine house.
28 These things are grievous to a man of understanding; the upbraiding of houseroom, and reproaching of the lender.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 30

1 He that loveth his son causeth him oft to feel the rod, that he may have joy of him in the end.
2 He that chastiseth his son shall have joy in him, and shall rejoice of him among his acquaintance.
3 He that teacheth his son grieveth the enemy: and before his friends he shall rejoice of him.
4 Though his father die, yet he is as though he were not dead: for he hath left one behind him that is like himself.
5 While he lived, he saw and rejoiced in him: and when he died, he was not sorrowful.
6 He left behind him an avenger against his enemies, and one that shall requite kindness to his friends.
7 He that maketh too much of his son shall bind up his wounds; and his bowels will be troubled at every cry.
8 An horse not broken becometh headstrong: and a child left to himself will be wilful.
9 Cocker thy child, and he shall make thee afraid: play with him, and he will bring thee to heaviness.
10 Laugh not with him, lest thou have sorrow with him, and lest thou gnash thy teeth in the end.
11 Give him no liberty in his youth, and wink not at his follies.
12 Bow down his neck while he is young, and beat him on the sides while he is a child, lest he wax stubborn, and be disobedient unto thee, and so bring sorrow to thine heart.
13 Chastise thy son, and hold him to labour, lest his lewd behaviour be an offence unto thee.
14 Better is the poor, being sound and strong of constitution, than a rich man that is afflicted in his body.
15 Health and good estate of body are above all gold, and a strong body above infinite wealth.
16 There is no riches above a sound body, and no joy above the joy of the heart.
17 Death is better than a bitter life or continual sickness.
18 Delicates poured upon a mouth shut up are as messes of meat set upon a grave.
19 What good doeth the offering unto an idol? for neither can it eat nor smell: so is he that is persecuted of the Lord.
20 He seeth with his eyes and groaneth, as an eunuch that embraceth a virgin and sigheth.
21 Give not over thy mind to heaviness, and afflict not thyself in thine own counsel.
22 The gladness of the heart is the life of man, and the joyfulness of a man prolongeth his days.
23 Love thine own soul, and comfort thy heart, remove sorrow far from thee: for sorrow hath killed many, and there is no profit therein.
24 Envy and wrath shorten the life, and carefulness bringeth age before the time.
25 A cheerful and good heart will have a care of his meat and diet.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 31

1 Watching for riches consumeth the flesh, and the care thereof driveth away sleep.
2 Watching care will not let a man slumber, as a sore disease breaketh sleep,
3 The rich hath great labour in gathering riches together; and when he resteth, he is filled with his delicates.
4 The poor laboureth in his poor estate; and when he leaveth off, he is still needy.
5 He that loveth gold shall not be justified, and he that followeth corruption shall have enough thereof.
6 Gold hath been the ruin of many, and their destruction was present.
7 It is a stumblingblock unto them that sacrifice unto it, and every fool shall be taken therewith.
8 Blessed is the rich that is found without blemish, and hath not gone after gold.
9 Who is he? and we will call him blessed: for wonderful things hath he done among his people.
10 Who hath been tried thereby, and found perfect? then let him glory. Who might offend, and hath not offended? or done evil, and hath not done it?
11 His goods shall be established, and the congregation shall declare his alms.
12 If thou sit at a bountiful table, be not greedy upon it, and say not, There is much meat on it.
13 Remember that a wicked eye is an evil thing: and what is created more wicked than an eye? therefore it weepeth upon every occasion.
14 Stretch not thine hand whithersoever it looketh, and thrust it not with him into the dish.
15 Judge not thy neighbour by thyself: and be discreet in every point.
16 Eat as it becometh a man, those things which are set before thee; and devour note, lest thou be hated.
17 Leave off first for manners' sake; and be not unsatiable, lest thou offend.
18 When thou sittest among many, reach not thine hand out first of all.
19 A very little is sufficient for a man well nurtured, and he fetcheth not his wind short upon his bed.
20 Sound sleep cometh of moderate eating: he riseth early, and his wits are with him: but the pain of watching, and choler, and pangs of the belly, are with an unsatiable man.
21 And if thou hast been forced to eat, arise, go forth, vomit, and thou shalt have rest.
22 My son, hear me, and despise me not, and at the last thou shalt find as I told thee: in all thy works be quick, so shall there no sickness come unto thee.
23 Whoso is liberal of his meat, men shall speak well of him; and the report of his good housekeeping will be believed.
24 But against him that is a niggard of his meat the whole city shall murmur; and the testimonies of his niggardness shall not be doubted of.
25 Shew not thy valiantness in wine; for wine hath destroyed many.
26 The furnace proveth the edge by dipping: so doth wine the hearts of the proud by drunkeness.
27 Wine is as good as life to a man, if it be drunk moderately: what life is then to a man that is without wine? for it was made to make men glad.
28 Wine measurably drunk and in season bringeth gladness of the heart, and cheerfulness of the mind:
29 But wine drunken with excess maketh bitterness of the mind, with brawling and quarrelling.
30 Drunkenness increaseth the rage of a fool till he offend: it diminisheth strength, and maketh wounds.
31 Rebuke not thy neighbour at the wine, and despise him not in his mirth: give him no despiteful words, and press not upon him with urging him to drink.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 32

1 If thou be made the master of a feast, lift not thyself up, but be among them as one of the rest; take diligent care for them, and so sit down.
2 And when thou hast done all thy office, take thy place, that thou mayest be merry with them, and receive a crown for thy well ordering of the feast.
3 Speak, thou that art the elder, for it becometh thee, but with sound judgement; and hinder not musick.
4 Pour not out words where there is a musician, and shew not forth wisdom out of time.
5 A concert of musick in a banquet of wine is as a signet of carbuncle set in gold.
6 As a signet of an emerald set in a work of gold, so is the melody of musick with pleasant wine.
7 Speak, young man, if there be need of thee: and yet scarcely when thou art twice asked.
8 Let thy speech be short, comprehending much in few words; be as one that knoweth and yet holdeth his tongue.
9 If thou be among great men, make not thyself equal with them; and when ancient men are in place, use not many words.
10 Before the thunder goeth lightning; and before a shamefaced man shall go favour.
11 Rise up betimes, and be not the last; but get thee home without delay.
12 There take thy pastime, and do what thou wilt: but sin not by proud speech.
13 And for these things bless him that made thee, and hath replenished thee with his good things.
14 Whoso feareth the Lord will receive his discipline; and they that seek him early shall find favour.
15 He that seeketh the law shall be filled therewith: but the hypocrite will be offended thereat.
16 They that fear the Lord shall find judgement, and shall kindle justice as a light.
17 A sinful man will not be reproved, but findeth an excuse according to his will.

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18 A man of counsel will be considerate; but a strange and proud man is not daunted with fear, even when of himself he hath done without counsel.
19 Do nothing without advice; and when thou hast once done, repent not.
20 Go not in a way wherein thou mayest fall, and stumble not among the stones.
21 Be not confident in a plain way.
22 And beware of thine own children.
23 In every good work trust thy own soul; for this is the keeping of the commandments.
24 He that believeth in the Lord taketh heed to the commandment; and he that trusteth in him shall fare never the worse.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 33

1 There shall no evil happen unto him that feareth the Lord; but in temptation even again he will deliver him.
2 A wise man hateth not the law; but he that is an hypocrite therein is as a ship in a storm.
3 A man of understanding trusteth in the law; and the law is faithful unto him, as an oracle.
4 Prepare what to say, and so thou shalt be heard: and bind up instruction, and then make answer.
5 The heart of the foolish is like a cartwheel; and his thoughts are like a rolling axletree.
6 A stallion horse is as a mocking friend, he neigheth under every one that sitteth upon him.
7 Why doth one day excel another, when as all the light of every day in the year is of the sun?
8 By the knowledge of the Lord they were distinguished: and he altered seasons and feasts.
9 Some of them hath he made high days, and hallowed them, and some of them hath he made ordinary days.
10 And all men are from the ground, and Adam was created of earth:
11 In much knowledge the Lord hath divided them, and made their ways diverse.
12 Some of them hath he blessed and exalted and some of them he sanctified, and set near himself: but some of them hath he cursed and brought low, and turned out of their places.
13 As the clay is in the potter's hand, to fashion it at his pleasure: so man is in the hand of him that made him, to render to them as liketh him best.
14 Good is set against evil, and life against death: so is the godly against the sinner, and the sinner against the godly.
15 So look upon all the works of the most High; and there are two and two, one against another.
16 I awaked up last of all, as one that gathereth after the grapegatherers: by the blessing of the Lord I profited, and tred my winepress like a gatherer of grapes.
17 Consider that I laboured not for myself only, but for all them that seek learning.
18 Hear me, O ye great men of the people, and hearken with your ears, ye rulers of the congregation.
19 Give not thy son and wife, thy brother and friend, power over thee while thou livest, and give not thy goods to another: lest it repent thee, and thou intreat for the same again.
20 As long as thou livest and hast breath in thee, give not thyself over to any.
21 For better it is that thy children should seek to thee, than that thou shouldest stand to their courtesy.
22 In all thy works keep to thyself the preeminence; leave not a stain in thine honour.
23 At the time when thou shalt end thy days, and finish thy life, distribute thine inheritance.
24 Fodder, a wand, and burdens, are for the ass; and bread, correction, and work, for a servant.
25 If thou set thy servant to labour, thou shalt find rest: but if thou let him go idle, he shall seek liberty.
26 A yoke and a collar do bow the neck: so are tortures and torments for an evil servant.
27 Send him to labour, that he be not idle; for idleness teacheth much evil.
28 Set him to work, as is fit for him: if he be not obedient, put on more heavy fetters.
29 But be not excessive toward any; and without discretion do nothing.
30 If thou have a servant, let him be unto thee as thyself, because thou hast bought him with a price.
31 If thou have a servant, entreat him as a brother: for thou hast need of him, as of thine own soul: if thou entreat him evil, and he run from thee, which way wilt thou go to seek him?

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 34

1 The hopes of a man void of understanding are vain and false: and dreams lift up fools.
2 Whoso regardeth dreams is like him that catcheth at a shadow, and followeth after the wind.
3 The vision of dreams is the resemblance of one thing to another, even as the likeness of a face to a face.
4 Of an unclean thing what can be cleansed? and from that thing which is false what truth can come?
5 Divinations, and soothsayings, and dreams, are vain: and the heart fancieth, as a woman's heart in travail.
6 If they be not sent from the most High in thy visitation, set not thy heart upon them.
7 For dreams have deceived many, and they have failed that put their trust in them.
8 The law shall be found perfect without lies: and wisdom is perfection to a faithful mouth.
9 A man that hath travelled knoweth many things; and he that hath much experience will declare wisdom.
10 He that hath no experience knoweth little: but he that hath travelled is full of prudence.
11 When I travelled, I saw many things; and I understand more than I can express.
12 I was ofttimes in danger of death: yet I was delivered because of these things.
13 The spirit of those that fear the Lord shall live; for their hope is in him that saveth them.
14 Whoso feareth the Lord shall not fear nor be afraid; for he is his hope.
15 Blessed is the soul of him that feareth the Lord: to whom doth he look? and who is his strength?
16 For the eyes of the Lord are upon them that love him, he is their mighty protection and strong stay, a defence from heat, and a cover from the sun at noon, a preservation from stumbling, and an help from falling.
17 He raiseth up the soul, and lighteneth the eyes: he giveth health, life, and blessing.
18 He that sacrificeth of a thing wrongfully gotten, his offering is ridiculous; and the gifts of unjust men are not accepted.
19 The most High is not pleased with the offerings of the wicked; neither is he pacified for sin by the multitude of sacrifices.
20 Whoso bringeth an offering of the goods of the poor doeth as one that killeth the son before his father's eyes.
21 The bread of the needy is their life: he that defraudeth him thereof is a man of blood.
22 He that taketh away his neighbour's living slayeth him; and he that defraudeth the labourer of his hire is a bloodshedder.
23 When one buildeth, and another pulleth down, what profit have they then but labour?
24 When one prayeth, and another curseth, whose voice will the Lord hear?
25 He that washeth himself after the touching of a dead body, if he touch it again, what availeth his washing?
26 So is it with a man that fasteth for his sins, and goeth again, and doeth the same: who will hear his prayer? or what doth his humbling profit him?

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 35

1 He that keepeth the law bringeth offerings enough: he that taketh heed to the commandment offereth a peace offering.
2 He that requiteth a goodturn offereth fine flour; and he that giveth alms sacrificeth praise.
3 To depart from wickedness is a thing pleasing to the Lord; and to forsake unrighteousness is a propitiation.
4 Thou shalt not appear empty before the Lord.
5 For all these things are to be done because of the commandment.
6 The offering of the righteous maketh the altar fat, and the sweet savour thereof is before the most High.
7 The sacrifice of a just man is acceptable. and the memorial thereof shall never be forgotten.
8 Give the Lord his honour with a good eye, and diminish not the firstfruits of thine hands.
9 In all thy gifts shew a cheerful countenance, and dedicate thy tithes with gladness.
10 Give unto the most High according as he hath enriched thee; and as thou hast gotten, give with a cheerful eye.
11 For the Lord recompenseth, and will give thee seven times as much.
12 Do not think to corrupt with gifts; for such he will not receive: and trust not to unrighteous sacrifices; for the Lord is judge, and with him is no respect of persons.
13 He will not accept any person against a poor man, but will hear the prayer of the oppressed.
14 He will not despise the supplication of the fatherless; nor the widow, when she poureth out her complaint.
15 Do not the tears run down the widow's cheeks? and is not her cry against him that causeth them to fall?
16 He that serveth the Lord shall be accepted with favour, and his prayer shall reach unto the clouds.
17 The prayer of the humble pierceth the clouds: and till it come nigh, he will not be comforted; and will not depart, till the most High shall behold to judge righteously, and execute judgement.
18 For the Lord will not be slack, neither will the Mighty be patient toward them, till he have smitten in sunder the loins of the unmerciful, and repayed vengeance to the heathen; till he have taken away the multitude of the proud, and broken the sceptre of the unrighteous;
19 Till he have rendered to every man according to his deeds, and to the works of men according to their devices; till he have judged the cause of his people, and made them to rejoice in his mercy.
20 Mercy is seasonable in the time of affliction, as clouds of rain in the time of drought.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 36

1 Have mercy upon us, O Lord God of all, and behold us:
2 And send thy fear upon all the nations that seek not after thee.
3 Lift up thy hand against the strange nations, and let them see thy power.
4 As thou wast sanctified in us before them: so be thou magnified among them before us.
5 And let them know thee, as we have known thee, that there is no God but only thou, O God.
6 Shew new signs, and make other strange wonders: glorify thy hand and thy right arm, that they may set forth thy wondrous works.
7 Raise up indignation, and pour out wrath: take away the adversary, and destroy the enemy.
8 Sake the time short, remember the covenant, and let them declare thy wonderful works.
9 Let him that escapeth be consumed by the rage of the fire; and let them perish that oppress the people.
10 Smite in sunder the heads of the rulers of the heathen, that say, There is none other but we.
11 Gather all the tribes of Jacob together, and inherit thou them, as from the beginning.
12 O Lord, have mercy upon the people that is called by thy name, and upon Israel, whom thou hast named thy firstborn.
13 O be merciful unto Jerusalem, thy holy city, the place of thy rest.
14 Fill Sion with thine unspeakable oracles, and thy people with thy glory:
15 Give testimony unto those that thou hast possessed from the beginning, and raise up prophets that have been in thy name.
16 Reward them that wait for thee, and let thy prophets be found faithful.
17 O Lord, hear the prayer of thy servants, according to the blessing of Aaron over thy people, that all they which dwell upon the earth may know that thou art the Lord, the eternal God.
18 The belly devoureth all meats, yet is one meat better than another.
19 As the palate tasteth divers kinds of venison: so doth an heart of understanding false speeches.
20 A froward heart causeth heaviness: but a man of experience will recompense him.
21 A woman will receive every man, yet is one daughter better than another.
22 The beauty of a woman cheereth the countenance, and a man loveth nothing better.
23 If there be kindness, meekness, and comfort, in her tongue, then is not her husband like other men.
24 He that getteth a wife beginneth a possession, a help like unto himself, and a pillar of rest.
25 Where no hedge is, there the possession is spoiled: and he that hath no wife will wander up and down mourning.
26 Who will trust a thief well appointed, that skippeth from city to city? so who will believe a man that hath no house, and lodgeth wheresoever the night taketh him?

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 37

1 Every friend saith, I am his friend also: but there is a friend, which is only a friend in name.
2 Is it not a grief unto death, when a companion and friend is turned to an enemy?
3 O wicked imagination, whence camest thou in to cover the earth with deceit?
4 There is a companion, which rejoiceth in the prosperity of a friend, but in the time of trouble will be against him.
5 There is a companion, which helpeth his friend for the belly, and taketh up the buckler against the enemy.
6 Forget not thy friend in thy mind, and be not unmindful of him in thy riches.
7 Every counsellor extolleth counsel; but there is some that counselleth for himself.
8 Beware of a counsellor, and know before what need he hath; for he will counsel for himself; lest he cast the lot upon thee,
9 And say unto thee, Thy way is good: and afterward he stand on the other side, to see what shall befall thee.
10 Consult not with one that suspecteth thee: and hide thy counsel from such as envy thee.
11 Neither consult with a woman touching her of whom she is jealous; neither with a coward in matters of war; nor with a merchant concerning exchange; nor with a buyer of selling; nor with an envious man of thankfulness; nor with an unmerciful man touching kindness; nor with the slothful for any work; nor with an hireling for a year of finishing work;

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nor with an idle servant of much business: hearken not unto these in any matter of counsel.

12 But be continually with a godly man, whom thou knowest to keep the commandments of the Lord, whose, mind is according to thy mind, and will sorrow with thee, if thou shalt miscarry.

13 And let the counsel of thine own heart stand: for there is no man more faithful unto thee than it.

14 For a man's mind is sometime wont to tell him more than seven watchmen, that sit above in an high tower.

15 And above all this pray to the most High, that he will direct thy way in truth.

16 Let reason go before every enterprize, and counsel before every action.

17 The countenance is a sign of changing of the heart.

18 Four manner of things appear: good and evil, life and death: but the tongue ruleth over them continually.

19 There is one that is wise and teacheth many, and yet is unprofitable to himself.

20 There is one that sheweth wisdom in words, and is hated: he shall be destitute of all food.

21 For grace is not given, him from the Lord, because he is deprived of all wisdom.

22 Another is wise to himself; and the fruits of understanding are commendable in his mouth.

23 A wise man instructeth his people; and the fruits of his understanding fail not.

24 A wise man shall be filled with blessing; and all they that see him shall count him happy.

25 The days of the life of man may be numbered: but the days of Israel are innumerable.

26 A wise man shall inherit glory among his people, and his name shall be perpetual.

27 My son, prove thy soul in thy life, and see what is evil for it, and give not that unto it.

28 For all things are not profitable for all men, neither hath every soul pleasure in every thing.

29 Be not unsatiable in any dainty thing, nor too greedy upon meats:

30 For excess of meats bringeth sickness, and surfeiting will turn into choler.

31 By surfeiting have many perished; but he that taketh heed prolongeth his life.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 38

1 Honour a physician with the honour due unto him for the uses which ye may have of him: for the Lord hath created him.

2 For of the most High cometh healing, and he shall receive honour of the king.

3 The skill of the physician shall lift up his head: and in the sight of great men he shall be in admiration.

4 The Lord hath created medicines out of the earth; and he that is wise will not abhor them.

5 Was not the water made sweet with wood, that the virtue thereof might be known?

6 And he hath given men skill, that he might be honoured in his marvellous works.

7 With such doth he heal men, and taketh away their pains.

8 Of such doth the apothecary make a confection; and of his works there is no end; and from him is peace over all the earth,

9 My son, in thy sickness be not negligent: but pray unto the Lord, and he will make thee whole.

10 Leave off from sin, and order thine hands aright, and cleanse thy heart from all wickedness.

11 Give a sweet savour, and a memorial of fine flour; and make a fat offering, as not being.

12 Then give place to the physician, for the Lord hath created him: let him not go from thee, for thou hast need of him.

13 There is a time when in their hands there is good success.

14 For they shall also pray unto the Lord, that he would prosper that, which they give for ease and remedy to prolong life.

15 He that sinneth before his Maker, let him fall into the hand of the physician.

16 My son, let tears fall down over the dead, and begin to lament, as if thou hadst suffered great harm thyself; and then cover his body according to the custom, and neglect not his burial.

17 Weep bitterly, and make great moan, and use lamentation, as he is worthy, and that a day or two, lest thou be evil spoken of: and then comfort thyself for thy heaviness.

18 For of heaviness cometh death, and the heaviness of the heart breaketh strength.

19 In affliction also sorrow remaineth: and the life of the poor is the curse of the heart.

20 Take no heaviness to heart: drive it away, and member the last end.

21 Forget it not, for there is no turning again: thou shalt not do him good, but hurt thyself.

22 Remember my judgement: for thine also shall be so; yesterday for me, and to day for thee.

23 When the dead is at rest, let his remembrance rest; and be comforted for him, when his Spirit is departed from him.

24 The wisdom of a learned man cometh by opportunity of leisure: and he that hath little business shall become wise.

25 How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plough, and that glorieth in the goad, that driveth oxen, and is occupied in their labours, and whose talk is of bullocks?

26 He giveth his mind to make furrows; and is diligent to give the kine fodder.

27 So every carpenter and workmaster, that laboureth night and day: and they that cut and grave seals, and are diligent to make great variety, and give themselves to counterfeit imagery, and watch to finish a work:

28 The smith also sitting by the anvil, and considering the iron work, the vapour of the fire wasteth his flesh, and he fighteth with the heat of the furnace: the noise of the hammer and the anvil is ever in his ears, and his eyes look still upon the pattern of the thing that he maketh; he setteth his mind to finish his work, and watcheth to polish it perfectly:

29 So doth the potter sitting at his work, and turning the wheel about with his feet, who is alway carefully set at his work, and maketh all his work by number;

30 He fashioneth the clay with his arm, and boweth down his strength before his feet; he applieth himself to lead it over; and he is diligent to make clean the furnace:

31 All these trust to their hands: and every one is wise in his work.

32 Without these cannot a city be inhabited: and they shall not dwell where they will, nor go up and down:

33 They shall not be sought for in publick counsel, nor sit high in the congregation: they shall not sit on the judges' seat, nor understand the sentence of judgement: they cannot declare justice and judgement; and they shall not be found where parables are spoken.

34 But they will maintain the state of the world, and all their desire is in the work of their craft.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 39

1 But he that giveth his mind to the law of the most High, and is occupied in the meditation thereof, will seek out the wisdom of all the ancient, and be occupied in prophecies.

2 He will keep the sayings of the renowned men: and where subtil parables are, he will be there also.

3 He will seek out the secrets of grave sentences, and be conversant in dark parables.

4 He shall serve among great men, and appear before princes: he will travel through strange countries; for he hath tried the good and the evil among men.

5 He will give his heart to resort early to the Lord that made him, and will pray before the most High, and will open his mouth in prayer, and make supplication for his sins.

6 When the great Lord will, he shall be filled with the spirit of understanding: he shall pour out wise sentences, and give thanks unto the Lord in his prayer.

7 He shall direct his counsel and knowledge, and in his secrets shall he meditate.

8 He shall shew forth that which he hath learned, and shall glory in the law of the covenant of the Lord.

9 Many shall commend his understanding; and so long as the world endureth, it shall not be blotted out; his memorial shall not depart away, and his name shall live from generation to generation.

10 Nations shall shew forth his wisdom, and the congregation shall declare his praise.

11 If he die, he shall leave a greater name than a thousand: and if he live, he shall increase it.

12 Yet have I more to say, which I have thought upon; for I am filled as the moon at the full.

13 Hearken unto me, ye holy children, and bud forth as a rose growing by the brook of the field:

14 And give ye a sweet savour as frankincense, and flourish as a lily, send forth a smell, and sing a song of praise, bless the Lord in all his works.

15 Magnify his name, and shew forth his praise with the songs of your lips, and with harps, and in praising him ye shall say after this manner:

16 All the works of the Lord are exceeding good, and whatsoever he commandeth shall be accomplished in due season.

17 And none may say, What is this? wherefore is that? for at time convenient they shall all be sought out: at his commandment the waters stood as an heap, and at the words of his mouth the receptacles of waters.

18 At his commandment is done whatsoever pleaseth him; and none can hinder, when he will save.

19 The works of all flesh are before him, and nothing can be hid from his eyes.

20 He seeth from everlasting to everlasting; and there is nothing wonderful before him.

21 A man need not to say, What is this? wherefore is that? for he hath made all things for their uses.

22 His blessing covered the dry land as a river, and watered it as a flood.

23 As he hath turned the waters into saltness: so shall the heathen inherit his wrath.

24 As his ways are plain unto the holy; so are they stumblingblocks unto the wicked.

25 For the good are good things created from the beginning: so evil things for sinners.

26 The principal things for the whole use of man's life are water, fire, iron, and salt, flour of wheat, honey, milk, and the blood of the grape, and oil, and clothing.

27 All these things are for good to the godly: so to the sinners they are turned into evil.

28 There be spirits that are created for vengeance, which in their fury lay on sore strokes; in the time of destruction they pour out their force, and appease the wrath of him that made them.

29 Fire, and hail, and famine, and death, all these were created for vengeance;

30 Teeth of wild beasts, and scorpions, serpents, and the sword punishing the wicked to destruction.

31 They shall rejoice in his commandment, and they shall be ready upon earth, when need is; and when their time is come, they shall not transgress his word.

32 Therefore from the beginning I was resolved, and thought upon these things, and have left them in writing.

33 All the works of the Lord are good: and he will give every needful thing in due season.

34 So that a man cannot say, This is worse than that: for in time they shall all be well approved.

35 And therefore praise ye the Lord with the whole heart and mouth, and bless the name of the Lord.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 40

1 Great travail is created for every man, and an heavy yoke is upon the sons of Adam, from the day that they go out of their mother's womb, till the day that they return to the mother of all things.

2 Their imagination of things to come, and the day of death, trouble their thoughts, and cause fear of heart;

3 From him that sitteth on a throne of glory, unto him that is humbled in earth and ashes;

4 From him that weareth purple and a crown, unto him that is clothed with a linen frock.

5 Wrath, and envy, trouble, and unquietness, fear of death, and anger, and strife, and in the time of rest upon his bed his night sleep, do change his knowledge.

6 A little or nothing is his rest, and afterward he is in his sleep, as in a day of keeping watch, troubled in the vision of his heart, as if he were escaped out of a battle.

7 When all is safe, he awaketh, and marvelleth that the fear was nothing.

8 Such things happen unto all flesh, both man and beast, and that is sevenfold more upon sinners.

9 Death, and bloodshed, strife, and sword, calamities, famine, tribulation, and the scourge;

10 These things are created for the wicked, and for their sakes came the flood.

11 All things that are of the earth shall turn to the earth again: and that which is of the waters doth return into the sea.

12 All bribery and injustice shall be blotted out: but true dealing shall endure for ever.

13 The goods of the unjust shall be dried up like a river, and shall vanish with noise, like a great thunder in rain.

14 While he openeth his hand he shall rejoice: so shall transgressors come to nought.

15 The children of the ungodly shall not bring forth many branches: but are as unclean roots upon a hard rock.

16 The weed growing upon every water and bank of a river shall be pulled up before all grass.

17 Bountifulness is as a most fruitful garden, and mercifulness endureth for ever.

18 To labour, and to be content with that a man hath, is a sweet life: but he that findeth a treasure is above them both.

19 Children and the building of a city continue a man's name: but a blameless wife is counted above them both.

20 Wine and musick rejoice the heart: but the love of wisdom is above them both.

21 The pipe and the psaltery make sweet melody: but a pleasant tongue is above them both.

22 Thine eye desireth favour and beauty: but more than both corn while it is green.

23 A friend and companion never meet amiss: but above both is a wife with her husband.

24 Brethren and help are against time of trouble: but alms shall deliver more than them both.

25 Gold and silver make the foot stand sure: but counsel is esteemed above them both.

26 Riches and strength lift up the heart: but the fear of the Lord is above them both: there is no want in the fear of the Lord, and it needeth not to seek help.

27 The fear of the Lord is a fruitful garden, and covereth him above all glory.

28 My son, lead not a beggar's life; for better it is to die than to beg.

29 The life of him that dependeth on another man's table is not to be counted for a life; for he polluteth himself with

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other men's meat: but a wise man well nurtured will beware thereof.

30 Begging is sweet in the mouth of the shameless: but in his belly there shall burn a fire.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 41

1 O death, how bitter is the remembrance of thee to a man that liveth at rest in his possessions, unto the man that hath nothing to vex him, and that hath prosperity in all things: yea, unto him that is yet able to receive meat!

2 O death, acceptable is thy sentence unto the needy, and unto him whose strength faileth, that is now in the last age, and is vexed with all things, and to him that despaireth, and hath lost patience!

3 Fear not the sentence of death, remember them that have been before thee, and that come after; for this is the sentence of the Lord over all flesh.

4 And why art thou against the pleasure of the most High? there is no inquisition in the grave, whether thou have lived ten, or an hundred, or a thousand years.

5 The children of sinners are abominable children, and they that are conversant in the dwelling of the ungodly.

6 The inheritance of sinners' children shall perish, and their posterity shall have a perpetual reproach.

7 The children will complain of an ungodly father, because they shall be reproached for his sake.

8 Woe be unto you, ungodly men, which have forsaken the law of the most high God! for if ye increase, it shall be to your destruction:

9 And if ye be born, ye shall be born to a curse: and if ye die, a curse shall be your portion.

10 All that are of the earth shall turn to earth again: so the ungodly shall go from a curse to destruction.

11 The mourning of men is about their bodies: but an ill name of sinners shall be blotted out.

12 Have regard to thy name; for that shall continue with thee above a thousand great treasures of gold.

13 A good life hath but few days: but a good name endureth for ever.

14 My children, keep discipline in peace: for wisdom that is hid, and a treasure that is not seen, what profit is in them both?

15 A man that hideth his foolishness is better than a man that hideth his wisdom.

16 Therefore be shamefaced according to my word: for it is not good to retain all shamefacedness; neither is it altogether approved in every thing.

17 Be ashamed of whoredom before father and mother: and of a lie before a prince and a mighty man;

18 Of an offence before a judge and ruler; of iniquity before a congregation and people; of unjust dealing before thy partner and friend;

19 And of theft in regard of the place where thou sojournest, and in regard of the truth of God and his covenant; and to lean with thine elbow upon the meat; and of scorning to give and take;

20 And of silence before them that salute thee; and to look upon an harlot;

21 And to turn away thy face from thy kinsman; or to take away a portion or a gift; or to gaze upon another man's wife.

22 Or to be overbusy with his maid, and come not near her bed; or of upbraiding speeches before friends; and after thou hast given, upbraid not;

23 Or of iterating and speaking again that which thou hast heard; and of revealing of secrets.

24 So shalt thou be truly shamefaced and find favour before all men.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 42

1 Of these things be not thou ashamed, and accept no person to sin thereby:

2 Of the law of the most High, and his covenant; and of judgement to justify the ungodly;

3 Of reckoning with thy partners and travellers; or of the gift of the heritage of friends;

4 Of exactness of balance and weights; or of getting much or little;

5 And of merchants' indifferent selling; of much correction of children; and to make the side of an evil servant to bleed.

6 Sure keeping is good, where an evil wife is; and shut up, where many hands are.

7 Deliver all things in number and weight; and put all in writing that thou givest out, or receivest in.

8 Be not ashamed to inform the unwise and foolish, and the extreme aged that contendeth with those that are young: thus shalt thou be truly learned, and approved of all men living.

9 The father waketh for the daughter, when no man knoweth; and the care for her taketh away sleep: when she is young, lest she pass away the flower of her age; and being married, lest she should be hated:

10 In her virginity, lest she should be defiled and gotten with child in her father's house; and having an husband, lest she should misbehave herself; and when she is married, lest she should be barren.

11 Keep a sure watch over a shameless daughter, lest she make thee a laughingstock to thine enemies, and a byword in the city, and a reproach among the people, and make thee ashamed before the multitude.

12 Behold not every body's beauty, and sit not in the midst of women.

13 For from garments cometh a moth, and from women wickedness.

14 Better is the churlishness of a man than a courteous woman, a woman, I say, which bringeth shame and reproach.

15 I will now remember the works of the Lord, and declare the things that I have seen: In the words of the Lord are his works.

16 The sun that giveth light looketh upon all things, and the work thereof is full of the glory of the Lord.

17 The Lord hath not given power to the saints to declare all his marvellous works, which the Almighty Lord firmly settled, that whatsoever is might be established for his glory.

18 He seeketh out the deep, and the heart, and considereth their crafty devices: for the Lord knoweth all that may be known, and he beholdeth the signs of the world.

19 He declareth the things that are past, and for to come, and revealeth the steps of hidden things.

20 No thought escapeth him, neither any word is hidden from him.

21 He hath garnished the excellent works of his wisdom, and he is from everlasting to everlasting: unto him may nothing be added, neither can he be diminished, and he hath no need of any counsellor.

22 Oh how desirable are all his works! and that a man may see even to a spark.

23 All these things live and remain for ever for all uses, and they are all obedient.

24 All things are double one against another: and he hath made nothing imperfect.

25 One thing establisheth the good or another: and who shall be filled with beholding his glory?

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 43

1 The pride of the height, the clear firmament, the beauty of heaven, with his glorious shew;

2 The sun when it appeareth, declaring at his rising a marvellous instrument, the work of the most High:

3 At noon it parcheth the country, and who can abide the burning heat thereof?

4 A man blowing a furnace is in works of heat, but the sun burneth the mountains three times more; breathing out fiery vapours, and sending forth bright beams, it dimmeth the eyes.

5 Great is the Lord that made it; and at his commandment runneth hastily.

6 He made the moon also to serve in her season for a declaration of times, and a sign of the world.

7 From the moon is the sign of feasts, a light that decreaseth in her perfection.

8 The month is called after her name, increasing wonderfully in her changing, being an instrument of the armies above, shining in the firmament of heaven;

9 The beauty of heaven, the glory of the stars, an ornament giving light in the highest places of the Lord.

10 At the commandment of the Holy One they will stand in their order, and never faint in their watches.

11 Look upon the rainbow, and praise him that made it; very beautiful it is in the brightness thereof.

12 It compasseth the heaven about with a glorious circle, and the hands of the most High have bended it.

13 By his commandment he maketh the snow to fall aplace, and sendeth swiftly the lightnings of his judgement.

14 Through this the treasures are opened: and clouds fly forth as fowls.

15 By his great power he maketh the clouds firm, and the hailstones are broken small.

16 At his sight the mountains are shaken, and at his will the south wind bloweth.

17 The noise of the thunder maketh the earth to tremble: so doth the northern storm and the whirlwind: as birds flying he scattereth the snow, and the falling down thereof is as the lighting of grasshoppers:

18 The eye marvelleth at the beauty of the whiteness thereof, and the heart is astonished at the raining of it.

19 The hoarfrost also as salt he poureth on the earth, and being congealed, it lieth on the top of sharp stakes.

20 When the cold north wind bloweth, and the water is congealed into ice, it abideth upon every gathering together of water, and clotheth the water as with a breastplate.

21 It devoureth the mountains, and burneth the wilderness, and consumeth the grass as fire.

22 A present remedy of all is a mist coming speedily, a dew coming after heat refresheth.

23 By his counsel he appeaseth the deep, and planteth islands therein.

24 They that sail on the sea tell of the danger thereof; and when we hear it with our ears, we marvel thereat.

25 For therein be strange and wondrous works, variety of all kinds of beasts and whales created.

26 By him the end of them hath prosperous success, and by his word all things consist.

27 We may speak much, and yet come short: wherefore in sum, he is all.

28 How shall we be able to magnify him? for he is great above all his works.

29 The Lord is terrible and very great, and marvellous is his power.

30 When ye glorify the Lord, exalt him as much as ye can; for even yet will he far exceed: and when ye exalt him, put forth all your strength, and be not weary; for ye can never go far enough.

31 Who hath seen him, that he might tell us? and who can magnify him as he is?

32 There are yet hid greater things than these be, for we have seen but a few of his works.

33 For the Lord hath made all things; and to the godly hath he given wisdom.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 44

1 Let us now praise famous men, and our fathers that begat us.

2 The Lord hath wrought great glory by them through his great power from the beginning.

3 Such as did bear rule in their kingdoms, men renowned for their power, giving counsel by their understanding, and declaring prophecies:

4 Leaders of the people by their counsels, and by their knowledge of learning meet for the people, wise and eloquent are their instructions:

5 Such as found out musical tunes, and recited verses in writing:

6 Rich men furnished with ability, living peaceably in their habitations:

7 All these were honoured in their generations, and were the glory of their times.

8 There be of them, that have left a name behind them, that their praises might be reported.

9 And some there be, which have no memorial; who are perished, as though they had never been; and are become as though they had never been born; and their children after them.

10 But these were merciful men, whose righteousness hath not been forgotten.

11 With their seed shall continually remain a good inheritance, and their children are within the covenant.

12 Their seed standeth fast, and their children for their sakes.

13 Their seed shall remain for ever, and their glory shall not be blotted out.

14 Their bodies are buried in peace; but their name liveth for evermore.

15 The people will tell of their wisdom, and the congregation will shew forth their praise.

16 Enoch pleased the Lord, and was translated, being an example of repentance to all generations.

17 Noah was found perfect and righteous; in the time of wrath he was taken in exchange for the world; therefore was he left as a remnant unto the earth, when the flood came.

18 An everlasting covenant was made with him, that all flesh should perish no more by the flood.

19 Abraham was a great father of many people: in glory was there none like unto him;

20 Who kept the law of the most High, and was in covenant with him: he established the covenant in his flesh; and when he was proved, he was found faithful.

21 Therefore he assured him by an oath, that he would bless the nations in his seed, and that he would multiply him as the dust of the earth, and exalt his seed as the stars, and cause them to inherit from sea to sea, and from the river unto the utmost part of the land.

22 With Isaac did he establish likewise for Abraham his father's sake the blessing of all men, and the covenant, And made it rest upon the head of Jacob. He acknowledged him in his blessing, and gave him an heritage, and divided his portions; among the twelve tribes did he part them.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 45

1 And he brought out of him a merciful man, which found favour in the sight of all flesh, even Moses, beloved of God and men, whose memorial is blessed.

2 He made him like to the glorious saints, and magnified him, so that his enemies stood in fear of him.

3 By his words he caused the wonders to cease, and he made him glorious in the sight of kings, and gave him a commandment for his people, and shewed him part of his glory.

4 He sanctified him in his faithfuless and meekness, and chose him out of all men.

5 He made him to hear his voice, and brought him into the dark cloud, and gave him commandments before his face, even the law of life and knowledge, that he might teach Jacob his covenants, and Israel his judgements.

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6 He exalted Aaron, an holy man like unto him, even his brother, of the tribe of Levi.
7 An everlasting covenant he made with him and gave him the priesthood among the people; he beautified him with comely ornaments, and clothed him with a robe of glory.
8 He put upon him perfect glory; and strengthened him with rich garments, with breeches, with a long robe, and the ephod.
9 And he compassed him with pomegranates, and with many golden bells round about, that as he went there might be a sound, and a noise made that might be heard in the temple, for a memorial to the children of his people;
10 With an holy garment, with gold, and blue silk, and purple, the work of the embroidere, with a breastplate of judgement, and with Urim and Thummim;
11 With twisted scarlet, the work of the cunning workman, with precious stones graven like seals, and set in gold, the work of the jeweller, with a writing engraved for a memorial, after the number of the tribes of Israel.
12 He set a crown of gold upon the mitre, wherein was engraved Holiness, an ornament of honour, a costly work, the desires of the eyes, goodly and beautiful.
13 Before him there were none such, neither did ever any stranger put them on, but only his children and his children's children perpetually.
14 Their sacrifices shall be wholly consumed every day twice continually.
15 Moses consecrated him, and anointed him with holy oil: this was appointed unto him by an everlasting covenant, and to his seed, so long as the heavens should remain, that they should minister unto him, and execute the office of the priesthood, and bless the people in his name.
16 He chose him out of all men living to offer sacrifices to the Lord, incense, and a sweet savour, for a memorial, to make reconciliation for his people.
17 He gave unto him his commandments, and authority in the statutes of judgements, that he should teach Jacob the testimonies, and inform Israel in his laws.
18 Strangers conspired together against him, and maligned him in the wilderness, even the men that were of Dathan's and Abiron's side, and the congregation of Core, with fury and wrath.
19 This the Lord saw, and it displeased him, and in his wrathful indignation were they consumed: he did wonders upon them, to consume them with the fiery flame.
20 But he made Aaron more honourable, and gave him an heritage, and divided unto him the firstfruits of the increase; especially he prepared bread in abundance:
21 For they eat of the sacrifices of the Lord, which he gave unto him and his seed.
22 Howbeit in the land of the people he had no inheritance, neither had he any portion among the people: for the Lord himself is his portion and inheritance.
23 The third in glory is Phinees the son of Eleazar, because he had zeal in the fear of the Lord, and stood up with good courage of heart: when the people were turned back, and made reconciliation for Israel.
24 Therefore was there a covenant of peace made with him, that he should be the chief of the sanctuary and of his people, and that he and his posterity should have the dignity of the priesthood for ever:
25 According to the covenant made with David son of Jesse, of the tribe of Juda, that the inheritance of the king should be to his posterity alone: so the inheritance of Aaron should also be unto his seed.
26 God give you wisdom in your heart to judge his people in righteousness, that their good things be not abolished, and that their glory may endure for ever.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 46

1 Jesus the son a Nave was valiant in the wars, and was the successor of Moses in prophecies, who according to his name was made great for the saving of the elect of God, and taking vengeance of the enemies that rose up against them, that he might set Israel in their inheritance.
2 How great glory gat he, when he did lift up his hands, and stretched out his sword against the cities!
3 Who before him so stood to it? for the Lord himself brought his enemies unto him.
4 Did not the sun go back by his means? and was not one day as long as two?
5 He called upon the most high Lord, when the enemies pressed upon him on every side; and the great Lord heard him.
6 And with hailstones of mighty power he made the battle to fall violently upon the nations, and in the descent of Beth-horon he destroyed them that resisted, that the nations might know all their strength, because he fought in the sight of the Lord, and he followed the Mighty One.
7 In the time of Moses also he did a work of mercy, he and Caleb the son of Jephunne, in that they withstood the congregation, and withheld the people from sin, and appeased the wicked murmuring.
8 And of six hundred thousand people on foot, they two were preserved to bring them in to the heritage, even unto the land that floweth with milk and honey.
9 The Lord gave strength also unto Caleb, which remained with him unto his old age: so that he entered upon the high places of the land, and his seed obtained it for an heritage:
10 That all the children of Israel might see that it is good to follow the Lord.
11 And concerning the judges, every one by name, whose heart went not a whoring, nor departed from the Lord, let their memory be blessed.
12 Let their bones flourish out of their place, and let the name of them that were honoured be continued upon their children.
13 Samuel, the prophet of the Lord, beloved of his Lord, established a kingdom, and anointed princes over his people.
14 By the law of the Lord he judged the congregation, and the Lord had respect unto Jacob.
15 By his faithfulness he was found a true prophet, and by his word he was known to be faithful in vision.
16 He called upon the mighty Lord, when his enemies pressed upon him on every side, when he offered the sucking lamb.
17 And the Lord thundered from heaven, and with a great noise made his voice to be heard.
18 And he destroyed the rulers of the Tyrians, and all the princes of the Philistines.
19 And before his long sleep he made protestations in the sight of the Lord and his anointed, I have not taken any man's goods, so much as a shoe: and no man did accuse him.
20 And after his death he prophesied, and shewed the king his end, and lifted up his voice from the earth in prophecy, to blot out the wickedness of the people.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 47

1 And after him rose up Nathan to prophesy in the time of David.
2 As is the fat taken away from the peace offering, so was David chosen out of the children of Israel.
3 He played with lions as with kids, and with bears as with lambs.
4 Slew he not a giant, when he was yet but young? and did he not take away reproach from the people, when he lifted up his hand with the stone in the sling, and beat down the boasting of Goliath?
5 For he called upon the most high Lord; and he gave him strength in his right hand to slay that mighty warrior, and set up the horn of his people.
6 So the people honoured him with ten thousands, and praised him in the blessings of the Lord, in that he gave him a crown of glory.
7 For he destroyed the enemies on every side, and brought to nought the Philistines his adversaries, and brake their horn in sunder unto this day.
8 In all his works he praised the Holy One most high with words of glory; with his whole heart he sung songs, and loved him that made him.
9 He set singers also before the altar, that by their voices they might make sweet melody, and daily sing praises in their songs.
10 He beautified their feasts, and set in order the solemn times until the end, that they might praise his holy name, and that the temple might sound from morning.
11 The Lord took away his sins, and exalted his horn for ever: he gave him a covenant of kings, and a throne of glory in Israel.
12 After him rose up a wise son, and for his sake he dwelt at large.
13 Solomon reigned in a peaceable time, and was honoured; for God made all quiet round about him, that he might build an house in his name, and prepare his sanctuary for ever.
14 How wise wast thou in thy youth and, as a flood, filled with understanding!
15 Thy soul covered the whole earth, and thou filledst it with dark parables.
16 Thy name went far unto the islands; and for thy peace thou wast beloved.
17 The countries marvelled at thee for thy songs, and proverbs, and parables, and interpretations.
18 By the name of the Lord God, which is called the Lord God of Israel, thou didst gather gold as tin and didst multiply silver as lead.
19 Thou didst bow thy loins unto women, and by thy body thou wast brought into subjection.
20 Thou didst stain thy honour, and pollute thy seed: so that thou broughtest wrath upon thy children, and wast grieved for thy folly.
21 So the kingdom was divided, and out of Ephraim ruled a rebellious kingdom.
22 But the Lord will never leave off his mercy, neither shall any of his works perish, neither will he abolish the posterity of his elect, and the seed of him that loveth him he will not take away: wherefore he gave a remnant unto Jacob, and out of him a root unto David.
23 Thus rested Solomon with his fathers, and of his seed he left behind him Roboam, even the foolishness of the people, and one that had no understanding, who turned away the people through his counsel. There was also Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who caused Israel to sin, and shewed Ephraim the way of sin:
24 And their sins were multiplied exceedingly, that they were driven out of the land.
25 For they sought out all wickedness, till the vengeance came upon them.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 48

1 Then stood up Elias the prophet as fire, and his word burned like a lamp.
2 He brought a sore famine upon them, and by his zeal he diminished their number.
3 By the word of the Lord he shut up the heaven, and also three times brought down fire.
4 O Elias, how wast thou honoured in thy wondrous deeds! and who may glory like unto thee!
5 Who didst raise up a dead man from death, and his soul from the place of the dead, by the word of the most High:
6 Who broughtest kings to destruction, and honorable men from their bed:
7 Who heardest the rebuke of the Lord in Sinai, and in Horeb the judgement of vengeance:
8 Who annointedst kings to take revenge, and prophets to succeed after him:
9 Who was taken up in a whirlwind of fire, and in a chariot of fiery horses:
10 Who wast ordained for reproofs in their times, to pacify the wrath of the Lord's judgement, before it brake forth into fury, and to turn the heart of the father unto the son, and to restore the tribes of Jacob.
11 Blessed are they that saw thee, and slept in love; for we shall surely live.
12 Elias it was, who was covered with a whirlwind: and Eliseus was filled with his spirit: whilst he lived, he was not moved with the presence of any prince, neither could any bring him into subjection.
13 No word could overcome him; and after his death his body prophesied.
14 He did wonders in his life, and at his death were his works marvellous.
15 For all this the people repented not, neither departed they from their sins, till they were spoiled and carried out of their land, and were scattered through all the earth: yet there remained a small people, and a ruler in the house of David:
16 Of whom some did that which was pleasing to God, and some multiplied sins.
17 Ezekias fortified his city, and brought in water into the midst thereof: he digged the hard rock with iron, and made wells for waters.
18 In his time Sennacherib came up, and sent Rabsaces, and lifted up his hand against Sion, and boasted proudly.
19 Then trembled their hearts and hands, and they were in pain, as women in travail.
20 But they called upon the Lord which is merciful, and stretched out their hands toward him: and immediately the Holy One heard them out of heaven, and delivered them by the ministry of Esay.
21 He smote the host of the Assyrians, and his angel destroyed them.
22 For Ezekias had done the thing that pleased the Lord, and was strong in the ways of David his father, as Esay the prophet, who was great and faithful in his vision, had commanded him.
23 In his time the sun went backward, and he lengthened the king's life.
24 He saw by an excellent spirit what should come to pass at the last, and he comforted them that mourned in Sion.
25 He shewed what should come to pass for ever, and secret things or ever they came.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 49

1 The remembrance of Josias is like the composition of the perfume that is made by the art of the apothecary: it is sweet as honey in all mouths, and as musick at a banquet of wine.
2 He behaved himself uprightly in the conversion of the people, and took away the abominations of iniquity.
3 He directed his heart unto the Lord, and in the time of the ungodly he established the worship of God.
4 All, except David and Ezekias and Josias, were defective: for they forsook the law of the most High, even the kings of Juda failed.
5 Therefore he gave their power unto others, and their glory to a strange nation.
6 They burnt the chosen city of the sanctuary, and made the streets desolate, according to the prophecy of Jeremias.
7 For they entreated him evil, who nevertheless was a prophet, sanctified in his mother's womb, that he might root out, and afflict, and destroy; and that he might build up also, and plant.

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8 It was Ezekiel who saw the glorious vision, which was shewed him upon the chariot of the cherubims.
9 For he made mention of the enemies under the figure of the rain, and directed them that went right.
10 And of the twelve prophets let the memorial be blessed, and let their bones flourish again out of their place: for they comforted Jacob, and delivered them by assured hope.
11 How shall we magnify Zorobabel? even he was as a signet on the right hand:
12 So was Jesus the son of Josedec: who in their time builded the house, and set up an holy temple to the Lord, which was prepared for everlasting glory.
13 And among the elect was Neemias, whose renown is great, who raised up for us the walls that were fallen, and set up the gates and the bars, and raised up our ruins again.
14 But upon the earth was no man created like Enoch; for he was taken from the earth.
15 Neither was there a young man born like Joseph, a governor of his brethren, a stay of the people, whose bones were regarded of the Lord.
16 Sem and Seth were in great honour among men, and so was Adam above every living thing in creation.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 50

1 Simon the high priest, the son of Onias, who in his life repaired the house again, and in his days fortified the temple:
2 And by him was built from the foundation the double height, the high fortress of the wall about the temple:
3 In his days the cistern to receive water, being in compass as the sea, was covered with plates of brass:
4 He took care of the temple that it should not fall, and fortified the city against besieging:
5 How was he honoured in the midst of the people in his coming out of the sanctuary!
6 He was as the morning star in the midst of a cloud, and as the moon at the full:
7 As the sun shining upon the temple of the most High, and as the rainbow giving light in the bright clouds:
8 And as the flower of roses in the spring of the year, as lilies by the rivers of waters, and as the branches of the frankincense tree in the time of summer:
9 As fire and incense in the censer, and as a vessel of beaten gold set with all manner of precious stones:
10 And as a fair olive tree budding forth fruit, and as a cypress tree which groweth up to the clouds.
11 When he put on the robe of honour, and was clothed with the perfection of glory, when he went up to the holy altar, he made the garment of holiness honourable.
12 When he took the portions out of the priests' hands, he himself stood by the hearth of the altar, compassed about, as a young cedar in Libanus; and as palm trees compassed they him round about.
13 So were all the sons of Aaron in their glory, and the oblations of the Lord in their hands, before all the congregation of Israel.
14 And finishing the service at the altar, that he might adorn the offering of the most high Almighty,
15 He stretched out his hand to the cup, and poured of the blood of the grape, he poured out at the foot of the altar a sweetsmelling savour unto the most high King of all.
16 Then shouted the sons of Aaron, and sounded the silver trumpets, and made a great noise to be heard, for a remembrance before the most High.
17 Then all the people together hasted, and fell down to the earth upon their faces to worship their Lord God Almighty, the most High.
18 The singers also sang praises with their voices, with great variety of sounds was there made sweet melody.
19 And the people besought the Lord, the most High, by prayer before him that is merciful, till the solemnity of the Lord was ended, and they had finished his service.
20 Then he went down, and lifted up his hands over the whole congregation of the children of Israel, to give the blessing of the Lord with his lips, and to rejoice in his name.
21 And they bowed themselves down to worship the second time, that they might receive a blessing from the most High.
22 Now therefore bless ye the God of all, which only doeth wondrous things every where, which exalteth our days from the womb, and dealeth with us according to his mercy.
23 He grant us joyfulness of heart, and that peace may be in our days in Israel for ever:
24 That he would confirm his mercy with us, and deliver us at his time!
25 There be two manner of nations which my heart abhorreth, and the third is no nation:
26 They that sit upon the mountain of Samaria, and they that dwell among the Philistines, and that foolish people that dwell in Sichem.
27 Jesus the son of Sirach of Jerusalem hath written in this book the instruction of understanding and knowledge, who out of his heart poured forth wisdom.
28 Blessed is he that shall be exercised in these things; and he that layeth them up in his heart shall become wise.
29 For if he do them, he shall be strong to all things: for the light of the Lord leadeth him, who giveth wisdom to the godly. Blessed be the name of the Lord for ever. Amen, Amen.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 51

1 A Prayer of Jesus the son of Sirach. I will thank thee, O Lord and King, and praise thee, O God my Saviour: I do give praise unto thy name:
2 For thou art my defender and helper, and has preserved my body from destruction, and from the snare of the slanderous tongue, and from the lips that forge lies, and has been mine helper against mine adversaries:
3 And hast delivered me, according to the multitude of they mercies and greatness of thy name, from the teeth of them that were ready to devour me, and out of the hands of such as sought after my life, and from the manifold afflictions which I had;
4 From the choking of fire on every side, and from the midst of the fire which I kindled not;
5 From the depth of the belly of hell, from an unclean tongue, and from lying words.
6 By an accusation to the king from an unrighteous tongue my soul drew near even unto death, my life was near to the hell beneath.
7 They compassed me on every side, and there was no man to help me: I looked for the succour of men, but there was none.
8 Then thought I upon thy mercy, O Lord, and upon thy acts of old, how thou deliverest such as wait for thee, and savest them out of the hands of the enemies.
9 Then lifted I up my supplications from the earth, and prayed for deliverance from death.
10 I called upon the Lord, the Father of my Lord, that he would not leave me in the days of my trouble, and in the time of the proud, when there was no help.
11 I will praise thy name continually, and will sing praises with thanksgiving; and so my prayer was heard:
12 For thou savedst me from destruction, and deliveredst me from the evil time: therefore will I give thanks, and praise thee, and bless they name, O Lord.
13 When I was yet young, or ever I went abroad, I desired wisdom openly in my prayer.
14 I prayed for her before the temple, and will seek her out even to the end.
15 Even from the flower till the grape was ripe hath my heart delighted in her: my foot went the right way, from my youth up sought I after her.
16 I bowed down mine ear a little, and received her, and gat much learning.
17 I profited therein, therefore will I ascribe glory unto him that giveth me wisdom.
18 For I purposed to do after her, and earnestly I followed that which is good; so shall I not be confounded.
19 My soul hath wrestled with her, and in my doings I was exact: I stretched forth my hands to the heaven above, and bewailed my ignorances of her.
20 I directed my soul unto her, and I found her in pureness: I have had my heart joined with her from the beginning, therefore shall I not be foresaken.
21 My heart was troubled in seeking her: therefore have I gotten a good possession.
22 The Lord hath given me a tongue for my reward, and I will praise him therewith.
23 Draw near unto me, ye unlearned, and dwell in the house of learning.
24 Wherefore are ye slow, and what say ye to these things, seeing your souls are very thirsty?
25 I opened my mouth, and said, Buy her for yourselves without money.
26 Put your neck under the yoke, and let your soul receive instruction: she is hard at hand to find.
27 Behold with your eyes, how that I have but little labour, and have gotten unto me much rest.
28 Get learning with a great sum of money, and get much gold by her.
29 Let your soul rejoice in his mercy, and be not ashamed of his praise.
30 Work your work betimes, and in his time he will give you your reward.

SIRACH - ECCLESIASTICUS CHAPTER 52

(Additional chapter 52 from Bíblia Católica)

1. I will give thanks to thee, O Lord and King, and will praise thee as God my Savior. I give thanks to thy name,
2. for thou hast been my protector and helper and hast delivered my body from destruction and from the snare of a slanderous tongue, from lips that utter lies. Before those who stood by thou wast my helper,
3. and didst deliver me, in the greatness of thy mercy and of thy name, from the gnashings of teeth about to devour me, from the hand of those who sought my life, from the many afflictions that I endured,
4. from choking fire on every side and from the midst of fire which I did not kindle,
5. from the depths of the belly of Hades, from an unclean tongue and lying words --
6. the slander of an unrighteous tongue to the king. My soul drew near to death, and my life was very near to Hades beneath.
7. They surrounded me on every side, and there was no one to help me; I looked for the assistance of men, and there was none.
8. Then I remembered thy mercy, O Lord, and thy work from of old, that thou dost deliver those who wait for thee and dost save them from the hand of their enemies.
9. And I sent up my supplication from the earth, and prayed for deliverance from death.
10. I appealed to the Lord, the Father of my lord, not to forsake me in the days of affliction, at the time when there is no help against the proud.
11. I will praise thy name continually, and will sing praise with thanksgiving. My prayer was heard,
12. for thou didst save me from destruction and rescue me from an evil plight. Therefore I will give thanks to thee and praise thee, and I will bless the name of the Lord.
13. While I was still young, before I went on my travels, I sought wisdom openly in my prayer.
14. Before the temple I asked for her, and I will search for her to the last.
15. From blossom to ripening grape my heart delighted in her; my foot entered upon the straight path; from my youth I followed her steps.
16. I inclined my ear a little and received her, and I found for myself much instruction.
17. I made progress therein; to him who gives wisdom I will give glory.
18. For I resolved to live according to wisdom, and I was zealous for the good; and I shall never be put to shame.
19. My soul grappled with wisdom, and in my conduct I was strict; I spread out my hands to the heavens, and lamented my ignorance of her.
20. I directed my soul to her, and through purification I found her. I gained understanding with her from the first, therefore I will not be forsaken.
21. My heart was stirred to seek her, therefore I have gained a good possession.
22. The Lord gave me a tongue as my reward, and I will praise him with it.
23. Draw near to me, you who are untaught, and lodge in my school.
24. Why do you say you are lacking in these things, and why are your souls very thirsty?
25. I opened my mouth and said, Get these things for yourselves without money.
26. Put your neck under the yoke, and let your souls receive instruction; it is to be found close by.
27. See with your eyes that I have labored little and found myself much rest.
28. Get instruction with a large sum of silver, and you will gain by it much gold.
29. May your soul rejoice in his mercy, and may you not be put to shame when you praise him.
30. Do your work before the appointed time, and in God's time he will give you your reward."

Ecclesiasticus, 52 - Bíblia Católica Online

THE BOOK OF BARUCH THE SON OF NERIAS

or The Book of Bsaruch or 1 Baruch

Estimated Range of Dating: 200-100 B.C.

(The Book of Baruch, or 1 Baruch, is a deuterocanonical book of the Bible in some Christian traditions. In Judaism and most forms of Protestant Christianity, it is considered not to be part of the Bible. It is named after Baruch ben Neriah, Jeremiah's well-known scribe, who is mentioned at Baruch 1:1, and has been presumed to be the author of the whole work. The book is a reflection of a late Jewish writer on the circumstances of Jewish exiles from Babylon, with meditations on the theology and history of Israel, discussions of wisdom, and a direct address to residents of Jerusalem and the Diaspora. Some scholars propose that it was written during or shortly after the period of the Maccabees.

The earliest known manuscripts of Baruch are in Greek. Some linguistic features of the first parts of Baruch (1:1–3:8) have been proposed as indicating a translation from a Semitic language.

Although not in the Hebrew Bible, it is found in the Septuagint, in the Eritrean / Ethiopian Orthodox Bible, and also in Theodotion's Greek version. Jerome excluded both the Book of Baruch and the Letter of Jeremiah from the Vulgate Bible, but both works were introduced into Latin Vulgate bibles sporadically from the 9th century onwards; and were incorporated into the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate edition. In the Vulgate it is grouped with the prophetical books which also include Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, and the Twelve Minor Prophets. In the Vulgate, the King James Bible Apocrypha, and many other versions, the Letter

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of Jeremiah is appended to the end of the Book of Baruch as a sixth chapter; in the Septuagint and Orthodox Bibles chapter 6 is usually counted as a separate book, called the Letter or Epistle of Jeremiah.

Manuscripts: Both the Book of Baruch and the Letter of Jeremiah are separate books in the great pandect Greek Bibles, Codex Vaticanus (4th century) and Codex Alexandrinus (5th century), where they are found in the order Jeremiah, Baruch, Lamentations, Letter of Jeremiah. In the Codex Sinaiticus (4th century) Lamentations follows directly after Jeremiah and Baruch is not found; but a lacuna after Lamentations prevents a definitive assessment of whether Baruch may have been included elsewhere in this manuscript. Neither of the two surviving early Latin pandect Bibles (Codex Amiatinus (7th century) and Leon palimpsest (7th century) includes either the Book of Baruch or the Letter of Jeremiah; the earliest Latin witnesses to the text being the Codex Cavensis (9th century) and the Theodulfian Bibles (9th century). Baruch is also witnessed in some early Coptic (Bohairic and Sahidic) and Syriac manuscripts, but is not found in Coptic or Syriac lectionaries.

Book of Baruch and Book of Jeremiah: The evident variation among early Christian divines as to whether a particular reading is to be cited from 'Baruch' or 'Jeremiah' is generally regarded as relating to the very different texts of the Book of Jeremiah that are found respectively in manuscripts of the Greek and Hebrew Bibles. The version of Jeremiah in the Greek Septuagint texts (Vaticanus, Alexandrinus) is a seventh shorter than that in the Hebrew Masoretic Text or the Latin Vulgate; and the ordering of the chapters is very different, with sections from the middle of the book in the Septuagint version (the Oracles against the Nations) found at the end of the book in the Masoretic text and Vulgate. As Hebrew fragments have been found in the Dead Sea Scrolls corresponding to both the Septuagint and Masoretic orders, it is commonly accepted that the two versions derive from two distinct Hebrew traditions, and that the Septuagint form of the text is likely the older. Benedictine scholar Pierre-Maurice Bogaert suggests that, if the Book of Baruch is appended to the Septuagint version of Jeremiah, it follows on as a plausible continuation of the Septuagint narrative (Chapter 51: 31–35 in the Septuagint, corresponding to the truncated Chapter 45 in the Masoretic text). A similar conclusion is proposed by Emanuel Tov, who notes characteristics of a consistent redactional revision of the Septuagint text of Jeremiah from Chapter 29 onwards (correcting readings towards the Hebrew), a revision that is then carried over into the Greek text of Baruch 1:1 to 3:8, suggesting that these once formed a continuous text. Bogaert consequently proposes that the gathering of sections from the end of Septuagint Jeremiah into a distinct book of 'Baruch' was an innovation of Christian biblical practice in the Greek church from around the 3rd century onwards; but that the version of Jeremiah in the Old Latin Bible preceded this practice, and hence did not designate the Book of Baruch as a distinct work of scripture, but included its text within the Book of Jeremiah. The text of Old Latin Jeremiah nowhere survives in sufficient form for this speculation to be confirmed.

Baruch 1:1–14 gives a narrative account of an occasion when Baruch ben Neriah reads the book of 'these words' before the Israelites in Babylon, and then sends that book (together with collected funds) to be read in Jerusalem. Where the Book of Baruch is considered to be a distinct work of scripture, it is commonly identified as the book that Baruch reads; and hence Baruch himself has traditionally been credited as the author of the whole work. However, the syntactical form of Baruch chapter 1 has been held rather to imply that 'these words' correspond to a preceding text – which might then be identified with Lamentations or with the Book of Jeremiah; in which case comparison may be made with a corresponding notice of Baruch writing down reading the prophecies of Jeremiah, recorded at Jeremiah chapter 36. These considerations underlie an alternative tradition (found for instance in Augustine) in which all four works (Book of Jeremiah, Baruch, Lamentations, Letter of Jeremiah) are credited to Jeremiah himself as author.

Critical scholarship is, however, united in rejecting either Baruch or Jeremiah as author of the Book of Baruch, or in dating the work in the period of its purported context; the Babylonian Exile. Rather they have seen clear thematic and linguistic parallels with later works; the Book of Daniel and the Book of Sirach. Many scholars have noted that the restoration of worship in the Jerusalem Temple following its pollution by Antiochus Epiphanes could provide a counterpart historical context in which the narrative of Baruch may equally be considered to apply; and consequently a date in the period 200-100 BC has been proposed.

The Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Arabic, Bohairic and Ethiopic versions of Baruch are all translated directly from the Greek; the text of which survives in Vaticanus and Alexandrinus, and is highly consistent. Jerome (5th century) states that no Hebrew text was in existence, and Origen (3rd century) appears to know of no Hebrew text in the preparation of the text of Baruch in the Hexapla Old Testament. Nevertheless, there are a number of readings in the earlier sections of Baruch (1:1 to 3:8) where an anomalous reading in the Greek appears to imply a mistranslation of a Hebrew or Aramaic source; as at chapter 3:4, where 'hear now the prayers of the dead of Israel' is assumed to be a mistranslation of, 'hear now the prayers of the men of Israel'. Since the 19th century, critical scholars have assumed a Semitic original for these earlier parts of the book, and a number of studies, such as that of Tov, have sought to retrovert from the Greek to a plausible Hebrew source text. Whereas in the Revised Standard Version (1957) of Bible, the English text of Baruch consistently follows the Greek in these readings; in the New Revised Standard Version (1989) these readings are adjusted to conform with a conjectural reconstruction of a supposed Hebrew original.

Nevertheless, some more recent studies of Baruch, such as those by Adams and Bogaert, take the Greek text to be the original. Adams maintains that most of the text of Baruch depends on that of other books of the Bible; and indeed it has been characterised by Tov as a "mosaic of Biblical passages" especially in these early sections. Consequently, variations from the literal Hebrew text could have found their way directly into a dependent Greek version, without having to presume a Semitic intermediary stage. Moreover, Adams takes issue with the presupposition behind conjectural retroversions to conform to a supposed Hebrew text; that the author of Baruch understood the principle of literal translation, and aspired to follow that principle; and yet lamentably failed to do so.

Contents and Structure

• 1:1–14 Introduction: "And these are the words...which Baruch...wrote in Babylonia.... And when they heard it they wept, and fasted, and prayed before the Lord."

• 1:15–2:10 Confession of sins: "[T]he Lord hath watched over us for evil, and hath brought it upon us: for the Lord is just in all his works.... And we have not hearkened to his voice"....

• 2:11–3:8 Prayer for mercy: "[F]or the dead that are in hell, whose spirit is taken away from their bowels, shall not give glory and justice to the Lord..." (cf. Psalms 6:6/5)

• 3:9–4:14 A paean for Wisdom: "Where are the princes of the nations,... that hoard up silver and gold, wherein men trust?... They are cut off, and are gone down to hell,..."

• 4:5–5:9 Baruch's Poem of Consolation: messages for those in captivity, for the "neighbours of Zion", and for Jerusalem: "You have been sold to the Gentiles, not for your destruction: but because you provoked God to wrath.... [F]or the sins of my children, he [the Eternal] hath brought a nation upon them from afar...who have neither reverenced the ancient, nor pitied children..." "Let no one gloat over me [Jerusalem], a widow, bereft of many, for the sins of my children I am left desolate, for they turned from the law of God". "Look toward the east, O Jerusalem, and see the joy that is coming to you from God".

• Chapter 6: see Letter of Jeremiah

Canonicity: In the Greek East, Athanasius (367 AD), Cyril of Jerusalem (c. 350 AD), and Epiphanius of Salamis (c. 385 AD)[24] listed the Book of Baruch as canonical. Athanasius states "Jeremiah with Baruch, Lamentations, and the epistle"; the other Fathers offer similar formulations. In the Latin West Pope Innocent I (405 AD) identifies the sixteen prophets (four major, plus 12 minor) as canonical, but does not specifically mention Baruch as associated with Jeremiah. Later, Augustine of Hippo (C. 397 AD) would confirm in his book On Christian Doctrine (Book II, Chapter 8) the canonicity of the book of Jeremiah without reference to Baruch; but in his work The City of God 18:33 he discusses the text of Baruch 3: 36–38, noting that this is are variously cited to Baruch and to Jeremiah; his preference being for the latter. In the decrees of the Council of Florence (1442) and the Council of Trent (1546), "Jeremias with Baruch" is stated as canonical. The Letter of Jeremiah is not specified, being included as the sixth chapter of Baruch in late medieval Vulgate bibles.)

1 BARUCH CHAPTER 1

1 And these are the words of the book, which Baruch the son of Nerias, the son of Maasias, the son of Sedecias, the son of Asadias, the son of Chelcias, wrote in Babylon,

2 In the fifth year, and in the seventh day of the month, what time as the Chaldeans took Jerusalem, and burnt it with fire.

3 And Baruch did read the words of this book in the hearing of Jechonias the son of Joachim king of Juda, and in the ears of all the people that came to hear the book,

4 And in the hearing of the nobles, and of the king's sons, and in the hearing of the elders, and of all the people, from the lowest unto the highest, even of all them that dwelt at Babylon by the river Sud.

5 Whereupon they wept, fasted, and prayed before the Lord.

6 They made also a collection of money according to every man's power:

7 And they sent it to Jerusalem unto Joachim the high priest, the son of Chelcias, son of Salom, and to the priests, and to all the people which were found with him at Jerusalem,

8 At the same time when he received the vessels of the house of the Lord, that were carried out of the temple, to return them into the land of Juda, the tenth day of the month Sivan, namely, silver vessels, which Sedecias the son of Josias king of Jada had made,

9 After that Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon had carried away Jechonias, and the princes, and the captives, and the mighty men, and the people of the land, from Jerusalem, and brought them unto Babylon.

10 And they said, Behold, we have sent you money to buy you burnt offerings, and sin offerings, and incense, and prepare ye manna, and offer upon the altar of the Lord our God;

11 And pray for the life of Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon, and for the life of Balthasar his son, that their days may be upon earth as the days of heaven:

12 And the Lord will give us strength, and lighten our eyes, and we shall live under the shadow of Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon, and under the shadow of Balthasar his son, and we shall serve them many days, and find favour in their sight.

13 Pray for us also unto the Lord our God, for we have sinned against the Lord our God; and unto this day the fury of the Lord and his wrath is not turned from us.

14 And ye shall read this book which we have sent unto you, to make confession in the house of the Lord, upon the feasts and solemn days.

15 And ye shall say, To the Lord our God belongeth righteousness, but unto us the confusion of faces, as it is come to pass this day, unto them of Juda, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem,

16 And to our kings, and to our princes, and to our priests, and to our prophets, and to our fathers:

17 For we have sinned before the Lord,

18 And disobeyed him, and have not hearkened unto the voice of the Lord our God, to walk in the commandments that he gave us openly:

19 Since the day that the Lord brought our forefathers out of the land of Egypt, unto this present day, we have been disobedient unto the Lord our God, and we have been negligent in not hearing his voice.

20 Wherefore the evils cleaved unto us, and the curse, which the Lord appointed by Moses his servant at the time that he brought our fathers out of the land of Egypt, to give us a land that floweth with milk and honey, like as it is to see this day.

21 Nevertheless we have not hearkened unto the voice of the Lord our God, according unto all the words of the prophets, whom he sent unto us:

22 But every man followed the imagination of his own wicked heart, to serve strange gods, and to do evil in the sight of the Lord our God.

1 BARUCH CHAPTER 2

1 Therefore the Lord hath made good his word, which he pronounced against us, and against our judges that judged Israel, and against our kings, and against our princes, and against the men of Israel and Juda,

2 To bring upon us great plagues, such as never happened under the whole heaven, as it came to pass in Jerusalem, according to the things that were written in the law of Moses;

3 That a man should eat the flesh of his own son, and the flesh of his own daughter.

4 Moreover he hath delivered them to be in subjection to all the kingdoms that are round about us, to be as a reproach and desolation among all the people round about, where the Lord hath scattered them.

5 Thus we were cast down, and not exalted, because we have sinned against the Lord our God, and have not been obedient unto his voice.

6 To the Lord our God appertaineth righteousness: but unto us and to our fathers open shame, as appeareth this day.

7 For all these plagues are come upon us, which the Lord hath pronounced against us

8 Yet have we not prayed before the Lord, that we might turn every one from the imaginations of his wicked heart.

9 Wherefore the Lord watched over us for evil, and the Lord hath brought it upon us: for the Lord is righteous in all his works which he hath commanded us.

10 Yet we have not hearkened unto his voice, to walk in the commandments of the Lord, that he hath set before us.

11 And now, O Lord God of Israel, that hast brought thy people out of the land of Egypt with a mighty hand, and high arm, and with signs, and with wonders, and with great power, and hast gotten thyself a name, as appeareth this day:

12 O Lord our God, we have sinned, we have done ungodly, we have dealt unrighteously in all thine ordinances.

13 Let thy wrath turn from us: for we are but a few left among the heathen, where thou hast scattered us.

14 Hear our prayers, O Lord, and our petitions, and deliver us for thine own sake, and give us favour in the sight of them which have led us away:

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15 That all the earth may know that thou art the Lord our God, because Israel and his posterity is called by thy name.
16 O Lord, look down from thine holy house, and consider us: bow down thine ear, O Lord, to hear us.
17 Open thine eyes, and behold; for the dead that are in the graves, whose souls are taken from their bodies, will give unto the Lord neither praise nor righteousness:
18 But the soul that is greatly vexed, which goeth stooping and feeble, and the eyes that fail, and the hungry soul, will give thee praise and righteousness, O Lord.
19 Therefore we do not make our humble supplication before thee, O Lord our God, for the righteousness of our fathers, and of our kings.
20 For thou hast sent out thy wrath and indignation upon us, as thou hast spoken by thy servants the prophets, saying,
21 Thus saith the Lord, Bow down your shoulders to serve the king of Babylon: so shall ye remain in the land that I gave unto your fathers.
22 But if ye will not hear the voice of the Lord, to serve the king of Babylon,
23 I will cause to cease out of the cites of Judah, and from without Jerusalem, the voice of mirth, and the voice of joy, the voice of the bridegroom, and the voice of the bride: and the whole land shall be desolate of inhabitants.
24 But we would not hearken unto thy voice, to serve the king of Babylon: therefore hast thou made good the words that thou spakest by thy servants the prophets, namely, that the bones of our kings, and the bones of our fathers, should be taken out of their place.
25 And, lo, they are cast out to the heat of the day, and to the frost of the night, and they died in great miseries by famine, by sword, and by pestilence.
26 And the house which is called by thy name hast thou laid waste, as it is to be seen this day, for the wickedness of the house of Israel and the house of Juda.
27 O Lord our God, thou hast dealt with us after all thy goodness, and according to all that great mercy of thine,
28 As thou spakest by thy servant Moses in the day when thou didst command him to write the law before the children of Israel, saying,
29 If ye will not hear my voice, surely this very great multitude shall be turned into a small number among the nations, where I will scatter them.
30 For I knew that they would not hear me, because it is a stiffnecked people: but in the land of their captivities they shall remember themselves.
31 And shall know that I am the Lord their God: for I will give them an heart, and ears to hear:
32 And they shall praise me in the land of their captivity, and think upon my name,
33 And return from their stiff neck, and from their wicked deeds: for they shall remember the way of their fathers, which sinned before the Lord.
34 And I will bring them again into the land which I promised with an oath unto their fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and they shall be lords of it: and I will increase them, and they shall not be diminished.
35 And I will make an everlasting covenant with them to be their God, and they shall be my people: and I will no more drive my people of Israel out of the land that I have given them.

1 BARUCH CHAPTER 3

1 O Lord Almighty, God of Israel, the soul in anguish the troubled spirit, crieth unto thee.
2 Hear, O Lord, and have mercy; for thou art merciful: and have pity upon us, because we have sinned before thee.
3 For thou endurest for ever, and we perish utterly.
4 O Lord Almighty, thou God of Israel, hear now the prayers of the dead Israelites, and of their children, which have sinned before thee, and not hearkened unto the voice of thee their God: for the which cause these plagues cleave unto us.
5 Remember not the iniquities of our forefathers: but think upon thy power and thy name now at this time.

1 BARUCH CHAPTER 4

1 This is the book of the commandments of God, and the law that endureth for ever: all they that keep it shall come to life; but such as leave it shall die.
2 Turn thee, O Jacob, and take hold of it: walk in the presence of the light thereof, that thou mayest be illuminated.
3 Give not thine honour to another, nor the things that are profitable unto thee to a strange nation.
4 O Israel, happy are we: for things that are pleasing to God are made known unto us.
5 Be of good cheer, my people, the memorial of Israel.
6 Ye were sold to the nations, not for your destruction: but because ye moved God to wrath, ye were delivered unto the enemies.
7 For ye provoked him that made you by sacrificing unto devils, and not to God.
8 Ye have forgotten the everlasting God, that brought you up; and ye have grieved Jerusalem, that nursed you.
9 For when she saw the wrath of God coming upon you, she said, Hearken, O ye that dwell about Sion: God hath brought upon me great mourning;
10 For I saw the captivity of my sons and daughters, which the Everlasting brought upon them.
11 With joy did I nourish them; but sent them away with weeping and mourning.
12 Let no man rejoice over me, a widow, and forsaken of many, who for the sins of my children am left desolate; because they departed from the law of God.
13 They knew not his statutes, nor walked in the ways of his commandments, nor trod in the paths of discipline in his righteousness.
14 Let them that dwell about Sion come, and remember ye the captivity of my sons and daughters, which the Everlasting hath brought upon them.
15 For he hath brought a nation upon them from far, a shameless nation, and of a strange language, who neither reverenced old man, nor pitied child.
16 These have carried away the dear beloved children of the widow, and left her that was alone desolate without daughters.
17 But what can I help you?
18 For he that brought these plagues upon you will deliver you from the hands of your enemies.
19 Go your way, O my children, go your way: for I am left desolate.
20 I have put off the clothing of peace, and put upon me the sackcloth of my prayer: I will cry unto the Everlasting in my days.
21 Be of good cheer, O my children, cry unto the Lord, and he will deliver you from the power and hand of the enemies.
22 For my hope is in the Everlasting, that he will save you; and joy is come unto me from the Holy One, because of the mercy which shall soon come unto you from the Everlasting our Saviour.
23 For I sent you out with mourning and weeping: but God will give you to me again with joy and gladness for ever.
24 Like as now the neighbours of Sion have seen your captivity: so shall they see shortly your salvation from our God which shall come upon you with great glory, and brightness of the Everlasting.
25 My children, suffer patiently the wrath that is come upon you from God: for thine enemy hath persecuted thee; but shortly thou shalt see his destruction, and shalt tread upon his neck.
26 My delicate ones have gone rough ways, and were taken away as a flock caught of the enemies.
27 Be of good comfort, O my children, and cry unto God: for ye shall be remembered of him that brought these things upon you.
28 For as it was your mind to go astray from God: so, being returned, seek him ten times more.
29 For he that hath brought these plagues upon you shall bring you everlasting joy with your salvation.
30 Take a good heart, O Jerusalem: for he that gave thee that name will comfort thee.
31 Miserable are they that afflicted thee, and rejoiced at thy fall.
32 Miserable are the cities which thy children served: miserable is she that received thy sons.
33 For as she rejoiced at thy ruin, and was glad of thy fall: so shall she be grieved for her own desolation.
34 For I will take away the rejoicing of her great multitude, and her pride shall be turned into mourning.
35 For fire shall come upon her from the Everlasting, long to endure; and she shall be inhabited of devils for a great time.
36 O Jerusalem, look about thee toward the east, and behold the joy that cometh unto thee from God.
37 Lo, thy sons come, whom thou sentest away, they come gathered together from the east to the west by the word of the Holy One, rejoicing in the glory of God.

1 BARUCH CHAPTER 5

1 Put off, O Jerusalem, the garment of mourning and affliction, and put on the comeliness of the glory that cometh from God for ever.
2 Cast about thee a double garment of the righteousness which cometh from God; and set a diadem on thine head of the glory of the Everlasting.
3 For God will shew thy brightness unto every country under heaven.
4 For thy name shall be called of God for ever The peace of righteousness, and The glory of God's worship.
5 Arise, O Jerusalem, and stand on high, and look about toward the east, and behold thy children gathered from the west unto the east by the word of the Holy One, rejoicing in the remembrance of God.
6 For they departed from thee on foot, and were led away of their enemies: but God bringeth them unto thee exalted with glory, as children of the kingdom.
7 For God hath appointed that every high hill, and banks of long continuance, should be cast down, and valleys filled up, to make even the ground, that Israel may go safely in the glory of God,
8 Moreover even the woods and every sweetsmelling tree shall overshadow Israel by the commandment of God.
9 For God shall lead Israel with joy in the light of his glory with the mercy and righteousness that cometh from him.

EPISTLE OF JEREMIAH

Letter of Jeremiah
or Addition to 1 Baruch
Bible, King James Version
Estimated Range of Dating: 500-150 B.C.

(The Letter of Jeremiah, also known as the Epistle of Jeremiah, is a deuterocanonical book of the Old Testament; this letter purports to have been written by Jeremiah[1] to the Jews who were about to be carried away as captives to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar. It is included in Roman Catholic Bibles as the final chapter of the Book of Baruch. It is also included in Orthodox Bibles as a separate book.

According to the text of the letter, the author is the biblical prophet Jeremiah. The biblical Book of Jeremiah itself contains the words of a letter sent by Jeremiah "from Jerusalem" to the "captives" in Babylon (Jeremiah 29:1–23). The Letter of Jeremiah portrays itself as a similar piece of correspondence.

Letter of Jeremiah 1 (KJV): "A copy of an epistle, which Jeremy sent unto them which were to be led captives into Babylon by the king of the Babylonians, to certify them, as it was commanded by God."

Jeremiah 29:1 (KJV): "Now these are the words of the letter that Jeremiah the prophet sent from Jerusalem unto the residue of the elders which were carried away captives ... and to all the people whom Nebuchadnezzar had carried away captive from Jerusalem to Babylon."

The date of this work is uncertain. Most scholars agree that it is dependent on certain biblical passages, notably Isa 44:9–20, 46:5–7, and thus can be no earlier than 540 BC. Since a fragment (7Q2) was identified among the scrolls in Qumran Cave 7, it can be no later than 100 BC. Further support for this time may be found in a possible reference to the letter in 2 Maccabees 2:1–3.

Although the "letter" is included as a discrete unit in the Septuagint, there is no evidence of it ever having been canonical in the Masoretic tradition. The earliest evidence we have of the question of its canonicity arising in Christian tradition is in the work of Origen of Alexandria, as reported by Eusebius in his Church History. Origen listed Lamentations and the Letter of Jeremiah as one unit with the Book of Jeremiah proper, among "the canonical books as the Hebrews have handed them down," though scholars agree that this was surely a slip. Epiphanius of Salamis in his Panarion writes that Jews had in their books the deuterocanonical Epistle of Jeremiah and Baruch, both combined with Jeremiah and Lamentations in only one book.

The epistle was included as chapter 6 of the Book of Baruch in the Old Testament of the Vulgate. The King James Version follows the same practice, while placing Baruch in the Apocrypha section as does Luther's Bible. In the Ethiopian Orthodox canon, it forms part of the "Rest of Jeremiah", along with 4 Baruch (also known as the Paraleipomena of Jeremiah).

The epistle is one of four deuterocanonical books found among the Dead Sea scrolls (see Tanakh at Qumran). (The other three are Psalm 151, Sirach, and Tobit.) The portion of the epistle discovered at Qumran was written in Greek. This does not preclude the possibility of the text being based on a prior Hebrew or Aramaic text. However, the only text available to us has dozens of linguistic features available in Greek, but not in Hebrew; this shows that the Greek text is more than a minimalist translation.

The work was written with a serious practical purpose: to instruct the Jews not to worship the gods of the Babylonians, but to worship only the Lord. The letter is actually a warning against idols and idolatry.)

EPISTLE OF JEREMIAH 1

A copy of an epistle, which Jeremy sent unto them which were to be led captives into Babylon by the king of the Babylonians, to certify them, as it was commanded him of God.[1] Because of the sins which ye have committed before God, ye shall be led away captives into Babylon by Nabuchodonosor king of the Babylonians.
2 So when ye be come unto Babylon, ye shall remain there many years, and for a long season, namely, seven generations: and after that I will bring you away peaceably from thence.
3 Now shall ye see in Babylon gods of silver, and of gold, and of wood, borne upon shoulders, which cause the nations to fear.
4 Beware therefore that ye in no wise be like to strangers, neither be ye and of them, when ye see the multitude before them and behind them, worshipping them.
5 But say ye in your hearts, O Lord, we must worship thee.
6 For mine angel is with you, and I myself caring for your souls.

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7 As for their tongue, it is polished by the workman, and they themselves are gilded and laid over with silver; yet are they but false, and cannot speak.

8 And taking gold, as it were for a virgin that loveth to go gay, they make crowns for the heads of their gods.

9 Sometimes also the priests convey from their gods gold and silver, and bestow it upon themselves.

10 Yea, they will give thereof to the common harlots, and deck them as men with garments, being gods of silver, and gods of gold, and wood.

11 Yet cannot these gods save themselves from rust and moth, though they be covered with purple raiment.

12 They wipe their faces because of the dust of the temple, when there is much upon them.

13 And he that cannot put to death one that offendeth him holdeth a sceptre, as though he were a judge of the country.

14 He hath also in his right hand a dagger and an ax: but cannot deliver himself from war and thieves.

15 Whereby they are known not to be gods: therefore fear them not.

16 For like as a vessel that a man useth is nothing worth when it is broken; even so it is with their gods: when they be set up in the temple, their eyes be full of dust through the feet of them that come in.

17 And as the doors are made sure on every side upon him that offendeth the king, as being committed to suffer death: even so the priests make fast their temples with doors, with locks, and bars, lest their gods be spoiled with robbers.

18 They light them candles, yea, more than for themselves, whereof they cannot see one.

19 They are as one of the beams of the temple, yet they say their hearts are gnawed upon by things creeping out of the earth; and when they eat them and their clothes, they feel it not.

20 Their faces are blacked through the smoke that cometh out of the temple.

21 Upon their bodies and heads sit bats, swallows, and birds, and the cats also.

22 By this ye may know that they are no gods: therefore fear them not.

23 Notwithstanding the gold that is about them to make them beautiful, except they wipe off the rust, they will not shine: for neither when they were molten did they feel it.

24 The things wherein there is no breath are bought for a most high price.

25 They are borne upon shoulders, having no feet whereby they declare unto men that they be nothing worth.

26 They also that serve them are ashamed: for if they fall to the ground at any time, they cannot rise up again of themselves: neither, if one set them upright, can they move of themselves: neither, if they be bowed down, can they make themselves straight: but they set gifts before them as unto dead men.

27 As for the things that are sacrificed unto them, their priests sell and abuse; in like manner their wives lay up part thereof in salt; but unto the poor and impotent they give nothing of it.

28 Menstruous women and women in childbed eat their sacrifices: by these things ye may know that they are no gods: fear them not.

29 For how can they be called gods? because women set meat before the gods of silver, gold, and wood.

30 And the priests sit in their temples, having their clothes rent, and their heads and beards shaven, and nothing upon their heads.

31 They roar and cry before their gods, as men do at the feast when one is dead.

32 The priests also take off their garments, and clothe their wives and children.

33 Whether it be evil that one doeth unto them, or good, they are not able to recompense it: they can neither set up a king, nor put him down.

34 In like manner, they can neither give riches nor money: though a man make a vow unto them, and keep it not, they will not require it.

35 They can save no man from death, neither deliver the weak from the mighty.

36 They cannot restore a blind man to his sight, nor help any man in his distress.

37 They can shew no mercy to the widow, nor do good to the fatherless.

38 Their gods of wood, and which are overlaid with gold and silver, are like the stones that be hewn out of the mountain: they that worship them shall be confounded.

39 How should a man then think and say that they are gods, when even the Chaldeans themselves dishonour them?

40 Who if they shall see one dumb that cannot speak, they bring him, and intreat Bel that he may speak, as though he were able to understand.

41 Yet they cannot understand this themselves, and leave them: for they have no knowledge.

42 The women also with cords about them, sitting in the ways, burn bran for perfume: but if any of them, drawn by some that passeth by, lie with him, she reproacheth her fellow, that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor her cord broken.

43 Whatsoever is done among them is false: how may it then be thought or said that they are gods?

44 They are made of carpenters and goldsmiths: they can be nothing else than the workmen will have them to be.

45 And they themselves that made them can never continue long; how should then the things that are made of them be gods?

46 For they left lies and reproaches to them that come after.

47 For when there cometh any war or plague upon them, the priests consult with themselves, where they may be hidden with them.

48 How then cannot men perceive that they be no gods, which can neither save themselves from war, nor from plague?

49 For seeing they be but of wood, and overlaid with silver and gold, it shall be known hereafter that they are false:

50 And it shall manifestly appear to all nations and kings that they are no gods, but the works of men's hands, and that there is no work of God in them.

51 Who then may not know that they are no gods?

52 For neither can they set up a king in the land, nor give rain unto men.

53 Neither can they judge their own cause, nor redress a wrong, being unable: for they are as crows between heaven and earth.

54 Whereupon when fire falleth upon the house of gods of wood, or laid over with gold or silver, their priests will flee away, and escape; but they themselves shall be burned asunder like beams.

55 Moreover they cannot withstand any king or enemies: how can it then be thought or said that they be gods?

56 Neither are those gods of wood, and laid over with silver or gold, able to escape either from thieves or robbers.

57 Whose gold, and silver, and garments wherewith they are clothed, they that are strong take, and go away withal: neither are they able to help themselves.

58 Therefore it is better to be a king that sheweth his power, or else a profitable vessel in an house, which the owner shall have use of, than such false gods; or to be a door in an house, to keep such things therein, than such false gods. or a pillar of wood in a a palace, than such false gods.

59 For sun, moon, and stars, being bright and sent to do their offices, are obedient.

60 In like manner the lightning when it breaketh forth is easy to be seen; and after the same manner the wind bloweth in every country.

61 And when God commandeth the clouds to go over the whole world, they do as they are bidden.

62 And the fire sent from above to consume hills and woods doeth as it is commanded: but these are like unto them neither in shew nor power.

63 Wherefore it is neither to be supposed nor said that they are gods, seeing, they are able neither to judge causes, nor to do good unto men.

64 Knowing therefore that they are no gods, fear them not,

65 For they can neither curse nor bless kings:

66 Neither can they shew signs in the heavens among the heathen, nor shine as the sun, nor give light as the moon.

67 The beasts are better than they: for they can get under a cover and help themselves.

68 It is then by no means manifest unto us that they are gods: therefore fear them not.

69 For as a scarecrow in a garden of cucumbers keepeth nothing: so are their gods of wood, and laid over with silver and gold.

70 And likewise their gods of wood, and laid over with silver and gold, are like to a white thorn in an orchard, that every bird sitteth upon; as also to a dead body, that is east into the dark.

71 And ye shall know them to be no gods by the bright purple that rotteth upon then1: and they themselves afterward shall be eaten, and shall be a reproach in the country.

72 Better therefore is the just man that hath none idols: for he shall be far from reproach.

PRAYER OF AZARIAH

The Prayer of Azariah and
Song of the Three Holy Children
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd or 1st century B.C.

(The Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Holy Children, abbreviated Pr Azar, is a passage which appears after Daniel 3:23 in some translations of the Bible, including the ancient Greek Septuagint translation. It is accepted as canonical scripture by Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Christians, but rejected by Protestants. (Catholics and Orthodox refer to books in their canons that are rejected by Protestants as "deuterocanonical" and refer to texts accepted by Protestants as "protocanonical"; but for Catholics and Orthodox, both sets are equally authoritative.) Article VI of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England has it listed as non-canonical (but still, with the other Apocryphal texts, "the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners", and the Anglican Church uses it liturgically). The passage is omitted from most Protestant Bibles as an apocryphal addition.

The Prayer and accompanying Song are not found in the Hebrew and Aramaic text of the Book of Daniel, nor are they cited in any extant early Jewish writings. However, the passage does appear in certain ancient translations, notably the Greek, Syriac, and Latin versions.

The origins of these writings are obscure. Whether the accounts were originally composed in Hebrew (or Aramaic) or in Greek is uncertain, although many modern scholar conclude on the basis of textual evidence that there was probably an original Semitic edition. The date of composition of these documents is also uncertain, although many scholars favor a date either in the second or first century BC.

The Prayer and accompanying Song are not found in the Hebrew and Aramaic text of the Book of Daniel, nor are they cited in any extant early Jewish writings. However, the passage does appear in certain ancient translations, notably the Greek, Syriac, and Latin versions. At the end of the 19th century, Moses Gaster identified what appears to be an Aramaic original of the song and another, Bel and Draco, also missing from the canonical book of Daniel. The Aramaic text is part of a collection of ancient Jewish texts compiled by a rabbi of about 14th century, and it is known under the name of The Chronicles of Jerachmeel.

The passage includes three main components. The first is the penitential prayer of Daniel's friend Azariah (called Abednego in Babylonian, according to Daniel 1:6–7) while the three youths were in the fiery furnace. The second component is a brief account of a radiant figure who met them in the furnace yet who was unburned. The third component is the hymn of praise they sang when they realized their deliverance. The hymn includes the refrain, "Praise and exalt Him above all forever...", repeated many times, each naming a feature of the world.

The "Song of the Three Holy Youths" is part of the hymn called a canon sung during the Matins and other services in Orthodoxy. It can be found in the Church of England Book of Common Prayer as the canticle called the Benedicite and is one of the traditional canticles that can follow the first scripture lesson in the Order of Morning Prayer. It is also an optional song for Matins in Lutheran liturgies, and either an abbreviated or full version of the Song is featured as the Old Testament Canticle in the Lauds liturgy for Sundays and Feasts in the Divine Office of the Catholic Church.)

PRAYER OF AZARIAH CHAPTER 1

1 And they walked in the midst of the fire, praising God, and blessing the Lord.

2 Then Azarias stood up, and prayed on this manner; and opening his mouth in the midst of the fire said,

3 Blessed art thou, O Lord God of our fathers: thy name is worthy to be praised and glorified for evermore:

4 For thou art righteous in all the things that thou hast done to us: yea, true are all thy works, thy ways are right, and all thy judgements truth.

5 In all the things that thou hast brought upon us, and upon the holy city of our fathers, even Jerusalem, thou hast executed true judgement: for according to truth and judgement didst thou bring all these things upon us because of our sins.

6 For we have sinned and committed iniquity, departing from thee.

7 In all things have we trespassed, and not obeyed thy commandments, nor kept them, neither done as thou hast commanded us, that it might go well with us.

8 Wherefore all that thou hast brought upon us, and every thing that thou hast done to us, thou hast done in true judgement.

9 And thou didst deliver us into the hands of lawless enemies, most hateful forsakers of God, and to an unjust king, and the most wicked in all the world.

10 And now we cannot open our mouths, we are become a shame and reproach to thy servants; and to them that worship thee.

11 Yet deliver us not up wholly, for thy name's sake, neither disannul thou thy covenant:

12 And cause not thy mercy to depart from us, for thy beloved Abraham's sake, for thy servant Issac's sake, and for thy holy Israel's sake;

13 To whom thou hast spoken and promised, that thou wouldest multiply their seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sand that lieth upon the seashore.

14 For we, O Lord, are become less than any nation, and be kept under this day in all the world because of our sins.

15 Neither is there at this time prince, or prophet, or leader, or burnt offering, or sacrifice, or oblation, or incense, or place to sacrifice before thee, and to find mercy.

16 Nevertheless in a contrite heart and an humble spirit let us be accepted.

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17 Like as in the burnt offerings of rams and bullocks, and like as in ten thousands of fat lambs: so let our sacrifice be in thy sight this day, and grant that we may wholly go after thee: for they shall not be confounded that put their trust in thee.
18 And now we follow thee with all our heart, we fear thee, and seek thy face.
19 Put us not to shame: but deal with us after thy lovingkindness, and according to the multitude of thy mercies.
20 Deliver us also according to thy marvellous works, and give glory to thy name, O Lord: and let all them that do thy servants hurt be ashamed;
21 And let them be confounded in all their power and might, and let their strength be broken;
22 And let them know that thou art God, the only God, and glorious over the whole world.
23 And the king's servants, that put them in, ceased not to make the oven hot with rosin, pitch, tow, and small wood;
24 So that the flame streamed forth above the furnace forty and nine cubits.
25 And it passed through, and burned those Chaldeans it found about the furnace.
26 But the angel of the Lord came down into the oven together with Azarias and his fellows, and smote the flame of the fire out of the oven;
27 And made the midst of the furnace as it had been a moist whistling wind, so that the fire touched them not at all, neither hurt nor troubled them.
28 Then the three, as out of one mouth, praised, glorified, and blessed, God in the furnace, saying,
29 Blessed art thou, O Lord God of our fathers: and to be praised and exalted above all for ever.
30 And blessed is thy glorious and holy name: and to be praised and exalted above all for ever.
31 Blessed art thou in the temple of thine holy glory: and to be praised and glorified above all for ever.
32 Blessed art thou that beholdest the depths, and sittest upon the cherubims: and to be praised and exalted above all for ever.
33 Blessed art thou on the glorious throne of thy kingdom: and to be praised and glorified above all for ever.
34 Blessed art thou in the firmament of heaven: and above all to be praised and glorified for ever.
35 O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever,
36 O ye heavens, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.
37 O ye angels of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.
38 O all ye waters that be above the heaven, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.
39 O all ye powers of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.
40 O ye sun and moon, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.
41 O ye stars of heaven, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.
42 O every shower and dew, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.
43 O all ye winds, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever,
44 O ye fire and heat, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.
45 O ye winter and summer, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.
46 O ye dews and storms of snow, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.
47 O ye nights and days, bless ye the Lord: bless and exalt him above all for ever.
48 O ye light and darkness, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.
49 O ye ice and cold, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.
50 O ye frost and snow, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.
51 O ye lightnings and clouds, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.
52 O let the earth bless the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.
53 O ye mountains and little hills, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.
54 O all ye things that grow in the earth, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.
55 O ye mountains, bless ye the Lord: Praise and exalt him above all for ever.
56 O ye seas and rivers, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.
57 O ye whales, and all that move in the waters, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.
58 O all ye fowls of the air, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.
59 O all ye beasts and cattle, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.
60 O ye children of men, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.
61 O Israel, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.
62 O ye priests of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.
63 O ye servants of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.
64 O ye spirits and souls of the righteous, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.
65 O ye holy and humble men of heart, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.
66 O Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever: for he hath delivered us from hell, and saved us from the hand of death, and delivered us out of the midst of the furnace and burning flame: even out of the midst of the fire hath he delivered us.
67 O give thanks unto the Lord, because he is gracious: for his mercy endureth for ever.
68 O all ye that worship the Lord, bless the God of gods, praise him, and give him thanks: for his mercy endureth for ever.

SUSANNNA
also called Susanna and the Elders
or (1st) Addition to Daniel
(Hebrew Title: Shoshana)
Etimated Range of Dating: 2nd century B.C.

(In Judaism, all three items are separate and belong to the Deuterocanon, the Second Canon. In the Christian Bible, the Story of Susanna and the Elders, like Song of the Three Holy Children, and Bel and the Dragon, belong to the "Additions to Daniel."

The Greek text survives in two versions. The received version is due to Theodotion; this has superseded the original Septuagint version, which now survives only in Syriac translation, in Papyrus 967 (3rd century), and exceptionally in a single medieval manuscript, known as Codex Chisianus 88.

Susanna (Hebrew: Shoshana, meaning "lily"), also called Susanna and the Elders, is a narrative included in the Book of Daniel (as chapter 13) by the Catholic and Orthodox churches. It is one of the additions to Daniel, considered apocryphal by Protestants. It is listed in Article VI of the 39 Articles of the Church of England among the books which are read "for example of life and instruction of manners", but not for the formation of doctrine. It is not included in the Jewish Tanakh and is not mentioned in early Jewish literature, although the text does appear to have been part of the original Septuagint from the 2nd century BC, and was revised by Theodotion, a Hellenistic Jewish redactor of the Septuagint text (c. 150 AD).

The Greek puns in the texts have been cited by some as proof that the text never existed in Hebrew or Aramaic, but other researchers have suggested pairs of words for trees and cutting that sound similar enough to suppose that they could have been used in an original. The Anchor Bible uses "yew" and "hew" and "clove" and "cleave" to get this effect in English.

Sextus Julius Africanus did not regard the story as canonical. Jerome (347–420), while translating the Vulgate, treated this section as a non-canonical fable. In his introduction, he indicated that Susanna was an apocryphal addition because it was not present in the Hebrew text of Daniel. Origen received the story as part of the 'divine books' and censured 'wicked presbyters' who did not recognize its authenticity (Hom Lev 1.3.), remarking that the story was commonly read in the early Church (Letter to Africanus); he also noted the story's absence in the Hebrew text, observing (in Epistola ad Africanum) that it was "hidden" by the Jews in some fashion. Origen's claim is reminiscent of Justin Martyr's charge that Jewish scribes 'removed' certain verses from their Scriptures (Dialogue with Trypho: C.71-3). There are no known early Jewish references to the Susanna story.

A fair Hebrew wife named Susanna was falsely accused by lecherous voyeurs. As she bathes in her garden, having sent her attendants away, two lustful elders secretly observe the lovely Susanna. When she makes her way back to her house, they accost her, threatening to claim that she was meeting a young man in the garden unless she agrees to have sex with them.)

DANIEL CHAPTER 13
1 There dwelt a man in Babylon, called Joacim:
2 And he took a wife, whose name was Susanna, the daughter of Chelcias, a very fair woman, and one that feared the Lord.
3 Her parents also were righteous, and taught their daughter according to the law of Moses.
4 Now Joacim was a great rich man, and had a fair garden joining unto his house: and to him resorted the Jews; because he was more honourable than all others.
5 The same year were appointed two of the ancients of the people to be judges, such as the Lord spake of, that wickedness came from Babylon from ancient judges, who seemed to govern the people.
6 These kept much at Joacim's house: and all that had any suits in law came unto them.
7 Now when the people departed away at noon, Susanna went into her husband's garden to walk.
8 And the two elders saw her going in every day, and walking; so that their lust was inflamed toward her.
9 And they perverted their own mind, and turned away their eyes, that they might not look unto heaven, nor remember just judgements.
10 And albeit they both were wounded with her love, yet durst not one shew another his grief.
11 For they were ashamed to declare their lust, that they desired to have to do with her.
12 Yet they watched diligently from day to day to see her.
13 And the one said to the other, Let us now go home: for it is dinner time.
14 So when they were gone out, they parted the one from the other, and turning back again they came to the same place; and after that they had asked one another the cause, they acknowledged their lust: then appointed they a time both together, when they might find her alone.
15 And it fell out, as they watched a fit time, she went in as before with two maids only, and she was desirous to wash herself in the garden: for it was hot.
16 And there was no body there save the two elders, that had hid themselves, and watched her.
17 Then she said to her maids, Bring me oil and washing balls, and shut the garden doors, that I may wash me.
18 And they did as she bade them, and shut the garden doors, and went out themselves at privy doors to fetch the things that she had commanded them: but they saw not the elders, because they were hid.
19 Now when the maids were gone forth, the two elders rose up, and ran unto her, saying,
20 Behold, the garden doors are shut, that no man can see us, and we are in love with thee; therefore consent unto us, and lie with us.
21 If thou wilt not, we will bear witness against thee, that a young man was with thee: and therefore thou didst send away thy maids from thee.
22 Then Susanna sighed, and said, I am straitened on every side: for if I do this thing, it is death unto me: and if I do it not I cannot escape your hands.
23 It is better for me to fall into your hands, and not do it, than to sin in the sight of the Lord.
24 With that Susanna cried with a loud voice: and the two elders cried out against her.
25 Then ran the one, and opened the garden door.
26 So when the servants of the house heard the cry in the garden, they rushed in at the privy door, to see what was done unto her.
27 But when the elders had declared their matter, the servants were greatly ashamed: for there was never such a report made of Susanna.
28 And it came to pass the next day, when the people were assembled to her husband Joacim, the two elders came also full of mischievous imagination against Susanna to put her to death;
29 And said before the people, Send for Susanna, the daughter of Chelcias, Joacim's wife. And so they sent.
30 So she came with her father and mother, her children, and all her kindred.
31 Now Susanna was a very delicate woman, and beauteous to behold.
32 And these wicked men commanded to uncover her face, (for she was covered) that they might be filled with her beauty.
33 Therefore her friends and all that saw her wept.
34 Then the two elders stood up in the midst of the people, and laid their hands upon her head.
35 And she weeping looked up toward heaven: for her heart trusted in the Lord.
36 And the elders said, As we walked in the garden alone, this woman came in with two maids, and shut the garden doors, and sent the maids away.
37 Then a young man, who there was hid, came unto her, and lay with her.
38 Then we that stood in a corner of the garden, seeing this wickedness, ran unto them.
39 And when we saw them together, the man we could not hold: for he was stronger than we, and opened the door, and leaped out.
40 But having taken this woman, we asked who the young man was, but she would not tell us: these things do we testify.
41 Then the assembly believed them as those that were the elders and judges of the people: so they condemned her to death.
42 Then Susanna cried out with a loud voice, and said, O everlasting God, that knowest the secrets, and knowest all things before they be:
43 Thou knowest that they have borne false witness against me, and, behold, I must die; whereas I never did such things as these men have maliciously invented against me.
44 And the Lord heard her voice.

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45 Therefore when she was led to be put to death, the Lord raised up the holy spirit of a young youth whose name was Daniel:

46 Who cried with a loud voice, I am clear from the blood of this woman.

47 Then all the people turned them toward him, and said, What mean these words that thou hast spoken?

48 So he standing in the midst of them said, Are ye such fools, ye sons of Israel, that without examination or knowledge of the truth ye have condemned a daughter of Israel?

49 Return again to the place of judgement: for they have borne false witness against her.

50 Wherefore all the people turned again in haste, and the elders said unto him, Come, sit down among us, and shew it us, seeing God hath given thee the honour of an elder.

51 Then said Daniel unto them, Put these two aside one far from another, and I will examine them.

52 So when they were put asunder one from another, he called one of them, and said unto him, O thou that art waxen old in wickedness, now thy sins which thou hast committed aforetime are come to light.

53 For thou hast pronounced false judgement and hast condemned the innocent and hast let the guilty go free; albeit the Lord saith, The innocent and righteous shalt thou not slay.

54 Now then, if thou hast seen her, tell me, Under what tree sawest thou them companying together? Who answered, Under a mastick tree.

55 And Daniel said, Very well; thou hast lied against thine own head; for even now the angel of God hath received the sentence of God to cut thee in two.

56 So he put him aside, and commanded to bring the other, and said unto him, O thou seed of Chanaan, and not of Juda, beauty hath deceived thee, and lust hath perverted thine heart.

57 Thus have ye dealt with the daughters of Israel, and they for fear companied with you: but the daughter of Juda would not abide your wickedness.

58 Now therefore tell me, Under what tree didst thou take them companying together? Who answered, Under an holm tree.

59 Then said Daniel unto him, Well; thou hast also lied against thine own head: for the angel of God waiteth with the sword to cut thee in two, that he may destroy you.

60 With that all the assembly cried out with a loud voice, and praised God, who saveth them that trust in him.

61 And they arose against the two elders, for Daniel had convicted them of false witness by their own mouth:

62 And according to the law of Moses they did unto them in such sort as they maliciously intended to do to their neighbour: and they put them to death. Thus the innocent blood was saved the same day.

63 Therefore Chelcias and his wife praised God for their daughter Susanna, with Joacim her husband, and all the kindred, because there was no dishonesty found in her.

64 From that day forth was Daniel had in great reputation in the sight of the people.

BEL AND THE DRAGON

or (2nd) Addition to Daniel
Estimated Range of Dating: 539–332 B.C.

(The narrative of Bel and the Dragon is incorporated as chapter 14 of the extended Book of Daniel. The original Septuagint text in Greek survives in a single manuscript, Codex Chisianus. The work may date to the Persian period [c. 539–332 BC] when Judaea was part of the Persian Empire [that was ruled by the Achaemenid Dynasty] as province called Yehud Medinata [Aramaic for Province of Judah].

This chapter, along with chapter 13, is considered deuterocanonical: it was rejected by Rabbinic Judaism, and while it is viewed as canonical by both Catholic and Orthodox Christians, it is considered apocryphal by most Protestants and typically not found in modern Protestant Bibles. However, the story is referenced by the Jewish poet R' Israel of Najara.

The narrative of Bel and the Dragon is from chapter 14 of the Book of Daniel. This chapter, along with chapter 13, is referred to as deuterocanonical, in that it is not universally accepted among Christians as belonging to the Bible. The story is typically not included in Protestant Bibles.

It is believed by some scholars to have been written in the late 2nd century BC and accounted apocryphal by Protestants. The chapter is formed of three independent narratives, which place the culture-hero Daniel at the court of Cyrus, king of the Persians: "When King Astyages was laid to rest with his ancestors, Cyrus the Persian succeeded to his kingdom." There Daniel "was a companion of the king, and was the most honored of all his Friends" (14:1).

The narrative of Bel (14:1–22) is a folk tale ridiculing worship. In it, the king asks Daniel "Do you not think that Bel is a living god? Do you not see how much he eats and drinks every day?" Daniel proves through a ruse that the sacred meal of Bel is actually consumed at night by the seventy priests and their wives and children, who entered through a secret door when the temple's doors were sealed. The priests and their wives and children are killed, and Daniel is permitted to destroy the idol of Bel and the temple. This version has been cited as an ancestor of the "locked room mystery".

In the brief companion narrative of the Dragon (14:23–30), "there was a great dragon, which the Babylonians revered." In this case the supposed god is no idol, but not all that eats is divine: Daniel slew the dragon by making cakes of pitch, fat and hair. The dragon ate them and burst open. Now the Babylonians were indignant. "The king has become a Jew; he has destroyed Bel, and killed the dragon, and slaughtered the priests," they said, and demanded that Daniel be handed over to them.

The third narrative (14:31–42), Daniel in the Lions' Den, is apparently Daniel's 1st or 2nd trip. It has been made into a consequence of the preceding episode, but the Septuagint precedes it with the notice: "From the prophecy of Habakkuk, son of Jesus, of the tribe of Levi." Daniel remained unharmed in the den with seven lions, fed by the miraculous transportation of the prophet Habakkuk. "On the seventh day the king came to mourn for Daniel. When he came to the den he looked in, and there sat Daniel! The king shouted with a loud voice, "You are great, O Lord, the God of Daniel, and there is no other besides you!" Then he pulled Daniel out, and threw into the den those who had attempted his destruction, and they were instantly eaten before his eyes." Some have suggested that the Daniel in Bel and the Dragon is different from that of Daniel 1-13.)

DANIEL CHAPTER 14

1 And king Astyages was gathered to his fathers, and Cyrus of Persia received his kingdom.

2 And Daniel conversed with the king, and was honoured above all his friends.

3 Now the Babylons had an idol, called Bel, and there were spent upon him every day twelve great measures of fine flour, and forty sheep, and six vessels of wine.

4 And the king worshipped it and went daily to adore it: but Daniel worshipped his own God. And the king said unto him, Why dost not thou worship Bel?

5 Who answered and said, Because I may not worship idols made with hands, but the living God, who hath created the heaven and the earth, and hath sovereignty over all flesh.

6 Then said the king unto him, Thinkest thou not that Bel is a living God? seest thou not how much he eateth and drinketh every day?

7 Then Daniel smiled, and said, O king, be not deceived: for this is but clay within, and brass without, and did never eat or drink any thing.

8 So the king was wroth, and called for his priests, and said unto them, If ye tell me not who this is that devoureth these expences, ye shall die.

9 But if ye can certify me that Bel devoureth them, then Daniel shall die: for he hath spoken blasphemy against Bel. And Daniel said unto the king, Let it be according to thy word.

10 Now the priests of Bel were threescore and ten, beside their wives and children. And the king went with Daniel into the temple of Bel.

11 So Bel's priests said, Lo, we go out: but thou, O king, set on the meat, and make ready the wine, and shut the door fast and seal it with thine own signet;

12 And to morrow when thou comest in, if thou findest not that Bel hath eaten up all, we will suffer death: or else Daniel, that speaketh falsely against us.

13 And they little regarded it: for under the table they had made a privy entrance, whereby they entered in continually, and consumed those things.

14 So when they were gone forth, the king set meats before Bel. Now Daniel had commanded his servants to bring ashes, and those they strewed throughout all the temple in the presence of the king alone: then went they out, and shut the door, and sealed it with the king's signet, and so departed.

15 Now in the night came the priests with their wives and children, as they were wont to do, and did eat and drink up all.

16 In the morning betime the king arose, and Daniel with him.

17 And the king said, Daniel, are the seals whole? And he said, Yea, O king, they be whole.

18 And as soon as he had opened the dour, the king looked upon the table, and cried with a loud voice, Great art thou, O Bel, and with thee is no deceit at all.

19 Then laughed Daniel, and held the king that he should not go in, and said, Behold now the pavement, and mark well whose footsteps are these.

20 And the king said, I see the footsteps of men, women, and children. And then the king was angry,

21 And took the priests with their wives and children, who shewed him the privy doors, where they came in, and consumed such things as were upon the table.

22 Therefore the king slew them, and delivered Bel into Daniel's power, who destroyed him and his temple.

23 And in that same place there was a great dragon, which they of Babylon worshipped.

24 And the king said unto Daniel, Wilt thou also say that this is of brass? lo, he liveth, he eateth and drinketh; thou canst not say that he is no living god: therefore worship him.

25 Then said Daniel unto the king, I will worship the Lord my God: for he is the living God.

26 But give me leave, O king, and I shall slay this dragon without sword or staff. The king said, I give thee leave.

27 Then Daniel took pitch, and fat, and hair, and did seethe them together, and made lumps thereof: this he put in the dragon's mouth, and so the dragon burst in sunder: and Daniel said, Lo, these are the gods ye worship.

28 When they of Babylon heard that, they took great indignation, and conspired against the king, saying, The king is become a Jew, and he hath destroyed Bel, he hath slain the dragon, and put the priests to death.

29 So they came to the king, and said, Deliver us Daniel, or else we will destroy thee and thine house.

30 Now when the king saw that they pressed him sore, being constrained, he delivered Daniel unto them:

31 Who cast him into the lions' den: where he was six days.

32 And in the den there were seven lions, and they had given them every day two carcases, and two sheep: which then were not given to them, to the intent they might devour Daniel.

33 Now there was in Jewry a prophet, called Habbacuc, who had made pottage, and had broken bread in a bowl, and was going into the field, for to bring it to the reapers.

34 But the angel of the Lord said unto Habbacuc, Go, carry the dinner that thou hast into Babylon unto Daniel, who is in the lions' den.

35 And Habbacuc said, Lord, I never saw Babylon; neither do I know where the den is.

36 Then the angel of the Lord took him by the crown, and bare him by the hair of his head, and through the vehemency of his spirit set him in Babylon over the den.

37 And Habbacuc cried, saying, O Daniel, Daniel, take the dinner which God hath sent thee.

38 And Daniel said, Thou hast remembered me, O God: neither hast thou forsaken them that seek thee and love thee.

39 So Daniel arose, and did eat: and the angel of the Lord set Habbacuc in his own place again immediately.

40 Upon the seventh day the king went to bewail Daniel: and when he came to the den, he looked in, and behold, Daniel was sitting.

41 Then cried the king with a loud voice, saying, Great art Lord God of Daniel, and there is none other beside thee.

42 And he drew him out, and cast those that were the cause of his destruction into the den: and they were devoured in a moment before his face.

PRAYER OF MANASSEH

(Oriental Orthodox Tewahedo Church
and in some Bibles of the other Orthodox Churches)
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd century B.C.

(The Prayer of Manasseh is a short work of 15 verses recording a penitential prayer attributed to king Manasseh of Judah. The prayer appears in ancient Syriac, Old Slavonic, Ethiopic, and Armenian translations. In the Ethiopian Bible, the prayer is found in 2 Chronicles. The majority of scholars believe that the Prayer of Manasseh was written in Greek in the first or second century BC. Another work by the same title, written in Hebrew and containing distinctly different content, was found among the Dead Sea Scrolls.

King Manasseh is recorded in the Bible as one of the most idolatrous kings of Judah (2 Kings 21:1–18; 2 Chronicles 33:1–9). The second Book of Chronicles, but not the second Book of Kings, records that Manasseh was taken captive by the Assyrians (2 Chronicles 33:11–13). While a prisoner, Manasseh prayed for mercy, and upon being freed and restored to the throne turned from his idolatrous ways (2 Chronicles 33:15–17). A reference to the prayer, but not the prayer itself, is made in 2 Chronicles 33:19, which says that the prayer is written in "the annals of the kings of Israel".

Manasseh was the fourteenth king of the Kingdom of Judah. He was the oldest of the sons of Hezekiah and his mother Hephzibah (2 Kings 21:1). He became king at the age of 12 and reigned for 55 years (2 Kings 21:1; 2 Chronicles 33:1). According to Kings, Manasseh reversed the centralizing reforms of his father Hezekiah [who just had introduced monotheism, today called "Judaism"], and re-established local shrines, possibly for economic reasons. He restored polytheistic worship of the Phoenician / Canaanite gods of Baal, Asherah and Moloch (2 Kings 21) in the Temple. The Phoenician gods were also the original gods of the Judaeans who where the successors of the Canaanites, just like the Phoenicians. King Manasseh and sponsored the Assyrian astral cult throughout Judah.

The prayer is considered apocryphal by Jews, Catholics and Protestants. It was placed at the end of 2 Chronicles in the late 4th-century Vulgate. Over a millennium later, Martin Luther included the prayer in his 74-book translation of the

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Bible into German. It was part of the 1537 Matthew Bible, and the 1599 Geneva Bible. It also appears in the Apocrypha of the King James Bible and of the original 1609/1610 Douai-Rheims Bible. Pope Clement VIII included the prayer in an appendix to the Vulgate.

The prayer is included in some editions of the Greek Septuagint. For example, the 5th century Codex Alexandrinus includes the prayer among fourteen Odes appearing just after the Psalms. It is accepted as a deuterocanonical book by Orthodox Christians. The prayer is chanted during the Orthodox Christian and Byzantine Catholic service of Great Compline. It is used in the Roman Rite as part of the Responsory after the first reading in the Office of Readings on the 14th Sunday in Ordinary Time (along with Psalm 51). In the Extraordinary Form, in the Roman Rite Breviary; in the corpus of responsories sung with the readings from the books of Kings between Trinity Sunday and August, the seventh cites the Prayer of Manasseh, together with verses of Psalm 50, the penitential Psalm par excellence. It is used also as a canticle in the Daily Office of the 1979 U.S. Book of Common Prayer used by the Episcopal Church in the United States of America, and as Canticle 52 in Common Worship: Daily Prayer of the Church of England.)

Chapter 1

1 O Lord, Almighty God of our fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of their righteous seed; who hast made heaven and earth, with all the ornament thereof; who hast bound the sea by the word of thy commandment; who hast shut up the deep, and sealed it by thy terrible and glorious name; whom all men fear, and tremble before thy power; for the majesty of thy glory cannot be borne, and thine angry threatening toward sinners is importable: but thy merciful promise is unmeasurable and unsearchable; for thou art the most high Lord, of great compassion, longsuffering, very merciful, and repentest of the evils of men.

Thou, O Lord, according to thy great goodness hast promised repentance and forgiveness to them that have sinned against thee: and of thine infinite mercies hast appointed repentance unto sinners, that they may be saved.

Thou therefore, O Lord, that art the God of the just, hast not appointed repentance to the just, as to Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, which have not sinned against thee; but thou hast appointed repentance unto me that am a sinner: for I have sinned above the number of the sands of the sea.

My transgressions, O Lord, are multiplied: my transgressions are multiplied, and I am not worthy to behold and see the height of heaven for the multitude of mine iniquities.

I am bowed down with many iron bands, that I cannot lift up mine head, neither have any release: for I have provoked thy wrath, and done evil before thee:

I did not thy will, neither kept I thy commandments: I have set up abominations, and have multiplied offences.

Now therefore I bow the knee of mine heart, beseeching thee of grace. I have sinned, O Lord, I have sinned, and I acknowledge mine iniquities: wherefore, I humbly beseech thee, forgive me, O Lord, forgive me, and destroy me not with mine iniquites.

Be not angry with me for ever, by reserving evil for me; neither condemn me to the lower parts of the earth.

For thou art the God, even the God of them that repent; and in me thou wilt shew all thy goodness: for thou wilt save me, that am unworthy, according to thy great mercy.

Therefore I will praise thee for ever all the days of my life: for all the powers of the heavens do praise thee, and thine is the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

THE FIRST BOOK OF THE MACCABEES

or The Book of Maccabees or 1 Maccabees

Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd century B.C.

(The First Book of Maccabees, also called 1 Maccabees, is a book written in Hebrew by a Jewish author after the restoration of an independent Jewish kingdom by the Hasmonean dynasty, around the late 2nd century BC. The name Maccabee in Hebrew, means "Hammer". This is applied to the first leader of the revolt, Judas, third son of Mattathias. The name came to be used for his brothers as well, which accounts for the title of the book.

The original Hebrew is lost and the most important surviving version is the Greek translation contained in the Septuagint. The book is held as canonical scripture by the Catholic, Orthodox, and Oriental Orthodox churches (except for the Orthodox Tewahedo), but not by Protestant denominations nor any major branches of Judaism; it is not part of the Tanakh. Such Protestants consider it to be an apocryphal book (see also Deuterocanon).

1 Maccabees is best known for containing the narrative behind the Jewish holiday of Hanukkah. The narrative is primarily prose text, but is interrupted by seven poetic sections, which imitate classical Hebrew poetry. These include four laments and three hymns of praise. It talks about the period in Jewish history between 175 BC and 134 BC, when the Seleucid Empire ruled over Israel and forced their culture and religion onto the Jewish people. Angry at these developments, many Jews rebelled against the imperialists and overthrew the tyranny. Their struggles and battles form the majority of the Book of 1 Maccabees. The text is important to understand how the Messianic Movement developed. That movement was formed by those Jews who called themselves "the Sons of Light" and whom we meet again in the the texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran in which they swore to fight against "the Sons of Darkness" [Greek and Romans] until these unbelievers were not only thrown out from Jewish territory but also totally annahilated in their own empires; an attitude that was entirely picked up and made chief doctrine as Jihadism of the later Mohammedans.

The setting of the book is about a century and a half after the conquest of Judea by the Greeks under Alexander the Great, after Alexander's empire had been divided so that Judaea was part of the Greek Seleucid Empire. It tells how the Greek ruler Antiochus IV Epiphanes attempted to suppress the practice of basic Jewish law, resulting in the Maccabean Revolt (a Jewish revolt against Seleucid rule). The book covers the whole of the revolt, from 175 to 134 BC, highlighting how the salvation of the Jewish people in this crisis came through Mattathias' family, particularly his sons, Judas Maccabeus, Jonathan Apphus, and Simon Thassi, and Simon's son, John Hyrcanus. The doctrine expressed in the book reflects traditional Jewish teaching, without later doctrines found, for example, in 2 Maccabees. The First Book of Maccabees also gives a list of Jewish colonies scattered elsewhere through the Mediterranean at the time.

In the first chapter, Alexander the Great conquers the territory of Judea, and is later succeeded by the Seleucid Antiochus IV Epiphanes. After successfully invading the Ptolemaic Kingdom of Egypt, Antiochus IV captures Jerusalem and removes the sacred objects from the Temple in Jerusalem, slaughtering many Jews. He then imposes a tax and establishes a fortress in Jerusalem.

Antiochus then tries to suppress public observance of Jewish laws, in an attempt to secure control over the Jews. In 168 BC, he desecrates the Temple by setting up an "abomination of desolation" (that is, establishing rites of pagan observance in the Temple, or sacrificing an unclean animal on the altar in the Holy of Holies). Antiochus forbids both circumcision and possession of Jewish scriptures on pain of death. He forbids observance of the sabbath and the offering of sacrifices at the Temple. He also requires Jewish leaders to sacrifice to idols. While enforcement may be targeting only Jewish leaders, ordinary Jews were also killed as a warning to others.

Due Greek influence the gymnasiums were built in Jerusalem. Among other effects, this discouraged the Jewish rite of circumcision even further, which had already been officially forbidden [long before the Roman Lex Cornelia]; a man's state could not be concealed in the gymnasium, where men trained and socialized in the nude. However, 1 Maccabees also insists that there were many Jews who sought out or welcomed the introduction of Greek culture; those were the Pharisees whom we know about . According to the text, some Jewish men even engaged in foreskin restoration in order to pass as fully Greek.

Mattathias calls upon people loyal to the traditions of Israel to oppose the invaders and the Jewish Hellenizers, and his five sons begin a military campaign against them (the Maccabean Revolt). There is one complete loss of a thousand Jews (men, women and children) to Antiochus when the Jewish defenders refuse to fight on the Sabbath. The other Jews then reason that, when attacked, they must fight even on the holy day. In 165 BC the Temple is freed and reconsecrated, so that ritual sacrifices may begin again. The festival of Hanukkah is instituted by Judas Maccabeus and his brothers to celebrate this event (1 Macc. 4:59). Judas seeks an alliance with the Roman Republic to remove the Greeks. He is succeeded by his brother Jonathan, who becomes high priest and also seeks alliance with Rome and confirms alliance with Areus of Sparta (1 Macc. 12:1–23). Simon follows them, receiving the double office of high priest and prince of Israel. (Simon and his successors form the Hasmonean dynasty, which is not always considered a valid kingship by the Jews, since they were not of the lineage of David.) Simon leads the people in peace and prosperity, until he is murdered by agents of Ptolemy, son of Abubus, who had been named governor of the region by the Macedonian Greeks. He is succeeded by his son, John Hyrcanus.)

1 MACCABEES CHAPTER 1

1 And it happened, after that Alexander son of Philip, the Macedonian, who came out of the land of Chettiim, had smitten Darius king of the Persians and Medes, that he reigned in his stead, the first over Greece,

2 And made many wars, and won many strong holds, and slew the kings of the earth,

3 And went through to the ends of the earth, and took spoils of many nations, insomuch that the earth was quiet before him; whereupon he was exalted and his heart was lifted up.

4 And he gathered a mighty strong host and ruled over countries, and nations, and kings, who became tributaries unto him.

5 And after these things he fell sick, and perceived that he should die.

6 Wherefore he called his servants, such as were honourable, and had been brought up with him from his youth, and parted his kingdom among them, while he was yet alive.

7 So Alexander reigned twelves years, and then died.

8 And his servants bare rule every one in his place.

9 And after his death they all put crowns upon themselves; so did their sons after them many years: and evils were multiplied in the earth.

10 And there came out of them a wicked root Antiochus surnamed Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the king, who had been an hostage at Rome, and he reigned in the hundred and thirty and seventh year of the kingdom of the Greeks.

11 In those days went there out of Israel wicked men, who persuaded many, saying, Let us go and make a covenant with the heathen that are round about us: for since we departed from them we have had much sorrow.

12 So this device pleased them well.

13 Then certain of the people were so forward herein, that they went to the king, who gave them licence to do after the ordinances of the heathen:

14 Whereupon they built a place of exercise at Jerusalem according to the customs of the heathen:

15 And made themselves uncircumcised, and forsook the holy covenant, and joined themselves to the heathen, and were sold to do mischief.

16 Now when the kingdom was established before Antiochus, he thought to reign over Egypt that he might have the dominion of two realms.

17 Wherefore he entered into Egypt with a great multitude, with chariots, and elephants, and horsemen, and a great navy,

18 And made war against Ptolemee king of Egypt: but Ptolemee was afraid of him, and fled; and many were wounded to death.

19 Thus they got the strong cities in the land of Egypt and he took the spoils thereof.

20 And after that Antiochus had smitten Egypt, he returned again in the hundred forty and third year, and went up against Israel and Jerusalem with a great multitude,

21 And entered proudly into the sanctuary, and took away the golden altar, and the candlestick of light, and all the vessels thereof,

22 And the table of the shewbread, and the pouring vessels, and the vials. and the censers of gold, and the veil, and the crown, and the golden ornaments that were before the temple, all which he pulled off.

23 He took also the silver and the gold, and the precious vessels: also he took the hidden treasures which he found.

24 And when he had taken all away, he went into his own land, having made a great massacre, and spoken very proudly.

25 Therefore there was a great mourning in Israel, in every place where they were;

26 So that the princes and elders mourned, the virgins and young men were made feeble, and the beauty of women was changed.

27 Every bridegroom took up lamentation, and she that sat in the marriage chamber was in heaviness,

28 The land also was moved for the inhabitants thereof, and all the house of Jacob was covered with confusion.

29 And after two years fully expired the king sent his chief collector of tribute unto the cities of Juda, who came unto Jerusalem with a great multitude,

30 And spake peaceable words unto them, but all was deceit: for when they had given him credence, he fell suddenly upon the city, and smote it very sore, and destroyed much people of Israel.

31 And when he had taken the spoils of the city, he set it on fire, and pulled down the houses and walls thereof on every side.

32 But the women and children took they captive, and possessed the cattle.

33 Then builded they the city of David with a great and strong wall, and with mighty towers, and made it a strong hold for them.

34 And they put therein a sinful nation, wicked men, and fortified themselves therein.

35 They stored it also with armour and victuals, and when they had gathered together the spoils of Jerusalem, they laid them up there, and so they became a sore snare:

36 For it was a place to lie in wait against the sanctuary, and an evil adversary to Israel.

37 Thus they shed innocent blood on every side of the sanctuary, and defiled it:

38 Insomuch that the inhabitants of Jerusalem fled because of them: whereupon the city was made an habitation of strangers, and became strange to those that were born in her; and her own children left her.

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39 Her sanctuary was laid waste like a wilderness, her feasts were turned into mourning, her sabbaths into reproach her honour into contempt.
40 As had been her glory, so was her dishonour increased, and her excellency was turned into mourning.
41 Moreover king Antiochus wrote to his whole kingdom, that all should be one people,
42 And every one should leave his laws: so all the heathen agreed according to the commandment of the king.
43 Yea, many also of the Israelites consented to his religion, and sacrificed unto idols, and profaned the sabbath.
44 For the king had sent letters by messengers unto Jerusalem and the cities of Juda that they should follow the strange laws of the land,
45 And forbid burnt offerings, and sacrifice, and drink offerings, in the temple; and that they should profane the sabbaths and festival days:
46 And pollute the sanctuary and holy people:
47 Set up altars, and groves, and chapels of idols, and sacrifice swine's flesh, and unclean beasts:
48 That they should also leave their children uncircumcised, and make their souls abominable with all manner of uncleanness and profanation:
49 To the end they might forget the law, and change all the ordinances.
50 And whosoever would not do according to the commandment of the king, he said, he should die.
51 In the selfsame manner wrote he to his whole kingdom, and appointed overseers over all the people, commanding the cities of Juda to sacrifice, city by city.
52 Then many of the people were gathered unto them, to wit every one that forsook the law; and so they committed evils in the land;
53 And drove the Israelites into secret places, even wheresoever they could flee for succour.
54 Now the fifteenth day of the month Casleu, in the hundred forty and fifth year, they set up the abomination of desolation upon the altar, and builded idol altars throughout the cities of Juda on every side;
55 And burnt incense at the doors of their houses, and in the streets.
56 And when they had rent in pieces the books of the law which they found, they burnt them with fire.
57 And whosoever was found with any the book of the testament, or if any committed to the law, the king's commandment was, that they should put him to death.
58 Thus did they by their authority unto the Israelites every month, to as many as were found in the cities.
59 Now the five and twentieth day of the month they did sacrifice upon the idol altar, which was upon the altar of God.
60 At which time according to the commandment they put to death certain women, that had caused their children to be circumcised.
61 And they hanged the infants about their necks, and rifled their houses, and slew them that had circumcised them.
62 Howbeit many in Israel were fully resolved and confirmed in themselves not to eat any unclean thing.
63 Wherefore the rather to die, that they might not be defiled with meats, and that they might not profane the holy covenant: so then they died.
64 And there was very great wrath upon Israel.

1 MACCABEES CHAPTER 2

1 In those days arose Mattathias the son of John, the son of Simeon, a priest of the sons of Joarib, from Jerusalem, and dwelt in Modin.
2 And he had five sons, Joannan, called Caddis:
3 Simon; called Thassi:
4 Judas, who was called Maccabeus:
5 Eleazar, called Avaran: and Jonathan, whose surname was Apphus.
6 And when he saw the blasphemies that were committed in Juda and Jerusalem,
7 He said, Woe is me! wherefore was I born to see this misery of my people, and of the holy city, and to dwell there, when it was delivered into the hand of the enemy, and the sanctuary into the hand of strangers?
8 Her temple is become as a man without glory.
9 Her glorious vessels are carried away into captivity, her infants are slain in the streets, her young men with the sword of the enemy.
10 What nation hath not had a part in her kingdom and gotten of her spoils?
11 All her ornaments are taken away; of a free woman she is become a bondslave.
12 And, behold, our sanctuary, even our beauty and our glory, is laid waste, and the Gentiles have profaned it.
13 To what end therefore shall we live any longer?
14 Then Mattathias and his sons rent their clothes, and put on sackcloth, and mourned very sore.
15 In the mean while the king's officers, such as compelled the people to revolt, came into the city Modin, to make them sacrifice.
16 And when many of Israel came unto them, Mattathias also and his sons came together.
17 Then answered the king's officers, and said to Mattathias on this wise, Thou art a ruler, and an honourable and great man in this city, and strengthened with sons and brethren:
18 Now therefore come thou first, and fulfil the king's commandment, like as all the heathen have done, yea, and the men of Juda also, and such as remain at Jerusalem: so shalt thou and thy house be in the number of the king's friends, and thou and thy children shall be honoured with silver and gold, and many rewards.
19 Then Mattathias answered and spake with a loud voice, Though all the nations that are under the king's dominion obey him, and fall away every one from the religion of their fathers, and give consent to his commandments:
20 Yet will I and my sons and my brethren walk in the covenant of our fathers.
21 God forbid that we should forsake the law and the ordinances.
22 We will not hearken to the king's words, to go from our religion, either on the right hand, or the left.
23 Now when he had left speaking these words, there came one of the Jews in the sight of all to sacrifice on the altar which was at Modin, according to the king's commandment.
24 Which thing when Mattathias saw, he was inflamed with zeal, and his reins trembled, neither could he forbear to shew his anger according to judgement: wherefore he ran, and slew him upon the altar.
25 Also the king's commissioner, who compelled men to sacrifice, he killed at that time, and the altar he pulled down.
26 Thus dealt he zealously for the law of God like as Phinees did unto Zambri the son of Salom.
27 And Mattathias cried throughout the city with a loud voice, saying, Whosoever is zealous of the law, and maintaineth the covenant, let him follow me.
28 So he and his sons fled into the mountains, and left all that ever they had in the city.
29 Then many that sought after justice and judgement went down into the wilderness, to dwell there:
30 Both they, and their children, and their wives; and their cattle; because afflictions increased sore upon them.
31 Now when it was told the king's servants, and the host that was at Jerusalem, in the city of David, that certain men, who had broken the king's commandment, were gone down into the secret places in the wilderness,
32 They pursued after them a great number, and having overtaken them, they camped against them, and made war against them on the sabbath day.
33 And they said unto them, Let that which ye have done hitherto suffice; come forth, and do according to the commandment of the king, and ye shall live.
34 But they said, We will not come forth, neither will we do the king's commandment, to profane the sabbath day.
35 So then they gave them the battle with all speed.
36 Howbeit they answered them not, neither cast they a stone at them, nor stopped the places where they lay hid;
37 But said, Let us die all in our innocency: heaven and earth will testify for us, that ye put us to death wrongfully.
38 So they rose up against them in battle on the sabbath, and they slew them, with their wives and children and their cattle, to the number of a thousand people.
39 Now when Mattathias and his friends understood hereof, they mourned for them right sore.
40 And one of them said to another, If we all do as our brethren have done, and fight not for our lives and laws against the heathen, they will now quickly root us out of the earth.
41 At that time therefore they decreed, saying, Whosoever shall come to make battle with us on the sabbath day, we will fight against him; neither will we die all, as our brethren that were murdered in the secret places.
42 Then came there unto him a company of Assideans who were mighty men of Israel, even all such as were voluntarily devoted unto the law.
43 Also all they that fled for persecution joined themselves unto them, and were a stay unto them.
44 So they joined their forces, and smote sinful men in their anger, and wicked men in their wrath: but the rest fled to the heathen for succour.
45 Then Mattathias and his friends went round about, and pulled down the altars:
46 And what children soever they found within the coast of Israel uncircumcised, those they circumcised valiantly.
47 They pursued also after the proud men, and the work prospered in their hand.
48 So they recovered the law out of the hand of the Gentiles, and out of the hand of kings, neither suffered they the sinner to triumph.
49 Now when the time drew near that Mattathias should die, he said unto his sons, Now hath pride and rebuke gotten strength, and the time of destruction, and the wrath of indignation:
50 Now therefore, my sons, be ye zealous for the law, and give your lives for the covenant of your fathers.
51 Call to remembrance what acts our fathers did in their time; so shall ye receive great honour and an everlasting name.
52 Was not Abraham found faithful in temptation, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness?
53 Joseph in the time of his distress kept the commandment and was made lord of Egypt.
54 Phinees our father in being zealous and fervent obtained the covenant of an everlasting priesthood.
55 Jesus for fulfilling the word was made a judge in Israel.
56 Caleb for bearing witness before the congregation received the heritage of the land.
57 David for being merciful possessed the throne of an everlasting kingdom.
58 Elias for being zealous and fervent for the law was taken up into heaven.
59 Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, by believing were saved out of the flame.
60 Daniel for his innocency was delivered from the mouth of lions.
61 And thus consider ye throughout all ages, that none that put their trust in him shall be overcome.
62 Fear not then the words of a sinful man: for his glory shall be dung and worms.
63 To day he shall be lifted up and to morrow he shall not be found, because he is returned into his dust, and his thought is come to nothing.
64 Wherefore, ye my sons, be valiant and shew yourselves men in the behalf of the law; for by it shall ye obtain glory.
65 And behold, I know that your brother Simon is a man of counsel, give ear unto him alway: he shall be a father unto you.
66 As for Judas Maccabeus, he hath been mighty and strong, even from his youth up: let him be your captain, and fight the battle of the people.
67 Take also unto you all those that observe the law, and avenge ye the wrong of your people.
68 Recompense fully the heathen, and take heed to the commandments of the law.
69 So he blessed them, and was gathered to his fathers.
70 And he died in the hundred forty and sixth year, and his sons buried him in the sepulchres of his fathers at Modin, and all Israel made great lamentation for him.

1 MACCABEES CHAPTER 3

1 Then his son Judas, called Maccabeus, rose up in his stead.
2 And all his brethren helped him, and so did all they that held with his father, and they fought with cheerfulness the battle of Israel.
3 So he gat his people great honour, and put on a breastplate as a giant, and girt his warlike harness about him, and he made battles, protecting the host with his sword.
4 In his acts he was like a lion, and like a lion's whelp roaring for his prey.
5 For He pursued the wicked, and sought them out, and burnt up those that vexed his people.
6 Wherefore the wicked shrunk for fear of him, and all the workers of iniquity were troubled, because salvation prospered in his hand.
7 He grieved also many kings, and made Jacob glad with his acts, and his memorial is blessed for ever.
8 Moreover he went through the cities of Juda, destroying the ungodly out of them, and turning away wrath from Israel:
9 So that he was renowned unto the utmost part of the earth, and he received unto him such as were ready to perish.
10 Then Apollonius gathered the Gentiles together, and a great host out of Samaria, to fight against Israel.
11 Which thing when Judas perceived, he went forth to meet him, and so he smote him, and slew him: many also fell down slain, but the rest fled.
12 Wherefore Judas took their spoils, and Apollonius' sword also, and therewith he fought all his life long.
13 Now when Seron, a prince of the army of Syria, heard say that Judas had gathered unto him a multitude and company of the faithful to go out with him to war;
14 He said, I will get me a name and honour in the kingdom; for I will go fight with Judas and them that are with him, who despise the king's commandment.
15 So he made him ready to go up, and there went with him a mighty host of the ungodly to help him, and to be avenged of the children of Israel.
16 And when he came near to the going up of Bethhoron, Judas went forth to meet him with a small company:
17 Who, when they saw the host coming to meet them, said unto Judas, How shall we be able, being so few, to fight against so great a multitude and so strong, seeing we are ready to faint with fasting all this day?
18 Unto whom Judas answered, It is no hard matter for many to be shut up in the hands of a few; and with the God of heaven it is all one, to deliver with a great multitude, or a small company:
19 For the victory of battle standeth not in the multitude of an host; but strength cometh from heaven.
20 They come against us in much pride and iniquity to destroy us, and our wives and children, and to spoil us:
21 But we fight for our lives and our laws.

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22 Wherefore the Lord himself will overthrow them before our face: and as for you, be ye not afraid of them.
23 Now as soon as he had left off speaking, he leapt suddenly upon them, and so Seron and his host was overthrown before him.
24 And they pursued them from the going down of Bethhoron unto the plain, where were slain about eight hundred men of them; and the residue fled into the land of the Philistines.
25 Then began the fear of Judas and his brethren, and an exceeding great dread, to fall upon the nations round about them:
26 Insomuch as his fame came unto the king, and all nations talked of the battles of Judas.
27 Now when king Antiochus heard these things, he was full of indignation: wherefore he sent and gathered together all the forces of his realm, even a very strong army.
28 He opened also his treasure, and gave his soldiers pay for a year, commanding them to be ready whensoever he should need them.
29 Nevertheless, when he saw that the money of his treasures failed and that the tributes in the country were small, because of the dissension and plague, which he had brought upon the land in taking away the laws which had been of old time;
30 He feared that he should not be able to bear the charges any longer, nor to have such gifts to give so liberally as he did before: for he had abounded above the kings that were before him.
31 Wherefore, being greatly perplexed in his mind, he determined to go into Persia, there to take the tributes of the countries, and to gather much money.
32 So he left Lysias, a nobleman, and one of the blood royal, to oversee the affairs of the king from the river Euphrates unto the borders of Egypt:
33 And to bring up his son Antiochus, until he came again.
34 Moreover he delivered unto him the half of his forces, and the elephants, and gave him charge of all things that he would have done, as also concerning them that dwelt in Juda and Jerusalem:
35 To wit, that he should send an army against them, to destroy and root out the strength of Israel, and the remnant of Jerusalem, and to take away their memorial from that place;
36 And that he should place strangers in all their quarters, and divide their land by lot.
37 So the king took the half of the forces that remained, and departed from Antioch, his royal city, the hundred forty and seventh year; and having passed the river Euphrates, he went through the high countries.
38 Then Lysias chose Ptolemee the son of Dorymenes, Nicanor, and Gorgias, mighty men of the king's friends:
39 And with them he sent forty thousand footmen, and seven thousand horsemen, to go into the land of Juda, and to destroy it, as the king commanded.
40 So they went forth with all their power, and came and pitched by Emmaus in the plain country.
41 And the merchants of the country, hearing the fame of them, took silver and gold very much, with servants, and came into the camp to buy the children of Israel for slaves: a power also of Syria and of the land of the Philistines joined themselves unto them.
42 Now when Judas and his brethren saw that miseries were multiplied, and that the forces did encamp themselves in their borders: for they knew how the king had given commandment to destroy the people, and utterly abolish them;
43 They said one to another, Let us restore the decayed fortune of our people, and let us fight for our people and the sanctuary.
44 Then was the congregation gathered together, that they might be ready for battle, and that they might pray, and ask mercy and compassion.
45 Now Jerusalem lay void as a wilderness, there was none of her children that went in or out: the sanctuary also was trodden down, and aliens kept the strong hold; the heathen had their habitation in that place; and joy was taken from Jacob, and the pipe with the harp ceased.
46 Wherefore the Israelites assembled themselves together, and came to Maspha, over against Jerusalem; for in Maspha was the place where they prayed aforetime in Israel.
47 Then they fasted that day, and put on sackcloth, and cast ashes upon their heads, and rent their clothes,
48 And laid open the book of the law, wherein the heathen had sought to paint the likeness of their images.
49 They brought also the priests' garments, and the firstfruits, and the tithes: and the Nazarites they stirred up, who had accomplished their days.
50 Then cried they with a loud voice toward heaven, saying, What shall we do with these, and whither shall we carry them away?
51 For thy sanctuary is trodden down and profaned, and thy priests are in heaviness, and brought low.
52 And lo, the heathen are assembled together against us to destroy us: what things they imagine against us, thou knowest.
53 How shall we be able to stand against them, except thou, O God, be our help?
54 Then sounded they with trumpets, and cried with a loud voice.
55 And after this Judas ordained captains over the people, even captains over thousands, and over hundreds, and over fifties, and over tens.
56 But as for such as were building houses, or had betrothed wives, or were planting vineyards, or were fearful, those he commanded that they should return, every man to his own house, according to the law.
57 So the camp removed, and pitched upon the south side of Emmaus.
58 And Judas said, arm yourselves, and be valiant men, and see that ye be in readiness against the morning, that ye may fight with these nations, that are assembled together against us to destroy us and our sanctuary:
59 For it is better for us to die in battle, than to behold the calamities of our people and our sanctuary.
60 Nevertheless, as the will of God is in heaven, so let him do.

1 MACCABEES CHAPTER 4

1 Then took Gorgias five thousand footmen, and a thousand of the best horsemen, and removed out of the camp by night;
2 To the end he might rush in upon the camp of the Jews, and smite them suddenly. And the men of the fortress were his guides.
3 Now when Judas heard thereof he himself removed, and the valiant men with him, that he might smite the king's army which was at Emmaus,
4 While as yet the forces were dispersed from the camp.
5 In the mean season came Gorgias by night into the camp of Judas: and when he found no man there, he sought them in the mountains: for said he, These fellows flee from us
6 But as soon as it was day, Judas shewed himself in the plain with three thousand men, who nevertheless had neither armour nor swords to their minds.
7 And they saw the camp of the heathen, that it was strong and well harnessed, and compassed round about with horsemen; and these were expert of war.
8 Then said Judas to the men that were with him, Fear ye not their multitude, neither be ye afraid of their assault.
9 Remember how our fathers were delivered in the Red sea, when Pharaoh pursued them with an army.
10 Now therefore let us cry unto heaven, if peradventure the Lord will have mercy upon us, and remember the covenant of our fathers, and destroy this host before our face this day:
11 That so all the heathen may know that there is one who delivereth and saveth Israel.
12 Then the strangers lifted up their eyes, and saw them coming over against them.
13 Wherefore they went out of the camp to battle; but they that were with Judas sounded their trumpets.
14 So they joined battle, and the heathen being discomfited fled into the plain.
15 Howbeit all the hindmost of them were slain with the sword: for they pursued them unto Gazera, and unto the plains of Idumea, and Azotus, and Jamnia, so that there were slain of them upon a three thousand men.
16 This done, Judas returned again with his host from pursuing them,
17 And said to the people, Be not greedy of the spoil inasmuch as there is a battle before us,
18 And Gorgias and his host are here by us in the mountain: but stand ye now against our enemies, and overcome them, and after this ye may boldly take the spoils.
19 As Judas was yet speaking these words, there appeared a part of them looking out of the mountain:
20 Who when they perceived that the Jews had put their host to flight and were burning the tents; for the smoke that was seen declared what was done:
21 When therefore they perceived these things, they were sore afraid, and seeing also the host of Judas in the plain ready to fight,
22 They fled every one into the land of strangers.
23 Then Judas returned to spoil the tents, where they got much gold, and silver, and blue silk, and purple of the sea, and great riches.
24 After this they went home, and sung a song of thanksgiving, and praised the Lord in heaven: because it is good, because his mercy endureth forever.
25 Thus Israel had a great deliverance that day.
26 Now all the strangers that had escaped came and told Lysias what had happened:
27 Who, when he heard thereof, was confounded and discouraged, because neither such things as he would were done unto Israel, nor such things as the king commanded him were come to pass.
28 The next year therefore following Lysias gathered together threescore thousand choice men of foot, and five thousand horsemen, that he might subdue them.
29 So they came into Idumea, and pitched their tents at Bethsura, and Judas met them with ten thousand men.
30 And when he saw that mighty army, he prayed and said, Blessed art thou, O Saviour of Israel, who didst quell the violence of the mighty man by the hand of thy servant David, and gavest the host of strangers into the hands of Jonathan the son of Saul, and his armourbearer;
31 Shut up this army in the hand of thy people Israel, and let them be confounded in their power and horsemen:
32 Make them to be of no courage, and cause the boldness of their strength to fall away, and let them quake at their destruction:
33 Cast them down with the sword of them that love thee, and let all those that know thy name praise thee with thanksgiving.
34 So they joined battle; and there were slain of the host of Lysias about five thousand men, even before them were they slain.
35 Now when Lysias saw his army put to flight, and the manliness of Judas' soldiers, and how they were ready either to live or die valiantly, he went into Antiochia, and gathered together a company of strangers, and having made his army greater than it was, he purposed to come again into Judea.
36 Then said Judas and his brethren, Behold, our enemies are discomfited: let us go up to cleanse and dedicate the sanctuary.
37 Upon this all the host assembled themselves together, and went up into mount Sion.
38 And when they saw the sanctuary desolate, and the altar profaned, and the gates burned up, and shrubs growing in the courts as in a forest, or in one of the mountains, yea, and the priests' chambers pulled down;
39 They rent their clothes, and made great lamentation, and cast ashes upon their heads,
40 And fell down flat to the ground upon their faces, and blew an alarm with the trumpets, and cried toward heaven.
41 Then Judas appointed certain men to fight against those that were in the fortress, until he had cleansed the sanctuary.
42 So he chose priests of blameless conversation, such as had pleasure in the law:
43 Who cleansed the sanctuary, and bare out the defiled stones into an unclean place.
44 And when as they consulted what to do with the altar of burnt offerings, which was profaned;
45 They thought it best to pull it down, lest it should be a reproach to them, because the heathen had defiled it: wherefore they pulled it down,
46 And laid up the stones in the mountain of the temple in a convenient place, until there should come a prophet to shew what should be done with them.
47 Then they took whole stones according to the law, and built a new altar according to the former;
48 And made up the sanctuary, and the things that were within the temple, and hallowed the courts.
49 They made also new holy vessels, and into the temple they brought the candlestick, and the altar of burnt offerings, and of incense, and the table.
50 And upon the altar they burned incense, and the lamps that were upon the candlestick they lighted, that they might give light in the temple.
51 Furthermore they set the loaves upon the table, and spread out the veils, and finished all the works which they had begun to make.
52 Now on the five and twentieth day of the ninth month, which is called the month Casleu, in the hundred forty and eighth year, they rose up betimes in the morning,
53 And offered sacrifice according to the law upon the new altar of burnt offerings, which they had made.
54 Look, at what time and what day the heathen had profaned it, even in that was it dedicated with songs, and citherns, and harps, and cymbals.
55 Then all the people fell upon their faces, worshipping and praising the God of heaven, who had given them good success.
56 And so they kept the dedication of the altar eight days and offered burnt offerings with gladness, and sacrificed the sacrifice of deliverance and praise.
57 They decked also the forefront of the temple with crowns of gold, and with shields; and the gates and the chambers they renewed, and hanged doors upon them.
58 Thus was there very great gladness among the people, for that the reproach of the heathen was put away.
59 Moreover Judas and his brethren with the whole congregation of Israel ordained, that the days of the dedication of the altar should be kept in their season from year to year by the space of eight days, from the five and twentieth day of the month Casleu, with mirth and gladness.
60 At that time also they builded up the mount Sion with high walls and strong towers round about, lest the Gentiles should come and tread it down as they had done before.
61 And they set there a garrison to keep it, and fortified Bethsura to preserve it; that the people might have a defence against Idumea.

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1 MACCABEES CHAPTER 5

1 Now when the nations round about heard that the altar was built and the sanctuary renewed as before, it displeased them very much.

2 Wherefore they thought to destroy the generation of Jacob that was among them, and thereupon they began to slay and destroy the people.

3 Then Judas fought against the children of Esau in Idumea at Arabattine, because they besieged Gael: and he gave them a great overthrow, and abated their courage, and took their spoils.

4 Also he remembered the injury of the children of Bean, who had been a snare and an offence unto the people, in that they lay in wait for them in the ways.

5 He shut them up therefore in the towers, and encamped against them, and destroyed them utterly, and burned the towers of that place with fire, and all that were therein.

6 Afterward he passed over to the children of Ammon, where he found a mighty power, and much people, with Timotheus their captain.

7 So he fought many battles with them, till at length they were discomfited before him; and he smote them.

8 And when he had taken Jazar, with the towns belonging thereto, he returned into Judea.

9 Then the heathen that were at Galaad assembled themselves together against the Israelites that were in their quarters, to destroy them; but they fled to the fortress of Dathema.

10 And sent letters unto Judas and his brethren, The heathen that are round about us are assembled together against us to destroy us:

11 And they are preparing to come and take the fortress whereunto we are fled, Timotheus being captain of their host.

12 Come now therefore, and deliver us from their hands, for many of us are slain:

13 Yea, all our brethren that were in the places of Tobie are put to death: their wives and their children also they have carried away captives, and borne away their stuff; and they have destroyed there about a thousand men.

14 While these letters were yet reading, behold, there came other messengers from Galilee with their clothes rent, who reported on this wise,

15 And said, They of Ptolemais, and of Tyrus, and Sidon, and all Galilee of the Gentiles, are assembled together against us to consume us.

16 Now when Judas and the people heard these words, there assembled a great congregation together, to consult what they should do for their brethren, that were in trouble, and assaulted of them.

17 Then said Judas unto Simon his brother, Choose thee out men, and go and deliver thy brethren that are in Galilee, for I and Jonathan my brother will go into the country of Galaad.

18 So he left Joseph the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, captains of the people, with the remnant of the host in Judea to keep it.

19 Unto whom he gave commandment, saying, Take ye the charge of this people, and see that ye make not war against the heathen until the time that we come again.

20 Now unto Simon were given three thousand men to go into Galilee, and unto Judas eight thousand men for the country of Galaad.

21 Then went Simon into Galilee, where he fought many battles with the heathen, so that the heathen were discomfited by him.

22 And he pursued them unto the gate of Ptolemais; and there were slain of the heathen about three thousand men, whose spoils he took.

23 And those that were in Galilee, and in Arbattis, with their wives and their children, and all that they had, took he away with him, and brought them into Judea with great joy.

24 Judas Maccabeus also and his brother Jonathan went over Jordan, and travelled three days' journey in the wilderness,

25 Where they met with the Nabathites, who came unto them in a peaceable manner, and told them every thing that had happened to their brethren in the land of Galaad:

26 And how that many of them were shut up in Bosora, and Bosor, and Alema, Casphor, Maked, and Carnaim; all these cities are strong and great:

27 And that they were shut up in the rest of the cities of the country of Galaad, and that against to morrow they had appointed to bring their host against the forts, and to take them, and to destroy them all in one day.

28 Hereupon Judas and his host turned suddenly by the way of the wilderness unto Bosora; and when he had won the city, he slew all the males with the edge of the sword, and took all their spoils, and burned the city with fire,

29 From whence he removed by night, and went till he came to the fortress.

30 And betimes in the morning they looked up, and, behold, there was an innumerable people bearing ladders and other engines of war, to take the fortress: for they assaulted them.

31 When Judas therefore saw that the battle was begun, and that the cry of the city went up to heaven, with trumpets, and a great sound,

32 He said unto his host, Fight this day for your brethren.

33 So he went forth behind them in three companies, who sounded their trumpets, and cried with prayer.

34 Then the host of Timotheus, knowing that it was Maccabeus, fled from him: wherefore he smote them with a great slaughter; so that there were killed of them that day about eight thousand men.

35 This done, Judas turned aside to Maspha; and after he had assaulted it he took and slew all the males therein, and received the spoils thereof and and burnt it with fire.

36 From thence went he, and took Casphon, Maged, Bosor, and the other cities of the country of Galaad.

37 After these things gathered Timotheus another host and encamped against Raphon beyond the brook.

38 So Judas sent men to espy the host, who brought him word, saying, All the heathen that be round about us are assembled unto them, even a very great host.

39 He hath also hired the Arabians to help them and they have pitched their tents beyond the brook, ready to come and fight against thee. Upon this Judas went to meet them.

40 Then Timotheus said unto the captains of his host, When Judas and his host come near the brook, if he pass over first unto us, we shall not be able to withstand him; for he will mightily prevail against us:

41 But if he be afraid, and camp beyond the river, we shall go over unto him, and prevail against him.

42 Now when Judas came near the brook, he caused the scribes of the people to remain by the brook: unto whom he gave commandment, saying, Suffer no man to remain in the camp, but let all come to the battle.

43 So he went first over unto them, and all the people after him: then all the heathen, being discomfited before him, cast away their weapons, and fled unto the temple that was at Carnaim.

44 But they took the city, and burned the temple with all that were therein. Thus was Carnaim subdued, neither could they stand any longer before Judas.

45 Then Judas gathered together all the Israelites that were in the country of Galaad, from the least unto the greatest, even their wives, and their children, and their stuff, a very great host, to the end they might come into the land of Judea.

46 Now when they came unto Ephron, (this was a great city in the way as they should go, very well fortified) they could not turn from it, either on the right hand or the left, but must needs pass through the midst of it.

47 Then they of the city shut them out, and stopped up the gates with stones.

48 Whereupon Judas sent unto them in peaceable manner, saying, Let us pass through your land to go into our own country, and none shall do you any hurt; we will only pass through on foot: howbeit they would not open unto him.

49 Wherefore Judas commanded a proclamation to be made throughout the host, that every man should pitch his tent in the place where he was.

50 So the soldiers pitched, and assaulted the city all that day and all that night, till at the length the city was delivered into his hands:

51 Who then slew all the males with the edge of the sword, and rased the city, and took the spoils thereof, and passed through the city over them that were slain.

52 After this went they over Jordan into the great plain before Bethsan.

53 And Judas gathered together those that came behind, and exhorted the people all the way through, till they came into the land of Judea.

54 So they went up to mount Sion with joy and gladness, where they offered burnt offerings, because not one of them were slain until they had returned in peace.

55 Now what time as Judas and Jonathan were in the land of Galaad, and Simon his brother in Galilee before Ptolemais,

56 Joseph the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, captains of the garrisons, heard of the valiant acts and warlike deeds which they had done.

57 Wherefore they said, Let us also get us a name, and go fight against the heathen that are round about us.

58 So when they had given charge unto the garrison that was with them, they went toward Jamnia.

59 Then came Gorgias and his men out of the city to fight against them.

60 And so it was, that Joseph and Azaras were put to flight, and pursued unto the borders of Judea: and there were slain that day of the people of Israel about two thousand men.

61 Thus was there a great overthrow among the children of Israel, because they were not obedient unto Judas and his brethren, but thought to do some valiant act.

62 Moreover these men came not of the seed of those, by whose hand deliverance was given unto Israel.

63 Howbeit the man Judas and his brethren were greatly renowned in the sight of all Israel, and of all the heathen, wheresoever their name was heard of;

64 Insomuch as the people assembled unto them with joyful acclamations.

65 Afterward went Judas forth with his brethren, and fought against the children of Esau in the land toward the south, where he smote Hebron, and the towns thereof, and pulled down the fortress of it, and burned the towers thereof round about.

66 From thence he removed to go into the land of the Philistines, and passed through Samaria.

67 At that time certain priests, desirous to shew their valour, were slain in battle, for that they went out to fight unadvisedly.

68 So Judas turned to Azotus in the land of the Philistines, and when he had pulled down their altars, and burned their carved images with fire, and spoiled their cities, he returned into the land of Judea.

1 MACCABEES CHAPTER 6

1 About that time king Antiochus travelling through the high countries heard say, that Elymais in the country of Persia was a city greatly renowned for riches, silver, and gold;

2 And that there was in it a very rich temple, wherein were coverings of gold, and breastplates, and shields, which Alexander, son of Philip, the Macedonian king, who reigned first among the Grecians, had left there.

3 Wherefore he came and sought to take the city, and to spoil it; but he was not able, because they of the city, having had warning thereof,

4 Rose up against him in battle: so he fled, and departed thence with great heaviness, and returned to Babylon.

5 Moreover there came one who brought him tidings into Persia, that the armies, which went against the land of Judea, were put to flight:

6 And that Lysias, who went forth first with a great power was driven away of the Jews; and that they were made strong by the armour, and power, and store of spoils, which they had gotten of the armies, whom they had destroyed:

7 Also that they had pulled down the abomination, which he had set up upon the altar in Jerusalem, and that they had compassed about the sanctuary with high walls, as before, and his city Bethsura.

8 Now when the king heard these words, he was astonished and sore moved: whereupon he laid him down upon his bed, and fell sick for grief, because it had not befallen him as he looked for.

9 And there he continued many days: for his grief was ever more and more, and he made account that he should die.

10 Wherefore he called for all his friends, and said unto them, The sleep is gone from mine eyes, and my heart faileth for very care.

11 And I thought with myself, Into what tribulation am I come, and how great a flood of misery is it, wherein now I am! for I was bountiful and beloved in my power.

12 But now I remember the evils that I did at Jerusalem, and that I took all the vessels of gold and silver that were therein, and sent to destroy the inhabitants of Judea without a cause.

13 I perceive therefore that for this cause these troubles are come upon me, and, behold, I perish through great grief in a strange land.

14 Then called he for Philip, one of his friends, who he made ruler over all his realm,

15 And gave him the crown, and his robe, and his signet, to the end he should bring up his son Antiochus, and nourish him up for the kingdom.

16 So king Antiochus died there in the hundred forty and ninth year.

17 Now when Lysias knew that the king was dead, he set up Antiochus his son, whom he had brought up being young, to reign in his stead, and his name he called Eupator.

18 About this time they that were in the tower shut up the Israelites round about the sanctuary, and sought always their hurt, and the strengthening of the heathen.

19 Wherefore Judas, purposing to destroy them, called all the people together to besiege them.

20 So they came together, and besieged them in the hundred and fiftieth year, and he made mounts for shot against them, and other engines.

21 Howbeit certain of them that were besieged got forth, unto whom some ungodly men of Israel joined themselves:

22 And they went unto the king, and said, How long will it be ere thou execute judgement, and avenge our brethren?

23 We have been willing to serve thy father, and to do as he would have us, and to obey his commandments;

24 For which cause they of our nation besiege the tower, and are alienated from us: moreover as many of us as they could light on they slew, and spoiled our inheritance.

25 Neither have they stretched out their hand against us only, but also against their borders.

26 And, behold, this day are they besieging the tower at Jerusalem, to take it: the sanctuary also and Bethsura have they fortified.

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27 Wherefore if thou dost not prevent them quickly, they will do the greater things than these, neither shalt thou be able to rule them.
28 Now when the king heard this, he was angry, and gathered together all his friends, and the captains of his army, and those that had charge of the horse.
29 There came also unto him from other kingdoms, and from isles of the sea, bands of hired soldiers.
30 So that the number of his army was an hundred thousand footmen, and twenty thousand horsemen, and two and thirty elephants exercised in battle.
31 These went through Idumea, and pitched against Bethsura, which they assaulted many days, making engines of war; but they of Bethsura came out, and burned them with fire, and fought valiantly.
32 Upon this Judas removed from the tower, and pitched in Bathzacharias, over against the king's camp.
33 Then the king rising very early marched fiercely with his host toward Bathzacharias, where his armies made them ready to battle, and sounded the trumpets.
34 And to the end they might provoke the elephants to fight, they shewed them the blood of grapes and mulberries.
35 Moreover they divided the beasts among the armies, and for every elephant they appointed a thousand men, armed with coats of mail, and with helmets of brass on their heads; and beside this, for every beast were ordained five hundred horsemen of the best.
36 These were ready at every occasion: wheresoever the beast was, and whithersoever the beast went, they went also, neither departed they from him.
37 And upon the beasts were there strong towers of wood, which covered every one of them, and were girt fast unto them with devices: there were also upon every one two and thirty strong men, that fought upon them, beside the Indian that ruled him.
38 As for the remnant of the horsemen, they set them on this side and that side at the two parts of the host giving them signs what to do, and being harnessed all over amidst the ranks.
39 Now when the sun shone upon the shields of gold and brass, the mountains glistered therewith, and shined like lamps of fire.
40 So part of the king's army being spread upon the high mountains, and part on the valleys below, they marched on safely and in order.
41 Wherefore all that heard the noise of their multitude, and the marching of the company, and the rattling of the harness, were moved: for the army was very great and mighty.
42 Then Judas and his host drew near, and entered into battle, and there were slain of the king's army six hundred men.
43 Eleazar also, surnamed Savaran, perceiving that one of the beasts, armed with royal harness, was higher than all the rest, and supposing that the king was upon him,
44 Put himself in jeopardy, to the end he might deliver his people, and get him a perpetual name:
45 Wherefore he ran upon him courageously through the midst of the battle, slaying on the right hand and on the left, so that they were divided from him on both sides.
46 Which done, he crept under the elephant, and thrust him under, and slew him: whereupon the elephant fell down upon him, and there he died.
47 Howbeit the rest of the Jews seeing the strength of the king, and the violence of his forces, turned away from them.
48 Then the king's army went up to Jerusalem to meet them, and the king pitched his tents against Judea, and against mount Sion.
49 But with them that were in Bethsura he made peace: for they came out of the city, because they had no victuals there to endure the siege, it being a year of rest to the land.
50 So the king took Bethsura, and set a garrison there to keep it.
51 As for the sanctuary, he besieged it many days: and set there artillery with engines and instruments to cast fire and stones, and pieces to cast darts and slings.
52 Whereupon they also made engines against their engines, and held them battle a long season.
53 Yet at the last, their vessels being without victuals, (for that it was the seventh year, and they in Judea that were delivered from the Gentiles, had eaten up the residue of the store;)
54 There were but a few left in the sanctuary, because the famine did so prevail against them, that they were fain to disperse themselves, every man to his own place.
55 At that time Lysias heard say, that Philip, whom Antiochus the king, whiles he lived, had appointed to bring up his son Antiochus, that he might be king,
56 Was returned out of Persia and Media, and the king's host also that went with him, and that he sought to take unto him the ruling of the affairs.
57 Wherefore he went in all haste, and said to the king and the captains of the host and the company, We decay daily, and our victuals are but small, and the place we lay siege unto is strong, and the affairs of the kingdom lie upon us:
58 Now therefore let us be friends with these men, and make peace with them, and with all their nation;
59 And covenant with them, that they shall live after their laws, as they did before: for they are therefore displeased, and have done all these things, because we abolished their laws.
60 So the king and the princes were content: wherefore he sent unto them to make peace; and they accepted thereof.
61 Also the king and the princes made an oath unto them: whereupon they went out of the strong hold.
62 Then the king entered into mount Sion; but when he saw the strength of the place, he broke his oath that he had made, and gave commandment to pull down the wall round about.
63 Afterward departed he in all haste, and returned unto Antiochia, where he found Philip to be master of the city: so he fought against him, and took the city by force.

1 MACCABEES CHAPTER 7

1 In the hundred and one and fiftieth year Demetrius the son of Seleucus departed from Rome, and came up with a few men unto a city of the sea coast, and reigned there.
2 And as he entered into the palace of his ancestors, so it was, that his forces had taken Antiochus and Lysias, to bring them unto him.
3 Wherefore, when he knew it, he said, Let me not see their faces.
4 So his host slew them. Now when Demetrius was set upon the throne of his kingdom,
5 There came unto him all the wicked and ungodly men of Israel, having Alcimus, who was desirous to be high priest, for their captain:
6 And they accused the people to the king, saying, Judas and his brethren have slain all thy friends, and driven us out of our own land.
7 Now therefore send some man whom thou trustest, and let him go and see what havock he hath made among us, and in the king's land, and let him punish them with all them that aid them.
8 Then the king chose Bacchides, a friend of the king, who ruled beyond the flood, and was a great man in the kingdom, and faithful to the king,
9 And him he sent with that wicked Alcimus, whom he made high priest, and commanded that he should take vengeance of the children of Israel.
10 So they departed, and came with a great power into the land of Judea, where they sent messengers to Judas and his brethren with peaceable words deceitfully.
11 But they gave no heed to their words; for they saw that they were come with a great power.
12 Then did there assemble unto Alcimus and Bacchides a company of scribes, to require justice.
13 Now the Assideans were the first among the children of Israel that sought peace of them:
14 For said they, One that is a priest of the seed of Aaron is come with this army, and he will do us no wrong.
15 So he spake unto them, peaceably, and sware unto them, saying, we will procure the harm neither of you nor your friends.
16 Whereupon they believed him: howbeit he took of them threescore men, and slew them in one day, according to the words which he wrote,
17 The flesh of thy saints have they cast out, and their blood have they shed round about Jerusalem, and there was none to bury them.
18 Wherefore the fear and dread of them fell upon all the people, who said, There is neither truth nor righteousness in them; for they have broken the covenant and oath that they made.
19 After this, removed Bacchides from Jerusalem, and pitched his tents in Bezeth, where he sent and took many of the men that had forsaken him, and certain of the people also, and when he had slain them, he cast them into the great pit.
20 Then committed he the country to Alcimus, and left with him a power to aid him: so Bacchides went to the king.
21 But Alcimus contended for the high priesthood.
22 And unto him resorted all such as troubled the people, who, after they had gotten the land of Juda into their power, did much hurt in Israel.
23 Now when Judas saw all the mischief that Alcimus and his company had done among the Israelites, even above the heathen,
24 He went out into all the coasts of Judea round about, and took vengeance of them that had revolted from him, so that they durst no more go forth into the country.
25 On the other side, when Alcimus saw that Judas and his company had gotten the upper hand, and knew that he was not able to abide their force, he went again to the king, and said all the worst of them that he could.
26 Then the king sent Nicanor, one of his honourable princes, a man that bare deadly hate unto Israel, with commandment to destroy the people.
27 So Nicanor came to Jerusalem with a great force; and sent unto Judas and his brethren deceitfully with friendly words, saying,
28 Let there be no battle between me and you; I will come with a few men, that I may see you in peace.
29 He came therefore to Judas, and they saluted one another peaceably. Howbeit the enemies were prepared to take away Judas by violence.
30 Which thing after it was known to Judas, to wit, that he came unto him with deceit, he was sore afraid of him, and would see his face no more.
31 Nicanor also, when he saw that his counsel was discovered, went out to fight against Judas beside Capharsalama:
32 Where there were slain of Nicanor's side about five thousand men, and the rest fled into the city of David.
33 After this went Nicanor up to mount Sion, and there came out of the sanctuary certain of the priests and certain of the elders of the people, to salute him peaceably, and to shew him the burnt sacrifice that was offered for the king.
34 But he mocked them, and laughed at them, and abused them shamefully, and spake proudly,
35 And sware in his wrath, saying, Unless Judas and his host be now delivered into my hands, if ever I come again in safety, I will burn up this house: and with that he went out in a great rage.
36 Then the priests entered in, and stood before the altar and the temple, weeping, and saying,
37 Thou, O Lord, didst choose this house to be called by thy name, and to be a house of prayer and petition for thy people:
38 Be avenged of this man and his host, and let them fall by the sword: remember their blasphemies, and suffer them not to continue any longer.
39 So Nicanor went out of Jerusalem, and pitched his tents in Bethhoron, where an host out of Syria met him.
40 But Judas pitched in Adasa with three thousand men, and there he prayed, saying,
41 O Lord, when they that were sent from the king of the Assyrians blasphemed, thine angel went out, and smote an hundred fourscore and five thousand of them.
42 Even so destroy thou this host before us this day, that the rest may know that he hath spoken blasphemously against thy sanctuary, and judge thou him according to his wickedness.
43 So the thirteenth day of the month Adar the hosts joined battle: but Nicanor's host was discomfited, and he himself was first slain in the battle.
44 Now when Nicanor's host saw that he was slain, they cast away their weapons, and fled.
45 Then they pursued after them a day's journey, from Adasa unto Gazera, sounding an alarm after them with their trumpets.
46 Whereupon they came forth out of all the towns of Judea round about, and closed them in; so that they, turning back upon them that pursued them, were all slain with the sword, and not one of them was left.
47 Afterwards they took the spoils, and the prey, and smote off Nicanors head, and his right hand, which he stretched out so proudly, and brought them away, and hanged them up toward Jerusalem.
48 For this cause the people rejoiced greatly, and they kept that day a day of great gladness.
49 Moreover they ordained to keep yearly this day, being the thirteenth of Adar.
50 Thus the land of Juda was in rest a little while.

1 MACCABEES CHAPTER 8

1 Now Judas had heard of the Romans, that they were mighty and valiant men, and such as would lovingly accept all that joined themselves unto them, and make a league of amity with all that came unto them;
2 And that they were men of great valour. It was told him also of their wars and noble acts which they had done among the Galatians, and how they had conquered them, and brought them under tribute;
3 And what they had done in the country of Spain, for the winning of the mines of the silver and gold which is there;
4 And that by their policy and patience they had conquered all the place, though it were very far from them; and the kings also that came against them from the uttermost part of the earth, till they had discomfited them, and given them a great overthrow, so that the rest did give them tribute every year:
5 Beside this, how they had discomfited in battle Philip, and Perseus, king of the Citims, with others that lifted up themselves against them, and had overcome them:
6 How also Antiochus the great king of Asia, that came against them in battle, having an hundred and twenty elephants, with horsemen, and chariots, and a very great army, was discomfited by them;
7 And how they took him alive, and covenanted that he and such as reigned after him should pay a great tribute, and give hostages, and that which was agreed upon,
8 And the country of India, and Media and Lydia and of the goodliest countries, which they took of him, and gave to king Eumenes:
9 Moreover how the Grecians had determined to come and destroy them;

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10 And that they, having knowledge thereof sent against them a certain captain, and fighting with them slew many of them, and carried away captives their wives and their children, and spoiled them, and took possession of their lands, and pulled down their strong holds, and brought them to be their servants unto this day:

11 It was told him besides, how they destroyed and brought under their dominion all other kingdoms and isles that at any time resisted them;

12 But with their friends and such as relied upon them they kept amity: and that they had conquered kingdoms both far and nigh, insomuch as all that heard of their name were afraid of them:

13 Also that, whom they would help to a kingdom, those reign; and whom again they would, they displace: finally, that they were greatly exalted:

14 Yet for all this none of them wore a crown or was clothed in purple, to be magnified thereby:

15 Moreover how they had made for themselves a senate house, wherein three hundred and twenty men sat in council daily, consulting alway for the people, to the end they might be well ordered:

16 And that they committed their government to one man every year, who ruled over all their country, and that all were obedient to that one, and that there was neither envy nor emmulation among them.

17 In consideration of these things, Judas chose Eupolemus the son of John, the son of Accos, and Jason the son of Eleazar, and sent them to Rome, to make a league of amity and confederacy with them,

18 And to intreat them that they would take the yoke from them; for they saw that the kingdom of the Grecians did oppress Israel with servitude.

19 They went therefore to Rome, which was a very great journey, and came into the senate, where they spake and said.

20 Judas Maccabeus with his brethren, and the people of the Jews, have sent us unto you, to make a confederacy and peace with you, and that we might be registered your confederates and friends.

21 So that matter pleased the Romans well.

22 And this is the copy of the epistle which the senate wrote back again in tables of brass, and sent to Jerusalem, that there they might have by them a memorial of peace and confederacy:

23 Good success be to the Romans, and to the people of the Jews, by sea and by land for ever: the sword also and enemy be far from them,

24 If there come first any war upon the Romans or any of their confederates throughout all their dominion,

25 The people of the Jews shall help them, as the time shall be appointed, with all their heart:

26 Neither shall they give any thing unto them that make war upon them, or aid them with victuals, weapons, money, or ships, as it hath seemed good unto the Romans; but they shall keep their covenants without taking any thing therefore.

27 In the same manner also, if war come first upon the nation of the Jews, the Romans shall help them with all their heart, according as the time shall be appointed them:

28 Neither shall victuals be given to them that take part against them, or weapons, or money, or ships, as it hath seemed good to the Romans; but they shall keep their covenants, and that without deceit.

29 According to these articles did the Romans make a covenant with the people of the Jews.

30 Howbeit if hereafter the one party or the other shall think to meet to add or diminish any thing, they may do it at their pleasures, and whatsoever they shall add or take away shall be ratified.

31 And as touching the evils that Demetrius doeth to the Jews, we have written unto him, saying, Wherefore thou made thy yoke heavy upon our friends and confederates the Jews?

32 If therefore they complain any more against thee, we will do them justice, and fight with thee by sea and by land.

1 MACCABEES CHAPTER 9

1 Furthermore, when Demetrius heard the Nicanor and his host were slain in battle, he sent Bacchides and Alcimus into the land of Judea the second time, and with them the chief strength of his host:

2 Who went forth by the way that leadeth to Galgala, and pitched their tents before Masaloth, which is in Arbela, and after they had won it, they slew much people.

3 Also the first month of the hundred fifty and second year they encamped before Jerusalem:

4 From whence they removed, and went to Berea, with twenty thousand footmen and two thousand horsemen.

5 Now Judas had pitched his tents at Eleasa, and three thousand chosen men with him:

6 Who seeing the multitude of the other army to he so great were sore afraid; whereupon many conveyed themselves out of the host, insomuch as abode of them no more but eight hundred men.

7 When Judas therefore saw that his host slipt away, and that the battle pressed upon him, he was sore troubled in mind, and much distressed, for that he had no time to gather them together.

8 Nevertheless unto them that remained he said, Let us arise and go up against our enemies, if peradventure we may be able to fight with them.

9 But they dehorted him, saying, We shall never be able: let us now rather save our lives, and hereafter we will return with our brethren, and fight against them: for we are but few.

10 Then Judas said, God forbid that I should do this thing, and flee away from them: if our time be come, let us die manfully for our brethren, and let us not stain our honour.

11 With that the host of Bacchides removed out of their tents, and stood over against them, their horsemen being divided into two troops, and their slingers and archers going before the host and they that marched in the foreward were all mighty men.

12 As for Bacchides, he was in the right wing: so the host drew near on the two parts, and sounded their trumpets.

13 They also of Judas' side, even they sounded their trumpets also, so that the earth shook at the noise of the armies, and the battle continued from morning till night.

14 Now when Judas perceived that Bacchides and the strength of his army were on the right side, he took with him all the hardy men,

15 Who discomfited the right wing, and pursued them unto the mount Azotus.

16 But when they of the left wing saw that they of the right wing were discomfited, they followed upon Judas and those that were with him hard at the heels from behind:

17 Whereupon there was a sore battle, insomuch as many were slain on both parts.

18 Judas also was killed, and the remnant fled.

19 Then Jonathan and Simon took Judas their brother, and buried him in the sepulchre of his fathers in Modin.

20 Moreover they bewailed him, and all Israel made great lamentation for him, and mourned many days, saying,

21 How is the valiant man fallen, that delivered Israel!

22 As for the other things concerning Judas and his wars, and the noble acts which he did, and his greatness, they are not written: for they were very many.

23 Now after the death of Judas the wicked began to put forth their heads in all the coasts of Israel, and there arose up all such as wrought iniquity.

24 In those days also was there a very great famine, by reason whereof the country revolted, and went with them.

25 Then Bacchides chose the wicked men, and made them lords of the country.

26 And they made enquiry and search for Judas' friends, and brought them unto Bacchides, who took vengeance of them, and used them despitefully.

27 So was there a great affliction in Israel, the like whereof was not since the time that a prophet was not seen among them.

28 For this cause all Judas' friends came together, and said unto Jonathan,

29 Since thy brother Judas died, we have no man like him to go forth against our enemies, and Bacchides, and against them of our nation that are adversaries to us.

30 Now therefore we have chosen thee this day to be our prince and captain in his stead, that thou mayest fight our battles.

31 Upon this Jonathan took the governance upon him at that time, and rose up instead of his brother Judas.

32 But when Bacchides gat knowledge thereof, he sought for to slay him

33 Then Jonathan, and Simon his brother, and all that were with him, perceiving that, fled into the wilderness of Thecoe, and pitched their tents by the water of the pool Asphar.

34 Which when Bacchides understood, he came near to Jordan with all his host upon the sabbath day.

35 Now Jonathan had sent his brother John, a captain of the people, to pray his friends the Nabathites, that they might leave with them their carriage, which was much.

36 But the children of Jambri came out of Medaba, and took John, and all that he had, and went their way with it.

37 After this came word to Jonathan and Simon his brother, that the children of Jambri made a great marriage, and were bringing the bride from Nadabatha with a great train, as being the daughter of one of the great princes of Chanaan.

38 Therefore they remembered John their brother, and went up, and hid themselves under the covert of the mountain:

39 Where they lifted up their eyes, and looked, and, behold, there was much ado and great carriage: and the bridegroom came forth, and his friends and brethren, to meet them with drums, and instruments of musick, and many weapons.

40 Then Jonathan and they that were with him rose up against them from the place where they lay in ambush, and made a slaughter of them in such sort, as many fell down dead, and the remnant fled into the mountain, and they took all their spoils.

41 Thus was the marriage turned into mourning, and the noise of their melody into lamentation.

42 So when they had avenged fully the blood of their brother, they turned again to the marsh of Jordan.

43 Now when Bacchides heard hereof, he came on the sabbath day unto the banks of Jordan with a great power.

44 Then Jonathan said to his company, Let us go up now and fight for our lives, for it standeth not with us to day, as in time past:

45 For, behold, the battle is before us and behind us, and the water of Jordan on this side and that side, the marsh likewise and wood, neither is there place for us to turn aside.

46 Wherefore cry ye now unto heaven, that ye may be delivered from the hand of your enemies.

47 With that they joined battle, and Jonathan stretched forth his hand to smite Bacchides, but he turned back from him.

48 Then Jonathan and they that were with him leapt into Jordan, and swam over unto the other bank: howbeit the other passed not over Jordan unto them.

49 So there were slain of Bacchides' side that day about a thousand men.

50 Afterward returned Bacchides to Jerusalem and repaired the strong cites in Judea; the fort in Jericho, and Emmaus, and Bethhoron, and Bethel, and Thamnatha, Pharathoni, and Taphon, these did he strengthen with high walls, with gates and with bars.

51 And in them he set a garrison, that they might work malice upon Israel.

52 He fortified also the city Bethsura, and Gazera, and the tower, and put forces in them, and provision of victuals.

53 Besides, he took the chief men's sons in the country for hostages, and put them into the tower at Jerusalem to be kept.

54 Moreover in the hundred fifty and third year, in the second month, Alcimus commanded that the wall of the inner court of the sanctuary should be pulled down; he pulled down also the works of the prophets

55 And as he began to pull down, even at that time was Alcimus plagued, and his enterprizes hindered: for his mouth was stopped, and he was taken with a palsy, so that he could no more speak any thing, nor give order concerning his house.

56 So Alcimus died at that time with great torment.

57 Now when Bacchides saw that Alcimus was dead, he returned to the king: whereupon the land of Judea was in rest two years.

58 Then all the ungodly men held a council, saying, Behold, Jonathan and his company are at ease, and dwell without care: now therefore we will bring Bacchides hither, who shall take them all in one night.

59 So they went and consulted with him.

60 Then removed he, and came with a great host, and sent letters privily to his adherents in Judea, that they should take Jonathan and those that were with him: howbeit they could not, because their counsel was known unto them.

61 Wherefore they took of the men of the country, that were authors of that mischief, about fifty persons, and slew them.

62 Afterward Jonathan, and Simon, and they that were with him, got them away to Bethbasi, which is in the wilderness, and they repaired the decays thereof, and made it strong.

63 Which thing when Bacchides knew, he gathered together all his host, and sent word to them that were of Judea.

64 Then went he and laid siege against Bethbasi; and they fought against it a long season and made engines of war.

65 But Jonathan left his brother Simon in the city, and went forth himself into the country, and with a certain number went he forth.

66 And he smote Odonarkes and his brethren, and the children of Phasiron in their tent.

67 And when he began to smite them, and came up with his forces, Simon and his company went out of the city, and burned up the engines of war,

68 And fought against Bacchides, who was discomfited by them, and they afflicted him sore: for his counsel and travail was in vain.

69 Wherefore he was very wroth at the wicked men that gave him counsel to come into the country, inasmuch as he slew many of them, and purposed to return into his own country.

70 Whereof when Jonathan had knowledge, he sent ambassadors unto him, to the end he should make peace with him, and deliver them the prisoners.

71 Which thing he accepted, and did according to his demands, and sware unto him that he would never do him harm all the days of his life.

72 When therefore he had restored unto him the prisoners that he had taken aforetime out of the land of Judea, he returned and went his way into his own land, neither came he any more into their borders.

73 Thus the sword ceased from Israel: but Jonathan dwelt at Machmas, and began to govern the people; and he destroyed the ungodly men out of Israel.

1 MACCABEES CHAPTER 10

1 In the hundred and sixtieth year Alexander, the son of Antiochus surnamed Epiphanes, went up and took Ptolemais:

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for the people had received him, by means whereof he reigned there,

2 Now when king Demetrius heard thereof, he gathered together an exceeding great host, and went forth against him to fight.

3 Moreover Demetrius sent letters unto Jonathan with loving words, so as he magnified him.

4 For said he, Let us first make peace with him, before he join with Alexander against us:

5 Else he will remember all the evils that we have done against him, and against his brethren and his people.

6 Wherefore he gave him authority to gather together an host, and to provide weapons, that he might aid him in battle: he commanded also that the hostages that were in the tower should be delivered him.

7 Then came Jonathan to Jerusalem, and read the letters in the audience of all the people, and of them that were in the tower:

8 Who were sore afraid, when they heard that the king had given him authority to gather together an host.

9 Whereupon they of the tower delivered their hostages unto Jonathan, and he delivered them unto their parents.

10 This done, Jonathan settled himself in Jerusalem, and began to build and repair the city.

11 And he commanded the workmen to build the walls and the mount Sion and about with square stones for fortification; and they did so.

12 Then the strangers, that were in the fortresses which Bacchides had built, fled away;

13 Insomuch as every man left his place, and went into his own country.

14 Only at Bethsura certain of those that had forsaken the law and the commandments remained still: for it was their place of refuge.

15 Now when king Alexander had heard what promises Demetrius had sent unto Jonathan: when also it was told him of the battles and noble acts which he and his brethren had done, and of the pains that they had endured,

16 He said, Shall we find such another man? now therefore we will make him our friend and confederate.

17 Upon this he wrote a letter, and sent it unto him, according to these words, saying,

18 King Alexander to his brother Jonathan sendeth greeting:

19 We have heard of thee, that thou art a man of great power, and meet to be our friend.

20 Wherefore now this day we ordain thee to be the high priest of thy nation, and to be called the king's friend; (and therewithal he sent him a purple robe and a crown of gold:) and require thee to take our part, and keep friendship with us.

21 So in the seventh month of the hundred and sixtieth year, at the feast of the tabernacles, Jonathan put on the holy robe, and gathered together forces, and provided much armour.

22 Whereof when Demetrius heard, he was very sorry, and said,

23 What have we done, that Alexander hath prevented us in making amity with the Jews to strengthen himself?

24 I also will write unto them words of encouragement, and promise them dignities and gifts, that I may have their aid.

25 He sent unto them therefore to this effect: King Demetrius unto the people of the Jews sendeth greeting:

26 Whereas ye have kept covenants with us, and continued in our friendship, not joining yourselves with our enemies, we have heard hereof, and are glad.

27 Wherefore now continue ye still to be faithful unto us, and we will well recompense you for the things ye do in our behalf,

28 And will grant you many immunities, and give you rewards.

29 And now do I free you, and for your sake I release all the Jews, from tributes, and from the customs of salt, and from crown taxes,

30 And from that which appertaineth unto me to receive for the third part or the seed, and the half of the fruit of the trees, I release it from this day forth, so that they shall not be taken of the land of Judea, nor of the three governments which are added thereunto out of the country of Samaria and Galilee, from this day forth for evermore.

31 Let Jerusalem also be holy and free, with the borders thereof, both from tenths and tributes.

32 And as for the tower which is at Jerusalem, I yield up authority over it, and give the high priest, that he may set in it such men as he shall choose to keep it.

33 Moreover I freely set at liberty every one of the Jews, that were carried captives out of the land of Judea into any part of my kingdom, and I will that all my officers remit the tributes even of their cattle.

34 Furthermore I will that all the feasts, and sabbaths, and new moons, and solemn days, and the three days before the feast, and the three days after the feast shall be all of immunity and freedom for all the Jews in my realm.

35 Also no man shall have authority to meddle with or to molest any of them in any matter.

36 I will further, that there be enrolled among the king's forces about thirty thousand men of the Jews, unto whom pay shall be given, as belongeth to all king's forces.

37 And of them some shall be placed in the king's strong holds, of whom also some shall be set over the affairs of the kingdom, which are of trust: and I will that their overseers and governors be of themselves, and that they live after their own laws, even as the king hath commanded in the land of Judea.

38 And concerning the three governments that are added to Judea from the country of Samaria, let them be joined with Judea, that they may be reckoned to be under one, nor bound to obey other authority than the high priest's.

39 As for Ptolemais, and the land pertaining thereto, I give it as a free gift to the sanctuary at Jerusalem for the necessary expences of the sanctuary.

40 Moreover I give every year fifteen thousand shekels of silver out of the king's accounts from the places appertaining.

41 And all the overplus, which the officers payed not in as in former time, from henceforth shall be given toward the works of the temple.

42 And beside this, the five thousand shekels of silver, which they took from the uses of the temple out of the accounts year by year, even those things shall be released, because they appertain to the priests that minister.

43 And whosoever they be that flee unto the temple at Jerusalem, or be within the liberties hereof, being indebted unto the king, or for any other matter, let them be at liberty, and all that they have in my realm.

44 For the building also and repairing of the works of the sanctuary expences shall be given of the king's accounts.

45 Yea, and for the building of the walls of Jerusalem, and the fortifying thereof round about, expences shall be given out of the king's accounts, as also for the building of the walls in Judea.

46 Now when Jonathan and the people heard these words, they gave no credit unto them, nor received them, because they remembered the great evil that he had done in Israel; for he had afflicted them very sore.

47 But with Alexander they were well pleased, because he was the first that entreated of true peace with them, and they were confederate with him always.

48 Then gathered king Alexander great forces, and camped over against Demetrius.

49 And after the two kings had joined battle, Demetrius' host fled: but Alexander followed after him, and prevailed against them.

50 And he continued the battle very sore until the sun went down: and that day was Demetrius slain.

51 Afterward Alexander sent ambassadors to Ptolemee king of Egypt with a message to this effect:

52 Forasmuch as I am come again to my realm, and am set in the throne of my progenitors, and have gotten the dominion, and overthrown Demetrius, and recovered our country;

53 For after I had joined battle with him, both he and his host was discomfited by us, so that we sit in the throne of his kingdom:

54 Now therefore let us make a league of amity together, and give me now thy daughter to wife: and I will be thy son in law, and will give both thee and her as according to thy dignity.

55 Then Ptolemee the king gave answer, saying, Happy be the day wherein thou didst return into the land of thy fathers, and satest in the throne of their kingdom.

56 And now will I do to thee, as thou hast written: meet me therefore at Ptolemais, that we may see one another; for I will marry my daughter to thee according to thy desire.

57 So Ptolemee went out of Egypt with his daughter Cleopatra, and they came unto Ptolemais in the hundred threescore and second year:

58 Where king Alexander meeting him, he gave unto him his daughter Cleopatra, and celebrated her marriage at Ptolemais with great glory, as the manner of kings is.

59 Now king Alexander had written unto Jonathan, that he should come and meet him.

60 Who thereupon went honourably to Ptolemais, where he met the two kings, and gave them and their friends silver and gold, and many presents, and found favour in their sight.

61 At that time certain pestilent fellows of Israel, men of a wicked life, assembled themselves against him, to accuse him: but the king would not hear them.

62 Yea more than that, the king commanded to take off his garments, and clothe him in purple: and they did so.

63 And he made him sit by himself, and said into his princes, Go with him into the midst of the city, and make proclamation, that no man complain against him of any matter, and that no man trouble him for any manner of cause.

64 Now when his accusers saw that he was honored according to the proclamation, and clothed in purple, they fled all away.

65 So the king honoured him, and wrote him among his chief friends, and made him a duke, and partaker of his dominion.

66 Afterward Jonathan returned to Jerusalem with peace and gladness.

67 Furthermore in the; hundred threescore and fifth year came Demetrius son of Demetrius out of Crete into the land of his fathers:

68 Whereof when king Alexander heard tell, he was right sorry, and returned into Antioch.

69 Then Demetrius made Apollonius the governor of Celosyria his general, who gathered together a great host, and camped in Jamnia, and sent unto Jonathan the high priest, saying,

70 Thou alone liftest up thyself against us, and I am laughed to scorn for thy sake, and reproached: and why dost thou vaunt thy power against us in the mountains?

71 Now therefore, if thou trustest in thine own strength, come down to us into the plain field, and there let us try the matter together: for with me is the power of the cities.

72 Ask and learn who I am, and the rest that take our part, and they shall tell thee that thy foot is not able to to flight in their own land.

73 Wherefore now thou shalt not be able to abide the horsemen and so great a power in the plain, where is neither stone nor flint, nor place to flee unto.

74 So when Jonathan heard these words of Apollonius, he was moved in his mind, and choosing ten thousand men he went out of Jerusalem, where Simon his brother met him for to help him.

75 And he pitched his tents against Joppa: but; they of Joppa shut him out of the city, because Apollonius had a garrison there.

76 Then Jonathan laid siege unto it: whereupon they of the city let him in for fear: and so Jonathan won Joppa.

77 Whereof when Apollonius heard, he took three thousand horsemen, with a great host of footmen, and went to Azotus as one that journeyed, and therewithal drew him forth into the plain. because he had a great number of horsemen, in whom he put his trust.

78 Then Jonathan followed after him to Azotus, where the armies joined battle.

79 Now Apollonius had left a thousand horsemen in ambush.

80 And Jonathan knew that there was an ambushment behind him; for they had compassed in his host, and cast darts at the people, from morning till evening.

81 But the people stood still, as Jonathan had commanded them: and so the enemies' horses were tired.

82 Then brought Simon forth his host, and set them against the footmen, (for the horsemen were spent) who were discomfited by him, and fled.

83 The horsemen also, being scattered in the field, fled to Azotus, and went into Bethdagon, their idol's temple, for safety.

84 But Jonathan set fire on Azotus, and the cities round about it, and took their spoils; and the temple of Dagon, with them that were fled into it, he burned with fire.

85 Thus there were burned and slain with the sword well nigh eight thousand men.

86 And from thence Jonathan removed his host, and camped against Ascalon, where the men of the city came forth, and met him with great pomp.

87 After this returned Jonathan and his host unto Jerusalem, having any spoils.

88 Now when king Alexander heard these things, he honoured Jonathan yet more.

89 And sent him a buckle of gold, as the use is to be given to such as are of the king's blood: he gave him also Accaron with the borders thereof in possession.

1 MACCABEES CHAPTER 11

1 And the king of Egypt gathered together a great host, like the sand that lieth upon the sea shore, and many ships, and went about through deceit to get Alexander's kingdom, and join it to his own.

2 Whereupon he took his journey into Spain in peaceable manner, so as they of the cities opened unto him, and met him: for king Alexander had commanded them so to do, because he was his brother in law.

3 Now as Ptolemee entered into the cities, he set in every one of them a garrison of soldiers to keep it.

4 And when he came near to Azotus, they shewed him the temple of Dagon that was burnt, and Azotus and the suburbs thereof that were destroyed, and the bodies that were cast abroad and them that he had burnt in the battle; for they had made heaps of them by the way where he should pass.

5 Also they told the king whatsoever Jonathan had done, to the intent he might blame him: but the king held his peace.

6 Then Jonathan met the king with great pomp at Joppa, where they saluted one another, and lodged.

7 Afterward Jonathan, when he had gone with the king to the river called Eleutherus, returned again to Jerusalem.

8 King Ptolemee therefore, having gotten the dominion of the cities by the sea unto Seleucia upon the sea coast, imagined wicked counsels against Alexander.

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9 Whereupon he sent ambasadors unto king Demetrius, saying, Come, let us make a league betwixt us, and I will give thee my daughter whom Alexander hath, and thou shalt reign in thy father's kingdom:
10 For I repent that I gave my daughter unto him, for he sought to slay me.
11 Thus did he slander him, because he was desirous of his kingdom.
12 Wherefore he took his daughter from him, and gave her to Demetrius, and forsook Alexander, so that their hatred was openly known.
13 Then Ptolemee entered into Antioch, where he set two crowns upon his head, the crown of Asia, and of Egypt.
14 In the mean season was king Alexander in Cilicia, because those that dwelt in those parts had revolted from him.
15 But when Alexander heard of this, he came to war against him: whereupon king Ptolemee brought forth his host, and met him with a mighty power, and put him to flight.
16 So Alexander fled into Arabia there to be defended; but king Ptolemee was exalted:
17 For Zabdiel the Arabian took off Alexander's head, and sent it unto Ptolemee.
18 King Ptolemee also died the third day after, and they that were in the strong holds were slain one of another.
19 By this means Demetrius reigned in the hundred threescore and seventh year.
20 At the same time Jonathan gathered together them that were in Judea to take the tower that was in Jerusalem: and he made many engines of war against it.
21 Then came ungodly persons, who hated their own people, went unto the king, and told him that Jonathan besieged the tower,
22 Whereof when he heard, he was angry, and immediately removing, he came to Ptolemais, and wrote unto Jonathan, that he should not lay siege to the tower, but come and speak with him at Ptolemais in great haste.
23 Nevertheless Jonathan, when he heard this, commanded to besiege it still: and he chose certain of the elders of Israel and the priests, and put himself in peril;
24 And took silver and gold, and raiment, and divers presents besides, and went to Ptolemais unto the king, where he found favour in his sight.
25 And though certain ungodly men of the people had made complaints against him,
26 Yet the king entreated him as his predecessors had done before, and promoted him in the sight of all his friends,
27 And confirmed him in the high priesthood, and in all the honours that he had before, and gave him preeminence among his chief friends.
28 Then Jonathan desired the king, that he would make Judea free from tribute, as also the three governments, with the country of Samaria; and he promised him three hundred talents.
29 So the king consented, and wrote letters unto Jonathan of all these things after this manner:
30 King Demetrius unto his brother Jonathan, and unto the nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting:
31 We send you here a copy of the letter which we did write unto our cousin Lasthenes concerning you, that ye might see it.
32 King Demetrius unto his father Lasthenes sendeth greeting:
33 We are determined to do good to the people of the Jews, who are our friends, and keep covenants with us, because of their good will toward us.
34 Wherefore we have ratified unto them the borders of Judea, with the three governments of Apherema and Lydda and Ramathem, that are added unto Judea from the country of Samaria, and all things appertaining unto them, for all such as do sacrifice in Jerusalem, instead of the payments which the king received of them yearly aforetime out of the fruits of the earth and of trees.
35 And as for other things that belong unto us, of the tithes and customs pertaining unto us, as also the saltpits, and the crown taxes, which are due unto us, we discharge them of them all for their relief.
36 And nothing hereof shall be revoked from this time forth for ever.
37 Now therefore see that thou make a copy of these things, and let it be delivered unto Jonathan, and set upon the holy mount in a conspicuous place.
38 After this, when king Demetrius saw that the land was quiet before him, and that no resistance was made against him, he sent away all his forces, every one to his own place, except certain bands of strangers, whom he had gathered from the isles of the heathen: wherefore all the forces of his fathers hated him.
39 Moreover there was one Tryphon, that had been of Alexander's part afore, who, seeing that all the host murmured against Demetrius, went to Simalcue the Arabian that brought up Antiochus the young son of Alexander,
40 And lay sore upon him to deliver him this young Antiochus, that he might reign in his father's stead: he told him therefore all that Demetrius had done, and how his men of war were at enmity with him, and there he remained a long season.
41 In the mean time Jonathan sent unto king Demetrius, that he would cast those of the tower out of Jerusalem, and those also in the fortresses: for they fought against Israel.
42 So Demetrius sent unto Jonathan, saying, I will not only do this for thee and thy people, but I will greatly honour thee and thy nation, if opportunity serve.
43 Now therefore thou shalt do well, if thou send me men to help me; for all my forces are gone from me.
44 Upon this Jonathan sent him three thousand strong men unto Antioch: and when they came to the king, the king was very glad of their coming.
45 Howbeit they that were of the city gathered themselves together into the midst of the city, to the number of an hundred and twenty thousand men, and would have slain the king.
46 Wherefore the king fled into the court, but they of the city kept the passages of the city, and began to fight.
47 Then the king called to the Jews for help, who came unto him all at once, and dispersing themselves through the city slew that day in the city to the number of an hundred thousand.
48 Also they set fire on the city, and gat many spoils that day, and delivered the king.
49 So when they of the city saw that the Jews had got the city as they would, their courage was abated: wherefore they made supplication to the king, and cried, saying,
50 Grant us peace, and let the Jews cease from assaulting us and the city.
51 With that they cast away their weapons, and made peace; and the Jews were honoured in the sight of the king, and in the sight of all that were in his realm; and they returned to Jerusalem, having great spoils.
52 So king Demetrius sat on the throne of his kingdom, and the land was quiet before him.
53 Nevertheless he dissembled in all that ever he spake, and estranged himself from Jonathan, neither rewarded he him according to the benefits which he had received of him, but troubled him very sore.
54 After this returned Tryphon, and with him the young child Antiochus, who reigned, and was crowned.
55 Then there gathered unto him all the men of war, whom Demetrius had put away, and they fought against Demetrius, who turned his back and fled.
56 Moreover Tryphon took the elephants, and won Antioch.
57 At that time young Antiochus wrote unto Jonathan, saying, I confirm thee in the high priesthood, and appoint thee ruler over the four governments, and to be one of the king's friends.
58 Upon this he sent him golden vessels to be served in, and gave him leave to drink in gold, and to be clothed in purple, and to wear a golden buckle.
59 His brother Simon also he made captain from the place called The ladder of Tyrus unto the borders of Egypt.
60 Then Jonathan went forth, and passed through the cities beyond the water, and all the forces of Syria gathered themselves unto him for to help him: and when he came to Ascalon, they of the city met him honourably.
61 From whence he went to Gaza, but they of Gaza shut him out; wherefore he laid siege unto it, and burned the suburbs thereof with fire, and spoiled them.
62 Afterward, when they of Gaza made supplication unto Jonathan, he made peace with them, and took the sons of their chief men for hostages, and sent them to Jerusalem, and passed through the country unto Damascus.
63 Now when Jonathan heard that Demetrius' princes were come to Cades, which is in Galilee, with a great power, purposing to remove him out of the country,
64 He went to meet them, and left Simon his brother in the country.
65 Then Simon encamped against Bethsura and fought against it a long season, and shut it up:
66 But they desired to have peace with him, which he granted them, and then put them out from thence, and took the city, and set a garrison in it.
67 As for Jonathan and his host, they pitched at the water of Gennesar, from whence betimes in the morning they gat them to the plain of Nasor.
68 And, behold, the host of strangers met them in the plain, who, having laid men in ambush for him in the mountains, came themselves over against him.
69 So when they that lay in ambush rose out of their places and joined battle, all that were of Jonathan's side fled;
70 Insomuch as there was not one of them left, except Mattathias the son of Absalom, and Judas the son of Calphi, the captains of the host.
71 Then Jonathan rent his clothes, and cast earth upon his head, and prayed.
72 Afterwards turning again to battle, he put them to flight, and so they ran away.
73 Now when his own men that were fled saw this, they turned again unto him, and with him pursued them to Cades, even unto their own tents, and there they camped.
74 So there were slain of the heathen that day about three thousand men: but Jonathan returned to Jerusalem.

1 MACCABEES CHAPTER 12

1 Now when Jonathan saw that time served him, he chose certain men, and sent them to Rome, for to confirm and renew the friendship that they had with them.
2 He sent letters also to the Lacedemonians, and to other places, for the same purpose.
3 So they went unto Rome, and entered into the senate, and said, Jonathan the high priest, and the people of the Jews, sent us unto you, to the end ye should renew the friendship, which ye had with them, and league, as in former time.
4 Upon this the Romans gave them letters unto the governors of every place that they should bring them into the land of Judea peaceably.
5 And this is the copy of the letters which Jonathan wrote to the Lacedemonians:
6 Jonathan the high priest, and the elders of the nation, and the priests, and the other of the Jews, unto the Lacedemonians their brethren send greeting:
7 There were letters sent in times past unto Onias the high priest from Darius, who reigned then among you, to signify that ye are our brethren, as the copy here underwritten doth specify.
8 At which time Onias entreated the ambassador that was sent honourably, and received the letters, wherein declaration was made of the league and friendship.
9 Therefore we also, albeit we need none of these things, that we have the holy books of scripture in our hands to comfort us,
10 Have nevertheless attempted to send unto you for the renewing of brotherhood and friendship, lest we should become strangers unto you altogether: for there is a long time passed since ye sent unto us.
11 We therefore at all times without ceasing, both in our feasts, and other convenient days, do remember you in the sacrifices which we offer, and in our prayers, as reason is, and as it becometh us to think upon our brethren:
12 And we are right glad of your honour.
13 As for ourselves, we have had great troubles and wars on every side, forsomuch as the kings that are round about us have fought against us.
14 Howbeit we would not be troublesome unto you, nor to others of our confederates and friends, in these wars:
15 For we have help from heaven that succoureth us, so as we are delivered from our enemies, and our enemies are brought under foot.
16 For this cause we chose Numenius the son of Antiochus, and Antipater the son of Jason, and sent them unto the Romans, to renew the amity that we had with them, and the former league.
17 We commanded them also to go unto you, and to salute and to deliver you our letters concerning the renewing of our brotherhood.
18 Wherefore now ye shall do well to give us an answer thereto.
19 And this is the copy of the letters which Oniares sent.
20 Areus king of the Lacedemonians to Onias the high priest, greeting:
21 It is found in writing, that the Lacedemonians and Jews are brethren, and that they are of the stock of Abraham:
22 Now therefore, since this is come to our knowledge, ye shall do well to write unto us of your prosperity.
23 We do write back again to you, that your cattle and goods are our's, and our's are your's We do command therefore our ambassadors to make report unto you on this wise.
24 Now when Jonathan heard that Demebius' princes were come to fight against him with a greater host than afore,
25 He removed from Jerusalem, and met them in the land of Amathis: for he gave them no respite to enter his country.
26 He sent spies also unto their tents, who came again, and told him that they were appointed to come upon them in the night season.
27 Wherefore so soon as the sun was down, Jonathan commanded his men to watch, and to be in arms, that all the night long they might be ready to fight: also he sent forth centinels round about the host.
28 But when the adversaries heard that Jonathan and his men were ready for battle, they feared, and trembled in their hearts, and they kindled fires in their camp.
29 Howbeit Jonathan and his company knew it not till the morning: for they saw the lights burning.
30 Then Jonathan pursued after them, but overtook them not: for they were gone over the river Eleutherus.
31 Wherefore Jonathan turned to the Arabians, who were called Zabadeans, and smote them, and took their spoils.
32 And removing thence, he came to Damascus, and so passed through all the country,
33 Simon also went forth, and passed through the country unto Ascalon, and the holds there adjoining, from whence he turned aside to Joppa, and won it.

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34 For he had heard that they would deliver the hold unto them that took Demetrius' part; wherefore he set a garrison there to keep it.

35 After this came Jonathan home again, and calling the elders of the people together, he consulted with them about building strong holds in Judea,

36 And making the walls of Jerusalem higher, and raising a great mount between the tower and the city, for to separate it from the city, that so it might be alone, that men might neither sell nor buy in it.

37 Upon this they came together to build up the city, forasmuch as part of the wall toward the brook on the east side was fallen down, and they repaired that which was called Caphenatha.

38 Simon also set up Adida in Sephela, and made it strong with gates and bars.

39 Now Tryphon went about to get the kingdom of Asia, and to kill Antiochus the king, that he might set the crown upon his own head.

40 Howbeit he was afraid that Jonathan would not suffer him, and that he would fight against him; wherefore he sought a way how to take Jonathan, that he might kill him. So he removed, and came to Bethsan.

41 Then Jonathan went out to meet him with forty thousand men chosen for the battle, and came to Bethsan.

42 Now when Tryphon saw Jonathan came with so great a force, he durst not stretch his hand against him;

43 But received him honourably, and commended him unto all his friends, and gave him gifts, and commanded his men of war to be as obedient unto him, as to himself.

44 Unto Jonathan also he said, Why hast thou brought all this people to so great trouble, seeing there is no war betwixt us?

45 Therefore send them now home again, and choose a few men to wait on thee, and come thou with me to Ptolemais, for I will give it thee, and the rest of the strong holds and forces, and all that have any charge: as for me, I will return and depart: for this is the cause of my coming.

46 So Jonathan believing him did as he bade him, and sent away his host, who went into the land of Judea.

47 And with himself he retained but three thousand men, of whom he sent two thousand into Galilee, and one thousand went with him.

48 Now as soon as Jonathan entered into Ptolemais, they of Ptolemais shut the gates and took him, and all them that came with him they slew with the sword.

49 Then sent Tryphon an host of footmen and horsemen into Galilee, and into the great plain, to destroy all Jonathan's company.

50 But when they knew that Jonathan and they that were with him were taken and slain, they encouraged one another; and went close together, prepared to fight.

51 They therefore that followed upon them, perceiving that they were ready to fight for their lives, turned back again.

52 Whereupon they all came into the land of Judea peaceably, and there they bewailed Jonathan, and them that were with him, and they were sore afraid; wherefore all Israel made great lamentation.

53 Then all the heathen that were round about then sought to destroy them: for said they, They have no captain, nor any to help them: now therefore let us make war upon them, and take away their memorial from among men.

1 MACCABEES CHAPTER 13

1 Now when Simon heard that Tryphon had gathered together a great host to invade the land of Judea, and destroy it,

2 And saw that the people was in great trembling and fear, he went up to Jerusalem, and gathered the people together,

3 And gave them exhortation, saying, Ye yourselves know what great things I, and my brethren, and my father's house, have done for the laws and the sanctuary, the battles also and troubles which we have seen.

4 By reason whereof all my brethren are slain for Israel's sake, and I am left alone.

5 Now therefore be it far from me, that I should spare mine own life in any time of trouble: for I am no better than my brethren.

6 Doubtless I will avenge my nation, and the sanctuary, and our wives, and our children: for all the heathen are gathered to destroy us of very malice.

7 Now as soon as the people heard these words, their spirit revived.

8 And they answered with a loud voice, saying, Thou shalt be our leader instead of Judas and Jonathan thy brother.

9 Fight thou our battles, and whatsoever, thou commandest us, that will we do.

10 So then he gathered together all the men of war, and made haste to finish the walls of Jerusalem, and he fortified it round about.

11 Also he sent Jonathan the son of Absolom, and with him a great power, to Joppa: who casting out them that were therein remained there in it.

12 So Tryphon removed from Ptolemaus with a great power to invade the land of Judea, and Jonathan was with him in ward.

13 But Simon pitched his tents at Adida, over against the plain.

14 Now when Tryphon knew that Simon was risen up instead of his brother Jonathan, and meant to join battle with him, he sent messengers unto him, saying,

15 Whereas we have Jonathan thy brother in hold, it is for money that he is owing unto the king's treasure, concerning the business that was committed unto him.

16 Wherefore now send an hundred talents of silver, and two of his sons for hostages, that when he is at liberty he may not revolt from us, and we will let him go.

17 Hereupon Simon, albeit he perceived that they spake deceitfully unto him yet sent he the money and the children, lest peradventure he should procure to himself great hatred of the people:

18 Who might have said, Because I sent him not the money and the children, therefore is Jonathan dead.

19 So he sent them the children and the hundred talents: howbeit Tryphon dissembled neither would he let Jonathan go.

20 And after this came Tryphon to invade the land, and destroy it, going round about by the way that leadeth unto Adora: but Simon and his host marched against him in every place, wheresoever he went.

21 Now they that were in the tower sent messengers unto Tryphon, to the end that he should hasten his coming unto them by the wilderness, and send them victuals.

22 Wherefore Tryphon made ready all his horsemen to come that night: but there fell a very great snow, by reason whereof he came not. So he departed, and came into the country of Galaad.

23 And when he came near to Bascama he slew Jonathan, who was buried there.

24 Afterward Tryphon returned and went into his own land.

25 Then sent Simon, and took the bones of Jonathan his brother, and buried them in Modin, the city of his fathers.

26 And all Israel made great lamentation for him, and bewailed him many days.

27 Simon also built a monument upon the sepulchre of his father and his brethren, and raised it aloft to the sight, with hewn stone behind and before.

28 Moreover he set up seven pyramids, one against another, for his father, and his mother, and his four brethren.

29 And in these he made cunning devices, about the which he set great pillars, and upon the pillars he made all their armour for a perpetual memory, and by the armour ships carved, that they might be seen of all that sail on the sea.

30 This is the sepulchre which he made at Modin, and it standeth yet unto this day.

31 Now Tryphon dealt deceitfully with the young king Antiochus, and slew him.

32 And he reigned in his stead, and crowned himself king of Asia, and brought a great calamity upon the land.

33 Then Simon built up the strong holds in Judea, and fenced them about with high towers, and great walls, and gates, and bars, and laid up victuals therein.

34 Moreover Simon chose men, and sent to king Demetrius, to the end he should give the land an immunity, because all that Tryphon did was to spoil.

35 Unto whom king Demetrius answered and wrote after this manner:

36 King Demetrius unto Simon the high priest, and friend of kings, as also unto the elders and nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting:

37 The golden crown, and the scarlet robe, which ye sent unto us, we have received: and we are ready to make a stedfast peace with you, yea, and to write unto our officers, to confirm the immunities which we have granted.

38 And whatsoever covenants we have made with you shall stand; and the strong holds, which ye have builded, shall be your own.

39 As for any oversight or fault committed unto this day, we forgive it, and the crown tax also, which ye owe us: and if there were any other tribute paid in Jerusalem, it shall no more be paid.

40 And look who are meet among you to be in our court, let then be enrolled, and let there be peace betwixt us.

41 Thus the yoke of the heathen was taken away from Israel in the hundred and seventieth year.

42 Then the people of Israel began to write in their instruments and contracts, In the first year of Simon the high priest, the governor and leader of the Jews.

43 In those days Simon camped against Gaza and besieged it round about; he made also an engine of war, and set it by the city, and battered a certain tower, and took it.

44 And they that were in the engine leaped into the city; whereupon there was a great uproar in the city:

45 Insomuch as the people of the city rent their clothes, and climbed upon the walls with their wives and children, and cried with a loud voice, beseeching Simon to grant them peace.

46 And they said, Deal not with us according to our wickedness, but according to thy mercy.

47 So Simon was appeased toward them, and fought no more against them, but put them out of the city, and cleansed the houses wherein the idols were, and so entered into it with songs and thanksgiving.

48 Yea, he put all uncleanness out of it, and placed such men there as would keep the law, and made it stronger than it was before, and built therein a dwellingplace for himself.

49 They also of the tower in Jerusalem were kept so strait, that they could neither come forth, nor go into the country, nor buy, nor sell: wherefore they were in great distress for want of victuals, and a great number of them perished through famine.

50 Then cried they to Simon, beseeching him to be at one with them: which thing he granted them; and when he had put them out from thence, he cleansed the tower from pollutions:

51 And entered into it the three and twentieth day of the second month in the hundred seventy and first year, with thanksgiving, and branches of palm trees, and with harps, and cymbals, and with viols, and hymns, and songs: because there was destroyed a great enemy out of Israel.

52 He ordained also that that day should be kept every year with gladness. Moreover the hill of the temple that was by the tower he made stronger than it was, and there he dwelt himself with his company.

53 And when Simon saw that John his son was a valiant man, he made him captain of all the hosts; and he dwelt in Gazera.

1 MACCABEES CHAPTER 14

1 Now in the hundred threescore and twelfth year king Demetrius gathered his forces together, and went into Media to get him help to fight against Tryphone.

2 But when Arsaces, the king of Persia and Media, heard that Demetrius was entered within his borders, he sent one of his princes to take him alive:

3 Who went and smote the host of Demetrius, and took him, and brought him to Arsaces, by whom he was put in ward.

4 As for the land of Judea, that was quiet all the days of Simon; for he sought the good of his nation in such wise, as that evermore his authority and honour pleased them well.

5 And as he was honourable in all his acts, so in this, that he took Joppa for an haven, and made an entrance to the isles of the sea,

6 And enlarged the bounds of his nation, and recovered the country,

7 And gathered together a great number of captives, and had the dominion of Gazera, and Bethsura, and the tower, out of the which he took all uncleaness, neither was there any that resisted him.

8 Then did they till their ground in peace, and the earth gave her increase, and the trees of the field their fruit.

9 The ancient men sat all in the streets, communing together of good things, and the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel.

10 He provided victuals for the cities, and set in them all manner of munition, so that his honourable name was renowned unto the end of the world.

11 He made peace in the land, and Israel rejoiced with great joy:

12 For every man sat under his vine and his fig tree, and there was none to fray them:

13 Neither was there any left in the land to fight against them: yea, the kings themselves were overthrown in those days.

14 Moreover he strengthened all those of his people that were brought low: the law he searched out; and every contemner of the law and wicked person he took away.

15 He beautified the sanctuary, and multiplied vessels of the temple.

16 Now when it was heard at Rome, and as far as Sparta, that Jonathan was dead, they were very sorry.

17 But as soon as they heard that his brother Simon was made high priest in his stead, and ruled the country, and the cities therein:

18 They wrote unto him in tables of brass, to renew the friendship and league which they had made with Judas and Jonathan his brethren:

19 Which writings were read before the congregation at Jerusalem.

20 And this is the copy of the letters that the Lacedemonians sent; The rulers of the Lacedemonians, with the city, unto Simon the high priest, and the elders, and priests, and residue of the people of the Jews, our brethren, send greeting:

21 The ambassadors that were sent unto our people certified us of your glory and honour: wherefore we were glad of their coming,

22 And did register the things that they spake in the council of the people in this manner; Numenius son of Antiochus, and Antipater son of Jason, the Jews' ambassadors, came unto us to renew the friendship they had with us.

23 And it pleased the people to entertain the men honourably, and to put the copy of their ambassage in publick

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records, to the end the people of the Lacedemonians might have a memorial thereof: furthermore we have written a copy thereof unto Simon the high priest.

24 After this Simon sent Numenius to Rome with a great shield of gold of a thousand pound weight to confirm the league with them.

25 Whereof when the people heard, they said, What thanks shall we give to Simon and his sons?

26 For he and his brethren and the house of his father have established Israel, and chased away in fight their enemies from them, and confirmed their liberty.

27 So then they wrote it in tables of brass, which they set upon pillars in mount Sion: and this is the copy of the writing; The eighteenth day of the month Elul, in the hundred threescore and twelfth year, being the third year of Simon the high priest,

28 At Saramel in the great congregation of the priests, and people, and rulers of the nation, and elders of the country, were these things notified unto us.

29 Forasmuch as oftentimes there have been wars in the country, wherein for the maintenance of their sanctuary, and the law, Simon the son of Mattathias, of the posterity of Jarib, together with his brethren, put themselves in jeopardy, and resisting the enemies of their nation did their nation great honour:

30 (For after that Jonathan, having gathered his nation together, and been their high priest, was added to his people,

31 Their enemies prepared to invade their country, that they might destroy it, and lay hands on the sanctuary:

32 At which time Simon rose up, and fought for his nation, and spent much of his own substance, and armed the valiant men of his nation and gave them wages,

33 And fortified the cities of Judea, together with Bethsura, that lieth upon the borders of Judea, where the armour of the enemies had been before; but he set a garrison of Jews there:

34 Moreover he fortified Joppa, which lieth upon the sea, and Gazera, that bordereth upon Azotus, where the enemies had dwelt before: but he placed Jews there, and furnished them with all things convenient for the reparation thereof.)

35 The people therefore sang the acts of Simon, and unto what glory he thought to bring his nation, made him their governor and chief priest, because he had done all these things, and for the justice and faith which he kept to his nation, and for that he sought by all means to exalt his people.

36 For in his time things prospered in his hands, so that the heathen were taken out of their country, and they also that were in the city of David in Jerusalem, who had made themselves a tower, out of which they issued, and polluted all about the sanctuary, and did much hurt in the holy place:

37 But he placed Jews therein. and fortified it for the safety of the country and the city, and raised up the walls of Jerusalem.

38 King Demetrius also confirmed him in the high priesthood according to those things,

39 And made him one of his friends, and honoured him with great honour.

40 For he had heard say, that the Romans had called the Jews their friends and confederates and brethren; and that they had entertained the ambassadors of Simon honourably;

41 Also that the Jews and priests were well pleased that Simon should be their governor and high priest for ever, until there should arise a faithful prophet;

42 Moreover that he should be their captain, and should take charge of the sanctuary, to set them over their works, and over the country, and over the armour, and over the fortresses, that, I say, he should take charge of the sanctuary;

43 Beside this, that he should be obeyed of every man, and that all the writings in the country should be made in his name, and that he should be clothed in purple, and wear gold:

44 Also that it should be lawful for none of the people or priests to break any of these things, or to gainsay his words, or to gather an assembly in the country without him, or to be clothed in purple, or wear a buckle of gold;

45 And whosoever should do otherwise, or break any of these things, he should be punished.

46 Thus it liked all the people to deal with Simon, and to do as hath been said.

47 Then Simon accepted hereof, and was well pleased to be high priest, and captain and governor of the Jews and priests, and to defend them all.

48 So they commanded that this writing should be put in tables of brass, and that they should be set up within the compass of the sanctuary in a conspicuous place;

49 Also that the copies thereof should be laid up in the treasury, to the end that Simon and his sons might have them.

1 MACCABEES CHAPTER 15

1 Moreover Antiochus son of Demetrius the king sent letters from the isles of the sea unto Simon the priest and prince of the Jews, and to all the people;

2 The contents whereof were these: King Antiochus to Simon the high priest and prince of his nation, and to the people of the Jews, greeting:

3 Forasmuch as certain pestilent men have usurped the kingdom of our fathers, and my purpose is to challenge it again, that I may restore it to the old estate, and to that end have gathered a multitude of foreign soldiers together, and prepared ships of war;

4 My meaning also being to go through the country, that I may be avenged of them that have destroyed it, and made many cities in the kingdom desolate:

5 Now therefore I confirm unto thee all the oblations which the kings before me granted thee, and whatsoever gifts besides they granted.

6 I give thee leave also to coin money for thy country with thine own stamp.

7 And as concerning Jerusalem and the sanctuary, let them be free; and all the armour that thou hast made, and fortresses that thou hast built, and keepest in thine hands, let them remain unto thee.

8 And if anything be, or shall be, owing to the king, let it be forgiven thee from this time forth for evermore.

9 Furthermore, when we have obtained our kingdom, we will honour thee, and thy nation, and thy temple, with great honour, so that your honour shall be known throughout the world.

10 In the hundred threescore and fourteenth year went Antiochus into the land of his fathers: at which time all the forces came together unto him, so that few were left with Tryphon.

11 Wherefore being pursued by king Antiochus, he fled unto Dora, which lieth by the sea side:

12 For he saw that troubles came upon him all at once, and that his forces had forsaken him.

13 Then camped Antiochus against Dora, having with him an hundred and twenty thousand men of war, and eight thousand horsemen.

14 And when he had compassed the city round about, and joined ships close to the town on the sea side, he vexed the city by land and by sea, neither suffered he any to go out or in.

15 In the mean season came Numenius and his company from Rome, having letters to the kings and countries; wherein were written these things:

16 Lucius, consul of the Romans unto king Ptolemee, greeting:

17 The Jews' ambassadors, our friends and confederates, came unto us to renew the old friendship and league, being sent from Simon the high priest, and from the people of the Jews:

18 And they brought a shield of gold of a thousand pound.

19 We thought it good therefore to write unto the kings and countries, that they should do them no harm, nor fight against them, their cities, or countries, nor yet aid their enemies against them.

20 It seemed also good to us to receive the shield of them.

21 If therefore there be any pestilent fellows, that have fled from their country unto you, deliver them unto Simon the high priest, that he may punish them according to their own law.

22 The same things wrote he likewise unto Demetrius the king, and Attalus, to Ariarathes, and Arsaces,

23 And to all the countries and to Sampsames, and the Lacedemonians, and to Delus, and Myndus, and Sicyon, and Caria, and Samos, and Pamphylia, and Lycia, and Halicarnassus, and Rhodus, and Aradus, and Cos, and Side, and Aradus, and Gortyna, and Cnidus, and Cyprus, and Cyrene.

24 And the copy hereof they wrote to Simon the high priest.

25 So Antiochus the king camped against Dora the second day, assaulting it continually, and making engines, by which means he shut up Tryphon, that he could neither go out nor in.

26 At that time Simon sent him two thousand chosen men to aid him; silver also, and gold, and much armour.

27 Nevertheless he would not receive them, but brake all the covenants which he had made with him afore, and became strange unto him.

28 Furthermore he sent unto him Athenobius, one of his friends, to commune with him, and say, Ye withhold Joppa and Gazera; with the tower that is in Jerusalem, which are cities of my realm.

29 The borders thereof ye have wasted, and done great hurt in the land, and got the dominion of many places within my kingdom.

30 Now therefore deliver the cities which ye have taken, and the tributes of the places, whereof ye have gotten dominion without the borders of Judea:

31 Or else give me for them five hundred talents of silver; and for the harm that ye have done, and the tributes of the cities, other five hundred talents: if not, we will come and fight against you

32 So Athenobius the king's friend came to Jerusalem: and when he saw the glory of Simon, and the cupboard of gold and silver plate, and his great attendance, he was astonished, and told him the king's message.

33 Then answered Simon, and said unto him, We have neither taken other men's land, nor holden that which appertaineth to others, but the inheritance of our fathers, which our enemies had wrongfully in possession a certain time.

34 Wherefore we, having opportunity, hold the inheritance of our fathers.

35 And whereas thou demandest Joppa and Gazera, albeit they did great harm unto the people in our country, yet will we give thee an hundred talents for them. Hereunto Athenobius answered him not a word;

36 But returned in a rage to the king, and made report unto him of these speeches, and of the glory of Simon, and of all that he had seen: whereupon the king was exceeding wroth.

37 In the mean time fled Tryphon by ship unto Orthosias.

38 Then the king made Cendebeus captain of the sea coast, and gave him an host of footmen and horsemen,

39 And commanded him to remove his host toward Judea; also he commanded him to build up Cedron, and to fortify the gates, and to war against the people; but as for the king himself, he pursued Tryphon.

40 So Cendebeus came to Jamnia and began to provoke the people and to invade Judea, and to take the people prisoners, and slay them.

41 And when he had built up Cedrou, he set horsemen there, and an host of footmen, to the end that issuing out they might make outroads upon the ways of Judea, as the king had commanded him.

1 MACCABEES CHAPTER 16

1 Then came up John from Gazera, and told Simon his father what Cendebeus had done.

2 Wherefore Simon called his two eldest sons, Judas and John, and said unto them, I, and my brethren, and my father's house, have ever from my youth unto this day fought against the enemies of Israel; and things have prospered so well in our hands, that we have delivered Israel oftentimes.

3 But now I am old, and ye, by God's mercy, are of a sufficient age: be ye instead of me and my brother, and go and fight for our nation, and the help from heaven be with you.

4 So he chose out of the country twenty thousand men of war with horsemen, who went out against Cendebeus, and rested that night at Modin.

5 And when as they rose in the morning, and went into the plain, behold, a mighty great host both of footmen and horsemen came against them: howbeit there was a water brook betwixt them.

6 So he and his people pitched over against them: and when he saw that the people were afraid to go over the water brook, he went first over himself, and then the men seeing him passed through after him.

7 That done, he divided his men, and set the horsemen in the midst of the footmen: for the enemies' horsemen were very many.

8 Then sounded they with the holy trumpets: whereupon Cendebeus and his host were put to flight, so that many of them were slain, and the remnant gat them to the strong hold.

9 At that time was Judas John's brother wounded; but John still followed after them, until he came to Cedron, which Cendebeus had built.

10 So they fled even unto the towers in the fields of Azotus; wherefore he burned it with fire: so that there were slain of them about two thousand men. Afterward he returned into the land of Judea in peace.

11 Moreover in the plain of Jericho was Ptolemeus the son of Abubus made captain, and he had abundance of silver and gold:

12 For he was the high priest's son in law.

13 Wherefore his heart being lifted up, he thought to get the country to himself, and thereupon consulted deceitfully against Simon and his sons to destroy them.

14 Now Simon was visiting the cities that were in the country, and taking care for the good ordering of them; at which time he came down himself to Jericho with his sons, Mattathias and Judas, in the hundred threescore and seventeenth year, in the eleventh month, called Sabat:

15 Where the son of Abubus receiving them deceitfully into a little hold, called Docus, which he had built, made them a great banquet: howbeit he had hid men there.

16 So when Simon and his sons had drunk largely, Ptolemee and his men rose up, and took their weapons, and came upon Simon into the banqueting place, and slew him, and his two sons, and certain of his servants.

17 In which doing he committed a great treachery, and recompensed evil for good.

18 Then Ptolemee wrote these things, and sent to the king, that he should send him an host to aid him, and he would deliver him the country and cities.

19 He sent others also to Gazera to kill John: and unto the tribunes he sent letters to come unto him, that he might give them silver, and gold, and rewards.

20 And others he sent to take Jerusalem, and the mountain of the temple.

21 Now one had run afore to Gazera and told John that his father and brethren were slain, and, quoth he, Ptolemee hath sent to slay thee also.

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22 Hereof when he heard, he was sore astonished: so he laid hands on them that were come to destroy him, and slew them; for he knew that they sought to make him away.

23 As concerning the rest of the acts of John, and his wars, and worthy deeds which he did, and the building of the walls which he made, and his doings,

24 Behold, these are written in the chronicles of his priesthood, from the time he was made high priest after his father.

THE SECOND BOOK OF THE MACCABEES

or Second Book of Maccabees or 2 Maccabees
Estimated Range of Dating: 150-100 B.C.

(The Second Book of Maccabees, also called 2 Maccabees, is a deuterocanonical book originally in Greek which focuses on the Maccabean Revolt against Antiochus IV Epiphanes and concludes with the defeat of the Seleucid (Greek-Persian) Empire general Nicanor in 161 BC by Judas Maccabeus. The author of 2 Maccabees is not identified, but he claims to be abridging a 5-volume work by Jason of Cyrene. Jason of Cyrene (Greek: Iason ho Kyrenaios) was a Greek Jew who lived probably between 150 and 80 BC and wrote a history of the times of the Maccabees down to the victory over Nicanor (175-161 BC).

This work is said to have been in five books and formed the basis of the present 2 Maccabees. Jason's longer work is not preserved, and it is uncertain how much of the present text of 2 Maccabees is simply copied from that work. The author wrote in Greek, apparently, as there is no particular evidence of an earlier Hebrew version. A few sections of the book, such as the Preface, Epilogue, and some reflections on morality are generally assumed to come from the author, not from Jason. Jason's work was apparently written sometime between 150 and 100 BC and most likely ended with the defeat of Nicanor, as does the abridgement available to us.

Unlike 1 Maccabees, the style of 2 Maccabees suggests that it was originally written in the Greek language that was spoken in Alexandria, Egypt, c. 124 BC. It presents a revised version of the historical events recounted in the first seven chapters of 1 Maccabees, adding material from the tradition of the Pharisees, including prayer for the dead and a resurrection on Judgement Day. [* a Jewish party that promoted Jewish laws but also living with Greeks and Romans together in a peaceful relationship. This is the reason why this party survived the Jewish-Roman War 66-73 AD and built the basis of Roman Judaism, the modern Rabbinic Judaism we have today.]*

The beginning of the book includes two letters sent by Jews in Jerusalem to Jews of the Diaspora in Egypt concerning the feast day set up to celebrate the purification of the temple (see Hanukkah) and the feast to celebrate the defeat of Nicanor. If the author of the book inserted these letters, the book would have to have been written after 124 BC the date of the second letter. Some commentators hold that these letters were a later addition, while others consider them the basis for the work. Catholic scholars tend toward a dating in the last years of the 2nd century BC, while the consensus among Jewish scholars place it in the second half of the 1st century BC.

Doctrine: 2 Maccabees demonstrates several points of doctrinal interpretation deriving from Pharisaic Judaism, and also found in Catholic and Eastern Orthodox theology. Some of these concepts exist in similar forms also in Hinduist, Jainist and Buddhist texts from India, with the difference that the Indian teachings have developed into an entire philosophy of an eternal cycle of life, rebirth and death.

The Doctrines in 2 Maccabees include:

• Prayer for the dead and sacrificial offerings, both to free the dead from sin.

• Merits of the martyrs. In particular, the long descriptions of the martyrdoms of Eleazar and of a mother with her seven sons (2 Maccabees 6:18–7:42) caught the imagination of medieval Christians. Several churches are dedicated to the "Maccabeean martyrs".

• Intercession of the saints (15:11–17) (at least as seen from a Christian viewpoint); the New American Bible comments on verse 14 "Jeremiah's prayer in heaven has been taken in the Roman Catholic tradition as a biblical witness to the intercession of the saints" [* Intercession of the saints is a doctrine held by the Eastern Orthodox, Oriental Orthodox, and Roman Catholic Churches. The practice of praying through saints can be found in Christian writings from the 3rd century onward. The 4th-century Apostles' Creed states belief in the communion of saints, which certain Christian churches interpret as supporting the intercession of saints. As in Christianity, this practice is controversial in Judaism and Islam.].*

• Resurrection of the dead. [Rebirth in Buddhism refers to its teaching that the actions of a person lead to a new existence after death, in an endless cycle called samsara. It is sometimes referred to as reincarnation or metempsychosis, asserts that rebirth does not necessarily take place as another human being, but as an existence in one of the six Gati (divine realms) called Bhavachakra (samsara). This cycle is considered to be dukkha, unsatisfactory and painful. The cycle stops only if liberation is achieved by insight and the extinguishing of desire.].

• Specific mention of creatio ex nihilo (Latin for "creation out of nothing"; 2 Maccabees 7:28). It refers to the belief that matter is not eternal but had to be created by some divine creative act, frequently defined as God. It is a theistic answer to the question of how the universe comes to exist. It is in contrast to Ex nihilo nihil fit or "nothing comes from nothing", which means that all things were formed from preexisting things; an idea by the Greek philosopher Parmenides (c.540-480 BC) about the nature of all things which is more in line with Hinduist, Jainist and Buddhist teachings. It is worth mentioning because among Buddhists it is well-known that Gautama Buddha has sent his disciples far beyond the Indian sphere of influence, including to the West, to Egypt and Greece.

Canonicity: Catholics and Eastern Orthodox consider the work to be canonical and part of the Bible which is not surprising as the author was a Greek. Based on (not necessarily reliable) copies, 1 and 2 Maccabees appears in manuscripts of the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, which was completed by the 2nd century BC along with (in some copies) 3 and 4 Maccabees and Psalm 151 which are considered apocryphal by the Roman Catholic church [As for Psalm 151, it turned out to be the wrong decision as Psalms 151-153 were found among the Dead Sea scrolls from Qumran. The 1st and 2nd Maccabees were not among the Dead Sea Scrolls.].

Jews and Protestant Christians reject most of the doctrinal issues present in the work. Some Protestants include 2 Maccabees as part of the Biblical Apocrypha, useful for reading in the church. Article 6 of the "39 Articles" of the Church of England defines it as useful but not the basis of doctrine and not necessary for salvation.)

2 MACCABEES CHAPTER 1

1 The brethren, the Jews that be at Jerusalem and in the land of Judea, wish unto the brethren, the Jews that are throughout Egypt health and peace:

2 God be gracious unto you, and remember his covenant that he made with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, his faithful servants;

3 And give you all an heart to serve him, and to do his will, with a good courage and a willing mind;

4 And open your hearts in his law and commandments, and send you peace,

5 And hear your prayers, and be at one with you, and never forsake you in time of trouble.

6 And now we be here praying for you.

7 What time as Demetrius reigned, in the hundred threescore and ninth year, we the Jews wrote unto you in the extremity of trouble that came upon us in those years, from the time that Jason and his company revolted from the holy land and kingdom,

8 And burned the porch, and shed innocent blood: then we prayed unto the Lord, and were heard; we offered also sacrifices and fine flour, and lighted the lamps, and set forth the loaves.

9 And now see that ye keep the feast of tabernacles in the month Casleu.

10 In the hundred fourscore and eighth year, the people that were at Jerusalem and in Judea, and the council, and Judas, sent greeting and health unto Aristobulus, king Ptolemeus' master, who was of the stock of the anointed priests, and to the Jews that were in Egypt:

11 Insomuch as God hath delivered us from great perils, we thank him highly, as having been in battle against a king.

12 For he cast them out that fought within the holy city.

13 For when the leader was come into Persia, and the army with him that seemed invincible, they were slain in the temple of Nanea by the deceit of Nanea's priests.

14 For Antiochus, as though he would marry her, came into the place, and his friends that were with him, to receive money in name of a dowry.

15 Which when the priests of Nanea had set forth, and he was entered with a small company into the compass of the temple, they shut the temple as soon as Antiochus was come in:

16 And opening a privy door of the roof, they threw stones like thunderbolts, and struck down the captain, hewed them in pieces, smote off their heads and cast them to those that were without.

17 Blessed be our God in all things, who hath delivered up the ungodly.

18 Therefore whereas we are now purposed to keep the purification of the temple upon the five and twentieth day of the month Casleu, we thought it necessary to certify you thereof, that ye also might keep it, as the feast of the tabernacles, and of the fire, which was given us when Neemias offered sacrifice, after that he had builded the temple and the altar.

19 For when our fathers were led into Persia, the priests that were then devout took the fire of the altar privily, and hid it in an hollow place of a pit without water, where they kept it sure, so that the place was unknown to all men.

20 Now after many years, when it pleased God, Neemias, being sent from the king of Persia, did send of the posterity of those priests that had hid it to the fire: but when they told us they found no fire, but thick water;

21 Then commanded he them to draw it up, and to bring it; and when the sacrifices were laid on, Neemias commanded the priests to sprinkle the wood and the things laid thereupon with the water.

22 When this was done, and the time came that the sun shone, which afore was hid in the cloud, there was a great fire kindled, so that every man marvelled.

23 And the priests made a prayer whilst the sacrifice was consuming, I say, both the priests, and all the rest, Jonathan beginning, and the rest answering thereunto, as Neemias did.

24 And the prayer was after this manner; O Lord, Lord God, Creator of all things, who art fearful and strong, and righteous, and merciful, and the only and gracious King,

25 The only giver of all things, the only just, almighty, and everlasting, thou that deliverest Israel from all trouble, and didst choose the fathers, and sanctify them:

26 Receive the sacrifice for thy whole people Israel, and preserve thine own portion, and sanctify it.

27 Gather those together that are scattered from us, deliver them that serve among the heathen, look upon them that are despised and abhorred, and let the heathen know that thou art our God.

28 Punish them that oppress us, and with pride do us wrong.

29 Plant thy people again in thy holy place, as Moses hath spoken.

30 And the priests sung psalms of thanksgiving.

31 Now when the sacrifice was consumed, Neemias commanded the water that was left to be poured on the great stones.

32 When this was done, there was kindled a flame: but it was consumed by the light that shined from the altar.

33 So when this matter was known, it was told the king of Persia, that in the place, where the priests that were led away had hid the fire, there appeared water, and that Neemias had purified the sacrifices therewith.

34 Then the king, inclosing the place, made it holy, after he had tried the matter.

35 And the king took many gifts, and bestowed thereof on those whom he would gratify.

36 And Neemias called this thing Naphthar, which is as much as to say, a cleansing: but many men call it Nephi.

2 MACCABEES CHAPTER 2

1 It is also found in the records, that Jeremy the prophet commanded them that were carried away to take of the fire, as it hath been signified:

2 And how that the prophet, having given them the law, charged them not to forget the commandments of the Lord, and that they should not err in their minds, when they see images of silver and gold, with their ornaments.

3 And with other such speeches exhorted he them, that the law should not depart from their hearts.

4 It was also contained in the same writing, that the prophet, being warned of God, commanded the tabernacle and the ark to go with him, as he went forth into the mountain, where Moses climbed up, and saw the heritage of God.

5 And when Jeremy came thither, he found an hollow cave, wherein he laid the tabernacle, and the ark, and the altar of incense, and so stopped the door.

6 And some of those that followed him came to mark the way, but they could not find it.

7 Which when Jeremy perceived, he blamed them, saying, As for that place, it shall be unknown until the time that God gather his people again together, and receive them unto mercy.

8 Then shall the Lord shew them these things, and the glory of the Lord shall appear, and the cloud also, as it was shewed under Moses, and as when Solomon desired that the place might be honourably sanctified.

9 It was also declared, that he being wise offered the sacrifice of dedication, and of the finishing of the temple.

10 And as when Moses prayed unto the Lord, the fire came down from heaven, and consumed the sacrifices: even so prayed Solomon also, and the fire came down from heaven, and consumed the burnt offerings.

11 And Moses said, Because the sin offering was not to be eaten, it was consumed.

12 So Solomon kept those eight days.

13 The same things also were reported in the writings and commentaries of Neemias; and how he founding a library gathered together the acts of the kings, and the prophets, and of David, and the epistles of the kings concerning the holy gifts.

14 In like manner also Judas gathered together all those things that were lost by reason of the war we had, and they remain with us,

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15 Wherefore if ye have need thereof, send some to fetch them unto you.

16 Whereas we then are about to celebrate the purification, we have written unto you, and ye shall do well, if ye keep the same days.

17 We hope also, that the God, that delivered all his people, and gave them all an heritage, and the kingdom, and the priesthood, and the sanctuary,

18 As he promised in the law, will shortly have mercy upon us, and gather us together out of every land under heaven into the holy place: for he hath delivered us out of great troubles, and hath purified the place.

19 Now as concerning Judas Maccabeus, and his brethren, and the purification of the great temple, and the dedication of the altar,

20 And the wars against Antiochus Epiphanes, and Eupator his son,

21 And the manifest signs that came from heaven unto those that behaved themselves manfully to their honour for Judaism: so that, being but a few, they overcame the whole country, and chased barbarous multitudes,

22 And recovered again the temple renowned all the world over, and freed the city, and upheld the laws which were going down, the Lord being gracious unto them with all favour:

23 All these things, I say, being declared by Jason of Cyrene in five books, we will assay to abridge in one volume.

24 For considering the infinite number, and the difficulty which they find that desire to look into the narrations of the story, for the variety of the matter,

25 We have been careful, that they that will read may have delight, and that they that are desirous to commit to memory might have ease, and that all into whose hands it comes might have profit.

26 Therefore to us, that have taken upon us this painful labour of abridging, it was not easy, but a matter of sweat and watching;

27 Even as it is no ease unto him that prepareth a banquet, and seeketh the benefit of others: yet for the pleasuring of many we will undertake gladly this great pains;

28 Leaving to the author the exact handling of every particular, and labouring to follow the rules of an abridgement.

29 For as the master builder of a new house must care for the whole building; but he that undertaketh to set it out, and paint it, must seek out fit things for the adorning thereof: even so I think it is with us.

30 To stand upon every point, and go over things at large, and to be curious in particulars, belongeth to the first author of the story:

31 But to use brevity, and avoid much labouring of the work, is to be granted to him that will make an abridgment.

32 Here then will we begin the story: only adding thus much to that which hath been said, that it is a foolish thing to make a long prologue, and to be short in the story itself.

2 MACCABEES CHAPTER 3

1 Now when the holy city was inhabited with all peace, and the laws were kept very well, because of the godliness of Onias the high priest, and his hatred of wickedness,

2 It came to pass that even the kings themselves did honour the place, and magnify the temple with their best gifts;

3 Insomuch that Seleucus of Asia of his own revenues bare all the costs belonging to the service of the sacrifices.

4 But one Simon of the tribe of Benjamin, who was made governor of the temple, fell out with the high priest about disorder in the city.

5 And when he could not overcome Onias, he gat him to Apollonius the son of Thraseas, who then was governor of Celosyria and Phenice,

6 And told him that the treasury in Jerusalem was full of infinite sums of money, so that the multitude of their riches, which did not pertain to the account of the sacrifices, was innumerable, and that it was possible to bring all into the king's hand.

7 Now when Apollonius came to the king, and had shewed him of the money whereof he was told, the king chose out Heliodorus his treasurer, and sent him with a commandment to bring him the foresaid money.

8 So forthwith Heliodorus took his journey; under a colour of visiting the cities of Celosyria and Phenice, but indeed to fulfil the king's purpose.

9 And when he was come to Jerusalem, and had been courteously received of the high priest of the city, he told him what intelligence was given of the money, and declared wherefore he came, and asked if these things were so indeed.

10 Then the high priest told him that there was such money laid up for the relief of widows and fatherless children:

11 And that some of it belonged to Hircanus son of Tobias, a man of great dignity, and not as that wicked Simon had misinformed: the sum whereof in all was four hundred talents of silver, and two hundred of gold:

12 And that it was altogether impossible that such wrongs should be done unto them, that had committed it to the holiness of the place, and to the majesty and inviolable sanctity of the temple, honoured over all the world.

13 But Heliodorus, because of the king's commandment given him, said, That in any wise it must be brought into the king's treasury.

14 So at the day which he appointed he entered in to order this matter: wherefore there was no small agony throughout the whole city.

15 But the priests, prostrating themselves before the altar in their priests' vestments, called unto heaven upon him that made a law concerning things given to he kept, that they should safely be preserved for such as had committed them to be kept.

16 Then whoso had looked the high priest in the face, it would have wounded his heart: for his countenance and the changing of his colour declared the inward agony of his mind.

17 For the man was so compassed with fear and horror of the body, that it was manifest to them that looked upon him, what sorrow he had now in his heart.

18 Others ran flocking out of their houses to the general supplication, because the place was like to come into contempt.

19 And the women, girt with sackcloth under their breasts, abounded in the streets, and the virgins that were kept in ran, some to the gates, and some to the walls, and others looked out of the windows.

20 And all, holding their hands toward heaven, made supplication.

21 Then it would have pitied a man to see the falling down of the multitude of all sorts, and the fear of the high priest being in such an agony.

22 They then called upon the Almighty Lord to keep the things committed of trust safe and sure for those that had committed them.

23 Nevertheless Heliodorus executed that which was decreed.

24 Now as he was there present himself with his guard about the treasury, the Lord of spirits, and the Prince of all power, caused a great apparition, so that all that presumed to come in with him were astonished at the power of God, and fainted, and were sore afraid.

25 For there appeared unto them an horse with a terrible rider upon him, and adorned with a very fair covering, and he ran fiercely, and smote at Heliodorus with his forefeet, and it seemed that he that sat upon the horse had complete harness of gold.

26 Moreover two other young men appeared before him, notable in strength, excellent in beauty, and comely in apparel, who stood by him on either side; and scourged him continually, and gave him many sore stripes.

27 And Heliodorus fell suddenly unto the ground, and was compassed with great darkness: but they that were with him took him up, and put him into a litter.

28 Thus him, that lately came with a great train and with all his guard into the said treasury, they carried out, being unable to help himself with his weapons: and manifestly they acknowledged the power of God.

29 For he by the hand of God was cast down, and lay speechless without all hope of life.

30 But they praised the Lord, that had miraculously honoured his own place: for the temple; which a little afore was full of fear and trouble, when the Almighty Lord appeared, was filled with joy and gladness.

31 Then straightways certain of Heliodorus' friends prayed Onias, that he would call upon the most High to grant him his life, who lay ready to give up the ghost.

32 So the high priest, suspecting lest the king should misconceive that some treachery had been done to Heliodorus by the Jews, offered a sacrifice for the health of the man.

33 Now as the high priest was making an atonement, the same young men in the same clothing appeared and stood beside Heliodorus, saying, Give Onias the high priest great thanks, insomuch as for his sake the Lord hath granted thee life:

34 And seeing that thou hast been scourged from heaven, declare unto all men the mighty power of God. And when they had spoken these words, they appeared no more.

35 So Heliodorus, after he had offered sacrifice unto the Lord, and made great vows unto him that had saved his life, and saluted Onias, returned with his host to the king.

36 Then testified he to all men the works of the great God, which he had seen with his eyes.

37 And when the king Heliodorus, who might be a fit man to be sent yet once again to Jerusalem, he said,

38 If thou hast any enemy or traitor, send him thither, and thou shalt receive him well scourged, if he escape with his life: for in that place, no doubt; there is an especial power of God.

39 For he that dwelleth in heaven hath his eye on that place, and defendeth it; and he beateth and destroyeth them that come to hurt it.

40 And the things concerning Heliodorus, and the keeping of the treasury, fell out on this sort.

2 MACCABEES CHAPTER 4

1 This Simon now, of whom we spake afore, having been a betrayer of the money, and of his country, slandered Onias, as if he had terrified Heliodorus, and been the worker of these evils.

2 Thus was he bold to call him a traitor, that had deserved well of the city, and tendered his own nation, and was so zealous of the laws.

3 But when their hatred went so far, that by one of Simon's faction murders were committed,

4 Onias seeing the danger of this contention, and that Apollonius, as being the governor of Celosyria and Phenice, did rage, and increase Simon's malice,

5 He went to the king, not to be an accuser of his countrymen, but seeking the good of all, both publick and private:

6 For he saw that it was impossible that the state should continue quiet, and Simon leave his folly, unless the king did look thereunto.

7 But after the death of Seleucus, when Antiochus, called Epiphanes, took the kingdom, Jason the brother of Onias laboured underhand to be high priest,

8 Promising unto the king by intercession three hundred and threescore talents of silver, and of another revenue eighty talents:

9 Beside this, he promised to assign an hundred and fifty more, if he might have licence to set him up a place for exercise, and for the training up of youth in the fashions of the heathen, and to write them of Jerusalem by the name of Antiochians.

10 Which when the king had granted, and he had gotten into his hand the rule he forthwith brought his own nation to Greekish fashion.

11 And the royal privileges granted of special favour to the Jews by the means of John the father of Eupolemus, who went ambassador to Rome for amity and aid, he took away; and putting down the governments which were according to the law, he brought up new customs against the law:

12 For he built gladly a place of exercise under the tower itself, and brought the chief young men under his subjection, and made them wear a hat.

13 Now such was the height of Greek fashions, and increase of heathenish manners, through the exceeding profaneness of Jason, that ungodly wretch, and no high priest;

14 That the priests had no courage to serve any more at the altar, but despising the temple, and neglecting the sacrifices, hastened to be partakers of the unlawful allowance in the place of exercise, after the game of Discus called them forth;

15 Not setting by the honours of their fathers, but liking the glory of the Grecians best of all.

16 By reason whereof sore calamity came upon them: for they had them to be their enemies and avengers, whose custom they followed so earnestly, and unto whom they desired to be like in all things.

17 For it is not a light thing to do wickedly against the laws of God: but the time following shall declare these things.

18 Now when the game that was used every faith year was kept at Tyrus, the king being present,

19 This ungracious Jason sent special messengers from Jerusalem, who were Antiochians, to carry three hundred drachms of silver to the sacrifice of Hercules, which even the bearers thereof thought fit not to bestow upon the sacrifice, because it was not convenient, but to be reserved for other charges.

20 This money then, in regard of the sender, was appointed to Hercules' sacrifice; but because of the bearers thereof, it was employed to the making of gallies.

21 Now when Apollonius the son of Menestheus was sent into Egypt for the coronation of king Ptolemeus Philometor, Antiochus, understanding him not to be well affected to his affairs, provided for his own safety: whereupon he came to Joppa, and from thence to Jerusalem:

22 Where he was honourably received of Jason, and of the city, and was brought in with torch alight, and with great shoutings: and so afterward went with his host unto Phenice.

23 Three years afterward Jason sent Menelaus, the aforesaid Simon's brother, to bear the money unto the king, and to put him in mind of certain necessary matters.

24 But he being brought to the presence of the king, when he had magnified him for the glorious appearance of his power, got the priesthood to himself, offering more than Jason by three hundred talents of silver.

25 So he came with the king's mandate, bringing nothing worthy the high priesthood, but having the fury of a cruel tyrant, and the rage of a savage beast.

26 Then Jason, who had undermined his own brother, being undermined by another, was compelled to flee into the country of the Ammonites.

27 So Menelaus got the principality: but as for the money that he had promised unto the king, he took no good order for it, albeit Sostratis the ruler of the castle required it:

28 For unto him appertained the gathering of the customs. Wherefore they were both called before the king.

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29 Now Menelaus left his brother Lysimachus in his stead in the priesthood; and Sostratus left Crates, who was governor of the Cyprians.

30 While those things were in doing, they of Tarsus and Mallos made insurrection, because they were given to the king's concubine, called Antiochus.

31 Then came the king in all haste to appease matters, leaving Andronicus, a man in authority, for his deputy.

32 Now Menelaus, supposing that he had gotten a convenient time, stole certain vessels of gold out of the temple, and gave some of them to Andronicus, and some he sold into Tyrus and the cities round about.

33 Which when Onias knew of a surety, he reproved him, and withdrew himself into a sanctuary at Daphne, that lieth by Antiochia.

34 Wherefore Menelaus, taking Andronicus apart, prayed, him to get Onias into his hands; who being persuaded thereunto, and coming to Onias in deceit, gave him his right hand with oaths; and though he were suspected by him, yet persuaded he him to come forth of the sanctuary: whom forthwith he shut up without regard of justice.

35 For the which cause not only the Jews, but many also of other nations, took great indignation, and were much grieved for the unjust murder of the man.

36 And when the king was come again from the places about Cilicia, the Jews that were in the city, and certain of the Greeks that abhorred the fact also, complained because Onias was slain without cause.

37 Therefore Antiochus was heartily sorry, and moved to pity, and wept, because of the sober and modest behaviour of him that was dead.

38 And being kindled with anger, forthwith he took away Andronicus his purple, and rent off his clothes, and leading him through the whole city unto that very place, where he had committed impiety against Onias, there slew he the cursed murderer. Thus the Lord rewarded him his punishment, as he had deserved.

39 Now when many sacrileges had been committed in the city by Lysimachus with the consent of Menelaus, and the fruit thereof was spread abroad, the multitude gathered themselves together against Lysimachus, many vessels of gold being already carried away.

40 Whereupon the common people rising, and being filled with rage, Lysimachus armed about three thousand men, and began first to offer violence; one Auranus being the leader, a man far gone in years, and no less in folly.

41 They then seeing the attempt of Lysimachus, some of them caught stones, some clubs, others taking handfuls of dust, that was next at hand, cast them all together upon Lysimachus, and those that set upon them.

42 Thus many of them they wounded, and some they struck to the ground, and all of them they forced to flee: but as for the churchrobber himself, him they killed beside the treasury.

43 Of these matters therefore there was an accusation laid against Menelaus.

44 Now when the king came to Tyrus, three men that were sent from the senate pleaded the cause before him:

45 But Menelaus, being now convicted, promised Ptolemee the son of Dorymenes to give him much money, if he would pacify the king toward him.

46 Whereupon Ptolemee taking the king aside into a certain gallery, as it were to take the air, brought him to be of another mind:

47 Insomuch that he discharged Menelaus from the accusations, who notwithstanding was cause of all the mischief: and those poor men, who, if they had told their cause, yea, before the Scythians, should have been judged innocent, them he condemned to death.

48 Thus they that followed the matter for the city, and for the people, and for the holy vessels, did soon suffer unjust punishment.

49 Wherefore even they of Tyrus, moved with hatred of that wicked deed, caused them to be honourably buried.

50 And so through the covetousness of them that were of power Menelaus remained still in authority, increasing in malice, and being a great traitor to the citizens.

2 MACCABEES CHAPTER 5

1 About the same time Antiochus prepared his second voyage into Egypt:

2 And then it happened, that through all the city, for the space almost of forty days, there were seen horsemen running in the air, in cloth of gold, and armed with lances, like a band of soldiers,

3 And troops of horsemen in array, encountering and running one against another, with shaking of shields, and multitude of pikes, and drawing of swords, and casting of darts, and glittering of golden ornaments, and harness of all sorts.

4 Wherefore every man prayed that that apparition might turn to good.

5 Now when there was gone forth a false rumour, as though Antiochus had been dead, Jason took at the least a thousand men, and suddenly made an assault upon the city; and they that were upon the walls being put back, and the city at length taken, Menelaus fled into the castle:

6 But Jason slew his own citizens without mercy, not considering that to get the day of them of his own nation would be a most unhappy day for him; but thinking they had been his enemies, and not his countrymen, whom he conquered.

7 Howbeit for all this he obtained not the principality, but at the last received shame for the reward of his treason, and fled again into the country of the Ammonites.

8 In the end therefore he had an unhappy return, being accused before Aretas the king of the Arabians, fleeing from city to city, pursued of all men, hated as a forsaker of the laws, and being had in abomination as an open enemy of his country and countrymen, he was cast out into Egypt.

9 Thus he that had driven many out of their country perished in a strange land, retiring to the Lacedemonians, and thinking there to find succour by reason of his kindred:

10 And he that had cast out many unburied had none to mourn for him, nor any solemn funerals at all, nor sepulchre with his fathers.

11 Now when this that was done came to the king's car, he thought that Judea had revolted: whereupon removing out of Egypt in a furious mind, he took the city by force of arms,

12 And commanded his men of war not to spare such as they met, and to slay such as went up upon the houses.

13 Thus there was killing of young and old, making away of men, women, and children, slaying of virgins and infants.

14 And there were destroyed within the space of three whole days fourscore thousand, whereof forty thousand were slain in the conflict; and no fewer sold than slain.

15 Yet was he not content with this, but presumed to go into the most holy temple of all the world; Menelaus, that traitor to the laws, and to his own country, being his guide:

16 And taking the holy vessels with polluted hands, and with profane hands pulling down the things that were dedicated by other kings to the augmentation and glory and honour of the place, he gave them away.

17 And so haughty was Antiochus in mind, that he considered not that the Lord was angry for a while for the sins of them that dwelt in the city, and therefore his eye was not upon the place.

18 For had they not been formerly wrapped in many sins, this man, as soon as he had come, had forthwith been scourged, and put back from his presumption, as Heliodorus was, whom Seleucus the king sent to view the treasury.

19 Nevertheless God did not choose the people for the place's sake, but the place far the people's sake.

20 And therefore the place itself, that was partaker with them of the adversity that happened to the nation, did afterward communicate in the benefits sent from the Lord: and as it was forsaken in the wrath of the Almighty, so again, the great Lord being reconciled, it was set up with all glory.

21 So when Antiochus had carried out of the temple a thousand and eight hundred talents, he departed in all haste unto Antiochia, weening in his pride to make the land navigable, and the sea passable by foot: such was the haughtiness of his mind.

22 And he left governors to vex the nation: at Jerusalem, Philip, for his country a Phrygian, and for manners more barbarous than he that set him there;

23 And at Garizim, Andronicus; and besides, Menelaus, who worse than all the rest bare an heavy hand over the citizens, having a malicious mind against his countrymen the Jews.

24 He sent also that detestable ringleader Apollonius with an army of two and twenty thousand, commanding him to slay all those that were in their best age, and to sell the women and the younger sort:

25 Who coming to Jerusalem, and pretending peace, did forbear till the holy day of the sabbath, when taking the Jews keeping holy day, he commanded his men to arm themselves.

26 And so he slew all them that were gone to the celebrating of the sabbath, and running through the city with weapons slew great multitudes.

27 But Judas Maccabeus with nine others, or thereabout, withdrew himself into the wilderness, and lived in the mountains after the manner of beasts, with his company, who fed on herbs continually, lest they should be partakers of the pollution.

2 MACCABEES CHAPTER 6

1 Not long after this the king sent an old man of Athens to compel the Jews to depart from the laws of their fathers, and not to live after the laws of God:

2 And to pollute also the temple in Jerusalem, and to call it the temple of Jupiter Olympius; and that in Garizim, of Jupiter the Defender of strangers, as they did desire that dwelt in the place.

3 The coming in of this mischief was sore and grievous to the people:

4 For the temple was filled with riot and revelling by the Gentiles, who dallied with harlots, and had to do with women within the circuit of the holy places, and besides that brought in things that were not lawful.

5 The altar also was filled with profane things, which the law forbiddeth.

6 Neither was it lawful for a man to keep sabbath days or ancient fasts, or to profess himself at all to be a Jew.

7 And in the day of the king's birth every month they were brought by bitter constraint to eat of the sacrifices; and when the fast of Bacchus was kept, the Jews were compelled to go in procession to Bacchus, carrying ivy.

8 Moreover there went out a decree to the neighbour cities of the heathen, by the suggestion of Ptolemee, against the Jews, that they should observe the same fashions, and be partakers of their sacrifices:

9 And whoso would not conform themselves to the manners of the Gentiles should be put to death. Then might a man have seen the present misery.

10 For there were two women brought, who had circumcised their children; whom when they had openly led round about the city, the babes handing at their breasts, they cast them down headlong from the wall.

11 And others, that had run together into caves near by, to keep the sabbath day secretly, being discovered by Philip, were all burnt together, because they made a conscience to help themselves for the honour of the most sacred day.

12 Now I beseech those that read this book, that they be not discouraged for these calamities, but that they judge those punishments not to be for destruction, but for a chastening of our nation.

13 For it is a token of his great goodness, when wicked doers are not suffered any long time, but forthwith punished.

14 For not as with other nations, whom the Lord patiently forbeareth to punish, till they be come to the fulness of their sins, so dealeth he with us,

15 Lest that, being come to the height of sin, afterwards he should take vengeance of us.

16 And therefore he never withdraweth his mercy from us: and though he punish with adversity, yet doth he never forsake his people.

17 But let this that we at spoken be for a warning unto us. And now will we come to the declaring of the matter in a few words.

18 Eleazar, one of the principal scribes, an aged man, and of a well favoured countenance, was constrained to open his mouth, and to eat swine's flesh.

19 But he, choosing rather to die gloriously, than to live stained with such an abomination, spit it forth, and came of his own accord to the torment,

20 As it behoved them to come, that are resolute to stand out against such things, as are not lawful for love of life to be tasted.

21 But they that had the charge of that wicked feast, for the old acquaintance they had with the man, taking him aside, besought him to bring flesh of his own provision, such as was lawful for him to use, and make as if he did eat of the flesh taken from the sacrifice commanded by the king;

22 That in so doing he might be delivered from death, and for the old friendship with them find favour.

23 But he began to consider discreetly, and as became his age, and the excellency of his ancient years, and the honour of his gray head, whereon was come, and his most honest education from a child, or rather the holy law made and given by God: therefore he answered accordingly, and willed them straightways to send him to the grave.

24 For it becometh not our age, said he, in any wise to dissemble, whereby many young persons might think that Eleazar, being fourscore years old and ten, were now gone to a strange religion;

25 And so they through mine hypocrisy, and desire to live a little time and a moment longer, should be deceived by me, and I get a stain to mine old age, and make it abominable.

26 For though for the present time I should be delivered from the punishment of men: yet should I not escape the hand of the Almighty, neither alive, nor dead.

27 Wherefore now, manfully changing this life, I will shew myself such an one as mine age requireth,

28 And leave a notable example to such as be young to die willingly and courageously for the honourable and holy laws. And when he had said these words, immediately he went to the torment:

29 They that led him changing the good will they bare him a little before into hatred, because the foresaid speeches proceeded, as they thought, from a desperate mind.

30 But when he was ready to die with stripes, he groaned, and said, It is manifest unto the Lord, that hath the holy knowledge, that whereas I might have been delivered from death, I now endure sore pains in body by being beaten: but in soul am well content to suffer these things, because I fear him.

31 And thus this man died, leaving his death for an example of a noble courage, and a memorial of virtue, not only unto young men, but unto all his nation.

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2 MACCABEES CHAPTER 7

1 It came to pass also, that seven brethren with their mother were taken, and compelled by the king against the law to taste swine's flesh, and were tormented with scourges and whips.

2 But one of them that spake first said thus, What wouldest thou ask or learn of us? we are ready to die, rather than to transgress the laws of our fathers.

3 Then the king, being in a rage, commanded pans and caldrons to be made hot:

4 Which forthwith being heated, he commanded to cut out the tongue of him that spake first, and to cut off the utmost parts of his body, the rest of his brethren and his mother looking on.

5 Now when he was thus maimed in all his members, he commanded him being yet alive to be brought to the fire, and to be fried in the pan: and as the vapour of the pan was for a good space dispersed, they exhorted one another with the mother to die manfully, saying thus,

6 The Lord God looketh upon us, and in truth hath comfort in us, as Moses in his song, which witnessed to their faces, declared, saying, And he shall be comforted in his servants.

7 So when the first was dead after this number, they brought the second to make him a mocking stock: and when they had pulled off the skin of his head with the hair, they asked him, Wilt thou eat, before thou be punished throughout every member of thy body?

8 But he answered in his own language, and said, No. Wherefore he also received the next torment in order, as the former did.

9 And when he was at the last gasp, he said, Thou like a fury takest us out of this present life, but the King of the world shall raise us up, who have died for his laws, unto everlasting life.

10 After him was the third made a mocking stock: and when he was required, he put out his tongue, and that right soon, holding forth his hands manfully.

11 And said courageously, These I had from heaven; and for his laws I despise them; and from him I hope to receive them again.

12 Insomuch that the king, and they that were with him, marvelled at the young man's courage, for that he nothing regarded the pains.

13 Now when this man was dead also, they tormented and mangled the fourth in like manner.

14 So when he was ready to die he said thus, It is good, being put to death by men, to look for hope from God to be raised up again by him: as for thee, thou shalt have no resurrection to life.

15 Afterward they brought the fifth also, and mangled him.

16 Then looked he unto the king, and said, Thou hast power over men, thou art corruptible, thou doest what thou wilt; yet think not that our nation is forsaken of God;

17 But abide a while, and behold his great power, how he will torment thee and thy seed.

18 After him also they brought the sixth, who being ready to die said, Be not deceived without cause: for we suffer these things for ourselves, having sinned against our God: therefore marvellous things are done unto us.

19 But think not thou, that takest in hand to strive against God, that thou shalt escape unpunished.

20 But the mother was marvellous above all, and worthy of honourable memory: for when she saw her seven sons slain within the space of one day, she bare it with a good courage, because of the hope that she had in the Lord.

21 Yea, she exhorted every one of them in her own language, filled with courageous spirits; and stirring up her womanish thoughts with a manly stomach, she said unto them,

22 I cannot tell how ye came into my womb: for I neither gave you breath nor life, neither was it I that formed the members of every one of you;

23 But doubtless the Creator of the world, who formed the generation of man, and found out the beginning of all things, will also of his own mercy give you breath and life again, as ye now regard not your own selves for his laws' sake.

24 Now Antiochus, thinking himself despised, and suspecting it to be a reproachful speech, whilst the youngest was yet alive, did not only exhort him by words, but also assured him with oaths, that he would make him both a rich and a happy man, if he would turn from the laws of his fathers; and that also he would take him for his friend, and trust him with affairs.

25 But when the young man would in no case hearken unto him, the king called his mother, and exhorted her that she would counsel the young man to save his life.

26 And when he had exhorted her with many words, she promised him that she would counsel her son.

27 But she bowing herself toward him, laughing the cruel tyrant to scorn, spake in her country language on this manner; O my son, have pity upon me that bare thee nine months in my womb, and gave thee such three years, and nourished thee, and brought thee up unto this age, and endured the troubles of education.

28 I beseech thee, my son, look upon the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein, and consider that God made them of things that were not; and so was mankind made likewise.

29 Fear not this tormentor, but, being worthy of thy brethren, take thy death that I may receive thee again in mercy with thy brethren.

30 Whiles she was yet speaking these words, the young man said, Whom wait ye for? I will not obey the king's commandment: but I will obey the commandment of the law that was given unto our fathers by Moses.

31 And thou, that hast been the author of all mischief against the Hebrews, shalt not escape the hands of God.

32 For we suffer because of our sins.

33 And though the living Lord be angry with us a little while for our chastening and correction, yet shall he be at one again with his servants.

34 But thou, O godless man, and of all other most wicked, be not lifted up without a cause, nor puffed up with uncertain hopes, lifting up thy hand against the servants of God:

35 For thou hast not yet escaped the judgement of Almighty God, who seeth all things.

36 For our brethren, who now have suffered a short pain, are dead under God's covenant of everlasting life: but thou, through the judgement of God, shalt receive just punishment for thy pride.

37 But I, as my brethren, offer up my body and life for the laws of our fathers, beseeching God that he would speedily be merciful unto our nation; and that thou by torments and plagues mayest confess, that he alone is God;

38 And that in me and my brethren the wrath of the Almighty, which is justly brought upon our nation, may cease.

39 Than the king' being in a rage, handed him worse than all the rest, and took it grievously that he was mocked.

40 So this man died undefiled, and put his whole trust in the Lord.

41 Last of all after the sons the mother died.

42 Let this be enough now to have spoken concerning the idolatrous feasts, and the extreme tortures.

2 MACCABEES CHAPTER 8

1 Then Judas Maccabeus, and they that were with him, went privily into the towns, and called their kinsfolks together, and took unto them all such as continued in the Jews' religion, and assembled about six thousand men.

2 And they called upon the Lord, that he would look upon the people that was trodden down of all; and also pity the temple profaned of ungodly men;

3 And that he would have compassion upon the city, sore defaced, and ready to be made even with the ground; and hear the blood that cried unto him,

4 And remember the wicked slaughter of harmless infants, and the blasphemies committed against his name; and that he would shew his hatred against the wicked.

5 Now when Maccabeus had his company about him, he could not be withstood by the heathen: for the wrath of the Lord was turned into mercy.

6 Therefore he came at unawares, and burnt up towns and cities, and got into his hands the most commodious places, and overcame and put to flight no small number of his enemies.

7 But specially took he advantage of the night for such privy attempts, insomuch that the fruit of his holiness was spread every where.

8 So when Philip saw that this man increased by little and little, and that things prospered with him still more and more, he wrote unto Ptolemeus, the governor of Celosyria and Phenice, to yield more aid to the king's affairs.

9 Then forthwith choosing Nicanor the son of Patroclus, one of his special friends, he sent him with no fewer than twenty thousand of all nations under him, to root out the whole generation of the Jews; and with him he joined also Gorgias a captain, who in matters of war had great experience.

10 So Nicanor undertook to make so much money of the captive Jews, as should defray the tribute of two thousand talents, which the king was to pay to the Romans.

11 Wherefore immediately he sent to the cities upon the sea coast, proclaiming a sale of the captive Jews, and promising that they should have fourscore and ten bodies for one talent, not expecting the vengeance that was to follow upon him from the Almighty God.

12 Now when word was brought unto Judas of Nicanor's coming, and he had imparted unto those that were with him that the army was at hand,

13 They that were fearful, and distrusted the justice of God, fled, and conveyed themselves away.

14 Others sold all that they had left, and withal besought the Lord to deliver them, sold by the wicked Nicanor before they met together:

15 And if not for their own sakes, yet for the covenants he had made with their fathers, and for his holy and glorious name's sake, by which they were called.

16 So Maccabeus called his men together unto the number of six thousand, and exhorted them not to be stricken with terror of the enemy, nor to fear the great multitude of the heathen, who came wrongly against them; but to fight manfully,

17 And to set before their eyes the injury that they had unjustly done to the holy place, and the cruel handling of the city, whereof they made a mockery, and also the taking away of the government of their forefathers:

18 For they, said he, trust in their weapons and boldness; but our confidence is in the Almighty who at a beck can cast down both them that come against us, and also all the world.

19 Moreover, he recounted unto them what helps their forefathers had found, and how they were delivered, when under Sennacherib an hundred fourscore and five thousand perished.

20 And he told them of the battle that they had in Babylon with the Galatians, how they came but eight thousand in all to the business, with four thousand Macedonians, and that the Macedonians being perplexed, the eight thousand destroyed an hundred and twenty thousand because of the help that they had from heaven, and so received a great booty.

21 Thus when he had made them bold with these words, and ready to die for the law and the country, he divided his army into four parts;

22 And joined with himself his own brethren, leaders of each band, to wit Simon, and Joseph, and Jonathan, giving each one fifteen hundred men.

23 Also he appointed Eleazar to read the holy book: and when he had given them this watchword, The help of God; himself leading the first band,

24 And by the help of the Almighty they slew above nine thousand of their enemies, and wounded and maimed the most part of Nicanor's host, and so put all to flight;

25 And took their money that came to buy them, and pursued them far: but lacking time they returned:

26 For it was the day before the sabbath, and therefore they would no longer pursue them.

27 So when they had gathered their armour together, and spoiled their enemies, they occupied themselves about the sabbath, yielding exceeding praise and thanks to the Lord, who had preserved them unto that day, which was the beginning of mercy distilling upon them.

28 And after the sabbath, when they had given part of the spoils to the maimed, and the widows, and orphans, the residue they divided among themselves and their servants.

29 When this was done, and they had made a common supplication, they besought the merciful Lord to be reconciled with his servants for ever.

30 Moreover of those that were with Timotheus and Bacchides, who fought against them, they slew above twenty thousand, and very easily got high and strong holds, and divided among themselves many spoils more, and made the maimed, orphans, widows, yea, and the aged also, equal in spoils with themselves.

31 And when they had gathered their armour together, they laid them up all carefully in convenient places, and the remnant of the spoils they brought to Jerusalem.

32 They slew also Philarches, that wicked person, who was with Timotheus, and had annoyed the Jews many ways.

33 Furthermore at such time as they kept the feast for the victory in their country they burnt Callisthenes, that had set fire upon the holy gates, who had fled into a little house; and so he received a reward meet for his wickedness.

34 As for that most ungracious Nicanor, who had brought a thousand merchants to buy the Jews,

35 He was through the help of the Lord brought down by them, of whom he made least account; and putting off his glorious apparel, and discharging his company, he came like a fugitive servant through the midland unto Antioch having very great dishonour, for that his host was destroyed.

36 Thus he, that took upon him to make good to the Romans their tribute by means of captives in Jerusalem, told abroad, that the Jews had God to fight for them, and therefore they could not be hurt, because they followed the laws that he gave them.

2 MACCABEES CHAPTER 9

1 About that time came Antiochus with dishonour out of the country of Persia

2 For he had entered the city called Persepolis, and went about to rob the temple, and to hold the city; whereupon the multitude running to defend themselves with their weapons put them to flight; and so it happened, that Antiochus being put to flight of the inhabitants returned with shame.

3 Now when he came to Ecbatane, news was brought him what had happened unto Nicanor and Timotheus.

4 Then swelling with anger. he thought to avenge upon the Jews the disgrace done unto him by those that made him flee. Therefore commanded he his chariotman to drive without ceasing, and to dispatch the journey, the judgement of God now following him. For he had spoken proudly in this sort, That he would come to Jerusalem and make it a common burying place of the Jews.

5 But the Lord Almighty, the God of Isreal, smote him with an incurable and invisible plague: or as soon as he had spoken

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these words, a pain of the bowels that was remediless came upon him, and sore torments of the inner parts;

6 And that most justly: for he had tormented other men's bowels with many and strange torments.

7 Howbeit he nothing at all ceased from his bragging, but still was filled with pride, breathing out fire in his rage against the Jews, and commanding to haste the journey: but it came to pass that he fell down from his chariot, carried violently; so that having a sore fall, all the members of his body were much pained.

8 And thus he that a little afore thought he might command the waves of the sea, (so proud was he beyond the condition of man) and weigh the high mountains in a balance, was now cast on the ground, and carried in an horselitter, shewing forth unto all the manifest power of God.

9 So that the worms rose up out of the body of this wicked man, and whiles he lived in sorrow and pain, his flesh fell away, and the filthiness of his smell was noisome to all his army.

10 And the man, that thought a little afore he could reach to the stars of heaven, no man could endure to carry for his intolerable stink.

11 Here therefore, being plagued, he began to leave off his great pride, and to come to the knowledge of himself by the scourge of God, his pain increasing every moment.

12 And when he himself could not abide his own smell, he said these words, It is meet to be subject unto God, and that a man that is mortal should not proudly think of himself if he were God.

13 This wicked person vowed also unto the Lord, who now no more would have mercy upon him, saying thus,

14 That the holy city (to the which he was going in haste to lay it even with the ground, and to make it a common buryingplace,) he would set at liberty:

15 And as touching the Jews, whom he had judged not worthy so much as to be buried, but to be cast out with their children to be devoured of the fowls and wild beasts, he would make them all equals to the citizens of Athens:

16 And the holy temple, which before he had spoiled, he would garnish with goodly gifts, and restore all the holy vessels with many more, and out of his own revenue defray the charges belonging to the sacrifices:

17 Yea, and that also he would become a Jew himself, and go through all the world that was inhabited, and declare the power of God.

18 But for all this his pains would not cease: for the just judgement of God was come upon him: therefore despairing of his health, he wrote unto the Jews the letter underwritten, containing the form of a supplication, after this manner:

19 Antiochus, king and governor, to the good Jews his citizens wisheth much joy, health, and prosperity:

20 If ye and your children fare well, and your affairs be to your contentment, I give very great thanks to God, having my hope in heaven.

21 As for me, I was weak, or else I would have remembered kindly your honour and good will returning out of Persia, and being taken with a grievous disease, I thought it necessary to care for the common safety of all:

22 Not distrusting mine health, but having great hope to escape this sickness.

23 But considering that even my father, at what time he led an army into the high countries. appointed a successor,

24 To the end that, if any thing fell out contrary to expectation, or if any tidings were brought that were grievous, they of the land, knowing to whom the state was left, might not be troubled:

25 Again, considering how that the princes that are borderers and neighbours unto my kingdom wait for opportunities, and expect what shall be the event. I have appointed my son Antiochus king, whom I often committed and commended unto many of you, when I went up into the high provinces; to whom I have written as followeth:

26 Therefore I pray and request you to remember the benefits that I have done unto you generally, and in special, and that every man will be still faithful to me and my son.

27 For I am persuaded that he understanding my mind will favourably and graciously yield to your desires.

28 Thus the murderer and blasphemer having suffered most grievously, as he entreated other men, so died he a miserable death in a strange country in the mountains.

29 And Philip, that was brought up with him, carried away his body, who also fearing the son of Antiochus went into Egypt to Ptolemeus Philometor.

2 MACCABEES CHAPTER 10

1 Now Maccabeus and his company, the Lord guiding them, recovered the temple and the city:

2 But the altars which the heathen had built in the open street, and also the chapels, they pulled down.

3 And having cleansed the temple they made another altar, and striking stones they took fire out of them, and offered a sacrifice after two years, and set forth incense, and lights, and shewbread.

4 When that was done, they fell flat down, and besought the Lord that they might come no more into such troubles; but if they sinned any more against him, that he himself would chasten them with mercy, and that they might not be delivered unto the blasphemous and barbarous nations.

5 Now upon the same day that the strangers profaned the temple, on the very same day it was cleansed again, even the five and twentieth day of the same month, which is Casleu.

6 And they kept the eight days with gladness, as in the feast of the tabernacles, remembering that not long afore they had held the feast of the tabernacles, when as they wandered in the mountains and dens like beasts.

7 Therefore they bare branches, and fair boughs, and palms also, and sang psalms unto him that had given them good success in cleansing his place.

8 They ordained also by a common statute and decree, That every year those days should be kept of the whole nation of the Jews.

9 And this was the end of Antiochus, called Epiphanes.

10 Now will we declare the acts of Antiochus Eupator, who was the son of this wicked man, gathering briefly the calamities of the wars.

11 So when he was come to the crown, he set one Lysias over the affairs of his realm, and appointed him his chief governor of Celosyria and Phenice.

12 For Ptolemeus, that was called Macron, choosing rather to do justice unto the Jews for the wrong that had been done unto them, endeavoured to continue peace with them.

13 Whereupon being accused of the king's friends before Eupator, and called traitor at every word because he had left Cyprus, that Philometor had committed unto him, and departed to Antiochus Epiphanes, and seeing that he was in no honourable place, he was so discouraged, that he poisoned himself and died.

14 But when Gorgias was governor of the holds, he hired soldiers, and nourished war continually with the Jews:

15 And therewithall the Idumeans, having gotten into their hands the most commodious holds, kept the Jews occupied, and receiving those that were banished from Jerusalem, they went about to nourish war.

16 Then they that were with Maccabeus made supplication, and besought God that he would be their helper; and so they ran with violence upon the strong holds of the Idumeans,

17 And assaulting them strongly, they won the holds, and kept off all that fought upon the wall, and slew all that fell into their hands, and killed no fewer than twenty thousand.

18 And because certain, who were no less than nine thousand, were fled together into two very strong castles, having all manner of things convenient to sustain the siege,

19 Maccabeus left Simon and Joseph, and Zaccheus also, and them that were with him, who were enough to besiege them, and departed himself unto those places which more needed his help.

20 Now they that were with Simon, being led with covetousness, were persuaded for money through certain of those that were in the castle, and took seventy thousand drachms, and let some of them escape.

21 But when it was told Maccabeus what was done, he called the governors of the people together, and accused those men, that they had sold their brethren for money, and set their enemies free to fight against them.

22 So he slew those that were found traitors, and immediately took the two castles.

23 And having good success with his weapons in all things he took in hand, he slew in the two holds more than twenty thousand.

24 Now Timotheus, whom the Jews had overcome before, when he had gathered a great multitude of foreign forces, and horses out of Asia not a few, came as though he would take Jewry by force of arms.

25 But when he drew near, they that were with Maccabeus turned themselves to pray unto God, and sprinkled earth upon their heads, and girded their loins with sackcloth,

26 And fell down at the foot of the altar, and besought him to be merciful to them, and to be an enemy to their enemies, and an adversary to their adversaries, as the law declareth.

27 So after the prayer they took their weapons, and went on further from the city: and when they drew near to their enemies, they kept by themselves.

28 Now the sun being newly risen, they joined both together; the one part having together with their virtue their refuge also unto the Lord for a pledge of their success and victory: the other side making their rage leader of their battle

29 But when the battle waxed strong, there appeared unto the enemies from heaven five comely men upon horses, with bridles of gold, and two of them led the Jews,

30 And took Maccabeus betwixt them, and covered him on every side weapons, and kept him safe, but shot arrows and lightnings against the enemies: so that being confounded with blindness, and full of trouble, they were killed.

31 And there were slain of footmen twenty thousand and five hundred, and six hundred horsemen.

32 As for Timotheus himself, he fled into a very strong hold, called Gawra, where Chereas was governor.

33 But they that were with Maccabeus laid siege against the fortress courageously four days.

34 And they that were within, trusting to the strength of the place, blasphemed exceedingly, and uttered wicked words.

35 Nevertheless upon the fifth day early twenty young men of Maccabeus' company, inflamed with anger because of the blasphemies, assaulted the wall manly, and with a fierce courage killed all that they met withal.

36 Others likewise ascending after them, whiles they were busied with them that were within, burnt the towers, and kindling fires burnt the blasphemers alive; and others broke open the gates, and, having received in the rest of the army, took the city,

37 And killed Timotheus, that was hid in a certain pit, and Chereas his brother, with Apollophanes.

38 When this was done, they praised the Lord with psalms and thanksgiving, who had done so great things for Israel, and given them the victory.

2 MACCABEES CHAPTER 11

1 Not long after the, Lysias the king's protector and cousin, who also managed the affairs, took sore displeasure for the things that were done.

2 And when he had gathered about fourscore thousand with all the horsemen, he came against the Jews, thinking to make the city an habitation of the Gentiles,

3 And to make a gain of the temple, as of the other chapels of the heathen, and to set the high priesthood to sale every year:

4 Not at all considering the power of God but puffed up with his ten thousands of footmen, and his thousands of horsemen, and his fourscore elephants.

5 So he came to Judea, and drew near to Bethsura, which was a strong town, but distant from Jerusalem about five furlongs, and he laid sore siege unto it.

6 Now when they that were with Maccabeus heard that he besieged the holds, they and all the people with lamentation and tears besought the Lord that he would send a good angel to deliver Israel.

7 Then Maccabeus himself first of all took weapons, exhorting the other that they would jeopard themselves together with him to help their brethren: so they went forth together with a willing mind.

8 And as they were at Jerusalem, there appeared before them on horseback one in white clothing, shaking his armour of gold.

9 Then they praised the merciful God all together, and took heart, insomuch that they were ready not only to fight with men, but with most cruel beasts, and to pierce through walls of iron.

10 Thus they marched forward in their armour, having an helper from heaven: for the Lord was merciful unto them

11 And giving a charge upon their enemies like lions, they slew eleven thousand footmen, and sixteen hundred horsemen, and put all the other to flight.

12 Many of them also being wounded escaped naked; and Lysias himself fled away shamefully, and so escaped.

13 Who, as he was a man of understanding, casting with himself what loss he had had, and considering that the Hebrews could not be overcome, because the Almighty God helped them, he sent unto them,

14 And persuaded them to agree to all reasonable conditions, and promised that he would persuade the king that he must needs be a friend unto them.

15 Then Maccabeus consented to all that Lysias desired, being careful of the common good; and whatsoever Maccabeus wrote unto Lysias concerning the Jews, the king granted it.

16 For there were letters written unto the Jews from Lysias to this effect: Lysias unto the people of the Jews sendeth greeting:

17 John and Absolom, who were sent from you, delivered me the petition subscribed, and made request for the performance of the contents thereof.

18 Therefore what things soever were meet to be reported to the king, I have declared them, and he hath granted as much as might be.

19 And if then ye will keep yourselves loyal to the state, hereafter also will I endeavour to be a means of your good.

20 But of the particulars I have given order both to these and the other that came from me, to commune with you.

21 Fare ye well. The hundred and eight and fortieth year, the four and twentieth day of the month Dioscorinthius.

22 Now the king's letter contained these words: King Antiochus unto his brother Lysias sendeth greeting:

23 Since our father is translated unto the gods, our will is, that they that are in our realm live quietly, that every one may attend upon his own affairs.

24 We understand also that the Jews would not consent to our father, for to be brought unto the custom of the Gentiles, but had rather keep their own manner of living: for the which cause they require of us, that we should suffer them to live after their own laws.

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25 Wherefore our mind is, that this nation shall be in rest, and we have determined to restore them their temple, that they may live according to the customs of their forefathers.

26 Thou shalt do well therefore to send unto them, and grant them peace, that when they are certified of our mind, they may be of good comfort, and ever go cheerfully about their own affairs.

27 And the letter of the king unto the nation of the Jews was after this manner: King Antiochus sendeth greeting unto the council, and the rest of the Jews:

28 If ye fare well, we have our desire; we are also in good health.

29 Menelaus declared unto us, that your desire was to return home, and to follow your own business:

30 Wherefore they that will depart shall have safe conduct till the thirtieth day of Xanthicus with security.

31 And the Jews shall use their own kind of meats and laws, as before; and none of them any manner of ways shall be molested for things ignorantly done.

32 I have sent also Menelaus, that he may comfort you.

33 Fare ye well. In the hundred forty and eighth year, and the fifteenth day of the month Xanthicus.

34 The Romans also sent unto them a letter containing these words: Quintus Memmius and Titus Manlius, ambassadors of the Romans, send greeting unto the people of the Jews.

35 Whatsoever Lysias the king's cousin hath granted, therewith we also are well pleased.

36 But touching such things as he judged to be referred to the king, after ye have advised thereof, send one forthwith, that we may declare as it is convenient for you: for we are now going to Antioch.

37 Therefore send some with speed, that we may know what is your mind.

38 Farewell. This hundred and eight and fortieth year, the fifteenth day of the month Xanthicus.

2 MACCABEES CHAPTER 12

1 When these covenants were made, Lysias went unto the king, and the Jews were about their husbandry.

2 But of the governours of several places, Timotheus, and Apollonius the son of Genneus, also Hieronymus, and Demophon, and beside them Nicanor the governor of Cyprus, would not suffer them to be quiet and live in peace.

3 The men of Joppa also did such an ungodly deed: they prayed the Jews that dwelt among them to go with their wives and children into the boats which they had prepared, as though they had meant them no hurt.

4 Who accepted of it according to the common decree of the city, as being desirous to live in peace, and suspecting nothing: but when they were gone forth into the deep, they drowned no less than two hundred of them.

5 When Judas heard of this cruelty done unto his countrymen, he commanded those that were with him to make them ready.

6 And calling upon God the righteous Judge, he came against those murderers of his brethren, and burnt the haven by night, and set the boats on fire, and those that fled thither he slew.

7 And when the town was shut up, he went backward, as if he would return to root out all them of the city of Joppa.

8 But when he heard that the Jamnites were minded to do in like manner unto the Jews that dwelt among them,

9 He came upon the Jamnites also by night, and set fire on the haven and the navy, so that the light of the fire was seen at Jerusalem two hundred and forty furlongs off.

10 Now when they were gone from thence nine furlongs in their journey toward Timotheus, no fewer than five thousand men on foot and five hundred horsemen of the Arabians set upon him.

11 Whereupon there was a very sore battle; but Judas' side by the help of God got the victory; so that the Nomades of Arabia, being overcome, besought Judas for peace, promising both to give him cattle, and to pleasure him otherwise.

12 Then Judas, thinking indeed that they would be profitable in many things, granted them peace: whereupon they shook hands, and so they departed to their tents.

13 He went also about to make a bridge to a certain strong city, which was fenced about with walls, and inhabited by people of divers countries; and the name of it was Caspis.

14 But they that were within it put such trust in the strength of the walls and provision of victuals, that they behaved themselves rudely toward them that were with Judas, railing and blaspheming, and uttering such words as were not to be spoken.

15 Wherefore Judas with his company, calling upon the great Lord of the world, who without rams or engines of war did cast down Jericho in the time of Joshua, gave a fierce assault against the walls,

16 And took the city by the will of God, and made unspeakable slaughters, insomuch that a lake two furlongs broad near adjoining thereunto, being filled full, was seen running with blood.

17 Then departed they from thence seven hundred and fifty furlongs, and came to Characa unto the Jews that are called Tubieni.

18 But as for Timotheus, they found him not in the places: for before he had dispatched any thing, he departed from thence, having left a very strong garrison in a certain hold.

19 Howbeit Dositheus and Sosipater, who were of Maccabeus' captains, went forth, and slew those that Timotheus had left in the fortress, above ten thousand men.

20 And Maccabeus ranged his army by bands, and set them over the bands, and went against Timotheus, who had about him an hundred and twenty thousand men of foot, and two thousand and five hundred horsemen.

21 Now when Timotheus had knowledge of Judas' coming, he sent the women and children and the other baggage unto a fortress called Carnion: for the town was hard to besiege, and uneasy to come unto, by reason of the straitness of all the places.

22 But when Judas his first band came in sight, the enemies, being smitten with fear and terror through the appearing of him who seeth all things, fled amain, one running into this way, another that way, so as that they were often hurt of their own men, and wounded with the points of their own swords.

23 Judas also was very earnest in pursuing them, killing those wicked wretches, of whom he slew about thirty thousand men.

24 Moreover Timotheus himself fell into the hands of Dositheus and Sosipater, whom he besought with much craft to let him go with his life, because he had many of the Jews' parents, and the brethren of some of them, who, if they put him to death, should not be regarded.

25 So when he had assured them with many words that he would restore them without hurt, according to the agreement, they let him go for the saving of their brethren.

26 Then Maccabeus marched forth to Carnion, and to the temple of Atargatis, and there he slew five and twenty thousand persons.

27 And after he had put to flight and destroyed them, Judas removed the host toward Ephron, a strong city, wherein Lysias abode, and a great multitude of divers nations, and the strong young men kept the walls, and defended them mightily: wherein also was great provision of engines and darts.

28 But when Judas and his company had called upon Almighty God, who with his power breaketh the strength of his enemies, they won the city, and slew twenty and five thousand of them that were within,

29 From thence they departed to Scythopolis, which lieth six hundred furlongs from Jerusalem,

30 But when the Jews that dwelt there had testified that the Scythopolitans dealt lovingly with them, and entreated them kindly in the time of their adversity;

31 They gave them thanks, desiring them to be friendly still unto them: and so they came to Jerusalem, the feast of the weeks approaching.

32 And after the feast, called Pentecost, they went forth against Gorgias the governor of Idumea,

33 Who came out with three thousand men of foot and four hundred horsemen.

34 And it happened that in their fighting together a few of the Jews were slain.

35 At which time Dositheus, one of Bacenor's company, who was on horseback, and a strong man, was still upon Gorgias, and taking hold of his coat drew him by force; and when he would have taken that cursed man alive, a horseman of Thracia coming upon him smote off his shoulder, so that Gorgias fled unto Marisa.

36 Now when they that were with Gorgias had fought long, and were weary, Judas called upon the Lord, that he would shew himself to be their helper and leader of the battle.

37 And with that he began in his own language, and sung psalms with a loud voice, and rushing unawares upon Gorgias' men, he put them to flight.

38 So Judas gathered his host, and came into the city of Odollam, And when the seventh day came, they purified themselves, as the custom was, and kept the sabbath in the same place.

39 And upon the day following, as the use had been, Judas and his company came to take up the bodies of them that were slain, and to bury them with their kinsmen in their fathers' graves.

40 Now under the coats of every one that was slain they found things consecrated to the idols of the Jamnites, which is forbidden the Jews by the law. Then every man saw that this was the cause wherefore they were slain.

41 All men therefore praising the Lord, the righteous Judge, who had opened the things that were hid,

42 Betook themselves unto prayer, and besought him that the sin committed might wholly be put out of remembrance. Besides, that noble Judas exhorted the people to keep themselves from sin, forsomuch as they saw before their eyes the things that came to pass for the sins of those that were slain.

43 And when he had made a gathering throughout the company to the sum of two thousand drachms of silver, he sent it to Jerusalem to offer a sin offering, doing therein very well and honestly, in that he was mindful of the resurrection:

44 For if he had not hoped that they that were slain should have risen again, it had been superfluous and vain to pray for the dead.

45 And also in that he perceived that there was great favour laid up for those that died godly, it was an holy and good thought. Whereupon he made a reconciliation for the dead, that they might be delivered from sin.

2 MACCABEES CHAPTER 13

1 In the hundred forty and ninth year it was told Judas, that Antiochus Eupator was coming with a great power into Judea,

2 And with him Lysias his protector, and ruler of his affairs, having either of them a Grecian power of footmen, an hundred and ten thousand, and horsemen five thousand and three hundred, and elephants two and twenty, and three hundred chariots armed with hooks.

3 Menelaus also joined himself with them, and with great dissimulation encouraged Antiochus, not for the safeguard of the country, but because he thought to have been made governor.

4 But the King of kings moved Antiochus' mind against this wicked wretch, and Lysias informed the king that this man was the cause of all mischief, so that the king commanded to bring him unto Berea, and to put him to death, as the manner is in that place.

5 Now there was in that place a tower of fifty cubits high, full of ashes, and it had a round instrument which on every side hanged down into the ashes.

6 And whosoever was condemned of sacrilege, or had committed any other grievous crime, there did all men thrust him unto death.

7 Such a death it happened that wicked man to die, not having so much as burial in the earth; and that most justly:

8 For inasmuch as he had committed many sins about the altar, whose fire and ashes were holy, he received his death in ashes.

9 Now the king came with a barbarous and haughty mind to do far worse to the Jews, than had been done in his father's time.

10 Which things when Judas perceived, he commanded the multitude to call upon the Lord night and day, that if ever at any other time, he would now also help them, being at the point to be put from their law, from their country, and from the holy temple:

11 And that he would not suffer the people, that had even now been but a little refreshed, to be in subjection to the blasphemous nations.

12 So when they had all done this together, and besought the merciful Lord with weeping and fasting, and lying flat upon the ground three days long, Judas, having exhorted them, commanded they should be in a readiness.

13 And Judas, being apart with the elders, determined, before the king's host should enter into Judea, and get the city, to go forth and try the matter in fight by the help of the Lord.

14 So when he had committed all to the Creator of the world, and exhorted his soldiers to fight manfully, even unto death, for the laws, the temple, the city, the country, and the commonwealth, he camped by Modin:

15 And having given the watchword to them that were about him, Victory is of God; with the most valiant and choice young men he went in into the king's tent by night, and slew in the camp about four thousand men, and the chiefest of the elephants, with all that were upon him.

16 And at last they filled the camp with fear and tumult, and departed with good success.

17 This was done in the break of the day, because the protection of the Lord did help him.

18 Now when the king had taken a taste of the manliness of the Jews, he went about to take the holds by policy,

19 And marched toward Bethsura, which was a strong hold of the Jews: but he was put to flight, failed, and lost of his men:

20 For Judas had conveyed unto them that were in it such things as were necessary.

21 But Rhodocus, who was in the Jews' host, disclosed the secrets to the enemies; therefore he was sought out, and when they had gotten him, they put him in prison.

22 The king treated with them in Bethsum the second time, gave his hand, took their's, departed, fought with Judas, was overcome;

23 Heard that Philip, who was left over the affairs in Antioch, was desperately bent, confounded, intreated the Jews, submitted himself, and sware to all equal conditions, agreed with them, and offered sacrifice, honoured the temple, and dealt kindly with the place,

24 And accepted well of Maccabeus, made him principal governor from Ptolemais unto the Gerrhenians;

25 Came to Ptolemais: the people there were grieved for the covenants; for they stormed, because they would make their covenants void:

26 Lysias went up to the judgement seat, said as much as could be in defence of the cause, persuaded, pacified, made

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them well affected, returned to Antioch. Thus it went touching the king's coming and departing.

2 MACCABEES CHAPTER 14

1 After three years was Judas informed, that Demetrius the son of Seleucus, having entered by the haven of Tripolis with a great power and navy,

2 Had taken the country, and killed Antiochus, and Lysias his protector.

3 Now one Alcimus, who had been high priest, and had defiled himself wilfully in the times of their mingling with the Gentiles, seeing that by no means he could save himself, nor have any more access to the holy altar,

4 Came to king Demetrius in the hundred and one and fiftieth year, presenting unto him a crown of gold, and a palm, and also of the boughs which were used solemnly in the temple: and so that day he held his peace.

5 Howbeit having gotten opportunity to further his foolish enterprize, and being called into counsel by Demetrius, and asked how the Jews stood affected, and what they intended, he answered thereunto:

6 Those of the Jews that he called Assideans, whose captain is Judas Maccabeus, nourish war and are seditious, and will not let the rest be in peace.

7 Therefore I, being deprived of mine ancestors' honour, I mean the high priesthood, am now come hither:

8 First, verily for the unfeigned care I have of things pertaining to the king; and secondly, even for that I intend the good of mine own countrymen: for all our nation is in no small misery through the unadvised dealing of them aforesaid.

9 Wherefore, O king, seeing knowest all these things, be careful for the country, and our nation, which is pressed on every side, according to the clemency that thou readily shewest unto all.

10 For as long as Judas liveth, it is not possible that the state should be quiet.

11 This was no sooner spoken of him, but others of the king's friends, being maliciously set against Judas, did more incense Demetrius.

12 And forthwith calling Nicanor, who had been master of the elephants, and making him governor over Judea, he sent him forth,

13 Commanding him to slay Judas, and to scatter them that were with him, and to make Alcimus high priest of the great temple.

14 Then the heathen, that had fled out of Judea from Judas, came to Nicanor by flocks, thinking the harm and calamities of the Jews to be their welfare.

15 Now when the Jews heard of Nicanor's coming, and that the heathen were up against them, they cast earth upon their heads, and made supplication to him that had established his people for ever, and who always helpeth his portion with manifestation of his presence.

16 So at the commandment of the captain they removed straightways from thence, and came near unto them at the town of Dessau.

17 Now Simon, Judas' brother, had joined battle with Nicanor, but was somewhat discomfited through the sudden silence of his enemies.

18 Nevertheless Nicanor, hearing of the manliness of them that were with Judas, and the courageousness that they had to fight for their country, durst not try the matter by the sword.

19 Wherefore he sent Posidonius, and Theodotus, and Mattathias, to make peace.

20 So when they had taken long advisement thereupon, and the captain had made the multitude acquainted therewith, and it appeared that they were all of one mind, they consented to the covenants,

21 And appointed a day to meet in together by themselves: and when the day came, and stools were set for either of them,

22 Ludas placed armed men ready in convenient places, lest some treachery should be suddenly practised by the enemies: so they made a peaceable conference.

23 Now Nicanor abode in Jerusalem, and did no hurt, but sent away the people that came flocking unto him.

24 And he would not willingly have Judas out of his sight: for he love the man from his heart

25 He prayed him also to take a wife, and to beget children: so he married, was quiet, and took part of this life.

26 But Alcimus, perceiving the love that was betwixt them, and considering the covenants that were made, came to Demetrius, and told him that Nicanor was not well affected toward the state; for that he had ordained Judas, a traitor to his realm, to be the king's successor.

27 Then the king being in a rage, and provoked with the accusations of the most wicked man, wrote to Nicanor, signifying that he was much displeased with the covenants, and commanding him that he should send Maccabeus prisoner in all haste unto Antioch.

28 When this came to Nicanor's hearing, he was much confounded in himself, and took it grievously that he should make void the articles which were agreed upon, the man being in no fault.

29 But because there was no dealing against the king, he watched his time to accomplish this thing by policy.

30 Notwithstanding, when Maccabeus saw that Nicanor began to be churlish unto him, and that he entreated him more roughly than he was wont, perceiving that such sour behaviour came not of good, he gathered together not a few of his men, and withdrew himself from Nicanor.

31 But the other, knowing that he was notably prevented by Judas' policy, came into the great and holy temple, and commanded the priests, that were offering their usual sacrifices, to deliver him the man.

32 And when they sware that they could not tell where the man was whom he sought,

33 He stretched out his right hand toward the temple, and made an oath in this manner: If ye will not deliver me Judas as a prisoner, I will lay this temple of God even with the ground, and I will break down the altar, and erect a notable temple unto Bacchus.

34 After these words he departed. Then the priests lifted up their hands toward heaven, and besought him that was ever a defender of their nation, saying in this manner;

35 Thou, O Lord of all things, who hast need of nothing, wast pleased that the temple of thine habitation should be among us:

36 Therefore now, O holy Lord of all holiness, keep this house ever undefiled, which lately was cleansed, and stop every unrighteous mouth.

37 Now was there accused unto Nicanor one Razis, one of the elders of Jerusalem, a lover of his countrymen, and a man of very good report, who for his kindness was called a father of the Jews.

38 For in the former times, when they mingled not themselves with the Gentiles, he had been accused of Judaism, and did boldly jeopard his body and life with all vehemency for the religion of the Jews.

39 So Nicanor, willing to declare the hate that he bare unto the Jews, sent above five hundred men of war to take him:

40 For he thought by taking him to do the Jews much hurt.

41 Now when the multitude would have taken the tower, and violently broken into the outer door, and bade that fire should be brought to burn it, he being ready to be taken on every side fell upon his sword;

42 Choosing rather to die manfully, than to come into the hands of the wicked, to be abused otherwise than beseemed his noble birth:

43 But missing his stroke through haste, the multitude also rushing within the doors, he ran boldly up to the wall, and cast himself down manfully among the thickest of them.

44 But they quickly giving back, and a space being made, he fell down into the midst of the void place.

45 Nevertheless, while there was yet breath within him, being inflamed with anger, he rose up; and though his blood gushed out like spouts of water, and his wounds were grievous, yet he ran through the midst of the throng; and standing upon a steep rock,

46 When as his blood was now quite gone, he plucked out his bowels, and taking them in both his hands, he cast them upon the throng, and calling upon the Lord of life and spirit to restore him those again, he thus died.

2 MACCABEES CHAPTER 15

1 But Nicanor, hearing that Judas and his company were in the strong places about Samaria, resolved without any danger to set upon them on the sabbath day.

2 Nevertheless the Jews that were compelled to go with him said, O destroy not so cruelly and barbarously, but give honour to that day, which he, that seeth all things, hath honoured with holiness above all other days.

3 Then the most ungracious wretch demanded, if there were a Mighty one in heaven, that had commanded the sabbath day to be kept.

4 And when they said, There is in heaven a living Lord, and mighty, who commanded the seventh day to be kept:

5 Then said the other, And I also am mighty upon earth, and I command to take arms, and to do the king's business. Yet he obtained not to have his wicked will done.

6 So Nicanor in exceeding pride and haughtiness determined to set up a publick monument of his victory over Judas and them that were with him.

7 But Maccabeus had ever sure confidence that the Lord would help him:

8 Wherefore he exhorted his people not to fear the coming of the heathen against them, but to remember the help which in former times they had received from heaven, and now to expect the victory and aid, which should come unto them from the Almighty.

9 And so comforting them out of the law and the prophets, and withal putting them in mind of the battles that they won afore, he made them more cheerful.

10 And when he had stirred up their minds, he gave them their charge, shewing them therewithall the falsehood of the heathen, and the breach of oaths.

11 Thus he armed every one of them, not so much with defence of shields and spears, as with comfortable and good words: and beside that, he told them a dream worthy to be believed, as if it had been so indeed, which did not a little rejoice them.

12 And this was his vision: That Onias, who had been high priest, a virtuous and a good man, reverend in conversation, gentle in condition, well spoken also, and exercised from a child in all points of virtue, holding up his hands prayed for the whole body of the Jews.

13 This done, in like manner there appeared a man with gray hairs, and exceeding glorious, who was of a wonderful and excellent majesty.

14 Then Onias answered, saying, This is a lover of the brethren, who prayeth much for the people, and for the holy city, to wit, Jeremias the prophet of God.

15 Whereupon Jeremias holding forth his right hand gave to Judas a sword of gold, and in giving it spake thus,

16 Take this holy sword, a gift from God, with the which thou shalt wound the adversaries.

17 Thus being well comforted by the words of Judas, which were very good, and able to stir them up to valour, and to encourage the hearts of the young men, they determined not to pitch camp, but courageously to set upon them, and manfully to try the matter by conflict, because the city and the sanctuary and the temple were in danger.

18 For the care that they took for their wives, and their children, their brethren, and folks, was in least account with them: but the greatest and principal fear was for the holy temple.

19 Also they that were in the city took not the least care, being troubled for the conflict abroad.

20 And now, when as all looked what should be the trial, and the enemies were already come near, and the army was set in array, and the beasts conveniently placed, and the horsemen set in wings,

21 Maccabeus seeing the coming of the multitude, and the divers preparations of armour, and the fierceness of the beasts, stretched out his hands toward heaven, and called upon the Lord that worketh wonders, knowing that victory cometh not by arms, but even as it seemeth good to him, he giveth it to such as are worthy:

22 Therefore in his prayer he said after this manner; O Lord, thou didst send thine angel in the time of Ezekias king of Judea, and didst slay in the host of Sennacherib an hundred fourscore and five thousand:

23 Wherefore now also, O Lord of heaven, send a good angel before us for a fear and dread unto them;

24 And through the might of thine arm let those be stricken with terror, that come against thy holy people to blaspheme. And he ended thus.

25 Then Nicanor and they that were with him came forward with trumpets and songs.

26 But Judas and his company encountered the enemies with invocation and prayer.

27 So that fighting with their hands, and praying unto God with their hearts, they slew no less than thirty and five thousand men: for through the appearance of God they were greatly cheered.

28 Now when the battle was done, returning again with joy, they knew that Nicanor lay dead in his harness.

29 Then they made a great shout and a noise, praising the Almighty in their own language.

30 And Judas, who was ever the chief defender of the citizens both in body and mind, and who continued his love toward his countrymen all his life, commanded to strike off Nicanor's head, and his hand with his shoulder, and bring them to Jerusalem.

31 So when he was there, and called them of his nation together, and set the priests before the altar, he sent for them that were of the tower,

32 And shewed them vile Nicanor's head, and the hand of that blasphemer, which with proud brags he had stretched out against the holy temple of the Almighty.

33 And when he had cut out the tongue of that ungodly Nicanor, he commanded that they should give it by pieces unto the fowls, and hang up the reward of his madness before the temple.

34 So every man praised toward the heaven the glorious Lord, saying, Blessed be he that hath kept his own place undefiled.

35 He hanged also Nicanor's head upon the tower, an evident and manifest sign unto all of the help of the Lord.

36 And they ordained all with a common decree in no case to let that day pass without solemnity, but to celebrate the thirtieth day of the twelfth month, which in the Syrian tongue is called Adar, the day before Mardocheus' day.

37 Thus went it with Nicanor: and from that time forth the Hebrews had the city in their power. And here will I make an end.

38 And if I have done well, and as is fitting the story, it is that which I desired: but if slenderly and meanly, it is that which I could attain unto.

39 For as it is hurtful to drink wine or water alone; and as wine mingled with water is pleasant, and delighteth the taste:

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even so speech finely framed delighteth the ears of them that read the story. And here shall be an end.

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PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

(The official definition of the word "pseudepigrapha" is that they "are falsely-attributed works, texts whose claimed author is not the true author, or a work whose real author attributed it to a figure of the past". Today we know that over 90% of all Bible texts fit into this description. In reality, Jewish or Christian texts were despised as pseudepigrapha quite simply because Church and Bible authorities did not like the contents, parts of the contents or their attitude. Contents that did not fit into the doctrine of the leaders in power were rejected as they would have threatened the leaders' very powerbase.
As a consequence, pseudepigapha were hidden or distroyed. In order to discredit these writings and imply that they were useless falsifications, Church leaders deliberately gave them a name with the Greek prefix "pseud" which means "false or not genuine". Today we know that some pseudepigrapha are very old and that they reveal interesting details and explanations.
During the last 150 years, more and more pseudepigrapha have been found in far-away churches, libraries and archaeological sites such as Qumran near the Dead Sea and Nag Hammadi in Egypt. Now we can read them here again.)

PSEUDEPIGRAPHA
PRIMITIVE HISTORY REWRITTEN FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE LAW

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

or The Book of Division
or Leptogenesis (Lesser or Little Genesis
Source: Ethiopic text in Amharic language and Ge'ez script
Translation: Robert Henry Charles 1913
Estimated Range of Dating: 250-150 B.C.

(The Book of Jubilees, sometimes called "Lesser Genesis" (Leptogenesis), is an ancient Jewish religious work of 50 chapters, considered canonical by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church as well as Beta Israel (lit. "the House of Israel", meaning the Ethiopian Jews), where it is known as the Book of Division (Amharic: Mets'hafè Kufale). Jubilees is considered one of the pseudepigrapha by Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Eastern Orthodox Churches. It is also not considered canonical within Judaism outside of Beta Israel.
It was well known to Early Christians, as evidenced by the writings of Epiphanius, Origen, Diodorus of Tarsus, George Syncellus, and others. The text was also utilised by the community that originally collected the Dead Sea Scrolls. No complete Greek or Latin version is known to have survived, but the Ge'ez version has been shown to be an accurate translation of the versions found in the Dead Sea Scrolls.
The Book of Jubilees claims to present "the history of the division of the days of the Law, of the events of the years, the year-weeks, and the jubilees of the world" as revealed to Moses (in addition to the Torah or "Instruction") by angels while he was on Mount Sinai for forty days and forty nights. The chronology given in Jubilees is based on multiples of seven; the jubilees are periods of 49 years (seven "year-weeks"), into which all of time has been divided.
Until the discovery of extensive fragments among the Dead Sea Scrolls, the only surviving manuscripts of Jubilees were four complete Ge'ez texts dating to the 15th and 16th centuries, and several quotations by the Church fathers such as Epiphanius, Origen as well as Diodorus of Tarsus, and George Syncellus, among others. There is also a preserved fragment of a Latin translation of the Greek that contains about a quarter of the whole work. The Ethiopic texts, now numbering twenty-seven, are the primary basis for translations into English. Passages in the texts of Jubilees that are directly parallel to verses in Genesis do not directly reproduce either of the two surviving manuscript traditions
Between 1947 and 1956, approximately 15 Jubilees scrolls were found in five caves at Qumran, all written in Hebrew. The large number of manuscripts (more than for any biblical books except for Psalms, Deuteronomy, Isaiah, Exodus, and Genesis, in descending order) indicates that Jubilees was widely used at Qumran. The dating of Jubilees has been problematic for biblical scholars. While the oldest extant copies of Jubilees can be assigned on the basis of the handwriting to about 100 BC, there is much evidence to suggest Jubilees was written prior to this date. Jubilees could not have been written very long prior. Jubilees at 4:17-25 records that Enoch "saw in a vision what has happened and what will occur", and the book contains many points of information otherwise found earliest in the Enochian "Animal Apocalypse" (1 Enoch chapters 83-90), such as Enoch's wife being Edna. The Animal Apocalypse claims to predict the Maccabean Revolt (which occurred 167-160 BC) and is commonly dated to that time. The direction of dependence has been controversial, but the consensus since 2008 has been that the Animal Apocalypse came first and Jubilees after. As a result the work can be dated to 160–150 BC.

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The Maccabean Revolt was a Jewish rebellion organised by groups that were in the Dead Sea Scrolls called "the sons of Light" now better known as the ancient Jewish "Messianic Movement", lasting from 167 to 160 BC. They were led by the Maccabees against the Greek Seleucid Empire and its influence on Jewish life. The recapture of Jerusalem in 164 BC from the armies Antiochus IV was a significant early victory for Judah Maccabee's fighters, who came to be known as the Maccabees. The subsequent cleansing of the temple and rededication of the Altar on the 25th of Kislev, was celebrated in following years as the Hanukkah festival.

After Mattathias' death about one year later in 166 BC, his son Judah Maccabee led an army of Jewish dissidents to victory over the Seleucid dynasty in guerrilla warfare, which at first was directed against Hellenized Jews, of whom there were many. The Maccabees destroyed Greek altars in the villages, circumcised boys and forced Hellenized Jews into outlawry. Judah's nickname "Maccabbeus," now used in popular culture to describe the Jewish partisans as a whole, is taken from the Hebrew word for "hammer"

The revolt itself involved many battles [In particular six main campaigns such as the Battle of Wadi Haramia, 167 BC; of Beth Horon, 166 BC; of Emmaus, 166 BC; of Beth Zur, 164 BC; of Beth Zechariah, 162 BC and the Battle of Adasa, 161 BC.], in which the Maccabean forces gained notoriety for their use of guerrilla tactics and their speed and mobility, in contrast to the slow and bulky Seleucid army. After the victory, the Maccabees entered Jerusalem in triumph and ritually cleansed the Temple, reestablishing traditional Jewish worship there and installing Jonathan Apphus, Judah's youngest brother, as high priest. A large Seleucid army was sent to quash the revolt, but returned to Syria on the death of Antiochus IV. Beforehand, Judas Maccabbeus made an agreement with Rome and became allied, tying the hands of the weaker Seleucid Empire. Its commander Lysias, preoccupied with internal Seleucid affairs, agreed to a political compromise that revoked Antiochus IV's ban on Jewish practices. The Jewish festival of Hanukkah celebrates the re-dedication of the Temple following Judah Maccabee's victory over the Greek Seleucids.

After the success of the Maccabean Revolt, kings of the Hasmonean dynasty continued their conquest to the surrounding areas of Judaea. Those who remained of the Jewish party favouring Greek influence, forced to submit to Mosaic Law, repeatedly called upon the Seleucid Empire for assistance. At the time, however, the Seleucid Empire was weakened by political infighting and other wars, including against Ptolemaic Egypt, reducing their ability to reconquer Judea. In one particular instance, however, Jonathan Apphus (son of Mattathias) was convinced by Tryphon to dismiss 40,000 of his men and meet him for a "conference", which turned to be a trap. Jonathan was captured and later executed, against a deal Tryphon had made with Jonathan's brother Simon for Jonathan's liberation, in exchange for one hundred talents and Jonathan's two sons as hostages. Simeon was later murdered by his son-in-law, Ptolemy son of Abubus. Afterwards, Simon's third son, John Hyrcanus, became ruler and High Priest of Israel. Essentially the dynasty became independent with the decline of Seleucids and would last until 37 BC, when Herod, making use of heavy Roman support, defeated the last Hasmonean ruler to become a Roman client king.

A conflict between the brothers Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II over the succession to the Hasmonean throne began in Judaea in 69 BC. Aristobulus deposed Hyrcanus. Syria had once been the heart of the vast Seleucid Empire, after the death of Antiochus IV in 164 BC, it had become increasingly unstable. The Roman Republic was concerned about the political instability to the southeast of Rome's new provinces in Asia Minor, Syria and Judaea because they built the land-connexion of the northern Mediterranean with Egypt and the north of Africa which was about to become the "bread basket" of the rising Roman Empire. In Syria, the Seleucid state was disintegrating, in Judaea there was a civil war. The Senate in Rome assigned Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus [106–48 BC, in English better known as Pompey the Great] to solve the problem. In 63 BC, Pompey and his Legions left Antioch and marched south taking Syria, Phoenicia and Judaea. The last renegate rulers of the Hasmonean Dynasty were deposed by the Romans.

Under Hyrcanus, real power rested with his chief minister, Antipater the Idumaean. Antipater I the Idumaean (113 / 114-43 BC) was the founder of the Herodian Dynasty and father of Herod the Great. According to Josephus, he was the son of Antipas and had formerly held that name. Idumaea is the Greek-Roman name of Edom, better known as Nabataean Kingdom with its capital Petra. The Idumaeans were Arabs. Herod the Great's Siege of Jerusalem (37 BC) was the final step in his campaign to secure the throne of Judaea. Aided by Roman forces provided by Marcus Antonius (Mark Antony), Herod was able to capture the city and depose Antigonus II Mattathias, ending Hasmonean rule.)

Text:

This is the history of the division of the days of the law and of the testimony, of the events of the years, of their (year) weeks, of their Jubilees throughout all the years of the world, as the Lord spake to Moses on Mount Sinai when he went up to receive the tables of the law and of the commandment, according to the voice of God as he said unto him, 'Go up to the top of the Mount.'

[A "jubilee" is a Hebrew calendar unit containing seven years. Such a "jubilee-unit" of seven years is called "AM." which means "anno mundi", that is "in the year of the World". The year 0 of the Hebrew Calendar begins at the 6th of October in 3761 BC. The year 2017 AD. is equivalent to the year 5778 of the Hebrew Calendar.]

JUBILEES CHAPTER 1

1 And it came to pass in the first year of the exodus of the children of Israel out of Egypt, in the third month, on the sixteenth day of the month, [2450 Anno Mundi] that God spake to Moses, saying: 'Come up to Me on the Mount, and I will give thee two tables of stone of the law and of the commandment, which I have written, that thou mayst teach them.'

2 And Moses went up into the mount of God, and the glory of the Lord abode on Mount Sinai, and a cloud overshadowed it six days.

3 And He called to Moses on the seventh day out of the midst of the cloud, and the appearance of the glory of the Lord was like a flaming fire on the top of the mount.

4 And Moses was on the Mount forty days and forty nights, and God taught him the earlier and the later history of the division of all the days of the law and of the testimony.

5 And He said: 'Incline thine heart to every word which I shall speak to thee on this mount, and write them in a book in order that their generations may see how I have not forsaken them for all the evil which they have wrought in transgressing the covenant which I establish between Me and thee for their generations this day on Mount Sinai.

6 And thus it will come to pass when all these things come upon them, that they will recognise that I am more righteous than they in all their judgements and in all their actions, and they will recognise that I have been truly with them.

7 And do thou write for thyself all these words which I declare unto, thee this day, for I know their rebellion and their stiff neck, before I bring them into the land of which I sware to their fathers, to Abraham and to Isaac and to Jacob, saying: ' Unto your seed will I give a land flowing with milk and honey.

8 And they will eat and be satisfied, and they will turn to strange gods, to (gods) which cannot deliver them from aught of their tribulation: and this witness shall be heard for a witness against them. For they will forget all My commandments, (even) all that I command them, and they will walk after the Gentiles, and after their uncleanness, and after their shame, and will serve their gods, and these will prove unto them an offence and a tribulation and an affliction and a snare.

9 And many will perish and they will be taken captive, and will fall into the hands of the enemy, because they have forsaken My ordinances and My commandments, and the festivals of My covenant, and My sabbaths, and My holy place which I have hallowed for Myself in their midst, and My tabernacle, and My sanctuary, which I have hallowed for Myself in the midst of the land, that I should set my name upon it, and that it should dwell (there).

10 And they will make to themselves high places and groves and graven images, and they will worship, each his own (graven image), so as to go astray, and they will sacrifice their children to demons, and to all the works of the error of their hearts.

11 And I will send witnesses unto them, that I may witness against them, but they will not hear, and will slay the witnesses also, and they will persecute those who seek the law, and they will abrogate and change everything so as to work evil before My eyes.

12 And I will hide My face from them, and I will deliver them into the hand of the Gentiles for captivity, and for a prey, and for devouring, and I will remove them from the midst of the land, and I will scatter them amongst the Gentiles.

13 And they will forget all My law and all My commandments and all My judgements, and will go astray as to new moons, and sabbaths, and festivals, and jubilees, and ordinances.

14 And after this they will turn to Me from amongst the Gentiles with all their heart and with all their soul and with all their strength, and I will gather them from amongst all the Gentiles, and they will seek me, so that I shall be found of them, when they seek me with all their heart and with all their soul.

15 And I will disclose to them abounding peace with righteousness, and I will remove them the plant of uprightness, with all My heart and with all My soul, and they shall be for a blessing and not for a curse, and they shall be the head and not the tail.

16 And I will build My sanctuary in their midst, and I will dwell with them, and I will be their God and they shall be My people in truth and righteousness.

17 And I will not forsake them nor fail them; for I am the Lord their God.'

18 And Moses fell on his face and prayed and said, 'O Lord my God, do not forsake Thy people and Thy inheritance, so that they should wander in the error of their hearts, and do not deliver them into the hands of their enemies, the Gentiles, lest they should rule over them and cause them to sin against Thee.

19 Let thy mercy, O Lord, be lifted up upon Thy people, and create in them an upright spirit, and let not the spirit of Beliar rule over them to accuse them before Thee, and to ensnare them from all the paths of righteousness, so that they may perish from before Thy face.

20 But they are Thy people and Thy inheritance, which thou hast delivered with thy great power from the hands of the Egyptians: create in them a clean heart and a holy spirit, and let them not be ensnared in their sins from henceforth until eternity.'

21 And the Lord said unto Moses: 'I know their contrariness and their thoughts and their stiffneckedness, and they will not be obedient till they confess their own sin and the sin of their fathers.

22 And after this they will turn to Me in all uprightness and with all (their) heart and with all (their) soul, and I will circumcise the foreskin of their heart and the foreskin of the heart of their seed, and I will create in them a holy spirit, and I will cleanse them so that they shall not turn away from Me from that day unto eternity.

23 And their souls will cleave to Me and to all My commandments, and they will fulfil My commandments, and I will be their Father and they shall be My children.

24 And they all shall be called children of the living God, and every angel and every spirit shall know, yea, they shall know that these are My children, and that I am their Father in uprightness and righteousness, and that I love them.

25 And do thou write down for thyself all these words which I declare unto thee on this mountain, the first and the last, which shall come to pass in all the divisions of the days in the law and in the testimony and in the weeks and the jubilees unto eternity, until I descend and dwell with them throughout eternity.'

26 And He said to the angel of the presence: Write for Moses from the beginning of creation till My sanctuary has been built among them for all eternity.

27 And the Lord will appear to the eyes of all, and all shall know that I am the God of Israel and the Father of all the children of Jacob, and King on Mount Zion for all eternity. And Zion and Jerusalem shall be holy.'

28 And the angel of the presence who went before the camp of Israel took the tables of the divisions of the years -from the time of the creation- of the law and of the testimony of the weeks of the jubilees, according to the individual years, according to all the number of the jubilees [according, to the individual years], from the day of the [new] creation when the heavens and the earth shall be renewed and all their creation according to the powers of the heaven, and according to all the creation of the earth, until the sanctuary of the Lord shall be made in Jerusalem on Mount Zion, and all the luminaries be renewed for healing and for peace and for blessing for all the elect of Israel, and that thus it may be from that day and unto all the days of the earth.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 2

1 And the angel of the presence spake to Moses according to the word of the Lord, saying: Write the complete history of the creation, how in six days the Lord God finished all His works and all that He created, and kept Sabbath on the seventh day and hallowed it for all ages, and appointed it as a sign for all His works.

2 For on the first day He created the heavens which are above and the earth and the waters and all the spirits which serve before him -the angels of the presence, and the angels of sanctification, and the angels [of the spirit of fire and the angels] of the spirit of the winds, and the angels of the spirit of the clouds, and of darkness, and of snow and of hail and of hoar frost, and the angels of the voices and of the thunder and of the lightning, and the angels of the spirits of cold and of heat, and of winter and of spring and of autumn and of summer and of all the spirits of his creatures which are in the heavens and on the earth, (He created) the abysses and the darkness, eventide <and night>, and the light, dawn and day, which He hath prepared in the knowledge of his heart.

3 And thereupon we saw His works, and praised Him, and lauded before Him on account of all His works; for seven great works did He create on the first day.

4 And on the second day He created the firmament in the midst of the waters, and the waters were divided on that day - half of them went up above and half of them went down below the firmament (that was) in the midst over the face of the

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whole earth. And this was the only work (God) created on the second day.

5 And on the third day He commanded the waters to pass from off the face of the whole earth into one place, and the dry land to appear.

6 And the waters did so as He commanded them, and they retired from off the face of the earth into one place outside of this firmament, and the dry land appeared.

7 And on that day He created for them all the seas according to their separate gathering-places, and all the rivers, and the gatherings of the waters in the mountains and on all the earth, and all the lakes, and all the dew of the earth, and the seed which is sown, and all sprouting things, and fruit-bearing trees, and trees of the wood, and the garden of Eden, in Eden and all plants after their kind.

8 These four great works God created on the third day. And on the fourth day He created the sun and the moon and the stars, and set them in the firmament of the heaven, to give light upon all the earth, and to rule over the day and the night, and divide the light from the darkness.

9 And God appointed the sun to be a great sign on the earth for days and for sabbaths and for months and for feasts and for years and for sabbaths of years and for jubilees and for all seasons of the years.

10 And it divideth the light from the darkness [and] for prosperity, that all things may prosper which shoot and grow on the earth.

11 These three kinds He made on the fourth day. And on the fifth day He created great sea monsters in the depths of the waters, for these were the first things of flesh that were created by his hands, the fish and everything that moves in the waters, and everything that flies, the birds and all their kind.

12 And the sun rose above them to prosper (them), and above everything that was on the earth, everything that shoots out of the earth, and all fruit-bearing trees, and all flesh.

13 These three kinds He created on the fifth day. And on the sixth day He created all the animals of the earth, and all cattle, and everything that moves on the earth.

14 And after all this He created man, a man and a woman created He them, and gave him dominion over all that is upon the earth, and in the seas, and over everything that flies, and over beasts and over cattle, and over everything that moves on the earth, and over the whole earth, and over all this He gave him dominion.

15 And these four kinds He created on the sixth day. And there were altogether two and twenty kinds.

16 And He finished all his work on the sixth day -all that is in the heavens and on the earth, and in the seas and in the abysses, and in the light and in the darkness, and in everything.

17 And He gave us a great sign, the Sabbath day, that we should work six days, but keep Sabbath on the seventh day from all work.

18 And all the angels of the presence, and all the angels of sanctification, these two great classes -He hath bidden us to keep the Sabbath with Him in heaven and on earth.

19 And He said unto us: 'Behold, I will separate unto Myself a people from among all the peoples, and these shall keep the Sabbath day, and I will sanctify them unto Myself as My people, and will bless them; as I have sanctified the Sabbath day and do sanctify (it) unto Myself, even so will I bless them, and they shall be My people and I will be their God.

20 And I have chosen the seed of Jacob from amongst all that I have seen, and have written him down as My first-born son,and have sanctified him unto Myself for ever and ever; and I will teach them the Sabbath day, that they may keep Sabbath thereon from all work.'

21 And thus He created therein a sign in accordance with which they should keep Sabbath with us on the seventh day, to eat and to drink, and to bless Him who has created all things as He has blessed and sanctified unto Himself a peculiar people above all peoples, and that they should keep Sabbath together with us.

22 And He caused His commands to ascend as a sweet savour acceptable before Him all the days . . .

23 There (were) two and twenty heads of mankind from Adam to Jacob, and two and twenty kinds of work were made until the seventh day; this is blessed and holy; and the former also is blessed and holy; and this one serves with that one for sanctification and blessing.

24 And to this (Jacob and his seed) it was granted that they should always be the blessed and holy ones of the first testimony and law, even as He had sanctified and blessed the Sabbath day on the seventh day.

25 He created heaven and earth and everything that He created in six days, and God made the seventh day holy, for all His works; therefore He commanded on its behalf that, whoever does any work thereon shall die, and that he who defiles it shall surely die.

26 Wherefore do thou command the children of Israel to observe this day that they may keep it holy and not do thereon any work, and not to defile it, as it is holier than all other days.

27 And whoever profanes it shall surely die, and whoever does thereon any work shall surely die eternally, that the children of Israel may observe this day throughout their generations, and not be rooted out of the land; for it is a holy day and a blessed day.

28 And every one who observes it and keeps Sabbath thereon from all his work, will be holy and blessed throughout all days like unto us.

29 Declare and say to the children of Israel the law of this day both that they should keep Sabbath thereon, and that they should not forsake it in the error of their hearts; (and) that it is not lawful to do any work thereon which is unseemly, to do thereon their own pleasure, and that they should not prepare thereon anything to be eaten or drunk, and (that it is not lawful) to draw water, or bring in or take out thereon through their gates any burden, which they had not prepared for themselves on the sixth day in their dwellings.

30 And they shall not bring in nor take out from house to house on that day; for that day is more holy and blessed than any jubilee day of the jubilees; on this we kept Sabbath in the heavens before it was made known to any flesh to keep Sabbath thereon on the earth.

31 And the Creator of all things blessed it, but he did not sanctify all peoples and nations to keep Sabbath thereon, but Israel alone: them alone he permitted to eat and drink and to keep Sabbath thereon on the earth.

32 And the Creator of all things blessed this day which He had created for blessing and holiness and glory above all days.

33 This law and testimony was given to the children of Israel as a law for ever unto their generations.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 3

1 And on the six days of the second week we brought, according to the word of God, unto Adam all the beasts, and all the cattle, and all the birds, and everything that moves on the earth, and everything that moves in the water, according to their kinds, and according to their types: the beasts on the first day; the cattle on the second day; the birds on the third day; and all that which moves on the earth on the fourth day; and that which moves in the water on the fifth day.

2 And Adam named them all by their respective names, and as he called them, so was their name.

3 And on these five days Adam saw all these, male and female, according to every kind that was on the earth, but he was alone and found no helpmeet for him.

4 And the Lord said unto us: 'It is not good that the man should be alone: let us make a helpmeet for him.'

5 And the Lord our God caused a deep sleep to fall upon him, and he slept, and He took for the woman one rib from amongst his ribs, and this rib was the origin of the woman from amongst his ribs, and He built up the flesh in its stead, and built the woman.

6 And He awaked Adam out of his sleep and on awaking he rose on the sixth day, and He brought her to him, and he knew her, and said unto her: 'This is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called [my] wife; because she was taken from her husband.'

7 Therefore shall man and wife be one and therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh.

8 In the first week was Adam created, and the rib -his wife: in the second week He showed her unto him: and for this reason the commandment was given to keep in their defilement, for a male seven days, and for a female twice seven days.

9 And after Adam had completed forty days in the land where he had been created, we brought him into the garden of Eden to till and keep it, but his wife they brought in on the eightieth day, and after this she entered into the garden of Eden.

10 And for this reason the commandment is written on the heavenly tablets in regard to her that gives birth: 'if she bears a male, she shall remain in her uncleanness seven days according to the first week of days, and thirty and three days shall she remain in the blood of her purifying, and she shall not touch any hallowed thing, nor enter into the sanctuary, until she accomplishes these days which (are enjoined) in the case of a male child.

11 But in the case of a female child she shall remain in her uncleanness two weeks of days, according to the first two weeks, and sixty-six days in the blood of her purification, and they will be in all eighty days.'

12 And when she had completed these eighty days we brought her into the garden of Eden, for it is holier than all the earth besides and every tree that is planted in it is holy.

13 Therefore, there was ordained regarding her who bears a male or a female child the statute of those days that she should touch no hallowed thing, nor enter into the sanctuary until these days for the male or female child are accomplished.

14 This is the law and testimony which was written down for Israel, in order that they should observe (it) all the days.

15 And in the first week of the first jubilee, [1-7 A.M.] Adam and his wife were in the garden of Eden for seven years tilling and keeping it, and we gave him work and we instructed him to do everything that is suitable for tillage.

16 And he tilled (the garden), and was naked and knew it not, and was not ashamed, and he protected the garden from the birds and beasts and cattle, and gathered its fruit, and eat, and put aside the residue for himself and for his wife [and put aside that which was being kept].

17 And after the completion of the seven years, which he had completed there, seven years exactly, [8 A.M.] and in the second month, on the seventeenth day (of the month), the serpent came and approached the woman, and the serpent said to the woman, 'Hath God commanded you, saying, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?'

18 And she said to it, 'Of all the fruit of the trees of the garden God hath said unto us, Eat; but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden God hath said unto us, Ye shall not eat thereof, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die.'

19 And the serpent said unto the woman, 'Ye shall not surely die: for God doth know that on the day ye shall eat thereof, your eyes will be opened, and ye will be as gods, and ye will know good and evil.

20 And the woman saw the tree that it was agreeable and pleasant to the eye, and that its fruit was good for food, and she took thereof and eat.

21 And when she had first covered her shame with figleaves, she gave thereof to Adam and he eat, and his eyes were opened, and he saw that he was naked.

22 And he took figleaves and sewed (them) together, and made an apron for himself, and ,covered his shame.

23 And God cursed the serpent, and was wroth with it for ever . . .

24 And He was wroth with the woman, because she harkened to the voice of the serpent, and did eat; and He said unto her: 'I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy pains: in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children, and thy return shall be unto thy husband, and he will rule over thee.'

25 And to Adam also he said, ' Because thou hast harkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree of which I commanded thee that thou shouldst not eat thereof, cursed be the ground for thy sake: thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to thee, and thou shalt eat thy bread in the sweat of thy face, till thou returnest to the earth from whence thou wast taken; for earth thou art, and unto earth shalt thou return.'

26 And He made for them coats of skin, and clothed them, and sent them forth from the Garden of Eden.

27 And on that day on which Adam went forth from the Garden, he offered as a sweet savour an offering, frankincense, galbanum, and stacte, and spices in the morning with the rising of the sun from the day when he covered his shame.

28 And on that day was closed the mouth of all beasts, and of cattle, and of birds, and of whatever walks, and of whatever moves, so that they could no longer speak: for they had all spoken one with another with one lip and with one tongue.

29 And He sent out of the Garden of Eden all flesh that was in the Garden of Eden, and all flesh was scattered according to its kinds, and according to its types unto the places which had been created for them.

30 And to Adam alone did He give (the wherewithal) to cover his shame, of all the beasts and cattle.

31 On this account, it is prescribed on the heavenly tablets as touching all those who know the judgement of the law, that they should cover their shame, and should not uncover themselves as the Gentiles uncover themselves.

32 And on the new moon of the fourth month, Adam and his wife went forth from the Garden of Eden, and they dwelt in the land of Elda in the land of their creation.

33 And Adam called the name of his wife Eve.

34 And they had no son till the first jubilee, [8 A.M.] and after this he knew her.

35 Now he tilled the land as he had been instructed in the Garden of Eden.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 4

1 And in the third week in the second jubilee [64-70 A.M.] she gave birth to Cain, and in the fourth [71-77 A.M.] she gave birth to Abel, and in the fifth [78-84 A.M.] she gave birth to her daughter Âwân.

2 And in the first (year) of the third jubilee [99-105 A.M.], Cain slew Abel because (God) accepted the sacrifice of Abel, and did not accept the offering of Cain.

3 And he slew him in the field: and his blood cried from the ground to heaven, complaining because he had slain him.

4 And the Lord reproved Cain because of Abel, because he had slain him, and he made him a fugitive on the earth because of the blood of his brother, and he cursed him upon the earth.

5 And on this account it is written on the heavenly tables, 'Cursed is ,he who smites his neighbour treacherously, and let all who have seen and heard say, So be it; and the man who has seen and not declared (it), let him be accursed as the other.'

6 And for this reason we announce when we come before the Lord our God all the sin which is committed in heaven and on earth, and in light and in darkness, and everywhere.

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7 And Adam and his wife mourned for Abel four weeks of years, [99-127 A.M] and in the fourth year of the fifth week [130 A.M.] they became joyful, and Adam knew his wife again, and she bare him a son, and he called his name Seth; for he said 'GOD has raised up a second seed unto us on the earth instead of Abel; for Cain slew him.'

8 And in the sixth week [134-40 A.M.] he begat his daughter Azûrâ.

9 And Cain took Âwân his sister to be his wife and she bare him Enoch at the close of the fourth jubilee. [190-196 A.M.] And in the first year of the first week of the fifth jubilee, [197 A.M.] houses were built on the earth, and Cain built a city, and called its name after the name of his son Enoch.

10 And Adam knew Eve his wife and she bare yet nine sons.

11 And in the fifth week of the fifth jubilee [225-31 A.M.] Seth took Azûrâ his sister to be his wife, and in the fourth (year of the sixth week) [235 A.M.] she bare him Enos.

12 He began to call on the name of the Lord on the earth.

13 And in the seventh jubilee in the third week [309-15 A.M.] Enos took Nôâm his sister to be his wife, and she bare him a son in the third year of the fifth week, and he called his name Kenan.

14 And at the close of the eighth jubilee [325, 386-3992 A.M.] Kenan took Mûalêlêth his sister to be his wife, and she bare him a son in the ninth jubilee, in the first week in the third year of this week, [395 A.M] and he called his name Mahalalel.

15 And in the second week of the tenth jubilee [449-55 A.M.] Mahalalel took unto him to wife DinaH, the daughter of Barakiel the daughter of his father's brother, and she bare him a son in the third week in the sixth year, [461 A.M.] and he called his name Jared, for in his days the angels of the Lord descended on the earth, those who are named the Watchers, that they should instruct the children of men, and that they should do judgement and uprightness on the earth.

16 And in the eleventh jubilee [512-18 A.M.] Jared took to himself a wife, and her name was Baraka, the daughter of Râsûjâl, a daughter of his father's brother, in the fourth week of this jubilee, [522 A.M.] and she bare him a son in the fifth week, in the fourth year of the jubilee, and he called his name Enoch.

17 And he was the first among men that are born on earth who learnt writing and knowledge and wisdom and who wrote down the signs of heaven according to the order of their months in a book, that men might know the seasons of the years according to the order of their separate months.

18 And he was the first to write a testimony and he testified to the sons of men among the generations of the earth, and recounted the weeks of the jubilees, and made known to them the days of the years, and set in order the months and recounted the Sabbaths of the years as we made (them), known to him.

19 And what was and what will be he saw in a vision of his sleep, as it will happen to the children of men throughout their generations until the day of judgement; he saw and understood everything, and wrote his testimony, and placed the testimony on earth for all the children of men and for their generations.

20 And in the twelfth jubilee, [582-88] in the seventh week thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name was Edna, the daughter of Danel, the daughter of his father's brother, and in the sixth year in this week [587 A.M.] she bare him a son and he called his name Methuselah.

21 And he was moreover with the angels of God these six jubilees of years, and they showed him everything which is on earth and in the heavens, the rule of the sun, and he wrote down everything.

22 And he testified to the Watchers, who had sinned with the daughters of men; for these had begun to unite themselves, so as to be defiled, with the daughters of men, and Enoch testified against (them) all.

23 And he was taken from amongst the children of men, and we conducted him into the Garden of Eden in majesty and honour, and behold there he writes down the condemnation and judgement of the world, and all the wickedness of the children of men.

24 And on account of it (God) brought the waters of the flood upon all the land of Eden; for there he was set as a sign and that he should testify against all the children of men, that he should recount all the deeds of the generations until the day of condemnation.

25 And he burnt the incense of the sanctuary, (even) sweet spices acceptable before the Lord on the Mount.

26 For the Lord has four places on the earth, the Garden of Eden, and the Mount of the East, and this mountain on which thou art this day, Mount Sinai, and Mount Zion (which) will be sanctified in the new creation for a sanctification of the earth; through it will the earth be sanctified from all (its) guilt and its uncleanness through- out the generations of the world.

27 And in the fourteenth jubilee [652 A.M.] Methuselah took unto himself a wife, Edna the daughter of Azrial, the daughter of his father's brother, in the third week, in the first year of this week, [701-7 A.M.] and he begat a son and called his name Lamech.

28 And in the fifteenth jubilee in the third week Lamech took to himself a wife, and her name was Betenos the daughter of Baraki'il, the daughter of his father's brother, and in this week she bare him a son and he called his name Noah, saying, 'This one will comfort me for my trouble and all my work, and for the ground which the Lord hath cursed.'

29 And at the close of the nineteenth jubilee, in the seventh week in the sixth year [930 A.M.] thereof, Adam died, and all his sons buried him in the land of his creation, and he was the first to be buried in the earth.

30 And he lacked seventy years of one thousand years; for one thousand years are as one day in the testimony of the heavens and therefore was it written concerning the tree of knowledge: 'On the day that ye eat thereof ye shall die.' For this reason he did not complete the years of this day; for he died during it.

31 At the close of this jubilee Cain was killed after him in the same year; for his house fell upon him and he died in the midst of his house, and he was killed by its stones; for with a stone he had killed Abel, and by a stone was he killed in righteous judgement.

32 For this reason it was ordained on the heavenly tablets: With the instrument with which a man kills his neighbour with the same shall he be killed; after the manner that he wounded him, in like manner shall they deal with him.'

33 And in the twenty-fifth [1205 A.M.] jubilee Noah took to himself a wife, and her name was `Emzârâ, the daughter of Râkê'êl, the daughter of his father's brother, in the first year in the fifth week [1207 A.M.]: and in the third year thereof she bare him Shem, in the fifth year thereof [1209 A.M.] she bare him Ham, and in the first year in the sixth week [1212 A.M.] she bare him Japheth.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 5

1 And it came to pass when the children of men began to multiply on the face of the earth and daughters were born unto them, that the angels of God saw them on a certain year of this jubilee, that they were beautiful to look upon; and they took themselves wives of all whom they chose, and they bare unto them sons and they were giants.

2 And lawlessness increased on the earth and all flesh corrupted its way, alike men and cattle and beasts and birds and everything that walks on the earth -all of them corrupted their ways and their orders, and they began to devour each other, and lawlessness increased on the earth and every imagination of the thoughts of all men (was) thus evil continually.

3 And God looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt, and all flesh had corrupted its orders, and all that were upon the earth had wrought all manner of evil before His eyes.

4 And He said that He would destroy man and all flesh upon the face of the earth which He had created.

5 But Noah found grace before the eyes of the Lord.

6 And against the angels whom He had sent upon the earth, He was exceedingly wroth, and He gave commandment to root them out of all their dominion, and He bade us to bind them in the depths of the earth, and behold they are bound in the midst of them, and are (kept) separate.

7 And against their sons went forth a command from before His face that they should be smitten with the sword, and be removed from under heaven.

8 And He said 'My spirit shall not always abide on man; for they also are flesh and their days shall be one hundred and twenty years'.

9 And He sent His sword into their midst that each should slay his neighbour, and they began to slay each other till they all fell by the sword and were destroyed from the earth.

10 And their fathers were witnesses (of their destruction), and after this they were bound in the depths of the earth for ever, until the day of the great condemnation, when judgement is executed on all those who have corrupted their ways and their works before the Lord.

11 And He destroyed all from their places, and there was not left one of them whom He judged not according to all their wickedness.

12 And he made for all his works a new and righteous nature, so that they should not sin in their whole nature for ever, but should be all righteous each in his kind alway.

13 And the judgement of all is ordained and written on the heavenly tablets in righteousness -even (the judgement of) all who depart from the path which is ordained for them to walk in; and if they walk not therein, judgement is written down for every creature and for every kind.

14 And there is nothing in heaven or on earth, or in light or in darkness, or in Sheol or in the depth, or in the place of darkness (which is not judged); and all their judgements are ordained and written and engraved.

15 In regard to all He will judge,the great according to his greatness, and the small according to his smallness, and each according to his way.

16 And He is not one who will regard the person (of any), nor is He one who will receive gifts, if He says that He will execute judgement on each: if one gave everything that is on the earth, He will not regard the gifts or the person (of any), nor accept anything at his hands, for He is a righteous judge.

17 [And of the children of Israel it has been written and ordained: If they turn to him in righteousness He will forgive all their transgressions and pardon all their sins.

18 It is written and ordained that He will show mercy to all who turn from all their guilt once each year.]

19 And as for all those who corrupted their ways and their thoughts before the flood, no man's person was accepted save that of Noah alone; for his person was accepted in behalf of his sons, whom (God) saved from the waters of the flood on his account; for his heart was righteous in all his ways, according as it was commanded regarding him, and he had not departed from aught that was ordained for him.

20 And the Lord said that he would destroy everything which was upon the earth, both men and cattle, and

21 beasts, and fowls of the air, and that which moveth on the earth. And He commanded Noah to make him an ark, that he might save himself from the waters of the flood.

22 And Noah made the ark in all respects as He commanded him, in the twenty-seventh jubilee of years, in the fifth week in the fifth year (on the new moon of the first month). [1307 A.M.]

23 And he entered in the sixth (year) thereof, [1308 A.M.] in the second month, on the new moon of the second month, till the sixteenth; and he entered, and all that we brought to him, into the ark, and the Lord closed it from without on the seventeenth evening.

24 And the Lord opened seven flood-gates of heaven, And the mouths of the fountains of the great deep, seven mouths in number.

25 And the flood-gates began to pour down water from the heaven forty days and forty nights, And the fountains of the deep also sent up waters, until the whole world was full of water.

26 And the waters increased upon the earth: Fifteen cubits did the waters rise above all the high mountains, And the ark was lift up above the earth, And it moved upon the face of the waters.

27 And the water prevailed on the face of the earth five months -one hundred and fifty days.

28 And the ark went and rested on the top of Lubar, one of the mountains of Ararat.

29 And (on the new moon) in the fourth month the fountains of the great deep were closed and the flood-gates of heaven were restrained; and on the new moon of the seventh month all the mouths of the abysses of the earth were opened, and the water began to descend into the deep below.

30 And on the new moon of the tenth month the tops of the mountains were seen, and on the new moon of the first month the earth became visible.

31 And the waters disappeared from above the earth in the fifth week in the seventh year [1309 A.M.] thereof, and on the seventeenth day in the second month the earth was dry.

32 And on the twenty-seventh thereof he opened the ark, and sent forth from it beasts, and cattle, and birds, and every moving thing.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 6

1 And on the new moon of the third month he went forth from the ark, and built an altar on that mountain.

2 And he made atonement for the earth, and took a kid and made atonement by its blood for all the guilt of the earth; for everything that had been on it had been destroyed, save those that were in the ark with Noah.

3 And he placed the fat thereof on the altar, and he took an ox, and a goat, and a sheep and kids, and salt, and a turtle-dove, and the young of a dove, and placed a burnt sacrifice on the altar, and poured thereon an offering mingled with oil, and sprinkled wine and strewed frankincense over everything, and caused a goodly savour to arise, acceptable before the Lord.

4 And the Lord smelt the goodly savour, and He made a covenant with him that there should not be any more a flood to destroy the earth; that all the days of the earth seed-time and harvest should never cease; cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night should not change their order, nor cease for ever.

5 'And you, increase ye and multiply upon the earth, and become many upon it, and be a blessing upon it. The fear of you and the dread of you I will inspire in everything that is on earth and in the sea.

6 And behold I have given unto you all beasts, and all winged things, and everything that moves on the earth, and the fish in the waters, and all things for food; as the green herbs, I have given you all things to eat.

7 But flesh, with the life thereof, with the blood, ye shall not eat; for the life of all flesh is in the blood, lest your blood of your lives be required. At the hand of every man, at the hand of every (beast) will I require the blood of man.

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8 Whoso sheddeth man's blood by man shall his blood be shed, for in the image of God made He man.

9 And you, increase ye, and multiply on the earth.'

10 And Noah and his sons swore that they would not eat any blood that was in any flesh, and he made a covenant before the Lord God for ever throughout all the generations of the earth in this month.

11 On this account He spake to thee that thou shouldst make a covenant with the children of Israel in this month upon the mountain with an oath, and that thou shouldst sprinkle blood upon them because of all the words of the covenant, which the Lord made with them for ever.

12 And this testimony is written concerning you that you should observe it continually, so that you should not eat on any day any blood of beasts or birds or cattle during all the days of the earth, and the man who eats the blood of beast or of cattle or of birds during all the days of the earth, he and his seed shall be rooted out of the land.

13 And do thou command the children of Israel to eat no blood, so that their names and their seed may be before the Lord our God continually.

14 And for this law there is no limit of days, for it is for ever. They shall observe it throughout their generations, so that they may continue supplicating on your behalf with blood before the altar; every day and at the time of morning and evening they shall seek forgiveness on your behalf perpetually before the Lord that they may keep it and not be rooted out.

15 And He gave to Noah and his sons a sign that there should not again be a flood on the earth.

16 He set His bow in the cloud for a sign of the eternal covenant that there should not again be a flood on the earth to destroy it all the days of the earth.

17 For this reason it is ordained and written on the heavenly tablets, that they should celebrate the feast of weeks in this month once a year, to renew the covenant every year.

18 And this whole festival was celebrated in heaven from the day of creation till the days of Noah -twenty-six jubilees and five weeks of years [1309-1659 A.M.]: and Noah and his sons observed it for seven jubilees and one week of years, till the day of Noah's death, and from the day of Noah's death his sons did away with (it) until the days of Abraham, and they eat blood.

19 But Abraham observed it, and Isaac and Jacob and his children observed it up to thy days, and in thy days the children of Israel forgot it until ye celebrated it anew on this mountain.

20 And do thou command the children of Israel to observe this festival in all their generations for a commandment unto them: one day in the year in this month they shall celebrate the festival.

21 For it is the feast of weeks and the feast of first fruits: this feast is twofold and of a double nature: according to what is written and engraven concerning it, celebrate it.

22 For I have written in the book of the first law, in that which I have written for thee, that thou shouldst celebrate it in its season, one day in the year, and I explained to thee its sacrifices that the children of Israel should remember and should celebrate it throughout their generations in this month, one day in every year.

23 And on the new moon of the first month, and on the new moon of the fourth month, and on the new moon of the seventh month, and on the new moon of the tenth month are the days of remembrance, and the days of the seasons in the four divisions of the year. These are written and ordained as a testimony for ever.

24 And Noah ordained them for himself as feasts for the generations for ever, so that they have become thereby a memorial unto him.

25 And on the new moon of the first month he was bidden to make for himself an ark, and on that (day) the earth became dry and he opened (the ark) and saw the earth.

26 And on the new moon of the fourth month the mouths of the depths of the abyss beneath were closed. And on the new moon of the seventh month all the mouths of the abysses of the earth were opened, and the waters began to descend into them.

27 And on the new moon of the tenth month the tops of the mountains were seen, and Noah was glad.

28 And on this account he ordained them for himself as feasts for a memorial for ever, and thus are they ordained.

29 And they placed them on the heavenly tablets, each had thirteen weeks; from one to another (passed) their memorial, from the first to the second, and from the second to the third, and from the third to the fourth.

30 And all the days of the commandment will be two and fifty weeks of days, and (these will make) the entire year complete. Thus it is engraven and ordained on the heavenly tablets.

31 And there is no neglecting (this commandment) for a single year or from year to year.

32 And command thou the children of Israel that they observe the years according to this reckoning- three hundred and sixty-four days, and (these) will constitute a complete year, and they will not disturb its time from its days and from its feasts; for everything will fall out in them according to their testimony, and they will not leave out any day nor disturb any feasts.

33 But if they do neglect and do not observe them according to His commandment, then they will disturb all their seasons and the years will be dislodged from this (order), [and they will disturb the seasons and the years will be dislodged] and they will neglect their ordinances.

34 And all the children of Israel will forget and will not find the path of the years, and will forget the new moons, and seasons, and sabbaths and they will go wrong as to all the order of the years.

35 For I know and from henceforth will I declare it unto thee, and it is not of my own devising; for the book (lies) written before me, and on the heavenly tablets the division of days is ordained, lest they forget the feasts of the covenant and walk according to the feasts of the Gentiles after their error and after their ignorance.

36 For there will be those who will assuredly make observations of the moon -how (it) disturbs the seasons and comes in from year to year ten days too soon.

37 For this reason the years will come upon them when they will disturb (the order), and make an abominable (day) the day of testimony, and an unclean day a feast day, and they will confound all the days, the holy with the unclean, and the unclean day with the holy; for they will go wrong as to the months and sabbaths and feasts and jubilees.

38 For this reason I command and testify to thee that thou mayst testify to them; for after thy death thy children will disturb (them), so that they will not make the year three hundred and sixty-four days only, and for this reason they will go wrong as to the new moons and seasons and sabbaths and festivals, and they will eat all kinds of blood with all kinds of flesh.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 7

1 And in the seventh week in the first year [1317 A.M.] thereof, in this jubilee, Noah planted vines on the mountain on which the ark had rested, named Lubar, one of the Ararat Mountains, and they produced fruit in the fourth year, [1320 A.M.] and he guarded their fruit, and gathered it in this year in the seventh month.

2 And he made wine therefrom and put it into a vessel, and kept it until the fifth year, [1321 A.M.] until the first day, on the new moon of the first month.

3 And he celebrated with joy the day of this feast, and he made a burnt sacrifice unto the Lord, one young ox and one ram, and seven sheep, each a year old, and a kid of the goats, that he might make atonement thereby for himself and his sons.

4 And he prepared the kid first, and placed some of its blood on the flesh that was on the altar which he had made, and all the fat he laid on the altar where he made the burnt sacrifice, and the ox and the ram and the sheep, and he laid all their flesh upon the altar.

5 And he placed all their offerings mingled with oil upon it, and afterwards he sprinkled wine on the fire which he had previously made on the altar, and he placed incense on the altar and caused a sweet savour to ascend acceptable before the Lord his God.

6 And he rejoiced and drank of this wine, he and his children with joy.

7 And it was evening, and he went into his tent, and being drunken he lay down and slept, and was uncovered in his tent as he slept.

8 And Ham saw Noah his father naked, and went forth and told his two brethren without.

9 And Shem took his garment and arose, he and Japheth, and they placed the garment on their shoulders and went backward and covered the shame of their father, and their faces were backward.

10 And Noah awoke from his sleep and knew all that his younger son had done unto him, and he cursed his son and said: 'Cursed be Canaan; an enslaved servant shall he be unto his brethren.'

11 And he blessed Shem, and said: 'Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant.

12 God shall enlarge Japheth, and God shall dwell in the dwelling of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant.'

13 And Ham knew that his father had cursed his younger son, and he was displeased that he had cursed his son. and he parted from his father, he and his sons with him, Cush and Mizraim and Put and Canaan.

14 And he built for himself a city and called its name after the name of his wife Ne'elatama'uk.

15 And Japheth saw it, and became envious of his brother, and he too built for himself a city, and he called its name after the name of his wife 'Adataneses.

16 And Shem dwelt with his father Noah, and he built a city close to his father on the mountain, and he too called its name after the name of his wife Sedeqetelebab.

17 And behold these three cities are near Mount Lubar; Sedeqetelebab fronting the mountain on its east; and Na'eltama'uk on the south; 'Adatan'eses towards the west.

18 And these are the sons of Shem: Elam, and Asshur, and Arpachshad -this (son) was born two years after the flood- and Lud, and Aram.

19 The sons of Japheth: Gomer and Magog and Madai and Javan, Tubal and Meshech and Tiras: these are the sons of Noah.

20 And in the twenty-eighth jubilee [1324-1372 A.M.] Noah began to enjoin upon his sons' sons the ordinances and commandments, and all the judgements that he knew, and he exhorted his sons to observe righteousness, and to cover the shame of their flesh, and to bless their Creator, and honour father and mother, and love their neighbour, and guard their souls from fornication and uncleanness and all iniquity.

21 For owing to these three things came the flood upon the earth, namely, owing to the fornication wherein the Watchers against the law of their ordinances went a whoring after the daughters of men, and took themselves wives of all which they chose: and they made the beginning of uncleanness.

22 And they begat sons the Naphidim, and they were all unlike, and they devoured one another: and the Giants slew the Naphil, and the Naphil slew the Eljo, and the Eljo mankind, and one man another.

23 And every one sold himself to work iniquity and to shed much blood, and the earth was filled with iniquity.

24 And after this they sinned against the beasts and birds, and all that moves and walks on the earth: and much blood was shed on the earth, and every imagination and desire of men imagined vanity and evil continually.

25 And the Lord destroyed everything from off the face of the earth; because of the wickedness of their deeds, and because of the blood which they had shed in the midst of the earth He destroyed everything.

26 'And we were left, I and you, my sons, and everything that entered with us into the ark, and behold I see your works before me that ye do not walk in righteousness: for in the path of destruction ye have begun to walk, and ye are parting one from another, and are envious one of another, and (so it comes) that ye are not in harmony, my sons, each with his brother.

27 For I see, and behold the demons have begun (their) seductions against you and against your children and now I fear on your behalf, that after my death ye will shed the blood of men upon the earth, and that ye, too, will be destroyed from the face of the earth.

28 For whoso sheddeth man's blood, and whoso eateth the blood of any flesh, shall all be destroyed from the earth.

29 And there shall not be left any man that eateth blood, or that sheddeth the blood of man on the earth, Nor shall there be left to him any seed or descendants living under heaven; For into Sheol shall they go, And into the place of condemnation shall they descend, And into the darkness of the deep shall they all be removed by a violent death.

30 There shall be no blood seen upon you of all the blood there shall be all the days in which ye have killed any beasts or cattle or whatever flies upon the earth, and work ye a good work to your souls by covering that which has been shed on the face of the earth.

31 And ye shall not be like him who eats with blood, but guard yourselves that none may eat blood before you: cover the blood, for thus have I been commanded to testify to you and your children, together with all flesh.

32 And suffer not the soul to be eaten with the flesh, that your blood, which is your life, may not be required at the hand of any flesh that sheds (it) on the earth.

33 For the earth will not be clean from the blood which has been shed upon it; for (only) through the blood of him that shed it will the earth be purified throughout all its generations.

34 And now, my children, harken: work judgement and righteousness that ye maybe planted in righteousness over the face of the whole earth, and your glory lifted up before my God, who saved me from the waters of the flood.

35 And behold, ye will go and build for yourselves cities, and plant in them all the plants that are upon the earth, and moreover all fruit-bearing trees.

36 For three years the fruit of everything that is eaten will not be gathered: and in the fourth year its fruit will be accounted holy [and they will offer the first-fruits], acceptable before the Most High God, who created heaven and earth and all things. Let them offer in abundance the first of the wine and oil (as) first-fruits on the altar of the Lord, who receives it, and what is left let the servants of the house of the Lord eat before the altar which receives (it).

37 And in the fifth year make ye the release so that ye release it in righteousness and uprightness, and ye shall be righteous, and all that you plant shall prosper.

38 For thus did Enoch, the father of your father command Methuselah, his son, and Methuselah his son Lamech, and Lamech commanded me all the things which his fathers commanded him.

39 And I also will give you commandment, my sons, as Enoch commanded his son in the first jubilees: whilst still living, the seventh in his generation, he commanded and

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testified to his son and to his son's sons until the day of his death.'

JUBILEES CHAPTER 8

1 In the twenty-ninth jubilee, in the first week, [1373 A.M.] in the beginning thereof Arpachshad took to himself a wife and her name was Rasu'eja, the daughter of Susan, the daughter of Elam, and she bare him a son in the third year in this week, [1375 A.M.] and he called his name Kainam.

2 And the son grew, and his father taught him writing, and he went to seek for himself a place where he might seize for himself a city.

3 And he found a writing which former (generations) had carved on the rock, and he read what was thereon, and he transcribed it and sinned owing to it; for it contained the teaching of the Watchers in accordance with which they used to observe the omens of the sun and moon and stars in all the signs of heaven.

4 And he wrote it down and said nothing regarding it; for he was afraid to speak to Noah about it lest he should be angry with him on account of it.

5 And in the thirtieth jubilee, [1429 A.M.] in the second week, in the first year thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name was Melka, the daughter of Madai, the son of Japheth, and in the fourth year [1432 A.M.] he begat a son, and called his name Shelah; for he said: 'Truly I have been sent.'

6 [And in the fourth year he was born], and Shelah grew up and took to himself a wife, and her name was Mu'ak, the daughter of Kesed, his father's brother, in the one and thirtieth jubilee, in the fifth week, in the first year [1499 A.M.] thereof.

7 And she bare him a son in the fifth year [1503 A.M.] thereof, and he called his name Eber: and he took unto himself a wife, and her name was 'Azûrâd, the daughter of Nebrod, in the thirty-second jubilee, in the seventh week, in the third year thereof. [1564 A.M.]

8 And in the sixth year [1567 A.M.] thereof, she bare him son, and he called his name Peleg; for in the days when he was born the children of Noah began to divide the earth amongst themselves: for this reason he called his name Peleg.

9 And they divided (it) secretly amongst themselves, and told it to Noah.

10 And it came to pass in the beginning of the thirty-third jubilee [1569 A.M.] that they divided the earth into three parts, for Shem and Ham and Japheth, according to the inheritance of each, in the first year in the first week, when one of us who had been sent, was with them.

11 And he called his sons, and they drew nigh to him, they and their children, and he divided the earth into the lots, which his three sons were to take in possession, and they reached forth their hands, and took the writing out of the bosom of Noah, their father.

12 And there came forth on the writing as Shem's lot the middle of the earth which he should take as an inheritance for himself and for his sons for the generations of eternity, from the middle of the mountain range of Rafa, from the mouth of the water from the river Tina, and his portion goes towards the west through the midst of this river, and it extends till it reaches the water of the abysses, out of which this river goes forth and pours its waters into the sea Me'at, and this river flows into the great sea. And all that is towards the north is Japheth's, and all that is towards the south belongs to Shem.

13 And it extends till it reaches Karaso: this is in the bosom of the tongue which looks towards the south.

14 And his portion extends along the great sea, and it extends in a straight line till it reaches the west of the tongue which looks towards the south: for this sea is named the tongue of the Egyptian Sea.

15 And it turns from here towards the south towards the mouth of the great sea on the shore of (its) waters, and it extends to the west to 'Afra, and it extends till it reaches the waters of the river Gihon, and to the south of the waters of Gihon, to the banks of this river.

16 And it extends towards the east, till it reaches the Garden of Eden, to the south thereof, [to the south] and from the east of the whole land of Eden and of the whole east, it turns to the east and proceeds till it reaches the east of the mountain named Rafa, and it descends to the bank of the mouth of the river Tina.

17 This portion came forth by lot for Shem and his sons, that they should possess it for ever unto his generations for evermore.

18 And Noah rejoiced that this portion came forth for Shem and for his sons, and he remembered all that he had spoken with his mouth in prophecy; for he had said: 'Blessed be the Lord God of Shem And may the Lord dwell in the dwelling of Shem.'

19 And he knew that the Garden of Eden is the holy of holies, and the dwelling of the Lord, and Mount Sinai the centre of the desert, and Mount Zion -the centre of the navel of the earth: these three were created as holy places facing each other.

20 And he blessed the God of gods, who had put the word of the Lord into his mouth, and the Lord for evermore.

21 And he knew that a blessed portion and a blessing had come to Shem and his sons unto the generations for ever -the whole land of Eden and the whole land of the Red Sea, and the whole land of the east and India, and on the Red Sea and the mountains thereof, and all the land of Bashan, and all the land of Lebanon and the islands of Kaftur, and all the mountains of Sanir and 'Amana, and the mountains of Asshur in the north, and all the land of Elam, Asshur, and Babel, and Susan and Ma'edai, and all the mountains of Ararat, and all the region beyond the sea, which is beyond the mountains of Asshur towards the north, a blessed and spacious land, and all that is in it is very good.

22 And for Ham came forth the second portion, beyond the Gihon towards the south to the right of the Garden, and it extends towards the south and it extends to all the mountains of fire, and it extends towards the west to the sea of 'Atel and it extends towards the west till it reaches the sea of Ma'uk -that (sea) into which everything which is not destroyed descends.

23 And it goes forth towards the north to the limits of Gadir, and it goes forth to the coast of the waters of the sea to the waters of the great sea till it draws near to the river Gihon, and goes along the river Gihon till it reaches the right of the Garden of Eden.

24 And this is the land which came forth for Ham as the portion which he was to occupy for ever for himself and his sons unto their generations for ever.

25 And for Japheth came forth the third portion beyond the river Tina to the north of the outflow of its waters, and it extends north- easterly to the whole region of Gog, and to all the country east thereof.

26 And it extends northerly to the north, and it extends to the mountains of Qelt towards the north, and towards the sea of Ma'uk, and it goes forth to the east of Gadir as far as the region of the waters of the sea.

27 And it extends until it approaches the west of Fara and it returns towards 'Aferag, and it extends easterly to the waters of the sea of Me'at.

28 And it extends to the region of the river Tina in a north-easterly direction until it approaches the boundary of its waters towards the mountain Rafa, and it turns round towards the north.

29 This is the land which came forth for Japheth and his sons as the portion of his inheritance which he should possess for himself and his sons, for their generations for ever; five great islands, and a great land in the north.

30 But it is cold, and the land of Ham is hot, and the land of Shem is neither hot nor cold, but it is of blended cold and heat.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 9

1 And Ham divided amongst his sons, and the first portion came forth for Cush towards the east, and to the west of him for Mizraim, and to the west of him for Put, and to the west of him [and to the west thereof] on the sea for Canaan.

2 And Shem also divided amongst his sons, and the first portion came forth for Ham and his sons, to the east of the river Tigris till it approachcs the east, the whole land of India, and on the Red Sea on its coast, and the waters of Dedan, and all the mountains of Mebri and Ela, and all the land of Susan and all that is on the side of Pharnak to the Red Sea and the river Tina.

3 And for Asshur came forth the second Portion, all the land of Asshur and Nineveh and Shinar and to the border of India, and it ascends and skirts the river.

4 And for Arpachshad came forth the third portion, all the land of the region of the Chaldees to the east of the Euphrates, bordering on the Red Sea, and all the waters of the desert close to the tongue of the sea which looks towards Egypt, all the land of Lebanon and Sanir and 'Amana to the border of the Euphrates.

5 And for Aram there came forth the fourth portion, all the land of Mesopotamia between the Tigris and the Euphrates to the north of the Chaldees to the border of the mountains of Asshur and the land of 'Arara.

6 And there came forth for Lud the fifth portion, the mountains of Asshur and all appertaining to them till it reaches the Great Sea, and till it reaches the east of Asshur his brother.

7 And Japheth also divided the land of his inheritance amongst his sons.

8 And the first portion came forth for Gomer to the east from the north side to the river Tina; and in the north there came forth for Magog all the inner portions of the north until it reaches to the sea of Me'at.

9 And for Madai came forth as his portion that he should posses from the west of his two brothers to the islands, and to the coasts of the islands.

10 And for Javan came forth the fourth portion every island and the islands which are towards the border of Lud.

11 And for Tubal there came forth the fifth portion in the midst of the tongue which approaches towards the border of the portion of Lud to the second tongue, to the region beyond the second tongue unto the third tongue.

12 And for Meshech came forth the sixth portion, all the region beyond the third tongue till it approaches the east of Gadir.

13 And for Tiras there came forth the seventh portion, four great islands in the midst of the sea, which reach to the portion of Ham [and the islands of Kamaturi came out by lot for the sons of Arpachshad as his inheritance].

14 And thus the sons of Noah divided unto their sons in the presence of Noah their father, and he bound them all by an oath, imprecating a curse on every one that sought to seize the portion which had not fallen (to him) by his lot.

15 And they all said, 'So be it; so be it ' for themselves and their sons for ever throughout their generations till the day of judgement, on which the Lord God shall judge them with a sword and with fire for all the unclean wickedness of their errors, wherewith they have filled the earth with transgression and uncleanness and fornication and sin.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 10

1 And in the third week of this jubilee the unclean demons began to lead astray the children of the sons of Noah, and to make to err and destroy them.

2 And the sons of Noah came to Noah their father, and they told him concerning the demons which were leading astray and blinding and slaying his sons' sons.

3 And he prayed before the Lord his God, and said:

'God of the spirits of all flesh, who hast shown mercy unto me

And hast saved me and my sons from the waters of the flood,

And hast not caused me to perish as Thou didst the sons of perdition;

For Thy grace has been great towards me,

And great has been Thy mercy to my soul;

Let Thy grace be lift up upon my sons,

And let not wicked spirits rule over them

Lest they should destroy them from the earth.

4 But do Thou bless me and my sons, that we may increase and Multiply and replenish the earth.

5 And Thou knowest how Thy Watchers, the fathers of these spirits, acted in my day: and as for these spirits which are living, imprison them and hold them fast in the place of condemnation, and let them not bring destruction on the sons of thy servant, my God; for these are malignant, and created in order to destroy.

6 And let them not rule over the spirits of the living; for Thou alone canst exercise dominion over them. And let them not have power over the sons of the righteous from henceforth and for evermore.'

7 And the Lord our God bade us to bind all.

8 And the chief of the spirits, Mastêmâ, came and said: 'Lord, Creator, let some of them remain before me, and let them harken to my voice, and do all that I shall say unto them; for if some of them are not left to me, I shall not be able to execute the power of my will on the sons of men; for these are for corruption and leading astray before my judgement, for great is the wickedness of the sons of men.'

9 And He said: Let the tenth part of them remain before him, and let nine parts descend into the place of condemnation.'

10 And one of us He commanded that we should teach Noah all their medicines; for He knew that they would not walk in uprightness, nor strive in righteousness.

11 And we did according to all His words: all the malignant evil ones we bound in the place of condemnation and a tenth part of them we left that they might be subject before Satan on the earth.

12 And we explained to Noah all the medicines of their diseases, together with their seductions, how he might heal them with herbs of the earth.

13 And Noah wrote down all things in a book as we instructed him concerning every kind of medicine. Thus the evil spirits were precluded from (hurting) the sons of Noah.

14 And he gave all that he had written to Shem, his eldest son; for he loved him exceedingly above all his sons.

15 And Noah slept with his fathers, and was buried on Mount Lubar in the land of Ararat.

16 Nine hundred and fifty years he completed in his life, nineteen jubilees and two weeks and five years. [1659 A.M.]

17 And in his life on earth he excelled the children of men save Enoch because of the righteousness, wherein he was perfect. For Enoch's office was ordained for a testimony to the generations of the world, so that he should recount all the deeds of generation unto generation, till the day of judgement.

18 And in the three and thirtieth jubilee, in the first year in the second week, Peleg took to himself a wife, whose name was Lomna the daughter of Sina'ar, and she bare him a son in the fourth year of this week, and he called his name Reu; for he said: 'Behold the children of men have become evil through the wicked purpose of building for themselves a city and a tower in the land of Shinar.'

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19 For they departed from the land of Ararat eastward to Shinar; for in his days they built the city and the tower, saying, 'Go to, let us ascend thereby into heaven.'

20 And they began to build, and in the fourth week they made brick with fire, and the bricks served them for stone, and the clay with which they cemented them together was asphalt which comes out of the sea, and out of the fountains of water in the land of Shinar.

21 And they built it: forty and three years [1645-1688 A.M.] were they building it; its breadth was 203 bricks, and the height (of a brick) was the third of one; its height amounted to 5433 cubits and 2 palms, and (the extent of one wall was) thirteen stades (and of the other thirty stades).

22 And the Lord our God said unto us: Behold, they are one people, and (this) they begin to do, and now nothing will be withholden from them. Go to, let us go down and confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech, and they may be dispersed into cities and nations, and one purpose will no longer abide with them till the day of judgement.'

23 And the Lord descended, and we descended with him to see the city and the tower which the children of men had built.

24 And he confounded their language, and they no longer understood one another's speech, and they ceased then to build the city and the tower.

25 For this reason the whole land of Shinar is called Babel, because the Lord did there confound all the language of the children of men, and from thence they were dispersed into their cities, each according to his language and his nation.

26 And the Lord sent a mighty wind against the tower and overthrew it upon the earth, and behold it was between Asshur and Babylon in the land of Shinar, and they called its name 'Overthrow'.

27 In the fourth week in the first year [1688 A.M.] in the beginning thereof in the four and thirtieth jubilee, were they dispersed from the land of Shinar.

28 And Ham and his sons went into the land which he was to occupy, which he acquired as his portion in the land of the south.

29 And Canaan saw the land of Lebanon to the river of Egypt, that it was very good, and he went not into the land of his inheritance to the west (that is to) the sea, and he dwelt in the land of Lebanon, eastward and westward from the border of Jordan and from the border of the sea.

30 And Ham, his father, and Cush and Mizraim his brothers said unto him: 'Thou hast settled in a land which is not thine, and which did not fall to us by lot: do not do so; for if thou dost do so, thou and thy sons will fall in the land and (be) accursed through sedition; for by sedition ye have settled, and by sedition will thy children fall, and thou shalt be rooted out for ever.

31 Dwell not in the dwelling of Shem; for to Shem and to his sons did it come by their lot.

32 Cursed art thou, and cursed shalt thou be beyond all the sons of Noah, by the curse by which we bound ourselves by an oath in the presence of the holy judge, and in the presence of Noah our father.'

33 But he did not harken unto them, and dwelt in the land of Lebanon from Hamath to the entering of Egypt, he and his sons until this day.

34 And for this reason that land is named Canaan.

35 And Japheth and his sons went towards the sea and dwelt in the land of their portion, and Madai saw the land of the sea and it did not please him, and he begged a (portion) from Ham and Asshur and Arpachshad, his wife's brother, and he dwelt in the land of Media, near to his wife's brother until this day.

36 And he called his dwelling-place, and the dwelling-place of his sons, Media, after the name of their father Madai.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 11

1 And in the thirty-fifth jubilee, in the third week, in the first year [1681 A.M.] thereof, Reu took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Ôrâ, the daughter of 'Ûr, the son of Kesed, and she bare him a son, and he called his name Sêrôh, in the seventh year of this week in this jubilee. [1687 A.M.]

2 And the sons of Noah began to war on each other, to take captive and to slay each other, and to shed the blood of men on the earth, and to eat blood, and to build strong cities, and walls, and towers, and individuals (began) to exalt themselves above the nation, and to found the beginnings of kingdoms, and to go to war people against people, and nation against nation, and city against city, and all (began) to do evil, and to acquire arms, and to teach their sons war, and they began to capture cities, and to sell male and female slaves.

3 And 'Ûr, the son of Kesed, built the city of 'Ara of the Chaldees, and called its name after his own name and the name of his father. And they made for themselves molten images, and they worshipped each the idol, the molten image which they had made for themselves, and they began to make graven images and unclean simulacra, and malignant spirits assisted and seduced (them) into committing transgression and uncleanness.

4 And the prince Mastêmâ exerted himself to do all this, and he sent forth other spirits, those which were put under his hand, to do all manner of wrong and sin, and all manner of transgression, to corrupt and destroy, and to shed blood upon the earth.

5 For this reason he called the name of Sêrôh, Serug, for every one turned to do all manner of sin and transgression.

6 And he grew up, and dwelt in Ur of the Chaldees, near to the father of his wife's mother, and he worshipped idols, and he took to himself a wife in the thirty-sixth jubilee, in the fifth week, in the first year thereof, [1744 A.M.] and her name was Melka, the daughter of Kaber, the daughter of his father's brother.

7 And she bare him Nahor, in the first year of this week, and he grew and dwelt in Ur of the Chaldees, and his father taught him the researches of the Chaldees to divine and augur, according to the signs of heaven.

8 And in the thirty-seventh jubilee in the sixth week, in the first year thereof, [1800 A.M.] he took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Ijaska, the daughter of Nestag of the Chaldees.

9 And she bare him Terah in the seventh year of this week. [1806 A.M.]

10 And the prince Mastêmâ sent ravens and birds to devour the seed which was sown in the land, in order to destroy the land, and rob the children of men of their labours. Before they could plough in the seed, the ravens picked (it) from the surface of the ground.

11 And for this reason he called his name Terah because the ravens and the birds reduced them to destitution and devoured their seed.

12 And the years began to be barren, owing to the birds, and they devoured all the fruit of the trees from the trees: it was only with great effort that they could save a little of all the fruit of the earth in their days.

13 And in this thirty-ninth jubilee, in the second week in the first year, [1870 A.M.] Terah took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Edna, the daughter of 'Abram, the daughter of his father's sister. And in the seventh year of this week [1876 A.M.] she bare him a son, and he called his name Abram, by the name of the father of his mother;

14 for he had died before his daughter had conceived a son.

15 And the child began to understand the errors of the earth that all went astray after graven images and after uncleanness, and his father taught him writing, and he was two weeks of years old, [1890 A.M.] and he separated himself from his father, that he might not worship idols with him.

16 And he began to pray to the Creator of all things that He might save him from the errors of the children of men, and that his portion should not fall into error after uncleanness and vileness.

17 And the seed time came for the sowing of seed upon the land, and they all went forth together to protect their seed against the ravens, and Abram went forth with those that went, and the child was a lad of fourteen years.

18 And a cloud of ravens came to devour the seed, and Abram ran to meet them before they settled on the ground, and cried to them before they settled on the ground to devour the seed, and said, ' Descend not: return to the place whence ye came,' and they proceeded to turn back.

19 And he caused the clouds of ravens to turn back that day seventy times, and of all the ravens throughout all the land where Abram was there settled there not so much as one.

20 And all who were with him throughout all the land saw him cry out, and all the ravens turn back, and his name became great in all the land of the Chaldees.

21 And there came to him this year all those that wished to sow, and he went with them until the time of sowing ceased: and they sowed their land, and that year they brought enough grain home and eat and were satisfied.

22 And in the first year of the fifth week [1891 A.M.] Abram taught those who made implements for oxen, the artificers in wood, and they made a vessel above the ground, facing the frame of the plough, in order to put the seed thereon, and the seed fell down therefrom upon the share of the plough, and was hidden in the earth, and they no longer feared the ravens.

23 And after this manner they made (vessels) above the ground on all the frames of the ploughs, and they sowed and tilled all the land, according as Abram commanded them, and they no longer feared the birds.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 12

1 And it came to pass in the sixth week, in the seventh year thereof, [1904 A.M.] that Abram said to Terah his father, saying, 'Father!'

2 And he said, 'Behold, here am I, my son.' And he said, 'What help and profit have we from those idols which thou dost worship, And before which thou dost bow thyself?

3 For there is no spirit in them, For they are dumb forms, and a misleading of the heart. Worship them not:

4 Worship the God of heaven, Who causes the rain and the dew to descend on the earth And does everything upon the earth, And has created everything by His word, And all life is from before His face.

5 Why do ye worship things that have no spirit in them? For they are the work of (men's) hands, And on your shoulders do ye bear them, And ye have no help from them, But they are a great cause of shame to those who make them, And a misleading of the heart to those who worship them: Worship them not.'

6 And his father said unto him, I also know it, my son, but what shall I do with a people who have made me to serve before them?

7 And if I tell them the truth, they will slay me; for their soul cleaves to them to worship them and honour them.

8 Keep silent, my son, lest they slay thee.' And these words he spake to his two brothers, and they were angry with him and he kept silent.

9 And in the fortieth jubilee, in the second week, in the seventh year thereof, [1925 A.M.] Abram took to himself a wife, and her name was Sarai, the daughter of his father, and she became his wife.

10 And Haran, his brother, took to himself a wife in the third year of the third week, [1928 A.M.] and she bare him a son in the seventh year of this week, [1932 A.M.] and he called his name Lot.

11 And Nahor, his brother, took to himself a wife.

12 And in the sixtieth year of the life of Abram, that is, in the fourth week, in the fourth year thereof, [1936 A.M.] Abram arose by night, and burned the house of the idols, and he burned all that was in the house and no man knew it.

13 And they arose in the night and sought to save their gods from the midst of the fire.

14 And Haran hasted to save them, but the fire flamed over him, and he was burnt in the fire, and he died in Ur of the Chaldees before Terah his father, and they buried him in Ur of the Chaldees.

15 And Terah went forth from Ur of the Chaldees, he and his sons, to go into the land of Lebanon and into the land of Canaan, and he dwelt in the land of Haran, and Abram dwelt with Terah his father in Haran two weeks of years.

16 And in the sixth week, in the fifth year thereof, [1951 A.M.] Abram sat up throughout the night on the new moon of the seventh month to observe the stars from the evening to the morning, in order to see what would be the character of the year with regard to the rains, and he was alone as he sat and observed.

17 And a word came into his heart and he said: All the signs of the stars, and the signs of the moon and of the sun are all in the hand of the Lord. Why do I search (them) out?

18 If He desires, He causes it to rain, morning and evening; And if He desires, He withholds it, And all things are in his hand.'

19 And he prayed that night and said, 'My God, God Most High, Thou alone art my God, And Thee and Thy dominion have I chosen. And Thou hast created all things, And all things that are the work of thy hands.

20 Deliver me from the hands of evil spirits who have dominion over the thoughts of men's hearts, And let them not lead me astray from Thee, my God. And stablish Thou me and my seed for ever That we go not astray from henceforth and for evermore.'

21 And he said, 'Shall I return unto Ur of the Chaldees who seek my face that I may return to them, am I to remain here in this place? The right path before Thee prosper it in the hands of Thy servant that he may fulfil (it) and that I may not walk in the deceitfulness of my heart, O my God.'

22 And he made an end of speaking and praying, and behold the word of the Lord was sent to him through me, saying: 'Get thee up from thy country, and from thy kindred and from the house of thy father unto a land which I will show thee, and I shall make thee a great and numerous nation.

23 And I will bless thee And I will make thy name great, And thou shalt be blessed in the earth, And in Thee shall all families of the earth be blessed, And I will bless them that bless thee, And curse them that curse thee.

24 And I will be a God to thee and thy son, and to thy son's son, and to all thy seed: fear not, from henceforth and unto all generations of the earth I am thy God.'

25 And the Lord God said: 'Open his mouth and his ears, that he may hear and speak with his mouth, with the language which has been revealed'; for it had ceased from the mouths of all the children of men from the day of the overthrow (of Babel).

26 And I opened his mouth, and his ears and his lips, and I began to speak with him in Hebrew in the tongue of the creation.

27 And he took the books of his fathers, and these were written in Hebrew, and he transcribed them, and he began from henceforth to study them, and I made known to him that which he could not (understand), and he studied them during the six rainy months.

28 And it came to pass in the seventh year of the sixth week [1953 A.M.] that he spoke to his father and informed him, that he would leave Haran to go into the land of Canaan to see it and return to him.

29 And Terah his father said unto him; Go in peace: May the eternal God make thy path straight. And the Lord [(be)

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with thee, and] protect thee from all evil, And grant unto thee grace, mercy and favour before those who see thee, And may none of the children of men have power over thee to harm thee; Go in peace.

30 And if thou seest a land pleasant to thy eyes to dwell in, then arise and take me to thee and take Lot with thee, the son of Haran thy brother as thine own son: the Lord be with thee.

31 And Nahor thy brother leave with me till thou returnest in peace, and we go with thee all together.'

JUBILEES CHAPTER 13

1 And Abram journeyed from Haran, and he took Sarai, his wife, and Lot, his brother Haran's son, to the land of Canaan, and he came into Asshur, and proceeded to Shechem, and dwelt near a lofty oak.

2 And he saw, and, behold, the land was very pleasant from the entering of Hamath to the lofty oak.

3 And the Lord said to him: 'To thee and to thy seed will I give this land.'

4 And he built an altar there, and he offered thereon a burnt sacrifice to the Lord, who had appeared to him.

5 And he removed from thence unto the mountain . . . Bethel on the west and Ai on the east, and pitched his tent there.

6 And he saw and behold, the land was very wide and good, and everything grew thereon -vines and figs and pomegranates, oaks and ilexes, and terebinths and oil trees, and cedars and cypresses and date trees, and all trees of the field, and there was water on the mountains.

7 And he blessed the Lord who had led him out of Ur of the Chaldees, and had brought him to this land.

8 And it came to pass in the first year, in the seventh week, on the new moon of the first month, 1954 A.M.] that he built an altar on this mountain, and called on the name of the Lord: 'Thou, the eternal God, art my God.'

9 And he offered on the altar a burnt sacrifice unto the Lord that He should be with him and not forsake him all the days of his life.

10 And he removed from thence and went towards the south, and he came to Hebron and Hebron was built at that time, and he dwelt there two years, and he went (thence) into the land of the south, to Bealoth, and there was a famine in the land.

11 And Abram went into Egypt in the third year of the week, and he dwelt in Egypt five years before his wife was torn away from him.

12 Now Tanais in Egypt was at that time built- seven years after Hebron.

13 And it came to pass when Pharaoh seized Sarai, the wife of Abram that the Lord plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues because of Sarai, Abram's wife.

14 And Abram was very glorious by reason of possessions in sheep, and cattle, and asses, and horses, and camels, and menservants, and maidservants, and in silver and gold exceedingly. And Lot also his brother's son, was wealthy.

15 And Pharaoh gave back Sarai, the wife of Abram, and he sent him out of the land of Egypt, and he journeyed to the place where he had pitched his tent at the beginning, to the place of the altar, with Ai on the east, and Bethel on the west, and he blessed the Lord his God who had brought him back in peace.

16 And it came to pass in the forty-first jubilee in the third year of the first week, [1963 A.M.] that he returned to this place and offered thereon a burnt sacrifice, and called on the name of the Lord, and said: 'Thou, the most high God, art my God for ever and ever.'

17 And in the fourth year of this week [1964 A.M.] Lot parted from him, and Lot dwelt in Sodom, and the men of Sodom were sinners exceedingly.

18 And it grieved him in his heart that his brother's son had parted from him; for he had no children.

19 In that year when Lot was taken captive, the Lord said unto Abram, after that Lot had parted from him, in the fourth year of this week: 'Lift up thine eyes from the place where thou art dwelling, northward and southward, and westward and eastward.

20 For all the land which thou seest I will give to thee and to thy seed for ever, and I will make thy seed as the sand of the sea: though a man may number the dust of the earth, yet thy seed shall not be numbered.

21 Arise, walk (through the land) in the length of it and the breadth of it, and see it all; for to thy seed will I give it.' And Abram went to Hebron, and dwelt there.

22 And in this year came Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, and Amraphel, king of Shinar, and Arioch king of Sellasar, and Tergal, king of nations, and slew the king of Gomorrah, and the king of Sodom fled, and many fell through wounds in the vale of Siddim, by the Salt Sea.

23 And they took captive Sodom and Adam and Zeboim, and they took captive Lot also, the son of Abram's brother, and all his possessions, and they went to Dan.

24 And one who had escaped came and told Abram that his brother's son had been taken captive and (Abram) armed his household servants . . .

25 . . . . for Abram, and for his seed, a tenth of the first fruits to the Lord, and the Lord ordained it as an ordinance for ever that they should give it to the priests who served before Him, that they should possess it for ever.

26 And to this law there is no limit of days; for He hath ordained it for the generations for ever that they should give to the Lord the tenth of everything, of the seed and of the wine and of the oil and of the cattle and of the sheep.

27 And He gave (it) unto His priests to eat and to drink with joy before Him.

28 And the king of Sodom came to him and bowed himself before him, and said: 'Our Lord Abram, give unto us the souls which thou hast rescued, but let the booty be thine.'

29 And Abram said unto him: 'I lift up my hands to the Most High God, that from a thread to a shoe-latchet I shall not take aught that is thine lest thou shouldst say, I have made Abram rich; save only what the young men have eaten, and the portion of the men who went with me -Aner, Eschol, and Mamre. These shall take their portion.'

JUBILEES CHAPTER 14

1 After these things, in the fourth year of this week, on the new moon of the third month, the word of the Lord came to Abram in a dream, saying: 'Fear not, Abram; I am thy defender, and thy reward will be exceeding great.'

2 And he said: 'Lord, Lord, what wilt thou give me, seeing I go hence childless, and the son of Maseq, the son of my handmaid, is the Dammasek Eliezer: he will be my heir, and to me thou hast given no seed.'

3 And he said unto him: 'This (man) will not be thy heir, but one that will come out of thine own bowels; he will be thine heir.'

4 And He brought him forth abroad, and said unto him: 'Look toward heaven and number the stars if thou art able to number them.'

5 And he looked toward heaven, and beheld the stars. And He said unto him: 'So shall thy seed be.'

6 And he believed in the Lord, and it was counted to him for righteousness.

7 And He said unto him: 'I am the Lord that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees, to give thee the land of the Canaanites to possess it for ever; and I will be God unto thee and to thy seed after thee.'

8 And he said: 'Lord, Lord, whereby shall I know that I shall inherit (it)?'

9 And He said unto him: 'Take Me an heifer of three years, and a goat of three years, and a sheep of three years, and a turtle-dove, and a pigeon.'

10And he took all these in the middle of the month and he dwelt at the oak of Mamre, which is near Hebron.

11And he built there an altar, and sacrificed all these; and he poured their blood upon the altar, and divided them in the midst, and laid them over against each other; but the birds divided he not.

12And birds came down upon the pieces, and Abram drove them away, and did not suffer the birds to touch them.

13And it came to pass, when the sun had set, that an ecstasy fell upon Abram, and lo ! an horror of great darkness fell upon him, and it was said unto Abram: 'Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land (that is) not theirs, and they shall bring them into bondage, and afflict them four hundred years.

14And the nation also to whom they will be in bondage will I judge, and after that they shall come forth thence with much substance.

15And thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace, and be buried in a good old age.

16But in the fourth generation they shall return hither; for the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full.'

17And he awoke from his sleep, and he arose, and the sun had set; and there was a flame, and behold ! a furnace was smoking, and a flame of fire passed between the pieces.

18And on that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying: 'To thy seed will I give this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates, the Kenites, the Kenizzites, the Kadmonites, the Perizzites, and the Rephaim, the Phakorites, and the Hivites, and the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Girgashites, and the Jebusites.

19And the day passed, and Abram offered the pieces, and the birds, and their fruit offerings, and their drink offerings, and the fire devoured them.

20And on that day we made a covenant with Abram, according as we had covenanted with Noah in this month; and Abram renewed the festival and ordinance for himself for ever.

21And Abram rejoiced, and made all these things known to Sarai his wife; and he believed that he would have seed, but she did not bear.

22And Sarai advised her husband Abram, and said unto him: 'Go in unto Hagar, my Egyptian maid: it may be that I shall build up seed unto thee by her.'

23And Abram harkened unto the voice of Sarai his wife, and said unto her, 'Do (so).' And Sarai took Hagar, her maid, the Egyptian, and gave her to Abram, her husband, to be his wife.

24And he went in unto her, and she conceived and bare him a son, and he called his name Ishmael, in the fifth year of this week [1965 A.M.]; and this was the eighty-sixth year in the life of Abram.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 15

1 And in the fifth year of the fourth week of this jubilee, [1979 A.M.] in the third month, in the middle of the month, Abram celebrated the feast of the first-fruits of the grain harvest.

2 And he offered new offerings on the altar, the first-fruits of the produce, unto the Lord, an heifer and a goat and a sheep on the altar as a burnt sacrifice unto the Lord; their fruit offerings and their drink offerings he offered upon the altar with frankincense.

3 And the Lord appeared to Abram, and said unto him: 'I am God Almighty; approve thyself before me and be thou perfect.

4 And I will make My covenant between Me and thee, and I will multiply thee exceedingly.'

5 And Abram fell on his face, and God talked with him, and said:

6 'Behold my ordinance is with thee, And thou shalt be the father of many nations.

7 Neither shall thy name any more be called Abram, But thy name from henceforth, even for ever, shall be Abraham. For the father of many nations have I made thee.

8 And I will make thee very great, And I will make thee into nations, And kings shall come forth from thee.

9 And I shall establish My covenant between Me and thee, and thy seed after thee, throughout their generations, for an eternal covenant, so that I may be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee.

10 <And I will give to thee and to thy seed after thee> the land where thou hast been a sojourner, the land of Canaan, that thou mayst possess it for ever, and I will be their God.'

11 And the Lord said unto Abraham: 'And as for thee, do thou keep my covenant, thou and thy seed after thee: and circumcise ye every male among you, and circumcise your foreskins, and it shall be a token of an eternal covenant between Me and you.

12 And the child on the eighth day ye shall circumcise, every male throughout your generations, him that is born in the house, or whom ye have bought with money from any stranger, whom ye have acquired who is not of thy seed.

13 He that is born in thy house shall surely be circumcised, and those whom thou hast bought with money shall be circumcised, and My covenant shall be in your flesh for an eternal ordinance.

14 And the uncircumcised male who is not circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin on the eighth day, that soul shall be cut off from his people, for he has broken My covenant.'

15 And God said unto Abraham: 'As for Sarai thy wife, her name shall no more be called Sarai, but Sarah shall be her name.

16 And I will bless her, and give thee a son by her, and I will bless him, and he shall become a nation, and kings of nations shall proceed from him.'

17 And Abraham fell on his face, and rejoiced, and said in his heart: 'Shall a son be born to him that is a hundred years old, and shall Sarah, who is ninety years old, bring forth?'

18 And Abraham said unto God: 'O that Ishmael might live before thee!'

19 And God said: 'Yea, and Sarah also shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name Isaac, and I will establish My covenant with him, an everlasting covenant, and for his seed after him.

20 And as for Ishmael also have I heard thee, and behold I will bless him, and make him great, and multiply him exceedingly, and he shall beget twelve princes, and I will make him a great nation.

21 But My covenant will I establish with Isaac, whom Sarah shall bear to thee, in these days, in the next year.'

22 And He left off speaking with him, and God went up from Abraham.

23 And Abraham did according as God had said unto him, and he took Ishmael his son, and all that were born in his house, and whom he had bought with his money, every male in his house, and circumcised the flesh of their foreskin.

24 And on the selfsame day was Abraham circumcised, and all the men of his house, <and those born in the house>, and all those, whom he had bought with money from the children of the stranger, were circumcised with him.

25 This law is for all the generations for ever, and there is no circumcision of the days, and no omission of one day out of the eight days; for it is an eternal ordinance, ordained and written on the heavenly tablets.

26 And every one that is born, the flesh of whose foreskin is not circumcised on the eighth day, belongs not to the children of the covenant which the Lord made with Abraham, but to the children of destruction; nor is there, moreover, any sign on him that he is the Lord's, but (he is destined) to be destroyed and slain from the earth, and to be rooted out of the earth, for he has broken the covenant of the Lord our God.

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27 For all the angels of the presence and all the angels of sanctification have been so created from the day of their creation, and before the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification He hath sanctified Israel, that they should be with Him and with His holy angels.

28 And do thou command the children of Israel and let them observe the sign of this covenant for their generations as an eternal ordinance, and they will not be rooted out of the land.

29 For the command is ordained for a covenant, that they should observe it for ever among all the children of Israel.

30 For Ishmael and his sons and his brothers and Esau, the Lord did not cause to approach Him, and he chose them not because they are the children of Abraham, because He knew them, but He chose Israel to be His people.

31 And He sanctified it, and gathered it from amongst all the children of men; for there are many nations and many peoples, and all are His, and over all hath He placed spirits in authority to lead them astray from Him.

32 But over Israel He did not appoint any angel or spirit, for He alone is their ruler, and He will preserve them and require them at the hand of His angels and His spirits, and at the hand of all His powers in order that He may preserve them and bless them, and that they may be His and He may be theirs from henceforth for ever.

33 And now I announce unto thee that the children of Israel will not keep true to this ordinance, and they will not circumcise their sons according to all this law; for in the flesh of their circumcision they will omit this circumcision of their sons, and all of them, sons of Beliar, will leave their sons uncircumcised as they were born.

34 And there will be great wrath from the Lord against the children of Israel. because they have forsaken His covenant and turned aside from His word, and provoked and blasphemed, inasmuch as they do not observe the ordinance of this law; for they have treated their members like the Gentiles, so that they may be removed and rooted out of the land. And there will no more be pardon or forgiveness unto them [so that there should be forgiveness and pardon] for all the sin of this eternal error.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 16

1 And on the new moon of the fourth month we appeared unto Abraham, at the oak of Mamre, and we talked with him, and we announced to him that a son would be given to him by Sarah his wife.

2 And Sarah laughed, for she heard that we had spoken these words with Abraham, and we admonished her, and she became afraid, and denied that she had laughed on account of the words.

3 And we told her the name of her son, as his name is ordained and written in the heavenly tablets (i.e.) Isaac,

4 And (that) when we returned to her at a set time, she would have conceived a son.

5 And in this month the Lord executed his judgements on Sodom, and Gomorrah, and Zeboim, and all the region of the Jordan, and He burned them with fire and brimstone, and destroyed them until this day, even as [lo] I have declared unto thee all their works, that they are wicked and sinners exceedingly, and that they defile themselves and commit fornication in their flesh, and work uncleanness on the earth.

6 And, in like manner, God will execute judgement on the places where they have done according to the uncleanness of the Sodomites, like unto the judgement of Sodom.

7 But Lot we saved; for God remembered Abraham, and sent him out from the midst of the overthrow.

8 And he and his daughters committed sin upon the earth, such as had not been on the earth since the days of Adam till his time; for the man lay with his daughters.

9 And, behold, it was commanded and engraven concerning all his seed, on the heavenly tablets, to remove them and root them out, and to execute judgement upon them like the judgement of Sodom, and to leave no seed of the man on earth on the day of condemnation.

10 And in this month Abraham moved from Hebron, and departed and dwelt between Kadesh and Shur in the mountains of Gerar.

11 And in the middle of the fifth month he moved from thence, and dwelt at the Well of the Oath.

12 And in the middle of the sixth month the Lord visited Sarah and did unto her as He had spoken and she conceived.

13 And she bare a son in the third month, and in the middle of the month, at the time of which the Lord had spoken to Abraham, on the festival of the first fruits of the harvest, Isaac was born.

14 And Abraham circumcised his son on the eighth day: he was the first that was circumcised according to the covenant which is ordained for ever.

15 And in the sixth year of the fourth week we came to Abraham, to the Well of the Oath, and we appeared unto him [as we had told Sarah that we should return to her, and she would have conceived a son.

16 And we returned in the seventh month, and found Sarah with child before us] and we blessed him, and we announced to him all the things which had been decreed concerning him, that he should not die till he should beget six sons more, and should see (them) before he died; but (that) in Isaac should his name and seed be called:

17 And (that) all the seed of his sons should be Gentiles, and be reckoned with the Gentiles; but from the sons of Isaac one should become a holy seed, and should not be reckoned among the Gentiles.

18 For he should become the portion of the Most High, and all his seed had fallen into the possession of God, that it should be unto the Lord a people for (His) possession above all nations and that it should become a kingdom and priests and a holy nation.

19 And we went our way, and we announced to Sarah all that we had told him, and they both rejoiced with exceeding great joy.

20 And he built there an altar to the Lord who had delivered him, and who was making him rejoice in the land of his sojourning, and he celebrated a festival of joy in this month seven days, near the altar which he had built at the Well of the Oath.

21 And he built booths for himself and for his servants on this festival, and he was the first to celebrate the feast of tabernacles on the earth.

22 And during these seven days he brought each day to the altar a burnt offering to the Lord, two oxen, two rams, seven sheep, one he-goat, for a sin offering, that he might atone thereby for himself and for his seed.

23 And, as a thank-offering, seven rams, seven kids, seven sheep, and seven he-goats, and their fruit offerings and their drink offerings; and he burnt all the fat thereof on the altar, a chosen offering unto the Lord for a sweet smelling savour.

24 And morning and evening he burnt fragrant substances, frankincense and galbanum, and stackte, and nard, and myrrh, and spice, and costum; all these seven he offered, crushed, mixed together in equal parts (and) pure.

25 And he celebrated this feast during seven days, rejoicing with all his heart and with all his soul, he and all those who were in his house, and there was no stranger with him, nor any that was uncircumcised.

26 And he blessed his Creator who had created him in his generation, for He had created him according to His good pleasure; for He knew and perceived that from him would arise the plant of righteousness for the eternal generations, and from him a holy seed, so that it should become like Him who had made all things.

27 And he blessed and rejoiced, and he called the name of this festival the festival of the Lord, a joy acceptable to the Most High God.

28 And we blessed him for ever, and all his seed after him throughout all the generations of the earth, because he celebrated this festival in its season, according to the testimony of the heavenly tablets.

29 For this reason it is ordained on the heavenly tablets concerning Israel, that they shall celebrate the feast of tabernacles seven days with joy, in the seventh month, acceptable before the Lord -a statute for ever throughout their generations every year.

30 And to this there is no limit of days; for it is ordained for ever regarding Israel that they should celebrate it and dwell in booths, and set wreaths upon their heads, and take leafy boughs, and willows from the brook.

31 And Abraham took branches of palm trees, and the fruit of goodly trees, and every day going round the altar with the branches seven times [a day] in the morning, he praised and gave thanks to his God for all things in joy.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 17

1 And in the first year of the fifth week Isaac was weaned in this jubilee, [1982 A.M.] and Abraham made a great banquet in the third month, on the day his son Isaac was weaned.

2 And Ishmael, the son of Hagar, the Egyptian, was before the face of Abraham, his father, in his place, and Abraham rejoiced and blessed God because he had seen his sons and had not died childless.

3 And he remembered the words which He had spoken to him on the day on which Lot had parted from him, and he rejoiced because the Lord had given him seed upon the earth to inherit the earth, and he blessed with all his mouth the Creator of all things.

4 And Sarah saw Ishmael playing and dancing, and Abraham rejoicing with great joy, and she became jealous of Ishmael and said to Abraham, 'Cast out this bondwoman and her son; for the son of this bondwoman will not be heir with my son, Isaac.'

5 And the thing was grievous in Abraham's sight, because of his maidservant and because of his son, that he should drive them from him.

6 And God said to Abraham 'Let it not be grievous in thy sight, because of the child and because of the bondwoman; in all that Sarah hath said unto thee, harken to her words and do (them); for in Isaac shall thy name and seed be called.

7 But as for the son of this bondwoman I will make him a great nation, because he is of thy seed.'

8 And Abraham rose up early in the morning, and took bread and a bottle of water, and placed them on the shoulders of Hagar and the child, and sent her away.

9 And she departed and wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba, and the water in the bottle was spent, and the child thirsted, and was not able to go on, and fell down.

10 And his mother took him and cast him under an olive tree, and went and sat her down over against him, at the distance of a bow-shot; for she said, 'Let me not see the death of my child,' and as she sat she wept.

11 And an angel of God, one of the holy ones, said unto her, 'Why weepest thou, Hagar? Arise take the child, and hold him in thine hand; for God hath heard thy voice, and hath seen the child.'

12 And she opened her eyes, and she saw a well of water, and she went and filled her bottle with water, and she gave her child to drink, and she arose and went towards the wilderness of Paran.

13 And the child grew and became an archer, and God was with him, and his mother took him a wife from among the daughters of Egypt.

14 And she bare him a son, and he called his name Nebaioth; for she said, 'The Lord was nigh to me when I called upon him.'

15 And it came to pass in the seventh week, in the first year thereof, [2003 A.M.] in the first month in this jubilee, on the twelfth of this month, there were voices in heaven regarding Abraham, that he was faithful in all that He told him, and that he loved the Lord, and that in every affliction he was faithful.

16 And the prince Mastêmâ came and said before God, 'Behold, Abraham loves Isaac his son, and he delights in him above all things else; bid him offer him as a burnt-offering on the altar, and Thou wilt see if he will do this command, and Thou wilt know if he is faithful in everything wherein Thou dost try him.

17 And the Lord knew that Abraham was faithful in all his afflictions; for He had tried him through his country and with famine, and had tried him with the wealth of kings, and had tried him again through his wife, when she was torn (from him), and with circumcision; and had tried him through Ishmael and Hagar, his maid-servant, when he sent them away.

18 And in everything wherein He had tried him, he was found faithful, and his soul was not impatient, and he was not slow to act; for he was faithful and a lover of the Lord.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 18

1 And God said to him, 'Abraham, Abraham'; and he said, Behold, (here) am I.'

2 And he said, Take thy beloved son whom thou lovest, (even) Isaac, and go unto the high country, and offer him on one of the mountains which I will point out unto thee.'

3 And he rose early in the morning and saddled his ass, and took his two young men with him, and Isaac his son, and clave the wood of the burnt offering, and he went to the place on the third day, and he saw the place afar off.

4 And he came to a well of water, and he said to his young men, 'Abide ye here with the ass, and I and the lad shall go (yonder), and when we have worshipped we shall come again to you.'

5 And he took the wood of the burnt-offering and laid it on Isaac his son, and he took in his hand the fire and the knife, and they went both of them together to that place.

6 And Isaac said to his father, 'Father;' and he said, 'Here am I, my son.' And he said unto him, 'Behold the fire, and the knife, and the wood; but where is the sheep for the burnt-offering, father?'

7 And he said, 'God will provide for himself a sheep for a burnt-offering, my son.' And he drew near to the place of the mount of God.

8 And he built an altar, and he placed the wood on the altar, and bound Isaac his son, and placed him on the wood which was upon the altar, and stretched forth his hand to take the knife to slay Isaac his son.

9 And I stood before him, and before the prince Mastêmâ, and the Lord said, 'Bid him not to lay his hand on the lad, nor to do anything to him, for I have shown that he fears the Lord.'

10 And I called to him from heaven, and said unto him: 'Abraham, Abraham;' and he was terrified and said: 'Behold, (here) am I.'

11 And I said unto him: 'Lay not thy hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything to him; for now I have shown that thou fearest the Lord, and hast not withheld thy son, thy first-born son, from me.'

12 And the prince Mastêmâ was put to shame; and Abraham lifted up his eyes and looked, and, behold a ram caught . . . by his horns, and Abraham went and took the ram and offered it for a burnt-offering in the stead of his son.

13 And Abraham called that place 'The Lord hath seen', so that it is said in the mount the Lord hath seen: that is Mount Sion.

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14 And the Lord called Abraham by his name a second time from heaven, as he caused us to appear to speak to him in the name of the Lord.

15 And he said: 'By Myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, Because thou hast done this thing, And hast not withheld thy son, thy beloved son, from Me, That in blessing I will bless thee, And in multiplying I will multiply thy seed As the stars of heaven, And as the sand which is on the seashore. And thy seed shall inherit the cities of its enemies,

16 And in thy seed shall all nations of the earth be blessed; Because thou hast obeyed My voice, And I have shown to all that thou art faithful unto Me in all that I have said unto thee: Go in peace.'

17 And Abraham went to his young men, and they arose and went together to Beersheba, and Abraham [2010 A.M.] dwelt by the Well of the Oath.

18 And he celebrated this festival every year, seven days with joy, and he called it the festival of the Lord according to the seven days during which he went and returned in peace.

19 And accordingly has it been ordained and written on the heavenly tablets regarding Israel and its seed that they should observe this festival seven days with the joy of festival.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 19

1 And in the first year of the first week in the forty-second jubilee, Abraham returned and dwelt opposite Hebron, that is Kirjath Arba, two weeks of years.

2 And in the first year of the third week of this jubilee the days of the life of Sarah were accomplished, and she died in Hebron.

3 And Abraham went to mourn over her and bury her, and we tried him [to see] if his spirit were patient and he were not indignant in the words of his mouth; and he was found patient in this, and was not disturbed.

4 For in patience of spirit he conversed with the children of Heth, to the intent that they should give him a place in which to bury his dead.

5 And the Lord gave him grace before all who saw him, and he besought in gentleness the sons of Heth, and they gave him the land of the double cave over against Mamre, that is Hebron, for four hundred pieces of silver.

6 And they besought him saying, We shall give it to thee for nothing; but he would not take it from their hands for nothing, for he gave the price of the place, the money in full, and he bowed down before them twice, and after this he buried his dead in the double cave.

7 And all the days of the life of Sarah were one hundred and twenty-seven years, that is, two jubilees and four weeks and one year: these are the days of the years of the life of Sarah.

8 This is the tenth trial wherewith Abraham was tried, and he was found faithful, patient in spirit.

9 And he said not a single word regarding the rumour in the land how that God had said that He would give it to him and to his seed after him, and he begged a place there to bury his dead; for he was found faithful, and was recorded on the heavenly tablets as the friend of God.

10 And in the fourth year thereof he took a wife for his son Isaac and her name was Rebecca [2020 A.M.] [the daughter of Bethuel, the son of Nahor, the brother of Abraham] the sister of Laban and daughter of Bethuel; and Bethuel was the son of Melca, who was the wife of Nahor, the brother of Abraham.

11 And Abraham took to himself a third wife, and her name was Keturah, from among the daughters of his household servants, for Hagar had died before Sarah. And she bare him six sons, Zimram, and Jokshan, and Medan, and Midian, and Ishbak, and Shuah, in the two weeks of years.

12 And in the sixth week, in the second year thereof, Rebecca bare to Isaac two sons, Jacob and Esau,

13 and [2046 A.M.] Jacob was a smooth and upright man, and Esau was fierce, a man of the field, and hairy, and Jacob dwelt in tents.

14 And the youths grew, and Jacob learned to write; but Esau did not learn, for he was a man of the field and a hunter, and he learnt war, and all his deeds were fierce.

15 And Abraham loved Jacob, but Isaac loved Esau.

16 And Abraham saw the deeds of Esau, and he knew that in Jacob should his name and seed be called; and he called Rebecca and gave commandment regarding Jacob, for he knew that she (too) loved Jacob much more than Esau.

17 And he said unto her: My daughter, watch over my son Jacob, For he shall be in my stead on the earth, And for a blessing in the midst of the children of men, And for the glory of the whole seed of Shem.

18 For I know that the Lord will choose him to be a people for possession unto Himself, above all peoples that are upon the face of the earth.

19 And behold, Isaac my son loves Esau more than Jacob, but I see that thou truly lovest Jacob.

20 Add still further to thy kindness to him, And let thine eyes be upon him in love; For he shall be a blessing unto us on the earth from henceforth unto all generations of the earth.

21 Let thy hands be strong And let thy heart rejoice in thy son Jacob; For I have loved him far beyond all my sons. He shall be blessed for ever, And his seed shall fill the whole earth.

22 If a man can number the sand of the earth, His seed also shall be numbered.

23 And all the blessings wherewith the Lord hath blessed me and my seed shall belong to Jacob and his seed alway.

24 And in his seed shall my name be blessed, and the name of my fathers, Shem, and Noab, and Enoch, and Mahalalel, and Enos, and Seth, and Adam.

25 And these shall serve To lay the foundations of the heaven, And to strengthen the earth, And to renew all the luminaries which are in the firmament.

26 And he called Jacob before the eyes of Rebecca his mother, and kissed him, and blessed him, and said:

27 'Jacob, my beloved son, whom my soul loveth, may God bless thee from above the firmament, and may He give thee all the blessings wherewith He blessed Adam, and Enoch, and Noah, and Shem; and all the things of which He told me, and all the things which He promised to give me, may he cause to cleave to thee and to thy seed for ever, according to the days of heaven above the earth.

28 And the Spirits of Mastêmâ shall not rule over thee or over thy seed to turn thee from the Lord, who is thy God from henceforth for ever.

29 And may the Lord God be a father to thee and thou the first-born son, and to the people alway.

30 Go in peace, my son.' And they both went forth together from Abraham.

31 And Rebecca loved Jacob, with all her heart and with all her soul, very much more than Esau; but Isaac loved Esau much more than Jacob.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 20

1 And in the forty-second jubilee, in the first year of the seventh week, Abraham called Ishmael, [2052 (2045?) A.M.] and his twelve sons, and Isaac and his two sons, and the six sons of Keturah, and their sons.

2 And he commanded them that they should observe the way of the Lord; that they should work righteousness, and love each his neighbour, and act on this manner amongst all men; that they should each so walk with regard to them as to do judgement and righteousness on the earth.

3 That they should circumcise their sons, according to the covenant which He had made with them, and not deviate to the right hand or the left of all the paths which the Lord had commanded us; and that we should keep ourselves from all fornication and uncleanness, [and renounce from amongst us all fornication and uncleanness].

4 And if any woman or maid commit fornication amongst you, burn her with fire and let them not commit fornication with her after their eyes and their heart; and let them not take to themselves wives from the daughters of Canaan; for the seed of Canaan will be rooted out of the land.

5 And he told them of the judgement of the giants, and the judgement of the Sodomites, how they had been judged on account of their wickedness, and had died on account of their fornication, and uncleanness, and mutual corruption through fornication.

6 'And guard yourselves from all fornication and uncleanness, And from all pollution of sin, Lest ye make our name a curse, And your whole life a hissing, And all your sons to be destroyed by the sword, And ye become accursed like Sodom, And all your remnant as the sons of Gomorrah.

7 I implore you, my sons, love the God of heaven And cleave ye to all His commandments. And walk not after their idols, and after their uncleannesses,

8 And make not for yourselves molten or graven gods; For they are vanity, And there is no spirit in them; For they are work of (men's) hands, And all who trust in them, trust in nothing.

9 Serve them not, nor worship them, But serve ye the most high God, and worship Him continually: And hope for His countenance always, And work uprightness and righteousness before Him, That He may have pleasure in you and grant you His mercy, And send rain upon you morning and evening, And bless all your works which ye have wrought upon the earth, And bless thy bread and thy water, And bless the fruit of thy womb and the fruit of thy land, And the herds of thy cattle, and the flocks of thy sheep.

10 And ye will be for a blessing on the earth, And all nations of the earth will desire you, And bless your sons in my name, That they may be blessed as I am.

11 And he gave to Ishmael and to his sons, and to the sons of Keturah, gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his son, and he gave everything to Isaac his son.

12 And Ishmael and his sons, and the sons of Keturah and their sons, went together and dwelt from Paran to the entering in of Babylon in all the land which is towards the East facing the desert.

13 And these mingled with each other, and their name was called Arabs, and Ishmaelites.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 21

1 And in the sixth year of the seventh week of this jubilee Abraham called Isaac his son, and [2057 (2050?) A.M.] commanded him: saying, 'I am become old, and know not the day of my death, and am full of my days.

2 And behold, I am one hundred and seventy-five years old, and throughout all the days of my life I have remembered the Lord, and sought with all my heart to do His will, and to walk uprightly in all His ways.

3 My soul has hated idols, <and I have despised those that served them, and I have given my heart and spirit> that I might observe to do the will of Him who created me.

4 For He is the living God, and He is holy and faithful, and He is righteous beyond all, and there is with Him no accepting of (men's) persons and no accepting of gifts; for God is righteous, and executeth judgement on all those who transgress His commandments and despise His covenant.

5 And do thou, my son, observe His commandments and His ordinances and His judgements, and walk not after the abominations and after the graven images and after the molten images.

6 And eat no blood at all of animals or cattle, or of any bird which flies in the heaven.

7 And if thou dost slay a victim as an acceptable peace offering, slay ye it, and pour out its blood upon the altar, and all the fat of the offering offer on the altar with fine flour and the meat offering mingled with oil, with its drink offering - offer them all together on the altar of burnt offering; it is a sweet savour before the Lord.

8 And thou wilt offer the fat of the sacrifice of thank offerings on the fire which is upon the altar, and the fat which is on the belly, and all the fat on the inwards and the two kidneys, and all the fat that is upon them, and upon the loins and liver thou shalt remove, together with the kidneys.

9 And offer all these for a sweet savour acceptable before the Lord, with its meat-offering and with its drink- offering, for a sweet savour, the bread of the offering unto the Lord.

10 And eat its meat on that day and on the second day, and let not the sun on the second day go down upon it till it is eaten, and let nothing be left over for the third day; for it is not acceptable [for it is not approved] and let it no longer be eaten, and all who eat thereof will bring sin upon themselves; for thus I have found it written in the books of my forefathers, and in the words of Enoch, and in the words of Noah.

11 And on all thy oblations thou shalt strew salt, and let not the salt of the covenant be lacking in all thy oblations before the Lord.

12 And as regards the wood of the sacrifices, beware lest thou bring (other) wood for the altar in addition to these: cypress, bay, almond, fir, pine, cedar, savin, fig, olive, myrrh, laurel, aspalathus.

13 And of these kinds of wood lay upon the altar under the sacrifice, such as have been tested as to their appearance, and do not lay (thereon) any split or dark wood, (but) hard and clean, without fault, a sound and new growth; and do not lay (thereon) old wood, [for its fragrance is gone] for there is no longer fragrance in it as before.

14 Besides these kinds of wood there is none other that thou shalt place (on the altar), for the fragrance is dispersed, and the smell of its fragrance goes not up to heaven.

15 Observe this commandment and do it, my son, that thou mayst be upright in all thy deeds.

16 And at all times be clean in thy body, and wash thyself with water before thou approachest to offer on the altar, and wash thy hands and thy feet before thou drawest near to the altar; and when thou art done sacrificing, wash again thy hands and thy feet.

17 And let no blood appear upon you nor upon your clothes; be on thy guard, my son, against blood, be on thy guard exceedingly; cover it with dust.

18 And do not eat any blood for it is the soul; eat no blood whatever.

19 And take no gifts for the blood of man, lest it be shed with impunity, without judgement; for it is the blood that is shed that causes the earth to sin, and the earth cannot be cleansed from the blood of man save by the blood of him who shed it.

20 And take no present or gift for the blood of man: blood for blood, that thou mayest be accepted before the Lord, the Most High God; for He is the defence of the good: and that thou mayest be preserved from all evil, and that He may save thee from every kind of death.

21 I see, my son, That all the works of the children of men are sin and wickedness, And all their deeds are uncleanness and an abomination and a pollution, And there is no righteousness with them.

22 Beware, lest thou shouldest walk in their ways And tread in their paths, And sin a sin unto death before the Most High God. Else He will [hide His face from thee And] give thee back into the hands of thy transgression, And root thee out of the land, and thy seed likewise from under heaven, And thy name and thy seed shall perish from the whole earth.

23 Turn away from all their deeds and all their uncleanness, And observe the ordinance of the Most High God, And do His will and be upright in all things.

24 And He will bless thee in all thy deeds, And will raise up from thee a plant of righteousness through all the earth,

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throughout all generations of the earth, And my name and thy name shall not be forgotten under heaven for ever.

25 Go, my son in peace. May the Most High God, my God and thy God, strengthen thee to do His will, And may He bless all thy seed and the residue of thy seed for the generations for ever, with all righteous blessings, That thou mayest be a blessing on all the earth.'

26 And he went out from him rejoicing.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 22

1 And it came to pass in the first week in the forty-fourth jubilee, in the second year, that is, the year in which Abraham died, that Isaac and Ishmael came from the Well of the Oath to celebrate the feast of weeks -that is, the feast of the first fruits of the harvest-to Abraham, their father, and Abraham rejoiced because his two sons had come.

2 For Isaac had many possessions in Beersheba, and Isaac was wont to go and see his possessions and to return to his father.

3 And in those days Ishmael came to see his father, and they both came together, and Isaac offered a sacrifice for a burnt offering, and presented it on the altar of his father which he had made in Hebron.

4 And he offered a thank offering and made a feast of joy before Ishmael, his brother: and Rebecca made new cakes from the new grain, and gave them to Jacob, her son, to take them to Abraham, his father, from the first fruits of the land, that he might eat and bless the Creator of all things before he died.

5 And Isaac, too, sent by the hand of Jacob to Abraham a best thank offering, that he might eat and drink.

6 And he eat and drank, and blessed the Most High God, Who hath created heaven and earth, Who hath made all the fat things of the earth, And given them to the children of men That they might eat and drink and bless their Creator.

7 'And now I give thanks unto Thee, my God, because thou hast caused me to see this day: behold, I am one hundred three score and fifteen years, an old man and full of days, and all my days have been unto me peace.

8 The sword of the adversary has not overcome me in all that Thou hast given me and my children all the days of my life until this day.

9 My God, may Thy mercy and Thy peace be upon Thy servant, and upon the seed of his sons, that they may be to Thee a chosen nation and an inheritance from amongst all the nations of the earth from henceforth unto all the days of the generations of the earth, unto all the ages.'

10 And he called Jacob and said: 'My son Jacob, may the God of all bless thee and strengthen thee to do righteousness, and His will before Him, and may He choose thee and thy seed that ye may become a people for His inheritance according to His will alway.

11 And do thou, my son, Jacob, draw near and kiss me.' And he drew near and kissed him, and he said: 'Blessed be my son Jacob And all the sons of God Most High, unto all the ages: May God give unto thee a seed of righteousness; And some of thy sons may He sanctify in the midst of the whole earth; May nations serve thee, And all the nations bow themselves before thy seed.

12 Be strong in the presence of men, And exercise authority over all the seed of Seth. Then thy ways and the ways of thy sons will be justified, So that they shall become a holy nation.

13 May the Most High God give thee all the blessings Wherewith He has blessed me And wherewith He blessed Noah and Adam; May they rest on the sacred head of thy seed from generation to generation for ever.

14 And may He cleanse thee from all unrighteousness and impurity, That thou mayest be forgiven all the transgressions; which thou hast committed ignorantly. And may He strengthen thee, And bless thee. And mayest thou inherit the whole earth,

15 And may He renew His covenant with thee. That thou mayest be to Him a nation for His inheritance for all the ages, And that He may be to thee and to thy seed a God in truth and righteousness throughout all the days of the earth.

16 And do thou, my son Jacob, remember my words, And observe the commandments of Abraham, thy father: Separate thyself from the nations, And eat not with them: And do not according to their works, And become not their associate; For their works are unclean, And all their ways are a Pollution and an abomination and uncleanness.

17 They offer their sacrifices to the dead And they worship evil spirits, And they eat over the graves, And all their works are vanity and nothingness.

18 They have no heart to understand And their eyes do not see what their works are, And how they err in saying to a piece of wood: 'Thou art my God,' And to a stone: 'Thou art my Lord and thou art my deliverer.' [And they have no heart.]

19 And as for thee, my son Jacob, May the Most High God help thee And the God of heaven bless thee And remove thee from their uncleanness and from all their error.

20 Be thou ware, my son Jacob, of taking a wife from any seed of the daughters of Canaan; For all his seed is to be rooted out of the earth.

21 For, owing to the transgression of Ham, Canaan erred, And all his seed shall be destroyed from off the earth and all the residue thereof, And none springing from him shall be saved on the day of judgement.

22 And as for all the worshippers of idols and the profane. There shall be no hope for them in the land of the living; And there shall be no remembrance of them on the earth; For they shall descend into Sheol, And into the place of condemnation shall they go, As the children of Sodom were taken away from the earth So will all those who worship idols be taken away.

23 Fear not, my son Jacob, And be not dismayed, O son of Abraham: May the Most High God preserve thee from destruction, And from all the paths of error may he deliver thee.

24 This house have I built for myself that I might put my name upon it in the earth: [it is given to thee and to thy seed for ever], and it will be named the house of Abraham; it is given to thee and to thy seed for ever; for thou wilt build my house and establish my name before God for ever: thy seed and thy name will stand throughout all generations of the earth.'

25 And he ceased commanding him and blessing him.

26 And the two lay together on one bed, and Jacob slept in the bosom of Abraham, his father's father and he kissed him seven times, and his affection and his heart rejoiced over him.

27 And he blessed him with all his heart and said: 'The Most High God, the God of all, and Creator of all, who brought me forth from Ur of the Chaldees that he might give me this land to inherit it for ever, and that I might establish a holy seed-blessed be the Most High for ever.'

28 And he blessed Jacob and said: 'My son, over whom with all my heart and my affection I rejoice, may Thy grace and Thy mercy be lift up upon him and upon his seed alway.

29 And do not forsake him, nor set him at nought from henceforth unto the days of eternity, and may Thine eyes be opened upon him and upon his seed, that Thou mayst preserve him, and bless him, and mayest sanctify him as a nation for Thine inheritance;

30 And bless him with all Thy blessings from henceforth unto all the days of eternity, and renew Thy covenant and Thy grace with him and with his seed according to all Thy good pleasure unto all the generations of the earth.'

JUBILEES CHAPTER 23

1 And he placed two fingers of Jacob on his eyes, and he blessed the God of gods, and he covered his face and stretched out his feet and slept the sleep of eternity, and was gathered to his fathers.

2 And notwithstanding all this Jacob was lying in his bosom, and knew not that Abraham, his father's father, was dead.

3 And Jacob awoke from his sleep, and behold Abraham was cold as ice, and he said 'Father, father'; but there was none that spake, and he knew that he was dead.

4 And he arose from his bosom and ran and told Rebecca, his mother; and Rebecca went to Isaac in the night, and told him; and they went together, and Jacob with them, and a lamp was in his hand, and when they had gone in they found Abraham lying dead.

5 And Isaac fell on the face of his father and wept and kissed him.

6 And the voices were heard in the house of Abraham, and Ishmael his son arose, and went to Abraham his father, and wept over Abraham his father, he and all the house of Abraham, and they wept with a great weeping.

7 And his sons Isaac and Ishmael buried him in the double cave, near Sarah his wife, and they wept for him forty days, all the men of his house, and Isaac and Ishmael, and all their sons, and all the sons of Keturah in their places; and the days of weeping for Abraham were ended.

8 And he lived three jubilees and four weeks of years, one hundred and seventy-five years, and completed the days of his life, being old and full of days.

9 For the days of the forefathers, of their life, were nineteen jubilees; and after the Flood they began to grow less than nineteen jubilees, and to decrease in jubilees, and to grow old quickly, and to be full of their days by reason of manifold tribulation and the wickedness of their ways, with the exception of Abraham.

10 For Abraham was perfect in all his deeds with the Lord, and well-pleasing in righteousness all the days of his life; and behold, he did not complete four jubilees in his life, when he had grown old by reason of the wickedness, and was full of his days.

11 And all the generations which shall arise from this time until the day of the great judgement shall grow old quickly, before they complete two jubilees, and their knowledge shall forsake them by reason of their old age Land all their knowledge shall vanish away].

12 And in those days, if a man live a jubilee and a-half of years, they shall say regarding him: 'He has lived long, and the greater part of his days are pain and sorrow and tribulation, and there is no peace:

13 For calamity follows on calamity, and wound on wound, and tribulation on tribulation, and evil tidings on evil tidings, and illness on illness, and all evil judgements such as these, one with another, illness and overthrow, and snow and frost and ice, and fever, and chills, and torpor, and famine, and death, and sword, and captivity, and all kinds of calamities and pains.'

14 And all these shall come on an evil generation, which transgresses on the earth: their works are uncleanness and fornication, and pollution and abominations.

15 Then they shall say: 'The days of the forefathers were many (even), unto a thousand years, and were good; but behold, the days of our life, if a man has lived many, are three score years and ten, and, if he is strong, four score years, and those evil, and there is no peace in the days of this evil generation.'

16 And in that generation the sons shall convict their fathers and their elders of sin and unrighteousness, and of the words of their mouth and the great wickednesses which they perpetrate, and concerning their forsaking the covenant which the Lord made between them and Him, that they should observe and do all His commandments and His ordinances and all His laws, without departing either to the right hand or the left.

17 For all have done evil, and every mouth speaks iniquity and all their works are an uncleanness and an abomination, and all their ways are pollution, uncleanness and destruction.

18 Behold the earth shall be destroyed on account of all their works, and there shall be no seed of the vine, and no oil; for their works are altogether faithless, and they shall all perish together, beasts and cattle and birds, and all the fish of the sea, on account of the children of men.

19 And they shall strive one with another, the young with the old, and the old with the young, the poor with the rich, the lowly with the great, and the beggar with the prince, on account of the law and the covenant; for they have forgotten commandment, and covenant, and feasts, and months, and Sabbaths, and jubilees, and all judgements.

20 And they shall stand <with bows and> swords and war to turn them back into the way; but they shall not return until much blood has been shed on the earth, one by another.

21 And those who have escaped shall not return from their wickedness to the way of righteousness, but they shall all exalt themselves to deceit and wealth, that they may each take all that is his neighbour's, and they shall name the great name, but not in truth and not in righteousness, and they shall defile the holy of holies with their uncleanness and the corruption of their pollution.

22 And a great punishment shall befall the deeds of this generation from the Lord, and He will give them over to the sword and to judgement and to captivity, and to be plundered and devoured.

23 And He will wake up against them the sinners of the Gentiles, who have neither mercy nor compassion, and who shall respect the person of none, neither old nor young, nor any one, for they are more wicked and strong to do evil than all the children of men. And they shall use violence against Israel and transgression against Jacob, And much blood shall be shed upon the earth, And there shall be none to gather and none to bury.

24 In those days they shall cry aloud, And call and pray that they may be saved from the hand of the sinners, the Gentiles; But none shall be saved.

25 And the heads of the children shall be white with grey hair, And a child of three weeks shall appear old like a man of one hundred years, And their stature shall be destroyed by tribulation and oppression.

26 And in those days the children shall begin to study the laws, And to seek the commandments, And to return to the path of righteousness.

27 And the days shall begin to grow many and increase amongst those children of men Till their days draw nigh to one thousand years. And to a greater number of years than (before) was the number of the days.

28 And there shall be no old man Nor one who is <not> satisfied with his days, For all shall be (as) children and youths.

29 And all their days they shall complete and live in peace and in joy, And there shall be no Satan nor any evil destroyer; For all their days shall be days of blessing and healing.

30 And at that time the Lord will heal His servants, And they shall rise up and see great peace, And drive out their adversaries. And the righteous shall see and be thankful, And rejoice with joy for ever and ever, And shall see all their judgements and all their curses on their enemies.

31 And their bones shall rest in the earth, And their spirits shall have much joy, And they shall know that it is the Lord who executes judgement, And shows mercy to hundreds and thousands and to all that love Him

32 And do thou, Moses, write down these words; for thus are they written, and they record (them) on the heavenly tablets for a testimony for the generations for ever.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 24

1 And it came to pass after the death of Abraham, that the Lord blessed Isaac his son, and he arose from Hebron and

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went and dwelt at the Well of the Vision in the first year of the third week [2073 A.M.] of this jubilee, seven years.

2 And in the first year of the fourth week a famine began in the land, [2080 A.M.] besides the first famine, which had been in the days of Abraham.

3 And Jacob sod lentil pottage, and Esau came from the field hungry. And he said to Jacob his brother: 'Give me of this red pottage.' And Jacob said to him: 'Sell to me thy [primogeniture, this] birthright and I will give thee bread, and also some of this lentil pottage.'

4 And Esau said in his heart: 'I shall die; of what profit to me is this birthright?

5 'And he said to Jacob: 'I give it to thee.' And Jacob said: 'Swear to me, this day,' and he sware unto him.

6 And Jacob gave his brother Esau bread and pottage, and he eat till he was satisfied, and Esau despised his birthright; for this reason was Esau's name called Edom, on account of the red pottage which Jacob gave him for his birthright.

7 And Jacob became the elder, and Esau was brought down from his dignity.

8 And the famine was over the land, and Isaac departed to go down into Egypt in the second year of this week, and went to the king of the Philistines to Gerar, unto Abimelech.

9 And the Lord appeared unto him and said unto him: 'Go not down into Egypt; dwell in the land that I shall tell thee of, and sojourn in this land, and I will be with thee and bless thee.

10 For to thee and to thy seed will I give all this land, and I will establish My oath which I sware unto Abraham thy father, and I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and will give unto thy seed all this land.

11 And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, because thy father obeyed My voice, and kept My charge and My commandments, and My laws, and My ordinances, and My covenant; and now obey My voice and dwell in this land.'

12 And he dwelt in Gelar three weeks of years.

13 And Abimelech charged concerning him, [2080-2101 A.M.] and concerning all that was his, saying: 'Any man that shall touch him or aught that is his shall surely die.'

14 And Isaac waxed strong among the Philistines, and he got many possessions, oxen and sheep and camels and asses and a great household.

15 And he sowed in the land of the Philistines and brought in a hundred-fold, and Isaac became exceedingly great, and the Philistines envied him.

16 Now all the wells which the servants of Abraham had dug during the life of Abraham, the Philistines had stopped them after the death of Abraham, and filled them with earth.

17 And Abimelech said unto Isaac: 'Go from us, for thou art much mightier than we', and Isaac departed thence in the first year of the seventh week, and sojourned in the valleys of Gerar.

18 And they digged again the wells of water which the servants of Abraham, his father, had digged, and which the Philistines had closed after the death of Abraham his father, and he called their names as Abraham his father had named them.

19 And the servants of Isaac dug a well in the valley, and found living water, and the shepherds of Gerar strove with the shepherds of Isaac, saying: 'The water is ours'; and Isaac called the name of the well 'Perversity', because they had been perverse with us.

20 And they dug a second well, and they strove for that also, and he called its name 'Enmity'. And he arose from thence and they digged another well, and for that they strove not, and he called the name of it 'Room', and Isaac said: 'Now the Lord hath made room for us, and we have increased in the land.'

21 And he went up from thence to the Well of the Oath in the first year of the first week in the [2108 A.M.] forty-fourth jubilee.

22 And the Lord appeared to him that night, on the new moon of the first month, and said unto him: 'I am the God of Abraham thy father; fear not, for I am with thee, and shall bless thee and shall surely multiply thy seed as the sand of the earth, for the sake of Abraham my servant.'

23 And he built an altar there, which Abraham his father had first built, and he called upon the name of the Lord, and he offered sacrifice to the God of Abraham his father.

24 And they digged a well and they found living water.

25 And the servants of Isaac digged another well and did not find water, and they went and told Isaac that they had not found water, and Isaac said: 'I have sworn this day to the Philistines and this thing has been announced to us.'

26 And he called the name of that place the Well of the Oath; for there he had sworn to Abimelech and Ahuzzath his friend and Phicol the prefect Or his host.

27 And Isaac knew that day that under constraint he had sworn to them to make peace with them.

28 And Isaac on that day cursed the Philistines and said: 'Cursed be the Philistines unto the day of wrath and indignation from the midst of all nations; may God make them a derision and a curse and an object of wrath and indignation in the hands of the sinners the Gentiles and in the hands of the Kittim.

29 And whoever escapes the sword of the enemy and the Kittim, may the righteous nation root out in judgement from under heaven; for they shall be the enemies and foes of my children throughout their generations upon the earth.

30 And no remnant shall be left to them, Nor one that shall be saved on the day of the wrath of judgement; For destruction and rooting out and expulsion from the earth is the whole seed of the Philistines (reserved), And there shall no longer be left for these Caphtorim a name or a seed on the earth.

31 For though he ascend unto heaven, Thence shall he be brought down, And though he make himself strong on earth, Thence shall he be dragged forth, And though he hide himself amongst the nations, Even from thence shall he be rooted out; And though he descend into Sheol, There also shall his condemnation be great, And there also he shall have no peace.

32 And if he go into captivity, By the hands of those that seek his life shall they slay him on the way, And neither name nor seed shall be left to him on all the earth; For into eternal malediction shall he depart.'

33 And thus is it written and engraved concerning him on the heavenly tablets, to do unto him on the day of judgement, so that he may be rooted out of the earth.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 25

1 And in the second year of this week in this jubilee, Rebecca called Jacob her son, and spake unto [2109 A.M.] him, saying: 'My son, do not take thee a wife of the daughters of Canaan, as Esau, thy brother, who took him two wives of the daughters of Canaan, and they have embittered my soul with all their unclean deeds: for all their deeds are fornication and lust, and there is no righteousness with them, for (their deeds) are evil.

2 And I, my son, love thee exceedingly, and my heart and my affection bless thee every hour of the day and watch of the night.

3 And now, my son, hearken to my voice, and do the will of thy mother, and do not take thee a wife of the daughters of this land, but only of the house of my father, and of my father's kindred. Thou shalt take thee a wife of the house of my father, and the Most High God will bless thee, and thy children shall be a righteous generation and a holy seed.'

4 And then spake Jacob to Rebecca, his mother, and said unto her: 'Behold, mother, I am nine weeks of years old, and I neither know nor have I touched any woman, nor have I betrothed myself to any, nor even think of taking me a wife of the daughters of Canaan.

5 For I remember, mother, the words of Abraham, our father, for he commanded me not to take a wife of the daughters of Canaan, but to take me a wife from the seed of my father's house and from my kindred.

6 I have heard before that daughters have been born to Laban, thy brother, and I have set my heart on them to take a wife from amongst them.

7 And for this reason I have guarded myself in my spirit against sinning or being corrupted in all my ways throughout all the days of my life; for with regard to lust and fornication, Abraham, my father, gave me many commands.

8 And, despite all that he has commanded me, these two and twenty years my brother has striven with me, and spoken frequently to me and said: 'My brother, take to wife a sister of my two wives'; but I refuse to do as he has done.

9 I swear before thee, mother, that all the days of my life I will not take me a wife from the daughters of the seed of Canaan, and I will not act wickedly as my brother has done.

10 Fear not, mother; be assured that I shall do thy will and walk in uprightness, and not corrupt my ways for ever.'

11 And thereupon she lifted up her face to heaven and extended the fingers of her hands, and opened her mouth and blessed the Most High God, who had created the heaven and the earth, and she gave Him thanks and praise.

12 And she said: 'Blessed be the Lord God, and may His holy name be blessed for ever and ever, who has given me Jacob as a pure son and a holy seed; for he is Thine, and Thine shall his seed be continually and throughout all the generations for evermore.

13 Bless him, O Lord, and place in my mouth the blessing of righteousness, that I may bless him.'

14 And at that hour, when the spirit of righteousness descended into her mouth, she placed both her hands on the head of Jacob, and said:

15 Blessed art thou, Lord of righteousness and God of the ages And may He bless thee beyond all the generations of men.May He give thee, my Son, the path of righteousness, And reveal righteousness to thy seed.

16 And may He make thy sons many during thy life, And may they arise according to the number of the months of the year. And may their sons become many and great beyond the stars of heaven, And their numbers be more than the sand of the sea.

17 And may He give them this goodly land -as He said He would give it to Abraham and to his seed after him alway - And may they hold it as a possession for ever.

18 And may I see (born) unto thee, my son, blessed children during my life, And a blessed and holy seed may all thy seed be.

19 And as thou hast refreshed thy mother's spirit during her life, The womb of her that bare thee blesses thee thus, [My affection] and my breasts bless thee And my mouth and my tongue praise thee greatly.

20 Increase and spread over the earth, And may thy seed be perfect in the joy of heaven and earth for ever; And may thy seed rejoice, And on the great day of peace may it have peace.

21 And may thy name and thy seed endure to all the ages, And may the Most High God be their God, And may the God of righteousness dwell with them, And by them may His sanctuary be built unto all the ages.

22 Blessed be he that blesseth thee, And all flesh that curseth thee falsely, may it be cursed.'

23 And she kissed him, and said to him; 'May the Lord of the world love thee As the heart of thy mother and her affection rejoice in thee and bless thee.' And she ceased from blessing.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 26

1 And in the seventh year of this week Isaac called Esau, his elder Son, and said unto him: ' I am [2114 A.M.] old, my son, and behold my eyes are dim in seeing, and I know not the day of my death.

2 And now take thy hunting weapons thy quiver and thy bow, and go out to the field, and hunt and catch me (venison), my son, and make me savoury meat, such as my soul loveth, and bring it to me that I may eat, and that my soul may bless thee before I die.'

3 But Rebecca heard Isaac speaking to Esau.

4 And Esau went forth early to the field to hunt and catch and bring home to his father.

5 And Rebecca called Jacob, her son, and said unto him: 'Behold, I heard Isaac, thy father, speak unto Esau, thy brother, saying: "Hunt for me, and make me savoury meat, and bring (it) to me that

6 I may eat and bless thee before the Lord before I die." And now, my son, obey my voice in that which I command thee: Go to thy flock and fetch me two good kids of the goats, and I will make them savoury meat for thy father, such as he loves, and thou shalt bring (it) to thy father that he may eat and bless thee before the Lord before he die, and that thou mayst be blessed.'

7 And Jacob said to Rebecca his mother: 'Mother, I shall not withhold anything which my father would eat, and which would please him: only I fear, my mother, that he will recognise my voice and wish to touch me.

8 And thou knowest that I am smooth, and Esau, my brother, is hairy, and I shall appear before his eyes as an evildoer, and shall do a deed which he had not commanded me, and he will be wroth with me, and I shall bring upon myself a curse, and not a blessing.'

9 And Rebecca, his mother, said unto him: 'Upon me be thy curse, my son, only obey my voice.'

10 And Jacob obeyed the voice of Rebecca, his mother, and went and fetched two good and fat kids of the goats, and brought them to his mother, and his mother made them ~savoury meat~ such as he loved.

11 And Rebecca took the goodly rainment of Esau, her elder son, which was with her in the house, and she clothed Jacob, her younger son, (with them), and she put the skins of the kids upon his hands and on the exposed parts of his neck.

12 And she gave the meat and the bread which she had prepared into the hand of her son Jacob.

13 And Jacob went in to his father and said: 'I am thy son: I have done according as thou badest me: arise and sit and eat of that which I have caught, father, that thy soul may bless me.'

14 And Isaac said to his son: 'How hast thou found so quickly, my son?

15 'And Jacob said: 'Because <the Lord> thy God caused me to find.'

16 And Isaac said unto him: Come near, that I may feel thee, my son, if thou art my son Esau or not.'

17 And Jacob went near to Isaac, his father, and he felt him and said: 'The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau,'

18 and he discerned him not, because it was a dispensation from heaven to remove his power of perception and Isaac discerned not, for his hands were hairy as his brother Esau's, so that he blessed him.

19 And he said: 'Art thou my son Esau? ' and he said: 'I am thy son': and he said, 'Bring near to me that I may eat of that which thou hast caught, my son, that my soul may bless thee.'

20 And he brought near to him, and he did eat, and he brought him wine and he drank.

21 And Isaac, his father, said unto him: 'Come near and kiss me, my son.

22 And he came near and kissed him. And he smelled the smell of his raiment, and he blessed him and said: 'Behold, the smell of my son is as the smell of a <full> field which the Lord hath blessed.

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23 And may the Lord give thee of the dew of heaven And of the dew of the earth, and plenty of corn and oil: Let nations serve thee, And peoples bow down to thee.

24 Be lord over thy brethren, And let thy mother's sons bow down to thee; And may all the blessings wherewith the Lord hath blessed me and blessed Abraham, my father; Be imparted to thee and to thy seed for ever: Cursed be he that curseth thee, And blessed be he that blesseth thee.'

25 And it came to pass as soon as Isaac had made an end of blessing his son Jacob, and Jacob had gone forth from Isaac his father he hid himself and Esau, his brother, came in from his hunting.

26 And he also made savoury meat, and brought (it) to his father, and said unto his father: 'Let my father arise, and eat of my venison that thy soul may bless me.'

27 And Isaac, his father, said unto him: 'Who art thou? 'And he said unto him: 'I am thy first born, thy son Esau: I have done as thou hast commanded me.'

28 And Isaac was very greatly astonished, and said: 'Who is he that hath hunted and caught and brought (it) to me, and I have eaten of all before thou camest, and have blessed him: (and) he shall be blessed, and all his seed for ever.'

29 And it came to pass when Esau heard the words of his father Isaac that he cried with an exceeding great and bitter cry, and said unto his father: 'Bless me, (even) me also, father.'

30 And he said unto him: 'Thy brother came with guile, and hath taken away thy blessing.' And he said: 'Now I know why his name is named Jacob: behold, he hath supplanted me these two times: he took away my birth-right, and now he hath taken away my blessing.'

31 And he said: 'Hast thou not reserved a blessing for me, father?' and Isaac answered and said unto Esau: 'Behold, I have made him thy lord, And all his brethren have I given to him for servants,And with plenty of corn and wine and oil have I strengthened him: And what now shall I do for thee, my son?' 32. And Esau said to Isaac, his father: 'Hast thou but one blessing, O father? Bless me, (even) me also, father: '

33 And Esau lifted up his voice and wept. And Isaac answered and said unto him: 'Behold, far from the dew of the earth shall be thy dwelling, And far from the dew of heaven from above.

34 And by thy sword wilt thou live, And thou wilt serve thy brother. And it shall come to pass when thou becomest great, And dost shake his yoke from off thy neck, Thou shalt sin a complete sin unto death, And thy seed shall be rooted out from under heaven.'

35 And Esau kept threatening Jacob because of the blessing wherewith his father blessed him, and he: said in his heart: 'May the days of mourning for my father now come, so that I may slay my brother Jacob.'

JUBILEES CHAPTER 27

1 And the words of Esau, her elder son, were told to Rebecca in a dream, and Rebecca sent and called Jacob her younger son,

2 and said unto him: 'Behold Esau thy brother will take vengeance on thee so as to kill thee.

3 Now, therefore, my son, obey my voice, and arise and flee thou to Laban, my brother, to Haran, and tarry with him a few days until thy brother's anger turns away, and he remove his anger from thee, and forget all that thou hast done; then I will send and fetch thee from thence.'

4 And Jacob said: 'I am not afraid; if he wishes to kill me, I will kill him.'

5 But she said unto him: 'Let me not be bereft of both my sons on one day.'

6 And Jacob said to Rebecca his mother: 'Behold, thou knowest that my father has become old, and does not see because his eyes are dull, and if I leave him it will be evil in his eyes, because I leave him and go away from you, and my father will be angry, and will curse me. I will not go; when he sends me, then only will I go.'

7 And Rebecca said to Jacob: 'I will go in and speak to him, and he will send thee away.'

8 And Rebecca went in and said to Isaac: 'I loathe my life because of the two daughters of Heth, whom Esau has taken him as wives; and if Jacob take a wife from among the daughters of the land such as these, for what purpose do I further live, for the daughters of Canaan are evil.'

9 And Isaac called Jacob and blessed him, and admonished him and said unto him: 'Do not take thee a wife of any of the daughters of Canaan;

10 arise and go to Mesopotamia, to the house of Bethuel, thy mother's father, and take thee a wife from thence of the daughters of Laban, thy mother's brother.

11 And God Almighty bless thee and increase and multiply thee that thou mayest become a company of nations, and give thee the blessings of my father Abraham, to thee and to thy seed after thee, that thou mayest inherit the land of thy sojournings and all the land which God gave to Abraham: go, my son, in peace.'

12 And Isaac sent Jacob away, and he went to Mesopotamia, to Laban the son of Bethuel the Syrian, the brother of Rebecca, Jacob's mother.

13 And it came to pass after Jacob had arisen to go to Mesopotamia that the spirit of Rebecca was grieved after her son, and she wept.

14 And Isaac said to Rebecca: 'My sister, weep not on account of Jacob, my son; for he goeth in peace, and in peace will he return.

15 The Most High God will preserve him from all evil, and will be with him; for He will not forsake him all his days;

16 For I know that his ways will be prospered in all things wherever he goes, until he return in peace to us, and we see him in peace.

17 Fear not on his account, my sister, for he is on the upright path and he is a perfect man: and he is faithful and will not perish. Weep not.'

18 And Isaac comforted Rebecca on account of her son Jacob, and blessed him.

19 And Jacob went from the Well of the Oath to go to Haran on the first year of the second week in the forty-fourth jubilee, and he came to Luz on the mountains, that is, Bethel, on the new moon of the first month of this week, [2115 A.M.] and he came to the place at even and turned from the way to the west of the road that night: and he slept there; for the sun had set.

20 And he took one of the stones of that place and laid <it at his head> under the tree, and he was journeying alone, and he slept.

21 And he dreamt that night, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven, and behold, the angels of the Lord ascended and descended on it: and behold, the Lord stood upon it.

22 And he spake to Jacob and said: 'I am the Lord God of Abraham, thy father, and the God of Isaac; the land whereon thou art sleeping, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed after thee.

23 And thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth, and thou shalt increase to the west and to the east, to the north and the south, and in thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the nations be blessed.

24 And behold, I will be with thee, and will keep thee whithersoever thou goest, and I will bring thee again into this land in peace; for I will not leave thee until I do everything that I told thee of.'

25 And Jacob awoke from his sleep, and said, 'Truly this place is the house of the Lord, and I knew it not.' And he was afraid and said: 'Dreadful is this place which is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven.'

26 And Jacob arose early in the morning, and took the stone which he had put under his head and set it up as a pillar for a sign, and he poured oil upon the top of it. And he called the name of that place Bethel; but the name of the place was Luz at the first.

27 And Jacob vowed a vow unto the Lord, saying: 'If the Lord will be with me, and will keep me in this way that I go, and give me bread to eat and raiment to put on, so that I come again to my father's house in peace, then shall the Lord be my God, and this stone which I have set up as a pillar for a sign in this place, shall be the Lord's house, and of all that thou givest me, I shall give the tenth to thee, my God.'

JUBILEES CHAPTER 28

1 And he went on his journey, and came to the land of the east, to Laban, the brother of Rebecca, and he was with him, and served him for Rachel his daughter one week.

2 And in the first year of the third week [2122 A.M.] he said unto him: 'Give me my wife, for whom I have served thee seven years '; and Laban said unto Jacob: 'I will give thee thy wife.'

3 And Laban made a feast, and took Leah his elder daughter, and gave (her) to Jacob as a wife, and gave her Zilpah his handmaid for an hand- maid; and Jacob did not know, for he thought that she was Rachel.

4 And he went in unto her, and behold, she was Leah; and Jacob was angry with Laban, and said unto him: 'Why hast thou dealt thus with me? Did not I serve thee for Rachel and not for Leah? Why hast thou wronged me?

5 Take thy daughter, and I will go; for thou hast done evil to me.' For Jacob loved Rachel more than Leah; for Leah's eyes were weak, but her form was very handsome; but Rachel had beautiful eyes and a beautiful and very handsome form.

6 And Laban said to Jacob: 'It is not so done in our country, to give the younger before the elder.' And it is not right to do this; for thus it is ordained and written in the heavenly tablets, that no one should give his younger daughter before the elder; but the elder, one gives first and after her the younger -and the man who does so, they set down guilt against him in heaven, and none is righteous that does this thing, for this deed is evil before the Lord.

7 And command thou the children of Israel that they do not this thing; let them neither take nor give the younger before they have given the elder, for it is very wicked.

8 And Laban said to Jacob: 'Let the seven days of the feast of this one pass by, and I shall give thee Rachel, that thou mayst serve me another seven years, that thou mayst pasture my sheep as thou didst in the former week.'

9 And on the day when the seven days of the feast of Leah had passed, Laban gave Rachel to Jacob, that he might serve him another seven years, and he gave to Rachel Bilhah, the sister of Zilpah, as a handmaid.

10 And he served yet other seven years for Rachel, for Leah had been given to him for nothing.

11 And the Lord opened the womb of Leah, and she conceived and bare Jacob a son, and he called his name Reuben, on the fourteenth day of the ninth month, in the first year of the third week. [2122 A.M.]

12 But the womb of Rachel was closed, for the Lord saw that Leah was hated and Rachel loved.

13 And again Jacob went in unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare Jacob a second son, and he called his name Simeon, on the twenty-first of the tenth month, and in the third year of this week. [2124 A.M.]

14 And again Jacob went in unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare him a third son, and he called his name Levi, in the new moon of the first month in the sixth year of this week. [2127 A.M.]

15 And again Jacob went in unto her, and she conceived, and bare him a fourth son, and he called his name Judah, on the fifteenth of the third month, in the first year of the fourth week. [2129 A.M.]

16 And on account of all this Rachel envied Leah, for she did not bear, and she said to Jacob: 'Give me children'; and Jacob said: 'Have I withheld from thee the fruits of thy womb? Have I forsaken thee?'

17 And when Rachel saw that Leah had borne four sons to Jacob, Reuben and Simeon and Levi and Judah, she said unto him: 'Go in unto Bilhah my handmaid, and she will conceive, and bear a son unto me.' (And she gave (him) Bilhah her handmaid to wife).

18 And he went in unto her, and she conceived, and bare him a son, and he called his name Dan, on the ninth of the sixth month, in the sixth year of the third week. [2127 A.M.]

19 And Jacob went in again unto Bilhah a second time, and she conceived, and bare Jacob another son, and Rachel called his name Napthali, on the fifth of the seventh month, in the second year of the fourth week. [2130 A.M.]

20 And when Leah saw that she had become sterile and did not bear, she envied Rachel, and she also gave her handmaid Zilpah to Jacob to wife, and she conceived, and bare a son, and Leah called his name Gad, on the twelfth of the eighth month, in the third year of the fourth week. [2131 A.M.]

21 And he went in again unto her, and she conceived, and bare him a second son, and Leah called his name Asher, on the second of the eleventh month, in the fifth year of the fourth week. [2133 A.M.]

22 And Jacob went in unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare a son, and she called his name Issachar, on the fourth of the fifth month, in the fourth year of the fourth week,[2132 A.M.] and she gave him to a nurse.

23 And Jacob went in again unto her, and she conceived, and bare two (children), a son and a daughter, and she called the name of the son Zabulon, and the name of the daughter Dinah, in the seventh of the seventh month, in the sixth year of the fourth week. [2134 A.M.]

24 And the Lord was gracious to Rachel, and opened her womb, and she conceived, and bare a son, and she called his name Joseph, on the new moon of the fourth month, in the sixth year in this fourth week. [2134 A.M.]

25 And in the days when Joseph was born, Jacob said to Laban: 'Give me my wives and sons, and let me go to my father Isaac, and let me make me an house; for I have completed the years in which I have served thee for thy two daughters, and I will go to the house of my father.'

26 And Laban said to Jacob: 'Tarry with me for thy wages, and pasture my flock for me again, and take thy wages.'

27 And they agreed with one another that he should give him as his wages those of the lambs and kids which were born black and spotted and white, (these) were to be his wages.

28 And all the sheep brought forth spotted and speckled and black, variously marked, and they brought forth again lambs like themselves, and all that were spotted were Jacob's and those which were not were Laban's.

29 And Jacob's possessions multiplied exceedingly, and he possessed oxen and sheep and asses and camels, and menservants and maid-servants.

30 And Laban and his sons envied Jacob, and Laban took back his sheep from him, and he observed him with evil intent.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 29

1 And it came to pass when Rachel had borne Joseph, that Laban went to shear his sheep; for they were distant from him a three days' journey.

2 And Jacob saw that Laban was going to shear his sheep, and Jacob called Leah and Rachel, and spake kindly unto them that they should come with him to the land of Canaan.

3 For he told them how he had seen everything in a dream, even all that He had spoken unto him that he should return to his father's house, and they said: 'To every place whither thou goest we will go with thee.'

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4 And Jacob blessed the God of Isaac his father, and the God of Abraham his father's father, and he arose and mounted his wives and his children, and took all his possessions and crossed the river, and came to the land of Gilead, and Jacob hid his intention from Laban and told him not.

5 And in the seventh year of the fourth week Jacob turned (his face) toward Gilead in the first month, on the twenty-first thereof. [2135 A.M.] And Laban pursued after him and overtook Jacob in the mountain of Gilead in the third month, on the thirteenth thereof.

6 And the Lord did not suffer him to injure Jacob; for he appeared to him in a dream by night. And Laban spake to Jacob.

7 And on the fifteenth of those days Jacob made a feast for Laban, and for all who came with him, and Jacob sware to Laban that day, and Laban also to Jacob, that neither should cross the mountain of Gilead to the other with evil purpose.

8 And he made there a heap for a witness; wherefore the name of that place is called: 'The Heap of Witness,' after this heap.

9 But before they used to call the land of Gilead the land of the Rephaim; for it was the land of the Rephaim, and the Rephaim were born (there), giants whose height was ten, nine, eight down to seven cubits.

10 And their habitation was from the land of the children of Ammon to Mount Hermon, and the seats of their kingdom were Karnaim and Ashtaroth, and Edrei, and Misur, and Beon.

11 And the Lord destroyed them because of the evil of their deeds; for they were very malignant, and the Amorites dwelt in their stead, wicked and sinful, and there is no people to-day which has wrought to the full all their sins, and they have no longer length of life on the earth.

12 And Jacob sent away Laban, and he departed into Mesopotamia, the land of the East, and Jacob returned to the land of Gilead.

13 And he passed over the Jabbok in the ninth month, on the eleventh thereof. And on that day Esau, his brother, came to him, and he was reconciled to him, and departed from him unto the land of Seir, but Jacob dwelt in tents.

14 And in the first year of the fifth week in this jubilee [2136 A.M.] he crossed the Jordan, and dwelt beyond the Jordan, and he pastured his sheep from the sea of the heap unto Bethshan, and unto Dothan and unto the forest of Akrabbim.

15 And he sent to his father Isaac of all his substance, clothing, and food, and meat, and drink, and milk, and butter, and cheese, and some dates of the valley.

16 And to his mother Rebecca also four times a year, between the times of the months, between ploughing and reaping, and between autumn and the rain (season) and between winter and spring, to the tower of Abraham.

17 For Isaac had returned from the Well of the Oath and gone up to the tower of his father Abraham, and he dwelt there apart from his son Esau.

18 For in the days when Jacob went to Mesopotamia, Esau took to himself a wife Mahalath, the daughter of Ishmael, and he gathered together all the flocks of his father and his wives, and went Up and dwelt on Mount Seir, and left Isaac his father at the Well of the Oath alone.

19 And Isaac went up from the Well of the Oath and dwelt in the tower of Abraham his father on the mountains of Hebron,

20 And thither Jacob sent all that he did send to his father and his mother from time to time, all they needed, and they blessed Jacob with all their heart and with all their soul.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 30

1 And in the first year of the sixth week [2143 A.M.] he went up to Salem, to the east of Shechem, in peace, in the fourth month.

2 And there they carried off Dinah, the daughter of Jacob, into the house of Shechem, the son of Hamor, the Hivite, the prince of the land, and he lay with her and defiled her, and she was a little girl, a child of twelve years.

3 And he besought his father and her brothers that she might be given to him to wife. And Jacob and his sons were wroth because of the men of Shechem; for they had defiled Dinah, their sister, and they spake to them with evil intent and dealt deceitfully with them and beguiled them.

4 And Simeon and Levi came unexpectedly to Shechem and executed judgement on all the men of Shechem, and slew all the men whom they found in it, and left not a single one remaining in it: they slew all in torments because they had dishonoured their sister Dinah.

5 And thus let it not again be done from henceforth that a daughter of Israel be defiled; for judgement is ordained in heaven against them that they should destroy with the sword all the men of the Shechemites because they had wrought shame in Israel.

6 And the Lord delivered them into the hands of the sons of Jacob that they might exterminate them with the sword and execute judgement upon them, and that it might not thus again be done in Israel that a virgin of Israel should be defiled.

7 And if there is any man who wishes in Israel to give his daughter or his sister to any man who is of the seed of the Gentiles he shall surely die, and they shall stone him with stones; for he hath wrought shame in Israel; and they shall burn the woman with fire, because she has dishonoured the name of the house of her father, and she shall be rooted out of Israel.

8 And let not an adulteress and no uncleanness be found in Israel throughout all the days of the generations of the earth; for Israel is holy unto the Lord, and every man who has defiled (it) shall surely die: they shall stone him with stones.

9 For thus has it been ordained and written in the heavenly tablets regarding all the seed of Israel: he who defileth (it) shall surely die, and he shall be stoned with stones.

10 And to this law there is no limit of days, and no remission, nor any atonement: but the man who has defiled his daughter shall be rooted out in the midst of all Israel, because he has given of his seed to Moloch, and wrought impiously so as to defile it.

11 And do thou, Moses, command the children of Israel and exhort them not to give their daughters to the Gentiles, and not to take for their sons any of the daughters of the Gentiles, for this is abominable before the Lord.

12 For this reason I have written for thee in the words of the Law all the deeds of the Shechemites, which they wrought against Dinah, and how the sons of Jacob spake, saying: 'We will not give our daughter to a man who is uncircumcised; for that were a reproach unto us.'

13 And it is a reproach to Israel, to those who live, and to those that take the daughters of the Gentiles; for this is unclean and abominable to Israel.

14 And Israel will not be free from this uncleanness if it has a wife of the daughters of the Gentiles, or has given any of its daughters to a man who is of any of the Gentiles.

15 For there will be plague upon plague, and curse upon curse, and every judgement and plague and curse will come upon him: if he do this thing, or hide his eyes from those who commit uncleanness, or those who defile the sanctuary of the Lord, or those who profane His holy name, (then) will the whole nation together be judged for all the uncleanness and profanation of this man.

16 And there will be no respect of persons [and no consideration of persons] and no receiving at his hands of fruits and offerings and burnt-offerings and fat, nor the fragrance of sweet savour, so as to accept it: and so fare every man or woman in Israel who defiles the sanctuary.

17 For this reason I have commanded thee, saying: 'Testify this testimony to Israel: see how the Shechemites fared and their sons: how they were delivered into the hands of two sons of Jacob, and they slew them under tortures, and it was (reckoned) unto them for righteousness, and it is written down to them for righteousness.

18 And the seed of Levi was chosen for the priesthood, and to be Levites, that they might minister before the Lord, as we, continually, and that Levi and his sons may be blessed for ever; for he was zealous to execute righteousness and judgement and vengeance on all those who arose against Israel.

19 And so they inscribe as a testimony in his favour on the heavenly tablets blessing and righteousness before the God of all:

20 And we remember the righteousness which the man fulfilled during his life, at all periods of the year; until a thousand generations they will record it, and it will come to him and to his descendants after him, and he has been recorded on the heavenly tablets as a friend and a righteous man.

21 All this account I have written for thee, and have commanded thee to say to the children of Israel, that they should not commit sin nor transgress the ordinances nor break the covenant which has been ordained for them, (but) that they should fulfil it and be recorded as friends.

22 But if they transgress and work uncleanness in every way, they will be recorded on the heavenly tablets as adversaries, and they will be destroyed out of the book of life, and they will be recorded in the book of those who will be destroyed and with those who will be rooted out of the earth.

23 And on the day when the sons of Jacob slew Shechem a writing was recorded in their favour in heaven that they had executed righteousness and uprightness and vengeance on the sinners, and it was written for a blessing.

24 And they brought Dinah, their sister, out of the house of Shechem, and they took captive everything that was in Shechem, their sheep and their oxen and their asses, and all their wealth, and all their flocks, and brought them all to Jacob their father.

25 And he reproached them because they had put the city to the sword for he feared those who dwelt in the land, the Canaanites and the Perizzites.

26 And the dread of the Lord was upon all the cities which are around about Shechem, and they did not rise to pursue after the sons of Jacob; for terror had fallen upon them.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 31

1 And on the new moon of the month Jacob spake to all the people of his house. saying: 'Purify yourselves and change your garments, and let us arise and go up to Bethel, where I vowed a vow to Him on the day when I fled from the face of Esau my brother, because he has been with me and brought me into this land in peace, and put ye away the strange gods that arc among you.'

2 And they gave up the strange gods and that which was in their ears and which was on their necks and the idols which Rachel stole from Laban her father she gave wholly to Jacob. And he burnt and brake them to pieces and destroyed them, and hid them under an oak which is in the land of Shechem.

3 And he went up on the new moon of the seventh month to Bethel. And he built an altar at the place where he had slept, and he set up a pillar there, and he sent word to his father Isaac to come to him to his sacrifice, and to his mother Rebecca.

4 And Isaac said: 'Let my son Jacob come, and let me see him before I die.'

5 And Jacob went to his father Isaac and to his mother Rebecca, to the house of his father Abraham, and he took two of his sons with him, Levi and Judah, and he came to his father Isaac and to his mother Rebecca.

6 And Rebecca came forth from the tower to the front of it to kiss Jacob and embrace him; for her spirit had revived when she heard: 'Behold Jacob thy son has come'; and she kissed him.

7 And she saw his two sons, and she recognised them, and said unto him: 'Are these thy sons, my son?' and she embraced them and kissed them, and blessed them, saying: 'In you shall the seed of Abraham become illustrious, and ye shall prove a blessing on the earth.'

8 And Jacob went in to Isaac his father, to the chamber where he lay, and his two sons were with him, and he took the hand of his father, and stooping down he kissed him, and Isaac clung to the neck of Jacob his son, and wept upon his neck.

9 And the darkness left the eyes of Isaac, and he saw the two sons of Jacob, Levi, and Judah, and he said: 'Are these thy sons, my son? for they are like thee.'

10 And he said unto him that they were truly his sons: 'And thou hast truly seen that they are truly my sons'.

11 And they came near to him, and he turned and kissed them and embraced them both together.

12 And the spirit of prophecy came down into his mouth, and he took Levi by his right hand and Judah by his left.

13 And he turned to Levi first, and began to bless him first, and said unto him: May the God of all, the very Lord of all the ages, bless thee and thy children throughout all the ages.

14 And may the Lord give to thee and to thy seed greatness and great glory, and cause thee and thy seed, from among all flesh, to approach Him to serve in His sanctuary as the angels of the presence and as the holy ones. (Even) as they, shall the seed of thy sons be for glory and greatness and holiness, and may He make them great unto all the ages.

15 And they shall be judges and princes, and chiefs of all the seed of the sons of Jacob; They shall speak the word of the Lord in righteousness, And they shall judge all His judgements in righteousness. And they shall declare My ways to Jacob And My paths to Israel. The blessing of the Lord shall be given in their mouths To bless all the seed of the beloved.

16 Thy mother has called thy name Levi, And justly has she called thy name; Thou shalt be joined to the Lord And be the companion of all the sons of Jacob; Let His table be thine, And do thou and thy sons eat thereof; And may thy table be full unto all generations, And thy food fail not unto all the ages.

17 And let all who hate thee fall down before thee, And let all thy adversaries be rooted out and perish; And blessed be he that blesses thee, And cursed be every nation that curses thee.'

18 And to Judah he said: 'May the Lord give thee strength and power To tread down all that hate thee; A prince shalt thou be, thou and one of thy sons, over the sons of Jacob; May thy name and the name of thy sons go forth and traverse every land and region. Then shall the Gentiles fear before thy face, And all the nations shall quake [And all the peoples shall quake].

19 In thee shall be the help of Jacob, And in thee be found the salvation of Israel.

20 And when thou sittest on the throne of honour of thy righteousness There shall be great peace for all the seed of the sons of the beloved; Blessed be he that blesseth thee, And all that hate thee and afflict thee and curse thee Shall be rooted out and destroyed from the earth and be accursed.'

21 And turning he kissed him again and embraced him, and rejoiced greatly; for he had seen the sons of Jacob his son in very truth.

22 And he went forth from between his feet and fell down and bowed down to him, and he blessed them and rested there with Isaac his father that night, and they eat and drank with joy.

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23 And he made the two sons of Jacob sleep, the one on his right hand and the other on his left, and it was counted to him for righteousness.

24 And Jacob told his father everything during the night, how the Lord had shown him great mercy, and how he had prospered (him in) all his ways, and protected him from all evil.

25 And Isaac blessed the God of his father Abraham, who had not withdrawn his mercy and his righteousness from the sons of his servant Isaac.

26 And in the morning Jacob told his father Isaac the vow which he had vowed to the Lord, and the vision which he had seen, and that he had built an altar, and that everything was ready for the sacrifice to be made before the Lord as he had vowed, and that he had come to set him on an ass.

27 And Isaac said unto Jacob his son: 'I am not able to go with thee; for I am old and not able to bear the way: go, my son, in peace; for I am one hundred and sixty-five years this day; I am no longer able to journey; set thy mother (on an ass) and let her go with thee.

28 And I know, my son, that thou hast come on my account, and may this day be blessed on which thou hast seen me alive, and I also have seen thee, my son.

29 Mayest thou prosper and fulfil the vow which thou hast vowed; and put not off thy vow; for thou shalt be called to account as touching the vow; now therefore make haste to perform it, and may He be pleased who has made all things, to whom thou hast vowed the vow.'

30 And he said to Rebecca: 'Go with Jacob thy son'; and Rebecca went with Jacob her son, and Deborah with her, and they came to Bethel.

31 And Jacob remembered the prayer with which his father had blessed him and his two sons, Levi and Judah, and he rejoiced and blessed the God of his fathers, Abraham and Isaac.

32 And he said: 'Now I know that I have an eternal hope, and my sons also, before the God of all'; and thus is it ordained concerning the two; and they record it as an eternal testimony unto them on the heavenly tablets how Isaac blessed them.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 32

1 And he abode that night at Bethel, and Levi dreamed that they had ordained and made him the priest of the Most High God, him and his sons for ever; and he awoke from his sleep and blessed the Lord.

2 And Jacob rose early in the morning, on the fourteenth of this month, and he gave a tithe of all that came with him, both of men and cattle, both of gold and every vessel and garment, yea, he gave tithes of all.

3 And in those days Rachel became pregnant with her son Benjamin. And Jacob counted his sons from him upwards and Levi fell to the portion of the Lord, and his father clothed him in the garments of the priesthood and filled his hands.

4 And on the fifteenth of this month, he brought to the altar fourteen oxen from amongst the cattle, and twenty-eight rams, and forty-nine sheep, and seven lambs, and twenty-one kids of the goats as a burnt-offering on the altar of sacrifice, well pleasing for a sweet savour before God.

5 This was his offering, in consequence of the vow which he had vowed that he would give a tenth, with their fruit-offerings and their drink- offerings.

6 And when the fire had consumed it, he burnt incense on the fire over the fire, and for a thank-offering two oxen and four rams and four sheep, four he-goats, and two sheep of a year old, and two kids of the goats; and thus he did daily for seven days.

7 And he and all his sons and his men were eating (this) with joy there during seven days and blessing and thanking the Lord, who had delivered him out of all his tribulation and had given him his vow.

8 And he tithed all the clean animals, and made a burnt sacrifice, but the unclean animals he gave (not) to Levi his son, and he gave him all the souls of the men.

9 And Levi discharged the priestly office at Bethel before Jacob his father in preference to his ten brothers, and he was a priest there, and Jacob gave his vow: thus he tithed again the tithe to the Lord and sanctified it, and it became holy unto Him.

10 And for this reason it is ordained on the heavenly tablets as a law for the tithing again the tithe to eat before the Lord from year to year, in the place where it is chosen that His name should dwell, and to this law there is no limit of days for ever.

11 This ordinance is written that it may be fulfilled from year to year in eating the second tithe before the Lord in the place where it has been chosen, and nothing shall remain over from it from this year to the year following.

12 For in its year shall the seed be eaten till the days of the gathering of the seed of the year, and the wine till the days of the wine, and the oil till the days of its season.

13 And all that is left thereof and becomes old, let it be regarded as polluted: let it be burnt with fire, for it is unclean.

14 And thus let them eat it together in the sanctuary, and let them not suffer it to become old.

15 And all the tithes of the oxen and sheep shall be holy unto the Lord, and shall belong to his priests, which they will eat before Him from year to year; for thus is it ordained and engraven regarding the tithe on the heavenly tablets.

16 And on the following night, on the twenty-second day of this month, Jacob resolved to build that place, and to surround the court with a wall, and to sanctify it and make it holy for ever, for himself and his children after him.

17 And the Lord appeared to him by night and blessed him and said unto him: 'Thy name shall not be called Jacob, but Israel shall they name thy name.'

18 And He said unto him again: 'I am the Lord who created the heaven and the earth, and I will increase thee and multiply thee exceedingly, and kings shall come forth from thee, and they shall judge everywhere wherever the foot of the sons of men has trodden.

19 And I will give to thy seed all the earth which is under heaven, and they shall judge all the nations according to their desires, and after that they shall get possession of the whole earth and inherit it for ever.'

20 And He finished speaking with him, and He went up from him. and Jacob looked till He had ascended into heaven.

21 And he saw in a vision of the night, and behold an angel descended from heaven with seven tablets in his hands, and he gave them to Jacob, and he read them and knew all that was written therein which would befall him and his sons throughout all the ages.

22 And he showed him all that was written on the tablets, and said unto him: 'Do not build this place, and do not make it an eternal sanctuary, and do not dwell here; for this is not the place. Go to the house of Abraham thy father and dwell with Isaac thy father until the day of the death of thy father.

23 For in Egypt thou shalt die in peace, and in this land thou shalt be buried with honour in the sepulchre of thy fathers, with Abraham and Isaac.

24 Fear not, for as thou hast seen and read it, thus shall it all be; and do thou write down everything as thou hast seen and read.'

25 And Jacob said: 'Lord, how can I remember all that I have read and seen? 'And he said unto him: 'I will bring all things to thy remembrance.'

26 And he went up from him, and he awoke from his sleep, and he remembered everything which he had read and seen, and he wrote down all the words which he had read and seen.

27 And he celebrated there yet another day, and he sacrificed thereon according to all that he sacrificed on the former days, and called its name 'Addition,' for this day was added and the former days he called 'The Feast '.

28 And thus it was manifested that it should be, and it is written on the heavenly tablets: wherefore it was revealed to him that he should celebrate it, and add it to the seven days of the feast.

29 And its name was called 'Addition,' because that it was recorded amongst the days of the feast days, according to the number of the days of the year.

30 And in the night, on the twenty-third of this month, Deborah Rebecca's nurse died, and they buried her beneath the city under the oak of the river, and he called the name of this place, 'The river of Deborah,' and the oak, 'The oak of the mourning of Deborah.'

31 And Rebecca went and returned to her house to his father Isaac, and Jacob sent by her hand rams and sheep and he-goats that she should prepare a meal for his father such as he desired.

32 And he went after his mother till he came to the land of Kabratan, and he dwelt there.

33 And Rachel bare a son in the night, and called his name 'Son of my sorrow '; for she suffered in giving him birth: but his father called his name Benjamin, on the eleventh of the eighth month in the first of the sixth week of this jubilee. [2143 A.M.]

34 And Rachel died there and she was buried in the land of Ephrath, the same is Bethlehem, and Jacob built a pillar on the grave of Rachel, on the road above her grave.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 33

1 And Jacob went and dwelt to the south of Magdaladra'ef. And he went to his father Isaac, he and Leah his wife, on the new moon of the tenth month.

2 And Reuben saw Bilhah, Rachel's maid, the concubine of his father, bathing in water in a secret place, and he loved her.

3 And he hid himself at night, and he entered the house of Bilhah [at night], and he found her sleeping alone on a bed in her house.

4 And he lay with her, and she awoke and saw, and behold Reuben was lying with her in the bed, and she uncovered the border of her covering and seized him, and cried out, and discovered that it was Reuben.

5 And she was ashamed because of him, and released her hand from him, and he fled.

6 And she lamented because of this thing exceedingly, and did not tell it to any one.

7 And when Jacob returned and sought her, she said unto him: 'I am not clean for thee, for I have been defiled as regards thee; for Reuben has defiled me, and has lain with me in the night, and I was asleep, and did not discover until he uncovered my skirt and slept with me.'

8 And Jacob was exceedingly wroth with Reuben because he had lain with Bilhah, because he had uncovered his father's skirt.

9 And Jacob did not approach her again because Reuben had defiled her. And as for any man who uncovers his father's skirt his deed is wicked exceedingly, for he is abominable before the Lord.

10 For this reason it is written and ordained on the heavenly tablets that a man should not lie with his father's wife, and should not uncover his father's skirt, for this is unclean: they shall surely die together, the man who lies with his father's wife and the woman also, for they have wrought uncleanness on the earth.

11 And there shall be nothing unclean before our God in the nation which He has chosen for Himself as a possession.

12 And again, it is written a second time: 'Cursed be he who lieth with the wife of his father, for he hath uncovered his father's shame'; and all the holy ones of the Lord said 'So be it; so be it.'

13 And do thou, Moses, command the children of Israel that they observe this word; for it (entails) a punishment of death; and it is unclean, and there is no atonement for ever to atone for the man who has committed this, but he is to be put to death and slain, and stoned with stones, and rooted out from the midst of the people of our God.

14 For to no man who does so in Israel is it permitted to remain alive a single day on the earth, for he is abominable and unclean.

15 And let them not say: to Reuben was granted life and forgiveness after he had lain with his father's concubine, and to her also though she had a husband, and her husband Jacob, his father, was still alive.

16 For until that time there had not been revealed the ordinance and judgement and law in its completeness for all, but in thy days (it has been revealed) as a law of seasons and of days, and an everlasting law for the everlasting generations.

17 And for this law there is no consummation of days, and no atonement for it, but they must both be rooted out in the midst of the nation: on the day whereon they committed it they shall slay them.

18 And do thou, Moses, write (it) down for Israel that they may observe it, and do according to these words, and not commit a sin unto death; for the Lord our God is judge, who respects not persons and accepts not gifts.

19 And tell them these words of the covenant, that they may hear and observe, and be on their guard with respect to them, and not be destroyed and rooted out of the land; for an uncleanness, and an abomination, and a contamination, and a pollution are all they who commit it on the earth before our God.

20 And there is no greater sin than the fornication which they commit on earth; for Israel is a holy nation unto the Lord its God, and a nation of inheritance, and a priestly and royal nation and for (His own) possession; and there shall no such uncleanness appear in the midst of the holy nation.

21 And in the third year of this sixth week [2145 A.M.] Jacob and all his sons went and dwelt in the house of Abraham, near Isaac his father and Rebecca his mother.

22 And these were the names of the sons of Jacob: the first-born Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulon, the sons of Leah; and the sons of Rachel, Joseph and Benjamin; and the sons of Bilhah, Dan and Naphtali; and the sons of Zilpah, Gad and Asher; and Dinah, the daughter of Leah, the only daughter of Jacob.

23 And they came and bowed themselves to Isaac and Rebecca, and when they saw them they blessed Jacob and all his sons, and Isaac rejoiced exceedingly, for he saw the sons of Jacob, his younger son and he blessed them.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 34

1 And in the sixth year of this week of this forty-fourth jubilee [2148 A.M.] Jacob sent his sons to pasture their sheep, and his servants with them to the pastures of Shechem.

2 And the seven kings of the Amorites assembled themselves together against them, to slay them, hiding themselves under the trees, and to take their cattle as a prey.

3 And Jacob and Levi and Judah and Joseph were in the house with Isaac their father; for his spirit was sorrowful, and they could not leave him: and Benjamin was the youngest, and for this reason remained with his father.

4 And there came the king[s] of Taphu and the king[s] of 'Aresa, and the king[s] of Seragan, and the king[s] of Selo, and the king[s] of Ga'as, and the king of Bethoron, and the king of Ma'anisakir, and all those who dwell in these mountains (and) who dwell in the woods in the land of Canaan.

5 And they announced this to Jacob saying: 'Behold, the kings of the Amorites have surrounded thy sons, and plundered their herds.'

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6 And he arose from his house, he and his three sons and all the servants of his father, and his own servants, and he went against them with six thousand men, who carried swords.

7 And he slew them in the pastures of Shechem, and pursued those who fled, and he slew them with the edge of the sword, and he slew 'Aresa and Taphu and Saregan and Selo and 'Amani- sakir and Ga[ga]'as, and he recovered his herds.

8 And he prevailed over them, and imposed tribute on them that they should pay him tribute, five fruit products of their land, and he built Robel and Tamnatares.

9 And he returned in peace, and made peace with them, and they became his servants, until the day that he and his sons went down into Egypt.

10 And in the seventh year of this week [2149 A.M.] he sent Joseph to learn about the welfare of his brothers from his house to the land of Shechem, and he found them in the land of Dothan.

11 And they dealt treacherously with him, and formed a plot against him to slay him, but changing their minds, they sold him to Ishmaelite merchants, and they brought him down into Egypt, and they sold him to Potiphar, the eunuch of Pharaoh, the chief of the cooks, priest of the city of 'Elew.

12 And the sons of Jacob slaughtered a kid, and dipped the coat of Joseph in the blood, and sent (it) to Jacob their father on the tenth of the seventh month.

13 And he mourned all that night, for they had brought it to him in the evening, and he became feverish with mourning for his death, and he said: 'An evil beast hath devoured Joseph'; and all the members of his house [mourned with him that day, and they] were grieving and mourning with him all that day.

14 And his sons and his daughter rose up to comfort him, but he refused to be comforted for his son.

15 And on that day Bilhah heard that Joseph had perished, and she died mourning him, and she was living in Qafratef, and Dinah also, his daughter, died after Joseph had perished.

16 And there came these three mournings upon Israel in one month. And they buried Bilhah over against the tomb of Rachel, and Dinah also. his daughter, they buried there.

17 And he mourned for Joseph one year, and did not cease, for he said 'Let me go down to the grave mourning for my son'.

18 For this reason it is ordained for the children of Israel that they should afflict themselves on the tenth of the seventh month -on the day that the news which made him weep for Joseph came to Jacob his father- that they should make atonement for themselves thereon with a young goat on the tenth of the seventh month, once a year, for their sins; for they had grieved the affection of their father regarding Joseph his son.

19 And this day has been ordained that they should grieve thereon for their sins, and for all their transgressions and for all their errors, so that they might cleanse themselves on that day once a year.

20 And after Joseph perished, the sons of Jacob took unto themselves wives. The name of Reuben's wife is 'Ada; and the name of Simeon's wife is 'Adlba'a, a Canaanite; and the name of Levi's wife is Melka, of the daughters of Aram, of the seed of the sons of Terah; and the name of Judah's wife, Betasu'el, a Canaanite; and the name of Issachar's wife, Hezaqa: and the name of Zabulon's wife, Ni'iman; and the name of Dan's wife, 'Egla; and the name of Naphtali's wife, Rasu'u, of Mesopotamia; and the name of Gad's wife, Maka; and the name of Asher's wife, 'Ijona; and the name of Joseph's wife, Asenath, the Egyptian; and the name of Benjamin's wife, 'Ijasaka.

21 And Simeon repented, and took a second wife from Mesopotamia as his brothers.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 35

1 And in the first year of the first week of the forty-fifth jubilee [2157 A.M.] Rebecca called Jacob, her son, and commanded him regarding his father and regarding his brother, that he should honour them all the days of his life.

2 And Jacob said: 'I will do everything as thou hast commanded me; for this thing will be honour and greatness to me, and righteousness before the Lord, that I should honour them.

3 And thou too, mother, knowest from the time I was born until this day, all my deeds and all that is in my heart, that I always think good concerning all.

4 And how should I not do this thing which thou hast commanded me, that I should honour my father and my brother!

5 Tell me, mother, what perversity hast thou seen in me and I shall turn away from it, and mercy will be upon me.'

6 And she said unto him: 'My son, I have not seen in thee all my days any perverse but (only) upright deeds. And yet I will tell thee the truth, my son: I shall die this year, and I shall not survive this year in my life; for I have seen in a dream the day of my death, that I should not live beyond a hundred and fifty-five years: and behold I have completed all the days of my life which I am to live.'

7 And Jacob laughed at the words of his mother. because his mother had said unto him that she should die; and she was sitting opposite to him in possession of her strength, and she was not infirm in her strength; for she went in and out and saw, and her teeth were strong, and no ailment had touched her all the days of her life.

8 And Jacob said unto her: 'Blessed am I, mother, if my days approach the days of thy life, and my strength remain with me thus as thy strength: and thou wilt not die, for thou art jesting idly with me regarding thy death.'

9 And she went in to Isaac and said unto him: 'One petition I make unto thee: make Esau swear that he will not injure Jacob, nor pursue him with enmity; for thou knowest Esau's thoughts that they are perverse from his youth, and there is no goodness in him; for he desires after thy death to kill him.

10 And thou knowest all that he has done since the day Jacob his brother went to Haran until this day: how he has forsaken us with his whole heart, and has done evil to us; thy flocks he has taken to himself, and carried off all thy possessions from before thy face.

11 And when we implored and besought him for what was our own, he did as a man who was taking pity on us.

12 And he is bitter against thee because thou didst bless Jacob thy perfect and upright son; for there is no evil but only goodness in him, and since he came from Haran unto this day he has not robbed us of aught, for he brings us everything in its season always, and rejoices with all his heart when we take at his hands and he blesses us, and has not parted from us since he came from Haran until this day, and he remains with us continually at home honouring us.'

13 And Isaac said unto her: 'I, too, know and see the deeds of Jacob who is with us, how that with all his heart he honours us; but I loved Esau formerly more than Jacob, because he was the firstborn; but now I love Jacob more than Esau, for he has done manifold evil deeds, and there is no righteousness in him, for all his ways are unrighteousness and violence, [and there is no righteousness around him.]

14 And now my heart is troubled because of all his deeds, and neither he nor his seed is to be saved, for they are those who will be destroyed from the earth and who will be rooted out from under heaven, for he has forsaken the God of Abraham and gone after his wives and after their uncleanness and after their error, he and his children.

15 And thou dost bid me make him swear that he will not slay Jacob his brother; even if he swear he will not abide by his oath, and he will not do good but evil only.

16 But if he desires to slay Jacob, his brother, into Jacob's hands will he be given, and he will not escape from his hands, [for he will descend into his hands.]

17 And fear thou not on account of Jacob; for the guardian of Jacob is great and powerful and honoured, and praised more than the guardian of Esau.'

18 And Rebecca sent and called Esau and he came to her, and she said unto him: 'I have a petition, my son, to make unto thee, and do thou promise to do it, my son.'

19 And he said: 'I will do everything that thou sayest unto me, and I will not refuse thy petition.'

20 And she said unto him: 'I ask you that the day I die, thou wilt take me in and bury me near Sarah, thy father's mother, and that thou and Jacob will love each other and that neither will desire evil against the other, but mutual love only, and (so) ye will prosper, my sons, and be honoured in the midst of the land, and no enemy will rejoice over you, and ye will be a blessing and a mercy in the eyes of all those that love you.'

21 And he said: 'I will do all that thou hast told me, and I shall bury thee on the day thou diest near Sarah, my father's mother, as thou hast desired that her bones may be near thy bones.

22 And Jacob, my brother, also, I shall love above all flesh; for I have not a brother in all the earth but him only: and this is no great merit for me if I love him; for he is my brother, and we were sown together in thy body, and together came we forth from thy womb, and if I do not love my brother, whom shall I love?

23 And I, myself, beg thee to exhort Jacob concerning me and concerning my sons, for I know that he will assuredly be king over me and my sons, for on the day my father blessed him he made him the higher and me the lower.

24 And I swear unto thee that I shall love him, and not desire evil against him all the days of my life but good only.'

25 And he sware unto her regarding all this matter. And she called Jacob before the eyes of Esau, and gave him commandment according to the words which she had spoken to Esau.

26 And he said: 'I shall do thy pleasure; believe me that no evil will proceed from me or from my sons against Esau, and I shall be first in naught save in love only.'

27 And they eat and drank, she and her sons that night, and she died, three jubilees and one week and one year old, on that night, and her two sons, Esau and Jacob, buried her in the double cave near Sarah, their father's mother.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 36

1 And in the sixth year of this week [2162 A.M.] Isaac called his two sons Esau and Jacob, and they came to him, and he said unto them: 'My sons, I am going the way of my fathers, to the eternal house where my fathers are.

2 Wherefore bury me near Abraham my father, in the double cave in the field of Ephron the Hittite, where Abraham purchased a sepulchre to bury in; in the sepulchre which I digged for myself, there bury me.

3 And this I command you, my sons, that ye practise righteousness and uprightness on the earth, so that the Lord may bring upon you all that the Lord said that he would do to Abraham and to his seed.

4 And love one another, my sons, your brothers as a man who loves his own soul, and let each seek in what he may benefit his brother, and act together on the earth; and let them love each other as their own souls.

5 And concerning the question of idols, I command and admonish you to reject them and hate them, and love them not, for they are full of deception for those that worship them and for those that bow down to them.

6 Remember ye, my sons, the Lord God of Abraham your father, and how I too worshipped Him and served Him in righteousness and in joy, that He might multiply you and increase your seed as the stars of heaven in multitude, and establish you on the earth as the plant of righteousness which will not be rooted out unto all the generations for ever.

7 And now I shall make you swear a great oath -for there is no oath which is greater than it by the name glorious and honoured and great and splendid and wonderful and mighty, which created the heavens and the earth and all things together- that ye will fear Him and worship Him.

8 And that each will love his brother with affection and righteousness, and that neither will desire evil against his brother from henceforth for ever all the days of your life so that ye may prosper in all your deeds and not be destroyed.

9 And if either of you devises evil against his brother, know that from henceforth everyone that devises evil against his brother shall fall into his hand, and shall be rooted out of the land of the living, and his seed shall be destroyed from under heaven.

10 But on the day of turbulence and execration and indignation and anger, with flaming devouring fire as He burnt Sodom, so likewise will He burn his land and his city and all that is his, and he shall be blotted out of the book of the discipline of the children of men, and not be recorded in the book of life, but in that which is appointed to destruction, and he shall depart into eternal execration; so that their condemnation may be always renewed in hate and in execration and in wrath and in torment and in indignation and in plagues and in disease for ever.

11 I say and testify to you, my sons, according to the judgement which shall come upon the man who wishes to injure his brother.

12 And he divided all his possessions between the two on that day and he gave the larger portion to him that was the first-born, and the tower and all that was about it, and all that Abraham possessed at the Well of the Oath.

13 And he said: 'This larger portion I will give to the firstborn.'

14 And Esau said, 'I have sold to Jacob and given my birthright to Jacob; to him let it be given, and I have not a single word to say regarding it, for it is his.'

15 And Isaac said, May a blessing rest upon you, my sons, and upon your seed this day, for ye have given me rest, and my heart is not pained concerning the birthright, lest thou shouldest work wickedness on account of it.

16 May the Most High God bless the man that worketh righteousness, him and his seed for ever.'

17 And he ended commanding them and blessing them, and they eat and drank together before him, and he rejoiced because there was one mind between them, and they went forth from him and rested that day and slept.

18 And Isaac slept on his bed that day rejoicing; and he slept the eternal sleep, and died one hundred and eighty years old. He completed twenty-five weeks and five years; and his two sons Esau and Jacob buried him.

19 And Esau went to the land of Edom, to the mountains of Seir, and dwelt there.

20 And Jacob dwelt in the mountains of Hebron, in the tower of the land of the sojournings of his father Abraham, and he worshipped the Lord with all his heart and according to the visible commands according as He had divided the days of his generations.

21 And Leah his wife died in the fourth year of the second week of the forty-fifth jubilee, [2167 A.M.] and he buried her in the double cave near Rebecca his mother to the left of the grave of Sarah, his father's mother

22 and all her sons and his sons came to mourn over Leah his wife with him and to comfort him regarding her, for he was lamenting her for he loved her exceedingly after Rachel her sister died;

23 for she was perfect and upright in all her ways and honoured Jacob,and all the days that she lived with him he did not hear from her mouth a harsh word, for she was gentle and peaceable and upright and honourable.

24 And he remembered all her deeds which she had done during her life and he lamented her exceedingly; for he loved her with all his heart and with all his soul.

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JUBILEES CHAPTER 37

1 And on the day that Isaac the father of Jacob and Esau died, [2162 A.M.] the sons of Esau heard that Isaac had given the portion of the elder to his younger son Jacob and they were very angry.

2 And they strove with their father, saying 'Why has thy father given Jacob the portion of the elder and passed over thee, although thou art the elder and Jacob the younger?'

3 And he said unto them 'Because I sold my birthright to Jacob for a small mess of lentils, and on the day my father sent me to hunt and catch and bring him something that he should eat and bless me, he came with guile and brought my father food and drink, and my father blessed him and put me under his hand.

4 And now our father has caused us to swear, me and him, that we shall not mutually devise evil, either against his brother, and that we shall continue in love and in peace each with his brother and not make our ways corrupt.'

5 And they said unto him, 'We shall not hearken unto thee to make peace with him; for our strength is greater than his strength, and we are more powerful than he; we shall go against him and slay him, and destroy him and his sons. And if thou wilt not go with us, we shall do hurt to thee also.

6 And now hearken unto us: Let us send to Aram and Philistia and Moab and Ammon, and let us choose for ourselves chosen men who are ardent for battle, and let us go against him and do battle with him, and let us exterminate him from the earth before he grows strong.'

7 And their father said unto them, 'Do not go and do not make war with him lest ye fall before him.'

8 And they said unto him, 'This too, is exactly thy mode of action from thy youth until this day, and thou art putting thy neck under his yoke.

9 We shall not hearken to these words.' And they sent to Aram, and to 'Aduram to the friend of their father, and they hired along with them one thousand fighting men, chosen men of war.

10 And there came to them from Moab and from the children of Ammon, those who were hired, one thousand chosen men, and from Philistia, one thousand chosen men of war, and from Edom and from the Horites one thousand chosen fighting men, and from the Kittim mighty men of war.

11 And they said unto their father: Go forth with them and lead them, else we shall slay thee.'

12 And he was filled with wrath and indignation on seeing that his sons were forcing him to go before (them) to lead them against Jacob his brother.

13 But afterward he remembered all the evil which lay hidden in his heart against Jacob his brother; and he remembered not the oath which he had sworn to his father and to his mother that he would devise no evil all his days against Jacob his brother.

14 And notwithstanding all this, Jacob knew not that they were coming against him to battle, and he was mourning for Leah, his wife, until they approached very near to the tower with four thousand warriors and chosen men of war.

15 And the men of Hebron sent to him saying, 'Behold thy brother has come against thee, to fight thee, with four thousand girt with the sword, and they carry shields and weapons'; for they loved Jacob more than Esau. So they told him; for Jacob was a more liberal and merciful man than Esau.

16 But Jacob would not believe until they came very near to the tower.

17 And he closed the gates of the tower; and he stood on the battlements and spake to his brother Esau and said, 'Noble is the comfort wherewith thou hast come to comfort me for my wife who has died. Is this the oath that thou didst swear to thy father and again to thy mother before they died? Thou hast broken the oath, and on the moment that thou didst swear to thy father wast thou condemned.'

18 And then Esau answered and said unto him, 'Neither the children of men nor the beasts of the earth have any oath of righteousness which in swearing they have sworn (an oath valid) for ever; but every day they devise evil one against another, and how each may slay his adversary and foe.

19 And thou dost hate me and my children for ever. And there is no observing the tie of brotherhood with thee.

20 Hear these words which I declare unto thee, If the boar can change its skin and make its bristles as soft as wool, Or if it can cause horns to sprout forth on its head like the horns of a stag or of a sheep, Then will I observe the tie of brotherhood with thee And if the breasts separated themselves from their mother, for thou hast not been a brother to me.

21 And if the wolves make peace with the lambs so as not to devour or do them violence, And if their hearts are towards them for good, Then there shall be peace in my heart towards thee

22 And if the lion becomes the friend of the ox and makes peace with him And if he is bound under one yoke with him and ploughs with him, Then will I make peace with thee.

23 And when the raven becomes white as the raza, Then know that I have loved thee And shall make peace with thee Thou shalt be rooted out, And thy sons shall be rooted out, And there shall be no peace for thee'

24 And when Jacob saw that he was (so) evilly disposed towards him with his heart, and with all his soul as to slay him, and that he had come springing like the wild boar which comes upon the spear that pierces and kills it, and recoils not from it;

25 then he spake to his own and to his servants that they should attack him and all his companions.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 38

1 And after that Judah spake to Jacob, his father, and said unto him: 'Bend thy bow, father, and send forth thy arrows and cast down the adversary and slay the enemy; and mayst thou have the power, for we shall not slay thy brother, for he is such as thou, and he is like thee let us give him (this) honour.'

2 Then Jacob bent his bow and sent forth the arrow and struck Esau, his brother (on his right breast) and slew him.

3 And again he sent forth an arrow and struck 'Adoran the Aramaean, on the left breast, and drove him backward and slew him.

4 And then went forth the sons of Jacob, they and their servants, dividing themselves into companies on the four sides of the tower.

5 And Judah went forth in front, and Naphtali and Gad with him and fifty servants with him on the south side of the tower, and they slew all they found before them, and not one individual of them escaped.

6 And Levi and Dan and Asher went forth on the east side of the tower, and fifty (men) with them, and they slew the fighting men of Moab and Ammon.

7 And Reuben and Issachar and Zebulon went forth on the north side of the tower, and fifty men with them, and they slew the fighting men of the Philistines.

8 And Simeon and Benjamin and Enoch, Reuben's son, went forth on the west side of the tower, and fifty (men) with them, and they slew of Edom and of the Horites four hundred men, stout warriors; and six hundred fled, and four of the sons of Esau fled with them, and left their father lying slain, as he had fallen on the hill which is in 'Aduram.

9 And the sons of Jacob pursued after them to the mountains of Seir. And Jacob buried his brother on the hill which is in 'Aduram, and he returned to his house.

10 And the sons of Jacob pressed hard upon the sons of Esau in the mountains of Seir, and bowed their necks so that they became servants of the sons of Jacob.

11 And they sent to their father (to inquire) whether they should make peace with them or slay them.

12 And Jacob sent word to his sons that they should make peace, and they made peace with them, and placed the yoke of servitude upon them, so that they paid tribute to Jacob and to his sons always.

13 And they continued to pay tribute to Jacob until the day that he went down into Egypt.

14 And the sons of Edom have not got quit of the yoke of servitude which the twelve sons of Jacob had imposed on them until this day.

15 And these are the kings that reigned in Edom before there reigned any king over the children of Israel [until this day] in the land of Edom.

16 And Balaq, the son of Beor, reigned in Edom, and the name of his city was Danaba.

17 And Balaq died, and Jobab, the son of Zara of Boser, reigned in his stead.

18 And Jobab died, and 'Asam, of the land of Teman, reigned in his stead.

19 And 'Asam died, and 'Adath, the son of Barad, who slew Midian in the field of Moab, reigned in his stead, and the name of his city was Avith.

20 And 'Adath died, and Salman, from 'Amaseqa, reigned in his stead.

21 And Salman died,and Saul of Ra'aboth (by the) river, reigned in his stead.

22 And Saul died, and Ba'elunan, the son of Achbor, reigned in his stead.

23 And Ba'elunan, the son of Achbor died, and 'Adath reigned in his stead, and the name of his wife was Maitabith, the daughter of Matarat, the daughter of Metabedza'ab.

24 These are the kings who reigned in the land of Edom.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 39

1 And Jacob dwelt in the land of his father's sojournings in the land of Canaan. These are the generations of Jacob.

2 And Joseph was seventeen years old when they took him down into the land of Egypt, and Potiphar, an eunuch of Pharaoh, the chief cook bought him.

3 And he set Joseph over all his house and the blessing of the Lord came upon the house of the Egyptian on account of Joseph, and the Lord prospered him in all that he did.

4 And the Egyptian committed everything into the hands of Joseph; for he saw that the Lord was with him, and that the Lord prospered him in all that he did.

5 And Joseph's appearance was comely [and very beautiful was his appearance], and his master's wife lifted up her eyes and saw Joseph, and she loved him and besought him to lie with her.

6 But he did not surrender his soul, and he remembered the Lord and the words which Jacob, his father, used to read from amongst the words of Abraham, that no man should commit fornication with a woman who has a husband; that for him the punishment of death has been ordained in the heavens before the Most High God, and the sin will be recorded against him in the eternal books continually before the Lord.

7 And Joseph remembered these words and refused to lie with her.

8 And she besought him for a year, but he refused and would not listen.

9 But she embraced him and held him fast in the house in order to force him to lie with her, and closed the doors of the house and held him fast; but he left his garment in her hands and broke through the door and fled without from her presence.

10 And the woman saw that he would not lie with her, and she calumniated him in the presence of his lord, saying 'Thy Hebrew servant, whom thou lovest, sought to force me so that he might lie with me; and it came to pass when I lifted up my voice that he fled and left his garment in my hands when I held him, and he brake through the door.'

11 And the Egyptian saw the garment of Joseph and the broken door, and heard the words of his wife, and cast Joseph into prison into the place where the prisoners were kept whom the king imprisoned.

12 And he was there in the prison; and the Lord gave Joseph favour in the sight of the chief of the prison guards and compassion before him, for he saw that the Lord was with him, and that the Lord made all that he did to prosper.

13 And he committed all things into his hands, and the chief of the prison guards knew of nothing that was with him, for Joseph did every thing, and the Lord perfected it.

14 And he remained there two years. And in those days Pharaoh, king of Egypt was wroth against his two eunuchs, against the chief butler, and against the chief baker, and he put them in ward in the house of the chief cook, in the prison where Joseph was kept.

15 And the chief of the prison guards appointed Joseph to serve them; and he served before them.

16 And they both dreamed a dream, the chief butler and the chief baker, and they told it to Joseph.

17 And as he interpreted to them so it befell them, and Pharaoh restored the chief butler to his office and the (chief) baker he slew, as Joseph had interpreted to them.

18 But the chief butler forgot Joseph in the prison, although he had informed him what would befall him, and did not remember to inform Pharaoh how Joseph had told him, for he forgot.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 40

1 And in those days Pharaoh dreamed two dreams in one night concerning a famine which was to be in all the land, and he awoke from his sleep and called all the interpreters of dreams that were in Egypt, and magicians, and told them his two dreams, and they were not able to declare (them).

2 And then the chief butler remembered Joseph and spake of him to the king, and he brought him forth from the prison, and he to]d his two dreams before him.

3 And he said before Pharaoh that his two dreams were one, and he said unto him: 'Seven years shall come (in which there shall be) plenty over all the land of Egypt, and after that seven years of famine, such a famine as has not been in all the land.

4 And now let Pharaoh appoint overseers in all the land of Egypt, and let them store up food in every city throughout the days of the years of plenty, and there will be food for the seven years of famine, and the land will not perish through the famine, for it will be very severe.'

5 And the Lord gave Joseph favour and mercy in the eyes of Pharaoh, and Pharaoh said unto his servants. We shall not find such a wise and discreet man as this man, for the spirit of the Lord is with him.'

6 And he appointed him the second in all his kingdom and gave him authority over all Egypt, and caused him to ride in the second chariot of Pharaoh.

7 And he clothed him with byssus garments, and he put a gold chain upon his neck, and (a herald) proclaimed before him ' 'El 'El wa 'Abirer,' and placed a ring on his hand and made him ruler over all his house, and magnified him, and said unto him. 'Only on the throne shall I be greater than thou.'

8 And Joseph ruled over all the land of Egypt, and all the princes of Pharaoh, and all his servants, and all who did the king's business loved him, for he walked in uprightness, for he was without pride and arrogance, and he had no respect of persons, and did not accept gifts, but he judged in uprightness all the people of the land.

9 And the land of Egypt was at peace before Pharaoh because of Joseph, for the Lord was with him, and gave him favour and mercy for all his generations before all those who knew him and those who heard concerning him, and

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Pharaoh's kingdom was well ordered, and there was no Satan and no evil person (therein).

10 And the king called Joseph's name Sephantiphans, and gave Joseph to wife the daughter of Potiphar, the daughter of the priest of Heliopolis, the chief cook.

11 And on the day that Joseph stood before Pharaoh he was thirty years old [when he stood before Pharaoh].

12 And in that year Isaac died. And it came to pass as Joseph had said in the interpretation of his two dreams, according as he had said it, there were seven years of plenty over all the land of Egypt, and the land of Egypt abundantly produced, one measure (producing) eighteen hundred measures.

13 And Joseph gathered food into every city until they were full of corn until they could no longer count and measure it for its multitude.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 41

1 And in the forty-fifth jubilee, in the second week, (and) in the second year, [2165 A.M.] Judah took for his first-born Er, a wife from the daughters of Aram, named Tamar.

2 But he hated, and did not lie with her, because his mother was of the daughters of Canaan, and he wished to take him a wife of the kinsfolk of his mother, but Judah, his father, would not permit him.

3 And this Er, the first-born of Judah, was wicked, and the Lord slew him.

4 And Judah said unto Onan, his brother 'Go in unto thy brother's wife and perform the duty of a husband's brother unto her, and raise up seed unto thy brother.'

5 And Onan knew that the seed would not be his, (but) his brother's only, and he went into the house of his brother's wife, and spilt the seed on the ground, and he was wicked in the eyes of the Lord, and He slew him.

6 And Judah said unto Tamar, his daughter-in-law: 'Remain in thy father's house as a widow till Shelah my son be grown up, and I shall give thee to him to wife.'

7 And he grew up; but Bedsu'el, the wife of Judah, did not permit her son Shelah to marry. And Bedsu'el, the wife of Judah, died [2168 A.M.] in the fifth year of this week.

8 And in the sixth year Judah went up to shear his sheep at Timnah. [2169 A.M.] And they told Tamar: 'Behold thy father-in-law goeth up to Timnah to shear his sheep.'

9 And she put off her widow's clothes, and put on a veil, and adorned herself, and sat in the gate adjoining the way to Timnah.

10 And as Judah was going along he found her, and thought her to be an harlot, and he said unto her: 'Let me come in unto thee'; and she said unto him Come in,' and he went in.

11 And she said unto him: 'Give me my hire'; and he said unto her: 'I have nothing in my hand save my ring that is on my finger, and my necklace, and my staff which is in my hand.'

12 And she said unto him 'Give them to me until thou dost send me my hire', and he said unto her: 'I will send unto thee a kid of the goats'; and he gave them to her, and he went in unto her, and she conceived by him.

13 And Judah went unto his sheep, and she went to her father's house.

14 And Judah sent a kid of the goats by the hand of his shepherd, an Adullamite, and he found her not; and he asked the people of the place, saying: 'Where is the harlot who was here?' And they said unto him; 'There is no harlot here with us.'

15 And he returned and informed him, and said unto him that he had not found her: 'I asked the people of the place, and they said unto me: "There is no harlot here." '

16 And he said: 'Let her keep (them) lest we become a cause of derision.' And when she had completed three months, it was manifest that she was with child, and they told Judah, saying: 'Behold Tamar, thy daughter-in-law, is with child by whoredom.'

17 And Judah went to the house of her father, and said unto her father and her brothers: 'Bring her forth, and let them burn her, for she hath wrought uncleanness in Israel.'

18 And it came to pass when they brought her forth to burn her that she sent to her father-in-law the ring and the necklace, and the staff, saying: 'Discern whose are these, for by him am I with child.'

19 And Judah acknowledged, and said: 'Tamar is more righteous than I am.

20 And therefore let them burn her not' And for that reason she was not given to Shelah, and he did not again approach her.

21 And after that she bare two sons, Perez [2170 A.M.] and Zerah, in the seventh year of this second week.

22 And thereupon the seven years of fruitfulness were accomplished, of which Joseph spake to Pharaoh.

23 And Judah acknowledged that the deed which he had done was evil, for he had lain with his daughter-in-law, and he esteemed it hateful in his eyes, and he acknowledged that he had transgressed and gone astray, for he had uncovered the skirt of his son, and he began to lament and to supplicate before the Lord because of his transgression.

24 And we told him in a dream that it was forgiven him because he supplicated earnestly, and lamented, and did not again commit it.

25 And he received forgiveness because he turned from his sin and from his ignorance, for he transgressed greatly before our God; and every one that acts thus, every one who lies with his mother-in-law, let them burn him with fire that he may burn therein, for there is uncleanness and pollution upon them, with fire let them burn them.

26 And do thou command the children of Israel that there be no uncleanness amongst them, for every one who lies with his daughter-in-law or with his mother-in-law hath wrought uncleanness; with fire let them burn the man who has lain with her, and likewise the woman, and He will turn away wrath and punishment from Israel.

27 And unto Judah we said that his two sons had not lain with her, and for this reason his seed was stablished for a second generation, and would not be rooted out.

28 For in singleness of eye he had gone and sought for punishment, namely, according to the judgement of Abraham, which he had commanded his sons, Judah had sought to burn her with fire.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 42

1 And in the first year of the third week of the forty-fifth jubilee the famine began to come into the [2171 A.M.] land, and the rain refused to be given to the earth, for none whatever fell.

2 And the earth grew barren, but in the land of Egypt there was food, for Joseph had gathered the seed of the land in the seven years of plenty and had preserved it.

3 And the Egyptians came to Joseph that he might give them food, and he opened the store-houses where was the grain of the first year, and he sold it to the people of the land for gold.

4 <Now the famine was very sore in the land of Canaan>, and Jacob heard that there was food in Egypt, and he sent his ten sons that they should procure food for him in Egypt; but Benjamin he did not send, and <the ten sons of Jacob> arrived <in Egypt> among those that went (there).

5 And Joseph recognised them, but they did not recognise him, and he spake unto them and questioned them, and he said unto them; 'Are ye not spies and have ye not come to explore the approaches of the land? 'And he put them in ward.

6 And after that he set them free again, and detained Simeon alone and sent off his nine brothers.

7 And he filled their sacks with corn, and he put their gold in their sacks, and they did not know.

8 And he commanded them to bring their younger brother, for they had told him their father was living and their younger brother.

9 And they went up from the land of Egypt and they came to the land of Canaan; and they told their father all that had befallen them, and how the lord of the country had spoken roughly to them, and had seized Simeon till they should bring Benjamin.

10 And Jacob said: 'Me have ye bereaved of my children! Joseph is not and Simeon also is not, and ye will take Benjamin away. On me has your wickedness come.

11 'And he said: 'My son will not go down with you lest perchance he fall sick; for their mother gave birth to two sons, and one has perished, and this one also ye will take from me. If perchance he took a fever on the road, ye would bring down my old age with sorrow unto death.'

12 For he saw that their money had been returned to every man in his sack, and for this reason he feared to send him.

13 And the famine increased and became sore in the land of Canaan, and in all lands save in the land of Egypt, for many of the children of the Egyptians had stored up their seed for food from the time when they saw Joseph gathering seed together and putting it in storehouses and preserving it for the years of famine.

14 And the people of Egypt fed themselves thereon during the first year of their famine.

15 But when Israel saw that the famine was very sore in the land, and that there was no deliverance, he said unto his sons: 'Go again, and procure food for us that we die not.'

16 And they said: 'We shall not go; unless our youngest brother go with us, we shall not go.'

17 And Israel saw that if he did not send him with them, they should all perish by reason of the famine

18 And Reuben said: 'Give him into my hand, and if I do not bring him back to thee, slay my two sons instead of his soul.'

19 And he said unto him: 'He shall not go with thee.' And Judah came near and said: 'Send him with me, and if I do not bring him back to thee, let me bear the blame before thee all the days of my life.'

20 And he sent him with them in the second year of this week on the [2172 A.m.] first day of the month, and they came to the land of Egypt with all those who went, and (they had) presents in their hands, stacte and almonds and terebinth nuts and pure honey.

21 And they went and stood before Joseph, and he saw Benjamin his brother, and he knew him, and said unto them: Is this your youngest brother?' And they said unto him: 'It is he.' And he said The Lord be gracious to thee, my son!'

22 And he sent him into his house and he brought forth Simeon unto them and he made a feast for them, and they presented to him the gift which they had brought in their hands.

23 And they eat before him and he gave them all a portion, but the portion of Benjamin was seven times larger than that of any of theirs.

24 And they eat and drank and arose and remained with their asses.

25 And Joseph devised a plan whereby he might learn their thoughts as to whether thoughts of peace prevailed amongst them, and he said to the steward who was over his house: 'Fill all their sacks with food, and return their money unto them into their vessels, and my cup, the silver cup out of which I drink, put it in the sack of the youngest, and send them away.'

JUBILEES CHAPTER 43

1 And he did as Joseph had told him, and filled all their sacks for them with food and put their money in their sacks, and put the cup in Benjamin's sack.

2 And early in the morning they departed, and it came to pass that, when they had gone from thence, Joseph said unto the steward of his house: 'Pursue them, run and seize them, saying, "For good ye have requited me with evil; you have stolen from me the silver cup out of which my lord drinks." And bring back to me their youngest brother, and fetch (him) quickly before I go forth to my seat of judgement.'

3 And he ran after them and said unto them according to these words.

4 And they said unto him: 'God forbid that thy servants should do this thing, and steal from the house of thy lord any utensil, and the money also which we found in our sacks the first time, we thy servants brought back from the land of Canaan.

5 How then should we steal any utensil? Behold here are we and our sacks search, and wherever thou findest the cup in the sack of any man amongst us, let him be slain, and we and our asses will serve thy lord.'

6 And he said unto them: 'Not so, the man with whom I find, him only shall I take as a servant, and ye shall return in peace unto your house.'

7And as he was searching in their vessels, beginning with the eldest and ending with the youngest, it was found in Benjamin's sack.

8 And they rent their garments, and laded their asses, and returned to the city and came to the house of Joseph, and they all bowed themselves on their faces to the ground before him.

9 And Joseph said unto them: 'Ye have done evil.' And they said: 'What shall we say and how shall we defend ourselves? Our lord hath discovered the transgression of his servants; behold we are the servants of our lord, and our asses also.

10 'And Joseph said unto them: 'I too fear the Lord; as for you, go ye to your homes and let your brother be my servant, for ye have done evil. Know ye not that a man delights in his cup as I with this cup? And yet ye have stolen it from me.'

11 And Judah said: 'O my lord, let thy servant, I pray thee, speak a word in my lord's ear two brothers did thy servant's mother bear to our father: one went away and was lost, and hath not been found, and he alone is left of his mother, and thy servant our father loves him, and his life also is bound up with the life of this (lad).

12 And it will come to pass, when we go to thy servant our father, and the lad is not with us, that he will die, and we shall bring down our father with sorrow unto death.

13 Now rather let me, thy servant, abide instead of the boy as a bondsman unto my lord, and let the lad go with his brethren, for I became surety for him at the hand of thy servant our father, and if I do not bring him back, thy servant will hear the blame to our father for ever.'

14 And Joseph saw that they were all accordant in goodness one with another, and he could not refrain himself, and he told them that he was Joseph.

15 And he conversed with them in the Hebrew tongue and fell on their neck and wept.

16 But they knew him not and they began to weep. And he said unto them: 'Weep not over me, but hasten and bring my father to me; and ye see that it is my mouth that speaketh and the eyes of my brother Benjamin see.

17 For behold this is the second year of the famine, and there are still five years without harvest or fruit of trees or ploughing.

18 Come down quickly ye and your households, so that ye perish not through the famine, and do not be grieved for your possessions, for the Lord sent me before you to set things in order that many people might live.

19 And tell my father that I am still alive, and ye, behold, ye see that the Lord has made me as a father to Pharaoh, and ruler over his house and over all the land of Egypt.

20 And tell my father of all my glory, and all the riches and glory that the Lord hath given me.'

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21 And by the command of the mouth of Pharaoh he gave them chariots and provisions for the way, and he gave them all many-coloured raiment and silver.

22 And to their father he sent raiment and silver and ten asses which carried corn, and he sent them away.

23 And they went up and told their father that Joseph was alive, and was measuring out corn to all the nations of the earth, and that he was ruler over all the land of Egypt.

24 And their father did not believe it, for he was beside himself in his mind; but when he saw the wagons which Joseph had sent, the life of his spirit revived, and he said: 'It is enough for me if Joseph lives; I will go down and see him before I die.'

JUBILEES CHAPTER 44

1 And Israel took his journey from Haran from his house on the new moon of the third month, and he went on the way of the Well of the Oath, and he offered a sacrifice to the God of his father Isaac on the seventh of this month.

2 And Jacob remembered the dream that he had seen at Bethel, and he feared to go down into Egypt.

3 And while he was thinking of sending word to Joseph to come to him, and that he would not go down, he remained there seven days, if perchance he could see a vision as to whether he should remain or go down.

4 And he celebrated the harvest festival of the first-fruits with old grain, for in all the land of Canaan there was not a handful of seed [in the land], for the famine was over all the beasts and cattle and birds, and also over man.

5 And on the sixteenth the Lord appeared unto him, and said unto him, 'Jacob, Jacob'; and he said, 'Here am I.' And He said unto him: 'I am the God of thy fathers, the God of Abraham and Isaac; fear not to go down into Egypt, for I will there make of thee a great nation I will go down with thee, and I will bring thee up (again), and in this land shalt thou be buried, and Joseph shall put his hands upon thy eyes.

6 Fear not; go down into Egypt.'

7 And his sons rose up, and his sons' sons, and they placed their father and their possessions upon wagons.

8 And Israel rose up from the Well of the Oath on the sixteenth of this third month, and he went to the land of Egypt.

9 And Israel sent Judah before him to his son Joseph to examine the Land of Goshen, for Joseph had told his brothers that they should come and dwell there that they might be near him.

10 And this was the goodliest (land) in the land of Egypt, and near to him, for all (of them) and also for the cattle.

11 And these are the names of the sons of Jacob who went into Egypt with Jacob their father.

12 Reuben, the First-born of Israel; and these are the names of his sons Enoch, and Pallu, and Hezron and Carmi-five.

13 Simeon and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Jemuel, and Jamin, and Ohad, and Jachin, and Zohar, and Shaul, the son of the Zephathite woman-seven.

14 Levi and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Gershon, and Kohath, and Merari-four.

15 Judah and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Shela, and Perez, and Zerah-four.

16 Issachar and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Tola, and Phua, and Jasub, and Shimron-five.

17 Zebulon and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Sered, and Elon, and Jahleel-four.

18 And these are the sons of Jacob and their sons whom Leah bore to Jacob in Mesopotamia, six, and their one sister, Dinah and all the souls of the sons of Leah, and their sons, who went with Jacob their father into Egypt, were twenty-nine, and Jacob their father being with them, they were thirty.

19 And the sons of Zilpah, Leah's handmaid, the wife of Jacob, who bore unto Jacob Gad and Ashur.

20 And these are the names of their sons who went with him into Egypt. The sons of Gad: Ziphion, and Haggi, and Shuni, and Ezbon, <and Eri>, and Areli, and Arodi-eight.

21 And the sons of Asher: Imnah, and Ishvah, <and Ishvi>, and Beriah, and Serah, their one sister-six.

22 All the souls were fourteen, and all those of Leah were forty-four.

23 And the sons of Rachel, the wife of Jacob: Joseph and Benjamin.

24 And there were born to Joseph in Egypt before his father came into Egypt, those whom Asenath, daughter of Potiphar priest of Heliopolis bare unto him, Manasseh, and Ephraim-three.

25 And the sons of Benjamin: Bela and Becher and Ashbel, Gera, and Naaman, and Ehi, and Rosh, and Muppim, and Huppim, and Ard-eleven.

26 And all the souls of Rachel were fourteen.

27 And the sons of Bilhah, the handmaid of Rachel, the wife of Jacob, whom she bare to Jacob, were Dan and Naphtali.

28 And these are the names of their sons who went with them into Egypt. And the sons of Dan were Hushim, and Samon, and Asudi. and 'Ijaka, and Salomon-six.

29 And they died the year in which they entered into Egypt, and there was left to Dan Hushim alone.

30 And these are the names of the sons of Naphtali Jahziel, and Guni and Jezer, and Shallum, and 'Iv.

31 And 'Iv, who was born after the years of famine, died in Egypt.

32 And all the souls of Rachel were twenty-six.

33 And all the souls of Jacob which went into Egypt were seventy souls. These are his children and his children's children, in all seventy, but five died in Egypt before Joseph, and had no children.

34 And in the land of Canaan two sons of Judah died, Er and Onan, and they had no children, and the children of Israel buried those who perished, and they were reckoned among the seventy Gentile nations.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 45

1 And Israel went into the country of Egypt, into the land of Goshen, on the new moon of the fourth [2172 A.M]. month, in the second year of the third week of the forty-fifth jubilee.

2 And Joseph went to meet his father Jacob, to the land of Goshen, and he fell on his father's neck and wept.

3 And Israel said unto Joseph: 'Now let me die since I have seen thee, and now may the Lord God of Israel be blessed the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac who hath not withheld His mercy and His grace from His servant Jacob.

4 It is enough for me that I have seen thy face whilst I am yet alive; yea, true is the vision which I saw at Bethel. Blessed be the Lord my God for ever and ever, and blessed be His name.'

5 And Joseph and his brothers eat bread before their father and drank wine, and Jacob rejoiced with exceeding great joy because he saw Joseph eating with his brothers and drinking before him, and he blessed the Creator of all things who had preserved him, and had preserved for him his twelve sons.

6 And Joseph had given to his father and to his brothers as a gift the right of dwelling in the land of Goshen and in Rameses and all the region round about, which he ruled over before Pharaoh. And Israel and his sons dwelt in the land of Goshen, the best part of the land of Egypt and Israel was one hundred and thirty years old when he came into Egypt.

7 And Joseph nourished his father and his brethren and also their possessions with bread as much as sufficed them for the seven years of the famine.

8 And the land of Egypt suffered by reason of the famine, and Joseph acquired all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh in return for food, and he got possession of the people and their cattle and everything for Pharaoh.

9 And the years of the famine were accomplished, and Joseph gave to the people in the land seed and food that they might sow (the land) in the eighth year, for the river had overflowed all the land of Egypt.

10 For in the seven years of the famine it had (not) overflowed and had irrigated only a few places on the banks of the river, but now it overflowed and the Egyptians sowed the land, and it bore much corn that year.

11 And this was the first year of [2178 A.M.] the fourth week of the forty-fifth jubilee.

12 And Joseph took of the corn of the harvest the fifth part for the king and left four parts for them for food and for seed, and Joseph made it an ordinance for the land of Egypt until this day.

13 And Israel lived in the land of Egypt seventeen years, and all the days which he lived were three jubilees, one hundred and forty-seven years, and he died in the fourth [2188 A.M.] year of the fifth week of the forty-fifth jubilee.

14 And Israel blessed his sons before he died and told them everything that would befall them in the land of Egypt; and he made known to them what would come upon them in the last days, and blessed them and gave to Joseph two portions in the land.

15 And he slept with his fathers, and he was buried in the double cave in the land of Canaan, near Abraham his father in the grave which he dug for himself in the double cave in the land of Hebron.

16 And he gave all his books and the books of his fathers to Levi his son that he might preserve them and renew them for his children until this day.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 46

1 And it came to pass that after Jacob died the children of Israel multiplied in the land of Egypt, and they became a great nation, and they were of one accord in heart, so that brother loved brother and every man helped his brother, and they increased abundantly and multiplied exceedingly, ten [2242 A.M.] weeks of years, all the days of the life of Joseph.

2 And there was no Satan nor any evil all the days of the life of Joseph which he lived after his father Jacob, for all the Egyptians honoured the children of Israel all the days of the life of Joseph.

3 And Joseph died being a hundred and ten years old; seventeen years he lived in the land of Canaan, and ten years he was a servant, and three years in prison, and eighty years he was under the king, ruling all the land of Egypt.

4 And he died and all his brethren and all that generation.

5 And he commanded the children of Israel before he died that they should carry his bones with them when they went forth from the land of Egypt.

6 And he made them swear regarding his bones, for he knew that the Egyptians would not again bring forth and bury him in the land of Canaan, for Makamaron, king of Canaan, while dwelling in the land of Assyria, fought in the valley with the king of Egypt and slew him there, and pursued after the Egyptians to the gates of 'Ermon.

7 But he was not able to enter, for another, a new king, had become king of Egypt, and he was stronger than he, and he returned to the land of Canaan, and the gates of Egypt were closed, and none went out and none came into Egypt.

8 And Joseph died in the forty-sixth jubilee, in the sixth week, in the second year, and they buried him in the land of Egypt, and [2242 A.M.] all his brethren died after him.

9 And the king of Egypt went forth to war with the king of Canaan [2263 A.M.] in the forty-seventh jubilee, in the second week in the second year, and the children of Israel brought forth all the bones of the children of Jacob save the bones of Joseph, and they buried them in the field in the double cave in the mountain.

10 And the most (of them) returned to Egypt, but a few of them remained in the mountains of Hebron, and Amram thy father remained with them.

11 And the king of Canaan was victorious over the king of Egypt, and he closed the gates of Egypt.

12 And he devised an evil device against the children of Israel of afflicting them and he said unto the people of Egypt: 'Behold the people of the children of Israel have increased and multiplied more than we.

13 Come and let us deal wisely with them before they become too many, and let us afflict them with slavery before war come upon us and before they too fight against us; else they will join themselves unto our enemies and get them up out of our land, for their hearts and faces are towards the land of Canaan.'

14 And he set over them taskmasters to afflict them with slavery; and they built strong cities for Pharaoh, Pithom, and Raamses and they built all the walls and all the fortifications which had fallen in the cities of Egypt.

15 And they made them serve with rigour, and the more they dealt evilly with them, the more they increased and multiplied.

16 And the people of Egypt abominated the children of Israel

JUBILEES CHAPTER 47

1 And in the seventh week, in the seventh year, in the forty-seventh jubilee, thy father went forth [2303 A.M.] from the land of Canaan, and thou wast born in the fourth week, in the sixth year thereof, in the [2330 A.M.] forty-eighth jubilee; this was the time of tribulation on the children of Israel.

2 And Pharaoh, king of Egypt, issued a command regarding them that they should cast all their male children which were born into the river.

3 And they cast them in for seven months until the day that thou wast born

4 And thy mother hid thee for three months, and they told regarding her. And she made an ark for thee, and covered it with pitch and asphalt, and placed it in the flags on the bank of the river, and she placed thee in it seven days, and thy mother came by night and suckled thee, and by day Miriam, thy sister, guarded thee from the birds.

5 And in those days Tharmuth, the daughter of Pharaoh, came to bathe in the river, and she heard thy voice crying, and she told her maidens to bring thee forth, and they brought thee unto her.

6 And she took thee out of the ark, and she had compassion on thee.

7 And thy sister said unto her: 'Shall I go and call unto thee one of the Hebrew women to nurse and suckle this babe for thee?'

8 And she said <unto her>: 'Go.' And she went and called thy mother Jochebed, and she gave her wages, and she nursed thee.

9 And afterwards, when thou wast grown up, they brought thee unto the daughter of Pharaoh, and thou didst become her son, and Amram thy father taught thee writing, and after thou hadst completed three weeks they brought thee into the royal court.

10 And thou wast three weeks of years at court until the time [2351-] when thou didst go forth from the royal court and didst see an Egyptian smiting thy friend who was [2372 A.M.] of the children of Israel, and thou didst slay him and hide him in the sand.

11 And on the second day thou didst and two of the children of Israel striving together, and thou didst say to him who was doing the wrong: 'Why dost thou smite thy brother?'

12 And he was angry and indignant, and said: 'Who made thee a prince and a judge over us? Thinkest thou to kill me as thou killedst the Egyptian yesterday?' And thou didst fear and flee on account of these words.

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JUBILEES CHAPTER 48

1 And in the sixth year of the third week of the forty-ninth jubilee thou didst depart and dwell <in [2372 A.M.] the land of Midian>, five weeks and one year. And thou didst return into Egypt in the second week in the second year in the fiftieth jubilee.

2 And thou thyself knowest what He spake unto thee on [2410 A.M.] Mount Sinai, and what prince Mastêmâ desired to do with thee when thou wast returning into Egypt <on the way when thou didst meet him at the lodging-place>.

3 Did he not with all his power seek to slay thee and deliver the Egyptians out of thy hand when he saw that thou wast sent to execute judgement and vengeance on the Egyptians?

4 And I delivered thee out of his hand, and thou didst perform the signs and wonders which thou wast sent to perform in Egypt against Pharaoh, and against all his house, and against his servants and his people.

5 And the Lord executed a great vengeance on them for Israel's sake, and smote them through (the plagues of) blood and frogs, lice and dog-flies, and malignant boils breaking forth in blains; and their cattle by death; and by hail-stones, thereby He destroyed everything that grew for them; and by locusts which devoured the residue which had been left by the hail, and by darkness; and <by the death> of the first-born of men and animals, and on all their idols the Lord took vengeance and burned them with fire.

6 And everything was sent through thy hand, that thou shouldst declare (these things) before they were done, and thou didst speak with the king of Egypt before all his servants and before his people.

7 And everything took place according to thy words; ten great and terrible judgements came on the land of Egypt that thou mightest execute vengeance on it for Israel.

8 And the Lord did everything for Israel's sake, and according to His covenant, which he had ordained with Abraham that He would take vengeance on them as they had brought them by force into bondage.

9 And the prince Mastêmâ stood up against thee, and sought to cast thee into the hands of Pharaoh, and he helped the Egyptian sorcerers,

10 and they stood up and wrought before thee the evils indeed we permitted them to work, but the remedies we did not allow to be wrought by their hands.

11 And the Lord smote them with malignant ulcers, and they were not able to stand, for we destroyed them so that they could not perform a single sign.

12 And notwithstanding all (these) signs and wonders the prince Mastêmâ was not put to shame because he took courage and cried to the Egyptians to pursue after thee with all the powers of the Egyptians, with their chariots, and with their horses, and with all the hosts of the peoples of Egypt.

13 And I stood between the Egyptians and Israel, and we delivered Israel out of his hand, and out of the hand of his people, and the Lord brought them through the midst of the sea as if it were dry land.

14 And all the peoples whom he brought to pursue after Israel, the Lord our God cast them into the midst of the sea, into the depths of the abyss beneath the children of Israel, even as the people of Egypt had cast their children into the river He took vengeance on 1,000,000 of them, and one thousand strong and energetic men were destroyed on account of one suckling of the children of thy people which they had thrown into the river.

15 And on the fourteenth day and on the fifteenth and on the sixteenth and on the seventeenth and on the eighteenth the prince Mastêmâ was bound and imprisoned behind the children of Israel that he might not accuse them.

16 And on the nineteenth we let them loose that they might help the Egyptians and pursue the children of Israel.

17 And he hardened their hearts and made them stubborn, and the device was devised by the Lord our God that He might smite the Egyptians and cast them into the sea.

18 And on the fourteenth we bound him that he might not accuse the children of Israel on the day when they asked the Egyptians for vessels and garments, vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and vessels of bronze, in order to despoil the Egyptians in return for the bondage in which they had forced them to serve.

19 And we did not lead forth the children of Israel from Egypt empty handed.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 49

1 Remember the commandment which the Lord commanded thee concerning the passover, that thou shouldst celebrate it in its season on the fourteenth of the first month, that thou shouldst kill it before it is evening, and that they should eat it by night on the evening of the fifteenth from the time of the setting of the sun.

2 For on this night -the beginning of the festival and the beginning of the joy- ye were eating the passover in Egypt, when all the powers of Mastêmâ had been let loose to slay all the first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh to the first-born of the captive maid-servant in the mill, and to the cattle.

3 And this is the sign which the Lord gave them: Into every house on the lintels of which they saw the blood of a lamb of the first year, into (that) house they should not enter to slay, but should pass by (it), that all those should be saved that were in the house because the sign of the blood was on its lintels.

4 And the powers of the Lord did everything according as the Lord commanded them, and they passed by all the children of Israel, and the plague came not upon them to destroy from amongst them any soul either of cattle, or man, or dog.

5 And the plague was very grievous in Egypt, and there was no house in Egypt where there was not one dead, and weeping and lamentation.

6 And all Israel was eating the flesh of the paschal lamb, and drinking the wine, and was lauding, and blessing, and giving thanks to the Lord God of their fathers, and was ready to go forth from under the yoke of Egypt, and from the evil bondage.

7 And remember thou this day all the days of thy life, and observe it from year to year all the days of thy life, once a year, on its day, according to all the law thereof, and do not adjourn (it) from day to day, or from month to month.

8 For it is an eternal ordinance, and engraven on the heavenly tablets regarding all the children of Israel that they should observe it every year on its day once a year, throughout all their generations; and there is no limit of days, for this is ordained for ever.

9 And the man who is free from uncleanness, and does not come to observe it on occasion of its day, so as to bring an acceptable offering before the Lord, and to eat and to drink before the Lord on the day of its festival, that man who is clean and close at hand shall be cut off: because he offered not the oblation of the Lord in its appointed season, he shall take the guilt upon himself.

10 Let the children of Israel come and observe the passover on the day of its fixed time, on the fourteenth day of the first month, between the evenings, from the third part of the day to the third part of the night, for two portions of the day are given to the light, and a third part to the evening.

11 This is that which the Lord commanded thee that thou shouldst observe it between the evenings.

12 And it is not permissible to slay it during any period of the light, but during the period bordering on the evening, and let them eat it at the time of the evening, until the third part of the night, and whatever is left over of all its flesh from the third part of the night and onwards, let them burn it with fire.

13 And they shall not cook it with water, nor shall they eat it raw, but roast on the fire: they shall eat it with diligence, its head with the inwards thereof and its feet they shall roast with fire, and not break any bone thereof; for of the children of Israel no bone shall be crushed.

14 For this reason the Lord commanded the children of Israel to observe the passover on the day of its fixed time, and they shall not break a bone thereof; for it is a festival day, and a day commanded, and there may be no passing over from day to day, and month to month, but on the day of its festival let it be observed.

15 And do thou command the children of Israel to observe the passover throughout their days, every year, once a year on the day of its fixed time, and it shall come for a memorial well pleasing before the Lord, and no plague shall come upon them to slay or to smite in that year in which they celebrate the passover in its season in every respect according to His command.

16 And they shall not eat it outside the sanctuary of the Lord, but before the sanctuary of the Lord, and all the people of the congregation of Israel shall celebrate it in its appointed season.

17 And every man who has come upon its day shall eat it in the sanctuary of your God before the Lord from twenty years old and upward; for thus is it written and ordained that they should eat it in the sanctuary of the Lord.

18 And when the children of Israel come into the land which they are to possess, into the land of Canaan, and set up the tabernacle of the Lord in the midst of the land in one of their tribes until the sanctuary of the Lord has been built in the land, let them come and celebrate the passover in the midst of the tabernacle of the Lord, and let them slay it before the Lord from year to year.

19 And in the days when the house has been built in the name of the Lord in the land of their inheritance, they shall go there and slay the passover in the evening, at sunset, at the third part of the day.

20 And they shall offer its blood on the threshold of the altar, and shall place its fat on the fire which is upon the altar, and they shall eat its flesh roasted with fire in the court of the house which has been sanctified in the name of the Lord.

21 And they may not celebrate the passover in their cities, nor in any place save before the tabernacle of the Lord, or before His house where His name hath dwelt; and they shall not go astray from the Lord.

22 And do thou, Moses, command the children of Israel to observe the ordinances of the passover, as it was commanded unto thee; declare thou unto them every year and the day of its days, and the festival of unleavened bread, that they should eat unleavened bread seven days, (and) that they should observe its festival, and that they bring an oblation every day during those seven days of joy before the Lord on the altar of your God.

23 For ye celebrated this festival with haste when ye went forth from Egypt till ye entered into the wilderness of Shur; for on the shore of the sea ye completed it.

JUBILEES CHAPTER 50

1 And after this law I made known to thee the days of the Sabbaths in the desert of Sin[ai], which is between Elim and Sinai.

2 And I told thee of the Sabbaths of the land on Mount Sinai, and I told thee of the jubilee years in the sabbaths of years: but the year thereof have I not told thee till ye enter the land which ye are to possess.

3 And the land also shall keep its sabbaths while they dwell upon it, and they shall know the jubilee year.

4 Wherefore I have ordained for thee the year-weeks and the years and the jubilees: there are forty-nine jubilees from the days of Adam until this day, [2410 A.M.] and one week and two years: and there are yet forty years to come (lit. 'distant') for learning the [2450 A.M.] commandments of the Lord, until they pass over into the land of Canaan, crossing the Jordan to the west.

5 And the jubilees shall pass by, until Israel is cleansed from all guilt of fornication, and uncleanness, and pollution, and sin, and error, and dwells with confidence in all the land, and there shall be no more a Satan or any evil one, and the land shall be clean from that time for evermore.

6 And behold the commandment regarding the Sabbaths -I have written (them) down for thee- and all the judgements of its laws.

7 Six days shalt thou labour, but on the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord your God. In it ye shall do no manner of work, ye and your sons, and your men- servants and your maid-servants, and all your cattle and the sojourner also who is with you.

8 And the man that does any work on it shall die: whoever desecrates that day, whoever lies with (his) wife, or whoever says he will do something on it, that he will set out on a journey thereon in regard to any buying or selling: and whoever draws water thereon which he had not prepared for himself on the sixth day, and whoever takes up any burden to carry it out of his tent or out of his house shall die.

9 Ye shall do no work whatever on the Sabbath day save what ye have prepared for yourselves on the sixth day, so as to eat, and drink, and rest, and keep Sabbath from all work on that day, and to bless the Lord your God, who has given you a day of festival and a holy day: and a day of the holy kingdom for all Israel is this day among their days for ever.

10 For great is the honour which the Lord has given to Israel that they should eat and drink and be satisfied on this festival day, and rest thereon from all labour which belongs to the labour of the children of men save burning frankincense and bringing oblations and sacrifices before the Lord for days and for Sabbaths.

11 This work alone shall be done on the Sabbath-days in the sanctuary of the Lord your God; that they may atone for Israel with sacrifice continually from day to day for a memorial well-pleasing before the Lord, and that He may receive them always from day to day according as thou hast been commanded.

12 And every man who does any work thereon, or goes a journey, or tills (his) farm, whether in his house or any other place, and whoever lights a fire, or rides on any beast, or travels by ship on the sea, and whoever strikes or kills anything, or slaughters a beast or a bird, or whoever catches an animal or a bird or a fish, or whoever fasts or makes war on the Sabbaths:

13 The man who does any of these things on the Sabbath shall die, so that the children of Israel shall observe the Sabbaths according to the commandments regarding the Sabbaths of the land, as it is written in the tablets, which He gave into my hands that I should write out for thee the laws of the seasons, and the seasons according to the division of their days.

Herewith is completed the account of the division of the days.

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PSEUDEPIGRAPHA
APOCALYPSES

THE FIRST BOOK OF ENOCH
The Ethiopian Book Of Enoch or 1 Enoch
Translation: Robert Henry Charles, 1911
Estimated Range of Dating: 300-100 BC.

(The Book of Enoch (also 1 Enoch; Ge'ez: Mashafà Henok) is an ancient Hebrew apocalyptic religious text, ascribed by tradition to Enoch, the great-grandfather of Noah. Enoch contains unique material on the origins of demons and Nephilim, why some angels fell from heaven, an explanation of why the Genesis flood was morally necessary, and prophetic exposition of the thousand-year reign of the Messiah. The older sections (mainly in the Book of the Watchers) of the text are estimated to date from about 300–200 BC, and the latest part (Book of Parables) probably to 100 BC. The most complete Book of Enoch comes from Ethiopic manuscripts, written in Ge'ez; which was brought to Europe by James Bruce in the late 18th century and was translated into English in the 19th century.*

[Ge'ez or Geëz or Geez, and sometimes referred to in scholarly literature as Classical Ethiopic, is an ancient South Semitic language of the Ethio-Semitic branch language. The language originates from what is now northern Ethiopia and Eritrea in East Africa. Today, Ge'ez is used only as the main liturgical language of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church and Eritrean Orthodox Tewahedo Church, the Ethiopian Catholic Church and Eritrean Catholic Church, and the Beta Israel Jewish community. The closest living languages to Ge'ez are Tigre and Tigrinya with lexical similarity at 71% and 68%, respectively. Most linguists do not believe that Ge'ez constitutes a common ancestor of modern Ethio-Semitic languages, but that Ge'ez became a separate language early on from another hypothetical unattested common language.]*

Various Aramaic fragments found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, as well as Koine Greek and Latin fragments, are proof that the Book of Enoch was known by citizens of the Roman Empire, Roman Jews and Roman "Pauline Christians". This book was also quoted by some 1st and 2nd century authors as in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. Authors of the New Testament were also familiar with some content of the story. A short section of 1 Enoch (1:9) is cited in the New Testament Epistle of Jude, Jude 1:14–15, and is attributed there to "Enoch the Seventh from Adam" (1 En 60:8), although this section of 1 Enoch is a midrash on Deuteronomy 33:2. Several copies of the earlier sections of 1 Enoch were preserved among the Dead Sea Scrolls which shows that it was also known by members of the ancient Messianic Movement who fought in the Roman-Jewish War 66-73 AD.

It is not part of the biblical canon used by Roman [Rabbinic] Jews or Roman Christians. Other Christian groups regard it as non-canonical or non-inspired, but may accept it as having some historical or theological interest. Interesting is that Ethiopian Jews [Beta Israel] as well as the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church and Eritrean Orthodox Tewahedo Church consider the Book of Enoch as canonical; both groups in Ethiopia and Eritrea have often the same oppinion when it comes to canonicity of scripture.

The Book of Enoch is today wholly extant only in the Ethiopian Ge'ez language, with earlier Aramaic fragments from the Dead Sea Scrolls and a few Greek and Latin fragments. For this and other reasons, the traditional Ethiopian belief is that the original language of the work was Ge'ez, whereas modern scholars argue that it was first written in either Aramaic or Hebrew, the languages first used for Judeo-Christian texts; Ephraim Isaac suggests that the Book of Enoch, like the Book of Daniel, was composed partially in Aramaic and partially in Hebrew. No Hebrew version is known to have survived. It is asserted in the book itself that its author was Enoch, before the biblical flood.

The first part of the Book of Enoch describes the fall of the Watchers, the angels who fathered the angel-human hybrids called Nephilim. The remainder of the book describes Enoch's visits to heaven in the form of travels, visions and dreams, and his revelations.

The book consists of five quite distinct major sections (see each section for details):

1. The Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 1–36)
2. The Book of Parables of Enoch (1 Enoch 37–71) (also called the Similitudes of Enoch)
3. The Astronomical Book (1 Enoch 72–82) (also called the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries or Book of Luminaries)
4. The Book of Dream Visions (1 Enoch 83–90) (also called the Book of Dreams)
5. The Epistle of Enoch (1 Enoch 91–108)

Most scholars believe that these five sections were originally independent works (with different dates of composition), themselves a product of much editorial arrangement, and were only later redacted into what is now called 1 Enoch.

Explanation of the here used typography: Abbreviations, brackets, and symbols: We use round brackets (xxx) to mark words that were supplied by the first English editor. We use square brackets [xxx] to mark extra words that make the text better understandable. We use this place holder {. . .} to show that original words have been lost in this spot.)

SECTION ONE - Chapters 1-36
"INTRODUCTION"

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 1

1 The words of the blessing of Enoch, wherewith he blessed the elect and righteous, who will be living in the day of tribulation, when all the wicked and godless are to be removed.

2 And he took up his parable and said -Enoch a righteous man, whose eyes were opened by God, saw the vision of the Holy One in the heavens, which the angels showed me, and from them I heard everything, and from them I understood as I saw, but not for this generation, but for a remote one which is for to come.

3 Concerning the elect I said, and took up my parable concerning them: The Holy Great One will come forth from His dwelling,

4 And the eternal God will tread upon the earth, (even) on Mount Sinai, [And appear from His camp] And appear in the strength of His might from the heaven of heavens.

5 And all shall be smitten with fear And the Watchers shall quake, And great fear and trembling shall seize them unto the ends of the earth.

6 And the high mountains shall be shaken, And the high hills shall be made low, And shall melt like wax before the flame

7 And the earth shall be wholly rent in sunder, And all that is upon the earth shall perish, And there shall be a judgement upon all (men).

8 But with the righteous He will make peace. And will protect the elect, And mercy shall be upon them. And they shall all belong to God, And they shall be prospered, And they shall all be blessed. And He will help them all, And light shall appear unto them, And He will make peace with them'.

9 And behold! He cometh with ten thousands of His holy ones To execute judgement upon all, And to destroy all the ungodly: And to convict all flesh Of all the works of their ungodliness which they have ungodly committed, And of all the hard things which ungodly sinners have spoken against Him.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 2

1 Observe ye everything that takes place in the heaven, how they do not change their orbits, and the luminaries which are in the heaven, how they all rise and set in order each in its season, and transgress not against their appointed order.

2 Behold ye the earth, and give heed to the things which take place upon it from first to last, how steadfast they are, how none of the things upon earth change, but all the works of God appear to you.

3. Behold the summer and the winter, how the whole earth is filled with water, and clouds and dew and rain lie upon it.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 3

1 Observe and see how (in the winter) all the trees seem as though they had withered and shed all their leaves, except fourteen trees, which do not lose their foliage but retain the old foliage from two to three years till the new comes.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 4

1 And again, observe ye the days of summer how the sun is above the earth over against it. And you seek shade and shelter by reason of the heat of the sun, and the earth also burns with growing heat, and so you cannot tread on the earth, or on a rock by reason of its heat.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 5

1 Observe ye how the trees cover themselves with green leaves and bear fruit: wherefore give ye heed and know with regard to all His works, and recognize how He that liveth for ever hath made them so.

2 And all His works go on thus from year to year for ever, and all the tasks which they accomplish for Him, and their tasks change not, but according as God hath ordained so is it done. 3 And behold how the sea and the rivers in like manner accomplish and change not their tasks from His commandments'.

4 But ye--ye have not been steadfast, nor fulfill the commandments of the Lord; But ye have turned away and spoken proud and hard words With your impure mouths against His greatness. Oh, ye hard-hearted, ye shall find no peace.

5 Therefore shall ye execrate your days, And the years of your life shall perish, And the years of your destruction shall be multiplied in eternal execration, And ye shall find no mercy.

6 In those days ye shall make your names an eternal execration unto all the righteous, And by you shall all who curse, curse, And all the sinners and godless shall imprecate by you, And all the {. . .}shall rejoice, And there shall be forgiveness of sins, And every mercy and peace and forbearance: There shall be salvation unto them, a goodly light. And for all of you sinners there shall be no salvation, But on you all shall abide a curse.

7 But for the elect there shall be light and joy and peace, And they shall inherit the earth. And for you the godless there shall be a curse.

8 And then there shall be bestowed upon the elect wisdom, And they shall all live and never again sin, Either through ungodliness or through pride: But they who are wise shall be humble.

9 And they shall not again transgress, Nor shall they sin all the days of their life, Nor shall they die of (the divine) anger or wrath, But they shall complete the number of the days of their life. And their lives shall be increased in peace, And the years of their joy shall be multiplied, In eternal gladness and peace, All the days of their life.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 6

1 And it came to pass when the children of men had multiplied that in those days were born unto them beautiful and comely daughters.

2 And the angels, the children of the heaven, saw and lusted after them, and said to one another: 'Come, let us choose us wives from among the children of men and beget us children.'

3 And Semjaza, who was their leader, said unto them: 'I fear ye will not indeed agree to do this deed, and I alone shall have to pay the penalty of a great sin.'

4 And they all answered him and said: 'Let us all swear an oath, and all bind ourselves by mutual imprecations not to abandon this plan but to do this thing.'

5 Then sware they all together and bound themselves by mutual imprecations upon it.

6 And they were in all two hundred; who descended in the days of Jared on the summit of Mount Hermon, and they called it Mount Hermon, because they had sworn and bound themselves by mutual imprecations upon it.

7 And these are the names of their leaders: Samlazaz, their leader, Araklba, Rameel, Kokablel, Tamlel, Ramlel, Danel, Ezeqeel, Baraqijal, Asael, Armaros, Batarel, Ananel, Zaq1el, Samsapeel, Satarel, Turel, Jomjael, Sariel.

8 These are their chiefs of tens.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 7

1 And all the others together with them took unto themselves wives, and each chose for himself one, and they began to go in unto them and to defile themselves with them, and they taught them charms and enchantments, and the cutting of roots, and made them acquainted with plants.

2 And they became pregnant, and they bare great giants, whose height was three thousand ells:

3 Who consumed all the acquisitions of men. And when men could no longer sustain them,

4 the giants turned against them and devoured mankind.

5 And they began to sin against birds, and beasts, and reptiles, and fish, and to devour one another's flesh, and drink the blood.

6 Then the earth laid accusation against the lawless ones.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 8

1 And Azazel taught men to make swords, and knives, and shields, and breastplates, and made known to them the metals of the earth and the art of working them, and bracelets, and ornaments, and the use of antimony, and the beautifying of the eyelids, and all kinds of costly stones, and all colouring tinctures.

2 And there arose much godlessness, and they committed fornication, and they were led astray, and became corrupt in all their ways.

3 Semjaza taught enchantments, and root-cuttings, 'Armaros the resolving of enchantments, Baraqijal (taught) astrology, Kokabel the constellations, Ezeqeel the knowledge of the clouds, Araqiel the signs of the earth, Shamsiel the signs of the sun, and Sariel the course of the moon.

4 And as men perished, they cried, and their cry went up to heaven . . .

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 9

1 And then Michael, Uriel, Raphael, and Gabriel looked down from heaven and saw much blood being shed upon the earth, and all lawlessness being wrought upon the earth.

2 And they said one to another, It is the voice of their cries: 'The earth made without inhabitant cries the voice of their cryingst up to the gates of heaven.

3 And now to you, the holy ones of heaven, the souls of men make their suit, saying, "Bring our cause before the Most High."'

4 And they said to the Lord of the ages: 'Lord of lords, God of gods, King of kings, and God of the ages, the throne of Thy

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glory (standeth) unto all the generations of the ages, and Thy name holy and glorious and blessed unto all the ages!

5 Thou hast made all things, and power over all things hast Thou: and all things are naked and open in Thy sight, and Thou seest all 6 things, and nothing can hide itself from Thee.

6 Thou seest what Azazel hath done, who hath taught all unrighteousness on earth and revealed the eternal secrets which were (preserved) in heaven, which men were striving to learn:

7 And Semjaza, to whom Thou hast given authority to bear rule over his associates.

8 And they have gone to the daughters of men upon the earth, and have slept with the women, and have defiled themselves, and revealed to them all kinds of sins.

9 And the women have borne giants, and the whole earth has thereby been filled with blood and unrighteousness.

10 And now, behold, the souls of those who have died are crying and making their suit to the gates of heaven, and their lamentations have ascended: and cannot cease because of the lawless deeds which are wrought on the earth.

11 And Thou knowest all things before they come to pass, and Thou seest these things and Thou dost suffer them, and Thou dost not say to us what we are to do to them in regard to these.'

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 10

1 Then said the Most High, the Holy and Great One spake, and sent Uriel to the son of Lamech, and said to him:

2 'Go to Noah and tell him in my name "Hide thyself!" and reveal to him the end that is approaching: that the whole earth will be destroyed, and a deluge is about to come upon the whole earth, and will destroy all that is on it.

3 And now instruct him that he may escape and his seed may be preserved for all the generations of the world.'

4 And again the Lord said to Raphael: 'Bind Azazel hand and foot, and cast him into the darkness: and make an opening in the desert, which is in Dudael, and cast him therein.

5 And place upon him rough and jagged rocks, and cover him with darkness, and let him abide there for ever, and cover his face that he may not see light.

6 And on the day of the great judgement he shall be cast into the fire.

7 And heal the earth which the angels have corrupted, and proclaim the healing of the earth, that they may heal the plague, and that all the children of men may not perish through all the secret things that the Watchers have disclosed and have taught their sons.

8 And the whole earth has been corrupted through the works that were taught by Azazel: to him ascribe all sin.'

9 And to Gabriel said the Lord: 'Proceed against the bastards and the reprobates, and against the children of fornication: and destroy [the children of fornication and] the children of the Watchers from amongst men [and cause them to go forth]: send them one against the other that they may destroy each other in battle: for length of days shall they not have.

10 And no request that they (i.e. their fathers) make of thee shall be granted unto their fathers on their behalf; for they hope to live an eternal life, and that each one of them will live five hundred years.'

11 And the Lord said unto Michael: 'Go, bind Semjaza and his associates who have united themselves with women so as to have defiled themselves with them in all their uncleanness.

12 And when their sons have slain one another, and they have seen the destruction of their beloved ones, bind them fast for seventy generations in the valleys of the earth, till the day of their judgement and of their consummation, till the judgement that is for ever and ever is consummated.

12 And when their sons have slain one another, and they have seen the destruction of their beloved ones, bind them fast for seventy generations in the valleys of the earth, till the day of their judgement and of their consummation, till the judgement that is for ever and ever is consummated.

13 In those days they shall be led off to the abyss of fire: and to the torment and the prison in which they shall be confined for ever.

14 And whosoever shall be condemned and destroyed will from thenceforth be bound together with them to the end of all generations.

15 And destroy all the spirits of the reprobate and the children of the Watchers, because they have wronged mankind. 16 Destroy all wrong from the face of the earth and the offspring of the Watchers, for they have tyrannized over mankind.

19 Let every oppressor perish from the face of the earth; and let every evil work come to an end: and let the plant of righteousness and truth appear: and it shall prove a blessing; the works of righteousness and truth' shall be planted in truth and joy for evermore.

17 And then shall all the righteous escape, And shall live till they beget thousands of children, And all the days of their youth and their old age Shall they complete in peace.

18 And then shall the whole earth be tilled in righteousness, and shall all be planted with trees and be full of blessing.

19 And all desirable trees shall be planted on it, and they shall plant vines on it: and the vine which they plant thereon shall yield wine in abundance, and as for all the seed which is sown thereon each measure (of it) shall bear a thousand, and each measure of olives shall yield ten presses of oil.

20 And cleanse thou the earth from all oppression, and from all unrighteousness, and from all sin, and from all godlessness: and all the uncleanness that is wrought upon the earth destroy from off the earth.

21 And all the children of men shall become righteous, and all nations shall offer adoration and shall praise Me, and all shall worship Me.

22 And the earth shall be cleansed from all defilement, and from all sin, and from all punishment, and from all torment, and I will never again send (them) upon it from generation to generation and for ever.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 11

1 And in those days I will open the store chambers of blessing which are in the heaven, so as to send them down upon the earth over the work and labour of the children of men.

2 And truth and peace shall be associated together throughout all the days of the world and throughout all the generations of men.'

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 12

1 Before these things Enoch was hidden, and no one of the children of men knew where he was hidden, and where he abode, and what had become of him.

2 And his activities had to do with the Watchers, and his days were with the holy ones.

3 And I Enoch was blessing the Lord of majesty and the King of the ages, and lo! the Watchers called me "Enoch the scribe" and the Lord said to me:

4 'Enoch, thou scribe of righteousness, go, declare to the Watchers of the heaven who have left the high heaven, the holy eternal place, and have defiled themselves with women, and have done as the children of earth do, and have taken unto themselves wives: "Ye have wrought great destruction on the earth:

5 And ye shall have no peace nor forgiveness of sin: and inasmuch as they delight themselves in their children,

6 The murder of their beloved ones shall they see, and over the destruction of their children shall they lament, and shall make supplication unto eternity, but mercy and peace shall ye not attain."'

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 13

1 And Enoch went and said: 'Azazel, thou shalt have no peace: a severe sentence has gone forth against thee to put thee in bonds:

2 And thou shalt not have toleration nor request granted to thee, because of the unrighteousness which thou hast taught, and because of all the works of godlessness and unrighteousness and sin which thou hast shown to men.'

3 Then I went from him and spoke to them all together, and they were all afraid, and fear and trembling seized them.

4 And they besought me to draw up a petition for them that they might find forgiveness, and to read their petition in the presence of the Lord of heaven. 5 For from thenceforward they could not speak (with Him) nor lift up their eyes to heaven for shame of their sins for which they had been condemned.

6 Then I wrote out their petition, and the prayer in regard to their spirits and their deeds individually and in regard to their requests that they should have forgiveness and length.

7 And I went off and sat down at the waters of Dan, in the land of Dan, to the south of the west of Hermon: I read their petition till I fell asleep.

8 And behold a dream came to me, and visions fell down upon me, and I saw visions of chastisement, and a voice came bidding (me) I to tell it to the sons of heaven, and reprimand them. 9 And when I awaked, I came unto them, and they were all sitting gathered together, weeping in 'Abelsjail, which is between Lebanon and Seneser, with their faces covered.

10 And I recounted before them all the visions which I had seen in sleep, and I began to speak the words of righteousness, and to reprimand the heavenly Watchers.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 14

1 The book of the words of righteousness, and of the reprimand of the eternal Watchers in accordance with the command of the Holy Great One in that vision.

2 I saw in my dream what I will now say with a tongue of flesh and with the breath of my mouth: which the Great One has given to men to converse therewith and understand with the heart and understand with the heart.

3 As He has created and given to man the power of understanding the word of wisdom, so hath He created me also and given me the power of reprimanding the Watchers, the children of heaven.

4 I wrote out your petition, and in my vision it appeared thus, that your petition will not be granted unto you throughout all the days of eternity, and that judgement has been finally passed upon you: yea (your petition) will not be granted unto you.

5 And from henceforth you shall not ascend into heaven unto all eternity, and in bonds of the earth the decree has gone forth to bind you for all the days of the world.

6 And (that) previously you shall have seen the destruction of your beloved sons and ye shall have no pleasure in them, but they shall fall before you by the sword.

7 And your petition on their behalf shall not be granted, nor yet on your own: even though you weep and pray and speak all the words contained in the writing which I have written.

8 And the vision was shown to me thus: Behold, in the vision clouds invited me and a mist summoned me, and the course of the stars and the lightnings sped and hastened me, and the winds in the vision caused me to fly and lifted me upward, and bore me into heaven.

9 And I went in till I drew nigh to a wall which is built of crystals and surrounded by tongues of fire: and it began to affright me.

10 And I went into the tongues of fire and drew nigh to a large house which was built of crystals: and the walls of the house were like a tesselated floor (made) of crystals, and its groundwork was of crystal.

11 Its ceiling was like the path of the stars and the lightnings, and between them were fiery Cherubim, and their heaven was (clear as) water.

12 A flaming fire surrounded the walls, and its portals blazed with fire.

13 And I entered into that house, and it was hot as fire and cold as ice: there were no delights of life therein: fear covered me, and trembling got hold upon me.

14 And as I quaked and trembled, I fell upon my face.

15 And I beheld a vision, And lo! there was a second house, greater than the former, and the entire portal stood open before me, and it was built of flames of fire.

16 And in every respect it so excelled in splendour and magnificence and extent that I cannot describe to you its splendour and its extent.

17 And its floor was of fire, and above it were lightnings and the path of the stars, and its ceiling also was flaming fire.

18 And I looked and saw therein a lofty throne: its appearance was as crystal, and the wheels thereof as the shining sun, and there was the vision of Cherubim.

19 And from underneath the throne came streams of flaming fire so that I could not look thereon.

20 And the Great Glory sat thereon, and His raiment shone more brightly than the sun and was whiter than any snow.

21 None of the angels could enter and could behold His face by reason of the magnificence and glory and no flesh could behold Him.

22 The flaming fire was round about Him, and a great fire stood before Him, and none around could draw nigh Him: ten thousand times ten thousand (stood) before Him, yet He needed no counselor. To Him holy consultation was needless.

23 And the most holy ones who were nigh to Him did not leave by night nor depart from Him.

24 And until then I had been prostrate on my face, trembling: and the Lord called me with His own mouth, and said to me: ' Come hither, Enoch, and hear my word.'

25 And one of the holy ones came to me and waked me, and He made me rise up and approach the door: and I bowed my face downwards. My eye was directed to the ground.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 15

1 And He answered and said to me, and I heard His voice: 'Fear not, Enoch, thou righteous man and scribe of righteousness: approach hither and hear my voice.

2 And go, say to the Watchers of heaven, who have sent thee to intercede for them: "You should intercede" for men, and not men for you:

3 Wherefore have ye left the high, holy, and eternal heaven, and lain with women, and defiled yourselves with the daughters of men and taken to yourselves wives, and done like the children of earth, and begotten giants (as your) sons?

4 And though ye were holy, spiritual, living the eternal life, you have defiled yourselves with the blood of women, and have begotten (children) with the blood of flesh, and, as the children of men, have lusted after flesh and blood as those also do who die and perish.

5 Therefore have I given them wives also that they might impregnate them, and beget children by them, that thus nothing might be wanting to them on earth.

6 But you were formerly spiritual, living the eternal life, and immortal for all generations of the world.

7 And therefore I have not appointed wives for you; for as for the spiritual ones of the heaven, in heaven is their dwelling.

8 And now, the giants, who are produced from the spirits and flesh, shall be called evil spirits upon the earth, and on the earth shall be their dwelling.

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9 Evil spirits have proceeded from their bodies; because they are born from men and from the holy Watchers is their beginning and primal origin; they shall be evil spirits on earth, and evil spirits shall they be called.

10 [As for the spirits of heaven, in heaven shall be their dwelling, but as for the spirits of the earth which were born upon the earth, on the earth shall be their dwelling.]

11 And the spirits of the giants afflict, oppress, destroy, attack, do battle, and work destruction on the earth, and cause trouble: they take no food, but nevertheless hunger and thirst, and cause offences.

12 And these spirits shall rise up against the children of men and against the women, because they have proceeded from them.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 16

1 From the days of the slaughter and destruction and death of the giants, from the souls of whose flesh the spirits, having gone forth, shall destroy without incurring judgement -thus shall they destroy until the day of the consummation, the great judgement in which the age shall be consummated, over the Watchers and the godless, yea, shall be wholly consummated."

2 And now as to the watchers who have sent thee to intercede for them, who had been aforetime in heaven,

3 (say to them): "You have been in heaven, but all the mysteries had not yet been revealed to you, and you knew worthless ones, and these in the hardness of your hearts you have made known to the women, and through these mysteries women and men work much evil on earth."

4 Say to them therefore: " You have no peace."'

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 17

1 And they took and brought me to a place in which those who were there were like flaming fire, and, when they wished, they appeared as men.

2 And they brought me to the place of darkness, and to a mountain the point of whose summit reached to heaven.

3 And I saw the places of the luminaries and the treasuries of the stars and of the thunder and in the uttermost depths, where were a fiery bow and arrows and their quiver, and a fiery sword and all the lightnings.

4 And they took me to the living waters, and to the fire of the west, which receives every setting of the sun.

5 And I came to a river of fire in which the fire flows like water and discharges itself into the great sea towards the west.

6 I saw the great rivers and came to the great river and to the great darkness, and went to the place where no flesh walks.

7 I saw the mountains of the darkness of winter and the place whence all the waters of the deep flow.

8 I saw the mouths of all the rivers of the earth and the mouth of the deep.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 18

1 I saw the treasuries of all the winds: I saw how He had furnished with them the whole creation and the firm foundations of the earth.

2 And I saw the corner-stone of the earth: I saw the four winds which bear [the earth and] the firmament of the heaven.

3 And I saw how the winds stretch out the vaults of heaven, and have their station between heaven and earth: these are the pillars of the heaven.

4 I saw the winds of heaven which turn and bring the circumference of the sun and all the stars to their setting.

5 I saw the winds on the earth carrying the clouds: I saw the paths of the angels. I saw at the end of the earth the firmament of the heaven above.

6 And I proceeded towards the south; and saw a place which burns day and night, where there are seven mountains of magnificent stones, three towards the east, and three towards the south.

7 And as for those towards the east, was of coloured stone, and one of pearl, and one of jacinth, and those towards the south of red stone.

8 But the middle one reached to heaven like the throne of God, of alabaster, and the summit of the throne was of sapphire.

9 And I saw a flaming fire. And beyond these mountains

10 Is a region the end of the great earth: there the heavens were completed.

11 And I saw a deep abyss, with columns of heavenly fire, and among them I saw columns of fire fall, which were beyond measure alike towards the height and towards the depth.

12 And beyond that abyss I saw a place which had no firmament of the heaven above, and no firmly founded earth beneath it: there was no water upon it, and no birds, but it was a waste and horrible place.

13 I saw there seven stars like great burning mountains, and to me, when I inquired regarding them,

14 The angel said: 'This place is the end of heaven and earth: this has become a prison for the stars and the host of heaven.

15 And the stars which roll over the fire are they which have transgressed the commandment of the Lord in the beginning of their rising, because they did not come forth at their appointed times.

16 And He was wroth with them, and bound them till the time when their guilt should be consummated (even) for ten thousand years.'

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 19

1 And Uriel said to me: 'Here shall stand the angels who have connected themselves with women, and their spirits assuming many different forms are defiling mankind and shall lead them astray into sacrificing to demons as gods, (here shall they stand,) till the day of the great judgement in which they shall be judged till they are made an end of.

2 And the women also of the angels who went astray shall become sirens.'

3 And I, Enoch, alone saw the vision, the ends of all things: and no man shall see as I have seen.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 20

1 And these are the names of the holy angels who watch.

2 Uriel, one of the holy angels, who is over the world and over Tartarus.

3 Raphael, one of the holy angels, who is over the spirits of men.

4 Raguel, one of the holy angels who takes vengeance on the world of the luminaries.

5 Michael, one of the holy angels, to wit, he that is set over the best part of mankind and over chaos.

6 Saraqael, one of the holy angels, who is set over the spirits, who sin in the spirit.

7 Gabriel, one of the holy angels, who is over Paradise and the serpents and the Cherubim.

8 Remiel, one of the holy angels, whom God set over those who rise.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 21

1 And I proceeded to where things were chaotic.

2 And I saw there something horrible: I saw neither a heaven above nor a firmly founded earth, but a place chaotic and horrible.

3 And there I saw seven stars of the heaven bound together in it, like great mountains and burning with fire.

4 Then I said: 'For what sin are they bound, and on what account have they been cast in hither?'

5 Then said Uriel, one of the holy angels, who was with me, and was chief over them, and said: 'Enoch, why dost thou ask, and why art thou eager for the truth?

6 These are of the number of the stars of heaven, which have transgressed the commandment of the Lord, and are bound here till ten thousand years, the time entailed by their sins, are consummated.'

7 And from thence I went to another place, which was still more horrible than the former, and I saw a horrible thing: a great fire there which burnt and blazed, and the place was cleft as far as the abyss, being full of great descending columns of fire: neither its extent or magnitude could I see, nor could I conjecture.

8 Then I said: 'How fearful is the place and how terrible to look upon!'

9 Then Uriel answered me, one of the holy angels who was with me, and said unto me: 'Enoch, why hast thou such fear and affright?' And I answered: 'Because of this fearful place, and because of the spectacle of the pain.'

10 And he said unto me: 'This place is the prison of the angels, and here they will be imprisoned for ever.'

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 22

1 And thence I went to another place, and he showed me in the west another great and high mountain [and] of hard rock.

2 And there were four hollow places in it,deep and very smooth: three of them were dark and one bright; and there was a fountain of water in its midst. And I said: 'How smooth are the hollow places and deep and dark to view.'

3 Then Raphael answered, one of the holy angels who was with me, and said unto me: 'These hollow places have been created for this very purpose, that the spirits of the souls of the dead should assemble therein, yea that all the souls of the children of men should assemble here.

4 And these places have been made to receive them till the day of their judgement and till their appointed period [till the period appointed], till the great judgement (comes) upon them.'

5 I saw the spirits of the children of men who were dead, and their voice went forth to heaven and made accusations.

6 And I asked Raphael the angel who was with me, and I said unto him: 'This spirit which maketh accusations, whose is it, whose voice goeth forth and maketh accusations to heaven?'

7 And he answered me saying: 'This is the spirit which went forth from Abel, whom his brother Cain slew, and he makes his suit against him till his seed is destroyed from the face of the earth, and his seed is annihilated from amongst the seed of men.'

8 The I asked regarding it, and regarding all the hollow places: 'Why is one separated from the other?'

9 Then he answered me saying: "These three have been made that the spirits of the dead might be separated. And this division has bas been made for the spirits of the righteous, in which there is a bright spring of water.

10 And this has been made for sinners when they die and are buried in the earth and judgement has not been executed upon them in their lifetime.

11 Here their spirits shall be set apart in this great pain till the great day of judgement and punishment and torment of those who curse for ever and retribution for their spirits. There He shall bind them for ever. 12. And such a division has been made for the spirits of those who make their suit, who make disclosures concerning their destruction, when they were slain in the days of the sinners.

13 And this has been made for the spirits of men who shall not be righteous but sinners, who are godless, and of the lawless they shall be companions: but their spirits shall not be punished in the day of judgement nor shall they be raised from thence.'

14 Then I blessed the Lord of Glory and said: 'Blessed art Thou, Lord of righteousness, who rulest over the world.'

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 23

1 From thence I went to another place to the west of the ends of the earth.

2 And I saw a burning fire which ran without resting, and paused not from its course day or night but (ran) regularly.

3 And I asked saying: 'What is this which rests not?'

4 Then Raguel, one of the holy angels who was with me, answered me and said unto me: 'This course of fire which thou hast seen is the fire in the west which persecutes all the luminaries of heaven.'

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 24

1 And from thence I went to another place of the earth, and he showed me a mountain range of fire which burnt day and night.

2 And I went beyond it and saw seven magnificent mountains all differing each from the other, and the stones (thereof) were magnificent and beautiful, magnificent as a whole, of glorious appearance and fair exterior: three towards the east, one founded on the other, and three towards the south, one upon the other, and deep rough ravines, no one of which joined with any other. and the stones (thereof) were magnificent and beautiful, magnificent as a whole, of glorious appearance and fair exterior: Three mountains were towards the east, and strengthened by being placed one upon another; and three were towards the south, strengthened in a similar manner. There were likewise deep valleys, which did not approach each other. And the seventh mountain was in the midst of them. In length they all resembled the seat of a throne, and odoriferous trees surrounded them. There were likewise deep valleys, which did not approach each other. And the seventh mountain was in the midst of them. In length they all resembled the seat of a throne, and odoriferous trees surrounded them.

3 And the seventh mountain was in the midst of these, and it excelled them in height, resembling the seat of a throne: and fragrant trees encircled the throne.

4 And amongst them was a tree such as I had never yet smelt, neither was any amongst them nor were others like it: it had a fragrance beyond all fragrance, and its leaves and blooms and wood wither not for ever: and its fruit is beautiful, and its fruit n resembles the dates of a palm. and its leaves and blooms and wood wither not for ever: and its fruit is beautiful, and its fruit n resembles the dates of a palm. and its fruit n resembles the dates of a palm.

5 I exclaimed, Behold! This tree is goodly in aspect, pleasing in its leaf, and the sight of its fruit is delightful to the eye. Then Michael, one of the holy and glorious angels who were with me, and one who presided over them, answered,

6 Then answered Michael, one of the holy and honoured angels who was with me, and was their leader.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 25

1 And he said unto me: 'Enoch, why dost thou ask me regarding the fragrance of the tree, and why dost thou wish to learn the truth?' and why dost thou wish to learn the truth?'

2 Then I answered him saying: 'I wish to know about everything, but especially about this tree.'

3 And he answered saying: 'This high mountain which thou hast seen, whose summit is like the throne of God, is His throne, where the Holy Great One, the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King, will sit, when He shall come down to visit the earth with goodness.

4 And as for this fragrant tree no mortal is permitted to touch it till the great judgement, when He shall take vengeance on all and bring (everything) to its consummation for ever. It shall then be given to the righteous and holy.

5 Its fruit shall be for food to the elect: it shall be transplanted to the holy place, to the temple of the Lord, the Eternal King.

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6 Then shall they rejoice with joy and be glad, And into the holy place shall they enter; And its fragrance shall be in their bones, And they shall live a long life on earth, Such as thy fathers lived: And in their days shall no sorrow or plague Or torment or calamity touch them.'

7 Then blessed I the God of Glory, the Eternal King, who hath prepared such things for the righteous, and hath created them and promised to give to them.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 26

1 And I went from thence to the middle of the earth, and I saw a blessed place in which there were trees with branches abiding and blooming [of a dismembered tree].

2 And there I saw a holy mountain, and underneath the mountain to the east there was a stream and it flowed towards the south.

3 And I saw towards the east another mountain higher than this, and between them a deep and narrow ravine: in it also ran a stream underneath the mountain.

4 And to the west thereof there was another mountain, lower than the former and of small elevation, and a ravine deep and dry between them: and another deep and dry ravine was at the extremities of the three mountains.

5 And all the ravines were deep rand narrow, (being formed) of hard rock, and trees were not planted upon them.

6 And I marveled at the rocks, and I marveled at the ravine, yea, I marveled very much.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 27

1 Then said I: 'For what object is this blessed land, which is entirely filled with trees, and this accursed valley between?'

2 Then Uriel, one of the holy angels who was with me, answered and said: 'This accursed valley is for those who are accursed for ever: Here shall all the accursed be gathered together who utter with their lips against the Lord unseemly words and of His glory speak hard things. Here shall they be gathered together, and here shall be their place of judgement.

3 In the last days there shall be upon them the spectacle of righteous judgement in the presence of the righteous for ever: here shall the merciful bless the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King.

4 In the days of judgement over the former, they shall bless Him for the mercy in accordance with which He has assigned them (their lot).'

5 Then I blessed the Lord of Glory and set forth His glory and lauded Him gloriously.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 28

1 And thence I went towards the east, into the midst of the mountain range of the desert, and I saw a wilderness and it was solitary, full of trees and plants. and I saw a wilderness and it was solitary, full of trees and plants.

2 And water gushed forth from above.

3 Rushing like a copious watercourse [which flowed] towards the north-west it caused clouds and dew to ascend on every side.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 29

1 And thence I went to another place in the desert, and approached to the east of this mountain range.

2 And there I saw aromatic trees exhaling the fragrance of frankincense and myrrh, and the trees also were similar to the almond tree.

3 And over it, above them, was the elevation of the eastern mountain at no great distance.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 30

1 And beyond these, I went afar to the east, and I saw another place, a valley (full) of water.

2 And therein there was a tree, the colour (?) of fragrant trees such as the mastic.

3 And on the sides of those valleys I saw fragrant cinnamon.

4 And beyond these I proceeded to the east.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 31

1 And I saw other mountains, and amongst them were groves of trees, and there flowed forth from them nectar, which is named sarara and galbanum.

2 And beyond these mountains I saw another mountain to the east of the ends of the earth, whereon were aloe-trees, and all the trees were full of stacte, being like almond-trees.

3 And when one burnt it, it smelt sweeter than any fragrant odour.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 32

1 And after these fragrant odours, as I looked towards the north over the mountains I saw seven mountains full of choice nard and mastic and cinnamon and pepper.

2 And thence I went over the summits of all these mountains, far towards the east of the earth, and passed above the Erythraean sea and went far from it, and passed over the angel Zotiel.

3 And I came to the Garden of Righteousness, and from afar off trees more numerous than these trees and great two trees there, very great, beautiful, and glorious, and magnificent, and the tree of wisdom whereof the may eat and know great wisdom.

4 That tree is in height like the fir, and its leaves are like (those of) the Carob tree: and its fruit is like the clusters of the vine, very beautiful: and the fragrance of the tree penetrates afar.

5 Then I said: 'How beautiful is the tree, and how attractive is its look!'

6 Then Raphael the holy angel, who was with me, answered me and said: 'This is the tree of wisdom, of which thy father old (in years) and thy aged mother, who were before thee, have eaten, and they learnt wisdom and their eyes were opened, and they knew that they were naked and they were driven out of the garden.'

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 33

1 And from thence I went to the ends of the earth and saw there great beasts, and each differed from the other; and (I saw) birds also differing in appearance and beauty and voice, the one differing from the other.

2 And to the east of those beasts I saw the ends of the earth whereon the heaven rests, and the portals of the heaven open.

3 And I saw how the stars of heaven come forth, and I counted the portals out of which they proceed, and wrote down all their outlets, of each individual star by itself, according to their number and their names, their courses and their positions, and their times and their months, as Uriel the holy angel who was with me showed me.

4 He showed all things to me and wrote them down for me: also their names he wrote for me, and their laws and their companies.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 34

1 And from thence I went towards the north to the ends of the earth, and there I saw a great and glorious device at the ends of the whole earth.

2 And here I saw three portals of heaven open in the heaven: through each of them proceed north winds: when they blow there is cold, hail, frost, snow, dew, and rain.

3 And out of one portal they blew mildly: but when they blow through the other two portals, it is with violence and affliction on the earth, and they blew over the earth strongly.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 35

1 And from thence I went towards the west to the ends of the earth, and saw there three portals of the heaven open such as I had seen in the east, the same number of portals, and the same number of outlets.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 36

1 And from thence I went to the south to the ends of the earth, and saw there three open portals of the heaven: and thence there come dew, rain, and wind.

2 And from thence I went to the east to the ends of the heaven, and saw here the three eastern portals of heaven open and small portals above them. 3. Through each of these small portals pass the stars of heaven and run their course to the west on the path which is shown to them, and that at every period of their appearance.

4 And as often as I saw I blessed always the Lord of Glory, and I continued to bless the Lord of Glory who has wrought great and glorious wonders, to show the greatness of His work to the angels and to spirits and to men, that they might praise His work and all His creation: that they might see the work of His might and praise the great work of His hands and bless Him for ever.

SECTION TWO - Chapters 37-71
"THE PARABLES"
Estimated Range of Dating: 100 B.C.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 37

1 The second vision which he saw, the vision of wisdom- which Enoch the son of Jared, the son of Mahalalel, the son of Cainan, the son of Enos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam, saw.

2 And this is the beginning of the words of wisdom which I lifted up my voice to speak and say to those which dwell on earth: Hear, ye men of old time, and see, ye that come after, the words of the Holy One which I will speak before the Lord of Spirits.

3 It were better to declare (them only) to the men of old time, but even from those that come after we will not withhold the beginning of wisdom.

4 Till the present day such wisdom has never been given by the Lord of Spirits as I have received according to my insight, according to the good pleasure of the Lord of Spirits by whom the lot of eternal life has been given to me.

5 Now three Parables were imparted to me, and I lifted up my voice and recounted them to those that dwell on the earth.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 38

1 The first Parable. When the congregation of the righteous shall appear, And sinners shall be judged for their sins, And shall be driven from the face of the earth:

2 And when the Righteous One shall appear before the eyes of the righteous, Whose elect works hang upon the Lord of Spirits, And light shall appear to the righteous and the elect who dwell on the earth, Where then will be the dwelling of the sinners, And where the resting-place of those who have denied the Lord of Spirits? It had been good for them if they had not been born.

3 When the secrets of the righteous shall be revealed and the sinners judged, And the godless driven from the presence of the righteous and elect,

4 From that time those that possess the earth shall no longer be powerful and exalted: And they shall not be able to behold the face of the holy, For the Lord of Spirits has caused His light to appear On the face of the holy, righteous, and elect.

5 Then shall the kings and the mighty perish And be given into the hands of the righteous and holy. And thenceforward none shall seek for themselves mercy from the Lord of Spirits For their life is at an end.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 39

1 [And it shall come to pass in those days that elect and holy children will descend from the high heaven, and their seed will become one with the children of men.

2 And in those days Enoch received books of zeal and wrath, and books of disquiet and expulsion.] And mercy shall not be accorded to them, saith the Lord of Spirits.

3 And in those days a whirlwind carried me off from the earth, And set me down at the end of the heavens.

4 And there I saw another vision, the dwelling-places of the holy, And the resting-places of the righteous.

5 Here mine eyes saw their dwellings with His righteous angels, And their resting-places with the holy. And they petitioned and interceded and prayed for the children of men, And righteousness flowed before them as water, And mercy like dew upon the earth: Thus it is amongst them for ever and ever.

6 And in that place mine eyes saw the Elect One of righteousness and of faith, Countless shall be the number of the holy and the elect, in the presence of God for ever and for ever.

7 And I saw his dwelling-place under the wings of the Lord of Spirits. And righteousness shall prevail in his days, And the righteous and elect shall be without number before Him for ever and ever. And all the righteous and elect before Him shall be strong as fiery lights, And their mouth shall be full of blessing, And their lips extol the name of the Lord of Spirits, And righteousness before Him shall never fail, [And uprightness shall never fail before Him.]

8 There I wished to remain, And my spirit longed for that dwelling-place: And there heretofore hath been my portion, For so has it been established concerning me before the Lord of Spirits.

9 In those days I praised and extolled the name of the Lord of Spirits with blessings and praises, because He hath destined me for blessing and glory according to the good pleasure of the Lord of Spirits.

10 For a long time my eyes regarded that place, and I blessed Him and praised Him, saying: 'Blessed is He, and may He be blessed from the beginning and for evermore. In the beginning, before the world was created, and without end is his knowledge.

11 And before Him there is no ceasing. He knows before the world was created what is for ever and what will be from generation unto generation.

12 Those who sleep not bless Thee: they stand before Thy glory and bless, praise, and extol, saying: "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Spirits: He filleth the earth with spirits."'

13 And here my eyes saw all those who sleep not: they stand before Him and bless and say: 'Blessed be Thou, and blessed be the name of the Lord for ever and ever.'

14 And my face was changed; for I could no longer behold.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 40

1 And after that I saw thousands of thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, I saw a multitude beyond number and reckoning, who stood before the Lord of Spirits. 2. And on the four sides of the Lord of Spirits I saw four presences, different from those that sleep not, and I learnt their names: for the angel that went with me made known to me their names, and showed me all the hidden things.

3 And I heard the voices of those four presences as they uttered praises before the Lord of glory. 4. The first voice blesses the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever. 5. And the second voice I heard blessing the Elect One and the elect ones who hang upon the Lord of Spirits. 6. And the third voice I heard pray and intercede for those who dwell on the earth and supplicate in the name of the Lord of Spirits. 7. And I heard the fourth voice fending off the Satans and forbidding them to

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come before the Lord of Spirits to accuse them who dwell on the earth.

8 After that I asked the angel of peace who went with me, who showed me everything that is hidden: 'Who are these four presences which I have seen and whose words I have heard and written down?'

9 And he said to me: 'This first is Michael, the merciful and long-suffering: and the second, who is set over all the diseases and all the wounds of the children of men, is Raphael: and the third, who is set over all the powers, is Gabriel: and the fourth, who is set over the repentance unto hope of those who inherit eternal life, is named Phanuel.' 10. And these are the four angels of the Lord of Spirits and the four voices I heard in those days.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 41

1 And after that I saw all the secrets of the heavens, and how the kingdom is divided, and how the actions of men are weighed in the balance.

2 And there I saw the mansions of the elect and the mansions of the holy, and mine eyes saw there all the sinners being driven from thence which deny the name of the Lord of Spirits, and being dragged off: and they could not abide because of the punishment which proceeds from the Lord of Spirits.

3 And there mine eyes saw the secrets of the lightning and of the thunder, and the secrets of the winds, how they are divided to blow over the earth, and the secrets of the clouds and dew, and there I saw from whence they proceed in that place and from whence they saturate the dusty earth.

4 And there I saw closed chambers out of which the winds are divided, the chamber of the hail and winds, the chamber of the mist, and of the clouds, and the cloud thereof hovers over the earth from the beginning of the world.

5 And I saw the chambers of the sun and moon, whence they proceed and whither they come again, and their glorious return, and how one is superior to the other, and their stately orbit, and how they do not leave their orbit, and they add nothing to their orbit and they take nothing from it, and they keep faith with each other, in accordance with the oath by which they are bound together.

6 And first the sun goes forth and traverses his path according to the commandment of the Lord of Spirits, and mighty is His name for ever and ever.

7 And after that I saw the hidden and the visible path of the moon, and she accomplishes the course of her path in that place by day and by night -the one holding a position opposite to the other before the Lord of Spirits. And they give thanks and praise and rest not; For unto them is their thanksgiving rest.

8 For the sun changes oft for a blessing or a curse, And the course of the path of the moon is light to the righteous And darkness to the sinners in the name of the Lord, Who made a separation between the light and the darkness, And divided the spirits of men, And strengthened the spirits of the righteous, In the name of His righteousness.

9 For no angel hinders and no power is able to hinder; for He appoints a judge for them all and He judges them all before Him.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 42

1 Wisdom found no place where she might dwell; Then a dwelling-place was assigned her in the heavens.

2 Wisdom went forth to make her dwelling among the children of men, And found no dwelling-place: Wisdom returned to her place, And took her seat among the angels.

3 And unrighteousness went forth from her chambers: Whom she sought not she found, And dwelt with them, As rain in a desert And dew on a thirsty land.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 43

1 And I saw other lightnings and the stars of heaven, and I saw how He called them all by their names and they hearkened unto Him.

2 And I saw how they are weighed in a righteous balance according to their proportions of light: (I saw) the width of their spaces and the day of their appearing, and how their revolution produces lightning: and (I saw) their revolution according to the number of the angels, and (how) they keep faith with each other.

3 And I asked the angel who went with me who showed me what was hidden: 'What are these?'

4 And he said to me: 'The Lord of Spirits hath showed thee their parabolic meaning: these are the names of the holy who dwell on the earth and believe in the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.'

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 44

1 Also another phenomenon I saw in regard to the lightnings: how some of the stars arise and become lightnings and cannot part with their new form.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 45

1 And this is the second Parable concerning those who deny the name of the dwelling of the holy ones and the Lord of Spirits.

2 And into the heaven they shall not ascend, And on the earth they shall not come: Such shall be the lot of the sinners Who have denied the name of the Lord of Spirits, Who are thus preserved for the day of suffering and tribulation.

3 On that day Mine Elect One shall sit on the throne of glory And shall try their works, And their places of rest shall be innumerable. And their souls shall grow strong within them when they see Mine Elect Ones, And those who have called upon My glorious name:

4 Then will I cause Mine Elect One to dwell among them. And I will transform the heaven and make it an eternal blessing and light

5 And I will transform the earth and make it a blessing: But the sinners and evil-doers shall not set foot thereon.

6 For I have provided and satisfied with peace My righteous ones And have caused them to dwell before Me: But for the sinners there is judgement impending with Me, So that I shall destroy them from the face of the earth.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 46

1 And there I saw One who had a head of days, And His head was white like wool, And with Him was another being whose countenance had the appearance of a man, And his face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels.

2 And I asked the angel who went with me and showed me all the hidden things, concerning that Son of Man, who he was, and whence he was, (and) why he went with the Head of Days?

3 And he answered and said unto me: This is the son of Man who hath righteousness, With whom dwelleth righteousness, And who revealeth all the treasures of that which is hidden, Because the Lord of Spirits hath chosen him, And whose lot hath the pre-eminence before the Lord of Spirits in uprightness for ever.

4 And this Son of Man whom thou hast seen Shall raise up the kings and the mighty from their seats, [And the strong from their thrones] And shall loosen the reins of the strong, And break the teeth of the sinners.

5 [And he shall put down the kings from their thrones and kingdoms] Because they do not extol and praise Him, Nor humbly acknowledge whence the kingdom was bestowed upon them.

6 And he shall put down the countenance of the strong, And shall fill them with shame. And darkness shall be their dwelling, And worms shall be their bed, And they shall have no hope of rising from their beds, Because they do not extol the name of the Lord of Spirits.

7 And these are they who judge the stars of heaven, [And raise their hands against the Most High], And tread upon the earth and dwell upon it. And all their deeds manifest unrighteousness, And their power rests upon their riches, And their faith is in the gods which they have made with their hands, And they deny the name of the Lord of Spirits,

8 And they persecute the houses of His congregations, And the faithful who hang upon the name of the Lord of Spirits.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 47

1 And in those days shall have ascended the prayer of the righteous, And the blood of the righteous from the earth before the Lord of Spirits.

2 In those days the holy ones who dwell above in the heavens Shall unite with one voice And supplicate and pray [and praise, And give thanks and bless the name of the Lord of Spirits] On behalf of the blood of the righteous which has been shed, And that the prayer of the righteous may not be in vain before the Lord of Spirits, That judgement may be done unto them, And that they may not have to suffer for ever.

3 In those days I saw the Head of Days when He seated himself upon the throne of His glory, And the books of the living were opened before Him: And all His host which is in heaven above and His counselors stood before Him,

4 And the hearts of the holy were filled with joy; Because the number of the righteous had been offered, And the prayer of the righteous had been heard, And the blood of the righteous been required before the Lord of Spirits.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 48

1 And in that place I saw the fountain of righteousness Which was inexhaustible: And around it were many fountains of wisdom: And all the thirsty drank of them, And were filled with wisdom, And their dwellings were with the righteous and holy and elect.

2 And at that hour that Son of Man was named In the presence of the Lord of Spirits, And his name before the Head of Days.

3 Yea, before the sun and the signs were created, Before the stars of the heaven were made, His name was named before the Lord of Spirits.

4 He shall be a staff to the righteous whereon to stay themselves and not fall, And he shall be the light of the Gentiles, And the hope of those who are troubled of heart.

5 All who dwell on earth shall fall down and worship before him, And will praise and bless and celebrate with song the Lord of Spirits.

6 And for this reason hath he been chosen and hidden before Him, Before the creation of the world and for evermore.

7 And the wisdom of the Lord of Spirits hath revealed him to the holy and righteous; For he hath preserved the lot of the righteous, Because they have hated and despised this world of unrighteousness, And have hated all its works and ways in the name of the Lord of Spirits: For in his name they are saved, And according to his good pleasure hath it been in regard to their life.

8 In these days downcast in countenance shall the kings of the earth have become, And the strong who possess the land because of the works of their hands, For on the day of their anguish and affliction they shall not (be able to) save themselves.

9 And I will give them over into the hands of Mine elect: As straw in the fire so shall they burn before the face of the holy: As lead in the water shall they sink before the face of the righteous, And no trace of them shall any more be found.

10 And on the day of their affliction there shall be rest on the earth, And before them they shall fall and not rise again: And there shall be no one to take them with his hands and raise them: For they have denied the Lord of Spirits and His Anointed. The name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 49

1 For wisdom is poured out like water, And glory faileth not before him for evermore.

2 For he is mighty in all the secrets of righteousness, And unrighteousness shall disappear as a shadow, And have no continuance; Because the Elect One standeth before the Lord of Spirits, And his glory is for ever and ever, And his might unto all generations.

3 And in him dwells the spirit of wisdom, And the spirit which gives insight, And the spirit of understanding and of might, And the spirit of those who have fallen asleep in righteousness.

4 And he shall judge the secret things, And none shall be able to utter a lying word before him; For he is the Elect One before the Lord of Spirits according to His good pleasure.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 50

1 And in those days a change shall take place for the holy and elect, And the light of days shall abide upon them, And glory and honour shall turn to the holy,

2 On the day of affliction on which evil shall have been treasured up against the sinners. And the righteous shall be victorious in the name of the Lord of Spirits: And He will cause the others to witness (this) That they may repent And forgo the works of their hands.

3 They shall have no honour through the name of the Lord of Spirits, Yet through His name shall they be saved, And the Lord of Spirits will have compassion on them, For His compassion is great.

4 And He is righteous also in His judgement, And in the presence of His glory unrighteousness also shall not maintain itself: At His judgement the unrepentant shall perish before Him.

5 And from henceforth I will have no mercy on them, saith the Lord of Spirits.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 51

1 And in those days shall the earth also give back that which has been entrusted to it, And Sheol also shall give back that which it has received, And hell shall give back that which it owes. For in those days the Elect One shall arise,

2 And he shall choose the righteous and holy from among them: For the day has drawn nigh that they should be saved.

3 And the Elect One shall in those days sit on My throne, And his mouth shall pour forth all the secrets of wisdom and counsel: For the Lord of Spirits hath given (them) to him and hath glorified him.

4 And in those days shall the mountains leap like rams, And the hills also shall skip like lambs satisfied with milk, And the faces of [all] the angels in heaven shall be lighted up with joy. And the earth shall rejoice, And the righteous shall dwell upon it, And the elect shall walk thereon.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 52

1 And after those days in that place where I had seen all the visions of that which is hidden-for I had been carried off in a whirlwind and they had borne me towards the west-

2 There mine eyes saw all the secret things of heaven that shall be, a mountain of iron, and a mountain of copper, and a mountain of silver, and a mountain of gold, and a mountain of soft metal, and a mountain of lead.

3 And I asked the angel who went with me, saying, 'What things are these which I have seen in secret?'

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4 And he said unto me: 'All these things which thou hast seen shall serve the dominion of His Anointed that he may be potent and mighty on the earth.'

5 And that angel of peace answered, saying unto me: 'Wait a little, and there shall be revealed unto thee all the secret things which surround the Lord of Spirits.

6 And these mountains which thine eyes have seen, The mountain of iron, and the mountain of copper, and the mountain of silver, And the mountain of gold, and the mountain of soft metal, and the mountain of lead, All these shall be in the presence of the Elect One As wax: before the fire, And like the water which streams down from above [upon those mountains], And they shall become powerless before his feet.

7 And it shall come to pass in those days that none shall be saved, Either by gold or by silver, And none be able to escape.

8 And there shall be no iron for war, Nor shall one clothe oneself with a breastplate. Bronze shall be of no service, And tin [shall be of no service and] shall not be esteemed, And lead shall not be desired.

9 And all these things shall be [denied and] destroyed from the surface of the earth, When the Elect One shall appear before the face of the Lord of Spirits.'

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 53

1 There mine eyes saw a deep valley with wide open mouths, and all who dwell on the earth and sea and islands shall bring to him gifts and presents and tokens of homage, but that deep valley shall not become full.

2 And their hands commit lawless deeds, And the sinners devour all whom they lawlessly oppress: Yet the sinners shall be destroyed before the face of the Lord of Spirits, And they shall be banished from off the face of His earth, And they shall perish for ever and ever.

3 For I saw all the angels of punishment abiding (there) and preparing all the instruments of Satan.

4 And I asked the angel of peace who went with me: 'For whom are they preparing these Instruments?'

5 And he said unto me: 'They prepare these for the kings and the mighty of this earth, that they may thereby be destroyed.

6 And after this the Righteous and Elect One shall cause the house of his congregation to appear: henceforth they shall be no more hindered in the name of the Lord of Spirits. 7. And these mountains shall not stand as the earth before his righteousness, But the hills shall be as a fountain of water, And the righteous shall have rest from the oppression of sinners.'

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 54

1 And I looked and turned myself to another part of the earth, and saw there a deep valley with burning fire.

2 And they brought the kings and the mighty, and began to cast them into this deep valley.

3 And there mine eyes saw how they made these their instruments, iron chains of immeasurable weight.

4 And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, who went with me, saying: ' For whom are these chains being prepared ?'

5 And he said unto me: 'These are being prepared for the hosts of Azazel, so that they may take them and cast them into the abyss of complete condemnation, and they shall cover their jaws with rough stones as the Lord of Spirits commanded.

6 And Michael, and Gabriel, and Raphael, and Phanuel shall take hold of them on that great day, and cast them on that day into the burning furnace, that the Lord of Spirits may take vengeance on them for their unrighteousness in becoming subject to Satan and leading astray those who dwell on the earth.'

7 And in those days shall punishment come from the Lord of Spirits, and he will open all the chambers of waters which are above the heavens, and of the fountains which are under the heavens and beneath the earth.

8 And all the waters which are in the heavens and above them, shall be joined with the waters: that which is above the heavens is the masculine, and the water which is beneath the earth is the feminine.

9 And they shall destroy all who dwell on the earth and those who dwell under the ends of the heaven.

10. And when they have recognized their unrighteousness which they have wrought on the earth, then by these shall they perish.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 55

1 And after that the Head of Days repented and said: ' In vain have I destroyed all who dwell on the earth.'

2 And He sware by His great name: 'Henceforth I will not do so to all who dwell on the earth, and I will set a sign in the heaven: and this shall be a pledge of good faith between Me and them for ever, as long as the days of heaven and earth last upon the earth. And this is in accordance with My command.

3 When I have desired to take hold of them by the hand of the angels on the day of tribulation and pain because of this, I will cause My chastisement and My wrath to abide upon them, saith God, the Lord of Spirits.

4 Ye mighty kings who dwell on the earth, ye shall have to behold Mine Elect One, how he sits on the throne of glory and judges Azazel, and all his associates, and all his hosts in the name of the Lord of Spirits.'

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 56

1 And I saw there the hosts of the angels of punishment going, and they held scourges and chains of iron and bronze.

2 And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, saying: 'To whom are these who hold the scourges going ? '

3 And he said unto me: 'To their elect and beloved ones, that they may be cast into the chasm of the abyss of the valley.

4 And then that valley shall be filled with their elect and beloved, And the days of their lives shall be at an end, And the days of their leading astray shall not thenceforward be reckoned.

5 And in those days the angels shall return And hurl themselves to the east upon the Parthians and Medes: They shall stir up the kings, so that a spirit of unrest shall come upon them, And they shall rouse them from their thrones, That they may break forth as lions from their lairs, And as hungry wolves among their flocks.

6 And they shall go up and tread under foot the land of His elect ones [And the land of His elect ones shall be before them a threshing-floor and a highway :]

7 But the city of my righteous shall be a hindrance to their horses. And they shall begin to fight among themselves, And their right hand shall be strong against themselves, And a man shall not know his brother, Nor a son his father or his mother, Till there be no number of the corpses through their slaughter, And their punishment be not in vain.

8 In those days Sheol shall open its jaws, And they shall be swallowed up therein And their destruction shall be at an end; Sheol shall devour the sinners in the presence of the elect.'

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 57

1. And it came to pass after this that I saw another host of wagons, and men riding thereon, and coming on the winds from the east, and from the west to the south.

2. And the noise of their wagons was heard, and when this turmoil took place the holy ones from heaven remarked it, and the pillars of the earth were moved from their place, and the sound thereof was heard from the one end of heaven to the other, in one day.

3. And they shall all fall down and worship the Lord of Spirits. And this is the end of the second Parable.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 58

1 And I began to speak the third Parable concerning the righteous and elect.

2 Blessed are ye, ye righteous and elect, For glorious shall be your lot.

3 And the righteous shall be in the light of the sun. And the elect in the light of eternal life: The days of their life shall be unending, And the days of the holy without number.

4 And they shall seek the light and find righteousness with the Lord of Spirits: There shall be peace to the righteous in the name of the Eternal Lord. And the light of uprightness established for ever before the Lord of Spirits.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 59

1 [In those days mine eyes saw the secrets of the lightnings, and of the lights, and the judgements they execute: and they lighten for a blessing or a curse as the Lord of Spirits willeth.

2 And there I saw the secrets of the thunder, and how when it resounds above in the heaven, the sound thereof is heard, and he caused me to see the judgements executed on the earth, whether they be for well-being and blessing, or for a curse according to the word of the Lord of Spirits.

3 And there I saw the secrets of the thunder, when it rattles above in heaven, and its sound is heard.

4 The habitations also of the earth were shown to me. The sound of the thunder is for peace and for blessing, as well as for a curse, according to the word of the Lord of spirits.

5 And after that all the secrets of the lights and lightnings were shown to me, and they lighten for blessing and for satisfying.]

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 60

(A Fragment of the Book of Noah)

1 In the year 500, in the seventh month, on the fourteenth day of the month in the life of Enoch. In that Parable I saw how a mighty quaking made the heaven of heavens to quake, and the host of the Most High, and the angels, a thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, were disquieted with a great disquiet.

2 And the Head of Days sat on the throne of His glory, and the angels and the righteous stood around Him.

3 And a great trembling seized me, And fear took hold of me, And my loins gave way, And dissolved were my reins, And I fell upon my face.

4 And Michael sent another angel from among the holy ones and he raised me up, and when he had raised me up my spirit returned; for I had not been able to endure the look of this host, and the commotion and the quaking of the heaven.

5 And Michael said unto me: 'Why art thou disquieted with such a vision?" Until this day lasted the day of His mercy; and He hath been merciful and long-suffering towards those who dwell on the earth.

6 And when the day, and the power, and the punishment, and the judgement come, which the Lord of Spirits hath prepared for those who worship not the righteous law, and for those who deny the righteous judgement, and for those who take His name in vain -that day is prepared, for the elect as a day of covenant; and for sinners as a day of inquisition.

7 And on that day were two monsters parted, a female monster named Leviathan, to dwell in the abysses of the ocean over the fountains of the waters.

8 But the male is named Behemoth, who occupied with his breast a waste wilderness named Duidain, on the east of the garden where the elect and righteous dwell, where my grandfather was taken up, the seventh man from Adam, the first man whom the Lord of Spirits created.

9 And I besought the other angel that he should show me the might of those monsters, how they were parted on one day and cast, the one into the abysses of the sea, and the other unto the dry land of the wilderness.

10 And he said to me: "Thou son of man, herein thou dost seek to know what is hidden'. And the angel of peace who was with me said to me: 'These two monsters, prepared conformably to the greatness of God, shall feed . . . . When the punishment of the Lord of Spirits shall rest upon them, it shall rest in order that the punishment of the Lord of Spirits may not come, in vain, and it shall slay the children with their mothers and the children with their fathers. Afterwards the judgement shall take place according to His mercy and His patience.'

11 And the other angel who went with me and showed me what was hidden told me what is first and last in the heaven in the height, and beneath the earth in the depth, and at the ends of the heaven, and on the foundation of the heaven.

12 And the chambers of the winds, and how the winds are divided, and how they are weighed, and how both the springs and (how) the portals of the winds are reckoned, each according to the power of the wind, and the power of the lights of the moon, and according to the power that is fitting: and the divisions of the stars according to their names, and how all the divisions are divided.

13 And the thunders according to the places where they fall, and all the divisions that are made among the lightnings that it may lighten, and their host that they may at once obey.

14 For the thunder has places of rest (which) are assigned (to it) while it is waiting for its peal; and the thunder and lightning are inseparable, and although not one and undivided, they both go together through the spirit and separate not.

15 For when the lightning lightens, the thunder utters its voice, and the spirit enforces a pause during the peal, and divides equally between them; for the treasury of their peals is like the sand, and each one of them as it peals is held in with a bridle, and turned back by the power of the spirit, and pushed forward according to the many quarters of the earth.

16 And the spirit of the sea is masculine and strong, and according to the might of his strength he draws it back with a rein, and in like manner it is driven forward and disperses amid all the mountains of the earth.

17 And the spirit of the hoar-frost is his own angel, and the spirit of the hail is a good angel.

18 And the spirit of the snow has forsaken his chambers on account of his strength -There is a special spirit therein, and that which ascends from it is like smoke, and its name is frost.

19 And the spirit of the mist is not united with them in their chambers, but it has a special chamber; for its course is glorious both in light and in darkness, and in winter and in summer, and in its chamber is an angel.

20 And the spirit of the dew has its dwelling at the ends of the heaven, and is connected with the chambers of the rain, and its course is in winter and summer: and its clouds and the clouds of the mist are connected, and the one gives to the other.

21 And when the spirit of the rain goes forth from its chamber, the angels come and open the chamber and lead it out, and when it is diffused over the whole earth it unites with the water on the earth. And whensoever it unites with the water on the earth {. . .}

22 For the waters are for those who dwell on the earth; for they are nourishment for the earth from the Most High who is in heaven: therefore there is a measure for the rain, and the angels take it in charge.

23. And these things I saw towards the Garden of the Righteous.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 61

1 And I saw in those days how long cords were given to those angels, and they took to themselves wings and flew, and they went towards the north.

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2 And I asked the angel, saying unto him: 'Why have those (angels) taken these cords and gone off? 'And he said unto me: 'They have gone to measure.'

3 And the angel who went with me said unto me: 'These shall bring the measures of the righteous, And the ropes of the righteous to the righteous, That they may stay themselves on the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.

4 The elect shall begin to dwell with the elect, And those are the measures which shall be given to faith And which shall strengthen righteousness.

5 And these measures shall reveal all the secrets of the depths of the earth, And those who have been destroyed by the desert, And those who have been devoured by the beasts, And those who have been devoured by the fish of the sea, That they may return and stay themselves On the day of the Elect One; For none shall be destroyed before the Lord of Spirits, And none can be destroyed.

6 And all who dwell above in the heaven received a command and power and one voice and one light like unto fire.

7 And that One (with) their first words they blessed, And extolled and lauded with wisdom, And they were wise in utterance and in the spirit of life.

8 And the Lord of Spirits placed the Elect one on the throne of glory. And he shall judge all the works of the holy above in the heaven, And in the balance shall their deeds be weighed

9 And when he shall lift up his countenance To judge their secret ways according to the word of the name of the Lord of Spirits, And their path according to the way of the righteous judgement of the Lord of Spirits, Then shall they all with one voice speak and bless, And glorify and extol and sanctify the name of the Lord of Spirits.

10 And He will summon all the host of the heavens, and all the holy ones above, and the host of God, the Cherubic, Seraphin and Ophannin, and all the angels of power, and all the angels of principalities, and the Elect One, and the other powers on the earth (and) over the water.

11 On that day shall raise one voice, and bless and glorify and exalt in the spirit of faith, and in the spirit of wisdom, and in the spirit of patience, and in the spirit of mercy, and in the spirit of judgement and of peace, and in the spirit of goodness, and shall all say with one voice: "Blessed is He, and may the name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed for ever and ever".

12 All who sleep not above in heaven shall bless Him: All the holy ones who are in heaven shall bless Him, And all the elect who dwell in the garden of life: And every spirit of light who is able to bless, and glorify, and extol, and hallow Thy blessed name, And all flesh shall beyond measure glorify and bless Thy name for ever and ever.

13 For great is the mercy of the Lord of Spirits, and He is long-suffering, And all His works and all that He has created He has revealed to the righteous and elect In the name of the Lord of Spirits.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 62

1 And thus the Lord commanded the kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those who dwell on the earth, and said: 'Open your eyes and lift up your horns if ye are able to recognize the Elect One".

2 And the Lord of Spirits seated him on the throne of His glory, And the spirit of righteousness was poured out upon him, And the word of his mouth slays all the sinners, And all the unrighteous are destroyed from before his face.

3 And there shall stand up in that day all the kings and the mighty, And the exalted and those who hold the earth, And they shall see and recognize How he sits on the throne of his glory, And righteousness is judged before him, And no lying word is spoken before him.

4 Then shall pain come upon them as on a woman in travail, [And she has pain in bringing forth] When her child enters the mouth of the womb, And she has pain in bringing forth.

5 And one portion of them shall look on the other, And they shall be terrified, And they shall be downcast of countenance, And pain shall seize them, When they see that Son of Man Sitting on the throne of his glory.

6 And the kings and the mighty and all who possess the earth shall bless and glorify and extol him who rules over all, who was hidden.

7 For from the beginning the Son of Man was hidden, And the Most High preserved him in the presence of His might, And revealed him to the elect.

8 And the congregation of the elect and holy shall be sown, And all the elect shall stand before him on that day.

9 And all the kings and the mighty and the exalted and those who rule the earth Shall fall down before him on their faces, And worship and set their hope upon that Son of Man, And petition him and supplicate for mercy at his hands.

10 Nevertheless that Lord of Spirits will so press them That they shall hastily go forth from His presence, And their faces shall be filled with shame, And the darkness grow deeper on their faces.

11 And He will deliver them to the angels for punishment, To execute vengeance on them because they have oppressed His children and His elect

12 And they shall be a spectacle for the righteous and for His elect: They shall rejoice over them, Because the wrath of the Lord of Spirits resteth upon them, And His sword is drunk with their blood.

13 And the righteous and elect shall be saved on that day, And they shall never thenceforward see the face of the sinners and unrighteous.

14 And the Lord of Spirits will abide over them, And with that Son of Man shall they eat And lie down and rise up for ever and ever.

15 And the righteous and elect shall have risen from the earth, And ceased to be of downcast countenance. And they shall have been clothed with garments of glory,

16 And these shall be the garments of life from the Lord of Spirits: And your garments shall not grow old, Nor your glory pass away before the Lord of Spirits.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 63

1 In those days shall the mighty and the kings who possess the earth implore (Him) to grant them a little respite from His angels of punishment to whom they were delivered, that he may give rest for a short period; that they might fall down and worship before the Lord of Spirits, and confess their sins before Him.

2 And they shall bless and glorify the Lord of Spirits, and say: 'Blessed is the Lord of Spirits and the Lord of kings, And the Lord of glory and the Lord of wisdom,

3 And splendid in every secret thing is Thy power from generation to generation, And Thy glory for ever and ever: Deep are all Thy secrets and innumerable, And Thy righteousness is beyond reckoning.

4 We have now learnt that we should glorify And bless the Lord of kings and Him who is king over all kings.'

5 And they shall say: ' Would that we had rest to glorify and give thanks And confess our faith before His glory!

6 And now we long for a little rest but find it not: We follow hard upon and obtain (it) not: And light has vanished from before us, And darkness is our dwelling-place for ever and ever:

7 For we have not believed before Him Nor glorified the name of the Lord of Spirits, [nor glorified our Lord] But our hope was in the sceptre of our kingdom, And in our glory.

8 And in the day of our suffering and tribulation He saves us not, And we find no respite for confession That our Lord is true in all His works, and in His judgements and His justice, And His judgements have no respect of persons.

9 And we pass away from before His face on account of our works, And all our sins are reckoned up in righteousness.'

10 Now they shall say unto themselves: 'Our souls are full of unrighteous gain, but it does not prevent us from descending from the midst thereof into the burden of Sheol.'

11 And after that their faces shall be filled with darkness And shame before that Son of Man, And they shall be driven from his presence, And the sword shall abide before his face in their midst.

12 Thus spake the Lord of Spirits: ' This is the ordinance and judgement with respect to the mighty and the kings and the exalted and those who possess the earth before the Lord of Spirits.'

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 64

1 And other forms I saw hidden in that place.

2 I heard the voice of the angel saying: 'These are the angels who descended to the earth, and revealed what was hidden to the children of men and seduced the children of men into committing sin.'

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 65

1 And in those days Noah saw the earth that it had sunk down and its destruction was nigh.

2 And he arose from thence and went to the ends of the earth, and cried aloud to his grandfather Enoch: and Noah said three times with an embittered voice: Hear me, hear me, hear me.'

3 And I said unto him: ' Tell me what it is that is falling out on the earth that the earth is in such evil plight and shaken, lest perchance I shall perish with it? '

4 And thereupon there was a great commotion, on the earth, and a voice was heard from heaven, and I fell on my face.

5 And Enoch my grandfather came and stood by me, and said unto me: 'Why hast thou cried unto me with a bitter cry and weeping?"

6 And a command has gone forth from the presence of the Lord concerning those who dwell on the earth that their ruin is accomplished because they have learnt all the secrets of the angels, and all the violence of the Satans, and all their powers -the most secret ones- and all the power of those who practice sorcery, and the power of witchcraft, and the power of those who make molten images for the whole earth:

7 And how silver is produced from the dust of the earth, and how soft metal originates in the earth.

8 For lead and tin are not produced from the earth like the first: it is a fountain that produces them, and an angel stands therein, and that angel is pre-eminent.'

9 And after that my grandfather Enoch took hold of me by my hand and raised me up, and said unto me: 'Go, for I have asked the Lord of Spirits as touching this commotion on the earth.

10 And He said unto me: "Because of their unrighteousness their judgement has been determined upon and shall not be withheld by Me for ever. Because of the sorceries which they have searched out and learnt, the earth and those who dwell upon it shall be destroyed."

11 And these-they have no place of repentance for ever, because they have shown them what was hidden, and they are the damned: but as for thee, my son, the Lord of Spirits knows that thou art pure, and guiltless of this reproach concerning the secrets.

12 And He has destined thy name to be among the holy, And will preserve thee amongst those who dwell on the earth, And has destined thy righteous seed both for kingship and for great honours, And from thy seed shall proceed a fountain of the righteous and holy without number for ever.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 66

1 And after that he showed me the angels of punishment who are prepared to come and let loose all the powers of the waters which are beneath in the earth in order to bring judgement and destruction on all who [abide and] dwell on the earth.

2 And the Lord of Spirits gave commandment to the angels who were going forth, that they should not cause the waters to rise but should hold them in check; for those angels were over the powers of the waters.

3 And I went away from the presence of Enoch.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 67

1 And in those days the word of God came unto me, and He said unto me: 'Noah, thy lot has come Up before Me, a lot without blame, a lot of love and uprightness.

2 And now the angels are making a wooden (building), and when they have completed that task I will place My hand upon it and preserve it, and there shall come forth from it the seed of life, and a change shall set in so that the earth will not remain without inhabitant.

3 And I will make fast thy seed before me for ever and ever, and I will spread abroad those who dwell with thee: it shall not be unfruitful on the face of the earth, but it shall be blessed and multiply on the earth in the name of the Lord.' 4. And He will imprison those angels, who have shown unrighteousness, in that burning valley which my grandfather Enoch had formerly shown to me in the west among the mountains of gold and silver and iron and soft metal and tin.

5 And I saw that valley in which there was a great convulsion and a convulsion of the waters.

6 And when all this took place, from that fiery molten metal and from the convulsion thereof in that place, there was produced a smell of sulphur, and it was connected with those waters, and that valley of the angels who had led astray (mankind) burned beneath that land.

7 And through its valleys proceed streams of fire, where these angels are punished who had led astray those who dwell upon the earth.

8 But those waters shall in those days serve for the kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those who dwell on the earth, for the healing of the body, but for the punishment of the spirit; now their spirit is full of lust, that they may be punished in their body, for they have denied the Lord of Spirits and see their punishment daily, and yet believe not in His name.

9 And in proportion as the burning of their bodies becomes severe, a corresponding change shall take place in their spirit for ever and ever; for before the Lord of Spirits none shall utter an idle word.

10 For the judgement shall come upon them, because they believe in the lust of their body and deny the Spirit of the Lord.

11 And those same waters will undergo a change in those days; for when those angels are punished in these waters, these water-springs shall change their temperature, and when the angels ascend, this water of the springs shall change and become cold.

12 And I heard Michael answering and saying: 'This judgement wherewith the angels are judged is a testimony for the kings and the mighty who possess the earth.'

13 Because these waters of judgement minister to the healing of the body of the kings and the lust of their body; therefore they will not see and will not believe that those waters will change and become a fire which burns for ever.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 68

1 And after that my grandfather Enoch gave me the teaching of all the secrets in the book in the Parables which had been given to him, and he put them together for me in the words of the book of the Parables.

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2 And on that day Michael answered Raphael and said: 'The power of the spirit transports and makes me to tremble because of the severity of the judgement of the secrets, the judgement of the angels: who can endure the severe judgement which has been executed, and before which they melt away?'

3 And Michael answered again, and said to Raphael: 'Who is he whose heart is not softened concerning it, and whose reins are not troubled by this word of judgement (that) has gone forth upon them because of those who have thus led them out ? '

4 And it came to pass when he stood before the Lord of Spirits, Michael said thus to Raphael: 'I will not take their part under the eye of the Lord; for the Lord of Spirits has been angry with them because they do as if they were the Lord.

5 Therefore all that is hidden shall come upon them for ever and ever; for neither angel nor man shall have his portion (in it), but alone they have received their judgement for ever and ever.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 69

1 And after this judgement they shall terrify and make them to tremble because they have shown this to those who dwell on the earth.

2 And behold the names of those angels: the first of them is Samjaza,
the second Artaqifa,
and the third Armen,
the fourth Kokabel,
the fifth Turael,
the sixth Rumjal,
the seventh Danjal,
the eighth Neqael,
the ninth Baraqel,
the tenth Azazel,
the eleventh Armaros,
the twelfth Batarjal,
the thirteenth Busasejal,
the fourteenth Hananel,
the fifteenth Turel,
and the sixteenth Simapesiel,
the seventeenth Jetrel,
the eighteenth Tumael,
the nineteenth Turel,
the twentieth Rumael,
the twenty-first Azazel.

3 And these are the chiefs of their angels and their names, and their leaders over hundreds and over fifties and over tens].

4 The name of the first Jeqon: that is, the one who led astray [all] the sons of God, and brought them down to the earth, and led them astray through the daughters of men.

5 And the second was named Asbeel: he imparted to the holy sons of God evil counsel, and led them astray so that they defiled their bodies with the daughters of men.

6 And the third was named Gadreel: he it is who showed the children of men all the blows of death, and he led astray Eve, and showed [the weapons of death to the sons of men] the shield and the coat of mail, and the sword for battle, and all the weapons of death to the children of men.

7 And from his hand they have proceeded against those who dwell on the earth from that day and for evermore.

8 And the fourth was named Penemue: he taught the children of men the bitter and the sweet, and he taught them all the secrets of their wisdom.

9 And he instructed mankind in writing with ink and paper, and thereby many sinned from eternity to eternity and until this day.

10 For men were not created for such a purpose, to give confirmation to their good faith with pen and ink.

11 For men were created exactly like the angels, to the intent that they should continue pure and righteous, and death, which destroys everything, could not have taken hold of them, but through this their knowledge they are perishing, and through this power it is consuming me.

12 And the fifth was named Kasdeja: this is he who showed the children of men all the wicked smitings of spirits and demons, and the smitings of the embryo in the womb, that it may pass away, and [the smitings of the soul] the bites of the serpent, and the smitings which befall through the noontide heat, the son of the serpent named Taba'et.

13 And this is the task of Kasbeel, the principal part of the oath which he showed to the holy ones when he dwelt high above in glory, and its name is Biqa.

14 This (angel) requested Michael to show him the hidden name, that they might understand that secret name, and thus he might enunciate it in the oath, so that those might quake before that name and oath who revealed all that was in secret to the children of men.

15 And this is the power of this oath, for it is powerful and strong, and he placed this oath Akae in the hand of Michael.

16 And these are the secrets of this oath {. . .} And they are strong through his oath: And the heaven was suspended before the world was created, And for ever.

17 And through it the earth was founded upon the water, And from the secret recesses of the mountains come beautiful waters, From the creation of the world and unto eternity.

18 And through that oath the sea was created, And as its foundation He set for it the sand against the time of (its) anger, And it dare not pass beyond it from the creation of the world unto eternity.

19 And through that oath are the depths made fast, And abide and stir not from their place from eternity to eternity.

20 And through that oath the sun and moon complete their course, And deviate not from their ordinance from eternity to eternity.

21 And through that oath the stars complete their course, And He calls them by their names, And they answer Him from eternity to eternity.

22 [And in like manner the spirits of the water, and of the winds, and of all zephyrs, and (their) paths from all the quarters of the winds.

23 And there are preserved the voices of the thunder and the light of the lightnings: and there are preserved the chambers of the hail and the chambers of the hoarfrost, and the chambers of the mist, and the chambers of the rain and the dew.

24 And all these believe and give thanks before the Lord of Spirits, and glorify (Him) with all their power, and their food is in every act of thanksgiving: they thank and glorify and extol the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.]

25 And this oath is mighty over them And through it [they are preserved and] their paths are preserved, And their course is not destroyed.

26 And there was great joy amongst them, And they blessed and glorified and extolled Because the name of that Son of Man had been revealed unto them.

27 And he sat on the throne of his glory, And the sum of judgement was given unto the Son of Man, And he caused the sinners to pass away and be destroyed from off the face of the earth, And those who have led the world astray.

28 With chains shall they be bound, And in their assemblage-place of destruction shall they be imprisoned, And all their works vanish from the face of the earth.

29 And from henceforth there shall be nothing corruptible; For that Son of Man has appeared, And has seated himself on the throne of his glory, And all evil shall pass away before his face, And the word of that Son of Man shall go forth And be strong before the Lord of Spirits. This is the third parable of Enoch.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 70

1 And it came to pass after this that his name during his lifetime was raised aloft to that Son of Man and to the Lord of Spirits from amongst those who dwell on the earth.

2 And he was raised aloft on the chariots of the spirit and his name vanished among them.

3 And from that day I was no longer numbered amongst them: and he set me between the two winds, between the North and the 4 West, where the angels took the cords to measure for me the place for the elect and righteous.

4 And there I saw the first fathers and the righteous who from the beginning dwell in that place.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 71

1 And it came to pass after this that my spirit was translated And it ascended into the heavens: And I saw the holy sons of God. They were stepping on flames of fire: Their garments were white [and their raiment], And their faces shone like snow.

2 And I saw two streams of fire, And the light of that fire shone like hyacinth, And I fell on my face before the Lord of Spirits.

3 And the angel Michael [one of the archangels] seized me by my right hand, And lifted me up and led me forth into all the secrets, And he showed me all the secrets of righteousness.

4 And he showed me all the secrets of the ends of the heaven, And all the chambers of all the stars, and all the luminaries, Whence they proceed before the face of the holy ones.

5 And he translated my spirit into the heaven of heavens, And I saw there as it were a structure built of crystals, And between those crystals tongues of living fire.

6 And my spirit saw the girdle which girt that house of fire, And on its four sides were streams full of living fire, And they girt that house.

7 And round about were Seraphin, Cherubic, and Ophannin: And these are they who sleep not And guard the throne of His glory.

8 And I saw angels who could not be counted, A thousand thousands, and ten thousand times ten thousand, Encircling that house. And Michael, and Raphael, and Gabriel, and Phanuel, And the holy angels who are above the heavens, Go in and out of that house.

9 And they came forth from that house, And Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel, And many holy angels without number.

10 And with them the Head of Days, His head white and pure as wool, And His raiment indescribable.

11 And I fell on my face, And my whole body became relaxed, And my spirit was transfigured; And I cried with a loud voice, . . . with the spirit of power, And blessed and glorified and extolled.

12 And these blessings which went forth out of my mouth were well pleasing before that Head of Days.

13 And that Head of Days came with Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel, thousands and ten thousands of angels without number. [Lost passage wherein the Son of Man was described as accompanying the Head of Days, and Enoch asked one of the angels (as in xlvi. 3) concerning the Son of Man as to who he was.]

14 And he (i.e. the angel) came to me and greeted me with His voice, and said unto me 'This is the Son of Man who is born unto righteousness, And righteousness abides over him, And the righteousness of the Head of Days forsakes him not.'

15 And he said unto me: 'He proclaims unto thee peace in the name of the world to come; For from hence has proceeded peace since the creation of the world, And so shall it be unto thee for ever and for ever and ever.

16 And all shall walk in his ways since righteousness never forsaketh him: With him will be their dwelling-places, and with him their heritage, And they shall not be separated from him for ever and ever and ever.

17 And so there shall be length of days with that Son of Man, And the righteous shall have peace and an upright way In the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.'

SECTION THREE - Chapters 72-82
"ON THE COURSES OF THE HEAVENLY LUMINARIES."

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 72

1 The book of the courses of the luminaries of the heaven, the relations of each, according to their classes, their dominion and their seasons, according to their names and places of origin, and according to their months, which Uriel, the holy angel, who was with me, who is their guide, showed me; and he showed me all their laws exactly as they are, and how it is with regard to all the years of the world and unto eternity, till the new creation is accomplished which dureth till eternity.

2 And this is the first law of the luminaries: the luminary the Sun has its rising in the eastern portals of the heaven, and its setting in the western portals of the heaven. 3. And I saw six portals in which the sun rises, and six portals in which the sun sets and the moon rises and sets in these portals, and the leaders of the stars and those whom they lead: six in the east and six in the west, and all following each other in accurately corresponding order: also many windows to the right and left of these portals.

4 And first there goes forth the great luminary, named the Sun, and his circumference is like the circumference of the heaven, and he is quite filled with illuminating and heating fire.

5 The chariot on which he ascends, the wind drives, and the sun goes down from the heaven and returns through the north in order to reach the east, and is so guided that he comes to the appropriate ' that ' portal and shines in the face of the heaven. 6. In this way he rises in the first month in the great portal, which is the fourth [those six portals in the cast].

7 And in that fourth portal from which the sun rises in the first month are twelve window-openings, from which proceed a flame when they are opened in their season.

8 When the sun rises in the heaven, he comes forth through that fourth portal thirty, mornings in succession, and sets accurately in the fourth portal in the west of the heaven.

9 And during this period the day becomes daily longer and the night nightly shorter to the thirtieth morning.

10 On that day the day is longer than the night by a ninth part, and the day amounts exactly to ten parts and the night to eight parts.

11 And the sun rises from that fourth portal, and sets in the fourth and returns to the fifth portal of the east thirty mornings, and rises from it and sets in the fifth portal.

12 And then the day becomes longer by two parts and amounts to eleven parts, and the night becomes shorter and amounts to seven parts.

13 And it returns to the east and enters into the sixth portal, and rises and sets in the sixth portal one-and-thirty mornings on account of its sign.

14 On that day the day becomes longer than the night, and the day becomes double the night, and the day becomes twelve parts, and the night is shortened and becomes six parts.

15 And the sun mounts up to make the day shorter and the night longer, and the sun returns to the east and enters into the sixth portal, and rises from it and sets thirty mornings.

16 And when thirty mornings are accomplished, the day decreases by exactly one part, and becomes eleven parts, and the night seven.

17 And the sun goes forth from that sixth portal in the west, and goes to the east and rises in the fifth portal for thirty

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mornings, and sets in the west again in the fifth western portal.

18 On that day the day decreases by two parts, and amounts to ten parts and the night to eight parts.

19 And the sun goes forth from that fifth portal and sets in the fifth portal of the west, and rises in the fourth portal for one- and-thirty mornings on account of its sign, and sets in the west.

20 On that day the day is equalised with the night, [and becomes of equal length], and the night amounts to nine parts and the day to nine parts.

21 And the sun rises from that portal and sets in the west, and returns to the east and rises thirty mornings in the third portal and sets in the west in the third portal.

22 And on that day the night becomes longer than the day, and night becomes longer than night, and day shorter than day till the thirtieth morning, and the night amounts exactly to ten parts and the day to eight parts.

23 And the sun rises from that third portal and sets in the third portal in the west and returns to the east, and for thirty mornings rises in the second portal in the east, and in like manner sets in the second portal in the west of the heaven. 24. And on that day the night amounts to eleven parts and the day to seven parts.

25 And the sun rises on that day from that second portal and sets in the west in the second portal, and returns to the east into the first portal for one-and-thirty mornings, and sets in the first portal in the west of the heaven. 26. And on that day the night becomes longer and amounts to the double of the day: and the night amounts exactly to twelve parts and the day to six.

27 And the sun has (therewith) traversed the divisions of his orbit and turns again on those divisions of his orbit, and enters that portal thirty mornings and sets also in the west opposite to it.

28 And on that night has the night decreased in length by a ninth part, and the night has become eleven parts and the day seven parts.

29 And the sun has returned and entered into the second portal in the east, and returns on those his divisions of his orbit for thirty mornings, rising and setting.

30 And on that day the night decreases in length, and the night amounts to ten parts and the day to eight.

31 And on that day the sun rises from that portal, and sets in the west, and returns to the east, and rises in the east, in the third portal for one-and-thirty mornings, and sets in the west of the heaven. 32. On that day the night decreases and amounts to nine parts, and the day to nine parts, and the night is equal to the day and the year is exactly as to its days three hundred and sixty-four.

33 And the length of the day and of the night, and the shortness of the day and of the night arise-through the course of the sun these distinctions are made [they are separated].

34 So it comes that its course becomes daily longer, and its course nightly shorter.

35 And this is the law and the course of the sun, and his return as often as he returns sixty times and rises, i.e. the great luminary which is named the sun, for ever and ever.

36 And that which (thus) rises is the great luminary, and is so named according to its appearance, according as the Lord commanded. 37. As he rises, so he sets and decreases not, and rests not, but runs day and night, and his light is sevenfold brighter than that of the moon; but as regards size they are both equal.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 73

1 And after this law I saw another law dealing with the smaller luminary, which is named the Moon.

2 And her circumference is like the circumference of the heaven, and her chariot in which she rides is driven by the wind, and light is given to her in (definite) measure.

3 And her rising and setting change every month: and her days are like the days of the sun, and when her light is uniform and full it amounts to the seventh part of the light of the sun.

4 And thus she rises. And her first phase in the east comes forth on the thirtieth morning: and on that day she becomes visible, and constitutes for you the first phase of the moon on the thirtieth day together with the sun in the portal where the sun rises.

5 And the one half of her goes forth by a seventh part, and her whole circumference is empty, without light, with the exception of one-seventh part of it, and the fourteenth part of her light.

6 And when she receives one-seventh part of the half of her light, her light amounts to one-seventh part and the half thereof.

7 And she sets with the sun, and when the sun rises the moon rises with him and receives the half of one part of light, and in that night in the beginning of her morning [in the commencement of the lunar day] the moon sets with the sun, and is invisible that night with the fourteen parts and the half of one of them.

8 And she rises on that day with exactly a seventh part, and comes forth and recedes from the rising of the sun, and in her remaining days she becomes bright in the (remaining) thirteen parts.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 74

1 And I saw another course, a law for her, (and) how according to that law she performs her monthly revolution.

2 And all these Uriel, the holy angel who is the leader of them all, showed to me, and their positions, and I wrote down their positions as he showed them to me, and I wrote down their months as they were, and the appearance of their lights till fifteen days were accomplished.

3 In single seventh parts she accomplishes all her light in the east, and in single seventh parts accomplishes all her darkness in the west.

4 And in certain months she alters her settings, and in certain months she pursues her own peculiar course.

5 In two months the moon sets with the sun: in those two middle portals the third and the fourth.

6 From the third portal she goes forth for seven days, and turns about and returns again through the portal where the sun rises, and accomplishes all her light: and she recedes from the sun, and in eight days enters the sixth portal and returns in seven days to the third portal from which the sun goes forth.

7 And when the sun goes forth from the fourth portal she goes forth seven days, until she goes forth from the fifth and turns back again in seven days into the fourth portal and accomplishes all her light: and she recedes and enters into the first portal in eight days.

8 And she returns again in seven days into the fourth portal from which the sun goes forth.

9 Thus I saw their position -how the moons rose and the sun set in those days.

10 And if five years are added together the sun has an overplus of thirty days, and all the days which accrue to it for one of those five years, when they are full, amount to 364 days.

11 And the overplus of the sun and of the stars amounts to six days: in 5 years 6 days every year come to 30 days: and the moon falls behind the sun and stars to the number of 30 days.

12 And the sun and the stars bring in all the years exactly, so that they do not advance or delay their position by a single day unto eternity; but complete the years with perfect justice in 364 days.

13 In 3 years there are 1,092 days, and in 5 years 1,820 days, so that in 8 years there are 2,912 days.

14 For the moon alone the days amount in 3 years to 1,062 days, and in 5 years she falls 50 days behind: [i.e. to the sum (of 1,770) there is to be added (1,000 and) 62 days.]

15 And in 5 years there are 1,770 days, so that for the moon the days in 8 years amount to 21,832 days.

16 [For in 8 years she falls behind to the amount of 80 days], all the days she falls behind in 8 years are 80.

17 And the year is accurately completed in conformity with their world-stations and the stations of the sun, which rise from the portals through which it (the sun) rises and sets 30 days.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 75

1 And the leaders of the heads of the thousands, who are placed over the whole creation and over all the stars, have also to do with the four intercalary days, being inseparable from their office, according to the reckoning of the year, and these render service on the four days which are not reckoned in the reckoning of the year.

2 And owing to them men go wrong therein, for those luminaries truly render service on the world-stations, one in the first portal, one in the third portal of the heaven, one in the fourth portal, one in the fourth portal, and one in the sixth portal, and the exactness of the year is accomplished through its separate three hundred and sixty-four stations.

3 For the signs and the times and the years and the days the angel Uriel showed to me, whom the Lord of glory hath set for ever over all the luminaries of the heaven, in the heaven and in the world, that they should rule on the face of the heaven and be seen on the earth, and be leaders for the day and the night, i.e. the sun, moon, and stars, and all the ministering creatures which make their revolution in all the chariots of the heaven.

4 In like manner twelve doors Uriel showed me, open in the circumference of the sun's chariot in the heaven, through which the rays of the sun break forth: and from them is warmth diffused over the earth, when they are opened at their appointed seasons.

5 [And for the winds and the spirit of the dew when they are opened, standing open in the heavens at the ends.]

6 As for the twelve portals in the heaven, at the ends of the earth, out of which go forth the sun, moon, and stars, and all the works of heaven in the east and in the west,

7 There are many windows open to the left and right of them, and one window at its (appointed) season produces warmth, corresponding (as these do) to those doors from which the stars come forth according as He has commanded them, and wherein they set corresponding to their number.

8 And I saw chariots in the heaven, running in the world, above those portals in which revolve the stars that never set.

9 And one is larger than all the rest, and it is that that makes its course through the entire world.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 76

1 And at the ends of the earth I saw twelve portals open to all the quarters (of the heaven), from which the winds go forth and blow over the earth.

2 Three of them are open on the face (i.e. the east) of the heavens, and three in the west, and three on the right (i.e. the south) of the heaven, and three on the left (i.e. the north).

3 And the three first are those of the east, and three are of the north, and three [after those on the left] of the south, and three of the west.

4 Through four of these come winds of blessing and prosperity, and from those eight come hurtful winds: when they are sent, they bring destruction on all the earth and on the water upon it, and on all who dwell thereon, and on everything which is in the water and on the land.

5 And the first wind from those portals, called the east wind, comes forth through the first portal which is in the east, inclining towards the south: from it come forth desolation, drought, heat, and destruction.

6 And through the second portal in the middle comes what is fitting, and from it there come rain and fruitfulness and prosperity and dew; and through the third portal which lies toward the north come cold and drought.

7 And after these come forth the south winds through three portals: through the first portal of them inclining to the east comes forth a hot wind.

8 And through the middle portal next to it there come forth fragrant smells, and dew and rain, and prosperity and health.

9 And through the third portal lying to the west come forth dew and rain, blight, and destruction.

10 And after these the north winds: from the seventh portal is that which is on the east, inclining southwards; from thiscome dew and rain, locusts and desolation.

11 And from the middle portal come in a direct direction health and rain and dew and prosperity; life, and health. And through the third portal in the west inclining towards the south, come cloud and hoar-frost, and snow and rain, and dew and locusts.

12 And after these [four] are the west winds: through the first portal adjoining the north come forth dew rain, and hoar-frost, and cold and snow and frost.

13 And from the middle portal come forth dew and rain, and prosperity and blessing; and through the last portal which adjoins the south come forth drought and desolation, and burning and destruction.

14 And the twelve portals of the four quarters of the heaven are therewith completed, and all their laws and all their plagues and all their benefactions have I shown to thee, my son Methuselah.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 77

1 And the first quarter is called the east, because it is the first: and the second, the south, because the Most High will descend there, yea, there in quite a special sense will He who is blessed for ever descend.

2 And the west quarter is named the diminished, because there all the luminaries of the heaven wane and go down. 3. And the fourth quarter, named the north, is divided into three parts: the first of them is for the dwelling of men: and the second contains seas of water, and the abysses and forests and rivers, and darkness and clouds; and the third part contains the garden of righteousness.

4 I saw seven high mountains, higher than all the mountains which are on the earth: and thence comes forth hoar-frost, and days, seasons, and years pass away.

5 I saw seven rivers on the earth larger than all the rivers: one of them coming from the west pours its waters into the Great Sea.

6 And these two come from the north to the sea and pour their waters into the Erythraean Sea in the east.

7 And the remaining, four come forth on the side of the north to their own sea, two of them to the Erythraean Sea, and two into the Great Sea and discharge themselves there [and some say: into the desert].

8 Seven great islands I saw in the sea and in the mainland: two in the mainland and five in the Great Sea.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 78

1 And the names of the sun are the following: the first Orjares, and the second Tomas.

2 And the moon has four names: the first name is Asonja, the second Ebla, the third Benase, and the fourth Erae.

3 These are the two great luminaries: their circumference is like the circumference of the heaven, and the size of the circumference of both is alike.

4 In the circumference of the sun there are seven portions of light which are added to it more than to the moon, and in definite measures it is transferred until the seventh portion of the sun is exhausted.

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5 And they set and enter the portals of the west, and make their revolution by the north, and come forth through the eastern portals on the face of the heaven.

6 And when the moon rises one-fourteenth part appears in the heaven: [the light becomes full in her]: on the fourteenth day she accomplishes her light.

7 And fifteen parts of light are transferred to her till the fifteenth day (when) her light is accomplished, according to the sign of the year, and she becomes fifteen parts, and the moon grows by (the addition of) fourteenth parts.

8 And in her waning (the moon) decreases on the first day to fourteen parts of her light, on the second to thirteen parts of light, on the third to twelve, on the fourth to eleven, on the fifth to ten, on the sixth to nine, on the seventh to eight, on the eighth to seven, on the ninth to six, on the tenth to five, on the eleventh to four, on the twelfth to three, on the thirteenth to two, on the fourteenth to the half of a seventh, and all her remaining light disappears wholly on the fifteenth.

9 And in certain months the month has twenty-nine days and once twenty-eight.

10 And Uriel showed me another law: when light is transferred to the moon, and on which side it is transferred to her by the sun.

11 During all the period during which the moon is growing in her light, she is transferring it to herself when opposite to the sun during fourteen days [her light is accomplished in the heaven], and when she is illumined throughout, her light is accomplished full in the heaven.

12. And on the first day she is called the new moon, for on that day the light rises upon her.

13 She becomes full moon exactly on the day when the sun sets in the west, and from the east she rises at night, and the moon shines the whole night through till the sun rises over against her and the moon is seen over against the sun.

14 On the side whence the light of the moon comes forth, there again she wanes till all the light vanishes and all the days of the month are at an end, and her circumference is empty, void of light.

15 And three months she makes of thirty days, and at her time she makes three months, so three times of twenty- nine days each, in which she accomplishes her waning in the first period of time, and in the first portal for one hundred and seventy-seven days.

16 And in the time of her going out she appears for three months (of) thirty days each, and for three months she appears (of) twenty-nine each.

17 At night she appears like a man for twenty days each time, and by day she appears like the heaven, and there is nothing else in her save her light.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 79

1 And now, my son, I have shown thee everything, and the law of all the stars of the heaven is completed. 2. And he showed me all the laws of these for every day, and for every season of bearing rule, and for every year, and for its going forth, and for the order prescribed to it every month and every week:

3 And the waning of the moon which takes place in the sixth portal: for in this sixth portal her light is accomplished, and after that there is the beginning of the waning:

4 (And the waning) which takes place in the first portal in its season, till one hundred and seventy-seven days are accomplished: reckoned according to weeks, twenty-five (weeks) and two days.

5 She falls behind the sun and the order of the stars exactly five days in the course of one period, and when this place which thou seest has been traversed.

6 Such is the picture and sketch of every luminary which Uriel the archangel, who is their leader, showed unto me.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 80

1 And in those days the angel Uriel answered and said to me: 'Behold, I have shown thee everything, Enoch, and I have revealed everything to thee that thou shouldst see this sun and this moon, and the leaders of the stars of the heaven and all those who turn them, their tasks and times and departures.

2 And in the days of the sinners the years shall be shortened, And their seed shall be tardy on their lands and fields, And all things on the earth shall alter, And shall not appear in their time: And the rain shall be kept back And the heaven shall withhold (it). 3. And in those times the fruits of the earth shall be backward, And shall not grow in their time, And the fruits of the trees shall be withheld in their time.

4 And the moon shall alter her order, And not appear at her time.

5 [And in those days the sun shall be seen and he shall journey in the evening on the extremity of the great chariot in the west] And shall shine more brightly than accords with the order of light.

6 And many chiefs of the stars shall transgress the order (prescribed). And these shall alter their orbits and tasks, And not appear at the seasons prescribed to them.

7 And the whole order of the stars shall be concealed from the sinners, And the thoughts of those on the earth shall err concerning them, [And they shall be altered from all their ways], Yea, they shall err and take them to be gods.

8 And evil shall be multiplied upon them, And punishment shall come upon them So as to destroy all.'

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 81

1 And he said unto me: 'Observe, Enoch, these heavenly tablets, And read what is written thereon, And mark every individual fact.'

2 And I observed the heavenly tablets, and read everything which was written (thereon) and understood everything, and read the book of all the deeds of mankind, and of all the children of flesh that shall be upon the earth to the remotest generations.

3 And forthwith I blessed the great Lord the King of glory for ever, in that He has made all the works of the world, And I extolled the Lord because of His patience, And blessed Him because of the children of men.

4 And after that I said: 'Blessed is the man who dies in righteousness and goodness, Concerning whom there is no book of unrighteousness written, And against whom no day of judgement shall be found.'

5 And those seven holy ones brought me and placed me on the earth before the door of my house, and said to me: ' Declare everything to thy son Methuselah, and show to all thy children that no flesh is righteous in the sight of the Lord, for He is their Creator.

6 One year we will leave thee with thy son, till thou givest thy (last) commands, that thou mayest teach thy children and record (it) for them, and testify to all thy children; and in the second year they shall take thee from their midst.

7 Let thy heart be strong, For the good shall announce righteousness to the good; The righteous with the righteous shall rejoice, And shall offer congratulation to one another.

8 But the sinners shall die with the sinners, And the apostate go down with the apostate.

9 And those who practice righteousness shall die on account of the deeds of men, And be taken away on account of the doings of the godless.'

10 And in those days they ceased to speak to me, and I came to my people, blessing the Lord of the world.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 82

1 And now, my son Methuselah, all these things I am recounting to thee and writing down for thee! and I have revealed to thee everything, and given thee books concerning all these: so preserve, my son Methuselah, the books from thy father's hand, and (see) that thou deliver them to the generations of the world.

2 I have given Wisdom to thee and to thy children, [And thy children that shall be to thee], That they may give it to their children for generations, This wisdom (namely) that passeth their thought.

3 And those who understand it shall not sleep, But shall listen with the ear that they may learn this wisdom, And it shall please those that eat thereof better than good food.

4 Blessed are all the righteous, blessed are all those who walk In the way of righteousness and sin not as the sinners, in the reckoning of all their days in which the sun traverses the heaven, entering into and departing from the portals for thirty days with the heads of thousands of the order of the stars, together with the four which are intercalated which divide the four portions of the year, which lead them and enter with them four days.

5 Owing to them men shall be at fault and not reckon them in the whole reckoning of the year: yea, men shall be at fault, and not recognize them accurately.

6 For they belong to the reckoning of the year and are truly recorded (thereon) for ever, one in the first portal and one in the third, and one in the fourth and one in the sixth, and the year is completed in three hundred and sixty-four days.

7 And the account thereof is accurate and the recorded reckoning thereof exact; for the luminaries, and months and festivals, and years and days, has Uriel shown and revealed to me, to whom the Lord of the whole creation of the world hath subjected the host of heaven. 8. And he has power over night and day in the heaven to cause the light to give light to men - sun, moon, and stars, and all the powers of the heaven which revolve in their circular chariots.

9 And these are the orders of the stars, which set in their places, and in their seasons and festivals and months.

10 And these are the names of those who lead them, who watch that they enter at their times, in their orders, in their seasons, in their months, in their periods of dominion, and in their positions.

11 Their four leaders who divide the four parts of the year enter first; and after them the twelve leaders of the orders who divide the months; and for the three hundred and sixty (days) there are heads over thousands who divide the days; and for the four intercalary days there are the leaders which sunder the four parts of the year.

12 And these heads over thousands are intercalated between leader and leader, each behind a station, but their leaders make the division.

13 And these are the names of the leaders who divide the four parts of the year which are ordained: Milki'el, Hel'emmelek, and Mel'ejal, and Narel.

14 And the names of those who lead them: Adnar'el, and Ijasusa'el, and 'Elome'el - these three follow the leaders of the orders, and there is one that follows the three leaders of the orders which follow those leaders of stations that divide the four parts of the year.

15 In the beginning of the year Melkejal rises first and rules, who is named Tam'aini and sun, and all the days of his dominion whilst he bears rule are ninety-one days.

16 And these are the signs of the days which are to be seen on earth in the days of his dominion: sweat, and heat, and calms; and all the trees bear fruit, and leaves are produced on all the trees, and the harvest of wheat, and the rose-flowers, and all the flowers which come forth in the field, but the trees of the winter season become withered.

17 And these are the names of the leaders which are under them: Berka'el, Zelebs'el, and another who is added a head of a thousand, called Hilujaseph: and the days of the dominion of this (leader) are at an end.

18 The next leader after him is Hel'emmelek, whom one names the shining sun, and all the days of his light are ninety-one days.

19 And these are the signs of (his) days on the earth: glowing heat and dryness, and the trees ripen their fruits and produce all their fruits ripe and ready, and the sheep pair and become pregnant, and all the fruits of the earth are gathered in, and everything that is in the fields, and the winepress: these things take place in the days of his dominion.

20 These are the names, and the orders, and the leaders of those heads of thousands: Gida'ljal, Ke'el, and He'el, and the name of the head of a thousand which is added to them, Asfa'el: and the days of his dominion are at an end.

SECTION FOUR - Chapters 83-90
"THE DREAM-VISIONS"

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 83

1 And now, my son Methuselah, I will show thee all my visions which I have seen, recounting them before thee.

2 Two visions I saw before I took a wife, and the one was quite unlike the other: the first when I was learning to write: the second before I took thy mother, (when) I saw a terrible vision. And regarding them I prayed to the Lord. 3. I had laid me down in the house of my grandfather Mahalalel, (when) I saw in a vision how the heaven collapsed and was borne off and fell to the earth.

4 And when it fell to the earth I saw how the earth was swallowed up in a great abyss, and mountains were suspended on mountains, and hills sank down on hills, and high trees were rent from their stems, and hurled down and sunk in the abyss.

5 And thereupon a word fell into my mouth, and I lifted up (my voice) to cry aloud, and said: 'The earth is destroyed.'

6 And my grandfather Mahalalel waked me as I lay near him, and said unto me: ' Why dost thou cry so, my son, and why dost thou make such lamentation?'

7 And I recounted to him the whole vision which I had seen, and he said unto me: 'A terrible thing hast thou seen, my son, and of grave moment is thy dream- vision as to the secrets of all the sin of the earth: it must sink into the abyss and be destroyed with a great destruction.

8 And now, my son, arise and make petition to the Lord of glory, since thou art a believer, that a remnant may remain on the earth, and that He may not destroy the whole earth.

9 My son, from heaven all this will come upon the earth, and upon the earth there will be great destruction.

10 After that I arose and prayed and implored and besought, and wrote down my prayer for the generations of the world, and I will show everything to thee, my son Methuselah.

11 And when I had gone forth below and seen the heaven, and the sun rising in the east, and the moon setting in the west, and a few stars, and the whole earth, and everything as He had known it in the beginning, then I blessed the Lord of judgement and extolled Him because He had made the sun to go forth from the windows of the east, and he ascended and rose on the face of the heaven, and set out and kept traversing the path shown unto him.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 84

1 And I lifted up my hands in righteousness and blessed the Holy and Great One, and spake with the breath of my mouth, and with the tongue of flesh, which God has made for the children of the flesh of men, that they should speak therewith, and He gave them breath and a tongue and a mouth that they should speak therewith:

2 Blessed be Thou, O Lord, King, Great and mighty in Thy greatness, Lord of the whole creation of the heaven, King of kings and God of the whole world. And Thy power and kingship and greatness abide for ever and ever, And throughout all generations Thy dominion; And all the

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heavens are Thy throne for ever, And the whole earth Thy footstool for ever and ever.

3 For Thou hast made and Thou rulest all things, And nothing is too hard for Thee, Wisdom departs not from the place of Thy throne, Nor turns away from Thy presence. And Thou knowest and seest and hearest everything, And there is nothing hidden from Thee [for Thou seest everything].

4 And now the angels of Thy heavens are guilty of trespass, And upon the flesh of men abideth Thy wrath until the great day of judgement.

5 And now, O God and Lord and Great King, I implore and beseech Thee to fulfil my prayer, To leave me a posterity on earth, And not destroy all the flesh of man, And make the earth without inhabitant, So that there should be an eternal destruction.

6 And now, my Lord, destroy from the earth the flesh which has aroused Thy wrath, But the flesh of righteousness and uprightness establish as a plant of the eternal seed, And hide not Thy face from the prayer of Thy servant, O Lord.'

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 85

1 And after this I saw another dream, and I will show the whole dream to thee, my son.

2 And Enoch lifted up (his voice) and spake to his son Methuselah: ' To thee, my son, will I speak: hear my words - incline thine ear to the dream-vision of thy father.

3 Before I took thy mother Edna, I saw in a vision on my bed, and behold a bull came forth from the earth, and that bull was white; and after it came forth a heifer, and along with this (latter) came forth two bulls, one of them black and the other red.

4 And that black bull gored the red one and pursued him over the earth, and thereupon I could no longer see that red bull.

5 But that black bull grew and that heifer went with him, and I saw that many oxen proceeded from him which resembled and followed him.

6 And that cow, that first one, went from the presence of that first bull in order to seek that red one, but found him not, and lamented with a great lamentation over him and sought him.

7 And I looked till that first bull came to her and quieted her, and from that time onward she cried no more.

8 And after that she bore another white bull, and after him she bore many bulls and black cows.

9 And I saw in my sleep that white bull likewise grow and become a great white bull, and from Him proceeded many white bulls, and they resembled him. And they began to beget many white bulls, which resembled them, one following the other, (even) many.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 86

1 And again I saw with mine eyes as I slept, and I saw the heaven above, and behold a star fell from heaven, and it arose and eat and pastured amongst those oxen.

2 And after that I saw the large and the black oxen, and behold they all changed their stalls and pastures and their cattle, and began to live with each other.

3 And again I saw in the vision, and looked towards the heaven, and behold I saw many stars descend and cast themselves down from heaven to that first star, and they became bulls amongst those cattle and pastured with them [amongst them].

4 And I looked at them and saw, and behold they all let out their privy members, like horses,

5 And all the oxen feared them and were affrighted at them, and began to bite with their teeth and to devour, and to gore with their horns.

6 And they began, moreover, to devour those oxen; and behold all the children of the earth began to tremble and quake before them and to flee from them.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 87

1 And again I saw how they began to gore each other and to devour each other, and the earth began to cry aloud.

2 And I raised mine eyes again to heaven, and I saw in the vision, and behold there came forth from heaven beings who were like white men: and four went forth from that place and three with them.

3 And those three that had last come forth grasped me by my hand and took me up, away from the generations of the earth, and raised me up to a lofty place, and showed me a tower raised high above the earth, and all the hills were lower.

4 And one said unto me: 'Remain here till thou seest everything that befalls those elephants, camels, and asses, and the stars and the oxen, and all of them.'

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 88

1 And I saw one of those four who had come forth first, and he seized that first star which had fallen from the heaven, and bound it hand and foot and cast it into an abyss: now that abyss was narrow and deep, and horrible and dark.

2 And one of them drew a sword, and gave it to those elephants and camels and asses: then they began to smite each other, and the whole earth quaked because of them.

3 And as I was beholding in the vision, lo, one of those four who had come forth stoned (them) from heaven, and gathered and took all the great stars whose privy members were like those of horses, and bound them all hand and foot, and cast them in an abyss of the earth.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 89

1 And one of those four went to that white bull and instructed him in a secret, without his being terrified: he was born a bull and became a man, and built for himself a great vessel and they were covered in.

2 And again I raised mine eyes towards heaven and saw a lofty roof, with seven water torrents thereon, and those torrents flowed with much water into an enclosure.

3 And I saw again, and behold fountains were opened on the surface of that great enclosure, and that water began to swell and rise upon the surface, and I saw that enclosure till all its surface was covered with water.

4 And the water, the darkness, and mist increased upon it; and as I looked at the height of that water, that water had risen above the height of that enclosure, and was streaming over that enclosure, and it stood upon the earth.

5 And all the cattle of that enclosure were gathered together until I saw how they sank and were swallowed up and perished in that water.

6 But that vessel floated on the water, while all the oxen and elephants and camels and asses sank to the bottom with all the animals, so that I could no longer see them, and they were not able to escape, (but) perished and sank into the depths.

7 And again I saw in the vision till those water torrents were removed from that high roof, and the chasms of the earth were leveled up and other abysses were opened.

8 Then the water began to run down into these, till the earth became visible; but that vessel settled on the earth, and the darkness retired and light appeared.

9 But that white bull which had become a man came out of that vessel, and the three bulls with him, and one of those three was white like that bull, and one of them was red as blood, and one black: and that white bull departed from them.

10 And they began to bring forth beasts of the field and birds, so that there arose different genera: lions, tigers, wolves, dogs, hyenas, wild boars, foxes, squirrels, swine, falcons, vultures, kites, eagles, and ravens;

11 And they began to bite one another; but that white bull which was born amongst them begat a wild ass and a white bull with it, and the wild asses multiplied.

12 But that bull which was born from him begat a black wild boar and a white sheep; and the former begat many boars, but that sheep begat twelve sheep.

13 And when those twelve sheep had grown, they gave up one of them to the asses, and those asses again gave up that sheep to the wolves, and that sheep grew up among the wolves.

14 And the Lord brought the eleven sheep to live with it and to pasture with it among the wolves: and they multiplied and became many flocks of sheep.

15 And the wolves began to fear them, and they oppressed them until they destroyed their little ones, and they cast their young into a river of much water: but those sheep began to cry aloud on account of their little ones, and to complain unto their Lord.

16 And a sheep which had been saved from the wolves fled and escaped to the wild asses; and I saw the sheep how they lamented and cried, and besought their Lord with all their might, till that Lord of the sheep descended at the voice of the sheep from a lofty abode, and came to them and pastured them.

17 And He called that sheep which had escaped the wolves, and spake with it concerning the wolves that it should admonish them not to touch the sheep.

18 And the sheep went to the wolves according to the word of the Lord, and another sheep met it and went with it, and the two went and entered together into the assembly of those wolves, and spake with them and admonished them not to touch the sheep from henceforth.

19 And thereupon I saw the wolves, and how they oppressed the sheep exceedingly with all their power; and the sheep cried aloud.

20 And the Lord came to the sheep and they began to smite those wolves: and the wolves began to make lamentation; but the sheep became quiet and forthwith ceased to cry out.

21 And I saw the sheep till they departed from amongst the wolves; but the eyes of the wolves were blinded, and those wolves departed in pursuit of the sheep with all their power.

22 And the Lord of the sheep went with them, as their leader, and all His sheep followed Him: and his face was dazzling and glorious and terrible to behold.

23 But the wolves began to pursue those sheep till they reached a sea of water.

24 And that sea was divided, and the water stood on this side and on that before their face, and their Lord led them and placed Himself between them and the wolves.

25 And as those wolves did not yet see the sheep, they proceeded into the midst of that sea, and the wolves followed the sheep, and [those wolves] ran after them into that sea.

26 And when they saw the Lord of the sheep, they turned to flee before His face, but that sea gathered itself together, and became as it had been created, and the water swelled and rose till it covered those wolves.

27 And I saw till all the wolves who pursued those sheep perished and were drowned.

28 But the sheep escaped from that water and went forth into a wilderness, where there was no water and no grass; and they began to open their eyes and to see; and I saw the Lord of the sheep pasturing them and giving them water and grass, and that sheep going and leading them.

29 And that sheep ascended to the summit of that lofty rock, and the Lord of the sheep sent it to them. 30. And after that I saw the Lord of the sheep who stood before them, and His appearance was great and terrible and majestic, and all those sheep saw Him and were afraid before His face.

31 And they all feared and trembled because of Him, and they cried to that sheep with them [which was amongst them]: ' We are not able to stand before our Lord or to behold Him.'

32 And that sheep which led them again ascended to the summit of that rock, but the sheep began to be blinded and to wander from the way which he had showed them, but that sheep wot not thereof.

33 And the Lord of the sheep was wrathful exceedingly against them, and that sheep discovered it, and went down from the summit of the rock, and came to the sheep, and found the greatest part of them blinded and fallen away.

34 And when they saw it they feared and trembled at its presence, and desired to return to their folds.

35 And that sheep took other sheep with it, and came to those sheep which had fallen away, and began to slay them; and the sheep feared its presence, and thus that sheep brought back those sheep that had fallen away, and they returned to their folds.

36 And I saw in this vision till that sheep became a man and built a house for the Lord of the sheep, and placed all the sheep in that house.

37 And I saw till this sheep which had met that sheep which led them fell asleep: and I saw till all the great sheep perished and little ones arose in their place, and they came to a pasture, and approached a stream of water.

38 Then that sheep, their leader which had become a man, withdrew from them and fell asleep, and all the sheep sought it and cried over it with a great crying.

39 And I saw till they left off crying for that sheep and crossed that stream of water, and there arose the two sheep as leaders in the place of those which had led them and fallen asleep (lit. ' had fallen asleep and led them ').

40 And I saw till the sheep came to a goodly place, and a pleasant and glorious land, and I saw till those sheep were satisfied; and that house stood amongst them in the pleasant land.

41 And sometimes their eyes were opened, and sometimes blinded, till another sheep arose and led them and brought them all back, and their eyes were opened.

42 And the dogs and the foxes and the wild boars began to devour those sheep till the Lord of the sheep raised up [another sheep] a ram a ram from their midst, which led them.

43 And that ram began to butt on either side those dogs, foxes, and wild boars till he had destroyed them all.

44 And that sheep whose eyes were opened saw that ram, which was amongst the sheep, till it forsook its glory and began to butt those sheep, and trampled upon them, and behaved itself unseemly.

45 And the Lord of the sheep sent the lamb to another lamb and raised it to being a ram and leader of the sheep instead of that ram which had forsaken its glory.

46 And it went to it and spake to it alone, and raised it to being a ram, and made it the prince and leader of the sheep; but during all these things those dogs oppressed the sheep.

47 And the first ram pursued that second ram, and that second ram arose and fled before it; and I saw till those dogs pulled down the first ram.

48 And that second ram arose and led the [little] sheep. And that ram begat many sheep and fell asleep; and a little sheep became ram in its stead, and became prince and leader of those sheep.

49 And those sheep grew and multiplied; and died. Then there was a smaller sheep, a ram, instead of him, which became a prince and leader, conducting the flock. And the sheep increased in size, and multiplied. but all the dogs, and foxes, and wild boars feared and fled before it, and that ram butted and killed the wild beasts, and those wild beasts had no longer any power among the sheep and robbed them no more of ought.

50 And that house became great and broad, and it was built for those sheep: (and) a tower lofty and great was built on the house for the Lord of the sheep, and that house was low, but

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the tower was elevated and lofty, and the Lord of the sheep stood on that tower and they offered a full table before Him.

51 And again I saw those sheep that they again erred and went many ways, and forsook that their house, and the Lord of the sheep called some from amongst the sheep and sent them to the sheep, but the sheep began to slay them.

52 And one of them was saved and was not slain, and it sped away and cried aloud over the sheep; and they sought to slay it, but the Lord of the sheep saved it from the sheep, and brought it up to me, and caused it to dwell there.

53 And many other sheep He sent to those sheep to testify unto them and lament over them.

54 And after that I saw that when they forsook the house of the Lord and His tower they fell away entirely, and their eyes were blinded; and I saw the Lord of the sheep how He wrought much slaughter amongst them in their herds until those sheep invited that slaughter and betrayed His place.

55 And He gave them over into the hands of the lions and tigers, and wolves and hyenas, and into the hand of the foxes, and to all the wild beasts, and those wild beasts began to tear in pieces those sheep.

56 And I saw that He forsook that their house and their tower and gave them all into the hand of the lions, to tear and devour them, into the hand of all the wild beasts.

57 And I began to cry aloud with all my power, and to appeal to the Lord of the sheep, and to represent to Him in regard to the sheep that they were devoured by all the wild beasts.

58 But He remained unmoved, though He saw it, and rejoiced that they were devoured and swallowed and robbed, and left them to be devoured in the hand of all the beasts.

59 And He called seventy shepherds, and cast those sheep to them that they might pasture them, and He spake to the shepherds and their companions: 'Let each individual of you pasture the sheep henceforward, and everything that I shall command you that do ye.

60 And I will deliver them over unto you duly numbered, and tell you which of them are to be destroyed-and them destroy ye.'

61 And He gave over unto them those sheep. And He called another and spake unto him: ' Observe and mark everything that the shepherds will do to those sheep; for many more of them shall perish than I have commanded.

62 Of every excess and slaughter, which the shepherds shall commit, there shall be an account; as how many may have perished by my command, and how many they may have destroyed of their own heads.

63 Of all the destruction brought about by each of the shepherds there shall be an account; and according to the number I will cause a recital to be made before me, how many they have destroyed of their own heads, and how many they deliver over for destruction, that I may have this as a testimony against them, and know every deed of the shepherds, that I may comprehend and see what they do, whether or not they abide by my command which I have commanded them.

64 But they shall not know it, and thou shalt not declare it to them, nor admonish them, but only record against each individual all the destruction which the shepherds effect each in his time and lay it all before me.'

65 And I saw till those shepherds pastured in their season, and they began to slay and to destroy more than they were bidden, and they delivered those sheep into the hand of the lions.

66 And the lions and tigers eat and devoured the greater part of those sheep, and the wild boars eat along with them; and they burnt that tower and demolished that house.

67 And I became exceedingly sorrowful over that tower because that house of the sheep was demolished, and afterwards I was unable to see if those sheep entered that house.

68 And the shepherds and their associates delivered over those sheep to all the wild beasts, to devour them, and each one of them received in his time a definite number: it was written by the other in a book how many each one of them destroyed of them.

69 And each one slew and destroyed many more than was prescribed; and I began to weep and lament on account of those sheep.

70 And thus in the vision I saw that one who wrote, how he wrote down every one that was destroyed by those shepherds, day by day, and carried up and laid down and showed actually the whole book to the Lord of the sheep -(even) everything that they had done, and all that each one of them had made away with, and all that they had given over to destruction.

71 And the book was read before the Lord of the sheep, and He took the book from his hand and read it and sealed it and laid it down.

72 And forthwith I saw how the shepherds pastured for twelve hours, and behold three of those sheep turned back and came and went in; and began to build up all that had fallen down of that house; but the wild boars tried to hinder them, but they were not able.

73 And they began again to build as before, and they reared up that tower, and it was named the high tower; and they began again to place a table before the tower, but all the bread on it was polluted and not pure.

74 And as touching all this the eyes of those sheep were blinded so that they saw not, and (the eyes of) their shepherds likewise; and they delivered them in large numbers to their shepherds for destruction, and they trampled the sheep with their feet and devoured them.

75 And the Lord of the sheep remained unmoved till all the sheep were dispersed over the field and mingled with them (i.e. the beasts), and they (i.e. the shepherds) did not save them out of the hand of the beasts.

76 And this one who wrote the book carried it up, and showed it and read it before the Lord of the sheep, and implored Him on their account, and besought Him on their account as he showed Him all the doings of the shepherds, and gave testimony before Him against all the shepherds.

77 And he took the actual book and laid it down beside Him and departed.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 90

1 And I saw till that in this manner thirty-five shepherds undertook the pasturing (of the sheep), and they severally completed their periods as did the first; and others received them into their hands, to pasture them for their period, each shepherd in his own period.

2 And after that I saw in my vision all the birds of heaven coming, the eagles, the vultures, the kites, the ravens; but the eagles led all the birds; and they began to devour those sheep, and to pick out their eyes and to devour their flesh.

3 And the sheep cried out because their flesh was being devoured by the birds, and as for me I looked and lamented in my sleep over that shepherd who pastured the sheep.

4 And I saw until those sheep were devoured by the dogs and eagles and kites, and they left neither flesh nor skin nor sinew remaining on them till only their bones stood there: and their bones too fell to the earth and the sheep became few.

5 And I saw until that twenty-three had undertaken the pasturing and completed in their several periods fifty-eight times.

6 But behold lambs were borne by those white sheep, and they began to open their eyes and to see, and to cry to the sheep.

7 Yea, they cried to them, but they did not hearken to what they said to them, but were exceedingly deaf, and their eyes were very exceedingly blinded.

8 And I saw in the vision how the ravens flew upon those lambs and took one of those lambs, and dashed the sheep in pieces and devoured them.

9 And I saw till horns grew upon those lambs, and the ravens cast down their horns; and I saw till there sprouted a great horn of one of those sheep, and their eyes were opened.

10 And it looked at them [and their eyes opened], and it cried to the sheep, and the rams saw it and all ran to it.

11 And notwithstanding all this those eagles and vultures and ravens and kites still kept tearing the sheep

11 And notwithstanding and devouring them: still the sheep remained silent, but the rams lamented and cried out.

12 And those ravens fought and battled with it and sought to lay low its horn, but they had no power over it.

13 And I saw till the shepherds and eagles and those vultures and kites came, and they cried to the ravens that they should break the horn of that ram, and they battled and fought with it, and it battled with them and cried that its help might come.

14 And I saw till that man, who wrote down the names of the shepherds [and] carried up unto the presence of the Lord of the sheep [came and helped it and showed it everything: he had come down for the help of that ram].

15 And I saw till the Lord of the sheep came unto them in wrath, and all who saw Him fled, and they all fell into His shadow from before His face.

16 All the eagles and vultures and ravens and kites were gathered together, and there came with them all the sheep of the field, yea, they all came together, and helped each other to break that horn of the ram.

17 And I saw that man, who wrote the book according to the command of the Lord, till he opened that book concerning the destruction which those twelve last shepherds had wrought, and showed that they had destroyed much more than their predecessors, before the Lord of the sheep. 18. And I saw till the Lord of the sheep came unto them and took in His hand the staff of his wrath, and smote the earth, and the earth clave asunder, and smote the earth, and the earth clave asunder, and all the beasts and all the birds of the heaven fell from among those sheep, and were swallowed up in the earth and it covered them.

19 And I saw till a great sword was given to the sheep, and the sheep proceeded against all the beasts of the field to slay them, and all the beasts and the birds of the heaven fled before their face. 20. And I saw till a throne was erected in the pleasant land, and the Lord of the sheep sat Himself thereon, and the other took the sealed books and opened those books before the Lord of the sheep. 21. And the Lord called those men the seven first white ones, and commanded that they should bring before Him, beginning with the first star which led the way, all the stars whose privy members were like those of horses, and they brought them all before Him.

22 And He said to that man who wrote before Him, being one of those seven white ones, and said unto him: 'Take those seventy shepherds to whom I delivered the sheep, and who taking them on their own authority slew more than I commanded them.'

23 And behold they were all bound, I saw, and they all stood before Him.

24 And the judgement was held first over the stars, and they were judged and found guilty, and went to the place of condemnation, and they were cast into an abyss, full of fire and flaming, and full of pillars of fire.

25 And those seventy shepherds were judged and found guilty, and they were cast into that fiery abyss.

26 And I saw at that time how a like abyss was opened in the midst of the earth, full of fire, and they brought those blinded sheep, and they were all judged and found guilty and cast into this fiery abyss, and they burned; now this abyss was to the right of that house.

27 And I saw those sheep burning and their bones burning.

28 And I stood up to see till they folded up that old house; and carried off all the pillars, and all the beams and ornaments of the house were at the same time folded up with it, and they carried it off and laid it in a place in the south of the land.

29 And I saw till the Lord of the sheep brought a new house greater and loftier than that first, and set it up in the place of the first which had been folded up: all its pillars were new, and its ornaments were new and larger than those of the first, the old one which He had taken away, and all the sheep were within it.

30 And I saw all the sheep which had been left, and all the beasts on the earth, and all the birds of the heaven, falling down and doing homage to those sheep and making petition to and obeying them in every thing.

31 And thereafter those three who were clothed in white and had seized me by my hand [who had taken me up before], and the hand of that ram also seizing hold of me, they took me up and set me down in the midst of those sheep before the judgement took place.

32 And those sheep were all white, and their wool was abundant and clean.

33 And all that had been destroyed and dispersed, and all the beasts of the field, and all the birds of the heaven, assembled in that house, and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced with great joy because they were all good and had returned to His house.

34 And I saw till they laid down that sword, which had been given to the sheep, and they brought it back into the house, and it was sealed before the presence of the Lord, and all the sheep were invited into that house, but it held them not.

35 And the eyes of them all were opened, and they saw the good, and there was not one among them that did not see.

36 And I saw that that house was large and broad and very full.

37 And I saw that a white bull was born, with large horns and all the beasts of the field and all the birds of the air feared him and made petition to him all the time.

38 And I saw till all their generations were transformed, and they all became white bulls; and the first among them became a lamb, and that lamb became a great animal and had great black horns on its head; and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced over it and over all the oxen.

39 And I slept in their midst: and I awoke and saw everything.

40 This is the vision which I saw while I slept, and I awoke and blessed the Lord of righteousness and gave Him glory.

41 Then I wept with a great weeping and my tears stayed not till I could no longer endure it: when I saw, they flowed on account of what I had seen; for everything shall come and be fulfilled, and all the deeds of men in their order were shown to me.

42 On that night I remembered the first dream, and because of it I wept and was troubled-because I had seen that vision.

SECTION FIVE
Chapters 91-105

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 91

1 And now, my son Methuselah, call to me all thy brothers And gather together to me all the sons of thy mother; For the word calls me, And the spirit is poured out upon me, That I may show you everything That shall befall you for ever.'

2 And there upon Methuselah went and summoned to him all his brothers and assembled his relatives.

3 And he spake unto all the children of righteousness and said: 'Hear, ye sons of Enoch, all the words of your father, And hearken aright to the voice of my mouth; For I exhort you and say unto you, beloved:

4 Love uprightness and walk therein. And draw not nigh to uprightness with a double heart, And associate not with those

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of a double heart, But walk in righteousness, my sons. And it shall guide you on good paths, And righteousness shall be your companion.

5 For I know that violence must increase on the earth, And a great chastisement be executed on the earth, And all unrighteousness come to an end: Yea, it shall be cut off from its roots, And its whole structure be destroyed.

6 And unrighteousness shall again be consummated on the earth, And all the deeds of unrighteousness and of violence And transgression shall prevail in a twofold degree.

7 And when sin and unrighteousness and blasphemy And violence in all kinds of deeds increase, And apostasy and transgression and uncleanness increase, A great chastisement shall come from heaven upon all these, And the holy Lord will come forth with wrath and chastisement and upon them all shall great punishment from heaven be inflicted. The holy Lord shall go forth in wrath, and with punishment, To execute judgement on earth.

8 In those days violence shall be cut off from its roots, And the roots of unrighteousness together with deceit, And they shall be destroyed from under heaven.

9 And all the idols of the heathen shall be abandoned, And the temples burned with fire, And they shall remove them from the whole earth, And they (i.e. the heathen) shall be cast into the judgement of fire, And shall perish in wrath and in grievous judgement for ever.

10 And the righteous shall arise from their sleep, And wisdom shall arise and be given unto them.

11 [And after that the roots of unrighteousness shall be cut off, and the sinners shall be destroyed by the sword {. . .} shall be cut off from the blasphemers in every place, and those who plan violence and those who commit blasphemy shall perish by the sword.]

(The verses 12-17 probably fit better into Chapter 93, between verses 10 and 11)

12 And after that there shall be another, the eighth week, that of righteousness, And a sword shall be given to it that a righteous judgement may be executed on the oppressors, And sinners shall be delivered into the hands of the righteous.

13 And at its close they shall acquire houses through their righteousness, And a house shall be built for the Great King in glory for evermore,

14 And after that, in the ninth week, the righteous judgement shall be revealed to the whole world, And all the works of the godless shall vanish from all the earth, And the world shall be written down for destruction. And all mankind shall look to the path of uprightness.

15 And after this, in the tenth week in the seventh part, There shall be the great eternal judgement, In which He will execute vengeance amongst the angels. 16. And the first heaven shall depart and pass away, And a new heaven shall appear, And all the powers of the heavens shall give sevenfold light.

17 And after that there will be many weeks without number for ever, And all shall be in goodness and righteousness, And sin shall no more be mentioned for ever.

18 And now I tell you, my sons, and show you The paths of righteousness and the paths of violence. Yea, I will show them to you again That ye may know what will come to pass.

19 And now, hearken unto me, my sons, And walk in the paths of righteousness, And walk not in the paths of violence; For all who walk in the paths of unrighteousness shall perish for ever.'

Chapter 92

1 The book written by Enoch -[Enoch indeed wrote this complete doctrine of wisdom, (which is) praised of all men and a judge of all the earth] for all my children who shall dwell on the earth. And for the future generations who shall observe uprightness and peace.

2 Let not your spirit be troubled on account of the times; For the Holy and Great One has appointed days for all things.

3 And the righteous one shall arise from sleep, [Shall arise] and walk in the paths of righteousness, And all his path and conversation shall be in eternal goodness and grace.

4 He will be gracious to the righteous and give him eternal uprightness, And He will give him power so that he shall be (endowed) with goodness and righteousness. And he shall walk in eternal light.

5 And sin shall perish in darkness for ever, And shall no more be seen from that day for evermore.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 93

1 And after that Enoch both gave and began to recount from the books. 2. And Enoch said: ' Concerning the children of righteousness and concerning the elect of the world, And concerning the plant of uprightness, I will speak these things, Yea, I Enoch will declare (them) unto you, my sons: According to that which appeared to me in the heavenly vision, And which I have known through the word of the holy angels, And have learnt from the heavenly tablets.'

3 And Enoch began to recount from the books and said: 'I was born the seventh in the first week, While judgement and righteousness still endured.

4 And after me there shall arise in the second week great wickedness, And deceit shall have sprung up; And in it there shall be the first end. And in it a man shall be saved; And after it is ended unrighteousness shall grow up, And a law shall be made for the sinners.

5 And after that in the third week at its close A man shall be elected as the plant of righteous judgement, And his posterity shall become the plant of righteousness for evermore.

6 And after that in the fourth week, at its close, Visions of the holy and righteous shall be seen, And a law for all generations and an enclosure shall be made for them.

7 And after that in the fifth week, at its close, The house of glory and dominion shall be built for ever.

8 And after that in the sixth week all who live in it shall be blinded, And the hearts of all of them shall godlessly forsake wisdom. And in it a man shall ascend; And at its close the house of dominion shall be burnt with fire, And the whole race of the chosen root shall be dispersed.

9 And after that in the seventh week shall an apostate generation arise, And many shall be its deeds, And all its deeds shall be apostate.

10 And at its close shall be elected The elect righteous of the eternal plant of righteousness, To receive sevenfold instruction concerning all His creation.

(Chapter 91, verses 12-17 probably better fit here)

11 [For who is there of all the children of men that is able to hear the voice of the Holy One without being troubled? And who can think His thoughts? and who is there that can behold all the works of heaven? 12. And how should there be one who could behold the heaven, and who is there that could understand the things of heaven and see a soul or a spirit and could tell thereof, or ascend and see all their ends and think them or do like them?

13 And who is there of all men that could know what is the breadth and the length of the earth, and to whom has been shown the measure of all of them ?

14 Or is there any one who could discern the length of the heaven and how great is its height, and upon what it is founded, and how great is the number of the stars, and where all the luminaries rest ?]

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 94

1 And now I say unto you, my sons, love righteousness and walk therein; For the paths of righteousness are worthy of acceptation, But the paths of unrighteousness shall suddenly be destroyed and vanish.

2 And to certain men of a generation shall the paths of violence and of death be revealed, And they shall hold themselves afar from them, And shall not follow them.

3 And now I say unto you the righteous: Walk not in the paths of wickedness, nor in the paths of death, And draw not nigh to them, lest ye be destroyed.

4 But seek and choose for yourselves righteousness and an elect life, And walk in the paths of peace, And ye shall live and prosper.

5 And hold fast my words in the thoughts of your hearts, And suffer them not to be effaced from your hearts; For I know that sinners will tempt men to evilly-entreat wisdom, So that no place may be found for her, And no manner of temptation may minish.

6 Woe to those who build unrighteousness and oppression And lay deceit as a foundation; For they shall be suddenly overthrown, And they shall have no peace.

7 Woe to those who build their houses with sin; For from all their foundations shall they be overthrown, And by the sword shall they fall. [And those who acquire gold and silver in judgement suddenly shall perish.]

8 Woe to you, ye rich, for ye have trusted in your riches, And from your riches shall ye depart, Because ye have not remembered the Most High in the days of your riches.

9 Ye have committed blasphemy and unrighteousness, And have become ready for the day of slaughter, And the day of darkness and the day of the great judgement.

10 Thus I speak and declare unto you: He who hath created you will overthrow you, And for your fall there shall be no compassion, And your Creator will rejoice at your destruction.

11 And your righteous ones in those days shall be A reproach to the sinners and the godless.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 95

1 Oh that mine eyes were [a cloud of] waters That I might weep over you, And pour down my tears as a cloud of waters: That so I might rest from my trouble of heart!

2 who has permitted you to practice reproaches and wickedness? And so judgement shall overtake you, sinners.

3 Fear not the sinners, ye righteous; For again will the Lord deliver them into your hands, That ye may execute judgement upon them according to your desires.

4 Woe to you who fulminate anathemas which cannot be reversed: Healing shall therefore be far from you because of your sins.

5 Woe to you who requite your neighbour with evil; For ye shall be requited according to your works.

6 Woe to you, lying witnesses, For suddenly shall ye perish.

7 Woe to you, sinners, for ye persecute the righteous; For ye shall be delivered up and persecuted because of injustice, And heavy shall its yoke be upon you.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 96

1 Be hopeful, ye righteous; for suddenly shall the sinners perish before you, And ye shall have lordship over them according to your desires.

2[And in the day of the tribulation of the sinners, Your children shall mount and rise as eagles, And higher than the vultures will be your nest, And ye shall ascend and enter the crevices of the earth, And the clefts of the rock for ever as coneys before the unrighteous, And the sirens shall sigh because of you-and weep.]

3 Wherefore fear not, ye that have suffered; For healing shall be your portion, And a bright light shall enlighten you, And the voice of rest ye shall hear from heaven. 4. Woe unto you, ye sinners, for your riches make you appear like the righteous, But your hearts convict you of being sinners, And this fact shall be a testimony against you for a memorial of (your) evil deeds.

5 Woe to you who devour the finest of the wheat, And drink wine in large bowls, And tread under foot the lowly with your might.

6 Woe to you who drink water from every fountain, For suddenly shall ye be consumed and wither away, Because ye have forsaken the fountain of life.

7 Woe to you who work unrighteousness And deceit and blasphemy: It shall be a memorial against you for evil.

8 Woe to you, ye mighty, Who with might oppress the righteous; For the day of your destruction is coming. In those days many and good days shall come to the righteous-in the day of your judgement.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 97

1 Believe, ye righteous, that the sinners will become a shame

2 Be it known unto you (ye sinners) that the Most High is mindful of your destruction, And the angels of heaven rejoice over your destruction. 3. What will ye do, ye sinners, And whither will ye flee on that day of judgement, When ye hear the voice of the prayer of the righteous?

4 Yea, ye shall fare like unto them, Against whom this word shall be a testimony: "Ye have been companions of sinners."

5 And in those days the prayer of the righteous shall reach unto the Lord, And for you the days of your judgement shall come.

6 And all the words of your unrighteousness shall be read out before the Great Holy One, And your faces shall be covered with shame, And He will reject every work which is grounded on unrighteousness.

7 Woe to you, ye sinners, who live on the mid ocean and on the dry land, Whose remembrance is evil against you.

8 Woe to you who acquire silver and gold in unrighteousness and say: "We have become rich with riches and have possessions; And have acquired everything we have desired.

9 And now let us do what we purposed: For we have gathered silver, And many are the husbandmen in our houses." 9d. And our granaries are (brim) full as with water,

10 Yea and like water your lies shall flow away; For your riches shall not abide But speedily ascend from you; For ye have acquired it all in unrighteousness, And ye shall be given over to a great curse.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 98

1 And now I swear unto you, to the wise and to the foolish, For ye shall have manifold experiences on the earth.

2 For ye men shall put on more adornments than a woman, And coloured garments more than a virgin: In royalty and in grandeur and in power, And in silver and in gold and in purple, And in splendour and in food they shall be poured out as water.

3 Therefore they shall be wanting in doctrine and wisdom, And they shall perish thereby together with their possessions; And with all their glory and their splendour, And in shame and in slaughter and in great destitution, Their spirits shall be cast into the furnace of fire. 4. I have sworn unto you, ye sinners, as a mountain has not become a slave, And a hill does not become the handmaid of a woman, Even so sin has not been sent upon the earth, But man of himself has created it, And under a great curse shall they fall who commit it.

5 And barrenness has not been given to the woman, But on account of the deeds of her own hands she dies without children.

6 I have sworn unto you, ye sinners, by the Holy Great One, That all your evil deeds are revealed in the heavens, And that none of your deeds of oppression are covered and hidden.

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7 And do not think in your spirit nor say in your heart that ye do not know and that ye do not see that every sin is every day recorded in heaven in the presence of the Most High. 8. From henceforth ye know that all your oppression wherewith ye oppress is written down every day till the day of your judgement.

9 Woe to you, ye fools, for through your folly shall ye perish: and ye transgress against the wise, and so good hap shall not be your portion.

10 And now, know ye that ye are prepared for the day of destruction: wherefore do not hope to live, ye sinners, but ye shall depart and die; for ye know no ransom; for ye are prepared for the day of the great judgement, for the day of tribulation and great shame for your spirits. 11. Woe to you, ye obstinate of heart, who work wickedness and eat blood: Whence have ye good things to eat and to drink and to be filled? From all the good things which the Lord the Most High has placed in abundance on the earth; therefore ye shall have no peace.

12 Woe to you who love the deeds of unrighteousness: wherefore do ye hope for good hap unto yourselves? know that ye shall be delivered into the hands of the righteous, and they shall cut off your necks and slay you, and have no mercy upon you.

13 Woe to you who rejoice in the tribulation of the righteous; for no grave shall be dug for you.

14 Woe to you who set at nought the words of the righteous; for ye shall have no hope of life.

15 Woe to you who write down lying and godless words; for they write down their lies that men may hear them and act godlessly towards (their) neighbour.

16 Therefore they shall have no peace but die a sudden death.

13 Woe to you who rejoice in the tribulation of the righteous; for no grave shall be dug for you.

14 Woe to you who set at nought the words of the righteous; for ye shall have no hope of life.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 99

1 Woe to you who work godlessness, And glory in lying and extol them: Ye shall perish, and no happy life shall be yours.

2 Woe to them who pervert the words of uprightness, And transgress the eternal law, And transform themselves into what they were not [into sinners]: They shall be trodden under foot upon the earth.

3 In those days make ready, ye righteous, to raise your prayers as a memorial, And place them as a testimony before the angels, That they may place the sin of the sinners for a memorial before the Most High.

4 In those days the nations shall be stirred up, And the families of the nations shall arise on the day of destruction.

5 And in those days the destitute shall go forth and carry off their children, And they shall abandon them, so that their children shall perish through them: Yea, they shall abandon their children (that are still) sucklings, and not return to them, And shall have no pity on their beloved ones.

6 And again I swear to you, ye sinners, that sin is prepared for a day of unceasing bloodshed.

7 And they who worship stones, and grave images of gold and silver and wood (and stone) and clay, and those who worship impure spirits and demons, and all kinds of idols not according to knowledge, shall get no manner of help from them.

8 And they shall become godless by reason of the folly of their hearts, And their eyes shall be blinded through the fear of their hearts And through visions in their dreams.

9 Through these they shall become godless and fearful; For they shall have wrought all their work in a lie, And shall have worshiped a stone: Therefore in an instant shall they perish.

10 But in those days blessed are all they who accept the words of wisdom, and understand them, And observe the paths of the Most High, and walk in the path of His righteousness, And become not godless with the godless; For they shall be saved.

11 Woe to you who spread evil to your neighbours; For you shall be slain in Sheol.

12 Woe to you who make deceitful and false measures, And (to them) who cause bitterness on the earth; For they shall thereby be utterly consumed.

13 Woe to you who build your houses through the grievous toil of others, And all their building materials are the bricks and stones of sin; I tell you ye shall have no peace.

14 Woe to them who reject the measure and eternal heritage of their fathers And whose souls follow after idols; For they shall have no rest.

15 Woe to them who work unrighteousness and help oppression, And slay their neighbours until the day of the great judgement.

16 For He shall cast down your glory, And bring affliction on your hearts, And shall arouse His fierce indignation And destroy you all with the sword; And all the holy and righteous shall remember your sins.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 100

1 And in those days in one place the fathers together with their sons shall be smitten And brothers one with another shall fall in death Till the streams flow with their blood.

2 For a man shall not withhold his hand from slaying his sons and his sons' sons, And the sinner shall not withhold his hand from his honoured brother: From dawn till sunset they shall slay one another.

3 And the horse shall walk up to the breast in the blood of sinners, And the chariot shall be submerged to its height.

4 In those days the angels shall descend into the secret places And gather together into one place all those who brought down sin And the Most High will arise on that day of judgement To execute great judgement amongst sinners.

5 And over all the righteous and holy He will appoint guardians from amongst the holy angels To guard them as the apple of an eye, Until He makes an end of all wickedness and all sin, And though the righteous sleep a long sleep, they have nought to fear.

6 And (then) the children of the earth shall see the wise in security, And shall understand all the words of this book, And recognise that their riches shall not be able to save them In the overthrow of their sins.

7 Woe to you, Sinners, on the day of strong anguish, Ye who afflict the righteous and burn them with fire: Ye shall be requited according to your works.

8 Woe to you, ye obstinate of heart, Who watch in order to devise wickedness: Therefore shall fear come upon you And there shall be none to help you.

9 Woe to you, ye sinners, on account of the words of your mouth, And on account of the deeds of your hands which your godlessness as wrought, In blazing flames burning worse than fire shall ye burn.

10 And now, know ye that from the angels He will inquire as to your deeds in heaven, from the sun and from the moon and from the stars in reference to your sins because upon the earth ye execute judgement on the righteous.

11 And He will summon to testify against you every cloud and mist and dew and rain; for they shall all be withheld because of you from descending upon you, and they shall be mindful of your sins.

12 And now give presents to the rain that it be not withheld from descending upon you, nor yet the dew, when it has received gold and silver from you that it may descend.

13 When the hoar-frost and snow with their chilliness, and all the snow-storms with all their plagues fall upon you, in those days ye shall not be able to stand before them.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 101

1 Observe the heaven, ye children of heaven, and every work of the Most High, and fear ye Him and work no evil in His presence.

2 If He closes the windows of heaven, and withholds the rain and the dew from descending on the earth on your account, what will ye do then?

3 And if He sends His anger upon you because of your deeds, ye cannot petition Him; for ye spake proud and insolent words against His righteousness: therefore ye shall have no peace.

4 And see ye not the sailors of the ships, how their ships are tossed to and fro by the waves, and are shaken by the winds, and are in sore trouble?

5 And therefore do they fear because all their goodly possessions go upon the sea with them, and they have evil forebodings of heart that the sea will swallow them and they will perish therein.

6 Are not the entire sea and all its waters, and all its movements, the work of the Most High, and has He not set limits to its doings, and confined it throughout by the sand ?

7 And at His reproof it is afraid and dries up, and all its fish die and all that is in it; But ye sinners that are on the earth fear Him not.

8 Has He not made the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein? Who has given understanding and wisdom to everything that moves on the earth and in the sea.

9 Do not the sailors of the ships fear the sea? Yet sinners fear not the Most High.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 102

1 In those days when He hath brought a grievous fire upon you, Whither will ye flee, and where will ye find deliverance? And when He launches forth His Word against you Will you not be affrighted and fear ?

2 And all the luminaries shall be affrighted with great fear, And all the earth shall be affrighted and tremble and be alarmed.

3 And all the angels shall execute their commandst And shall seek to hide themselves from the presence of the Great Glory, And the children of earth shall tremble and quake; And ye sinners shall be cursed for ever, And ye shall have no peace.

4 Fear ye not, ye souls of the righteous, And be hopeful ye that have died in righteousness.

5 And grieve not if your soul into Sheol has descended in grief, And that in your life your body fared not according to your goodness, But wait for the day of the judgement of sinners And for the day of cursing and chastisement.

6 And yet when ye die the sinners speak over you: "As we die, so die the righteous, And what benefit do they reap for their deeds ?

7 Behold, even as we, so do they die in grief and darkness, And what have they more than we? From henceforth we are equal.

8 And what will they receive and what will they see for ever? Behold, they too have died, and never will they again perceive the light.

9 I tell you, ye sinners, ye are content to eat and drink, and rob and sin, and strip men naked, and acquire wealth and see good days.

10 Have ye seen the righteous how their end falls out, that no manner of violence is found in them till their death ?

11 "Nevertheless they perished and became as though they had not been, and their spirits descended into Sheol in tribulation."

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 103

1 Now, therefore, I swear to you, the righteous, by the glory of the Great and Honoured and Mighty One in dominion, and by His greatness I swear to you.

2 I know a mystery And have read the heavenly tablets, And have seen the holy books, And have found written therein and inscribed regarding them:

3 That all goodness and joy and glory are prepared for them, And written down for the spirits of those who have died in righteousness, And that manifold good shall be given to you in recompense for your labours, And that your lot is abundantly beyond the lot of the living.

4 And the spirits of you who have died in righteousness shall live and rejoice, And their spirits shall not perish, nor their memorial from before the face of the Great One Unto all the generations of the world: wherefore no longer fear their contumely. 5. Woe to you, ye sinners, when ye have died, If ye die in the wealth of your sins, And those who are like you say regarding you: 'Blessed are the sinners: they have seen all their days.

6 And how they have died in prosperity and in wealth, And have not seen tribulation or murder in their life; And they have died in honour, And judgement has not been executed on them during their life."

7 Know ye, that their souls will be made to descend into Sheol And they shall be wretched in their great tribulation.

8 And into darkness and chains and a burning flame where there is grievous judgement shall your spirits enter; And the great judgement shall be for all the generations of the world. Woe to you, for ye shall have no peace.

9 Say not in regard to the righteous and good who are in life: "In our troubled days we have toiled laboriously and experienced every trouble, And met with much evil and been consumed, And have become few and our spirit small.

10 And we have been destroyed and have not found any to help us even with a word: We have been tortured [and destroyed], and not hoped to see life from day to day.

11 We hoped to be the head and have become the tail: We have toiled laboriously and had no satisfaction in our toil; And we have become the food of the sinners and the unrighteous, And they have laid their yoke heavily upon us.

12 They have had dominion over us that hated us and smote us; And to those that hated us we have bowed our necks But they pitied us not.

13 We desired to get away from them that we might escape and be at rest, But found no place whereunto we should flee and be safe from them.

14 And are complained to the rulers in our tribulation, And cried out against those who devoured us, But they did not attend to our cries And would not hearken to our voice.

15 And they helped those who robbed us and devoured us and those who made us few; and they concealed their oppression, and they did not remove from us the yoke of those that devoured us and dispersed us and murdered us, and they concealed their murder, and remembered not that they had lifted up their hands against us.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 104

1 I swear unto you, that in heaven the angels remember you for good before the glory of the Great One: and your names are written before the glory of the Great One.

2 Be hopeful; for aforetime ye were put to shame through ill and affliction; but now ye shall shine as the lights of heaven, ye shall shine and ye shall be seen, and the portals of heaven shall be opened to you. 3. And in your cry, cry for judgement, and it shall appear to you; for all your tribulation shall be visited on the rulers, and on all who helped those who plundered you.

4 Be hopeful, and cast not away your hopes for ye shall have great joy as the angels of heaven. 5. What shall ye be obliged to do? Ye shall not have to hide on the day of the great judgement and ye shall not be found as sinners, and the

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eternal judgement shall be far from you for all the generations of the world.

6 And now fear not, ye righteous, when ye see the sinners growing strong and prospering in their ways: be not companions with them, but keep afar from their violence; for ye shall become companions of the hosts of heaven. 7. And, although ye sinners say: "All our sins shall not be searched out and be written down," nevertheless they shall write down all your sins every day.

8 And now I show unto you that light and darkness, day and night, see all your sins.

9 Be not godless in your hearts, and lie not and alter not the words of uprightness, nor charge with lying the words of the Holy Great One, nor take account of your idols; for all your lying and all your godlessness issue not in righteousness but in great sin.

10 And now I know this mystery, that sinners will alter and pervert the words of righteousness in many ways, and will speak wicked words, and lie, and practice great deceits, and write books concerning their words.

11 But when they write down truthfully all my words in their languages, and do not change or minish ought from my words but write them all down truthfully-all that I first testified concerning them.

12 Then, I know another mystery, that books will be given to the righteous and the wise to become a cause of joy and uprightness and much wisdom.

13 And to them shall the books be given, and they shall believe in them And in which they shall rejoice. And all the righteous shall be rewarded, who from these shall acquire the knowledge of every upright path.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 105

1 In those days the Lord bade (them) to summon and testify to the children of earth concerning their wisdom: Show (it) unto them; for ye are their guides, and a recompense over the whole earth.

2 For I and My son will be united with them for ever in the paths of uprightness in their lives; and ye shall have peace: rejoice, ye children of uprightness. Amen.

SECTION SIX - Chapters 106-107
"FRAGMENT OF THE BOOK OF NOAH"

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 106

1 And after some days my son Methuselah took a wife for his son Lamech, and she became pregnant by him and bore a son.

2 And his body was white as snow and red as the blooming of a rose, and the hair of his head and his long locks were white as wool, and his eyes beautiful. And when he opened his eyes, he lighted up the whole house like the sun, and the whole house was very bright.

3 And thereupon he arose in the hands of the midwife, opened his mouth, and conversed with the Lord of righteousness. 4. And his father Lamech was afraid of him and fled, and came to his father Methuselah.

5 And he said unto him: 'I have begotten a strange son, diverse from and unlike man, and resembling the sons of the God of heaven; and his nature is different and he is not like us, and his eyes are as the rays of the sun, and his countenance is glorious.

6 And it seems to me that he is not sprung from me but from the angels, and I fear that in his days a wonder may be wrought on the earth.

7 And now, my father, I am here to petition thee and implore thee that thou mayest go to Enoch, our father, and learn from him the truth, for his dwelling-place is amongst the angels.' 8. And when Methuselah heard the words of his son, he came to me to the ends of the earth; for he had heard that I was there, and he cried aloud, and I heard his voice and I came to him. And said unto him: 'Behold, here am I, my son, wherefore hast thou come to me ? '

9 And he answered and said: 'Because of a great cause of anxiety have I come to thee, and because of a disturbing vision have I approached.

10 And now, my father, hear me: unto Lamech my son there hath been born a son, the like of whom there is none, and his nature is not like man's nature, and the colour of his body is whiter than snow and redder than the bloom of a rose, and the hair of his head is whiter than white wool, and his eyes are like the rays of the sun, and he opened his eyes and thereupon lighted up the whole house.

11 And he arose in the hands of the midwife, and opened his mouth and blessed the Lord of heaven. 12. And his father Lamech became afraid and fled to me, and did not believe that he was sprung from him, but that he was in the likeness of the angels of heaven; and behold I have come to thee that thou mayest make known to me the truth.'

13 And I, Enoch, answered and said unto him: 'The Lord will do a new thing on the earth, and this I have already seen in a vision, and make known to thee that in the generation of my father Jared some of the angels of heaven transgressed the word of the Lord. 14. And behold they commit sin and transgress the law, and have united themselves with women and commit sin with them, and have married some of them, and have begot children by them.

15 Yea, there shall come a great destruction over the whole earth, and there shall be a deluge and a great destruction for one year.

16 And this son who has been born unto you shall be left on the earth, and his three children shall be saved with him: when all mankind that are on the earth shall die [he and his sons shall be saved].

17 And they shall produce on the earth giants not according to the spirit, but according to the flesh, and there shall be a great punishment on the earth, and the earth shall be cleansed from all impurity.

18 And now make known to thy son Lamech that he who has been born is in truth his son, and call his name Noah; for he shall be left to you, and he and his sons shall be saved from the destruction, which shall come upon the earth on account of all the sin and all the unrighteousness, which shall be consummated on the earth in his days.

19 And after that there shall be still more unrighteousness than that which was first consummated on the earth; for I know the mysteries of the holy ones; for He, the Lord, has showed me and informed me, and I have read (them) in the heavenly tablets.

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 107

1 And I saw written on them that generation upon generation shall transgress, till a generation of righteousness arises, and transgression is destroyed and sin passes away from the earth, and all manner of good comes upon it.

2 And now, my son, go and make known to thy son Lamech that this son, which has been born, is in truth his son, and that (this) is no lie.'

3 And when Methuselah had heard the words of his father Enoch-for he had shown to him everything in secret-he returned and showed (them) to him and called the name of that son Noah; for he will comfort the earth after all the destruction.

SECTION SEVEN - Chapters 108
"AN APPENDIX TO THE BOOK OF ENOCH"

1 ENOCH CHAPTER 108

1 Another book which Enoch wrote for his son Methuselah and for those who will come after him, and keep the law in the last days.

2 Ye who have done good shall wait for those days till an end is made of those who work evil; and an end of the might of the transgressors.

3 And wait ye indeed till sin has passed away, for their names shall be blotted out of the book of life and out of the holy books, and their seed shall be destroyed for ever, and their spirits shall be slain, and they shall cry and make lamentation in a place that is a chaotic wilderness, and in the bottomlessfire shall they burn; for there is no earth there.

4 And I saw there something like an invisible cloud; for by reason of its depth I could not look over, and I saw a flame of fire blazing brightly, and things like shining mountains circling and sweeping to and fro. And I asked one of the holy angels who was with me and said unto him: 'What is this shining thing? for it is not a heaven but only the flame of a blazing fire, and the voice of weeping and crying and lamentation and strong pain.'

5 And he said unto me: 'This place which thou seest -here are cast the spirits of sinners and blasphemers, and of those who work wickedness, and of those who pervert everything that the Lord hath spoken through the mouth of the prophets- (even) the things that shall be.

7 For some of them are written and inscribed above in the heaven, in order that the angels may read them and know that which shall befall the sinners, and the spirits of the humble, and of those who have afflicted their bodies, and been recompensed by God; and of those who have been put to shame by wicked men:

8 Who love God and loved neither gold nor silver nor any of the good things which are in the world, but gave over their bodies to torture.

9 Who, since they came into being, longed not after earthly food, but regarded everything as a passing breath, and lived accordingly, and the Lord tried them much, and their spirits were found pure so that they should bless His name.

10 And all the blessings destined for them I have recounted in the books. And he hath assigned them their recompense, because they have been found to be such as loved heaven more than their life in the world, and God has said, though they were trodden under foot of wicked men, and experienced abuse and reviling from them and were put to shame, yet they blessed Me.

11 And now I will summon the spirits of the good who belong to the generation of light, and I will transform those who were born in darkness, who in the flesh were not recompensed with such honour as their faithfulness deserved.

12 And I will bring forth in shining light those who have loved My holy name, and I will seat each on the throne of his honour.

13 And they shall be resplendent for times without number; for righteousness is the judgement of God; for to the faithful He will give faithfulness in the habitation of upright paths.

14 And they shall see those who were, born in darkness led into darkness, while the righteous shall be resplendent.

15 And the sinners shall cry aloud and see them resplendent, and they indeed will go where days and seasons are prescribed for them.'

THE SECOND BOOK OF ENOCH
The Apocalypse of Enoch or 2 Enoch
or Book of the Secrets of Enoch or
Slavonic Enoch or The Secrets of Enoch
1stt century AD

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 1

1 There was a wise man, a great artificer, and the Lord conceived love for him and received him, that he should behold the uppermost dwellings and be an eye-witness of the wise and great and inconceivable and immutable realm of God Almighty, of the very wonderful and glorious and bright and many-eyed station of the Lord's servants, and of the inaccessible throne of the Lord, and of the degrees and manifestations of the incorporeal hosts, and of the ineffable ministration of the multitude of the elements, and of the various apparition and inexpressible singing of the host of Cherubim, and of the boundless light.

2 At that time, he said, when my one hundred and sixty-fifth year was completed, I begat my son Mathusal.

3 After this too I lived two hundred years and completed of all the years of my life three hundred and sixty-five years.

4 On the first day of the month I was in my house alone and was resting on my bed and slept.

5 And when I was asleep, great distress came up into my heart, and I was weeping with my eyes in sleep, and I could not understand what this distress was, or what would happen to me.

6 And there appeared to me two men, exceeding big, so that I never saw such on earth; their faces were shining like the sun, their eyes too were like a burning light, and from their lips was fire coming forth with clothing and singing of various kinds in appearance purple, their wings were brighter than gold, their hands whiter than snow.

7 They were standing at the head of my bed and began to call me by my name.

8 And I arose from my sleep and saw clearly those two men standing in front of me.

9 And I saluted them and was seized with fear and the appearance of my face was changed from terror, and those men said to me:

10 Have courage, Enoch, do not fear; the eternal God sent us to you, and lo! You shalt to-day ascend with us into heaven, and you shall tell your sons and all your household all that they shall do without you on earth in your house, and let no one seek you till the Lord return you to them.

11 And I made haste to obey them and went out from my house, and made to the doors, as it was ordered me, and summoned my sons Mathusal and Regim and Gaidad and made known to them all the marvels those men had told me.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 2

1 Listen to me, my children, I know not whither I go, or what will befall me; now therefore, my children, I tell you: turn not from God before the face of the vain, who made not Heaven and earth, for these shall perish and those who worship them, and may the Lord make confident your hearts in the fear of him. And now, my children, let no one think to seek me, until the Lord return me to you.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 3

1 It came to pass, when Enoch had told his sons, that the angels took him on to their wings and bore him up on to the first heaven and placed him on the clouds. And there I looked, and again I looked higher, and saw the ether, and they placed me on the first heaven and showed me a very great Sea, greater than the earthly sea.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 4

1 They brought before my face the elders and rulers of the stellar orders, and showed me two hundred angels, who rule the stars and their services to the heavens, and fly with their wings and come round all those who sail.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 5

1 And here I looked down and saw the treasure-houses of the snow, and the angels who keep their terrible store-houses, and the clouds whence they come out and into which they go.

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2 ENOCH CHAPTER 6

1 They showed me the treasure-house of the dew, like oil of the olive, and the appearance of its form, as of all the flowers of the earth; further many angels guarding the treasure-houses of these things, and how they are made to shut and open.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 7

1 And those men took me and led me up on to the second heaven, and showed me darkness, greater than earthly darkness, and there I saw prisoners hanging, watched, awaiting the great and boundless judgement, and these angels were dark-looking, more than earthly darkness, and incessantly making weeping through all hours.

2 And I said to the men who were with me: Wherefore are these incessantly tortured? They answered me: These are God's apostates, who obeyed not God's commands, but took counsel with their own will, and turned away with their prince, who also is fastened on the fifth heaven.

3 And I felt great pity for them, and they saluted me, and said to me: Man of God, pray for us to the Lord; and I answered to them: Who am I, a mortal man, that I should pray for angels? Who knows whither I go, or what will befall me? Or who will pray for me?

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 8

1 And those men took me thence, and led me up on to the third heaven, and placed me there; and I looked downwards, and saw the produce of these places, such as has never been known for goodness.

2 And I saw all the sweet-flowering trees and beheld their fruits, which were sweet-smelling, and all the foods borne by them bubbling with fragrant exhalation.

3 And in the midst of the trees that of life, in that place whereon the Lord rests, when he goes up into paradise; and this tree is of ineffable goodness and fragrance, and adorned more than every existing thing; and on all sides it is in form gold-looking and vermilion and fire-like and covers all, and it has produce from all fruits.

4 Its root is in the garden at the earth's end.

5 And paradise is between corruptibility and incorruptibility.

6 And two springs come out which send forth honey and milk, and their springs send forth oil and wine, and they separate into four parts, and go round with quiet course, and go down into the PARADISE OF EDEN, between corruptibility and incorruptibility.

7 And thence they go forth along the earth, and have a revolution to their circle even as other elements.

8 And here there is no unfruitful tree, and every place is blessed.

9 And there are three hundred angels very bright, who keep the garden, and with incessant sweet singing and never-silent voices serve the Lord throughout all days and hours.

10 And I said: How very sweet is this place, and those men said to me:

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 9

1 This place, O Enoch, is prepared for the righteous, who endure all manner of offence from those that exasperate their souls, who avert their eyes from iniquity, and make righteous judgement, and give bread to the hungering, and cover the naked with clothing, and raise up the fallen, and help injured orphans, and who walk without fault before the face of the Lord, and serve him alone, and for them is prepared this place for eternal inheritance.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 10

1 And those two men led me up on to the Northern side, and showed me there a very terrible place, and there were all manner of tortures in that place: cruel darkness and unillumined gloom, and there is no light there, but murky fire constantly flaming aloft, and there is a fiery river coming forth, and that whole place is everywhere fire, and everywhere there is frost and ice, thirst and shivering, while the bonds are very cruel, and the angels fearful and merciless, bearing angry weapons, merciless torture, and I said:

2 Woe, woe, how very terrible is this place.

3 And those men said to me: This place, O Enoch, is prepared for those who dishonour God, who on earth practice sin against nature, which is child-corruption after the sodomitic fashion, magic-making, enchantments and devilish witchcrafts, and who boast of their wicked deeds, stealing, lies, calumnies, envy, rancour, fornication, murder, and who, accursed, steal the souls of men, who, seeing the poor take away their goods and themselves wax rich, injuring them for other men's goods; who being able to satisfy the empty, made the hungering to die; being able to clothe, stripped the naked; and who knew not their creator, and bowed to the soulless and lifeless gods, who cannot see nor hear, vain gods, who also built hewn images and bow down to unclean handiwork, for all these is prepared this place among these, for eternal inheritance.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 11

1 Those men took me, and led me up on to the fourth heaven, and showed me all the successive goings, and all the rays of the light of sun and moon.

2 And I measure their goings, and compared their light, and saw that the sun's light is greater than the moon's.

3 Its circle and the wheels on which it goes always, like the wind going past with very marvellous speed, and day and night it has no rest.

4 Its passage and return are accompanied by four great stars, and each star has under it a thousand stars, to the right of the sun's wheel, and by four to the left, each having under it a thousand stars, altogether eight thousand, issuing with the sun continually.

5 And by day fifteen myriads of angels attend it, and by night a thousand.

6 And six-winged ones issue with the angels before the sun's wheel into the fiery flames, and a hundred angels kindle the sun and set it alight.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 12

1 And I looked and saw other flying elements of the sun, whose names are Phoenixes and Chalkydri, marvellous and wonderful, with feet and tails in the form of a lion, and a crocodile's head, their appearance is empurpled, like the rainbow; their size is nine hundred measures, their wings are like those of angels, each has twelve, and they attend and accompany the sun, bearing heat and dew, as it is ordered them from God.

2 Thus the sun revolves and goes, and rises under the heaven, and its course goes under the earth with the light of its rays incessantly.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 13

1 Those men bore me away to the east, and placed me at the sun's gates, where the sun goes forth according to the regulation of the seasons and the circuit of the months of the whole year, and the number of the hours day and night.

2 And I saw six gates open, each gate having sixty-one stadia and a quarter of one stadium, and I measured them truly, and understood their size to be so much, through which the sun goes forth, and goes to the west, and is made even, and rises throughout all the months, and turns back again from the six gates according to the succession of the seasons; thus the period of the whole year is finished after the returns of the four seasons.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 14

1 And again those men led me away to the western parts, and showed me six great gates open corresponding to the eastern gates, opposite to where the sun sets, according to the number of the days three hundred and sixty-five and a quarter.

2 Thus again it goes down to the western gates, and draws away its light, the greatness of its brightness, under the earth; for since the crown of its shining is in heaven with the Lord, and guarded by four hundred angels, while the sun goes round on wheel under the earth, and stands seven great hours in night, and spends half its course under the earth, when it comes to the eastern approach in the eighth hour of the night, it brings its lights, and the crown of shining, and the sun flames forth more than fire.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 15

1 Then the elements of the sun, called Phoenixes and Chalkydri break into song, therefore every bird flutters with its wings, rejoicing at the giver of light, and they broke into song at the command of the Lord.

2 The giver of light comes to give brightness to the whole world, and the morning guard takes shape, which is the rays of the sun, and the sun of the earth goes out, and receives its brightness to light up the whole face of the earth, and they showed me this calculation of the sun's going.

3 And the gates which it enters, these are the great gates of the calculation of the hours of the year; for this reason the sun is a great creation, whose circuit lasts twenty-eight years, and begins again from the beginning.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 16

1 Those men showed me the other course, that of the moon, twelve great gates, crowned from west to east, by which the moon goes in and out of the customary times.

2 It goes in at the first gate to the western places of the sun, by the first gates with thirty-one days exactly, by the second gates with thirty-one days exactly, by the third with thirty days exactly, by the fourth with thirty days exactly, by the fifth with thirty-one days exactly, by the sixth with thirty-one days exactly, by the seventh with thirty days exactly, by the eighth with thirty-one days perfectly, by the ninth with thirty-one days exactly, by the tenth with thirty days perfectly, by the eleventh with thirty-one days exactly, by the twelfth with twenty-eight days exactly.

3 And it goes through the western gates in the order and number of the eastern, and accomplishes the three hundred and sixty-five and a quarter days of the solar year, while the lunar year has three hundred fifty-four, and there are wanting to it twelve days of the solar circle, which are the lunar epacts of the whole year.

4 Thus, too, the great circle contains five hundred and thirty-two years.

5 The quarter of a day is omitted for three years, the fourth fulfills it exactly.

6 Therefore they are taken outside of heaven for three years and are not added to the number of days, because they change the time of the years to two new months towards completion, to two others towards diminution.

7 And when the western gates are finished, it returns and goes to the eastern to the lights, and goes thus day and night about the heavenly circles, lower than all circles, swifter than the heavenly winds, and spirits and elements and angels flying; each angel has six wings.

8 It has a sevenfold course in nineteen years.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 17

1 In the midst of the heavens I saw armed soldiers, serving the Lord, with tympana and organs, with incessant voice, with sweet voice, with sweet and incessant voice and various singing, which it is impossible to describe, and which astonishes every mind, so wonderful and marvellous is the singing of those angels, and I was delighted listening to it.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 18

1 The men took me on to the fifth heaven and placed me, and there I saw many and countless soldiers, called Grigori, of human appearance, and their size was greater than that of great giants and their faces withered, and the silence of their mouths perpetual, and their was no service on the fifth heaven, and I said to the men who were with me:

2 Wherefore are these very withered and their faces melancholy, and their mouths silent, and wherefore is there no service on this heaven?

3 And they said to me: These are the Grigori, who with their prince Satanail rejected the Lord of light, and after them are those who are held in great darkness on the second heaven, and three of them went down on to earth from the Lord's throne, to the place Ermon, and broke through their vows on the shoulder of the hill Ermon and saw the daughters of men how good they are, and took to themselves wives, and befouled the earth with their deeds, who in all times of their age made lawlessness and mixing, and giants are born and marvellous big men and great enmity.

4 And therefore God judged them with great judgement, and they weep for their brethren and they will be punished on the Lord's great day.

5 And I said to the Grigori: I saw your brethren and their works, and their great torments, and I prayed for them, but the Lord has condemned them to be under earth till the existing heaven and earth shall end for ever.

6 And I said: Wherefore do you wait, brethren, and do not serve before the Lord's face, and have not put your services before the Lord's face, lest you anger your Lord utterly?

7 And they listened to my admonition, and spoke to the four ranks in heaven, and lo! As I stood with those two men four trumpets trumpeted together with great voice, and the Grigori broke into song with one voice, and their voice went up before the Lord pitifully and affectingly.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 19

1 And thence those men took me and bore me up on to the sixth heaven, and there I saw seven bands of angels, very bright and very glorious, and their faces shining more than the sun's shining, glistening, and there is no difference in their faces, or behaviour, or manner of dress; and these make the orders, and learn the goings of the stars, and the alteration of the moon, or revolution of the sun, and the good government of the world.

2 And when they see evildoing they make commandments and instruction, and sweet and loud singing, and all songs of praise.

3 These are the archangels who are above angels, measure all life in heaven and on earth, and the angels who are appointed over seasons and years, the angels who are over rivers and sea, and who are over the fruits of the earth, and the angels who are over every grass, giving food to all, to every living thing, and the angels who write all the souls of men, and all their deeds, and their lives before the Lord's face; in their midst are six Phoenixes and six Cherubim and six six-winged ones continually with one voice singing one voice, and it is not possible to describe their singing, and they rejoice before the Lord at his footstool.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 20

1 And those two men lifted me up thence on to the seventh heaven, and I saw there a very great light, and fiery troops of great archangels, incorporeal forces, and dominions, orders and governments, cherubim and seraphim, thrones and many-eyed ones, nine regiments, the Ioanit stations of light, and I became afraid, and began to tremble with great terror, and those men took me, and led me after them, and said to me:

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2 Have courage, Enoch, do not fear, and showed me the Lord from afar, sitting on His very high throne. For what is there on the tenth heaven, since the Lord dwells there?

3 On the tenth heaven is God, in the Hebrew tongue he is called Aravat.

4 And all the heavenly troops would come and stand on the ten steps according to their rank, and would bow down to the Lord, and would again go to their places in joy and felicity, singing songs in the boundless light with small and tender voices, gloriously serving him.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 21

1 And the cherubim and seraphim standing about the throne, the six-winged and many-eyed ones do not depart, standing before the Lord's face doing his will, and cover his whole throne, singing with gentle voice before the Lord's face: Holy, holy, holy, Lord Ruler of Sabaoth, heavens and earth are full of Your glory.

2 When I saw all these things, those men said to me: Enoch, thus far is it commanded us to journey with you, and those men went away from me and thereupon I saw them not.

3 And I remained alone at the end of the seventh heaven and became afraid, and fell on my face and said to myself: Woe is me, what has befallen me?

4 And the Lord sent one of his glorious ones, the archangel Gabriel, and he said to me: Have courage, Enoch, do not fear, arise before the Lord's face into eternity, arise, come with me.

5 And I answered him, and said in myself: My Lord, my soul is departed from me, from terror and trembling, and I called to the men who led me up to this place, on them I relied, and it is with them I go before the Lord's face.

6 And Gabriel caught me up, as a leaf caught up by the wind, and placed me before the Lord's face.

7 And I saw the eighth heaven, which is called in the Hebrew tongue Muzaloth, changer of the seasons, of drought, and of wet, and of the twelve constellations of the circle of the firmament, which are above the seventh heaven.

8 And I saw the ninth heaven, which is called in Hebrew Kuchavim, where are the heavenly homes of the twelve constellations of the circle of the firmament.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 22

1 On the tenth heaven, which is called Aravoth, I saw the appearance of the Lord's face, like iron made to glow in fire, and brought out, emitting sparks, and it burns.

2 Thus in a moment of eternity I saw the Lord's face, but the Lord's face is ineffable, marvellous and very awful, and very, very terrible.

3 And who am I to tell of the Lord's unspeakable being, and of his very wonderful face? And I cannot tell the quantity of his many instructions, and various voices, the Lord's throne is very great and not made with hands, nor the quantity of those standing round him, troops of cherubim and seraphim, nor their incessant singing, nor his immutable beauty, and who shall tell of the ineffable greatness of his glory.

4 And I fell prone and bowed down to the Lord, and the Lord with his lips said to me:

5 Have courage, Enoch, do not fear, arise and stand before my face into eternity.

6 And the archistratege Michael lifted me up, and led me to before the Lord's face.

7 And the Lord said to his servants tempting them: Let Enoch stand before my face into eternity, and the glorious ones bowed down to the Lord, and said: Let Enoch go according to Your word.

8 And the Lord said to Michael: Go and take Enoch from out of his earthly garments, and anoint him with my sweet ointment, and put him into the garments of My glory.

9 And Michael did thus, as the Lord told him. He anointed me, and dressed me, and the appearance of that ointment is more than the great light, and his ointment is like sweet dew, and its smell mild, shining like the sun's ray, and I looked at myself, and I was like one of his glorious ones.

10 And the Lord summoned one of his archangels by name Pravuil, whose knowledge was quicker in wisdom than the other archangels, who wrote all the deeds of the Lord; and the Lord said to Pravuil: Bring out the books from my store-houses, and a reed of quick-writing, and give it to Enoch, and deliver to him the choice and comforting books out of your hand.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 23

1 And he was telling me all the works of heaven, earth and sea, and all the elements, their passages and goings, and the thunderings of the thunders, the sun and moon, the goings and changes of the stars, the seasons, years, days, and hours, the risings of the wind, the numbers of the angels, and the formation of their songs, and all human things, the tongue of every human song and life, the commandments, instructions, and sweet-voiced singings, and all things that it is fitting to learn.

2 And Pravuil told me: All the things that I have told you, we have written. Sit and write all the souls of mankind, however many of them are born, and the places prepared for them to eternity; for all souls are prepared to eternity, before the formation of the world.

3 And all double thirty days and thirty nights, and I wrote out all things exactly, and wrote three hundred and sixty-six books.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 24

1 And the Lord summoned me, and said to me: Enoch, sit down on my left with Gabriel.

2 And I bowed down to the Lord, and the Lord spoke to me: Enoch, beloved, all that you see, all things that are standing finished I tell to you even before the very beginning, all that I created from non-being, and visible things from invisible.

3 Hear, Enoch, and take in these my words, for not to My angels have I told my secret, and I have not told them their rise, nor my endless realm, nor have they understood my creating, which I tell you to-day.

4 For before all things were visible, I alone used to go about in the invisible things, like the sun from east to west, and from west to east.

5 But even the sun has peace in itself, while I found no peace, because I was creating all things, and I conceived the thought of placing foundations, and of creating visible creation.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 25

1 I commanded in the very lowest parts, that visible things should come down from invisible, and Adoil came down very great, and I beheld him, and lo! He had a belly of great light.

2 And I said to him: Become undone, Adoil, and let the visible come out of you.

3 And he came undone, and a great light came out. And I was in the midst of the great light, and as there is born light from light, there came forth a great age, and showed all creation, which I had thought to create.

4 And I saw that it was good.

5 And I placed for myself a throne, and took my seat on it, and said to the light: Go thence up higher and fix yourself high above the throne, and be a foundation to the highest things.

6 And above the light there is nothing else, and then I bent up and looked up from my throne.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 26

1 And I summoned the very lowest a second time, and said: Let Archas (8) come forth hard, and he came forth hard from the invisible.

2 And Archas came forth, hard, heavy, and very red.

3 And I said: Be opened, Archas, and let there be born from you, and he came undone, an age came forth, very great and very dark, bearing the creation of all lower things, and I saw that it was good and said to him:

4 Go thence down below, and make yourself firm, and be a foundation for the lower things, and it happened and he went down and fixed himself, and became the foundation for the lower things, and below the darkness there is nothing else.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 27

1 And I commanded that there should be taken from light and darkness, and I said: Be thick, and it became thus, and I spread it out with the light, and it became water, and I spread it out over the darkness, below the light, and then I made firm the waters, that is to say the bottomless, and I made foundation of light around the water, and created seven circles from inside, and imaged the water like crystal wet and dry, that is to say like glass, and the circumcession of the waters and the other elements, and I showed each one of them its road, and the seven stars each one of them in its heaven, that they go thus, and I saw that it was good.

2 And I separated between light and between darkness, that is to say in the midst of the water hither and thither, and I said to the light, that it should be the day, and to the darkness, that it should be the night, and there was evening and there was morning the first day.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 28

1 And then I made firm the heavenly circle, and made that the lower water which is under heaven collect itself together, into one whole, and that the chaos become dry, and it became so.

2 Out of the waves I created rock hard and big, and from the rock I piled up the dry, and the dry I called earth, and the midst of the earth I called abyss, that is to say the bottomless, I collected the sea in one place and bound it together with a yoke.

3 And I said to the sea: Behold I give you your eternal limits, and you shalt not break loose from your component parts.

4 Thus I made fast the firmament. This day I called me the first-created [Sunday].

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 29

1 And for all the heavenly troops I imaged the image and essence of fire, and my eye looked at the very hard, firm rock, and from the gleam of my eye the lightning received its wonderful nature, which is both fire in water and water in fire, and one does not put out the other, nor does the one dry up the other, therefore the lightning is brighter than the sun, softer than water and firmer than hard rock.

2 And from the rock I cut off a great fire, and from the fire I created the orders of the incorporeal ten troops of angels, and their weapons are fiery and their raiment a burning flame, and I commanded that each one should stand in his order.

3 And one from out the order of angels, having turned away with the order that was under him, conceived an impossible thought, to place his throne higher than the clouds above the earth, that he might become equal in rank to my power.

4 And I threw him out from the height with his angels, and he was flying in the air continuously above the bottomless.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 30

1 On the third day I commanded the earth to make grow great and fruitful trees, and hills, and seed to sow, and I planted Paradise, and enclosed it, and placed as armed guardians flaming angels, and thus I created renewal.

2 Then came evening, and came morning the fourth day.

3 On the fourth day I commanded that there should be great lights on the heavenly circles.

4 On the first uppermost circle I placed the stars, Kruno, and on the second Aphrodit, on the third Aris, on the fifth Zoues, on the sixth Ermis, on the seventh lesser the moon, and adorned it with the lesser stars.

5 And on the lower I placed the sun for the illumination of day, and the moon and stars for the illumination of night.

6 The sun that it should go according to each constellation, twelve, and I appointed the succession of the months and their names and lives, their thunderings, and their hour-markings, how they should succeed.

7 Then evening came and morning came the fifth day.

8 On the fifth day I commanded the sea, that it should bring forth fishes, and feathered birds of many varieties, and all animals creeping over the earth, going forth over the earth on four legs, and soaring in the air, male sex and female, and every soul breathing the spirit of life.

9 And there came evening, and there came morning the sixth day.

10 On the sixth day I commanded my wisdom to create man from seven consistencies: one, his flesh from the earth; two, his blood from the dew; three, his eyes from the sun; four, his bones from stone; five, his intelligence from the swiftness of the angels and from cloud; six, his veins and his hair from the grass of the earth; seven, his soul from my breath and from the wind.

11 And I gave him seven natures: to the flesh hearing, the eyes for sight, to the soul smell, the veins for touch, the blood for taste, the bones for endurance, to the intelligence sweetness.

12 I conceived a cunning saying to say, I created man from invisible and from visible nature, of both are his death and life and image, he knows speech like some created thing, small in greatness and again great in smallness, and I placed him on earth, a second angel, honourable, great and glorious, and I appointed him as ruler to rule on earth and to have my wisdom, and there was none like him of earth of all my existing creatures.

13 And I appointed him a name, from the four component parts, from east, from west, from south, from north, and I appointed for him four special stars, and I called his name Adam, and showed him the two ways, the light and the darkness, and I told him:

14 This is good, and that bad, that I should learn whether he has love towards me, or hatred, that it be clear which in his race love me.

15 For I have seen his nature, but he has not seen his own nature, therefore through not seeing he will sin worse, and I said After sin what is there but death?

16 And I put sleep into him and he fell asleep. And I took from him a rib, and created him a wife, that death should come to him by his wife, and I took his last word and called her name mother, that is to say, Eva.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 31

1 Adam has life on earth, and I created a garden in Eden in the east, that he should observe the testament and keep the command.

2 I made the heavens open to him, that he should see the angels singing the song of victory, and the gloomless light.

3 And he was continuously in paradise, and the devil understood that I wanted to create another world, because Adam was lord on earth, to rule and control it.

4 The devil is the evil spirit of the lower places, as a fugitive he made Sotona from the heavens as his name was Satanail, thus he became different from the angels, but his nature did not change his intelligence as far as his understanding of righteous and sinful things.

5 And he understood his condemnation and the sin which he had sinned before, therefore he conceived thought against Adam, in such form he entered and seduced Eva, but did not touch Adam.

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6 But I cursed ignorance, but what I had blessed previously, those I did not curse, I cursed not man, nor the earth, nor other creatures, but man's evil fruit, and his works.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER r 32

1 I said to him: Earth you are, and into the earth whence I took you you shalt go, and I will not ruin you, but send you whence I took you.

2 Then I can again receive you at My second presence.

3 And I blessed all my creatures visible and invisible. And Adam was five and half hours in paradise.

4 And I blessed the seventh day, which is the Sabbath, on which he rested from all his works.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 33

1 And I appointed the eighth day also, that the eighth day should be the first-created after my work, and that the first seven revolve in the form of the seventh thousand, and that at the beginning of the eighth thousand there should be a time of not-counting, endless, with neither years nor months nor weeks nor days nor hours.

2 And now, Enoch, all that I have told you, all that you have understood, all that you have seen of heavenly things, all that you have seen on earth, and all that I have written in books by my great wisdom, all these things I have devised and created from the uppermost foundation to the lower and to the end, and there is no counsellor nor inheritor to my creations.

3 I am self-eternal, not made with hands, and without change.

4 My thought is my counsellor, my wisdom and my word are made, and my eyes observe all things how they stand here and tremble with terror.

5 If I turn away my face, then all things will be destroyed.

6 And apply your mind, Enoch, and know him who is speaking to you, and take thence the books which you yourself have written.

7 And I give you Samuil and Raguil, who led you up, and the books, and go down to earth, and tell your sons all that I have told you, and all that you have seen, from the lower heaven up to my throne, and all the troops.

8 For I created all forces, and there is none that resists me or that does not subject himself to me. For all subject themselves to my monarchy, and labour for my sole rule.

9 Give them the books of the handwriting, and they will read them and will know me for the creator of all things, and will understand how there is no other God but me.

10 And let them distribute the books of your handwriting– children to children, generation to generation, nations to nations.

11 And I will give you, Enoch, my intercessor, the archistratege Michael, for the handwritings of your fathers Adam, Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahaleleel, and Jared your father.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 34

1 They have rejected my commandments and my yoke, worthless seed has come up, not fearing God, and they would not bow down to me, but have begun to bow down to vain gods, and denied my unity, and have laden the whole earth with untruths, offences, abominable lecheries, namely one with another, and all manner of other unclean wickedness, which are disgusting to relate.

2 And therefore I will bring down a deluge upon the earth and will destroy all men, and the whole earth will crumble together into great darkness.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 35

1 Behold from their seed shall arise another generation, much afterwards, but of them many will be very insatiate.

2 He who raises that generation, shall reveal to them the books of your handwriting, of your fathers, to them to whom he must point out the guardianship of the world, to the faithful men and workers of my pleasure, who do not acknowledge my name in vain.

3 And they shall tell another generation, and those others having read shall be glorified thereafter, more than the first.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 36

1 Now, Enoch, I give you the term of thirty days to spend in your house, and tell your sons and all your household, that all may hear from my face what is told them by you, that they may read and understand, how there is no other God but me.

2 And that they may always keep my commandments, and begin to read and take in the books of your handwriting.

3 And after thirty days I shall send my angel for you, and he will take you from earth and from your sons to me.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 37

1 And the Lord called upon one of the older angels, terrible and menacing, and placed him by me, in appearance white as snow, and his hands like ice, having the appearance of great frost, and he froze my face, because I could not endure the terror of the Lord, just as it is not possible to endure a stove's fire and the sun's heat, and the frost of the air.

2 And the Lord said to me: Enoch, if your face be not frozen here, no man will be able to behold your face.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 38

1 And the Lord said to those men who first led me up: Let Enoch go down on to earth with you, and await him till the determined day.

2 And they placed me by night on my bed.

3 And Mathusal expecting my coming, keeping watch by day and by night at my bed, was filled with awe when he heard my coming, and I told him, Let all my household come together, that I tell them everything.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 39

1 Oh my children, my beloved ones, hear the admonition of your father, as much as is according to the Lord's will.

2 I have been let come to you to-day, and announce to you, not from my lips, but from the Lord's lips, all that is and was and all that is now, and all that will be till judgement-day.

3 For the Lord has let me come to you, you hear therefore the words of my lips, of a man made big for you, but I am one who has seen the Lord's face, like iron made to glow from fire it sends forth sparks and burns.

4 You look now upon my eyes, the eyes of a man big with meaning for you, but I have seen the Lord's eyes, shining like the sun's rays and filling the eyes of man with awe.

5 You see now, my children, the right hand of a man that helps you, but I have seen the Lord's right hand filling heaven as he helped me.

6 You see the compass of my work like your own, but I have seen the Lord's limitless and perfect compass, which has no end.

7 You hear the words of my lips, as I heard the words of the Lord, like great thunder incessantly with hurling of clouds.

8 And now, my children, hear the discourses of the father of the earth, how fearful and awful it is to come before the face of the ruler of the earth, how much more terrible and awful it is to come before the face of the ruler of heaven, the controller of quick and dead, and of the heavenly troops. Who can endure that endless pain?

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 40

1 And now, my children, I know all things, for this is from the Lord's lips, and this my eyes have seen, from beginning to end.

2 I know all things, and have written all things into books, the heavens and their end, and their plenitude, and all the armies and their marchings.

3 I have measured and described the stars, the great countless multitude of them.

4 What man has seen their revolutions, and their entrances? For not even the angels see their number, while I have written all their names.

5 And I measured the sun's circle, and measured its rays, counted the hours, I wrote down too all things that go over the earth, I have written the things that are nourished, and all seed sown and unsown, which the earth produces and all plants, and every grass and every flower, and their sweet smells, and their names, and the dwelling-places of the clouds, and their composition, and their wings, and how they bear rain and raindrops.

6 And I investigated all things, and wrote the road of the thunder and of the lightning, and they showed me the keys and their guardians, their rise, the way they go; it is let out gently in measure by a chain, lest by a heavy chain and violence it hurl down the angry clouds and destroy all things on earth.

7 I wrote the treasure-houses of the snow, and the store-houses of the cold and the frosty airs, and I observed their season's key-holder, he fills the clouds with them, and does not exhaust the treasure-houses.

8 And I wrote the resting-places of the winds and observed and saw how their key-holders bear weighing-scales and measures; first, they put them in one weighing-scale, then in the other the weights and let them out according to measure cunningly over the whole earth, lest by heavy breathing they make the earth to rock.

9 And I measured out the whole earth, its mountains, and all hills, fields, trees, stones, rivers, all existing things I wrote down, the height from earth to the seventh heaven, and downwards to the very lowest hell, and the judgement-place, and the very great, open and weeping hell.

10 And I saw how the prisoners are in pain, expecting the limitless judgement.

11 And I wrote down all those being judged by the judge, and all their judgement and sentences and all their works.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 41

1 And I saw all forefathers from all time with Adam and Eva, and I sighed and broke into tears and said of the ruin of their dishonour:

2 Woe is me for my infirmity and for that of my forefathers, and thought in my heart and said:

3 Blessed is the man who has not been born or who has been born and shall not sin before the Lord's face, that he come not into this place, nor bring the yoke of this place.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 42

1 I saw the key-holders and guards of the gates of hell standing, like great serpents, and their faces like extinguishing lamps, and their eyes of fire, their sharp teeth, and I saw all the Lord's works, how they are right, while the works of man are some good, and others bad, and in their works are known those who lie evilly.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 43

1 I, my children, measured and wrote out every work and every measure and every righteous judgement.

2 As one year is more honourable than another, so is one man more honourable than another, some for great possessions, some for wisdom of heart, some for particular intellect, some for cunning, one for silence of lip, another for cleanliness, one for strength, another for comeliness, one for youth, another for sharp wit, one for shape of body, another for sensibility, let it be heard everywhere, but there is none better than he who fears God, he shall be more glorious in time to come.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 44

1 The Lord with his hands having created man, in the likeness of his own face, the Lord made him small and great.

2 Whoever reviles the ruler's face, and abhors the Lord's face, has despised the Lord's face, and he who vents anger on any man without injury, the Lord's great anger will cut him down, he who spits on the face of man reproachfully, will be cut down at the Lord's great judgement.

3 Blessed is the man who does not direct his heart with malice against any man, and helps the injured and condemned, and raises the broken down, and shall do charity to the needy, because on the day of the great judgement every weight, every measure and every makeweight will be as in the market, that is to say they are hung on scales and stand in the market, and every one shall learn his own measure, and according to his measure shall take his reward.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 45

1 Whoever hastens to make offerings before the Lord's face, the Lord for his part will hasten that offering by granting of his work.

2 But whoever increases his lamp before the Lord's face and make not true judgement, the Lord will not increase his treasure in the realm of the highest.

3 When the Lord demands bread, or candles, or the flesh of beasts, or any other sacrifice, then that is nothing; but God demands pure hearts, and with all that only tests the heart of man.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 46

1 Hear, my people, and take in the words of my lips.

2 If any one bring any gifts to an earthly ruler, and have disloyal thoughts in his heart, and the ruler know this, will he not be angry with him, and not refuse his gifts, and not give him over to judgement?

3 Or if one man make himself appear good to another by deceit of tongue, but have evil in his heart, then will not the other understand the treachery of his heart, and himself be condemned, since his untruth was plain to all?

4 And when the Lord shall send a great light, then there will be judgement for the just and the unjust, and there no one shall escape notice.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 47

1 And now, my children, lay thought on your hearts, mark well the words of your father, which are all come to you from the Lord's lips.

2 Take these books of your father's handwriting and read them.

3 For the books are many, and in them you will learn all the Lord's works, all that has been from the beginning of creation, and will be till the end of time.

4 And if you will observe my handwriting, you will not sin against the Lord; because there is no other except the Lord, neither in heaven, nor in earth, nor in the very lowest places, nor in the one foundation.

5 The Lord has placed the foundations in the unknown, and has spread forth heavens visible and invisible; he fixed the earth on the waters, and created countless creatures, and who has counted the water and the foundation of the unfixed, or the dust of the earth, or the sand of the sea, or the drops of the rain, or the morning dew, or the wind's breathings? Who has filled earth and sea, and the indissoluble winter?

6 I cut the stars out of fire, and decorated heaven, and put it in their midst.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 48

1 That the sun go along the seven heavenly circles, which are the appointment of one hundred and eighty-two thrones,

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that it go down on a short day, and again one hundred and eighty-two, that it go down on a big day, and he has two thrones on which he rests, revolving hither and thither above the thrones of the months, from the seventeenth day of the month Tsivan it goes down to the month Thevan, from the seventeenth of Thevan it goes up.

2 And thus it goes close to the earth, then the earth is glad and makes grow its fruits, and when it goes away, then the earth is sad, and trees and all fruits have no florescence.

3 All this he measured, with good measurement of hours, and fixed a measure by his wisdom, of the visible and the invisible.

4 From the invisible he made all things visible, himself being invisible.

5 Thus I make known to you, my children, and distribute the books to your children, into all your generations, and amongst the nations who shall have the sense to fear God, let them receive them, and may they come to love them more than any food or earthly sweets, and read them and apply themselves to them.

6 And those who understand not the Lord, who fear not God, who accept not, but reject, who do not receive the books, a terrible judgement awaits these.

7 Blessed is the man who shall bear their yoke and shall drag them along, for he shall be released on the day of the great judgement.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 49

1 I swear to you, my children, but I swear not by any oath, neither by heaven nor by earth, nor by any other creature which God created.

2 The Lord said: There is no oath in me, nor injustice, but truth.

3 If there is no truth in men, let them swear by the words, Yea, yea, or else, Nay, nay.

4 And I swear to you, yea, yea, that there has been no man in his mother's womb, but that already before, even to each one there is a place prepared for the repose of that soul, and a measure fixed how much it is intended that a man be tried in this world.

5 Yea, children, deceive not yourselves, for there has been previously prepared a place for every soul of man.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 50

1 I have put every man's work in writing and none born on earth can remain hidden nor his works remain concealed.

2 I see all things.

3 Now therefore, my children, in patience and meekness spend the number of your days, that you inherit endless life.

4 Endure for the sake of the Lord every wound, every injury, every evil word and attack.

5 If ill-requitals befall you, return them not either to neighbour or enemy, because the Lord will return them for you and be your avenger on the day of great judgement, that there be no avenging here among men.

6 Whoever of you spends gold or silver for his brother's sake, he will receive ample treasure in the world to come.

7 Injure not widows nor orphans nor strangers, lest God's wrath come upon you.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 51

1 Stretch out your hands to the poor according to your strength.

2 Hide not your silver in the earth.

3 Help the faithful man in affliction, and affliction will not find you in the time of your trouble.

4 And every grievous and cruel yoke that come upon you bear all for the sake of the Lord, and thus you will find your reward in the day of judgement.

5 It is good to go morning, midday, and evening into the Lord's dwelling, for the glory of your creator.

6 Because every breathing thing glorifies him, and every creature visible and invisible returns him praise.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 52

1 Blessed is the man who opens his lips in praise of God of Sabaoth and praises the Lord with his heart.

2 Cursed every man who opens his lips for the bringing into contempt and calumny of his neighbour, because he brings God into contempt.

3 Blessed is he who opens his lips blessing and praising God.

4 Cursed is he before the Lord all the days of his life, who opens his lips to curse and abuse.

5 Blessed is he who blesses all the Lord's works.

6 Cursed is he who brings the Lord's creation into contempt.

7 Blessed is he who looks down and raises the fallen.

8 Cursed is he who looks to and is eager for the destruction of what is not his.

9 Blessed is he who keeps the foundations of his fathers made firm from the beginning.

10 Cursed is he who perverts the decrees of his forefathers.

11 Blessed is he who imparts peace and love.

12 Cursed is he who disturbs those that love their neighbours.

13 Blessed is he who speaks with humble tongue and heart to all.

14 Cursed is he who speaks peace with his tongue, while in his heart there is no peace but a sword.

15 For all these things will be laid bare in the weighing-scales and in the books, on the day of the great judgement.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 53

1 And now, my children, do not say: Our father is standing before God, and is praying for our sins, for there is there no helper of any man who has sinned.

2 You see how I wrote all works of every man, before his creation, all that is done amongst all men for all time, and none can tell or relate my handwriting, because the Lord see all imaginings of man, how they are vain, where they lie in the treasure-houses of the heart.

3 And now, my children, mark well all the words of your father, that I tell you, lest you regret, saying: Why did our father not tell us?

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 54

1 At that time, not understanding this let these books which I have given you be for an inheritance of your peace.

2 Hand them to all who want them, and instruct them, that they may see the Lord's very great and marvellous works.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 55

1 My children, behold, the day of my term and time have approached.

2 For the angels who shall go with me are standing before me and urge me to my departure from you; they are standing here on earth, awaiting what has been told them.

3 For to-morrow I shall go up on to heaven, to the uppermost Jerusalem to my eternal inheritance.

4 Therefore I bid you do before the Lord's face all his good pleasure.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 56

1 Mathosalam having answered his father Enoch, said: What is agreeable to your eyes, father, that I may make before your face, that you may bless our dwellings, and your sons, and that your people may be made glorious through you, and then that you may depart thus, as the Lord said?

2 Enoch answered to his son Mathosalam and said: Hear, child, from the time when the Lord anointed me with the ointment of his glory, there has been no food in me, and my soul remembers not earthly enjoyment, neither do I want anything earthly.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 57

1 My child Methosalam, summon all your brethren and all your household and the elders of the people, that I may talk to them and depart, as is planned for me.

2 And Methosalam made haste, and summoned his brethren, Regim, Riman, Uchan, Chermion, Gaidad, and all the elders of the people before the face of his father Enoch; and he blessed them, and said to them:

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 58

1 Listen to me, my children, to-day.

2 In those days when the Lord came down on to earth for Adam's sake, and visited all his creatures, which he created himself, after all these he created Adam, and the Lord called all the beasts of the earth, all the reptiles, and all the birds that soar in the air, and brought them all before the face of our father Adam.

3 And Adam gave the names to all things living on earth.

4 And the Lord appointed him ruler over all, and subjected to him all things under his hands, and made them dumb and made them dull that they be commanded of man, and be in subjection and obedience to him.

5 Thus also the Lord created every man lord over all his possessions.

6 The Lord will not judge a single soul of beast for man's sake, but adjudges the souls of men to their beasts in this world; for men have a special place.

7 And as every soul of man is according to number, similarly beasts will not perish, nor all souls of beasts which the Lord created, till the great judgement, and they will accuse man, if he feed them ill.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 59

1 Whoever defiles the soul of beasts, defiles his own soul.

2 For man brings clean animals to make sacrifice for sin, that he may have cure of his soul.

3 And if they bring for sacrifice clean animals, and birds, man has cure, he cures his soul.

4 All is given you for food, bind it by the four feet, that is to make good the cure, he cures his soul.

5 But whoever kills beast without wounds, kills his own souls and defiles his own flesh.

6 And he who does any beast any injury whatsoever, in secret, it is evil practice, and he defiles his own soul.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 60

1 He who works the killing of a man's soul, kills his own soul, and kills his own body, and there is no cure for him for all time.

2 He who puts a man in any snare, shall stick in it himself, and there is no cure for him for all time.

3 He who puts a man in any vessel, his retribution will not be wanting at the great judgement for all time.

4 He who works crookedly or speaks evil against any soul, will not make justice for himself for all time.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 61

1 And now, my children, keep your hearts from every injustice, which the Lord hates. Just as a man asks something for his own soul from God, so let him do to every living soul, because I know all things, how in the great time to come there is much inheritance prepared for men, good for the good, and bad for the bad, without number many.

2 Blessed are those who enter the good houses, for in the bad houses there is no peace nor return from them.

3 Hear, my children, small and great! When man puts a good thought in his heart, brings gifts from his labours before the Lord's face and his hands made them not, then the Lord will turn away his face from the labour of his hand, and that man cannot find the labour of his hands.

4 And if his hands made it, but his heart murmur, and his heart cease not making murmur incessantly, he has not any advantage.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 62

1 Blessed is the man who in his patience brings his gifts with faith before the Lord's face, because he will find forgiveness of sins.

2 But if he take back his words before the time, there is no repentance for him; and if the time pass and he do not of his own will what is promised, there is no repentance after death.

3 Because every work which man does before the time, is all deceit before men, and sin before God.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 63

1 When man clothes the naked and fills the hungry, he will find reward from God.

2 But if his heart murmur, he commits a double evil; ruin of himself and of that which he gives; and for him there will be no finding of reward on account of that.

3 And if his own heart is filled with his food and his own flesh, clothed with his own clothing, he commits contempt, and will forfeit all his endurance of poverty, and will not find reward of his good deeds.

4 Every proud and magniloquent man is hateful to the Lord, and every false speech, clothed in untruth; it will be cut with the blade of the sword of death, and thrown into the fire, and shall burn for all time.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 64

1 When Enoch had spoken these words to his sons, all people far and near heard how the Lord was calling Enoch. They took counsel together:

2 Let us go and kiss Enoch, and two thousand men came together and came to the place Achuzan where Enoch was, and his sons.

3 And the elders of the people, the whole assembly, came and bowed down and began to kiss Enoch and said to him:

4 Our father Enoch, may you be blessed of the Lord, the eternal ruler, and now bless your sons and all the people, that we may be glorified to-day before your face.

5 For you shalt be glorified before the Lord's face for all time, since the Lord chose you, rather than all men on earth, and designated you writer of all his creation, visible and invisible, and redeemed of the sins of man, and helper of your household.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 65

1 And Enoch answered all his people saying: Hear, my children, before that all creatures were created, the Lord created the visible and invisible things.

2 And as much time as there was and went past, understand that after all that he created man in the likeness of his own form, and put into him eyes to see, and ears to hear, and heart to reflect, and intellect wherewith to deliberate.

3 And the Lord saw all man's works, and created all his creatures, and divided time, from time he fixed the years, and from the years he appointed the months, and from the months he appointed the days, and of days he appointed seven.

4 And in those he appointed the hours, measured them out exactly, that man might reflect on time and count years, months, and hours, their alternation, beginning, and end, and that he might count his own life, from the beginning until death, and reflect on his sin and write his work bad and good; because no work is hidden before the Lord, that every man might know his works and never transgress all his

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commandments, and keep my handwriting from generation to generation.

5 When all creation visible and invisible, as the Lord created it, shall end, then every man goes to the great judgement, and then all time shall perish, and the years, and thenceforward there will be neither months nor days nor hours, they will be adhered together and will not be counted.

6 There will be one aeon, and all the righteous who shall escape the Lord's great judgement, shall be collected in the great aeon, for the righteous the great aeon will begin, and they will live eternally, and then too there will be amongst them neither labour, nor sickness, nor humiliation, nor anxiety, nor need, nor brutality, nor night, nor darkness, but great light.

7 And they shall have a great indestructible wall, and a paradise bright and incorruptible, for all corruptible things shall pass away, and there will be eternal life.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 66

1 And now, my children, keep your souls from all injustice, such as the Lord hates.

2 Walk before his face with terror and trembling and serve him alone.

3 Bow down to the true God, not to dumb idols, but bow down to his similitude, and bring all just offerings before the Lord's face. The Lord hates what is unjust.

4 For the Lord sees all things; when man takes thought in his heart, then he counsels the intellects, and every thought is always before the Lord, who made firm the earth and put all creatures on it.

5 If you look to heaven, the Lord is there; if you take thought of the sea's deep and all the under-earth, the Lord is there.

6 For the Lord created all things. Bow not down to things made by man, leaving the Lord of all creation, because no work can remain hidden before the Lord's face.

7 Walk, my children, in long-suffering, in meekness, honesty, in provocation, in grief, in faith and in truth, in reliance on promises, in illness, in abuse, in wounds, in temptation, in nakedness, in privation, loving one another, till you go out from this age of ills, that you become inheritors of endless time.

8 Blessed are the just who shall escape the great judgement, for they shall shine forth more than the sun sevenfold, for in this world the seventh part is taken off from all, light, darkness, food, enjoyment, sorrow, paradise, torture, fire, frost, and other things; he put all down in writing, that you might read and understand.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 67

1 When Enoch had talked to the people, the Lord sent out darkness on to the earth, and there was darkness, and it covered those men standing with Enoch, and they took Enoch up on to the highest heaven, where the Lord is; and he received him and placed him before his face, and the darkness went off from the earth, and light came again.

2 And the people saw and understood not how Enoch had been taken, and glorified God, and found a roll in which was traced The Invisible God; and all went to their dwelling places.

2 ENOCH CHAPTER 68

1 Enoch was born on the sixth day of the month Tsivan, and lived three hundred and sixty-five years.

2 He was taken up to heaven on the first day of the month Tsivan and remained in heaven sixty days.

3 He wrote all these signs of all creation, which the Lord created, and wrote three hundred and sixty-six books, and handed them over to his sons and remained on earth thirty days, and was again taken up to heaven on the sixth day of the month Tsivan, on the very day and hour when he was born.

4 As every man's nature in this life is dark, so are also his conception, birth, and departure from this life.

5 At what hour he was conceived, at that hour he was born, and at that hour too he died.

6 Methosalam and his brethren, all the sons of Enoch, made haste, and erected an altar at that place called Achuzan, whence and where Enoch had been taken up to heaven.

7 And they took sacrificial oxen and summoned all people and sacrificed the sacrifice before the Lord's face.

8 All people, the elders of the people and the whole assembly came to the feast and brought gifts to the sons of Enoch.

9 And they made a great feast, rejoicing and making merry three days, praising God, who had given them such a sign through Enoch, who had found favour with him, and that they should hand it on to their sons from generation to generation, from age to age.

10 Amen.

THE SECOND BOOK OF BARUCH

The Book of the Apocalypse of Baruch the Son of Neriah
or the Syriac Aramaic Apocalypse of Baruch or 2 Baruch
Translation: Robert Henry Charles, 1896
Estimated Range of Dating: 70-180 A.D.

(2 Baruch is a Jewish pseudepigraphical text thought to have been written after the destruction of the Temple in AD 70 in the late 1st century AD or early 2nd century AD. It is attributed to the biblical Baruch and so is associated with the Old Testament, but not regarded as scripture by Jews or by most Christian groups. It is included in some editions of the Peshitta, and is part of the Bible in the Syriac Orthodox tradition. It has 87 sections (chapters). 2 Baruch is also known as the Apocalypse of Baruch or the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch (used to distinguish it from the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch). The Apocalypse proper occupies the first 77 chapters of the book. Chapters 78–87 are usually referred to as the Letter of Baruch to the Nine and a Half Tribes.

The Letter of Baruch had a separate and wider circulation than the rest of the book, and is attested in thirty-six Syriac manuscripts. The Apocalypse proper has been less widely available. One Latin excerpt was known from a quotation in Cyprian. A 4th–5th century AD Greek fragment was found among the Oxyrhynchus manuscripts. Two excerpts were known from 13th century lectionaries of the Syriac Orthodox Church. The full text of 2 Baruch is now known from a 6th or 7th century AD Syriac manuscript discovered by Antonio Ceriani in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan in 1866 [Manuscript "B. 21 inf" ff 264a-276a. A. Ceriani Apocalypsis Baruch (notae criticae) in Monumenta sacra et profana 1,2, Milano 1866 pag 73–98]. An Arabic manuscript of the whole text was discovered in 1974. It is apparently a rather free translation from a Syriac text similar to the Milan manuscript. The Syriac text is almost certainly a translation from the Greek; the original was probably written in Hebrew. There is a close relation between the apocalypse described here and that in 2 Esdras, but scholars are divided over the question of which influenced the other.

Contents:

• Chapters 1–5: God reveals to Baruch the imminent destruction of Jerusalem, and asks him leave the city along with all other pious persons. Baruch cannot understand how the name of Israel can be remembered and the promises made to Moses can come true if the Temple is in ruins. God explains that such an earthly building is not the one he showed to Adam before the Fall and to Moses on Mount Sinai and assures Baruch that Israel's woes will not be permanent. Then Baruch, Jeremiah, and all other pious ones go to the Kidron Valley, where they sorrow and fast.

• Chapters 6–8: On the following day the Chaldeans surround the city, and Baruch is carried up miraculously to the walls of Jerusalem and he sees four angels with torches firing the walls, but not before another angel has consigned the sacred vessels of the Temple to the earth, which swallows them up till the latter days.

• Chapters 9–12: Seven days after the capture of Jerusalem, Baruch again receives a revelation. He is told that Jeremiah should go with the captives to Babylon, but that he himself must remain at the ruins of Jerusalem, where God will reveal to him what shall happen at the end of days. Then Baruch sings a dirge on the destruction of Jerusalem.

• Chapters 13–20: After fasting seven days, Baruch receives a revelation concerning the future punishment of the heathen and of all godless persons; he replies to the Lord complaining about the sad fate of the men. God answers that the man was instructed in the Law and that now the time shall be sped up, referring to the end of days soon to come.

• Chapters 21–30: After another seven-day fast and long prayers, the heavens open and Baruch hears a heavenly voice. First he is blamed for the doubt and the Lord explains that "because when Adam sinned and death was decreed against those who should be born, then the multitude of those who should be born was numbered, and for that number a place was prepared where the living might dwell and the dead might be guarded", and so the "future time" will come only when the earth shall have brought forth all her fruit. Baruch demands to know when this time will arrive, and the Lord gives the first description of the "future time", explaining the twelve divisions of the time of oppression (the same divisions we find in the Ladder of Jacob), and foretelling the Messianic era of joy and the resurrection of the dead.

• Chapters 31–34: Baruch assembles the elders of the people and tells them that Zion will soon be restored, but destroyed once again, then rebuilt for all eternity.

• Chapters 35–40: Baruch, while sitting in the ruins of the Temple lamenting, receives a new revelation in the form of the following vision: in his sleep, he sees a wood surrounded by rocks and crags, and, opposite the wood, a growing vine, beneath which flows a spring. The spring runs quietly as far as the wood, where it waxes to a mighty stream, overwhelming the wood and leaving only one cedar standing. This cedar, too, is finally swept away and carried to the vine. God explains the meaning of the vision to Baruch. The wood is the mighty, fourth power (probably the Roman Empire); the spring is the dominion of the Messiah; and the vine is the Messiah himself, who will destroy the last hostile ruler on Mount Zion.

• Chapters 42–46: The fate of converts and apostates is explained to Baruch, and he is directed to warn the people and to prepare himself for another revelation. He predicts his own death to his son and the other seven elders and foretells that shall not be wanting to Israel a wise man nor a son of the law.[clarification needed]

• Chapters 47–52: This central part of the Apocalypse begins with the great prayer of Baruch, full of humility in front of the majesty of God. God reveals to him the oppressions in the latter days, the resurrection, the final destiny of the righteous ("there shall then be excellency in the righteous surpassing that in the angels"), and the fate of the godless. Thus Baruch understands not to grieve for those who die, but to feel joy for the present sufferance.

• Chapters 53–74: A second prophetic vision follows, whose meaning is explained by the angel Ramiel. A cloud which arises from the sea rains down twelve times, dark and bright waters alternately. This indicates the course of events from Adam to the Messiah. The six dark waters are the dominion of the godless—Adam, Ancient Egypt, Canaan, Jeroboam, Manasseh, and the Chaldeans. The six bright waters are Abraham, Moses, David, Hezekiah, Josiah, and the time of the Second Temple ("nevertheless, not fully as in the beginning"). After these twelve waters comes another water, still darker than the others and shot with fire, carrying annihilation in its wake. A bright flash puts an end to the fearful tempest. The dark cloud is the period between the time of the Second Temple and the advent of the Messiah; the latter event determines the dominion of the wicked, and inaugurates the era of eternal bliss.

• Chapters 75–77: After Baruch has thanked God for the secrets revealed to him, God asks him to warn the people, and keep himself in readiness for his translation to heaven, since God intends to keep him there until the consummation of the times. Baruch admonishes the people and also writes two letters: one to the nine and a half tribes (sent them by means of an eagle); the other to the two and a half tribes exiled in Babylon (of which no content is given).

• Chapters 78–87 (known also as Letter of Baruch to the Nine and One-half Tribes): the main themes of this letter are the hope for a future reward after the present sufferance, the speeding up of the times, the constancy of Moses's covenant, and the freedom of man to follow God.)

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 1

Announcement of the coming Destruction of Jerusalem to Baruch

1 And it came to pass in the twenty-fifth year of Jeconiah, king of Judah, that the word of the Lord came to Baruch, the son of Neriah, and said to him: 2 'Have you seen all that this people are doing to Me, that the evils which these two tribes which remained have done are greater than (those of) the ten tribes which were carried away captive 3 For the former tribes were forced by their kings to commit sin, but these two of themselves have been forcing and compelling their kings to commit sin. 4 For this reason, behold I bring evil upon this city, and upon its inhabitants, and it shall be removed from before Me for a time, and I will scatter this people among the Gentiles that they may do good to the Gentiles. And My people shall be chastened, and the time shall come when they will seek for the prosperity of their times.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 2

1 For I have said these things to you that you may bid Jeremiah, and all those that are like you, to retire from this city. For your works are to this city as a firm pillar, And your prayers as a strong wall.'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 3

1 And I said: 'O LORD, my Lord, have I come into the world for this purpose that I might see the evils of my mother Not (so) my Lord. 2 If I have found grace in Your sight, first take my spirit that I may go to my fathers and not behold the destruction of my mother. For two things vehemently constrain me: for I cannot resist you, and my soul, moreover, cannot behold the evils of my mother. 4 But one thing I will say in Your presence, O Lord. 5 What, therefore, will there be after these things for if you destroy Your city, and deliver up Your land to those that hate us, how shall the name of Israel be again remembered 6 Or how shall one speak of Your praises or to whom shall that which is in Your law be explained Or shall the world return to its nature of aforetime), and the age revert to primeval silence And shall the multitude of souls be taken away, and the nature of man not again be named And where is all that which you did say regarding us'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 4

1 And the Lord said unto me: 'This city shall be delivered up for a time, And the people shall be chastened during a time, And the world will not be given over to oblivion.

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4:2-7. The heavenly Jerusalem

2 [Dost thou think that this is that city of which I said: "On the palms of My hands have I graven you"
3 This building now built in your midst is not that which is revealed with Me, that which prepared beforehand here from the time when I took counsel to make Paradise, and showed Adam before he sinned, but when he transgressed the commandment it was removed from him, as also Paradise.
4 And after these things I showed it to My servant Abraham by night among the portions of the victims.
5 And again also I showed it to Moses on Mount Sinai when I showed to the likeness of the tabernacle and all its vessels.
6 And now, behold, it is preserved with Me, as Paradise.
7 Go, therefore, and do as I command you.']

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 5
(Baruch's Complaint and God's Reassurance)
1 And I answered and said: 'So then I am destined to grieve for Zion, For your enemies will come to this place and pollute Your sanctuary, And lead your inheritance into captivity, And make themselves masters of those whom you have loved, And they will depart again to the place of their idols, And will boast before them: And what will you do for Your great name'
2 And the Lord said unto me:'My name and My glory are unto all eternity; And My judgement shall maintain its right in its own time.
3 And you shall see with your eyes That the enemy will not overthrow Zion, Nor shall they burn Jerusalem, But be the ministers of the Judge for the time.
4 But do you go and do whatsoever I have said unto you.
5 And I went and took Jeremiah, and Adu, and Seriah, and Jabish, and Gedaliah, and all the honorable men of the people, and I led them to the valley of Kidron, and I narrated to them all that had been said to me. 6 And they lifted up their voice, and they all wept. 7 And we sat there and fasted until the evening.

6—8. Invasion of the Chaldeans and their Entrance into the City after the Sacred Vessels were hidden and the City's Walls overthrown by Angels

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 6
1 And it came to pass on the morrow that, lo! the army of the Chaldees surrounded the city, and at the time of the evening, I, Baruch, left the people, and I went forth and stood by the oak.
2 And I was grieving over Zion, and lamenting over the captivity which had come upon the people.
3 And lo! suddenly a strong spirit raised me, and bore me aloft over the wall of Jerusalem.
4 And I beheld, and lo! four angels standing at the four corners of the city, each of them holding a torch of fire in his hands.
5 And another angel began to descend from heaven. and said unto them: 'Hold your lamps, and do not light them till I tell you.
6 For I am first sent to speak a word to the earth, and to place in it what the Lord the Most High has commanded me.'
7 And I saw him descend into the Holy of Holies, and take from there the veil, and holy ark, and the mercy-seat, and the two tables, and the holy raiment of the priests, and the altar of incense, and the forty-eight precious stones, wherewith the priest was adorned and all the holy vessels of the tabernacle.
8 And he spoke to the earth with a loud voice: 'Earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the mighty God, And receive what I commit to you, And guard them until the last times, So that, when you are ordered, you may restore them, So that strangers may not get possession of them.
9 For the time comes when Jerusalem also will be delivered for a time, Until it is said, that it is again restored for ever.'
10 And the earth opened its mouth and swallowed them up.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 7
1 And after these things I heard that angel saying unto those angels who held the lamps: 'Destroy, therefore, and overthrow its wall to its foundations, lest the enemy should boast and say: " We have overthrown the wall of Zion, And we have burnt the place of the mighty God."'
2 And they have seized the place where I had been standing before.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 8
1 Now the angels did as he had commanded them, and when they had broken up the corners of the walls, a voice was heard from the interior of the temple, after the wall had fall saying:
2 'Enter, you enemies, And come, you adversaries; For he who kept the house has forsaken (it).'
3 And I, Baruch, departed.
4 And it came to pass after these things that the army of the Chaldees entered and seized the house, and all that was around it. And they led the people away captive and slew some of them, and bound Zedekiah the king, and sent him to the king of Babylon.

9—12. First Fast of seven Days: Baruch to remain amid the Ruins of Jerusalem and Jeremiah to accompany the Exiles to Babylon. Baruch's Dirge over Jerusalem

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 9
1 And I, Baruch, came, and Jeremiah, whose heart was found pure from sins, who had not been captured in the seizure of the City.
2 And we rent our garments, we wept, and mourned, and fasted seven days.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 10
1 And it came to pass after seven days, that the word of God carne to me, and said unto me: 2 'Tell Jeremiah to go and support the captivity of the people unto Babylon. But do you remain here amid the desolation of Zion, and I will show to you after these days 'what will befall at the end of days.' And I said to Jeremiah as the Lord commanded me. And he, indeed, departed with the people, but I, Baruch, returned and sat before the gates of the temple, and I lamented with the following lamentation over Zion and said:
6 'Blessed is he who was not born, Or he, who having been born, has died.
7 But as for us who live, woe unto us, Because we see the afflictions of Zion, And what has befallen Jerusalem.
8 I will call the Sirens from the sea, And you Lilin, come you from the desert, And you Shedim and dragons from the forests: Awake and gird up your loins unto mourning, And take up with me the dirges, And make lamentation with me.
9 Ye husbandmen, sow not again; And, O earth, wherefore give you your harvest fruits Keep within you the sweets of your sustenance.
10 And thou, vine, why further do you give your wine; For an offering will not again be made from there in Zion, Nor will first-fruits again be offered.
11 And do ye, O heavens, 'withhold your dew, And open not the treasuries of rain:
12 And do thou, O sun withhold the light of your rays. And do thou, O moon, extinguish the multitude of your light; For why should light rise again Where the light of Zion is darkened
13 And you, you bridegrooms, enter not in, And let not the brides adorn themselves with garlands; And, you women, pray not that you may bear.
14 For the barren shall above all rejoice, And those who have no sons shall be glad, And those who have sons shall have anguish.
15 For why should they bear in pain, Only to bury in grief Or why, again, should mankind have sons Or why should the seed of their kind again be named, Where this mother is desolate, And her sons are led into captivity
17 From this time forward speak not of beauty, And discourse not of gracefulness. Moreover, you priests) take you the keys of the sanctuary, And cast them into the height of heaven, And give them to the Lord and say: "Guard Your house Thyself, For lo! we are found false stewards."
19 And you, you virgins; who weave fine linen And silk with gold of Ophir, Take with haste all (these) things And cast (them) into the fire, That it may bear them to Him who made them, And the flame send them to Him who created them, Lest the enemy get possession of them.'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 11
1 Moreover, I, Baruch, say this against you, Babylon: 'If you had prospered, And Zion had dwelt in her glory, Yet the grief to us had been great That you should be equal to Zion.
2 But now, lo! the grief is infinite, And the lamentation measureless, For lo! you are prospered And Zion desolate.
3 Who will be judge regarding these things Or to whom shall we complain regarding that which has befallen us O Lord, how have you borne (it)
4 Our fathers went to rest without grief, And lo! the righteous sleep in the earth in tranquility;
5 For they knew not this anguish, Nor yet had they heard of that which had befallen us.
6 Would that you had ears, O earth, And that you had a heart, O dust: That you might go and announce in Sheol, And say to the dead:
7 "Blessed are you more than we who live."'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 12
1 But I will say this as I think. And I will speak against you, O land, which alt prospering.
2 Not always does the noonday burn, Nor do the rays of the sun constantly give light.
3 Do not expect Land hope] that you will always he prosperous and rejoicing. And be not greatly up lifted and boastful.
4 For assuredly in its own season shall the (divine) wrath awake against you. Which now in long-suffering is held in as it were by reins.
5 And when I had said these things, I fasted seven days.

12:5—13. Second Fast. Revelation as to the coming judgement on the Heathen.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 13
1 And it came to pass after these things, that I, Baruch, was standing upon Mount Zion, and lo! a voice came from the height and said unto me:
2 'Stand upon your feet, Baruch, and hear the word of the mighty God.'
3 Because you have been astonished at what has befallen Zion, you shall therefore be assuredly preserved to the consummation of the times, that you may be for a testimony.
4 So that, if ever those prosperous cities say:
5 'Why hath the mighty God brought upon us this retribution' Say you to them, you and those like you who shall have seen this evil: '(This is the evil) and retribution which is coming upon you and upon your people in its (destined) time that the nations may be thoroughly smitten.
6 And then they shall be in anguish.
7 And if they say at that time:
8 For how long you will say to them: "Ye who have drunk the strained wine, Drink you also of its dregs, The judgement of the Lofty One Who has no respect of persons."'
9 On this account he had aforetime no mercy on His own sons, But afflicted them as His enemies, because they sinned,
10 Then therefore were they chastened That they might be sanctified.
11 But now, you peoples and nations, you are guilty Because you have always trodden down the earth, And used the creation unrighteously.
12 For I have always benefited you.
13 And you have always been ungrateful for the beneficence.

14—19. The Righteousness of the Righteous has profited neither them nor their City; God's Judgements are incomprehensible; the World was made for the Righteous, yet they pass and the World remains (14). Answer—Man knows God's Judgements and has sinned willingly. This World is a Weariness to the Righteous but the next is theirs (15), to be won through Character whether a Man's Time here be long or short (16—17). Final Weal or Woe—the supreme Question (18—19).

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 14
1 And I answered and said: 'Lo! you have shown me the method of the times, and that which shall be after these things, and you have said unto me, that the retribution, which has been spoken of by you, shall come upon the nations.
2 And now I know that those who have sinned are many, and they have lived in prosperity,' and departed from the world, but the few nations will be left in those times, to whom those words shall he said which you did say.
3 For what advantage is there in this, or what (evil), worse than what' we have seen befall us, are we to expect to see
4 But again I will speak in Your presence:
5 What have they profited who had knowledge before you and have not walked in vanity as the rest of the nations, and have not said to the dead: "Give us life," but always feared you, and have not left Your ways
6 And lo! they have been carried off, nor on their account have you had mercy on Zion.
7 And if others did evil, it was due to Zion that on account of the works of those who wrought good works she should be forgiven, and should not be overwhelmed on account of the works of those who wrought unrighteousness.
8 But who, O LORD, my Lord, will comprehend Your judgement, Or who will search out the profoundness of Your way Or who will think out the weight of Your path
9 Or who will be able to think out Your incomprehensible counsel Or who of those that are born has ever found The beginning or end of Your wisdom
10 For we have all been made like a breath.
11 For as the breath ascends involuntarily, and again dies, so it is with the nature of men, who depart not according to their own will, and know not what will befall them in the end.
12 For the righteous justly hope for the end, and without fear depart from this habitation, because they have with you a store of works preserved in treasuries.
13 On this account also these without fear leave this world, and trusting with joy they hope to receive the world which you have promised them.
14 But as for us—woe to us, who also are now shamefully entreated, and at that time look forward (only) to evils.
15 But you know accurately what you have done by means of Your servants; for we are not able to understand that which is good as you art, our Creator.
16 But again I will speak in Your presence, O LORD, my Lord.
17 When of old there was no world with its inhabitants, you did devise and speak with a word, and forthwith the works of creation stood before you.

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18 And you did say that you wouldst make for Your world man as the administrator of Your works, that it might be known that he was by no means made on account of the world, but the world on account of him.

19 And now I see that as for the world which was made on account of us, lo! it abides; but we, on account of whom it was made, depart.'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 15

1 And the Lord answered and said unto me: 'You are rightly astonished regarding the departure of man, but you have not judged well regarding the evils which befall those who sin.

2 And as regards what you have said, that the righteous are carried off and the impious are prospered,

3 And as regards what you have said: "Man knows not Your judgement

4 "—On this account hear, and I will speak to you, and hearken, and I will cause you to hear My words.

5 Man would not rightly have understood My judgement, unless he had accepted the law, and I had instructed him in understanding.

6 But now, because he transgressed wittingly, yea, just on this ground that he knows (about it), he shall be tormented.

7 And as regards what you did say touching the righteous, that on account of them has this world come, so also again shall that, which is to come, come on their account.

8 For this world is to them a strife and a labor with much trouble; and that accordingly which is to come, a crown with great glory.'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 16

1 And I answered and said: '0 LORD, my Lord, lo! the years of this time are few and evil, and who is able in his little time to acquire that which is measureless'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 17

1 And the Lord answered and said unto me: 'With the Most High account is not taken of time nor of a few years.

2 For what did it profit Adam that he lived nine hundred and thirty years and transgressed that which he was commanded Therefore the multitude of time that he lived did not profit him, but brought death and cut off the years of those who were born from him. wherein did Moses suffer loss in that he lived only one hundred and twenty years, and, inasmuch he was subject to Him who formed him, brought the law to the seed of Jacob, and lighted a lamp for the nation of Israel'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 18

1 And I answered and said: 'He that lighted has taken from the light, and there are but few that have imitated him. But those many whom he has lighted have taken from the darkness of Adam and have not rejoiced in the light of the lamp.'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 19

1 And He answered and said unto me: 'Wherefore at that time he appointed for them a covenant and said: "Behold I have placed before you life and death," And he called heaven and earth to witness against them.

2 For he knew that his time was but short, But that heaven and earth endure always.

3 But after his death they sinned and transgressed, Though they knew that they had the law reproving (them), And the light in which nothing could err, Also the spheres which testify, and Me.

4 Now regarding everything that is, it is I that judge, but do not you take counsel in your soul regarding these things, nor afflict thyself because of those which have been.

5 For now it is the consummation of time that should be considered, whether of business, or of prosperity, or of shame and not the beginning thereof.

6 Because if a man be prospered in his beginnings and shamefully entreated in his old age, he forgets all the prosperity that he had.

7 And again, if a man is shamefully entreated in his beginnings, and at his end is prospered, he remembers not again his evil entreatment.

8 And again hearken: though each one were prospered all that time—all the time from the day on which death was decreed against those who transgress—and in his end was destroyed, in vain would have been everything.'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 20

(Zion has been taken away to hasten the Advent of the Judgement)

1 'Therefore, behold! the days come, And the times shall hasten more than the former, And the seasons shall speed on more than those that are past, And the years shall pass more quickly than the present (years).

2 Therefore have I now taken away Zion, That I may the more speedily visit the world in its season.

3 Now therefore hold fast in your heart everything that I command you, And seal it in the recesses of your mind.

4 And then I will show you the judgement of My might, And My ways which are unsearchable.

5 Go therefore and sanctify thyself seven days, and eat no bread, nor drink water, nor speak to anyone. 6 And afterwards come to that place and I will reveal Myself to you, and speak true things with you, and I will give you commandment regarding the method of the times; for they are coming and tarry not.'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 21

(The Prayer of Baruch the Son of Neriah. God's Answer; 1-11)

1 And I went there and sat in the valley of Kidron in a cave of the earth, and I sanctified my soul there, and I ate no bread, yet I was not hungry, and I drank no water, yet I thirsted not, and I was there till the seventh day, as He had commanded me.

2 And afterwards I came to that place where He had spoken with me.

3 And it came to pass at sunset that my soul took much thought, and I began to speak in the presence of the Mighty One, and said:

4 '0 you that have made the earth, hear me, that have fixed the firmament by the word, and have made firm the height of the heaven by the spirit, that have called from the beginning of the world that which did not yet exist, and they obey you.

5 you that have commanded the air by Your nod, and have seen those things which are to be as those things which you are doing.

6 you that rule with great thought the hosts that stand before you: also the countless holy beings, which you did make from the beginning, of flame and fire, which stand around Your throne you rule with indignation.

7 To you only does this belong that you should do forthwith whatsoever you do wish.

8 Who causes the drops of rain to rain by number upon the earth, and alone knows the consummation of the times before they come; have respect unto my prayer.

9 For you alone are able to sustain all who are, and those who have passed away, and those who are to be, those who sin, and those who are to righteous [as living (and) being past finding out].

10 For you alone do live immortal and past finding out, and know the number of mankind.

11 And if in time many have sinned, yet others not a few have been righteous.

(Baruch's Depreciation of this Life.)

12 you know where you preserve the end of those who have sinned, or the consummation of those who have been righteous. 2 For if there were this life only, which belongs to all men, nothing could be more bitter than this.

14 For of what profit is strength that turns to sickness, Or fullness of food that turns to famine, Or beauty that turns to ugliness.

15 For the nature of man is always changeable.

16 For what we were formerly now we no longer are and what we now are we shall not afterwards remain.

17 For if a consummation had not been prepared for all, in vain would have been their beginning.

18 But regarding everything that comes from you do you inform me, and regarding everything about which I ask you, do you enlighten me.

(Baruch prays to God to hasten the Judgement and fulfill His Promise)

19 How long will that which is corruptible remain, and how long will the time of mortals be prospered, and until what time will those who transgress in the world be polluted with much wickedness

20 Command therefore in mercy and accomplish all that you saidst you wouldst bring, that Your might may be made known to those who think that Your long-suffering is weakness.

21 And show to those who know not, that everything that has befallen us and our city until now has been according to the long-suffering of Your power, because on account of Your name you have called us a beloved people.

22 Bring to an end therefore henceforth mortality.

23 And reprove accordingly the angel of death, and let Your glory appear, and let the might of Your beauty be known, and let Sheol be sealed so that from this time forward it may not receive the dead, and let the treasuries of souls restore those which are enclosed in them.

24 For there have been many years like those that are desolate from the days of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and of all those who are like them, who sleep in the earth, on whose account you did say that you had created the world.

25 And now quickly show Your glory, and do not defer what has been promised by you.'

26 And (when) I had completed the words of this prayer I was greatly weakened.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 22

(God's Reply to Baruch's Prayer.)

1 And it came to pass after these things that lo! the heavens were opened, and I saw, and power was given to me, and a voice was beard from on high, and it said unto me:

2 Baruch, Baruch, why are you troubled

3 He who travels by a road but does not complete it, or who departs by sea but does not arrive at the port, can he be comforted

4 Or he who promises to give a present to another, but does not fulfill it, is it not robbery

5 Or he who sows the earth, but does not reap its fruit in its season, does he not lose everything

6 Or he who plants a plant unless it grows till the time suitable to it, does he who planted it expect to receive fruit from it

7 Or a woman who has conceived, if she bring forth untimely, does she not assuredly slay her infant

8 Or he who builds a house, if he does not roof it and complete it, can it be called a house Tell Me that first.'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 23

1 And I answered and said: Not so, O LORD, my Lord.'

2 And He answered and said unto me: 'Why therefore are you troubled about that which you know not, and why are you ill at ease about things in which you are ignorant

3 For as you have not forgotten the people who now are and those who have passed away, so I remember those who are appointed to come.

4 Because when Adam sinned and death was decreed against those who should be born, then the multitude of those who should be born was numbered, and for that number a place was prepared where the living might dwell and the dead might be guarded.

5 Before therefore the number aforesaid is fulfilled, the creature will not live again [for My spirit is the creator of life], and Sheol will receive the dead.

6 And again it is given to you to hear what things are to come after these times.

7 For truly My redemption has drawn nigh, and is not far distant as aforetime.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 24

(The coming Judgement)

1 'For behold! the days come and the books shall be opened in which are written the sins of all those who have sinned, and again also the treasuries in which the righteousness of all those who have been righteous in creation is gathered.

2 For it shall come to pass at that time that you shall see—and the many that are with you—the long-suffering of the Most High, which has been throughout all generations, who has been long-suffering towards all who are born, (alike) those who sin and (those who) are righteous.'

3 And I answered and said: 'But, behold! O Lord, no one knows the number of those things which have passed nor yet of those things which are to come.

4 For I know indeed that which has befallen us, but what will happen to our enemies I know not, and when you will visit Your works.'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 25

(Sign of the coming Judgement)

1 And He answered and said unto me: 'You too shall be preserved till that time till that sign which the Most High will work for the inhabitants of the earth in the end of days.

2 This therefore shall be the sign.

3 When a stupor shall seize the inhabitants of the earth, and they shall fall into many tribulations, and again when they shall fall into great torments. And it will come to pass when they say in their thoughts by reason of their much tribulation: "The Mighty 'One doth no longer remember the earth"—yes, it will come to pass when they abandon hope, that the time will then awake.'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 26

1 And I answered and said: 'Will that tribulation which is to be continue a long time, and will that necessity embrace many years'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 27

(The Twelve Woes that are to Come upon the Earth: The Messiah and the temporary Messianic Kingdom)

1 And He answered and said unto me: 'Into twelve parts is that time divided, and each one of them is reserved for that which is appointed for it.

2 In the first part there shall be the beginning of commotions.

3 And in the second part (there shall be) slayings of the great ones.

4 And in the third part the fall of many by death.

5 And in the fourth part the sending of the sword.

6 And in the fifth part famine and the withholding of rain.

7 And in the sixth part earthquakes and terrors.

8 [. . .]

9 And in the eighth part a multitude of specters and attacks of the Shedim.

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10 And in the ninth part the fall of fire.
11 And in the tenth part rapine and much oppression.
12 And in the eleventh part wickedness and unchastity.
13 And in the twelfth part confusion from the mingling together of all those things aforesaid.
14 For these parts of that time are reserved, and shall be mingled one with another and minister one to another.
15 For some shall leave out some of their own, and receive (in its stead) from others, and some complete their own and that of others, so that those may not understand who are upon the earth in those days that this is the consummation of the times.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 28
1 Nevertheless, whoever understands shall then be wise.
2 For the measure and reckoning of that time are two parts a week of seven weeks.'
3 And I answered and said: 'It is good for a man to come and behold, but it is better that he should not come lest he fall.
4 [But I will say this also:
5 Will he who is incorruptible despise those things which are corruptible, and whatever befalls in the case of those things which are corruptible, so that he might look only to those things which are not corruptible]
6 But if; O Lord, those things shall assuredly come to pass which you have foretold to me, so do you show this also unto me if indeed I have found grace in Your sight.
7 Is it in one place or in one of the parts of the earth that those things are come to pass, or will the whole earth experience (them) '

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 29
1 And He answered and said unto me: 'Whatever will then befall (will befall) the whole earth; therefore all who live will experience (them).
2 For at that time I will protect only those who are found in those self-same days in this land.
3 And it shall come to pass when all is accomplished that was to come to pass in those parts, that the Messiah shall then begin to be revealed.
4 And Behemoth shall be revealed from his place and Leviathan shall ascend from the sea, those two great monsters which I created on the fifth day of creation, and shall have kept until that time; and then they shall be for food for all that are left.
5 The earth also shall yield its fruit ten-thousandfold and on each () vine there shall be a thousand branches, and each branch shall produce a thousand clusters, and each cluster produce a thousand grapes, and each grape produce a cor of wine.
6 And those who have hungered shall rejoice: moreover, also, they shall behold marvels every day.
7 For winds shall go forth from before Me to bring every morning the fragrance of aromatic fruits, and at the close of the day clouds distilling the dew of health.
8 And it shall come to pass at that self-same time that the treasury of manna shall again descend from on high, and they will eat of it in those years, because these are they who have come to the consummation of time.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 30

(The Resurrection)
1 And it shall come to pass after these things, when the time of the advent of the Messiah is fulfilled, that He shall return in glory.
2 Then all who have fallen asleep in hope of Him shall rise again. And it shall come to pass at that time that the treasuries will be opened in which is preserved the number of the souls of the righteous, and they shall come forth, and a multitude of souls shall be seen together in one assemblage of one thought, and the first shall rejoice and the last shall not be grieved.
3 For they know that the time has come of which it is said, that it is the consummation of the times.
4 But the souls of the wicked, when they behold all these things, shall then waste away the more.
5 For they shall know that their torment has come and their perdition has arrived.'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 31
(Baruch exhorts the People to prepare themselves for worse Evils; 31-33)
1 And it came to pass after these things: that I went to the people and said unto them: 'Assemble unto me all your elders and I will speak words unto them.'
2 And they all assembled in the valley of the Kidron.
3 And I answered and said unto them: Hear, O Israel, and I will speak to you, And give ear, O seed of Jacob, and I will instruct you.
4 Forget not Zion, But hold in remembrance the anguish of Jerusalem.
5 For lo! the days come, When everything that is shall become the prey of corruption And be as though it had not been.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 32
1 'But as for you, if you prepare your hearts, so as to sow in them the fruits of the law, it shall protect you in that time in which the Mighty One is to shake the whole creation.
2 [Because after a little time the building of Zion will be shaken in order that it may be built again.
3 But that building will not remain, but will again after a time be rooted out, and will remain desolate until the time.
4 And afterwards it must be renewed in glory, and perfected for evermore.]
5 Therefore we should not be distressed so much over the evil which has now come as over that which is still to be.
6 For there will be a greater trial than these two tribulations when the Mighty One will renew His creation.
7 And now do not draw near to me for a few days, nor seek me till I come to you.'
8 And it came to pass when I had spoken to them all these words, that I, Baruch, went my way, and when the people saw me setting out, they lifted up their voice and lamented and said:
9 To where are you departing from us, Baruch, and are you forsaking us as a father who forsakes his orphan children, and departs from them

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 33
1 'Are these the commands which your companion, Jeremiah the prophet, commanded you, and said unto you: "Look to this people till I go and make ready the rest of the brethren in Babylon against whom has gone forth the sentence that they should be led into captivity" And now if you also forsake us, it were good for us all to die before you, and then that you should withdraw from us.'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 34
(Lament of Baruch)
1 And I answered and said unto the people: 'Far be it from me to forsake you or to withdraw from you, but I will only go unto the Holy of Holies to inquire of the Mighty One concerning you and concerning Zion, if in some respect I should receive more illumination: and after these things I will return to you.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 35
1 And I, Baruch, went to the holy place, and sat down upon the ruins and wept, and said:
2 'O that mine eyes were springs, And mine eyelids a fount of tears.
3 For how shall I lament for Zion, And how shall I mourn for Jerusalem
4 Because in that place where I am now prostrate, Of old the high priest offered holy sacrifices, And placed thereon an incense of fragrant odors.
5 But now our glorying has been made into dust, And the desire of our soul into sand.'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 36
(The Vision of the Forest, the Vine, the Fountain and the Cedar)
1 And when I had said these things I fell asleep there, and I saw a vision in the night.
2 And lo! a forest of trees planted on the plain, and lofty and rugged rocky mountains surrounded it, and that forest occupied much space.
3 And lo! over against it arose a vine, and from under it there went forth a fountain peacefully.
4 Now that fountain came to the forest and was (stirred) into great waves, and those waves submerged that forest, and suddenly they rooted out the greater part of that forest, and overthrew all the mountains which were round about it.
5 And the height of the forest began to be made low, and the top of the mountains was made low and that fountain prevailed greatly, so that it left nothing of that great forest save one cedar only.
6 Also when it had cast it down and had destroyed and rooted out the greater part of that forest, so that nothing was left of it, nor could its place be recognized, then that vine began to come with the fountain in peace and great tranquility, and it came to a place which was not far from that cedar, and they brought the cedar which had been cast down to it.
7 And I beheld and lo! that vine opened its mouth and spoke and said to that cedar: Art you not that cedar which was left of the forest of wickedness, and by whose means wickedness persisted, and was wrought all those years, and goodness never.
8 And you kept conquering that which was not yours, and to that which was your you did never show compassion, and you did keep extending your power over those who were far from you, and those who drew near you, you did hold fast in the toils of your wickedness, and you did uplift thyself always as one that could not be rooted out!
9 But now your time has sped and your hour is come.
10 Do you also therefore depart, O cedar, after the forest, which departed before you, and become dust with it, and let your ashes be mingled together.
11 And now recline in anguish and rest in torment till your last time come, in which you will come again, and be tormented still more.'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 37
1 And after these things I saw that cedar burning, and the vine growing, itself and all around it, the plain full of unfading flowers. And I indeed awoke and arose.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 38
(Interpretation of the Vision)
1 And I prayed and said: 'O LORD, my Lord, you do always enlighten those who are led by understanding.
2 Your law is life, and Your wisdom is right guidance.
3 Make known to me therefore the interpretation of this vision.
4 For you know that my soul hath always walked in Your law, and from my (earliest) days I departed not from Your wisdom.'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 39
1 And He answered and said unto me: 'Baruch, this is the interpretation of the vision which you have seen.
2 As you have seen the great forest which lofty and rugged mountains surrounded, this is the word.
3 Behold! the days come, and this kingdom will be destroyed which once destroyed Zion, and it will be subjected to that which comes after it.
4 Moreover, that also again after a time will be destroyed, and another, a third, will arise, and that also will have dominion for its time, and will be destroyed.
5 And after these things a fourth kingdom will arise, whose power will be harsh and evil far beyond those which were before it, and it will rule many times as the forests on the plain, and it will hold fast for times, and will exalt itself more than the cedars of Lebanon.
6 And by it the truth will be hidden, and all those who are polluted with iniquity will flee to it, as evil beasts flee and creep into the forest.
7 And it will come to pass when the time of its consummation that it should fall has approached, then the principate of My Messiah will be revealed, which is like the fountain and the vine, and when it is revealed it will root out the multitude of its host.
8 And as touching that which you have seen, the lofty cedar, which was left of that forest, and the fact, that the vine spoke those words with it which you did hear, this is the word.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 40
1 The last leader of that time will be left alive, when the multitude of his hosts will be put to the sword, and he will be bound, and they will take him up to Mount Zion, and My Messiah will convict him of all his impieties, and will gather and set before him all the works of his hosts.
2 And afterwards he will put him to death, and protect the rest of My people which shall be found in the place which I have chosen.
3 And his principate will stand for ever, until the world of corruption is at an end, and until the times aforesaid are fulfilled.
4 This is your vision, and this is its interpretation.'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 41
(The Destiny of the Apostates and of the Proselytes)
1 And I answered and said: 'For whom and for how many shall these things be or who will be worthy to live at that time
2 For I will speak before you everything that I think, and I will ask of you regarding those things which I meditate.
3 For lo! I see many of Your people who have withdrawn from Your covenant, and cast from them the yoke of Your law.
4 But others again I have seen who have forsaken their vanity, and fled for refuge beneath Your wings.
5 What therefore will be to them or how will the last time receive them
6 Or perhaps the time of these will assuredly be weighed, and as the beam inclines will they be judged accordingly'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 42
1 And He answered and said unto me: 'These things also will I show unto you.
2 As for what you did say—"To whom will these things be, and how many (will they be) "—to those who have believed there shall be the good which was spoken of aforetime, and to those who despise there shall be the contrary of these things.
3 And as for what you did say regarding those who have drawn near and those who have withdrawn this in the word.
4 As for those who were before subject, and afterwards withdrew and mingled themselves with the seed of mingled

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peoples, the time of these was the former, and was accounted as something exalted.
5 And as for those who before knew not but afterwards knew life, and mingled (only) with the seed of the people which had separated itself, the time of these (is) the latter, and is accounted as something exalted.
6 And time shall succeed to time and season to season, and one shall receive from another, and then with a view to the consummation shall everything be compared according to the measure of the times and the hours of the seasons.
7 For corruption shall take those that belong to it, and life those that belong to it.
8 And the dust shall be called, and there shall be said to it: "Give back that which is not yours, and raise up all that you have kept until its time".'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 43
(Baruch told of his Death and bidden to give his last Commands to the People)
1 But, do thou, Baruch, direct your heart to that which has been said to you, And understand those things which have been shown to you; For there are many eternal consolations for you.
2 For you shall depart from this place, And you shall pass from the regions which are now seen by you, And you shall forget whatever is corruptible, And shall not again recall those things which happen among mortals.
3 Go therefore and command your people, and come to this place, and afterwards fast seven days, and then I will come to you and speak with you.'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 44
(Baruch tells the Elders of his impending Death, but encourages them to expect the Consolation of Zion)
1 And I, Baruch, went from thence, and came to my people, and I called my first-born son and [the Gedaliahs] my friends, and seven of the elders of the people, and I said unto them:
2 Behold, I go unto my fathers According to the way of all the earth.
3 But withdraw you not from the way of the law, But guard and admonish the people which remain, Lest they withdraw from the commandments of the Mighty One.
4 For you see that He whom we serve is just, And our Creator is no respecter of persons.
5 And see you what hath befallen Zion, And what hath happened to Jerusalem.
6 For the judgement of the Mighty One shall (thereby) be made known, And His ways, which, though past finding out, are right.
7 For if you endure and persevere in His fear, And do not forget His law, The times shall change over you for good. And you shall see the consolation of Zion.
8 Because whatever is now is nothing, But that which shall be is very great.
9 For everything that is corruptible shall pass away, And everything that dies shall depart, And all the present time shall be forgotten, Nor shall there be any remembrance of the present time, which is defiled with evils.
10 For that which runs now runs unto vanity, And that which prospers shall quickly fall and be humiliated.
11 For that which is to be shall be the object of desire, And for that which comes afterwards shall we hope; For it is a time that passes not away,
12 And the hour comes which abides for ever. And the new world (comes) which does not turn to corruption those who depart to its blessedness, And has no mercy on those who depart to torment, And leads not to perdition those who live in it.
13 For these are they who shall inherit that time which has been spoken of, And theirs is the inheritance of the promised time.
14 These are they who have acquired for themselves treasures of wisdom, And with them are found stores of understanding, And from mercy have they not withdrawn, And the truth of the law I have they preserved.
15 For to them shall be given the world to come, But the dwelling of the rest who are many shall be in the fire.'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 45
1 'Do you therefore so far as you are able instruct the people, for that labor is ours. For if you teach them, you will quicken them.'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 46
1 And my son and the elders of the people answered and said unto me: 'Has the Mighty One humiliated us to such a degree As to take you from us quickly
2 And truly we shall be in darkness, And there shall be no light to the people who are left,
3 For where again shall we seek the law, Or who will distinguish for us between death and life'
4 And I said unto them: 'The throne of the Mighty One I cannot resist; Nevertheless, there shall not be wanting to Israel a wise man Nor a son of the law to the race of Jacob.
5 But only prepare you your hearts, that you may obey the law, And be subject to those who in fear are wise and understanding; And prepare your souls that you may not depart from them.
6 For if you do these things, Good tidings shall come unto you. [Which I before told you of; nor shall you fall into the torment, of which I testified to you before.' 7 But with regard to the word that I was to be taken I did not make (it) known to them or to my son.]

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 47
1 And when I had gone forth and dismissed them, I went there and said unto them: 'Behold! I go to Hebron: for thither the Mighty One hath sent me.'
2 And I came to that place where the word had been spoken unto me, and I sat there, and fasted seven days.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 48
(Prayer Of Baruch)
1 And it came to pass after the seventh day, that I prayed before the Mighty One and said
2 'O my Lord, you summon the advent of the times, And they stand before you; You cause the power of the ages to pass away, And they do not resist you; You arrange the method of the seasons, And they obey you.
3 You alone know the duration of the generations, And you reveal not Your mysteries to many.
4 You make known the multitude of the fire, And you weigh the lightness of the wind.
5 You explore the limit of the heights, And you scrutinize the depths of the darkness.
6 You care for the number which pass away that they may be preserved, And you prepare an abode for those that are to be.
7 You remember the beginning which you have made, And the destruction that is to be You forget not.
8 With nods of fear and indignation You command the flames, And they change into spirits, And with a word you quicken that which was not, And with mighty power you hold that which has not yet come.
9 You instruct created things in the understanding of you, And you make wise the spheres so as to minister in their orders.
10 Armies innumerable stand before you And minister in their orders quietly at Your nod.
11 Hear Your servant And give ear to my petition.
12 For in a little time are we born, And in a little time do we return.
13 But with you hours are as a time, And days as generations.
14 Be not therefore wroth with man; for he is nothing
15 And take not account of our works; For what are we For lo! by Your gift do we come into the world, And we depart not of our own will.
16 For we said not to our parents, "Beget us, Nor did we send to Sheol and say, "Receive us."
17 What therefore is our strength that we should bear Your wrath, Or what are we that we should endure Your judgement
18 Protect us in Your compassions, And in Your mercy help us.
19 Behold the little ones that are subject unto you, And save all that draw near unto you: And destroy not the hope of our people, And cut not short the times of our aid.
20 For this is the nation which you have chosen, And these are the people, to whom you find no equal.
21 But I will speak now before you, And I will say as my heart thinks.
22 In you do we trust, for lo! Your law is with us, And we know that we shall not fall so long as we keep Your statutes.
23 [To all time are we blessed at all events in this that we have not mingled with the Gentiles.]
24 For we are all one celebrated people, Who have received one law from One: And the law which is amongst us will aid us, And the surpassing wisdom which is in us will help us.'
25 And when I had prayed and said these things, I was greatly weakened. 26 And He answered and said unto me: 'You have prayed simply, O Baruch, And all your words have been heard.
27 But My judgement exacts its own And My law exacts its rights.
28 For from your words I will answer you, And from your prayer I will speak to you.
29 For this is as follows: he that is corrupted is not at all; he has both wrought iniquity so far as lie could do anything, and has not remembered My goodness, nor accepted My long-suffering. 30 Therefore you shall surely be taken up, as I before told you. 31 For that time shall arise which brings affliction; for it shall come and pass by with quick vehemence, and it shall be turbulent coming in the heat of indignation. 32 And it shall come to pass in those days that all the inhabitants of the earth shall be moved one against another, because they know not that My judgement has drawn nigh.
33 For there shall not be found many wise at that time, And the intelligent shall be but a few: Moreover, even those who know shall most of all be silent.
34 And there shall be many rumors and tidings not a few, And the doing of phantasms shall be manifest, And promises not a few be recounted, Some of them (shall prove) idle, And some of them shall be confirmed.
35 And honour shall be turned into shame, And strength humiliated into contempt, And probity destroyed, And beauty shall become ugliness.
36 And many shall say to many at that time: "Where hath the multitude of intelligence hidden itself, And whither hath the multitude of wisdom removed itself"
37 And whilst they are meditating these things, Then envy shall arise in those who had not thought aught of themselves () And passion shall seize him that is peaceful, And many shall be stirred up in anger to injure many, And they shall rouse up armies in order to shed blood, And in the end they shall perish together with them.
38 And it shall come to pass at the self-same time, That a change of times shall manifestly appeal to every man, Because in all those times they polluted themselves And they practiced oppression, And walked every man in his own works, And remembered not the law of the Mighty One.
39 Therefore a fire shall consume their thoughts, And in flame shall the meditations of their reins be tried; For the Judge shall come and will not tarry.
40 Because each of the inhabitants of the earth knew when he was transgressing. But My Law they knew not by reason of their pride.
41 But many shall then assuredly weep, Yea, over the living more than over the dead.'
42 And I answered and said: 'O Adam, what have you done to all those who are born from you And what will be said to the first Eve who hearkened to the serpent
43 For all this multitude are going to corruption, Nor is there any numbering of those whom the fire devours.
44 But again I will speak in Your presence.
45 You, O LORD, my Lord, know what is in Your creature.
46 For you did of old command the dust to produce Adam, and you know the number of those who are born from him, and how far they have sinned before you, who have existed and not confessed you as their Creator.
47 And as regards all these their end shall convict them, and Your law which they have transgressed shall requite them on Your day.'
(Fragment of an Address of Baruch to the People)
48 ['But now let us dismiss the wicked and inquire about the righteous.
49 And I will recount their blessedness And not be silent in celebrating their glory, which is reserved for them.
50 For assuredly as in a little time in this transitory world in which you live, you have endured much labour, So in that world to which there is no end, you shall receive great light.']

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 49
(The Nature of the Resurrection Body: the final Destinies of the Righteous and the Wicked)
1 'Nevertheless, I Will again ask from you, O Mighty One, yea, I will ask made all things.
2 "In what shape will those live who live in Your day Or how will the splendour of those who (are) after that time continue
3 Will they then resume this form of the present, And put on these entrammelling members, Which are now involved in evils, And in which evils are consummated, Or will you perchance change these things which have been in the world As also the world"

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 50
1 And He answered and said unto me: 'Hear, Baruch, this word, And write in the remembrance of your heart all that you shall learn.
2 For the earth shall then assuredly restore the dead, [Which it now receives, in order to preserve them]. It shall make no change in their form, But as it has received, so shall it restore them, And as I delivered them unto it, so also shall it raise them.
3 For then it will be necessary to show the living that the dead have come to life again, and that those who had departed have returned (again).
4 And it shall come to pass, when they have severally recognized those whom they now know, then judgement shall grow strong, and those things which before were spoken of shall come.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 51
1 And it shall come to pass, when that appointed day has gone by, that then shall the aspect of those who are condemned be afterwards changed, and the glory of those who are justified.
2 For the aspect of those who now act wickedly shall become worse than it is, as they shall suffer torment.

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3 Also (as for) the glory of those who have now been justified in My law, who have had understanding in their life, and who have planted in their heart the root of wisdom, then their splendor shall be glorified in changes, and the form of their face shall be turned into the light of their beauty, that they may be able to acquire and receive the world which does not die, which is then promised to them.

4 For over this above all shall those who come then lament, that they rejected My law, and stopped their ears that they might not hear wisdom or receive understanding.

5 When therefore they see those, over whom they are now exalted, (but) who shall then be exalted and glorified more than they, they shall respectively be transformed, the latter into the splendour of angels, and the former shall yet more waste away in wonder at the visions and in the beholding of the forms.

6 For they shall first behold and afterwards depart to be tormented.

7 But those who have been saved by their works, And to whom the law has been now a hope, And understanding an expectation, And wisdom a confidence, Shall wonders appear in their time.

8 For they shall behold the world which is now invisible to them, And they shall behold the time which is now hidden from them:

9 And time shall no longer age them.

10 For in the heights of that world shall they dwell, And they shall be made like unto the angels, And be made equal to the stars, And they shall be changed into every form they desire, From beauty into loveliness, And from light into the splendor of glory.

11 For there shall be spread before them the extents of Paradise, and there shall be shown to them the beauty of the majesty of the living creatures which are beneath the throne, and all the armies of the angels, who are now held fast by My word, lest they should appear, and] are held fast by a command, that they may stand in their places till their advent comes. 12 Moreover, there shall then be excellency in the righteous surpassing that in the angels. 13 For the first shall receive the last, those whom they were expecting, and the last those of whom they used to hear that they had passed away.

14 For they have been delivered from this world of tribulation, And laid down the burthen of anguish.

15 For what then have men lost their life, And for what have those who were on the earth exchanged their soul

16 For then they chose (not) for themselves this time, Which, beyond the reach of anguish, could not pass away: But they chose for themselves that time, Whose issues are full of lamentations and evils, And they denied the world which ages not those who come to it, And they rejected the time of glory, So that they shall not come to the honour of which I told you before.'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 52

1 And I answered and said: 'How can we forget those for whom woe is then reserved

2 And why therefore do we again mourn for those who die Or why do we weep for those who depart to Sheol

3 Let lamentations be reserved for the beginning of that coming torment, And let tears be laid up for the advent of the destruction of that time.

4 [But even in the face of these things will I speak.

5 And as for the righteous, what will they do now

6 Rejoice you in the suffering which you now suffer: For why do you look for the decline of your enemies

7 Make ready your soul for that which is reserved for you, And prepare your souls for the reward which is laid up for you.']

THE MESSIAH APOCALYPSE

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 53

(The Vision of the Cloud with black and white Waters)

1 And when I had said these things I fell asleep there, and I saw a vision, and lo! a cloud was ascending from a very great sea, and I kept gazing upon it) and lo! it was full of waters white and black, and there were many colors in those self-same waters, and as it were the likeness of great lightning was seen at its summit.

2 And I saw the cloud passing swiftly in quick courses, and it covered all the earth.

3 And it came to pass after these things that that cloud began to pour upon the earth the waters that were in it.

4 And I saw that there was not one and the same likeness in the waters which descended from it.

5 For in the first beginning they were black and many (Or a time, and afterwards I saw that the waters became bright, but they were not many, and after these things again I saw black (waters), and after these things again bright, and again black and again bright.

6 Now this was done twelve times, but the black were always more numerous than the bright.

7 And it came to pass at the end of the cloud, that lo! it rained black waters, and they were darker than had been all those waters that were before, and fire was mingled with them, and where those waters descended, they wrought devastation and destruction.

8 And after these things I saw how that lightning which I had seen on the summit of the cloud, seized hold of it and hurled it to the earth.

9 Now that lightning shone exceedingly, so as to illuminate the whole earth, and it healed those regions where the last waters had descended and wrought devastation.

10 And it took hold of the whole earth, and had dominion over it.

11 And I saw after these things, and lo! twelve rivers were ascending from the sea, and they began to surround that lightning and to become subject to it.

12 And by reason of my fear I awoke.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 54

(Baruch's Prayer for an Interpretation of the Vision: Ramiel's advent for this Purpose)

1 And I besought the Mighty One, and said:'You alone, O Lord, know of aforetime the deep things of the world, And the things which befall in their times You bring about by Your word, And against the works of the inhabitants of the earth you do hasten the beginnings of the times, And the end of the seasons you alone know.

2 (You) for whom nothing is too hard, But who do everything easily by a nod:

3 (You) to whom the depths come as the heights, And whose word the beginnings of the ages serve:

4 (You) who reveal to those who fear you what is prepared for them, That thenceforth they may be comforted.

5 You show great acts to those who know not; You break up the enclosure of those who are ignorant, And lightest up what is dark, And reveal what is hidden to the pure, [Who in faith have submitted themselves to you and Your law.]

6 You have shown to Your servant this vision; Reveal to me also its interpretation.

7 For I know that as regards those things wherein I besought you, I have received a response, And as regards what I besought, you did reveal to me with what voice I should praise you, And from what members I should cause praises and hallelujahs to ascend to you.

8 For if my members were mouths, And the hairs of my head voices, Even so I could not give you the reward of praise, Nor laud you as is befitting, Nor could I recount Your praise, Nor tell the glory of Your beauty.

9 For what am I amongst men, Or why am I reckoned amongst those who are more excellent than I, That I have heard all these marvelous things from the Most High, And numberless promises from Him who created me

10 Blessed be my mother among those that bear, And praised among women be she that bare me.

11 For I will not be silent in praising the Mighty One, And with the voice of praise I will recount His marvelous deeds.

12 For who doeth like unto Your marvelous deeds, O God, Or who comprehend Your deep thought of life.

13 For with Your counsel you do govern all the creatures which Your right hand has created And you have established every fountain of light beside you, And the treasures of wisdom beneath Your throne have you prepared.

14 And justly do they perish who have not loved Your law, And the torment of judgement shall await those who have not submitted themselves to Your power.

15 For though Adam first sinned And brought untimely death upon all, Yet of those who were born from him Each one of them has prepared for his own soul torment to come, And again each one of them has chosen for himself glories to come.

16 [For assuredly he who believeth will receive reward.

17 But now, as for you, you wicked that now are, turn you to destruction, because you shall speedily be visited, in that formerly you rejected the understanding of the Most High.

18 For His works have not taught you, Nor has the skill of His creation which is at all times persuaded you.]

19 Adam is therefore not the cause, save only of his own soul, But each of us has been the Adam of his own soul.

20 But do You, O Lord, expound to me regarding those things which you have revealed to me, And inform me regarding that which I besought you.

21 For at the consummation of the world vengeance shall be taken upon those who have done wickedness according to their wickedness, And you will glorify the faithful according to their faithfulness.

22 For those who are amongst your own you rule, And those who sin you blot out from amongst your own.'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 55

1 And it came to pass when I had finished speaking the words of this prayer, that I sat there under a tree, that I might rest in the shade of the branches. 2 And I wondered and was astonished, and pondered in my thoughts regarding the multitude of goodness which sinners who are upon the earth have rejected, and regarding the great torment which they have despised, though they knew that they should be tormented because of the sin they had committed. And when I was pondering on these things and the like, lo! the angel Ramiel who presides over true visions was sent to me, and he said unto me:

4 'Why does your heart trouble you, Baruch, and why does your thought disturb you

5 For if owing to the report which you have only heard of judgement you are so moved, What (wilt you be) when you shall see it manifestly with your eyes

6 And if with the expectation wherewith you do expect the day of the Mighty One you are so overcome, What (wilt you be) when you shall come to its advent

7 And, if at the word of the announcement of the torment of those who have done foolishly you are so wholly distraught, How much more when the event will reveal marvelous things

8 And if you have heard tidings of the good and evil things which are then coming and are grieved, What (wilt you be) when you shall behold what the majesty will reveal, Which shall convict these and cause those to rejoice.'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 56

(Interpretation of the Vision. The black and bright Waters symbolize the World's History from Adam to the Advent of the Messiah; 56-74)

1 'Nevertheless, because you have besought the Most High to reveal to you the interpretation of the vision which you have seen, I have been sent to tell you.

2 And the Mighty One hath assuredly made known to you the methods of the times that have passed, and of those that are destined to pass in His world from the beginning of its creation even unto its consummation, of those things which (are) deceit and of those which (are) in truth.

3 For as you did see a great cloud which ascended from the sea, and went and covered the earth, this is the duration of the world which the Mighty One made when he took counsel to make the world.

4 And it came to pass when the word had gone forth from His presence, that the duration of the world had come into being in a small degree, and was established according to the multitude of the intelligence of Him who sent it.

5 And as you did previously see on the summit of the cloud black waters which descended previously on the earth, this is the transgression wherewith Adam the first man transgressed.

6 For [since] when he transgressed Untimely death came into being, Grief was named And anguish was prepared, And pain was created, And trouble consummated, And disease began to be established, And Sheol kept demanding that it should be renewed in blood, And the begetting of children was brought about, And the passion of parents produced, And the greatness of humanity was humiliated, And goodness languished.

7 What therefore can be blacker or darker than these things

8 This is the beginning of the black waters which you have seen.

9 And from these black (waters) again were black derived, and the darkness of darkness was produced.

10 For he became a danger to his own soul: even to the angels

11 For, moreover, at that time when he was created, they enjoyed liberty.

12 And became he a danger some of them descended, and mingled with the women.

13 And then those who did so were tormented in chains.

14 But the rest of the multitude of the angels, of which there is (no) number, restrained themselves.

15 And those who dwelt on the earth perished together (with them) through the waters of the deluge.

16 These are the black first waters.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 57

1 And after these (waters) you did see bright waters: this is the fount of Abraham, also his generations and advent of his son, and of his son's son, and of those like them.

2 Because at that time the unwritten law was named amongst them, And the works of the commandments were then fulfilled, And belief in the coming judgement was then generated, And hope of the world that was to be renewed was then built up, And the promise of the life that should come hereafter was implanted.

3 These are the bright waters, which you have seen.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 58

1 'And the black third waters which you have seen, these are the mingling of all sins, which the nations afterwards wrought after the death of those righteous men, and the wickedness of the land of Egypt, wherein they did wickedly in the service wherewith they made their sons to serve.

2 Nevertheless, these also perished at last.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 59

1 'And the bright fourth waters which you have seen are the advent of Moses and Aaron and Miriam and Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb and of all those like them.

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2 For at that time the lamp of the eternal law shone on all those who sat in darkness, which announced to them that believe the promise of their reward, and to them that deny, the torment of fire which is reserved for them.

3 But also the heavens at that time were shaken from their place, and those who were under the throne of the Mighty One were perturbed, when He was taking Moses unto Himself.

4 For He showed him many admonitions together with the principles of the law and the consummation of the times, as also to you, and likewise the pattern of Zion and its measures, in the pattern of which the sanctuary of the present time was to be made.

5 But then also He showed to him the measures of the fire, also the depths of the abyss, and the weight of the winds, and the number of the drops of rain:

6 And the suppression of anger, and the multitude of long-suffering, and the truth of judgement:

7 And the root of wisdom, and the riches of understanding, and the fount of knowledge:

8 And the height of the air, and the greatness of Paradise, and the consummation of the ages, and the beginning of the day of judgement:

9 And the number of the offerings, and the earths which have not yet come:

10 And the mouth of Gehenna, and the station of vengeance, and the place of faith, and the region of hope:

11 And the likeness of future torment, and the multitude of innumerable angels, and the flaming hosts, and the splendor of the lightnings, and the voice of the thunders, and the orders of the chiefs of the angels, and the treasuries of light, and the changes of the times, and the investigations of the law.

12 These are the bright fourth waters which you have seen.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 60

1 And the black fifth waters which you have seen raining are the works which the Amorites wrought, and the spells of their incantations which they wrought, and the wickedness of their mysteries, and the mingling of their pollution.

2 But even Israel was then polluted by sins in the days of the judges, though they saw many signs which were from Him who made them.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 61

1 And the bright sixth waters which thru did see, this is the time in which David and Solomon were born.

2 And there was at that time the building of Zion, And the dedication of the sanctuary, And the shedding of much blood of the nations that sinned then, And many offerings which were offered then in the dedication of the sanctuary.

3 And peace and tranquility existed at that time,

4 And wisdom was heard in the assembly: And the riches of understanding were magnified in the congregations,

5 And the holy festivals were fulfilled in blessedness and in much joy.

6 And the judgement of the rulers was then seen to be without guile, And the righteousness of the precepts of the Mighty One was accomplished with truth.

7 And the land [which] was then beloved by the Lord, And because its inhabitants sinned not, it was glorified beyond all lands, And the city Zion ruled then over all lands and regions.

8 These are the bright waters which you have seen.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 62

1 And the black seventh waters which you have seen, this is the perversion (brought about) by the counsel of Jeroboam, who took counsel to make two calves of gold:

2 And all the iniquities which kings who were after him iniquitously wrought.

3 And the curse of Jezebel and the worship of idols which Israel practiced at that time.

4 And the withholding of rain, and the famines which occurred until women eat the fruit of their wombs.

5 And the time of their captivity which came upon the nine tribes and a half, because they were in many sins.

6 And Shalmanezzar king of Assyria came and led them away captive.

7 But regarding the Gentiles it were tedious to tell how they always wrought impiety and wickedness, and never wrought righteousness.

8 These are the black seventh waters which you have seen.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 63

1 'And the bright eighth waters which you have seen, this is the rectitude and uprightness of Hezekiah king of Judah and the grace (of God) which came upon him.

2 For when Sennacherib was stirred up in order that he might perish, and his wrath troubled him in order that he might thereby perish, for the multitude also of the nations which were with him.

3 When, moreover, Hezekiah the king heard those things which the king of Assyria was devising, (i.e.) to come and seize him and destroy his people, the two and a half tribes which remained: nay, more he wished to overthrow Zion also: then Hezekiah trusted in his works, and had hope in his righteousness, and spoke with the Mighty One and said:

4 "Behold, for lo! Sennacherib is prepared to destroy us, and he will be boastful and uplifted when he has destroyed Zion."

5 And the Mighty One heard him, for Hezekiah was wise, And He had respect unto his prayer, because he was righteous.

6 And thereupon the Mighty One commanded Ramiel His angel who speaks with you.

7 And I went forth and destroyed their multitude, the number of whose chiefs only was a hundred and eighty-five thousand, and each one of them had an equal number (at his command).

8 And at that time I burned their bodies within, but their raiment and arms I preserved outwardly, in order that the still more wonderful deeds of the Mighty One might appear, and that thereby His name might be spoken of throughout the whole earth.

9 And Zion was saved and Jerusalem delivered: Israel also was freed from tribulation.

10 And all those who were in the holy land rejoiced, and the name of the Mighty One was glorified so that it was spoken of

11 These are the bright waters which you have seen.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 64

1 'And the black ninth waters which you have seen, this is all the wickedness which was in the days of Manasseh the son of Hezekiah.

2 For he wrought much impiety, and he slew the righteous, and he wrested judgement, and he shed the blood of the innocent, and wedded women he violently polluted, and he overturned the altars, and destroyed their offerings, and drove forth their priests lest they should minister in the sanctuary.

3 And he made an image with five faces: four of them looked to the four winds, and the fifth on the summit of the image as ah adversary of the zeal of the Mighty One.

4 And then wrath went forth from the presence of the Mighty One to the intent that Zion should be rooted out, as also it befell in your days. But also against the two tribes and a half went forth a decree that they should also be led away captive, as you have now seen.

5 And to such a degree did the impiety of Manasseh increase,

6 that it removed the praise of the Most High from the sanctuary.

7 On this account Manasseh was at that time named 'the impious," and finally his abode was in the fire.

8 For though his prayer was heard with the Most High, finally, when he was cast into the brazen horse and the brazen horse was melted, it served as a sign unto him for the hour.

9 For he had not lived perfectly, for he was not worthy—but that thenceforward he might know by whom finally he should be tormented.

10 For he who is able to benefit is also able to torment.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 65

1 'Thus, moreover, did Manasseh act impiously, and thought that in his time the Mighty One would not inquire into these things.

2 These are the black ninth waters which you have seen.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 66

1 'And the bright tenth waters which you have seen: this is the purity of the generations of Josiah king of Judah, who was the only one at the time who submitted himself to the Mighty One with all his heart and with all his soul.

2 And he cleansed the land from idols, and hallowed all the vessels which had been polluted, and restored the offerings to the altar, and raised the horn of the holy, and exalted the righteous, and honored all that were wise in understanding, and brought back the priests to their ministry, and destroyed and removed the magicians and enchanters and necromancers from the land.

3 And not only did he slay the impious that were living, but they also took from the sepulchers the bones of the dead and burned them with fire.

4 [And the festivals and the Sabbaths he established in their sanctity], and their polluted ones he burnt in the fire, and the lying prophets which deceived the people, these also he burnt in the fire, and the people who listened to them when they were living, he cast them into the brook Kidron, and heaped stones upon them.

5 And he was zealous with zeal for the Mighty One with all his soul, and he alone was firm in the law at that time, so that he left none that was uncircumcised, or that wrought impiety in all the land, all the days of his life.

6 Therefore he shall receive an eternal reward, and he shall be glorified with the Mighty One beyond many at a later time.

7 For on his account and on account of those who are like him were the honorable glories, of which you were told before, created and prepared. These arc the bright waters which you have seen.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 67

1 'And the black eleventh waters which you have seen: this is the calamity which is now befalling "Zion.

2 Do you think that there is no anguish to the angels in the presence of the Mighty One, That Zion was so delivered up? And that lo! the Gentiles boast in their hearts, And assemble before their idols and say, "She is trodden down who oftentimes trod down, And she has been reduced to servitude who reduced (others)"

3 Dost you think that in these things the Most High rejoices, Or that His name is glorified?

4 [But how will it serve towards His righteous judgement]

5 Yet after these things shall the dispersed among the Gentiles be taken hold of by tribulation, And in shame shall they dwell in every place.

6 Because so far as Zion is delivered up And Jerusalem laid waste, Shall idols prosper in the cities of the Gentiles, And the vapor of the smoke of the incense of the righteousness which is by the law is extinguished in Zion, And in the region of Zion in every place lo! there is the smoke of impiety.

7 But the king of Babylon will arise who has now destroyed Zion, And he will boast over the people, And he will speak great things in his heart in the presence of the Most High.

8 But he also shall fall at last. These are the black waters.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 68

1 'And the bright twelfth waters which you have seen: this is the word.

2 For after these things time will come when your people shall fall into distress, so that they shall all run the risk of perishing together.

3 Nevertheless, they will be saved, and their enemies will fall in their presence.

4 And they will have in (due) time much joy.

5 And at that time after a little interval Zion will again be rebuilt, and its offerings will again be restored, and the priests will return to their ministry, and also the Gentiles will come to glorify it.

6 Nevertheless, not fully as in the beginning.

7 But it will come to pass after these things that there will be the fall of many nations.

8 These are the bright waters which you have seen.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 69

1 'For the last waters which you have seen which were darker than all that were before them, those which were after the twelfth number, which were collected together, belong to the whole world.

2 For the Most High made division from the beginning, because He alone knows what will befall.

3 For as to the enormities and the impieties which should be wrought before Him, He foresaw six kinds of them.

4 And of the good works of the righteous which should be accomplished before Him, He foresaw six kinds of them, beyond those which He should work at the consummation of the age.

5 On his account there were not black waters with black, nor bright with bright; for it is the consummation.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 70

1 'Hear therefore the interpretation of the last black waters which are to come [after the black]: this the word.

2 Behold! the days come, and it shall be when the time of the age has ripened, And the harvest of its evil and good seeds has come, That the Mighty One will bring upon the earth and its inhabitants and upon its rulers Perturbation of spirit and stupor of heart.

3 And they shall hate one another, And provoke one another to fight, And the mean shall rule over the honorable, And those of low degree shall be extolled above the famous.

4 And the many shall be delivered into the hands of the few, And those who were nothing shall rule over the strong, And the poor shall have abundance beyond the rich, And the impious shall exalt themselves above the heroic.

5 And the wise shall be silent, And the foolish shall speak, Neither shall the thought of men be then confirmed, Nor the counsel of the mighty, Nor shall the hope of those who hope be confirmed.

6 And when those things which were predicted have come to pass, Then shall confusion fall upon all men, And some of them shall fall in battle, And some of them shall perish in anguish,

7 And some of them shall be destroyed by their own. Then the Most High peoples whom He has prepared before, And they shall come and make war with the leaders that shall then be left.

8 And it shall come to pass that whoever gets safe out of the war shall die in the earthquake, And whoever gets safe out of the earthquake shall be burned by the fire, And whoever gets safe out of the fire shall be destroyed by famine.

9 [And it shall come to pass that whoever of the victors and the vanquished gets safe out of and escapes all these things aforesaid will be delivered into the hands of My servant Messiah.] 10 For all the earth shall devour its inhabitants.

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2 BARUCH CHAPTER 71

1 'And the holy land shall have mercy on its own, And it shall protect its inhabitants at that time.

2 This is the vision which you have seen, and this is the interpretation.

3 For I have come to tell you these things, because your prayer has been heard with the Most High.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 72

1 'Hear now also regarding the bright lightning which is to come at the consummation after these black (waters): this is the word.

2 After the signs have come, of which you were told before, when the nations become turbulent, and the time of My Messiah is come, he shall both summon all the nations, and some of them he shall spare, and some of them he shall slay.

3 These things therefore shall come upon the nations which are to be spared by Him.

4 Every nation, which knows not Israel and has not trodden down the seed of Jacob, shall indeed be spared.

5 And this because some out of every nation shall be subjected to your people.

6 But all those who have ruled over you, or have known you, shall be given up to the sword.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 73

1 'And it shall come to pass, when He has brought low everything that is in the world, And has sat down in peace for the age on the throne of His kingdom, That joy shall then be revealed, And rest shall appear.

2 And then healing shall descend in dew, And disease shall withdraw, And anxiety and anguish and lamentation pass from amongst men, And gladness proceed through the whole earth.

3 And no one shall again die untimely, Nor shall any adversity suddenly befall.

4 And judgements, and abusive talk, and contentions, and revenges, And blood, and passions, and envy, and hatred, And whatsoever things are like these shall go into condemnation when they are removed.

5 For it is these very things which have filled this world with evils, And on account of these the life of man has been greatly troubled.

6 And wild beasts shall come from the forest and minister unto men And asps and dragons shall come forth from their holes to submit themselves to a little child.

7 And women shall no longer then have pain when they bear, Nor shall they suffer torment when they yield the fruit of the womb.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 74

1 'And it shall come to pass in those days that the reapers shall not grow weary, Nor those that build be toil-worn; For the works shall of themselves speedily advance Together with those who do them in much tranquility.

2 For that time is the consummation of that which is corruptible, And the beginning of that which is not corruptible.

3 Therefore those things which were predicted shall belong to it: Therefore it is far away from evils, and near to those things which die not.

4 This is the bright lightning which came after the last dark waters.'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 75

(Baruch's Hymn on the Unsearchableness of God's Ways and on His Mercies through which the Faithful shall attain to a blessed Consummation)

1 And I answered and said: 'Who can understand, O Lord, Your goodness For it is incomprehensible.

2 Or who can search into your compassions, Which are infinite

3 Or who can comprehend Your intelligence

4 Or who is able to recount the thoughts of Your mind

5 Or who of those who are born can hope to come to those things, Unless he is one to whom you are merciful and gracious

6 Because, if assuredly you did not have compassion on man, Those who are under Your right hand, They could not come to those things, But those who are in the numbers named can be called.

7 But if, indeed, we who exist know wherefore we have come, And submit ourselves to Him who brought us out of Egypt, We shall come again and remember those things which have passed, And shall rejoice regarding that which has been.

8 But if now we know not wherefore we have come, And recognise not the principate of Him who brought us up out of Egypt, We shall come again and seek after those things which have been now, And be grieved with pain because of those things which have befallen.'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 76

(Baruch bidden to instruct the People for forty days and then to hold himself ready for his Assumption on the Advent of the Messiah)

1 And He answered and said unto me: ['Inasmuch as the revelation of this vision has been interpreted to you as you requested], hear the word of the Most High that you may know what is to befall you after these things.

2 For you shall surely depart from this earth, nevertheless not unto death, but you shall be preserved unto the consummation of the times.

3 Go up therefore to the top of that mountain, and there shall pass before you all the regions of that land, and the figure of the inhabited world, and the top(s) of the mountains, and the depth(s) of the valleys, and the depths of the seas, and the number of the rivers, that you may see what you are leaving, and whither you are going.

4 Now this shall befall after forty days. Go now therefore during these days and instruct the people so far as you are able, that they may learn so as not to die at the last time, but may learn in order that they may live at the last times.'

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 77

(Baruch's Admonition to the People and his writing of two Letters—one to the nine and a half tribes in Assyria and the other to the two and a half in Babylon)

1 And I, Baruch, went there and came to the people, and assembled them together from the greatest to the least, and said unto them:

2 'Hear, you children of Israel, behold how many you are who remain of the twelve tribes of Israel.

3 For to you and to your fathers the Lord gave a law more excellent than to all peoples.

4 And because your brethren transgressed the commandments of the Most High, He brought vengeance upon you and upon them, And He spared not the former, And the latter also He gave into captivity: And He left not a residue of them,

5 But behold! you are here with me.

6 If, therefore, you direct your ways aright, Ye also shall not depart as your brethren departed, But they shall come to you.

7 For He is merciful whom you worship, And He is gracious in whom you hope, And He is true, so that He shall do good and not evil.

8 Have you not seen here what has befallen Zion

9 Or do you perchance think that the place had sinned, And that on this account it was overthrown Or that the land had wrought foolishness, And that therefore it was delivered up

10 And know you not that on account of you who did sin, That which sinned not was overthrown, And, on account of those who wrought wickedly, That which wrought not foolishness was delivered up to (its) enemies'

11 And the whole people answered and said unto me: 'So far as we can recall the good things which the Mighty One has done unto us, we do recall them; and those things which we do not remember He in His mercy knows. 12 Nevertheless, do this for us your people: write also to our brethren in Babylon an epistle of doctrine and a scroll of hope, that you may confirm them also before you do depart from us.

13 For the shepherds of Israel have perished, And the lamps which gave light are extinguished, And the fountains have withheld their stream whence we used to drink.

14 And we are left in the darkness, And amid the trees of the forest, And the thirst of the wilderness.'

15 And I answered and said unto them 'Shepherds and lamps and fountains come from the law: And though we depart, yet the law abides.

16 If therefore you have respect to the law, And are intent upon wisdom, A lamp will not be wanting, And a shepherd will not fail, And a fountain will not dry up.

17 Nevertheless, as you said unto me, I will write also unto your brethren in Babylon, and I will send by means of men, and I will write in like manner to the nine tribes and a half, and send by means of a bird.'

18 And it came to pass on the one and twentieth day in the eighth month that I, Baruch, came and sat down under the oak under the shadow of the branches, and no man was with me, but I was alone.

19 And I wrote these two epistles: one I sent by an eagle to the nine and a half tribes; and the other I sent to those that were at Babylon by means of three men.

20 And I called the eagle and spoke these words unto it:

21 'The Most High hath made you that you should be higher than all birds.

22 And now go and tarry not in (any) place, nor enter a nest, nor settle upon any tree, till you have passed over the breadth of the many waters of the river Euphrates, and have gone to the people that dwell there, and cast down to them this epistle.

23 Remember, moreover, that, at the time of the deluge, Noah received from a dove the fruit of the olive, when he sent it forth from the ark.

24 Yea, also the ravens ministered to Elijah, bearing him food, as they had been commanded.

25 Solomon also, in the time of his kingdom, whithersoever he wished to send or seek for anything, commanded a bird (to go thither), and it obeyed him as he commanded it.

26 And now let it not weary you, and turn not to the right hand nor the left, but fly and go by a direct way, that you may preserve the command of the Mighty One, according as I said unto you.'

THE EPISTLE OF BARUCH THE SON OF NERIAH WHICH HE WROTE TO THE NINE AND A HALF TRIBES

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 78

1 These are the words of that epistle which Baruch the son of Neriah sent to the nine and a half tribes, which were across the river Euphrates, in which these things were written.

2 Thus says Baruch the son of Neriah to the brethren carried into captivity: 'Mercy and peace.' I bear in mind, my brethren, the love of Him who created us, who loved us from of old, and never hated us, but above all educated us.

3 And truly I know that behold all we the twelve tribes are bound by one bond, inasmuch as we are born from one father.

4 Wherefore I have been the more careful to leave you the words of this epistle before I die, that you may be comforted regarding the evils which have come upon you, and that you may be grieved also regarding the evil that has befallen your brethren; and again, also, that you may justify His judgement which

5 He has decreed against you that you should be carried away captive—for what you have suffered is disproportioned to what you have done—in order that, at the last times, you may be found worthy of your fathers.

6 Therefore, if you consider that ye have now suffered those things for your good, that you may not finally be condemned and tormented, then you will receive eternal hope; if above all you destroy from your heart vain error, on account of which you departed hence.

7 For if you so do these things, He will continually remember you, He who always promised on our behalf to those who were more excellent than we, that He will never forget or forsake us, but with much mercy will gather together again those who were dispersed.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 79

1 Now, my brethren, learn first what befell Zion: how that Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up against us.

2 For we have sinned against Him who made us, and we have not kept the commandments which he commanded us, yet he hath not chastened us as we deserved.

3 For what befell you we also suffer in a preeminent degree, for it befell us also.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 80

1 And now, my brethren, I make known unto you that when the enemy had surrounded the city, the angels of the Most High were sent, and they overthrew the fortifications of the strong wall, and they destroyed the firm iron corners, which could not be rooted out.

2 Nevertheless, they hid all the vessels of the sanctuary, lest the enemy should get possession of them.

3 And when they had done these things, they delivered thereupon to the enemy the overthrown wall, and the plundered house, and the burnt temple, and the people who were overcome because they were delivered up, lest the enemy should boast and say:

4 'Thus by force have we been able to lay waste even the house of the Most High in war.' Your brethren also have they bound and led away to Babylon, and have caused them to dwell there.

5 But we have been left here, being very few.

6 This is the tribulation about which I wrote to you.

7 For assuredly I know that (the consolation of) the inhabitants of Zion consoles you : so far as you knew that it was prospered (your consolation) was greater than the tribulation which you endured in having to depart from it.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 81

1 But regarding consolation, hear the word.

2 For I was mourning regarding Zion, and I prayed for mercy from the Most High, and I said:

3 'How long will these things endure for us And will these evils come upon us always'

4 And the Mighty One did according to the multitude of His mercies, And the Most High according to the greatness of His compassion, And He revealed unto me the word, that I might receive consolation, And He showed me visions that I should not again endure anguish, And He made known to me the mystery of the times. And the advent of the hours he showed me.

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2 BARUCH CHAPTER 82

1 Therefore, my brethren, I have written to you, that you may comfort yourselves regarding the multitude of your tribulations.

2 For know you that our Maker will assuredly avenge us on all our enemies, according to all that they have done to us, also that the consummation which the Most High will make is very nigh, and His mercy that is coming, and the consummation of His judgement, is by no means far off.

3 For lo! we see now the multitude of the prosperity of the Gentiles, Though they act impiously, But they shall be like a vapor:

4 And we behold the multitude of their power, Though they do wickedly, But they shall be made like unto a drop:

5 And we see the firmness of their might. Though they resist the Mighty One every hour, But they shall be accounted as spittle.

6 And we consider the glory of their greatness, Though they do not keep the statutes of the Most High, But as smoke shall they pass away.

7 And we meditate on the beauty of their gracefulness, Though they have to do with pollutions, But as grass that withers shall they fade away.

8 And we consider the strength of their cruelty, Though they remember not the end (thereof), But as a wave that passes shall they be broken.

9 And we remark the boastfulness of their might, Though they deny the beneficence of God, who gave (it) to them, But they shall pass away as a passing cloud.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 83

1 [For the Most High will assuredly hasten His times, And He will assuredly bring on His hours.

2 And He will assuredly judge those who are in His world, And will visit in truth all things by means of all their hidden works.

3 And He will assuredly examine the secret thoughts, And that which is laid up in the secret chambers of all the members of mail. And will make (them) manifest in the presence of all with reproof.

4 Let none therefore of these present things ascend into your hearts, but above all let us be expectant, because that which is promised to us shall come.

5 And let us not now look unto the delights of the Gentiles in the present, but let us remember what has been promised to us in the end.

6 For the ends of the times and of the seasons and whatsoever is with them shall assuredly pass by together.

7 The consummation, moreover, of the age shall then show the great might of its ruler, when all things come to judgement.

8 Do you therefore prepare your hearts for that which before you believed, lest you come to be in bondage in both worlds, so that you be led away captive here and be tormented there.

9 For that which exists now or which has passed away, or which is to come, in all these things, neither is the evil fully evil, nor again the good fully good.

10 For all healthinesses of this time are turning into diseases,

11 And all might of this time is turning into weakness, And all the force of this time is turning into impotence,

12 And every energy of youth is turning into old age and consummation. And every beauty of gracefulness of this time is turning faded and hateful,

13 And every proud dominion of the present is turning into humiliation and shame,

14 And every praise of the glory of this time is turning into the shame of silence, And every vain splendor and insolence of this time is turning into voiceless ruin.

15 And every delight and joy of this time is turning to worms and corruption,

16 And every clamor of the pride of this time is turning into dust and stillness.

17 And every possession of riches of this time is being turned into Sheol alone,

18 And all the rapine of passion of this time is turning into involuntary death, And every passion of the lusts of this time is turning into a judgement of torment.

19 And every artifice and craftiness of this time is turning into a proof of the truth,

20 And every sweetness of unguents of this time is turning into judgement and condemnation,

21 And every love of lying is turning to contumely through truth.

22 [Since therefore all these things are done now, does anyone think that they will not be avenged But the consummation of all things will come to the truth.]

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 84

1 Behold! I have therefore made known unto you (these things) whilst I live: for I have said (it) that you should learn the things that are excellent; for the Mighty One hath commanded me to instruct you: and I will set before you some of the commandments of His judgement before I die.

2 Remember that formerly Moses assuredly called heaven and earth to witness against you and said: 'If you transgress the law you shall be dispersed, but if you keep it you shall be kept.'

3 And other things also he used to say unto you when you the twelve tribes were together in the desert.

4 And after his death you cast them away from you: on this account there came upon you what had been predicted.

5 And now Moses used to tell you before they befell you, and lo! they have befallen you: for you have forsaken the law.

6 Lo! I also say unto you after you have suffered, that if you obey those things which have been said unto you, you will receive from the Mighty One whatever has been laid up and reserved for you.

7 Moreover, let this epistle be for a testimony between me and you, that you may remember the commandments of the Mighty One, and that also there may be to me a defense in the presence of Him who sent me.

8 And remember you the law and Zion, and the holy land and your brethren, and the covenant of your fathers, and forget not the festivals and the Sabbaths.

9 And deliver this epistle and the traditions of the law to your sons after you, as also your fathers delivered (them) to you.

10 And at all times make request perseveringly and pray diligently with your whole heart that the Mighty One may be reconciled to you, and that He may not reckon the multitude of your sins, but remember the rectitude of your fathers.

11 For if He judge us not according to the multitude of His mercies, woe unto all us who are born.

2 BARUCH CHAPTER 85

1 [Know, moreover, that In former times and in the generations of old our fathers had helpers, Righteous men and holy prophets:

2 No more, we were in our own land [And they helped us when we sinned],

THE THIRD BOOK OF BARUCH

or The (Greek) Apocalypse Of Baruch
or 3 Baruch

(3 Baruch or the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch is a visionary, pseudepigraphic text written some time after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 AD, between the 1st and the early 3rd century AD. Scholars disagree on whether it was written by a Jew or a Christian, or whether a clear distinction can be made in this era. It is one of the Pseudepigrapha, attributed to the 6th-century BC scribe of Jeremiah, Baruch ben Neriah, and does not form part of the biblical canon of either Jews or Christians. It survives in certain Greek manuscripts, and also in a few Old Church Slavonic ones. The text was originally written in Greek by someone with a Semitic background. The Slavonic versions do not contain the Christian overtones of the Greek text and may represent a rewriting in the Christian age.

Like 2 Baruch, this Greek Apocalypse of Baruch describes the state of Jerusalem after the sack by Nebuchadnezzar in 587 BC and discusses how Jerusalem can survive when the temple is no longer in existence. It frames this discussion as a mystical vision granted to Baruch ben Neriah. Also like 2 Baruch, 3 Baruch argues that the Temple has been preserved in heaven and is presented as fully functional and attended by angels; thus there is no need for the temple to be rebuilt on earth. This third book of Baruch addresses the question of why God permits good people to suffer, and answering with a vision of the afterlife in which sinners and the righteous get their just rewards.

During the vision, Baruch is shown various heavens, there witnessing the punishment of the builders of the "tower of strife against God" (perhaps the Tower of Babel); a serpent named Hades who drinks from the sea; and other such marvels, until he is finally stopped by a locked gate at the fifth heaven, which only the archangel Michael has the ability to open.

The builders of the "tower of strife" are described in terms that could be regarded as demonic – with the faces of cattle, horns of sheep, and feet of goats; while those who commanded them to build it are punished eternally in a separate heaven where they are reincarnated in the forms of dogs, bears or apes. Baruch also witnesses a phoenix, which the text portrays as a massive singular bird that protects the earth from the rays of the sun.)

PROLOGUE.

1 A narrative and revelation of Baruch, concerning those ineffable things which he saw by command of God. Bless Thou, O Lord.

2 A revelation of Baruch, who stood upon the river Gel weeping over the captivity of 3 Jerusalem, when also Abimelech was preserved by the hand of God, at the farm of Agrippa. And he was sitting thus at the beautiful gates, where the Holy of holies lay.

3 BARUCH CHAPTER 1.

1 Verily I Baruch was weeping in my mind and sorrowing on account of the people, and that Nebuchadnezzar the king was permitted by God to destroy His city, saying:

2 Lord, why didst Thou set on fire Thy vineyard, and lay it waste? Why didst Thou do this? And why, Lord, didst Thou not requite us with another chastisement, but didst deliver us to nations such as these, so that they reproach us and say, Where is their God?

3 And behold as I was weeping and saying such things, I saw an angel of the Lord coming and saying to me: Understand, O man, greatly beloved, and trouble not thyself so greatly concerning the salvation of Jerusalem, for thus saith the Lord God,

4 the Almighty. For He sent me before thee, to make known and to show to thee all (the things) of God.

5 For thy prayer was heard before Him, and entered into the ears of the Lord God. And when he had said these things to me, I was silent.

6 And the angel said to me: Cease to provoke God, and I will show thee other mysteries, greater than these.

7 And I Baruch said, As the Lord God liveth, if thou wilt show me, and I hear a word of thine, I will not continue to speak any longer.

8 God shall add to my judgement in the day of judgement, if I speak hereafter. And the angel of the powers said to me, Come, and I will show thee the mysteries of God.

3 BARUCH CHAPTER 2

(*The First Heaven.)*

1 And he took me and led me where the firmament has been set fast, and where there was a river which no one can cross, nor any strange breeze of all those which God created. And he took me and led me to the first heaven, and showed me a door of great size. And he said to me, Let us enter

3 through it, and we entered as though borne on wings, a distance of about thirty days' journey. And he showed me within the heaven a plain ; and there were men dwelling thereon, with the faces of oxen, and the horns of stags and the feet of goats, and the haunches of lambs.

4 And I Baruch asked the angel, Make known to me, I pray thee, what is the thickness of the heaven in which we journeyed, or what is its extent, or what is the plain, in order that I may also tell the sons of men?

5 And the angel whose name is Phamael said to me: This door which thou seest is the door of heaven, and as great as is the distance from earth to heaven, so great also is its thickness; and again as great as is the distance (from North to South, so great) is the length of the plain which thou didst see.

6 And again the angel of the powers said to me, Come, and I will show thee greater mysteries.

7 But I said, I pray thee show me what are these men. And he said to me, These are they who built the tower of strife against God, and the Lord banished them.

3 BARUCH CHAPTER 3

(The Second Heaven.)

1 And the angel of the Lord took me and led me to a second heaven. And he showed me there also a door like the first and said,

2 Let us enter through it. And we entered, being borne on wings a distance of about sixty days' journey.

3 And he showed me there also a plain, and it was full of men, whose appearance was like that of dogs, and whose feet were like those of stags.

4 And I asked the angel: I pray thee, Lord, say to me who are these.

5 And he said, These are they who gave counsel to build the tower, for they whom thou seest drove forth multitudes of both men and women, to make bricks; among whom, a woman making bricks was not allowed to be released in the hour of child-birth, but brought forth while she was making bricks, and carried her child in her apron, and continued to make bricks.

6 And the Lord appeared to them and confused their speech, when they had built the tower to the height of four hundred and sixty-three cubits.

7 And they took a gimlet, and sought to pierce the heaven, saying, Let us see (whether) the heaven is made of clay, or of brass, or of iron.

8 When God saw this He did not permit them, but smote them with blindness and confusion of speech, and rendered them as thou seest.

3 BARUCH CHAPTER 4

(The Third Heaven.)

1 And I Baruch said, Behold, Lord, Thou didst show me great and wonderful things; and now show me all things for the sake of the Lord.

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2 And the angel said to me, Come, let us proceed. (And I proceeded) with the angel from that place about one hundred and eighty-five days' journey.

3 And he showed me a plain and a serpent, which appeared to be two hundred plethra in length.

4 And he showed me Hades, and its appearance was dark and abominable. And I said, Who is this dragon, and who is this monster around him?

5 And the angel said, The dragon is he who eats the bodies of those who spend their life wickedly, and he is nourished by them.

6 And this is Hades, which itself also closely resembles him, in that it also drinks about a cubit from the sea, which does not sink at all.

7 Baruch said, And how (does this happen)? And the angel said, Hearken, the Lord God made three hundred and sixty rivers, of which the chief of all are Alphias, Abyrus, and the Gericus; and because of these the sea does not sink.

8 And I said, I pray thee show me which is the tree which led Adam astray. And the angel said to me, It is the vine, which the angel Sammael planted, whereat the Lord God was angry, and He cursed him and his plant, while also on this account He did not permit Adam to touch it, and therefore the devil being envious deceived him through his vine.

9 [And I Baruch said, Since also the vine has been the cause of such great evil, and is under judgement of the curse of God, and was the destruction of the first created, how is it now so useful?

10 And the angel said, Thou askest aright. When God caused the deluge upon earth, and destroyed all flesh, and four hundred and nine thousand giants, and the water rose fifteen cubits above the highest mountains, then the water entered into paradise and destroyed every flower; but it removed wholly without the bounds the shoot of the vine and cast it outside.

11 And when the earth appeared out of the water, and Noah came out of the ark, he began to plant of the plants which he found.

12 But he found also the shoot of the vine; and he took it, and was reasoning in himself, What then is it? And I came and spake to him the things concerning it.

13 And he said, Shall I plant it, or what shall I do? Since Adam was destroyed because of it, let me not also meet with the anger of God because of it. And saying these things he prayed that God would reveal to him what he should do concerning it.

14 And when he had completed the prayer which lasted forty days, and having besought many things and wept, he said: Lord, I entreat thee to reveal to me what I shall do concerning this plant.

15 But God sent his angel Sarasael, and said to him, Arise, Noah, and plant the shoot of the vine, for thus saith the Lord : Its bitterness shall be changed into sweetness, and its curse shall become a blessing, and that which is produced from it shall become the blood of God; and as through it the human race obtained condemnation, so again through Jesus Christ the Immanuel will they receive in Him the upward calling, and the entry into paradise].

16 Know therefore, 0 Baruch, that as Adam through this very tree obtained condemnation, and was divested of the glory of God, so also the men who now drink insatiably the wine which is begotten of it, transgress worse than Adam, and are far from the glory of God, and are surrendering themselves to the eternal fire.

17 For (no) good comes through it. For those who drink it to surfeit do these things: neither does a brother pity his brother, nor a father his son, nor children their parents, but from the drinking of wine come all evils, such as murders, adulteries, fornications, perjuries, thefts, and such like. And nothing good is established by it.

3 BARUCH CHAPTER 5

1 And I Baruch said to the angel, Let me ask thee one thing, Lord.

2 Since thou didst say to me that the dragon drinks one cubit out of the sea, say to me also, how great is his belly?

3 And the angel said, His belly is Hades; and as far as a plummet is thrown (by) three hundred men, so great is his belly. Come, then, that I may show thee also greater works than these.

3 BARUCH CHAPTER 6

1 And he took me and led me where the sun goes forth; and he showed me a chariot and four, under which burnt a fire, and in the chariot was sitting a man, wearing a crown of fire, (and) the chariot (was) drawn by forty angels.

2 And behold a bird circling before the sun, about nine cubits away.

3 And I said to the angel, What is this bird? And he said to me, This is the guardian of the earth.

4, And I said, Lord, how is he the guardian of the earth? Teach me.

5 And the angel said to me, This bird flies alongside of the sun, and expanding his wings receives its fiery rays.

6 For if he were not receiving them, the human race would not be preserved, nor any other living creature.

7 But God appointed this bird thereto. And he expanded his wings, and I saw on his right wing very large letters, as large as the space of a threshing-floor, the size of about four thousand modii; and the letters were of gold.

8 And the angel said to me, Read them. And I read and they ran thus: Neither earth nor heaven bring me forth, but wings of fire bring me forth.

9 And I said, Lord, what is this bird, and what is his name? And the angel said to me, His name is called

11 Phoenix. (And I said), And what does he eat? And he said to me, The manna of heaven and the dew of earth.

12 And I said, Does the bird excrete? And he said to me, He excretes a worm, and the excrement of the worm is cinnamon, which kings and princes use. But wait and thou shalt see the glory of God.

13 And while he was conversing with me, there was as a thunder-clap, and the place was shaken on which we were standing. And I asked the angel, My Lord, what is this sound? And the angel said to me, Even now the angels are opening the three hundred and sixty-five gates of heaven, and the light is being separated from the darkness.

14 And a voice came which said, Light giver, give to the world radiance.

15 And when I heard the noise of the bird, I said, Lord, what is this noise?

16 And he said, This is the bird who awakens from slumber the cocks upon earth. For as men do through the mouth, so also does the cock signify to those in the world, in his own speech. For the sun is made ready by the angels, and the cock crows.

3 BARUCH CHAPTER 7

1 And I said, And where does the sun begin its labors, after the cock crows?

2 And the angel said to me, Listen, Baruch: All things whatsoever I showed thee are in the first and second heaven, and in the third heaven the sun passes through and gives light to the world. But wait, and thou shalt see the glory of God.

3 And while I was conversing with him, I saw the bird, and he appeared in front, and grew less and less, and at length returned to his full size.

4 And behind him I saw the shining sun, and the angels which draw it, and a crown upon its bead, the sight of which we were not able to gaze Upon, and behold. And as soon as the sun shone, the Phoenix also stretched out his wings.

5 But I, when I beheld such great glory, was brought low with great fear, and I fled and hid in the wings of the angel.

6 And the angel said to me, Fear not, Baruch, but wait and thou shalt also see their setting.

3 BARUCH CHAPTER 8

1 And he took me and led me towards the west; and when the time of the, setting came, I saw again the bird coming before it, and as soon as lie came I saw the angels, and they lifted the crown from its head.

2 But the bird stood exhausted and with wings contracted. And beholding these things,

3 I said, Lord, wherefore did they lift the crown from the head of the sun, and wherefore is the bird so exhausted?

4 And the angel said to me, The crown of the sun, when it has run through the day-four angels take it, and bear it up to heaven, and renew it, because it and its rays have been defiled upon earth; moreover it is so renewed each day. And I Baruch said, Lord, and wherefore are its beams defiled upon earth?

5 And the angel said to me, Because it beholds the lawlessness and unrighteousness of men, namely fornications, adulteries, thefts, extortions, idolatries, drunkenness, murders, strife, jealousies, evil-speakings, murmurings, whisperings, divinations, and such like, which are not well-pleasing to God. On account of these things is it defiled, and therefore is it renewed.

6 But thou askest concerning the bird, how it is exhausted. Because by restraining the rays of the sun through the fire and burning heat of the whole day, it is exhausted thereby. For, as we said before, unless his wings were screening the rays of the sun, no living creature would be preserved.

3 BARUCH CHAPTER 9

1 And they having retired, the night also fell, and at the same time came the chariot of the moon, along with the stars.

2 And I Baruch said, Lord, show me it also, I beseech of thee, how it goes forth, where it departs, and in what form it moves along.

3 And the angel said, Wait' and thou shalt see it also shortly. And on the morrow I also saw it in the form of a woman, and sitting on a wheeled chariot.

4 And there were before it oxen and lambs in the chariot, and a multitude of angels in like manner. And I said, Lord, what are the oxen and the lambs? And he said to me,

5 They also are angels. And again I asked, Why is it that it at one time increases, but at another time decreases?

6 And (he said to me), Listen, 0 Baruch: This which thou seest had been written by God beautiful as no other.

7 And at the transgression of the first Adam, it was near to Sammael when he took the serpent as a garment. And it did not hide itself but increased, and God was angry with it, and afflicted it, and shortened its days. And I said, And how does it not also shine always, but only in the night?

8 And the angel said, Listen: as in the presence of a king, the courtiers cannot speak freely, so the moon and the stars cannot shine in the presence of the sun; for the stars are always suspended, but they are screened by the sun, and the moon, although it is uninjured, is consumed by the heat of the sun.

3 BARUCH CHAPTER 10

(The Fourth Heaven.)

1 And when I had learnt all these things from the archangel, he took and led me into a fourth heaven.

2 And I saw a monotonous plain, and in the middle of it a pool of water.

3 And there were in it multitudes of birds of all kinds, but not like those here on earth. But I saw a crane as great as great oxen; and all the birds were great beyond those in the world.

4 And I asked the angel, What is the plain, and what the pool, and what the multitudes of birds around it?

5 And the angel said, Listen, Baruch : The plain which contains in it the pool and other wonders is the place where the souls of the righteous come, when they hold converse, living together in choirs.

6 But the water is that which the clouds receive, and rain upon the earth, and the fruits increase.

7 And I said again to the angel of the Lord, But (what) are these birds? And he said to me, They are those which continually sing praise to the Lord.

8 And I said, Lord, and how do men say that the water which descends in rain is from the sea?

9 And the angel said, The water which descends in rain-this also is from the sea, and from the waters upon earth; but that which stimulates the fruits is (only) from the latter source.

10 Know therefore henceforth that from this source is what is called the dew of heaven.

3 BARUCH CHAPTER 11

(The Fifth Heaven.)

1 And the angel took me and led me thence to a fifth heaven. And the gate was closed. And I said, Lord, is not this gate-way open that we may enter?

3 And the angel said to me, We cannot enter until Michael comes, who holds the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; but wait and thou shalt see the glory of God. And there was a great sound, as thunder. And I said, Lord, what is this sound?

4 And he said to me, Even now Michael, the commander of the angels, comes down to receive the prayers of men.

5 And behold a voice came, Let the gates be opened. And they opened them, and there was a roar as of thunder.

6 And Michael came, and the angel who was with me came face to face with him and said, Hail, my commander, and that of all our order.

7 And the commander Michael said, Hail thou also, our brother, and the interpreter of the revelations to those who pass through life virtuously.

8 And having saluted one another thus, they stood still.

8 And I saw the commander Michael, holding an exceedingly great vessel; its depth was as great as the distance from heaven to earth, and its breadth as great as the distance from north to south. And I said, Lord, what is that which Michael the archangel is holding?

9 And he said to me, This is where the merits of the righteous enter, and such good works as they do, which are escorted before the heavenly God.

3 BARUCH CHAPTER 12

1, And as I was conversing with them, behold angels came bearing baskets full of flowers. And they gave them to Michael.

2 And I asked the angel, Lord, who are these, and what are the things brought hither from beside them?

3 And he said to me, These are angels (who) are over the righteous.

4 And the archangel took the baskets, and cast them into the vessel.

5 And the angel said to me, These flowers are the merits of the righteous.

6 And I saw other angels bearing baskets which were (neither) empty-nor full.

7 And they began to lament, and did not venture to draw near, because they had not the prizes complete. And Michael cried and said, Come hither, also, ye angels, bring what ye have brought.

8 And Michael was exceedingly grieved, and the angel who was with me, because they did not fill the vessel.

3 BARUCH CHAPTER 13

1 And then came in like manner other angels weeping and bewailing, and saying with fear, Behold how we are

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overclouded, 0 Lord, for we were delivered to evil men, and we wish to depart from them.

2 And Michael said, Ye cannot depart from them, in order that the enemy may not prevail to the end; but say to me what ye ask.

3 And they said, We pray thee, Michael our commander, transfer us from them, for we cannot abide with wicked and foolish men, for there is nothing good in them, but every kind of unrighteousness and greed.

4 For we do not behold them entering [into Church at all, nor among spiritual fathers, nor] into any good work. But where there is murder, there also are they in the midst, and where are fornications, adulteries, thefts, slanders, perjuries, jealousies, drunkenness, strife, envy, murmurings, whispering, idolatry, divination, and such like, then are they workers of such works, and of others worse.

5 Wherefore we entreat that we may depart from them. And Michael said to the angels, Wait till I learn from the Lord what shall come to pass.

3 BARUCH CHAPTER 14

1 And in that very hour Michael departed, and the doors were closed. And there was a sound as thunder.

2 And I asked the angel, What is the sound? And he said to me, Michael is even now presenting the merits of men to God.

3 BARUCH CHAPTER 15

1 And in that very hour Michael descended, and the gate was opened; and he brought oil.

2 And as for the angels which brought the baskets which were full, he filled them with oil, saying, Take it away, reward our friends an hundredfold, and those who have laboriously wrought good works.

3 For those who sowed virtuously, also reap virtuously. And he said also to those bringing the half-empty baskets, Come hither ye also; take away the reward according as ye brought, and deliver it to the sons of men.

4 [Then he said also to those who brought the full and to those who brought the half-empty baskets: Go and bless our friends, and say to them that thus saith the Lord, Ye are faithful over a few things, I will set you over many things; enter into the joy of your Lord.]

3 BARUCH CHAPTER 16

1 And turning he said also to those who brought nothing: Thus saith the Lord, Be not sad of countenance, and weep not, nor let the sons of men alone.

2 But since they angered me in their works, go and make them envious and angry and provoked against a people that is no people, a people that has no understanding.

3 Further, besides these, send forth the caterpillar and the unwinged locust, and the mildew, and the common locust (and) hail with lightnings and anger, and punish them severely with the sword and with death, and their children with demons.

4 For they did not hearken to my voice, nor did they observe my commandments, nor do them, but were despisers of my commandments, and insolent towards the priests who proclaimed my words to them.

3 BARUCH CHAPTER 17

1 And while he yet spake, the door was closed, and we withdrew.

2 And the angel took me and restored me to the place where I was at the beginning.

3 And having come to myself, I gave glory to God, who counted me worthy of such honour.

4 Wherefore do ye also, brethren, who obtained such a revelation, yourselves also glorify God, so that He also may glorify you, now and ever, and to all eternity. Amen.

THE FOURTH BOOK OF BARUCH

4 Baruch or Paraleipomena Jeremiou,
or The Things Omitted from Jeremiah
Ethiopian Orthodox Bible Pseudepigrapha
Translation: William Newby and Robert Kraft, 1987
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd century A.D.

(The Fourth Book of Baruch is a pseudepigraphical text of the Old Testament. Paralipomena of Jeremiah appears as the title in several Ancient Greek manuscripts of the work, meaning "things left out of (the Book of) Jeremiah." It is part of the Ethiopian Orthodox Bible.

Fourth Baruch is regarded as pseudepigraphical by all Christian churches, except the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (see Rest of the Words of Baruch.

The text is known in both full-length and reduced versions. The full-length versions came down to us in Greek (older manuscripts dated 10th–11th centuries and 15th century), in Ethiopic Ge'ez (titled Rest of the Words of Baruch, the older manuscript dated to the 15th century), in Armenian and in Slavic. The shortened versions have come down to us in Greek (named Meneo), Romanian and Slavic.

4 Baruch is usually dated to the first half of the 2nd century AD. Abimelech's sleep of 66 years, instead of the usual 70 years of Babylonian captivity, makes scholars tend toward the year 136 AD, that is, 66 years after the fall of the Second Temple in 70 AD. This dating is coherent with the message of the text.

4 Baruch uses a simple and fable-like style, with speech-making animals, fruit that never rots, and an eagle sent by the Lord that revives the dead.

Some parts of 4 Baruch appear to have been added in the Christian era, such as the last chapter; due to these insertions, some scholars consider 4 Baruch to have Christian origins. Like the greater prophets, it advocates the divorce of foreign wives and exile of those who will not do so. According to 4 Baruch, the Samaritans are the descendants of such mixed marriages.

Content: The Lord reveals to Jeremiah that Jerusalem will be destroyed because of the impiety of the Israelites. Jeremiah informs Baruch, and that night they see angels open the door to the city. Jeremiah is instructed by the Lord to miraculously hide in the earth the vestments of the high priest of the Temple. The Chaldeans enter Jerusalem, and Jeremiah follows the Israelites into exile, while Baruch remains in Jerusalem. Abimelech (= Ebedmelech the Ethiopian of Jeremiah 38:7) falls asleep for 66 years and awakens next to a basket of figs, preserved perfectly fresh. Because the figs are fresh out of season, Abimelech realizes that he slept for years miraculously. Abimelech reunites with Baruch. They want to communicate with Jeremiah, who is still in Babylon, so Baruch prays to the Lord, who sends him an eagle. The eagle takes a letter and some of the figs to Jeremiah. It finds Jeremiah officiating at a funeral and alights on the corpse, bringing it back to life, thus announcing the end of the exile. The Israelites return to Jerusalem, but only those men who have no foreign wives are allowed to pass the Jordan.)

That which the Lord spoke to Jeremiah before the capture of Jerusalem and how the capture happened (the things omitted from Jeremiah the Prophet)

4 BARUCH CHAPTER 1

1 It came to pass, when the children of Israel were taken captive by the king of the Chaldeans, that God spoke to Jeremiah saying: Jeremiah, my chosen one, arise and depart from this city, you and Baruch, since I am going to destroy it because of the multitude of the sins of those who dwell in it.

2 For your prayers are like a solid pillar in its midst, and like an indestructible wall surrounding it.

3 Now, then, arise and depart before the host of the Chaldeans surrounds it.

4 And Jeremiah answered, saying: I beseech you, Lord, permit me, your servant, to speak in your presence.

5 And the Lord said to him: Speak, my chosen one Jeremiah.

6 And Jeremiah spoke, saying: Lord Almighty, would you deliver the chosen city into the hands of the Chaldeans, so that the king with the multitude of his people might boast and say: "I have prevailed over the holy city of God"?

7 No, my Lord, but if it is your will, let it be destroyed by your hands.

8 And the Lord said to Jeremiah: Since you are my chosen one, arise and depart form this city, you and Baruch, for I am going to destroy it because of the multitude of the sins of those who dwell in it.

9 For neither the king nor his host will be able to enter it unless I first open its gates.

10 Arise, then, and go to Baruch, and tell him these words.

11 And when you have arisen at the sixth hour of the night, go out on the city walls and I will show you that unless I first destroy the city, they cannot enter it.

12 When the Lord had said this, he departed from Jeremiah.

4 BARUCH CHAPTER 2

1 And Jeremiah ran and told these things to Baruch; and as they went into the temple of God, Jeremiah tore his garments and put dust on his head and entered the holy place of God.

2 And when Baruch saw him with dust sprinkled on his head and his garments torn, he cried out in a loud voice, saying: Father Jeremiah, what are you doing? What sin has the people committed?

3 (For whenever the people sinned, Jeremiah would sprinkle dust on his head and would pray for the people until their sin was forgiven.)

4 So Baruch asked him, saying: Father, what is this?

5 And Jeremiah said to him: Refrain from rending your garments -- rather, let us rend our hearts! And let us not draw water for the trough, but let us weep and fill them with tears! For the Lord will not have mercy on this people.

6 And Baruch said: Father Jeremiah, what has happened?

7 And Jeremiah said: God is delivering the city into the hands of the king of the Chaldeans, to take the people captive into Babylon.

8 And when Baruch heard these things, he also tore his garments and said: Father Jeremiah, who has made this known to you?

9 And Jeremiah said to him: Stay with me awhile, until the sixth hour of the night, so that you may know that this word is true.

10 Therefore they both remained in the altar-area weeping, and their garments were torn.

4 BARUCH CHAPTER 3

1 And when the hour of the night arrived, as the Lord had told Jeremiah they came up together on the walls of the city, Jeremiah and Baruch.

2 And behold, there came a sound of trumpets; and angels emerged from heaven holding torches in their hands, and they set them on the walls of the city.

3 And when Jeremiah and Baruch saw them, they wept, saying: Now we know that the word is true!

4 And Jeremiah besought the angels, saying: I beseech you, do not destroy the city yet, until I say something to the Lord.

5 And the Lord spoke to the angels, saying: Do not destroy the city until I speak to my chosen one, Jeremiah.

6 Then Jeremiah spoke, saying: I beg you, Lord, bid me to speak in your presence.

7 And the Lord said: Speak, my chosen one Jeremiah.

8 And Jeremiah said: Behold, Lord, now we know that you are delivering the city into the hands of its enemies, and they will take the people away to Babylon. What do you want me to do with the holy vessels of the temple service?

10 And the Lord said to him: Take them and consign them to the earth, saying: Hear, Earth, the voice of your creator who formed you in the abundance of waters, who sealed you with seven seals for seven epochs, and after this you will receive your treasures.

11 Guard the vessels of the temple service until the gathering of the beloved.

12 And Jeremiah spoke, saying: I beseech thee, O Lord, show me what I should do for Abimelech the Ethiopian, for he has done many kindnesses to your servant Jeremiah.

13 For he pulled me out of the miry pit; and I do not wish that he should see the destruction and desolation of this city, but that you should be merciful to him and that he should not be grieved.

14 And the Lord said to Jeremiah: Send him to the vineyard of Agrippa, and I will hide him in the shadow of the mountain until I cause the people to return to the city.

15 And you, Jeremiah, go with your people into Babylon and stay with them, preaching to them, until I cause them to return to the city.

16 But leave Baruch here until I speak with him.

17 When he had said these things, the Lord ascended from Jeremiah into heaven.

18 But Jeremiah and Baruch entered the holy place, and taking the vessels of the temple service, they consigned them to the earth as the Lord had told them.

19 And immediately the earth swallowed them.

20 And they both sat down and wept.

21 And when morning came, Jeremiah sent Abimelech, saying: Take a basket and go to the estate of Agrippa by the mountain road, and bring back some figs to give to the sick among the people; for the favour of the Lord is on you and his glory is on your head.

22 And when he had said this, Jeremiah sent him away; and Abimelech went as he told him.

4 BARUCH CHAPTER 4

1 And when morning came, behold the host of the Chaldeans surrounded the city.

2 And the great angel trumpeted, saying: Enter the city, host of the Chaldeans; for behold, the gate is opened for you.

3 Therefore let the king enter, with his multitudes, and let him take all the people captive.

4 But taking the keys of the temple, Jeremiah went outside the city and threw them away in the presence of the sun, saying: I say to you, Sun, take the keys of the temple of God and guard them until the day in which the Lord asks you for them.

5 For we have not been found worthy to keep them, for we have become unfaithful guardians.

6 While Jeremiah was still weeping for the people, they brought him out with the people and dragged them into Babylon.

7 But Baruch put dust on his head and sat and wailed this lamentation, saying: Why has Jerusalem been devastated? Because of the sins of the beloved people she was delivered into the hands of enemies -- because of our sins and those of the people.

8 But let not the lawless ones boast and say: "We were strong enough to take the city of God by our might;" but it was delivered to you because of our sins.

9 And God will pity us and cause us to return to our city, but you will not survive!

10 Blessed are our fathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, for they departed from this world and did not see the destruction of this city.

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11 When he had said this, Baruch departed from the city, weeping and saying: Grieving because of you, Jerusalem, I went out from you.

12 And he remained sitting in a tomb, while the angels came to him and explained to him everything that the Lord revealed to him through them.

4 BARUCH CHAPTER 5

1 But Abimelech took the figs in the burning heat; and coming upon a tree, he sat under its shade to rest a bit.

2 And leaning his head on the basket of figs, he fell asleep and slept for 66 years; and he was not awakened from his slumber.

3 And afterward, when he awoke from his sleep, he said: I slept sweetly for a little while, but my head is heavy because I did not get enough sleep.

4 Then he uncovered the basket of figs and found them dripping milk.

5 And he said: I would like to sleep a little longer, because my head is heavy. But I am afraid that I might fall asleep and be late in awakening and my father Jeremiah would think badly of me; for if he were not in a hurry, he would not have sent me today at daybreak.

6 So I will get up, and proceed in the burning heat; for isn't there heat, isn't there toil every day?

7 So he got up and took the basket of figs and placed it on his shoulders, and he entered into Jerusalem and did not recognise it, neither his own house, nor the place, nor did he find his own family or any of his acquaintances.

8 And he said: The Lord be blessed, for a great trance has come over me today!

9 This is not the city Jerusalem -- and I have lost my way because I came by the mountain road when I arose from my sleep; and since my head was heavy because I did not get enough sleep, I lost my way.

10 It will seem incredible to Jeremiah that I lost my way!

11 And he departed from the city; and as he searched he saw the landmarks of the city, and he said: Indeed, this is the city; I lost my way.

12 And again he returned to the city and searched, and found no one of his own people; and he said: The Lord be blessed, for a great trance has come over me!

13 And again he departed from the city, and he stayed there grieving, not knowing where he should go.

14 And he put down the basket, saying: I will sit here until the Lord takes this trance from me.

15 And as he sat, he saw an old man coming from the field; and Abimelech

said to him: I say to you, old man, what city is this?

16 And he said to him: It is Jerusalem.

17 And Abimelech said to him: Where is Jeremiah the priest, and Baruch the secretary, and all the people of this city, for I could not find them?

18 And the old man said to him: Are you not from this city, seeing that you remember Jeremiah today, because you are asking about him after such a long time?

19 For Jeremiah is in Babylon with the people; for they were taken captive by king Nebuchadnezzar, and Jeremiah is with them to preach the good news to them and to teach them the word.

20 As soon as Abimelech heard this from the old man, he said: If you were not an old man, and if it were not for the fact that it is not lawful for a man to upbraid one older than himself, I would laugh at you and say that you are out of your mind -- since you say that the people have been taken captive into Babylon.

21 Even if the heavenly torrents had descended on them, there has not yet been time for them to go into Babylon!

22 For how much time has passed since my father Jeremiah sent me to the estate of Agrippa to bring a few figs, so that I might give them to the sick among the people?

23 And I went and got them, and when I came to a certain tree in the burning heat, I sat to rest a little; and I leaned my head on the basket and fell asleep.

24 And when I awoke I uncovered the basket of figs, supposing that I was late; and I found the figs dripping milk, just as I had collected them.

25 But you claim that the people have been taken captive into Babylon.

26 But that you might know, take the figs and see!

27And he uncovered the basket of figs for the old man, and he saw them dripping milk.

28 And when the old man saw them, he said: O my son, you are a righteous man, and God did not want you to see the desolation of the city, so he brought this trance upon you.

29 For behold it is 66 years today since the people were taken captive into Babylon.

30 But that you might learn, my son, that what I tell you is true, look into the field and see that the ripening of the crops has not appeared.

31 And notice that the figs are not in season, and be enlightened.

32 Then Abimelech cried out in a loud voice, saying: I bless you, God of heaven and earth, the Rest of the souls of the righteous in every place!

33 Then he said to the old man: What month is this?

34 And he said: Nisan (which is Abib).

35 And taking some of figs, he gave them to the old man and said to him: May God illumine your way to the city above, Jerusalem.

4 BARUCH CHAPTER 6

1 After this, Abimelech went out of the city and prayed to the Lord.

2 And behold, an angel of the Lord came and took him by the right hand and brought him back to where Baruch was sitting, and he found him in a tomb.

3 And when they saw each other, they both wept and kissed each other.

4 But when Baruch looked up he saw with his own eyes the figs that were covered in Abimelech's basket.

5 And lifting his eyes to heaven, he prayed, saying:

6 Thou art the God who givest a reward to those who love thee. Prepare thyself, my heart, and rejoice and be glad while thou art in thy tabernacle, saying to your fleshly house, "your grief has been changed to joy;" for the Sufficient One is coming and will deliver thee in your tabernacle, for there is no sin in thee.

7 Revive in your tabernacle, in your virginal faith, and believe that you will live!

8 Look at this basket of figs -- for behold, they are 66 years old and have not become shrivelled or rotten, but they are dripping milk.

9 So it will be with you, my flesh, if you do what is commanded you by the angel of righteousness.

10 He who preserved the basket of figs, the same will again preserve you by his power.

11 When Baruch had said this, he said to Abimelech: Stand up and let us pray that the Lord may make known to us how we shall be able to send to Jeremiah in Babylon the report about the shelter provided for you on the way.

12 And Baruch prayed, saying: Lord God, our strength is the elect light which comes forth from your mouth.

13 We beseech and beg of your goodness -- you whose great name no one is able to know -- hear the voice of your servants and let knowledge come into our hearts.

14 What shall we do, and how shall we send this report to Jeremiah in Babylon?

15 And while Baruch was still praying, behold an angel of the Lord came and said all these words to Baruch: Agent of the light, do not be anxious about how you will send to Jeremiah; for an eagle is coming to you at the hour of light tomorrow, and you will direct him to Jeremiah.

16 Therefore, write in a letter: Say to the children of Israel: Let the stranger who comes among you be set apart and let 15 days go by; and after this I will lead you into your city, says the Lord.

17 He who is not separated from Babylon will not enter into the city; and I will punish them by keeping them from being received back by the Babylonians, says the Lord.

18 And when the angel had said this, he departed from Baruch.

19 And Baruch sent to the market of the gentiles and got papyrus and ink and wrote a letter as follows: Baruch, the servant of God, writes to Jeremiah in the captivity of Babylon:

20 Greetings! Rejoice, for God has not allowed us to depart from this body grieving for the city which was laid waste and outraged.

21 Wherefore the Lord has had compassion on our tears, and has remembered the covenant which he established with our fathers Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

22 And he sent his angel to me, and he told me these words which I send to you.

13 These, then, are the words which the Lord, the God of Israel, spoke, who led us out of Egypt, out of the great furnace: Because you did not keep my ordinances, but your heart was lifted up, and you were haughty before me, in anger and wrath I delivered you to the furnace in Babylon.

24 If, therefore, says the Lord, you listen to my voice, from the mouth of Jeremiah my servant, I will bring the one who listens up from Babylon; but the one who does not listen will become a stranger to Jerusalem and to Babylon.

25 And you will test them by means of the water of the Jordan; whoever does not listen will be exposed; this is the sign of the great seal.

4 BARUCH CHAPTER 7

1 And Baruch got up and departed from the tomb and found the eagle sitting outside the tomb.

2 And the eagle said to him in a human voice: Hail, Baruch, steward of the faith.

3 And Baruch said to him: You who speak are chosen from among all the birds of heaven, for this is clear from the gleam of your eyes; tell me, then, what are you doing here?

4 And the eagle said to him: I was sent here so that you might through me send whatever message you want.

5 And Baruch said to him: Can you carry this message to Jeremiah in Babylon?

6 And the eagle said to him: Indeed, it was for this reason I was sent.

7 And Baruch took the letter, and 15 figs from Abimelech's basket, and tied them to the eagle's neck and said to him: I say to you, king of the birds, go in peace with good health and carry the message for me.

8 Do not be like the raven which Noah sent out and which never came back to him in the ark; but be like the dove which, the third time, brought a report to the righteous one.

9 So you also, take this good message to Jeremiah and to those in bondage with him, that it may be well with you-take this papyrus to the people and to the chosen one of God.

10 Even if all the birds of heaven surround you and want to fight with you, struggle -- the Lord will give you strength.

11 And do not turn aside to the right or to the left, but straight as a speeding arrow, go in the power of God, and the glory of the Lord will be with you the entire way.

12 Then the eagle took flight and went away to Babylon, having the letter tied to his neck; and when he arrived he rested on a post outside the city in a desert place.

13 And he kept silent until Jeremiah came along, for he and some of the people were coming out to bury a corpse outside the city.

14 (For Jeremiah had petitioned king Nebuchadnezzar, saying: "Give me a place where I may bury those of my people who have died;" and the king gave it to him.)

15 And as they were coming out with the body, and weeping, they came to where the eagle was.

16 And the eagle cried out in a loud voice, saying: I say to you, Jeremiah the chosen one of God, go and gather together the people and come here so that they may hear a letter which I have brought to you from Baruch and Abimelech.

17 And when Jeremiah heard this, he glorified God; and he went and gathered together the people along with their wives and children, and he came to where the eagle was.

18 And the eagle came down on the corpse, and it revived.

19 (Now this took place so that they might believe.)

20 And all the people were astounded at what had happened, and said: This is the God who appeared to our fathers in the wilderness through Moses, and now he has appeared to us through the eagle.

21 And the eagle said: I say to you, Jeremiah, come, untie this letter and read it to the people. So he untied the letter and read it to the people.

22 And when the people heard it, they wept and put dust on their heads, and they said to Jeremiah: Deliver us and tell us what to do that we may once again enter our city.

23 And Jeremiah answered and said to them: Do whatever you heard from the letter, and the Lord will lead us into our city.

24 And Jeremiah wrote a letter to Baruch, saying thus: My beloved son, do not be negligent in your prayers, beseeching God on our behalf, that he might direct our way until we come out of the jurisdiction of this lawless king.

25 For you have been found righteous before God, and he did not let you come here, lest you see the affliction which has come upon the people at the hands of the Babylonians.

26 For it is like a father with an only son, who is given over for punishment; and those who see his father and console him cover his face, lest he see how his son is being punished, and be even more ravaged by grief.

27 For thus God took pity on you and did not let you enter Babylon lest you see the affliction of the people.

28 For since we came here, grief has not left us, for 66 years today.

29 For many times when I went out I found some of the people hung up by king Nebuchadnezzar, crying and saying: "Have mercy on us, God-ZAR!"

30 When I heard this, I grieved and cried with two-fold mourning, not only because they were hung up, but because they were calling on a foreign God, saying "Have mercy on us."

31 But I remembered days of festivity which we celebrated in Jerusalem before our captivity; and when I remembered, I groaned, and returned to my house wailing and weeping.

32 Now, then, pray in the place where you are, you and Abimelech, for this people, that they may listen to my voice and to the decrees of my mouth, so that we may depart from here.

33 For I tell you that the entire time that we have spent here they have kept us in subjection, saying: Recite for us a song from the songs of Zion, the song of your God.

34 And we reply to them: How shall we sing for you since we are in a foreign land?

35 And after this, Jeremiah tied the letter to the eagle's neck, saying: Go in peace, and may the Lord watch over both of us.

36 And the eagle took flight and came to Jerusalem and gave the letter to Baruch; and when he had untied it he read it and kissed it and wept when he heard about the distresses and afflictions of the people.

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37 But Jeremiah took the figs and distributed them to the sick among the people, and he kept teaching them to abstain from the pollutions of the gentiles of Babylon.

4 BARUCH CHAPTER 8

1 And the day came in which the Lord brought the people out of Babylon.

2 And the Lord said to Jeremiah: Rise up, you and the people, and come to the Jordan and say to the people: Let anyone who desires the Lord forsake the works of Babylon.

3 As for the men who took wives from them and the women who took husbands from them -- those who listen to you shall cross over, and you take them into Jerusalem; but those who do not listen to you, do not lead them there.

4 And Jeremiah spoke these words to the people, and they arose and came to the Jordan to cross over.

5 As he told them the words that the Lord had spoken to him, half of those who had taken spouses from them did not wish to listen to Jeremiah, but said to him: We will never forsake our wives, but we will bring them back with us into our city.

6 So they crossed the Jordan and came to Jerusalem.

7 And Jeremiah and Baruch and Abimelech stood up and said: No man joined with Babylonians shall enter this city!

8 And they said to one another: Let us arise and return to Babylon to our place, And they departed.

9 But while they were coming to Babylon, the Babylonians came out to meet them, saying: You shall not enter our city, for you hated us and you left us secretly; therefore you cannot come in with us.

10 For we have taken a solemn oath together in the name of our god to receive neither you nor your children, since you left us secretly.

11 And when they heard this, they returned and came to a desert place some distance from Jerusalem and built a city for themselves and named it 'SAMARIA.'

12 And Jeremiah sent to them, saying: Repent, for the angel of righteousness is coming and will lead you to your exalted place.

4 BARUCH CHAPTER 9

1 Now those who were with Jeremiah were rejoicing and offering sacrifices on behalf of the people for nine days.

2 But on the tenth, Jeremiah alone offered sacrifice.

3 And he prayed a prayer, saying: Holy, holy, holy, fragrant aroma of the living trees, true light that enlightens me until I ascend to you;

4 For your mercy, I beg you, for the sweet voice of the two seraphim, I beg for another fragrant aroma.

5 And may Michael, archangel of righteousness, who opens the gates to the righteous, be my guardian (?) until he causes the righteous to enter.

6 I beg you, almighty Lord of all creation, unbegotten and incomprehensible, in whom all judgement was hidden before these things came into existence.

7 When Jeremiah had said this, and while he was standing in the altar-area with Baruch and Abimelech, he became as one whose soul had departed.

8 And Baruch and Abimelech were weeping and crying out in a loud voice: Woe to us! For our father Jeremiah has left us; the priest of God has departed!

9 And all the people heard their weeping and they all ran to them and saw Jeremiah lying on the ground as if dead.

10 And they tore their garments and put dust on their heads and wept bitterly.

11 And after this they prepared to bury him.

12 And behold, there came a voice saying: Do not bury the one who yet lives, for his soul is returning to his body!

13 And when they heard the voice they did not bury him, but stayed around his tabernacle for three days saying, "when will he arise?"

14 And after three days his soul came back into his body and he raised his voice in the midst of them all and said: Glorify God with one voice! All of you glorify God and the son of God who awakens us, messiah Jesus, the light of all the ages, the inextinguishable lamp, the life of faith.

15 But after these times there shall be 477 years more and he comes to earth.

16 And the tree of life planted in the midst of paradise will cause all the unfruitful trees to bear fruit, and will grow and sprout forth.

17 And the trees that had sprouted and became haughty and said: "We have supplied our power (?) to the air," he will cause them to wither, with the grandeur of their branches, and he will cause them to be judged -- that firmly rooted tree!

18 And what is crimson will become white as wool, the snow will be blackened, the sweet waters will become salty, and the salty sweet, in the intense light of the joy of God.

19 And he will bless the isles so that they become fruitful by the word of the mouth of his messiah.

20 For he shall come, and he will go out and choose for himself twelve apostles to proclaim the news among the nations, he whom I have seen adorned by his father and coming into the world on the Mount of Olives, and he shall fill the hungry souls.

21 When Jeremiah was saying this concerning the son of God, that he is coming into the world, the people became very angry and said: This is a repetition of the words spoken by Isaiah son of Amos, when he said: I saw God and the son of God.

22 Come, then, and let us not kill him by the same sort of death with which we killed Isaiah, but let us stone him with stones.

23 And Baruch and Abimelech were greatly grieved because they wanted to hear in full the mysteries that he had seen.

24 But Jeremiah said to them: Be silent and weep not, for they cannot kill me until I describe for you everything I saw.

25 And he said to them: Bring a stone here to me.

26 And he set it up and said: Light of the ages, make this stone to become like me in appearance, until I have described to Baruch and Abimelech everything I saw.

27 Then the stone, by God's command, took on the appearance of Jeremiah.

28 And they were stoning the stone, supposing that it was Jeremiah!

29 But Jeremiah delivered to Baruch and to Abimelech all the mysteries he had seen, and forthwith he stood in the midst of the people desiring to complete his ministry.

30 Then the stone cried out, saying: O foolish children of Israel, why do you stone me, supposing that I am Jeremiah? Behold, Jeremiah is standing in your midst!

31 And when they saw him, immediately they rushed upon him with many stones, and his ministry was fulfilled.

32 And when Baruch and Abimelech came, they buried him, and taking the stone they placed it on his tomb and inscribed it thus: This is the stone that was the ally of Jeremiah.

33 And the sacred vessels Jeremiah laid away according to the command of God, sealed in this stone by his finger in the name of God. Through the writing of iron, the imprint has become on the stone a shadowy cloud, because it is indistinguishable. And the stone is in the desert where formerly the ark was prepared with the others. And this Jeremiah spoke: The Lord went up to heaven from Zion, but he will come again to visit Zion, and the coming of the messiah will be the sign whenever every nation worships the cross, glorifying and praising God, to whom becomes all glory forever and ever, Amen.

THE (GREEK) APOCALYPSE OF ESDRAS

Revelation Of Esdras (edited by Christians.)
Source: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament
Translation: Robert Henry Charles, 1913
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 9th centuries AD.

(The Greek Apocalypse of Ezra, also known as The Word and Revelation of Esdras, is a pseudepigraphal work written in the name of the biblical scribe Ezra. It survived in only two Greek copies and is dated between the 2nd century and the 9th century AD.

According to R. H. Charles, the text of the Greek Apocalypse of Ezra was influenced by the book of 2 Esdras. The extant version of the Greek Apocalypse is thought to have undergone extensive reworking, if not having been totally written by, Christian editors, mentioning the Apostles Paul and John, King Herod, etc.

Like much apocalyptic literature, the Apocalypse of Ezra portrays its author as being granted visions of Heaven and of the Gehenna of fire, where the punishments meted out to sinners are witnessed in detail. Ezra is first described as visiting Heaven, where Ezra raises a question of theodicy — he asks God why humans were given the ability to sin. Although God argues that humans are to blame if they do sin, due to their having free will, the text has Ezra respond that ultimately the fall of man must be up to God, particularly since God created both Eve and the Serpent and the forbidden tree. Ezra goes on to accuse God of having an appalling idea of justice, to which God does not respond, even when Ezra petitions on behalf of sinners. After his petitions and argument with God, Ezra is shown a vision of the tortures in the Gehenna of fire, as well as the Antichrist. Finally, when Ezra protests that no one is without sin and hence none will escape such torture, God reveals that he endured the cross in order to save mankind, forgive those who believe, and vanquish death.)

Word and Revelation of Esdras, the Holy Prophet and Beloved of God.

It came to pass in the thirtieth year, on the twenty-second of the month, I was in my house. And I cried out and said to the Most High: Lord, give the glory [i.e. i.e., reveal.], in order that I may see Thy mysteries. And when it was night, there came an angel, Michael the archangel, and says to me: O Prophet Esdras, refrain from bread for seventy weeks [Supplied by Tischendorf. Perhaps it should be days.]. And I fasted as he told me. And there came Raphael the commander of the host, and gave me a storax rod. And I fasted twice sixty* weeks [Perhaps this should be five instead of seventy days, as above.]. And I saw the mysteries of God and His angels. And I said to them: I wish to plead before God about the race of the Christians. It is good for a man not to be born rather than to come into the world. I was therefore taken up into heaven, and I saw in the first heaven a great army of angels; and they took me to the judgments. And I heard a voice saying to me: Have mercy on us, O thou chosen of God, Esdras. Then began I to say: Woe to sinners when they see one who is just more than the angels, and they themselves are in the Gehenna of fire! And Esdras said: Have mercy on the works of Thine hands, Thou who art compassionate, and of great mercy. Judge me rather than the souls of the sinners; for it is better that one soul should be punished, and that the whole world should not come to destruction. And God said: I will give rest in paradise to the righteous, and I have become [Or, I am.] merciful. And Esdras said: Lord, why dost Thou confer benefits on the righteous? for just as one who has been hired out, and has served out his time, goes and again works as a slave when he come to his masters, so also the righteous has received his reward in the heavens. But have mercy on the sinners, for we know that Thou art merciful. And God said: I do not see how I can have mercy upon them. And Esdras said: They cannot endure Thy wrath. And God said: This is the fate of such. And God said: I wish to have thee like Paul and John, as thou hast given me uncorrupted the treasure that cannot be stolen, the treasure of virginity, the bulwark [Lit., wall.] of men. And Esdras said: It is good for a man not to be born. It is good not to be in life. The irrational creatures are better than man, because they have no punishment; but Thou hast taken us, and given us up to judgement. Woe to the sinners in the world to come! because their judgement is endless, and the flame unquenchable. And while I was thus speaking to him, there came Michael and Gabriel, and all the apostles; and they said: Rejoice, O faithful man of God! And Esdras said: Arise, and come hither with me, O Lord, to judgment. And the Lord said: Behold, I give thee my covenant between me and thee, that you may receive it. And Esdras said: Let us plead in Thy hearing [Lit., to Thine ear.]. And God said: Ask Abraham your father how a son pleads with his father [It obviously refers to Abraham pleading for Sodom.], and come plead with us. And Esdras said: As the Lord liveth, I will not cease pleading with Thee in behalf of the race of the Christians. Where are Thine ancient compassions, O Lord? Where is Thy long-suffering? And God said: As I have made night and day, I have made the righteous and the sinner; and he should have lived like the righteous. And the prophet said: Who made Adam the first-formed? And God said: My undefiled hands. And I put him in paradise to guard the food of the tree of life; and thereafter he became disobedient, and did this in transgression. And the prophet said: Was he not protected by an angel? and was not his life guarded by the cherubim to endless ages? and how was he deceived who was guarded by angels? for Thou didst command all to be present, and to attend to what was said by Thee [Text is very corrupt here]. But if Thou hadst not given him Eve, the serpent would not have deceived her [Better, him.]; but whom Thou wilt Thou savest, and whom Thou wilt Thou destroyest [See Exodus 33.19; Romans 9.18.]. And the prophet said: Let us come, my Lord, to a second judgment. And God said: I cast fire upon Sodom and Gomorrah. And the prophet said: Lord, Thou dealest with us according to our deserts. And God said: Your sins transcend my clemency. And the prophet said: Call to mind the Scriptures, my Father, who hast measured out Jerusalem, and set her up again. Have mercy, O Lord, upon sinners; have mercy upon Thine own creatures [Lit., framing, or fashioning.]; have pity upon Thy works. Then God remembered those whom He had made, and said to the prophet: How can I have mercy upon them? Vinegar and gall did they give me to drink,2501 and not even then did they repent. And the prophet said: Reveal Thy cherubim, and let us go together to judgement; and show me the day of judgement, what like it is. And God said: Thou hast been deceived, Esdras; for such is the day of judgement as that in which there is no rain upon the earth; for it is a merciful tribunal as compared with that day. And the prophet said: I will not cease to plead with Thee, unless I see the day of the consummation. And God said [This is inserted by Tischendorf.]: Number the stars and the sand of the sea; and if thou shalt be able to number this, thou art also able to plead with me. And the prophet said: Lord, Thou knowest that I wear human flesh; and how can I count the stars of the heaven, and the sand of the sea? And God said: My chosen prophet, no man will know that great day and the appearing that comes to judge the world. For thy sake, my prophet, I have told thee the day; but the hour have I not told thee. And the prophet said: Lord, tell me also the years. And God said: If I see the righteousness of the world, that it has abounded, I will have patience with them; but if not, I will stretch forth my hand, and lay hold of the world by the four quarters, and bring them all together into the valley of Jehoshaphat [Joel 3.2, 12.], and I will wipe out the race of men, so that the world shall be no more. And the prophet said:

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And how can Thy right hand be glorified? And God said: I shall be glorified by my angels. And the prophet said: Lord, if Thou hast resolved to do this, why didst Thou make man? Thou didst say to our father Abraham, Multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand that is by the sea-shore [Lit., the lip of the sea.]; and where is Thy promise? And God said: First will I make an earthquake for the fall of four-footed beasts and of men; and when you see that brother gives up brother to death, and that children shall rise up against their parents, and that a woman forsakes her own husband, and when nation shall rise up against nation in war, then will you know that the end is near [See Matthew 24].

For then neither brother pities brother, nor man wife, nor children parents, nor friends friends, nor a slave his master; for he who is the adversary of men shall come up from Tartarus, and shall show men many things. What shall I make of thee, Esdras? and wilt thou yet plead with me? And the prophet said: Lord, I shall not cease to plead with Thee. And God said: Number the flowers of the earth. If thou shalt be able to number them, thou art able also to plead with me. And the prophet said: Lord, I cannot number them. I wear human flesh; but I shall not cease to plead with Thee. I wish, Lord, to see also the under parts of Tartarus. And God said: Come down and see And He gave me Michael, and Gabriel, and other thirty-four angels; and I went down eighty-five steps, and they brought me down five hundred steps, and I saw a fiery throne, and an old man sitting upon it; and his judgment was merciless. And I said to the angels: Who is this? and what is his sin? And they said to me: This is Herod, who for a time was a king, and ordered to put to death the children from two years old and under.2508 And I said: Woe to his soul! And again they took me down thirty steps, and I there saw boilings up of fire, and in them there was a multitude of sinners; and I heard their voice, but saw not their forms. And they took me down lower many steps, which I could not measure. And I there saw old men, and fiery pivots turning in their ears. And I said: Who are these? and what is their sin? And they said to me: These are they who would not listen [Or, who heard wrong.]. And they took me down again other five hundred steps, and I there saw the worm that sleeps not, and fire burning up the sinners. And they took me down to the lowest part of destruction, and I saw there the twelve plagues of the abyss. And they took me away to the south, and I saw there a man hanging by the eyelids; and the angels kept scourging him. And I asked: Who is this? and what is his sin? And Michael the commander said to me: This is one who lay with his mother; for having put into practice a small wish, he has been ordered to be hanged. And they took me away to the north, and I saw there a man bound with iron chains. And I asked: Who is this? And he said to me: This is he who said, I am the Son of God, that made stones bread, and water wine. And the prophet said: My lord, let me know what is his form, and I shall tell the race of men, that they may not believe in him. And he said to me: The form of his countenance is like that of a wild beast; his right eye like the star that rises in the morning, and the other without motion; his mouth one cubit; his teeth span long; his fingers like scythes; the track of his feet of two spans; and in his face an inscription, Antichrist. He has been exalted to heaven; he shall go down to Hades.2510 At one time he shall become a child; at another, an old man. And the prophet said: Lord, and how dost Thou permit him, and he deceives the race of men? And God said: Listen, my prophet. He becomes both child and old man, and no one believes him that he is my beloved Son. And after this a trumpet, and the tombs shall be opened, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible [See 1 Corinthians 15.52.]. Then the adversary, hearing the dreadful threatening, shall be hidden in outer darkness. Then the heaven, and the earth, and the sea shall be destroyed. Then shall I burn the heaven eighty cubits, and the earth eight hundred cubits. And the prophet said: And how has the heaven sinned? And God said: Since . . . . . [There is some text missing here.] . . . . . there is evil. And the prophet said: Lord, and the earth, how has it sinned? And God said: Since the adversary, having heard the dreadful threatening, shall be hidden, even on account of this will I melt the earth, and with it the opponent of the race of men. And the prophet said: Have mercy, Lord, upon the race of the Christians. And I saw a woman hanging, and four wild beasts sucking her breasts. And the angels said to me: She grudged to give her milk, but even threw her infants into the rivers. And I saw a dreadful darkness, and a night that had no stars nor moon; nor is there there young or old, nor brother with brother, nor mother with child, nor wife with husband. And I wept, and said: O Lord God, have mercy upon the sinners. And as I said this, there came a cloud and snatched me up, and carried me away again into the heavens. And I saw there many judgements; and I wept bitterly, and said: It is good for a man not to have come out of his mother's womb. And those who were in torment cried out, saying: Since thou hast come hither, O holy one of God, we have found a little remission. And the prophet said: Blessed are they that weep for their sins. And God said: Hear, O beloved Esdras. As a husbandman casts the seed of the corn into the ground, so also the man casts his seed into the parts of the woman. The first month it is all together; the second it increases in size; the third it gets hair; the fourth it gets nails; the fifth it is turned into milk; and the sixth it is made ready, and receives life [Or, the soul.]; the seventh it is completely furnished; the ninth the barriers of the gate of the woman are opened; and it is born safe and sound into the earth. And the prophet said: Lord, it is good for man not to have been born. Woe to the human race then, when Thou shalt come to judgement! And I said to the Lord: Lord, why hast Thou created man, and delivered him up to judgment? And God said, with a lofty proclamation: I will not by any means have mercy on those who transgress my covenant. And the prophet said: Lord, where is Thy goodness? And God said: I have prepared all things for man's sake, and man does not keep my commandments. And the prophet said: Lord, reveal to me the judgments and paradise. And the angels took me away towards the east, and I saw the tree of life. And I saw there Enoch, and Elias, and Moses, and Peter, and Paul, and Luke, and Matthias, and all the righteous, and the patriarchs. And I saw there the keeping of the air within bounds, and the blowing of the winds, and the storehouses of the ice, and the eternal judgements. And I saw there a man hanging by the skull. And they said to me: This man removed landmarks. And I saw there great judgements [Or, tribunals.]. And I said to the Lord: O Lord God, and what man, then, who has been born has not sinned? And they took me lower down into Tartarus, and I saw all the sinners lamenting and weeping and mourning bitterly. And I also wept, seeing the race of men thus tormented. Then God says to me: Knowest thou, Esdras, the names of the angels at the end of the world? Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, Raphael, Gabuthelon, Aker, Arphugitonos, Beburos, Zebuleon.

Then there came a voice to me: Come hither and die, Esdras, my beloved; give that which hath been entrusted to thee [Or, thy trust, or pledge.]. And the prophet said: And whence can you bring forth my soul? And the angels said: We can put it forth through the mouth. And the prophet said: Mouth to mouth have I spoken with God, and it comes not forth thence. And the angels said: Let us bring it out through thy nostrils. And the prophet said: My nostrils have smelled the sweet savour of the glory of God. And the angels said: We can bring it out through thine eyes. And the prophet said: Mine eyes have seen the back parts of God. And the angels said: We can bring it out through the crown of thy head.

And the prophet said: I walked about with Moses also on the mountain, and it comes not forth thence. And the angels said: We can put it forth through the points of thy nails. And the prophet said: My feet also have walked about on the altar. And the angels went away without having done anything, saying: Lord, we cannot get his soul. Then He says to His only begotten Son: Go down, my beloved Son, with a great host of angels, and take the soul of my beloved Esdras. For the Lord, having taken a great host of angels, says to the prophet: Give me the trust which I entrusted to thee; the crown has been prepared for thee. And the prophet said: Lord, if Thou take my soul from me, who will be left to plead with Thee for the race of men? And God said: As thou art mortal, and of the earth, do not plead with me. And the prophet said: I will not cease to plead. And God said: Give up just now the trust; the crown has been prepared for thee. Come and die, that thou mayst obtain it. Then the prophet began to say with tears: O Lord, what good have I done pleading with Thee, and I am going to fall down into the earth? Woe's me, woe's me, that I am going to be eaten up by worms! Weep, all ye saints and ye righteous, for me, who have pleaded much, and who am delivered up to death. Weep for me, all ye saints and ye righteous, because I have gone to the pit of Hades. And God said to him: Hear, Esdras, my beloved. I, who am immortal, endured a cross; I tasted vinegar and gall; I was laid in a tomb, and I raised up my chosen ones; I called Adam up out of Hades, that I might save the race of men. Do not therefore be afraid of death: for that which is from me—that is to say, the soul—goes to heaven; and that which is from the earth—that is to say, the body—goes to the earth, from which it was taken. And the prophet said: Woe's me! woe's me! what shall I set about? what shall I do? I know not. And then the blessed Esdras began to say: O eternal God, the Maker of the whole creation, who hast measured the heaven with a span, and who holdest the earth as a handful [Or, in a measure.], who ridest upon the cherubim, who didst take the prophet Elias to the heavens in a chariot of fire, who givest food to all flesh, whom all things dread and tremble at from the face of Thy power,—listen to me, who have pleaded much, and give to all who transcribe this book, and have it, and remember my name, and honour my memory, give them a blessing from heaven; and bless him [Or them.] in all things, as Thou didst bless Joseph at last, and remember not his former wickedness in the day of his judgement. And as many as have not believed this book shall be burnt up like Sodom and Gomorrah. And there came to him a voice, saying: Esdras, my beloved, all things whatever thou hast asked will I give to each one. And immediately he gave up his precious soul with much honour, in the month of October, on the twenty-eighth. And they prepared him for burial with incense and psalms; and his precious and sacred body dispenses strength of soul and body perpetually to those who have recourse to him from a longing desire. To whom is due glory, strength, honour, and adoration,—to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

THE APOCALYPSE OF ZEPHANIAH

The Apocalypse of Sophonias
Translation: James H. Charlesworth
Estimated Range of Dating: 100 B.C. - 60 A.D.

(The Apocalypse of Zephaniah (or Apocalypse of Sophonias) is a 1st-century pseudepigraphic Jewish text attributed to the Biblical Zephaniah and so associated with the Old Testament, but not regarded as scripture by Jews or any Christian group. It was rediscovered and published at the end of the 19th century. The canonical Book of Zephaniah has much mystical and apocalyptic imagery, and this apocalyptic-style text deals with a similar subject.

The Apocalypse of Zephaniah was written after 100 BC because it refers to the story of Susanna. As the text contains no unequivocally Christian passages, and the few that recall the New Testament can be explained as arising also in a Jewish context, we can suggest a date before 70 AD. It may therefore be Jewish in origin, but may perhaps have been reworked by a Christian later. Egypt is the probable place of origin. Judgement is based only on the balance between good deeds and sins during the whole of life, indicating that the book was influenced by Pharisaism. A pharisee was a Jew committed to Greek-Roman civilisation and most likely a holder of Roman citizenship [In the Roman Empire, Roman citizenship did not come automaticaly to those born in Roman-held territory, it had to be achieved or bought by a huge sum of money or special services. This was a very clever political concept which made sure that everybody contributed much to the Roman state in order to gain all the privileges that came along with Roman citizenship.].

Content

The narrative tells of Zephaniah being taken to see the destiny of souls after death.

• In the short Sahidic fragment, a soul taken out of its body before repentance for its lawlessness is lashed by five thousand angels. Later Zephaniah sees thousands of thousands of beings with human features (with hair and teeth), but the text is interrupted.

• The Akhmimic text includes some fragmentary scenes:

A. It starts with a short fragmentary scene of a burial and with a vision of inhabitants of a town where there is no darkness, because it is the place for the righteous and the saints. Zephaniah then sees all the souls of those being punished and asks the Lord to have compassion.

B. The main vision is placed upon Mount Seir: in front of bronze gates, the angels of the Lord write down all the good deeds of the righteous, and the angels of the Accuser (or slanderer) write down all the sins of men, in order to accuse them when their souls leave the world. Zephaniah sees myriads of terrible angels with leopard-like faces, tusks and fiery scourges, who cast the souls of ungodly men into their eternal punishment. The seer looks back and sees a sea of flame and the Accuser, with unkempt lioness's hair, bear's teeth, and serpent body, wishing to swallow him. Zephaniah prays the Lord and the great angel Eremiel, "who is over the abyss", appears and saves him. Two scrolls are read to Zephaniah, one with all his sins and one with his good deeds on earth. The good deeds prevail over the sins and the seer is allowed to cross the river and leave Hades. On the boat he puts on an angelic garment.

C. The Akhmimic fragments ends with some scenes introduced by trumpets sounded by angels. Only three of these scenes have survived. At the first trumpet, victory over the Accuser is proclaimed, and Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Enoch, Elijah and David are introduced. At the second trumpet, the heavens are opened and Zephaniah sees the sinful souls (which are given body and hair) tormented in a sea of flame until the day when the Lord will judge. He sees also a multitude of saints praying in intercession for those in these torments. The last trumpet mentioned in the fragments prepares for the announcement that the Lord will rise up in his wrath to destroy the earth and the heavens.)

from "Clement, Stromata 5.11.77":

1 And a spirit took me and brought me up into the fifth heaven. And I saw angels who are called "Lords." And the diadem was set upon them in the Holy Spirit, and the throne of each of them was sevenfold more (brilliant) than the light of the rising sun. (And they were dwelling in the temples of salvation and singing hymns to the ineffable God.)

from the "Sahidic fragment":

1 I saw a soul which five thousand angels punished and guarded.

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2 They took it to the East and they brought it to the West. They beat its … they gave it a hundred … lashes for each one daily.

3 I was afraid and I cast myself upon my face so that my joints dissolved.

4 The angel helped me. He said unto me, "Be strong, O one who will triumph, and prevail so that thou wilt triumph over the accuser and thou wilt come up from Hades."

5 And after I arose I said, "Who is this whom they are punishing?"

6 He said unto me, "This is a soul which was found in its lawlessness." And before it attained to repenting it was visited, and taken out of its body.

7 Truly, I, Zephaniah, saw these things in my vision.

8 And the angel of the Lord went with me. I saw a great broad place, thousands of thousands surrounded it on its left side and myriads of myriads on its right side. The form of each one was different.

9 Their hair was loose like that belonging to women. Their teeth were like the teeth of …

from the "Akhmimic Text":

APOCALYPSE OF ZEPHANIAH CHAPTER 1

1 … dead. We will bury him like any man.

2 Whenever he dies, we will carry him out playing the cithera before him and chanting psalms and odes over his body.

APOCALYPSE OF ZEPHANIAH CHAPTER 2

1 Now I went with the angel of the Lord, and he took me up (over) all my city. There was nothing before my eyes.

2 Then I saw two men walking together on one road. I watched them as they talked.

3 And, moreover, I also saw two women grinding together at a mill. And I watched them as they talked.

4 And I also saw two upon a bed, each one of them acting for their (mutual) … upon a bed.

5 And I saw the whole inhabited world hanging like a drop of water which is suspended from a bucket when it comes up from a well.

6 I said unto the angel of the Lord. "Then does not darkness or night exist in this place?"

7 He said unto me, "No, because darkness existeth not in that place where the righteous and the saints are, but rather they always exist in the light."

8 And I saw all the souls of men as they existed in punishment.

9 And I cried out to the Lord Almighty, "O God, if Thou remainest with the saints, Thou (certainly) hast compassion on behalf of the world and the souls which are in this punishment."

APOCALYPSE OF ZEPHANIAH CHAPTER 3

1 The angel of the Lord said unto me, "Come, let me show thee the place of righteousness."

2 And he took me up upon Mount Seir and he showed me three men, as two angels walked with them rejoicing and exulting over them.

3 I said to the angel, "Of what sort are these?"

4 He said to me, "These are the three sons of Joatham, the priest, who neither kept the commandment of their father nor observed the ordinances of the Lord."

5 Then I saw two other angels weeping over the three sons of Joatham, the priest.

6 I said, "O angel, who are these?" He said, "These are the angels of the Lord Almighty. They write down all the good deeds of the righteous upon their scrolls as they watch at the gate of heaven."

7 And I take them from their hands and bring them up before the Lord Almighty; He writeth their name in the Book of the Living.

8 Also the angels of the accuser who is upon the earth, they also write down all the sins of men upon their scrolls.

9 They also sit at the gate of heaven. They tell the accuser and he writeth them upon his scroll so that he might accuse them when they come out of the world (and go) down there."

APOCALYPSE OF ZEPHANIAH CHAPTER 4

1 Then I walked with the angel of the Lord. I looked before me and I saw a place there.

2 Thousands of thousands and myriads of myriads of angels entered through it.

3 Their faces were like a leopard, their tusks being outside their mouth like wild boars.

4 Their eyes were mixed with blood. Their hair was loose like the hair of women, and fiery scourges were in their hands.

5 When I saw them, I was afraid. I said unto that angel who walked with me, "Of what sort are these?"

6 He said unto me, "These are the servants of all creation who come to the souls of ungodly men and bring them and leave them in this place.

7 They spend three days going around with them in the air before they bring them and cast them into their eternal punishment."

8 I said, "I beseech thee, O Lord, give them not authority to come to me."

9 The angel said, "Fear not. I will not permit them to come to thee because thou art pure before the Lord. I will not permit them to come to thee because the Lord Almighty sent me unto thee because thou art pure before him."

10 Then he beckoned to them, and they withdrew themselves and they ran from me.

APOCALYPSE OF ZEPHANIAH CHAPTER 5

1 But I went with the angel of the Lord, and I looked in front of me and I saw gates.

2 Then when I approached them I discovered that they were bronze gates.

3 The angel touched them and they opened before him. I entered with him and found its whole square like a beautiful city, and I walked in its midst.

4 Then the angel of the Lord transformed himself beside me in that place.

5 Now I looked at them, and I discovered that they were bronze gates and bronze bolts and iron bars.

6 Now my mouth was shut therein. I beheld the bronze gates in front of me as fire was being cast forth for about fifty stadia.

APOCALYPSE OF ZEPHANIAH CHAPTER 6

1 Again I turned back and walked, and I saw a great sea.

2 But I thought that it was a sea of water. I discovered that it was entirely a sea of flame like a slime which casteth forth much flame and whose waves burn sulfur and bitumen.

3 They began to approach me.

4 Then I thought that the Lord Almighty had come to visit me.

5 Then when I saw, I fell upon my face before him in order that I might worship him.

6 I was very much afraid, and I entreated him that he might save me from this distress.

7 I cried out, saying, "Eloe, Lord, Adonai, Sabaoth. I beseech Thee to save me from this distress because it hath befallen me."

8 In that same instant I stood up, and I saw a great angel before me. His hair was spread out like that of lionesses'. His teeth were outside his mouth like a bear. His hair was spread out like women's. His body was like the serpent's when he wished to swallow me.

9 And when I saw him, I was afraid of him so that all the parts of my body were loosened and I fell upon my face.

10 I was unable to stand, and I prayed before the Lord Almighty, "Thou wilt save me from this distress. Thou art the one who saved Israel from the hand of Pharaoh, the king of Egypt. Thou saved Susanna from the hand of the elders of injustice. Thou saved the three holy men, Shadrach, Meshach, Abednego, from the furnace of burning fire. I beg you to save me from this distress."

11 Then I arose and stood, and I saw a great angel standing before me with his face shining like the rays of the sun in its glory since his face is like that which is perfected in its glory.

12 And he was girded as if a golden girdle were upon his breast. His feet were like bronze which is melted in a fire.

13 And when I saw him, I rejoiced, for I thought that the Lord Almighty had come to visit me.

14 I fell upon my face, and I worshiped him.

15 He said to me, "Take heed. Worship me not. I am not the Lord Almighty, but am the great angel, Eremiel, who is over the abyss and Hades, the one in which all of the souls are imprisoned from the end of the Flood, which came upon the earth, until this day."

16 Then I inquired of the angel, "What is the place to which I have come?" He said to me, "It is Hades."

17 Then I asked him, "Who is the great angel who stands thus, whom I saw?" He said, "This is the one who accuses men in the presence of the Lord."

APOCALYPSE OF ZEPHANIAH CHAPTER 7

1 Then I looked, and I saw him with a scroll in his hand. He began to unroll it.

2 Now after he had spread it out, I read it in my (own) language. I found that all my sins which I had done were written in it, those which I had done from my youth until this day.

3 They were all written upon that scroll of mine without there being a false word in them.

4 If I did not go to visit a sick man or a widow, I found it written down as a shortcoming upon my manuscript.

5 If I did not visit an orphan, it was found written down as a shortcoming on my scroll.

6 A day on which I did not fast (or) pray in the time of prayer I found written down as a failing upon my scroll.

7 And a day when I did not turn to the sons of Israel — since it is a shortcoming — I found written down upon my scroll

8 so that I threw myself upon my face and prayed before the Lord Almighty, "May thy mercy reach me and may thou wipe out my scroll because Thy mercy hath come to be in every place and hath filled every place."

9 Then I arose and stood, and I saw a great angel before me saying to me, "Triumph, prevail because thou hast prevailed and hast triumphed over the accuser, and thou hast come up from Hades and the abyss. Thou wilt now cross over the crossing place."

10 Again he brought another scroll which was written by hand.

11 He began to unroll it, and I read it, and found it written in my (own) language . . .

. . . two pages missing . . .

APOCALYPSE OF ZEPHANIAH CHAPTER 8

… 1 They helped me and set me on that boat.

2 Thousands of thousands and myriads of myriads of angels gave praise before me.

3 I, myself, put on an angelic garment. I saw all of those angels praying.

4 I, myself, prayed together with them.

5 I knew their language, which they spoke with me.

6 Now, moreover, my sons, this is the trial because it is necessary that the good and the evil be weighed in a balance.

APOCALYPSE OF ZEPHANIAH CHAPTER 9

1 Then a great angel came forth having a golden trumpet in his hand, and he blew it three times over my head, saying, "Be courageous! O one who hath triumphed. Prevail! O one who hath prevailed. For thou hast triumphed over the accuser, and thou hast escaped from the abyss and Hades.

2 Thou wilt now cross over the crossing place. For thy name is written in the Book of the Living."

3 I wanted to embrace him, (but) I was unable to embrace the great angel because his glory is great.

4 Then he ran to all the righteous ones, namely, Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and Enoch and Elijah and David.

5 He spoke with them as friend to friend speaking one with another.

APOCALYPSE OF ZEPHANIAH CHAPTER 10

1 Then the great angel came to me with the golden trumpet in his hand, and he blew it up unto heaven.

2 Heaven opened from the place where the sun rises to where it sets, from the north to the south.

3 I saw the sea which I had seen at the bottom of Hades. Its waves came up to the clouds.

4 I saw all the souls sinking in it. I saw some whose hands were bound to their neck, with their hands and feet being fettered.

5 I said, "Who are these?" He said unto me, "These are the ones who were bribed and they were given gold and silver until the souls of men were led astray."

6 And I saw others covered with mats of fire.

7 I said, "Who are these?" He said unto me, "These are the ones who give money at interest, and they receive interest for interest."

8 And I also saw some blind ones crying out. And I was amazed when I saw all these works of God.

9 I said, "Who are these?" He said unto me, "These are catechumens who heard the word of God, but they were not perfected in the work which they heard."

10 And I said unto him, "Then have they not repentance here?" He said, "Yes,"

11 I said, "How long?" He said unto me, "Until the day when the Lord will judge."

12 And I saw others with their hair on them.

13 I said, "Then there is hair and body in this place?"

14 He said, "Yes, the Lord gives body and hair to them as he desires."

APOCALYPSE OF ZEPHANIAH CHAPTER 11

1 And I also saw multitudes. He brought them forth.

2 As they looked at all of the torments they called out, praying before the Lord Almighty, saying, "We pray unto Thee on account of those who are in all these torments so that Thou might have mercy on all of them."

3 And when I saw them, I said to the angel who spoke with me, "Who are these?"

4 He said, "These who beseech the Lord are Abraham and Isaac and Jacob.

5 Then at a certain hour daily they come forth with the great angel. He soundeth a trumpet up unto heaven and another soundeth upon the earth.

6 All the righteous hear the sound. They come running, praying to the Lord Almighty daily on behalf of these who are in all these torments."

APOCALYPSE OF ZEPHANIAH CHAPTER 12

1 And again the great angel cometh forth with the golden trumpet in his hand blowing over the earth.

2 They hear (it) from the place of the sunrise to the place of the sunset and from the southern regions to the northern regions.

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3 And again he blows (it) up unto heaven and its sound is heard.

4 I said, “O Lord, why left thou me not until I saw them all?”

5 He said unto me, “I have not authority to show them unto thee until the Lord Almighty riseth up in his wrath to destroy the earth and the heavens.

6 They will see and be disturbed, and they will all cry out, saying, ‘All flesh which is ascribed to Thee we will give unto Thee on the day of the Lord.’

7 Who will stand in His presence when He riseth in His wrath <to destroy> the earth <and the heavens?>

8 Every tree which groweth upon the earth will be plucked up with its roots and fall down. And every high tower and the birds which fly will fall … ”

(The end of the text is missing.)

PSEUDEPIGRAPHA
(SACRED LEGENDS AND HISTORY)

THE LIFE OF ADAM AND EVE [Greek Version]
Also known as Greek Live of Adam and Eve
or The Apocalypse Of Moses, or Apocalypsis Mosis
Translation: R. H. Charles, 1913
Estimated Range of Dating: First Century A.D.

(The Greek Life of Adam and Eve is usually called "The Apocalypse of Moses" [literally, the "Revelation of Moses"]. This title was given to it by Constantin von Tischendorf, its first editor, and taken up by others. In the text, Moses is referred to only in the first sentence as the prophet to whom the story was revealed. The Greek Apocalypse of Moses (not to be confused with the Assumption of Moses) predates the Latin Life of Adam and Eve. Tischendorf used four manuscripts for his edition: manuscripts A, B, C, and D. During the 20th century many other manuscripts have been found, of which E1 and E2, which are similar to the Armenian version. And indeed, there are numerous versions in Ethiopic, Slavonic, Armenian, and Georgian, which are all Christian editions of the Jewish originals. The rand Bible has placed those books among the Christian literature.

The ancient versions of the Life of Adam and Eve are: the Greek Apocalypse of Moses, the Latin Life of Adam and Eve, the Slavonic Life of Adam and Eve, the Armenian Penitence of Adam, the Georgian Book of Adam, and one or two fragmentary Coptic versions. These texts are usually named as Primary Adam Literature to distinguish them from subsequent related texts, such as the Cave of Treasures that includes what appears to be extracts. They differ greatly in length and wording, but for the most part appear to be derived from a single source that has not survived.

Each version contains some unique material, as well as variations and omissions. While the surviving versions were composed from the early 3rd to the 5th century AD, the literary units in the work are considered to be older and predominantly of Jewish origin. There is the general assumption that the original was composed in a Semitic language in the 1st century AD. The First, Second, Third, and Fourth Book of Adam and Eve tranlated by S. C. Malan, also known as the "Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan", is a much later Christian version but not without interest.)

Text:

1 This is the story of Adam and Eve after they had gone out of Paradise. And Adam knew his wife Eve and went upwards to the sun-rising and abode there eighteen years and two months. And Eve conceived and bare two sons; Adiaphotos, who is called Cain and Amilabes who is called Abel.

2 And after this, Adam and Eve were with one another and while they were sleeping, Eve said to Adam her lord: 'My lord, Adam, behold, I have seen in a dream this night the blood of my son Amilabes who is styled Abel being poured into the mouth of Cain his brother and he went on drinking it without pity. But he begged him to leave him a little of it. Yet he hearkened not to him, but gulped down the whole; nor did it stay in his stomach, but came out of his mouth. And Adam said, 'Let us arise and go and see what has happened to them. (I fear) lest the adversary may be assailing them somewhere.'

3 And they both went and found Abel murdered. I by the hand of Cain his brother. And God saith to Michael the archangel: 'Say to Adam: " Reveal not the secret that thou knowest to Cain thy son, for he is a son of wrath. But grieve not, for I will give thee another son in his stead; he shall show (to thee) all that thou shalt do. Do thou tell him nothing."' Thus spake the archangel to Adam. But he kept the word in his heart, and with him also Eve, though they grieved concerning Abel their son.

4 And after this, Adam knew Eve his wife, and she conceived and bare Seth. And Adam said to Eve: 'See! we have begotten a son in place of Abel, whom Cain slew, let us give glory and sacrifice to God.'

5 And Adam begat thirty sons and thirty daughters and Adam lived nine hundred and thirty years; and he fell sick and cried with a loud voice and said, 'Let all my sons come to me that I may see them before I die.' And all assembled, for the earth was divided into three parts. And Seth his son said to him: 'Father Adam, what is thy complaint'

5 And he saith, 'MY children, I am crushed by the burden of trouble.' And they say to him, 'What is trouble'

6 And Seth answered and said to him: 'Hast thou called to mind, father, the fruit of paradise of which thou usedst to eat, and hast been grieved in yearning for it' 'If this be so, tell me, (and) I will go and bring thee fruit from paradise. For I will set dung upon my head and will weep and pray that the Lord will hearken to me and send his angel (and bring me a plant from paradise), and I will bring it thee that thy trouble may cease from thee.' Adam saith to him: 'Nay, my son Seth, but I have (much) sickness and trouble!' Seth saith to him: 'And how hath this come upon thee'

7 And Adam said to him: 'When God made us, me and your mother, through whom also I die, He gave us power to eat of every tree which is in paradise, but, concerning that one only, He charged us not to eat of it, and through this one we are to die. And the hour drew nigh for the angels who were guarding your mother to go up and worship the Lord, and I was far from her, and the enemy knew that she was alone and gave to her, and she ate of the tree of which she had been told not to eat. Then she gave also to me to eat.

8 'And God was wroth with us, and the Lord came into paradise and called me in a terrible voice and said: "Adam, where art thou And why hidest thou from my face Shall the house be able to hide itself from its builder" And he saith to me: "Since thou hast abandoned my covenant, I have brought upon thy body seventy-two strokes; the trouble of the first stroke is a pain of the eyes, the second stroke an affection of the hearing, and likewise in turn all the strokes shall befall thee."'

9 As he said this to his sons, Adam groaned sore and said: 'What shall I do I am in great distress.' And Eve wept and said: 'My lord Adam, rise up and give me half of thy trouble and I will endure it; for it is on my account that this hath happened to thee, on my account thou art beset with toils and troubles.' But Adam said to Eve, 'Arise and go with my son Seth near to paradise, and put earth upon your heads and weep and pray God to have mercy upon me and send his angel to paradise, and give me of the tree out of which the oil floweth, and bring it me, and I shall anoint myself and shall have rest from my complaint.'

10 Then Seth and Eve went towards paradise, and Eve saw her son, and a wild beast assailing him, and Eve wept and said: 'Woe is me; if I come to the day of the Resurrection, all those who have sinned will curse me saying: Eve hath not kept the commandment of God.' And she spake to the beast: 'Thou wicked beast, fearest thou not to fight with the image of God How was thy mouth opened How were thy teeth made strong How didst thou not call to mind thy subjection For long ago wast thou made subject to the image of God.' Then the beast cried out and said:

11 'It is not our concern, Eve, thy greed and thy wailing, but thine own; for (it is) from thee that the rule of the beasts hath arisen. How was thy mouth opened to eat of the tree concerning which God enjoined thee not to eat of it On this account, our nature also hath been transformed. Now therefore thou canst not endure it, if I begin to reprove thee.'

12 Then Seth speaketh to the beast, 'Close thy mouth and be silent and stand off from the image of God until the day of Judgement.' Then saith the beast to Seth: 'Behold, I stand off from the image of God.' And he went to his lair.

13 And Seth went with Eve near paradise, and I they wept there, and prayed God to send his angel and give them the oil of mercy. And God sent the archangel Michael and he spake to Seth: 'Seth, man of God, weary not thyself with prayers and entreaties concerning the tree which floweth with oil to anoint thy father Adam. For it shall not be thine now, but in the end of the times. Then shall all flesh be raised up from Adam till that great day,-all that shall be of the holy people. Then shall the delights of paradise be given to them and God shall be in their midst. And they shall no longer sin before his face, for the evil heart shall be taken from them and there shall be given them a heart understanding the good and to serve God only. But do thou go back to thy father. For the term of his life hath been fulfilled and he will live three days from to-day and will die. But when his soul is departing, thou shalt behold the awful (scene of) his passing.'

14 Thus spake the angel and departed from them. And Seth and Eve came to the hut where Adam was laid. And Adam saith to Eve: 'Eve, what hast thou wrought in us Thou hast brought upon us great wrath which is death, [lording it over all our race].' And he saith to her, 'Call all our children and our children's children and tell them the manner of our transgression.'

15 Then saith Eve to them: 'Hear all my children and children's children and I will relate to you how the enemy deceived us. It befell that we were guarding paradise, each of us the portion allotted to us from God. Now I guarded in my lot, the west and the south. But the devil went to Adam's lot, where the male creatures were. [For God divided the creatures; all the males he gave to your father and all the females he gave to me.]

16 And the devil spake to the serpent saying, Rise up, come to me and I will tell thee a word whereby thou mayst have profit." And he arose and came to him. And the devil saith to him: "I hear that thou art wiser than all the beasts, and I have come to counsel thee. Why dost thou eat of Adam's tares and not of paradise Rise up and we will cause him to be cast out of paradise, even as we were cast out through him." The serpent saith to him, "I fear lest the Lord be wroth with me." The devil saith to him: "Fear not, only be my vessel and I will speak through thy mouth words to deceive him."

17 And instantly he hung himself from the wall of paradise, and when the angels ascended to worship God, then Satan appeared in the form of an angel and sang hymns like the angels. And I bent over the wall and saw him, like an angel.

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But he saith to me: "Art thou Eve" And I said to him, "I am." 'What art thou doing in paradise" And I said to him, "God set us to guard and to eat of it." The devil answered through the mouth of the serpent: 'Ye do well but ye do not eat of every plant." And I said: "Yea, we eat of all. save one only, which is in the midst of paradise, concerning which, God charged us not to eat of it: for, He said to us, on the day on which ye eat of it, ye shall die the death."

18 Then the serpent saith to me, "May God live! but I am grieved on your account, for I would not have you ignorant. But arise, (come) hither, hearken to me and eat and mind the value of that tree.",3 But I said to him, " I fear lest God be wroth with me as he told us." And he saith to me: "Fear not, for as soon as thou eatest of it, ye too shall be as God, in that ye shall know good and evil. But God perceived this that ye would be like Him, so he envied you and said, Ye shall not eat of,6 it. Nay, do thou give heed to the plant and thou wilt see its great glory." Yet I feared to take of the fruit. And he saith to me: "Come hither, and I will give it thee. Follow me."

19 And I opened to him and he walked a little way, then turned and said to me: "I have changed my mind and I will not give thee to eat until thou swear to me to give also to thy husband." (And) I said. "What sort of oath shall I swear to thee Yet what I know, I say to thee: By the throne of the Master, and by the Cherubim and the Tree of Life! I will give also to my husband to eat." And when he had received the oath from me, he went and poured upon the fruit the poison of his wickedness, which is lust, the root and beginning of every sin, and he bent the branch on the earth and I took of the fruit and I ate.

20 And in that very hour my eyes were opened, and forthwith I knew that I was bare of the righteousness with which I had been clothed (upon), and I wept and said to him: "Why hast thou done this to me in that thou hast deprived me of the glory with which I was clothed" But I wept also about the oath, which I had sworn. But he descended from the tree and vanished. And I began to seek, in my nakedness, in my part for leaves to hide my shame, but I found none, for, as soon as I had eaten, the leaves showered down from all the trees in my part, except the fig tree only. But I took leaves from it and made for myself a girdle and it was from the very same plant of which I had eaten.

21 And I cried out in that very hour, 'Adam, Adam, where art thou Rise up, come to me and I will show thee a great secret." But when your father came, I spake to him words of transgression [which have brought us down from our great glory]. For, when he came, I opened my mouth and the devil was speaking, and I began to exhort him and said, "Come hither, my lord Adam, hearken to me and eat of the fruit of the tree of which God told us not to eat of it, and thou shalt be as a God." And your father answered and said, "I fear lest God be wroth with me." And I said to him, "Fear not, for as soon as thou hast eaten thou shalt know good and evil." And speedily I persuaded him, and he ate and straightway his eyes were opened and he too knew his nakedness. And to me he saith, "O wicked woman! what have I done to thee that thou hast deprived me of the glory of God"

22 And in that same hour, we heard the archangel Michael blowing with his trumpet and calling to the angels and saying: "Thus saith the Lord, Come with me to Paradise and hear the judgement with which I shall judge Adam." And when God appeared in paradise, mounted on the chariot of his cherubim with the angels proceeding before him and singing hymns of praises, all the plants of paradise, both of your father's lot and mine, broke out into flowers. And the throne of God was fixed where the Tree of Life was.

23 And God called Adam saying, "Adam, where art thou Can the house be hidden from the presence of its builder "Then your father answered; "It is not because we think not to be found by thee, Lord, that we hide, but I was afraid, because I am naked, and I was ashamed before thy might, (my) Master." God saith to him, "Who showed thee that thou art naked, unless thou hast forsaken my commandment, which I delivered thee to keep (it)." Then Adam called to mind the word which I spake to him, (saying) "I will make thee secure before God"; and he turned and said to me: "Why hast thou done this" And I said, "The serpent deceived me."

24 God saith to Adam: 'Since thou hast disregarded my commandment and hast hearkened to thy wife, cursed is the earth in thy labours. Thou shalt work it and it shall not give its strength: thorns and thistles shall spring up for thee, and in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread. [Thou shalt be in manifold toils; thou shalt be crushed by bitterness, but of sweetness shalt thou not taste.] Weary shalt thou be and shalt not rest; by heat shalt thou be tired, by cold shalt thou be straitened: abundantly shalt thou busy thyself, but thou shalt not be rich; and thou shalt grow fat, but come to no end. The beasts, over whom thou didst rule, shall rise up in rebellion against thee, for thou hast not kept my commandment."

25 And the Lord turned to me and said: "Since thou hast hearkened to the serpent, and turned a deaf ear to my commandment, thou shalt be in throes of travail and intolerable agonies; thou shalt bear children in much trembling and in one hour thou shalt come to the birth, and lose thy life, from thy sore trouble and anguish. But thou shalt confess and say: 'Lord, Lord, save me, and I will turn no more to the sin of the flesh.' And on this account, from thine own words I will judge thee, by reason of the enmity which the enemy has planted in thee."

26 But he turned to the serpent [in great wrath] and said: "Since thou hast done this, and become a thankless vessel until thou hast deceived the innocent hearts, accursed art thou among all beasts. Thou shalt be deprived of the victual of which thou didst eat and shalt feed on dust all the days of thy life: on thy breast and thy belly shalt thou walk and be robbed of hands and feet. There shall not be left thee ear nor wing, nor one limb of all that with which thou didst ensnare them in thy malice and causedst them to be cast out of paradise; and I will put enmity between thee and his seed: he shall bruise thy head and thou shalt bruise his heel until the day of Judgement."

27 Thus he spake and bade the angels have us cast out of paradise: and as we were being driven out amid our loud lamentations, your father Adam besought the angels and said: "Leave me a little (space) that I may entreat the Lord that he have compassion on me and pity me, for I only have sinned." And they left off driving him and Adam cried aloud and wept saying: "Pardon me O Lord, my deed." Then the Lord saith to the angels, "Why have ye ceased from driving Adam from paradise Why do ye not cast him out Is it I who have done wrong Or is my judgement badly judged" Then the angels fell down on the ground and worshipped the Lord saying, "Thou art just, O Lord, and thou judgest righteous judgement."

28 But the Lord turned to Adam and said: 'I will not suffer thee henceforward to be in paradise." And Adam answered and said, " Grant me, O Lord, of the Tree of Life that I may eat of it, before I be cast out." Then the Lord spake to Adam, "Thou shalt not take of it now, for I have commanded the cherubim with the flaming sword that turneth (every way) to guard it from thee that thou taste not of it; but thou hast the war which the adversary hath put into thee, yet when thou art gone out of paradise, if thou shouldst keep thyself from all evil, as one about to die, when again the Resurrection hath come to pass, I will raise thee up and then there shall be given to thee the Tree of Life."

29 Thus spake the Lord and ordered us to be cast out of paradise. But your father Adam wept before the angels opposite paradise and the angels say to him: "What wouldst thou have us to do, Adam "And your father saith to them, "Behold, ye cast me out. I pray you, allow me to take away fragrant herbs from paradise, so that I may offer an offering to God after I have gone out of paradise that he hear me." And the angels approached God and said: "JA'EL, Eternal King, command, my Lord, that there be given to Adam incense of sweet odour from paradise and seeds for his food." And God bade Adam go in and take sweet spices and fragrant herbs from paradise and seeds for his food. And the angels let him go and he took four kinds: crocus and nard and calamus and cinnamon and the other seeds for his food: and, after taking these, he went out of paradise. And we were on the earth.

30 Now then, my children, I have shown you the way in which we were deceived; and do ye guard yourselves from transgressing against the good.'

31 And when Eve had said this in the midst of her sons, while Adam was lying ill and bound to die after a single day from the sickness which had fastened upon him, she saith to him: 'How is it that thou diest and I live or how long have I to live after thou art dead Tell me.' And Adam saith to her: 'Reck not of this, for thou tarriest not after me, but even both of us are to die together. And she shall lie in my place. But when I die, anoint me and let no man touch me till the angel of the Lord shall speak somewhat concerning me. For God will not forget me, but will seek His own creature; and now arise rather and pray to God till I give up my spirit into His hands who gave it me. For we know not how we are to meet our Maker, whether He be wroth with us, or be merciful and intend to pity and receive us.'

32 And Eve rose up and went outside and fell on the ground and began to say: I have sinned, O God, I have sinned, O God of All, I have sinned against Thee. I have sinned against the elect angels. I have sinned against the Cherubim. I have sinned against Thy fearful and unshakable Throne. I have sinned before Thee and all sin hath begun through my doing in the creation.' Even thus prayed Eve on her knees; (and) behold, the angel of humanity came to her, and raised her up and said: 'Rise up, Eve, (from thy penitence), for behold, Adam thy husband hath gone out of his body. Rise up and behold his spirit borne aloft to his Maker.'

33 And Eve rose up and wiped off her tears with her hand, and the angel saith to her, ' Lift Up thyself from the earth.' And she gazed steadfastly into heaven, and beheld a chariot of light, borne by four bright eagles, (and) it were impossible for any man born of woman to tell the glory of them or behold their face -and angels going before the chariot- and when they came to the place where your father Adam was, the chariot halted and the Seraphim. And I beheld golden censers, between your father and the chariot, and all the angels with censers and frankincense came in haste to the incense-offering and blew upon it and the smoke of the incense veiled the firmaments. And the angels fell down and worshipped God, crying aloud and saying, JA'EL, Holy One, have pardon, for he is Thy image, and the work of Thy holy hands.'

34 And I Eve beheld two great and fearful wonders standing in the presence of God and I wept for fear, and I cried aloud to my son Seth and said, 'Rise up, Seth, from the body of thy father Adam and come to me, and thou shalt see a spectacle which no man's eye hath yet beheld.'

35 Then Seth arose and came to his mother and to her he saith: 'What is thy trouble Why weepest thou' (And) she saith to him: 'Look up and see with thine eyes the seven heavens opened, and see how the soul of thy father lies on its face and all the holy angels are praying on his behalf and saying: 'Pardon him, Father of All, for he is Thine image." 'Pray, my child Seth, what shall this mean And will he one day be delivered into the hands of the Invisible Father, even our God But who are the two negroes who stand by at the prayers for thy father Adam'

36 And Seth telleth his mother, that they are the sun and moon and themselves fall down and pray on behalf of my father Adam. Eve saith to him: 'And where is their light and why have they taken on such a black appearance' And Seth answereth her, 'The light hath not left them, but they cannot shine before the Light of the Universe, the Father of Light; and on this account their light hath been hidden from them.

37 Now while Seth was saying this to his mother, lo, an angel blew the trumpet, and there stood up all the angels (and they were) lying on their faces, and they cried aloud in an awful voice and said: 'Blessed (be) the glory of the Lord from the works of His making, for He hath pitied Adam the creature of His hands.' But when the angels had said these words, lo, there came one of the seraphim with six wings and snatched up Adam and carried him off to the Acherusian lake, and washed him thrice, in the presence of God.

38 And God saith to him: 'Adam, what hast thou done If thou hadst kept my commandment, there would now be no rejoicing among those who are bringing thee down to this place. Yet, I tell thee that I will turn their joy to grief and thy grief will I turn to joy, and I will transform thee to thy former glory and set thee on the throne of thy deceiver. But he shall be cast into this place to see thee sitting above him, then he shall be condemned and they that heard him, and he shall be grieved sore when he seeth thee sitting on his honourable throne.' And he stayed there three hours, lying down, and thereafter the Father of all, sitting on his holy throne stretched out his hand, and took Adam and handed him over to the archangel Michael saying: 'Lift him up into Paradise unto the third Heaven, and leave him there until that fearful day of my reckoning, which I will make in the world.' Then Michael took Adam and left him where God told him.

39 But after all this, the archangel asked concerning the laying out of the remains. And God commanded that all the angels should assemble in His presence, each in his order, and all the angels assembled, some having censers in their hands, and others trumpets. And lo ! the 'Lord of Hosts' came on and four winds drew Him and cherubim mounted on the winds and the angels from heaven escorting Him and they came on the earth, where was the body of Adam. And they came to paradise and all the leaves of paradise were stirred so that all men begotten of Adam slept from the fragrance save Seth alone, because he was born 'according to the appointment of God '. Then Adam's body lay there in paradise on the earth and Seth grieved exceedingly over him.

40 Then God spake to the archangel(s) Michael, (Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael): 'Go away to Paradise in the third heaven, and strew linen clothes and cover the body of Adam and bring oil of the 'oil of fragrance' and pour it over him. And they acted thus did the three great angels and they prepared him for burial. And God said: 'Let the body of Abel also be brought.' And they brought other linen clothes and prepared his (body) also. For he was unburied since the day when Cain his brother slew him; for wicked Cain took great pains to conceal (him) but could not, for the earth would not receive him for the body sprang up from the earth and a voice went out of the earth saying: 'I will not receive a companion body, till the earth which was taken and fashioned in me cometh to me.' At that time, the angels took it and placed it on a rock, till Adam his father was buried. And both were buried, according to the commandment of God, in the spot where God found the dust, and He caused the place to be dug for two. And God sent seven angels to paradise and they brought many fragrant spices and placed them in the earth, and they took the two bodies and placed them in the spot which they had digged and builded.

41 And God called and said, 'Adam, Adam.' And the body answered from the earth and said: 'Here am I, Lord.' And God saith to him: 'I told thee (that) earth thou art and to earth shalt thou return. Again I promise to thee the Resurrection; I will raise thee up in the Resurrection with every man who is of thy seed.'

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42 After these words, God made a seal and sealed the tomb, that no one might do anything to him for six days till his rib should return to him. Then the Lord and his angels went to their place. And Eve also, when the six days were fulfilled, fell asleep. But while she was living, she wept bitterly about Adam's falling on sleep, for she knew not where he was laid. For when the Lord came to paradise to bury Adam she was asleep, and her sons too, except Seth, till He bade Adam be prepared for burial; and no man knew on earth, except her son Seth. And Eve prayed (in the hour of her death) that she might be buried in the place where her husband Adam was. And after she had finished her prayer, she saith: 'Lord, Master, God of all rule, estrange not me thy handmaid from the body of Adam, for from his members didst thou make me. But deem me worthy, even me unworthy that I am and a sinner, to enter into his tabernacle, even as I was with him in paradise, both without separation from each other; just as in our transgression, we were (both) led astray and transgressed thy command, but were not separated. Even so, Lord, do not separate us now.' But after she had prayed, she gazed heavenwards and groaned aloud and smote her breast and said: 'God of All, receive my spirit,' and straightway she delivered up her spirit to God.

43 And Michael came and taught Seth how to prepare Eve for burial. And there came three angels and they buried her (body) where Adam's body was and Abel's. And thereafter Michael spake to Seth and saith: 'Lay out in this wise every man that dieth till the day of the Resurrection.' And after giving him this rule; he saith to him: 'Mourn not beyond six days, but on the seventh day, rest and rejoice on it, because on that very day, God rejoiceth (yea) and we angels (too) with the righteous soul, who hath passed away from the earth.' Even thus spake the angel, and ascended into heaven, glorifying (God) and saying: 'Allelujah.' [Holy, holy, holy is the Lord, in the glory of God the Father, for to Him it is meet to give glory, honour and worship, with the eternal life-giving spirit now and always and for ever. Amen.] [Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts. To whom be glory and power for ever and for ever Amen.] [Then the archangel Joel glorified God; saying, 'Holy, Holy, Holy Lord, heaven and earth are full of thy glory.']

THE LIFE OF ADAM AND EVE [Latin Version]
Roman title: Vita Adae et Evae
The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament
Translation: R. H. Charles, 1913
Estimated Range of Dating: First century A.D.

(The [Latin] Life of Adam and Eve, also known in its Greek version, as the "Apocalypse of Moses", is a Jewish apocryphal group of writings. The Greek and the Latin versions are Jewish books. However, there are numerous versions in Ethiopic, Slavonic, Armenian, and Georgian, which are all Christian editions of the Jewish originals. The rand Bible has placed those books among the Christian literature.

Latin Life of Adam and Eve. The main edition of this Latin version (in Latin Vita Adami et Evae or Vita Adae et Evae) is that of W. Meyer in 1878[12] based on manuscripts S, T, M of the 9th, 10th, and 12th centuries. Later, a new and extended edition was prepared by Mozley based mainly on manuscripts kept in England, of which the most important is manuscript A.

The [Latin] Life of Adam and Eve recounts the lives of Adam and Eve from after their expulsion from the Garden of Eden to their deaths. It provides more detail about the Fall of Man, including Eve's version of the story. Satan explains that he rebelled when God commanded him to bow down to Adam. After Adam dies, he and all his descendants are promised a resurrection.

Interesting parallels can be found with some New Testament passages, such as the mention of the Tree of Life in Revelation 22:2. The more striking resemblances are with ideas in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians: Eve as the source of sin (2 Corinthians 11:3), Satan disguising himself as an angel of light (2 Corinthians 11:14), the location of the paradise in the third heaven (2 Corinthians 12:2). In addition, there are parallels between Christ's forty days in the desert and Adam and Eve's forty days in the rivers. No direct relationship can be determined between the New Testament and the Life of Adam and Eve, but the similarities suggest that Paul the Apostle and the author of 2 Enoch were near contemporaries of the original author of this work and moved in the same circle of ideas.)

Text:

1 When they were driven out from paradise, they made themselves a booth, and spent seven days mourning and lamenting in great grief.

2 But after seven days, they began to be hungry and started to look for victual to eat, and they found it not. Then Eve said to Adam: 'My lord, I am hungry. Go, look for (something) for us to eat. Perchance the Lord God will look back and pity us and recall us to the place in which we were before.

3 And Adam arose and walked seven days over all that land, and found no victual such as they used to have in paradise. And Eve said to Adam: 'Wilt thou slay me that I may die, and perchance God the Lord will bring thee into paradise, for on my account hast thou been driven thence.' Adam answered: 'Forbear, Eve, from such words, that peradventure God bring not some other curse upon us. How is it possible that I should stretch forth my hand against my own flesh Nay, let us arise and look for something for us to live on, that we fail not.'

4 And they walked about and searched for nine days, and they found none such as they were used to have in paradise, but found only animals' food. And Adam said to Eve: 'This hath the Lord provided for animals and brutes to eat; but we used to have angels' food. But it is just and right that we lament before the sight of God who made us. Let us repent with a great penitence: perchance the Lord will be gracious to us and will pity us and give us a share of something for our living.'

5 And Eve said to Adam: 'What is penitence Tell me, what sort of penitence am I to do Let us not put too great a labour on ourselves, which we cannot endure, so that the Lord will not hearken to our prayers: and will turn away His countenance from us, because we have not fulfilled what we promised. My lord, how much penitence hast thou thought (to do) for I have brought trouble and anguish upon thee'

6 And Adam said to Eve: 'Thou canst not do so much as I, but do only so much as thou hast strength for. For I will spend forty days fasting, but do thou arise and go to the river Tigris and lift up a stone and stand on it in the water up to thy neck in the deep of the river. And let no speech proceed out of thy mouth, since we are unworthy to address the Lord, for our lips are unclean from the unlawful and forbidden tree. And do thou stand in the water of the river thirty-seven days. But I will spend forty days in the water of Jordan, perchance the Lord God will take pity upon us.'

7 And Eve walked to the river Tigris and did as Adam had told her. Likewise, Adam walked to the river Jordan and stood on a stone up to his neck in water.

8 And Adam said: 'I tell thee, water of Jordan, grieve with me, and assemble to me all swimming (creatures), which are in thee, and let them surround me and mourn in company with me. Not for themselves let them lament, but for me; for it is not they that have sinned, but I.' Forthwith, all living things came and surrounded him, and, from that hour, the water of Jordan stood (still) and its current was stayed.'

9 And eighteen days passed by; then Satan was wroth and transformed himself into the brightness of angels, and went away to the river Tigris to Eve, and found her weeping, and the devil himself pretended to grieve with her, and he began to weep and said to her: 'Come out of the river and lament no more. Cease now from sorrow and moans. Why art thou anxious and thy husband Adam? The Lord God hath heard your groaning and hath accepted your penitence, and all we angels have entreated on your behalf, and made supplication to the Lord; And he hath sent me to bring you out of the water and give you the nourishment which you had in paradise, and for which you are crying out. Now come out of the water and I will conduct you to the place where your victual hath been made ready.'

10 But Eve heard and believed and went out of the water of the river, and her flesh was (trembling) like grass, from the chill of the water. And when she had gone out, she fell on the earth and the devil raised her up and led her to Adam. But when Adam had seen her and the devil with her, he wept and cried aloud and said: 'O Eve, Eve, where is the labour of thy penitence. How hast thou been again ensnared by our adversary? By whose means we have been estranged from our abode in paradise and spiritual joy'

11 And when she heard this, Eve understood that (it was) the devil (who) had persuaded her to go out of the river; and she fell on her face on the earth and her sorrow and groaning and wailing was redoubled. And she cried out and said: 'Woe unto thee, thou devil. Why dost thou attack us for no cause? What hast thou to do with us? What have we done to thee for thou pursuest us with craft Or why doth thy malice assail us? Have we taken away thy glory and caused thee to be without honour? Why dost thou harry us, thou enemy (and persecute us) to the death in wickedness and envy?

12 And with a heavy sigh, the devil spake: 'O Adam! all my hostility, envy, and sorrow is for thee, since it is for thee that I have been expelled from my glory, which I possessed in the heavens in the midst of the angels and for thee was I cast out in the earth.' Adam answered, 'What dost thou tell me? What have I done to thee or what is my fault against thee? Seeing that thou hast received no harm or injury from us, why dost thou pursue us?

13 The devil replied, 'Adam, what dost thou tell me It is for thy sake that I have been hurled from that place. When thou wast formed. I was hurled out of the presence of God and banished from the company of the angels. When God blew into thee the breath of life and thy face and likeness was made in the image of God, Michael also brought thee and made (us) worship thee in the sight of God; and God the Lord spake: Here is Adam. I have made thee in our image and likeness.'

14 And Michael went out and called all the angels saying:'Worship the image of God as the Lord God hath commanded.' And Michael himself worshipped first; then he called me and said: 'Worship the image of God the Lord.' And I answered, 'I have no (need) to worship Adam.' And since Michael kept urging me to worship, I said to him, 'Why dost thou urge me I will not worship an inferior and younger being (than I). I am his senior in the Creation, before he was made was I already made. It is his duty to worship me.'

15 When the angels, who were under me, heard this, they refused to worship him. And Michael saith, 'Worship the image of God, but if thou wilt not worship him, the Lord God will be wrath with thee.' And I said, 'If He be wrath with me, I will set my seat above the stars of heaven and will be like the Highest.'

16 And God the Lord was wrath with me and banished me and my angels from our glory; And on thy account were we expelled from our abodes into this world and hurled on the earth. And straightway we were overcome with grief, since we had been spoiled of so great glory. And we were grieved when we saw thee in such joy and luxury. And with guile I cheated thy wife and caused thee to be expelled through her (doing) from thy joy and luxury, as I have been driven out of my glory.

17 When Adam heard the devil say this, he cried out and wept and spake: 'O Lord my God, my life is in thy hands. Banish this Adversary far from me, who seeketh to destroy my soul, and give me his glory which he himself hath lost.' And at that moment, the devil vanished before him. But Adam endured in his penance, standing for forty days (on end) in the water of Jordan.

18 And Eve said to Adam: 'Live thou, my Lord, to thee life is granted, since thou hast committed neither the first nor the second error. But I have erred and been led astray for I have not kept the commandment of God; and now banish me from the light of thy life and I will go to the sunsetting, and there will I be, until I die.' And she began to walk towards the western parts and to mourn and to weep bitterly and groan aloud. And she made there a booth, while she had in her womb offspring of three months old.

19 And when the time of her bearing approached, she began to be distressed with pains, and she cried aloud to the Lord and said: 'Pity me, O Lord, assist me.' And she was not heard and the mercy of God did not encircle her. And she said to herself: 'Who shall tell my lord Adam I implore you, ye luminaries of heaven, what time ye return to the east, bear a message to my lord Adam.'

20 But in that hour, Adam said: 'The complaint of Eve hath come to me. Perchance, once more hath the serpent fought with her.' And he went and found her in great distress. And Eve said: 'From the moment I saw thee, my lord, my grief-laden soul was refreshed. And now entreat the Lord God on my behalf to hearken unto thee and look upon me and free me from my awful pains.' And Adam entreated the Lord for Eve.

21 And behold, there came twelve angels and two 'virtues', standing on the right and on the left of Eve; and Michael was standing on the right; and he stroked her on the face as far as to the breast and said to Eve: 'Blessed art thou, Eve, for Adam's sake. Since his prayers and intercessions are great, I have been sent that thou mayst receive our help. Rise up now, and prepare thee to bear. And she bore a son and he was shining; and at once the babe rose up and ran and bore a blade of grass in his hands, and gave it to his mother, and his name was called Cain.

22 And Adam carried Eve and the boy and led them to the East. And the Lord God sent divers seeds by Michael the archangel and gave to Adam and showed him how to work and till the ground, that they might have fruit by which they and all their generations might live. For thereafter Eve conceived and bare a son, whose name was Abel; and Cain and Abel used to stay together. And Eve said to Adam: 'My lord, while I slept, I saw a vision, as it were the blood of our son Abel in the hand of Cain, who was gulping it down in his mouth. Therefore I have sorrow.' And Adam said, 'Alas if Cain slew Abel. Yet let us separate them from each other mutually, and let us make for each of them separate dwellings.'

23 And they made Cain an husbandman, (but) Abel they made a shepherd; in order that in this wise they might be mutually separated. And thereafter, Cain slew Abel, but Adam was then one hundred and thirty years old, but Abel was slain when he was one hundred and twenty-two years. And thereafter Adam knew his wife and he begat a son and called his name Seth.

24 And Adam said to Eve, 'Behold, I have begotten a son, in place of Abel, whom Cain slew.' And after Adam had begotten Seth, he lived eight hundred years and begat thirty sons and thirty daughters; in all sixty-three children. And they were increased over the face of the earth in their nations.

25 And Adam said to Seth, 'Hear, my son Seth, that I may relate to thee what I heard and saw after your mother and I had been driven out of paradise. When we were at prayer, there came to me Michael the archangel, a messenger of God. And I saw a chariot like the wind and its wheels were fiery and I was caught up into the Paradise of righteousness, and I saw

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the Lord sitting and his face was flaming fire that could not be endured. And many thousands of angels were on the right and the left of that chariot.

26 When I saw this, I was confounded, and terror seized me and I bowed myself down before God with my face to the earth. And God said to me, 'Behold thou diest, since thou hast transgressed the commandment of God, for thou didst hearken rather to the voice of thy wife, whom I gave into thy power, that thou mightst hold her to thy will. Yet thou didst listen to her and didst pass by My words.'

27 And when I heard these words of God, I fell prone on the earth and worshipped the Lord and said, 'My Lord, All powerful and merciful God, Holy and Righteous One, let not the name that is mindful of Thy majesty be blotted out, but convert my soul, for I die and my breath will go out of my mouth. Cast me not out from Thy presence, (me) whom Thou didst form of the clay of the earth. Do not banish from Thy favour him whom Thou didst nourish.' And lo! a word concerning thee came upon me and the Lord said to me, 'Since thy days were fashioned, thou hast been created with a love of knowledge; therefore there shall not be taken from thy seed for ever the (right) to serve Me.'

28 And when I heard these words. I threw myself on the earth and adored the Lord God and said, 'Thou art the eternal and supreme God; and all creatures give thee honour and praise. 'Thou art the true Light gleaming above all light(s), the Living Life, infinite mighty Power. To Thee, the spiritual powers give honour and praise. Thou workest on the race of men the abundance of Thy mercy.' After I had worshipped the Lord, straightway Michael, God's archangel, seized my hand and cast me out of the paradise of 'vision' and of God's command. And Michael held a rod in his hand, and he touched the waters, which were round about paradise, and they froze hard.

29 And I went across, and Michael the archangel went across with me, and he led me back to the place whence he had caught me up. Hearken, my son Seth, even to the rest of the secrets [and sacraments] that shall be, which were revealed to me, when I had eaten of the tree of the knowledge, And knew and perceived what will come to pass in this age; [what God intends to do to his creation of the race of men. The Lord will appear in a flame of fire (and) from the mouth of His majesty He will give commandments and statutes [from His mouth will proceed a two-edged sword] and they will sanctify Him in the house of the habitation of His majesty. And He will show them the marvellous place of His majesty. And then they will build a house to the Lord their God in the land which He shall prepare for them and there they will transgress His statutes and their sanctuary will be burnt up and their land will be deserted and they themselves will be dispersed; because they have kindled the wrath of God. And once more He will cause them to come back from their dispersion; and again they will build the house of God; and in the last time the house of God will be exalted greater than of old. And once more iniquity will exceed righteousness. And thereafter God will dwell with men on earth [in visible form]; and then, righteousness will begin to shine. And the house of God will be honoured in the age and their enemies will no more be able to hurt the men, who are believing in God; and God will stir up for Himself a faithful people, whom He shall save for eternity, and the impious shall be punished by God their king, the men who refused to love His law. Heaven and earth, nights and days, and all creatures shall obey Him, and not overstep His commandment. Men shall not change their works, but they shall be changed from forsaking the law of the Lord. Therefore the Lord shall repel from Himself the wicked, and the just shall shine like the sun, in the sight of God. And in that time, shall men be purified by water from their sins. But those who are unwilling to be purified by water shall be condemned. And happy shall the man be, who hath ruled his soul, when the Judgement shall come to pass and the greatness of God be seen among men and their deeds be inquired into by God the just judge.

30 After Adam was nine hundred and thirty years old, since he knew that his days were coming to an end, he said: 'Let all my sons assemble themselves to me, that I may bless them before I die, and speak with them.' And they were assembled in three parts, before his sight, in the house of prayer, where they used to worship the Lord God. And they asked him (saying): 'What concerns thee, Father, that thou shouldst assemble us, and why dost thou lie on thy bed 'Then Adam answered and said: 'My sons, I am sick and in pain.' And all his sons said to him: 'What does it mean, father, this illness and pain'

31 Then said Seth his son: 'O (my) lord, perchance thou hast longed after the fruit of paradise, which thou wast wont to eat, and therefore thou liest in sadness Tell me and I will go to the nearest gates of paradise and put dust on my head and throw myself down on the earth before the gates of paradise and lament and make entreaty to God with loud lamentation; perchance he will hearken to me and send his angel to bring me the fruit, for which thou hast longed.' Adam answered and said: 'No, my son, I do not long (for this), but I feel weakness and great pain in my body.' Seth answered, 'What is pain, my lord father I am ignorant; but hide it not from us, but tell us (about it).'

32 And Adam answered and said: 'Hear me, my sons. When God made us, me and your mother, and placed us in paradise and gave us every tree bearing fruit to eat, he laid a prohibition on us concerning the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which is in the midst of paradise; (saying) 'Do not eat of it.' But God gave a part of paradise to me and (a part) to your mother: the trees of the eastern part and the north, which is over against Aquilo he gave to me, and to your mother he gave the part of the south and the western part.

33 (Moreover) God the Lord gave us two angels to guard us. The hour came when the angels had ascended to worship in the sight of God; forthwith the adversary [the devil] found an opportunity while the angels were absent and the devil led your mother astray to eat of the unlawful and forbidden tree. And she did eat and gave to me.

34 And immediately, the Lord God was wrath with us, and the Lord said to me: 'In that thou hast left behind my commandment and hast not kept my word, which I confirmed to thee; behold, I will bring upon thy body, seventy blows; with divers griefs, shalt thou be tormented, beginning at thy head and thine eyes and thine ears down to thy nails on thy toes, and in every separate limb. These hath God appointed for chastisement. All these things hath the Lord sent to me and to all our race.'

35 Thus spake Adam to his sons, and he was seized with violent pains, and he cried out with a loud voice, 'What shall I do I am in distress. So cruel are the pains with which I am beset.' And when Eve had seen him weeping, she also began to weep herself, and said: 'O Lord my God, hand over to me his pain, for it is I who sinned.' And Eve said to Adam: 'My lord, give me a part of thy pains, for this hath come to thee from fault of mine.'

36 And Adam said to Eve: 'Rise up and go with my son Seth to the neighbourhood of paradise, and put dust on your heads and throw yourselves on the ground and lament in the sight of God. Perchance He will have pity (upon you) and send His angel across to the tree of His mercy, whence floweth the oil of life, and will give you a drop of it, to anoint me with it, that I may have rest from these pains, by which I am being consumed.'

37 Then Seth and his mother went off towards the gates of paradise. And while they were walking, lo! suddenly there came a beast [a serpent] and attacked and bit Seth. And as soon as Eve saw it, she wept and said: 'Alas, wretched woman that I am. I am accursed since I have not kept the commandment of God.' And Eve said to the serpent in a loud voice: 'Accursed beast! how (is it that) thou hast not feared to let thyself loose against the image of God, but hast dared to fight with it'

38 The beast answered in the language of men: 'Is it not against you, Eve, that our malice (is directed) Are not ye the objects of our rage. Tell me, Eve, how was thy mouth opened to eat of the fruit? But now if I shall begin to reprove thee thou canst not bear it.'

39 Then said Seth to the beast: 'God the Lord revile thee. Be silent, be dumb, shut thy mouth, accursed enemy of Truth, confounder and destroyer. Avaunt from the image of God till the day when the Lord God shall order thee to be brought to the ordeal.' And the beast said to Seth: 'See, I leave the presence of the image of God, as thou hast said.' Forthwith he left Seth, wounded by his teeth.

40 But Seth and his mother walked to the regions of paradise for the oil of mercy to anoint the sick Adam: and they arrived at the gates of paradise, (and) they took dust from the earth and placed it on their heads, and bowed themselves with their faces to the earth and began to lament and make loud moaning, imploring the Lord God to pity Adam in his pains and to send His angel to give them the oil from the 'tree of His mercy'.

41 But when they had been praying and imploring for many hours, behold, the angel Michael appeared to them and said: 'I have been sent to you from the Lord -I am set by God over the bodies of men- I tell thee, Seth, (thou) man of God, weep not nor pray and entreat on account of the oil of the tree of mercy to anoint thy father Adam for the pains of his body.

42 'For I tell thee that in no wise wilt thou be able to receive thereof save in the last days.' [When five thousand five hundred years have been fulfilled, then will come upon earth the most beloved king Christ, the son of God, to revive the body of Adam and with him to revive the bodies of the dead. He Himself, the Son of God, when He comes will be baptized in the river of Jordan, and when He hath come out of the water of Jordan, then He will anoint from the oil of mercy all that believe in Him. And the oil of mercy shall be for generation to generation for those who are ready to be born again of water and the Holy Spirit to life eternal. Then the most beloved Son of God, Christ, descending on earth shall lead thy father Adam to Paradise to the tree of mercy.]

43 'But do thou, Seth, go to thy father Adam, since the time of his life is fulfilled. Six days hence, his soul shall go off his body and when it shall have gone out, thou shalt see great marvels in the heaven and in the earth and the luminaries of heaven. With these words, straightway Michael departed from Seth. And Eve and Seth returned bearing with them herbs of fragrance, i.e. nard and crocus and calamus and cinnamon.

44 And when Seth and his mother had reached Adam, they told him, how the beast [the serpent] bit Seth. And Adam said to Eve: 'What hast thou done A great plague hast thou brought upon us, transgression and sin for all our generations: and this which thou hast done, tell thy children after my death, [for those who arise from us shall toil and fail but they shall be wanting and curse us (and) say, All evils have our parents brought upon us, who were at the beginning].' When Eve heard these words, she began to weep and moan.

45 And just as Michael the archangel had foretold, after six days came Adam's death. When Adam perceived that the hour of his death was at hand, he said to all his sons: 'Behold, I am nine hundred and thirty years old, and if I die, bury me towards the sunrising in the field of yonder dwelling.'

46 And it came to pass that when he had finished all his discourse, he gave up the ghost. (Then) was the sun darkened and the moon and the stars for seven days, and Seth in his mourning embraced from above the body of his father, and Eve was looking on the ground with hands folded over her head, and all her children wept most bitterly. And behold, there appeared Michael the angel and stood at the head of Adam and said to Seth: 'Rise up from the body of thy father and come to me and see what is the doom of the Lord God concerning him. His creature is he, and God hath pitied him.' And all angels blew their trumpets, and cried:

47 'Blessed art thou, O Lord, for thou hast had pity on Thy creature.'

48 Then Seth saw the hand of God stretched out holding Adam and he handed him over to Michael, saying: 'Let him be in thy charge till the day of Judgement in punishment, till the last years when I will convert his sorrow into joy. Then shall he sit on the throne of him who hath been his supplanter.' And the Lord said again to the angels Michael and Uriel: 'Bring me three linen clothes of byssus and spread them out over Adam and other linen clothes over Abel his son and bury Adam and Abel his son.' And all the 'powers' of angels marched before Adam, and the sleep of the dead was consecrated. And the angels Michael and Uriel buried Adam and Abel in the parts of Paradise, before the eyes of Seth and his mother [and no one else], and Michael and Uriel said: 'Just as ye have seen, in like manner, bury your dead.'

49 Six days after, Adam died; and Eve perceived that she would die, (so) she assembled all her sons and daughters, Seth with thirty brothers and thirty sisters, and Eve said to all, 'Hear me, my children, and I will tell you what the archangel Michael said to us when I and your father transgressed the command of God. On account of your transgression, Our Lord will bring upon your race the anger of his judgement, first by water, the second time by fire; by these two, will the Lord judge the whole human race

50 But hearken unto me, my children. Make ye then tables of stone and others of clay, and write on them, all my life and your father's (all) that ye have heard and seen from us. If by water the Lord judge our race, the tables of clay will be dissolved and the tables of stone will remain; but if by fire, the tables of stone will be broken up and the tables of clay will be baked (hard).' When Eve had said all this to her children, she spread out her hands to heaven in prayer, and bent her knees to the earth, and while she worshipped the Lord and gave him thanks, she gave up the ghost. Thereafter, all her children buried her with loud lamentation.

51 When they had been mourning four days, (then) Michael the archangel appeared and said to Seth: 'Man of God, mourn not for thy dead more than six days, for on the seventh day is the sign of the resurrection and the rest of the age to come; on the seventh day the Lord rested from all His works.' Thereupon Seth made the tables.

LIFE OF ADAM AND EVE (Slavonic Fragment)
Slavonic Vita Adae et Evae
From-The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha
of the Old Testament R.H. Charles, Oxford
Translation: R. H. Charles, 1913

(Passage follows exactly parallel to Apocalypsis Mosis 32. seq., but in abbreviated form.)

28. And we sat together before the gate of paradise, Adam weeping with his face bent down to the earth, lay on the ground lamenting. And seven days passed by and we had nothing to eat and were consumed with great hunger, and I Eve cried with a loud voice: 'Pity me, O Lord, My Creator; for my sake Adam suffereth thus!'

29. And I said to Adam: 'Rise up! my lord, that we may seek us food; for now my spirit faileth me and my heart within me is brought low.' Then Adam spake to me: 'I have thoughts of killing thee, but I fear since God created thine image and thou showest penitence and criest to God; hence my heart hath not departed from thee.'

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30. And Adam arose and we roamed through all lands and found nothing to eat save nettles (and) grass of the field. And we returned again to the gates of paradise and cried aloud and entreated: 'Have compassion on thy creature. O Lord Creator, allow us food.'

31. And for fifteen days continuously we entreated. Then we heard Michael the archangel and Joelpraying for us, and Joel the archangel was commanded by the Lord, and he took a seventh part of paradise and gave it to us. Then theLord said: 'Thorns and thistles shall spring up from under thy hands; and from thy sweat shalt thou eat (bread), and thy wife shall tremble when she looketh upon thee.'

32. The archangel Joel said to Adam: 'Thus saith the Lord; I did not create thy wife to command thee, but to obey; why art thou obedient to thy wife' Again Joel the archangcl bade Adam separate the cattle and all kinds of flying and creeping things and animals, both wild and tame; and to give names to all things. Then indeed he took the oxen and began to plough.

33. Then the devil approached and stood before the oxen, and hindered Adam in tilling the field and said to Adam: 'Mine are the things ofearth, the things of Heaven are God's; but if thou wilt be mine, thou shalt labour on the earth; but if thou wilt be God's, (pray) go away to paradise.' Adam said: 'The things of Heaven are the Lord's, and the things of earth and Paradise and the whole Universe.'

34. The devil said: 'I do not suffer thee to till the field, except thou write the bond that thou art mine.' Adam replied: 'Whosoever is lord ofthe earth, to the same do I (belong) and my children.' Then the devil was overcome with joy. (But Adam was not ignorant that the Lordwould descend on earth and tread the devil under foot.) The devil said: 'Write me thybond.' And Adam wrote: 'Who is lord of the earth, to the same do I belong and my children.'

35. Eve said to Adam, 'Rise up, my lord, let us pray to God in this cause that He set us free from that devil, for thou art in this strait on my account.' But Adam said: 'Eve, since thou repentest ofthy misdeed, my heart will hearken to thee, for the Lord created thee out of my ribs. Let us fast forty days perchance the Lord will have pity on us and will leave us understanding and life.' I, for my part, said: 'Do thou, (my) lord,fast forty days, but I will fast forty-four.'

36. And Adam said to me: 'Haste thee to the river, named Tigris, and take a great stone and place it under thy feet, and enter into the stream and clothe thyself with water, as with a cloak, up to the neck, and pray to God in thy heart and let no word proceed out of thy mouth.' AndI said: 'O (my) lord, with my whole heart will I call upon God.' And Adam said to me:'Take great care of thyself. Except thou seest me and all my tokens, depart not out of the water, nor trust in the words, which are said to thee, lest thou fall again into the snare.' And Adam came to Jordan and he entered into the water and he plunged himself altogether into the flood, even (to) the hairs of his head, while he made supplication to God and sent (up) prayers to Him.

37. And there, the angels came together and all living creatures, wild and tame, and all birds that fly, (and) they surrounded Adam, like a wall, praying to God for Adam.

38. The devil came to me, wearing the form and brightness of an angel, and shedding big teardrops, (and) said to me: 'Come out of the water,Eve, God hath heard thy prayers and (heard) us angels. God hath fulfilled the prayers of those who intercede on thy behalf. God hath sent me to thee, that thou mayst come out of the water.'

39. But I (Eve) perceived that he was the devil and answered him nothing. But Adam (when) he returned from Jordan, saw the devil's footprints, and feared lest perchance he had deceived me; but when he had remarked me standing in the water he was overcome with joy (and) he tookme and led me out of the water.

40. Then Adam cried out with a loud voice: 'Be silent, Eve, for already is my spirit straitened in my body; arise, go forth, utter prayers to God, till I deliver up my spirit to God.'

TESTAMENT OF MOSES

The Assumption Of Moses
From: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha
of the Old Testament R.H. Charles, Oxford
Translation: R. H. Charles, 1913
Estimated Range of Dating: 1st Century A.D.

(The Testament of Moses (otherwise called the Assumption of Moses) is a 1st century Jewish pseudepigraphical work. It purports to contain secret prophecies Moses revealed to Joshua before passing leadership of the Israelites to him. It contains apocalyptic themes, but is characterized as a "testament", meaning it has the final speech of a dying person, Moses.

The text is thought to have been originally written in Hebrew or another Semitic language, and then translated to Koine Greek. The only surviving manuscript is a 6th-century Latin translation of the Greek text. The manuscript was incomplete, and the rest of the text is lost. From references in ancient works, it is thought that the missing text depicted a dispute over the body of Moses, between the archangel Michael and the devil.

The Testament of Moses is known from a single sixth-century incomplete manuscript in Latin that was discovered by Antonio Ceriani in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan in the mid-nineteenth century and published by him in 1861.

The two titles of this manuscript are due to different identifications with lost texts. The Stichometry of Nicephorus and some other ancient lists refer to both a Testament of Moses and an Assumption of Moses, apparently as separate texts.

Charles, in his edition of 1897 suggests that the manuscript shall be identified with the Testament of Moses, because the extant text does not describe any assumption of Moses to heaven, but simply contains the last exhortations of Moses (thus his testament). Charles furthermore suggests that these two separate texts were later united to form a single work.

Synopsis:

• In Chapter 1 Moses, before dying, chooses Joshua as successor and leaves him the books he shall preserve to the end of days, when the Lord will visit his people. The role of Moses as mediator is highlighted.

• Chapters 2–5 contain a brief outline of Jewish history up to Hellenization under Antiochus IV. This is narrated in the form of foretelling.

• Chapter 6 predicts easily recognizable figures, including the Hasmonean and Herod the Great with his sons. The history follows up to the partial destruction of the Temple.

• Chapter 7 is about the end of days, but the manuscript is too fragmented to fully understand the text.

• Chapter 8 narrates a great persecution of Jews at the hands of hypocrites. Some scholars read this as an eschatological prophecy, while others, like Charles, interpret this as events that happened before the Maccabee rebellion. Charles also suggests that chapters 8 and 9 were originally located between chapters 5 and 6.

• In Chapter 9 the narrative follows with a description of a Levite man named Taxo and his seven sons, who, rather than give in to hellenizing influences, seal themselves into a cave.

• Chapter 10 contains an eschatological hymn: At the end of the times God will arise, punish the Gentiles, and exalt Israel. Before the coming of God a messenger (Latin nuntius) with sacerdotal tasks is prophesied, who will avenge Israel.

• Chapters 11 and 12 conclude the text with Moses exhorting Joshua not to fear, as history fully provides for God's covenant and plan.

The chapters 6 and 7 are widely held to be a first century AD interpolation (referring to the Herodian family) into a second century BC document (referring to events precipitated by the persecution of Jews by Antiochus IV Epiphanes.)

1. The Testament of Moses even the things which he commanded in the one hundred and twentieth year of his life, that is the two thousand five hundredth year from the creation of the world: [But according to oriental reckoning the two thousand and seven hundredth, and the four hundredth after the departure from Phoenicia], when the people had gone forth after the Exodus that was made by Moses to Amman beyond the Jordan, in the prophecy that was made by Moses in the book Deuteronomy: and he called to him Joshua the son of Nun, a man approved of the Lord, that he might be the minister of the people and of the tabernacle of the testimony with all its holy things, and that he might bring the people into the land given to their fathers, that it should be given to them according to the covenant and the oath, which He spoke in the tabernacle to give (it) by Joshua: saying to Joshua these words: '(Be strong) and of a good courage so as to do with thy might all that has been commanded that you may be blameless unto God.' So says the Lord of the world. For He has created the world on behalf of His people. But He was not pleased to manifest this purpose of creation from the foundation of the world, in order that the Gentiles might thereby be convicted, yea to their own humiliation might by (their) arguments convict one another. Accordingly He designed and devised me, and He prepared me before the foundation of the world, that I should be the mediator of His covenant. And now I declare unto you that the time of the years of my life is fulfilled and I am passing away to sleep with my fathers even in the presence of all the people And receive this writing that you may know how to preserve the books which I shall deliver unto you: and you shall set these in order and anoint them with oil of cedar and put them away in earthen vessels in the place which He made from the beginning of the creation of the world, that His name should be called upon until the day of repentance in the visitation wherewith the Lord will visit them in the consummation of the end of the days.

2. And now they shall go by means of you into the land which He determined and promised to give to their fathers, in the which you shall bless and give to them individually and confirm unto them their inheritance in me and establish for them the kingdom, and you shall appoint them local magistrates according to the good pleasure of their Lord in judgment and righteousness. And five years after they enter into the land, that thereafter they shall be ruled by chiefs and kings for eighteen years, and during nineteen years the ten tribes shall break away. And the twelve tribes shall go down and transfer the tabernacle of the testimony. Then the God of heaven will make the court of His tabernacle and the tower of His sanctuary, and the two holy tribes shall be (there) established: but the ten tribes shall establish kingdoms for themselves according to their own ordinances. And they shall offer sacrifices throughout twenty years: and seven shall entrench the walls, and I will protect nine, but four shall transgress the covenant of the Lord, and profane the oath which the Lord made with them. And they shall sacrifice their sons to strange gods, and they shall set up idols in the sanctuary, to worship them. And in the house of the Lord they shall work impiety and engrave every form of beast, even many abominations.

3 And in those days a king from the east shall come against them and his cavalry shall cover their land. And he shall burn their colony with fire together with the holy temple of the Lord, and he shall carry away all the holy vessels. And he shall cast forth all the people, and he shall take them to the land of his nativity, yea he shall take the two tribes with him. Then the two tribes shall call upon the ten tribes, and shall march as a lioness on the dusty plains, being hungry and thirsty. And they shall cry aloud: 'Righteous and holy is the Lord, for, inasmuch as ye have sinned, we too, in like manner, have been carried away with you, together with our children.' Then the ten tribes shall mourn on hearing the reproaches of the two tribes, and they shall say: 'What have we done unto you, brethren Has not this tribulation come on all the house of Israel' And all the tribes shall mourn, crying unto heaven and saying: 'God of Abraham God of Isaac and God of Jacob, remember Thy covenant which You made with them, and the oath which You didst swear unto them by Yourself, that their seed should never fail from the land which You hast given them.' Then they shall remember me, saying, in that day, tribe unto tribe and each man unto his neighbor: 'Is not this that which Moses did then declare unto us in prophecies, who suffered many things in Egypt and in the Red Sea and in the wilderness during forty years: and assuredly called heaven and earth to witness against us, that we should not transgress His commandments, in the which he was a mediator unto us Behold these things have befallen us after his death according to his declaration, as he declared to us at that time, yes, behold these have taken place even to our being carried away captive into the country of the east.' Who shall be also in bondage for about seventy and seven years.

4. Then there shall enter one who is over them, and he shall spread forth his hands, and kneel upon his knees and pray on their behalf saying: 'Lord of all, King on the lofty throne, who rules the world, and did will that this people should be Your elect people, then (indeed) You didst will that You should be called their God, according to the covenant which You didst make with their fathers. 3 And yet they have gone in captivity in another land with their wives and their children, and around the gates of strange peoples and where there is great vanity. Regard and have compassion on them, O Lord of heaven.' Then God will remember them on account of the covenant which He made with their fathers. and He will manifest His compassion in those times also. And He will put it into the mind of a king to have compassion on them, and he shall send them off to their land and country. Then some portions of the tribes shall go up and they shall come to their appointed place, and they shall anew surround the place with walls. And the two tribes shall continue in their prescribed faith, sad and lamenting because they will not be able to offer sacrifices to the Lord of their fathers. And the ten tribes shall increase and multiply among the Gentiles during the time of their captivity.

5. And when the times of chastisement draw nigh and vengeance arises through the kings who share in their guilt and punish them, they themselves also shall be divided as to the truth. Wherefore it hath been said: 'They shall turn aside from righteousness and approach iniquity, and they shall defile with pollutions the house of their worship,' and [because] 'they shall prostitute themselves with strange gods.' For they shall not follow the truth of God, but some shall pollute the altar with the (very) gifts which they offer to the Lord, who are not priests but slaves, sons of slaves. And many in those times shall have respect unto desirable persons and receive gifts, and pervert judgment [on receiving presents]. And on this account the colony and the borders of their habitation shall be filled with lawless deeds and iniquities: those who wickedly depart from the Lord shall be judges: they shall be ready to judge for money as each may wish.

6. Then there shall be raised up unto them kings bearing rule, and they shall call themselves priests of the Most High God: they shall assuredly work iniquity in the holy of holies. And an insolent king shall succeed them, who will not be of the race of the priests, a man bold and shameless, and he shall judge them as they shall deserve. And he shall cut off their chief men with the sword, and shall destroy them in secret places, so that no one may know where their bodies are. He

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shall slay the old and the young, and he shall not spare. Then the fear of him shall be bitter unto them in their land. And he shall execute judgments on them as the Egyptians executed upon them, during thirty and four years, and he shall punish them. And he shall beget children, (who) succeeding him shall rule for shorter periods. Into their parts cohorts and a powerful king of the west shall come, who shall conquer them: and he shall take them captive, and burn a part of their temple with fire, (and) shall crucify some around their colony.

7. And when this is done the times shall be ended, in a moment the (second) course shall be (ended), the four hours shall come. They shall be forced. . . . And, in the time of these, destructive and impious men shall rule, saying that they are just. And these shall stir up the poison of their minds, being treacherous men, self-pleasers, dissemblers in all their own affairs and lovers of banquets at every hour of the day. gluttons, gourmands.... Devourers of the goods of the (poor) saying that they do so on the ground of their justice, but in reality to destroy them, complainers, deceitful, concealing themselves lest they should be recognized, impious, filled with lawlessness and iniquity from sunrise to sunset: saying: 'We shall have feastings and luxury, eating and drinking, and we shall esteem ourselves as princes.' And though their hands and their minds touch unclean things, yet their mouth shall speak great things, and they shall say furthermore: 'Do not touch me lest you should pollute me in the place (where I stand') . . .

8. And there shall come upon them a second visitation and wrath, such as has not befallen them from the beginning until that time, in which He will stir up against them the king of the kings of the earth and one that rules with great power, who shall crucify those who confess to their circumcision: and those who conceal (it) he shall torture and deliver them up to be bound and led into prison. And their wives shall be given to the gods among the Gentiles, and their young sons shall be operated on by the physicians in order to bring forward their foreskin. And others amongst them shall be punished by tortures and fire and sword, and they shall be forced to bear in public their idols, polluted as they are like those who keep. them. And they shall likewise be forced by those who torture them to enter their inmost sanctuary, and they shall be forced by goads to blaspheme with insolence the word, finally after these things the laws and what they had above their altar.

9. Then in that day there shall be a man of the tribe of Levi, whose name shall be Taxo, who having seven sons shall speak to them exhorting (them): 'Observe, my sons, behold a second ruthless (and) unclean visitation has come upon the people, and a punishment merciless and far exceeding the first. For what nation or what region or what people of those who are impious towards the Lord, who have done many abominations, have suffered as great calamities as have befallen us Now, therefore, my sons, hear me: for observe and know that neither did the fathers nor their forefathers tempt God, so as to transgress His commands. And you know that this is our strength, and thus we will do. Let us fast for the space of three days and on the fourth let us go into a cave which is in the field, and let us die rather than transgress the commands of the Lord of Lords, the God of our fathers. For if we do this and die, our blood shall be avenged before the Lord.

10. And then His kingdom shall appear throughout all His creation,

And then Satan shall be no more,
And sorrow shall depart with him.
Then the hands of the angel shall be filled
Who has been appointed chief,
And he shall forthwith avenge them of their enemies.
For the Heavenly One will arise from His royal throne,
And He will go forth from His holy habitation
With indignation and wrath on account of His sons.
And the earth shall tremble: to its confines shall it be shaken:
And the high mountains shall be made low
And the hills shall be shaken and fall.
And the horns of the sun shall be broken and he shall be turned into darkness;
And the moon shall not give her light, and be turned wholly into blood.
And the circle of the stars shall be disturbed.
And the sea shall retire into the abyss,
And the fountains of waters shall fail,
And the rivers shall dry up.
For the Most High will arise, the Eternal God alone,
And He will appear to punish the Gentiles,
And He will destroy all their idols.
Then you, O Israel, shall be happy,
And you shall mount upon the necks and wings of the eagle,
And they shall be ended.
And God will exalt you,
And He will cause you to approach to the heaven of the stars,
In the place of their habitation.
nd you will look from on high and see your enemies in Ge(henna)
And you shall recognize them and rejoice,
And you shall give thanks and confess thy Creator.

And do you; Joshua (the son of) Nun, keep these words and this book; For from my death [assumption] until His advent there shall be 250 times [= year-weeks = 1750 years]. And this is the course of the times which they shall pursue till they are consummated. And I shall go to sleep with my fathers. Wherefore, Joshua you (son of) Nun, (be strong and) be of good courage; (for) God has chosen (you) to be minister in the same covenant.

11. And when Joshua had heard the words of Moses that were so written in his writing all that he had before said, he rent his clothes and cast himself at Moses' feet. And Moses comforted him and wept with him. And Joshua answered him and said: 'Why do you comfort me, (my) lord Moses And how shall I be comforted in regard to the bitter word which you hast spoken which has gone forth from thy mouth, which is full of tears and lamentation, in that you depart from this people (But now) what place shall receive you Or what shall be the sign that marks (your) sepulcher Or who shall dare to move your body from there as that of a mere man from place to place For all men when they die have according to their age their sepulchers on earth; but your sepulcher is from the rising to the setting sun, and from the south to the confines of the north: all the world is your sepulcher. My lord, you are departing, and who shall feed this people Or who is there that shall have compassion on them and who shall be their guide by the way Or who shall pray for them, not omitting a single day, in order that I may lead them into the land of their forefathers How therefore am I to foster this people as a father (his) only son, or as a mistress her daughter, a virgin who is being prepared to be given to the husband whom she will revere, while she guards her person from the sun and (takes care) that her feet are not unshod for running upon the ground. (And how) shall I supply them with food and drink according to the pleasure of their will For of them, there shall be 600,000 (men), for these have multiplied to this degree through your prayers, (my) lord Moses. And what wisdom or understanding have I that I should judge or answer by word in the house (of the Lord) And the kings of the Amorites also when they hear that we are attacking them, believing that there is no longer among them the holy spirit who was worthy of the Lord, manifold and incomprehensible, the lord of the word, who was faithful in all things, God's chief prophet throughout the earth, the most perfect teacher in the world, [that he is no longer among them], shall say "Let us go against them. If the enemy have but once wrought impiously against their Lord, they have no advocate to offer prayers on their behalf to the Lord, like Moses the great messenger, who every hour day and night had his knees fixed to the earth, praying and looking for help to Him that rules all the world with compassion and righteousness, reminding Him of the covenant of the fathers and propitiating the Lord with the oath." For they shall say: "He is not with them: let us go therefore and destroy them from off the face of the earth." What shall then become of this people, my lord Moses'

12. And when Joshua had finished (these) words, he cast himself again at the feet of Moses. And Moses took his hand and raised him into the seat before him, and answered and said unto him: Joshua, do not despise yourself; but set your mind at ease, and hear my words. All the nations which are in the earth God has created and us, He has foreseen them and us from the beginning of the creation of the earth unto the end of the age, and nothing has been neglected by Him even to the least thing, but all things He hath foreseen and caused all to come forth. (Yes) all things which are to be in this earth the Lord has foreseen and, look, they are brought forward (into the light. . . . The Lord,) has on their behalf appointed me to (pray) for their sins and (make intercession) for them. For not for any virtue or strength of mine, but of His good pleasure have His compassion and longsuffering fallen to my lot. For I say unto you, Joshua: it is not on account of the godliness of this people that you shall root out the nations. The lights of the heaven, the foundations of the earth have been made and approved by God and are under the signet ring of His right hand. Those, therefore, who do and fulfill the commandments of God shall increase and be prospered: but those who sin and set at naught the commandments shall be without the blessings before mentioned, and they shall be punished with many torments by the nations. But wholly to root out and destroy them is not permitted. For God will go forth who has foreseen all things for ever, and His covenant has been established and by the oath which . . .

THE TESTAMENT OF ABRAHAM

[LONG VERSION]
Translation: Montague Rhode James, 1892
Estimated Range of Dating:1st to 2nd Centuries A.D.

(The Testament of Abraham is a pseudepigraphic text of the Old Testament. Probably composed in the 1st or 2nd century AD, it is of Jewish origin and is usually considered to be part of the apocalyptic literature. It is regarded as scripture by Beta Israel, the Ethiopian Jews, but not by any other Jewish or Christian groups. It is often treated as one of a trio of very similar works, the other two of which are the Testament of Isaac and Testament of Jacob, though there is no reason to assume that they were originally a single work. All three works are based on the Blessing of Jacob, found in the Bible, in their style. The Koran also contains a reference to The Scrolls (Arabic: suhuf) of Abraham in Sura 87, which has no apparent relation to anything in this text.

The Testament of Abraham was likely written originally in Greek, by someone living in Egypt at the time. This is due to the fact that the vocabulary found in the text is quite similar to the vocabulary used in the later books of the Septuagint, which were being written at that time, in addition to other books, such as 3 Maccabees, that we know were written around that time in Egypt. In addition, there are aspects of the story that seem to reflect aspects of Egyptian life, such as the three judgements which mirror the three levels of Egyptian government. Unfortunately these reasons for the place of origin being Egypt are only supported by the long recension of the Testament of Abraham.

The Greek text of the Testament of Abraham is preserved in two quite different versions:

• the long version, which has a more developed, detailed and linear story, survives in about thirty manuscripts, among which the more important are A, E and B.

• the short version, where the episodes are sometime abrupt and not logically connected but with probably an earlier wording, has survived in about nine manuscripts, among which the more important are A[4] and E[5] (manuscript E of the short recension is notable because of the presence of many semitisms).

There is no consensus among scholars as to which version is nearer the original, or whether we shall suppose one or more original texts. The early scholars support the priority of the long version. This view has been challenged however.

The text is preserved also in Slavonic, Romanian, Ethiopic (Falasha), Coptic Bohairic and Arabic. These versions, apart one Romanian recension, follow the content of the Greek short recension. The Greek Text was first edited, with an English translation and introduction, by M. R. James in 1892. The Greek text was also early edited by Vassiliev in 1893.)

1 Abraham lived the measure of his life, nine hundred and ninety-five years, and having lived all the years of his life in quietness, gentleness, and righteousness, the righteous one was exceeding hospitable; for, pitching his tent in the cross-ways at the oak of Mamre, he received every one, both rich and poor, kings and rulers, the maimed and the helpless, friends and strangers, neighbours and travelers, all alike did the devout, all-holy, righteous, and hospitable Abraham entertain. Even upon him, however, there came the common, inexorable, bitter lot of death, and the uncertain end of life. Therefore the Lord God, summoning his archangel Michael, said to him: Go down, chief-captain Michael, to Abraham and speak to him concerning his death, that he may set his affairs in order, for I have blessed him as the stars of heaven, and as the sand by the sea-shore, and he is in abundance of long life and many possessions, and is becoming exceeding rich. Beyond all men, moreover, he is righteous in every goodness, hospitable and loving to the end of his life; but go, archangel Michael, to Abraham, my beloved friend, and announce to him his death and assure him thus: You shall at this time depart from this vain world, and shall quit the body, and go to your own Lord among the good.

2 And the chief-captain departed from before the face of God, and went down to Abraham to the oak of Mamre, and found the righteous Abraham in the field close by, sitting beside yokes of oxen for ploughing, together with the sons of Masek and other servants, to the number of twelve. And behold the chief-captain came to him, and Abraham, seeing the chief-captain Michael coming from afar, like to a very comely warrior, arose and met him as was his custom, meeting and entertaining all strangers. And the chief-captain saluted him and said: Hail, most honored father, righteous soul chosen of God, true son of the heavenly one. Abraham said to the chief-captain: Hail, most honored warrior, bright as the sun and most beautiful above all the sons of men; you are welcome; therefore I beseech your presence, tell me whence the youth of your age has come; teach me, your suppliant, whence and from what army and from what journey your beauty has come hither. The chief-captain said: I, O righteous Abraham, come from the great city. I have been sent by the great king to take the place of a good friend of his, for the king has summoned him. And Abraham said, Come, my Lord, go with me as far as my field. The chief-captain said: I come; and going into the field of the ploughing, they sat down beside the company. And Abraham said to his servants, the sons of Masek: Go to the herd of horses, and bring two horses, quiet, and gentle and tame, so that I and this stranger may sit thereon. But the chief-captain said, Nay, my Lord, Abraham, let them not bring horses, for I abstain from ever sitting upon any four-footed beast. Is not my king rich in much merchandise, having power both over men and all kinds of cattle? But I abstain from ever sitting upon any four-footed

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beast. Let us go, then, O righteous soul, walking lightly until we reach your house. And Abraham said, Amen, be it so.

3 And as they went on from the field toward his house, beside that way there stood a cypress tree, and by the command of the Lord the tree cried out with a human voice, saying, Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God that calls himself to those that love him; but Abraham hid the mystery, thinking that the chief-captain had not heard the voice of the tree. And coming near to the house they sat down in the court, and Isaac seeing the face of the angel said to Sarah his mother, My lady mother, behold, the man sitting with my father Abraham is not a son of the race of those that dwell on the earth. And Isaac ran, and saluted him, and fell at the feet of the Incorporeal, and the Incorporeal blessed him and said, The Lord God will grant you his promise that he made to your father Abraham and to his seed, and will also grant you the precious prayer of your father and your mother. Abraham said to Isaac his son, My son Isaac, draw water from the well, and bring it me in the vessel, that we may wash the feet of this stranger, for he is tired, having come to us from off a long journey. And Isaac ran to the well and drew water in the vessel and brought it to them, and Abraham went up and washed the feet of the chief captain Michael, and the heart of Abraham was moved, and he wept over the stranger. And Isaac, seeing his father weeping, wept also, and the chief captain, seeing them weeping, also wept with them, and the tears of the chief captain fell upon the vessel into the water of the basin and became precious stones. And Abraham seeing the marvel, and being astonished, took the stones secretly, and hid the mystery, keeping it by himself in his heart.

4 And Abraham said to Isaac his son: Go, my beloved son, into the inner chamber of the house and beautify it. Spread for us there two couches, one for me and one for this man that is with us this day. Prepare for us there a seat and a candlestick and a table with abundance of every good thing. Beautify the chamber, my son, and spread under us linen and purple and fine linen. Burn there every precious and excellent incense, and bring sweet-smelling plants from the garden and fill our house with them. Kindle seven lamps full of oil, so that we may rejoice, for this man that is our this day is more glorious than kings or rulers, and his appearance surpasses all the sons of men. And Isaac prepared all things well, and Abraham taking the archangel Michael went into the chamber, and they both sat down upon the couches, and between them he placed a table with abundance of every good thing. Then the chief captain arose and went out, as if by constraint of his belly to make issue of water, and ascended to heaven in the twinkling of an eye, and stood before the Lord, and said to him: Lord and Master, let your power know that I am unable to remind that righteous man of his death, for I have not seen upon the earth a man like him, pitiful, hospitable, righteous, truthful, devout, refraining from every evil deed. And now know, Lord, that I cannot remind him of his death. And the Lord said: Go down, chief-captain Michael, to my friend Abraham, and do whatever he says to you, and eat with him whatever he eats. And I will send my Holy Spirit upon his son Isaac, and will put the remembrance of his death into the heart of Isaac, so that even he in a dream may see the death of his father, and Isaac will relate the dream, and you shall interpret it, and he himself will know his end. And the chief-captain said, Lord, all the heavenly spirits are incorporeal, and neither eat nor drink, and this man has set before me a table with abundance of all good things earthly and corruptible. Now, Lord, what shall I do? How shall I escape him, sitting at one table with him? The Lord said: Go down to him, and take no thought for this, for when you sit down with him, I will send upon you a devouring spirit, and it will consume out of your hands and through your mouth all that is on the table. Rejoice together with him in everything, only you shall interpret well the things of the vision, that Abraham may know the sickle of death and the uncertain end of life, and may make disposal of all his possessions, for I have blessed him above the sand of the sea and as the stars of heaven.

5 Then the chief captain went down to the house of Abraham, and sat down with him at the table, and Isaac served them. And when the supper was ended, Abraham prayed after his custom, and the chief-captain prayed together with him, and each lay down to sleep upon his couch. And Isaac said to his father, Father, I too would fain sleep with you in this chamber, that I also may hear your discourse, for I love to hear the excellence of the conversation of this virtuous man. Abraham said, Nay, my son, but go to your own chamber and sleep on your own couch, lest we be troublesome to this man. Then Isaac, having received the prayer from them, and having blessed them, went to his own chamber and lay down upon his couch. But the Lord cast the thought of death into the heart of Isaac as in a dream, and about the third hour of the night Isaac awoke and rose up from his couch, and came running to the chamber where his father was sleeping together with the archangel. Isaac, therefore, on reaching the door cried out, saying, My father Abraham, arise and open to me quickly, that I may enter and hang upon your neck, and embrace you before they take you away from me. Abraham therefore arose and opened to him, and Isaac entered and hung upon his neck, and began to weep with a loud voice. Abraham therefore being moved at heart, also wept with a loud voice, and the chief-captain, seeing them weeping, wept also. Sarah being in her room, heard their weeping, and came running to them, and found them embracing and weeping. And Sarah said with weeping, My Lord Abraham, what is this that you weep? Tell me, my Lord, has this brother that has been entertained by us this day brought you tidings of Lot, your brother's son, that he is dead? Is it for this that you grieve thus? The chief-captain answered and said to her, Nay, my sister Sarah, it is not as you say, but your son Isaac, methinks, beheld a dream, and came to us weeping, and we seeing him were moved in our hearts and wept.

6 Then Sarah, hearing the excellence of the conversation of the chief-captain, straightway knew that it was an angel of the Lord that spoke. Sarah therefore signified to Abraham to come out towards the door, and said to him, My Lord Abraham, do you know who this man is? Abraham said, I know not. Sarah said, You know, my Lord, the three men from heaven that were entertained by us in our tent beside the oak of Mamre, when you killed the kid without blemish, and set a table before them. After the flesh had been eaten, the kid rose again, and sucked its mother with great joy. Do you not know, my Lord Abraham, that by promise they gave to us Isaac as the fruit of the womb? Of these three holy men this is one. Abraham said, O Sarah, in this you speak the truth. Glory and praise from our God and the Father. For late in the evening when I washed his feet in the basin I said in my heart, These are the feet of one of the three men that I washed then; and his tears that fell into the basin then became precious stones. And shaking them out from his lap he gave them to Sarah, saying, If you believe me not, look now at these. And Sarah receiving them bowed down and saluted and said, Glory be to God that shows us wonderful things. And now know, my Lord Abraham, that there is among us the revelation of some thing, whether it be evil or good!

7 And Abraham left Sarah, and went into the chamber, and said to Isaac, Come hither, my beloved son, tell me the truth, what it was you saw and what befell you that you came so hastily to us. And Isaac answering began to say, I saw, my Lord, in this night the sun and the moon above my head, surrounding me with its rays and giving me light. As I gazed at this and rejoiced, I saw the heaven opened, and a man bearing light descend from it, shining more than seven suns. And this man like the sun came and took away the sun from my head, and went up into the heavens from whence he came, but I was greatly grieved that he took away the sun from me. After a little, as I was still sorrowing and sore troubled, I saw this man come forth from heaven a second time, and he took away from me the moon also from off my head, and I wept greatly and called upon that man of light, and said, Do not, my Lord, take away my glory from me; pity me and hear me, and if you take away the sun from me, then leave the moon to me. He said, Suffer them to be taken up to the king above, for he wishes them there. And he took them away from me, but he left the rays upon me. The chief-captain said, Hear, O righteous Abraham; the sun which your son saw is you his father, and the moon likewise is Sarah his mother. The man bearing light who descended from heaven, this is the one sent from God who is to take your righteous soul from you. And now know, O most honored Abraham, that at this time you shall leave this worldly life, and remove to God. Abraham said to the chief captain O strangest of marvels! And now are you he that shall take my soul from me? The chief-captain said to him, I am the chief-captain Michael, that stands before the Lord, and I was sent to you to remind you of your death, and then I shall depart to him as I was commanded. Abraham said, Now I know that you are an angel of the Lord, and wast sent to take my soul, but I will not go with you; but do whatever you are commanded.

8 The chief-captain hearing these words immediately vanished, and ascending into heaven stood before God, and told all that he had seen in the house of Abraham; and the chief-captain said this also to his Lord, Thus says your friend Abraham, I will not go with you, but do whatever you are commanded; and now, O Lord Almighty, does your glory and immortal kingdom order anything? God said to the chief-captain Michael, Go to my friend Abraham yet once again, and speak to him thus, Thus says the Lord your God, he that brought you into the land of promise, that blessed you above the sand of the sea and above the stars of heaven, that opened the womb of barrenness of Sarah, and granted you Isaac as the fruit of the womb in old age, Verily I say unto you that blessing I will bless you, and multiplying I will multiply your seed, and I will give you all that you shall ask from me, for I am the Lord your God, and besides me there is no other. Tell me why you have rebelled against me, and why there is grief in you, and why you rebelled against my archangel Michael? Do you not know that all who have come from Adam and Eve have died, and that none of the prophets has escaped death? None of those that rule as kings is immortal; none of your forefathers has escaped the mystery of death. They have all died, they have all departed into Hades, they are all gathered by the sickle of death. But upon you I have not sent death, I have not suffered any deadly disease to come upon you, I have not permitted the sickle of death to meet you, I have not allowed the nets of Hades to enfold you, I have never wished you to meet with any evil. But for good comfort I have sent my chief-captain Michael to you, that you may know your departure from the world, and set your house in order, and all that belongs to you, and bless Isaac your beloved son. And now know that I have done this not wishing to grieve you. Wherefore then have you said to my chief-captain, I will not go with you? Wherefore have you spoken thus? Do you not know that if I give leave to death and he comes upon you, then I should see whether you would come or not?

9 And the chief-captain receiving the exhortations of the Lord went down to Abraham, and seeing him the righteous one fell upon his face to the ground as one dead, and the chief-captain told him all that he had heard from the Most High. Then the holy and just Abraham rising with many tears fell at the feet of the Incorporeal, and besought him, saying, I beseech you, chief-captain of the hosts above, since you have wholly deigned to come yourself to me a sinner and in all things your unworthy servant, I beseech you even now, O chief-captain, to carry my word yet again to the Most High, and you shall say to him, Thus says Abraham your servant, Lord, Lord, in every work and word which I have asked of you you have heard me, and hast fulfilled all my counsel. Now, Lord, I resist not your power, for I too know that I am not immortal but mortal. Since therefore to your command all things yield, and fear and tremble at the face of your power, I also fear, but I ask one request of you, and now, Lord and Master, hear my prayer, for while still in this body I desire to see all the inhabited earth, and all the creations which you established by one word, and when I see these, then if I shall depart from life I shall be without sorrow. So the chief-captain went back again, and stood before God, and told him all, saying, Thus says your friend Abraham, I desired to behold all the earth in my lifetime before I died. And the Most High hearing this, again commanded the chief-captain Michael, and said to him, Take a cloud of light, and the angels that have power over the chariots, and go down, take the righteous Abraham upon a chariot of the cherubim, and exalt him into the air of heaven that he may behold all the earth.

10 And the archangel Michael went down and took Abraham upon a chariot of the cherubim, and exalted him into the air of heaven, and led him upon the cloud together with sixty angels, and Abraham ascended upon the chariot over all the earth. And Abraham saw the world as it was in that day, some ploughing, others driving wagons, in one place men herding flocks, and in another watching them by night, and dancing and playing and harping, in another place men striving and contending at law, elsewhere men weeping and having the dead in remembrance. He saw also the newly-wedded received with honor, and in a word he saw all things that are done in the world, both good and bad. Abraham therefore passing over them saw men bearing swords, wielding in their hands sharpened swords, and Abraham asked the chief-captain, Who are these? The chief-captain said, These are thieves, who intend to commit murder, and to steal and burn and destroy. Abraham said, Lord, Lord, hear my voice, and command that wild beasts may come out of the wood and devour them. And even as he spoke there came wild beasts out of the wood and devoured them. And he saw in another place a man with a woman committing fornication with each other, and said, Lord, Lord, command that the earth may open and swallow them, and straightway the earth was cleft and swallowed them. And he saw in another place men digging through a house, and carrying away other men's possessions, and he said, Lord, Lord, command that fire may come down from heaven and consume them. And even as he spoke, fire came down from heaven and consumed them. And straightway there came a voice from heaven to the chief-captain, saying thus, O chief-captain Michael, command the chariot to stop, and turn Abraham away that he may not see all the earth, for if he behold all that live in wickedness, he will destroy all creation. For behold, Abraham has not sinned, and has no pity on sinners, but I have made the world, and desire not to destroy any one of them, but wait for the death of the sinner, till he be converted and live. But take Abraham up to the first gate of heaven, that he may see there the judgements and recompenses, and repent of the souls of the sinners that he has destroyed.

11 So Michael turned the chariot and brought Abraham to the east, to the first gate of heaven; and Abraham saw two ways, the one narrow and contracted, the other broad and spacious, and there he saw two gates, the one broad on the broad way, and the other narrow on the narrow way. And outside the two gates there he saw a man sitting upon a gilded throne, and the appearance of that man was terrible, as of the Lord. And they saw many souls driven by angels and led in through the broad gate, and other souls, few in number, that were taken by the angels through the narrow gate. And when the wonderful one who sat upon the golden throne saw few entering through the narrow gate, and many entering through the broad one, straightway that wonderful one tore

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the hairs of his head and the sides of his beard, and threw himself on the ground from his throne, weeping and lamenting. But when he saw many souls entering through the narrow gate, then he arose from the ground and sat upon his throne in great joy, rejoicing and exulting. And Abraham asked the chief-captain, My Lord chief-captain, who is this most marvelous man, adorned with such glory, and sometimes he weeps and laments, and sometimes he rejoices and exults? The incorporeal one said: This is the first-created Adam who is in such glory, and he looks upon the world because all are born from him, and when he sees many souls going through the narrow gate, then he arises and sits upon his throne rejoicing and exulting in joy, because this narrow gate is that of the just, that leads to life, and they that enter through it go into Paradise. For this, then, the first-created Adam rejoices, because he sees the souls being saved. But when he sees many souls entering through the broad gate, then he pulls out the hairs of his head, and casts himself on the ground weeping and lamenting bitterly, for the broad gate is that of sinners, which leads to destruction and eternal punishment. And for this the first-formed Adam falls from his throne weeping and lamenting for the destruction of sinners, for they are many that are lost, and they are few that are saved, for in seven thousand there is scarcely found one soul saved, being righteous and undefiled.

12 While he was yet saying these things to me, behold two angels, fiery in aspect, and pitiless in mind, and severe in look, and they drove on thousands of souls, pitilessly lashing them with fiery thongs. The angel laid hold of one soul, and they drove all the souls in at the broad gate to destruction. So we also went along with the angels, and came within that broad gate, and between the two gates stood a throne terrible of aspect, of terrible crystal, gleaming as fire, and upon it sat a wondrous man bright as the sun, like to the Son of God. Before him stood a table like crystal, all of gold and fine linen, and upon the table there was lying a book, the thickness of it six cubits, and the breadth of it ten cubits, and on the right and left of it stood two angels holding paper and ink and pen. Before the table sat an angel of light, holding in his hand a balance, and on his left sat an angel all fiery, pitiless, and severe, holding in his hand a trumpet, having within it all-consuming fire with which to try the sinners. The wondrous man who sat upon the throne himself judged and sentenced the souls, and the two angels on the right and on the left wrote down, the one on the right the righteousness and the one on the left the wickedness. The one before the table, who held the balance, weighed the souls, and the fiery angel, who held the fire, tried the souls. And Abraham asked the chief-captain Michael, What is this that we behold? And the chief-captain said, These things that you see, holy Abraham, are the judgement and recompense. And behold the angel holding the soul in his hand, and he brought it before the judge, and the judge said to one of the angels that served him, Open me this book, and find me the sins of this soul. And opening the book he found its sins and its righteousness equally balanced, and he neither gave it to the tormentors, nor to those that were saved, but set it in the midst.

13 And Abraham said, My Lord chief-captain, who is this most wondrous judge? And who are the angels that write down? And who is the angel like the sun, holding the balance? And who is the fiery angel holding the fire? The chief-captain said, "Do you see, most holy Abraham, the terrible man sitting upon the throne? This is the son of the first created Adam, who is called Abel, whom the wicked Cain killed, and he sits thus to judge all creation, and examines righteous men and sinners. For God has said, I shall not judge you, but every man born of man shall be judged. Therefore he has given to him judgement, to judge the world until his great and glorious coming, and then, O righteous Abraham, is the perfect judgement and recompense, eternal and unchangeable, which no one can alter. For every man has come from the first-created, and therefore they are first judged here by his son, and at the second coming they shall be judged by the twelve tribes of Israel, every breath and every creature. But the third time they shall be judged by the Lord God of all, and then, indeed, the end of that judgement is near, and the sentence terrible, and there is none to deliver. And now by three tribunals the judgement of the world and the recompense is made, and for this reason a matter is not finally confirmed by one or two witnesses, but by three witnesses shall everything be established. The two angels on the right hand and on the left, these are they that write down the sins and the righteousness, the one on the right hand writes down the righteousness, and the one on the left the sins. The angel like the sun, holding the balance in his hand, is the archangel, Dokiel the just weigher, and he weighs the righteousnesses and sins with the righteousness of God. The fiery and pitiless angel, holding the fire in his hand, is the archangel Puruel, who has power over fire, and tries the works of men through fire, and if the fire consume the work of any man, the angel of judgement immediately seizes him, and carries him away to the place of sinners, a most bitter place of punishment. But if the fire approves the work of anyone, and does not seize upon it, that man is justified, and the angel of righteousness takes him and carries him up to be saved in the lot of the just. And thus, most righteous Abraham, all things in all men are tried by fire and the balance."

14 And Abraham said to the chief-captain, My Lord the chief-captain, the soul which the angel held in his hand, why was it adjudged to be set in the midst? The chief-captain said, Listen, righteous Abraham. Because the judge found its sins. and its righteousnesses equal, he neither committed it to judgement nor to be saved, until the judge of all shall come. Abraham said to the chief-captain, And what yet is wanting for the soul to be saved? The chief-captain said, If it obtains one righteousness above its sins, it enters into salvation. Abraham said to the chief-captain, Come hither, chief-captain Michael, let us make prayer for this soul, and see whether God will hear us. The chief-captain said, Amen, be it so; and they made prayer and entreaty for the soul, and God heard them, and when they rose up from their prayer they did not see the soul standing there. And Abraham said to the angel, Where is the soul that you held in the midst? And the angel answered, It has been saved by your righteous prayer, and behold an angel of light has taken it and carried it up into Paradise. Abraham said, I glorify the name of God, the Most High, and his immeasurable mercy. And Abraham said to the chief-captain, I beseech you, archangel, hearken to my prayer, and let us yet call upon the Lord, and supplicate his compassion, and entreat his mercy for the souls of the sinners whom I formerly, in my anger, cursed and destroyed, whom the earth devoured, and the wild beasts tore in pieces, and the fire consumed through my words. Now I know that I have sinned before the Lord our God. Come then, O Michael, chief-captain of the hosts above, come, let us call upon God with tears that he may forgive me my sin, and grant them to me. And the chief-captain heard him, and they made entreaty before the Lord, and when they had called upon him for a long space, there came a voice from heaven saying, Abraham, Abraham, I have hearkened to your voice and your prayer, and forgive you your sin, and those whom you think that I destroyed I have called up and brought them into life by my exceeding kindness, because for a season I have requited them in judgement, and those whom I destroy living upon earth, I will not requite in death.

15 And the voice of the Lord said also to the chief-captain Michael, Michael, my servant, turn back Abraham to his house, for behold his end has come near, and the measure of his life is fulfilled, that he may set all things in order, and then take him and bring him to me. So the chief-captain, turning the chariot and the cloud, brought Abraham to his house, and going into his chamber he sat upon his couch. And Sarah his wife came and embraced the feet of the Incorporeal, and spoke humbly, saying, I give you thanks, my Lord, that you have brought my Lord Abraham, for behold we thought he had been taken up from us. And his son Isaac also came and fell upon his neck, and in the same way all his men-slaves and women-slaves surrounded Abraham and embraced him, glorifying God. And the Incorporeal one said to them, Hearken, righteous Abraham. Behold your wife Sarah, behold also your beloved son Isaac, behold also all your men-servants and maid-servants round about you. Make disposition of all that you have, for the day has come near in which you shall depart from the body and go to the Lord once for all. Abraham said, Has the Lord said it, or do you say this of yourself? The chief-captain answered, Hearken, righteous Abraham. The Lord has commanded, and I tell it you. Abraham said, I will not go with you. The chief-captain, hearing these words, straightway went forth from the presence of Abraham, and went up into the heavens, and stood before God the Most High, and said, Lord Almighty, behold I have hearkened to Your friend Abraham in all he has said to You, and have fulfilled his requests. I have shown to him Your power, and all the earth and sea that is under heaven. I have shown to him judgement and recompense by means of cloud and chariots, and again he says, I will not go with you. And the Most High said to the angel, Does my friend Abraham say thus again, I will not go with you? The archangel said, Lord Almighty, he says thus, and I refrain from laying hands on him, because from the beginning he is Your friend, and has done all things pleasing in Your sight. There is no man like him on earth, not even Job the wondrous man, and therefore I refrain from laying hands on him. Command, therefore, Immortal King, what shall be done.

16 Then the Most High said, Call me hither Death that is called the shameless countenance and the pitiless look. And Michael the Incorporeal went and said to Death, Come hither; the Lord of creation, the immortal king, calls you. And Death, hearing this, shivered and trembled, being possessed with great terror, and coming with great fear it stood before the invisible father, shivering, groaning and trembling, awaiting the command of the Lord. Therefore the invisible God said to Death, Come hither, you bitter and fierce name of the world, hide your fierceness, cover your corruption, and cast away your bitterness from you, and put on your beauty and all your glory, and go down to Abraham my friend, and take him and bring him to me. But now also I tell you not to terrify him, but bring him with fair speech, for he is my own friend. Having heard this, Death went out from the presence of the Most High, and put on a robe of great brightness, and made his appearance like the sun, and became fair and beautiful above the sons of men, assuming the form of an archangel, having his cheeks flaming with fire, and he departed to Abraham. Now the righteous Abraham went out of his chamber, and sat under the trees of Mamre, holding his chin in his hand, and awaiting the coming of the archangel Michael. And behold, a smell of sweet odor came to him, and a flashing of light, and Abraham turned and saw Death coming towards him in great glory and beauty. And Abraham arose and went to meet him, thinking that it was the chief-captain of God, and Death beholding him saluted him, saying, Rejoice, precious Abraham, righteous soul, true friend of the Most High God, and companion of the holy angels. Abraham said to Death, Hail you of appearance and form like the sun, most glorious helper, bringer of light, wondrous man, from whence does your glory come to us, and who are you, and whence do you come? Then Death said, Most righteous Abraham, behold I tell you the truth. I am the bitter lot of death. Abraham said to him, Nay, but you are the comeliness of the world, you are the glory and beauty of angels and men, you are fairer in form than every other, and do you say, I am the bitter lot of death, and not rather, I am fairer than every good thing. Death said, I tell you the truth. What the Lord has named me, that also I tell you. Abraham said, For what are you come hither? Death said, For your holy soul am I come. Then Abraham said, I know what you mean, but I will not go with you; and Death was silent and answered him not a word.

17 Then Abraham arose, and went into his house, and Death also accompanied him there. And Abraham went up into his chamber, and Death went up with him. And Abraham lay down upon his couch, and Death came and sat by his feet. Then Abraham said, Depart, depart from me, for I desire to rest upon my couch. Death said, I will not depart until I take your spirit from you. Abraham said to him, By the immortal God I charge you to tell me the truth. Are you death? Death said to him, I am Death. I am the destroyer of the world. Abraham said, I beseech you, since you are Death, tell me if you come thus to all in such fairness and glory and beauty? Death said, Nay, my Lord Abraham, for your righteousnesses, and the boundless sea of your hospitality, and the greatness of your love towards God has become a crown upon my head, and in beauty and great peace and gentleness I approach the righteous, but to sinners I come in great corruption and fierceness and the greatest bitterness and with fierce and pitiless look. Abraham said, I beseech you, hearken to me, and show me your fierceness and all your corruption and bitterness. And Death said, You can not behold my fierceness, most righteous Abraham. Abraham said, Yes, I shall be able to behold all your fierceness by means of the name of the living God, for the might of my God that is in heaven is with me. Then Death put off all his comeliness and beauty, and all his glory and the form like the sun with which he was clothed, and put upon himself a tyrant's robe, and made his appearance gloomy and fiercer than all kind of wild beasts, and more unclean than all uncleanness. And he showed to Abraham seven fiery heads of serpents and fourteen faces, (one) of flaming fire and of great fierceness, and a face of darkness, and a most gloomy face of a viper, and a face of a most terrible precipice, and a face fiercer than an asp, and a face of a terrible lion, and a face of a cerastes and basilisk. He showed him also a face of a fiery scimitar, and a sword-bearing face, and a face of lightning, lightening terribly, and a noise of dreadful thunder. He showed him also another face of a fierce stormy sea, and a fierce rushing river, and a terrible three-headed serpent, and a cup mingled with poisons, and in short he showed to him great fierceness and unendurable bitterness, and every mortal disease as of the odor of Death. And from the great bitterness and fierceness there died servants and maid-servants in number about seven thousand, and the righteous Abraham came into indifference of death so that his spirit failed him.

18 And the all-holy Abraham, seeing these things thus, said to Death, I beseech you, all-destroying Death, hide your fierceness, and put on your beauty and the shape which you had before. And straightway Death hid his fierceness, and put on his beauty which he had before. And Abraham said to Death, Why have you done this, that you have slain all my servants and maidservants? Has God sent you hither for this end this day? Death said, Nay, my Lord Abraham, it is not as you say, but on your account was I sent hither. Abraham said to Death, How then have these died? Has the Lord not spoken it? Death said, Believe, most righteous Abraham, that this also is wonderful, that you also were not taken away with them. Nevertheless I tell you the truth, for if the right hand of God had not been with you at that time, you also would have had to depart from this life. The righteous Abraham said, Now I know that I have come into indifference of death, so that my spirit fails, but I beseech you, all-destroying Death, since my servants have died before their time, come let us pray to the Lord our God that he may hear us and raise up those who died by your fierceness before their time. And Death said,

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Amen, be it so. Therefore Abraham arose and fell upon the face of the ground in prayer, and Death together with him, and the Lord sent a spirit of life upon those that were dead and they were made alive again. Then the righteous Abraham gave glory to God.

19 And going up into his chamber he lay down, and Death came and stood before him. And Abraham said to him, Depart from me, for I desire to rest, because my spirit is in indifference. Death said, I will not depart from you until I take your soul. And Abraham with an austere countenance and angry look said to Death, Who has ordered you to say this? You say these words of yourself boastfully, and I will not go with you until the chief-captain Michael come to me, and I shall go with him. But this also I tell you, if you desire that I shall accompany you, explain to me all your changes, the seven fiery heads of serpents and what the face of the precipice is, and what the sharp sword, and what the loud-roaring river, and what the tempestuous sea that rages so fiercely. Teach me also the unendurable thunder, and the terrible lightning, and the evil-smelling cup mingled with poisons. Teach me concerning all these. And Death answered, Listen, righteous Abraham. For seven ages I destroy the world and lead all down to Hades, kings and rulers, rich and poor, slaves and free men, I convoy to the bottom of Hades, and for this I showed you the seven heads of serpents. The face of fire I showed you because many die consumed by fire, and behold death through a face of fire. The face of the precipice I showed you, because many men die descending from the tops of trees or terrible precipices and losing their life, and see death in the shape of a terrible precipice. The face of the sword I showed you because many are slain in wars by the sword, and see death as a sword. The face of the great rushing river I showed you because many are drowned and perish snatched away by the crossing of many waters and carried off by great rivers, and see death before their time. The face of the angry raging sea I showed you because many in the sea falling into great surges and becoming shipwrecked are swallowed up and behold death as the sea. The unendurable thunder and the terrible lightning I showed you because many men in the moment of anger meet with unendurable thunder and terrible lightning coming to seize upon men, and see death thus. I showed you also the poisonous wild beasts, asps and basilisks, leopards and lions and lions' cubs, bears and vipers, and in short the face of every wild beast I showed you, most righteous one, because many men are destroyed by wild beasts, and others by poisonous snakes, serpents and asps and cerastes and basilisks and vipers, breathe out their life and die. I showed you also the destroying cups mingled with poison, because many men being given poison to drink by other men straightway depart unexpectedly.

20 Abraham said, I beseech you, is there also an unexpected death? Tell me. Death said, Verily, verily, I tell you in the truth of God that there are seventy-two deaths. One is the just death, buying its fixed time, and many men in one hour enter into death being given over to the grave. Behold, I have told you all that you have asked, now I tell you, most righteous Abraham, to dismiss all counsel, and cease from asking anything once for all, and come, go with me, as the God and judge of all has commanded me. Abraham said to Death, Depart from me yet a little, that I may rest on my couch, for I am very faint at heart, for since I have seen you with my eyes my strength has failed me, all the limbs of my flesh seem to me a weight as of lead, and my spirit is distressed exceedingly. Depart for a little; for I have said I cannot bear to see your shape. Then Isaac his son came and fell upon his breast weeping, and his wife Sarah came and embraced his feet, lamenting bitterly. There came also his men slaves and women slaves and surrounded his couch, lamenting greatly. And Abraham came into indifference of death, and Death said to Abraham, Come, take my right hand, and may cheerfulness and life and strength come to you. For Death deceived Abraham, and he took his right hand, and straightway his soul adhered to the hand of Death. And immediately the archangel Michael came with a multitude of angels and took up his precious soul in his hands in a divinely woven linen cloth, and they tended the body of the just Abraham with divine ointments and perfumes until the third day after his death, and buried him in the land of promise, the oak of Mamre, but the angels received his precious soul, and ascended into heaven, singing the hymn of "thrice holy" to the Lord the God of all, and they set it there to worship the God and Father. And after great praise and glory had been given to the Lord, and Abraham bowed down to worship, there came the undefiled voice of the God and Father saying thus, Take therefore my friend Abraham into Paradise, where are the tabernacles of my righteous ones, and the abodes of my saints Isaac and Jacob in his bosom, where there is no trouble, nor grief, nor sighing, but peace and rejoicing and life unending. (And let us, too, my beloved brethren, imitate the hospitality of the patriarch Abraham, and attain to his virtuous way of life, that we may be thought worthy of the life eternal, glorifying the Father, Son and Holy Ghost; to whom be glory and power forever. Amen.).

THE TESTAMENT OF ABRAHAM

[SHORT VERSION]
Translation: Montague Rhode James, 1892
Estimated Range of Dating: 1st to 2nd Centuries A.D.

1. It came to pass, when the days of the death of Abraham drew near, that the Lord said to Michael: Arise and go to Abraham, my servant, and say to him, You shall depart from life, for lo! The days of your temporal life are fulfilled: so that he may set his house in order before he die.

2. And Michael went and came to Abraham, and found him sitting before his oxen for ploughing, and he was exceeding old in appearance, and had his son in his arms. Abraham, therefore, seeing the archangel Michael, rose from the ground and saluted him, not knowing who he was, and said to him: The Lord preserve you. May your journey be prosperous with you. And Michael answered him: You are kind, good father. Abraham answered and said to him: Come, draw near to me, brother, and sit down a little while, that I may order a beast to be brought that we may go to my house, and you may rest with me, for it is toward evening, and in the morning arise and go wherever you will, lest some evil beast meet you and do you hurt. And Michael enquired of Abraham, saying: Tell me your name, before I enter your house, lest I be burdensome to you. Abraham answered and said, My parents called me Abram, and the Lord named me Abraham, saying: Arise and depart from your house, and from your kindred, and go into the land which I shall show unto you. And when I went away into the land which the Lord showed me, he said to me: Your name shall no more be called Abram, but your name shall be Abraham. Michael answered and said to him: Pardon me, my father, experienced man of God, for I am a stranger, and I have heard of you that you went forty furlongs and brought a goat and slew it, entertaining angels in your house, that they might rest there. Thus speaking together, they arose and went towards the house. And Abraham called one of his servants, and said to him: Go, bring me a beast that the stranger may sit upon it, for he is wearied with his journey. And Michael said: Trouble not the youth, but let us go lightly until we reach the house, for I love your company.

3. And arising they went on, and as they drew near to the city, about three furlongs from it, they found a great tree having three hundred branches, like to a tamarisk tree. And they heard a voice from its branches singing, "Holy are you, because you have kept the purpose for which you were sent." And Abraham heard the voice, and hid the mystery in his heart, saying within himself, What is the mystery that I have heard? As he came into the house, Abraham said to his servants, Arise, go out to the flocks, and bring three sheep, and slay them quickly, and make them ready that we may eat and drink, for this day is a feast for us. And the servants brought the sheep, and Abraham called his son Isaac, and said to him, My son Isaac, arise and put water in the vessel that we may wash the feet of this stranger. And he brought it as he was commanded, and Abraham said, I perceive, and so it shall be, that in this basin I shall never again wash the feet of any man coming to us as a . And Isaac hearing his father say this wept, and said to him, My father what is this that you say? This is my last time to wash the feet of a stranger? And Abraham seeing his son weeping, also wept exceedingly, and Michael seeing them weeping, wept also, and the tears of Michael fell upon the vessel and became a precious stone.

4. When Sarah, being inside in her house, heard their weeping, she came out and said to Abraham, Lord, why is it that you thus weep? Abraham answered, and said to her, It is no evil. Go into your house, and do your own work, lest we be troublesome to the man. And Sarah went away, being about to prepare the supper. And the sun came near to setting, and Michael went out of the house, and was taken up into the heavens to worship before God, for at sunset all the angels worship God and Michael himself is the first of the angels. And they all worshipped him, and went each to his own place, but Michael spoke before the Lord and said, Lord, command me to be questioned before your holy glory! And the Lord said to Michael, Announce whatsoever you will! And the Archangel answered and said, Lord, you sent me to Abraham to say to him, Depart from your body, and leave this world; the Lord calls you; and I dare not, Lord, reveal myself to him, for he is your friend, and a righteous man, and one that receives strangers. But I beseech you, Lord, command the remembrance of the death of Abraham to enter into his own heart, and bid not me tell it him, for it is great abruptness to say, Leave the world, and especially to leave one's own body, for you created him from the beginning to have pity on the souls of all men. Then the Lord said to Michael, Arise and go to Abraham, and lodge with him, and whatever you see him eat, eat also, and wherever he shall sleep, sleep there also. For I will cast the thought of the death of Abraham into the heart of Isaac his son in a dream.

5. Then Michael went into the house of Abraham on that evening, and found them preparing the supper, and they ate and drank and were merry. And Abraham said to his son Isaac, Arise, my son, and spread the man's couch that he may sleep, and set the lamp upon the stand. And Isaac did as his father commanded him, and Isaac said to his father, I too am coming to sleep beside you. Abraham answered him, Nay, my son, lest we be troublesome to this man, but go to your own chamber and sleep. And Isaac not wishing to disobey his father's command, went away and slept in his own chamber.

6. And it happened about the seventh hour of the night Isaac awoke, and came to the door of his father's chamber, crying out and saying, Open, father, that I may touch you before they take you away from me. Abraham arose and opened to him, and Isaac entered and hung upon his father's neck weeping, and kissed him with lamentations. And Abraham wept together with his son, and Michael saw them weeping and wept likewise. And Sarah hearing them weeping called from her bed-chamber, saying, My Lord Abraham, why is this weeping? Has the stranger told you of your brother's son Lot that he is dead? Or has anything else befallen us? Michael answered and said to Sarah, Nay, Sarah, I have brought no tidings of Lot, but I knew of all your kindness of heart, that therein you excel all men upon earth, and the Lord has remembered you. Then Sarah said to Abraham, How dare you weep when the man of God has come in to you, and why have your eyes shed tears for today there is great rejoicing? Abraham said to her, How do you know that this is a man of God? Sarah answered and said, Because I say and declare that this is one of the three men who were entertained by us at the oak of Mamre, when one of the servants went and brought a kid and you killed it, and said to me, Arise, make ready that we may eat with these men in our house. Abraham answered and said, You have perceived well, O woman, for I too, when I washed his feet knew in my heart that these were the feet which I had washed at the oak of Mamre, and when I began to enquire concerning his journey, he said to me, I go to preserve Lot your brother from the men of Sodom, and then I knew the mystery.

7. And Abraham said to Michael, Tell me, man of God, and show to me why you have come hither. And Michael said, Your son Isaac will show you. And Abraham said to his son, My beloved son, tell me what you have seen in your dream today, and wast frightened. Relate it to me. Isaac answered his father, I saw in my dream the sun and the moon, and there was a crown upon my head, and there came from heaven a man of great size, and shining as the light that is called the father of light. He took the sun from my head, and yet left the rays behind with me. And I wept and said, I beseech you, my Lord, take not away the glory of my head, and the light of my house, and all my glory. And the sun and the moon and the stars lamented, saying, Take not away the glory of our power. And that shining man answered and said to me, Weep not that I take the light of your house, for it is taken up from troubles into rest, from a low estate to a high one; they lift him up from a narrow to a wide place; they raise him from darkness to light. And I said to him, I beseech you, Lord, take also the rays with it. He said to me, There are twelve hours of the day, and then I shall take all the rays. As the shining man said this, I saw the sun of my house ascending into heaven, but that crown I saw no more, and that sun was like you my father. And Michael said to Abraham, Your son Isaac has spoken truth, for you shall go, and be taken up into the heavens, but your body shall remain on earth, until seven thousand ages are fulfilled, for then all flesh shall arise. Now therefore, Abraham, set your house in order, and your children, for you have heard fully what is decreed concerning you. Abraham answered and said to Michael, I beseech you, Lord, if I shall depart from my body, I have desired to be taken up in my body that I may see the creatures that the Lord my God has created in heaven and on earth. Michael answered and said, This is not for me to do, but I shall go and tell the Lord of this, and if I am commanded I shall show you all these things.

8. And Michael went up into heaven, and spoke before the Lord concerning Abraham, and the Lord answered Michael, Go and take up Abraham in the body, and show him all things, and whatsoever he shall say to you do to him as to my friend. So Michael went forth and took up Abraham in the body on a cloud, and brought him to the river of Ocean.

12. And after Abraham had seen the place of judgement, the cloud took him down upon the firmament below, and Abraham, looking down upon the earth, saw a man committing adultery with a wedded woman. And Abraham turning said to Michael, Do you see this wickedness? But, Lord, send fire from heaven to consume them. And straightway there came down fire and consumed them, for the Lord had said to Michael, do whatever Abraham shall ask you to do for him. Abraham looked again, and saw other men railing at their companions, and said, Let the earth open and swallow them, and as he spoke the earth swallowed them alive. Again the cloud led him to another place, and Abraham saw some going into a desert place to commit murder, and he said to Michael, Do you see this wickedness? But let wild beasts come out of the desert, and tear them in pieces, and that same hour wild beasts came out of the desert, and devoured them. Then the Lord God spoke to Michael saying, Turn away Abraham to his own house, and let him not go round all the creation that I have made, because he has no compassion on

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sinners, but I have compassion on sinners that they may turn and live, and repent of their sins and be saved.

8. And Abraham looked and saw two gates, the one small and the other large, and between the two gates sat a man upon a throne of great glory, and a multitude of angels round about him, and he was weeping, and again laughing, but his weeping exceeded his laughter seven-fold. And Abraham said to Michael, Who is this that sits between the two gates in great glory; sometimes he laughs, and sometimes he weeps, and his weeping exceeds his laughter seven-fold? And Michael said to Abraham, Do you not know who it is? And he said, No, Lord. And Michael said to Abraham, Do you see these two gates, the small and the great? These are they which lead to life and to destruction. This man that sits between them is Adam, the first man whom the Lord created, and set him in this place to see every soul that departs from the body, seeing that all are from him. When, therefore, you see him weeping, know that he has seen many souls being led to destruction, but when you see him laughing, he has seen many souls being led into life. Do you see how his weeping exceeds his laughter? Since he sees the greater part of the world being led away through the broad gate to destruction, therefore his weeping exceeds his laughter seven-fold.

9. And Abraham said, And he that cannot enter through the narrow gate, can he not enter into life? Then Abraham wept, saying, Woe is me, what shall I do? For I am a man broad of body, and how shall I be able to enter by the narrow gate, by which a boy of fifteen years cannot enter? Michael answered and said to Abraham, Fear not, father, nor grieve, for you shall enter by it unhindered, and all those who are like you. And as Abraham stood and marveled, behold an angel of the Lord driving sixty thousand souls of sinners to destruction. And Abraham said to Michael, Do all these go into destruction? And Michael said to him, Yea, but let us go and search among these souls, if there is among them even one righteous. And when they went, they found an angel holding in his hand one soul of a woman from among these sixty thousand, because he had found her sins weighing equally with all her works, and they were neither in motion nor at rest, but in a state between; but the other souls he led away to destruction. Abraham said to Michael, Lord, is this the angel that removes the souls from the body or not? Michael answered and said, This is death, and he leads them into the place of judgement, that the judge may try them.

10. And Abraham said, My Lord, I beseech you to lead me to the place of judgement so that I too may see how they are judged. Then Michael took Abraham upon a cloud, and led him into Paradise, and when he came to the place where the judge was, the angel came and gave that soul to the judge. And the soul said, Lord have mercy on me. And the judge said, How shall I have mercy upon you, when you had no mercy upon your daughter which you had, the fruit of your womb? Wherefore did you slay her? It answered, Nay, Lord, slaughter has not been done by me, but my daughter has lied upon me. But the judge commanded him to come that wrote down the records, and behold cherubim carrying two books. And there was with them a man of exceeding great stature, having on his head three crowns, and the one crown was higher than the other two. These are called the crowns of witness. And the man had in his hand a golden pen, and the judge said to him, Exhibit the sin of this soul. And that man, opening one of the books of the cherubim, sought out the sin of the woman's soul and found it. And the judge said, O wretched soul, why do you say that you have not done murder? Did you not, after the death of your husband, go and commit adultery with your daughter's husband, and kill her? And he convicted her also of her other sins, whatsoever she had done from her youth. Hearing these things the woman cried out, saying, Woe is me, all the sins that I did in the world I forgot, but here they were not forgotten. Then they took her away also and gave her over to the tormentors.

11. And Abraham said to Michael, Lord, who is this judge, and who is the other, who convicts the sins? And Michael said to Abraham, Do you see the judge? This is Abel, who first testified, and God brought him hither to judge, and he that bears witness here is the teacher of heaven and earth, and the scribe of righteousness, Enoch, for the Lord sent them hither to write down the sins and righteousnesses of each one. Abraham said, And how can Enoch bear the weight of the souls, not having seen death? Or how can he give sentence to all the souls? Michael said, If he gives sentence concerning the souls, it is not permitted; but Enoch himself does not give sentence, but it is the Lord who does so, and he has no more to do than only to write. For Enoch prayed to the Lord saying, I desire not, Lord, to give sentence on the souls, lest I be grievous to anyone; and the Lord said to Enoch, I shall command you to write down the sins of the soul that makes atonement and it shall enter into life, and if the soul make not atonement and repent, you shall find its sins written down and it shall be cast into punishment. And about the ninth hour Michael brought Abraham back to his house. But Sarah his wife, not seeing what had become of Abraham, was consumed with grief, and gave up the ghost, and after the return of Abraham he found her dead, and buried her.

13. But when the day of the death of Abraham drew near, the Lord God said to Michael, Death will not dare to go near to take away the soul of my servant, because he is my friend, but go and adorn Death with great beauty, and send him thus to Abraham, that he may see him with his eyes. And Michael straightway, as he was commanded, adorned Death with great beauty, and sent him thus to Abraham that he might see him. And he sat down near to Abraham, and Abraham seeing Death sitting near to him was afraid with a great fear. And Death said to Abraham, Hail, holy soul! Hail, friend of the Lord God! Hail, consolation and entertainment of travelers! And Abraham said, You are welcome, servant of the Most High. God. I beseech you, tell me who you are; and entering into my house partake of food and drink, and depart from me, for since I have seen you sitting near to me my soul has been troubled. For I am not at all worthy to come near you, for you are an exalted spirit and I am flesh and blood, and therefore I cannot bear your glory, for I see that your beauty is not of this world. And Death said to Abraham, I tell you, in all the creation that God has made, there has not been found one like you, for even the Lord himself by searching has not found such an one upon the whole earth. And Abraham said to Death, How dare you lie? For I see that your beauty is not of this world. And Death said to Abraham, Think not, Abraham, that this beauty is mine, or that I come thus to every man. Nay, but if any one is righteous like you, I thus take crowns and come to him, but if it is a sinner I come in great corruption, and out of their sin I make a crown for my head, and I shake them with great fear, so that they are dismayed. Abraham therefore said to him, And whence comes your beauty? And Death said, There is none other more full of corruption than I am. Abraham said to him, And are you indeed he that is called Death? He answered him and said, I am the bitter name. I am weeping....

14. And Abraham said to Death, Show us your corruption. And Death made manifest his corruption; and he had two heads, the one had the face of a serpent and by it some die at once by asps, and the other head was like a sword; by it some die by the sword as by bows. In that day the servants of Abraham died through fear of Death, and Abraham seeing them prayed to the Lord, and he raised them up. But God returned and removed the soul of Abraham as in a dream, and the archangel Michael took it up into the heavens. And Isaac buried his father beside his mother Sarah, glorifying and praising God, for to him is due glory, honor and worship, of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, now and always and to all eternity. Amen.

THE TESTAMENT OF ISAAC

Language: Sahidic-Ethiopic, Script: Ge'ez
"Testament of Isaac" in JTS N.S. 18
Translation: K. H. Kuhn, 1967
Estimated Range of Dating: 200-400 A.D.

(The Testament of Isaac is, together with the Testament of Abraham and the Testament of Jacob, part of a trio. It is a work now regarded as part of the Old Testament apocrypha. It is often treated as one of a trio of very similar works, the other two of which are the Testament of Abraham and Testament of Jacob, though there is no reason to assume that they were originally a single work. All three works are based on the Blessing of Jacob, found in the Bible, in their style.

There is agreement that the Testament of Isaac, which is not mentioned in ancient lists of Old Testament apocryphal works, is dependent upon the Testament of Abraham, but the exact date is difficult to discern. P. Nagel thinks it was written around A.D. 400 and M. Delcor affirms its earliness, suggesting because of affinities with the Dead Sea Scrolls that it may come from approximately the same milieu and date as the Testament of Abraham. Kuhn cautions, however, that there is really no convincing evidence for a precise dating of the Testament of Isaac. Nagel argues that the Sahidic version, the earliest, is translated from Greek. Kuhn responds that Nagel's published argument is questionable.

The Testament of Isaac has heavy Christian themes, though the Christian elements are usually regarded as later additions to what was originally a purely Jewish work.

The Christian elements in the text are not grammatically linked to the contiguous sentences and appear to disrupt the flow of thought (viz. 14v, first sentence; from 16r, last sentence, to 17r, first sentence; 24v, second sentence; 25v, concluding statement). Other passages (e.g. 15r, third sentence) are similar to traditions in the New Testament, but it is difficult to trace the direction of influence, if any.)

This Is The Going Forth From The Body Of Isaac The Patriarch: He Died On The Twenty-Fourth Of Mesore (17 August) In The Peace Of God. Amen.

1 Now Isaac the patriarch writes his testament and addresses his words of instruction to his son Jacob and to all those gathered round him. The blessings of the patriarch will be on those who come after us, even thos who listen to these words, to these words of instruction and these medicines of life, so that the grace of God may be with all those who believe. This is the end of obedience, as it is weitten. You have heard a word, let it abide with you – which means that a man should strive patiently with what he hears. God gives grace to those who believe: he who believes the words of God and of his saints will be an inheritor of the Kingdom of God. God has been with the generations gone by, which have passed away, because of their innocence and their faith towards God. He will be with the generations to come also.

2. Now it came to pass, when the time had come for the Patriarch Isaac to go forth from the body, God sent to him the angel of his father Abraham at dawn on the twenty-second of Mesore. He said to him. Hail, son of promise! (Now it was the daily custom of the righteous old man Isaac to converse with the angels.) He lifted his face up to the face of the angel : he saw him assuming the likeness of his father Abraham; and he opened his mouth and raised his voice and cried out in great joy, I have seen your face like someone who has seen the lace of God. The angel said to him. Listen, my beloved Isaac: 1 havee been sent for you by God to take you to the heavens and set you beside your father Abraham, so that you can see all the saints; for your father is expecting you and is coming for you himself. Behold, a throne has been set up for you close to your father Abraham, and your lot and your beloved son Jacob's lot will surpass that of all others in the whole of God's creation that is why you have been given for evermore the name of Patriarch and Father of the World. But the God-loviig old man Isaac said to the angel, 'I am astonished by you,for you are my father'.The angel answered. my beloved Isaac, I am the angel that ministers to your father Abraham. But rejoice now, for I am to take you out of sorrow into gladness, out of suffering to rest for ever. I am to transport you from prison to a place where you can range at will — to a place of joy and gladness: I am to take you to where there is light and merriment and rejoicing and abundance that never fails. So then, draw up your testament and a statement for your household. for I am to translate you to rest for all eternity. Blessed is your father who begot you: blessed are you also: blessed is your son Jacob; and blessed are your descendants that will come after you.

3. Now Jacob heard them talking together, but he said nothing. Our father Isaac said to the angel with a heavy heart. What shall I do about the light of my eyes, my beloved son Jacob? For I am afraid of what Esau might do to him - you know the sittuation. The angel said to him: 'My beloved Isaac, if all the nations on earth were gathered together, they would not be able to bring these blessings pronounced over Jacob to nothing. When you blessed him, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit blessed him; and Michael and Giabriel and all the angels and all the heavenly ones and the spirits ol all the righteous and your father Abraham all answered Amen. The sword therefore, shall not touch his body; but he shall be held in high honour and grow great and spread far and wide, and twelve thrones shall spring from him'. Our father Isaac said to the angel: 'You have given me much comfort, but do not let Jacob know in case he is distressed'. The angel said to him: 'My beloved Isaac, blessed is everv righteous man who goes forth from the body: blessed are they when they meet with God. Woe. woe, woe, three times woe to the sinner, because he has been born into this world: great sufferings will come to him. Isaac, beloved of God. give these instructions, therefore, to your sons, and the instructions your father has given you. Hide nothing from Jacob, so that he can write them as instructions for the generations that will come after you. and those who love God may live their lives in accordance with them. And take care that I am able to fetch you with Joy. without delay. The peace of my Lord that he has given me. I give to you, as I go to him who sent me'.

4. And when the angel had said this, he rose from the bed on which Isaac was sleeping. He went back to the worlds on high while our father Isaac watched him go, astonished at the vision he had seen. And he said: ' I shall not see daylight before I am sent for'. And while he was thinking this, behold, Jacob got up and came to the door of the room. The angel had cast a sleep over him so that he should not hear them; and he got up and ran to where his father slept and said to him: 'My father, whom have you been talking to?', Our father Isaac said to him: 'You have heard, my son: your aged father has been sent for to be taken from you', and Jacob put his arms round his father's neck and wept, saying: 'Ah me! My strength has left me: today you have made me an orphan, my father'. Our father Isaac embraced his son Jacob and wept; and both wept together until they could weep no more .And Jacob said: 'Take me with you, father Isaac'. But Isaac replied: 'I would not have it so, my son; wait until you arc sent for, my loved one. I remember on the day when the whole earth was shaken from end to end talking to my lord and father Abraham, and I had no strenght to do anything. What god has ordained, he has ordained for each one by sure authority: his ordinances are immutable. But I know, and I am glad that I am to go to God, and I am strengthened by a guiding spirit; for this is a way that no one can escape. Listen, my son, Whcrc is the first creation of the hands of God - our father Adam and our mother Eve? Where is Abel, and after him Mahalalel, and

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Jared, and our father Enoch, and Methuselah, and our father Noah, and his sons Shem, Ham, and Japheth? .After these Arpachshad, and Cainan, and Shelah, and Eber, and Reu, and Serug, and Nahor, and Terah, and my blessed father Abraham, and Lot his brother? All these experienced death except the perfect one, our father Enoch.' .After these, forty-two generations more shall pass until Christ comes, born of a pure virgin called Mary. He will spend thirty years preaching in the world. At the end of all this, he will choose twelve men and reveal to them his mysteries and teach them about the archetype of his body and his true blood by means of bread and wine: and the bread will become the body of God and the wine will become the blood of God. And then he will ascend the tree of the cross and die for the whole creation, and rise on the third day and despoil hell, and deliver all mankind from the enemy. The generations to come will be saved by his body and by his blood until the end of time. The sacrifices of Christians will not cease until the end of time, whether offered secretly or openly; and the Antichrist will not appear so long as they offer up their sacrilice.

Blessed is every man who performs that service and believes in it, because the archetypal service is in the heavens; and they shall celebrate with the Son of God in his kingdom'.

5. While the God-loving old man, our father Isaac, was saying this, all his household gathered round him and wept. His

son told all his relations, and they came to him in tears. Now our father Isaac had made for himself a bedroom in his house; and when his sight began to fail he withdrew into it and remained there for a hundred years, fasting daily until evening, and offering for himself and his household a young animal for their soul. And he spent half the night in prayer and praise of Giod. Thus he lived an ascetic life for a hundred years. And he kept three periods of forty days as fasts each year, neither drinking wine nor eating fruit nor sleeping on his bed. And he prayed and gave thanks to God continually.

6. Now when it became generally known that the man of God had regained his sight, people gathered to him from everywhere, listening to his words of life; for they realized that a holy spirit of God was speaking in him. The great ones who came said to him: 'You can now see clearly enough: how comes it that after your sight had failed you have now regained it?'

The God-Ioving old man smiled and said to them: 'My sons and brothers, the God of my father Abraham has brought this about to comfort me in my old age. But the priest of God said to him: 'Tell me what I ought to do, my father Isaac'. Our father Isaac said to him: 'Keep your body holy, for the temple of God is set in it. Do not engage in controversy with other men in case an angry word escapes your mouth. Be on your guard against evil-speaking, against vainglory, and against uttering any thoughtless word; and see that your hands do not reach out after what is not yours. Do not offer a sacrifice with a blemish in it; and wash yourself with water when you approach the altar. Do not mix the thoughts of the world with the thoughts of God when you stand before him. Do your utmost to be at peace with everyone. When you stand before God and offer your sacrifice. when you come to offer it on the altar, you should recite privately a hundred prayers to God and make this confession to God saying: 'Oh God, the incomprehensible, the unfathomable, the unattainable, the pure treasure, purify me in love; for I am flesh and blood and I run defiled to thee, that thou mayest purify me. I come burdened, and I ask that thou mayest lighten my burden: a fire will burn wood, and thy mercy will take away mine iniquities. Forgive me, me that am a sinner: I forgive the whole creation that thou hast made, 1 have no complaint against anyone: I am at peace with all that is made in thine image: I am unmoved by all the evil reasonings that have been brought before me. I am thy servant and the son of thy maidservant: 1 am the one who sins, thou art the one who forgives: forgive me and enable me to stand in thy holy place. Let my sacrifice be acceptable before thee: do not reject me because of my sins; but receive me unto thee, in spite of my many sins, like a sheep that has gone astray. God who hast been with our father Adam, and Abel. and Noah, and our father Abraham, and his son Isaac, who hast been with Jacob, be thou with me also, and receive my sacrilice from my hand'.

As you recite all this, take your sacrifice and offer it; and strive heavenwards because of the sacrifice of God, so that you do not displease him. For the work of the priest is no small thing.

7. Every priest today (and till the end of time) must be temperate as regards his food and drink and sleep; neither should he talk about events connected with this world, nor listen to anyone who is talking about them. Rather should he spend his whole life occupied with prayer and vigils and recitation until our God sends for him in peace. Every man on earth, be he priest or monk (for after a long time they will love the life of holy retreat), must renounce the world and all its evil cares and join in the holy service the angels render in purity to God. And they will be honoured before God and his angels because of their holy sacrifices and their angelic service, which is like the archetype that is rendered in the heavens. And the angels will be their friends, because of their perfect faith and their purity; and great is their honour before God.In a word, whether great or small,

sinlessness is required of us. The chief sins worthy of repentance are these: You shall not kill with the sword; You shall not kill with the tongue either: You shall not commit fornication with your body; You shall not commit fornication with your thoughts; You shall not go in to the young to defile them; You shall not be envious; You shall not be angry until the sun has set; You shall not be proud in dispositon; You shall not rejoice over your neighbour's fall: You shall not slander; You shall not look at a woman with a lustful eye; and. Do not readily listen to slander. We need to beware of these things, and of others like them, till each one of us is secure from the wrath that shall be revealed from heaven.

8. Now when the people gathered about him heard him, they cried out aloud saying. This is meet and right..Amen. But the God-loving old man was silent: he drew up his blanket: he covered his face.And the people and the priest were silent, so that he could rest himself a little. But the angel of his father .Abraham came to him and took him up into the heavens. He saw terrors and tumults spread abroad on this side and on that; and it was a terror and a tumult fearful to behold. Some had the face of a camel, others had the face of a lion: some had the face of a dog, others had but one eye and had tongs in their hands, three ells long, all of iron. I looked, and behold, a man was brought, and those who brought him went with him. When they reached the beasts, those who went with him withdrew to one side: the lion advanced towards him, tore him apart into little pieces, and swallowed him; it then vomited him up, and he became like himself again; and the next beast treated him in just the same way. In short, they passed him on from one to the other; each one would tear him into pieces, swallow him, and then vomit him up; and he would become like himself again. I said to the angel: What sin has this man committed, my lord, that all this is done to him? The angel said to me: 'This man you are looking at now had a quarrel with his neighbour, and he died without their being reconciled. See, he has been handed over to five chief tormentors: they spend a year tormenting him for every hour he spent Quarreling with his neighbour'. The angel also said to me: 'My beloved Isaac, do you think these are the only ones? Believe me Isaac. beloved of God, there are six hundred thousand tormentors. They spend a year tormenting a man for every hour that he spends sinning – if he did not repent, that is, before he went forth From the body.

9. He led me on and brought me to a fiery river. the waters of wich were an ell high, and its noise like the noise of heaven's thunder. And 1 saw a host of souls submerged in it; and those who were in that river cried out and wept aloud, and there was a great commotion and much groaning. But it is a discerning fire that does not touch the righteous, yet burns up sinners and boils them in the stench that surrounds them. I saw also the pit of the abyss, the smoke of which went up in clouds; I saw men sunk in it grinding their teeth, crying out and wailing, and each one was groaning.

The angel said to me. Look and see these others too. And when I had looked at them. the angel said to me," These are those who have committed the sin of Sodom; these are indeed in great distress. I saw also pits full of worms that do not sleep; I saw Abdemerouchos who is in charge of the punishments, made all of fire, threatening the tormentors in hell and saying. Beat them initil they know that God is.

I saw a house built of fiery stone, and there were grown men underneath it, crying out and wailing. The angel said to me. Look with your eyes and contemplate the Punishments. I said to the angel, .My eyes could not endure it; for how long must These punishmenls go on?

He said to me. Until the merciful God has pity.

10. After this the angel took me up into the heavens; I saw my father, Abraham and I made obeisance to him. He saluted me, with all the saints, and the saints honoured me because of my father; I they walked with me and took me to my Father, I worshipped him with all the saints. Songs of praise rang out, Thou art holy, thou art holy, thou art holy. King, Lord Sabaoth: the heavens and the earth are full of thy holy glory. The Lord said to my father from the holy place, 'Is good that you have come, Abraham, your righteous root and faithful saint: it is good that you have come to our city. Whatever you may want to ask now, make your requests in the name of your beloved son Isaac, and they shall be yours indeed'. My father Abraham said. 'Thine is the power, Oh Lord Almighty'.

The Lord said to Abraham, 'As for all those who are given the name of my beloved Isaac, let each one of them copy out his testament and honour it, and feed a poor man with bread in the name of my beloved Isaac on the day of his holy commemoration; to you will I grant them as sons in my kingdom'. Abraham said. 'My Lord Almighty, if a man cannot copy out his testament,' can'st thou not in thy mercy accept him, for thou art merciful and compassionate?'

The Lord said to Abraham: 'Let him feed a poor man with bread, and I will give him to you as a gift and as a son in my kingdom, and he shall come with you to the first hour of the thousand years.

Abraham said, 'Suppose he is poor and has no means of getting bread?' The Lord said, 'Let him spend the night of my beloved Isaac's commemoration without sleep, and I will give him to you as a gift and an inheritor in my kingdom'. My father Abraham said 'Suppose he is weak and has no strength, can'st thou not in thy mercy accept him in love?'. The Lord said to him. 'Let him offer up a little incense in the name of your beloved son Isaac, and I will give him to you as a son in my kingdom. If he has no means of getting incense, let him seek out a copy of his testament and read it on my beloved Isaac's day. If he cannot read it, let him go and listen to others who can. If he is unable to do any of these things, let him go into his house and say a hundred Prayers, and I will give him to you as a son in my kingdom. But the most essential thing of all is that he should offer a sacrifice in my beloved Isaac's name, For his body was offered as a sacrifice.'Yet not only will I give you everyone called by my beloved Isaac's name as a son in my

Kingdom; I will give you also everyone who does one of the things I have mentioned. And i will give you everyone who concerns himself about Isaac'slife and his testament, or does any compassionate act. such as giving someone a cup of water to drink, or who copies out his testament with his own hand, and those who read it with all their heart in faith, believing everything that I have said. .My power and the power of my beloved Son and the Holy Spirit shall be with them, and I will give them to you as sons in my kingdom. Peace to all of you, all my saints'.

11. Now when he had said this, songs of praise rang out. Thou art holy, thou art holy, thou art holy. King. Lord .Sabaoth; the heavens and the earth are full of thy holy glory. The Father said to Michael from the holy place: 'Michael, my steward, go quickly and gather together the angels and all the saints, so that they may come and meet my beloved Isaac. And Michael sounded the trumpet at once. All the saints gathered with the angels and came to the couch of our father Isaac:'the Lord mounted his chariot, and the seraphim were in front of him with the angels.And when they came to our father Isaac's couch, our father Isaac beheld our Lord's face immediately turned towards him full of joy. He cried out: 'It is good that thou hast come, my Lord, and thy great archangel Michael: it is good that you have come, tny father Abraham, and all the saints.

12. Now when he had said this, Jacob embraced his Father; he kissed his mouth and wept. Our father Isaac fixed his eyes on him and motioned to him to be silent. Our father Isaac said to the Lord: 'Remember my beloved Jacob'. The Lord said to him: 'My power shall be with him; and when the time comes and I become man and die and rise

from the dead on the third day, I will put your name in everyone's mind, and they will invoke you as their father.'

Isaac said to Jacob: 'My beloved son, this is the last commandment I give you today; keep a sharp eye on yourself Do not dishonour the image of God; for what you do to the image of man, you do to the image of God, and God will do it to you too in the place where you will meet him. This is the beginning and the end. Now when he had said this, our Lord brought his soul out of his body, and it was white as snow. He greeted it: he set it on the chariot with him: he took it up into the heavens, with the seraphim making music before him, and all the angels and the saints. He freely granted him the good things of his kingdom for ever, and all the requests our father Abraham had asked of the Lord he freely granted him as a covenant for ever.

13. This is the going forth from the body of our father Isaac, the patriarch, on the twenty-fourth of the month Mesore.And the day on which his father Abraham offered him as a sacrifice is the eighteenth of Mechir.(12 February) The heavens and the earth were full of the soothing odour of our father Isaac, like choice silver: this is the sacrifice of our father Isaac the patriarch. When Abraham offered him as a sacrifice to God, the soothing odour of Isaac's sacrifice went up into the heavens. Blessed is every man who performs an act of mercy in the name of these patriarchs, for they will be their sons in the kingdom of the heavens. For our Lord has made with them a covenant for ever, that everyone who performs an act of mercy on the day of their commemoration shall be given to them as a son in the kingdom of the heavens forever. And they shall come to the first hour of the thousand years, in accordance with the promise of our Lord, even our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, through whom every glory is due to him and his good Father and the Holy Spirit, the giver of life to all creation and one in being with the Father and the Son, now and always, for ever and ever. Amen"

THE TESTAMENT OF JACOB

Source: Codex Vaticanus Copticus 61
Language: Coptic (Bohairic); Script: Greek
Translation: Anonymus
Estimated Range of Dating: 200-400 A.D.

(The Testament of Jacob is a work now regarded as part of the Old Testament apocrypha. It is often treated as one of a trio of very similar works, the other two of which are the

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Testament of Abraham and Testament of Isaac, though there is no reason to assume that they were originally a single work. All three works are based on the Blessing of Jacob, found in the Bible, in their style. The Blessing of Jacob is a prophetic poem that appears in Genesis at 49:1–27 and mentions each of Jacob's twelve sons. Genesis presents the poem as the words of Jacob to his sons when Jacob is about to die.

In a similar manner to the other two Testaments, the Testament of Jacob begins with Jacob being visited by the archangel Michael and told of his impending death, and then being taken on a visit to heaven, where he first sees the torture of the sinful dead, and then meets the deceased Abraham. In this Testament it is the angels that Jacob meets who deliver the bulk of the sermonising passages.

James Charlesworth writes: "The Coptic text of the Testament of Jacob is shorter than the Testament of Isaac and appears to be a midrashic expansion of Genesis 47:29-50:26. The Lord sends Michael the archangel to Jacob in order to instruct him to prepare his testament for his sons. Jacob accepts God's will, in contrast to the Testament of Abraham, and prays. The angel returns to heaven; Jacob calls his sons, and then ascends to heaven and meets a multitude of tormentors. Jacob ascends higher and sees Abraham and Isaac, who are full of life and joy, and the good things prepared for the righteous." (The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research, p. 132)

The text of the Testament of Jacob here translated is the Coptic (Bohairic) text contained in Cod. Vat.Copt. 6l. The distinguishing marks of the Testament of Jacob. i.e. its essentially derivative character (especially its dependence on the book of Genesis) and the impression that the Cristian elements in it are less easily detachable than in the Testament of Isaac, coupled with the fact that no Sahidic text of it has been preserved (as is the case with the Testainent of Isaac), might suggest an origin independent of both the Testaments of Abraham and of Isaac. It might be argued, for example, that the Testament of Abraham was written first, in Greek: that the Testament of Isaac came later as an independent work (though whether written in Greek, or Sahidic, or anything else, it is impossible to say); and that later still the Bohairic translator of these two Testaments put them together and himself composed (in Bohairic) a Testament of Jacob to make a trilogy.

At the other extreme, though perhaps with less cogency, it might be argued that the three Testaments were designed as a trilogy from the start, and that all three, therefore, were originally written in Greek. In this case, it will be pure accident that only the Testament of Abraham has survived in Greek, that there are no surviving Sahidic texts of either it or the Testament of Jacob, and that the Bohairic is the first extant text to group all three together.)

This Again Is The Going Forth From The Body Of Our Father Jacob The Patriarch, Who Is Called Israel, On The Twenty-Eighth Of The Month Mesore (21 August) In The Peace Of God. Amen.

1. Now it came to pass when the time had come lijr our beloved father Jacob the patriarch, the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham, to go forth from the body (and the God-loving Jacob was well on in years), the Lord sent Michael the archangel to him .And he said to him, Israel, my beloved, you righteous root, write your words of instruction for your sons, and draw up your testament for them, and concern yourself about those of your household, for the time has come for you to go to your fathers and rejoice with them for ever. And when the God-loving Jacob heard this from the angel, he answered and said to him. My lord - For it was his daily custom to talk to angels. He said to him. May the will of the Lord be done.

2. And God blessed our father Jacob. He made for himsell a place apart, to which he withdrew and offered his prayers to God day and night, while the angels visited him and guarded him and kept him safe and gave him strength in everything. God blessed him; and his people increased greatly in numbers in the land of Egypt.

For at the time he went down to Egypt to his son Joseph, his sight was failing as a result of continual weeping and worrying over his son Joseph; but after he arrived in Egypt and had seen his son Joseph's face, he saw everything clearly again.And Jacob Israel flung on his son Joseph's neck; he greeted him with tears and said: 'Now let me die, for I have seen your face once more while you are still alive, my beloved'. And Joseph ruled over the whole of Egypt. Jacob lived in the land of Gashen for seventeen years. He became very old and attained a great age: he kept all the commandments and lived always in the fear of the Lord: and his sight failed so that he could see no one because of extreme old age.

3. He lifted his eyes towards the radiance of the angel who was speaking to him, who was in appearance and in face like his father Isaac: he was afraid and troubled. The angel said to him. Do not be afraid, Jacob: I am the angel who has been with you from your youth. I chose you to receive your father Isaac's blessing, and your mother Rebecca's. I am with you, Israel, in everything you do and everything you have seen. It was I who delivered you from Laban when he pursued you; I blessed you, and all your wives, and your sons, and all your cattle. It was I too who rescued you from Esau. It was I too who brought you down into the land of Egypt, Israel; and I have spread you out far and wide. Blessed is your father Abraham, for he became a friend of the Most High God because of his hospitality. Blessed is your lather Isaac who gave you life, for his sacrifice was perfect and pleasing to God. Blessed are you too, Jacob, for you saw God face to face and beheld the host of the angels of the Most High God. You saw the ladder set up on the earth with its top reaching to heaven. You also saw the Lord set on the top of it in power too great for words. You cried out saying: 'This is the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven. Blessed are you, for you have found strength in God and are strong among men.

Now, therefore, do not be troubled, beloved of God. Blessed are you, Israel, and blessed are all your descendants, for you shall be called patriarchs until the end of this age; for you are my people, and you are the root of the servants of God. Blessed is every nation which emulates your purity, and your virtues, and your righteousness, and your good works. Blessed is the man who commemorates you on your honoured festival. Blessed is he who does a charitable deed in your name, or gives a man a cup of cold water, or brings a perfect offering to your place, or to any place, in your name, or receives a stranger, or visits the sick, or comforts an orphan, or clothes someone who is naked, in your name. He shall lack no good thing in this world; and in the world to come he shall have eternal life.And further, whoever writes an account of your life with its labours, or whoever makes a copy of it with his hands, or whoever reads it attentively, and whoever listens to it with faith and a resolute heart, and whoever emulates your manner of life -they shall be forgiven all their sins, and they shall be freely granted you in the kingdom of the heavens. So get up now, for you are to exchange trouble and sorrow for eternal rest, and you are to be borne away to a repose that never ceases, to a rest that never ends, and to a light that never sets, and to pleasure and gladness and spiritual joy. So now, give your commands to your sons, and peace be with you; for I am about to go to him who sent me'.

4. And when he had said this to him, the angel left him in peace and returned to the heavens, while Jacob gazed after him. .And those who were in the house heard him giving thanks to the Lord and glorifying him with praises. And all his sons gathered round him, from the youngest to the eldest of them, all in tears and in great distress, saying. He is about to go away and leave us. And they said to him. What shall we do, beloved father, For we are aliens in a foreign land?. And Jacob said to them. Do not be afraid, for God appeared to me in Mesopotamia saying: 'I am the God of your fathers: do not be afraid: I am with you for ever, and with your descendants that shall come after you for ever: the land on which you are standing I will give to you and your descendants for ever. And again he said to me, Do not be afraid to go down into Egypt; I will go with you down to Egypt; and I will increase your numbers, and your descendants shall flourish for ever, and Joseph shall lay his hands upon your eyes. And your people shall increase greatly in Egypt; and then they shall return to me here, and I will do them good because of you. But now you must leave this place.

5. And after this the time drew near for Jacob Israel to go forth from the body. He called Joseph and spoke to him as follows: 'If I have found favour with you, then put your blessed hand upon my thigh and swear to me on oath before the Lord to lay my body in my fathers grave.And Joseph said to him, I will do as you ask, my God-loving father. His father said to him. I would have you swear; and Joseph swore the oath to Jacob his father that he would take his body to his fathers grave. And Jacob bowed himself upon his son's neck.

6. Now after this it was reported to Joseph. Behold, your father is in a sorry state. He took his two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh and came to his father Israel. When Israel saw them, he said to Joseph,: 'Who are these, my son?' Joseph said to his father Jacob Israel: 'These are my sons that God has given me in the land of my humiliation'. Israel said: 'Bring them near to me'. Now Israel's sight had failed because of his great age, and he could hardly see. .And Joseph' brought them close to him; and he kissed them. When Israel had embraced them, he said, God will add to your descendants; And Joseph made his two sons, Ephraim and .Manasseh, do obeisance to him on the ground: Joseph put Manasseh under his right hand and Ephraim under his left hand. But Israel changed his hands: he laid his right hand on Ephraim's head and his left hand on Manasseh's head. And he blessed them; he gave them their patrimony, saying:

'The God who approved my fathers Abraham and Isaac,
The God who has looked after me from my childhood till today.
The angel who rescues me from all my tribulations.
Bless these lads who are my sons.
With whom is left my name.
And the name of my holy fathers Abraham and Isaac.
They shall multiply; they shall increase;
They shall become a great people on the earth.

Afterwards Israel said to Joseph: 'I am dying: but you will return to the land of your fathers, and God will be with you. Behold, you have been more favoured than your brothers, for I have taken the Amorites with my bow and my sword'.

7. Jacob called all his sons and said to them, Come to me. all of you, so that I can tell you what will happen to you. and also what will happen to each one of you at the end of time. All Israel's sons gathered round him, from the youngest to the eldest of them. Jacob Israel answered and said to his sons: 'Listen, sons of Jacob, listen to Israel your father, from Reuben my first-born unto Benjamin'. He told his sons what would happen to all twelve of them, name by name and tribe by tribe, with heaven's blessing. Then all kept silence so that he might rest a little.

8. He was taken up into the heavens to visit the resting-places. And behold, a host of tormentors came out. The appearance of each one was different; and they were ready to torment the sinners - that is the fornicators, and the harlots, and the catamites, and the sodomites, and the adulterers, and those who have corrupted God's creation, and the magicians, and the sorcerers, and the unrighteous, and the idol-worshippers, and the astrologers, and the slanderers and the doubletongued. In short, many are the punishments for all the sins we have mentioned; the unquenchable fire, the outer darkness, the place where there shall be weeping and grinding of teeth, and the worm that does not sleep. And it is a terrible thing for you to be brought before the judge, and it is a terrible thing to come into the hands o f the living God. Woe to all sinful men for whom these tortures and these tormentors are prepared. And again afterwards he took me and showed me the place where my fathers Abraham and Isaac were, a place that was all light; and they were glad and rejoiced in the kingdom of the heavens, in the city of the beloved.And he showed me all the resting-places and all the good things prepared for the righteous, and the things that eye has not seen nor ear heard, and have not come into the heart of men. that God has prepared for those who love him and do his will on earth (for if they end well, they do his will).

9 .After this, Jacob said to his sons: 'Behold I am about to be taken away and laid to rest with my people; lay my body with my people in the double grave in the field of Ephron the Hittite, where Abraham and his wife .Sarah were buried, where Isaac was buried, in the path of the field and the grave that is in it, which was bought from the sons of Heth'. And when Jacob had finished saying this, he drew his feet up on to his bed; he went forth from the body like; every man. And the Lord came from heaven with Michael and Gabriel accompanying him, and many legions of angels singing before him. They took the soul of Jacob Israel to abodes of light with his holy fathers Abraham and Isaac. Such was the life of Jacob Israel the patriarch. Joseph presented him to Pharaoh when he was a hundred and thirty years old and he spent another seventeen years in Egypt; together this makes a hundred and forty-seven years. He went to his rest in a ripe old age, perfect in every virtue and spiritual grace; and he glorified God in all his ways, in the peace of God. Amen.

10. Joseph threw himself upon his father, kissing him and weeping for him. And Joseph instructed his servants, the embalmers, saying: 'Embalm my father in accordance with the best Egyptian practice'. They spent forty days embalming Israel; and when the forts days of Israel's embalming were over, they spent another eights days mourning for him. And when the days of Pharaoh's mourning were over (for he had been weeping for Jacob because of his love for Joseph). Joseph spoke with Pharaoh's great ones and said to them: 'If I may claim this favour from you, speak on my behalf to Pharaoh the king saying: My father made me take an oath when he was about to go forth from the body, saying: Bury my body in my fathers grave in the land of Canaan. .So now I ask to be allowed to go and bury my father there and come back again'.

Pharaoh the king said to Joseph the wise: 'Go in peace and bury your lather as he made you swear to do; take with you chariots and wagons, and all the great ones of my kingdom, and as many of my servants as you need'. Joseph worshipped God in Pharaoh's presence and went out from him. And Joseph set out to bury his father. Many of Pharaoh's servants went with him. and the elders of Egipt as well as all Joseph's household, and his brothers, and the whole of Israel's household. And there went up with him chariots and horsemen; they were a very great company. And they stopped at the threshing floor of Gadad. wich is on the bank on the other side of Jordan. They mourned for him there with a great and bitter mourning; and they mourned for him for seven days. Those in the lowland heard the mourning at the threshing-floor of Gadad, and they said: 'This great mourning is a mourning of the Egyptians, so that that place is called The Mourning of Egypt to this day'. They took Israel and buried him in the land of Canaan in the double grave that Abraham had bought as a burial-place for silver from Ephron the Hittite, opposite Mamre. And Joseph returned to Egypt together with his brothers and the party from Pharaoh's household. After his father's death Joseph lived for many more years and was king over Egipt. But Jacob Israel died and was laid with his people.

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11. Behold now, we have told you these things as best we could in order to instruct you about the going forth from the body of our father the patriarch Jacob Israel. 'It is written in the divinely inspired scriptures and the ancient books of our fathers the apostles, even I, Athanasius your father. If you want confirmation of this testament of the patriarch Jacob, take the book Genesis of the prophet Moses, the lawgiver, and read what is in it: your mind will be enlightened: you will find this, and more, written about it. .And again, you will find mention of God and his angels, for God was a friend to the patriarchs while they were yet in the body and spoke with them many times in many passages of scripture. And you will find that he spoke too in many passages in scripture with the patriarch Jacob, saying. I will bless your descendants and make them as many as the stars of heaven. And again, Jacob spoke with his son Joseph saying, My God appeared to me in the land of Canaan at Luz: he blessed me saying: 'I will bless you and make you too many to be counted, and peoples and nations shall spring from you; I will give this land to your descendants after you as a possession for all time'.

12. See then, my beloved, we have heard these things about our fathers the patriarchs. Let us therefore emulate their deeds and their virtues, and their love of God and their love of men, and their hospitality, that we may be worthy to become their sons in the kingdom of the heavens, and that they may pray for us to God that he may save us from punishments in hell which the holy patriarch Jacob spoke about in his words full of all sweetness, when he taught his sons about the punishments and called them the sword of the Lord God. These are the river of fire that is prepared, and which engulfs sinners in its waves and those that have defiled themselves.

These are the things the patriarch Jacob revealed when he taught the rest of his sons, that those that love instruction should listen to him and do what is good at all times, and love one another, and strive after love and pity. For pity triumphs over judgement and love covers a multitude of sins; and again. He who has pity on a poor man lends on usury to God.

13. So now. my sons, let neither prayer nor fasting { be lacking), and persist in them continually; for they drive away the demons.

My sons, keep yourselves from fornication, and anger, and adultery, and every evil thing, and especially from violence, and blasphemy, and theft. For no man of violence will inherit the kingdom of the heavens, neither will any fornicator, nor catamite, nor sodomite, nor blasphemer, nor covetous man. nor curser, nor anyone who is defiled. In short, these and the others we have mentioned will not inherit the kingdom of God. My sons, honour the saints, for it is they who pray for you, that your descendants may prosper and that the land may be yours as an inheritance for ever. My sons, be hospitable, that you may share the lot of our father Abraham, the great patriarch. My .sons, love the poor, that as you do to the poor man here, so God may give you the bread of eternal life in the heavens unto the end. He who feeds a poor man with bread here, God will feed him from the tree of life. Clothe the poor man who is naked here on earth, that God may put on you a robe of glory in the heavens, and so you may become a true son of our holy fathers the patriarchs. Abraham and Isaae and Jacob, in the heavens for ever. Call to mind the word of God here and remember the saints, and take care that copies of their memoirs and their hymns are made for the encouragement of those who hear them, so that your name also may be written in the book of life in the heavens, and you too may be numbered with the number of God's saints who have pleased him in their generation, and take part in the chorus with the angels in the land of the living. We commemorate the saints, our fathers the patriarchs, at this very time every year; our father Abraham the patriarch on the twenty-eighth of Mesore, also our father Isaac the patriarch on the twenty-eighth of Mesore, and again our father Jacob on the twenty-eighth of this same month Mesore, as we have found it written in the ancient books of our holy fathers who were pleasing unto God.

Through their supplication and their prayers may all of us together be granted to share their lot in the kingdom of our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, through whom is the glory of the Father with him and the Holy life-giving Spirit now and always and for ever. Amen.

Remember me, that God may forgive me all my sins and give me understanding and give me stability without sin. Amen.

THE ASCENSION OF ISAIAH

Original language: Ethiopic, Script: Ge'ez
Translation: Robert Henry Charles, 1900
Estimated Range of Dating: 100-150 A.D.

(The Ascension of Isaiah is a pseudepigraphical Jewish-Christian text. Scholarly estimates regarding the date of the Ascension of Isaiah range anywhere between the final decades of the first century to the early decades of the third century, though scholars prefer some time in the early 2nd century. The reason for this large range in dating is due to the fact that there is virtually no information that allows for a confident dating into any specific period. Many scholars believe it to be a compilation of several texts completed by an unknown Christian scribe who claimed to be the Prophet Isaiah, while an increasing number of scholars in recent years have argued that the work is a unity by a single author that may have used utilised multiple sources.

The text exists as a whole in three Ge'ez manuscripts of around the 15th-18th centuries, but fragments have also survived in Greek, Coptic, Latin, and Old Church Slavonic. All three component texts appear to have been in Greek, and it is possible that the "Martyrdom of Isaiah" derives from a Hebrew or Aramaic original. Comparison of the various translations suggests that two different recensions of the Greek original must have existed; one on which the Ethiopic and one of the Latin versions were based, and the other on which the Slavonic and the other Latin version were based. Fragments of both Greek versions have survived. The work's current title is derived from the title used in the Ethiopic manuscripts meaning "The Ascension of Isaiah", in Latin: Ascensio Isaiae.

It is generally believed that the text is composed of three different sections written at different times, by different authors. The earliest section, regarding chapters 3:13-4:22, was composed at about the end of the first century AD or perhaps early second century and is believed to be a text of Jewish origins which was later on redacted by Christian scribes. Therefore the Ascension reflects a proto-Trinitarian perspective, such as when the inhabitants of the sixth heaven sing praises to "the primal Father and his Beloved Christ, and the Holy Spirit". Before that time, Christians only talked about Christ and God his father.

There are three parts of the book we have to focus on:

• The first part of the book (chapters 1-5), generally referred to as the Martyrdom of Isaiah, recounts and expands on the events of 2 Kings chapter 21. Isaiah warns the dying Hezekiah that his heir, Manasseh, will not follow the same path. When Manasseh takes over, and Isaiah's warning proves true, Isaiah and a group of fellow prophets head into the desert, and a demon named Beliar inspires a false prophet named Belkira to accuse Isaiah of treason. The king consequently condemns Isaiah to death, and although Isaiah hides in a tree, he is found, and Belkira leads the execution.

• Into the middle of the first part (3:13-4:22) is a Christian apocalypse called the Testament of Hezekiah, describing a vision of the coming of Jesus, the subsequent corruption of the Christian church, the rule of Beliar, and the second coming. All of this is phrased in such a way that it is clearly a code for the persecution of the Church by Nero and the belief that Nero was an Antichrist.

• The second part of the book (chapters 6-11) is referred to as the Vision of Isaiah and describes an angel-assisted journey, prior to the events of the first part of the book, by Isaiah through the Seven Heavens. In its surviving form it is clearly written from a Christian perspective, concentrating on Jesus' death and his resurrection, and especially the ascension of Jesus. The birth of Jesus is curiously described as being preceded by Jesus descending through each of the heavens, disguising himself as an angel appropriate to each as he goes. The extant complete manuscripts of the Ascension of Isaiah include a brief account of Jesus' nativity, birth, and crucifixion (11:2-22). However, according to Jonathan Knight, "the problem with chapter 11 is that these traditions are found in only one branch of the textual tradition, that represented by the Ethiopic translation (E). The Slavonic and one of the two Latin translations (S and L2) replace them with a short summary of the earthly appearance so that their authenticity—including the Marian material—is disputed."

Elements of the Ascension of Isaiah are paralleled in other Jewish and Christian writings. The method of Isaiah's death (sawn in half by Manasseh) is agreed upon by both the Babylonian Talmud and Jerusalem Talmud and is probably alluded to by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (11:37). The demon Beliar appears in quite a number of apocryphal works, including the Book of Jubilees, the Book of Enoch, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and the Sibylline Oracles. Finally, Isaiah's journey through the Seven Heavens parallels that of Enoch in the Second Book of Enoch.

The first section of the text also contains hostility toward the Samaritans, a Jewish sect that claim to be Jews left behind during the Babylonian exile disowned by the remainder.

The date of the Vision of Isaiah (chapters 6-11) is rather more difficult to determine, but it is no more recent than the third century, since Saint Jerome (c. 347-420 AD) cites a fragment of the work in some of his writings, but from internal evidence it seems that the text is to be placed before the end of the second century AD. The whole work was on a later date assembled.)

ASCENSION OF ISAIAH CHAPTER 1

1 AND it came to pass in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Hezediah king of Judah that he called Manasseh his son. Now he was his only one.

2 And he called him into the presence of Isaiah the son of Amoz the prophet, and into the presence of Josab the son of Isaiah, in order to deliver unto him the words of righteousness which the king himself had seen:

3 And of the eternal judgements and torments of Gehenna, and of the prince of this world, and of his angels, and his authorities and his powers.

4 And the words of the faith of the Beloved which he himself had seen in the fifteenth year of his reign during his illness.

5 And he delivered unto him the written words which Samnas the scribe had written, and also those which Isaiah, the son of Amoz, had given to him, and also to the prophets, that they might write and store up with him what he himself had seen in the king's house regarding the judgement of the angels, and the destruction of this world, and regarding the garments of the saints and their going forth, and regarding their transformation and the persecution and ascension of the Beloved.

6 In the twentieth year of the reign of Hezekiah, Isaiah had seen the words of this prophecy and had delivered them to Josab his son. And whilst he (Hezekiah) gave commands, Josab the son of Isaiah standing by.

7 Isaiah said to Hezekiah the king, but not in the presence of Manasseh only did he say unto him: `As the Lord liveth, and th3e Spirit which speaketh in me liveth, all these commands and these words will be made of none effect by Manasseh thy son, and through the agency of his hands I shall depart mid the torture of my body.

8 And Sammael Malchira will serve Manasseh, and execute all his desire, and he will become a follower of Beliar rather than of me:

9 And many in Jerusalem and in Judea he will cause to abandon the true faith, and Beliar will dwell in Manasseh, and by his hands I shall be sawn asunder.'

10 And when Hezekiah heard these words he wept very bitterly, and rent his garments, and placed earth upon his head, and fell on his face.

11 And Isaiah said unto him: `The counsel of Sammael against Manasseh is consummated: nought will avail thee."

12 And on that day Hezekiah resolved in his heart to slay Manasseh his son.

13 And Isaiah said to Hezekiah: `The Beloved hath made of none effect thy design, and the purpose of thy heart will not be accomplished, for with this calling have I been called and I shall inherit the heritage of the Beloved.'

ASCENSION OF ISAIAH CHAPTER 2

1 AND it came to pass after that Hezekiah died and Manasseh became king, that he did not remember the commands of Hezekiah his father, but forgat them, and Sammael abode in Manasseh and clung fast to him.

2 And Manasseh forsook the service of the God of his father, and he served Satan and his angels and his powers.

3 And he turned aside the house of his father, which had been before the face of Hezekiah (from) the words of wisdom and from the service of God.

4 And Manasseh turned aside his heart to serve Beliar; for the angel of lawlessness, who is the ruler of this world, is Beliar, whose name is Mantanbuchus. and he delighted in Jerusalem because of Manasseh, and he made him strong in apostatizing (Israel) and in the lawlessness which were spread abroad in Jerusalem.

5 And witchcraft and magic increased and divination and auguration, and fornication, a [and adultery], and the persecution of the righteous by Manasseh and [Belachira, and] Tobia the Canaanite, and John of Anathoth, an by (Zadok) the chief of the works.

6 And the rest of the acts, behold they are written in the book of the Kings of Judah and Israel.

7 And, when Isaiah, the son of Amoz, saw the lawlessness which was being perpetrated in Jerusalem and the worship of Satan and his wantonness, he withdrew from Jerusalem and settled in Bethlehem of Judah.

8 And there also there was much lawlessness, and withdrawing from Bethlehem he settled on a mountain in a desert place.

9 And Micaiah the prophet, and the aged Ananias, and Joel and Habakkuk, and his son Josab, and many of the faithful who believed in the ascension into heaven, withdrew and settled on the mountain.

10 They were all clothed with garments of hair, and they were all prophets. And they had nothing with them but were naked, and they all lamented with a great lamentation because of the going astray of Israel.

11 And these eat nothing save wild herbs which they gathered on the mountains, and having cooked them, they lived thereon together with Isaiah the prophet. And they spent two years of days on the mountains and hills.

12 And after this, whilst they were in the desert, there was a certain man in Samaria named Belchira, of the family of Zedekiah, the son of Chenaan, a false prophet, whose dwelling was in Bethlehem. Now Hezekiah the son of Chanani, who was the brother of his father, and in the days of Ahab, king of Israel, had been the teacher of the 400. prophets of Baal, had

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himself smitten and reproved Micaiah the son of Amada the prophet.

13 And he, Micaiah, had been reproved by Ahab and cast into prison. (And he was) with Zedekiah the prophet: they were with Ahaziah the son of Ahab, king in Samaria.

14 And Elijah the prophet of Tebon of Gilead was reproving Ahaziah and Samaria, and prophesied regarding Ahaziah that he should die on his bed of sickness, and that Samaria should be delivered into the had of Leba Nasr because he had slain the prophets of God.

15 And when the false prophets, who were with Ahaziah the son of Ahab and their teacher Jalerjas of Mount Joel, had heard-

16 Now he was a brother of Zedekiah - when they persuaded Ahaziah the king of Aguaron and (slew) Micaiah.

ASCENSION OF ISAIAH CHAPTER 3

1 AND Belchira recognized and saw the place of Isaiah and the prophets who were with him; for he dwelt in the region of Bethlehem, and was an adherent of Manasseh. And he prophesied falsely in Jerusalem, and many belonging to Jerusalem were confederate with him, and he was a Samaritan.

2 And it came to pass when Alagar Zagar, king of Assyria, had come and captive, and led them away to the mountains of the medes and the rivers of Tazon;

3 This (Belchira), whilst still a youth, had escaped and come to Jerusalem in the days of Hezekiah king of Judah, but he walked not in the ways of his father of Samaria; for he feared Hezekiah.

4 And he was found in the days of Hezekiah speaking words of lawlessness in Jerusalem.

5 And the servants of Hezekiah accused him, and he made his escape to the region of Bethlehem. And they persuaded...

6 And Belchira accused Isaiah and the prophets who were with him, saying: `Isaiah and those who are with him prophesy against Jerusalem and against the cities of Judah that they shall be laid waste and (against the children of Judah and) Benjamin also that they shall go into captivity, and also against thee, O lord the king, that thou shalt go (bound) with hooks and iron chains':

7 But they prophesy falsely against Israel and Judah.

8 And Isaiah himself hath said: `I see more than Moses the prophet.'

9 But Moses said: `No man can see God and live'; and Isaiah hath said: `I have seen God and behold I live.'

10 Know, therefore, O king, that he is lying. And Jerusalem also he hath called Sodom, and the princes of Judah and Jerusalem he hath declared to be the people of Gomorrah. And he brought many accusations against Isaiah and the prophets before Manasseh.

11 But Beliar dwelt in the heart of Manasseh and in the heart of the princes of Judah and Benjamin and of the eunuchs and of the councillors of the king.

12 And the words of Belchira pleased him [exceedingly], and he sent and seized Isaiah.

13 For Beliar was in great wrath against Isaiah by reason of the vision, and because of the exposure wherewith he had exposed Sammael, and because through him the going forth of the Beloved from the seventh heaven had been made known, and His transformation and His descent and the likeness into which He should be transformed (that is) the likeness of man, and the persecution wherewith he should be persecuted, and the torturers wherewith the children of Israel should torture Him, and the coming of His twelve disciples, and the teaching, and that He should before the sabbath be crucified upon the tree, and should be crucified together with wicked men, and that He should be buried in the sepulchre,

14 And the twelve who were with Him should be offended because of Him: and the watch of those who watched the sepulchre:

15 And the descent of the angel of the Christian Church, which is in the heavens, whom He will summon in the last days.

16 And that (Gabriel) the angel of the Holy Spirit, and Michael, the chief of the holy angels, on the third day will open the sepulchre:

17 And the Beloved sitting on their shoulders will come forth and send out His twelve disciples;

18 And they will teach all the nations and every tongue of the resurrection of the Beloved, and those who believe in His cross will be saved, and in His ascension into the seventh heaven whence He came:

19 And that many who believe in Him will speak through the Holy Spirit:

20 And many signs and wonders will be wrought in those days.

21 And afterwards, on the eve of His approach, His disciples will forsake the teachings of the Twelve Apostles, and their faith, and their love and their purity.

22 And there will be much contention on the eve of [His advent and] His approach.

23 And in those days many will love office, though devoid of wisdom.

24 And there will be many lawless elders, and shepherds dealing wrongly by their own sheep, and they will ravage (them) owing to their not having holy shepherds.

25 And many will change the honour of the garments of the saints for the garments of the covetous, and there will be much respect of persons in those days and lovers of the honour of this world.

26 And there will be much slander and vainglory at the approach of the Lord, and the Holy Spirit will withdraw from many.

27 And there will not be in those days many prophets, nor those who speak trustworthy words, save one here and there in divers places,

28 On account of the spirit of error and fornication and of vainglory, and of covetousness, which shall be in those, who will be called servants of that One and in those who will receive that One.

29 And there will be great hatred in the shepherds and elders towards each other.

30 For there will be great jealousy in the last days; for every one will say what is pleasing in his own eyes.

31 And they will make of none effect the prophecy of the prophets which were before me, and these my visions also will they make of none effect, in order to speak after the impulse of their own hearts.

ASCENSION OF ISAIAH CHAPTER 4

1 AND now Hezekiah and Josab my son, these are the days of the completion of the world.

2 After it is consummated, Beliar the great ruler, the king of this world, will descend, who hath ruled it since it came into being; yea, he will descent from his firmament in the likeness of a man, a lawless king, the slayer of his mother: who himself (even) this king.

3 Will persecute the plant which the Twelve Apostles of the Beloved have planted. Of the Twelve one will be delivered into his hands.

4 This ruler in the form of that king will come and there will come and there will come with him all the powers of this world, and they will hearken unto him in all that he desires.

5 And at his word the sun will rise at night and he will make the moon to appear at the sixth hour.

6 And all that he hath desired he will do in the world: he will do and speak like the Beloved and he will say: "I am God and before me there has been none."

7 And all the people in the world will believe in him. 8. And they will sacrifice to him and they will serve him saying: "This is God and beside him there is no other."

9 And they greater number of those who shall have been associated together in order to receive the Beloved, he will turn aside after him.

10 And there will be the power of his miracles in every city and region.

11 And he will set up his image before him in every city.

12 And he shall bear sway three years and seven months and twenty-seven days.

13 And many believers and saints having seen Him for whom they were hoping, who was crucified, Jesus the Lord Christ, [after that I, Isaiah, had seen Him who was crucified and ascended] and those also who were believers in Him - of these few in those days will be left as His servants, while they flee from desert to desert, awaiting the coming of the Beloved.

14 And after (one thousand) three hundred and thirty-two days the Lord will come with His angels and with the armies of the holy ones from the seventh heaven with the glory of the seventh heaven, and He will drag Beliar into Gehenna and also his armies.

15 And He will give rest of the godly whom He shall find in the body in this world, [and the sun wil be ashamed]:

16 And to all who because of (their) faith in Him have execrated Beliar and his kings. But the saints will come with the Lord with their garments which are (now) stored up on high in the seventh heaven: with the Lord they will come, whose spirits are clothed, they will descend and be present in the world, and He will strengthen those, who have been found in the body, together with the saints, in the garments of the saints, and the Lord will minister to those who have kept watch in this world.

17 And afterwards they will turn themselves upward in their garments, and their body will be left in the world.

18 Then the voice of the Beloved will in wrath rebuke the things of heaven and the things of earth and the things of earth and the mountains and the hills and the cities and the desert and the forests and the angel of the sun and that of the moon, and all things wherein Beliar manifested himself and acted openly in this world, and there will be [a resurrection and] a judgement in their midst in those days, and the Beloved will cause fire to go forth from Him, and it will consume all the godless, and they will be as though they had not been created.

19 And the rest of the words of the vision is written in the vision of Babylon.

20 And the rest of the vision regarding the Lord, behold, it is written in three parables according to my words which are written in the book which I publicly prophesied.

21 And the descent of the Beloved into Sheol, behold, it is written in the section, where the Lord says: "Behold my Son will understand." And all these things, behold they are written [in the Psalms] in the parables of David, the son of Jesse, and in the Proverbs of Solomon his son, and in the words of Korah, and Ethan the Israelite, and in the words of Asaph, and in the rest of the Psalms also which the angel of the Spirit inspired.

22 (Namely) in those which have not the name written, and in the words of my father Amos, and of Hosea the prophet, and of Micah and Joel and Nahum and Jonah and Obadiah and Habakkuk and Haggai and Malachi, and in the words of Joseph the Just and in the words of Daniel.

ASCENSION OF ISAIAH CHAPTER 5

1 ON account of these visions, therefore, Beliar was wroth with Isaiah, and he dwelt in the heart of Manasseh and he sawed him in sunder with a wooden saw.

2 And when Isaiah was being sawn in sunder, Belchira stood up, accusing him, and all the false prophets stood up, laughing and rejoicing because of Isaiah.

3 And Belchira, with the aid of Mechembechus, stood up before Isaiah, [laughing] deriding;

4 And Belchira said to Isaiah: 'Say, "I have lied in all that I have spoken, and likewise the ways of Manasseh are good and right.

5 And the ways also of Belchira and of his associates are good."

6 And this he said to him when he began to be sawn in sunder.

7 But Isaiah was (absorbed) in a vision of the Lord, and though his eyes were open, he saw them (not).

8 And Belchira spake thus to Isaiah: "Say what I say unto thee and I will turn their hearts, and I will compel Manasseh and the princes of Judah and the people and all Jerusalem to reverence thee.

9 And Isaiah answered and said: "So far as I have utterance (I say): Damned and accused be thou and all they powers and all thy house.

10 For thou canst not take (from me) aught save the skin of my body."

11 And they seized and sawed in sunder Isaiah, the son of Amoz, with a wooden saw.

12 And Manasseh and Belchira and the false prophets and the princes and the people [and] all stood looking on.

13 And to the prophets who were with him he said before he had been sawn in sunder: "Go ye to the region of Tyre and Sidon; for for me only hath God mingled the cup."

14 And when Isaiah was being sawn in sunder, he neither cried aloud nor wept, but his lips spake with the Holy Spirit until he was sawn in twain.

15 This, Beliar did to Isaiah through Belchira and Manasseh; for Sammael was very wrathful against Isaiah from the days of Hezekiah, king of Judah, on account of the things which he had seen regarding the Beloved.

16 And on account of the destruction of Sammael, which he had seen through the Lord, while Hezekiah his father was still king. And he did according to the will of Satan.

ASCENSION OF ISAIAH CHAPTER 6

The Vision Which Isaiah the Son of Amoz Saw:

1 In the twentieth year of the reign of Hezekiah, king of Judah, came Isaiah the son of Amoz, and Josab the son of Isaiah to Hezekiah to Jerusalem from Galgala.

2 And (having entered) he sat down on the couch of the king, and they brought him a seat, but he would not sit (thereon).

3 And when Isaiah began to speak the words of faith and truth with King Hezekiah, all the princes of Israel were seated and the eunuchs and the councillors of the king. And there were there forty prophets and sons of the prophets: they had come from the villages and from the mountains and the plains when they had heard that Isaiah was coming from Galgala to Hezekiah.

4 And they had come to salute him and to hear his words.

5 And that he might place his hands upon them, and that they might prophesy and that he might hear their prophecy: and they were all before Isaiah.

6 And when Isaiah was speaking to Hezekiah the words of truth and faith, they all heard a door which one had opened and the voice of the Holy Spirit.

7 And the king summoned all the prophets and all the people who were found there, and they came. and Macaiah and the aged Ananias and Joel and Josab sat on his right hand (and on the left).

8 And it came to pass when they had all heard the voice of the Holy Spirit, they all worshipped on their knees, and glorified the God of truth, the Most High who is in the upper world and who sits on High the Holy One and who rest among His holy ones.

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9 And they gave glory to Him who had thus bestowed a door in an alien world had bestowed (it) on a man.

10 And as he was speaking in the Holy Spirit in the hearing of all, he became silent and his mind was taken up from him and he saw not the men that stood before him.

11 Though his eyes indeed were open. Moreover his lips were silent and the mind in his body was taken up from him.

12 But his breath was in him; for he was seeing a vision.

13 And the angel who was sent to make him see was not of this firmament, nor was he of the angels of glory of this world, but he had come from the seventh heaven.

14 And the people who stood near did (not) think, but the circle of the prophets (did), that the holy Isaiah had been taken up.

15 And the vision which the holy Isaiah saw was not from this world but from the world which is hidden from the flesh.

16 And after Isaiah had seen this vision, he narrated it to Hezekiah, and to Josab his son and to the other prophets who had come.

17 But the leaders and the eunuchs and the people did not hear, but only Samna the scribe, and Ijoaqem, and Asaph the recorder; for these also were doers of righteousness, and the sweet smell of the Spirit was upon them. But the people had not heard; for Micaiah and Josab his son had caused them to go forth, when the wisdom of this world had been taken form him and he became as one dead.

ASCENSION OF ISAIAH CHAPTER 7

1 AND the vision which Isaiah saw, he told to Hezekiah and Josab his son and Micaiah and the rest of the prophets, (and) said:

2 At this moment, when I prophesied according to the (words) heard which ye heard, I saw a glorious angel not like unto the glory of the angels which I used always to see, but possessing such glory ad position that I cannot describe the glory of that angel.

3 And having seized me by my hand he raised me on high, and I said unto him: "Who art thou, and what is thy name, and whither art thou raising me on high? for strength was given me to speak with him."

4 And he said unto me: "When I have raised thee on high [though the (various) degrees] and made thee see the vision, on account of which I have been sent, then thou wilt understand who I am: but my name thou dost not know.

5 Because thou wilt return into this thy body, but whither I am raising thee on high, thou wilt see; for for this purpose have I been sent."

6 And I rejoiced because he spake courteously to me.

7 And he said unto me: "Hast thou rejoiced because I have spoken courteously to thee?" And he said: "And thou wilt see how a grater also that I am will speak courteously and peaceably with thee."

8 And His Father also who is greater thou wilt see; for for this purpose have I been sent from the seventh heaven in order to explain all these things unto thee."

9 And we ascended to the firmament, I and he, and there I saw Sammael and his hosts, and there was great fighting therein and the angels of Satan were envying one another.

10 And as above so on the earth also; for the likeness of that which is in the firmament is here ont he earth.

11 And I said unto the angel (who was with me): "(What is this war and) what is this envying?"

12 And he said unto me: "So has it been since this world was made until now, and this war (will continue) till He, whom thou shalt see will come and destroy him."

13 And afterwards he caused me to ascend (to that which is) above the firmament: which is the (first) heaven.

14 And there I saw a throne in the midst, and on his right and on his left were angels.

15 And (the angels on the left were) not like unto the angels who stood on the right, but those who stood on the right had the greater glory, and they all praised with one voice, and there was a throne in the midst, and those who were out he left gave praise after them; but their voice was not such as the voice of those on the right, nor their praise like the praise of those.

16 And I asked the angel who conducted me, and I said unto him: "To whom is this praise sent?"

17 And he said unto me: "(it is sent) to the praise of (Him who sitteth in) the seventh heaven: to Him who rests in the holy world, and to His Beloved, whence I have been sent to thee. [Thither is it sent.]"

18 And again, he made me to ascend to the second heaven. now the height of that heaven is the same as from the haven to the earth [and to the firmament].

19 And (I saw there, as) in the first heaven, angels on the right and on the left, and a throne in the midst, and the praise of the angels in the second heaven; and he who sat on the throne in the second heaven was more glorious than all (the rest).

20 And there was great glory in the second heaven, and the praise also was not like the praise of those who were in the first heaven.

21 And I fell on my face to worship him, but he angel who conducted me did not permit me, but said unto me: "Worship neither throne nor angel which belongs to the six heavens - for for this cause I was sent to conduct thee j- until I tell thee in the seventh heaven.

22 For above all the heavens and their angels has thy throne been placed, and thy garments and thy crown which thou shalt see."

23 And I rejoiced with great joy, that those who love the Most High and His Beloved will afterwards ascend thither by the angel of the Holy Spirit.

24 And he raise me to the third heaven, and in like manner I saw those upon the right and upon the left, and there was a throne there in the midst; but the memorial of this world is there unheard of.

25 And I said to the angel who was with me; for the glory of my appearance was undergoing transformation as I ascended to each heaven in turn: "Nothing of the vanity of that world is here named."

26 And he answered me, and said unto me: "Nothing is named on account of its weakness, and nothing is hidden there of what is done."

27 And I wished to learn how it is know, and he answered me saying: "When I have raised thee to the seventh heaven whence I was sent, to that which is above these, then thou shalt know that there is nothing hidden from the thrones and from those who dwell in the heavens and from the angels. And the praise wherewith they praised and glory of him who sat on the throne was great, and the glory of the angels on the right hand and on the left was beyond that of the heaven which was below them.

28 And again he raised me to the fourth heaven, and the height from the third to the height from the third to the forth heaven was greater than from the earth to the firmament.

29 And there again I saw those who were on the right hand and those who were on the left, and him who sat on the throne was in the midst, and there also they were praising.

30 And the praise and glory of the angels on the right was greater than that of those on the left.

31 And again the glory of him who sat on the throne was greater than that of the angels on the right, and their glory was beyond that of those who were below.

32 And he raised me to the fifth heaven.

33 And again I saw those upon the right hand and on the left, and him who sat on the throne possessing greater glory that those of the forth heaven.

34 And the glory of those on the right hand was greater than that of those on the left [from the third to the fourth].

35 And the glory of him who was on the throne was greater than that of the angels on the right hand.

36 And their praise was more glorious than that of the fourth heaven.

37 And I praised Him, who is not named and the Only-begotten who dwelleth in the heavens, whose name is not known to any flesh, who has bestowed such glory on the several heaves, and who makes great the glory of the angels, and more excellent the glory of Him who sitteth on the throne.

ASCENSION OF ISAIAH CHAPTER 8

1 AND again he raised me into the air of the sixth heaven, and I saw such glory as I had not seen in the five heavens.

2 For I saw angels possessing great glory.

3 And the praise there was holy and wonderful.

4 And I said to the angel who conducted me: "What is this which I see, my Lord?"

5 And he said: "I am not thy lord, but thy fellow servant."

6 And again I asked him, and I said unto him: "Why are there not angelic fellow servants (on the left)?"

7 And he said: "From the sixth heaven there are no longer angels on the left, nor a throne set in the midst, but (they are directed) by the power of the seventh heaven, where dwelleth He that is not named and the Elect One, whose name has not been made known, and none of the heavens can learn His name.

8 For it is He alone to whose voice all the heavens and thrones give answer. I have therefore been empowered and sent to raise thee here that thou mayest see this glory.

9 And that thou mayest see the Lord of all those heavens and these thrones.

10 Undergoing (successive) transformation until He resembles your form and likeness.

11 I indeed say unto thee, Isaiah; No man about to return into a body of that world has ascended or seen what thou seest or perceived what thou hast perceived and what thou wilt see.

12 For it has been permitted to thee in the lot of the Lord to come hither. [And from thence comes the power of the sixth heaven and of the air]."

13 And I magnified my Lord with praise, in that through His lot I should come hither.

14 And he said: "Hear, furthermore, therefore, this also from thy fellow servant: when from the body by the will of God thou hast ascended hither, then thou wilt receive the garment which thou seest, and likewise other numbered garments laid up (there) thou wilt see.

15 And then thou wilt become equal to the angels of the seventh heaven.

16 And he raised me up into the sixth heaven, and there were no (angels) on the left, nor a throne in the midst, but all had one appearance and their (power of) praise was equal.

17 And (power) was given to me also, and I also praised along with them and that angel also, and our praise was like theirs. 18. And there they all named the primal Father and His Beloved, the Christ, and the Holy Spirit, all with one voice.

19 And (their voice) was not like the voice of the angels in the five heavens.

20 [Nor like their discourse] but the voice was different there, and there was much light there.

21 And then, when I was in the sixth heaven I thought the light which I had seen in the five heavens to be but darkness.

22 And I rejoiced and praised Him who hath bestowed such lights on those who wait for His promise.

23 And I besought the angel who conducted me that I should not henceforth return to the carnal world.

24 I say indeed unto you, Hezekiah and Josab my son and Micaiah, that there is much darkness here.

25 And the angel who conducted me discovered what I thought and said: "If in this light thou dost rejoice, how much more wilt thou rejoice, when in the seventh heaven thou seest the light where is the Lord and His Beloved [whence I have been sent, who is to be called "Son" in this world.

26 Not (yet) hath been manifested he shall be in the corruptible world] and the garments, and the thrones, and the crowns which are laid up for the righteous, for those who trust in that Lord who will descend in your form. For the light which is there is great and wonderful.

27 And as concerning thy not returning into the body thy days are not yet fulfilled for coming here."

28 And when I heard (that) I was troubled, and he said: "Do not be troubled."

ASCENSION OF ISAIAH CHAPTER 9

1 AND he took me into the air of the seventh heaven, and moreover I heard a voice saying: "How far will he ascend that dwelleth in the flesh?" And I feared and trembled.

2 And when I trembled, behold, I heard from hence another voice being sent forth, and saying: "It is permitted to the holy Isaiah to ascend hither; for here is his garment."

3 And I asked the angel who was with me and said: "Who is he who forbade me and who is he who permitted me to ascend?"

4 And he said unto me: "He who forbade thee, is he who is over the praise-giving of the sixth heaven.

5 And He who permitted thee, this is thy Lord God, the Lord Christ, who will be called "Jesus" in the world, but His name thou canst not hear till thou hast ascended out of thy body."

6 And he raised me up into the seventh heaven, and I saw there a wonderful light and angels innumerable.

7 And there I saw the holy Abel and all the righteous.

8 And there I saw Enoch and all who were with him, stript of the garments of the flesh, and I saw them in their garments of the upper world, and they were like angels, standing there in great glory.

9 And there I saw Enoch and all who were with him, stript of the garments of the flesh, and I saw them in their garments of the upper world, and they were like angels, standing there in great glory.

10 But they sat not on their thrones, nor were their crowns of glory on them.

11 And I asked the angel who was with me: "How is it that they have received the garments, but have not the thrones and the crowns?"

12 And he said unto me: "Crowns and thrones of glory they do not receive, till the Beloved will descent in the form in which you will see Him descent [will descent, I say] into the world in the last days the Lord, who will be called Christ.

13 Nevertheless they see and know whose will be thrones, and whose the crowns when He has descended and been made in your form, and they will think that He is flesh and is a man.

14 And the god of that world will stretch forth his hand against the Son, and they will crucify Him on a tree, and will slay Him not knowing who He is.

15 And thus His descent, as you will see, will be hidden even from the heavens, so that it will not be known who He is.

16 And when He hath plundered the angel of death, He will ascend on the third day, [and he will remain in that world five hundred and forty-five days].

17 And then many of the righteous will ascend with Him, whose spirits do not receive their garments till the Lord Christ ascend and they ascend with Him.

18 Then indeed they will receive their [garments and] thrones and crowns, when He has ascended into the seventh heaven."

19 And I said unto him that which I had asked him in the third heaven:

20 "Show me how everything which is done in that world is here made known."

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21 And whilst I was still speaking with him, behold one of the angels who stood nigh, more glorious than the glory of that angel, who had raised me up from the world.

22 Showed me a book, [but not as a book of this world] and he opened it, and the book was written, but not as a book of this world. And he gave (it) to me and I read it, and lo! the deeds of the children of Israel were written therein, and the deeds of those whom I know (not), my son Josab.

23 And I said: "In truth, there is nothing hidden in the seventh heaven, which is done in this world."

24 And I saw there many garments laid up, and many thrones and many crowns.

25 And I said to the angel: "Whose are these garments and thrones and crowns?"

26 And he said unto me: "These garments many from that world will receive, believing in the words of That One, who shall be named as I told thee, and they will observe those things, and believe in them, and believe in His cross: for them are these laid up."

27 And I saw a certain One standing, whose glory surpassed that of all, and His glory was great and wonderful.

28 And after I had seen Him, all the righteous whom I had seen and also the angels whom I had seen came to Him. And Adam and Abel and Seth and all the righteous first drew near and worshipped Him, and they all praised Him with one voice, and I myself also gave praise with them, and my giving of praise was as theirs.

29 And then all the angels drew nigh and worshipped and gave praise.

30 And I was (again) transformed and became like an angel.

31 And thereupon the angel who conducted me said to me: "Worship this One," and I worshipped and praised.

32 And the angel said unto me: "This is the Lord of all the praise-givings which thou hast seen."

33 And whilst he was still speaking, I saw another Glorious One who was like Him, and the righteous drew nigh and worshipped and praised, and I praised together with them. But my glory was not transformed into accordance with their form.

34 And thereupon the angels drew near and worshipped Him.

35 And I saw the Lord and the second angel, and they were standing.

36 And the second whom I saw was on he left of my Lord. And I asked: "Who is this?" and he said unto me: "Worship Him, for He is the angel of the Holy Spirit, who speaketh in thee and the rest of the righteous."

37 And I saw the great glory, the eyes of my spirit being open, and I could not thereupon see, nor yet could the angel who was with me, nor all the angels whom I had seen worshipping my Lord.

38 But I saw the righteous beholding with great power the glory of that One.

39 And my Lord drew nigh to me and the angel of the Spirit and He said: "See how it is given to thee to see God, and on thy account power is given to the angel who is with thee."

40 And I saw how my Lord and the angel of the Spirit worshipped, and they both together praised God.

41 And thereupon all the righteous drew near and worshipped.

42 And the angels drew near and worshipped and all the angels praised.

ASCENSION OF ISAIAH CHAPTER 10

1 AND thereupon I heard the voices and the giving of praise, which I had heard in each of the six heavens, ascending and being heard there:

2 And all were being sent up to that Glorious One whose glory I could not behold.

3 And I myself was hearing and beholding the praise (which was given) to Him.

4 And the Lord and the angel of the Spirit were beholding all and hearing all.

5 And all the praises which are sent up from the six heavens are not only heard, but seen.

6 And I heard the angel who conducted me and he said: "This is the Most High of the high ones, dwelling in the holy world, and resting in His holy ones, who will be called by the Holy Spirit through the lips of the righteous the Father of the Lord."

7 And I heard the voice of the Most High, the Father of my Lord, saying to my Lord Christ who will be called Jesus:

8 "Go forth and descent through all the heavens, and thou wilt descent to the firmament and that world: to the angel in Sheol thou wilt descend, but to Haguel thou wilt not go.

9 And thou wilt become like unto the likeness of all who are in the five heavens.

10 And thou wilt be careful to become like the form of the angels of the firmament [and the angels also who are in Sheol].

11 And none of the angels of that world shall know that Thou art with Me of the seven heavens and of their angels.

12 And they shall not know that Thou art with Me, till with a loud voice I have called (to) the heavens, and their angels and their lights, (even) unto the sixth heaven, in order that you mayest judge and destroy the princes and angels and gods of that world, and the world that is dominated by them:

13 For they have denied Me and said: "We alone are and there is none beside us."

14 And afterwards from the angels of death Thou wilt ascend to Thy place. And Thou wilt not be transformed in each heaven, but in glory wilt Thou ascend and sit on My right hand.

15 And thereupon the princes and powers of that world will worship Thee."

16 These commands I heard the Great Glory giving to my Lord.

17 And so I saw my Lord go forth from the seventh heaven into the sixth heaven.

18 And the angel who conducted me [from this world was with me and] said unto me: "Understand, Isaiah, and see the transformation and descent of the Lord will appear."

19 And I saw, and when the angels saw Him, thereupon those in the sixth heaven praised and lauded Him; for He had not been transformed after the shape of the angels there, and they praised Him and I also praised with them.

20 And I saw when He descended into the fifth heaven, that in the fifth heaven He made Himself like unto the form of the angels there, and they did not praise Him (nor worship Him); for His form was like unto theirs.

21 And then He descended into the forth heaven, and made Himself like unto the form of the angels there.

22 And when they saw Him, they did not praise or laud Him; for His form was like unto their form.

23 And again I saw when He descended into the third heaven, and He made Himself like unto the form of the angels in the third heaven.

24 And those who kept the gate of the (third) heaven demanded the password, and the Lord gave (it) to them in order that He should not be recognized. And when they saw Him, they did not praise or laud Him; for His form was like unto their form.

25 And again I saw when He descended into the second heaven, and again He gave the password there; those who kept the gate proceeded to demand and the Lord to give.

26 And I saw when He made Himself like unto the form of the angels in the second heaven, and they saw Him and they did not praise Him; for His form was like unto their form.

27 And again I saw when He descended into the first heaven, and there also He gave the password to those who kept the gate, and He made Himself like unto the form of the angels who were on the left of that throne, and they neither praised nor lauded Him; for His form was like unto their form.

28 But as for me no one asked me on account of the angel who conducted me.

29 And again He descended into the firmament where dwelleth the ruler of this world, and He gave the password to those on the left, and His form was like theirs, and they did not praise Him there; but they were envying one another and fighting; for here there is a power of evil and envying about trifles.

30 And I saw when He descended and made Himself like unto the angels of the air, and He was like one of them.

31 And He gave no password; for one was plundering and doing violence to another.

ASCENSION OF ISAIAH CHAPTER 11

1 AFTER this I saw, and the angel who spoke with me, who conducted me, said unto me: "Understand, Isaiah son of Amoz; for for this purpose have I been sent from God."

2 And I indeed saw a woman of the family of David the prophet, named Mary, and Virgin, and she was espoused to a man named Joseph, a carpenter, and he also was of the seed and family of the righteous David of Bethlehem Judah.

3 And he came into his lot. And when she was espoused, she was found with child, and Joseph the carpenter was desirous to put her away.

4 But the angel of the Spirit appeared in this world, and after that Joseph did not put her away, but kept Mary and did not reveal this matter to any one.

5 And he did not approach May, but kept her as a holy virgin, though with child.

6 And he did not live with her for two months.

7 And after two months of days while Joseph was in his house, and Mary his wife, but both alone.

8 It came to pass that when they were alone that Mary straight-way looked with her eyes and saw a small babe, and she was astonished.

9 And after she had been astonished, her womb was found as formerly before she had conceived.

10 And when her husband Joseph said unto her: "What has astonished thee?" his eyes were opened and he saw the infant and praised God, because into his portion God had come.

11 And a voice came to them: "Tell this vision to no one."

12 And the story regarding the infant was noised broad in Bethlehem.

13 Some said: "The Virgin Mary hath borne a child, before she was married two months."

14 And many said: "She has not borne a child, nor has a midwife gone up (to her), nor have we heard the cries of (labour) pains." And they were all blinded respecting Him and they all knew regarding Him, though they knew not whence He was.

15 And they took Him, and went to Nazareth in Galilee.

16 And I saw, O Hezekiah and Josab my son, and I declare to the other prophets also who are standing by, that (this) hath escaped all the heavens and all the princes and all the gods of this world.

17 And I saw: In Nazareth He sucked the breast as a babe and as is customary in order that He might not be recognized.

18 And when He had grown up he worked great signs and wonders in the land of Israel and of Jerusalem.

19 And after this the adversary envied Him and roused the children of Israel against Him, not knowing who He was, and they delivered Him to the king, and crucified Him, and He descended to the angel (of Sheol).

20 In Jerusalem indeed I was Him being crucified on a tree:

21 And likewise after the third day rise again and remain days.

22 And the angel who conducted me said: "Understand, Isaiah": and I saw when He sent out the Twelve Apostles and ascended.

23 And I saw Him, and He was in the firmament, but He had not changed Himself into their form, and all the angels of the firmament and the Satans saw Him and they worshipped.

24 And there was much sorrow there, while they said: "How did our Lord descend in our midst, and we perceived not the glory [which has been upon Him], which we see has been upon Him from the sixth heaven?"

25 And He ascended into the second heaven, and He did not transform Himself, but all the angels who were on the right and on the left and the throne in the midst.

26 Both worshipped Him and praised Him and said: "How did our Lord escape us whilst descending, and we perceived not?"

27 And in like manner He ascended into the third heaven, and they praised and said in like manner.

28 And in the fourth heaven and in the fifth also they said precisely after the same manner.

29 But there was one glory, and from it He did not change Himself.

30 And I saw when He ascended into the sixth heaven, and they worshipped and glorified Him.

31 But in all the heavens the praise increased (in volume).

32 And I saw how He ascended into the seventh heaven, and all the righteous and all the angels praised Him. And then I saw Him sit down on the right hand of that Great Glory whose glory I told you that I could not behold.

33 And also the angel of the Holy Spirit I saw sitting on the left hand.

34 And this angel said unto me: "Isaiah, son of Amoz, it is enough for thee;... for thou hast seen what no child of flesh has seen.

35 And thou wilt return into thy garment (of the flesh) until thy days are completed. Then thou wilt come hither."

36 These things Isaiah saw and told unto all that stood before him, and they praised. And he spake to Hezekiah the King and said: "I have spoken these things."

37 Both the end of this world;

38 And all this vision will be consummated in the last generations.

39 And Isaiah made him swear that he would not tell (it) to the people of Israel, nor give these words to any man to transcribe.

40 ...such things ye will read. and watch ye in the Holy Spirit in order they ye may receive your garments and thrones and crowns of glory which are laid up in the seventh heaven.

41 On account of these visions and prophecies Sammael Satan sawed in sunder Isaiah the son of Amoz, the prophet, by the hand of Manasseh.

42 And all these things Hezekiah delivered to Manasseh in the twenty-sixth year.

43 But Manasseh did not remember them nor place these things in his heart, but becoming the servant of Satan he was destroyed. Here endeth the vision of Isaiah the prophet with his ascension.

THE LADDER OF JACOB

or Jacob's Ladder

From: The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament

Translation: Montague Rhodes James, 1920

Estimated Range of Dating: 200-400 A.D.

(The Ladder of Jacob (Hebrew: Sulam Yaakov) is a pseudepigraphic writing of the Old Testament. It is not regarded as scripture by Jews or Christians but as literature. It is a part of the Apocalyptic literature. The text has been preserved only in Old Church Slavonic; it is found in the Tolkovaja Paleja, a compendium of various Old Testament texts and comments which also preserved the Apocalypse of Abraham. It is not regarded as scripture by Jews or any

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Christian group. There are two versions of the text: a longer one, usually denoted A, which survives in three manuscripts, and a shorter one, usually called B. It developed in three stages: 1. an original work written in a Jewish context after the Destruction of the Temple, 2. the use in early Byzantine world and 3. the final translation in Slavonic around the ninth century. The date and origin of the Ladder of Jacob are uncertain. The original Hebrew has been meddled with by Christian editors. They made an anti-Jewish polemic from it, by adding some comments here and there, omitting some sentences and adding a Christian conclusion from Chapter Seven.)

Text:

Now Jacob went to his Uncle Laban, and he found a place and fell asleep there, laying his head on a stone, for the sun was set: and there he saw a vision.

1 And lo! a ladder was set up on the earth, whose top reached unto heaven. And the top of the ladder was a face as of a man, hewn out of fire. Now it had twelve steps up to the top of the ladder, and upon each step up to the top were two human faces on the right and on the left—twenty-four faces seen to their breast, on the ladder. But the middle face was higher than them all, which I saw made of fire, to the shoulder and the arm, very terribly, more than the twenty-four faces. And as I looked, behold, the Angels of God ascending and descending thereon: but the Lord was set above it, and he called me, saying: Jacob, Jacob. And I said: Here am I, Lord; And he said to me: The land whereon thou sleepest I will give to thee and to thy seed after thee: and I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven and as the sand of the sea; through thy seed shall all the earth be blessed, and they that dwell thereon, unto the last times, the years of the end. My blessing wherewith I have blessed thee shall pour out from thee unto the last generation. All in the east and the west shall be full of thy seed.

2 And when I heard it from above, fear and trembling fell upon me, and I rose up from my dream. And while the Voice of God was yet in mine ears, I said: How dreadful is this place! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven. And I set up the stone that was under my head for a pillar, and poured oil on the top of it, and I called the name of that place the house of God: Lord God of Adam, of thy (creature?), and Lord God of Abraham and Isaac my father, and of all whose ways are right before thee, thou that sittest mighty upon the Cherubim and upon the throne of the majesty, of fire and full of eyes, as I saw in my dream; that holds the Cherubim with four faces, that bears the Seraphim full of eyes, that bears the whole world under his arm, and is borne of none. Thou hast established the heaven for the glory of thy name. Thou hast spread out upon the clouds of the heaven the heaven that flieth (resteth?) under thee, that under it thou mayest move the sun and hide it in the night lest it be held for God: thou hast ordained the way for the moon and the stars, and her thou makest to wax and wane, but for the stars, thou hast commanded them to pass over, lest these also should be supposed gods. Before the face of thy majesty the six-winged Seraphim fear, and hide their feet and their face with their wings, and with the others they fly, and sing [. . .] (two lines gone) Highest, with twelve faces, many-named, fiery, lightning-formed, holy one! Holy, Holy, Holy, Jao Jaova, Jaoel, Sabakdos, Chabod, Sabaoth, Omlelech, Elaber, Ame S'me Barech, eternal king, strong, mighty, very great, long-suffering. Blessed One, that fillest heaven and earth and the sea and the abyss and all æons with thy glory. Hear my song wherewith I have praised thee, and grant me my petition for which I pray to thee, and show me the interpretation of my dream. For thou art strong and mighty and glorious, a holy God, the Lord of me and of my fathers.

3 And while I yet spake my prayer, there appeared a voice before my face saying: Sarekl, prince of them that rejoice (or of the servants), thou that art over visions, go make Jacob to understand the interpretation of the dream which he saw, and show him all things whatsoever he saw: but first bless him. And he archangel Sarekl came to me, and I saw: it was a face (a line gone) terrible. But I did not fear before his look, for the face which I had seen in my dream [. . .] was more than this, and I feared not the face of an angel. And the angel said to me: What is thy name? and I said: Jacob. But I (read he said to me) Thy name shall not henceforth be called Jacob, but thy name shall be like my name, Israel. And when I came from Fandana in Syria to meet my brother Esau, he came to me and blessed me, and called my name Israel, and told me not his name until I adjured him, and then he told me: Because thou wast [. . .] [There is confusion here, it seems, between the two incidents of the ladder and the wrestling.]

4 But this said he to me: The ladder which thou sawest, which had twelve steps having two human faces which changed their appearance—now this ladder is this age, and the twelve steps are the times of this age, and the twenty-four faces are the kings of the lawless heathen of this age. Under these kings will be tried [. . .] (line gone) of thy sons: they will rise up against the lawlessness of thy descendants and will lay this place waste through four descents (because ?) of the sins of thy descendants, and of the substance of the forefathers will be built this palace in the temple of the name of thy God and thy fathers (the palace of the temple in the name of the God of thy fathers); but through the wrath of thy descendants will it be desolate until the fourth descent of this age: for thou didst see four visions (or faces).

5 The first that stumbleth upon the steps [. . .] angels ascending and descending and faces in the midst of the steps: the Most High will raise up an heir of the descendants of thy brother Esau, and all the lords of the nations of the earth will accept it, who have done evil against thy seed, and will be given into his hand, and he will be hardly borne by them. But he beginneth to rule them with violence and to reign over them, and they cannot resist him, until the day when his decree goeth forth against them to serve the idols (line gone) and to all them that appear in such a cause, and so many [. . .] of thy race, so many to Thalkonagargael.

The first that stumbleth upon the steps will be a king of thy neighbours and will do evil against thy seed; he will be unwillingly borne by them. But then beginneth he to rule over them, and with violence to reign over them, and they cannot resist him, and his decree groweth against them that they should worship idols and sacrifice to the dead (the deified Emperor): and he speaketh to use force to all that are in his kingdom, which appear in such an accusation, so many to the Most High out of thy race, and so many to Thalkonagargael.

6 And know thou, Jacob, that thy seed shall be strangers in a strange land, and men will ill-treat them with bondage and lay blows on them daily: but the people whom they serve will the Lord judge. When a king ariseth and fighteth, then will there be to that place (al. when the Most High giveth his judgement to that place, he will lead forth) then will thy seed, even Israel, go forth out of the bondage of the heathen who ruled over them with violence, and will be set free from all reproach of their enemies. For this king is the head of every revenge and retribution of them that make attacks on thee, Israel. And the (at the?) end of the age (sic). For the miserable will rise and cry, and the Lord heareth them, and will be softened, and the mighty letteth himself pity their sufferings, because the angels and archangels pour out their prayers for the saving of thy race. Then will their women bear much fruit, and then will the Lord fight for thy race. [Here the oldest Manuscript ends.]

And know thou, Jacob, etc. to will the Lord judge, For the Most High will let himself pity, etc. to the saving of thy race, that the Most High may have compassion; then will their women bear much fruit, and then fighteth the Lord for thy race with terrible and great signs, for the bondage inflicted on them. Their full storehouses will be found empty of wine and of every fruit: their land will boil over with creeping things and every deadly thing. Earthquakes and much destruction will there be. Then will the Most High accomplish his judgement on that place, and will lead forth thy seed out of the bondage of the heathen which rule over them with violence, and they will be saved from the reproaches of their enemies. But the head of the king will be for (an object of) revenge: bitterly standeth he up against them, but they cry, and the Lord heareth them and poureth out his wrath upon the Leviathan the sea serpent, and smiteth the lawless Thalkon with the sword: for against the God of gods raiseth he up his pride. But then, Jacob, appeareth thy righteousness and that of thy fathers, and of them that shall be after thee, walking in thy righteousness: and then shall thy seed blow with the trumpet, and the whole kingdom of Edom shall perish, with all the kings and peoples of the Moabites. [What follows is Christian:]

7 But whereas thou sawest angels descending and ascending upon the ladder, in the last times there will be a man from the Most High, and he shall desire to join the upper with the lower. Of him before his coming shall your sons and your daughters prophesy, and your young men shall see visions of him. For there shall be such signs as these at the time of his coming: a tree felled by the axe shall drop blood; boys of three months old shall speak rationally; a child in its mother's womb shall proclaim his way; a young man shall be as an old man. And then cometh the expected one, whose path will be perceived by no man. Then will the earth rejoice, because it hath received the glory of heaven. That which was above shall be below. And of thy seed shall grow up a royal root (or the root of a king); and he (it) shall increase and destroy the power of the Evil one, but he himself shall be a saviour of the heathen, and the rest of them that are weary, and a cloud which shadeth the whole world from the heat, for otherwise that which is disordered could not be put in order, if he came not: otherwise that which is below could not be joined to that which is above.

8 Now at his coming will images of brass (al. calves of brass) and stone and all graven things utter their voice for three days long. And they announce to the wise men and let them know what will befall (or is befalling) on earth, and by the star will they know the way to him, when they see him upon earth whom the angels see not above. Then will the Almighty be found in a body on the earth, and encompassed by the arms of a mortal, and he reneweth the state of man and quickeneth (Adam and) Eve that died through the fruit of the tree. Then will the deceit of the godless one be overcome, and all idols fall on their faces, for they will be put to shame by one who is adorned with honour, because they made lying inventions. Thenceforth will they not have power to rule or to give prophecies, for their honour will be taken from them, and they will remain without glory. For he (the child) that is come taketh the power and might from them and recompenseth to Abraham the truth (righteousness) which he promised him. Then he (or For this child) roundeth off all that is sharp, and every rough thing maketh he smooth, and he casteth all unrighteousness into the depths of the sea: and he doeth wonders in heaven and on the earth. And he will be wounded in the midst of the house of the beloved (or the beloved house). But when he is wounded, then also the saving and the end of all corruption draweth near. For they that have wounded him shall themselves receive a wound which shall not be healed for them for ever. But the wounded one shall all creatures worship, and upon him shall many hope, and everywhere, and among ah the Gentiles, shall he be known. But they that have known his name shall not be put to shame. And his own might and his years shall not fail for ever.

TESTAMENT OF JOB

Book Of Job, Called Jobab, His Life
And The Transcript Of His Testament.
First Century B.C. - First Century A.D
Translation of Montague Rhodes James, 1897
Estimated Range of Dating: 1st century B.C. - A.D.

(The Testament of Job is a book written in the 1st century BC or the 1st century AD (thus part of a tradition often called "intertestamental literature" by Christian [particular American Protestant] scholars). The earliest surviving manuscript is in Coptic, of the 5th century; other early surviving manuscripts are in Greek and Old Slavonic. In folktale manner in the style of Jewish aggada, it elaborates upon the Book of Job making Job a king in Egypt. Like many other Testament of… works in the Old Testament apocrypha, it gives the narrative a framing-tale of Job's last illness, in which he calls together his sons and daughters to give them his final instructions and exhortations. The Testament of Job contains all the characters familiar in the Book of Job, with a more prominent role for Job's wife, given the name Sitidos, and many parallels to Christian beliefs that Christian readers find, such as intercession with God and forgiveness.

Unlike the Biblical Book of Job, Satan's vindictiveness towards Job is described in the Testament as being due to Job destroying a non-Jewish temple, indeed Satan is described in a far more villainous light, than simply being a prosecuting counsel. Job is equally portrayed differently; Satan is shown to directly attack Job, but fails each time due to Job's willingness to be patient, unlike the Biblical narrative where Job falls victim but retains faith.

The latter section of the work, dedicated like the Biblical text to Job's comforters, deviates even further from the Biblical narrative. Rather than complaining or challenging God, Job consistently asserts his faith despite the laments of his comforters. While one of the comforters gives up, and the others try to get him medical treatment, Job insists his faith is true, and eventually the voice of God tells the comforters to stop their behaviour. When most of the comforters choose to listen to God's voice, they decide to taunt the one remaining individual who still laments Job's fate.)

TESTAMENT OF JOB CHAPTER 1

1 On the day he became sick and (he) knew that he would have to leave his bodily abode, he called his seven sons and his three daughters together and spake to them as follows:

2 "Form a circle around me, children, and hear, and I shall relate to you what the Lord did for me and all that happened to me.

3 For I am Job your father.

4 Know ye then my children, that you are the generation of a chosen one and take heed of your noble birth.

5 For I am of the sons of Esau. My brother is Nahor, and your mother is Dinah. By her have I become your father.

6 For my first wife died with my other ten children in bitter death.

7 Hear now, children, and I will reveal unto you what happened to me.

8 I was a very rich man living in the East in the land Ausitis, (Utz) and before the Lord had named me Job, I was called Jobab.

9 The beginning of my trial was thus. Near my house there was the idol of one worshipped by the people; and I saw constantly burnt-offerings brought to him as a god.

10 Then I pondered and said to myself: "Is this he who made heaven and earth, the sea and us all How will I know the truth"

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11 And in that night as I lay asleep, a voice came and called: "Jobab! Jobab! rise up, and I will tell thee who is the one whom thou wishest to know.

12 This, however, to whom the people bring burnt-offerings and libations, is not God, but this is the power and work of the Seducer (Satan) by which he beguiles the people".

13 And when I heard this, I fell upon the earth and I prostrated myself saying:

14 "O my Lord who speakest for the salvation of my soul. I pray thee, if this is the idol of Satan, I pray thee, let me go hence and destroy it and purify this spot.

15 For there is none that can forbid me doing this, as I am the king of this land, so that those that live in it will no longer be led astray".

16 And the voice that spoke out of the flame answered to me: "Thou canst purify this spot.

17 But behold I announce to thee what the Lord ordered me to tell thee, For I am the archangel of the God".

18 And I said : "Whatever shall be told to his servant. I shall hear".

19 And the archangel, said to me : "Thus speaketh the Lord: If thou undertakest to destroy and takest away the image of Satan, he will set himself with wrath to wage war against thee, and he will display against thee all his malice."

20 He will bring upon thee many severe plagues, and take from thee all that thou hast.

21 He will take away thine children, and will inflict many evils upon thee.

22 Then thou must wrestle like an athlete and resist pain, sure of thy reward, overcome trials and afflictions.

23 But when thou endurest, I shall make thy name renowned throughout all generations of the earth until to the end of the world.

24 And I shall restore thee to all that thou hadst had, and the double part of what thou shalt lose will be given to thee in order that thou mayest know that God does not consider the person but giveth to each who deserveth the good.

25 And also to thee shall it be given, and thou shalt put on a crown of amarant.

26 And at the resurrection thou shalt awaken for eternal life. Then shalt thou know that he Lord is just, and true and mighty".

27 Whereupon, my children, I replied: "I shall from love of God endure until death all that will come upon me, and I shall not shrink back".

28 Then the angel put his seal upon me and left me.

TESTAMENT OF JOB CHAPTER 2

1 After this I rose up in the night and took fifty slaves and went to the temple of the idol and destroyed it to the ground.

2 And so I went back to my house and gave orders that the door should he firmly locked; saying to my doorkeepers:

3 "If somebody shall ask for me, bring no report to me, but tell him : He investigates urgent affairs. He is inside".

4 Then Satan disguised himself as a beggar and knocked heavily at the door, saying to the door-keeper:

5 "Report to Job and say that I desire to meet him",

6 And the door-keeper came in and told me that, but heard from me that I was studying.

7 The Evil One, having failed in this, went away and took upon his shoulder an old, torn basket and went in and spoke to the doorkeeper saying: "Tell Job : Give me bread from thine hands that I may eat".

8 And when I heard this, I gave her burnt bread to give it to him, and I made known to him : "Expect not to eat of my bread, for it is forbidden to thee".

9 But the door-keeper, being ashamed to hand him the burnt and ashy bread, as she did not know that it was Satan, took of her own fine bread and gave it to him.

10 But he took it and, knowing what occured, said to the maiden : "Go hence, bad servant, and bring me the bread that was given thee to hand to me".

11 And the servant cried and spoke in grief: "Thou speakest the truth, saying that I am a bad servant. because I have not done as I was instructed by my master".

12 And he turned back and brought him the burnt bread and said to him : "Thus says my lord : Thou shalt not eat of my bread anymore, for it is forbidden to thee.

13 And this he gave me [saying: This I give] in order that the charge may not be brought against me that I did not give to the enemy who asked".)

14 And when Satan heard this, he sent back the servant to me, saying: "As thou seest this bread all burnt, so shall I soon burn thy body to make it like this".

15 And I replied: "Do what thou desirest to do and accomplish whatever thou plottest. For I am ready to endure whatever thou bringest upon me".

16 And when the devil heard this, he left me, and walking up to under the [highest] heaven, he took from the Lord the oath that he might have power, over all my possessions.

17 And after having taken the power he went and instantly took away all my wealth.

TESTAMENT OF JOB CHAPTER 3

1 For I had one hundred and thirty thousand sheep, and of these I separated seven thousand for the clothing of orphans and widows and of needy and sick ones.

2 I had a herd of eight hundred dogs who watched my sheep and besides these two hundred to watch my house.

3 And I had nine mills working for the whole city and ships to carry goods, and I seat them into every city and into the villages to the feeble and sick and to those that were unfortunate.

4 And I had three hundred and forty thousand nomadic asses, and of these I set aside five hundred, and the offspring of these I order to he sold and the proceeds to be given to the poor and the needy.

5 For from all the lands the poor came to meet me.

6 For the four doors of my house were opened, each, being in charge of a watchman who had to see whether there were any people coming asking alms, and whether they would see me sitting at one of the door's so that they could leave through the other and take whatever they needed.

7 I also had thirty immovable tables set at all hours for the strangers alone, and I also had twelve tables spread for the widows.

8 And if any one came asking for alms, he found food on my table to take all he needed, and I turned nobody away to leave my door with an empty stomach.

9 I also had three thousand five hundred yokes of oxen, and I selected of these five hundred and had them tend to the plowing.

10 And with these I had done all the work in each field by those who would, take it in charge and the income of their crops I laid aside for the poor on their table.

11 I also had fifty bakeries from which I sent [the bread] to the table for the poor.

12 And I had slaves selected for their service.

13 There were also some strangers who saw my good will; they wished to serve as waiters themselves.

14 Others, being in distress and unable to obtain a living, came with the request saying:

15 "We pray thee, since we also can fill this office of waiters (deacons) and have no possession, have pity upon us and advance money to us in order that we may go into the great cities and sell merchandise.

16 And the surplus of our profit we may give as help to the poor, and then shaII we return to thee thine own (money).

17 And when I heard this, I was glad that they should take this altogether from me for the husbandry of charity for the poor.

18 And with a willing heart I gave them what they wanted, and I accepted their written bond, but would not take any other security from them except the written document.

19 And they went abroad and gave to time poor as far as they were successful.

20 Frequently, however, some of their goods were lost on the road or on the sea, or they would he robbed of them.

21 Then they would come and say: "We pray thee, act generously towards us in order that we may see how we can restore to you thine own".

22 And when I heard this, I had sympathy with them, and handed to them their bond, and often having read it before them tore it up and released them of their debt. saying to them:

23 "What I have consecrated for the benefit of the poor, I shall not take from you".

24 And so I accepted nothing from my debtor.

25 And when a man with cheerful heart came to me saying: I am not in need to be compelled to he a paid worker for the poor.

26 But I wish to serve the needy at thy table", and he consented to work, and he ate his share.

27 So I gave him his wages nevertheless, and I went home rejoicing.

28 And when he did not wish to take it, I forced him to do so, saying: "I know that thou art a laboring man who looks for and waits for his wages, and thou must take it."

29 Never did I defer paying the wages of the hireling or any other, nor keep back in my house for a single evening his hire that was due to him.

30 Those that milked the cows and the ewes signaled to the passersby that they should take their share.

31 For the milk flowed in such plenty that it curdled into butter on the hills and by the road side; and by the rocks and the hills the cattle lay which had given birth to their offspring.

32 For my servants grew weary keeping the meat of the widows and the poor and dividing it into small pieces.

33 For they would curse and say: "Oh that we had of his flesh that we could be satisfied", although I was very kind to them,

34 I also had six harps [and six slaves to play the harps] and also a cithara, a decachord, and I struck it during the day.

35 And I took the cithara, and the widows responded after their meals.

36 And with the musical instrument I reminded them of God that they should give praise to the Lord.

37 And when my female slaves would murmur, then I took the musical instruments and played as much as they would have done for their wages, and gave them respite from their labour and sighs.

TESTAMENT OF JOB CHAPTER 4

1 And my children, after having taken charge of the service, took their meals each day along with their three sisters beginning with the older brother, and made a feast.

2 And I rose in the morning and offered as sin-offering for them fifty rams and nineteen sheep, and what remained as a residue was consecrated to the poor.

3 And I said to them : "Take these as residue and pray for my children.

4 Perchance my sons have sinned before the Lord, speaking in haughtiness of spirit: We are children of this rich man. Ours are all these goods; why should we be servants of the poor'

5 And speaking thus in a haughty spirit they may have provoked the anger of God, for overbearing pride is an abomination before the Lord."

6 So I brought oxen as offerings to the priest at the altar saying: "May my children never think evil towards God in their hearts."

7 While I lived in this manner, the Seducer could not bear to see the good [I did], and he demanded the warfare of God against me.

8 And he came upon me cruelly.

9 First he burnt up the large number of sheep, then the camels, then he burnt up the cattle and all my herds; or they were captured not only by enemies but also by such as had received benefits from me.

10 And the shepherds came and announced that to me.

11 But when I heard it, I gave praise to God and did not blaspheme.

12 And when the Seducer learned of my fortitude, he plotted new thing's against me.

13 He disguised himself as King of Persia and besieged my city, and after he had led off all that were therein, he spoke to them in malice, saying in boastful language:

14 "This man Job who has obtained all the goods of the earth and left nothing for others, he has destroyed and torn down the temple of god.

15 Therefore shall I repay to him what he has done to the house of the great god.

16 Now come with me and we shall pillage all that is left in his house."

17 And they answered and said to him: "He has seven sons and three daughters.

18 Take heed lest they flee into other lands and they may become our tyrants and then come over us with force and kill us."

19 And he said: Be not at all afraid. His flocks and his wealth have I destroyed by fire, and the rest have I captured, and behold, his children shall I kill."

20 And having spoken thus, he went and threw the house upon my children and killed them.

21 And my fellow-citizens, seeing that what was said by him had become true, came and pursued me, and robbed me of all that was in my house.

22 And I saw with mine own eyes the pillage of my house, and men without culture and without honor sat at my table and on my couches, and I could not remonstrate against them.

23 For I was exhausted like a woman with her loins let loose from multitude of pains, remembering chiefly that this warfare had been predicted to me by the Lord through His angel.

24 And I became like one who, when seeing the rough sea and the adverse winds, while the lading of the vessel in mid-ocean is too heavy, casts the burden into the sea, saying:

25 "I wish to destroy all this only in order to come safely into the city so that I may take as profit the rescued ship and the best of my things."

26 Thus did I manage my own affairs.

27 But there came another messenger and announced to me the ruin of my own children, and I was shaken with terror.

28 And I tore my clothes and said: The Lord hath given, the Lord hath taken. As it hath deemed best to the Lord, thus it hath come to be. May the name of the Lord be blessed."

TESTAMENT OF JOB CHAPTER 5

1 And when Satan saw that he could riot put me to despair, he went and asked my body of the Lord in order to inflict plague on me, for the Evil one could not bear my patience.

2 Then the Lord delivered me into his hands to use my body as he wanted, but he gave him no power over my soul.

3 And he came to me as I was sitting on my throne still mourning over my children.

4 And he resembled a great hurricane and turned over my throne and threw me upon the ground.

5 And I continued lying on the floor for three hours. and he smote me with a hard plague from the top of my head to the toes of my feet.

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6 And I left the city in great terror and woe and sat down upon a dunghill my body being worm-eaten.

7 And I wet the earth with the moistness of my sore body, for matter flowed off my body, and many worms covered it.

8 And when a single worm crept off my body, I put it back saying: "Remain on the spot where thou hast been placed until He who hath sent thee will order thee elsewhere."

9 Thus I endured for sever years, sitting on a dung-hill outside of the city while being plague-stricken.

10 And I saw with mine own eyes my longed-for children [carried by angels to heaven]

11 And my humbled wife who had been brought to her bridal chamber in such great luxuriousness and with spearmen as body-guards. I saw her do a water-carrier's work like a slave in the house of a common man in order to win some bread and bring it to me.

12 And in my sore affliction I said: "Oh that these braggart city rulers whom I soul not have thought to be equal with my shepherd dogs should now employ my wife as servant!"

13 And after this I took courage again.

14 Yet afterwards they withheld even the bread that it should only have her own nourishment.

15 But she took it and divided it between herself and me, saying woefully: "Woe to me! Forthwith he may no longer feed on bread, and he cannot go to the market to ask bread of the bread-sellers in order to bring it to me that he may eat"

16 And when Satan learned this, he took the guise of a bread-seller, and it was as if by chance that my wife met him and asked him for bread thinking that it was that sort of man.

17 But Satan said to her : "Give me the value, and then take what thou wishest."

18 Whereupon she answered saying: Where shall I get money Dost thou not know what misfortune happened to me. If thou hast pity, show it to me; if not, thou shalt see."

19 And he replied saying: "If you did not deserve this misfortune, you would not have suffered all this.

20 Now, if there is no silver piece in thine hand, give me the hair of thine head and take three loaves of bread for it, so that ye may live on there for three days.

21 Then she said to herself: "What is the hair of my head in comparison with my starving husband"

22 And so after having pondered over the matter, she said to him: "Rise and cut off my hair".

23 Then he took a pair of scissors and took off the hair of her head in the presence of all, and gave her three loaves of bread.

24 Then she took them and brought them to me. And Satan went behind her on the road, hiding himself as he walked and troubling her heart greatly.

TESTAMENT OF JOB CHAPTER 6

1 And immediately my wife came near me and crying aloud and weeping she said: "Job! Job! How long wilt thou sit upon the dung-hill outside of the city, pondering yet for a while and expecting to obtain your hoped-for salvation!"

2 And I have been wandering from place to place, roaming about as a hired servant, behold they memory has already died away from earth.

3 And my sons and the daughters that I carried on my bosom and the labors and pains that I sustained have been for nothing

4 And thou sittest in the malodorous state of soreness and worms, passing the nights in the cold air.

5 And I have undergone all trials and troubles and pains, day and night until I succeeded in bringing bread to thee.

6 For your surplus of bread is no longer allowed to me; and as I can scarcely take my own food and divide it between us, I pondered in my heart that it was not right that thou shouldst be in pain and hunger for bread.

7 And so I ventured to go to the market without bashfulness. and when the bread-seller told me: "Give me money. and thou shalt have bread''. I disclosed to him our state of distress.

8 Then I heard him say : "If thou hast no money, hand me the hair of thy head, and take three loaves of bread in order that ye may live on these for three days''.

9 And I yielded to the wrong and said to him "Rise and cut off my hair !'' and he rose and in disgrace cut off with the scissors the hair of my head on the market place while the crowd stood by and wondered.

10 Who would then not be astonished saying: "Is this Sitis, the wife of Job, who had fourteen curtains to cover her inner sitting room, and doors within doors so that he was greatly honored who would be brought near her, and now behold, she barters off her hair for bread!

11 Who had camels laden with goods. and they were brought into remote lands to the poor, and now she sells her hair for bread!

12 Behold her who had seven tables immovably set in her house at which each poor man and each stranger ate, and now she sells her hair for bread!

13 Behold her who had the basin wherewith to wash her feet made of gold and silver, and now she walks upon the ground and [sells her hair for bread !]

14 Behold her who had her garments made of byssus interwoven with gold, and now she exchanges her hair for bread!

15 Behold her who had couches of gold and of silver, and now she sells her hair for bread!"

16 In short then, Job, after the many things that have been said to me, I now say in one word to thee:

17 "Since the feebleness of my heart has crushed my bones, rise then and take these loaves of bread and enjoy them, and then speak some word against the Lord and die!

18 For I too, would exchange the torpor of death for the sustenance of my body".

19 But I replied to her "Behold I have been for these seven years plague-stricken, and I have stood the worms of my body, and I was not weighed down in my soul by all these pains.

20 And as to the word which thou sayest: 'Speak some word against God and die!', together with thee I will sustain the evil which thou seest. and let us endure the ruin of all that we have.

21 Yet thou desirest that we should say some word against God and that He should be exchanged for the great Pluto [the god of the nether world.]

22 Why dost thou not remember those great goods which we possessed If these goods come from the lands of the Lord, should not we also endure evils and be high-minded in everything until the Lord will have mercy again and show pity to us

23 Dost thou not see the Seducer stand behind thee and confound thy thoughts in order that thou shouldst beguile me

24 And he turned to Satan and said : "Why dost thou not come openly to me Stop hiding thyself thou wretched one,

25 Does the lion show his strength in the weasel cage Or does the bird fly in the basket I now tell thee: Go away and wage thy war against me".

26 Then he went of from behind my wife and placed himself before me crying and he said : Behold, Job, I yield and give way to thee who art but flesh while I am a spirit.

27 Thou art plague-stricken, but I am in great trouble.

28 For I am like a wrestler contesting with a wrestler who has, in a single-handed combat, torn down his antagonist and covered him with dust and broken every limb of his, whereas the other one who lies beneath, having displayed his bravery, gives forth sounds of triumph testifying to his own superior excellence.

29 Thus thou, O Job, art beneath and stricken with plague and pain, and yet thou hast carried the victory in the wrestling-match with me, and behold, I yield to thee".

30. Then he left me abashed.

31 Now my children, do you also show a firm heart in all the evil that happens to you, for greater than all things is firmness of heart.

TESTAMENT OF JOB CHAPTER 7

1 At this time the kings heard what had happened to me and they rose and came to me. each from his land to visit me and to comfort me.

2. And when they came near me, they cried with a loud voice and each tore his clothes.

3 And after they had prostrated themselves, touching the earth with their heads, they sat down next to me for seven days and seven nights, and none spoke a word.

4 They were four in numbers: Eliplaz, the king of Teman, and Balad, and Sophar, and Elilhu.

5 And when they had taken their seat, they conversed about what had happened to me.

6 Now when for time first time they had come to me and I had shown them my precious stones, they were astonished and said:

7 "If of us three kings all our possessions would be brought together into one, it would not come up to the precious stones of .Jobab's kingdom (crown). For thou art of greater nobility than all the people of the East. 8 And when, therefore, they now came to the land of Ausitis "Uz" to visit me, they asked in the city : "Where is Jobab, the ruler of this whole land"

9 And they told them concerning me: "He sitteth upon the dung-hill outside of the city for he has not entered the city' for seven years".

10 And then again they- inquired concerning my possessions, and there was revealed to them all that happened to me.

11 And when they had learned this, they went out of the city with the inhabitants, and my fellow-citizens pointed me out to them.

12 But these remonstrated and said: "Surely, this is not Jobab''.

13 And while they hesitated, there said Eliphaz. the King of Teman: "Come let us step near and see."

14 And when they came near I remembered them, and I wept very much when I learned the purpose of their journey.

15 And I threw earth upon my head, and while shaking my head I revealed unto them that I was [Job].

16 And when they saw me shake my head they threw themselves down upon the ground, all overcome with emotion

17 And while their hosts were standing around, I saw the three kings lie upon the ground for three hours like dead.

18 Then they rose and said to each other: We cannot believe that this is Jobab".

19 And finally, after they had for seven day's inquired after everything concerning me and searched for my flocks and other possessions, they said:

20 "Do we not know how many goods were sent by him to the cities and the villages round about to be given to the poor, aside from all that was given away by him within his own house How then could he have fallen into such a state of perdition and misery !"

21 And after the seven days Elihu said to the kings : "Come let us step near and examine him accurately, whether he truly is Jobab or not"

22 And they, being not half a mile (stadium) distant from his malodorous body, they rose and stepped near, carrying perfume in their hands, while their soldiers went with them and threw fragrant incense round about them so that they could come near me.

23 And after they had thus passed three hours, covering the way with aroma, they drew nigh.

24 And Eliphaz began and said : "Art thou, indeed, Job, our fellow-king Art thou the one who owned the great glory

25 Art thou he who once shone like the sun of day upon the whole earth Art thou he who once resembled the moon and the stars effulgent throughout the night"

26 And I answered him and said: "I am", and thereupon all wept and lamented, and they sang a royal song of lamentation, their whole army joining them in a chorus.

27 And again Eliphaz said to me : "Art thou he who had ordered seven thousand sheep to be given for the clothing of the poor Whither, then hath gone the glory of thy throne

28 Art thou he who had ordered three thousand cattle to do the plowing of the field for the poor Wither, then hath thy glory gone!

29 Art thou he who had golden couches, and now thou sittest upon a dung hill [" Whither then hath thy glory gone!"]

30 Art thou he who had sixty tables set for the poor Art thou he who had censer's for the fine perfume made of precious stones, and now thou art in a malodorous state Whither then hath thy glory gone!

31 Art thou he who had golden candelabras set upon silver stands; and now must thou long for the natural gleam of the moon ["Whither then hath thy glory gone!"]

32 Art thou the one who had ointment made of the spices of frankincense, and now thou art in a state of repulsiveness! [Whither then hath thy glory gone!"]

33 Art thou he who laughed the wrong doers and sinners to scorn and now thou hast become a laughingstock to all !" [Whither then hath thine glory gone]

34 And when Eliphaz had for a long time cried and lamented, while all the others joined him, so that the commotion was very great, I said to them:

35 Be silent and I will show you my throne, and the glory of its splendor: My glory will be everlasting.

36 The whole world shall perish, and its glory shall vanish, and all those who hold fast to it, will remain beneath, but my throne is in the upper world and its glory and splendor will be to the right of the Savior in the heavens.

37 My throne exists in the life of the "holy ones" and its glory in the imperishable world.

38 For rivers will he dried up and their arrogance shall go down to the depth of the abyss, but the streams of my land in which my throne is erected, shall not dry up, but shall remain unbroken in strength.

39 The kings perish and the rulers vanish, and their glory and pride is as the shadow in a looking glass, but my Kingdom lasts forever and ever, and its glory and beauty is in the chariot of my Father).

TESTAMENT OF JOB CHAPTER 8

1 I When I spoke thus to them, Ehiphaz. became angry and said to the other friends "For what purpose is it that we have come here with our hosts to comfort him 9 Behold, he upbraids us. Therefore let us return to our countries.

2 This man sits here in misery worm-eaten amidst an unbearable state of putrefaction, and yet he challenges its saving : 'Kingdoms shall perish and their rulers, but my Kingdom, says he, shall last forever'".

3 Eliphaz, then, rose in great commotion, and, turning away from them in great fury, said': "I go hence. We have indeed come to comfort him, but he declares war to us in view of our armies".

4 But then Baldad seized him by the hand and said :" Not thus ought one to speak to an afflicted man, and especially to one stricken down with so many plagues.

5 Behold, we, being in good health, dared not approach him on account of the offensive odor, except with the help of plenty of fragrant aroma. But thou, Eliphaz. art forgetful of all this.

6 Let me speak plainly. Let us be magnanimous and learn what is the cause Must he in remembering his former days of happiness not become mad in his mind

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7 Who should not be altogether perplexed seeing himself thus lapse into misfortune and plagues But let me step near him that I may find by what cause is he thus"

8 And Baldad rose and approached me saying: "Art thou Job" and he said : "Is thy heart still in good keeping

9 And I said: "I did not hold fast to the earthly things, since the earth with all that inhabit it is unstable. But my heart holds fast to the heaven, because there is no trouble in heaven".

10 Then Baldad rejoined and said : "We know that the earth is unstable, for it changes according to season. At times it is in a state of peace, and at times it is in a state of war. But of the heaven we hear that it is perfectly steady.

11 But art thou truly in a state of calmness Therefore let me ask and speak, and when thou answerest me to my first word, I shall have a second question to ask, and if again thou answerest in well-set words, it will be manifest that thy heart has not been unbalanced".

12 And I said : "Upon what dost thou set thy hope" And I said: "Upon the living God".

13. And he said to me : "Who deprived thee of all thou didst possess And who inflicted thee with these plagues" And I said: "God".

14 And he said: "If thou still placest thy hope upon God, how can He do wrong in judgement, having brought upon thee these plagues and misfortunes, and having taken from thee all thy possessions

15 And since He has taken these, it is clear that He has given thee nothing. No king will disgrace his soldier who has served him well as body-guard"

16 [And I answered saying] : "Who understands the depths of the Lord and of His wisdom to be able to accuse God of injustice"

17 [And Baldad said] : "Answer me, o Job, to this. Again I say to thee : 'If thou art in a state of calm reason, teach me if thou hast wisdom:

18 Why do we see the sun rise in the East and set in the West And again when rising in the morning we find him rise in the East Tell me thy- thought about this''

19 Then said I: "Why shall I betray (babble forth) the mighty mysteries of God And should my mouth stumble in revealing things belonging to the Master Never!

20 Who are we that we should pry into matters concerning the upper world while we are only of flesh, nay, earth and ashes!

21 In order that you know that my heart is sound, hear what I ask you:

22 Through the stomach cometh food, and water you drink through the mouth, and then it flows through the same throat, and when the two go down to become excrement, they again part; who effects this separation".

23 And Baldad said: "I do not know". And I rejoined and said to him : "If thou dost not understand even the exits of the body, how canst thou understand the celestial circuits"

24 Then Sophar rejoined and said : "We do not inquire after our own affairs, but we desire to know whether thou art in a sound state, and behold, we see that thy reason has not been shaken.

25. What now dost thou wish that we should do for thee Behold, we have come here and brought the physicians of three kings, and if thou wishest, thou mayest he cured by them".

26 But I answered and said : "My cure and my restoration cometh from God, the Maker of physicians".

TESTAMENT OF JOB CHAPTER 9

1 And when I spoke thus to them, behold, there my wife Sitis came running, dressed in rags. from the service of the master by whom she was employed as slave though she had been forbidden to leave, lest the kings, on seeing her, might take her as captive.

2 And when she came, she threw herself prostrate to their feet, crying and saying: ''Remember'. Eliphaz and ye other friends, what I was once with you, and how I have changed, how I am now dressed to meet you''

3 Then the kings broke forth in great weeping and, being in double perplexity, they kept silent. But Eliphaz took his purple mantle and cast it about her to wrap herself up with it.

4 But she asked him saying: "I ask as favor of you, my Lords, that you order your soldiers that they should dig among the ruins of our house which fell upon my children, so that their bones could be brought in a perfect state to the tombs.

5 Fir as we have, owing to our misfortune, no power at all, and so we may at least see their bones.

6 For have I like a brute the motherly feeling of wild beasts that my ten children should have perished on one day and not to one of them could I give a decent burial''

7 And the kings gave order that the ruins of my house should be dug up. But I prohibited it, saving

8 ''Do not go to the trouble in vain; for my children will not he found, for they are in the keeping of their Maker and Ruler''.

9 And the kings answered and said : "Who will gainsay that he is out of his mind and raves

10 For while we desire to bring the bones of his children back, he forbids us to do so saying: 'They have been taken and placed the keeping of their Maker'. Therefore prove unto us the truth".

11 But I said to them: "Raise me that I may stand up, and they lifted me, holding up my arms from both sides.

12 And I stood upright, and pronounced first the praise of God and after the prayer I said to them : ''Look with your eyes to the East''.

13 And they looked and saw my children with crowns near the glory of the King, the Ruler of heaven.

14 And when my wife Sitis saw this, she fell to the ground and prostrated [herself] before God, saying: ''Now I know that my memory remains with the Lord".

15 And after she had spoken this, and the evening came, she went to the city, back to the master whom she served as slave, and lay herself down at the manger of the cattle and died there from exhaustion.

16 And when her despotic master searched for her and did not find her, he came to the fold of his herds, and there he saw her stretched out upon the manger dead, while all the animals around were crying about her.

17 And all who saw her wept and lamented, and the cry extended throughout the whole city.

18 And the people brought her down and wrapt her up and buried her by the house which had fallen upon her children.

19 And the poor of the city made a great mourning for her and said: "Behold this Sitis whose like in nobility and in glory is not found in any woman. Alas ! she was not found worthy of a proper tomb!''

20 The dirge for her you will find in the record.

TESTAMENT OF JOB CHAPTER 10

But Eliphaz and those that were with him were astonished at these things, and they sat down with me and replying to me, spoke in boastful words concerning me for twenty seven days.

2 They repeated it again and again that I suffered deservedly thus for having committed many sins, and that there was no hope left for me, but I retorted to these men in zest of contention myself.

3 And they rose in anger, ready to part in wrathful spirit. But Elihu conjured them to stay yet a little while until he would have shown them what it was.

4 "For", said he, "so many days did you pass, allowing Job to boast that he is just. But I shall no longer suffer it.

5 For from the beginning did I continue crying over him, remembering his former happiness. But now he speaks boastfully and in overbearing pride he says that he has his throne in the heavens.

6 Therefore, hear me, and I will tell you what is the cause of his destiny.

7 Then, imbued with the spirit of Satan. Elihu spoke hard words which are written down in the records left of Elihu.

8 And after he had ended, God appeared to me in a storm and in clouds, and spoke. blaming Elihu and showing me that he who had spoken was not a man, but a wild beast.

9 And when God had finished speaking to me, the Lord spoke to Eliphaz: "Thou and thy friends have sinned in that ye have not spoken the truth concerning my servant Job.

10 Therefore rise up and make him bring a sin-offering for you in order that your sins may be forgiven; for were it not for him, I would have destroyed you''.

11 And so they brought to me all that belonged to a sacrifice, and I took it and brought for them a sin-offering, and the Lord received it favorably and forgave them their wrong.

12 Then when Eliphaz, Baldad and Sophar saw that God had graciously pardoned their sin through His servant Job, but that He did not deign to pardon Elihu, then did Eliphaz begin to sing a hymn, while the others responded, their soldiers also joining while standing by the altar.

13 And Eliphaz spoke thus "Taken off is the sin and our injustice gone;

14 But Elihu, the evil one, shall have no remembrance among the living; his luminary is extinguished and has lost its light.

15 The glory of his lamp will announce itself for him, for he is the son of darkness. and not of light.

16 The doorkeepers of the place of darkness shall give him their glory and beauty as share; His Kingdom hath vanished, his throne hath moldered, and the honor of his stature is in (Sheol) Hades.

17 For he has loved the beauty of the serpent and the scales (skins) of the dracon his gall and his venom belongs to the Northern One (Zphuni = Adder).

18 For he did not own himself unto the Lord nor did he fear him, but he hated those whom He hath chosen (known).

19 Thus God forgot him, and "the holy ones" forsook him, his wrath and anger shall be unto him desolation and he will have no mercy in his heart nor peace, because he, had the venom of an adder on his tongue.

20 Righteous is the Lord, and His judgements are true, With him there is no preference of person, for He judgeth all alike.

21 Behold, the Lord cometh! Behold, the "holy ones" have been prepared: The crowns and the prizes of the victors precede them!

22 Let the saints rejoice, and let their hearts exult in gladness; for they shall receive the glory which is in store for them.

Chorus:

23 "Our sins are forgiven, our injustice has been cleansed, but Elihu hath no remembrance among the living".

24 After Eliphaz had finished the hymn, we rose and went back to the city, each to the house where they lived.

25 And the people made a feast for me in gratitude and delight of God, and all my friends came back to me.

26 And all those who had seen me in my former state of happiness, asked me saying: "What are those three things here amongst us"

TESTAMENT OF JOB CHAPTER 11

1 But I being desirous to take up again my work of benevolence for the poor, asked them saying:

2 "Give me each a lamb for the clothing of the poor in their state of nakedness, and four drachmas (coins) of silver or gold"

3 Then the Lord blessed all that was left to me, and after a few days I became rich again in merchandise, in flocks and all things which I had lost, and I received all in double number again.

4 Then I also took as wife your mother and became the father of you ten in place of the ten children that had died.

5 And now, my children, let me admonish you: "Behold I die. You will take my place.

6 Only do not forsake the Lord. Be charitable towards the poor; Do not disregard the feeble. Take not unto yourselves wives from strangers.

7 Behold, my children, I shall divide among you what I possess, so that each may have control over his own and have full power to do good with his share".

8 And after he had spoken thus, he brought all his goods and divided them among his seven sons, but he gave nothing of his goods to his daughters.

9 Then they said to their father: "Our lord and father! Are we not also thy children Why, then, dost thou not also give us a share of thy possessions"

10 Then said Job to his daughters : "Do not become angry my daughters. I have not forgotten you. Behold, I have preserved for you a possession better than that which your brothers have taken".

11 And he called his daughter whose name was Day (Yemima) and said to her: "Take this double ring used as a key and go to the treasure-house and bring me the golden casket, that I may give you your possession''.

12 And she went and brought it to him, and he opened it and took out three-stringed girdles about the appearance of which no man can speak.

13 For they were not earthly work, but celestial sparks of light flashed through them like the rays of the sun.

14 And he gave one string to each of His daughters and said: "Put these as girdles around you in order that all the days of your life they may encircle you and endow you with every thing good".

15 And the other daughter whose name was Kassiah said: "Is this the possession of which thou sayest it is better than that of our brothers What now Can we live on this"

16 And their father said to them: "Not only have you here sufficient to live on, but these bring you into a better world to live in, in the heavens.

17 Or do you not know my children, the value of these things here Hear then! When the Lord had deemed me worthy to have compassion on me and to take off my body the plagues and the worms, He called me and handed to me these three strings.

18 And He said to me: 'Rise and gird up thy loins like a man I will demand of thee and declare thou unto me'.

19 And I took them and girt them around my loins, and immediately did the worms leave my body, and likewise did the plagues, and my whole body took new strength through the Lord, and thus I passed on, as though I had never suffered.

20 But also in my heart I forgot the pains. Then spoke the Lord unto me in His great power and showed to me all that was and will be.

21 Now then, my children, in keeping these, you will not have the enemy plotting against you nor [evil] intentions in your mind because this is a charm (Phylacterion) from the Lord.

22 Rise then and gird these around you before I die in order that you may see the angels come at my parting so that you may behold with wonder the powers of God".

23 Then rose the one whose name was Day (Yemima) and girt herself; and immediately she departed her body, as her father had said, and she put on another heart, as if she never cared for earthly things.

24 And she sang angelic hymns in the voice of angels, and she chanted forth the angelic praise of God while dancing.

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25 Then the other daughter, Kassia by name, put on the girdle, and her heart was transformed, so that she no longer wished for worldly things.

26 And her mouth assumed the dialect of the heavenly rulers (Archonts) and she sang the donology of the work of the High Place and if any one wishes to know the work of the heavens he may take an insight into the hymns of Kassia.

27 Then did the other daughter by the name of Amalthea's Horn (Keren Happukh) gird herself and her mouth spoke in the language of those on high; for her heart was transformed, being lifted above the worldly things.

28 She spoke in the dialect of the Cherubim, singing the praise of the Ruler of the cosmic powers (virtues) and extolling their (His) glory.

29 And he who desires to follow the vestiges of the "Glory of the Father" will find them written down in the Prayers of Amalthea's Horn.

TESTAMENT OF JOB CHAPTER 12

1 After these three had finished singing hymns. did I Nahor (Neros) brother of Job sit down next to him, as he lay down.

2 And I heard the marvelous (great) things of the three daughters of my brother, one always succeeding the other amidst awful silence.

3 And I wrote down this book containing the hymns except the hymns and signs of the [holy] Word, for these were the great things of God.

4 And Job lay down from sickness on his couch, yet without pain and suffering, because his pain did not take strong hold of him on account of, the charm of the girdle which he had wound around himself.

5 But after three days Job saw the holy angels come for his soul, and instantly he rose and took the cithara and gave it to his daughter Day (Yemima).

6 And to Kassia he gave a censer (with perfume = Kassia, and to Amalthea's horn (= music) he gave a timbrel in order that they might bless the holy angels who came for his soul.

7 And they took these, and sang, and played on the psaltery and praised and glorified God in the holy dialect.

8 And after this he came He who sitteth upon the great chariot and kissed Job, while his three daughters looked on, but the others saw it not.

9 And He took the soul of Job and He soared upward, taking her (the soul) by the arm and carrying her upon the chariot, and He went towards the East.

10 His body, however, was brought to the grave while the three daughters marched ahead, having put on their girdles and singing hymns in praise of God.

11 Then held Nahor (Nereos) his brother and his seven sons, with the rest of the people and the poor, the orphans and the feeble ones, a great mourning over him, saying:

12 "Woe unto us, for today has been taken from us the strength of the feeble, the light of the blind, the father of the orphans;

13 The receiver of strangers has been taken off the leader of the erring, the cover of the naked. the shield of the widows. Who would not mourn for the man of God!

14 And as they were mourning in this and in that form, they would not suffer him to be put into the grave.

15 After three days, however, he was finally put into the grave, like one in sweet slumber, and he received the name of the good (beautiful) who will remain renowned throughout all generations of the world.

16 He left seven sons and three daughters, and there were no daughters found on earth as fair as the daughters of Job.

17 The name of Job was formerly Jobab, and he was called Job by the Lord.

18 He had lived before his plague eighty five years, and after the plague he took the double share of all; hence also his year's he doubled, which is 170 years. Thus he lived altogether 255 years.

19 And, he saw sons of his sons unto the fourth generation. It is written that he will rise up with those whom the Lord will reawaken. To our Lord by glory. Amen.

TESTAMENT OF SOLOMON

The Greek Testament of Solomon
Translation : Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare, 1898
Estimated Range of Dating: 1st to 3rd Century A.D.

(The Testament of Solomon is a pseudepigraphical composite text ascribed to King Solomon and so associated with the Old Testament, but not regarded as canonical scripture by Jews or Christian groups. It was written in the Greek language, based on precedents dating back to the early 1st millennium AD, but was likely not completed in any meaningful textual sense until sometime in the medieval period. In its most noteworthy recensions, the text describes how Solomon was enabled to build his temple by commanding demons by means of a magical ring that was entrusted to him by the archangel Michael.

Dating and authorship is very uncertain. Despite the text's claim to have been a first-hand account of King Solomon's construction of the Temple of Jerusalem, suggested dates for its composition range between the end of the 1st century AD and the Middle Ages. Also disputed is whether it had a Christian or Jewish origin. Its content reflects the first-century Judaism in Palestine and includes material much earlier than its composition. Because of the text's various forms, produced over centuries by distinct scribes, the author or authors of the text remain unknown. The text was originally written in Greek and contains numerous theological and magical themes ranging from Christianity and Judaism to Greek mythology and astrology that possibly hint at a Christian writer with a Greek background.

Greek and Jewish influence: The most obvious Greek influence is Solomon's encounter with seven demons who are sisters. They introduce themselves to the king and describe their home among the stars and Mount Olympus. The seven demon-sisters represent the Pleiades of Greek mythology and their astrological relationship. Solomon also encounters a female demon called Obizuth, who has no limbs and a head full of disheveled hair. It is argued that she actually represents Medusa or a gorgon-like creature from Greek mythology. The demon Enepsigos recounts to King Solomon at one point during the temple's construction that he can take three different physical forms, one of which being the Greek Titan Kronos. Enepsigos is also represented as a triple-faced woman akin to Hecate and is likewise astrologically associated with the sphere of the moon. The Babylonian Talmud (in Gittin 68) mentions a similar story where Solomon enslaves Ashmodai, Prince of the Demons, to build the Temple, and he was disposed of temporarily by him.

Christian themes: The most explicit and notable Christian theme found in the text was during King Solomon's encounter with the demon Ephippas. While working on the temple, Ephippas is asked by Solomon by what angel he is thwarted. The demon replied that the only thing that can truly take away his powers and defeat him is a man that will be born of a virgin and then be crucified on a cross by the Jews.

Demons: Many of the demons in Solomon's encounters are of Greek, Egyptian, Jewish, Christian, Arabic, and other traditions. The majority of the testament consists of Solomon's interviews with the demons, some of which are grotesque.

Contents:

When a demon named Ornias harasses a young man (who is favored by Solomon) by stealing half of his pay and sucking out his vitality through the thumb on his right hand, Solomon prays in the temple and receives from the archangel Michael a ring with the seal of God (in the shape of a Pentagram) on it which will enable him to command the demons. Solomon lends the ring to the lad who, by throwing the ring at the demon Ornias, stamps him with the seal and brings him under control. Then Solomon orders the demon Ornias to take the ring and similarly imprint the prince of demons, Beelzebul. With Beelzebul under his command, Solomon now has all of the demons at his bidding to build the temple. Beelzebul reveals that he was formerly the highest ranking angel in Heaven. In chapter 18, the demons of the 36 decans appear, with names that sometimes seem to be conscious distortions of the traditional names for the decans. The decan demons claim responsibility mostly for various ailments and pains, and they provide the magical formulae by which they may be banished. For example, the thirty-third demon is Rhyx Achoneoth who causes sore throat and tonsilitis and can be driven off by writing the word Leikourgos on ivy leaves and heaping them into a pile.

Solomon's final demon encounter involves sending a servant boy with his ring to take captive a wind demon who is harassing the land of Arabia. The boy is to hold a wineskin against the wind with the ring in front of it, and then tie up the bag when it is full. The boy succeeds in his task and returns with the wineskin. The imprisoned demon calls himself Ephippas, and it is by his power that a cornerstone, thought to be too large to lift, is raised into the entrance of the temple.

Then Ephippas and another demon from the Red Sea bring a miraculous column made of something purple (translation obscure) from out of the Red Sea. This Red Sea demon reveals himself as Abizithibod, and claims to be the demon who supported the Egyptian magicians against Moses, and who hardened the pharaoh's heart, but had been caught with the Egyptian host when the sea returned and held down by this pillar until Ephippas came and together they could lift it.

There follows a short conclusion in which Solomon describes how he fell in love with a Shunammite woman, and agreed to worship Remphan and Moloch in exchange for sex. Solomon agrees to sacrifice to them, but at first only sacrifices five locusts by simply crushing them in his hand. Immediately, the spirit of God departs from him, and he is made foolish and his name becomes a joke to both humans and demons. Solomon concludes his text with a warning to the readers; he tells them to not abandon their beliefs for sex like he did.)

1. Testament of Solomon, son of David, who was king in Jerusalem, and mastered and controlled all spirits of the air, on the earth, and under the earth. By means of them also he wrought all the transcendent works of the Temple. Telling also of the authorities they wield against men, and by what angels these demons are brought to naught.

Of the sage Solomon.

Blessed art thou, O Lord God, who didst give Solomon such authority. Glory to thee and might unto the ages. Amen.

2. And behold, when the Temple of the city of Jerusalem was being built, and the artificers were working thereat, Ornias the demon came among them toward sunset; and he took away half of the pay of the chief-deviser's (?)1 little boy, as well as half his food. [16] He also continued to suck the thumb of his right hand every day. And the child grew thin, although he was very much loved by the king.

3. So King Solomon called the boy one day, and questioned him, saying: "Do I not love thee more than all the artisans who are working in the Temple of God? Do I not give thee double wages and a double supply of food? How is it that day by day and hour by hour thou growest thinner?"

4. But the child said to the king: "I pray thee, O king. Listen to what has befallen all that thy child hath. After we are all released from our work on the Temple of God, after sunset, when I lie down to rest, one of the evil demons comes and takes away from me one half of my pay and one half of my food. Then he also takes hold of my right hand and sucks my thumb. And lo, my soul is oppressed, and so my body waxes thinner every day."

5. Now when I Solomon heard this, I entered the Temple of God, and prayed with all my soul, night and day, that the demon might be delivered into my hands, and that I might gain authority over him. And it came about through my prayer that grace was given to me from the Lord Sabaoth by Michael his archangel. [He brought me] a little ring, having a seal consisting of an engraved stone, and said to me: "Take, O Solomon, king, son of David, the gift which the Lord God has sent thee, the highest Sabaoth. With it thou shalt lock up all demons of the earth, male and female; and with their help thou shalt build up Jerusalem. [But] thou [must] wear this seal of God. And this engraving of the seal of the ring sent thee is a Pentalpha."

6. And I Solomon was overjoyed, and praised and glorified the God of heaven and earth. And on the morrow I called the boy, and gave him the ring, and said to him: "take this, and at the hour in which the demon shall come unto thee, throw this ring at the chest of the demon, and say to him: 'In the name of God, King Solomon calls thee hither.3' And then do thou come running to me, without having any misgivings or fear in respect of aught thou mayest hear on the part of the demon."

7. So the child took the ring, and went off; and behold, at the [17] customary hour Ornias, the fierce demon, came like a burning fire to take the pay from the child. But the child according to the instructions received from the king, threw the ring at the chest of the demon, and said: "King Solomon calls thee hither." And then he went off at a run to the king. But the demon cried out aloud, saying: "Child, why hast thou done this to me? Take the ring off me, and I will render to thee the gold of the earth. Only take this off me, and forbear to lead me away to Solomon4."

8. But the child said to the demon: "As the Lord God of Israel liveth, I will not brook thee. So come hither." And the child came at a run, rejoicing, to the king, and said: "I have brought the demon, O king, as thou didst command me, O my master. And behold, he stands before the gates of the court of thy palace, crying out, and supplicating with a loud voice; offering me the silver and gold of the earth if I will only bring him unto thee5."

9. And when Solomon heard this, he rose up from his throne, and went outside into the vestibule of the court of his palace; and there he saw the demon, shuddering and trembling. And he said to him: "Who art thou?" And the demon answered: "I am called Ornias."

10. And Solomon said to him: "Tell me, O demon, to what zodiacal sign thou art subject." And he answered: "To the Water-pourer6. And those who are consumed with desire for the noble virgins upon earth . . . . . [there appears to be a lacuna here], these I strangle7. But in case there is no disposition to sleep8, I am changed into three forms. Whenever men come to be enamoured of women, I metamorphose myself into a comely female; and I take hold of the men in their sleep, and play with them. And after a while I again take to my wings, and hie me to the heavenly regions. I also appear as a lion, and I am commanded by all the demons. I am offspring of the archangel Uriel9, the power of God."

11. I Solomon, having heard the name of the archangel, prayed and glorified God, the Lord of heaven and earth. And I sealed the [18] demon and set him to work at stone-cutting, so that he might cut the stones in the Temple, which, lying along the shore, had been brought by the Sea of Arabia. But he, fearful of the iron, continued and said to me: "I pray thee, King Solomon, let me go free; and I will bring you all the demons." And as he was not willing to be subject to me, I prayed the archangel Uriel to come and succour me; and I

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forthwith beheld the archangel Uriel coming down to me from the heavens.

12. And the angel bade the whales10 of the sea come out of the abyss. And he cast his destiny upon the ground, and that [destiny] made subject [to him] the great demon11. And he commanded the great demon and bold Ornias, to cut stones at the Temple12. And accordingly I Solomon glorified the God of heaven and Maker of the earth. And he bade Ornias come with his destiny, and gave him the seal, saying: "Away with thee, and bring me hither the prince of all the demons."

13. So Ornias took the finger-ring, and went off to Beelzeboul, who has kingship over the demons. He said to him: "Hither! Solomon calls thee." But Beelzeboul, having heard, said to him: "Tell me, who is this Solomon of whom thou speakest to me?" Then Ornias threw the ring at the chest of Beelzeboul, saying: "Solomon the king calls thee." But Beelzeboul cried aloud with a mighty voice, and shot out a great burning flame of fire; and he arose, and followed Ornias, and came to Solomon.

14. And when I saw the prince of demons, I glorified the Lord God, Maker of heaven and earth, and I said: "Blessed art thou, Lord God Almighty, who hast given to Solomon thy servant wisdom, the assessor of the wise, and hast subjected unto me all the power of he devil."

15. And I questioned him, and said: "Who art thou?" The demon replied: "I am Beelzebub, the exarch of the demons. And all [19] the demons have their chief seats close to me. And I it is who make manifest the apparition of each demon."13 And he promised to bring to me in bonds all the unclean spirits. And I again glorified the God of heaven and earth, as I do always give thanks to him.

16. I then asked of the demon if there were females among them. And when he told me that there were, I said that I desired to see them. So Beelzeboul went off at high speed, and brought unto me Onoskelis, that had a very pretty shape, and the skin of a fair-hued woman; and she tossed her head14.

17. And when she was come, I said to her: "Tell me who art thou?" But she said to me: "I am called Onoskelis, a spirit wrought ...[?shabtai/Saturn?]15, lurking upon the earth. There is a golden cave where I lie. But I have a place that ever shifts16. At one time I strangle men with a noose; at another, I creep up from the nature to the arms [in marg: "worms"]17. But my most frequent dwelling-places are the precipices, caves, ravines. Oftentimes, however, do I consort with men in the semblance of a woman, and above all with those of a dark skin18. For they share my star with me; since they it is who privily or openly worship my star, without knowing that they harm themselves, and but whet my appetite for further mischief. For they wish to provide money by means of memory (commemoration?)19, but I supply a little to those who worship me fairly."

18. And I Solomon questioned her about her birth, and she replied: "I was born of a voice untimely, the so-called echo of a man's ordure20 dropped in a wood."21

19. And I said to her: "Under what star dost thou pass?" And she answered me: "Under the star of the full moon, for the reason that the moon travels over most things." Then I said to her: "And [20] what angel is it that frustrates thee?" And she said to me: "He that in thee [or "through thee"] is reigning." And I thought that she mocked me, and bade a soldier strike her. But she cried aloud, and said: "I am [subjected] to thee, O king, by the wisdom of God given to thee, and by the angel Joel."22

20. So I commanded her to spin the hemp for the ropes used in the building of the house of God; and accordingly, when I had sealed and bound her, she was so overcome and brought to naught as to stand night and day spinning the hemp.

21. And I at once bade another demon to be led unto me; and instantly there approached me the demon Asmodeus23, bound, and I asked him: "Who art thou?" But he shot on me a glance of anger and rage, and said: "And who art thou?" And I said to him: "Thus punished as thou art, answerest thou me?" But he, with rage, said to me: "But how shall I answer thee, for thou art a son of man; whereas I was born an angel's seed by a daughter of man, so that no word of our heavenly kind addressed to the earth-born can be overweening24. Wherefore also my star is bright in heaven, and men call it, some the Wain25, and some the dragon's child. I keep near unto this star. So ask me not many things; for thy kingdom also after a little time is to be disrupted, and thy glory is but for a season. And short will be thy tyranny over us; and then we shall again have free range over mankind, so as that they shall revere us as if we were gods, not knowing, men that they are, the names of the angels set over us."

22. And I Solomon, on hearing this, bound him more carefully, and ordered him to be flogged with thongs of ox-hide26, and to tell me humbly what was his name and what his business. And he answered me thus: "I am called Asmodeus among mortals, and my business is to plot against the newly wedded, so that they may not know one another. And I sever them utterly by many calamities, and I waste away the beauty of virgin women, and estrange their hearts."

23. And I said to him: "Is this thy only business?" And he answered me: "I transport men into fits of madness and desire, when they have wives of their own, so that they leave them, and go off by [21] night and day to others that belong to other men; with the result that they commit sin, and fall into murderous deeds.27"

24. And I adjured him by the name of the Lord Sabaôth, saying: "Fear God, Asmodeus, and tell me by what angel thou art frustrated." But he said: "By Raphael, the archangel that stands before the throne of God. But the liver and gall of a fish put me to flight, when smoked over ashes of the tamarisk28." I again asked him, and said: "Hide not aught from me. For I am Solomon, son of David, King of Israel. Tell me the name of the fish which thou reverest." And he answered: "It is the Glanos29 by name, and is found in the rivers of Assyria; wherefore it is that I roam about in those parts."

25. And I said to him: "Hast thou nothing else about thee, Asmodeus?" And he answered: "The power of God knoweth, which hath bound me with the indissoluble bonds of yonder one's seal, that whatever I have told thee is true. I pray thee, King Solomon, condemn me not to [go into] water." But I smiled, and said to him: "As the Lord God of my fathers liveth, I will lay iron on thee to wear. But thou shalt also make the clay for the entire construction of the Temple, treading it down with thy feet." And I ordered them to give him ten water-jars to carry water in. And the demon groaned terribly, and did the work I ordered him to do. And this I did, because that fierce demon Asmodeus knew even the future. And I Solomon glorified God, who gave wisdom to me Solomon his servant. And the liver of the fish and its gall I hung on the spike of a reed30, and burned it over Asmodeus because of his being so strong, and his unbearable malice was thus frustrated.

26. And I summoned again to stand before me Beelzeboul, the prince of demons, and I sat him down on a raised seat of honour, and said to him: "Why art thou alone, prince of the demons?" And he said to me: "Because I alone am left of the angels of heaven that came down32. For I was first angel in the first heaven being entitled Beelzeboul. And now I control all those who are bound in Tartarus. But I too have a child33, and he haunts the Red Sea. And on any suitable occasion he comes up to me again, being subject to me; and reveals to me what he has done, and I support him.34

27. I Solomon said unto him: "Beelzeboul, what is thy employment?" And he answered me: "I destroy kings.35 I ally myself with foreign tyrants. And my own demons I set on36 to men, in order that the latter may believe in them and be lost. And the chosen servants of God, priests and faithful men, I excite unto desires for wicked sins, and evil heresies, and lawless deeds; and they obey me, and I bear them on to destruction. And I inspire men with envy, and [desire for] murder, and for wars and sodomy, and other evil things. And I will destroy the world."37

28. So I said to him: "Bring to me thy child, who is, as thou sayest, in the Red Sea." But he said to me: "I will not bring him to thee. But there shall come to me another demon called Ephippas38. Him will I bind, and he will bring him up from the deep unto me." And I said to him: "How comes thy son to be in the depth of the sea, and what is his name? "And he answered me: "Ask me not, for thou canst not learn from me. However, he will come to thee by any command, and will tell thee openly."39

29. I said to him: "Tell me by what angel thou art frustrated." And he answered: "By the holy and precious name of the Almighty God, called by the Hebrews by a row of numbers, of which the sum is 644, and among the Greeks it is Emmanuel1. And if one of the Romans adjure me by the great name of the power Eleéth, I disappear at once."

30. I Solomon was astounded when I heard this; and I ordered him to saw up Theban1 marbles. And when he began to saw the marbles, the other demons cried out with a loud voice, howling because of their king Beelzeboul.

31. But I Solomon questioned him, saying: "If thou wouldst gain a respite, discourse to me about the things in heaven." And Beelzeboul said: "Hear, O king, if thou burn gum, and incense, and bulb of the sea1, with nard and saffron, and light seven lamps in an earthquake2, thou wilt firmly fix thy house. And if, being pure3, [23] thou light them at dawn in the sun alight, then wilt thou see the heavenly dragons, how they wind themselves along and drag the chariot of the sun."

32. And I Solomon, having heard this, rebuked him, and said: "Silence for this present1, and continue to saw the marbles as I commanded thee." And I Solomon praised God, and commanded another demon to present himself to me. And one came before me who carried his face high up in the air, but the rest of the spirit curled away like a snail. And it broke through the few soldiers, and raised also a terrible dust on the ground, and carried it upwards; and then again hurled it back to frighten us, and asked what questions I could ask as a rule. And I stood up, and spat2 on the ground in that spot, and sealed with the ring of God. And forthwith the dust-wind stopped. Then I asked him, saying: "Who art thou, O wind?" Then he once more shook up a dust, and answered me: "What wouldst thou have, King Solomon?" I answered him: "Tell me what thou art called, and I would fain ask thee a question. But so far I give thanks to God who has made me wise to answer their evil plots."

33. But [the demon] answered me: "I am the spirit of the ashes (Tephras)." And I said to him: "What is thy pursuit?" And he said: "I bring darkness on men, and set fire to fields; and I bring homesteads to naught. But most busy am I in summer. However, when I get an opportunity, I creep into corners of the wall, by night and day. For I am offspring of the great one, and nothing less." Accordingly I said to him: "Under what star dost thou lie?" And he answered: "In the very tip of the moon's horn, when it is found in the south. There is my star. For I have been bidden to restrain the convulsions of the hemitertian fever; and this is why many men pray to the hemitertian fever, using these three names: Bultala, Thallal, [24] Melchal. And I heal them." And I said to him: "I am Solomon; when therefore thou wouldst do harm, by whose aid dost thou do it?" But he said to me: "By the angel's, by whom also the third day's fever is lulled to rest." So I questioned him, and said: "And by what name1?" And he answered: "That of the archangel Azael." And I summoned the archangel Azael, and set a seal on the demon, and commanded him to seize great stones, and toss them up to the workmen on the higher parts of the Temple. And, being compelled, the demon began to do what he was bidden to do.

34. And I glorified God afresh who gave me this authority, and ordered another demon to come before me. And there came seven spirits1, females, bound and woven together, fair in appearance and comely. And I Solomon, seeing them, questioned them and said: "Who are ye?" But they, with one accord, said with one voice2: "We are of the thirty-three elements of the cosmic ruler of the darkness3." And the first said: "I am Deception." The second said: "I am Strife." The third: "I am Klothod, which is battle." The fourth: "I am Jealousy." The fifth: "I am Power." The sixth: "I am Error." The seventh: "I am the worst of all, and our stars are in heaven. Seven stars humble in sheen, and all together. And we are called as it were goddesses. We change our place all and together, and together we live, sometimes in Lydia, sometimes in Olympus, sometimes in a great mountain."

35. So I Solomon questioned them one by one, beginning with the first, and going down to the seventh. The first said: "I am Deception, I deceive and weave snares here and there. I whet and excite heresies. But I have an angel who frustrates me, Lamechalal."

36. Likewise also the second said: "I am Strife, strife of strifes. I bring timbers, stones, hangers, my weapons on the spot. But I have an angel who frustrates me, Baruchiachel."

37. Likewise also the third said: "I am called Klothod1, which is Battle, and I cause the well-behaved to scatter and fall foul one of the other. And why do I say so much? I have an angel that frustrates me: "Marmarath."

38. Likewise also the fourth said: "I cause men to forget their sobriety and moderation. I part them and split them into parties; for Strife follows me hand in hand. I rend the husband from the sharer of his bed, and children from parents, and brothers from sisters. But why tell so much to my despite? I have an angel that frustrates me, the great Balthial."

39. Likewise also the fifth said: "I am Power. By power I raise up tyrants and tear down kings. To all rebels I furnish power. I have an angel that frustrates me, Asteraôth."1

40. Likewise also the sixth said: "I am Error1, O King Solomon. And I will make thee to err, as I have before made thee to err, when I caused thee to slay thy own brother2. I will lead you into error, so as to pry into graves3; and 1 teach them that dig, and I lead errant souls away from all piety, and many other evil traits are mine. But I have an angel that frustrates me, Uriel."

41. Likewise also the seventh said: "I am the worst, and I make thee worse off than thou wast; because I will impose the bonds of Artemis. But the locust1 will set me free, for by means thereof is it fated that thou shalt achieve my desire . . . . . For if one were wise, he would not turn his steps toward me."

42. So I Solomon, having heard and wondered, sealed them with my ring; and since they were so considerable, I bade them dig the foundations of the Temple of God. For the length of it was 250 cubits. And I bade them be industrious, and with one murmur of joint protest they began to perform the tasks enjoined.

43. But I Solomon glorified the Lord, and bade another demon come before me. And there was brought to me a demon having all the limbs of a man, but without a head. And I, seeing him, said to him: "Tell me, who art thou?" And he answered: "I am a demon." So I said to him: "Which?" And he answered me: "I am called Envy. For I delight to devour heads, being desirous to secure for myself a head; but I do not eat enough, but am anxious to have such a head as thou hast."

44. I Solomon, on hearing this, sealed him, stretching out my hand against his chest. Whereon the demon leapt up, and threw himself down, and gave a groan, saying: "Woe is me! where am I come to? O traitor Ornias, I cannot see!" So I said to him: "I am Solomon. Tell me then how thou dost manage to see." And he answered me: "By means of my feelings." I then, Solomon, having heard his voice come up to me, asked

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him how he managed to speak. And he answered me: "I, O King Solomon, am wholly voice, for I have inherited the voices of many men. For in the case of all men who are called dumb, I it is who smashed their heads, when they were children and had reached their eighth day. Then when a child is crying in the night, I become a spirit, and glide by means of his voice. . . . In the crossways1 also I have many services to render, and my encounter is fraught with harm. For I grasp in all instant a man's head, and with my hands, as with a sword, I cut it off, and put it on to myself. And in this way, by means of the fire which is in me, through my neck it is swallowed up. I it is that sends grave mutilations and incurable on men's feet, and inflict sores."

45. And I Solomon, on hearing this, said to him: "Tell me how thou dost discharge forth the fire? Out of what sources dost thou emit it?" And the spirit said to me: "From the Day-star1. For here hath not yet been found that Elburion, to whom men offer prayers and kindle lights. And his name is invoked by the seven demons before me. And he cherishes them."

46. But I said to him: "Tell me his name." But he answered: "I cannot tell thee. For if I tell his name, I render myself incurable. But he will come in response to his name." And on hearing this, I Solomon said to him: "Tell me then, by what angel thou art frustrated?" And he answered: "By the fiery flash of lightning." [27] And I bowed myself before the Lord God of Israel, and bade him remain in the keeping of Beelzeboul until Iax1 should come.

47. Then I ordered another demon to come before me, and there came into my presence a hound, having a very large shape, and it spoke with a loud voice, and said, "Hail, Lord, King Solomon!" And I Solomon was astounded. I said to it: Who art thou, O hound?" And it answered: "I do indeed seem to thee to be a hound, but before thou wast, O King Solomon, I was a man that wrought many unholy deeds on earth. I was surpassingly learned in letters, and was so mighty that I could hold the stars of heaven back. And many divine works did I prepare. For I do harm to men who follow after our star, and turn them to . . . .1 And I seize the frenzied men by the larynx, and so destroy them."

48. And I Solomon said to him: "What is thy name?" And he answered: "Staff" (Rabdos). And I said to him: "What is thine employment? And what results canst thou achieve?" And he replied: "Give me thy man, and I will lead him away into a mountainous spot, and will show him a green stone tossed to and fro, with which thou mayest adorn the temple of the Lord God."

49. And I Solomon, on hearing this, ordered my servant to set off with him, and to take the finger-ring bearing the seal of God with him. And I said to him: "Whoever shall show thee the green stone, seal him with this finger-ring. And mark the spot with care, and bring me the demon hither. And the demon showed him the green stone, and he sealed it, and brought the demon to me. And I Solomon decided to confine with my seal on my right hand the two, the headless demon, likewise the hound, that was so huge1; he should be bound as well. And I bade the hound keep safe the fiery spirit so that lamps as it were might by day and night cast their light through its maw on the artisans at work.

50. And I Solomon took from the mine of that stone 200 shekels for the supports of the table of incense, which was similar in appearance. And I Solomon glorified the Lord God, and then closed round the treasure of that stone. And I ordered afresh the demons to cut marble for the construction of the house of God. And I Solomon prayed to the Lord, and asked the hound, saying: "By what angel [28] art thou frustrated?" And the demon replied: "By the great Brieus1."

51. And I praised the Lord God of heaven and earth, and bade another demon come forward to me; and there came before me one in the form of a lion roaring. And he stood and answered me saying: "O king, in the form which I have, I am a spirit quite incapable of being perceived. Upon all men who lie prostrate with sickness I leap, coming stealthily along; and I render the man weak, so that his habit of body is enfeebled. But I have also another glory, O king. I cast out demons, and I have legions under my control. And I am capable of being received1 in my dwelling-places, along with all the demons belonging to the legions under me." But I Solomon, on hearing this, asked him: "What is thy name?" But he answered: "Lion-bearer, Rath2 in kind." And I said to him: "How art thou to be frustrated along with thy legions? What angel is it that frustrates thee?" And he answered: "If I tell thee my name, I bind not myself alone, but also the legions of demons under me."

52. So I said to him: "I adjure thee in the name of the God Sabaoth, to tell me by what name thou art frustrated along with thy host." And the spirit answered me: "The 'great among men,' who is to suffer many things at the hands of men, whose name is the figure 644, which is Emmanuel; he it is who has bound us, and who will then come and plunge us from the steep1 under water. He is noised abroad in the three letters which bring him down2."

53. And I Solomon, on hearing this, glorified God, and condemned his legion to carry wood from the thicket. And I condemned the [29] lion-shaped one himself to saw up the wood small with his teeth, for burning in the unquenchable furnace for the Temple of God.

54. And I worshipped the Lord God of Israel, and bade another demon come forward. And there came before me a dragon, three-headed, of fearful hue. And I questioned him: "Who art thou?" And he answered me: "I am a caltrop-like spirit1, whose activity in three lines. But I blind children in women's wombs, and twirl their ears round. And I make them deaf2 and mute. And I have again in my third head means of slipping in3. And I smite men in the limbless part of the body, and cause them to fall down, and foam, and grind their teeth. But I have my own way of being frustrated, Jerusalem being signified in writing, unto the place called 'of the head4." For there is fore-appointed the angel of the great counsel, and now he will openly dwell on the cross. He doth frustrate me, and to him am I subject."

55. "But in the place where thou sittest, O King Solomon, standeth a column in the air, of purple...1 The demon called Ephippas hath brought [it] up from the Red Sea, from inner Arabia. He it is that shall be shut up in a skin-bottle and brought before thee. But at the entrance of the Temple, which thou hast begun to build, O King Solomon, lies stored much gold, which dig thou up and carry off." And I Solomon sent my servant, and found it to be as the demon told me. And I sealed him with my ring, and praised the Lord God."

56. So I said to him: "What art thou called?" And the demon said: "I am the crest of dragons." And I bade him make bricks in the Temple. He had human hands.

57. And I adored the Lord God of Israel, and bade another demon present himself. And there came before me a spirit in woman's form, that had a head without any limbs1, and her hair was dishevelled. And I said to her: "Who art thou?" But she answered: "Nay, who art thou? And why dost thou want to hear concerning me? But, as thou wouldst learn, here I stand bound before thy face. Go [30] then into thy royal storehouses and wash thy hands. Then sit down afresh before thy tribunal, and ask me questions; and thou shalt learn, O king, who I am."

58. And I Solomon did as she enjoined me, and restrained myself because of the wisdom dwelling in me1; in order that I might hear of her deeds, and reprehend them, and manifest them to men. And I sat down, and said to the demon: "What art thou?" And she said: "I am called among men Obizuth; and by night I sleep not, but go my rounds over all the world, and visit women in childbirth. And divining the hour I take my stand2; and if I am lucky, I strangle the child. But if not, I retire to another place. For I cannot for a single night retire unsuccessful. For I am a fierce3 spirit, of myriad names and many shapes. And now hither, now thither I roam. And to westering parts I go my rounds. But as it now is, though thou hast sealed me round with the ring of God, thou hast done nothing. I am not standing before thee, and thou wilt not be able to command me. For I have no work other than the destruction of children, and the making their ears to be deaf, and the working of evil to their eyes, and the binding their mouths with a bond, and the ruin of their minds, and paining of their bodies."

59. When I Solomon heard this, I marvelled at her appearance, for I beheld all her body to be in darkness. But her glance was altogether bright and greeny, and her hair was tossed wildly like a dragon's; and the whole of her limbs were invisible. And her voice was very clear as it came to me. And I cunningly said: "Tell me by what angel thou art frustrated, O evil spirit?" By she answered me: "By the angel of God called Afarôt, which is interpreted Raphael, by whom I am frustrated now and for all time. His name, if any man know it, and write the same on a woman in childbirth, then I shall not be able to enter her. Of this name the number is 6401." And I Solomon having heard this, and having glorified the Lord, ordered her hair to be bound, and that she should be hung up in front of the Temple of God; that all the children of Israel, as they passed, might see it, and glorify the Lord God of Israel, who had given me this authority, with wisdom and power from God, by means of this signet.

60. And I again ordered another demon to come before me. And the came, rolling itself along, one in appearance like to a dragon, but having the face and hands of a man. And all its limbs, except the feet, were those of a dragon; and it had wings on its back. And when I beheld it, I was astonied, and said: "Who art thou, demon, and what art thou called? And whence hast thou come? Tell me."

61. And the spirit answered and said: "This is the first time I have stood before the, O King Solomon. I am a spirit made into a god among men, but now brought to naught by the ring and wisdom vouchsafed to thee by God. Now I am the so-called winged dragon1, and I chamber2 not with many women, but only with a few that are of fair shape, which possess the name of xuli3, of this star. And I pair with them in the guise of a spirit winged in form, coitum habens per nates4. And she on whom I have leapt goes heavy with child, and that which is born of her becomes eros. But since such offspring cannot be carried by men, the woman in question breaks wind. Such is my role. Supposed then only that I am satisfied, and all the other demons molested and disturbed by thee will speak the whole truth. But those composed of fire 5 will cause to be burned up by fire the material of the logs which is to be collected by them for the building in the Temple."

62. And as the demon said this, I saw the spirit going forth from his mouth, and it consumed the wood of the frankincense-tree, and burned up all the logs which we had placed in the Temple of God. And I Solomon saw what the spirit had done, and I marvelled.

63. And, having glorified God, I asked the dragon-shaped demon, and said: "Tell me, by what angel art thou frustrated?" And he answered: "By the great angel which has its seat in the second heaven, which is called in Hebrew Bazazeth. And I Solomon, having heard this, and having invoked his angel, condemned him to saw up marbles for the building of the Temple of God; and I praised God, and commanded another demon to come before me.

64. And there came before my face another spirit, as it were a woman in the form she had. But on her shoulders she had two other heads with hands. And I asked her, and said: "Tell me, who art thou?" And she said to me: "I am Enêpsigos, who also have a myriad names." And I said her: "By what angel art thou frustrated?" But she said to me: "What seekest, what askest thou? I undergo changes, like the goddess I am called. And I change again, and pass into possession of another shape. And be not [32] desirous therefore to know all that concerns me. But since thou art before me for this much, hearken. I have my abode in the moon, and for that reason I possess three forms. At times I am magically1 invoked by the wise as Kronos. At other times, in connexion with those who bring me down, I come down and appear in another shape. The measure of the element2 is inexplicable and indefinable, and not to be frustrated. I then, changing into these three forms, come down and become such as thou seest me; but I am frustrated by the angel Rathanael, who sits in the third heaven. This then is why I speak to thee. Yonder temple cannot contain me."

65. I therefore Solomon prayed to my God, and I invoked the angel of whom Enépsigos spoke to me, and used my seal. And I sealed her with a triple chain, and (placed) beneath her the fastening of the chain. I used the seal of God, and the spirit prophesied to me, saying: "This is what thou, King Solomon, doest to us. But after a time thy kingdom shall be broken, and again in season this Temple shall be riven asunder1; and all Jerusalem shall be undone by the King of the Persians and Medes and Chaldaeans. And the vessels of this Temple, which thou makest, shall be put to servile uses of the gods; and along with them all the jars, in which thou dost shut us up, shall be broken by the hands of men. And then we shall go forth in great power hither and thither, and be disseminated all over the world. And we shall lead astray the inhabited world for a long season, until the Son of God is stretched upon the cross. For never before doth arise a king like unto him, one frustrating us all, whose mother shall not have contact with man. Who else can receive such authority over spirits, except he, whom the first devil will seek to tempt, but will not prevail over? The number of his name is 6442, which is Emmanuel. Wherefore, O King Solomon, thy time is evil, and thy years short and evil, and to thy servant shall thy kingdom be given3."

66. And I Solomon, having heard this, glorified God. And though I marvelled at the apology of the demons, I did not credit it until it came true. And I did not believe their words; but when they were [33] realized, then I understood, and at my death I wrote this Testament to the children of Israel, and gave it to them, so that they might know the powers of the demons and their shapes, and the names of their angels, by which these angels are frustrated. And I glorified the Lord God of Israel, and commanded the spirits to be bound with bonds indissoluble.

67. And having praised God, I commanded another spirit to come before me; and there came before my face another demon, having in front the shape of a horse, but behind of a fish. And he had a mighty voice, and said to me: "O King Solomon, I am a fierce spirit of the sea, and I am greedy of gold and silver. I am such a spirit as rounds itself and comes over the expanses of the water of the sea, and I trip up the men who sail thereon. For I round myself into a wave1, and transform myself, and then throw myself on ships and come right in on them. And that is my business, and my way of getting hold of money and men. For I take the men, and whirl them round with myself, and hurl the men out of the sea. For I am not covetous of men's bodies, but cast them up out of the sea so far. But since Beelzeboul, ruler of the spirits of air and of those under the earth, and lord of earthly ones, hath a joint kingship with us in respect of the deeds of each one of us, therefore I went up from the sea, to get a certain outlook 2 in his company.

68. "But I also have another character and role. I metamorphose myself into waves, and come up from the sea. And I show myself to men, so that those on earth call me Kuno[s]paston1, because I assume the human form. And my name is a true one. For by my passage up into men, I send forth a certain nausea. I came then to take counsel with the

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prince Beelzeboul; and he bound me and delivered me into thy hands. And I am here before thee because of this seal, and thou dost now torment me2. Behold now, in two or three days the spirit that converseth with thee will fail, because I shall have no water."

69. And I said to him: "Tell me by what angel thou art frustrated." [34] And he answered: "By Iameth." And I glorified God. I commanded the spirit to be thrown into a phial along with ten jugs of sea-water of two measures each1. And I sealed them round above the marbles and asphalt and pitch in the mouth of the vessel. And having sealed it with my ring, I ordered it to be deposited in the Temple of God. And I ordered another spirit to come before me.

70. And there came before my face another enslaved spirit, having obscurely the form of a man, with gleaming eyes, and bearing in his hand a blade. And I asked: "Who art thou? But he answered: "I am a lascivious spirit, engendered of a giant man who dies in the massacre in the time of the giants." I said to him: "Tell me what thou art employed on upon earth, and where thou hast thy dwelling."

71. And he said: "My dwelling is in fruitful places, but my procedure is this. I seat myself beside the men who pass along among the tombs, and in untimely season I assume the form of the dead; and if I catch any one, I at once destroy him with my sword. But if I cannot destroy him, I cause him to be possessed with a demon, and to devour his own flesh, and the hair to fall off his chin." But I said to him: "Do thou then be in fear of the God of heaven and of earth, and tell me by angel thou art frustrated." And he answered: "He destroys me who is to become Saviour, a man whose number, if any one shall write it on his forehead1, he will defeat me, and in fear I shall quickly retreat. And, indeed, if any one write this sign on him, I shall be in fear." And I Solomon, on hearing this, and having glorified the Lord God, shut up this demon like the rest.

72. And I commanded another demon to come before me. And there came before my face thirty-six spirits, their heads shapeless like dogs, but in themselves they were human in form; with faces of asses, faces of oxen, and faces of birds. And I Solomon, on hearing and seeing them, wondered, and I asked them and said: "Who are you?" But they, of one accord with one voice, said1: "We are the thirty-six elements, the world-rulers 2 of this darkness. But, O King Solomon, thou wilt not wrong us nor imprison us, nor lay command on us; but since the Lord God has given thee authority over every spirit, in the air, and on the earth, and under the earth, therefore do we also present ourselves before thee like the other spirits, from ram and bull, from [35] both twin and crab, lion and virgin, scales and scorpion, archer, goat-horned, water-pourer, and fish.

73. Then I Solomon invoked the name of the Lord Sabaoth, and questioned each in turn as to what was its character. And I bade each one come forward and tell of its actions. Then the first one came forward, and said: "I am the first decans of the zodiacal circle, and I am called the ram, and with me are these two." So I put to them the question: "Who are ye called?" The first said: "I, O Lord, am called Ruax, and I cause the heads of men to be idle, and I pillage their brows. But let me only hear the words, 'Michael, imprison Ruax,' and at once I retreat."

74. And the second said: "I am called Barsafael, and I cause those who are subject to my hour to feel the pain of migraine. If only I hear the words, 'Gabriel, imprison Barsafael,' at once I retreat."

75. The third said: "I am called Arôtosael. I do harm to eyes, and grievously injure them. Only let me hear the words, 'Uriel, imprison Aratosael' (sic), at once I retreat . . . . .1"

76. The fifth said: "I am called Iudal, and I bring about a block in the ears and deafness of hearing. If I hear, 'Uruel Iudal,' I at once retreat."

77. The sixth said: "I am called Sphendonaêl. I cause tumours of the parotid gland, and inflammations of the tonsils, and tetanic recurvation1. If I hear, 'Sabrael, imprison Sphendonaêl,' at once I retreat."

78. And the Seventh said: "I am called Sphandôr, and I weaken the strength of the shoulders, and cause them to tremble; and I paralyze the nerves of the hands, and I break and bruise the bones of the neck. And I, I suck out the marrow. But if I hear the words, 'Araêl, imprison Sphandôr,' I at once retreat."

79. And the eight said: "I am called Belbel. I distort the hearts and minds of men. If I hear the words, 'Araêl, imprison Belbel,' I at once retreat."

80. And the ninth said: "I am called Kurtaêl. I send colics in the bowels. I induce pains. If I hear the words, 'Iaôth, imprison Kurtaêl,' I at once retreat."

81. The tenth said: "I am called Metathiax. I cause the reins to ache. If I hear the words, 'Adônaêl, imprison Metathiax,' I at once retreat."

82. The eleventh said: "I am called Katanikotaêl. I create strife [36] and wrongs in men's homes, and send on them hard temper. If any one would be at peace in his home, let him write on seven leaves of laurel the name of the angel that frustrates me, along with these names: Iae, Ieô, sons of Sabaôth, in the name of the great God let him shut up Katanikotaêl. Then let him wash the laurel-leaves in water, and sprinkle his house with the water, from within to the outside. And at once I retreat."

83. The twelfth said: "I am called Saphathoraél, and I inspire partisanship in men, and delight in causing them to stumble. If any one will write on paper these names of angels, Iacô, Iealô, Iôelet, Sabaôth, Ithoth, Bae, and having folded it up, wear it round his neck or against his ear, I at once retreat and dissipate the drunken fit."

84. The thirteenth said: "I am called Bobêl (sic), and I cause nervous illness by my assaults. If I hear the name of the great 'Adonaêl, imprison Bothothêl,' I at once retreat."

85. The fourteenth said: "I am called Kumeatêl, and I inflict shivering fits and torpor. If only I hear the words: 'Zôrôêl, imprison Kumentaêl,' I at once retreat."

86. The fifteenth said: "I am called Roêlêd. I cause cold and frost and pain in the stomach. Let me only hear the words: 'Iax, bide not, be not warmed, for Solomon is fairer than eleven fathers,' I at [once] retreat."

87. The sixteenth said: "I am called Atrax. I inflict upon men fevers, irremediable and harmful. If you would imprison me, chop up coriander1 and smear it on the lips, reciting the following charm: 'The fever which is from dirt. I exorcise thee by the throne of the most high God, retreat from dirt and retreat from the creature fashioned by God.' And at once I retreat."

88. The seventeenth said: "I am called Ieropaêl. On the stomach of men I sit, and cause convulsions in the bath and in the road; and wherever I be found, or find a man, I throw him down. But if any one will say to the afflicted into their ear these names, three times over, into the right ear: 'Iudarizê, Sabunê, Denôê,' I at once retreat."

89. The eighteenth said: "I am called Buldumêch. I separate wife from husband and bring about a grudge between them. If any one write down the names of thy sires, Solomon, on paper and place it in the ante-chamber of his house, I retreat thence. And the legend written shall be as follows: 'The God of Abram, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob commands thee -- retire from this house in peace.' And I at once retire."

90. The nineteenth said: "I am called Naôth, and I take my seat on the knees of men. If any one write on paper: 'Phnunoboêol, depart Nathath, and touch thou not the neck,' I at once retreat."

91. The twentieth said: "I am called Marderô. I send on men incurable fever. If any one write on the leaf of a book: 'Sphênêr, Rafael, retire, drag me not about, flay me not,' and tie it round his neck, I at once retreat."

92. The twenty-first said: "I am called Alath, and I cause coughing and hard-breathing in children. If any one write on paper: 'Rorêx, do thou pursue Alath,' and fasten it round his neck, I at once retire...1"

93. The twenty-third said: "I am called Nefthada. I cause the reins to ache, and I bring about dysury. If any one write on a plate of tin the words: 'Iathôth, Uruêl, Nephthada,' and fasten it round the loins, I at once retreat."

94. The twenty-fourth said: "I am called Akton. I cause ribs and lumbic muscles to ache. If one engrave on copper material, taken from a ship which has missed its anchorage, this: 'Marmaraôth, Sabaôth, pursue Akton,' and fasten it round the loin, I at once retreat."

95. The twenty-fifth said: "I am called Anatreth, and I rend burnings and fevers into the entrails. But if I hear: 'Arara, Charara,' instantly do I retreat."

96. The twenty-sixth said: "I am called Enenuth. I steal away men's minds, and change their hearts, and make a man toothless (?). If one write: 'Allazoôl, pursue Enenuth,' and tie the paper round him, I at once retreat."

97. The twenty-seventh said: "I am called Phêth. I make men consumptive and cause hemorrhagia. ,If one exorcise me in wine, sweet-smelling and unmixed by the eleventh aeon1, and say: 'I exorcise thee by the eleventh aeon to stop, I demand, Phêth (Axiôphêth),' then give it to the patient to drink, and I at once retreat."

98. The twenty-eighth said: "I am called Harpax, and I send sleeplessness on men. If one write 'Kokphnêdismos,' and bind it round the temples, I at once retire."

99. The twenty-ninth said: "I am called Anostêr. I engender uterine mania and pains in the bladder. If one powder into pure oil three seeds of laurel and smear it on, saying: 'I exorcise thee, Anostêr. Stop by Marmaraô,' at once I retreat."

100. The thirtieth said: "I am called Alleborith. If in eating [38] fish one has swallowed a bone, then he must take a bone from the fish and cough, and at once I retreat."

101. The thirty-first said: "I am called Hephesimireth, and cause lingering disease. If you throw salt, rubbed in the hand, into oil and smear it on the patient, saying: 'Seraphim, Cherubim, help me!' I at once retire."

102. The thirty-second said: "I am called Ichthion. I paralyze muscles and contuse them. If I hear 'Adonaêth, help!' I at once retire."

103. The thirty-third said: "I am called Agchoniôn. I lie among swaddling-clothes and in the precipice. And if any one write on fig-leaves 'Lycurgos,' taking away one letter at a time, and write it, reversing the letters, I retire at once. 'Lycurgos, ycurgos, kurgos, yrgos, gos, os1.'"

104. The thirty-fourth said: "I am called Autothith. I cause grudges and fighting. Therefore I am frustrated by Alpha and Omega, if written down."

105. The thirty-fifth said: "I am called Phthenoth. I cast evil eye on every man. Therefore, the eye much-suffering, if it be drawn. frustrates me."

106. The thirty-sixth said: "I am called Bianakith. I have a grudge against the body. I lay waste houses, I cause flesh to decay, and all else that is similar. If a man write on the front-door of his house: 'Mêltô, Ardu, Anaath,' I flee from that place."

107. And I Solomon, when I heard this, glorified the God of heaven and earth. And I commanded them to fetch water in the Temple of God. And I furthermore prayed to the Lord God to cause the demons without, that hamper humanity, to be bound and made to approach the Temple of God. Some of these demons I condemned to do the heavy work of the construction of the Temple of God. Others I shut up in prisons. Others I ordered to wrestle with fire in (the making of) gold and silver, sitting down by lead and spoon. And to make ready places for the other demons in which they should be confined.

108. And I Solomon had much quiet in all the earth, and spent my life in profound peace, honoured by all men and by all under heaven. And I built the entire Temple of the Lord God. And my kingdom was prosperous, and my army was with me. And for the rest the city of Jerusalem had repose, rejoicing and delighted. [39] And all the kings of the earth came to me from the ends of the earth to behold the Temple which I builded to the Lord God. And having heard of the wisdom given to me, they did homage to me in the Temple, bringing gold and silver and precious stones, many and divers, and bronze, and iron, and lead, and cedar logs. And woods decay not they brought me, for the equipment of the Temple of God.

109. And among them also the queen of the South, being a witch, came in great concern and bowed low before me to the earth. And having heard my wisdom, she glorified the God of Israel, and she made formal trial of all my wisdom, of all love in which I instructed her, according to the wisdom imparted to me. And all the sons of Israel glorified God.

110. And behold, in those days one of the workmen, of ripe old age, threw himself down before me, and said: "King Solomon, pity me, because I am old." So I bade him stand up, and said: "Tell me, old man, all you will." And he answered: "I beseech you king, I have an only-born son, and he insults and beats me openly, and plucks out the hair of my head, and threatens me with a painful death. Therefore I beseech you avenge me.

111. And I Solomon, on hearing this, felt compunction as I looked at his old age; and I bade the child be brought to me. And when he was brought I questioned him whether it were true. And the youth said: "I was not so filled with madness as to strike my father with my hand. Be kind to me, O king. For I have not dared to commit such impiety, poor wretch that I am." But I Solomon on hearing this from the youth, exhorted the old man to reflect on the matter, and accept his son's apology. However, he would not, but said he would rather let him die. And as the old man would not yield, I was about to pronounce sentence on the youth, when I saw Ornias the demon laughing. I was very angry at the demon's laughing in my presence; and I ordered my men to remove the other parties, and bring forward Ornias before my tribunal. And when he was brought before me, I said to him: "Accursed one, why didst thou look at me and laugh?" And the demon answered: "Prithee, king, it was not because of thee I laughed, but because of this ill-starred old man and the wretched youth, his son. For after three days his son will die untimely; and lo, the old man desires to foully make away with him."

112. But I Solomon, having heard this, said to the demon: "Is that true that thou speakest?" And he answered: "It is true; O king." And I, on hearing that, bade them remove the demon, and that they should again bring before me the old man with his son. I bade them 40 make friends with one another again, and I supplied them with food. And then I told the old man after three days to bring his son again to me here; "and," said I, "I will attend to him." And they saluted me, and went their way.

113. And when they were gone I ordered Ornias to be brought forward, and said to him: "Tell me how you know this;" and he answered: "We demons ascend into the firmament of heaven, and fly about among the stars. And we hear the sentences which go forth upon the souls of men, and forthwith we come, and whether by force of influence, or by fire, or by sword, or by some accident, we veil our act of destruction; and if a man does not die by some untimely disaster or by violence, then we demons transform ourselves in such a way as to appear to men and be worshipped in our human nature."

114. I therefore, having heard this, glorified the Lord God, and again I questioned the demon, saying: "Tell me how ye can ascend into heaven, being demons, and amidst the stars

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and holy angels intermingle." And he answered: "Just as things are fulfilled in heaven, so also on earth (are fulfilled) the types1 of all of them. For there are principalities, authorities, world-rulers2, and we demons fly about in the air; and we hear the voices of the heavenly beings, and survey all the powers. And as having no ground (basis) on which to alight and rest, we lose strength and fall off like leaves from trees. And men seeing us imagine that the stars are falling from heaven. But it is not really so, O king; but we fall because of our weakness, and because we have nowhere anything to lay hold of; and so we fall down like lightnings3 in the depth of night and suddenly. And we set cities in flames and fire the fields. For the stars have firm foundations in the heavens like the sun and the moon."

115. And I Solomon, having heard this, ordered the demon to be guarded for five days. And after the five days I recalled the old man, and was about to question him. But he came to me in grief and with black face. And I said to him: "Tell me, old man, where is thy son? And what means this garb?" And he answered: "Lo, I am become childless, and sit by my son's grave in despair. For it is already two days that he is dead." But I Solomon, on hearing that, and knowing that the demon Ornias had told me the truth, glorified the God of Israel.

116. And the queen of the South saw all this, and marvelled, [41] glorifying the God of Israel; and she beheld the Temple of the Lord being builded. And she gave a siklos1 of gold and one hundred myriads of silver and choice bronze, and she went into the Temple. And (she beheld) the altar of incense and the brazen supports of this altar, and the gems of the lamps flashing forth of different colours, and of the lamp-stand of stone, and of emerald, and hyacinth, and sapphire; and she beheld the vessels of gold, and silver, and bronze, and wood, and the folds of skins dyed red with madder. And she saw the bases of the pillars of the Temple of the Lord. All were of one gold ...2 apart from the demons whom I condemned to labour. And there was peace in the circle of my kingdom and over all the earth.

117. And it came to pass, which I was in my kingdom, the King of the Arabians, Adares, sent me a letter, and the writing of the letter was written as follows: --

"To King Solomon, all hail! Lo, we have heard, and it hath been heard unto all the ends of the earth, concerning the wisdom vouchsafed in thee, and that thou art a man merciful from the Lord. And understanding hath been granted thee over all the spirits of the air, and on earth, and under the earth. Now, forasmuch as there is present in the land of Arabia a spirit of the following kind: at early dawn there begins to blow a certain wind until the third hour. And its blast is harsh and terrible, and it slays man and beast. And no spirit can live upon earth against this demon. I pray thee then, forasmuch as the spirit is a wind, contrive something according to the wisdom given in thee by the Lord thy God, and deign to send a man able to capture it. And behold, King Solomon, I and my people and all my land will serve thee unto death. And all Arabia shall be at peace with thee, if thou wilt perform this act of righteousness for us. Wherefore we pray thee, contemn not our humble prayer, and suffer not to be utterly brought to naught the eparchy subordinated to thy authority. Because we are suppliants, both I and my people and all my land. Farewell to my Lord. All health!"

118. And I Solomon read this epistle; and I folded it up and gave it to my people, and said to them: "After seven days shalt thou remind me of this epistle. And Jerusalem was built, and the Temple was being completed. And there was a stone1, the end stone [42] of the corner lying there, great, chosen out, one which I desired lay in the head of the corner of the completion of the Temple. And all the workmen, and all the demons helping them came to the same place to bring up the stone and lay it on the pinnacle of the holy Temple, and were not strong enough to stir it, and lay it upon the corner allotted to it. For that stone was exceedingly great and useful for the corner of the Temple."

119. And after seven days, being reminded of the epistle of Adares, King of Arabia, I called my servant and said to him: "Order thy camel and take for thyself a leather flask, and take also this seal. And go away into Arabia to the place in which the evil spirit blows; and there take the flask, and the signet-ring in front of the mouth of the flask, and (hold them) towards the blast of the spirit. And when the flask is blown out, thou wilt understand that the demon is (in it). Then hastily tie up the mouth of to flask, and seal it securely with the seal-ring, and lay it carefully on the camel and bring it me hither. And if on the way it offer thee gold or silver or treasure in return for letting it go, see that thou be not persuaded. But arrange without using oath to release it. And then if it point out to the places where are gold or silver, mark the places and seal them with this seal. And bring the demon to me. And now depart, and fare thee well."

120. Then the youth did as was bidden him. And he ordered his camel, and laid on it a flask, and set off into Arabia. And the men of that region would not believe that he would be able to catch the evil spirit. And when it was dawn, the servant stood before the spirit's blast, and laid the flask on the ground, and the finger-ring on the mouth of the flask. And the demon blew through the middle of the finger-ring into the mouth of the flask, and going in blew out the flask. But the man promptly stood up to it and drew tight with his hand the mouth of the flask, in the name of the Lord God of Sabaôth. And the demon remained within the flask. And after that the youth remained in that land three days to make trial. And the spirit no longer blew against that city. And all the Arabs knew that he had safely shut in the spirit.

121. Then the youth fastened the flask on the camel, and the Arabs sent him forth on his way with much honour and precious gifts, praising and magnifying the God of Israel. But the youth brought in the bag and laid it in the middle of the Temple. And on the next day, I King Solomon, went into the Temple of God and sat in deep distress about the stone of the end of the corner. And when [43] I entered the Temple, the flask stood up and walked around some seven steps and then fell on its mouth and did homage to me. And I marvelled that even along with the bottle the demon still had power and could walk about; and I commanded it to stand up. And the flask stood up, and stood on its feet all blown out. And I questioned him, saying: "Tell me, who art thou?" And the spirit within said: "I am the demon called Ephippas, that is in Arabia." And I said to him: "Is this thy name?" And he answered: "Yes; wheresoever I will, I alight and set fire and do to death."

122. And I said to him: "By what angel art thou frustrated?" And he answered: "By the only-ruling God, that hath authority over me even to be heard. He that is to be born of a virgin and crucified by the Jews on a cross. Whom the angels and archangels worship. He doth frustrate me, and enfeeble me of my great strength, which has been given me by my father the devil." And I said to him: "What canst thou do?" And he answered: "I am able to remove1 mountains, to overthrow the oaths of kings. I wither trees and make their leaves to fall off." And I said to him: "Canst thou raise this stone, and lay it for the beginning of this corner which exists in the fair plan of the Temple2?" And he said: "Not only raise this, O king; but also, with the help of the demon who presides over the Red Sea, I will bring up the pillar of air3, and will stand it where thou wilt in Jerusalem."

123. Saying this, I laid stress on him, and the flask became as if depleted of air. And I placed it under the stone, and (the spirit) girded himself up, and lifted it up top of the flask. And the flask went up the steps, carrying the stone, and laid it down at the end of the entrance of the Temple. And I Solomon, beholding the stone raised aloft and placed on a foundation, said: "Truly the Scripture is fulfilled, which says: 'The stone which the builders rejected on trial, that same is become the head of the corner.' For this it is not mine to grant, but God's, that the demon should be strong enough to lift up so great a stone and deposit it in the place I wished."

124. And Ephippas led the demon of the Red Sea with the column. And they both took the column and raised it aloft from the earth. And I outwitted these two spirits, so that they could not shake the entire earth in a moment of time. And then I sealed round with my [44] ring on this side and that, and said: "Watch." And the spirits have remained upholding it until this day, for proof of the wisdom vouchsafed to me. And there the pillar was hanging of enormous size, in mid air, supported by the winds. And thus the spirits appeared underneath, like air, supporting it. And if one looks fixedly, the pillar is a little oblique, being supported by the spirits; and it is so to day.

125. And I Solomon questioned the other spirit which came up with the pillar from the depth of the Red Sea. And I said to him: "Who art thou, and what calls thee? And what is thy business? For I hear many things about thee." And the demon answered: "I, O King Solomon, am called Abezithibod. I am a descendant of the archangel. Once as I sat in the first heaven, of which the name is Ameleouth -- I then am a fierce spirit and winged, and with a single wing, plotting against every spirit under heaven. I was present when Moses went in before Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and I hardened his heart. I am he whom Iannes and Iambres invoked homing1 with Moses in Egypt. I am he who fought against Moses 2 with wonders with signs."

126. I said therefore to him: "How wast thou found in the Red Sea?" And he answered: "In the exodus of the sons of Israel I hardened the heart of Pharaoh. And I excited his heart and that of his ministers. And I caused them to pursue after the children of Israel. And Pharaoh followed with (me) and all the Egyptians. Then I was present there, and we followed together. And we all came up upon the Red Sea. And it came to pass when the children of Israel had crossed over, the water returned and hid all the host of the Egyptians and all their might. And I remained in the sea, being kept under this pillar. But when Ephippas came, being sent by thee, shut up in the vessel of a flask, he fetched me up to thee."

127. I, therefore, Solomon, having heard this, glorified God and adjured the demons not to disobey me, but to remain supporting the pillar. And they both sware, saying: "The Lord thy God liveth, we will not let go this pillar until the world's end. But on whatever day this stone fall, then shall be the end of the world1."

128. And I Solomon glorified God, and adorned the Temple of the Lord with all fair-seeming. And I was glad in spirit in my kingdom, and there was peace in my days. And I took wives of my own from every land, who were numberless. And I marched against the Jebusaeans, and there I saw Jebusaean, daughter of a man: and fell violently in love with her, and desired to take her to wife along with my other wives. And I said to their priests: "Give me the Sonmanites (i.e. Shunammite) to wife1." But the priests of Moloch said to me: "If thou lovest this maiden, go in and worship our gods, the great god Raphan and the god called Moloch." I therefore was in fear of the glory of God, and did not follow to worship. And I said to them: "I will not worship a strange god. What is this proposal, that ye compel me to do so much?" But they said: ". . . . .2 by our fathers."

129. And when I answered that I would on no account worship strange gods, they told the maiden not to sleep with me until I complied and sacrificed to the gods. I then was moved, but crafty Eros brought and laid by her for me five grasshoppers, saying: "Take these grasshoppers, and crush them together in the name of the god Moloch; and then will I sleep with you." And this I actually did. And at once the Spirit of God departed from me, and I became weak as well as foolish in my words. And after that I was obliged by her to build a temple of idols to Baal1, and to Rapha, and to Moloch, and to the other idols.

130. I then, wretch that I am, followed her advice, and the glory of God quite departed from me; and my spirit was darkened, and I became the sport of idols and demons. Wherefore I wrote out this Testament, that ye who get possession of it may pity, and attend to the last things1, and not to the first. So that ye may find grace for ever and ever. Amen.

JOSEPH AND ASENETH

Translation : David Cook, 1984

Estimated Range of Dating: 200 B.C. - 200 A.D.

(Joseph and Aseneth is a narrative that dates from between 200 BC and 200 AD. The first part of the story (chapters 1-21), an expansion of Genesis 41:45, describes the diffident relationship between Aseneth, the daughter of an Egyptian priest of Heliopolis [Greek for "City of the Sun" was a major city of ancient Egypt, today: Ayn Shams, northeastern suburb of Cairo.] and the Hebrew patriarch Joseph, the vision of Aseneth in which she is fed honeycomb by a heavenly being, her subsequent conversion to the God of Joseph, followed by romance, marriage, and the birth of Manasseh and Ephraim. The second part (chapters 22-29) involves a plot by the Pharaoh's son, who recruits Dan and Gad to kill Joseph, only to be thwarted by Benjamin and Levi.

The work was composed in Greek, attested by sixteen Greek manuscripts, and other sources. The oldest existing manuscript is a Syriac translation, contained in British Library manuscript #17,202, an anthology that contains a variety of writings. The Syriac translation of Joseph and Aseneth was made around 550 AD by Moses of Ingila. The anthology was compiled around 570 AD by an individual whom scholars call "Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor."

Some have regarded it as a Jewish midrash or elaboration on the story in Genesis (Genesis 37–50). Others question this interpretation partly because of its provenance (early Syriac Christianity), language (Son of God, Bride of God), symbolism (Eucharistic) and covering letter which appear to indicate a Christian context. Gideon Bohak and others have drawn attention to the geographical location of the story (Heliopolis) and an important Jewish diaspora community centered on a Jewish temple in Leontopolis, located in the nome of Heliopolis during the Ptolemaic period, seeing this as the likely starting point.

In 1870 J.P.N. Land published a transcription of Joseph and Aseneth in the third series of Anecdota Syriaca, using British Library manuscript No. 17,202. The British Library acquired manuscript No. 17,202 from the British Museum. That institution purchased it on November 11, 1847, from an Egyptian merchant by the name of Auguste Pacho, a native of Alexandria. It had come from an ancient Syrian monastery, St. Mary Deipara, in the Nitrian desert in Egypt, where it had been housed for over 900 years. Around 932, the monastery's abbot, Moses the Nisibene, acquired over 250 manuscripts from Mesopotamia and Syria for the library. One of these is the manuscript we know as British Library Mo. 17,202.

From the 10th century back to the 6th century the manuscript was in Mesopotamia. In the 6th century we can pick up the trail. Manuscript No. 17,202 is an anthology, a collection of a number of important writings compiled by an anonymous Syriac author called by scholars Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor. He labelled his anthology A Volume of Records of Events Which Have Happened in the World. He was likely a monk. This Syriac anthology dates from around 570. It contains the oldest existing version of Joseph and Aseneth.)

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1 It came to pass in the first year of the seven years of plenty, in the second month, that Pharaoh sent out Joseph to go round the whole land of Egypt.. And Joseph came, in the fourth month of the first year, on the eighteenth day of the month, into the district of Heliopolis.. And he was collecting all the corn of that land, as the sand of the sea.. Now there was in that city a man, a satrap of Pharaoh; and this man was the chief of all Pharaoh's satraps and lords. And he was very rich, and wise, and generous, and he was Pharaoh's counsellor, and his name was Pentephres; and he was the priest of Heliopolis. And Pentephres had a virgin daughter of about eighteen years of age, tall and beautiful and graceful, more beautiful than any other virgin in the land. And she was quite unlike the daughters of the Egyptians, but in every respect like the daughters of the Hebrews. And she was as tall as Sarah, and as beautiful as Rebecca, and as fair as Rachel; and this virgin's name was Aseneth. And the fame of her beauty spread through all that land, even to its remotest corners; and all the sons of the lords and of the satraps and of the kings sought her hand in marriage, young men all of them. And there was great rivalry between them because of her, and they began to fight among themselves because of Aseneth. And Pharaoh's eldest son heard about her, and he begged his father to give her to him as his wife. And he said to him, "Give me Aseneth the daughter of Pentephres the priest of Heliopolis as my wife." And his father Pharaoh said to him, "Why should you want a wife of lower station than yourself? Are you not king of all the earth? No! See now, the daughter of King Joakim is betrothed to you, and she is a queen and very beautiful indeed: take her as your wife."

2 Now Aseneth despised all men and regarded them with contempt; yet no man had ever seen her, for Pentephres had a tower in his house, and it was large and very high. And the top storey had ten rooms in it. The first room was large and pleasant; and it was paved with purple stones, and its walls were faced with precious stones of different kinds.. And the ceiling of that room was of gold; and within it were ranged the innumerable gods of the Egyptians, in gold and silver. And Aseneth worshipped all these; and she feared them and offered sacrifices to them. The second room contained all the finery for Aseneth's adornment and treasure chests. And there was much gold in it, and silver, and garments woven with gold, and precious stones of great price, and fine linens. And all her girlish ornaments were there. The third room contained all the good things of the earth; and it was Aseneth's store-house. And seven virgins had the remaining seven rooms, one each. And they used to wait on Aseneth, and were of the same age as she was, for they were all born on the same night as Aseneth; and they were very beautiful, like the stars of heaven, and no man or boy had ever had anything to do with them. And Aseneth's large room, where she spent her time, had three windows. One window looked out over the courtyard to the east: the second looked to the north, onto the street; and the third to the south. And a golden bed stood in the room, facing the east. And the bed had a coverlet of purple woven with gold, embroidered with blue, and fine linen. In this bed Aseneth used to sleep alone, and no man or woman ever sat upon it, except Aseneth only. And there was a great court all round the house, and a wall round the court, very high and built of great rectangular stones. And there were four gates to the court, overlaid with iron; and eighteen strong young men-at-arms used to guard each one of them. And along the wall inside the court every kind of beautiful tree that produces fruit had been planted; and the fruit on every one of them was ripe, for it was harvest time.. And on the right of the court there was an ever-bubbling spring of water, and beneath the spring a great cistern that received the water from the spring and out of which a river flowed through the middle of the court and watered all the trees in it.

3 And it came to pass in the fourth month, on the eighteenth day of the month, that Joseph came into the district of Heliopolis. And as he approached the city, Joseph sent twelve men in front of him to Pentephres, the priest of Heliopolis, saying, May I be your guest to-day, for it is near noon and time for a mid-day meal? The sun's heat is overpowering, and I would enjoy some refreshment under your roof. When Pentephres heard this, he was overjoyed and said, "Blessed be the Lord, the God of Joseph." And Pentephres called his steward and said to him, "Make haste and get my house into order, and prepare a great feast, because Joseph, the mighty man of God, is coming to us to-day. And Aseneth heard that her father and mother had come back from their family estate in the country. And she rejoiced and said, I will go and see my father and my mother for they have come back from their family estate in the country. And Aseneth hurried and put on a fine linen robe of blue woven with gold and a golden girdle round her waist, and she put bracelets round her hands and feet, and she put on golden trousers and a necklace round her neck.. And there were precious stones all about her, with the names of Egyptian gods inscribed on them everywhere, on the bracelets and on the stones; and the names of the idols were stamped on the stones.. And she put a tiara on her head and bound a diadem round her temples and covered her head with a veil.

4 And she hurried and came down by the staircase from her storey at the top; and she came to her father and mother and greeted them. And it gave Pentephres and his wife great joy to see their daughter Aseneth adorned as the bride of God. And they took out all the good things they had brought from their estate in the country, and they gave them to their daughter. And Aseneth rejoiced at the good things, and at the fruit, the grapes and the dates, and at the doves and at the pomegranates and the figs, for they were all delightful. And Pentephres said to his daughter Aseneth, "My child": she said, "Lo, here I am, my lord." And he said to her, "Sit down, please, between us: I want to talk to you." And Aseneth sat down between her father and her mother. And her father Pentephres took her right hand in his right hand and said to her, "My child"; and Aseneth said, "What is it, father?" And Pentephres said to her, "See, Joseph, the mighty man of God, is coming to us to-day, and he is ruler of all the land of Egypt, for Pharaoh has appointed him ruler of all our land; and he is the distributor of corn throughout the country and is to save it from the famine that is come upon it. And Joseph is a man that worships God: he is discriminating, and a virgin (as you are to-day), and a man of great wisdom and knowledge, and the spirit of God is upon him, and the grace of the Lord is with him.. So come, my child, and I will give you to him as his wife: you shall be his bride, and he shall be your bridegroom for ever." And when Aseneth heard what her father said, a great red sweat came over her, and she was furious and looked sideways at her father. And she said, "Why should my lord and my father speak like this and talk as if he would hand me over like a prisoner to a man of another race, a man who was a fugitive and was sold as a slave? Is this not the shepherd's son from the land of Canaan, and he was abandoned by him?. Is not this the man who had intercourse with his mistress, and his master threw him into prison where he lay in darkness, and Pharaoh brought him out of prison, because he interpreted his dream?. No! I will marry the eldest son of the king, for he is king of all the earth." On hearing this, Pentephres thought it wiser to say no more to his daughter about Joseph, for she had answered him arrogantly and in anger.

5 And behold, one of the young men from Pentephres's retinue burst in and said, "Lo. Joseph is at the gates of our court." And Aseneth quickly left her father and her mother and ran upstairs and went into her room and stood at the big window that looked towards the east, so as to see Joseph as he came into her father's house. And Pentephres and his wife and all his relations went out to meet Joseph. And the gates of the court that looked east were opened, and Joseph came in, sitting in Pharaoh's viceroy's chariot. And there were four horses yoked together, white as snow, with golden reins; and the chariot was covered over with gold. And Joseph was wearing a marvellous white tunic, and the robe wrapped around him was purple, made of linen woven with gold: there was a golden crown on his head, and all round the crown were twelve precious stones, and above the stones twelve golden rays; and a royal sceptre was in his right hand. And he held an olive branch stretched out, and there was much fruit on it. And Joseph came into the court, and the gates were shut. And strangers, whether men or women, remained outside, because the gate-keepers had shut the doors. And Pentephres came, and his wife, and all his relatives, except their daughter Aseneth; and they made obeisance to Joseph with their faces to the ground.. And Joseph got down from his chariot and extended his right hand to them.

6. And Aseneth saw Joseph and she was cut to the quick, her stomach turned over, her knees became limp, and her whole body trembled. And she was much afraid and cried out and said, "Where shall I go, and where can I hide myself from him? And how will Joseph, the son of God, regard me, for I have spoken evil of him? Where can I flee and hide myself, for he sees everything, and no secret is safe with him, because of the great light that is in him?. And now may Joseph's God be propitious to me because I spoke evil in ignorance. What can I hope for, wretch that I am? Have I not spoken, saying, Joseph is coming, the shepherd's son from the land of Canaan? And now, behold the sun is come to us from heaven in his chariot and has come into our house to-day. But I was foolish and reckless to despise him, and I spoke evil of him and did not know that Joseph is the son of God. For who among men will ever father such beauty, and what mother will ever bear such a light? Wretch that I am and foolish, for I spoke evil of him to my father. Now let my father give me to Joseph as a maidservant and a slave, and I will serve him for ever."

7. And Joseph came into Pentephres's house and sat down on a seat; and he washed his feet, and he placed a table in front of him separately, because he would not eat with the Egyptians, for this was an abomination to him.. And Joseph spoke to Pentephres and all his relations, saying, "Who is that woman standing in the solar by the window? Tell her to go away." (This was because Joseph was afraid she too might solicit him; for all the wives and daughters of the lords and satraps of all the land of Egypt use to solicit him to lie with him. And many of the wives and daughters of the Egyptians suffered much, after seeing Joseph, because he was so handsome; and they would send emissaries to him with gold and silver and valuable gifts. And Joseph would reject them out of hand, saying, I will not sin before the God of Israel. And Joseph kept his father Jacob's face before his eyes continually, and he remembered his father's commandments; for Jacob used to say to Joseph and his brothers, "Be on your guard, my children, against the strange woman, and have nothing to do with her, for she is ruin and destruction.. That is why Joseph said, "Tell that woman to go away."). And Pentephres said to him, "My lord, the woman you have seen in the storey at the top is no stranger: she is our daughter, a virgin, who detests men; and no other man has ever seen her, apart from you today. And if you wish it, she shall come and speak with you; for our daughter is your sister. And Joseph was overjoyed because Pentephres said, "She is a virgin who detests men." And Joseph answered Pentephres and his wife and said, "If she is your daughter, then let her come, for she is my sister, and I will regard her as my sister from to-day."

8 And Aseneth's mother went up to the top storey and brought Aseneth down to Joseph; and Pentephres said to his daughter Aseneth, "Greet your brother, for he too is a virgin as you are to-day, and he detests all strange women just as you detest strange men." And Aseneth said to Joseph, "May you have joy, my lord, blessed as you are of God Most High"; and Joseph said to her, "May God, who has given all things life, bless you.". And Pentephres said to Aseneth, "Come near and kiss your brother." And when she came near to kiss Joseph, Joseph stretched his right hand out, and laid it against her breast, and said, "It is not right for a man who worships God, who with his mouth blesses the living God, and eats the blessed bread of life, and drinks the blessed cup of immortality, and is anointed with the blessed unction of incorruption, to kiss a strange woman, who with her mouth blesses dead and dumb idols, and eats of their table the bread of anguish, and drinks of their libations the cup of treachery, and is anointed with the unction of destruction. A man who worships God will kiss his mother and his sister that is of his own tribe and kin, and the wife that shares his couch, who with their mouths bless the living God.. So too it is not right for a woman who worships God to kiss a strange man, because this is an abomination in God's eyes." And when Aseneth heard what Joseph said, she was most distressed and cried out aloud; and she fixed her gaze on Joseph, and her eyes were filled with tears. And Joseph saw her and his heart went out to her -- for Joseph was tender-hearted and compassionate and feared the Lord. And he lifted up his right hand above her head and said,

"O Lord, the God of my father Israel, the Most High, the Mighty One,

Who didst quicken all things, and didst call them from darkness into light.

And from error into truth, and from death into life;

Do thou, O Lord, thyself quicken and bless this virgin,

And renew her by thy spirit, and remould her by thy secret hand,

And quicken her with thy life.

And may she eat the bread of thy life,

And may she drink the cup of thy blessing,

She whom thou didst choose before she was begotten,

And may she enter into thy rest, which thou has prepared for thine elect."

9 And Aseneth was filled with joy at Joseph's blessing, and she went up in haste to her storey at the top and fell on her couch exhausted, because she felt not only happy, but also disturbed and very frightened; and she had been bathed in perspiration from the moment she heard Joseph speaking to her in the name of God Most High. And she wept bitterly, and she repented of her gods she used to worship; and she waited for evening to come. And Joseph ate and drank; and he said to his servants, "Yoke the horses to the chariot" (for he said, "I must depart and go round the whole city and the district"). And Pentephres said to Joseph, "Stay the night here, my lord and to-morrow go your way." And Joseph said, "No! I must be going now, for this is the day when God began his works: in eight days time I will come back again and stay the night here with you."

10 Then Pentephres and his relations went away to their estate. And Aseneth was left alone with the virgins, and she was listless and wept until sunset: she ate no bread and drank no water; and while all slept she alone was awake. And she opened the door and went down to the gate; and she found the portress asleep with her children. And Aseneth quickly took down the leather curtain from the door, and she filled it with ashes and carried it up to the top storey and laid it on the floor. And she secured the door and fastened it with the iron bar from the side; and she groaned aloud and wept. And the virgin that Aseneth loved most of all the virgins heard her mistress groaning, and she roused the other virgins and came and found the door shut.. And she listened to Aseneth groaning and weeping and said, "Why are you so sorrowful my lady? What is it that its troubling you? Open the door for us, so that we can see you." And Aseneth said to them from inside (shut in as she was, "I have a violent headache and am resting on my bed; and I have no strength left to open to you now, for I am utterly exhausted; but go each of you to her

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room.". And Aseneth got up and opened her door quietly, and went into her second room, where her treasure-chests and the finery for her adornment were, and she opened her wardrobe and took out a black and sombre tunic. (And this was her mourning tunic, which she had worn for mourning when her eldest brother died). And Aseneth took off her royal robe and put on the black one, and she untied her golden girdle and tied a rope around her waist instead, and she took her tiara off her head and the diadem, and the bracelets from her hands. And she took her best robe, just as it was, and threw it out of the window, for the poor. And she took all her innumerable gold and silver gods and broke them up into little pieces, and threw them out of the window for the poor and needy. And Aseneth took her royal dinner, even the fatted beasts and the fish and the meat, and all the sacrifices of her gods, and the wine-vessels for their libations; and she threw them all out of the window as food for the dogs. And after this she took the ashes and poured them out on the floor.. And she took sackcloth and wrapped it round her waist, and she removed the fillet from her hair and sprinkled herself with ashes; and she fell down upon the ashes. And she beat her breast repeatedly with her two hands and wept bitterly and groaned all night until the morning. And in the morning Aseneth got up and looked and lo, the ashes underneath her were like mud because of her tears.. And again, Aseneth fell down on her face upon the ashes until sunset. And so Aseneth did for seven days; and she tasted neither food nor drink.

11 And it came to pass on the eighth day that Aseneth looked up from the floor where she was lying (for she was losing the use of her limbs as a result of her great affliction).

12 And she stretched her hands out towards the east, and her eyes looked up to heaven, and she said,

"O Lord, God of the ages, that didst give to all the breath of life,

That didst bring into the light the things unseen,

That hast made all things and made visible what was invisible,

That hast raised up the heaven and founded the earth upon the waters,

That hast fixed the great stones upon the abyss of water,

Which shall not be submerged,

But to the end they do thy will.

O Lord, my God, to thee will I cry: hear my supplication;

And unto thee will I make confession of my sins,

And unto thee will I reveal my transgressions of thy law.

I have sinned, O Lord, I have sinned:

I have transgressed thy law and acted impiously,

And I have spoken things evil before thee.

My mouth, O Lord, has been defiled by things offered to idols,

And by the table of the gods of the Egyptians.

I have sinned, O Lord, before thee; I have sinned and acted impiously,

Worshipping idols deaf and dumb,

And I am not worthy to open my mouth unto thee, wretch that I am.

I have sinned, O Lord, before thee,

I, the daughter of Pentephres the priest,

I, the haughty and arrogant Aseneth.

To thee, O Lord, I present my supplication, and unto thee will I cry:

Deliver me from my persecutors, for unto thee have I fled,

Like a child to his father and his mother.

And do thou, O Lord, stretch forth thy hands over me,

As a father that loves his children and is tenderly affectionate,

And snatch me from the hand of my enemy.

For lo, the wild primaeval Lion pursues me;

And his children are the gods of the Egyptians that I have abandoned and destroyed;

And their father the Devil is trying to devour me.

But do thou, O Lord deliver me from his hands,

And rescue me from his mouth,

Lest he snatch me like a wolf and tear me,

And cast me into the abyss of fire, and into the tempest of the sea;

And let not the great Sea-monster swallow me.

Save me, O Lord, deserted as I am,

For my father and mother denied me,

Because I destroyed and shattered their gods;

And I have no other hope save in thee, O Lord;

For thou art the father of the orphans, and the champion of the persecuted,

And the help of them that are oppressed.

12 For lo, all the gods of my father Pentephres are but for a season and uncertain; but the inhabitants of thine inheritance, O Lord, are incorruptible and eternal.

13 Look upon my ophanhood, O Lord, for unto thee did I flee, O Lord. Lo, I took off my royal robe interwoven with gold and put on a black tunic instead. Lo, I loosed my golden girdle and girt myself with a rope and sackcloth. Lo, I threw off my diadem from my head and sprinkled myself with ashes. Lo, the floor of my room once scattered with stones of different colours and of purple, and besprinkled with myrrh, is now sprinkled with my tears and scattered with ashes. Lo, Lord, from the ashes and from my tears there is as much mud inside my room as there is on a public highway. Lo, Lord, my royal dinner and my fatted beasts have I given to the dogs. And lo, for seven days and seven nights I have neither eaten bread nor drunk water; and my mouth is dry like a drum and my tongue like horn, and my lips like a potsherd, and my face is shrunken, and my eyes are failing as a result of my incessant tears. But do thou, O Lord, pardon me, for in ignorance did I sin against thee and uttered calumnies against my lord Joseph.. And I did not know, wretch that I am, that he is thy son, O Lord; for they told me that Joseph was a shepherd's son from the land of Canaan, and I believed them; but I was wrong, and I despised Joseph, thine elect one, and I spoke evil to him, not knowing that he is thy son. For what man ever was so handsome and who else is as wise and strong as Joseph? But to thee, my Lord, do I entrust him; for I love him more than mine own soul.. Preserve him in the wisdom of thy grace, and give me to him as a servant, so that I may wash his feet and serve him and be his slave for all the seasons of my life.

14 And as Aseneth finished her confession to the Lord, lo, the morning star rose in the eastern sky. And Aseneth saw it and rejoiced and said, "The Lord God has indeed heard me, for this star is a messenger and herald of the light of the great day. And lo, the heaven was torn open near the morning star and an indescribable light appeared. And Aseneth fell on her face upon the ashes; and there came to her a man from heaven and stood at her head; and he called to her, "Aseneth". And she said, "Who called me? For the door of my room is shut and the tower is high: how then did anyone get into my room?" And the man called her a second time and said, "Aseneth, Aseneth;" and she said, "Here am I, my lord, tell me who you are." And the man said, "I am the commander of the Lord's house and chief captain of all the host of the Most High: stand up, and I will speak to you." And she looked up and saw a man like Joseph in every respect, with a robe and a crown and a royal staff. But his face was like lightning, and his eyes were like the light of the sun, and the hairs of his head like flames of fire, and his hands and feet like iron from the fire.. And Aseneth looked at him, and she fell on her face at his feet in great fear and trembling. And the man said to her, "Take heart, Aseneth, and do not be afraid; but stand up, and I will speak to you.". And Aseneth got up, and the man said to her, "Take off the black tunic you are wearing and the sackcloth round your waist, and shake the ashes off your head, and wash your face with water.. And put on a new robe that you have never worn before, and tie your bright girdle round your waist -- the double girdle of your virginity. And then come back to me, and I will tell you what I have been sent to you to say." And Aseneth went into the room where her treasure-chests and the finery for her adornment were; and she opened her wardrobe and took out a new, fine robe, and she took off her black robe and put on the new and brilliant one. And she untied the rope and the sackcloth round her waist; and she put on the brilliant double girdle of her virginity -- one girdle round her waist and the other round her breast. And she shook the ashes off her head, and washed her face with pure water, and covered her head with a fine and lovely veil.

15 And she came back to the man; and when the man saw her he said to her, "Take now the veil off your head, for to-day you are a pure virgin and your head is like a young man's." So she took it off her head; and the man said to her, "Take heart, Aseneth, for lo, the Lord has heard the words of your confession. Take heart, Aseneth, your name is written in the book of life, and it will never be blotted out. From to-day you will be made new, and refashioned, and given new life; and you shall eat the bread of life and drink the cup of immortality, and be anointed with the unction of incorruption. Take heart, Aseneth: lo, the Lord has given you to Joseph to be his bride, and he shall be your bridegroom.. And you shall no more be called Aseneth, but 'City of Refuge' shall be your name; for many nations shall take refuge in you, and under your wings shall many peoples find shelter, and within your walls those who give their allegiance to God in penitence will find security.. For Penitence is the Most High's daughter and she entreats the Most High on your behalf every hour, and on behalf of all who repent; for he is the father of Penitence and she the mother of virgins, and every hour she petitions him for those who repent; for she has prepared a heavenly bridal chamber for those who love her, and she will look after them for ever. And Penitence is herself a virgin, very beautiful and pure and chaste and gentle; and God Most High loves her, and all his angels do her reverence. And lo, I am on my way to Joseph, and I will talk to him about you, and he will come to you to-day and see you and rejoice over you; and he shall be your bridegroom. So listen to me, Aseneth, and put on your wedding robe, the ancient robe, the first that was stored away in your room, and deck yourself in all your finest jewellry, and adorn yourself as a bride, and be ready to meet him. Fo lo, he is coming to you to-day; and he will see you and rejoice." And when the man had finished speaking Aseneth was overjoyed. And she fell at his feet and said to him, "Blessed be the Lord God that sent you out to deliver me from darkness and bring me into light; and blessed be his name for ever. Let me speak now, my lord, if I have found favour with you: sit down a little on the bed, and I will get a table ready and food for you to eat; and I will bring you good wine, of the finest flavour, for your to drink; and then you shall go your way."

16 And the man said to her, "Bring me, please, a honeycomb too." And Aseneth said, "Let me send someone my lord, to my family estate in the country and I will get you a honeycomb." And the man said to her, "Go into your inner room and you will find a honeycomb there." And Aseneth went into her inner room and found a honeycomb lying on the table; and the comb was as white as snow and full of honey, and its smell was like the breath of life. And Aseneth took the comb and brought it to him; and the man said to her, "Why did you say, 'There is no honeycomb in my house?' And lo, you have brought me this." And Aseneth said, My lord, I had no honeycomb in my house, but it happened just as you said: did it perchance come out of your mouth, for it smells like myrrh?" And the man stretched his hand out and placed it on her head and said, "You are blessed, Aseneth, for the indescribable things of God have been revealed to you; and blessed too are those who give their allegiance to the Lord God in penitence, for they shall eat of this comb. The bees of the Paradise of Delight have made this honey, and the angels of God eat of it, and no one who eats of it shall ever die.. And the man stretched his right hand out and broke off a piece of the comb and ate it; and he put a piece of it unto Aseneth's mouth. And the man stretched his hand out and put his finger on the edge of the comb that faced eastwards; and the path of his finger became like blood. And he stretched out his hand a second time and put his finger on the edge of the comb that faced northwards, and the path of his finger became like blood.. And Aseneth was standing on the left and watching everything the man was doing. And bees came up from the cells of the comb, and they were white as snow, and their wings were irridescent -- purple and blue and gold; and they had golden diadems on their heads and sharp-pointed strings. And all the bees flew in circles round Aseneth, from her feet right up to her head; and yet more bees, as big as queens, settled on Aseneth's lips. And the man said to the bees, "Go, please, to your places." And they all left Aseneth and fell to the ground, every one of them, and died. And the man said, "Get up now, and go to your place;" and they got up and went, every one of them, to the court round Aseneth's tower.

17 And the man said to Aseneth, "Have you observed this?" and she said, "Yes, my lord, I have observed it all." And the man said, "So shall be the words I have spoken to you." And the man touched the comb, and fire went up from the table and burnt up the comb; and, as it burned, the comb gave out a refreshing fragrance that filled the room.. And Aseneth said to the man, "There are, my lord, seven virgins with me, who have been brought up with me, and who wait upon me: they were born in the same night as I was and I love them: let me call them, so that you can bless them as you have blessed me. And the man said, "Call them;" and Aseneth called them, and the man blessed them and said, "God, the Most High, will bless you for ever." And the man said to Aseneth, "Take this table away;" and Aseneth turned to move the table, and the man vanished out of her sight, and Aseneth saw what looked like a chariot of fire being taken up into heaven towards the east. And Aseneth said, "Be merciful, O Lord, to thy maidservant, because it was in ignorance that I spoke evil before thee."

18 And while this was happening, behold, a young man, one of Joseph's servants, came and said, "Lo, Joseph, the mighty man of God is coming to you to-day." And Aseneth called her steward and said, "Get ready a special dinner for me, because Joseph the mighty man of God, is coming to us." And Aseneth went into her room and opened her wardrobe, and she took out her finest robe that shone like lightning, and she put it on.. And she tied a resplendent royal girdle round her waist -- and this girdle was of precious stones.. And she put golden bracelets round her hands, and golden boots on her feet, and a costly necklace about her neck; and she put a golden crown upon her head, and in the crown, in front, were the costliest of stones. And she covered her head with a veil. And she said to her maidservant, "Bring me pure water from the spring. And Aseneth bent down to the water in the basin [on the cockle-shell]; and her face was like the sun, and her eyes like the rising morning star.

19 And a little slave came and said to Aseneth, "Lo, Joseph is at the gates of our court;" and Aseneth went down with the seven virgins to meet him. And when Joseph saw her, he said to her, "Come to me, pure virgin, for I have had good news about you from heaven, explaining everything about you." And Joseph stretched his hands out and embraced Aseneth, and Aseneth embraced Joseph, and they greeted each other for a long time and received new life in their spirit.

20 And Aseneth said to him, "Come, my lord, come into my house;" and she took his right hand and brought him inside her house. And Joseph sat down on her father Pentephres's seat, and she brought water to wash his feet; and Joseph said to her, "Let one of your virgins come, and let her wash my

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feet.". And Aseneth said to him, "No, my lord, for my hands are your hands, and your feet my feet, and no one else shall wash your feet;" and so she had her way and washed his feet.. And Joseph took her by the right hand and kissed it, and Aseneth kissed his head. And Aseneth's parents came back from their country estate, and they saw Aseneth sitting with Joseph and wearing a wedding robe; and they rejoiced and glorified God, and they ate and drank. And Pentephres said to Joseph, "To-morrow I will invite the lords and satraps of Egypt, and I will celebrate your wedding, and you shall take Aseneth as your wife." And Joseph said, "First I must tell Pharaoh about Aseneth, because he is my father; and he will give me Aseneth as my wife himself." And Joseph stayed that day with Pentephres; and he did not sleep with Aseneth, for he said, "It is not right for a man who worships God to have intercourse with his wife before their marriage."

21 And Joseph got up early in the morning, and he sent away to Pharaoh and told him about Aseneth. And Pharaoh sent and called Pentephres and Aseneth. And Pharaoh was astonished at her beauty and said, "The Lord will bless you, even the God of Joseph, who has chosen you to be his bride, for he is the first-born son of God, and you will be called daughter of the Most High, and Joseph shall be your bridegroom for ever. And Pharaoh took golden crowns and put them on their heads and said, "God Most High will bless you and prosper your family for ever." And Pharaoh turned them towards each other, and they kissed each other. And Pharaoh celebrated their wedding with a banquet and much merry-making for seven days; and he invited all the chief men in the land of Egypt. And he issued a proclamation, saying, "Any man who does any work during the seven days of Joseph and Aseneth's wedding shall die.". And when the wedding was over and the banquet ended, Joseph had intercourse with Aseneth; and Aseneth conceived by Joseph and bore Manasseh and his brother Ephraim in Joseph's house.

22 And after this the seven years of plenty came to an end, and the seven years of famine began.. And when Jacob heard about his son Joseph, he came into Egypt with his family, in the second month, on the twenty-first day of the month; and he settled in the land of Goshen. And Aseneth said to Joseph, "I will go and see your father, because your father Israel is my father; and Joseph said to her, "Let us go together." And Joseph and Aseneth came into the land of Goshen, and Joseph's brothers met them and made obeisance to them upon the ground. And they came to Jacob and he blessed them and kissed them; and Aseneth hung upon his father Jacob's neck and kissed him.. And after this they ate and drank. And Joseph and Aseneth went to their house, and Simeon and Levi escorted them, to protect them: Levi was on Aseneth's right hand and Simeon on the left. And Aseneth took Levi's hand because she loved him as a man who was a prophet and a worshipper of God and a man who feared the Lord. And he used to see letters written in the heavens, and he would read them and interpret them to Aseneth privately; and Levi saw the place of her rest in the highest heaven.

23 And as Joseph and Aseneth were passing by, Pharaoh's eldest son saw them from the wall. And when he saw Aseneth he was driven to distraction by her because she was so beautiful; and Pharaoh's son sent messengers and summoned Simeon and Levi to him, and they came to him and stood before him. And Pharaoh's son said to them, "I have heard that you are better soldiers than any others there are on earth, and that with your own right hands you destroyed the city of Schechem and with your own two swords you cut to pieces thirty thousand fighting men. I need your help: let us get together without delay; and I will give you gold and silver in abundance, and menservants and maidservants, and houses and great estates. Make a compact with me, and shew kindness to me; for I was greatly wronged by your brother Joseph, because he married Aseneth although she was originally pledged to me. And now come with me, and I will take up arms against Joseph and kill him with my sword, and I will marry Aseneth; and you shall be my brothers and my friends for ever, But if you will not listen to me, I will kill you with my sword" (and as he said this he bared his sword and showed it them). Now Simeon was a brave but impetuous man, and he drew his sword from its scabbard and made a rush at Pharaoh's son, as if to strike him. And Levi was aware of what Simeon was about to do, for Levi was a prophet and foresaw everything that was to happen; and Levi trod hard on Simon's right foot as a sign to him to curb his wrath.. And Levi said to him, "Why so angry with him? For we are the children of a man who worships God, and it is not right for a man who worships God to repay his neighbour evil for evil." And Levi said to his neighbour, Pharaoh's son, respectfully and in good humour, "My lord, why do you speak to us like this? For we are men who worship God, and our father is the servant of God Most High, and our brother Joseph is loved by God: how could we do anything so wicked in God's eyes? And now, listen to us, and be careful you never repeat what you have just said about our brother Joseph. If, however, you persist in this wicked plan, see, our swords are drawn against you." And they drew their swords from their scabbards and said, "Do you see these swords? It was with them that the Lord God avenged the outrage on the sons of Israel, which the men of Schechem committed in the affair of our sister Dinah, whom Schechem, Hamor's son, defiled." And Pharaoh's son saw their drawn swords, and he was afraid and trembled and fell on his face to the ground at their feet. And Levi stretched his hand out and lifted him up, saying, "Do not be afraid: only be careful you say nothing against our brother." And they went out from him, leaving him trembling and afraid.

24 And Pharaoh's son was in much affliction and torment because of Aseneth, and he was greatly distressed. And his servants whispered in his ear, "Lo, the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah, the maidservants of Leah and Rachel, Jacob's wives, hate Joseph and Aseneth and are jealous of them, and they will do what you want." And Pharaoh's son sent messengers and summoned them, and they came to him by night; and Pharaoh's son said to them, "I have heard that your are good soldiers.". And Gad and Dan, the elder brothers, said to Pharaoh's son, "Let our lord tell his servants what it is he wants, and he will do it." And Pharaoh's son was overjoyed, and he said to his servants, "Go away and leave us alone, for I have something to say to these men privately." And all the servants went out; and Pharaoh's son told them lies, saying, "I offer you a choice between prosperity and death: so choose prosperity and not death.. I know that you are good soldiers, and that you will not die as women die; but act like men and take vengeance on your enemies.. I heard" (he continued) "your brother Joseph say to my father Pharaoh, 'Dan and Gad are the children of maidservants and are not my brothers.. And I am only waiting for my father to die to take action against them and all their progeny, so that they will not share the inheritance with us, for they are the children of maidservants, and it was they who sold me to the Ishmaelites.. When my father is dead I will repay them for the wrong they did me.' And my father Pharaoh commended Joseph and said to him, 'What you have said is quite right, my son; and now take some of my soldiers and proceed against them as they did against you, and I will help you.'". And when the men heard what Pharaoh's son told them they were much troubled and distressed, and they said to him, "We appeal to you, our lord, to help us; and whatever you tell your servants to do, we will do it." And Pharaoh's son said to them, "To-night I will kill my father, for my father Pharaoh is like a father to Joseph; and do you also kill Joseph, and I will marry Aseneth." And Dan and Gad said to him, "We will do everything you have told us to. We overheard Joseph say to Aseneth, 'Go to-morrow to our country estate, for it is vintage-time; and he has arranged for six hundred armed soldiers to go with her and fifty outrunners." And when Pharaoh's son heard this, he gave the four men five hundred men each and appointed them their officers and commanders. And Dan and Gad said to him, "We will go by night and lie in wait at the brook and hide in the woods on the banks. And as for you, take fifty men with you, archers on horseback, and go on ahead, some distance in front; and Aseneth will come and fall into our hands, and we will cut down the men who are with her. And Aseneth will flee in her chariot and fall into your hands and you will be able to deal with her as you wish. And afterwards we will kill Joseph while he is fretting about Aseneth; and we will kill his children before his eyes." And Pharaoh's son was delighted when he heard this, and he sent two thousand soldiers after them. And they came to the brook and hid in the woods on the banks, and five hundred men took up their position in front; and in between them was a highway.

25 And Pharaoh's son went to his father's room to kill him; but his father's guards would not allow him to go in to him. And Pharaoh's son said to them, "I want to see my father because I am going off to gather the grapes from my newly planted vine. And the guards said to him, "Your father is in pain, and he has been awake all night; but he is resting now; and he said to us, "Do not let anyone in to me, not even my eldest son." And he went away in anger; and he took fifty mounted archers, and he went in front of them as Dan and Gad had told him to. And Naphtali and Asher said to Dan and Gad, "Why must you plot again against our father Israel and against our brother Joseph? For God looks after him as if he were the apple of his eye.. Did you not once sell Joseph as a slave, and to-day he is king of the whole earth, and its saviour, and gives us corn?. And now, if you make plots against him again, he will call upon the God of Israel, and he will send fire from heaven, and it will burn you up, and the angels of God will fight against you." And their elder brothers Dan and Gad were angry with them, saying, "Are we then to die like women? God forbid!" And they went out to encounter Joseph and Aseneth.

26 And Aseneth got up early in the morning and said to Joseph, "I am going to our estate in the country; but I am frightened because you are not coming with me." And Joseph said to her, "Take heart and do not be afraid, but go; for the Lord is with you and he will keep you from all evil as the apple of an eye. And I will go and distribute my corn, and give corn to all the men in the city, so that no one dies of famine in the land of Egypt." And Aseneth departed on her journey and Joseph to the distribution of the corn. And Aseneth came to where the brook was with her six hundred men; and suddenly the men that were with Pharaoh's son leaped out from their ambush and joined battle with Aseneth's soldiers, and they cut them down with their swords and killed all Aseneth's outrunners.. And Aseneth fled in her chariot.. And Levi, the son of Leah, was informed about all this (for he was a prophet), and he told his brothers about Aseneth's danger; and they took, each one of them, his sword on his thigh, and their shields on their arms, and their spears in their right hands, and they went after Aseneth with what speed they could. And Aseneth fled, and lo, Pharaoh's son met her, and fifty men with him; and Aseneth saw him, and she was afraid and trembled.

27 And Benjamin was sitting with her in the chariot. And Benjamin was a sturdy lad, about eighteen years old, indescribably handsome, and as strong as a young lion; and he feared God. And Benjamin jumped down from the chariot, and he took a round stone from the brook and hurled it with all his might at Pharaoh's son and hit him on his left temple and wounded him severely, and he fell from his horse half-dead. And Benjamin clambered up on a rock and said to the driver of Aseneth's chariot, "Give me fifty stones from the brook;" and he gave him fifty stones. And Benjamin hurled the stones and killed the fifty men that were with Pharaoh's son; and the stones sank into the temples of each one of them. Then the sons of Leah, Reuben and Simeon, Levi and Judah, Issachar and Zebulon, went after the men who had lain in ambush; and they fell upon them suddenly, and cut down the two thousand men, and the six of them killed them. And their brothers, the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah, fled; and they said, "We have been ruined through our brothers; and Pharaoh's son is dead, killed by Benjamin, and all those with him have perished at his hand: come now, let us kill Aseneth [and Benjamin], and let us make for the woods.". And they came, with their swords drawn, covered in blood; and Aseneth saw them, and she said, "O Lord my God, that didst quicken me from death, that didst say to me, 'Thy soul shall live for ever, deliver me from these men.'" And the Lord God heard her voice, and immediately their swords fell from t heir hands to the ground and were reduced to dust.

28 And the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah saw the miracle that had happened and they were afraid and said, "The Lord is fighting for Aseneth against us." And they fell on their faces to the ground and made obeisance to Aseneth, saying, "Have mercy on us, your servants, for you are our mistress and queen, and we have done you a great wrong and our brother Joseph. And now God has brought retribution on us: we pray you, therefore, have mercy on us, and deliver us from our brothers' hands, for they will avenge the outrage done to you and their swords will be against us." And Aseneth said to them, "Take heart and do not be afraid, for your brothers are men who worship God, and do not repay evil for evil to any man. But retire to the woods until I can secure your pardon and mollify their wrath; for what you have been trying to do to them is indeed no trifling matter. Take heart, though, and do not be afraid, for the Lord will see justice done between us." And Dan and Gad fled to the woods. And behold, the sons of Leah came, running like deers in pursuit of them; and Aseneth got down from her chariot, and she greeted them with tears. And they made obeisance to her on the ground and wept aloud; and they asked about their brothers, the maidservants' sons, intending to kill them. And Aseneth said to them, "Spare you brothers and do them no harm, for the Lord has shielded me and reduced the swords in their hands to dust, and they melted away like wax before the fire.. Surely this is enough for us that the Lord is fighting for us: so spare your brothers." And Simeon said to Aseneth, "Why should our mistress plead for her enemies? No! We will cut them down with our swords, because they have plotted evil against our father Israel and against our brother Joseph now on two occasions, and they have plotted against you to-day." And Aseneth said to him , "No brother, you must not repay evil for evil to your neighbour, for the Lord will avenge this outrage." And after this Simeon bowed to Aseneth; and Levi came to her, and he kissed her right hand and blessed her. Thus Aseneth saved the men from their brothers' wrath, so that they did not kill them.

29 And Pharaoh's son lifted himself up from the ground and sat up; and he spat blood from his mouth, because his blood was running from his temple into his mouth. And Benjamin advanced upon him and took hold of his sword and drew it from its scabbard (for Benjamin had no sword of his own with him). And as he was about to strike Pharaoh's son, Levi rushed up and seized him by the hand and said, "No brother, you must not do this, for we are men who worship God, and it is not right for a man who worships God to repay evil for evil, or to trample upon a man who has already fallen, or to harry his enemy to death.. But come: let us bind up his wound; and if he lives, he will be our friend, and his father Pharaoh will be our father." And Levi raised Pharaoh's son up and washed the blood off his face and bound a bandage round his wound; and he set him on his horse and took him to his father. And Levi told him everything that had happened.. And Pharaoh got up from his throne and made obeisance to Levi upon the ground. And on the third day Pharaoh's son

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died from the wound of Benjamin's stone. And Pharaoh mourned for his eldest son, and he was worn out with grief. And Pharaoh died at the age of one hundred and nine; and he left his crown to Joseph. And Joseph was king of Egypt for forty-eight years.. And after this Joseph gave the crown to Pharaoh's grandson; and Joseph was like a father to him in Egypt.

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS

Letter of Aristeas to Philocrates about the Greek Septuagint Bible commissioned by King Ptolemy of Egypt
Translation: Robert Henry Charles 1913
Estimated Range of Dating: 3rd - 2nd Centuries A.D.

(The Letter of Aristeas or Letter to Philocrates is a Greek work of the 2nd century BC, assigned by Biblical scholars to the Pseudepigrapha as the author is unknown, a fact that applies actually to most books of the Bible.

Josephus, who paraphrases about two-fifths of the letter, ascribes it to Aristeas and to have been written to a certain Philocrates, describing the Greek translation of the Hebrew Law by seventy-two interpreters sent into Egypt from Jerusalem at the request of the librarian of Alexandria, resulting in the Septuagint translation. Though some have argued that its story of the creation of the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible is fictitious, it is the earliest text to mention the Library of Alexandria.

The Letter of Aristeas, called so because it was a letter addressed from Aristeas to his brother Philocrates, deals primarily with the reason the Greek translation of the Hebrew Law, also called the Septuagint, was created, as well as the people and processes involved. The letter's author alleges to be a courtier of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (reigned 281-246 BC).

Over twenty Greek manuscript copies of the letter are known to survive, dating from the 11th to the 15th century. The letter is also mentioned and quoted in other ancient texts, most notably in Antiquities of the Jews by Josephus (c. 93 AD), in Life of Moses by Philo of Alexandria (c. AD 15), and in an excerpt from Aristobulus of Paneas (c. 160 BC) preserved in Praeparatio evangelica by Eusebius.

In detail, the work relates how the king of Egypt, presumably Ptolemy II Philadelphus, is urged by his chief librarian Demetrios of Phaleron to have the Hebrew Law translated into Greek, and so add the knowledge of the Hebrews to the vast collection of books the empire had already collected. The king responds favorably, including giving freedom to Jews who had been taken into captivity by his predecessors, and sending lavish gifts (which are described in great detail) to the Temple in Jerusalem along with his envoys. The high priest chooses exactly six men from each of the twelve tribes, giving 72 in all; he gives a long sermon in praise of the Law. When the translators arrive in Alexandria the king weeps for joy and for the next seven days puts philosophical questions to the translators, the wise answers to which are related in full. The 72 translators then complete their task in exactly 72 days. The Jews of Alexandria, on hearing the Law read in Greek, request copies and lay a curse on anyone who would change the translation. The king then rewards the translators lavishly and they return home.

A main goal of the 2nd-century author seems to be to establish the superiority of the Greek Septuagint text over any other version of the Hebrew Bible. The author is noticeably pro-Greek, portraying Zeus as simply another name for the God of Israel, and while criticism is lodged against idolatry and Greek sexual ethics, the argument is phrased in such a way as to attempt to persuade the reader to change, rather than as a hostile attack. The manner in which the author concentrates on describing Judaism, and particularly its temple in Jerusalem could be viewed as an attempt to proselytise.)

ARISTEAS CHAPTER 1

At the time of the Jewish Captivity in Egypt, Ptolemy Philadelphus reveals himself as the first great bibliophile. He desires to have all the books in the world in his library; in order to get the Laws of Moses he offers to trade 100,000 captives for that work exclaiming, "It is a small boon indeed!"

1 SINCE I have collected material for a memorable history of my visit to Eleazar the High Priest of the Jews, and because you, Philocrates, as you lose no opportunity of reminding me, have set great store upon receiving an account of the motives and object of my mission, I have attempted to draw up clear exposition of the matter for you, for I perceive that you possess a natural love of learning, a quality which is the highest possession of man--to be constantly attempting 'to add to his stock of knowledge and acquirements' whether through the study of history or by actually participating in the events themselves.

2 It is by this means, by taking up into itself the noblest elements, that the soul is established in purity, and having fixed its aim on piety, the noblest goal of all, it uses this as its infallible guide and so acquires a definite purpose.

3 It was my devotion to the pursuit of religious knowledge that led me to undertake the embassy to the man I have mentioned, who was held in the highest esteem by his own citizens and by others, both for his virtue and his majesty, and who had in his possession documents of the highest value to the Jews in his own country and in foreign lands for the interpretation of the divine law, for their laws are written on leather parchments in Jewish characters.

4 This embassy then I undertook with enthusiasm, having first of all found an opportunity of pleading with the king on behalf of the Jewish captives who had been transported from Judea to Egypt by the king's father, when he first obtained possession of this city and conquered the land of Egypt.

5 It is worth while that I should tell you this story, too, since I am convinced that you, with your disposition towards holiness and your sympathy with men who are living in accordance with the holy law, will all the more readily listen to the account which I purpose to set forth, since you yourself have lately come to us from the island and are anxious to hear everything that tends to build up the soul.

6 On a former occasion too, I sent you a record of the facts which I thought worth relating about the Jewish race,--the record which I had obtained from the most learned high priests of the most learned land of Egypt.

7 As you are so eager to acquire the knowledge of those things which can benefit the mind, I' feel it incumbent upon me to impart to you all the information in my power.

8 I should feel the same duty towards all who possessed the same disposition but I feel it especially towards you since you have aspirations which are so noble, and since you are not only my brother in character, no less than in blood, but are one with me as well in the pursuit of goodness.

9 For neither the pleasure derived from gold nor any other of the possessions which are prized by shallow minds confers the same benefit as the pursuit of culture and the study which we expend in securing it.

10 But that I may not weary you by a too lengthy introduction, I will proceed at once to the substance of my narrative.

11 Demetrius of Phalerum, the president of the king's library, received vast sum of money, for the purpose of collecting together, as far as he possibly could, all the books in the world.

12 By means of purchase and transcription, he carried out, to the best of his ability, the purpose of the king.

13 On one occasion when I was present he was asked, How many thousand books are there in the library? and he replied, 'More than two hundred thousand, O king, and I shall make endeavour in the immediate future to gather together the remainder also, so that the total of five hundred thousand may be reached. I am told that the laws of the Jews are worth transcribing and deserve a place in your library!

14 'What is to prevent you from doing this?' replied the king. 'Everything that is necessary has been placed at your disposal!

15 'They need to be translated,' answered Demetrius 'for in the country of the Jews they use a peculiar alphabet (just as the Egyptians, too, have a special form of letters) and speak a peculiar dialect.

16 They are supposed to use the Syriac tongue, but this is not the case; their language is quite different.'

17 And the king when he understood all the facts of the case ordered a letter to be written to the Jewish High Priest that his purpose (which has already been described) might be accomplished.

18 Thinking that the time had come to press the demand, which I had often laid before Sosibius of Tarentum and Andreas, the chief of the bodyguard, for the emancipation of the Jews who had been transported from Judea by the king's father--for when by a combination of good fortune and courage he had brought his attack on the whole district of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia to a successful issue, in the process of terrorising the country into subjection, he transported some of his foes and others he reduced to captivity.

19 The number of those whom he transported from the country of the Jews to Egypt amounted to no less than a hundred thousand.

20 Of these he armed thirty thousand picked men and settled them in garrisons in the country districts.

21 (And even before this time large numbers of Jews had come into Egypt with the Persian, and in an earlier period still others had been sent to Egypt to help Psammetichus in his campaign against the king of the Ethiopians. But these were nothing like so numerous as the captives whom Ptolemy the son of Lagus transported.)

22 As I have already said Ptolemy picked out the best of these, the men who were in the prime of life and distinguished for their courage, and armed them, but the great mass of the others, those who were too old or too young for this purpose, and the women too, he reduced to slavery, not that he wished to do this of his own free will, but he was compelled by his soldiers who claimed them as a reward for the services which they had rendered in war.

23 Having, as has already been stated, obtained an opportunity for securing their emancipation, I addressed the king with the following arguments. 'Let us not be so unreasonable as to allow our deeds to give the lie to our words.

24 Since the law which we wish not only to transcribe but also to translate belongs to the whole Jewish race, what justification shall we be able to find for our embassy while such vast numbers of them remain in a state of slavery in your kingdom?

25 In the perfection and wealth of your clemency release those who are held in such miserable bondage, since as I have been at pains to discover, the God who gave them their law is the God who maintains your kingdom.

26 They worship the same God--the Lord and Creator of the Universe, as all other men, as we ourselves, O king, though we call him by different names, such as Zeus or Dis (An important comparison of God and Zeus.).

27 This name was very appropriately bestowed upon him by our first ancestors, in order to signify that He, through whom all things are endowed with life and come into being, is necessarily the Rider and Lord of the Universe.

28 Set all mankind an example of magnanimity by releasing those who are held in bondage.'

29 After a brief interval, while I was offering up an earnest prayer to God that He would so dispose the mind of the king that all the captives might be set at liberty--(for the human race, being the creation of God, is swayed and influenced by Him.

30 Therefore with many divers prayers I called upon Him who ruleth the heart that the king might be constrained to grant my request.

31 For I had great hopes with regard to the salvation of the men since I was assured that God would grant a fulfilment of my prayer.

32 For when men from pure motives plan some action in the interest of righteousness and the performance of noble deeds, Almighty God brings their efforts and purposes to a successful issue)--the king raised his head and looking up at me with a cheerful countenance asked, 'How many thousands do you think they will number?'

33 Andreas, who was standing near, replied, 'A little more than a hundred thousand.'

34 'It is a small boon indeed,' said the king, 'that Aristeas asks of us!'

35 Then Sosibius and some others who were present said: 'Yes, but it will be a fit tribute to your magnanimity for you to offer the enfranchisement of these men as an act of devotion to the supreme God.

36 You have been greatly honoured by Almighty God and exalted above all your forefathers in glory and it is only fitting that you should render to Him the greatest thank-offering in your power.'

37 Extremely pleased with these arguments he gave orders that an addition should be made to the wages of the soldiers by the amount of the redemption money, that twenty drachmae (the daily wage for a skilled worker was one drachma, c. 50 USD in 2017) should be paid to the owners for every slave, that a public order should be issued and that registers of the captives should be attached to it.

38 He showed the greatest enthusiasm in the business, for it was God who had brought our purpose to fulfilment in its entirety and constrained him to redeem not only those who had come into Egypt with the army of his father but any who had come before that time or had been subsequently brought into the kingdom.

39 It was pointed out to him that the ransom money would exceed four hundred talents.

40 I think it will be useful to insert a copy of the decree, for in this way the magnanimity of the king, who was empowered by God to save such vast multitudes, will be made clearer and more manifest.

41 The decree of the king ran as follows: 'All who served in the army of our father in the campaign against Syria and Phoenicia and in the attack upon the country of the Jews and became possessed of Jewish captives and brought them back to the city of Alexandria and the land of Egypt or sold them to others--and in the same way any captives who were in our land before that time or were brought hither afterwards--all who possess such captives are required to set them at liberty at once, receiving twenty drachmae per head as ransom money.

42 The soldiers will receive this money as a gift added to their wages, the others from the king's treasury.

43 We think that it was against our father's will and against all propriety that they should have been made captives and that the devastation of their land and the transportation of the Jews to Egypt was an act of military wantonness.

44 The spoil which fell to the soldiers on the field of battle was all the booty which they should have claimed.

45 To reduce the people to slavery in addition was an act of absolute injustice.

46 Wherefore, since it is acknowledged that we are accustomed to render justice to all men and especially to those who are unfairly in a condition of servitude, and since we

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strive to deal fairly with all men according to the demands of justice and piety, we have decreed, in reference to the persons of the Jews who are in any condition of bondage in any part of our dominion, that those who possess them shall receive the stipulated sum of money and set them at liberty and that no man shall show any tardiness in discharging his obligations.

47 Within three days after the publication of this decree, they must make lists of slaves for the officers appointed to carry out our will, and immediately produce the persons of the captives.

48 For we consider that it will be advantageous to us and to our affairs that the matter should be brought to a conclusion.

49 Any one who likes may give information about any who disobey the decree, on condition that if the man is proved guilty he will become his slave; his property, however, will be handed over to the royal treasury.'

50 When the decree was brought to be read over to the king for his approval, it contained all the other provisions except the phrase 'any captives who were in the land before that time or were brought hither afterwards,' and in his magnanimity and the largeness of his heart the king inserted this clause and gave orders that the grant of money required for the redemption should be deposited in full with the paymasters of the forces and the royal bankers, and so the matter was decided and the decree ratified within seven days.

51 The grant for the redemption amounted to more than six hundred and sixty talents; for many infants at the breast were emancipated together with their mothers.

52 When the question was raised whether the sum of twenty talents was to be paid for these, the king ordered that it should be done, and thus he carried out his decision in the most comprehensive way.

ARISTEAS CHAPTER 2

Showing how the most careful records were kept of affairs of state. Government Red Tape. A committee of six is appointed to go to the High Priest in Jerusalem and arrange for the exchange. Aristeas is put in charge of the delegation.

1 WHEN this had been done, he ordered Demetrius to draw up a memorial with regard to the transcription of the Jewish books.

2 For all affairs of state used to be carried out by means of decrees and with the most pains-taking accuracy by these Egyptian kings, and nothing was done in a slipshod or haphazard fashion.

3 And so I have inserted copies of the memorial and the letters, the number of the presents sent and the nature of each, since every one of them excelled in magnificence and technical skill.

4 The following is a copy of the memorial. The Memory of Demetrius to the great king. 'Since you have given me instructions O king, that the books which are needed to complete your library should be collected together, and that those which are defective should be repaired, I have devoted myself with the utmost care to the fulfilment of your wishes, and I now have the following proposal to lay before you.

5 The books of the law of the Jews (with some few others) are absent from the library.

6 They are written in the Hebrew characters and language and have been carelessly interpreted, and do not represent the original text as I am informed by those who know; for they have never had a king's care to protect them.

7 It is necessary that these should be made accurate for your library since the law which they contain, inasmuch as it is of divine origin, is full of wisdom and free from all blemish.

8 For this reason literary men and poets and the mass of historical writers have held aloof from referring to these books and the men who have lived and are living in accordance with them, because their conception of life is so sacred and religious, as Hecataeus of Abdera says.

9 If it please you, O king, a letter shall be written to the High Priest in Jerusalem, asking him to send six elders out of every tribe--men who have lived the noblest life and are most skilled in their law--that we may find out the points in which the majority of them are in agreement, and so having obtained an accurate translation may place it in a conspicuous place in a manner worthy of the work itself and your purpose.

10 May continual prosperity be yours!'

11 When this memorial had been presented, the king ordered a letter to be written to Eleazar on the matter, giving also an account of the emancipation of the Jewish captives.

12 And he gave fifty talents weight of gold and seventy talents of silver and a large quantity of precious stones to make bowls and vials and a table and libation cups.

13 He also gave orders to those who had the custody of his coffers to allow the artificers to make a selection of any materials they might require for the purpose, and that a hundred talents in money should be sent to provide sacrifices for the temple and for other needs.

14 I shall give you a full account of the workmanship after I have set before you copies of the letters. The letter of the king ran as follows:

15 'King Ptolemy sends greeting and salutation to the High Priest Eleazar.

16 Since there are many Jews settled in our realm who were carried off from Jerusalem by the Persians at the time of their power and many more who came with my father into Egypt as captives--large numbers of these he placed in the army and paid them higher wages than usual, and when he had proved the loyalty of their leaders he built fortresses and placed them in their charge that the native Egyptians might be intimidated by them.

17 And I, when I ascended the throne, adopted a kindly attitude towards all my subjects, and more particularly to those who were citizens of yours--I have set at liberty more than a hundred thousand captives, paying their owners the appropriate market price for them, and if ever evil has been done to your people through the passions of the mob, I have made them reparation.

18 The motive which prompted my action has been the desire to act piously and render unto the supreme God a thank-offering for maintaining my kingdom in peace and great glory in all the world.

19 Moreover those of your people who were in the prime of life I have drafted into my army, and those who were fit to be attached to my person and worthy of the confidence of the court, I have established in official positions.

20 Now since I am anxious to show my gratitude to these men and to the Jews throughout the world and to the generations yet to come, I have determined that your law shall be translated from the Hebrew tongue which is in use amongst you into the Greek language, that these books may be added to the other royal books in my library.

21 It will be a kindness on your part and a reward for my zeal if you will select six elders from each of your tribes, men of noble life and skilled in your law and able to interpret it, that in questions of dispute we may be able to discover the verdict in which the majority agree, for the investigation is of the highest possible importance.

22 I hope to win great renown by the accomplishment of this work.

23 I have sent Andreas, the chief of my bodyguard and Aristeas--men whom I hold in high esteem--to lay the matter before you and present you with a hundred talents of silver, the first-fruits of my offering for the temple and the sacrifices and other religious rites.

24 If you will write to me concerning your wishes in these matters, you will confer a great favour upon me and afford me a new pledge of friendship, for all your wishes shall be carried out as speedily as possible. Farewell!

25 To this letter Eleazar replied appropriately as follows: 'Eleazar the High Priest sends greetings to King Ptolemy his true friend.

26 My highest wishes are for your welfare and the welfare of Queen Arsinoe, your sister, and your children.

27 I also am well. I have received your letter and am greatly rejoiced by your purpose and your noble counsel.

28 I summoned together the whole people and read it to them that they might know of your devotion to our God.

29 I showed them too the cups which you sent, twenty of gold and thirty of silver, the five bowls and the table of dedication, and the hundred talents of silver for the offering of the sacrifices and providing the things of which the temple stands in need.

30 These gifts were brought to me by Andreas, one of your most honoured servants, and by Aristeas, both good men and true, distinguished by their learning, and worthy in every way to be the representatives of your high principles and righteous purposes.

31 These men imparted to me your message and received from me an answer in agreement with your letter. I will consent to everything which is advantageous to you even though your request is very unusual.

32 For you have bestowed upon our citizens great and never to be forgotten benefits in many ways.

33 Immediately therefore I offered sacrifices on behalf of you, your sister, your children, and your friends, and all the people prayed that your plans might prosper continually, and that Almighty God might preserve your kingdom in peace with honour, and that the translation of the holy law might prove advantageous to you and be carried out successfully.

34 In the presence of all the people I selected six elders from each tribe, good men and true, and I have sent them to you with a copy of our law.

35 It will be a kindness, O righteous king, if you will give instruction that as soon as the translation of the law is completed, the men shall be restored again to us in safety. Farewell!

36 The following are the names of the elders: Of the first tribe, Joseph, Ezekiah, Zachariah, John, Ezekiah, Elisha.

37 Of the second tribe, Judas, Simon, Samuel, Adaeus, Mattathias, Eschlemias.

38 Of the third tribe, Nehemia, Joseph, Theodosius, Baseas, Ornias, Dakis.

39 Of the fourth tribe, Jonathan, Abraeus, Elisha, Ananias, Chabrias. . . .

40 Of the fifth tribe, Isaac, Jacob, Jesus, Sabbataeus, Simon, Levi.

41 Of the sixth tribe, Judas, Joseph, Simon, Zacharias, Samuel, Selemas.

42 Of the seventh tribe, Sabbataeus, Zedekiah, Jacob, Isaac, Jesias, Natthaeus.

43 Of the eighth tribe, Theodosius, Jason, Jesus, Theodotus, John, Jonathan.

44 Of the ninth tribe, Theophilus, Abraham, Arsamos, Jason, Endemias, Daniel.

45 Of the tenth tribe, Jeremiah, Eleazar, Zachariah, Baneas, Elisha, Dathaeus.

46 Of the eleventh tribe, Samuel, Joseph, Judas, Jonathes, Chabu, Dositheus.

47 Of the twelfth tribe, Isaelus, John, Theodosius, Arsamos, Abietes, Ezekiel.

48 They were seventy-two in all. Such was the answer which Eleazar and his friends gave to the king's letter.

ARISTEAS CHAPTER 3

In which is described the most exquisite and beautiful table ever produced. Also other rich gifts, Interesting in the light of recent excavations in Egypt.

1 I WILL now Proceed to redeem my promise and give a description of the works of art.

2 They were wrought with exceptional skill, for the king spared no expense and personally superintended the workmen individually.

3 They could not therefore scamp any part of the work or finish it off negligently.

4 First of all I will give you a description of the table.

5 The king was anxious that this piece of work should be of exceptionally large dimensions, and he caused enquiries to be made of the Jews in the locality with regard to the size of the table already in the temple at Jerusalem.

6 And when they described the measurements, he proceeded to ask whether he might make a larger structure.

7 And some of the priests and the other Jews replied that there was nothing to prevent him.

8 And he said that he was anxious to make it five times the size, but he hesitated lest it should prove useless for the temple services.

9 He was desirous that his gift should not merely be stationed in the temple, for it would afford him much greater pleasure if the men whose duty it was to offer the fitting sacrifices were able to do so appropriately on the table which he had made.

10 He did not suppose that it was owing to lack of gold that the former table had been made of small size, but there seems to have been, he said, some reason why it was made of--this dimension.

11 For had the order been given, there would have been no lack of means.

12 Wherefore we must not transgress or go beyond the proper measure.

13 At the same time he ordered them to press into service all the manifold forms of art, for he was a man of the most lofty conceptions and nature had endowed him with a keen imagination which enabled him to picture the appearance which would be presented by the finished work.

14 He gave orders too, that where there were no instructions laid down in the Jewish Scriptures, everything should be made as beautiful as possible.--

15 When such instructions were laid down, they were to be carried out to the letter.

16 They made the table two cubits (A cubit is 18 inches = 45.72 cm.) long, one cubit broad, one and a half cubits high fashioning it of pure solid gold.

17 What I am describing was not thin gold laid over another foundation, but the whole structure was of massive gold welded together.

18 And they made a border of a hand's breadth round about it.

19 And there was a wreath of wave-work, engraved in relief in the form of ropes marvellously wrought on its three sides.

20 For it was triangular in shape and the style of the work was exactly the same on each of the sides, so that whichever side they were turned, they presented the same appearance.

21 Of the two sides under the border, the one which sloped down to the table was a very beautiful piece of work, but it was the outer side which attracted the gaze of the spectator.

22 Now the upper edge of the two sides, being elevated, was sharp since, as we have said, the rim was three-sided, from whatever point of view one approached it.

23 And there were layers of precious stones on it in the midst of the embossed cord-work, and they were interwoven with one another by an inimitable artistic device.

24 For the sake of security they were all fixed by golden needles which were inserted in perforations in the stones.

25 At the sides they were clamped together by fastenings to hold them firm.

26 On the part of the border round the table which slanted upwards and met the eyes, there was wrought a pattern of eggs in precious stones, elaborately engraved by a continuous piece of fluted relief-work, closely connected together round the whole table.

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27 And under the stones which had been arranged to represent eggs the artists made a crown containing all kinds of fruits, having at its top clusters of grapes and ears of corn, dates also and apples, and pomegranates and the like, conspicuously arranged.

28 These fruits were wrought out of precious stones, of the same colour as the fruits themselves and they fastened them edgeways round all the sides of the table with a band of gold.

29 And after the crown of fruit had been put on, underneath there was inserted another pattern of eggs in precious stones, and other fluting and embossed work, that both sides of the table might be used, according to the wishes of the owners and for this reason the wave-work and the border were extended down to the feet of the table.

30 They made and fastened under the whole width of the table a massive plate four fingers thick, that the feet might be inserted into it, and clamped fast with linch-pins which fitted into sockets under the border, so that which ever side of the table people preferred, might be used.

31 Thus it became manifestly clear that the work was intended to be used either way.

32 On the table itself they engraved a 'maeander,' having precious stones standing out in the middle of it, rubies and emeralds and an onyx too and many other kinds of stones which excel in beauty.

33 And next to the 'maeander' there was placed a wonderful piece of network, which made the centre of the table appear like a rhomboid in shape, and on it a crystal and amber, as it is called, had been wrought, which produced an incomparable impression on the beholders.

34 They made the feet of the table with heads like lilies, so that they seemed to be like lilies bending down beneath the table, and the parts which were visible represented leaves which stood upright.

35 The basis of the foot on the ground consisted of a ruby and measured a hand's breadth high all round.

36 It had the appearance of a shoe and was eight fingers broad.

37 Upon it the whole expanse of the foot rested.

38 And they made the foot appear like ivy growing out of the stone, interwoven with akanthus and surrounded with a vine which encircled it with clusters of grapes, which were worked in stones, up to the top of the foot.

39 All the four feet were made in the same style, and everything was wrought and fitted so skilfully, and such remarkable skill and knowledge were expended upon making it true to nature, that when the air was stirred by a breath of wind, movement was imparted to the leaves, and everything was fashioned to correspond with the actual reality which it represented.

40 And they made the top of the table in three parts like a triptychon, and they were so fitted and dovetailed together with spigots along the whole breadth of the work, that the meeting of the joints could not be seen or even discovered.

41 The thickness of the table was not less than half a cubit, so that the whole work must have cost many talents.

42 For since the king did not wish to add to its size he expended on the details the same sum of money which would have been required if the table could have been of larger dimensions.

43 And everything was completed in accordance with his plan, in a most wonderful and remarkable way, with inimitable art and incomparable beauty.

44 Of the mixing bowls, two were wrought in gold, and from the base to the middle were engraved with relief work in the pattern of scales, and between the scales Precious stones were inserted with great artistic skill.

45 Then there was a 'maeander' a cubit in height, with its surface. wrought out of precious stones of many colours, displaying great artistic effort and beauty.

46 Upon this there was a mosaic, worked in the form of a rhombus, having a net-like appearance and reaching right up to the brim.

47 In the middle, small shields which were made of different precious stones, placed alternately, and varying in kind, not less than four fingers broad, enhanced the beauty of their appearance.

48 On the top of the brim there was an ornament of lilies in bloom, and intertwining clusters of grapes were engraven all round.

49 Such then was the construction of the golden bowls, and they held more than two firkins each.

50 The silver bowls had a smooth surface, and were wonderfully made as if they were intended for looking-glasses, so that everything which was brought near to them was reflected even more clearly than in mirrors.

51 But it is impossible to describe the real impression which these works of art produced upon the mind when they were finished.

52 For, when these vessels had been completed and placed side by side, first a silver bowl and then a golden, then another silver, and then another golden, the appearance they presented is altogether indescribable, and those who came to see them were not able to tear themselves from the brilliant sight and entrancing spectacle.

53 The impressions produced by the spectacle were various in kind.

54 When men looked at the golden vessels, and their minds made a complete survey of each detail of workmanship, their souls were thrilled with wonder.

55 Again when a man wished to direct his gaze to the silver vessels, as they stood before him, everything seemed to flash with light round about the place where he was standing, and afforded a still greater delight to the onlookers.

56 So that it is really impossible to describe the artistic beauty of the works.

57 The golden vials they engraved in the centre with vine wreaths.

58 And about the rims they wove a wreath of ivy and myrtle and olive in relief work and inserted precious stones in it.

59 The other parts of the relief work they wrought in different patterns, since they made it a point of honour to complete everything in a way worthy of the majesty of the king.

60 In a word it may be said that neither in the king's treasury nor in any other, were there any works which equalled these in costliness or in artistic skill.

61 For the king spent no little thought upon them, for he loved to gain glory for the excellence of his designs.

62 For oftentimes he would neglect his official business, and spend his time with the artists in his anxiety that they should complete everything in a manner worthy of the place to which the gifts were to be sent.

63 So everything was carried out on a grand scale, in a manner worthy of the king who sent the gifts and of the high priest who was the ruler of the land.

64 There was no stint of precious stones, for not less than five thousand were used and they were all of large size.

65 The most exceptional artistic skill was employed, so that the cost of the stones and the workmanship was five times as much as that of the gold.

ARISTEAS CHAPTER 4

Vivid details of the sacrifice. The unerring accuracy of the priests is notable. A savage orgy. A description of the temple and its water-works.

1 I HAVE given you this description of the presents because I thought it was necessary.

2 The next point in the narrative is an account of our journey to Eleazar, but I will first of all give you a description of the whole country.

3 When we arrived in the land of the Jews we saw the city situated in the middle of the whole of Judea on the top of a mountain of considerable altitude.

4 On the summit the temple had been built in all its splendour.

5 It was surrounded by three walls more than seventy cubits high and in length and breadth corresponding to the structure of the edifice.

6 All the buildings were characterised by a magnificence and costliness quite unprecedented.

7 It was obvious that no expense had been spared on the door and the fastenings, which connected it with the door-posts, and the stability of the lintel.

8 The style of the curtain too was thoroughly in proportion to that of the entrance.

9 Its fabric owing to the draught of wind was in perpetual motion, and as this motion was communicated from the bottom and the curtain bulged out to its highest extent, it afforded a pleasant spectacle from which a man could scarcely tear himself away.

10 The construction of the altar was in keeping with the place itself and with the burnt offerings which were consumed by fire upon it, and the approach to it was on a similar scale.

11 There was a gradual slope up to it, conveniently arranged for the purpose of decency, and the ministering priests were robed in linen garments, down to their ankles.

12 The Temple faces the east and its back is toward the west.

13 The whole of the floor is paved with stones and slopes down to the appointed places, that water may be conveyed to wash away the blood from the sacrifices, for many thousand beasts are sacrificed there on the feast days.

14 And there is an inexhaustible supply of water, because an abundant natural spring gushes up from within the temple area.

15 There are moreover wonderful and indescribable cisterns underground, as they pointed out to me, at a distance of five furlongs all round the site of the temple, and each of them has countless pipes so that the different streams converge together.

16 And all these were fastened with lead at the bottom and at the sidewalls, and over them a great quantity of plaster had been spread, and every part of the work had been most carefully carried out.

17 There are many openings for water at the base of the altar which are invisible to all except to those who are engaged in the ministration, so that all the blood of the sacrifices which is collected in great quantities is washed away in the twinkling of an eye.

18 Such is my opinion with regard to the character of the reservoirs and I will now show you how it was confirmed.

19 They led me more than four furlongs outside the city and bade me peer down towards a certain spot and listen to the noise that was made by the meeting of the waters, so that the great size of the reservoirs became manifest to me, as has already been pointed out.

20 The ministration of the priests is in every way unsurpassed both for its physical endurance and for its orderly and silent service.

21 For they all work spontaneously, though it entails much painful exertion, and each one has a special task allotted to him.

22 The service is carried on without interruption--some provide the wood, others the oil, others the fine wheat flour, others the spices; others again bring the pieces of flesh for the burnt offering, exhibiting a wonderful, degree of strength.

23 For they take up with both hands the limbs of a calf, each of them weighing more than two talents, and throw them with each hand in a wonderful way on to the high place of the altar and never miss placing them on the proper spot.

24 In the same way the pieces of the sheep and also of the goats are wonderful both for their weight and their fatness.

25 For those, whose business it is, always select the beasts which are without blemish and specially fat, and thus the sacrifice which I have described, is carried out.

26 There is a special place set apart for them to rest in, where those who are relieved from duty sit.

27 When this takes place, those who have already rested and are ready to resume their duties rise up spontaneously since there is no one to give orders with regard to the arrangement of the sacrifices.

28 The most complete silence reigns so that one might imagine that there was not a single person present, though there are actually seven hundred men engaged in the work, besides the vast number of those who are occupied in bringing up the sacrifices.

29 Everything is carried out with reverence and in a way worthy of the great God.

30 We were greatly astonished, when we saw Eleazar engaged in the ministration, at the mode of his dress, and the majesty of his appearance, which was revealed in the robe which he wore and the precious stones upon his person.

31 There were golden bells upon the garment which reached down to his feet, giving forth a peculiar kind of melody, and on both sides of them there were pomegranates with variegated flowers of a wonderful hue.

32 He was girded with a girdle of conspicuous beauty, woven in the most beautiful colours.

33 On his breast he wore the oracle of God, as it is called, on which twelve stones, of different kinds, were inset, fastened together with gold, containing the names of the leaders of the tribes, according to their original order, each one flashing forth in an indescribable way its own particular colour.

34 On his head he wore a tiara, as it is called, and upon this in the middle of his forehead an inimitable turban, the royal diadem full of glory with the name of God inscribed in sacred letters on a plate of gold . . . having been judged worthy to wear these emblems in the ministrations.

35 Their appearance created such awe and confusion of mind as to make one feel that one had come into the presence of a man who belonged to a different world.

36 I am convinced that any one who takes part in the spectacle which I have described will he filled with astonishment and indescribable wonder and be profoundly affected in his mind at the thought of the sanctity which is attached to each detail of the service.

37 But in order that we might gain complete information, we ascended to the summit of the neighbouring citadel and looked around us.

38 It is situated in a very lofty spot, and is fortified with many towers, which have been built up to the very top, of immense stones, with the object, as we were informed, of guarding the temple precincts, so that if there were an attack, or an insurrection or an onslaught of the enemy, no one would be able to force an entrance within the walls that surround the temple.

39 On the towers of the citadel engines of war were placed and different kinds of machines, and the position was much higher than the circle of walls which I have mentioned.

40 The towers were guarded too by most trusty men who had given the utmost proof of their loyalty to their country.

41 these men were never allowed to leave the citadel, except on feast days and then only in detachments, nor did they permit any stranger to enter it.

42 They were also very careful when any command came from the chief officer to admit any visitors to inspect the place, as our own experience taught us.

43 They were very reluctant to admit us--though we were but two unarmed men--to view the offering of the sacrifices.

44 And they asserted that they were bound by an oath when the trust was committed to them, for they had all sworn and

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were bound to carry out the oath sacredly to the letter, that though they were five hundred in number they would not permit more than five men to enter at one time.

45 The citadel was the special protection of the temple and its founder had fortified it so strongly that it might efficiently protect it.

ARISTEAS CHAPTER 5

A description of the city and the countryside. Compare Verse 11 with conditions of today. Verses 89-41 reveal how the ancients estimate a scholar and a gentleman.

1 THE size of the city is of moderate dimensions.

2 It is about forty furlongs (A furlong is 1/8 mile = 220 yards = 201.04 m) in circumference, as far as one could conjecture.

3 It has its towers arranged in the shape of a theatre, with thoroughfares leading between them now the crossroads of the lower towers are visible but those of the upper towers are more frequented.

4 For the ground ascends, since the city is built upon a mountain.

5 There are steps too which lead up to the crossroads, and some people are always going up, and others down and they keep as far apart from each other as possible on the road because of those who are bound by the rules of purity, lest they should touch anything which is unlawful.

6 It was not without reason that the original founders of the city built it in due proportions, for they possessed clear insight with regard to what was required.

7 For the country is extensive and beautiful.

8 Some parts of it are level, especially the districts which belong to Samaria, as it is called, and which border on the land of the Idumeans, other parts are mountainous, especially those which are contiguous to the land of Judea.

9 The people therefore are bound to devote themselves to agriculture and the cultivation of the soil that by this means they may have a plentiful supply of crops.

10 In this way cultivation of every kind is carried on and an abundant harvest reaped in the whole of the aforesaid land.

11 The cities which are large and enjoy a corresponding prosperity are well-populated, but they neglect the country districts, since all men are inclined to a life of enjoyment, for every one has a natural tendency towards the pursuit of pleasure.

12 The same thing happened in Alexandria, which excels all cities in size and prosperity.

13 Country people by migrating from the rural districts and settling in the city brought agriculture into disrepute: and so to prevent them from settling in the city, the king issued orders that they should not stay in it for more than twenty days.

14 And in the same way he gave the judges written instructions, that if it was necessary to issue a summons against any one who lived in the country, the case must be settled within five days.

15 And since he considered the matter one of great importance, he appointed also legal officers for every district with their assistants, that the farmers and their advocates might not in the interests of business empty the granaries of the city, I mean, of the produce of husbandry.

16 I have permitted this digression because it was Eleazar who pointed out with great clearness the points which have been mentioned.

17 For great is the energy which they expend on the tillage of the soil.

18 For the land is thickly planted with multitudes of olive trees, with crops of corn and pulse, with vines too, and there is abundance of honey.

19 Other kinds of fruit trees and dates do not count compared with these.

20 There are cattle of all kinds in great quantities and a rich pasturage for them.

21 Wherefore they rightly recognise that the country districts need a large population, and the relations between the city and the villages are properly regulated.

22 A great quantity of spices and precious stones and gold is brought into the country by the Arabs.

23 For the country is well adapted not only for agriculture but also for commerce, and the city is rich in the arts and lacks none of the merchandise which is brought across the sea.

24 It possesses too suitable and commodious harbours at Askalon, Joppa, and Gaza, as well m at Ptolemais which was founded by the King and holds a central position compared with the other places named, being not far distant from any of them.

25 The country produces everything in abundance, since it is well watered in all directions and well protected from storms.

26 The river Jordan, as it is called, which never runs dry, flows through the land.

27 Originally the country contained not less than 60 million acres--though afterwards the neighbouring peoples made incursions against it--and 600,000 men were settled upon it in farms of a hundred acres each.

28 The river like the Nile rises in harvest-time and irrigates a large portion of the land.

29 Near the district belonging to the people of Ptolemais it issues into another river and this flows out into the sea.

30 Other mountain torrents, as they are called, flow down into the plain and encompass the parts about Gaza and the district of Ashdod.

31 The country is encircled by a natural fence and is very difficult to attack and cannot be assailed by large forces, owing to the narrow passes, with theft overhanging precipices and deep ravines, and the rugged character of the mountainous regions which surround all the land.

32 We were told that from the neighbouring mountains of Arabia copper and iron were formerly obtained.

33 This was stopped, however, at the time of the Persian rule, since the authorities of the time spread abroad a false report that the working of the mines was useless and expensive in order to prevent their country from being destroyed by the mining in these districts and possibly taken away from them owing to the Persian rule, since by the assistance of this false report they found an excuse for entering the district.

34 I have now, my dear brother Philocrates, given you all the essential information upon this subject in brief form.

35 I shall describe the work of translation in the sequel.

36 The High Priest selected men of the finest character and the highest culture, such as one would expect from their noble parentage.

37 They were men who had not only acquired proficiency in Jewish literature but had studied most carefully that of the Greeks as well.

38 They were specially qualified therefore for serving on embassies and they undertook this duty whenever it was necessary.

39 They possessed a great facility for conferences and the discussion of problems connected with the law.

40 They espoused the middle course--and this is always the best course to pursue.

41 They abjured the rough and uncouth manner, but they were altogether above pride and never assumed an air of superiority over others, and in conversation they were ready to listen and give an appropriate answer to every question.

42 And all of them carefully observed this rule and were anxious above everything else to excel each other in its observance and they were all of them worthy of their leader and of his virtue.

43 And one could observe how they loved Eleazar by their unwillingness to be torn away from him and how he loved them.

44 Far besides the letter which he wrote to the king concerning their safe return, he also earnestly besought Andreas to work for the same end and urged me, too, to assist to the best of my ability.

45 And although we promised to give our best attention to the matter, he said that he was still greatly distressed, for he knew that the king out of the goodness of his nature considered it his highest privilege, whenever he heard of a man who was superior to his fellows in culture and wisdom, to summon him to his court.

46 For I have heard of a fine saying of his to the effect that by securing just and prudent men about his person he would secure the greatest protection for his kingdom, since such friends would unreservedly give him the most beneficial advice.

47 And the men who were now being sent to him by Eleazar undoubtedly possessed these qualities.

48 And he frequently asserted upon oath that he would never let the men go if it were merely some private interest of his own that constituted the impelling motive-but it was for the common advantage of all the citizens that he was sending them.

49 For, he explained, the good life consists in the keeping of the enactments of the law, and this end is achieved much more by hearing than by reading.

50 From this and other similar statements it was clear what his feelings towards them were.

ARISTEAS CHAPTER 6

Explanations of the customs of the people showing what is meant by the word, "Unclean." The essence and origin of the "God-Belief." Verses 48-44 give a picturesque description of the Divinity of physiology.

1 IT is worth while to mention briefly the information which he gave in reply to our questions.

2 For I suppose that most people feel a curiosity with regard to some of the enactments in the law, especially those about meats and drinks and animals recognised as unclean.

3 When we asked why, since there is but one form of creation, some animals are regarded as unclean for eating, and others unclean even to the touch (for though the law is scrupulous on most points, it is specially scrupulous on such matters as these) he began his reply as follows:

4 'You observe,' he said, 'what an effect our modes of life and our associations produce upon us; by associating with the bad, men catch their depravities and become miserable throughout their life; but if they live with the wise and prudent, they find the means of escaping from ignorance and amending their lives.

5 Our lawgiver first of all laid down the principles of piety and righteousness and inculcated them point by point, not merely by prohibitions but by the use of examples as well, demonstrating the injurious effects of sin and the punishments inflicted by God upon the guilty.

6 For he proved first of all that there is only one God and that his power is manifested throughout the universe, since every place is filled with his sovereignty and none of the things which are wrought in secret by men upon the earth escapes His knowledge.

7 For all that a man does and all that is to come to pass in the future are manifest to Him.

8 Working out these truths carefully and having made them plain, he showed that even if a man should think of doing evil--to say nothing of actually effecting it,--he would not escape detection, for he made it clear that the power of God pervaded the whole of the law.

9 Beginning from his starting point, he went on to show that all mankind except ourselves believe in the existence of many gods, though they themselves are much more powerful than the beings whom they vainly worship.

10 For when they have made statues of stone and wood, they say that they are the images of those who have invented something useful for life and they worship them, though they have clear proof that they possess no feeling.

11 For it would be utterly foolish to suppose that any one became a god in virtue of his inventions.

12 For the inventors simply took certain objects already created and by combining them together, showed that they possessed a fresh utility: they did not themselves create the substance of the thing, and so it is a vain and foolish thing for people to make gods of men like themselves.

13 For in our times there are many who are much more inventive and much more learned than the men of former days who have been deified, and yet they would never come to worship them.

14 The makers and authors of these myths think that they are the wisest of the Greeks.

15 Why need we speak of other infatuated people, Egyptians and the like, who place their reliance upon wild beasts and most kinds of creeping things and cattle, and worship them, and offer sacrifices to them both while living and when dead?

16 Now our Lawgiver being a wise man and specially endowed by God to understand all things, took a comprehensive view of each particular detail, and fenced us round with impregnable ramparts and walls of iron, that we might not mingle at all with any of the other nations, but remain pure in body and soul, free from all vain imaginations, worshipping the one Almighty God above the whole creation.

17 Hence the leading Egyptian priests having looked carefully into many matters, and being cognizant with our affairs, call us "men of God."

18 This is a title which does not belong to the rest of mankind but only to those who worship the true God.

19 The rest are men not of God but of meats and drinks and clothing.

20 For their whole disposition leads them to find solace in these things are reckoned of no account, but throughout their things.

21 Among our people such whole life their main consideration is the sovereignty of God.

22 Therefore lest we should be corrupted by any abomination, or our lives be perverted by evil communications, he hedged us round on all sides by rules of purity, affecting alike what we eat, or drink, or touch, or hear, or see.

23 For though, speaking generally, all things are alike in their natural constitution, since they are all governed by one and the same power, yet there is a deep reason in each individual case why we abstain from the use of certain things and enjoy the common use of others.

24 For the sake of illustration I will run over one or two points and explain them to you.

25 For you must not fall into the degrading idea that it was out of regard to mice and weasels and other such things that Moses drew up his laws with such exceeding care.

26 All these ordinances were made for the sake of righteousness to aid the quest for virtue and the perfecting of character.

27 For all the birds that we use are tame and distinguished by their cleanliness, feeding on various kinds of grain and pulse, such as for instance pigeons, turtle-doves, locusts, partridges, geese also, and all other birds of this class.

28 But the birds which are forbidden you will find to be wild and carnivorous, tyrannising over the others by the strength which they possess, and cruelly obtaining food by preying of the tame birds enumerated above.

29 And not only so, but they seize lambs and kids, and injure human beings too, whether dead or alive, and so by naming them unclean, he gave a sign by means of them that those, for whom the

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legislation was ordained, must practise righteousness in their hearts and not tyrannise over any one in reliance upon their own strength nor rob them of anything, but steer their course of life in accordance with justice, just as the tame birds, already mentioned, consume the different kinds of pulse that grow upon the earth and do not tyrannise to the destruction of their own kindred.

30 Our legislator taught us therefore that it is by such methods as these that indications are given to the wise, that they must be just and effect nothing by violence, and refrain from tyrannising over others in reliance upon their own strength.

31 For since it is considered unseemly even to touch such unclean animals, as have been mentioned, on account of their particular habits, ought we not to take every precaution lest our own characters should be destroyed to the same extent?

32 Wherefore all the rules which he has laid down with regard to what is permitted in the case of these birds and other animals, he has enacted with the object of teaching us a moral lesson.

33 For the division of the hoof and the separation of the claws are intended to teach us that we must discriminate between our individual actions with a view to the practice of virtue.

34 For the strength of our whole body and its activity depend upon our shoulders and limbs.

35 Therefore he compels us to recognise that we must perform all our actions with discrimination according to the standard of righteousness,--more especially because we have been distinctly separated from the rest of mankind.

36 For most other men defile themselves by promiscuous intercourse, thereby working great iniquity, and whole countries and cities pride themselves upon such vices.

37 For they not only have intercourse with men but they defile their own mothers and even their daughters.

38 But we have been kept separate from such sins.

39 And the people who have been separated in the aforementioned way are also characterised by the Lawgiver as possessing the gift of memory.

40 For all animals "which are cloven-footed and chew the cud" represent to the initiated the symbol of memory.

41 For the act of chewing the cud is nothing else than the reminiscence of life and existence.

42 For life is wont to be sustained by means of food, wherefor he exhorts us in the Scripture also in these words: "Thou shalt surely remember the Lord that wrought in thee those great and wonderful things."

43 For when they are properly conceived, they are manifestly great and glorious; first the construction of the body and the disposition of the food and the separation of each individual limb and, for more, the organisation of the senses, the operation and invisible movement of the mind, the rapidity of its particular actions and its discovery of the arts, display an infinite resourcefulness.

44 Wherefore he exhorts us to remember that the aforesaid parts are kept together by the divine power with consummate skill.

45 For he has marked out every time and place that we may continually remember the God who rules and preserves us.

46 For in the matter of meats and drinks he bids us first of all offer part as a sacrifice and then forthwith enjoy our meal.

47 Moreover, upon our garments he has given us a symbol of remembrance, and in like manner he has ordered us to put the divine oracles upon our gates and doors as a remembrance of God.

48 And upon our hands, too, he expressly orders the symbol to be fastened, clearly showing that we ought to perform every act in righteousness, remembering our own creation, and above all the fear of God.

49 He bids men also, when lying down to sleep and rising tip again, to meditate upon the works of God, not only in word, but by observing distinctly the change and impression produced upon them, when they are going to sleep, and also their waking, how divine and incomprehensible the change from one of these states to the other is.

50 The excellency of the analogy in regard to discrimination and memory has now been pointed out to you, according to our interpretation of "the cloven hoof and the chewing of the cud."

51 For our laws have not been drawn up at random or in accordance with the first casual thought that occurred to the mind, but with a view to truth and the indication of right reason.

52 For by means of the directions which he gives with regard to meats and drinks and particular cases of touching, he bids us neither to do nor listen to anything thoughtlessly nor to resort to injustice by the abuse of the power of reason.

53 In the case of the wild animals, too, the same principle may be discovered.

54 For the character of the weasel and of mice and such animals as these, which are expressly mentioned, is destructive.

55 Mice defile and damage everything, not only for their own food but even to the extent of rendering absolutely useless to man whatever it falls in their way to damage.

56 The weasel class, too, is peculiar: for besides what has been said, it has a characteristic which is defiling: It conceives through the ears and brings forth through the mouth.

57 And it is for this reason that a like practice is declared unclean in men.

58 For by embodying in speech all that they receive through the ears, they involve others in evils and work no ordinary impurity, being themselves altogether defiled by the pollution of impiety.

59 And your king, as we are informed, does quite right in destroying such men.'

60 Then I said 'I suppose you mean the informers, for he constantly exposes them to tortures and to painful forms of death.'

61 'Yes,' he replied, 'these are the men I mean; for to watch for men's destruction is an unholy thing.

62 And our law forbids us to injure any one either by word or deed.

63 My brief account of these matters ought to have convinced you, that all our regulations have been drawn up with a view to righteousness, and that nothing has been enacted in the Scripture thoughtlessly or without due reason, but its purpose is to enable us throughout our whole life and in all our actions to practise righteousness before all men, being mindful of Almighty God.

64 And so concerning meats and things unclean, creeping things, and wild beasts, the whole system aims at righteousness and righteous relationships between man and man.'

65 He seemed to me to have made a good defence on all the points; for in reference also to the calves and rams and goats which are offered, he said that it was necessary to take them from the herds and flocks, and sacrifice tame animals and offer nothing wild, that the offerers of the sacrifices might understand the symbolic meaning of the lawgiver and not be under the influence of an arrogant self-consciousness.

66 For he, who offers a sacrifice, makes an offering also of his own soul in all its moods.

67 I think that these particulars with regard to our discussion are worth narrating, and on account of the sanctity and natural meaning of the law, I have been induced to explain them to you clearly, Philocrates, because of your own devotion to learning.

ARISTEAS CHAPTER 7

The arrival of the envoys with the manuscript of the precious book and gifts. Preparations for a royal banquet. The host immediately upon being seated at table entertains his guests with questions and answers. Some sage comments on sociology.

1 AND Eleazar, after offering the sacrifice, and selecting the envoys, and preparing many gifts for the king, despatched us on our journey in great security.

2 And when we reached Alexandria, the king was at once informed of our arrival.

3 On our admission to the palace, Andreas and I warmly greeted the king and handed over to him the letter written by Eleazar.

4 The king was very anxious to meet the envoys, and gave orders that all the other officials should be dismissed and the envoys summoned to his presence at once.

5 Now this excited general surprise, for it is customary for those who come to seek an audience with the king on matters of importance to be admitted to his presence on the fifth day, while envoys from kings or very important cities with difficulty secure admission to the Court in thirty days--but these men he counted worthy of greater honour, since he held their master in such high esteem, and so he immediately dismissed those whose presence he regarded as superfluous and continued walking about until they came in and he was able to welcome them.

6 When they entered with the gifts which had been sent with them and the valuable parchments, on which the law was inscribed in gold in Jewish characters, for the parchment was wonderfully prepared and the connexion between the pages had been so effected as to be invisible, the king as soon as he saw them began to ask them about the books.

7 And when they had taken the rolls out of their coverings and unfolded the pages, the king stood still for a long time and then making obeisance about seven times, he said:

8 'I thank you, my friends, and I thank him that sent you still more, and most of all God, whose oracles these are.'

9 And when all, the envoys and the others who were present as well, shouted out at one time and with one voice: 'God save the King!' he burst into tears of joy.

10 For his exaltation of soul and the sense of the overwhelming honour which had been paid him compelled him to weep over his good fortune.

11 He commanded them to put the rolls back in their places and then after saluting the men, said: 'It was right, men of God, that I should first of all pay my reverence to the books for the sake of which I summoned you here and then when I had done that, to extend the right-hand of friendship to you.

12 It was for this reason that I did this first.

13 I have enacted that this day, on which you arrived, shall be kept as a great day and it will be celebrated annually throughout my life time.

14 It happens also that it is the anniversary of my naval victory over Antigonus. Therefore I shall be glad to feast with you to-day.

15 Everything that you may have occasion to use,' he said, 'shall be prepared for you in a befitting manner and for me also with you.'

16 After they had expressed their delight, he gave orders that the best quarters near the citadel should be assigned to them, and that preparations should be made for the banquet.

17 And Nicanor summoned the lord high steward, Dorotheus, who was the special officer appointed to look after the Jews, and commanded him to make the necessary preparation for each one.

18 For this arrangement had been made by the king and it is an arrangement which you see maintained to-day.

19 For as many cities as have special customs in the matter of drinking, eating, and reclining, have special officers appointed to look after their requirements.

20 And whenever they come to visit the kings, preparations are made in accordance with their own customs, in order that there may be no discomfort to disturb the enjoyment of their visit.

21 The. same precaution was taken in the case of the Jewish envoys.

22 Now Dorotheus who was the patron appointed to look after Jewish guests was a very conscientious man.

23 All the stores which were under his control and set apart for the reception of such guests, he brought out for the feast.

24 He arranged the seats in two rows in accordance with the king's instructions.

25 For he had ordered him to make half the men sit at his right hand and the rest behind him, in order that he might not withhold from them the highest possible honour.

26 When they had taken their seats he instructed Dorotheus to carry out everything in accordance with the customs which were in use amongst his Jewish guests.

27 Therefore he dispensed with the services of the sacred heralds and the sacrificing priests and the others who were accustomed to offer the prayers, and called upon one of our number, Eleazar, the oldest of the Jewish priests, to offer prayer instead.

28 And he rose up and made a remarkable prayer. 'May Almighty God enrich you, O king, with all the good things which He has made and may He grant you and your wife and your children and your comrades the continual possession of them as long as you live!'

29 At these words a loud and joyous applause broke out which lasted for a considerable time, and then they turned to the enjoyment of the banquet which had been prepared.

30 All the arrangements for service at table were carried out in accordance with the injunction of Dorotheus.

31 Among the attendants were the royal pages and others who held places of honour at the king's court.

32 Taking an opportunity afforded by a pause in the banquet the king asked the envoy who sat in the seat of honour (for they were arranged according to seniority), how he could keep his kingdom unimpaired to the end?

33 After pondering for a moment he replied, 'You could best establish its security if you were to imitate the unceasing benignity of God. For if you exhibit clemency and inflict mild punishments upon those who deserve them in accordance with their deserts, you will turn them from evil and lead them to repentance.'

34 The king praised the answer and then asked the next man, how he could do everything for the best in all his actions?

35 And he replied, 'If a man maintains a just bearing towards all, he will always act rightly on every occasion, remembering that every thought is known to God. If you take the fear of God as your starting-point, you will never miss the goal.'

36 The king complimented this man, too, upon his answer and asked another, how he could have friends like-minded with himself?

37 He replied, 'If they see you studying the interests of the multitudes over whom you rule; you will do well to observe how God bestows his benefits on the human race, providing for them health and food and--all other things in due season.'

38 After expressing his agreement with the reply, the king asked the next guest, how in giving audiences and passing judgements he could gain the praise even of those who failed to win their suit?

39 And he said, 'If you are fair in speech to all alike and never act insolently nor tyrannically in your treatment of offenders. And you will do this if you watch the method by which God acts. The petitions of the worthy are always fulfilled, while those who fail to obtain an answer to their prayers are informed by means of dreams or events of what was harmful in their requests and that God does not smite them according to their sins or the greatness of His strength, but acts with forbearance towards them.'

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40 The king praised the man warmly for his answer and asked the next in order, how he could be invincible in military affairs?

41 And he replied, 'If he did not trust entirely to his multitudes or his warlike forces, but called upon God continually to bring his enterprises to a successful issue, while he himself. discharged all his duties in the spirit of justice.'

42 Welcoming this answer, he asked another how he might become. an object of dread to his enemies.

43 And he replied, 'If while maintaining a vast supply of arms and forces he remembered that these things were powerless to achieve a permanent and conclusive result. For even God instils fear into the minds of men by granting reprieves and making merely a display of the greatness of his power.'

44 This man the king praised and then said to the next, 'What is the highest good in life?'

45 And he answered, 'To know that God is Lord of the Universe, and that in our finest achievements it is not we who attain success but God who by his power brings all things to fulfilment and leads us to the goal.'

46 The king exclaimed that the man had answered well and then asked the next how he could keep all his possessions intact and finally hand them down to his successors in the same condition?

47 And he answered, 'By praying constantly to God that you may be inspired with high motives in all your undertakings and by warning your descendants not to be dazzled by fame or wealth, for it is God who bestows all these gifts and men never by themselves win the supremacy.'

48 The king expressed his agreement with the answer and inquired of the next guest, how he could bear with equanimity whatever befell him?

49 And he said, 'If you have a firm grasp of the thought that all men are appointed by God to share the greatest evil as well as the greatest good, since it is impossible for one who is a man to be exempt from these. But God to whom we ought always to pray, inspires us with courage to endure.'

50 Delighted with the man's reply, the king said that all their answers had been good. 'I will put a question to one other,' he added, 'and then I will stop for the present: that we may turn our attention to the enjoyment of the feast and spend a pleasant time.'

51 Thereupon he asked the man, 'What is the true aim of courage?'

52 And he answered, 'If a right plan is carried out in the hour of danger in accordance with the original intention. For all things are accomplished by God to your advantage, O king, since your purpose is good.'

53 When all had signified by their applause their agreement with the answer, the king said to the philosophers (for not a few of them were present), 'It is my opinion that these men excel in virtue and possess extraordinary knowledge, since on the spur of the moment they have given fitting answers to these questions which I have put to them, and have all made God the starting-point of their words.'

54 And Menedemus, the philosopher of Eretria, said, 'True, O King--for since the universe is managed by providence and since we rightly perceive that man is the creation of God, it follows that all power and beauty of speech proceed from God.'

55 When the king had nodded his assent to this sentiment, the speaking ceased and they proceeded to enjoy themselves. When evening came on, the banquet ended.

ARISTEAS CHAPTER 8

More questions and answers. Note Verse 20 with its reference to flying through the air written in 150 B. C.

1 ON the following day they sat down to table again and continued the banquet according to the same arrangements.

2 When the king thought that a fitting opportunity had arrived to put inquiries to his guests, he proceeded to ask further questions of the men who sat next in order to those who had given answers on the previous day.

3 He began to open the conversation with the eleventh man, for there were ten who had been asked questions on the former occasion.

4 When silence was established, he asked how he could continue to be rich?

5 After a brief reflection, the man who had been asked the question replied--'If he did nothing unworthy of his position, never acted licentiously, never lavished expense on empty and vain pursuits, but by acts of benevolence made all his subjects well disposed towards himself. For it is God who is the author of all good things and Him man must needs obey.'

6 The king bestowed praise upon him and then asked another how he could maintain the truth?

7 In reply to the question he said, 'By recognizing that a lie brings great disgrace upon all men, and more especially upon kings. For since they have the power to do whatever they wish, why should they resort to lies? In addition to this you must always remember, O King, that God is a lover of the truth.

8 The king received the answer with great delight and looking at another said, 'What is the teaching of wisdom?'

9 And the other replied, 'As you wish that no evil should befall you, but to be a partaker of all good things, so you should act on the same principle towards your subjects and offenders, and you should mildly admonish the noble and good. For God draws all men to Himself by his benignity.'

10 The king praised him and asked the next in order how he could be the friend of men?

11 And he replied, 'By observing that the human race increases and is born with much trouble and great suffering: wherefore you must not lightly punish or inflict torments upon them, since you know that the life of men is made up of pains and penalties. For if you understood everything you would be filled with pity, for God also it pitiful!

12 The king received the answer with approbation and inquired of the next, 'What is the most essential qualification for ruling?'

13 'To keep oneself,' he answered, 'free from bribery and to practise sobriety during the greater part of one's life, to honour rightousness above all things, and to make friends of men of this type. For God, too, is a lover of justice!

13 Having signified his approval, the king said to another, 'What is the true mark of piety?'

14 And he replied, 'To perceive that God constantly works in the Universe and knows all things, and no man who acts unjustly and works wickedness can escape His notice. As God is the benefactor of the whole world, so you, too, must imitate Him and be void of offence!

15 The king signified his agreement and said to another, 'What is the essence of kingship?'

16 And he replied, 'To rule oneself well and not to be led astray by wealth or fame to immoderate or unseemly desires, this is the true way of ruling if you reason the matter well out. For all that you really need is yours, and God is free from need and benignant withal. Let your thoughts be such as become a man, and desire not many things but only such as are necessary for ruling!

17 The king praised him and asked another man, how his deliberations might be for the best?

18 And he replied, 'If he constantly set justice before him in everything and thought that injustice was equivalent to deprivation of life. For God always promises the highest blessings to the just!'

19 Having praised him, the king asked the next, how he could be free from disturbing thoughts in his sleep?

20 And he replied, 'You have asked me a. question which is very difficult to answer, for we cannot bring our true selves into play during the hours for sleep, but are held fast in these by imaginations that cannot be controlled by reason. For our souls possess the feeling that they actually see the things that enter into our consciousness during sleep. But we make a mistake if we suppose that we are actually sailing on the sea in boats or flying through the air or travelling to other regions or anything else of the kind. And yet we actually do imagine such things to be taking place.

21 So far as it is possible for me to decide, I have reached the following conclusion. You must in every possible way, O King, govern your words and actions by the rule of piety that you may have the consciousness that you are maintaining virtue and that you never choose to gratify yourself at the expense of reason and never by abusing your power do despite to righteousness.

22 For the mind mostly busies itself in sleep with the same things with, which it occupies itself when awake. And he who has all his thoughts and actions set towards the noblest ends establishes himself in righteousness both when he is awake and when he is asleep. Wherefore. you must be steadfast in the constant discipline of self.

23 The king bestowed praise on the man and said to another--'Since you are the tenth to answer, when you have spoken, we will devote ourselves to the banquet.' And then he put the question, how can I avoid doing anything unworthy of myself?

24 And he replied, 'Look always to your own fame and your own supreme position, that you may speak and think only such things as are consistent therewith, knowing that all your subjects think and talk about you. For you must not appear to be worse than the actors, who study carefully the rôle, which it is necessary for them to play, and shape all their actions in accordance with it. You are not acting a part, but are really a king, since God has bestowed upon you a royal authority in keeping with your character.'

25 When the king had applauded loud and long in the most, gracious way, the guests were urged to seek repose. So when the conversation ceased, they devoted themselves to the next course of the feast.

26 On the following day, the same arrangement was observed, and when the king found an opportunity of putting questions to the men, he questioned the first of those who had been left over for the next interrogation, What is the highest form of government?

27 And he replied, 'To rule oneself and not to be carried away by impulses. For all men possess a certain natural bent of mind. It is probable that most men have an inclination towards food and drink and pleasure, and kings a bent towards the acquisition of territory and great renown. But it is good that there should be moderation in all things.

28 What God gives, that you must take and keep, but never yearn for things that are beyond your reach.'

29 Pleased with these words, the king asked the next, how he could be free from envy?

30 And he after a brief pause replied, 'If you consider first of all that it is God who bestows on all kings glory and great wealth and no one is king by his own power. All men wish to share this glory but cannot, since it is the gift of God!

31 The king praised the man in a long speech and then asked another, how he could despise his enemies?

32 And he replied, 'if you show kindness to all men and win their friendship, you need fear no one. To be popular with all men is the best of good gifts to receive from God!

33 Having praised this answer the king ordered the next man to reply to the question, how he could maintain his great renown?

34 And he replied that 'If you are generous and large-hearted in bestowing kindness and acts of grace upon others, you will never lose your renown, but if you wish the aforesaid graces to continue yours, you must call upon God continually.'

35 The king expressed his approval and asked the next, To whom ought a man to show liberality?

36 And he replied, 'All men acknowledge that we ought to show liberality to those who are well disposed towards us, but I think that we ought to show the same keen spirit of generosity to those who are opposed to us that by this means we may win them over to the right and to what is advantageous to ourselves. But we must pray to God that this may be accomplished, for he rules the minds of all men.'

37 Having expressed his agreement with the answer, the king asked the sixth to reply to the question, to whom ought we to exhibit gratitude?

38 And he replied, 'To our parents continually, for God has given us a most important commandment with regard to the honour due to parents. In the next place He reckons the attitude of friend towards friend for He speaks of "a friend which is as thine own soul." You do well in trying to bring all men into friendship with yourself.'

39 The king spoke kindly to him and then asked the next, What is it that resembles beauty in value?

40 And he said, 'Piety, for it is the pre-eminent form of beauty, and its power lies in love, which is the gift of God. This you have already acquired and with it all the blessings of life.'

41 The king in the most gracious way applauded the answer and asked another, how, if he were to fail, he could regain his reputation again in the same degree?

42 And he said, 'It is not possible for you to fail, for you have sown in all men the seeds of gratitude which produce a harvest of goodwill, and this is mightier than the strongest weapons and guarantees the greatest security. But if any man does fail, he must never again do those things which caused his failure, but he must form friendships and act justly. For it is the gift of God to be able to do good actions and not the contrary.'

43 Delighted with these words, the king asked another, how he could be free from grief?

44 And he replied, 'If he never injured any one, but did good to everybody and followed the pathway of righteousness, for its fruits bring freedom from grief. But we must pray to God that unexpected evils such as death or disease or pain or anything of this kind may not come upon us and injure us. But since you are devoted to piety, no such misfortune will ever come upon you.'

45 The king bestowed great praise upon him and asked the tenth, What is the highest form of glory?

46 And he said, 'To honour God, and this is done not with gifts and sacrifices but with purity of soul and holy conviction, since all things are fashioned and governed by God in accordance with His will. Of this purpose you are in constant possession as all men can she from your achievements in the past and in the present.'

47 With loud voice the king greeted them all and spoke kindly to them, and all those who were present expressed their approval, especially the philosophers. For they were far superior to them [i. e. the philosophers] both in conduct and in argument, since they always made God their starting-point.

48 After this the king to show his good feeling proceeded to drink the health of his guests.

ARISTEAS CHAPTER 9

Verse 8 epitomizes the value of knowledge. Verse 28, parental affection. Note especially the question in Verse 26 and the answer. Also note the question in Verse 47 and the answer. This is sage advice for business men.

1 ON the following day the same arrangements were e for the banquet, and the king, as soon as an opportunity occurred, began to put questions to the men who sat next to those who had already responded, and he said to the first 'Is wisdom capable of being taught?'

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2 And he said, 'The soul is so constituted that it is able by the divine power to receive all the good and reject the contrary.'

3 The king expressed approval and asked the next man, What is it that is most beneficial to health?

4 And he said, 'Temperance, and it is not possible to acquire this unless God create a disposition towards it.'

5 The king spoke kindly to the man and said to another, 'How can a man worthily pay the debt of gratitude to his parents?'

6 And he said, 'By never causing them pain, and this is not possible unless God dispose the mind to the pursuit of the noblest ends.'

7 The king expressed agreement and asked the next, how he could become an eager listener?

8 And he said, 'By remembering that all knowledge is useful, because it enables you by the help of God in a time of emergency to select some of the things which you have learned and apply them to the crisis which confronts you. And so the efforts of men are fulfilled by the assistance of God.'

9 The king praised him and asked the next How he could avoid doing anything contrary to law?

10 And he said, 'If you recognize that it is God who has put the thoughts into the hearts of the lawgivers that the lives of men might be preserved, you will follow them.'

11 The king acknowledged the man's answer and said to another, 'What is the advantage of kinship?'

12 And he replied, 'If we consider that we ourselves are afflicted by the misfortunes which fall upon our relatives and if their sufferings become our own--then the strength of kinship is apparent at once, for it is only when such feeling is shown that we shall win honour and esteem in their eyes. For help, when it is linked with kindliness, is of itself a bond which is altogether indissoluble. And in the day of their prosperity we must not crave their possessions, but must pray God to bestow all manner of good upon them.'

13 And having accorded to him the same praise as to the rest, the king asked another, how he could attain freedom from fear?

14 And he said, 'When the mind is conscious that it has wrought no evil, and when God directs it to all noble counsels.'

15 The king expressed his approval and asked another, how he could always maintain a right judgement?

16 And he replied, 'If he constantly set before his eyes the misfortunes which befall men and recognized that it is God who takes away prosperity from some and brings others to great honour and glory.'

17 The king gave a kindly reception to the man and asked the next to answer the question, how he could avoid a life of ease and pleasure?

18 And he replied, 'If he continually remembered that he was the ruler of a great empire and the lord of vast multitudes, and that his mind ought not to be occupied with other things, but, he ought always to be considering how he could best promote their welfare. He must pray, too, to God that no duty might be neglected.'

19 Having bestowed praise upon him, the king asked the tenth, how he could recognize those who were dealing treacherously with him?

20 And he replied to the question, 'If he observed whether the bearing of those about him was natural and whether they maintained the proper rule of precedence at receptions and councils, and in their general intercourse, never going beyond the bounds of propriety in congratulations or in other matters of deportment. But God will incline your mind, O King, to all that is noble.'

21 When the king had expressed his loud approval and praised them all individually (amid the plaudits of all who were present), they turned to the enjoyment of the feast.

22 And on the next day, when the opportunity offered, the king asked the next man, What is the grossest form of neglect?

23 And he replied, 'If a man does not care for his children and devote every effort to their education. For we always pray to God not so much for ourselves as for our children that every blessing may be theirs. Our desire that our children may possess self-control is only realized by the power of God.'

24 The king said that he had spoken well and then asked another, how he could be patriotic?

25 'By keeping before your mind,' he replied, 'the thought that it is good to live and die in one's own country. Residence abroad 1 brings contempt upon the poor and shame upon the rich as though they had been banished for a crime. If you bestow benefits upon all, as you continually do, God will give you favour with all and you will be accounted patriotic."

26 After listening to this man, the king asked the next in order, how he could live amicably with his wife?

27 And he answered, 'By recognizing that womankind are by nature headstrong and energetic in the pursuit of their own desires, and subject to sudden changes of opinion through fallacious reasoning, and their nature is essentially weak. It is necessary to deal wisely with them and not to provoke strife. For the successful conduct of life. the steersman must know the goal toward which he ought to direct his course. It is only by calling upon the help of God that men can steer a true course of life at all times.'

28 The king expressed his agreement and asked the next, how he could be free from error?

29 And he replied, 'If you always act with deliberation and never give credence to slanders, but prove for yourself the things that are said to you and decide by your own judgement the requests which are made to you and carry out everything in the light of your judgement, you will be free from error, O King. But the knowledge and practice of these things is the work of the Divine power.'

30 Delighted with these words, the king asked another, how he could be free from wrath?

31 And he said in reply to the question, 'If he recognized that he had power over all even to inflict death upon them, if he gave way to wrath, and that it would be useless and pitiful if he, just because he was lord, deprived many of life.

32 What need was there for wrath, when all men were in subjection and no one was hostile to him? It is necessary to recognize that God rules the whole world in the spirit of kindness and without wrath at all, and you,' said he, 'O King, must of necessity copy His example.'

33 The king said that he had answered well and then inquired of the next man, What is good counsel?

34 'To act well at all times and with due reflection,' he explained, 'comparing what is advantageous to our own policy with the injurious effects that would result from the adoption of the opposite view, in order that by weighing every point we may be well advised and our purpose may be accomplished. And most important of all, by the power of God every plan of yours will find fulfilment because you practise piety.'

35 The king said that this man had answered well, and asked another, What is philosophy?

36 And he explained, 'To deliberate well in reference to any question that emerges and never to be carried away by impulses, but to ponder over the injuries that result from the passions, and to act rightly as the circumstances demand, practising moderation. But we must pray to God to instil into our mind a regard for these things.'

37 The king signified his consent and asked another, how he could meet with recognition when traveling abroad?

38 'By being fair to all men,' he replied, 'and by appearing to be inferior rather than superior to those amongst whom he was traveling. For it is a recognized principle that God by His very nature accepts the humble. And the human race loves those who are willing to be in subjection to them.'

39 Having expressed his approval at this reply, the king asked another, how he could build in such a way that his structures would endure after him?

40 And he replied to the question, 'If his creations were on a great and noble scale, so that the beholders would spare them for their beauty, and if he never dismissed any of those who wrought such works and never compelled others to minister to his needs without wages.

41 For observing how God provides for the human race, granting them health and mental capacity and. all other gifts, he himself should follow His example by rendering to men a recompense for their arduous toil. For it is the deeds that are wrought in righteousness that abide continually!

42 The king said that this man, too, had answered well and asked the tenth, What is the fruit of wisdom?

43 And he replied, 'That a man should be conscious in himself that he has wrought no evil and that he should live his life in the truth. Since it is from these, O mighty King, that the greatest joy and steadfastness of soul and strong faith in God accrue to you if you rule your realm in piety.'

4.4 And when they heard the answer they all shouted with loud acclaim, and afterwards the king in the fullness of his joy began to drink their healths.

45 And on the next day the banquet followed the same course as on previous occasions, and when the opportunity presented itself the king proceeded to put questions to the remaining guests, and he said to the first, 'How can a man keep himself from pride?'

46 And he replied, 'If he maintains equality and remembers on all occasions that he is a man ruling over men. And God brings the proud to nought, and exalts the meek and humble!

47 The king spoke kindly to him and asked the next, Whom ought a man to select as his counsellors?

48 And he replied, 'Those who have been tested in many affairs and maintain unmingled goodwill towards him and partake of his own disposition. And God manifests Himself to those who are worthy that these ends may be attained.'

49 The king praised him and asked another, What is the most necessary possession for a king?

50 'The friendship and love of his subjects,' he replied, 'for it is through this that the bond of goodwill is rendered indissoluble. And it is God who ensures that this may come to pass in accordance with your wish.'

51 The king praised him and inquired of another, What is goal of speech? And he replied, 'To convince your opponent by showing him his mistakes in a well-ordered army of arguments.

52 For in this way you will win your hearer, not by opposing him, but by bestowing praise upon him with a view to persuading him. And it is by the power of God that persuasion is accomplished.'

53 The king said that he had given a good answer, and asked another, how he could live amicably with the many different races who formed the population of his kingdom?

54 'By acting the proper part towards each,' he replied, 'and taking righteousness as your guide, as you are now doing with the help of the insight which God bestows upon you.'

55 The king was delighted by this reply, and asked another, 'Under what circumstances ought a man to suffer grief?'

56 'In the misfortunes that befall our friends,' he replied, 'when we see that they are protracted and irremediable. Reason does not allow us to grieve for those who are dead and set free from evil, but all men do grieve over them because they think only of themselves and their own advantage. It is by the power of God alone that we can escape all evil!

57 The king said that he had given a fitting answer, and asked another, how is reputation lost?

58 And he replied, 'When pride and unbounded self-confidence hold sway, dishonour and loss of reputation are engendered. For God is the Lord of all reputation and bestows it where He will.'

59 The king gave his confirmation to the answer, and asked the next man, To whom ought men to entrust themselves?

60 'To those,' he replied, 'who serve you from goodwill and not from fear or self-interest, thinking only of their own gain. For the one is the sign of love, the other the mark of ill will and time-serving.

61 For the man who is always watching for his own gain is a traitor at heart. But you possess the affection of all your subjects by the help of the good counsel which God bestows upon you.'

62 The king said that he had answered wisely, and asked another, What is it that keeps a kingdom safe?

63 And he replied to the question, 'Care and forethought that no evil may be wrought by those who are placed in a position of authority over the people, and this you always do by the help of God who inspires you with grave judgement.'

64 The king spoke words of encouragement to him, and asked another, What is it that maintains gratitude and honour?

65 And he replied, 'Virtue, for it is the creator of good deeds, and by it evil is destroyed, even as you exhibit nobility of character towards all by the gift which God bestows upon you.'

66 The king graciously acknowledged the answer and asked the eleventh (since there were two more than seventy), how he could in time of war maintain tranquillity of soul?

67 And he replied, 'By remembering that he had done no evil to any of his subjects, and that all would fight for him in return for the benefits which they had received, knowing that even if they lose their lives, you will care for those dependent on them. For you never fail to make reparation to any--such is the kind-heartedness with which God has inspired you.'

68 The king loudly applauded them all and spoke very kindly to them and then drank a long draught to the health of each, giving himself up to enjoyment, and lavishing the most generous and joyous friendship upon his guests.

ARISTEAS CHAPTER 10

The questions and answers continue. Showing how the army officers ought to be selected. What man is worthy of admiration and other problems of daily life as true today as 2000 years ago. Verses 15-17 are notable for recommending the theatre. Verses 2i-22 describe the wisdom of electing a president or having a king.

1 ON the seventh day much more extensive preparations were made, and many others were present from the different cities (among them a large number of ambassadors).

2 When an opportunity occurred, the king asked the first of those who had not yet been questioned, how he could avoid being deceived by fallacious reasoning?

3 And he replied, 'By noticing carefully the speaker, the thing spoken, and the subject under discussion, and by putting the same questions again after an interval in different forms. But to possess an alert mind and to be able to form a sound judgement in every case is one of the good gifts of God, and you possess it, O King.'

4 The king loudly applauded the answer and asked another, Why is it that the majority of men never become virtuous?

5 'Because,' he replied, 'all men are by nature intemperate and inclined to pleasure. Hence, injustice springs up and a flood of avarice. The habit of virtue is a hindrance to those who are devoted to a life of pleasure because it enjoins upon them the preference of temperance and righteousness. For it is God who is the master of these things.'

6 The king said that he had answered well, and asked, What ought kings to obey? And he said, 'The laws, in order that by righteous enactments they may restore the lives of men. Even as you by such conduct in obedience to the Divine command have laid up in store for yourself a perpetual memorial.'

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7 The king said that this man, too, had spoken well, and asked the next, Whom ought we to appoint as governors?

S And he replied, 'All who hate wickedness, and imitating your own conduct act righteously that they may maintain a good reputation constantly. For this is what you do, O mighty King,' he said, 'and it is God who has bestowed upon you the crown of righteousness.'

9 The king loudly acclaimed the answer and then looking at the next man said, 'Whom ought we to appoint as officers over the forces?'

10 And he explained, 'Those who excel in courage and righteousness and those who are more anxious about the safety of their men than to gain a victory by risking their lives through rashness. For as God acts well towards all men, so too you in imitation of Him are the benefactor of all your subjects.'

11 The king said that he had given a good answer and asked another, What man is worthy of admiration?

12 And he replied, 'The man who is furnished with reputation and wealth and power and possesses a soul equal to it all. You yourself show by your actions that you are most worthy of admiration through the help of God who makes you care for these things.'

13 The king expressed his approval and said to another, 'To what affairs ought kings to devote most time?'

14 And he replied, 'To reading and the study of the records of official journeys, which are written in reference to the various kingdoms, with a view to the reformation and preservation of the subjects. And it is by such activity that you have attained to a glory which has never been approached by others, through the help of God who fulfils all your desires.'

15 The king spoke enthusiastically to the man and asked another, how ought a man to occupy himself during his hours of relaxation and recreation?

16 And he replied, 'To watch those plays which can be acted with propriety and to set before one's eyes scenes taken from life and enacted with dignity and decency is profitable and appropriate.

17 For there is some edification to be found even in these amusements, for often some desirable lesson is taught by the most insignificant affairs of life. But by practising the utmost propriety in all your actions, you have shown that you are a philosopher and you are honoured by God on account of your virtue.'

18 The king, pleased with the words which had just been spoken, said to the ninth man, how ought a man to conduct himself at banquets?

19 And he replied, 'You should summon to your side men of learning and those who are able to give you useful hints with regard to the affairs of your kingdom and the lives of your subjects (for you could not find any theme more suitable or more educative than this) since such men are dear to God because they have trained their minds to contemplate the noblest themes--as you indeed are doing yourself, since all your actions are directed by God.'

20 Delighted with the reply, the king inquired of the next man, What is best for the people? That a private citizen should be made king over them or a member of the royal family?

21 And he replied, 'He who is best by nature. For kings who come of royal lineage are often harsh and severe towards their subjects. And still more is this the case with some of those who have risen from the ranks of private citizens, who after having experienced evil and borne their share of poverty, when they rule over multitudes turn out to be more cruel than the godless tyrants.

22 But, as I have said, a good nature which has been properly trained is capable of ruling, and you are a great king, not so much because you excel in the glory of your rule and your wealth but rather because you have surpassed all men in clemency and philanthropy, thanks to God who has endowed you with these qualities.'

23 The king spent some time in praising this man and then asked the last of all, What is the greatest achievement in ruling an empire?

24 And he replied, 'That the subjects should continually dwell in a state of peace, and that justice should be speedily administered in cases of dispute.'

25 These results are achieved through the influence of the ruler, when he is a man who hates evil and loves the good and devotes his energies to saving the lives of men, just as you consider injustice the worst form of evil and by your just administration have fashioned for yourself an undying reputation, since God bestows upon you a mind which is pure and untainted by any evil.'

26 And when he ceased, loud and joyful applause broke out for some considerable time. When it stopped the king took a cup and gave a toast in honour of all his guests and the words which they had uttered.

27 Then in conclusion he said, I have derived the greatest benefit from your presence. I have profited much by the wise caching which you have given me in reference to the art of ruling.'

28 Then he ordered that three talents (A Greek talent, was c. 57 lb = 26 kg) of silver should be presented to each of them, and appointed one of his slaves to deliver over the money.

29 All at once shouted their approval, and the banquet became a scene of joy, while the king gave himself up to a continuous round of festivity.

ARISTEAS CHAPTER 11

For a comment on ancient stenography, see Verse 7. The translation is submitted for approval and accepted as read, and (Verse 23) a rising vote of approval is taken and unanimously carried.

1 I HAVE written at length and must crave your pardon, Philocrates.

2 I was astonished beyond measure at the men and the way in which on the spur of the moment they gave answers which really needed a long time to devise.

3 For though the questioner had given great thought to each particular question, those who replied one after the other had their answers to the questions ready at once and so they seemed to me and to all who were present and especially to the philosophers to be worthy of admiration.

4 And I suppose that the thing will seem incredible to those who will read my narrative in the future.

5 But it is unseemly to misrepresent facts which are recorded in the public archives.

6 And it would not be right for me to transgress in such a matter as this. I tell the story just as it happened, conscientiously avoiding any error.

7 I was so impressed by the force of their utterances, that I made an effort to consult those whose business it was to make a record of all that happened at the royal audiences and banquets.

8 For it is the custom, as you know, from the moment the king begins to transact business until the time when he retires to rest, for a record to be taken of all his sayings and doings--a most excellent and useful arrangement.

9 For on the following day the minutes of the doings and sayings of the previous day are read over before business commence, and if there has been any irregularity, the matter is at once set right.

10 I obtained therefore, as has been said, accurate information from the public records, and I have set forth the facts in proper order since I know how eager you are to obtain useful information.

11 Three days later Demetrius took the men and passing along the sea-wall, seven stadia long, to the island, crossed the bridge and made for the northern districts of Pharos.

12 There he assembled them in a house, which had been built upon the sea-shore, of great beauty and in a secluded situation, and invited them to carry out the work of translation, since everything that they needed for the purpose was placed at their disposal.

13 So they set to work comparing their several results and making them agree, and whatever they agreed upon was suitably copied out under the direction of Demetrius.

14 And the session lasted until the ninth hour; after this they were set free to minister to their physical needs.

15 Everything they wanted was furnished for them on a lavish scale. In addition to this Dorotheus made the same preparations for them daily as were made for the king himself--for thus he had been commanded by the king.

16 In the early morning they appeared daily at the Court, and after saluting the king went back to their own place.

17 And as is the custom of all the Jews, they washed their hands in the sea and prayed to God and then devoted themselves to reading and translating the particular passage upon which they were engaged, and I put the question to them, Why it was that they washed their hands before they prayed?

18 And they explained that it was a token that they had done no evil (for every form of activity is wrought by means of the hands) since in their noble and holy way they regard everything as a symbol of righteousness and truth.

19 As I have already said, they met together daily in the place which was delightful for its quiet and its brightness and applied themselves to their task.

20 And it so chanced that the work of translation was completed in seventy-two days, just as if this had been arranged of set purpose.

21 When the work was completed, Demetrius collected together the Jewish population in the place where the translation had been made, and read it over to all, in the presence of the translators, who met with a great reception also from the people, because of the great benefits which they had conferred upon them.

22 They bestowed warm praise upon Demetrius, too, and urged him to have the whole law transcribed and present a copy to their leaders.

23 After the books had been read, the priests and the elders of the translators and the Jewish community and the leaders of the people stood up and said, that since so excellent and sacred and accurate a translation had been made, it was only right that it should remain as it was and no alteration should be made in it

24 And when the whole company expressed their approval, they bade them pronounce a curse in accordance with their custom upon anyone who should make any alteration either by adding anything or changing in any way whatever any of the words which had been written or making any omission.

25 This was a very wise precaution to ensure that the book might be preserved for all the future time unchanged.

26 When the matter was reported to the king, he rejoiced greatly, for he felt that the design which he had formed had been safely carried out.

27 The whole book was read over to him and he was greatly astonished at the spirit of the lawgiver.

28 And he said to Demetrius, 'How is it that none of the historians or 'the poets have ever thought it worth their while to allude to such a wonderful achievement?'

29 And he replied, 'Because the law is sacred and of divine origin. And some of those who formed the intention of dealing with it have been smitten by God and therefore desisted from their purpose.'

30 He said that he had heard from Theopompus that he had been driven out of his mind for more than thirty days because he intended to insert in his history some of the incidents from the earlier and somewhat unreliable translations of the law.

31 When he had recovered a little, he besought God to make it clear to him why the misfortune had befallen him.

32 And it was revealed to him in a dream, that from idle curiosity he was wishing to communicate sacred truths to common men, and that if he desisted he would recover his health.

33 I have heard, too, from the lips of Theodektes, one of the tragic poets, that when he was about to adapt some of the incidents recorded in the book for one of his plays, he was affected with cataract in both his eyes.

34 And when he perceived the reason why the misfortune had befallen him, he prayed to God for many days and was afterwards restored.

35 And after, the king, as I have already said, had received the explanation of Demetrius on this point, he did homage and ordered that great care should be taken of the books, and that they should be sacredly guarded.

36 And he urged the translators to visit him frequently after their return to Judea, for it was only right, he said, that he should now send them home.

37 But when they came back, he would treat them as friends, as was right, and they would receive rich presents from him.

38 He ordered preparations to be made for them to return home, and treated them most munificently.

39 He presented each one of them with three robes of the finest sort, two talents of gold, a sideboard weighing one talent, all the furniture for three couches.

40 And with the escort he sent Eleazar ten couches with silver legs and all the necessary equipment, a sideboard worth thirty talents, ten robes, purple, and a magnificent crown, and a hundred pieces of the finest woven linen, also bowls and dishes, and two golden beakers to be dedicated to God.

41 He urged him also in a letter that if any of the men preferred to come back to him, not to hinder them.

42 For he counted it a great privilege to enjoy the society of such learned men, and he would rather lavish his wealth upon them than upon vanities.

43 And now Philocrates, you have the complete story in accordance with my promise.

44 I think that you find greater pleasure in these matters than in the writings of the mythologists.

45 For you are devoted to the study of those things which can benefit the soul, and spend much time upon it. I shall attempt to narrate whatever other events are worth recording, that by perusing them you may secure the highest reward for your zeal.

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PSEUDEPIGRAPHA
POETIC BOOKS

THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON

(The Psalms of Solomon is a group of eighteen religious songs or poems that are not part of any Bible canon. However, there are copies found in the Septuagint Bible in Greek and the Peshitta Bible in Syriac.)
Time of Authorship: 2nd - 1st century BC.
Translation: G. Buchanan Gray (R. H. Charles, 1913)

(One of the apocryphal books, the Psalms of Solomon is a group of eighteen psalms [religious songs or poems] written in the first or second centuries BC that are not part of any current scriptural canon. However, the are found in copies of the Peshitta and the Septuagint [the Greek Bible from c. 300-100 BC].

Politically, the Psalms of Solomon are anti-Hasmonean, and some psalms in the collection show a clear awareness of the Roman conquest of Jerusalem under Pompey [Graeus Pompeius Magnus, 106–48 BC] in 63 BC, metaphorically treating him as a dragon who had been sent by God to punish the Hasmoneans. Some of the psalms are messianic, in the Jewish sense (clearly referring to a mortal that happens to be divinely assisted, much like Moses), but the majority are concerned less with the world at large, and more with individual behaviour, expressing a belief that repentance for unintended sins will return them to God's favour.

There have been attempts to link the text both to the Essenes of Qumran, who separated themselves from what they saw as a wicked world, and alternatively to the Pharisees [Roman Jews] in opposition to the Sadducees who generally supported the Maccabees.

The 17th of the 18 psalms is similar to Psalm 72 which has traditionally been attributed to Solomon, and hence may be the reason that the Psalms of Solomon have their name. An alternate theory is that the psalms were so highly regarded that Solomon's name was attached to them to keep them from being ignored or forgotten.

The Psalms of Solomon were referenced in early Christian writings, but lost to later generations until a Greek manuscript was rediscovered in the 17th century. There are currently eight known 11th- to 15th-century manuscripts of a Greek translation from a lost Hebrew or Aramaic original, probably dating from the 1st or 2nd century BC. However, though now a collection, they were originally separate, written by different people in different periods.)

PSALMS OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 1

1 I cried unto the Lord when I was in distress [ ], Unto God when sinners assailed.
2 Suddenly the alarm of war was heard before me; (I said), He will hearken to me, for I am full of righteousness.
3 I thought in my heart that I was full of righteousness, Because I was well off and had become rich in children.
4 Their wealth spread to the whole earth, And their glory unto the end of the earth.
5 They were exalted unto the stars; They said they would never fall.
6 But they became insolent in their prosperity, And they were without understanding,
7 Their sins were in secret, And even I had no knowledge (of them).
8 Their transgressions (went) beyond those of the heathen before them; They utterly polluted the holy things of the Lord.

PSALMS OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 2

(A Psalm Of Solomon. Concerning Jerusalem.)
1 When the sinner waxed proud, with a battering-ram he cast down fortified walls, And Thou didst not restrain (him).
2 Alien nations ascended Thine altar, They trampled (it) proudly with their sandals;
3 Because the sons of Jerusalem had defiled the holy things of the Lord, Had profaned with iniquities the offerings of God.
4 Therefore He said: Cast them far from Me;
5 It was set at naught before God, It was utterly dishonoured;
6 The sons and the daughters were in grievous captivity, Sealed () (was) their neck, branded () (was it) among the nations.
7 According to their sins hath He done unto them, For He hath left them in the hands of them that prevailed.
8 He hath turned away His face from pitying them, Young and old and their children together;
9 For they had done evil one and all, in not hearkening.
10 And the heavens were angry, And the earth abhorred them;
11 For no man upon it had done what they did,
12 And the earth recognized all Thy righteous judgements, O God.
13 They set the sons of Jerusalem to be mocked at in return for (the) harlots in her; Every wayfarer entered in in the full light of day.
14 They made mock with their transgressions, as they themselves were wont to do; In the full light of day they revealed their iniquities. And the daughters of Jerusalem were defiled in accordance with Thy judgement,
15 Because they had defiled themselves with unnatural intercourse. I am pained in my bowels and my inward parts for these things.
16 (And yet) I will justify Thee, O God, in uprightness of heart, For in Thy judgements is Thy righteousness (displayed), O God.
17 For Thou hast rendered to the sinners according to their deeds, Yea according to their sins, which were very wicked.
18 Thou hast uncovered their sins, that Thy judgement might be manifest;
19 Thou hast wiped out their memorial from the earth. God is a righteous judge, And He is no respecter of persons.
20 For the nations reproached Jerusalem, trampling it down; Her beauty was dragged down from the throne of glory.
21 She girded on sackcloth instead of comely raiment, A rope (was) about her head instead of a crown.
22 She put off the glorious diadem which God had set upon her,
23 In dishonour was her beauty cast upon the ground.
24 And I saw and entreated the Lord and said, Long enough, O Lord, has Thine hand been heavy on Israel, in bringing the nations upon (them).
25 For they have made sport unsparingly in wrath and fierce anger;
26 And they will make an utter end, unless Thou, O Lord, rebuke them in Thy wrath.
27 For they have done it not in zeal, but in lust of soul,
28 Pouring out their wrath upon us with a view to rapine.
29 (25) Delay not, O God, to recompense them on (their) heads, To turn the pride of the dragon into dishonour. 30(26) And I had not long to wait before God showed me the insolent one Slain on the mountains of Egypt, Esteemed of less account than the least on land and sea;
31 His body, (too,) borne hither and thither on the billows with much insolence, With none to bury (him), because He had rejected him with dishonour. He reflected not that he was man.
32 And reflected not on the latter end;
33 He said: I will be lord of land and sea; And he recognized not that it is God who is great, Mighty in His great strength.
34 He is king over the heavens, And judgeth kings and kingdoms.
35 (It is He) who setteth me up in glory, And bringeth down the proud to eternal destruction in dishonour, Because they knew Him not.
36 And now behold, ye princes of the earth, the judgement of the Lord, For a great king and righteous (is He), judging (all) that is under heaven.
37 Bless God, ye that fear the Lord with wisdom, For the mercy of the Lord will be upon them that fear Him, in the Judgement;
38 So that He will distinguish between the righteous and the sinner, (And) recompense the sinners for ever according to their deeds;
39 And have mercy on the righteous, (delivering him) from the affliction of the sinner, And recompensing the sinner for what he hath done to the righteous.
40 For the Lord is good to them that call upon Him in patience, Doing according to His mercy to His pious ones, Establishing (them) at all times before Him in strength.
41 Blessed be the Lord for ever before His servants.

PSALMS OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 3

(A Psalm. Of Solomon. Concerning the righteous.)
1 Why sleepest thou, O my soul, And blessest not the Lord
2 Sing a new song, Unto God who is worthy to be praised. Sing and be wakeful against His awaking, For good is a psalm (sung) to God from a glad heart.
3 The righteous remember the Lord at all times, With thanksgiving and declaration of the righteousness of the Lord's judgements.
4 The righteous despiseth not the chastening of the Lord; His will is always before the Lord.
5 The righteous stumbleth and holdeth the Lord righteous: He falleth and looketh out for what God will do to him;
6 He seeketh out whence his deliverance will come.
7 The steadfastness of the righteous is from God their deliverer; There lodgeth not in the house of the righteous sin upon sin.
8 The righteous continually searcheth his house, To remove utterly (all) iniquity (done) by him in error.
9 He maketh atonement for (sins of) ignorance by fasting and afflicting his soul,
10 And the Lord counteth guiltless every pious man and his house.
11 The sinner stumbleth and curseth his life, The day when he was begotten, and his mother's travail.
12 He addeth sins to sins, while he liveth ();
13 He falleth—verily grievous is his fall—and riseth no more. The destruction of the sinner is for ever,
14 And he shall not be remembered, when the righteous is visited.
15 This is the portion of sinners for ever.
16 But they that fear the Lord shall rise to life eternal, And their life (shall be) in the light of the Lord, and shall come to an end no more.

PSALMS OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 4

(A Conversation of Solomon with the Men-pleasers.)
1 Wherefore sittest thou, O profane (man), in the council of the pious, Seeing that thy heart is far removed from the Lord, Provoking with transgressions the God of Israel
2 Extravagant in speech, extravagant in outward seeming beyond all (men), Is he that is severe of speech in condemning sinners in judgement.
3 And his hand is first upon him as (though he acted) in zeal, And (yet) he is himself guilty in respect of manifold sins and of wantonness.
4 His eyes are upon every woman without distinction; His tongue lieth when he maketh contract with an oath.
5 By night and in secret he sinneth as though unseen, With his eyes he talketh to every woman of evil compacts.
6 He is swift to enter every house with cheerfulness as though guileless.
7 Let God remove those that live in hypocrisy in the company of the pious, (Even) the life of such an one with corruption of his flesh and penury.
8 Let God reveal the deeds of the men-pleasers, The deeds of such an one with laughter and derision;
9 That the pious may count righteous the judgement of their God, When sinners are removed from before the righteous,
10 (Even the) man-pleaser who uttereth law guilefully.
11 And their eyes (are fixed) upon any man's house that is (still) secure, That they may, like (the) Serpent, destroy the wisdom of . . . with words of transgressors,
12 His words are deceitful that (he) may accomplish (his) wicked desire.
13 He never ceaseth from scattering (families) as though (they were) orphans, Yea, he layeth waste a house on account of (his) lawless desire.
14 He deceiveth with words, (saying,) There is none that seeth, or judgeth.
15 He fills one (house) with lawlessness, And (then) his eyes (are fixed) upon the next house, To destroy it with words that give wing to (desire). (Yet) with all these his soul, like Sheol, is not sated.
16 Let his portion, O Lord, be dishonoured before thee; Let him go forth groaning and come home cursed.
17 Let his life be (spent) in anguish, and penury, and want, O Lord; Let his sleep be (beset) with pains and his awaking with perplexities.
18 Let sleep be withdrawn from his eyelids at night; Let him fail dishonorably in every work of his hands.
19 Let him come home empty-handed to his house, And his house be void of everything wherewith he could sate his appetite.
20 (Let) his old age (be spent) in childless loneliness until his removal (by death).
21 Let the flesh of the men-pleasers be rent by wild beasts, And (let) the bones of the lawless (lie) dishonored in the sight of the sun.
22 Let ravens peck out the eyes of the hypocrites.
23 For they have laid waste many houses of men, in dishonour, And scattered (them) in (their) lust;
24 And they have not remembered God, Nor feared God in all these things;
25 But they have provoked God's anger and vexed Him. May He remove them from off the earth, Because with deceit they beguiled the souls of the flawless.
26 Blessed are they that fear the Lord in their flawlessness;
27 The Lord shall deliver them from guileful men and sinners, And deliver us from every stumbling-block of the lawless (men).
28 Let God destroy them that insolently work all unrighteousness, For a great and mighty judge is the Lord our God in righteousness.
29 Let Thy mercy, O Lord, be upon all them that love Thee.

PSALMS OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 5

(A Psalm. Of Solomon)
1 O Lord God, I will praise Thy name with joy, In the midst of them that know Thy righteous judgements.
2 For Thou art good and merciful, the refuge of the poor;
3 When I cry to Thee, do not silently disregard me.
4 For no man taketh spoil from a mighty man;
5 Who, then, can take aught of all that Thou hast made, except Thou Thyself givest
6 For man and his portion (lie) before Thee in the balance; He cannot add to, so as to enlarge, what has been prescribed by Thee.

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7 O God, when we are in distress we call upon Thee for help, And Thou dost not turn back our petition, for Thou art our God.
8 Cause not Thy hand to be heavy upon us, Lest through necessity we sin.
9 Even though Thou restore us not, we will not keep away; But unto Thee will we come.
10 For if I hunger, unto Thee will I cry, O God; And Thou wilt give to me.
11 Birds and fish dost Thou nourish, In that Thou givest rain to the steppes that green grass may spring up, (So) to prepare fodder in the steppe for every living thing;
12 And if they hunger, unto Thee do they lift up their face.
13 Kings and rulers and peoples Thou dost nourish, O God; And who is the help of the poor and needy, if not Thou, O Lord
14 And Thou wilt hearken -for who is good and gentle but Thou—Making glad the soul of the humble by opening Thine hand in mercy.
15 Man's goodness is (bestowed) grudgingly and . . .; And if he repeat (it) without murmuring, even that is marvelous.
16 But Thy gift is great in goodness and wealth, And he whose hope is (set) on Thee shall have no lack of gifts.
17 Upon the whole earth is Thy mercy, O Lord, in goodness.
18 Happy is he whom God remembereth in (granting to him) a due sufficiency;
19 If a man abound over much, he sinneth.
20 Sufficient are moderate means with righteousness, And hereby the blessing of the Lord (becomes) abundance with righteousness.
21 They that fear the Lord rejoice in good (gifts), And Thy goodness is upon Israel in Thy kingdom. Blessed is the glory of the Lord for He is our king.

PSALMS OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 6
(In Hope. Of Solomon.)
1 Happy is the man whose heart is fixed to call upon the name of the Lord;
2 When he remembereth the name of the Lord, he will be saved.
3 His ways are made even by the Lord, And the works of his hands are preserved by the Lord his God.
4 At what he sees in his bad dreams, his soul shall not be troubled;
5 When he passes through rivers and the tossing of the seas, he shall not be dismayed.
6 He ariseth from his sleep, and blesseth the name of the Lord:
7 When his heart is at peace, he singeth to the name of his God, And he entreateth the Lord for all his house.
8 And the Lord heareth the prayer of every one that feareth God, And every request of the soul that hopes for Him doth the Lord accomplish.
9 Blessed is the Lord, who showeth mercy to those who love Him in sincerity.

PSALMS OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 7
(Of Solomon. Of turning.)
1 Make not Thy dwelling afar from us, O God; Lest they assail us that hate us without cause.
2 For Thou hast rejected them, O God; Let not their foot trample upon Thy holy inheritance.
3 Chasten us Thyself in Thy good pleasure; But give (us) not up to the nations;
4 For, if Thou sendest pestilence, Thou Thyself givest it charge concerning us; For Thou art merciful, And wilt not be angry to the point of consuming us.
5 While Thy name dwelleth in our midst, we shall find mercy;
6 And the nations shall not prevail against us. For Thou art our shield,
7 And when we call upon Thee, Thou hearkenest to us;
8 For Thou wilt pity the seed of Israel for ever And Thou wilt not reject (them): But we (shall be) under Thy yoke for ever, And (under) the rod of Thy chastening.
9 Thou wilt establish us in the time that Thou helpest us, Showing mercy to the house of Jacob on the day wherein Thou didst promise (to help them).

PSALMS OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 8
(Of Solomon. Of the chief Musician.)
1 Distress and the sound of war hath my ear heard; The sound of a trumpet announcing slaughter and calamity,
2 The sound of much people as of an exceeding high wind, As a tempest with mighty fire sweeping through the Negeb.
3 And I said in my heart; Surely () God judgeth us;
4 A sound I hear (moving) towards Jerusalem, the holy city.
5 My loins were broken at what I heard, (5) my knees tottered:
6 My heart was afraid, my bones were dismayed like flax.
7 I said: They establish their ways in righteousness. I thought upon the judgements of God since the creation of heaven and earth; I held God righteous in His judgements which have been from of old.
8 God laid bare their sins in the full light of day; All the earth came to know the righteous judgements of God.
9 In secret places underground their iniquities (were committed) to provoke (Him) to anger;
10 They wrought confusion, son with mother and father with daughter;
11 They committed adultery, every man with his neighbour's wife. They concluded covenants with one another with an oath touching these things;
12 They plundered the sanctuary of God, as though there was no avenger.
13 They trode the altar of the Lord, (coming straight) from all manner of uncleanness; And with menstrual blood they defiled the sacrifices, as (though these were) common flesh.
14 They left no sin undone, wherein they surpassed not the heathen.
15 Therefore God mingled for them a spirit of wandering; And gave them to drink a cup of undiluted wine, that they might become drunken.
16 He brought him that is from the end of the earth, that smiteth mightily;
17 He decreed () war against Jerusalem, and against her land.
18 The princes of the land went to meet him with joy: they said unto him: Blessed be thy way! Come ye, enter ye in with peace.
19 They made the rough ways even, before his entering in; They opened the gates to Jerusalem, they crowned its walls.
20 As a father (entereth) the house of his sons, (so) he entered (Jerusalem) in peace; He established his feet (there) in great safety.
21 He captured her fortresses and the wall of Jerusalem;
22 For God Himself led him in safety, while they wandered.
23 He destroyed their princes and every one wise in counsel; He poured out the blood of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, like the water of uncleanness.
24 He led away their sons and daughters, whom they had begotten in defilement.
25 They did according to their uncleanness, even as their fathers (had done):
26 They defiled Jerusalem and the things that had been hallowed to the name of God.
27 (But) God hath shown Himself righteous in His judgements upon the nations of the earth;
28 And the pious (servants) of God are like innocent lambs in their midst.
29 Worthy to be praised is the Lord that judgeth the whole earth in His righteousness.
30 Behold, now, O God, Thou hast shown us Thy judgement in Thy righteousness;
31 Our eyes have seen Thy judgements, O God. We have justified Thy name that is honoured for ever;
32 For Thou art the God of righteousness, judging Israel with chastening.
33 Turn, O God, Thy mercy upon us, and have pity upon us;
34 Gather together the dispersed of Israel, with mercy and goodness;
35 For Thy faithfulness is with us. And (though) we have stiffened our neck, yet Thou art our chastener;
36 Overlook us not, O our God, lest the nations swallow us up, as though there were none to deliver.
37 But Thou art our God from the beginning, And upon Thee is our hope (set), O Lord;
38 And we will not depart from Thee, For good are Thy judgements upon us.
39 Ours and our children's be Thy good pleasure for ever; O Lord our Saviour, we shall never more be moved.
40 The Lord is worthy to be praised for His judgements with the mouth of His pious ones; And blessed be Israel of the Lord for ever.

PSALMS OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 9
(Of Solomon. For rebuke.)
1 When Israel was led away captive into a strange land, When they fell away from the Lord who redeemed them,
2 They were cast away from the inheritance, which Lord had given them. Among every nation (were) the dispersed of Israel according to the word of God,
3 That Thou mightest be justified, O God, in Thy righteousness by reason of our transgressions:
4 For Thou art a just judge over all the peoples of the earth.
5 For from Thy knowledge none that doeth unjustly is hidden,
6 And the righteous deeds of Thy pious ones (are) before Thee, O Lord, Where, then, can a man hide himself from Thy knowledge, O God
7 Our works are subject to our own choice and power To do right or wrong in the works of our hands
8 And in Thy righteousness Thou visitest the sons of men.
9 He that doeth righteousness layeth up life for himself with the Lord; And he that doeth wrongly forfeits his life to destruction;
10 For the judgements of the Lord are (given) in righteousness to (every) man and (his) house.
(6) Unto whom art Thou good, O God, except to them that call upon the Lord
12 He cleanseth from sins a soul when it maketh confession, when it maketh acknowledgement;
13 For shame is upon us and upon our faces on account of all these things.
14 And to whom doth He forgive sins, except to them that have sinned
15 Thou blessest the righteous, and dost not reprove them for the sins that they have committed; And Thy goodness is upon them that sin, when they repent.
16 And, now, Thou art our God, and we the people whom Thou hast loved: Behold and show pity, O God of Israel, for we are Thine; And remove not Thy mercy from us, lest they assail us.
17 For Thou didst choose the seed of Abraham before all the nations, And didst set Thy name upon us, O Lord,
18 And Thou wilt not reject (us) for ever. Thou madest a covenant with our fathers concerning us;
19 And we hope in Thee, when our soul turneth (unto Thee). The mercy of the Lord be upon the house of Israel for ever and ever.

PSALMS OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 10.
(A Hymn Of Solomon.)
1 Happy is the man whom the Lord remembereth with reproving, And whom He restraineth from the way of evil with strokes, That he may be cleansed from sin, that it may not be multiplied.
2 He that maketh ready his back for strokes shall be cleansed, For the Lord is good to them that endure chastening.
3 For He maketh straight the ways of the righteous, And doth not pervert (them) by His chastening.
4 And the mercy of the Lord (is) upon them that love Him in truth, And the Lord remembereth His servants in mercy.
5 For the testimony (is) in the law of the eternal covenant, The testimony of the Lord (is) on the ways of men in (His) visitation.
6 Just and kind is our Lord in His judgements for ever, And Israel shall praise the name of the Lord in gladness.
7 And the pious shall give thanks in the assembly of the people; And on the poor shall God have mercy in the gladness () of Israel;
8 For good and merciful is God for ever, And the assemblies of Israel shall glorify the name of the Lord. The salvation of the Lord be upon the house of Israel unto everlasting gladness!

PSALMS OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 11.
(Of Solomon. Unto expectation.)
1 1 Blow ye in Zion on the trumpet to summon (the) saints,
2 Cause ye to be heard in Jerusalem the voice of him that bringeth good tidings; For God hath had pity on Israel in visiting them.
3 Stand on the height, O Jerusalem, and behold thy children, From the East and the West, gathered together by the Lord;
4 From the North they come in the gladness of their God, From the isles afar off God hath gathered them.
5 High mountains hath He abased into a plain for them;
6 The hills fled at their entrance. The woods gave them shelter as they passed by;
7 Every sweet-smelling tree God caused to spring up for them, That Israel might pass by in the visitation of the glory of their God.
8 Put on, O Jerusalem, thy glorious garments; Make ready thy holy robe; For God hath spoken good concerning Israel, for ever and ever.
9 Let the Lord do what He hath spoken concerning Israel and Jerusalem; Let the Lord raise up Israel by His glorious name. The mercy of the Lord be upon Israel for ever and ever.

PSALMS OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 12.
(Of Solomon. Against the tongue of transgressors.)
1 O Lord, deliver my soul from (the) lawless and wicked man, From the tongue that is lawless and slanderous, and speaketh lies and deceit.
2 Manifoldly twisted () are the words of the tongue of the wicked man, Even as among a people a fire that burneth up their beauty.
3 So he delights to fill houses with a lying tongue, To cut down the trees of gladness which setteth on fire transgressors,
4 To involve households in warfare by means of slanderous lips. May God remove far from the innocent the lips of transgressors by (bringing them to) want. And may the bones of slanderers be scattered (far) away from them that fear the Lord!
5 In flaming fire perish the slanderous tongue (far) away from the pious!
6 May the Lord preserve the quiet soul that hateth the unrighteous; And may the Lord establish the man that followeth peace at home.
7 The salvation of the Lord be upon Israel His servant for ever; And let the sinners perish together at the presence of the Lord; But let the Lord's pious ones inherit the promises of the Lord.

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PSALMS OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 13.

(Of Solomon. A Psalm. Comfort for the righteous.)

1 The right hand of the Lord hath covered me; The right hand of the Lord hath spared us.

2 The arm of the Lord hath saved us from the sword that passed through, From famine and the death of sinners.

3 Noisome beasts ran upon them: With their teeth they tore their flesh, And with their molars crushed their bones. But from all these things the Lord delivered us,

4 The righteous was troubled on account of his errors, Lest he should be taken away along with the sinners;

5 For terrible is the overthrow of the sinner; But not one of all these things toucheth the righteous. For not alike are the chastening of the righteous (for sins done) in ignorance, And the overthrow of the sinners

7 Secretly () is the righteous chastened, Lest the sinner rejoice over the righteous.

8 For He correcteth the righteous as a beloved son, And his chastisement is as that of a firstborn.

9 For the Lord spareth His pious ones, And blotteth out their errors by His chastening. For the life of the righteous shall be for ever;

10 But sinners shall be taken away into destruction, And their memorial shall be found no more.

11 But upon the pious is the mercy of the Lord, And upon them that fear Him His mercy.

PSALMS OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 14.

(A Hymn. Of Solomon.)

1 Faithful is the Lord to them that love Him in truth, To them that endure His chastening, To them that walk in the righteousness of His commandments, In the law which He commanded us that we might live.

2 The pious of the Lord shall live by it for ever; The Paradise of the Lord, the trees of life, are His pious ones.

3 Their planting is rooted for ever; They shall not be plucked up all the days of heaven: For the portion and the inheritance of God is Israel.

4 But not so are the sinners and transgressors, Who love (the brief) day (spent) in companionship with their sin; Their delight is in fleeting corruption,

5 And they remember not God. For the ways of men are known before Him at all times, And He knoweth the secrets of the heart before they come to pass.

6 Therefore their inheritance is Sheol and darkness and destruction, And they shall not be found in the day when the righteous obtain mercy;

7 But the pious of the Lord shall inherit life in gladness.

PSALMS OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 15.

(A Psalm. Of Solomon. With a Song.)

1 When I was in distress I called upon the name of the Lord, I hoped for the help of the God of Jacob and was saved;

2 For the hope and refuge of the poor art Thou, O God.

3 For who, O God, is strong except to give thanks unto Thee in truth

4 And wherein is a man powerful except in giving thanks to Thy name

5 A new psalm with song in gladness of heart, The fruit of the lips with the well-tuned instrument of the tongue, The first fruits of the lips from a pious and righteous heart—

6 He that offereth these things shall never be shaken by evil; The flame of fire and the wrath against the unrighteous shall not touch him,

7 When it goeth forth from the face of the Lord against sinners, To destroy all the substance of sinners,

8 For the mark of God is upon the righteous that they may be saved. Famine and sword and pestilence (shall be) far from the righteous,

9 For they shall flee away from the pious as men pursued in war; But they shall pursue sinners and overtake (them), And they that do lawlessness shall not escape the judgement of God; As by enemies experienced (in war) shall they be overtaken,

10 For the mark of destruction is upon their forehead.

11 And the inheritance of sinners is destruction and darkness, And their iniquities shall pursue them unto Sheol beneath.

12 Their inheritance shall not be found of their children,

13 For sins shall lay waste the houses of sinners. And sinners shall perish for ever in the day of the Lord's judgement,

14 When God visiteth the earth with His judgement.

15 But they that fear the Lord shall find mercy therein, And shall live by the compassion of their God; But sinners shall perish for ever.

PSALMS OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 16.

(A Hymn. Of Solomon. For Help to the Pious.)

1 When my soul slumbered (being afar) from the Lord, I had all but slipped down to the pit, When (I was) far from God, 2 my soul had been well nigh poured out unto death, (I had been) nigh unto the gates of Sheol with the sinner, 3 when my soul departed from the Lord God of Israel—Had not the Lord helped me with His ever lasting mercy.

4 He pricked me, as a horse is pricked, that I might serve Him, My savior and helper at all times saved me.

5 I will give thanks unto Thee, O God, for Thou hast helped me to (my) salvation; And hast not counted me with sinners to (my) destruction.

6 Remove not Thy mercy from me, O God, Nor Thy memorial from my heart until I die.

7 Rule me, O God, (keeping me back) from wicked sin, And from every wicked woman that causeth the simple to stumble.

8 And let not the beauty of a lawless woman beguile me, Nor any one that is subject to () unprofitable sin.

9 Establish the works of my hands before Thee, And preserve my goings in the remembrance of Thee.

10 Protect my tongue and my lips with words of truth; Anger and unreasoning wrath put far from me.

11 Murmuring, and impatience in affliction, remove far from me, When, if I sin, Thou chastenest me that I may return (unto Thee).

12 But with goodwill and cheerfulness support my soul; When Thou strengthenest my soul, what is given (to me) will be sufficient for me.

13 For if Thou givest not strength, Who can endure chastisement with poverty

14 When a man is rebuked by means of his corruption, Thy testing (of him) is in his flesh and in the affliction of poverty.

15 If the righteous ndureth in all these (trials), he shall receive mercy from the Lord.

PSALMS OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 17.

(A Psalm. Of Solomon. With Song. Of the King.)

1 O Lord, Thou art our King for ever and ever, For in Thee, O God, doth our soul glory.

2 How long are the days of man's life upon the earth As are his days, so is the hope (set) upon him.

3 But we hope in God, our deliverer; For the might of our God is for ever with mercy,

4 And the kingdom of our God is for ever over the nations in judgement.

5 Thou, O Lord, didst choose David (to be) king over Israel, And swaredst to him touching his seed that never should his kingdom fail before Thee.

6 But, for our sins, sinners rose up against us; They assailed us and thrust us out; What Thou hadst not promised to them, they took away (from us) with violence.

7 They in no wise glorified Thy honorable name; They set a (worldly) monarchy in place of (that which was) their excellency;

8 They laid waste the throne of David in tumultuous arrogance. But Thou, O God, didst cast them down and remove their seed from the earth,

9 In that there rose up against them a man that was alien to our race.

10 According to their sins didst Thou recompense them, O God; So that it befell them according to their deeds.

11 God showed them no pity; He sought out their seed and let not one of them go free.

12 Faithful is the Lord in all His judgements Which He doeth upon the earth.

13 The lawless one laid waste our land so that none inhabited it, They destroyed young and old and their children together.

14 In the heat of His anger He sent them away even unto the west, And (He exposed) the rulers of the land unsparingly to derision.

15 Being an alien the enemy acted proudly, And his heart was alien from our God.

16 And all things [whatsoever he did in] Jerusalem, As also the nations [in the cities to their gods.]

17 And the children of the covenant in the midst of the mingled peoples [surpassed them in evil.] There was not among them one that wrought in the midst of Jerusalem mercy and truth.

18 They that loved the synagogues of the pious fled from them, As sparrows that fly from their nest.

19 They wandered in deserts that their lives might be saved from harm, And precious in the eyes of them that lived abroad was any that escaped alive from them.

20 Over the whole earth were they scattered by lawless (men).

21 For the heavens withheld the rain from dropping upon the earth, Springs were stopped (that sprang) perennial(ly) out of the deeps, (that ran down) from lofty mountains. For there was none among them that wrought righteousness and justice; From the chief of them to the least (of them) all were sinful;

22 The king was a transgressor, and the judge disobedient, and the people sinful.

23 Behold, O Lord, and raise up unto them their king, the son of David, At the time in the which Thou seest, O God, that he may reign over Israel Thy servant

24 And gird him with strength, that he may shatter unrighteous rulers,

25 And that he may purge Jerusalem from nations that trample (her) down to destruction. Wisely, righteously 26 he shall thrust out sinners from (the) inheritance, He shall destroy the pride of the sinner as a potter's vessel. With a rod of iron he shall break in pieces all their substance,

21 He shall destroy the godless nations with the word of his mouth; At his rebuke nations shall flee before him, And he shall reprove sinners for the thoughts of their heart.

28 And he shall gather together a holy people, whom he shall lead in righteousness, And he shall judge the tribes of the people that has been sanctified by the Lord his God.

29 And he shall not suffer unrighteousness to lodge any more in their midst, Nor shall there dwell with them any man that knoweth wickedness,

30 For he shall know them, that they are all sons of their God. And he shall divide them according to their tribes upon the land,

31 And neither sojourner nor alien shall sojourn with them any more. He shall judge peoples and nations in the wisdom of his righteousness. Selah.

32 And he shall have the heathen nations to serve him under his yoke; And he shall glorify the Lord in a place to be seen of () all the earth;

33 And he shall purge Jerusalem, making it holy as of old:

34 So that nations shall come from the ends of the earth to see his glory, Bringing as gifts her sons who had fainted,

35 And to see the glory of the Lord, wherewith God hath glorified her. And he (shall be) a righteous king, taught of God, over them,

36 And there shall be no unrighteousness in his days in their midst, For all shall be holy and their king the anointed of the Lord.

37 For he shall not put his trust in horse and rider and bow, Nor shall he multiply for himself gold and silver for war, Nor shall he gather confidence from () a multitude () for the day of battle.

38 The Lord Himself is his king, the hope of him that is mighty through (his) hope in God. < > All nations (shall be) in fear before him,

39 For he will smite the earth with the word of his mouth for ever.

40 He will bless the people of the Lord with wisdom and gladness,

41 And he himself (will be) pure from sin, so that he may rule a great people. He will rebuke rulers, and remove sinners by the might of his word;

42 And (relying) upon his God, throughout his days he will not stumble; For God will make him mighty by means of (His) holy spirit, And wise by means of the spirit of understanding, with strength and righteousness.

43 And the blessing of the Lord (will be) with him: he will be strong and stumble not;

44 His hope (will be) in the Lord: who then can prevail against him (He will be) mighty in his works, and strong in the fear of God,

45 (He will be) shepherding the flock of the Lord faithfully and righteously, And will suffer none among them to stumble in their pasture.

46 He will lead them all aright, And there will be no pride among them that any among them should be oppressed.

47 This (will be) the majesty of the king of Israel whom God knoweth; He will raise him up over the house of Israel to correct him.

48 His words (shall be) more refined than costly gold, the choicest; In the assemblies he will judge the peoples, the tribes of the sanctified.

49 His words (shall be) like the words of the holy ones in the midst of sanctified peoples.

50 Blessed be they that shall be in those days, In that they shall see the good fortune of Israel which God shall bring to pass in the gathering together of the tribes.

51 May the Lord hasten His mercy upon Israel! May He deliver us from the uncleanness of unholy enemies! The Lord Himself is our king for ever and ever.

PSALMS OF SOLOMON CHAPTER 18.

(A Psalm. Of Solomon. Again of the Anointed of the Lord.)

1 Lord, Thy mercy is over the works of Thy hands for ever; Thy goodness is over Israel with a rich gift.

2 Thine eyes look upon them, so that none of them suffers want; Thine ears listen to the hopeful prayer of the poor.

3 Thy judgements (are executed) upon the whole earth in mercy;

4 And Thy love (is) toward the seed of Abraham, the children of Israel. Thy chastisement is upon us as (upon) a first-born, only-begotten son,

5 To turn back the obedient soul from folly (that is wrought) in ignorance.

6 May God cleanse Israel against the day of mercy and blessing, Against the day of choice when He bringeth back His anointed.

7 Blessed shall they be that shall be in those days, In that they shall see the goodness of the Lord which He shall perform for the generation that is to come,

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8 Under the rod of chastening of the Lord's anointed in the fear of his God, In the spirit of wisdom and righteousness and strength;
9 That he may direct (every} man in the works of righteousness by the fear of God, That he may establish them all before the Lord,
10 A good generation (living) in the fear of God in the days of mercy. Selah.
11 Great is our God and glorious, dwelling in the highest.
12 (It is He) who hath established in (their) courses the lights (of heaven) for determining seasons from year to year, And they have not turned aside from the way which He appointed them
13 In the fear of God (they pursue) their path every day, From the day God created them and for evermore.
14 And they have erred not since the day He created them. Since the generations of old they have not withdrawn from their path, Unless God commanded them (so to do) by the command of His servants.

THE ODES OF SOLOMON

From The Lost Books of the Bible
and the Forgotten Books of Eden.
Translation: J. Rendel Harris
Estimated Range of Dating: 73-200 A.D.

(The Odes of Solomon is a collection of 42 odes that are attributed to Solomon the Son of David but in reality they have Christian background.. The original language of the Odes was probably Greek. It is unknown if there was an earlier language version such as Hebrew, Aramaic or Syriac. Their place of origin seems likely to have been the region of Syria. Estimates of the date of composition range from the 1st to the 3rd century, with many settling for on the 2nd century. Some have claimed that Ode 4 discusses the closing of the temple at Leontopolis in Egypt which would date this writing about 73 AD. The earliest extant manuscripts of the Odes of Solomon date from around the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 4th century The manuscript begins with the second strophe of the first verse of Ode 3 (the first two odes have been lost). The manuscript gives the entire corpus of the Odes of Solomon through to the end of Ode 42. The Odes of Solomon were, perhaps, composed for liturgical use. In the Syriac manuscripts, all of the Odes end with a hallelujah.)

ODE OF SOLOMON 1

1 The Lord is on my head like a crown, and I shall not be without Him.
2 They wove for me a crown of truth, and it caused thy branches to bud in me.
3 For it is not like a withered crown which buddeth not: but thou livest upon my head, and thou hast blossomed upon my head.
4 Thy fruits are full-grown and perfect, they are full of thy salvation.

ODE OF SOLOMON 2

(No part of this Ode has ever been found.)

ODE OF SOLOMON 3.

(The first words of this Ode have disappeared.)

1 . . . I put on:
2 And his members are with him. And on them do I stand, and He loves me:
3 For I should not have known how to love the Lord, if He had not loved me.
4 For who is able to distinguish love, except the one that is loved?
5 I love the Beloved, and my soul loves Him:
6 And where His rest is, there also am I;
7 And I shall be no stranger, for with the Lord Most High and Merciful there is no grudging.
8 I have been united to I-run, for the Lover has found the Beloved,
9 And because I shall love Him that, is the Son, I shall become a son;
10 For he that is joined to Him that is immortal, will also himself become immortal;
11 And he who has pleasure in the Living One, will become living.
12 This is the Spirit of the Lord, which doth not lie, which teacheth the sons of men to know His ways.
13 Be wise and understanding and vigilant. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 4

(This Ode is important because of the historical allusion with which it commences. This may refer to the closing of the temple at Leontopolis in Egypt which would date this writing about 73 A. D.)

1 No man, O my God, changeth thy holy place;
2 And it is not (possible) that he should change it and put it in another place: because he hath no power over it:
3 For thy sanctuary thou hast designed before thou didst make (other) places:
4 That which is the older shall not be altered by those that are younger than itself.
5 Thou has given thy heart, O Lord, to thy believers: never wilt thou fail, nor be without fruits:
6 For one hour of thy Faith is more precious than all days and years.
7 For who is there that shall put on thy grace, and be hurt?
8 For thy seal is known: and thy creatures know it: and thy (heavenly) hosts possess it: and the elect archangels are clad with it.
9 Thou hast given us thy fellowship: it was not that thou wast in need of us: but that we are in need of thee:
10 Distill thy dews upon us and open thy rich fountains that pour forth to us milk and honey:
11 For there is no repentance with thee that thou shouldest repent of anything that thou hast promised:
12 And the end was revealed before thee: for what thou gavest, thou gavest freely:
13 So that thou mayest, not draw them back and take them again:
14 For all was revealed before thee as God, and ordered from the beginning before thee: and thou, O God, hast made all things. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 5

(This Ode appeares in a speech by Salome in another ancient work called the Pistis Sophia.)

1 I will give thanks unto thee, O Lord, because I love thee;
2 O Most High, thou wilt not forsake me, for thou art my hope:
3 Freely I have received thy grace, I shall live thereby:
4 My persecutors will come and not see me:
5 A cloud of darkness shall fall on their eyes; and an air of thick gloom shall darken them:
6 And they shall have no light to see: they may not take hold upon me.
7 Let their counsel become thick darkness, and what I have cunningly devised, let it return upon their own heads:
8 For they have devised a counsel, and it did not succeed:
9 For my hope is upon the Lord, and I will not fear, and because the Lord is my salvation, I will not fear:
10 And He is as a garland on my head and I shall not be moved; even if everything should be shaken, I stand firm;
11 And if all things visible should perish, I shall not die; because the Lord is with me and I am with Him. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 6

(First century universalism is revealed in an interesting way in verse 10.)

1 As the hand moves over the harp, and the strings speak.
2 So speaks in my members the Spirit of the Lord, and I speak by His love.
3 For it destroys what is foreign, and everything that is bitter:
4 For thus it was from the beginning and will be to the end, that nothing should be His adversary, and nothing should stand up against Him.
5 The Lord has multiplied the knowledge of Himself, and is zealous that these things should be known, which by His grace have been given to us.
6 And the praise of His name He gave us: our spirits praise His holy Spirit.
7 For there went forth a stream and became a river great and broad;
8 For it flooded and broke up everything and it brought (water) to the Temple:
9 And the restrainers of the children of men were not able to restrain it, nor the arts of those whose business it is to restrain waters;
10 For it spread over the face of the whole earth, and filled everything: and all the thirsty upon earth were given to drink of it;
11 And thirst was relieved and quenched: for from the Most High the draught was given.
12 Blessed then are the ministers of that draught who are entrusted with that water of His:
13 They have assuaged the dry lips, and the will that had fainted they have raised up;
14 And souls that were near departing they have caught back from death:
15 And limbs that had fallen they straightened and set up: p. 123
16 They gave strength for their feebleness and light to their eyes:
17 For everyone knew them in the Lord, and they lived by the water of life for ever. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 7

(A wonderfully, simple and joyful psalm on the Incarnation.)

1 As the impulse of anger against evil, so is the impulse of joy over what is lovely, and brings in of its fruits without restraint:
2 My joy is the Lord and my impulse is toward Him: this path of mine is excellent:
3 For I have a helper, the Lord.
4 He hath caused me to know Himself, without grudging, by His simplicity: His kindness has humbled His greatness.
5 He became like me, in order that I might receive Him:
6 He was reckoned like myself in order that I might put Him on;
7 And I trembled not when I saw Him: because He was gracious to me:
8 Like my nature He became that I might learn Him and like my form, that I might not turn back from Him:
9 The Father of knowledge is the word of knowledge:
10 He who created wisdom is wiser than His works:
11 And He who created me when yet I was not knew what I should do when I came into being:
12 Wherefore He pitied me in His abundant grace: and granted me to ask from Him and to receive from His sacrifice:
13 Because He it is that is incorrupt, the fulness of the ages and the Father of them.
14 He hath given Him to be seen of them that are His, in order that they may recognize Him that made them: and that they might not suppose that they came of themselves:
15 For knowledge He hath appointed as its way, He hath widened it and extended it; and brought to all perfection;
16 And set over it the traces of His light, and I walked therein from the beginning even to the end.
17 For by Him it was wrought, and He was resting in the Son, and for its salvation He will take hold of everything;
18 And the Most High shall be known in His Saints, to announce to those that have songs of the coming of the Lord;
19 That they may go forth to meet Him, and may sing to Him with joy and with the harp of many tones:
20 The seers shall come before Him and they shall be seen before Him,
21 And they shall praise the Lord for His love: because He is near and beholdeth.
22 And hatred shall be taken from the earth, and along with jealousy it shall be drowned:
23 For ignorance hath been destroyed, because the knowledge of the Lord hath arrived.
24 They who make songs shall sing the grace of the Lord Most High;
25 And they shall bring their songs, and their heart shall be like the day: and like the excellent beauty of the Lord their pleasant song: p. 124
26 And there shall neither be anything that breathes without knowledge, nor any that is dumb:
27 For He hath given a mouth to His creation, to open the voice of the mouth towards Him, to praise Him:
28 Confess ye His power, and show forth His grace. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 8

(Note the sudden transition from the person of the Psalmist to the person of the Lord (v. 10). This is like the canonical Psalter in style.)

1 Open ye, open ye your hearts to the exultation of the Lord:
2 And let your love be multiplied from the heart and even to the lips,
3 To bring forth fruit to the Lord [fruit], holy [fruit], and to talk with watchfulness in His light.
4 Rise up, and stand erect, ye who sometime were brought low:
5 Tell forth ye who were in silence, that your mouth hath been opened.
6 Ye, therefore, that were despised, be henceforth lifted up, because your righteousness hath been exalted.
7 For the right hand of the Lord is with you: and He is your helper:
8 And peace was prepared for you, before ever your war was.
9 Hear the word of truth, and receive the knowledge of the Most High.
10 Your flesh has not known what I am saying to you neither have your hearts known what I am showing to you.
11 Keep my secret, ye who are kept by it:
12 Keep my faith, ye who are kept by it.
13 And understand my knowledge, ye who know me in truth.
14 Love me with affection, ye who love:
15 For I do not turn away my face from them that are mine;
16 For I know them, and before they came into being I took knowledge of them, and on their faces I set my seal:
17 I fashioned their members: my own breasts I prepared for them, that they might drink my holy milk and live thereby.
181 took pleasure in them and am not ashamed of them:
19 For my workmanship are they and the strength of my thoughts:
20 Who then shall rise up against my handiwork, or who is there that is not subject to them?
21 I willed and fashioned mind and heart: and they are mine, and by my own right hand I set my elect ones:
22 And my righteousness goeth before them and they shall not be deprived of my name, for it is with them.

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23 Ask, and abound and abide in the love of the Lord,
24 And yet beloved ones in the Beloved: those who are kept, in Him that liveth:
25 And they that are saved in Him that was saved;
26 And ye shall be found incorrupt in all ages to the name of your Father. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 9.
(We shall never know surely whether the wars referred to here are spiritual or actual outward wars.)
1 Open your ears and I will speak to you. Give me p. 125 your souls that I may also give you my soul,
2 The word of the Lord and His good pleasures, the holy thought which He has devised concerning his Messiah.
3 For in the will of the Lord is your salvation, and His thought is everlasting life; and your end is immortality.
q Be enriched in God the Father, and receive the thought of the Most High.
5 Be strong and be redeemed by His grace.
6 For I announce to you peace, to you His saints;
7 That none of those who hear may fall in war, and that those again who have known Him may not perish, and that those who receive may not be ashamed.
8 An everlasting crown for ever is Truth. Blessed are they who set it on their heads:
9 A stone of great price is it; and there have been wars on account of the crown.
10 And righteousness hath taken it and hath given it to you.
11 Put on the crown in the true covenant of the Lord.
12 And all those who have conquered shall be written in His book.
13 For their book is victory which is yours. And she (Victory) sees you before her and wills that you shall be saved. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 10.
(A vigorous little Ode in which Christ Himself is the speaker.)
1 The Lord hath directed my mouth by His word: and He hath opened my heart by His light: and He hath caused to dwell in me His deathless life;
2 And gave me that I might speak the fruit of His peace:
3 To convert the souls of them who are willing to come to Him; and to lead captive a good captivity for freedom.
4 I was strengthened and made mighty and took the world captive;
5 And it became to me for the praise of the Most High, and of God my Father.
6 And the Gentiles were gathered together who were scattered abroad.
7 And I was unpolluted by my love for them, because they confessed me in high places: and the traces of the light were set upon their heart:
8 And they walked in my life and were saved and became my people for ever and ever. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 11.
(A beautiful sketch of Paradise regained and the blessedness of those who have returned to the privileges of the fallen Adam.)
1 My heart was cloven and its flower appeared; and grace sprang up in it: and it brought forth fruit to the Lord,
2 For the Most High clave my heart by His Holy Spirit and searched my affection towards Him: and filled me with His love.
3 And His opening of me became my salvation; and I ran in His way in His peace, even in the way of truth:
4 From the beginning and even to the end I acquired His knowledge:
5 And I was established upon the rock of truth, where He had set me up: p. 126
6 And speaking waters touched my lips from the fountain of the Lord plenteously:
7 And I drank and was inebriated with the living water that doth not die;
8 And my inebriation was not one without knowledge, but I forsook vanity and turned to the Most High my God,
9 And I was enriched by His bounty, and I forsook the folly which is diffused over the earth; and I stripped it off and cast it from me:
10 And the Lord renewed me in His raiment, and possessed me by His light, and from above He gave me rest in incorruption;
11 And I became like the land which blossoms and rejoices in its fruits:
12 And the Lord was like the sun shining on the face of the land;
13 He lightened my eyes, and my face received the dew; and my nostrils enjoyed the pleasant odour of the Lord;
14 And He carried me to His Paradise; where is the abundance of the pleasure of the Lord;
15 And I worshipped the Lord on account of His glory; and I said, Blessed, O Lord, are they who are planted in thy land! and those who have a place in thy Paradise;
16 And they grow by the fruits of the trees. And they have changed from darkness to light.
17 Behold! all thy servants are fair, who do good works, and turn away from wickedness to the pleasantness that is thine:
18 And they have turned back the bitterness of the trees from them, when they were planted in thy, land;
19 And everything became like a relic of thyself, and memorial for ever of thy faithful works.
20 For there is abundant room in thy Paradise, and nothing is useless therein;
21 But everything is filled with fruit; glory be to thee, O God, the delight of Paradise for ever. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 12.
(An exceptionally high level of spiritual thought.)
1 He hath filled me with words of truth; that I may speak the same;
2 And like the flow of waters flows truth from my mouth, and my lips show forth His fruit.
3 And He has caused His knowledge to abound in me, because the mouth of the Lord is the true Word, and the door of His light;
4 And the Most High hath given it to His words, which are the interpreters of His own beauty, and the repeaters of His praise, and the confessors of His counsel, and the heralds of His thought, and the chasteners of His servants.
5 For the swiftness of the Word is inexpressible, and like its expression is its swiftness and force;
6 And its course knows no limit. Never doth it fail, but it stands sure, and it knows not descent nor the way of it.
7 For as its work is, so is its end: for it is light and the dawning of thought;
8 And by it the worlds talk one to the other; and in the Word there were those that were silent; p. 127
9 And from it came love and concord; and they spake one to the other whatever was theirs; and they were penetrated by the Word;
10 And they knew Him who made them, because they were in concord; for the mouth of the Most High spake to them; and His explanation ran by means of it:
11 For the dwelling-place of the Word is man: and its truth is love.
12 Blessed are they who by means thereof have understood everything, and have known the Lord in His truth. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 13.
(A strange little Ode.)
1 Behold! the Lord is our mirror: open the eyes and see them in Him: and learn the manner of your face:
2 And tell forth praise to His spirit: and wipe off the filth from your face: and love His holiness and clothe yourselves therewith:
3 And be without stain at all times before Him. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 14.
(This Ode is as beautiful in style as the canonical Psalter.)
1 As the eyes of a son to his father, so are my eyes, O Lord, at all times towards thee.
2 For with thee are my consolations and my delight.
3 Turn not away thy mercies from me, O Lord: and take not thy kindness from me.
4 Stretch out to me, O Lord, at all times thy right hand: and be my guide even unto the end, according to thy good pleasure.
5 Let me be well-pleasing before thee, because of thy glory and because of thy name:
6 Let me be preserved from evil, and let thy meekness, O Lord, abide with me, and the fruits of thy love.
7 Teach me the Psalms of thy truth, that I may bring forth fruit in thee:
8 And open to me the harp of thy Holy Spirit, that with all its notes I may praise thee, O Lord.
9 And according to the multitude of thy tender mercies, so thou shalt give to me; and hasten to grant our petitions; and thou art able for all our needs. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 15.
(One of the loveliest Odes in this unusual collection.)
1 As the sun is the joy to them that seek for its daybreak, so is my joy the Lord;
2 Because He is my Sun and His rays have lifted me up; and His light hath dispelled all darkness from my face.
3 In Him I have acquired eyes and have seen His holy day:
4 Ears have become mine and I have heard His truth.
5 The thought of knowledge hath been mine, and I have been delighted through Him.
6 The way of error I have left, and have walked towards Him and have received salvation from Him, without grudging. p. 128
7 And according to His bounty He hath given to me, and according to His excellent beauty He hath made me.
8 I have put on incorruption through His name: and have put oft corruption by His grace.
9 Death hath been destroyed before my face: and Sheol hath been abolished by my word:
10 And there hath gone up deathless life in the Lord's land,
11 And it hath been made known to His faithful ones, and hath been given without stint to all those that trust in Him. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 16.
(The beauty of God's creation.)
1 As the work of the husbandman is the ploughshare: and the work of the steersman is the guidance of the ship:
2 So also my work is the Psalm of the Lord: my craft and my occupation are in His praises:
3 Because His love bath nourished my heart, and even to my lips His fruits He poured out.
4 For my love is the Lord, and therefore I will sing unto Him:
5 For I am made strong in His praise, and I have faith in Him.
6 I will open my mouth and His spirit will utter in me the glory of the Lord and His beauty; the work of His hands and the operation of His fingers:
7 The multitude of His mercies and the strength of His word.
8 For the word of the Lord searches out all things, both the invisible and that which reveals His thought;
9 For the eye sees His works, and the ear hears His thought;
10 He spread out the earth and He settled the waters in the sea:
11 He measured the heavens and fixed the stars: and He established the creation and set it up:
12 And He rested from His works:
13 And created things run in their courses, and do their works:
14 And they know not how to stand and be idle; and His heavenly hosts are subject to His word.
15 The treasure-chamber of the light is the sun, and the treasury of the darkness is the night:
16 And He made the sun for the day that it may be bright, but night brings darkness over the face of the land;
17 And their alternations one to the other speak the beauty of God:
IS And there is nothing that is without the Lord; for He was before any thing came into being:
19 And the worlds were made by His word, and by the thought of His heart. Glory and honour to His name. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 17.
(A peculiar change of personality, scarcely realized until the return from it in the last verse.)
1 I was crowned by my God: my crown is living:
2 And I was justified in my Lord: my incorruptible salvation is He.
3 I was loosed from vanity, and I was not condemned:
4 The choking bonds were cut off by her hands: I received the face and the fashion of a new person: p. 129 and I walked in it and was saved;
5 And the thought of truth led me on. And I walked after it and did not wander:
6 And all that have seen me were amazed: and I was regarded by them as a strange person:
7 And He who knew and brought me up is the Most High in all His perfection. And He glorified me by His kindness, and raised my thoughts to the height of His truth.
8 And from thence He gave me the way of His precepts and I opened the doors that were closed,
9 And brake in pieces the bars of iron; but my iron melted and dissolved before me;
10 Nothing appeared closed to me: because I was the door of everything.
11 And I went over all my bondmen to loose them; that I might not leave any man bound or binding:
12 And I imparted my knowledge without grudging: and my prayer was in my love:
13 And I sowed my fruits in hearts, and transformed them into myself: and they received my blessing and lived;
14 And they were gathered to me and were saved; because they were to me as my own members and I was their head. Glory to thee our head, the Lord Messiah. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 18.
(A man who had a spiritual experience brings a message.)
1 My heart was lifted up in the love of the Most High and was enlarged: that I might praise Him for His name's sake.
2 My members were strengthened that they might not fall from His strength.
3 Sicknesses removed from my body, and it stood to the Lord by His will. For His kingdom is true.
4 O Lord, for the sake of them that are deficient do not remove thy word from me!
5 Neither for the sake of their works do thou restrain from me thy perfection!
6 Let not the luminary be conquered by the darkness; nor let truth flee away from falsehood.

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7 Thou wilt appoint me to victory; our Salvation is thy right hand. And thou wilt receive men from all quarters.
8 And thou wilt preserve whosoever is held in evils:
9 Thou art my God. Falsehood and death are not in thy mouth:
10 For thy will is perfection; and vanity thou knowest not,
11 Nor does it know thee.
12 And error thou knowest not,
13 Neither does it know thee.
14 And ignorance appeared like a blind man; and like the foam of the sea,
15 And they supposed of that vain thing that it was something great;
16 And they too came in likeness of it and became vain; and those have understood who have known and meditated;
17 And they have not been corrupt in their imagination; for such were in the mind of the Lord;
18 And they mocked at them that were walking in error;
19 And they spake truth from the inspiration which the Most High breathed into them; Praise and great comeliness to His name Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 19.
(Fantastic and not in harmony with the other Odes. The reference to a painless Virgin Birth is notable.)
1 A cup of milk was offered to me: and I drank it in the sweetness of the delight of the Lord.
2 The Son is the cup, and He who was milked is the Father:
3 And the Holy Spirit milked Him: because His breasts were full, and it was necessary for Him that His milk should be sufficiently released;
4 And the Holy Spirit opened His bosom and mingled the milk from the two breasts of the Father; and gave the mixture to the world without their knowing:
5 And they who receive in its fulness are the ones on the right hand.
6 The Spirit opened the womb of the Virgin and she received conception and brought forth; and the Virgin became a Mother with many mercies;
7 And she travailed and brought forth a Son, without incurring pain;
8 And because she was not sufficiently prepared, and she had not sought a midwife (for He brought her to bear) she brought forth, as if she were a man, of her own will;
9 And she brought Him forth openly, and acquired Him with great dignity,
10 And loved Him in His swaddling clothes and guarded Him kindly, and showed Him in Majesty. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 20.
(A mixture of ethics and mysticism; of the golden rule and the tree of life.)
1 I am a priest of the Lord, and to Him I do priestly service: and to Him I offer the sacrifice of His thought.
2 For His thought is not like the thought of the world nor the thought of the flesh, nor like them that serve carnally.
3 The sacrifice of the Lord is righteousness, and purity of heart and lips.
4 Present your reins before Him blamelessly: and let not thy heart do violence to heart, nor thy soul to soul.
5 Thou shalt not acquire a stranger by the price of thy silver, neither shalt thou seek to devour thy neighbour,
6 Neither shalt thou deprive him of the covering of his nakedness.
7 But put on the grace of the Lord without stint; and come into His Paradise and make thee a garland from its tree,
8 And put it on thy head and be glad; and recline on His rest, and glory shall go before thee,
9 And thou shalt receive of His kindness and of His grace; and thou shalt be flourishing in truth in the praise of His holiness. Praise and honour be to His name. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 21.
(A remarkable explanation of the "coats of skin" in the third chapter of Genesis.)
1 My arms I lifted up to the Most High, even to the p. 131 grace of the Lord: because He had cast off my bonds from me: and my Helper had lifted me up to His grace and to His salvation:
2 And I put off darkness and clothed myself with light,
3 And my soul acquired a body free from sorrow or affliction or pains.
4 And increasingly helpful to me was the thought of the Lord, and His fellowship in incorruption:
5 And I was lifted up in His light; and I served before Him,
6 And I became near to Him, praising and confessing Him;
7 My heart ran over and was found in my mouth: and it arose upon my lips; and the exultation of the Lord increased on my face, and His praise likewise. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 22.
(Like the Psalms of David in their exultation because of freedom.)
1 He who brought me down from on high, also brought me up from the regions below;
2 And He who gathers together the things that are betwixt is He also who cast me down:
3 He who scattered my enemies had existed from ancient and my adversaries:
4 He who gave me authority over bonds that I might loose them;
5 He that overthrew by my hands the dragon with seven heads: and thou hast set me over his roots that I might destroy his seed.
6 Thou wast there and didst help me, and in every place thy name was a rampart me
7 Thy right hand destroyed his wicked poison; and thy hand levelled the way for those who believe in thee.
8 And thou didst choose them from the graves and didst separate them from the dead.
9 Thou didst take dead bones and didst cover them with bodies.
10 They were motionless, and thou didst give them energy for life.
11 Thy way was without corruption, and thy face; thou didst bring thy world to corruption: that everything might be dissolved, and then renewed,
12 And that the foundation for everything might be thy rock: and on it thou didst build thy kingdom; and it became the dwelling place of the saints. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 23.
(The reference to the sealed document sent by God is one of the great mysteries of the collection.)
1 Joy is of the saints! and who shall put it on, but they alone?
2 Grace is of the elect! and who shall receive it except those who trust in it from the beginning?
3 Love is of the elect? And who shall put it on except those who have possessed it from the beginning?
4 Walk ye in the knowledge of the Most High without grudging: to His exultation and to the perfection of His knowledge.
5 And His thought was like a letter; His will descended from on high, and it was sent like an arrow which is violently shot from the bow: p. 132
6 And many hands rushed to the letter to seize it and to take and read it:
7 And it escaped their fingers and they were affrighted at it and at the seal that was upon it.
8 Because it was not permitted to them to loose its seal: for the power that was over the seal was greater than they.
9 But those who saw it went after the letter that they might know where it would alight, and who should read it and who should hear it.
10 But a wheel received it and came over it:
11 And there was with it a sign of the Kingdom and of the Government:
12 And everything which tried to move the wheel it mowed and cut down:
13 And it gathered the multitude of adversaries, and bridged the rivers and crossed over and rooted up many forests and made a broad path.
14 The head went down to the feet, for down to the feet ran the wheel, and that which was a sign upon it.
15 The letter was one of command, for there were included in it all districts;
16 And there was seen at its head, the head which was revealed even the Son of Truth from the Most High Father,
17 And He inherited and took possession of everything. And the thought of many was brought to nought.
18 And all the apostates hasted and fled away. And those who persecuted and were enraged became extinct.
19 And the letter was a great volume, which was wholly written by the. finger of God:
20 And the name of the Father was on it, and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, to rule for ever and ever. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 24.
(The mention of the Dove refers to a lost Gospel to which there are rare references in ancient writings.)
1 The Dove fluttered over the Messiah, because He was her head; and she sang over Him and her voice was heard:
2 And the inhabitants were afraid and the sojourners were moved:
3 The birds dropped their wings and all creeping things died in their holes: and the abysses were opened which had been hidden; and they cried to the Lord like women in travail:
4 And no food was given to them, because it did not belong to them;
5 And they sealed up the abysses with the seal of the Lord. And they perished, in the thought, those that had existed from ancient times;
6 For they were corrupt from the beginning; and the end of their corruption was life:
7 And every one of them that was imperfect perished: for it was not possible to give them a word that they might remain:
8 And the Lord destroyed the imaginations of all them that had not the truth with them.
9 For they who in their hearts were lifted up were deficient in wisdom, and so they were rejected, because the truth was not with them. p. 133
10 For the Lord disclosed His way, and spread abroad His grace: and those who understood it, know His holiness. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 25.
(Back again to personal experience.)
1 I was rescued from my bonds and unto thee, my God, I fled:
2 For thou art the right hand of my Salvation and my helper.
3 Thou hast restrained those that rise up against me,
4 And I shall see him no more: because thy face was with me, which saved me by thy grace.
5 But I was despised and rejected in the eye of many: and I was in their eyes like lead,
6 And strength was mine from thyself and help.
7 Thou didst set me a lamp at my right hand and at my left: and in me there shall be nothing that is not bright:
8 And I was clothed with the covering of thy Spirit, and thou didst remove from me my raiment of skin;
9 For thy right hand lifted me up and removed sickness from me:
10 And I became mighty in: the truth, and holy by thy righteousness; and all my adversaries were afraid of me;
11 And I became admirable by the name of the Lord, and was justified by His gentleness, and His rest is for ever and ever. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 26.
(Remarkable praise.)
1 I poured out praise to the Lord, for I am His:
2 And I will speak His holy song, for my heart is with Him.
3 For His harp is in my hands, and the Odes of His rest shall not be silent.
4 I will cry unto him from my whole heart: I will praise and exalt Him with all my members.
5 For from the east and even to the west is His praise:
6 And from the south and even to the north is the confession of Him:
7 And from the top of the hills to their utmost bound is His perfection.
8 Who can write the Psalms of the Lord, or who read them?
9 Or who can train his soul for life, that his soul may be saved,
10 Or who can rest on the Most High, so that with His mouth he may speak?
11 Who is able to interpret the wonders of the Lord?
12 For he who could interpret would be dissolved and would become that which is interpreted.
13 For it suffices to know and to rest: for in rest the singers stand,
14 Like a river which has an abundant fountain, and flows to the help of them that seek it. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 27.
(The human body makes a cross when a man stands erect in prayer with arms outstretched.)
1 I stretched out my hands and sanctified my Lord:
2 For the extension of my hands is His sign:
3 And my expansion is the upright tree [or cross].

ODE OF SOLOMON 28.
(This Ode is a musical gem.)
1 As the wings of doves over their nestlings; and the mouth of their nestlings towards their mouths.
2 So also are the wings of the Spirit over my heart:
3 My heart is delighted and exults: like the babe who exults in the womb of his mother:
4 I believed; therefore I was at rest; for faithful is He in whom I have believed:
5 He has richly blessed me and my head is with Him: and the sword shall not divide me from Him, nor the scimitar;
6 For I am ready before destruction comes; and I have been set on His immortal pinions:
7 And He showed me His sign: forth and given me to drink, and from that life is the spirit within me, and it cannot die, for it lives.
8 They who saw me marvelled at me, because I was persecuted, and they supposed that I was swallowed up: for I seemed to them as one of the lost;
9 And my oppression became my salvation; and I was their reprobation because there was no zeal in me;
10 Because I did good to every man I was hated,
11 And they came round me like mad dogs, who ignorantly attack their masters,
12 For their thought is corrupt and their understanding perverted.
13 But I was carrying water in my right hand, and their bitterness I endured by my sweetness;

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14 And I did not perish, for I was not their brother nor was my birth like theirs.
15 And they sought for my death and did not find it: for I was older than the memorial of them;
16 And vainly did they make attack upon me and those who, without reward, came after me:
17 They sought to destroy the memorial of him who was before them.
18 For the thought of the Most High cannot be anticipated; and His heart is superior to all wisdom. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 29.
(Again reminiscent of the Psalms, of David.)
1 The Lord is my hope: in Him I shall not be confounded.
2 For according to His praise He made me, and according to His goodness even so He gave unto me:
3 And according to His mercies He exalted me: and according to His excellent beauty He set me on high:
4 And brought me up out of the depths of Sheol: and from the mouth of death He drew me:
5 And thou didst lay my enemies low, and He justified me by His grace.
6 For I believed in the Lord's Messiah: and it appeared to me that He is the Lord;
7 And He showed him His sign: and He led me by His light, and gave me the rod of His power;
8 That I might subdue the imaginations of the peoples; and the power of the men of might to bring them low:
9 To make war by His word, and to take victory by His power.
10 And the Lord overthrew my enemy by His word: and p. 135 he became like the stubble which the wind carries away;
11 And I gave praise to the Most High because He exalted me His servant and the son of His handmaid. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 30.
(An invitation to the thirsty.)
1 Fill ye waters for yourselves from the living fountain of the Lord, for it is opened to you:
2 And come all ye thirsty, and take the draught; and rest by the fountain of the Lord.
3 For fair it is and pure and gives rest to the soul. Much more pleasant are its waters than honey;
4 And the honeycomb of bees is not to be compared with it.
5 For it flows forth from the lips of the Lord and from the heart of the Lord is its name.
6 And it came infinitely and invisibly: and until it was set in the midst they did not know it:
7 Blessed are they who have drunk therefrom and have found rest thereby. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 31.
(A song that Marcus Aurelius might have known when he said "Be like the promontory against which the waves continually break.")
1 The abysses were dissolved before the Lord: and darkness was destroyed by His appearance:
2 Error went astray and perished at His hand: and folly found no path to walk in, and was submerged by the truth of the Lord.
3 He opened His mouth and spake grace and joy: and He spake a new song of praise to His name:
4 And He lifted up His voice to the Most High, and offered to Him the sons that were with Him.
5 And His face was justified, for thus His holy Father had given to Him.
6 Come forth, ye that have been afflicted and receive joy, and possess your souls by His grace; and take to you immortal life.
7 And they made me a debtor when I rose up, me who had been a debtor: and they divided my spoil, though nothing was due to them.
8 But I endured and held my peace and was silent, as if not, moved by them.
9 But I stood unshaken like a firm rock which is beaten by the waves and endures.
10 And I bore their bitterness for humility's sake:
11 In order, that I might redeem my people, and inherit it and that I might not make void my promises to the fathers, to whom I promised the salvation of their seed. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 32.
(Joy and light.)
1 To the blessed there is joy from their hearts, and light from Him that dwells in them:
2 And words from the Truth, who was self-originate: for He is strengthened by the holy power of the Most High: and He is unperturbed for ever and ever. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 33.
(A virgin stands and proclaims (v. 5).)
1 Again Grace ran and forsook corruption, and came down in Him to bring it to nought;
2 And He destroyed perdition from before Him, and devastated all its order;
3 And He stood on a lofty summit and uttered His voice from one end of the earth to the other:
4 And drew to Him all those who obeyed Him; and there did not appear as it were an evil person.
5 But there stood a perfect virgin who was proclaiming and calling and saying,
6 O ye sons of men, return ye, and ye daughters of men, come ye:
7 And forsake the ways of that corruption and draw near unto me, and I will enter into you, and will bring you forth from perdition,
8 And make you wise in the ways of truth: that you be not destroyed nor perish:
9 Hear ye me and be redeemed. For the grace of God I am telling among you: and by my means you shall be redeemed and become blessed.
10 I am your judge; and they who have put me on shall not be injured: but they shall possess the new world that is incorrupt:
11 My chosen ones walk in me, and my ways I will make known to them that seek me, and I will make them trust in my name. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 34.
(True poetry--pure and simple.)
1 No way is hard where there is a simple heart.
2 Nor is there any wound where the thoughts are upright:
3 Nor is there any storm in the depth of the illuminated thought:
4 Where one is surrounded on every side by beauty, there is nothing that is divided.
5 The likeness of what is below is that which is above; for everything is above: what is below is nothing but the imagination of those that are without knowledge.
6 Grace has been revealed for your salvation. Believe and live and be saved. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 35.
("No cradled child more softly lies than I: come soon, eternity.")
1 The dew of the Lord in quietness He distilled upon me:
2 And the cloud of peace He caused to rise over my head, which guarded me continually;
3 It was to me for salvation: everything was shaken and they were affrighted;
4 And there came forth from them a smoke and a judgement; and I was keeping quiet in the order of the Lord:
5 More than shelter was He to me, and more than foundation.
6 And I was carried like a child by his mother: and He gave me milk, the dew of the Lord:
7 And I grew great by His bounty, and rested in His perfection,
8 And I spread out my hands in the lifting up of my soul: and I was made right with the Most High, and I was redeemed with Him. Hallelujah.

ODE 36.
(Theologians have never agreed on an explanation of this perplexing Ode.)
1 I rested in the Spirit of the Lord: and the Spirit raised me on high:
2 And made me stand on my feet in the height of the Lord, before His perfection and His glory, while I was praising Him by the composition of His songs.
3 The Spirit brought me forth before the face of the Lord: and, although a son of man, I was named the Illuminate, the Son of God:
4 While I praised amongst the praising ones, and great was I amongst the mighty ones.
5 For according to the greatness of the Most High, so He made me: and like His own newness He renewed me; and He anointed me from His own perfection:
6 And I became one of His Neighbours; and my mouth was opened, like a cloud of dew,
7 And my heart poured out as it were a gushing stream of righteousness,
8 And my access to Him was in peace; and I was established by the Spirit of His government. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 37.
(An elementary Ode.)
1 I stretched out my hands to my Lord: and to the Most I High I raised my voice:
2 And I spake with the lips of my heart; and He heard me, when my voice reached I Him:
3 His answer came to me, and gave me the fruits of my labours;
4 And it gave me rest by the grace of the Lord. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 38.
(A beautiful description of the power of truth.)
1 I went up to the light of truth as if into a chariot:
2 And the Truth took me and led me: and carried me across pits and gulleys; and from the rocks and the waves it preserved me:
3 And it became to me a haven of Salvation: and set me on the arms of immortal life:
4 And it went with me and made me rest, and suffered me not to wander, because it was the Truth;
5 And I ran no risk, because I walked with Him;
6 And I did not make an error in anything because I obeyed the Truth.
7 For Error flees away from it, and meets it not: but the Truth proceeds in the right path, and
8 Whatever I did not know, it made clear to me, all the poisons of error, and the plagues of death which they think to be sweetness:
9 And I saw the destroyer of destruction, when the bride who is corrupted is adorned: and the bridegroom who corrupts and is corrupted;
10 And I asked the Truth 'Who are these?'; and He said to me, 'This is the deceiver and the error:
11 And they are alike in the beloved and in his bride: and they lead astray and corrupt the whole world:
12 And they invite many to the banquet, p. 138
13 And give them to drink of the wine of their intoxication, and remove their wisdom and knowledge, and so they make them without intelligence;
14 And then they leave them; and then these go about like madmen corrupting: seeing that-they are without heart, nor do they seek for it!
15 And I was made wise so as not to fall into the hands of the deceiver; and I congratulated myself because the Truth went with me,
16 And I was established and lived and was redeemed,
17 And my foundations were laid on the hand of the Lord: because He established me.
18 For He set the root and watered it and fixed it and blessed it; and its fruits are for ever.
19 It struck deep and sprung up and spread out, and was full and enlarged;
20 And the Lord alone was glorified in His planting and in His husbandry: by His care and by the blessing of His lips,
21 By the beautiful planting of His right hand: and by the discovery of His planting, and by the thought of His mind. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 39.
(One of the few allusions to events in the Gospels--that of our Lord walking on the Sea of Galilee.)
1 Great rivers are the power of the Lord:
2 And they carry headlong those who despise Him: and entangle their paths:
3 And they sweep away their fords, and catch their bodies and destroy their lives.
4 For they are more swift than lightning and more rapid, and those who cross them in faith are not moved;
5 And those who walk on them without blemish shall not be afraid.
6 For the sign in them is the Lord; and the sign is the way of those who cross in the name of the Lord;
7 Put on, therefore, the name of the Most High, and know Him, and you shall cross without danger, for the rivers will be subject to you.
8 The Lord has bridged them by His word; and He walked and crossed them on foot:
9 And His footsteps stand firm on the water, and are not injured; they are as firm as a tree that is truly set up.
10 And the waves were lifted up on this side and on that, but the footsteps of our Lord Messiah stand firm and are not obliterated and are not defaced.
11 And a way has been appointed for those who cross after Him and for those who adhere to the course of faith in Him and worship His name. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 40.
(A song of praise without equal.)
1 As the honey distills from the comb of the bees,
2 And the milk flows from the woman that loves her children;
3 So also is my hope on Thee, my God.
4 As the fountain gushes out its water,
5 So my heart gushes out the praise of the Lord and my lips utter praise to Him, and my tongue His psalms. p. 139
6 And my face exults with His gladness, and my spirit exults in His love, and my soul shines in Him:
7 And reverence confides in Him; and redemption in Him stands assured:
8 And His inheritance is immortal life, and those who participate in it are incorrupt. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 41.
(We discover that the writer may be a Gentile (v. 8).)
1 All the Lord's children will praise Him, and will collect the truth of His faith.

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2 And His children shall be known to Him. Therefore we will sing in His love:
3 We live in the Lord by His grace: and life we receive in His Messiah:
4 For a great day has shined upon us: and marvellous is He who has given us of His glory.
5 Let us, therefore, all of us unite together in the name of the Lord, and let us honour Him in His goodness,
6 And let our faces shine in His light: and let our hearts meditate in His love by night and by day.
7 Let us exult with the joy of the Lord.
8 All those will be astonished that see me. For from another race am I:
9 For the Father of truth remembered me: He who possessed me from the beginning:
10 For His bounty begat me, and the thought of His heart:
11 And His Word is with us in all our way;
12 The Saviour who makes alive and does not reject our souls-;
13 The man who was humbled, and exalted by His own righteousness,
14 The Son of the Most High appeared in the perfection of His Father;
15 And light dawned from the Word that was beforetime in Him;
16 The Messiah is truly one; and He was known before the foundation of the world,
17 That He might save souls for ever by the truth of His name: a new song arises from those who love Him. Hallelujah.

ODE OF SOLOMON 42.

(The Odes of Solomon, the Son of David, are ended with the following exquisite verses.)

1 I stretched out my hands and approached my Lord:
2 For the stretching of my hands is His sign:
3 My expansion is the outspread tree which was set up on the way of the Righteous One.
4 And I became of no account to those who did not take hold of me; and I shall be with those who love me.
5 All my persecutors are dead; and they sought after me who hoped in me, because I was alive:
6 And I rose up and am with them; and I will speak by their mouths.
7 For they have despised those who persecuted them;
8 And I lifted up over them the yoke of my love;
9 Like the arm of the bridegroom over the bride,
10 So was my yoke over those that know me:
11 And as the couch that is spread in the house of the bridegroom and bride,
12 So is my love over those that believe in me. p. 140
13 And I was not rejected though I was reckoned to be so.
14 I did not perish, though they devised it against me.
15 Sheol saw me and was made miserable:
16 Death cast me up, and many along with me.
17 I had gall and bitterness, and I went down with him to the utmost of his depth:
18 And the feet and the head he let go, for they were not able to endure my face:
19 And I made a congregation of living men amongst his dead men, and I spake with them by living lips:
20 Because my word shall not be void:
21 And those who had died ran towards me: and they cried and said, Son of God, have pity on us, and do with us according to thy kindness,
22 And bring us out from the bonds of darkness: and open to us the door by which we shall come out to thee.
23 For we see that our death has not touched thee.
24 Let us also be redeemed with thee: for thou art our Redeemer.
25 And I heard their voice; and my name I sealed upon their heads:
26 For they are free men and they are mine. Hallelujah.

PSEUDEPIGRAPHA
ETHICS AND WISDOM LITERATURE

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

From The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament by R. H. Charles, vol. II, Oxford Press
Translation: Robert Henry Charles, 1908
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd century B.C.

(The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs is an apocryphal work connected with the Bible. It is part of the Oskan Armenian Orthodox Bible of 1666. Fragments of similar writings were found at Qumran, but opinions are divided as to whether these are the same texts. It is generally considered apocalyptic literature. The work is believed to be a pseudepigraphical. It is divided into twelve books, each purporting to be the last exhortations of one of the twelve titular patriarchs. They are: 1 Reuben; 2 Simeon; 3 Levi [with the Aramaic Levi Document]; 4 Judah; 5 Issachar; 6 Zebulun; 7 Dan; 8 Naphtali; 9 Gad; 10 Asher; 11 Joseph; 12 Benjamin. In each, the patriarch first narrates his own life, focusing on his strengths, virtues, or his sins, using biographical material from both the Hebrew Bible and Jewish tradition. Next he exhorts his listeners to emulate the one and to avoid the other. Most of the books conclude with prophetic visions.

The Testaments were written in Hebrew or Greek, and reached their final form in the 2nd century AD. In the 13th century they were introduced into the Western world through the agency of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, whose Latin translation of the work immediately became popular. He believed that it was a genuine work of the twelve sons of Jacob, and that the Christian interpolations were a genuine product of Jewish prophecy; he accused Jews of concealing the Testaments "on account of the prophecies of the Saviour contained in them."

With the critical methods of the 16th century, Grosseteste's view of the Testaments was rejected, and the book was disparaged as a mere Christian forgery for nearly four centuries. Presently, scholarly opinions are still divided as to whether it is an originally Jewish document that has been retouched by Christians, or a Christian document written originally in Greek but based on some earlier Semitic-language material. Scholarship tends to focus on this book as a Christian work, whether or not it has a Jewish predecessor.)

TWELVE PATRIARCHS CHAPTER 1

The Testament Of Reuben, The First-Born Son Of Jacob And Leah

1 The copy of the Testament of Reuben, even the commands which he gave his sons before he died in the hundred and twenty-fifth year of his life. Two years after the death of Joseph his brother, when Reuben fell ill, his sons and his sons' sons were gathered together to visit him. And he said to them: My children, behold I am dying, and go the way of my fathers. And seeing there Judah, and Gad, and Asher, his brethren, he said to them: Raise me up, that I may tell to my brethren and to my children what things I have hidden in my heart, for behold now at length I am passing away. And he arose and kissed them, and said unto them: Hear, my brethren, and do ye, my children, give ear to Reuben your father in the commands which I give unto you. And behold I call to witness against you this day the God of heaven, that ye walk not in the sins of youth and fornication, wherein I was poured out, and defiled the bed of my father Jacob. And I tell you that he smote me with a sore plague in my loins for seven months; and had not my father Jacob prayed for me to the Lord, the Lord would have destroyed me. For I was thirty years old when I wrought the evil thing before the Lord, and for seven months I was sick unto death. And after this I repented with set purpose of my soul for seven years before the Lord. And wine and strong drink I drank not, and flesh entered not into my mouth, and I eat no pleasant food; but I mourned over my sin, for it was great, such as had not been in Israel.

2 And now hear me, my children, what things I saw concerning the seven spirits of deceit, when I repented. Seven spirits therefore are appointed against man, and they are the leaders in the works of youth. [And seven other spirits are given to him at his creation, that through them should be done every work of man. The first is the spirit of life, with which the constitution (of man) is created. The second is the sense of sight, with which ariseth desire. The third is the sense of hearing, with which cometh teaching. The fourth is the sense of smell, with which tastes are given , to draw air and breath. The fifth is the power of speech, with which cometh knowledge. The sixth is the sense of taste, with which cometh the eating of meats and drinks; and by it strength is produced, for in food is the foundation of strength. The seventh is the power of procreation and sexual intercourse, with which through love of pleasure sins enter in. Wherefore it is the last in order of creation, and the first in that of youth, because it is filled with ignorance, and leadeth the youth as a blind man to a pit, and as a beast to a precipice.

3 Besides all these there is an eighth spirit of sleep, with which is brought about the trance of nature and the image of death. With these spirits are mingled the spirits of error. First, the spirit of fornication is seated in the nature and in the senses; the second, the spirit of insatiableness, in the belly; the third, the spirit of fighting, in the liver and gall. The fourth is the spirit of obsequiousness and chicanery, that through officious attention one may be fair in seeming. The fifth is the spirit of pride, that one may be boastful and arrogant. The sixth is the spirit of lying, in perdition and jealousy to practise deceits, and concealments from kindred and friends. The seventh is the spirit of injustice, with which are thefts and acts of rapacity, that a man may fulfill the desire of his heart; for injustice worketh together with the other spirits by the taking of gifts. And with all these the spirit of sleep is joined which is (that) of error and fantasy.] And so perisheth every young man, darkening his mind from the truth, and not understanding the law of God, nor obeying the admonitions of his fathers as befell me also in my youth. And now, my children, love the truth, and it will preserve you: hear ye the words of Reuben your father. Pay no heed to the face of a woman, Nor associate with another man's wife, Nor meddle with affairs of womankind. For had I not seen Bilhah bathing in a covered place, I had not fallen into this great iniquity. For my mind taking in the thought of the woman's nakedness, suffered me not to sleep until I had wrought the abominable thing. For while Jacob our father had gone to Isaac his father, when we were in Eder, near to Ephrath in Bethlehem, Bilhah became drunk and was asleep uncovered in her chamber. Having therefore gone in and beheld nakedness, I wrought the impiety without her perceiving it, and leaving her sleeping I departed. And forthwith an angel of God revealed to my father concerning my impiety, and he came and mourned over me, and touched her no more.

4 Pay no heed, therefore, my children, to the beauty of women, nor set your mind on their affairs; but walk in singleness of heart in the fear of the Lord, and expend labour on good works, and on study and on your flocks, until the Lord give you a wife, whom He will, that ye suffer not as I did. For until my father's death I had not boldness to look in his face, or to speak to any of my brethren, because of the reproach. Even until now my conscience causeth me anguish on account of my impiety. And yet my father comforted me much and prayed for me unto the Lord, that the anger of the Lord might pass from me, even as the Lord showed. And thenceforth until now I have been on my guard and sinned not. Therefore, my children, I say unto you, observe all things whatsoever I command you, and ye shall not sin. For a pit unto the soul is the sin of fornication, separating it from God, and bringing it near to idols, because it deceiveth the mind and understanding, and leadeth young men into hades before their time. For many hath fornication destroyed; because, though a man be old or noble, or rich or poor, he bringeth reproach upon himself with the sons of men and derision with Beliar. For ye heard regarding Joseph how he guarded himself from a woman, and purged his thoughts from all fornication, and found favour in the sight of God and men. For the Egyptian woman did many things unto him, and summoned magicians, and offered him love potions, but the purpose of his soul admitted no evil desire. Therefore the God of your fathers delivered him from every evil (and) hidden death. For if fornication overcomes not your mind, neither can Beliar overcome you.

5 For evil are women, my children; and since they have no power or strength over man, they use wiles by outward attractions, that they may draw him to themselves. And whom they cannot bewitch by outward attractions, him they overcome by craft. For moreover, concerning them, the angel of the Lord told me, and taught me, that women are overcome by the spirit of fornication more than men, and in their heart they plot against men; and by means of their adornment they deceive first their minds, and by the glance of the eye instill the poison, and then through the accomplished act they take them captive. For a woman cannot force a man openly, but by a harlot's bearing she beguiles him. Flee, therefore, fornication, my children, and command your wives and your daughters, that they adorn not their heads and faces to deceive the mind: because every woman who useth these wiles hath been reserved for eternal punishment. For thus they allured the Watchers who were before the flood; for as these continually beheld them, they lusted after them, and they conceived the act in their mind; for they changed themselves into the shape of men, and appeared to them when they were with their husbands. And the women lusting in their minds after their forms, gave birth to giants, for the Watchers appeared to them as reaching even unto heaven.

6 Beware, therefore, of fornication; and if you wish to be pure in mind, guard your senses from every woman. And command the women likewise not to associate with men, that they also may be pure in mind. For constant meetings, even though the ungodly deed be not wrought, are to them an irremediable disease, and to us a destruction of Beliar and an

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eternal reproach. For in fornication there is neither understanding nor godliness, and all jealousy dwelleth in the lust thereof. Therefore, then I say unto you, ye will be jealous against the sons of Levi, and will seek to be exalted over them; but ye shall not be able. For God will avenge them, and ye shall die by an evil death. For to Levi God gave the sovereignty [and to Judah with him and to me also, and to Dan and Joseph, that we should be for rulers]. Therefore I command you to hearken to Levi, because he shall know the law of the Lord, and shall give ordinances for judgement and shall sacrifice for all Israel until the consummation of the times, as the anointed High Priest, of whom the Lord spake, I adjure you by the God of heaven to do truth each one unto his neighbour and to entertain love each one for his brother. And draw ye near to Levi in humbleness of heart, that ye may receive a blessing from his mouth. For he shall bless Israel and Judah, because him hath the Lord chosen to be king over all the nation. And bow down before his seed, for on our behalf it will die in wars visible and invisible, and will be among you an eternal king.

7 And Reuben died, having given these commands to his sons. And they placed him in a coffin until they carried him up from Egypt, and buried him in Hebron in the cave where his father was.

TWELVE PATRIARCHS CHAPTER 2

The Testament Of Simeon,
The Second Of Jacob And Leah.

1 The copy of the words of Simeon, the things which he spake to his sons before he died, in the hundred and twentieth year of his life, at which time Joseph, his brother, died. For when Simeon was sick , his sons came to visit him, and he strengthened himself and sat up and kissed them, and said:--

2 Hearken, my children, to Simeon your father, And I will declare unto you what things I have in my heart. I was born of Jacob as my father's second son; And my mother Leah called me Simeon, Because the Lord had heard her prayer. Moreover, I became strong exceedingly; I shrank from no achievement, Nor was I afraid of ought. For my heart was hard, And my liver was immovable, And my bowels without compassion. Because valour also has been given from the Most High to men in soul and body. For in the time of my youth I was jealous in many things of Joseph, because my father loved him beyond all. And I set my mind against him to destroy him, because the prince of deceit sent forth the spirit of jealousy and blinded my mind, so that I regarded him not as a brother, nor did I spare even Jacob my father. But his God and the God of his fathers sent forth His angel, and delivered him out of my hands. For when I went to Shechem to bring ointment for the flocks, and Reuben to Dothan, where were our necessaries and all our stores, Judah my brother sold him to the Ishmaelites. And when Reuben heard these things he was grieved, for he wished to restore him to his father. But on hearing this I was exceedingly wroth against Judah in that he let him go away alive, and for five months I continued wrathful against him. But the Lord restrained me, and withheld from me the power of my hands; for my right hand was half withered for seven days. And I knew, my children, that because of Joseph this had befallen me, and I repented and wept; and I besought the Lord God that my hand might be restored, and that I might hold aloof from all pollution and envy and from all folly. For I knew that I had devised an evil thing before the Lord and Jacob my father, on account of Joseph my brother, in that I envied him.

3 And now, my children, hearken unto me and beware of the spirit of deceit and envy. For envy ruleth over the whole mind of a man, and suffereth him neither to eat nor to drink, nor to do any good thing. But it ever suggesteth (to him) to destroy him that he envieth; and so long as he that is envied flourisheth, he that envieth fadeth away. Two years therefore I afflicted my soul with fasting in the fear of the Lord, and I learnt that deliverance from envy cometh by the fear of God. For if a man flee to the Lord, the evil spirit runneth away from him, and his mind is lightened. And henceforward he sympathiseth with him whom he envied and forgiveth those who are hostile to him, and so ceaseth from his envy.

4 And my father asked Concerning me, because he saw that I was sad; and I said unto him, I am pained in my liver. For I mourned more than they all, because I was guilty of the selling of Joseph. And when we went down into Egypt, and he bound me as a spy, I knew that I was suffering justly, and I grieved not. Now Joseph was a good man, and had the Spirit of God within him: being compassionate and pitiful, he bore no malice against me; but loved me even as the rest of his brethren. Beware, therefore, my children, of all jealousy and envy, and walk in singleness of soul and with good heart, keeping in mind Joseph your father's brother, that God may give you also grace and glory, and blessing upon your heads, even as ye saw in Joseph's case. All his days he reproached us not concerning this thing, but loved us as his own soul, and beyond his own sons glorified us, and gave us riches, and cattle and fruits. Do ye also, my children, love each one his brother with a good heart and the spirit of envy will withdraw from you. For this maketh savage the soul and destroyeth the body; it causeth anger and war in the mind, and stirreth up unto deeds of blood, and leadeth the mind into frenzy, and suffereth not prudence to act in men; moreover, it taketh away sleep, [and causeth tumult to the soul and trembling to the body]. For even in sleep some malicious jealousy, deluding him, gnaweth and with wicked spirits disturbeth his soul, and causeth the body to be troubled, and waketh the mind from sleep in confusion; and as a wicked and poisonous spirit, so appeareth it to men.

5 Therefore was Joseph comely in appearance and goodly to look upon, because no wickedness dwelt in him; for some of the trouble of the spirit the face manifesteth. And now, my children, Make your hearts good before the Lord, And your ways straight before men. And ye shall find grace before the Lord and men. Beware, therefore, of fornication, For fornication is mother of all evils, Separating from God, and bringing near to Beliar. For I have seen it inscribed in the writing of Enoch that your sons shall be corrupted in fornication, and shall do harm to the sons of Levi with the sword. But they shall not be able to withstand Levi; for he shall wage the war of the Lord, and shall conquer all your hosts. And they shall be few in number, divided in Levi and Judah, and there shall be none of you for sovereignty, even as also our father prophesied in his blessings.

6 Behold I have told you all things, that I may be acquitted of your sin. Now, if ye remove from you your envy and all stiff-neckedness, As a rose shall my bones flourish in Israel, And as a lily my flesh in Jacob, And my odour shall be as the odour of Libanus; And as cedars shall holy ones be multiplied from me forever, And their branches shall stretch afar off. Then shall perish the seed of Canaan, And a remnant shall not be unto Amalek, And all the Cappadocians shall perish, And all the Hittites shall be utterly destroyed. Then shall fail the land of Ham, And all the people shall perish. Then shall all the earth rest from trouble, And all the world under heaven from war. Then the Mighty One of Israel shall glorify Shem, For the Lord God shall appear on earth, And Himself save men. Then shall all the spirits of deceit be given to be trodden under foot, And men shall rule over wicked spirits. Then shall I arise in joy, And will bless the Most High because of his marvellous works, [Because God hath taken a body and eaten with men and saved men].

7 And now, my children, obey Levi and Judah, and be not lifted up against these two tribes, for from them shall arise unto you the salvation of God. For the Lord shall raise up from Levi as it were a High-priest, and from Judah as it were a King [God and man], He shall save all [the Gentiles and] the race of Israel. Therefore I give you these commands that ye also may command your children that they may observe them throughout their generations.

8 And when Simeon had made an end of commanding his sons, he slept with his fathers, being an hundred and twenty years old. And they laid him in a wooden coffin, to take up his bones to Hebron. And they took them up secretly during a war of the Egyptians. For the bones of Joseph the Egyptians guarded in the tombs of the kings. For the sorcerers told them; that on the departure of the bones of Joseph there should be throughout all the land darkness and gloom, and an exceeding great plague to the Egyptians, so that even with a lamp a man should not recognize his brother.

9 And the sons of Simeon bewailed their father. And they were in Egypt until the day of their departure by the hand of Moses.

TWELVE PATRIARCHS CHAPTER 3

The Testament Of Levi,
The Third Son Of Jacob And Leah

1 The copy of the words of Levi, the things which he ordained unto his sons, according to all that they should do, and what things should befall them until the day of judgement. He was sound in health when he called them to him; for it had been revealed to him that he should die. And when they were gathered together he said to them:

2 I, Levi, was born in Haran, and I came with my father to Shechem. And I was young, about twenty years of age, when, with Simeon, I wrought vengeance on Hamor for our sister Dinah. And when I was feeding the flocks in Abel-Maul, the spirit of understanding of the Lord came upon me, and I saw all men corrupting their way, and that unrighteousness had built for itself walls, and lawlessness sat upon towers. And I was grieving for the race of the sons of men, and I prayed to the Lord that I might be saved. Then there fell upon me a sleep, and I beheld a high mountain, and I was upon it. And behold the heavens were opened and an angel of God said to me, Levi enter And I entered from the first heaven, and I saw there a great sea hanging. And further I saw a second heaven far brighter and more brilliant, for there was a boundless light also therein. And I said to the angel, Why Is this so? And the angel said to me, Marvel not at this, for thou shalt see another heaven more brilliant and incomparable. And when thou hast ascended thither, Thou shalt stand near the Lord, And shalt be His minister, And shalt declare His mysteries to men, And shall proclaim concerning Him that shall redeem Israel. And by thee and Judah shall the Lord appear among men Saving every race of men. And from the Lord's portion shall be thy life, And He shall be thy field and vineyard, And fruits, gold, and silver.

3 1 Hear, therefore, regarding the heavens which have been shown to thee. The lowest is for this cause gloomy unto thee, in that it beholds all the unrighteous deeds of men. And it has fire, snow, and ice made ready for the day of judgement, in the righteous judgement of God; for in it are all the spirits of the retributions for vengeance on men. And in the second are the hosts of the armies which are ordained for the day of judgement, to work vengeance on the spirits of deceit and of Beliar. And above them are the holy ones. And in the highest of all dwelleth the Great Glory, far above all holiness. In [the heaven next to] it are the archangels, who minister and make propitiation to the Lord for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous; Offering to the Lord a sweet- smelling savour, a reasonable and a bloodless offering. And [in the heaven below this] are the angels who bear answers to the angels of the presence of the Lord. And in the heaven next to this are thrones and dominions, in which always they offer praise to God. When, therefore, the Lord looketh upon us, all of us are shaken; yea, the heavens, and the earth, and the abysses are shaken at the presence of His majesty. But the sons of men, having no perception of these things sin and provoke the Most High.

4 Now, therefore, know that the Lord shall execute judgement upon the sons of men. Because when the rocks are being rent, And the sun quenched, And the waters dried up, And the fire cowering, And all creation troubled, And the invisible spirits melting away; And Hades taketh spoils through the visitations of the Most High, Men will be unbelieving and persist in their iniquity. On this account with punishment shall they be judged. Therefore the Most High hath heard thy prayer, To separate thee from iniquity, and that thou shouldst become to Him a son, And a servant, and a minister of His presence. The light of knowledge shalt thou light up in Jacob, And as the sun shalt thou be to all the seed of Israel. And there shall be given to thee a blessing, and to all thy seed, Until the Lord shall visit all the Gentiles in His tender mercies for ever. And therefore there have been given to thee counsel and understanding, That thou mightst instruct thy sons concerning this; Because they that bless Him shall be blessed, And they that curse Him shall perish.

5 And thereupon the angel opened to me the gates of heaven, and I saw the holy temple, and upon a throne of glory the Most High. And He said to me: Levi, I have given thee the blessings of the priesthood until I come and sojourn in the midst of Israel. Then the angel brought me down to the earth, and gave me a shield and a sword, and said to me: Execute vengeance on Shechem because of Dinah, thy sister, and I will be with thee because the Lord hath sent me. And I destroyed at that time the sons of Hamor, as it is written in the heavenly tables. And I said to him: I pray thee, O Lord, tell me Thy name, that I may call upon Thee in a day of tribulation. And he said: I am the angel who intercedeth for the nation of Israel that they may not be smitten utterly, for every evil spirit attacketh it. And after these things I awaked, and blessed the Most High, and the angel who intercedeth for the nation of Israel and for all the righteous.

6 And when I was going to my father, I found a brazen shield; wherefore also the name of the mountain is Aspis, which is near Gebal, to the south of Abila And I kept these words in my heart. And after this I counselled my father, and Reuben my brother, to bid the sons of Hamor not to be circumcised; for I was zealous because of the abomination which they had wrought on, my sister. And I slew Shechem first, and Simeon slew Hamor. And after this my brothers came and smote that city with the edge of the sword. And my father heard these things and was wroth, and he was grieved in that they had received the circumcision, and after that had been put to death, and in his blessings he looked amiss upon us. For we sinned because we had done this thing against his will, and he was sick on that day. But I saw that the sentence of God was for evil upon Shechem; for they sought to do to Sarah and Rebecca as they had done to Dinah our sister, but the Lord prevented them. And they persecuted Abraham our father when he was a stranger, and they vexed his flocks when they were big with young; and Eblaen, who was born in his house, they most shamefully handled. And thus they did to all strangers, taking away their wives by force, and they banished them. But the wrath of the Lord came upon them to the uttermost.

7 And I said to my father Jacob: By thee will the Lord despoil the Canaanites, and will give their land to thee and to thy seed after thee. For from this day forward shall Shechem be called a city of imbeciles; for as a man mocketh a fool, so did we mock them. Because also they had wrought folly in Israel by defiling my sister. And we departed and came to Bethel.

8 And there again I saw a vision as the former, after we had spent there seventy days. And I saw seven men in white raiment saying unto me: Arise, put on the robe of the

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priesthood, and the crown of righteousness, and the breastplate of understanding, and the garment of truth, and the plate of faith, and the turban of the head, and the ephod of prophecy. And they severally carried (these things) and put (them,) on me, and said unto me: From henceforth become a priest of the Lord, thou and thy seed for , ever. And the first anointed me with holy oil, and gave to me the staff of judgement. The second washed me with pure water, and fed me with bread and wine (even) the most holy things, and clad , me with a holy and glorious robe. The third clothed me with a linen vestment like an ephod. The , fourth put round me a girdle like unto purple. The fifth gave me a branch of rich olive. The sixth placed a crown on my head. The seventh placed on my head a diadem of priesthood, and filled my hands with incense, that I might serve as priest to the Lord God. And they said to me: Levi, thy seed shall be divided into three offices, for a sign of the glory of the Lord who is to come. And the first portion shall be great; yea, greater than it shall none be. The second shall be in the priesthood. And the third shall be called by a new name, because a king shall arise in Judah, and shall establish a new priesthood, after the fashion of the Gentiles [to all the Gentiles]. And His presence is beloved, as a prophet of the Most High, of the seed of Abraham our father. Therefore, every desirable thing in Israel shall be for thee and for thy seed, And ye shall eat everything fair to look upon, And the table of the Lord shall thy seed apportion. And some of them shall be high priests, and judges, and scribes; For by their mouth shall the holy place be guarded. And when I awoke, I understood that this (dream) was like the first dream. And I hid this also in my heart, and told it not to any man upon the earth.

9 And after two days I and Judah went up with our father Jacob to Isaac our father's father. And my father's father blessed me according to all the words of the visions which I had seen. And he would not come with us to Bethel. And when we came to Bethel, my father saw a vision concerning me, that I should be their priest unto God. And he rose up early in the morning, and paid tithes of all to the Lord through me. And so we came to Hebron to dwell there. And Isaac called me continually to put me in remembrance of the law of the Lord, even as the angel of the Lord showed unto me. And he taught me the law of the priesthood, of sacrifices, whole burnt-offerings, first-fruits, freewill-offerings, peace-offerings. And each day he was instructing me, and was busied on my behalf before the Lord, and said to me: Beware of the spirit of fornication; for this shall continue and shall by thy seed pollute the holy place. Take, therefore, to thyself a wife without blemish or pollution, w bile yet thou art young, and not of the race of strange nations. And before entering into the holy place, bathe; and when thou offerest the sacrifices wash; and again, when thou finishest the sacrifice, wash Of twelve trees having leaves , offer to the Lord, as Abraham taught me also. And of every clean beast and bird offer a sacrifice to the Lord. And of all thy first -fruits and of wine offer the first, as a sacrifice to the Lord God; and every sacrifice thou shalt salt with salt.

10 Now, therefore, observe whatsoever I command you, children: for whatsoever things I have heard from my fathers I have declared unto you. And behold I am clear from your ungodliness and transgression, which ye shall commit in the end of the ages [against the Saviour of the world, Christ, acting godlessly], deceiving Israel, and stirring up against it great evils from the Lord. And ye shall deal lawlessly together with Israel, so He shall not bear with Jerusalem because of your wickedness; but the veil of the temple shall be rent, so as not to cover your shame. And ye shall be scattered as captives among the Gentiles, and shall be for a reproach and for a curse there. For the house which the Lord shall choose shall be called Jerusalem, as is contained in the book of Enoch the righteous.

11 Therefore when I took a wife I was twenty-eight years old, and her name was Melcha. And she conceived and bare a son, and I called his name Gersam, for we were sojourners in our land , And I saw concerning him, that he would not be in the first rank, And Kohath was born in the thirty-fifth year of my life, towards sunrise. And I saw in a vision that he was standing on high in the midst of all the congregation, Therefore I called his name Kohath [which is, beginning of majesty and instruction]. And she bare me a third son, in the fortieth year of my life; and since his mother bare him with difficulty, I called him Merari, that is, 'my bitterness,' because he also was like to die. And Jochebed was born in Egypt, in my sixty-fourth year, for I was renowned then in the midst of my brethren.

12 And Gersam took a wife, and she bare to him Lomni and Semei. And the sons of Kohath, , Ambram, Issachar, Hebron, and Ozeel. And the sons of Merari, Mooli, and Mouses. And in the ninety-fourth year Ambram took Jochebed my daughter to him to wife, for they were born in one day, he and my daughter. Eight years old was I when I went into the land of Canaan, and eighteen years when I slew Shechem, and at nineteen years I became priest, and at twenty-eight years I took a wife, and at forty-eight I went into Egypt. And behold, my children, ye are a third generation. In my hundred and eighteenth year Joseph died.

13 And now, my children, I command you: Fear the Lord your God with your whole heart, And walk in simplicity according to all His law. And do ye also teach your children letters, That they may have understanding all their life, Reading unceasingly the law of God. For every one that knoweth the law of the Lord shall be honoured, And shall not be a stranger whithersoever he goeth. Yea, many friends shall he gain more than his parents, And many men shall desire to serve him, And to hear the law from his mouth. Work righteousness, therefore, my children, upon the earth, That ye may have (it) as a treasure in heaven. And sow good things in your souls, That ye may find them in your life. But if ye sow evil things, Ye shall reap every trouble and affliction. Get wisdom in the fear of God with diligence; For though there be a leading into captivity, And cities and lands be destroyed, And gold and silver and every possession perish, The wisdom of the wise nought can take away, Save the blindness of ungodliness, and the callousness (that comes) of sin. For if one keep oneself from these evil things, Then even among his enemies shall wisdom be a glory to him, And in a strange country a fatherland, And in the midst of foes shall prove a friend. Whosoever teaches noble things and does them, Shall be enthroned with kings, As was also Joseph my brother.

14 Therefore, my children, I have learnt that at the end of the ages ye will transgress against the Lord, stretching out hands to wickedness [against Him]; and to all the Gentiles shall ye become a scorn. For our father Israel is pure from the transgressions of the chief priests [who shall lay their hands upon the Saviour of the world]. For as the heaven is purer in the Lord's sight than the earth, so also be ye, the lights of Israel, (purer) than all the Gentiles. But if ye be darkened through transgressions, what, therefore, will all the Gentiles do living in blindness? Yea, ye shall bring a curse upon our race, because the light of the law which was given for to lighten every man this ye desire to destroy by teaching commandments contrary to the ordinances of God. The offerings of the Lord ye shall rob, and from His portion shall ye steal choice portions, eating (them) contemptuously with harlots. And out of covetousness ye shall teach the commandments of the Lord, wedded women shall ye pollute, and the virgins of Jerusalem shall ye defile: and with harlots and adulteresses shall ye be joined, and the daughters of the Gentiles shall ye take to wife, purifying them with an unlawful purification; and your union shall be like unto Sodom and Gomorrah. And ye shall be puffed up because of your priesthood, lifting yourselves up against men, and not only so, but also against the commands of God. For ye shall contemn the holy things with jests and laughter.

15 Therefore the temple, which the Lord shall choose, shall be laid waste through your uncleanness, and ye shall be captives throughout all nations. And ye shall be an abomination unto them, and ye shall receive reproach and everlasting shame from the righteous judgement of God. And all who hate you shall rejoice at your destruction. And if you were not to receive mercy through Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, our fathers, not one of our seed should be left upon the earth.

16 And now I have learnt that for seventy weeks ye shall go astray, and profane the priesthood, and pollute the sacrifices. And ye shall make void the law, and set at nought the words of the prophets by evil perverseness. And ye shall persecute righteous men, and hate the godly the words of the faithful shall ye abhor. [And a man who reneweth the law in the power of the Most High, ye shall call a deceiver; and at last ye shall rush (upon him) to slay him, not knowing his dignity, taking innocent blood through wickedness upon your heads.] And your holy places shall be laid waste even to the ground because of him. And ye shall have no place that is clean; but ye shall be among the Gentiles a curse and a dispersion until He shall again visit you and in pity shall receive you [through faith and water].

17 And whereas ye have heard concerning the seventy weeks, hear also concerning the priesthood. For in each jubilee there shall be a priesthood. And in the first jubilee, the first who is anointed to the priesthood shall be great, and shall speak to God as to a father. And his priesthood shall be perfect with the Lord, [and in the day of his gladness shall he arise for the salvation of the world]. In the second jubilee, he that is anointed shall be conceived in the sorrow of beloved ones; and his priesthood shall be honoured and shall be glorified by all. And the third priest shall be taken hold of by sorrow. And the fourth shall be in pain, because unrighteousness shall gather itself against him exceedingly, and all Israel shall hate each one his neighbour. The fifth shall be taken hold of by darkness Likewise also the sixth and the seventh. And in the seventh shall be such pollution as I cannot express before men, for they shall know it who do these things. Therefore shall they be taken captive and become a prey, and their land and their substance shall be destroyed. And in the fifth week they shall return to their desolate country, and shall renew the house of the Lord. And in the seventh week shall become priests, (who are) idolaters, adulterers, lovers of money, proud, lawless, lascivious, abusers of children and beasts.

18 And after their punishment shall have come from the Lord, the priesthood shall fail. Then shall the Lord raise up a new priest. And to him all the words of the Lord shall be revealed; And he shall execute a righteous judgement upon the earth for a multitude of days. And his star shall arise in heaven as of a king. Lighting up the light of knowledge as the sun the day, And he shall be magnified in the world. He shall shine forth as the sun on the earth, And shall remove all darkness from under heaven, And there shall be peace in all the earth. The heavens shall exult in his days, And the earth shall be glad, And the clouds shall rejoice, [And the knowledge of the Lord shall be poured forth upon the earth, as the water of the seas; And the angels of the glory of the presence of the Lord shall be glad in him. The heavens shall be opened, And From the temple of glory shall come upon him sanctification, With the Father's voice as from Abraham to Isaac. And the glory of the Most High shall be uttered over him, And the spirit of understanding and sanctification shall rest upon him [in the water]. For he shall give the majesty of the Lord to His sons in truth for evermore; And there shall none succeed him for all generations for ever. And in his priesthood the Gentiles shall be multiplied in knowledge upon the earth, And enlightened through the grace of the Lord: In his priesthood shall sin come to an end, And the lawless shall cease to do evil. [And the just shall rest in him.] And he shall open the gates of paradise, And shall remove the threatening sword against Adam. And he shall give to the saints to eat from the tree of life, And the spirit of holiness shall be on them. And Beliar shall be bound by him, And he shall give power to His children to tread upon the evil spirits. And the Lord shall rejoice in His children, And be well pleased in His beloved ones for ever. Then shall Abraham and Isaac and Jacob exult, And I will be glad, And all the saints shall clothe themselves with joy.

19 And now, my children, ye have heard all; choose, therefore, for yourselves either the light or the darkness, either the law of the Lord or the works of Beliar. And his sons answered him, saying, Before the Lord we will walk according to His law. And their father said unto them, The Lord is witness, and His angels are witnesses, and ye are witnesses, and I am witness, concerning the word of your mouth. And his sons said unto him: We are witnesses. And thus Levi ceased commanding his sons; and he stretched out his feet on the bed, and was gathered to his fathers, after he had lived a hundred and thirty-seven years. And they laid him in a coffin, and afterwards they buried him in Hebron, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob

TWELVE PATRIARCHS CHAPTER 4

The Testament Of Judah,
The Fourth Son Of Jacob And Leah

1 The copy of the words of Judah, what things he spake to his sons before he died. They gathered themselves together, therefore, and came to him, and he said to them: Hearken, my children, to Judah your father. I was the fourth son born to my father Jacob; and Leah my mother named me Judah, saying, I give thanks to the Lord, because He hath given me a fourth son also. I was swift in my youth, and obedient to my father in everything. And I honoured my mother and my mother's sister. And it came to pass, when I became a man, that my father blessed me, saying, Thou shalt be a king, prospering in all things.

2 And the Lord showed me favour in all my works both in the field and in the house. I know that I raced a hind, and caught it, and prepared the meat for my father, and he did eat. And the roes I used to master in the chase, and overtake all that was in the plains. A wild mare I overtook, and caught it and tamed it. I slew a lion and plucked a kid out of its mouth. I took a bear by its paw and hurled it down the cliff, and it was crushed. I outran the wild boar, and seizing it as I ran, I tore it in sunder. A leopard in Hebron leaped upon my dog, and I caught it by the tail, and hurled it on the rocks, and it was broken in twain. I found a wild ox feeding in the fields, and seizing it by the horns, and whirling it round and stunning it, I cast it from me and slew it.

3 And when the two kings of the Canaanites came sheathed in armour against our flocks, and much people with them, single-handed I rushed upon the king of Hazor, and smote him on the greaves and dragged him down, and so I Slew him. And the other, the king of Tappuah, as he sat upon his horse, [I slew, and so I scattered all his people. Achor the king] a man of giant stature I found, hurling javelins before and behind as he sat on horseback, and I took up a stone of sixty pounds weight, and hurled it and smote his horse, and killed it. And I fought with (this) other for two hours; and I clave his shield in twain, and I chopped off his feet, and killed him. And as I was stripping off his breastplate, behold nine men his companions began to fight with me. And I wound my garment on my hand; and I slung stones at them, and killed four of them, and the rest fled. And Jacob my father slew Beelesath, king of all the kings, a giant in strength, twelve cubits high. , And fear fell upon them, and they ceased warring against us. Therefore my father was free from anxiety in the wars when I

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was with my brethren. For he saw in a vision concerning me that an angel of might followed me everywhere, that I should not be overcome.

4 And in the south there came upon us a greater war than that in Shechem; and I joined in battle array with my brethren, and pursued a thousand men, and slew of them two hundred men and , four kings. And I went up upon the wall, and I slew four mighty men. And so we captured Hazor, and took all the spoil.

5 On the next day we departed to Aretan, a city strong and walled and inaccessible, threatening us with death. But I and Gad approached on the east side of the city, and Reuben and Levi on the west. And they that were upon the wall, thinking that we were alone, were drawn down against us. And so my brothers secretly climbed up the wall on both sides by stakes, and entered the city, while the men knew it not. And we took it with the edge of the sword. And as for those who had taken refuge in the tower, we set fire to the tower and took both it and them. And as we were departing the men of Tappuah set upon our spoil, and delivering it up to our sons we fought with them as far as Tappuah. And we slew them and burnt their city, and took as spoil all that was in it.

6 And when I was at the waters of Kozeba, the men of Jobel came against us to battle. And we fought with them and routed them; and their allies from Shiloh we slew, and we did not leave them power to come in against us. And the men of Makir came upon us the fifth day, to seize our spoil; and we attacked them and overcame them in fierce battle: for there was a host of mighty men amongst them, and we slew them before they had gone up the ascent. And when we came to their city their women rolled upon us stones from the brow of the hill on which the city stood, And I and Simeon hid ourselves behind the town, and seized upon the heights, and destroyed this city also.

7 And the next day it was told us that the king of the city of Gaash with a mighty host was coming against us. I, therefore, and Dan feigned ourselves to be Amorites, and as allies went into their city. And in the depth of night our brethren came and we opened to them the gates; and we destroyed all the men and their substance, and we took for a prey all that was theirs, and their three walls we cast down. And we drew near to Thamna, where was all the substance of the hostile kings. Then being insulted by them, I was therefore wroth, and rushed against them to the summit; and they kept slinging against me stones and darts. And had not Dan my brother aided me, they would have slain me. We came upon them, therefore, with wrath, and they all fled; and passing by another way, they besought my father, and he made peace with them. And we did to them no hurt, and they became tributary to us, and we restored to them their spoil. And I built Thamna, and my father built Pabael. I was twenty years old when this war befell. And the Canaanites feared me and my brethren.

8 And I had much cattle, and I had for chief herdsman Iram the Adullamite. And when I went to him I saw Parsaba, king of Adullam; and he spake unto us, and he made us a feast; and when I was heated he gave me his daughter Bathshua to wife. She bare me Er, and Onan and Shelah; and two of them the Lord smote: for Shelah lived, and his children are ye.

9 And eighteen years my father abode in peace with his brother Esau, and his sons with us, after that we came from Mesopotamia, from Laban. And when eighteen years were fulfilled, in the fortieth year of my life, Esau, the brother of my father, came upon us with a mighty and strong people. And Jacob smote Esau with an arrow, and he was taken up wounded on Mount Seir, and as he went he died at Anoniram. And we pursued after the sons of Esau. Now they had a city with walls of iron and gates of brass; and we could not enter into it, and we encamped around, and besieged it. And when they opened not to us in twenty days, I set up a ladder in the sight of all and with my shield upon my head I went up, sustaining the assault of stones, upwards of three , talents weight; and I slew four of their mighty men. And Reuben and Gad slew six others. Then they asked from us terms of peace; and having taken counsel with our father, we received them as tributaries. And they gave us five hundred cors of wheat, five hundred baths of oil, five hundred measures of wine, until the famine, when we went down into Egypt.

10 And after these things my son Er took to wife Tamar, from Mesopotamia, a daughter of Aram. Now Er was wicked, and he was in need concerning Tamar, because she was not of the land of Canaan. And on the third night an angel of the Lord smote him. And he had not known her according to the evil craftiness of his mother, for he did not wish to have children by her. In the days of the wedding-feast I gave Onan to her in marriage; and he also in wickedness knew her not, though he spent with her a year. And when I threatened him he went in unto her, but he spilled the seed on the ground, according to the command of his mother, and he also died through wickedness. And I wished to give Shelah also to her, but his mother did not permit it; for she wrought evil against Tamar, because she was not of the daughters of Canaan, as she also herself was.

11 And I knew that the race of the Canaanites was wicked, but the impulse of youth blinded my mind. And when I saw her pouring out wine, owing to the intoxication of wine I was deceived, and took her although my father had not counselled (it). And while I was away she went and took for Shelah a wife from Canaan. And when I knew what she had done, I cursed her in the anguish of my soul. And she also died through her wickedness together with her sons.

12 And after these things, while Tamar was a widow, she heard after two years that I was going up to shear my sheep, and adorned herself in bridal array, and sat in the city Enaim by the gate. For it was a law of the Amorites, that she who was about to marry should sit in fornication seven days by the gate. Therefore being drunk with wine, I did not recognize her; and her beauty deceived me, through the fashion of her adorning. And I turned aside to her, and said: Let me go in unto thee. And she said: What wilt thou give me? And I gave her my staff, and my girdle, and the diadem of my kingdom in pledge. And I went in unto her, and she conceived. And not knowing what I had done, I wished to slay her; but she privily sent my pledges, and put me to shame. And when I called her, I heard also the secret words which I spoke when lying with her in my drunkenness; and I could not slay her, because it was from the Lord. For I said, Lest haply she did it in subtlety, having received the pledge from another woman. But I came not again near her while I lived, because I had done this abomination in all Israel. Moreover, they who were in the city said there was no harlot in the gate, because she came from another place, and sat for a while in the , gate. And I thought that no one knew that I had gone in to her. And after this we came into Egypt to Joseph, because of the famine. And I was forty and six years old, and seventy and three years lived I in Egypt.

13 And now I command you, my children, hearken to Judah your father, and keep my sayings to perform all the ordinances of the Lord, and to obey the commands of God. And walk not after your lusts, nor in the imaginations of your thoughts in haughtiness of heart; and glory not in the deeds and strength of your youth, for this also is evil in the eyes of the Lord. Since I also gloried that in wars no comely woman's face ever enticed me, and reproved Reuben my brother concerning Bilhah, the wife of my father, the spirits of jealousy and of fornication arrayed themselves against me, until I lay with Bathshua the Canaanite, and Tamar, who was espoused to my sons. For I said to my father-in-law: I will take counsel with my father, and so will I take thy daughter. And he was unwilling, but he showed me a boundless store of gold in his daughter's behalf; for he was a king. And he adorned her with gold and pearls, and caused her to pour out wine for us at the feast with the beauty of women. And the wine turned aside my eyes, and pleasure blinded my heart. And I became enamoured of and I lay with her, and transgressed the commandment of the Lord and the commandment of my fathers, and I took her to wife. And the Lord rewarded me according to the imagination of my heart, inasmuch as I had no joy in her children.

14 And now, my children, I say unto you, be not drunk with wine; for wine turneth the mind away from the truth, and inspires the passion of lust, and leadeth the eyes into error. For the spirit of fornication hath wine as a minister to give pleasure to the mind; for these two also take away the mind of man. For if a man drink wine to drunkenness, it disturbeth the mind with filthy thoughts leading to fornication, and heateth the body to carnal union; and if the occasion of the lust be present, he worketh the sin, and is not ashamed. Such is the inebriated man, my children; for he who is drunken reverenceth no man. For, lo, it made me also to err, so that I was not ashamed of the multitude in the city, in that before the eyes of all I turned aside unto Tamar, and I wrought a great sin, and I uncovered the covering of my sons' shame. After I had drunk wine I reverenced not the commandment of God, and I took a woman of Canaan to wife. For much discretion needeth the man who drinketh wine, my children; and herein is discretion in drinking wine a man may drink so long as he preserveth modesty. But if he go beyond this limit the spirit of deceit attacketh his mind, and it maketh the drunkard to talk filthily, and to transgress and not to be ashamed, but even to glory in his shame, and to account himself honourable.

15 He that committeth fornication is not aware when he suffers loss, and is not ashamed when put to dishonour. For even though a man be a king and commit fornication, he is stripped of his kingship by becoming the slave of fornication, as I myself also suffered. For I gave my staff, that is, the stay of my tribe; and my girdle, that is, my power; and my diadem, that is, the glory of my kingdom. And indeed I repented of these things; wine and flesh I eat not until my old age, nor did I behold any joy. And the angel of God showed me that for ever do women bear rule over king and beggar alike. And from the king they take away his glory, and from the valiant man his might, and from the beggar even that little which is the stay of his poverty.

16 Observe, therefore, my children, the (rights limit in wine; for there are in it four evil spirits--- of lust, of hot desire, of profligacy of filthy lucre. If ye drink wine in gladness, be ye modest in the fear of God. For if in (your) gladness the fear of God departeth, then drunkenness ariseth and shamelessness stealeth in. But if ye would live soberly do not touch wine at all, lest ye sin in words of outrage, and in fightings and slanders, and transgressions of the commandments of God, and ye perish before your time. Moreover, wine revealeth the mysteries of God and men, even as I also revealed the commandments of God and the mysteries of Jacob my father to the Canaanitish woman Bathshua, which God bade me not to reveal. And wine is a cause both of war and confusion.

17 And now, I command you, my children, not to love money, nor to gaze upon the beauty of women; because for the sake of money and beauty I was led astray to Bathshua the Canaanite. [For I know that because of these two things shall my race fall into wickedness. For even wise men among my sons shall they mar, and shall cause the kingdom of Judah to be diminished, which the Lord gave me because of my obedience to my father. For I never caused grief to Jacob, my father: for all things whatsoever he commanded I did. And Isaac, the father of my father, blessed me to be king in Israel, and Jacob further blessed me in like manner. And I know that from me shall the kingdom be established.

18 And I know what evils ye will do in the last days.] Beware, therefore, my children, of fornication, and the love of money, and hearken to Judah your father. For these things withdraw you from the law of God, And blind the inclination of the soul, And teach arrogance, And suffer not a man to have compassion upon his neighbour They rob his soul of all goodness, And oppress him with toils and troubles, And drive away sleep from him, And devour his flesh. And he hindereth the sacrifices of God; And he remembereth not the blessing of God, He hearkeneth not to a prophet when he speaketh, And resenteth the words of godliness. For he is a slave to two contrary passions, And cannot obey God, Because they have blinded his soul, And he walketh in the day as in the night.

19 My children, the love of money leadeth to idolatry; because, when led astray through money, men name as gods those who are not gods, and it causeth him who hath it to fall into madness For the sake of money I lost my children, and had not my repentance, and my humiliation, and the prayers of my father been accepted, I should have died childless. But the God of my fathers had mercy on me, because I did it in ignorance. And the prince of deceit blinded me, and I sinned as a man and as flesh, being corrupted through sins; and I learnt my own weakness while thinking myself invincible.

20 Know, therefore, my children, that two spirits wait upon man the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit. And in the midst is the spirit of understanding of the mind, to which it belongeth to turn whithersoever it will. And the works of truth and the works of deceit are written upon the hearts of men, and each one of them the Lord knoweth. And there is no time at which the works of men can be hid; for on the heart itself have they been written down before the Lord. And the spirit of truth testifieth all things, and accuseth all; and the sinner is burnt up by his own heart, and cannot raise his face to the judge.

21 And now, my children, I command you, love Levi, that ye may abide, and exalt not yourselves against him, lest ye be utterly destroyed. For to me the Lord gave the kingdom, and to him the priesthood, and He set the kingdom beneath the priesthood. To me He gave the things upon the earth; to him the things in the heavens. As the heaven is higher than the earth, so is the priesthood of God higher than the earthly kingdom, unless it falls away through sin from the Lord and is dominated by the earthly kingdom. For the angel of the Lord said unto me: The Lord chose him rather than thee, to draw near to Him, and to eat of His table and to offer Him the first-fruits of the choice things of the sons of Israel; but thou shalt be king of Jacob. And thou shalt be amongst them as the sea. For as, on the sea, just and unjust are tossed about, some taken into captivity while some are enriched, so also shall every race of men be in thee: some shall be impoverished, being taken captive, and others grow rich by plundering the possessions of others. For the kings shall be as sea-monsters. They shall swallow men like fishes: The sons and daughters of free men shall they enslave; Houses, lands, flocks, money shall they plunder: And with the flesh of many shall they wrongfully feed the ravens and the cranes; And they shall advance in evil, in covetousness uplifted, And there shall be false prophets like tempests, And they shall persecute all righteous men.

22 And the Lord shall bring upon them divisions one against another. And there shall be continual wars in Israel; And among men of another race shall my kingdom be brought to an end, Until the salvation of Israel shall come, Until the appearing of the God of righteousness, That Jacob [and all the Gentiles] may rest in peace. And He shall guard the might of my kingdom for ever; For the Lord sware to me with an oath that He would not destroy the kingdom from my seed for ever.

23 Now I have much grief, my children, because of your lewdness and witchcrafts, and idolatries which ye shall practise against the kingdom, following them that have

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familiar spirits, diviners, and demons of error. Ye shall make your daughters singing girls and harlots, and ye shall mingle in the abominations of the Gentiles. For which things' sake the Lord shall bring upon you famine and pestilence, death and the sword, beleaguering by enemies, and revilings of friends, the slaughter of children, the rape of wives, the plundering of possessions, the burning of the temple of God,] the laying waste of the land, the enslavement of yourselves among the Gentiles. And they shall make some of you eunuchs for their wives. Until the Lord visit you, when with perfect heart ye repent and walk in all His commandments; and He bring you up from captivity among the Gentiles.

24 And after these things shall a star arise to you from Jacob in peace, And a man shall arise [from my seed], like the sun of righteousness, walking with the sons of men in meekness and righteousness; And no sin shall be found in him. and the heavens shall be open unto him, To pour out the spirit, (even) the blessing of the Holy Father; And He shall pour out the spirit of grace upon you; And ye shall be unto Him sons in truth, And ye shall walk in His commandments first and last. [This Branch of God Most High, And this Fountain giving life unto all.] Then shall the sceptre of my kingdom shine forth; And from your root shall arise a stem; And from it shall grow a rod of righteousness to the Gentiles, To judge and to save all that call upon the Lord.

25 And after these things shall Abraham and Isaac and Jacob arise unto life, and I and my brethren shall be chiefs of the tribes of Israel: Levi first, I the second, Joseph third, Benjamin fourth, Simeon fifth; Issachar sixth, and so all in order. And the Lord blessed Levi, and the Angel of the Presence, me; the powers of glory, Simeon; the heaven, Reuben; the earth, Issachar; the sea, Zebulun; the mountains, Joseph; the tabernacle, Benjamin; the luminaries, Dan; Eden, Naphtali; the sun, Gad; the moon, Asher. And ye shall be the people of the Lord, and have one tongue; And there shall be there no spirit of deceit of Beliar, For he shall be cast into the fire for ever. And they who have died in grief shall arise in joy , And they who were poor for the Lord's sake shall be made rich, And they who are put to death for the Lord's sake shall awake to life. And the harts of Jacob shall run in joyfulness, And the eagles of Israel shall fly in gladness; And all the people shall glorify the Lord for ever.

26 Observe, therefore, my children, all the law of the Lord, for there is hope for all them who hold fast unto His ways. And he said to them: Behold, I die before your eyes this day, a hundred and nineteen years old. Let no one bury me in costly apparel, nor tear open my bowels, for this shall they who are kings do; and carry me up to Hebron with you. And Judah, when he had said these things, fell asleep; and his sons did according to all whatsoever he commanded them, and they buried him in Hebron, with his fathers.

TWELVE PATRIARCHS CHAPTER 5

The Testament Of Issachar, The Fifth Son Of Jacob And Leah.

1 The copy of the words of Issachar. For he called his sons and said to them: Hearken, my children, to Issachar your father; Give ear to the words of him who is beloved of the Lord. , I was born the fifth son to Jacob, by way of hire for the mandrakes. For Reuben my brother brought in mandrakes from the field, and Rachel met him and took them. And Reuben wept, and at his voice Leah my mother came forth. Now these (mandrakes) were sweet-smelling apples which were produced in the land of Haran below a ravine of water. And Rachel said: I will not give them to thee, but they shall be to me instead of children. For the Lord hath despised me, and I have not borne children to Jacob. Now there were two apples; and Leah said to Rachel: Let it suffice thee that thou hast taken my husband: wilt thou take these also? And Rachel said to her: Thou shalt have Jacob this night for the mandrakes of thy son. And Leah said to her: Jacob is mine, for I am the wife of his youth. But Rachel said: Boast not, and vaunt not thyself; for he espoused me before thee, and for my sake he served our father fourteen years. And had not craft increased on the earth and the wickedness of men prospered, thou wouldst not now see the face of Jacob.

2 Then appeared to Jacob an angel of the Lord, saying: Two children shall Rachel bear, inasmuch as she hath refused company with her husband, and hath chosen continency. And had not Leah my mother paid the two apples for the sake of his company, she would have borne eight sons; for this reason she bare six, and Rachel bare the two: for on account of the mandrakes the Lord visited her. For He knew that for the sake of children she wished to company with Jacob, and not for lust of pleasure. For on the morrow also she again gave up Jacob. Because of the mandrakes; therefore, the Lord hearkened to Rachel. For though she desired them, she eat them not, but offered them in the house of the Lord, presenting them to the priest of the Most High who was at that time.

3 When, therefore, I grew up, my children, I walked in uprightness of heart, and I became a husbandman for my father and my brethren, and I brought in fruits from the field according to , their season. And my father blessed me, for he saw that I walked in rectitude before him. And I was not a busybody in my doings, nor envious and malicious against my neighbour. I never slandered any one, nor did I censure the life of any man, walking as I did in singleness of eye. Therefore, when I was thirty-five years old, I took to myself a wife, for my labour wore away my strength, and I never thought upon pleasure with women; but owing to my toil, sleep overcame me. And my father always rejoiced in my rectitude, because I offered through the priest to the Lord all first-fruits; then to my father also. And the Lord increased ten thousandfold His benefits in my hands; and also Jacob, my father, knew that God aided my singleness. For on all the poor and oppressed I bestowed the good things of the earth in the singleness of my heart.

4 And now, hearken to me, my children, And walk in singleness of your heart, For I have seen in it all that is well-pleasing to the Lord. The single-(minded) man coveteth not gold, He overreacheth not his neighbour, He longeth not after manifold dainties, He delighteth not in varied apparel. He doth not desire to live a long life, But only waiteth for the will of God. And the spirits of deceit have no power against him, For he looketh not on the beauty of women, Lest he should pollute his mind with corruption. There is no envy in his thoughts, [No malicious person maketh his soul to pine away,] Nor worry with insatiable desire in his mind. For he walketh in singleness of soul, And beholdeth all things in uprightness of heart, Shunning eyes (made) evil through the error of the world, Lest he should see the perversion of any of the commandments of the Lord.

5 Keep, therefore, my children, the law of God, And get singleness. And walk in guilelessness, Not playing the busybody with the business of your neighbour, But love the Lord and your neighbour, Have compassion on the poor and weak. Bow down your back unto husbandry, And toil in labours in all manner of husbandry, Offering gifts to the Lord with thanksgiving. For with the first-fruits of the earth will the Lord bless you, even as He blessed all the saints from Abel even until now. For no other portion is given to you than of the fatness of the earth, whose fruits are raised by toil. For our father Jacob blessed me with blessings of the earth and of first-fruits. And Levi and Judah were glorified by the Lord even among the sons of Jacob; for the Lord gave them an inheritance, and to Levi He gave the priesthood, and to Judah the kingdom. And do ye therefore obey them, and walk in the singleness of your father; [for unto Gad hath it been given to destroy the troops that are coming upon Israel].

6 Know ye therefore, my children, that in the last times Your sons will forsake singleness, And will cleave unto insatiable desire; And leaving guilelessness will draw near to malice; And forsaking the commandments of the Lord, They will cleave unto Beliar. And leaving husbandry, They will follow after their own wicked devices, And they shall be dispersed among the Gentiles. And shall serve their enemies. And do you therefore give these commands to your children, that, if they sin, they may the more quickly return to the Lord; For He is merciful, and will deliver them, even to bring them back into their land.

7 Behold, therefore, as ye see, I am a hundred and twenty-six years old and am not conscious of committing any sin. Except my wife I have not known any woman. I never committed fornication by the uplifting of my eyes. I drank not wine, to be led astray thereby; I coveted not any desirable thing that was my neighbour's. Guile arose not in my heart; A lie passed not through my lips. If any man were in distress I joined my sighs with his, And I shared my bread with the poor. I wrought godliness, all my days I kept truth I loved the Lord; Likewise also every man with all my heart. So do you also these things, my children, And every spirit of Beliar shall flee from you, And no deed of wicked men shall rule over you; And every wild beast shall ye subdue, Since you have with you the God of heaven and earth (And) walk with men in singleness of heart. And having said these things, he commanded his sons that they should carry him up to Hebron, and bury him there in the cave with his fathers. And he stretched out his feet and died, at a good old age; with every limb sound, and with strength unabated, he slept the eternal sleep.

TWELVE PATRIARCHS CHAPTER 6

The Testament Of Zebulun, The Sixth Son Of Jacob And Leah.

1 The copy of the words of Zebulun, which he enjoined on his sons before he died in the hundred and fourteenth year of his life, two years after the death of Joseph. And he said to them: Hearken to me, ye sons of Zebulun, attend to the words of your father. I, Zebulun, was born a good gift to my parents. For when I was born my father was increased very exceedingly, both in flocks and herds, when with the straked rods he had his portion. I am not conscious that I have sinned all my days, save in thought. Nor yet do I remember that I have done any iniquity, except the sin of ignorance which I committed against Joseph; for I covenanted with my brethren not to tell my father what had been done. But I wept in secret many days on account of Joseph, for I feared my brethren, because they had all agreed that if any one should declare the secret, he should be slain. But when they wished to kill him, I adjured them much with tears not to be guilty of this sin.

2 For Simeon and Gad came against Joseph to kill him, and he said unto them with tears: Pity me, my brethren, have mercy upon the bowels of Jacob our father: lay not upon me your hands to shed innocent blood, for I have not sinned against you. And if indeed I have sinned, with chastening chastise me, my brethren but lay not upon me your hand, for the sake of Jacob our father. And as he spoke these words, wailing as he did so, I was unable to bear his lamentations, and began to weep, and my liver was poured out, and all the substance of my bowels was loosened. And I wept with Joseph, and my heart sounded, and the joints of my body trembled, and I was not able to stand. And when Joseph saw me weeping with him, and them coming against him to slay him, he fled behind me, beseeching them. But meanwhile Reuben arose and said: Come, my brethren, let us not slay him, but let us cast him into one of these dry pits, which our fathers digged and found no water. For for this cause the Lord forbade that water should rise up in them, in order that Joseph should be preserved. And they did so, until they sold him to the Ishmaelites.

3 For in his price I had no share, my children. But Simeon and Gad and six other of our brethren took the price of Joseph, and bought sandals for themselves, and their wives, and their children, saying: We will not eat of it, for it is the price of our brother's blood, but we will assuredly tread it under foot, because he said that he would be king over us, and so let us see what will become of his dreams. Therefore it is written in the writing of the law of Moses, that whosoever will not raise up seed to his brother, his sandal should be unloosed, and they should spit in his face. And the brethren of Joseph wished not that their brother should live, and the Lord loosed from them the sandal which they wore against Joseph their brother. For when they came into Egypt they were unloosed by the servants of Joseph outside the gate, and so they made obeisance to Joseph after the fashion of King Pharaoh. And not only did they make obeisance to him, but were spit upon also, falling down before him forthwith, and so they were put to shame before the Egyptians. For after this the Egyptians heard all the evils that they had done to Joseph.

4 And after he was sold my brothers sat down to eat and drink. But I, through pity for Joseph, did not eat, but watched the pit, since Judah feared lest Simeon, Dan, and Gad should rush off and slay him. But when they saw that I did not eat, they set me to watch him, till he was sold to the Ishmaelites. And when Reuben came and heard that while he was away (Joseph) had been sold, he rent his garments, (and) mourning, said: How shall I look on the face of my father Jacob? And he took the money and ran after the merchants, but as he failed to find them he returned grieving. But the merchants had left the broad road and marched through the Troglodytes by a short cut. But Reuben was grieved, and eat no food that day. Dan therefore came to him and said: , Weep not, neither grieve; for we have found what we can say to our father Jacob. Let us slay a kid of the goats, and dip in it the coat of Joseph; and let us send it to Jacob, saying: Know, is this the coat of thy son? And they did so. For they stripped off from Joseph his coat when they were selling him, and put upon him the garment of a slave. Now Simeon took the coat, and would not give it up, for he wished to rend it with his sword, as he was angry that Joseph lived and that he had not slain him. Then we all rose up and said unto him: If thou givest not up the coat, we will say to our father that thou alone didst this evil thing in Israel. And so he gave it unto them, and they did even as Dan had said.

5 I And now, my children, I bid you to keep the commands of the Lord, and to show mercy to your neighbours, and to have compassion towards all, not towards men only, but also towards, beasts. For all this thing's sake the Lord blessed me, and when all my brethren were sick, I escaped without sickness, for the Lord knoweth the purposes of each. Have, therefore, compassion in your hearts, my children, because even as a man doeth to his neighbour, even so also will the Lord do to him. For the sons of my brethren were sickening and were dying on account of Joseph, because they showed not mercy in their hearts; but my sons were preserved without sickness, as ye know. And when I was in the land of Canaan, by the sea-coast, I made a catch of fish for Jacob my father; and when many were choked in the sea, I continued unhurt.

6 I was the first to make a boat to sail upon the sea, for the Lord gave me understanding and wisdom therein. And I let down a rudder behind it, and I stretched a sail upon another upright piece of wood in the midst. And I sailed therein along the shores, catching fish for the house of my father until we came to Egypt. , [And through compassion I shared my catch with every stranger. And if a man were a stranger, or sick, or aged, I boiled the fish, and dressed them well, and offered them to all men, as every man had need, grieving with and having compassion upon them. Wherefore also the Lord

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satisfied me with abundance of fish when catching fish; for he that shareth with his neighbour receiveth manifold more from the Lord.] For five years I caught fish [and gave thereof to every man whom I saw, and sufficed for all the house of my father]. And in the summer I caught fish, and in the winter I kept sheep with my brethren.

7 Now I will declare unto you what I did. I saw a man in distress through nakedness in winter time, and had compassion upon him, and stole away a garment secretly from my father's house, and gave it to him who was in distress. Do you, therefore, my children, from that which God bestoweth upon you, show compassion and mercy without hesitation to all men, and give to every man with a good heart. And if ye have not the wherewithal to give to him that needeth, have compassion for him in bowels of mercy. I know that my hand found not the wherewithal to give to him that needed, and I walked with him weeping for seven furlongs, and my bowels yearned towards him in compassion.

8 Have, therefore, yourselves also, my children, compassion towards every man with mercy, that the Lord also may have compassion and mercy upon you. Because also in the last days God will send His compassion on the earth, and wheresoever He findeth bowels of mercy He dwelleth in him. For in the degree in which a man hath compassion upon his neighbours, in the same degree hath the , Lord also upon him. And when we went down into Egypt, Joseph bore no malice against us. To whom taking heed, do ye also, my children, approve yourselves without malice, and love one another; and do not set down in account, each one of you, evil against his brother. For this breaketh unity and divideth all kindred, and troubleth the soul, and weareth away the countenance.

9 Observe, therefore, the waters, and know when they flow together, they sweep along stones, trees, earth, and other things. But if they are divided into many streams, the earth swalloweth them up, , and they vanish away. So shall ye also be if ye be divided. Be not ye, therefore, divided into two heads, for everything which the Lord made hath but one head, and two shoulders, two hands, two feet, and all the remaining members. For I have learnt in the writing of my fathers, that Ye shall be divided in Israel, And ye shall follow two kings, And shall work every abomination. And your enemies shall lead you captive, And ye shall be evil entreated among the Gentiles, With many infirmities and tribulations. And after these things ye shall remember the Lord, and repent, [And He shall cause you to return]; for He is merciful and compassionate. And He setteth not down in account evil to the sons of men, because they are flesh, And the spirits of deceit deceive them in all their deeds. And after these things there shall arise unto you the Lord Himself, the light of righteousness, [And healing and compassion shall be in His wings. He shall redeem all the captivity of the sons of men from Beliar; And every spirit of deceit shall be trodden down]; And he shall bring back all the Gentiles into zeal for Him. And ye shall return unto your land. And ye shall see Him in Jerusalem, for His name's sake. And again through the wickedness of your works shall ye provoke Him to anger, And ye shall be cast away by Him unto the time of consummation.

10 And now, my children, grieve not that I am dying, nor be cast down in that I am coming to my end. For I shall rise again in the midst of you, as a ruler in the midst of his sons; and I shall rejoice in the midst of my tribe, as many as shall keep the law of the Lord, and the commandments of Zebulun their father. But upon the ungodly shall the Lord bring eternal fire, and destroy them , throughout all generations. But I am now hastening away to my rest, as did also my fathers. But do ye fear the Lord our God with all your strength all the days of your life. And when he had said these things he fell asleep, at a good old age. And his sons laid him in a wooden coffin. And afterwards they carried him up and buried him in Hebron, with his fathers.

TWELVE PATRIARCHS CHAPTER 7

The Testament Of Dan,
The Seventh Son Of Jacob And Bilhah.

1 The copy of the words of Dan, which he spake to his sons in his last days, in the hundred and twenty-fifth year of his life. For he called together his family, and said: Hearken to my words, ye sons of Dan; and give heed to the words of your father. I have proved in my heart, and in my whole life, that truth with just dealing is good and well pleasing to God, and that lying and anger are evil, because they teach man all wickedness. I confess, therefore, this day to you, my children, that in my heart I resolved on the death of Joseph my brother, the true and good man. [And I rejoiced that he was sold, because his father loved him more than us.] For the spirit of jealousy and vainglory said to me: Thou thyself also art his son. And one of the spirits of Beliar stirred me up, saying: Take this sword, and with it slay Joseph: so shall thy father love thee when he is dead. Now this is the spirit of anger that persuaded me to crush Joseph as a leopard crusheth a kid. But the God of my fathers did not suffer him to fall into my hands, so that I should find him alone and slay him, and cause a second tribe to be destroyed in Israel.

2 And now, my children, behold I am dying, and I tell you of a truth, that unless ye keep yourselves from the spirit of lying and of anger, and love truth and longsuffering, ye shall perish. For anger is blindness, and does not suffer one to see the face of any man with truth. For though it be a father or a mother, he behaveth towards them as enemies; though it be a brother, he knoweth him not; though it be a prophet of the Lord, he disobeyeth him; though a righteous man, he regardeth him not; though a friend, he doth not acknowledge him. For the spirit of anger encompasseth him with the net of deceit, and blindeth his eyes, and through lying darkeneth his mind, and giveth him its own peculiar vision. And wherewith encompasseth it his eyes? With hatred of heart, so as to be envious of his brother.

3 For anger is an evil thing, my children, for it troubleth even the soul itself. And the body of the angry man it maketh its own, and over his soul it getteth the mastery, and it bestoweth upon the body power that it may work all iniquity. And when the body does all these things, the soul justifieth what is done, since it seeth not aright. Therefore he that is wrathful, if he be a mighty man, hath a threefold power in his anger: one by the help of his servants; and a second by his wealth, whereby he persuadeth and overcometh wrongfully; and thirdly, having his own natural power he worketh thereby the evil. And though the wrathful man be weak, yet hath he a power twofold of that which is by nature; for wrath ever aideth such in lawlessness. This spirit goeth always with lying at the right hand of Satan, that with cruelty and lying his works may be wrought.

4 Understand ye, therefore, the power of wrath, that it is vain. For it first of all giveth provocation by word; then by deeds it strengtheneth him who is angry, and with sharp losses disturbeth his mind, and so stirreth up with great wrath his soul. Therefore, when any one speaketh against you, be not ye moved to anger, [and if any man praiseth you as holy men, be not uplifted: be not moved either to delight or to disgust]. For first it pleaseth the hearing, and so maketh the mind keen to perceive the grounds for provocation; and then being enraged, he thinketh that he is justly angry If ye fall into any loss or ruin, my children, be not afflicted; for this very spirit maketh (a man) desire that which is perishable, in order that he may be enraged through the affliction. And if ye suffer loss voluntarily, or involuntarily, be not vexed; for from vexation ariseth wrath with lying. Moreover, a twofold mischief is wrath with lying; and they assist one another in order to disturb the heart; and when the soul is continually disturbed, the Lord departeth from it, and Beliar ruleth over it.

5 Observe, therefore, my children, the commandments of the Lord, And keep His law; Depart from wrath, And hate lying, That the Lord may dwell among you, And Beliar may flee from you. Speak truth each one with his neighbour. So shall ye not fall into wrath and confusion; But ye shall be in peace, having the God of peace, So shall no war prevail over you. Love the Lord through all your life, And one another with a true heart. I know that in the last days ye shall depart from the Lord, And ye shall provoke Levi unto anger, And fight against Judah; But ye shall not prevail against them, For an angel of the Lord shall guide them both; For by them shall Israel stand. And whensoever ye depart from the Lord, ye shall walk in all evil and work the abominations of the Gentiles, going a-whoring after women of the lawless ones, while with all wickedness the spirits of wickedness work in you. [For I have read in the book of Enoch, the righteous, that your prince is Satan, and that all the spirits of wickedness and pride will conspire to attend constantly on the sons of Levi, to cause them to sin before the Lord. And my sons will draw near to Levi. And sin with them in all things; And the sons of Judah will be covetous, Plundering other men's goods like lions. Therefore shall ye be led away [with them] into captivity, And there shall ye receive all the plagues of Egypt, And all the evils of the Gentiles. And so when ye return to the Lord ye shall obtain mercy, And He shall bring you into His sanctuary, And He shall give you peace. And there shall arise unto you from the tribe of [Judah and of] Levi the salvation of the Lord; And he shall make war against Beliar. And execute an everlasting vengeance on our enemies; And the captivity shall he take from Beliar [the souls of the saints], And turn disobedient hearts unto the Lord, And give to them that call upon him eternal peace. And the saints shall rest in Eden, And in the New Jerusalem shall the righteous rejoice, And it shall be unto the glory of God for ever. And no longer shall Jerusalem endure desolation, Nor Israel be led captive; For the Lord shall be in the midst of it [living amongst men], And the Holy One of Israel shall reign over it [in humility and in poverty; and he who believeth on Him shall reign amongst men in truth].

6 And now, fear the Lord, my children, and beware of Satan and his spirits. Draw near unto God and unto the angel that intercedeth for you, for he is a mediator between God and man, and for the peace of Israel he shall stand up against the kingdom of the enemy. Therefore is the enemy eager to destroy all that call upon the Lord. For he knoweth that upon the day on which Israel shall repent, the kingdom of the enemy shall be brought to an end. For the very angel of peace shall strengthen Israel, that it fall not into the extremity of evil. And it shall be in the time of the lawlessness of Israel, that the Lord will not depart from them, but will transform them into a nation that doeth His will, for none of the angels will be equal unto him. And His name shall be in every place in Israel, and among the Gentiles. Keep, therefore, yourselves, my children, from every evil work, And cast away wrath and all lying, And love truth and long-suffering. And the things which ye have heard from your father, do ye also impart to your children [that the Saviour of the Gentiles may receive you; for he is true and long-suffering, meek and lowly, and teacheth by his works the law of God. Depart, therefore, from all unrighteousness, and cleave unto the righteousness of God, and your race will be saved for ever. And bury me near my fathers.

7 And when he had said these things he kissed them, and fell asleep at a good old age. And his sons buried him, And after that they carried up his bones, and placed them near Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob. [Nevertheless, Dan prophesied unto them that they should forget their God, and should be alienated from the land of their inheritance and from the race of Israel, and from the family of their seed.]

TWELVE PATRIARCHS CHAPTER 8

The Testament Of Naphtali,
The Eighth Son Of Jacob And Bilhah.

1 The copy of the testament of Naphtali, which he ordained at the time of his death in the hundred and thirtieth year of his life. When his sons were gathered together in the seventh month, on the first day of the month, while still in good health, he made them a feast of food and wine. And after he was awake in the morning, he said to them, I am dying; and they believed him not. And as he glorified the Lord, he grew strong and said that after yesterday's feast he should die. And he began then to say: Hear, my children, ye sons of Naphtali, hear the words of your father. I was born from Bilhah, and because Rachel dealt craftily, and gave Bilhah in place of herself to Jacob, and she conceived and bare me upon Rachel's knees, therefore she called my name Naphtali. For Rachel loved me very much because I was born upon her lap; and when I was still young she was wont to kiss me, and say: May I have a brother of thine from mine own womb, like unto thee. Whence also Joseph was like unto me in all things, according to the prayers of Rachel. Now my mother was Bilhah, daughter of Rotheus the brother of Deborah, Rebecca's nurse, who was born on one and the self-same day with Rachel. And Rotheus was of the family of Abraham, a Chaldean, God fearing, free-born, and noble. And he was taken captive and was bought by Laban; and he gave him Euna his handmaid to wife, and she bore a daughter, and called her name Zilpah, after the name of the village in which he had been taken captive. And next she bore Bilhah, saying: My daughter hastens after what is new, for immediately that she was born she seized the breast and hastened to suck it.

2 And I was swift on my feet like the deer, and my father Jacob appointed me for all messages, and as a deer did he give me his blessing. For as the potter knoweth the vessel, how much it is to contain, and bringeth clay accordingly, so also doth the Lord make the body after the likeness of the spirit, and according to the capacity of the body doth He implant the spirit. And the one does not fall short of the other by a third part of a hair; for by weight, and measure, and rule was all the creation made. And as the potter knoweth the use of each vessel, what it is meet for, so also doth the Lord know the body, how far it will persist in goodness, and when it beginneth in evil. For there is no inclination or thought which the Lord knoweth not, for He created every man after His own image. As a man's strength, so also is his work; and as his mind, so also is his skill; and as his purpose, so also is his achievement; and as his heart, so also is his mouth; as his eye, so also is his sleep; as his soul, so also is his word, either in the law of the Lord or in the works of Beliar. And as there is a division between light and darkness, between seeing and hearing, so also is there a division between man and man, and between woman and woman; and it is not to be said that the one is like the other either in face or in mind. For God made all things good in their order, the five senses in the head, and He joined on the neck to the head, adding to it the hair also for comeliness and glory, then the heart for understanding, the belly for excrement, and the stomach for (grinding), the windpipe for taking in (the breath), the liver for wrath, the gall for bitterness, the spleen for laughter, the reins for prudence, the muscles of the loins for power, the lungs for drawing in, the loins for strength, and so forth. So then, my children, let all your works be done in order with good intent in the fear of God, and do nothing disorderly in scorn or out of its due season. For if thou bid the eye to hear, it cannot; so neither while ye are in darkness can ye do the works of light.

3 Be ye, therefore, not eager to corrupt your doings through covetousness or with vain words to beguile your souls; because if ye keep silence in purity of heart, ye shall understand how to hold fast the will of God, and to cast away the will of Beliar. Sun and moon and stars change not their

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order; so do ye also change not the law of God in the disorderliness of your doings. The Gentiles went astray, and forsook the Lord, and changed their order, and obeyed stocks and stones, spirits of deceit. But ye shall not be so, my children, recognizing in the firmament, in the earth, and in the sea, and in all created things, the Lord who made all things, that ye become not as Sodom, which changed the order of nature. In like manner the Watchers also changed the order of their nature, whom the Lord cursed at the flood, on whose account He made the earth without inhabitants and fruitless.

4 These things I say unto you, my children, for I have read in the writing of Enoch that ye yourselves also shall depart from the Lord, walking according to all the lawlessness of the Gentiles, and ye shall do according to all the wickedness of Sodom. And the Lord shall bring captivity upon you, and there shall ye serve your enemies, and ye shall be bowed down with every affliction and tribulation, until the Lord have consumed you all. And after ye have become minished and made few, ye shall return and acknowledge the Lord your God; and He shall bring you back into your land, according to His abundant mercy. And it shall be, that after that they come into the land of their fathers, they shall again forget the Lord and become ungodly. And the Lord shall scatter them upon the face of all the earth, until the compassion of the Lord shall come, a man working righteousness and working mercy unto all them that are afar off, and to them that are near.

5 For in the fortieth year of my life, I saw a vision on the Mount of Olives, on the east of Jerusalem, that the sun and the moon were standing still. And behold Isaac, the father of my father, said to us; Run and lay hold of them, each one according to his strength; and to him that seizeth them will the sun and moon belong . And we all of us ran together, and Levi laid hold of the sun, and Judah outstripped the others and seized the moon, and they were both of them lifted up with them. And when Levi became as a sun, lo, a certain young man gave to him twelve branches of palm; and Judah was bright as the moon, and under their feet were twelve rays. [And the two, Levi and Judah, ran, and laid hold of them.] And , a bull upon the earth, with two great horns, and an eagle's wings upon its back; and we wished to seize him; but could not. But Joseph came, and seized him, and ascended up with him on high. And I saw, for I was there, and behold a holy writing appeared to us, saying: Assyrians, Medes, Persians, [Chaldeans,] Syrians, shall possess in captivity the twelve tribes of Israel.

6 And again, after seven days, I saw our father Jacob standing by the sea of Jamnia, and we were with him. And behold, there came a ship sailing by, without sailors or pilot; and there was written upon the ship, The Ship of Jacob. And our father said to us: Come, let us embark on our ship. And when he had gone on board, there arose a vehement storm, and a mighty tempest of wind; and our father, who was holding the helm, departed from us. And we, being tossed with the tempest, were borne along over the sea; and the ship was filled with water, (and was) pounded by mighty waves, until it was broken up. And Joseph fled away upon a little boat, and we were all divided upon nine planks, and Levi and Judah were together. And we were all scattered unto the ends of the earth. , Then Levi, girt about with sackcloth, prayed for us all unto the Lord. And when the storm ceased, the ship reached the land as it were in peace. And, , our father came, and we all rejoiced with one accord.

7 These two dreams I told to my father; and he said to me: These things must be fulfilled in their season, after that Israel hath endured many things. Then my father saith unto me: I believe God that Joseph liveth, for I see always that the Lord numbereth him with you, And he said, weeping: Ah me, my son Joseph, thou livest, though I behold thee not, and thou seest not Jacob that begat thee. He caused me also, therefore, to weep by these words, and I burned in my heart to declare that Joseph had been sold, but I feared my brethren.

8 And lo! my children, I have shown unto you the last times, how everything shall come to pass in Israel. Do ye also, therefore, charge your children that they be united to Levi and to Judah; For through them shall salvation arise unto Israel, And in them shall Jacob be blessed. For through their tribes shall God appear [dwelling among men] on earth, To save the race of Israel, And to gather together the righteous from amongst the Gentiles. If ye work that which is good, my children, Both men and angels shall bless you; And God shall be glorified among the Gentiles through you, And the devil shall flee from you, And the wild beasts shall fear you, And the Lord shall love you, [And the angels shall cleave to you]. As a man who has trained a child well is kept in kindly remembrance: So also for a good work there is a good remembrance before God. But him that doeth not that which is good, Both angels and men shall curse, And God shall be dishonoured among the Gentiles through him, And the devil shall make him as his own peculiar instrument, And every wild beast shall master him, And the Lord shall hate him. For the commandments of the law are twofold, And through prudence must they be fulfilled. For there is a season for a man to embrace his wife, And a season to abstain therefrom for his prayer. So, then, there are two commandments; and, unless they be done in due order, they bring very great sin upon men. So also is it with the other commandments. Be ye therefore wise in God, my Children, and prudent, understanding the order of His commandments, and the laws of every word, that the Lord may love you.

9 And when he had charged them with many such words, he exhorted them that they should remove his bones to Hebron, and that they should bury him with his fathers. And when he had eaten and drunken with a merry heart, he covered his face and died. And his sons did according to all that Naphtali their father had commanded them.

TWELVE PATRIARCHS CHAPTER 9

The Testament Of Gad, The Ninth Son Of Jacob And Zilpah.

1 The copy of the testament of Gad, what things he spake unto his sons, in the hundred and twenty fifth year of his life, saying unto them: Hearken, my children, I was the ninth son born to Jacob, and I was valiant in keeping the flocks. Accordingly I guarded at night the flock; and whenever the lion came, or the wolf, or any wild beast against the fold, I pursued it, and overtaking (it) I seized its foot with my hand and hurled it about a stone's throw, and so killed it. Now Joseph my brother was feeding the flock with us for upwards of thirty days, and being young, he fell sick by reason of the heat. And he returned to Hebron to our father, who made him lie down near him, because he loved him greatly. And Joseph told our father that the sons of Zilpah and Bilhah were slaying the best of the flock and eating them against the judgement of Reuben and Judah. For he saw that I had delivered a lamb out of the mouth of a bear, and put the bear to death; but had slain the lamb, being grieved concerning it that it could not live, and that we had eaten it. And regarding this matter I was wroth with Joseph until the day that he was sold, And the spirit of hatred was in me, and I wished not either to hear of Joseph with the ears, or see him with the eyes because he rebuked us to our faces saying that we were eating of the flock without Judah. For whatsoever things he told our father, he believed him.

2 I confess now my sin, my children, that oftentimes I wished to kill him, because I hated him from my heart. Moreover, I hated him yet more for his dreams; and I wished to lick him out of the land of the living, even as an ox licketh up the grass of the field. Therefore I and Simeon sold him to the Ishmaelites [for thirty pieces of gold, and ten of them we hid, and showed the twenty to our brethren] And thus through covetousness we were bent on slaying him. And the God of my fathers delivered him from my hands, that I should not work lawlessness in Israel.

3 And now, my children, hearken to the words of truth to work righteousness, and all the law of the Most High, and go not astray through the spirit of hatred, for it is evil in all the doings of men. Whatsoever a man doeth the hater abominateth him: and though a man worketh the law of the Lord, he praiseth him not; though a man feareth the Lord, and taketh pleasure in that which is righteous, he loveth him not. He dispraiseth the truth, he envieth him that prospereth, he welcometh evil-speaking, he loveth arrogance, for hatred blindeth his soul; as I also then looked on Joseph.

4 I Beware, therefore, my children of hatred; for it worketh lawlessness even against the Lord Himself. For it will not hear the words of His commandments concerning the loving of one's neighbour, and it sinneth against God. For if a brother stumble, it delighteth immediately to proclaim it to all men, and is urgent that he should be judged for it, and be punished and be put to death. And if it be a servant it stirreth him up against his master, and with every affliction it deviseth against him if possibly he can be put to death, For hatred worketh with envy also against them that prosper: so long as it heareth of or seeth their success, it always languisheth. For as love would quicken even the dead, and would call back them that are condemned to die, so hatred would slay the living, and those that had sinned venially it would not suffer to live. For the spirit of hatred worketh together with Satan, through hastiness of spirit, in all things to men's death; but the spirit of love worketh together with the law of God in long-suffering unto the salvation of men.

5 Hatred, therefore, is evil, for it constantly mateth with lying, speaking against the truth; and it maketh small things to be great, and causeth the light to be darkness, and calleth the sweet bitter, and teacheth slander, and kindleth wrath, and stirreth up war, and violence and all covetousness; it filleth the heart with evils and devilish poison. These things, therefore, I say to you from experience, my children, that ye may drive forth hatred, which is of the devil, and cleave to the love of God. Righteousness casteth out hatred, humility destroyeth envy. For he that is just and humble is ashamed to do what is unjust, being reproved not of another, but of his own heart, because the Lord looketh on his inclination. He speaketh not against a holy man, because the fear of God overcometh hatred. For fearing lest he should offend the Lord, he will not do wrong to any, man, even in thought. These things I learnt at last, after I had repented concerning Joseph. For true repentance after a godly sort [destroyeth ignorance, and] driveth away the darkness, and enlighteneth the eyes, and giveth knowledge to the soul, and leadeth the mind to salvation. And those things which it hath not learnt from man, it knoweth through repentance. For God brought upon me a disease of the liver; and had not the prayers of Jacob my father succoured me, it had hardly failed but my spirit had departed, For by what things a man transgresseth, by the same also is he punished. Since, therefore, my liver was set mercilessly against Joseph, in my liver too I suffered mercilessly, and was judged for eleven months, for so long a time as I had been angry against Joseph.

6 And now, my children, I exhort you, love ye each one his brother, and put away hatred from your hearts, love one another in deed, and in word, and in the inclination of the soul. For in the presence of my father I spake peaceably to Joseph; and when I had gone out, the spirit of hatred darkened my mind, and stirred up my soul to slay him. Love ye, therefore, one another from the heart; and if a man sin against thee, cast forth the poison of hate and speak peaceably to him, and in thy soul hold not guile; and if he confess and repent, forgive him. But if he deny it, do not get into a passion with him, lest catching the poison from thee he take to swearing and so thou sin doubly. [Let not another man hear thy secrets when engaged in legal strife, lest he come to hate thee and become thy enemy, and commit a great sin against thee; for ofttimes he addresseth thee guilefully or busieth himself about thee with wicked intent.] And though he deny it and yet have a sense of shame when reproved, give over reproving him. For he who denieth may repent so as not again to wrong thee; yea, he may also honour thee, and [fear and] be at peace with thee And if he be shameless and persist in his wrong-doing, even so forgive him from the heart, and leave to God the avenging.

7 If a man prospereth more than you, do not be vexed, but pray also for him, that he may have perfect prosperity. For so it is expedient for you. And if he be further exalted, be not envious of him, remembering that all flesh shall die; and offer praise to God, who giveth things good and profitable to all men. Seek out the judgements of the Lord, and thy mind will rest and be at peace. And though a man become rich by evil means, even as Esau, the brother of my father, be not jealous; but wait for the end of the Lord. For if he taketh away (from a man) wealth gotten by evil means He forgiveth him if he repent, but the unrepentant is reserved for eternal punishment. For the poor man, if free from envy he pleaseth the Lord in all things, is blessed beyond all men, because he hath not the travail of vain men. Put away, therefore, jealousy from your souls, and love one another with uprightness of heart.

8 Do ye also therefore tell these things to your children, that they honour Judah and Levi, for from them shall the Lord raise up salvation to Israel. [For I know that at the last your children shall depart from Him, and shall walk in all wickedness, and affliction and corruption before the Lord.] And when he had rested for a little while, he said again; My children, obey your father, and bury , me near to my fathers. And he drew up his feet, and fell asleep in peace. And after five years they carried him up to Hebron, and laid him with his fathers.

TWELVE PATRIARCHS CHAPTER 10

The Testament Of Asher, The Tenth Son Of Jacob And Zilpah.

1 The copy of the Testament of Asher, what things he spake to his sons in the hundred and twenty-fifth year of his life. For while he was still in health, he said to them: Hearken, ye children of Asher, to your father, and I will declare to you all that is upright in the sight of the Lord. Two ways hath God given to the sons of men, and two inclinations, and two kinds of action, and two modes (of action), and two issues. Therefore all things are by twos, one over against the other. For there are two ways of good and evil, and with these are the two inclinations in our breasts discriminating them. Therefore if the soul take pleasure in the good (inclination), all its actions are in righteousness; and if it sin it straightway repenteth. For, having its thoughts set upon righteousness, and casting away wickedness, it straightway overthroweth the evil, and uprooteth the sin. But if it incline to the evil inclination, all its actions are in wickedness, and it driveth away the good, and cleaveth to the evil, and is ruled by Beliar; even though it work what is good, he perverteth it to evil. For whenever it beginneth to do good, he forceth the issue of the action into evil for him, seeing that the treasure of the inclination is filled with an evil spirit.

2 A person then may with words help the good for the sake of the evil, yet the issue of the action leadeth to mischief. There is a man who showeth no compassion upon him who serveth his turn in evil; and this thing hath two aspects, but the whole is evil. And there is a man that loveth him that worketh evil, because he would prefer even to die in evil for his sake; and concerning this it is clear that it hath two aspects,

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but the whole is an evil work. Though indeed he have love, yet is he wicked who concealeth what is evil for the sake of the good name, but the end of the action tendeth unto evil. Another stealeth, doeth unjustly, plundereth, defraudeth, and withal pitieth the poor: this too hath a twofold aspect, but the whole is evil. He who defraudeth his neighbour provoketh God, and sweareth falsely against the Most High, and yet pitieth the poor: the Lord who commandeth the law he setteth at nought and provoketh, and yet he refresheth the poor. He defileth the soul, and maketh gay the body; he killeth many, and pitieth a few: this, too, hath a twofold aspect, but the whole is evil. Another committeth adultery and fornication, and abstaineth from meats, and when he fasteth he doeth evil, and by the power of his wealth overwhelmeth many; and notwithstanding his excessive wickedness he doeth the commandments: this, too, hath a twofold aspect, but the whole is evil. Such men are hares; clean,- like those that divide the hoof, but in very deed are unclean. For God in the tables of the commandments hath thus declared.

3 But do not ye, my children, wear two faces like unto them, of goodness and of wickedness; but cleave unto goodness only, for God hath his habitation therein, and men desire it. But from wickedness flee away, destroying the (evil) inclination by your good works; for they that are double-faced serve not God, but their own lusts, so that they may please Beliar and men like unto themselves.

4 For good men, even they that are of single face, though they be thought by them that are double faced to sin, are just before God. For many in killing the wicked do two works, of good and evil; but the whole is good, because he hath uprooted and destroyed that which is evil. One man hateth the merciful and unjust man, and the man who committeth adultery and fasteth: this, too, hath a two fold aspect, but the whole work is good, because he followeth the Lord's example, in that he accepteth not the seeming good as the genuine good. Another desireth not to see a good day with them that riot, lest he defile his body and pollute his soul: this, too, is double-faced, but the whole is good. For such men are like to stags and to hinds, because in the manner of wild animals they seem to be unclean, but they are altogether clean; because they walk in zeal for the Lord and abstain from what God also hateth and forbiddeth by His commandments, warding off the evil from the good.

5 Ye see, my children, how that there are two in all things, one against the other, and the one is hidden by the other: in wealth (is hidden) covetousness, in conviviality drunkenness, in laughter grief, in wedlock profligacy. Death succeedeth to life, dishonour to glory, night to day, and darkness to light; [and all things are under the day, just things under life, unjust things under death;] wherefore also eternal life awaiteth death. Nor may it be said that truth is a lie, nor right wrong; for all truth is under the light, even as all things are under God. All these things, therefore, I proved in my life, and I wandered not from the truth of the Lord, and I searched out the commandments of the Most High, walking according to all my strength with singleness of face unto that which is good.

6 Take heed, therefore, ye also, my children, to the commandments of the Lord, following the truth with singleness of face. For they that are double-faced are guilty of a twofold sin; for they both do the evil thing and they have pleasure in them that do it, following the example of the spirits of deceit, and striving against mankind. Do ye, therefore, my children, keep the law of the Lord, and give not heed unto evil as unto good; but look unto the thing that is really good, and keep it in all commandments of the Lord, having your conversation therein, and resting therein. For the latter ends of men do show their righteousness (or unrighteousness), when they meet the angels of the Lord and of Satan. For when the soul departs troubled, it is tormented by the evil spirit which also it served in lusts and evil works. But if he is peaceful with joy he meeteth the angel of peace, and he leadeth him into eternal life.

7 Become not, my children, as Sodom, which sinned against the angels of the Lord, and perished for ever. For I know that ye shall sin, and be delivered into the hands of your enemies; and your land shall be made desolate, and your holy places destroyed, and ye shall be scattered unto the four corners of the earth. And ye shall be set at nought in the dispersion vanishing away as water. Until the Most High shall visit the earth, coming Himself [as man, with men eating and drinking, and breaking the head of the dragon in the water. He shall save Israel and all the Gentiles [God speaking in the person of man]. [Therefore do ye also, my children, tell these things to your children, that they disobey Him not. For I have known that ye shall assuredly be disobedient, and assuredly act ungodly, not giving heed to the law of God, but to the commandments of men, being corrupted through wickedness. And therefore shall ye be scattered as Gad and Dan my brethren, and ye shall know not your lands, tribe, and tongue. But the Lord will gather you together in faith through His tender mercy, and for the sake of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.]

8 And when he had said these things unto them he commanded them, saying: Bury me in Hebron. And he fell asleep and died at a good old age. And his sons did as he had commanded them, and they carried him up to Hebron, and buried him with his fathers.

TWELVE PATRIARCHS CHAPTER 11

The Testament Of Joseph,
The Eleventh Son Of Jacob And Rachel.

1 The copy of the Testament of Joseph. When he was about to die he called his sons and his brethren together, and said to them:-- My brethren and my children, Hearken to Joseph the beloved of Israel; Give ear, my sons, unto your father. I have seen in my life envy and death, Yet I went not astray, but persevered in the truth of the Lord. These my brethren hated me, but the Lord loved me: They wished to slay me, but the God of my fathers guarded me: They let me down into a pit, and the Most High brought me up again. I was sold into slavery, and the Lord of all made me free: I was taken into captivity, and His strong hand succoured me. I was beset with hunger, and the Lord Himself nourished me. I was alone, and God comforted me: I was sick, and the Lord visited me: I was in prison, and my God showed favour unto me; In bonds, and He released me; Slandered, and He pleaded my cause; Bitterly spoken against by the Egyptians, and He delivered me; Envied by my fellow-slaves, and He exalted me.

2 And this chief captain of Pharaoh entrusted to me his house. And I struggled against a shameless woman, urging me to transgress with her; but the God of Israel my father delivered me from the burning flame. I was cast into prison, I was beaten, I was mocked; but the Lord granted me to find mercy in the sight of the keeper of the prison. For the Lord doth not forsake them that fear Him, Neither in darkness, nor in bonds, nor in tribulations, nor in necessities. For God is not put to shame as a man, Nor as the son of man is he afraid, Nor as one that is earth-born is He [weak or] affrighted. But in all those things doth He give protection, And in divers ways doth He comfort, (Though) for a little space He departeth to try the inclination of the soul. In ten temptations He showed me approved, And in all of them I endured; For endurance is a mighty charm, And patience giveth many good things.

3 How often did the Egyptian woman threaten me with death! How often did she give me over to punishment, and then call me back and threaten me, and when I was unwilling to company with her, she said to me: Thou shalt be lord of me, and all that is in my house, if thou wilt give thyself unto me, and thou shalt be as our master. But I remembered the words of my father, and going into my chamber, I wept and prayed unto the Lord. And I fasted in those seven years, and I appeared to the Egyptians as one living delicately, for they that fast for God's sake receive beauty of face. And if my lord were away from home, I drank no wine; nor for three days did I take my food, but I gave it to the poor and sick. And I sought the Lord early, and I wept for the Egyptian woman of Memphis, for very unceasingly did she trouble me, for also at night she came to me under pretence of visiting me. And because she had no male child she pretended to regard me as a son, and so I prayed to the Lord, and she bare a male child. And for a time she embraced me as a son, and I knew it not; but later, she sought to draw me into fornication. And when I perceived it I sorrowed unto death; and when she had gone out, I came to myself, and lamented for her many days, because I recognized her guile and her deceit. And I declared unto her the words of the Most High, if haply she would turn from her evil lust.

4 Often, therefore, did she flatter me with words as a holy man, and guilefully in her talk praise my chastity before her husband, while desiring to ensnare me when we were alone. For she lauded me openly as chaste, and in secret she said unto me: Fear not my husband; for he is persuaded concerning thy chastity: for even should one tell him concerning us, he would not believe. Owing to all these things I lay upon the ground, and besought God that the Lord would deliver me from her deceit. And when she had prevailed nothing thereby, she came again to me under the plea of instruction, that she might learn the word of God. And she said unto me: If thou willest that I should leave my idols, lie with me, and I will persuade my husband to depart from his idols, and we will walk in the law of thy Lord. And I said unto her: The Lord willeth not that those who reverence Him should be in uncleanness, nor doth He take pleasure in them that commit adultery, but in those that approach Him with a pure heart and undefiled lips. But she held her peace, longing to accomplish her evil desire. And I gave myself yet more to fasting and prayer, that the Lord might deliver me from her.

5 And again, at another time she said unto me: If thou wilt not commit adultery, I will kill my husband by poison; and take thee to be my husband. I therefore, when I heard this, rent my garments, and said unto her: Woman, reverence God, and do not this evil deed, lest thou be destroyed; for know indeed that I will declare this thy device unto all men. She therefore, being afraid, besought that I would not declare this device. And she departed soothing me with gifts, and sending to me every delight of the sons of men.

6 And afterwards she sent me food mingled with enchantments. And when the eunuch who brought it came, I looked up and beheld a terrible man giving me with the dish a sword, and I perceived that (her) scheme was to beguile me. And when he had gone out I wept, nor did I taste that or any other of her food. So then after one day she came to me and observed the food, and said unto me: Why is it that thou hast not eaten of the food? And I said unto her: It is because thou hast filled it with deadly enchantments; and how saidst thou: I come not near to idols, but to the Lord alone. Now therefore know that the God of my father hath revealed unto me by His angel thy wickedness, and I have kept it to convict thee, if haply thou mayst see and repent. But that thou mayst learn that the wickedness of the ungodly hath no power over them that worship God with chastity, behold I will take of it and eat before thee. And having so said, I prayed thus: The God of my fathers and the angel of Abraham, be with me; and ate. And when she saw this she fell upon her face at my feet, weeping; and I raised her up and admonished her. And she promised to do this iniquity no more.

7 But her heart was still set upon evil, and she looked around how to ensnare me, and sighing deeply she became downcast, though she was not sick. And when her husband saw her, he said unto her: Why is thy countenance fallen? And she said unto him: I have a pain at my heart, and the groanings of my spirit oppress me; and so he comforted her who was not sick. Then, accordingly seizing an opportunity, she rushed unto me while her husband was yet without, and said unto me: I will hang myself, or cast myself over a cliff, if thou wilt not lie with me. And when I saw the spirit of Beliar was troubling her, I prayed unto the Lord, and said unto her: Why, wretched woman, art thou troubled and disturbed, blinded through, sins? Remember that if thou kill thyself, Asteho, the concubine of thy husband, thy rival, will beat thy children, and thou wilt destroy thy memorial from off the earth. And she said unto me: Lo, then thou lovest me; let this suffice me: only strive for my life and my children, and I expect that I shall enjoy my desire also. But she knew not that because of my lord I spake thus, and not because of her. For if a man hath fallen before the passion of a wicked desire and become enslaved by it, even as she, whatever good thing he may hear with regard to that passion, he receiveth it with a view to his wicked desire.

8 I declare, therefore, unto you, my children, that it was about the sixth hour when she departed from me; and I knelt before the Lord all day, and all the night; and about dawn I rose up, weeping the while and praying for a release from her. At last, then, she laid hold of my garments, forcibly dragging me to have connexion with her. When, therefore, I saw that in her madness she was holding fast to my garment, I left it behind, and fled away naked. And holding fast to the garment she falsely accused me, and when her husband came he cast me into prison in his house; and on the morrow he scourged me and sent me into Pharaoh's prison. And when I was in bonds, the Egyptian woman was oppressed with grief, and she came and heard how I gave thanks unto the Lord and sang praises in the abode of darkness, and with glad voice rejoiced, glorifying my God that I was delivered from the lustful desire of the Egyptian woman.

9 And often hath she sent unto me saying: Consent to fulfill my desire, and I will release thee from thy bonds, and I will free thee from the darkness. And not even in thought did I incline unto her. For God loveth him who in a den of wickedness combines fasting with chastity, rather than the man who in kings' chambers combines luxury with licence. And if a man liveth in chastity, and desireth also glory, and the Most High knoweth that it is expedient for him, He bestoweth this also upon me. How often, though she were sick, did she come down to me at unlooked for times, and listened to my voice as I prayed! And when I heard her groanings I held my peace. For when I was in her house she was wont to bare her arms, and breasts, and legs, that I might lie with her; for she was very beautiful, splendidly adorned in order to beguile me. And the Lord guarded me from her devices.

10 Ye see, therefore, my children, how great things patience worketh, and prayer with fasting. So ye too, if ye follow after chastity and purity with patience and prayer, with fasting in humility of heart, the Lord will dwell among you, because He loveth chastity. And wheresoever the Most High dwelleth, even though envy, or slavery, or slander befalleth (a man), the Lord who dwelleth in him, for the sake of his chastity not only delivereth him from evil, but also exalteth him even as me. For in every way the man is lifted up, whether in deed, or in word, or in thought. My brethren knew how my father loved me, and yet I did not exalt myself in my mind: although I was a child, I had the fear of God in my heart; for I knew that all things would pass away. And I did nor raise myself (against them) with evil intent, but I honoured my brethren; and out of respect for them, even when I was being sold, I refrained from telling the Ishmaelites that I was a son of Jacob, a great man and a mighty.

11 Do ye also, my children, have the fear of God in all your works before your eyes, and honour your brethren. For every one who doeth the law of the Lord shall be loved by Him. And

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when I came to the Indocolpitae with the Ishmaelites, they asked me, saying: Art thou a slave? And I said that I was a home-born slave, that I might not put my brethren to shame. And the eldest of them said unto me: Thou art not a slave, for even thy appearance doth make it manifest. But I said that I was their slave. Now when we came into Egypt they strove concerning me, which of them should buy me and take me. Therefore it seemed good to all that I should remain in Egypt with the merchant of their trade, until they should return bringing merchandise. And the Lord gave me favour in the eyes of the merchant, and he entrusted unto me his house. And God blessed him by my means, and increased him in gold and silver and in household servants. And I was with him three months and five days.

12 And about that time the Memphian woman, the wife of Pentephri, came down in a chariot, with great pomp, because she had heard from her eunuchs concerning me. And she told her husband that the merchant had become rich by means of a young Hebrew, and they say that he had assuredly been stolen out of the land of Canaan. Now, therefore, render justice unto him, and take away the youth to thy house; so shall the God of the Hebrews bless thee, for grace from heaven is upon him.

13 And Pentephris was persuaded by her words, and commanded the merchant to be brought, and said unto him: What is this that I hear concerning thee, that thou stealest persons out of the land of Canaan, and sellest them for slaves? But the merchant fell at his feet, and besought him, saying: I beseech thee, my lord, I know not what thou sayest. And Pentephris said unto him: Whence, then, is the Hebrew slave? And he said: The Ishmaelites entrusted him unto me until they should return. But he believed him not, but commanded him to be stripped and beaten. And when he persisted in this statement, Pentephris said: Let the youth be brought. And when I was brought in, I did obeisance to Pentephris (for he was third in rank of the officers of Pharaoh). And he took me apart from him, and said unto me: Art thou a slave or free? And I said: A stave. And he said: Whose? And I said: The Ishmaelites. And he said: How didst thou become their slave? And I said: They bought me out of the land of Canaan. And he said unto me: Truly thou liest; and strightway he commanded me to be stripped and beaten.

14 Now the Memphian woman was looking through a window at me while I was being beaten, for her house was near, and she sent unto him saying: Thy judgement is unjust; for thou dost punish a free man who hath been stolen, as though he were a transgressor. And when I made no change in my statement, though I was beaten, he ordered me to be imprisoned, until, he said, the owners of the boy should come. And the woman said unto her husband: Wherefore dost thou detain the captive and well-born lad in bonds, who ought rather to be set at liberty, and be waited upon? For she wished to see me out of a desire of sin, but I was ignorant concerning all these things. And he said to her: It is not the custom of the Egyptians to take that which belongeth to others before proof is given. This, therefore, he said concerning the merchant; but as for the lad, he must be imprisoned.

15 Now after four and twenty days came the Ishmaelites; for they had heard that Jacob my father was mourning much concerning me. And they came and said unto me: How is it that thou saidst that thou wast a slave? and lo, we have learnt that thou art the son of a mighty man in the land of Canaan, and thy father still mourneth for thee in sackcloth and ashes. When I heard this my bowels were dissolved and my heart melted, and I desired greatly to weep, but I restrained myself, that I should not put my brethren to shame. And I said unto them, I know not, I am a slave. Then, therefore, they took counsel to sell me, that I should not be found in their hands. For they feared my father, lest he [should come and] execute upon them a grievous vengeance. For they had heard that he was mighty with God and with men. Then said the merchant unto them: Release me from the judgement of Pentiphri. And they came and requested me, saying: Say that thou wast bought by us with money, and he will set us free.

16 Now the Memphian woman said to her husband: Buy the youth; for I hear, said she, that they are selling him. And straightway she sent a eunuch to the Ishmaelites, and asked them to sell me. But since the eunuch would not agree to buy me (at their price) he returned, having made trial of them, and he made known to his mistress that they asked a large price for their slave. And she sent another eunuch, saying: Even though they demand two minas, give them, do not spare the gold; only buy the boy, and bring him to me. The eunuch therefore went and gave them eighty pieces of gold, and he received me; but to the Egyptian woman he said: I have given a hundred. And though I knew (this) I held my peace, lest the eunuch should be put to shame.

17 Ye see, therefore, my children, what great things I endured that I should not put my brethren to shame. Do ye also, therefore love one another, and with long-suffering hide ye one another's faults. For God delighteth in the unity of brethren, and in the purpose of a heart that takes pleasure in love. And when my brethren came into Egypt they learnt that I had returned their money unto them, and upbraided them not, and comforted them. And after the death of Jacob my father I loved them more abundantly, and all things whatsoever he commanded I did very abundantly for them, And I suffered them not to be afflicted in the smallest matter; and all that was in my hand I gave unto them. And their children were my children, and my children as their servants; and their life was my life, and all their suffering was my suffering, and all their sickness was my infirmity. My land was their land, and their counsel my counsel. And I exalted not myself among them in arrogance because of my worldly glory, but I was among them as one of the least.

18 If ye also, therefore, walk in the commandments of the Lord, my children, He will exalt you there, and will bless you with good things for ever and ever. And if any one seeketh to do evil unto you, do well unto him, and pray for him, and ye shall be redeemed of the Lord from all evil. [For], behold, ye see that out of my humility and long -suffering I took unto wife the daughter of the priest of Heliopolis. And a hundred talents of gold were given me with her, and the Lord made them to serve me. And He gave me also beauty as a flower beyond the beautiful ones of Israel; and He preserved me unto old age in strength and in beauty, because I was like in all things to Jacob.

19 Hear ye, therefore, me vision which I saw. I saw twelve harts feeding. And nine of them were dispersed. Now the three were preserved, but on the following day they also were dispersed. And I saw that the three harts became three lambs, and they cried to the Lord, and He brought them forth into a flourishing and well watered place, yea He brought them out of darkness into light. And there they cried unto the Lord until there gathered together unto them the nine harts, and they became as twelve sheep, and after a little time they increased and became many flocks. And after these things I saw and behold, twelve bulls were sucking one cow, which produced a sea of milk, and there drank thereof the twelve flocks and innumerable herds. And the horns of the fourth bull went up unto heaven and became as a wall for the flocks, and in the midst of the two horns there grew another horn. And I saw a bull calf which surrounded them twelve times, and it became a help to the bulls wholly. And I saw in the midst of the horns a virgin [wearing a many-coloured garment, and from her] went forth a lamb; and on his right (was as it were a lion; and) all the beasts and all the reptiles rushed (against him), and the lamb over came them and destroyed them. And the bulls rejoiced because of him, and the cow [and the harts] exulted together with them. And these things must come to pass in their season. Do ye therefore, my children, observe the commandments of the Lord, and honour Levi and Judah; for from them shall arise unto you [the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world] one who saveth [all the Gentiles and] Israel. For His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, which shall not pass away; but my kingdom among you shall come to an end as a watcher's hammock, which after the summer disappeareth.

20 For I know that after my death the Egyptians will afflict you, but God will avenge you, and will bring you into that which He promised to your fathers. But ye shall carry up my bones with you; for when my bones are being taken up thither, the Lord shall be with you in light, and Beliar shall be in darkness with the Egyptians. And carry ye up Asenath your mother to the Hippodrome, and near Rachel your mother bury her. , And when he had said these things he stretched out his feet, and died at a good old age. And all Israel mourned for him, and all Egypt, with a great mourning. And when the children of Israel went out of Egypt, they took with them the bones of Joseph, and they buried him in Hebron with his fathers, and the years of his life were one hundred and ten years.

TWELVE PATRIARCHS CHAPTER 12

The Testament Of Benjamin,
The Twelfth Son Of Jacob And Rachel

1 The copy of the words of Benjamin, which he commanded his sons to observe, after he had lived a hundred and twenty-five years. And he kissed them, and said: As Isaac was born to Abraham in his old age, so also was I to Jacob. And since Rachel my mother died in giving me birth, I had no milk; therefore I was suckled by Bilhah her handmaid. For Rachel remained barren for twelve years after she had borne Joseph; and she prayed the Lord with fasting twelve days, and she conceived and bare me. For my father loved Rachel dearly, and prayed that he might see two sons born from her. Therefore was I called Benjamin, that is, a son of days.

2 And when I went into Egypt, to Joseph, and my brother recognized me, he said unto me: What did they tell my father when they sold me ? And I said unto him, They dabbled thy coat with blood and sent it, and said: Know whether this be thy son's coat. And Joseph said unto me: Even so, brother, the Canaanite merchants stole me by force, And it came to pass that as they went on their way they concealed my garment, as though a wild beast had met me and slain me. And so his associates sold me to the Ishmaelites. And they did not lie in saying this. For he wished to conceal from me the deeds of my brethren. And he called to him his brethren and said: Do not tell my father what ye have done unto me, but tell him as I have told Benjamin. And let the thoughts among you be such, and let not these things come to the heart of my father.

3 Do ye also, therefore, my children, love the Lord God of heaven and earth, and keep His commandments, following the example of the good and holy man Joseph. And let your mind be unto good, even as ye know me; for he that hath his mind right seeth all things rightly. Fear ye the Lord, and love your neighbour; and even though the spirits of Beliar claim you to afflict you with every evil, yet shall they not have dominion over you, even as they had not over Joseph my brother. How many men wished to slay him, and God shielded him! For he that feareth God and loveth his neighbour cannot be smitten by the spirit of Beliar, being shielded by the fear of God. Nor can he be ruled over by the device of men or beasts, for he is helped by the Lord through the love which he hath towards his neighbour. For Joseph also besought our father that he would pray for his brethren, that the Lord would not impute to them as sin whatever evil they had done unto him. And thus Jacob cried out: My good child, thou hast prevailed over the bowels of thy father Jacob. And he embraced him, and kissed him for two hours, saying: In thee shall be fulfilled the prophecy of heaven [concerning the Lamb of God, and Saviour of the world], and that a blameless one shall be delivered up for lawless men, and a sinless one shall die for ungodly men [in the blood of the covenant. for the salvation of the Gentiles and of Israel, and shall destroy Beliar and his servants].

4 See ye, therefore, my children, the end of the good man? Be followers of his compassion, therefore, with a good mind, that ye also may wear crowns of glory. For the good man hath not a dark eye; for he showeth mercy to all men, even though they be sinners. And though they devise with evil intent concerning him, by doing good he overcometh evil, being shielded by God: and he loveth the righteous as his own soul. If any one is glorified, he envieth him not; if any one is enriched, he is not jealous; if any one is valiant, he praiseth him; the virtuous man he laudeth, on the poor man he hath mercy; on the weak he hath compassion; unto God he singeth praises. As for him who hath the fear of God, he protecteth him as with a shield; him that loveth God he helpeth; him that rejecteth the Most High he admonisheth and turneth back; and him that hath the grace of a good spirit he loveth as his own soul.

5 If, therefore, ye also have a good mind, then will both wicked men be at peace with you, and the profligate will reverence you and turn unto good; and the covetous will not only cease from their inordinate desire, but even give the objects of their covetousness to them that are afflicted. If ye do well, even the unclean spirits will flee from you; and the beasts will dread you. For where there is reverence for good works and light in the mind, even darkness fleeth away from him For if any one does violence to a holy man, he repenteth; for the holy man is merciful to his reviler, and holdeth his peace. And if any one betrayeth a righteous man, the righteous man prayeth: though for a little he be humbled, yet not long after he appeareth far more glorious, as was Joseph my brother.

6 The inclination of the good man is not in the power of the deceit of the spirit of Beliar, for the angel of peace guideth his soul. And he gazeth not passionately upon corruptible things, nor gathereth together riches through a desire of pleasure. He delighteth not in pleasure, [he grieveth for not his neighbour], he sateth not himself with luxuries, he erreth not in the uplifting of the eyes, the Lord is his portion. The good inclination receiveth not glory nor dishonor from men, and it knoweth not any guile, or lie, or fighting or reviling; for the Lord dwelleth in him and lighteth up his soul, and he rejoiceth towards all men alway. The good mind hath not two tongues, of blessing and of cursing, of contumely and of honor, of sorrow and of joy, of quietness and of confusion, of hypocrisy and of truth, [of poverty and of wealth]; but it hath one disposition, uncorrupt and pure, concerning all men. It hath no double sight, nor double hearing; for in everything which he doeth, or speaketh, or seeth, he knoweth that the Lord looketh on his soul. And he cleanseth his mind that he may not be condemned by men as well as by God. And in like manner the works of Beliar are twofold, and there is no singleness in them.

7 Therefore, my children, I tell you, flee the malice of Beliar; for he giveth a sword to them that obey him. And the sword is the mother of seven evils. First the mind conceiveth through Beliar, and first there is bloodshed; secondly ruin; thirdly, tribulation; fourthly, exile; fifthly, dearth; sixthly, panic; seventhly, destruction. Therefore was Cain also delivered over to seven vengeances by God, for in every hundred years the Lord brought one plague upon him. And when he was two hundred years old he began to suffer, and in the nine-hundredth year he was destroyed. For on account of Abel, his brother, with all the evils was he judged, but Lamech with seventy times seven. Because for ever those who are like Cain in envy and hatred of brethren, shall be punished with the same judgement.

8 And do ye, my children, flee evil-doing, envy, and hatred of brethren, and cleave to goodness and love. He that hath a

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pure mind in love, looketh not after a woman with a view to fornication; for he hath no defilement in his heart, because the Spirit of God resteth upon him. For as the sun is not defiled by shining on dung and mire, but rather drieth up both and driveth away the evil smell; so also the pure mind, though encompassed by the defilements of earth, rather cleanseth (them) and is not itself defiled.

9 And I believe that there will be also evil-doings among you, from the words of Enoch the righteous: that ye shall commit fornication with the fornication of Sodom, and shall perish, all save a few, and shall renew wanton deeds with women; and the kingdom of the Lord shall not be among, you, for straightway He shall take it away. Nevertheless the temple of God shall be in your portion, and the last (temple) shall be more glorious than the first. And the twelve tribes shall be gathered together there, and all the Gentiles, until the Most High shall send forth His salvation in the visitation of an only begotten prophet. [And He shall enter into the [first] temple, and there shall the Lord be treated with outrage, and He shall be lifted up upon a tree. And the veil of the temple shall be rent, and the Spirit of God shall pass on to the Gentiles as fire poured forth. And He shall ascend from Hades and shall pass from earth into heaven. And I know how lowly He shall be upon earth, and how glorious in heaven.]

10 Now when Joseph was in Egypt, I longed to see his figure and the form of his countenance; and through the prayers of Jacob my father I saw him, while awake in the daytime, even his entire figure exactly as he was. And when he had said these things, he said unto them: Know ye, therefore, my children, that I am dying. Do ye, therefore, truth and righteousness each one to his neighbour, and judgement unto confirmation, and keep the law of the Lord and his commandments. For these things do I leave you instead of inheritance. Do ye also, therefore, give them to your children for an everlasting possession; for so did both Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob. For all these things they gave us for an inheritance, saying: Keep the commandments of God, until the Lord shall reveal His salvation to all Gentiles. And then shall ye see Enoch, Noah, and Shem, and Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, rising on the right hand in gladness. Then shall we also rise, each one over our tribe, worshipping the King of heaven, [who appeared upon earth in the form of a man in humility. And as many as believe on Him on the earth shall rejoice with Him]. Then also all men shall rise, some unto glory and some unto shame. And the Lord shall judge Israel first, for their unrighteousness; [for when He appeared as God in the flesh to deliver them they believed Him not]. And then shall He judge all the Gentiles, [as many as believed Him not when He appeared upon earth]. And He shall convict Israel through the chosen ones of the Gentiles, even as He reproved Esau through the Midianites, who deceived their brethren, [so that they fell into fornication, and idolatry; and they were alienated from God], becoming therefore children in the portion of them that fear the Lord. If ye therefore, my children, walk in holiness according to the commandments of the Lord, ye shall again dwell securely with me, and all Israel shall be gathered unto the Lord.

11 And I shall no longer be called a ravening wolf on account of your ravages, but [a worker of the Lord, distributing food to them that work what is good. And there shall rise up from my seed in the latter times one] beloved of the Lord, [hearing upon the earth His voice] and a doer of the good pleasure of His will, [enlightening with new knowledge all the Gentiles, even the light of knowledge, bursting in upon Israel for salvation and tearing away from them like a wolf, and giving to the synagogue of the Gentiles. Until the consummation of the age shall he be in the synagogues of the Gentiles, and among their rulers, as a strain of music in the mouth of all. And he shall be inscribed in the holy books, both his work and his word, and he shall be a chosen one of God for ever. And through them he shall go to and fro as Jacob my father, saying: He shall fill up that which lacketh of thy tribe].

12 And when he finished his words, he said: I command you, my children, carry up my bones out of Egypt, and bury me at Hebron, near my fathers. So Benjamin died a hundred and twenty-five years old, at a good old age, and they placed him in a coffin. And in the ninety-first year from the entrance of the children of Israel into Egypt, they and their brethren brought up the bones of their fathers secretly during the Canaanitish war; and they buried them in Hebron, by the feet of their fathers. And they returned from the land of Canaan and dwelt in Egypt until the day of their departure from the land of Egypt.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR

The Story of Ahiqar or Words of Ahikar
Translation: Anonymus [Alternatives:
F. C. Conybeare, J. Rendel Harris, 1898
Estimated Range of Dating: 700-500 B.C.

(The Story of Ahiqar, also known as the Words of Ahiqar, is a story first attested in Imperial Aramaic from the 5th century BC on papyri from Elephantine in Egypt that circulated widely in the Middle and Near East. Elephantine had a very old Hebrew settlement showing that Jewish migration was very common long before Alexander. It is refered to as "one of the earliest 'international books' of world literature". The Story of Ahiqar is connected to The Book of Tobit in the Hebrew Bible. The character Ahiqar might have been a real person, a chancellor to the Assyrian kings Sennacherib and Esarhaddon [Assurhaddon]. A Late Babylonian cuneiform tablet from Uruk [Warka] mentions an Aramaic name Ahu'aqar. Ahiqar is a sage known in the ancient Near East for his outstanding wisdom.

At Uruk (Warka), a Late Babylonian cuneiform text from the second century BC was found that mentions the Aramaic name Ahu-u'qa-ari of an ummanu "sage" Aba-enlil-dari under Esarhaddon seventh century BC. This literary text of the sage Ahiqar might have been composed in Aramaic in Mesopotamia, probably around the late seventh or early sixth century BC. The first attestation are several papyrus fragments of the fifth century BC from the ruins of the Jewish military colony on the island Elephantine, Egypt. The narrative of the initial part of the story is expanded greatly by the presence of a large number of wise sayings and proverbs that Ahikar is portrayed as speaking to his nephew. It is suspected by most scholars that these sayings and proverbs were originally a separate document, as they do not mention Ahikar. Some of the sayings are similar to parts of the Biblical Book of Proverbs, others to the deuterocanonical Wisdom of Sirach, and others still to Babylonian and Persian proverbs. The collection of sayings is in essence a selection from those common in the Middle East at the time.

In the Greek Book of Tobit (3rd or 2nd century BC), Ahikar appears as Tobit's nephew, in royal service at Nineveh and, chief cupbearer, keeper of the signet, and in charge of administrations of the accounts under King Sennacherib of Assyria', and later under Esarhaddon (Tob. 1:21–22). When Tobit lost his sight, Ahikar took care of him for two years. Ahikar and his nephew Nadab were present at the wedding of Tobit's son, Tobias (2:10; 11:18). Shortly before his death, Tobit said to his son: 'See, my son, what Nadab did to Ahikar who had reared him. Was he not, while still alive, brought down into the earth? For God repaid him to his face for this shameful treatment. Ahikar came out into the light, but Nadab went into the eternal darkness, because he tried to kill Ahikar. Because he gave alms, Ahikar escaped the fatal trap that Nadab had set for him, but Nadab fell into it himself, and was destroyed' (14:10).

We have in The Story of Ahikar one of the most ancient sources of human thought and wisdom. Its influence can be traced through the legends of many people, including the Koran, and the Old and New Testaments.

A mosaic found in Treves, Germany, pictured among the wise men of the world the character of Ahikar. Here is his colorful tale.

The date of this story has been a subject of lively discussion. Scholars finally put it down about the First Century when they were proved in error by the original story turning up in an Aramaic papyrus of 500 BC. among the ruins of Elephantine.

The story is fiction with elements from history. In fact the reader can make its acquaintance in the supplementary pages of The Arabian Nights. It is brilliantly written, and the narrative which is full of action, intrigue, and narrow escape holds the attention to the last. The liberty of imagination is the most precious possession of the writer.

The writing divides itself into four phases: (1) The Narrative; (2) The Teaching (a remarkable series of Proverbs); (3) The Journey to Egypt; (4) The Similitudes or Parables (with which Ahikar completes the education of his erring nephew).

STORY OF AHIKAR CHAPTER 1

(Ahikar, Grand Vizier of Assyria, has 60 wives but is fated to have no son. Therefore he adopts his nephew. He crams him full of wisdom and knowledge more than of bread and water.

1 THE story of Haiqâr the Wise, Vizier of Sennacherib the King, and of Nadan, sister's son to Haiqâr the Sage.)

2 There was a Vizier in the days of King Sennacherib, son of Sarhadum, King of Assyria and Nineveh, a wise man named Haiqâr, and he was Vizier of the king Sennacherib.

3 He had a fine, fortune and much goods, and he was skilful, wise, a philosopher, in knowledge, in opinion and in government, and he had married sixty women, and had built a castle for each of them.

4 But with it all he had no child by any. of these women, who might be his heir.

5 And he was very sad on account of this, and one day he assembled the astrologers and the learned men and the wizards and explained to them his condition and the matter of his barrenness.

6 And they said to him, 'Go, sacrifice to the gods and beseech them that perchance they may provide thee with a boy.'

7 And he did as they told him and offered sacrifices to the idols, and besought them and implored them with request, and entreaty.

8 And they answered him not one word. And he went away sorrowful and dejected, departing with a pain at his heart.

9 And he returned, and implored the Most High God, and believed, beseeching Him with a burning in his heart, saying, 'O Most High God, O Creator of the Heavens and of the earth, O Creator of all created things!

10 I beseech Thee to give me a boy, that I may be consoled by him that he may be present at my heath, that he may close my eyes, and that he may bury me.'

11 Then there came to him a voice saying, 'Inasmuch as thou hast relied first of all on graven images, and hast offered sacrifices to them, for this reason thou shalt remain childless thy life long.

12 But take Nadan thy sister's son, and make him thy child and teach him thy learning and thy good breeding, and at thy death he shall bury thee.'

13 Thereupon he took Nadan his sister's son, who was a little suckling. And he handed him over to eight wet-nurses, that they might suckle him and bring him up.

14 And they brought him up with good food and gentle training and silken clothing, and purple and crimson. And he was seated upon couches of silk.

15 And when Nadan grew big and walked, shooting up like a tall cedar, he taught him good manners and writing and science and philosophy.

16 And after many days King Sennacherib looked at Haiqâr and saw that he had grown very old, and moreover he said to him.

17 'O my honoured friend, the skilful, the trusty, the wise, the governor, my secretary, my vizier, my Chancellor and director; verily thou art grown very old and weighted with years; and thy departure from this world must be near.

18 Tell me who shall have a place in my service after thee.' And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord, may thy head live for ever! There is Nadan my sister's son, I have made him my child.

19 And I have brought him up and taught him my wisdom and my knowledge.'

20 And the king said to him, 'O Haiqâr! bring him to my presence, that I may see him, and if I find him suitable, put him in thy place; and thou shalt go thy way, to take a rest and to live the remainder of thy life in sweet repose.'

21 Then Haiqâr went and presented Nadan his sister's son. And he did homage and wished him power and honour.

22 And he looked at him and admired him and rejoiced in him and said to Haiqâr: 'Is this thy son, O Haiqâr? I pray that God may preserve him. And as thou hast served me and my father Sarhadum so may this boy of thine serve me and fulfil my undertakings, my needs, and my business, so that I may honour him and make him powerful for thy sake.'

23 And Haiqâr did obeisance to the king and said to him, 'May thy head live, O my lord the king, for ever! I seek from thee that thou mayst be patient with my boy Nadan and forgive his mistakes that he may serve thee as it is fitting.'

24 Then the king swore to him that he would make him the greatest of his favourites, and the most powerful of his friends, and that he should be with him in all honour and respect. And he kissed his hands and bade him farewell.

25 And he took Nadan. his sister's son with him and seated him in a parlour and set about teaching him night and day till he had crammed him with wisdom and knowledge more than with bread and water.

STORY OF AHIKAR CHAPTER 2

(A "Poor Richard's Almanac" of ancient days. Immortal precepts of human conduct concerning money, women, dress, business, friends. Especially interesting proverbs are found in Verses 12, 17, 23, 37, 45, 47. Compare Verse 63 with some of the cynicism of today.)

1 THUS he taught him, saying: 'O my son! hear my speech and follow my advice and remember what I say.

2 O my son! if thou hearest a word, let it die in thy heart, and reveal it not to another, lest it become a live coal and burn thy tongue and cause a pain in thy body, and thou gain a reproach, and art shamed before God and man.

3 O my son! if thou hast heard a report, spread it not; and if thou hast seen something, tell it not.

4 O my son! make thy eloquence easy to the listener, and be not hasty to return an answer.

5 O my son! when thou hast heard anything, hide it not.

6 O my son! loose not a sealed knot, nor untie it, and seal not a loosened knot.

7 O my son! covet not outward beauty, for it wanes and passes away, but an honourable remembrance lasts for aye.

8 O my son! let not a silly woman deceive thee with her speech, lest thou die the most miserable of deaths, and she entangle thee in the net till thou art ensnared.

9 O my son! desire not a woman bedizened with dress and with ointments, who is despicable and silly in her soul. Woe o thee if thou bestow on her anything that is thine, or commit to her what is in thine hand and she entice thee into sin, and God be wroth with thee.

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10 O my son! be not like the almond-tree, for it brings forth leaves before all the trees, and edible fruit after them all, but be like the mulberry-tree, which brings forth edible fruit before all the trees, and leaves after them all.

11 O my son! bend thy head low down, and soften thy voice, and be courteous, and walk in the straight path, and be not foolish. And raise not thy voice when thou laughest for if it were by a loud voice that a house was built, the ass would build many houses every day; and if it were by dint of strength that the plough were driven, the plough would never be removed from under the shoulders of the camels.

12 O m son! the removing of stones with a wise man is better than the drinking of wine with a sorry man.

13 O my son! pour out thy wine on the tombs of the just, and drink not with ignorant, contemptible people.

14 O my son! cleave to wise men who fear God and be like them, and go not near the ignorant, lest thou become like him and learn his ways.

15 O my son! when thou hast got thee a comrade or a friend, try him, and afterwards make him a comrade and a friend; and do not praise him without a trial; and do not spoil thy speech with a man who lacks wisdom.

16 O my son! while a shoe stays on thy foot, walk with it on the thorns, and make a road for thy son, and for thy household and thy children, and make thy ship taut before she goes on the sea and its waves and sinks and cannot he saved.

17 O my son! if the rich man eat a snake, they say,--"It is by his wisdom," and if a poor man eat it, the people say, "From his hunger."

18 O my son! he content with thy daily bread and thy goods, and covet not what is another's.

19 O my son! be not neighbour to the fool, and eat not bread with him, and rejoice not in the calamities of thy neighbours. If thine enemy wrong thee, show him kindness.

20 O my son! a man who fears God do thou fear him and honour him.

21 O my son! the ignorant man falls and stumbles, and the wise man, even if he stumbles, he is not shaken, and even if he falls he gets up quickly, and if he is sick, he can take care of his life. But as for the ignorant, stupid man, for his disease there is no drug.

22 O my son! if a man approach thee who is inferior to thyself, go forward to meet him, and remain standing, and if he cannot recompense thee, his Lord will recompense thee for him.

23 O my son! spare not to beat thy son, for the drubbing of thy son is like manure to the garden, and like tying the mouth of a purse, and like the tethering of beasts, and like the bolting of the door.

24 O my son! restrain thy son from wickedness, and teach him manners before he rebels against thee and brings thee into contempt amongst the people and thou hang thy head in the streets and the assemblies and thou be punished for the evil of his wicked deeds.

25 O my son! get thee a fat ox with a foreskin, and an ass great with its hoofs, and get not an ox with large horns, nor make friends with a tricky man, nor get a quarrelsome slave, nor a thievish handmaid, for everything which thou committest to them they will ruin.

26 O my son! let not thy parents curse thee, and the Lord be pleased with them; for it hath been said, "He who despiseth his father or his mother let him die the death (I mean the death of sin); and he who honoureth his parents shall prolong his days and his life and shall see all that is good."

27 O my son! walk not on the road without weapons, for thou knowest not when the foe may meet thee, so that thou mayst be ready for him.

28 O my son! be not like a bare, leafless tree that doth not grow, but be like a tree covered with its leaves and its boughs; for the man who has neither wife nor children is disgraced in the world and is hated by them, like a leafless and fruitless tree.

29 O my son! be like a fruitful tree on the roadside, whose fruit is eaten by all who pass by, and the beasts of the desert rest under its shade and eat of its leaves.

30 O my son! every sheep that wanders from its path and its companions becomes food for the wolf.

31 O my son! say not, "My lord is a fool and I am wise," and relate not the speech of ignorance and folly, lest thou be despised by him.

32 O my son! be not one of those servants, to whom their lords say, "Get away from us," but be one of those to whom they say, "Approach and come near to us."

33 O my son! caress not thy slave in the presence of his companion, for thou knowest not which of them shall be of most value to thee in the end.

34 O my son! be not afraid of thy Lord who created thee, lest He be silent to thee.

35 O my son! make thy speech fair and sweeten thy tongue; and permit not thy companion to tread on thy foot, lest he tread at another time on thy breast.

36 O my son! if thou beat a wise man with a word of wisdom, it will lurk in his breast like a subtle sense of shame; but if thou drub the ignorant with a stick he will neither understand nor hear.

37 O my son! if thou send a wise man for thy needs, do not give him many orders, for he will do thy business as thou desirest: and if thou send a fool, do not order him, but go thyself and do thy business, for if thou order him, he will not do what thou desirest. If they send thee on business, hasten to fulfil it quickly.

38 O my son! make not an enemy of a man stronger than thyself, for he will take thy measure, and his revenge on thee.

39 O my son! make trial of thy son, and of thy servant, before thou committest thy belongings to them, lest they make away with them; for he who hath a full hand is called wise, even if he be stupid and ignorant, and he who hath an empty hand is called poor, ignorant, even if he be the prince of sages.

40 O my son! I have eaten a colocynth, and swallowed aloes, and I have found nothing more bitter than poverty and scarcity.

41 O my son! teach thy son frugality and hunger, that he may do well in the management of his household.

42 O my son! teach not to the ignorant the language of wise men, for it will be burdensome to him.

43 O my son! display not thy condition to thy friend, lest thou be despised by him.

44 O my son! the blindness of the heart is more grievous than the blindness of the eyes, for the blindness of the eyes may be guided little by little, but the blindness of the heart is not guided, and it leaves the straight path, and goes in a crooked way.

45 O my son! the stumbling of a man with his foot is better than the stumbling of a n with his tongue.

46 O my son! a friend who is near is better than a more excellent brother who is far away.

47 O my son! beauty fades but learning lasts, and the world wanes and becomes vain, but a good name neither becomes vain nor wanes.

48 O my son! the man who hath no rest, his death were better than his life; and the sound of weeping is better than the sound of singing; for sorrow and weeping, if the fear of God be in them, are better than the sound of singing and rejoicing.

49 O my child! the thigh of a frog in thy hand is better than a goose in the pot of thy neighbour; and a sheep near thee is better than an ox far away; and a sparrow in thy hand is better than a thousand sparrows flying ("A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush."); and poverty which gathers is better than the scattering of much provision; and a living fox is better than a dead lion; and a pound of wool is better than a pound of wealth, I mean of gold and silver; for the gold and the silver are hidden and covered up in the earth, and are not seen; but the wool stays in the markets and it is seen, and it is a beauty to him who wears it.

50 O my son! a small fortune is better than a scattered fortune.

51 O my son! a living dog is better than a dead poor man.

52 O my son! a poor man who does right is better than a rich man who is dead in sins.

53 O my son! keep a word in thy heart, and it shall be much to thee, and beware lost thou reveal the secret of thy friend.

54 O my son! let not a word issue from thy mouth till thou hast taken counsel with thy heart. And stand not betwixt persons quarrelling, because from a bad word there comes a quarrel, and from a quarrel there comes war, and from war there comes fighting, and thou wilt be forced to bear witness; but run from thence and rest thyself.

55 O my son! withstand not a man stronger than thyself, but get thee a patient spirit, and endurance and an upright conduct, for there is nothing more excellent than that.

56 O my son! hate not thy first friend, for the second one may not last.

57 O my son! visit the poor in his affliction, and speak of him in the Sultan's presence, and do thy diligence to save him from the mouth of the lion.

58 O my son! rejoice not in the death of thine enemy, for after a little while thou shalt be his neighbour, and him who mocks thee do thou respect and honour and be beforehand with him in greeting.

59 O my son! if water would stand still in heaven, and a black crow become white, and myrrh grow sweet as honey, then ignorant men and fools might understand and become wise.

60 O my son! if thou desire to be wise, restrain thy tongue from lying, and thy hand from stealing, and thine eyes from beholding evil; then thou wilt be called wise.

61 O my son! let the wise man beat thee with a rod, but let not the fool anoint thee with sweet salve. Be humble in thy youth and thou shalt be honoured in thine old age.

62 O my son! withstand not a man in the days of his power, nor a river in the days of its flood.

63 O my son! be not hasty in the wedding of a wife, for if it turns out well, she will say, 'My lord, make provision for me'; and if it turns out ill, she will rate at him who was the cause of it.

64 O my son! whosoever is elegant in his dress, he is the same in his speech; and he who has a mean appearance in his dress, he also is the same in his speech.

65 O my son! if thou hast committed a theft, make it known to the Sultan, and give him a share of it, that thou mayst be delivered from him, for otherwise thou wilt endure bitterness.

66 O my son! make a friend of the man whose hand is satisfied and filled, and make no friend of the man whose hand is closed and hungry.

67 There are four things in which neither the king nor his army can be secure: oppression by the vizier, and bad government, and perversion of the will, and tyranny over the subject; and four things which cannot be hidden: the prudent, and the foolish, and the rich, and the poor.'

STORY OF AHIKAR CHAPTER 3

(Ahikar retires from active participation in affairs of state. He turns over his possessions to his treacherous nephew. Here is the amazing story of how a thankless profligate turns forgerer. A clever plot to entangle Ahikar results in his being condemned to death. Apparently the end of Ahikar.)

1 THUS spake Haiqâr, and when he had finished these injunctions and proverbs to Nadan, his sister's son, he imagined that he would keep them all, and he knew not that instead of that he was displaying to him weariness and contempt and mockery.

2 Thereafter Haiqâr sat still in his house and delivered over to Nadan all his goods, and the slaves, and the handmaidens, and the horses, and the cattle, and everything else that he had possessed and gained; and the power of bidding and of forbidding remained in the hand of Nadan.

3 And Haiqâr sat at rest in his house, and every now and then Haiqâr went and paid his respects to the king, and returned home.

4 Now when Nadan perceived that the power of bidding and of forbidding was in his own hand, he despised the position of Haiqâr and scoffed at him, and set about blaming him whenever he appeared, saying, 'My uncle Haiqâr is in his dotage, and he knows nothing now.'

5 And he began to beat the slaves and the handmaidens, and to sell the horses and the camels and be spendthrift with all that his uncle Haiqâr had owned.

6 And when Haiqâr saw that he had no compassion on his servants nor on his household, he arose and chased him from his house, and sent to inform the king that he had scattered his possessions and his provision.

7 And the king arose and called Nadan and said to him: 'Whilst Haiqâr remains in health, no one shall rule over his goods, nor over his household, nor over his possessions.'

8 And the hand of Nadan was lifted off from his uncle Haiqâr and from all his goods, and in the meantime he went neither in nor out, nor did he greet him.

9 Thereupon Haiqâr repented him of his toil with Nadan his sister's son, and he continued to be very sorrowful.

10 And Nadan had a younger brother named Benuzârdân, so Haiqâr took him to himself in place of Nadan, and brought up and honoured him with the utmost honour. And he delivered over to him all that he possessed, and made him governor of his house.

11 Now when Nadan perceived what had happened he was seized with envy and jealousy, and he began to complain to every one who questioned him, and to mock his, uncle Haiqâr, saying: 'My uncle has chased me from his house, and has preferred my brother to me, but if the Most High God give me the power, I shall bring upon him the misfortune of being killed.'

12 And Nadan continued to meditate as to the stumbling-block he might contrive for him. And after a while Nadan turned it over in his mind, and wrote a letter to Achish, son of Shah the Wise, king of Persia, saying thus:

13 'Peace and health and might and honour from Sennacherib king of Assyria and Nineveh, and from his vizier and his secretary Haiqâr unto thee, O great king! Let there be pence between thee and me.

14 And when this letter reaches thee, if thou wilt arise and go quickly to the plain of Nisrîn, and to Assyria, and Nineveh, I will deliver up the kingdom to thee without war and without battle-array.'

15 And he wrote also another letter in the name of Haiqâr to Pharaoh king of Egypt. 'Let there be peace between thee and me, O mighty king!

16 If at the time of this letter reaching thee thou wilt arise and go to Assyria and Nineveh to the plain of Nisrîn, I will deliver up to thee the kingdom without war and without fighting.'

17 And the writing of Nadan was like to the writing of his uncle Haiqâr.

18 Then he folded the two letters, and sealed them with the seal of his uncle Haiqâr; they were nevertheless in the king's palace.

19 Then he went and wrote a letter likewise from the king to his uncle Haiqâr: 'Peace and health to my Vizier, my Secretary, my Chancellor, Haiqâr.

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20 O Haiqâr, when this letter reaches thee, assemble all the soldiers who are with thee, and let them be perfect in clothing and in numbers, and bring them to me on the fifth day in the plain of Nisrîn.

21 And when thou shalt see me there coming towards thee, haste and make the army move against me as an enemy who would fight with me, for I have with me the ambassadors of Pharaoh king of Egypt, that they may see the strength of our army and may fear us, for they are our enemies and they hate us.'

22 Then he sealed the letter and sent it to Haiqâr by one of the king's servants. And he took the other letter which he had written and spread it before the king and read it to him and showed him the seal.

23 And when the king heard what was in the letter he was perplexed with a great perplexity and was wroth with a great and fierce wrath, and said, 'Ah, I have shown my wisdom! what have I done to Haiqâr that he has written these letters to my enemies? Is this my recompense from him for my benefits to him?'

24 And Nadan said to him, 'Be not grieved, O king! nor be wroth, but let us go to the plain of Nisrîn and see if the tale be true or not.'

25 Then Nadan arose on the fifth day and took the king and the soldiers and the vizier, and they went to the desert to the plain of Nisrîn. And the king looked, and lo! Haiqâr and the army were set in array.

26 And when Haiqâr saw that the king was there, he approached and signalled to the army to move as in war and to fight in array against the king as it had been found in the letter, he not knowing what a pit Nadan had digged for him.

27 And when the king saw the act of Haiqâr he was seized with anxiety and terror and perplexity, and was wroth with a great wrath.

28 And Nadan said to him, 'Hast thou seen, O my lord the king! what this wretch has done? but be not thou wroth and be not grieved nor pained, but go to thy house and sit on thy throne, and I will bring Haiqâr to thee bound and chained with chains, and I will chase away thine enemy from thee without toil.'

29 And the king returned to his throne, being provoked about Haiqâr, and did nothing concerning him. And Nadan went to Haiqâr and said to him, 'W'allah, O my uncle! The king verily rejoiceth in thee with great joy and thanks thee for having done what he commanded thee.

30 And now he hath sent me to thee that thou mayst dismiss the soldiers to their duties and come thyself to him with thy hands bound behind thee, and thy feet chained, that the ambassadors of Pharaoh may see this, and that the king may be feared by them and by their king.'

31 Then answered Haiqâr and said, 'To hear is to obey.' And he arose straightway and bound his hands behind him, and chained his feet.

32 And Nadan took him and went with him to the king. And when Haiqâr entered the king's presence he did obeisance before him on the ground, and wished for power and perpetual life to the king.

33 Then said the king, 'O Haiqâr, my Secretary, the Governor of my affairs, my Chancellor, the ruler of my State, tell me what evil have I done to thee that thou hast rewarded me by this ugly deed.'

34 Then they showed him the letters in his writing and with his seal. And when Haiqâr saw this, his limbs trembled and his tongue was tied at once, and he was unable to speak a word from fear; but he hung his head towards the earth and was dumb.

35 And when the king saw this, he felt certain that the thing was from him, and he straightway arose and commanded them to kill Haiqâr, and to strike his neck with the sword outside of the city.

36 Then Nadan screamed and said, 'O Haiqâr, O blackface! what avails thee thy meditation or thy power in the doing of this deed to the king?'

37 Thus says the story-teller. And the name of the swordsman was Abu Samîk. And the king said to him, 'O swordsman! arise, go, cleave the neck of Haiqâr at the door of his house, and cast away his head from his body a hundred cubits.'

38 Then Haiqâr knelt before the king, and said, 'Let my lord the king live for ever! and if thou desire to slay me, let thy wish be fulfilled; and I know that I am not guilty, but the wicked man bas to give an account of his wickedness; nevertheless, O my lord the king! I beg of thee and of thy friendship, permit the swordsman to give my body to my slaves, that they may bury me, and let thy slave be thy sacrifice.'

39 The king arose and commanded the swordsman to do with him according to his desire.

40 And he straightway commanded his servants to take Haiqâr and the swordsman and go with him naked that they might slay him.

41 And when Haiqâr knew for certain that he was to be slain he sent to his wife, and said to her, 'Come out and meet me, and let there be with thee a thousand young virgins, and dress them in gowns of purple and silk that they may weep for me before my death.

42 And prepare a table for the swordsman and for his servants. And mingle plenty of wine, that they may drink.'

43 And she did all that he commanded her. And she was very wise, clever, and prudent. And she united all possible courtesy and learning.

44 And when the army of the king and the swordsman arrived the found the table set in order, and the wine and the luxurious viands, and they began eating and drinking till they were gorged and drunken.

45 Then Haiqâr took the swordsman aside apart from the company and said, 'O Abu Samîk, dost thou not know that when Sarhadum the king, the father of Sennacherib, wanted to kill thee, I took thee and hid thee in a certain place till the king's anger subsided and he asked for thee?

46 And when I brought thee into his presence he rejoiced in thee: and now remember the kindness I did thee.

47 And I know that the king will repent him about me and will be wroth with a great wrath about my execution.

48 For I am not guilty, and it shall be when thou shalt present me before him in his palace, thou shalt meet with great good fortune, and know that Nadan my sister's son has deceived me and has done this bad deed to me, and the king will repent of having slain me; and now I have a cellar in the garden of my house, and no one knows of it.

49 Hide me in it with the knowledge of my wife. And I have a slave in prison who deserves to be killed.

50 Bring him out and dress him in my clothes, and command the servants when they are drunk to slay him. They will not know who it is they are killing.

51 And cast away his head a hundred cubits from his body, and give his body to my slaves that they may bury it. And thou shalt have laid up a great treasure with me.

52 And then the swordsman did as Haiqâr had commanded him, and he went to the king and said to him, 'May thy head live for ever!'

53 Then Haiqâr's wife let down to him in the hiding-place every week what sufficed for him, and no one knew of it but herself.

54 And the story was reported and repeated and spread abroad in every place of how Haiqâr the Sage had been slain and was dead, and all the people of that city mourned for him.

55 And they wept and said: 'Alas for thee, O Haiqâr! and for thy learning and thy courtesy! How sad about thee and about thy knowledge! Where can another like thee be found? and where can there be a man so intelligent, so learned, so skilled in ruling as to resemble thee that he may fill thy place?'

56 But the king was repenting about Haiqâr, and his repentance availed him naught.

57 Then he called for Nadan and said to him, 'Go and take thy friends with thee and make a mourning and a weeping for thy uncle Haiqâr, and lament for him as the custom is, doing honour to his memory.'

58 But when Nadan, the foolish, the ignorant, the hardhearted, went to the house of his uncle, he neither wept nor sorrowed nor wailed, but assembled heartless and dissolute people and set about eating and drinking.

59 And Nadan began to seize the maidservants and the slaves belonging to Haiqâr, and bound them and tortured them and drubbed them with a sore drubbing.

60 And he did not respect the wife of his uncle, she who had brought him up like her own boy, but wanted her to fall into sin with him.

61 But Haiqâr had been cut into the hiding-place, and he heard the weeping of his slaves and his neighbours, and he praised the Most High God, the Merciful One, and gave thanks, and he always prayed and besought the Most High God.

62 And the swordsman came from time to time to Haiqâr whilst he was in the midst of the hiding-place: and Haiqâr came and entreated him. And he comforted him and wished him deliverance.

63 And when the story was reported in other countries that Haiqâr the Sage had been slain, all the kings were grieved and despised king Sennacherib, and they lamented over Haiqâr the solver of riddles.

STORY OF AHIKAR CHAPTER 4

("The Riddles of the Sphinx." What really happened to Ahikar. His return.)

1 AND when the king of Egypt had made sure that Haiqâr was slain, he arose straightway and wrote a letter to king Sennacherib, reminding him in it 'of the peace and the health and the might and the honour which we wish specially for thee, my beloved brother, king Sennacherib.

2 I have been desiring to build a castle between the heaven and the earth, and I want thee to send me a wise, clever man from thyself to build it for me, and to answer me all my questions, and that I may have the taxes and the custom duties of Assyria for three years.'

3 Then he sealed the letter and sent it to Sennacherib.

4 He took it and read it and gave it to his viziers and to the nobles of his kingdom, and they were perplexed and ashamed, and he was wroth with a great wrath, and was puzzled about how he should act.

5 Then he assembled the old men and the learned men and the wise men and the philosophers, and the diviners and the astrologers, and every one who was in his country, and read them the letter and said to them, 'Who amongst you will go to Pharaoh king of Egypt and answer him his questions?'

6 And they said to him, 'O our lord the king! know thou that there is none in thy kingdom who is acquainted with these questions except Haiqâr, thy vizier and secretary.

7 But as for us, we have no skill in this, unless it be Nadan, his sister's son, for he taught him all his wisdom and learning and knowledge. Call him to thee, perchance he may untie this hard knot.'

8 Then the king called Nadan and said to him, 'Look at this letter and understand what is in it.' And when Nadan read it, he said, 'O my lord! who is able to build a castle between the heaven and the earth?'

9 And when the king heard the speech of Nadan he sorrowed with a great and sore sorrow, and stepped down from his throne and sat in the ashes, and began to weep and wail over Haiqâr.

10 Saying, 'O my grief! O Haiqâr, who didst know the secrets and the riddles! woe is me for thee, O Haiqâr! O teacher of my country and ruler of my kingdom, where shall I find thy like? O Haiqâr, O teacher of my country, where shall I turn for thee? woe is me for thee! how did I destroy thee! and I listened to the talk of a stupid, ignorant boy without knowledge, without religion, without manliness.

11 Ah! and again Ah for myself! who can give thee to me just for once, or bring me word that Haiqâr is alive? and I would give him the half of my kingdom.

12 Whence is this to me? Ah, Haiqâr! that I might see thee just for once, that I might take my fill of gazing at thee, and delighting in thee.

13 Ah! O my grief for thee to all time! O Haiqâr, how have I killed thee! and I tarried not in thy case till I had seen the end of the matter.'

14 And the king went on weeping night and day. Now when the swordsman saw the wrath of the king and his sorrow for Haiqâr, his heart was softened towards him,, and he approached into his presence and said to him:

15 'O my lord! command thy servants to cut off my head.' Then said the king to him: 'Woe to thee, Abu Samîk, what is thy fault?'

16 And the swordsman said unto him, 'O my master! every slave who acts contrary to the word of his master is killed, and I have acted contrary to thy command.'

17 Then the king said unto him. 'Woe unto thee, O Abu Samîk, in what hast thou acted contrary to my command?'

18 And the swordsman said unto him, 'O my lord! thou didst command me to kill Haiqâr, and I knew that thou wouldst repent thee concerning him, and that he had been wronged, and I hid him in a certain place, and I killed one of his slaves, and he is now safe in the cistern, and if thou command me I will bring him to thee.'

19 And the king said unto him. 'Woe to thee, O Abu Samîk! thou hast mocked me and I am thy lord.'

20 And the swordsman said unto him, 'Nay, but by the life of thy head, O my lord! Haiqâr is safe and alive.'

21 And when the king heard that saying, he felt sure of the matter, and his head swam, and he fainted from joy, and he commanded them to bring Haiqâr.

22 And he said to the swordsman, 'O trusty servant! if thy speech be true, I would fain enrich thee, and exalt thy dignity above that of all thy friends.'

23 And the swordsman went along rejoicing till he came to Haiqâr's house. And he opened the door of the hiding-place, and went down and found Haiqâr sitting, praising God, and thanking Him.

24 And he shouted to him, saying, 'O Haiqâr, I bring the greatest of joy, and happiness, and delight!'

25 And Haiqâr said to him, 'What is the news, O Abu Samîk?' And he told him all about Pharaoh from the beginning to the end. Then he took him and went to the king.

26 And when the king looked at him, he saw him in a state of want, and that his hair had grown long like the wild beasts' and his nails like the claws of an eagle, and that his body was dirty with dust, and the colour of his face had changed and faded and was now like ashes.

27 And when the king saw him he sorrowed over him and rose at once and embraced him and kissed him, and wept over him and said: 'Praise be to God! who hath brought thee back to me.'

28 Then he consoled him and comforted him. And he stripped off his robe, and put it on the swordsman, and was very gracious to him, and gave him great wealth, and made Haiqâr rest.

29 Then said Haiqâr to the king, 'Let my lord the king live for ever! These be the deeds of the children of the world. I have reared me a palm-tree that I might lean on it, and it bent sideways, and threw me down.

30 But, O my Lord! since I have appeared fore thee, let not care oppress thee! And the king said to him: 'Blessed be God,

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who showed thee mercy, and knew that thou wast wronged, and saved thee and delivered thee from being slain.

31 But go to the warm bath, and shave thy head, and cut thy nails, and change thy clothes, and amuse thyself for the space of forty days, that thou mayst do good to thyself and improve thy condition and the colour of thy face may come back to thee.'

32 Then the king stripped off his costly robe, and put it on Haiqâr, and Haiqâr thanked God and did obeisance to the king, and departed to his dwelling glad and happy, praising the Most High God.

33 And the people of his household rejoiced with him, and his friends and every one who heard that he was alive rejoiced also.

STORY OF AHIKAR CHAPTER 5

(The letter of the "riddles" is shown to Ahikar. The boys on the eagles. The first "airplane" ride. Off to Egypt. Ahikar, being a man of wisdom also has a sense of humor. (Verse 27).)

1 AND he did as the king commanded him, and took rest for forty days.

2 Then he dressed himself his gayest dress, and went riding to the king, with his slaves behind him and before him, rejoicing and delighted.

3 But when Nadan his sister's son perceived what was happening, fear took hold of him and terror, and he was perplexed, not knowing what to do.

4 And when Haiqâr saw it he entered into the king's presence and greeted him, and he returned the greeting, and made him sit down at his side, saying to him, 'O my darling Haiqâr! look at these letters which the, king of Egypt sent to us, after he had heard that thou wast slain.

5 They have provoked us and overcome us, and many of the people of our country have fled to Egypt for fear of the taxes that the king of Egypt has sent to demand from us.

6 Then Haiqâr took the letter and read it and understood its contents.

7 Then he said to the king. 'Be not wroth, O my lord! I will go to Egypt, and I will return the answers to Pharaoh, and I will display this letter to him, and I will reply to him about the taxes, and I will send back all those who have run away; and I will put thy enemies to shame with the help of the Most High God, and for the Happiness of thy kingdom.'

8 And when the king heard this speech from Haiqâr he rejoiced with a great joy, and his heart was expanded and he showed him favour.

9 And Haiqâr said to the king: 'Grant me a delay of forty days that I may consider this question and manage it.' And the king permitted this.

10 And Haiqâr went to his dwelling, and he commanded the huntsmen to capture two young eaglets for him, and they captured them and brought them to him: and he commanded the weavers of ropes to weave two cables of cotton for him, each of them two thousand cubits long, and he had the carpenters brought and ordered them to make two great boxes, and they did this.

11 Then he took two little lads, and spent every day sacrificing lambs and feeding the eagles and the boys, and making the boys ride on the backs of the eagles, and he bound them with a firm knot, and tied the cable to the feet of the eagles, and let them soar upwards little by little every day, to a distance of ten cubits, till they grew accustomed and were educated to it; and they rose all the length of the rope till they reached the sky; the boys being on their backs. Then he drew them to himself.

12 And when Haiqâr saw that his desire was fulfilled he charged the boys that when they were borne aloft to the sky they were to shout, saying:

13 'Bring us clay and stone, that we may build a castle for king Pharaoh, for we are idle.'

14 And Haiqâr was never done training them and exercising them till they had reached the utmost possible point (of skill).

15 Then leaving them he went to the king and said to him, 'O my lord! the work is finished according to thy desire. Arise with me that I may show thee the wonder.'

16 So the king sprang up and sat with Haiqâr and went to a wide place and sent to bring the eagles and the boys, and Haiqâr tied them and let them off into the air all the length of the ropes, and they began to shout as he had taught them. Then he drew them to himself and put them in their places.

17 And the king and those who were with him wondered with a great wonder: and the king kissed Haiqâr between his eyes and said to him, 'Go in peace, O my beloved! O pride of my kingdom! to Egypt and answer the questions of Pharaoh and overcome him by the strength of the Most High God.'

18 Then he bade him farewell, and took his troops and his army and the young men and the eagles, and went towards the dwellings of Egypt; and when he had arrived, he turned towards the country of the king.

19 And when the people of Egypt knew that Sennacherib had sent a man of his Privy Council to talk with Pharaoh and to answer his questions, they carried the news to king Pharaoh, and he sent a party of his Privy Councillors to bring him before him.

20 And he came and entered into the presence of Pharaoh, and did obeisance to him as it is fitting to do to kings.

21 And he said to him: 'O my lord the king! Sennacherib the king hails thee with abundance of peace and might, and honour.

22 And he has sent me, who am one of his slaves, that I may answer thee thy questions, and may fulfil all thy desire: for thou hast sent to seek from my lord the king a man who will build thee a castle between the heaven and the earth.

23 And I by the help of the Most High God and thy noble favour and the power of my lord the king will build it for thee as thou desirest.

24 But, O my lord the king! what thou hast said in it about the taxes of Egypt for three years--now the stability of a kingdom is strict justice, and if thou winnest and my hand hath no skill in replying to thee, then my lord the king will send thee the taxes which thou hast mentioned.

25 And if I shall have answered thee in thy questions, it shall remain for thee to send whatever thou hast mentioned to my lord the king.'

26 And when Pharaoh heard that speech, he wondered and was perplexed by the freedom of his tongue and the pleasantness of his speech.

27 And king Pharaoh said to him, 'O man! what is thy name?' And he said, 'Thy servant is Abiqâm, and I a little ant of the ants of king Sennacherib.'

28 And Pharaoh said to him, 'Had thy lord no one of higher dignity than thee, that he has sent me a little ant to reply to me, and to converse with me?'

29 And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord the king! I would to God Most High that I may fulfil what is on thy mind, for God is with the weak that He may confound the strong.'

30 Then Pharaoh commanded that they should prepare a dwelling for Abiqâm and supply him with provender, meat, and drink, and all that he needed.

31 And when it was finished, three days afterwards Pharaoh clothed himself in purple and red and sat on his throne, and all his viziers and the magnates of his kingdom were standing with their hands crossed, their feet close together, and their heads bowed.

32 And Pharaoh sent to fetch Abiqâm, and when he was presented to him, he did obeisance before him, and kissed the ground in front of him.

33 And king Pharaoh said to him, 'O Abiqâm, whom am I like? and the nobles of my kingdom, to whom are they like?'

34 And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord the kin I thou art like the idol Bel, and the nobles of thy kingdom are like his servants.'

35 He said to him, 'Go, and come back hither to-morrow.' So Haiqâr went as king Pharaoh had commanded him.

36 And on the morrow Haiqâr went into the presence of Pharaoh, and did obeisance, and stood before the king. And Pharaoh was dressed in a red colour, and the nobles were dressed in white.

37 And Pharaoh said to him 'O Abiqâm, whom am I like? and the nobles of my kingdom, to whom are they like?'

38 And Abiqâm said to him, 'O my lord! thou art like the sun, and thy servants are like its beams.' And Pharaoh said to him, 'Go to thy dwelling, and come hither to-morrow.'

39 Then Pharaoh commanded his Court to wear pure white, and Pharaoh was dressed like them and sat upon his throne, and he commanded them to fetch Haiqâr. And he entered and sat down before him.

40 And Pharaoh said to him, 'O Abiqâm, whom am I like? and my nobles, to whom are they like?'

41 And Abiqâm said to him, 'O my lord! thou art like the moon, and thy nobles are like the planets and the stars.' And Pharaoh said to him, 'Go, and to-morrow be thou here.'

42 Then Pharaoh commanded his servants to wear robes of various colours, and Pharaoh wore a red velvet dress, and sat on his throne, and commanded them to fetch Abiqâm. And he entered and did obeisance before him.

43 And he said, 'O Abiqâm, whom am I like? and my armies, to whom are they like?' And he said, 'O my lord! thou art like the month of April, and thy armies are like its flowers.'

44 And when the king heard it he rejoiced with a great joy and said, 'O Abiqâm! the first time thou didst compare me to the idol Bel, and my nobles to his servants.

45 And the second time thou didst compare me to the sun, and my nobles to the sunbeams.

46 And the third time thou didst compare me to the moon, and my nobles to the planets and the stars.

47 And the fourth time thou didst compare me to the month of April, and my nobles to its flowers. But now, O Abiqâm! tell me, thy lord, king Sennacherib, whom is he like? and his nobles, to whom are they like?'

48 And Haiqâr shouted with a loud voice and said: 'Be it far from me to make mention of my lord the king and thou seated on thy throne. But get up on thy feet that I may tell thee whom my lord the king is like and to whom his nobles are like.'

49 And Pharaoh was perplexed by the freedom of his tongue and his boldness in answering. Then Pharaoh arose from his throne, and stood before Haiqâr, and said to him, 'Tell me now, that I may perceive whom thy lord the king is like, and his nobles, to whom they are like.'

50 And Haiqâr said to him: 'My lord is the God of heaven, and his nobles are the lightnings and the thunder, and when he wills the winds blow and the rain falls.

51 And he commands the thunder, and it lightens and rains, and he holds the sun, and it gives not its light, and the moon and the stars, and they circle not.

52 And he commands the tempest, and it blows and the rain falls and it tramples on April and destroys its flowers and its houses.'

53 And when Pharaoh heard this speech, he was greatly perplexed and was wroth with a great wrath, and said to him: 'O man! tell me the truth, and let me know who thou really art.'

54 And he told him the truth. 'I am Haiqâr the scribe, greatest of the Privy Councillors of king Sennacherib, and I am his vizier and the Governor of his kingdom, and his Chancellor.'

55 And he said to him, 'Thou hast told the truth in this saying. But we have heard of Haiqâr, that king Sennacherib has slain him, yet thou dost seem to be alive and well.'

56 And Haiqâr said to him, 'Yes, so it was, but praise be to God, who knoweth what is hidden, for my lord the king commanded me to be killed, and he believed the word of profligate men, but the Lord delivered me, and blessed is he who trusteth in Him.'

57 And Pharaoh said to Haiqâr, 'Go, and to-morrow be thou here, and tell me a word that I have never heard from my nobles nor from the people of my kingdom and my country.'

STORY OF AHIKAR CHAPTER 6

(The ruse succeeds. Ahikar answers every question of Pharaoh. The boys on the eagles are the climax of the day. Wit, so rarely found in the ancient Scriptures, is revealed in Verses 34-45.)

1 AND Haiqâr went to his dwelling, and wrote a letter, saying in it on this wise:

2 From Sennacherib king of Assyria. and Nineveh to Pharaoh king of Egypt.

3 'Peace be to thee, O my brother! and what we make known to thee by this is that a brother has need of his brother, and kings of each other, and my hope from thee is that thou wouldst lend me nine hundred talents of gold, for I need it for the victualling of some of the soldiers, that, I may spend it upon them. And after a little while I will send it thee.'

4 Then he folded the letter, and presented it on the morrow to Pharaoh.

5 And when he saw it, he was perplexed and said to him, 'Verily I have never heard anything like this language from any one.'

6 Then Haiqâr said to him, 'Truly this is a debt which thou owest to my lord the king.'

7 And Pharaoh accepted this, saying, 'O Haiqâr, it is the like of thee who are honest in the service of kings.

8 Blessed be God who hath made thee perfect in wisdom and hath adorned thee with philosophy and knowledge.

9 And now, O Haiqâr, there remains what we desire from thee, that thou shouldst build as a castle between heaven and earth.'

10 Then said Haiqâr, 'To hear is to obey. I will build thee a castle according to thy wish and choice; but, O my lord I prepare us lime and stone and clay and workmen, and I have skilled builders who will build for thee as thou desirest.'

11 And the king prepared all that for him, and they went to a wide place; and Haiqâr and his boys came to it, and he took the eagles and the young men with him; and the king and all his nobles went and the whole city assembled, that they might see what Haiqâr would do.

12 Then Haiqâr let the eagles out of the boxes, and tied the young men on their backs, and tied the ropes to the eagles' feet, and let them go in the air. And they soared upwards, till they remained between heaven and earth.

13 And the boys began to shout, saying, 'Bring bricks, bring clay, that we may build the king's castle, for we are standing idle!'

14 And the crowd were astonished and perplexed, and they wondered. And the king and his nobles wondered.

15 And Haiqâr and his servants began to beat the workmen, and they shouted for the king's troops, saying to them, 'Bring to the skilled workmen what they want and do not hinder them from their work.'

16 And the king said to him, 'Thou art mad; who can bring anything up to that distance?'

17 And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord! how shall we build a castle in the air? and if my lord the king were here, he would have built several castles in a single day.'

18 And Pharaoh said to him, 'Go, O Haiqâr, to thy dwelling, and rest, for we have given up building the castle, and to-morrow come to me.'

19 Then Haiqâr went to his dwelling and on the morrow he appeared before Pharaoh. And Pharaoh said, 'O Haiqâr, what news is there of the horse of thy lord? for when he neighs in

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the country of Assyria and Nineveh, and our mares hear his voice, they cast their young.'

20 And when Haiqâr heard this speech he went and took a cat, and bound her and began to flog her with a violent flogging till the Egyptians heard it, and they went and told the king about it.

21 And Pharaoh sent to fetch Haiqâr, and said to him, 'O Haiqâr, wherefore dost thou flog thus and beat that dumb beast?'

22 And Haiqâr said to him, my lord the king! verily she has done an ugly deed to me, and has deserved this drubbing and flogging, for my lord king Sennacherib had given me a fine cock, and he had a strong true voice and knew the hours of the day and the night.

23 And the cat got up this very night and cut off its head and went away, and because of this deed I have treated her to this drubbing.'

24 And Pharaoh said to him, 'O Haiqâr, I see from all this that thou art growing old and art in thy dotage, for between Egypt and Nineveh there are sixty-eight parasangs, and how did she go this very night and cut off the head of thy cock and come back?'

25 And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord! if there were such a distance between Egypt and Nineveh how could thy mares hear when my lord the king's horse neighs and cast their young? and how could the voice of the horse reach to Egypt?'

26 And when Pharaoh heard that, he knew that Haiqâr had answered his questions.

27 And Pharaoh said, 'O Haiqâr, I want thee to make me ropes of the sea-sand.'

28 And Haiqâr said to him, "O my lord the king! order them to bring me a rope out of the treasury that I may make one like it.'

29 Then Haiqâr went to the back of the house, and bored holes in the rough shore of the sea, and took a handful of sand in his hand, sea-sand, and when the sun rose, and penetrated into the holes, he spread the sand in the sun till it became as if woven like ropes.

30 And Haiqâr said, 'Command thy servants to take these ropes, and whenever thou desirest it, I will weave thee some like them.'

31 And Pharaoh said, 'O Haiqâr, we have a millstone here and it has been broken and I want thee to sew it up.'

32 Then Haiqâr looked at it, and found another stone.

33 And he said to Pharaoh 'O my lord! I am a foreigner: and I have no tool for sewing.

34 But I want thee to command thy faithful shoemakers to cut awls from this stone, that I may sew that millstone.'

35 Then Pharaoh and all his nobles laughed. And he said, 'Blessed be the Most High God, who gave thee this wit and knowledge.'

36 And when Pharaoh saw that Haiqâr had overcome him, and returned him his answers, he at once became excited, and commanded them to collect for him three years' taxes, and to bring them to Haiqâr.

37 And he stripped off his robes and put them upon Haiqâr, and his soldiers, and his servants, and gave him the expenses of his journey.

38 And he said to him, 'Go in peace, O strength of his lord and pride of his Doctors! have any of the Sultans thy like? give my greetings to thy lord king Sennacherib, and say to him how we have sent him gifts, for kings are content with little.'

39 Then Haiqâr arose, and kissed king Pharaoh's hands and kissed the ground in front of him, and wished him strength and continuance, and abundance in his treasury, and said to him, 'O my lord! I desire from thee that not one of our countrymen may remain in Egypt.'

40 And Pharaoh arose and sent heralds to proclaim in the streets of Egypt that not one of the people of Assyria or Nineveh should remain in the land of Egypt, but that they should go with Haiqâr.

41 Then Haiqâr went and took leave of king Pharaoh, and journeyed, seeking the land of Assyria and Nineveh; and he had some treasures and a great deal of wealth.

42 And when the news reached king Sennacherib that Haiqâr was coming, he went out to meet him and rejoiced over him exceedingly with great joy and embraced him and kissed him and said to him, 'Welcome home: O kinsman! my brother Haiqâr, the strength of my kingdom, and pride of my realm.

43 Ask what thou would'st have from me, even if thou desirest the half of my kingdom and of my possessions.'

44 Then said Haiqâr unto him, 'O my lord the king, live for ever! Show favour, O my lord the king! to Abu Samîk in my stead, for my life was in the hands of God and in his.'

45 Then said Sennacherib the king, 'Honour be to thee, O my beloved Haiqâr! I will make the station of Abu Samîk the swordsman higher than all my Privy Councillors and my favourites.'

46 Then the king began to ask him how he had got on with Pharaoh from his first arrival until he had come away from his presence, and how he had answered all his questions, and how he had received the taxes from him, and the changes of raiment and the presents.

47 And Sennacherib the king rejoiced with a great joy, and said to Haiqâr, 'Take what thou wouldst fain have of this tribute, for it is all within the grasp of thy hand.'

48 And Haiqâr mid: 'Let the king live for ever! I desire naught but the safety of my lord the king and the continuance of his greatness.

49 O my lord! what can I do with wealth and its like? but if thou wilt show me favour, give me Nadan, my sister's son, that I may recompense him for what he has done to me, and grant me his blood and hold me guiltless of it.'

50 And Sennacherib the king said, 'Take him, I have given him to thee.' And Haiqâr took Nadan, his sister's son, and bound his hands with chains of iron, and took him to his dwelling, and put a heavy fetter on his feet, and tied it with a tight knot, and after binding him thus he cast him into a dark room, beside the retiring-place, and appointed Nebu-hal as sentinel over him to give him a loaf of bread and a little water every day.

STORY OF AHIKAR CHAPTER 7

(The parables of Ahikar in which he completes his nephews education. Striking similes. Ahikar calls the boy picturesque names. Here ends the story of Ahikar.)

1 And whenever Haiqâr went in or out he scolded Nadan, his sister's son, saying to him wisely:

2 'O Nadan, my boy! I have done to thee all that is good and kind and thou hast rewarded me for it with what is ugly and bad and with killing.

3 'O my son! it is said in the proverbs: He who listeneth not with his ear, they will make him listen with the scruff of his neck.'

4 And Nadan said, 'For what cause art thou wroth with me?'

5 And Haiqâr said to him, 'Because I brought thee up, and taught thee, and gave thee honour and respect and made thee great, and reared thee with the best of breeding, and seated thee in my place that thou mightest be my heir in the world, and thou didst treat me with killing and didst repay me with my ruin.

6 But the Lord knew that I was wronged, and He saved me from the ware which thou hadst set for me, for the Lord healeth the broken hearts and hindereth the envious and the haughty.

7 O my boy! thou hast been to me like the scorpion which when it strikes on brass, pierces it.

8 O my boy! thou art like the gazelle who was eating the roots of the madder, and it add me to-day and to-morrow they will tan they hide in my roots."

9 O my boy! thou hast been to who saw his comrade naked in the chilly time of winter; and he took cold water and poured it on him.

10 O my boy! thou hast been to me like a man who took a stone, and threw it up to heaven to stone his Lord with it. And the stone did not hit, and did not reach high enough, but it became the cause of guilt and sin.

11 O my boy! if thou hadst honoured me and respected me and hadst listened to my words thou wouldst have been my heir and wouldst have reigned over my dominions.

12 O my son! know thou that if the tail of the dog or the pig were ten cubits long it would not approach to the worth of the horse's even if it were like silk.

13 O my boy! I thought that thou wouldst have been my heir at my death; and thou through thy envy and thy insolence didst desire to kill me. But the Lord delivered me from thy cunning.

14 O my son! thou hast been to me like a trap which was set up on the dunghill, and there came a sparrow and found the trap set up. And the sparrow said to the trap, "What doest thou here?" Said the trap, "I am praying here to God."

15 And the lark asked it also, "What is the piece of wood that thou holdest?" Said the trap, "That is a young oak-tree on which I lean at the time of prayer."

16 Said the lark: "And what is that thing in thy mouth?" Said the trap: "That is bread and victuals which I carry for all the hungry and the poor who come near to me."

17 Said the lark: "Now then may I come forward and eat, for I am hungry?" And the trap said to him, "Come forward." And the lark approached that it, might eat.

18 But the trap sprang up and seized the lark by its neck.

19 And the lark answered and said to the trap, "If that is thy bread for the hungry God accepteth not thine alms and thy kind deeds.

20 And if that is thy fasting and thy prayers, God accepteth from thee neither thy fast nor thy prayer, and God will not perfect what is good concerning thee."

21 O my boy! thou hast been to me (as) a lion who made friends with an ass, and the ass kept walking before the lion for a time; and one day the lion sprang upon the ass and ate it up.

22 O my boy! thou hast been to me like a weevil in the wheat, for it does no good to anything, but spoils the wheat and gnaws it.

23 O my boy! thou hast been like a man who sowed ten measures of wheat, and when it was harvest time, he arose and reaped it, and garnered it, and threshed it, and toiled over it to the very utmost, and it turned out to be ten measures, and its master said to it: "O thou lazy thing! thou hast not grown and thou hast not shrunk."

24 O my boy! thou hast been to me like the partridge that had been thrown into the net, and she could not save herself, but she called out to the partridges, that she might cast them with herself into the net.

25 O my son! thou hast been to me like the dog that was cold and it went into the potter's house to get warm.

26 And when it had got warm, it began to bark at them, and they chased it out and beat it, that it might not bite them.

27 O my son! thou hast been to me like the pig who went into the hot bath with people of quality, and when it came out of the hot bath, it saw a filthy hole and it went down and wallowed in it.

28 O my son! thou hast been to me like the goat which joined its comrades on their way to the sacrifice, and it was unable to save itself.

29 O my boy! the dog which is not fed from its hunting becomes food for flies.

30 O my son! the hand which does not labour and plough and (which) is greedy and cunning shall be cut away from its shoulder.

31 O my son! the eye in which light is not seen, the ravens shall pick at it and pluck it out.

32 O my boy! thou hast been to me like a tree whose branches they were cutting, and it said to them, "If something of me were not in your hands, verily you would be unable to cut me."

33 O my boy! thou art like the cat to whom they said: "Leave off thieving till we make for thee a chain of gold and feed thee with sugar and almonds."

34 And she said, "I am not forgetful of the craft of my father and my mother."

35 O my son! thou hast been like the serpent riding on a thorn-bush when he was in the midst of a river, and a wolf saw them and said, "Mischief upon mischief, and let him who is more mischievous than they direct both of them."

36 And the serpent said to the wolf, "The lambs and the goats and the sheep which thou hast eaten all thy life, wilt thou return them to their fathers and to their parents or no?"

37 Said the wolf, "No." And the serpent said to him, "I think that after myself thou art the worst of us."

38 O my boy! I fed thee with good food and thou didst not feed me with dry bread.

39 O my boy! I gave thee sugared water to. drink and good syrup, and thou didst not give me water from the well to drink.

40 O my boy! I taught thee, and brought thee up, and thou didst dig a hiding-place for me and didst conceal me.

41 O my boy! I brought thee up with the best upbringing and trained thee like a tall cedar; and thou hast twisted and bent me.

42 O my boy! it was my hope concerning thee that thou wouldst build me a fortified castle, that I might be concealed from my enemies in it, and thou didst become to me like one burying in the depth of the earth; but the Lord took pity on me and delivered me from thy cunning.

43 O my boy! I wished thee well, and thou didst reward me with evil and hatefulness, and now I would fain tear out thine eyes, and make thee food for dogs, and cut out thy tongue, and take off thy head with the edge of the sword, and recompense thee for thine abominable deeds.'

44 And when Nadan heard this speech from his uncle Haiqâr, he said: 'O my uncle! deal with me according to thy knowledge, and forgive me my sins, for who is there who hath sinned like me, or who is there who forgives like thee?

45 Accept me, O my uncle! Now I will serve in thy house, and groom thy horses and sweep up the dung of thy cattle, and feed thy sheep, for I am the wicked and thou art the righteous: I the guilty and thou the forgiving.'

46 And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my boy! thou art like the tree which was fruitless beside the water, and its master was fain to cut it down, and it said to him, "Remove me to another place, and if I do not bear fruit, cut me down."

47 And its master said to it, "Thou being beside the water hast not borne fruit, how shalt thou bear fruit when thou art in another place?"

48 O my boy! the old age of the eagle is better than the youth of the crow.

49 O my boy! they said to the wolf, "Keep away from the sheep lest their dust should harm thee." And the wolf said, "The dregs of the sheep's milk are good for my eyes."

50 O my boy! they made the wolf go to school that he might learn to read and they said to him, "Say A, B." He said, "Lamb and goat in my bell"

51 O my boy! they set the ass down at the table and he fell, and began to roll himself in the dust and one said, "Let him roll himself, for it is his nature, he will not change.

52 O my boy! the saying has been confirmed which runs: "If thou begettest a boy, call him thy son, and if thou rearest a boy, call him thy slave."

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53 O my boy! he who doeth good shall meet with good; and he who doeth evil shall meet with evil, for the Lord requiteth a man according to the measure of his work.

54 O my boy! what shall I say more to thee than these sayings? for the Lord knoweth what is hidden, and is acquainted with the mysteries and the secrets.

55 And He will requite thee and will judge, betwixt me and thee, and will recompense thee according to thy desert.',

56 And when Nadan heard that speech from his uncle Haiqâr, he swelled up immediately and became like a blown-out bladder.

57 And his limbs swelled and his legs and his feet and his side, and he was torn and his belly burst asunder and his entrails were scattered, and he perished, and died.

58 And his latter end was destruction, and he went to hell. For he who digs a pit for his brother shall fall into it; and he who sets up traps shall be caught in them.

59 This is what happened and (what) we found about the tale of Haiqâr, and praise be to God for ever. Amen, and peace.

60 This chronicle is finished with the help of God, may He be exalted! Amen, Amen, Amen.

PIRKEI AVOT
ETHICS OF THE FATHERS
or Chapters of the Fathers
Translation: Charles Taylor, 1897
Estimated Range of Dating: 200 B.C - 200 A.D

(The Pirkei Avot is a compilation of the ethical teachings and maxims from Rabbinical Jewish tradition. It is part of didactic Jewish ethical literature. The Pirkei Avot has been tranlated into other languages, most notably into Chinese by Prof. Ping Zhang from Tel Aviv University, published in 1996, and most likely because it matches Buddhist teachings to an almost identical degree. A revised version of Zhang's translation was published in 2001 under the title "You tai sheng chuan; Min xing juan; Xian xian pian ('Jewish sacred teachings, records, and ethics articles').

The Hebrew word Pirkei Avot is also spelled as Pirkei Avoth or Pirkei Avos or Pirke Aboth. The word "pirkei" means "chapters of". The word avot means "fathers", and thus Pirkei Avot is often rendered in English as "Chapters of the Fathers", however, the more loosely interpretation "Ethics of the Fathers" would characterise the contents of this book more truthfully. The Hebrew abba sg, abbot pl, or ava sg, avot pl. in Aramaic, is abbas is the Greek-Latin sg form abbetes the plural form; words such as abbot, abbé, abbess, abbey, etc., all derive from the Hebrew abba and the Aramaic ava.).

The recognition of ethical maxims as 'Fundamental Principles' may derive from the high regard in which the Torah, Mishnah, and Talmud hold such wisdom. "Love your neighbour as yourself," states the Bible (Leviticus 19:18), an injunction that Rabbi Akiva in Genesis Rabbah 24:7 famously calls a "great principle" of the Torah. In Shabbat 31a, Hillel says "That which is hateful to you, do not do to your fellow: This is the entire Torah, the rest is the explanation, go now and learn it." (This maxim is not included in Pirkei Avot.) The attribution of Biblical Wisdom books to King Solomon (e.g., Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, Book of Wisdom) attests also to the central importance that Jews of this period placed on transmitting the ethical way of life.

The Mishnaic tractate Avot consists of five chapters. It begins with an order of transmission of the Oral Tradition; Moses receives the Torah at Mount Sinai and then transmits it through various generations (including Joshua, the Elders, and the Neviim, but notably not the Kohanim), whence it finally arrives at the Great Assembly, i.e., the Rabbis (Avot 1:1). It contains sayings attributed to sages from Simon the Just (200 BC) to shortly after Judah haNasi (200 AD), redactor of the Mishnah. These aphorisms concern proper ethical and social conduct, as well as the importance of Torah study.

The first two chapters proceed in a general chronological order, with the second focusing on the students of Yochanan Ben Zakkai. Chapters Three and Four are thematic and contain various attributed sayings in no explicit order. Chapter Five departs from the organization and content of the preceding four in that it consists mostly of anonymous sayings structured around numerical lists, several of which have no direct connection with ethics. The last four paragraphs of this chapter return to the format of moral aphorisms attributed to specific rabbis.

The structure of the tractate differs greatly from the thematic structure of the other tractates and Avot sayings employ a highly stylized language instead of the clear and straightforward mishnaic prose. In addition, the anomalous character of Avot is heightened by the biblical influences on its linguistic expressions, grammatical forms, and vocabulary.

The Pirkei Avot is typically printed with a sixth chapter, which however was originally part of the minor tractate Kallah Rabbati and not part of the Mishnaic tractate Avot, and was added for liturgical reasons, so that a chapter could be recited on every Shabbat between Passover and Shavuot.

The Study of the work is considered important by Jews. It is also part of their lithurgy. From at least the time of Saadia Gaon (10th century AD), it has been customary to study one chapter a week on each Shabbat between Passover and Shavuot; today, the tractate is generally studied on each Shabbat of the summer, from Passover to Rosh Hashanah, the entire cycle repeating a few times with doubling of chapters at the end if there are not a perfect multiple of six weeks. The tractate is therefore included in many prayer books, following Shabbat afternoon prayers.

This tractate is notable for at least two reasons. (1st) It includes several of the most frequently-quoted rabbinic sayings on a variety of topics, and could, according to its most sensible language style, comparable with certain Hinduist and Buddhist works; (2nd) Its contents are entirely benevolent and build a total opposition to the violent texts of the ancient Messianic Movement that strived directly towards the Roman-Jewish War [66-73 AD]. When we carefully compare the ethics of the Pirkei Avot with the violent apocalyptic Messianic texts found at Qumran, then we can see clearly that Judaism was split into two main groups: (1st) a violent group [built of Zealots, Zadokites / Saducees, and Sicarii] that evolved later to the violent Islam; and (2nd) a pieceful and benevolent group [built of the Pharisees] that evolved into the Roman or "Rabbinic Judaism" we know today. We show here some examples:

Show Kindness to Others

• "The world stands on three things: On Torah, on works ("avoda" can mean labour, or prayer or sacrificial offerings), and on kindness to others" (1:2)

• "Your house should be open wide, and you should make the poor members of your household." (1:5)

• "Meet every person with graciousness." (1:15)

• "He [Yohanan ben Zakkai] said: 'Go and see what is the right way that a man should seek for himself.' Rabbi Eliezer said 'A good eye'. Rabbi Yehoshua said 'A good friend'. Rabbi Yose said 'A good neighbour'. Rabbi Shimon said 'One who sees consequences.' Rabbi Elazar said 'A good heart'. He [Yohanan] said to them, 'I prefer the words of Rabbi Elazar ben Arach to yours, because his words include yours as well.'" (2:13)

Respect the other Person's Rights

• "What is the right path a man should choose? Whatever is honorable to himself, and honorable in the eyes of others." (2:1)

• "Let your friend's honor be more dear to you than your own." (2:15)

• "The evil eye, the evil inclination, and hatred of men, drive a person out of the world." (2:16)

• "Let your friend's money be more dear to you than your own." (2:17)

Strive for Greatness

• "If I am not for myself, who will be for me? And being for myself, what am 'I'? And if not now, when?" (1:14) This saying is written in simple and terse Hebrew and is attributed to the sage Hillel, who was famous for succinct expression.

• "What is the right path a man should choose? Whatever is honourable to himself, and honorable in the eyes of others." (2:1)

• "In a place where there are no worthy men, strive to be worthy." (2:5)

• "He who acquires a good name, has acquired himself something indeed." (2:8)

• "Do not regard yourself as an evil person." (2:18)

Respect God

• "Do His will as if it were your own, so that He will do His will as if it were yours. Nullify your own will before His so that He will nullify the will of others before you." (2:4)

Seek Peace

• "Be amongst the students of Aaron: Love peace and pursue peace. Love people and bring them close to Torah." (1:12)

• "The more charity, the more peace" (2:8)

Take precaution to avoid transgressions

• "Make a fence for the Torah" (1:1)

• "Keep far from an evil neighbour, do not befriend a wicked person, and do not despair of divine retribution" (1:7)

• "Evaluate the loss of not fulfilling a commandment against its reward, and the reward of committing a transgression against its loss. Consider three things, and you will not come to sin: Know what is above you, a seeing eye, a hearing ear, and all of your deeds written down in a book." (2:1)

Be Humble

• "Love work, and do not admire official positions, and do not become too acquainted with the governing power." (1:10)

• "One who makes a name great, destroys it" (1:13)

• "Anyone who works for the community, let your work with them be for the sake of Heaven... And as for you all, I will make your reward great as though you had accomplished all the work." (2:2)

• "Be cautious regarding the ruling power. Because they only befriend a person when it serves all. They appear as friends when it suits them, but they do not stand by a man in his time of need." (2:3)

• "Do not separate yourself from the community, and do not be sure of yourself until your day of death." (2:4)

• "The more flesh, the more worms. The more possessions, the more worry. The more wives, the more witchcraft. The more maidservants, the more uncouthness. The more servants, the more theft." (2:8)

• "If you have learned much Torah, do not flatter yourself about it, because it was for this purpose you were created." (2:8)

• "Let all your deeds be for the sake of Heaven." (2:12)

Be intent in prayer

• "Be careful when reciting the Shema and tefilla. Do not pray as though by rote, but plead for mercy and grace before God." (2:18)

Combine Torah Learning with Labour

• "Torah learning is best combined with an occupation, because the effort of both will keep one from sin. Torah study alone without work will in the end be nullified and lead to sin." (2:2) (See Torah im Derech Eretz'.')

Do not Exploit your Learning

• "One who exploits the crown (of scholarship) will pass away" (1:13)

Be Careful with Speech

• "All my life I was raised amongst the Sages, and I never found anything better for a person than silence... one who talks too much causes sin." (1:17)

• "Do not speak (excessively) much with women. This regards a man's own wife, how much more so regarding another man's wife!" (1:5)

• "Sages, you should be careful in what you say, lest you be punished with exile and be sent to a place of evil waters, and your pupils who follow you will die, and the name of Heaven will be disgraced." (1:11)

• "Say little and do much." (1:15)

• "Do not say something that cannot be understood, thinking it will be understood later." (2:5)

Do not seek rewards

• "Do not be like slaves who serve the master in order to obtain a reward. Rather, be like slaves who serve the master not to receive a reward. And let the peace of Heaven be upon you." (1:3)

• "Be as careful in observance of a minor commandment as in a major commandment, because you don't know the respective rewards for the commandments." (2:1)

Do not Leap to Judge another Person

• "Judge every person favorably" (1:6)

• "Do not judge your fellow until you have stood in his place." (2:5)

Be fair and deliberate in legal decision

• "When judging, do not act as an advocate. When the litigants are before you, regard them all as guilty. And when leave you, regard them all as meritorious, when they have accepted your judgement." (1:8)

• "Be thorough in examining witnesses, and watch what you say, so they do not learn from you how to lie." (1:9)

• "On three things does the world stand: On justice, truth, and peace." (1:18)

The Time for Action is Now

• "If not now, when?" (1:14)

• "The main thing is not study, but doing." (1:17)

• "Do not say 'I will study when I have the time', for perhaps you will never have time." (2:5)

• "The day is short, the labor vast, the toilers idle, the reward great, and the Master of the house is insistent." (2:20), attributed to Rabbi Tarfon

• "It is not incumbent upon you to complete the work, but neither are you at liberty to desist from it" (2:21), attributed to Rabbi Tarfon

Patience

• "A boor cannot be sin-fearing, and an ignoramus cannot be pious. A shy person cannot learn, and an impatient person cannot teach." (2:6)

• "Do not be quick to anger." (2:15)

The Punishment matches the Sin

• "He saw a skull floating on the water, and said to it, 'Because you drowned others, they drowned you. And they will also eventually be drowned because they drowned you.'" (2:7).)

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PIRKEI AVOT CHAPTER 1

(Some passages of doubtful genuineness are printed in italics. Omissions of the manuscript of Chapters I-V are supplied in smaller type.)

1 Moses received the Thorah from Sinai, and he delivered it to Jehoshua', and Jehoshua' to the elders, and the elders to the prophets, and the prophets delivered it to the men of the Great Synagogue. They said three things: Be deliberate in judgement; and raise up many disciples; and make a fence to the Thorah.

2 Shime'on ha-Çaddiq was of the remnants of the Great Synagogue. He used to say, On three things the world is stayed; on the Thorah, and on the Worship, and on the bestowal of Kindnesses.

3 Antigonus of Soko received from Shime'on ha-Çaddiq. He used to say, Be not as slaves that minister to the lord with a view to receive recompense; but be as slaves that minister to the lord without a view to receives recompense; and let the fear of Heaven be upon you.

4 Jose ben Jo'ezer of Çeredah and Jose ben Jochanan of Jerusalem received from them. Jose ben Jo'ezer of Çeredah said, Let thy house be a meeting-house for the wise; and powder thyself in the dust of their feet; and drink their words with thirstiness.

5 Jose ben Jochanan of Jerusalem said, Let thy house be opened wide; and let the needy be thy household; and prolong not converse with woman.

6 His own wife, they meant, much less his neighbour's wife.) Hence the wise have said, Each time that the man prolongs converse with the woman he causes evil to himself, and desists from words of Thorah, and in the end he inherits Gehinnom.

7 Jehoshua' ben Perachia and Matthai the Arbelite received from them. Jehoshua' ben Perachiah said, Make unto thyself a master; and possess thyself of an associate; and judge every man in the scale of merit.

8 Matthai the Arbelite said, Withdraw from an evil neighbour; and associate not with the wicked;. and grow not thoughtless of retribution.

9 Jehudah ben Tabai and Shime'on ben Shatach received from them. Jehudah ben Tabai said, Make not thyself as them that predispose the judges; and while the litigants stand before thee, let them be in thine eyes as guilty; and when dismissed from before thee let them be in thine eyes as righteous, because that they have received the doom upon them.

10 Shime'on ben Shatach said, Make full examination of the witnesses; but be guarded in thy words, perchance from them they may learn to lie.

11 Shema'iah and Abtalion received from them. Shema'iah said, Love work; and hate lordship; and make not thyself known to the government.

12 Abtalion said, Ye wise, be guarded in your words; perchance ye may incur the debt of exile, and be exiled to the place of evil waters; and the disciples that come after you may drink and die, and the Name of Heaven be profaned.

13 Hillel and Shammai received from them. Hillel said, Be of the disciples of Aharon; loving peace, and pursuing peace; loving mankind, and bringing them nigh to the Thorah.

14 He used to say, A name made great is a name destroyed; he who increases not decreases; and he who will not learn (or teach) deserves slaughter; and he who serves himself with the tiara perishes.

15 He used to say, If I am not for myself who is for me? and being for my own self what am I? If not now when?

16 Shammai said, Make thy Thorah an ordinance; say little and do much; and receive every man with a pleasant expression of countenance.

17 Rabban Gamliel said, Make to thyself a master, and be quit of doubt; and tithe not much by estimation.

18 Shime'on his son said, All my days I have grown up amongst the wise, and have not found aught good for a man but silence; not learning but doing is the groundwork; and whoso multiplies words occasions sin.

19 Rabban Shime'on ben Gamliel said, On three things the world stands; on Judgement, and on Truth, and on Peace.

PIRKEI AVOT CHAPTER 2

1 Rabbi said, Which is the right course that a man should choose for himself? Whatsoever is a pride to him that pursues it, (and) brings him honour from men. And be attentive to a light precept as to a grave, for thou knowest not the assigned reward of precepts,; and reckon the loss for a duty against its gain, and the gain by a transgression against its loss. And consider three things, and thou wilt not fall into the hands of transgression: know what is above thee-a seeing eye, and a hearing ear, and all thy deeds written in a book.

2 Rabban Gamliel, son of R. Jehudah ha-Nasi, said, excellent is Thorah study together with worldly business, for the practice of them both puts iniquity out of remembrance; and all Thorah without work must fail at length, and occasion iniquity. And let all who are employed with the congregation act with them in the name of Heaven, for the merit of their fathers sustains them, and their righteousness stands for ever. And ye yourselves shall have reward reckoned unto you as if ye had wrought.

3 Be cautious with (those in) authority, for they let not a man approach them but for their own purposes; and they appear like friends when it is to their advantage, and stand not by a man in the hour of his need.

4 He used to say, Do His will as if it were thy will, that He may do thy will as if it were His will. Annul thy will before His will, that He may annul the will of others before thy will.

5 Hillel said, Separate not thyself from the congregation, and trust not in thyself until the day of thy death; and judge not thy friend until thou comest into his place; and say not of a word which may be heard that in the end it shall be heard; and say not, When I have leisure I will study; perchance thou mayest not have leisure.

6 He used to say, No boor is a sinfearer; nor is the vulgar pious; nor is the shamefast apt to learn, nor the passionate to teach; nor is every one that has much traffic wise. And in a place where there are no men endeavour to be a man.

7 Moreover he saw a skull which floated on the face of the water, and he said to it, Because thou drownedst they drowned thee, and in the end they that drowned thee shall be drowned.

8 He used to say, More flesh, more worms: more treasures, more care: more maidservants, more lewdness: more menservants, more theft: more women, more witchcrafts: more Thorah, more life: more wisdom, more scholars: more righteousness, more peace. He who has gotten a good name has gotten it for himself. He who has gotten to himself words of Thorah, has gotten to himself the life of the world to come.

9 Rabban Jochanan ben Zakai received from Hillel and from Shammai. He used to say, If thou hast practised Thorah much, claim not merit to thyself, for thereunto wast thou created.

10 Five disciples were there to Rabban Jochanan 'ben Zakai, and these were they: R. Li'ezer ben Hyrqanos, and R. Jehoshua' ben Chananiah, and R. Jose the Priest, and R. Shime'on ben Nathanael, and R. Ele'azar ben 'Arak. He used to recount their praise: Eli'ezer ben Hyrqanos is a plastered cistern, which loseth not a drop; Jehoshua' ben Chananiah--happy is she that bare him; Jose the Priest is pious; Shim'eon ben Nathanael is a sinfearer; Ele'azar ben 'Arak is a welling spring.

11 He used to say, If all the wise of Israel were in a scale of the balance, and Eli'ezer ben Hyrqanos in the other scale, he would outweigh them all. Abba Shaul said in his name, If all the wise of Israel were in a scale of the balance, and Eli'ezer ben Hyrqanos with them, and Ele'azar ben 'Arak in the other scale, he would outweigh them all.

12 He said to them, Go and see which Is the good way that a man should cleave to. Rabbi Li'ezer said, A good eye: R. Jehoshua' said, A good friend: and R. Jose said, A good neighbour: and R. Shime'on said, He that foresees what is to be: R. La'zar said, A good heart. He said to them, I approve the words of Ele'azar ben 'Arak rather than your words, for his words include your words.

13 He said to them, Go and see which is the evil way that a man should shun. R. Li'ezer said, An evil eye: and R. Jehoshua' said, An evil companion: and R. Jose said, An evil neighbour: and R. Shime'on said, He that borroweth and repayeth not--he that borrows from man is the same as if he borrowed from God (blessed is He)--for it is said, The wicked borroweth, and payeth not again, but the righteous is merciful and giveth: R. La'zar said, An evil heart. He said to them, I approve the words of Ele'azar ben 'Arak rather than your words, for your words are included in his words.

14 And they said (each) three things. R. Li'ezer said, Let the honour of thy friend be dear unto thee as thine own; and be not easily provoked; and repent one day before thy death. And warm thyself before the fire of the wise, but beware of their embers, perchance thou mayest be singed, for their bite is the bite of a fox, and their sting the sting of a scorpion, and their hiss the hiss of a fiery-serpent, and all their words are as coals of fire.

15 R. Jehoshua' said, An evil eye, and the evil nature, and hatred of the creatures put a man out of the world.

16 R. Jose said, Let the property of thy friend be precious unto thee as thine own; set thyself to learn Thorah, for it is not an heirloom unto thee; and let all thy actions be to the name of Heaven.

17 R. Shime'on said, Be careful in reading the Shema' and in Prayer; and when thou prayest, make not thy prayer an ordinance, but an entreaty before God, blessed is He, for it is said, For God is compassionate and easily-entreated, longsuffering, and plenteous in grace; and be not wicked unto thyself.

18 R. La'zar said, Be diligent to learn Thorah, wherewith thou mayest make answer to Epicurus; and know before whom thou toilest; and who is the Master of thy work.

19 R. Tarphon said, The day is short, and the task is great, and the workmen are sluggish, and the reward is much, and the Master of the house is urgent. He said, It is not for thee to finish the work, nor art thou free to desist therefrom; if thou hast learned much Thorah, they give thee much reward; and faithful is the Master of thy work, who will pay thee the reward of thy work, and know that the recompence of the reward of the righteous is for the time to come.

PIRKEI AVOT CHAPTER 3

1 'Aqabiah ben Mahalaleel said, Consider three things, and thou wilt not come into the hands of transgression. Know whence thou camest; and whither thou art going; and before whom thou art about to give account and reckoning. Know whence thou camest: from a fetid drop; and whither thou art going: to worm and maggot; and before whom thou art about to give account and reckoning: before the King of the kings of kings, blessed is He.

2 R. Chananiah, prefect of the priests, said, Pray for the peace of the kingdom, since but for fear thereof we had swallowed up each his neighbour alive.

3 R. Chananiah ben Thradyon said, Two that sit together without words of Thorah are a session of scorners, for it is said, Nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful; but two that sit together and are occupied in words of Thorah have the Shekinah among them, for it is said, Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another, &c.

4 One that sits and studies, the Scripture imputes to him as if he fulfilled the whole Thorah, for it is said, He sitteth alone and keepeth silence, because he hath borne it upon him.

5 R. Shime'on said, Three that have eaten at one table, and have not said over it words of Thorah, are as if they had eaten of sacrifices of (the) dead, for it is said, For all tables are full of vomit and filthiness without MAQOM ("without mention of the name of God").

6 But three that have eaten at one table, and have said over it words of Thorah, are as if they had eaten of the table of MAQOM, blessed is He, for it is said, And he said unto me, This is the table that is before the Lord.

7 Chananyiah ben Chakinai said, He who awakes by night, and he who is walking alone by the way, and turns aside his heart to idleness, is "guilty of death."

8 R. Nechonyiah ben ha-Qanah said, Whoso receives upon him the yokel, of Thorah, they remove from him the yoke of royalty and the yoke of worldly care; and whoso breaks from him the yoke of Thorah, they lay upon him the yoke of royalty and the yoke of worldly care.

9 R. Chalaftha of Kaphar-Chananiah said, When ten sit and are occupied in words of Thorah the Shekinah is among them, for it is said, God standeth in the CONGREGATION of the mighty (Ps. lxxxii. 1). And whence (is it proved of) even five? Because! it is said, He judgeth among gods. And whence even three? Because it is said, . . . and hath founded his TROOP in the earth (Amos ix. 6). And whence even two? Because it is said, Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another (§ 3). And whence even one? Because it is said, In all places where I record my name I will come unto THEE, and I will bless thee (Ex. xx. 24).

10 R. La'zar ben Jehudah of Barthotha said, Give Him of what is His, for thou and thine are His; and thus he saith in David, For all things come of Thee, and of thine own have we given thee (I Chron. xxix. 14).

11 R. Jacob said, He who is walking by the way and studying, and breaks off his study (Mishnah) and says, How fine is this tree! how fine is that tree! and how fine is this fallow? they account it to him as if he were "guilty of death."

12 R. Dosithai, son of R. Jannai, said in the name of R. Meir, When a scholar of the wise sits and studies, and has forgotten a word of his Mishnah, they account it unto him as if he were "guilty of death," for it is said, Only take heed to thyself, and keep thy soul diligently, lest thou forget the words which thine eyes have seen (Deut. iv. 9). Perhaps his Mishnah has but grown hard to him? What need then to say, "And lest they depart from thy heart all the days of thy life"? Lo! he is not guilty, till he has sat down and suffered them to depart from his mind.

13 R. Chananiah ben Dosa said, Whosesoever fear of sin precedes his wisdom, his wisdom stands; and whosesoever wisdom precedes his fear of sin, his wisdom stands not.

14 He used to say, Whosesoever works are in excess of his wisdom, his wisdom stands; and whosesoever wisdom is in excess of his works, his wisdom stands not.

15 He used to say, With whomsoever the spirit of men is pleased, the Spirit of God is pleased; and with whomsoever the spirit of men is not pleased, the Spirit of God is not pleased.

16 R. Dosa ben Horkinas said, Morning sleep, and midday wine, and the babbling of youths, and frequenting the meeting houses of the vulgar, put a man out of the world.

17 R. Li'ezer ha-Moda'i said, He that profanes things sacred, and contemns the festivals, and annuls the covenant of Abraham our father, and acts barefacedly against the Thorah, even though he be a doer of good works, has no portion in the world to come.

18 R. Ishma'el said, Be pliant of disposition (or to a chief) and yielding to impressment, and receive every man with cheerfulness.

19 R. 'Aqibah said, Merriment, and lightness of disposition, accustom a man to lewdness.

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20 He used to say, Tradition is a fence to Thorah; tithes are a fence to wealth; vows a fence to sanctity; a fence to wisdom is silence.

21 He used to say, Beloved is man that he was created

22 Beloved are Israel that they are called children of God; greater love (was it that it) was made known to them that they are called children of God, as it is said, Ye are the children of the LORD your God (Deut. xiv. 1).

23 Beloved are Israel that there was given to them the instrument with which the world was created; greater love (was it that it) was made known to them that there was given to them the instrument with which the world was created, as it is said, For I give you good doctrine, forsake ye not MY LAW (Prov. iv. 2).

24 Everything is foreseen; and freewill is given. And the world is judged by grace; and everything is according to work.

25 He used to say, Everything is given on pledge; and the net is cast over all the living. The office is open; and the broker gives credit; and the ledger is open; and the hand writes; and whosoever will borrow comes and borrows; and the bailiffs go round continually every day, and exact from a man whether he wills or not; and they have whereon to lean; and the judgement is a judgement of truth. And everything is prepared for the BANQUET.

26 R. La'zar ben 'Azariah said, No Thorah, no culture; no culture, no Thorah. No wisdom, no fear (of God); no fear (of God), no wisdom. No knowledge, no discernment; no discernment, no knowledge. No meal, no Thorah; no Thorah, no meal.

27 He used to say, Whosesoever wisdom is in excess of his works, to what is he like? To a tree whose branches are abundant, and its roots scanty; and the wind comes, and uproots it, and overturns it. And whosesoever works are in excess of his wisdom, to what is he like? To a tree whose branches are scanty, and its roots abundant; though all the winds come upon it, they stir it not from its place.

28 R. La'zar Chasmah said, "Qinnim" (Mishnah about bird-sacrifices) and "Pitheché Niddah" (Mishnah relating to menstruation) are essentials of Thorah; canons of astronomy and Gematria (Numerology) are after courses of wisdom.

PIRKEI AVOT CHAPTER 4

1 Ben Zoma said, Who is wise? He that learns from every man; for it is said, From all my teachers I gat understanding.

2 Who is mighty? He that subdues his nature; for it is said, He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty; and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city.

3 Who is rich? He that is contented with his lot; for it is said, When thou eatest the labour of thy hands, happy art thou, and it shall be well with thee. "Happy art thou" in this world; "and it shall be well with thee" in the world to comes.

4 Who is honoured? He that honours mankind; for it is said, For them that honour me I will honour, and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed.

5 Ben 'Azzai said, Hasten to a slight precept, and flee from transgression; for precept induces precept, and transgression induces transgression; for the reward of precept is precept, and the reward of transgression is transgression.

6 He used to say, Despise not any man, and carp not at any thing; for thou wilt find that there is not a man that has not his hour, and not a thing that has not its place.

7 R. Levitas of Jabneh said, Be exceeding lowly of spirit, for the hope of man is the worm. R. Jochanan ben Baroqah said, Whoso profanes the name of Heaven in secret, they punish him openly. The erring is as the presumptuous, in profanation of the NAME.

8 R. Ishma'el his son said, He that learns in order to teach, they grant him the faculty to learn and to teach: he that learns in order to practise, they grant him the faculty to learn, and to teach, and to practise.

9 R. Çadoq said, Make them not a crown, to glory in them; nor an ax, to live by them. And thus was Hillel wont to say, And he who serves himself with the tiara perishes. Lo, whosoever makes profit from words of Thorah removes his life from the world.

10 R. Jose said, Whosoever honours the Thorah is himself held in honour with men; and whosoever dishonours the Thorah is himself dishonoured with men.

11 R. Ishma'el said, He that refrains himself from judgement, frees himself from enmity, and rapine, and false swearing; and he that is arrogant in decision is foolish, wicked, and puffed up in spirit.

12 He used to say, Judge not alone, for none may judge alone save One; and say not, Accept ye my opinion, for they are free-to-choose, and not thou.

13 R. Jochanan said, Whosoever fulfils the Thorah in poverty, will at length fulfil it in wealth; and whosoever neglects the Thorah in wealth, will at length neglect it in poverty.

14 R. Meir said, Have little business, and be busied in Thorah; and be lowly in spirit unto every man; and if thou idlest from the Thorah, thou wilt have idlers many against thee; and if thou labourest in the Thorah, He hath much reward to give unto thee.

15 R. Li'ezer ben Jacob said, He who performs one precept has gotten to himself one advocate; and he who commits one transgression has gotten to himself one accuser. Repentance and good works are as a shield against punishment.

16 R. Jochanan Sandalarius said, Whatsoever assemblage is in the name of duty will in the end be established; and that which is not in the name of duty will not in the end be established.

17 R. La'zar said, Let the honour of thy disciple be dear unto thee as the honour of thine associate; and the honour of thine associate as the fear of thy master; and the fear of thy master as the fear of Heaven.

18 R. Jehudah said, Be careful in Thalmud, for error in Thalmud amounts to sin.

19 R. Shime'on said, There are three crowns: the crown of Thorah, and the crown of Priesthood, and the crown of Royalty; but the crown of a good name mounts above them.

20 R. Nehorai said, Betake thyself to a place of Thorah, and say not that it shall come after thee; for thine associates will confirm it unto thee; and lean not unto thine own understanding.

21 R. Jannai said, Neither the security of the wicked, nor the afflictions of the righteous, are in our hand.

22 R. Matthiah ben Charash said, Be beforehand in saluting every man; and be a tail to lions, and not a head to foxes.

23 R. Jacob said, This world is like a vestibule before the world to come; prepare thyself at the vestibule, that thou mayest be admitted into the hall.

24 He used to say, Better is one hour of repentance and good works in this world than all the life of the world to come; better is one hour of refreshment of spirit in the world to come than all the life of this world.

25 R. Shime'on ben Ele'azar said, Conciliate not thy friend in the hour of his passion; and console him not in the hour when his dead is laid out before him; and "interrogate" him not in the hour of his vow; and strive not to see him in the hour of his disgrace.

26 Shemuel ha-Qatan said, Rejoice not when thine enemy falleth, and let not thine heart be glad when he stumbleth.

27 Elisha' ben Abiyyah said, He who learns as a lad, to what is he like? to ink written on fresh paper; and he who learns when old, to what is he like? to ink written on used paper.

28 R. Jose ben Jehudah of Kaphar ha-Babli said, He who learns from the young, to what is he like? to one that eats unripe grapes, and drinks wine from his vat; and he who learns from the old, to what is he like? to one that eats ripened grapes, and drinks old wine.

29 R. said, Regard not the flask, but what is therein; there is a new flask that is full of old (wine), and an old one in which there is not even new.

30 R. Li'ezer ha-Qappar said, Jealousy, and lust, and ambition, put a man out of the world.

31 He used to say, The born are to die; and the dead to revive; and the living to be judged; for to know, and to notify, and that it may be known, that He is the framer, and He the creator, and He the discerner, and He the judge, and He the witness, and He the "adversary," and He is about to judge with whom there is no iniquity, nor forgetfulness, nor respect of persons, nor taking of a bribe, for all is His, and know that all is according to plan.

32 Let not thine imagination assure thee that the grave is an asylum; for perforce thou wast framed, and perforce thou wast born, and perforce thou livest, and perforce thou diest, and perforce thou art about to give account and reckoning before the King of the kings of kings, the Holy One, blessed is He.

PIRKEI AVOT CHAPTER 5

1 By ten Sayings the world was created. And what is learned therefrom? for could it not have been created by one Saying? But it was that vengeance might be taken on the wicked, who destroy the world that was created by ten Sayings; and to give a goodly reward to the righteous, who maintain the world that was created by ten Sayings.

2 Ten generations were there from Adam to Noach, to shew how great was His longsuffering; for all the generations were provoking Him, till He brought the deluge upon them.

3 Ten generations were there from Noach to Abraham, to shew how great was His longsuffering; for all the generations were provoking Him, till Abraham our father came, and received the reward of them all.

4 With ten temptations was Abraham our father tempted, and he withstood them all; to shew how great was the love of Abraham our father.

5 Ten miracles were wrought for our fathers in Egypt; and ten by the sea.

6 Ten plagues brought the Holy One, blessed is He, upon the Egyptians in Egypt; and ten by the Sea.

7 With ten temptations did our fathers tempt God in the wilderness, for it is said, And they have tempted me now these ten times, and have not hearkened to my voice.

8 Ten miracles were wrought in the Sanctuary. No woman miscarried from the scent of the holy meat; and the holy meat never stank; and an uncleanness befel not the highpriest on the day of the Atonement; and a fly was not seen in the slaughterhouse; and a defect was not found in the sheaf; nor in the two loaves; nor in the shewbread; and rains quenched not the pile; and the wind prevailed not against the pillar of smoke; they stood serried, and bowed down at ease; and serpent and scorpion harmed not in Jerusalem; and a man said not to his fellow, The place is too strait for me (Is. xlix. 20) to lodge in Jerusalem.

9 Ten things were created between the suns. The mouth of the earth; and the mouth of the well; and the mouth of the ass; and the bow; and the manna; and the rod (a rod of power given to Adam, passed down to Joseph and eventually to Pharaoh; Moses alone could read the letters on it); and the shamir-worm (a magical worm Moses used to engrave the tablets of the law and split stones); and the character; and the writing; and the tables. And some say, the spirits also; and the sepulchre of Moses (Deut. xxxiv. 6); and the ram of Abraham our father (Gen. xxii. 13). And some say, tongs also, made with tongs.

10 Seven things are in a clod, and seven in a wise man. The wise man speaks not before one who is greater than he in wisdom; and does not interrupt the words of his companion; and is not hasty to reply; he asks according to canon, and answers to the point; and speaks on the first thing first, and on the last last; of what he has not heard he says, I have not heard; and he acknowledges the truth. And their opposites are in the clod.

11 Seven kinds of punishments come on account of seven main transgressions. When some men tithe, and some do not tithe, dearth from drought comes: some of them are hungry, and some of them are full. When they have not tithed at all, a dearth from tumult and from drought comes. And when they have not offered the dough-cake, a deadly dearth comes.

12 Pestilence comes into the world for the capital crimes mentioned in the Thorah, which are not brought before the tribunal; and for the seventh year fruits.

13 The sword comes upon the world for suppression of judgement; and for perversion of judgement; and for explaining Thorah not according to canon.

14 Noisome beasts come into the world for vain swearing; and for profanation of the NAME. Captivity comes upon the world for strange worship; and for incest; and for shedding of blood; and for (not) giving release to the land.

15 At four seasons the pestilence waxes: in the fourth (year); in the seventh; at the ending of the seventh; and at the ending of the Feast in every year. In the fourth (year), on account of the poor's tithe in the third; in the seventh, on account of the poor's tithe in the sixth; and at the ending of the seventh, on account of the seventh year fruits; and at the ending of the Feast in every year,, on account of the largesses of the poor.

16 There are four characters in men, He that saith, Mine is mine, and thine is thine, is an indifferent character; but some say, It is the character of Sodom: (he that saith) Mine is thine, and thine is mine, is 'am ha-areç: Mine and thine are thine, pious: Thine and mine are mine, wicked.

17 There are four characters in dispositions. Easily provoked, and easily pacified, his gain is cancelled by his loss: hard to provoke and hard to pacify, his loss is cancelled by his gain: hard to provoke, and easily pacified, pious: easily provoked, and hard to pacify, wicked.

18 There are four characters in scholars. Quick to hear and quick to forget, his gain is cancelled by his loss: slow to hear and slow to forget, his loss is cancelled by his gain: quick to hear, and slow to forget, is wise: slow to hear, and quick to forget, this is an evil lot.

19 There are four characters in almsgivers. He who is willing to give, but not that others should give, his eye is evil towards the things of others: that others should give, and he should not give, his eye is evil towards his own: he who would give and let others give, is pious: he who will not give nor let others give, is wicked.

20 There are four characters in college-goers. He that goes and does not practise, the reward of going is in his hand: he that practises and does not go, the reward of practice is in his hand: he that goes and practises is pious: he that goes not and does not practise is wicked.

21 There are four characters in those who sit under the wise; a sponge; a funnel; a strainer; and a bolt-sieve. A sponge, which sucks up all; a funnel, which lets in here and lets out there; a strainer, which lets out the wine and keeps back the dregs; a bolt-sieve, which lets out the pollard and keeps back the flour.

22 All love which depends on some thing, when the thing ceases, the love ceases; and such as does not depend on anything, ceases not for ever.

23 What love is that which depends on some thing? the love of Amnon and Thamar; And that which does not depend on anything? this is the love of David and Jonathan.

24 Whatsoever gainsaying is for the name of Heaven will in the end be established; and that which is not for the name of Heaven will not in the end be established.

25 What gainsaying is that which is for the name of Heaven? the gainsaying of Shammai and Hillel. And that which is not for the name of Heaven? this is the gainsaying of Qorach.

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26 Whosoever makes the many righteous, sin prevails not over him; and whosoever makes the many to sin, they grant him not the faculty to repent.

27 Moses was righteous, and made the many righteous, and the righteousness of the many was laid upon him, for it is said, He executed the justice of the Lord and His judgements, WITH Israel. Jerobe'am sinned, and caused the many to sin, (and) the sin of the many was laid upon him, for it is said, Because of the sins of Jerobe'am who sinned, and made Israel to sin (I Kings xiv. 16, &c.).

28 In whomsoever are three things, he is a disciple of Abraham; and three (other) things, a disciple of Bile'am.

29 A good eye, and a lowly soul, and a humble spirit (belong to) the disciple of Abraham: an evil eye, and a swelling soul, and a haughty spirit, to the disciple of Bile'am. And what difference is between the disciples of Abraham and the disciples of Bile'am? The disciples of Bile'am, go down to Gehinnom, for it is said, But thou, O God, shalt bring them down into the pit of destruction (Ps. lv. 24), but the disciples of Abraham inherit the Garden of 'Eden, for it is said, That I may cause those that love me to inherit SUBSTANCE; and I will fill their treasures (Prov. viii. 21).

30 R. Jehudah ben Thema said, Be bold as a leopard, and swift as an eagle, and fleet as a hart, and strong as a lion, to do the will of thy Father which is in Heaven.

31 He used to say, The bold of face to Gehinnom; and the shamefaced to the garden of 'Eden. May it be well-pleasing in thy sight, Lord, our God, and the God of our fathers, that thy city may be built in our days; and give us our portion in thy Thorah.

32 Ben Bag-bag said, Turn it, and again turn it; for the all is therein, and thy all is therein: and swerve not therefrom, for thou canst have no greater excellency than this.

33 Ben He-he said, According to the toil is the reward.

ADDENDA.

THE AGES OF MAN.

He used to say, At five years old, Scripture: at ten years, Mishnah: at thirteen, the Commandments: at fifteen, Thalmud: at eighteen, the bridal: at twenty, pursuits: at thirty, strength: at forty, discernment: at fifty, counsel: at sixty, age: at seventy, hoariness: at eighty, power: at ninety, decrepitude: at a hundred, it is as though he were dead, and gone, and had ceased from the world.

PIRKEI AVOT CHAPTER 6

PEREQ R. MEIR.

ON THE ACQUISITION OF THORAH.

All Israel have a portion in the world to come, for it is said, Thy people also shall be all righteous: they shall inherit the land for ever, the branch of my planting, the work of my hands, that I may be glorified (Sanhedrin xi. 1; Isaiah Ix. 21). Wise men have taught in the Mishnah tongue; blessed is He that made choice of them and their Mishnah:

1 RABBI MEIR said, Whosoever is busied in Thorah for its own sake merits many things; and not only so, but he is worth the whole world: he is called friend, beloved: loves God, loves mankind: pleases God, pleases mankind. And it clothes him with meekness and fear, and fits him to become righteous, pious, upright and faithful: and removes him from sin, and brings him toward the side of merit. And they enjoy from him counsel, and sound wisdom, understanding, and strength, for it is said, Counsel is mine, and sound wisdom: I am understanding; I have strength (Prov, viii. 14). And it gives him kingdom, and dominion, and faculty of judgement. And they reveal to him the secrets of Thorah; and he is made, as it were, a spring that ceases not, and as a river that flows on increasing. And he becomes modest, and long-suffering, and forgiving of insult. And it magnifies him and exalts him over all things.

2 Said Rabbi Jehoshua' ben Levi, Every day Bath Qol goes forth from Mount Choreb, and makes proclamation and says, Woe to the creatures for contempt of Thorah, for whosoever does not occupy himself in Thorah is called "blameworthy," for it is said, As a jewel of gold in a swine's snout, so is a fair woman which is without discretion (Prov. xi. 22). And it saith, And the tables were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of God, graven upon the tables (Ex. xxxii. 16); read not CHARUTH, graven, but CHERUTH, freedom, for thou wilt find no freeman but him who is occupied in learning of Thorah; and whosoever is occupied in learning of Thorah, behold he exalts himself, for it is said, And from Matthanah to Nachaliel: and from Nachaliel to Bamoth (Numb. xxi. 19).

3 He who learns from his companion one section, or one canon, or one verse, or one word, (or) even one letter, is bound to do him honour; for thus we find with David king of Israel, who learned not from Achithophel but two things only, that he called him his master, his guide, and his acquaintance, for it is said, But it was thou, a man mine equal, my guide, and mine acquaintance (Ps. lv. 14). And is there not an argument from the greater to the less, that as David king of Israel, who learned not from Achithophel but two words only, called him his master, his guide, and his acquaintance, he who learns from his companion one section, or one canon, or one verse, or one word, or even one letter, is so many times the more bound to do him honour? And honour is nothing but Thorah, for it is said, The wise shall inherit honour (Prov. iii. 35). And the perfect shall inherit good (Prov. xxviii. 10). And good is nothing but Thorah, for it is said, For I give you good doctrine, forsake ye not my Thorah (Prov. iv. 2).

4 This is the path of Thorah: A morsel with salt (This is a Talmudic phrase for a poor man's fare--Berakoth 2 b), shalt thou eat; Thou shalt drink also water by measure; and shalt sleep upon the ground, and live a life of painfulness, and in Thorah shalt thou labour. If thou doest thus, Happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee (Ps. cxxviii. 2): "happy shalt thou be" in this world; "and it shall be well with thee "in the world to come.

5 Seek not greatness for thyself, and desire not honour. Practise more than thou learnest. And lust not for the table of kings, for thy table is greater than their table, and thy crown greater than their crown, and faithful is thy task-master who will pay thee the wage of thy work.

6 Greater is Thorah than the priesthood, and than the kingdom; for the kingdom is acquired by thirty degrees, and the priesthood by four and twenty, and the Thorah is acquired by forty and eight things. And these are they, by learning, by a listening ear, by ordered speech, by discernment of heart, by dread, by fear, by meekness, by cheerfulness, by pureness, by attendance upon the wise, by discussion with associates, by the argumentation of disciples, by sedateness; by Scripture, by Mishnah; by little traffic, by little intercourse, by little luxury, by little sleep, by little converse, by little merriment; by long-suffering, by a good heart, by faith in the wise, by acceptance of chastisements; he that knows his place, and that rejoices in his portion, and that makes a fence to his words, and does not claim merit to himself; he is loved, loves God, loves mankind, loves righteousnesses, loves uprightness, loves reproofs; and retires from honour, and puffs not up his heart with his learning, and is not forward in decision; bears the yoke with his associate, and inclines him to the scale of merit, and grounds him upon the truth, and grounds him upon peace; and settles his heart to his study; asks and answers, hears and adds thereto; he that learns in order to teach, and that learns in order to practise; that makes his master wiser, and that considers what he has heard, and that tells a thing in the name of him that said it. Lo, thou hast learned that whosoever tells a thing in the name of him that said it, brings redemption to the world, for it is said, And Esther told it to the king in the name of Mordekai (Esth. ii. 22).

7 Great is Thorah, which gives life to those who practise it in this world and in the world to come, for it is said, For they are life unto those that find them, and health to all their flesh (Prov. iv. 22); and it saith, It shall be health to thy navel, and marrow to thy bones (Prov. iii. 8); and it saith, She is a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her: and happy is every one that retaineth her (Prov. iii. 18); and it saith, For they shall be an ornament of grace unto thy head, and chains about thy neck (Prov. i. 9); and it saith, She shall give to thine head an ornament of grace: a crown of glory shall she deliver to thee (Prov. iv. 9); and it saith, For by me thy days shall be multiplied, and the years of thy life shall be increased (Prov. ix. 11); and it saith, Length of days is in her right hand; and in her left hand riches and honour (Prov. iii. 16): and it saith, For length of days, and years of life, and peace, shall they add to thee (Prov. iii. 2).

8 Rabbi Shime'on ben Jehudah, in the name of Rabbi Shime'on ben Jochai, said, Comeliness, and strength, and wealth, and honour, and wisdom, and age, and hoariness, and sons, are comely to the righteous, and comely to the world, for it is said, The hoary head is a crown of glory; it is found in the way of righteousness (Prov. xvi. 31); and it saith, The glory of young men is their strength: and the beauty of old men is the grey head (Prov. xx. 29); and it saith, Sons' sons are the crown of old men; and the glory of sons are their fathers (Prov. xvii. 6); and it saith, Then the moon shall be confounded, and the sun ashamed, when the Lord of hosts shall reign in mount Zion, and in Jerusalem, and before his ancients gloriously (Is. xxiv. 23). Rabbi Shime'on ben Manasia said, These (?) seven qualities which the wise have reckoned to the righteous were all of them confirmed in Rabbi and his sons.

9 Said Rabbi Jose ben Qisma, Once I was walking by the way, and there met me a man, and be gave me "Peace"; and I returned him "Peace." He said to me, Rabbi, from what place art thou? I said to him, From a great city of wise men, and doctors, am I. He said to me, Rabbi, should it be thy pleasure to dwell with us in our place, I will give thee a thousand thousand dinars of gold, and goodly stones, and pearls. I said to him, If thou shouldest give me all the silver, and gold, and goodly stones, and pearls that are in the world, I would not dwell but in a place of Thorah; and thus it is written in the book of Psalms, by the hands of David, king of Israel, The law of thy mouth is better unto me than thousands of gold and silver (Ps. cxix. 72). Moreover in the hour of a man's decease not silver, nor gold, nor goodly stones, and pearls accompany the man, but Thorah and good works alone, for it is said, When thou goest, it shall lead thee; when thou sleepest, it shall keep thee; and when thou awakest, it shall talk with thee. "When thou goest, it shall lead thee," in this world: "when thou sleepest, it shall keep thee," in the grave: "and when thou awakest, it shall talk with thee," in the world to come. And it saith, The silver is mine, and the gold is mine, saith the Lord of hosts (Hang. ii. 8).

10 Five, possessions possessed the Holy One, blessed is He, in his world, and these are they: THORAH, one possession; HEAVEN AND EARTH, one possession; Abraham, one possession; ISRAEL, one possession; THE SANCTUARY, one possession. Thorah, whence? because it is written, The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old (Prov. viii. 22); Heaven and Earth, whence? because it is written, Thus saith the Lord, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool: where is the house that ye build unto me? and where is the place of my rest (Is. lxvi. 1)? and it saith, O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all: the earth is full of thy possessions (Ps. civ. 24); Abraham, whence? because it is written, And he blessed him, and said, Blessed be Abram of the most high God, possessor of heaven and earth (Gen. xiv. 19); Israel, whence? because it is written, Till thy people pass over, O Lord, till the people pass over, which thou hast possessed (Ex. xv. 16); and it saith, To the saints that are in the earth, and to the excellent, in whom is all my delight; The Sanctuary, whence? because it is written, The place, O Lord, which thou hast made for thee to dwell in, the sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have established (Ex. xv. 17); and it saith, And he brought them to the border of his sanctuary, even to this mountain, which his right-hand had possessed (Ps. lxxviii. 54).

11 Whatsoever the Holy One, blessed is He, created in his world, he created not but for his glory, for it is said, Every one that is called by my name: for I have created him for my glory, I have formed him; yea, I have made him (Is. xliii. 7); and it saith, The Lord shall reign for ever and ever (Ex. xv. 18). Rabbi Chanania ben 'Aqashia said, The Holy One, blessed is He, was pleased to give merit to Israel: therefore he multiplied unto them Thorah and precepts, for it is said, The Lord is well pleased for his righteousness' sake; he will magnify the law, and make it honourable (Is. xlii. 21).

THE THIRD BOOK OF THE MACCABEES

or 3 Maccabees, or Ptolemaics by Pseudo-Athanasius
Source: The Bible of the Armenian Apostolic Church and the Orthodox Church
Translation: Anonymus (Standard Version)
Estimated Range of Dating: 50 B.C. - 100 A.D.

(The Third Book of Maccabees, also called 3 Maccabees, [or "Ptolemaics"(meaning Ptolemaeans) by Pseudo-Athanasius] is found in most Orthodox Bibles as a part of the Anagignoskomena [books worthy to be read]. The book was presumably composed in the 1st century BC or the 1st century AD. It may be a Jewish product.

In spite its title, the book has nothing to do with the Maccabees or their revolt against the Greek-Persian Seleucid Empire, as described in 1 Maccabees and 2 Maccabees. Instead it tells the story of persecution of the Jews under Ptolemy IV Philopator (222–205 BC), some decades before the Maccabee uprising. The name of the book apparently comes from the similarities between this book and the stories of the martyrdom of Eleazar and the Maccabean youths in 2 Maccabees; the High Priest Shimon is also mentioned. It was written in Greek during the 1st century.

The author of this book was probably a Jew from Alexandria, a Greek harbour city at the Egyptian Mediterranean coast. The author wrote his rhetorical constructs and a somewhat bombastic style, and the themes of the book are very similar to those of the Epistle of Aristeas. The work begins abruptly, leading to think that it is actually a fragment of a now-lost longer work.

The book describes the persecution of the Jews in Egypt. The book includes a letter by Ptolemy, which says that those Jews who agree to abandon their faith are to be spared and can return home. The story goes: After the Egyptian king Ptolemy's defeated the Greek-Persin king Antiochus III in 217 BC at the battle of Raphia, he visited Jerusalem and the Second Temple. However, he is, according to the book, prevented from entering the building. This leads him to hate the Jews and upon his return to Alexandria, he rounds up all the Jews in the kingdom to put them to death in his hippodrome. Titus Flavius Josephus notes that many Jews were put to death in Alexandria under the reign of Ptolemy VIII Physcon (146–117 BC) due to their support for Cleopatra II, and this execution was indeed carried out by intoxicated elephants. It is probably for this reason that the Jews abruptly changed allegiance from Egypt to Syria in 200 BC. due to the persecution and killings in Egypt.)

3 MACCABEES CHAPTER 1

1 Now Philopater learned of them that came back that Antiochus had made himself master of the places which belonged to himself, and given charge to all his footmen and

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horsemen, and took with him his sister Arsinoe, and marched out unto the parts of Raphis, where Antiochus and his forces pitched.

2 And a certain Theodotus, intending to accomplish his design, took with him the bravest of the arms which had been before committed to his trust by Ptolemy, and crossed by night unto the tent of Ptolemy, to kill him by himself, and thus to end the war.

3 But Dositheus, called the son of Drimulus, by birth a Jew, who afterward a renegade from the laws and customs of his country, conveyed Ptolemy away, and made a certain obscure man to lie down in his stead in the tent. It befel this man to receive the fate which was meant for the other.

4 A fierce battle then took place; and the men of Antiochus prevailing, Arsinoe continually went up and down the ranks, and with hair dishevelled, with tears and entreaties, begged the soldiers to fight manfully for themselves, their children, and their wives; and promised that if they proved conquerors, she would give them two minas of gold apiece.

5 It thus fell out that their enemies were defeated in hand to hand encounter, and many of them were taken prisoners also.

6 Having vanquished this attempt, the king then decided to proceed to the neighbouring cities, and encourage them.

7 By so doing, and by distributing gifts to their temples, he inspired his subjects
with confidence.

8 The Jews also sent some of their council and of their elders to him. The greetings, guestgifts, and congratulations on the past, bestowed by them, filled him with the greater eagerness to visit the city.

9 Having arrived at Jerusalem, and sacrificed, and offered thank offerings to the Greatest God, and done whatsoever else was suitable to the sanctity of the place, and entered the inner court,

10 he was so struck with the exact magnificence of the temple, that he conceived the purpose of entering the sanctuary itself.

11 And when they told him that this was not permitted, none of the nation, no, nor even the priests in general, but only the supreme high priest of all, and he only once a year, being permitted to go in, he would by no means give way.

12 Then they read the law to him; but he persisted in obtruding himself, exclaiming that he ought to be permitted: and saying, Be it that they were deprived of this honour, I ought not to be.

13 And he put the question, Why, when he entered all temples none of the priests that were present forbad him?

14 He was thoughtlessly answered by one, That he did wrong to boast of this.

15 Well; since I have done this, said he, be the cause what it may, shall I not enter with or without your consent?

16 And when the priests fell down in their sacred vestments imploring the Greatest God to come and help in time of need, and to avert the violence of the fierce transgressor, and when they filled the temple with lamentations and tears,

17 then those that had been left behind in the city were affrighted, and rushed forth, uncertain of the event.

18 Virgins, which had been shut up within their chambers, came out with their mothers, scattering dust and ashes on their heads, and filling the streets with outcries.

19 Women, but newly separated off, left their bridal chambers, left the reserve that befitted them, and ran about the city in a disorderly manner.

20 New born babes were forsaken by the mothers and nurses that waited upon them; some here, some there, in houses, or in fields; these now, with an ardour which could not be checked, swarmed into the Most high temple.

21 Various were the prayers offered up by them that assembled in this place, by reason of the unholy attempt of the king.

22 Along with these were certain of the citizens, who took courage, and would not submit to his obstinacy, and his intention of carrying out his purpose.

23 Calling out to arms, and to die bravely in defence of the law of their fathers, they created a great uproar in the place, and were with difficulty brought back by the aged and the elders to the station of prayer, which they had occupied before.

24 During this time the multitude kept on praying.

25 The elders which surrounded the king strove in many ways to divert his haughty mind from the design that he had formed.

26 He, in his hardened mood, insensible to all persuasion, was going onwards, with the view of carrying out this design.

27 Yet even his own officers, when they saw this, joined with the Jews in an appeal to Him which hath all power, to aid in the present crisis, and not wink at such overweening lawlessness.

28 Such was the frequency and the vehemence of the cry of the assembled crowd, that an indescribable noise ensued.

29 Not the men only, the very walls and floor seemed to sound forth; all things preferring dissolution rather than to see the place defiled.

3 MACCABEES CHAPTER 2

1 Now it was that the high priest Simon bowed his knees over against the holy place, and spread forth his hands in reverent fashion, and uttered the following supplication:

2 O LORD, Lord, King of the heavens, and Ruler of the whole creation, Holy among the holy, sole Governor, Almighty, give ear unto us who are oppressed by a wicked and profane one, which exulteth in his confidence and strength.

3 It is Thou, the Creator of all, the Lord of the universe, that art a righteous Governor, and judgest all those that act with pride and insolence.

4 It was Thou that didst destroy the former workers of unrighteousness, among whom were the giants, which trusted in their own
strength and hardihood, by covering them with a measureless flood.

5 It was Thou that didst make the Sodomites, those workers of exceeding iniquity, men notorious for their vices, an example to after generations, when Thou didst consume them with fire and brimstone.

6 Thou didst make known thy power when Thou causedst the bold Pharaoh, the enslaver of Thy people, to pass through the ordeal of many and divers inflictions.

7 And Thou rolledst the depths of the sea over him, when he made pursuit with chariots, and with a multitude of followers, and gavest a safe passage unto those that put their trust in Thee, the Lord of the whole creation.

8 These saw and felt the works of Thine hands, and praised Thee, the Almighty.

9 Thou, O King, when Thou createdst the illimitable and measureless earth, didst choose out this city: Thou didst make this place sacred to Thy name, albeit Thou needest nothing: Thou didst glorify it with Thine illustrious presence, after establishing it to the glory of Thy great and honourable name.

10 And Thou didst promise, out of love toward the house of Israel, that should we fall away from thee, and become afflicted, and then come into this house, and pray, Thou wouldest hear our prayer.

11 Verily Thou art faithful and true.

12 And seeing Thou didst often aid our fathers when they were hard pressed, and in low estate, and deliveredst them out of great dangers,

13 see now, holy King, how through our many and great sins we are borne down, and made subject to our enemies,
and are become weak and powerless.

14 We being in this low condition, this bold and profane man seeketh to dishonour this Thy holy place, consecrated out of the earth unto the name of Thy Majesty.

15 Thy dwelling place, the heaven of heavens, is indeed unapproachable to men.

16 But since it seemed good to Thee to manifest thy glory among Thy people Israel, Thou didst sanctify this place.

17 Punish us not by the uncleanness of their men, neither chastise us by means of their profanity; lest the lawless ones boast in their rage, and say,

18 We have trodden upon the holy house, as houses that are idolatrous are trodden upon.

19 Blot out our iniquities, and do away our errors, and shew forth Thy tender mercy in this hour.

20 Let Thy mercies speedily prevent us. Grant us peace, that them that are cast down and broken hearted may praise Thee with their mouth.

21 At that time God, Which seeth all things, Who is beyond all Holy among the holy, heard that prayer, so suitable; and scourged the man greatly uplifted with scorn and insolence.

22 Shaking him to and fro, as a reed is shaken with the wind, He cast him upon the pavement powerless, with limbs palsied; by a righteous judgement deprived of the faculty of speech.

23 His friends and bodyguards, beholding the swift recompense that had suddenly overtaken him, struck with exceeding terror, and fearing that he would die, speedily removed him.

24 When in course of time he had come to himself, this severe check caused no repentance in him, but he departed with bitter threatenings.

25 He proceeded to Egypt, grew worse in wickedness through his aforementioned companions in wine, who were lost to all goodness;

26 and not being satisfied with countless acts of impiety, his audacity so increased that he raised evil reports there, and many of his friends, watching his purpose attentively, joined in furthering his will.

27 His purpose was to inflict a public stigma upon our race; wherefore he erected a pillar at the porch of the tower, and caused the following inscription to be graven thereon:

28 That entrance to their own temple was to be refused to all those that would not sacrifice; that all the Jews were to be enrolled among the common people; that they that resisted were to be forcibly seized, and put to death;

29 that they that were thus enrolled, were to be marked upon their persons by the ivy leaf symbol of Dionysus, and to be set apart with these limited rights.

30 To do away with the appearance of hating them all, he had it written beneath, that if any of them should elect to enter the community of them that were initiated in the rights, these should have equal rights with the Alexandrians.

31 Some of them that were over the city, therefore, abhorring any approach unto the city of piety, unhesitating gave in to the king, and expected to derive some great honour from a future connection with him.

32 A nobler spirit, however, prompted the majority the cling to their religious observances, and by paying money that they might live unmolested, these sought to escape the enrollment:

33 cheerfully looking forward to future aid, they abhorred their own apostates, considering them to be national foes, and debarring them from the common usages of social intercourse.

3 MACCABEES CHAPTER 3

1 On discovering this, so incensed was the wicked king, that he no longer confined his rage to the Jews in Alexandria. Laying his hand more heavily upon them that lived in the country, he gave commandment that they should speedily be collected into one place, and most cruelly deprived of their lives.

2 While this was going on, an invidious rumour was uttered abroad by men who had banded together to injure the Jewish race. The purport of their charge was, that the Jews kept them away from the ordinances of the law.

3 Now, while the Jews ever maintained a feeling of unswerving loyalty toward the king,

4 yet, as they worshipped God, and observed His law, they made certain distinctions, and avoided certain things. Hence some persons held them in odium;

5 although, as they adorned their conversation with works of righteousness, they had established themselves in the good opinion of the world.

6 What all the rest of mankind said, was, however, made of no account by the strangers;

7 who said much of the exclusiveness of the Jews with regard to their worship and meats; they alleged that they were men unsociable, hostile to the king's interests, refusing to associate with him or his troops. By this way of speaking, they brought much odium upon them.

8Nor was this unexpected uproar and sudden conflux of people unobserved by the Greeks who lived in the city, concerning men who had never harmed them: yet to aid
them was not in their power, since all was oppression around; but they encouraged the Jews by sympathizing with them in their troubles, and expected a favourable turn of affairs:

9 He that knoweth all things, will not, said they, disregard so great a people.

10 Some of the neighbours, friends, and fellow dealers of the Jews, even called them privily to an interview, pledged them their assistance, and promised to do their very utmost for them.

11 Now the king, elated with his prosperous fortune, and not regarding the superior power of God, but thinking to persevere in his present purpose, wrote the following letter to the prejudice of the Jews:

12 King Ptolemy Philpater, to the commanders and soldiers in Egypt, and in all places, health and happiness!

13 I am right well; and so, too, are my affairs.

14 Since our Asiatic campaign, the particulars of which ye know, and which by the aid of the gods, not lightly given, and by our own vigour, hath been brought to a successful issue according to our expectation,

15 we resolved, not with strength of spear, but with gentleness and much humanity, as it were to nurse the inhabitants of Ceolesyria and Phoenicia, and to be their willing benefactors.

16 So, having bestowed considerable sums of money upon the temples of the several cities, we proceeded even as far as Jerusalem; and went up to honour the temple of these wretched beings who never cease from their folly.

17 To outward appearance they received us willingly; but belied that appearance by their deeds. When we were eager to enter their temple, and to honour it with the most beautiful and exquisite gifts,

18 they were so carried away by their old arrogancy, as to forbid us the entrance; while we, out of our forbearance toward all men, refrained from exercising our power upon them.

19 And thus, exhibiting their enmity against us, they alone among the nations lift up their heads against kings and benefactors, as men unwilling to submit to any thing reasonable.

20 We then, having endeavoured to make allowance for the madness of these persons, and on our victorious return treating all people in Egypt courteously, acted in a manner which was befitting.

21 Accordingly, bearing no ill will against their kinsmen at Jerusalem, but rather remembering our connection with them, and the numerous matter with sincere heart from a remote period entrusted to them, we wished to venture a total alteration of their state, by bestowing upon them the rights of

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citizens of Alexandria, and to admit them to the everlasting rites of our solemnities.

22 All of this, however, they have taken in a very different spirit. With their innate malignity, they have spurned the fair offer; and constantly inclining to evil,

23 have rejected the inestimable rights. Not only so, but by using speech, and by refraining from speech, they abhor the few among them who are heartily disposed toward us; ever deeming that their ignoble course of proceeding will force us to do away with our reform.

24 Having then, received certain proofs that these Jews bear us every sort of ill will, we must look forward to the possibility of some sudden tumult among ourselves, when these impious men may turn traitors and barbarous enemies.

25 As soon, therefore, as the contents of this letter become known unto you, in that same hour we command those Jews that dwell among you, with wives and children, to be sent unto us, vilified and abused, in chains of iron, to undergo a death cruel and ignominious, suitable to men disaffected.

26 For by the punishment of them in one body we perceive that we have found the only means of establishing our affairs for the future on a firm and satisfactory basis.

27 Whosoever shall shield a Jew, whether it be an old man, child, or suckling, shall with his whole house be tortured to death.

28 Whosoever shall inform against the Jews, besides receiving the property of the person charged, shall be presented with two thousand drachmae from the royal treasury, shall be made free, and shall be crowned.

29 What place soever shall shelter a Jew, shall, when he is hunted forth, be put under the ban of fire, and be for ever rendered useless to every to every living being for all time to come.

30 Such was the purport of the king's letter.

3 MACCABEES CHAPTER 4

1 Wheresoever this decree was received, the people kept up a revelry of joy and shouting; as if their long-pent-up, hardened hatred, were now to shew itself openly.

2The Jews suffered great throes of sorrow, and wept much; while their hearts, all things around being lamentable, were set on fire as they bewailed the sudden destruction that was decreed against them.

3 What home, or city, or place at all inhabited, or what streets were there, which their condition did not fill with wailing and lamentation?

4 They were sent out unanimously by the generals in the several cities, with such stern and pitiless feeling, that the exceptional nature of the infliction moved even some of their enemies. These, influenced by sentiments of common humanity, and reflecting upon the uncertain issue of life, shed tears at this their miserable expulsion.

5 A multitude of hoary-haired men, were driven along with halting bending feet, urged onward by the impulse of a violent, shameless force to quick speed.

6 Girls who had entered the bridal chamber quite lately, to enjoy the partnership of marriage, exchanged pleasure for misery; and with dust scattered upon their myrrh-anointed heads, were hurried along unveiled, and, in the midst of outlandish insults, set up with one accord a lamentable cry in place of the marriage hymn.

7 Bound, and exposed to public gaze, they were hurried violently on board ship.

8 The husbands of these, in the prime of their youthful vigour, instead of crowns wore halters round their necks; instead of feasting and youthfully mirth, spent the residue of their nuptial days in wailings, and saw only the grave at hand.

9 They were dragged along by unyielding chains, like wild beasts: of these, some had their necks thrust into

the benches of the rowers; while the feet of others were inclosed in hard fetters.

10 The planks of the deck above them barred out the light, and shut out the day on every side, that they might be treated like traitors during the whole voyage.

11 They were conveyed accordingly in this vessel, and at the end of it arrived at Schedia. The king had ordered them to be cast into the vast hippodrome, which was built before the city. This place was well adapted by its situation to expose them to the gaze of all comers into the city. Thus they could hold no communication with his forces; nay, were deemed unworthy of any civilised accommodation.

12 When this was done, the king, hearing that their brethren in the city often went out and lamented the melancholy distress of these victims,

13 was full of rage, and commanded that they should be carefully subjected to the same (and not one whit milder) treatment.

14 The whole nation was now to be enrolled. Every individual was to be specified by name; not for that hard servitude of labour which we have a little before mentioned, but that he might expose them to the aforementioned tortures; and finally, in the short space of a day, might extirpate them by his cruelties.

15 The enrolling of these men was carried on cruelly, zealously, assiduously, from the rising up of the sun unto the going down thereof, and was not brought to an end in forty days.

16 The king was filled with great and constant joy, and celebrated banquets before the temple idols. His erring heart, far

from the truth, and his profane mouth, gave glory to idols, deaf and incapable of speaking or aiding, and uttered unworthy speech against the Greatest God.

17 At the end of the aforementioned interval of time, the registrars brought word to the king that the multitude of the Jews was too great for enrollment,

18 inasmuch as there were many still left in the land, of whom some were in inhabited houses, and others were scattered about in various places; so that all the commanders in Egypt were not sufficient for the work.

19 The king threatened them, and charged them with taking bribes, in order to contrive the escape of the Jews: but was clearly convinced of the truth of what had been said.

20 They said, and proved, that paper and pens had failed them for the carrying out of their purpose.

21 Now this was the active interference of the unconquerable Providence, which assisted the Jews from heaven.

3 MACCABEES CHAPTER 5

1 Then he called Hermon, which had charge of the elephants. Full of rage, altogether fixed in his furious design,

2 he commanded him, with a quantity of unmixed wine and handfuls of incense infused, to drug the elephants early on the following day. These five hundred elephants, when infuriated by the copious draughts of frankincense, were to be led up to the execution of death upon the Jews.

3 The king, after issuing these commands, went to his feasting, and gathered together all those of his friends and of the army who hated the Jews the most.

4 The master of the elephants, Hermon, fulfilled his commission punctually.

5 The underlings appointed for the service went out about eventide, and bound the hands of the miserable victims, and took other precautions for their security at night, thinking that the whole race would perish together.

6 The nations believed the Jews to be destitute of all protection; for chains fettered them about.

7 They invoked the Almighty Lord, and ceaselessly besought with tears their merciful God and Father, Ruler of all, Lord of every power,

8 to overthrow the evil purpose which was gone out against them, and to deliver them by extraordinary manifestation from that death which was in store for them.

9 Their litany so earnest went up to heaven.

10 Then Hermon, who had filled his merciless elephants with copious draughts of mingled wine and frankincense, came early to the palace, to certify the king thereof.

11 He, however, which hath sent His good creature sleep from all time, by night or by day, thus gratifying whom He willeth, diffused a portion thereof now upon the king.

12 By this sweet and profound influence of the Lord he was held fast, and thus his unjust purpose was quite frustrated, and his unflinching resolve greatly falsified.

13 But the Jews, having escaped the hour which had been fixed, praised their holy God, and again prayed Him Who is easily reconciled to display the power of His powerful hand to the overweening nations.

14 The middle of the tenth hour had well nigh arrived, when the master bidder, seeing the guest that were bidden collected, came and shook the king.

15 He gained his attention with difficulty, and hinting that the meal time was passing, he talked the matter over with him.

16 The king listened to this, and then turning aside to his potations, commanded the guests to sit down before him.

17 This done, he asked them to enjoy themselves, and to indulge in mirth at this somewhat late hour of the banquet.

18 Conversation grew on, and the king sent for Hermon, and enquired of him with fierce denunciations, wherefore the Jews had been suffered to outlive that day.

19 Hermon explained that he had done his bidding over night; and in this he was confirmed by his friends.

20 The king, then, with a barbarity exceeding that of Phalaris, said, that they might thank his sleep of that day. Lose no time, and make ready the elephants against to morrow, as you did before, for the destruction of these accursed Jews.

21 When the king said this, the company present were glad, and approved; and then each man went to his own home.

22 Nor did they employ the night in sleep, so much as in contriving cruel mockeries for those deemed miserable.

23 The morning cock had just crowed, and Hermon, having harnessed the brutes, was stimulating them in the great colonnade.

24 The city crowds were collected together to see the hideous spectacle, and waited impatiently for the dawn.

25 The Jews, breathless with momentary suspense, spread forth their hands, and prayed the Greatest God, in mournful strains, again to help them speedily.

26 The sun's rays were not shed abroad, and the king was waiting for his friends, when Hermon came to him, calling him out, and saying that his desires could now be realised.

27 The king, receiving him, was astonished at his unwonted exit; and overwhelmed with a spirit of oblivion about every thing, enquired the object of this earnest preparation.

28 But this was the working of that Almighty God, which had made him forget all his purpose.

29 Hermon, and his friends, pointed out the preparation of the animals: They are ready, O king, at thine own strict injunction.

30 The king was filled with fierce anger at these words; for, by the providence of God regarding these things, his mind had become entirely confused. He looked hard at Hermon, and then threatened him as follows:

31 Your parents, or your children, were they here, they should furnished a large repast to these wild beasts; not these innocent Jews, which have loyally served me and my forefathers.

32 Had it not been for familiar friendship, and the claims of your office, your life should have gone for theirs.

33 Hermon, being threatened in this unexpected and alarming manner, was troubled in visage, and downcast of countenance.

34 The friends also stole out one by one, and dismissed the assembled multitudes to their occupations.

35 The Jews, having heard of these events, praised the glorious God and King of kings, because they had obtained this help also from him.

36 Now the king arranged another banquet after the same manner, and proclaimed an invitation to mirth.

37 And he summoned Hermon to his presence, and said, with threats, How oft, O wretch, must I repeat my commands unto thee about these same persons?

38 Once more, arm the elephants against the morrow for the utter destruction of the Jews.

39 His kinsmen, that reclined with him, wondered at his instability, and thus expressed themselves:

40 O king, how long dost thou make trial of us, as of men bereft of reason? This is the third time that thou hast commanded their destruction. When the thing is to be done, thou changest thy mind, and recallest thine instructions.

41 For this cause the feeling of expectation causeth tumult in the city: it swarmeth with factions; and is continually on the point of being plundered.

42 The king, just like another Phalaris, a prey to thoughtlessness, made no account of the changes which his own mind had undergone, issuing in the deliverance of the Jews. He sware a fruitless oath, and determined forthwith to send them to Hades, crushed by the knees and feet of the elephants.

43He would also invade Judah, and level the towns thereof with fire and the sword; and destroy that temple which the nations might not enter, and prevent sacrifices ever after from being offered up there.

44Joyfully his friends brake up, together with his kinsmen; and, trusting in his determination, arranged their forces in guard at the most convenient places of the city.

45And the master of the elephants urged the beasts into an almost maniacal state, drenched them with incense and wine, and decked them with frightful instruments.

46About early morning, when the city was now filled with an immense number of people at the hippodrome, he entered the palace, and called the king unto the business in hand.

47 The king's heart teemed with impious rage; and he rushed forthwith the mass, along with the elephants. With feelings unsoftened, and eyes pitiless, he longed to gaze at the hard and wretched doom of the aforementioned Jews.

48 But the Jews, when the elephants went out at the gate, followed by the armed force; and when they saw the dust raised by the throng, and heard the loud cries of the crowd,

49 thought that they had come to the last moments of their lives, unto the end of that which they had trembling expected. They gave way, therefore, to lamentations and moanings: they kissed each other: those nearest of kin to each other hung about one another's necks: fathers about their sons, mothers their daughters: other women held their infants to their breasts, which drew what seemed their last milk.

50 Nevertheless, when they reflected upon the succour before granted them from heaven, they prostrated themselves with one accord; removed even the sucking children from the breast, and

51 sent up an exceeding great cry, entreating the Lord of all power to reveal Himself, and have mercy upon those who now lay at the gates of Hades.

3 MACCABEES CHAPTER 6

1 And Eleazar, an illustrious priest of the country, which had attained to length of days, and whose life had been adorned with virtue, caused the presbyters which were about him to cease to cry out to the holy God, and prayed thus:

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2 O King, mighty in power, Most High, Almighty God, Who orderest the whole creation with thy tender mercy,

3 look upon the seed of Abraham, upon the children of the sanctified Jacob, Thy sanctified inheritance, O Father, which is now being wrongfully destroyed as strangers in a strange land.

4 Thou destroyedst Pharaoh, with his host of chariots, when the lord of this same Egypt was uplifted with lawless hardihood and loud sounding tongue. Shedding the beams of Thy mercy upon the race of Israel, Thou overwhelmedst him with his proud army.

5 When Sennacherib, the grievous king of the Assyrians, glorying in his countless hosts, had subdued the whole land with his spear, and was lifting him up against Thy holy city, with boastings grievous to be heard, Thou, O Lord, didst utterly destroy him, and shew forth Thy might unto many nations.

6 When the three friends in the land of Babylon of their own will exposed their lives to the fire rather than serve vain things, Thou didst send a dewy coolness through the fiery furnace, and bring the fire upon all their adversaries.

7 It was Thou who, when Daniel was hurled, through slander and envy, as a prey unto lions down below, didst bring him back again unhurt to light.

8 When Jonah was pining away in the belly of the sea-bred monster, Thou didst look upon him, O Father, and recover him to the sight of his own.

9 And now, O Thou that hatest insolence; Thou that aboundest in mercy; Thou that art the protector of all things; appear speedily unto the race of Israel, who are insulted by abhorred, lawless nations.

10 If our life during our exile hath been stained with iniquity, deliver us from the hand of the enemy, and destroy us, O Lord, by the death which Thou preferrest.

11 Let not the vain minded congratulate vain idols at the destruction of Thy beloved, saying, Neither did their God deliver them',

12 Thou Who art All powerful and Almighty, O Eternal One, behold! have mercy upon us who are being withdrawn from life, like traitors, by the unreasoning insolence of lawless men.

13 Let the nations cower before Thine invincible might to day, O glorious One, Who hast all power to save the race of Jacob.

14 The whole band of infants and their parents with tears beseech Thee.

15 Let it be shewed unto all the nations that Thou art with us, O Lord, and hast not turned thy face away from us; but as Thou saidst that Thou wouldest not forget them even in the land of their enemies, so do thou fulfil this saying, O Lord.

16 Now at the time that Eleazar had ended his prayer, the king came along to the hippodrome, with the wild beasts, and with his tumultuous power.

17 When the Jews saw this, they uttered a loud cry to heaven, so that the valleys adjacent resounded, and caused an irrepressible lamentation throughout the army.

18 Then the all-glorious, all-powerful, and true God, displayed His holy countenance, and opened the gates of heaven, from whence two angels, dreadful of form, came down, and were visible to all but the Jews.

19 And they stood over against, and filled the enemies' host with confusion and cowardice; and bound them with immoveable fetters.

20 And a cold shudder came over the person of the king, and oblivion palsied the vehemence of his spirit.

21 They turned back the animals upon the armed forces which followed upon them; and the animals trod them down, and destroyed them.

22 The king's wrath was changed into compassion; and he wept at his own machinations.

23 For when he heard the cry, and saw them all on the verge of destruction, with tears he angrily threatened his friends, saying,

24 Ye have governed amiss, and have exceeded tyrants in cruelty; and me your benefactor have ye laboured to deprive at once of my dominion and my life, by privily devising measures injurious to the kingdom.

25 Who hath gathered here, unreasonably removing each from his home, those, who, in faithfulness to us, had held the strongholds of the country?

26 Who hath thus consigned to unmerited punishments those who in good will toward us from the beginning have in all things surpassed all nations, and who often have engaged in the most dangerous undertakings?

27 Loose, loose the unjust bonds; and send to their homes in peace, and deprecate what hath been done.

28 Release the sons of the almighty living God of heaven, Who from our forefathers' time till now hath granted a glorious and uninterrupted prosperity to our affairs.

29 These things he said: and they, released the same moment, having now escaped death, praised God their holy Saviour.

30 The king then departed to the city, and called the overseer of his revenues unto him, and bade him provide a seven days' quantity of wine and all else requisite for feasting for the Jews. He decided that they should keep a gladsome festival of deliverance in the very place wherein they expected to meet with their destruction.

31 Then they which before were despised and nigh unto Hades, yea, rather advanced into it, partook of the cup of salvation, in stead of the grievous and lamentable death. Full of exultation, they parted out the place intended for their fall and burial into banqueting booths.

32 Ceasing their miserable strains of woe, they took up the subject of their fatherland, hymning in praise God their wonderworking Saviour. All groans, all wailing, were laid aside: they formed dances in token of serene joy.

33 So also the king collected a number of guests for the occasion, and returned unceasing thanks with much magnificence for the unexpected deliverance afforded him.

34 Those that had marked them out as for death, and for carrion, and had enrolled them with joy, howled aloud, and were clothed with shame, and had the fire of their rage ingloriously put out.

35 But the Jews, as we have just said, instituted a dance, and them gave themselves up to feasting, glad thanksgivings, and psalms.

36 They made a public ordinance to commemorate these things for generations to come, as long as they should be sojourners. Thus they established these days as days of mirth, not for the purpose of drinking or luxury, but because God had saved them.

37 They requested the king to send them back to their homes.

38 They were being enrolled from the twenty fifth of Pachon unto the fourth of Epiphi, a period of forty days: the measures taken for their destruction lasted from the fifth of Epiphi till the seventh, that is, three days.

39 The Ruler over all did during this time manifest forth His mercy gloriously, and did deliver them all together unharmed.

40They feasted upon the king's provision up to the fourteenth day, and then asked to be sent away.

41 The king commended them, and wrote the subjoined epistle, of magnanimous import for them, to the commanders of every city.

3 MACCABEES CHAPTER 7

1 King Ptolemy Philopater unto all the commanders throughout Egypt, and unto all that are set over affairs, joy and strength.

2 We, too, and our children are well; and God hath directed our affairs as we wish.

3 Certain of our friends did of malice vehemently urge us to punish the Jews of our realm in a body, with the infliction of a monstrous punishment.

4They pretended that our affairs would never be in such a good state till this took place. Such, they said, was the hatred borne by the Jews unto other people.

5They brought them fettered in grievous chains as slaves, nay, as traitors. Without enquiry or examination they endeavoured to annihilate them. They buckled themselves with a savage cruelty, worse than Scythian custom.

6 For this cause we severely threatened them; yet, with the clemency we are wont to extend unto all men, we at length permitted them to live. Finding that the God of heaven cast a shield of protection over the Jews, so as to preserve them, and that he fought for them as a father ever fighteth for his sons;

7 and taking into consideration their constancy and faithfulness toward us, and toward our ancestors, we have, as we ought, acquitted them of every sort of charge.

8 And we have dismissed them unto their several homes; bidding all men everywhere to do them no wrong, or unrighteously revile them about the past.

9 For know ye, that should we conceive any evil design against, or in any manner aggrieve them, we shall ever have as our opposite, not man, but the highest God, the Ruler of all might. From him there will be no escape, as the avenger of such deeds. Fare ye well.

10 When they received this letter, they were not forward to depart

forthwith. They petitioned the king to be allowed to inflict fitting punishment upon those of their race that had willingly transgressed the holy God, and the law of God.

11 They alleged that the men who had for their bellies' sake transgressed the ordinances of God, would never be faithful to the interests of the king.

12 The king admitted the truth of this reasoning, and commended them.

13 Their priests, then, as was most meet, saluted him with good wishes, and all the people echoed with the Alleluia. They then joyfully departed.

14 Then they punished and destroyed with ignominy every polluted Jew that fell in their way;

15 slaying thus, in that day, above three hundred men, and esteeeming this destruction of the wicked a season of joy.

16 They themselves having held fast their God unto death, and having enjoyed a full deliverance, departed from the city garlanded with sweet flowered wreaths of every kind. Uttering exclamations of joy, with songs of praise, and melodious hymns, they

thanked the God of their fathers, the eternal Saviour of Israel.

17 Having arrived at Ptolemais, called from the feature of that district Rosebearing, where the fleet, according to the general wish, waited for them seven days,

18 they partook of a banquet of deliverance; for the king generously granted them severally the means of securing a return home.

19 They accordingly brought back in peace, while they gave utterance to becoming thanks; and they determined to keep these days during their sojourn as days of joyfulness.

20 These they registered as sacred upon a pillar, when they had dedicated the place of their festivity to be one of prayer. They departed unharmed, free, abundant in joy, preserved by the king's commandment, by land, by sea, and by river, each to his own home.

21 They had more weight than before among their enemies; and were honoured and feared, and none in any way robbed them of their goods.

22 Every man received back his own, according to inventory; those that had obtained their goods, giving them up with the greatest terror. For the greatest God wrought with perfectness wonders for their salvation.

23 Blessed be the Redeemer of Israel unto everlasting. Amen.

THE FOURTH BOOK OF THE MACCABEES

4 Maccabees
Source: The Bible of the Romanian Orthodox Church
Translation: Anonymus (Standard Version)
Estimated Range of Dating: 20 - 130 A.D.

(The Fourth Book of Maccabees, also called 4 Maccabees is a homily or philosophic discourse praising the supremacy of pious reason over passion. In style, the book is oratorical, but not so much as 3 Maccabees. It was originally written in the common Greek language of the first or second century AD. It is generally dated between 20 and 130 AD, most likely at the end of the Flavian Dynasty or later. Its composition was made in quite a highly rhetorical Greek style. Its interest in martyrs in Antioch [Antakya] and its similarity to other writings from that region indicates its place of origin.

The text was not influenced by any form of Christianity but by Stoic philosophy as the writer believes in the immortality of the soul, but never mentions the resurrection of the dead. Good souls are said to live forever in happiness with the patriarchs and God, but even the evil souls are held to be immortal.

The work consists of a prologue and two main sections; the first advances the philosophical thesis while the second illustrates the points made using examples drawn from 2 Maccabees (principally, the martyrdom of Eleazer and the Maccabean youths) under Antiochus IV Epiphanes. The last chapters concern the author's impressions drawn from these martyrdoms. The work thus appears to be an independent composition to 1 Maccabees and 2 Maccabees, merely drawing on their descriptions to support its thesis. The weak ending of the book could indicate that the last chapter seem to be a later addition to the work.

It is not in the Bible for most churches, but is an appendix to the Greek Bible, and in the canon of the Georgian Orthodox Bible. The book was included in the 1688 Romanian Orthodox and the 18th-century Romanian Catholic Bibles where it was called "Iosip" (Joseph) because it is ascribed to Titus Flavius Josephus by Eusebius and Jerome, and this opinion was accepted for many years, leading to its inclusion in many editions of Josephus' works. Scholars have however pointed to perceived differences of language and style. It is no longer printed in Romanian Bibles today.)

4 MACCABEES CHAPTER 1

1 As I am about to discuss a most philosophical proposition, namely, whether devout reason be sovereign over the passions, I would willingly advise you to give the utmost heed unto the philosophy.

2 For the subject is necessary to every one as a path to knowledge: and more especially doth it embrace the praise of the highest virtue: I speak, of course, of prudence.

3If then, it be evident that reason ruleth over the passions that stand in the way of temperance, namely, gluttony and lust,

4 then it surely also and manifestly beareth the rule over the affections that be contrary to justice, such as malice; and of them that be hindrances to courage, as anger, fear, and pain.

5 How then, is it, peradventure some may say, that reasoning, if it rule the affections, be not also master of forgetfulness and ignorance? Their attempt at an argument is ridiculous.

6 For reason ruleth not his own passions, but such as be contrary to justice, manliness, temperance, and prudence; and yet it overcometh these to withstand them, without destroying them.

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7 I might prove unto you, from many and divers considerations, that reason is sole master of the passions;
8 but I shall demonstrate it with the greatest force from the fortitude of such as suffered death in defence of virtue, Eleazar, and seven brethren, and their mother.
9 For all of these, contemning sufferings even unto death, demonstrated that reason beareth rule over the passions.
10 For all their virtues, then, it is right that I should commend those men that died with their mother at this time for the sake of uprightness; and for their honours I may count them blessed.
11 For they, winning admiration not only from men in general, but also from their persecutors, for their courage and endurance, became the means of the destruction of the tyranny against their nation, having conquered the tyrant by their endurance; so that by them their country was purified.
12 But we may now at once enter upon the question, having begun, as is our custom, with laying down of the doctrine, and so proceed to the story of these persons, giving glory unto the all wise God.
13 The question therefore is, whether reason be sovereign of the passions.
14 Let us then determine what is reason, and what is passion, and how many kinds of passion there be; and whether reason ruleth over all of these.
15 Now reason is, then, the mind accompanied with a life of uprightness, putting foremost the consideration of wisdom.
16 And wisdom is knowledge of Divine and human things, and of their causes.
17 And this is contained in the education of the law; whereby we learn Divine things reverently, and human things profitably.
18 And the forms of wisdom are prudence, justice, courage, and temperance.
19 That which leadeth these is prudence; by whose means, indeed, it is that reason beareth rule over the passions.
20 Of the passions, pleasure and pain are the two most comprehensive; and they also by nature are concerned both with body, and with soul.
21And there be many attendant affections that compass pleasure and pain.
22 Before pleasure there is lust; and after pleasure there is joy.
23 And before pain there is fear; and after pain there is sorrow.
24 Wrath is an affection, common both to pleasure and to pain, if any will take heed when it cometh upon him.
25 And there is in pleasure a malicious disposition, which is the most multiform of all the affections.
26 In the soul it is arrogancy, and love of money, and vaingloriousness, and contention, and faithlessness, and the evil eye.
27 In the body it is greediness, gluttony, and solitary gormandizing.
28 As pleasure and pain are therefore two growths of the body and the soul, so there are many offshoots of these growths.
29 And reason, the universal husbandman, purging, and pruning these severally, and binding round, and watering, and transplanting, in every way improveth the materials of the morals and affections.
30For reason is the guide of the virtues, but it is the sovereign of the passions. Observe then first, through the very things that stand in the way of temperance, that reason is sovereign of the passions.
31 Now temperance consisteth in command of the lusts.
32 But of the lusts, some pertain unto the soul, others unto the body: and over each of these two, reason appeareth to bear sway.
33 For whence is it, otherwise, that when urged on to forbidden meats, we turn ourselves away from the pleasures that are to be had of them? Is it not that reason is able to command the appetites? so do I believe.
34 Hence it is, then, that when we lust after sea creatures, and fowls, and four footed beasts, and all manner of meats that are forbidden us by the law, we abstain by reason of the mastery of reason.
35 For the affections of our appetites are refrained, checked by the temperate understanding, and bent back again; and all the emotions of the body are kept in by reason.

4 MACCABEES CHAPTER 2

1 And what wonder? if the lusts of the soul for the enjoying of beauty are rendered powerless,
2 on this ground, therefore, the temperate Joseph is praised, in that by reason, he subdued upon reflection the indulgence of sense.
3 For when he was young, and ripe for intercourse, by reason he rendered powerless the frenzied desire of his passions.
4 And it is not merely the stimulus of sensual indulgence, but that of every desire, that reason is 3 able to overcome.
5 For the law saith, Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's.
6 Now therefore, since it is the law that hath forbidden us to desire, I shall much the more easily persuade you, that reason is able to govern our lusts, as it doth with the passions that are impediments to justice.
7 Since in what way is a solitary gormandizer, and a glutton, and a drunkard reclaimed, except it be clear that reason is lord of the passions?
8 A man, therefore that ordereth his course by the law, even if he be a lover of money, straightway overcometh his own disposition; lending without interest unto the needy, and cancelling the debt of the incoming seventh year.
9 And should a man be parsimonious, he is ruled by the law acting through reason; so that he gleaneth neither his harvest, nor his vintage: and in other things we may perceive that it is reason that overcometh the passions.
10 For the law overcometh even affection for parents, not betraying virtue on their account.
11 And it prevaileth over married love, rebuking it when it transgresseth the law.
12 And it beareth sway over the love of parents toward their children, for they punish them for vice; and it mastereth the love of friends, reproving them when they are wicked.
13 And think it not a paradox when reason, through the law, can prevail even over enmity,
14 not hewing down the cultivated herbage of an enemy, but preserving the substance of enemies from the destroyers, and helping to raise up again what is fallen.
15 And it is clear that reason overcometh even the more vehement passions, as love of power, vaingloriousness, empty boasting, and arrogancy, and envy.
16 For the temperate understanding repelleth all these malignant passions, even as it repelleth anger: for it overcometh even this.
17 Thus Moses, when he was angry with Dathan and Abiram, nothing did against them in wrath, but tempered his anger by reason.
18 For the temperate mind is able, as I have said, to rise above the passions, and to alter some, and render others powerless.
19 For why, else, doth our most wise father Jacob censure them that were about Simeon and Levi for having slain, contrary to reason, the whole race of the Shechemites, saying, Cursed be their anger.
20 For if reason had not the power of subduing anger, he would not have spoken thus. 21For at the time when God created man, He planted in him his passions and habits of mind:
22 but at the same time He enthroned among the mind among the senses, as an holy governor over them all;
23 and unto this mind gave He the law. He that adopteth a way of life according to it shall rule a kingdom that is just, and good, and of a good courage.
24 How then, a man may ask, if reason be master of the passions, hath it no mastery over forgetfulness and ignorance?

4 MACCABEES CHAPTER 3

1 But this argument is exceeding ridiculous: for reason seemeth not to bear sway over his own affections, but over those of the body,
2 in such a way as that any one of you may not be able to root out desire, but reason will provide a way for you not to be enslaved thereby.
3 No one of us is able to root out anger from the soul, but it is possible to withstand anger.
4 No one of us is able to root out malice, but reason hath force to work with us, that we be not overcome by malice.
5 For reason is not a rooter out of the passions, but their antagonist.
6 And this may be more clearly understood by means of the thirst of king David.
7 For after David had fought the Philistines all the day long, he with the soldiers of his nation killed many of them:
8 but when evening feel, came he, sweating and exceeding weary, unto the royal tabernacle, round about which the whole host of our ancestors was encamped.
9 Now all the rest were at supper;
10 but the king, being very much athirst, although he had abundant spring at hand, could not by their means quench his thirst;
11 but a certain irrational desire for the water in the enemy's camp grew stronger and fiercer upon him, undid and consumed him.
12 Wherefore his armourbearers being troubled at this longing of the king, two valiant young soldiers, respecting the desire of the king, put on their full armour, and taking a pitcher, got them over the ramparts of the enemies:
13 and unperceived by the guardians of the gate, they went in search throughout the whole camp of the enemy;
14 and having found discovered the spring, they boldly filled out of it a draught for the king.
15 But he, though parched with thirst, reasoned that a draught reputed of equal value to blood, would be a dire danger to his soul.
16 Wherefore, opposing reason to desire, he poured out the draught for an offering unto God.
17 For the temperate mind hath power to conquer the compulsions of the passions, and to quench the fires of excitement,
18 and to overpower the pains of the body, howsoever extreme; and, through the excellency of reason, to abhor all domination by the passions.
19 But this occasion inviteth us to give an illustration of temperate reason from history.
20 For at a time when our fathers in possession of undisturbed peace through obedience to the law, and prospering, so that even Seleucus Nicanor the king of Asia had both set aside money for them for the temple service, and accepted their polity;
21 then certain persons, bringing in new things contrary to the general harmony, suffered many and various disasters.

4 MACCABEES CHAPTER 4

1 For a certain man named Simon, which then was in opposition to Onias, which then held the high priesthood for life, and was an honourable and good man; after that by slandering him in every way, he could not injure him with the people, went away as an exile, with the intention of betraying his country.
2 Whence coming to Apollonius, the military governor of Syria, and of Phoenicia, and of Cilicia, he said,
3 Having good will toward the king's affairs, I am come to disclose that many thousands of private funds are stored up in the treasuries of Jerusalem, that are not the possession of the temple, but pertain to king Seleucus.
4 Apollonius acquainted himself with the particulars of these things, and praised Simon for his care of the king's interests; and going up to Seleucus, informed him of the treasure:
5and having receiving authority about it, speedily advanced into our country with the accursed Simon and an exceeding strong host;
6 and said that he came with the command of the king that he should take the private money of the treasury.
7 And the people, indignant at this proclamation, and replying to the effect that it was outrageous that those that had entrusted deposits to the sacred treasury should be deprived of them, resisted as well as they were able.
8 But Apollonius went away with threats into the temple.
9 And while the priests, with women and children were beseeching God in the temple to throw His shield over the sacred place that was despised;
10 and while Apollonius went up with his armed force to the seizure of the treasure, there appeared from heaven angels riding on horseback, with lightning flashing from their weapons, filling them with much fear and trembling.
11 And Apollonius fell down half dead upon the court that is open to all nations, and spread out his hands to heaven, and with tears implored the Hebrews to pray for him, and to propitiate the heavenly host.
12 For he said that he had sinned, so as to be worthy of death; and that if he were saved, he would praise the blessedness of the holy place before all people.
13 Onias the high priest, induced by these words, although for other reasons anxious that king Seleucus should not suppose that Apollonius was slain by human device, and not by Divine punishment, prayed for him;
14 and he being thus unexpectedly saved, departed to manifest unto the king what had happened to him.
15 But on the death of Seleucus the king, his son Antiochus Epiphanes succeedeth to the kingdom: a man of haughty pride and terrible.
16 Who having deposed Onias from the high priesthood, appointed his brother Jason to be high priest:
17 who had made a covenant, if he would give him this authority, to pay yearly three thousand and six hundred and sixty talents.
18 And he committed unto him the high priesthood and rulership of the nation.
19 And he both changed the manner of life of the people, and peverted their civil customs into all lawlessness.
20 So that he not only erected a gymnasium on the very citadel of our country, but also abolished the service of the temple.
21 At which Divine vengeance, being grieved, caused Antiochus himself to war against them.
22 For being at war with Ptolemy in Egypt, he heard that upon a rumour of his death being spread abroad, the inhabitants of Jerusalem had rejoiced exceedingly, and he speedily marched against them.
23 And having subdued them, he established a decree that if any of them lived according to the laws of his country, he should die.
24 And when he could by no means destroy by his decrees the obedience to the law of the nation, but saw all his threats and punishments without effect;

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25 for even women, because they continued to circumcise their children, were thrown down headlong along with them, knowing beforehand of the punishment.
26 When, therefore, his decrees were despised by the people, he himself compelled by means of tortures every one of this race, by tasting forbidden meats, to abjure the Jewish godliness.

4 MACCABEES CHAPTER 5
1 The tyrant Antiochus, therefore, sitting in public state with his assessors upon a certain lofty place, with his armed soldiers standing in a circle round about him, ordered his bodyguards
2 to seize every one of the Hebrews, and to compel them to taste swine's flesh, and things offered to idols.
3 And if any of them were unwilling to eat the accursed meat, they were to be tortured upon the wheel, and then slain.
4 And when many had been seized, a foremost man of the assembly, an Hebrew by name Eleazar, a priest by family, by profession a lawyer, and advanced in years, and for this reason known to many of the king's followers, was brought before him.
5 And Antiochus seeing him, said,
6 I would counsel thee, old man, before thy tortures begin, to taste the swine's flesh, and save thy life; for I feel respect for thine age and grey hairs, which since thou hast had so long, thou seemest not to be a philosopher, in that thou observest the superstition of the Jews.
7 For wherefore, since nature hath conferred upon thee the most excellent flesh of this animal, dost thou abhor it?
8 For it seemeth foolish not to enjoy what is pleasant, yet not disgraceful; and out of notions of sinfulness, to reject the gifts of nature.
9 And I think that thou wilt be acting still more foolishly, if thou followest vain conceits about the truth.
10 And moreover thou wilt despise me to thine own punishment.
11 Wilt thou not awake from thy trifling philosophy, and give up the foolishness of thy reasonings; and, regaining understanding worthy of thine age, pursue a true philosophy of what is beneficial;
12 and reverencing my kindly admonition, have pity upon thine own years?
13 For bear in mind that, if there be any power that watcheth over this godliness of thine, it will pardon thee all transgressions of the law that thou commitest through compulsion.
14 While the tyrant incited him in this manner to the unlawful eating of flesh, Eleazar begged leave to speak.
15 And having received power to speak, he began thus to deliver himself:
16 O Antiochus, we that are persuaded that we live under a Divine law consider no compulsion to be so powerful as obedience to that law;
17 wherefore we consider that we ought not in any point to transgress the law.
18 And indeed, were our law (as thou supposest) not in truth Divine, and if we wrongly think it Divine, we should have no right even in that case to destroy our godly reputation.
19 Think not therefore the eating of the unclean to be a trifling offence.
20 For transgression of the law, whether it be in small or great matters, is of equal moment;
21 for in either case the law is equally slighted.
22 But thou deridest our philosophy, as though our living by it were contrary to reason.
23 Yet it teacheth us temperance, so that we overcome all pleasures and lusts; and it also exerciseth us in courage, so that we cheerfully undergo every grievance.
24 And it instructeth us in justice, that in all our doings we render what is due; and it teacheth us godliness, that we worship the one only God in a way that befitteth His greatness.
25 Wherefore it is that we eat not the unclean; for believing that the law was established by God, we know that the Creator of the world, sheweth us sympathy in giving a law that is according to nature.
26 Those things that are convenient for our souls hath he directed us to eat; but those that are repugnant to them hath He forbidden.
27 But like a tyrant thou not only compellest us to break the law, but also to eat in such a way that thou mayest deride us as we thus profanely eat:
28 but thou shalt not have this cause of laughter against me; neither will I transgress the sacred oaths of my fathers to keep the law:
29 nay, not if thou pluckest out mine eyes, and melt down mine entrails.
30 I am not so old, or so little a man, but that my reasoning powers in defence of godliness. 31Now therefore prepare thy wheels, and kindle a fiercer flame.
32 I will not so pity mine old age as to subvert the law of my country.
33 I will not belie thee, O law, mine instructor; neither will I forsake thee, O beloved self control.
34 I will not put thee to shame, O philosophical reason, nor deny thee, O honoured priesthood and knowledge of the law.
35 Mouth, thou shalt not defile mine old age, nor the full stature of a perfect life.
36 My fathers shall receive me pure,
37 not having quailed before thy compulsion, though it be unto death.
38 For thou shalt tyrannize over the ungodly; but neither by words nor by deeds shalt thou master my reasonings about godliness, either by words or deeds.

4 MACCABEES CHAPTER 6
1 When Eleazar had in this manner eloquently answered the exhortations of the tyrant, the spearbearers came up, and roughly haled Eleazar to the instruments of torture.
2 And first they stripped the old man, adorned as he was with the comeliness of godliness.
3 Then tying back his arms and hands, they disdainfully scourged him with stripes,
4 an herald crying out, Obey the king's commands!"
5 But Eleazar, the high minded and truly noble, like as one tortured in a dream, answered it not at all.
6 But while he raised his eyes on high unto heaven, the old man's flesh was stripped off by the scourges, and his blood streamed down, and his sides were pierced through.
7 And falling upon the ground, because his body had no power to support the pains, yet kept he his reason upright and unswerving.
8 Then one of the harsh spearbearers leaped upon his belly, and kicked him in the side with his foot, to keep him upright as he fell.
9 But he endured the pains, and despised the cruelty, and persevered through the indignities;
10 and like a noble athlete, the old man when struck vanquished his torturers.
11 His countenance sweating, and he panting for breath, he was admired by the very torturers for his courage.
12 Wherefore in part because they pitied his old age,
13 in part from the sympathy of acquaintance, and in part from admiration of his endurance, some of the king's attendants said,
14 Wherefore dost thou unreasonably destroy thyself, O Eleazar, with these miseries?
15 We will set before thee some cooked meat; and do thou save thyself by pretending that thou hast tasted swine's flesh.
16 And Eleazar, as though the more bitterly tortured by this counsel, cried out,
17 Let not us which are children of Abraham be so evil advised as by giving way to make use of an unbecoming pretence;
18 for it were irrational, if having lived up to old age in all truth, and having maintained, by observing the law, the reputation of such a life, we should now turn back,
19 and ourselves become a pattern for ungodliness to the young, as being an example of defiled eating.
20 It would be shameful if we should live on some short time, and that scorned by all men for cowardice,
21 and be condemned by the tyrant for unmanliness, by not contending to the death for our Divine law.
22 Wherefore do you, O children of Abraham, die nobly for your godliness.
23 Ye spearbearers of the tyrant, wherefore do ye linger?
24 When they beheld him so lofty of mind against misery, and unmoved at their pity, they led him to the fire:
25 then with their wickedly contrived instruments they burned upon the fire, and poured stinking liquids into his nostrils.
26 When he was now burned to his very bones, and about to expire, he lifted up his eyes unto God, and said,
27 Thou knowest, O God, that when I might have been saved, I am slain for the sake of the law by tortures of fire.
28 Be merciful unto thy people, and be satisfied with my punishment on their behalf.
29 Let my blood be a purification unto them, and take Thou my life as a recompence for theirs.
30 Thus speaking, the holy man departed nobly in his torments; he stood firm even unto the agonies of death by virtue of reason, in defence of the law.
31 Confessedly therefore, godly reason is master of the passions.
32 For if the passions had overcome reason, I would have borne witness to them of their mastery.
33 But now, since reason conquered the passions, we fittingly award it the authority of first place.
34 And it is but right that we acknowledge the strength of reason, since it prevaileth over external agonies.
35 Were it not so, it would be ridiculous: and I have proved that reason hath not only overcome agonies, but also that it overcometh pleasures, and withstandeth them.

4 MACCABEES CHAPTER 7
1 For like a most skilful pilot, the reason of our father Eleazar steered the vessel of godliness in the sea of passions,
2 and though buffeted by the threats of the tyrant, and overwhelmed with the breakers of torture,
3 by no means did it shift the rudders of godliness, until it sailed into the harbour of victory over death.
4 Not so hath ever a besieged city held out against many and varied machines as did that holy man, when his godly soul was tried with the fiery trial of tortures and rackings, move his besiegers through the reason that shielded his godliness.
5 For Father Eleazar, setting his mind firm like a jutting promontory, brake the raging waves of the passions.
6 O priest, worthy of the priesthood! thou neither didst defile thy sacred teeth, nor profane thy appetite, which had ever embraced the clean and lawful, by partaking of profanity.
7 O man in harmony with the law, philosopher of the Divine life!
8 Of such a character ought those to be that perform the duties of the law, defending it with their own blood, and noble sweat in sufferings even unto death.
9 Thou, O father, hast gloriously established our loyalty to the law by thine endurance; and solemnly avowing the sacred service, thou hast not subverted it; and by thy deeds hast made credible thy words of Divine philosophy.
10 O aged man, more powerful than tortures; O elder, fiercer than fire; O supreme king over passions, Eleazar!
11 For as our father Aaron, armed with a censer, hastened through the throng of his people, and conquered the fiery angel,
12 even so did the descendent of Aaron, Eleazar, though consumed by the fire, remained unswayed in his reason.
13 And, what is more wonderful, even though he was an old man, though the labours of his body were now spent, and his fibres were already loosed, and his sinews worn out, he recovered youth,
14 in spirit through reason, and by reason like that of Isaac, he rendered powerless the many headed instrument.
15 O man of blessed age, of reverend grey hairs, and life obedient to the law, whom the faithful seal of death hath perfected!
16 If therefore, an old man through godliness despised tortures even unto death, by common consent godly reason is sovereign of the passions.
17 But perhaps some may say, It is not all that have conquered passions, because not all possess wise reason.
18 But they that have meditated upongodliness with their whole heart, these alone can master the passions of the flesh:
19 they that believe that they die not to God, even as our fathers Abraham, Isaac and Jacob died not to God, they live to God.
20 This circumstance, then, is by no means an objection, that some that have weak reason are governed by their passions:
21 since what person, walking piously by the whole rule of philosophy, and believing in God,
22 and knowing that it is a blessed thing to endure all manner of hardship for virtue, would not, for the sake of godliness, master his passion?
23For the wise and brave man only is lord over his passions.

4 MACCABEES CHAPTER 8
1 Whence it is, that even the very young, imbued with the philosophy of godly reason, have overcome still more bitter tortures:
2 for when the tyrant was manifestly vanquished in his first attempt, being unable to compel an old man to eat the unclean thing: then indeed, being vehemently swayed with passion, he gave charge to bring others of the adult Hebrews, and if they would eat of the unclean thing, to let them go when they had eaten; but if they refused, to torment even more grievously.
3 When the tyrant had given this charge, seven brethren were brought into his presence, comely, and modest, and well born, and altogether accomplished, along with their aged mother.
4 Whom, when the tyrant beheld, compassing their mother as though they were a chorus, he was pleased at them; and being struck becoming appearance and noble mien, smiled upon them, and calling them near, said,
5 O youths, with favourable feelings I admire each of you; and greatly honouring the comeliness of so numerous a band of brethren, I not only counsel you not to share the madness of the old man which hath been tortured afore, but also encourage you to yield, and to enjoy my friendship.
6 For I possess the power, not only of punishing them that disobey my commandments, but also of doing good unto them that obey them.
7 Put confidence in me, then, and you shall receive places of authority in my government, if you forsake the ancestral law of your nation;
8 and conforming to the Greek way of life, alter your rule, and enjoy youth's delights.

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9 For if you provoke me by your disobedience, you will compel me to destroy you, every one, with terrible punishments by tortures.

10 Have mercy, then, upon your own selves; whom I, although an enemy, pity for your age and comeliness.

11 Will you not reason upon this, that if you disobey, there will be nothing left for you but to die in tortures?

12 Thus speaking, he ordered the instruments of torture to be brought forward, that very fear might prevail upon them to eat of unclean meat.

13 And when the spearmen brought forth the wheels, and the racks, and the hooks, and catapults, and caldrons, and pans, and thumbscrews, and iron hands, and wedges, and bellows, the tyrant continued,

14 Be fearful, young men; and the righteousness which ye worship will be merciful unto you if you transgress the law through compulsion.

15 Now they having heard these words of persuasion, and seeing the fearful instruments, not only were they not afraid, but even answered the arguments of the tyrant, and through their good reasoning destroyed his power.

16 Now let us consider the matter: had any among them been fainthearted and unmanly, what reasonings would they have employed, but such as these?

17 O wretched that we are, and exceeding foolish! when the king exhorteth us, and calleth us unto his bounty, should we not obey him?

18 Wherefore do we cheer ourselves with vain counsels, and venture upon a disobedience that bringeth death?

19 Shall we not fear, O brethren, the instruments of torture, and weigh the threatenings of torment, and shun this vaingloriousness and destructive pride?

20 Let us have compassion upon our age, and relent over the years of our mother,

21 and let us bear in mind that if we disobey, we shall die.

22 And Divine justice will pardon us if we fear the king through necessity.

23 Why withdraw ourselves from most sweet life, and deprive ourselves of this pleasant world?

24 Let us not oppose necessity, nor seek vainglory by our own excruciation.

25 The law itself is not forward to put us to death, if we dread torture.

26 Whence hath such contentiousness taken hold upon us, and such fatal obstinacy approved itself to us, when we might live undisturbed by giving ear unto the king?

27 But nothing of this kind did the young men say, when they were about to be tortured.

28 For they were well aware of the sufferings, and masters over agonies.

29 So that as soon as the tyrant had ceased from counselling them, they altogether with one voice, as from the same soul, said unto him,

4 MACCABEES CHAPTER 9

1 Wherefore dost thou delay, O tyrant? for we are more ready to die than to transgress the commandments of our fathers.

2 For we should disgrace our fathers, if we did not obey the law, and take knowledge for our guide.

3 O counsellor and tyrant of transgression, in thy hatred unto us do not pity us more than we pity ourselves.

4 For we account the mercy that thou offerest us, which ensureth our escape at the price of transgression of the law, to be worse than death itself.

5 And thou thinkest to infaintheartedate us, by threatening us with death by tortures, as though thou hast learned nothing by the death of Eleazar.

6 But if aged men of the Hebrews have died in the cause of godliness after enduring torture, more rightly should we younger men die, scorning thy cruel tortures, which the old man our teacher conquered.

7 Make the attempt then, O tyrant; and if thou puttest us to death for our godliness, think not that thou harmest us by torturing us.

8 For we, through this suffering and endurance, shall bear off the rewards of virtue:

9 but thou, for the wicked and despotic slaughter of us, from the Divine justice, shalt endure eternal torture by fire.

10 When they had said these things, the tyrant was not lonely indignant against them as being refractory, but enraged with them as being ungrateful.

11 So that, at his bidding, the torturers brought forth the eldest of them, and tearing through his tunic, bound his hands and arms on each side with thongs.

12 And when they had laboured hard without effect in scourging him, they hurled him upon the wheel.

13 When the noble youth was stretched out upon this, his limbs were dislocated.

14 And with every limb out of joint, he exclaimed in denunciation, saying,

15 O most accursed tyrant, and enemy of heavenly justice, and cruel hearted; I am no murderer, nor sacrilegious man, whom thou thus usest ill; but a defender of the Divine law.

16 And when the spearmen said, Consent to eat, that you may be released from your tortures,

17 he answered, Not so powerful, O accursed ministers, is your wheel, as to stifle my reason: cut my limbs, burn my flesh, and twist my joints.

18 For through all my torments I will convince you that the children of the Hebrews are alone unconquered in behalf of virtue.

19 While he said this, they heaped up fuel, and setting fire to it, strained him upon the wheel still more.

20 And the wheel was defiled all over with blood, and the hot ashes were quenched by the droppings of gore, and pieces of flesh were scattered round about the axles of the machine.

21 And although the skeleton of his bones was now destroyed, the lofty minded youth and son of Abraham groaned not;

22 but as though transformed by fire into immortality, he nobly endured the rackings, saying,

23 Imitate me, O brethren, and do not ever desert your station, nor abjure my brotherhood in courage: fight the holy and noble fight of godliness;

24 by which means the just providence of our father may become merciful to our nation, and take vengeance of the pestilent tyrant.

25 And saying this, the holy youth broke off his life.

26 And all marvelling at his courageous soul, the spearmen brought him forward that was second in age; and having put on iron bands, bound him with pointed hooks to the catapult.

27 And when, on enquiring whether he would eat before he was tortured, they heard his noble decision,

28 after they with the iron hands had tore all the flesh from the neck unto the chin, these leopards tore off the very skin of his head: but he, bearing with firmness this misery, said,

29 How sweet is every form of death for the godliness of our fathers! and he said unto the tyrant,

30 Thinkest thou not, O most cruel of tyrants, that thou art now tortured more than I, finding the overweening reasoning of thy tyranny defeated by our patience in behalf of our godliness?

31 For I lighten my suffering by the joys that come from virtue.

32 But thou art tortured with threatenings for ungodliness; and thou shalt not escape, O most abominable tyrant, the vengeance of Divine wrath.

4 MACCABEES CHAPTER 10

1 Now this one, having endured this praiseworthy death, the third was brought along, and exhorted by many to taste, and save his life.

2 But he cried out and said, Know ye not, that the father of those that are dead, begat me also; and that the same mother bare me; and that I was brought up the same tenets?

3 I abjure not the noble relationship of my brethren.

4 Now then, whatever instrument of vengeance ye have, apply it to my body, for ye are able to touch my soul, even if ye wish it.

5 But they, highly incensed at his boldness of speech, dislocated his hands and feet with racking engines, and wrenching them from their sockets, dismembered him.

6 And they dragged round his fingers, and his arms, and his legs, and his ankles.

7 And not being by any means able to strangle him, they tore off his skin, together with the extreme tips of his fingers, flayed him, and then haled him to the wheel,

8 about which the joints of his backbone were loosened; and he saw his own flesh torn to shreds, and streams of blood flowing from his entrails.

9 And when he was about to die, he said,

10 We, O accursed tyrant, suffer this for the sake of Divine virtue and teaching.

11 But thou, for thine ungodliness and shedding of blood, shalt endure torments unceasing.

12 And thus having died worthily of his brethren, they dragged forward the fourth, saying,

13 Do not thou share the madness of thy brethren: but give regard unto the king, and save thyself.

14 But he said unto them, Ye have not a fire so scorching as to make me play the coward.

15 By the blessed death of my brethren, and the eternal punishment of the tyrant, and the glorious life of the godly, I will not disown the noble brotherhood.

16 Contrive tortures, O tyrant; that thou mayest learn even through them that I am the brother of them that were tormented before.

17 When he had said this, the bloodthirsty, and murderous, and unhallowed Antiochus gave order that his tongue be cut off.

18 But he said, Even if ye take away the organ of speech, yet God heareth the silent.

19 Behold, my tongue is put out, cut it off; for not for that shalt thou cut off our reason.

20 Gladly do we lose our limbs in behalf of God.

21 But God shall speedily find you, since ye cut off a tongue that hath been the instrument of Divine melodiousness.

4 MACCABEES CHAPTER 11

1 And when he had died, disfigured in his torments, the fifth leaped forward, and said,

2 I intend not, O tyrant, to beg to be excused from the torment which is in behalf of virtue.

3 But I have come of mine own accord, that by the death of me, thou mayest owe heavenly vengeance a punishment for more crimes.

4 O thou hater of virtue and men, what have we done that thou thus revellest in our blood?

5 Doth it seem evil unto thee that we worship the Creator of all things, and live according to His surpassing law?

6 But this is worthy of honours, not of torments;

7 hadst thou been capable of the higher feelings of men, and possessed the hope of salvation from God.

8 Behold now, being alien from God, thou makest war against them that are godly toward God.

9 As he said this, the spearbearers bound him, and drew him unto the catapult:

10 to which, when they had bound him at his knees and fastened them with iron fetters, they bent down his loins upon the wedge of the wheel; and his body was then dismembered in the manner of a scorpion.

11 With his breath thus confined, and his body strangled, he said,

12 A great favour thou bestowest upon us, O tyrant, by enabling us to show our enduring adherence to the law by means of yet nobler sufferings.

13 He also being dead, the sixth, a mere boy, was brought forth; and when the tyrant asked him whether he would eat, and be delivered, he said,

14 I am indeed younger than my brethren, but in understanding I am as old;

15 for having been born and reared unto the same end, we are bound to die also in behalf on the same cause.

16 So that if you think proper to torment us for not eating the unclean, torment!

17 As he said this, they brought him unto the wheel.

18 Being stretched upon which, with limbs racked and dislocated, he was gradually roasted from beneath.

19 And when they had heated sharp spits, they applied them to his back; and having pierced his sides, they burned away his entrails.

20 And he, while tormented, said, O period good and holy, wherein for the sake of godliness we brethren have been called to a school in sufferings, a contest wherein we have not been defeated!

21 For godly understanding, O tyrant, is unconquered.

22 Armed with upright virtue, I also shall depart with my brethren;

23 but thou, O tyrant, shalt receive the same vengeance, deviser of tortures, and enemy of the truly godly.

24 We six youths have destroyed thy tyranny.

25 For is not thine inability to sway our reason, and to compel us to eat the unclean, thine own destruction?

26 Thy fire is cold to us, thy catapults are painless, thy violence unavailing.

27For the bodyguards that govern us are not those of a tyrant, but of are Divine law: through this we keep our reason unconquered.

4 MACCABEES CHAPTER 12

1 When he too had undergone blessed martyrdom, and died in the caldron whereinto he had been thrown, the seventh, the youngest of all, came forward:

2 whom the tyrant pitied, though he had been vehemently reproached by his brethren;

3 and seeing him already encompassed with chains, had him brought nearer, and endeavoured to counsel him, saying,

4 Thou seest the end of the madness of thy brethren: for they have died in torture through disobedience; and thou, if disobedient, having first been miserably tormented, shalt thyself perish before thy time.

5 But if thou obey, thou shalt be my friend, and shalt have a charge over the affairs of my kingdom.

6 And having thus exhorted him, he sent for the lad's mother; that, by condoling with her for the loss of so many sons, he might incline her, through the hope of safety, to render the survivor obedient.

7 And after his mother had urged him on in the Hebrew tongue, (as we shall shortly tell,) he saith,

8 Release me, that I may speak unto the king and all his friends.

9 And they rejoiced exceedingly at the promise of his youth, and quickly loosed him.

10 And he, running up to the pans, said,

11 Ungodly tyrant, and most blasphemous man, wert thou not ashamed, having received prosperity and a kingdom from God, to slay His servants, and to rack the doers of godliness?

12 Wherefore the divine veangeance reserveth thee for eternal fire and torments, which shall cling to you for all time.

13 Wert thou not ashamed, man as thou art, to cut out the tongues of men of like feeling and origin, and having thus abused, to torture them?

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14 But they, bravely dying, fulfilled their godliness toward God.
15 But thou shalt groan according to thy deserts for having slain without cause the champions of virtue.
16 Wherefore, he continued, I myself, being about to die,
17 will not forsake the testimony of my brethren.
18 And I call upon the God of my fathers to be merciful unto my race.
19 But thee, both living and dead, will He punish.
20Thus having prayed, he hurled himself into the pans; and so gave up his life.

4 MACCABEES CHAPTER 13

1 If, then, the seven brethren despised afflictions even unto death, it must be confessed on all sides that right reason is sovereign of the passions.
2 For if they had been slaves to the passions, and had eaten of the unholy, we should have said that they had been conquered by them;
3 Now, however, it is not so: but by means of the reason which is commended by God, they mastered their passions.
4 And it is impossible to overlook the mind's supremacy over the passions: for it gained the victory over both passions and afflictions.
5 How then is it possible not to acknowledge the control of passions by right reason, since they drew not back from the pains of fire?
6 For just by means of towers that project before harbours, men break the threatening waves, and so ensure a still course unto vessels that enter port;
7 even so that the seven towered reason of the young men, by securing the harbour of godliness, conquered the intemperance of the passions.
8 For having constituted an holy choir of godliness, they encourage one another, saying,
9 Brothers, let us die like brethren for the sake of the law. Let us imitate the three young men in Assyria, which despised the selfsame civic rights that are accorded us, in a furnace.
10 Let us not be cowards in our demonstration of godliness.
11 And one said, Courage, brother; and another, Nobly endure.
12 And another, Remember whence you came, and who the father was by whose hand Isaac submitted to be slain for the sake of godliness.
13 And one and all, looking upon each other serene and confident, said, Let us sacrifice with our whole heart our souls unto the God Which gave them, and employ our bodies for the keeping of the law.
14 Let us not fear him that thinketh he killeth;
15 for great is the trial of soul and danger of eternal torment laid up for them that transgress the commandment of God.
16 Let us arm ourselves, therefore, in the abnegation of Divine reason.
17 For if we suffer thus, Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob will receive us, and all the fathers will commend us.
18 And as each one of the brethren was haled away, the others exclaimed, Disgrace us not, O brother, nor be false unto them that died before thee.
19 Now you are not ignorant of the bonds of brotherhood, which the Divine and all wise Providence hath imparted through fathers unto children, and hath engendered through the mother's womb:
20 in which these brethren, having remained an equal time; and having been formed for the same period, and increased by the same blood; and having been perfected through the same principle of life;
21 and having been brought forth at equal intervals; and having sucked milk from the same fountains: hence their brotherly souls are reared up lovingly together;
22 and increase the more powerfully by reason of this common nurture, daily companionship, and by other education, and exercise in the law of God.
23 Brotherly love being so sympathetically constituted, the seven brethren had yet a still greater mutual sympathy.
24 For being educated in the same law, and practising the same virtues, and reared up in a just course of life, the increased this sympathy with each other.
25 For a like ardour for what is right and honourable increased their fellow feeling toward each other.
26 for with their godliness they made their brotherly feeling still dearer to them.
27 And yet, although nature, companionship and virtuous habits, had combined to increase the bonds of brotherhood, those that were left endured to behold their brethren, which were ill used for their godliness, tortured even unto death.

4 MACCABEES CHAPTER 14

1 Moreover, they even urged them on to this ill treatment; so that they not only despised pains themselves, but even overcame the passions of brotherly love.
2 O power of reason, more powerful than kings, and freer than the free!
3 O sacred and harmonious unanimity of the seven brethren in defence of godliness!
4 None of the seven youths played the coward, or shrank back from death;
5 but all, as though they ran the road to immortality, hasted them to death through tortures.
6 For just as hands and feet are moved in harmony with the promptings of the soul, so those holy youths, as though moved by an immortal soul of godliness, advanced unto death for the sake of such godliness.
7 O holy band of seven, band of brethren in harmony! for as the seven days of creation form a circle round about godliness,
8 so the youths in chorus formed a circle round about the sevenfold band, annulling their fear of the tortures.
9 Now we shudder at the recital of the affliction of those young men; but they not only beheld, and not only heard the immediate execution of the threat, but undergoing it, persevered; and that through the pains of fire.
10 And what could more painful? for the power of fire, being sharp and quick, speedily destroyed their bodies.
11 And think it not wonderful that reason bore rule over those men in their torments, when even a woman's mind despised agonies yet more diverse.
12 For the mother of those seven youths endured the torments of each one of her seven children.
13 And consider how comprehensive is the love of offspring, which draweth every one's feeling into a sympathy rooted deep within,
14 where even animals that are without reason shew a similar sympathy and love for their offspring to that of men.
15 For the tame birds, that frequent the mountains, protect their fledglings upon the housetops;
16 and others, building their nests in mountain tops, and in the precipices of valleys, in holes of trees, or in the tops thereof, hatch their young, and keep off the intruder.
17 And if they are unable to fend it off, they help their offspring in whatsoever manner they are able, by flying in circles round about them, and calling unto them with their own voice, sorrowing all the while for love.
18 But wherefore should we shew proof of sympathy toward offspring on the part of animals that are without reason,
19 when even bees, at the season for making of honeycombs, attack all that come near, and pierce with their sting, as with a sword, them that draw nigh unto their hive, and repel them even unto death?
20 But sympathy for her children turned not aside the young men's mother, which had a spirit that was kindred with that of Abraham.

4 MACCABEES CHAPTER 15

1 O reason of the children, tyrant over the passions, and godliness, dearer to a mother than her children!
2 The mother, when two things were set before her, godliness and the safety of her sons for a time, on the terms of the promise of a tyrant,
3 rather chose the godliness that, according to God, preserveth unto everlasting life.
4 O how can I characterize the affections of parents toward their children, the resemblance of soul and of form engrafted into the small type of a child in a wonderful manner, especially through the greater sympathy of mothers with the feelings of them that are born unto them?
5 For by how much mothers are by nature weak in disposition, and prolific in offspring, by so much the fonder are they of children.
6 And of all mothers, the mother of the seven was the fondest of children, who in seven childbirths had deeply engendered love toward them;
7 and through her many pains undergone with each one, was compelled to feel sympathy with them.
8 Yet, through fear of God, she neglected the temporary salvation of her children.
9 Not but that, by reason of the excellent disposition of her sons, and their obedience to the law, her maternal affection toward them was increased.
10 For they were both just and temperate, and manly, and high minded, and fond of their brethren, and so fond of their mother that they obeyed her by obeying the law even unto death.
11 And yet, though there were so many circumstances connected with love of children to draw on a mother to sympathy, in the case of none of them were the various tortures able to pervert her principle.
12 But she inclined each one separately and all together to death for godliness.
13 O holy nature and parental feeling, and reward of bringing up children, and unconquerable maternal affection!
14 As each one of them was racked and roasted, the observant mother was prevented by godliness from changing.
15 She beheld her children's flesh dissolve round about the fire, and their extremities quiver upon the ground, and the flesh of their heads down to their chins exposed like masks.
16 O thou mother, that wast tried at this time with more bitter pains than even the pangs of childbirth that thou didst suffer for them!
17 O woman, who along gave birth to such perfect godliness!
18 Thy firstborn dying turned thee not; nor the second, looking at thee piteously in his torments; nor thy third, breathing out his soul.
19 Nor when thou didst behold the eyes of each of them looking boldly in their tortures, or didst see in their nostrils the signs of their approaching death.
20 When thou sawest the burning flesh of children lying upon the flesh of children, hands upon hands cut off, severed heads upon heads, corpses fallen upon corpses; and when thousawest the place filled with people by reason of the tortures of thy children, thou didst not shed tears.
21 Neither the songs of sirens, nor the voice of swans so draw the hearers to hearing, O voices of children calling upon your mother in the midst of torments!
22 O how great and how many were the torments by which the mother was herself tortured, as her sons did undergo the wheel and the fires!
23 But godly reason, having strengthened her courage in the midst of sufferings, enabled her to forego, for the time, parental love.
24 Although she beheld the destruction of seven children, the noble mother, after one embrace, stripped off her feelings through faith in God.
25 For just as in a council chamber, beholding in her own soul vehement counsellors, nature, and parentage, and love of her children, and the racking of her children,
26 she holding two votes, one for the death, the other for the preservation of her children,
27 leaned not unto that which would have saved her children for the safety of a brief space.
28 But this daughter of Abraham remembered his holy fortitude.
29 O mother of a nation, avenger of the law, and defender of godliness, and prize bearer in the battle of the affections!
30 O thou nobler in endurance than men, and more manly than men in patience!
31 For as the ark of Noah, bearing the world in the flood that filled the world, bore up against the waves,
32 so thou, the guardian of the law, when compassed on every side by the flood of passions, and straitened by violent storms that were the torments of thy children, didst bear up nobly against the storms against godliness.

4 MACCABEES CHAPTER 16

1 If, then, a woman, an that an aged one, and the mother of seven children, endured to see her children's torments even unto death, by common confession godly reason is the sole master even of the passions.
2 Thus I have proved that not only men have obtained the mastery of the passions.
3 And not so fierce were the lions that compassed Daniel about, nor the furnace of Mishael that burned with most vehement fire, as that natural love of children that burned within her, when she beheld her seven sons tortured.
4 But with the reason that is grounded in godliness, the mother quenched passions so great and powerful.
5 For we must consider this also: that had the mother been faint hearted, as being their mother, she would have lamented over them; and peradventure might have spoken thus:
6 Ah, wretched I, and many times miserable; who having borne seven sons, are become the mother of none.
7 O seven vain childbirths, and seven periods of labour, and unfruitful givings of suck, and miserable nursings at the breast.
8 Vain for your sakes, O sons, have I endured many pangs, and the still more trying anxieties of upbringing.
9 Alas, my children, some of you unmarried, and some that have married to no profit, I shall not see your children, nor have the happiness of being called grandmother.
10Ah that I, who had so many and fair children, should be a lone widow, full of sorrows!
11 Nor, should I die, shall I have any of my sons to bury me.
12 But with such a lament as this the holy and God fearing mother bewailed none of them, and neither attempted to dissuade any of them from dying, nor, as they died, did she grieve.
13 But as one possessed of a mine of adamant, and as one bringing forth again her full number of sons to immortality, she rather with supplications exhorted them to death for the sake of godliness.
14 O woman, soldier of God for godliness, thou, aged and a woman, hast conquered through endurance even a tyrant; and thou but weak, hast been found more powerful in deeds and words.
15 For when thou wast seized along with thy children, thou stoodest looking upon Eleazar in torments, and saidst unto sons in the Hebrew tongue,

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16 O sons, noble is the contest; to which you being called as a witness for the nation, strive zealously for the laws of your country.

17 For it were shameful that this old man should endure pains for the sake of righteousness, and that you that are younger should be afraid of the tortures.

18 Remember that through God ye obtained existence, and have enjoyed it.

19 And for this reason ye ought to bear every affection because of God;

20 for Whom also our father Abraham was forward to sacrifice Isaac our progenitor, and shuddered not at the sight of his own paternal hand descending down with the sword upon him.

21 And the righteous Daniel was cast unto the lions; and Ananiah, and Azariah, and Mishael, were thrown into a furnace of fire; yet they endured through God.

22 You, then, having the like faith toward God, be not troubled.

23 For it is unreasonable that they that know godliness should not stand up against these afflictions.

24 With these arguments, the mother of seven, exhorting each of her sons, encouraged and persuaded each of her sons to die rather than transgress the commandment of God.

25 And they saw this also, that they that die nto God, live unto God; as Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the patriarchs.

4 MACCABEES CHAPTER 17

1 And some of the spearbearers said that when she herself was about to be seized for the purpose of being put to death, she threw herself upon the pile, rather than that they should touch her person.

2 O thou mother, that together with thy seven children didst destroy the violence of the tyrant, and frustrate his wicked intentions, and exhibit the nobleness of faith!

3 For thou, like an house nobly built upon the pillar of thy children, endured unmoved the earthquake of the tortures.

4 Be of good cheer, then O holy minded mother, holding fast the firm hope of thy steadfastness with God.

5 The moon in heaven with the stars appeareth not so gracious, as thou art established honourable before God, and fixed in the firmament with thy seven sons, whom thou didst illuminate with godliness unto the stars.

6 For thy bearing of children was after Abraham our father.

7 If it were possible for us to paint as on a tablet the godliness of thy story, would not the onlookers shudder at beholding the mother of seven children enduring for the sake of godliness divers tortures even unto death?

8 And it had been a worthy thing to have inscribed upon the tomb itself these words as a memorial to those of our nation.

9 Here an aged priest, and an aged woman, and seven sons, are buried through the violence of a tyrant, who wished to destroy the polity of the Hebrews.

10 These also avenged their nation, looking unto God, and enduring torments unto death.

11 For it was truly a divine contest that was carried on by them.

12 For at that time virtue presided over the contest, approving the victory through endurance, namely incorruptibility in eternal life.

13 Eleazar was the first to contend: and the mother of the seven children entered the contest; and the brethren contended.

14 The tyrant was the antagonist; and the world and living men were the onlookers.

15 And reverence for God conquered, and crowned her own athletes.

16 Who did not marvel at the athletes contending for the law code? Who were not astonished?

17 The tyrant himself, and all his council, marvelled at their endurance;

18 through which also they now stand beside the Divine throne, and live a blessed life.

19 For Moses saith, And all the sanctified ones are under Thy hands.

20 These therefore, having been sanctified through God, have been honoured not only with this honour, but that also by their means the enemy overcame not our nation;

21 and that the tyrant was punished, and their country purified: for they became, as it were, a ransom for the sin of the nation.

22 And through the blood of these godly people, and the atonement wrought by their death, Divine Providence saved Israel, which had aforetime been afflicted.

23 For the tyrant Antiochus, looking to the virtue of their courage, and to their endurance in torture, proclaimed that endurance as an example to his soldiers.

24 And he made them noble and brave for fighting on foot, and for siege; and pillages and stormed the towns of all his enemies.

4 MACCABEES CHAPTER 18

1 O Israelitish children, offspring of the seed of Abraham, obey this law, and in every way be godly,

2 knowing that godly reason is master of the passions, and those not only inward but outward.

3 Wherefore those that gave up their souls to pains for the sake of godliness, were not only admired by men, but were also deemed worthy of a divine inheritance.

4 And the nation through them obtained peace, and having renewed the observance of the law in their own country, drove the enemy out of the land.

5 The tyrant Antiochus was both punished upon earth, and is punished now that he is dead; for when he was quite unable to compel the Israelites to observe foreign customs, and to forsake the manner of life of their fathers,

6 then, departing from Jerusalem, he made war against the Persians.

7 And the mother of the seven children spake these righteous words unto her children: I was a pure virgin, and went not beyond my father's house; but kept watch over the built rib.

8 No destroyer of the desert, or ravisher of the plain, corrupted me, neither did the seducing serpent of deceit defile the chastity of my virginity;

9 and in the time of my maturity I remained with my husband: when these sons did come of age, their father died. Blessed was he, for he lived a life marked by the blessing of children, and suffered not the sorrow of the time of childlessness.

10 And while he was yet with you, he taught you the law and the prophets.

11 He read to you of Abel, which was murdered by Cain; of Isaac, which was offered as an whole burnt offering; and of Joseph in prison.

12 And he told you of the zealous Phinehas; and taught you about Ananiah, Azariah, and Mishael in the fire.

13 And he glorified Daniel in the den of lions, and blessed him.

14 And he put you in mind of the scripture of Isaiah, which saith, Even if thou pass through the fire, it shall not burn thee.

15 He sang to you with words of David the psalmist, when he saith, Many are the afflictions of the righteous.

16 He declared unto you the proverb of Solomon, who saith He is a tree of life unto them that do His will.

17 He affirmed the words of Ezekiel, which said, Shall these dry bones live?

18 For he forgat not the song which Moses taught, which saith,

19 I will kill, and I will make to live: this is your life, and the length of your days.

20 O that bitter, and yet not bitter, day wherein the bitter tyrant of the Greeks quenched fire with fire in his cruel caldron, and brought with seething rage the seven sons of Abraham unto the catapult, and unto all his torments!

21 He pierced their eyeballs, and cut out their tongues, and put them to death with varied tortures.

22 Wherefore divine retribution hath pursued, and shall pursue, the pestilent wretch.

23 But the children of Abraham, with their victorious mother, are gathered together to the choir of the fathers, and have received pure and immortal souls from God;

24 unto Whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

THE SCRIPTURES OF
AND ABOUT THE JEWISH NATION
are writings which are not directly a part
of the Tanakh / Old Testament but of great significance.

THE HEBREW GOSPEL OF MATTHEW
The Hebrew Book of Mattathias
The Sefer Matityahu
Source: Shem Tov ben Isaac ben Shaprut, 1380
Translation: George E. Howard, 1987
Estimated Range of Dating: 5th - 14th century A.D.

(Shem Tov's or Tob's Hebrew Gospel of Matthew is the oldest extant Hebrew version of the Gospel of Matthew. It was included in the 14th-century work Eben Bo'han (The Touchstone) by the Spanish Jewish Rabbi Shem Tov ben Isaac ben Shaprut. George Howard has argued that Shem Tov's Matthew comes from a much earlier Hebrew text that was later translated into Greek and other languages. A characteristic feature of this Hebrew gospel is the appearance in 20 places of HaShem ("the Name"), in the abbreviated form Shem, where the Gospel of Matthew has Kyrios ("the Lord").

Shem-Tob ben Isaac Ibn Shaprut was the author of the controversial anti-Christian religious treatise, The Touchstone, completed in 1380 and revised in 1385 and 1400. Often referred to as "The Logic of Shem Tov", it is directed against the idea of Jesus as God. It also argues against attributing to Jesus the role of Messiah. For this reason, Shem Tov's Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, which is included in this work is considered the oldest surviving translation of a book of the New Testament into Hebrew. The canonical Gospel of Matthew is generally thought to have been originally written in Greek in the time of the Flavian Dynasty. In 1987, Prof. George E. Howard wrote that Shem Tov's Hebrew translation of the original Greek Gospel of Matthew may predate the 14th century by far.)

HEBREW MATTHEW CHAPTER 1

1 These are the generations of Jesus the son of David the son of Abraham.

2 Abraham begot Isaac and Isaac begot Jacob; Jacob begot Judah and his brothers.

3 Judah begot Perez and Zerah from Tamar; Perez begot Hezron; Hezron begot Ram.

4 Ram begot Amminadab; Amminadab begot Nahshon; Nahshon begot Salmon.

S Salmon begot Boaz from Rahab the harlot; Boaz begot Obed from Ruth and Obed begot Jesse.

6 Jesse begot David; David begot (Solomon) from the wife of Uriah.

7 Solomon begot Rehoboam; Rehoboam begot Abia; Abia begot Asa.

8 Asa begot Jehoshaphat; Jehoshaphat begot Joram; Joram begot Uzziah.

9 Uzziah begot (Jotham, Jotham begot Ahaz, Ahaz begot) Hezekiah.

10 Hezekiah begot Manasseh; Manasseh begot Amon; Amon begot Josiah.

11 Josiah begot Jeconiah and his brothers in the Babylonian exile.

12 (After the Babylonian exile) Jeconiah begot Shealtiel; Shealtiel begot Zerubbabel.

13 Zerubbabel begot Abihud; Abihud begot (Eliakim; Eliakim begot Azor.

14 Azor begot Zadok; Zadok begot) Achim; Achim begot Elihud.

15 Elihud begot Eleazar; Eleazar begot Mattan; Mattan begot Jacob.

16 Jacob begot Joseph. This Joseph was the husband of Mary (the mother of Jesus) who is called the Messiah, that is, Christ.

17 (So all the generations from Abraham unto David were fourteen generations and from David unto the Babylonian exile were fourteen generations and from the Babylonian exile unto Jesus were fourteen generations.

18 The birth of Jesus was in this way:) It came to pass when his mother was betrothed to Joseph, before he knew her, she was found pregnant by the Holy Spirit.

19 Joseph was a righteous man and did not wish to dwell with her nor to expose her by bringing her to shame or to bind her over to death. He rather wished to conceal her.

20 While he thought on this matter in his heart, behold an angel appeared unto him in a dream and said: Joseph son of David do not fear to take your wife Mary because she is pregnant by the Holy Spirit.

21 She will bear a son and you will call his name Jesus because he will save my people from their sins.

22 All this was to complete what was written by the prophet according to the Lord:

23 Behold the young woman is conceiving and will bear a son and you will call his name Emmanuel, that is, God with us.

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24 Then Joseph awoke from his sleep, did according to all which the angel of the Lord commanded him, and took his wife.

25 But he did not know her until she bore her firstborn son and he called his name Jesus.

HEBREW MATTHEW CHAPTER 2

1 It came to pass when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judah in the days of Herod the king, behold astrologers came from the East to Jerusalem

2 saying: Where is the king of the Jews who has been born. We have seen (his star) in the East and (we) have come with important gifts to worship him.

3 Herod the king heard and was dismayed and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem with him.

4 So he gathered all his nobles and inquired from them if they knew where the Messiah would be born.

5 They answered him: In Bethlehem Judah, as it is written according to the prophet:

6 You Bethlehem Judah, Ephrathah, land of Judah, behold you are insignificant among the clans of Judah; from you shall come forth to me one to be ruler in Israel.

7 Then King Herod called the magicians in secret and asked them well concerning the time the star (appeared) to them.

8 He sent them to Bethlehem and said unto them: Go and inquire well concerning the child and when you find him inform me. I also will go to him to worship.

9 They harkened unto the king and went, and behold the star which they saw in the East was going before them until they came to the place. When they entered Bethlehem it stopped before the place where the child was.

10 When they saw the star they rejoiced with exceedingly great joy.

11 They (came) into the house, found him and his mother Mary, knelt before him, worshipped him, opened their sacks, and brought to him gifts of gold, frankincense, and myrrh, that is, mira.

12 Then they were commanded in a dream by the angel who spoke to them not to return to Herod; so they returned to their land by another route.

13 As they were going, behold the angel of the Lord appeared unto Joseph (saying:) Arise, take the boy and his mother, flee to Egypt and stay there until I tell you, because Herod will seek the boy to kill him.

14 So he took the boy and his mother

15 and was there until Herod died, to fulfill what was spoken by the prophet: Out of Egypt I called my son.

16 Then Herod saw that the magicians had (mocked) him and was very displeased. Being grieved at heart, he commanded that word be sent to all his princes to kill all the male children who were in Bethlehem and its borders who had been born from the time when the magicians spoke to him concerning the birth of the boy.

17 Then was fulfilled that which Jeremiah the prophet spoke:

18 A voice was heard in Rama, lamentation and bitter weeping, Rachel weeping for her children, etc.

19 It came to pass when King Herod died, the angel of the Lord appeared in a dream to Joseph in Egypt

20 saying: Arise, take the boy and his mother and go to the land of Israel, because those who were seeking the boy to kill him are dead.

21 So he arose, took the boy and his mother, and they returned to the land of Israel.

22 Then he heard that Horcanus, his name is Argelaus, reigned in Judah in the place of Herod his father, and he feared to go there. So the angel urged him in a dream that he should turn unto the land of Gilgal (Hebrew word meaning "circle of stones"), a place name in the Hebrew Bible. It is mentioned 39 times, in particular in the Book of Joshua, as the place where the Israelites camped after crossing the River Jordan (Joshua 4:19 - 5:12).

23 He came and dwelt in a city called Nazarith in order to fulfill what the prophet said: He shall be called Nazareth.

HEBREW MATTHEW CHAPTER 3

I In those days came John the Baptiser preaching in the wilderness of Judah.

2 He said: Tum in repentance, for the kingdom of heaven is about to come,

3 to fulfill what was said by Isaiah the prophet: A voice of one crying, in the desert prepare the way of the Lord, make straight in the wilderness a path for our God.

4 Behold John was clothed with the hair of camels and black leather girded his loins and his food was locust and the honey of the forest.

5 Then they came out to him from Jerusalem, from all Judah, and from all the kingdom round about the River Jordan

6 and at that time were confessing their sin and were baptizing in the River Jordan because of his word.

7 He saw that many of the Pharisees, that is, Pharizei, and (Sadducees) came to his baptism and he said to them: (Offspring of serpents, who

8 taught you) to flee from the wrath to come from God? Produce the fruit of perfect repentance.

9 Do not say in your heart: Abraham is our father. Truly I say to you that God is able to raise up his son Abraham from these stones

10 Already the axe has reached the root of the tree; the one which does not produce good fruit will be cut down and burned in the fire. The crowds asked him: if so what shall we do? John answered them: He who has two shirts let him give one to him who has none. So the people came to be baptised.) Many asked him: What shall we do? And he answered them: Be anxious for (no) man and do not chastise them, and be pleased with your lot. And all the people were thinking and reckoning in their circumcised heart: John is Jesus.

11 John answered all of them: Behold I truly baptize you in the days of repentance, but another comes mightier than I, the thong of whose sandal I am not worthy to unfasten. He will baptize you with the fire of the Holy Spirit.

12 His winnowing fork is in his hand to fan his threshing floor and he will gather the grain into his granary and the straw (he will burn with fire which is not quenched).

13 Then came Jesus from Galilee (to) the Jordan to be baptized by John.

14 But John was doubtful about baptising him and said: I should be baptised by you, and you come to me?

15 Jesus answered and said to him: Permit it, because we are obliged to fulfill all righteousness; then (John baptised him).

16 Immediately when he came up from the water, the heavens were opened to him and he saw the Spirit of God coming down like a dove and it dwelt upon him.

17 Then behold a voice from heaven was saying: This is my son, my beloved, he is loved very very much and my pleasure is in him.

HEBREW MATTHEW CHAPTER 4

1 Then Jesus was taken by the Holy Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted by Satan.

2 He fasted forty days and forty nights and afterwards was hungry.

3 The tempter drew near and said to him: if you are the Son of God say that these stones should turn into bread.

4 Jesus answered and said to him: It is written: not by bread alone, etc.

5 Then Satan took him to the holy city, placed him on the highest point in all the temple

6 and said to him: If you are God, jump down, for it is written: he has commanded his angels in regard to you to keep you in all your ways, etc.

7 Jesus answered him again: You shall not tempt the Lord your God.

8 So Satan took him to an exceedingly high mountain, showed him all the kingdoms of the earth and their glory

9 and said to him: All these things I will give to you if you bare your head to me.

10 Then Jesus answered him: Go Satan, that is, Satanas, for it is written: I will pray to the Lord and him only you will serve.

11 Then Satan left him and behold angels drew near to him and (ministered) to him.

12 It came to pass in those days Jesus heard that John had been delivered up into prison, so he went into Gilgal.

13 He passed by Nazeral and dwelt in Capernaum-Raithah, that is, Maritima, on the outskirts of the Land of Zebulun,

14 in order to fulfill that which Isaiah the Prophet said:

15 Land of Zebulun and land of Naphtali (today: northern Israel), the way of the Sea, beyond the River Jordan, Galilee of the gentiles.

16 The people who walk in darkness have seen a great light; those who dwell in the land of deep darkness a light has shined upon them.

17 Henceforth Jesus began to preach and to say: Repent for the kingdom of heaven is near.

18 Jesus went along the shore of the sea of Galilee and saw two brothers, Shimon, who is called Simon, also called Petros, and Andrea (Andrew) his brother casting their nets into the sea because they were fishermen.

19 He said to them come after me and I will make you fish for men.

20 So they left their nets in that hour and went after him.

21 Herturned from there and saw two other brothers, James and John, brothers who were sons of Zebedee, that is, Zabadao and Zabadah, and their father in a boat setting up their nets and he called them.

22 They hastened and left their nets and their father and followed after him.

23 Then Jesus went around the land of Galilee teaching their assemblies and preaching to them the good gift, that is, mavangeleo, of the kingdom of heaven and healing all the sick and every disease among the people.

24 So a report about him went into all the land Syria and they brought untohim all those who were sick from various kinds of diseases, those possessed by demons, those who were terrified by an evil spirit and those who shook, and he healed them.

25 Many followed him from Kapoli and Galilee, from Jerusalem, Juda, and across the River Jordan.

HEBREW MATTHEW CHAPTER 5

1 It came to pass after this when he saw the crowds that he went upon the mountain and sat down. Then his disciples (came to) him

2 and he opened his mouth and spoke to them saying:

3 (Blessed are the humble of spirit for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.)

4 Blessed are those who wait for they shall be comforted.

5 (Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth.)

. . . . . [lacuna]

8 Blessed are the innocent of heart for they shall see God.

9 Blessed are those who pursue peace for they shall be called sons of God.

10 Blessed are those who are persecuted for righteousness for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

11 Blessed are you when they persecute and revile you and say against you all kinds of evil for my sake, but speak falsely.

12 Rejoice and be glad for your reward is very great in heaven, for thus they persecuted the prophets.

13 At that time Jesus said to his disciples: You are salt in the world. If the salt is neutralised in regard to its taste with what will it be salted? It is fit for nothing but to be cast outside to be trampled under foot.

14 You are light in the world. A city built upon a hill cannot be hidden.

15 They do not light a lamp to place it in a hidden place where it cannot shine; but they place it upon a lamp stand so that it might shine for all in the house.

16 Thus let your light shine before every man to show them your good deeds which are praised and glorified before your father who is in heaven.

17 At that time Jesus said to his disciples: Do not think that I came to annul the Torah, but to fulfill it.

18 Truly I say to you that until heaven and earth (depart) not one letter or dot shall be abolished from the Torah or the Prophets, because all will be fulfilled.

19 He who shall transgress one word of these commandments (and shall teach) others, shall be called a vain person (in the) kingdom of heaven; but whoever upholds and teaches [them] shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven.

20 At that time Jesus said to his disciples: Truly I say to you, if your righteousness is not greater than the Pharisees and the sages, you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.

21 Have you not heard what was said to those of old: You shall not murder and whoever murders is guilty of If judgement of death?

22 But I say to you, he who angers his companion is guilty of judgement; he who calls his brother inferior shall be guilty of judgement before the congregation; (he) who calls him a fool is guilty of the fire of Gehenna (a small valley in Jerusalem. In the Tanakh, some early kings of Judah sacrificed here their children by fire; thus it is considered a destination of the wicked.).

23 If you should otTer your gift at the altar and remember that you have a quarrel with your companion and he is complaining about you because of this matter,

24 leave your gifts there before the altar and go to appease him first and afterwards offer your gifts.

25 Then Jesus said to his disciples: See that you hasten to appease your enemy while you are walking with him in the way lest he deliver you to the judge and this judge delivers you to the servant to put you into the prison.

26 Truly I say to you, you will not come out from there until the last piece of money is given.

27 Again he said to them: You have heard what was said to those of long ago: You shall not commit adultery.

28 But I say to you that everyone who sees a woman and covets her has already committed adultery with her in (his) heart.

29 If your right (eye) seduces you, put it out and cast it from you.

30 Also, if your hand seduces you, cut it otT. It is better for you to suffer the loss of one of your limbs than all your body in Gehenna.

31 Again Jesus said to his disciples: You have heard what was said to those of long ago that everyone who leaves his wife and divorces [her] is to give her a bill of divorce, that is, libela repudio.

32 And I say to you that everyone who leaves his wife is to give her a bill of divorce. But concerning adultery, he is the one who commits adultery and he who takes her commits adultery.

33 Again you have heard what was said to those of long ago: You shall not swear by my name falsely, but you shall return to the Lord your oath.

34 But I say to you not to swear in vain in any matter, neither by heaven because it is the throne of God,

35 nor by earth because it is the footstool of his feet, nor by (Jerusalem) because it is the city of God,

36 nor by your head for you are not able to make one hair white or black.

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37 But let your words be yes yes or no no. Everything in addition to this is evil.
38 Again you have heard what is said in the Torah: An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.
39 But I say to you, do not repay evil for evil; but he who smites your right cheek provide for him the left.
40 He who wishes to oppose you in judgement and to rob your shirt, leave to him your garment.
41 He who asks you to go with him a thousand steps, go with him two thousand.
42 To him who asks from you give and from him who wishes to borrow from you do not hold back.
43 Again Jesus said to his disciples: You have heard what was said to those of long ago that you shall love the one who loves you and hate the one who hates you.
44 But I say to you, love your enemies and do good to the one who hates you and vexes you and pray for those who persecute you and oppress you,
45 in order that you might be sons of your father who is in heaven who causes his sun to shine on the good and evil and causes It to ram on the bad and the just.
46 If you love those who love you what is your reward? Do not the impudent love those who love them?
48 Be you (perfect) as your father is perfect.

HEBREW MATTHEW CHAPTER 6

1 Beware lest you do your righteousness before men that they might praise you; If you do, you will have no reward from your father who is in heaven.
2 Again Jesus said to them: When you do righteousness do not wish to make a proclamation or [sound] trumpets before you as the hypocrites, that is, ipocrates, who do their righteousness in the streets and in the marketplaces in order that men might see them.
3 Truly I say to you, they have received their reward already. But you when you do righteousness, let not your left hand know what your right hand is doing,
4 in order that your gift might be in secret and your father who sees hidden things will reward you.
5 At that time Jesus said to his disciples: When you pray do not raise your voice and do not be like the sad hypocrites who love to pray in the synagogues and in the comer of the courtyards and pray with haughty speech that men might hear and praise them. Truly I say to you they have received their reward already. '
6 But you, when you pray, go to your couch, close your doors upon you, and pray to your father in secret, and your father who sees in secret will reward you.
7 So you, when you pray, do not multiply words as the heretics who
8 think that by the multitude of words they will make them heard. Do you not see that your father who is in heaven knows your words before you ask from him?
9 But thus you shall pray: Our father, may your name be sanctified;
10 may your kingdom be blessed; may your will be done in heaven and on earth.
11 Give our bread continually.
12 Forgive us our sins as we forgive those who sin against us
13 and do not lead us into the power of temptation but keep us from all evil, amen.
14 If you forgive men their sins your father who is in heaven will forgive your sins.
15 But if you do not forgive them he will not forgive you your sins.
16 Again he said to them: When you fast do not be as the sad hypocrites who make themselves appear sad and who change their faces to show their fasting before men; truly I say to you, they have received their reward already.
17 But you when you fast, wash your heads
18 that you might not appear to men to be fasting, but (to) your father who
18 In secret, and your father who is in secret will reward you.
19 Again he said to them: Do not keep on heaping up treasures on earth so
20 that decay and the grub devour it or thieves dig through and steal them. Make for yourselves treasures in heaven where the worm and the grub
21 do not devour them and where thieves do not dig through and steal.
22 In the place where your treasure is (there will be your heart). The lamp of your body is your eyes. If your eyes look straight ahead your body shall not be dark.
23 (!f your eyes grow dim your whole body will become dark;) and if the light which is in you becomes dark, all your ways will be dark.
24 At that time Jesus said to his disciples: No one is able to serve two masters except he hates the one and loves the other, or he honours the one and despises the other; you cannot serve God and the world.
25 Therefore I say to you: do not be anxious for the food for your souls nor for the clothing for your body, because the soul is more precious than food and the body than clothing.
26 Behold the birds of the sky which sow not nor reap nor gather into barns, but your exalted Father feeds (them). Are you not more precious than they?
27 Who among you of those who are anxious is able to add to his height one cubit (c. 50 cm) ?
28 If this is the case, why are you anxious for clothes? Behold the lilies of Sharon, that is, "Gilyon," (in growing they neither spin nor weave).
29 But I say to you that King Solomon in all his glory was not clothed like these.
30 If God clothes the straw which is left in the standing grain, that is, penon, which is fresh today and tomorrow is dried up and is placed into the oven, so much the more [will he clothe] (you) who are little of faith.
31 If God so thinks of you, do not be anxious saying what shall we eat and what shall we drink,
32 because all these things the bodies seek. But your Father knows that you need all these things.
33 Seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness and all these things will be given to you.
34 Do not be anxious for tomorrow because tomorrow will be anxious for itself. Sufficient for itself is today with its trouble.

HEBREW MATTHEW CHAPTER 7

1 Judge not lest you be judged.
2 With what judgement you judge and with what measure you use, it will be measured to you.
3 Why do you see the straw in the eye of the other person but not see the beam in your own eyes?
4 How is it that you say to the other person: Wait for me a while and I will cast the straw out of your eyes, (and) behold the beam is in your own eyes?
5 Hypocrite, first cast the beam out of your eyes and afterwards you will cast the straw out of the eye of your fellowman.
6 Again he said to them: Do not give holy flesh to dogs nor place your (pearls) before swine lest (they) chew (them) before you and turn to rend you.
7 Ask from God and it will be given to you, seek and you will find, knock and it will be opened to you.
8 Everyone who asks will receive, by the one who seeks it will be found, and to the one who calls it will be opened.
9 Who is there among you whose son asks him for a piece of bread and he gives him a stone?
10 Or if he should ask for a fish, he gives (him) a snake?
11 But if you being evil come to place good gifts before yourselves, so much the more your father who is in heaven will give his good spirit to those who seek him.
12 Everything you wish that men should do to you, do to them; this is the Torah and the words of the prophets.
13 At that time Jesus said to his disciples: Enter in the narrow gate because the gate of destruction is wide and deep and many are going through it.
14 How narrow is the gate and grievous the way (that leads straight) to life and few are those who find it.
15 Again he said to them: Beware of false prophets who come to you in wool clothing like sheep, but inside are tearing wolves.
16 By their deeds you will know them. Does a man gather grapes from thorns or figs from briars?
17 Every good tree makes good fruit and every bad tree makes bad fruit.
18 The good tree cannot make bad fruit nor can the bad tree make good fruit.
19 Every tree which does not make good fruit (is burned in the fire).
20 Therefore it is according to fruits, that is, by their deeds, you will know them,
21 Because not everyone who says unto me, Lord, will enter the kingdom of heaven but the one who does the will of my Father who is in heaven will enter the kingdom of heaven.
22 Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy in your name and in your name cast out demons and do many signs in your name.
23 Then I will say to them: I never knew you. Depart from me all you workers of iniquity.
24 Again he said to them: Everyone who hears these words and does them is like a wise man who built (his) house on a rock.
25 The rain came down against it and the winds beat it and it did not fall because its foundation was a rock.
26 Everyone who hears these my words and does not do them is like a foolish man who built his house upon the sand.
27 The rains came down, the floods came and fell against it, (and it fell) with a great fall.
28 While Jesus was speaking these words all the people were greatly astonished at his conduct,
29 because he was preaching to them with great power, not as the rest of the sages.

HEBREW MATTHEW CHAPTER 8

1 It came to pass when Jesus came down from the mountain that a great crowd [came] after him.
2 Then behold a leper came and worshipped him saying: Lord, are you able to heal me?
3 Jesus stretched forth his hand and touched him saying: I wish that you be cleansed, and in that hour the leper was cleansed from his leprosy.
4 Then Jesus said to him: Be careful lest you tell any man, but go to the priest to offer your gifts as Moses commanded in your law.
5 It came to pass when he entered into Capemaum-hamartha that a captain of hundreds (a Roman Centurion) came to him and implored him,
6 saying, Lord, my son lies in my house with the sickness of contraction that is, (paralatiko) and he is weak with the illness.
7 Jesus said to (him): I will go and heal him.
8 The captain of hundreds answered and said to him: Lord (I) am not worthy that you should come under my roof; only make the decision that he might be healed.
9 I am a sinful man and I have authority under the Pharisees and [I have] horses and riders and I say to one of them go and he goes, come and he comes, and to my servants do this and they do it.
10 Jesus heard and was amazed and said to those who were following him:
11 truly I say to you, I have not found a great faith in Israel (like this). (I say) to you that many will come from the East and from the West and will rest with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven'
12 but, the sons of the kingdom (will be cast) into the darkness of Gehenna; there will be weeping and (gnashing) of teeth. '
13 Then Jesus said to the captain of hundreds: Go; as you have believed, it will be done to you. So the lad was healed at that time.
14 At that time, Jesus went into the house of Peter and behold his mother-in-law was lying sick with a fever.
15 He touched her hand, and the fever left her. Then she arose and ministered to him.
16 At the time of evening they brought to him those seized by demons and (he) healed them by his word alone and he healed every sickness,
17 to complete what was said by Isaiah the prophet, of blessed memory: Surely our sicknesses he bore and our pains he suffered.
18 It came to pass after this Jesus saw many crowds around him and he commanded to go across the sea.
19 Then a sage came to him and said to him: Master I will follow you wherever you go.
20 Jesus answered him: The foxes have holes and the birds have nests, but the Son of Man, the son of the virgin, has no place to enter his head.
21 One of his disciples said to him: allow me to go and bury my father.
22 Jesus said to him: Follow me and let the dead bury their dead.
23 It came to pass when Jesus entered a boat, his disciples followed him.
24 A great storm came on the sea, and the waves were coming on excessively, and the boat was thought to be breaking up.
25 His disciples came to him and begged him saying: O our master save us lest we perish.
26 He said to them: Why do you look at one another, O you little of faith? He arose and commanded the sea and the winds that they should be quiet and immediately they became quiet.
27 When the men who were there saw, they marveled and said: Who is this that the winds and the sea do his will?
28 It came to pass when he crossed over the sea and passed by the region beyond the sea into the realm of the (Gaderi), that is, Ginitraros, there met him two demon-possessed men coming out of the tombs, raging until no man could pass by that way.
29 They cried out to him saying: What is between you and us, Jesus son of God? Have you come before the time to grieve us and to destroy us? Jesus said to them: Come out from there, evil host.
30 There near them were herds of many swine feeding.
31 So the demons entreated him: Since we have to go out from here, grant us authority to go into these swine.
32 He said to them: Go. The demons went out from the men and entered the swine, and all the herd went in sudden haste, slipped off into the sea and died in the water.
33 Those who were feeding [them] feared, fled, and told everything in the city. So the whole city was frightened.
34 They went out to meet Jesus. They saw them and entreated him not to pass over into their border.

HEBREW MATTHEW CHAPTER 9

1 Then Jesus entered a boat; they set sail and returned to his city.

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2 They brought to him one who was sick with contractions, that is, paralitico, lying upon his bed. Jesus saw their faith and said to the sick man: Have courage my son. It is by the faith of God that your sins have been forgiven.

3 Some of the sages were saying in their heart: This one blasphemes.

4 Jesus saw their thoughts and said to them: Why do you think evil in your heart?

5 (Which) is easier to say: your sins are forgiven, or, rise walk?

6 But to inform you that the Son of Man is able to forgive sins on earth, then he said to the sick man: Arise and take your bed and walk.

7 He arose and went to his house.

8 The crowds saw, feared exceedingly, and praised God who had given power to men to do such things.

9 It came to pass when Jesus passed on from there, he saw a man sitting at the table of exchange; Matthew was his name, that is, Matyeo, and he said to him: Follow me. So he arose and followed him.

10 (He) brought him to his house to'eat. It came to pass while he was eating, that behold many violent and evil men were at the table and behold they were dining with Jesus and his disciples.

11 The Pharisees saw [this] and said to his disciples: Why does your teacher sit and eat with violent and evil men?

12 Jesus heard [this] and said: The healthy have no need (for) healing, but the sick.

13 Go and learn that which is written: I desire kindness and not sacrifice; I have not come to restore the righteous but the wicked.

14 Then the disciples of John came to him and said to him: Why do we and the Pharisees fast often but your disciple(s) do not fast?

15 Jesus answered them and said: The friends of the bridegroom cannot weep and fast while he is with them. The days will come when the bridegroom will be taken from them; then they will fast.

16 No man wastes a piece of new garment on an old garment (because) the force of the piece (stretches) the worn out garment and it tears more.

17 Nor do they put new wine into old vessels lest the vessels break, and the wine spills out and the vessels perish. But new (wine) is for new vessels and both of them are preserved.

18 It came to pass when he had spoken to them, a captain approached and bowed down to him saying: Master, my daughter just died. Please come and place your hand upon her and restore her to life.

19 Jesus arose and went, he and his disciples with him.

20 Behold a woman with a flow of blood for twelve years came behind him and touched the fringe of his garment.

21 She was saying in her heart: If only I touch his gannent, I will immediately be healed.

22 He turned and said to her: Courage my daughter, through God, blessed be He, your healing is because of your faith. In that very hour she was healed.

23 It came to pass when he entered the house of the captain, he saw many people weeping.

24 He said to them: Go outside all of you and stop weeping because the girl is asleep and not dead. But in their eyes he was as one who jests. They were saying: Have we not seen that she is dead?

25 When he had put them outside, Jesus went to her, touched her hand, and the girl arose.

26 This report went out in all that land.

27 Jesus passed on from there, and behold two blind men were running after him and crying out to him: Have mercy on us, Son of David.

28 He came to the house, and the blind men drew near to him. He said:

29 Your faith will heal you.

30 The eyes of the two men were immediately opened and they saw. He commanded them saying: Be careful lest the matter be made known.

31 As for them, they went out and made him known in all that land.

32 Jesus went out from there, and they brought before him a dumb man who was demon possessed.

33 He cast out the demon so that the dumb man spoke. The crowds were amazed and said: We have not seen it like this in Israel.

34 The Pharisees said: Truly in the name of demons he casts out demons.

35 He went around all the cities and towers teaching in the synagogues and preaching the good tidings and healing every illness and every sickness.

36 Jesus saw the crowds and had pity on them because they were weary and lying [around] like sheep without a shepherd.

37 Then he said to his disciples: The standing grain is much but the reapers are few.

38 Entreat now the Lord of the standing grain that he send many reapers to harvest his grain.

HEBREW MATTHEW CHAPTER 10

1 Then Jesus called his twelve disciples and gave them power over every unclean Spirit to cast them out from man and to heal every sickness and every plague.

2 These are the names of the twelve apostles, called Apostolos: Simon, called Petros, and Andrea (Andrew) his brother

3 Philipos, and Bortolameos, and James, called Jimi, and John, his brother: sons of Zebedee, Thomas and Matthew, that is Mateo (or Matio), who by reputation was a lender of [money] for interest, James Aluphei (Alphaeus, Labaeus) and Tereos (Thaddeus),

4 Simon the Canaanite, that is, Simon Cananayos, and Juda Ascareyotah (Judas Iscariot), who after this betrayed him.

5 These twelve Jesus sent; he commanded them saying: To the lands of

6 the Gentiles do not go and into the cities of the Samaritans do not enter.

7 Go to the sheep who have strayed from the house of Israel. Preach to them that the kingdom of heaven will be fulfilled.

8 Heal the sick, restore life to the dead, (cleanse) the lepers, and cast out demons from men. Do not take wages. Freely you received, freely you shall give.

9 Do not heap up silver and gold; nor (have] wealth in your purse,

10 nor changes of clothes, nor shoes, nor a staff in your hand. The workman is worthy to receive enough for his food.

11 In every city and in every tower that you enter (ask) who is the good man among them and there remain until you go out.

12 When you enter into the house, give to them a shalom (peace) saying: Shalom to this house; shalom to all who dwell in it.

13 If that house should be worthy, your shalom will come upon it, but if it is not worthy, your shalom will return to you.

14 [When] one does not receive you or listen to you, you shall go out from that house and (shake oft) your feel' from the dust.

15 Truly I say unto you, it will be better for Sodom and Gomorrah in that day than for that city.

16 Behold I send you like sheep in the midst of wolves. Be as crafty as serpents and humble as doves.

17 Beware of men. They will not deliver you up in their congregations and houses of assembly,

18 but to governors and kings. You will be able to bear witness on my behalf to them and to the Gentiles.

19 When they seize you, do not consider what you will say, because in the hour that you are in need an answer will come to you.

20 It will not be you who speak, but the Holy Spirit of my Father will speak through you.

21 Brother will deliver up brother to death and a father his son; the sons will rise up against (their) fathers and lead them unto death.

22 You will become a derision and a fright to all the nations because of my name. Whoever endures, however, until the time of the end will be saved.

23 Again Jesus said to his disciples: When they pursue you in this city flee to another; truly I say to you, you will not have completed for yourselves the cities of Israel before the Son of Man comes.

24 No disciple is greater than his teacher, nor is the servant greater than his master.

25 It is sufficient for the disciple to be like his teacher, and for the servant to be like his master. If they call the master of the house Baalzebub, so much the more the sons of his house.

26 Do not fear them, because there is nothing which will not be seen, nor hidden (which will not be made known).

27 (That which) I say to you in darkness, say it in the light; (that which you hear by the ear, tell it in the gate).

28 Do not fear those who kill (bodies) who have no power to kill souls; but fear the one who has power to destroy the soul and the body in Gehenna.

29 Are not two sparrows (sold) for a small coin and not one of them will fall to the earth except by the will of your Father who is heaven?

30 Are not all the hairs of your head numbered?

31 Do not fear, because (you) are better than the sparrows.

32 He who praises me before man I will praise before my Father who is in heaven.

34 In that hour Jesus said to his disciples: Do not think I have come to put (peace) on the earth, but a sword.

3S I have come to separate mankind, the son from his father and the daughter from her mother.

36 The enemy is to be loved ones.

37 He who loves his father and his mother more than me, I am not suitable for him.

39 He who loves his life will lose it, he who loses (it) for my sake will find it.

40 He who receives you, receives me and he who receives me, receives the one who sent me.

41 He who receives a prophet in the name of a prophet, will receive the reward of the prophet; he who receives a righteous one in the name of a righteous one, will receive the reward of the righteous one.

42 He who gives a vessel of cold water to one of my little disciples in the name of my disciple, truly I say to you that he will not lose his reward.

HEBREW MATTHEW CHAPTER 11

1 It came to pass when Jesus finished commanding his twelve disciples that he passed on from there and commanded them to teach and reprove in their [own] cities.

2 John, when he was in captivity, heard of the work of Jesus and sent two of his disciples

3 saying to him: Are you the one who is to come or should we expect another.

4 Jesus answered them: Go and tell John that which you have seen and that which you have heard:

5 the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are revived and the poor are acquitted.

6 Blessed is he who is not perplexed in me.

7 It came to pass as they were going that Jesus began to speak to the crowds about John: You went out into the wilderness to see what? A reed cast about by the wind?

8 Or what did you go out to see? Do you think that John was a man clothed in noble garments? Behold those who wear noble garments are in king's houses.

9 If so, what did you go out to see, a prophet? Truly I say to you that this one is greater than a prophet.

10 This is he about whom it is written: Behold I am sending my messenger and he will make the way clear before me.

11 Again Jesus said to his disciples: Truly I say to you, among all those born of women none has arisen greater than John the Baptiser.

12 From his days until now the kingdom of heaven has been oppressed (and senseless persons) have been rending it.

13 For all the prophets and the lawspoke concerning John.

14 If you wish to receive it, he is Elijah who is going to come.

15 He who has ears to hear, let him hear.

16 Again Jesus said: I will liken this generation to lads who sit in the market place calling to one another,

17 saying: (We sang to you), and you did not (dance; we wailed) to you, and you did not weep.

18 Because John came neither eating nor drinking, and they say concerning him: He is possessed of demons.

19 But the Son of Man came eating and drinking, and one says concerning him: He is a glutton, a drunkard, and a friend to violent men and sinners. So fools judge the wise.

20 Then Jesus began to curse (the cities in which) his signs were done for they did not turn in repentance.

21 Woe to you (Corozim), and woe to you Beth Saida, for if in Tyre and Sodom, that is, Tirao deter or Sidomah, the signs had been done which were done in you, they would have turned in repentance at that time in sack cloth and ashes.

22 Truly I say to you, it shall be easier for Tyre and Sodom (than for you).

23 You Capernaum, will you ascend to heaven? From there you will be brought down. Because if in Sodom the signs which were done in you had been done, perhaps she would have remained. Unto Sheol you will be brought down.

24 Truly I say to you that it shall be easier for the land of Sodom in the day of judgement than for you.

25 At that time Jesus raised himself up and said: Be praised (my Father) creator of heaven and earth, because you have hidden these words from the wise and prudent and have revealed them to the humble.

26 Truly this is because it was upright before you, my Father.

27 All has been given to me from my Father. There is none who knows the son, but the Father alone, and the Father no one knows, but the son and to whomever the son wishes to reveal him.

28 Come unto me all you who are weary and who are enduring labour, and I will help you to bear your yoke.

29 (Take) my yoke as your yoke and learn of me that I am humble and good and pure of heart and you shall find rest for your souls,

30 (because my yoke is soft) and my burden light.

HEBREW MATTHEW CHAPTER 12

1 At that time Jesus passed through the standing grain on the Sabbath day, and his disciples being hungry began to pluck the ears and to crush them between their hands and to eat them.

2 The Pharisees saw it and said to him: Behold your disciples are doing that which is not proper to do on the Sabbath day.

3 Jesus answered them: Have you not read what David did when he was hungry and his men

4 in the house of God when they ate from the bread of the Presence, that is, paan sagrah (shewbread), which is not to be eaten except by the priests alone?

5 Also in the Torah have you not read that the priests in the Temple sometimes profane the Sabbaths and are without sin?

6 Truly I say to you that the temple is greater than this.

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7 If you had known what this is: I desire kindness and not (sacrifice), you would not have convicted the innocent.
8 For the Son of Man is lord of the Sabbath.
9 It came to pass at the end of the days that Jesus passed on from there and entered into their Synagogues.
10 A man was there with a withered hand; so they asked him saying: Is it permissible to heal him on the Sabbath?
11 He said to them: Who among you has a sheep that falls into a pit on the Sabbath day and does not raise it up?
12 So much the more is man better than that. Therefore it is permissible and [necessary] for man to do better on the Sabbath.
13 Then he said to the man: Stretch out your hand. He stretched out his hand, and it returned as the other,
14 Then the Pharisees took counsel and plotted to put him to death.
15 It came to pass after this that Jesus knew it; so he turned aside from there. Many sick followed him and he healed all of them.
16 He commanded them saying not to reveal him,
17 in order to establish what was spoken by Isaiah:
18 Behold my servant whom I have selected, my chosen one with whom my soul is pleased; I will put my spirit upon him, and he will declare justice to the nations.
19 He will not fear nor will he run nor shall one hear (his voice) in the street.
20 A crushed reed he will not break and a dim wick he will not quench until he establishes justice forever,
21 and in his name the Gentiles hope.
22 Then there was brought to him a blind and dumb man who was demon possessed; he healed him. The crowds saw [it]
23 and marveled and said: Is this not the Son of David?
24 The Pharisees were quick to hear [this] and said: This one does not cast out demons except by Baalzebub, the lord of demons.
2S Jesus knew their thoughts and said to them in a parable: Every kingdom among you divided shall be made desolate, and so every city or house upon which division shall fall shall not stand.
26 (If) Satan casts out another satan, there will be division among (them); how will his kingdom stand?
27 If I cast out demons by Baalzebub, why do your sons not cast them out? Therefore, they will be your judges.
28 But if I cast out demons by the Spirit of God truly the end of [his] kingdom has come.
29 How shall a man be able to enter the house of the strong man to take his goods unless he bind him first? Then he shall plunder his house.
30 Whoever is not with me is against me. (Whoever) does not join himself to me denies (me).
31 (Therefore) I say to you that every sin and blasphemy will be forgiven the sons of men, but blasphemy of the Spirit shall not be forgiven.
31 Everyone who says a word against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him. But everyone who says a word against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him either in this world or in the world to come.
33 Make the tree good according to good fruit, or the tree bad according to bad fruit; because the truth is: from the fruit the tree will be known.
34 Family of vipers, how can you speak good things when you are evil? Surely the mouth awakens, the heart speaks.
35 A good man from the treasure of a good heart brings forth good; an evil man from the treasure of an evil heart brings forth evil.
36 I say to you that for all the words which a man shall speak he will be obliged to give an account on the day of judgement.
37 According to your words you will be judged and according to your deeds you will be convicted.
38 At that time, some of the Pharisees and sages came to Jesus saying: We wish to see a sign from heaven by you.
39 He said to them: An evil and wicked generation seeks a sign, but no sign will be given to it except the sign of Jonah.
40 For as he was in the bowels of the fish three days and three nights, so will the Son of Man be in the belly of the earth, (buried) for three days and three nights.
41 The men of Nineveh will rise up in judgement with this generation and shall condemn it, because they turned in repentance at the words of Jonah and I am greater than Jonah.
42 The queen of Sheba, that is, Rezinah de Isteriah, will rise up in judgement with this generation and shall condemn it, because she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and behold I am greater than Solomon.
43 When the unclean spirit goes out from the man, he goes through waterless places seeking rest, but does not find it.
44 Then he says: I will return to my house from which I came out, and he goes and finds it empty, safe, and ready.
45 Then he takes seven spirits more evil than himself, and they go with him and dwell there, and the latter state of the man is worse than his first. Thus it will be to this evil generation.
46 While he was speaking to all the crowds, behold his mother and his brothers were standing outside seeking him to speak with him.
47 A man said to him: Behold your mother and your brothers are seeking to see you.
48 He answered the one who spoke (to him): Who are my brothers and who is my mother?
49 He stretched out his hands to his disciples and said: These are my mother and brothers.
50 Everyone who does the will of my Father who is in heaven is my brothers, my sisters, and my mother.

HEBREW MATTHEW CHAPTER 13

1 On that day Jesus went out of the house and sat on the shore of the sea.
2 Crowds joined themselves to him until he needed to enter a boat; the whole crowd was standing (on the shore).
3 He spoke to them many things in parables and said to them: A man went forth from his house in the morning to sow his seed.
4 In his sowing some of it fell on the road, and the birds ate it.
5 Some of it fell among rocks where there was no density of soil, and when it sprang up it withered because there was not much soil there.
6 When the sun above it became warm, it was burned and dried up be cause it had no root.
7 Some of it fell among the thoms, and the thorns (grew and darkened it).
8 Some of it fell on good ground and made fruit and produce, the first a hundred, the second sixty and the third thirty.
9 Whoever has ears to hear let him hear.
10 Then his disciples drew near to him and his disciples said to him: Why do you speak in parables?
11 He said: To you it has been given to know the kingdom of heaven, but not to them.
12 Whoever has, it will be given (to him) again, but whoever has nothing, that which he thinks (he has) will be taken from him.
13 For this [reason] I speak in parables because they see but do not see, hear but do not hear,
14 in order to fulfill what was said through Isaiah the Prophet: Go and say to this people, hear but do not comprehend, see but do not (understand).
15 Make the heart of this people fat and make their ears heavy and blind their eyes, lest they should see with their eyes.
16 Blessed are your eyes that see and your ears that hear.
17 Truly I say to you that many prophets and righteous men desired to see what you see but did not see it, and to hear what you hear but did not hear it.
18 But hear you the parable of the sower.
19 The Sower is the Son of Man and the seed which fell on the road is every one who hears the kingdom of heaven and does not understand it. Satan comes and snatches away from his heart everything which was sown in it. This is the seed which fell on the road.
20 That which fell upon the rocks is the one who hears the word of God and receives it immediately with joy.
21 But he is without root and is (in) confusion and when a little trouble and distress come to them, Satan causes [them] to forget from their heart.
22 That which fell among the thoms, this is the one who hears the word and in his desire to gather wealth, Satan causes him to forget the word of God, and he makes no fruit.
23 That which fell into the good earth is the one who hears the word and understands it and makes fruit, that is, from good works. He brings forth from the first a hundred, from the second sixty, and from the third thirty. As for the hundred, this is the one purified of heart and sanctified of body. As for the sixty, this is the one separated from women. As for the thirty, this is the one sanctified in matrimony, in body and in heart.
24 He set before them another parable. The kingdom of heaven is like a man who sows good seed (in his field).
25 It came to pass when the men were sleeping, his enemy came and sowed tares over the wheat, that is, beriyagah, and he went away.
26 It came to pass when the herb grew up to make fruit, he saw the tares.
27 The servants of the master of the field drew near to him and said to him: Master did you not sow good seed? Then whence came the tares?
28 He said to them: My enemy (did) this. His servants said to him: We will uproot the tares.
29 He said to them: No, lest you uproot the wheat.
30 But let them remain together and grow up until the harvest and in the time of the harvest I will say to the reapers: Gather the tares first and bind them into individual bundles for burning and the wheat put into the granary.
31 He set before them another parable. The kingdom of heaven is like a grain of mustard which a man takes and sows in the field.
32 It is smaller than all garden herbs, but when it grows up it is greater than all herbs and is made into a great tree until the birds of heaven withdraw into (its branches).
33 He spoke to them another parable. The kingdom of heaven is like leaven which (a woman puts) into three measures of flour and it leavens all of it.
34 All of these parables Jesus spoke to the crowds and without a parable he did not speak to them,
35 to fulfill what was said according to the prophet: I will open my mouth in parables; I will utter riddles from ancient times.
36 Then Jesus was parted from the crowds and went into the house. His disciples came to him and asked him to explain for them the parable of the tares.
37 He answered them and said to them: The one who sows good seed is man,
38 the field is this world, the good fruit is the righteous, and the tares are the evil.
39 The enemy who sowed it is Satan, the standing grain at the end is the world to come, and the reapers are the angels.
40 As the reapers gather the tares to bum, so will it be at the end of the days.
41 The Son of Man will send his angels to uproot from his kingdom all evil and all who do iniquity.
42 They will (cast) them into the pyre of fire; there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth.
43 Then the righteousness will shine like the sun in the kingdom of their father. Whoever has ears to hear let him hear.
44 Again Jesus said to his disciples: The kingdom of heaven is like a man who finds a treasure which had been hidden and in gladness over the value he sells all which he has and buys the field for himself.
45 Again the kingdom of heaven is like a certain merchant seeking precious stones.
46 When he finds a good one, he sells all which he has and buys it.
47 The kingdom of heaven is like a net in the midst of the sea in which are gathered all kinds of fish.
48 When it is full, they draw it out, and the fishermen go forth and choose the good for their vessels and the bad they cast away.
49 Thus it will be at the end of days; the angels will go forth and separate the evil from the midst of the righteous.
50 Then they shall cast them into the pyre of fire; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.
51 He said to them: Have you understood this? They said: Yes.
52 Every wise man in the kingdom of heaven, therefore, is like a certain father of children who brings forth from his treasure things new and old.
53 It came to pass after this, when Jesus finished these words, he passed on from there.
54 He came into his own country and was teaching the people in the synagogues. The Pharisees were amazed and said in their heart: Whence (came) to this one the wisdom and power to do these deeds?
55 (Is this) not the son of the smith and Mary? Do you not know all these: his mother Mary, his three brothers: Joseph (Joses), Simon (Simeon), and Judah (Jude) [Note that the most important brother of Jesus, James (Yacob) the Just, the very first leader of the Christian movement, is missing here!],
56 and his [two] sisters? Do you not know all these who are with us? Whence came to this one all these things?
57 So they were confused about him. Jesus answered them: A prophet is not without honour except in his own land, city and house.
58 Then he did not wish to do there any sign because of their little faith.

HEBREW MATTHEW CHAPTER 14

1 At that time Herod the Tetrarch heard reports about Jesus.
2 He said to his servants: Behold I believe that John the Baptiser is doing these miracles.
3 This happened because Herod had seized John in those days and had bound him in prison because he was reproving him that he should not take Herodias for a wife because she was the wife of his brother.
4 John ~as saying to him: She is not permissible to you.
5 Then behold Herod wished to kill him, except for fear of the people [who believed] he was a prophet among them.
6 On the feast of Herod's birthday, he called the nobles of the kingdom to eat with him, and while they were eating, his daughter danced among them and it was pleasing to Herod.
7 He swore to give her whatever she asked from him.
8 The girl, being instructed by (her mother), asked for the head of John the Baptiser in a bowl.
9 The king was very sad because of the oath which he had made before those invited. But he commanded to do so
10 and sent to kill John in prison.
II They brought the head of John in a bowl and gave it to the girl and the girl gave it to her mother.

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12 Then the disciples of John came and took the body and buried it and the disciples told the matter to Jesus.
13 When Jesus heard it, he departed from there in a boat and went into the wilderness of Judea. When the crowds heard they followed him from all the cities.
14 When they came out he saw behind him a numerous people; so he extended kindness to [them] and healed all of their diseases.
15 At evening time his disciples came to him and said to him: This place is limited (and the time) is advancing. Let the crowds go into the towers that they might take the necessities for themselves.
16 Jesus answered them: They have no need to go; give them to eat.
17 They answered: We have nothing here except five loaves (and) two fish.
18 He said to them: Bring them to me.
19 Then he commanded that the people should (sit) on the grass. When they sat he took the five loaves and two fish and as he looked into heaven he blessed them, divided them, gave them to his disciples and the disciples made distribution to the groups.
20 All of them ate and were satisfied. They also ate the fish according to what they desired. After they had finished, they took the fragments which remained and filled twelve seahs with them.
21 The number of those eating was five thousand men apart from women and children.
22 After this, he commanded his disciples to assemble in a boat that they might (go) before him to the city to which the crowds were going.
23 After he left the crowds, he went upon a mountain and prayed alone. At the time of evening he was standing alone.
24 The boat was in the midst of the sea and (the waves of the sea) were driving it because the wind was contrary.
25 At the fourth watch of the night Jesus came to them walking on the sea.
26 When his disciples saw him walking on the sea they were alarmed, thinking he was a demon, and from the greatness of their fear they were crying out.
27 Then Jesus answered them and said to them: Let faith be among you because it is I; do not fear.
28 Peter answered and said to him: Master, if it is you, command me to come to you on the water.
29 Jesus said to him: Come. So Peter came down from the boat, walked on the sea and came to Jesus.
30 But when he saw the strength of the wind he feared exceedingly and as he began to sink he cried out and said: Master, save me.
31 Immediately Jesus stretched out his hand, took him, and said to him: Man of little faith, why did you doubt?
32 When they went up into the boat, the wind became quiet,
33 and those in the boat worshipped him and said: Truly you are the Son of God.
34 When the people of the place recognised him they sent into all that kingdom and brought to him all who were sick with various kinds of diseases.
36 They implored him that (he) might be pleased to allow them to touch the skirt of his garment; and each one who touched him was healed.

HEBREW MATTHEW CHAPTER 15

1 Then the sages and the Pharisees came to Jesus and said to him:
2 Why do (your disciples) transgress the ordinances of antiquity by not washing their hands before eating?
3 Jesus said to the~: Why do you transgress the words of God because of your ordinances?
4 For God said: Honour your father and your mother and he who smites his father and mother will surely be put to death.
5 But you say that whatever word a man should say to his father and mother in regard to any donation he might give for him as a sinner, this iniquity itself will be made void to him.
6 So he does not honour his father and his mother, and you despise the words of God by your ordinances.
7 Woe, hypocrites; behold Isaiah prophesied concerning you and said:
8 Thus the Lord said: because this people has come near with their mouth and has honoured me with their lips, but their heart is far from me
9 and their reverence toward me, which is taught, is the commandments of men.
10 Jesus called to the crowds and said to them: Hear and consider.
11 That which enters through the mouth does not soil the man, but that which goes out of the mouth soils the man.
12 Then his disciples came to him and said to him: Know that the Pharisees were perplexed by this word.
13 Jesus answered them: Every plant which my Father who is in heaven did not plant will be destroyed.
14 Leave them alone because the blind are leading the blind; and if a blind man leads another who is blind, both will fall into a pit.
15 Peter answered him: Lord explain to us this riddle.
16 Jesus answered them: Are you still without knowledge?
11 Do you not understand that every thing that enters through the mouth goes into the belly and all of it goes on to the natural place?
18 But that which goes out through the mouth is moved by the heart; this is what soils the man.
19 Because the defiled heart brings forth deceitfulness. murder, adulteries, robberies, the witness of liars and curses.
20 All these things are what (soil) the man. Indeed eating without washing the hands does not soil the man.
21 After Jesus had said this, he went into the regions of Tyre and Sodom.
22 Then there came to him a certain Canaanite woman, who came from the lands of the East, crying out to him: Master, son of David, have mercy on me because my daughter is possessed by demons.
23 Jesus did not answer (her) a word. So his disciples approached him and said to him: Our master, why do you abandon this woman who is crying out after us?
24 Jesus answered them: They did not send me except to the lost sheep from the house of Israel.
2S Then the woman worshipped him and said: Lord help me.
26 Jesus said to her: It is not good that a man should take the bread from his children and give it to the dogs.
27 The woman answered: Often the dogs eat the pieces of bread that fall from the table of their master.
28 Jesus answered her: Woman, great is your faith, let it be done to you as you asked. So from that time on her daughter was healed.
29 When Jesus moved on from there, he went to the region across Galilee to a mountain. As he stood there
30 he saw many people (among whom) were many lame, leprous, those who limped, and many others; they fell at his feet and he healed them
31 The people were amazed at how the dwnb were speaking and the lame were walking and the blind were seeing; all of them were praising God.
32 Then Jesus said to his disciples: I have compassion on them because they have remained with me these two days since they came across and they have nothing to eat. I do not want to lead them fasting [lest] they grow faint in the way.
33 His disciples answered him: Whence will we be able to find bread in this wilderness to satisfy the people?
34 Jesus answered and said to them: How many loaves of bread do you have? They answered: Seven and a few fish.
35 So Jesus commanded the people to sit upon the grass.
36 He took the seven loaves and broke them and gave them to his disciples and they gave to the people.
37 All of them ate and were satisfied and (from that which was remaining they filled) seven seahs.
38 Those who were eating were by nwnber four thousand men besides women and children.
39 After this Jesus entered a boat and came to the land of Macedonia (City of Magdala / Migdal at the western shore of the Sea of Galilee).

HEBREW MATTHEW CHAPTER 16

1 Sages and Pharisees came to him, tempting him to teach them some sign from heaven.
2 Jesus answered them: Hypocrites, you say in the evening: Tomorrow will be a clear day because the sky is red.
3 Then in the morning you say: Today it will rain because the sky is dark. If so, you know the law regarding the appearance of the sky, but you do not know the law regarding the times.
4 The offspring of evil-doers ask for a sign, but no sign will be given them except the sign of Jonah the Prophet. Then he was separated (from them) and went away.
5 When Jesus came to the sea shore he told his disciples to prepare bread. Then he entered a boat with his disciples, but the disciples forgot and did not bring any bread.

8b Jesus said to them: You have little understanding who think that you
have no bread.
9-12 Do you not remember the five loaves and four thousand men how many seahs were left over? Therefore you should understand that I am not speaking of natural loaves but I am saying to you that you should (beware) of the behaviour of the Pharisees and Sadducees.

13 Jesus went out unto the Land of Syria and the land of Philoph, called Philipos (that is, Caesarea Philippi at the southwest of Mount Hermon), and asked his disciples saying: What do men say about me?
14 They said unto him: Some say he is John the Baptiser, some say he is Elijah and some Jeremiah or one of the prophets.
15 Jesus said to them: What do you say about me?
16 Simon, called Petros, answered and said: You are the Messiah, that is, Kristo, the Son of the living God, who has come into this world.
17 Jesus said to him: Blessed are you Simon bar Jonah because flesh and blood has not revealed [this] to you but my Father who is heaven.
18 I say to you: you are a stone and I will build upon you my house of prayer. The gates of Gehenna will not prevail against you
19 because I will give to you the keys of the Kingdom of heaven. Whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven; whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven.
20 Then he commanded his disciples not to say that he is the Messiah.
21 Henceforth Jesus began to reveal to his disciples that it was necessary for him to go to Jerusalem and to suffer the injustice of many, from the priests and the elders of the people, until they should kill him; then on the third day he would arise.
22 Peter took him aside privately and began to rebuke (him) saying: Far be it that it should be like this to you, Lord.
23 Jesus turned, looked at him, and said to him: Go away Satan; do not disobey (me), because you do not regard the word of God but the words of man.
24 Then Jesus said to his disciples: Whoever wishes to come after me let him despise himself, take the cross, that is, offer himself unto death, and come after me.
25 Everyone who wishes to save his soul will lose it for my sake, and he who loses his life in this world for my sake will save his soul for the life of the world to come.
26 What profit is there for a man if he should gain the whole world [but] lose his soul forever; what good exchange does the man make if for present things that are spoiled he should give his soul to the judgement of Gehenna?
27 Because the Son of God will come in the glory of his Father who is in heaven with his angels to reward each man according to his work.
28 Truly I say to you there are some of those standing here who will not taste death until they see the Son of God coming in his kingdom.

HEBREW MATTHEW CHAPTER 17

1 After six days Jesus took Peter, James, that is, Jimi, and John his brother and brought them to a high mountain where he might pray.
2 While he was praying he was changed before them and the skin of his face shone like the sun and his garments (became] white like snow.
3 (Then) Moses and Elijah, while speaking with him, (were revealed) to them and they told Jesus all which would happen to him in Jerusalem. Peter and his companions were asleep. Asleep but not asleep; awake but not awake. They saw his body and the two men with him.
4 When they went away, then Peter said to Jesus: It is good to be here. Let us make here three tabernacles, one for you, one for Moses, and one for Elijah, because he did not know what he was saying.
5 While he was still speaking, behold a cloud covered them, and they were greatly alarmed; while they were under the cloud they heard from the midst of the cloud a voice speaking and saying: Behold, this is my son, my beloved, my delight is in him, you shall obey him.
6 The disciples heard [this], fell on their faces to the ground, and feared exceedingly.
7 When the voice ceased, Jesus said to them: Arise, do not fear.
8 They lifted up their eyes and saw no one except Jesus alone.
9 Jesus came down from the mountain and commanded them saying: Tell no man the vision you have seen until the Son of Man has risen from death.
10 His disciples asked him saying: Why do the sages say that Elijah will come first?
11 He answered them and said: Indeed Elijah will come and will save all the world.
12 I say to you, he has already come, they did not know him, and they did to him according to their desire. (So) they will do to the Son of Man.
13 Then the disciples understood that regarding John the Baptiser he was saying this.
14 It came to pass when he approached the crowds, a man came to him, bowing on his knees.
15 He said: Have mercy on me, Lord, and pity my son because he is terrified of an evil spirit and is very sick. He grinds his teeth, (foams) at his mouth, falls from his place to the ground, and falls sometimes into fire and sometimes into water.
16 (I) brought him to your disciple(s), but they were unable to heal him.
17 Jesus answered and said: Evil generation, woe to you who deny; how long will I be with you, how long will I bear your trouble? Bring him to me.

MK 9:20 They brought him to him and immediately when Jesus looked at him, the satan subdued him and cast him to the ground, and he began rolling in the dust and foaming.

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MK 9:21 Jesus asked the father of the boy: How long has the satan taken him? The father answered him: From a certain time and beyond.
MK 9:22 Often he casts him into fire or water to destroy him if possible. If, Lord, you are able to help him in any way, help him. Then the man found favor in his eyes, and he was filled with compassion for him.
MK 9:23 He said to him: If you can believe, you will be able to accomplish anything, because to the one who believes all things are easy.
MK 9:24 Immediately the father of the boy cried out with a shout and said: Lord, I believe, indeed help me according to my faith .
MK 9:25 When Jesus saw that the people were gathering together (he commanded the demon) and said to him: Hard and dumb (satan), behold I command you to come out from there and henceforth do not return here again.
MK 9:26 Then the satan came out screaming and inflicting pain and the boy was left as dead so that many were saying that he was dead.
MK 9:27 Jesus took him (by the hand), stood him up and he arose.
MK 9:28 When Jesus entered the house

19 the disciples drew near to Jesus secretly and said to him: Why were we not able to cast it out.
20 He said to them: Because of the limitation of your faith. Truly I say to you if there be in you any faith, as a grain of mustard, if you believe, you will say to this mountain depart and it will depart; nothing will be withheld from you.
21 But this kind of demon does not come out except by prayer and fasting.
22 They were in Galilee and Jesus said: The Son of Man will be delivered into the hand of men.
23 They will'kill him and on the third day he will arise.
24 They came to Capernaum-Martha and the tax collectors drew near to Peter and said to (him): your teacher does not follow the custom to pay tax.
25 Thus they spoke. (He) went into the house and Jesus anticipated him saying to Peter: What is your judgement, Peter, the kings of the earth, from whom do they take tribute, from their sons or from foreigners?
26 He answered him: From foreigners. Jesus said to them: If so the sons are (free). Then he said: Do not be dismayed because of this.
27 He said to Peter: Go to the sea and cast a fishing hook and fish with it because in the mouth of the one you will catch first you will find a silver coin. That you will give for us.

HEBREW MATTHEW CHAPTER 18
1 At that time the disciples drew near to Jesus and said to him: Whom do you think is great in the kingdom of heaven?
2 He called a (small) lad (and placed him in their midst.
3 He said: I say if you do not turn to become like this lad,
4 you will not enter the kingdom of heaven.
5 He who receives a lad) like this in my name receives (me).
6 He who causes one of the small lads who believe on me to stumble, it would be good for him to tie a millstone upon his neck and be cast into the depth of the sea.
7 (Woe to the inhabitants of the world because of confusion, because confusion must come.) He also said: Woe to the man who comes because of it.
8 If your hand or your foot causes you to stumble cut it off and (cast it) from you; it is better for you to enter into life (blind) or lame than having two hands and two feet for you to be given to everlasting fire.
9 If your (eye) should cause you to stumble, pick it out and cast it from you. It is better for you to enter into life with one eye than to have two eyes and to be given to Gehenna.
10 Take heed lest you judge one of the small lads. I say to you, their angels always see the sons of my father who is in heaven,
11 and the Son of Man has stopped saving the enemy.
12 What is your opinion? If a man has a hundred sheep and one of them (runs off), will he not leave the ninety-nine in the mountains and go seek the one which has strayed?
13 If he should find it, truly I say to you he will rejoice over it more than the ninety-nine which did not go astray.
14 Thus (my) Father who is in heaven does not wish that any of these lads should be lost.
15 At that time Jesus said to Simon, called Petros: If your brother sins against you, reprove him privately. If he listens to you, you have gained your brother.
16 If he does not listen to you, reprove him before another; if by every oath he does not listen to you, add still one or two (in order that your words might be before) two or three witnesses, because by two or three witnesses a word will be established.
17 If by every oath he does not listen, tell it in the assembly; and if he does not listen to the assembly consider him as ostracized, an enemy, and cruel.
18 Truly I say to you that every oath which you shall bind on earth is bound in heaven and every [oath] which you shall loose on earth will be loosed in heaven.
19 Also I say to you, if two of you wish to make peace on earth, everything which (you) ask will be yours from (my Father) who is in heaven.
20 In every place where two or three are joined together in my name there am I in (their) midst.
21 Then Pet~r drew near to him saying: Lord, if my brother sins against me, shall I forgive him unto seven times.
22 Jesus said to him: I do not say to you unto seven, but unto seventyseven.
23 At that time Jesus said to his disciples: The kingdom of heaven is like a certain king who sat to make a reckoning with his servants and ministers.
24 As he began to reckon one came who owed about ten thousand pieces of gold.
25 But he had nothing to give and his master commanded to sell him and his children and all which was his to repay the value.
26 The servant fell before his master and implored him to have pity on him and to be patient with him because he would repay everything.
27 Then his master had pity on him and forgave him everything.
28 But that servant went out and found one of his comrades who owed him a hundred pieces of money and he grasped him and struck him saying:
29 . . . trust me and be patient with me and I will repay everything.
30 But he was not willing to listen to him; so (he) brought him to the prison until he repaid him everything.
31 The servants of the king saw that which he did and they were very angry and went and told their master.
32 Then his master called him and said to him: Cursed servant, did I not forgive you all your (debt) when you placated me?
33 So why did you not forgive your servant when he supplicated you as I forgave you?
34 His master was angry with him and commanded to afflict him until he should repay him all the debt.
35 Thus will my Father who is in heaven do to you if you do not forgive each man~his brother with a perfect heart.

HEBREW MATTHEW CHAPTER 19
1 It came to pass when Jesus finished these words he passed on from Galilee and came to the outskirts of the land of Judah across the Jordan.
2 There followed him large crowds and he healed all of them.
3 Then the Pharisees came to him to tempt him. They asked him saying: Is it permissible for one to leave his wife for any matter and to give her a bill of divorce.
4 He answered them: Have you not read that he who made them of old, male and female he created them.
5 He said: Therefore a man shall leave his father and his mother and cleave to his wife and they will become one flesh.
6 If so, they are not two but one flesh, and whatever the creator has joined together man is unable to separate.
7 (They) said to him: If so, why did Moses command to give her a bill of divorce and to send her away from his house?
8 He said to them: Moses, because of the obstinacy of your heart, said for you to leave your wives. But from eternity it was not so.
9 I say to you that everyone who leaves his wife and takes another, if not for adultery, commits adultery; and he who takes her who has been divorced (commits adultery).
10 Then his disciples said to him: If the matter of a man with his wife is so, it is not good to take her.
11 He said to them: This matter is not for everyone but for those to whom it has been given.
12 Because there are eunuchs from their birth; these are those who have not sinned. (There are eunuchs made by man) and there are self-made eunuchs who subdue their desire for the sake of the kingdom of heaven; these are (those who enter) into great prominence. Whoever is able to understand let him understand.
13 Then they brought children to him that he might lay his hand on them and pray for them, but his disciples were driving them away.
14 Jesus said to them: Permit the lads to come to me and do not restrain them, for of them is the kingdom of heaven. Truly I say to you that one will not enter the kingdom of heaven except (he shall be) like these.
15 So he laid his hand on them and went on from there.
16 A young man came to him worshipping him and said to him: Rabbi what good thing shall I do to acquire the life of the world to come.
17 He answered him: Why do you ask about good? No man is good; because God alone is good. But if you wish to enter life keep the commandments.
18 He said to him: What are they? Jesus said to him: Thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not bear false witness against your neighbour.
19 Honour your father and your mother and love your neighbour as yourself.
20 The young man said to him: All these I have kept, so what yet do I lack?
21 Jesus said unto him: If you wish to be perfect go and sell all which you have and give it to the poor and you will have treasure in heaven and follow me.
22 It came to pass when the young man heard he went away (angry) because he did not have much property.
23 Jesus said to his disciples: Truly I say to you, it is hard for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven.
24 Again I say to you, it is easier for a camel to enter the eye of a needle than a rich man the kingdom of heaven.
25 The disciples heard and were exceedingly amazed and said to Jesus: If so, who can save [them]?
26 He turned to them and said: With man the matter is difficult, but with God everything is easy.
27 Peter answered and said to him: Behold we have left all to follow after you; what will be ours?
28 Jesus said: Truly I say to you who follow me, in the day of judgement when man sits upon the throne of his glory you also will sit upon the twelve thrones of the twelve tribes of Israel.
29 Everyone who leaves his house, and (his brothers), also his sisters, his father, his mother, his wife, and his children for my name will receive (a hundred) like them and will inherit the kingdom of heaven.
30 Many who are first will be last and many who are last will be first.

HEBREW MATTHEW CHAPTER 20
1 After this Jesus said to his disciples: The kingdom of heaven is like a certain individual who was master in his house (who arose early) in the morning to hire laborers (for his vineyard).
2 He hired them for one dinar a day and sent them into his vineyard.
3 He went out at the third [hour] of the day and saw others standing idle in the market place.
4 He said to them: Go also you into my vineyard and that which is suitable I will give to you.
5 So they went. Then (he) came out again at noon and also at the ninth hour and did the same.
6 At the eleventh hour he went out also and found others standing and he said to them: Why do you stand idle all day?
7 They answered him: No man has hired us. So he said to them: Go also you into my vineyard.
8 It came to pass at evening, the master of the vineyard said to the officer over the labourers: Call them that I might give to them their wages. He began with the last and finished with the first.
9 The last received one dinar.
10 So the first thought they would receive more, but he gave only a dinar to each of them.
11 Then the first murmured against the master of the vineyard
12 saying: These last worked one hour and you have made them like us who have worked all day [in] the heat.
13 He answered one of them and said to him: My friend, I have done you no injustice. Did I not hire you for one dinar?
14 Take it and go. If I wish to give to this last like you
15 may I not do according to my desire? (Is there evil) in your eyes when I am good?
16 So the last shall be first and the first last. Many are called but few are the chosen.
17 Jesus drew near to Jerusalem and took his twelve disciples secretly and said to them:
18 Behold we are going up to Jerusalem and the Son of Man will be delivered over to the chief sages and priests and they will condemn him to death.
19 Also they will deliver him to the Gentiles to smite and destroy him, but on the third day (he will arise).
20 Then came the wife of Zebedee with her sons bowing down and making a request from him.
21 He said to her: What do you wish? She said: That you command these my two sons to sit the one on your right and the other on your left in your kingdom.
22 Jesus answered them: You do not know what you are asking. Are you able to endure the suffering and the death that I am going to endure? They said: Weare able.
23 Then he said to them: Drink my cup, but (that you should sit) on my left or my right is not for me to grant to you but to the one who is prepared before my Father.
24 The ten heard [this] and it was a matter of anger in their eyes in regard to the two brothers.
25 Jesus (brought them near) to him and said to them: Know that the princes of the Gentiles have dominion over them and their great ones seek (to subdue them).
26 It will not be so among you, because he who wishes to be great among you (will serve) you.
27 He who among you wishes to be first will be your servant,
28 (just as) the Son of Man did not come that they might serve him, but that he might serve and give himself as a ransom for many.
29 They entered into Jericho and a crowd followed him.
30 Behold two blind men came out beside the road. They heard the noise of the multitude and (asked) what this might be. It was said to them: The prophet Jesus from Nazareth is

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coming. Then they cried out saying: Son of David, have mercy on us.
31 But the crowd rebuked them (saying: Be silent;) they nevertheless were crying out and saying: Lord, Son of David have mercy on us.
32 So Jesus stopped, called them and said: What do you want [me] to do for you?
33 They said: Lord that our eyes might be opened.
34 Jesus had pity on them, touched their eyes and said to them: Your faith has healed you. Immediately they saw, praised God, and followed him. Then, all the people praised God because of this.

HEBREW MATTHEW CHAPTER 21
1 They drew near to Jerusalem and came to Bethpage on the Mount of Olives, and Jesus sent two of his disciples.
2 He said unto them: Go into the fortress which is opposite you and Immediately you will find a she-ass and her colt (with her). Untie them and bring them to me.
3 If a man should say anything to you, tell him the master has need of
4 them and immediately he will let them go.
5 All this was to fulfill the word of the prophet saying: Say to the daughter of Zion: behold your king comes to you, just and victorious is he, humble and (riding) upon a she-ass and upon a colt the foal of a she-ass.
6 Then they went and did as Jesus commanded them.
7 They brought the she-ass and the colt, and Jesus rode upon it while the others placed their garments and clothes upon them. Then they made the ascent.
8 Many of the crowd spread out their garments in the way, and others (cut) branches from the trees and cast them before him and behind him,
9 calling out saying: Hosanna, saviour of the world, blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord; hosanna, our saviour, may you be glorified in heaven and on earth.
10 It came to pass afterwards, when Jesus entered Jerusalem, all the city quaked saying: Who is this?
11 The people said to one another: Jesus the Prophet from (Nazareth) which is in Galilee.
12 Jesus entered the house of the Lord and found there those who buy and sell. He overturned the tables of the money-changers and the seats of those who were selling doves.
13 He said unto them: It is written, my house will be called a house of prayer for all the nations, but you have made it a cave of violent men.
14 Then the blind and lame came to him in the temple and he healed them.
15 The chief sages and priests came to see the wonders which he did. The young boys were calling out in the temple saying: Let the Son of God be praised. The sages mocked
16 and said to him: Have you not heard what these are saying. He answered them and said: I heard them. Have you not read: From the mouth of children and babes you have established strength?
17 He left and went out to Bethany and (spent the night) there and there he was explaining to them the kingdom of God.
18 It came to pass in the morning that he returned to the city hungry.
19 He saw a fig tree near the road and drew near to it but found nothing on it except leaves. He said to it: May fruit never come forth from you. Immediately the fig tree died up.
20 The disciples saw, were amazed, and said: How is it the fig tree dried up immediately?
21 Jesus answered and said to them: If you have faith without doubt, not only to the fig tree will you do [thus], but should you say to this mountain that it should depart and go (into the sea), it will be done.
22 Everything which you shall ask in prayer while believing, you will receive.
23 He went into the temple to teach and there came to him the sages, the priests, and the rulers of the people saying: By what power do you do this (and who gave you) this strength?
24 Jesus answered them and said to them: I also will ask you a question and
25 if you tell me I also will tell you by what power I do [this]. The baptism of John whence was it, from heaven or from men? They grieved among themselves saying: What will we say. If we say from heaven, he will say to us: Why did you not believe him?.
26 If we say from men, we fear the crowd because all of them believe John was a prophet.
27 So they said: We do not know. He said: Also I will not tell you by what power I do [this].
28 In that evening Jesus said to his disciples: What is your opinion? A certain man had two sons; he approached (one) and said to him: Go my son today to work in my vineyard.
29 He said to him: I do not wish to. But afterward he repented and went.
30 He said to the other likewise and he answered him: Here I am, Sir, but he did not go.
31 Which of two did the will of the Father? They said to him: The first. Jesus said to them: Truly I say to you, violent men and harlots will precede you into the kingdom of heaven
32 because John came to you in the way of righteousness and you did not (believe him. But) violent men and harlots believed him and you saw it and did not turn in repentance. Also afterward you did not repent to believe him. To the one who has ears to hear let him hear in disgrace.
33 (At that time Jesus said to his disciples and to a company of the Jews: Hear now the parable of the sower. A certain honorable man planted a vineyard, walled it up on every side, built a tower in its midst, and also dug a vat in it, entrusted it to servants, and went on his way.
34 It came to pass at the time of the gathering of the produce, he sent his servants to those who were working to receive his produce.
3S But the workers took his servants, smote the first, killed the second, and the third they stoned with stones.
36 Again, he sent many more servants than the first and they did to them likewise.
37 Finally, he sent them his son saying: Perhaps they will honour my son.
38 The workers saw his son and said to one another: This is the heir. Come, let us kill him and we will inherit his estate.
39 So they took him, cast him out of the vineyard, and killed him.
40 Now when the lord of the vineyard comes what will he do to them?
41 They answered him saying: As for the wicked he will destroy them in misery and his vineyard he will give to other workers who will immediately give to him the portion of his produce.
42 Jesus said to them: have you not read the scripture, the stone the builders rejected has become the head of the corner; this was from the Lord; it is a marvel in our eyes.
43 Therefore I say to you the kingdom of heaven will be tom from you and given to a nation producing fruit.
44 He who falls upon this stone will be cast down; he who falls upon it will be broken apart.
4S The chief priests and the Pharisees heard his parables and understood that he was speaking in regard to them.
46 They sought to kill him but they feared the crowds to whom he was a prophet.)

HEBREW MATTHEW CHAPTER 22
1 Jesus answered and spoke to them again in the words of a parable.
2 The Kingdom of heaven is like a king who made a wedding ceremony.
3 He sent his servants to those who had been invited to the wedding ceremony, but they did not wish (to come).
4 He again sent other servants saying: Tell those who are invited, behold I have prepared a feast, I have killed oxen and fowl, and all is ready. Come to the wedding ceremony.
5 But they scorned and went away, some into the city and some to their businesses.
6 Others (took his servants), abused them, and killed them.
7 The King heard this, was angry, sent those murderers away, and burned their house with fire.
S Then he said to his servants: The marriage ceremony is ready, but those who were invited were unworthy.
9 Now go out unto the roads and all whom you find invite to the marriage ceremony.
10 His servants went out unto the ways and assembled all those who were found, good and bad; so the marriage ceremony was filled with those who were eating.
11 The king entered to see those who were eating and saw there a man who was not clothed in wedding garments.
12 He said to him: My friend how did you come in here without wedding garments? He was silent.
13 Then the king said to his servants: Bind his hands and feet and cast him to the nether most and lowest hell; there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth.
14 Many are called but few are chosen.
15 Then the Pharisees came and took counsel to take him in speech.
16 They sent to him some of their disciples, with (violent men) from Herod saying: Rabbi, we know that you are faithful, you faithfully study the way of God, you fear nothing, and are impartial.
17 Tell us your opinion: Is it right to give tribute to Caesar or not?
18 (Jesus recognized) their deceit and said: Why do (you entice me, hypocrites)?
19 Show me a tax coin. They brought (a plain one) to him.
20 He said to them: Whose form is this and [whose] impression?
21 They said: Caesar's. Then Jesus said to them: Return to Caesar that which is Caesar's and to God that which is God's.
22 They heard and were amazed. They left him and went away.
23 On that day, the Sadducees and those who deny the resurrection of the dead met him. They asked him
24 saying: Rabbi, Moses surely said to us: When brothers dwell together and one of them dies and has no son, his brother should take his wife to raise up the seed of his brother.
25 Behold there were seven brothers among us. The first one took a wife, died without seed and his brother married his wife.
26 Likewise the second and third unto the seventh.
27 After them the woman died.
28 Since (she) had already belonged to all of them, to which of the seven will she be a wife?
29 Jesus answered and said to them: You err and do not understand the writings or the power of God.
30 In the day of resurrection men will not take women nor women men, but they will be like the angels of God in heaven.
31 Have you not read concerning the resurrection of the dead that the Lord spoke to you saying:
32 I the Lord am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob? If so, he is not the God of the dead but the God of the living.
33 The crowds heard and were amazed at his wisdom.
34 When the Pharisees saw that the Sadducees had no answer, they joined his servants.
35 Then a sage asked him tempting him:
36 Rabbi, tell [us] which is the greatest commandment in the Torah.
37 He said to him: Thou shalt love the Lord your God with all your heart (and with all your soul and all your strength).
38 This is the first.
39 The second is like it: Thou shalt love your neighbour as yourself.
40 Upon these two commandments the whole law hangs and the prophets.
41 The Pharisees assembled and Jesus asked them
42 saying: What is your opinion concerning the Messiah, whose son will he be? They said to him: The son of David.
43 He said to them: How is it that David by the Holy Spirit called him saying: Lord,
44 as it is written: The Lord said to my Lord sit at my right hand until I make your enemies the footstool of your feet.
45 If David called him Lord, how is he his son?
46 They were not able to answer him a word (and) from then on they feared to ask him anything.

HEBREW MATTHEW CHAPTER 23
1 Then Jesus spoke to the people and to his disciples
2 saying: Upon the seat of Moses the Pharisees and the sages sit.
3 Now all which (they) say to you keep and do; but (according to) their ordinances and deeds do not do because they say and do not.
4 They demand and set forth great burdens [which] (the shoulders of men) are not able to bear; but they themselves even with their finger are unwilling to move.
5 All their actions they do for the sake of appearances: they wear expensive gannents and large tassels, called phiblios;
6 they love to recline first in the banquet halls, to be (seated) first at the synagogues,
7 to prostrate themselves in the streets, and to be called Rabbi.
8 But as for you, do not desire to be called Rabbi. One is your Rabbi and all of you are brothers.
9 Call no man upon the earth father. One is your father who is in heaven.
10 Do not be called Rabbi, because one is your Rabbi, the Messiah.
11 The greatest among you will serve you.
12 He who exalts himself will be humbled; he who is humbled will be exalted.
13 Woe to you Pharisees and sages, hypocrites (because you close up) the kingdom of heaven before men; (you yourselves do not enter) and those who wish to enter you do not pennit to enter.
14 Woe to you Pharisees and sages, hypocrites, because you devour and divide the wealth of certain widows with lengthy exposition; for this you will suffer a long punishment.
15 You encompass sea and land to bind the heart of one man to your faith and when he is bound he is doubly worse than before.
16 Woe to you, council of the blind, who say that he who swears by the temple is not obligated, but he who vows by anything which is consecrated to the structure of the temple is obligated to pay,
17 "mad and blind men, which is greater, the temple or that which is consecrated to the temple?"
18 and whoever swears by the altar is not obligated but he who swears that he will make an offering is obligated to give it.
19 (Woe blind men), which is more, the gift or the altar, the temple or the gift?
20 He who swears by the altar swears (by it) and by everything which is in it.
22 He who swears by the throne of God swears by it and by the one who sits upon it.

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23 Woe to them, the sages and Pharisees, who tithe (mint,) dill, and pomegranate, but who commit robbery (and leave undone) that which is weightier, that is, the judgements of the Torah which are: kindness, truth and faithfulness. These are commands worthy of doing; one should not forget them.

24 Offspring of blind leaders, who are strict in the matter of the gnat and swallow the camel.

25 Woe to you Pharisees and sages because you cleanse cups and platters on the outside but inside them is full of wickedness and uncleanness.

26 (Hypocrite), cleanse first that which is inside in order that that which is outside might be pure.

27 Woe to you sages and Pharisees, hypocrites, who are like whitened sepulchers which appear on the outside to be (beautiful) to men, but on the inside are full of the bones of the dead and the filthy.

28 Thus you appear on the outside to be righteous to men, but within you are full of hypocrisy and wickedness.

29 Woe (to you), hypocrites, Pharisees, and sages because you build the tombs of the prophets and glorify the (monuments) of the righteous.

30 You say: If we had been in the days of our fathers we would not have permitted [them] (to put) the prophets (to death).

31 In this you bear witness against yourselves that you are sons of those who killed the prophets.

32 You behave according to the deeds of your fathers.

33 Serpents, seed of vipers, how will you escape the judgement of Gehenna if you do not turn in repentance?

34 At that time Jesus said to the crowds of Jews: Therefore, behold I am sending to you prophets, sages, and scribes. Some of them you will kill, some of them you will afflict in your synagogues and you will pursue (them) from city to city,

35 (in order to place) upon you the blood of every righteous one which has been poured out upon the earth, from the blood of Abel the righteous unto the blood of Zechariah the Son of Barachiah whom you killed between the temple and the altar.

36 Truly I say to you that all these things will corne upon this generation,

37 and upon Jerusalem who kills the prophets and removes those who are sent. How many times I wished to gather your children as a hen gathers her chicks under her wings and you would not.

38 Therefore you will leave your houses desolate.

39 Truly I say to you, you will not see me henceforth until you will say: Blessed is our saviour.

HEBREW MATTHEW CHAPTER 24

1 It came to pass when Jesus went out from the temple, as he was going, his disciples drew near to show him the buildings of the temple.

2 He said: You see all these; truly I say to you that all will be destroyed and there will not be left there one stone upon another.

3 As he sat on the Mount of Olives opposite the temple, Peter, John and Andrew asked him secretly: When will all these things be and what will be the sign when all these matters will take place, or when will they begin and when will be the end of the world and your corning?

4 Jesus answered them: beware lest anyone should lead you astray,

5 because many will come in my name saying: I am the Messiah, and they will lead you astray.

6 As for you, when you hear of wars and a company of hosts, beware lest you become foolish, because all of this will occur, but the end will not be yet.

7 Nation will rise up against nation and kingdom against kingdom; there will be great tumults, grievous famine, and earthquake in [various] places.

8 All of these are the beginning of suffering.

9 Then they will bind you over for tribulation and will kill you, and you will become a reproach to all the nations for my name.

10 Then many will be perturbed, deal treacherously with each other, and be enraged among themselves.

11 False prophets will arise and lead many astray.

12 When wickedness multiplies, the love of many will grow faint.

13 Whoever waits until the end will be saved.

14 And this gospel, that is, evangili, will be preached in all the earth for a witness concerning me to all the nations and then the end will come.

15 This is the Anti-Christ and this is the abomination which desolates which was spoken of by Daniel [as] standing in the holy place. Let the one who reads understand.

16 Then those who are in Juda, let them flee to the mountains.

17 He who is upon the house, let him not come down (to take) anything out of his house.

18 He who is in the field, let him not tum back to take his garment.

19 Woe to those who are pregnant and to those who nurse children in those days.

20 Pray to God that your flight will not be (on the Sabbath day).

21 Because then there will be great distress which has not been from the

creation of the world unto now and as will not be.

22 Except those days were few, no flesh would be saved; but for the sake of the chosen those days will be few.

23 At that time, if one should say to you: Behold the Messiah is (here) or there do not believe it.

24 Because false messiahs and false prophets will arise and they will give signs and great wonders so that if it can be they will come to lead the chosen astray.

26 (Then) if they should say to you: Behold he is in the wilderness, do not go out, and: Behold he is in the chambers, do not believe it.

2S Behold I tell you before it happens.

27 Again Jesus said to his disciples: As the lightning comes from the east and is seen in the west, so will be the coming of the Son of Man.

28 Wherever the body is, there will be gathered the vultures.

29 At that time, after (the tribulation ot) those days, the sun•will grow dark, the moon will not give forth its light, the stars will fall from heaven, and the host of heaven will be shaken.

30 Then will appear the sign of the Son of Man in heaven and all the families of the earth will weep and will see the Son of Man on the clouds of heaven with a great host and with dreadful appearance.

31 He will send his angels with a trumpet and with a great shout to gather his chosen from the four winds of heaven, from one end of heaven unto the other.

32 From the fig tree learn the parable; when you see its branches and leaves sprouting know that he is near

33 to the gates.

34 Truly I say to you: this generation will not pass away until all these things shall been done.

35 Heaven and earth will pass away.

36 But of that day or that time there is none who knows, not even the angels of heaven, but the Father only.

37 Again Jesus said to his disciples: As in the days of Noah so will it be in the days of the Son of Man.

38 Just as before the flood, they were eating, drinking, being fruitful, and multiplying until the day when Noah entered the ark.

39 They did not know until the flood came upon them and destroyed them; so will be the coming of the Son of Man.

40 Then if there shall be two ploughing in a field, one righteous and the other evil, the one will be taken and the other left.

41 Two women will be grinding at a mill; one will be taken and the other left. This is because the angels at the end of the world will remove the stumbling blocks from the world and will separate the good from the evil.

42 Then Jesus said to his disciples: Therefore watch with me because you do not know at what hour your lord is coming.

43 This you know, if one knew at what hour the thief was coming, he would watch and not allow him (to dig) into his house.

44 So you should be prepared, because you do not know at what hour the Son of Man is going to come.

4S What do you think of the faithful and wise servant whose lord places him over his children to give (them) food in its time?

46 Blessed is that servant whose lord (finds) him doing thus when he comes.

47 Truly I say to you that he will place him over his children.

48 But if that servant should be evil and should say in his heart: My lord is late (in) coming,

49 and should begin to beat the servant of his lord and should eat and drink with gluttons, so his lord will come in a day for which he does not wait and at a time which he does not know.

51 He will divide him and place his portion with the hypocrites; there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

HEBREW MATTHEW CHAPTER 25

1 Again Jesus said to his disciples: The kingdom of heaven is like ten virgins who took their lamps and went forth to meet a bridegroom and a bride.

2 Five of them were lazy fools and five of them were alert and wise.

3 The five foolish brought their lamps, but they brought no oil with them.

4 The wise brought oil in their vessels with their lamps.

5 The bridegroom was late and behold all of them lingered and (slept).

6 It came to pass at midnight that behold a voice was heard: Behold the bridegroom is coming; come to meet him.

7 Then all (those) virgins came and trimmed their lamps.

8 The foolish virgins said to the wise: Give us some of your oil because our lamps have gone out.

9 The wise answered saying: Go now to those who sen and buy for yourselves because there is not enough oil for us and you. We fear that it win be lacking for us.

10 It came to pass when they went to buy, the bridegroom came; those who were ready went with him into the marriage ceremony and the gate was closed.

11 Afterwards, the foolish came and caned at the gate saying: Our lord, open for us.

12 He answered them: Truly I say to you, I do not know who you are.

13 Be careful, therefore, because you do not know the day nor the hour when the bridegroom will come.

14 Again Jesus told his disciples another example: The kingdom of heaven is like a man going on a far journey; he called his servants and dispersed to them his money.

15 To one he gave five coins of gold, to the second he gave two coins of gold and to the third one, to each according to what was suitable for him he gave. Then he went on his journey.

16 The one who received five coins of gold went and gained five others.

17 Likewise the one who received two went, bought, sold, and gained five others.

18 But he who received the one went, dug in the earth, and hid the money of his lord.

19 After many days the lord of those servants came and sought from them an accounting of the money.

20 The one who received five coins of gold came near (and) said to him: My lord, you gave me five coins of gold and behold for you are five others which I have gained.

21 His lord said to him: Truly you are a good and faithful servant. Because you have been faithful in a little, I will appoint you over much; enter into the joy of your lord.

22 Also the one who received two coins of gold drew near and said: My lord, you gave me two coins of gold; here are two others which I have gained.

23 His lord said to him: Truly you are a good and faithful servant. Because you have been faithful in a little, I will appoint you over much; enter into the joy of your lord.

24 Then he who received the one drew near and said: My lord, I know that you are finn and hard and that you reap what you did not sow and gather what you did not scatter.

25 So in fear of you I went and hid your coin of gold and behold you have what is yours.

26 His lord answered and said: Wicked and lazy servant, since you know that I reap what I did not sow and gather what I did not scatter,

27 therefore, you should have given my wealth to my money-changers so that at my coming I would have received what is mine with profit.

28 Therefore, take from him the coin of gold and (give it) to the one who gained five coins of gold.

29 To the one who has it will be given, but to the one who does not have that which was intended for him will be taken from him.

30 As for the lazy servant, cast him into the darkness of the lowest places, there shall be for him weeping and gnashing of teeth.

31 Again Jesus said to his disciples: When the Son of Man comes in his revelation with his angels, then he will sit upon the throne of his glory.

32 All the nations will be gathered before him, and he will separate them as the shepherd separates the sheep and the goats.

33 He will place the sheep on his right and the goats on his left.

34 Then he will say to those on his right: enter blessed (of) my father and inherit for yourselves the kingdom of heaven prepared for you from the creation of the world until now.

35 Because I was hungry and you gave me to eat, I was thirsty and you gave me to drink, I was a wayfarer and you took me in,

36 naked and you clothed me, sick and you visited me, I was in prison and you came to me.

37 Then the righteous will answer: 0 our Lord, when did we see you hungry and satisfied you, (thirsty) and gave you to drink,

38 naked and clothed you,

39 sick and visited you, in prison and came to you?

40 The king will answer and say to them: Truly I say to you that every time you did it to one of the needy of these (my brothers), even the little ones like these, you did it to me.

41 Also he will say to those on his left: Depart from me you cursed and go into the eternal fire, to the place prepared for you, with Satan and his angels,

42 because I was hungry and you did not give me to eat, I was thirsty and you did not give me to drink,

43 I was a wayfarer and you did not take me in, naked and you did not clothe me, sick and in (prison) and you did not visit me.

44 Then they also will answer and say to him: When did we see you, O our Lord, hungry, thirsty, or a wayfarer, naked, sick, or in prison and were not with you serving you?

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45 He will answer them and say: I say to you that whenever you did not do this to one of these needy, even the little ones like these, you did not do it to me.

46 Then these will go into eternal abhorrence but the righteous into eternal life.

HEBREW MATTHEW CHAPTER 26

I It came to pass when Jesus finished speaking all these things, he said to his disciples:

2 Do you not know that after two days will be the Passover and the Son of Man will be delivered into the hand of the Jews for the gallows.

3 Then the rulers of the priests and the great ones of the people were gathered together in the court of the chief priest whose name was Caiaphas.

4 They took counsel together to seize Jesus by craftiness and to kill him.

5 But they said it should not be at the feast lest there be a tumult among the people.

6 It came to pass when Jesus was in Cephar-hananyah in the house of Simon the leper,

7 a woman drew near to him with a flask of costly ointment; she poured it upon his head while he was reclining at table.

8 But this waste was very displeasing to them.

9 It would have been possible to have sold it for a great price and to have given it to the poor.

10 Jesus who knows everything in regard to any matter done, said to them: Are you making accusation against this woman? Truly she has performed a good and wonderful deed toward me.

11 Because the poor (will be) with you always, but I will not be with you always.

12 Her placing this on my body refers to my burial.

13 Truly I say to you, everywhere this gospel, that is, evungel, is proclaimed

in all the world, that which this one has done will be said in reference to my memory.

14 Then one of the Twelve, whose name was Judas Iscariot, went to the chief priests.

15 He said: What will you give me that I should deliver Jesus over to you? They settled with him for thirty pieces of silver.

16 From then on he sought a context for delivering him over.

17 On the first day of the festival of unleavened bread the disciples came to Jesus saying: Where shall we prepare for you to eat the Passover?

18 He said to them: Go into the city to a certain man who will be a volunteer for the task and say to him: Thus says the teacher, my time is near; with you (I will observe) the Passover with my disciples.

20 It came to p~ss at the time of evening, he was sitting at table with his twelve disciples.

21 As they were eating he said to them: I say to you that one of you will inform against me.

22 They were very sad and spoke each one to him saying: Lord, is it I?

23 He answered them: He who dips his hand with me in the dish will sell me. All of them were eating from one dish. Therefore, they did not recognise him; because if they had recognised him, they would have destroyed him.

24 Jesus said to them: Truly the Son of Man goes as it is written concerning him; woe to that man for whose sake the Son of Man is betrayed. Good would it be for that man not to have been born.

25 Judas, who sold him, answered and said to him: Rabbi am I this one? He said: You have spoken.

26 They were eating and Jesus took bread, blessed, divided it, gave it to his disciples and said: Take and eat; this is my body.

27 He took the cup, gave praise to his father, gave it to them, and said: Drink from this, all of you.

28 This is my blood of the new covenant which will be poured out for many for the atonement of sins.

29 I say to you I will not drink henceforth from the fruit of this vine until that day when I drink it new with you in the kingdom of heaven.

30 (They returned) and went out to the Mount of Olives.

31 Then Jesus said to his disciples: Come, all of you, be grieved because of me tonight because it is written: Smite the shepherd and the (sheep) will be scattered.

32 After my resurrection from death, I will be revealed to you in Galilee.

33 Peter answered and said to him: If all of them are grieved because of you, I will never be grieved.

34 Jesus said: Truly I say to you, this night before the cock-crow you will deny me three times.

35 Peter said to him: If it is arranged for me to die with you, I will not deny you. Likewise all the disciples said to him.

36 Then Jesus came with them to the village of Geshemonim and said: Sit now until I go there and pray.

37 He took Peter and the two sons of Zebedee and began to be sad and troubled.

38 Then he said to them: My soul is grieved unto death; support me and watch with me.

39 He slowly went forward a little, fell on his face, prayed and said: (my father), if it is possible, take this cup from me. Indeed, let it not be as I will, but according to your will.

40 He came to the disciples and found them sleeping. He said to Peter: So you are unable to watch with me one hour?

41 Watch and pray lest you enter into temptation, because truly the spirit is ready to go (to its creator, but) the flesh is weak and sick.

42 He went again to pray saying: If you are not able to remove this cup except I should drink it, let it be done according to your will.

43 Afterwards he returned and found them sleeping because their eyes were heavy.

44 He left them and went to pray a third time according to the first words.

4S Then Jesus came to where the disciples were and said to them: Sleep and be at rest; behold the time has come near when the Son of Man will be delivered into the hand of sinners.

46 Arise, let us go, for behold he who will betray him is near.

47 While he was speaking, behold Judas Iscariot, one of his twelve disciples, came. With him was a large crowd with swords and whips sent from the chief priests and the princes of the people.

48 He who betrayed him had given them a sign: (The man) whom I kiss is the one whom you are to arrest.

49 Immediately he drew near to Jesus and said to him: Greetings Rabbi; then he kissed him. So Jesus said to him: My friend, what have you done? They came, stretched out their hand against him, and arrested him.

51 Behold, one who was with Jesus stretched out his hand, drew his sword, struck one of the servants of the priests, and cut off his ear.

52 Jesus said to him: Return your sword to its sheath, for (those who draw) the sword will fall by the sword.

53 Do you not understand that I can meet my enemies and indeed there will be for me at once more than twelve legions of angels?

54 But how will the Scriptures be fulfilled? Because thus it is intended to be done.

55 Afterwards Jesus said to the crowd: As if we were thieves have you come to take me with swords and whips? Was I not with you every day in the temple teaching you without you hindering me?

56 Surely all this was done because the writings of the Prophets were being fulfilled. Then all his disciples left him and fled.

57 They led Jesus to the house of Caiaphas the high priest. Then all the scribes and Pharisees were gathered together.

58 Peter was following him at a distance unto the house of the high priest. He entered the house and sat near the craftsmen until he should see the end.

59 The chief priests and the Pharisees wished (to find) false witnesses against Jesus in order to put him to death.

60 But they did not find even one, though they provided many false witnesses against Jesus. Finally two false witnesses came forward.

61 (They said): This one said I have the power to destroy the temple of God and after three days to repair it.

62 The high priest arose and said to him: Do you not answer anything against the testimony that these are bearing against you?

63 But Jesus answered not a word. The high priest said to him: I adjure you by the living God that you tell us if you are the Messiah, the Son of God.

64 Jesus answered him: You say it; but again I say to you, you have yet to see the Son of God sitting at the right of the power of God coming on the clouds of heaven.

65 Then the high priest tore his garments and said: This one has cursed

God. What need do we have for other witnesses? Behold all of you have heard how he cursed God.

66 What do you think can be done? They answered: He is guilty of death.

67 Then they spit in his face and struck him on the back, and others slapped him in the face

68 saying: Tell us, Messiah, who struck you.

69 Peter was standing at the entrance of the courtyard, and there came near to him a maid who said to him: Were you not standing with Jesus the Galilean?

70 Peter lied to her before all and said to her: Woman I do not know what you are saying.

71 When he passed through the gate another maid saw (him) and said to those who were (standing) there: this man was standing with Jesus in Nazareth.

72 Again he denied Jesus with an oath [saying] that he did not know him.

73 After a little while, those who were standing in the courtyard drew near

to Peter and said to him: You are from this prophet's group; it is clear from your speech you are one of them.

74 Then he began to deny and to swear that at no time had he known him. Immediately the cock crowed.

75 Peter remembered what Jesus had said to him, that before the crowing of the cock he would deny him three times. Then he went outside and wept with bitterness of soul.

HEBREW MATTHEW CHAPTER 27

1 It came to pass in the morning all the chief sages and elders took counsel against Jesus that they should surely put him to death.

2 They led him bound to the house of Pontius Pilate who was commander.

3 When Judas Iscariot saw that he had been judged, he began to turn in repentance. He returned the thirty dinars to the high priest and to the elders of the people.

4 He said: I have sinned because I have shed innocent blood. But they said to him: What is that to us? You see to it.

5 He threw the coins in the temple, went and took a rope and hanged himself.

6 When the chief priests received the coins they said: It is not possible for us to place these coins in the temple because they are the fruit of blood since they were given for the blood of Jesus.

7 So they took counsel and gave them for a field of a certain potter of clay that they might (bury) strangers there.

8 Therefore that field is called the tent of blood unto this day.

9 Then was fulfilled the word of Zechariah the prophet: And I said to them: if it is good in your eyes, multiply my wages, but if (not), forbear. So they weighed for my wages thirty pieces of silver. Then the Lord said to me: Cast it unto the potter. This is from the man who forms clay,

10 as the Lord commanded.

II Jesus was standing before Pilate who asked him: Are you the king of the Jews? Jesus said: You say it.

12 When Jesus was harassed by the chief priests and elders of the people in regard to some word which they spoke against him, he did not reply.

13 Pilate said to him: Do you not see how much testimony there is against you?

14 But Jesus did not answer him a word and Pilate was exceedingly amazed by this.

15 On the day of the honored feast of Passover, it was their custom for the commander of the city to give to the people one of the prisoners whom they wished.

16 Pilate had a prisoner who was almost crazy: his name was Barabbas. Taken in a case of murder, he had placed him in the dungeon.

17 When they were gathered together Pilate said to them: Which of these do you wish that I should release, Barabbas or Jesus who is called Messiah?

18 This was because Pilate knew that due to hatred without cause he had been taken.

19 While he was sitting upon the throne his wife sent to him a messenger saying: I implore you that in no matter should you speak a word against this righteous man because in this night I have suffered many things in a vision because of him.

20 The chief priests and the elders of the law assembled the people (that) they might ask for Barabbas and that Jesus might die.

21 Pilate answered them: Which of them do you wish that we should release? They said Barabbas.

22 Pilate said to them: If so, what shall I do with Jesus who is called Messiah? All of them answered that he should be hung.

23 Pilate said to them: What evil has he done? Then they vigorously cried out: let them hang him, let them hang him, let them hang him.

24 Pilate, when he saw that he had no power of resistance and was unable to make any peace with them, before a great dispute among the people might arise because of this, took water and washed his hands before the people and said: I am innocent (of the blood). Be careful what you do.

25 All the people answered and said: His blood will be upon us and upon our seed.

26 Then he released Barabbas (to them), and delivered to them Jesus for beating and affliction that they might hang him.

27 Then the horsemen of the court took Jesus under guard and came together

before a great company of many people.

28 They clothed Jesus with silk garments and covered him with a greenish silk robe.

29 They made a crown of thorns and placed it on his head and set a reed in his right hand and were bowing down mocking him [saying]: Peace be upon you, king of the Jews.

30 They spit in his face and took the reed and struck his head.

31 When they had mocked him (much), they stripped the robe from him, dressed him in his own clothes, and gave orders to hang him.

32 As they were going out from the city, they met a man whose name was Simon the Canaanite. They compelled him to carry the gallows, that is, "The Cross."

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33 They came to a place called Gulgota, that is, Mount Calvary,
34 and gave him wine mixed with gall. But when he began to drink it he perceived [what it was] and would not drink it.
35 When they placed him on the gallows they divided his garments by lot.
37 Afterward, they set for him over his head a writing which said: This is Jesus of Nazareth, the king of Israel.
38 Then two thieves were hung with him, one on his right and one on his left.
39 Those who were passing by mocked him and shook (their) heads
40 saying: See, (how) you would lay waste the temple of God and in yet three days (build it); save yourself; if you are the Son of God come down from the gallows.
41 The chief priests and the elders of the people mocked him saying:
42 Others he saved; himself he cannot save. If he is the king of Israel let him come down from the tree and we will believe.
43 Since he trusted in God, let him save him now if he' wishes, because he said he is the Son of God.
44 The thieves who were hung with him said to him these very same words.
45 At the sixth hour, darkness came in all the world and it remained until the ninth hour.
46 Jesus cried in a loud voice saying, in the holy language: My God, My God, why have you forsaken me.
47 One of those standing there said: This one is calling for Elijah.
48 Immediately he took spongy-bread, filled it with vinegar and gave it to him to drink.
49 Others were saying: We will see if Elijah will come and deliver him.
50 Jesus cried another time in a loud voice and sent his spirit to his father.
51 Immediately the curtain of the temple was tom into two pieces, from the top downwards; the earth shook and the rocks were broken.
52 The graves were opened and many of those asleep in the dust arose.
53 They came out of their graves and after (this) they entered the holy city and were revealed to many.
54 The captain of the hundred and those standing with him watching Jesus saw the earthquake and the things which were done and were very afraid saying: Truly this was the Son of God.
55 Many women were standing there at a distance from among those who served Jesus from Galilee unto that time.
56 Among them were Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James and Joseph, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee!.
57 At evening time, a rich man from Karnasiah came. His name was Joseph and he was a disciple of Jesus.
58 He came to Pilate and asked him for the body of Jesus. Pilate commanded that they should give it to him.
59 Joseph took it and wrapped it in a very fine silk garment.
60 He placed him in his own tomb which had been freshly hewn from stone and placed a large stone over the entrance of the tomb.
62 On the morrow of the Passover the chief priests and the Pharisees came to Pilate.
63 They said to him: Sir, we remember that this liar said while still alive that at the end of three days he would arise and come to life.
64 Therefore command his tomb to be guarded until the third day, since perhaps one of his disciples might come and steal him. Afterwards they might say to the people that he arose from death. If they should do this, the last perversion will be greater than the first.
65 Pilate said to them: Search out guards (and) guard it as well as you can.
66 So they completed the structure of the tomb, sealed it, and placed a guard there.

HEBREW MATTHEW CHAPTER 28

1 On the first day of the week, early in the morning, Mary Magdalene and the other Mary came to see the tomb.
2 Then the earth shook because the angel of the Lord descended from heaven to the tomb, overturned the stone, and stood still.
3 His appearance was like the ~un and his garments like snow.
4 From the fear of him the guards were dismayed and stood like dead men.
5 The angel answered and said to the women: Do not fear for I know that you seek Jesus who was hung.
6 He is not here for he is already alive as he said. Come, therefore, and see the place where the Lord arose.
7 Then go immediately and tell his disciples that the Lord has already arisen there. He will be before you and there you will see him as he told you.
8 The women went out of the tomb with fear because they had seen the angel, but with great joy because the Lord had come back to life. They ran to tell his disciples.
9 As they were going Jesus passed before them saying: May the Name deliver you. They came near to him, bowed down to him, and worshipped him.
10 Then Jesus said to them: Do not be afraid; tell my brothers that they should go to Galilee and there they will see me.
11 While they were going some of the guards entered the city and declared to the chief priests all that had happened.
12 They came together for counsel with the elders of the people. Then they gave much money to the horsemen
13 and said to them: Say that his disciples came by night and stole him while you were sleeping.
14 If this should come to the ears of Pilate we will tell him that he should leave you alone.
15 They took the money and said thus as they instructed them. This is the word [held] in secret among the Jews unto this day.
16 After this when his twelve disciples came to Galilee he appeared to them in the mountain where they had prayed.
17 When they saw him they worshipped him, but there were some of them who doubted him.
18 Jesus drew near to them and said to them: To me has been given all power in heaven and earth.
19 Go
20 and (teach) them to carry out all the things which I have commanded you forever.

SEFER TOLEDOTH YESHU

The Book of the Generations
Estimated range of dating: 700-1100 AD

(Sefer Toledot Yeshu (The Book of the Generations / (Hi)story or Life of Jesus), often abbreviated as Toledot Yeshu, is an early Jewish, alternative biography of Jesus. It exists in many versions that have been widely circulated in Europe and the Middle East in the medieval period. We will show you here two different stories. The stories claim that Jesus (Yeshu) was an illegitimate child, and that he practiced magic and heresy, seduced women, and died a shameful death.

The first version, The Toledoth Yeshu, talks of the life of Jesus, growing out of the response of the Jewish community to Christianity. The tradition presented here is most commonly dated to approximately the 6th century AD. The text it self is closer to the 14th century.

The second version is a 15th-century Yemenite work which was titled Maaseh Yeshu, or the "Episode of Jesus," in which Jesus the son of Joseph is being described as the son of Pandera (see: Episode of Jesus). The account portrays Jesus as an impostor.

The source material for the Toledot can be said to derive from four sources: 1. Jewish rabbinic literature; 2. canonical Christian scriptures; 3. noncanonical Christian writings; 4. Roman writings and sources. The earliest composition was probably made in Aramaic or Hebrew. Some scholars assert that the source material is no earlier than the 6th century, and the compilation no earlier than the 9th century. The largest source of input to the Toledot seems to be anecdotes gathered from various parts of the Talmud and Midrash. These appear to be material aimed against two Christian doctrines, the virgin birth and the ascension. Some of the anecdotes from The Talmud are obscure or of doubtful authenticity. The attribution of Yeshu's paternity to a soldier named Pandera or Pantera can be traced to the second-century Greek philosopher Celsus. Jews polemicised against the new Christian religion as in Judaism, God can only be One and is under no circumstances dividable.

Celsus wrote that Jesus's father was a Roman soldier named Panthera. The views of Celsus drew responses from Origen who considered it a fabricated story. Celsus' claim is only known from Origen's reply. Origen writes: "Let us return, however, to the words put into the mouth of the Jew, where "the mother of Jesus" is described as having been "turned out by the carpenter who was betrothed to her, as she had been convicted of adultery and had a child by a certain soldier named Pantera". At 4 BC, there was a revolt in Galilee. The Romans marched in to quell the rebellion. Thousands were killed or raped or dragged away into slavery. Mary was probably one of the raped women who got a baby from it: Jesus. A humiliating and shameful situation for any women that she might have solved by marrying the older Joseph. And we might know the full name of that soldier. It could have been Tiberius Julius Abdes Pantera (c. 22 BC – AD 40) who was a Roman commander of an archery battallion. His tombstone was found in Bingerbrück, in 1859 and is kept in the Römerhalle museum in Bad Kreuznach in north-western Germany.)

In the year 3671[90-91 B.C] in the days of King Jannaeus, a great misfortune befell Israel, when there arose a certain disreputable man of the tribe of Judah, whose name was Joseph Pandera. He lived at Bethlehem, in Judah.

Near his house dwelt a widow and her lovely and chaste daughter named Miriam. Miriam was betrothed to Yohanan, of the royal house of David, a man learned in the Torah and God-fearing.

At the close of a certain Sabbath, Joseph Pandera, attractive and like a warrior in appearance, having gazed lustfully upon Miriam, knocked upon the door of her room and betrayed her by pretending that he was her betrothed husband, Yohanan. Even so, she was amazed at this improper conduct and submitted only against her will.

Thereafter, when Yohanan came to her, Miriam expressed astonishment at behavior so foreign to his character. It was thus that they both came to know the crime of Joseph Pandera and the terrible mistake on the part of Miriam. Whereupon Yohanan went to Rabban Shimeon ben Shetah and related to him the tragic seduction. Lacking witnesses required for the punishment of Joseph Pandera, and Miriam being with child, Yohanan left for Babylonia [other sources say Egypt].

Miriam gave birth to a son and named him Yehoshua, after her brother. This name later deteriorated to Yeshu. On the eighth day he was circumcised. When he was old enough the lad was taken by Miriam to the house of study to be instructed in the Jewish tradition.

One day Yeshu walked in front of the Sages with his head uncovered, showing shameful disrespect. At this, the discussion arose as to whether this behavior did not truly indicate that Yeshu was an illegitimate child and the son of a niddah [Sexual impurity (incest, adultery, prostitution, etc.]. Moreover, the story tells that while the rabbis were discussing the Tractate Nezikin, he gave his own impudent interpretation of the law and in an ensuing debate he held that Moses could not be the greatest of the prophets if he had to receive counsel from Jethro. This led to further inquiry as to the antecedents of Yeshu, and it was discovered through Rabban Shimeon ben Shetah that he was the illegitimate son of Joseph Pandera. Miriam admitted it.[In one version of this admission, she confesses that not only is Yeshu the product of an illicit union, but she was ritually unclean from menstruation at the time as well. Sexual contact even with a woman's husband is not lawful during, or, in Rabbinic law, for some time after, menstruation] After this became known, it was necessary for Yeshu to flee to Upper Galilee.

After King Jannaeus, his wife Helene [Salome Alexandra] ruled over all Israel. In the Temple was to be found the Foundation Stone on which were engraven the letters of God's Ineffable Name. Whoever learned the secret of the Name and its use would be able to do whatever he wished. Therefore, the Sages took measures so that no one should gain this knowledge. Lions of brass were bound to two iron pillars at the gate of the place of burnt offerings. Should anyone enter and learn the Name, when he left the lions would roar at him and immediately the valuable secret would be forgotten.

Yeshu came and learned the letters of the Name; he wrote them upon the parchment which he placed in an open cut on his thigh and then drew the flesh over the parchment. As he left, the lions roared and he forgot the secret. But when he came to his house he reopened the cut in his flesh with a knife an lifted out the writing. Then he remembered and obtained the use of the letters.[this tradition does not deny Jesus' ability to perform miracles, accusing him instead of practicing magic.]

He gathered about himself three hundred and ten young men of Israel and accused those who spoke ill of his birth of being people who desired greatness and power for themselves. Yeshu proclaimed, "I am the Messiah; and concerning me Isaiah prophesied and said, 'Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel.'" He quoted other messianic texts, insisting, "David my ancestor prophesied concerning me: 'The Lord said to me, thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee.'"

The insurgents with him replied that if Yeshu was the Messiah he should give them a convincing sign. They therefore, brought to him a lame man, who had never walked. Yeshu spoke over the man the letters of the Ineffable Name, and the leper was healed. Thereupon, they worshipped him as the Messiah, Son of the Highest.

When word of these happenings came to Jerusalem, the Sanhedrin decided to bring about the capture of Yeshu. They sent messengers, Annanui and Ahaziah, who, pretending to be his disciples, said that they brought him an invitation from the leaders of Jerusalem to visit them. Yeshu consented on condition the members of the Sanhedrin receive him as a lord. He started out toward Jerusalem and, arriving at Knob, acquired an ass on which he rode into Jerusalem, as a fulfillment of the prophecy of Zechariah.

The Sages bound him and led him before Queen Helene, with the accusation: "This man is a sorcerer and entices everyone." Yeshu replied, "The prophets long ago prophesied my coming: 'And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse,' and I am he; but as for them, Scripture says 'Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly.'"

Queen Helene asked the Sages: "What he says, is it in your Torah?" They replied: "It is in our Torah, but it is not applicable to him, for it is in Scripture: 'And that prophet which shall presume to speak a word in my name, which I have not commanded him to speak or that shall speak in the name

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of other gods, even that prophet shall die.' He has not fulfilled the signs and conditions of the Messiah."

Yeshu spoke up: "Madam, I am the Messiah and I revive the dead." A dead body was brought in; he pronounced the letters of the Ineffable Name and the corpse came to life. The Queen was greatly moved and said: "This is a true sign." She reprimanded the Sages and sent them humiliated from her presence. Yeshu's dissident followers increased and there was controversy in Israel.

Yeshu went to Upper Galilee. the Sages came before the Queen, complaining that Yeshu practiced sorcery and was leading everyone astray. Therefore she sent Annanui and Ahaziah to fetch him.

The found him in Upper Galilee, proclaiming himself the Son of God. When they tried to take him there was a struggle, but Yeshu said to the men of Upper Galilee: "Wage no battle." He would prove himself by the power which came to him from his Father in heaven. He spoke the Ineffable Name over the birds of clay and they flew into the air. He spoke the same letters over a millstone that had been placed upon the waters. He sat in it and it floated like a boat. When they saw this the people marveled. At the behest of Yeshu, the emissaries departed and reported these wonders to the Queen. She trembled with astonishment.

Then the Sages selected a man named Judah Iskarioto and brought him to the Sanctuary where he learned the letters of the Ineffable Name as Yeshu had done.

When Yeshu was summoned before the queen, this time there were present also the Sages and Judah Iskarioto. Yeshu said: "It is spoken of me, 'I will ascend into heaven.'" He lifted his arms like the wings of an eagle and he flew between heaven and earth, to the amazement of everyone.

The elders asked Iskarioto to do likewise. He did, and flew toward heaven. Iskarioto attempted to force Yeshu down to earth but neither one of the two could prevail against the other for both had the use of the Ineffable Name. However, Iskarioto defiled Yeshu, so that they both lost their power and fell down to the earth, and in their condition of defilement the letters of the Ineffable Name escaped from them. Because of this deed of Judah they weep on the eve of the birth of Yeshu.

Yeshu was seized. His head was covered with a garment and he was smitten with pomegranate staves; but he could do nothing, for he no longer had the Ineffable Name.

Yeshu was taken prisoner to the synagogue of Tiberias, and they bound him to a pillar. To allay his thirst they gave him vinegar to drink. On his head they set a crown of thorns. There was strife and wrangling between the elders and the unrestrained followers of Yeshu, as a result of which the followers escaped with Yeshu to the region of Antioch [others say Egypt]; there Yeshu remained until the eve of the Passover. [In a variation on the story, Judah is able to out-miracle Yeshu in the sign contest without defiling him. Yeshu is discredited and arrested, and, as in this story, his followers are able to break him free, but he still remembers the Ineffable Name. He escapes to Egypt in hopes of learning Egyptian magic as well (regarded as the best magic in the world). Judah comes to Egypt and infiltrates the disciples, posing as one himself. It is from this vantage point that he is able to cause Yeshu to forget the magical Name, resulting in the later's desire to return to Jerusalem and relearn it. Judah sends warning to the Sages, along with his plan to arrest him.]

Yeshu then resolved to go the Temple to acquire again the secret of the Name. That year the Passover came on a Sabbath day. On the eve of the Passover, Yeshu, accompanied by his disciples, came to Jerusalem riding upon an ass. Many bowed down before him. He entered the Temple with his three hundred and ten followers. One of them, Judah Iskarioto[Aramaic: Ga'isa] apprised the Sages that Yeshu was to be found in the Temple, that the disciples had taken a vow by the Ten Commandments not to reveal his identity but that he would point him out by bowing to him. So it was done and Yeshu was seized. Asked his name, he replied to the question by several times giving the names Mattai, Nakki, Buni, Netzer, each time with a verse quoted by him and a counter-verse by the Sages.

Yeshu was put to death on the sixth hour on the eve of the Passover and of the Sabbath. When they tried to hang him on a tree it broke, for when he had possessed the power he had pronounced by the Ineffable Name that no tree should hold him. He had failed to pronounce the prohibition over the carob-stalk [Or cabbage stalk], for it was a plant more than a tree, and on it he was hanged until the hour for afternoon prayer, for it is written in Scripture, "His body shall not remain all night upon the tree." They buried him outside the city.

On the first day of the week his bold followers came to Queen Helene with the report that he who was slain was truly the Messiah and that he was not in his grave; he had ascended to heaven as he prophesied. Diligent search was made and he was not found in the grave where he had been buried. A gardener had taken him from the grave and had brought him into his garden and buried him in the sand over which the waters flowed into the garden.

Queen Helene demanded, on threat of a severe penalty, that the body of Yeshu be shown to her within a period of three days. There was a great distress. When the keeper of the garden saw Rabbi Tanhuma walking in the field and lamenting over the ultimatum of the Queen, the gardener related what he had done, in order that Yeshu's followers should not steal the body and then claim that he had ascended into heaven. The Sages removed the body, tied it to the tail of a horse and transported it to the Queen, with the words, "This is Yeshu who is said to have ascended to heaven." Realizing that Yeshu was a false prophet who enticed the people and led them astray, she mocked the followers but praised the Sages.

The disciples went out among the nations--three went to the mountains of Ararat, three to Armenia, three to Rome and three to the kingdoms buy the sea, They deluded the people, but ultimately they were slain.

The erring followers amongst Israel said: "You have slain the Messiah of the Lord." The Israelites answered: "You have believed in a false prophet." There was endless strife and discord for thirty years.

The Sages desired to separate from Israel those who continued to claim Yeshu as the Messiah, and they called upon a greatly learned man, Simeon Kepha, for help. Simeon went to Antioch, main city of the Nazarenes and proclaimed toe them: "I am the disciple of Yeshu. He has sent me to show you the way. I will give you a sign as Yeshu has done."

Simeon, having gained the secret of the Ineffable Name, healed a leper and a lame man by means of it and thus found acceptance as a true disciple. He told them that Yeshu was in heaven, at the right hand of his Father, in fulfillment of Psalm 110:1. He added that Yeshu desired that they separate themselves from the Jews and no longer follow their practices, as Isaiah had said, "Your new moons and your feasts my soul abhorreth." They were now to observe the first day of the week instead of the seventh, the Resurrection instead of the Passover, the Ascension into Heaven instead of the Feast of Weeks, the finding of the Cross instead of the New Year, the Feast of the Circumcision instead of the Day of Atonement, the New Year instead of Chanukah; they were to be indifferent with regard to circumcision and the dietary laws. Also they were to follow the teaching of turning the right if smitten on the left and the meek acceptance of suffering. All these new ordinances which Simeon Kepha (or Paul, as he was known to the Nazarenes) taught them were really meant to separate these Nazarenes from the people of Israel and to bring the internal strife to an end.

A Second version from Yemen:

(HI)STORY AND LIFE OF JESUS
or The Episode of Jesus
Original Hebrew title: Maaseh Yeshu
From: Yemenite Rabbinic Literature
Translation: David Ben-Abraham
Estimated range of dating: 1400-1500 A.D.

It once happened with a certain man whose name was Yoḥanan and whose wife was Miriam, that he had a certain Hebrew maidservant [Who was also called Miriam (Mary).] who was espied by a man whose name was Joseph, the son of Pandera [also spelled: Pundera, Pantera, Panthera]. He had taken notice of the man's maidservant and came upon her whilst she was impure, by reason of her natural purgation, and had laid with her when she was lying alone in the dark. At which incident, she became startled and could not answer him a word until the morning, when she then said to her husband: "Yoḥanan, my master! [Yoḥanan is the Hebrew equivalent for the name John.] Why hast thou done this night that which is not lawful? For thou hast come upon me twice.[Which thing is not permitted to do under Jewish law during that first night of co-habitation] Moreover, I did warn you that I was unclean, yet, hast thou not heeded my warning."

At this saying, he was very much distraught and went and told the matter to Shimon, the son of Shetaḥ. He said to him: "I will tell thee what happened to me this night. For my wife came and said unto me that such and such a thing had befallen her, but it was not me who had connexion with her." He then answered: "Who is it that thou dost suspect?" He said: "A certain one of my neighbours whose name is Joseph, the son of Pandera." He asked him: "Hast thou any witnesses?" He answered: "I have no witnesses." He then replied: "Go and conceal the witnesses from the culprit, for if he went in once, he will go in again. If you will do this thing, thou shalt make him liable thereby to the death penalty."

Yoḥanan sat there idly and did not do a thing, until he overheard the town taken up entirely with the gossip over this matter, even those who were saying she committed an act of whoredom. Now because of the public's slander, he went off into Babylonia, and did not return. Meanwhile, his wife gave birth to a son whose name is Jesus, may the name of the wicked rot. [Implied by this statement that a Jewish father may only sell his under-aged daughter as a Hebrew maidservant when he and his family have become so impoverished that they cannot find sustenance enough to live. Miriam (Mary) would never have been raped had she not been sold.]

Now he excelled in wickedness until he had been heard saying: "Since Jethro the mere proselyte was Moses' master, the greatness of Moses is thereby diminished." At this, the Sages replied: "This is none other but a bastard, and the son of a menstruate woman." They went also unto his mother. They asked her: "What is the nature of this youth?" She replied unto them: "I was conceived with child by Yoḥanan, my betrothed, but he is now gone into Babylonia, and I wot not what he doeth." Shimon, the son of Shetaḥ, then interrupted and said to them how Yoḥanan had told him such and such an affair had befallen her. The Sages asked him: "What shall we do to the woman?" Shimon answered them: "She is not liable to anything on that account, for she has not become impoverished by her own volition."[By heaven, but not by the court] When she heard that they did not make her liable to the death penalty, she then told them the true account of the matter, and said: "It was, afterwards, made known unto me the affair, namely, that it was Joseph, the son of Pandera, by whom I was conceived with child."

When the son whom she had borne heard his mother confess, and heard that the Sages made only him liable to the death penalty, he withdrew himself to the Temple precincts. Now the express letters of God's ineffable name were written upon the Foundation Stone within the Holy of Holies, and anyone who learnt them could do by them whatsoever he wished. Moreover, the nation of Israel used to fear lest perhaps the wicked of Israel should learn them, and thereby destroy the world. So it was that they made two brazen dogs, and had them tied at the entrance to the Temple Sanctuary, and anyone who learnt the express letters of the Divine name and then went out of the Sanctuary, when he saw the dogs, would anon forget from his heart that which he had learnt.

Now the land of Israel was given over unto the hand of a queen in those days, whose name was Helena.[This Queen Helena was the wife of King Monabazus, who ruled over Adiabene, Kurdistan in northern Iraq, during the 1st Century AD, and who became a Jewish proselyte, along with her son, Izates.] Jesus entered the Temple Sanctuary and learnt the letters, and made a stipulation over them that he shall not feel hurt at the rending of his flesh, and so wrote them down upon parchment. Then did he rend his thigh, and prepared the parchment for insertion, and replaced the torn skin. When he departed, he forgot them. Yet, when he reached the house, he ripped open his thigh and took out thence the parchment and learnt once again the letters. He then gathered together some young men of Israel, to wit, three-hundred and ten, and said unto them: "Ye call me a bastard, but I am the Messiah, and it was concerning me that Isaiah did prophesy and say, Behold! A young woman shall conceive and bear a son, and thou shalt call his name Immanuel (Isa. 7:14). Moreover, it was said about me, Thou art my son. This day have I begotten thee (Ps. 2:7). That is, without my father and mother lying together carnally. Yet, do ye seek your own self-aggrandizement."

They answered him: "If thou art Messiah, shew us a sign!" He then replied: "What sign is it that ye seek from me?" They brought unto him a lame man who had never yet stood upon his feet whom, when Jesus had seen, spoke over him the express letters and forthwith did he begin to walk. At their seeing this, they bowed down before him. When the Sages heard this report, they brought him unto Helena the queen. They said unto her: "Your Majesty, the Queen, this one here is a sorcerer." He then said to her: "I am the Messiah, and it was said about me, Who shall rise up for me against the wicked?" (Ps. 94:16) The queen then asked: "Is there aught in the Law (Torah) of which he saith?" They answered: "There is. But the Messiah whom we do expect hath with him other signs, namely, In his days, Judah shall be delivered (Jer. 23:6). Moreover, concerning him it hath been said: He shall smite the land with the rod of his mouth, and by the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked (Isa. 11:4). However, concerning this man here, it was said, And that false prophet shall die. And again, And thou shalt put away the evil from amongst you" (Deut. 18:20; 19:19). He then reiterated what he had said: "I am he, the Messiah, and I resurrect the dead." She, at hearing this, sent with him certain of her emissaries, and he did resurrect those who had been dead by the express letters of God's Divine name, and the people of Israel were on his account in a state of consternation.

After many days, he conveyed himself away. The Sages then came unto the queen and said: "Your Majesty, the Queen, seest thou how he hath fled by the sorceries that be with him? For they have not suffered him to remain standing in one place! His reproach has become evident!" She then sent horsemen unto him, as far as Babylonia where he had gone, but the citizens of Babylonia would not suffer him to go with them.[Most Jewish citizens who lived in Babylonia at that time resided in the towns of Nehardea and Nisibis, the latter town in the far north of present-day Iraq, near the Turkish and Syrian borders.] They waged war one with the other. Jesus then said to the men of Babylonia: "Do not fight with

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them. My father who is in heaven, and the Divine letters which art in mine own hand, they shall deliver me!" He said unto them: "Bring unto me a millstone," which doing, he rode upon it and called out the express letters, whereby he floated while sitting thereon upon the surface of the water. Likewise, they made birds out of clay [This episode about the clay birds being made to fly is also related in the Koran 3:49 and 5:110. Compare also the Infancy Gospel of Thomas 2:1-4.] and brought these before him, and they began to fly. He said unto them: "Go ye forth and say to your lady, the Queen, what ye have seen." They then went and told the queen, saying unto her: "They brought unto him a great millstone and he mounted it, and began floating while sitting upon it over the surface of the water, like as one floateth an eggshell."

She then summoned the Sages together and said unto them: "This Jesus, whom ye did dismiss as a sorcerer, is none other but the son of God! For how many [wonderful] signs hath he wrought!" They replied unto her: "Your Majesty, the Queen, let not a word of his sorcery enter into your heart, whereas we [too] are able to perform as he hath done." She then sent unto him several of those who believed in him. They entreated him, saying: "Come back unto the queen, for she is startled by the signs that thou hast wrought." He, at their entreaty, gathered together his following and came back into the land of Israel. Yet, meanwhile, those in Israel had taken a certain man by the name of Antichei, [This same Antichei is related elsewhere (in one of the the Yemenite prayer books containing the same account of Jesus) as being the disciple of Jesus known as Judas Iscariot (variant reading: Yehudah Esparioṭa).] and brought him into the Temple precincts, and he wrote them (i.e. the express letters) upon a piece of parchment, and he began to do just as Jesus had done. Then were they all come together unto the queen, and they made their accusations against him, having come there to make themselves victorious over him. He then began to say: "Behold! It is written, He shall take me, (Ezek. 3: 12-14), that is to say, like as a bird is taken up in the air." Antichei answered: "But it is written elsewhere, And the children of those who go unrestrained of thy people, [etc.]" (Dan. 11: 14).

He (i.e. Jesus) then spread out his hands as the wings of a vulture and began flying in the air. Those of Israel said to Antichei: "Do thou as he hath done, for thou hast learnt as he hath learnt!" Forthwith did he fly away after him, until at length he attained unto him, and he would call out the express letters of God's name for an imprecation against him so as to cast him down from the sky, while the other would also call out the express letters so as not to be cast down from the sky. When he saw that he did not fall down, for he had learnt just as he had learnt, he (i.e. Antichei) then stood up and made an abominable act upon him. When they had thus been defiled, they both fell down to the earth. Those of Israel then caught hold of him and brought him to the queen. They said unto her: "Your Majesty, the Queen, ask him where are now the signs that were with him!" When he understood that the express letters of God's name had vanished from his heart and that he had fallen captive in their hands, he said: "It is written, Their faces are become harder than flint stone (Jer. 5:3). And again it is written, Happy is the man who walketh not in the counsel of the wicked" (Ps. 1), at which saying he escaped from them, and stood up, he and the following whom he had coerced through words, and began to make war, each man's brother against his brother, and father against his son, until at length his following delivered him, and fled away with him, remaining in a certain place until the Passover. Then he took an ass and mounted it, and gathered together his following, and went up to Jerusalem. He then said to his following: "Consider ye how the Scripture hath been fulfilled, He is poor, and riding upon the foal of an ass" (Zech. 9:9).

They came to offer the Passover offering, when one of his own party came and said to those of Israel: "Are ye willing to have Jesus?" They asked him: "Where is he?" He answered: "In Jerusalem." They said to him: "Shew him unto us." He answered: "He hath already adjured us by the authority of the Ten Commandments not to reveal himself unto others, and hath clothed me (sic: should be "us") in common attire. Nevertheless, come and salute us, and I will then come in and bow down before him, and thereby ye shall know that he is that wicked one." When they had come, he presently bowed down unto Jesus. Those of Israel, at this betrayal, stood and caught him, and they said unto him: "Thou art the Messiah. Deliver thyself from our hands!" When he had fallen into their hands, he said: "It is written, A priest and a prophet have they killed" (Lam. 2:20). And it is written, For thy sake are we killed all the day long" (Ps. 44:23). His companions began to weep when they realized that they could not deliver him from the people of Israel, and so they killed him and they proceeded to hang him. Now this same wicked person [Expletive used in the original] had made a stipulation over the trees, whilst he had still the express letters of God's Divine name with him, that they should not receive him, for he knew that they would not suffer him to be left alone. So it was that on every tree that they came to hang him, that tree would break whilst he was put thereto, until at length they brought the tree of the carob, and thereon they hung him, and it did not break. For he had made no stipulation over the carob tree. Thus his following began to weep and exclaim: "Out of his abundant righteousness, the trees would not receive him."

At eventide, they came to take him down, on account of that Scripture which saith: Thou shalt not suffer his corpse to remain on the tree (Deut. 21:23). So did they bury him, and his following began to weep again at his tomb while saying: "Ye have become liable to the death penalty, because ye have slain the Messiah!" Yet, those of Israel retorted by saying: "Ye, yourselves, have become liable to the death penalty, because ye have believed in a false prophet!" His following then said to themselves: "Come and let us take him out of his tomb." They opened the tomb, but did not find him there, and so did they go unto Helena the queen. They said unto her: "Consider, your Majesty, the Queen, how many signs he hath wrought, and how that now he hath gone up into heaven." At this declaration, she did send unto the Sages, and inquired of them: "Where is it that ye have buried Jesus?" They answered: "Near unto the waters of Siloam." She then returned answer unto them: "If ye do not bring him unto me, I shan't leave off from harassing a single one of you." They sought him, but could not find him. They then said unto her: "Give us time." She gave them time, and meanwhile, the people of Israel had all taken upon themselves a fast of affliction until the appointed time had expired, yet still they did not find him, by reason of which they began to flee from before the queen. Rabbi Tanḥum did also flee unto the field, and there found a certain gardener eating. He said unto him: "Thou wicked man! All of Israel hath undertaken fasting and they art in sorrow, but thou sittest here eating!" He then replied: "My lord, on what occasion hast this sorrow come over the nation?" Rabbi Tanḥum then told him the account of the matter. He furthermore said: "If they shall perchance find him, Israel shall find some relief." The same man (i.e. the gardener) answered: "I have stolen him and buried him in my own garden, so as not to give an opportunity for the wicked to steal him away." Rabbi Tanḥum, at hearing this, returned unto the city and exclaimed: "This day is a day of good tidings!" So those of Israel went and took him out of his tomb, and did tie a rope around his leg, and began to drag him along the city lanes of Jerusalem, until they brought him unto the queen. Forthwith did she praise the Sages and became wroth with the following of Jesus, banishing certain of them – three to a mountainous place, three to Greece, and thirteen of their number to Rome, while the rest were scattered among the nations. Then did the Most Holy, blessed be He, demand his judgement in every place. But, even so, those in Israel who stood up to make this breach in faith, got themselves up and opposed openly the Sages, and said: "He is the Deliverer." Thus, there was a schism in Israel.

Now after Jesus had been slain some thirty years, the Sages then said: "Come and let us remove them from the commonwealth of Israel. For on account of our many transgressions, they have stood up and opposed us, thereby fulfilling what hath been said, They have made me jealous over that which is not a God, even made me angry over their vanities. Yet shall I make them envious over those who are not a people, yea over a foolish nation shall I anger them" (Deut. 32: 21). They stood up and called unto one from the Rabbinic Court in Tiberius, whose name was Elijah.[16] They said unto him: "Come and separate from amongst us these wicked persons, and thou shalt find great reprieve from the God of Israel. Meanwhile, we shall also pray for thee that there shall not be imputed unto thee thereby any sin from the Lord." So what did this wise man do? He stood up and made a declaration throughout the entire border of Israel, saying: "I am an apostle of Jesus. All those who believeth in him, let him come unto me, and I shall inform him about what must be done."

At this invitation, the entire wicked following of Jesus [Elijah, or Saul Elijah (Heb. Shaul Eliyahu); in the same account of this story given in an old, Yemenite Prayer Book, this man was said to be none other than Saul of Tarsus, whom the Christians know as "Paul the Apostle."] were gathered together. They answered the man: "Art thou an apostle of Jesus? Shew us a sign." He replied: "What sign is it that ye demand of me? I shall simply do what Jesus hath done." They brought unto him a lame man, and he called out over him the express letters and did forthwith stand up. They then answered the man: "In truth, thou art his apostle." He said unto them: "Jesus doth have somewhat to give unto you." He said: "Know ye of a certain what is written in the Law: Thy new moons and feasts hath my soul hated (Isa. 1:14). Seeing that the Most Holy, blessed be He, already hateth those days, rather, come now and let us cease from all our labor on the first day of the week, for it was on this day that the Most Holy, blessed be He, enlightened His world. And let us make unto ourselves new festival days, such as the day in which Jesus was born, and the day in which he was appointed by God's holy spirit, and the day in which he died, as well as that day in which he rose up into heaven. And know ye that our Father in heaven catcheth hold of iniquity, and doth know that Israel at some future time will be brought to give an account before the Most Holy, blessed be He, over what they have done. Moreover, indeed, he could have easily delivered himself from them, but rather said, 'It was better for me to be killed than to behave in a presumptuous manner. And, as for you, if ye shall meet with an Israelite and he smite thee on thy left cheek, turn unto him the right cheek also; And if he shall sorely abuse you with blasphemous words, do not answer him a word.'"

At this great deliberation, he forthwith did separate them from amongst themselves, and they are those who are called to this very day Nazoraeans. Then did Israel find some reprieve in those days. Now that man who did perform this act, may God forgive him over what he had done.

THE SCROLL OF ANTIOCHOS

or The Scroll Of The Hasmoneans
or Megillat Hanukkah
Original language: Aramaic
Translation: Phillip Birnbaum, 1974
Estimated Range of Dating: 1st - 3rd centuries AD.

(The Scroll of Antiochus, also called "The Megillat Antiochus", "Megillat Ha-Hashmonaim", "Megillat Hanukkah", or "Megillat Yevanit", recounts the story of the Hanukkah Festival which is based on the history of the victory of the Jewish Maccabee Dynasty, known as Hasmonean Dynasty, over the Seleucid Greek-Persian Empire. It is distinct from the Bibilical "Books of the Maccabees", which describe some of the same events. During the Middle Ages this Megillah was read in the Italian synagogues on Hanukah just as the Book of Esther is read on Purim. It still forms part of the liturgy of the Yemenite Jews. Saadyah Gaon attributed its authorship to the five sons of Matityahu. The Mahzor of the Kafla Rite from the year 1735 gives the order to read the Megillat Antiochus in the Mincha of Shabbat Hanukah. It still forms part of the liturgy of the Yemenite Jews: some Baladi rite congregations had it as a custom to read the scroll to the older students during Hanukkah.

Early texts of the work exist in both Aramaic and Hebrew, but the Hebrew version by Siddur Otzer Yisrael is a literal translation from the Aramaic original is a literal translation from the Aramaic original. In 1557 it was first published in Montoba (Mantua, in northern Italy). The Hebrew text, with an English translation, can be found in the Siddur of Philip Birnbaum. The first known printed text is found in a Siddur from Salonika, then part of the Ottoman Empire, which was published in 1568. The original Aramaic text can also be found in old Yemenite Baladi-rite Prayer Book from the 17th century.

There are several theories as to the work's authorship. Some scholars date Megillat Antiochus to somewhere between the 2nd and 5th centuries, with the greater likelihood of it being composed in the 2nd century. The work is first mentioned by Simeon Kayyara (ca. 743 AD) in Halakhot Gedolot, wherein he claims that the scroll was compiled by the "elders of the School of Shammai and the elders of the School of Hillel". Saadia Gaon (882–942 AD) argued that it was composed in the Aramaic (Chaldaic) language by the Hasmonaeans themselves, and entitled Megillat Beit Hashmonai. He translated it into Arabic in the 9th century. Hakham Moses Gaster argued for a 1st-century BC. date.

Chronology in Megillat Antiochus: According to the Scroll of Antiochus, 213 years passed from the Second Temple's rebuilding until the 23rd year of the reign of Antiochus Eupator (son of Antiochus Epiphanes who invaded Judaea). According to Josephus, Antiochus Eupator began his reign in anno 149 of the Seleucid Era (= 162 BC.). Twenty-three years into Antiochus Eupator's reign would have then been 139 BC. Since, according to the Scroll of Antiochus, the Second Temple had already been standing 213 years, this means that the Second Temple was completed in 352 BC. This date matches traditional Jewish sources, which say that the Second Temple stood 420 years, before being destroyed in the 2nd year of the reign of Flavius Vespasianus, in 68 AD. However, it disagrees with modern scholarship which places the building of the Second Temple in 516 BC., based on chronologies that emerge from the Babylonian Chronicles.

The Scroll of Antiochos has direct influence on Hanukah, one of the highest holy days in Judaism. Hanukah (from the Hebrew verb for "to dedicate", also romanised as Chanukah or Hanukkah) is a Jewish festival commemorating the rededication of the Second Temple in Jerusalem at the time of the Maccabean Revolt against the Seleucid Empire. It is also known as the Festival of Lights. Hanukkah is observed for eight nights and days, starting on the 25th day of Kislev according to the Hebrew calendar, which may occur at any time from late November to late December in the Gregorian calendar. The festival is observed by lighting the candles of a candelabrum with nine branches, called a menorah (or hanukkiah). One branch is typically placed above or below the others and its candle is used to light the other eight candles. This unique candle is called the shamash (Hebrew: "attendant"). Each night, one additional candle is lit by the shamash until all eight candles are lit together on the final night of the festival. Other Hanukkah festivities include

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playing the game of dreidel and eating oil-based foods, such as latkes and sufganiyot, and dairy foods. Since the 1970s, the worldwide Chabad Hasidic movement has initiated public menorah lightings in open public places in many countries.

The story of Hanukkah is preserved in the books of the First and Second Maccabees, which describe in detail the re-dedication of the Temple in Jerusalem and the lighting of the menorah. These books are not part of the canonised Tanakh (Hebrew Bible); however, they were part of the Alexandrian canon which is also called the Septuagint (sometimes abbreviated LXX). Both books are included in the Old Testament used by the Catholic and Orthodox Churches, since those churches consider the books deuterocanonical. They are not included in the Old Testament books in most Protestant Bibles since most Protestants consider the books apocryphal. Multiple references to Hanukkah are also made in the Mishna (Bikkurim 1:6, Rosh HaShanah 1:3, Taanit 2:10, Megillah 3:4 and 3:6, Moed Katan 3:9, and Bava Kama 6:6). The Jewish historian Titus Flavius Josephus narrates in his book, Jewish Antiquities XII, how the victorious Judas Maccabeus ordered lavish yearly eight-day festivities after rededicating the Temple in Jerusalem that had been profaned by Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Josephus does not say the festival was called Hanukkah but rather the "Festival of Lights" (Titus Flavius Josephus, Jewish Antiquities xii. 7, § 7, 323).

TEXT:

The Greek monarch Antiochus was a powerful ruler; all the kings heeded him. He subdued many provinces and mighty sovereigns; he destroyed their castles, burned their palaces and imprisoned their men. Since the reign of Alexander (the Great) there had never been a king like him beyond the Euphrates. He erected a large city on the seacoast to serve as his royal residence, and called it "Antioch" after his own name. Opposite it his governor Bagris founded another city, and called it "City of Bagris" after himself. Such are their names to this day.

In the twenty-third year of his reign, the two hundred and thirteenth year after the Temple had been rebuilt, Antiochus determined to march on Jerusalem. He said to his officers: "You are aware that the Jews of Jerusalem are in our midst. They neither offer sacrifices to our gods nor observe our laws; they abandon the king's laws to practice their own. They hope moreover for the day when kings and tyrants shall be crushed, saying: 'O that our own king might reign over us, that we might rule the sea and the land, so that the entire world would be ours.' It is indeed a disgrace for the royal government to let them remain on the face of the earth. Come now, let us attack them and abolish the covenant made with them: Shabbat, Rosh Chodesh and circumcision." The proposal pleased his officers and all his host.

Immediately king Antiochus dispatched his governor (General) Nicanor with a large body of troops. He came to the Jewish, city of Jerusalem and massacred many people; he set up a heathen altar in the Temple, concerning which the God of Israel had said to his faithful prophets: "There will I establish my residence forever." In that very place they slaughtered a swine and brought its blood into the holy court. When Yochanan ben Matityahu heard of this deed, he was filled with rage and his face changed colour. In his heart he drew a plan of action. He then made himself a dagger, two spans long and one span wide, and concealed it under his clothes. He came to Jerusalem and stood at the royal gate, calling to this gate-keepers: "I am Yochanan ben Matityahu; I have come to appear before Nicanor." The guards informed Nicanor that the high priest of the Jews was standing at the door. "Let him enter!" Nicanor said.

Yochanan was admitted to Nicanor, who said: "You are one of the rebels who-rebel against the king and do not care for the welfare of his government!" Yochanan replied: "My lord, I have come to you; whatever you demand I will do." "If you wish to do as I please," said Nicanor, "then take a swine and sacrifice it upon the altar. You shall wear royal clothes and ride the king's own horse; you shall be counted among the king's close friends." To this, Yochanan answered: "My lord, I am afraid of the Israelites; if they hear that I have done such a thing they will stone me. Let everyone leave your presence, so as not to inform them." Immediately Nicanor ordered everybody out.

At, that moment Yochanan ben Matityahu raised his eyes to heaven and prayed; "My G-d and G-d of my fathers Avraham, Yitzchak, and Yaakov, do not hand me over to this heathen; for if he kills me, he will boast in the temple of Dagon that his god has handed me over to him." He advanced three steps toward Nicanor, thrust the dagger into his heart, and flung him fatally wounded into the court of the Temple. "My God," Yochanan prayed, "do not count it a sin that I killed this heathen in the Sanctuary; punish thus all the foes who came with him to persecute Judea and Jerusalem." On that day Yochanan set out and fought the enemy, inflicting heavy slaughter on them. The number of those who were slain by him on that day totaled two thousand seven hundred. Upon returning, he erected a column with the inscription: "Maccabee, Destroyer of Tyrants."

When king Antiochus heard that his governor Nicanor had been slain, he was bitterly distressed. He sent for wicked Bagris, the deceiver of his people, and told him: "Do you not know, have you not heard, what the Israelites did to me? They massacred my troops and ransacked my camps! Can you now be sure of your wealth? Will your homes remain yours? Come, let us move against them and abolish the covenant which their G-d made with them: Shabbat, Rosh Chodesh, and circumcision." Then wicked Bagris and his hosts invaded Jerusalem, murdering the population and proclaiming an absolute decree against Shabbat, Rosh Chodesh, and circumcision. So drastic was the king's edict that when a man was discovered to have circumcised his son, he and his wife were hanged along with the child. A woman gave birth to a son after her husband's death and had him circumcised when he was eight days old. With the child in her arms, she went up on top of the wall of Jerusalem and cried out: "We say to you, wicked Bagris: This covenant of our fathers which you intend to destroy shall never cease from us nor from our children's children." She cast her son down to the ground and flung herself after him so that they died together. Many Israelites of that period did the same, refusing to renounce the covenant of their fathers.

Some of the Jews said to one another: "Come, let us keep Shabbat in a cave lest we violate it." When they were betrayed to Bagris, he dispatched armed men who sat down at the entrance of the cave and said: "You Jews, surrender to us! Eat of our bread, drink of our wine, and do what we do!" But the Jews said to one another: "We remember what we were commanded on Mount Sinai: 'Six days you shall labor and do all your work; on the seventh day you shall rest.' It is better for us to die than to desecrate Shabbat." When the Jews failed to come out, wood was brought and set on fire at the entrance of the cave. About a thousand men and women died there. Later the five sons of Matityahu, Yochanan and his four brothers, set out and routed the hostile forces, whom they drove to the coast; for they trusted in the G-d of heaven.

Wicked Bagris, accompanied by those who had escaped the sword, boarded a ship and fled to king Antiochus. "O king," he said, "you have issued a decree abolishing Shabbat, Rosh Chodesh, and circumcision in Judea, and now there is complete rebellion there. The five sons of Matityahu cannot be defeated unless they are attacked by all the combined forces; they are stronger than lions, swifter than eagles, braver than bears. Be pleased to accept my advice, and do not fight them with this small army lest you be disgraced in the sight of all the kings. Send letters to all your royal provinces; let all the army officers without exception come with armored elephants." This pleased king Antiochus. He sent letters to all his royal domains, and the chieftains of various clans arrived with armored elephants. Wicked Bagris invaded Jerusalem for the second time. He broke through the wall, shattered the gateway, made thirteen breaches in the Temple, and ground the stones to dust. He thought to himself: "This time they shall not defeat me; my army is numerous, my hand is mighty." However, the G-d of heaven did not think so.

The five sons of Matityahu went to Mizpeh in Gilead, where the house of Israel had been saved in the days of Shmuel Hanavi. They fasted, sat in ashes and prayed to the G-d of heaven for mercy; then a good plan came to their mind. These were their names: Yehudah, the firstborn; Shimon, the second; Yochanan, the third; Yonatan, the fourth; Elazar, the fifth. Their father blessed them, saying: "Yehudah my son, I compare you to Yehudah the son of Yaakov who was likened to a lion. Shimon my son, I compare, you to Shimon the son of Yaakov who slew the men of Shchem. Yochanan my son, I compare you to Avner the son of Ner, general of Israel's army. Yonatan my son, I compare you to Yonatan the son of Shaul who defeated the Philistines. Elazar my son, I compare you to Pinchas the son of Elazar, who was zealous for his G-d and rescued the Israelites." Soon afterwards the five sons of Matityahu attacked the pagan forces, inflicting severe losses upon them. One, of the brothers, Yehudah, was killed.

When the sons of Matityahu discovered that Yehudah had been slain, they returned to their father who asked: "Why did you come back?" They replied: "Our brother Yehudah, who alone equaled all of us, has been killed." "I will join you in the battle against the heathen," Matityahu said, "lest they destroy the house of Israel; why be so dismayed over your brother?" He joined his sons that same day and waged war against the enemy. The G-d of heaven delivered into their hands all swordsmen and archers, army officers and high officials. None of these survived. Others were compelled to seek refuge in the coastal cities. In attacking the elephants, Elazar was engulfed in their dung. His brothers searched for him among the living and the dead, and could not find him. Eventually, however, they did find him.

The Jews rejoiced over the defeat of their enemies, some of whom were burned while others, were hanged on the gallows. Wicked Bagris was included among those who were burned to death. When king Antiochus heard that his governor Bagris and the army officers had been killed, he boarded a ship and fled to the coastal cities. Wherever he came the people rebelled and called him "The Fugitive," so he drowned himself in the sea.

The Hasmoneans entered the Sanctuary, rebuilt the gates, closed the breaches, and cleansed the Temple court from the slain and the impurities. They looked for pure olive oil to light the Menorah, and found only one bottle with the seal of the Kohen Gadol so that they were sure of its purity. Though its quantity seemed sufficient only for one day's lighting, it lasted for eight days owing to the blessing of the G-d of heaven who had established His Name there. Hence, the Hasmoneans and all the Jews alike instituted these eight days as a time of feasting and rejoicing, like any festival prescribed in the Torah, and of kindling lights to commemorate the victories G-d had given them. Mourning and fasting are forbidden on Chanukah, except in the case of an individual's vow which must be discharged. Nevertheless, the Hasmoneans did not prohibit work on this holiday.

From that time on, the Greek government was stripped of its renown. The Hasmoneans and their descendants ruled for two hundred and six years, until the destruction of the Beit Hamikdash.

And so the Jews everywhere observe this festival for eight days, beginning on the twenty-fifth of Kislev. These days, instituted by Kohanim, Levites and Sages of Temple times, shall be celebrated by their descendants forever.

The Al-mighty Who performed for them a miracle and wonder, may He perform for us miracles and wonders. And we should see the fulfillment of what is written (Michah 7:15) "As in the days when you left the land of Egypt I will show it wonders."

THE BOOK OF JOSHUA

The Samaritan Chronicle
Source: The Arabic Manuscript,
Trinity College, Cambridge
Translation: Oliver Turnbull Crane, 1889
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd-13th centuries A.D.

(The Samaritan Chronicle is called Book of Joshua because the greater part of it is devoted to the history of Joshua. The Samaritans ascribe no canonical authority to it because they accept only the Torah (the Five Books of Moses) as canonical scripture.

It is has two divergent sections, one in Samaritan Hebrew and the other in Arabic. It is divided into fifty chapters, and contains, after the account of Joshua, a brief description of the period following Joshua, agreeing to that extent with the Book of Judges. Then follow histories of Nebuchadnezzar, Alexander the Great, and the revolt against Hadrian; it ends with an incomplete account of Baba Rabba. The author, who was of a much later period, amplified the Biblical narratives by weaving into them legends of a later date and developing the narratives themselves, at the same time altering certain statements in accordance with Samaritan views on history.

The editio princeps is a published an Arabic manuscript written in the Samaritan alphabet, with a Latin translation and a long preface by T. W. Juynboll (Leyden, 1848). The Samaritan Hebrew version was published in 1908 by Moses Gaster. Though based on the Hebrew canonical Book of Joshua, it differs greatly from the latter in both form and content.

The manuscript: The work was compiled from four sources—one Hebrew-Samaritan (the basis of the chapters 1-24) followef by three Arabic sources. The Hebrew-Samaritan source is based upon the Septuagint translation of Joshua. A Hebrew résumé of the story of Shaubak (ch. 24-37) was inserted in Abraham Zacuto's Sefer Yuhasin by Samuel Shullam, who declared that he found it in a Samaritan chronicle (Sefer Zikronot shel Kutim), where it is said to have been taken from a Jewish Midrash.

Recognition of the document:

The Samaritan Book of Joshua was first brought to the notice of European scholars by the eminent Orientalist, Joseph J. Scaliger, who obtained a manuscript of it from the Samaritans of Cairo, in the year 1584. This Manudcript was deposited by him in the library of the University of Leyden, and for a long period remained the only copy of the work in Europe; in fact, it is only within the last half of the present century that other Manuscripts have been obtained; one of these is now in the possession of the British Museum, and another is said to be in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. To the celebrated Swiss theologian and scholar, Johann Heinrich Hottinger, is due the credit of first making the contents of this work fully known to scholars; this he did in his Exercitationes Anti-Morinianoe de Pentateucho Samaritano, published in 1644, wherein he gave a condensed Latin translation, or rather epitome, of the whole chronicle : he likewise treated of it in other of his writings, especially in his Smegma Orient, (1657), which contains a fair resume of its contents. Hottinger's works remained the principal source from which scholars drew their information of the character and contents of this chronicle of the Samaritans, until in the*

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year 1848, T. W. J. Juynboll edited the Arabic text of the Leyden MS. with a complete Latin translation to which were added elaborate dissertations and copious critical notes. This translation of Juynboll's at once superseded all that had preceded it, and has ever since remained the standard.

An English translation of Juynboll's text has been made by Oliver Turnbull Crane ("The Samaritan Chronicle or Book of Joshua," New York, 1890). The translation—the first that has ever been attempted in English—is made directly from the Arabic text as printed by Juynboll, while the Manuscript in the British Museum has been examined and consulted in many cases.

Among the Samaritans themselves this book is not held to be of Divine inspiration—for they believe that only the five books of Moses are inspired—nevertheless, they greatly revere it and hold it in the highest estimation, and believe it to contain a true and authentic history of the period of which it treats. As to when it was composed and who was its author we have no positive knowledge. From the inscription which the Leyden Manuscript bears we learn that the first part of that codex, as it now stands, was written in A. D. 1362-3, and the latter part in A. D. 1513.

Juynboli's researches led him to the conclusion that it was redacted into its present form about A. D. 1300, out of earlier documents, This is probably the fact, and it is all that can be safely predicated as to the time of its compilation. A marked feature of the book is the number of legends and traditions it contains, some of which—so far as we are aware—are to be met with nowhere else. Most of them, however, are intimately connected with similar legends current in the East, and show a common origin with those of the Jews, and frequently with those of the Mohammedans. In the notes an effort has been made to notice such Jewish or Moslem legends and traditions as are identical or show an affinity with those mentioned in the text, in order that the reader may see wherein the various versions agree or differ. Care has been taken also to identify, so far as it was possible, all places or localities mentioned in the Chronicle, and to give their ancient Hebrew names. This, it is believed, will not be without value to all such as are unfamiliar with the modern Arabic names of places in Palestine, and who might otherwise be at a loss to know what were the places that are hidden under the Arabic names in the Chronicle.

To all who are interested in the history, geography and legends of Palestine this Chronicle of the Samaritans will be of particular interest; and while it is not to be denied that many of its statements are incredible, still the fact remains that much that it contains is of true value and is not to be ignored.

Remarks on Joshua, here called Yusha:

JOSHUA or Jehoshua (Hebrew: Yehoshua) is the central figure in the Hebrew Bible's Book of Joshua. According to the books of Exodus, Numbers and Joshua, he (just like Moses) was born and raised in Egypt. He was Moses' assistant and became the leader of the Israelite tribes after the death of Moses. Joshua was one of the twelve spies of Israel sent by Moses to explore the land of Canaan. In Numbers 13:1–16, and after the death of Moses, he led the Israelite tribes in the conquest of Canaan, and allocated the land to the tribes. According to biblical chronology, Joshua lived some time in the Bronze Age. According to Joshua 24:29, Joshua died at the age of 110.

Joshua also holds a position of respect among Muslims. According to Islamic tradition, he was, along with Caleb, one of the two believing spies whom Moses had sent to spy the land of Canaan. Documents like this Samaritan Book of Joshua served as source in Islam. Joshua plays a role in Islamic literature with significant narration in the Hadith (Sahih al-Bukhari, Sahih Muslim).

His original name was "Hoshea" the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, but Moses called him Joshua (Numbers 13:16), the name by which he is commonly known. The English name "Joshua" is a rendering of the Hebrew language Yehoshua, interpreted in Christian theology as "Yahweh is salvation". This requires a different vocalisation of the second name component, reading it as related to Hoshea—the name used in the Torah before Moses added the divine name (Numbers 13:16). The modern linguistic analysis of the name, however, is "Yahweh is devine". A loosely but more precise interpretation is "the Saviour" or "the Messiah", showing that this name actually was a title rather than a common name. "Jesus" is the English derivative of the Greek transliteration of "Yehoshua" via Latin. In the Septuagint, all instances of the word "Yehoshua" are rendered as "Iesous", the closest Greek pronunciation of the Aramaic: Yeshua, Ezra / Nehemiah 8:17. Thus, in modern Greek, Joshua is called "Jesus son of Naue" (τοῦ Ναυή) to differentiate him from Jesus. This is also true in most Slavic languages as they follow Orthodox tradition like the Greeks.

CONTENTS

A.) Samaritan-Hebrew Section:

• Ch. 1: The author claims to have translated the following narratives from the Hebrew.

• Ch. 2: Moses appoints Joshua as his successor, investing him with royal power.

• Ch. 3: Account of Bala'am and the King of Moab (comp. Num. 22:2-41).

• Ch. 4: Balaam advises the King of Moab to draw the Israelites into lust and thus cause their destruction (comp. Num. R. 20. 23).

• Ch. 5: Moses sends Joshua and Phinehas to the war with the Midianites (comp. Num. 21:2 et seq.). Following the account of the fall of Jericho (Joshua 6), the author relates that the walls of Midian's stronghold fell at the blast of the trumpets. Balaam, found in the Midianite temple speechless from terror, was killed by the soldiers in spite of Joshua's desire to take him alive before Moses.

• Ch. 6-8: Moses' death; his testament; the mourning of the Israelites over him.

• Ch. 9-12: (written in the same strain as the first chapter of the canonical Book of Joshua): Joshua's activity; his organisation of the army and preparations for the invasion of Canaan.

• Ch. 13: The sending of the spies to Jericho. Imitating the Biblical account of the Gibeonites (comp. Josh. 9:4 et seq.), the writer says that the spies, who knew several languages, disguised themselves as travelers, telling those they met that, having heard of the exploits of Joshua, they had come from a distant land for the sake of further information about him. At Jericho, suspected of being spies, they hid themselves in the house of Rahab. The remainder of the chapter follows the canonical version. • Ch. 14-17: The Israelites cross the Jordan River (as in Josh. 3); Joshua's song, an imitation of the song of Moses in Ex. 1-19; account of the fall of Jericho.

• Ch. 18: Achan is discovered to have taken possession of some of the accursed things. Here the account differs from that in Josh. 7; there is no mention of the Israelites being defeated at Ai; but the gem in the high priest's breastplate that bore the name of Judah having become dim, it was known that one of that tribe had sinned. The wedge of gold stolen by Achan is said to have weighed 2,250 shekels.

• Ch. 19: An account of the Gibeonites, similar to that in Joshua 9, except that only three Gibeonite cities are mentioned, Chephirah being omitted.

• Ch. 20-23: The continuation of the war and the partition of the land. Joshua sends surveyors to divide the land into ten parts, assigning to the Levites forty-eight cities, which are to be taken from the other tribes. Joshua dismisses the two and a half tribes whose allotment was east of the Jordan, appointing Nabih ("Nobah" in Num. 32:42), son of Gilead, king over them; they number 110,580.

• Ch. 24: The surveyors having returned, Joshua assigns to the tribes their respective lots. He then founds the city of Samaria and builds a temple on Mount Gerizim (comp. Josh. 8:30).

B.) Arabic Section:

• Ch. 25: Description of the prosperous state of the Israelites after the partition of the land, over which peace reigns for twenty years.

• Ch. 26-27: give a long account of the war between Joshua and the league formed by Shaubak (Shobach), King of Persia. Shaubak, desiring to avenge the death of his father, Hammam, who has been killed in battle with the Israelites, enters into a league with all the neighbouring kings, who decide to wage war with Joshua. Shaubak first sends an ambassador with a minatory letter to Joshua, who thereupon consults the assembly as to the steps to be taken. The ambassador is amazed at the splendor with which Joshua is surrounded and at the dignity and order with which Joshua administers justice. He returns with Joshua's answer, that the Israelites are prepared for the war, and attempts to dissuade Shaubak from his design. Shaubak, however, encouraged by his mother and by the Magi, marches to the war with an immense army. Joshua, arrived with his army at Ayalon, one of the enemy's cities, is enclosed by seven iron walls, called into existence by magic. At Joshua's prayer a dove appears, and by it he sends a letter to Nabih, who marches with a great army against Shaubak. The latter is defeated. At the shouting of Nabih's soldiers the walls about Joshua disappear.

• Ch. 28-43: After a reign of forty-five years Joshua dies, and is buried at Kafar Ghawirah (comp. Josh. 24:30); account of his appointment of his successors and of the prosperous state of Israel during the ensuing period of 260 years—the "days of satisfaction" ("ayyam al-ridha" or "yeme ha-ratzon"). For the original legend concerning Shaubak, see Sotah 8, 1, 42b, with reference to 2 Samuel 10:16, 18.

• Ch. 44: contains an account of the division under Eli and of the period of sin ("aldhalal" or "fanuta").

• Ch. 45-50: give accounts of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Mausil (Mosul), Alexander the Great, the Third Jewish-Roman War against Hadrian, the high priests Aqbon and Nathanael, and Baba Rabba ("Great Father"; Samaritan High Priest, 288-328 AD.).)

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 1

In The Name Of God, The Compassionate*

(* In the name of God, the Companionate. This phrase in its more complete form: In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, is used universally by all Mohammedans at the beginning of every book they write, whatever may be its subject. This phrase identifies this book as the Arabic version.) This is the book narrating the chronicles of the children of Israil, from the time that our master Musa (Moses), the prophet—peace be upon him—the son of Ainran, invested Yusha (Joshua) the son of Nun with the Khalifate (This is strictly a Mohammedan term, and by Moslem writers exclusively restricted to the designation of the office of successor of the prophet Mohammed.) over his people. All of this is translated from the Hebrew language into the Arabic language, after the manner of a rapid translation by word of mouth, and giving only the statement of the narrative, and nothing more: even what God—Powerful and Glorious—showed forth of signs and miracles and wonders, which man is too weak to adequately specify and describe; such as, what happened at the Urdun (Jordan), and also at the time when the giants were humbled, and with what victory and power and might and authority God came to his (Joshua's) assistance; also what they (the children of Israel) witnessed at the time of their entering the land, besides what they witnessed in Wady el-Mujib. (modern, 10th century, Arabic name for the valley of Arnon.) and on mount Sina. (Sinai) and its vast wilderness, with the essential incidents of this event which God made manifest, even the quaking of its mountains, together with what there was of thunders and lightnings connected with this, and the joining of fires to the very heaven, and their hearing the code of their laws from the divine and eternal voice, from whom shone forth flashes of light, representing the form of its writer, even the Creator. Afterwards what happened to them at the Greater Sea, (The term 'Greater' is probably here applied to it to prevent all possibility of its being confounded with the Nile, for in Arabic the word Bahr 'sea' is indiscriminately used to designate any large body of water, whether it be a large river, sea or ocean. In Chapter 16 it is called the 'Sea of el-Qulzum', the name by which it is commonly known among the Arabs.) not to mention what their adversaries witnessed in Greater Misr (Egypt: the term 'Misr' is applied equally to the chief city of Egypt and to the country itself.), and what calamities overtook their enemies, such as Fir'aun (Pharaoh) and his army, and Amlaq (the Amalekites) and its host, and Sihun (Sihon) and his kingdom, and Ug the father of Anaq (In the Bible Og is not spoken of as being directly connected with the Anakim, and their progenitor is said to be Arba (Joshua 14:15; 15:13; 21:11.) with his haughtiness, and Bila'am (Balaam) with his sorcery, and the kings of Moab with their greatness. Also what happened unto Qarun (Korah) the son of the uncle of Harun (Aaron)* and to the company who were with him, namely that some of them the earth opened its mouth and swallowed, and they went down alive to the deepest depths, while as to others of them the divine fire came forth and consumed their bodies. (* Qarun the son of the uncle of Hariin. It is important to remark that the Samaritan copy of the Pentateuch differs materially from the received Jewish Massoretic text in Num. xxvi. 10, where the manner of Korah's death is referred to, the latter plainly implying that the earth swallowed him up with Dathan and Abiram and their company; while the former explicitly states that he was consumed by the fire of the Lord in the company of the two hundred and fifty Levites of his own tribe, for it here reads: "and the earth opened her mouth, and the earth swallowed them up, when that company died; at the time the fire devoured Korah and the two hundred and fifty men; and they became a sign." With this Titus Flavius Josephus coincides (Antiquities, book 4, chap. 3].) And also what happened to the people while they were in the wilderness forty years, suffering want, without a guide and with no provisions or clothing, and barely living and existing; whom the cloud overshadowed by day and the pillar of fire protected from cold by night, and whose food was the manna from heaven; and when there was need of water, our master Musa—peace be upon him—the son of Amran, brought it forth for them from the rocks* and from the parched ground and stone, until they themselves had drank, and all that were in their company both of living souls and animals. (* There is a well-known Rabbinical legend that the water-yielding rock followed the Israelites all about in the desert, rolling like a round beehive or barrel of stone to the door of the tent, and that thus wherever they went, they had abundance of water from the self-same rock. Mohammedans have the same tradition as their Islam comes from Judaism.) And it shall come to pass, that when they who are possessed of intelligence, but are yet unbelieving, shall have heard of what God did bountifully bestow upon them (the children of Israil), and with what happiness He did surround them, and how He lifted off of them all calamities, whether heavenly or earthly, and also what new things He revealed unto them, then they will know that, there is no Lord but their (the children of Israil's) Lord and no prophet, but their prophet, and no book but their Book, and no true religion but their religion; and (they

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shall also understand) the excellency of the perfect creed, and the certainty of its validity, and that it is greatest in rendering praise to the Creator—Mighty and Glorious—the One who is omnipotent to do whatsoever He pleaseth. And when one shall hear of the decline of the kingdom of the children of Israil, and what calamities and misfortunes and exiles and dispersions overtook them by reason of their disobedient doings and their rebellious actions, his fear will be increased for Him from Whom nothing escapes and of Whose kingdom nothing is destroyed—Blessed be He and exalted! And now of Him do we implore complete rightguidance and all-embracing favour in His mercy. Verily He is a hearer and answerer (of prayer).

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 2

The Account Of The Investure Of Yusha The Sun Of Nun With The Khalifate Of The Prophet—Peace Be Upon Him.

At the completion of the hundred and nineteenth year, on the first day of the eleventh month, of the life of our master Musa (Moses)* the Prophet (* This exact statement of the age of Moses at this time is not to be found in the Old Testament, but the date of the month as here given is mentioned in Deut. 1:3; though there it is connected with the fortieth year (of the wanderings of the Israelites). In Deut. 31:2. Moses says: "I am an hundred and twenty years old this day," and in verse 3, we read: "and Joshua, he shall go over before thee, as the Lord hath said," which indicates that Joshua had already been appointed leader, as is stated in Num. 27:18-23.)—peace be upon him—God revealed unto him in the plain of Mab (Moab), that he should lay his hand upon the head of Yusha, the son of Nun, the spiritual man (This expression applied to Joshua, as well as the one found in chap. 24 ("the mortal and spiritual"), is founded upon what is said in Num. 27:18, that he was, "a man in whom is the spirit."); meaning by this, that he (Moses) should give him (Joshua) information of the profound secret, and reveal to him the vision of his dream and the science of knowledge, (The profound secret here referred to is that certain secret knowledge of God and His nature and works, which if men were imbued with, they were believed to be then able to bring about Divine acts and miracles.) as much as he was capable of bearing; by the which his heart would be strengthened and his spirit perfected and his soul elevated, and the rule over the creatures (the children of Israil) be rendered easy unto him; and that he should also inform him of the Name*, by which he should put to flight hostile armies, and by which a nation that no country could contain and whose numbers were countless might be confounded. (* That is, the Holy and Ineffable name of God, represented by the four Hebrew letters YHWH [pronounced Yahweh]; the Shem, hammephorash of the Jewish Rabbins, and the Shema of the Samaritans, and the Greek Tetragrammaton; a name the mere utterance of which constituted a capital offence, according to the interpretation put upon the words used in Num. 24:16, by the priests and Rabbins.) And He ordered him (Moses) to set him (Joshua) before el-Azar (Eleazar) the imam (This title is applied by Mohammedans to their preachers or priests who officiate in the mosques.)—peace be upon him—and to assemble unto him (Joshua) the people of learning and knowledge with the nobles and rulers, and ratify a compact with him, and make anew a covenant with him, and invest him with the kingly authority, and install him in the rule over all the children of Israil. Thereupon the Prophet laid on el-Azar the imam—peace be upon him—the command, which rested on him, to superintend the affair with completeness and splendor, and not to enter upon any affair or turn aside under any circumstance, except after he had seen to this. And at the completion of his inauguration, the priests sounded with the trumpets, and the heralds made proclamation for his standard, and the banners and flags were unfurled to his reign. Our master, the prophet Musa—peace be upon him—had seen that he (Joshua) was wont to go forth in the front line of battle during his (Moses') days, in order that he might by actual trial gain experience of what he knew and had observed. And immediately he (Moses) gave command that, there should be selected out from the children of Israil—meaning by this, that there should be chosen from among them—twelve thousand men; from each tribe one thousand men; and thereupon he would with these make an attack upon the Midyanites, to take satisfaction for Israil out of them and their country. Now, before mention is made of the cause of this retaliation, we would remark, that the children of Israil had been restrained from intermeddling in any way with the affairs of the Ammanites and Mabites, and were under orders not to appropriate to themselves any of their territory (Deut. 2:9 and 19.); and they did do only what necessity compelled them to do with them. Hereafter we will explain and elucidate this, by the will of God and His assistance, and the goodness of His guidance and favour.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 3

THE AFFAIR OF BILA'AM WITH THE KING OF MOAB.

When the children of Israil went down into the plain of Moab, God revealed unto our master Musa, the Prophet—upon him be the most excellent peace—that he should not have anything to do with the Ammanites and Mabites, nor should he wage war with them; "Because I," said God, "will not appropriate any of their lands to the children of Israil." (Deut. 2:9 and 19.) And he (Moses) obeyed this and did accordingly. Now when it reached the ears of the kings of Moab and Amman and Midyan what had happened unto Sihun and Ug, of destruction and ruin and the taking captive of people and the taking of cities, forsooth they were sore distressed and feared exceedingly because of this; and they sent messages unto Bila'am, the son of Baur* (Beor), by men pre-eminent in sorcery and wisdom—for all the soldiers knew of him by reason of his invocations. (* Apart from the Scriptural record of Bala'am's history, numerous traditions exist concerning him, many of them more or less interesting, and some possessing quite possibly a substratum of truth handed down from early times. Philo of Alexandria** records this of him: "There was a man at that time celebrated for divination, who lived in Mesopotamia, and was skilled in every branch of the divining art. He had learned the greatest names [i.e. names of angels and of God, potent In working magic], through his knowledge of the flight of birds, and did much that was wonderful by their means. He predicted rain in the hottest time of summer; heat and drought in the midst of winter; unfruitfulness when the fields were greenest; plenty in years of famine: and the overflowing or drying up of streams; the remedies of pestilential diseases, and a vast multitude of other things, the foretelling of which got him boundless fame, which spread even unto this." (Vita Moysis, sec. 48). Titus Flavius Josephus speaks of him as, "the best prophet [or diviner] of his times [Antiquities 4, 6, sec. 2].) (** Philo of Alexandria or Yedidia HaCohen [Hebrew: Yedidia, Jedediah, or Jedidiah] = "the Beloved of God"; Greek: Philon = "the Beloved"; HaCohen = Priest], Yedidia the Priest or Teacher; c. 20 BC – c. 50 AD. He is also known as "Philo Judaeus". He was a Greek Jewish philosopher who lived in Alexandria, in the Roman province of Egypt. He, as his ancestors and family before him, had very close social ties and connexions to the priesthood in Judaea, the Hasmonean dynasty, the Herodian dynasty and the imperial Julio-Claudian dynasty in Rome. This is the reason why his information about these people are still so important for history. The very same applies to the historian Titus Flavius Josephus [37 – c. 100 AD].) And the delegates came into his presence, and said unto him: "The five kings of Moab and Amman send unto thee their salutations, and say to thee: O, our master and our chief, we know that circumstances are brought about by thee, a knowledge of which the people of learning fall short of attaining unto, and that whatsoever thou blessest, is blessed, and whomsoever thou cursest, is cursed; and that thou canst put to rout all armies by thy invocations and words. Now, perchance, there has already reached thee what has happened in Misr through the children of Israil, and in the sea and in the wilderness, and what has happened unto Amlaq, the chief of tribes, by reason of them, and what they did with Sihun and Ug, and what they have resolved upon in reference to their permanent dwellingplaces. And now their army has descended upon our border, and they are working for our destruction, and already they cover the face of the land; and we have come unto thee and hope to obtain relief of thee and security from them, through thy own free blessing and propitious aid, and also through what we have decided upon of happiness for thee, and the rendering of thy will absolute. Perchance now, our condition will be improved through thy agency, and thou wilt curse this people, and wilt prevail over them and effect a change in present circumstances through thy renown which is spread abroad, and the dignity of thy authority in consequence of thy circumstances, riches and servants; and there will be glory to us and to thee among all kings, in addition to what reward will be added unto this, in consideration for thy grand beneficence toward a people whom no country can contain, and whose numbers are countless and beyond reckoning; for thou wilt have prevented a multitude from being murdered by fire. For the character and manner of this army is, that it is not restrained by a feeling of shame from an old man, nor does it accord protection to a woman, or have pity on a child, or show compassion toward an animal; for they do nothing else but murder with the sword, and stone to death with stones, and crucify, and burn with fire: yea, this is its custom, and it does not allow any mercy to be shown, or protection to be granted, unto any, and it spares not even a leafless palm branch in its annihilating and destroying. By God, O our master, hasten unto us, bringing with tbee whatever is necessary, and be not wanting unto us in this matter which involves the preservation of life; and we will reward a good deed with its like, and an evil deed with its like. And now, peace." And when Bila'am heard this message, he made reply to the company of wise and trained men, and said unto them: "I will treat with due respect your rights, and the rights of those who urge you on in this message; but my action is controlled by the One whom I serve, if He gives me permission to go with you, I would accomplish your desire and the desire of those who urge you on in the message, and I would accomplish their (the children of Israil's) destruction, and in the end complete their annihilation, and would leave unto you a memorry, for which you would praise me to the end of the ages. And now decide to lodge with me this night, and 1 will hear what shall be addressed unto me, and we will wholly act in accordance therewith, whether it be of good or evil." And the people consented, and lodged with him. And he began to offer worship to the One whom he was accustomed to serve, and it was said unto him: "Do not thou go with the people, nor curse Israil, for they are blessed." And he came to them with these words; thereupon they returned to the kings, and informed them of what had happened; but this only increased the more their desire after him, and this was high honour to him. And now there rode unto Bila'am more illustrious delegates than those who had gone before, and greater by far than they; yet they made less promises to him, and said in the second message: "Now see to it that thou comest unto us; for we are able to honor thee, and to give bountifully unto thee." Thereupon the people came unto him with this message; and Bila'am answered the messengers and said: "It is necessary that ye understand that, if the kings should give unto me their houses full of silver or gold, I cannot transgress what my Lord commands; but now abide this night with me, and I will hear What communication shall be addressed to me, and I will act in accordance with it, whether it be favourable or unfavourable." So the people lodged with him; and the man started in on the beginning of his performance and service and worship. And when God perceived his inclination, and what his secret thoughts were bent upon, and how he was exalted in self-glorification. God then desired to make a manifestation of His mysteries: now behold He could not do this Himself, nor could He do it through one who worshipped Him after the manner of anyone of the children of Israil, nor could He do it by writing, or by the agency of any of His angels, but forsooth only by sending unto him His very Command (This corresponds very nearly to the use of Memra ["the Word"] in place of the name Jehovah by the Targumists.). And the companion of Bila'am* upon beholding the spectre of the Command of God, fled away from it, and he became the visible form of the agent of the Creator who addressed Bila'am; for this was the device employed to communicate with him. (* In Numbers 22:22, we are told that, "his two servants were with him," and these Jewish tradition state were his two sons Jannes and Jambres. [Targum of Jonathan].) And the Command of God said to him: "Did not I say unto thee, O Bila'am, when the people came unto thee; 'go with them'?"; making inquiry to see what craving Bila'am had for the journey. But he answered him not a syllable, though his usual custom was to say: "Not so; for without my God I give ear to nothing." And he did not fully believe that he had heard the correct interpretation of the speech, until He commanded him to mount and ride, and then he made haste to saddle his ass, and went along with the wise men of Moab. And the anger of the Creator was aroused, because of his starting out on the journey before he had sought instruction (of God), and He placed Himself in the way to make an attack upon him. Now he (Balaam) was riding upon his she- ass, and boasting of her before the people of learning, that he had no need of a guide when with her, and that he had no necessity ever to beat her. But when she espied the Agency of the Creator—Mighty and Glorious—standing in the way, with His drawn sword in His hand, she swerved aside out of the way through fear of Him; and this was the first of the putting to shame of Bila'am and of his remorse; and he beat her with his staff. And the Agency of the Creator removed to a place between walls in a field, and stood still; and when the ass beheld Him, she shied into one of the walls and injured Bila'am's foot, and he beat her more violently. And when the learned and wise men beheld this, they said unto him: "O our master, it cannot be that there is a cause for her opposition to the execution of this mandate of the Divine Word? "And he answered and said unto them: "It was desired that this mandate should be carried out," And the Agency of God again passed on, until He stopped in a narrow place where there was no way of turning out either to the right or to the left; and when the ass beheld Him, she lay down under him (Balaam), and he again beat her violently. And God put speech on the tongue of the animal, (The Rabbins hold that there were ten things created after the founding of the world at the coming in of the Sabbath between sunset and sunrise, to wit—the manna; the well; the rod of Moses; the worm Shamir; the rainbow; the cloud of glory; the mouth of the earth; the writing on the tables of the covenant; the demons; and the speaking mouth of the ass. [Targum of Jonathan].) and thereupon she said to Bila'am: "What have I done unto thee that thou shouldst beat me these three times? Am not I thine ass upon whom thou hast ridden since thou wast created up till now? Have I ever acted badly toward thee like as this time? "And he said: "No." Then God opened the eyes of Bila'anuso that he saw the Agency of God, even an angel standing in the way with His drawn sword in His hand, and he threw himself down before Him; and He said unto him: "Why hast thou beaten thine ass three times? If thou hadst got right in front of me, I would have killed thee and saved her alive; for I have seen the wickedness of thy

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inclination. Now however, go along with the people, but keep carefully to what I shall say unto thee, and do not overstep it." Thereupon Bila'am journeyed on; and when the kings heard of his journeying, they came out to meet him, and they found him perplexed in his affair, and he informed them as to what had happened, and that in accordance with it he could not do anything except by the command of God—Mighty and Glorious. And the people took him to the cliff which is described in the holy Pentateuch (Num. 22:41.), that he might behold all the children of Israil. Now after the man had been thus met and honoured and made much of, his zeal was increased to obtain to the uttermost degree the love of the people. Thereupon he built on the cliff that has been described seven altars, and offered up on every altar a calf and a ram, and began worshipping that lie might hear what would be addressed unto him. And he heard what did not please him, and he announced what he had heard to the company of the kings; and they said to him: "Remove unto another place, and perhaps there the cursing of this people will be easier." And he obeyed them, and he did like as he had done the first time, and he heard greater things than the first communication; and he began to go to the extreme in glorifying the children of Israil and honoring them. And the king of Moab said to him: "If thou dost not curse them, do not bless them." Then he besought them that he might remove unto another place, and he went and did as he had done the second time. And his eyes fell upon the desert and he saw the tribes of the children of Israil, and divine spirits were guarding them, that is, the angels were protecting them from every soul and he turned away the evil eye from them*, and hastened to glorify and bless them, until he said concerning them (* A belief in the baneful influence and power of the "evil eye" is well nigh universal in the East, and dates from an early antiquity; that the Hebrews likewise believed in this, is shown by such passages as Proverbs 23:6; 28:22; Mark, 7:22, etc.): "O Israil, cursed be he who curseth thee, and blessed be he who blesseth thee." And the anger of the king was aroused against him; but Bila'am said unto him: "Let not thine anger be aroused against me; did I not say unto thee that I could not act contrary to what I am commanded? But now assemble the kings with thee, that I may inform your company of what will happen unto you and others besides you of the people, and I will give you information about a device, which, if carried out, will occasion their annihilation. Thereupon the kings assembled, and he made known unto them marvellous news, the explanation of which would be long; and he said to them: "Round about these people the holy angels keep guard, and the King of the heavens and the earth is with them, and it is not allowable to make use of sorcery against them, nor the science of astrology (See Numbers 23:21 and 23.); nor will His heart repudiate them, except when they give themselves over to unbelief, or are led to do so by some stratagem, then the Creator will become angry with them and they will perish, and not a single one of them will survive."

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 4

THE ACCOUNT OF THE STRATAGEM AND ARTIFICE USED BY BILA'AM AGAINST THE CHILDREN OF ISRAIL.

When the kings heard him relate what has preceded, they said to him: "How is the way to accomplish what thou hast mentioned concerning their destruction?" And he looked up the last resource of infidelity and pollution, and made it known unto them, and said to them: "Select of the most beautiful and fair women as many as ye can, and the king shall be the first to send forth his daughter with them; thereupon give unto each one of them an idol which she may worship, and an ornament which she may look at, and perfume which she may inhale, and food and drink; and the daughter of the king should be in a chariot which is wafted along with the wind, and it should be enjoined upon her that she should make it her aim to go to the tabernacle, and pay her respects to no one except to their chief unto whom the crowd show deference, for he is their chief. And if in this she meets his approval, then she shall say unto him: "Wilt thou not receive me, or eat of my food and drink of my drink and offer service unto my god ? for after this I will be thine, and with thee will do whatsoever thou desirest." For know, O king, that by the chief of this people being polluted, both he and his company will perish, and of them there will not remain a survivor." And the kings did what he recommended unto them (In the account of the children of Israel's falling into sin through the daughters of Moab, as related in Numbers 25. Balaam is not mentioned as connected in any wise with the event; but that he was at the bottom of it and instigated the Moabites thereto is indisputably proved by the frequent references to it in Scriptures directly connecting him with it; see Numbers 31:16; Revelation 2:14.); and there were collected to them twenty-four thousand girls, and they sent them away on the Sabbath day. And as they descended opposite the tabernacle, the chief of the tribe of Shim'aun (Simeon)* rose up; (* The chief of the tribe of Shim'aun. In Numbers 2:12-13, we read that the captain of the tribe of Simeon was Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai, and his host was fifty-nine thousand and three hundred, and in Numbers 25:14, that, "the name of the Israelite that was slain with the Midianitish woman, was Zimri, the son of Salu, a prince of a chief house among the Simeonites." Flavius Josephus, the Rabbins and Mohammedan writers all relate quite a lengthy conversation as having taken place between Moses and Zimri, at the time the latter took unto himself the Midianitish princess.) for he was the chief of fifty-nine thousand men, and was in the advance. And the daughter of the king* advanced unto him, for she on beholding the great deference shown to him by his companions supposed him to be the prophet Musa—peace be upon him, (* In Numbers 25:15, we find it stated that, she was named Cozbi, and was the daughter of Zur who was head over a people, and of a chief house in Midian; and in Num. 31:8, Zur, we are informed, was one of the five kings of Midian slain by the children of Israel.) and he ate of her food and drank of her drink and worshipped the idol which was in her hand, and after this she was submissive to him in his desire. Thereupon every one of them—I mean this particular tribe—took one girl for himself; and the Creator became angry at the people, and destroyed of them in the wink of an eye four thousand men* together with four thousand girls. (* Possibly the text here is faulty, and through carelessness the word "twenty" [one "score"] has been omitted, and should read "twenty-four thousand" in place of "four thousand; "for we read above that twenty-four thousand girls were sent to the camp by the Midianites, and in Numbers 25:9, we are told that, "those that died in the plague were twenty and four thousand." But on the other hand Saul of Tarsos [alias Paul the Apostle] gives the number as " twenty-three thousand" (1 Corinthian 10:8.). Flavius Josephus says "fourteen thousand " (Antiquities 4. 6.), and the Mohammedans swell it to "seventy thousand in one moment" [Kisas el-ambiyd]; so our author may have intentionally, for some reason, put it at "four thousand" as it now stands.)And had not Finahas (Phinehas) the imam (The memory of Phinehas is greatly revered among the Jews and Samaritans, especially the latter, whose priests fondly speak of him as "our father" and proudly boast that they preserve the unbroken succession in the priesthood from him, under the covenant that God made with him [Numbers 25:13].)—peace be upon him—rushed from the presence of Musa the Prophet—peace be upon him—while he and his assembly were weeping at the door of the tabernacle, and seized in his hand a lance and bursting in upon them thrust through the man and girl—I mean the daughter of the king—and dispatched them, assuredly would the wrath of the Creator have destroyed the whole people; but by this action he removed and warded off the Divine anger from the children of Israil. And to Finahas—peace be upon him—there resulted from this noble fame and an excellent remembrance, and a covenant to the end of the ages. And praise be to God the Creator without cessation!

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 5

THE HISTORY OF MIDYAN.

When the stratagem of Bila'am against the children of Israil was accomplished and there had perished of them this great number, and they had been overtaken by this calamity, God revealed to the prophet Musa—peace be upon him —that he should take vengeance for the children of Israil upon the people of Midyan, before that he should return to his elements (meaning by this, before his decease). So he commanded Yusha* the son of Nun, at the time of his investing him with his successorship, that he should go forth with the company which he specially mentioned, and with him Finahas, the imam, for he had gained the victory and a name, and he it was who had averted the Divine anger, and not anyone else, for he had hastened to obey his Lord. (* In the Biblical account of this expedition Joshua is not spoken of as commanding it, though it is true he had already, previous to this, been appointed by Moses as his successor in the leadership of the children of Israel.) Now Bila'am had returned unto the king of Moab to congratulate him over the calamity of the children of Israil, and he found the kings collected together and indulging in joy and merriment, and before they were aware, 12,000 men had surrounded their city, whereupon they made haste in sending out the harlots with ornaments and censers and perfumes, taking for granted that what they had made a successful beginning in would be carried out to perfect completion. But they (i.e., the Israelites) slaughtered these (the women) with the sword. Then Finahas—peace be upon him—with his cousin, went in advance and sounded with the trumpets, and the walls of the fortress fell down in ruins, and the army entered into Midyan, and they killed simultaneously the five kings and every man whom they found in it. And they began to make inquiries about Bila'am, and they found him in a house of worship, and, lo, he was engaged in worship and was performing service. And they brought him out, and he was talking in speech that was unintelligible and could not be understood, because of the greatness of his confusion and bewilderment and the aberration of his mental faculties. And Yusha, the son of Nun, exerted himself to preserve him alive, that our master Musa—the peace of God be upon him—might behold him; but they of the tribe of Shima'un who beheld him were not obedient, nay, even, they cried out the Law against him, and put him to death. (The law here invoked against Bala'am is probably that found in Deut. 18:10-12.) And Yusha said: "Who killed him? Why have ye done this, seeing we had taken him under our protection? And they said unto liim: "O our master, there should be no protection granted to an infidel, nor security to a sorcerer; had we not killed him, he might have effected the accomplishment of a stratagem against thee and against thy people. And we have dared to go contrary to thee in killing him, because of what was in our hearts concerning his deed, and if there be sin in our action in violating the protection accorded to him, lo, we assume it; but to our master belongs such exalted sentiments that he will look with liberality upon our excuse." And he approved of what they said and justified their action. And the people plundered Midyan, and drove away its cattle and took captive its women and children; and not a thing remained in it but they took it. And they returned laden with booty, victorious and safe; not a single man of them was missing. And our master Musa, the prophet—peace be upon him —with el-Azar (Eleazar), the imam, the son of Harun (Aaron), and a crowd of the chiefs went out to meet them. And when they beheld what there was among their number of captive women, our master Musa, the Prophet—upon him be the most excellent peace—became angry at them, and said to them: "This crowd has been the cause of your destruction." Thereupon he commanded them to kill every woman who had known a man, and every boy child, and that none should remain except female children who had not known a man; and that they, together with the company that was with them, should separate themselves seven days for the purpose of purification. And they did so. And the number of the female captives who remained over after those who were killed, was thirty-two thousand girls; and of sheep there was 675,000 head, and of cattle there was 72,000 head; and of horses and mules and camels, 61,000 head; and of gold and silver and vessels and general goods, such a quantity as is impossible to define and describe. But, more wonderful than this, was the unharmed condition of the 12,000 men who had entered a province such as this was, without the loss of a single man of them, or even oue of them being overtaken by the blow of a sword or hit with a stone. Blessed be God, the One who is able to do whatsoever He pleaseth, and of Him do I ask assistance, and upon Him do I put my trust, and unto Him do I return penitently.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 6

THE ACCOUNT OF WHAT OUR MASTER MUSA, THE PROPHET—PEACE BE UPON HIM—EXPOUNDED, BEFORE HIS DEATH.

When God informed our master Musa, the Prophet, of the time when he could no longer remain alive, He commanded him to go up unto the mountain known as Nabah (Nebo). And he (Moses) proceeded to give instructions to Yusha, the son of Nun, and to the children of his brother, and to the assembly of the leaders, with regard to all necessary matters. And they remained with him some time, along with all the officers of the army and the people of wisdom; and he put them under a covenant that they would go with the children of Israil in the way which he had commanded unto them, and not swerve from it either to the right or to the left; and he ordered the priests to sound upon the trumpets, and to send forth heralds who should proclaim throughout the congregation of the children of Israil: "Whoever desires to see our master Musa the Prophet—the most excellent, peace be upon him—let him come, that he may hear his blessing and whatever he shall reveal, and look upon him and bid him farewell, before he goes to the place which God has chosen for him." Thereafter he entered into the tabernacle and offered on the brazen altar the sacrifices, and lifted up the veil, even the veil of the holy house, and cast incense upon the golden altar, and worshipped his Lord; and then he bid farewell to the temple and what there was in it of omnipotence and divine majesty, and went out. And all the children of Israil according to their ranks were gathered together unto him, and he sat down upon an exalted seat, as was his custom, whereon he was elevated above the people, and the light of his countenance shone as the rays of the sun. And he began to deliver an address unto the congregation of the children of Israil, in which he gathered together just as many as a servant of God could, of passages of praise to God, whose names are holy: and in it he expounded intelligence of the days of Divine favour which were to come, and the cause of Wrath and Error. And he informed the children of Israil concerning the deluge of fire, and the day of vengeance and reward (The destruction of the world by fire, and the final Judgement Day, is believed in alike by Jews, Samaritans, Christians and Moslems. The words "deluge of fire" are here used antethetically to the former deluge of water that destroyed the world. In the New Testament we find Simon Peter [alias Simon Kepas] makes use of the same comparison: "Whereby the world that then was, being overflowed with water, perished; but the heavens and the earth, which are now, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgement." [2 Peter 3:6-

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7].), a and defined the time of his return unto them. (The Samaritans [as well as the Muslims] hold to the belief that in the fullness of time the spirit of Moses will descend from heaven and take another body and reign over all nations. Such is their doctrine as to the character of an expected Messiah, whom they call el-Muhdy [also transliterated as al-Mahdiy or el Mahdi meaning "the Guide" or "the Guided One"].) Then he announced unto them what should happen unto every tribe, and that he would marshal them complete in the days of final perfection and completion. And he blessed them altogether, and they listened unto him. And, when the time came to bid farewell to each individual army, they began to cry aloud and wail and weep; and after a space of time he commanded them to be quiet and to sit down. Then he departed, walking slowly up the ascent of the mountain unto which God had ordered him to ascend, and with him were Yusha the son of Nun, and el-Azar (Eleazar) the imam, and the assembly of the leaders who were bidding him farewell and weeping at the approach of his separation from them and clinging to him. And when the farewells were prolonged with them, and the night drew near, a pillar of divine fire descended* and separated between them and their master—peace be upon him—and no one knows what happened to him after this, even unto this time. (* A pillar of divine fire descended. The tradition as preserved by Josephus, touching the incidents connected with Moses' death, is strikingly similar to the one here recorded, he says: "Now as he went thence to the place where he was to vanish out of their sight, they all followed after him weeping; but Moses beckoned with his hand to those that were remote from him, and bid them stay behind in quiet, while he exhorted those that were near to him that they would not render his departure so lamentable. Whereupon they thought they ought to grant him that favor, to let him depart according as he himself desired, so they restrained themselves, though weeping still towards one another. All that now accompanied him were the elders, and Eleazar the high priest, and Joshua their commander. And as soon as they were come to the mountain called Abarim, he dismissed the elders, and then as he was embracing Eleazar and Joshua, and still speaking to them, a cloud suddenly stood over him, and he vanished in a deep valley." [Titus Flavius Josephus, Antiquities. book 4, chap. 8, sec. 49].) His allotted period of life had reached its limit, and the term of his existence among men—peace be unto him—and now his dealings were directly with his Lord and His angels. And of God do we beg that He would unite us to him through His mercy. Behold He is over all things powerful, and He is my sufficiency and illustrious Protector.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 7

THE ACCOUNT OF WHAT YUSHA, HIS DISCIPLE, SAID, AFTER THE DISAPPEARANCE OF HIS LORD AND MASTER.

When the master Musa, the Prophet —peace be upon him—disappeared from him and from the congregation of the children of Israel, and the command separated him from them, which event he was unable to avert from himself, and there passed away from them the sight of him, and when all had completely despaired of his return, Yusha, the son of Nun, wept for him and proclaimed with his loudest voice, saying: "O Master! the death of every one of the children of Adam, from first to last, was witnessed, and his grave seen; but thou! who has seen thy grave? What prophet of the prophet can attain unto thy glory, or prolong his memory unto the extent thy memory is prolonged? Where is one who has brought to life the dead and caused the living to die, through the permission of his Lord, besides thee? (Where is one who brought to life the dead. ..... besides thee? In the Bible we find no intimation that Moses ever performed any such miracle as bringing to life the dead, yet the Samaritans here, as well as in their religious hymns, attribute to him the exercise of this miraculous power.) Unto what prophet do the infidels bear testimony as to his prophetic office, except thee? What prophet, in the ages past or yet to come, did cause his congregation to hear the voice of the Creator from the regions of the heavens, except thee? Where is one who shall arise, and his words ascend on high, and ward off the Divine anger, and bring down Divine mercy, except thee? What prophet fasted before his Lord, until he fasted one hundred and twenty days including the nights*, except thee? (* Samaritans and Jews believe that Moses was three separate times with God in the Mount for the space of forty days and nights; see: Exodus 32:30-31; Deuteronomy 9:9, 18, 25.) What prophet boasted of his being the one who held converse with God without anything intervening between them, except thee? Where is one, who has trodden the fire, and cleft the darkness, and rent the clouds, and reached unto the curtain of omnipotence, besides thee? What book ascribed to any prophet has in it the teaching of the worship of the Creator, and of how access may be had to Him, except thy book? O one who killed the Nil (Nile) with his rod! (This has reference to Moses' smiting with his rod the river of Egypt and turning its waters to blood, so he is here figuratively said to have "killed "the Nile.) O one who did reveal new things! O one who showed forth wonders! O one who manifested signs! O one who lighted up the darkness! O one who cleft the sea with his rod! O one-who put to rout armies with his hand! O one who warded off the Divine anger by his petitions! O one who brought down Divine mercy by his intercessions! O one whose very sustenance was the worship of his Lord! O one who went out from the boundaries of humanity and human power into the Divine power! O one who understood the past and knew what was to come! O one who ruled his enemies by his invocation! O my master and my lord! How can I exist and how can thy people exist, now that thou art gone? "After this his weeping increased as did also the weeping of the congregation that was with him, and when the grief and wailing had been long indulged in, with submission and humility, it was announced to Yusha, the son of Nun, saying: Return thou and those that are with thee of the army, and do not oppose the command of God "—May His name be glorious.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 8

THE ACCOUNT OF WHAT WAS DONE AFTER THE RETURN OF YUSHA, TO THE PEOPLE.

When Yusha, and the priests returned after bidding farewell to the prophet—peace be upon him,—the congregation of the children of Israil met them, and they commenced weeping for their master, yea, every company "by company, and they continued weeping for him thirty days and nights. And the nations heard their clamour and wailing and crying, and they assembled together in confederation on the borders and rejoiced exceedingly when they were informed of the death of the prophet—peace be upon him,—and they resolved to encounter the children of Israil. But when God—Powerful and Mighty—perceived the conspiracy of the Canaanites, of those who were assembled unto them, He made a manifestation of Divine power and revealed unto Yusha, the son, of Nun, that he should strengthen his own and the people's courage, by saying unto them: "That as He had been with them in the past, so would He be with them in the future so long as they continued in worshipful submission." Praise he unto Him to Whom belongs the kingdom and the majesty and the power and eternal existence. There is no God but He, and no kingdom but His kingdom.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 9

THE BEGINNING OF THE BOOK YUSHA, THE SON OP NUN, THE DISCIPLE OF THE MASTER MUSA, THE PROPHET—PEACE BE UPON HIM.

After the death of Musa, Kalimu'1-lah, (This is the title universally applied to Moses by Mohammedans. It means "the one who held direct converse with God.") God made a revelation unto Yusha, the son of Nun, the disciple of Musa the servant of God, saying unto him: " O Yusha, arise, start out, and with thy people pass over the Urdun (Jordan) unto the land which I am about to give unto the children of Israil; all the places which your feet shall tread shall belong to you. Your boundary shall be from the wilderness to el-Lubnan (Lebanon), and from the river el-Farah (Euphrates) unto the uttermost sea; and no enemy shall stand before you. O Yusha, as I was with Musa—peace be upon him—so will I be with thee, and I will not forsake thee nor desert thee. Be strong and exalt thyself exceedingly. Fear not nor be dismayed, for I am with thee and with thy people in every place. O Yusha, do not abolish the reading of what Musa the prophet inscribed and wrote, with what is intrusted unto the Liwanites (Levites) in the place in the holy house, and learn from it night and day, even all the days of thy life, that thou mayest be instructed; for if thou observest the same and dost not swerve from what is commanded thee to the right or to the left, thou wilt succeed and prosper, and thy enemies will be put to rout by thee, and thou shalt tread upon their necks." And at this time the communication ended.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 10

THE ACCOUNT OF YUSHA'S (Joshua's) ASSEMBLING THE CHILDREN OF ISRAIL, AND HIS RENEWING THE COVENANT WITH THEM.

After Yusha, had heard what God revealed unto him, he joined unto himself el-Azar (Eleazar), the imam—peace be upon him, and he sat down upon his sacred chair, while Yusha, sat upon his royal chair. And there gathered unto them, the holy priests, and the Liwanites who offered the sacrifices, and the twelve chiefs who always attended them, and the chief judges, and the seventy chosen wise men, and the officers over the thousands, and hundreds, and fifties, and tens. And with the assembling of this congress, the trumpets sounded and the heralds went forth proclaiming a general assembling of the children of Israil. And it was not but an hour before there were gathered unto them the old men and the young, with many of the women and children and all the army. And then Yusha, began to enumerate to them the things that God—Powerful and Mighty—had manifested by the hand of our master Musa the Prophet—peace be upon him —in their behalf and that of their predecessors. Next he recalled to them wherein they had acted contrary to Him, and tried Him, and rebelled against Him. And he said unto them: "O assembled men, I am going to bind you to the covenant and compact which existed before the death of the Prophet—peace be upon him—that you will not associate others with God, and that you will see to the promulgation of the laws upon which this covenant is founded, and it is, namely, the explanation of the law, and the explanation of what the obedient will receive and what shall befall the disobedient. And now this covenant in which I do confirm you is not with you and you alone, but includes you and those whom ye shall beget unto the end of the ages." And he told them what the other nations were wedded to, concerning the worship of idols; and informed them that God was with them as long as they remained in obedience, but that He would remove His favour from them upon their acting disobediently, and that then their ways would not prosper, nor would there be a united nation. Then he proclaimed in his loudest voice: "Assembled men, let there not be among you a disseminator of corrupt designs, spikes of corn and wormwood, 1 (meaning by this, one who associates others with God and unites the worship of others with His worship); nor let there be among you one who cogitates in his heart wicked doctrines, or opposition to the command of God —Powerful and Mighty—lest there be a destruction of this mighty, holy nation and all its greatness, and separation from the Creator—may His name be holy—and your enemies attain unto their desires and plunder you of your cattle, and wives and children. For whoever adopts these views, or any part of them, there shall fall upon him all the calamities which are written in the Holy Law, and God will blot out the remembrance of him from under the heaven, and will make him distinguished by reason of his calamities, apart from all the tribes of Israil. And so, be sincere with your souls and your conscience, that I may renew the covenant with you in accordance with what you may say; and God and His heavens and His earth, and His angels, shall bear witness against you in what happens between us and you; may the sentence be in your favour and not against you. And now if ye continue in keeping what has been commanded you, God—may He be blessed and exalted—will bless you and keep you and protect you and lead you to victory and will subdue your enemies and give you the land, concerning which He swore, by His own omnipotence, unto your ancestors, Ibrahim and Ishaq (Isaac) and Yaqub (Jacob)—peace be upon them. And He will keep you, and will keep the land in all happiness, and He will remove calamities and all disasters, and multiply you; but when ye shall have been disobedient and rebellious, the Divine favour will be removed from you, and the Divine power from jour side, and from your support, and the angels will be removed from your side, and the name of the greatest King depart from giving you assistance, and there shall fall upon you those tilings which are written in the book of Wrath and Curse, and He will scatter your troops, and forget your affairs, and the enemies will take possession of you, and there will remain no longer to you a king, or shrine, or possessions, or men, and God will disperse you throughout the regions of the earth from one extremity of it to the other, and He will make you servants and subjects. So now, whatever ye say and believe and covenant, let it be the real covenant binding upon you, and let this second covenant be added unto that which He covenanted with you through our master Musa the Prophet—peace be upon him. Therefore act sincere from your souls, and the secret thoughts of your hearts.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 11

THE ACCOUNT OF HOW THEY ANSWERED HIM, AND THE COVENANT THAT THEY ENTERED INTO AT THAT TIME.

The congregation of the children of Israil answered him, while crying out, weeping and humbling themselves before God, and casting their souls into His hands, saying: "O our master and our lord, we hear and will obey the command of God—Mighty and Powerful—and of His true and faithful Prophet, and also thy command, O king, and the command of our imam and our rulers, and there will be no opposition to what ye order, and no deviation from what ye say either to the right or to the left, nor from whatever our master Musa, the Prophet—peace be upon him—has ordained, and there shall be no rejection of a single part of it; and whoever shall rebel or deviate, and act treacherously, let upon him be the Curse and "Wrath, for after this manner did our master Musa the Prophet —peace be upon him—agree with us and impose conditions upon us, and put us under oath, and covenant with us, and offer up for us the sacrifices, and we answered him as we have answered you. And God is the witness over us in this, and He is our sufficiency and bountiful Protector."

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 12

THE ACCOUNT OF WHAT YUSHA, THE SON OF NUN, DID IN ORGANISING THE ARMY, AND THE MEMBERS THEREOF.

When Yusha, beheld the zeal of the people he said: "The One who has insight into you and your purposes is God." And he renewed with them the covenant and compact, and offered for them the offerings, and the imam blessed them. Thereupon

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he and the imam, each of them, sat down on his throne; and he summoned the leaders, and demanded of them that they should make out a census of the children of Israil, tribe by tribe, and that the enumeration throughout the congregation, should embrace all men from the age of twenty years up to the age of fifty years, excepting the tribe of Lawi (Levi). And he ordered that this tribe should be enumerated, from the boy of a month old upwards: for so had our master Musa, the Prophet—peace be upon him—given orders before his death. But such as were under twenty years of age and over fifty years of age were not to be included in the enumeration. And the leaders made out the census, and the whole amounted to 601,730 men, although of this number the tribe of Rawban (Reuben), and the tribe of Gad, and the half tribe of Manashshah (Manasseh), had their landed possessions behind the Urdun (Jordan), even nine cities with their districts, which had belonged to Sihun and Ug, the sons of Anaq; three cities and their provinces had been conquered by Nabih and his cousin of the tribe of Manashshah. (In the Bible Nabih, or Nobah, as he is there called, is mentioned only but once [Num. 32:42], and his genealogy is not stated, but from the connection it is evident that he was a descendant of Manasseh, and a prominent warrior in his tribe. In Chapter 37 of this Chronicle we have his pedigree given as u the son of Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh, the son of Joseph, etc." His cousin here spoken of is, in all probability, Jair who is associated with him in the conquest of Trans-Jordanic towns in Num. 32:41, 42, and who was, as we are told in 1 Chron. 2:21-22. the son of the daughter of Machir, and therefore first cousin to Nobah. According to the Jewish tradition Nobah was born in Egypt, died after the decease of Moses, and was buried during the passage of the Jordan (Seder Olam Rabba, 9].) For it did come to pass that, when our master Musa, the Prophet—peace be upon him—conquered these cities and destroyed their inhabitants, that there gathered unto him the leaders of these two tribes and a half, and they said unto him: "O our master and our lord, these cities suit us, for we have many animals and cattle, even though they be approximately less than one sixth of the assigned lands, while the whole number of the census of our men comes close on to one fifth of the army of the children of Israil." And he rebuked them, supposing that they preferred settling apart from their brethren. But they answered: "Behold we will leave our luggage and our cattle in these cities, and we will march forward under one enrolment, thrusting aside every pretext, and we will not return to our assigned lands until our brethren have got possession of all their assigned lands, and after that we will return unto our assigned lands and to our own places." And our master Musa the Prophet—the most excellent, peace be upon him—answered them favourably, in reply to what they had asked of him, and assigned to them while he was alive this region. And the first of those whom Yusha, the son of Nun, enrolled in his army, were the two and a half tribes, and the whole number of their enrolment was 110, 580 men. And the whole number of the enrolment of the nine and a half tribes was 491,150 men; and—according to these figures—the chiefs apportioned out the land from the Urdun (Jordan) to the (Red) Sea. And this is the enrolment, based on the census, of the prosperous, victorious, holy, triumphant and blessed army. And the census of the tribe of Lawi was apart from the company of which mention has been made before; for the members of this tribe did not engage in the wars, nor did they separate from the service of their Lord; and the whole of their census, from a boy one month old and upwards, was 23,000 men. And when the leaders came with the enrolment of the census, Yusha the son of Nun made them appear before him, and he announced good tidings unto them, namely, that God would bless them so as that there would result from one, a thousand* as our master Musa the Prophet—peace be upon him—promised them from God—may His name be blessed. (*See Joshua 23:10, and Deuteronomy 32:30.)

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 13

TH«E ACCOUNT OF THE SPIES WHOM YUSHA, THE KING, SENT FORTH.

When Yusha, the son of Nun, heard about the mustering of the Kanaanites, and the assembling of the giants, he sent out spies from the men of experience, intelligence, prudence and piety, to see the army of the enemies and make an investigation, and to proceed to Yarha (Jericho) and make an investigation as to the number of its men, and of those who were collected unto them, and then returning make it known to him. So the spies bid the army farewell, and invoked God's favour, and started out on their journey, having changed their outward appearance to the condition of ones who had come from far distant places. Now the spies knew all the languages spoken in the army of the enemies. And when they arrived at it they began to weep, and the enemy asked them, what news they had, and they said: "We are men from the people of the east, our companions have heard tidings of this great nation, winch was for forty years in the wilderness without a guide or provisions, and the report reached our company that they have a Lord whom they speak of as 'The King of the heavens and earth,' and that He has appropriated unto them both our country and your country, and so our companions have sent us out, that we may find out the truth of what has been reported unto us, and make it known to them. And we have journeyed and already passed by you along time ago, while ye were busily engrossed in your occupations, and we did come to the army of that nation and found them perplexed, wandering round and round in the wilderness, and the secret among them was, that their God had become angry at them, and would not bring any of them into the land except two men; so we have returned with this good news, gladdened and rejoicing. Now when it was so at this time that, we know what this nation had done with Sihun and Ug, and with their lands and territories, and also what they did with the kings of Midyan and Moab, and the taking captive of their women and children, and that this nation was bent upon entering your country and then our country, we made haste that we might make known to our companions the truth of this. And we journeyed unto them from the mountains, and we had but just reached the vicinity of the camps, when there came forth unto us three or four men, and each of them took hold of one of us, and fetched us into the presence of the new king, who had been invested with the kingdom as successor to Musa the Prophet—the best of peace be upon him. Now his companion was merciful who lifted not up his glance to any one; but this one was as a giant man, whose conversation broke souls, and whose speech split hearts, and whose reproach struck astonishment into minds. And we had but just stood in his presence when he knew our name and our origin and our country, and when we started out, and the places at which we had encamped, and in all that he mentioned unto us he was correct. And we at once believed in him and his Lord, through fear of him, but he answered us, that: This faith is not a faith to be accepted, when ye do so through fear; yet there is no fear for you; go, return and say to all whom ye meet and to your companions: Look out for your own welfare, and whoever flees away is safe, but whoever remains shall perish. (There is a story recorded in the Jerusalem Talmud to the effect that, before Joshua proceeded to lead the children of Israel to the conquest of the Holy Land he sent a deputation unto the inhabitants of Canaan to proclaim unto them, "Let whosoever who would escape death, leave the country." [Tract. Terumoth].) For after the space of a week, the water of the Urdun will stand still for me by the command of our Lord—the Highest—until His people shall cross over; and not a fortress shall be shut in their faces, when they shall have gone around it seven circuits, for its walls will fall, and all they who remain, who are found inside, will perish: and the city and the territory will be our territory, and the assigned lands shall become ours, assigned unto us by the King of the heavens and earth; whose creatures and servants all kings are. And this is the whole of what we heard from him, and we know that his name is Yusha the son of Nun, and that he is the one who put to rout the Amlaq (the Amalekites), and is the slayer of Sihun and the destroyer of Ug, and the one who ruined the kings of Midyan and Moab. O woe unto us and woe unto you, and whatever is attached unto our country and your country; for they are a people who have no pity, nor do they leave survivors or show compassion, nor do they make a truce, except with those who are outside of us and you, for we stand, in their estimation, in the character of infidels and profligates and as a haughty and rebellious people; and the one who is lucky among us and among you is he who takes his own people between his hands and flees away with all speed, until he shall have got out beyond all their assigned lands, ere he feels regret where regret will profit him nothing." And the men rode on and pursued their journey, and after this manner did they speak with all whom they met until they returned to Yariha (Jericho), and here it became known about them, and they were sought after to be destroyed, and they begged protection of a woman who was called Rahab the innkeeper*, whose house was beside the walls of the city, and she took them out and concealed them, and gave excuse unto those who sought them, saying, that they had already returned. (* The word translated here "innkeeper" [funduqiyeh] is the same word employed by the Targumist [pundekitha] in Josh. 2:1, to describe Rahab. Flavius Josephus speaks of her only as keeping an inn, and the Jewish commentators [Kimchi, Jarchi] adopt this view. According to Matthew 1:4, she subsequently married Salmon, a prince of Judah, and thus became the ancestress of David.) Then she made a covenant with them and they with her, that, if God—Mighty and Powerful—should vanquish for them this city, they would spare her, and spare whatever souls were in her courtyard, of her own people. And the spies enjoined upon her to fix upon the roof of her house a sign which they should know, so that when she knew they were drawing nigh unto the city, she should display it; but they stipulated with her, that they would be innocent of the blood of all such as were found, of her own people, outside of the courtyard. And she brought them out, by night, and God willed their safe escape, and they returned to the army. And they told the king and the imam and their congregation, what they had witnessed and what had happened to them, and what favour the woman had done in their behalf. And the congregation answered them that they would spare the woman, in accordance with what they had covenanted with her. And the report of her spread abroad throughout the army, and the whole congregation of them knew about her.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 14

THE ACCOUNT OF THE SUMMONING OF THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL TO UNDERTAKE THE JOURNEY.

When Yusha, the king, heard the statement of the spies, he sent forth the leaders, to proclaim throughout the army that they should proceed on the journey, having with them provisions for three days, and also to say in the proclamation: "O assemblies of men? Fear not, nor be dismayed, for God, your God, is about to journey with you, that He may show forth with you a miracle at this time, to make you successful over your enemies; and as to the miracle which God will show forth with you at the Urdun, the like of it has not been heard of in the ages past, nor shall the like of it be heard of in the ages yet to come. And it is the first terror of you that shall fall upon the hearts of your enemies. Therefore, know, that the holy priests shall carry the golden ark, which is the ark of the covenant, which covenant is celestial substance, for it is the tablets wdiose writing was of Divine light*: lo they are celestial substance; and when the priests with the ark shall enter the water of the Urdun, the water will stand still, and subside by the power of the ALMIGHTY, until that the water below flows away, while the water above shall mount up and increase upon itself, until all the children of Israil, and those who are in their company, shall pass over in absolute dryness." (* There is a hymn in the Samaritan liturgy which sets forth the belief held by the Samaritans as to the nature of the inscription on the tables of stone, and what is there said sheds considerable light on this phrase. The Mohammedan story of the inscribing of the law upon the tables, dwells also with particular emphasis upon brilliancy of the light accompanying it. The tables upon which God wrote were fetched from Paradise by the angel Gabriel, and most of the authorities say they were huge gems. And God wrote with a pen of light that was taller than the space between heaven and earth, and the earth glowed with light; and the letters were graven into the tables, so that they could be read on both sides. [Kisas el-anbiyd].) Then Yusha, the son of Nun, himself called out and said: "assemblies of men! God commands you that there should be between you and the priests who carry the ark an extent of space equal to two thousand yards, so do not approach unto it within this distance, that God may complete His work with you." Then he ordered the twelve chiefs to take from under the feet of the priests, twelve stones, after that the children of Israil had finished the passage over the Urdun, and that each one of them should write his name upon his stone*, in order that what had happened might be preserved and perpetuated through the eternity of the ages to come, even the miracle which God—may His name be glorious—would show on the Urdun. (* Each one of them should write his name upon his stone. There is found in the Bible no mention of any inscription whatever being put on these stones; and so far as we are aware, the Samaritans stand alone in this tradition, as well as in the tradition that Joshua placed in order on Mount Gerizim the twelve stones brought out of the Jordan by the Israelites, where, it is said, they will remain, until el-Muhdy (al-Mahdi = the Messiah) shall appear. [Robinson's Bib. Res. vol. 2, p. 278].) And the Liwanites (Levites) proclaimed with loudest voice: "Praise be to the God of Gods, and Lord of Lords, to Whose commands, animate and inanimate things are obedient, and the heavens and the earth and the seas and the rivers and all that therein is. There is no God but He, and no kingdom lasts but His kingdom, nor any power but His power, nor is there any lord but under His lordship, nor any sovereign except under His sovereignty. Praised be He and exalted and holy be His names. Perish whoever deny Him and believe in another than He, for He is the God.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 15

THE ACCOUNT OF THE PASSAGE OF THE CHILDREN OF ISRAIL THROUGH THE URDUN (JORDAN.)

And the children of Israil did as the king commanded them. And the cloud was lifted up, on the first (day) of the first month, of the first year, of the first period of seven years of the Jubil (Jubilee)* even from the beginning of the entering in of the children of Israil within the boundaries of the assigned lands. (* The Jubilee [Hebrew: yobel] is the year at the end of seven cycles of shemittah [Sabbatical years or "release"], and had a special impact on the ownership and management of land in the Land of Israel. The end of 49th year marks the end of one whole 7 x 7 cycle. According to Leviticus 25:8–13, Hebrew slaves and prisoners would be freed, debts would be forgiven, and the mercies of God would be particularly manifest.) And up to this time there had elapsed, of the days of the world as established by the law, two thousand, seven hundred and ninety-four complete years, and this reckoning of time is correct, which the learned know by chronological

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computations based on the era of the flood. And the priests proceeded forward when the cloud was lifted up, and attained to the distance from the army which he prescribed unto them. And when the priests with the ark approached the water of the Urdun. the Liwanites shouted aloud, and the congregation of the children of Israil joined in with them, saying 'with one voice: "There is no power or strength in the presence of Thy power, O Lord of worlds! "And the water stood still, and rose up in accumulation, by the power of its Creator; He who is almighty over whatever He wills, the Worker of miracles and wonders. And continued to be heaped up, wave upon wave, until it became like unto huge mountains, while the priests stood praising God, and shouting halleluiahs and saying: "Praise be unto Him, in obedience to whom every thing exists." And they stood, with the ark, on the dry ground in the midst of the Urdun, until all the children of Israil, with their large throng, and their cattle, had passed over on the dry ground through the midst of the Urdun, on its bottom, and it was dry like as in the days of harvest. And the Liwanites were praising and shouting halleluiahs, and saying: "Praise be unto Him in obedience to whom every thing exists. Praise be unto Him by whose will this is come to pass." And when the people came out of the Urdun they observed the commandment, and took the twelve stones from under the feet of the priests, and each man wrote his name upon his stone, and the king also took a similar stone. And when the priests with the ark came up out, the waters rushed down with great tumult, and winds blew violently with the rushing down of the waters. And the nations heard about this great miracle, and their hearts were broken up, and their confederated troops were scattered. And the water of the Urdun destroyed, at that time, many places which were near it, by reason of the great violence of the wind which accompanied it. And God does whatever He wishes—Glorious be His name. And of Him do I ask assistance, and upon Him do I put my trust, and unto Him be the praise for what He has bestowed.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 16

AN ACCOUNT OF THE HYMN OF PRAISE, WHICH YUSHA THE KING OFFERED UP.

Then Yusha, the son of Nun, and the children of Israil offered up the hymn of praise, which our master Musa the Prophet—peace be upon him—offered up at the sea of el-Qulzum, (This is the name by which the Red Sea is commonly known to the people of the East, it is derived from the ancient city Clysma, the site of which is near or at the modern Suez: Qulzum being merely the Arabic form of the same name.) and they added thereunto praises and halleluiahs, and rendered praise and thanksgiving for what God had generously bestowed upon them. And among the number of the hymns of praise which they offered up, they said: "Who is like unto Thee, O Thou who art perfect in holiness? O Thou who dost inspire terror! O Thou who dost reveal secret things! O Thou who dost perform new things! O Thou worker of miracles! O Thou displayer of wonders! How, O our Lord, shall we address Thee? O Thou revealer of signs! O Thou who makest light the darkness! Who is like unto Thee? There is no likeness like unto thy likeness, for Thou art the origin of actions and likenesses and bodies, and forms, and shapes, and spiritual things, which are endowed with the attributes of Thy nature." On that day Yusha, the son of Nun, was magnified in honor among the children of Israil, and they feared him as they had feared Musa the Prophet—peace be upon him,—and they knew that God was with him. And Yusha, the son of Nun, set up twelve stones as a monument, rising up in the Urdun. And the chiefs erected the twelve stones in a place called Jalil (Gilgal), that the generations to come might behold them, and remember the drying up of the Urdun, and so praise the Doer of miracles; and that fathers might tell sons of this deed, and that kings and nations might hear that our God is the one conquering God. And when all the kings of esh-Sham (Syria) heard of the children of Israil's crossing over into the land appointed unto them, and about the stoppage of the water of the Urdun, and its drying up, they arrayed themselves in funeral robes, and were smitten with fear, and some of them died through fear of the children of Israil, on account of the greatness of the awe which they inspired, And God made a revelation to Yusha, the son of Nun, saying: "To-day have I spread awe of you and of your people over these nations, and I have lifted off from thee, and from thy people, every impurity and infirmity." And Yusha named the place Jalil, and it is its name unto the end of the ages. And praise be unto God, the One who endureth without cessation.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 17

THE ACCOUNT OP ANCIENT YARIHA (JERICHO), AT THE TIME OF ITS CONQUEST.

Upon the departure of the king from the place which he had named Jalil, they encamped in the districts of Yariha, on the first day (of the feast of unleavened bread), the fourteenth day (of the first month) (See Joshua verse 10. Compare 70 in loco.). And they kept the passover at this time, and ate unleavened bread from the new crops. And the manna ceased with their entrance into the land, and their eating of its crops, and of the fruit of its trees. And when the army had drawn near round about the city. Yusha the son of Nun, retired apart from the camps, that he might worship his Lord by night, and when he had finished his devotions, he lifted up his eyes, and, behold, the figure of a man standing, with his sword drawn in his hand, and he called out to him: "Yusha!" Thereupon he (Joshua) replied: "Art thou of us, or of our adversaries?" And he answered him, and said: "I am of the messengers of God, who rule over punishments." (In Joshua, 5:14, this angel is stated as being "captain of the host of the Lord," which, according to Jewish angelology would designate the archangel Michael; for they regard the angels as divided into several orders or classes, each class having an archangel at its head, the head or the first class being Michael, who is therefore chief prince of all the angels.) And he (Joshua) cast himself before him on the ground, because of his majesty. Then he rose up and said to him: "Lay upon thy servant the command which has been brought unto him." And he said unto him: "King, take off thy shoes from off thy feet; for the place whereon thou standest is a holy place. God—Powerful and Mighty—says unto thee; O Yusha, look before thee, behold I am about to place in thy hand this disobedient city, even Yariha, with its Ling and its people; now therefore choose for thyself, from among the children of Israil, men of might, from every tribe a thousand men. And they shall go round about the city, six circuits in six days, with the golden ark, the ark of the covenant, before them; and they shall not talk in conversation, or be intent upon anything except offering up praises and halleluiahs, nor shall they make an intermission in this, or raise any gieat tumult during the space of six days; yet the two priests shall be along with the two clamourous trumpets. But on the seventh day they shall go round about the city the seventh time, and the two priests shall sound with the two trumpets, and when the company hear the sound of the trumpets; then let them shout with a loud voice, three times, saying: "God is omnipotent in battles. God is His name.' And at the completion of this act, the wall of the city will be demolished, and the fortresses will fall down before the people, and the army shall enter the city and destroy it." And Yusha returned and assembled the leaders of his people, and commanded that they should select twelve thousand men. And when they came unto him, he gave orders to them to march, and with them should be the saintly priests, bearing the ark and the two trumpets. And he gave instructions unto the company, that they should offer up halleluiahs and praises, during the six days, in a low tone of voice: but on the seventh day they should go round about the city six times, "And on the seventh time around the priests shall sound with the two trumpets, and upon their hearing the trumpets, the whole army shall shout with a loud voice, and instantly advance: and then the fortifications will be demolished, and God will put the city in your hands. And when this has been successfully accomplished by you, and ye have attained the city, ye shall put to death every breathing thing which ye find in it, whether of men or animals. And ye shall destroy it and burn it, and shall not leave in it any, except the woman who is known as Rahab the innkeeper; her ye shall pare, and also those souls that are in her courtyard, according as the spies made covenant with her. O assemblies of men! Be watchful of yourselves; do not take anything from the city; burn its gold and silver and brass and iron, and all its appurtenances, and do not meddle with anything that is devoted; for then would ye and the army perish." And the people did as he instructed them. And in the seventh circuit the priests sounded with the two trumpets, and they cried out with a great shout; and at that, the walls of the city fell down, and the army entered in, and put to death every breathing thing in it, from man even to animals. And they collected all the furniture which was in it, and placed it in the middle of the city, and burned it; and it became a mound never to be rebuilt. And Yusha proclaimed in the loudest voice; "O assemblies of men! It is forbidden unto you, and unto those who shall rise up of your seed, to build up in this city one single stone." And it is the first of the rebellious cities, known as Ancient Yariha f and this city was devoted, destroyed, burned and converted into a mound, never to be built up or restored, throughout eternal ages. (In the Bible [Joshua 8:28] we read: "And Joshua burnt Ai, and made it an heap for ever, even a desolation unto this day." It is a significant fact, worthy to be noted, that the Chronicle before us makes no mention whatever of Ai. The account here given of the destruction of Jericho is evidently founded upon Deut. 13:16.) And this was done after the spies had entered the courtyard of the woman, and brought out her and every soul that was in her courtyard, and preserved them from death. And the name of Yusha, by this act of his, was spread abroad unto the different regions of the earth. And a man of the children of Israil committed a trespass, and entered into the temple of the idols of this city, and he found therein a goodly thing of gold, and a tongue of gold, their weight was two thousand, two hundred and fifty mithqals, (. . . 2250 mithqals: Joshua 7:21. in the Hebrew text, reads: ". . . among the spoil a goodly mantle of Shinar, and two hundred shekels of silver, and a tongue of gold of fifty shekels weight . . ." The Septnagint has: "an embroidered mantle." The Vulgate: "a scarlet garment exceeding good." Flavius Josephus: "a royal garment woven entirely of gold, and apiece of gold that weighed two hundred shekels." An Arabic mithqal is equal to about 72 English grains.) and he took them and concealed them in his tent; now it had been forbidden him to even touch it, not to mention his taking it in theft, and hiding it in his place of abode. And the Lord became angry with the children of Israil, on account of him. And neither the leaders nor the king knew about this deed. But praise be unto Him who knows secrets, and who shows forth miracles. Blessed be His name, and exalted be His fame.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 18

THE ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE ONE WHO TOOK THE DEVOTED THING.

When it was morning of the day of which mention has already been made, Yusha the king, and all the army, came before the temple, and he made the chiefs present themselves before el-Azar (Eleazar), the imam—peace be upon him, and upon him were the jewels. And the jewel which was inscribed with the name of Yahudah (Judah) grew black*; and he, in succession, presented the tribe of Yahudah (Yehuda, Judah), in its companies, name by name, before the jewel; (* And upon him were the jewels. And the jewel which was inscribed with the name of Yahudah grew black- What is here said coincides directly with the general belief held by the Jewish Rabbins, that the Urim and Thummim were identical with the twelve precious stones on the breastplate of tbe highpriest on which the names of the tribes of Israel were engraved, and that the mode in which Divine communication was given was by the intensity or obscuration of the light shining forth from a gem. Flavius Josephus gives expression to the same tradition, though he apparently identifies the Urimand Thummim with the sardonyxes on the shoulders of the ephod, yet he agrees fully as to the way in which an oracle was given. [Antiquities 3, book 8, chap. 9].) and it grew black at the name which was called Aichan (Achan), of the family of Zarah (Zerah), the son of Yahudah. And the man at once presented himself and stood before Yusha the king. And the king said unto him: "O man ! lift up thy face to the King of the heavens and earth, and know that He knows secrets, and, O, woe be to the one who imagines that he can conceal from Him anything, or cover up from Him a matter. So now confess as to how you have sinned, and what you have taken of the devoted thing; for God has become angry with His people on your account." And the man answered him, and said: "I know, O king, that I have committed a great sin before God, Who knows what is secret and concealed, and I have been a traitor to the covenant of God, and of His messenger; for I entered the temple of the chief idol of Yariha, and there found a goodly thing of gold, and a tongue of gold, and their weight was two thousand two hundred and fifty mithqals, and my soul became greedy for this, and I took it and buried it in my tent. And now if a crime like mine can be pardoned, well and good, seeing that God is merciful and compassionate; but if there is no pardon for it, then let there be executed what thou shalt command in my affair." Then the king sent immediately trustworthy people, and they brought what the man had mentioned he had felt greedy after, and so had taken it. And the governor and his associates, the chiefs, brought him before the temple of the Creator, and command was given that he should be burned outside the camp. And he took the man and burned both him and whatever children he had, and cattle, and all that he possessed, and he placed all in a deep valley, and commanded the whole army to stone it with stones. And he named the valley: The valley of Akur (Achor). And after this God removed His anger from the children of Israil; for what they did appeased Him. And unto Him be praise; for His bounty and the excellency of His favour and goodness.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 19

THE ACCOUNT OF HOW CERTAIN PEOPLES OF THE KANAANITES PRACTICED A STRATAGEM, AND OBTAINED PROTECTION OF THE KING.

After the capture of the city, the king and his people returned unto the place which was named Jalil. And they took no notice until there came unto them a company of men whose faces were blackened, and their garments and shoes worn out, and with them was bread that had become putrid. And they approached unto the king and unto the chiefs of the children of Israil, in this place, and saluted them, as the like of them were wont to salute, and they prostrated themselves before the assembly; then they said to the king: "We seek protection of thee and of thy people, that we may exist in your company; for we are of those who choose for ourselves, God your Lord." And he answered them: "Verily I will not grant protection unto you, unless ye inform me who ye are and from what place ye come." And they answered him: "We are people from a far distance, we have heard of your fame, and what signs and wonders God—Powerful and Mighty—has revealed to the children of Israil, even in the sea, and in the desert, and in Wady el-Mujib, (And in Wady el-Mujib. What is here referred to is more fully explained in Chap. 13, where, in enumerating

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the various miracles that God had performed for the children of Israel, it is said: "He closed up the two mountains of the valley el-Mujib (Arnon), that thou mightest pass over safely.") and what has happened unto the kings through you. And now, O king, we have repaired unto thee that we might be in the company of those who beg protection with thee; for we believe in thy Lord, and we will not resist whatever thou shalt prescribe unto us, be it small or great. And behold thou seest our blackened faces, and our worn-out clothes, and our dried-out food; for we did not start out from our places, to come here, in garments of old clothes, but this is the necessary result after the long journey. And now trust us with protection, that we may exist in the company of this great, blessed, holy people." And Yusha bid some of his people advance unto them, and he entered into a covenant with them, and swore unto them by the God of Israil, that they would not kill them, nor those who were members of their company. And when it was after three days, the king found out, that they were of his enemies, from three towns near by him, on the south of the blessed mountain (This is Mount Gerizim, the holiest spot on earth to the Samaritans, the kibleh toward which they pray. Here, they believe, was the seat of Paradise, from which all the streams that watered the earth flowed forth; Adam had been formed out of its dust, and had lived upon it —the seven steps of stone used by Adam in coming out of Paradise, are still pointed out on its summit; here he built his first altar, and, later, here was raised Seth's altar.), and they were: Jaba'un (Gibeon), and Qiryah((Kirjath-jearim), and Birut (Beeroth). (* This abbreviated form of Kirjath-jearim is met with once in the Bible, Joshua 18:28. In the Bible we find four cities mentioned by name in this connexion, [Josh. 9:17], here the city Chephirah is omitted.) And no one of the army was able to go to this place, because of the protection granted, and the oath, and covenant. Thereupon the king Summoned the men, and said unto them: "Why did ye conceal from me, and say that ye were from a distance, while ye were neighbours? "And they answered him, and said "We knew that the God of the children of Israil, had commanded you to destroy these places, and not to spare the sword in any place in which a soul was, and we feared for ourselves, and did what we did; and now we are in thy hands, O king, do with us whatever you decide upon." And he set them at liberty, and made proclamation throughout the children of Israil, saying "Do not kill them; but they shall become among the class of those cutting wood and drawing water for the beasts." And they did this with them, according to what he commanded.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 20

AN ACCOUNT OF THE KANAANITES, WHOSE TERRITORIES THE LAND WAS.

Some of the Kanaanites, when they heard of the children of Israel's passing over the Urdun, had fled to one people and another; but when they had been informed of what had befallen Yariha and its people, all those who were dwelling around the Urdun, and the great sea, gathered themselves together, and entered into an agreement, and made preparation to meet the children of Israil, and join in battle with them. And they sent five of their chiefs, with the majority of the army with them; and they- were bidden to advance and make an attack upon the three towns which had sued for themselves protection with the children of Israil. And they began with Jaba'un, and put its people to great straits. And the inhabitants of Jaba'un sent unto Yusha, the king, to inform him of the truth concerning the intentions of the kings, and that they had already commenced by destroying them, and that they were now in a state of severe siege and extreme distress; and they pled their cause with him with the greatest emphasis, and begged him to deliver them from this enemy, who was carrying out the designs against them. And while they proceeded on their journey, the king collected his assembly, and God made a revelation to him in that night, saying: "Do not fear, O Yusha, behold I am about to give over into thy hands these five chiefs; do not let a single man of them, or of their soldiers, escape safe." So he marched forward and surprised the army of the enemies by night, and the watchword of the children of Israil was God the Omnipotent in battles, God is His Name. And the five kings were driven in flight before them unto Kasahah, (Probably the same city as is called Azekah in the Hebrew. Its site has not as yet been identified, and we are in utter ignorance as to what the later name of the place might have been.) and unto Maqadah (Makkedah). And when the children of Israil came up with them, they conquered them, and did not spare in killing them. And Yusha spoke unto the day to stand still, and it stood still; and the day was great, for God heard the voice of the children of Israil, and sent forth the angels with them. And the five kings, the chiefs already mentioned, fled and found a cave in Maqadah. Then the king ordered to place great stones on the mouth of the cave, that he might keep them under guard, until they (the children of Israil) should return, when they should have made an end of destroying the rest of the army. And he killed the multitude of the people, and not a single man of them did escape safe. Then they returned to the cave, and the king gave command to bring them (the five kings) out, and to throw them down upon their faces, and he ordered the prominent leaders of the army to tread with the soles of their shoes upon their necks; and he said to the children of Israil: "Be strong and of good courage, and fear not, nor be dismayed, for thus shall God do with your enemies." Then he gave command that the kings should be killed, and be crucified until the setting of the sun; and after sunset he gave orders, that they should be placed in the cave to which they had fled, along with the wood upon which they had been crucified, and also that there should be placed over the mouth of the cave, a mound of stones, to perpetuate the knowledge of this unto the end of the ages. And they did what he ordered, and then, being gladdened, assembled together.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 21

THE ACCOUNT OF THIS ARMY, AND ITS TRIUMPH, AND THE DESTRUCTION OF ITS ENEMIES.

When it was in the beginning of the eighth month (now this is the time of the journeying of this army), the king divided the infantry and cavalry into three bands, and sent each band in a different direction, while he and they who were with him journeyed along in the highway, tending towards the hostile people; and he first alone was the one who surprised the enemies' camp, and he held them for a considerable time in an engagement, and they were not as yet recovered from the surprise, when there arose a cloud of dust, and the army approached from every side. And when the children of Israil beheld one another, they shouted out with loudest voice: God is our Lord, who wages instead of us the war." And God on that day showed miracles with the enemy, for it came to pass that every one who would flee fire met him and burned him up. And a spectre appeared among them, so that the horses did stampede with them, upon hearing the shouts of the children of Israil and carried them down to death; and the hours of the day were lengthened out for them, as God had promised them, until they had accomplished in it the results of a whole year, and not a remnant of the enemies was left after this battle. And the king from Mahzun* wrote a letter unto el-Azar (Eleazar), the imam, binding it on the wing of a bird (* The identification of this place is a difficult matter. Possibly the word Mahzun is a corruption of Maseron, the name found in the LXX. [Joshua, 11:8] in the place of Misrephoth-maim.); telling him in it the good news about what God had bestowed upon them, and what He had shown forth among them of miracles and signs, which should be eulogised. And he also informed him that he would not return until he should have taken possession of the remaining territorial districts for the children of Israil. And he set the bird at liberty on the morning of the fifth day, and it immediately proceeded on its journey, under the blessing of God and the goodness of His guidance and grace. And he (Yusha) continued descending upon one city after another, and taking possession of them, and doing with the rebellious like unto what we have already mentioned, until he had completed the subjugation of the territories, and then he returned in the first month of the second year. And it resulted, that he, in one year, took possession of all their territories, and this was the region of the seven Kanaanites, whose fame is enduring, well known and spread abroad. Then he and all who were with him removed apart for purification; now there descended from the blessed mountain a great river which watered the lowlands, and to it the king went down with all his army. And when he had completed his purification, el-Azar (Eleazar) the imam offered up for them the sacrifices, and they celebrated a grand feast*, the carrying out of which was complete and consummate. (* It is worthy to be noted that this Chronicle— as does also Josephus— places the solemnisation of this festival after the successful conquest of the Holy Land; while, on the other hand, the text of the canonical Book of Joshua, as it now stands, places it directly after the capture of Jericho and Ai, [Josh. 8:30-35], before in fact the Israelites had arrived at Mount Gerizim, and when this whole region was still in tke kands of tke enemy.) Never was there witnessed a better feast than it; for the people were united, not having as yet dispersed throughout their territorial sections, and when they did shout, and praise, and exult with halleluiahs, they were heard in the most distant and remote places. And when the feast was over, the king and his assembly gathered together, and began to arrange the distribution of the territories among their people; and they asked God, Mighty and Powerful, for His favour and guidance.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 22

AN ACCOUNT OF THE APPORTIONMENT OF THE TERRITORIES BELONGING TO THE CHILDREN OF ISRAIL, AND THEIR BOUNDARIES.

The king selected men from the geometricians and their associates, and from the land surveyors, and those who were well skilled in matters pertaining to lands, and from those who assisted in surveying, and those who were expert in estimating. And he gave instructions that they should divide it into ten parts; and he himself set about equitably distributing the nine and one half tribes over the ten sections. Thereupon he defined unto them the boundaries of the lands, according to what our master Milsa the Prophet—peace be upon him—explained in the chapter of the boundaries, which is mentioned in the Law (Numbers 34.), where he says: "When ye come into the land of Kana'an (and this is the land that shall fall unto you for an inheritance, according to the boundaries thereof), then your south quarter shall be from the wilderness of Sin along by the places of Edum (Edom, Idumaea, Arabia Petrea)." And this is the boundary of the lands of the two and one half tribes. And then he again says: "And your boundary on the south shall be, from the furthest eastern part of the salt sea unto the side of Misr (Egypt); and the goings forth of this boundary shall be at the gulf." That is, from the isthmus of the wilderness; by which is meant the land of el-Hejaz (Arabia), and esh-Sham (Syria), and the pass of Haljat (Elat), a narrow place* which reaches to the sea. (* a deep mountain and valley rift, the "Arabah" from which the name 'Arabia' derives, that leads from the Dead Sea directly to the Gulf of Akaba. In its middle lies the Idumaean-Arab City of Petra, in Antiquity also called "Makka in Pharan" or "Arabia Petrea".) "And the goings forth thereof shall be southward of Quds-er-Raqim"; meaning thereby, to the south of a place called Quds-barna (Kadeshbarnea), upon the borders of esh-Sham and el-Hejaz; for the idea held by the people of that time was to the effect that it came unto el-Khaq until it reached unto the Nil of Misr (Nile of Egypt), which is the valley whose goings forth are to the sea, the coast line of which extends from Misr to Falastin (Philistine, Palestine) and to er-Rum ("Rome" = Greece). "And your western boundary shall be the last sea." And the last sea is from Misr unto esh-Sham. "And the border towards esh-Sahm extends from the great sea to the mountain al-Jabal (Mount Hor) and to Ainan of Hums (Hazar-enan)." The king here meaning the bend in the mountain el-Libnan (Lebanon), as far as the limit of its land in the district of Dimashq (Damascus), until coming eastward it goes around it, and returns sloping downwards unto the Urdun, and its goings forth are unto the salt sea, which is the final point designated in the beginnings of the chapter. "And this," (said Joshua) "is the smaller part of the assigned land but they (the surveyors) shall make a return on the half of the greater assigned territories, according to the sum of the census of the nine and one half tribes." Then he instructed them that they should set apart forty-eight cities, out of all the territories of the children of Israil, unto the Liwanites, taken out from the divisions; and from their total number there should be six cities of them (even three cities from the whole number of the cities of the two and one half tribes, and three cities from the whole of the assigned lands of the nine .and one half tribes), concerning which cities God—Mighty and Powerful—gave command that they should be set apart, and he named them: "Cities of repulse"; that is, of refuge to the one who flees thereunto, even to the one who should kill his companion inadvertently, that is, by accident, or through carelessness, without intention, or malice aforethought; so would these cities be a repulse to the avenger. And the slayer shall not be killed until he shall have stood before the judge and the assembly of the leaders; and now if he did kill intentionally, he shall himself be killed; but, if it was through carelessness, then he shall flee unto some one of these cities, and he shall not go forth from it until the chief imam dies; and if he do go forth outside of the boundary of this city, and the avenger meet him and slay him, then shall he be innocent of his blood. And the men (that is, the geometricians and the estimators and they who were well skilled in matters pertaining to lands) started out on their journey, according as they had been commanded.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 23

THE ACCOUNT OF WHAT YUSHA DID UNTIL THE SURVEYORS RETURNED UNTO HIM.

After this the king assembled the two and one half tribes before el-Azar (Eleazar), the imam—peace be upon him— and the leaders; and they thanked them for their deeds and the help and assistance they had rendered, and said unto them: "Ye have zealously observed the covenant of God and the covenant of our master Musa—the best of peace be upon him—and there now no longer remains to us an argument against you; for, verily, ye have acted kindly, and have preserved life and borne hardships, and have been patient in abstaining from visiting those whom ye have left behind, until your brothers have gained their goal in taking possession of their assigned lands. And now your standing is exalted, and your deeds grow before God your Lord, who is the rewarder of good deeds, with their like a thousand-fold: and ye have got possession of your assigned lands, which are most excellent for your people, and in them ye have no opponent or oppressor. And these are our wishes of good fortune to you in it: may God multiply unto you in addition to it, its like." Then he gathered together their prominent men, and invested them with robes of honour, and gave presents unto them. And he commanded them and enjoined upon them, to go over the list of the census; and they did this, and not a single man of them was missing. And they did eat and drink together, and renewed the covenant between them, that they would remain in obedience unto God always, and in the love of His Prophet,

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and keep His commandments; and that they would come to the support of one another whenever any tidings should reach them, whether by night or by day, in ease or in distress, in joy or in sorrow; nor would they have a falling out with each other, nor pretend to be asleep; but, on the contrary, would vie with one another in showing haste and speed. And they proceeded to bind themselves unto this with a great oath. And el-Azar (Eleazar), the imam—peace be upon him—offered up for them the sacrifices, and then the leaders of the congregation of the children of Israil gathered together to bid them farewell. Thereupon the king appointed as king over the 110,580 men (which was the number of the two and one half tribes), Nabih (Nobah) the son of Jil'ad (Gilead), of the tribe of Manashehah, and invested him with the royal robe, and placed upon him "a crown, and had him ride one of his chosen horses, and sent forth before him a herald, proclaiming: "This is the king of the two and one half tribes, who is invested with their judicial matters, who shall oversee their affairs; the chief leader of their army; the chief orator among them; the one who shall be asked concerning their affairs; and every judgement of his shall be carried out, and in whatever matter of judgement he has doubt he shall refer it for explanation to el-Azar (Eleazar), the imam—peace be upon him. O assembled men! whosoever shall oppose his decree, or withdraw from obedience to him, the blood of this one can be shed, and all the people shall be innocent of his crime." Then he delivered unto him a copy of the book of our master Musa, the son of Amran the Prophet—peace be upon him—and he enjoined him to read it night and day, and informed him that in it were marvellous indicatory signs, showing how life may be prolonged in this present fleeting world and in the world to come, and also that in its reading was protection from spirits, and the evil eye, and calamities, and witchery, and the skill of the enemy. (In it were marvellous indicatory signs. The Jews likewise set great store by the study of the Law, and attribute to it similar virtues.) And he gave over to him twelve tribes, whom he commanded to adhere unto him and not leave him, until he should have corresponded with every chief of a tribe resident at the court of the king and the saint of God; and he also selected for him men from the learned, who might ease him in the administration of the government, and whom he might consult in important matters which unexpectedly arose to him. And, moreover, he gave over to him two thousand men of the Liwanites, who should take up their residence in the cities that had been set apart unto them among these tribes, and these should receive the portion of God, and the portion of His saints: tithes and votive offerings; and should perform whatsoever sacrifices were incumbent upon them in every month, and should execute the judicial sentences in the presence of their leaders, and should establish prayers for them, and oversee the matters which it is unlawful for any body else but them to do. Thereupon the banners were unfurled before him (Nabih) and the trumpets sounded, and the saint of God and the king (Joshua) rode out with their assembly to bid them farewell; and it was a great day, the like of which it was not possible could have existed in the world. And they proceeded on their journey under the protection of God, victorious, triumphant, happy and rejoicing. And when the news reached their friends who were watching over their affairs on the other side of the Urclun, their assembly came out to meet them. And they settled down in their places. And Nabih divided out that region according to the sum of the number of his companions. And the Liwanites entered into their places, and attended to the offering of praises and halleluiahs. And glory be to God, for His bountiful favours unto them.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 24

THE ACCOUNT OF THE RETURN OF THE MEN WHO WERE EMINENT IN MAKING SURVEYS AND ESTIMATING JUST PROPORTIONS, UNTO YUSHA THE SON OF NUN, THE KING.

After the return of the geometricians, and those who were trained in surveying the land out into fields and equitably proportioning them, and in rendering correct judgements as to their trees and everything that would hinder their cultivation, the king and the twelve chiefs assembled together. Now these were they to whom our master Musa the Prophet—peace be upon him—had given instructions that they should unite with him in dividing out the land; with the restriction, however, that no one should obstinately oppose him, nor should any quarrel or dispute occur between them; and they began to arrange the division of it into ten parts, and distributed the tribes over the ten parts according to the greater or less numbers a tribe had, until the}r had equalised all this. And when they did come to an agreement with regard to it, they permanently settled it, and perfected it, and clearly set it forth ; and when the opinion of the assembly was agreed as to the rectitude of this, they brought up the lists unto the saint of God, the imam el-Azar (Eleazar)—peace be upon him—and when he had carefully perused it, he wrote with his own hand a copy of the distribution and divisions of the tribes. Thereupon he wrote ten tickets, inscribed on which were the parts of the distributions and of the assigned lands, and he wrote the name of each one of the parts of the tribes upon a ticket, and gave unto each several chief his ticket. And then each chief went apart with his people and assembled the leaders of his followers, and divided out every part according to the sum of the census, to every man according to the size of his family. And with every one (of the chiefs) there went forth some of the geometricians and surveyors to equitably arrange matters among them. And the district embracing the excellent mountain fell among the assigned lands of Yusha the king, the son of Nun, and of his comrade Kalab (Caleb) the leader of a whole tribe, and with which he had started out on the journey (from Egypt) in company with him (Yusha). Thus was every one permanently located in his place. And he (Yusha) distributed some of the Liwanites, every one in the place which had been set apart for him out of the whole of the assigned lands, over and above the division, that they might administer the affairs of the people in reference to prayers and judicial matters, and also receive the tithes and perform the sacrifices. And he assigned unto each tribe chief-justices who should correspond with the imam, and give him information of what happened in their districts. Then Yusha the king built a fortress on the mountain to the north of the Blessed Mount, which (fortress) is known as Shamrun (Samaria). And his wont was to visit with el-Azar (Eleazar) one day in each week; and one day with the learned, that he might take counsel with them; and one day with the chiefs, that he might inquire into their affairs; and one day he spent in attending to his own business and matters; and on three days he left not the book of God, during night and day. And this was his method in his administration of government, when he was not out waging war; for he did not hold himself aloof from them. And he built a synagogue on the summit of the Blessed Mount, and collected and kept in it the tabernacle of the Lord, and no one, after him, did behold it, except the priests and the Liwanites.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 25

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE CHILDREN OF ISRAIL, AFTER THE DISTRIBUTION.

Then the children of Israil began to inhabit their assigned lands and to put them under perfect cultivation, and to worship their Lord with acceptable service, and to fulfil on each day whatsoever sacrifices were incumbent upon them. And God showed forth with them blessings and watchful care, so that calamities were removed away from them; and not a single one of the kings of the enemies did have power to do any violence unto them. So that there was a multitude of their own travellers journeying from every province unto the Blessed Mount three times a year, along with various kings, with wealth and joy and gladness; and not one of the enemies dared even to look towards them, or stand up in opposition to them. And the king and the leaders and the whole army continued in rest and tranquillity for a period of twenty years. There was no molestation or insurrection since now their surrounding enemies were far removed from them and dispersed throughout the regions of the earth (The district embracing the excellent mountain. Here Caleb is associated with Joshua in the possession of the district embracing Mount Gerizim, when in the canonical Book of Joshua we are informed that he had assigned to him Hebron for an inheritance. As to Joshua's possession, Flavius Josephus says that, Joshua "lived in Shechem" [book 5, 25].); and they who were near them had made peace with them, so no one was stirring up a commotion, nor was there a kingdom spreading itself abroad except their kingdom, or any hand outstretched except their hands. And not a single day did pass but that they heard news of all their companions; and thus did they continue to have intelligence of them, until this period came to a close. Then after this there happened those things which by the will of God, and His assistance, we will narrate and explain. (To Him be the praise.)

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 26

THE HISTORY OF SHAUBAK THE SON OF HAMAM, THE KING OF THE PERSIANS.

Hamam, the son of Rawan, king of the Persians, had been put to death along with all the kings whom Yusha had killed, then his child grew up, who was known by the name of Shaubak, (This king is here stated to be the son of Hamam the son Rawan, king of the Persians; but in Chap, 37 his genealogy is carried back further, and he is there said to be a descendant of Fut (Phut), the son of Ham, the son of Nuh [Noah].) and he was eminent in attainments and in the acquisition of wealth. And he began corresponding with kings throughout all the regions, puffing some of them up, and stirring up others of them to anger, and influencing some of them by promises, and conciliating others of them with gifts of riches. Thereupon he said, that lie wished to take revenge for the murder of his father. And he also corresponded with the survivors of the Kana'anites, and recalled to their memory what the children of Israil had done with their children, their wives, their cities and their possessions. Then he sent also unto the king of Arminiyeh (Armenia) the Greater, and Rumiyeh the Less (Asia Minor). And he joined unto himself the son of Yafet (Japheth) the giant, (In the next chapter this son of Japheth is said to have had "a thunderbolt of steel," and to have been accompanied by certain kings who possessed "instruments and implements of war, which they had inherited from their grandfather Nuh [Noah].") and also sent unto the king of Saida (Siclon) and of el-Qaimun, (This is the modern Tell Qaimun, standing at the eastern termination of Mount Carmel, and overlooking the broad plain of Esdraelon.) and to the king of esh-Sham (Syria), making known unto them what army had been assembled together unto him, and agreed with them that they should assemble together at el-Qaimun. And the opinion of the chiefs of the army and its leaders were agreed that they should send (as spy) a clothing-merchant, who should count the men, and inform himself as to the army (one who was clever in prudent management), in order that he might make known to them the condition of the children of Israil, and how was the way to them and the means of getting at them. And they resolved to write and forward by his hand a letter from their company to Yusha the king, so that they might obtain security for him, seeing he acted as a messenger, for upon a messenger rests no crime and hence no fear.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 27

STATEMENT OF A COPY OF THE LETTER WHICH THE GIANTS SENT UNTO YUSHA THE SON OF NUN, THE KING.

The letter began: "From the assembly of the giants, the confederated, well-known, far-famed, victorious, triumphant, mighty in courage, protected with armour, and the foremost of all mortals; to Yusha the shepherd, the son of Nun, and to his people. Peace from us unto you. We know, O murdering wolf, (The reading in the hook Juchasin is "O wolf of the evenings".) what thou hast done in the cities of our associates, and that thou hast in murder destroyed all of their leaders and sent them down to the bottom of the lowest depths, and hast demolished the places in which there was for us aid, and hast put down the provinces which were our supports and from which our helpers were ever providing themselves with food, and hast destroyed for us thirty cities (This does not agree with the text of the canonical Book of Joshua, where their number is given as "thirty and one" [chap. 12:24]. The LXX, on the other hand, here reads "twenty-nine."), besides residences and small towns, and that thou didst not reverence old men, nor have compassion upon little infants, nor didst thou give ear unto them and grant them protection, nor leave a place unto those begging safety of thee, nor grant time for good action. And the reason of this (thy success) was, that then we were distracted by discords and dissensions, and a lack of unity in our counsels; but now understand, O murdering wolf, that we are coming unto you with all the kings in harmonious agreement, with spirits in concord, and tongues that have pledged mutual covenants, and hands that have been struck together. With conditions allperfected, and souls full (of wrath) and accumulated complaints, and livers, as it were, cut asunder, whom no stampede can ever overcome, nor a great fire put to fright. And now after thirty days we will bring on the battle between us and thee in Merj Balata, in front of the mountain upon which thou worshipest thy Lord, which is referred to as the Mount of Blessing. And there will be no delay on our part, or on the part of any one of us; so be prepared for those whom thou shall meet, and make no excuse for thyself by saying that thou art taken by surprise, or that a stratagem has been employed against thee, or that the enemy came against thee by night. And, moreover, know that in our company there are thirty-six kings, and in the army of each king sixty thousand knights, besides foot-soldiers innumerable and countless, who make sport of devices (employed); and there is also with us the son of Yafet the giant, who has with him a thunderbolt of steel, and when he hurls it, and it is granted full success, it kills a thousand men, and when full success is not granted, it kills five hundred men; and they who are with him are kings, and with them are instruments and implements of war, which they have inherited from their grandfather Nuh (Noah)—peace be upon him. Therefore take knowledge of this and act in accordance therewith, and look out for thyself, for thou art about to be brought to account for what thou hast done. And now peace." And the messenger took the letter, and proceeded on his journey at once. And they began to draw up the army and arrange it in order, and set out upon the journey to el-Qaimun, that they might unite with their confederates whom they had summoned by letter to be present.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 28

THE HISTORY OF THE MESSENGER, AND WHAT CAME OF HIM.

The messenger executed his orders on the tenth day of the second month of the twenty first year of the reign of the children of Israil, after their entrance into this territory: and lie arrived on the fifth day (of the week), the morrow being the day of el-Miqra (the Convocation), that is the festival of weeks. And he handed his letter unto the king, as he was sitting upon his royal throne pronouncing sentences upon such of them as were worthy of death, and such of them as

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deserved to be burned, and such of them as deserved to be stoned, and such of them as deserved to be imprisoned; for important cases were referred up to him at the time of the feasts, and then judgement was passed upon these in accordance with the light of God and the command of His saint. And he (Yusha) did not turn towards the messenger until he had concluded his judgements, and had finished rendering his judicial decisions at the end of the day, then he took the letter, and read it at his home, and not a single person knew about it until his feast had passed by, and so the people did rejoice during their feast; but he himself was distracted in mind. Meanwhile the messenger was beholding the greatness of the army, and its good qualities, and the circumstances of the king and his prudent management, and the affairs of the Creator and His power, and the descending column of fire with its majesty, and he likewise saw the saint of God and the terror which hedged him about, the like of which had never been beheld, or the like of it heard of in preceding ages. And when the children of Israil had celebrated the feast, the king gathered together his assembly, and had proclamation made throughout his army, and sent word to his chief commaude is to assemble their comrades. Thereupon he brought the messenger into their presence; but placed him in confinement in a certain place so that he might not witness their agitation or change of countenance. And when the leaders of the people were assembled, he read unto them the letter of the giants, and said to them: "Verily, never have I been overtaken by anything similar to this letter; and though I have waged wars for sixty years, yet never have I heard its like, nor anything approaching unto it." And when they had heard the letter, their colour changed and their heads hung down, and they said: "Never have we heard the like of this performance, nor have we ever encountered anything similar to it, or waged war with an army such as this is; but this war is one for God, and for us and for our children, and for thee, O king, overseer and master; and now manage us in accordance with the guidance and grace of God, and we will be obedient to thy supreme authority." Then he brought out to them a reply which he had dictated, and he had dictated that which he had composed in accordance with the light of God—may His name be mighty—and he said to them: "This I lay before you as a reply that I have written, and as an address that I have drawn up, and if it seem to you to be the proper thing, I will send it; but if your opinion be that it should be abandoned, I will discard it."

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 29

AN ACCOUNT OF THE REPLY SENT TO THE GIANTS.

It began, saying: "In the name of God, the Supreme King, the God of worlds, the Compassionate, the Merciful, the God of gods and Lord of lords, the King of kings, the Knower of secrets, the One resolute in wars, the God of Ibrahim and Ishaq (Isaac) and Yaqub (Jacob), the Destroyer of infidels, the Annihilator of tyrants, the Destroyer of the obstinate, the Extirpator of intriguers, the Collector of the dispersed, the Scatterer of the confederates, the One who brings the dead to life, the One who puts to death the living: His hand is above the highest of the highest, and under His outstretched arms is eternity, the heavens and the earth are in His grasp, the holy angels in all their numbers and the whole creation He did create by His omnipotent power, and the spheres and the heavenly bodies moved under His guardian care, their rapid course He stopped by His mere word, and put in motion moving bodies by His divine authority. Of this Lord do I ask assistance, and upon Him do I place my trust, and in Him do I grow strong, and Him do I fear, and His mercy is a shield unto me and unto my children, and He is my sufficiency and excellent Protector. But now to proceed to what follows: I am Yusha, the son of Nun, the mortal and spiritual, the disciple of Kalimu'llah* (Moses), a child of Khalilu'llah* (Abraham); upon me and upon my people be peace, mercy and success. (* Musa, Kalamu'llah. This is the title universally applied to Moses by Mohammedans. It means "the one who held direct converse with God." Khalilu'llah ["the Friend of God"]. This is the name by which Abraham is known among Mohammedans and the Arabic speaking peoples of the East. The title is often abbreviated to simply el-Khalil "the Friend," and as such it is employed as the modern name of the city of Hebron. As a title applied to Abraham it is very old, being common among the ancient Hebrews [see 2 Chron. 20:7; Isa. 41:8; James, 2:23].) But as for you, ye people of unbelief and false religion and profligacy and given over unto the curse, corrupters throughout the land, destroyers of the servants of God, worshippers of idols, who kneel down unto images, who bow down unto the celestial bodies, who are subservient unto spirits, who are slaves unto matter; let not the peace of God rest upon you or upon your people, and may He not make your way successful or your circumstances prosperous, and may He not have pity upon your young or feel compassion for your aged, may He not permit you to attain unto your purposes or accomplish your wishes; but may He make your condition ruinous and scatter your confederation; and this He will do by the terror of His power and the omnipotence of His will; for He is a hearer and answerer (of prayer). Ye have mentioned (may God not let the remembrance of you remain, may He not make you successful in a single thing, may He not bring to completion any thing which ye have begun, may He not leave any life unto you), that ye are reinforced, joyful with good news, irresistible in power, and fully able to undertake the expedition towards me, and engage in battle with me around the place on which I worship my Lord, which is the Mount of Blessings and the holy spot, even the house of our Lord and the place of our God. May ye have no life and may that not come to pass, and may ye not behold my place with your eyes, and may the hallowed plain not be polluted with your armaments, and may ye never boast that ye have trodden my soil, nor of even having approached unto my soil, nor of having got into my vicinity through any way whatever. But now as to your granting a delay; God does not grant unto you a delay in undertaking the journey until after the expiration of thirty days, and therefore I will not put off the journey unto you, nor will I grant you any delay except only for seven days, and then I will make the attack and with me will be the troops which I will select; and they who have been tyrannical will then find out with what overthrow they shall be overthrown. Therefore know for a certainty and consider and understand and be aware, that I shall bring on the battle between me and you in the place known as el-Qaimun, and it is verily the place in which ye shall not get away from me, nor depart from it, nor flee unto another place, but there destroyed by the slaughter of the sword and put to death by strangling and burned with fire and annihilated in vengeance; it shall not be unto you, O deluded ones, as ye now boast it shall. And I do not say as ye say, that there will march with me six hundred thousand men who did wage war with Greater Misr (Egypt), and did eat the sacrifices of the passover, and around whom the angels kept guard, and who crossed the sea in dryness and journeyed through the wilderness without any guide, the pillar of fire sheltering them from the cold by night and the pillar of cloud sheltering them from the heat by day, and whose food was the manna from heaven during forty years, and for whose sake the bitter water became sweet, and for whose sake the water was brought forth from the rock, and who heard the voice of the Creator—Plis mention be honored and His name glorious, and who beheld the quaking of the mountain at his command, and the desi ruction of Sihun and Ug and their people, and who inhabited their cities, and for whose sake the water of the Urdun was stayed until they had passed through it, and who fought with Yariha and with the cities which ye well know. I do not boast that there march with me giants, as ye boast; but there march, with me twelve thousand young men, who entered Midyan in safety, fought with it and came out safely therefrom. There is with me no thunderbolt such as ye mention; but with me is the Lord of thunderbolts and the Controller of the blowing winds, yea with me is the One who takes away spirits and who hears the voices of prayer, the Creator of the whole creation and the Distributor of gifts, whose greatness is glorious; He is the God whose creation is all gods and whose servants all kings are—blessed be He and exalted, in His company are three angels of His of whom, one brought the water of the flood upon the world to destroy corrupt transgressors, and another scattered the king of Babil (Babel, Babylon) and his host, and demolished their fortress and changed their languages, and another lifted up his five fingers five kings of cities, even Saclum (Sodom) and its buildings and riches and animals and plants, and rained down upon it sulphur and fire and salt. (And another lifted up on his five fingers five kings of cities, even Sadum (Sodum) Though the number of the cities of the plain were indeed five [Genesis 14:2], still we are told in Deut. 29:23—and the same is implied in Gen. 19:21—that only four of them were overthrown and destroyed. In the Book of Wisdom, however, it is stated that the five cities were destroyed [Chap. 10:6], and with this Flavius Josephus agrees; for he says "the shadowy traces of the five cities are still to be seen" [Jewish War 4. 8. 4].) He who has in His company thousands and myriads of thousands of angels similar unto these; what king then shall boast that he can stand before this King, whose rank and dignity is so great, whose position is so exalted, by whose mighty power the kings were destroyed and in obedience to whom the true believers believe? What army can stand before Him? What giant can march out against Him? What great commander can escape from Him? Unto what place can any flee from Him? Have ye not heard of our poems wherein we say: "There is no power or might except in God, the Exalted, the Great; if it (the power of God) came to the water, it (the water) stood still. The idols heard it and fell down one after another?" Know that ye are the ones who are consumed, taken and killed: ye shall not find a place unto which to flee, nor a refuge on which ye may rely; ye are ruined, ye are discomfited, ye are destroyed, yea, your people and your men and yourselves, and ye have made your wives widows and have rendered your children orphans; ye have made your enemies to rejoice, and ye have cut off your purpose before its allotted season and have made weak your power before its time; ye were ungrateful with the Divine mercy, and God took it away from you; ye have been rebellious against the Divine compassion, and God has ceased to bestow it upon you. The earth was broad for you and not narrow for you, either in condition or riches, but now there is no place or locality for you; seeing ye have opposed the One to whom belongs the great and high dominion, and have become subservient unto a decaying image, and your intentions are bent upon the destruction of the holy, favourite people, who are the guardians of the children of the prophets of God, and of His apostles. Who did sware unto them by His Name—mighty and glorious—that He would apportion unto them this territory, and now this Lord—blessed be He and exalted—says unto His people, that He will guard them as a man guards his eye. O ones whose hearts God has obscured and whose understanding He has bewildered and whose spirits He has extinguished and the light of whose eyes He has darkened! Have ye not heard what happened through our friends unto your friends, when our ancestor Ibrahim, el-Khalil—peace be upon him—marched against your friends, and in his company there were only three hundred and eighteen men; yet he did destroy of them five kings, the like of which was never heard of. nor did their flight cease short of Dimashq (Damascus)? (Genesis 14.) Have ye not heard what befell the people of Misr (Egypt), and what signs and wonders God—may He be exalted—showed, because of their abusive revilings? Have ye not heard how my comrade did kill the Nil with his rod, and crush the sea by his prayer, and stop the water through the reverence and respect which he inspired, and turn back the Divine wrath by his intercession, and cause the Divine compassion to descend by his words, and put to rout armies with his hand, and how the earth swallowed up those who opposed him? Have ye not heard what happened unto us in the wilderness, and what befell Sihun and his kingdom, and Ug and his pride, and Bila'am and his sorcery, and the kings of Midyan and their host, and the kings of esh-Sham and their pomp? Have ye not heard what happened unto us at the Urdun, and what happened unto us with the kings who joined in a confederation and assembled together to attack us ? Have ye not heard how I called upon my Lord to prolong the day, and the day did return after its setting, and the day stood still for me like as if it had been a whole year? And it will thus stand still for me a second time during your destruction. I do not boast that I am a giant, or the disciple of a giant, or the child of a giant. I boast that I am the disciple of Kalimu'llah (Moses), the mortal and spiritual; and a child of Khalilu'llah (Abraham), the foundation of the prophets and the top branch of the pious; I boast in the myriads of the holy who march around my army. I am no giant, but the Lord of the giants is with me; and yet my stature from the ground up is five royal cubits. I do not dress in armor even, and in coats of mail and helmets; but my clothing is tunics of dark blue and purple and variegated crimson, and the royal crown is on my head with the name of my Lord inscribed upon the crown. I ride upon a white colt whose saddle-cloth is of purple and its saddle of pure gold: these are my distingtushing characteristics and these are my boastings. Aided by the prophets, surrounded by the holy, the Lord of creation is my armament, and His angels my triumph, and His omnipotent power my reliance. And He is the beholder of your affairs as well as the affairs of me and my people. We believe in no lord but Him, and no king besides Him: and He is our sufficiency and excellent Protector.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 30

THE ACCOUNT OF WHAT HAPPENED BEFORE THE DEPARTURE OF THE MESSENGER FROM YUSHA THE KING.

When the children of Israil heard this address and this reply, bowing down, they prostrated themselves before God, and spake, saying: "How adorable is He who has guided thee! How adorable is He who has enlightened thy heart! How adorable is He who has illuminated the light of thy intellect! How adorable is He who has sanctified thy spirit! How adorable is He who has ennobled thy soul! How adorable is He! Thou hast consoled our souls and hast strengthened our hearts; Thou has nerved our loins, Thou hast lifted up our heads, Thou hast exalted our renown, Thou hast spread abroad our glory, yea our friends do exalt, for Thou hast destroyed our enemies and hast annihilated their host. And now we are swift and zealous subjects in Thy presence, ready to go unto the horizon of the seas and to the abyss of darkness and unto the burnings of fire. And this is the approval and opinion we express to our master the king, and let him carry it out by transmitting this letter; fur in it lies the destruction of our enemies and their ruin, and the breaking up of their hearts and their purposes, through the power of God and His omnipotent might." And the king gave immediate directions that they should make known to him the list of the enumeration of those who had been chosen from the army, and that they make proclamation for them to mount at once. And scarce an hour passed before three hundred thousand men had mounted, every one of whom was renowned for manly qualities and skill, chosen men they were, the like of whom or better rank and file than theirs had ever been seen. And the officers returned and said unto him: "O our master and our

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lord, there have assembled for thee three hundred thousand chosen men, and if thou wert to command that there should be chosen as many more as they, we would be prompt to do the same, for in our lists there are other three hundred thousand men, but they are separated from us, and the mustering of them will be accomplished in the course of a week." And Yusha the king answered them, saying: "If He would destroy our enemies with six hundred thousand men, He is able to destroy them with three hundred thousand men." And he commanded that the messenger should be brought, for he knew that he was possessed of sagacity; and he re-read the letter to the multitude in his presence. Thereupon he said unto him: "Look at and behold what I have collected unto me me in one single hour, with regard to whom I do not need to bother myself about their provisions, or look after their condition, and in three days there will gather unto me a number equal to them, through the power of God and His omnipotent might; so now make known to thy companions what thou hast witnessed of the affairs of God—Mighty and Powerful—even the power of His people. And lo! I am about to march right on the tracks of my letter, with the help of God and his power and strength."

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 31

AN ACCOUNT OF THE RETURN OF THE MESSENGER, AND WHAT HE DID WHEN HE REACHED THEM (I.E. THE ENEMIES).

When the messenger had heard the king, and his speech, and the reading of the letter and its words, and perceived the discipline of the army and its staunch condition, he took the letter and immediately started out on his journey, with head down-cast and heart rent asunder and colour changed and eyes weeping. And when he arrived at the army of the enemy, he found them assembled together in el-Qaimun. And when he beheld them he wept with great weeping and cried with a loud voice, and said to them: "O woe unto me for you, and sad am I for your sakes. Whither are ye marching? Is it unto the sea of darkness?" (According to the cosmogony of the Arahs the continents and islands of the earth are believed to be surrounded by "the Circumambient Ocean" [el-Bahr el Muhit].) Unto him who does not listen to a word of yours, nor sends back peace to you? Unto those before whom ye are as scattered dust? With them ye have "no stability or durability or permanency; every affair of theirs is in earnest, no jesting or secret backbiting exists among them. Therefore give attention unto the reply to the letter, that ye may know that God is over all things, powerful, ere I explain unto you what I have witnessed, and inform you of what I have beheld; for if I should continue for one year explaining and expounding about Him, I should not make known His substance or make known any of His attributes."

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 32

THE ACCOUNT OF THE READING OF THE LETTER, AND WHAT THE ENEMY DID WHEN IT WAS READ.

He then took the letter and read it unto the company of the kings. Now the inscription written upon it was: "To the company of reprobates, rebels, libertines, infidels; the calumniating, rebellious, polluted and cowardly people; the filthy, selfdisgraced, whose destruction is near at hand, and whose ruin is just impending: "From the excellent, the faithful, the associates of purity, light, glory, firmness and victory, and possessed of authority and influence, the celebrated, far-famed, set-apart, chosen, protected by God, assisted unto victory by His power, sheltered under His mercy and compassion; and He is their sufficiency, and upon Him is their reliance." Upon the reading of this inscription they wept until their eyes flowed blood, then they opened the letter, and a man read it in a plaintive voice, while they began beating their faces and wailing over themselves to greatest excess, until they had finished its reading. And the letter was not completed before their inwards were attenuated, and their heads bent down, and their hearts broken, and their tears poured out and their intellects bewildered; and they were neither able to arise from their places nor rest in quiet in them, for dementia and perturbation had seized them. Then they cried out while weeping, and said: "Woe unto us and unto our children, we have destroyed ourselves, we have brought about the violation of our women, we have waked up the sleeping lioness, we have stirred up the crouching lion, we have let loose the elephant that was tied, we have roused the bull that was tethered." And now their tongues jabbered on in their mouths, stuttering exceedingly as if tongue-tied, and they neither understood what they said, nor what was said to them; yea, they were deaf, they were dumfounded, they were stunned, they were bewildered, the hair of their heads stood on end and they tore their garments. Then there came unto them the sheikh of the magicians, and with him was the mother of Shaubak, the son of Hamam, who was skilled in magic and who worshipped the great luminary and the seven stars, and along with her was a crowd of the magicians and wizards and conjurers, and these calmed them, saying unto them: "O ye who turn back! ye have wrecked your army before ye have seen the enemy, and ye have killed yourselves before your time; not thus should the leaders of the army do among the flock, ye have unnerved the men with fear, ye have slaughtered them without a sword being used. Sit ye down with us and listen with reason unto what we say, and bring hither the messenger whom ye sent, and consider what he shall describe unto you." So they brought the messenger, and he began to describe the king (Yusha), and the feeling of awe that he carried away from him, and he described the army tribe by tribe, and the Divine ordinances which he had witnessed, and the grand condition of affairs which he had beheld. Then the messenger said to them: "O assembled men, accept my counsel, and do not yield yourselves unto any other; for I have seen what ye have not seen, therefore know what shall overtake you by surprise, for after three days will come the hasty rush and flight, and the abandonment of our baggage, and the saving of ourselves and our possessions; for, verily, he (Yusha,) is a magnificent commander, he is not to be held as contemptible and insignificant; and against this people neither sorcery nor stratagem is possible. Every god whom ye worship and serve will flee away from before their God whom they worship. Have ye not heard what happened unto our master and chief Bila'am? " Thereupon the band of magicians went apart by themselves and the mother of Shaubak with them, and they agreed in opinion that they would work out for them his (Yusha's) discomfiture, so as that he should not come unto them. And they commenced operations and built their altars and offered up their sacrifices, and they were answered in that which they requested, and they sat down in order that they might deliver their mandate with power and force. But God delayed this unto them, according as He willed. Blessed be He and exalted, for the consummation which He brought about.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 33

THE ACCOUNT OF THE SETTING OUT OF YUSHA THE KING UPON HIS EXPEDITION.

When Yusha the king desired to start out on the journey, he met with the saint of God, el-Azar (Eleazar) the imam—peace be upon him,—and said unto him: "Go forth, invoke a blessing upon thy people and bless them, and when we have proceeded on our journey continue repeating it, and do not cease standing before thy Lord humbly beseeching Him, until thou nearest tidings of us." And el-Azar (Eleazar), the imam, went forth to the tabernacle and blessed the people, and invoked a blessing upon them, and then he proceeded to bid farewell to the king, and to weep, while the priests invoked upon him safety and success and prosperity and good-fortune. Then he commanded the Liwanites to make proclamation throughout the army, in accordance with what our master Miisa, the Prophet—the most excellent peace be upon him,—had enjoined upon them in the Holy Law at the command of God, where he says: "When ye go out in battle against your enemies, and see horses and footmen, and a people more than ye, be not afraid of them; for God thy God is with thee, which brought thee up out of the land of Misr (Egypt) "—and so on to the end of the chapter (Deuteronomy 20.). And this having been executed, at the close of the proclamation, Finahas (Phinehas), the son of the imam—peace be upon him, his cousin, sounded on the two trumpets of clamour (i.e., trumpets of alarm, signal trumpets on which alarms were sounded.), and the congregation of the children of Israil shouted with one voice, and the angels in heaven and on earth did tremble by reason of their shout. And having knelt and bowed down, they then mounted and journeyed forward until they arrived in the vicinity of el-Lejjun. (The modern Arabic form of the name of the ancient city, Legio, mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome, and situated on the western border of the great plain of Esdraelon. Dr. Robinson has identified it with the site of the more ancient Megiddo of the Old Testament [Bib. Researches, vol. 3 p. 118]. It lies six Roman miles distant from el-Qaimun, where were encamped the forces of the enemy, cf. Note 57.)

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 34

THE ACCOUNT OF WHAT HAPPENED TO THE CHILDREN OF ISRAIL IN THIS PLACE.

When the children of Israil arrived at el-Lejjun, before they were aware of it, Yusha and those who were with him had got inside of seven walls of iron, and the device of the magicians against them was consummated, in order that the decree of God—may He be exalted—might be accomplished, with regard to exalting the renown of Nabih, the king of the two and a half tribes, who was beyond the Urdun; for not a thing of this work had been effected, but for the sole purpose that the renown of Nabih might be glorified, and his name spread abroad. And one object of this was, that if the giants were put to rout they would cross over with them, and, while they were fatigued, follow hard after them; and it was in their purpose so (to do). And another object of this was, to show up the result of the counsel of the deities of the giants; for Finalms alone did blow on the trumpet and dissolved every perplexing machination which the magicians had wrought. And another object of it wras, that the embarrassment of king Yusha might continue until the souls of the giants had become strong and their hearts elated and they settled down at ease; that the army of Nabih might cross over from the east: then would the magic from the west be dissolved, and the army issue forth and close upon the enemy from all directions, until not one of them should escape safe. Now this war was the last war that Yusha the king witnessed; for the time of his death had drawn near. And we will recount what happened, so that even a hearer shall be as if he had been a witness of it; and he will be astonished at this great stratagem, and will praise Him who is powerful over all circumstances and spirits. Blessed and exalted and glorious be He above all that the ignorant heathen mention. Mighty be his name; and He it is from whom help is to be sought, and in whom trust is to be placed.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 35

THE ACCOUNT OF HOW GOD FACILITATED THE ESCAPE OF THE CHILDREN OF ISRAIL FROM THE MAGICIANS.

When Yusha beheld what had come to pass unto him, he remained in great perplexity and exceeding fear, and began to desire of his Lord that a dove might alight upon him from the doves of Nabih his cousin; and he had not finished expressing his desire before the dove alighted in the room, and he praised God—Mighty and Powerful: then he looked at it and knew that deliverance was certain. And he commenced and wrote a letter unto Nabih, his cousin, which I am about to make mention of, by the will of God and His assistance.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 36

A STATEMENT OF A COPY OF THE LETTER.

"I write unto thee, O my cousin—may God protect thee and take care of thee, while I am sad of heart, weak in strength, with weeping eyes, humbled in soul, on the very verge of destruction, and three hundred thousand men along with me; for the stratagem of the magicians has been accomplished upon us, and I and my people are imprisoned and perplexed inside seven walls of iron, and in front of us are thirtysix kings in complete joy and universal exultation, while we are in sadness and weeping and fear thereby. And now such an affair as this had not been effectuated against us, except only that there might be accomplished what God may He be exalted—desires with reference to the exaltation of thy renown, and the spreading abroad of thy authority; and God, God is the One, O my cousin, Who makes weak and makes strong. And truly thou knowest what covenants and compacts exist between me and thee, so rise up immediately and do not sleep; and if thou art asleep, awake: and if thou art awake, sit up; and if thou art sitting, stand up; and if thou art standing, walk; and if thou art walking, run; for I and the company of thy brethren, who are looking for deliverance from God—exalted be He—and thee, are imprisoned inside seven walls of iron at el-Lejjun, and the host of the enemies are in el-Qaimun: so let not slackness nor rest nor laziness nor hesitation overtake thee, but outstrip the blowing winds and make manifest that by which thou shalt be remembered unto the end of the gliding ages, by the will of God and His assistance." And when Yusha had finished folding the letter, the dove did not wait until it had been tied on to its wings, but snatched it in its bill and napped its wings and soared aloft.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 37

THE ACCOUNT OF NABIH AND WHAT HE DID.

Now Nabih was sitting upon his judgement throne, his waist girded up and on him a green robe and a green turban, and he was engaged in looking into the judicial affairs when the dove threw the note into the room, and he opened it and read it, and his eyes gushed forth with tears and he cried aloud, at which the court became agitated. And lie himself then cried out at the top of his voice: "Assembly of my brothers and my cousins and my comrades! follow me, and reach your brethren; for they are imprisoned by magic inside seven walls of iron at el-Lejjun. Assembly of men! haste! haste!! "And they that were around him shouted out with a mighty shout, the sound of which was heard unto the horizon of heaven and to the regions of the earth, which were their assigned lands. And now the shout increased and voices were intermingled, and there mustered immediately, as though they had been for a long time and period prepared and equipt, six thousand men whose garments were white and their horses red, and six thousand men whose garments were red and their horses white, and six thousand men whose garments were green and their horses black, and six thousand men whose garments were black and their horses piebald; not to mention the variously colored and renowned ones who were many and without number. And the women and children joined in rendering aid. And there went forth of the men an innumerable multitude; and Nabih went forth, riding upon a celebrated colt that was spotted like a leopard and was fleet as the winds, and behind him was his army and he was saying: "Fire! Fire!! no rest and no repose!" (The word "Fire" is used here by metonymy for "war," a thing of frequent occurrence in the Oriental languages, and the whole expression is a stirring and impassioned utterance on the part of Nabih, intended to arouse his army to the highest pitch of zeal in hastening to the succor of Joshua.) And the shout rose up on high, and a

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wonderful warning presented itself in the sky, so that the birds dropped down one after another and fled away from the great wind into the desert, and wild animals did not remain quiet in their dens, and from these was witnessed (an omen) the like of which had never been beheld in the past. And when Nabih drew near to the great meadow (The plain of Esdraelon, the modern Arabic name of which is Merj ibn Amir " the Meadow of the son of Amir."), he halted until his army had collected together. And it came to pass that the mother of Shaubak went up to a lookout she had in el-Qaimun to worship the great luminary according to her custom, and when she beheld the luminous star—that is to say Nabih—rising up out of the east, she made haste to descend unto her son, and she said to him: "Lo! a luminous moon is rising up out of the east, and about him are brilliant stars—meaning Nabih and his soldiers; and if he be of our enemies, O woe unto thee and woe unto me; but if he be for our assistance, then it is well with thee and well with me." And he became enraged at her because she had hastened unto him with woe, and he killed her—may God have no mercy on her. And he put on his armour and took his bow and arrows studded with pearls and corals, and then made proclamation throughout his army and advanced alone against Nabih; and when he drew near to him and beheld him, he said unto him: "O Nabih, what is the matter with thee that thou barkest?" (There is a play here upon words which it is impossible to bring out in the translation, the word tanbahuy, "thou barkest" being used as a play upon the name Nabih.) And he answered him: "Yes, my name is Nabih, the son of Gil'ad the son of Makir the son of Manashsheh the son of Yusaf to whom was given the kingdom of Yaqub (Jacob) the son of Ishaq (Isaac) the son of Ibrahim (Abraham) who killed the kings of esh-Sham; and my lord has sent me to anathematize thee and destroy thee, and as my father killed thy father so will his (my father's) son kill his (thy father's) son: and now, O thou anathematised! O thou unclean one ! who art thou? "And he said to him: "I am Shaubak, the son of Hamam the son of Fut (Phut), the son of Ham, the son of Nuh whom God did bless at the time he came

out of the ark. Stand for me until I shoot first, and then I next will receive (thy shot)." And Nabih said unto him: "Of God I ask assistance, because thou shalt shoot first and kill first. Let drive, O anathematised, O, unclean one! "So he (Shaubak) let drive at him with the first arrow: now he was—God curse him—a man shooting with determination and confidence who never missed the mark. But Nabih dodged his head, and it passed by him and did not hit him. Thereupon he shot at him a second arrow; but Nabih lifted himself in the air, and it passed between him and his saddle. And he shot a third arrow; and he (Nabih) countered it with his right hand. And Shaubak the son of Hamam began to desire to flee away, and Nabih said unto him: "Whither dost thou flee, O anathematised, O unclean one? I have received from thee three witnesses (of thy skill), now receive of its kind one witness from me: take this from my right hand which God has blessed—and to Him belongs the mighty power." Then Nabih shot it, and the arrow rose up to heaven and reversing came down into the head of the man, and penetrated to his belly and to the belly of his horse, and plunged into the earth to a depth of five royal cubits, which is twelve cubits according to this cubit, and in that place immediately a fountain gushed forth, which is called Ain en-Nushshabeh (the Fountain of the Arrow) unto this time. And when the children of Israil witnessed this miracle, they shouted out in honor of God—Glorious and Mighty—saying: "There is no power or might except in God." And when Yusha and they who were imprisoned with him heard them, God made a revelation unto him, saying: "Speak unto the priests that they sound with the two trumpets." And when they had done so, the walls crumbled and fell down; and the army closed in upon the enemies, and the trumpets of the angels were heard from heaven. And Yusha said to the day: "Stand still for me," and it stood still: and to the winds: "As sist me," and they assisted him. And while the enemies were hurling from the east, the west wind was returning each missile unto its hurler*, and thus was it also from all quarters. (* A miracle similar to this is related in the Moslem traditions concerning Mohammed.) And as to the man who had the thunderbolt with him, when he hurled it, it leaped back upon the enemies and killed of them one thousand men; and the sword continued doing its work among the rest of them, until the horses plunged in blood up to their nostrils. (The same thing is related by the Talmudists to have occurred at the capture of Bether, in the Jewish revolt under Hadrian, 135 AD; for they tell us that so great was the slaughter there that "the horses waded up to their mouths in blood." [Munter, Biblioth. Sac. 1843, p. 440].) Then said Yusha to his people: "This day has annihilated the power of the confederates and of the allies of the confederates. All the children of Israil should offer praises and halleluiahs to the King of kings and Lord of lords, who has rescued them and preserved them, and protected them, and delivered them, and uprooted their enemies." And the king was offering praise, and saying: "God is the one who acts as the Hero for us in the wars, God is His name." And the children of Israil followed him, while all of them were saying: "Who is like unto Thee, perfect in holiness? O, One who dost inspire terror! O Revealer of secret things! O Doer of wonders! O One who dost protect His servants and those who love Him, in every place wherein they dwell!" Now, this is one of the paragraphs of our master Musa the Prophet—peace be upon him, in his hymn of praise at the sea (Exodus 15.). And Yusha moreover said: "God shall fight for you, and ye shall hold your peace." And this also is one of the sayings of Musa the Prophet—peace be upon him (Exodus 14:14.). And they lodged on the field of battle and rested that night; and they ceased not to commemorate God the whole night long, with hymns of praise and halleluiahs, until the rising of the sun, secure from any attack, amid great noise and merriment and gladness and booty; now that their enemies were destroyed and the remembrance of them blotted out. And God is the Victor, the Protector, the Guardian, and He is our sufficiency and illustrious Protector.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 38

AN ACCOUNT OF WHAT WAS DONE DURING THE DAYS OF DIVINE FAVOUR.

Now the length of this period was two hundred and sixty years. And the well ordered arrangement of the days of Divine favour existed during the days of Yusha the king, and after him until the termination of this period; as lam about to mention and set forth. And they (the children of Israil) continued keeping the Sabbaths and the solemn assemblies—I mean, the new moons and the feasts, and from the era of the king they continued giving the land rest, one year in every seven years; in this year there was neither sowing nor cultivation, but yet every one had what was needed. And the children of Israil were delivering over to the Liwanites the tenth of all that came to them, and what they possessed of every seed-sowing and fruit, and animal and other things. And the Liwanite was delivering over the tenth of this unto the high priest. And the children of Israil had another tenth, which before God they were disposing of, for themselves and for the imams and the infirm. And when they planted in the ground a new plant, its fruit was not eaten, except when in the fourth year the imam ate of it, and then in the fifth it became released and made free to every one. And the Hebrew slave who had served seven years was emancipated, and dominion over him was taken away. And when an Israelite, driven by want, sold his child and himself, there was always to him a right of ransom, and his account was settled, with reference to his years of service to come, on a basis of wages. And if there was not found for the Hebrew slave either a near or distant relative who would ransom him, he was set free in the year of jubilee; and so likewise was it with their lands which had been sold. And there was in every seven years a division of the land among the tribes, with reference to overplus and deficiency. And they always had chiefs whose duty it was to write up the calendars and keep a record of the things which were brought to the treasury. And the firstlings of animals and seeds and fruits were carried unto the minister; and not a single ram or sheep or ox was sacrificed except upon the altar on the Blessed Mount, unless it was defective and was of the seven species, such as, the deer and the roebuck and the buffalo and the gazelle and the antelope and the giraffe. And they had judges who gave decisions for .them, as to the commands and prohibitions (to be observed) at all times, so that they might keep them with right observance. And no one of them was able to commit an abomination, such as infidelity and other things of magic, but that it was brought to light, and the doer of the shameful thing, before he was aware would be apprehended, even though he was in the most remote parts of the assigned lands, for this was revealed by the jewels which were on the minister. And this minister would make a woman drink of the water of the temple, when her husband had suspicions against her; and if she had indeed been unfaithful to him and had become defiled with some one else, he would curse her; for if she was innocent in this regard, then she would return unharmed; but if she was guilty she was detected and immediately destroyed. And likewise it was that, no one did kill an innocent person, but that his murderer was made known by circumstances which were brought about, and the truth came to light. And there were transgressions and shortcommings and brutal deeds which the slaves did without due consideration, these did the minister, the imam, assume upon himself on every fast day, which is the tenth day of the seventh month wherein expiation is made for souls and spirits, such as for the raising of leavened bread during the feast of unleavened bread. And there were orders of the Liwanites, some of them wrote the Law, and some of them wrote hymns of praise and the genealogies, and some of them watched over the treasury of the children of Israil; and some of them had charge over the constant, perpetual burnt offering, and the continual ceremony in the temple; and some of them had charge over the anointing ointment, and the aromatic incense, and the perfume of the sacrifice, and the flour and the oil, and the candlesticks; and some of them had charge over the vessels of the temple and their arrangement, and the duty of looking after their condition; and some of them selected the animals (for sacrifice) out from the doubtful ones; and some of them did the sacrificing; and some of them sprinkled the blood upon the altar; and others of them did place in position the victims; yea, every company was organised for its special official work, and did not leave what had been prescribed unto it. And the continual burnt offering was offered up before the rising of the sun and after the going down of the same; and at the time when the blood of the burnt-offering was shed upon the altar, the priests sounded the trumpet on the summit of the Blessed Mount, and then the imams sounded in every district, and it was but the wink of an eye before all the children of Israil knew that the sacrifices had been offered up on the altar, and they rose up to pray; and the prayer was accepted, and the blessings were simultaneously bestowed, and Grace was full and Mercy all embracing; yea, circumstances were well ordered, and affairs were known and understood through the Divine light and auspicious favour; for the union between them and their Lord was close. Now this is an epitome of the whole. And the children of Israil were continually addressing and consulting God, who guides with His mercy. And He is our sufficiency and illustrious Protector.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 39

THE HISTORY OF THE DURATION OF THE DAYS OF DIVINE FAVOUR, UP TO THE TIME OF THE BEGINNING OF ERROR.

Yusha the son of Nun, reigned forty-five years, and at the approach of his death, he assembled the children of Israil and put them under a covenant and bound them to an obligation that they would carefully keep what the Prophet Musa (Moses) — peace be upon him —had enrolled, and he then offered up for himself and for them the sacrifices, and bid them farewell; for he did closely what our master Musa the Prophet—peace be upon him,—did,

when he bid farewell. And he selected twelve chiefs from the congregation of the nine and a half tribes, and when he had tested them as to their knowledge and aptitude for administration, he cast lots over them in the presence of the congregation of the children of Israil, at Merj el-Baha (Meadow of Beauty); and the lot of king fell upon a man whose name was Abil, the son of the brother of Kalab*, of the Judaic tribe. (* Abil, the son of the brother of Kalab. By Abil is undoubtedly here meant Othniel, the son of Kenaz, Caleb's younger brother, who, we are told in Judges 3:9, was the first judge over the children of Israel after the death of Joshua.) And he invested him with the royal authority and jurisdiction, and placed on him the crown, and had proclamation made throughout the congregation that they should be obedient to his commands. And lie commanded him to be obedient unto the minister of God, and allow him an inspection into all his circumstances, and not to carry out a matter before that he had made it known to him, And Yusha, the son of Nun—peace be upon him, died, and they buried him in Kefr Ghuweirah (Its more modern name is Awertah.); and Kalab his comrade died, and they buried him near him. And this new king entered upon administrating the government of the people, and lie walked with them in perfect ways. And the report of the death of Yusha reached the king Mab, and he sent and collected troops, and advanced against his territory; and this king (Abil) mustered his people, and God assisted him to gain the victory over them, and awe of him fell upon the remainder of his enemies, and lie conquered territories and added them unto the assigned lands. And he reigned nine years, and then died. And after him, Tarfia* of the tribe of Afrim (Ephraim) was appointed successor, and when he was invested with the kingship, the king of 'Amman (Ammon) marched against him; (* This leader, who is said to have waged war with the king of Ammon, is probably to be identified with Jephthah the Gileadite who conducted the war against the children of Ammon, though their names are not at all similar and the former is said to have been of the tribe of Ephraim, while the latter was a Gileadite.) but God assisted him to gain the victory over him, and he continued in rule during the period that God had decreed to him, and then he died. Thereupon after him, up to the end of the space of time, which has been previously mentioned—and it is two hundred and sixty years, there were nine kings appointed to the office, who succeeded one another from all the tribes, and continued in their ruling two hundred and fifteen years; for Yusha the son of Nun had reigned for the rest of the years. And the last of them was Shamsham (Samson) the king, who was unique among them: no one was seen as handsome as he, and who obtained greater victories over their enemies. Yet nevertheless, strength and beauty and success and perfection shall be adjudged unto those who follow after them in the footsteps of those who have preceded them, and who act in accordance with their deeds, and offer sacrifices similar to their sacrifices.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 40

THE HISTOEY OF THE VICEGERENTS OF THE LORD, AND OF THE MINISTERS OF THE DAYS OF DIVINE FAVOUR, DURING THE PRECEDING PERIOD THAT HAS BEEN MENTIONED.

When the death of el-Azar (Eleazar), the imam—peace be upon him,—drew near, he did as Yusha the son of Nun had

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done, and collected the leaders of the children of Israil, and put them under a covenant and bound them to an obligation of obedience, and bid them farewell, and then bid the temple farewell, and worshipped his Lord; and when he came walking out, the holy odours were fragrant on the borders of his garments. And having gone to Kefr Ghuweirah, he stripped off the holy garments which were on him, and placed them upon his son Fin alias—peace be upon him—and he died and was buried in Kefr Ghuweirah; and all the children of Israil wept for him, after the custom of their fathers. And after him his son was installed, and he did as his father had done. And when his death approached, he also bound them to a covenant, and offered up the sacrifices, and bid farewell; and, having gone to Kefr Ghuweirah, stripped off the holy garments which were on him, and jout them upon the one of his offspring who was to succeed him, and then lie died and was buried in that place. And after him there were installed five ministers for the Lord, and they served Him with acceptable service, and did as they who had gone before them had done, even up to the period that has been mentioned; and its days were well managed, adorned with the Light and with celestial and terrestrial happiness, up to the instalment of Uzi, the last of the vicegerents of the Lord* in the days of Divine favour, and he was a young man. And the king of that time died, and another king was not appointed. (* Uzi, the last of the vicegerents of the Lord. According to 1 Chronicles 6:5, 6, 51; Ezra 7:4, Uzzi was the son of Bukki the son of Abishua the son of Phinehas the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, thus making him the sixth high-priest from Aaron. The Samaritans, on the other hand, make him the seventh high-priest, their list having the name Sisi inserted as the son of Abishua and father of Bukki [Chron. of Abu'l Fath].) Now the number of the years of the earth, from the time of Adam up to this time, was three thousand and fifty-four years. And there were gathered unto them, before the death of Shamsham, a great multitude, so that if it was spread over the earth it would have filled the world, by reason of the abundance with which God had blessed them, and multiplied their possessions. But now there came to pass that which Musa, the Prophet—peace be upon him,—had spoken of in the address that he delivered; "Yaqub (Jacob) shall eat, and be satisfied; Israil shall wax fat;" and let it be looked up to the end of the chapter in that great song. For then they did go astray from the way which he had prescribed unto them, that they should keep to and do. And the Omnipotent is our sufficiency; the Most Glorious, the One who is slow to chastise the rebellious.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 41

THE HISTORY OF THE BEGINNING OF ERROR AFTER THE DEATH OF SHAMSHAM, THE KING OF THAT TIME.

Now he was the ruling judge over the children of Israil, and took great revenge upon the nations, and destroyed a multitude of them. And when they were informed of his death, they assembled and bound themselves together by oath, and great zeal took possession of them. And when they read in the books of Bila'am, that these people could never be destroyed except by unbelief and pollution, they began to have recourse to devices to obtain a knowledge of how to work magic, and they did not leave a place, however remote in distance, which was prescribed for this profession, but that they sent messengers in search of it; and they obtained therefrom an ample share of the appearance of miracles, the like of which dupe the common people. And they sent some of the learned doctors from among their companions, and with them this knowledge; and they arrived in the neighbourhood of the house of God. Now there was at this time no king administering the government, nor saint overlooking the holy matters. And the doctors entered into dealings with a company of the children of Israil who were people of pride, and expounded unto them the secret doctrine, and instructed for them one hundred men of the people, and wrought it out through their agency. And they inaugurated this audacious procedure and action, on a hill to the south of the Blessed Mount, and the place, from the sum of their number, received the name el-Miat. Thereupon they set to building up the place and offering sacrifices to idols, which effect no profit either in the present or in the future. Then the company removed, through fear of the children of Isiail, to the west of the Blessed Mount; and on their

going, their like followed after them, and they settled in a village on the slope of a mountain, and the place, from the number of their company, received the name el-Miatai, and in it they resided a brief time. Thereupon they removed from it; for they had multiplied in numbers and increased and branched out, and the place, on account of their great number, received the name Ferata (El-Miat, i.e., "the one hundred," and el-Miatai means "the two hundred."). And God did not manifest His rebuke nor anger, until the affair of these infidels had reached unto all the leaders of the children of Israil, throughout all their assigned lands. And when they became careless and negligent about rising up against them, and had turned aside and become polluted; for some of them were overcome with cowardice and laziness, and others of them were engrossed, each one in his own possessions and wealth and riches and pride, and supposed that poverty would not overtake him though he might over-ride the world; and others of them were jealous, and the greater part of their will was bent towards waywardness. And the saints of God were overcome with blindness and confusion and cowardice; for envy was rife in the tribe of Finahas, and discord reigned among them. Now when these infamous deeds and brutal affairs were carried out, the angels shrunk away from them, and the Creator became angry at them and took away His presence from them, and from the Blessed Mount; and the light which had shone forth in the temple departed, and the Divine fire which had not been separated from the offerings upon the two altars was taken away; and decline was perfected in them, and disaster came upon them; for their sight was blinded. And we take refuge in God from misfortune, and of Him—mighty be His name—do we ask assistance.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 42

THE ACCOUNT OF HOW THE BEGINNING OF ERROR WAS STOPPED AMONG THE PEOPLE.

When it was the morning of the second day (of the week), the first (day) of the year 361* of the reign of Divine favour (* The year 361: This number is undoubtedly an error, and it should be 261 to agree with the statements made in Chapters 38 and 39.) —which day is known for greatest calamity and mightiest disaster and long lasting sorrow and wide-spread grief, which is like unto the day on which our father Adam was expelled from the garden, even the day in which was announced his death and the death of his seed—Ozi, the imam, the saint of God whose greatness was spoiled and whose glory was ruined and whose holiness was destroyed and whose light was extinguished, passed, in the morning of this day—the calamities of which have been mentioned —to the temple, and lifted up the veil of the inner holy house, and he beheld none of the signs of Divine favour. And he looked, and lo! dense darkness, and a black cloud spread abroad within the house, and he remained performing alternate service during the third day and the fourth; and when it was the morning of the fifth day, he looked at this darkness, and lo! it had spread and enveloped the foundations of the house; and then he knew that God—Mighty and Powerful—had become angry at them, and bad taken away the light of His omnipotence and mercy and compassion from the place and from the children of Israil. And he began to gather up the vestments of the temple and the vessels of gold and silver, which had been made from the days of the Prophet peace be upon him,—and went out from the tabernacle. And God revealed unto him, in the Blessed Mount an open cave, which no one had beheld in thatplace before that day, and he took all that he found in the temple and placed them in that cave. And when he came out of it he wrote upon its mouth an inscription in his own handwriting, and made a list of what he had placed in it, and distinguished it with signs; them he turned to look again, and could find neither cave nor sign nor writing. Thereupon he lifted up his voice in weeping and wailing and lamentation, and there gathered unto him the company of the Liwanites, and the twelve chiefs who acted with him, and likewise the seventy wise men, and they made inquiry of him as to his weeping and crying, and he informed them of what had been revealed unto him. And when he explained unto them about the Divine wrath and what was befalling them and their people, they rent their garments and beat their faces and bowed down their heads, and assembled their company and began enumerating what things God—

Mighty and Powerful—had bountifully bestowed upon them, and what they now beheld of punishment and banishment and sorrow and calamity, and they did say: "Woe unto us and to our children after us, and how great is the exultation of the enemies over our misfortune! How great is the joy of the confederates over thee, O Israil! thy guardian is taken away, and who will now look after thee? Thy prop is taken away, and who will now support thee? Thy king is taken away, and who will now help thee? Thy power is taken away, and who will now strengthen thee? The Compassionate has become angry at thee, and who will now show pity? Signs were shown for thy sake, Misr was devastated for thee, the Divine power appeared in thy behalf, the sea was divided that thou mightest cross, Firaum and his people perished that thou mightest be preserved, manna descended for thy sustenance, bitter water became sweet to satisfy thy thirst, the voice of the Creator was heard for thy instruction, the rock brought forth water to test thee, Amlaq was put to route at thy desire, the Creator let the Divine power dwell round about thee for thy protection, and His name alighted upon thee that thy enemies might have fear of thee. He placed the pillar of cloud

as a sign of His tender compassion for thee. He closed up the two mountains of the valley el-Mujib (Arnon)*, that thou mightest pass over safely. (* And in Wady el-Mujib. What is here referred to is more fully explained in Chap. 13 , where, in enumerating the various miracles that God had performed for the children of Israel, it is said: "He closed up the two mountains of the valley el-Mujib (Arnon), that thou mightest pass over safely.") He destroyed Sihun and Ug, that thou mightest inherit their cities and possessions. He struck with terror the kings of Amman and Moab and Midyan, that thou mightest plunder their cattle. He stopped the water of the Urdun, that He might display thy power and make prominent thy glory and exalt thy fame. He killed the seven tyrant kings, that He might give to thee their land and their cities, and their kingdom. He gave over to destruction those who assembled together for thy slaughter. He extirpated Shaubak the son of Hamam, and those kings who were assembled with him to slay thee. He commanded the heavens and the earth to guard thee and protect thee. He removed the calamities of the skies and stars from thee and from thy country. He surrounded thee with the greatest prosperity and the largest blessing. He assigned unto thee the most exalted places, and the most glorious of which is the Gate of Paradise. He gave unto thee a kingdom in which no one boasteth besides thyself. He bestowed abundantly upon thee His grace, the like of which was never heard of in former ages. He assisted thee with His angels, and His omnipotence. He enveloped thee with His mercy, and surrounded thee with His compassion. He took thee into His keeping with joy on His part, and took thee under His protection among His own. But thou hast forsaken His worship, and renounced belief in His name, which should be exalted, and thou hast worshipped one that has not the power to remove calamnity even from himself. Ye have not regarded those who became infidel, and your Lord has disregarded you. Thou didst cover up from him, and He has covered up His face from you. Our master Musa, the Prophet—the most excellent, peace be upon him—led you aright, but ye did not believe him. He informed you, but ye hearkened not unto him. He instructed you, but ye obeyed him not. Yusha, his disciple, made covenant with you, but ye sported with him. Whither does your flight tend? Whom will ye find as a refuge for yourselves? From whence will ye find help for yourselves? Who will rescue you from your enemies? Ye supposed that your victory resulted from the multitude of men, when, lo, the victory was the result of good behavior. Where are those who know our leaders? Where is the one to whom our hearts plight faith? Where is the one who has pity on our infants? Where is the one who hears our voices? Where is the one who makes atonement for our sins and transgressions? Where is the one who makes manifest our power? Where is the one who renders our glory conspicuous

here? "And they now felt remorse where remorse profited them nothing, while their weeping became great and their lamentations violent. Thereupon they took vows upon themselves that they would commemorate this sorrow, on the second and fifth days (of the week) always, until the favour of God—glorious be His might—should return unto them. And He is the one who knows when it will return; and we pvay Him to remove His anger, and let fall the veil of His protection over us, through His greatness and compassion. Lo, He is a hearer and answerer (of prayer).

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 43

THE HISTORY OF THE ERRING MAN WHO WAS ENVIOUS OF THE DESCENDANT OF FINAHAS THE IMAM—PEACE BE UPON HIM.

Discord had arisen between the descendant of Finahas (Ozi) and his cousin Hi (Eli), whose name being interpreted means; the insidious. This erring man was of the tribe of Itamar (Ithamar) the brother of el-Azar (Eleazar) the imam (This erring man was of the tribe of Itamar [Ithamar] The direct genealogy of Eli is not given in the Bible, but from a comparison of such passages as 1 Kings, 2:27; I Chron. 24:3, 6; 2 Sam. 8:17, it is proved that he was p. descendant of Ithamar.). Now the right of administration belonged to the tribe of Finahas, and it was the one which was offering up the sacrifices upon the brazen altar, and stone altar. And this man—the insidious—as fifty years old, and being great in riches had obtained for himself the lordship over the treasure house of the children of Israil; and he had obtained, through the knowledge of magic, what he had acquired of riches, proud rank and wealth. And his self-importance being great in his own estimation, lie gathered to himself a company, and said unto them: "I am one to whom to serve a boy is impossible, and I will not reconcile myself to this, and I hope that ye will not be content to have me do this." And the company answered him: "We are under thy command, and under obedience to thee: command us in whatsoever thou wiliest." And he put them under covenant that they would follow him unto the place where they purposed going on the morning of the second day (of the week). And he offered up offering on the altar without salt, as if he was ignorant, and immediately started out on the journey with his outfit and company, and cattle, and every thing that he possessed, and settled in Seilun (Shiloh). And he gathered the children of Israil into a schismatical sect, and held correspondence with their leaders, and said unto them: "Whoever desires to behold miracles, let him come unto me." And there was collected to him a multitude in Seilun, and he built for himself a shrine there, and organised matters for himself in it on the model of the temple, and erected in it one altar (And erected in it one altar. In the Mosaic law commandment was given that there

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should be two altars in the tabernacle [a tent as provisional temple]: the Altar of Burnt-Offering or Brazen Altar, and the Altar of Incense or Golden Altar.), on which he might sacrifice and offer up offerings. And he had two sons, who used to gather the women into the temple in the morning, and lie with them, and would eat up all that was present of the offerings of wine, and other things. Moreover he commanded the men that they should salute him before theyr offered their offerings. And this man continued diverting the people by magic, for the space of forty years; for God—exalted, exalted be He; glorious be His might—delayed this unto him. And there was Shamul (Samuel) of the tribe of Harun, the Liwanite (Shamul [Samuel] of the tribe of Harun [Aaron], the Liwanite [Levite.] From what is here said it is seen that the Samaritans hold that Samuel was a regular priest by descent from Aaron.), the magician and the infidel; for his father had delivered him over to him (Eli) when he was four years old, saying unto him: "This is a son whom I have received in fulfilment of a desire (This is a son whom I have received in fulfilment of a desire.), and it occurred suddenly to my mind that this boy ought to serve in this temple throughout the days of his life." So the erring man received him, and instructed him, and revealed unto him hidden things; and he grew to be as potent in the working of magic as he himself was. And blessed be God who does not punish the rebellious, except after long delay and showing mercy unto them.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 44

THE ACCOUNT OF THE CAUSE OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THIS ERRING MAN, AND OF HIS SONS AND COMPANY.

When the nations heard of the schism among the children of Israil, there gathered together of them a multitude of those who were inhabiting Yufa (Joppa) and Ludd (Lod, Lydda) and Beit Jibril (or Jibrin, is the name of the modern village lying S.W. of Jerusalem on the way to Gaza.) and Ghuzzeh (Gaza) and other places, and they carried out the plan of making an attack upon the company that was in Seilun. And the army of the erring man went forth to meet them, but it was overthrown and put to rout, and there were killed of his companions four thousand men. And the troops returned to their friends, and said unto him (Eli): "Forsooth the cause of our rout is, that the ark of gold was not with us;" so he delivered unto them the ark, and sent forth his two sons with them, and the flower of his army, in place of the first (army). Now they of the nations who had assembled had arranged an ambush, and upon the sallying forth of his army, the army of the nations closed in upon them, and the sword did its work among them; and the ark was taken, and the two sons were slain. And one of those that had escaped safe, stained his garments with their blood, and came to their father, while he was sitting upon his seat, and said to him: "Disastrous news for thee; for thy two sons are killed, and my garments are even stained with their blood, and the ark of gold has been taken, and the sword has annihilated thy people." And when he heard tidings such as this, he threw himself backwards off his seat, and his neck was broken, and he died. And when his daughterin-law heard of this calamity—now she was big with child—the pains of childbirth grew violent in her, and she died. And so this man received reward for his action in this world, and he shall also be brought to account in the next. Blessed be He, whom no affair escapes, and from whom nothing is hidden. Blessed be He and exalted.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 45

THE HISTORY OF BOKHTONASSAR (NEBUCHADNEZZAR), THE KING OF EL-MAUSIL (MOSUL), WHICH IS FOUND IN THE BOOKS OF THE CHRONICLES OF HIS DEEDS.

He was one of the kings of the Persians, who had conquered the countries and subdued the people, and the kings obeyed him. And he restored the authority of all the kings of esh-Sham, and they went to the king of el-Quds (Jerusalem), and entered into agreement with him that they would come under the rule of Bokhtonassar, and become submissive to his decrees. And they continued so twelve years; but when it was the thirteenth year, they broke the compact and revolted, and he pardoned them. And when he warned them, and they were not affected with fear, he marched against them in the fourteenth year, and destroyed whomsoever of them he met. And he directed his march toward el-Quds, and besieged it till he captured it, and he killed in it with great slaughter, and took its king and put out his eyes and sent him to Beit-A . . . (The text in the original is here defective, and it is impossible to tell what name was originally written. In 2 Kings 25:6 it is stated that Zedekiah the king was taken to Riblah, and there had his eyes put out, but whether the place here mentioned has any connexion with Riblah or not, we do not know.) and burned all the buildings and the edifice which Sulaiman (Solomon) the son of Dawid (David) had constructed. Then he turned aside towards our country—that is this country—and made proclamation therein, that: "Whosoever was found remaining in it after seven days, the shedding of his blood would be permissible." Thereupon he took to goading the people and driving them out unto every country, and brought people from el-Furs (Persia) and settled them in this country, the home of the children of Israil, who now got to the most remote parts of the world, scattered and dispersed throughout the regions east and west. And the word of the Holy Law came true: "And God shall scatter thee among all people, from the one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth (Deuteronomy 28:64.)." And after a certain time had passed by, letters were brought back from the Persians who were dwelling in their (the children of Israil's) territory in esh-Sham, regarding the earth's refusing her crops and fruits; for when the fruit promised well the destroying blight would waste it. And the letters in regard to this reached the king, and he had the leaders of the children of Israil brought before him, and made inquiry of them about this state of affairs, and they said: "The cause of this is our removal, and the abandonment in it of the service of our Lord; and we do praise God for its disorder, so that we may return unto it and serve our Lord upon the Holy Mount, and offer up offerings as He commanded us in His Book, by the hand of His Prophet—peace be upon him. And the king replied to them: "Go and build the house of thy Lord and offer up the offerings, and serve your Lord as was your custom, and I will assist you." And they said to him: "Give unto us a writing by thy own hand unto all our brethren, who are scattered abroad throughout all the regions; for we cannot return except we all go together." And the king gave them a writing of his hand, permitting them to journey to esh-Sham. And they departed from his presence, glad and rejoicing for what God had kindly bestowed upon them. And the imam and the king sent letters to every place, saying: "Know that the king—may God make him powerful—has granted us permission to go up to the holy place and build it up, and offer up the offerings upon it with the service that is acceptable. And now it is necessary that ye make haste, you and your harem and your children and all that ye possess, that we may assemble and go, and carry out the orders which he has commanded unto us, concerning the service of our Lord—Mighty and Powerful." And the people all came together, and the offspring of Yehudah (Judah) said to them: "We will unite all of us and go to el-Quds (Jerusalem), and build it up, and we will be one word and one soul." But the offspring of Harun (Aaron) and Yusaf (Joseph) (i.e. the priests and the Samaritans.) said to them: "No, but, on the contrary, we will go up to the Mount of Blessing, and build up the holy place, and we will be one soul and one word." And they persisted in the dispute, until it became necessary that they should come together into the presence of the king. And he decided in favour of them (the descendants of Aaron and Joseph) after this manner: the children of Israel, the friends of the Blessed Mount, assembled with the book of Musa, the Prophet—peace be upon him—and relied upon what it said in designating the Blessed Mount, and no place else, as the proper place; and the offspring of Yehudah assembled, relying upon what certain books written after the days of Musa, the Prophet—peace be upon him—designated with reference to Beit el-Muqaddas (Jerusalem) being the place. And the books were brought and read in the presence of the king; and when he had carefully considered this matter, he saw that the intention of all was the Blessed Mount. But Zorobabil (Zerubbabel) answered and said unto him: "O king, the book which I have furnishes me with arguments in favour of Beit el-Muqaddas, and the offering up of offerings therein; wouldst thou then compel me to go up and offer up offerings upon the Blessed Mount?" And Sanballat the Liwanite (Sanballat the Liwanite.) answered him, saying unto the king: "The books which Zorobabil has are a lie and a fraud. (The books which Zorobabil has are a lie and a fraud, el-Masudi in the 5th. chap, of his Muruj ez-Zahab, in reference to this subject, remarks as follows: "el-Bokhta Nassar [Nebuchadnezzar], the governor of el-Irak, and the Arabs, under the king of Persia, who was then residing in Balkh, the capital of his empire, marched against the Israelites; and after he had slain many of them, he took them to el-Irak, into captivity.) Permit me to throw them into the fire; and this, my book, if he is able, let him take it and throw it." And the king gave permission unto Sanballat to throw the books of Zorobabil into the fire, and he did this, and they were burned up. Thereupon he gave permission unto Zorobabil to throw the book of Sanballat, and he took it and opened it, but abstained from throwing it, and said: "My books are mine alone, but the Holy Book belongs both to him and to me." And the king answered, saying unto Zorobabil: "I see that thy books are false; why didst thou abstain from throwing his book?" Thereupon, he (Zorobabil) feared lest he be put to death, and he took the Law and cast it into the fire; and it jumped out of it. And he asked permission of him to throw it in a second time; and it was not affected by the fire in the least. Thereupon, he humbled himself before the king, beseeching him that he might throw the book a third time; and he granted him permission, and he took it and spat upon a paragraph of it, and then cast it into the fire, and the place which had been spit upon burned, and then it sprang out into the bosom of the king. And the king immediately became angry at the children of Yehudah, and put to death immediately of them thirty-six souls of those who were present. But Sanballat, he and his company, obtained great honour with the king; for the king gave him gifts and presents and chain necklaces and bracelets, and invested him with the silk robe of honour, and promoted their leaders, and sent them away with the whole multitude of Israil who returned from the first exile, and their number was three hundred thousand men. And thereupon they followed the true religion, after having been unbelieving; and pursued right guidance, after having wandered into error. And God accepted them and broke the chains of their captivity, through the mercy He had for them and the compassion He felt, and the remembrance He bad for the covenant with Ibrahim (Abraham) and Ishaq (Isaac) and Yaqub (Jacob)—peace be upon them. And the king sent unto all the Persians who had taken up residence in their assigned land, and removed them from it to their own country; and the people (of Israil) entered into their assigned land, which is their holy place. And they made the sacred apparatus similar unto that which was in the (former) temple, and they offered up a multitude of offerings; and the earth gave forth its good things, and returned unto its former beauty and splendour; and with the carrying out of this act (on God's part) nothing was withheld from them, nor did he veil to them what of Divine power He was wont to veil to their ancestors. And to every circumstance there is a cause, and to every fate there is a final limit. And of God do we ask assistance, because of what He has benevolently bestowed through His mercy, and upon Him be the trust put.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 46

THE HISTORY OF EL-ISKANDAR (ALEXANDER THE GREAT.)

The whole number of the years from Adam up to the time of king el-Iskandar was three thousand nine hundred and thirty years. And when el-Iskandar undertook the war against Dirawas (Darius) the Persian, he saw in his sleep an angel descending from heaven in the form of an imam, and clad in his robes, who said unto him: "Fear not, O hero, thou shalt conquer Persia; for I am about to deliver him (Darius) into thy hand: behold God is with thee." So he (Alexander) attacked him (Darius)* and killed him. (* Emperor Darius III (c. 380–330 BC). In 334 BC, Alexander the Great began his invasion of the Persian Empire and subsequently defeated the Persians in a number of battles before looting and destroying their capital, Persepolis, by fire in 330 BC. With the Persian Empire now effectively under Alexander's control, Alexander then decided to pursue Darius. Before Alexander reached him, however, Darius was killed in July by a traitor, his own cousin the Satrap Bessus who claimed then the throne as Artaxerxes V. Alexander's troups caught him in summer 329 and executed him for treason.) And when each nation was subdued, its imams were brought unto him, in the hope that he might see one like unto that form; but he saw none. And when he came to Sur (Tyre) to conquer it, there were dwelling in its neighbourhood some of the Samarat (Samaritans), and these el-Iskandar (Alexander) summoned that he might win them over to his side; but they would not consent, for they had bound themselves by an oath to this people. And he blamed them, and directed his march towards the region of Nabulus; and its people came out to meet him, and, when he beheld the form of the chief imam, he hastily descended from his animal, and prostrated himself before him. And when his attendants saw what he did, they also hastily dismounted and prostrated themselves, while all the retinue wondered why he had been bent upon their destruction; and his companions said to him: Verily, these people have bewitched thee." But he said to them: "They have exercised no power; by God, I am not bewitched, but only seized with great emotion; for, verily, at the time of my going forth against Dirawas there met me a man similar to this individual and like unto him in form, who said to me: 'Go forth against Dirawas, and fear not; for, lo, thou shalt kill him,' and thus it did come to pass." And el-Iskandar was moved with love for the Samarat (Samaritans), and acted kindly toward them, and said unto them: "Verily, your God is the God of Gods and Lord of Lords." (The main facts of the story here told about Alexander—the Jews being put in the place of the Samaritans—are found in Flavius Josephus' Antiquities 11, 8. The two accounts are strikingly similar, and are in fact only different versions of the same tradition.) And el-Iskandar conquered all the country of el-Hind (India) and Fads (Persia) and er-Rum (Rome = Greece) and other places. Then an impulse led him to desire to see the whole earth, whereupon it was planned for him to make a journey into the land of Shades, upon she-asses which had colts, and he carried it out. And when they had tied the colts in the light, they entered upon a journey of three days into the darkness. Thereupon they took of the dust which was upon the ground, and then came out and examined it when they were in the light, and they found that the dust which they had with them was rubies and pearls, whereupon he regretted that he had not taken more of it than he had; for who would not take what someone has abandoned? (The legend concerning Alexander's visit to the region of darkness is a well known one among the people of the East, and with various

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embellishments it is recounted by most of the Mohammedan commentators, by whom Alexander is called Dhul Qarnayn i.e. lord of two horns, or the twohorned, which title has taxed to the uttermost the ingenuity of Moslem writers to explain, the most current explanation being, that this title was given him because of his having traversed and ruled the two horns or hemispheres of the world.) And he said to his companions and his wise men: "In how much time, forsooth, can I see rapidly and quickly all the regions of the world? "And his wise men and companions said unto him: "If thou desirest to see the world in one moment and in the briefest space of time, summon the skilled carpenters and command them to construct a car with screws and apparatus, which will with rapidity ascend and descend, then take four of thy trained eagles and tie them to the four corners of the car, and hang meat to the top part of the car, so as that the eagles cannot reach it; for if the eagles crave the meat, they will ascend towards it, and the car will then be borne aloft through the air, until it be lifted up on high, and thou shalt see the buildings and what is round about them. And when thou hast the desire, the screws shall be put in rapid motion, and thou shalt have the meat changed about and hung below, and the eagles will go downwards in a desire to get at it, and will descend with the car to the earth unto the level spot which thou desirest." And el-Iskandar did so, and ascended into the air until he had seen the earth; then the eagles reversed and descended with him, until he alighted on the spot which el-Iskandar built up and called its name el-Iskandariyeh (Alexandria). (A legend similar to the one here connected with Alexander is related, by the Mohammedan writers, of Nimrod.) Thereupon he came to the Mount of Blessing and acknowledged it to be the noblest of places, and the grandest: in praise to God—Mighty and Powerful. Then he proceeded to invest his companions with the authority over the territories, until he had gone over all the earth. And when his companions beheld his liberality to the children of Israil and his compassion upon them, and that he did not rebuke them for anything, whether it was a grave affair or a trifling action, they became envious of them; and his companions said to him: "Why does this nation transgress every religious ordiance, in neglecting to comply with the established statute? Why dost thou not summon it, and make instant demand of them concerning the establishment of idols and images? "And so he, at this time, commanded the imam—I mean the chief imam—and the chiefs of the children of Israil that, they should set up to him in all their habitations statues and images; and then said to them: "I am about to go unto Misr (Egypt), and upon my return let me find what I have commanded. Then el-Iskandar set out on his journey. And the chief imam assembled all the leaders of the children of Israil, and they went up to the Mount of Blessing and fasted and prayed and offered praise, and humiliated themselves unto God—Mighty and Powerful—and He disclosed to them an excellent idea, to wit, that they should name their boys with the name of the king el-Iskandar. And they sent unto every place, ordering them to name every boy that should be born unto them with the name of the king el-Iskandar; and they did this. And when three years had passed the king el-Iskandar returned and came up from Misr, and when he came to the lands of the children of Israil, he saw in them neither statue nor image, and he reprobated this, and summoned the leaders of the people and demanded of them the reason. And they replied that they established unto him images, who were endowed with rational speech and moved like paragons of obedience, and were quick to obey. Thereupon they brought forward immediately their children, of whom there had been gathered unto them a great number; and he said unto them: "What are your names?" And they said: "We are servants of the king el-Iskandar, who are named with his name." And the king and his disciples were pleased, and approved of what they had done. And when the imam saw the satisfaction of the king in what had happened, he threw aside his restraint and said to him: "The reason of our neglecting the setting-up of idols is fear of our Lord—Mighty and Powerful—who has prohibited us from doing this, and when He—exalted be His fame and mighty be His name—saw the purity of the purpose, He made known unto us that we should substitute our children in place of idols. And the king approved of this on their part, and said unto them, "I know that your God is the God of gods and Lord of lords." Thereupon the king bestowed upon them gifts, and spread abroad the praise of their deed. (The Talmud contains a story about Alexander which is closely allied to the story here told. [Polano's Selections from the Talmud, p. 210].) And unto God be praise and thanksgiving for His kindness, of Whom we ask mercy and pardon.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 47

THE HISTORY OF ADRINTJS (HADRIAN), AND HOW HE DESTROYED EL-QUDS (JERUSALEM), AND WHAT HAPPENED TO HIM WITH AFRIM (EPHRAIM) AND MANASHSHIH (MANASSEH).

When this king, whose name was Adrinus (Emperor Hadrian), came to reign after el-Iskandar, he went down to Misr (Egypt) and killed a multitude of the Nasara (Nazoreans, Nazarenes = Christians) of those who believed in the Masih (Messiah); and when he had built a city in el-Hajar*, he went down and beseiged Beit el-Muqaddas. (* And when he had built a city in el-Hajar. Arabia Petraea is here meant, and the city referred to is the ancient Sela or Selah, which in later times was known to the Greeks as Petra, and in the reign of the Emperor Hadrian received the name Hadriana, in acknowledgment of what- he did for it. The word in the original [band] here translated "built," does not necessarily mean that he founded or all anew rebuilt the city, but is rather to be taken here in the sense that, he strengthened, enlarged and improved the city already existing there.) Now; prior to this, there was a city there called Yusaf* and in it were two brothers, Afrim and Manashshih, who were Samaritans. (* Yasuf. According to the Samaritan book el-Tholidoth, or "The [book of] Generations," the ancient name of this place was Yusepheh, and Neubauer identifies it with "Yussab," a place mentioned in the Talmud, but which has as yet never been correctly located [Journal Asiatique for 1809]. Conder, on the other hand, identifies it with the modern village of Yasuf in southern Samaria [Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement, 1877, p. 29; Survey of Western Palestine, Memoirs, vol. 2, p. 287].) And a certain Jew had gone up with some young doves, desiring to enter with them and make an offering in Beit el-Muqaddas for his sins; and he passed the night in Yusaf, and the two brothers took the pair of young doves and slew them, and substituted in their place two big mice. And the man arose in the night and went unto the priest who was installed in the temple, and said to him: "Offer up for me this pair of young birds." And when the priest opened the basket the cheat of the two mice was discovered, and he laid hold of the man to kill him; but he said: "A trick has been played upon it. I passed the night at a lodging place in Yusaf, and there were none there except two Samaritan lads, and I took up my journey in the night, out of my fear lest the offering which I was to offer for my sins might escape from me, and I knew not that this trick had been perpetrated upon it." And they sent unto the inn-keeper, and arrested the two brothers to punish them; and when they confessed that they had done this, they gave orders that they should be put to death, but certain of them said: "If we kill them their services are lost, rather let them be among the servants of the temple serving all their life long, eating the thorn which is the food of birds and drinking water, and sleeping upon the ground." And after this Adrinus came down to Beit el-Muqaddas and beseiged it; but the Jews used to go out of the tunnels which Sulaiman (Solomon) the son of Dawid had constructed (one of which led) to Riha (Jericho) and another to Ludd (Lydda), and (the inhabitants of these towns) were giving unto them whatsoever they could eat and furnishing them with everything. And they (the inhabitants of Jerusalem) would go up on top of the walls and say to them (the besiegers): "See what our Lord does for us, He sends down upon us food; as He was wont to do with us in the wilderness, thus now again does He do." And they used to throw to them from above the wall fruit, both fresh and dried, and other things, and would say to them: "Eat such as our Lord sends down upon us." And they would also say: "Take unto you of what we have sacrifices to the king; for behold our Lord, as much as we are in need of, the same He sends down upon us; as He has wont to do with us in the wilderness, thus does He with us now." And Adrinus (Hadrian) had given credence to them, in as much as the war had become fatiguing, and did reckon their statements to be true. Now when this affair came to pass, the two brothers Afriin and Manashshih came together, and wrote a note and worked it up in clay and threw it from above the wall to Adrinus the king, and it reached the king and he opened it and read it, and there was written in it this: "Do not deem their statements to be true; and if thou desirest that we should inform thee how thou mayest conquer the country—well and good; but, verily in consideration for that which shall enable thee to be victorious in the war, save our souls from death. Now if thou dost desire to get possession of the country, send unto Riha and unto Ludd and seize the mouths of the tunnels, and let not anything enter into them nor anyone go into them; and also seize Beit Lahm (Bet Lehem, Bethlehem), and demolish the duct through which there comes in unto them oil and water and sesame-oil and honey," And the king did according to what they said unto him, and he also sent and had brought into his presence the Samaritans Afrim and Manashshih, and they were present with him in besieging Beit el-Muqaddas. And he reduced them (the inhabitants of Jerusalem) to such sore straits, that women ate their daughters and men their sons. And he rose in attack against them while they were observing the requirements of the law, and when they beheld themselves spoiled of everything they sued for protection. And when they (the Romans) took possession, Adrinus (Hadrian) gave orders that they should not molest the temple until he went in, and when he entered he took the priest who belonged to the temple, and said to him: "For whose name was this dwelling built?" The priest said unto him: "It was built for the name of the Creator of creatures." And when he had entered into the place, he beheld a painted picture and by its side an idol, and when he saw them he said to the priest: "This place was built for the name of the Creator of creatures and is this done in it?" And he seized hold of him to punish him; but he (the priest) informed him that it was a deceit which the Jews who served the idol had made, notwithstanding Harun (Aaron) had commanded that they should worship the Creator of creatures. And this wicked king saved Afrim and Manashshih from being killed; and Adrinus set up in the city an image upon a pillar in accordance with the will of Afrim and Manashshih, for the purpose of showing unto them (the inhabitants of the city) his rank, and it is there unto this day; and he also erected two images, and named the first image after the name of Afrim, and the second image after the name of Manashshih; and he gave orders to the leaders of the Jews that no one should pass by in front of them, but only behind them; and they are obliged to do this even unto this day. And Adrinus went out from there unto Qiryat el-Arba (Kirjath-Arba)—which is Habrun (Hebron), and did like as he had done in Beit el-Muqaddas. And Manashshih said unto Adrinus: "Make in my name a bell, and let the bell be rung for my name." And he did so. And he went forth from there to Nabulus; for he desired to destroy it, but while he was in Merj el-Baha, and was elated upon his passing through it, they (the companions of the king) said: "If this is carried out, it (the Samaritan nation) will instigate a heroic revolt, and whoever sees this in Nabulus will be inflamed with the zeal of a hero." So they collected together and said unto him: "As far as it is possible unto thee, spare (the place)." And God moved his heart to pity, and he dealt kindly with it, and with those who led the troops in Nabulus; and he built there a town on Mount Gerizin, and called it Saqarus, after the name of his father. And the doors that were on Beit el-Muqaddas were of yellow brass, plated with silver and ornamented with gold, which Sulaiman had made, the like of which no one, though strong of hand, could ever make, and he (Hadrian) carried these away and placed them on the door of the dome which he had built on the ridge of the mountain that is over against Nabulus. And after this Adrinus (Hadrian) went to Rumiyat (Rome), and the Samaritans came together and purified the places wherein Adrinus had been; and the Jews plotted a wicked thought against them, and went unto the king, and said to him: "Behold how thou art aiding the Samaritans and yet they are wishing thy destruction; make investigation and see how they have burned with fire every place wherein thou wast." And when Adrinus (Hadrian) heard their words, he said: "We will kill every circumcised one." (because according to Roman Law, the Lex Cornelia, initiated by Cornelius Sulla, circumcision was considered genital mutilation and thus strictly forbidden in the Roman Empire.) And he pronounced judgement of death upon the villages and upon every city, and prohibited baptism, and interdicted (the observance of) the Sabbath and feasts, wishing to ruin Nabulus and destroy it, like a field laid waste. And when the Samaritans heard of this mighty calamity, they fled away, and were stricken with terror and hid themselves from the presence of this great wrath, and they did not enter into a house nor reside under a roof, and there remained for them no shelter except the deserts and forests and caves. And he came and burned the houses, and crucified the teachers (of the people) and put to death its judges, and they did die in prisons by starvation, and their dead bodies were thrown out and not buried, and rights were infringed both as to themselves and their dead bodies, and they were persecuted in castles and on the roads. And when he came to destroy Nabulus, he began from the city gate on the west until hearrived at the four pillars that were above the declivity at the base of the mountain. And they captured there a man who was fleeing that he might not be killed, and he fled into the presence of Adrinus (Hadrian) and conjured him, and said unto him: "I beg of thee, by the honour of the One whom thou dost worship, O king of the age, hear of me one word, and after that do with this nation what thou wishest." And when he had bound himself by oath he listened to him, and the captive said: "Send and make investigation into the conduct of the Samaritans, for though they do burn every place wherein a foreigner has been that they may purify it from his tracks, yet we have not done this out of malignity or hostility to thee. And the Jews have spoken unto thee only deceitfully, because that we did render aid to thee in reducing them to straitened circumstances, and also because we did at once furnish thee with provisions." So he (Adrinus) said that he would no longer put to death anyone, and he showed favour to the city and did not destroy it. And he set up three images after his likeness, in the city on top of pillars, on the spot where the man fled away from being killed, and also two images on the aqueduct. And after this Adrinus (Hadrian) died—may God have no mercy upon him—and he died in woe and every kind of affliction, and his reign had lasted twenty-one years—may God crush his bones. And the space of time from Adam up to his death was four thousand five hundred and thirteen years and seven months. And in those days the Book of Choice Selections was taken away which had been in their hands since the days of Divine favour; and there was also taken away the Songs and Praises, which they were accustomed to utter over the offerings, each offering

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according to its merits; and also the Hymns, which they were wont to sing in the days of Divine favour: now all these constituted a library which had been preserved with greatest care generation after generation through the time of the prophets unto that day, by the hands of the chief imams. And there was also taken away the Book of the Imdms, which they had, wherein their genealogy was traced back to Finahas; and there was also destroyed the Annals, wherein was recorded their birthdays and the years of their lives, and of these not one ancient book or chronicle was found, except the Law and a book containing their lives. But we have written up the years of the life of the chief imam, and a genealogy from the chief imam Aqbun; and this comes (in the next chapter).

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 48

THE HISTORY OF AQBUN THE IMAM.

Now it was once said to him: "Brother of the king! every thing in thy house belongs unto the king," and Aqbun said: The whole of it belongs unto God, and I have given over my spirit unto God and I will not renounce my Lord." And they (the Romans) went and seized two men of the children of the imams, and said unto them: "Seek refuge in our gods, and ye can depart to your houses unharmed." But they utterly refused, and said: "We will not do that: "so they killed them in punishment and threw their corpses outside the wall—that is the wall of Sebustieh; l and they crucified of the wise men of Israil a company of thirty-six men on the gate of Nabulus. In that day the instruction of Israil was like as dust; there was no imam among them, nor wisdom, nor teaching of the Law, nor was any one able in the days of these kings to give instruction in the Pentateuch; except one in a thousand and two in a myriad. And the children of Israil continued in this calamitous state until Baba Rabba arose. In those days Aqbun knew his wife, and she conceived and gave birth to a son, and he named him Natanal (Nathaniel), and this Natanal was the father of Babli, Rabba who broke the brazen bird which was on the Mount preventing them from ascending it; for this the Romans and (their) magicians had done. After this the chief imam Aqbun died; but before he died he said at this time to his son Natanal: "O my child, be not troubled with regard to these times, or these calamities, or the power of the enemies; know that in a short time these distresses will disappear, for these calamities are tests sent by God upon us, that He may prove whether we ourselves are faithful, and are not forsaking the worship of God our God. O my child, these calamities and straits will vanish away; for God—may He be exalted—is able to cause them to disappear from us." And the imam Aqbun proceeded to make a revelation unto his son in accord with this, and invoked blessing on him, and said unto him: "O my child, be on thy guard against worshipping any other than God; for wert thou to be crushed under stones, God would give thee strength to worship Him. And God will raise up from thee one who will get the ascendancy over this infidel oppressing nation." And the prayer of the Rabbis Aqbun was granted at that time, with regard to all that he invoked for his son; for there arose from his son, Baba Rabba, and he brought about that which happened to the Romans. And at that the imam Aqbun died, and was removed to his people: may God benefit us with his blessings. And all Israil mourned for him, and wept for him thirty days.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 49

THE HISTORY OF WHAT HAPPENED UNTO NATANAL FROM THE ROMANS, AFTER THE DEATH OF HIS FATHER.

When the Rabbis Aqbun died and was translated to his people, Natanal took the office of imam in place of his father. And he knew his wife, and she conceived and gave birth to children, and he was granted of her three children; his first born was Baba Rabba, his second was Aqbun, and the third after these two was Finahas. Now when the imam Natanal was granted his first born, he was for some time perplexed with regard to him, as to how he should circumcise him; for the Romans at that time forcibly prevented them from performing circumcision, and set over them curators, that they might not circumcise their children, and there was stationed at the door of the residence of the imam Natanal a deputy of the king, named Jarman the Roman. And when the Rabbis was granted this child, he took it on the day of circumcision, and placed it in a basket and put wool on top of it and under it, and said unto the maidservant that was with him: "Take this boy and go in advance of us unto the field to the cave, and we will follow after and overtake thee, that we may circumcise him; but let no one know what thou hast. Take him and go out from the door of the house, while we will go out from the rear of the house." And the maid took it and went out; and when she issued forth from the door of the house, Jarman the deputy said to her: "Perform, girl, what thou hast in mind, and fear not." And the maid went with the infant to the cave, and repeated unto the Rabbis Natanal the speech of Jarman; and he in fear said: "The affair is God's." And they circumcised the little one, and the maid-servant returned with it just as it was; and when she came to the door, Jarman said unto her: "Rear him in peace, O my child." And when she had passed, she repeated to the Rabbis the speech of Jarman, and he was smitten with great fear, and said: "Who has informed Jarman of our business? I cannot mollify his anger except with great riches. And the Rabbis was worried, and went forth to Jarman, the deputy over his house, with his hands full of gold. And Jarman said unto the Rabbis: "I will have nothing to do with this, except only I will take of this just three dinars, (Dinars. The former standard of gold coin among the Arabs was the "dinar," which weighed a "mithqal" (or nearly 72 English grains) of gold; the average value of the coin may, therefore, be reckoned at $2.50 [in 1889].) so that thou mayest not say that T am laying a plot for thee; for, verily, I will not make this known unto the king." And when Jarman had bound himself by oath unto the Rabbis, his heart became good, and the Rabbis made it to be remembered of Jarman: and it came to pass that whenever they circumcised any of their children in a cave, they would invoke a blessing on Jarman, saying in the Roman language: "May God be merciful unto Jarman the Roman priest; "and unto this our day, they invoke a blessing on him, immediately after every circumcision. And the Romans did mix hogs' lard in every thing that was eaten and drunken, so that they (the Samaritans) might be afflicted with bodily infirmity. And the houses of prayer that we had were shut up, and they prevented us from going up on to the Mount, by means of a talisman which they fixed above it. And we continued in this strait and great calamity for the space of twenty years; until God comforted us, and saved us from the power of the infidels, and this was brought about by the hand of Baba Rabba.

SAMARITAN JOSHUA CHAPTER 50

THE HISTORY OF BABA RABBA, AND WHAT HAPPENED TO HIM WITH THE ROMANS.

When the kingdom passed away from the children of Israil, and the Romans ruled, they gave over to judgement and crushed under the stones of torture many of the Samaritans, until they should abjure their faith and bow down unto idols; and many of the Samaritans perished through this cause. And the Romans suffered not one of the Samaritans to circumcise his child, but stationed trustworthy men of the Romans over the houses of the Samaritans to prevent them from performing circumcision. And the Samaritans were wont at that time, when a child was born unto them, to place it in a basket and cover it with wool, and go with it to the cave and circumcise it under ground by the light of candles. And also then the Romans prevented the Samaritans from ascending the Mount; for they said: "Whosoever goes up on to this Mount shall be put to death". And the Romans placed upon the summit of the Mount a talisman, and this was a brazen bird, and it used to turn round with the sun howsoever it revolved, and it was so that if a Samaritan did go up, the bird would screech out: "Hebraeus," and they would know then that there was a Samaritan on the Mount, and would issue forth against him and kill him. Arid the children of Israil continued in this distress, until Baba Rabba arose; and in him there was a spirit of resolution and zealous patriotism. And Baba Rabba assembled the Israelitish community, and said: "How long shall this polluted nation go on dominating over you? Arise, let us lift up the children of Israil from this oppression, and let us be zealous for God—may He be exalted, as our father Fmahas was zealous, and there remains to him a goodly remembrance unto the end of the ages. And now know that I have resolved upon the destruction of the Romans, and I will purify Mount Gerizim of them but not a thing can be accomplished for us, except by the destruction of this bird which is stationed over the temple, and this cannot be effected for us except by a stratagem which God has revealed unto me. Now ye know that this is a time of infidelity, and they have many kings, and my plan is to send Lawi, the son of mybrother, to Qustuniyeh (Constantinople) the city of the Romans, that they may learn what they talk about what it is that makes them powerful, and may gain a knowledge of their religious sects. And he shall go in the garb of a Christian monk (or) priest, aud no one will know him, and the Romans will not know who he is; and he will come back to Mount Gerizim, and will go up to the church and make use of a stratagem to smash the bird; and when they (the Roman guards) attempt to repel him he will employ stratagem and get the power to ascend the Mount, and will supplicate God upon it, and He will then give us the victory over our enemies". And all the people said: "O our master, do what seemeth good in thy sight." And he said: "Give unto me your own handwritings, that after his coming back your souls will stand by him." And they did this And Baba Rabba led forth the son of his brother to Beitil (Bethel) in the presence of the people, and said unto him: "Be attentive however thou mayest be, and set thy mind upon learning every thing, and be on thy guard that thou cease not to read the Pentateuch night and day, and God shall help thee in all thy doings." And he sent away Lawi, the son of his brother; and he pursued his journey seeking Qustuniyeh. Now Lawi was an intelligent, knowing, acute and pure man, yea, in him was found every virtue; and he arrived at Qustuniyeh (Constantinople), and sought after learning and diligently applied himself, and he obtained what he sought for; and with his keenness of intellect he continued reading for the space of two years, and there remained no one among all the Romans more learned than he. And he arose to such eminence in learning that the Romans used repeatedly to come to do him reverence, and by reason of his eloquent attainments in learning they made him Archbishop, and he was elevated to the highest rank among them, until kings used to come to his door, and no king could assume the kingly authority without his orders, nor put on a crown except by his command. And it came to pass at the end of thirteen years that he said unto the king: "I have a desire to visit the church which is on the Mountain of Nabulus". And the whole army assembled, and the king and the legions marched in his service. And when they encamped at Nabulus, the king sent for all the people who were in Nabulus to come out to meet the Archbishop, And when the Samaritans heard this they were smitten with a great fear, and all the people assembled, and said: "We have lost hope in the opinion we had with regard to Law! whom we sent away on his journey; for no tidings have come back from him, and without doubt he has perished: and as to this Bishop who has now arrived, we have heard that he is the head of the nation of the Romans, and they proclaim of him that he is profoundly versed in infidelity, and the Romans call him. . . . . [In the original manuscript at this point the narrative comes to an abrupt end, and we have no means of determining what is lost, or to how late a date our author brought down his history.]

THE ASATIR - BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF MOSES

The Samaritan Book Of The Secrets Of Moses
The Pitron (Targum / Commentary) Of The Asatir
The Samaritan Story Of The Death Of Moses
Translation: Moses Gaster, 1927
Estimated Range of Dating: 200-300 A.D.

(The Asatir (Arabic: Al-Asatir), also known as The Samaritan Book of the "Secrets of Moses," is a collection of Samaritan Biblical legends, parallel to the Jewish Midrash, and which draws heavily upon oral traditions known among Jews in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. Moses Gaster places its oldest compilation about the middle or end of the 3rd century BC, and rendered a translation of the work in 1927 with the Royal Asiatic Society in London

The book, preserved by the Samaritan community of Nablus, compiled on parchment in late Samaritan Aramaic mixed with an antiquated Arabic vernacular was discovered by Gaster in 1907. Its antiquity is attested to by the fact that it was written when the vestiges of a "peculiar Samaritan Hebrew-Aramaic" was still in practice, and Arabic had only begun to supersede it. Since there is no evidence that Moses actually conveyed the oral traditions contained therein, various Samaritan writers merely refer to its author as "the Master of the Asatir," or the "Author of the Asatir" (Baal Asatir), leaving it undecided as to whether Moses had actually conveyed its legends. The book is therefore largely ascribed as being pseudepigraphic. The account tells of the Pharaoh at the time of Moses being from the progeny of Japheth, rather than of Ham. The Pharaoh at the time of Joseph, the same account says, was from the progeny of Ishmael. The Asatir is often cited by 17th and 18th-century Arabic authors, Muslim al-Danar and Ibrahim al-Ayya, in their Bible commentaries.

The Asatir consists of 2 main parts: One is the Asatir text itself. It is written in a kind of brief telegram style. The other part is called "Pitron" and has the task to explain the first part like a Midrash, Targum, Hadith, or narrative Exegesis. Both parts are divided into twelve chapters that could be read in a parallel manner. In addition to the two texts, Gaster published also a third Samaritan text that describes the last scenes at the Death of Moses. This story forms the first chapter of a Samaritan Chronicle. The date of its compilation is uncertain.

Moses Gaster said in his 1927 foreword: I am publishing here for the first time a Samaritan collection of Biblical legends, a parallel to the Jewish Midrash and to the pseudepigraphic literature. I claim for the "Secrets of Moses" that it is the oldest book in existence of this kind of literature, and I put the date of its. compilation to be about the middle or end of the third century B. C. . . . I have reached a conclusion as startling to me as probably it will be to him who will take this book for the first time into his hands. It was very slow and uphill work, and I had to cover a wide field, leaving no document unexamined which might help to throw light on the date and origin of this book. . . . I have searched through the entire pseudepigraphic literature, in whatever language it may have been preserved, and I have worked my way up to the Hellenistic literature, to the Sibylline Oracles and Eupolemos. Josephus has attracted me quite specially, and I believe I have been able to put a new complexion on the character and sources of his "Antiquities."

The best way to describe the Asatir is to call it a Midrash, Aggadah, or legendary supplement to the Pentateuch, such as Apocrypha or Pseudepigrapha. It was written on parchment. That the book was held in very high esteem by the Samaritans,

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and treated almost as a sacred book is proved by the fact that it has exercised great influence on Samaritan literature.

Anyone acquainted with Samaritan Manucripts will notice that no profane book, whatever its character may be, has ever been written on parchment. This valuable material has been reserved for books of a sacred (Torah) or a semi-sacred character. It is only the Law, some ancient prayer-book, or some other sacred texts, that have been written on parchment, and no other work.

The book is called by the" Samaritans the "Asatir," or, as it should have been, "Astir," Mr Gaster has translated this title "The Secrets of Moses, thus translating the Samaritan word "Asatir," so pronounced by the Samaritans, in order to distinguish it at once from the other books ascribed to Moses, such as the "Apocalypse" or the "Assumption of Moses." The Samaritans themselves no longer understand the title. It is unquestionably the primitive Hebrew name for that literature which has since become known under the two Greek names of Apocryphon and Apocalypse, both meaning something hidden as well as something revealed in a secret form.

Messages from the past can have a polemical character. Into the mouth of the great prophets or of the Sibyls is put the condemnation of opponents and these denunciations often assume a minatory character. Evildoers are threatened with divine punishment, and reward is promised to the pious. The hope is granted to those who persevere that a time of happiness and peace is in store for them. This applies a priori to the largest part of the Sibylline Oracles, for this voluminous propaganda literature is filled with denunciations of the sinners, evildoers, idolaters, and wicked emperors. They are threatened and their doomis proclaimed over and over again, and against them is set, especially in the Jewish Oracles, the sublime faith of the Jews and the ultimate salvation of mankind. A reign of happiness and peace is promised at the end, when the Divine punishment has overtaken the wicked. The Sibylline Oracles thus run parallel with this apocalyptic literature. The corresponding passages are now given in parallel columns, always bearing in mind that the Sibyl has been adapted to Italian and Lombardian conditions and that the simple, vague indication as found in the Asatir has in consequence been amplified and more clearly defined in the Sibyl. We find thus the following parallels:

SATIR, Ch. 12. v. 4. A prince will arise strong in truth; in his days the salvation of the community will be great. — SIBYL Of Tibur. After him shall arise a ... king. He shall be very great and very pious . . . and . . . shall execute judgement and do justice to the poor (Sackur. Sibyll. Texte p. 182).

ASATIR, Ch. 12. v. 6. A prince, etc. ... in his days the house of worship (?) shall be built. — SIBYL Of Tibur. After them shall arise, etc. ... He shall build a temple to the Lord (Sackur. ibid, p. 181).

ASATIR, Ch. 12. v. 8. A prince, etc. ... mighty in the knowledge of truth: the people will rejoice. — SIBYL Of Tibur. In those days shall arise, etc. ... he shall be very mighty . . . and good: he shall do justice to the poor and shall judge rightly. (Sackur ibid. p. 182).

ASATIR, Ch. 12. v. l0. A prince, etc. . . . rulers will perish in his days in secret; a hundred will flee to the borders of Sichem. — SIBYL Of Tibur. Then shall arise two kings... they shall be masters of cities and provinces . . . All the people of the East . . . shall be scattered (Sackur ibid. p. 181).

ASATIR, Ch. 12. v. 11. A prince, etc. . . . Gog will perish in grief; in his days the people will turn back to sin and they will forsake the covenant. — SIBYL Of Tibur. The sin and punishment indicated in this verse are very fully elaborated and worked out in the Sibyl under the Salic king, "a brave man and warrior and many of his neighbours . . . will be indignant with him." (Sackur ibid. p. 183).

Still more striking is the last paragraph in the Sibyl in which the prophecies concerning a number of kings at the end of the list have all been combined in the name of the last, Constans (Sackuribid. p. 1 8 5) (or rather, a play upon the word meaning probably "steadfast") this suggestion is fully corroborated by the reading in Beda: Nomine Hanimo Constante (Migne P.L. XC, 1 183) and which has undergone a thorough transformation at the hands of the Christian scribe. The last king, Constans, is expected to live 120 years; all the virtues and all the achievments ofthe last princes in the Samaritan text have been combined together in one; in both cases the final triumph of the faith is proclaimed. The Samaritan oracle finishes with the following words, "Happy is he who will see it and reach that time," (ibid. v. 25), which again is absolutely identical with the words in the Sibylline Oracle Books III, 371, and a little more concisely in IV, 192, "Most blessed shall he be who will live to see that time," thus referring to the happy consummation at the End of Days.

The Asatir has only one aim: to fill up the gaps in the historical narrative, to supplement with a few more or less explanatory details the lives of the Patriarchs, and to emphasise the truth of the Samaritan claims to be the possessors of the genuine text of the Bible and the strict observers of the Law. With this exception the rest comes within the sphere of Agadic Midrash.

Almost everyone who has studied Titus Flavius Josephus' "Antiquities," will also notice similarities with the Asatir. The parallels between Josephus and the Asatir are very numerous. Whence, then, did Josephus obtain his legendary matter? Which sources Titus Flavius Josephus used is not known. He might have found the Samaritan texts among the captured documents found in the Temple of Jerusalem before the Romans razed it to the ground. All books of the Temple Library were brought to Rome directly into the emperor's palace north of the Circus Maximus. After the First Jewish-Roman War (66-73 AD), he became a Roman citizen and even lived with Emperor Titus Flavius Vespasianus' family together, just as an adopted son would do. And Josephus was put in charge of all those papers. He reported everything he found in those scriptures. Titus Flavius Josephus never disguised his profound hatred of and contempt for the Samaritans and the Jewish Messianic Movement; it is spread over all his writings. This has two reasons: (1st) the Messianists killed most of his family members that they kept in captivity during the Roman-Jewish War 66-73 AD. And (2nd) he was an admirer of the advanced Greek-Roman civilisation and despised the Jewish-Samaritan backwardness with their hate towards anything and anybody non-Jewish or non-Samaritan, the very same violent attitude that we can see in the Dead Sea scrolls and in the Islamic trilogy, the Koran, the Sira, and the Hadith.

Attention: Gaster left many Names untranslated and in their original spelling without vowels, eg. Mktsh = plague. Semitic languages do not write out vowels but use diacritic marks instead.)

PART 1 - THE ASATIR (TRANSLATION).

[In the name of God we begin:]

This is the Asatir of our Master Moses upon whom be the peace of God.

ASATIR CHAPTER 1. [Kain and Hebel.]

1. Praised be God who made the world and established Adam the ancestor and his sons Kain and Hebel like unto him.

2. And he gave to Kain the West: and he gave to Hebel the North and the South.

3. And he gave Al'alah the twin sister of Kain to Hebel to wife; and he gave Makeda the twin sister of Hebel to Kain to wife.

4. And Kain dwelt in the midst of a city which was called Nikl.

5. And he divided the earth between him and his sons in the month of Abib.

6. And it came to pass after a number of days that Kain brought an offering and Hebel a sacrifice.

7. And the first altar was in the precincts of the holy place between Luzah and Mount Garizim: and the one was opposite the other.

8. And it came to pass when Kain and Hebel brought the sacrifice it was on the twentieth of Nisan on the first day (Sunday).

9. When Cain saw that his offering was not accepted as he had been taught by seeing the offerings of his father he knew that it was unfit and when he offered [his face] and his spirit became troubled.

10. And on the day when Hebel sacrificed

11. Twice (three times) God turned favourably to Hebel and to his offering, but he did not turn favourably to Kain and to his offering.

12. When he perceived from the first the turning, that to him He did not turn,

13. Then Kain was wroth and he returned to his land

14. And he tarried four years without seeing Adam or Hebel.

15. And Eve loved Kain but Adam loved Hebel.

16. And when she saw that Kain did not come, Eve took council with Adam and went to him and Hebel went with her.

17. And she found him removed to another place which was called afterwards Arfat.

18. And this is the word spoken to Kain: "to thee is the return" and what follows (up to): "let us go into the field" and there he shed the blood of Hebel.

19. And when he shed the Jblood of Hebel his spirit grew troubled and the earth was in ferment and the seas were moved and the sun was dimmed and the moon darkened.

20. And Adam was frightened with a great fear on that day as on the day on which they plucked the fruit.

21. And Adam lived in the country of Hohmata which is called Sifra in the Book of the Wars of the Lord.

22. And he saw the planets (horoscope) of the days: and seven were fighting one another.

23. And he saw that one of them was no more. And he removed and dwelt in Badan.

24. And he (Adam) counted thirty years when Kain had killed Rebel on the 16th of Tebet.

25. Adam was created on Friday. And Adam and Eve tarried in the garden eight days and he did not know Eve. And their minds were turned by the word of the serpent.

26. And after the death of Hebel Adam separated himself one hundred years.

27. And after that he knew his wife and she begat Seth.

ASATIR CHAPTER 2. [The First Ten Generations.]

1. In the days of Seth Kain went to the East where Enoch had built a town whose name was Antokia. And Kain ruled one hundred years over the seas and over the dry land.

2. And Seth begat Enosh; and he built a town whose name was Pilonah in the name of Enosh.

3. And Enosh begat Kenan and Seth built a town and called it Damascus in the name of Kenan.

4. And Kenan begat Mahalalel and he built a town whose name was Atrot Shfim.

5. And Mahalalel begat Jered and he built a town whose name was Ja'azer.

6. And Jered begat Enoch and he built a town [whose name was] Shalem the Great.

7. And when Enoch was thirteen years, he learned the Book of Signs which was given to Adam. And these are the twenty-four precious stones, twelve for the time of Divine Favour and twelve for the chosen heads of the sons of Jacob and to the descendants of the servants of the high God.

8. Meanwhile children were born to Kain in various places and he roamed about the world in tribulation, until Kain begat Enoch and Enoch begat Irad and Irad (begat) Mehuyael and Mehuyael (begat) Metushael and Metushael (begat) Lamech.

9. In the fourteenth year Lamech went from Hanohiah and built Anah and Nisah and Adah.

10. And he (Lamech) killed Kain, and he built a place of worship whose name was Padrai Tns.

11. And when Adam went up to Rechoboth Ir he (Lamech) made (two ?) golden images (called) "lefis'i ulehaburati" (to my pain and to my wound).

12. After that Adam started reading Nisis [the Book of Signs] before his sons.

13. And when Enoch heard it, he prayed unto God and he was sixty five years old. And Enoch walked with God.

14. And he (Enoch) rebuilt the altar of his forefather Adam.

15. And he begat Metushelah and Metushelah Lamech and Lamech Noah in (the month of) Nisan.

16. And on the fourth day of his birth was seen a sign in the middle of the heavens and all the inhabitants of the world were frightened and they came to Adam.

17. And Adam arose in the height of his wisdom and he foretold the Flood, and he also proclaimed the statement that so long as Enoch was alive it would not happen.

18. And Adam was comforted by beholding the prince (head) and seeing his sons.

19. And when Noah was weaned Lamech brought him toAdam to Bispara (Sifra) and Adam said, "This will comfort us for he was good (perfect) from his birth."

20. And Lamech built a town in his name and its name was Rifat which is Gibeon which is situated on the south of the sanctuary of the Mount Garizim.

21. And Lamech begat six sons. Tubal Kain was then born [through whom] he (Lamech) killed Kain.

22. Jubal built Meseda which is called Rabta.

23. Jabal built Kenaz which is Nisbor.

24. Tubal Kain built Skips whose name is Albashra. He forged all manner of brasswork.

25. Adam taught these. He taught Lamech one hundred and eighty years in the Book of Truth (i. e. the Law).

26. His son [Seth] learned (ruled) one hundred and five years.

27. Enosh learned (ruled) eight hundred and five years.

28. Kenan learned (ruled) nine hundred and ten years.

29. Mahalalel learned (ruled) eight hundred and ninety five years.

30. Jered learned (ruled) eight hundred and forty seven years.

.31. Enoch learned (ruled) three hundred and sixty five years.

32. On- the day when Enoch died came all the children of Adam to Sifra to hear Adam lament over him.

33. On the fourth Enoch died and he was carried to Sifra.

34. And they wept over him, Adam and Seth and Enosh and Kenan and Mahalalel and Jared and his son Metushelah who was living in Badan.

35. And they tarried with the weeping until the news reached Ahidan the son of Tubal Kain who was living in Hebron, and he was the head of the army of Kainites.

36. And he had learned there in the Book of Signs before Adam.

37. And when they came, they asked Adam that he should read to them the Law (nims) and he read it (or, Adam should proclaim the faith and he proclaimed it).

38. And Enoch was buried in the neighbourhood of Mount Garizim in the place which is called Jskr.

39. It is called Mount Ebal where they hid Enoch. And there are built in it many tombs.

40. As Enoch (Adam) had said, "This is the place of worship for the God of the world and above it is the Gate of Heaven."

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41. For the fire does not touch those who are buried in a distance round about Mount Garizim of two thousand [cubits]. This is called the Shelter for the Fugitive, the Rock of Salvation.
42. And Metushelah learned (ruled) seven hundred and twenty years.
43. And Lamech learned (ruled) six hundred and fifty-three years.
44. And Noah learned (ruled) six hundred years, and he read in the Book [of Signs or verses] which Adam taught him.

ASATIR CHAPTER 3. [Ahidan.]
1. And as the death of Adam drew near, then he bethought himself of the words "and thou shalt surely die." And these are the days of Adam: nine hundred and thirty years.
2. And all his children came to him to Badan.
3. And he commanded them to carry him to Eyul Mth which is the valley of Hebron (which means) place of joining,
4. Which he had seen in his vision as having been made for the gathering of the righteous generations created on the day in which the tree of knowledge was planted.
5. And this was that there be fulfilled "for surely thou wilt die."
6. And there are three divisions in it, one for those who went out of the Garden, one for those who went out of the Ark and one for those who came of the circumcised of the flesh.
7. And this was called "Machpelah" (manifold).
8. And Noah settled in the place of Adam after the death of Adam.
9. In seven years he learned the three Books of Creation: the Book of Signs, the Book of Astrology (astronomy, ngmot), the Book of the Wars which is the Book of the Generations of Adam.
10. "Who is like unto thee among the mighty ones, O God."
11. Who is like unto thee the God of the first ones and He who declares the righteousness of the latter ones. The Lord is one! He helped Noah.
12. And all the sons of Adam grew numerous [in the world] and powerful.
13. And Ahidan, the son of Barad, the son of Tubal Kain, started and built Sion which is called Gifna (i.e. house of leprosy) which is Beth Machtesh (i.e. house of shame).
14. And he placed there a stone suspended (in the air) for worship like that in the town which is called Adrms which is on the place where Adam had bowed down [in worship] for the first time when he was driven out of the Garden.
15. And that is "the rock in whom they confide," the rock upon which they relied.
16. And the evil increased six hundred years, and they turned away and yet the Lord did not cause Fanuta to happen.
17. But at the end of the generation when turning away and oppression increased, the world was full of men.
18. And Ahidan begat a son and called him Asur.
19. And he built Srs a place called Sion Telah (the hanging rock Sion) and he gave it to him.
20. And he sent and brought Gifna the daughter of Na'amah and brought her from Babel, who was one of the wicked worship of Lamech. And he gave her as a wife to Asur and he made a high tower
21. And it rested upon four statues, one of gold, one of silver, one of copper, and one of olive wood.
22. And he made a likeness of the sun and the moon of crystal and he put into the sun a golden luminous cup.
23. And he put inside the moon a precious stone (shoham).
24. And he said unto Gifna "Behold, let thy worship begin here/' (or, "let thou be worshipped first here.")
25. And Gifna appointed quickly four hundred servants and twenty ministers. Mighty is the holiness of the proclamation of faith on the rod of Adam which is called [the rod] of God.
26. And he made an open nigug in such wise as is called fhgl (i. e. dome or cupola) which when the wind passed through it from the four corners emitted a sound.
27. And it lasted one hundred and ten years. And
Asur begat a son from Gifna and his name was Itanu.
28. And Itanu begat a son and called him Shrikh.
29. And when Gifna called the sun and the moon which Ahidan had made, they walked with her.
30. And when she did this, the people wished to worship them and the world became evil and all flesh corrupted its way upon it.

ASATIR CHAPTER 4. [Noah.]
1. And Noah left Rift and he dwelt in the mountain called Adr Shgg. This is the place of the Ark.
2. And God announced to him the news of the flood and Noah started to examine the Book of Signs, and Noah saw therein the obliteration of (the children of) Adam, and the protection of those who were to go into the Ark.
3. And it came to pass at the time when he left [Rift] that there was a sign in the land.
4. And Noah feared a great fear and he continued unceasingly with prayers and hymns one hundred years after he had begotten Shem, Ham and Japhet.
5. And Shem took Shrit the daughter of Seth to wife.
6. And Ham took Skh the daughter of Jared to wife.
7. And Japhet took Mkisth the daughter of Lamech [to wife].
8. And when God said unto him (Noah) that he was to make the Ark, he made it and he finished it on the tenth (twelfth ?) of the second month.
9. And on the fourth (Wednesday) the earth became humid and broke open.
10. And on the third (Tuesday) were opened the windows of Heaven. And on the seventh (Sabbath) was the end of the decree in the sixth hour of the night of the seventh. And on the first [of the month] Noah went out of the Ark.
11. And on the second he built an altar and he brought a sacrifice.
12. And God made with him the covenant of the rainbow on the seventh. And Noah dwelt in 'Ith at the rising of the sun (East) in Babel and he started teaching his children the principles of (the confession of) faith and the testimony.
13. And after sixty two years he divided the earth among his sons Shem, Ham and Japhet.
14. And to Shem he gave three portions and Japhet four and Ham four; [Shem divided his portion, giving to] Elam, Ld, Aram and Ashur four portions and Arpachshad one portion.
15. And he gave the Book of Signs to Arpachshad, and the Book of Astronomy to Elam and the Book of the Wars to Ashur.
16. And he made them the foremost of all his sons.
17. And Japhet divided the four portions, among Gomer, Magog, Maddai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech and Tiras each one portion.
18. And Ham divided his land into four portions, Kush one portion and Misraim one portion, Put one portion and Canaan one portion.
19. And when Noah had finished the division of the land by the astronomical calculation of the day, he found that there were still four thousand three hundred years less seven years to come after the flood, of the six thousand from the beginning of the creation and three hundred and seven since the flood.
20. For from the beginning of the days of Creation there shall be 6,000 years,
21. From the day of creation until the day of the visitation of the generations (through the flood) were one thousand three hundred and seven years.
22. And from the day when Noah made the division among his children, until the day of the visitation ofthe generations were four hundred and ninety three years.
23. And he divided his kingdom to his three sons in the year three hundred and twenty.
24. And Noah was on the day when he divided [the land] among his sons nine hundred and thirty years old.
25. And he divided the land among his three sons on the tenth day of the month of Elul.
26. And then he sent proclamations to his sons that each one should go to his country.
27. And they took leave of him and Elam and Ashur went to the north of Ur Kasdim, which is called by them the place of Bab el Abwab (Gate of Gates),
28. And which is on the border of Elam and Ashur.
29. And Gomer and Magog were from Babel Abwab and onwards.
30. And Ld and Aram settled in Great Kutah whose name is Charassan the Black which is called Algezirah in Afrikia (Phrygia).
31. And Arpachshad settled in Ur Kasdim in Brktrs (Bactria?) whose name isRomi. And Nimrod began to rule over all the children of Ham.
32. And he built great Babel and they gathered themselves all together and they went to build it, and Nimrod started to walk as a giant in the land.
33. And Noah was nine hundred and forty five years old when the report of it reached Noah.
34. But Shem his son was the one whom he had placed on the throne of the kingdom because he was the firstborn.
35. And Shem sent also to Elam, Ashur, Lud, Aram, and Arpachshad and they came and built Niniveh and Calah, Rehoboth Ir, and Resen which is the big town.
36. And the day drew near for Noah to die, so he sent and called Shem, Ham and Japhet, and they came to him to Shalem the Great and built an altar and they brought upon it thankofferings.
37. And he completed his division and gave ta Shem six and to Japhet six, and he made Shem greater than Japhet.
38. And Noah commanded them the keeping of peace and died. And his children carried him to Eyul Mth which is Hebron and they buried him in Eyul Mth and each one returned to his place.

ASATIR CHAPTER 5. [Nimrod.]
1. And they gathered themselves in Babel when they journied from the East and they found a plain in the land of Shinear and they dwelt there.
2. And it was like [the plain of Sichem and a mountain like] Mount Garizim.
3. And they said one to the other who beheld the land: "Let us go up here and let us build a high building so that we may not be scattered abroad upon the face of the earth."
4. And they built a tower on top of the hill, and they placed upon it a lamp and the light of it could be seen from the four sides.
5. And they called it Sham and that is the word which is said "and let us make a Sham."
6. And He put an end to their building and the building was shattered and the children of man were scattered abroad upon the face of the earth.
7 .And none didknowthelanguageofhis neighbour.
8. And then was the beginning of wars which were fought [seven] for death and one for life.
9. And these are the first to start wars which led to their death, viz: Lehadim, Eynamim, Lahabim, Nafthim, Patrosim, Kaftorim, Kaslhim.
10. And they placed above them to be the head over them the first born of Lehadim whose name was Gitt and they were called by his name Gibtai.
11. And the men of the Philistines came out and made the first war upon the Canaanites and the Ztotai. And they took away the kingdom from Nimrod. And the Philistines ruled from Egypt to the river of Kush.
12. And Nimrod came and he encamped against them (i.e. Gitt), and he asked of them (i.e. Joktanites) to help against Egypt.
13. And the children of Joktan started and turned away and went out and they dwelt from Mesha unto Sifra unto Tmnta, a country called the towns of Yemen.
14. And Gitt the head of Egypt died and Nimrod returned to Ashur and ruled there.
15. And when he became king there he made war with Nahor.
16. And he did unto Arpachshad just as Pharaoh did afterwards to the Hebrews, for he saw in the Book of Signs that there would come from Arpachshad a mighty man who would smite all the worshippers and destroy all the idols.
17. And he gathered all the wise men that were among Japhet and Ham, and he asked them that they should inform him when this one would be born.
18. [So they told him] within forty days the mother will be pregnant with him.
19. And Nimrod commanded that the sons of Arpachshad should not be allowed to approach their wives for forty days.
20. And he commanded that they should imprison the men in one place and the women in another place.
21. And after thirty days a sign was seen in the land of Shinear, a pillar of fire.
22. And all the men were frightened with a great fear and they prayed in the houses of worship and they dwelt outside in the open field for three days and three nights.
23. And Terah went and approached his wife.
24. And when he had approached her, the sign was removed and they said: "The child will be born."
25. And Nimrod commanded that each man should return to his place.
26. And after that Abraham was born with mighty glory.
27. And Nimrod took him and threw him into the fire because he has said "The world has a God."
28. And when Haran was wroth with Abraham and said he was a wizard the fire came out and consumed him "and Haran died in the presence of his father Terah in Ur Kasdim." After seven years he (Nimrod) died.

ASATIR CHAPTER 6. [Abraham in Egypt.]
1. With him came to an end the Kingdom of Ham: with a Nimrod it began and with a Nimrod it came to an end.
2. And from the first Nimrod to the second Nimrod there were one thousand and twenty years.
3. The first Nimrod was from Kush and the second Nimrod was from the Kaftorim.
4. And when Nimrod had died Terah started to go into the land of Canaan to establish his kingdom.
5. His son Nahor dwelt with Kedar Laomer and Tidal king of Goyim and they robbed him of his kingdom.
6. And Kedar Laomer went on plundering and they sent and imprisoned Terah in Haran.
7. ThenAbraham came out to meet Kedar Laomer in Ur Kasdim.
8. There God called him and he came to the land of Canaan and they dwelt in the plain of Glory and he built up the altar of Adam and Noah.
9. And afterwards he went up Mount Garizim to the east of Bethel.
10. And then he started going down to Egypt.
11. And when he reached the boundaries of Egypt, shakings seized all the idols and trembling fell upon all the dwellers in the houses of worship.
12. For Abraham dwelt in Rifon (field?) close to Tks (border?) of Egypt which is called Alrif, and they came to a palmgrove in the valley.
13. And there they (the Egyptians) saw Sarah and the women praised her to their husbands and the men to Pharaoh

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and she was taken to the house of Pharaoh. And to Abraham he did good for her sake.

14. And when Sarah was staying in the palace of Pharaoh, many wonders were seen.

15. And the princes began to be plagued privily and openly and Pharaoh became like a stone as one who has been smitten by sorcery.

16. And they said "Let there not be left out any magician or sorcerer."

17. And all the magicians and soothsayers gathered together and they were in great tribulation.

18.Andtherewasamongthema sorcerer called Turts who had learned the Book of Signs in Hanohiah.

19. And he was wroth and said "He who worships the God of the whole world is here, and all this distress is for his sake."

20. And when Abraham heard mention of the God of the whole world, then he quickly turned with prayers as towards heaven.

21. Then they were freed (from the plague) and the whole palace was lit up by the sight of the glory of the face of Sarah and there (fell) upon them great fear.

22. Then it became known that Sarah was the wife of Abraham, and Pharaoh's tongue was set free and he began to speak andAbraham proclaimed and prayed for the loosening of the bonds.

23. And this is the first proclamation (of faith) for Abraham said: "O, Lord! God of heaven and Earth, all merciful, be merciful."

24. And the house(hold) of Pharaoh began to be healed and all the houses of worship were destroyed and the objects of worship in them fell down and could not be raised up.

25. And the magician Turfs went up from there to Hebron.

26. And Pharaoh appointed men, and he sent him (Abraham) away and his wife and Lot who was with him.

27. And they came to the place of the first altar and they raised it up again. And he brought thankofferings and praise offerings.

ASATIR CHAPTER 7. [Abraham and Battle of Kings.]

1. And Amrafel was king twelve years, and Abraham and Lot tarried in the land of Canaan one year.

2. In the month of Nisan Abraham came from Haran and in lyar he went to Egypt.

3. And in Nisan Lot separated himself from him and dwelt in Sodom one year.

4. In that year in which they came, Turts went from Hebron to Shinear and he told Amrafel and Kedar Laomer that there would be much killing, and he studied the Book of Signs and foretold to them what to do.

5. And Kedar Laomer knew Abraham and he would not listen to his sorceries.

6. But he started killing all the people that were against him and he went and laid waste a town called Kdsh.

7. And these were the last kings of the land from the children of Ham.

8. And Lot was captured by them and he sent for counsel to his uncle Abraham.

9. And 'Aniram, Eshkol and Mamre were those who had made the covenant with Abraham.

10. And he said "O my brothers, let us go to meet them in order to save them."

11 . For in the fourteenth year Kedar Laomer had come and made war with the Amorites.

12. And again Nahor the brother of Abraham then sent and informed Abraham what he (Kedar Laomer) had done in his country in Ur of the Chaldees.

13. And the messengers found Abraham who had started to pursue the kings who had taken Lot captive and they encamped in a plain (?) which is called Tbris of Kinnereth.

14. And it was at the going out of the Sabbath (i.e. Sunday) that Abraham came to a palmgrove in the valley.

15. And on the second (Monday) he found them at the rising of the moon in the valley (Emek).

16. And in the month of Elul on the twenty first of the month in the valley of Hobah a place which is now called Amr.

17. On the fifth Abraham came to Shalem the Great and the King of Sodom and the King Nahor came to Abraham to Shalem the Great.

18. And when he saw Abraham he prostrated himself and bowed down and he praised the Lord the High God.

19. Then Melchizedek after the feasting called upon the name of him who had granted victory and he gave him the tithe of everything, but he (Abraham) refused to take.

20. And then he said, "Give me the souls, and the wealth thou mayest take."

21. And Abraham said to the King of Sodom, "The wealth of Sodom is considered by me as banned." (haram)

22. And in Nisan God revealed himself to Abraham and he spoke to him on the fourth (Wednesday), and he said unto him "I am a shield to thee," in the dream of the night.

23. And he took him outside and said "Look at the heaven and count the stars." Great was this event: there was none like it.

24. The principles of faith are fear, merit and repentance.

25. All this happened in one year: but up to the twenty-second God had not yet spoken to him.

26. When he was ninety nine years old he accepted (the covenant of) circumcision.

27. On the seventh his people accepted it.

28. On the sixth Sodom was burnt.

29. On the seventh Isaac was born.

ASATIR CHAPTER 8. [Birth of Moses.]

1. And after the death of Abraham, Ishmael reigned twenty seven years

2. And all the children of Nebaot ruled for one year in the lifetime of Ishmael,

3. And for thirty years after his death from the river of Egypt to the river Euphrates; and they built Mecca.

4. For thus it is said "As thou goest towards Ashur before all his brethren he lay."

5. Elifas the son of Esau fought with the children of Ishmael and they produced their genealogical claim to the kingdom and the division (made) by Noah.

6. And they found that Esau was associated with Ishmael, and they put the sons of Mahlat on the same level as the sons of Ishmael.

7. And this is the word which has been spoken, "And he will be 'fari Edom'" and Esau is Edom. And the children of Adah and Aholibamah belonged to the generation of Canaan.

8. And there came and ruled over them with might Bela the son of Joktan, Jobab of the sons of Ketura.

9. And after all these words, when Abraham heard that there was war between the people of Ashur and Joktan, he was seized with a great fear.

10. (And after that ruled) Husham from Moab and Shamlah of Elam, and Saul from the sons of Nahor, Baalhanan from Elam.

11. Hadad of the sons of Eliezer and his dwelling place was Betad which is Forikh. And the name of his wife was Mehetabel daughter of Matred of Japhet of the Kittim.

12. Jacob was eighty years old when he went to Haran.

13. Joseph was seventeen years and eight months old when he went down to Egypt.

14. The Pharaoh of Joseph was of Ishmael and the Pharaoh of Moses was from Japhet of the Kittim the servant of the Rodanim.

15. Pharaoh the son of Gotis the son of Atiss son of Rbtt son of Gosis son of Rims son of Ktim son of Javan,

16. Who learnt the Book of Signs in Great Babylon, and he came from Gifna and went to Niniveh.

17. And he heard that Joseph was king of Egypt.

18. And he (Pharaoh?) dwelt there three years and a month and then he went to Damascus, and from Damascus to Gezurah and that is Akushim and he tarried there sixty three years.

19. And Joseph and all his brothers died.

20. And the kingdom of Ishmael was changed and that of Amalek began to take its place.

21. And Pharaoh came to Egypt in the first year and he dwelt there, and he kept Egypt by force.

22. And through him there was tribulation in the land for three years and the king of Egypt died.

23. And then Pharaoh arose and gathered large armies from the Kfteim and he reigned afterwards there for sixty years.

24. And in Egypt there was a wizard whose name was Plti and he saw the greatness of Israel.

25. And he saw Levi going up to Pharaoh in a chariot with great honour and he came out with great honour.

26. And he said "Who is this man" and they told him that he was a Hebrew.

27. And he said: "Great is the honour of this man and of that which is hidden in his loins, and what will come out of it."

28. And his speech reached Pharaoh and he sent and called the wizard.

29. And he said unto him, "Truly out of the loins of this man will come one who will be mighty in faith, in knowledge, and the heaven and earth will hearken to his word; and by his hands will come the destruction of Egypt."

30. And Pharaoh commanded they should separate the women from the men forty days and

when they separated from one another nineteen days,

31. A man of the house of Levi went: mighty is the tree from which Moses was plucked.

32. And the wizard saw in his enchantment that Israel's star was in the ascendant and he saw that the mother was pregnant with him.

33. So he said to the king, "Thy intention has now been frustrated."

34. Pharaoh said to him, "What shall be done ?"

35. And the wizard replied, "His death will be through water."

36. And Pharaoh commanded the Egyptians saying, "No Hebrew male child shall be left."

37. And he put Shifrah and Puah over the birth of the Hebrew women and Pharaoh said to them "Every male child shall be killed and every female child shall be kept alive."

38. And Amram was a good physician trusted in Egypt and Shifrah was showing lovingkindness to the Levites and Puah showed loving-kindness to the Hebrews.

39. And the fear of God dwelt in their hearts and they did not as they were told.

40. And the people multipled and waxed very mighty.

41. And Pharaoh commanded his people that they should throw the children into the river.

42. And the fathers and mothers were frightened and the women acted in faith and the women destroyed themselves with their children.

ASATIR CHAPTER 9. [Moses.]

1 . And the great prophet may he be remembered for good forever was born in the month of Nisan on the fifth of it on the Sabbath.

2. And on the tenth of Sivan he was thrown into the river and when he was thrown into the river the waters subsided.

3. And all the women went out to look at it.

4. And when all the women went down, the daughter of Pharaoh also went down.

5. And (with every day) that passed the water decreased.

6. And all the wizards and sorcerers came together and they were in great tribulation.

7. And Plti the wizard found by the secret of the Book of Signs that the child had gone down.

8. And the ark was in the flags and the daughter of Pharaoh saw it in the fifth hour on the seventh (Sabbath).

9. And she sent her maid and she took it and opened it and she saw the child and behold the child wept loudly and the daughter of Pharaoh had compassion on it.

10. And being filled with love for it she commanded her maids that no word should be spoken about it.

11. And Miriam who stood close by when she saw it rejoiced and ran to her and said, "Shall I go and call (etc.)."

12. And she said unto her, "Go."And she went and called its mother Jochebed.

13. And she said to her "Nurse this child for me and I will give thee the money of thy milk." And she suckled him with undefiled milk and he grew up and she brought him to the daughter of Pharaoh and she called his name Moses.

14. And after this Moses grew in strength and he was appointed with the chiefs of Pharaoh over the Hebrews.

15. And he saw an Egyptian smiting an Hebrew man and he killed him and hid him in the sand.

16. And on the second day he saw two men striving and he said unto him that did the wrong, "O thou wicked one." And the Hebrew was angered and he said unto Moses, "O thou murderer."

17. And he fled to Midian and he tarried there sixty years.

18. And after that there came oppression upon Israel and Gots (Pharaoh) died.

19. And Israel sighed and their groaning went up. And there arose a Pharaoh from Kittim whose name was Atirt.

20. And Moses kept the flock of Jethro and he came to Mount Horeb.

21. On the fifteenth day of the third month on the fourth (Wednesday) God fulfilled the covenant which he made with the Meritorious Ones.

22. The rod of Adam and his clothes were given to Moses on that day.

23. And this is the word which is said, "And this is a sign to thee."

24. On the fourth (Wednesday) He showed himself to Moses.

25. On the first (Sunday) he went down to Egypt and God said toAaron, "Go and meet thy brother."

26. He went and met him and they both went up to Egypt and they made the signs before the Israelites.

27. On the third (Tuesday) they went to Pharaoh.

28. On the fifth (Thursday) they smote the river.

29. All the judgements were enacted within nine months.

30. On the fifth (Thursday) they went out of Egypt at the sixth hour; they went out in the sight of all Egypt.

31. At the going out of the Sabbath (they passed) through the divided Sea.

32. On the third (Tuesday) the waters of Marah were sweetened. And God showed him that rod by which he smites and heals.

33. On the sixth (Friday) they gained the victory over Amalek.

34. On the fourth (Wednesday) God called him up to Mount Sinai.

35. There are three mornings in the world, one is the morning of creation on the first (Sunday).

36. Another the morning of Mount Sinai on the fourth (Wednesday).

37. Another the morning of the day of vengeance on the sixth (Friday).

38. On the first the Tabernacle was set up; on the third they went away from Mount Sinai. On the third Miriam died.

39. On the fourth Aaron died.

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40. On the seventh the King of Arad^fought against them and took from them captives and afterwards the Israelites utterly destroyed him and his possessions.

ASATIR CHAPTER 10. [Bileam.]

1. M'rtis the wizard fled from Arad to Midian. This was Peor whom Balak son of Zippor, King of the Moabites, sent to call Bileam son of Beor son of Gditt son of P't'h son of Amingf son of Laban.

2. He grieved and did not grieve over what happened to him. He (did not) grieve for the trust (honour) [shown] to him by the King of Moab, but came to grief through his empty vanity.

3. For he had sent messengers to Bileam and he had asked him that he should come and curse Israel.

4. On the sixth month.messengers went to Bileam.

5. And Bileam knew the Book of Signs and enquired therein.

6. And he worshipped the god of fire, god of the firmament, the god of waters, the god of heavenly lights and the holy god.

7. Hlm, Hml, Ihml, Vhml, Haml, H'amal, Gmgal, Hsrfh, Hsmikm, Hid, Lil, Hlk-lb, Hlk, L'el Elyon, Hlyn, Hntr, Hlgfr.

8. These are the seven angels whom Bileam worshipped.

9. The holy god is the angel that met Bileam.

10. The god of the winds (El Harukot) is the angel who gave him the words at the first altars: three were his speeches.

11. The god of fire was he who rebuked Bileam that he should not curse the people.

12. The god of firmament obscured his sight.

13. The god of water was he who said, "Thou who canst not see but nearest."

14. The god of the luminaries said to him, "But not now."

15. The god of the corners of the heaven said to him, "There is no sorcery in Jacob."

16. Hdr, the God of winds said unto him, "And Israel is doing valiantly."

17. Hazin the holy god said unto him, "The Lord God is with him and the trumpeting of a king is among them."

18. And when Bileam heard that, he hatched an evil plan for he saw (knew) that the God of Israel hated defilement, and he advised Balak concerning adultery, and the Moabites commenced to practise it.

19. On the Sabbath the harlots came out.

20. The covenant with Pinehas was established by the Seven for him and his seed after him. Great is the loving mercy ofGod. On the seventh the harlots came out at the third hour.

21. And the heads of the community were congregated at the South before the Tent of the Covenant.

22. And Reuben was encamped there in the West.

23. And Simeon in the middle.

24. And Gad in the East.

25. With harps, zithers, cymbals, timbals and musical instruments.

26. And facing Simeon were about 120,000 harlots.

27. And the daughter of Sur was in the middle on a wooden chariot driven by the wind in whichever direction she wished it to go.

28. And a voice of the Living came from the cloud of glory and gave the command that those who went after Baal Peor should be killed.

29. After this the judges rose up and they returned quickly, and they did not perform the will of Moses.

30. And then Zimri and Kosbi went into the tent and the abomination was made manifest in the eyes of the whole people.

31. And then the cloud began to remove and the plague descended upon them.

32. And Pinehas rose up and took a spear in his hand.

33. And two wonders happened, one for the
living and one for the dead : the cloud of the plague and Pinehas.

34. The cloud of the plague removed all the defiled, but did good unto the pure.

35. And the sign for the dead was [that from] the spear in his hand not one single drop of the blood of the harlot fell on him, but it was burned away (congealed?) on the spear at a distance of seven knots (handbreaths) between the blood and his hand.

36. And thus it is said by those who keep the faith that all the fulfillments of the commands were connected with seven and eight.

37. At the beginning of the eighth month came the harlots, and in the tenth month the Lord said unto the prophet, "Avenge the children of Israel, and after that thou wilt be gathered unto thy people."

38. Twelve thousand were armed as men for war.

39. And it was after the men had gone that God said unto Moses that they should go to the war.

40. And when the armed spies went to Midian he gave to Pinehas before the people the trumpet in his hand and they made war with Midian as God had commanded.

41. On the fourth the people came unto Midian and the Israelites captured it.

42. [And (the Midianites) said], "O! thou chief of the sorcerers. Arise for those who believe in thee!" In the twinkling of an eye there came a small troop [of Dan] from the direction of Edom.

43. And that is the word which Jacob had said "Dan shall be a serpent by the way, an adder in the path."

44. And Bileam hastened to return to Midian to Shur in the South. He lifted up his eye to the East and beheld there a troop of Gaddites. And that is the word that was said "Gad's troop shall overcome him."

45. And what the angel had said unto Bileam "A star will arise from Jacob," this refers to Pinehas: "And a sceptre shall come from Israel." This refers to Joshua.

46. And their battle-cry was "The Lord is our God the Lord is One."

47. And Bileam fled and he was caught by Zrd son of Kmuel son of the brother of Caleb of the tribe of Judah; and he brought him before Pinehas, Joshua, and Caleb: and they did not pay heed to his speech.

48. Then arose Rdyh son of Suriel son of Slua and he strengthened himself against him and killed him by the sword.

49. Then Joshua said: "The heart of the avenger of the blood grew hot at the sight of him (Bileam).

50. On the fourth (Wednesday) they came from the war, on the fifth (Thursday) the elders of the assembly brought the offering of gold, and it was brought up to the Tent of the Assembly.

51. And there came a voice of the Living [saying] "No Moabite nor Ammonite shall enter the community of God/'

52. And the women that were taken captive were, killed.

ASATIR CHAPTER 11. [Death of Moses and Prophecy.]

1. And God said unto Moses, "Take to thyself Joshua the son of Nun, a man in whom there is the spirit and set him before Eleazar the priest and before all the congregation in the fortieth year in the tenth month."

2. And Moses did so with great joy and delight, as if he had been one of his sons may they never be lacking in happiness and faith!

3. And Moses began to copy out the Holy Law.

4. AndGod said to him: "Go up the MountAbarim and see the land ofCanaan andfix its boundaries round about. And this is the beginning of the boundary.

5. In the East from Kori to Ivai, and the boundary of the land in the South from the shore of the Salt Sea eastward.

6. Ascending into the midst of the land : because he said that the Valley was within the boundary from Akrabim passing on to Sin; and now it is in the middle of the land and it continues unto the town which is called today El Kdr.

7. The boundary of Paran is from the side of Asmonah until the river of Egypt going on to Sukkoth passing on inside the boundary until Shaki of Egypt.

8. Going down to the sea and then going up to-Trss. It turns towards the mountain and ye shall espy unto yourself [the mountain of God] in the midst of the land.

9. In the North Hmt on the river of Hanohiah *f* which is Zifronah, and goes on to Hazar 'Enan.

10. And from Hazar Enan to Shefamah which is Askofiah unto the Arbelah.

11. And its borders go down and reach unto the eastern shore of the sea of Kinnereth.

12. And the mountain (Tbris) in the west which can be seen from, all the four sides.

13. And the prophet went down in joy and in grief.

14. He rejoiced because he had seen the beauty of the land, but he grieved because he was not allowed to enter.

15. And he began to copy out the Law on the third (Tuesday) and he finished it on the fourth (Wednesday).

16. And he went into the Tent on the fifth (Thursday).

17. And there came down the voice of the Living from the cloud of glory.

18. "Completed is thy work O Perfect One. This is thy last day (that which God has allowed), thou who beholdest the generations'" (i.e.) that which Moses the great Prophet had revealed by the permission of his Master.

19. Therefore it is said "And he beholds the vision of God."

20. And he foretold what would happen in the next three thousand two hundred and four years, as is told in (the section) which begins "When ye beget children and children's children," the beginning of the Fanuta, the gate of the backsliding.

21. There will arise a man from the Levites; his name will be Azrz son of Fani and the beginning of the strife will be by his hand.

22. And he will add a sanctuary in his days.

23. He will exchange the sanctuary of the Hebrews for a rebellious (strange) sanctuary. He will throw division in the midst of the assembly.

24. The order of turning away and arbitrariness Krtm (of) Benjamin will be established among them.

25. "In the world" through the power of the house of Judah diverse statutes will be annulled.

26. Hear O Lord the voice of Judah.

27. He will build the tower of shame with might.

28. The people will be praying for Truth.

29. Will be oppressed through the son who is born of a harlot.

30. He will be ... like the enchanter Bileam.

31. In his days the worship of strange gods will be established.

32. And within a short time the unholy sanctuary will be destroyed by the hand ofa nation ofa hard face.

33. And those of the house of Shmh (God ?) and of the house of Fanyh (i.e. turning away, rebellious) will be scattered throughout the earth. And because the congregation is guilty, they (the conquerers) will dwell in their place in great arrogance.

34. The community in turning to strife will persist and the land will be inherited by the chosen ones of Alinis.

35. There will be peace in the world, freedom, might, honour, and a life of happiness.

36. And after that a change in the Writing will be made.

37. And a new wording they will produce out of the old.

38. And the Lord thy God will bring thee up into the land which thy fathers have inherited and thou shalt inherit it.

39. And Luzah will be rebuilt.

40. There will be a Jubilee in rejoicing and (after that) there will be a second turning away.

41. And transgression will be seen among the pure people, but at the end of days

42. On the holy hill he will destroy the images and he will break the idols.

ASATIR CHAPTER 12. [Oracle.]

1. A prince will arise with a strong hand for ten [years], and the proud nation Nds (or Aminds) will come in his days.

2. A prince will arise with might from his people for five [years] and he will not be exalted.

3. A crowned prince will arise, of evil repute: in his days they (he) will be destroyed through the hand of strangers.

4. A prince will arise strong in truth: in his days the salvation of the community will be great.

5. A crowned prince will arise: in his days the yoke of iron will return.

6. A prince will arise mighty in wealth: in his days the house of worship (?) will be built.

7. A prince will arise who will dwell in Luzah and Aminds will be in trouble.

8. A prince will arise mighty in the knowledge of the truth : the people will rejoice.

9. A crowned prince will arise: he will walk in darkness: his days will be of trouble.

10. A prince will arise mighty in wealth: rulers will perish in his days in secret. A hundred will flee to the borders of Sichem.

11. A prince will arise [Gog] (he) will perish in grief: in his days the people will turn back to sin and they will forsake the covenant (or, they will turn back and sin against the covenant and be punished).

12. A prince will arise: tribulation and weariness will be before this.

13. A prince will arise at the end of wickedness: in his days desolation from the land of the mighty a mighty force will bring.

14. A prince will arise who will increase the tribulation of the people.

15. A prince will arise through wickedness of sorcery: the Temple of Sichem will be burnt by his hand.

16. A prince will arise, Gog, after these.

17. A prince will arise with tribulation: the land of the Hebrews he will lay waste.

18. A prince will arise through modesty (prayer ?): in his days he will be wise.

19. A prince will arise, the son of sin: in his days the false sanctuary will be established at the end because of his evil deeds it will be burned with fire and brimstone.

20. A prince will arise, one who abolishes circumcision: in his days he will suck from the abundance of the sea.

21. A prince will arise : in his days the community of abomination (Aminds) will again be scattered in the land of Gb'alah while Israel doesvaliantly and the top of the hill will be in glory, and faith established.

22. A prince will arise from the section (portion) of the Lawgiver. From the West the messenger of peace (comes) to the gate of glory. The community will rejoice; for they will worship our Lord in peace.

23. A prince will arise who will spoil the [gentile] nation and "will come out of (rule from) Jacob and will destroy the remnant of the town."

24. A prince will arise who will write the Law in truth, the rod of miracles in his hand. There will be light and no darkness.

25. May the Lord hasten this: and happy is he who will see it and will reach [that time] Blessed be our God forever, blessed be His name forever.

26. Twenty-six corresponding to twenty-six. Praised be He who knows the hidden and the revealed, mayHe be exalted, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, upon them may peace be everlasting.

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PART 2 - THE ASATIR PITRON
Or Commentary (Targum) To The Asatir.
Or Arabic-Samaritan Commentary To The Asatir.

Of special interest, no doubt, from many points of view is now the second commentary originally composed in Arabic, the date of which is uncertain; of this commentary, a Hebrew-Samaritan translation has been prepared for me. It appears now in this book. No name of an author is mentioned, and none has been given to me in spite of repeated enquiry. The Samaritans only assert that some scholars, together with Abraham, son ofAmram, the high priest, since deceased, had composed it. It is an attempt to provide at any rate a commentary independent ofthe older one. In it they make no use whatsoever of the older Arabic paraphrase. They knew the latter well, for I obtained a copy of it from them. It is just because oftheir endeavour to do their very best that this commentary is characteristic and interesting. It shows their scholarship and literary capability at a very low ebb, for it reveals how little the Samaritans themselves understand the Asatir. Obscure and difficult passages remain just as obscure and difficult as they were. No attempt at elucidation is made. The legendary matter is, however, more expanded and in the history of Moses they use those other Samaritan compilations dealing with the Birth of Moses mentioned before, in order to complete the narrative in the Asatir. The interpretation of the final Prophecy of Moses differes from that in the previously mentioned Arabic paraphrase. It is full of anachronisms and contradictions; moreover, it is anti-Christian. It is curious to find among the Samaritans some of the legends concerning the birth of Jesus, against which the Fathers of the Church protested so vehemently, branding them as hostile fabrications. They occur also by the way in the old Samaritan chronicle. Similar legends have found their way also into the older Jewish literature.

This commentary might be called an Arabic Targum of the Asatir, were it not that this application of the word "Targum" to an Arabic explanation of an Aramaic text would appear incongruous. As stated, it was originally written in Arabic, and has then been translated at my request into Samaritan-Hebrew. Owing to this fact the original quotations from the Asatir in the Arabic Pitron have been retained in the Hebrew, and appear to be a tautology. This can be understood easily when one remembers that in the Arabic the translation precedes the Samaritan text, and is therefore repeated now, when the Arabic text has been translated into Samaritan.

In my Manuscript the Arabic and Samaritan are written in two parallel columns on 171 pages. The MS. is very carefully written in the uncial character, like that of the Bible codices, with the usual Samaritan punctuation and occasional diacritical signs. The copy was made by Ab Hasda, son of the then living Jacob, son of Aaron, the high priest, on the eighth of the fifth month in the year 1328 AH (1910 AD).

There are 25 lines to the page from 1-159 and thence to the end 33 lines to the page. The author has divided the Pitron into 144 paragraphs upto verse 6 of Chapter 12. They are of unequal length. They evidently appeared to him logical divisions of the contents and each of these small divisions begins with a slight indenture of the opening line.

The quotations from the Asatir are written in red ink, as is often the practice of the Samaritans of writing quotations in different ink. I have now published this Hebrew-Samaritan Pitron with the Asatir at the foot of the text. Towards the end when the author tries to explain the fifth name on the list of the Oracle, he repeats much of the matter referring to the Birth of Moses, found already in Chap. 7,27 ff. The text has been divided by me in accordance with the original division, but I have given in the Hebrew text also the pages of the original. In the translation, however, I have divided the commentary into chapters and verses corresponding to those of the Asatir whilst preserving at the same time the division into sections and the pagination of the original for easier comparison. To the translation (see above) I have also given the literary parallels, whenever the Pitron contains additional matter not found in the Asatir. It is noteworthy that the Pitron offers only a commentary to Chap. 12 from verses 1-6, a very lamentable exhibition of ignorance. Here also, except for an attempt to explain the first six names of the kings of the Oracle, which proved very unfortunate, the rest has been left without any commentary.

ASATIR PITRON CHAPTER 1. [Kain and Hebel.]

In the name of the Lord the All-merciful. Saith our Master Moses, [may the peace of the Lord be upon him.] (1) I begin with the praises and exaltations unto the mighty God, who created Adam above all creatures. And he made and appointed him father to all flesh—praised be God who made the world—and established Adam (man) as the root. And when the Lord—may He be exalted—desired that generations should spring from Adam, he created for him Eve as wife, and gave him from her two twins, each of them a male and female. The eldest was Kain and with him a female whose name was Makeda, and he married the sister of one to the other. And he divided the earth between them. And he gave to Kain the West and he gave to Hebel the North and the South. And this fact is proved by his saying—peace of God be

upon him—"and his sons Kain and Hebel were like him"; (2) and he gave unto Kain the west, and he gave to Hebel the north and the south. (3) And he gave El'alah, the sister of Kain to Hebel to wife, and he gave Makeda, the sister of Hebel to Kain to wife. And the division of the earth between him and his sons was in the month of Abib.

And Kain began to build a place called Nikl and this is proved from his saying—upon him be the peace—(4)"and Kain began building a place called Nikl," (5) "and he divided the earth in the month of Abib."

And it was at the end of days that Kain brought an offering and Hebel also brought a sacrifice. And he built an altar at the foot of Mount Garizim the Holy, between Luzah and Mount Garizim. This was the first altar which was built, and this is proved by his saying—on him be the peace— (6) "and it came to pass at the end of days that Kain brought from the fruit of the earth an offering to God, and Hebel brought a sacrifice." (Gen 4:3.) And the first of the altars was at the foot of the sanctuary between Luzah and Mount Garizim. And the two brothers were facing one another at the time when they made the offering and the sacrifice, according to his saying, (7) "and this one was facing that one." And when Kain and Hebel sacrificed, it was the course of twenty days from the month of Abib, according to his saying, (8) "and when Kain and Hebel sacrificed, it was on the twentieth day of Nisan." And when Kain saw that his offering was not accepted, for he knew the sign of acceptance from the offerings of his father Adam, for Adam was the first to bring offerings and his sons learned from him, according to his saying—on him be the peace—(9) "and when Kain did not see his offering accepted as he had been taught and he had seen the offering of his father;" now when he offered and saw not the sign of acceptance, he knew in his soul that he was of no account, and the world grew dark before him and his spirit grew angry; according to his saying upon him be the peace "he knew that it was unfit and when he offered, and his spirit his face became troubled." And another explanation is that when he offered the world was darkened and his spirit, i.e. when the world got dark, through this his spirit became anguished; but God alone knows. And on the day (10) "on which Hebel offered, there were two turnings [of God]; (11) the Lord turned to Hebel and to his offering, while to Kain and to his offering he did not turn." By the first turning [away], Kain saw that his offering was not accepted, and his wrath kindled and grew strong, and he could not hide it. And he returned to his country and stayed there four years, and he did not see his father Adam nor his brother Hebel, according to the saying of the prophet—on him be the peace—(12) "and Kain when he saw the first turning and he did not see acceptance, (13) then Kain grew angry and he returned to his country, (14) and stayed there four years, and saw neither Adam nor Hebel."

(15) Now Eve loved Kain, while Adam loved Hebel. (16) And when Eve saw that the son Kain did not come to her, she longed for him, and she took permission from Adam and went to see him alone. When Hebel saw her rising up and going alone, and that the place whither she was going was distant, then he got up quickly and went with her. (17) And she found Kain gone from the place where he was dwelling at the beginning, to a place which was afterwards called Arafat. When Kain saw his brother Hebel, he thought in his heart to kill him. But the Lord, blessed be He, before whom nothing can be hidden, and who—exalted be He—knows the evil inclinations of the hearts of his creatures, (18) said unto him, "Surely, if thou wilt kill Hebel, there will be requital (i.e. return) for it." The meaning of "surely" is that there will be requital for the blood, and an avenging of it from him; see what is written in the book of Genesis, Chapter 4, verse 6, "And God said unto Kain; why art thou wroth and why did thy face fall; if thou art good, thou shalt be accepted, and if thou art not good, then at the gate the sin is crouching; and thou shalt rule over it." The explanation of this is as follows: Behold this thing is in thy hand as thou wishest, good or evil. And nothing [is mentioned in the Bible of what happened], except that Kain said to his brother Hebel: "Rise, O my brother, let us go into the field." And both went together. And it was as they were in the field that Kain rose up against his brother Hebel and slew him. (19) And when he had slain him and shed his blood, his spirit was distressed and the earth cried out and would not receive the blood of Hebel to drink it until commanded by God; and the earth trembled, and the light of the sun and of the moon was darkened, at the time when Kain slew Hebel.

Now Adam dwelt in Badan. (20) And when Adam saw what had happened in the world, the darkening ofsun and moon and the trembling of the earth, then he was greatly frightened on that day. And that day was for him like unto the day when he and his wife ate of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden. (21) And Adam went up from Badan to Sifra, and that is Sichem, to see the Book of the Wars of the Lord, [the Stars,] (22) and he saw the rising of the days so that he should understand what had happened in the world. (23) And he saw that of his two sons, only one was still on the earth : one was slain and the other had fallen through his own sin which had seized him. Then Adam understood that this was the cause, and he returned to Badan. (24) And from the day of the creation of Adam, until the day Kain killed Hebel, here were thirty years ; and the slaying of Hebel happened on the sixteenth day of the month of Tebet. (25) God created Adam on the sixth day, and at the sixth hour, and Adam and his wife dwelt in the garden eight days and he did not know his wife Eve to lie with her in the garden. And their knowledge was changed through the speech of the serpent, and they were driven out of the garden in the same hour at which Adam had been created; he went out from the garden in that self-same hour. And after Kain had slain Hebel and Kain had been driven away, Adam learned of his sin, and no seed remained to him for his inheritance to be his successor to inherit the command of God.

(26) Then Adam sought repentance and separated himself from his wife for one hundred years, and did not know her during this time, until God received his repentance. (27) And after that, Adam knew his wife, and she conceived and bare Seth, the master of the settlement [of

the world]. And he saw the Image [lighting up] his face and from this Adam knew that this was the mystery of the chain: and in proof of this, see what the Lord—may He be exalted—said in the book of Genesis chapter 5, verse 3: "And Adam lived an hundred and thirty years, and begat a son in his own likeness, after his image; and called his name Seth." Note the significance that it is not said at the time of the birth of Kain and of Rebel, "in his likeness" and this image is the luminous image of Moses—peace of God be upon him—which was transmitted from man to man.

ASATIR PITRON CHAPTER 2. [Ten Generations.]

(1) And in the days of the life of Seth, Kain went to the east to the town which his son Enoch had built; and this is Antokia which in the Syrian language is also called Antokia; and Kain ruled the mountain and the plain and the sea 100 years.

(2) And Seth begat Enosh and he built a town and called its name Pilona in the name of his son Enosh. (3) And Enosh begat Kenan and Seth built a city and he called its name Damascus. (4) And Kenan begat Mahalalel and he built a city and he called its name Atrot Shfim.' (5) And Mahalalel begat Jared and he built a city and called its name Ja'azer. (6) And Jared begat Enoch and built a city and called its name Shalem the Great.

(7) And when Enoch grew up and when the days of his life had reached thirteen years, he began to learn in. the Book of Signs which had been given to Adam; and this book was copied on the four and twenty precious stones. Of these twelve are for the time of Favour and twelve for the choice of the families of the children of Jacob, and to the generations of the servants of the Most High God. And the Lord knows whether the twelve stones in the breast plate of Aaron the Priest were those for the choice of the families of the sons of Jacob and for the servants of the Most High God; for upon them were copied the generations of the servants of the Most High God. And the twelve stones of which he said that they are for the time of Favour, these are hidden away as a secret for the last generation.

(8) And the children of Kain were born in their dwelling places. And they corrupted the world from one end to the other, until Kain begat Enoch and Enoch Trad and 'Irad Mefruyael and Mehuyael Metushael and Metushael begat Lamech. (9) And in the fourteenth year of the days of his life he went away from Hanofriah, the town of Enoch. And he built 'Anah and Barah and Nisah and Adah, small towns. (10) And he killed Kain; and he built an idol and the explanation of it is: an object of worship whose name was Padraid Tns in the land of Shinear, and the Lord knows.

(11) In that time Adam went up from Badan to Rehobot a town of worshippers of idols. And it is said that it is the large city found in the country of Al'ns of which it is said in the book of Genesis, chapter 10 v. 11. "Ashur went out and he built Niniveh and the town Rehobot and Chalah and Resin." And the cause for mentioning idols is that Enoch (Lamech), the son of Kain, made there two idols of gold. And it is said that he called their names, one Lefes and, the other Lehaburati.

Said our Master Moses—peace of God be upon him—in the book Asatir, (12) "and Adam read Niss before his sons;" that is he read in the Book of Signs before his sons from the seed of Kain and he remonstrated with them for these evil deeds; and they would not accept the remonstrance.

Know that the reason for Adam's going up from Al Baadan was that at the time when he heard of the deeds of his sons which were from Kain he went to them in order to remonstrate with them. And it came to pass when he met them that he read a part from the Book of Signs. And the meaning of it was that when he had opened the Book of Signs he informed them and said unto them that unless you return

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from your evil ways you will all die. And they did not hearken unto him and they were not afraid of his words, so he went away from them and returned to his place in Badan. (13) And it came to pass when Enoch, the son of Jered, heard of the deeds of the sons of Kain he was very wroth against them, and he separated himself, and Enoch walked with God; and at that time the days of his life were [three hundred and] sixty-five years. And he walked in the fear of God, (14) and Enoch rebuilt the altar of his forefather Adam (15) and he begat Metushael and Metushael begat Lamech, and Lamech begat Noah; and the birth of Noah was in the month of Nisan. (16)

And it came to pass on the fourth day from his birth a sign appeared in the heavens and when the creatures of the world saw it, there fell upon them the fear of God and they came to Adam to Badan in order to ask him about this sign which had been seen in the midst of the heavens. (17) "And Adam rose in the height of his wisdom and he foretold the Flood saying that so long as Enoch was alive it would not happen." After this Adam—on whom be peace—saw by the holy spirit the destruction of the whole world, and he was telling of the Advent of Moses—upon whom be peace. And when Noah was born, Adam was comforted through him and he knew that he would be the master of the settlement and that no one would be saved from the Flood save Noah and his three sons. And Adam told his sons about this, and this is shown from his saying in the Asatir, "for he saw signs and he told his children." And perhaps there is found in it a mystical allusion to Abraham; for the numerical value of the word "Nkms" is that of "Beabraham:" 250. And Adam alluded in this to the fact that the peace and salvation is in Abraham. (19) And when Noah—upon whom be peace—grew up, his father brought him to Adam that he might teach him his Writing. And when Adam saw him, he said "This one will comfort us from our deeds and from the sorrow of our hand upon the earth, which the Lord hath cursed." Gen. V. 29). For he was good from his birth; and this was shown in that the light was revealed (P. 24) oh the day of his birth, a great light in the midst of the heavens. And this is shown from his saying—upon whom be peace—"And he was good from his birth" or that there was light in his face. (20) And Lamech built a town and called its name Rift and that is the hill which is overshadowed [by clouds] and is on the north side of Mount Garizim. Let us now return to the record of Lamech, who was one of the children of Kain, (21) and let us say that three sons were born unto him and one daughter. And the reason for the mention of the daughter in the Asatir is that from her time the evil deed became manifest. And now let us mention the first son in the Asatir, viz: Tubal Kain; and the reason for his being called by this name is because he was born unto Lamech at the time of the killing of Kain.

(22) The second Jubal built Mesdah the Great One. (23) The third Jabal built Kenaz. (24) And Tubal Kain built Skips, whose name is Albasra. And he made in it a workshop for the production of copper and of iron and he it was who created this kind of work. And the sister of Tubal Kain was Na'amah since she was from the same mother, for Lamech married two wives. And this Na'amah was she who established the rock in the town of Jerusalem by means of witchcraft, and God knows. (25) And these are they who were instructed in the books of truth. Adam taught Lamech one hundred and eighty years, (26) his son Seth one hundred and five years, (27) Enosh eight hundred and five years. (28) Kenan learned nine hundred and ten years, (29)

Mahalalel eight hundred and ninty five years, (30) Jered eight hundred and twenty seven years, (31) Enoch three hundred and sixty five years, and all the days of Enoch were three hundred and sixty five years. [The Lamech whom we mentioned is of the sons of Kain and the proof is that Afridan learned from Adam: similarly, Lamech, who is the forefather of Afridan, learned from Adam. This is the truth]. And he (Enoch) died and this is what is recorded about him in the Asatir on the day of his death: (33) "On the day when Enoch died, came all the children of Adam to Sifra to hear Adam lament over him." And his death happened on the fourth day (Wednesday) in Badan. And they carried him to Sifra to hear Adam lament over him: (34) and there were Adam and Seth and Enosh and Kenan and Mahalalel and Jered and Metushael (Metushalem) his sons who were dwelling in Badan. (35) And the weeping over him was very great until the report of it reached Ahidan, the son of Tubal Kain who was dwelling in Hebron; and he was the first in power and was the leader of all the children of Kain (36) who had there learned the Book of Signs from Adam.

(37) And when all had gathered together they asked of Adam that he should (tell them) where to carry him into the secret (cave of burial): and Adam carried him in it. (38) And Enoch was buried therein opposite Mount Garizim in a cave which is called Mahaneh (39) and the mount is called the Mount of Ebal, for they buried Enoch therein. And the explanation of the name of Mount 'Ebal is the Mount of Mourning. And in the Mount 'Ebal, were made many graves, (40) as Enoch had said, "This is the burial place," for it is near Mount Garizim which is the Gate of Heaven. (41) And any faithful one who is buried at a distance of 2,000 cubits round about will not be touched by the fire . . . For it is the refuge for those who flee in consequence of their guilt, and is the Rock of Salvation. And the meaning thereof is that everyone who believes in Mount Garizim and is buried near it within 2000 cubits will not be touched by the fire of burning. And both the meritorious ones, our father Adam and Enoch—upon them be peace—have testified to its truth. (42) And Metushael (Metushalem) learned seven hundred and twenty years (43) and Lamech learned six hundred and fifty three years, and Noah learned and read in the book of Adam which he was taught six hundred years.

ASATIR PITRON CHAPTER 3. [Ahidan.]

(1) And then the days of Adam grew near to die and he was subjected to the word "and thou shalt surely die." And these were the days of the life of Adam: nine hundred and thirty years, (2) and all his sons came to his place in Badan. (3) And he commanded them that they should carry him to [lyul Mth] which is the valley of Hebron. (4) For he had seen in his wisdom that it had been created that in it should be gathered the generations of the meritorious ones. It was created at the time of the creation of the Tree of Knowledge—(6) and it was built in three sections: the first, for those who came out of the Garden; the second, for those- who came out of the Ark; the third, for those who came out of the circumcision. (7) And its name was called Machpelah, (8) and Noah became king in the place of Adam after the death of Adam. (9) For seven years Noah learned in the Books of Creation i. e. the Book of Signs, and the Book of Astrology and the Book of Wars. These are the Books of Adam.

This is the book of the generation of Adam.—(10) Who is like unto Thee among the mighty, O Lord? (11) Who is like unto Thee, the God of beginning and the Judge on the day of vengeance! The Lord is one!—This expression "the book of the generation of Adam," refers to the Tolida which has been mentioned before.

(12) And after Adam was buried, Noah and all the sons of Adam returned to their places. And the people grew numerous and they grew very powerful. (13) And Arjddan, the son of Bared, the son of Tubal Kain, went and built Sion, whose name is called Gifna, which means house of Mktsh. And the explanation of the word Mktsh in the Hebrew

language is 'plague.' And he erected therein a very high stone (pillar) and he called it a place of worship like unto the place called Adrms, which was the first place of worship of Adam. For Adam had brought out with him a stone from the garden, and he made it a place to worship God, may He be exalted. And he placed the stone which he had brought out with him from the garden in the house of worship which he had made. And he called the name of that place Adrms. This is shown by the saying in the Asatir of Moses: (14) "Like the city whose name has been called Adrms, which is in the place where Adam had bowed down in worship for the first time when he was driven out of the Garden." And the explanation of Adrms is "place of weeping;" and God knows it. For Adam wept there for his going out and being separated from the garden, or its explanation may be "the place of learning or, of desire and study" where he learned in the Books of Creation. And it is said in the Asatir concerning the stone which Abidan had erected and the worship thereof, (15) "That is the rock in which they trusted," (Deut. 32:37) because they were led astray thereby. (16) And the evil grew for six hundred years, for since Afridan made the stone and the place of worship, the nations began to follow and to believe in it, and the transgressions grew and they continued the work of sin for six hundred years. And after this he said, "and they turned to that which did not exist" and its explanation is the worship of strange gods in which there is no substance; and when their sins grew, God caused the Fanuta (i. e., turned away his favour) to the last of that generation. (17) For at first God may He be exalted forebore lest they repented, but they did not repent but they multiplied the sins and the earth became full with violence. (18) At that time was born to Ahidan a son, and he called his name Asur. (19) And he built also the town, Srus, a town which is called Sion Talah; and that is Sion the Hanging. And he placed therein the stone which he had made and he delighted in dwelling therein. (20) And he sent and brought Gifna, the daughter of Na'amah from Babylon, who was accustomed to worship the idolatry of Lamech and she was a witch skilled in the art of witchcraft. And she invented the art of music. And because of this, Ahidan sent for her and brought her to his house. And he gave her unto his son as a wife, so that she should assist him in the performance of witchcraft. And after the arrival of Gifna, he made a great nigug and its explanation is, an idol (21) and it was on four statues; one of gold, and one of silver, and one of brass, and one of olive wood. (22) And he made a sun and a moon in the midst of the four to give light. And he placed in the midst of the sun a luminous cup of gold, (23) and he placed in the midst of the moon a precious stone Shoham. (24) And he said unto Gifna, "This beacon is the first which has been made in the world." (25) And Gifna appointed a host of four hundred servants and twenty eunuchs who ministered to her. It is said in connection with it intheAsatir, "Mighty, holy are the words which were on the staff of Adam," which is the staff of God. The explanation of this thing—and God knows—is that the deeds which have been revealed of these sinners, are fittingly rebuked by [the writing on] the staff of Adam. (26) And after this, Gifna made a nigug which is called Fingal through which the wind passed from all sides, whereby when the wind passed through it, it emitted a sound (27) and it continued for one hundred and ten years. And a son was born to Asur from Gifna and he called his name [Itno] (28) and to Itno a son was born and he called his name Serikah. (29) And Gifna used to call the sun and the moon which Ahidan had made, and they would go with her whithersoever she desired. (30) And when the whole world saw these deeds they rejoiced and they were anxious to bow down to them. And all bowed down and worshipped them. And the earth was filled with violence and wickedness.

ASATIR PITRON CHAPTER 4. [Noah.]

(1) And it came to pass that the lord Noah admonished and taught in the world, but no one listened to him. And he saw that all the creatures had gone astray and that dwelling in the midst of the wicked would not cause him to prosper, so he went out from Rift and he went to the mountain whose name is [Adr hgg] whereon he made the Ark for Seth had told him of the advent of the flood. (2) And Noah started looking into the secrets of the Book of Signs and he saw the obliteration (i. e. the hiding away) of the children of Adam and he found therein the direction concerning the Ark. (3) And at the time when he left Rift, God revealed a great sign in the place where he was residing. (4) And Noah was greatly frightened and Noah continued in prayers and praises one hundred years after his begetting Shem, Ham and Japhet; but daughters were not born unto him by the love [of God] for him. For the Lord knew of the advent of the flood. (5) Shem took the daughter of Seth to himself to wife] and (6) Ham took [Shkh, the daughter of Jared] (7) and Japhet took [Mkisthe, the daughter of Lamech]. And at the time when the sins of the creatures had been completed and reached the time of destruction (8) the Lord told Noah to make the ark and he made it and completed its making on the tenth day of the second month. (9) And after four days more died the last of the pious ones who was Metushelah. For the flood did not occur except after the death of all the pious ones. And Metushelah no longer lived; and from the holy Law it is shown that Lamech and Metushelah died in the same year and God knows whether Lamech died first. And after the death of Metushelah, whose death was on the fourteenth day of the second month, the earth was humid (10) and three days after were broken up all the fountains of the mighty deep and the windows of the heavens were opened. And the rain was upon the earth in the second month, on the seventeenth day of the month. On the third day (Tuesday) and that is proved from the saying of the messenger in the Asatir [on the fourth the earth was humid and was broken open; and on the thirteenth were opened the windows of heaven]. And the end of the coming down of the rain was on the day of the Sabbath on the sixth hour of the night; and that is proved by his saying [and the time of completion was the sixth hour of the night of the seventh day, the Sabbath, then the decree was completely finished.] The coming down of the rain came to an end on the sixth and the rest of the thing is clear. And I have seen some who wish to explain it differently like this. [In the seven hundred and nintieth year, it came to an end in the sixth hour of the night of Sabbath.] And this comes out from his saying seven hundred and ninety, and God knows whether this explanation is according to the truth, though it differs from our interpretation.] And now let us return where we left the remembrance of it, and let us say with the author of the Asatir—on whom be peace—that Noah's going out from the Ark was on the Sabbath. On the second and third day he (11) built an altar and he sacrificed upon it an offering to God according to his saying, and it was on the seventh [and on the first that Noah went out from the Ark and on the second he built an altar and he brought a sacrifice.] And after the completion of the flood, and of the death of all living on the face of the earth, there did not remain but Noah and those who were with him in the Ark. And Noah was frightened and he thought and said in his heart lest the flood should return a second time upon the earth; (12) and God knew what he thought and he said to his (Noah's) heart, I will not smite any more the whole of the living and he made with him the covenant of the bow (rainbow). He made him a faithful promise to the end of the generations and the making of this covenant with him was in the seventh month, and Noah dwelt in Afrilah which is on the eastern part of the town of Babel. And he taught his sons' and the first thing he taught them was the confession of the unity of God and that God is one alone and there is no second to him. This is proved from the author of the Asatir [and he taught his sons the principles of the confession of faith] (13) and after sixty two years since the flood he divided the earth among his sons. (14) [To Shem three portions and to Japhet four. And to Ham four. And Elarn and Ld and Aram and Ashur four portions, and Arpachshad one portion.] These five sons are the children of

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Shem. (15) [And he gave the Book of Signs to Arpachshad. And he gave the Book of Ngmut (astrology) to Elam. And he gave the Book of Wars to Ashur.] (16) And Shem and Arpachshad and Elam and Ashur were great and holy and the leaders over all his sons (17) [And he made unto Japhet four portions and they are Gomer and Magog, Madai and Javan Tubal and Moshek. And Tiras one portion] (18) And he made for Ham four portions and for Kush one portion and Misraim one portion and Fut one portion, altogether twenty two portions. And he separated (or, singled out) the sons of Shem by his gift to them of the Books of Creation for he was the first-born, and he left for himself two portions. At the time of his death we shall refer to them again and their division. (19) And when Noah had completed his work and the division [he found from the calculation of the Calendar that there were still 4,300 years less seven years after the flood, (20) for from the beginning of the days of Creation to the end there will be 6,000 years.] And the explanation of this is:—from Adam unto the Taheb will be 6,000 years and the seventh thousand will be the Jubilee (21) And from the day God created Adam until the flood happened were 1,307 years! (22) And from the day of the division by Noah unto his sons unto the building of Babel and their scattering by the Lord upon the face of the whole earth were 493 years; and that is proved from his saying in the Asatir (23) [from the day of Noah's division unto his sons until the day of their visitation, from generation unto generation 493 years] and Noah—on whom be peace—divided his kingdom among his sons [320 years] after the flood. (24) And on the day when Noah divided the earth among the eldest of his sons [he was] 930 years. (25) And he divided the earth unto his three sons on the tenth day of the month of Elul, (26) and he sent messengers among his children that each one should go unto his place (27) and they dispersed from him.

[And Elam and Ashur went to the north of Ur Kasdim: the town is now called by us by the name of the Gate of Gates], (29) And Gog and Magog were on the other border of the Gate of Gates. (30) [Ld and Aram went and settled in the province (or town) Kuth]. And this is a great town called The Black Pool which is called the Gezirah in Afrikia. (31) And Arpachshad dwelt in Ur Kasdim Brktrs, which is called by the name of Romeia.

And Kush begat Nimrod and when he grew up, he became king over the children of Ham, and he was a mighty man in the land. (32) He gathered them together to build Babel the Great, and they built it for him out of fear of him.

And Nimrod was the first giant who appeared upon the earth after the flood.

(33) And when the days of the life of Noah were 945 years, Nimrod appeared, and he heard of him and of his evil doings. (34) [And his son Shem was the one whom he had placed on the throne of the kingdom because he was the first born]. And the explanation of it is, his son. Shem kept his covenant, and when he grew up his father Noah appointed him to the kingdom.

(35) And in those days, Shem sent for his five sons [Elam and Ashur and Arpachshad and Ld and Aram] and he brought them to him, and they came to him and they built Nineveh, Rehbot Ir (or, the town Refrbot), Klh, Resen, which is a great town between Nineveh and Klh, and it is said about it in the holy Torah [it is a big town.]

(36) And when the days of our master Noah grew near to die, he sent and called his three sons unto him, unto Shalem the Great, and they built an altar. [And they brought upon it thank offerings] and praises and exaltations unto the living God Who never dies. (37) And when Noah had first divided the earth into 22 portions, he left for himself two portions; and at the time of his death he gave Shem one more portion and Japhet another portion, and he divided whatever he still possessed of his kingdom of the world between them. And he set Shem above Japhet for he was the first born and was his successor, and was the owner of the three-fold holiness; but to the children of Ham he did not give anything on that occasion, for he had done the thing which is mentioned in the Torah; when Noah had cursed him he had said (Gen. 9:25), "Cursed be Canaan, a slave of slaves shall he be unto his brothers." And Ham is the father of Canaan, and for this reason he did not obtain any further inheritance from his father on that occasion.

And know that from this it is proved that the infidel shall not inherit the faithful, and the faithful shall not inherit the infidel. (38) And Noah died,—on whom be peace—when he was 950 years old. And his sons carried him and they buried him in the Cave ofMachpelah in which Adam had been buried, as he had commanded them. And each one went to his place.

ASATIR PITRON CHAPTER 5. [Nimrod.]

(1) And it came to pass after the 493 years, which had been prophesied by the master Noah, that there was the gathering in the town of Babel in their moving from the East and this is the place called Matlon in the East to Babel. And they found a wide valley in the land of Shinear, and they settled there (2) and it is a valley like the valley of Sichem, and this is Elon Moreh, and next to it is a mountain like Mount Garizim. (3) And one said to his neighbour, "Let us go up this mountain and let us build unto us a high building, a town and a tower*, lest we be scattered over the face of the whole earth." (4) (* Nimrod or Nimrud is an ancient Assyrian ciy located 30 kilometres [20 mi] south of the city of Mosul. This name symbolises a biblical figure described as a king in the land of Shinar [Mesopotamia], probably Tukulti-Ninurta or his son Assur-nadin-apli. Occasionally, the "Tower of Babel" [Babylon] or a "very high building" is connected to Assur, which is not surprising as such a tower was built in every Mesopotamian city. Meant is actually a "Ziggurat", a massive temple pyramid similar to those big ones in Iran, Mexico or Cambodia. The name Nimrod symbolises also the Mesopotamian nations as they repeatedly subugated the Jewish nations.) And they went up the mountain and built upon it first a beacon where light was seen from the four corners of the earth, (5) and they called its name Sham. And this is the word they said, "Let us make ourselves a Sham." (6) And they finished the building but their desire "was not fulfilled by God. For He destroyed the building and the children of man were scattered over the face of the whole earth, (7) and not one of them knew the language of his neighbour. (8) And this was the origin of the wars. As it is said in the Book of Asatir (9) And this is the origin of the wars, which were [six] for the dying and the seventh for the living. His saying: "wars for the dead" means, the war of the dying (or, those destined for death. 'The dead' means these are the sinners, "who are empty of virtue. It is said about them, "the living, are like unto the dead." And his saying the other word, 'the seventh for life' means that through the "wars which will happen at that time, the holy family (chain) "will be oppressed and they will suffer great violence at the hands of the Nimrods (Assyrians). So, for example, Teraht, when they took him and put him in prison, his son Abraham, whom they threw into the fire, and whose wife, Sarah, they took from him twice. They also waged war against him (Abraham), the wars mentioned in the book of the holy Torah.

Know that every one of the Meritorious Ones had to suffer great troubles in his lifetime. These were trials from God to purify them from the sins of the world. Then he accepted their repentance and made them great in the world to come. Perhaps the letter ... is the initial of the word ..., remembrance, that there shall be knowledge and reputation of them. Andourmaster Markalj—may God's favour be upon him—speaking of the Meritorious Ones, said, "The dead are like unto the living." And this is his saying, "Remember unto us the covenant of the dead like that of the living." And God knows.

And another explanation of the letter ... (this is seven) is that Sabbath is the seventh (day), and that the observance of it will purify man of his sin; and perhaps the explanation be that he is recounting the wars which happened in the days of the Meritorious Ones and the troubles which happened, came upon them to purify them, just as the Sabbath purifies those who keep it. And God knows. And this explanation will agree with the opinion of the masters of knowledge. It says in the Book Asatir, [the beginning of the wars of the dying with the living,] were the beginning of the wars, because the Lehadim, Enamin, Naftofrim, Patrosim and Kaslohim gathered together with the others. (10) And they chose for themselves a leader whose name was Gitt the first born of the Lehadim, which were called by his name, Gibtai. (11) And they went from Philistia and made war first with the Canaanites and Perizites, and took the kingdom from the hand of Nimrod, and ruled from the land of Egypt unto the river of Kush (the Upper Nile near Meroe and Napata, the capitals of the Kingdom of Kush). (12) And Nimrod went and pitched his camp against Gitt, and he asked the children of Joktan to help him against the children of Misraim and his seed. (13) And the children of Joktan turned away and did not listen unto him, and went away until they reached a place for camping, of which it is said, "from Mesha until thou comest unto Sifra of the mountain of the East,) that is Timnata, whose name was called Yemen, Sifra, the mountain of the East until Timnala." (14) And Gitt died in the land of Misraim, and when Nimrod heard of the death of Gitt he rose up to fight the inhabitants of the town of Ashur, and that is the place called Almosa; and he ruled over it, (15) and when he became king over it, he rose up and made war with Nahor.

(16) And Nimrod did unto Arpachshad just as Pharaoh did unto the Hebrews. For at that time, they had seen in the Book of Signs which had been handed down to them, that there would arise a man who would smite everyone who worshipped idols, and he would destroy them, (17) And he gathered together all the wisemenfrom the children of Ham and the children of Japhet. And he asked of them, that they should tell him of the day of the birth of that man; (18) and they told him that within forty days his motherwould become pregnant with him. (19) Then the Nimrod commanded that every man of all the sons of Arpachshad, should keep himself separated from his wife for the number of forty days. (20) And they imprisoned all the men in one place and the women in another place separately. (21) And it came to pass after thirty of the above mentioned days that the Lord revealed a sign in the land of Shinear, and it was a pillar of fire which came down from heaven to earth. (22) And all the inhabitants thereof were frightened with a great fear, and they made prayers in the house of their worship unto the idols, and they went out unto a field outside the town and they remained there three days, and the name (of God)—may He be exalted—gave them work and they forgot the imprisoned ones. (23) And in that time the master Terafr went by a vision of the Lord and slept with his wife, and she conceived (24). And when Terah had slept with his wife, he returned to the prison and the sign was lifted.

And when the wizards saw that the sign had been lifted, they said: "The child hath reached thewomb ofits mother;" and they told Nimrod so. (25) And he said, "Bring out all the prisoners unto their places." And they did so, and every man went to his place as he had commanded.

(26) After this was born our master Abraham—on whom be peace—by the might of the All-powerful. And it came to pass when he grew up, that Nimrod took him and placed him under his command, and he was among those who. stood before him, to wait on him. (27) And after that, he took him and cast him into the fire, but the fire could not burn our master Abraham, for God protected him, for the sake of the master of the flesh who was to come out of his loins, and also for his great righteousness. Behold what God said unto him, "I am the Lord, who brought you out from Ur (furnace) Kasdim."

(28) When he saw that the fire had no power over him, Haran said, "He is a great wizard and his witchcraft prevents the fire from burning him." Then the fire came out and consumed Haran. See what is said about him in the Holy Law, "And Haran died before the face of his father Terah in the land of his birth, in Ur Kasdim! (Gen. 11:28.) And when Nimrod and his company saw that the fire had come forth and had consumed Haran, the fear of God came upon them, and they were frightened lest it should come out upon them and consume them also. And the Nimrod commanded that the master Abraham should come out—Praised be He—,Who performeth signs and wonders, the One Who keepeth the Covenant and the mercy to those who love Him!

ASATIR PITRON CHAPTER 6. [Abraham in Egypt.]

(1) And it came to pass seven years after this occurrence that the Nimrod died and with him was completed the number of the kings, who reigned from the children of Ham. (2) Through a Nimrod it began

and through a Nimrod it came to an end, and from the first Nimrod to the second Nimrod were 1,020 years. (3) The first Nimrod was from Kush and the second Nimrod was from the Kaftorites.

(4) And it came to pass after the death of Nimrod that Terah went out to go into the land of Canaan, which was outside the kingdom of Nimrod, for he was afraid lest other Nimrodim would appear and do unto him as had done the above mentioned Nimrod. (5) And his son Nahor dwelt with Kedar Laomer and Tidhal, King of Goyim. (6) And it came to pass when they heard of the going out of Terah, they sent men against him to prevent him from going away, and Kedar Laomer went to plunder and kept Terah prisoner in Haran. (7) And Abraham went out to meet Kedar Laomer in Ur Kasdim and to prostrate himself before him [with the request] that they should release his father, Terah, from the prison. (8) There God called him and commanded him to go out from Haran. And he came unto the land of Canaan, and Lot the son of his brother with him, and they dwelt in Elon Moreh. And now behold, O my brother, how great was the obedience of our master Abraham to his God, for he went from his land, and from his birthplace, and he forsook his father in the house of prison, for he was afraid to rebel against the command of God.

(Happy are those who are beloved of God, and woe unto them who hate God!) And from this thing it is known that Terah died and Abraham, his son, was not with him, and it is said that his son Nahor buried him. And this is proved by his saying—may He be exalted—"And Terah died in Haran "And do not consider his saying. "And Terah died in Haran," before the saying, "Get thee from thy land, from thy birthplace," because the history begins with the second section concerning Abraham, in order that it should be set down without interruption. And there are a large number of similar statements (i.e. not in chronological order) in the Torah. And therein is no contradiction according the men of knowledge and understanding.

And Abraham dwelt in Elon Moreh, being shown thither by God may He be exalted! for He said unto him; "Go unto the land which I will show thee." And the 'Showing meant that he should reach Elon Moreh, for he knew that this was the place to be sought for. And he rebuilt the altar of his forefathers Adam and Noah. (9) And after that he went up Mount Garizim to the East of Bethel. And he bowed down and prostrated himself there before God. And he worshipped and went down.

And it came to pass after these things that there was a famine in the land of Canaan, (10) and Abraham and Lot, the son of his brother, journeyed with him from Elon Moreh, and

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they went down to Egypt, (11) And when they reached the boundary of Egypt, there was a great shaking in all the houses of worship which were in Egypt. And all the dwellers of the houses of worship were frightened.

(12) And Abraham encamped in a place called Hrif. And it was in those many days that the women of Egypt went out into the field to the place Hrif. (13) And they found Sarai the wife of Abraham, and they saw that she was of a beautiful face and of a beautiful countenance. And it came to pass that when they returned from the field in the evening, they praised her before their husbands, until the word reached the minister of Pharaoh, who praised her unto him. And it came to pass when he (Pharaoh) heard the report about her, that he brought her into his house and he took her. And Abraham went with her but he could not do anything. And Pharaoh gave him many gifts and was kind to him for the sake of Sarai and Abraham went out from Pharaoh with a broken heart and a weeping eye. And he prayed unto God to save his wife Sarah from the hand of Pharaoh; and God hearkened to his prayer, (14) and God plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues. (15) And the plague was on the privy parts and Pharaoh was like a stone. (16) And he called all the wizards of Egypt and its wise men and he gathered them together and (18) there was among them a wizard and his name was Turfs, who had studied in the Book of Signs. He had learned that book in from Enoch, the son of Kain, (19) and he strengthened himself in Hanoliia and said, "There is in this place a woman, who is a faithful one, believing in God, and all these visitations one for her sake."

(20) And when our master Abraham—on whom be peace—heard what had happened to Pharaoh and to his house, he rose up and lifted up his face unto heaven and praised God, and he thanked Him and he sanctified Him for all the good He had done him, in that He had preserved unto him Sarai his wife from defilement. Then it became true and known unto them that this had come through the evil deeds which had been done by Pharaoh. (mistake in original pagination). And no man could look on Sarah and no one could see her face. On her face the light was shining strongly. This is proved by his saying, (21) "And they were freed (i. e. from the plague) and they saw that the whole palace was lit up from the appearance of the face of Sarah, and there was great fear." (22) And thereby it became known that Sarah was the wife of Abraham. And Pharaoh begged relief of him, and gave back his wife Sarah, and he went away in rejoicing and in peace, with the innocence of his wife. And he stood before God and prayed for Pharaoh and for his house. (23) This is the first prayer which our master Abraham prayed. And this is the whole of what he said in his prayer, "O Lord, the God of Heaven and the God of the earth, All Merciful, be merciful." (24) And God healed Pharaoh and his house, and then Pharaoh believed in the truth of the -faith of Abraham, since his prayer was received and his God was the God of Gods and the Lord of Lords, and He performed wonders for Abraham's sake. And he knew that his prayer before the idols had not cured him from the plague which he had, but that only the prayer of Abraham to his God had cured him. At that time he commanded the destruction of the houses wherein the idols were, and the breaking of the idols and the destruction of all the pillars, and he commanded that those who worshipped them should be killed, as there was no use for them, and whoever prostrated himself before them, became worthless in this world and a sinner at the end of days. And all this is made evident from his word in the Asatir. "And all the houses of worship were destroyed and all those things (i. e. the idols) before which people prostrated themselves fell down and could not be raised up."

(25) And the wizard Turfcs went up from there, when he saw what Pharaoh had done to the houses of worship and to the idols and to the pillars; for he could not stay in Egypt any longer. And he went up thence and he went to Hebron.

(26) And afterwards Pharaoh commanded men from among his people and he said unto them that they should go with Abraham and lead him to the place which he would choose. They were not to forsake him and anyone who would do anything to him or to his wife should surely die. And they did as Pharaoh commanded them and they came with him and with Lot, his brother's son, with their flocks and with everything which they possessed, (27) until they reached Elon Moreh, the place of the first altar. And Abraham built up the above mentioned altar, and he brought up sacrifices unto God, who had saved him from the hand of the Egyptians. And Abraham and Lot dwelt in the land of Canaan one year.

ASATIR PITRON CHAPTER 7. [Abraham and Battle of Kings.]

(2) In the month of Nisan Abraham came from Haran, and in the month of lyar he went down to Egypt, (3) and in the month of Nisan Lot separated himself from him and dwelt in Sodom one year.

(1) It came to pass in those days that Amrafel ruled in the land of Shinear. (4) In that same year in which Lot dwelt in Sodom, the above mentioned Turts went from Hebron to the land of Shinear to Amrafel and to Kedar Laomer, and he foretold to them that they would kill many people. And he told them what would happen to them in the later days. (5) And Kedar Laomer knew Abraham on whom be peace and he did not turn to listen to the saying of the wizards, (6) but he began to kill everyone who stood before him, and he slew the inhabitants and captured the town called Kadosh; (7) and they were the last of the kings over that country from the children of Ham.

And it came to pass that Amrafel, King of Shinear, Arioch, King of Elasar, Kedar Laomer, King of Elam, and Tidal, King of Goym, had imposed tribute upon Bera, King of Sodom and with Birsah, King of Gomorrah, Shinab, King of Admah, und Shemeber, King of Zeboim and the King of Bela, (the same is Zoar). And these four kings used to send tribute and gifts to Amrafel and unto the kings who were with him, for twelve years, and in the thirteenth year, they left off and did not send anything, and in the fourteenth year came Kedar Laomer and those who were with him, to wage war against them. And there was war between them (8) and they took Lot captive and all his possessions, he who was the son of the brother of Abraham. And Lot sent and told his uncle Abraham what had happened to him. (9) And Aniram and Eshkol and Mamre were the confederates of Abraham, (10) and he told them what had happened to Lot, his brother's son, and he asked them to go with him to Sodom and they complied with his request and they, the above mentioned, went to war with him; (n) andwhen Kedar Laomer reached the kings of the Amorites, he waged war with them and defeated them ,and he carried them off captive, and with them he also took Nahor, the brother of Abraham. (12) Then he, (Nahor) sent messengers to tell his brother Abraham what had happened to him. (14) It was then the eve of the incoming Sabbath. So he, (Abraham) and the men who were with him, slept the Sabbath night in Dumh which is Tbris, (15) and at the going out of the Sabbath after the setting of the sun on the night of the first day (Sunday), Abraham went out to the palmgrove ; and on the second (Monda) he reached them before the setting of the sun. And he found them encamped in the valley of Hobah (16) and this happened on the twenty second day of the month of Elul, and on the first of the month (new moon) in the valley of Hobah which is on the left side of Damascus; and the proof of it is the statement that the time when Abraham reached them was after the setting of the sun and "he smote them in the night," and he returned all the spoil and he returned also Lot his brother, and his goods, which is found in Gen. 14:15, where it says, "he divided against them by night, he and his servants, and he smote them, and he pursued them until after Hobah, which is the left side of Damascus." (17) And on the fifth of the lunar month he went up to Shalem the Great, and there came out to honour him, for they were frightened of him, the King of Sodom and King Nahor, and they came before him to Shalem the Great. And King Nahor had made a league with them, (18) and when they saw the might of Abraham—on whom be peace—then they bent the knee and prostrated themselves before him, and they praised the high God. And someone among them, told what God had done to Pharaoh for the sake of Sarah and that they had seen him (Abraham) pray to the one and only God, and that he had pursued the mightiest of kings with three hundred men. And then they recognised the truth that there was no man who could have power over him and that his God was greater than all the others. So they went forth to meet and greet him, (19) and the first who started was Melchizedek, the king of Shalem; and he brought out unto him bread and wine and he blessed him for all which he had done to them and for all his mercies and lovingkindness, for he had returned unto him all the captivity and vanquished his enemies and he gavehim a tithe of everything. And Abraham refused to take anything from him (20) and said unto him, "Give me the souls and take the goods to thyself." (21) And Abraham said unto the king of Sodom, "I consider all the goods of Sodom like ban, and for that reason I cannot take anything from a thread to a shoelatchet. Save only those who have gone with me, Aneram, Eshkol and Mamre, let them take their portion."

(22) And it came to pass in the month of Nisan that the angel of the Lord appeared unto Abraham and told him four things, and that was in the dream of the night. The first thing which he told him was, "I am thy shield and thy reward is exceeding great." (23) The second message was when he took him outside and said to him, "Behold! Look now toward heaven, and tell the stars, if thou be able to tell them." And he said unto him, "So shall thy seed be." The third was that He counted it to him for righteousness, and He told him that he was one of those who will in future inhabit the Garden Eden. And the fourth was, (Gen. 15:7) "And he said unto him, I am the Lord that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees, to give thee this land to inherit it." And all this great honour was given to our master Abraham because of the strength and greatness of his faith and because of the excellence of his merit and because of his obedience to the command of the Lord, exalted be He!

The first elements offaith are fear, merit and repentance; and it says in the book Asatir, (24) "The first principles of faith are fear merit and repentance." (25) And all this happened to our father Abraham in one year in twenty-two days. (26) And when the Lord spake unto him these words, he was ninety and nine years old, before the circumcision.

And in that year He commanded him to circumcise himself and made with him a covenant of circumcision and said unto him, (Gen. 17:14.) "And the uncircumcised male who is not circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin on the eighth day, that soul shall be cut off." (27) And the making of the covenant took place on the Sabbath; and on the fifth day of that week came to him the three men. One of them gave him the message about Isaac and said unto him, (Gen. 18:10.) "And he said, I will certainly return unto thee when the season cometh round; and lo, Sarah, thy wife, shall have a son. And thou shalt call his name Isaac." And the two men who were with him, were for the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, and after the one who had delivered the message to our master Abraham about Isaac had gone away, the two men who remained went to the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, and slept in the house of Lot. (28) And on that day Sodom and Gomorrah were burned and the Lord brought down from Heaven upon them brimstone and fire. And the Lord overthrew these cities and all the plain and the inhabitants of the cities, and Lot was saved and his wife and two daughters.

(29) And it came to pass after the lapse of one year that our master Isaac was born on the Sabbath. And in all probability he was born in the seventh month on the Sabbath. This is proved from the statement in the Asatir, "Listen to the commandments concerning the day of Sabbath, for the announcement of the men they heard on the fifth day, (onThursday) onthe sixth day (Friday) Sodomwas burned, and on the seventh day (Sabbath) Isaac was born."

ASATIR PITRON CHAPTER 8 [Birth of Moses.]

(1) And it came to pass after the death of our master Abraham—on whom be peace—that Ishmael reigned as king for twenty seven years. (2) And all the children of Ishmael, who are of the seed of his first born, Nebut, ruled one year in IshmaeFs lifetime (3) and for thirty years after his death; (and they ruled) from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates. And they built Bakh; (4) and therefore it is said in Genesis 25:18, "As thou goest toward Assyria: he abode in the presence of all his brethren."

(5) And it came to pass in those days that Elifaz came and waged war against the children of Ishmael; and when Elifaz came and waged war with the children of Ishmael, they brought forth the documents (6) and they saw in them the division into which Noah had divided the land, and they found that Esau and Ishmael were placed together, and that the sons of Mafralat joined the children of Ishmael (7) That is the word which is said, "And he (Ishmael) shall be an associate of Edom" (Gen. 16:16.) and "Esau is Edom." And the children of Adah and Aholibamah of Esau, who were from the Canaanites, (8) went and ruled over them with uplifted hands, and Bela, the son of Joktan and Jobab of the sons of Ketura gathered themselves together and went out of the way of Abraham, they and all the children of Ishmael and Esau.

And it came to pass after these words that Abraham heard that the sons of Ashur and Joktan had grown very mighty; then he was sorely frightened at the wickedness of their deeds before the Lord, and he feared lest out of the wickedness some trouble might arise to him. And this is proved from his saying in the Asatir. (9) "After these words Abraham heard that the children of Ashur and Joktan had grown very mighty and he feared a great fear." And he (the author of the Asatir) refers to this after his mentioning Elifaz, the son of Esau, and after he had mentioned Mahalat and the children of Adah and Aholibamah; and we see that he mentions it after the death of Abraham, saying, "And these are the children of Mahalat, Adah and Aholibamah." And know that Abraham is mentioned again when he refers to the kings of Moab where he first mentioned the two, Bela and Jobab, "and then Abraham heard it." This proves thereby that these had been born during the lifetime of Abraham—on whom be peace—and as the children of Ashur were the sons of Shem and those of Joktan. the sons of Eber, they were thus the descendants of Shem and Eber, but that they had strayed from the way of life and therefore he was seized with fear. And about Jobab, it says in the book Asatir, that he came of the sons of Keturah, but God alone knows whether that tradition is correct, for it is difficult to prove seeing that Jobab was the son of Joktan, the son of Eber, the son of Shelah. And this is seen from Genesis 10:20 ff. and whoever looks there will be able to ascertain the truth ofthis statement. Butthe Lord alone knows. And Husham was (10) from Moab and Shamlah from 'Elam and Shaul from the sons of Nahor, Baal (11) Hanan from 'Elam, Hadad from the children of Elifaz, who lived in Beth Pau, and the name of his wife was Mitabel, daughter of Matred from Jefet Kittin. These are the genealogies of the kings who reigned in the land of Edom before a king was appointed over the children of Israel.

(12) When Jacob our master was eighty years old he went down to Haran, (13) and when our master Joseph—on whom be peace—was seventeen years and eight months he went down to Egypt. (14) The Pharaoh who was in the time of our

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master Joseph was of the seed of Ishmael, and the Pharaoh who was in the time of our master Moses was of the seed of Jefet Kittin. In his days Moses was born; and it is said about him in the Asatir. "And the slave Rodanim became Pharaoh." (15)

And these are the generations of Pharaoh, the son of Gutis, the son of Atiss, the son Rbtt, the son of Gutsis, the son of Rims, the son of Kittin, the son of Javan, (16) who had learned in the Book of Signs in the town of Babel the Great. And he came out of Sion and he wandered to Nineveh. (17) And when our master Joseph—on whom be peace—was thirty years old, he became king over the land of Egypt. And he was second Pharaoh, besides the first mentioned above, and he had gone to Nineveh (18) and had stayed there three years and one month; and after that he went to Damascus and to Kruzh, that is the town of Kush. And he stayed there sixty three years. (19)

And Joseph died and all his brothers and all the men of his generation and the kingdom of Ishmael was changed; as it is said in the Book Asatir, (20) "And the kingdom of Ishmael was changed and Amalek became powerful and he ruled over the land of Egypt." (21) And when the second Pharaoh who was in Nineveh, heard of the death of the king of Egypt and that Amalek had gained possession of it, he came down with evil [intent] and ruled over it one year. And he stayed and held Egypt by force and there was tribulation in its midst, (22) and the destruction lasted three years. And the king of Egypt died, (23) and there came another king in the land of Egypt and his name was Pharaoh III. And he gathered a large force of Ktpai and he reigned sixty years. And thus the number of kings who ruled over Egypt in the time from Joseph to Moses, [until the one] who was drowned in the Sea of Reeds was four. For from the time when our master Joseph died unto the day when Moses the messenger was born sixty three years had elapsed. This is the absolute truth and there is no difference of opinion about it. On the day when our Master returned from Midian to the land of Egypt, he was eighty years old, so the sum total of these years is one hundred and forty three. The Pharaoh in whose time our Master Moses was born, is the one who ruled for sixty years, and of him it is said, "and he died."

And the children of Israel multiplied and became very powerful. The women used at that time to give birth to two or three children at once: and God knows. And Pharaoh commanded all his people, saying. "All the male children ye shall throw into the river." And the men and women were frightened of him, for the people of Pharaoh used to throw all the male children that were born into the river. And the woman whose child was thrown into the river killed herself after it. And the children of Israel kept to their faith and not one of their sons was thrown into the water, for the women of Israel used to pray to Him who knows the feelings of the heart. When they knew that the time had come when they should give birth to children, they used to go out into the field and give birth there, and then they asked those who stood by as witnesses, to which sex the child belonged, and when it happened to be a male, they left it in the field in the charge of the Creator. And the Lord, may He be exalted, made them suck honey and milk from the flint of the rock according to His statement in His mighty writ, "And he suckled him with honey from the rock and fatness from the flinty rock." (Deut. 32.13.) When it was a girl, the mother brought it home. And the command, therefore, to throw the male children into the river became a source of destruction to his own people, the Egyptians.

[For the continuation of this chapter see 12, 5.]

ASATIR PITRON CHAPTER 9. [Moses.]

Blessed by He, who does what He wills and grants salvation! (1) And by the power of the Righteous Judge, there was born the mighty prophet—may he be remembered for good for ever—our Master Moses, upon whom be peace. And his birth was in the month of Nisan, on the fifteenth day thereof, on the Sabbath. And his mother hid him for three months, 71 days, for it is said in the Asatir, (2) that on the fifteenth day of Sivan, he was thrown into the river. And when they threw the Prince of Creatures, Moses, into the river, the water stopped still by the power of God my He be exalted and its flow abated beyond measure, and the waters began to diminish. (3) And the women of Egypt came out to see the diminution of the river of Egypt, for that was at the time when the river used to swell. (4) And among the women who went down to see the river, was the daughter of Pharaoh (who well might have been the real mother of [the probably illigitimite child] Mose, otherwise the story makes no logical sense. A daughter of the King would hardly have been inclined to rescue a child and take it as her own, unless it was her own which she tried to legitimise in this manner.). And with every day that passed the waters grew less, according to the statement in the Asatir, (5) "And every day that passed, the waters grew less." And the child was in that ark which was daubed over with slime and pitch, floating by the border ofthe river; and when the waters ofthe river stopped from flowing below the normal, (6) then all the wizards and magicians gathered themselves together and took counsel together; and they searched and they examined and they discussed and disputed, and sought with their sorcery for the reason of the stopping of the waters of the river. (7) And among them was a magician whose name was Plti, and he looked into and searched and he consulted the Book of Signs, for he was the chief of them. And he became dumbfounded and lifted up his head and said, "The child of which we said before, that his death would be through water, his ark is now in the Sea of Reeds." He did not say in the sea of the river, he only said, "the child is there, and the ark is now among the reeds." And that was through a vision from God may He be exalted for the sea is greater than the river, and when Plti said, "he is among the reeds," they said, "No doubt the child has died." And for this reason, they did not search for it. They neither went nor looked for the ark in which he was. And that was a great miracle may the Lord be praised, the All-Powerful, the High One, who does what He wills and brings deliverance! (8) And when the daughter of Pharaoh saw the ark in the midst of the sea, (9) she sent her maid who brought her the ark. And then she opened it and saw in it a beautiful, holy child, and the sore disease which was on her disappeared and she was filled with desire for its holy soul; and the child was crying inside the ark. And the daughter of Pharaoh took pity on it, (10) and she conceived for it an exceeding great love. And she said, "This is one of the children of the Hebrews." And she commanded her servants that no one was to speak to anyone about the child, and all her maids and servants who stood about and saw the child with her, swore it unto her.

(11) And the Mistress Miriam (which is an Egyptian name for Meritamun" the "beloved of Amun".), the sister of our Master Moses stood afar off to see what would happen to it at the hand of the stranger. And when she saw that the daughter of Pharaoh had taken it and loved it and had pity on it, she went quickly and stood before her and said, "Shall I go and call for thee a Jewish woman to suckle the child?" (12) And the daughter of Pharaoh said unto her, "Go!" And the young woman went and called the mother (or rather a wetnurse) of the child.

(13) And the daughter of Pharaoh said unto her, "Take this child and suckle it for me and I will give thee thy wages." And the woman took the child and suckled it. And the child grew up and was weaned, and she brought it to the daughter of Pharaoh, who paid her her wages, as it is seen in the Holy Law in the second book (Exod. 2:9). And after he was brought to the daughter of Pharaoh, she called his name Moses (she named him Mose, Egyptian for "son", a name that reveals his real identity), and she said, "He has been saved and drawn out of the water and the fire." As we have mentioned before, he was born on the fifteenth day of Nisan, on the Sabbath. And on the Sabbath, the fifteenth day of Sivan, he was thrown into the water, and he was taken out of the water also on the same Sabbath in the fifth hour.

(14) And Moses grew up in the house of the enemy, in strength honour and might, until he grew to manhood. And he was with the governors who were appointed overseers over the children of Israel, and he went out in those days and looked on their burden, (15) And he saw an Egyptian smiting a Hebrew of his kinsmen. And he looked this way and that way, and when he saw that there was. no man, he smote the Egyptian and hid him in the sand, (16) And behold, on the second day, two men of the Hebrews strove together, and he said to him that did wrong, "Wherefore smitest thou thy fellow?" And the wicked man said, "Who made thee a prince and a judge over us? Thinkest thou to kill me as thou killedst the Egyptian yesterday?" And Moses feared and said, "Surely the thing is known," for the deed had evidently become known. And when Pharaoh heard of this thing, he sought to slay Moses, (17) But Moses fled from the face of Pharaoh and dwelt in the land of Midian. And he remained there sixty full years. And he was a shepherd to Jethro, his father-in-law. (18) And then there was great oppression against the children of Israel and great tribulation during the absence of the messenger in the land of Midian. And Guts (19) the king of Egypt died, and he was the one who was called Pharaoh. And before another king was appointed in Egypt, the children of Israel despaired of the time [of deliverance] (?) and they gathered themselves together.

And the children of Israel sighed by reason of their bondage and they cried and the cry came to God by reason of the bondage. And God heard their groaning, and God remembered His covenant with Abraham with Isaac and with Jacob. And God saw the children of Israel, and God took knowledge of them. "And God saw" means, He saw the oppression in which they were, on account of the Egyptians; and "God took knowledge of them" means, "I will requite the Egyptians for all that they have done." For the Lord knew the secret meaning of the revelation which He had made to our master Abraham, for its fulfilment had now drawn nigh. And that is what is said in Gen. 15:13, "and they will cause them to serve them and they will afflict them."

And it came to pass after these things that a new king arose in Egypt and his name was Pharaoh from the Kittim, and he was Atirt. And this is the third king who ruled over Egypt from the Pharaoh who had ruled in the time of Joseph.

(21) And it came to pass on the fifteenth day of the third lunar month, on the fourth day, that there came our Master Moses the Messenger—upon whom be peace— (20) with the sheep of his father-in-law, Jethro quite unexpectedly to the mountain of God, Horeb. And on the fifteenth, on the selfsame day the Lord fulfilled his covenant with the Meritorious Ones, (22) and the staff of Adam and his clothes, namely the clothes of light, that were upon Adam when he was in the Garden, were given to Moses on that day. (23) And the proof of it is the word which he spake before anything else where he said, "and this shall be a token unto thee; this has been given as a sign that I have sent thee." (24) And the Lord appeared unto Moses on the third day of the month which was a Wednesday, (25) and on the first day (Sunday), Moses went down to Egypt. And the Lord said unto Aaron, "Go into the wilderness to meet Moses." (26) And he went and met him at the mountain of God, and kissed him. And both went up to Egypt and performed the wonders in the sight of the children of Israel. And the people believed. (27) On the third day, they went up and stood before Pharaoh and told him all the words of God; (28) on the fifth day was the miracle of the blood. (29) In nine months, all the great and wonderful miracles were enacted in Egypt. (30) In the sixth hour of the night of the fifth day the children of Israel went out of Egypt with uplifted arm. (31) On the night of the first day they passed the dry land through the midst of the sea; according to the words of the Asatir, the Feast of the Pesach was the night of the fifth, for God has said in the Holy Law, "on the morrow after the Passover the children of Israel went out with an high hand in the sight of all the Egyptians." And the sacrifice of the Pesach was from the evening until the break of the first dawn. And the festival is from the break of the first dawn to the setting of the sun, although our master Markah, in his exalted poem, said that the feast in Egypt was on the second day, (Monday) for he said, "Thus have they made the Passover; then they journeyed to Rameses, and they travelled three days until they came. to the Sea of Reeds; and in the night of the second day of the festival, when it was morning, they came to the sea." But according to the true tradition, their entry into the Sea of Reeds was on the night of the first day, (Sunday). For we have the remembrance of it unto this very day, as we call it, "The night of Sunday," but according to the statement of our master Markab, the first day of the festival would be on the Monday and the last day on the Sunday. But God knows. But I believe that the statement of our master Markafr is a true one, and may the Lord forgive every sin and trespass! (32) And on the third day, they came to Elim and the bitter waters were made sweet unto them. And the Lord showed them a bitter tree and they put twigs into the water so that it became sweet, and this is a well known and wonderful tree which even to this day, if put into bitter water, turns it sweet, (33) And on the sixth day (Friday), which is the fifth day after the morning of the second festival, Amalek came upon them and he fought them, and they weakened him and they wiped out his name from under the heavens. And the children of Israel were victorious over him by the help of God may He be exalted! (34) And on the third day of the third month on the fourth day (Wednesday), the Lord called from Mount Sinai.

(35) There are three memorable mornings of the world and they have no equals. (36) The first is the morning of the first day of the creation of the world. (37) The second is the morning of the fourth day (Wednesday) on which was the standing (Maamad) before Mount Sinai. And the third is the morning of the day of requital. And know there is a proof for my explanation of these three mornings, for on these three mornings there was neither the sun nor the moon nor the stars, as for of all of them that of the fourth day is proved by the Holy Law in His word in Deut. 4:12. "And the Lord spake unto you out of the midst of fire: ye heard the voice of words, but ye saw no form, only a voice." The meaning of which is, "ye saw none of the heavenly forms." The third morning is the Day of Judgement; on it there will be neither sun, nor moon nor stars, for they are required only for the necessities of the world, but on the Day of Judgement there is no necessity for them. And it is also said about it in the book Asatir, that latter day will be on the sixth day that is proved by his statement, "the morning of the Creation on the first, the morning of Mount Sinai on the fourth (Wednesday), the morning of the Day of Judgement on the sixth."

On the first day of the first month of the second year of their going out of Egypt was the tabernacle established. In the third month they journeyed forth from Mount Sinai. (39) On the fourth died the master Aaron. (40) On the seventh month was the war between the children of

Israel and the King of Arad, and he captured captivity from them. And they, the children of Israel, returned a second time and waged war with him, and they banned him and everything that belonged to him.

ASATIR PITRON CHAPTER 10. [Bileam.]

(1) And in that time there was a wizard whose name was M'artis, and his dwelling place was in the town 'Arad. And when he heard of the children of Israel coming to the town, he fled from there to Midian. And there was Pe'or who was asked

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by the children of Moab to call Bileam, the son of Beor, the son of Gditis, the son of Path, the son of Amingf, the son of Laban, (2) the owner of the Terafim, who was from the town of S'ar.; for he had these Terafim from Ksht, the king of Moab, from Kain the murderer: and God knows '.(3) And Balak the king of Moab sent messengers to Bileam, to Petor, which is on the river of the land of the of the children ofAmmon, to summon him with these words, "Come and curse for me the people of Israel." (4) And this happened in the sixth month. (5) And Bileam understood and knew the Book of Signs (6) and he worshipped these seven angels viz: the god of fire, the god of the firmament, the god of water, the god of the heavenly luminaries, the god of holiness, the god of the winds and the god of the corners of the heaven. (7) And he used to call them by the following names, and such are their names. 1 Him, Hml, 2, Hhml Haml, 3, H'amal Hmnal, 4, Hsprh Hsmim, 5, Hlk Lil Hlk Lb, 6, Hlin Hntr, 7, Hlpgr.

(8) These are the seven angels whom Bileam served and worshipped. And when Bileam consented to go with the princes of Balak and he rode on his ass, he boasted and said, "Behold, this ass will go which ever way I wish it without anyone showing.it the way." And when he said these words, an angel of the Lord (the holy god) stood in the road with a sword drawn in his hand, and the ass strayed from the way and went into a field, and Bileam smote the ass to turn it back on to the road; and then the ass lay down under Bileam and the wrath of Bileam was kindled, and he smote the ass with his rod. And the Lord opened the mouth of the ass and the Lord opened the eyes of Bileam, and he saw the angel of the Lord standing in the way, and he bowed himself down and he prostrated himself. And the angel said, "Beware that thou dost not turn aside from the word which I will speak unto thee." And Bileam went with the princes of Balak. The angel who commanded him to build the first seven altars [was Hanhl.] Three times he built the altars, and afterwards he told us the origin of Bileam, that he was from Aram Naharaim, which is the town of Nahor, and is proved by Holy Writ that this was the town of Nahor, (Gen. 24:10) where it is said, "Aram Naharaim (Syria) which is the city of Nahor." And in the Asatir it is said that his genealogy (chain) was from Aram. (10) When he stood before the altars, the first angel came and told him what he was to say, (n) and then came the god of fire; and then Bileam refused to curse the people and said, "I will not curse for the Lord has not cursed them. And I will not execrate whom God hath not execrated!" (Numb. 23:8.) And he blessed them. (12) And afterwards there came to him the god of the firmament, who changed his vision so that he saw Israel in Paradise. When he saw these sights, he said, (Numb. 23:10.) "Let me die the death of the righteous and let my last end be like it." And when Balak the son of Sippor heard his words, he said, "What hast thou done with me? I took thee to curse mine enemies, and behold, thou hast blessed them altogether." (Numb. 23:11.) And he answered and said unto him, "Whatsoever the Lord putteth into my mouth, I must take heed to speak." And Balak said, "Come with me to another place; perchance it might be found right in the eyes of the Lord, and curse them for me thence." (13) And it came to pass when he stood at the altars, there came unto him the god of water who said unto him, "Thou art not able to see but hear." The explanation of it is, "Thou art not able to see but only to hear what is said unto thee," that "the Lord God is not a man that he should lie, neither the son of man that he should repent. He hath said and shall He not do it?" (Numb. 23:19.) "Know that I amgivingtothe Children of Israel the blessing and the Garden of Eden and I will not withold my gift from them." (15) Then there came to him the god of the corners of the heaven and said unto him, "Surely there is no enchantment with Jacob." (Numb. 23:23.) "Glory ect." And the explanation of it is this: This people doth not listen to enchantment, nor doth it rely upon it, and it is glorified by the angels and the light, which is resting upon it." (17) And afterwards there came to him the god of holiness, who said unto him, "The Lord his God is with him, and the shout of a king is among them." (Numb. 23:21.) And the explanation of it is, that the Lord helps him, and his great angel Kbla waits in his midst. And then Bileam stood up for a third time and blessed Israel, and he did not according to the wish of Balak, but said unto him, "Come, I will advise

thee what this people will do to thy people in the latter days." (Numb. 24:14.) And before he said anything to them, there came to him the god of the luminaries and said to him, "I see him but not now, I behold him but not nigh: a star rises from Jacob and the destruction of thy people shall be through his hand." (16) And then there came the god of the winds, who said unto him, "And Israel doeth valiantly." (Numb. 24:18.) And the explanation is that "this will happen at the end of days when Israel shall grow mightier than all the nations of the world." And afterwards he said unto him, "Harken unto this and take heed of it. A star will arise, i.e., a man, who will smite all the corners of Moab." And that is his saying, "And a sceptre shall rise out of Israel and smite through the corners of Moab." (Numb. 24:17.) And here Bileam refers to the time of God's Favour and the Taheb. This is not mentioned in the Asatir, for it is mentioned in the Holy Law.

(18) And when Bileam heard all these words from the angels, then he thought an evil thought and he said in his heart, "The God of Israel hates defilement." And he said to Balak, "If thy desire is to destroy the people of God, you can do it quickly by fornication," and he told him what he was to do. And Bileam returned empty to his place. And after Bileam had left, then Balak and his company did what Bileam had told them, and they gathered from their daughters 120,000, and clothed them in beautiful robes and sent them to the borders of the camp of the Israelites. (19) And they reached that place in the third hour of the Sabbath Day, for the people of Moab said, that the fornication with their daughters would be better if it took place on the Sabbath that their sin should grow great, for the sin would grow greater having been committed on the Sabbath (20) And the covenant with Pinehas was made on that day, with him and his seed after him. Happy are those who love God, but woe unto them that hate Him! And it was at the third hour ofthe Sabbath, (21) that the elders of the children of Israel gathered themselves together at the gate of the tent of the covenant in the south corner; (22) and the flag of the camp of Reuben was also on the south side. And the holy priests stood there on the east side and the tribe of Simeon was with the flag of Reuben. Reuben was on its left and the tribe of Gad on its right hand. And the tribe of Gad knew all the hymns of praise, and it is the first who established hymns of praise. And that is made manifest from his statement in the Asatir, (25) "and with the harp and the cither, and timbals and drum and musical instruments." (27) And when the daughters of fornication came the daughter of Sur was in their midst: she travelled in a chariot, of wood [driven] by the wind from all sides, and she travelled in it whither soever she wished. (28) At that time there came a voice from the clouds saying, "Slay ye every one his men that have joined themselves unto Baal-peor." (Numb. 25:5.) (29) And the judges of the children of Israel had come together for the Sabbath midday prayer, and after the end of the prayer the judges rose up quickly and did not do as Moses had commanded them; and those who took first the daugthers of fornication were of the tribe of Simeon, and his word, "behold the judges" means those who were the first to take from the daughters of fornication were judges. (30) And after them the foolish youths took [the women] "and there went into the pavilion Zimri and Cozbi, (Numb. 25:8.) and this their abomination became revealed before the whole people. (31) And the cloud removed and a plague came instead; (32) and then there arose a zealous man, the well-known master, the high priest Pinehas, from the midst of the community. And he took a spear in his hand (33) and performed the two miracles: one with the living and one with the dead. The cloud of plague brought plague (34) and Pinehas brought the cloud of mercy, which carried away the plague which oppressed all the sinners. And the miracle for the living was that Pinebas, by his zeal, saved allt he pure ones. And he did good unto them by the deed which he performed. (35) And the miracle concerning the dead was that when he had the spear in his hand, not one drop of the blood of the harlots fell on him, for a burning fire came down from heaven and stood between the blood and the hand of Pinedas, and all the blood came down on it and burned it away. And the Lord—may He be exalted—rewarded him for his zeal by the seven gifts especially granted to him and to his seed after him: the sacrifices, the spices of incense, the new offerings and the sin offering, burnt offering, peace offering, and the oil of ointment. And He completed them by an eighth, namely, the high priesthood. And He made the covenant of peace with him according to his statement in Holy Writ, "Behold, I give unto him my covenant of peace: and it shall be unto him and to his seed after him the covenant of an everlasting priesthood." (Numb. 25:12 and 13.) And it is said in the Book Asatir, (36) "Those who keep the faith have been guided in the establishment of all the prayers by the numbers seven and eight." The explanation of it is that all the Jewish laws are connected with seven: seven days, seven purities; the Ancients have also said that every seventh thing is holy. But also the eighth is connected with the Law: as, the eight days of circumcision; but if we were to enumerate here all the sevens, then the number would be too long, while we are anxious to write as briefly as possible, and not to expand it. And God knows.

(37) And know that on the new -moon of the eighth month was the coming of the daughters of the harlots into the camp of Israel, and in the tenth month the Lord said unto Moses: "Avenge the vengeance of the children of Israel on the Midianites, and afterwards thou shalt be gathered unto thy people." (38) And the messenger of God may the peace of the Lord be upon him selected 12,000 men of war; (39) and when they went up to the war, the Lord said unto Moses that he should go with them and do to them as he had done in the war against Amalek, and he should stand on the top of the mountain with the rod of the Lord in his hand. And he fell on his face and prayed and he called the children of Israel. (40) And it came to pass when they went to Midian, our Master Moses the Messenger—upon whom be peace—gave the trumpets unto Pinedas, and he commanded him to go before the army and (41) "they made war against the Midianites as the Lord had commanded Moses." But before they reached them on the fourth day, there came spies who told the Midianites that the children of Israel were coming.to wage war against them. And they sent men to Bileam and said unto him: (42) "O thou who art the head of the sorcerers, arise against this community which does not believe in thee and does not hearken unto thee. In a short while some people [of the tribe of Dan] came from the side of Edom." (43) And that is the word which our master Jacob upon whom be peace had said, "Dan shall be a serpent in the way, an adder in the path." (Gen. 49:17.) (44) And Bileam hastened to come to Midian, and he came to the city of Sur, south of Midian. And he lifted his eyes towards the East and he saw the tribe of Gad facing them all, and this is the word which is said, "As for Gad, a troop shall press him." (Gen. 49:19.) And the interpretation of it is that the tribe of Gad shall always be in the front of the war. (45) And as the angel had furthermore said to Bileam son of Beor, "A star has arisen from Jacob and a rod from Israel." This star was our master Pinebas, "and the rod which has arisen from Israel was our master Joshua, the successor of the Messenger of God. (46) And all were shouting, "The Lord is our God, the Lord is One, separate, always segregated, with Him is no other God like Him, nor has He substance nor any form."

(47) And when Bileam saw these great sights and the torches of the angels round them and the holy Kbla round about them, then Bileam was frightened and he fled before them seeking safety and peace. And the Lord—may He be exalted—gave him neither safety nor peace. And Zered, the son of Kmual, the son of the brother of Kaleb, who was of the tribe of Judah, caught him and brought him before Pinerias, the son of Elazar, the high priest, and before Joshua, the son of Nun. And he talked to them, but they did not understand what he was saying

(48) and Rdit, the son of Suriel, the son of Salu, of the tribe of Simeon, rose up and killed him, for he had caused the abomination to be practised in Israel, and this had happened among the tribe of Simeon. And the number of the tribe of Simeon was in the beginning 59,300 and after Zimri and the daughters of fornication had performed that deed and brought the wrath of the Lord upon them, then he reduced their number to 22,200, for those of this tribe who had died of the plague on the first and second occasions were 37,100, although the evil deed of this tribe had only been made manifest on the latter occasion. Behold, O my brother, search and investigate and ask, and open thine eyes, and see that the plague of Korah and all his company came, when they spoke against Moses and Aaron—may the peace of the Lord be upon them. Then the plague came swiftly upon the people, and those who died by it were 24,700 (14,700) according to his saying in the Holy Law, "And those who died of the plague were 14,700." Since he says that in the later plague 24,700 died, that means that those who died in these two plagues together were 38,700, and the tribe of Simeon was reduced by 37,100. And then the above mentioned Zered smote him (Bileam) in the presence of Pinedas and Joshua, (49) and Joshua was frightened at him, and shouted at him to bring him (Bileam) near to smite Bileam before him and before Pinefcas, the priest. The chief ofthose who died in the war was Bileam, and this is made manifest from what is stated in the Asatir, "the heart of the avenger of the blood grew hot at the sight of him (Bileam.)"

(50) On the fourth day (Wednesday) they returned from the war, and on the fifth the overseers over the thousands of the army brought the spoil from those who had gone out to the war, from everyone, whatever he had found, gold, bangles, chains, bracelets, signet rings, earrings and armlets. They placed it in the tent of the covenant as a memorial of that war in which 12,000 men smote five kings with their camp and their host and destroyed them and spoiled them and took them captive, while of themselves not one man was missing. And this is made manifest from his word in the Holy Law, "and there lacketh not one man of us." (Numb. 31:49.)

(51) And after all these words, there came forth a voice from the Lord, saying, "No Ammonite or Moabite shall come into the congregation of the Lord." (Deut. 23:3.) (52) And furthermore the Lord said, "Now, therefore, kill every male among the little ones, and kill every woman that hath known man by lying with him. But all the women children, that have not known man by lying with him, keep alive for yourselves."(Numb. 31:I7 and 18.) And they did as the Lord commanded them. And the word which says "they who did not lie with man," means the virgins who had not been married. "Smite all the males" refers to the young boyswhomtheyhad brought captivewith them: and those who were suckling were to be killed with their mothers, for anyone who has reached the age of manhood he is no longer a child and he is counted among the men of war. And God knows.

ASATIR PITRON CHAPTER 11. [Death of Moses and Prophecy.]

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(i) And after this war, the Lord said unto Moses may the peace of the Lord be upon him "Take thee Joshua, the son of Nun, a man in whom is the spirit, and lay thine hand upon him; and set him before Elazar the priest and before all the congregation." (Numb. 26:18 and 19.)

And this happened in the fortieth year of the going out of the children of Israel from Egypt in the eleventh month. And Moses did as the Lord commanded him with great joy and pleasure, as is evidenced from what is stated in the Asatir, (2) "thus did Moses with great rejoicing and pleasure, as if he were of his sons. May they never be lacking in happiness and faith." And the explanation of it is this, that none of the sons of our Master Moses,—upon whom be peace—was with him on the day of his death, for he, at the time of his death, remembered them and prayed for grace for them, and sent them "greetings of peace everlasting," for there is be no other peace besides his may the peace of God be upon him. And our master Markah upon whom be the favour of the Lord—said in his well—known writing that Moses, at the time of his departure called the congregation of Israel and said, "Oh Gershom and Eleazar, ye are the two sons, upon whom I command the peace." And the meaning of this "peace" has been, that they shall never be in any trouble. Their father, the Master of the flesh, and the Lord—may He be exalted—shall befriend them through the prayer of their father. And their father testified about them in the Book Asatir wherein he says, "May they never be lacking in happiness and faith."

(3) And afterwards there came the priests and elders of the children of Israel, and he commanded them to keep the Law of the Lord, which he had brought down with his hand. And he told them that, except for the Law, the world could not exist; and behold, there is proof for my word that our Master Moses the Messenger (the title "Prophet" literally means "spokesperson") —upon whom be the peace—took the Law from the hand of Glory, for no man could speak about that Book, no man could describe its true form, whether it be of skin or light, nor of its grand appearance, nor of the greatness of its majesty; and no man could touch it save Moses alone, our Master,—upon whom be peace; and from this he copied the book which he wrote down. And now we shall bring one proof out ot many proofs for the justification of our statement that God gave to our Master Moses with the first two tablets upon which He had written the ten words, also the book of the Law; and this proof is the word which Moses spake in his prayer to the Lord at the time when the children of Israel made the calf; "For their own sake, now if thou will, forgive their sin, and if not, blot me out from thy book which thou hast written." And if we should say that this was referring to the two tablets, we find that there was no mention of Moses to be found on the Tablets*.—(Woe unto those who forsake the Law of Moses for there is no salvation for them!) (For verse 4—18 see 12:5). (*In 1963 and 1965, an American expedition from the Oriental Institute of Chicago led by Donald P. Hansen made an amazing find at Abu Salabikh, which lies around 20 km (12 mi) northwest of the site of the ancient city of Nippur in Al-Qadisiyyah Governorate, Iraq. During the excavation campain, that lasted for a total of 8 weeks, the archaeologists found around 500 tablets and fragments, containing some of the earliest ancient literature. Among them was the oldest extant copy of the Commandments or Instructions of Shuruppak, dated to c. 2600—2550 BC. The numerous surviving copies attest to its continued popularity throughout the millenia. It contains Moses' Commandments, almost word for word.)

(20) Then afterwards he began to speak about what was going to happen in the remaining 3,204 years of the 6,000 since the Creation of the world until the Advent of the Taheb. For from Adam until the death of our master Moses were 276 (2,796) years, so that all these together make 6,000 years. And then he began to speak the words "when ye will beget children and children's children, etc." (Deut. 4:25), for this section contains everything that will happen at the end of days. And there in is a prophecy foretelling the Advent of the Favour and of the Mercy after the end of the days of the Fanuta, according to His word—may He be exalted—"when all these things come upon thee, in the latter days thou shalt return to the Lord thy God, and hearken unto His voice; for the Lord thy God is a merciful God; he will not fail thee, nor forget the covenant of thy fathers, which he sware unto them." (Deut. 4:30, 31.) And the explanation of it is this: That the Lord, —may He be exalted—if ye turn unto Him with repentance, will establish His covenant with you and He will do unto you as He did in the time of Favour; and this He will do and still more, and this is a true thing and there is no falsehood in it. And concerning this there is a large amount of matter handed down from our fathers the patriarchs, and therefore, our Master Moses began his words in this section and everything that they mention is deduced from it, for therein is included the teaching and the future; and furthermore he said "The beginning of the Fanuta, the gate of the back-sliding" and furthermore, he—upon whom be peace—said, (21) "A Levite will arise and his name will be Ezra, the son of Fani. And the beginning ofstrife will be by his hand. (22) Hewill add a sanctuary in his days (23) and he will exchange the sanctuary of the Hebrews for a strange sanctuary. He will throw division in the midst of the assembly. (24) The order of turning away and arbitrariness Krtm of Benjamin will establish among them." All this refers to Ezra, for he was the first who turned the letters of the Law from the Hebrew language in to the language of Assur, which is now in the hands of the Community of the Jews, and he established the work of Shelah (Solomon) by saying that the chosen place was Zion And he expunged from the Law the fourth (This refers to the additional loth Commandment of the Samaritan recension. See Gaster, Samaritans (Schweich Lectures) p. 185ff.) paragraph from the Ten Commandments, and he did with the Book of the Law according to his desire. And he added to it and took away from it many things which have been preserved by us, and he was the father of everything that is between us and the Jews; and though the wrong had already happened before the advent of Ezra, through him, however, it increased and was added to, but no error will remain when the Taheb will return to us; and the deeds of this man are all recorded in our book of Chronicles (Sefer Hayamim). And should we wish to give it in detail, the tale would become too long.

(25) And after that, the Messenger Moses—upon whom be peace—said, "In the world by the power of the House of Judah, divers statutes will be annulled." And the explanation of the word ... "world" is found in the numerical value of its letters, i.e. 4,367; and the reason for it is because the tribe of Judah changed the commands of God. And the matter is further alluded to in his words, (26) "Hear, oh Lord, the voice of Judah." (Deut. 33:7.) And God alone knows whether this interpretation agrees with what our master Jacob upon whom be peace said, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor the rulers's staff from among his flags until Shelah come." (Gen. 49:10.) And Shelah is he who was before the advent of Ezra. And the tribe of Judah remained protected and favoured until the turning away of Judah when Shelah came, and committed all those wicked deeds which the congregation of the Jews acknowledge, and they recount it in their chronicles and in spite of all that they call him a prophet.

Furthermore, he—upon whom be peace—said, (27) "The tower of shame He will build with might. The congregation which will be praying for truth, will be oppressed by a son born of a harlot, rebellious, he will be like the enchanter Bileam. In his days the worship of strange gods will be established." All this refers to the advent of Jesus, the son of Miriam; and as for his statement, "the tower of shame will be built," the explanation of it is, the faith of the world in Zion will grow, "... with might." The explanation is to be found in its numerical value of 1,472 from the establishment of the kingdom of the children of Israel, i.e. the year in which that man will be born. (28)

And his statement, "the congregation will pray for maintaining the truth" means "up to the time of his advent, the congregation of the Israelites will be searching for the truth," And because of the desire for preserving the truth, they wished to kill him; for his killing was for the sake of the truth, as the Holy Law says, "And that prophet shall die:" (Deut. 18:20.) (29) And as for his word, "the son born of a harlot and by fornication," the explanation is, that he was the child of a harlot ; and of "fornication and rebellious;" the explanation is that he was rebellious and straying from the way of truth.

(30) The explanation of, "he will be like unto the wizard Bileam is that he will be a sorcerer like Bileam and he will perform miracles and wonders by way of sorcery, so that the world should believe. (31) And that is followed up by the word, that "in his days the worship of strange Gods will be established;" which means that in his days, "the worship of strange gods will grow mighty and he will call himself God," and so it happened. (32) After that, Moses—upon whom be peace—said (31) that in a short time the strange sanctuary would be destroyed by a people of hard face (33) and those of the house of Shhamh (God ?) and those of the house of Fanai, (i. e. turning away, rebellious) would be scattered throughout the earth. The explanation of it is this, that a short time after the days of Jesus the sanctuary of falsehood and vanity would be destroyed through a hard-faced people, and the houses of worship which had been erected by the community of Jesus would be scattered which had remained still under their sway, in the year 2,127 from the time of the kingdom of Israel. And that refers to the advent of Mohammed who came in that generation. And then again he upon whom be peace said, "And because of the wickedness of the congregation, the latter will dwell in their stead in great arrogance." And the explanation is because of the multitude of the sins of the children of Israel, the Lord will annihilate them in the land, and other strange people will dwell in the land and rule over it. Furthermore, he—upon whom be peace—said, (34) "The community in turning to strife will persist, and the land will be inherited by the chosen ones of Alinis." And the explanation of it is this: that Israel will be lead astray, but the law will be saved and the land will be ruled by the good community of Alinis. (35) And after that, he—upon whom be peace—said, "There will be in the world peace, freedom, might, honour and a life of happiness." And the explanation of it is this: He will bring upon them a time in which they will be resting in joy and pleasure safe from violence and from the rule of oppression, in glory, in happiness and in lovingkindness. And again he—upon whom be peace—said: (36) "After that, the writing will be changed (37) and a new wording they will produce out of the old." The explanation of it is this: after these words there will be a complete change in the world, and new things will come out of the old; that is, a book full of lies and frowardness will be made manifest, and it will take as its basis the Holy Law and the words of the ancients.

(38) And after that he upon whom be peace fell upon his face and said, "And the Lord thy God will bring thee up into the land which thy fathers inherited (39) and Luzah will be rebuilt." He said this referring to their return from the great Exile, for at the time when they will come back from the Exile to the Holy Land, they will go up to Mount Garizim, which is Luzah. Those days will be like unto the days of the Divine Favour.

Behold, O my brother, in this word there is something put before and something put after (not chronologically) for first he mentioned Jesus and Mohammed, the prophet of the Ishmaelites, whilst the above-mentioned exile was before their appearance. (40) He follows up the matter in his statement, "There will be a Jubilee in rejoicing." And this refers to the remnant he saved from, persecution and from great oppression. And after that, he—upon whom be peace—said, "A second turning, away in error. At the end of days (Judgement Day.). . ."And the explanation of this is, that after that Jubilee there will be for a second time error and turning away from the good path. (41) And in the community of the pure, whose root is from Isaac, in the year 5,237 [corresponding to the numerical value of pty] since the creation of the world, there will be great oppression. And he said again, (42) "On the holy hill, he will destroy the images and he will break the idols." And the explanation of it is this: on Mount Garizim in those days, the image and idol will be broken; and the explanation of the word ... means that there will be there [destruction] of the images; and the darkness will be removed and illuminated by the breaking of the idols. And God knows.

ASATIR PITRON CHAPTER 12. [Oracle.]

And after he—upon whom be peace—had finished these words, he mentioned the kings who will arise in the time of the Fanuta, and he completed them (i.e. the list of kings) with the mention of the Taheb. And he mentioned two things as already afore-mentioned, and he mentioned another twenty-four each one separately. "A prince will arise with a strong hand for ten years. The proud nation Nds will come in his days." And the explanation of it is this: A prince will arise with a mighty hand; and for ten years he will rule with honour and glory, and afterwards the mighty and exalted nation Nds will appear in his days." And they will wrest the kingdom from him. And God knows.

And the word "Kli" means exalted beyond degree and there is another and fuller explanation of this in the statement of the men of understanding, like their expression, "Kli ledinih" worthy of being a judge, or, worthy of judgement.

(2) "A prince will arise with might from his people for five years and he will not be exalted." And the explanation of it is that a prince will arise with great power; he will appear among them for five (years) and he will not be exalted. And God knows whether this interpretation is correct: or whether it means that enmity will arise among his people against him, or from himself, after five years of his reign. But for all that, the people will not overpower him, neither will they remove him from his kingdom.

(3) "A crowned prince will arise of evil repute. In his days they will be destroyed through the hand of strangers." The explanation of it is: A prince will arise who will speak falsehood. In his days they will die through the hand of a stranger. And God knows whether the meaning is so. In the days of this king falsehood will increase and he will be the leader of it. And afterwards will appear a people who will be strange unto him and to his people.

(4) "A prince will arise strong in truth. In his days the salvation of the community will be great." And the explanation of it is this: There will arise a prince very strong in truth. In his days the salvation of the congregation will be great. And the explanation of it is that there will arise a prince very strong in truth. In his days Israel will be in peace, and he will love those who are of the truth. And God knows.

(5) "A crowned prince will arise. In his days, the yoke of iron will return." This is the king of Egypt and the children of Israel groaned from servitude. And I will now refer again to what happened under that king, and will tell it as it is told in the Asatir of Moses.

To 8. (24) In his time there was a wizard in Egypt and his name was Plti. And he saw the might of the children of Israel. (25) And he saw Amram going up to Pharaoh in a very great chariot, coming and going with great honour. (26) And he asked, "Who is that man?" And he said to him: "It is a Hebrew man." (27) And he said, "Great is the honour of that

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man for that which is hidden within him and what will happen to him." (28) And this word reached Pharaoh and he sent for him arid Plti was brought before him. And Pharaoh asked him about the words which he had spoken (29) and he answered, "It is so." He said that out of the loins of that man there would come forth a great man, who would shine in faith and wisdom. And the heaven of the heaven would be under his hand and the destruction of Egypt would come through him. Within forty days he would be in his mother's womb.

(30) Thereupon Pharaoh commanded quickly that the men should separate from the women for forty days. And they imprisoned the men in one place and the women in another according to his command. (31) And it came to pass after seventeen days of the forty had passed, that a

man from the house of Levi went and took the daughter of Levi, the son of Jacob, and she became pregnant with the Master of all flesh, the Master of all mankind, as it is mentioned in the Book Asatir, "Mighty is the tree from which Moses was plucked." (32) And when Jochebed became pregnant with the Master of the flesh, then Plti saw the star of Israel in the ascendant and knew that the mother of the child was pregnant with him. (34) And he said unto Pharaoh, "Thy deed and thy plans which thou hast made have this day become void." So Pharaoh said, "What shall we do?" (35) Plti said to Pharaoh, that he would die through water. And that is evidenced from his statement in the Asatir: "His death will be through water." (36) Then Pharaoh commanded the Egyptians that no male child of the Hebrews should remain alive. (37) And he sent the overseers to the midwives, namely, Shifrah and Puah, who attended upon the Hebrew women, and Pharaoh had them brought

before him; and he said unto them, that every male child which would be born to the Hebrews, should be killed but that every female child should be kept alive. (38) But Amram was wise and known for his wisdom and intelligence, and he was overseer in the land of Egypt, and did good unto all the people. And Shifrah was the midwife appointed to attend to the tribe of Levi, and Puah was appointed as midwife to the congregation of Israel. (39) And the fear of the Lord entered their hearts, and they did not do as the king of Egypt had commanded them, for there is no peace like the peace of the Messenger—upon whom the peace of God is. And our master Markali—upon whom be the favour of the Lord said in his exalted saying, that the Messenger said unto the children of Israel before he died, "O Gershom and Eleazar, ye are the two sons upon whom I have commanded peace ." And the Lord knows that from this day to the last day, they are happy believers in the Holy Law. And the Lord—may He be exalted—is favourable unto them through the prayer of their father, according to his word in the Asatir, "May they never be lacking in happinees and faith!"

And the Taheb will only arise from among them. And know that the cause of their being hidden away from the sight of the creatures and their absence from among the children of Israel was only in consequence of the request of their father to the Lord God,—may He be exalted—. For he upon whom be peace saw all the creatures and the generations from the Day of Creation until the last Day of Requital, and he saw the days of the Fanuta. And he saw also everything that would happen to Israel and all the great oppression which would come upon them, and he asked of the Lord that his children should be exempted from all this, and that nothing should happen to them of that which would happen to the children of Israel. And the Lord did according to his request and he hid them until the day of the advent of the Taheb, who will arise from among them. And he will come with a mighty host from the eastern side.

O, may mine eye behold them when they will come with the Taheb among them, and the pillar and cloud covering them and the angels with them! I pray of the Lord that he may cause this time to draw near and that the day be not distant but nigh! And of this there are many things to be told which would be too long here. And God knows.

(to Chapter 11)

(4) And after that came the command to the Master of the flesh, Moses, that he was to write the scroll of the Holy Law (the Commandments) and he was to read it before the whole congregation of Israel. Then He said unto him, "Get thee upon this Mount Abarim and behold the land of Canaan, and its boundaries all around." And Moses went up and beheld the land of Canaan and its corners and its boundaries, as is mentioned in the Book of Numbers, Ch. 34, "And the mighty prophet went down with joy because he beheld the Mount Garizim Bethel, the most Holy of all the places of the land." And he was in great sorrow because he could not go up to it.

(15) And after that, on the third day, he began to copy the Holy Law and he finished it on the fourth. (16) And he brought it to the tent of the Covenant on the fifth day. (17) And the voice of the Living came down from the cloud of glory, saying, (18) "Completed is thy work, O perfect One. This is thy last day." And the explanation of this is: The word of proclamation came out of the cloud of glory, that is the glory of the Lord, "O thou hast performed perfectly thy good deed. This is thy last day." Make known to the generations what has been revealed to Moses, the mighty prophet, even what his master had told him. And nothing of this is found in the Law. (Up to v. 26 there is no commentary. The author merely repeats the words of the original text.)

26. Twenty six corresponding to twenty six! May He be praised, He, Who sees all that is hidden and revealed! May He be exalted, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses. Upon them be peace for ever!

Know that just as there were from Adam unto Moses twenty six prophets, so also from the beginning of the Fanuta to the time of the Taheb will arise twenty five kings and the Taheb will be the twenty sixth. Praised be He, Who is Omnipotent, and may His name be sanctified'

PART 3 - SAMARITAN STORY OF THE DEATH OF MOSES.

The Samaritan story of the Death of Moses

(from the Samaritan Chronicle in Gaster's Cod. 1168f. 1b 8b).

(For the literature referring to this chapter, the parallelism with Josephus and its relation to the pseudepigraphic literature, see Introduction where this has been treated fully. Various details in the beginning are found in the Asatir Ch. 11, such as the writing of the Law, the taking leave of the people, and the Prophecy. The phrase of approval by God, and the announcement of Moses' last day have been referred to in connexion with Mar-Icah. The last sentence in which Moses is lifted up and sees the whole world, as it were, under his feet, is strongly reminiscent of the wonderful vision of the Hellenist poet Ezekiel.)

1732 A.

Chapter concerning the Death of our Master Moses, son of Amram, —upon whom be prayer and peace—.

In the year two thousand and seven hundred and ninety four years from the creation of the world, and in the fortieth year of the going out of the children of Israel from the land of Egypt, in the eleventh month on the first day of the month, began our Master Moses,—upon whom be the peace of God—, to copy out the holy Torah from the book which was written by the finger of God; perfectly he copied it, rolled it into a scroll, and divided it into sections (Kissim) and portions (Parashot) by the holy spirit: for thus it was (found) in the above mentioned book. And he finished the copy of this holy Torah from the above mentioned original book in thirty days, and he read it in the sight and hearing of the Elders of his community and of the priests, the sons of Levi, and he gave it unto them. And after that he went to the Tent of Assembly and opened the Ark of Testimony and he placed the Book of the Law which was written by the finger of God in it, by the side of the two Tablets upon which were engraven the Ten Words, and placed upon the Ark the covering (kaporet) which no one could lift from the Ark up to this very day. There he bowed down and worshipped before the Lord in front of the Ark of Testimony. And the Lord whose holy name be praised, spake unto him, from between the two Cherubim.

[f. 2 a] "O Thou whose work has been perfect, nigh is now the last day," and thus He informed him, that the day of his death had arrived. This happened on the morning of the fifth day, the day of the New Moon of the twelfth month of the above-mentioned year. Then the exalted prophet went to his tent, which he had set up outside the camp; his tongue was praising in hymns his Master and saying: "Unto Thee, O Lord, belong the righteousness and the judgement. Thou who dost not show favour, either to a prophet or to those who are meritorious before Thee? O Thou who art wise; thou art righteous and just, a faithful God."

And after that stood up the exalted prophet upon whom be the peace of God and prayed to his Master. When he had finished his prayer, he called Joshua his servant and told him all the words which the Lord had spoken to him; and he said unto him "O my servant, go to the house ofthe priethood and tell them of this, and tell Eleazar, Ithamar and Pinehas that they come hither quickly so that I may be able to see them." And when the master Joshua son of Nun heard from the prophet these words at the door of the Tent of Assembly (f. 2b), he went forth quickly to the holy sanctuary, and stood before it weeping and called the three priests. And they heard his call; they came out of it quickly, and they beheld our master Joshua standing there weeping and the tears of his eyes washing his face. So they said unto him: "O thou Minister of the Excellence of the children of Eber, what is the matter and wherefore art thou weeping? and why is thy heart broken?" And he answered them and said in a mournful voice: "My Master the prophet Moses, the exalted Messenger, is going to die this day: and this thing is bitter unto us and hard to bear and surely not pleasing to your souls nor to mine." And when the priests had heard this of Joshua, they grieved and they went to Moses with their faces troubled and their hearts broken. And when they came near to him they quickly bowed down before him. And Pinerias the son of Eleazar upon whom be the peace of God held the trumpet in his right hand and stood weeping before him. Then he told him. "Go thou and thy uncle (f. 3 a) Ithamar to the gate of the Tent of Assembly, and blow the trumpets, so that all the people should hear and come hither and stand before me, so that they obtain (the greeting of) peace from me."

And when these pious ones had heard this, they went quickly to the door of the Sanctuary, and blew the trumpets according to his holy command. And when the people heard the sound of the trumpets they trembled and were frightened and said: "What is this sound oftrumpets which is so loud? It is neither the time of the sacrifice, nor is it the time for journeying." And they rose all up quickly in fear and after enquiry were told the reason of this ocurrence.

Bitter was the hour when they learned of it and when it was told to them, that the exalted prophet Moses, son of Amram, of the highest rank was going to die. They all gathered themselves together and went out and came to the door of the prophet's tent, the heads of the people and the judges and overseers and the priests and the seventy elders, and stood before the mighty prophet, they stood in proper order and in perfect reverence. And the mighty Messenger stood up and he told them distinctly what the Lord had told him (f, 3b). And he made a high throne and mounted upon it, so that he might see all the people which had gathered there before him. They were looking at him. He upon whom be the peace of God was weeping and the tears rolled down from his eyes to his loins like dew upon the seed. And he showed them the glory of the Commandments and the high station of the faith and its decrees and statutes. And everyone of them heard his voice and hearkened to his speech.

And the master Joshua listened to everything that came out of his exalted mouth and he, may the peace of the Lord be upon him, stood there like the moon in its fulness, instructing arid teaching his people the children of Israel. And his weeping went up to the heart of the heavens and he cried with a loud voice: "O ye dwellers of the cave, O ye the meritorious ones of the world ! Does your spirit know what is in store for your children?

"Oh thou son of Terah, thou the root of the Perfect and Meritorious Ones! Dost thou know that the plants of thy garden which thou hast planted are being spoilt through sins and rebellion?

"Oh thou Isaac, the sacrificed and sanctified (f. 4a) whose blood had not been spilt! Doth thy spirit know that thy inheritance which has been established through thy merit, is going to destruction through sin?

"Oh thou Jacob, father of the favoured tribes! Doth thy spirit, the purified one, know that the tribes which issued from thee and were saved through me from Egypt by the power of my Maker and heard His voice crying out from the midst of fire the Ten Words, and which saw all that had been done for them and how the mouth of Bileam was changed so that he said: How goodly are thy tents. O Jacob, thy dwelling places, oh Israel! that all these good things will be covered up by the curse; and that the Favour will become hidden, and the sanctuary of the Lord will be hidden away, and Mount Garizim will be defiled and the Fanuta spread everywhere, and that no one will be found zealous for God?" And he the peace of God be upon him testified against the people with his words and began rebuking, them saying "Ye have been rebellious with God and still more so [you will be] after my death. And thou whom I have brought (f. 4-b) out of Egypt, my strength and my song, let not my good actions for thee be lost, so that thou perishest after my death; for I am going the way of man, and my heart is frightened of that which I have seen concerning thee: I am now standing in the position of a prophet and I behold what will happen unto thee and unto the generations after thee. Happy shalt thou be Israel if thou hearkenest unto me and what I now speak unto thee by my mouth and my tongue. And know that three times did the Lord say unto me "Come up to me," and I went up, and I came down with the Law and with the Tablets; and at this time now my burden is being taken off me, which I have inherited from the Father of all flesh; but ye shall not doubt my return; and now before my death I will bless you with a pious (beautiful) blessing founded upon the Name of the Lord thy God."

And all the people were standing and kept in perfect order in front of him; and he looked at them and blessed them each tribe separately, and he began to command them saying: the commandments and statutes of God ye shall keep, and ye shall not change it (p. 5 a) lest there should happen to come upon you the Fanuta, and destruction should seize you.

Then he turned towards Eleazar the priest the son of his brother who was standing at his right hand, and he said unto him "O my brother's son; O thou who art the "Khalif" of God; O thou who art the heir to the high priesthood; now thou hast been placed in this position where the Lord is thy possession; keep it fully." Then he turned from him to his brother's son Ithamar, and he said unto him "O thou in whose hands is the keeping of the watch of the Levites, and all the goodly vessels,

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keep thy priesthood and the holy vessels which are in thy hand and make thyself worthy before the Judge of judges."

His eye lit upon the master Pinehas who was standing at his left, and he said unto him, "Thy zeal has been manifest when thou didst behold a man turning away from the way of truth and sinning, thou didst rise and smite him according to thy excellent habit." Then he turned his eyes which were not dimmed to the master Joshua son of Nun his servant and he said unto him: "Be strong and of good courage (f. 5 b) for thou shalt bring this community into the land which is the most perfect of all the lands, which the Lord has sworn to give as an inheritance to the seed of the root of the Meritorious Ones; and may the Lord who prospers those who pray unto him assist thee and grant thee divine prosperity."

After that with his mighty countenance he turned towards the house of the priesthood the sons of Levi, and he said unto them: "Keep your priesthood and all the holy things which are in your hands; ye are taking the portions of God, and you eat them in those places where Israelites are found ; and this is the reward of your service unto you and unto your seed after you; ye shall not defile the holy things so that Belial should cause you to act treacherously through his treachery." Then he turned with his word to the heads of the tribes, and he said unto them: "Beware lest ye turn away from the statutes which I have established; so that there shall not be destroyed that which has been built up by me through my holy teaching." And then he spoke to the judges to every one of them singly "Ye shall do no iniquity in judgement; and ye shall take no bribery; and judge righteously between every man and his neighbour."

And to the scribes he said: "Teach the community the laws and statutes and commandments with good care, as the righteous and the just has commanded, and each one of you shall watch carefully upon his station (f. 6 a) And this is the end of my presence with you, and ye shall not doubt that I will return from Mount Nebo unto you." Then he

lifted up his voice and spoke with a high voice, O "Gershom and Eleazer my sons, unto you be the blessing of everlasting peace from me."

And all the people stood in front of him him and the tears were bedewing their faces, and his weeping was greater than theirs, for he saw what would happen unto them through their corruption.

And when he had finished speaking with them he, upon whom be the peace of the Lord, stood upon his feet and looked at them and repeated the greeting of Peace unto them. Then hehastened to go upto Mount Neboto die there; and our master the priest Eleazar supported him on the right hand, for the Lord had exalted him, and his son Pinehas supported him on the left side, and Ithamar and Joshua and the whole house of the priesthood walked with him weeping with a loud weeping. And when they reached the foot of Mount Nebo, then the heads of the tribes drew near together and kissed his hands, and the whole community of Israel were shouting "Peace unto him." And then Eleazar and Ithamar and Pinehas drew near and fell down to his feet and kissed his right hand and his left hand, [f. 6 b] And after that his servant Joshua drew near and kissed his face and his right hand and his left hand; and then bowed down and knelt, and began to address him with "Peace" unto him.

"May peace by upon thee O thou who hast rent the heights. Peace unto thee thou who didst tread upon the fire. Peace unto thee O thou who didst draw near unto the thick cloud. Peace unto thee O thou who was clothed with light. Peace unto thee O thou who didst receive the Law. Peace unto thee O thou to whom the covenant was handed. Peace unto thee O thou whose hymns were so powerful. Peace unto the O thou to whom the Lord spake mouth to mouth. Peace unto thee O thou who art the essence of the Meritorious of the World. Peace unto thee O thou whose glory was not hidden. Bitter unto me is the hour of thy separation."

And when he finished these words, then the exalted prophet lifted up his beautiful voice to those who were surrounding him, and he said unto them: "Remain in peace, and from this day on I shall have no further intercourse with you."

And when the people heard this word then they felt sorely grieved, and they lifted up their voices and said : "By thy life, O thou O prince of the prophets, tarry with us an hour longer. By thy life, O thou Messenger of God, stay with us just for one short.while." And the Lord proproclaimed unto him saying "Hasten." (f. 7 a.) And the people never ceased weeping, and shouting aloud they said "O thou glory of the prophets, tarry with us for one hour." And the angels of heaven shouted to him with loud shouting "Quicken thy step O Moses and come according to the command of the word of the God of Gods;" and when the people realised this word which caused them so much pain, and they knew that he was going away from them, then they said with one mouth "Go in peace O prophet; go in peace O thou the of the house of Levi, go in peace O thou to whom the Lord God hath revealed everything that was hidden and open."

And the prophet Moses, the son of Jochebed and Amram went up to Mount Nebo, with great honour crowned with light, and all the angels came to meet him. And in the hour when he became separated from the people and he hastened to go up to the top of the mountain, then the whole congregation of Israel shouted with a great and bitter shout which went up to the heart of heaven from the earth. And the Messenger uponwhom be the peace ofthe Lord went up slowly, slowly, and he looked back to those whom he had left behind and the tears were trickling down from his eyes for his people when he separated himself from them. And he grieved in his heart (saying). "How will they fare after me." (f.7b) He was like a loving woman who leaves her suckling child. And he blessed them with a choice blessing, full of mysteries, rejoicing at the call of his Master and looking up to the top of Mount Nebo. There he beheld the rows of angels resting there, and the community of the children of Israel were standing at he foot of the mountain and they lifted up their eyes to look at him and he likewise may peace be upon him did also look at them. Bitter was the hour in which the prophet was covered up by a thick cloud and was lifted up beyond the ken of the eye. And the angels rejoiced and were delighted. They came down from heaven with hymns and they praised and thanked God, lauding and magnifying Him with honour. And the Lord opened the light of his eyes and he beheld the four corners of the world and he praised the Lord of the world.

Great was that hour in which Moses beheld the boundaries of the land, the inheritance of the people. And the Lord revealed unto him the ordinances of the day of requital and all that will happen [as described] in his mighty oration. He therefore did not fear death, which is the passing out of the soul from this world, and he lifted up his eyes (f. 8 a)

and he beheld Mount Garizim Bethel Luzah. And he bowed down and prostrated himself on his face and he turned in his prostration towards it. And when he rose from the prostration, he beheld a cave with the door open. When he saw it open he praised the Merciful One and the Gracious One and he went into that cave and he turned his face towards Mount Sifra and he laid himself down to sleep upon the ground. And the Lord let fall upon him a deep sleep and his holy spirit went out with the breath; and the angels of the Lord were ordered to take it up, as befitted his greatness and his countenance. And the days of his life were-as is written in the holiest of teachings one hundred and twenty years. Of these he spent in Egypt: twenty, in Midian sixty, and forty in the wilderness, and all of them in great honour which cannot be surpassed, in prayers and fasting and in goodly knowledge.

* * *

And at his death his eye had not grown dim nor had his sap vanished.

And as to our master Joshua his praise grew mighty and his throne became exalted, and he became filled with the spirit of wisdom; for he who was the flower of all that breathes, had placed his hand upon him; may the peace of the Lord be upon him.

And this is the end of all that we have found of the record of the death of the Messenger (f. 8 b) Moses, son of Amram. May the prayer and the peace be upon him and upon his forefathers.

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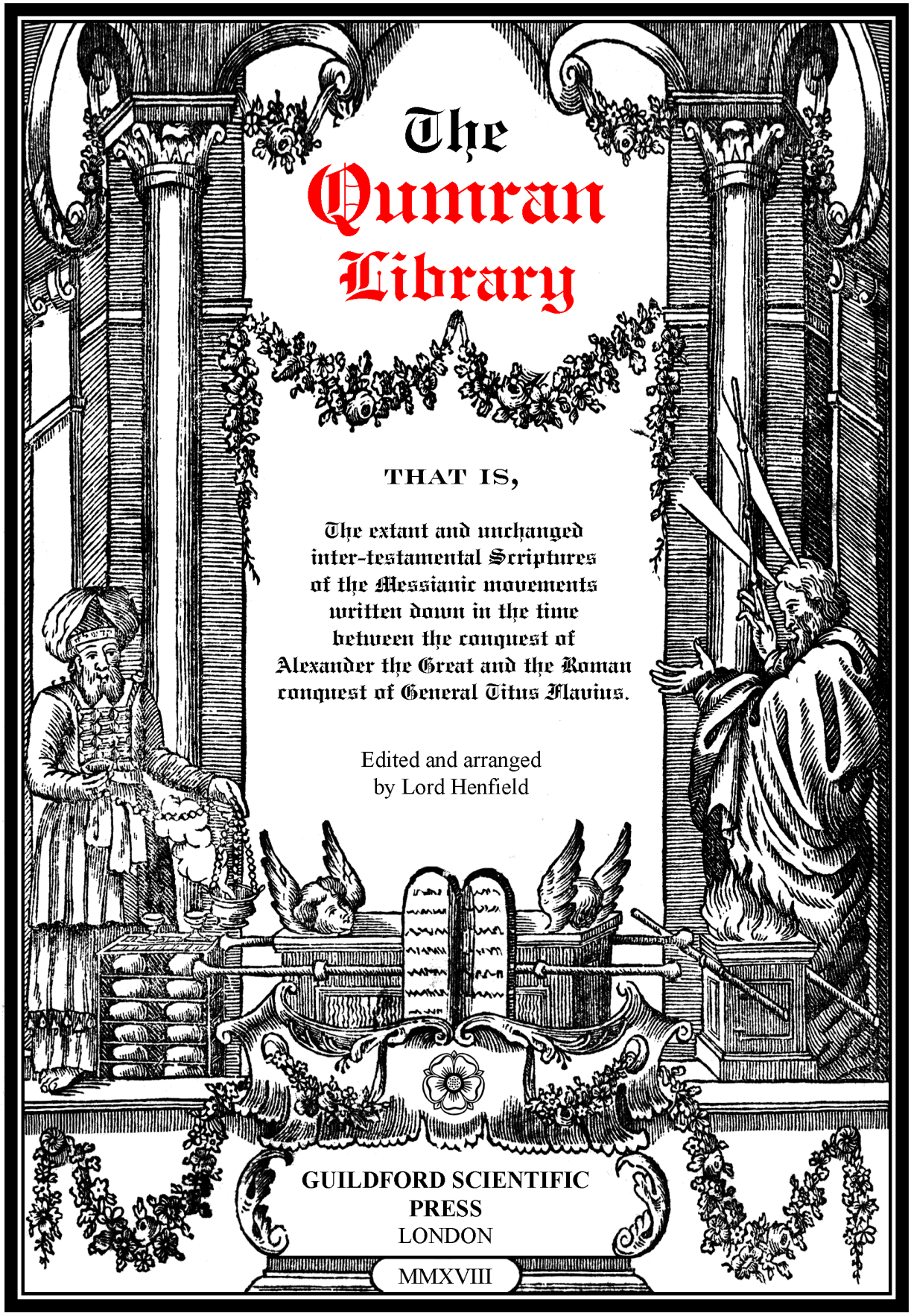

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Estimated Range of Dating: 200 BC - 68 AD

(In the early Spring 1947, Bedouin shepherds made an incredible discovery: in caves over the westshore of the Dead Sea they found thousands of written fragments that once have been stored in large sealed terracotta jars. Between 1947 and 1956, a team of archeologists then unearthed the manuscript fragments in a series of eleven caves around the site known as Wadi Qumran near the Dead Sea in the West Bank (of the Jordan River). The caves are located about one mile (1.6 kilometres) west of the northwest shore of the Dead Sea, whence they derive their name. Scholarly consensus dates the Qumran Caves Scrolls from the last three centuries BC and the mid-first century AD.

In February 2017, Hebrew University archaeologists announced the discovery of a new, 12th cave. There was one blank parchment found in a jar; however, broken and empty scroll jars and pickaxes suggest that the cave was looted in the 1950s. Caves 4–10 are clustered in an area lying in relative proximity 160 yards (ca. 150 metres) from Khirbet Qumran, while caves 1, 2, 3 and 11 are located 1 mile (1–2 kilometres) North, with Cave 3 being the most remote.

The Hellenistic period settlement was constructed during the reign of John Hyrcanus (134–104 BC.) or somewhat later, and was occupied most of the time until it was destroyed by the Romans in 68 AD. or shortly after. It is best known as the settlement nearest to the Qumran Caves where the Dead Sea Scrolls were hidden, caves in the sheer desert cliffs and beneath, in the marl terrace. The principal excavations at Qumran were conducted by Roland de Vaux in the 1950s, though several later unearthings at the site have since been carried out.

From the discovery of the first Qumran Scrolls hope and fear ran high. Hope that the scrolls would reveal eye-witness accounts of Jesus' life. Fear that they would undermine the fundamental beliefs of Judaism and Christianity. The hopes of Christians (and consequently the Muslims due to the many accounts on Jesus in the Koran) were utterly smashed. Besides the rare mentionings of some messianic movements that awaited an aggressive leader like King David who would lead the Jews to military victory against the Greek and Roman occupiers of the Holy Land, there are no Christian writings or references to Jesus at all. The name Jesus (or rather the original form Joshua, Yoshua or Yehoshua) does not appear in the Qumran scrolls at all, neither do any sort of references to Jesus or other characters from the New Testament literature. There are no writings from the Christians or about the Christians. This fact ought to make us think.

Archaeologists have long associated the scrolls with the ancient Jewish sect called the Essenes, although some recent interpretations have challenged this connection and argue that priests in Jerusalem, or Zadokites, zealots, secari or other unknown Jewish groups wrote the scrolls. Today we know that each cave was used by a different religious group.

What these groups had in common was their fanatic fundamentalism, which could only be described as rigid, radical, militant and uncompromising, pretty much like modern Jihadist or Islamic terrorist groups. And this is the reason why the Roman Army was particularly uncompromising towards them. Between 66 and 73 AD., the Romans killed all of them, they errased the entire Messianic movement and their Judaist fundamentalism from the face of the Earth. This is the reason why nobody returned and the Qumran Scrolls came to us like a time capsule talking about warfare, religious fervour, fanatism and a capable military leader, a victorious messiah, the writers craved for.

Flavius Josephus wrote that some Jews escaped through underground tunnels from the Roman massacre in Jerusalem in 70 AD. Archaeologist have recently discovered them: the tunnels actually were the sewer system of the city.

The Qumran Scrolls, according to the most recent Roman coin found at Qumran, were hidden in the caves in about 68 AD., shortly before the arrival of the Roman Army that killed or deported all inhabitants.

Up to now, around one thousand manuscripts have been found at Qumran. They are primarily in two separate formats: as scrolls and as (ten thousands of) fragments of previous scrolls and texts. About 80% of the texts use Hebrew, with a handful written in Aramaic (for example the Son of God text; in different regional dialects, including Nabataean), and around 20 manuscripts are in Greek. Around 30% of those texts belong to the so-called inter-testamental writings. Most of them were unknown to us before their discovery.

The intertestamental period is the Christian term for the gap of time between the period covered by the Hebrew Bible and the period covered by the Christian New Testament. By historians it is considered roughly the time between the conquests of Alexander the Great and the Roman conquest of General Titus Flavius. By Christians, however, it is considered the time from the ministry of Malachi (c. 420 BC) to the end of the Second Temple period (530 BC to 70 AD) in 70 AD when the Roman Army destroyed the Temple in Jesusalem. Here a line of events that makes understand what happened:

- *Last writings of the Old Testament, Malachi c. 420 BC.*
- *Alexander the Great c. 336 BC. Hellenisation and translation of the Jewish scriptures into Greek*
- *Establishment of the synagogue*
- *Greek and Aramaic become the common languages of the Jewish people*
- *Hasmonean dynasty (the Maccabees) in Judaea 167-37 BC.*
- *Herod the Great in Judaea, 37 BC– c. 4 BC*
- *Julio-Claudian dynasty in Rome 27 BC, until AD 68*
- *Province of Roman Judea created in 6 AD*
- *Revolt of the Messianic movement in Roman Judaea by the brothers Simon and Jacob in 46–48 AD.*
- *First Jewish–Roman War (66–73 AD), led by Eleazar ben Simon, Yohanan of Gush Halav (POW), Flavius Josephus, John of Gischala and Simon bar Giora*
- *Production of Dead Sea Scrolls of Qumran, c, 300 BC. - 68 AD. James the brother of Jesus killed, 62 or 68 AD.*
- *Flavian dynasty in Rome from 69 AD to 96 AD. Flavius Josephus becomes chief censor of the empire. The four canonical Gospels composed*
- *Titus Flavius Clemens becomes Pope Clement (from 88-99 AD)*

Details of the documents found:

Owing to the poor condition of some of the scrolls, scholars have not identified all of their texts. The identified texts fall into three general groups:

1. About 40% are copies of texts from the Hebrew Scriptures (The Old Testament).

2. Approximately another 30% are texts from the Second Temple Period which ultimately were not canonised in the Hebrew Bible, like the Book of Enoch, the Book of Jubilees, the Book of Tobit, the Wisdom of Sirach, Psalms 152–155, etc.

3. The remainder (roughly 30%) are sectarian manuscripts of previously unknown documents that shed light on the rules and beliefs of a particular group (sect) or groups within greater Judaism, like the Community Rule, the War Scroll, the Pesher on Habakkuk, and The Rule of the Blessing.

Biblical books found:

There are 225 Biblical texts included in the Dead Sea Scroll documents, or around 22% of the total, and with deuterocanonical books the number increases to 235. The Dead Sea Scrolls contain parts of all but one of the books of the Tanakh or the Hebrew Bible. They also include four of the deuterocanonical books (that were later included in Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Bibles): Tobit, Ben Sirach, Baruch 6 (also known as the Letter or Epistle of Jeremiah), and Psalm 151. We will not reproduce these books here for all these manuscripts are basically identical to those texts we use in our Bibles today. Only the language style differs slightly in some cases, and the spelling of words is more old-fashioned. The Book of Esther has not yet been found.

Non-biblical (inter-testamental) books

The majority of the texts found among the Dead Sea Scrolls are non-biblical in nature and were thought to be insignificant for understanding the composition or canonisation of the Biblical books, but a different consensus has emerged which sees many of these works as being collected by the Essene community instead of being composed by them. Scholars now recognise that some of these works were composed earlier than the Essene period, when some of the Biblical books were still being written or redacted into their final form. Most of these fragments belong to various Messianic and radical fundamentalistic movements and had been translated into English by Geza Vermes

The scrolls and fragments were given a kind of number code as name. A name such as 1QS.9.11 means "1st Cave Qumran, Serek document, 9th column, 11th line".

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1 QUMRAN LIBRARY CHAPTER A.
THE RULES AND LAWS

The Manual Of Discipline or The Community Rule (IQS, 4Q255-64, 4Q280, 286-7, 4Q502, 5QII, 13)

(The Community Rule is probably one of the oldest documents of the sect; its composition may have originated around 100 BC., and the Cave I copy itself is said to have been produced during the quarter of a century following that date. It seems to have been intended for the Community's teachers, for its Masters or Guardians, and contains extracts from liturgical ceremonies, an outline of a tractate on the spirits of truth and falsehood, statutes concerned with initiation into the sect and with its common life, organisation and discipline, a penal code, and finally a poetic dissertation on the fundamental religious duties of the Master and his disciples, and on the sacred seasons proper to the Community.

There are no writings in ancient Jewish sources parallel to the Community Rule. However, the Community Rule might well have served as example for similar type of literature that Christians created between the second and fourth centuries, the so-called 'Church Orders' represented by works such as the Didache, the Didascalia, the Apostolic Constitution.

The contents of 1QS may be divided into three main sections, but further subheadings appear in the text itself:

1. Entry into the Covenant, followed by an instruction on the two spirits (I-IV).

2. Statutes relating to the Council of the Community (V-IX).

3. Directives addressed to the Master, and the Master's Hymn (IX-XI).

1QS

The Master shall teach the saints to live {according to the Book} of the Community Rule, that they may seek God with a whole heart and soul, and do what is good and right before Him as He commanded by the hand of Moses and all His servants the Prophets; that they may love all that He has chosen and hate all that He has rejected; that they may abstain from all evil and hold fast to all good; that they may practise truth, righteousness, and justice upon earth and no longer stubbornly follow a sinful heart and lustful eyes, committing all manner of evil. He shall admit into the Covenant of Grace all those who have freely devoted themselves to the observance of God's precepts, that they may be joined to the counsel of God and may live perfectly before Him in accordance with all that has been revealed concerning their appointed times, and that they may love all the sons of light, each according to his lot in God's design, and hate all the sons of darkness, each according to his guilt in God's vengeance.

All those who freely devote themselves to His truth shall bring all their knowledge, powers and possessions into the Community of God, that they may purify their knowledge in the truth of God's precepts and order their powers according to His ways of perfection and all their possessions according to His righteous counsel. They shall not depart from any command of God concerning their times; they shall be neither early nor late for any of their appointed times, they shall stray neither to the right nor to the left of any of His true precepts. All those who embrace the Community Rule shall enter into the Covenant before God to obey all His commandments so that they may not abandon Him during the dominion of Belial because of fear or terror or affliction.

On entering the Covenant, the Priests and Levites shall bless the God of salvation and all His faithfulness, and all those entering the Covenant shall say after them, 'Amen, Amen!'

Then the Priests shall recite the favours of God manifested in His mighty deeds and shall declare all His merciful grace to Israel, and the Levites shall recite the iniquities of the children of Israel, all their guilty rebellions and sins during the dominion of Belial. And after them, all those entering the Covenant shall confess and say: 'We have strayed! We have disobeyed! We and our fathers before us have sinned and acted wickedly in walking counter to the precepts of truth and righteousness. And God has judged us and our fathers also; but He has bestowed His bountiful mercy on us from everlasting to everlasting.' And the Priests shall bless all the men of the lot of God who walk perfectly in all His ways, saying: 'May He bless you with all good and preserve you from all evil! May He lighten your heart with lifegiving wisdom and grant you eternal knowledge! May He raise His merciful face towards you for everlasting bliss!'

And the Levites shall curse all the men of the lot of Belial, saying: 'Be cursed because of all your guilty wickedness! May He deliver you up for torture at the hands of the vengeful Avengers! May He visit you with destruction by the hand of all the Wreakers of Revenge! Be cursed without mercy because of the darkness of your deeds! Be damned in the shadowy place of everlasting fire! May God not heed when you call on Him, nor pardon you by blotting out your sin! May He raise His angry face towards you for vengeance! May there be no "Peace" for you in the mouth of those who hold fast to the Fathers!' And after the blessing and the cursing, all those entering the Covenant shall say, 'Amen, Amen!'

And the Priests and Levites shall continue, saying: 'Cursed be the man who enters this Covenant while walking among the idols of his heart, who sets up before himself his stumbling-block of sin so that he may backslide! Hearing the words of this Covenant, he blesses himself in his heart and says, "Peace be with me, even though I walk in the stubbornness of my heart" (Deut. 29, 18-19), whereas his spirit, parched for lack of truth and watered with lies, shall be destroyed without pardon. God's wrath and His zeal for His precepts shall consume him in everlasting destruction. All the curses of the Covenant shall cling to him and God will set him apart for evil. He shall be cut off from the midst of all the sons of light, and because he has turned aside from God on account of his idols and his stumbling-block of sin, his lot shall be among those who are cursed for ever.' And after them, all those entering the Covenant shall answer and say, 'Amen, Amen!'

Thus shall they do, year by year, for as long as the dominion of Belial endures. The Priests shall enter first, ranked one after another according to the perfection of their spirit; then the Levites; and thirdly, all the people one after another in their Thousands, Hundreds, Fifties, and Tens, that every Israelite may know his place in the Community of God according to the everlasting design. No man shall move down from his place nor move up from his allotted position. For according to the holy design, they shall all of them be in a Community of truth and virtuous humility, of loving-kindness and good intent one towards the other, and (they shall all of them be) sons of the everlasting Company.

No man shall be in the Community of His truth who refuses to enter the Covenant of God so that he may walk in the stubbornness of his heart, for his soul detests the wise teaching of just laws. He shall not be counted among the upright for he has not persisted in the conversion of his life. His knowledge, powers, and possessions shall not enter the Council of the Community, for whoever ploughs the mud of wickedness returns defiled. He shall not be justified by that which his stubborn heart declares lawful, for seeking the ways of light he looks towards darkness. He shall not be reckoned among the perfect; he shall neither be purified by atonement, nor cleansed by purifying waters, nor sanctified by seas and rivers, nor washed clean with any ablution. Unclean, unclean shall he be. For as long as he despises the precepts of God he shall receive no instruction in the Community of His counsel.

For it is through the spirit of true counsel concerning the ways of man that all his sins shall be expiated, that he may contemplate the light of life. He shall be cleansed from all his sins by the spirit of holiness uniting him to His truth, and his iniquity shall be expiated by the spirit of uprightness and humility. And when his flesh is sprinkled with purifying water and sanctified by cleansing water, it shall be made clean by the humble submission of his soul to all the precepts of God. Let him then order his steps to walk perfectly in all the ways commanded by God concerning the times appointed for him, straying neither to the right nor to the left and transgressing none of His words, and he shall be accepted by virtue of a pleasing atonement before God and it shall be to him a Covenant of the everlasting Community.

The Master shall instruct all the sons of light and shall teach them the nature of all the children of men according to the kind of spirit which they possess, the signs identifying their works during their lifetime, their visitation for chastisement, and the time of their reward.

From the God of Knowledge comes all that is and shall be. Before ever they existed He established their whole design, and when, as ordained for them, they come into being, it is in accord with His glorious design that they accomplish their task without change. The laws of all things are in His hand and He provides them with all their needs.

He has created man to govern the world, and has appointed for him two spirits in which to walk until the time of His visitation: the spirits of truth and injustice. Those born of truth spring from a fountain of light, but those born of injustice spring from a source of darkness. All the children of righteousness are ruled by the Prince of Light and walk in the ways of light, but all the children of injustice are ruled by the Angel of Darkness and walk in the ways of darkness. The Angel of Darkness leads all the children of righteousness astray, and until his end, all their sin, iniquities, wickedness, and all their unlawful deeds are caused by his dominion in accordance with the mysteries of God. Every one of their chastisements, and every one of the seasons of their distress, shall be brought about by the rule of his persecution; for all his allotted spirits seek the overthrow of the sons of light.

But the God of Israel and His Angel of Truth will succour all the sons of light. For it is He who created the spirits of Light and Darkness and founded every action upon them and established every deed upon their ways. And He loves the one everlastingly and delights in its works for ever; but the counsel of the other He loathes and for ever hates its ways.

These are their ways in the world for the enlightenment of the heart of man, and so that all the paths of true righteousness may be made straight before him, and so that the fear of the laws of God may be instilled in his heart: a spirit of humility, patience, abundant charity, unending goodness, understanding, and intelligence; a spirit of mighty wisdom which trusts in all the deeds of God and leans on His great loving-kindness; a spirit of discernment in every purpose, of zeal for just laws, of holy intent with steadfastness of heart, of great charity towards all the sons of truth, of admirable purity which detests all unclean idols, of humble conduct sprung from an understanding of all things, and of faithful concealment of the mysteries of truth. These are the counsels of the spirit to the sons of truth in this world.

And as for the visitation of all who walk in this spirit, it shall be healing, great peace in a long life, and fruitfulness, together with every everlasting blessing and eternal joy in life without end, a crown of glory and a garment of majesty in unending light.

But the ways of the spirit of falsehood are these: greed, and slackness in the search for righteousness, wickedness and lies, haughtiness and pride, falseness and deceit, cruelty and abundant evil, ill-temper and much folly and brazen insolence, abominable deeds (committed) in a spirit of lust, and ways of lewdness in the service of uncleanness, a blaspheming tongue, blindness of eye and dullness of ear, stiffness of neck and heaviness of heart, so that man walks in all the ways of darkness and guile.

And the visitation of all who walk in this spirit shall be a multitude of plagues by the hand of all the destroying angels, everlasting damnation by the avenging wrath of the fury of God, eternal torment and endless disgrace together with shameful extinction in the fire of the dark regions. The times of all their generations shall be spent in sorrowful mourning and in bitter misery and in calamities of darkness until they are destroyed without remnant or survivor.

The nature of all the children of men is ruled by these (two spirits), and during their life all the hosts of men have a portion of their divisions and walk in (both) their ways. And the whole reward for their deeds shall be, for everlasting ages, according to whether each man's portion in their two divisions is great or small. For God has established the spirits in equal measure until the final age, and has set everlasting hatred between their divisions. Truth abhors the works of injustice, and injustice hates all the ways of truth. And their struggle is fierce in all their arguments for they do not walk together. But in the mysteries of His understanding, and in His glorious wisdom, God has ordained an end for injustice, and at the time of the visitation He will destroy it for ever. Then truth, which has wallowed in the ways of wickedness during the dominion of injustice until the appointed time of judgement, shall arise in the world for ever. God will then purify every deed of man with His truth; He will refine for Himself the human frame by rooting out all spirit of injustice from the bounds of his flesh. He will cleanse him of all wicked deeds with the spirit of holiness; like purifying waters He will shed upon him the spirit of truth (to cleanse him) of all

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abomination and injustice. And he shall be plunged into the spirit of purification, that he may instruct the upright in the knowledge of the Most High and teach the wisdom of the sons of heaven to the perfect of way. For God has chosen them for an everlasting Covenant and all the glory of Adam shall be theirs. There shall be no more lies and all the works of injustice shall be put to shame.

Until now the spirits of truth and injustice struggle in the hearts of men and they walk in both wisdom and folly. According to his portion of truth so does a man hate injustice, and according to his inheritance in the realm of injustice so is he wicked and so hates truth. For God has established the two spirits in equal measure until the determined end, and until the Renewal, and He knows the reward of their deeds from all eternity. He has allotted them to the children of men that they may know good and evil, and that the destiny of all the living may be according to the spirit within them at the time of the visitation.

And This Is The Rule For The Men Of The Community Who Have Freely Pledged Themselves To Be Converted From All Evil And To Cling To All His Commandments According To His Will

They shall separate from the congregation of the men of injustice and shall unite, with respect to the Law and possessions, under the authority of the sons of Zadok, the Priests who keep the Covenant, and of the multitude of the men of the Community who hold fast to the Covenant. Every decision concerning doctrine, property, and justice shall be determined by them.

They shall practise truth and humility in common, and justice and uprightness and charity and modesty in all their ways. No man shall walk in the stubbornness of his heart so that he strays after his heart and eyes and evil inclination, but he shall circumcise in the Community the foreskin of evil inclination and of stiffness of neck that they may lay a foundation of truth for Israel, for the Community of the everlasting Covenant. They shall atone for all those in Aaron who have freely pledged themselves to holiness, and for those in Israel who have freely pledged themselves to the House of Truth, and for those who join them to live in community and to take part in the trial and judgement and condemnation of all those who transgress the precepts.

On joining the Community, this shall be their code of behaviour with respect to all these precepts.

Whoever approaches the Council of the Community shall enter the Covenant of God in the presence of all who have freely pledged themselves. He shall undertake by a binding oath to return with all his heart and soul to every commandment of the Law of Moses in accordance with all that has been revealed of it to the sons of Zadok, the Priests, Keepers of the Covenant and Seekers of His will, and to the multitude of the men of their Covenant who together have freely pledged themselves to His truth and to walking in the way of His delight. And he shall undertake by the Covenant to separate from all the men of injustice who walk in the way of wickedness.

For they are not reckoned in His Covenant. They have neither inquired nor sought after Him concerning His laws that they might know the hidden things in which they have sinfully erred; and matters revealed they have treated with insolence. Therefore Wrath shall rise up to condemn, and Vengeance shall be executed by the curses of the Covenant, and great chastisements of eternal destruction shall be visited on them, leaving no remnant. They shall not enter the water to partake of the pure Meal of the men of holiness, for they shall not be cleansed unless they turn from their wickedness: for all who transgress His word are unclean. Likewise, no man shall consort with him in regard to his work or property lest he be burdened with the guilt of his sin. He shall indeed keep away from him in all things: as it is written, Keep away from all that is false (Exod. xxiii, 7). No member of the Community shall follow them in matters of doctrine and justice, or eat or drink anything of theirs, or take anything from them except for a price; as it is written, Keep away from the man in whose nostrils is breath, for wherein is he counted? (Isa. ii, 22). For all those not reckoned in His Covenant are to be set apart, together with all that is theirs. None of the men of holiness shall lean upon works of vanity: for they are all vanity who know not His Covenant, and He will blot from the world all them that despise His word. All their deeds are defilement before Him, and all their property unclean.

But when a man enters the Covenant to walk according to all these precepts that he may be joined to the holy Congregation, they shall examine his spirit in community with respect to his understanding and practice of the Law, under the authority of the sons of Aaron who have freely pledged themselves in the Community to restore His Covenant and to heed all the precepts commanded by Him, and of the multitude of Israel who have freely pledged themselves in the Community to return to His Covenant. They shall inscribe them in order, one after another, according to their understanding and their deeds, that every one may obey his companion, the man of lesser rank obeying his superior. And they shall examine their spirit and deeds yearly, so that each man may be advanced in accordance with his understanding and perfection of way, or moved down in accordance with his distortions. They shall rebuke one another in truth, humility, and charity. Let no man address his companion with anger, or ill-temper, or obduracy, or with envy prompted by the spirit of wickedness. Let him not hate him because of his uncircumcised heart, but let him rebuke him on the very same day lest he incur guilt because of him. And furthermore, let no man accuse his companion before the Congregation without having admonished him in the presence of witnesses.

These are the ways in which all of them shall walk, each man with his companion, wherever they dwell. The man of lesser rank shall obey the greater in matters of work and money. They shall eat in common and bless in common and deliberate in common.

Wherever there are ten men of the Council of the Community there shall not lack a Priest among them. And they shall all sit before him according to their rank and shall be asked their counsel in all things in that order. And when the table has been prepared for eating, and the new wine for drinking, the Priest shall be the first to stretch out his hand to bless the firstfruits of the bread and new wine.

And where the ten are, there shall never lack a man among them who shall study the Law continually, day and night, concerning the right conduct of a man with his companion. And the Congregation shall watch in community for a third of every night of the year, to read the Book and to study the Law and to bless together. This Is The Rule For An Assembly Of The Congregation Each Man Shall Sit In His Place: The Priests Shall Sit First, And The Elders Second, And All The Rest Of The People According To Their Rank. And thus shall they be questioned concerning the Law, and concerning any counsel or matter coming before the Congregation, each man bringing his knowledge to the Council of the Community.

No man shall interrupt a companion before his speech has ended, nor speak before a man of higher rank; each man shall speak in his turn. And in an Assembly of the Congregation no man shall speak without the consent of the Congregation, nor indeed of the Guardian of the Congregation. Should any man wish to speak to the Congregation, yet not be in a position to question the Council of the Community, let him rise to his feet and say: 'I have something to say to the Congregation.' If they command him to speak, he shall speak.

Every man, born of Israel, who freely pledges himself to join the Council of the Community shall be examined by the Guardian at the head of the Congregation concerning his understanding and his deeds. If he is fitted to the discipline, he shall admit him into the Covenant that he may be converted to the truth and depart from all injustice; and he shall instruct him in all the rules of the Community. And later, when he comes to stand before the Congregation, they shall all deliberate his case, and according to the decision of the Council of the Congregation he shall either enter or depart. After he has entered the Council of the Community he shall not touch the pure Meal of the Congregation until one {full} (4Q256) year is completed, and until he has been examined concerning his spirit and deeds; nor shall he have any share of the property of the Congregation. Then when he has completed one year within the Community, the Congregation shall deliberate his case with regard to his understanding and observance of the Law. And if it be his destiny, according to the judgement of the Priests and the multitude of the men of their Covenant, to enter the company of the Community, his property and earnings shall be handed over to the Bursar of the Congregation who shall register it to his account and shall not spend it for the Congregation. He shall not touch the Drink of the Congregation until he has completed a second year among the men of the Community. But when the second year has passed, he shall be examined, and if it be his destiny, according to the judgement of the Congregation, to enter the Community, then he shall be inscribed among his brethren in the order of his rank for the Law, and for justice, and for the pure Meal; his property shall be merged and he shall offer his counsel and judgement to the Community.

These Are The Rules By Which They Shall Judge At A Community Court Of Inquiry According To The Cases

If one of them has lied deliberately in matters of property, he shall be excluded from the pure Meal of the Congregation for one year and shall do penance with respect to one quarter of his food.

Whoever has answered his companion with obstinacy, or has addressed him impatiently, going so far as to take no account of the dignity of his fellow by disobeying the order of a brother inscribed before him, he has taken the law into his own hand; therefore he shall do penance for one year and shall be excluded.

If any man has uttered the Most Venerable Name VII even though frivolously, or as a result of shock or for any other reason whatever, while reading the Book or blessing, he shall be dismissed and shall return to the Council of the Community no more.

If he has spoken in anger against one of the Priests inscribed in the Book, he shall do penance for one year and shall be excluded for his soul's sake from the pure Meal of the Congregation. But if he has spoken unwittingly, he shall do penance for six months.

Whoever has deliberately lied shall do penance for six months.

Whoever has deliberately insulted his companion unjustly shall do penance for one year and shall be excluded.

Whoever has deliberately deceived his companion by word or by deed shall do penance for six months.

If he has failed to care for his companion, he shall do penance for three months. But if he has failed to care for the property of the Community, thereby causing its loss, he shall restore it in full. And if he be unable to restore it, he shall do penance for sixty days.

Whoever has borne malice against his companion unjustly shall do penance for six months/one year; and likewise, whoever has taken revenge in any matter whatever.

Whoever has spoken foolishly: three months. Whoever has interrupted his companion whilst speaking: ten days.

Whoever has lain down to sleep during an Assembly of the Congregation : thirty days. And likewise, whoever has left, without reason, an Assembly of the Congregation as many as three times during one Assembly, shall do penance for ten days. But if he has departed whilst they were standing he shall do penance for thirty days. Whoever has gone naked before his companion, without having been obliged to do so, he shall do penance for six months.

Whoever has spat in an Assembly of the Congregation shall do penance for thirty days.

Whoever has been so poorly dressed that when drawing his hand from beneath his garment his nakedness has been seen, he shall do penance for thirty days.

Whoever has guffawed foolishly shall do penance for thirty days.

Whoever has drawn out his left hand to gesticulate with it shall do penance for ten days.

Whoever has gone about slandering his companion shall be excluded from the pure Meal of the Congregation for one year and shall do penance. But whoever has slandered the Congregation shall be expelled from among them and shall return no more.

Whoever has murmured against the authority of the Community shall be expelled and shall not return. But if he has murmured against his companion unjustly, he shall do penance for six months.

Should a man return whose spirit has so trembled before the authority of the Community that he has betrayed the truth and walked in the stubbornness of his heart, he shall do penance for two years.

During the first year he shall not touch the pure Meal of the Congregation, and during the second year he shall not touch the Drink of the Congregation and shall sit below all the men of the Community. Then when his two years are completed, the Congregation shall

consider his case, and if he is admitted he shall be inscribed in his rank and may then question concerning the Law.

If, after being in the Council of the Community for ten full years, the spirit of any man has failed, so that he has betrayed the Community and departed from the Congregation to walk in the stubbornness of his heart, he shall return no more to the Council of the Community.

Moreover, if any member of the Community has shared with him his food or property which ... of the Congregation, his sentence shall be the same; he shall be expelled.

In the Council of the Community there shall be twelve men and three Priests, perfectly versed in all that is revealed of the Law, whose works shall be truth, righteousness, justice, loving-kindness and humility. They shall preserve the faith in the Land with steadfastness and meekness and shall atone for sin by the practice of justice and by suffering the sorrows of affliction. They shall walk with all men according to the standard of truth and the rule of the time.

When these are in Israel, the Council of the Community shall be established in truth. It shall be an Everlasting Plantation, a House of Holiness for Israel, an Assembly of Supreme Holiness for Aaron. They shall be witnesses to the truth at the Judgement, and shall be the elect of Goodwill who shall atone for the Land and pay to the wicked their reward. It shall be that tried wall, that precious corner-stone, whose foundations shall neither rock nor sway in their place (Isa. xxviii, 16). It shall be a Most Holy Dwelling for Aaron, with everlasting knowledge of the Covenant of justice, and shall offer up sweet fragrance. It shall be a House of Perfection and Truth in Israel that they may establish a Covenant according to the everlasting precepts. And they shall be an agreeable offering, atoning for the Land and determining the judgement of wickedness, and there shall be no more iniquity. When they have been confirmed for two years in perfection of way in the Foundation of the Community, they shall be set apart as holy within the Council of the men of the Community. And the Interpreter shall not conceal from them, out of fear of the spirit of apostasy, any of

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those things hidden from Israel which have been discovered by him.

And when these become members of the Community in Israel according to all these rules, they shall separate from the habitation of unjust men and shall go into the wilderness to prepare there the way of Him; as it is written, Prepare in the wilderness the way of ... , make straight in the desert a path for our God (Isa. xl, 3). This (path) is the study of the Law which He commanded by the hand of Moses, that they may do according to all that has been revealed from age to age, and as the Prophets have revealed by His Holy Spirit.

And no man among the members of the Covenant of the Community who deliberately, on any point whatever, turns aside from all that is commanded, shall touch the pure Meal of the men of holiness or know anything of their counsel until his deeds are purified from all injustice and he walks in perfection of way. And then, according to the judgement of the Congregation, he shall be admitted to the Council and shall be inscribed in his rank. This rule shall apply to whoever enters the Community.

And These Are The Rules Which The Men Of Perfect Holiness Shall Follow In Their Commerce With One Another

Every man who enters the Council of Holiness, the Council of those) who walk in the way of perfection as commanded by God, and who deliberately or through negligence transgresses one word of the Law of Moses, on any point whatever, shall be expelled from the Council of the Community and shall return no more; no man of holiness shall be associated in his property or counsel in any matter at all. But if he has acted inadvertently, he shall be excluded from the pure Meal and the Council and they shall interpret the rule (as follows. For two years he shall take no part in judgement or ask for counsel; but if, during that time, his way becomes perfect, then he shall return to the Court of Inquiry and the Council, in accordance with the judgement of the Congregation, provided that he commit no further inadvertent sin during two full years. IX For one sin of inadvertence (alone) he shall do penance for two years. But as for him who has sinned deliberately, he shall never return; only the man who has sinned inadvertently shall be tried for two years, that his way and counsel may be made perfect according to the judgement of the Congregation. And afterwards, he shall be inscribed in his rank in the Community of Holiness.

When these become members of the Community in Israel according to all these rules, they shall establish the spirit of holiness according to everlasting truth. They shall atone for guilty rebellion and for sins of unfaithfulness, that they may obtain loving-kindness for the Land without the flesh of holocausts and the fat of sacrifice. And prayer rightly offered shall be as an acceptable fragrance of righteousness, and perfection of way as a delectable free-will offering. At that time, the men of the Community shall set apart a House of Holiness in order that it may be united to the most holy things and a House of Community for Israel, for those who walk in perfection. The sons of Aaron alone shall command in matters of justice and property, and every rule concerning the men of the Community shall be determined according to their word.

As for the property of the men of holiness who walk in perfection, it shall not be merged with that of the men of injustice who have not purified their life by separating themselves from iniquity and walking in the way of perfection. They shall depart from none of the counsels of the Law to walk in all the stubbornness of their hearts, but shall be ruled by the primitive precepts in which the men of the Community were first instructed until there shall come the Prophet and the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel.

These Are The Precepts In Which The Master Shall Walk In His Commerce With All The Living, According To The Rule Proper To Every Season And According To The Worth Of Every Man

He shall do the will of God according to all that has been revealed from age to age. He shall measure out all knowledge discovered throughout the ages, together with the Precept of the age. He shall separate and weigh the sons of righteousness according to their spirit. He shall hold firmly to the elect of the time according to His will, as He has commanded. He shall judge every man according to his spirit. He shall admit him in accordance with the cleanness of his hands and advance him in accordance with his understanding. And he shall love and hate likewise. He shall not rebuke the men of the Pit nor dispute with them. He shall conceal the teaching of the Law from men of injustice, but shall impart true knowledge and righteous judgement to those who have chosen the Way. He shall guide them all in knowledge according to the spirit of each and according to the rule of the age, and shall thus instruct them in the mysteries of marvellous truth, so that in the midst of the men of the Community they may walk perfectly together in all that has been revealed to them. This is the time for the preparation of the way into the wilderness, and he shall teach them to do all that is required at that time and to separate from all those who have not turned aside from all injustice.

These are the rules of conduct for the Master in those times with respect to His loving and hating Everlasting hatred in a spirit of secrecy for the men of perdition! He shall leave to them wealth and earnings like a slave to his lord and like a poor man to his master. He shall be a man zealous for the Precept whose time is for the Day of Revenge. He shall perform the will of God in all his deeds, and in all his dominion as He has commanded. He shall freely delight in all that befalls him and nothing shall please him save God's will. He shall delight in all the words of His mouth and shall desire nothing except His command. He shall watch always for the judgement of God, and shall bless his Maker for all His goodness and declare His mercies in all that befalls. He shall bless Him with the offering of the lips X at the times ordained by Him: at the beginning of the dominion of light, and at its end when it retires to its appointed place; at the beginning of the watches of darkness when He unlocks their storehouse and spreads them out, and also at their end when they retire before the light; when the heavenly lights shine out from the dwelling-place of Holiness, and also when they retire to the place of Glory; at the entry of the (monthly) seasons on the days of the new moon, and also at their end when they succeed to one another. Their renewal is a great day for the Holy of Holies, and a sign for the unlocking of everlasting mercies at the beginning of seasons in all times to come.

At the beginning of the months of the (yearly) seasons and on the holy days appointed for remembrance, in their seasons I will bless Him with the offering of the lips according to the Precept engraved for ever: at the beginning of the years and at the end of their seasons when their appointed law is fulfilled, on the day decreed by Him that they should pass from one to the other–the season of early harvest to the summer time, the season of sowing to the season of grass, the seasons of years to their weeks (of years)–and at the beginning of their weeks for the season of Jubilee. All my life the engraved Precept shall be on my tongue as the fruit of praise and the portion of my lips.

I will sing with knowledge and all my music shall be for the glory of God. My lyre and my harp shall sound for His holy order and I will tune the pipe of my lips to His right measure. With the coming of day and night I will enter the Covenant of God, and when evening and morning depart I will recite His decrees. I will place in them my bounds without return.

I will declare His judgement concerning my sins, and my transgressions shall be before my eyes as an engraved Precept. I will say to God, 'My Righteousness' and 'Author of my Goodness' to the Most High, 'Fountain of Knowledge' and 'Source of Holiness', 'Summit of Glory' and 'Almighty Eternal Majesty'. I will choose that which He teaches me and will delight in His judgement of me.

Before I move my hands and feet I will bless His Name. I will praise Him before I go out or enter, or sit or rise, and whilst I lie on the couch of my bed. I will bless Him with the offering of that which proceeds from my lips from the midst of the ranks of men, and before I lift my hands to eat of the pleasant fruits of the earth. I will bless Him for His exceeding wonderful deeds at the beginning of fear and dread and in the abode of distress and desolation. I will meditate on His power and will lean on His mercies all day long. I know that judgement of all the living is in His hand, and that all His deeds are truth. I will praise Him when distress is unleashed and will magnify Him also because of His salvation.

I will pay to no man the reward of evil; I will pursue him with goodness. For judgement of all the living is with God and it is He who will render to man his reward. I will not envy in a spirit of wickedness, my soul shall not desire the riches of violence. I will not grapple with the men of perdition until the Day of Revenge, but my wrath shall not turn from the men of falsehood and I will not rejoice until judgement is made. I will bear no rancour against them that turn from transgression, but will have no pity on all who depart from the way. I will offer no comfort to the smitten until their way becomes perfect.

I will not keep Belial within my heart, and in my mouth shall be heard no folly or sinful deceit, no cunning or lies shall be found on my lips. The fruit of holiness shall be on my tongue and no abominations shall be found upon it. I will open my mouth in songs of thanksgiving, and my tongue shall always proclaim the goodness of God and the sin of men until their transgression ends. I will cause vanities to cease from my lips, uncleanness and crookedness from the knowledge of my heart.

I will impart/conceal knowledge with discretion and will prudently hedge it within a firm bound to preserve faith and strong judgement in accordance with the justice of God. I will distribute the Precept by the measuring-cord of the times, and ... righteousness and loving-kindness towards the oppressed, encouragement to the troubled heart and discernment to the erring spirit, teaching understanding to them that murmur that they may answer meekly before the haughty of spirit and humbly before men of injustice who point the finger and speak of iniquity and who are zealous for wealth.

As for me, my justification is with God. In His hand are the perfection of my way and the uprightness of my heart. He will wipe out my transgression through His righteousness.

For my light has sprung from the source of His knowledge; my eyes have beheld His marvellous deeds, and the light of my heart, the mystery to come. He that is everlasting is the support of my right hand; the way of my steps is over stout rock which nothing shall shake; for the rock of my steps is the truth of God and His might is the support of my right hand.

From the source of His righteousness is my justification, and from His marvellous mysteries is the light in my heart. My eyes have gazed on that which is eternal, on wisdom concealed from men, n knowledge and wise design (hidden) from the sons of men; on a fountain of righteousness and on a storehouse of power, on a spring of glory (hidden) from the assembly of flesh. God has given them to His chosen ones as an everlasting possession, and has caused them to inherit the lot of the Holy Ones. He has joined their assembly to the Sons of Heaven to be a Council of the Community, a foundation of the Building of Holiness, and eternal Plantation throughout all ages to come.

As for me, I belong to wicked mankind, to the company of unjust flesh. My iniquities, rebellions, and sins, together with the perversity of my heart, belong to the company of worms and to those who walk in darkness. For mankind has no way, and man is unable to establish his steps since justification is with God and perfection of way is out of His hand. All things come to pass by His knowledge; He establishes all things by His design and without Him nothing is done.

As for me, if I stumble, the mercies of God shall be my eternal salvation. If I stagger because of the sin of flesh, my justification shall be by the righteousness of God which endures for ever. When my distress is unleashed He will deliver my soul from the Pit and will direct my steps to the way. He will draw me near by His grace, and by His mercy will He bring my justification. He will judge me in the righteousness of His truth and in the greatness of His goodness e will pardon all my sins. Through His righteousness he will cleanse me of the uncleanness of man and of the sins of the children of men, that I may confess to God His righteousness, and His majesty to the Most High.

Blessed art Thou, my God, who openest the heart of Thy servant to knowledge! Establish all his deeds in righteousness, and as it pleases Thee to do for the elect of mankind, grant that the son of Thy handmaid may stand before Thee for ever.

For without Thee no way is perfect, and without Thy will nothing is done. It is Thou who hast taught all knowledge and all things come to pass by Thy will. There is none beside Thee to dispute Thy counsel or to understand all Thy holy design, or to contemplate the depth of Thy mysteries and the power of Thy might.

Who can endure Thy glory, and what is the son of man in the midst of Thy wonderful deeds? What shall one born of woman be accounted before Thee? Kneaded from the dust, his abode is the nourishment of worms. He is but a shape, but moulded clay, and inclines towards dust. What shall hand-moulded clay reply? What counsel shall it understand?

Community Rule Manuscripts From Cave 4 (4QSd=4Q258)
(This'is the best preserved of the ten 4QS manuscripts. Seven columns of the text have survived, five of them containing full-length lines. Column 1, with a wide margin on the right, is almost certainly the beginning of the Scroll. It corresponds to 1QS v, 1. The most significant peculiarities of 4QSd (=4Q258) are the almost complete absence of the 'full' spelling characteristic of the Qumran sectarian manuscripts, the different opening line and a repeated failure to mention 'the Priests, the Sons of Zadok'.)

Teaching for the Master concerning the men of the Law (or: the Master who is the superior of the men of the Law) who have freely pledged themselves to convert from all evil and hold fast to all that He has commanded. And they shall separate from the congregation of the men of injustice and shall unite with respect to doctrine and property, and they shall be under the authority of the Congregation concerning all matters of doctrine and property. They shall practise humility and righteousness and justice and loving-kindness and modesty in all their ways. And no man shall walk in the stubbornness of his heart so as to stray. He is rather to lay a foundation of truth for Israel for the Community, for all those who have freely pledged themselves to Holiness in Aaron and to a House of Truth in Israel and for those who join them for a Community. Whoever enters the Council of the Community shall undertake by binding (oath) to return to the Law of Moses with all (his) heart and soul, to all that has been revealed from the Law.

And whoever enters the Council of the men of the Community shall separate from all the men of injustice... He shall not touch the purity of the men of holiness and shall not eat with (them) in community. And no one of the men of the Community shall follow their decision in any doctrine and judgement. And ... of work. No one from the men of holiness shall eat ... And they shall not lean upon works of vanity, for

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they are all vanity who do not know His Covenant and all who despise His word He will blot them out from the world. All their deeds are defilement before Him and all their property unclean. ...

Gentiles and they pronounce oaths and execrations and vows. But when a man enters the Covenant according to all these precepts, that he may be joined to the holy Congregation, they shall examine their spirit in community, among themselves concerning their understanding and their practice of the Law under the authority of the sons of Aaron who have freely pledged themselves to restore His Covenant and heed to all the precepts commanded by Him to be practised by the multitude of Israel who have freely pledged themselves to return in common. They shall be inscribed in the order, one after another, each according to his understanding and his deeds in the Law, that all may obey one another, the man of lesser rank the greater. And they shall examine their spirit and their deeds in the Law yearly so that each man may be advanced in accordance with his understanding or moved down in accordance with his aberrations.

They shall rebuke one another (in) loving-kindness. Let no man address his companion with anger or ill-temper or wicked envy. Also let no man accuse his companion before the Congregation without having rebuked him before witnesses. These are the ways in which all of them shall walk, each man with his companion, wherever they dwell.

The man of lesser rank shall obey the greater in matters of work and property. And they shall eat in common and bless in common and deliberate in common. And wherever there are ten men of the Council of the Community, there shall not lack a priest from among them. And they shall sit, each man according to his rank, before him and shall be asked their counsel in all things in that order. And when the table has been prepared for eating or the new wine for drinking, the priest shall be first to stretch out his hand to bless the firstfruit of the bread and of the wine. And where the ten are, there shall never lack a man among them who shall study the Law day and night. And the Congregation shall watch for one third of every night of the year, to read the Book ... ... and whoever draws his hand from beneath his garment ... ... and to pay to the wicked their reward. It shall be a tried wall, that precious corner-stone whose foundations shall not rock nor sway from their place; it shall be a most holy dwelling-place for Aaron, with the knowledge of them all of a covenant of justice and of the offering of fragrance; it shall be a house of perfection and truth for Israel to establish a covenant according to the everlasting precepts.

They shall be an acceptance to atone for the land and to determine the judgement of wickedness with no injustice (any more). When these have been confirmed in the foundation of the Community for two years, in perfection of way, they shall be separated as holy within the council of the men of the Community. And anything hidden from Israel but discovered by the man who interprets, he shall not conceal it from them for fear of the spirit of apostasy. And when these become (part of) the Community/in Israel, they shall separate from the midst of the habitation of the men of injustice to go into the wilderness to prepare there the way of HIM (or: the truth). This is the study of the Law which He has commanded by the hand of Moses, to practise all that has been revealed from age to age, and as the prophets have revealed by His holy spirit. And no man from the men of the covenant of the Community who turns aside from any commandment deliberately shall touch the purity of the men of holiness, nor shall he know any of their counsel until his deeds are purified from all injustice so that he walks in perfection of way. And they shall admit him to the council by the decision of the Congregation and afterwards he shall be inscribed in his rank. And this rule shall apply to everyone who attaches himself to the Community. And these are the rules which the men of holiness shall follow, one regarding another. Everyone who enters the council of the Community ... ... they shall exclude him from purity and from council and from judgement for two years and he shall return to study and to council if he has not committed again a sin by inadvertence for two full years. For one sin of inadvertence he shall do penance for two years, and for a deliberately committed sin he shall return no more. But he shall be tried for two years concerning the perfection of his way and for his counsel according to the decision of the Congregation and he shall be inscribed in his rank in the Community of holiness. When these become part of the Community in Israel according to these rules, they shall establish the spirit of holiness as eternal truth. They shall atone for guilty rebellion and the sin of unfaithfulness and shall gain (divine) acceptance for the land without the flesh of holocausts and the fat of sacrifices and offerings. And the correct free-will gift of the lips shall be like a fragrance of righteousness and the perfection of the way like the free-will offering of agreeable tribute. And at that time they shall separate a house of Aaron for holiness for all . . . of God and a house of Community for Israel who walk in perfection. Only the sons of Aaron shall command in matters of justice and property. And the property of the men of holiness who walk in perfection, let their property not be merged with the property of the men of falsehood who have not confirmed their way to separate from all evil things so as to walk in the way of perfection. Let them not depart from any counsel of the Law and they shall be judged by the primitive precepts in which the men of the Community began to be instructed. He shall perform the judgement of every man according to his spirit and he shall admit him according to the cleanness of his hands and shall advance him according to his understanding, and so shall be his love and his hatred. Furthermore he shall not rebuke a man and shall not dispute with the men of the pit. He shall conceal his counsel among the men of injustice, but he shall impart true knowledge and righteous judgement to those who have chosen the way, to each according to his spirit and according to the rule of the age, guiding them with knowledge. And thus shall he instruct them in the mysteries of marvel and truth among the men of the Community that they may walk in perfection each man with his fellow in all that has been revealed to them. This is the time for the preparation of the way into the wilderness. He shall instruct them in all that is to be done in that time.

And he shall separate from every man who has not turned away from all injustice. And these are the rules of conduct for the Master in those times with respect to his loving and hating. Everlasting hatred for the men of the pit in a spirit of secrecy. He shall leave to them property and gain and the earnings of toil like a slave to his lord and the poor man to his master. Each shall be zealous for the precept and his time shall become a day of revenge. He shall perform the will (of God) in all his actions and in all his dominion as He has commanded.

And all that befalls him, he shall enjoy as a free gift and without the will of GOD he shall not enjoy anything. He shall delight in all the words of His mouth and shall desire nothing that He has not commanded.

And he shall watch always for the judgement of GOD . . . and he shall bless his Maker and in all that befalls he shall declare . . . and with the offering of the lips he shall bless Him at the times which He has decreed. At the beginning of the dominion of light and the completion of its circuit when it retires to its appointed dwelling at the beginning of the watches of darkness. When He opens its storehouse and spreads it out and at the completion of its circuit when it retires before the light. When the heavenly lights shine out from the abode of His holiness together with their withdrawal to the dwelling of glory. At the entry of seasons according to the new moon as well as their completion of their circuit when one succeeds to the other; at their renewal there is a great day for the Holy of Holies and a sign for the opening of the everlasting mercies at the beginning of the seasons for all ages to come. At the beginning of the months for their seasons and on the holy days according to their rules for remembrance in their seasons, I will bless Him with the offering of the lips according to the precept engraved for ever. At the beginning of the years and at the completion of the circuit of their seasons, when they fulfil their determined precept on the day decreed for one to follow another, the season of early harvest the summer, and the season of sowing the season of grass, the seasons of the years their weeks and at the beginning of their weeks the seasons of jubilee. And during all my existence the engraved precept shall be on my tongue as a fruit of praise and a portion of my lips. I will sing with knowledge and all my music is for the glory of GOD. And I will strike my lyre to the order of His holiness and the pipe of my lips I will tune to His right measure. At the coming of the day and the night I will enter the covenant of GOD and at the departure of evening and morning I will recite His precepts. And in them will I re-establish my boundaries without return. I will declare His judgement correct concerning my transgression and my rebellion shall be before my eyes as an engraved precept. And I say to GOD, 'My righteousness' and to the Most High, 'Author of my goodness', 'Fountain of Knowledge' and 'Source of Holiness', 'Summit of Glory' and 'Almighty Eternal Majesty'.

I will choose that which He teaches me and I will delight in His judgement of me. Before I move my hands and feet I will bless His name and before I lift my hand to grow fat from the pleasant produce of the world. At the beginning of fear and dread and in the abode of distress and desolation, I will confess (His) marvel and I will meditate on His might and on His mercies I will lean all day long. I know that in His hand is the judgement of all the living and all His deeds are truth. When distress starts I will praise Him and I will exalt Him for His salvation. And I will not pay an evil reward to a man; I will pursue him with goodness. For the judgement of all the living is with GOD, and He will repay man his reward ... ... and He has caused them to inherit the lot of the Holy Ones ... ... He will atone for all my sins. Through His righteousness He will cleanse me of the uncleanness of man and from the sins of the children of men that I may confess to God His righteousness ...

4QSe=4Q259

(Three fragmentary columns of a leather scroll contain damaged sections of 1QS VII-IX. The text translated comes from columns II and III and represents an important doctrinal section of 1QS (VIII, 4-IX, II) in an abridged form. Not only are some of the interlinear additions to 1QS absent, suggesting their later editorial nature, but 4QSe (4Q259) jumps from 1QS VIII, 15 to IX, 12, thus omitting among other things the mention of the 'Prophet and the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel' (1QS IX, II). It would seem that the copyist of this manuscript substituted 4Q319 (the calendric document of Otot) for the text corresponding to 1QS X-XI.)

... And when he has completed two years, the Congregation shall consider his case and he shall be inscribed in his rank and afterwards he may question concerning the law. And anyone who has been in the Council of the Community until he has completed ten years, and then his spirit turned back so that he has betrayed the Community and has departed from the Congregation to walk in the stubbornness of his heart, he shall return no more to the Council of the Community. And any of the men of the Community who has shared with him his purity or his property, his sentence shall be like his: he shall be expelled. In the Council of the Community there shall be twelve men and three priests, perfect in all that has been revealed from the whole Law to practise truth, righteousness and justice loving-kindness and modesty towards one another. They shall preserve faith in the land with steadfastness and with humility and a broken spirit. And they shall atone for iniquity by the practice of justice and the distress of testing. They shall walk with all men by the standard of truth, by the rule of the time. When these are in Israel, the Council of the Community shall be established to be an everlasting plantation, a House of Holiness for Israel and an Assembly of Supreme Holiness for Aaron. They shall be witnesses of the truth at the Judgement, and shall be the elect of good will who atone for the Land and pay to the wicked their reward. It shall be the tried wall, that precious corner-stone. They shall neither rock, nor sway from their place (Isa. xxviii, 16). It shall be a most Holy Dwelling for Aaron for a Covenant of justice to offer up sweet fragrance. It shall be a House of Perfection and Truth in Israel that they may establish a Covenant according to the everlasting precepts. When they have been confirmed III (IQS VIII, 11-15; IX, 12 ...) for two years in the perfection of way in the Foundation of the Community, they shall be set apart as holy within the Council of the men of the Community. And the interpreter shall not conceal from them, out of fear of the spirit of apostasy, any of those things hidden from Israel which have been discovered by him. And when these shall become the Community, they shall separate from the habitation of unjust men and shall go into the wilderness to prepare there the way of the Truth; as it is written, In the wilderness prepare the way of... (?), make straight in the desert a path for our God (Isa. xl, 3). This (path) is the study of the Law which He commanded by the hand of Moses. (The manuscript omits the section corresponding to 1QS VIII, 15b to ix, 11, and continues with ix, 12 on the same line.) These are the precepts in which the Master shall walk in his commerce with all the living, according to the rule proper to every season and according to the worth of every man.

4Q271

(Transcription and translation by J. Baumgarten)

...with money... his means did not suffice to return it to him and the year for redemption approaches?... and may God release him? from his sins. Let not in one, for it is an abomination....And concerning what he said (Lev. 25:14), "When you sell anything to or buy anything from your neighbour, you shall not defraud one another," this is the explication... everything that he knows that is found... and he knows that he is wronging him, whether it concerns man or beast. And if a man gives his daughter to another man, let him disclose all her blemishes to him, lest he bring upon himself the judgement of the curse which is said (Deuteronomy 27:18) (of the one) that "makes the blind to wander out of the way." Moreover, he should not give her to one unfit for her, for that is Kila'yim, plowing with ox and ass and wearing wool and linen together. Let no man bring a woman into the holy who has had sexual experience, whether she had such experience in the home of her father or as a widow who had intercourse after she was widowed. And any woman upon whom there is a bad name in her maidenhood in her father's home, let no man take her, except upon examination by reliable women who have clear knowledge, by command of the Supervisor over the Many. Afterward he may take her, and when he takes her he shall act in accordance with the law ...and he shall not tell... L

Entry into the Covenant (4Q275)

(Previously called 4QTohorot B a, this tiny fragment represents a document describing the entry into the Covenant, known from the Community Rule (1QS), and alludes to a festival in the third month, i.e. the Feast of Weeks of Pentecost, when according to one of the Cave 4 manuscripts of the Damascus Document (4Q266) the Qumran Covenant renewal took place.)

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And the Guardian will come and the elders with him until... and they shall enter by genealogy... And the Guardian shall curse (the unrepentant), saying 'Be damned without mercy. Let him be cursed ...' And he will remove him from his inheritance for ever ... when he visits destruction ...

Four Classes of the Community (4Q279)

(Formerly known as 4QTohorot D a, this fragment is one of three small scraps which have partly preserved the division of the Community into four lots or classes, already known from CD XIV, 5-6, viz. Priests, Levites, Israelites and Proselytes.)

... The first lot belongs to the Priests, the sons of Aaron and the second lot to the Levites ranked in order each according to his spirit. And the third lot will belong to the children of Israel in order each according to his spirit. And the fourth lot will belong to the Proselytes ...

The Damascus Document (CD, 4Q265-73, 5Q12, 6Q15)

(Extensive fragments of the Damascus Document have been recovered from three of the Qumran caves, but two incomplete medieval copies of this document had been found already many years earlier, in 1896-7, amongst a mass of discarded manuscripts in a storeroom (genizah) of an old Cairo synagogue.

The title 'Damascus Document' derives from the references in the Exhortation to the 'New Covenant' made 'in the land of Damascus'.

The significance of this phrase is discussed in Chapter III together with the chronological data included in the manuscript. They suggest that the document was written in about 100 BC. and this hypothesis is indirectly supported by the absence of any mention in the historical passages of the Kittim (Romans) whose invasion of the Orient did not take place until after 70 BC.

The work is divided into an "Exhortation" and a "list of Statutes". In the Exhortation, the preacher - probably a Guardian of the Community - addresses his 'sons' on the themes of the sect's teaching, many of which appear also in the Community Rule. His aim is to encourage the sectaries to remain faithful, and with this end in view he sets out to demonstrate from the history of Israel and the Community that fidelity is always rewarded and apostasy chastised.

The second part of the Damascus Document, the Statutes, consists of a collection of laws which mostly reflect a sectarian reinterpretation of the biblical commandments relative to vows and oaths, tribunals, purification, the Sabbath and the distinction between ritual purity and impurity. They are followed by rules concerned with the institutions and organization of the Community. Some of the particular laws of the Damascus Rule appear also in the Temple Scroll (cf. p. 192).

Whereas the Exhortation represents a literary genre adopted by both Jewish and Christian religious teachers (e.g. the Letter to the Hebrews), the methodical grouping of the Statutes prefigures that of the Mishnah, the oldest extant Jewish code.)

PART 1 - The Exhortation

I Listen now74 all you who know righteousness, and consider the works of God; for He has a dispute with all flesh and will condemn all those who despise Him.

For when they were unfaithful and forsook Him, He hid His face from Israel and His Sanctuary and delivered them up to the sword. But remembering the Covenant of the forefathers, He left a remnant to Israel and did not deliver it up to be destroyed. And in the age of wrath, three hundred and ninety years after He had given them into the hand of King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, He visited them, and He caused a plant root to spring from Israel and Aaron to inherit His Land and to prosper on the good things of His earth. And they perceived their iniquity and recognized that they were guilty men, yet for twenty years they were like blind men groping for the way.

And God observed their deeds, that they sought Him with a whole heart, and He raised for them a Teacher of Righteousness to guide them in the way of His heart. And he made known to the latter generations that which God had done to the latter generation, the congregation of traitors, to those who departed from the way. This was the time of which it is written, Like a stubborn heifer thus was Israel stubborn (Hos. iv. 16), when the Scoffer arose who shed over Israel the waters of lies. He caused them to wander in a pathless wilderness, laying low the everlasting heights, abolishing the ways of righteousness and removing the boundary with which the forefathers had marked out their inheritance, that he might call down on them the curses of His Covenant and deliver them up to the avenging sword of the Covenant. For they sought smooth things and preferred illusions (Isa. xxx, 10) and they watched for breaks (Isa. xxx, 13) and chose the fair neck; and they justified the wicked and condemned the just, and they transgressed the Covenant and violated the Precept. They banded together against the life of the righteous (Ps. xciv, 21) and loathed all who walked in perfection; they pursued them with the sword and exulted in the strife of the people. And the anger of God was kindled against II their congregation so that He ravaged all their multitude; and their deeds were defilement before Him.

Hear now, all you who enter the Covenant, and I will unstop your ears concerning the ways of the wicked.

God loves knowledge. Wisdom and understanding He has set before Him, and prudence and knowledge serve Him. Patience and much forgiveness are with Him towards those who turn from transgression; but power, might, and great flaming wrath by the hand of all the Angels of Destruction towards those who depart from the way and abhor the Precept. They shall have no remnant or survivor. For from the beginning God chose them not; He knew their deeds before ever they were created and He hated their generations, and He hid His face from the Land until they were consumed. For He knew the years of their coming and the length and exact duration of their times for all ages to come and throughout eternity. He knew the happenings of their times throughout all the everlasting years. And in all of them He raised for Himself men called by name76 that a remnant might be left to the Land, and that the face of the earth might be filled with their seed. And He made known His Holy Spirit to them by the hand of His anointed ones, and He proclaimed the truth (to them). But those whom He hated He led astray.

Hear now, my sons, and I will uncover your eyes that you may see and understand the works of God, that you may choose that which pleases Him and reject that which He hates, that you may walk perfectly in all His ways and not follow after thoughts of the guilty inclination and after eyes of lust. For through them, great men have gone astray and mighty heroes have stumbled from former times till now. Because they walked in the stubbornness of their heart the Heavenly Watchers fell; they were caught because they did not keep the commandments of God. And their sons also fell who were tall as cedar trees and whose bodies were like mountains. All flesh on dry land perished; they were as though they had never been because they did their own will and did not keep the commandment of their Maker so that His wrath was kindled against them. III Through it, the children of Noah went astray, together with their kin, and were cut off. Abraham did not walk in it, and he was accounted a friend of God because he kept the commandments of God and did not choose his own will. And he handed them down to Isaac and Jacob, who kept them, and were recorded as friends of God and party to the Covenant for ever. The children of Jacob strayed through them and were punished in accordance with their error. And their sons in Egypt walked in the stubbornness of their hearts, conspiring against the commandments of God and each of them doing that which seemed right in his own eyes.

They ate blood, and He cut off their males in the wilderness. And at Kadesh He said to them, Go up and possess the land (Deut. ix, 23). But they chose their own will and did not heed the voice of their Maker, the commands of their Teacher, but murmured in their tents; and the anger of God was kindled against their congregation. Through it their sons perished, and through it their kings were cut off; through it their mighty heroes perished and through it their land was ravaged. Through it the first members of the Covenant sinned and were delivered up to the sword, because they forsook the Covenant of God and chose their own will and walked in the stubbornness of their hearts, each of them doing his own will.

But with the remnant which held fast to the commandments of God He made His Covenant with Israel for ever, revealing to them the hidden things in which all Israel had gone astray. He unfolded before them His holy Sabbaths and his glorious feasts, the testimonies of His righteousness and the ways of His truth, and the desires of His will which a man must do in order to live. And they dug a well rich in water; and he who despises it shall not live. Yet they wallowed in the sin of man and in ways of uncleanness, and they said, 'This is our (way).' But God, in His wonderful mysteries, forgave them their sin and pardoned their wickedness; and He built them a sure house in Israel whose like has never existed from former times till now. Those who hold fast to it are destined to live for ever and all the glory of Adam shall be theirs.

As God ordained for them by the hand of the Prophet Ezekiel, saying, The Priests, the Levites, and the sons IV of Zadok who kept the charge of my sanctuary when the children of Israel strayed from me, they shall offer me fat and blood (Ezek. xliv, 15).

The Priests are the converts of Israel who departed from the land of Judah, and (the Levites are) those who joined them. The sons of Zadok are the elect of Israel, the men called by name who shall stand at the end of days. Behold the exact list of their names according to their generations, and the time when they lived, and the number of their trials, and the years of their sojourn, and the exact list of their deeds...

(They were the first men) of holiness whom God forgave, and who justified the righteous and condemned the wicked. And until the age is completed, according to the number of those years, all who enter after them shall do according to that interpretation of the Law in which the first (men) were instructed. According to the Covenant which God made with the forefathers, forgiving their sins, so shall He forgive their sins also. But when the age is completed, according to the number of those years, there shall be no more joining the house of Judah, but each man shall stand on his watch-tower: The wall is built, the boundary far removed (Mic. vii, II).

During all those years Belial shall be unleashed against Israel, as He spoke by the hand of Isaiah, son of Amoz, saying, Terror and the pit and the snare are upon you, O inhabitant of the land (Isa. xxiv, 17).

Interpreted, these are the three nets of Belial with which Levi son of Jacob said that he catches Israel by setting them up as three kinds of righteousness. The first is fornication, the second is riches, and the third is profanation of the Temple. Whoever escapes the first is caught in the second, and whoever saves himself from the second is caught in the third (Isa. xxiv, 18).

The 'builders of the wall' (Ezek. xiii, 10) who have followed after 'Precept' - 'Precept' was a spouter of whom it is written, They shall surely spout (Mic. ii, 6) - shall be caught in fornication twice by taking a second wife while the first is alive, whereas the principle of creation is, Male and female created He them (Gen. i, 27)' V Also, those who entered the Ark went in two by two. And concerning the prince it is written, He shall not multiply wives to himself (Deut. xvii, 17); but David had not read the sealed book of the Law which was in the ark of the Covenant, for it was not opened in Israel from the death of Eleazar and Joshua, and the elders who worshipped Ashtoreth. It was hidden and (was not) revealed until the coming of Zadok. And the deeds of David rose up, except for the murder of Uriah, and God left them to him.

Moreover, they profane the Temple because they do not observe the distinction (between clean and unclean) in accordance with the Law, but lie with a woman who sees her bloody discharge.

And each man marries the daughter of his brother or sister, whereas Moses said, You shall not approach your mother's sister; she is your mothers near kin (Lev. xviii, 13). But although the laws against incest are written for men, they also apply to women. When, therefore, a brother's daughter uncovers the nakedness of her father's brother, she is (also his) near kin.

Furthermore, they defile their holy spirit and open their mouth with a blaspheming tongue against the laws of the Covenant of God saying, 'They are not sure.' They speak abominations concerning them; they are all kindlers of fire and lighters of brands (Isa. 1, 11), their webs are spiders' webs and their eggs are vipers' eggs (Isa. lix, 5). No man that approaches them shall be free from guilt; the more he does so, the guiltier shall he be, unless he is pressed. For (already) in ancient times God visited their deeds and His anger was kindled against their works; for it is a people of no discernment (Isa. xxvii, II), it is a nation void of counsel inasmuch as there is no discernment in them (Deut. xxxii, 28). For in ancient times, Moses and Aaron arose by the hand of the Prince of Lights and Belial in his cunning raised up Jannes and his brother when Israel was first delivered.

And at the time of the desolation of the land there arose removers of the bound who led Israel astray. And the land was ravaged because they preached rebellion against the commandments of God given by the hand of Moses and VI of His holy anointed ones, and because they prophesied lies to turn Israel away from following God. But God remembered the Covenant with the forefathers, and he raised from Aaron men of discernment and from Israel men of wisdom, and He caused them to hear. And they dug the Well:78 the well which the princes dug, which the nobles of the people delved with the stave (Num. xxi, 18).

The Well is the Law, and those who dug it were the converts of Israel who went out of the land of Judah to sojourn in the land of Damascus.

God called them all princes because they sought Him, and their renown was disputed by no man. The Stave is the Interpreter of the Law of whom Isaiah said, He makes a tool for His work (Isa. liv, 16); and the nobles of the people are those who come to dig the Well with the staves with which the Stave ordained that they should walk in all the age of wickedness - and without them they shall find nothing - until he comes who shall teach righteousness at the end of days.

None of those brought into the Covenant shall enter the Temple to light His altar in vain. They shall bar the door, forasmuch as God said, Who among you will bar its door? And, You shall not light my altar in vain (Mal. i, 10). They shall take care to act according to the exact interpretation of the Law during the age of wickedness. They shall separate from the sons of the Pit, and shall keep away from the unclean riches of wickedness acquired by vow or anathema or from the Temple treasure; they shall not rob the poor of His people, to make of widows their prey and of the fatherless their victim (Isa. x, 2). They shall distinguish between clean and unclean, and shall proclaim the difference between holy and profane. They shall keep the Sabbath day according to its exact interpretation, and the feasts and the Day of Fasting

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according to the finding of the members of the New Covenant in the land of Damascus. They shall set aside the holy things according to the exact teaching concerning them. They shall love each man his brother as himself; they shall succour the poor, the needy, and the stranger.

A man shall seek his brother's well-being VII and shall not sin against his near kin. They shall keep from fornication according to the statute. They shall rebuke each man his brother according to the commandment and shall bear no rancour from one day to the next.

They shall keep apart from every uncleanness according to the statutes relating to each one, and no man shall defile his holy spirit since God has set them apart. For all who walk in these (precepts) in perfect holiness, according to all the teaching of God, the Covenant of God shall be an assurance that they shall live for thousands of generations (MS. B: as it is written, Keeping the Covenant and grace with those who love me and keep my commandments, to a thousand generations, Deut. vii, 9).

And if they live in camps according to the rule of the Land (MS. B: as it was from ancient times), marrying (MS. B: according to the custom of the Law) and begetting children, they shall walk according to the Law and according to the statute concerning binding vows, according to the rule of the Law which says, Between a man and his wife and between a father and his son (Num. xxx, 17). And all those who despise (MS. B: the commandments and the statutes) shall be rewarded with the retribution of the wicked when God shall visit the Land, when the saying shall come to pass which is written79 among the words of the Prophet Isaiah son of Amoz: He will bring upon you, and upon your people, and upon your father's house, days such as have not come since the day that Ephraim departed from Judah (Isa. vii, 17). When the two houses of Israel were divided, Ephraim departed from Judah. And all the apostates were given up to the sword, but those who held fast escaped to the land of the north; as God said, I will exile the tabernacle of your king and the bases of your statues from my tent to Damascus (Amos v, 26-7).

The Books of the Law are the tabernacle of the king; as God said, I will raise up the tabernacle of David which is fallen (Amos ix, II). The king is the congregation; and the bases of the statues are the Books of the Prophets whose sayings Israel despised. The star is the Interpreter of the Law who shall come to Damascus; as it is written, A star shall come forth out ofJacob and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel (Num. xxiv, 17). The sceptre is the Prince of the whole congregation, and when he comes he shall smite all the children of Seth (Num. xxiv, 17).

At the time of the former Visitation they were saved, whereas the apostates VIII were given up to the sword; and so shall it be for all the members of His Covenant who do not hold steadfastly to these (MS. B: to the curse of the precepts). They shall be visited for destruction by the hand of Belial. That shall be the day when God will visit. (MS. B: As He said,) The princes of Judah have become (MS. B: like those who remove the bound); wrath shall be poured upon them (Hos. v, 10).

For they shall hope for healing but He will crush them. They are all of them rebels, for they80 have not turned from the way of traitors but have wallowed in the ways of whoredom and wicked wealth. They have taken revenge and borne malice, every man against his brother, and every man has hated his fellow, and every man has sinned against his near kin, and has approached for unchastity, and has acted arrogantly for the sake of riches and gain. And every man has done that which seemed right in his eyes and has chosen the stubbornness of his heart. They have not kept apart from the people (MS. B: and their sin) and have wilfully rebelled by walking in the ways of the wicked of whom God said, Their wine is the venom of serpents, the cruel poison (or head) of asps (Deut. xxxii, 33).

The serpents are the kings of the peoples and their wine is their ways. And the head of asps is the chief of the kings of Greece who came to wreak vengeance upon them. But all these things the builders of the wall and those who daub it with plaster (Ezek. xiii, 10) have not understood because a follower of the wind, one who raised storms and rained down lies, had preached to them (Mic. ii, 11), against all of whose assembly the anger of God was kindled.

And as for that which Moses said, You enter to possess these nations not because of your righteousness or the uprightness of your hearts (Deut. ix, 5) but because God loved your fathers and kept the oath (Deut. vii, 8), thus shall it be with the converts of Israel who depart from the way of the people. Because God loved the first (men) who testified in His favour, so will He love those who come after them, for the Covenant of the fathers is theirs. But He hated the builders of the wall and His anger was kindled (MS. B: against them and against all those who followed them); and so shall it be for all who reject the commandments of God and abandon them for the stubbornness of their hearts. This is the word which Jeremiah spoke to Baruch son of Neriah, and which Elisha spoke to his servant Gehazi.

None of the men who enter the New Covenant in the land of Damascus, (B I) and who again betray it and depart from the fountain of living waters, shall be reckoned with the Council of the people or inscribed in its Book from the day of the gathering in (B II) of the Teacher of the Community until the coming of the Messiah out of Aaron and Israel.

And thus shall it be for every man who enters the congregation of men of perfect holiness but faints in performing the duties of the upright. He is a man who has melted in the furnace (Ezek. xxii, 22); when his deeds are revealed he shall be expelled from the congregation as though his lot had never fallen among the disciples of God. The men of knowledge shall rebuke him in accordance with his sin against the time when he shall stand again before the Assembly of the men of perfect holiness. But when his deeds are revealed, according to the interpretation of the Law in which the men of perfect holiness walk, let no man defer to him with regard to money or work, for all the Holy Ones of the Most High have cursed him.

And thus shall it be for all among the first and the last who reject (the precepts), who set idols upon their hearts and walk in the stubbornness of their hearts; they shall have no share in the house of the Law. They shall be judged in the same manner as their companions were judged who deserted to the Scoffer. For they have spoken wrongly against the precepts of righteousness, and have despised the Covenant and the Pact - the New Covenant - which they made in the land of Damascus. Neither they nor their kin shall have any part in the house of the Law.

From the day of the gathering in of the Teacher of the Community until the end of all the men of war who deserted to the Liar there shall pass about forty years (Deut. 2, 14). And during that age the wrath of God shall be kindled against Israel; as He said, There shall be no king, no prince, no judge, no man to rebuke with justice (Hos. iii, 4).

But those who turn from the sin of Jacob, who keep the Covenant of God, shall then speak each man to his fellow, to justify each man his brother, that their step may take the way of God. And God will heed their words and will hear, and a Book of Reminder shall be written before Him of them that fear God and worship His Name, against the time when salvation and righteousness shall be revealed to them that fear God. And then shall you distinguish once more between the just and the wicked, between one that serves God and one that serves Him not (Mal. iii, 18); and He will show loving-kindness to thousands, to them that love Him and watch for Him, for a thousand generations (Exodus 20, 6).

And every member of the House of Separation who went out of the Holy City and leaned on God at the time when Israel sinned and defiled the Temple, but returned again to the way of the people in small matters, shall be judged according to his spirit in the Council of Holiness. But when the glory of God is made manifest to Israel, all those members of the Covenant who have breached the bound of the Law shall be cut off from the midst of the camp, and with them all those who condemned Judah in the days of its trials.

But all those who hold fast to these precepts, going and coming in accordance with the Law, who heed the voice of the Teacher and confess before God, saying, 'Truly we have sinned, we and our fathers, by walking counter to the precepts of the Covenant, Thy judgements upon us are justice and truth'; who do not lift their hand against His holy precepts or His righteous statutes or His true testimonies; who have learned from the former judgements by which the members of the Community were judged; who have listened to the voice of the Teacher of Righteousness and have not despised the precepts of righteousness when they heard them; they shall rejoice and their hearts shall be strong, and they shall prevail over all the sons of the earth. God will forgive them and they shall see His salvation because they took refuge in His holy Name.

Part 2 - The Statutes

... He shall not swear by the Name, nor by Aleph and Lamed (Elohim), nor by Aleph and Daleth (Adonai), but a binding oath by the curses of the Covenant.

He shall not mention the Law of Moses for... were he to swear and then break (his oath) he would profane the Name.

But if he has sworn an oath by the curses of the Covenant before the judges and has transgressed it, then he is guilty and shall confess and make restitution; but he shall not be burdened with a capital sin.

And all those who have entered the Covenant, granted to all Israel for ever, shall make their children who have reached the age of enrolment, swear with the oath of the Covenant. And thus shall it be during all the age of wickedness for every man who repents of his corrupted way. On the day that he speaks to the Guardian of the congregation, they shall enrol him with the oath of the Covenant which Moses made with Israel, the Covenant to return to the Law of Moses with a whole heart and soul, to whatever is found should be done at that time. No man shall make known the statutes to him until he has stood before the Guardian, lest when examining him the Guardian be deceived by him. But if he transgresses after swearing to return to the Law of Moses with a whole heart and soul, they (the members) shall be innocent should he transgress. And should he err in any matter that is revealed of the Law to the multitude of the camp, the Guardian shall {instruct} (4Q266, fr. 8 i, 5) him and shall issue directions concerning him: he should study for a full year. And according to his (the Guardian's) knowledge, {no madman, or lunatic shall enter, no simpleton, or fool, no blind man, or maimed, or lame, or deaf man, and no minor, none of these shall enter into the Community, for the Angels of Holiness are in their midst} (4Q266, fr. 8 i, 6-9).

(For God made) a Covenant with you and all Israel; therefore a man shall bind himself by oath to return to the Law of Moses, for in it all things are strictly defined.

As for the exact determination of their times to which Israel turns a blind eye, behold it is strictly defined in the Book of the Divisions of the Times into their Jubilees and Weeks. And on the day that a man swears to return to the Law of Moses, the Angel of Persecution shall cease to follow him provided that he fulfils his word: for this reason Abraham circumcised himself on the day that he knew.

And concerning the saying, You shall keep your vow by fulfilling it (Deuteronomy 23, 24), let no man, even at the price of death, annul any binding oath by which he has sworn to keep a commandment of the Law.

But even at the price of death, a man shall fulfil no vow by which he has sworn to depart from the Law.

Concerning the oath of a woman

Inasmuch as He said, It is for her husband to cancel her oath (Numbers 30, 9), no husband shall cancel an oath without knowing whether it should be kept or not. Should it be such as to lead to transgression of the Covenant, he shall cancel it and shall not let it be kept. The rule for her father is likewise.

Concerning the statute for free-will offerings

No man shall vow to the altar anything unlawfully acquired. Also, no Priest shall take from Israel anything unlawfully acquired. And no man shall consecrate the food of his house to God, for it is as he said, Each hunts his brother with a net (or votive-offering: Micah 7, 2). Let no man consecrate... And if he has consecrated to God some of his own field ... he who has made the vow shall be punished ... with one sixth of his valuation money ...

Every vow by which a man vows another to destruction (cf. Leviticus 27, 29) by the laws of the Gentiles shall himself be put to death. And concerning the saying, You shall not take vengeance on the children of your people, nor bear any rancour against them (Leviticus 19, 18), if any member of the Covenant accuses his companion without first rebuking him before85 witnesses; if he denounces him in the heat of his anger or reports him to his elders to make him look contemptible, he is one that takes vengeance and bears rancour, although it is expressly written, He takes vengeance upon His adversaries and bears rancour against His enemies (Nahum 1, 2). If he holds his peace towards him from one day to another86 and thereafter speaks of him in the heat of his anger, he testifies against himself concerning a capital matter because he has not fulfilled the commandment of God which tells him: You shall rebuke your companion and not be burdened with sin because of him (Leviticus 19, 17).

Concerning the oath with reference to that which He said, You shall not take the law into your own hands (I Samuel 25, 26)

Whoever causes another to swear in the field instead of before the Judges, or at their decree, takes the law into his own hands. When anything is lost, and it is not known who has stolen it from the property of the camp in which it was stolen, its owner shall pronounce a curse, and any man who, on hearing (it), knows but does not tell, shall himself be guilty.

When anything is returned which is without an owner, whoever returns it shall confess to the Priest, and apart from the ram of the sinoffering, it shall be his.

And likewise, everything which is found but has no owner shall go to the Priests, for the finder is ignorant of the rule concerning it. If no owners are discovered they shall keep it.

Every sin which a man commits against the Law, and which his companion witnesses, he being alone, if it is a capital matter he shall report it to the Guardian, rebuking him in his presence, and the Guardian shall record it against him in case he should commit it again before one man and he should report it to the Guardian once more. Should he repeat it and be caught in the act before one man, his case shall be complete.

And if there are two (witnesses), each testifying to a different matter, the man shall be excluded from the pure Meal provided that they are trustworthy and that each informs the Guardian on the day that they witnessed (the offence). In matters of property, they shall accept two trustworthy witnesses and shall exclude (the culprit) from the pure Meal on the word of one witness alone. No X Judge shall pass sentence of death on the testimony of a witness who has not yet attained the age of enrolment and who is not God-fearing.

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No man who has wilfully transgressed any commandment shall be declared a trustworthy witness against his companion until he is purified and able to return.

And this is the Rule for the Judges of the Congregation

Ten shall be elected from the congregation for a definite time, four from the tribe of Levi and Aaron, and six from Israel. (They shall be) learned in the Book of Meditation and in the constitutions of the Covenant, and aged between twenty-five and sixty years. No man over the age of sixty shall hold office as Judge of the Congregation, for 'because man sinned his days have been shortened, and in the heat of His anger against the inhabitants of the earth God ordained that their understanding should depart even before their days are completed' (Jubilees, xxiii, II).

Concerning purification by water

No man shall bathe in dirty water or in an amount too shallow to cover a man. He shall not purify himself with water contained in a vessel. And as for the water of every rock-pool too shallow to cover a man, if an unclean man touches it he renders its water as unclean as water contained in a vessel.

Concerning the Sabbath to observe it according to its law No man shall work on the sixth day from the moment when the sun's orb is distant by its own fulness from the gate (wherein it sinks); for this is what He said, Observe the Sabbath day to keep it holy (Deut. v, 12). No man shall speak any vain or idle word on the Sabbath day. He shall make no loan to his companion. He shall make no decision in matters of money and gain. He shall say nothing about work or labour to be done on the morrow.

No man shall walk in the field88 to do business on the Sabbath. He shall not walk more than one thousand cubits beyond his town.

No man shall eat on the Sabbath day except that which is already prepared. He shall eat nothing lying in the fields. He shall not drink except in the camp. XI If he is on a journey and goes down to bathe, he shall drink where he stands, but he shall not draw water into a vessel.

He shall send out no stranger on his business on the Sabbath day. No man shall wear soiled garments, or garments brought to the store, unless they have been washed with water or rubbed with incense. No man shall willingly mingle (with others) on the Sabbath.

No man shall walk more than two thousand cubits after a beast to pasture it outside his town. He shall not raise his hand to strike it with his fist. If it is stubborn he shall not take it out of his house.

No man shall take anything out of the house or bring anything in. And if he is in a booth, let him neither take anything out nor bring anything in. He shall not open a sealed vessel on the Sabbath.

No man shall carry perfumes on himself whilst going and coming on the Sabbath. He shall lift neither stone nor dust in his dwelling.

No man minding a child shall carry it whilst going and coming on the Sabbath.

No man shall chide89 his manservant or maidservant or labourer on the Sabbath.90 No man shall assist a beast to give birth on the Sabbath day. And if it should fall into a cistern or pit, he shall not lift it out on the Sabbath.

No man shall spend the Sabbath in a place near to Gentiles on the Sabbath.

No man shall profane the Sabbath for the sake of riches or gain on the Sabbath day. But should any man fall into water or (fire), let him not be pulled out with the aid of a ladder or rope or (some such) utensil.

No man on the Sabbath shall offer anything on the altar except the Sabbath burnt-offering; for it is written thus: Except your Sabbath offerings (Lev. xxiii, 38).

No man shall send to the altar any burnt-offering, or cereal offering, or incense, or wood, by the hand of one smitten with any uncleanness, permitting him thus to defile the altar. For it is written, The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination, but the prayer of the just is as an agreeable offering (Prov. xv, 8).

No man entering the house of worship shall come unclean and in need of washing. And at the sounding of the trumpets for assembly, he shall go there before or after (the meeting), and shall not cause the whole service to stop, XII for it is a holy service.

No man shall lie with a woman in the city of the Sanctuary, to defile the city of the Sanctuary with their uncleanness.

Every man who preaches apostasy under the dominion of the spirits of Belial shall be judged according to the law relating to those possessed by a ghost or familiar spirit (Lev. xx, 27). But no man who strays so as to profane the Sabbath and the feasts shall be put to death; it shall fall to men to keep him in custody. And if he is healed of his error, they shall keep him in custody for seven years and he shall afterwards approach the Assembly.

No man shall stretch out his hand to shed the blood of a Gentile for the sake of riches and gain. Nor shall he carry off anything of theirs, lest they blaspheme, unless so advised by the company of Israel.

No man shall sell clean beasts or birds to the Gentiles lest they offer them in sacrifice. He shall refuse, with all his power, to sell them anything from his granary or wine-press, and he shall not sell them his manservant or maidservant inasmuch as they have been brought by him into the Covenant of Abraham.

No man shall defile himself by eating any live creature or creeping thing, from the larvae of bees to all creatures which creep in water.

They shall eat no fish unless split alive and their blood poured out. And as for locusts, according to their various kinds they shall plunge them alive into fire or water, for this is what their nature requires.

All wood and stones and dust defiled by the impurity of a man shall be reckoned like men having defilement of oil on them; whoever touches them shall be defiled by their defilement. And every nail or peg in the wall of a house in which a dead man lies shall become unclean as any working tool becomes unclean (Lev. xi, 32).

The Rule for the assembly of the towns of Israel shall be according to these precepts that they may distinguish between unclean and clean, and discriminate between the holy and the profane.

And these are the precepts in which the Master shall walk in his commerce with all the living in accordance with the statute proper to every age. And in accordance with this statute shall the seed of Israel walk and they shall not be cursed.

This is the Rule for the assembly of the camps

Those who follow these statutes in the age of wickedness until the coming of the Messiah of Aaron and Israel shall form groups of at least ten men, by Thousands, Hundreds, Fifties, and Tens (Exod.

xviii, 25)-And where the ten are, there shall never be lacking a Priest learned in the Book of Meditation; they shall all be ruled by him.

But should he not be experienced in these matters, whereas one of the Levites is experienced in them, then it shall be determined that all the members of the camp shall go and come according to the latter's word.

But should there be a case of applying the law of leprosy to a man, then the Priest shall come and shall stand in the camp and the Guardian shall instruct him in the exact interpretation of the Law.

Even if the Priest is a simpleton, it is he who shall lock up (the leper); for theirs is the judgement.

This is the Rule for the Guardian of the camp

He shall instruct the Congregation in the works of God. He shall cause them to consider His mighty deeds and shall recount all the happenings of eternity to them according to their explanation (4Q267, fr. 9 iv, 2). He shall love them as a father loves his children, and shall carry them in all their distress like a shepherd his sheep. He shall loosen all the fetters which bind them that in his Congregation there may be none that are oppressed or broken. He shall examine every man entering his Congregation with regard to his deeds, understanding, strength, ability and possessions, and shall inscribe him in his place according to his rank in the lot of Light.

No member of the camp shall have authority to admit a man to the Congregation against the decision of the Guardian of the camp.

No member of the Covenant of God shall give or receive anything from the sons of Dawn (shahar) or: of the Pit (shahat) except for payment.

No man shall form any association for buying and selling without informing the Guardian of the camp and shall act on (his) advice and they shall not go {astray. Likewise he who marries} (4Q266, fr. 9 ii, 4) a woman ... advice. Likewise he who divorces (his wife). And he (the Guardian) shall instruct {their sons and their daughters in a spirit} (4Q266, fr. 9 ii, 6-7) of humility and in loving-kindness and shall not keep {anger} (4Q266, fr. 9 ii, 8) towards them ...

This is the Rule for the assembly of the camps during all the age of wickedness, and whoever does not hold fast to these (statutes) shall not be fit to dwell in the Land when the Messiah of Aaron and Israel shall come at the end of days.

And these are the precepts in which the Master shall walk in his commerce with all the living until God shall visit the earth. As He said, There shall come upon you, and upon your people, and upon your father's house, days XIV such as have not come since Ephraim departed from Judah (Isa. vii, 17); but for whoever shall walk in these (precepts), the Covenant of God shall stand firm to save him from all the snares of the Pit, whereas the foolish shall be punished.91

The Rule for the assembly of all the camps

They shall all be enrolled by name: first the Priests, second the Levites, third the Israelites, and fourth the proselytes. And they shall be inscribed by name, one after the other: the Priests first, the Levites second, the Israelites third, and the proselytes fourth. And thus shall they sit and thus be questioned on all matters. And the Priest who is appointed {to head} (4Q267, fr. 9 v, II) the Congregation shall be from thirty to sixty years old, learned in the Book of Meditation and in all the judgements of the Law so as to pronounce them correctly.

The Guardian of all the camps shall be from thirty to fifty years old, one who has mastered all the secrets of men and the languages of all their clans. Whoever enters the Congregation shall do so according to his word, each in his rank. And whoever has anything to say92 with regard to any suit or judgement, let him say it to the Guardian.

This is the Rule for the Congregation by which it shall provide for all its needs

They shall place the earnings of at least two days out of every month into the hands of the Guardian and the Judges, and from it they shall give to the fatherless, and from it they shall succour the poor and the needy, the aged sick and the man who is stricken (with disease), the captive taken by a foreign people, the virgin with no near kin, and the maid for whom no man cares ...

And this is the exact statement of the assembly ...

This is the exact statement of the statutes in which they shall walk until the coming of the Messiahof Aaron and Israel who will pardon their iniquity

Whoever deliberately lies in a matter of property ... and shall do penance for six days ...

Whoever slanders his companion or bears rancour unjustly shall do penance for one year ...

Damascus Document, manuscripts from Cave 4

Three Qumran caves have provided supplementary documentation to

the text preserved in the Cairo Genizah. Of these the evidence

furnished by Caves 5 is negligible, but the fragments discovered in

Cave 4 (4Q266-273) are of the highest importance. They are dated from the mid-first century BC to the beginning of the first century AD.

These laws relate to (2) the admission or dismissal of candidates (4Q266, fr. 5); to (3) criteria for disqualifying priests; to detailed rulings

concerning the diagnosis and quarantining of persons suffering fromskin disease (4Q266, fr. 6; 272, fr. 1); to laws pertaining to

gleanings (4Q266, fr. 6 iii-iv) and to the agricultural priestly dues. The two main manuscripts (4Q266, fr. II and 270, fr. 7i-ii) end with the ritual for the dismissal of unworthy members used in the ceremony marking entry into and expulsion from the Covenant.

(1) THE OPENING OF THE DAMASCUS DOCUMENT ACCORDING TO 4QD (4Q266-8)

4Q266, fr. Ia-b

For the Master to instruct the sons of Light to keep away from the ways of wickedness ... until the completion of the appointed time for the visitation of the spirit of injustice ... God will destroy all her deeds, bringing destruction on ... the removers of boundaries and He will inflict destruction on the assembly of wickedness. And now listen to me and I will let you know the awesome designs of God and His marvellous mighty deeds. I will recount to you all that is concealed from man all the days of his life...

Fr. 2 (4Q267, fr. 1; 268, fr. 1)

I flesh and creature... until it comes to them for they shall not be either early or late from their appointed times... He decreed an age of wrath for the people who did not know Him, and He established appointed times of goodwill for those who search His commandments and walk in the perfection of way. And He revealed hidden things to their eyes, and opened their ears so that they might hear deep (secrets) and understand all future things before they befall them. Listen now, all you who know righteousness ...

(2) INITIATION RULES (4Q266, fr. 5)

This fragment contains echoes of the Community Rule's regulations regarding admission and dismissal of candidates and CD's identification of the sons of Zadok as the 'converts of Israel'.

I ... ... that they may bring near each according to his spirit and deeds ... they shall depart by the decision of the Guardian ... And these are the precepts in which all the converts of Israel shall walk ... the sons of Zadok, the Priests, behold they are the converts of Israel... the interpretation of the last Law. And these are the precepts for the Master in which he shall walk in regard to all Israel, for God shall not

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save any of those who are not established in His ways to walk perfectly ...

(3) RULES RELATING TO THE DISQUALIFICATION OF PRIESTS 4Q 266, fr. 5 ii (4Q267, fr. 5 ii; 273, frs. 2, 4 i)

In this section of priestly legislation, the Community specifies that only priests able to speak clearly and distinctly were allowed to read the Bible in public; that priests who had been war prisoners were disqualified from Temple service; and that priests who migrated to Gentile countries were deprived of their leading position and forbidden to partake in holy things.

Whoever speaks too fast (or: too quietly, lit. swift or light with his tongue) or with a staccato voice and does not split his words to make his voice heard, no one from among these shall read the Book of the Law that he may not misguide someone in a capital matter.... Any man from among the sons of Aaron who has been taken prisoner by the nations... to defile him with their uncleanness. He shall not come close to the holy worship... Let him not eat the most holy things ... Any son of Aaron who retreats to serve the nations ... to teach his people the constitution of the people and also to betray... Any son of Aaron whose name has been rejected from the Truth... who has walked in the stubbornness of his heart, eating from the holy ... from Israel, the Council of the sons of Aaron... who eats, he shall become guilty of the blood... in genealogy. And this is the rule for the dwelling of the towns of Israel ... for the men of holiness in their camps and in their towns in all ...

(4) DIAGNOSIS OF SKIN DISEASE (4Q 266,269,272,273)

The rules relating to the diagnosis of a skin disease affecting the scalp and the face (Lev. xiii, 29-37) are missing from the Cairo manuscripts, but can be partially reconstructed from 4Q272 and 266 and also from 4Q269 and 273.

4Q 266, fr. 6 i (4Q272 1 273 ii, 269 7)

I ... a discoloration or a scab or a bright spot ... And the scab resulting from a blow by wood or stone or whatever blow, when the spirit enters and seizes the artery, and the blood recedes up and down, and the artery... after the blood ...

And the priest shall observe the skin, the living and the dead. If the dead (skin) exceeds the living (skin), he shall lock him up until the blood returns to the artery until the flesh grows. And the priest shall observe him and shall make a comparison on the seventh day, and if the spirlit of life is moving up and down, and the flesh grows, the plague is healed, clean is the scab. The priest shall not observe the skin on the flesh.

4Q266, fr. 6

I But if the discoloration or the scab is lower than the skin... and the Priest sees it as the appearance of living flesh, it is a 'leprosy' (skin disease) which has seized the living skin. And a similar rule concerning ... the Priest shall see on the seventh day. If some living flesh has become dead, the leprosy is malignant. And the law for the scab of the head or the beard, when the Priest shall see that the spirit has entered the head and the beard seizing the artery, and the plague spreads from under the hair and turns its appearance to fine yellow; for it is like a plant which has a worm under it and bites its root and makes its flower wither. And as for that which is said, And the Priest shall order that they shave his head, but shall not shave the scab (Lev. xiii, 33). This is in order that the Priest may count the dead and live hair.

And he will see whether anything has been added from the live to the dead (hair) during the seven days. If there has, he is unclean. But if nothing has been added from the live (hair) to the dead, and the artery is filled with blood and the spirit of life goes up and down in it, this plague is cured. And this is the rule of the law of 'leprosy' for the sons of Aaron to set apart...

And the law concerning a man with a flux. Any man with a flux issuing from his flesh, or one that causes a lewd thought to arise or ... II the woman ... the man who approaches her will have the sin of menstrual uncleanness on him. And if she sees (blood) again and this is not during the uncleanness of seven days, she shall not eat sacred (food) and shall not enter the Sanctuary until the sun has set on the eighth day.

And a woman who conceives and bears a male child shall be unclean for seven days like in her menstrual days. On the eighth day the flesh of his foreskin shall be circumcised. She shall continue for thirty-three days in the blood of her purifying. But if she bears a female child, she shall be unclean for a fortnight as in her menstruation. For sixty-six days she shall continue in her blood of purifying (Lev. xii, 2-5). And she shall not eat sacred (food) and shall not enter the Sanctuary, for it is a capital crime... Let her give the child to a wet-nurse who is in (the state of) purity.... And if she cannot afford a lamb, then she shall take a turtledove or a young pigeon (Lev. xii, 8) and she shall substitute it for the lamb....

(5) RULES CONCERNING GLEANINGS AND AGRICULTURAL PRIESTLY DUES (4Q 266,269,270,271)

... Concerning gleanings (of grain) and the gleanings (of grapes) from the vineyard. (A cluster is up to ten berries.)

And all the gleanings (of grain) up to a seah (measure of capacity = c. 12 litres) per bet seah (area requiring one seah of seed for sowing) ...

And a field which produces no seed, is not subject to (a levy of) terumah-offering or of fallen grapes or of clusters up to ten berries.

And for the harvest of olives and the fruit of its produce, if it is complete, isolated olives are one in thirty. But if the field was ravaged or consumed by burning ...

4Q 270, fr. 3

... should the amount (remaining) be a seah per bet seah, it is to be tithed. If one person gleans one seah from it one day, the terumah will be one isaron (=30 per cent of a seah). Concerning the two loaves of the terumah. All the families (lit. houses) of Israel, those who eat the bread of the land, are to offer the terumah once a year (cf. Num. xv, 19-20; Lev. xxiii, 17). One (loaf) shall be one isaron.

4Q 266, fr. 6

... All sacred offerings from the planting of vineyards and all fruit trees (producing) food shall belong to them (the priests), as is decreed for them, in the holy land and in the land of (their) sojourn. And afterwards they may sell of them to buy ... a man may plant, in the fourth year he may not eat (of it) for they sanctified it in that year ...

4Q 271, fr. 2 (4Q269, fr. 8 i-ii; 270, fr. 3 iii)

... he shall take off from (the grain of) the threshing-floor one tenth of a homer (measure of volume, c. 220 litres), that is one ephah or bath (22 litres), as is established. The ephah and the bath are both the same measure. And from the wheat one sixth of an ephah out of a homer and one tenth of a bath for the fruit of trees. Let no one separate himself (from the norm of I out of 200, cf. Ezek. xlv, 15) by offering one lamb out of a hundred. Let no man eat from the threshing-floor and from the garden before the priests have stretched out their hand to bless first.... a house belonging to a man, he may sell and with... and he shall be innocent.... Let no man bring... to his pure food. Neither shall he bring close to his pure food any gold or silver or copper, or tin or lead from which the nations have made idols, except new (metal) coming straight from the furnace. Let no man bring any leather or garment or any vessel which is used for work and which has been defiled by the corpse of a man unless they were sprinkled according to the law of purity with the water for uncleanness in the age of wickedness (by) a man pure of all uncleanness who has allowed the sun to set (i.e. one who after bathing himself did not proceed until after sunset). No young man who has not yet reached the age to pass the muster shall sprinkle ...

(6) THE PENAL CODE AND THE RENEWAL OF THE COVENANT RITUAL (4Q 266,270)

The Cave 4 manuscripts show us examples of breaches of the rule punished by exclusion and penance of varying lengths. They closely resemble the code contained in the Community Rule (1QS VII). The principal difference consists in the explicit mention of women (fornication with one's wife and murmuring against the Mothers) which once again renders the silence of Serekh concerning any matter pertaining to the female sex particularly eloquent. The penal code is followed by a Covenant ritual.

4Q266, fr. 10 (4Q270, fr. 7 i; 269, fr. 11 i-ii)

... II He shall be excluded for two hundred days and do penance for one hundred days. But if it was a capital matter and he bears (a grudge), he shall not return again. And whoever has insulted his companion without a reason shall be excluded for one year and do penance for six months. Whoever has spoken a foolish word, shall do penance for twenty days and will be excluded for three months. And whoever interrupts the words of his companion and lets himself go, will do penance for ten days. And whoever lies down and falls asleep at the meeting of the Congregation ... shall be excluded for thirty days and do penance for ten days. And likewise, whoever has left without the consent of the Congregation and gratuitously as many as three times in one session, he shall do penance for ten days. But if he has left the session when they were standing, he shall do penance for thirty days. And whoever has walked naked before his companion, whether he has walked in the house or in the field, he has walked naked before the people; he shall be excluded for six months ...

And whoever has drawn his hand from under his garment and he was so poorly dressed that his nakedness was seen, he shall be separated for thirty days and shall do penance for ten (1QS VII, 13-14). And whoever has guffawed foolishly making his voice heard, shall be excluded for thirty (days) and shall do penance for fifteen days. And whoever has drawn out his left hand to gesticulate with it, shall do penance for ten days (1QS VII, 14-15).

And whoever has gone slandering his companion, they shall exclude him from the purity for one year.

4Q 270, fr. 7

I and shall do penance for six months. But whoever has slandered the Congregation shall be expelled and shall not return again. If he has murmured against his companion unjustly, he shall do penance for six months. And the man whose spirit has so trembled before the authority of the Community that he has betrayed the truth and walked in the stubbornness of his heart, he shall be excluded for two years and do penance for sixty days. When his two years are completed, the Congregation shall consider his case, and if he is admitted, he shall be inscribed in his rank and may then question about the law. And whoever has despised the law of the Congregation shall leave and shall not return again. And whoever has taken his food (from another person) outside the rules, he shall return it to the man from whom he has taken it. vacat And whoever has approached his wife, not according to the rules, (thus) fornicating, he shall leave and will not return again. If he has murmured against the Fathers, he shall leave and shall not return again. But if he has murmured against the Mothers, he shall do penance for ten days. For the Mothers have no rwqmh (distinction?) within the Congregation. ...

And these are the rules in which they shall walk, all those who have been corrected. Whoever comes to report someone to the Priest overseeing

4Q 266, fr. II4Q270, fr. 7 i-ii)

II the Congregation, he shall willingly accept His judgement, as He has ordered by the hand of Moses regarding the soul that sins by inadvertence that he shall bring his sin-offering and his guilt-offering.

And concerning Israel it is written, I will go to the ends of heaven and will not smell the smell of your sweet odour (Lev. xxvi, 31). And in another passage it is written, To return to God with crying and fasting (Joel ii, 13). And in another passage it is written, Rend your heart and not your garment (ibid.) and it is written to return to God with fasting and weeping (Joel ii, 12). And whoever rejects these rules which follow all the precepts found in the Law of Moses, shall not be counted with all the sons of His truth, for his soul has detested the righteous corrections. As a rebel, he shall be dismissed from the Congregation. The Priest overseeing the Congregation shall speak about him. Answering, he shall say: 'Blessed art Thou, "Lord" of the universe. Everything is in Thine hands and Thou art the maker of everything. Thou hast founded the peoples according to their families and the languages of their nations. Thou hast made them err in confusion without a way. And Thou hast chosen our Fathers and hast given to their seed the precepts of Thy truth and Thine holy judgements by which a man, if he practises them, shall live. And Thou hast established boundaries for us and cursed those who transgress them.

And we are the people of Thy redemption and the flock of Thy pasture. Thou hast cursed those who transgress it (the boundary?) but we maintain (it).' And the dismissed man shall leave, and whoever eats from what is his, and greets (literally, inquires about the welfare –shalom– of) the man who has been dismissed, and agrees with him, his case shall be recorded by the Guardian according to the decree, and his judgement shall be complete. And all the inhabitants of the camps shall assemble in the third month and shall curse him who turns aside, to the right or to the left from the Law. And this (the foregoing) is the interpretation of the laws which they shall observe in all the age of visitation which will be visited on them during all the age of wrath and in their marches for all those who dwell in their camps and all their towns. Behold all this is according to the last interpretation of the Law.

(7) A HYBRID COMMUNITY RULE – DAMASCUS DOCUMENT TEXT (4Q265)

Twelve fragments of a manuscript, dating probably to the end of the first century BC, have preserved remains of a writing dependent both on the Community Rule and on the Damascus Document but also including material which is in neither of these sources.

Fr. 1

... as it is written in the Book of ... as it is written in the Book of Isaiah the prophet: Sing, o barren one, who did not bear; break forth in singing and cry aloud you who have not been in travail! For the sons of the desolate one will be more than the children of her who is married, says the Lord. Enlarge the place of your tent ... (Isa. liv, 1-2) Its interpretation concerns...

Fr. 3

... Why does a man betray his brother ... Let no young man or woman eat the sacrifice of Passover...

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Fr. 4

I ... and he shall be punished for ten days ... and he shall be punished thirty days ... and he shall be punished during that time with the half of his food for fifteen days ... and he shall be punished for three months with half of his food. The man who speaks before his fellow inscribed before him, shall be excluded from purity for six months and he shall be punished with half of his food. vacat And the man who insuIts his fellow ... shall be punished for thirty days ....

And the man who knowingly deceives shall be separated for six months and shall be punished during that time with half of his food. And the man who lies knowingly in any matter shall be punished for thirty days vacat And the man who lies concerning property knowingly, they shall exclude him for six months. And the man who lies down ... and falls asleep during a session of the Congregation shall be punished for thirty days. And if... to read from the book, he falls asleep up to three times and if he goes out, he shall be punished for ten days. And the man who comes to join the Council of the Community the Guardian of the Congregation shall examine him. If it falls to him he shall instruct him for one year. And after he shall stand before the Congregation and they shall deliberate over him. If he is not found fit for the discipline, he shall depart. If he is to enter, the Guardian shall teach him the interpretation of the Law. He shall not touch the pure Meal of the Congregation until another full year (1QS VI, 16-17). And on completing his year they shall hand over his property to the Guardian of the Congregation ... When he comes ...

Fr. 6

... on Sabbath day let no man wear soiled garments. No man shall be dressed in garments on which there is dust or ... on the Sabbath day. No man shall take out of his tent a vessel and food on the Sabbath day. No man shall lift an animal which has fallen into water on the Sabbath day. But if a man falls into water on the Sabbath day, he shall pass to him his garment to lift him out, but he shall not carry an instrument to lift him out on the Sabbath day. And if the army ... ... on the Sabbath day. And let no ... Let no man of the seed of Aaron sprinkle purifying waters on the Sabbath day. ... And with a beast he shall walk two thousand cubits on the Sabbath day. Every beast with a defect in it shall be kept at a distance of thirty stadia from the city of the Sanctuary ... When there shall be in the Council of the Community fifteen men, perfectly versed in all that is revealed of the Law and the Prophets, the Council of the Community shall be established in truth. They shall be witnesses to the truth at the judgement and elect of Goodwill. They shall be an agreeable offering atoning on behalf of the Land for all iniquity ... He shall terminate the ages of injustice ...

Fr. 7

... on the day of sabbath ... on the day of sabbath... No man from the seed of Aaron shall sprinkle water of purification ... They shall not bathe or wash (their garments) on the great day and fast, on the day of Atonement. He who goes outside his town to graze the animals may go (to a distance of) two thousand cubits. No man shall eat a blemished animal within thirty stadia from the sanctuary ....

When there shall be in the Council of the Community fifteen men as God had said through His servants, the prophets, the Council of the Community shall be established in truth as an everlasting plantation, witnesses of truth and elect of Goodwill, sweet fragrance to atone for the land... the ages of injustice will end by the judgement and the ....

vacat In the first week Adam was created... until he was not brought to the garden of Eden and a bone from his bones was taken to become the woman .... but she (Eve) had no name until she was not brought to him (Adam) ... For holy is a garden of Eden, and every fresh shoot that is in it is holy as it is written, If a woman conceives and bears a male child, then she shall be unclean for seven days; as at the time of her menstruation, she shall be unclean (Lev. xii, 2).

Then she shall continue for thirty-three days in the blood of her purifying (Lev. xii, 4). But if she bears a female child, then she shall be unclean two weeks as in her menstruation. And she shall continue in the blood of her purifying for sixty-six days (Lev. xii, 5).

She shall not touch any hallowed things, nor come into the Sanctuary until the days of her purification are completed (Lev. xii, 4).

(Alternative translation of the Community Rule or Manual of Discipline; Translation probably by Tyler F. Williams.)

Of the Commitment.

Everyone who wishes to join the community must pledge himself to respect God and man; to live according to the communal rule: to seek God [ ]; to do what is good and upright in His sight, in accordance with what He has commanded through Moses and through His servants the prophets; to love all that He has chosen and hate all that He has rejected; to keep far from evil and to cling to all good works; to act truthfully and righteously and justly on earth and to walk no more in the stubbornness of a guilty heart and of lustful eyes, doing all manner of evil; to bring into a bond of mutual love all who have declared their willingness to carry out the statutes of God; to join the formal community of God; to walk blamelessly before Him in conformity with all that has been revealed as relevant to the several periods during which they are to bear witness (to Him) ; to love all the children of light, each according to the measure of his guilt, which God will ultimately requite.

All who declare their willingness to serve God's truth must bring all of their mind, all of their strength, and all of their wealth into the community of God, so that their minds may be purified by the truth of His precepts, their strength controlled by His perfect ways, and their wealth disposed in accordance with His just design. They must not deviate by a single step from carrying out the orders of God at the times appointed for them; they must neither advance the statutory times nor postpone the prescribed seasons. They must not turn aside from the ordinances of God's truth either to the right or to the left.

Of Initiation.

Moreover, all who would join the ranks of the community must enter into a covenant in the presence of God to do according to all that He has commanded and not to turn away from Him through any fear or terror or through any trial to which they may be subjected through the domination of Belial.

When they enter into that covenant, the priests and the Levites are to pronounce a blessing upon the God of salvation and upon all that He does to make known His truth; and all that enter the covenant are to say after them, Amen, amen.

Then the priests are to rehearse the bounteous acts of God as revealed in all His deeds of power, and they are to recite all His tender mercies towards Israel; while the Levites are to rehearse the iniquities of the children of Israel and all the guilty transgression and sins that they have committed through the domination of Belial. And all who enter the covenant are to make confession after them, saying, We have acted perversely, we have transgressed, we have sinned, we have done wickedly, ourselves and our fathers before us, in that we have gone counter to the truth. God has been right to bring His judgement upon us and upon our fathers. Howbeit, always from ancient times He has also bestowed His mercies upon us all, and so will He do for all time to come.

Then the priests are to invoke a blessing on all that have cast their low with God, that walk blamelessly in all their ways; and they are to say: MAY HE BLESS THEE with all good and KEEP THEE from all evil. And ILLUMINE thy heart with insight into the things of life, and GRACE THEE with knowledge of things eternal, and LIFT UP HIS gracious COUNTENANCE TOWARDS THEE to grant thee peace everlasting.

The Levites, on the other hand, are to invoke a curse on all that have cast their lot with Belial, and to say in response: Cursed are thou for all thy wicked guilty works, May God make thee a thing of abhorrence at the hands of all who would wreak vengeance, and visit thine offspring with destruction at the hands of all who would mete out retribution. Cursed art thou, beyond hope of mercy. Even as they works are wrought in darkness, so mayest thou be damned in the gloom of the fire eternal. May God show thee no favor when thou callest, neither pardon to forgive thine iniquities. May He lift up an angry countenance towards thee, to wreak vengeance upon thee. May no man wish thee peace of all that truly claim their patrimony.

And all that enter the covenant shall say alike after them that bless and after them that curse, Amen, amen.

Thereupon the priests and the Levites shall continue and say: Cursed be every one that hath come to enter this covenant with the taint of idolatry in his heart and who hath set his iniquity as a stumblingblock before him so that thereby he may defect, and who, when he hears the terms of this covenant, blesses himself in his heart, saying, May it go well with me, for I shall go on walking in the stubbornness of my heart! Whether he satisfy his passions or whether he still thirsts for their fulfillment, may his spirit be swept away and receive no pardon. May the anger of God and the fury of His judgements consume him as by fire unto his eternal extinction, and may there cleave unto him all the curses threatened in this covenant. May God set him apart for misfortune, and may he be cut off from the midst of all the children of light in that through the taint of his idolatry and through the stumblingblock of his iniquity he has defected from God. May God set his lot among those that are accursed for ever! And all who have been admitted to the covenant shall say them in response, Amen, amen.

Of the annual Review.

The following procedure is to be followed year by year so long as Belial continues to hold sway.

The priests are first to be reviewed in due order, one after another, in respect of the state of their spirits. After them, the Levites shall be similarly reviewed, and in the third place all the laity one after another, in their thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens. The object is that every man in Israel may be made aware of his status in the community of God in the sense of the ideal, eternal society, and that none may be abased below his status nor exalted above his allotted place. All of them will thus be members of a community founded at once upon true values and upon a becoming sense of humility, upon charity and mutual fairness-members of a society truly hallowed, partners in an everlasting communion.

Of those who are to be excluded.

Anyone who refuses to enter the (ideal) society of God and persists in walking in the stubbornness of his heart shall not be admitted to this community of God's truth. For inasmuch as his soul has revolted at the discipline entailed in a knowledge of God's righteous judgements, he has shown no real strength in amending his way of life, and therefore cannot be reckoned with the upright. The mental, physical and material resources of such a man are not to be introduced into the stock of the community, for such a man 'plows in the slime of wickedness' and 'there are stains on his repentance'. He is not honest in resolving the stubbornness of his heat. On paths of light he sees but darkness/ Such a man cannot be reckoned as among those essentially blameless. He cannot be cleared by mere ceremonies of atonement, nor cleansed by any waters of ablution, nor sanctified by immersion in lakes of rivers, nor purified by any bath. Unclean, unclean he remains so long as he rejects the government of God and refuses the discipline of communion with Him. For it is only through the spiritual apprehension of God's truth that man's ways can be properly directed. Only thus can all his iniquities be shriven so that he can gaze upon the true light of life. Only through the holy spirit can he achieve union with God's truth and be purged of all his iniquities. Only by a spirit of uprightness and humility can his sin be atoned. Only by the submission of his soul to all the ordinances of God can his flesh be made clean. Only thus can it really be sprinkled with waters of ablution. Only thus can it really be sanctified by waters of purification. And only thus can he really direct his steps to walk blamelessly through all the vicissitudes of his destiny in all the way of God in the manner which He has commanded, without turning either to the right or to the left and without overstepping any of God's words. Then indeed will he be acceptable before God like an atonement-offering which meets with His pleasure, and then indeed will he be admitted to the covenant of the community for ever.

Of the two spirits in man.

This is for the man who would bring other to the inner vision, so that he may understand and teach to all the children of light the real nature of men, touching the different varieties of their temperaments with the distinguishing traits thereof, touching their actions throughout their generations, and touching the reason why they are now visited with afflictions and now enjoy periods of well-being.

All that is and ever was comes from a God of knowledge. Before things came into existence He determined the plan of them; and when they fill their appointed roles, it is in accordance with His glorious design that they discharge their functions. Nothing can be changed. In His hand lies the government of all things. God it is that sustains them in their needs.

Now, this God created man to rule the world, and appointed for him two spirits after whose direction he was to walk until the final Inquisition. They are the spirits of truth and perversity.

The origin of truth lies in the Fountain of Light, and that of perversity in the Wellspring of Darkness. All who practice righteousness are under the domination of the Prince of Lights, and walk in ways of light; whereas all who practice perversity are under the domination of the Angel of Darkness, however, even those who practice righteousness are made liable to error. All their sin and their iniquities, all their guilt and their deeds of transgression are the result of his domination; and this, by God's inscrutable design, will continue until the time appointed by Him. Moreover, all men's afflictions and all their moments of tribulation are due to this being's malevolent sway. All of the spirits that attend upon him are bent on causing the sons of light to stumble. Howbeit, the God of Israel and the Angel of His truth are always there to help the sons of light. It is God that created these spirits of light and darkness and made them the basis of every act, the [instigators] of every deed and the direction and the directors of every thought. The one He loves for to all eternity, and is ever pleased with its deeds; but any association with the other He abhors, and He hates all its ways to the end of time.

This is the way those spirits operate in the world. The enlightenment of man's heart, the making straight before him all the ways of righteousness and truth, the implanting in his heart of fear for the judgements of God, of a spirit of humility, of patience, of abundant compassion, of perpetual goodness, of insight, of perception, of that sense of the Divine Power that is based at once on an apprehension of God's works and a reliance on His plenteous mercy, of a spirit of knowledge

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informing every plan of action, of a zeal for righteous government, of a hallowed mind in a controlled nature, of abounding love for all who follow the truth, of self-respecting purity which abhors all the taint of filth, of a modesty of behaviour coupled with a general prudence and an ability to hide within oneself the secrets of what one knows - these are the things that come to men in this world through communion with the spirit of truth. And the guerdon of all that walk in its ways is health and abundant well-being, with long life and fruition of seed along with eternal blessings and everlasting joy in the life everlasting, and a crown of glory and a robe of honor, amid light perpetual.

But to the spirit of perversity belong greed, remissness in right doing, wickedness and falsehood, pride and presumption, ruthless deception and guile, abundant insolence, shortness of temper and profusion of folly, arrogant passion, abominable acts in a spirit of lewdness, filthy ways in the thralldom of unchastity, a blasphemous tongue, blindness of eyes, dullness of ears, stiffness of neck and hardness of heart, to the end that a man walks entirely in ways of darkness and of evil cunning. The guerdon of all who walk in such ways is multitude of afflictions at the hands of all the angels of destruction, everlasting perdition through the angry wrath of an avenging God, eternal horror and perpetual reproach, the disgrace of final annihilation in the Fire, darkness throughout the vicissitudes of life in every generation, doleful sorrow, bitter misfortune and darkling ruin-ending in extinction without remnant of survival.

It is to these things that all men are born, and it is to these that all the host of them are heirs throughout their generations. It is in these ways that men needs must walk and it is in these two divisions, according as a man inherits something of each, that all human acts are divided throughout all the ages of eternity. For God has appointed these two things to obtain in equal measure until the final age.

Between the two categories He has set an eternal enmity. Deeds of perversity are an abomination to Truth, while all the ways of Truth are an abomination to perversity; and there is a constant jealous rivalry between their two regimes, for they do not march in accord. Howbeit, God in His inscrutable wisdom has appointed a term for existence of perversity, and when the time of Inquisition comes, He will destroy it for ever. Then truth will emerge triumphant for the world, albeit now until the time of the final judgement it go sullying itself in the ways of wickedness owing to the domination of perversity. Then, too, God will purge all the acts of man in the crucible of His Truth, and refine for Himself all the fabric of man, destroying every spirit of perversity from within his flesh and cleansing him by the holy spirit from all the effects of wickedness. Like waters of purification He will sprinkle upon the spirit of truth, to cleanse him of all the abominations of falsehood and of all pollution through the spirit of filth; to the end that, being made upright, men may have understanding of transcendental knowledge and of the lore of the sons of heaven, and that, being made blameless in their ways, they may be endowed with inner vision. For them has God chosen to be the partners of His eternal covenant, and theirs shall be all mortal glory. Perversity shall be no more, and all works of deceit shall be put to shame.

Thus far, the spirits of truth and perversity have been struggling in the heart of man. Men have walked both in wisdom and folly. If a man casts his portion with the truth, he does righteously and hates perversity; if he casts it with perversity, he does wickedly and abominates truth. For God has appointed them in equal measure until the final age, until 'He makes all things new'. He foreknows the effect of their works in every epoch of the world, and He has made men heirs to them that they might know good and evil. But [when the time] of Inquisition [comes], He will determine the fate of every living being in accordance with which of the [two spirits he has chosen to follow].

Of social relations.

This is the rule for all members of the community - that is, for such as have declared their readiness to turn away from all evil and to adhere to all that God in His good pleasure has commanded.

They are to keep apart from the company of the froward.

They are to belong to the community in both doctrinal and an economic sense.

They are to abide by the decisions of the sons of Zadok, the same being priests that still keep the Covenant, and of the majority of the community that stand firm in it. It is by the vote of such that all matters doctrinal, economic and judicial are to be determined.

They are concertedly and in all their pursuits to practice truth, humility, righteousness, justice, chastity and decency, with no one walking in the stubbornness of his own heart or going astray after his heart or his eyes or his fallible human mind.

Furthermore, they are concertedly to remove the impurity of their human mold, and likewise all stiffneckedness.

They are to establish in Israel a solid basis of truth.

They are to unite in a bond indissoluble for ever.

They are to extend forgiveness to all among the priesthood that have freely enlisted in the cause of holiness, and to all among the laity that have done so in the cause of truth, and likewise to all that have associated themselves with them.

They are to make common cause both in the struggle and in the upshot of it.

They are to regard as felons all that transgress the law.

Of the obligation of holiness.

And this is the way in which all those ordinances are to be applied on a collective basis.

Everyone who is admitted to the formal organization (Council) of the community is to enter into a covenant of God in the presence of all fellow-volunteers in the cause and to commit himself by a binding oath to return with all his heart and soul to the commandments of the Law of Moses, as that Law is revealed to the sons of Zadok-that is, to the priests who still keep the Covenant and seek God's will -and to a majority of their co-covenanters who have volunteered together to adhere to the truth of God and to walk according to His pleasure.

He that so commits himself is to keep apart from all froward men that walk in the path of wickedness; for such men are not to be reckoned in the Covenant inasmuch as they have never sought nor studied God's ordinances in order to find out on what more arcane points they may guiltily have gone astray, while in regard to the things which stand patently revealed they have acted high-handedly. They have thus incurred God's angry judgement and caused Him to take vengeance upon them with all the curses threatened in the Covenant and to wreak great judgements upon them that they be finally destroyed without remnant.

No one is to go into water in order to attain the purity of holy men. For men cannot be purified except they repent their evil. God regards as impure all that transgress His word. No one is to have any association with such a man either in work or in goods, lest he incur the penalty of prosecution. Rather is he to keep away from such a man in every respect, for the Scriptures says: 'Keep away from every false thing' [Exodus 23:7]. No member of the community is to abide by the decision of such men in any matter of doctrine or law. He is not to eat or drink of anything that belongs to them nor receive anything from them except for cash, even as sit is written: 'desist from man whose breath is in his nostrils, for as what is he reckoned:' [Isaiah 2:22]. All that are not reckoned in the Covenant must be put aside, and likewise all that they posses. A holy man must not rely on works of vanity, and vanity is what all of them are that have not recognized God's Covenant. All that spurn His word will God blast out of the world. All their actions are as filth before Him, and He regards all their possessions as unclean.

Of the examination of initiants.

When a man enters the covenant, minded to act in accordance with all the foregoing ordinances and formally to ally himself to the holy congregation, inquiry is to be made concerning his temper in human relations and his understanding and performance in matters of doctrine. This inquiry is to be conducted jointly by the priests who have undertaken concertedly to uphold God's Covenant and to supervise the execution of all the ordinances which He has commanded, and by a majority of the laity who have likewise undertaken concertedly to return to that Covenant. Every many is then to be registered in a particular rank, one after the other, by the standard of his attitudes and their performance are to be reviewed, however, year by year, some being then promoted by virtue of their (improved) understanding and the integrity of their conduct, and others demoted for their waywardness.

Of accusations and grudges.

When anyone has a charge against his neighbour, he is to prosecute it truthfully, humbly and humanely. He is not to speak to him angrily or querulously or arrogantly or in any wicked mood. He is not to bear hatred [towards him in the inner recesses] of his heart. When he has a charge against him, he is to proffer it then and there [on the selfsame day] and not render himself liable to penalty by nursing a grudge. Furthermore, no man is to bring a charge publicly against his neighbour except he prove it by witness.

Of Communal Duties.

This is the procedure which all members of the community are to follow in all dealings with one another, wherever they dwell.

Everyone is to obey his superior in rank in all matters of work and money. But all are to dine together, worship together and take counsel together.

Wherever there be ten men who have formally enrolled in the community, one who is a priest is not to depart from them. When they sit in his presence, they are to take their places according to their respective ranks; and the same order is to obtain when they meet for common counsel.

When they set the table for a meal or prepare wine to drink, the priest is first to put forth his hand to invoke a blessing on the first portion of the bread and wine.

In any place where there happen to be ten such men, there is not to be absent from them one who will be available at all times, day and night, to interpret the Law (Torah), each of them doing so in turn.

The general members of the community are to keep awake for a third of all the nights of the year reading book(s), [or the book of Law] studying the Law and worshipping together.

Of the General Council.

This is the rule covering public sessions.

The priests are to occupy the first place. The elders are to come second; and the rest of the people are to take their places according to their respective ranks. This order is to obtain alike when they seek a judicial ruling, when they meet for common counsel, or when any matter arises of general concern.

Everyone is to have an opportunity of rendering his opinion in the common council. No one, however, is to interrupt while his neighbour is speaking, or to speak until the latter has finished. Furthermore, no one is to speak in advance of his prescribed rank. Everyone is to speak in turn, as he is called upon.

In public sessions, no one is to speak on any subject that is not of concern to (or to the liking of) the company as a whole. If the superintendent of the general membership or anyone who is not of the same rank as the person who happens to be raising a question for the consideration of the community, has something to say to the company, he is to stand up and declare: I have said something to the company; and only if they so bid him, is he to speak.

Of Postulants and Novices.

If any man in Israel wish to be affiliated to the formal congregation of the community, the superintendent of the general membership is to examine him as to his intelligence and his actions and, if he then embark on a course of training, he is to have him enter into a covenant to return to the truth and turn away from all perversity. Then he is to appraise him of all the rules of the community.

Subsequently, when that man comes to present himself to the general membership, everyone is to be asked his opinion about him. and his admission to or rejection from the formal congregation of the community is to be determined by general vote.

No candidate, however, is to be admitted to the formal state of purity enjoyed by the general membership of the community until, at the completion of a full year, his spiritual attitude and his performance have been duly reviewed. Meanwhile he is to have no stake in the common funds.

After he has spent a full year in the midst of the community, the members are jointly to review his case, as to his understanding and performance in matters of doctrine. If it then be voted by the opinion of the priests and of a majority of their co-covenanters to admit him to the sodality, they are to have him bring with him all his property and the tools of his profession. These are to be committed to the custody of the community's 'minister of works'. They are to entered by that officer into an account, but he is not to disburse them for the general benefit.

Not until the completion of a second year among the members of the community is the candidate to be admitted to the common board. [Drink] When however, that second year has been completed, he is to be subjected to a further review by the general membership, and if it then be voted to admit him to the community, he is to be registered in due order of rank which he is to occupy among his brethren in all matters pertaining to doctrine, judicial procedure, degree of purity and share in the common funds. Thenceforth his counsel and his judgement are to be at the disposal of the community.

Of false, impudent and blasphemous speech.

And these are the rules to be followed in the interpretation of the law regarding forms of speech.

If there be found in the community a man who consciously lies in the matter of (his) wealth, he is to be regarded as outside the state of purity entailed by membership, and he is to be mulcted of one fourth of his food ration.

If a man answer his neighbour defiantly or speak brusquely so as to undermine the composure (shake -or disturb- the foundation) of his fellow, and in so doing flout the orders of one who is registered as his superior [ ], he is to be mulcted for one year.

If a man, in speaking about anything, mention that Name which is honored above all [names], or if, in a moment of sudden stress or for some other personal reason, he curses the --------- (i.e., the man who reads the Book of the Law or leads worship), he is to be put out and never to return to formal membership in the community.

If a man speaks in anger against one of the registered priests, he is to be mulcted for one year, placed in isolation, and regarded as outside the state of purity entailed in membership

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of the community. If, however, he spoke unintentionally, he is to be mulcted only for six months.

If a man defames his neighbour unjustly, and does so deliberately, he is to mulcted for one year and regarded as 'outside'.

Of Fraud.

If a man speaks with his neighbour in guile or consciously practice deceit upon him, he is to be mulcted for six months. If however, he practices the deceit [unintentionally], he is to be mulcted only for three months.

If a man defraud the community, causing a deficit in its funds, he is to make good that deficit, if he lack means to do so, he is to be mulcted for sixty days.

Of Vindictiveness.

If he harbor a grudge against his neighbour without legitimate cause, he is to be mulcted for six months [supra-linear correction: 'one year']. The same is to apply also to anyone who takes personal revenge on his neighbour in any respect.

Of improper speech.

Anyone who indulges in indecent talk is to be mulcted for three months.

Of misconduct at public sessions.

Anyone who interrupts his neighbour in a public session is to be mulcted for ten days.

Anyone who lies down and goes to sleep at a public session is to be mulcted for thirty days.

Anyone who leaves a public session gratuitously and without reason for as many as three times during one sitting is to be mulcted for ten days. If he leaves while everyone else is standing (?), he is to be mulcted for thirty days.

Of indecorous acts.

If, except he be under duress (?), a man walk naked before his neighbour, he shall be mulcted for six months.

If a man spit into the midst of a public session, he shall be mulcted for thirty days.

If a man bring out his hand from under his cloak, so expose himself that his private parts become visible, he shall be mulcted for thirty days.

If a man indulge in raucous, inane laughter, he shall be mulcted for thirty days.

If a man put forth his left hand to gesticulate with it in conversation, he shall be mulcted for ten days.

Of slander and incrimination.

If a man slander his neighbour, he shall be regarded as outside the communal state of purity for one year, and he shall be mulcted. But if he slander the entire group, he is to be expelled and never return.

If a man complain against the whole basis of the community, he is to be expelled irrevocably.

If he complains against his neighbour without legitimate cause, he is to be mulcted for six months.

Of defection.

If a man's spirit waver so far from the basis of the community that he betrays the truth and walk in stubbornness of his own heart, but if he subsequently repent, he shall be mulcted for two years. During the first, he shall be regarded as outside the communal state of purity altogether. During the second he shall be excluded from the communal board (drink) and occupy a place behind all the other members. At the completion of the two years, the membership in general shall hold an inquiry about him. If it then be decided to readmit him, he shall again be registered with duly assigned rank and thereafter he too shall be called upon to render his opinion in deliberations concerning the rules.

If a man has been a formal member of the community for a full ten years, but then, through spiritual relapse, betray the principles of the community and quit the general body in order to walk in the stubbornness of his own heart, he is never to return to formal membership in the community. No member of the community is to associate with him either by recognizing him as of the same state of purity or by sharing property with him. Any of the members who does so shall be liable to the same sentence: he too shall be expelled.

Of the appointment of 'presbyters'.

In the deliberative council of the community there shall be twelve laymen and three priests schooled to perfection in all that has been revealed of the entire Law. their duty shall be to set the standard for the practice of truth, righteousness and justice, and for the exercise of charity and humility in human relations; and to show how, by control of impulse and contrition of spirit, faithfulness may be maintained on earth; how, by active performance of justice and passive submission to the trials of chastisement, iniquity may be cleared, and how one can walk with all men with the quality of truth and in conduct appropriate to every occasion.

So long as these men exist in Israel, the deliberative council of the community will rest securely on a basis of truth. It will become a plant evergreen. Insofar as the laymen are concerned, it will be indeed a sanctuary; and insofar as the priesthood is concerned, it will indeed constitute the basis for a true 'holy of holies'. The members of community will be in all justice the witnesses of God's truth and the elect of His favor, effecting atonement for the earth and ensuring the requital of the wicked. They will be, indeed, a 'tested bulwark' and 'precious cornerstone' (Isaiah 28:16], which shall never be shaken or moved from their place. As for the priesthood, they shall be a seat for the holy of holies, inasmuch as all of them will then have knowledge of the Covenant of justice and all of them be qualified to offer what will be indeed 'a pleasant savor' to the Lord. And as for the laity, they will constitute a household of integrity and truth, qualified to maintain the Covenant as an everlasting pact. they shall prove acceptable to God, so that He will shrive the earth of its guilt, bring final judgement upon wickedness, and perversity shall be no more.

When these men have undergone, with blamelessness of conduct, a two year preparation in the fundamentals of the community, they shall be segregated as especially sacred among the formal members of the community. Any knowledge which the expositor of the law may posses but which may have to remain arcane to the ordinary layman, he shall not keep hidden from them; for in their case there need be no fear that it might induce apostasy.

When these men exist in Israel, these are the provision whereby they are to be kept apart from any consort with froward men, to the end that they may indeed 'go into the wilderness to prepare the way' i.e., do what Scripture enjoins when it says, 'Prepare in the wilderness...make it straight in the desert a highway for our God' [Isaiah 40:3]. (The reference is to the study of the Law which God commanded through Moses to the end that, an occasion arises, all things may be done in accordance with what is revealed therein and with what the prophets also have revealed through God's holy spirit.) No member of the community - that is, no duly covenanted member - who blatantly deviates in any particular from the body of commandments is to be permitted to come into contact with the purity enjoyed by these specially holy men or to benefit by (know) their counsel until his actions be free of all perversity and he has been readmitted to the common council by decision of the general membership and thereupon reinstated in his rank.

The same rule is to apply also to novices.

Of the conduct of 'presbyters'.

These are the rules of conduct for the 'men of perfect holiness' in their dealings with one another.

If any of those that have been admitted to the degree of special sanctity - that is, to the degree of 'those that walk blamelessly in the way as God has commanded' -transgress a single word of the Law of Moses either blatantly or deviously, he is to be excommunicated and never to return. No other person in the degree of the specially holy is to have anything to do with him in the sharing either of property or of counsel.

If, however, he erred unintentionally, he is to be debarred only from that particular degree of purity and from participation in the common council. this is to be interpreted to mean that he is not to render any judgement nor is his counsel to be invited in any matter for a full two years. This hold good, however, only if, after the expiration of the full two years, his conduct be considered, in the judgement of the general membership, to be perfect alike in attendance at general assemblies, in study and in frame of mind, and if he has not meanwhile committed any further act of inadvertence. In other words, this two-year penalty is to apply only in the cases of a single inadvertent error, whereas if a man acts blatantly, he is nevermore to be readmitted. In sum, it is only the man who acts by inadvertence that is to be placed on probation for two years to see whether, in the opinion of the general membership, his conduct and frame of mind have meanwhile again become blameless. If so, he may be reinstalled in the body of the especially holy.

When these things obtain in Israel, as defined by these provisions, the Holy Spirit will indeed rest on a sound foundation; truth will be evinced perpetually; the guilt of transgression and the perfidy of sin will be shriven; and atonement will be made for the earth more effectively than by any flesh of burn-offerings or fat sacrifices. The 'oblation of the lips' will be in all justice like the erstwhile 'pleasant savor' on the altar; righteousness and integrity like the free-will offering which god designs to accept. At that time, the men of the community will constitute a true distinctive temple-a veritable holy of holies-wherein the priesthood may fitly foregather, and a true distinctive synagogue made up of laymen who walk in integrity.

Of the authority of the priests.

The priests alone are to have authority in all judicial and economic matters, and it is by their vote that the ranks of the various members of the community are to be determined.

Of the property of 'presbyters'.

The property of the 'specially holy men' - that is, of 'the men that walk 'blamelessly' - is not to be put into a common pool with that of men who may still be addicted to deceit and may not yet have achieved that purity of conduct which leads them to keep apart from perversity and to walk in integrity.

Until the coming of the prophet and of both the priestly and the lay Messiah, these men are not to depart from the clear intent of the Law to walk in any way in the stubbornness of their own hearts. They shall judge by the original laws in which the members of the community were schooled from the beginning.

Of the daily conduct of the faithful.

These are the ordinances for the conduct of any man that seeks after inner vision, in regard alike to human relations, the regulation of affairs on specific occasions, and the balanced appraisal of his fellow men, to the end that he may perform at all time the will of God which has been revealed as pertinent to this or that occasion; that he may at all times accommodate theory to circumstance; and that he may come to make the proper distinctions and evaluate the sons of Zadok (i.e. the priests) and the elect of any particular epoch by the standard of their spiritual attitudes, and appraise them by that criterion, thus conforming to the will of God, as He has commanded.

Everyone is to be judged by the standard of his spirituality. Intercourse with him is to be determined by the purity of his deeds, and consort with him by the degree of his intelligence. This alone is to determine the degree to which a man is to be loved or hated.

Of religious discussion.

No one is to engage in discussion or disputation with men of ill repute; and in the company of froward men everyone is to abstain from talk about (keep hidden) the meaning of the Law [Torah].

With those, however, that have chosen the right path everyone is indeed to discuss matters pertaining to the apprehension (knowledge) of God's truth and of His righteous judgements. The purpose of such discussions is to guide the minds of the members of the community, to give them insight into God's inscrutable wonders and truth, and to bring them to walk blamelessly each with his neighbour in harmony with all that has been revealed to them. For this is the time when 'the way is being prepared in the wilderness', and it behooves them to understand all that is happening. It is also the time when they must needs keep apart from all other men and not turn aside from the way through any form of perversity.

Of loving and hating fellow men; and of duty to God.

And these are the regulations of conduct for every man that would seek the inner vision in these times, touching what he is to love and what he is to hate.

He is to bear unremitting hatred toward all men of ill repute, and to be minded to keep [•] from them. He is to leave it to them to pursue wealth and mercenary gain, like servants at the mercy of their masters or wretches truckling to a despot.

He is to be zealous to carry out every ordinance punctiliously, against the Day of Requital.

In all his emprises and in all things over which he has control he is to act in a manner acceptable to God, in accordance with what God has commanded.

He is to accept willingly whatever befalls him and to take pleasure in nothing but the will of God.

He is to make [all] the words of his mouth acceptable, and not to lust after anything that God has not commanded.

He is to watch ever for the judgement of God, and [in every vicissitude of his existence] he is to bless his Maker. Whatever befalls, he is to [recount God's glory] and to bless him [with 'the oblation of] the lips'.

The Messianic Rule (1QSa=1Q28a)

(This is Dead Sea Scroll number 28a (1Q28a), which was found in Cave 1 at Qumran (Khirbet Qumran or Wadi Qumran). The Dead Sea Scrolls are ancient Jewish religious manuscripts. The majority were written in Hebrew script on leather or papyrus; however, many were written in Aramaic, Greek, and Nabatean-Aramaic. They were rolled-up and stored in specific jars with tight-fitting covers. When initially found, they were either scrolls or fragments of manuscripts or texts of previous complete scrolls; some of them were torn into thousands of fragments. The precise dating of the scrolls is unknown; scholars give the range of 408 BC to 318 AD. From Qumran Cave 1, West Bank of the Jordan River, near the north part of the Dead Sea, modern-day State of Israel. (The Jordan Museum, Amman, Jordan Hashemite Kingdom).

The Messianic Rule, which is a short but complete work, presents the translator with great difficulties owing to its bad state of preservation and to the carelessness of the scribe. The Messianic Rule was intended for a Community adapted to the requirements of the messianic war against other nations; it refers to the presence of the Priest and the Messiah of Israel at the Council. The precepts and the doctrinal concepts of the

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Messianic Rule foreshadow those of the War Rule. A mid-first-century BC date may safely be proposed.)

I This is the Rule for all the congregation of Israel in the last days, when they shall join the Community to walk according to the law of the sons of Zadok the Priests and of the men of their Covenant who have turned aside from the way of the people, the men of His Council who keep His Covenant in the midst of iniquity, offering expiation for the Land

When they come, they shall summon them all, the little children and the women also, and they shall read into their ears all the precepts of the Covenant and shall expound to them all their statutes that they may no longer stray in their errors.

And this is the Rule for all the hosts of the congregation, for every man born in Israel

From his youth they shall instruct him in the Book of Meditation and shall teach him, according to his age, the precepts of the Covenant. He shall be educated in their statutes for ten years ...

At the age of twenty years he shall be enrolled, that he may enter upon his allotted duties in the midst of his family (and) be joined to the holy congregation. He shall not approach a woman to know her by lying with her before he is fully twenty years old, when he shall know good and evil. And thereafter, he shall be accepted when he calls to witness the judgements of the Law, and shall be (allowed) to assist at the hearing of judgements.

At the age of twenty-five years he may take his place among the foundations (i.e. the officials) of the holy congregation to work in the service of the congregation.

At the age of thirty years he may approach to participate in lawsuits and judgements, and may take his place among the chiefs of the Thousands of Israel, the chiefs of the Hundreds, Fifties, and Tens, the Judges and the officers of their tribes, in all their families, under the authority of the sons of Aaron the Priests. And every head of family in the congregation who is chosen to hold office, to go and come before the congregation, shall strengthen his loins that he may perform his tasks among his brethren in accordance with his understanding and the perfection of his way. According to whether this is great or little, so shall one man be honoured more than another.

When a man is advanced in years, he shall be given a duty in the service of the congregation in proportion to his strength.

No simpleton shall be chosen to hold office in the congregation of Israel with regard to lawsuits or judgement, nor carry any responsibility in the congregation. Nor shall he hold any office in the war destined to vanquish the (enemy) nations; his family shall merely inscribe him in the army register and he shall do his service in task-work in proportion to his capacity.

The sons of Levi shall hold office, each in his place, under the authority of the sons of Aaron. They shall cause all the congregation to go and come, each man in his rank, under the direction of the heads of family of the congregation - the leaders, Judges, and officers, according to the number of all their hosts - under the authority of the sons of Zadok the Priests, and (under the direction) of all the heads of family of the congregation. And when the whole assembly is summoned for judgement, or for a Council of the Community, or for war, they shall sanctify them for three days that every one of its members may be prepared.

These are the men who shall be called to the Council of the Community ...

All the wise men of the congregation, the learned and the intelligent, men whose way is perfect and men of ability, together with the tribal chiefs and all the Judges and officers, and the chiefs of the Thousands, Hundreds, II Fifties, and Tens, and the Levites, each man in the class of his duty; these are the men of renown, the members of the assembly summoned to the Council of the Community in Israel before the sons of Zadok the Priests.

And no man smitten with any human uncleanness shall enter the assembly of God; no man smitten with any of them shall be confirmed in his office in the congregation. No man smitten in his flesh, or paralysed in his feet or hands, or lame, or blind, or deaf, or dumb, or smitten in his flesh with a visible blemish; no old and tottery man unable to stay still in the midst of the congregation; none of these shall come to hold office among the congregation of the men of renown, for the Angels of Holiness are with their congregation. Should one of them have something to say to the Council of Holiness, let him be questioned privately; but let him not enter among the congregation for he is smitten.

This shall be the assembly of the men of renown called to the meeting of the Council of the Community

When God engenders (the Priest-) Messiah, he shall come with them at the head of the whole congregation of Israel with all his brethren, the sons of Aaron the Priests, those called to the assembly, the men of renown; and they shall sit before him, each man in the order of his dignity. And then the Messiah of Israel shall come, and the chiefs of the clans of Israel shall sit before him, each in the order of his dignity, according to his place in their camps and marches. And before them shall sit all the heads of family of the congregation, and the wise men of the holy congregation, each in the order of his dignity.

And when they shall gather for the common table, to eat and to drink new wine, when the common table shall be set for eating and the new wine poured for drinking, let no man extend his hand over the firstfruits of bread and wine before the Priest; for it is he who shall bless the firstfruits of bread and wine, and shall be the first to extend his hand over the bread. Thereafter, the Messiah of Israel shall extend his hand over the bread, and all the congregation of the Community shall utter a blessing, each man in the order of his dignity.

It is according to this statute that they shall proceed at every meal at which at least ten men are gathered together.

THE WAR SCROLL (IQM, 1Q33, 4Q491-7, 4Q471)

(This work seem to draw its inspiration from Daniel 11:40 and describes the final apocalyptic battle against the Kittim [Greeks, Romans, lit. Hittites (Hatti, Khatti); Akkadian for "invader"]. This account was later combined with the concept of a holy forty years' war against the entire Gentile world, and was extended by the addition of a long series of Rules concerned with the military and religious preparation and with the conduct of the fighting.

The author must have possessed some knowledge of contemporary warfare as it is designed as a precription for a real war, not a symbolic war. The holy warriors intended to fight against all evil on Earth. These documents show that the Messianic movements were extremely militant groups. They show us quite exactly what is going on in the mind of modern religious jihadists in modern totalitarian Islamic movements. They have a very apocalyptic mindset. Both, the weapons and the tactics of the War Rule correspond to the art of war practised by the Roman legion as the described weaponry is characteristically Roman. This leads one to conclude that the War Rule was written some time after the middle of the first century BC. This work looks like a manual of military warfare and a theological writing at the same time.

The contents of the War Rule are in the following chapters:
Proclamation of war against the Kittim [Greeks] (1)
Reorganisation of Temple worship (2)
Programme of the forty years' war (2)
The trumpets (3)
The standards (3-4)
Disposition and weapons of the front formations (5)
Movements of the attacking infantry (6)
Disposition and movements of the cavalry (6)
Age of the soldiers (6-7)
The camp (7)
Duties of the Priests and Levites (exhortation, trumpet signals) (7-9)
Addresses and prayers of the battle liturgy (10-12)
Prayer recited at the moment of victory (13)
Thanksgiving ceremony (14)
Battle against the Kittim (15-19).)

WAR RULE CHAPTER 1

For the Master. The Rule of War on the unleashing of the attack of the sons of light against the company of the sons of darkness, the army of Belial: against the band of Edom, Moab,and the sons of Ammon, and against the army of the sons of the East and the Philistines, and against the bands of the Kittim* of Assyria and their allies the ungodly of the Covenant. [* Akkadian word for Hittites and Greeks.]

The sons of Levi, Judah, and Benjamin, the exiles in the desert, shall battle against them in ... all their bands when the exiled sons of light return from the Desert of the Peoples to camp in the Desert of Jerusalem; and after the battle they shall go up from there to Jerusalem?.

The king of the Kittim shall enter into Egypt, and in his time he shall set out in great wrath to wage war against the kings of the north, that his fury may destroy and cut the horn of Israel. This shall be a time of salvation for the people of God, an age of dominion for all the members of His company, and of everlasting destruction for all the company of Belial. The confusion of the sons of Japheth shall be great and Assyria shall fall unsuccoured. The dominion of the Kittim shall come to an end and iniquity shall be vanquished, leaving no remnant; for the sons of darkness there shall be no escape. The sons of righteousness shall shine over all the ends of the earth; they shall go on shining until all the seasons of darkness are consumed and, at the season appointed by God, His exalted greatness shall shine eternally to the peace, blessing, glory, joy, and long life of all the sons of light.

On the day when the Kittim fall, there shall be battle and terrible carnage before the God of Israel, for that shall be the day appointed from ancient times for the battle of destruction of the sons of darkness.

At that time, the assembly of gods and the hosts of men shall battle, causing great carnage; on the day of calamity, the sons of light shall battle with the company of darkness amid the shouts of a mighty multitude and the clamour of gods and men to (make manifest) the might of God. And it shall be a time of great tribulation for the people which God shall redeem; of all its afflictions none shall be as this, from its sudden beginning until its end in eternal redemption.

On the day of their battle against the Kittim they shall set out for carnage. In three lots shall the sons of light brace themselves in battle to strike down iniquity, and in three lots shall Belial's host gird itself to thrust back the company of God. And when the hearts of the detachments of foot-soldiers faint, then shall the might of God fortify the hearts of the sons of light. And with the seventh lot, the mighty hand of God shall bring down the army of Belial, and all the angels of his kingdom, and all the members of his company in everlasting destruction ...

... The priests, the Levites and the heads of the tribes ... the priests as well as the Levites and the divisions of ...

WAR RULE CHAPTER 2

The fifty-two heads of family of the congregation.

They shall rank the chief Priests below the High Priest and his vicar.

And the twelve chief Priests shall minister at the daily sacrifice before God, whereas the twenty-six leaders of the priestly divisions shall minister in their divisions.

Below them, in perpetual ministry, shall be the chiefs of the Levites to the number of twelve, one for each tribe. The leaders of their divisions shall minister each in his place.

Below them shall be the chiefs of the tribes together with the heads of family of the congregation. They shall attend daily at the gates of the Sanctuary, whereas the leaders of their divisions, with their numbered men, shall attend at their appointed times, on new moons and on Sabbaths and on all the days of the year, their age being fifty years and over.

These are the men who shall attend at holocausts and sacrifices to prepare sweet-smelling incense for the good pleasure of God, to atone for all His congregation, and to satisfy themselves perpetually before Him at the table of glory. They shall arrange all these things during the season of the year of Release.

During the remaining thirty-three years of the war, the men of renown, those summoned to the Assembly, together with all the heads of family of the congregation, shall choose for themselves fighting-men for all the lands of the nations. They shall arm for themselves warriors from all the tribes of Israel to enter the army year by year when they are summoned to war. But they shall arm no man for entry into the army during the years of Release, for they are Sabbaths of rest for Israel. In the thirty-five years of service, the war shall be fought during six; the whole congregation shall fight it together. And during the remaining twenty-nine years the war shall be divided. During the first year they shall fight against Aram-Naharaim (the Aramaeans in Upper Mesopotamia, north of Syria); during the second, against the sons of Lud (Greeks from Lydia); during the third, against the remnant of the sons of Aram, against Uz (Arabia Petraea, Petra) and Hul (Armenia) and Togar and Mesha (Mash, the Hittites) beyond the Euphrates; during the fourth and fifth, they shall fight against the sons of Arpachshad (the Chaldean City of Ur); during the sixth and seventh, against all the sons of Assyria and Persia and the East as far as the Great Desert; during the eighth year they shall fight against the sons of Elam (the Medians around Susa); during the ninth, against the sons of Ishmael and Keturah (Central Arabians). In the ten years which follow, the war shall be divided against all the sons of Ham (Egypt) according to their clans and in their habitations; and during the ten years which remain, the war shall be divided against all the sons of Japheth (mainland Greeks) in their habitations.

The Rule for the trumpets of Summons and the trumpets of Alarm according to all their duties

WAR RULE CHAPTER 3

... the trumpets of Summons shall sound for disposal in battle formations and to summon the foot-soldiers to advance when the gates of war shall open; and the trumpets of Alarm shall sound for massacre, and for ambush*, and for pursuit when the enemy shall be smitten, and for retreat from battle. (see Koran 9,5)

On the trumpets calling the congregation they shall write, The Called of God.

On the trumpets calling the chiefs they shall write, The Princes of God.

On the trumpets of the levies they shall write, The Army of God.

On the trumpets of the men of renown and of the heads of family of the congregation gathered in the house of Assembly they shall write, Summoned by God to the Council of Holiness.

On the trumpets of the camps they shall write, The Peace of God in the Camps of His Saints.

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And on the trumpets for breaking camp they shall write, The mighty Deeds of God shall Crush the Enemy, Putting to Flight all those who Hate Righteousness and bringing Shame on those (the unbelievers) who Hate Him.

On the trumpets for battle formations they shall write, Formations of the Divisions of God for the Vengeance of His Wrath on the Sons of Darkness (the non-Jews).

On the trumpets summoning the foot-soldiers to advance towards the enemy formations when the gates of war are opened they shall write, Reminder of Vengeance in God's Appointed Time.

On the trumpets of massacre they shall write, The Mighty Hand of God in War shall Cause all the Ungodly Slain to Fall.

On the trumpets of ambush they shall write, The Mysteries of God shall Undo Wickedness.

On the trumpets of pursuit they shall write, God has Smitten All the Sons of Darkness (the enemies of the Jews); His Fury shall not End until They are Utterly Consumed.

On the trumpets of retreat, when they retreat from battle to the formation, they shall write, God has Reassembled.

On the trumpets of return from battle against the enemy when they journey to the congregation in Jerusalem they shall write, Rejoicings of God in the Peaceful Return.

The Rule for the standards of the whole congregation according to their levies

On the great standard at the head of the people they shall write, The People of God, together with the names of Israel and Aaron, and the names of the twelve tribes of Israel. according to the order of their precedence.

On the standards of the camp columns formed by three tribes they shall write, ... of God, together with the name of the leader of the camp ...

On the standard of the tribe they shall write, Banner of God, together with the name of the leader of the tribe and the names of the chiefs of its clans.

On the standard of the Myriad they shall write, ... of God, together with the name of the chief of the Myriad and the names of the leaders of its Thousands.

On the standard of the Thousand they shall write, ... of God, together with the name of the chief of the Thousand and the names of the leaders of its Hundreds.

On the standard of Hundred ...

WAR RULE CHAPTER 4

On the standard of Merari they shall write, The Votive-Offering of God, together with the name of the chief of Merari and the names of the leaders of its Thousands.

On the standard of the Thousand they shall write, The Wrath of God is Kindled against Belial and against the Men of his Company, Leaving no Remnant, together with the name of the chief of the Thousand and the names of the leaders of its Hundreds.

On the standard of the Hundred they shall write, From God comes the Might of War against All Sinful Flesh, together with the name of the chief of the Hundred and the names of the leaders of its Fifties.

On the standard of the Fifty they shall write, The Stand of the Ungodly is Ended by the Power of God, together with the name of the chief of the Fifty and the names of the leaders of its Tens.

On the standard of the Ten they shall write, Praised be God on the Ten-stringed Harp, together with the name of the chief of the Ten and the names of the nine men under his command.

When they march out to battle they shall write on their standards, Truth of God, Justiceof God, Glory of God, Judgement of God, followed by the whole ordered list of their names.

When they approach for battle they shall write on their standards, Right Hand of God, Appointed Time of God, Tumult of God, Slain of God, followed by the whole list of their names.

When they return from battle they shall write on their standards, Honour of God, Majesty of God, Splendour of God, Glory of God, together with the whole list of their names.

The Rule for the standards of the congregation When they set out for battle they shall write on the first standard Congregation of God, on the second standard Camps of God, on the third standard Tribes of God, on the fourth standard Clans of God, on the fifth standard Divisions of God, on the sixth standard Assembly of God, on the seventh standard The Called of God, on the eighth standard Hosts of God; and they shall write the list of their names with all their order.

When they approach for battle they shall write on their standards, War of God, Vengeance of God, Trial of God, Reward of God, Power of God, Retributions of God, Might of God, Extermination of God for all the Nations of Vanity; and they shall write on them the whole list of their names.

When they return from battle they shall write on their standards, Salvation of God, Victory of God, Help of God, Support of God, Joy of God, Thanksgivings of God, Praise of God, Peace of God.

The measurements of the standards. The standard of the whole congregation shall be fourteen cubits long; the standard of the three tribes, thirteen cubits long; the standard of the tribe, twelve cubits; the standard of the Myriad, eleven cubits; the standard of the Thousand, ten cubits; the standard of the Hundred, nine cubits; the standard of the Fifty, eight cubits; the standard of the Ten, seven cubits ...

WAR RULE CHAPTER 5

And on the shield of the Prince of all the congregation they shall write his name, together with the names of Israel, Levi and Aaron, and the names of the twelve tribes of Israel according to the order of their precedence, with the names of their twelve chiefs.

The Rule for the ordering of the battle divisions to complete a front formation when their host has reached its full number The formation shall consist of one thousand men ranked seven lines deep, each man standing behind the other.

They shall all hold shields of bronze burnished like mirrors. The shield shall be edged with an interlaced border and with inlaid ornament, a work of art in pure gold and silver and bronze and precious stones, a many-coloured design worked by a craftsman. The length of the shield shall be two and a half cubits and its width one and a half cubits.

In their hands they shall hold a spear and a sword. The length of the spear shall be seven cubits, of which the socket and spike shall measure half a cubit. The socket shall be edged with three embossed interlaced rings of pure gold and silver and bronze, a work of art. The inlaid ornaments on both edges of the ring shall be bordered with precious stones - patterned bands worked by a craftsman - and embossed with ears of corn. Between the rings, the socket shall be embossed with artistry like a pillar. The spike shall be made of brilliant white iron, the work of a craftsman; in its centre, pointing towards the tip, shall be ears of corn in pure gold.

The swords shall be made of pure iron refined by the smelter and blanched to resemble a mirror, the work of a craftsman; on both sides (of their blades) pointing towards the tip, figured ears of corn shall be embossed in pure gold, and they shall have two straight borders on each side. The length of the sword shall be one and a half cubits and its width four fingers. The width of the scabbard shall be four thumbs.

There shall be four palms to the scabbard from the girdle, and it shall be attached to the girdle on both sides for a length of five palms.

The hilt of the sword shall be of pure horn worked by a craftsman, with patterned bands in gold and silver and precious stones ... ...

When... shall stand, the ... they shall order the seven battle divisions, division after division... thirty cubits where the men of the division shall stand...

WAR RULE CHAPTER 6

... seven times and shall return to their positions. And after them, three divisions of foot-soldiers shall advance and shall station themselves between the formations, and the first division shall hurl seven javelins of war towards the enemy formation. On the point of the javelins they shall write, ShiningJavelinof the Power of God; and on the darts of the second division they shall write, Bloody Spikes to Bring Down the Slain by the Wrath of God; and on the javelins of the third division they shall write, Flaming Blade to Devour the Wicked Struck Down by the Judgement of God. All these shall hurl their javelins seven times and shall afterwards return to their positions.

Then two divisions of foot-soldiers shall advance and shall station themselves between the two formations. The first division shall be armed with a spear and a shield, and the second with a shield and a sword, to bring down the slain by the judgement of God, and to bend the enemy formation by the power of God, to pay the reward of their wickedness to all the nations of vanity. And sovereignty shall be to the God of Israel, and He shall accomplish mighty deeds by the saints of his people.

Seven troops of horsemen shall also station themselves to the right and to the left of the formation; their troops shall stand on this (side) and on that, seven hundred horsemen on one flank and seven hundred horsemen on the other. Two hundred horsemen shall advance with the thousand men of the formation of foot-soldiers; and they shall likewise station themselves on both flanks of the camp. Altogether there shall be four thousand six hundred men, and one thousand cavalrymen with the men of the army formations, fifty to each formation. The horsemen, together with the cavalry of the army shall number six thousand: five hundred to each tribe.

The horses advancing into battle with the foot-soldiers shall all be stallions; they shall be swift, sensitive of mouth, and sound of wind, and of the required age, trained for war, and accustomed to noise and to every (kind of) sight. Their riders shall be gallant fighting men and skilled horsemen, and their age shall be from thirty to forty-five years.

The horsemen of the army shall be from forty to fifty years old. They and their mounts shall wear breast-plates, helmets, and greaves; they shall carry in their hands bucklers, and a spear eight cubits long. The horseman advancing with the foot-soldiers shall carry bows and arrows and javelins of war. They shall all hold themselves prepared ... of God and to spill the blood of the wicked ...

WAR RULE CHAPTER 7

The men of the army shall be from forty to fifty years old. The inspectors of the camps shall be from fifty to sixty years old. The officers shall be from forty to fifty years old. The despoilers of the slain, the plunderers of booty, the cleansers of the land, the keepers of the baggage, and those who furnish the provisions shall be from twentyfive to thirty years old.

No boy or woman shall enter their camps, from the time they leave Jerusalem and march out to war until they return. No man who is lame, or blind, or crippled, or afflicted with a lasting bodily blemish, or smitten with a bodily impurity, none of these shall march out to war with them.

They shall all be freely enlisted for war, perfect in spirit and body and prepared for the Day of Vengeance. And no man shall go down with them on the day of battle who is impure because of his 'fount', for the holy angels shall be with their hosts. And there shall be a space of about two thousand cubits between all their camps for the place serving as a latrine, so that no indecent nakedness may be seen in the surroundings of their camps.

When the battle formations are marshalled facing the enemy formation facing formation, seven Priests of the sons of Aaron shall advance from the middle gates to the place between the formations.

They shall be clothed in vestments of white cloth of flax, in a fine linen tunic and fine linen breeches; and they shall be girdled with fine cloth of flax embroidered with blue, purple, and scarlet thread, a manycoloured design worked by a craftsman. And on their heads they shall wear mitred turbans. These shall be battle raiment; they shall not take them into the Sanctuary.

The first Priest shall advance before the men of the formation to strengthen their hand for battle, and the six other Priests shall hold in their hands the trumpets of Summons, and the trumpets of the Reminder, and the trumpets of Alarm (for massacre), and the trumpets of Pursuit, and the trumpets of Retreat. And when the Priests advance to the place between the formations, seven Levites shall accompany them bearing in their hands seven rams' horns; and three officers of the Levites shall walk before the Priests and Levites. The Priests shall sound the two trumpets of Summons for the gates of war to open fifty shields (wide) and the foot-soldiers shall advance, fifty from one gate and fifty from the other. With them shall advance the officers of the Levites, and they shall advance with every formation according to all this Rule.

The Priests shall sound the trumpets, and two divisions of foot-soldiers shall advance from the gate and shall station themselves between the two formations ..

WAR RULE CHAPTER 8

the trumpets shall sound to direct the slingers until they have cast seven times. Afterwards, the Priests shall sound for them the trumpets of Retreat and they shall return to the flank of the first formation to take up their position.

Then the Priests shall sound the trumpets of Summons and three divisions of foot-soldiers shall advance from the gates and shall station themselves between the formations; the horsemen shall be on their flanks, to the right and to the left. The Priests shall sound a sustained blast on the trumpets for battle array, and the columns shall move to their (battle) array, each man to his place. And when they have taken up their stand in three arrays, the Priests shall sound a second signal, soft and sustained, for them to advance until they are close to the enemy formation. They shall seize their weapons, and the Priests shall then blow a shrill staccato blast on the six trumpets of Massacre to direct the battle, and the Levites and all the blowers of rams' horns shall sound a mighty alarm to terrify the heart of the enemy, and therewith the javelins shall fly out to bring down the slain. Then the sound of the horns shall cease, but the Priests shall continue to blow a shrill staccato blast on the trumpets to direct the battle until they have thrown seven times against the enemy formation. And then they shall sound a soft, a sustained, and a shrill sound on the trumpets of Retreat.

It is according to this Rule that the Priests shall sound the trumpets for the three divisions. With the first throw, the Priests shall sound on the trumpets a mighty alarm to direct the battle until they have thrown seven times. Then the Priests shall sound for them on the trumpets of Retreat a soft, a sustained, and a shrill sound, and they shall return to their positions in the formation.

Then the Priests shall blow the trumpets of Summons and the two divisions of foot-soldiers shall advance from the gates and shall stand between the formations. And the Priests shall then blow the trumpets of Massacre, and the Levites and all the blowers of rams' horns shall sound an alarm, a mighty blast, and therewith ... ...

WAR RULE CHAPTER 9

they shall set about to bring down the slain with their hands. All the people shall cease their clamour but the Priests

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shall continue to blow the trumpets of Massacre to direct the battle until the enemy is smitten and put to flight; and the Priests shall blow to direct the battle.

And when they are smitten before them, the Priests shall sound the trumpets of Summons and all the foot-soldiers shall rally to them from the midst of the front formations, and the six divisions, together with the fighting division, shall take up their stations. Altogether, they shall be seven formations: twenty-eight thousand fighting men and six thousand horsemen.

All these shall pursue the enemy to destroy him in an everlasting destruction in the battle of God. The Priests shall sound for them the trumpets of Pursuit, and they shall deploy against all the enemy in a pursuit to destruction; and the horsemen shall thrust them back on the flanks of the battle until they are utterly destroyed.

And as the slain men fall, the Priests shall trumpet from afar; they shall not approach the slain lest they be defiled with unclean blood. For they are holy, and they shall not profane the anointing of their priesthood with the blood of nations of vanity.

The Rule for changes in battle order to form the position of a square with towers, a concave line with towers, a convex line with towers, a shallow convex line obtained by the advance of the centre, or (by the advance of) both flanks to terrify the enemy The shields of the towers shall be three cubits long and their spears eight cubits. The tower shall advance from the formation and shall have one hundred shields to each side; in this manner, the tower shall be surrounded on three sides by three hundred shields. And it shall also have two gates, one to the right and one to the left.

They shall write on all the shields of the towers: on the first, Michael, on the second, Gabriel, on the third, Sariel, and on the fourth, Raphael. Michael and Gabriel shall stand on the right, and Sariel and Raphael on the left ... they shall set an ambush to ... ...

WAR RULE CHAPTER 10

our camps and to keep us from all that is indecent and evil. Furthermore, (Moses) taught us, 'Thou art in the midst of us, a mighty God and terrible, causing all our enemies to flee before us.' He taught our generations in former times saying, When you draw near to battle, the Priest shall rise and speak to the people saying, Hear, O Israel! You draw near to battle this day against your enemies. Do not fear! Do not let your hearts be afraid! Do not be terrified, and have no fear! For your God goes with you to fight for you against your enemies that He may deliver you' (Deuteronomy 20, 2-4).

Our officers shall speak to all those prepared for battle. They shall strengthen by the power of God the freely devoted of heart, and shall make all the fearful of heart withdraw; they shall fortify all the mighty men of war. They shall recount that which Thou saidst through Moses:

When you go to war in your land against the oppressor who oppresses you, you shall blow the trumpets, and you shall be remembered before your God and shall be saved from your enemies.

O God of Israel, who is like Thee in heaven or on earth?

Who accomplishes deeds and mighty works like Thine?

Who is like Thy people Israel which Thou hast chosen for Thyself from all the peoples of the lands; the people of the saints of the Covenant, instructed in the laws and learned in wisdom ... who have heard the voice of Majesty and have seen the Angels of Holiness, whose ear has been unstopped, and who have heard profound things?

Thou, O God, hast created the expanse of the heavens and the host of heavenly lights, the tasks of the spirits and the dominion of the Holy Ones, the treasury of glory and the canopy of the clouds.

Thou art Creator of) the earth and of the laws dividing it into desert and grassland; of all that it brings forth and of all its fruits according to their kinds; of the circle of the seas and of the gathering-place of the rivers and of the divisions of the deeps; of the beasts and birds and of the shape of Adam and of the generations of his seed; of the confusion of tongues and of the scattering of the peoples, of the dwelling in clans and of the inheritance of lands; ...of the sacred seasons and of the cycles of the years and of time everlasting.

WAR RULE CHAPTER 11

Truly the battle is Thine! Their bodies are crushed by the might of Thy hand and there is no man to bury them.

Thou didst deliver Goliath of Gath, the mighty warrior, into the hands of David Thy servant, because in place of the sword and in place of the spear he put his trust in Thy great Name; for Thine is the battle. Many times, by Thy great Name, did he triumph over the Philistines. Many times hast Thou also delivered us by the hand of our kings through Thy loving-kindness, and not in accordance with our works by which we have done evil, nor according to our rebellious deeds.

Truly the battle is Thine and the power from Thee! It is not ours. Our strength and the power of our hands accomplish no mighty deeds except by Thy power and by the might of Thy great valour. This Thou hast taught us from ancient times, saying, A star shall come out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel. He shall smite the temples of Moab and destroy all the children of Sheth. He shall rule out of Jacob and shall cause the survivors of the city to perish. The enemy shall be his possession and Israel shall accomplish mighty deeds (Numbers 24, 17-19).

By the hand of Thine anointed, who discerned Thy testimonies, Thou hast revealed to us the times of the battles of Thy hands that Thou mayest glorify Thyself in our enemies by levelling the hordes of Belial, the seven nations of vanity, by the hand of Thy poor whom Thou hast redeemed by Thy might and by the fullness of Thy marvellous power.

Thou hast opened the door of hope to the melting heart: Thou wilt do to them as Thou didst to Pharaoh, and to the captains of his chariots in the Red Sea. Thou wilt kindle the downcast of spirit and they shall be a flaming torch in the straw to consume ungodliness and never to cease till iniquity is destroyed.

From ancient times Thou hast foretold the hour when the might of Thy hand (would be raised) against the Kittim, saying, Assyria shall fall by the sword of no man, the sword of no mere man shall devour him (Isaiah 31, 8). For Thou wilt deliver into the hands of the poor the enemies from all the lands, to humble the mighty of the peoples by the hand of those bent to the dust, to bring upon the head of Thine enemies the reward of the wicked, and to justify Thy true judgement in the midst of all the sons of men, and to make for Thyself an everlasting Name among the people whom Thou hast redeemed ... of battles to be magnified and sanctified in the eyes of the remnant of the peoples, that they may know... when Thou chastisest Gog and all his assembly gathered about him ...

For Thou wilt fight with them from heaven...

WAR RULE CHAPTER 12

For the multitude of the Holy Ones is with Thee in heaven, and the host of the Angels is in Thy holy abode, praising Thy Name. And Thou hast established in a community for Thyself the elect of Thy holy people. The list of the names of all their host is with Thee in the abode of Thy holiness; the reckoning of the saints is in Thy glorious dwelling-place. Thou hast recorded for them, with the graving-tool of life, the favours of Thy blessings and the Covenant of Thy peace, that Thou mayest reign over them for ever and ever and throughout all the eternal ages. Thou wilt muster the hosts of Thine elect, in their Thousands and Myriads, with Thy Holy Ones and with all Thine Angels, that they may be mighty in battle, and may smite the rebels of the earth by Thy great judgements, and that they may triumph together with the elect of heaven.

For Thou art terrible, O God, in the glory of Thy kingdom, and the congregation of Thy Holy Ones is among us for everlasting succour.

We will despise kings, we will mock and scorn the mighty; for our Lord is holy, and the King of Glory is with us together with the Holy Ones.

Valiant warriors of the angelic host are among our numbered men, and the Hero of war is with our congregation; the host of His spirits is with our foot-soldiers and horsemen. They are as clouds, as clouds of dew (covering) the earth, as a shower of rain shedding judgement on all that grows on the earth.

Rise up, O Hero!

Lead off Thy captives, O Glorious One!

Gather up Thy spoils, O Author of mighty deeds!

Lay Thy hand on the neck of Thine enemies and Thy feet on the pile of the slain!

Smite the nations, Thine adversaries, and devour the flesh of the sinner with Thy sword!

Fill Thy land with glory and Thine inheritance with blessing!

Let there be a multitude of cattle in Thy fields, and in Thy palaces silver and gold and precious stones!

O Zion, rejoice greatly!

O Jerusalem, show thyself amidst jubilation!

Rejoice, all you cities of Judah; keep your gates ever open that the hosts of the nations may be brought in!

Their kings shall serve you and all your oppressors shall bow down before you; they shall lick the dust of your feet.

Shout for joy, O daughters of my people!

Deck yourselves with glorious jewels and rule over the kingdoms of the nations! Sovereignty shall be to the Lord and everlasting dominion to Israel ... ...

WAR RULE CHAPTER 13

The High Priest shall come, and his brethren the Priests and the Levites, and all the elders of the army shall be with him; and standing, they shall bless the God of Israel and all His works of truth, and shall execrate Belial there and all the spirits of his company.

Speaking, they shall say: Blessed be the God of Israel for all His holy purpose and for His works of truth! Blessed be all those who serve Him in righteousness and who know Him by faith!

Cursed be Belial for his sinful purpose and may he be execrated for his wicked rule! Cursed be all the spirits of his company for their ungodly purpose and may they be execrated for all their service of uncleanness!

Truly they are the company of Darkness, but the company of God is one of eternal Light.

Thou art the God of our fathers; we bless Thy Name for ever. We are the people of Thine inheritance; Thou didst make a Covenant with our fathers, and wilt establish it with their children throughout eternal ages. And in all Thy glorious testimonies there has been a reminder of Thy mercies among us to succour the remnant, the survivors of Thy Covenant, that they might recount Thy works of truth and the judgements of Thy marvellous mighty deeds.

Thou hast created us for Thyself, O God, that we may be an everlasting people. Thou hast decreed for us a destiny of Light according to Thy truth. And the Prince of Light Thou hast appointed from ancient times to come to our support; all the sons of righteousness are in his hand, and all the spirits of truth are under his dominion. But Belial, the Angel of Malevolence, Thou hast created for the Pit; his rule is in Darkness and his purpose is to bring about wickedness and iniquity. All the spirits of his company, the Angels of Destruction, walk according to the precepts of Darkness; towards them is their inclination.

But let us, the company of Thy truth, rejoice in Thy mighty hand and be glad for Thy salvation, and exult because of Thy succour and peace. O God of Israel, who can compare with Thee in might? Thy mighty hand is with the poor. Which angel or prince can compare with Thy redeeming succour? For Thou hast appointed the day of battle from ancient times ... to come to the aid of truth and to destroy iniquity, to bring Darkness low and to magnify Light ... to stand for ever, and to destroy all the sons of Darkness ... ...

WAR RULE CHAPTER 14

like the fire of His wrath against the idols of Egypt.

And when they have risen from the slain to return to the camp, they shall all sing the Psalm of Return. And in the morning, they shall wash their garments, and shall cleanse themselves of the blood of the bodies of the ungodly. And they shall return to the positions in which they stood in battle formation before the fall of the enemy slain, and there they shall all bless the God of Israel. Rejoicing together, they shall praise His Name, and speaking they shall say: Blessed be the God of Israel who keeps mercy towards His Covenant, and the appointed times of salvation with the people He has delivered!

He has called them that staggered to marvellous mighty deeds, and has gathered in the assembly of the nations to destruction without any remnant.

He has lifted up in judgement the fearful of heart and has opened the mouth of the dumb that they might praise the mighty works of God.

He has taught war to the hand of the feeble and steadied the trembling knee; he has braced the back of the smitten. Among the poor in spirit there is power over the hard of heart, and by the perfect of way all the nations of wickedness have come to an end: not one of their mighty men stands, but we are the remnant of Thy people.

Blessed be Thy Name, O God of mercies, who hast kept the Covenant with our fathers.

In all our generations Thou hast bestowed Thy wonderful favours on the remnant of Thy people under the dominion of Belial.

During all the mysteries of his Malevolence he has not made us stray from Thy Covenant;

Thou hast driven his spirits of destruction far from us, Thou hast preserved the soul of Thy redeemed when the men of his dominion {acted wickedly).

Thou hast raised the fallen by Thy strength, but hast cut down the great in height and hast brought down the lofty.

There is no rescue for all their mighty men and no refuge for their swift men; Thou givest to their honoured men a reward of shame, all their empty existence hast Thou turned to nothing.

But we, Thy holy people, will praise Thy Name because of the works of Thy truth.

We will exalt Thy splendour because of Thy mighty deeds in all the seasons and appointed times for ever, at the coming of day and at nightfall and at the departure of evening and morning.

For great is the design of Thy glory and of Thy wonderful mysteries on high that Thou shouldst raise up dust before Thee and lay low the 'gods'.

Rise up, rise up, O God of gods, raise Thyself in might, King of Kings!

May all the sons of Darkness scatter before Thee!

The light of Thy greatness shall shine forth on 'gods' and men.

It shall be like a fire burning in the dark places of perdition; it shall burn the sinners in the perdition of hell, in an eternal blaze

... in all the eternal seasons.

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They shall recite there all the war hymns. Afterwards they shall return to their camps ...

WAR RULE CHAPTER 15

For this shall be a time of distress for Israel, and of the summons to war against all the nations. There shall be eternal deliverance for the company of God, but destruction for all the nations of wickedness.

All those who are ready for battle shall march out and shall pitch their camp before the king of the Kittim and before all the host of Belial gathered about him for the Day of Revenge by the Sword of God.

Then the High Priest shall rise, with the Priests, his brethren, and the Levites, and all the men of the army, and he shall recite aloud the Prayer in Time of War written in the Book of the Rule concerning this time, and also all their Hymns. He shall marshal all the formations there, as is written in the Book of War, and the priest appointed for the Day of Revenge by the voice of all his brethren shall go forward to strengthen the hearts of the fighting men. Speaking, he shall say: Be strong and valiant; be warriors! Fear not! Do not be confused and do not let your hearts be afraid! Do not be fearful; fear them not!

Do not fall back ... for they are a congregation of wickedness and all their works are in Darkness; they tend towards Darkness. They make for themselves a refuge in falsehood and their power shall vanish like smoke. All the multitudes of their community... shall not be found.

Damned as they are, all the substance of their wickedness shall quickly fade, like a flower in the summer-time.

Be brave and strong for the battle of God! For this day is the time of the battle of God against all the host of Belial, and of the judgement of all flesh. The God of Israel lifts His hand in His marvellous might against all the spirits of wickedness. The hosts of the warrior 'gods' gird themselves for battle, and the formations of the Holy Ones prepare themselves, for the Day of Revenge ...

WAR RULE CHAPTER 16

... For the God of Israel has called out the sword against all the nations, and He will do mighty deeds by the saints of His people.

And they shall obey all this Rule on the day when they stand before the camps of the Kittim The Priests shall afterwards sound for them the trumpets of the Reminder, and the gates of war shall open; the foot-soldiers shall advance and the columns shall station themselves between the formations. The Priests shall sound for them the signal, 'Battle Array', and at the sound of the trumpets the columns shall deploy until every man is in his place. The Priests shall then sound a second signal for them to advance, and when they are within throwing distance of the formation of the Kittim, each man shall seize his weapon of war. Then the six Priests shall blow on the trumpets of Massacre a shrill staccato blast to direct the battle, and the Levites and all the blowers of rams' horns shall sound a battle alarm, a mighty clamour; and with this clamour they shall begin to bring down the slain from among the Kittim. All the people shall cease their clamour, but the Priests shall continue to sound the trumpets of Massacre, and battle shall be fought against the Kittim (vacat). And when Belial girds himself to come to the aid of the sons of darkness, and when the slain among the footsoldiers begin to fall by the mysteries of God, and when all the men appointed for battle are put to ordeal by them, the Priests shall sound the trumpets of Summons for another formation of the reserve to advance into battle; and they shall take up their stand between the formations. And for those engaged in battle they shall sound the 'Retreat'.

Then the High Priest shall draw near, and standing before the formation, he shall strengthen by the power of God their hearts and hands in His battle. Speaking he shall say: ... the slain, for you have heard from ancient times through the mysteries of God ... ...

WAR RULE CHAPTER 17

He will pay their reward with burning fire by the hand of those tested in the crucible. He will sharpen His weapons and will not tire until all the wicked nations are destroyed. Remember the judgement of Nadab and Abihu, sons of Aaron, by whose judgement God showed Himself holy in the eyes of Israel. But Eleazar and Ithamar He confirmed in an everlasting priestly Covenant.

Be strong and fear not; for they tend towards chaos and confusion, and they lean on that which is not and shall not be. To the God of Israel belongs all that is and shall be; He knows all the happenings of eternity. This is the day appointed by Him for the defeat and overthrow of the Prince of the kingdom of wickedness, and He will send eternal succour to the company of His redeemed by the might of the princely Angel of the kingdom of Michael. With everlasting light He will enlighten with joy the children of Israel; peace and blessing shall be with the company of God. He will raise up the kingdom of Michael in the midst of the gods, and the realm of Israel in the midst of all flesh.

Righteousness shall rejoice on high, and all the children of His truth shall jubilate in eternal knowledge. And you, the sons of His Covenant, be strong in the ordeal of God! His mysteries shall uphold you until He moves His hand for His trials to come to an end.

After these words, the Priests shall sound to marshal them into the divisions of the formation; and at the sound of the trumpets the columns shall deploy until every man is in his place. Then the Priests shall sound a second signal on the trumpets for them to advance, and when the foot-soldiers approach throwing distance of the formation of the Kittim, every man shall seize his weapon of war. The Priests shall blow the trumpets of Massacre, and the Levites and all the blowers of rams' horns shall sound a battle alarm, and the foot-soldiers shall stretch out their hands against the host of the Kittim; and at the sound of the alarm they shall begin to bring down the slain. All the people shall cease their clamour, but the Priests shall continue to blow the trumpets of Massacre and battle shall be fought against the Kittim.

... and in the third lot ... that the slain may fall by the mysteries of God ...

WAR RULE CHAPTER 18

In the seventh lot when the great hand of God is raised in an everlasting blow against Belial and all the hosts of his kingdom, and when Assyria is pursued amidst the shouts of Angels and the clamour of the Holy Ones, the sons of Japheth shall fall to rise no more. The Kittim shall be crushed without remnant, and no man shall be saved from among them.

At that time, on the day when the hand of the God of Israel is raised against all the multitude of Belial, the Priests shall blow the six trumpets of the Reminder and all the battle formations shall rally to them and shall divide against all the camps of the Kittim to destroy them utterly. And as the sun speeds to its setting on that day, the High Priest shall stand, together with the Levites who are with him and the tribal chiefs and the elders of the army, and they shall bless the God of Israel there. Speaking they shall say:

Blessed be Thy Name, O God of gods, for Thou hast worked great marvels with Thy people! Thou hast kept Thy Covenant with us from of old, and hast opened to us the gates of salvation many times. For the sake of Thy Covenant Thou hast removed our misery, in accordance with Thy goodness towards us. Thou hast acted for the sake of Thy Name, O God of righteousness ... Thou hast worked a marvellous miracle for us, and from ancient times there never was anything like it.

For Thou didst know the time appointed for us and it has appeared before us this day ... Thou hast shown us Thy merciful hand in everlasting redemption by causing the dominion of the enemy to fall back for ever. (Thou hast shown us) Thy mighty hand in a stroke of destruction in the war against all our enemies.

And now the day speeds us to the pursuit of their multitude ... Thou hast delivered up the hearts of the brave so that they stand no more.

For Thine is the power, and the battle is in Thy hands! ...

WAR RULE CHAPTER 19

For our Sovereign is holy and the King of Glory is with us; the host of his spirits is with our foot-soldiers and horsemen. They are as clouds, as clouds of dew covering the earth, and as a shower of rain shedding

righteousness on all that grows there. Rise up, O Hero!

Lead off Thy captives, O Glorious One!

Gather up Thy spoils, O Author of mighty deeds!

Lay Thy hand on the neck of Thine enemies and Thy feet on the pile of the slain!

Smite the nations, Thine adversaries, and devour flesh with Thy sword!

Fill Thy land with glory and Thine inheritance with blessing!

Let there be a multitude of cattle in Thy fields, and in Thy palaces silver and gold and precious stones!

O Zion, rejoice greatly!

Rejoice all you cities of Judah!

Keep your gates ever open that the hosts of the nations may be brought in!

Their kings shall serve you and all your oppressors shall bow down before you; they shall lick the dust of your feet.

Shout for joy, O daughters of my people!

Deck yourselves with glorious jewels and rule over the kingdom of the nations!

Sovereignty shall be to the Lord and everlasting dominion to Israel.

(1QM combined with 4QMb=4Q492)

{Then they shall gather in} the camp that night to rest until the morning.

And in the morning {they shall go to the place where the formation stood before the} warriors of the Kittim fell, as well as the multitudes of Assyria, and the hosts of all the assembled nations {to discover whether} the multitude of the stricken are dead {with none to bury them}, those who fell there under the Sword of God. And the High Priest shall draw near, with his vicar, and the chief Priests {and the Levites} with the Prince of the battle, and all the chiefs of the formations and their numbered men; they shall return to the positions which they held before the slain began to fall from among the Kittim, and there they shall praise the God {the Most High} ...

The War Scroll from Cave 4 (4Q491, 493)

(The following fragments, belonging to Ma (4Q491), echo sections from 1QM, but it also contain passages without parallels there. This is why we have to show them here.)

Ma = 4Q491, frs. 1-3

... There shall be one thousand cubits between the camp and the latrine and no nakedness whatever shall be seen in their surroundings. And when they set out to prepare the battle to curb the enemy, there shall be among them some exempted in the lot of each tribe according to their numbered men for each day's duty. On that day, some men from all their tribes shall set out from their camps towards the House of Meeting ... the Priests, the Levites, and all the chiefs of the camps shall go out towards them. They will pass there before ... according to the Thousands, Hundreds, Fifties and Tens.

Whoever shall not be clean because of his 'fount' on that night shall not go with them to the battle, for the holy angels shall be with their formations together ... When the formation called up for that day's battle to pass to all ... of the war, three formations shall stand, formations behind formations. They shall set a space between all the formations and they shall go out to battle in succession. These are the foot-soldiers and beside them the horsemen. They shall stand between the formations. And if they set up an ambush for a formation, the three ambushing formations shall be at a distance and shall not rise ... of the war and they shall hear the trumpets of Alarm and the foot-soldiers will begin to bring down the guilty dead. Afterwards the ambush shall rise from its hiding-place arranged in formations. The reassembly: from the right and from the left, from behind and from the front, four directions ... in the battles of annihilation. And all the formations engaged in combat with the enemy will be in one place.

... The first formation will go out to the battle and the second stand ... on their post. With the completion of their time, the first shall return and rise ... The second ... When the battle is joined. And the second formation shall have completed its time and they shall return and stand on their post. And the third ...

... And the chief Priest and his brethren, the Priests, and the Levites and the men of the order shall stand. And the Priests shall blow the trumpets continuously ... and a girdle of fine cloth of flax embroidered with blue, purple and scarlet threads, a many-coloured design produced by a craftsman, and a fine linen tunic and fine linen breeches and a mitred turban on their heads. They shall not take them to the sanctuary for they are battle raiments. According to all this rule ...

THE BOOK OF WAR (4Q285, 11Q14)

(This collection of small fragments, designated as Rule of War, are akin to the War Scroll. It is probably representing its missing end section. Allusions are found to Levites blowing trumpets (fr. 8), to the archangel Michael (fr. 10), to the Prince of the Congregation, identified as the Branch of David (frs. 4 and 7), as well as to the Kittim and their slain (frs. 2, 4, 7), all familiar from 1QM. The poorly preserved benediction (fr. 8) can be reconstructed with the help of 11Q14 which contains, however, some notable variants. Fragment 4 seems to identify the defeated opponent as the biblical Gog (Ezekiel 39), the chief foe of the final age, here no doubt equated with the king of the Kittim. Fragment 7, erroneously labelled by some as the 'Pierced Messiah fragment', is based on an interpretation of Isaiah)

4Q285, fr. 1

... because of Thy name and ... Michael, Gabriel, Sariel and Raphael ... with the elect of ...

4Q285, fr. 4

... wickedness will be smitten ... the Prince of the Congregation and all Israel ... which was written in the book of Ezekiel the Prophet, I will strike your bow from your left hand and will make your arrows drop from your right hand. On the mountains of Israel you shall fall ... the king of the Kittim ... the Prince of the congregation will pursue them as far as the Great Sea ... and they shall flee from before Israel. In that time ... he shall stand against them and they shall be stirred against them ... and they shall return to the dry land. In that time ... and they shall bring him (the king of the Kittim?) before the Prince of the Congregation

4Q285 frg. 5

Isaiah the prophet: The thickets of the forest will be cut down with an axe and Lebanon by a majestic one will fall.

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And there shall come forth a shoot from the stump of Jesse the Branch of David and they will enter into judgement with and the Prince of the Congregation, the Branch of David will kill him by strokes and by wounds. And a Priest of renown will command the slain of the Kittim.

4Q285.fr. 7

The Messiah, Branch of David

As it is written in the book of Isaiah the Prophet, The thickets of the forest will be cut down with an axe and Lebanon by a majestic one will f all. And there shall come forth a shoot from the stump of Jesse ... the Branch of David and they will enter into judgement with ... and the Prince of the Congregation, the Branch of David will kill him ... by strokes and by wounds. And a Priest of renown will command ... the slain of the Kittim ...

4Q285, fr.8

Answering, he shall say to the sons of Israel: May you be blessed in the name of the Most High God ... and may His holy name be blessed for ever and ever. May all His holy angels be blessed. May the Most High God bless you. May He shine His face towards you and open for you His good treasure which is in heaven to bring down on your land showers of blessing, dew, rain, early rain and late rain in His/its time, and to give you the fruit of the produce of corn, wine and oil plentiful. And may the land produce for you fruits of delight. And you shall eat and grow fat. And there shall be no miscarriage in your land and no sickness, blight or mildew shall be seen in its produce. And there shall be no loss of children nor stumbling in your congregation, and wild beasts shall withdraw from your land and there shall be no pestilence in your land. For God is with you and His holy angels stand in your congregation, and His holy name shall be invoked upon you ... in your midst...

11Q14

And he shall bless them in the name of the God of Israel. Answering he shall say, ... to the sons of Israel: May you be blessed for ever and ever and may His ... be blessed ... and may His holy angels be blessed. May the Most High God bless you. May He shine His face towards you and open to you His good treasure which is in heaven to bring down on your land showers of blessing, dew, rain, early rain and late rain in His/its time to give you the fruit of the produce of corn, wine and oil plentiful. May the land produce for you fruits of delight. And you shall eat and grow fat. And there shall be no miscarriage in your land and no sickness, blight or mildew shall be seen in its produce. There shall be no loss of children, nor stumbling in your congregation and the wild beasts shall withdraw from your land. The sword shall not pass through your land. For God is with you and His holy angels shall be present in your congregation, and His holy name shall be invoked upon you.

THE TEMPLE SCROLL (11QT=11Q19-21, 4Q365a, 4Q524)

(The Temple Scroll is the longest Qumran manuscript, measuring over twenty-eight feet. There are also other fragments pertaining to the same document from Cave 11 (11Q20) and from Cave 4 (4Q365a). Originally it consisted of sixtyseven columns. It was written in the mid-first century BC.

The major part of the scroll deals with the Temple (building and furniture) and cultic worship, especially sacrifices on Sabbaths and the many feasts of the year. Most of the legislation depends, directly or indirectly, on Exodus, Leviticus, and more particularly on Deuteronomy, but there are also occasional non-biblical regulations.

The beginning of the manuscript is badly mutilated. Column I is missing. Columns III-XII are so fragmented that we only know that they contain: 1. Covenant between God and Israel (II). 2. Building projects of the Temple, 3. Daily, weekly and monthly sacrifices, and festivals. 4. Purity regulations. 5. Miscellaneous laws and punishments.

The sequence of subjects generally follows the Bible, but an obvious effort has been made to systematize, harmonize and reinterpret the laws. The aim of the author is to present the message of the scroll not as an interpretation of the Bible, but as an immediate divine revelation. For this purpose, not only does he formulate the supplementary legislation as directly spoken by God, but also frequently substitutes 'I' for 'the Lord = YHWH' of Scripture.)

(... Column 1 is missing ...)

TEMPLE SCROLL COLUMN 2

Behold, I will make a covenant.

For it is something dreadful that I will do to you. I myself will expel from before you the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Girgashites, the Perizzites, the Hivites and the Jebusites. Take care not to make a covenant with the inhabitants of the country which you are to enter so that they may not prove a snare for you. You must destroy their altars, smash their pillars and cut down their sacred trees and burn their idols with fire. You must not desire silver and gold so that you may not be ensnared by them; for that would be abominable to me. You must not bring any abominable idol into your house and come under the ban together with it. You shall detest and abominate it, for it is under the ban. You shall not worship another god, for YHWH, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God. Take care not to make a covenant with the inhabitants of the country so that, when they whore after their gods and sacrifice to them and invite you, you may not eat of their sacrifices and take their daughters for your sons, and their daughters may not whore after their gods and cause your sons to whore after them. ...

(... Columns 3-12 are extremely fragmented, not readable ...)

This is what you shall offer on the altar: two yearling lambs without blemish every day as a perpetual holocaust. You shall offer the first in the morning; and you shall offer the other lamb in the evening; the corresponding grain-offering will be a tenth of fine flour mixed with a quarter of a hin of beaten oil; it shall be a perpetual holocaust of soothing odour, an offering by fire to YHWH; and the corresponding drink-offering shall be a quarter of a hin of wine. The priest who offers the holocaust shall receive the skin of the burnt-offering which he has offered. You shall offer the other lamb in the evening with the same grain-offering as in the morning and with the corresponding drink-offering as an offering by fire, a soothing odour to YHWH ...

On the Sabbath days you shall offer two yearling rams without blemish and two tenths of an ephah of fine flour, mixed with oil, for a grain-offering and the corresponding drink-offering. This is the holocaust of every Sabbath in addition to the perpetual holocaust and the corresponding drink-offering. On the first day of each month you shall offer a holocaust to YHWH: two young bulls, one ram, seven yearling rams without blemish and a grain-offering of fine flour, three tenths of an ephah mixed with half a hin of oil, and a drink-offering, half a hin for each young bull and a grain-offering of fine flour mixed with oil, two tenths of an ephah with a third of a hin, and wine for a drink-offering, one third of a hinfor each ram; ... one tenth of fine flour for a grain-offering, mixed with a quarter of a hin, and wine, a quarter of a hin for each lamb ... a soothing odour to YHWH on the first day of each month. This is the burnt-offering for each month for the months of the year ... On the first day of the first month the months (of the year) shall start; it shall be the first month of the year for you. You shall do no work. You shall offer a he-goat for a sin-offering. It shall be offered by itself to expiate for you. You shall offer a holocaust: a bullock, a ram, seven yearling ram lambs without blemish ... additional to the burnt-offering for the new moon, and a grainoffering of three tenths of fine flour mixed with oil, half a hin for each bullock, and wine for a drink-offering, half a hin, a soothing odour to YHWH, and two tenths of fine flour mixed with oil, one third of a hin.

You shall offer wine for a drink-offering, one third of a hin for the ram, an offering by fire, of soothing odour to YHWH; and one tenth of fine flour, a grain-offering mixed with a quarter of a hinof oil. You shall offer wine for a drink-offering, a quarter of a hin for each ram ... lambs and for the he-goat ... each day ... seven yearling lambs and a he-goat ... according to this statute. For the ordination (of the priests), one ram for each day, and baskets of bread for all the rams of the ordination, one basket for each ram. They shall divide all the rams and the baskets for the seven days of the ordination for each day; according to their divisions, they shall offer to YHWH the right thigh of the ram as a holocaust and the fat covering the entrails and the two kidneys and the fat on them and on the loins and the whole fat tail close to the backbone and the appendage of the liver and the corresponding grain-offering and drink-offering according to the statute. They shall take one unleavened cake from the basket and one cake of bread with oil and one wafer, and they shall put it all on the fat together with the offering of the right thigh. Those who sacrifice shall wave the rams and the baskets of bread as a wave-offering before YHWH. This is a holocaust, an offering by fire, of soothing odour before YHWH. They shall burn everything on the altar over the holocaust, to complete their ordination during the seven days of ordination.

If the High Priest is to minister to YHWH, whoever has been ordained to put on the vestments in place of his father, shall offer a bull for all the people and another for the priests. He shall offer the one for the priests first. The elders of the priests shall lay their hands on its head and after them the High Priest and all the priests. They shall slaughter the bull before YHWH. The elders of the priests shall take from the blood of the bull and place it with their finger on the horns of the altar and they shall pour the blood around the four corners of the altar ledge ... and they shall take from its blood and place it on his right ear lobe and on the thumb of his right hand and the big toe of his right foot. They shall sprinkle on him and his vestments some of the blood which was on the altar... he shall be holy all his days. He shall not go near any dead body. He shall not render himself unclean even for his father or mother, for he is holy to YHWH, his God ... He shall offer on the altar and burn the fat of the first bull ... all the fat on the entrails and the appendage of the liver and the two kidneys and the fat on them and the fat on the loins, and the corresponding grain-offering and drink-offering according to their statute, he shall burn them on the altar. It shall be a burnt-offering, an offering by fire, of soothing odour before YHWH. The flesh of the bull, its skin and offal, they shall burn outside the sanctuary city on a wood fire in a place reserved for sin-offerings. There they shall burn it with its head and legs together with all its entrails. They shall burn all of it there except the fat. It is a sin-offering. He shall take the second bull, which is for the people, and by it he shall expiate for all the people of the assembly, by its blood and fat. As he did with the first bull, so he shall do with the bull of the assembly. He shall place with his finger some of its blood on the horns of the altar, and the remainder of its blood, he shall sprinkle on the four corners of the altar ledge, and its fat and the corresponding grain- offering and drink-offering, he shall burn on the altar. It is a sin-offering for the assembly.

... They shall rejoice because expiation has been made for them ... This day shall be a holy gathering for them, an eternal rule for all their generations wherever they dwell. They shall rejoice and ...

Let them prepare on the fourteenth day of the first month between dusk and dark the Passover of YHWH. They shall sacrifice it before the evening offering and shall sacrifice ... men from twenty years of age and over shall prepare it. They shall eat it at night in the holy courts.

They shall rise early and each shall go to his tent ...

On the fifteenth day of this month (there shall be) a holy gathering.

You shall do no work of labour on it. It shall be a seven-day feast of unleavened bread for YHWH. You shall offer on each of these seven days a holocaust to YHWH: two young bulls, a ram, and seven ram lambs without blemish and a he-goat for a sin-offering and the corresponding grain-offering and drink-offering according to the statute for the young bulls, rams, lambs and the he-goat. On the seventh day there shall be an assembly for YHWH. You shall do no work on it.

... he- goat for a sin-offering ... the corresponding grain-offering and drink- offering according to the statute; one tenth of fine flour mixed with a quarter of a hin of oil and a quarter of a hin of wine for a drink-offering ... he shall expiate for all the guilt of the people of the assembly ... This shall be an eternal rule for you for your generations wherever you dwell. Then they shall offer the one ram, once, on the day of the waving of the sheaf.

You shall count seven complete Sabbaths from the day of your bringing the sheaf of the wave-offering. You shall count until the morrow of the seventh Sabbath. You shall count fifty days. You shall bring a new grain-offering to YHWH from your homes, a loaf of fine flour, freshly baked with leaven. They are firstfruits to YHWH, wheat bread, twelve cakes, two tenths of fine flour in each cake ... the tribes of Israel. They shall offer ... their grain-offering and drink-offering according to the statute. The priests shall wave ... wave-offering with the bread of the firstfruits. They shall belong to the priests and they shall eat them in the inner courtyard, as a new grain-offering, the bread of the firstfruits. Then ... new bread from freshly ripened ears.

On this day there shall be a holy gathering, an eternal rule for their generations. They shall do no work. It is the feast of Weeks and the feast of Firstfruits, an eternal memorial.

You shall count seven weeks from the day when you bring the new grain-offering to YHWH, the bread of firstfruits. Seven full Sabbaths shall elapse until you have counted fifty days to the morrow of the seventh Sabbath. You shall bring new wine for a drink-offering, four hins from all the tribes of Israel, one third of a hin for each tribe.

They shall offer on this day with the wine twelve rams to YHWH; all the chiefs of the clans of Israel ... rams and the corresponding grain-offering according to the statute: two tenths of fine flour mixed with oil, one third of a hin of oil for a ram; with this drink-offering ... seven yearling ram lambs and a he-goat ... assembly ... their grainoffering and drink-offering shall be according to the statute concerning young bulls and the ram ... to YHWH. At the quarter of the day, they shall offer ... the rams and the drink-offering. They shall offer ... fourteen yearling ram lambs ... the burnt-offering. They shall prepare them ... and they shall burn their fat on the altar, the fat covering the entrails and the fat that is on them, and the appendage of the liver with the kidneys he shall remove and the fat on them, and that which is on the loins and the fat tail close to the backbone. They shall burn all on the altar together with the corresponding grain-offering and drinkoffering, an offering by fire, of soothing odour before YHWH. They shall offer every grain-offering joined to a drink-offering according to the statute. They shall take a handful from every grain-offering offered either with frankincense or dry, (this being) its memorial portion, and burn it on the altar. They shall eat the remainder in the inner courtyard. The priests shall eat it unleavened. It shall not be

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eaten with leaven. It shall be eaten on that day before sunset. They shall salt all their offerings. You shall never allow the covenant of salt to fail. They shall offer to YHWH an offering from the rams and the lambs, the right thigh, the breast, the cheeks, the stomach and the foreleg as far as the shoulder bone, and they shall wave them as a wave-offering.

The priests' portions shall be the thigh of the offering and the breast ... the forelegs, the cheeks and the stomachs ... as an eternal rule, from the children of Israel and the shoulder remaining of the foreleg shall be for the Levites ... an eternal rule for them and for their seed .. the princes of the Thousands ... from the rams and from the lambs, one ram and one ram lamb shall belong to the priests; to the Levites, one ram, one lamb; and to every tribe, one ram, one lamb for all the tribes, the twelve tribes of Israel. They shall eat them on that day, in the outer courtyard before YHWH.

... the priests shall drink there first and the Levites second ... the princes of the standards first ... men of renown. After them the whole people, from the great to the small, shall begin to drink the new wine.

They shall not eat any unripe grapes from the vines, for on this day they shall expiate for the tirosh. The children of Israel shall rejoice before YHWH, an eternal rule for their generations wherever they dwell. They shall rejoice on this day for they have begun to pour out an intoxicating drink-offering, the new wine, on the altar of YHWH, year by year.

You shall count from that day seven weeks, seven times (seven days), forty-nine days; there shall be seven full Sabbaths; until the morrow of the seventh Sabbath you shall count fifty days. You shall then offer new oil from the homes of the tribes of the children of Israel, half a hin from a tribe, new beaten oil ... oil on the altar of the holocaust, firstfruits before YHWH. ... shall expiate with it for all the congregation before YHWH ... with this oil, half a hin ... according to the statute, a holocaust, an offering by fire, of soothing odour to YHWH ... With this oil they shall light the lamps ... the princes of the Thousands with ... fourteen yearling male lambs and the corresponding grain-offering and drink-offering ... for the lambs and the rams. The Levites shall slaughter ... and the priests, the sons of Aaron, shall sprinkle their blood on the altar all around ... and they shall burn their fat on the altar of the holocaust ... and the corresponding grain-offering and drink-offering, they shall burn over the fats ... an offering by fire, of soothing odour to YHWH. They shall take away from ... the right thigh and the breast ... the cheeks and the stomach shall be the priests' portion according to the statute concerning them. They shall give to the Levites the shoulder.

Afterwards they shall bring them the offerings out to the children of Israel, and the children of Israel shall give the priests one ram, one lamb, and to the Levites, one ram, one lamb, and to each tribe, one ram, one lamb. They shall eat them on that day in the outer courtyard before YHWH, an eternal rule for their generations, year by year.

Afterwards they shall eat from the olives and anoint themselves with the new oil, for on this day they shall expiate for all the oil of the land before YHWH once yearly. They shall rejoice ...

The High Priest shall offer the holocaust of the Levites first, and afterwards he shall send up in smoke the holocaust of the tribe of Judah, and when he is sending it up in smoke, they shall slaughter before him the he-goat first and he shall lift up its blood in a bowl to the altar and with his finger he shall put some of the blood to the four horns of the altar of the holocaust and to the four corners of the altar ledge, and shall toss the blood towards the base of the altar ledge all around. He shall burn its fat on the altar, the fat covering the entrails and that over the entrails. The appendage of the liver with the kidneys he shall remove as well as the fat over them and on the loins. He shall send up in smoke all of them on the altar together with the corresponding grain-offering and drink-offering, an offering by fire of soothing odour to YHWH. And ... the flesh, of soothing odour; it shall be an offering by fire to YHWH. Thus they must do to every young bull, and to every ram and to every lamb and its limbs shall remain apart. The corresponding grain-offering and drink-offering shall be on it, an eternal rule for your generations before YHWH.

After this holocaust he shall offer the holocaust of the tribe of Judah separately. As he has done with the holocaust of the Levites, so shall he do with the holocaust of the children of Judah after the Levites. On the second day he shall first offer the holocaust of Benjamin and after it he shall offer the holocaust of the children of Joseph, Ephraim and Manasseh together. On the third day, he shall offer the holocaust of Reuben separately, and the holocaust of Simeon separately. On the fourth day he shall offer the holocaust of Issachar separately and the holocaust of Zebulun separately. On the fifth day he shall offer the holocaust of Gad separately and the holocaust of Asher separately. On the sixth day he shall offer the holocaust of Dan separately and the holocaust of Naphtali separately ...

In the seventh month, on the first day of the month, you shall have a sacred rest, a remembrance announced by a trumpet blast, a holy gathering. You shall offer a holocaust, an offering by fire, of soothing odour before YHWH. You shall offer one young bull, one ram, seven yearling lambs without blemish and one he-goat for a sinoffering, and the corresponding grain-offering and drink-offering according to the statute concerning them, of soothing odour to YHWH, in addition to the perpetual holocaust and the holocaust of the new moon. Afterwards you shall offer this holocaust at the third part of the day, an eternal rule for your generations wherever you dwell. You shall rejoice on this day. On it you shall do no work. A sacred rest shall this day be for you.

The tenth of this month is the Day of Atonement. You shall mortify yourselves. For any person who does not mortify himself on this selfsame day shall be cut off from his people. You shall offer on it a holocaust to YHWH: one young bull, one ram, seven ram lambs, one he-goat for a sin-offering, in addition to the sin-offering of the atonement and the corresponding grain-offering and drink-offering according to the statute concerning the young bull, the ram, the lambs and the he-goat. For the sin-offering of the atonement you shall offer two rams for holocaust. The High Priest shall offer one for himself and his father's house ... The High Priest shall cast lots on the two goats, one lot for YHWH and one for Azazel. He shall slaughter the goat on which YHWH's lot has fallen and shall lift up its blood in a golden bowl which is in his hand, and do with its blood as he has done with the blood of his young bull and shall expiate with it for all the people of the assembly. He shall send up in smoke its fat and the corresponding grain-and drink-offering on the altar of the holocaust. Its flesh, skin and dung they shall burn beside his young bull. It is a sinoffering for the whole assembly. He shall expiate with it for all the people of the assembly and it shall be forgiven to them. He shall wash his hands and feet of the blood of the sin-offering and shall come to the living goat and shall confess over its head the iniquities of the children of Israel together with all their guilt, all their sins. He shall put them on the head of the goat and despatch it to Azazel in the desert by the hand of the man who is waiting ready. The goat shall bear all the iniquities of (the children of Israel). ... and he shall expiate for all the children of Israel and it shall be forgiven to them ... Afterwards he shall offer the young bull, the ram, and the lambs, according to the statute relating to them, on the altar of the holocaust, and the holocaust will be accepted for the children of Israel, an eternal rule for their generations. Once a year this day shall be for them a memorial.

They shall do no work on it, for it shall be to them a Sabbath of sacred rest. Whoever shall do work on it or shall not mortify himself on it, shall be cut off from the midst of his people. A Sabbath of sacred rest, a holy gathering shall this day be for you. You shall sanctify it as a memorial wherever you dwell and you shall do no work.

On the fifteenth day of this month ... the corresponding grainoffering and drink-offering, all on the altar, an offering by fire, of soothing odour to YHWH. On the second day: twelve young bulls, two rams, fourteen lambs and one he-goat for a sin-offering and the corresponding grain-offering and drink-offering according to the statute concerning the young bulls, the rams, the lambs and the hegoat; it is an offering by fire, of soothing odour to YHWH.

On the third day eleven young bulls, two rams, fourteen lambs and one he-goat for a sin-offering and the corresponding grain-offering and drink-offering according to the statute concerning the young bulls, the rams, the lambs and the he-goat.

On the fourth day ten young bulls, two rams, fourteen yearling ram lambs and one he-goat for a sin-offering and the corresponding grainoffering and drink-offering for the young bulls, the rams, the lambs and the he-goat ... On the fifth day ... and the corresponding grain-offering and drink-offering ... in the house on which I shall cause my name to rest ... holocausts, each on its day according to the law of this statute, always from the children of Israel in addition to their freewillofferings in regard to all that they offer, their drink-offerings and all their gifts that they shall bring to me in order to be acceptable. I shall accept them and they shall be my people and I shall be for them for ever. I will dwell with them for ever and ever and will sanctify my sanctuary by my glory. I will cause my glory to rest on it until the day of creation on which I shall create my sanctuary, establishing it for myself for all time according to the covenant which I have made with Jacob in Bethel.

... You shall make ... for stairs, a staircase ... in the house which you shall build ... You shall make a staircase north of the Temple, a square house, twenty cubits from one corner to the other alongside its four corners. Its distance from the wall of the Temple shall be seven cubits on the north-west. You shall make the width of its wall four cubits ... like the Temple and its inside from corner to corner twelve cubits. There shall be a square column in its middle, in the centre; its width four cubits on each side around which the stairs wind ... In the upper chamber of this house you shall make a gate opening to the roof of the Temple and a way (shall be) made through this gate towards the entrance ... of the Temple by which one can reach the upper chamber of the Temple. Overlay with gold all this stairhouse, its walls, its gates and its roof, from inside and from outside, its column and its stairs. You shall do everything as I tell you.

You shall make a square house for the laver in the south-east, on all its sides, each twenty-one cubits; fifty cubits distant from the altar. The width of the wall shall be four cubits, and the height twenty cubits ...

Make gates for it on the east, on the north and on the west. The width of the gates shall be four cubits and the height seven ... You shall make in the wall of this house, on the inside, recesses, and in them ... one cubit in width and their height four cubits above the ground. They shall be overlaid with gold on which they shall place their clothes which they have worn on arrival. Above the house of the ... when they come to minister in the sanctuary. You shall make a trench around the laver beside its house and the trench shall go from the house of the laver to a cavity. It shall descend rapidly to the ground where the water shall flow and disappear. It shall not be touched by any man for it is mingled with the blood of the holocaust. They shall sanctify my people in the sacred vestments which ...

You shall make a house east of the house of the laver according to the measurement of the house of the basin. Its wall shall be at a distance of seven cubits from the wall of the house of the laver. Its whole building and rafters shall be like those of the house of the laver.

It shall have two gates on the north and the south, one opposite the other, according to the measurement of the gates of the house of the laver. Inside all the walls of this house shall have apertures, their width and depth two cubits each and their height four with which the entrails and the feet are raised to the altar. When they have completed the sending up in smoke ...

... They close the wheels and ... and tie the horns of the young bulls to the rings and ... by the rings.

Afterwards they shall slaughter them and collect the blood in bowls and toss it around the altar base. They shall open the wheels and strip the skin of the young bulls from their flesh and cut them up into pieces, salt the pieces, wash the entrails and the legs, salt them and send them up in smoke on the fire which is on the altar, each young bull with its pieces beside it and the corresponding grain-offering of fine flour on it, the wine of the drink-offering beside it and some of it on it. The priests, the sons of Aaron, shall send everything up in smoke on the altar, an offering by fire, of soothing odour before YHWH. You shall make chains hanging from the rafters of the twelve columns ...

... whoever is not a priest shall die, and whoever ... a priest who shall come ... and he is not clothed in the holy vestments in which he was ordained, they too shall be put to death and shall not profane the sanctuary of their God, thus incurring the iniquity of mortal guilt. You shall sanctify the environs of the altar, the Temple, the laver and the colonnade and they shall be most holy for ever and ever.

You shall make a place west of the Temple, a colonnade of pillars standing around for the sin-offerings and the guilt-offerings, divided from one another, the sin-offerings of the priests, the he-goats, and the sin-offerings of the people and their guilt-offerings. None of these shall be mingled one with another, for their places shall be divided from one another in order that the priests may not err concerning all the sinofferings of the people, and all the rams of the guilt-offerings, thus incurring the sin of guilt.

The birds for the altar: he shall prepare turtle doves ... from the corner of ... to the corner of the gate, one hundred and twenty cubits. The gate shall be forty cubits wide. Each side shall be according to this measurement. The width of its wall shall be seven cubits, and its height forty-five cubits to the rafters of its roof. The width of its chambers shall be twenty-six cubits from corner to corner. The gates of entrance and exit: the gate shall be fourteen cubits wide and twenty-eight cubits high from the threshold to the lintel. The height of the rafters above the lintel shall be fourteen cubits.

The gate shall be roofed with a panelling of cedar wood overlaid with pure gold. Its doors shall be overlaid with fine gold.

From the corner of the gate to the second angle of the courtyard, (there shall be) one hundred and twenty cubits. Thus shall be the measurement of all these gates of the inner courtyard. The gates shall lead inside into the courtyard. You shall make inside the courtyard seats for the priests, and tables in front of the seats, in the inner colonnade by the outer wall of the courtyard, places made for the priests and their sacrifices, for the firstfruits and the tithes, for their peace-offering sacrifices which they shall sacrifice. The sacrifices of the peace-offerings of the children of Israel shall not be mingled with the sacrifices of the priests.

In the four corners of the courtyard you shall make for them a place for cooking-stoves where they shall seethe their sacrifices and sinofferings.

... There they shall eat ... the bird, the turtle-dove and the young pigeons ...

You shall make a second courtyard around the inner courtyard, one hundred cubits wide, and four hundred and eighty cubits long on the east side, and thus shall be the width

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and length of all its sides: to the south, to the west and to the north. Its wall shall be four cubits wide and twenty-eight cubits high. Chambers shall be made in the wall outside and between each chamber there shall be three-and-a-half cubits ...

... that all the congregation of the children of Israel may bow down before me ... No woman shall come there, nor a child until the day that he has fulfilled the rule ... and has paid for himself a ransom to YHWH, half a shekel, an eternal rule, a memorial wherever they dwell. The shekel consists of twenty gerahs.

When they shall collect from him the half-shekel... to me. Afterwards they shall enter from the age of twenty ... The names of the gates of this courtyard shall be according to the names of the children of Israel: Simeon, Levi and Judah in the east; Reuben, Joseph and Benjamin in the south; Issachar, Zebulun and Gad in the west; Dan, Naphtali and Asher in the north. Between each gate the measurement shall be: from the north-eastern corner to the gate of Simeon, ninety-nine cubits, and the gate twenty-eight cubits. From this gate of Simeon to the gate of Levi, ninety-nine cubits, and the gate, twenty-eight cubits.

From the gate of Levi to the gate of Judah ... You shall make a third courtyard ... to their daughters and to the strangers who were born ... wide around the middle courtyard ... in length about one thousand six hundred cubits from one corner to the next. Each side shall be according to this measurement: on the east, the south, the west and the north. The wall shall be seven cubits wide and forty-nine cubits high. Chambers shall be made between its gates along the foundation as far up as its 'crowns' (= crenellations: Yadin). There shall be three gates in the east, three in the south, three in the west and three in the north. The gates shall be fifty cubits wide and their height seventy cubits. Between one gate and another there shall be three hundred and sixty cubits. From the corner to the gate of Simeon, three hundred and sixty cubits. From the gate of Simeon to the gate of Levi, likewise.

From the gate of Levi to the gate of Judah, likewise three hundred and sixty cubits. ... From the gate of Issachar to the gate of Zebulun, three hundred and sixty cubits. From the gate of Zebulun to the gate of Gad, three hundred and sixty cubits. From the gate of Gad to the northern corner, three hundred and sixty cubits. From this corner to the gate of Dan: three hundred and sixty cubits. Thus from the gate of Dan to the gate of Naphtali, three hundred and sixty cubits. From the gate of Naphtali to the gate of Asher, three hundred and sixty cubits.

From the gate of Asher to the eastern corner, three hundred and sixty cubits. The gates shall jut outwards from the wall of the courtyard seven cubits, and extend inwards from the wall to the courtyard thirty-six cubits. The entrance of the gate shall be fourteen cubits wide and twenty-eight cubits high up to the lintel. The rafters at the doorways shall be of cedar wood and overlaid with gold. The doors shall be overlaid with pure gold. Between each gate inwards you shall make storehouses, rooms and colonnades.

The room shall be ten cubits wide, twenty cubits long, and fourteen cubits high ... with cedar wood. The wall shall be two cubits wide. On the outside there shall be storehouses. The storehouse shall be ten cubits wide and twenty cubits long. The wall shall be two cubits wide and fourteen cubits high up to the lintel. Its entrance shall be three cubits wide. You shall make in this way all the storehouses and the corresponding rooms. The colonnade ... shall be ten cubits wide.

Between each gate you shall make eighteen storehouses and the corresponding eighteen rooms ...

You shall make a staircase next to the walls of the gates towards the colonnade. Winding stairs shall go up to the second and third colonnades and to the roof. You shall build storehouses and corresponding rooms and colonnades as on the ground floor. The second and the third (levels) shall follow the measurement of the lower one. On the roof of the third you shall make pillars roofed with rafters from one pillar to the next (providing) a place for tabernacles. The (pillars) shall be eight cubits high and the tabernacles shall be made on their (roof) each year at the feast of the Tabernacles for the elders of the congregation, for the princes, the heads of the fathers' houses of the children of Israel, the captains of the thousands, the captains of the ...

hundreds, who will ascend and dwell there until the sacrificing of the holocaust on the festival which is the feast of the Tabernacles, each year. Between each gate there shall be

... on the days of the first fruits of the corn, of the wine (tirosh) and the oil, and at the festival of the offering of wood. On these days (the tithe) shall be eaten. They shall not put aside anything from it from one year to another. For they shall eat it in this manner. From the feast of the Firstfruits of the corn of wheat they shall eat the corn until the next year, until the feast of the Firstfruits, and they shall drink the wine from the day of the festival of Wine until the next year, until the day of the festival of the Wine, and (they shall eat) the oil from its festival, until the next year, until the festival, the day of offering the new oil on the altar. Whatever is left to last beyond their festivals shall be sanctified by being burnt with fire. It shall no longer be eaten for it is holy. Those who live within a distance of three days' walk from the sanctuary shall bring whatever they can bring. If they cannot carry it, they shall sell it for money and buy with it corn, wine, oil, cattle and sheep, and shall eat them on the days of the festivals. On working days they shall not eat from this in their weariness for it is holy. On the holy days it shall be eaten, but it shall not be eaten on working days.

... You shall allot the rooms and the corresponding chambers. From the gate of Simeon to the gate of Judah shall be for the priests ... All that is to the right and to the left of the gate of Levi, you shall allot to Aaron, your brother, one hundred and eight rooms and corresponding chambers and two tabernacles which are on the roof. You shall allot to the sons of Judah the area from the gate of Judah to the corner: fifty-four rooms and corresponding chambers and the tabernacle that is over them. You shall allot to the sons of Simeon the area from the gate of Simeon to the second corner: their rooms, the corresponding chambers and tabernacles. (You shall allot) to the sons of Reuben the area from the corner which is beside the sons of Judah to the gate of Reuben: fifty-two rooms and the corresponding chambers and tabernacles. The area from the gate of Reuben to the gate of Joseph (you shall allot) to the sons of Joseph, to Ephraim and Manasseh. The area from the gate of Joseph to the gate of Benjamin you shall allot to the sons of Kohath from the Levites. The area from the gate of Benjamin to the western corner you shall allot to the sons of Benjamin. The area from this corner to the gate of Issachar you shall allot to the sons of Issachar. The area from the gate of Issachar ...

... the second (= incoming) priestly course shall enter on the left ... and the first (= outgoing) shall leave on the right. They shall not mingle with one another nor their vessels. Each priestly course shall come to its place and they shall stay there. One shall arrive and the other leave on the eighth day. They shall clean the rooms, one after the other, when the first priestly course leaves. There shall be no mingling there.

No man who has had a nocturnal emission shall enter the sanctuary at all until three days have elapsed. He shall wash his garments and bathe on the first day and on the third day he shall wash his garments and bathe, and after sunset he shall enter the sanctuary. They shall not enter my sanctuary in their impure uncleanness and render it unclean.

No man who has had sexual intercourse with his wife shall enter anywhere into the city of the sanctuary where I cause my name to abide, for three days. No blind man shall enter it in all his days and shall not profane the city where I abide, for I, YHWH, abide amongst the children of Israel for ever and ever.

Whoever is to purify himself of his flux shall count seven days for his purification. He shall wash his garments on the seventh day and bathe his whole body in running water. Afterwards he shall enter the city of the sanctuary. No one unclean through contact with a corpse shall enter there until he has purified himself. No leper nor any man smitten in his body shall enter there until he has purified himself and has offered ...

... No unclean bird shall fly over my sanctuary ... the roofs of the gates ... the outer courtyard ... be in my sanctuary for ever and ever all the time that I abide among them.

You shall make a terrace round about, outside the outer courtyard, fourteen cubits wide like the entrances of all the gates. You shall make twelve steps (leading) to it by which the children of Israel shall ascend there to enter my sanctuary.

You shall make a one-hundred-cubits-wide ditch around the sanctuary which shall divide the holy sanctuary from the city so that no one can rush into my sanctuary and defile it. They shall sanctify my sanctuary and hold it in awe because I abide among them.

You shall make for them latrines outside the city where they shall go out, north-west of the city. These shall be roofed houses with holes in them into which the filth shall go down. It shall be far enough not to be visible from the city, at three thousand cubits.

You shall make three areas to the east of the city, divided from one another, where the lepers, those suffering from a flux and men who have had a (nocturnal) emission ...

Their cities shall be pure ... for ever. The city which I will sanctify, causing my name and my sanctuary to abide in it, shall be holy and pure of all impurity with which they can become impure. Whatever is in it shall be pure. Whatever enters it shall be pure: wine, oil, all food and all moistened (food) shall be clean. No skin of clean animals slaughtered in their cities shall be brought there (to the city of the sanctuary). But in their cities they may use them for any work they need. But they shall not bring them to the city of my sanctuary, for the purity of the skin corresponds to that of the flesh. You shall not profane the city where I cause my name and my sanctuary to abide. For it is in the skins (of animals) slaughtered in the sanctuary that they shall bring their wine and oil and all their food to the city of my sanctuary. They shall not pollute my sanctuary with the skins of animals slaughtered in their country which are tainted (= unfit for the Temple). You cannot render any city among your cities as pure as my city, for the purity of the skin of the animal corresponds to the purity of its flesh. If you slaughter it in my sanctuary, it shall be pure for my sanctuary, but if you slaughter it in your cities, it shall be pure (only) for your cities. Whatever is pure for the sanctuary, shall be brought in skins (fit) for the sanctuary, and you shall not profane my sanctuary and my city where I abide with tainted skins.

... the cormorant, the stork, every kind of heron, the hoopoe and the bat ...

You may eat the following flying insects: every kind of great locust, every kind of long-headed locust, every kind of green locust, and every kind of desert locust. These are among the flying insects which you may eat: those which walk on four legs and have legs jointed above their feet to leap with them on the ground and wings to fly with. You shall not eat the carcass of any bird or beast but may sell it to a foreigner. You shall not eat any abominable thing, for you are a holy people to YHWH, your God.

You are the sons of YHWH, your God. You shall not gash yourselves or shave your forelocks in mourning for the dead, nor shall you tattoo yourselves, for you are a holy people to YHWH, your God. You shall not profane your land.

You shall not do as the nations do; they bury their dead everywhere, they bury them even in their houses. Rather you shall set apart areas in the midst of your land where you shall bury your dead. Between four cities you shall designate an area for burial. In every city you shall set aside areas for those stricken with leprosy, with plague and with scab, who shall not enter your cities and profane them, and also for those who suffer from a flux; and for menstruating women, and women after childbirth, so that they may not cause defilement in their midst by their impure uncleanness. The leper suffering from chronic leprosy or scab, who has been pronounced unclean by the priest ... with cedar wood, hyssop and ... your cities with the plague of leprosy and they shall be unclean.

If a man dies in your cities, the house in which the dead man has died shall be unclean for seven days. Whatever is in the house and whoever enters the house shall be unclean for seven days. Any food on which water has been poured shall be unclean, anything moistened shall be unclean. Earthenware vessels shall be unclean and whatever they contain shall be unclean for every clean man. The open (vessels) shall be unclean for every Israelite (with) whatever is moistened in them.

On the day when the body is removed from there, they shall cleanse the house of all pollution of oil, wine and water moisture. They shall rub its (the house's) floor, walls and doors and shall wash with water the bolts, doorposts, thresholds and lintels. On the day when the body is removed from there, they shall purify the house and all its utensils, hand-mills and mortars, all utensils of wood, iron and bronze and all utensils capable of purification. Clothes, sacks and skins shall be washed. As for the people, whoever has been in the house or has entered the house shall bathe in water and shall wash his clothes on the first day. On the third day they shall sprinkle purifying water on them and shall bathe. They shall wash their garments and all the utensils in the house.

On the seventh day they shall sprinkle them a second time. They shall bathe, wash their clothes and utensils and shall be clean by the evening of the impurity contracted from the dead so as to be fit to touch their pure things. As for a man who has not been rendered unclean on account of ...

... they have been unclean. No longer ... until they have sprinkled them the second time on the seventh day and shall be clean by the evening at sunset.

Whoever touches the bone of a dead person in the fields, or one slain by the sword, or a dead body or the blood of a dead person, or a tomb, he shall purify himself according to the rule of this statute. But if he does not purify himself according to the statute of this law, he is unclean, his uncleanness being still in him. Whoever touches him must wash his clothes, bathe and he shall be clean by the evening.

If a woman is with child and it dies in her womb, as long as it is dead in her, she shall be unclean like a tomb. Any house that she enters shall be unclean with all its utensils for seven days. Whoever touches it shall be unclean till the evening. If anyone enters the house with her, he shall be unclean for seven days. He shall wash his clothes and bathe in water on the first (day). On the third day he shall sprinkle and wash his clothes and bathe. On the seventh day he shall sprinkle a second time and wash his clothes and bathe. At sunset he shall be clean.

As for all the utensils, clothes, skins and all the materials made of goat's hair, you shall deal with them according to the statute of this law.

All earthenware vessels shall be broken for they are unclean and can no more be purified ever.

All creatures that teem on the ground you shall proclaim unclean: the weasel, the mouse, every kind of lizard, the wall gecko, the sand gecko, the great lizard and the chameleon. Whoever touches them dead ...

... and whatever comes out of them ... shall be unclean to you. You shall not render yourselves unclean by them. Whoever touches them dead shall be unclean until the evening. He shall wash his clothes and bathe in water and at sunset he shall be clean.

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Whoever carries any of their bones, their carcass, skin, flesh or claw shall wash his clothes and bathe in water. After sunset he shall be clean. You shall forewarn the children of Israel about all the impurities. They shall not render themselves unclean by those of which I tell you on this mountain and they shall not be unclean.

For I, YHWH, abide among the children of Israel. You shall sanctify them and they shall be holy. They shall not render themselves abominable by anything that I have separated for them as unclean and they shall be holy.

You shall establish judges and officers in all your towns and they shall judge the people with just judgement. They shall not be partial in (their) judgement. They shall not accept bribes, nor shall they twist judgement, for the bribe twists judgement, overturns the works of justice, blinds the eyes of the wise, produces great guilt, and profanes the house by the iniquity of sin. Justice and justice alone shall you pursue that you may live and come to inherit the land that I give you to inherit for all days. The man who accepts bribes and twists just judgement shall be put to death. You shall not be afraid to execute him. You shall not do in your land as the nations do. Everywhere they sacrifice, plant sacred trees, erect sacred pillars and set up carved stones to bow down before them and build for them ...

... You shall not plant any tree as a sacred tree beside my altar to be made by you.

You shall not erect a sacred pillar that is hateful to me. You shall not make anywhere in your land a carved stone to bow down before it. You shall not sacrifice to me any cattle or sheep with a grave blemish, for they are abominable to me. You shall not sacrifice to me any cattle or sheep or goat that is pregnant, for this would be an abomination to me.

You shall not slaughter a cow or a ewe and its young on the same day, neither shall you kill a mother with her young.

Of all the firstlings born to your cattle or sheep, you shall sanctify for me the male animals. You shall not use the firstling of your cattle for work, nor shall you shear the firstling of your small cattle. You shall eat it before me every year in the place that I shall choose. Should it be blemished, being lame or blind or (afflicted with) any grave blemish, you shall not sacrifice it to me. It is within your towns that you shall eat it. The unclean and the clean among you together (may eat it) like a gazelle or a deer. It is the blood alone that you shall not eat. You shall spill it on the ground like water and cover it with dust. You shall not muzzle an ox while it is threshing. You shall not plough with an ox and an ass (harnessed) together. You shall not slaughter clean cattle or sheep or goat in any of your towns, within a distance of three days' journey from my sanctuary. It is rather in my sanctuary that you shall slaughter it, making of it a holocaust or peace-offering. You shall eat and rejoice before me in the place on which I choose to set my name.

Every clean animal with a blemish, you shall eat it within your towns, away from my sanctuary at a distance of thirty stadia. You shall not slaughter it close to my sanctuary for its flesh is tainted. You shall not eat in my city, which I sanctify by placing my name in it, the flesh of cattle, sheep or goat which has not entered my sanctuary. They shall sacrifice it there, toss its blood to the base of the altar of holocaust and shall burn its fat.

When I extend your frontiers as I have told you, and if the place where I have chosen to set my name is too distant, and you say, 'I will eat meat', because you long for it, whatever you desire, you may eat, and you may slaughter any of your small cattle or cattle which I give you according to my blessing. You may eat it within your towns, the clean and the unclean together, like gazelle or deer meat. But you shall firmly abstain from eating the blood. You shall spill it on the ground like water and cover it with dust. For the blood is the life and you shall not eat the life with the flesh so that it may be well with you and with your sons after you for ever. You shall do that which is correct and good before me, for I am YHWH, your God.

But all your devoted gifts and votive donations you shall bring when you come to the place where I cause my name to abide, and you shall sacrifice them there before me as you have devoted and vowed them with your mouth. When you make a vow, you shall not tarry in fulfilling it, for surely I will require it of you and you shall become guilty of a sin. You shall keep the word uttered by your lips, for your mouth has vowed freely to perform your vow.

When a man makes a vow to me or swears an oath to take upon himself a binding obligation, he must not break his word. Whatever has been uttered by his mouth, he shall do it.

When a woman makes a vow to me, or takes upon herself a binding obligation by means of an oath in her father's house, in her youth, if her father hears of her vow or the binding obligation which she has taken upon herself and remains silent, all her vows shall stand, and her binding obligation which she has taken upon herself shall stand. If, however, her father definitely forbids her on the day that he hears of it, none of her vows or binding obligations which she has taken upon herself shall stand, and I will absolve her because (her father) has forbidden her when he heard of them. But if he annuls them after the day that he has heard of them, he shall bear her guilt: her father has annulled them. Any vow or binding oath (made by a woman) to mortify herself, her husband may confirm it or annul it on the day that he hears of it, and I will absolve her.

But any vow of a widow or a divorced woman, whatever she has taken upon herself shall stand in conformity with all that her mouth has uttered.

Everything that I command you today, see to it that it is kept. You shall not add to it, nor detract from it.

If a prophet or a dreamer appears among you and presents you with a sign or a portent, even if the sign or the portent comes true, when he says, 'Let us go and worship other gods whom you have not known!', do not listen to the words of that prophet or that dreamer, for I am testing you to discover whether you love YHWH, the God of your fathers, with all your heart and soul. It is YHWH, your God, that you must follow and serve, and it is him that you must fear and his voice that you must obey, and you must hold fast to him. That prophet or dreamer shall be put to death for he has preached rebellion against YHWH, your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt and redeemed you from the house of bondage, to lead you astray from the path that I have commanded you to follow. You shall rid yourself of this evil.

If your brother, the son of your father or the son of your mother, or your son, or your daughter, or the wife of your bosom, or your friend who is like your own self, seeks to entice you secretly, saying, 'Let us go and worship other gods whom you have not known', neither you, nor your fathers, some of the gods of the peoples that are round about you, whether near you or far off from you, from the one end of the earth to the other, you shall not yield to him or listen to him, nor shall your eye pity him, nor shall you spare him, nor shall you conceal him; but you shall kill him; your hand shall be first against him to put him to death, and afterwards the hand of all the people. You shall stone him to death with stones because he sought to draw you away from me who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.

And all Israel shall hear, and fear, and never again do such an evil thing among you. If in one of your cities in which I give you to dwell you hear this said: 'Men, sons of Belial have arisen in your midst and have led astray all the inhabitants of their city saying, "Let us go and worship gods whom you have not known!",' you shall inquire, search and investigate carefully. If the matter is proven true that such an abomination has been done in Israel, you shall surely put all the inhabitants of that city to the sword. You shall place it and all who are in it under the ban, and you shall put the beasts to the sword. You shall assemble all the booty in the city square and shall burn it with fire, the city and all the booty, as a whole-offering to YHWH, your God. It shall be a ruin for ever and shall never be rebuilt. Nothing from that which has been placed under the ban shall cleave to your hand so that I may turn from my hot anger and show you compassion. I will be compassionate to you and multiply you as I told your fathers, provided that you obey my voice, keeping all my commandments that I command you today, to do that which is correct and good before YHWH, your God.

If among you, in one of your towns that I give you, there is found a man or a woman who does that which is wrong in my eyes by transgressing my covenant, and goes and worships other gods, and bows down before them, or before the sun or the moon, or all the host of heaven, if you are told about it, and you hear about this matter, you shall search and investigate it carefully. If the matter is proven true that such an abomination has been done in Israel, you shall lead out that man or that woman and stone him (to death) with stones.

... You shall go to the Levitical priests or to the judges then in office; you shall seek their guidance and they shall pronounce on the matter for which you have sought their guidance, and they shall proclaim the(ir) judgement to you. You shall act in conformity with the law that they proclaim to you and the saying that they declare to you from the book of the Law. They shall issue to you a proclamation in truth from the place where I choose to cause my name to abide. Be careful to do all that they teach you and act in conformity with the decision that they communicate to you. Do not stray from the law which they proclaim to you to the right or to the left. The man who does not listen but acts arrogantly without obeying the priest who is posted there to minister before me, or the judge, that man shall die. You shall rid Israel of evil. All the people shall hear of it and shall be awe-stricken, and none shall ever again be arrogant in Israel.

When you enter the land which I give you, take possession of it, dwell in it and say, 'I will appoint a king over me as do all the nations around me!', you may surely appoint over you the king whom I will choose. It is from among your brothers that you shall appoint a king over you. You shall not appoint over you a foreigner who is not your brother. He (the king) shall definitely not acquire many horses, neither shall he lead the people back to Egypt for war to acquire many horses and much silver and gold, for I told you, 'You shall never again go back that way'. He shall not acquire many wives that they may not turn his heart away from me. He shall not acquire very much silver and gold.

When he sits on the throne of his kingdom, they shall write for him this law from the book which is before the priests. This is the law that they shall write for him ... They shall count, on the day that they appoint him king, the sons of Israel from the age of twenty to sixty years according to their standard units. He shall install at their head captains of thousands, captains of hundreds, captains of fifties and captains of tens in all their cities. He shall select from among them one thousand by tribe to be with him: twelve thousand warriors who shall not leave him alone to be captured by the nations. All the selected men whom he has selected shall be men of truth, God-fearers, haters of unjust gain and mighty warriors. They shall be with him always, day and night. They shall guard him from anything sinful, and from any foreign nation in order not to be captured by them. The twelve princes of his people shall be with him, and twelve from among the priests, and from among the Levites twelve. They shall sit together with him to proclaim judgement and the law so that his heart shall not be lifted above them, and he shall do nothing without them concerning any affair.

He shall not marry as wife any daughter of the nations, but shall take a wife for himself from his father's house, from his father's family. He shall not take another wife in addition to her, for she alone shall be with him all the time of her life. But if she dies, he may marry another from his father's house, from his family. He shall not twist judgement; he shall take no bribe to twist a just judgement and shall not covet a field or a vineyard, any riches or house, or anything desirable in Israel. He shall not rob ...

... When the king hears of any nation or people intent on plundering whatever belongs to Israel, he shall send for the captains of thousands and the captains of hundreds posted in the cities of Israel. They shall send with him (the captain) one tenth of the people to go with him (the king) to war against their enemies, and they shall go with him. But if a large force enters the land of Israel, they shall send with him one fifth of the warriors. If a king with chariots and horses and a large force comes, they shall send with him one third of the warriors, and the two remaining divisions shall guard their city and their boundaries so that no marauders invade their land. If the war presses him the king hard, they shall send to him half of the people, the men of the army, but the other half of the people shall not be severed from their cities.

If they triumph over their enemies, smash them, put them to the sword and carry away their booty, they shall give the king his tithe of this, the priests one thousandth and the Levites one hundredth from everything. They shall halve the rest between the combatants and their brothers whom they have left in their cities.

If he (the king) goes to war against his enemies, one fifth of the people shall go with him, the warriors, all the mighty men of valour.

They shall avoid everything unclean, everything shameful, every iniquity and guilt. He shall not go until he has presented himself before the High Priest who shall inquire on his behalf for a decision by the Urim and Tummim. It is at his word that he shall go and at his word that he shall come, he and all the children of Israel who are with him. He shall not go following his heart's counsel until he (the High Priest) has inquired for a decision by the Urim and Tummim. He shall (then) succeed in all his ways on which he has set out according to the decision which ...

... and they shall disperse them in many lands and they shall become a horror, a byword, a mockery. With a heavy yoke and in extreme want, they shall there serve gods made by human hands, of wood and stone, silver and gold. During this time their cities shall become a devastation, a laughing-stock and a wasteland, and their enemies shall devastate them. They shall sigh in the lands of their enemies and scream because of the heavy yoke. They shall cry out but I will not listen; they shall scream but I will not answer them because of their evil doings. I will hide my face from them and they shall become food, plunder and prey. None shall save them because of their wickedness, because they have broken my covenant and their soul has loathed my law until they have incurred every guilt. Afterwards they will return to me with all their heart and all their soul, in conformity with all the words of this law, and I will save them from the hand of their enemies and redeem them from the hand of those who hate them, and I will bring them to the land of their fathers. I will redeem them, and increase them and exult over them. I will be their God and they shall be my people.

The king whose heart and eyes have gone astray from my commandments shall never have one to sit on the throne of his fathers, for I will cut off his posterity for ever so that it shall no more rule over Israel. But if he walk after my rules and keep my commandments and do that which is correct and good before me, no heir to the throne of the kingdom of Israel shall be cut off from among his sons for ever. I will be with him and will save him from the hand of those who hate him and from the hand of those who seek his life. I will place all his enemies before him and he shall rule over them according to

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his pleasure and they shall not rule over him. I will set him on an upward, not on a downward, course, to be the head and not the tail, that the days of his kingdom may be lengthened greatly for him and his sons after him.

... and all their wave-offerings. All their firstling male beasts and all ... of their beasts and all their holy gifts which they shall sanctify to me together with all their holy gifts of praise and a proportion of their offering of birds, wild animals and fish, one thousandth of their catch, and all that they shall devote, and the proportion of the booty and the plunder.

To the Levites shall belong the tithe of the corn, the wine and the oil that they have sanctified to me first; the shoulder from those who slaughter a sacrifice and a proportion of the booty, the plunder and the catch of birds, wild animals and fish, one hundredth; the tithe from the young pigeons and from the honey one fiftieth. To the priests shall belong one hundredth of the young pigeons, for I have chosen them from all your tribes to attend on me and minister before me and bless my name, he and his sons always. If a Levite come from any town anywhere in Israel where he sojourns to the place where I will choose to cause my name to abide, (if he come) with an eager soul, he may minister like his brethren the Levites who attend on me there. He shall have the same share of food with them, besides the inheritance from his father's family.

When you enter the land which I give you, do not learn to practise the abominations of those nations. There shall be found among you none who makes his son or daughter pass through fire, nor an augur or a soothsayer, a diviner or a sorcerer, one who casts spells or a medium, or wizards or necromancers. For they are an abomination before me, all who practise such things, and it is because of these abominations that I drive them out before you. You shall be perfect towards YHWH, your God. For these nations that ... to utter a word in my name which I have not commanded him to utter, or who speaks in the name of other gods, that prophet shall be put to death. If you say in your heart, 'How shall we know the word which YHWH has not uttered?', when the word uttered by the prophet in the name of YHWH is not fulfilled and does not come true, that is not a word that I have uttered. The prophet has spoken arrogantly; do not fear him.

A single witness may not come forward against a man in the matter of any iniquity or sin which he has committed. It is on the evidence of two witnesses or three witnesses that a case can be established. If a malicious witness comes forward against a man to testify against him in a case of a crime, both disputants shall stand before me and before the priests and the Levites and before the judges then in office, and the judges shall inquire, and if the witness is a false witness who has testified falsely against his brother, you shall do to him as he proposed to do to his brother. You shall rid yourselves of evil. The rest shall hear of it and shall be awe-stricken and never again shall such a thing be done in your midst. You shall have no mercy on him: life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot.

When you go to war against your enemies, and you see horses and chariots and an army greater than yours, be not afraid of them, for I am with you who brought you out of the land of Egypt. When you approach the battle, the priest shall come forward to speak to the army and say to them, 'Hear, Israel, you approach ...

... and another man shall use its fruit. If any man has betrothed a woman but has not yet married her, he shall return home. Otherwise he may die in the war and another man may take her. The officers shall continue to address the army and say, 'If any man is afraid and has lost heart, he shall go and return. Otherwise he may render his kinsmen as faint-hearted as himself.'

When the judges have finished addressing the army, they shall appoint army captains at the head of the people.

When you approach a city to fight it, first offer it peace. If it seeks peace and opens its gates to you, then all the people found in it shall become your forced labourers and shall serve you. If it does not make peace with you, but is ready to fight a war against you, you shall besiege it and I will deliver it into your hands. You shall put all its males to the sword, but the women, the children, the beasts and all that is in the city, all its booty, you may take as spoil for yourselves. You may enjoy the use of the booty of your enemies which I give you. Thus shall you treat the very distant cities, those which are not among the cities of these nations. But in the cities of the peoples which I give you as an inheritance, you shall not leave alive any creature. Indeed you shall utterly exterminate the Hittites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Hivites, the Jebusites, the Girgashites and the Perizzites as I have commanded you, that they may not teach you to practise all the abominations that they have performed to their gods.

... a heifer with which he has not worked, which has not drawn the yoke. The elders of that city shall bring down the heifer to a ravine with an ever-flowing stream which has never been sown or cultivated, and there they shall break its neck.

The priests, the sons of Levi, shall come forward, for I have chosen them to minister before me and bless my name, and every dispute and every assault shall be decided by their word. All the elders of the city nearest to the body of the murdered man shall wash their hands over the head of the heifer whose neck has been broken in the ravine. They shall declare, 'Our hands did not shed this blood, nor did our eyes see it happen. Accept expiation for thy people Israel whom thou hast redeemed, O YHWH, and do not permit the guilt of innocent blood to rest among thy people, Israel. Let this blood be expiated for them.' You shall rid Israel (of the guilt) of innocent blood, and you shall do that which is correct and good before YHWH, your God. When you go to war against your enemies, and I deliver them into your hands, and you capture some of them, if you see among the captives a pretty woman and desire her, you may take her to be your wife. You shall bring her to your house, you shall shave her head, and cut her nails. You shall discard the clothes of her captivity and she shall dwell in your house, and bewail her father and mother for a full month. Afterwards you may go to her, consummate the marriage with her and she will be your wife.

But she shall not touch whatever is pure for you for seven years, neither shall she eat of the sacrifice of peace-offering until seven years have elapsed. Afterwards she may eat.

... the firstfruits of his virility; he has the right of the first-born.

If a man has a disobedient and rebellious son who refuses to listen to his father and mother, nor listens to them when they chastise him, his father and mother shall take hold of him and bring him to the elders of his city, to the gate of his place. They shall say to the elders of his town, 'This son of ours is disobedient and rebellious; he does not listen to us; he is a glutton and a drunkard.' All the men of his city shall stone him with stones and he shall die, and you shall rid yourselves of evil. All the children of Israel shall hear of it and be awe-stricken. If a man slanders his people and delivers his people to a foreign nation and does evil to his people, you shall hang him on a tree and he shall die.

On the testimony of two witnesses and on the testimony of three witnesses he shall be put to death and they shall hang him on the tree.

If a man is guilty of a capital crime and flees (abroad) to the nations, and curses his people, the children of Israel, you shall hang him also on the tree, and he shall die. But his body shall not stay overnight on the tree. Indeed you shall bury him on the same day. For he who is hanged on the tree is accursed of God and men. You shall not pollute the ground which I give you to inherit. If you see your kinsman's ox or sheep or donkey straying, do not neglect them; you shall indeed return them to your kinsman. If your kinsman does not live near you, and you do not know who he is, you shall bring the animal to your house and it shall be with you until he claims it. ...

... When a bird's nest happens to lie before you by the roadside, on any tree or on the ground, with fledglings or eggs, and the hen is sitting on the fledglings or the eggs, you shall not take the hen with the young.

You shall surely let the hen escape and take only the young so that it may be well with you and your days shall be prolonged. When you build a new house, you shall construct a parapet on the roof so that you do not bring blood-guilt on your house if anyone should fall from it.

When a man takes a wife, has sexual intercourse with her and takes a dislike to her, and brings a baseless charge against her, ruining her reputation, and says, 'I have taken this woman, approached her, and did not find the proof of virginity in her', the father or the mother of the girl shall take the girl's proof of virginity and bring it to the elders at the gate. The girl's father shall say to the elders, 'I gave my daughter to be this man's wife; he has taken a dislike to her and has brought a baseless charge against her saying, "I have not found the proof of virginity in your daughter." Here is the proof of my daughter's virginity.'

They shall spread out the garment before the elders of that city. The elders of that city shall take that man and chastise him. They shall fine him one hundred pieces of silver which they shall give to the father of the girl, because he (the husband) has tried to ruin the reputation of an Israelite virgin. He shall not ...

When a virgin betrothed to a man is found by another man in the city and he lies with her, they shall bring both of them to the gate of that city and stone them with stones and they shall be put to death: the girl because she has not shouted (for help, although she was) in the city, and the man because he has dishonoured his neighbour's wife. You shall rid yourselves of evil. If the man has found the woman in the fields in a distant place hidden from the city, and raped her, only he who has lain with her shall be put to death. To the girl they shall do nothing since she has committed no crime worthy of death. For this affair is like that of a man who attacks his neighbour and murders him. For it was in the fields that he found her and the betrothed girl shouted (for help), but none came to her rescue.

When a man seduces a virgin who is not betrothed, but is suitable to him according to the rule, and lies with her, and he is found out, he who has lain with her shall give the girl's father fifty pieces of silver and she shall be his wife. Because he has dishonoured her, he may not divorce her all his days. A man shall not take his father's wife and shall not lift his father's skirt. A man shall not take the wife of his brother and shall not lift the skirt of his brother, the son of his father or the son of his mother, for this is unclean. A man shall not take his sister, the daughter of his father or the daughter of his mother, for this is abominable. A man shall not take his father's sister or his mother's sister, for this is immoral. A man shall not take the daughter of his brother or the daughter of his sister for this is abominable. (A man) shall not take ...

... (The rest of the text is missing)

MMT Some Precepts of the Law (Miqsat Ma'ase Ha - Torah) (4Q394-9)

(The following document in six mutilated fragments has been found in Qumran Cave 4. When the contents of the six copies are assembled into a single account, they amount to 120 lines mostly of a fragmentary nature. The document begins with a sectarian calendar (section A), which may or may not pertain to the original MMT; it continues with a series of special rules (section B), and ends with an exhortation.

The MMT is a kind of legal tractate. The chief topics are the calendar; ritual purity, law on slaughter, marriage and intermarriage rules, and decrees regulating entry into the congregation. Instead of presenting a composite text, the translation will reflect actual manuscripts and follow their line numbering. If there are overlapping fragments, gaps in the main manuscript will be filled from the parallel text and the borrowing will appear between {}.

4QMMT, also known as MMT, the Halakhic Letter or the Sectarian Manifesto, is one of the Dead Sea Scrolls that were discovered at Qumran in Judean Samaria. The manuscript is concerned with issues of debate with the Pharisees and the Sadducees in later rabbinic texts.

4QMMT was found in Cave 4 at Qumran on six fragmented manuscripts (4Q394, 4Q395, 4Q396, 4Q397, 4Q398, 4Q399). These manuscripts were found between the years 1953 and 1959.

4QMMT represented copies of a letter written by Qumran's 'Teacher of Righteousness' and his colleagues to his rival, the 'Wicked Priest' and his supporters. The purpose of the letter was to spell out the differences between the two parties and to summon their opponents to an amendment of life.

4QMMT commences with a detailed, 364-day solar calendar. In the sequel the author presents twenty-two points of law on which the two groups differ. These points oppose rabbinic or Pharisaic views and coincide with Essene, and in some cases, Sadducean positions.)

PART 1

MMT A = A SECTARIAN CALENDAR (4Q394 1-2)

(The fragmentary calendar is presented in five parallel columns which originally covered eighteen lines.)

On the sixteenth of it (of the second month): sabbath.
On the twenty-third of it: sabbath.
On the thirtieth of it: sabbath.
On the seventh of the third month: sabbath.
On the fourteenth of it: sabbath.
On the fifteenth of it: Feast of Weeks.
On the twenty- first of it: sabbath.
On the twenty-eighth of it: sabbath.
The first of the sabbath (=Sunday), and the second day (=Monday)
and the third are to be added.
And the season is complete: ninety-one days.
The first of the fourth month: Memorial day.
On the fourth of it: sabbath.
On the eleventh of it: sabbath.
On the eighteenth of it: sabbath.
On the twenty-fifth of it: sabbath.
On the second of the fifth (month): sabbath.
On the third of it: Feast of Wine, first of sabbath (Sunday).
On the ninth of it: sabbath.
On the sixteenth of it: sabbath.
On the twenty-third of it: sabbath.
On the thirtieth of it: sabbath.
On the seventh of the sixth (month): sabbath.
On the fourteenth of it: sabbath.
On the twenty-first of it: sabbath.
On the twenty-second of it: Feast of Oil, first of sabbath (Sunday).
Afterwards: offering of Wood.

4Q394 3-71 i

The (twenty)-eighth of it (of the twelfth month): sabbath.
The first of the sabbath (=Sunday) and the second day (=Monday) and the third are to be added to it. (20) And the year is complete: three-hundred and sixty-four (21) days. ...

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PART 2

MMT B = SPECIAL RULES (4Q394 3-7 i conflated with 4Q395)

These are some of our teachings which are the works which we think and all of them concern and the purity of ...

And concerning the offering of the wheat of the Gentiles which they ... and they touch it ... and defile it ... One should not accept anything from the wheat of the Gentiles and none of it is to enter the Sanctuary.

And concerning the sacrifice ... which they cook in a vessel ... in it the meat of their sacrifices and that they ... in the courtyard ... it with the broth of their sacrifice.

And concerning the sacrifice of the Gentiles ... we consider that they sacrifice to an idol and that is like a woman fornicating with him.

... the sacrifice of peace-offerings which they postpone from one day to the next. But it is written (cf. Lev. 7:15)

that the meal-offering is eaten with the fat and the meat on the day of their being sacrificed. For the sons of the priests {are to take care of this matter so as not to burden the people with sin.

{And concerning the purity of the heifer of the sin-offering, he who slaughters it and he who burns it and he who collects {its ashes and he who sprinkles the} (4Q395) water of purification - all these {are to be pure} (4Q395) at sunset so that the pure shall sprinkle the impure. For the sons ...

(4Q394 3-7 ii conflated with 4Q395)

... of Aaron are to be ...

And furthermore concerning the skins of the cattle and the sheep ... from (19) their skins vessels ... they are not to (20) bring them to the Sanctuary ...

(4Q397 1-2 conflated with 4Q398 1-3)

... And furthermore concerning the skins and bones of unclean animals, they shall not make from their bones and from their skins handles of vessels and ...

And furthermore concerning the skin of the carcass of a clean animal, he who carries their carcass shall not touch the sacred purity.

And concerning ... ...

(4Q394 3-7 ii conflated with 4Q397 3)

the sons of the priests are to be careful regarding all these matters so as not to burden the people with sin.

And concerning that which is written, If a man slaughters in the camp or slaughters outside the camp an ox or a lamb or a goat (Lev. 7:13) for ... on the northern side of the camp. And we consider the Sanctuary as the tent of meeting and Jerusalem as the {camp and outside the camp i.e. outside Jerusalem, that is the camp of their towns. Outside the camp ... they bring out the ashes of the altar and they burn ... For Jerusalem is the place which He has chosen from all the tribes of Israel ...

4Q396

(Transcription and translation by J. Strugnell and E. Qimron)

... until sunset on the eighth day. And concerning the impurity of the dead person we are of the opinion that every bone, whether it has its flesh on it or not--should be treated according to the law of the dead or the slain. And concerning the mixed marriages that are being performed among the people, and they are sons of holy Melchisedek seed Melchisedek, as is written, Israel is holy. And concerning his (Israel's) Melchisedek clean Melchisedek animal it is written that one must not let it mate with another species, and concerning his clothes Melchisedek it is written that they should notMelchisedek be of mixed stuff; and one must not sow his field and vineyard with mixed species. Because they Israel are holy, and the sons of Aaron are Melchisedek most holy. Melchisedek. But you know that some of the priests and Melchisedekthe laity intermingle Melchisedek Melchisedek And they Melchisedek adhere to each other and pollute the holy seed as well as their (i.e. the priests') own Melchisedek seed Melchisedek with corrupt women. Since Melchisedek the sons of Aaron should ... Melchisedek

(4Q396 1-2 i conflated with 4Q394 8 iii and 4Q397 5)

... they do not slaughter in the Sanctuary.

And concerning pregnant animals we consider that one should not sacrifice the mother and the unborn young on the same day.

And concerning eating, we consider that the unborn young may be eaten ... provided it has been slaughtered ... this is so and the saying is written concerning a pregnant animal. ...

And concerning the Ammon{ite and the Moabite and the {bastard and the man whose testicles have been crushed and one whose penis has been cut off who enter the congregation, ... and they take wives so as to be one bone with them ... ...

(4Q394 8 iii conflated with 4Q396 1-2 i-ii and 4Q397 5)

impurities.

And furthermore we consider that they should not ... and should not have intercourse with them. (44) ... and they should not unite with them so as to make them (45) into one bone ... that some of the people ... ... from all sexual mingling ... and to be fearful of the Sanctuary.

(4Q396 1-2 ii)

And furthermore concerning the blind who do not see how to beware of all minglings

(4Q394 8 iv conflated with 4Q396 1-2 ii and 4Q397 6-13)

and do not see the minglings which entail guilt offering. And furthermore concerning the deaf who have not heard the decrees and judgements and purity (rules) and have not (53) heard the judgements of Israel - for he who has not seen and has not heard (them) does not know how to practise (them); yet they come to the pure food of the Sanctuary. ...

And furthermore concerning the pouring (of liquids), we say that it contains no purity.

And furthermore the pouring does not separate the impure from the pure for the poured liquid and that in the receptacle are alike, (58) one liquid.

And dogs are not to be brought to the sacred camp for they may eat some of the bones from the Sanctuary to which meat is still attached. For (60) Jerusalem is the sacred camp and is the place. ...

(4Q396 1-2 iii conflated with 4Q394 8 iv and 4Q397 6-13)

... which He has chosen from all the tribes of Israel, for Jerusalem is the head of the camps of Israel.

And furthermore concerning the planting of fruit trees planted in the land of Israel, they are like first fruits destined for the priests. And the tithe of the cattle and sheep is for the priests.

And furthermore concerning the lepers, we say that they shall not come (into contact) with the sacred pure food for they shall be separated ...

Furthermore it is written that from the time he the leper has shaved and washed, he shall stay outside ... for seven days. And now while their impurity is with them ... they shall not come into contact with the sacred pure food of the house. And you know ... and it is concealed from him, he is to bring a sin-offering.

And concerning the person who does anything with a high hand it is written that he is one who despises and reviles God (cf. Num. xv, 30-31). ... impurities of leprosy, they are not to eat from the holy things ...

(4Q396 1-2 iv conflated with 4Q397 6-13)

... until the sun has set on the eighth day.

And concerning the impurities of a man, we say that every bone to which flesh is or is not attached is to be treated according to the law of the dead or slain. ...

And concerning fornication practised by the people, they should be sons of holiness, as it is written, Israel is holy (Jer. ii, 3).

And concerning his clean animal, it is written that it shall not be mated with a different kind.

And concerning his clothes, it is written that they shall not be of mixed material.

And he shall not sow his field and vineyard with two kinds. For they are holy and the sons of Aaron are most holy. And you know that some of the priests and the people mingle and they unite and defile the holy seed and also their seed with whores for ...

(4Q397 14-21)

And concerning the women ... violence and betrayal ... For in these ... on account of the violence and fornication they perished ... places.

And furthermore it is written in the Book of Moses that You shall not bring an abominable thing into your house (cf. Deut. vii, 26) for an abominable thing is detestable.

PART 3

MMT C = THE EXHORTATION (4Q397 14-21 l followed by 4Q398)

And you know that we have separated from the mass of the people ... and from mingling with them in these matters and from being in contact with them in these (matters). And you know that no treachery or lie or evil is found in our hands for we give for these the ...

And furthermore we have written to you (sing.) that you should understand the Book of Moses and the Books of the Prophets and David and all the events of every age. And in the Book is written ... not for you and the days of old.

And furthermore it is written that you will depart from the way and that evil will befall you (cf. Deut. xxxi, 29). And it is written,

(4Q398 14-17 i)

... And it shall come to passwhen all these things befall you in the end of days, the blessing and the curse, then you will call them to mind and return to Him with all your heart and all your soul (Deut. xxx, 1-2) at the end of days. And it is written in the Book of Moses and in the Books of the Prophets that there shall come ... and the blessings came

(4Q398 11-13)

in the days of Solomon the son of David. And the curses came from in the days of Jeroboam the son of Nebat until Jerusalem and Zedekiah king of Judah were exiled that He will bring them to ...

And we recognise that some of the blessings and curses which are written in the Book of Moses have come. And this is at the end of days when they will come back to Israel for ever ... and shall not turn back-war ds. And the wicked shall act wickedly and ...

Remember the kings of Israel and understand their works that each of them who feared the Torah was saved from troubles, and to those who were seekers of the Law, their iniquities

(4Q398 14-17 ii conflated with 4Q399)

were pardoned.

Remember David, that he was a man of piety, and that he was also saved from many troubles and pardoned.

We have also written to thee concerning some of the observances of the Law (miqsat ma'ase ha-Torab), which we think are beneficial to thee and thy people. For we have noticed that prudence and knowledge of the Law are with thee.

Understand all these matters and ask Him to straighten thy counsel and put thee far away from thoughts of evil and the counsel of Belial. Consequently, thou wilt rejoice at the end of time when thou discoverest that some of our sayings are true. And it will be reckoned for thee as righteousness when thou performest what is right and good before Him, for thine own good and for that of Israel. ...

The Wicked and the Holy (4Q181)

(The first fragment of a document from Cave 4(4Q181) describes in a manner similar to Community Rule IV the respective destinies of the damned and the chosen.)

... for guilt with the congregation of his people, for it has wallowed in the sin of the sons of men; and it was appointed for great judgements and evil diseases in the flesh according to the mighty deeds of God and in accordance with their wickedness. In conformity with their congregation of uncleanness, they are to be separated as a community of wickedness until (wickedness) ends.

In accordance with the mercies of God, according to His goodness and wonderful glory, He caused some of the sons of the world to draw near Him ... to be counted with Him in the community of the 'gods' as a congregation of holiness in service for eternal life and sharing the lot of His holy ones ... each man according to his lot which He has cast for ... for eternal life ...

4QHalakhah A (4Q251)

(Twenty-six severely damaged fragments, palaeographically dated to the late first century BC., represent extracts from the Pentateuch with textual variations and exegetical paraphrases. The main topics are the Sabbath, compensation for injuries, firstfruits, the priest's wife, forbidden marital unions, etc.)

Frs. 1-2

... and to draw water from a cistern ... the drawing ... No man shall take anything from his place on the Sabbath, from outside the house into it or from the house outside ... for him to interpret and read in the Book on the Sabbath ...

Frs. 4-7 i

... When men quarrel and one strikes his fellow with a stone or with his fist and the man does not die but keeps his bed, then if the man rises again and walks outside, he who injured him is not guilty. Only he shall pay for the loss of his time and for his medical treatment. ...

When a man strikes his slave, male or female with a rod ... (cf.Exod. 21:18-20).

Fr. 8

When a man strikes his slave, male or female, in the eye and destroys it, or if he knocks out the tooth of his slave, male or female, he shall free him. He shall pay for the loss of his time and for his medical treatment for the sake of his eye or his tooth. When an ox gores a man or a woman, the oxshall be killed and they will stone it and its flesh shall not be eaten. But the owner of the ox will be not guilty. But if the ox has been accustomed to gore in the past, and its owner has been warned but has not kept it in, and it has killed a man or a woman, the ox shall be stoned and its owner also shall be put

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to death. If a ransom is laid upon him, then the man shall give ... (cf. Exod. 21:28-30).

Fr. 9

Let no man eat wheat, wine or oil unless the priest has waved their best, the firstfruit of the produce. No man shall delay, for wine is the firstfruit of the produce, and the wheat. The juice ... (cf. Exod. 22:28).

The firstfruits are the leavened loaves which they bring on the day of the firstfruits. These are firstfruits: let no man eat new wheat ... until the day of the bread of the firstfruits has come ...

Fr. 16

... When a woman is given to a priest, she may eat the food of her husband. ... One acquired by him for money and one born into his house, they may eat his food. But a whore and a profaned woman may not eat the consecrated food. And every unfaithful deed which a man shall commit ... to eat, for it is an abomination ... owner who is without redeemer ...

Fr. 17

On cases of incest ... No man shall take the wife of his father so as to uncover the skirt of his father. No man shall take the daughter of his brother or the daughter of his sister. No man shall uncover the nakedness of the sister of his mother or of his father. This is wickedness. A woman shall not be given to the brother of her father or to the brother of her mother ... A man shall not uncover the nakedness of ... A man shall not give his daughter ...

4QHalakhah B (4Q264a)

Three fragments of a legal document, the first of which partly overlaps with various sections of 4Q421, deal with Sabbath regulations.

Fr. I i

... No man shall revise the scroll of a book reading its script on the day of Sabbath ... But they may read and study it. No man shall make plans with his mouth ... on the day of Sabbath. He shall not talk about any matter relating to work or wealth or ... on the day of Sabbath. He shall speak no word apart from speaking holy words as prescribed and from pronouncing blessings of God. He may talk about eating and drinking ...

4QTohorot (Purities) A (4Q274)

This is the first of ten Cave 4 manuscripts dealing with purity matters. See Zend Avesta.

Fr. I i

I ... Let him not begin to cast his lot. He shall lie on a bed of sorrow and sit in a seat of sighs. He shall dwell in isolation with all the unclean, and away from food purity at a distance of twelve cubits in the wing assigned to him on the north-west of every dwelling-house according to this measure. Every man from among the unclean ... he shall bathe in water on the seventh day and wash his clothes, and afterwards he may eat. For this is what he said, He shall cry, Unclean, unclean (Lev. xiii, 45), as long as the plague affects him.

A woman with a seven-day issue of blood shall not touch a man with a flux, nor any vessel touched by a man who has a flux, nor anything he has lain or sat on. But if she has touched (them), she shall wash her garments and bathe, and afterwards she may eat. Above all, she shall not mingle (with the pure) during her seven days so that she may not pollute the camps of the Holy of Israel. Neither shall she touch any woman with a long-term issue of blood. And the person, either male or female, who counts (the seven days: cf. Lev. xv, 13) shall not touch the menstruant during her uncleanness. Only when she has purified herself from her uncleanness (may she be touched), for the blood of the menstruant is reckoned as a flux for anyone who touches it. And if he has touched bodily flux or semen, he shall be unclean. And he who has touched a man from among all these unclean persons during the seven days of his cleansing he shall not eat. If he has become unclean because of a corpse, he shall bathe in water, wash his garments and afterwards II he may eat.

Fr. 2 i

... when they sprinkle on him for the first time. He shall bathe and wash his clothes before he eats. If it occurs for him on the seventh day on the Sabbath day, he shall not sprinkle on the Sabbath, for He says:

Keep the Sabbath (Deut. v, 12). But he shall not touch anything pure until he has repeated it. All that touches semen be it a man or any vessel shall be immersed. And the bearer of it shall immerse. And the garment on which it (the semen) is and the vessel which carries it shall be immersed in water. If there is a man in the camp who is unable to do this lacks a spare garment, he shall bathe and put on any garment which has not been touched by it (the semen) as long as it does not touch his bread (food). He who touches his bed or his seat, if his garment has not touched it (the semen), he shall bathe in water. But if his garment has touched it (the bed or the seat), he shall wash it the garment. A man shall wash (his garment) with water for eating all consecrated food ...

4Q274 3 i-ii

... God uncovers the pupil of his eye, he shall read ... all their precepts ... for he who eats ... and he is unclean ... if (the fruit's) juice has not oozed out, he shall eat it in purity, but all those which have been squeezed so that their juice has oozed out, no man should eat them if an unclean man has touched them. And also from the greens ... or ripe cucumber. Whoever has ...

... and any (vessel) which has a seal ... shall be unclean for a cleaner man. Any green that has no moisture of dew on it may be eaten. And if it is not eaten, let him put it into the midst of the water.

For if a man were to put it on the ground, and water reached it when the rain descended on it, if an unclean man touches it, let him not eat it in the field by any means until the period of his purification ...

Any earthen vessel which ... which is in its midst ... the liquid ...

4QTohorot Ba-Bb (40276-7)

These two fragments deal with the biblical law of the 'red heifer', the ashes of which were used for the preparation of the 'water for the removal of uncleanness' necessary for the cleansing of impurity resulting from contact with a dead body.

4Q276

And the priest wears the garments in which he is not ministering in the Sanctuary ... renders the garments guilty. And he slaughtered the heifer before Him. He shall carry her blood in a clay vessel which is not brought near the altar. And with his finger he shall sprinkle some of her blood seven times towards the front of the tent of meeting. And he shall cast the cedarwood, the hyssop and the scarlet material in the midst of her burning. And he who burns (it), a man who is clean of every corpse uncleanness, shall wash his clothes and gather up the ashes of the heifer and shall deposit them to be kept by the children of Israel for the water for uncleanness, for the removal of sin. And the priest shall put on ...

4Q277

The priest shall take the hyssop and ... The man cleansed from uncleanness (lasting until) the evening shall gather the ashes of the heifer and give them to the priest who atones with the blood of the heifer ... with which they atone with the law of the red heifer ... in water and he shall be unclean until the evening. And he who carries the cauldron of the water for uncleanness shall be unclean and shall wash himself in water and wash (his clothes). And the man shall sprinkle the water for uncleanness on those defiled by uncleanness, for a pure priest ... on them, for he shall atone for the unclean. No wanton man shall sprinkle on the unclean ... the water for uncleanness and he shall bring him to the water and shall purify him from corpse uncleanness.... The priest shall scatter on them the water for uncleanness to purify them ... for they will indeed be purified and their flesh shall be pure and anyone who touches him ... his flux ... and his hands are not drenched in water. His bed and his dwelling shall be unclean ... they who touch his flux are like one who has touched the uncleanness of one who has touched a corpse; he will be unclean until the evening. And he who carries his clothes shall wash and shall be unclean until the evening.

4Q Harvesting (4Q284a)

Four fragments of a document have survived in a late Hasmonaean—early Herodian script (mid-first century BCE). They deal with matters of uncleanness affecting fruits.

Fr. 1

... basket ... And let him not gather them ... may not touch the liquids of the Congregation, for these render unclean the basket and the figs and the pomegranates, if their juice oozes out when he squeezes them all and a man who has not been brought into the Covenant has gathered them. And if they press olives in the olive press, let him not pollute them in any manner by opening them until he pours them into the press.... in purity ...

The Master's Exhortation to the Sons of Dawn (40298)

Eight fragments of a manuscript which, apart from its title, is written in a cryptic alphabet, contain an exhortation to a group, designated as 'sons of dawn' by the 'Master' (maskil), the title of the teacher in charge of instruction in the Community (cf. Community Rule).

4Q298, frs. 1-2 i

Word of the Master which he spoke to all the sons of Dawn. Listen to me all men of heart (=intelligence) and understand my word. And seekers of righteousness, hear my word in all that proceeds from my lips. Those who know have searched these (matters) and have returned to the path of life ...

Frs- 3-4 ii

... And now listen, O wise men, and hear, O you with knowledge, hear.

And men of understanding, increase might, and modesty, you who search judgement. You who know the way, increase strength, and men of truth, pursue righteousness, and you who love kindness, increase humility ... appointed time which ... you will understand the end of the ages and you will gaze at ancient things to know ...

4Q Men Who Err (40306)

Three small fragments allude to a group unfaithful to the Covenant of Israel.

Fr. 1

The outcasts who stray and do not practise the precept, for they transgress it from day to day, from month to month, all that is in the Covenant of Israel.... its flesh and they spit ... and he will be angry.

And the dogs will eat the bones coming from the Temple. He shall exclude the dogs from the Temple court ...

Register of Rebukes (4Q477)

(Fragments of two columns of a document contain a list of Community members rebuked for offences against the rules. This is the only scroll fragment which reveals the names of individual members: Yohanan son of Ar , Hananiah Notos and Hananiah son of Simon. According to the editor, Esther Eshel, the rebukes listed here were read out in public by the mebaqqer (or Guardian), hence the title given by her, The Rebukes Reported by the Overseer. To be more precise, it is likely that the rebukes originated with witnesses of the offence.)

Fr. 2

... who ... who acted wickedly ... the Congregation ... Yohanan son of ...

Ar ... they rebuked because he was short-tempered ... with him ... the iniquity with him and also the spirit of pride was with him ... ...

They rebuked Hananiah Notos because he ... to disturb the spirit of the Community ... and also to mingle the ... they rebuked because evil ... was with him and also because he was not ... and also because he loved his bodily nature (or: showed preference to his near kin) ... blank And they rebuked Hananiah son of Simon because he ... and he also loves the goodness ...

Remonstrances (before Conversion?) (4Q471a)

This small fragment, written in Herodian script, contains reproofs addressed in the second person plural to a group of wicked Jews. The context is that of a war. It is unlikely to belong to the War Scroll or the Book of War as neither of these includes speeches to outsiders.

... time(?) you have commanded not to ... You have been unfaithful to His covenant ... You said: Let us fight His wars for He has redeemed us ... Your mighty men shall be humbled. And they did not know that He has despised ... you shall show yourselves mighty in war. And you have been reckoned ... by His measuring line(?). You shall seek righteous judgement and the work ... you shall exalt yourselves. And He has chosen them ... for a cry ... And you will return ... sweet ...

1 QUMRAN LIBRARY CHAPTER B.
HYMNS AND POEMS

The Thanksgiving Hymns (IQH, IQ36, 4Q427-32)

(The Hymns Scroll has suffered a good deal of deterioration and the translator has difficulty, not only in making sense of the poems, but also in determining where one ends and another begins. Apart from some fragments, the first three columns of the original Hymns Scroll are lost. Our presentation of the Hymns is partly a reconstruction. No translation is offered for the extremely fragmentary cols. 24-26.

The poems contained in the Scroll are similar to the biblical Psalms. They are mostly hymns of thanksgiving, individual prayers as opposed to those intended for communal worship, expressing a rich variety of spiritual and doctrinal detail. But the two fundamental themes running through the whole collection are those of salvation and knowledge. Several scholars tend to ascribe the authorship of these to the "Teacher of Righteousness", and even consider that he may be responsible for all the Hymns.)

Hymn I

... Columns 1-3 are missing. ...

As Thou hast said by the hand of Moses, Thou forgivest transgression, iniquity, and sin, and pardonest rebellion and unfaithfulness.

For the bases of the mountains shall melt and fire shall consume the deep places of Hell, but Thou wilt deliver all those that are corrected by Thy judgements, that they may

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serve Thee faithfully and that their seed may be before Thee for ever.

Thou wilt keep Thine oath and wilt pardon their transgression; Thou wilt cast away all their sins.

Thou wilt cause them to inherit all the glory of Adam and abundance of days.

Hymn 2

I give Thee thanks because of the spirits which Thou hast given to me!

I will bring forth a reply of the tongue to recount Thy righteous deeds, and the forbearance ... and the works of Thy mighty right hand, and the pardon of the sins of the forefathers.

I will bow down and implore Thy mercy on my sins and wicked deeds, and on the perversity of my heart, for I have wallowed in uncleanness, and have turned aside from the counsel of Thy truth and I have not laboured ...

For Thine, Thine is righteousness, and an everlasting blessing be upon Thy Name!

According to Thy righteousness, let Thy servant be redeemed and the wicked be brought to an end.

For I have understood that it is Thou who dost establish the path of whomsoever Thou choosest; Thou dost hedge him in with true discernment that he may not sin against Thee, and that his humility may bear fruit through Thy chastisement.

Thou dost purify his heart in Thy trials.

Preserve Thy servant, O God, lest he sin against Thee, or stagger aside from any word of Thy will.

Strengthen the loins of Thy servant that he may resist the spirits of falsehood, that he may walk in all that Thou lovest, and despise all that Thou loathest, that he may do that which is good in Thine eyes.

Destroy their dominion in my bowels, for within Thy servant is a spirit of flesh.

Hymn 3

I thank Thee, O Lord,

for Thou didst shed Thy Holy Spirit upon Thy Servant All these things Thou didst establish in Thy wisdom.

Thou didst appoint all Thy works before ever creating them: the host of Thy spirits and the Congregation of Thy Holy Ones, the heavens and all their hosts and the earth and all it brings forth.

In the seas and deeps ...

... and an everlasting task; for Thou hast established them from before eternity.

And the work of ...

and they shall recount Thy glory throughout all Thy dominion For Thou hast shown them that which they had not seen by removing all ancient things and creating new ones, by breaking asunder things anciently established, and raising up the things of eternity.

For Thou art from the beginning and shalt endure for ages without end.

And Thou hast appointed all these things in the mysteries of Thy wisdom to make known Thy glory to all.

But what is the spirit of flesh that it should understand all this, and that it should comprehend the great design of Thy wisdom?

What is he that is born of woman in the midst of all Thy terrible works?

He is but an edifice of dust, and a thing kneaded with water, whose beginning is sinful iniquity, and shameful nakedness, and a fount of uncleanness, and over whom a spirit of straying rules.

If he is wicked he shall become a sign for ever, and a wonder to (every) generation, and an object of horror to all flesh.

By Thy goodness alone is man righteous, and with Thy many mercies Thou strengthenest him.

Thou wilt adorn him with Thy splendour and wilt cause him to reign amid many delights with everlasting peace and length of days.

For Thou hast spoken, and Thou wilt not take back Thy word.

And I, Thy servant, I know by the spirit which Thou hast given to me that Thy words are truth, and that all Thy works are righteousness, and that Thou wilt not take back Thy word

Hymn 4

Blessed art Thou, O Lord who hast given understanding to the heart of Thy servant that he may understand all these things and resist the works of wickedness and bless justly all those who choose Thy will, and that he may love all that Thou lovest and loathe all that Thou hatest.

Thou shalt instruct Thy servant ...

... spirits of man for Thou hast cast their lot according to the spirits between good and evil to accomplish their task.

And I know through the understanding which comes from Thee, that in Thy goodwill towards man Thou hast increased his inheritance in Thy Holy Spirit and thus Thou hast drawn me near to understanding of Thee.

And the closer I approach, the more am I filled with zeal against all the workers of iniquity and the men of deceit.

For none of those who approach Thee rebels against Thy command, nor do any of those who know Thee alter Thy words; for Thou art righteous, and all Thine elect are truth.

Thou wilt blot out all injustice and wickedness for ever, and Thy righteousness shall be revealed before the eyes of all Thy creatures.

I know through Thy great goodness; and with an oath I have undertaken never to sin against Thee, nor to do anything evil in Thine eyes.

And thus do I bring into community all the men of my Council.

I will cause each man to draw near in accordance with his understanding, and according to the greatness of his inheritance, so will I love him.

I will not honour an evil man, nor consider the bribes of shame; I will not barter Thy truth for riches, nor one of Thy precepts for bribes.

But I will love each man according to his speech and according as Thou removest him far from Thee, so will I hate him; and none of those who have turned from Thy Covenant will I bring into the Council of Thy truth.

Hymn 5

I thank Thee, O Lord, as befits the greatness of Thy power and the multitude of Thy marvels for ever and ever.

Thou art a merciful God and rich in favours, pardoning those who repent of their sin and visiting the iniquity of the wicked.

Thou delightest in the free-will offering of the righteous but iniquity Thou hatest always.

Thou hast favoured me, Thy servant, with a spirit of knowledge, that I may choose truth and goodness and loathe all the ways of iniquity.

And I have loved Thee freely and with all my heart; contemplating the mysteries of Thy wisdom I have sought Thee.

For this is from Thy hand and nothing is done without Thy will.

I have loved Thee freely and with all my heart and soul I have purified ... that I might not turn aside from any of Thy commands.

I have clung to the Congregation ... that I might not be separated from any of Thy laws.

I know through the understanding which comes from Thee that righteousness is not in a hand of flesh, that man is not master of his way and that it is not in mortals to direct their step.

I know that the inclination of every spirit is in Thy hand;

Thou didst establish all its ways before ever creating it, and how can any man change Thy words?

Thou alone didst create the just and establish him from the womb for the time of goodwill, that he might hearken to Thy Covenant and walk in all (Thy ways), and that Thou mightest show Thyself great to him in the multitude of Thy mercies, and enlarge his straitened soul to eternal salvation, to perpetual and unfailing peace.

Thou wilt raise up his glory from among flesh.

But the wicked Thou didst create for the time of Thy wrath, Thou didst vow them from the womb to the Day of Massacre, for they walk in the way which is not good.

They have despised Thy Covenant and their souls have loathed Thy truth; they have taken no delight in all Thy commandments and have chosen that which Thou hatest.

For according to the mysteries of Thy wisdom, Thou hast ordained them for great chastisements before the eyes of all Thy creatures, that for all eternity they may serve as a sign and a wonder, and that all men may know Thy glory and Thy tremendous power.

But what is flesh that it should understand these things?

And how should a creature of dust direct his steps?

It is Thou who didst shape the spirit and establish its work from the beginning; the way of all the living proceeds from Thee.

I know that no riches equal Thy truth, and have therefore desired to enter the Council of Thy holiness.

I know that Thou hast chosen them before all others and that they shall serve Thee for ever.

Thou wilt take no bribe for the deeds of iniquity, nor ransom for the works of wickedness; for Thou art a God of truth and wilt destroy all iniquity for ever, and no wickedness shall exist before Thee.

Because I know all these things my tongue shall utter a reply.

Bowing down and confessing all my transgressions, I will seek Thy spirit of knowledge; cleaving to Thy spirit of holiness,

I will hold fast to the truth of Thy Covenant, that I may serve Thee in truth and wholeness of heart, and that I may love Thy Name.

Blessed art Thou, O Lord, Maker of all things and mighty in deeds: all things are Thy work!

Behold, Thou art pleased to favour Thy servant, and hast graced me with Thy spirit of mercy and with the radiance of Thy glory.

Thine, Thine is righteousness, for it is Thou who hast done all these things!

I know that Thou hast marked the spirit of the just, and therefore I have chosen to keep my hands clean in accordance with Thy will: the soul of Thy servant has loathed every work of iniquity.

And I know that man is not righteous except through Thee, and therefore I implore Thee by the spirit which Thou hast given me to perfect Thy favours to Thy servant for ever, purifying me by Thy Holy Spirit, and drawing me near to Thee by Thy grace according to the abundance of Thy mercies

Grant me the place of Thy loving-kindness which Thou hast chosen for them that love Thee and keep Thy commandments, that they may stand in Thy presence for ever.

Let no scourge come near him lest he stagger aside from the laws of Thy Covenant.

I know, O Lord, that Thou art merciful and compassionate, long-suffering and rich in grace and truth, pardoning transgression and sin.

Thou repentest of evil against them that love Thee and keep Thy commandments, that return to Thee with faith and wholeness of heart

... to serve Thee and to do that which is good in Thine eyes.

Reject not the face of Thy servant

Hymn 6

Thou art long-suffering in Thy judgements and righteous in all Thy deeds.

By Thy wisdom all things exist from eternity, and before creating them Thou knewest their works for ever and ever.

Nothing is done without Thee and nothing is known unless Thou desire it.

Thou hast created all the spirits and hast established a statute and law for all their works.

Thou hast spread the heavens for Thy glory and hast appointed all their hosts according to Thy will; the mighty winds according to their laws before they became angels of holiness

... and eternal spirits in their dominions; the heavenly lights to their mysteries, the stars to their paths, the clouds to their tasks, the thunderbolts and lightnings to their duty, and the perfect treasuries of snow and hail to their purposes, ... to their mysteries.

Thou hast created the earth by Thy power and the seas and deeps by Thy might.

Thou hast fashioned all their inhabitants according to Thy wisdom, and hast appointed all that is in them according to Thy will.

And to the spirit of man which Thou hast formed in the world, Thou hast given dominion over the works of Thy hands for everlasting days and unending generations.

... in their ages Thou hast allotted to them tasks during all their generations, and judgement in their appointed seasons according to the rule of the two spirits.

For Thou hast established their ways for ever and ever, and hast ordained from eternity their visitation for reward and chastisements;

Thou hast allotted it to all their seed for eternal generations and everlasting years ...

In the wisdom of Thy knowledge Thou didst establish their destiny before ever they were.

All things exist according to Thy will and without Thee nothing is done.

These things I know by the wisdom which comes from Thee, for Thou hast unstopped my ears to marvellous mysteries.

And yet I, a shape of clay kneaded in water, a ground of shame and a source of pollution, a melting-pot of wickedness and an edifice of sin, a straying and perverted spirit of no understanding, fearful of righteous judgements, what can I say that is not foreknown, and what can I utter that is not foretold?

All things are graven before Thee on a written Reminder for everlasting ages, and for the numbered cycles of the eternal years in all their seasons; they are not hidden or absent from Thee.

What shall a man say concerning his sin?

And how shall he plead concerning his iniquities?

And how shall he reply to righteous judgement?

For Thine, O God of knowledge, are all righteous deeds and the counsel of truth; but to the sons of men is the work of iniquity and deeds of deceit.

It is Thou who hast created breath for the tongue and Thou knowest its words;

Thou didst establish the fruit of the lips before ever they were.

Thou dost set words to measure and the flow of breath from the lips to metre.

Thou bringest forth sounds according to their mysteries, and the flow of breath from the lips according to its reckoning, that they may tell of Thy glory and recount Thy wonders in all Thy works of truth and in all Thy righteous judgements; and that Thy Name be praised by the mouth of all men, and that they may know Thee according to their understanding and bless Thee for ever.

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By Thy mercies and by Thy great goodness, Thou hast strengthened the spirit of man in the face of the scourge, and hast purified the erring spirit of a multitude of sins, that it may declare Thy marvels in the presence of all Thy creatures.

I will declare to the assembly of the simple the judgements by which I was scourged, and to the sons of men, all Thy wonders by which Thou hast shown Thyself mighty in me in the presence of the sons of Adam.

Hear, O you wise men, and meditate on knowledge;
O you fearful, be steadfast!
Increase in prudence, O all you simple;
O just men, put away iniquity!
Hold fast to the Covenant,
O all you perfect of way;

O all you afflicted with misery, be patient and despise no righteous judgement! but the foolish of heart shall not comprehend these things Upon my uncircumcised lips Thou hast laid a reply.

Thou hast upheld my soul, strengthening my loins and restoring my power; my foot has stood in the realm of ungodliness.

I have been a snare to those who rebel, but healing to those of them who repent, prudence to the simple, and steadfastness to the fearful of heart.

To traitors Thou hast made of me a mockery and scorn, but a counsel of truth and understanding to the upright of way.

I have been iniquity for the wicked, ill-repute on the lips of the fierce, the scoffers have gnashed their teeth.

I have been a byword to traitors, the assembly of the wicked has raged against me; they have roared like turbulent seas and their towering waves have spat out mud and slime.

But to the elect of righteousness Thou hast made me a banner, and a discerning interpreter of wonderful mysteries, to try those who practise truth and to test those who love correction.

To the interpreters of error I have been an opponent, but a man of peace to all those who see true things.

To all those who seek smooth things I have been a spirit of zeal; like the sound of the roaring of many waters so have all the deceivers thundered against me; all their thoughts were devilish schemings.

They have cast towards the Pit the life of the man whose mouth Thou hast confirmed, and into whose heart

Thou hast put teaching and understanding, that he might open a fountain of knowledge to all men of insight.

They have exchanged them for lips of uncircumcision, and for the foreign tongue of a people without understanding, that they might come to ruin in their straying.

Hymn 7

I thank Thee, O Lord, for Thou hast placed my soul in the bundle of the living, and hast hedged me about against all the snares of the Pit.

Violent men have sought after my life because I have clung to Thy Covenant.

For they, an assembly of deceit, and a horde of Belial, know not that my stand is maintained by Thee, and that in Thy mercy Thou wilt save my soul since my steps proceed from Thee.

From Thee it is that they assail my life, that Thou mayest be glorified by the judgement of the wicked, and manifest Thy might through me in the presence of the sons of men; for it is by Thy mercy that I stand.

And I said, Mighty men have pitched their camps against me, and have encompassed me with all their weapons of war.

They have let fly arrows against which there is no cure, and the flame of (their) javelins is like a consuming fire among trees.

The clamour of their shouting is like the bellowing of many waters, like a storm of destruction devouring a multitude of men; as their waves rear up, Naught and Vanity spout upward to the stars.

But although my heart melted like water, my soul held fast to Thy Covenant, and the net which they spread for me has taken their own foot; they have themselves fallen into the snares which they laid for my life.

But my foot remains upon level ground; apart from their assembly I will bless Thy Name.

Hymn 8

I thank Thee, O Lord, for Thou hast fastened Thine eye upon me.

Thou hast saved me from the zeal of lying interpreters, and from the congregation of those who seek smooth things.

Thou hast redeemed the soul of the poor one whom they planned to destroy by spilling his blood because he served Thee.

Because they knew not that my steps were directed by Thee, they made me an object of shame and derision in the mouth of all the seekers of falsehood.

But Thou, O my God, hast succoured the soul of the poor and the needy against one stronger than he; Thou hast redeemed my soul from the hand of the mighty.

Thou hast not permitted their insults to dismay me so that I forsook Thy service for fear of the wickedness of the ungodly, or bartered my steadfast heart for folly

Hymn 9

They caused me to be like a ship on the deeps of the sea, and like a fortified city before the aggressor, and like a woman in travail with her first-born child, upon whose belly pangs have come and grievous pains, filling with anguish her child-bearing crucible.

For the children have come to the throes of Death, and she labours in her pains who bears a man.

For amid the throes of Death she shall bring forth a man-child, and amid the pains of Hell there shall spring from her child-bearing crucible a Marvellous Mighty Counsellor; and a man shall be delivered from out of the throes.

When he is conceived all wombs shall quicken, and the time of their delivery shall be in grievous pains; they shall be appalled who are with child.

And when he is brought forth every pang shall come upon the child-bearing crucible.

And they, the conceivers of Vanity, shall be prey to terrible anguish; the wombs of the Pit shall be prey to all the works of horror.

The foundations of the wall shall rock like a ship upon the face of the waters; the heavens shall roar with a noise of roaring, and those who dwell in the dust, as well as those who sail the seas, shall be appalled by the roaring of the waters.

All their wise men shall be like sailors on the deeps, for all their wisdom shall be swallowed up in the midst of the howling seas.

As the Abysses boil above the fountains of the waters, the towering waves and billows shall rage with the voice of their roaring; and as they rage, Hell and Abaddon shall open and all the flying arrows of the Pit shall send out their voice to the Abyss.

And the gates of Hell shall open on all the works of Vanity; and the doors of the Pit shall close on the conceivers of wickedness; and the everlasting bars shall be bolted on all the spirits of Naught.

Hymn 10

I thank Thee, O Lord, for Thou hast redeemed my soul from the Pit, and from the hell of Abaddon Thou hast raised me up to everlasting height.

I walk on limitless level ground, and I know there is hope for him whom Thou hast shaped from dust for the everlasting Council.

Thou hast cleansed a perverse spirit of great sin that it may stand with the host of the Holy Ones, and that it may enter into community with the congregation of the Sons of Heaven.

Thou hast allotted to man an everlasting destiny amidst the spirits of knowledge, that he may praise Thy Name in a common rejoicing and recount Thy marvels before all Thy works.

And yet I, a creature of clay, what am I?
Kneaded with water, what is my worth and my might?

For I have stood in the realm of wickedness and my lot was with the damned; the soul of the poor one was carried away in the midst of great tribulation.

Miseries of torment dogged my steps while all the snares of the Pit were opened and the lures of wickedness were set up and the nets of the damned (were spread) on the waters; while all the arrows of the Pit flew out without cease, and, striking, left no hope; while the rope beat down in judgement and a destiny of wrath fell upon the abandoned and a venting of fury upon the cunning.

It was a time of the wrath of all Belial and the bonds of death tightened without any escape.

The torrents of Belial shall reach to all sides of the world.

In all their channels a consuming fire shall destroy every tree, green and barren, on their banks; unto the end of their courses it shall scourge with flames of fire, and shall consume the foundations of the earth and the expanse of dry land.

The bases of the mountains shall blaze and the roots of the rocks shall turn to torrents of pitch; it shall devour as far as the great Abyss.

The torrents of Belial shall break into Abaddon, and the deeps of the Abyss shall groan amid the roar of heaving mud.

The land shall cry out because of the calamity fallen upon the world, and all its deeps shall howl.

And all those upon it shall rave and shall perish amid the great misfortune.

For God shall sound His mighty voice, and His holy abode shall thunder with the truth of His glory.

The heavenly hosts shall cry out and the world's foundations shall stagger and sway.

The war of the heavenly warriors shall scourge the earth; and it shall not end before the appointed destruction which shall be for ever and without compare.

Hymn 11

I thank Thee, O Lord, for Thou art as a fortified wall to me, and as an iron bar against all destroyers Thou hast set my feet upon rock ... ... that I may walk in the way of eternity and in the paths which Thou hast chosen

Hymn 12

I thank Thee, O Lord, for Thou hast illumined my face by Thy Covenant, I seek Thee, and sure as the dawn Thou appearest as perfect Light to me.

Teachers of lies have smoothed Thy people with words, and false prophets have led them astray; they perish without understanding for their works are in folly.

For I am despised by them and they have no esteem for me that Thou mayest manifest Thy might through me.

They have banished me from my land like a bird from its nest; all my friends and brethren are driven far from me and hold me for a broken vessel.

And they, teachers of lies and seers of falsehood, have schemed against me a devilish scheme, to exchange the Law engraved on my heart by Thee for the smooth things (which they speak) to Thy people.

And they withhold from the thirsty the drink of Knowledge, and assuage their thirst with vinegar, that they may gaze on their straying, on their folly concerning their feast-days, on their fall into their snares.

But Thou, O God, dost despise all Belial's designs; it is Thy purpose that shall be done and the design of Thy heart that shall be established for ever.

As for them, they dissemble, they plan devilish schemes.

They seek Thee with a double heart and are not confirmed in Thy truth

A root bearing poisoned and bitter fruit is in their designs; they walk in stubbornness of heart and seek Thee among idols, and they set before themselves the stumbling-block of their sin.

They come to inquire of Thee from the mouth of lying prophets deceived by error who speak with strange lips to Thy people, and an alien tongue, that they may cunningly turn all their works to folly.

For they hearken not to Thy voice, nor do they give ear to Thy word; of the vision of knowledge they say, 'It is unsure', and of the way of Thy heart, 'It is not the way'.

But Thou, O God, wilt reply to them, chastising them in Thy might because of their idols and because of the multitude of their sins, that they who have turned aside from Thy Covenant may be caught in their own designs.

Thou wilt destroy in Judgement all men of lies, and there shall be no more seers of error; for in Thy works is no folly, no guile in the design of Thy heart.

But those who please Thee shall stand before Thee for ever; those who walk in the way of Thy heart shall be established for evermore.

Clinging to Thee, I will stand.

I will rise against those who despise me and my hand shall be turned against those who deride me; for they have no esteem for me that Thou mayest manifest Thy might through me.

Thou hast revealed Thyself to me in Thy power as perfect Light, and Thou hast not covered my face with shame.

All those who are gathered in Thy Covenant inquire of me, and they hearken to me who walk in the way of Thy heart, who array themselves for Thee in the Council of the holy.

Thou wilt cause their law to endure for ever and truth to go forward unhindered, and Thou wilt not allow them to be led astray by the hand of the damned when they plot against them.

Thou wilt put the fear of them into Thy people and wilt make of them a hammer to all the peoples of the lands, that at the Judgement they may cut off all those who transgress Thy word.

Through me Thou hast illumined the face of the Congregation and hast shown Thine infinite power.

For Thou hast given me knowledge through Thy marvellous mysteries, and hast shown Thyself mighty within me in the midst of Thy marvellous Council.

Thou hast done wonders before the Congregation for the sake of Thy glory, that they may make known Thy mighty deeds to all the living.

But what is flesh (to be worthy) of this?

What is a creature of clay for such great marvels to be done, whereas he is in iniquity from the womb and in guilty unfaithfulness until his old age?

Righteousness, I know, is not of man, nor is perfection of way of the son of man: to the Most High God belong all righteous deeds.

The way of man is not established except by the spirit which God created for him to make perfect a way for the children of men, that all His creatures may know the might of His power, and the abundance of His mercies towards all the sons of His grace.

As for me, shaking and trembling seize me and all my bones are broken; my heart dissolves like wax before fire and my knees are like water pouring down a steep place.

For I remember my sins and the unfaithfulness of my fathers.

When the wicked rose against Thy Covenant and the damned against Thy word, I said in my sinfulness, 'I am forsaken by Thy Covenant.'

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But calling to mind the might of Thy hand and the greatness of Thy compassion, I rose and stood, and my spirit was established in face of the scourge.

I lean on Thy grace and on the multitude of Thy mercies, for Thou wilt pardon iniquity, and through Thy righteousness Thou wilt purify man of his sin.

Not for his sake wilt Thou do it, but for the sake of Thy glory.

For Thou hast created the just and the wicked

Hymn 13

I thank Thee, O Lord, for Thou hast not abandoned me whilst I sojourned among a people burdened with sin.

Thou hast not judged me according to my guilt, nor hast Thou abandoned me because of the designs of my inclination; but Thou hast saved my life from the Pit.

Thou hast brought Thy servant deliverance in the midst of lions destined for the guilty, and of lionesses which crush the bones of the mighty and drink the blood of the brave.

Thou hast caused me to dwell with the many fishers who spread a net upon the face of the waters, and with the hunters of the children of iniquity; Thou hast established me there for justice.

Thou hast confirmed the counsel of truth in my heart and the waters of the Covenant for those who seek it.

Thou hast closed up the mouth of the young lions whose teeth are like a sword, and whose great teeth are like a pointed spear, like the venom of dragons.

All their design is for robbery and they have lain in wait; but they have not opened their mouth against me.

For Thou, O God, hast sheltered me from the children of men, and hast hidden Thy Law within me against the time when Thou shouldst reveal Thy salvation to me.

For Thou hast not forsaken me in my soul's distress, and Thou hast heard my cry in the bitterness of my soul; and when I groaned, Thou didst consider my sorrowful complaint.

Thou hast preserved the soul of the poor one in the den of lions which sharpened their tongue like a sword.

Thou hast closed up their teeth, O God, lest they rend the soul of the poor and needy.

Thou hast made their tongue go back like a sword to its scabbard lest the soul of Thy servant be blotted out.

Thou hast dealt wondrously with the poor one to manifest Thy might within me in the presence of the sons of men.

Thou hast placed him in the melting-pot, like gold in the fire, and like silver refined in the melting-pot of the smelters, to be purified seven times.

The wicked and fierce have stormed against me with their afflictions; they have pounded my soul all day.

But Thou, O my God, hast changed the tempest to a breeze;

Thou hast delivered the soul of the poor one like a bird from the net and like prey from the mouth of lions.

Hymn 14

I thank Thee, Blessed art Thou O Lord, for Thou hast not abandoned the fatherless or despised the poor.

For Thy might is boundless and Thy glory beyond measure and wonderful Heroes minister to Thee; yet hast Thou done marvels among the humble in the mire underfoot, and among those eager for righteousness, causing all the well-loved poor to rise up together from the trampling.

But I have been iniquity to those who contend with me, dispute and quarrelling to my friends, wrath to the members of my Covenant and murmuring and protest to all my companions.

All who have eaten my bread have lifted their heel against me, and all those joined to my Council have mocked me with wicked lips.

The members of my Covenant have rebelled and have murmured round about me; they have gone as talebearers before the children of mischief concerning the mystery which Thou hast hidden in me.

And to show Thy greatness through me, and because of their guilt, Thou hast hidden the fountain of understanding and the counsel of truth.

They consider but the mischief of their heart; with devilish schemings they unsheathe a perfidious tongue from which ever springs the poison of dragons.

And like (serpents) which creep in the dust, so do they let fly their poisonous darts, viper's venom against which there is no charm; and this has brought incurable pain, a malignant scourge within the body of Thy servant, causing his spirit to faint and draining his strength so that he maintains no firm stand.

They have overtaken me in a narrow pass without escape and there is no rest for me in my trial.

They sound my censure upon a harp and their murmuring and storming upon a zither.

Anguish seizes me like the pangs of a woman in travail, and my heart is troubled within me.

I am clothed in blackness and my tongue cleaves to the roof of my mouth; for I fear the mischief of their heart and their inclination towards evil appears as bitterness before me.

The light of my face is dimmed to darkness and my radiance is turned to decay.

For Thou, O God, didst widen my heart, but they straiten it with affliction and hedge me about with darkness.

I eat the bread of wailing and drink unceasing tears; truly, my eyes are dimmed by grief, and my soul by daily bitterness.

Groaning and sorrow encompass me and ignominy covers my face.

My bread is turned into an adversary and my drink into an accuser; it has entered into my bones causing my spirit to stagger and my strength to fail.

According to the mysteries of sin, they change the works of God by their transgression.

Truly, I am bound with untearable ropes and with unbreakable chains.

A thick wall fences me in, iron bars and gates of bronze; my prison is counted with the Abyss as being without any escape

The torrents of Belial have encompassed my soul leaving me without deliverance

Thou hast unstopped my ears to the correction of those who reprove with justice Thou hast saved me from the congregation of vanity and from the assembly of violence; Thou hast brought me into the Council of ... ... and hast purified me of sin.

And I know there is hope for those who turn from transgression and for those who abandon sin and to walk without wickedness in the way of Thy heart.

I am consoled for the roaring of the peoples, and for the tumult of kingdoms when they assemble; for in a little while, I know, Thou wilt raise up survivors among Thy people and a remnant within Thine inheritance.

Thou wilt purify and cleanse them of their sin for all their deeds are in Thy truth.

Thou wilt judge them in Thy great loving-kindness and in the multitude of Thy mercies and in the abundance of Thy pardon, teaching them according to Thy word; and Thou wilt establish them in Thy Council according to the uprightness of Thy truth.

Thou wilt do these things for Thy glory and for Thine own sake, to magnify the Law and the truth and to enlighten the members of Thy Council in the midst of the sons of men, that they may recount Thy marvels for everlasting generations and meditate unceasingly upon Thy mighty deeds.

All the nations shall acknowledge Thy truth, and all the people Thy glory.

For Thou wilt bring Thy glorious salvation to all the men of Thy Council, to those who share a common lot with the Angels of the Face.

And among them shall be no mediator to invoke Thee, and no messenger to make reply; for ...

They shall reply according to Thy glorious word and shall be Thy princes in the company of the Angels.

They shall send out a bud for ever like a flower of the fields, and shall cause a shoot to grow into the boughs of an everlasting Plant.

It shall cover the whole earth with its shadow and its crown (shall reach) to the clouds;

its roots (shall go down) to the Abyss and all the rivers of Eden shall water its branches.

A source of light shall become an eternal ever-flowing fountain, and in its bright flames all the sons of iniquity shall be consumed; it shall be a fire to devour all sinful men in utter destruction.

They who bore the yoke of my testimony have been led astray by teachers of lies, and have rebelled against the service of righteousness.

Whereas Thou, O my God, didst command them to mend their ways by walking in the way of holiness, where no man goes who is uncircumcised or unclean or violent, they have staggered aside from the way of Thy heart and languish in great wretchedness.

A counsel of Belial is in their heart and in accordance with their wicked design they wallow in sin.

I am as a sailor in a ship amid furious seas; their waves and all their billows roar against me.

There is no calm in the whirlwind that I may restore my soul, no path that I may straighten my way on the face of the waters.

The deeps resound to my groaning and my soul has journeyed to the gates of death.

But I shall be as one who enters a fortified city, as one who seeks refuge behind a high wall until deliverance comes; I will lean on Thy truth, O my God.

For Thou wilt set the foundation on rock and the framework by the measuring-cord of justice; and the tried stones Thou wilt lay by the plumb-line of truth, to build a mighty wall which shall not sway; and no man entering there shall stagger.

For no enemy shall ever invade it since its doors shall be doors of protection through which no man shall pass; and its bars shall be firm and no man shall break them.

No rabble shall enter in with their weapons of war until all the arrows of the war of wickedness have come to an end.

And then at the time of Judgement the Sword of God shall hasten, and all the sons of His truth shall awake to overthrow wickedness; all the sons of iniquity shall be no more.

The Hero shall bend his bow; the fortress shall open on to endless space and the everlasting gates shall send out weapons of war.

They shall be mighty from end to end of the earth and there shall be no escape for the guilty of heart in their battle; they shall be utterly trampled down without any remnant.

There shall be no hope in the greatness of their might, no refuge for the mighty warriors; for the battle shall be to the Most High God

Hoist a banner, O you who lie in the dust!

O bodies gnawed by worms, raise up an ensign for the destruction of wickedness!

The sinful shall be destroyed in the battles against the ungodly.

The scourging flood when it advances shall not invade the stronghold

As for me, I am dumb ... ... my arm is torn from its shoulder and my foot has sunk into the mire.

My eyes are closed by the spectacle of evil, and my ears by the crying of blood.

My heart is dismayed by the mischievous design, for Belial is manifest in their (evil) inclination.

All the foundations of my edifice totter and my bones are pulled out of joint; my bowels heave like a ship in a violent tempest and my heart is utterly distressed.

A whirlwind engulfs me because of the mischief of their sin.

Hymn 15

I thank Thee, O Lord, for Thou hast upheld me by Thy strength.

Thou hast shed Thy Holy Spirit upon me that I may not stumble.

Thou hast strengthened me before the battles of wickedness, and during all their disasters Thou hast not permitted that fear should cause me to desert Thy Covenant.

Thou hast made me like a strong tower, a high wall, and hast established my edifice upon rock; eternal foundations serve for my ground, and all my ramparts are a tried wall which shall not sway.

Thou hast placed me, O my God, among the branches of the Council of Holiness; Thou hast established my mouth in Thy Covenant, and my tongue is like that of Thy disciples; whereas the spirit of disaster is without a mouth and all the sons of iniquity without a reply; for the lying lips shall be dumb.

For Thou wilt condemn in Judgement all those who assail me, distinguishing through me between the just and the wicked.

For Thou knowest the whole intent of a creature, Thou discernest every reply, and Thou hast established my heart on Thy teaching and truth, directing my steps into the paths of righteousness that I may walk before Thee in the land of the living, into paths of glory and infinite peace which shall never end.

For Thou knowest the inclination of Thy servant, that I have not relied upon the works of my hands to raise up my heart, nor have I sought refuge in my own strength.

I have no fleshly refuge, and Thy servant has no righteous deeds to deliver him from the Pit of no forgiveness.

But I lean on the abundance of Thy mercies and hope for the greatness of Thy grace, that Thou wilt bring salvation to flower and the branch to growth, providing refuge in Thy strength and raising up my heart.

For in Thy righteousness Thou hast appointed me for Thy Covenant, and I have clung to Thy truth and gone forward in Thy ways.

Thou hast made me a father to the sons of grace, and as a foster-father to men of marvel; they have opened their mouths like little babes ... like a child playing in the lap of its nurse.

Thou hast lifted my horn above those who insult me, and those who attack me sway like the boughs of a tree; my enemies are like chaff before the wind, and my dominion is over the sons of iniquity, For Thou hast succoured my soul, O my God, and hast lifted my horn on high.

And I shall shine in a seven-fold light in the Council appointed by Thee for Thy glory; for Thou art an everlasting heavenly light to me and wilt establish my feet upon level ground for ever.

Hymn 16

I thank Thee, O Lord, for Thou hast enlightened me through Thy truth.

In Thy marvellous mysteries, and in Thy loving-kindness to a man of vanity, and in the greatness of Thy mercy to a perverse heart Thou hast granted me knowledge.

Who is like Thee among the gods, O Lord, and who is according to Thy truth?

Who, when he is judged, shall be righteous before Thee?

For no spirit can reply to Thy rebuke nor can any withstand Thy wrath.

Yet Thou bringest all the sons of Thy truth in forgiveness before Thee, to cleanse them of their faults through Thy great

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goodness, and to establish them before Thee through the multitude of Thy mercies for ever and ever.

For Thou art an eternal God; all Thy ways are determined for ever and ever and there is none other beside Thee.

And what is a man of Naught and Vanity that he should understand Thy marvellous mighty deeds?

Hymn 17

I thank Thee, O God, for Thou hast not cast my lot in the congregation of Vanity, nor hast Thou placed my decree in the council of the cunning.

Thou hast called me to Thy grace and to Thy forgiveness Thou hast brought me, and, by the multitude of Thy mercies, to all judgements of righteousness.

As for me, I am an unclean man, and from the womb of her who conceived me

I am an unclean man, and from the womb of her who has conceived me

I am in sinful guilt, and from the breast of my mother in injustice, and in the bosom of my nurse in great impurity.

And from my youth (I am) in blood, and until my old age in the iniquity of the flesh.

But Thou, O my God, Thou hast established my feet in the way of Thy heart, and hast opened my ears to Thy wonderful tidings, and my heart to understand Thy truth for I have closed my ears to Thy teaching until... ... without knowledge hast Thou cut out of me, and glory ... ... no more for me a stumbling-block of iniquity.

For Thou dost reveal Thy salvation, and Thy righteousness is made firm for ever.

For man is not the master of his way, for Thou hast done all this for Thy glory.

Hymn 18

I thank Thee, O Lord, for Thou hast placed me beside a fountain of streams in an arid land, and close to a spring of waters in a dry land, and beside a watered garden in a wilderness.

For Thou didst set a plantation of cypress, pine, and cedar for Thy glory, trees of life beside a mysterious fountain hidden among the trees by the water, and they put out a shoot of the everlasting Plant.

But before they did so, they took root and sent out their roots to the watercourse that its stem might be open to the living waters and be one with the everlasting spring.

And all the beasts of the forest fed on its leafy boughs; its stem was trodden by all who passed on the way and its branches by all the birds.

And all the trees by the water rose above it for they grew in their plantation; but they sent out no root to the watercourse.

And the bud of the shoot of holiness of the Plant of truth was hidden and was not esteemed; and being unperceived, its mystery was sealed.

Thou didst hedge in its fruit, O God, with the mystery of mighty Heroes and of spirits of holiness and of the whirling flame of fire.

No man shall approach the well-spring of life or drink the waters of holiness with the everlasting trees, or bear fruit with the Plant of heaven, who seeing has not discerned, and considering has not believed in the fountain of life, who has turned his hand against the everlasting bud.

And I was despised by tumultuous rivers for they cast up their slime upon me.

But Thou, O my God, hast put into my mouth as it were rain for all those who thirst and a fount of living waters which shall not fail.

When they are opened they shall not run dry; they shall be a torrent overflowing its banks and like the bottomless seas.

They shall suddenly gush forth which were hidden in secret, and shall be like the waters of the Flood to every tree, both the green and the barren; to every beast and bird they shall be an abyss.

The trees shall sink like lead in the mighty waters, fire shall burn among them and they shall be dried up; but the fruitful Plant by the everlasting spring shall be an Eden of glory bearing fruits of life.

By my hand Thou hast opened for them a well-spring and ditches, that all their channels may be laid out according to a certain measuring-cord, and the planting of their trees according to the plumb-line of the sun, that their boughs may become a beautiful Branch of glory.

When I lift my hand to dig its ditches its roots shall run deep into hardest rock and its stem ... in the earth; in the season of heat it shall keep its strength.

But if I take away my hand it shall be like a thistle in the wilderness; its stem shall be like nettles in a salty land, and thistles and thorns shall grow from its ditches, and brambles and briars.

Its border trees shall be like the wild grapevine whose foliage withers before the heat, and its stem shall not be open to the spring.

Behold, I am carried away with the sick;

I am acquainted with scourges.

I am forsaken in my sorrow ... ... and without any strength.

For my sore breaks out in bitter pains and in incurable sickness impossible to stay; my heart laments within me as in those who go down to Hell.

My spirit is imprisoned with the dead for my life has reached the Pit; my soul languishes within me day and night without rest.

My wound breaks out like burning fire shut up in my bones, whose flames devour me for days on end, diminishing my strength for times on end and destroying my flesh for seasons on end.

The pains fly out towards me and my soul within me languishes even to death.

My strength has gone from my body and my heart runs out like water; my flesh is dissolved like wax and the strength of my loins is turned to fear.

My arm is torn from its socket and I can lift my hand no more;

My foot is held by fetters and my knees slide like water; I can no longer walk.

I cannot step forward lightly, for my legs and arms are bound by shackles which cause me to stumble.

The tongue has gone back which Thou didst make marvellously mighty within my mouth; it can no longer give voice.

I have no word for my disciples to revive the spirit of those who stumble and to speak words of support to the weary.

My circumcised lips are dumb.

For the throes of death encompass me and Hell is upon my bed; my couch utters a lamentation and my pallet the sound of a complaint.

My eyes are like fire in the furnace and my tears like rivers of water; my eyes grow dim with waiting, for my salvation is far from me and my life is apart from me.

But behold, from desolation to ruin, and from the pain to the sore, and from the travail to the throes, my soul meditates on Thy marvellous works.

In Thy mercies Thou hast not cast me aside; season by season, my soul shall delight in the abundance of mercy.

I will reply to him who slanders me and I will rebuke my oppressor; I will declare his sentence unjust and declare Thy judgement righteous.

For I know by Thy truth, and I choose Thy judgement upon me:

I delight in my scourges for I hope for Thy loving-kindness.

Thou hast put a supplication in the mouth of Thy servant and Thou hast not threatened my life nor rejected my peace.

Thou hast not failed my expectation, but hast upheld my spirit in face of the scourge.

For it is Thou who hast founded my spirit and Thou knowest my intent; in my distress Thou hast comforted me.

I delight in forgiveness, and am consoled for the former transgression; for I know there is hope in Thy grace and expectation in Thy great power.

For no man can be just in Thy judgement or righteous in Thy trial.

Though one man be more just than another, one person more wise than another, one mortal more glorious than another creature of clay, yet is there no power to compare with Thy might.

There is no bound to Thy glory, and to Thy wisdom, no measure; to Thy truth there is no ... and all who forsake it ... and my oppressor shall not prevail against me.

I will be a stumbling-block to those who swallow me up,

and a snare to all those who battle against me;

I will be for my enemies a cause of shame, and a cause of disgrace to those who murmur against me.

For Thou, O my God ...

Thou wilt plead my cause; for it is according to the mystery of Thy wisdom that Thou hast rebuked me.

Thou wilt conceal the truth until its time, and righteousness until its appointed moment.

Thy rebuke shall become my joy and gladness, and my scourges shall turn to eternal healing and everlasting peace.

The scorn of my enemies shall become a crown of glory, and my stumbling shall change to everlasting might.

For in Thy ... ... and my light shall shine forth in Thy glory.

For as a light from out of the darkness, so wilt Thou enlighten me.

Thou wilt bring healing to my wound, and marvellous might in place of my stumbling, and everlasting space to my straitened soul.

For Thou art my refuge, my high mountain, my stout rock and my fortress; in Thee will I shelter from all the designs of ungodliness, for Thou wilt succour me with eternal deliverance.

For Thou hast known me from the time of my father, and hast chosen me from the womb.

From the belly of my mother Thou hast dealt kindly with me, and from the breast of her who conceived me have Thy mercies been with me.

Thy grace was with me in the lap of her who reared me, and from my youth Thou hast illumined me with the wisdom of Thy judgement.

Thou hast upheld me with certain truth;

Thou hast delighted me with Thy Holy Spirit and hast opened my heart till this day.

Thy just rebuke accompanies my faults and Thy safeguarding peace delivers my soul.

The abundance of Thy forgiveness is with my steps and infinite mercy accompanies Thy judgement of me.

Until I am old Thou wilt care for me; for my father knew me not and my mother abandoned me to Thee.

For Thou art a father to all the sons of Thy truth, and as a woman who tenderly loves her babe, so dost Thou rejoice in them; and as a foster-father bearing a child in his lap so carest Thou for all Thy creatures.

Hymn 19

I thank Thee, O Lord ...

... and nothing exists except by Thy will; none can consider Thy deep secrets or contemplate Thy mysteries.

What then is man that is earth, that is shaped from clay and returns to the dust, that Thou shouldst give him to understand such marvels and make known to him the counsel of Thy truth?

Clay and dust that I am, what can I devise unless Thou wish it, and what contrive unless Thou desire it?

What strength shall I have unless Thou keep me upright, and how shall I understand unless by (the spirit) which Thou hast shaped for me?

What can I say unless Thou open my mouth and how can I answer unless Thou enlighten me?

Behold, Thou art Prince of gods and King of majesties, Lord of all spirits, and Ruler of all creatures;

nothing is done without Thee, and nothing is known without Thy will.

Beside Thee there is nothing, and nothing can compare with Thee in strength; in the presence of Thy glory there is nothing, and Thy might is without price.

Who among Thy great and marvellous creatures can stand in the presence of Thy glory?

How then can he who returns to his dust?

For Thy glory's sake alone hast Thou made all these things.

Hymn 20

Blessed art Thou, O Lord,

God of mercy and abundant grace, for Thou hast made known Thy wisdom to me that I should recount Thy marvellous deeds, keeping silence neither by day nor by night!

For I have trusted in Thy grace.

In Thy great goodness, and in the multitude of Thy mercies

For I have leaned on Thy truth

And unless Thou rebuke, there is no stumbling; unless Thou foreknow it, there is no scourge; nothing is done without Thy will.

I will cling to Thy ways according to my knowledge of Thy truth; contemplating Thy glory I will recount Thy wonderful works, and understanding Thy goodness I will lean on the multitude of Thy mercies and hope for Thy forgiveness.

For Thou Thyself hast shaped my spirit and established me according to Thy will; and Thou hast not placed my support in gain, nor does my heart delight in riches; Thou hast given me no fleshly refuge.

The might of warriors rests on abundant delights, and on plenty of corn and wine and oil; they pride themselves in possessions and wealth.

But the righteous is like a green tree beside streams of water, bringing forth leaves and multiplying its branches; for Thou hast chosen them from among the children of men that they may all grow fat from the land.

Thou wilt give to the children of Thy truth unending joy and everlasting gladness, and according to the measure of their knowledge, so shall they be honoured one more than another.

And likewise for the son of man ...

... Thou wilt increase his portion in the knowledge of Thy truth, and according to the measure of his knowledge, so shall he be honoured ...

For the soul of Thy servant has loathed riches and gain, and he has not desired exquisite delights.

My heart rejoices in Thy Covenant and Thy truth delights my soul.

I shall flower like the lily and my heart shall be open to the everlasting fountain; my support shall be in the might from on high.

But... ... and withers like a flower before the heat.

My heart is stricken with terror, and my loins with trembling; my groaning goes down to the Abyss, and is shut up in the chambers of Hell.

I am greatly afraid when I hear of Thy judgement of the mighty Heroes, and of Thy trial of the host of Thy Holy Ones

Hymn 21

I thank Thee, my God,

for Thou hast dealt wondrously to dust, and mightily towards a creature of clay!

I thank Thee, I thank Thee!

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What am I, that Thou shouldst teach me the counsel of Thy truth, and give me understanding of Thy marvellous works; that Thou shouldst lay hymns of thanksgiving within my mouth and praise upon my tongue, and that of my circumcised lips Thou shouldst make a seat of rejoicing?

I will sing Thy mercies, and on Thy might I will meditate all day long.

I will bless Thy Name evermore.

I will declare Thy glory in the midst of the sons of men and my soul shall delight in Thy great goodness.

I know that Thy word is truth, and that righteousness is in Thy hand; that all knowledge is in Thy purpose, and that all power is in Thy might, and that every glory is Thine.

In Thy wrath are all chastisements, but in Thy goodness is much forgiveness and Thy mercy is towards the sons of Thy goodwill.

For Thou hast made known to them the counsel of Thy truth, and hast taught them Thy marvellous mysteries.

For the sake of Thy glory Thou hast purified man of sin that he may be made holy for Thee, with no abominable uncleanness and no guilty wickedness; that he may be one with the children of Thy truth and partake of the lot of Thy Holy Ones; that bodies gnawed by worms may be raised from the dust to the counsel of Thy truth, and that the perverse spirit may be lifted to the understanding which comes from Thee; that he may stand before Thee with the everlasting host and with Thy spirits of holiness, to be renewed together with all the living and to rejoice together with them that know.

Hymn 22

I thank Thee, my God!

I praise Thee, my Rock!

For Thou hast made known to me the counsel of Thy truth and hast taught me Thy marvellous mysteries; and hast revealed Thy wonders to me.

I have beheld Thy marvels towards the children of grace, and I know that righteousness is Thine, that in Thy mercies there is hope for me, but without Thy grace destruction without end.

But a fountain of bitter mourning opens for me, and my tears fall down.

Distress is not hidden from my eyes when I think of the evil inclinations of man, of his return to dust, I understand and observe sin and the sorrow of guilt.

They enter my heart and reach into my bones to... ... and to meditate in sorrowful meditation.

I will groan with the zither of lamentation in all grief-stricken mourning and bitter complaint until iniquity and wickedness are consumed and the disease-bringing scourge is no more.

Then will I play on the zither of deliverance and the harp of joy, on the tabors of prayer and the pipe of praise without end.

Who among all Thy creatures is able to recount Thy wonders?

May Thy Name be praised by the mouth of all men!

May they bless Thee for ever in accordance with their understanding, and proclaim Thee with the voice of praise in the company of the Sons of Heaven!

There shall be neither groaning nor complaint and wickedness shall be destroyed for ever; Thy truth shall be revealed in eternal glory and everlasting peace.

Blessed art Thou, O my Lord, who hast given to Thy servant the knowledge of wisdom that he may comprehend Thy wonders, and recount Thy ... ... in Thy abundant grace!

Blessed art Thou, O God of mercy and compassion, for the might of Thy power and the greatness of Thy truth, and for the multitude of Thy favours in all Thy works!

Rejoice the soul of Thy servant with Thy truth and cleanse me by Thy righteousness.

Even as I have hoped in Thy goodness, and waited for Thy grace, so hast Thou freed me from my calamities in accordance with Thy forgiveness; and in my distress Thou hast comforted me for I have leaned on Thy mercy.

Blessed art Thou, O Lord, for it is Thou who hast done these things!

Thou hast set hymns of praise within the mouth of Thy servant, and hast established for me a response of the tongue.

Hymn 23

... with the everlasting spirits securely in a dwelling {of peace, in silence and quietness in the tents of security and salvation.

I will praise Thy Name among them that fear Thee.

Bowing down in prayer I will beg Thy favours from season to season always: when light emerges from its dwelling-place, and when the day reaches its appointed end in accordance with the laws of the Great Light of heaven; when evening falls and light departs at the beginning of the dominion of darkness, at the hour appointed for night, and at its end when morning returns and the shadows retire to their dwelling-place before the approach of light; always; at the genesis of every period and at the beginning of every age and at the end of every season, according to the statute and signs appointed to every dominion by the certain law from the mouth of God, by the precept which is and shall be for ever and ever without end.

Without it nothing is nor shall be, for the God of knowledge established it and there is no other beside Him.

I, the Master, know Thee O my God, by the spirit which Thou hast given to me, and by Thy Holy Spirit I have faithfully hearkened to Thy marvellous counsel. In the mystery of Thy wisdom Thou hast opened knowledge to me, and in Thy mercies

Thou hast unlocked for me the fountain of Thy might.

Before Thee no man is just ... ... that he may understand all Thy mysteries or give answer to Thy rebuke.

But the children of Thy grace shall delight in Thy correction and watch for Thy goodness, for in Thy mercies Thou wilt show Thyself to them and they shall know Thee; at the time of Thy glory they shall rejoice.

Thou hast caused them to draw near in accordance with their knowledge, and hast admitted them in accordance with their understanding, and in their divisions they shall serve Thee throughout their dominion without ever turning aside from Thee or transgressing Thy word.

Behold, I was taken from dust and fashioned out of clay as a source of uncleanness, and a shameful nakedness, a heap of dust, and a kneading with water, and a house of darkness, a creature of clay returning to dust, returning at the appointed time to dwell in the dust whence it was taken.

How then shall dust reply to its Maker, and how understand His works?

How shall it stand before Him who reproves it?

and the Spring of Eternity, the Well of Glory and the Fountain of Knowledge.

Not even the wonderful Heroes can declare all Thy glory or stand in face of Thy wrath, and there is none among them that can answer Thy rebuke; for Thou art just and none can oppose Thee.

How then can (man) who returns to his dust?

I hold my peace; what more shall I say than this?

I have spoken in accordance with my knowledge, out of the righteousness given to a creature of clay.

And how shall I speak unless Thou open my mouth; how understand unless Thou teach me?

How shall I seek Thee unless Thou uncover my heart, and how follow the way that is straight unless Thou guide me?

How shall my foot stay on the path unless Thou give it strength; and how shall I rise...

Hymn 24

How shall I look, unless Thou open my eyes?

Or hear, unless Thou unstop my ears?

My heart is astounded, for to the uncircumcised ear a word has been disclosed, and a heart of stone has understood the right precepts.

I know it is for Thyself that Thou hast done these things, O God; for what is flesh that Thou shouldst act marvellously towards it?

It is Thy purpose to do mightily and to establish all things for Thy glory.

Thou hast created the host of knowledge to declare Thy mighty deeds to flesh, and the right precepts to him that is born of woman.

Thou hast caused the perverse heart to enter into a Covenant with Thee, and hast uncovered the heart of dust that it may be preserved from evil and saved from the snares of Judgement in accordance with Thy mercies.

And I, a creature of clay kneaded with water, a heap of dust and a heart of stone, for what am I reckoned to be worthy of this?

For into an ear of dust Thou hast put a new word and hast engraved on a heart of stone things everlasting.

Thou hast caused the straying spirit to return that it may enter into a Covenant with Thee, and stand before Thee for ever in the everlasting abode, illumined with perfect Light for ever, with no more darkness, for unending seasons of joy and unnumbered ages of peace.

And as for me, a creature of dust, ...

Fragment 3

Pile of dust, how shall I stand in front of the tempest?

... and He will guard me according to the mysteries of His good pleasure. For He knows ...

And they will hide snares of wickedness, net after net.

... every creature of deceit will come to an end ... ... wickedness will turn to nothing and the inclination towards iniquity will vanish and deeds of deceit will perish.

As for me, creature of clay ... ... how will it gain strength for Thee?

Thou art the God of knowledge

Thou hast made them according to Thy design and without Thee nothing exists.

As for me, creature of dust, I know through the spirit which Thou hast put into me that ... ... injustice and deceit will be awe-struck and insolence will cease.

... works of uncleanness will (turn into) sickness and judgements (leading to) plague and destruction ... ... holiness that are in heaven ... and He is wonder.

But they cannot understand Thy marvels and they will not be able to know all Thy mysteries.

How then can he who returns to his dust?

As for me, I am a man of sin who has wallowed in the ways of uncleanness and been defiled by the guilt of wickedness.

As for me, in the times of wrath I have fallen.

How can I rise in view of my wound and keep myself...

For there is hope for man...

As for me, creature of clay, I have leaned on Thy loving-kindness and on the multitude of Thy mysteries, O my God.

And I know that truthful is Thy mouth, and that Thy words are not revoked.

As for me, I will rely in my time on Thy Covenant and will raise myself to the post which Thou hast established for me ...

Fragment 4

... As for me, I was frightened by Thy judgements

Who is found clean in Thy judgement?

And what is man before Thee?

Thou bringest him to judgement and he returns to his dust.

... my God.

Thou hast opened my heart for Thy understanding and hast unstopped my ears ... to lean on Thy goodness.

My heart murmurs ... and my heart melts like wax because of iniquity and sin. ...

Blessed art Thou, God of knowledge, who hast established...

And Thou hast met Thy servant with this for Thy sake.

For I know Thy loving-kindness and in Thy mercies I hope in all my existence, and I bless Thy name always.

Do not forsake me in the times of distress ... they are confirmed in the ears of Thy servant for ever ... to announce Thy marvellous tidings

Withdraw not Thy hand ... ... that he may be confirmed in Thy Covenant and stand before Thee for ever.

For Thou, O my God, didst open a fountain in the mouth of Thy Servant.

Thou didst engrave by the measuring-cord Thy mysteries upon his tongue, that out of his understanding he might preach to a creature, and interpret these things to dust like myself.

Thou didst open his fountain that he might rebuke the creature of clay for his way, and him who is born of woman for the guilt of his deeds; that he might open the fount of Thy truth to a creature whom Thou upholdest by Thy might; that he might be, according to Thy truth, a messenger in the season of Thy goodness; that to the humble he might bring glad tidings of Thy great mercy, proclaiming salvation from out of the fountain of holiness to the contrite of spirit, and everlasting joy to those who mourn.

Fragment 2

... to praise Thee and to recount all Thy glory.

As for me, what am I?

For I was taken from dust.

But Thou, O my God, Thou hast done all these for Thy glory.

According to the greatness of Thy loving-kindness put the guard of Thy righteousness in the hand of Thy servant for ever until deliverance.

May the interpreters of knowledge be with all my steps and those who decide truth in all my ways.

For what is dust among all ... Ashes are in their hand: nothing at all.

and Thou hast shed Thy Holy Spirit over dust to bring him into the company of the 'gods' and unite them with the Sons of Heaven.

Thou hast shed Thy Holy Spirit to atone for guilt for they are established in Thy truth.

And Thou, my God, Thou hast acted wondrously for Thy glory ...

I...

For I am made to stand with the 'gods', and I will not... glory or majesty for me with fine gold; gold and purified gold, I will not... in me; ... will not be reckoned for me.

Chant, O beloved, sing to the King of glory.

Rejoice, in the congregation of God.

Exult in the tents of salvation.

Give thanks in the dwelling of holiness, extol together with the eternal host.

Magnify our God and glorify our King.

Sanctify His name with powerful lips and a victorious tongue.

Lift up alone your voice in all ages, Let a joyous meditation be heard.

Burst out in eternal rejoicings and prostrate incessantly in the common assembly.

Bless the wonderful Maker of exalted things, Him who proclaims the power of His hand, sealing mysteries and revealing secrets, lifting up those who stumble and fall, restoring the progress of those who hope for knowledge and

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humbling the meetings of the everlastingly haughty; sealing the mysteries of splendour and establishing the wonlders of glory.

O Judge, whose anger is destructive, ... in righteous loving-kindness and great mercy, be gracious to ... ... mercy to those who bear fruits of His great goodness, and the source of... ... wickedness ends ... oppression ceases, the tyrant ceases ... treachery stops and there are no senseless perversities.

Light shines and joy bursts forth; mourning vanishes and sorrow flees.

Peace is revealed, dread ceases.

A spring has opened up for an eternal blessing and for healing in all the everlasting ages.

Iniquity has stopped, plague has ceased with no more illness.

... has been gathered in and... will be no more.

Announce and say: Great is God, Maker of marvels.

For He humbles the proud spirit with no remnant and from the dust He lifts up the poor to eternal heights.

And He lifts him up to the clouds to share a common assembly with the 'gods'.

And ... anger for everlasting destruction.

He raises freely the totterers on earth, and His might is with their steps, and everlasting joy is in their dwellings, eternal glory without end for ever.

Let them say: Blessed be God, Author of majestic wonders, who reveals might splendidly, and justifies with knowledge all His creatures, so that goodness is on their faces.

They know the multitude of His loving kindness and the abundance of His mercies to all the children of His truth.

We know Thee, O God of righteousness, and we comprehend Thy ... , O King of glory.

For we have seen Thy zeal through Thy mighty power and have observed Thy deeds in the abundance of Thy mercies and wondrous forgiveness.

What is flesh compared to these?

What do dust and ashes amount to that they recite these things from age to age, and hold themselves upright before Thee and enter into communion with the Sons of Heaven.

No interpreter can answer according to Thy mouth and ... to Thee.

For Thou hast established us according to Thy pleasure in the territory of iniquity ... ... we have spoken to Thee and not to a mediator ...

And Thou hast lent an ear to the issue of our lips.

Announce and say: Blessed be God, Creator of the heavens by His power, Designer of all their devices by His strength, of the earth by His might ...

Hymnic Fragment (4Q433a)

(The verso side of this papyrus, dated to the first half of the first century BC, contains the beginning of the Community Rule (4Q255). The recto carries a poem similar to the Qumran Hymns or Hodayot and elaborates the familiar image of the Community as a plant in God's garden.)

Fragment 2

... for the everlasting seasons. For the Master. A similitude about the glory of ...

A plant of delight, a plant in His garden and in his vineyard.

Its twigs will bear fruit and its branches will increase ... ... and its branches (reaching) above the elevated support of heaven; and its splendour offers itself for everlasting generations, producing fruit for all who are to taste it.

There will be no wild grapes among its fruits.

It will have foliage, leaves and blossoms. None of its roots will be pulled up from its bed of balsam for...

Apocryphal Psalms No. 1 (IIQPsa = IIQ5,4Q88)

(The incomplete Psalms scroll from Cave 11 (11QPsa) contains seven non-canonical poems interspersed among the canonical Psalms. One of these figures as Ps. 151 in the Greek Psalter, and four further compositions have been preserved in Syriac translation. Three previously unknown poems and an extract from the Hebrew version of Sirach 51 also feature in the Scroll. The psalms themselves probably belong to the second century BC at the latest, but they may even date to the third century BC.)

4Q88

The masses
will worship God for He hast
came to judge everything
and to get rid the earth of evil
so that sinners shall find no repose at all
the heavens shall give their due
and there will be no wrong doings here
The earth will produce crops in its season
and they shall not fail
The fruit trees shall ... of their vineyards
ans their springs shall not be dry

The poor shall eat, for those people who follow the LORD will not be hungry.

Psalm 151A

Hallelujah. Of David, son of Jesse.

1 I was smaller than my brothers, and younger than the sons of my father. He made me shepherd of his flock, and a ruler over his kids.

2 My hands have made a pipe and my fingers a lyre. I have rendered glory to the Lord; I have said so in my soul.

3 The mountains do not testify to him, and the hills do not tell (of him). The trees praise my words and the flocks my deeds.

4 For who can tell and speak of and recount the works of the Lord? God has seen all, he has heard all, and he listens to all.

5 He sent his prophet to anoint me, Samuel to magnify me. My brothers went out to meet him, beautiful of figure, beautiful of appearance.

6. They were tall of stature with beautiful hair, yet the Lord did not choose them.

7 He sent and took me from behind the flock, and anointed me with holy oil, as a prince of his people, and a ruler among the sons of his Covenant.

Psalm 151B

The first display of David's power after God's prophet had anointed him.

1. Then I saw the Philistine taunting from the enemy lines ...

Syriac Psalm 2 = Psalm 154

Glorify God with a great voice. Proclaim his majesty in the congregation of the many.

2 Glorify his name amid the multitude of the upright and recount his greatness with the faithful.

3 Join your souls to the good and to the perfect to glorify the Most High.

4 Assemble together to make known his salvation. And be not slow in making known his strength, and his majesty to all the simple.

5 For wisdom is given to make known the glory of the Lord and to recount the greatness of his deeds. She is made known to man,

7 to declare his strength to the simple, and to give insight into his greatness to those without understanding,

8 they who are far from her gates, who have strayed from her entrances.

9 For the Most High is the Lord of Jacob, and his majesty is over all his works.

10 And a man who glorifies the Most High is accepted by him as one bringing an offering,

11 as one offering he-goats and calves, as one causing the altar to grow fat on a multitude of burnt-offerings, as an agreeable incense by the hand of the righteous.

12 From the doors of the righteous her voice is heard, and from the congregation of the devout her song.

13 When they eat their fill, she is mentioned, and when they drink in community together.

14 Their meditation is on the Law of the Most High, and their words are for making known his strength.

15 How far from the wicked is her word, and her knowledge from the insolent.

16 Behold the eyes of the Lord have compassion on the good,

17 and his mercy is great over those who glorify him; from an evil time he saves their souls.

18 Bless the Lord who redeems the humble from the hand of strangers and delivers the perfect from the hand of the wicked;

19 who lifts up a horn out of Jacob, and a judge out of Israel.

20 He desires his tabernacle in Zion, and chooses Jerusalem for ever.

Syriac Psalm 3 = Psalm 155

1 O Lord, I have called to Thee, hear me.

2 I have spread out my hands towards Thy holy dwelling-place.

3 Turn Thine ear and grant me my request,

4 and do not withhold my plea from me.

5 Construct my soul and do not cast it away,

6 and do not leave it alone before the wicked.

7 May the true judge turn away from me the rewards of evil.

8 Lord, do not judge me according to my sins, for no living man is righteous before Thee.

9 Lord, cause me to understand Thy Law and teach me Thy judgements.

10 And the multitude shall hear of Thy deeds, and peoples shall honour Thy glory.

11 Remember me and forget me not, and bring me not to unbearable hardships.

12 Put away from me the sin of my youth, and may my sins not be remembered against me.

13 Lord, cleanse me from the evil plague, and let it not return to me.

14 Dry up its roots within me, and permit not its leaves to flourish in me.

15 Lord, Thou art glory; therefore my plea is fulfilled before Thee.

16 To whom shall I cry so that he will grant it to me? What more can the power of the sons of men do?

17 From before Thee, O Lord, comes my trust. I cried to the Lord and he answered me; he healed the brokenness of my heart.

18 I was sleepy and I slept; I dreamt and also I awoke.

19 Lord, Thou didst support me when my heart was stricken, and I called upon the Lord my saviour.

20 Now I will see their shame; I have relied on Thee, and I will not be ashamed. Render glory for ever and ever.

21 Redeem Israel, Thy pious one, O Lord, and the house of Jacob, Thine elect.

Prayer for Deliverance

For no worm thanks Thee, nor a maggot recounts Thy lovingkindness.

Only the living thank Thee, all they whose feet totter, thank Thee, when Thou makest known to them Thy loving-kindness, and causest them to understand Thy righteousness.

For the soul of all the living is in Thy hand; Thou hast given breath to all flesh.

O Lord, do towards us according to Thy goodness, according to the greatness of Thy mercies, and according to the greatness of Thy righteous deeds.

The Lord listens to the voice of all who love his name and does not permit his loving-kindness to depart from them.

Blessed be the Lord, doer of righteous deeds, who crowns his pious ones with loving-kindness and mercies.

My soul shouts to praise Thy name, to praise with jubilation Thy mercies, to announce Thy faithfulness; there is no limit to Thy praises.

I belonged to death because of my sins, and my iniquities had sold me to Sheol.

But Thou didst save me, O Lord, according to the greatness of Thy mercies, according to the greatness of Thy righteous deeds.

I, too, have loved Thy name, and have taken refuge in Thy shadow.

When I remember Thy power, my heart is strengthened and I rely on Thy mercies.

Forgive my sins, O Lord, and purify me of my iniquity.

Grant me a spirit of faithfulness and knowledge; let me not be dishonoured in ruin.

Let not Belial dominate me, nor an unclean spirit; let pain and the evil inclination not possess my bones.

For Thou, O Lord, art my praise, and I hope in Thee every day. My brethren rejoice with me and the house of my father is astounded by Thy graciousness.

... for ever I will rejoice in Thee.

Apostrophe to Zion

I will remember you, O Zion, for a blessing; with all my might I love you; your memory is to be blessed for ever.

Your hope is great, O Zion; Peace and your awaited salvation will come.

Generation after generation shall dwell in you, and generations of the pious shall be your ornament.

They who desire the day of your salvation shall rejoice in the greatness of your glory.

They shall be suckled on the fullness of your glory, and in your beautiful streets they shall make tinkling sounds.

You shall remember the pious deeds of your prophets, and shall glorify yourself in the deeds of your pious ones.

Cleanse violence from your midst; lying and iniquity, may they be cut off from you.

Your sons shall rejoice within you, and your cherished ones shall be joined to you.

How much they have hoped in your salvation, and how much your perfect ones have mourned for you?

Your hope, O Zion, shall not perish, and your expectation will not be forgotten.

Is there a just man who has perished?

Is there a man who has escaped his iniquity?

Man is tried according to his way, each is repaid according to his deeds.

Your oppressors shall be cut off from around you, O Zion, and all who hate you shall be dispersed.

Your praise is pleasing, O Zion; it rises up in all the world.

Many times I will remember you for a blessing; I will bless you with all my heart.

You shall attain to eternal righteousness, and shall receive blessings from the noble.

Take the vision which speaks of you, and the dreams of the prophets requested for you.

Be exalted and increase, O Zion;

Praise the Most High, your Redeemer!

May my soul rejoice in your glory!

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Hymn to the Creator

The Lord is great and holy, the Most Holy for generation after generation.

Majesty goes before him, and after him abundance of many waters.

Loving-kindness and truth are about his face; truth and judgement and righteousness are the pedestal of his throne.

He divides light from obscurity; he establishes the dawn by the knowledge of his heart.

When all his angels saw it, they sang, for he showed them that which they had not known.

He crowns the mountains with fruit, with good food for all the living.

Blessed be the master of the earth with his power, who establishes the world by his wisdom.

By his understanding he stretched out the heaven, and brought forth wind from his stores.

He made lightnings for the rain, and raised mist from the end of the earth.

An Account of David's Poems

David son of Jesse was wise and brilliant like the light of the sun; (he was) a scribe, intelligent and perfect in all his ways before God and men.

YHWH gave him an intelligent and brilliant spirit, and he wrote 3,600 psalms and 364 songs to sing before the altar for the daily perpetual sacrifice, for all the days of the year; and 52 songs for the Sabbath offerings; and 30 songs for the New Moons, for Feast-days and for the Day of Atonement.

In all, the songs which he uttered were 446, and 4 songs to make music on behalf of those stricken (by evil spirits). In all, they were 4,050. All these he uttered through prophecy which was given him from before the Most High.

Apocryphal Psalms No. 2 (4Q88)

(The last four columns of a fragmentary Psalms manuscript from Cave 4 have preserved three apocryphal poems. The first of these is identical with 11Q5 already presented. Of the other two, the first focuses on the final judgement and the second is a hymn to Judah.)

... Congregation

and they shall praise the name of the Lord, for He has come to judge every action, to remove the wicked from the earth so that the sons of iniquity shall not be found.

The heavens shall give their dew and there shall be no... within their boundaries.

And the earth shall give its fruit in its time and its product shall not fail.

The fruit trees shall ... of its vineyards and its ... shall not lie.

The poor shall eat and the God-fearers shall be sated.

... Then heaven and earth shall exult together. Let all the stars of the evening twilight exult.

Rejoice, Judah, rejoice! Rejoice, rejoice and be glad with gladness!

Celebrate your feasts and pay your vows for there is no Belial in your midst. Raise your hand and fortify your right hand!

Behold the enemy shall perish and all the workers of iniquity shall be dispersed.

But Thou, O Lord, art for ever. Thy glory shall be for ever and ever. Halleluiah.

Apocryphal Psalms No. 3 (11QapPsa=11Q11)

(Badly worn remains of five columns of a Scroll with apocryphal psalms, at least partly devoted to exorcism, have survived in Cave 11. Most of the columns are so poorly preserved that no continuous reading is possible.)

3 ... Who has performed these signs and marvels on the earth?

The Lord is the one who performed these through His might.

He adjures all His angels and all the seed of holiness who stand before Him, and makes all the heavens testify and the whole earth against those who sinned against all men, and acted wickedly against every human.

And they know the mysteries of His marvels which they do not ... and they fear the Lord ... to kill ... ... the Lord ... the Lord ... and they will fear that great blow.

4 ... The Lord will strike you with a great blow for your destruction...

and in His anger He will send against you a mighty angel to execute all His decisions, who will be without mercy on you... against all these, who will take you down to the great abyss, and to the nethermost hell.

... dark in the great abyss... no more on the earth.

... for ever, and... by the curse of Abaddon (the bottom of hell)

... the furious anger of the Lord. ...

5 ... Raphael healed them. Amen, amen. Selah.

Of David ... an incantation in the name of the Lord.

Call any time on heaven, for He will come to you in the night, and you will say to Him: Who are you, one born of man And of the seed of the holy ones?

Your face is a face of inanity And your horns are horns of dream.

You are darkness and not light, Injustice and not righteousness.

The Prince of the host, the Lord, will send you down to the lowest hell, and will close the gates of bronze through which no light passes and the sun which rises on the righteous will not enlighten you ...

And you will say...

6 ... To David. On words of incantation. Cry out all the time in the name of the Lord towards heaven when Belial comes to you.

And say to him: Who are you? Be afraid of man and of the seed of the holy ones. Your face is a face of nothing and your horns are horns of dream. You are darkness and not light; injustice and not righteousness.

The prince of the host is against you; the Lord will cast you to the nethermost hell, closed by bronze gates through which no light shall pass; nor shall shine there the light of the sun which will rise over the righteous to illumine his face.

And you will say: Is there not an angel with the righteous when judgement comes for Satan for he caused him evil?

And the spirit of truth will save him from darkness because righteousness is for him.

... for ever all the son of Belial. Amen, amen. Selah.

Non-canonical Psalms (4Q380-81)

(Two poorly preserved manuscripts, the first consisting of seven and the second of 110 fragments, contain apocryphal Hebrew religious poetry resembling biblical Psalms more than the Hodayot (1QH) from Qumran. Some of them reuse and combine canonical Psalms. We will show here the parts that can be translated. The manuscript is dated to the first half of the first century BC.)

4Q380, Fragment 1

I ... Jerusalem, that is the city chosen by the Lord from everlasting to everlasting.

... the holy ones for the name of the Lord is called on her, and his glory is seen on Jerusalem and Zion.

Who will utter the name of the Lord, and who makes all his praises heard?

The Lord remembered him in his favour and visited him that he might show him the prosperity of his chosen ones, making him rejoice in the gladness of his nation.

II And he made for you a man who ... for he is the one whose words they kept which are for all the sons of Israel ... ... your hand will not save you, for the strength of your God does good.

And those (filled with) wicked hatred, how long will you delight to do evil? ...

Psalm of Obadiah.

God... truth is in it, and his loving kindness ...

Fragment 2

... mountains and hills...

All who are founded on it will shake ... and they will cry to the Lord in their distress.

From their oppression

He will deliver them,

For the Lord is gracious to the pious ...

To the man...

4Q381, Fragment 1

... his wisdom I have declared, and I will meditate on his marvel, and it will become my teacher.

Judgement... of my mouth, and to the simple and they will understand, and to the senseless and they will know.

O Lord, how mighty ... marvels He made heaven and earth in his days, and by his word ... the riverbeds He ...

night and stars and constellations ...

and He caused them to shine ... every tree and every fruit of the vineyard and every produce of the field.

And according to his words ... all ... mankind and by his spirit he established them to have dominion over all this, over the ground and all its produce from new moon to new moon, from festival to festival, from day to day to eat its fruit, fruit of ...

... and birds and all that belongs to them to eat the best of everything and also ...

... in them and all his hosts and His angels ... to serve man and to minister to him...

Fragment 15

... Thou wilt turn my heart ...

Turn to me and take pity on me; give thy strength to Thy servant and save the son of Thy handmaid.

Show me a sign of Thy favour, that those who hate me may see and be put to shame

because Thou, my God, hast helped me and I will prepare a sacrifice for Thee, my God.

... Thou dost rule the raging of the sea;

Thou stillest its waves.

Thou didst crush Rahab like a carcass,

Thou didst scatter Thine enemies with Thy mighty arm.

The world and all that is in it, Thou hast founded them.

Thou hast a mighty arm; strong is Thy hand, high Thy right hand

For who in the skies can be compared to thee, my God?

And who among the sons of 'gods' and in all the council of the holy ones? ...

... For Thou art the glory of its majesty.

As for me, Thine anointed one, I have understood ...

I will make thee known, for Thou hast made me know; I will have insight, for Thou hast given me insight ...

For on Thy name, my God, we shall call, and we shall wait for Thy salvation.

And they will put it on like a garment and like a dress...

Fragment 17

... In splendour Thou wilt look on Judah and ...

My God, Thou wilt swallow them up

And fire will devour them ...

Fragment 24

... Psalm of the Man of God.

Lord, God ...

He has redeemed Judah from all distress and from Ephraim ...

... generation.

Those who have passed his test will praise him and say, 'Arise O God' ...

Thy name is my salvation, my rock, my fortress and my refuge is my God (Ps. xviii, 3).

On the day of... I will call on the Lord and he will answer me, my help... those who hate me.

And he will say,...

My cry before him comes to his ears

From his temple he will hear my voice.

And the earth will reel and rock, and the foundations of the mountains tremble... for he is angry.

Smoke went up from his nostrils ...

Fragment 31

... in the net which they have concealed ...

I will sing to ...

I will meditate over Thy wonders for to ... before Thee...

Thou dost save me and lift me up from the tents of death ... before all ...

All its ways come to ...

In a holy place ... Selah.

... Prayer of... king of Judah.

Hear o my God ...

I will recount before those who fear Thee...

Who can understand Thy thoughts?

For my oppressors have increased before Thee.

Thou hast known them and Thou hast subdued the enemies of my soul before

Thine eyes.

For I will live ... and Thou shalt not conceal my iniquity to those with understanding.

Thou shalt slay them (the enemies) O God of my salvation.

The days of my existence are treasured up.

What can a man say (but) 'Here I am' ?

And how dost Thou deliver to the sword those who wait for me, those who say ... on the day of wrath?

They have woven a crown for my head.

For their glory is a splendid pillar...

... from the Book of life.

Those who frighten me will be cut off

And my enemies will finish ...

... a song and thanksgiving ...

Fragment 33

... Rise above the heavens, O Lord, and my God ...

And let us glory in Thy might for Thy wonders are inscrutable

... Thou shalt place me and Thy chastisement will be my joy.

... everlasting and to extol. Thee.

For my sins have become too many for me...

But Thou, my God, shalt send Thy spirit and Thy mercy to the son of Thy handmaid and Thy loving-kindness to the servant who is near Thee ...

I will exult and rejoice in Thee before those who fear Thee, for Thou shalt judge Thy servants in Thy righteousness, and according to Thy loving-kindness

... to save ... to thee. Selah.

Prayer of Manasseh, King of Judah when the King of Assyria gaoled him.

... my God ... my salvation is near in Thine eyes ...

I wait for Thy delivering presence, and I feel faint before Thee because of my sin.

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For Thou hast enlarged Thy mercies, and I have multiplied guilt.
And thus ... from eternal joy and my soul shall not see goodness ...
He has lifted me up on high above a nation ...
And I did not remember thee in Thy place of holiness;
I did not serve Thee ...

Fragment 45
... I will make understand .... - - . :
I fear Thee and will cleanse myself
Of abominations known to me.
I give my soul to be humbled before Thee.
They have multiplied sin
And they plot against me to imprison me.
But I have trusted Thee ...
And do not judge me, my God, ...
Those who conspire against me
Let loose their lying tongue ...

Fragment 46
... fools.
... Thy precepts and Thy splendour and Thy beauty ... and like clouds they spread over the face of the earth.
They will be scattered greatly until ...
Man will not be strong and will not rise ... and Thou hast tested all.
And the elect, like offerings, Thou wilt purify before Thee, but the hated ones Thou wilt reject like impurity.
And a stormy wind ... their practice.
And those who fear Thee shall be before Thee always.
Their horns are horns made of iron to gore many, and they will gore ...
And Thou wilt make their hoofs of bronze but sinners like dung shall be trampled upon the ground ...

Fragment 69
... When he saw that the peoples of the land behaved abominably,
... all the land (turned) wholly into impure uncleanness, and from the beginning marvellously ... he consulted his heart to destroy them from it (the land) and make on it a holy people.
... in you and he gave you through his spirit prophets to instruct and teach you ...
... your God(?) descended from heaven and spoke to you to instruct you and bring you back from the works of the inhabitants of the land.
... precepts, laws and commandments he established through a covenant by the hand of Moses.
... dwelt (?) on the land. Then it will be cleansed and ...
... to consider you whether you will be his.
And if not, ...
And to breach the covenant which he made with you and to become a stranger and not ...
... over wickedness and to change the words of his mouth ...

Fragments 76 and 77
... the congregation of the Holy of Holies and the lot of the King of Kings ...
... my words and they will consider the wisdom which is issued from my mouth.
... and a true judge and faithful witness.
Is there strength in you to answer Him ...
... to hear.
... Who among you will answer and stand up against his rebuke? ...
... For you have many judges and countless (hostile) witnesses.
But ... the Lord will sit in judgement against you, judging truly and without injustice ...
... his spirits to pronounce on you true judgements.
Is there understanding for you to learn ... ?
... Lord of lords, mighty and marvellous and none is like him.
He has chosen you instead of powerful peoples and great nations to be his people to rule over all ...
... heaven and earth and as the highest above all the nations of the earth ...

Lamentations (4Q179, 4Q501)
(Several fragments of a poem inspired by the biblical Book of Lamentations have been preserved in Cave 4 (4Q179). Only fragment 2 offers a text long enough for intelligible translation.)

4Q179, Fragment 2
How solitary lies the city, the princess of all the peoples is desolate like a forsaken woman; and all her daughters are forsaken like a forsaken woman, like a woman hurt and forsaken by her husband.
All her palaces and her walls are like a barren woman; and like a sheltered woman are all her paths; all her ... like a woman of bitterness, and all her daughters are like women mourning for their husbands; all her ... like women deprived of their only children.
Weep, weep, Jerusalem her tears flow upon her cheeks because of her sons ...

4Q501
Give not our inheritance to strangers, nor our (hard-earned) property to foreigners.
Remember that we are the forsaken of Thy people and the forsaken of Thine inheritance.
Remember the desolate children of Thy Covenant...
Thy freely devoted ... ; they err with no one to bring them back; they are broken with none to bind them; they are bent down with none to raise them up.
The damned of Thy people have surrounded me with their lying tongues.
They have been turned ... and Thy boughs to the progeny of a woman.
Look and see the shame of the sons of Thy people, for our skin is burning and feverish heat has seized us because of their reviling tongue.

SONGS FOR THE HOLOCAUST OF THE SABBATH (4Q400—407, 11Q17, Masada 1039-200)
(The following fragments are of a document concerned with heavenly worship. All the manuscripts are dated to the first century BC, with the exception of the Masada Fragment, which belongs to the first half of the first century AD. The songs contain angelic praises of God assigned to the first thirteen sabbaths. The main source of inspiration is the Book of Ezekiel.
The Merkabah, or divine throne-chariot, was a central subject in ancient and medieval Jewish esotericism and mysticism. It is noteworthy that the Mishnah prohibits the use of Ezekiel's passage about the chariot as a prophetic reading in synagogue (Megillah IV, 10) or even its discussion in private, unless with a sage already familiar with the subject (Hagigah 11, 1).
The presence of this Qumran document in the fortress of Masada is best explained by assuming either that a number of Essenes joined the revolutionaries and took with them some of their manuscripts, or that the rebels occupied the Qumran area after its evacuation by the Community and later transferred some Essene manuscripts to their final place of resistance.)

4Q400 Fragment I 1
To the Master. Song of the holocaust of the first Sabbath, on the fourth of the first month.
Praise the God of ... the 'Gods' (= Elohim) of supreme holiness; in his divine kingship, rejoice. For he has established supreme holiness among the everlastingly holy, the Holy of Holies, to be for him the priests of the inner Temple in his royal sanctuary, ministers of the Presence in his glorious innermost Temple chamber. In the congregation of all the Gods (= Elim) of knowledge, and in the congregation of all the 'gods' of God, he engraved his precepts for all the spiritual works, and his glorious judgements for all who lay the foundations of knowledge, the people (endowed with) his glorious understanding, the 'gods' who are close to knowledge ... of eternity and from the fountain of holiness to the sanctuary of supreme holiness ... priests of the inner Temple, ministers of the Presence of the most holy King ... his glory. They shall grow in strength decree by decree to be seven eternal councils. For he founded them for himself as the most holy, who minister in the holy of holies ... do not endure those who pervert the way. There is nothing impure in their sanctuaries. He engraved for them precepts relating to holy gifts; by them, all the everlastingly holy shall sanctify themselves. He shall purify the luminously pure to repay all those who render their way crooked.
Their expiations shall obtain his goodwill for all those who repent from sin... knowledge among the priests of the inner Temple, and from their mouth (proceed) the teachings of the holy with the judgements of his glory ... his graces for everlasting merciful forgiveness. In his zealous vengeance ... he has established for himself as priests of the Inner Temple, the most holy ... of gods, the priests of the highest heights who are near to ...

4Q4002 (4Q401, Fragment 14, 7-8)
... wonderfully to extol Thy glory among the divine beings of knowledge, and the praises of Thy kingship among the most holy. More wonderfully than 'gods' and men they are glorified amid all the camps of the 'Gods' and feared by companies of men. They recount his royal majesty according to their knowledge and exalt his glory in all his royal heavens. In all the highest heights they shall sing marvellous psalms according to all their understanding, and the glorious splendour of the King of the 'gods' they shall recount on their stations ... for what shall we be counted among them? For what shall our priesthood be counted in their dwellings? How shall our holiness compare with their supreme holiness? How does the offering of our tongue of dust compare with the knowledge of the divine beings ... our jubilation. Let us extol the God of knowledge ... Holy of Holies and His understanding is above all those who possess knowledge ...

4Q402, Fragment 4, 9-10
... 'gods' run to his visitation and the voice of a crowd ... of 'gods' in the war of heaven. And it will be ...

4Q402 4, 11-15 = MASADA FRAGMENT 1, 1-7
... wonderful new works. All these he has done wonderfully with all the eternally hidden things ... all the words of knowledge; for from the God of knowledge comes all that exists for ever, and from his plans come all the eternally appointed. He produces the former things in their appointed times, and the latter things in their seasons. None among those who know the wonderfully revealed things can comprehend them before he makes them. When he makes them, none of the doers of righteousness can understand his plan, for they are his glorious works. Before they come into being, (they derive) from his plan.
For the Master. Song of the holocaust of the sixth Sabbath on the ninth of the second month.
Praise the God of gods, you inhabitants of the highest heights ...
holy of holies and exalt his glory ... knowledge of the everlasting gods ...

4Q403 1, 1, 1-29 (4Q404-5) = MASADA FRAGMENT 1039-200
Psalm of exaltation (uttered) by the tongue of the third of the sovereign Princes, an exaltation ... He shall exalt the God of the angels on high seven times with seven wonderful exaltations.
Psalm of praise (uttered) by the tongue of the fourth to the Mighty One above all the gods, seven wonderful mighty deeds. He shall praise the God of mighty deeds seven times with seven words of marvellous praise.
Psalm of thanksgiving (uttered) by the tongue of the fifth to the King of glory with its seven wonderful thanksgivings. He shall thank the God of glory seven times with seven words of wonderful thanksgivings.
Psalm of exultation (uttered) by the tongue of the sixth to the God of goodness with its seven wonderful exultations. He shall exult before the King of goodness seven times with seven words of wonderful exultation.
Psalm of singing (uttered) by the t ongue of the seventh of the sovereign Princes, a powerful song to the God of holiness with its seven marvellous songs. He shall sing to the King of holiness seven times with seven words of wonderful songs; seven psalms singing his blessings; seven psalms of magnification of his righteousness; seven psalms of exaltation of his kingship; seven psalms of praises of his glory; seven psalms of thanksgivings for his marvellous deeds; seven psalms of exultation of his power; seven psalms singing his holiness; ... seven times with seven wonderful words, words of exaltation of the Sovereign Princes.
In the glorious name of God, the first of the sovereign Princes shall bless all the ... with seven wonderful words blessing all their councils in his holy sanctuary with seven wonderful words, and he shall bless those who know the everlasting things.
In the name of his truth, the second of the sovereign Princes shall bless all their stations with seven wonderful words and he shall bless with seven wonderful words. He shall bless all those who exalt the King with seven glorious words of his marvels, all the eternally pure.
In the name of his exalted kingship, the third of the sovereign Princes shall bless all who are lifted up in knowledge with seven words of exaltation ... of his true knowledge, he shall bless with seven marvellous words; and he shall bless all who are destined for righteousness with seven wonderful words.
In the name of the King's majesty, the fourth of the sovereign Princes shall bless with seven majestic words all who walk uprightly. He shall bless all the gods close to true knowledge with seven righteous words (for gaining) his glorious favours.
In the name of the majesty of his marvellous deeds, the fifth sovereign Prince shall bless with seven words of his exalted truth all who ... purity. He shall bless all who eagerly do his will with seven marvellous words. And he shall bless all who confess him with seven majestic words that they may thank him for ever.
In the name of the mighty deeds of the gods the sixth sovereign Prince shall bless with seven words of his marvellous mighty deeds all who are mighty in wisdom. He shall bless all the perfect of way with seven marvellous words to be in attendance for ever. He shall bless all who wait for him with seven marvellous words that they may obtain the return of his gracious favours.
In the name of his holiness, the seventh of the sovereign Princes shall bless with seven words of his marvellous holiness all the holy founders of knowledge. He shall bless all who

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exalt his statutes with seven marvellous words (which shall be for them) stout shields. He shall bless all who are destined for righteousness and always forever praise his glorious kingship with seven marvellous words for everlasting peace.

In the name of his holiness all the sovereign Princes shall bless together the God of the divine beings in all their sevenfold testimonies. They shall bless those destined for righteousness and all the blessed ... the eternally blessed for them.

Blessed be the Lord, the King of all, who is above all blessing and praise. He shall bless all the holy who bless him and proclaim him righteous in the name of his glory. And he shall bless all who are blessed for ever.

4Q403 I, 1, 30-46 (4Q405)

For the Master. Song of the holocaust of the seventh Sabbath on the sixteenth of the month.

Praise the most high God, O you high among all the gods of knowledge. Let the holy ones of the 'gods' sanctify the King of glory, who sanctifies by his holiness all his holy ones.

O Princes of the praises of all the 'gods', praise the God of majestic praises, For in the splendour of praises is the glory of His kingship.

In it are (contained) the praises of all the 'gods' together with the splendour of all His kingship.

Exalt His exaltation on high, O 'gods', above the gods on high, and His glorious divinity above all the highest heights.

For He is the God of gods, of all the Princes on high, and the King of kings of all the eternal councils.

By a discerning goodwill expressed by the words of His mouth all the gods on high come into being, at the opening of His lips, all the eternal spirits, by His discerning goodwill, all His creatures in their undertakings.

Exult, O you who exult in his knowledge, with an exultation among the wonderful 'gods'; utter His glory with the tongue of all who utter knowledge; may His wonderful exultation be in the mouth of all who utter His knowledge.

For He is the God of all who exult in everlasting knowledge, and the Judge through His might of all the spirits of understanding.

Celebrate O all celebrating gods, the King of majesty, for all the gods of knowledge celebrate His glory, and all the spirits of righteousness celebrate His truth, and seek acceptance of their knowledge by the judgements of His mouth, and of their celebrations when His mighty hand executes judgements of reward.

Sing to the God of power with an offering of the princely spirit, a song of divine joy, and a jubilation among all the holy, a wonderful song for eternal rejoicing.

With these all the foundations of the holy of holies shall praise, the pillars bearing the highest abode, and all the corners of its structure.

Sing to the God who is awesome in strength ... to extol together the splendid firmament, the supreme purity of His holy sanctuary.

Praise Him, O divine spirits, praising for ever and ever the firmament of the highest heavens, all ... and its walls, all its structure, its shape.

The spirits of the holy of holies, the living 'gods', the spirits of eternal holiness above all the holy ones; ... marvellous marvel, majesty and beauty and marvel.

Glory is in the perfect light of knowledge ... in all the marvellous sanctuaries.

The divine spirits surround the dwelling of the King of truth and righteousness; all its walls ...

4Q403 I, 2, 6-29

... and from among them run 'gods' with the appearance of coals of fire ... walking round about, most holy spirits ... Holy of Holies, divine spirits, ever(lasting appearances ... and divine spirits, forms of flaming fire round about it ... wonderful spirits. And the chief dwelling on high, the glory of His kingdom, the innermost sanctuary ... And He consecrates the seven elevated holy places. And a voice of blessing comes from the chiefs of His innermost sanctuary ... And a glorious voice of blessing ... is heard by God (the 'gods') and the foundations ... of blessing. And all the ornaments of the innermost sanctuary burst into wonderful prayers in the innermost sanctuary ... of wonder, one innermost sanctuary to another, by the voice of holy crowds, and all their ornaments ... And the chariots of His innermost sanctuary will utter praises together and their cherubim and wheels will bless wonderfully the chiefs of the 'godly' figure and will bless Him in the holy innermost sanctuary. ...

For the Master. Song of the holocaust for the eighth Sabbath on the twenty-third of the second month.

Praise the God of all the highest heights, all the holy ones for ever and ever, they who are second among the priests of the inner Temple, the second council in the wonderful dwelling, with seven words of ... eternally.

Extol Him, O sovereign Princes, in his marvellous portion, praise the God of gods, O you seven priesthoods of His inner Temple.

... height, the seven wonderful domains by the precept concerning His sanctuaries.

The sovereign Princes of the wonderful priesthood ... the seven priesthoods in the wonderful sanctuary for seven councils of holiness ... the Prince, the angels of the King in the wonderful dwellings. The knowledge of their understanding is for seven ... Prince from the priest of the inner Temple. The Princes of the congregation of the King in the assembly of ... and praises of exaltation to the King of glory and a tower of ... for the God of gods, the King of purity. The offering of their tongues ... the seven mysteries of knowledge in the wonderful mystery of the seven domains of the Holy of holies ... The tongue of the first shall be seven times stronger than the tongue of the second; the tongue of the second shall be seven times stronger than that of the third; the tongue of the third shall be seven times stronger than that of the fourth; the tongue of the fourth shall be seven times stronger than the tongue of the fifth; the tongue of the fifth shall be seven times stronger than the tongue of the sixth; the tongue of the sixth shall be seven times stronger than the tongue of the seventh; the tongue of the seventh shall be seven times stronger than the tongue of the eighth ...

4Q405 14-15, i

... tongue of blessing from the likeness of the gods issues a voice of blessing for the King of those who exalt, and their wonderful praise is for the God of gods ... their many-coloured ... and they sing ... the vestibules by which they enter, the spirits of the most holy inner Temple ... And the likeness of the living 'gods' is engraved on the vestibules by which the King enters, luminous spiritual figures ... King, figures of a glorious light, wonderful spirits; among the spirits of splendour there are works of (art of) marvellous colours, figures of the living 'Gods' ... in the glorious innermost Temple chambers, the structure of the most holy sanctuary in the innermost chambers of the King, designs of 'go ds' ... likeness of ... most holy ... the Temple chambers of the King ... figures of the 'gods' and from the likeness ... of the Holy of Holies ...

4Q405 19 ABCD (IIQ17 7, 5-6)

The figures of the 'gods' shall praise Him, the most holy spirits ... of glory; the floor of the marvellous innermost chambers, the spirits of the eternal gods, all ... figures of the innermost chamber of the King, the spiritual works of the marvellous firmament are purified with salt, spirits of knowledge, truth and righteousness in the holy of hollies, forms of the living 'gods', forms of the illuminating spirits. All their works (of art) are marvellously linked, many-coloured spirits, artistic figures of the 'gods', engraved all around their glorious bricks, glorious figures on bricks of splendour and majesty. All their works (of art) are living 'gods', and their artistic figures are holy angels. From beneath the marvellous innermost chambers comes a sound of quiet silence: the 'gods' bless ... the King ...

4Q405 20 2, 21—2

... His glorious chariots. When they go ... they do not turn aside ... but advance straight ...

For the Master. Song of the holocaust of the twelfth Sabbath on the twenty-first of the third month.

Praise the God of... wonder, and exalt Him ... of glory in the tent of the God of knowledge. The cherubim prostrate themselves before Him and bless. As they rise, a whispered divine voice is heard, and there is a roar of praise. When they drop their wings, there is a whispere d divine voice. The cherubim bless the image of the throne-chariot above the firmament, and they praise the majesty of the luminous firmament beneath His seat of glory. When the wheels advance, angels of holiness come and go. From between His glorious wheels, there is as it were a fiery vision of most holy spirits. About them, the appearance of rivulets of fire in the likeness of gleaming brass, and a work of ... radiance in many-coloured glory, marvellous pigments, clearly mingled. The spirits of the living 'gods' move perpetually with the glory of the marvellous chariot(s). The whispered voice of blessing accompanies the roar of their advance, and they praise the Holy One on their way of return. When they ascend, they ascend marvellously and when they settle, they stand still. The sound of joyful praise is silenced and there is a whispered blessing of the 'Gods' in all the camps of God. And the sound of praise ... from among all their divisions ... and all their numbered ones praise, each in his turn.

4Q405 23 1

... his whole-offering. The 'gods' praise Him when they take up their station, and all the spirits of the clear firmament rejoice in His glory.

A sound of blessing (is heard) from all His divisions speaking of the firmaments of His glory, and His gates praise with a resounding voice.

When the gods of knowledge enter by the doors of glory, and when the holy angels depart towards their realm, the entrance doors and the gates of exit proclaim the glory of the King, blessing and praising all the spirits of God when they depart and enter by the gates. None among them skips over a precept, nor do they ... against the saying of the King ... They run not away from the path, nor slip away from His domain.

They are neither too high for His commission nor too lowly.

For He shall be compassionate in the realm of His furious, destroying anger; He will not judge in the provinces of His glorious wrath. The fear of the King of 'gods' is awe-inspiring to all the 'gods', and they undertake all His commissions by virtue of His true order, and they go ...

4Q405 23 2

... At their marvellous stations are spirits, many-coloured like the work of a weaver, splendid engraved figures. In the midst of a glorious appearance of scarlet, colours of the most holy spiritual light, they hold to their holy station before the King, spirits of pure colours in the midst of an appearance of whiteness. The likeness of the glorious spirit is like a work (of art) of sparkling fine gold. All their pattern is clearly mingled like the work (of art) of a weaver. These are the Princes of those marvellously clothed for service, the Princes of the kingdom, the kingdom of the holy ones of the King of holiness in all the heights of the sanctuaries of His glorious kingdom. The Princes in charge of offerings have tongues of knowledge, and they bless the God of knowledge among all His glorious works ...

IIQ17 8

... their marvellous marvels by the power of the God of eternity; and they shall exalt the mighty deeds of the God ... From the four foundations of the marvellous firmament they shall proclaim soundlessly a divine oracle ... wall. They bless and praise the God of gods ...

Poetic Fragments on Jerusalem and 'King' Jonathan (4Q448)

(Written in a very difficult semi-cursive script. The top part of the fragment preserving the first two or three words of ten lines, is an unknown Halleluiah psalm. However, the last three lines have been identified as belonging to the last verses of Psalm 154.

Scholars assume that King Jonathan is Alexander Jannaeus or Yannai, i.e. a Hasmonaean ruler who, as a general rule, is presumed by scholars to have been hostile to the Qumran Community. Others think that the script was written 150-125 BC and therefore identify 'King' Jonathan as Jonathan Maccabaeus at the start of his political-military career, when he was celebrated as the liberator of the Jews and of Jerusalem.)

Halleluiah. Psalm ... Thou hast loved as a father ... Thou hast acted as a prince over ... vacat And those who hate Thee... fear ... The many announce... fear ... And for those who are perfect ... Behold the eyes of the Lord have compassion on the good, and His mercy is great over those who glorify Him. From an evil time He saves their soul. He redeems the poor from the hand of oppressors, and delivers the perfect from the hand of the wicked. He desires his tabernacle in Zion, (and) chooses Jerusalem for ever.

Holy City for King Jonathan and for all the congregation of Thy people Israel, who are in the four corners of heaven. May the peace of them all be on Thy kingdom! May Thy name be blessed.

I will ... in Thy love ... during the day and until the evening... to draw near to be ... to visit them for a blessing... on Thy name which is invoked ... kingdom to be blessed... on the day war... to King Jonathan ...

Hymn of Glorification A and B (4Q491, fr. 11—4Q471b)

(Two different versions of the same poem have been preserved.)

Glorification Hymn A (4Q491, Fragment 11)

... the righteous exult in the strength of His might and the holy ones rejoice in ... in righteousness ... He has established it in Israel.

Since ancient times His truth and the mysteries of His wisdom have been in all ... power

... and the council of the poor into an eternal congregation ...

... the perfect... eternity a throne of strength in the congregation of 'Gods' so that not a single king of old shall sit on it, neither shall their noble men...

My glory is incomparable, and apart from me none is exalted.

None shall come to me for I dwell in ... in heaven, and there is no ...

I am reckoned with the 'gods' and my dwelling-place is in the congregation of holiness.

My desire is not according to the flesh, and all that I value is in the glory of... ... the place of holiness.

Who is counted despicable on my account, and who is comparable to me in my glory?

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Who is like... the young like me?
Is there a companion who resembles me? There is none!
I have been taught and no instruction resembles my instruction ...
Who shall attack me when I open my mouth? And who can contain the issue of my lips?
Who shall summon me to be destroyed by my judgement? ...
For I am reckoned with the 'gods', and my glory is with the sons of the King.
No pure gold or gold of Ophir ...

Glorification Hymn B (4Q471b)
I am reckoned with the 'gods' and my dwelling-place is in the congregation of holiness.
Who is counted as me to be despised and who is despised as me?
And who is like me, forsaken by men (Isa. 53, 3), and is there a companion who resembles me?
And no instruction resembles my instruction. For I sit...
Who is like me among the 'gods"?
And who shall attack me when I open my mouth?
And who can contain the issue of my lips?
And who shall summon me to be destroyed by my judgement?
For I am the beloved of the King and the friend of the holy ones.
No-one ... and no-one is comparable to my glory.
For I have my station with the 'gods', and my glory is with the sons of the King.
I will not be crowned with pure gold nor with the gold of Ophir ... Sing...

1 QUMRAN LIBRARY CHAPTER C. CALENDARS, LITURGIES AND PRAYERS

Calendars of Priestly Courses (4Q320-30, 337)

(The original purpose of a calendar was not bureaucratic, as many people might think, but religious. The calendar, which is used in Western countries, dates back to its creator Julius Caesar and has been an instrument of the Roman Imperial Cult, the State religion of the Roman Empire. The names of the months are still the names of Roman gods today, beginning with the first month March (Mars), up to July (Julius Caesaer the God) and August (Augustus Caesar the son of the God Julius Caesar). Then we have some old number names September (7th month), October (8th month), November (9th month), December (10th month) followed by two later designated god-names January and February for the end of the Roman year. All other calendars in the World are based on religion. This applies also for the Hebrew calendar as we can see in the following texts. Where the Romans used names of gods, the Jews used names of famous priests, teachers and prophets.

Twelve fragmentary manuscripts from Cave 4, dated to the late second century BC, present in various forms the peculiar 'solar' calendar - constructed in six-year sequences - of the Qumran Community. Their year consisted of twelve months of thirty days each, plus four extra days added to each of the four seasons. Some documents from 4Q (320 and 321) attempt to combine this calendar with the various priestly courses which served in turn in the Temple for a week at a time from one sabbath to the following Friday. They also combine it with the dates of the full moon given according to the days of the week of duty of the priestly course, the date of the solar month and the equivalent date of the lunar calendar of mainstream Judaism (a year of twelve months of 29 or 30 days = 354 days). E.g. (The full moon falls): 'On the 5th (day) in the week of Jedaiah, corresponding to the 29th day of the lunar month, which falls on the 30th day of the 1st solar month.' 4Q321 records in addition the occurrence of the New Moon. E.g. 'And the New Moon is on the third day in the week of Mijamin which is on the twelfth day in the eighth month.' An alternative interpretation suggests that the term in question (duqah) designates the day after the full moon. 4Q321a is very fragmentary, but it seems almost identical to 4Q321.)

Mishmarot A (4Q320)
Fragment 1 i
I ... to show it from the east. And to cause it to shine in the middle of heaven, in the foundation of the creation, from evening till morning.
There is full moon:
On the 4th day in the week of the sons of Gamul in the first month of the first year.
On the 5th day in the week of Jedaiah, corresponding to the 29th day of the lunar month, which falls on the 30th day of the 1st solar month.
On the sabbath in the week of Hakkoz, corresponding to the 30th day of the lunar month, which falls on the 30th of the second solar month.
On the 1st day in the week of Eliashib, corresponding to the 29th day of the lunar month, which falls on the 29th day in the third solar month.
On the 3rd day in the week of Bilgah, corresponding to the 30th day of the lunar month, which falls on the 28th day in the fourth solar month.
On the 4th day in the week of Petahiah, corresponding to the 29th day of the lunar month which falls on the 27th day in the fifth solar month.
On the 6th day in the week of Delaiah, corresponding to the 30th day of the lunar month which falls on the 27th day in the sixth solar month.
On the sabbath in the week of Seorim, corresponding to the 29th day of the lunar month which falls on the 25th day in the seventh solar month.
On the 2nd day in the week of Abiah, corresponding to the 30th day of the lunar month which falls on the 25th day in the eighth solar month.
On the 3rd day in the week of Jakim, corresponding to the 29th day of the lunar month which falls on the 24th day in the ninth solar month.
On the 5th day in the week of Immer, corresponding to the 30th day of the lunar month which falls on the 23rd day in the tenth solar month.
On the 6th day in the week of Jehezekel, corresponding to the 29th day of the lunar month which falls on the 22nd day in the eleventh solar month.
On the 1st day in the week of Jeiarib, corresponding to the 30th day of the lunar month which falls on the 22nd day in the twelfth solar month.

The second year:
On the 2nd day in the week of Malchiah, corresponding to the 29th day of the lunar month which falls on the 20th day in the first solar month.
On the 4th day in the week of Jeshua, corresponding to the 30th day of the lunar month which falls on the 20th day in the second solar month.
On the 5th day in the week of Huppah, corresponding to the 29th day of the lunar month which falls on the 19th in the third month.
On the sabbath in the week of Pizzez, corresponding to the 30th day of the lunar month which falls on the 18th in the fourth month.
On the 1st day in Gamul, corresponding to the 29th day of the lunar month which falls on the 17th day in the fifth solar month.
On the 3rd day in the week of Jedaiah, corresponding to the 30th day of the lunar month which falls on the 17th day in the sixth solar month.
On the 4th day in the week of Mijamin, corresponding to the 29th day of the lunar month which falls on the 15th day in the seventh solar month.
On the 6th day in Shecaniah, corresponding to the 3oth day of the lunar month which falls on the 15th day in the eighth solar month.
On the sabbath in the week of Bilgah, corresponding to the 29th day of the lunar month which falls on the 14th day in the ninth solar month.
On the 2nd day in the week of Petahiah, corresponding to the 30th day of the lunar month which falls on the 13th day in the tenth solar month.

Fragment 2
On the 1st day in the week of Jeshua, corresponding to the 29th day of the lunar month which falls on the 5th day in the seventh solar month.
On the 3rd day in the week of Huppah, corresponding to the 30th day of the lunar month which falls on the 5th day in the eighth month.
On the 4th day in the week of Hezir, corresponding to the 29th day of the lunar month which falls on the 4th day in the ninth solar month.
On the 6th day in Jachin, corresponding to the 30th day of the lunar month which falls on the 3rd day in the tenth solar month.
On the sabbath in the week of Jedaiah, corresponding to the 29th day of the lunar month which falls on the 2nd day of the eleventh solar month.
On the 2nd day of Mijamin, corresponding to the 30th day of the lunar month which falls on the second day in the twelfth solar month.

Fragment 3 i
... the days, the sabbaths and the months for years and for sabbatical years and for jubilees. On the 4th day of the week of the sons of Gamul.

Fragment 4 iii
The first year: its feasts. On the third day in the week of Meoziah: the Passover.
On the 1st day in the week of Jedaiah: the Waving of the Sheaf.
On the 5th day in the week of Seorim: the Second Passover. ...
On the 1st day in the week of Jeshua: the Feast of Weeks.
On the 4th day in the week of Meoziah: the Day of Memorial.
On the 6th day in Jeiarib: the Day of Atonement in the seventh month. ...
On the 4th day in the week of Jedaiah: the Feast of Tabernacles.
The second year: its feasts. On the 3rd day in the week of Seorim: the Passover.
On the 1st day in the week of Mijamin: the Waving of the Sheaf.
On the 5th day in the week of Abiah: the Second Passover.

Fragment 4
On the 1st day in the week of Huppah: the Feast of Weeks.
On the 4th day in the week of Seorim: the Day of Memorial.
On the 6th day in the week of Malchiah: the Day of Atonement.
On the 4th day in the week of Mijamin: the Feast of Tabernacles. ...

The third year: its feasts. On the 3rd day in the week of Abiah: the Passover.
On the 21st day in the week of Shecaniah: the Waving of the Sheaf.
On the 5th day in the week of Jakim: the Second Passover.
On the 1st day in the week of Hezir: the Feast of Weeks.
On the 4th day in the week of Abiah: the Day of Memorial.
On the 6th day in the week of Jeshua: the Day of Atonement.
On the 4th day in the week of Shecaniah: the Feast of Tabernacles.

The fourth year: its feasts.
On the 3rd day in the week of Jakim: the Passover.
On the 1st day in the week of Jeshebeab: the Waving of the Sheaf.
On the 5th day in the week of Immer: the Second Passover.
On the 1st day in the week of Pizzez: the Feast of Weeks.
On the 4th day in the week of Jakim: the Day of Memorial.
On the 6th day in the week of Huppah: the Day of Atonement.
On the 4th day in the week of Jeshebeab: the Feast of Tabernacles. ...

The fifth year: its feasts.
On the 3rd day in the week of Immer: the Passover.
On the 1st day in the week of Pizzez: the Waving of the Sheaf.
On the 5th day in the week of Jehezekel: the Second Passover.
On the 1st day in the week of Joiarib: the Feast of Weeks.
On the 4th day in the week of Immer: the Day of Memorial.
On the 6th day in the week of Hezir: the Day of Atonement.
On the 4th day in the week of Pizzez: the Feast of Tabernacles. ...

The sixth year: its feasts.
On the 3rd day in the week of Jehezekel: the Passover.
On the 1st day in the week of Gamul: the Waving of the Sheaf.
On the 3rd day in the week of Maaziah: the Second Passover.
On the 1st day in the week of Malchiah: the Feast of Weeks.
On the 4th day in the week of Jehezekel: the Day of Memorial.
On the 6th day in the week of Jachin: the Day of Atonement.
On the 4th day in the week of Gamul: the Feast of Tabernacles ...

Mishmarot B 4Q321, fr. 1
And the New Moon is on the 1st day in the week of Jedaiah which is on the twelfth day in it = the seventh month.
On the second day in the week of Abiah which is on the twenty-fifth day in the eighth month.
And the New Moon is on the third day in the week of Mijamin which is on the twelfth day in the eighth month.
On the third day in the week of Jakim which is on the twenty-fourth day in the ninth month.
And the New Moon is on the fourth day in Shecaniah which is on the eleventh day in the ninth month.
On the fifth day in the week of Immer which is on the thirteenth day in the tenth month.
And the New Moon is on the sixth day in the week of Jeshabeab which is on the tenth day in the tenth month.
On the sixth day in the week of Jehezekel which is on the twenty-second day in the eleventh month.
And the New Moon is on sabbath in the week of Petahiah which is on the ninth day in the eleventh month.
On the first day in the week of Joiarib which is on the twenty-second day in the twelfth month.
And the New Moon is on the second day in the week of Delaiah which is on the ninth day in the twelfth month. ...

The second year, the first month.
On the second day in the week of Malchiah which is on the twentieth day in the first month.

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And the New Moon is on the third day in the week of Harim which is on the seventh day in the first month.
On the fourth day in the week of Jeshua which is on the twentieth day in the second month.
And the New Moon is on the fifth day in the week of Hakkoz which is on the ninth day in the second month.
On the fifth day in the week of Huppah which is on the nineteenth day in the third month.
And the New Moon is on the sixth day in the week of Eliashib which is on the sixth day in the third month.
On the sabbath in the week of Pizzez (Fragment 2:) which is on the eighteenth day in the fourth month.
And the New Moon is on the first day in the week of Immer which is on the fifth day in the fourth month.
On the first day in the week of Gamul, which is on the seventeenth day in the fifth month.
And the New Moon is on the second day in the week of Jehezekel which is on the fourth day in the fifth month.
On the third day in the week of Jedaiah which is on the seventeenth day in the sixth month.
And the New Moon is on the fourth day in the week of Maoziah which is on the fourth day in the sixth month.
On the fourth day in the week of Mijamin which is on the fifteenth day in the seventh month.
And the New Moon is on the fifth day in the week of Seorim which is on the second in the seventh month.
On the sixth day in the week of Shecaniah which is on the fifteenth day in the eighth month.
And the New Moon is on the sabbath in Abiah which is on the second day in the eighth month. On the sabbath in the week of Bilgah which is on the fourteenth day of the ninth month.
And the New Moon is on the first day in the ninth month.
And the second New Moon is on the third day in the week of Hezir, which is on the thirty-first in the ninth month.
On the second day in the week of Petahiah which is on the thirteenth day in the tenth month.
And the New Moon is on the fourth day in the week of Jachin which is on the twenty-ninth day in the tenth month.
On the third day in the week of Delaiah which is on the twelfth day in the eleventh month.
And the New Moon is on the sixth day in the week of Joiarib which is on the twenty-ninth day in the eleventh month.
On the fifth day in the week of Harim which is on the twelfth day of the twelfth month. And the New Moon is on the sabbath in the week of Mijamin which is on the twenty-eighth day in the twelfth month.

The third year. The first month. On the sixth day in the week of Hakkoz which is on the tenth day in the first month.

Fragment 3

And the New Moon is on the second day in the week of Shecaniah which is on the twenty-seventh day in the first month.
On the first day in the week of Jakim which is on the tenth day in the second month.
And the New Moon is on the third day in the week of Jeshebeab which is on the twenty-sixth day in the second month.
On the second day in the week of Immer which is on the ninth day in the third month.
And the New Moon is on the fifth day in the week of Pizzez which is on the twenty-sixth day in the third month.
On the fourth day in the week of Jehezekel which is on the eighth day in the fourth month.
And the New Moon is on the sixth day in the week of Gamul which is on the twenty-fourth day in the fourth month.
On the fifth day in the week of Meoziah which is on the seventh day in the fifth month.
And the New Moon is on the first day in the week of Harim which is on the twenty-fourth day in the fifth month.
On the sabbath in the week of Malchiah which is on the seventh day of the sixth month.
And the New Moon is on the second day in the week of Hakkoz which is on the twenty-third day in the sixth month.
On the first day in the week of Jeshua which is on the fifth day in the seventh month.
And the New Moon on the fourth day in the week of Eliashib which is on the twenty-second day in the seventh month.
On the third day in the week of Huppah which is on the fifth day in the eighth month.
And the New Moon is in the fifth day in the week of Bilgah which is on the twenty-first day in the eighth month.
On the fourth day in the week of Hezir which is on the fourth day in the ninth month.
And the New Moon is on the sabbath in the week of Jehezekel which is on the twenty-first day in the ninth month.
On the sixth day in the week of Jachin which is on the third day in the tenth month.
And the New Moon is on the first day in the week of Maaziah which is on the nineteenth in the tenth month.
On the sabbath in the week of Jedaiah which is on the second day in the eleventh month.
And the New Moon is on the third day in Seorim which is on the nineteenth day in the eleventh month.
On the second day in the week of Mijamin which is on the second day in the twelfth month.
And the New Moon is on the fourth day in the week of Abiah which is on the eighteenth day in the twelfth month.

The fourth year.
On the fourth day in the week of Shecaniah which is on the first day in the first month.
And the New Moon is on the sixth day in the week of Jakim which is on the seventeenth day in the first month.
On the fifth day in the week of Pizzez which is on the thirtieth day in the first month.
On the sabbath in the week of Petahiah which is on the thirtieth of the second month.
And the New Moon is on the first day in the week of Hezir which is on the seventeenth day in it. On the first day in the week of Delaiah, which is on the twenty-ninth

Fragment 4

I On the fifth day in the week of Jakim which is on the seventh day in the fifth month.
And the New Moon is on the first day in the week of Bilgah which is on the twenty-fourth day in the fifth month.
On the sabbath in the week of Hezir which is on the seventh day in the sixth month.
And the New Moon is on the second day in the week of Petahiah which is on the twenty-third day in the sixth month.
On the first day in the week of Jachin which is on the fifth day in the seventh month.
And the New Moon is on the fourth day in the week of Delaiah which is on the twenty-second day in the seventh month.
On the third day in the week of Joiarib which is on the fifth day in the eighth month.
And the New Moon is on the fifth day in the week of Harim which is on the twenty-first day in the eighth month.
On the fourth day in the week of Malchiah which is on the fourth day in the ninth month.
And the New Moon is on the sabbath in the week of Abiah which is on the twenty-first day in the ninth month.
On the sixth day in the week of Jeshua which is on the third day in the tenth month.
And the New Moon is on the first day in the week of Jakim which is on the nineteenth day in the tenth month.
On the sabbath in the week of Jeshebeab which is on the second day of the eleventh month.
And the New Moon is on the third day in the week of Immer which is on the nineteenth day in the eleventh month.
On the second day in the week of Pizzez which is on the second day in the twelfth month.
And the New Moon is on the fourth day in the week of Jehezekel which is on the eighteenth day in the twelfth month. ...

First year
In the first month in the week of Gamul; on the third day in the
week of Maaziah: Passover. In the week of Jedaiah: the Waving of
the Sheaf. The first day of the second month is in the week of
Jedaiah; in the week of Seorim: the Second Passover. The first day
of the third month is in the week of Hakkoz.
V in Jeshua: the Feast of Weeks is in it.
The fourth month begins in the week of Eliashib.
The fifth month begins in the week of Bilgah.
The sixth month begins in the week of Jehezekel.
The seventh month begins in the week of Maoziah. In Maoziah is
the Day of Memorial. In Joiarib is the Day of Atonement. In Jedaiah is
the Feast of Tabernacles.
The eighth month begins in the week of Seorim.
The ninth month begins in the week of Jeshua.
The tenth month begins in the week of Huppah.
The eleventh month begins in the week of Hezir.
The twelfth month begins in the week of Gamul. ...

The second year.
The first month begins in the week of Jedaiah. In the week of Seorim is the Passover. In the week of Mijamin is the Waving of the Sheaf.
The second month begins in the week of Mijamin. In the week of Abiah is the Second Passover.
The third month begins in the week of Eliashib and in the week of Huppah is the Feast of Weeks.
The fourth month begins in the week of Bilgah.
The fifth month begins in the week of Petahiah.
The sixth month begins in the week of Maaziah.
The seventh month begins in the week of Seorim. In the week of Seorim is the Day of Memorial. In the week of Malchiah is the Day of Atonement. In the week of Mijamin is the Feast of Tabernacles.
The eighth month begins in the week of Abiah.
The ninth month begins in the week of Huppah.
The tenth month begins in the week of Hezir.
The eleventh month begins in the week of Jachin.
The twelfth month begins in the week of Jedaiah. ...

The third year.
The first month begins in the week of Mijamin. In the week of Abiah is the Passover. In the week of Shecaniah is the Waving of the Sheaf.
The second month begins in the week of Shecaniah and in the week of Jakim is the Second Passover.
The third month begins in the week of Bilgah. In the week of Hezir (Fragment 4—5:) is the Feast of Weeks.
The fourth month begins in the week of Petahiah.
The fifth month begins in the week of Delaiah.
The sixth month begins in the week of Seorim.
In the seventh month, in the week of Abiah is the Day of Memorial. In the week of Jeshua is the Day of Atonement. In the week of Shecaniah is the Feast of Tabernacles.
The eighth month begins in the week of Jakim.
The ninth month begins in the week of Hezir.
The tenth month begins in the week of Jachin.
The eleventh month begins in the week of Joiarib.
The twelfth month begins in the week of Mijamin.

The fourth year.
The first month begins in the week of Shecaniah. In the week of Jakim is the Passover. In the week of Jeshebeab is the Waving of the Sheaf.
The second month begins in the week of Jeshebeab. In the week of Immer is the Second Passover. In the week of Jachin is the Feast of Weeks.
The fourth month begins in the week of Delaiah.
The fifth month begins in the week of Harim.
The sixth month begins in the week of Abiah.
The seventh month begins in the week of Jakim. In the week of Jakim is the Day of Memorial. In the week of Huppah is the Day of Atonement. In the week of Jeshebeab is the Feast of Tabernacles.
The eighth month begins in the week of Immer.
The ninth month begins in the week of Jachin.
The tenth month begins in the week of Joiarib.
The eleventh month begins in the week of MaIchiah.
The twelfth month begins in the week of Shecaniah. ...

The fifth year.
The first month begins in the week of Jeshebeab. In the week of Immer is the Passover. In the week of Pizzez is the Waving of the Sheaf.
The second month begins in the week of Pizzez. In Jehezekel is the Second Passover.
The third month begins in the week of Delaiah. In the week of Joiarib is the Feast of Weeks.
The fourth month begins in the week of Harim.
The fifth month begins in the week of Hakkoz.
The sixth month begins in the week of Jakim.
The seventh month begins in the week of Immer. In the week of Immer is the Day of Memorial. In the week of Hezir is the Day of Atonement. In the week of Pizzez is the Feast of Tabernacles.
The eighth month begins in the week of Jehezekel.
The ninth month begins in the week of Joiarib and the tenth month begins (Fragment 5:) in the week of Malchiah.
The eleventh month begins in the week of Jeshua.
The twelfth month begins in the week of Jeshebeab.

The sixth year.
The first month begins in the week of Pizzez. In the week of Jehezekel is the Passover. In the week of Gamul is the Waving of the Sheaf.
The second month begins in the week of Gamul. In the week of Maaziah is the Second Passover.
The third month begins in the week of Harim. In the week of Malchiah is the Feast of Weeks.
The fourth month begins in the week of Hakkoz.
The fifth month begins in the week of Eliashib. The sixth month begins in the week of Immer.
The seventh month begins in the week of Jehezekel. In the week of Jehezekel is the Day of Memorial. In the week of Jachin is the Day of Atonement. In the week of Gamul is the Feast of Tabernacles.
The eighth month begins in the week of Maaziah.
The ninth month begins in the week of Malchiah.
The tenth month begins in the week of Jeshua.
The eleventh month begins in the week of Huppah.
The twelfth month begins in the week of Pizzez.

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Mishmarot Ba 4Q321
(Translation and transcription by S. Talmon and I. Knohl)

On the first day in the week of Jedaiah which falls on the twelfth in it the seventh month.
On the second day in the week of Abiah which falls on the twenty- fifth in the eighth month; and duqah is on the third day in the week of Miyamin which falls on the twelfth in it the eighth month.
On the third day in the week of Jaqim which falls on the twenty-fourth in the ninth month; and duqah is on the fourth day in the week of Shekania which falls on the eleventh in it the ninth month.
On the fifth day in the week of Immer which falls on the twenty-third in the tenth month; and duqah is on the sixth day in the week of Jeshbeab which falls on the tenth in it the tenth month.
On the sixth day in the week of Jehezkel which falls on the twenty-second in the eleventh month and duqah is on the Sabbath in the week of Petahah which falls on the ninth in it the eleventh month.
On the first day in the week of Joiarib which falls on the twenty-second in the twelfth month; and duqah is on the second day in the week of Delaiah which falls on the ninth in it the twelfth month. vacat The second year: The first month.
On the second day in the week of Malakiah which falls on the twentieth in it the first month; and duqah is on the third day in the week of Harim which falls on the seventh in it the first month.
On the fourth day in the week of Jeshua which falls on the twentieth in the second month; and duqah is on the fifth day in the week of Haqqos which falls on the seventh in it the second month.
On the fifth day in the week of Huppah which falls on the nineteenth in the third month; and duqah is on the sixth day in the week of Happisses which falls ...

Mishmarot D 4Q325
(Fragment 1:) ... Passover on the third day of the week. On the eighteenth day in the first month is the sabbath of the week of Joiarib ... in the evening.
On the twenty-fifth day in the first month is the sabbath of the week of Jedaiah. During the same week is the Feast of Barley on the twenty-sixth day in the first month, after the sabbath.
The beginning of the second month is on the sixth day of the week of Jedaiah.
On the second day in the second month is the sabbath of Harim.
On the ninth day in the second month is the sabbath of Seorim.
On the sixteenth day in the second month is the sabbath of Malchiah.
On the twenty-third day in the second month is the sabbath of Mijamin.
On the thirtieth day in the second month is the sabbath of Hakkoz.
The beginning of the third month after the sabbath ...

(Fragment 2:)
On the sixth day in the week of Bilgah.
On the second day in the fifth month is the sabbath of Immer.
On the third day in the fifth month is the Feast of the New Wine after the sabbath of Immer.
On the ninth day in the fifth month is the sabbath of Hezir.
On the sixteenth day in the fifth month is the sabbath of Aphses.
On the twenty-third day in the fifth month is the sabbath of Petahiah.
On the thirtieth day in the fifth month is the sabbath of Jehezekel.
The beginning of the sixth month is after the sabbath = Sunday of Jehezekel. On the seventh day in the sixth month is the sabbath of Jachin.
On the fourteenth day in the sixth month is the sabbath of Gamul.
On the twenty-first day in the sixth month is the sabbath of Delaiah.
On the twenty-second day in the sixth month is the Feast of New Oil.
After the Feast of New Oil is the Feast of the Offering of Wood.

Mishmarot F (4Q328)
... In the fifth year: Jeshabeab. In the sixth: Hapizzez.
These are the beginnings of the years.
In the first year: Gamul, Eliashib, Moaziah, Huppah.
In the second: Jedaiah, Bilgah, Seorim, Hezir.
In the third: Mijamin, Petahiah, Abiah, Jachin.
In the fourth: Shecaniah, Delaiah, Jakim, Joiarib.
In the fifth: Jeshabeab, Harim, Immer, Malchiah.
In the sixth: Hapizzez, ...

Calendrical Document C (4Q326)
In the first month on the fourth day is Sabbath...
On the eighth day in it is Sabbath ...
On the eleventh day in it is Sabbath...
On the 14th day in it is Passover on the third day of the week.
On the 15th day in it: the feast of the Unleavened Bread on the fourth day of the week.
On the 18th day is Sabbath.
On the 25th day in it: Sabbath.
On the 26th day in it: feast of the Grain after the Sabbath.
In the first month 30 days.
On the second day in it: Sabbath.
On the ninth day in it: Sabbath.
On the 16th day ...

Calendric Signs (Otot) (4Q319)
The so-called Otot or 'Signs' document was copied as the continuation of 4QSe 4Q259. Palaeographically the manuscript is dated to the first half of the first century BC. 4Q319 represents a calendrical system based on the weekly rotation of the twenty-four priestly courses during a six-year period and constructed into six consecutive Jubilees, i.e. 294 years. The 'sign' which recurs in every three years probably identifies the years in which the shorter lunar year of 354 days is supplemented by means of the intercalation of an extra month of 30 days $3\times354+30=1,092$ to equal the length of three 'solar' years of 364 days each $3\times364 = 1,092$.

Fragments 1-3
IV ...
... on the fourth day of the week ...
its light on the fourth day of the week of the creation
in the week of Gamul.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the fourth year.
The sign of Gamul: in the year of Release i.e. the first sabbatical year.

Second sabbatical cycle:
The sign of Shecaniah: in the third year.
The sign of Gamul: in the sixth year.
Third sabbatical cycle:
The sign of Shecaniah: in the second year.
The sign of Gamul: in the fifth year.

Fourth sabbatical cycle:
The sign of Shecaniah: after the year of Release.
The sign of Gamul: in the fourth year.
The sign of Shecaniah:
in the year of Release.

Fifth sabbatical cycle:
The sign of Gamul: in the third year.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the sixth year.
Sixth sabbatical cycle:
The sign of Gamul: in the second year.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the fifth year.

Seventh sabbatical cycle:
The sign of Gamul: after the year of Release.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the fourth year.
The sign of Gamul: in the year of Release
which is the sign of the end of the Jubilee.
The signs of the second Jubilee: 17 signs.
Of this in the year of Release: 2 signs.
...of the creation...

The sign of Shecaniah:
in the second year.
The sign of Gamul: in the fifth year.
The sign of Shecaniah: after the year of Release.
The sign of Gamul:

Fragments 2—5, 9, 23
in the fourth year.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the year of Release.
The sign of Gamul: in the third year.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the sixth year.
The sign of Gamul: in the second year.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the fifth year.
The sign of Gamul: after the year of Release.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the fourth year.
The sign of Gamul: in the year of Release.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the third year.
The sign of Gamul: in the sixth year
The sign of Shecaniah
which is the sign of the end of the third Jubilee.
The signs of the third Jubilee: 17 signs.
Of this in the year of Release: 2 signs.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the second year.
The sign of Gamul: in the fifth year.
The sign of Shecaniah: after the year of Release.
The sign of Gamul: in the fourth year.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the year of Release.
The sign of Gamul: in the third year.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the sixth year.
The sign of Gamul: in the second year.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the fifth year.
The sign of Gamul: after the year of Release.
The sign of Shecaniah:
in the fourth year.
The sign of Gamul: in the year of Release.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the third year.
The sign of Gamul: in the sixth year.
The sign of Shecaniah:
in the second year.
The sign of Gamul: in the fifth year.
The sign of Shecaniah: after the year of Release
which is the sign of the end of the Jubilee.
The signs of the fourth Jubilee: 17 signs.
Of this in the year of Release: 2 signs.
The sign of Gamul: in the fourth year.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the year of Release.
The sign of Gamul: in the third year.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the sixth year.
The sign of Gamul: in the second year.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the fifth year.
The sign of Gamul: after the year of Release.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the fourth year.
The sign of Gamul: in the year of Release.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the second year.
The sign of Gamul: in the fifth year.
The sign of Shecaniah: after the year of Release.
The sign of Gamul: in the fourth year.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the year of Release
which is the sign of the end of the fifth Jubilee in Jeshebab.
The signs of the fifth Jubilee: 16 signs.
Of this in the year of Release:

Fragments 5-8
3 signs.
The sign of Gamul: in the third year.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the sixth year.
The sign of Gamul: in the second year.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the fifth year.
The sign of Gamul: after the year of Release.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the fourth year.
The sign of Gamul: in the year of Release.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the third year.
The sign of Gamul: in the sixth year.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the second year.
The sign of Gamul: in the fifth year.
The sign of Shecaniah: after the year of Release.
The sign of Gamul: in the fourth year.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the year of Release.
The sign of Gamul: in the third year.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the sixth year
which is the sign of the end of the sixth Jubilee.
The signs of the sixth Jubilee: 16 signs.
Of this in the year of Release: 2 signs
... and for the Jubilee.
The sign of Gamul: in the second year.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the fifth year.
The sign of Gamul: after the year of Release.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the fourth year.
The sign of Gamul: in the year of Release.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the third year.
The sign of Gamul: in the sixth year.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the second year.
The sign of Gamul: in the fifth year.
The sign of Shecaniah: after the year of Release.
The sign of Gamul: in the fourth year.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the year of Release.
The sign of Gamul: in the third year.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the sixth year.
The sign of Gamul: in the second year.
The sign of Shecaniah: in the fifth year
which is the sign of the end of the Jubilee.
The signs of the seventh Jubilee 16 signs.
Of this in the year of Release: 2 signs.
Sign of the Jubilees,
year of Jubilees according to holy days.
In Gamul the first Jubilee,
in Jedaiah the second,
in Mijamin the third, in Shecaniah the fourth

'Horoscopes' or Astrological Physiognomies (4Q186, 4Q534, 4Q561)
(Three documents from Cave 4, one in Hebrew and two in Aramaic, all dating probably to the end of the first century BC, contain fragments of 'horoscopes' or, more precisely, astrological physiognomies claiming a correspondence between the features and destiny of a person and the configuration of the stars at the time of his birth.)

4Q 186, fr. 1
... and his thighs are long and lean, and his toes are thin and long. He is of the second Column. His spirit consists of six

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(parts) in the House of Light and three in the Pit of Darkness. And this is his birthday on which he (is to be/was?) born: in the foot of the Bull. He will be meek.

And his animal is the bull.

... and his head ... and his cheeks are fat. His teeth are of uneven length. His fingers are thick, and his thighs are thick and very hairy, each one. His toes are thick and short. His spirit consists of eight parts in the House of Darkness and one from the House of Light...

Fr. 2

... order. His eyes are black and glowing. His beard is ... and it is ...

His voice is gentle. His teeth are fine and well aligned. He is neither tall, nor short. And he ... And his fingers are thin and long. And his thighs are smooth. And the soles of his feet... And his toes are well aligned. His spirit consists of eight parts in the House of Light, of the second Column, and one in the House of Darkness. And this is his birthday on which he (is to be/was) born: ... And his animal is ...

4Q561

... mixed but not too much. His eyes will be between white and black.

His nose will be long and beautiful. His teeth will be even. His beard will be thin but not too much so. His limbs will be smooth and between reduced and thick ...

Phases of the Moon (4Q317)

(Seventy-six fragments of an astronomical text written in a cryptic alphabet record the phases of the moon, divided into 1/14ths of the full size of the moon, over the consecutive days of a 364-day solar calendar.)

... On the fifth day of it (the month), twelve fourteenths of the moon's surface are covered and thus it enters the day. On the sixth day of it thirteen fourteenths of its surface are covered and thus it enters the day. On the seventh day of it fourteen fourteenths of its surface are covered and thus it enters the day. ... On the eighth day of it... the firmament above ... its light is to be covered ... on the first of the Sabbath (Sunday). ... On the ninth day of it one fourteenth portion of its surface is revealed and thus it enters the night. On the tenth day of it two fourteenths of its surface are revealed and it enters the night. ... On the eleventh day of it three fourteenths of its surface are revealed and thus it enters the night. ...

A Zodiacal Calendar with a Brontologion (4Q318)

(This is a fascinating, but unfortunately fragmentary, calendar that indicates the passage of the moon through the various Zodiacal signs during the successive months of the year from Nisan to Adar. The fragment begins with the month of Tevet, continues with Tishri and ends with Adar. The last four lines have preserved a brontologion, i.e. prediction of prodigies or ill-omens by means of an interpretation of the sound of thunder on certain specified days of the month. The actual prediction of woe survives only at the end of the text. It takes the form of a famine and the invasion of the country by a conquering foreign army.)

... and on 13 and 14 Pisces; on 15 and 16 Aries; on 17 and 18 Taurus; on 19 and 20 and 21 Gemini; on 22 and 23 Cancer; on 24 and 25 Leo; on 26 and 27 and 28 Virgo; on 29 and 30 Libra ... Tishri. On 1 and 2 Scorpio; on 3 and 4 Sagittarius; on 5 and 6 and 7 Capricorn; on 8 and on 13 and 14 Cancer; on 15 and 16 Leo; on 17 and 18 Virgo; on 19 and 20 and 21 Libra; on 22 and 23 Scorpio; on 24 and 25 Sagittarius; on 26 and 27 and 28 Capricorn; on 29 and 30 Aquarius. ... Shevat. On 1 and 2 Pisces; on 3 and 4 Aries; on 5 and 6 and 7 Taurus; on 8 and 9 Gemini; on 10 and 11 Cancer; on 12 and 13 and 14 Leo; on 15 and 16 Virgo; on 17 and 18 Libra; on 19 and 20 and 21 Scorpio; on 22 and 23 Sagittarius; on 24 and 25 Capricorn; on 26 and 27 and 28 Aquarius; on 29 and 30 Pisces ...

Adar. On 1 and 2 Aries; on 3 and 4 Taurus; on 5 and 6 and 7 Gemini; on 8 and 9 Cancer; on 10 and 11 Leo; on 12 and 13 and 14 Virgo; on 15 and 16 Libra; on 17 and on 18 Scorpio; on 19 and 20 and 21 Sagittarius; on 22 and 23 Capricorn; on 24 and 25 Aquarius; on 26 and 27 and 28 Pisces; on 29 and 30 Aries. If in Taurus it thunders ... and hard labour for the country and sword in the court of the king and in the country of ... to the Arabs ... starvation and they will pillage one another ... If in Gemini it thunders, terror and affliction will be brought by strangers and by ...

Order of Divine Office (4Q334)

(Cave 4 has yielded seven fragments of a liturgical work made up of six columns, listing the number of songs and words of praise to be sung during the night and during the day on consecutive days of the month. Only the fragments 2-4 can be built up into a coherent text. The script is dated to the end of the first century BC.)

Frs. 2-4

And on the eighth (day) of it (of the month) at night: eight songs and forty-... words of praise, and during the day: ... songs and sixteen words of praise. And on the ninth day of it at night: eight songs and forty-two words of praise, and during the day: ... songs and ... words of praise. And on the tenth (day) of it at night: eight songs and ... words of praise, and during the day: ... songs and twenty words of praise ...

The Words of the Heavenly Lights (4Q504—6)

(Surviving in three fragmentary manuscripts from Cave 4 (4Q504-6), 'The Words of the Heavenly Lights' are collective prayers for the days of the week which are full of biblical reminiscences. In the best preserved of them (4Q504), the Sabbath and the fourth day are expressly mentioned in the surviving text. The document is probably from the mid-second century BC.)

4Q504

... Amen! Amen! ... ... We pray Thee, O Lord, do in accordance with Thyself, in accordance with the greatness of Thy might, Thou who didst pardon our fathers when they rebelled against Thy saying. Thou wert angry with them so as to wish to destroy them, but because of Thy love for them and for the sake of Thy Covenant - for Moses had atoned for their sin - and in order that Thy great might and the abundance of Thy mercy might be known to everlasting generations, Thou didst take pity on them. So let Thine anger and wrath against all their sin turn away from Thy people Israel. Remember Thy marvels which Thou didst for the poor of the nations. For we were called by Thy Name... to cause us to repent with all (our) heart and soul and to plant Thy Law in our heart that we might never depart from it, straying neither to right nor to left. For Thou wilt heal us of foolishness and of blindness and confusion of heart... Behold we were sold because of our iniquities but despite our offences Thou didst call us ... Thou wilt save us from sinning against Thee ... and to make us understand the testimonies ...

... Behold, all the nations are as nothing beside Thee, they are counted as void and naught before Thee. We have called on Thy Name alone. Thou hast created us for Thy glory and made us Thy children in the sight of all the nations. For Thou hast named Israel 'My son, my first-born', and hast chastised us as a man chastises his son.

Thou hast brought us up throughout the years of our generations by means of evil diseases, famine, thirst, pestilence, and the sword ... of Thy Covenant. Because Thou hast chosen us from all the earth to be Thy people, therefore hast Thou poured out Thine anger and jealousy upon us in all the fury of Thy wrath. Thou hast caused the scourge of Thy plagues to cleave to us of which Moses wrote, and Thy servants the Prophets, that Thou wouldst send evil against us in the last days...

... Thy dwelling-place ... a resting-place in Jerusalem, the city which Thou hast chosen from all the earth that Thy Name might remain there for ever. For Thou hast loved Israel above all the peoples.

Thou hast chosen the tribe of Judah and hast established Thy Covenant with David that he might be as a princely shepherd over Thy people and sit before Thee on the throne of Israel for ever. All the nations have seen Thy glory, Thou who hast sanctified Thyself in the midst of Thy people Israel. They brought their offering to Thy great Name, silver and gold and precious stones together with all the treasures of their lands, that they might glorify Thy people, and Zion Thy holy city, and the House of Thy majesty. And there was neither adversary nor misfortune, but peace and blessing... and they ate and were satisfied and grew fat ...

... they forsook the fount of living waters... and served a strange god in their land. Also, their land was ravaged by their enemies; for Thy fury and the heat of Thy wrath overflowed, in the fire of Thy jealousy, making of it a desert where no man could go and return. Yet notwithstanding all this, Thou didst not reject the seed of Jacob, neither didst Thou cast away Israel to destruction, breaking Thy Covenant with them. For Thou alone art a living God and there is none beside Thee.

Thou didst remember Thy Covenant, Thou who didst rescue us in the presence of all the nations, and didst not forsake us amid the nations.

Thou wert gracious towards Thy people Israel in all the lands to which Thou didst banish them, that they might remember to return to Thee and to hearken to Thy voice according to all Thou hadst commanded by the hand of Moses Thy servant.

For Thou hast shed Thy Holy Spirit upon us, bringing upon us Thy blessings, that we might seek Thee in our distress and whisper (prayers) in the ordeal of Thy chastisement. We have entered into distress, have been stricken and tried by the fury of the oppressor.

For we also have tired God with our iniquity, we have wearied the Rock with our sins. But in order that we may profit, Thou hast not wearied us who leadest us in the way in which we must walk. But we have not heeded ...

... Thou hast taken away all our transgressions and hast purified us of our sin for Thine own sake. Thine, Thine is righteousness, O Lord, for it is Thou who hast done all this! Now, on the day when our heart is humbled, we expiate our iniquity and the iniquity of our fathers, together with our unfaithfulness and rebellion. We have not rejected Thy trials and scourges; our soul has not despised them to the point of breaking Thy Covenant despite all the distress of our soul. For Thou, who hast sent our enemies against us, strengthenest our heart that we may recount Thy mighty deeds to everlasting generations. We pray Thee, O Lord, since Thou workest marvels from everlasting to everlasting, to let Thine anger and wrath retreat from us. Look on our affliction and trouble and distress, and deliver Thy people Israel from all the lands, near and far, to which Thou hast banished them, every man who is inscribed in the Book of Life... serve Thee and give thanks to Thy holy Name ... from those who vex them ... ... who deliverest us from all distress. Amen! Amen!

Hymns for the Sabbath Day
Give thanks ...
Bless His holy Name always
... all the angels of the holy firmament
... above the heavens,
the earth and all its deep places,
the great Abyss and Abaddon
and the waters and all that is in them.
Let all His creatures bless Him always
for everlasting ages. Amen! Amen!
... bless His holy Name.
Sing to God...

Fr. 3

... Blessed be the God who has given us rest. Amen, amen. Prayer on the fourth day. Remember, O Lord ...

Fr. 4

... We know these through Thy Holy Spirit which Thou hast granted us. Have mercy on us and remember us not for the iniquities of the men of old in all their evil dealings, nor their stiff necks. Thou redeem us and, pray, forgive our iniquities and our sins.

Fr. 6

... Remember, pray, that we are Thy people and that Thou hast carried us marvellously on the wings of eagles and hast brought us towards Thee. And like an eagle which rouses its nestlings and hovers over its young, spreads out its wings, takes one and carries it on its pinions, so we dwell apart and are not reckoned among the nations and ... Thou art in our midst in the pillar of fire and the cloud of Thy holiness walking before us, and as it were Thy glory in our midst ...

Fr. 8 recto

... Remember, O Lord that... Thou hast fashioned Adam, our father, in the likeness of Thy glory; Thou didst breathe a breath of life into his nostrils and, with understanding, knowledge Thou didst give him ... Thou didst make him to rule over the Garden of Eden which Thou didst plant... and to walk in the land of glory... he guarded.

And Thou didst enjoin him not to stray ..... he is flesh and to dust he will return ... And Thou, Thou knowest ... for everlasting generations ... a living God and Thy hand ... man in the ways of... to fill the earth with violence and to shed innocent blood ...

Liturgical Prayer (1Q 34 and 34 bis)

(The following fragments belong to a collection of prayers for Jewish festivals. The title of the present section is lost, but reference to the renewal of the Covenant seems to indicate that we have here another part of the sect's Pentecostal liturgy.)

... Thou wilt cause the wicked to be our ransom and the unfaithful to be our redemption. Thou wilt blot out all our oppressors and we shall praise Thy Name for ever and ever. For this hast Thou created us and to say to Thee this: Blessed art Thou ...

... the Great Light (of heaven) for the daytime, and the Little Light of heaven for the night ... without transgressing their laws, ... and their dominion is over all the world.

But the seed of man did not understand all that Thou caused them to inherit; they did not discern Thee in all Thy words and wickedly turned aside from every one. They heeded not Thy great power and therefore Thou didst reject them. For wickedness pleases Thee not, and the ungodly shall not be established before Thee.

But in the time of Thy goodwill Thou didst choose for Thyself a people. Thou didst remember Thy Covenant and granted that they should be set apart for Thyself from among all the peoples as a holy thing. And Thou didst renew for them Thy Covenant (founded) on a glorious vision and the words of Thy Holy Spirit, on the works of Thy hands and the writing of Thy Right Hand, that they might know the foundations of

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glory and the steps towards eternity... Thou didst raise up for them a faithful shepherd ...

Prayers for Festivals (4Q 507-9)

(Three badly worn manuscripts from Cave 4 (4Q507-9) partly correspond to the foregoing fragments from Cave 1 (1Q34 and 34 bis). They have preserved prayers for festivals, two of which are explicitly associated with the Day of Atonement and the Day of First fruits. They are probably from the beginning of the first century AD.

4Q507, fr. 1

We are (encompassed) by iniquity since the womb, and since the breast by guilt. While we live, we walk in iniquity...

4Q508, fr. 1 (cf. 1Q34 bis)

And the righteous... to grow fat thanks to the clouds of heaven and the produce of the land, to distinguish the righteous from the wicked. And Thou shalt make of the wicked our expiation, and by the upright Thou shalt destroy all our oppressors. And we will praise Thy name for ever and ever. For Thou hast created us for this and we answer Thee with this: Blessed be ...

Fr. 2 (cf. 1Q34 bis)

... Prayer for the Day of Atonement. Remember O Lord, the feast of mercies and the time of return ... Thou hast established it for us as a feast of fasting, and an everlasting precept ... Thou knowest the hidden things and the things revealed ...

Fr. 3

... Thou didst establish Thy Covenant with Noah ...

4Q509, fr. 3 (cf. 1Q34 bis)

For Thou hast caused us to rejoice, removing our grief, and hast assembled our banished ones for a feast of... Thou shalt gather our dispersed women for the season of ... Thy mercies on our congregation like rain-drops on the earth in the season of sowing ... and like showers on the grass in the seasons of sprouting and... We shall recount Thy marvels from generation to generation. Blessed be the Lord who has caused us to rejoice...

Fr. 132

Prayer for the Day of Firstfruits. Remember, O Lord, the feast of ... and the pleasing free-will offerings which Thou hast commanded... to bring before Thee the firstfruits of Thy works ...

Daily Prayers (4Q 503)

(This is a manuscript from Cave 4 (4Q503) consisting of 225 papyrus fragments. It lists evening and morning benedictions for each day of the month. The calendar followed appears to be lunar since evening precedes morning. The editor places the writing in the first quarter of the first century BC.)

And when the sun rises... the firmament of heaven, they shall bless.

Answering they shall say: Blessed be the God of Israel ... Today... in the fourth of the gates of light... On the fifth of the month in the evening, they shall bless. Answering, they shall say: Blessed be the God of Israel who hides... before him in every division of his glory ... today the fourteenth ... light of the day. Peace be on you, Israel ...

When the sun rises to illumine the earth, they shall bless, and again the number shall be eleven days to the feasts of joy and the appointed times of glory, for this day is in the fifteenth of the gates of light ... Peace be on you, Israel. On the sixth of the month in the evening, they shall bless. Answering, they shall say: Blessed be the God of Israel ... And when the sun rises to illumine the earth, they shall bless. Answering, they shall say ...

Frs. 7-9

... Peace be on you, Israel ... On the seventh of the month in the evening, they shall bless. Answering, they shall say: Blessed be the God of Israel ...

Fr. 11

On the twelfth of the month in the evening they shall bless ... (This probably continues up to the 26th of the month.) Prayer or Hymn Celebrating the Morning and the Evening

(4Q 408)

(One medium sized and fifteen or sixteen small fragments represent a collection of liturgical prayers of which only one can be partly translated. The document is akin to 4Q375 and 376 as well as to 1Q29. Palaeographically the document is placed in the late second century BC.)

Fr. I

... B1essed art Thou, O Lord, who art righteous in all Thy ways. Be mighty in strength ... in Thy judgements. Thou who art faithful ... Thou art understanding with all intelligence ... might. Thou who art ... to bring out ... who hast created the morning as a sign to reveal the dominion of the light as the boundary of the daytime ... for their work.

To bless Thy holy name Thou hast created them. For the light is good ... Thou art ... who hast created the evening as a sign to reveal the dominion of darkness ... from labour. Thou hast created them to bless Thy holy name when they see that the light is good and when ... Thou hast created the evening as a sign (to mark) the appearance of the dominion of darkness ...

Blessings (1QSb=1Q28b)

(These fragments from a collection of blessings were originally attached to the Scroll containing the Community Rule and the Messianic Rulewho dates them to around 100 BC. The Blessings were to be recited by the Master or Guardian, and were, as it seems, intended for the messianic age, and perhaps for the ceremony of the institution of the new Community. It is, however, possible that they were actually used during the course of some liturgy anticipating and symbolizing the coming of the messianic era. All the members of the Covenant are blessed first, followed by someone who seems to be the priestly head of the Community, the Messiah of Aaron. The next blessing is addressed to the sons of Zadok, the Priests (and Levites?), and finally the Prince of the Congregation, the Messiah of Israel, is blessed. The rest of the document is lost.)

The Blessing of the Faithful

I Words of blessing. The Master shall bless them that fear God and do His will, that keep His commandments, and hold fast to His holy Covenant, and walk perfectly in all the ways of His truth, whom He has chosen for an eternal Covenant which shall endure for ever.

May the Lord bless you from the Abode of His holiness; may He open for you from heaven an eternal fountain which shall not fail!

May He favour you with every heavenly blessing; may He teach you the knowledge of the Holy Ones!

May He unlock for you the everlasting fountain; may He not withhold the waters of life from them that thirst!

The Blessing of the High Priest

... May the Lord lift His countenance towards you; may He delight in the sweet odour of your sacrifices!

May He choose all them that sit in your priestly college; may He store up all your sacred offerings, and in the season of ... all your seed!

May He lift His countenance towards all your congregation!

May He place upon your head a diadem ... in everlasting glory; may He sanctify your seed in glory without end!

May He grant you everlasting peace ...

May He fight at the head of your Thousands until the generation of falsehood is ended ... to bend many peoples before you ... all the riches of the world ...

For God has established all the foundations of ... may He lay the foundation of your peace for ever!

The Blessing of the Priests

Words of blessing. The Master shall bless the sons of Zadok the Priests, whom God has chosen to confirm His Covenant for ever, and to inquire into all His precepts in the midst of His people, and to instruct them as He commanded; who have established His Covenant on truth and watched over all His laws with righteousness and walked according to the way of His choice.

May the Lord bless you from His holy Abode; may He set you as a splendid jewel in the midst of the congregation of the saints!

May He renew for you the Covenant of the everlasting priesthood; may He sanctify you for the House of Holiness!

May He judge all the leaders by your works, and all the princes of the peoples by the words from out of your lips!

May He give you as your portion the firstfruits of all delectable things; may He bless by your hand the counsel of all flesh!

... may everlasting blessings be the crown upon your head!

... For He has chosen you to ... and to number the saints and to bless your people ... the men of the Council of God by your hand, and not by the hand of a prince ...

... May you be as an Angel of the Presence in the Abode of Holiness to the glory of the God of hosts ...

May you attend upon the service in the Temple of the Kingdom and decree destiny in company with the Angels of the Presence, in common council with the Holy Ones for everlasting ages and time without end; for all His judgements are truth!

May He make you holy among His people, and an eternal light to illumine the world with knowledge and to enlighten the face of the Congregation with wisdom! May He consecrate you to the Holy of Holies! For you are made holy for Him and you shall glorify His Name and His holiness ...

The Blessing of the Prince of the Congregation

The Master shall bless the Prince of the Congregation ... and shall renew for him the Covenant of the Community that he may establish the kingdom of His people for ever, that he may judge the poor with righteousness and dispense justice with equity to the oppressed of the land, and that he may walk perfectly before Him in all the ways of truth, and that he may establish His holy Covenant at the time of the affliction of those who seek God.

May the Lord raise you up to everlasting heights, and as a fortified tower upon a high wall!

May you smite the peoples with the might of your hand and ravage the earth with your sceptre; may you bring death to the ungodly with the breath of your lips!

May He shed upon you the spirit of counsel and everlasting might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of God; may righteousness be the girdle of your loins and may your reins be girdled with faithfulness!

May He make your horns of iron and your hooves of bronze; may you toss like a young bull and trample the peoples like the mire of the streets!

For God has established you as the sceptre. The rulers ... and all the kings of the nations shall serve you. He shall strengthen you with His holy Name and you shall be as a lion; and you shall not lie down until you have devoured the prey which naught shall deliver ...

Benedictions (4Q 280, 286-90)

Five fragmentary copies of a text containing liturgical blessings and curses, each unit ending with 'Amen, amen', have survived in Cave 4.

Of these 4QBerakhot a (4Q286), preserved on three photographic plates, provides continuous passages. They parallel Community Rule 2 and War Rule 8.

4Q286 = 4Q Berakhot a

Blessings

Fr. 1a ii

The seat of Thy splendour and the footstool of Thy glory in the heights of Thy standing and Thy holy stepping-place. And Thy glorious chariots, their cherubim and their wheels and all their companies; foundations of fire and flames of brightness and shinings of majesty and streams of fire and wonderful luminaries; majesty and splendour and glorious height, holy foundation and source of majesty and height of glory, marvel of thanksgivings and reservoir of might, splendour of praises and great in wonderful things and healings and miraculous deeds, foundation of wisdom and pattern of knowledge and source of understanding, source of prudence and holy counsel and true foundation, treasure-house of intelligence, building of righteousness and place of uprightness, great in loving-kindness and in meekness and true loving-kindness and everlasting mercies and mysteries of marvels in their revelations and holy weeks in their appointed time and squads of months ... ... of years in their circuits and glorious festive seasons in their ... fixed moments ... and the sabbatical years of the land in their divisions, appointed times for liberty ... eternity ... light and darkness ...

Fr. 2

... their ... in the strength of their majesty and all the spirits of those who bring to the Sanctuary ... in their companies and in their dominions, the mighty of the 'gods' with power. vacat ... zeal for judgement with strength. vacat ... they shall all bless in community Thy holy name.... Holy of Holies they will curse ... knowledge of understanding ... vacat ... joyous cry ...

Fr. 3

... ruling angels ... in (all their services ... sparks and lightnings ... the angels of rain clouds, and heavy clouds and thick clouds and dewdrops ... and all the spirits of dominations ... when they were created ... succeed one another ...

Fr. 5

... the earth and everything on it, and the world and all its inhabitants.

The ground and all its devices; the earth and all that exist on it.

The mountains and all the hills; the valleys and all the ravines; the dry land ... its cedars; the low-lying woods and all the deserts of desolation ... and its voids; and the foundations of its structure.

The jackals and ... ... the tall trees, their fruit and all the cedars of Lebanon ... Grain, wine and oil and all the produce.

... and all the wave-offerings of the world in twelve months ...

... Thy words. Amen, amen.

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Fr. 7a i

I ... and all their elect ... ... and all who know the song of ... and the blessings of truth in the festive times ... and the kingdom shall be lifted up among the peoples ... the assembly of the pure 'gods' and all who possess everlasting knowledge to praise and to bless Thy glorious name in all the everlasting ages. Amen, amen.

Frs. 20 + 13 + 4Q288

Every one should rebuke his fellow in truth, and virtuous humility and with righteous intention in the Community of God. And whoever has erred when returning to the truth, they shall rebuke him according to their commandments. They shall rebuke him and have mercy on him if he transgresses. Let no man bear grudge against his fellow from one day to another. Let him not hate him in his heart so as not to bear guilt because of him. And whatever is revealed to the men of the Community let him instruct him with his merciful love and with the spirit of humility he shall distance him from the deeds of deceitfulness. The Guardian of the Congregation shall admonish him regarding all the regulations perfecting his deeds from all sin through rebuking him before witnesses. Let no man take revenge on his own behalf in any matter for he will be punished for six months/one year ... Let no one take the law in his own hand, disobeying the order of his fellow. Let him not speak to him in anger or out of envy prompted by the spirit of wickedness, disregarding the dignity of his colleague with heated anger, standing up against him without justification.

4Q287 fr. 3

... and they shall bless Thy holy name with benedictions of... the Holy of Holies. And all the creatures of flesh shall bless Thee, all of them that Thou has created ... the beasts and the birds and the worms and the fish of the sea and all ... Thou hast created them all renewing ...

Fr. 10

... against the anointed ones of His holy spirit ...

4Q286 (4Q287, fr. 6) = 4Q Berakhot b

Curses of Belial
Fr. 7 ii

... council of the Community shall all say together, Amen, amen.

Afterwards they shall damn Belial and all his guilty lot. They shall answer and say, Cursed be Belial in his hostile design, and damned in his guilty dominion. Cursed be all the spirits of his lot in their wicked design, and damned in their thoughts of unclean impurity. For they are the lot of darkness and their visitation is for eternal destruction. Amen, amen.

Cursed be the Wicked One in all the ages of his dominions, and may all the sons of Belial be damned in all the works of their service until their annihilation for ever, Amen, amen.

And they shall continue to say: Be cursed, Angel of Perdition and Spirit of Destruction, in all the thoughts of your guilty inclination and all your abominable plots and your wicked design, and may you be damned ... Amen, amen.

Cursed be all those who practise their wicked designs and establish in their heart their (evil) devices, plotting against God's Covenant ... to exchange the judgements of truth for folly.

4Q280=4Q Benedictions f
Curses of Melkiresha'
Fr. 2

May God set him apart for evil from the midst of the Sons of Light because he has turned away from following Him.

And they shall continue saying: Be cursed, Melkiresha', in all the thoughts of your guilty inclination. May God deliver you up for torture at the hands of the vengeful Avengers. May God not heed when you call on Him. May He raise His angry face towards you. May there be no greeting of 'Peace' for you in the mouth of all those who hold fast to the Fathers. May you be cursed with no remnant, and damned without escape. Cursed be those who practise their wicked designs and establish in their heart your evil devices, plotting against the Covenant of God ... , seers of His truth.

Whoever refuses to enter His Covenant, walking in the stubbornness of his heart ...

Confession Ritual (4Q393)

Fragmentary remains of a communal confession of sins, spoken in the first person plural, recall the language of Psalm 51, Jeremiah and Deuteronomy, and resemble confession prayers in Ezra 9, 5-15; Daniel 9, 4-19; 1QS 1, 24-11, 1. In the latter text, the parallel confession is part of the ceremony of the renewal of the Covenant. The script is dated to mid-first century BC.

... in order that Thou be justified by Thy words ... we were poured out through our iniquities ... they stiffened the neck. Our God, hide Thy face from our sins and blot out all our iniquities and create in us a new spirit, O Lord.... do not withhold faithfulness and to rebels ... and bring back sinners to Thee. And do not reject from Thee the broken spirit, O God. According to Thy people in order to ... and always on ... nations and kingdoms ... their words ... to Thy peoples in order to ...

... the faithful God who keep the covenant and loving-kindness to those who love Thee and who keep Thy commandments which Thou didst command to Moses. Do not forsake Thy people and Thine inheritance. And let no man walk in the stubbornness of his evil heart. O God, in Thy goodwill ... Thy people and Thine inheritance shall not be forsaken and let no man walk in the stubbornness of his evil heart. And where is Strength? And on whom shalt Thou cause Thy face to shine without his being purified? And they shall be sanctified and exalted above everything. It is Thou O Lord who hast chosen our fathers from of old. Thou hast caused us to stand for them as a remnant to give us (the covenant) which Thou hast established with Abraham for Israel that they might possess the proud ... mighty men, the hosts of those who are powerful, giving us houses filled with ... water, vineyards and olive trees and an inheritance of the people ...

Purification Ritual A (4Q 512)

Badly worn papyrus fragments from Cave 4 the 4Q512 contain prayers: to be recited to obtain purification from various kinds of ritual uncleanness. Written in the first century BC.

Frs. 29-32

And he will bless there the God of Israel. Answering, he will say: Blessed art Thou, God of Israel. And I stand before Thee on the feast ... Thou hast ... me for purity ... and his burnt-offering and he will bless.

Answering he will say: Blessed art Thou, God of Israel, who hast delivered me from all my sins and purified me from impure indecency and hast atoned so that I come ... purification and the blood of the burnt-offering of Thy goodwill and the pleasing memorial ...

Fr.II

And on completing his seven days of purification ... and he shall wash his clothes with water and cleanse his body and he shall put on his garments and shall bless again ... the God of Israel ...

Purification Ritual B (4Q 414)

(Thirty-six badly damaged fragments, written on the verso of 4Q415, represent a purificatory ritual and prayers. The script dates to the end of the first century BC.)

Fr. 2 ii 3-4

... and thou shalt purify us according to Thy precepts of holiness for the first, the third and the seventh ... by the truth of Thy covenant ... to be purified from the impurity of ... And then he shall enter the water ...

Answering, he shall say, 'Blessed art Thou, God of Israel for from the utterance of Thy mouth is declared the purity of all: to be separated from all the guilty men of uncleanness who cannot be purified by the purifying water ....

A Liturgical Work (4Q 392-3)

(This is a religious text, possibly liturgical, but strongly reminiscent of the language of the Thanksgiving Hymns.)

Fr. 1

... each to be united with God and not to depart from all ... and their soul will cling to His Covenant and ... the words of the mouth of ... The God ... the heaven above and to search out the ways of the sons of man leaving no secret in their heart. He created darkness and light is His, and in His dwelling is the most perfect light, and all gloominess ceases before Him. It is not for Himself the distinction between light and darkness, for He has distinguished them for the sons of man: light during the day by means of the sun; and during the night by means of moon and stars. The inscrutable light is with Him, and His knowledge is without end, for all the works of God are multiple. We who are flesh, should we not consider this? With us ... for countless signs and wonders ... winds and lightnings ... servants of the most holy place. From before Him proceed the luminaries ...

Frs. 2 and 5 (4Q393 1 i)

... they did not listen to the signs and wonders ... plagues which no kingdom has seen until this day and ... He has brought us out of the land of Egypt without being counted. In the mighty waters he made a path ... the great abyss and He made him sink like stone in the deep ...

1 QUMRAN LIBRARY CHAPTER D.
HISTORICAL AND APOCALYPTIC WORKS

Apocalyptic Chronology or Apocryphal Weeks (4Q 247)

A fragment consisting of seven mutilated lines, and palaeographically dated to the last decades of the first century BC, appears to belong to an apocalyptic account of world history, divided into weeks of years and possibly centred on the Temple of Jerusalem. Despite the lack of continuous narration, the significant details justify the inclusion of this text in the volume.

... determined end ... And afterwards will come the fifth week ... four-hundred and eighty years (after the exodus from Egypt)

Solomon (built the Temple; cf. 1 Kings vi, 1) ... (It was destroyed in the time) of Zedekiah king of Judah ...

(It was restored by) the Levites and the people of the Land ... (Final stage) ... king of the Kittim ...

Historical Text A (4Q248)

(The story told in this ten-line fragment, which contains only broken lines, resembles the account of Daniel xi concerning the 'King of the North' (Antiochus IV Epiphanes) who invades Egypt and ill-treats Jerusalem.)

... in Egypt and Greece and ... Therefore they shall eat ... their sons and their daughters in a siege in ...

And (the Lord) shall cause His wind to pass through their courtyards and ... he shall come to Egypt and sell her dust and ... to the city of the Temple and shall capture her with all her ... And he shall turn against the lands of the nations and shall return to Egypt ... And when the shattering of the power of the holy people comes to an end ...

When all these come into being the children of Israel shall return ...

Historical Texts C-E (formerly Mishmarot Ca-c) (4Q331-3)

(Three very badly mutilated calendric documents include references to Jewish and Roman historical personalities (Shelamzion/Salome Alexandra, wife of Alexander Jannaeus; Hyrcanus II, her son; Yohanan the high priest, probably John Hyrcanus I; the Kittim (Romans) and Aemilius (no doubt M. Aemilius Scaurus, governor of Syria). They all lived in the late second or the first half of the first century BC. The compositions recall the early rabbinic historical calendar known as Megillat Taanit (see HJP, 114-5).)

Text C(4Q331)
Fr. 1 i

the priest ... Johanan to bring to ...

Fr. 1 ii

... Shelamzion ...

Text D (4Q332)
Fr. 2

... to give him honour among the Arabs ... on the ninth of Shebat—that is ... which is the twentieth day of the month ... Shelamzion came ... to oppose ... Hyrcanus rebelled ... to oppose ...

Fr. 3

... of the Kittim killed ... on the fifth day in the week of Jedaiah - this is ...

Text E (4Q333)
Fr. 1

... in the week of Jehezekel which is ... Aemilius killed ... in the seventh month ... the week of Gamul ... Aemilius killed ...

Historical Text F (4Q468e)

(A tiny fragment is the only surviving part of a historical document containing the unusual name of Pwtl'ys which we could read it as Ptollas, a Hellenized form of the Hebrew name Putiel, and probably identical with a companion of Herod's son Archelaus, who accompanied him to Rome in 4 BC. The journey was preceded by civil riots in Jerusalem which were suppressed by the army, killing three thousand people (cf. Flavius Josephus, Antiquities 17, 213-18; Jewish War 2, 8-14)')

... to kill the multitude of men ... Potlaus/Potlays. And the persons that ...

The Triumph of Righteousness or Mysteries (1Q27, 4Q299-3011)

(These fragments expound the familiar theme of the struggle between good and evil, but their nature is difficult to determine. Perhaps they derive from a sermon, or from an apocalyptical writing. Three further manuscripts (4Q299-301) yield badly damaged fragments belonging to the same writing.)

1Q27 combined with 4Q300, fr. 3 and 4Q299, fr. 1

... all {so that they might know the difference between good and evil ... the mysteries of sin ... all their wisdom.

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They know not the mystery to come, nor do they understand the things of the past. They know not that which shall befall them, nor do they save their soul from the mystery to come.

And this shall be the sign for you that these things shall come to pass.

When the breed of iniquity is shut up, wickedness shall then be banished by righteousness as darkness is banished by the light. As smoke clears and is no more, so shall wickedness perish for ever and righteousness be revealed like a sun governing the world. All who cleave to the mysteries of sin shall be no more; knowledge shall fill the world and folly shall exist no longer.

This word shall surely come to pass; this prophecy is true. And by this may it be known to you that it shall not be taken back.

Do not all the peoples loathe iniquity? And yet it is spread by them all. Does not the fame of truth issue from the mouth of all the nations?

Yet is there a lip or tongue which holds to it? Which nation likes to be oppressed by another stronger than itself, or likes its wealth to be wickedly seized? And yet which nation has not oppressed another, and where is there a people which has not seized another's wealth? ...

4Q299, fr. 3a 4-6 (4Q300 5)

... And what shall man be called ... wise and righteous, for man has no ... , nor concealed wisdom save the wisdom of wicked cunning and the design of ... a deed that shall not be done again except ... the word of his Maker. And what shall a man do ... who rebels against the word of his Maker, his name shall be expunged from the mouth of all ... Listen, you who hold up truth ... eternity and the plans of existence and the thoughts ... every mystery and establishes every plan. He is the author of all that is to come. He is from before eternity. 'He' is His name and for ever ...

4Q300 1a-b ii 4=4Q299 2 i 14

... the sorcerers, experts in sin, have uttered the parable and proclaimed the riddle in advance. And then you will know if you have considered ... and the attestations of heaven ... your foolishness for the seal of the vision is sealed away from you. And you have not considered the mysteries of eternity and have not comprehended understanding. Then you will say ... for you have not considered the root of wisdom. And if you open the vision, it will remain shut from you ... all your wisdom for the ... is for you ... his name for what is the hidden wisdom ...

4Q301 Fr.1

I will cause my spirit to flow and I will divide my words for you according to your kinds ... a parable and a riddle. And those who search for the roots of understanding together with those who hold unto the wonderful mysteries ... those who are silly, and the scheming men for all the acomplishments of their actions ...

Time of Righteousness (4Q 215a)

Previously classified as part of the Testament of Naphtali (4Q215), the four fragments of 4Q215a, of which only one is translatable, belong to a work of poetic eschatology. The subject is the end of wickedness and the portrayal of final blessedness.

Fr. 1 ii

... and the stressful constraint and the ordeal of the pit and they shall be refined by them to become the elect of righteousness, and all their wickedness will be blotted out because of His loving-kindness. For the age of wickedness is complete and all injustice has passed away.

For the time of righteousness has come and the earth is full with knowledge and the praise of God. In the days of ... has come the age of peace and the precepts of truth and the testimony of righteousness to make one understand the ways of God and the might of His deeds for ever and ever. Every ... shall bless Him and every man shall prostrate himself before Him. And they shall have one heart. For He knows their recompense before they were created and had assigned the service of righteousness as their boundaries ... in their generations. For the dominion of righteousness/of goodness has come and He shall raise up the throne of the kingdom, and intelligence is greatly exalted; prudence and soundness are tried by His holy design ...

The Renewed Earth (4Q 475)

(A single fragment of a poem, palaeographically datable to the late first century BC, depicts the eschatological bliss of the Holy land.)

... He has chosen Zion, and in righteous life ...

And they did forget His precepts and did not seek them. And the land ... ...

His hands in the midst of them and explained to them all the laws ... all the earth so that there will be no more guilt in the land, nor will be... ... destruction and all hatred and the whole world will be like a moth.

And all its inhabitants ... ...

And the land will be at rest for ever, And its inhabitants will ...

And they will become a beloved son and they will seek all of it, and righteousness ...

A Messianic Apocalypse or the 'Resurrection fragment' (4Q521)

(This writing consists of sixteen fragments. The script is dated to the beginning of the first century BC. The surviving fragments do not appear to include anything patently sectarian. The term 'Messiah', probably in the singular, is used without the addition of Aaron or Israel, and the noun 'hasidim', absent from the big scrolls and little attested elsewhere, figures in lines 5 and 7. The divine name 'Lord' represents, not the Tetragram, but Adonai (four times). The poem incorporates Psalms 146, 6-7 and Isaiah 61, 1, the latter cited also in the New Testament (Luke 4, 18). As in the Gospels, healing and resurrection are linked to the idea of the Kingdom of God. Line 12 furnishes the most explicit evidence concerning the raising of the dead. Fragment 7, line 6, repeats the same idea, referring to God as 'He who will raise the dead of His people'.)

Fr. 2

... the heavens and the earth will listen to His Messiah, and none therein will stray from the commandments of the holy ones.

Seekers of the Lord, strengthen yourselves in His service!

All you hopeful in (your) heart, will you not find the Lord in this?

For the Lord will consider the pious (hasidim) and call the righteous by name.

Over the poor His spirit will hover and will renew the faithful with His power.

And He will glorify the pious on the throne of the eternal Kingdom.

He who liberates the captives, restores sight to the blind, straightens the bent (Psalms 146, 7-8).

And for ever I will cleave to the hopeful and in His mercy ...

And the fruit ... will not be delayed for anyone

And the Lord will accomplish glorious things which have never been as He ...

For He will heal the wounded, and revive the dead and bring good news to the poor (Isaiah 61, 1).

... He will lead the uprooted and make the hungry rich ...

Fr. 7

... the earth and all that is on it; and the sea and all that is in it and all the ponds of water and rivers who are doing good before the Lord ...

... like those who curse and are (destined) for death when the Lifegiver will raise the dead of His people.

And we will thank and proclaim to you the righteousness of the Lord, who ...

1 QUMRAN LIBRARY CHAPTER E. WISDOM LITERATURE

The Seductress (4Q184)

(A long and relatively well-preserved Wisdom poem from Cave 4 depicts, by means of the metaphor of the harlot, the dangers and attraction of false doctrine. Palaeographically, the text is dated to the first century BC, but the work may be much older, possibly antedating the Qumran sect.)

... speaks vanity and ... errors.

She is ever prompt to oil her words, and she flatters with irony, deriding with iniquitous lips.

Her heart is set up as a snare, and her kidneys affections as a fowler's nets.

Her eyes are defiled with iniquity, her hands have seized hold of the Pit.

Her legs go down to work wickedness, and to walk in wrongdoings.

Her ... are foundations of darkness, and a multitude of sins is in her skirts.

Her ... are darkness of night, and her garments...

Her clothes are shades of twilight, and her ornaments plagues of corruption.

Her couches are beds of corruption, and her ... depths of the pit.

Her inns are couches of darkness, and her dominions in the midst of the night.

She pitches her dwelling on the foundations of darkness she abides in the tents of silence.

Amid everlasting fire is her inheritance, not among those who shine brightly.

She is the beginning of all the ways of iniquity.

Woe and disaster to all who possess her! And desolation to all who hold her!

For her ways are ways of death, and her paths are roads of sin, and her tracks are pathways to iniquity, and her by-ways are rebellious wrong-doings.

Her gates are gates of death, and from the entrance of the house she sets out towards the underworld.

None of those who enter there will ever return, and all who possess her will descend to the Pit. She lies in wait in secret places, ...

In the city's squares she veils herself, and she stands at the gates of towns.

She will never rest from whoring, her eyes glance hither and thither.

She lifts her eyelids naughtily to stare at a virtuous man and join him, and an important man to trip him up, at upright men to pervert their way, and the righteous elect to keep them from the commandment, at the firmly established to bring them down wantonly, and those who walk in uprightness to alter the statute; to cause the humble to rebel against God, and turn their steps away from the ways of justice, to bring insolence to their heart, so that they march no more in the paths of uprightness; to lead men astray to the ways of the Pit, and seduce with flatteries every son of man.

Exhortation to Seek Wisdom (4Q185)

(Large fragments of a Wisdom poem in which a teacher encourages his 'people', his 'sons', the 'Simple', to search for Wisdom have been preserved in Cave 4. The script is believed to be late Hasmonaean, i.e. from the first half of the first century BC. As is often the case in Wisdom literature, events of the patriarchal and Mosaic past are used for didactic purposes.)

... And you, sons of men, woe to you!

For he (man) sprouts from his ground like grass, and his grace blossoms like a flower.

His glory blows away and his grass dries up, and the wind carries away its flower ... so that it is found no more ...

They shall seek him but shall not find him, and there is no hope for him; and his days are like a shadow over the earth.

Now pray hearken to me, my people; heed me, O you Simple; become wise through the might of God.

Remember His miracles which He did in Egypt, and His marvels in the land of Ham.

Let your heart shake because of His fear, and do His will ... ... your souls according to His good graces, and search for yourself a way towards life, a highway towards ... a remnant for your sons after you.

And why have you given up your soul to vanity, ... judgement?

Hearken to me, O my sons, and do not rebel against the words of YHWH.

Do not walk ... but in the way He established for Jacob, and in the path which He decreed for Isaac.

Is one day not better ... ... His fear, and not to be afflicted by dread and the fowler's net. ... to be set apart from His angels, for there is no darkness, nor gloom ...

And you, what do you understand ... before Him evil shall go towards every people.

Happy is the man to whom it (Wisdom) has been given thus, ... the evil, nor let the wicked boast, saying: It has not been given me, nor ... For God gave it to Israel, and with a good measure He measures it; and He will redeem all His people, and He will put to death those who hate His Wisdom.

Seek her and find her, grasp her and possess her!

With her is length of days and fatness of bone, the joy of the heart and ...

Happy is the man who works it ... who does not seek it ... of deceit, nor holds to it with flatteries.

As it has belonged to his fathers, so will he inherit it, and hold fast to it with all the strength of his might, and all his immeasurable ... and he shall cause his offspring to inherit it.

I know how to labour for good ...

God inspects all the chambers of the womb and He tries all its inward parts.

God shapes the tongue and knows its words.

God makes the hand and understands their deeds ...

A Parable of Warning (4Q302)

(This text comprises eighteen badly damaged papyrus fragments palaeographically dated to the end of the second century BC. The topic of the first fragment seems to be the giant 'good' tree which produces thorns.)

Fr. 2 ii

Sages, reflect on this.

If a man has a good tree which grows as far as heaven and its branches reach to the extremities of the lands, yet it produces thorny fruits ... former rain and latter rain ... and in thirst ... ...

Fr. 3 ii

... God will avenge Himself on you for your transgression ... your designs and He does not stand up against you to rebuke

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you, and to dispute with you. God's seat is in heaven and His dominion is over the lands and seas ...

Sapiential Didactic Work A (4Q412)

This badly mutilated wisdom composition is represented by four fragments. They contain only one translatable sentence.

Fr. 1

Put a lock on your lips and protecting doors to your tongue ...

A Sapiential Work (i) (4Q413)

(Two fragments have preserved the first four lines of a column from a Wisdom composition. The script is Herodian, dating to the turn of the era. The word 'God' is written with palaeo-Hebrew letters.)

... I will teach you knowledge and wisdom, And understand the ways of man and the works of the sons of man.

According to God's loving-kindness towards man, He has enlarged his inheritance in the knowledge of His truth, and according to His rejection of every evil man, no-one who walks after his ears and his eyes shall live.

And now His loving-kindness ... the ancient, they will consider the years of all the generations as God has revealed ...

A Sapiential Work (ii) (4Q415-18, 423, 1Q26)

(A substantial Wisdom composition, probably dating to the second century BC, has survived in six fragmentary manuscripts, one from Cave 1 (1Q26) and five partly overlapping scrolls from Cave 4 (4Q415, 416, 417, 418a and b and 423). Apart from the last-mentioned manuscript, dated to the first half of the first century AD, all are said to be early Herodian (30—1 BC). The work is unquestionably sectarian and displays a terminology akin to the Community Rule, the Damascus Document and the Thanksgiving Hymns.)

4Q416, fr. 1 (= 4Q418, fr. 2)

From heaven He judges the work of wickedness and all the sons of truth will be accepted ...

... until his end and all those who have wallowed in it shall be frightened and scream.

For heaven ...

The waters and abysses shall be frightened, and all the spirits of flesh shall be laid bare.

And the sons of heaven ... its judgement.

And all injustice will yet come to an end and the age of truth will be completed ... ... in all the everlasting ages.

For He is the God of truth, and from the beginning of years ... to establish righteousness between good and evil. ...

For his is a fleshly inclination and his foundation ...

4Q416, fr. 2 ii (4Q417 2 ii, 4Q418 8, 21, 22, 4Q418a

... for He opens His mercies ... ... and to give nourishment to all the living.

If he keeps his hand tight, the spirit of all flesh is gathered in.

Do not take ... ... and the debtor ... let him quickly repay his debt.

As for you, settle with him, for you must keep an eye on your money purse.

Attend your creditor on behalf of your friend and you have given all your life for him.

Give quickly what is his and take your purse.

Let your spirit not diminish because of your words; do not exchange your holy spirit for any wealth, for no price equals it ...

For no man thrusts you away.

With favour seek His face and speak according to His tongue and you will then find your pleasure ... do not ...

Do not abandon your precepts and take care of yourself with your mysteries.

If he assigns you some work to do, do not rest or give sleep to your eyes until you have done his commandments ... and do not add ...

And if it is to be humbled, do not ...

Lift up your eyes and see that man's zeal is great for deceitful is the heart more than every ...

And also by His gentle wisdom you will hold fast to His service ... you will consult with him.

And you will be his first-born son and he will have compassion on you like a man on his only son; ... for you are his servant and his chosen one

Do not trust ... and do not keep awake because of ... and become for him like a slave ...

Do not strike him who is without your strength lest you stumble and your shame increase greatly.

Do not sell yourself for wealth it is better for you to be a slave in spirit.

And serve your master freely And do not sell your glory for a price.

Do not give money in pledge for your inheritance lest it impoverish your body.

Do not satiate yourself with bread while there is no clothing.

Do not drink wine while there is no food.

Do not seek luxury when you lack bread.

Do not glorify yourself in your need if you are poor lest you degrade your life.

Also do not treat with contempt the vessel of your bosom wife.

4Q417, fr. 2 i (=4Q416 fr. 2 i)

... each time so that he shall not fill you and according to his spirit speak against him ... without rebuke.

Forgive the worthy and ...

And you shall not swallow up his spirit, for you have spoken in whisper ...

And he has recited quickly his rebuke ...

Do not overlook your sin ... for he is as righteous as you are.

For he is a prince among princes ... he will do.

For how unique is he in all activity without ...

Do not reckon an unjust man as a help, nor one filled with hatred ... apart from the wickedness of his deeds at his visitation.

Know how to walk with him ...

Let instruction not depart from your heart and God will be for you, yourself.

Widen ... in your poverty, for who is more insignificant than a poor man.

Do not be jolly while in mourning lest you labour all your life.

Look at the approaching mystery and grasp the sources (or: begetters) of salvation, and know who is to inherit glory or injustice.

Will they not ... and for their mourning everlasting joy. ...

Be an advocate for your business ... all your sins.

Pronounce your judgement like a righteous ruler.

Do not take ... and do not overlook your sin.

Be like a poor man in your dispute; His judgement ... take.

Then God will see and His anger will cease, and He will forgive your sins ...

For before His anger no one can stand, And who is righteous in His judgement?

And without pardon, how can the poor stand firm before Him?

And as for you, if you are in need of food, your need and your plenty ... you will make abundant.

Be led to the sustenance of His delight, and take from Him your inheritance and do not add again ...

By the word of his mouth everything is and whatever He feeds you with, eat it. ... of your life. ...

If in your need you borrow money from people do not ... day and night and there shall be no rest for your soul until you have repaid your creditor his money.

Do not lie to him so that you will not bear guilt for it.

Furthermore, because of the reproach ...

You will not trust his neighbour.

In your need he will close his hand.

Your strength ...

If you receive a stroke ...

Do not hide from him who strikes you

So that he will not reveal your shame ...

4Q416 2 iii (4Q417 2 ii 26, 4Q418 9-10)

... and remember that you are poor ...

What you lack, you will not find ...

If someone has left a deposit with you, do not put your hand on it lest it be burnt and your body be devoured by its flame.

As you have received it, so return it and you will rejoice if you have no responsibility for it.

Accept no goods from someone whom you do not know lest he increase your poverty.

But if he has thrust it on you, let it be a deposit until death, but do not let your spirit be destroyed by it.

Then you will lie with the truth and your memory will flower for ever when you die, and your posterity will inherit joy.

You are poor, do not desire anything save your inheritance, and do not be devoured by it lest you change your boundary.

But if He brings you back to glory, walk in it, and in the approaching mystery search its beginnings.

Then you will know

His inheritance and you will walk in righteousness

For God will shine His face on all your ways.

Honour Him who glorifies you and praise His name always.

For your head is above the summit of the mountains and He has given you a seat among the nobles and has made you to rule over an inheritance of glory.

Seek always His pleasure.

You are a poor man. Do not say: Since I am poor, I will not seek knowledge.

Shoulder every discipline and with every ... refine your heart, and your thoughts with a multitude of understanding.

Search the approaching mystery and consider all the ways of truth, and behold all the roots of injustice.

Then you will know what is bitter for a man and what is sweet for a human being.

Honour your father in your poverty and your mother in your steps.

For his father is like God to a man and his mother like a ruler to a human being.

For they are the crucible from which you were born and as He placed them over you as rulers and a frame for the spirit, so serve them, and as He has revealed to you the approaching mystery, honour them for your honour's sake and in ... the splendour of their face for your life's sake and for the length of your days.

And if you are as poor as ... without precept.

You have taken a wife in your poverty, take the offspring ... from the approaching mystery when you are joined together.

Walk with the helpmate of your flesh ...

4Q416 iv (4Q418 10 5-10)

... his father and his mother and he will cling to his wife and they will become one flesh

He made him rule over her and she ...

He did not make her father rule over her and He separated her from her mother and towards you will be her longing and she will be one flesh for you.

He will separate your daughter for another and your sons ...

And you will become one with the wife of your bosom, for she is the flesh of your nakedness and whoever rules over her apart from you has changed the boundary of his life.

He has made you to rule over her spirit so that she may walk according to your pleasure.

Let her not increase vows and free-will offerings ...

Bring back (her?) spirit to your good pleasure, and annul by the utterance of your mouth every binding oath of hers by which to vow a vow.

And by your will, stop her ... of your lips ... forgive her for your sake.

Let her not multiply ...

4Q417 1 i (4Q418, fr. 43-45 i)

... And you, O man of understanding, ...

Look on ... and grasp the wonderful mysteries of the God of awe. ...

Look at the approaching mysteries

And the ancient deeds ... ... what was and what will be ... ... in each deed and deed ... day and night he meditates on the approaching mystery and studies (it) always.

Then you will know truth and injustice, wisdom and folly ... ... in all their ways together with their visitation for all the eternal ages and everlasting visitation.

Then you will know the difference between good and evil relating to their deeds.

For the God of knowledge is the foundation of truth, and through the approaching mystery He set apart its foundation, the work of His hands ... ... and in pure understanding were revealed ... the secrets of his thought with his perfect conduct in all his deeds.

Always seek these eagerly, and understand all their results.

And then you will know everlasting glory and His marvellous mysteries, and the might of His deeds.

And you will understand the beginning of your reward at the memorial of the time that has come.

Engraved is the decree and all the visitation is determined.

For God's ordinance is engraved over all the iniquities of the sons of Seth.

And a book of memorial is written before Him for those who keep His word.

And this is the vision issuing from the meditation on the book of memorial. And He gave it as a heritage to mankind and to the people of the spirit.

For his (man's) shape is modelled on the holy ones, but meditation belongs no more to the fleshly spirit, for it cannot distinguish between good and evil according to the judgement of its spirit.

And you, son of understanding, look ... at the approaching mystery and know the heritage of all the living.

And his conduct and his visitation ... ... whether large or small ... do not be touched by wickedness ...

For whoever is touched by it will not be innocent.

According to his inheritance in it

He will be wicked ...

Son of the intelligent, Consider your mysteries And the foundation of ...

4Q418, fr. 55

... watchfulness will be in our heart ... and confidence in all our ways. ...

... knowledge, and they have not searched for understanding, and ... have not chosen. ...

Is he not the God of knowledge, ... on the truth, establishing all their ways of understanding?

He has assigned to all those who inherit truth ... watchfulness ...

Have not peace and quiet... ?

Have you not known ... ?

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For the holy angels ... in heaven and ... truth.
And they will pursue all the roots of understanding,
And watch over ...
And according to their knowledge they will be honoured, one more than another, and in conformity with his intelligence will his honour increase.
... Are they (the angels?) inert like man?
Are they quiet like a son of man?
Are they not... eternity,
Inheriting an everlasting possession?
Have you not seen ... ?

4Q418, fr. 69 (4Q417 5 1-5)
... And now, O you foolish hearts,
What good is to (someone) who is not...
What is silence for someone who does not exist, and what is judgement if it has no foundation?
Why do the dead groan over their ... ... you have been shaped and your return is to eternal destruction.
For it shall wake up... your sin
Darkness will roar against your dispute.
And all those who will exist for ever, those who search truth will be aroused for your judgement and then all the foolish hearts will be destroyed, and the sons of injustice will be found no more, and all the supporters of wickedness will be put to shame.
The foundations of the firmament scream at your judgement and all the ... will thunder.
And you, elect of truth and pursuers of righteousness and judgement ... guardians of all knowledge, how will you say: We labour for understanding and keep awake to pursue knowledge ... and be not weary in all the years of eternity.
Will he not delight in truth for ever and knowledge... The sons of heaven whose inheritance is eternal life,
Will they indeed say: We have laboured in the works of truth and we exhausted ourselves in all the ages.
Will they not walk in eternal light and inherit glory and great splendour.
And you, O son of understanding ...

4Q418, fr. 81 (4Q423 8 1)
Your lips are the opening of a spring to bless the holy, and in the eternal spring you have praised...
The Holy... has separated you from every spirit bound to flesh.
As for you, separate from all that He hates, and keep away from all the abomination of the soul.
For He has made all, and caused them to inherit each his heritage.
He is your portion and your heritage among the sons of man, and He has made you ruler in his heritage.
And in this you glorify Him, in consecrating yourself to Him.
When He made of you the holy of holies for the whole world
And in all these He cast your lot.
And He has much increased your glory and has made you the first-born for Himself among ... ... and I give you My goodness.
As for you, is not My goodness for you?
In His faithfulness He has walked always. ... your deeds.
And as for you, search His judgements from all your accusers with all ... love Him, and with eternal loving-kindness, and with mercy towards all who keep His word.
And his zeal...
And as for you, He has opened understanding to you and has made you the ruler over His treasury and appointed you a receptacle of truth ...
... them with you, and to revoke anger from the men of goodwill by your hand.
And to visit... with you, and before you take your heritage from His hand, glorify His holy ones; and before ...
... He has opened the spring of all the holy ones, and everyone called holy by His name ...
... with all the ages, his beauty and splendour to become an everlasting plant.
... will walk all those who inherit the earth.
For in heaven ...
And you, O man of understanding, if He has made you rule over handcraft and knowledge ... secret to all mortal men.
And from there you will seek your prey and ... understand much.
And by all your instructors increase in learning.
... bring from your poverty to all those who seek pleasure.
Then you will establish ... ... you will be filled and you will be satisfied with plenty of good.
By the skill of your hands...
For God has assigned a heritage to all the living and all those wise in heart have become intelligent...

Fr. 103 ii
... For all of them will seek their times and each man according to his pleasure ... like a spring of living water which contains a secret.
... Do not mix with your merchandise that which ...
Why should it be a mixture like a mule, and you should be like one dressed in mixed materials, in wool and in linen, and you should labour with an ox and an ass yoked together.
Your produce also would be like that of one who sows mixed seeds.
Let the seed and the crop and the produce of the vineyard be holy ...

4Q423,frs. 1, 2
... and every fruit that is grown and every tree that is pleasant and desirable providing understanding.
Is this not a pleasant and desirable garden providing much understanding?
He made you (Adam) rule over it to cultivate and guard it. ...
... the soil will sprout for you thorn and thistle and it will not give you its strength ... because of your unfaithfulness. ...
... she (Eve) gave birth and all the sentiments of her who has conceived ... ... all your secrets... and all your affairs.
For it will sprout for you everything ... ... knowing evil, knowing good ...

4Q423 fr.5 5
... and beware lest you ... the judgement of Korah.
And as He has unstopped your ear ... ... and the prince of your people...
He has divided the inheritance of all the rulers and the formation of every deed is in His hand.
He knows the reward of their works and judges them all in truth.
He visits the sons and the fathers, the sojourners (proselytes) with all the natives.
He will speak ...
If you are a farmer, pay attention to the seasons of the summer and gather in your produce in its time, and the period of ... ... the good with the evil
Observe your produce and your work,
In your labour consider ... the good with the bad, the intelligent man with the fool

A Sapiential Work (iii): Ways of Righteousness (4Q420-21)
Two badly fragmented copies of a Wisdom composition portray the behaviour of the righteous man in universal terms. However, since the vocabulary of 4Q421 1 i echoes the terminology of the Community Rule, the whole work may be classified as sectarian.

4Q420, fr. 1 (4Q421, fr. 1 ii)
... to practise righteousness in the ways of God.
... he shall not reply before he has heard, nor shall he speak before he has gained understanding.
He shall patiently respond and... shall issue a word.
He shall seek truth and judgement and by searching righteousness he shall find its outcome.
A humble and modest man shall not turn back until ...
A faithful man shall not depart from the ways of righteousness and he shall set his heart on ... and the bones of his hands on ...
He shall be redeemed through righteousness;
through understanding... his fields.
His territory ... to practise righteousness ...

4Q421, fr. 1a i
... He shall bring all his wisdom, knowledge, understanding and good things into the Community of God ... to regulate all placement of one before another ... the first lot will fall. And thus they shall set out ... .

A Sapiential Work Instruction-like Composition (4Q424)
(The main aim of this poetic composition is to instruct the just man how to ensure the progress of wisdom by not entrusting its propagation to the unworthy. Palaeographically it is dated to the second half of the first century BC.)

Fr. 1
... and he will choose to build it, and will spread plaster on its wall.
He too ... will become loose because of the rain.
Do not learn a precept in the company of hypocrites nor come to the furnace with a totterer, for he will melt away like lead, and will not stand up to the fire ... and do not entrust a sleepy man with something delicate, for he will not treat your work gently ...
Do not send ... learning, for he will not smooth down your paths.
Do not send ... a grumbler to procure money for your need, nor put your trust in a man with twisted lips, for he will surely twist your judgement by his lips.
His desire will not follow the truth, ... by the fruit of his lips.
Do not put a stingy man in charge of money, ... mete out your food according to your desire ... ... those who bring abundance ... but at the time of gathering he will be found ungodly.
The short-tempered... the simple, for he will surely swallow them up ...

Fr. 3
... and he will not do his deed by weighing it.
A man who judges before inquiry, and one who believes before ... , do not put him in charge of those who pursue knowledge, for he will not understand their manner so as to justify the just and declare the wicked wicked; he too will be for contempt.
Do not send a blind man to bring a vision to the upright; likewise do not send a man who is hard of hearing to inquire into judgement, for he will not smooth out a quarrel between people.
Like one who scatters into the wind ...
... who does not test, so is he who speaks to an ear which does not listen, and talks to a man deep asleep through a spirit ...
Do not send a 'fat-hearted' (dense) man to acquire thoughts, for the wisdom of his heart is hidden, and he will not be in charge of his heart, and will not find wisdom for his hands.
An intelligent man gains understanding, a knowing man will bring forth wisdom ... an upright man delights in justice, a man of truth rejoices in ... a mighty man is zealous for...
He is an adversary to all changers of boundaries, ... righteousness for the poor of...
He disputes with all who move the boundaries.
A merciful man gives alms to the poor.
He is concerned for all those without property;
The sons of righteousness...

The Two Ways (4Q473)
(Inspired by Deuteronomy 11, 26-28, this fragmentary text, palaeographically dated to the end of the first century BC, is akin to the Instruction on the Two Spirits in the Community Rule (1QS 111, 13-IV, 25).)

... and He has placed before you two ways one which is good and one which is evil. If you choose the good way, He will bless you. But if you walk in the evil way, He will curse you ... and in your tents, and He will destroy you with ... and mildew, snow, ice and hail ... with all.

Bless, My Soul (Barki nafshi a-e, 4Q434-438)
(Cave 4 has yielded five manuscripts of a poetic composition designated by the opening words of the first section as Barki nafshi or 'Bless, my soul'. A sixth manuscript (4Q439) is said to be akin to it. The pieces translated are not unlike some of the Thanksgiving Hymns, but include no sectarian features.)

4Q434, fr. l
Bless, my soul, the Lord for all His marvels for ever, and may His name be blessed.
For He has delivered the soul of the poor, and has not despised the humble, and has not forgotten the misery of the deprived.
He has opened His eyes towards the distressed, and has heard the cry of the fatherless, and has turned His ears towards their crying.
He has been gracious to the humble by His great kindness, and has opened their eyes to see His ways, and their ears to hear His teaching.
He has circumcised the foreskin of their heart, and has delivered them because of His kindness, and has directed their feet towards the way.
He has not forsaken them amid the multitude of their misery, neither has He handed them over to the violent, nor has He judged them together with the wicked.
He has not directed His anger against them, neither did he annihilate them in His wrath.
While all His furious wrath was not growing weary,
He has not judged them in the fire of His ardour, but He has judged them in the greatness of His mercy.
The judgements of His eyes were to try them, and He has brought His many mercies among the nations, and from the hand of men He has delivered them.
He has not judged them (amid) the mass of nations, and in the midst of peoples He has not judged them.
But He hid them in His ...
He has turned darkness into light before them, and crooked places into level ground,
He has revealed to them abundance of peace and truth.
He has made their spirit by measure, and has established their words by weight, and has caused them to sing(?) like flutes.
He has given them a perfect heart, and they have walked in the way of His heart,
He has also caused them to draw near to the way of his heart.
For they have pledged their spirit.
He sent and covered them and commanded that no plague should affect them.
His angel fixed his camp around them;

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He guarded them lest the enemy? destroy them.

Fr. 1 ii

... in their misery and afflictions and He delivered them from all affliction.

... and Thou hast done for them against the sons of man and Thou hast delivered them for Thy sake.

... and they expiated for their iniquities and the iniquities of their fathers, and they atoned in water ...

... by Thy judgements and to the way which Thou didst teach again...

Fr. 2

... to comfort the poor woman for her mourning... ... the nations to destruction and He will raze the peoples. And the wicked...

Renew the works of the heaven and of the earth,

And they will exult and the whole earth will be filled with His glory

He will atone for their guilt and great goodness will comfort them.

... eating its fruit and goodness.

Like a man comforted by his mother, so will He comfort them in Jerusalem.

Like a bridegroom with the bride, so will He dwell with her for ever.

For His throne is for ever and ever and His glory ... and all the nations.

... the army of heaven will be in it and their delightful land ... I will bless the ... ... Blessed be the name of the Most High ...

Fr. 7b

... their portions from there from the desert to the gate of hope.

And He made a covenant with them for peace with the birds of heaven and the beasts of the field.

He made manure of their enemies, He ground Edom and Moab into dust...

4Q436 (combined with 4Q435i)

I understanding to strengthen the contrite heart and the spirit which is in it for ever; to comfort the weak in the time of their distress and the hands of the fallen so that they may rise; to make instruments of knowledge; to give knowledge to the wise and the upright to increase understanding; so that they may understand Thy deeds which Thou hast done in the years of old, in the years of all generations. Eternal understanding which... before me, and Thou keepest Thy law before me and Thou hast entrusted Thy covenant to me. And Thou dost strengthen the heart... to walk in Thy ways. Thou hast visited my heart and Thou hast sharpened my kidneys (affections) that they may not forget Thy precepts.... Thou hast... Thy law. Thou hast opened my kidneys and hast strengthened me to pursue Thy ways... Thou hast made my mouth into a sharp sword and opened my tongue for words of holiness. And Thou hast set discipline on them that they may not meditate on man's actions, on the whisper of his lips. Thou hast strengthened my feet... and with Thy hand Thou hast strengthened my right hand. And Thou hast sent me on the straight path.

... Thou hast chased away from me. And Thou hast placed a pure heart in its stead; Thou hast chased away the evil inclination from my

... And Thou hast placed the spirit of holiness into my heart and hast taken away from me the eyes of fornication. And Thou hast looked

... Thy ways; Thou hast removed from me the stiff neck and replaced it with humility. Thou hast taken away from me the rage of anger and hast placed in me the spirit of patience. A haughty heart and lofty eyes Thou hast... from me ... to me. Thou hast blotted out the spirit of lies 4Q435 i ... hast given me ...

4Q437 (combined with 4Q434-5)

Fr. 2 i

I... from the congregation of the seekers after...

They have concealed a net to catch me and they pursued my soul.

... their sword penetrated their heart and their bows were broken.

For all this I will bless Thy name during my life, for Thou hast delivered me from the trap of the nations ... peoples.

Thy mercies are a shield around me and Thou hast guarded my soul among the nations...

Thou hast not made my friends ashamed of me.

I have not forgotten Thy precepts.

In the affliction of my soul Thou hast not forsaken me, and Thou hast not hidden Thy face from my supplications.

Thou hast seen all my moanings and my iniquities ...

When my spirit was fainting, Thou hast listened to my voice.

Thou hast hildden me in Thy quiver and ... me.

Thou hast made of me a pointed arrow; Thou hast concealed me in the hiding place of Thy palm.

... and from the mud Thou hast delivered me lest I sink in it, and from the stream of the gentiles lest it sweep me away and from... and I sank in its depth.

And from hell Thou hast brought up my soul.

Thou hast placed life before me and Thou hast seated the congregation of the men of marvels before me.

And among the children of righteousness Thou hast comforted me.

And according to the line of judgement Thou hast cheered up my soul,

And according to the weight of justice Thou hast vivified my spirit.

I bless the Lord with all my power and I praise His goodness with the joy of my heart.

I have remembered Thee, O Lord, and my heart is firm before Thee.

I have hoped in Thy salvation, O Lord... I have remembered.

And my heart has rejoiced and my horn will rise towards Thee.

My soul thirsts. My soul cleaves to Thee. On thy deeds will I meditate.

I have remembered Thee on my couch during the watches of the night.

A Leader's Lament (4Q439)

(Two small fragments have survived of a poetic lament by a person in authority. The text is too small to allow us to determine whether these are the words or pseudepigraphic words of a head of the sectarian community.)

Fr. 1 i

I... to assemble the righteous of my people and to establish the way of life ... to bring into the covenant the men of my company... my inheritance.

Therefore my eyes are a spring of water... discipline and those who will stand up after them, who ...

And behold my whole city has changed into thorns...

Behold all my judges have become foolish ... my righteous ones simple-minded, who ... traitors...

Fight against Evil Spirits (4Q444)

(The main purpose of the person reciting this prayer, of which six small fragments have survived, is to curse the spirits of wickedness. The genre is the same as 4Q510-11.)

Fr. 1-4 i

I As for me, on account of my fear of God He has opened my mouth,

And through His holy spirit... truth for all these.

They have become spirits of dispute in my body, Precepts of ... from the frame of the flesh.

And God has placed in my heart the spirit of knowledge and understanding, truth and righteousness...

And fortify yourself by the precepts of God,

And to fight against the spirit of wickedness and not ...

His judgements. Cursed be ...

Songs of the Sage (4Q510-11)

(Scraps of two manuscripts from Cave 4 represent a mixture of sapiential psalms and poems of exorcism. The script is from the end of the first century BC, or the turning of the era. The first fragment preserves an interesting list of names of demons.)

4Q510

... praises. Benedictions for the King of glory. Words of thanksgiving in psalms of... to the God of knowledge, the Splendour of power, the God of gods, Lord of all the holy. His dominion is over all the powerful mighty ones and by the power of his might all shall be terrified and shall scatter and be put to flight by the splendour of the dwelling of his kingly glory. And I, the Master, proclaim the majesty of his beauty to frighten and terrify all the spirits of the destroying angels and the spirits of the bastards, the demons, Lilith, the howlers and the yelpers ... they who strike suddenly to lead astray the spirit of understanding and to appal their heart and their... in the age of the domination of wickedness and the appointed times for the humiliation of the sons of light, in the guilt of the ages of those smitten by iniquity, not for eternal destruction but for the humiliation of sin. Exalt, O just, the God of marvels. My psalms are for the upright... May all whose way is perfect exalt him.

4Q511, fr. 1

... on the earth and in all the spirits of his dominion always. Let the seas bless him in their turn and all the creatures living in them. May they proclaim the ... of beauty all of them. Let them rejoice before the God of justice with shouts of salvation, for there shall be no destroyer in their territories, and no spirit of wickedness shall walk in there. For the glory of the God of knowledge has shone forth in his words, and none of the sons of iniquity shall endure.

Fr. 2

I For the Master. First Song. Praise the name of his holiness; all who know justice, exalt him... He put an end to the chief of the dominations without... eternal joy and everlasting life, to cause light to shine ... his lot is the best of Jacob and the inheritance of God ... of Israel ... they who guard the way of God and the path of his holiness for the saints of his people. By the discerning knowledge of God, he placed Israel in twelve camps ... the lot of God with the angels of the luminaries of his glory. In his name the praises... he has established for the feast of the year and for a common government that they may walk in the lot of God according to his glory and serve him in the lot of the people of his throne. For the God of...

Fr. 8

For the Master. Second Song to frighten those who terrify him...

Fr. 18

I have hated all the works of impurity. For God has caused the knowledge of understanding to shine in my heart. Just chastisers deal with my perversity, and faithful judges with all my sinful guilt. For God is my judge and by the hand of a stranger He shall not ...

Frs. 28-9

... they shall rejoice in God with jubilation. And I will thank Thee for, because of Thy glory, Thou hast set knowledge on my foundations of dust to praise Thee.... out of a shape of clay was I moulded and from darkness was I kneaded... and iniquity is in the limbs of my flesh ...

Fr. 30

Thou hast sealed... the earth ... and they are deep. The heavens and the heavens of the heavens, and the abysses and the dark places of the earth ... Thou, O my God, hast sealed them all and there is none to open them ... Does one measure by the hollow of a human hand the waters of the great (ocean)? Are the heavens estimated by the span of fingers? In one third (of a measure) can any contain the dust of the earth, and weigh the mountains in a balance, or the hills in scales?

Man did not make these. How can he measure the spirit of God?

Fr. 35

... God in all flesh, and an avenging judgement to destroy wickedness, and for the raging anger of God towards those seven times refined.

God shall sanctify (some) of the holy as an everlasting sanctuary for himself, and purity shall endure among the cleansed. They shall be priests, his righteous people, his host, servants, the angels of his glory.

They shall praise him with marvellous prodigies. I, I spread the fear of God in the ages of my generations to exalt the name ... to terrify by his might all the spirits of the 'bastards', subduing them by his fear...

Frs. 63-4

... I will bless Thy name and in my appointed periods I will recount Thy marvels and I will engrave them as precepts of Thy glory's praises. At the beginning of every thought of a knowing heart and with the offering of that which flows from the righteous lips when ready for all true worship and with all...

Fr. 63

As for me, my tongue shall extol Thy righteousness, for Thou hast released it. Thou hast placed on my lips a fount of praise and in my heart the secret of the commencement of all human actions and the completion of the deeds of the perfect of way and the judgements regarding all the service done by them, justifying the just by Thy truth and condemning the wicked for their guilt. To announce peace to all the men of the Covenant and to utter a dreadful cry of woe for all those who breach it ...

May they bless all Thy works always and blessed be Thy name for ever and ever. Amen, amen.

Beatitudes (4Q525)

The title given to this piece of wisdom poetry, consisting of fifty mostly small fragments palaeographically dated to the second half of the first century BC, derives from the repeated use of 'Blessed' 'ashre, modelled on Ps. i, 1, and recalling the Beatitudes of the New Testament (Matthew 5, 3-11). The main structural difference between Matthew and 4Q525 lies in that the former each time lists the reward of the virtue for which people are blessed, whereas the Cave 4 text provides ordinary, mostly antithetic, parallelisms instead.

Fr. 2

Blessed is ... with a pure heart and does not slander with his tongue.

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Blessed are those who hold to her (Wisdom's) precepts and do not hold to the ways of iniquity.
Blessed are those who rejoice in her, and do not burst forth in ways of folly.
Blessed are those who seek her with pure hands, and do not pursue her with a treacherous heart.
Blessed is the man who has attained Wisdom, and walks in the Law of the Most High.
He directs his heart towards her ways, and restrains himself by her corrections, and always takes delight in her chastisements.
He does not forsake her when he sees distress, nor abandon her in time of strain.
He will not forget her on the day of fear, and will not despise her when his soul is afflicted.
For always he will meditate on her, and in his distress he will consider her?
... He will place her before his eyes, so as not to walk in the ways of folly. ...

Fr. 5
... Do not forsake your inheritance to the nations nor your portion to strangers ...
For the wise... will instruct with sweetness.
Those who fear God observe her (Wisdom's) ways and walk in all her precepts and do not reject her corrections.
The intelligent will bring out ... and all those who walk in perfection will turn aside injustice, but they will not reject her admonitions and will carry her ...
The sensible will recognize her ways and meditate on her depths. ... will look.
Those who love God will withdraw to it Wisdom ...

Fr. 14 ii
... your feet will walk in an open place and you will advance on the high ground of your enemy.
You will love God with all your heart and with all your soul, and He will deliver you from all evil.
Terror will not come upon you ... He will make you inherit.
He will fill your days with good and you will walk in great peace ... you will inherit glory.
And you will end up in the eternal resting place...
And all who know you will walk together following your teaching;
... will mourn together and will remember you in your ways.
For you were good ...
And now, listen to me, O man of understanding,
And let your mind be attentive to the utterances of my lips.
Allow knowledge to enter your heart (literally: belly) ...
Express your utterances with just humility and give not ...
Do not turn against the words of your friend so that he will not ... to you.
Answer as is proper to him who listens to you.
Beware...
Do not pour out your thought before you have heard their words ... greatly.
First listen to their utterance and afterwards answer ...
With long-suffering express them and answer correctly among princes.
... with your lips and a stumbling block of the tongue.
Beware greatly ... lest you are caught by your lips ...
As well as ensnared by your tongue ... ... unseemly words ... from me and were twisted...

1 QUMRAN LIBRARY CHAPTER F.
BIBLE INTERPRETATION AND COMMENTARIES

(Introductory Note: This Section is interesting to Biblical scholars as the here presented texts once were made by teachers and their students. Just like in modern Koran schools, teachers and students of the Qumran communities wanted to understand the old texts by writing down analyses on the historical texts, creating in this way new versions.

Five types of biblical commentary have been recovered from the Qumran caves:

The first and least developed form of exegesis is contained in the so-called 'Reworked Pentateuch' texts, consisting of a quasitraditional text of the Bible, occasionally rearranged and supplemented.

The second type, represented by the Genesis Apocryphon, sets out to render the Bible story more intelligible and attractive by giving it more substance, by reconciling conflicting statements, and by reinterpreting in the light of contemporary standards and beliefs any passages which might seem to give offence.

The third type of commentary departs from the biblical text and, relying on one or several passages, creates a new story. Among others, the Admonition associated with the Flood, the Words of Moses, the New Jerusalem texts and the Prayer of Nabonidus, inspired by Genesis, Deuteronomy, Ezekiel and Daniel respectively, come into this category.

The fourth and most characteristic form of exegesis applies prophetic texts to the past, present and future of the sect. Normally the commentator expounds a biblical book verse by verse, e.g. Isaiah; Nahum; Habakkuk; the Psalms, etc., but some works - A Midrash on the Last Days, The Heavenly Prince Melchisedek, etc. - follow the traditional Jewish example and assemble passages from different parts of Scripture in order to develop a common theme.

And finally, a substantial amount of free compositions modelled on the Bible, e.g. Jubilees, Enoch and the Giants, or circulating together with the Bible, e.g. the Para-Danielic fragments, and works attributed to Noah, the Patriarchs Levi, Moses, and many others constitute a fifth category of exegesis. In one way, the Aramaic and Hebrew manuscripts of one of the Apocrypha, the Book of Tobit, pertain to this class.)

Aramaic Bible Translations (so-called Targums)

(Two books of the Hebrew Bible have survived in Aramaic translation in the Qumran caves. A small scroll, found in Cave 11 and measuring 109 cm, has preserved in Aramaic a large portion of the last seven chapters of the Book of Job. Twenty-seven smaller fragments cover parts of Job 17,14 to 36,33. This text, together with small remains from Cave 4 of Leviticus and of another manuscript of Job, represent the oldest extant Aramaic renderings of the Hebrew Bible. The translation of Job frequently differs from the customary text of the Hebrew Bible, but it is unclear whether the divergences are due merely to the difficulty of translating poetry, or to a Hebrew original not identical with the traditional Scripture.)

Hebrew Job 40, 12
Look on every one that is proud and bring him low; and tread down the wicked where they stand.
And every proud spirit you will smash; and extinguish the wicked below them.
(It is clear, on the other hand, that the prose narrative of 42, 9-11 displays notable departures from the text known to us, as may be seen from the following parallel translations:)

Hebrew Job 42
So Eliphaz the Temanite and Bildad the Shuhite and Zophar the Naamathite went and did what the Lord had told them; and the Lord accepted Job's prayer. And the Lord restored the Qar Job
... God. God heard the voice of Job and forgave them his friends' their sins because of him. And God returned fortunes of Job, when he had prayed for his friends; and the Lord gave Job twice as much as he had before. Then came to him all his brothers and sisters and all who had known him before, and ate bread with him in his house; and they showed him sympathy and comforted him for all the evil that the Lord had brought upon him; and each of them gave him a piece of money (or: sheep) and a ring of gold. to Job with mercy and doubled all that he had owned. (11) All his friends, brothers and acquaintances came to Job and they ate bread with him in his house, and they comforted him for all the misery that God had brought on him and each gave him a ewe-lamb and a ring of gold.

(The English version provided below (Job 37,11 to 42,11) should therefore be read side by side with the translation of the canonical Job.

It will be noticed that Job 39, 24 is missing from the Aramaic and 42,3 is replaced by 40,5. Furthermore, in Job 38,7 the phrase 'angels' is substituted for 'sons of God', a doctrinally suspect expression since Jews rejected the idea of God having children. The same substitution is found in the Greek Septuagint and the Targum of Job used in rabbinic Judaism.)

The Targum of Job (11Q10,4Q157) (Job 37,24-30)
Remember that His works which they see are great.
Every man looks at Him, and the sons of men from afar search for Him.
Behold, God is great, and His days are numerous beyond knowledge and the sum of His years is infinite.
Behold, He counts the rain clouds and He establishes the downpours.
And His clouds let down drops of water on a multitude of people.
If He who spreads the clouds of His thunder and spreads His light ... and covers. For by them He judges peoples...

(Job 37)
With it (water) He wipes the clouds, and brings fire out of the cloud.
He speaks and they listen to Him and proceed with their works. He appoints them over all that He has created on earth: either for striking or for benefiting the earth; either for famine or shortage; or for something good to be on it.
Listen to this, Job, and arise! Observe the might of God.
Do you know what God has put on them and how He has made light to shine from the cloud?
Do you know how to robe the cloud with might?
Because your robe ... For He possesses knowledge ...
Do you know how to beat the cloud to compress it into a mirror?
He knows...

(Job 38)
Please gird your loins like a man, and I will question you and you will answer me.
Where were you when I made the earth? Explain it to me if you possess wisdom.
Do you know who fixed its measures? Who stretched a line over it?
Or to what were its foundations joined or who set its cut stone when the morning stars were shining together and all the angels of God exclaimed together?
Can you shut in the sea with gates when it bursts forward from the womb of the abyss, when the clouds were made into its robe and the haze its swaddling-clothes.
Can you set boundaries to it ... ?
Did you say, Up to here! And you must not go beyond... your waves.
In your days did you order the morning
... the wings of the earth ...
... for the day of battle and revolt.
... from where will (the wind) go out and will it blow before Him on the earth?
Who fixed a time for the rain and a path for the quick clouds to bring it (the rain) down to a land of wilderness with no man on it, to satiate the low-lying and isolated (places) to produce sprouting grass.
Has the rain a father and who begets the mist of dew?
And from whose womb did ice come out ...
The waters contracted like a stone because of Him, and the face of the abyss? ...
... Pleiades or the fence of Orion ...

(Job 39)
... the mountain goats, and the birth pangs ...
... their months are completed, and do you know when they give birth, delivering their young and ejecting them, and do you send away their birth pangs?
They raise their young and make them go; they depart and do not come back to them.
Who has set the wild ass free and who has loosed the onager's rope, to whom I gave the desert for his home and made the salty land his dwelling.
He laughs at the great commotion of the city and his master's urging he does not hear.
He chooses for himself mountains for pasture and he goes after everything green.
Does the wild ox wish to serve you or will he lodge in your stable?
Will you tie the wild ox with a yoke and will he plough in the valley after you? And will you ... Will you depend on him because great is his strength?
Will you frighten him (the horse) with a strong ... his ... is fear and dread.
He searches out the valley, he trembles and rejoices, and mightily advances towards the sword.
He laughs at fear and does not shudder, and does not turn back from the sword.
Upon him hangs a lance, a javelin and a sharp sword, and at the sound of the trumpet, he says, Aha, and from afar he smells the battle, and he enjoys the rattle of the weapons and the war cries.
Does the hawk get excited because of your wisdom and spread his wings towards the winds?
Or does the eagle rise at your order and the bird of prey build its nest on high?
It dwells on the rock and nests ...

(Job 40) ...
From... and from the cloud God answered Job and said to him:
Like a man, please gird your loins; I will question you, and you will answer me. Would you indeed tear up the judgement and declare me guilty so that you may be innocent? Or do you have an arm like God or thunder with a voice like his?
Throw away, please, pride and haughtiness and you will put on splendour, glory and honour.
Throw away, please, the heat of your wrath and observe every proud man and humble him.
And every proud spirit you will smash and you will extinguish the wicked in their places.
And hide them all in the dust and cover with ashes ...
... the Jordan its banks, he (the hippopotamus) trusts that he will get it.
When he lifts his eyes, who will restrain him, ... his nose with a hook.
Will you pull a crocodile with a hook or tie up its tongue with a rope?
Will you put a muzzle on his nose and will you pierce his cheek with your chisel?
Will he speak gently with you or will he speak with you pleadingly?

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Will he make a covenant with you or will you handle him as a slave for ever?

Will you play with him like a bird, and will you bind him with a string for your daughters?

(Job 41)

They cling to one another and no breath passes between them.

One holds to another, and they do not separate.

His sneezing lights fire between his eyes like the shine of dawn.

Torches come forth out of his mouth; they leap like tongues of fire.

From his nostrils smoke goes forth like burning thorn and incense.

His breath spews out coals and sparks come out of his mouth.

His strength dwells in his neck and vigour springs before him.

The folds of his flesh are clinging, moulded over him like iron.

His heart... like stone

(Job 41-42)

... and he is king over all the reptiles.

Job answered and said before God: I know that Thou canst do all things and dost not lack in strength and wisdom.

I have spoken once and will not revoke it, a second time, and I will not add to it.

Listen, please, and I will speak; I will question you and you must answer me.

I had heard of you by the hearing of the ear and now my eyes see you.

Therefore I am melting and dissolve and become dust and ashes...

... God. God heard the voice of Job and forgave them their sins because of him.

And God returned to Job with mercy and doubled all that he had owned.

All his friends, brothers and acquaintances came to Job and they ate bread with him in his house, and they comforted him for all the misery that God had brought on him and each gave him a ewe-lamb and a ring of gold.

The Targum of Leviticus (4Q156)

Fragment 1:

And he (Aaron) shall take some of the blood of the bull and sprinkle it with his finger on the mercy seat. And before the mercy seat - to the east - he shall sprinkle from the blood with his finger seven times (Lev. 16,14)....

Fragment 2: ...

When he has made an end of atoning for the House of Holiness and for the tent of meeting and for the altar, he shall offer a live goat (Lev. 16,20)....

Appendix

A: GREEK BIBLE TRANSLATIONS (4Q119-22; 7Q1-2)

(Compared to the quantity of Hebrew and Aramaic manuscripts, the Greek documents found in two of the Qumran caves, Caves 4 and 7, are remarkably few, and this scarcity is significant in itself as regards the cultural identity of the Qumran Community. Those which have been identified with certainty belong to the Greek translation of the Bible, mostly the Pentateuch. On the whole, they represent the traditional text of the Septuagint with minor variations such as a word being replaced by its synonym (harvesting by threshing, for example, or nation by people). It is worth noting that in Lev. iv, 27 (4Q120, fr. 20, 4) the Tetragram (the divine name YHWH) is rendered semiphonetically as Iao, and is not replaced, as was customary later, by the Greek Kurios (Lord). The texts are dated to about 100 BC.)

B: OTHER GREEK FRAGMENTS (4Q126-7; 7Q3-19)

The remaining two Greek texts in Cave 4 date roughly to the turn of the era. One (4Q126) cannot be identified and the other (4Q127) is either a paraphrase of Exodus, mentioning among others Pharaoh, Moses and Egypt, or possibly an apocryphal account of Israel in Egypt.

The Reworked Pentateuch (4Q158, 4Q364-7)

(Five badly preserved manuscripts have been classified as reworkings of the Pentateuch. These Torah copis partly entail rearrangements of biblical passages and partly incorporating interpretative supplements inserted into the text. The length of the supplement varies from a few words to seven or eight lines, the most significant example being the long, but broken, addition to the Song of Miriam in 4Q365 6a ii, c. Judging from the surviving passages, the original Reworked Pentateuch must have been a very substantial document, probably the longest of all the Qumran Scrolls. All the manuscripts may be dated on palaeographical grounds to the first century BC. Only those texts which contain more or less intelligible supplement are included.)

4Q158, frs. 1-2 (Gen. 32,24-32; Exod. 4,27-28 + Supplement)

... And Jacob was left alone there. And a man wrestled with him.

When the man did not prevail against Jacob, he touched his thigh; and Jacob's thigh was put out of joint as he wrestled with him and he seized him. And he said to him, What is your name? ... And he said to him, Jacob. And he said, Your name shall be Israel, for you have striven with God and with men and have prevailed. And Jacob asked and said, Tell me, pray, what is your name. And he said, Why is it that you ask my name, and he blessed him there. And he said to him, 'May the Lord make you fruitful and multiply you. May he grant you knowledge and understanding and may he save you from all violence and ... until this day and until everlasting generations. And he went on his way after he had blessed him there. And he ... And the sun rose upon him as he passed Penuel, limping because of his thigh.... on this day. And he said, You shall not eat the sinew of the hip which is upon the two hollows of the thigh until this day. (Exod. iv) And the Lord said to Aaron, Go to meet Moses in the wilderness. So he went and met him at the mountain of God and kissed him. And Moses told Aaron all the words of the Lord with which he had sent him and all the signs which he had charged him to do. And the Lord spoke to me saying, When you bring out the people of Israel ... to go as slaves and behold these are four hundred and thirty (years ...

4Q364, fr. 3 (Supplement + Gen. 28,6)

... you shall see him ... you shall see in peace ... your death. And upon your eyes ... Why should I be bereft of both of you? (Gen. 27,45)

And Isaac called Rebecca his wife and told her all these words ... after Jacob her son ... And Esau saw that Isaac had blessed Jacob and sent him away to Padan Aram to take a wife from there ...

4Q365, fr. 6b, 6a ii, 6c (Exod. xv, 16-21+Supplement+xv, 22-6)

Fr. 6b

... till Thy people, 0 Lord, pass by, till the people pass by whom thou hast purchased.

Thou wilt bring them in, and plant them on thine own mountain, the place, 0 Lord, which thou hast made for thine abode, the sanctuary which thy hands have established.

The Lord will reign for ever and ever.

For when the horses of Pharaoh with his chariots and his horsemen went into the sea, the Lord brought back the waters of the sea upon them; but the people of Israel walked on dry ground in the midst of the sea.

And the waters were a wall to them on their right and on their left (cf. Exod. 14,22,29). And Miriam the prophetess, sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand; and all the women went out after her with timbrels and dancing. And Miriam sang to them, Sing to the Lord, for he has triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider he has thrown into the sea.

Fr. 6a ii, 6c

... thou hast despised ...

For pride ...

Thou art great, a saviour ...

The hope of the enemy has perished and ... has stopped ...

They have perished in the mighty waters, the enemy ... and lifts up to their height.

Thou hast given a ransom ... ... he who acts proudly.

And Moses led Israel onward from the sea, and they went to the wilderness of Shur; they went three days and found no water. They came to Marah, but they could not drink the water of Marah because it was bitter; therefore it was named Marah.

And the people murmured against Moses saying, What shall we drink? And Moses cried to the Lord who showed him a tree, and he threw it into the water, and the water became sweet. There he made for them a statute and an ordinance and there he proved them. And he said, If you will listen diligently to the voice of the Lord your God and do that which is right in his eyes and give heed to his commandments and judgements, and keep all his statutes, I will put none of the diseases upon you which I put on the Egyptians. For I am the Lord, your healer.

Fr. 23

(Lev xxii, 42-xxiv, 2+Supplement)

You shall dwell in booths for seven days; all that are native in Israel shall dwell in booths, that your generations may know that I made your fathers dwell in booths when I brought them out of the land of Egypt; I am the Lord your God. vacat And Moses declared to the people of Israel the appointed feasts of the Lord. vacat And the Lord said to Moses, Command the children of Israel, saying, When you enter the land which I am giving to you as an inheritance, and you dwell upon it securely, you shall bring wood for a burnt-offering and for all the service of the House which you shall build for me in the land, to lay it on the altar of burnt-offering, and the calves ... for Passover sacrifices and peace-offerings and thank-offerings and free-will offerings and burnt-offerings daily ... and for the doors and for all the service of the House you shall offer ... the festival of Oil, the twelve tribes they shall offer wood ... Those who offer on the first day shall be Levi and ... on the third day, Reuben and Simeon, and on the fourth day ...

A Paraphrase of Genesis and Exodus (4Q422)

Nine fragments of a manuscript written in Hasmonaean characters (first half of the first century BC) contain a paraphrase of Gen. 1-4, 6-9, judging from disconnected expressions relating to the creation of the world by God's word, to various living creatures, the establishment of man as ruler over the rest of beings, the prohibition against eating from the tree of knowledge and the rebellion against God which led to the flood. These fragments belong to three parts.

Part 1: ... The heavens and the earth and all their host He made by His word. And God rested on the seventh day from all the work which He had made. And His holy spirit ... all the living and creeping creatures ... He put man on the earth to rule over it and to eat the fruits of the ground ... without eating from the tree of knowledge of good and evil ... He rose against Him and they forgot ... with an evil inclination and for deeds of ... peace / payment ...

Part 2: ... save Noah and his wife and the wives of his sons from the waters of the Flood ... God closed behind them ... the windows of heaven opened under all the heaven ... for the waters to rise on the earth forty days and forty nights was rain over the earth ... and in order to know the glory of the Most High ... to reach to Him, He enlightened the heaven ... sign for generations of eternity ... and never more will a flood destroy the earth ... the periods of day and night ... to shine on heaven and earth ...

Part 3: ... their sons into the river ... And He sent to them Moses ... in the vision ... in the signs and marvels ... And He sent them to Pharaoh ... plagues ... marvels for Egypt ... and they carried His word to Pharaoh to send away their people. But He hardened his (Pharaoh's) heart to sin so that the men of Israel might know for eternal generations. And He changed their waters to blood. Frogs were in all their land and lice in all their territories, gnats in their houses and they struck all their ... And He smote with pestilence all their flock and their beasts He delivered to death. He put darkness into their land and obscurity into their houses so that they could not see one another. And He smote their land with hail and their soil with frost to cause all the fruit of nourishment to perish. And He brought locust to cover the face of the earth, heavy locust in all their territory to eat everything green in their land ... And God hardened Pharaoh's heart so that he should not dismiss them ... and in order to increase wonders. And He smote their first-born, the beginning of al1 their strength ...

The Genesis Apocryphon (IQapGen, IQ20)

(IQapGen from Qumran Cave 1 is an incomplete manuscript with twenty-two surviving columns of Aramaic text. The beginning of the manuscript is missing. It seems that,according to the sheet numbering, the surviving section was preceded by sixteen sheets of which only the end of the last one has been preserved. This lively and delightful narrative, largely devoid of sectarian bias, throws valuable light on inter-Testamental Bible interpretation. It is a mixture of Targum, Midrash, rewritten Bible and autobiography. Most scholars assign the manuscript copy to the late first century BC. The composition itself is generally thought to originate from the second century BC.)

... II Behold, I thought then within my heart that conception was (due) to the Watchers and the Holy Ones... and to the Giants... and my heart was troubled within me because of this child. Then I, Lamech, approached Bathenosh my wife in haste and said to her, '... by the Most High, the Great Lord, the King of all the worlds and Ruler of the Sons of Heaven, until you tell me all things truthfully, if... Tell me this truthfully and not falsely... by the King of all the worlds until you tell me truthfully and not falsely.'

Then Bathenosh my wife spoke to me with much heat and ... said, 'O my brother, O my lord, remember my pleasure... the lying together and my soul within its body. And I tell you all things truthfully.'

My heart was then greatly troubled within me, and when Bathenosh my wife saw that my countenance had changed... Then she mastered her anger and spoke to me saying, 'O my lord, O my brother, remember my pleasure! I swear to you by the Holy Great One, the King of the heavens ... that this seed is yours and that this conception is from you. This fruit was planted by you... and by no stranger or Watcher or Son of Heaven... Why is your countenance thus changed and dismayed, and why is your spirit thus distressed ... I speak to you truthfully.'

Then I, Lamech, ran to Methuselah my father, and I told him all these things. And I asked him to go to Enoch his father for he would surely learn all things from him. For he

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was beloved, and he shared the lot of the angels, who taught him all things. And when Methuselah heard my words... he went to Enoch his father to learn all things truthfully from him ... his will.

He went at once to Parwain and he found him there... and he said to Enoch his father, 'O my father, O my lord, to whom I... And I say to you, lest you be angry with me because I come here...

I abstained from injustice and in the womb of her who conceived me I searched for truth. And when I emerged from my mother's womb, I was planted for truth and I lived all my days in truth and walked in the paths of eternal truth. And the Holy One (was) with me ... on my pathways truth sped to warn me off the ... of lie which led to darkness ... and I girded my loins with the vision of truth and wisdom... paths of violence. vacat Then I, Noah, became a man and clung to truth and seized... and I took Amzara, his daughter as my wife. She conceived and bore me three sons and daughters. Then I took wives for my sons from among my brother's daughters, and I gave my daughters to my brother's sons according to the law of the eternal precept which the Most High ordained to the sons of man. vacat And in my days, when according to my reckoning... ten jubilees had been completed, the moment came for my sons to take wives for themselves... heaven, I saw in a vision and was explained and made known the action of the sons of heaven and... the heavens. Then I hid this mystery in my heart and explained it to no man. vacat ... to me and a great and... and in a message of the Holy One... and he spoke to me in a vision and he stood before me ...

... and the message of the great Holy One called out to me: 'To you they say, O Noah, ...' and I reckoned the whole conduct of the sons of the earth. I knew and explained all... two weeks. Then the blood which the Giants had spilled.... I was at ease and waited until... the holy ones with the daughters of man... Then I, Noah, found grace, greatness and truth ... ... till the gates of heaven... to men and cattle, and wild beasts and birds ...

... on them; the earth and all that is on it, in the seas and on the mountains ... all the constellations of heaven, the sun, the moon and the stars and the Watchers ...

... I shall reward you ... the great Holy One. And I rejoiced in the words of the Lord of heaven and I shouted... it ... you all to your Master... the King of all the world for ever and ever until all eternity.

vacat ... until the ark rested on one of the mountains of Ararat. And eternal fire... And I atoned for the whole earth, all of it.

And the beginning of... and I burned the fat on the fire. Secondly, ... I poured out their blood on the base of the altar and I burned all their flesh on the altar. And thirdly the turtledoves... on the altar as an offering.... I put on it fine flour mixed with oil and with incense as a meal offering.... I put salt on all of them. And the smell of my offering rose up to heaven. ...

... the mountains and the deserts... ... four... vacat Then I, Noah, went out and walked on the earth, through its length and breadth ...

delight on her in their leaves and in their fruit. And all the land was filled with grass and herbs and grain. Then I blessed the Lord of heaven who made splendid things. He is for ever and praise is his. And I repeated the blessing on account of his grace for the earth and on account of his removing and causing to perish from it all those who do violence and wickedness and lies and on account of his rescuing the righteous man ... vacat God was revealed to me and the Lord of heaven spoke to me and said to me: 'Do not fear, Noah. I shall be with you and with your sons who will be like you for ever... of the earth and rule over them ... and over its deserts and its mountains and all that are on them. And behold, I give all of it to you and to your sons to eat the green things and the grass of the earth. But you shall not eat any blood. Your fear and awe... for ever.'...

... in the mountains of Ararat. And afterwards I descended... I and my sons and the sons of my sons ... for the destruction was great on the earth... after the Flood. To my first son Shem was born, to begin with, a son, Arpachshad, two years after the Flood. And all the sons of Shem, all of them, were Elam, and Ashur (Assur), Arpachshad, Lud and Aram, and five daughters. And the sons of Ham: Kush and Misrain and Put and Canaan, and seven daughters. And the sons of Japhet: Gomer and Magog and Media and Yavan and Tubal and Mashok and Tiras, and four daughters. And I began, I and all my sons, to fill the land and I planted a big vineyard on Mount Lubar and in the fourth year it produced wine for me ... And when the first festival came, on the first day of the first festival in the ... month... I opened this jar and I began to drink on the first day of the fifth year ... On this day I summoned my sons, my grandsons and all our wives and their daughters, and we assembled together and we went... and I blessed the Lord of heaven, the Most High God, the Great Holy One who saved us from perdition...

... they were cutting gold and silver and stones and clay and taking part of them for themselves. I saw the gold and the silver ... iron, and they cut down every tree and took some for themselves. I saw the sun and the moon and the stars cutting and taking some for themselves. ... I turned to see the olive tree and behold, the olive tree was rising upwards and for many hours ... many leaves... appeared in them. I observed this olive tree and beheld the abundance of its leaves... they tied to it. And I was greatly amazed by this olive tree and its leaves. I was amazed... the four winds of heaven were blowing powerfully and they damaged this olive tree, breaking off its branches and smashing them. First came the westerly wind and struck it, and shook off its leaves and fruit, and scattered them in every direction.

Then...

... listen and hear! You are the great cedar... standing before you in a dream on the top of mountains... ... truth. The willow that springs from it and rises towards the heights (these are) three sons ... And that which you did see, (namely that) the first willow caught the stump of the cedar... and the wood from it ... will not separate from you all its days.

And among its posterity... will be called... will spring a righteous plant ... will stand for ever. And that which you did see, (namely that) the willow caught the stump of the cedar ...

... the last willow... ... part of their branch entered (got entangled with?) the branch of the first (willow), two sons... And that which you did see, (namely that) part of their branch entered the branch of the first ... I explained to him the mystery...

... And that you did see all of them ... they will go around, the majority of them will be wicked. And that which you did see, (namely that) a man came from the south of the land, with a sickle in his hand, and fire with him ... who will come from the south of the land ... And they will cast wickedness on the fire, all ... And he shall come between ... Four angels ... between all the nations. And all of them will worship and be confounded ... I will explain to you all, in truth. And thus it is written concerning you. And I, Noah, awoke from my sleep and the sun ...

... until the river Tina ... and all the land of the north, all of it, until it reaches ... And this boundary passes by the waters of the Great Sea as far as ... divided by lot to Japhet and his sons to inherit as an eternal inheritance. vacat The second lot came to Shem to inherit, he and his sons, as an eternal inheritance ... the waters of the river Tina ... as far as the river Tina ... to the great Sea of Salt. And this boundary goes as a spring from this bay ... to the east

... And Shem, my son, divided (his inheritance) among his sons.

And the first (lot) fell to Elam in the north, by the waters of the river Tigris as far as the Red Sea, whose source is in the north, and it turns to the west to Assyria as far as the Tigris ... And after it to Aram, the land between the two rivers, as far as the top of the mountain of Ashur (Assur) ... To ... fell this Mount of the Ox and the portion stretched and went westwards as far as Magog ... east in the north ... this bay which is at the head of three portions by this sea to Arpachshad to the boundary that turns towards the south, all the land watered by the Euphrates, and all ... all the valleys and plains that are between them, and the island that is in the middle of the bay ... to the sons of Gomer ... and Amana as far as the Euphrates ... the portion that his father Noah divided and gave him. vacat Japhet divided (his inheritance) between his sons. He gave the first (lot) to Gomer in the north as far as the river Tina, and afterwards to Magog, and afterwards to Media, and afterwards to Yavan (the Greeks), all the islands that are by Lydia. And (the lot) which is between the bay of Lydia and the second bay, (he gave) to Tubal ... in the land. And to Meshek the sea ... to Tiras ... which is by the portion of the sons of Ham ...

... And I said, 'Thou art ...'...'... until now you have not come to the Holy Mountain.'

And I (Abram) departed ... and I travelled towards the south ... until I came to Hebron at the time when Hebron was being built; and I dwelt there two years.

Now there was famine in all this land, and hearing that there was prosperity in Egypt I went ... to the land of Egypt ... I came to the river Karmon, one of the branches of the River (Nile) ... and I crossed the seven branches of the River ... We passed through our land and entered the land of the sons of Ham, the land of Egypt.

And on the night of our entry into Egypt, I, Abram, dreamt a dream; and behold, I saw in my dream a cedar tree and a palm tree ... men came and they sought to cut down the cedar tree and to pull up its roots, leaving the palm tree (standing) alone. But the palm tree cried out saying, 'Do not cut down this cedar tree, for cursed be he who shall fell it.' And the cedar tree was spared because of the palm tree and was not felled.

And during the night I woke from my dream, and I said to Sarai my wife, 'I have dreamt a dream ... and I am fearful because of this dream.' She said to me, 'Tell me your dream that I may know it.' So I began to tell her this dream ... the interpretation of the dream ...'... that they will seek to kill me, but will spare you ... Say to them of me, "He is my brother", and because of you I shall live, and because of you my life shall be saved ... '

And Sarai wept that night on account of my words ...

Then we journeyed towards Zoan, I and Sarai ... by her life that none should see her ...

And when those five years had passed, three men from among the princes of Egypt came at the command of Pharaoh of Zoan to inquire after my business and after my wife and they gave ... goodness, wisdom, and truth. And I exclaimed before them ... because of the famine ... And they came to ascertain ... with much food and drink ... the wine ... (During the party, the Egyptians must have seen Sarai, and on their return they praised her to the king.)

... and beautiful is her face! How ... fine are the hairs of her head! How lovely are her eyes! How desirable her nose and all the radiance of her countenance ... How fair are her breasts and how beautiful all her whiteness! How pleasing are her arms and how perfect her hands, and how desirable all the appearance of her hands! How fair are her palms and how long and slender are her fingers! How comely are her feet, how perfect her thighs! No virgin or bride led into the marriage chamber is more beautiful than she; she is fairer than all other women. Truly, her beauty is greater than theirs. Yet together with all this grace she possesses abundant wisdom, so that whatever she does is perfect (?).' When the king heard the words of Harkenosh and his two companions, for all three spoke as with one voice, he desired her greatly and sent out at once to take her. And seeing her, he was amazed by all her beauty and took her to be his wife, but me he sought to kill. Sarai said to the king, 'He is my brother,' that I might benefit from her, and I, Abram, was spared because of her and I was not slain.

And I, Abram, wept aloud that night, I and my nephew Lot, because Sarai had been taken from me by force. I prayed that night and I begged and implored, and I said in my sorrow while my tears ran down: 'Blessed art Thou, O Most High God, Lord of all the worlds, Thou who art Lord and king of all things and who rulest over all the kings of the earth and judgest them all! I cry now before Thee, my Lord, against Pharaoh of Zoan the king of Egypt, because of my wife who has been taken from me by force. Judge him for me that I may see Thy mighty hand raised against him and against all his household, and that he may not be able to defile my wife this night (separating her) from me, and that they may know Thee, my Lord, that Thou art Lord of all the kings of the earth.' And I wept and was sorrowful.

And during that night the Most High God sent a spirit to scourge him, an evil spirit to all his household; and it scourged him and all his household. And he was unable to approach her, and although he was with her for two years, he knew her not.

At the end of those two years the scourges and afflictions grew greater and more grievous upon him and all his household, so he sent for all the sages of Egypt, for all the magicians, together with all the healers of Egypt, that they might heal him and all his household of this scourge. But not one healer or magician or sage could stay to cure him, for the spirit scourged them all and they fled.

Then Harkenosh came to me, beseeching me to go to the king and to pray for him and to lay my hands upon him that he might live, for the king had dreamt a dream ... But Lot said to him, 'Abram my uncle cannot pray for the king while Sarai his wife is with him. Go, therefore, and tell the king to restore his wife to her husband; then he will pray for him and he shall live.'

When Harkenosh had heard the words of Lot, he went to the king and said, 'All these scourges and afflictions with which my lord the king is scourged and afflicted are because of Sarai the wife of Abram. Let Sarai be restored to Abram her husband, and this scourge and the spirit of festering shall vanish from you.'

And he called me and said, 'What have you done to me with regard to Sarai? You said to me, She is my sister, whereas she is your wife; and I took her to be my wife. Behold your wife who is with me; depart and go hence from all the land of Egypt! And now pray for me and my house that this evil spirit may be expelled from it.'

So I prayed for him ... and I laid my hands on his head; and the scourge departed from him and the evil spirit was expelled from him, and he lived. And the king rose to tell me ... and the king swore an oath to me that ... and the king gave her much silver and gold and much raiment of fine linen and purple ... And Hagar also ... and he appointed men to lead me out of all the land of Egypt. And I, Abram, departed with very great flocks and with silver and gold, and I went up from Egypt together with my nephew Lot. Lot had great flocks also, and he took a wife for himself from among the daughters of Egypt.

I pitched my camp in every place in which I had formerly camped until I came to Bethel, the place where I had built an altar. And I built a second altar and laid on it a sacrifice, and an offering to the Most High God. And there I called on the name of the Lord of worlds and praised the Name of God and blessed God, and I gave thanks before God for all the riches and favours which He had bestowed on me. For He had dealt kindly towards me and had led me back in peace into this land. After that day, Lot departed from me on account of the deeds

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of our shepherds. He went away and settled in the valley of the Jordan, together with all his flocks; and I myself added more to them. He kept his sheep and journeyed as far as Sodom, and he bought a house for himself in Sodom and dwelt in it. But I dwelt on the mountain of Bethel and it grieved me that my nephew Lot had departed from me. And God appeared to me in a vision at night and said to me, 'Go to Ramath Hazor which is north of Bethel, the place where you dwell, and lift up your eyes and look to the east and to the west and to the south and to the north; and behold all this land which I give to you and your seed for ever.'

The next morning, I went up to Ramath Hazor and from that high place I beheld the land from the River of Egypt to Lebanon and Senir, and from the Great Sea to Hauran, and all the land of Gebal as far as Kadesh, and all the Great Desert to the east of Hauran and Senir as far as the Euphrates. And He said to me, 'I will give all this land to your seed and they shall possess it for ever. And I will multiply your seed like the dust of the earth which no man can number; neither shall any man number your seed. Rise and go! Behold the length and breadth of the land, for it is yours; and after you, I will give it to your seed for ever.'

And I, Abram, departed to travel about and see the land. I began my journey at the river Gihon and travelled along the coast of the Sea until I came to the Mountain of the Bull (Taurus). Then I travelled from the coast of the Great Salt Sea and journeyed towards the east by the Mountain of the Bull, across the breadth of the land, until I came to the river Euphrates. I journeyed along the Euphrates until I came to the Red Sea (Persian Gulf) in the east, and I travelled along the coast of the Red Sea until I came to the tongue of the Sea of Reeds (the modern Red Sea) which flows out from the Red Sea. Then I pursued my way in the south until I came to the river Gihon, and returning, I came to my house in peace and found all things prosperous there. I went to dwell at the Oaks of Mamre, which is at Hebron, north-east of Hebron; and I built an altar there, and laid on it a sacrifice and an oblation to the Most High God. I ate and drank there, I and all the men of my household, and I sent for Mamre, Ornam and Eshkol, the three Amorite brothers, my friends, and they ate and drank with me.

Before these days, Kedorlaomer king of Elam had set out with Amrafel king of Babylon, Ariok king of Kaptok, and Tidal king of the nations which lie between the rivers; and they had waged war against Bera king of Sodom, Birsha king of Gomorrah, Shinab king of Admah, Shemiabad king of Zeboim, and against the king of Bela. All these had made ready for battle in the valley of Siddim, and the king of Elam and the other kings with him had prevailed over the king of Sodom and his companions and had imposed a tribute upon them.

For twelve years they had paid their tribute to the king of Elam, but in the thirteenth year they rebelled against him. And in the fourteenth year, the king of Elam placed himself at the head of all his allies and went up by the Way of the Wilderness; and they smote and pillaged from the river Euphrates onward. They smote the Refaim who were at Ashteroth Karnaim, the Zumzamim who were at Ammon, the Emim who were at Shaveh ha-Keriyyoth, and the Horites who were in the mountains of Gebal, until they came to El Paran which is in the Wilderness. And they returned ... at Hazazon Tamar.

The king of Sodom went out to meet them, together with the king of Gomorrah, the king of Admah, the king of Zeboim, and the king of Bela, and they fought a battle in the valley of Siddim against Kedorlaomer king of Elam and the kings who were with him. But the king of Sodom was vanquished and fled, and the king of Gomorrah fell into the pits ... And the king of Elam carried off all the riches of Sodom and Gomorrah ... and they took Lot the nephew XXII of Abram who dwelt with them in Sodom, together with all his possessions.

Now one of the shepherds of the flocks which Abram had given to Lot escaped from captivity and came to Abram; at that time Abram dwelt in Hebron. He told him that Lot his nephew had been taken, together with all his possessions, but that he had not been slain and that the kings had gone by the Way of the Great Valley (of the Jordan) in the direction of their land, taking captives and plundering and smiting and slaying, and that they were journeying towards the land of Damascus.

Abram wept because of Lot his nephew. Then he braced himself; he rose up and chose from among his servants three hundred and eighteen fighting men trained for war, and Ornam and Eshkol and Mamre went with him also. He pursued them until he came to Dan, and came on them while they were camped in the valley of Dan. He fell on them at night from four sides and during the night he slew them; he crushed them and put them to flight, and all of them fled before him until they came to Helbon which is north of Damascus. He rescued from them all their captives, and all their booty and possessions. He also delivered Lot his nephew, together with all his possessions, and he brought back all the captives which they had taken.

When the king of Sodom learned that Abram had brought back all the captives and all the booty, he came out to meet him; and he went to Salem, which is Jerusalem.

Abram camped in the valley of Shaveh, which is the valley of the king, the valley of Beth-ha-Kerem; and Melchisedek king of Salem brought out food and drink to Abram and to all the men who were with him. He was the Priest of the Most High God. And he blessed Abram and said, 'Blessed be Abram by the Most High God, Lord of heaven and earth! And blessed be the Most High God who has delivered your enemies into your hand!' And Abram gave him the tithe of all the possessions of the king of Elam and his companions.

Then the king of Sodom approached and said to Abram, 'My lord Abram, give me the souls which are mine, which you have delivered from the king of Elam and taken captive, and you may have all the possessions.'

Then said Abram to the king of Sodom, 'I raise my hand this day to the Most High God, Lord of heaven and earth! I will take nothing of yours, not even a shoe-lace or shoe-strap, lest you say, Abram's riches come from my possessions! I will take nothing but that which the young men with me have eaten already, and the portion of the three men who have come with me. They shall decide whether they will give you their portion.' And Abram returned all the possessions and all the captives and gave them to the king of Sodom; he freed all the captives from this land who were with him, and sent them all back.

After these things, God appeared to Abram in a vision and said to him, 'Behold, ten years have passed since you departed from Haran.

For two years you dwelt here and you spent seven years in Egypt, and one year has passed since you returned from Egypt. And now examine and count all you have, and see how it has grown to be double that which came out with you from Haran. And now do not fear, I am with you; I am your help and your strength. I am a shield above you and a mighty safeguard round about you. Your wealth and possessions shall multiply greatly.' But Abram said, 'My Lord God, I have great wealth and possessions but what good shall they do to me? I shall die naked; childless shall I go hence. A child from my household shall inherit from me. Eliezer son ... shall inherit from me.' And He said to him, 'He shall not be your heir, but one who shall spring from your body shall inherit from you.'

Genesis Commentaries (4Q252—254a)

(From this non-continuous paraphrase of Genesis, four sections are reproduced here, two of which are of sectarian inspiration. The composition of the first fragment attempts to adapt the chronology of the biblical Flood story to the solar calendar of the Qumran Community.

The subject of the second excerpt is the blessing of Judah, i.e. the tribe in which David originated. The sectarian commentator emphasises that the royal power will belong for ever to the descendants of David, thereby implying that all non-Davidic rulers, such as the contemporary Hasmonaean priest-kings, unlawfully occupy the throne. If so, the composition best fits to the first half of the first century BC.)

4Q252, fragment 1 (Gen. 6,3 — 15,17)

In the four hundred and eightieth year of the life of Noah came their end (that of antediluvian mankind). And God said, My spirit shall not abide in man for ever and their days sball be determined to be one hundred and twenty years - until the end of the Flood. And the waters of the Flood arrived on the earth in the six hundredth year of the life of Noah, in the second month— on the first day of the week —on the seventeenth of the month. On that day all the fountains of the great deep burst forth and the windows of the heavens were opened. And rain fell on the earth forty days and forty nights until the twenty-sixth day of the third month, the fifth day of the week. And the waters prevailed upon the earth a hundred and fifty days—until the fourteenth day of the seventh month, the third day of the week. And at the end of a hundred and fifty days, the waters had abated— two days, the fourth and the fifth day, and on the sixth day - the ark came to rest on the mountains of Hurarat (or: Turarat), on the seventeenth day of the seventh month. And the waters continued to abate until the tenth month, the first day of the month - the fourth day of the week—and the tops of the mountains appeared. At the end of forty days after the tops of the mountains had been seen Noah opened the window of the ark - on the tenth day of the eleventh month. And he sent forth the dove to see if the waters had subsided, but she did not find a resting-place and returned to him to the ark. He waited another seven days and again sent her forth. She came back to him with a plucked olive leaf in her beak—this is the twenty-fourth day of the eleventh month, the first day of the week. And Noah knew that the waters had subsided from the earth. At the end of another seven days, he sent forth the dove and it did not return again—this is the first day of the twelfth month, the first day of the week. At the end of three weeks after Noah had sent forth the dove which did not return to him any more, the waters dried up from the earth and Noah removed the covering of the ark and looked, and behold, the face of the ground was dry. This was the first day of the first month. And it happened in the six hundred and first year of the life of Noah, on the seventeenth day of the second month that the earth was dry - on the first day of the week. On that day Noah went forth from the ark at the end of a full year of three hundred and sixty-four days, on the first day of the week, on the seventeenth of the second month vacat on and six vacat Noah from the ark at the appointed time of a full year vacat And Noah awoke from his wine and knew what his youngest son had done to him. And he said, Cursed be Canaan; a slave of slaves shall he be to his brothers. But he did not curse Ham but only his son, for God had blessed the sons of Noah. And let him dwell in the tents of Shem. He gave the land to Abram, his beloved. Terah was one hundred and forty-five years old when he went forth from Ur of the Chaldees and came to Haran. Now Abram was seventy years old and for five years Abram dwelt in Haran. And afterwards Abram went forth to the land of Canaan. Sixty-five years ... the heifer and the ram and the goat ... the torch of fire when it passed over ...

(Gen. 36,12)

Timna was the concubine of Eliphaz son of Esau and she bore to him Amalek, whom Saul smote as He said to Moses, In the last days you will wipe out the memory of Amalek from under the heaven (Deuteronomy 25,19).

Blessings of Jacob (Gen. 49,3)

Reuben, you are my first-born, the first fruit of my strength, preeminent in pride and pre-eminent in power. Unstable as water, you shall not have pre-eminence; you went up to your fathers bed; you have defiled his couch ... Its interpretation is that he rebuked him because he slept with Bilhah, his concubine, and he said, 'My first-born ... Reuben is the first fruit ...'

(Gen. 49,10)

The sceptre shall not depart from the tribe of Judah ....

Whenever Israel rules, there shall not fail to be a descendant of David upon the throne. For the ruler's staff is the Covenant of kingship, and the clans of Israel are the divisions, until the Messiah of Righteousness comes, the Branch of David. For to him and his seed is granted the Covenant of kingship over his people for everlasting generations which he is to keep... the Law with the men of the Community, for ... it is the assembly of the men of ...

Genesis Commentary C (4Q254)
Fr. I (Gen. ix, 24—5)

... which he says ... on the doors and ... And Noah awoke from his wine and knew what his youngest son had done to him. And he said, Cursed be Canaan; a slave of slaves shall he be to his brothers.

Frs. 5—6 (Gen. xlix, 15—17)

And he bowed his shoulder to bear and became a slave at forced labour (Gen. xlxi, 15). Its interpretation... Dan shall judge his people as one of the tribes of Israel. Dan shall be a serpent in the way, a viper by the path that bites the horse's heels ...

Genesis Commentary D (4Q254a)
Fr.3

On the seventeenth of the month... Noah went out of the ark at the appointed time year by year ... a raven and it went out and returned to announce to the last generations ... before him, for the raven went out and returned ...

Commentaries on Isaiah (4Q 11611-5, 3Q4)

Translatable fragments of four commentaries on Isaiah were discovered in Cave 4. The first document alludes to the defeat of the Kittim and expounds the renowned messianic prophecy of Isaiah 11. It is related to 4Q285. The second and the third deal with the Jewish opponents of the sect. The fourth, relying on Isa. liv, identifies the Community as the New Jerusalem. They may all be assigned to the first century BC.

Frs. 8-10

... and the tallest trees shall be cut down and the lofty shall be felled with the axe, and Lebanon through a powerful one shall fall. Its interpretation concerns the Kittim who shall crush the house of Israel and the humble ... all the nations and the valiant shall be dismayed and their hearts shall melt. And that which he said, The tallest trees shall be cut down, these are the valiant of the Kittim ...

And that which he said. The heart of the forest shall be felled with the axe, they ... for the war of the Kittim. And Lebanon through a powerful one shall fall. Its interpretation concerns the Kittim (Cypriots) who will be given into the hand of his great one ... when he flees from before Israel ...

And there shall come forth a rod from the stem of Jesse and a Branch shall grow out of its roots. And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of thefearof the Lord. And his delight shall be

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in the fear of the Lord. He shall not judge by what his eyes see, or pass sentence by what his ears hear; he shall judge the poor righteously and shall pass sentence justly on the humble of the earth. Interpreted, this concerns the Branch of David who shall arise at the end of days ... God will uphold him with the spirit of might, and will give him a throne of glory and a crown of holiness and manycoloured garments ... He will put a sceptre in his hand and he shall rule over all the nations. And Magog ... and his sword shall judge all the peoples.

And as for that which he said, He shall not judge by what his eyes see or pass sentence by what his ears hear. interpreted, this means that ... the Priests ... As they teach him, so will he judge; and as they order, so will he pass sentence. One of the Priests of renown shall go out, and garments of... shall be in his hands ...

4Q162

For ten acres of vineyard shall produce only one bath, and a homer of seed shall yield but one ephah. Interpreted, this saying concerns the last days, the devastation of the land by sword and famine. At the time of the Visitation of the land there shall be Woe to those who rise early in the morning to run after strong drink, to those who linger in the evening until wine inflames them.

They have zither and harp and timbrel and flute and wine at their feasts, but they do not regard the work of the Lord or see the deeds of His hand. Therefore my people go into exile for want of knowledge, and their noblemen die of hunger and their multitude is parched with thirst. Therefore Hell has widened its gullet and opened its mouth beyond measure, and the nobility of Jerusalem and her multitude go down, her tumult and he who rejoices in her (v, 11—14).

These are the Scoffers in Jerusalem who have despised the Law of the Lord and scorned the word of the Holy One of Israel. Therefore the wrath of the Lord was kindled against His people. He stretched out His hand against them and smote them; the mountains trembled and their corpses were like sweepings in the middle of the streets.

And His wrath has not relented for all these things and His hand is stretched out still. This is the congregation of Scoffers in Jerusalem ...

4Q163

Thus said the Lord, the Holy One of Israel, 'You shall be saved by returning and resting; your strength shall be in silence and trust.' But you would not. You said, 'No. We will flee upon horses and will ride on swift steeds.' Therefore your pursuers shall be speedy also. A thousand shall flee at the threat of one; at the threat of five you shall flee till you are left like a flagstaff on top of a mountain and like a signal on top of a hill. Therefore the Lord waits to be gracious to you; therefore He exalts Himself to have mercy on you. For the Lord is a God of justice. How blessed are all those who wait for him!.

This saying, referring to the last days, concerns the congregation of those who seek smooth things in Jerusalem ... who despise the Law and do not trust in God ... As robbers lie in wait for a man ... they have despised the words of the Law ...

O people of Zion who live in Jerusalem, you shall weep no more.

At the sound of your crying He will be gracious to you; He will answer you when He hears it. Although the Lord gives you bread of oppression and water of distress, your Teacher shall be hidden no more and your eyes shall see your Teacher ....

4Q164

Behold, I will set your stones in antimony.

Interpreted, this saying concerns ... all Israel is like antimony surrounding the eye.

And I will lay your foundations with sapphires.

Interpreted, this concerns the Priests and the people who laid the foundations of the Council of the Community ... the congregation of His elect (shall sparkle) like a sapphire among stones.

And I will make all your pinnacles of agate.

Interpreted, this concerns the twelve chief Priests who shall enlighten by judgement of the Urim and Tummim ... which are absent from them, like the sun with all its light, and like the moon ...

And all your gates of carbuncles.

Interpreted, this concerns the chiefs of the tribes of Israel ...

Commentaries on Hosea (4Q166—7)

(Two fragmentary manuscripts include exegeses of Hosea. In the first, the unfaithful wife is the Jewish people led astray by her lovers, the Gentiles. The second refers cryptically to 'the furious young lion', mentioned also in the Commentary on Nahum, and to 'the last Priest who shall ... strike Ephraim'.)

4Q166

She knew not that it was I who gave her the new wine and oil, who lavished upon her silver and gold which they used for Baal.

Interpreted, this means that they ate and were filled, but they forgot God who ... They cast His commandments behind them which He had sent by the hand of His servants the Prophets, and they listened to those who led them astray. They revered them, and in their blindness they feared them as though they were gods.

Therefore I will take back my corn in its time and my wine in its season. I will take away my wool and my flax lest they cover her nakedness. I will uncover her shame before the eyes of her lovers and no man shall deliver her from out of my hand.

Interpreted, this means that He smote them with hunger and nakedness that they might be shamed and disgraced in the sight of the nations on which they relied. They will not deliver them from their miseries.

I will put an end to her rejoicing, her feasts, her new moons, her Sabbaths, and all her festivals.

Interpreted, this means that they have rejected the ruling of the Law, and have followed the festivals of the nations. But their rejoicing shall come to an end and shall be changed into mourning. I will ravage her vines and her fig trees, of which she said, 'They are my wage which my lovers have given me'. I will make of them a thicket and the wild beasts shall eat them ....

4Q167, fr. 2

... and your wound shall not be healed. Its interpretation concerns ... the furious young lion ...

For I will be like a lion to Ephraim and like a young lion to the house of Judah. Its interpretation concerns the last Priest who shall stretch out his hand to strike Ephraim ...

I will go and come back to my place until they will feel guilty and seek my face; in their distress they will seek me eagerly. Its interpretation is that God has hidden His face from ... and they did not listen ...

Frs. 7-9

But they, like Adam, have broken the Covenant. Its interpretation ... they have forsaken God and walked according to the decrees of the Gentiles ...

Commentary on Micah (1Q14,4Q168)

(Tiny fragments from Cave I (1Q14) represent an exposition of Micah. Although the prophet's words are intended to castigate both Samaria and Jerusalem, the Qumran commentator interprets Samaria as alluding to the 'Spouter of Lies', the enemy of the sect, but relates Judah and Jerusalem to the Teacher of Righteousness and his Community.)

All this is for the transgression of Jacob and for the sins of the House of Israel. What is the transgression of Jacob? Is it not Samaria? And what is the high place of Judah? Is it not Jerusalem? I will make of Samaria a ruin in the fields, and of Jerusalem a plantation of vines. Interpreted, this concerns the Spouter of Lies who led the Simple astray.

And what is the high place of Judah? Is it not Jerusalem?. Interpreted, this concerns the Teacher of Righteousness who expounded the law to his Council and to all who freely pledged themselves to join the elect of God to keep the Law in the Council of the Community, who shall be saved on the Day of Judgement ...

Commentary on Nahum (4Q169)

(Substantial remains of a Nahum Commentary were retrieved from Cave 4. It is worthy of note that the commentator employs not only cryptograms (Kittim, furious young lion, etc.), but the actual names of two Greek kings (Demetrius and Antiochus). Reference to 'the furious young lion' as one who 'hangs men alive' shows that 'hanging', probably a synonym for crucifixion, was practised as a form of execution. It is also legislated for in the Temple Scroll (LXIV, 6—13), where it is the capital punishment reserved for traitors. In biblical law, by contrast, only the dead body of an executed criminal is to be hanged, that is, displayed in public as an example (Deut. xxi, 21). The manuscript is dated to the second half of the first century BC.)

Frs. 1—2

In whirlwind and storm is his way and cloud is the dust of his feet. Its interpretation ... The whirlwinds and the storms are from the firmaments of his heaven and of his earth which he has created. He rebukes the sea and dries it up. Its interpretation: the sea is all the Kittim (Cypriots) who are ... to execute judgement against them and destroy them from the face of the earth, together with all their commanders whose dominion shall be finished.

Bashan and Carmel have withered and the sprout of Lebanon withers. Its interpretation... will perish in it, the summit of wickedness for the ... Carmel and to his commanders. Lebanon and the sprout of Lebanon are the priests, the sons of Zadok and the men of their council and they shall perish from before... the elect... all the inhabitants of the world.

The mountains quake before him and the hills heave and the earth is lifted up before him, and the world and all that dwell in it. Who can stand before his wrath? And who can arise against his furious anger? Its interpretation ...

I Where is the lions' den and the cave of the young lions? Interpreted, this concerns ... a dwelling-place for the ungodly of the nations.

Whither the lion goes, there is the lion's cub, with none to disturb it. Interpreted, this concerns Demetrius king of Greece who sought, on the counsel of those who seek smooth things, to enter Jerusalem. But God did not permit the city to be delivered into the hands of the kings of Greece, from the time of Antiochus until the coming of the rulers of the Kittim Cypriots). But then she shall be trampled under their feet ...

The lion tears enough for its cubs and it chokes prey for its lionesses. Interpreted, this concerns the furious young lion who strikes by means of his great men, and by means of the men of his council.

And chokes prey for its lionesses; and it fills its caves with prey and its dens with victims. Interpreted, this concerns the furious young lion who executes revenge on those who seek smooth things and hangs men alive, ...

... formerly in Israel. Because of a man hanged alive on the tree, He proclaims, 'Behold I am against you, says the Lord of Hosts'. ... will burn up your multitude in smoke, and the sword shall devour your young lions. I will cut off your prey from the earth. Interpreted ... your multitude is the bands of his army ... and his young lions are ... his prey is the wealth which the priests of Jerusalem have amassed, which ... Israel shall be delivered ...

And the voice of your messengers shall no more be heard. Interpreted ... his messengers are his envoys whose voice shall no more be heard among the nations.

Woe to the city of blood; it is full of lies and rapine. Interpreted, this is the city of Ephraim, those who seek smooth things during the last days, who walk in lies and falsehood.

The prowler is not wanting, noise of whip and noise of rattling wheel, prancing horse and jolting chariot, charging horsemen, flame and glittering spear, a multitude of the slain and a heap of carcasses. There is no end to the corpses; they stumble upon their corpses. Interpreted, this concerns the dominion of those who seek smooth things, from the midst of whose assembly the sword of the nations shall never be wanting. Captivity, looting, and burning shall be among them, and exile out of dread for the enemy. A multitude of guilty corpses shall fall in their days; there shall be no end to the sum of their slain. They shall also stumble upon their body of flesh because of their guilty counsel.

Because of the many harlotries of the well-favoured harlot, the mistress of seduction, she who sells nations through her harlotries and families through her seductions. Interpreted, this concerns those who lead Ephraim astray, who lead many astray through their false teaching, their lying tongue, and deceitful lips - kings, princes, priests, and people, together with the stranger who joins them. Cities and families shall perish through their counsel; honourable men and rulers shall fall through their tongue's decision.

Behold, I am against you - oracle of the Lord of Hosts - and you will lift up your skirts to your face and expose your nakedness to the nations and your shame to the kingdoms. Interpreted ... cities of the east. For the skirts are ... and the nations shall ... among them their filthy idols.

I will cast filth upon you and treat you with contempt and render you despicable, so that all who look upon you shall flee from you. Interpreted, this concerns those who seek smooth things, whose evil deeds shall be uncovered to all Israel at the end of time. Many shall understand their iniquity and treat them with contempt because of their guilty presumption. When the glory of Judah shall arise, the simple of Ephraim shall flee from their assembly; they shall abandon those who lead them astray and shall join Israel.

They shall say, Nineveh is laid waste; who shall grieve over her? Whence shall I seek comforters for you? Interpreted, this concerns those who seek smooth things, whose council shall perish and whose congregation shall be dispersed. They shall lead the assembly astray no more, and the simple shall support their council no more.

Are you better than Amon which lay among the rivers? Interpreted, Amon is Manasseh, and the rivers are the great men of Manasseh, the honourable men of...

Which was surrounded by waters, whose rampart was the sea and whose walls were waters? Interpreted, these are her valiant men, her almighty warriors.

Ethiopia and Egypt were her limitless strength. Interpreted ...

Put and the Libyans were your helpers. Interpreted, these are the wicked of Judah, the House of Separation, who joined Manasseh.

Yet she was exiled; she went into captivity. Her children were crushed at the top of all the streets. They cast lots for her honourable men, and all her great men were bound with

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chains. Interpreted, this concerns Manasseh in the final age, whose kingdom shall be brought low by Israel ... his wives, his children, and his little ones shall go into captivity. His mighty men and honourable men shall perish by the sword.

You shall be drunk and shall be stupefied. Interpreted, this concerns the wicked of Ephraim ... whose cup shall come after Manasseh ...

You shall also seek refuge in the city because of the enemy. Interpreted, this concerns ... their enemies in the city ... All your strongholds shall be like fig trees with newly ripe figs.

Commentary on Habakkuk (IQpHab)

(This well-preserved and detailed exposition of the first two chapters of the Book of Habakkuk comes from Cave I. The dating of the manuscript, 30—1 BC., has been confirmed by radiocarbon tests. The Habakkuk Commentary is one of the main sources for the study of Qumran origins, as well as Essene Bible exegesis and the sect's theology regarding prophecy.)

I Oracle of Habakkuk the prophet. How long, O Lord, shall I cry for help and Thou wilt not hear? Interpreted, this concerns the beginning of the final generation ...

Or shout to Thee 'Violence', and Thou wilt not deliver? ... Why dost Thou cause me to see iniquity and to look upon trouble? Desolation and violence are before me. ... God with oppression and unfaithfulness ... they rob riches. There is quarrelling and contention.

So the law is weak and justice never goes forth. Interpreted this concerns those who have despised the Law of God For the wicked encompasses the righteous.

The wicked is the Wicked Priest, and the righteous is the Teacher of Righteousness ... So justice goes forth perverted. ...

Behold the nations and see, marvel and be astonished; for I accomplish a deed in your days, but you will not believe it when told. Interpreted, this concerns those who were unfaithful together with the Liar, in that they did not listen to the word received by the Teacher of Righteousness from the mouth of God. And it concerns the unfaithful of the New Covenant in that they have not believed in the Covenant of God and have profaned His holy Name. And likewise, this saying is to be interpreted as concerning those who will be unfaithful at the end of days. They, the men of violence and the breakers of the Covenant, will not believe when they hear all that is to happen to the final generation from the Priest in whose heart God set understanding that he might interpret all the words of His servants the Prophets, through whom He foretold all that would happen to His people and His land.

For behold, I rouse the Chaldeans, that bitter and hasty nation. Interpreted, this concerns the Kittim who are quick and valiant in war, causing many to perish. All the world shall fall under the dominion of the Kittim, and the wicked ... they shall not believe in the laws of God ...

Who march through the breadth of the earth to take possession of dwellings which are not their own. (Interpreted) ... they shall march across the plain, smiting and plundering the cities of the earth. For it is as He said, To take possession of dwellings which are not their own.

They are fearsome and terrible; their justice and grandeur proceed from themselves. Interpreted, this concerns the Kittim who inspire all the nations with fear and dread. All their evil plotting is done with intention and they deal with all the nations in cunning and guile.

Their horses are smifter than leopards and fleeter than evening wolves. Their horses step forward proudly and spread their wings; they fly from afar like an eagle avid to devour. All of them come for violence; the look on their faces is like the east wind. Interpreted, this concerns the Kittim who trample the earth with their horses and beasts. They come from afar, from the islands of the sea, to devour all the peoples like an eagle which cannot be satisfied, and they address all the peoples with anger and wrath and fury and indignation. For it is as He said, The look on their faces is like the east wind.

They heap up captives like sand. They scoff at kings, and princes are their laughing-stock. Interpreted, this means that they mock the great and despise the venerable; they ridicule kings and princes and scoff at the mighty host.

They laugh at every fortress; they pile up earth and take it. Interpreted, this concerns the commanders of the Kittim who despise the fortresses of the peoples and laugh at them in derision. To capture them, they encircle them with a mighty host, and out of fear and terror they deliver themselves into their hands. They destroy them because of the sins of their inhabitants.

The wind then sweeps on and passes; and they make of their strength their god. Interpreted, this concerns the commanders of the Kittim who, on the counsel of the House of Guilt, pass one in front of the other; one after another their commanders come to lay waste the earth. And they make of their strength their god: interpreted, this concerns ... all the peoples ...

Art Thou not from everlasting, O Lord, my God, my Holy One? We shall not die. Thou hast ordained them, O Lord, for judgement; Thou hast established them, 0 Rock, for chastisement. Their eyes are too pure to behold evil; and Thou canst not look on distress. Interpreted, this saying means that God will not destroy His people by the hand of the nations; God will execute the judgement of the nations by the hand of His elect. And through their chastisement all the wicked of His people shall expiate their guilt who keep His commandments in their distress. For it is as he said, Too pure of eyes to behold evil. Interpreted, this means that they have not lusted after their eyes during the age of wickedness.

O traitors, why do you stare and stay silent when the wicked swallows up one more righteous than he? Interpreted, this concerns the House of Absalom and the membersof its council who were silent at the time of the chastisement of the Teacher of Righteousness and gave him no help against the Liar who flouted the Law in the midst of their whole congregation.

Thou dealest with men like the fish of the sea, like creeping things, to rule over them. They draw them all up with a fish-hook, and drag them out with their net, and gather them in their seine. Therefore they sacrifice to their net. Therefore they rejoice and exult and burn incense to their seine; for by them their portion is fat and their sustenance rich. (Interpreted) ... the Kittim. And they shall gather in their riches, together with all their booty, like the fish of the sea.

And as for that which He said, Therefore they sacrifice to their net and burn incense to their seine. Interpreted, this means that they sacrifice to their standards and worship their weapons of war. For by them their portion is fat and their sustenance rich. Interpreted, this means that they divide their yoke and their tribute their sustenance - over all the peoples year by year, ravaging many lands.

Therefore their sword is ever drawn to massacre nations mercilessly. Interpreted, this concerns the Kittim who cause many to perish by the sword - youths, grown men, the aged, women and children - and who even take no pity on the fruit of the womb.

I will take my stand to watch and will station myself upon my fortress. I will watch to see what He will say to me and how He will answer my complaint. And the Lord answered and said to me, 'Write down the vision and make it plain upon the tablets, that he who reads may read it speedily. ... and God told Habakkuk to write down that which would happen to the final generation, but He did not make known to him when time would come to an end. And as for that which He said, That he who reads may read it speedily. Interpreted this concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God made known all the mysteries of the words of His servants the Prophets.

For there shall be yet another vision concerning the appointed time. It shall tell of the end and shall not lie. Interpreted, this means that the final age shall be prolonged, and shall exceed all that the Prophets have said; for the mysteries of God are astounding.

If it tarries, wait for it, for it shall surely come and shall not be late. Interpreted, this concerns the men of truth who keep the Law, whose hands shall not slacken in the service of truth when the final age is prolonged. For all the ages of God reach their appointed end as he determines for them in the mysteries of His wisdom.

Behold, his soul is puffed up and is not upright. Interpreted, this means that the wicked shall double their guilt upon themselves and it shall not be forgiven when they are judged ...

But the righteous shall live by his faith. Interpreted, this concerns all those who observe the Law in the House of Judah, whom God will deliver from the House of Judgement because of their suffering and because of their faith in the Teacher of Righteousness.

Moreover, the arrogant man seizes wealth without halting. He widens his gullet like Hell and like Death he has never enough. All the nations are gathered to him and all the peoples are assembled to him. Will they not all of them taunt him and jeer at him saying, 'Woe to him who amasses that which is not his! How long will he load himself up with pledges?' Interpreted, this concerns the Wicked Priest who was called by the name of truth when he first arose. But when he ruled over Israel his heart became proud, and he forsook God and betrayed the precepts for the sake of riches. He robbed and amassed the riches of the men of violence who rebelled against God, and he took the wealth of the peoples, heaping sinful iniquity upon himself. And he lived in the ways of abominations amidst every unclean defilement.

Shall not your oppressors suddenly arise and your torturers awaken; and shall you not become their prey? Because you have plundered many nations, all the remnant of the peoples shall plunder you. Interpreted, this concerns the Priest who rebelled and violated the precepts of God ... to command his chastisement by means of the judgements of wickedness.

And they inflicted horrors of evil diseases and took vengeance upon his body of flesh. And as for that which He said, Because you have plundered many nations, all the remnant of the peoples shall plunder you. Interpreted this concerns the last Priests of Jerusalem, who shall amass money and wealth by plundering the peoples. But in the last days, their riches and booty shall be delivered into the hands of the army of the Kittim, for it is they who shall be the remnant of the peoples.

Because of the blood of men and the violence done to the land, to the city, and to all its inhabitants. Interpreted, this concerns the Wicked Priest whom God delivered into the hands of his enemies because of the iniquity committed against the Teacher of Righteousness and the men of his Council, that he might be humbled by means of a destroying scourge, in bitterness of soul, because he had done wickedly to His elect.

Woe to him who gets evil profit for his house; who perches his nest high to be safe from the hand of evil! You have devised shame to your house: by cutting off many peoples you have forfeited your own soul. For the stone cries out from the wall and the beam from the woodwork replies. Interpreted, this concerns the Priest who ... that its stones might be laid in oppression and the beam of its woodwork in robbery. And as for that which He said, By cutting off many peoples you have forfeited your own soul: interpreted this concerns the condemned House whose judgement God will pronounce in the midst of many peoples. He will bring him thence for judgement and will declare him guilty in the midst of them, and will chastise him with fire of brimstone.

Woe to him who builds a city with blood and founds a town upon falsehood! Behold, is it not from the Lord of Hosts that the peoples shall labour for fire and the nations shall strive for naught? Interpreted, this concerns the Spouter of Lies who led many astray that he might build his city of vanity with blood and raise a congregation on deceit, causing many thereby to perform a service of vanity for the sake of its glory, and to be pregnant with works of deceit, that their labour might be for nothing and that they might be punished with fire who vilified and outraged the elect of God.

For as the waters cover the sea, so shall the earth be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord. Interpreted, this means that when they return ... the lies. And afterwards, knowledge shall be revealed to them abundantly, like the waters of the sea.

Woe to him who causes his neighbours to drink; who pours out his venom to make them drunk that he may gaze on their feasts. Interpreted, this concerns the Wicked Priest who pursued the Teacher of Righteousness to the house of his exile that he might confuse him with his venomous fury. And at the time appointed for rest, for the Day of Atonement, he appeared before them to confuse them, and to cause them to stumble on the Day of Fasting, their Sabbath of repose.

You have filled yourself with ignominy more than with glory. Drink also, and stagger! The cup of the Lord's right hand shall come round to you and shame shall come on your glory. Interpreted, this concerns the Priest whose ignominy was greater than his glory. For he did not circumcise the foreskin of his heart, and he walked in the ways of drunkenness that he might quench his thirst. But the cup of the wrath of God shall confuse him, multiplying his ... and the pain of ...

For the violence done to Lebanon shall overwhelm you, and the destruction of the beasts XII shall terrify you, because of the blood of men and the violence done to the land, the city, and all its inhabitants. Interpreted, this saying concerns the Wicked Priest, inasmuch as he shall be paid the reward which he himself tendered to the Poor. For Lebanon is the Council of the Community; and the beasts are the simple of Judah who keep the Law. As he himself plotted the destruction of the Poor, so will God condemn him to destruction.

And as for that which He said, Because of the blood of the city and the violence done to the land. interpreted, the city is Jerusalem where the Wicked Priest committed abominable deeds and defiled the Temple of God. The violence done to the land: these are the cities of Judah where he robbed the Poor of their possessions.

Of what use is an idol that its maker should shape it, a molten image, a fatling of lies? For the craftsman puts his trust in his own creation when he makes dumb idols. Interpreted, this saying concerns all the idols of the nations which they make so that they may serve and worship them. But they shall not deliver them on the Day of Judgement.

Woe to him who says to wood, 'Awake', and to dumb stone, 'Arise'! Can such a thing give guidance? Behold, it is covered with gold and silver but there is no spirit within it. But the Lord is in His holy Temple: let all the earth be silent before Him! Interpreted, this concerns all the nations which serve stone and wood. But on the Day of Judgement, God will destroy from the earth all idolatrous and wicked men.

Commentary on Zephaniah (4Q170, 1Q15)

(The relics of a Zephaniah Commentary from Cave 1, covering Zephiah 1,18 - 2,2 and using palaeo-Hebrew letters for the divine name, are badly mutilated. A lengthy quotation is followed by the word pesher (interpretation), and the expression 'land of Judah' implies that the divine anger spoken of by the prophet was understood to be directed against the Judaeans. Two small fragments from Cave 4 represent two broken lines of Zephaniah 1,12—13; a couple of words which are not biblical precede the introductory formula, pishro (its interpretation), but the actual

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commentary is lost. The two excerpts are presented in the order of the biblical text.)

4Q170

The Lord will not do good, nor will He do ill. And their goods shall be plundered and their houses laid waste. ... cannot ... (Zeph. 1, 12—13)-Its interpretation concerns ...

1Q15

... in the fire of His jealous wrath, all the earth shall be consumed; for a full, yea, sudden end He will make of all the inhabitants of the earth (Zephania 1,18). Come together and hold an assembly, O shameless nation, before you are driven away; like chaff, a day has passed away before there comes upon you the fierce anger of the Lord. The interpretation of this saying concerns all the inhabitants of the land of Judah ...

Commentary on Malachi (Previously Genesis Commentary B) (4Q253a)

(The document reproduces Malachi 3,16—18, followed by the beginning of its interpretation.)

Then those fearing the Lord spoke with one another, and he heeded and heard them and a book of memorial was written before him of those who feared the Lord and thought of his name. They shall be mine, says the Lord of hosts, my special possession on the day when I act, and I will spare them as a man spares his son who serves him. Then once more you shall distinguish between the righteous and the wicked, between one who serves God and one who does not serve him. Its interpretation ... the righteousness and over ...

Commentary on Psalms (1Q16, 4Q171, 4Q173)

(Cave I has preserved a few scraps of a commentary on Psalms 57 and 68. Most of them are too small for a coherent translation, but fragments 9—10 mention the Kittim (Romans), the name of the final enemy. More importantly, two manuscripts with Herodian script from Cave 4 (4Q171, 4Q173) include interpretations of Psalms. The bulk of the text is devoted to Psalm 37, in which the destiny of the just and the wicked is expounded in connection with the story of the sect and its opponents, and in particular the struggle between the Teacher of Righteousness and the Wicked Priest. Recognisable remains of Psalms 45 and 127 also survive.)

4Q171

... Be silent before the Lord and long for him, and be not heated against the successful, the man who achieves his plans. Its interpretation concerns the Liar who has led astray many by his lying words so that they chose frivolous things and heeded not the interpreter of knowledge in order to ... they shall perish by the sword and famine and plague.

Relent from anger and abandon wrath. Do not be angry; it tends only to evil, for the wicked shall be cut off. Interpreted, this concerns all those who return to the Law, to those who do not refuse to turn away from their evil. For all those who are stubborn in turning away from their iniquity shall be cut off.

But those who wait for the Lord shall possess the land. Interpreted, this is the congregation of His elect who do His will.

A little while and the wicked shall be no more; I will look towards his place but he shall not be there. Interpreted, this concerns all the wicked. At the end of the forty years they shall be blotted out and no evil man shall be found on the earth.

But the humble shall possess the land and delight in abundant peace. Interpreted, this concerns the congregation of the Poor who shall accept the season of penance and shall be delivered from all the snares of Belial. Afterwards, all who possess the earth shall delight and prosper on exquisite food.

The wicked plots against the righteous and gnashes his teeth at him. The Lord laughs at him, for He sees that his day is coming. Interpreted, this concerns the violent of the Covenant who are in the House of Judah, who have plotted to destroy those who practise the law, who are in the Council of the Community. And God will not forsake them to their hands.

The wicked draw the sword and bend their bow to bring down the poor and needy and to slay the upright of way. Their sword shall enter their own heart and their bows shall be broken. Interpreted, this concerns the wicked of Ephraim and Manasseh, who shall seek to lay hands on the Priest and the men of his Council at the time of trial which shall come upon them. But God will redeem them from out of their hand. And afterwards, they shall be delivered into the hand of the violent among the nations for judgement.

... Better is the little which the righteous has than the abundance of many wicked people. Interpreted, this concerns ... those who practise the law ... For the arms of the wicked shall be broken, but the Lord upholds the righteous.

The Lord knows the days of the perfect and their portion shall be for ever. In evil times they shall not be shamed.

... to the penitents of the desert who, saved, shall live for a thousand generations and to whom all the glory of Adam shall belong, as also to their seed for ever.

And in the days of famine they shall be satisfied, but the wicked shall perish. Interpreted, this means that He will keep them alive during the famine and the time of humiliation, whereas many shall perish from famine and plague, all those who have not departed from there to be with the Congregation of His elect.

And those who love the Lord shall be like the pride of pastures. Interpreted, this concerns the congregation of His elect, who shall be leaders and princes... of the flock among their herds.

Like smoke they shall all of them vanish away. Interpreted, this concerns the princes of wickedness who have oppressed His holy people, and who shall perish like smoke blown away by the wind.

The wicked borrows and does not repay, but the righteous is generous and gives. Truly, those whom He blesses shall possess the land, but those whom He curses shall be cut off. Interpreted, this concerns the congregation of the Poor, who shall possess the whole world as an inheritance. They shall possess the High Mountain of Israel for ever, and shall enjoy everlasting delights in His Sanctuary. But those who shall be cut off, they are the violent of the nations and the wicked of Israel; they shall be cut off and blotted out for ever.

The steps of the man are confirmed by the Lord and He delights in all his ways; though he stumble, he shall not fall, for the Lord shall support his hand. Interpreted, this concerns the Priest, the Teacher of Righteousness whom God chose to stand before Him, for He established him to build for Himself the congregation of...

I have been young and now am old, yet I have not seen the righteous forsaken, or his children begging bread. He is ever giving liberally and lending and his children become a blessing. Interpreted, this concerns ...

The unjust shall be destroyed for ever and the children of the wicked shall be cut off. These are the violent ...

The righteous shall possess the land and dwell upon it for ever. Interpreted, this concerns ...

The mouth of the righteous utters wisdom and his tongue speaks justice. The law of God is in his heart, his steps will not slip. Interpreted, it concerns ... ...

The wicked watches out for the righteous and seeks to slay him. The Lord will not abandon him into his hand or let him be condemned when he is tried. Interpreted, this concerns the Wicked Priest who watched the Teacher of Righteousness that he might put him to death because of the ordinance and the law which he sent to him. But God will not abandon him and will not let him be condemned when he is tried.

And God will pay him his reward by delivering him into the hand of the violent of the nations, that they may execute upon him judgement. Wait for the Lord and keep to His way, and He will exalt you to possess the land; you will look on the destruction of the wicked. Interpreted, it concerns ... who will see the judgement of wickedness and with his elect will rejoice in the heritage of truth.

I have seen a wicked man overbearing ... like a cedar of Lebanon. I passed before him, and, lo, he was no more, though I sought him, he could not be found. Interpreted, it concerns the Liar who ... against the elect of God, and sought to bring to an end ...

Mark the blameless man and behold the upright, for there is posterity for the man of peace. Its interpretation concerns ... peace.

But the transgressors shall be altogether destroyed; the post erity of the wicked shall be cut off. Interpreted, it concerns ... will perish and be cut off from the midst of the congregation of the Community ...

... he delivers them from the wicked and saves them, because they take refuge in him. Interpreted, it concerns ... God will save them and deliver them from the wicked ...

For the choirmaster: according to the lil¦es. For the sons of Korah. Maskil. A song of love. Its interpretation is that they are the seven divisions of the penitents of Israel ... .

My heart is astir with a good word. I speak of my work to the King. Its interpretation ... spirit of holiness for ... books of...

And my tongue is the pen of a speedy scribe. Its interpretation concerns the Teacher of Righteousness ... God with an answering tongue ...

4Q173

... Vainis it for you to rise early and lie down late. You shall eat the bread of toil; he shall feed those who love him in their sleep (Psalms 127,2). Its interpretation is that they shall seek ... Teacher of Righteousness ... priest at the end of the age ...

Commentary on an Unidentifiable Text (4Q183)

(There are three fragments of a biblical commentary, indicated by the introductory formula. Only fragment 2 is suitable for translation. 4Q172 is an amalgam of commentaries on unidentified texts, but the fragments are so small as to preclude altogether any translation.)

... their enemies. And they profaned their sanctuary... from them. And they rose for battles one with another against his covenant. God saved and delivered... goodwill. And he gave them a single heart to walk in the way of his truth. And they despised all the wealth of wickedness and kept apart from the way of wickedness ... the erring spirit and with a tongue of truth ... And they atoned for their iniquity through their strokes... their iniquity. vacat And that which he said, ...

Florilegium or Midrash on the Last Days (4Q174)

(This collection of texts assembled from 2 Samuel and the Psalter, and combined with other scriptural passages, serves to present the sectarian doctrine identifying the Community with the Temple, and to announce the coming of the two Messiahs, the 'Branch of David' and the 'Interpreter of the Law'. Originating from Cave 4 (4Q174) and known also as 'Florilegium', it probably belongs to the late first century BC.)

... I will appoint a place for my people Israel and will plant them that they may dwell there and be troubled no more by their enemies. No son of iniquity shall afflict them again as formerly, from the day that I set judges over my people Israel (2 Samuel 7,10).

This is the House which He will build for them in the last days, as it is written in the book of Moses, In the sanctuary which Thy hands have established, O Lord, the Lord shall reign for ever and ever (Exodus 15,17-18). This is the House into which the unclean shall never enter, nor the uncircumcised, nor the Ammonite, nor the Moabite, nor the half-breed, nor the foreigner, nor the stranger, ever; for there shall My Holy Ones be. Its glory shall endure for ever; it shall appear above it perpetually And strangers shall lay it waste no more, as they formerly laid waste the Sanctuary of Israel because of its sin. He has commanded that a Sanctuary of men be built for Himself, that there they may send up, like the smoke of incense, the works of the Law.

And concerning His words to David, And I willgive you rest from all your enemies (2 Samuel 7,11), this means that He will give them rest from all the children of Belial who cause them to stumble so that they may be destroyed by their errors, just as they came with a devilish plan to cause the sons of light to stumble and to devise against them a wicked plot, that they might become subject to Belial in their wicked straying.

The Lord declares to you that He will build you a House. I will raise up your seed after you (2 Samuel 7,12). I will establish the throne of his kingdom for ever (2 Sam. vii, 13). I will be his father and he shall be my son (2 Sam. vii, 14). He is the Branch of David who shall arise with the Interpreter of the Law to rule in Zion at the end of time. As it is written, I will raise up the tent of David that is fallen (Amos 9,11). That is to say, the fallen tent of David is he who shall arise to save Israel.

Explanation of How blessed is the man who does not walk in the counsel of the wicked (Psalms 1,1). Interpreted, this saying concerns those who turn aside from the way of the people as it is written in the book of Isaiah the Prophet concerning the last days, It came to pass that the Lord turned me aside, as with a mighty hand, from walking in the way of this people (Isaiah 8,11). They are those of whom it is written in the book of Ezekiel the Prophet, The Levites strayed far from me, following their idols (Ezekiel 44). They are the sons of Zadok who seek their own counsel and follow their own inclination apart from the Council of the Community.

Why do the nations rage and the peoples meditate vanity? Why do the kings of the earth rise up, and the princes take counsel together against the Lord and against His Messiah? (Psalms 2,1). Interpreted, this saying concerns the kings of the nations who shall rage against the elect of Israel in the last days. This shall be the time of the trial to come concerning the house of Judah so as to perfect ... Belial, and a remnant of the people shall be left according to the lot assigned to them, and they shall practise the whole Law ... Moses. This is the time of which it is written in the book of Daniel the Prophet: But the wicked shall do wickedly and shall not understand, but the righteous shall purify themselves and make themselves white (Dan. 12,10). The people who know God shall be strong. They are the masters who understand ...

Testimonia or Messianic Anthology (4Q175)

(This short document from Cave 4, dating to the early first century BC. and similar in literary style to the Christian Testimonia or collections of messianic proof-texts, includes five quotations arranged in four texts:

The first two texts are from Deuteronomy referring to the prophet similar to Moses. The third is a blessing of the Levites and, implicitly, of the Priest-Messiah. The fourth text opens with a verse from Joshua, which is then expounded by means of a quotation from the sectarian Psalms of Joshua.)

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1. The Lord spoke to Moses saying:

You have heard the words which this people have spoken to you; all they have said is right. Othat their heart were always like this, to fear me and to keep my commandments always, that it might be well with them and their children for ever! (Deuteronomy 5,28-9). I will raise up for them a Prophet like you from among their brethren. I will put my words into his mouth and he shall tell them all that I command him. And I will require a reckoning of whoever will not listen to the words which the Prophet shall speak in my Name (Deuteronomy 18,18-19).

2. He took up his discourse and said:

Oracle of Balaam son of Beor. Oracle of the man whose eye is penetrating. Oracle of him who has heard the words of God, who knows the wisdom of the Most High and sees the vision of the Almighty, who falls and his eyes are opened. I see him but not now. I behold him but not near. A star shall come out of Jacob and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel; he shall crush the temples of Moab and destroy all the children of Sheth (Numbers 24,15-17).

3. And of Levi he said:

Give Thy Tummim to Levi, and Thy Urimto Thy pious one whom Thou didst test at Massah, and with whom Thou didst quarrel at the waters of Meribah; who said to his father and mother, 'I know you not', and who did not acknowledge his brother, or know his sons. For they observed Thy word and kept Thy Covenant. They shall cause Thy precepts to shine before Jacoband Thy Law before Israel. They shall send up incense towards Thy nostrils and place a burnt-offering upon Thine altar. Bless his power, O Lord, and delight in the work of his hands. Smite the loins of his adversaries and let his enemies rise no more (Deuteronomy 33,8-11).

4. When Joshua had finished offering praise and thanksgiving, he said:

Cursed be the man who rebuilds this city! May he lay its foundation on his first-born, and set its gate upon his youngest son (Joshua 6,26). Behold, an accursed man, a man of Belial, has risen to become a fowler's net to his people, and a cause of destruction to all his neighbours. And his brother arose and ruled in lies, both being instruments of violence. They have rebuilt this city and have set up for it a wall and towers to make of it a stronghold of ungodliness in Israel, and a horror in Ephraim and in Judah ... They have committed an abomination in the land, and a great blasphemy among the children of Jacob. They have shed blood like water upon the ramparts of the daughter of Zion and within the precincts of Jerusalem.

Ordinances or Commentaries on Biblical Law (4Q159, 4Q513-14)

(The folowing fragments are from Cave 4, and probably belonging to the end of the first century BC. They include reinterpretations of various biblical laws.)

4Q159

... And anyone who has made of it a threshing-floor or a winepress, any destitute Israelite who goes into a threshing-floor may eat there and gather for himself and for his household. But should he walk among corn standing in the field, he may eat but may not bring it to his house to store it.

Concerning... the money of valuation that a man gives as ransom for his life, it shall be half a shekel... He shall give it only once in his life.

Twenty gerahs make one shekel according to the shekel of the sanctuary ... For the 600,000, one hundred talents; for the 3,000, half a talent (=30 minahs); for the 500, five minahs; and for the 50, half a minah, which is twenty-five shekels (Exodus 30-38)

4Q159, frs. 2-4

... before Israel. They shall not serve Gentiles among foreigners, for He has brought them out from the land of Egypt, and He has commanded concerning them that none shall be sold as a slave ... ten men and two priests, and they shall be judged before these twelve ... spoke in Israel against a person, they shall inquire in accordance with them. Whosoever shall rebel..., shall be put to death for he has acted wilfully.

Let no man's garment be worn by a woman all the days of her life.

Let him not be covered with a woman's mantle, nor wear a woman's tunic, for this is an abomination.

If a man accuses a virgin of Israel (that she is not a virgin), if this is when he marries her, let him say so and they shall examine her concerning her trustworthiness. If he has not lied concerning her, she shall be put to death. But if he has humiliated her falsely, he shall be fined two minahs, and shall not divorce her all his life....

4Q513

... Twenty gerahs make a shekel according to the shekel of the sanctuary ... The half-shekel consists of twelve meahs, two zuzim ... also sources of uncleanness. The ephah and the bath, also sources of uncleanness, have the same capacity, (viz.) ten 'issarons (=tenths).

A bath of wine corresponds to an ephah of corn. The seah consists of three and one-third 'issarons, sources of uncleanness, and the tithe of the ephah is the 'issaron.

4Q514

I He shall not eat... for all the unclean... to count for him seven days of washing and he shall wash and cleanse on the day of his purification. Whoever has not begun his purification from his 'fount' shall not eat. Neither shall he eat in his first degree of uncleanness.

All those temporarily unclean shall wash on the day of their purification, and cleanse their garments with water and shall become clean. Afterwards they may eat their bread according to the law of purity. Whoever has not begun his purification from his 'fount' shall not eat again in his first degree of uncleanness. Whoever is still in his first degree of uncleanness shall not eat. All those temporarily unclean shall on the day of their purification wash and cleanse their garments with water and they shall be clean. Afterwards they may eat their bread according to the law. None shall eat or drink with whomsoever prepares...

The Heavenly Prince Melchisedek (11Q13)

(The following mid-first-century BC. document is centred on the mysterious figure of Melchisedek. The heavenly deliverer is Melchisedek. Identical with the archangel Michael, he is the head of the 'sons of Heaven' or 'gods of Justice' and is referred to as elohim and el. The same terminology occurs in the Songs for the Holocaust of the Sabbath. These Hebrew words normally mean 'God', but in certain specific contexts Jewish tradition also explains elohim as primarily designating a 'judge'. Here Melchisedek is portrayed as presiding over the final Judgement and condemnation of his demonic counterpart, Belial / Satan, the Prince of Darkness, elsewhere also called Melkiresha'. The great act of deliverance is expected to occur on the Day of Atonement at the end of the tenth Jubilee cycle.

This manuscript sheds valuable light not only on Melchisedek, but also on the development of the messianic concept in the New Testament and early Christianity.)

... And concerning that which He said, In this year of Jubilee each of you shall return to his property (Leviticus 25,13); and likewise, And this is the manner of release: every creditor shall release that which he has lent to his neighbour. He shall not exact it of his neighbour and his brother, for God's release has been proclaimed (Deuteronomy 15,2). And it will be proclaimed at the end of days concerning the captives as He said, To proclaim liberty to the captives (Isaiah 61,1). Its interpretation is that He will assign them to the Sons of Heaven and to the inheritance of Melchisedek; for He will cast their lot amid the portions of Melchisedek, who will return them there and will proclaim to them liberty, forgiving them the wrong-doings of all their iniquities.

And this thing will occur in the first week of the Jubilee that follows the nine Jubilees. And the Day of Atonement is the end of the tenth Jubilee, when all the Sons of Light and the men of the lot of Melchisedek will be atoned for. And a statute concerns them to provide them with their rewards. For this is the moment of the Year of Grace for Melchisedek. And he will, by his strength, judge the holy ones of God, executing judgement as it is written concerning him in the Songs of David, who said, ELOHIM has taken his place in the divine council; in the midst of the gods he holds judgement (Psalms 82,1). And it was concerning him that he said, Let the assembly of the peoples return to the height above them; EL (god) will judge the peoples (Psalms 7,7-8). As for that which he said, How long will you judge unjustly and show partiality to the wicked? Selah (Psalms 82,2), its interpretation concerns Belial and the spirits of his lot who rebelled by turning away from the precepts of God to ... And Melchisedek will avenge the vengeance of the judgements of God ... and he will drag them from the hand of Belial and from the hand of all the spirits of his lot. And all the 'gods of Justice' will come to his aid to attend to the destruction of Belial. And the height is ... all the sons of God ... this ... This is the day of Peace/Salvation concerning which God spoke through Isaiah the prophet, who said, How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of the messenger who proclaims peace, who brings good news, who proclaims salvation, who says to Zion: Your ELOHIM reigns (Isaiah 52,7).

Its interpretation; the mountains are the prophets... and the messenger is the Anointed one of the spirit, concerning whom Daniel said, Until an anointed one, a prince (Daniel 9,25) ... And he who brings good news , who proclaims salvation: it is concerning him that it is written... To comfort all who mourn, to grant to those who mourn in Zion (Isaiah 61,2-3). To comfort those who mourn: its interpretation, to make them understand all the ages of time ... In truth ... will turn away from Belial ... by the judgements of God, as it is written concerning him, who says to Zion; your ELOHIM reigns. Zion is ..., those who uphold the Covenant, who turn from walking in the way of the people. And your ELOHIM is Melchisedek, who will save them from the hand of Belial. As for that which He said, Then you shall send abroad the trumpet in all the land (Leviticus 25,9) ...

(Alternative translation: ... And concerning what Scripture says,"In this year of jubilee you shall return, every on of you, to your property" and what is also written, "And this is the manner of the remission: every creditor shall remit the claim that is held against a neighbour, not exacting it of a neighbour who a member of the community, because God's remission has been proclaimed". The interpretation is that it applies th the Last Days and cocerning the captives, just as Isaiah said: "To proclaim the jubilee to the captives" . . . . and whose teachers have been hidden and kept secret, even from the inheritance of Melchisedek, for ... and they are the inheritance of Melchisedek, who will return them to what is rightfully theirs. He will proclaim to them the jubilee, thereby releasing them from the debt of all their sins. This word will thus come in the first week of the jubilee period that follows nine jubilee periods.

Then the "Day of Atonement" shall follow at the end of the tenth jubilee period, when he shall atone for all the Sons of Light and the people who are predestined to Melchiedek. For this is the time decreed for "the Year of Melchisedek`s favour" and for his hosts, together with the holy ones of God, for a kingdom of judgement, just as it is wretten concerning him in the Songs of David, godlike being has taken his place in the council of God; in the midst of divine beings he holds judgement". Scripture also says about him, "Over it take your seat in the highest heaven; A divine being will judge the peoples". Concerning what scripture says" How long will you judge unjustly, and show partiality to the wicked? Selah", the interpretation applies to Belial and the spirits predestined to him, because all of them have rebelled, turning from God`s precepts and so becoming utterly wicked. Therefore Melchisedek will thoroughly prosecute the vengenance required by God`s statutes. lso, he will deliver all the captives from the power of Belial, and from the power of all the spirits destined to him. Allied with him will be all the "righteous divine beings". This is that which ...all the divine beings. The figure of the messenger, an Anointed One who comes with a message from God but is "cut off." The visitation is the Day of Salvation that He has decreed ... through Isaiah the prophet concerning all the captives, inasmuch as Scripture says, "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of the messenger who announces peace, who brings good news, who announces salvation, who says to Zion 'Your divine being reigns'.".

This scriptures interpretation: 'the mountains' are the prophets, they who were sent to proclaim God`s truth and to prophesy to all Israel. And "The messengers" is the Anointed of the spirit, of whom Daniel spoke, "After the sixty-two weeks, an Anointed shall be cut off". The "messenger who brings good news, who announces salvation" is the one of whom it is written, "to proclaim the year of the Lord`s favour, the day of the vengeance of our God; to comfort all who mourn". This scripture`s interpretation: he is to instruct them about all the periods of history for eternity ... and in the statutes of the truth. ... . dominion that passes from Belial and returns to the Sons of Light .... by the judgement of God, just as it is written concerning him, "who says to Zion 'Your divine being reigns'". "Zion" is the congregation of all the sons of righteousness, who uphold the covenant and turn from walking in the way of the people. "Your divine being" is Melchisedek, who will deliver them from the power of Belial. Concerning what scripture says, "Then you shall have the trumpet sounded loud in all the land of ...".)

Consolations or Tanhumim (4Q176)

(A large number of small fragments from a Cave 4 manuscript represent an anthology centred on the theme of divine consolation. Originally, each citation was accompanied by a sectarian exegesis, but only a few examples of the latter survive. The majority of the extant remains belong to Isaiah, Psalms and Zecharia.)

I And he shall accomplish Thy miracles and Thy righteousness among Thy people. And they shall... Thy sanctuary, and shall dispute with the kingdoms over the blood of ... Jerusalem and shall see the bodies of Thy priests... and none to bury them (Psalms 74,3). From the Book of Isaiah: Consolations Comfort, comfort, my people —says your God - speak to the heart of Jerusalem and cry to her that her bondage is completed, that her punishment is accepted, that she has received from the hand of YHWH double for allhersins ....

Catenae or Interpretation of Biblical Texts on the Last Days (4Q177)

(Over thirty fragments have been patched together to reconstruct this document.)

... The interpretation of the saying concerns the purifying of the heart of the men... to try them and refine them... by the

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spirit and the pure and the purified... As for that which he said, Lest the enemy say, I have prevailed over him (Psalms 13,5) ... They are the congregation of the seekers of smooth things who... until they seek to destroy... by their jealousy and hostility ... The interpretation of this word concerns ...

which is written in the Book of Ezekiel the prophet ... The interpretation of the saying concerns the end of days when there will be gathered against them ...

1 QUMRAN LIBRARY CHAPTER G.
BIBLICALLY BASED APOCRYPHAL WORKS
(4Q216-28, 1Q17-18, 2Q19-20, 3Q5, 4Q482, 11Q12)

(This pseudepigraphic work itself is a midrashic retelling the story of Genesis (and the beginning of Exodus) in the form of a revelation conveyed by angels to Moses. These 4Q relics are all we have got to provide an English translation.)

4Q220, fragment 1 (Jubilees 21,5-10)

And do not go after idols and after... and do not eat any blood of a wild or domestic animal or a bird which flies ... And if you sacrifice a peace-offering as a burnt-offering, sacrifice it for (God's) pleasure.

And sprinkle their blood on the altar. And all the flesh of the burntoffering you will offer on the altar together with the flour mixed with oil of its meal-offering.... You will offer all on the altar as a fireoffering, a pleasant odour before God. And the ... of peace-offerings you will offer on the fire which is on the altar. And the fat which is on ... and the fat which is on the entrails and the kidneys and the fat which is on them ... and the lobes of the liver with the kidneys you shall remove and you shall offer ... with its offering and its libation ...

... on that day and on the morrow...

4Q225 (4Q226) fragment 2

... that soul will be cut off... he dwelt in Haran for twenty years (not seventeen as in Jubiles 12,12-28). And Abraham said to God, 'Behold, I am naked (childless) and it is Eliezer, the son of my household, who will inherit from me.' ...

And the Lord said to Abraham, 'Lift up your eyes and gaze at the stars and see and count the sand that is on the sea shore and the dust of the earth as to whether they can be counted. And Abraham believed in God and this was reckoned for him as righteousness.

And a son was born afterwards to Abraham and he called his name Isaac. And the prince Mastemah came to God and accused Abraham on account of Isaac. And God said to Abraham, 'Take your son, Isaac, your only son whom you love and offer him to me as a burnt-offering on one of the ... mountains which I will tell you.' And he rose and he went from the wells to Mount Moriah ... And Abraham lifted up his eyes and behold there was a fire. And he placed the wood on Isaac, his son, and they went together. And Isaac said to Abraham, his father, 'Behold there is the fire and the wood, but where is the lamb for the burnt-offering?' And Abraham said to Isaac, his son, 'God will provide a lamb for himself.' Isaac said to his father, 'Tie me well' ... the holy angels.standing and weeping over the altar ... his sons from the earth. And the angels of Mastemah ... were rejoicing and saying, 'Now he (Isaac) will be destroyed... we shall see whether he will be found weak and whether Abraham will be found unfaithful to God.' And he (God) called, 'Abraham, Abraham.' And he said. 'Here am I.' And he said, 'Now I know that (it was a lie that?) he (Abraham) will no longer be loving.'

And the Lord God blessed Isaac all the days of his life and he begot Jacob, and Jacob begot Levi (in the) third generation. And all the days of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and Levi were ... years. And the prince Mastemah was bound and the holy angels ... the prince Mastemah, and Belial listened to ...

4Q226, fragment 7

Abraham was found faithful to God and ... for pleasure. And the Lord blessed Isaac all the days of his life. And he begot Jacob and Jacob begot Levi in the third generation. And all the days of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and Levi were ... years. And the holy angels ... Fast here ...

4Q227, fragment 2

... Enoch after they/we taught him... six jubilees of years... earth towards the children of men. And he testified against all of them... and against the Watchers. And he wrote all the ... heaven and the ways of its host and the months ... that the righteous may not stray...

The Prayer of Enosh and Enoch (4Q369)

(Ten fragments, including three large ones, have survived of a manuscript written with Herodian characters, apparently recording prayers. There is no direct reference to the persons in whose mouths the words are placed, but the context seems to indicate that the first fragment is associated with Enosh and Enoch.)

... all their festivals in their ages ... of Thy marvels, for from old times Thou hast ordered for them his judgement until the age of determined judgement through all everlasting commandments.

... Kenan was from the fourth generation and Mehalalel his son was the fifth generation.

... and Jared his son. And Jared his son was sixth generation and Enoch his son. Enoch was seventh generation ... Thou hast imparted Thy name as his inheritance to make Thy name dwell there ... She Qerusalem?) is the glory of the territory of Thy land and on her Thou ... Thine eyes on her and Thy glory shall be seen there for ... to his seed for their generations an everlasting possession and all ... Thy good judgements Thou hast purified him for... in everlasting light and Thou hast established him for Thee as a first-born son ... like his, as a prince and ruler for all the territory of Thy land ... the crown of the heavens and the glory of the clouds Thou hast set on him ... and the angel of Thy peace in his congregation and ... given him righteous rules like a father to his son ...

Thy soul clings to his love... for through them Thou hast established Thy glory ...

The Book of Enoch (4Q201-2, 204-12)

Various Qumran caves have yielded for the first time the original Aramaic text of one of the major Pseudepigrapha, the Book of Enoch, which was previously known from a complete Ethiopic translation, from Greek, as well as from a number of Greek quotations transmitted by the Byzantine writer George Syncellus.

4Q201 1 = Enoch A (1 Enoch 6,7 - 7,1)

... And these are the names of their chiefs. Shemihazah who was their head, Arataqoph, his second; Ramtael, third to him; Kokabe, fourth to him;... el, fifth to him; Ramael, sixth to him; Daniel, seventh to him; Ziqiel (cf. Ena,c), eighth to him; Baraqel, ninth to him; Asael, tenth to him; Hermoni, eleventh to him; Matarel, twelfth to him; Ananel, thirteenth to him; Stawel, fourteenth to him; Shamshiel, fifteenth to him; Shahriel, sixteenth to him; Tummiel, seventeenth to him; Turiel, eighteenth to him; Yomiel, nineteenth to him; Yehaddiel, twentieth to him. These are the chiefs of the chiefs of tens. These and their chiefs took for themselves wives from all those whom they chose and they began to go in to them and defile themselves with them and to teach them sorcery and magic ... And they became pregnant by them and bore giants ...

4Q204 = Enoch C (1 En. 106, 19 - 107,2)

... And after these shall come a greater wickedness than that which will have been accomplished in their days. For I know the mysteries of the Lord which the holy ones have explained and showed me and which I read in the heavenly tablets. And I saw written in them that one generation after another will do evil in this way, and evil will last until generations of righteousness arise and evil and wickedness shall end and violence shall cease from the earth and until good shall come on the earth on them. vacat And now, please go to your son, Lamech, and explain to him that this child is his son in truth and without lie...

4Q206 I 22 (I En. 22,3-7)

... the soul of all the sons of man. And behold, these are the pits for their prison. They were made thus until the day of their judgement, until the final day of the great judgement which will be imposed on them.

... There I saw the spirit of a dead man complaining and his moaning rising to heaven and crying and complaining ...

4Q206 1 26 (1 En. 32,1-3)

... And beyond those mountains roughly northwards, on their eastern side, I was shown other mountains, full of excellent nard, and pepper-wort, and cinnamon, and pepper. vacat And from there I was led to the east of all those mountains, far from them, to the east of the earth and I was taken over the Red Sea and greatly distanced myself from it and crossed over the darkness far from it. And I passed to the Paradise of righteousness...

The Astronomical Book of Enoch 4Q209 7 (1 Enoch 73,1 - 74,90)

... And it (the moon) shines in the remainder of this night with three seventh (parts); and it grows during this day to four sevenths and a half; and then it sets and enters (its gate) and is covered for the remainder of this day to two sevenths and a half. And in the night of the twenty fourth it is covered four sevenths and a half and four sevenths and a half are cut off from its light. And then it comes out from its gate and shines in the remainder of this night two sevenths and a half. And it grows in this day five sevenths and then it sets and enters its gate and is covered for the remainder of this day two sevenths. ...

And in the night, on the twenty-fifth, it is covered five sevenths, and five sevenths are cut off from its light. And then it comes out and shines for the remainder of this night two sevenths. And it grows in this day to five sevenths and a half. And then it sets and enters the second gate and is covered for the remainder of this day one seventh and a half. ...

And in the night of the twenty-sixth it is covered five sevenths and a half and five sevenths and a half are cut off from its light.

And then it comes out of the second gate and shines for the remainder of this night one seventh and a half. And it grows in this day six sevenths. And then it sets and enters and is covered for the remainder of this day one seventh. vacat And in the night of the twenty-seventh it is covered six sevenths and six sevenths are cut off from its light. And then it comes out and shines for the remainder of this night one seventh. And it grows in this day six sevenths and a half. And then it sets and enters ...

... and shines in the night of the eighth four sevenths. And then it sets and enters. In this night the sun completes the passage through all the sections of the first gate and recommences to go in and come out through its sections. And then the moon sets and enters.

And it darkens during the remainder of this night three sevenths. And it grows in this day four sevenths and a half. And then it comes out and dominates in the remainder of this day two sevenths and a half. ...

And it shines in the night of the ninth four sevenths and a half. And then it sets and enters. In this night the sun recommences to go through its sections and to set in them. And then the moon sets and enters the fifth gate and darkens in the remainder of this night two sevenths and a half. And it grows in this day five sevenths and in it the light equals five sevenths... equals in full. And then it comes out of the fifth gate...

The Book of Giants (1Q23-4, 2Q26, 4Q203, 530-33, 6Q8)

(The Book of Giants is missing from the Ethiopic version of Enoch, but it circulated among the Manichaeans as well as in Talmudic and medieval Jewish literature. Some of the features resemble the Book of Daniel. And in 4Q531 Fragment 22 appears the name Gilgamesh two times. It is a good example that the ancient Hebrews knew the Mesopotamien clay tablet literature very well. Gilgamesh was a historical king of the Sumerian city-state of Uruk, a major hero in ancient Mesopotamian mythology, and the protagonist of the Epic of Gilgamesh, an epic poem written in Akkadian during the late second millennium BC. He probably ruled sometime between 2800 and 2500 BC and was posthumously deified. He became a major figure in Sumerian legends during the Third Dynasty of Ur (c. 2112 – c. 2004 BC). The Epic of Gilgamesh contains many of the same themes and motifs as the Hebrew Bible. Of these, the best-known is probably the Epic's flood story, which reads a lot like the biblical tale of Noah's ark (Genesis 6-9). But the Epic also includes a character whose story bears even more similarities to stories in the Hebrew Bible: Gilgamesh's possession of a plant of immortality is thwarted by a serpent (Genesis 3), he wrestles in the night with a divinely appointed assailant who proclaims the hero's identity and predicts that he will prevail over all others (Genesis 32:23-32), and he is taught that the greatest response to mortality is to live life in appreciation of those things which make us truly human (Eccl 9:7-10).)

4Q530 Fragments 2, 6-12

... about the death of our soul. And all his colleagues entered and Ohiyah explained them what Gilgamesh had told him and Hobabis roared and judgement was pronounced on him. And the guilty cursed the princes, but the giants rejoiced over him and he was cursed again and accepted it. Then two of them dreamed dreams and the sleep of their eyes fled from them... and they rose and opened their eyes and they went to Shemihaza, their father. Then he told a story in the congregation of their colleagues, the Nephilin: ... I saw a wonder in my dream that night. Behold a big garden was planted with all kinds of trees. There were there gardeners and they were watering every tree in that garden... Many roots grew out of their stock. And out of one tree grew three shoots. I was looking until tongues of fire came down from heaven. I was looking until the ... was covered with all the water and the fire devoured all the trees of the whole orchard. But it did not devour the tree and its shoots on the land when it was destroyed ...

Here is the end of the dream... And the giants were unable to explain the dream. And he said... You will give this dream to Enoch, the interpreter scribe, that he might interpret to us the dream. ...

Then Ohiyah, his brother, answered and said before the giants, I, too, saw a wonder in my dream this night. Behold the Ruler of heaven descended to earth and thrones were set and the great Holy One sat. Hundreds and hundreds were ministering to Him. Thousands and thousands ... stood before Him. And behold, books were opened and judgement was pronounced and the judgement ... was written and a signature was signed. And the Great one reigns over all the living and flesh and over all those who rule. Here is the end of the dream.

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vacat And behold all the giants were terrified and called Mahawai and he came to the congregation of the Nephilin.

And the giants sent him to Enoch ... and said to him, Go to him ... previously you listened to his voice and say to him that he should explain to you the interpretation of the dreams and that all should rest with those who hunger strongly after it

4Q531 Fragment 22 (The Gilgamesh Fragment)

... I showed myself mighty and by the power of my strong arm and by the vigour of my might I rose against all flesh and made war on them.

But I ... not... find ... to strengthen (me), for my adversaries, the angels of heaven dwell in heaven and they abide in the holy places and I will not... for they are more powerful than I. vacat ... of wild beasts came and the country people cried... And Ohiyah spoke to him thus.

My dream has depressed me and the sleep of my eyes fled from me for looking at the vision. Behold I know that I cannot sleep and cannot hasten for them ...

Then Gilgamesh said, Your dream ...

An Admonition Associated with the Flood (4Q370 and 4Q185)

4Q370 is a rewritten account of the Noah story based on Genesis 6-9; two fragmentary columns have survived, only the first of which is suitable for translation. Palaeographically, it is said to be late Hasmonaean, i.e. from the first half of the first century BC., but the composition itself is pre-Qumran. Both the Tetragram and the divine name 'el are used. The badly damaged column 11 switches from narrative to ethics and exhortation. Part of it can be reconstructed with the help of 4Q185.

4Q370 (4Q185)

And He crowned the mountains with produce and poured food on them, and he satisfied every soul with good fruit. 'Whoever does my will, let him eat and be satisfied', says the Lord. 'And let them bless my holy name. But, behold, they have done what is wicked in my eyes,' said the Lord. They rebelled (?) against God through their actions, and the Lord judged them according to all their ways, and according to the thoughts of the inclination of their evil hearts. And He thundered at them in His power, and all the foundations of the earth trembled, and the waters burst forth from the abysses. All the windows of heaven opened, and all the abysses overflowed with mighty waters. And the windows of heaven emptied out rain and He destroyed them by the Flood... Therefore everything perished on the dry land; and men, beasts, birds and winged creatures died. And the giants did not escape ...

... And God made a sign... and set His bow in the cloud that He might remember the covenant... that there might no more be on earth waters of flood... and that the mass of waters might not be let loose ...

... their wickedness when they know (how to distinguish) between good and evil... For behold, they sprout forth like grass, but a shadow are their days on the earth. And now pray hearken to me, my people; heed me, O you Simple for from everlasting to everlasting he will have mercy ... the might of the Lord.

Remember the miracles which he did in Egypt and his marvels in the land of Ham. Let your heart shake because of fear of him, and your soul will rejoice according to his good graces...

The Ages of the Creation (4Q180) (The "Engraved Tablet Fragment")

(A badly worn manuscript from Cave 4 is based on Genesis 6,1-4, and fully developed in 1 Enoch. If this reconstruction is correct, the work presents human history as divided into seventy weeks of years (70 x 7 years), the first ten of which cover the period from Noah to Abraham. The manuscript belongs either to the first century BC. or to the first century AD.)

Interpretation concerning the ages made by God, all the ages for the accomplishment of all the events, past and future. Before ever He created them, He determined the works of ... age by age. And it was engraved on heavenly tablets ... the ages of their domination. This is the order of the creation of man from Noah to Abraham, until he begot Isaac; ten weeks of years.

And the interpretation concerns Azazel and the angels who came to the daughters of men; and they bore to them giants. And concerning Azazel ... and iniquity, and to cause them all to inherit wickedness ... judgements and judgement of the congregation.

The "Book of Noah" Fragments (1Q19, 1Q19 bis, 4Q534-6, 6Q8,19)

(Several groups of small fragments from Qumran Caves 1, 4 and 6 appear to be the relics of a "Book of Noah" mentioned in Jubilees 10,13 and 21,10 and reproduced in an abbreviated form in Aramaic in the Genesis Apocryphon. 1Q19 and 19 bis are remains of a Hebrew version; 6Q8 and 19 belong to an Aramaic Noah narrative. 1Q19, 6Q8 and 1QapGen deal with the miraculous birth of Noah, as does also 4Q534, which was originally understood by scholars as describing the birth of the Royal Messiah.)

1Q19, fr. 3

... to his father. And when Lamech (Noah's father) saw the ... the child made the rooms of the house shine like the rays of the sun ... to frighten the ...

Frs. 13-14

... for the glory of your splendour ... for the glory of God... will be lifted in glorious majesty... will be glorified amidst the sons of heaven and ...

4Q534

... of his hand: his two knees. And on his head on his hair a birthmark of reddish colour. And the shape of a lentil will be on his face?, and small birthmarks on his thigh. And after two years he will know how to distinguish one thing from another in his heart. In his youth, he will be like ... like a man who knows nothing until the time when he knows the three Books. And then he will acquire prudence and learn understanding ... wise seers come to him, to his knees. And with his father and his ancestors ... of brothers will hurt him. Counsel and prudence will be with him, and he will know the secrets of man. His wisdom will reach all the peoples, and he will know the secrets of all the living. And all their designs against him will come to nothing, and his rule over all the living will be great. His designs will succeed, for he is the Elect of God. His birth and the breath of his spirit ... and his designs shall be for ever ...

4Q536 (4Q534, fr. 7)

... Blessed be every man who teaches his sons the doctrine of wisdom. For he will not die in the days of wickedness. Woe to you, O fool, for your mouth will deceive you by ... (incurring) the death penalty.

Who will write these words of mine in a book that will not decay, and keep this word of mine in a scroll (?) which will not fade away?

Behold ... and the pleasure of the wicked will cease for ever ... Words of the Archangel Michael ...

(4Q529, 6Q23)

(In this poorly preserved Aramaic fragment the speaker, Michael, addresses the angels in general and the archangel Gabriel in line 4 about a vision. The subject is unclear, but since he refers to the sons of Noah, Shem and Ham, and to the construction of a city filled with wickedness, it is possible that the author alludes to the building of the tower (zikkurat) of Babylon.)

Fr. 1

Words of the book which Michael addressed to the angels ... He said: I found there divisions of fire ... and I saw there nine mountains: two to the east, and two to the west, and two to the north and two to the south. I saw there the angel Gabriel ... like a vision. Then I showed him the vision. And he said to me: ... in the books of my Master, the Lord of the world, it is written: Behold, ... between the sons of Ham and the sons of Shem. And behold my Master, the Lord of the world ... when they ... the tear from... And behold a city was built to the name of my Master, the Lord of the world, and there everything that is evil will be done before my Master, the Lord of the world ... And my Master, the Lord of the world, will remember his creation ... and my Master, the Lord of the world, will be merciful to him and to him ... the man will be in the faraway province ... he, and he will say to him: Behold this ... for me silver and gold ... And he will say: ... and the righteous man ...

The Testament of Levi (1) (4Q213-114, 1Q21)

(Among the numerous small fragments representing the Aramaic Testament of Levi from Cave 4, all dating to the mid-first century BC., a damaged portion of two columns of 4Q213a contains parts of a prayer of Levi.)

4Q213a

I Then I raised my eyes and face towards heaven and opened my mouth and spoke. And I stretched out the fingers of my hands and my hands ... for truth towards the holy ones and I prayed and said, Lord, Thou knowest every heart, and Thou alone knowest all the thoughts of the heart. And now my sons are with me. Give me all the paths of truth, and distance from me, O Lord, the evil spirit and the evil inclination and fornication and repulse pride from me. And give me counsel, and wisdom and knowledge and might so as to do that which pleases Thee and find favour before Thee and give thanks for Thy dealings with me, O Lord, in order to do that which is splendid and good before Thee. And let no adversary have dominion over me to lead me astray from Thy way. And be merciful to me, O Lord, and draw me near that I may be Thy II servant and minister well to Thee ...

Thou, O Lord, hast blessed Abraham my father and Sarah my mother and Thou didst say that Thou wouldst give them a righteous seed which would be blessed for ever. Listen therefore to the prayer of Thy servant Levi ... to practise righteous judgement for all eternity ... And do not remove the son of Thy servant from before Thee ...

... Then I went along ... to my father Jacob. And when ... from Abel-Mayin. Then I lay down and dwelled ...

4Q213 (completed from the Cairo Geniza)

Fr. 1 i

... And I instruct you, my sons, and I will show to you, my loved ones, the truth. The chief of all your deeds shall be truth, and it shall be with you for ever. Righteousness and truth... you will bring in a blessed harvest. He who sows good will bring in good, and he who sows evil, his sowing will turn against him. And now teach your sons letters, doctrine and wisdom, and wisdom will be with you for everlasting honour. He who studies wisdom will be honoured, but he who despises wisdom will be turned into scorn and disdain. My sons, look at Joseph, my brother, who has studied letters and wise doctrine for glory and greatness and for kings... Do not be remiss in the study of wisdom ...

Everyone who studies wisdom ... To every land and province to which he goes as a brother... and he is not like a stranger, nor as a ... all will grant him honour on its account because all wish to learn wisdom. Those who love him are many and His well-wishers are great in number. They will make him sit on a throne of honour to hear his words of wisdom. Wisdom is great wealth of honour for those who know it, and a good treasure for those who buy it. If powerful kings come and a big crowd and horsemen and many chariots will be with them, they will carry away the wealth of a country and of a province, and plunder everything in them, they will not plunder the treasuries of wisdom, and will not find ...

4Q213b

The seven departed from me and I woke up from my sleep. Then I said, 'This is a vision and I am so amazed that I should have any vision.'

And I concealed this also in my heart and disclosed it to no man. And we went to my father, Isaac, and he too blessed me thus. Then Jacob, my father, tithed all that he had in conformity with his vow and I was the first at the head of the priesthood and to me, one of his sons, he gave a gift ... to God, and he clothed me with the garment of the priesthood and he ordained me, and I became a priest of the everlasting God...

4Q214 fr. 2

To sprinkle blood on the walls of the altar. And again wash your hands and your feet of the blood and start offering the salted parts. Offer first the head and cover it with the fat and let not the blood of the sacrificed bull be seen on it. And afterwards the neck and afterwards the forelegs and afterwards the breast with the sides, and afterwards the thighs and the spine of the loin. And after the thighs the washed hind legs with the intestines. And they all will be salted with salt as they should. And after that fine flour is to be mixed with oil and after all this pour out wine and burn incense over them and your action should follow the rule.

4Q214a, fr. 1

... These are what he said to me to be fit for offering below the burnt offering on the altar. And when you have made an offering from these trees on the altar and the fire has started to be kindled ...

Frs. 2-3 i 3-6

The fortieth year of my life she bore in the seventh/fourth month. And I was again with her and she conceived and bore me a daughter and I gave her the name of Jochebed. I said, 'She is born to me for the honour of Israel.' In the sixty-fourth year of my life she was born on the first day of the seventh month.

4Q214b, frs. 2-6

... split wood, and first examine it for worms and then offer it, for thus did I see Abraham, my father, taking care. He said to me that any of the twelve kinds of trees is fit for offering on the altar, the fragrance of whose smoke goes up. And these are their names: the cedar, the juniper, the almond tree, the fir, the pine, the ash, the cypress, the ..., the olive tree, the laurel, the myrtle and the ... These are the trees which he said to me that they are fit to offer below the burnt offerings on the altar. And when you have offered any of these trees on the altar and the fire has started to burn them, then you will start to sprinkle the blood on the walls of the altar. And again you will wash your hands and feet of the blood and start to offer the salted limbs. The head ...

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Testaments of the Patriarchs: the Testament of Levi or Testament of Jacob (4Q537 and 540-41)

(An Aramaic work of which numerous fragments are extant in Cave 4 resembles the Testament of Levi from among the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. The central figure is Levi, but the testament is probably that of his father, Jacob. Hence 4Q537 is referred to also as the Jacob Apocryphon. Palaeographically its proposed date is the end of the second century BC.)

4Q537 Fr. 12

... and how will be the building ... and how will the priests be dressed and their hands be purified, and how will they offer sacrifices on the altar, and how on the whole earth will they always eat part of their sacrifices and how they shall drink the water which will come out of the city under the walls ...

4Q541, fr. 9

... and he will pass on to them (his sons) his wisdom. He will atone for all the sons of his generation and will be sent to all the sons of his people. His word is like a word of heaven, and his teaching is according to the will of God. His eternal sun will shine, and his fire will spring forth to all the ends of the earth, and will shine over darkness.

The darkness will pass away from the earth, and deep darkness from the dry land. They will utter many words against him and many ...

They will invent stories about him, and will utter everything dishonourable against him. Evil will overturn his generation because ... will be, and because lies and violence will fill his existence, and the people will go astray in his days and will become perplexed.

4Q541, fr. 24 ii

... Do not mourn in sackcloth ... and do not ... redeemed whether they are hidden faults or revealed faults and... Search and seek and know what is sought by the dove and do not smite one who is exhausted with consumption and troubles ... And you will make a joyous name for your father and a tried foundation for your brothers.

And you will see and rejoice in the everlasting light and you will not be from among the enemies. ...

The Testament of Judah and Joseph (4Q538-9)

(Four small fragments of an Aramaic work (4Q538) were first recognised as belonging to the Testament of Judah. The script belongs to mid-first century BC. The five fragments of the Testament of Joseph (4Q539) are too small for translation. However, the allusion to 'my uncle Ishmael' whose children acquired Joseph as a slave, and to the minister of Pharaoh, Pentephres, the Greek form of Potiphar, who bought Joseph from the Ishmaelites, seem to confirm Milik's identification of the document.)

Frs. 1-2

... if there is in their heart an evil spirit towards me (Joseph). ...

When I... and they came to me, they all brought to me the bags ... and they fell to the ground before Joseph and revered him. He then knew that there was no evil spirit in their heart and he could no longer ... (suspect them) ... and he could no longer ... And he presented his brothers with a big meal ... on my (Judah's) shoulder (literally: neck) and embraced me ...

The Testament of Naphtali (4Q215)

(Two reasonably intact fragments, dating to the turn of the era, represent the Hebrew text of the Testament of Naphtali, with occasional similarities to the version which survives in Greek.)

Fr. 1

... with the sisters of (or: with Ahiyot,) the father of Bilhah, ... Deborah, who suckled Rebeccah ... And he went into captivity and Laban sent out and rescued him and gave him Hannah, one of his maidservants. And she conceived and bore a first daughter, Zilphah, and gave her the name Zilphah after the name of the town where he was taken into captivity. She conceived and bore Bilhah, my mother, and Hannah called her name Bilhah, for when she was born, she was in a hurry to suck. And she said, 'What? Is my daughter in a hurry?'

And she called her again Bilhah ...

... When my father Jacob came to Laban, fleeing from Esau, his brother, and after... the father of Bilhah my mother. And Laban led Hannah, the mother of my mother and her two daughters, and he gave one to Leah and one to Rachel. And when it came to pass that Rachel did not bear sons, ... Jacob my father, and he gave him Bilhah my mother and she bore Dan my brother ...

Narrative and Poetic Composition a—c (formerly 'A Joseph Apocryphon') (4Q371-3)

(4Q371-3 form a very fragmentary Hebrew narrative relating to the period of the Patriarchs and Moses. They are dated to the second half of the first century BC.)

4Q372, fr. 1 (40371-2)

... and the pagan priests and the worshippers of idols ... the Most High and He handed them over to the nations ... and He dispersed them in all the lands and among all the nations and He disseminated them ... and they did not come ... Israel. And He destroyed them from the land ... and the nations did not leave for them a tent-peg standing in the Valley of Vision ... and they turned Jerusalem into ruins and the Mountain of my God into high places of forest ... the precepts of God. Judah was also with him and he stood at the crossroads to ... to be together with his two brothers. And for all this, Joseph was thrown to unknown lands, to a strange nation and they (the northern Israelites) were dispersed in the whole world. All their mountains were deserted without them ... and fools resided in their land. They made for themselves a high place on an elevated mountain to excite the jealousy of Israel. They spoke words of ... of the sons of Jacob and caused disgust with the words of their mouth, blaspheming against the Tent of Zion. They spoke words of falsehood and all the words of lies to enrage Levi, Judah and Benjamin by their words. And for all this, Joseph was put into the hands of strangers to consume his strength and break all his bones until the time of his end. And he cried ... and called on the mighty God that He should save him from their hands. He said, 'My Father and my God, do not abandon me to the hands of the nations. Execute judgement for me so that the humble and the poor may not perish. Thou hast no need of any nation or people to help Thee. Thy finger is greater and more powerful than anything in the world. For Thou optest for the truth, and in Thy hand there is no violence whatever. Also Thy mercies are many and Thy lovingkindness is great for all those who seek Thee. They took my land from me and from all my brothers who have joined me. A nation of enemies resides on it ... and they opened their mouth with anger against all the sons of Jacob, Thy friend, ... at the time when Thou wilt destroy them from the whole world and they will give ... I will rise to enact judgement and righteousness ... to do the will of my Creator and to offer sacrifices ... my God. I will proclaim Thy mercies ... I will praise Thee, O Lord, my God, and I will bless Thee ... the first things and to teach Thy precepts to the sinners, and to all who have forsaken Thy Law. ...

and evil so that Thy testimonies will not rebuke me and to proclaim Thy righteousness ... For Thou art a great, holy, mighty, powerful, awe-inspiring and wonderful God ... the heaven and the earth and even in the depth of the ocean majesty and ... I know and I have understood and ...'

Fr. 3

... a heart teaching understanding, a mouth proclaiming judgement.

For my words are sweeter than honey and surpass wine.

My tongue is truth and all the words of my mouth are righteousness.

Their testimonies shall not destroy and their portions shall not perish.

For all of them ...

The Lord has opened my mouth and the words of my tongue are from Him and they speak to me to proclaim ...

... His mercies.

He will not give His precepts to another nation, nor will He crown every stranger, for ... between them the covenant which He made with Jacob, that they should be His people for all eternity.

... visiting destruction on Israel to exterminate them by the hand of the nations.

All the plagues in the inheritance of ... and He will seek their blood from their hands.

See what He did to Midian, ... one - he was Zimri the son of Salu (Num. xxv, 14)—and the five kings of Midian were killed ...

4Q373, (2Q22 i 1—4; 4Q373, fr. 19 1—4)

... all his servants. Og ... His height was ... cubits and a half and two cubits was his width ... the spear like a cedar tree ... the shield like a tower ... Sweet footed ... seven stadia distant. He did not stand ... And I did not repeat for the Lord, our God, smashed him and with the sword ... and I made slings to wound ... for war to take strongholds and to shock ...

The Testament of Qahat (4Q542)

(The Testament of Qahat is an Aramaic work of which two columns, one complete and one damaged, have survived. It is a typical example of moralizing death-bed literature, similar to the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, but characterised, like the Testaments of Levi and Amram, by its priestly perspective. The script has been dated, by a carbon 14 test, performed in 1990, to a time which lies between 388—235 BC. It is not a sectarian composition. Only the undamaged part of the text is translated here.)

... I and the God of gods for all eternity. And He will shine light on you and will let you know His great Name. And you will know Him, that He is the God of eternity, and the Lord of all the deeds, and the Ruler of all, dealing with them according to His good pleasure. And He will make for you rejoicing and for your sons joy for the generations of truth, for ever.

Now, my sons, be careful with the heritage that is handed over to you, which your fathers have given you.

Do not give your heritage to strangers, and your inheritance to knaves so that you become humiliated and foolish in their eyes and they despise you, for, although sojourners among you, they will be your chiefs.

So hold to the word of Jacob, your father, and seize the laws of Abraham and the righteousness of Levi and mine.

And be holy and pure of all fornication in the community. And hold the truth and walk straight, and not with a double heart, but with a pure heart and a true and good spirit.

And you will give me a good name among you, and a rejoicing to Levi, and joy to Jacob, delight to Isaac, and glory to Abraham, because you will keep and walk in the heritage which your fathers will have left you: truth and righteousness and uprightness and perfection and purity and holiness and the priesthood according to all that you have been commanded, and according to all that I will have taught you in truth from now until all the age ... every word of truth will come upon you ... eternal blessing will reside on you and will be come for you ... stay for all the eternal generations and will no more ... from your correction and you will establish yourselves to pronounce judgement over ... and to see the faults of all the sinners of the ages ... to be cast into the fire and the oceans and into all the cavities for ... in the generations of truth.

And all the sons of wickedness ... And now Amram, my son, I instruct you ... and your sons to their sons. I instruct you ... and they have given to Levi my father, and Levi my father gave (it/them) to me ... all my books in testimony that through them you should beware ... and that there should be for you through them much merit when you walk in conformity with them. ...

The Testament of Amram (4Q543-9)

(An Aramaic document surviving in half a dozen fragmentary copies from Cave 4 contains an admonition by Amram, the father of Moses, to his children. The context is that of the Book of Exodus, but the visions and teachings are the author's free compositions. The dating of the script lies roughly between 150 BC. and 50 BC.)

4Q543, fr. 1 (4Q545, 546)

I Copy of the book of the words of the vision of Amram, son of Kehat, son of Levi, all that he explained to his sons and enjoined on them on the day of his death, in his one-hundred-and-thirty-seventh year, which was the year of his death, in the one-hundred-and-fifty-second year of Israel's exile in Egypt ... to call Uzziel, his youngest brother, and he married to him Miriam, his daughter, and said to her, 'You are thirty years old.'

And he gave a banquet lasting seven days. And he ate and drank and made merry during the banquet.

Then, when the days of the banquet were completed, he sent to call Aaron, his son, and he was about twenty years old and said to him, 'Call, my son, the messengers, your brothers from the house of ...'

4Q544, fr. 1 (4Q543, 545—7)

Qahat went there to stay and dwell and build ... many of the sons of my uncle together ... a man as our work was very great until the dead would be buried. ...

In the year of my beginning, when the news of a war became worrying, with my consent our company returned to the land of Egypt and I went to bury them and they did not build the tombs of our fathers.

And my father Qahat and my wife Jochebed left me to stand and build and provide them with all their needs from the land of Canaan.

And we stayed in Hebron while we were building. ...

A war broke out between the Philistines and the Egyptians and the Philistines and Canaanites defeated the Egyptians and they closed the frontiers of Egypt.

And it was impossible for Jochebed, my wife, to go from Egypt to Canaan for forty-one years. And we could not return to Egypt.

Therefore we could not ... the war between Egypt and Canaan and the Philistines.

And during all this, Jochebed my wife, was away from me in the land of Egypt ... my post ... for she was not with me. And I did not take another wife. ...

Women... all, that I would return to Egypt in peace and would see the face of my wife.

I saw Watchers in my vision, a dream vision ...

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And behold two (of them) argued about me and said ... and they were engaged in a great quarrel concerning me.

I asked them: 'You, what are you ... thus ... about me?'

They answered and said to me: 'We have been made masters and rule over all the sons of men.' And they said to me: 'Which of us do you choose ...'

I raised my eyes and saw one of them. His looks were frightening like those of a viper, and his garments were multi-coloured and he was extremely dark ...

And afterwards I looked and behold ... by his appearance and his face was like that of an adder, and he was covered with ... together, and over his eyes ...

Fr. 2

... this Watcher: 'Who is he?' He said to me: 'This Watcher ... and his three names are Belial, Prince of Darkness and Melkiresha'.' ...

And I said: 'My Lord, what rule ...'

And he said to me ... and all his paths are darkness, and all his work is darkness, and he is ... in darkness ... you see.

And he rules over all darkness ... and I rule over all light and all ...

4Q545 (4Q543a, 546d)

Fr. ia i

I Copy of the writing of the words of vision of Amram, son of Qahat, son of Levi, all that he has explained to his sons ... on the day of his death in the year one hundred and thirty-six - this is the year of his death - in the year one hundred and fifty-two of the exile of Israel in Egypt.

Also it came to him ... and call Uzziel, his younger brother, and gave him Miriam, his thirty-year-old daughter for wife. He made her wedding feast last seven days and he ate and drank at her wedding feast and rejoiced.

Then, when the days of the wedding feast came to an end, he sent out to call Aaron, his about twenty-year-old son, and said to him, 'My son, call to me the messengers, your brothers, from the house of ...'

Fr. 4

... and I will explain to you your names ... that he wrote for Moses.

And also about Aaron ... I will explain to you the mystery of his worshipping.

He is a holy priest to the Most High God.

Also all his seed will be holy in all the generations of eternity ...

The seventh of the men of God's good will he will be called and he will be said ... and will be chosen as a priest for ever ...

4Q548

... I announce to you the firm path. I will indeed inform you ...

For all the Sons of Light will shine, and all the Sons of Darkness will be dark.

For all the Sons of Light ... and by all their knowledge they will ... and the Sons of Darkness will be ... And the Sons of Darkness will be removed ...

For every fool and wicked will be dark and every sage and upright will shine. For all the Sons of Light will go to the light, to ... and all the Sons of Darkness go towards death and perdition ...

The people shall have brightness ... and they will explain to them ...

The Words of Moses (1Q22)

(Fragments of four very mutilated columns of a manuscript from Cave 1 have been skilfully reconstructed. The last two columns are so mutilated as to be untranslatable. They form a farewell discourse of Moses which takes its inspiration from various passages of Deuteronomy and is chiefly remarkable for the emphasis laid on the appointment of special teachers, or interpreters, of the Law, meaning the Levites and Priests.)

God spoke to Moses in the fortieth year after the children of Israel

had come out of the land of Egypt, in the eleventh month, on the first day of the month, saying: 'Gather together all the congregation and go up to Mount Nebo and stand there, you and Eleazar son of Aaron.

Interpret to the heads of family of the Levites and to all the Priests, and proclaim to the children of Israel the words of the law which I proclaimed to you on Mount Sinai.

Proclaim carefully into their ears all that I require of them.

And call heaven and earth to witness against them; for they will not love what I have commanded them to do, neither they nor their children, during all the days they shall live upon the earth.

For I say that they will abandon Me, and will choose the abominations of the nations, their horrors and their idols.

They will serve false gods which shall be for them a snare and a pitfall.

They will sin against the holy days, and against the Sabbath and the Covenant, and against the commandments which I command you to keep this day.

Therefore I will smite them with a mighty blow in the midst of the land which they cross the Jordan to possess.

And when all the curses come upon them and catch up with them to destroy them and blot them out, then shall they know that the truth has been fulfilled with regard to them.'

Then Moses called Eleazar son of Aaron and Joshua son of Nun and said to them, 'Speak all these words to the people ... : Be still, O Israel, and hear! This day shall you become the people of God, your God.

You shall keep My laws and My testimonies and My commandments which I command you to keep this day.

And when you cross the Jordan so that I may give you great and good cities, and houses filled with all pleasant things, and vines and olives which you have not planted, and wells which you have not dug, beware, when you have eaten and are full, that your hearts be not lifted up, and that you do not forget what I have commanded you to do this day. For it is this that will bring you life and length of days.'

And Moses spoke to the children of Israel and said to them: 'Behold, forty years have passed since the day we came out of the land of Egypt, and today has God, our God, uttered these words from out of His mouth: all His precepts and all His precepts.

'But how shall I carry your loads and burdens and disputes alone?

When I have established the Covenant and commanded the way in which you shall walk, appoint wise men whose work it shall be to expound to you and your children all these words of the Law.

Watch carefully for your own sakes that you keep them, lest the wrath of your God kindle and burn against you, and He stop the heavens above from shedding rain upon you, and the water beneath the earth from giving you harvest.'

And Moses spoke further to the children of Israel. 'Behold the commandments which God has commanded you to keep ...'

Sermon on the Exodus and the Conquest of Canaan (4Q374)

(Only one of the sixteen surviving fragments of a writing, palaeographically dated to the last third of the first century BC., which deals with the exodus from Egypt and the occupation of Canaan, is large enough to provide an intelligible account. The speaker remains anonymous but may conceivably be Joshua.)

... And the nations rose up in anger ... in their actions and in the uncleanness of the deeds of ... and there was no remnant for them and none who escaped and for their posterity ...

And he made a plantation for us his elect in the land that is the most desirable of all the lands ...

And he made him as a god over the mighty and as a cause of dread for Pharaoh ... they melted and their heart trembled and their entrails dissolved. And he had mercy ...

And when he made his face shine on them for healing, they strengthened their heart once more and knowledge ...

None having known you, they melted and trembled ...

A Moses Apocryphon A (4Q375)

(In a style imitating the Pentateuch, and recalling the Sayings of Moses from Cave 1 (1Q22), Fragment 4Q375 lays down instructions regarding the treatment of a person who claims to be a prophet. Should he exhort people to commit apostasy, he is to be executed. However, his tribe may come to his rescue and lodge an appeal with the anointed priest in the city of the sanctuary. The script is early Herodian, i.e. late first century BC.)

... You will do all that your God has commanded you from the mouth of the prophet.

You will keep all these precepts and you will return to the Lord your God with all your heart and al1 your soul.

And your God will desist from the wrath of his great anger to save you from your misery.

And the prophet who will arise and speak defection in your midst, turning you away from your God, shall be put to death.

But if the tribe from which he originates stands up for him and says, 'Let him not be put to death, for he is righteous; he is a trustworthy prophet', you, your elders and your judges will come with that tribe to the place which your God will choose within one of your tribes to appear before the anointed priest on whose head the oil of anointing has been poured.

A Moses Apocryphon B (4Q376, 1Q29)

(This mid-first-century BC. text, which partly overlaps with 1Q29, is a reworking of Exodus 28,9—12, dealing with the two engraved stones set in the shoulder pieces of the high priest's liturgical garment (the ephod). Another fragment introduces the secular head of the community, the 'Prince of the whole congregation' in his military role, confronting the enemies of Israel or attacking one of their towns.)

Fr. 1

... they shall shed light on you. And he shall go out with it with tongues of fire.

The left-hand stone on his left side will show itself to the eyes of all the assembly until the priest has completed his speech.

And afterwards the ... has gone up ... And you shall keep and do al1 that he shall speak to you. And the prophet ...

... preaches rebellion ...

... according to all this judgement.

And if the Prince of the whole congregation shall be in the camp and ... his enemy and Israel is with him, or if they go against a city to besiege it or any matter which ... to the Prince ... the distant field ...

A Moses Apocryphon C (4Q408)

(One medium-sized and sixteen small fragments represent a collection of liturgical prayers of which only one can be partly translated. Palaeographically the document is placed in the late second century BC.)

Fr. 3 + 3a

... Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who art righteous in all Thy ways. Be mighty in strength ... in Thy judgements.

Thou who art faithful ...

Thou art understanding with all intelligence ... might.

Thou who art ... to bring out ... who hast created the morning as a sign to reveal the dominion of the light as the boundary of the daytime ... for their work.

To bless Thy holy name Thou hast created them. For the light is good ...

Thou art ... who hast created the evening as a sign to reveal the dominion of darkness ... from labour.

Thou hast created them to bless Thy holy name when they see that the light is good and when ...

Thou hast created the evening as a sign (to mark) the appearance of the dominion of darkness ...

Apocryphal Pentateuch B (formerly 'A Moses Apocryphonc') (4Q377)

(This is part of an apocryphal account of the story of the Israelites at Sinai and in the wilderness. Fragment 2,11 introduces an elder called Elibah, who curses the Jews who fail to observe the Law mediated by Moses during the latter's stay with God on the mountain.)

Fr. 2,11

... they will understand the precepts of Moses. And Elibah answered and said: Hearken, congregation of the Lord, and listen, all the assembly! ...

Cursed be the man who does not stand by, keep and practise all the commandments of the Lord issued by the mouth of Moses, His anointed, and follow the Lord, the God of our fathers, He who commanded us from the mountain of Sinai. And He spoke to the people of Israel face to face as a man speaks to his friend ... He made us look at a consuming fire from under the heaven. And on the earth, He stood on the mountain to make it known that there is no god beside Him and no rock like Him.

And all the assembly ... and trembling seized them because of the glory of God and the marvellous voices ... and they stood at a distance.

And Moses the man of God was with God in the cloud and the cloud covered him.

For ... when he was hallowed and out of His mouth he spoke like an angel.

For who is a messenger like him? ... a man of grace who were not created from everlasting to everlasting ...

A Moses (or David) Apocryphon (4Q373, 2Q22)

(Three small Cave 4 fragments which partly overlap with 2Q22 represent a historical narrative of an unnamed speaker in the first person, and with the single actual name of Og, king of Bashan.)

4Q373 1-2 (2Q22)

... all his servants Og ... his height was ... and a half cubits and two cubits were his breadth ... a spear like a cedar tree ... a shield like a tower. The nimble-footed ... he who removed them seven stadia. I did not stand ... and I did not change. The Lord our God broke him. I prepared wounding slings together with bows and not ... for war to conquer fortified cities and to rout ...

Prophecy of Joshua (4Q522, 5Q9)

(This is the name of a narrative on Fragment 9 that appear to describe the future conquest and / or division of the Holy Land. It appears to be related to the fragment 5Q9, which mentions the name of Joshua. In 4Q522 we find a list of localities, of which a number appear in Joshua 15—21, such as Beer Sheba, Bealoth, Keilah, Adullam, etc.)

... For behold a son is born to Jesse, son of Perez, son of Judah ...

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He is to take the Rock of Zion and from there he is to possess the Amorites ... to build a house for the Lord, the God of Israel. Gold and silver ... cedars and cypress trees will he bring from Lebanon to build it. And the sons of ... and David.

The Lord will make (him) dwell in security ... The Lord of heaven will reside with him for ever.

But now the Amorites are there and the Canaanites ... inhabitant whom I consider guilty, whom I have not sought ... from you. And the Shilonite and the ... I have made him a slave ... And now ... to a distance from ... Eleazar ...

A Joshua Apocryphon (i) or Psalms of Joshua (4Q378—9)

(This badly mutilated composition represents a rewritten account of the story of Joshua. 4Q378, written in Herodian formal script, consists of twenty-seven mostly tiny fragments, while the late Hasmonaean 4Q379 comprises forty-one. Only some of the fragments are suitable for meaningful translation. The composition seem to be a farewell speech by Joshua. It contains admonitions, curses, prayers and songs.)

4Q378 14

... And the children of Israel wept for Moses in the plains of Moab (Deuteronomy 34,8) by the Jordan at Jericho at Bethjeshimoth as far as Abel-shittim (Numbers 3,48—9) for thirty days and (then) the days of weeping and mourning for Moses were ended (Deut. xxxiv, 8).

And the children of Israel ... the covenant which the Lord made for ...

... Thy dread and fear ...

4Q378 II

... for the Lord your God ... to establish his words which he spoke ... the oath which he swore to Abraham to give him a good and broad land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and springs, flowing forth in valleys and hills, a land of wheat and barley, of vines and fig trees and pomegranates, a land of olive trees and honey (Deuteronomy 8,7—8).

For this is a land flowing with milk and honey; ... a land whose stones are iron and out of whose hills you can dig copper (Deuteronomy 8,9) ...

4Q378 22 i

... Moses, O my God. And he did not annihilate them because of their sins ... thy people by the hand of Joshua, minister of thy servant Moses thy ... by the hand of Moses to Joshua for the sake of thy people ... the covenant which thou hast made with Abraham ...

... loving-kindness to thousands

4Q379 12

... they crossed (the Jordan) on dry grounds (Joshia 4,22) in the first month of the forty-first year of their exodus from the land of Egypt (Joshua 4,19).

That was a jubilee year at the beginning of their entry into the land of Canaan. And the Jordan overflows its banks from the fourth month until the wheat harvest ...

4Q379 22 ii (combined with 4Q175, lines 21-30)

Blessed be the Lord, the God of Israel ...

When Joshua finished offering praise in his thanksgivings, he said: Cursed be the man who rebui1ds this city! May he lay its foundations on his first-born, and set its gate on his youngest son (Joshua 6,26).

Behold, an accursed man of Belial has risen to become a fowler's net to his people and a cause of destruction to all his neighbours.

And his brother arose and ruled in lies, both of them being instruments of violence.

They have rebuilt this city and have set up for it a wall and towers to make it a stronghold of ungodliness in Israel and a horror in Ephraim and in Judah and a great evil among the children of Jacob.

And they have committed an abomination in the land and a great blasphemy and shed blood like waters on the ramparts of the daughter of Zion and in the precincts of Jerusalem ...

A Joshua Apocryphon (2) (Masada 1039—211)

(This composition belongs to the genre of 'rewritten Bible' and testifies to a freedom in retelling scriptural stories. The manuscript is from the end of the fist century BC.)

... they were afraid ... they were praising the name of the Most High for they saw that ... God was fighting for His people against their enemies and they were not afraid ... because of them for God was with them and blessed them and saved them. And whatever he said about them happened to them and no word fell to the ground, and He multiplied their seed greatly.

The Samuel Apocryphon (4Q160)

(These fragments of an account of the story of Samuel from Cave 4 (4Q160) belong to the second century BC. They follow the first book of Samuel and include a narrative passage, a dialogue between Samuel and Eli, a prayer and an autobiographical discourse.)

Fr. 1

For I have sworn to the house of Eli that the iniquity of the house of Eli relating to sacrifices and offerings shall never be expiated. And Samuel heard the words of the Lord ... and Samuel lay down before Eli. And he rose and opened the gates of the house of the Lord. And Samuel was afraid to report to Eli the oracle. Answering, Eli said to Samuel: Samuel, my son, let me know the vision of God. Do not hide it from me, pray! May God do to you thus and may He add to it if you hide from me anything of the words that He spoke to you. And Samuel reported all and hid nothing ...

Frs. 3-5

... Thy servant. I have not restrained my strength until this moment, for ... let them be gathered, O my God, to Thy people and be a help to it and raise it ... and deliver their feet from muddy clay and establish for them a rock from of old, for Thy praise is over all the peoples. Thy people shall take refuge in Thy house ... Amid the rage of the enemies of Thy people, Thou shalt verify Thy glory and over the lands and seas ... and Thy fear is over all ... and kingdom. And all the peoples of Thy lands shall know that Thou hast created them ... and the multitudes shall understand that this is Thy people ... Thy holy ones whom Thou hast sanctified.

A Paraphrase on Kings (4Q382)

(154 papyrus fragments from the first half of the first century BC. belong to a kind of paraphrase of the Books of Kings as various personal names (Jezebel, Ahab, Obadiah, Elijah, Elisha) clearly indicate. Only fragment 104 is extensive enough to allow a translation. An unidentified speaker recounts events pertaining to the history of Israel in the form of an address to God.)

... from Thy word and to rely on Thy covenant and their heart be ... to sanctify Him / it ... hands so that they might be Thine, and Thou theirs and Thou be righteous ... For Thou wilt be a giver of an inheritance ... and lord over them and Thou wilt be a father to them and not ... Thou hast forsaken them to the hand of their kings and hast made them stumble among the peoples ... not ... Thy life. Didst Thou give them the Law? by the hand of Moses ... Thy judgements and lifting the iniquity of Thy people to the heights ... Thy patience and the multitude of mercies? ...

An Elisha Apocryphon (4Q481a)

(Only Fragment 2 of 4Q481a can be partly reconstructed and translated. The opening words 'And Elisha went up' are without biblical parallel.)

... And Elisha went up. When the sons of the prophets who were over at Jericho saw him over against them, they said, The spirit of Elijah rests over Elisha. And they came to meet Elisha, and bowed to the ground before him. And they said to him, Behold now, there are with your servants fifty strong men; pray, let them go, and seek your master; it may be that the spirit of the Lord has caught him up and cast him upon some mountain or into some valley.

A Zedekiah Apocryphon (4Q470)

(The following fragments of an early Herodian manuscript speak in favourable terms of the last Judaean king Zedekiah. He is depicted as conversing with the archangel Michael who promises to make a covenant with him.)

Fr. 1

... Michael ... Zedekiah shall enter into a covenant on that day ... to practise and to cause all the Torah to be practised. At that time Michael shall say to Zedekiah. ... I will make with you a covenant before the assembly to practise ...

Fr. 3

... their cry towards heaven ... to restore them to health and help them by the spirit of his might ...

... and by the pillar of fire many times ... And Moses wrote when he spoke according to all ... Kadesh Barnea ...

A Historico-theological Narrative based on Genesis and Exodus (4Q462—4)

(Palaeographically dated to the mid-first century BC, the two joined fragments of 4Q462 represent the only meaningful part of a historical narrative told from a theological point of view.)

... Shem and Ham and Japhet ... for Jacob ... for Israel ...

... And he will give the land to the multitude as a heritage. ... (=the Lord) who rules ... his glory which ... will fill the waters and the earth ...

They seized his people. The light was with them and darkness was on us ...

The period of darkness passed away and the period of light came and they were to rule for ever. Therefore he will say, ... to Israel, for in our midst was the people of the beloved, of Jacob ... And they slaved, and they were safeguarded and they cried to .... (=the Lord) ...

And behold they were handed over to Egypt for the second time in the period of the kingship, and they were safeguarded ... and the inhabitants of Philistia and Egypt will become a booty and a ruin. And he will make it stand ...

... the fierceness of her face will be changed to brightness and her soiled garments to ... And he will remember Jerusalem ...

Tobit (4Q196—200)

(Prior to the Qumran finds, the Book of Tobit existed among the Apocrypha in two, a long and a short, Greek recensions and in various secondary ancient versions. Cave 4 has revealed remains of four Aramaic (4Q196—9) and one Hebrew (4Q200) manuscripts, of which two scrolls, the papyrus Tob a and the leather Tob b (197), have yielded copious extracts. They all basically represent the Semitic original from which the longer Greek recension, attested by the fourth century AD Codex Sinaiticus, and the Old Latin version were made. The Tobit manuscripts are dated to the end of the first century BC.)

4Q196, Fr. 2 Tob. i, 19—ii, 2

(i, 19) one of the men of Nineveh, and he informed the king about me, that I was burying them (the murdered Jews) and I hid myself. When I learned that he knew of me and sought to kill me, I was frightened and fled. ... all that I possessed and nothing was left to me ... apart from Hannah my wife and Tobiah my son. But not forty days passed before two of his (Sennacherib's) sons killed him and they fled to the mountains of Ararat.

Then Esarhaddon became king and he appointed Ahikar, the son of my brother Anael, over all the accounts of the kingdom.

And he was in charge of all the royal treasury accounts.

And Ahikar intervened for me ... And Ahikar my brother was the cupbearer, the guardian of the signet ring and the accountant under Sennacherib, king of Assyria, and Esarhaddon reappointed him. Now he was the son of my brother, of my father's house and of my family.

And in the days of king Esarhaddon, when I returned to my home 10 and Hannah my wife and Tobiah my son were restored to me, on the day of the Festival of Weeks, I had an excellent meal and I reclined to eat.

And they put a table in front of me and I saw the many delicacies placed on it, and I said to Tobiah my son, My son, go and bring all those among our brothers whom you can find ... my son, go and bring (them). Let him be brought (here) and eat together with me. And behold I ...

Fr. 6 Tob. iii, 9—15

... Go after them (after her seven deceased husbands) and let us not see a son or a daughter of yours ever. ... and she cried

and went up to the upper room of her father's house ... may I not hear again such a disgraceful thing in my life. And ... (I I) against ...

May thy holy and glorious name be blessed for all eternity. And may all thy works bless thee.

And now I have turned my face towards thee and I have lifted my eyes. Say that I should depart from the earth ... Thou, O Lord, knowest that I myself am pure of all impurity of man.

And I have not defiled my name and the name of my father in all the land of our captivity. I am the only child of my father and he has no other son who would inherit from him. Neither has he a brother or a relation for whom I should keep myself, or a son for whom I should be a wife. Already seven of my husbands have perished ...

4Q197, fr. 4 + 4Q196, fr. 13 Tob. v, 19—vi, 12 vi,6-8

... Let my son not cleave to money and like ... (21) And he said to her, Do not be afraid. My son will go in peace ... in peace. Do not be afraid.

And do not worry about him, my sister. ... his journey ... Once again she fell silent and cried no more.

... and the angel was with him and ... and they went together. And night came and they reached the Tigris.

And the young man went down ... and a big fish jumped out of the water to swallow the foot of the young man ... ... Catch the fish! And the young man seized the fish and brought it to the dry land.

And the angel said to him, Cut it open and remove its gall and its heart and its liver. Keep them, but throw away its entrails. Its gall, its heart and its liver are medicament.

And he cut out its gall and its heart and its liver ... the fish and he ate (it). Also {he salted the rest for the journey (4Q196). Both of them were going together until they reached Media.

The young man asked the angel (4Q196) and said to him, Azariah my brother, what kind of medicament is in the heart

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of the fish and in its liver and in its gall? If you smoke it in front of a man or a woman smitten by a demon or an evil spirit ... they will never come by again. The gall is for applying to the eyes of a man ... white film and he will recover.

And when they entered Media and he was already nearing Ecbatana, Raphael said to the young man, Tobiah my brother. And he said to him, Here am I.

And he said to him, In the house of Raguel we shall stay. And the man is from the house of our father. And he has a beautiful daughter ...

And he has no other (children) except Sarah alone. And you are related to her ... And this young girl

4Q197, fr. 4 + 4Q196, fr. 14 i Tob. vi, 12—18 vi,13—18

... wise, strong and very beautiful, and her father loves her ... her father. And a just decision has been made concerning you to marry her ... You will speak about this young girl tonight. You will retain her and take her to be your wife ...

And when we return from Rages (4Q196), we shall make for her a wedding-feast.

And I know that Raguel cannot refuse her to you for he knows ... and to marry his daughter than any (other) man. For he knows that if he were to give her to another man this would be against the law in the Book of Moses.

And now let us speak about this young girl tonight and let us retain her for you ... Then Tobiah replied and said to Raphael, Azariah my brother, I have heard ... (that she had seven husbands who all died) when they went in to her....

And now I am afraid of this demon who loves her ... the demon kills them (4Q196)

... bring my father and my mother to the grave ... They have no other son to bury them. Do you not remember the commands of your father (4Q196) who commanded you ...

And now listen to me, my brother. Do not be afraid of this demon and marry her tonight ... take from the heart of the fish ... ... the demon will smell it and will flee

... When you go in to be with her, rise up ...

And do not be afraid for she has been allotted to you and for you ... you will save her. And I suppose that you will have children by her and ...

And when Tobiah heard the words of Raphael that she was his sister and of ...

4Q197, fr. 4 + 4Q196, fr. 14 ii Tob. vi, 18—vii, 10 vi, 18-vii, 6

... the house of his father's family he fell in love with her greatly and his heart (was much attached) to her.

And when they entered Ecbatana, Tobiah said to him, Azariah my brother, lead me straight away to the house of Raguel our brother. He led him there and they went to the house of Raguel and they found Raguel sitting in front of the gate of his home. And first they greeted him and he said to them, In peace you have come. Enter in peace, my brothers.

And he brought them into his house. Then he said to Edna his wife, How much this young man resembles Tobit, the son of my uncle.

And Edna asked them and said to them, Where are you from, my brothers? and they said to her, From among the children of Naphtali who are captives in Niniveh. And she said to them, Do you know Tobit our brother?

And they said to her, We know him. Is he well? And they said, He is well. And Tobiah said, He is my father.

And Raguel jumped to his feet and kissed him and cried. ... A blessing on you my son. You are the son of a just man ... the neck of Tobiah ... he slaughtered a ram from the flock ... to eat and to drink.... my sister. And Raguel heard ...

4Q197, fr. 5 Tob. viii, 21—ix, 2

... my son. I am your father and Edna is your mother ... Do not be afraid, my son. vacat (ix, I) Then Tobiah called Raphael and said to him, Azariah my brother, take with you from here four slaves ...

... and you will come to the house of Gabael and give him the document and take the money ...

4Q196, fr. 17 Tob. xiii, 6—12

... with all your heart and with all your soul to do righteousness. Then he will turn to you, and will no longer hide his face from you.

Give him thanks with all your mouth and bless the Lord of righteousness and exalt him.

In the land of captivity I give him thanks and I declare his might and his greatness before a people of sin.

According to your heart do righteousness before him. Who knows if there will be forgiveness for you.

And I exalt my God and my soul the king of heaven. ... all the days of my life. ... and let them all praise his greatness.

Let them speak with psalms ... Jerusalem the holy city, he will afflict you concerning ... ... with righteousness give thanks ... ... from generation to generation they will give ... and his great name will be for everlasting generations.

Cursed be all who despise you and all who are against you.

And cursed be all who hate you and all who speak against you. Cursed be ...

4Q196, fr. 18 + 4Q198, fr. 1 Tob. xiii, 12—xiv, 3(18)

... will say, Halleluiah ...

Blessed be for ever and ever for in you they will bless his holy name ...

The words of thanksgivings of Tobit ended and he died in peace at the age of one hundred and twelve years and he was buried. He was fifty-eight years old ... his eyes.

He lived a good life and in all ... and he gave alms and continued to fear God and to praise his greatness. And he called Tobiah his son and his seven sons and commanded him and said to him ...

4Q200, fr. 2 Tob. iv, 3—9

... and she carried you in her womb ...

My son, remember God in all your days ... his word. vacat Do what is true all the days of your life, and do not walk in the ways of lies. For when you do what is true ... will be with you. ... My son, with a generous hand give alms, and do not hide your face from any poor. Then the face of God will not be hidden from you.

If you have much, my son, ... give alms from it. If you have little, according to the little you will give ....

Fr. 4 Tob. x, 7—9

And when the fourteen days of the wedding were completed for them which Raguel had sworn to make for Sarah his daughter, Tobiah came to him and said to him, Send me away for I already know that my father does not believe, nor does my mother believe that she will see me again.

And now I request you, my father, that you send me away that I may go to my father. Already I have recounted to you how I left them.

And Raguel said to Tobiah, My son, remain with me and I will send messengers to Tobit your father and they ...

Fr. 6 Tob. xii, 20—xiii, 4

... Record in writing all this story. And he (Raphael) ascended. ... and they saw him no more.

And they were blessing and extolling God and giving him thanks for his great deed and wondered how an angel of God had appeared to them.

Then Tobit spoke and wrote a psalm of praise, and said, Blessed be the living God whose kingdom is for all eternity: He who strikes and who is merciful; He who causes to descend to the nethermost hell, and he who brings up from the great abyss.

And who is there who can escape from his hand? Give him thanks, children of Israel, in front of the nations, you who are exiled among them. Recite there his greatness and extol him before all the living. For he is your Lord, and he is your God ... for all eternity.

Fr. 7 Tob. xiii, 18—xiv, 2

And Tobit's words of praise were completed, and he died in peace aged one hundred and twelve years. He was fifty-eight years old (when he lost) his sight and afterward he lived fifty-four years.

Apocryphon of Jeremiah (4Q383, 385a, 387, 387a, 388a, 389—90)

(Originally considered as part of an Ezekiel apocryphon, the remains of these manuscripts, written in a well-imitated biblical Hebrew, have been identified by the editor as pertaining to an apocryphal account of the life of Jeremiah in Babylon and in Egypt. The script probably dates to the end of the first century BC.)

4Q385a, fr. 18 i-ii

... Jeremiah the Prophet departed from before the Lord (YHWH) ... to accompany the captives who were taken captive from the land of Jerusalem and came to ... Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babel, when Nabuzaradan, the chief of the bodyguard, smote ... and took the vessels of the house of God, the priests ... and the sons of Israel and led them to Babel. And Jeremiah the Prophet went with them as far as the river and he commanded them what they were to do in the land of their captivity ...

And they obeyed the voice of Jeremiah in regard to the words which God commanded him ... and they were to keep the covenant of the God of their fathers in the land of their captivity ... and they were not to do as they had done and their kings and priests and ... and they profaned the name of God ...

In Tahpanes which is in the land of Egypt ... and they said to him, Inquire of God for us.... But Jeremiah did not listen to them and did not inquire for them of God ... a jubilation and prayer. And Jeremiah lamented ... lamentations over Jerusalem ...

And the word of the Lord was addressed to Jeremiah in the land of Tahpanes which was in the land of Egypt ... Go to the sons of Israel and the sons of Judah and Benjamin ... and speak to them saying, Day by day seek my decrees and keep my commandments ... and do not follow the idols of the nations after which your fathers walked ... for they will not save you ... nor ...

4Q387, fr. 2 ii (4Q385a, fr. 4, 4Q389, fr. 8 ii)

... strengthen yourselves to serve Me with all your heart and all your soul.... in their distress.

But I will not seek them on account of their unfaithfulness by which they were unfaithful to me until the completion of ten jubilee of years.

And you will walk in ... and blindness and stupefaction of the heart.

And after the completion of that generation I will tear away the kingship from the hand of those who have been holding fast to it and I shall place over it others from another people and impudence will rule on all the earth and the kingship of Israel will perish. In those days there will be a king and he will be a reviler and he will perform abominations, but I will tear away his kingship and that king will be (destined) for kings.

And My face will be concealed from Israel ... will return to many nations.

And the sons of Israel will cry because of the heavy yoke in the lands of their captivity and there will be no saviour for them because they despised my decree and their soul loathed my Law ...

Fr. 2 iii (4Q388a, fr. 7, 4Q389, fr. 8)

... In his days I will break the kingship of Egypt ... and I will break Israel and I will deliver them to the sword, and I will destroy the land and I will distance man and will leave the land into the hand of the angels of hostilities. And I will conceal my face from Israel.

And this is the sign for them. On the day when I will forsake the land ... the priests of Israel will return to worship other gods and will perform the abominations of the nations ...

Fr. 3 (4Q385a, fr. 5)

... three priests who did not walk in the ways of the former priests and are called by the name of the God of Israel.

And in their days the pride of the wicked ones of the Covenant and the worshippers of strange (gods) will be brought low. Israel will be torn in that generation, each man waging war against his neighbour because of the Law and the Covenant.

And I will send famine into the land but not concerning bread and thirst, but not concerning water ...

4Q388a, fr. 7 (4Q387, fr. 2 iii, 4Q389, fr. 8 ii)

I have despised them and they will again perform evil and evil will be greater than the former evil, and they will breach the Covenant which I concluded with Abraham and with Isaac and with Jacob. In those days a king will rise up for the nations, a reviler and he will do evil.

And in his days I will stop Israel from being a people ... In his days I will break the kingship of Egypt ... and I will break Israel and I will deliver them to the sword, and I will destroy the land and I will distance man and will leave the land into the hand of the angels of hostilities. And I will conceal my face from Israel.

And this is the sign for them. On the day when I will forsake the land ... the priests of Israel will return to worship other gods and will perform the abominations of the nations ...

4Q389, fr. 8 (4Q385a 4, 4Q387, 2 ii-iii, 4Q388a 7 ii)

... a reviler and he will do abominations. And I will tear away his kingship and he too will be (destined) to (hostile) kings.

And my face will be concealed from Israel and the kingship will return to many nations. And the sons of Israel will cry because of the heavy yoke in the lands of their captivity and there will be no saviour for them because they despised my decree and their soul loathed my Law. Therefore I have concealed my face from them until they have completed their iniquity.

And this is the sign for them regarding the completion of their iniquity. For I have forsaken the land because of the pride of their heart towards Me and they have not known that I have despised them and they will again perform evil which will be greater than the former evil.

And they will breach the Covenant which I concluded with Abraham and with Isaac and with Jacob. In those days a king will rise up for the nations, a reviler and he will do evil.

And in his days I will stop Israel from being a people. In his days I will break the kingship of Egypt ... Egypt and I will break Israel and I will deliver them to the sword ...

4Q390, fr. I

... and again I will give them into the hand of the sons of Aaron ... seventy years.

And the sons of Aaron will rule over them, but they will not walk in my ways which I command you to testify to them.

And they will also do what is evil in my eyes just as everything the Israelites did in the earlier days of their

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kingship apart from those who return first from the land of their captivity to build the Sanctuary.

And I will speak to them and send to them a commandment and they will understand all that they have forsaken, they and their fathers.

And from the end of this generation in the seventh jubilee of the destruction of the land they will forget decree, festival, Sabbath and Covenant. And they will breach everything and will commit evil in my eyes.

And I will conceal my face from them and will give them into the hand of their enemies and deliver them to the sword. But I will cause refugees to remain from among them so that they should not be annihilated by my anger and when my face is concealed from them.

And the angels of hostilities will rule over them and ... and again they will commit evil in my eyes and they will walk in the stubbornness of their heart ...

Fr. 2 i

... and the dominion of Belial will be on them to hand them over to the sword for a week of years ... And in that jubilee, they will break all my precepts and all my commandments which I will have commanded them ... by the hand of my servants the prophets, and they will start to contend one with another for seventy years from the day of breaking the Law and the Covenant which they will break. I will give them into the hand of the angels of Persecutions, and they will rule over them, and they will not know and understand that I am furious with them because of their transgressions by which they will have forsaken Me and will have done that which is evil in my eyes, and will have chosen that which I do not desire, striving for wealth and gain and ... , one stealing that which is his fellow's, and one oppressing another. They will pollute my Sanctuary profane my sabbaths; they will forget my appointed times and will pollute their seed. Their priests will act violently ...

The New Jerusalem (4Q554-5, 5Q15, 1Q32, 2Q24, 4Q232, 11Q18)

(These are fragments that belong to an Aramaic writing describing the Jerusalem of the eschatological age. There are also Hebrew fragments listed under 4Q232. They are all inspired by Ezekiel 40-48. The manuscripts are thought to date to around the turn of the era. The visionary responsible for this work accompanies an angelic 'surveyor' who measures everything in the New Jerusalem, from the size of the blocks of houses, the avenues and the streets, to the detailed dimensions of rooms, stairs and windows. The dimensions are given in 'reeds', each of which consists of seven 'cubits'. But there seem to have been two cubits in use as ancient Jewish measurements, one approximately 20 inches (52 1 mm), the other 18 inches (446 mm) long.)

4Q554, fr. 1

... And they call this gate Gate of Simeon ... ... And they call this gate Gate of Joseph ... ... And they call this gate Gate of Reuben ...

And they call the name of this one Gate of Naphtali. And from this gate he measured to the eastern gate 25 stadia.

And they call this gate Gate of Asher. And he measured from this gate to the eastern corner 25 stadia.

And he led me into the city, and he measured each block of houses for its length and width, fifty-one reeds by fifty-one, in a square all

5Q15

I round = 357 cubits to each side. A passage surrounds the block of houses, a street gallery, three reeds = 21 cubits, wide. He then showed me the dimensions of all the blocks of houses. Between each block there is a street, six reeds = 42 cubits, wide.

And the width of the avenues running from east to west: two of them are ten reeds = 70 cubits, wide.

And the third, that to the left (i.e. north) of the Temple, measures eighteen reeds =126 cubits in width. And the width of the streets running from south to north: two of them have nine reeds and four cubits = 67 cubits, each street.

And the middle street passing through the middle of the city, its width measures thirteen reeds and one cubit = 92 cubits. And all the streets of the city are paved with white stone ... marble and jasper.

And he showed me the dimensions of the eighty side-doors. The width of the side-doors is two reeds, = 14 cubits, ... Each door has two wings of stone. The width of the wing is one reed = 7 cubits.

And he showed me the dimensions of the twelve entrances. The width of their doors are three reeds = 21 cubits. Each door has two wings. The width of the wing is one reed and a half = 10 cubits ...

And beside each door there are two towers, one to the right and one to the 1eft. Its width is of the same dimension as its length, five reeds by five = 35 cubits. The stairs beside the inside door, on the right side of the towers, rise to the top of the towers. Their width is five cubits. The towers and the stairs are five reeds by five and five cubits = 40 cubits, on each side of the door.

And he showed me the dimensions of the doors of the blocks of houses. Their width is two reeds = 14 cubits. And the width ...

And he measured the width of each threshold: two reeds = 14 cubits, and the lintel: one cubit.

And he measured above each threshold its wings. And he measured beyond the threshold. Its length is thirteen cubits and its width ten cubits.

And he led me beyond the threshold. And behold another threshold, and a door next to the inner wall on the right side, of the same dimensions as the outer door. Its width is four cubits, its height seven cubits, and it has two wings. And in front of this door there is an entrance threshold. Its width is one reed = 7 II cubits.

And the length of the entrance is two reeds = 14 cubits, and its height is two reeds = 14 cubits. And the door facing the other door opening into the block of houses has the same dimensions as the outer door. On the left of this entrance, he showed me a round staircase. Its length is of the same dimension as its width: two reeds by two =14 cubits. The doors (of the staircase) facing the other doors are of the same dimensions.

And a pillar is inside the staircase around which the stairs rise; its width and depth are six cubits by six, a square.

And the stairs which rise beside it, their width is four cubits, and they rise in a spiral to a height of two reeds to the roof.

And he led me into the block of houses, and he showed me the houses there. From one door to the other, there are fifteen: eight on one side as far as the corner, and seven from the corner to the other door. The length of the houses is three reeds = 21 cubits, and their width, two reeds = 14 cubits. Likewise, for all the chambers; and their height is two reeds = 14 cubits, and their doors are in the middle. (Their) width is two reeds = 14 cubits.

And he measured the width (of the rooms) in the middle of the house, and inside the upper floor: four cubits. Length and height: one reed = 7 cubits.

And he showed me the dimensions of the dining-halls. Each has a length of nineteen cubits and a width of twelve cubits. Each contains twenty-two couches and eleven windows of lattice-work above the couches. And next to the hall is an outer conduit. And he measured the ... of the window: its height, two cubits; its width: ... cubits; and its depth is that of the width of the wall. The height of the inner (aspect of the window) is ... cubits, and that of the outer aspect, ... cubits.

And he measured the limits of the ... Their length is nineteen cubits and their width, twelve cubits ...

11Q18, fr. 20

In every seventh day a memorial offering of bread. And they shall take the bread outside the Temple to the right of its west side and it shall be divided. And I looked until it was divided among the eighty-four priests from all the seven divisions of the tables ... the oldest among them and fourteen priests ... priest. Two loaves of bread with incense on them. I looked until one of the two loaves of bread was given to the High Priest ... with him. And the other was given to his deputy who stood near ...

Pseudo-Ezekiela-d (4Q385, 386, 385b, 388, 385c)

(An apocryphal work, modelled on the Book of Ezekiel, has survived in five Cave 4 manuscripts. It consists of exchanges between God and the prophet, who is several times named.)

4Q385, fr. 2 (=4Q386, fr. 1 i, 4Q388, fr. 7)

'And they will know that I am the Lord who redeems My people, giving them the Covenant.'

And I said, 'Lord, I have seen many from Israel who have loved Thy name and walked in the ways of righteousness, and when will these things come to pass?

And how will their piety be rewarded?'

And the Lord said to me, 'I will make the sons of Israel see and they will know that I am the Lord.'

And He said, 'Son of man, Prophesy concerning the bones, and say, "Come together, a bone to its bone, and a bit to its bit." ' And so it came to pass.

And He said a second time, 'Prophesy, and let sinews come on them, and let skin spread over them above.' And so it came to pass.

And He said again, 'Prophesy concerning the four winds of heaven and let the winds of heaven blow on them and they shall live.'

And a great crowd of men revived and blessed the Lord of hosts who made them live.

And I said, 'Lord, when will these things come to pass?' And the Lord said to me, '... a tree will bend and stand up ...'

Fr. 3

... Lord. And all the people stood up ... praising the Lord of hosts. I also spoke with them ... vacat And the Lord spoke to me: 'Son of man, Say to them ... in their graves they shall lie until ... from their tombs and from the land ...

Fr.4

... instead of my grief rejoice my soul. And the days will hasten quickly until men will say, 'Are not the days quickening so that the sons of Israel may inherit?' And the Lord said to me, 'I will not turn away your face, Ezekiel. Behold, I will shorten the days and the years ... a little, as you have said to Me ... For the mouth of the Lord has spoken these (words).' ...

Fr. 6

... the vision that Ezekiel saw ... the brightness of the chariot. And four living creatures ... and when advancing they do not turn back.

Every living creature walks on two legs and its two legs ... there was breath and their faces are parallel.

And the likeness of the faces: one is a lion, one an eagle, one a calf and one a man.

There was a hand of a man attached to the back of the living creatures and stuck to ... and the wheels.

A wheel was attached to another when they advanced and from both sides of the wheels there were coals of fire and there were in the midst of the coals living creatures like coals of fire ... and the wheels and the living creatures and the wheels ...

4Q386, fr. 1 ii-iii

... the earth and they will know that I am the Lord. vacat And He said to me: Consider, son of man, the land of Israel. And I said: I have seen it, Lord, and behold it is dry.

When wilt Thou gather them? The Lord said: A son of Belial is planning to oppress my people but I will not permit him. His residue will not persist, and from the impure no seed shall remain. From the caper no wine will come nor will a wasp make any honey. And I will slay the wicked in Memphis and I will bring my sons out of Memphis and turn favourably towards their remnant.

As they say: There is peace and (quiet?); they also say: The earth is as it was in the days of ... in the days of old.

Then I will stir up heat against them from the four directions of heaven ... devouring fire ...

He will have no mercy on the poor and will bring them to Babylon.

Babylon is like a cup in the hand of the Lord, in time He will cast it away....

4Q385b

And these are the words of Ezekiel. And the word of the Lord came to me, saying: 'Son of man, Prophesy and say, Behold the day of perdition of the nations is coming ... Egypt and anguish will be in Put and the sword in Egypt ... will shake itself and Ethiopia and Put and the powerful of Arabia ... of Arabia will fall at the gates of Egypt ...

The Prayer of Nabonidus (4Q242)

(While the Book of Daniel (iv) writes of the miraculous recovery of Nebuchadnezzar after an illness which lasted seven years, this interesting Aramaic composition tells a similar story about the last king of Babylon, Nabonidus.)

The words of the prayer uttered by Nabunai king of the land of Babylon, the great king, when he was afflicted with an evil ulcer in Teiman by decree of the Most High God.

I was afflicted with an evil ulcer for seven years ... and an exorcist pardoned my sins. He was a Jew from among the children of the exile of Judah, and he said, 'Recount this in writing to glorify and exalt the name of the Most High God'. And I wrote this: 'I was afflicted with an evil ulcer in Teiman by decree of the Most High God. For seven years I prayed to the gods of silver and gold, bronze and iron, wood and stone and clay, because I believed that they were gods ... '

Para-Danielic Writings (4Q243-5)

(In addition to the Prayer of Nabonidus, Cave 4 has revealed further Aramaic remains of a composition akin to the biblical Book of Daniel, with three explicit mentions of the name Daniel, who appears to be the narrator of the story.)

4Q243, fr. 3 combined with 4Q244

... The children of Israel chose themselves rather than God and they sacrificed their sons to the demons of idolatry. God was enraged against them and determined to surrender them to Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babel and to devastate their land ...

4Q245, fr. 1, i-ii

... Daniel ... the book given ..... Levi, Qahat ... Bukki, Uzzi ... Zadok, Abiathar ... Hilkiah ... Onias, Jonathan, Simon ... and David, Solomon ... Ahaziah, Joash

The Four Kingdoms (4Q552-3)

(Partly overlapping remains of two manuscripts of an Aramaic work further testify to the existence of a rich para-Danielic literature.)

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4Q552, fr. 1 ii

... I saw an angel II standing on whom light (shone) and four trees stood by him. And the trees rose and moved away from him. And he said to me: Do you see this shape? And I said: Yes. I see it and consider it. And I saw the tree ... placed.

And I asked it: What is your name? And it said to me: Babel. And I said to it: Are you the one who rules over Persia? And I saw another tree ... and I asked it: What is your name? And it said to me: ... And I said to it: Are you the one who rules over all the powers of the sea and over the ports and over ... ? And I saw the third tree and I said to it: What is your name and why is your appearance ...

An Aramaic Apocalypse (4Q246)

(Surnamed the 'Son of God fragment', 4Q246, with its intriguing phrases 'son of God' and 'son of the Most High', recalling Luke i, 32, 35, has been in the centre of learned and popular speculation. On palaeographical grounds the script is dated to the final decades of the first century BC.)

Four competing interpretations of the 'son of God' figure have been proposed: the title is to be associated with the Seleucid ruler, Alexander Balas; it designates a Jewish, possibly Hasmonaean, king, with a possible 'messianic undertone' in the use of 'son of God'; the Antichrist; still apocalyptically, but in a positive sense, F. García Martínez argued in favour of an angelic identity, the 'son of God' is either the heavenly Melchisedek or Michael, the Prince of Light. The editor has decided to sit on the fence and applies the title to either the future Davidic Messiah or a historical Seleucid pretender.

I ... the spirit of God dwelt on him, he fell down before the throne ... O

King, you are angry for ever and your years ... your vision and all. For ever you ... the great ones. An oppression will come to the earth ... a great massacre in the provinces ... the king of Assyria and Egypt ... he will be great on earth ... will make and all will serve ... he will be called (or: call himself) grand ... and by his name he will be designated (or: designate himself). II The son of God he will be proclaimed (or: proclaim himself) and the son of the Most High they will call him. Like the sparks of the vision, so will be their kingdom. They will reign for years on the earth and they will trample all. People will trample people and one province another province until the people of God will arise and all will rest from the sword.

Their the people of God's kingdom will be an eternal kingdom and all their path will be in truth. They will judge the earth in truth and all will make peace. The sword will cease from the earth, and all the provinces will pay homage to them. The Great God (cf. Dan. ii, 45) is their helper.

He will wage war for them. He will give peoples into their hands and all of them (the peoples) He will cast before them (the people of God). Their dominion will be an eternal dominion (Dan. vii, 14) and all the boundaries of...

Proto-Esther (?) (4Q550)

(A number of badly damaged fragments of an Aramaic writing report events said to have occurred in the Persian court, thus recalling the biblical story of Esther. The script is dated to the second half of the first century BC.)

4QProto-Esther a

... and they listen to Patireza, your father... and amid the officials of the royal apparel ... to work in the service of the king in accordance with all that you have received ... In that hour the king could not go to sleep (literally, his spirit was stretched) and he commanded that the books of his father be read before him.

And among the books there was a scroll the mouth of which was sealed with seven seals by the signet-ring of his father Darius the heading of which ... Darius the king to the officials of the kingdom, Peace. It was opened and read and in it was found: ... Darius the King to the kings who will reign after me and to the officials of the kingdom, Peace. It should be known to you that every tormentor and liar ...

Proto-Esther d

... The Most High whom you (Jews) fear and worship rules over the whole earth. Everyone whom He wishes (comes) near. Bagasro ...

Whoever speaks an evil word against Bagasro will be put to death for there is no-one to destroy his good for ever....

List of False Prophets (4Q339)

(This is a brief list of false prophets, recorded in Aramaic and palaeographically Herodian in date. The first six names come from the Bible.)

The lying prophets who arose in Israel: Balaam son of Beor (Num. 22-24); the elder from Bethel (1 Kgs 13,11-31); Zedekiah son of Kenaanah (1 Kgs 22,11); Ahab son of Koliah (Jer. 29,21); Zedekiah son of Maaseiah (ibid.); Shemaiah the Nehlemite (Jer. 29,24); ... ur; ... 'on.

List of Netinim (4Q340)

(A badly mutilated fragment, dated to the first half of the first century BC, lists the Temple servants or netinim referred to in the biblical Books of 1 Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah. The text is too broken to make good reading, but it proves that such lists were in circulation in late Second Temple times.)

These are the netinim who have been identified by their names: Ithra and ... Tobiah.

1 QUMRAN LIBRARY CHAPTER H.
MISCELLANEA

A cut segment from The Copper Scroll

The Copper Scroll (3Q15)

(The Copper Scroll, which was found by archaeologists in Cave 3 during the excavations of 1952, but the metal had become so badly oxidised during the course of the centuries that the scroll could not be unfolded but had to be carefully divided it into longitudinal strips. The inscription lists sixty-four hiding-places, in Jerusalem and in various districts of Palestine, where gold, silver, Temple offerings, scrolls, etc., are said to have been deposited. Scholars estimate that the treasure amounted to over three thousand talents of silver, nearly one thousand three hundred talents of gold, sixty-five bars of gold, six hundred and eight pitchers containing silver, and six hundred and nineteen gold and silver vessels. In other words, using the post-biblical value of the talent as a yard-stick, the total weight of precious metal must have added up to sixty-five tons of silver and twenty-six tons of gold. In the view of scholars, those treasures might have existed but could have been an exaggeration as well. This little Temple inventory was placed in Cave 3, along with the other scrolls, not later than 68 AD.)

1 A Horebbah which is in the Vale of Achor under the stairs which go eastwards forty cubits: a box (filled with) silver weighing in all seventeen talents. KEN.

2 In the tomb of... the third: 100 gold bars.

3 In the great cistern which is in the courtyard of the little colonnade, at its very bottom, closed with sediment towards the upper opening: nine hundred talents.

4 At the hill of Kohlit, containers, sandalwood and ephods (priestly garments). The total of the offering and of the treasure: seven (talents?) and second tithe rendered unclean. At the exit of the canal on the northern side, six cubits towards the cavity of immersion. XAG

5 In the hole of the waterproofed refuge, in going down towards the left, three cubits above the bottom: forty talents of silver.

6 In the cistern of the esplanade which is under the stairs; forty-two talents. HN

7 In the cave of the old Washer's House, on the third platform: sixty-five gold bars. TE

8 In the underground cavity which is in the courtyard of the House of Logs, where there is a cistern: vessels and silver, seventy talents.

9 In the cistern which is against the eastern gate, which is fifteen cubits away, there are vessels in it.

10 And in the canal which ends in it: ten talents. ?

11 In the cistern which is under the wall on the eastern side, at the sharp edge of the rock: six silver bars; its entrance is under the large paving-stone.

12 In the pond which is east of Kohlit, at a northern angle, dig four cubits: twenty-two talents.

13 In the courtyard of ... in southerly direction at nine cubits: silver and gold vessels of offering, bowls, cups, tubes, libation vessels. In all, six hundred and nine.

14 In the other, easterly direction dig sixteen cubits: 40 tal. of silver. TP

15 In the underground cavity of the esplanade on its northern side: vessels of offering, garments. Its entrance is in the westerly direction.

16 In the tomb on the north-east of the esplanade three cubits under the trap(?): 13 tal.

17 In the great cistern which is in the ... , in the pillar on its northern side: 14 talents. °K

18 In the canal which goes towards ... when you enter forty-one cubits: 55 tal. of silver.

19 Between the two tamarisk trees in the Vale of Akhon, in their midst dig three cubits. There there are two pots full of silver.

20 In the red underground cavity at the mouth of the 'Aslah: 200 tal. of silver.

21 In the eastern underground cavity at the north of Kokhlit: 70 tal. of silver.

22 In the heap of stones of the valley of Sekhakha dig (...) cubits: 12 tal. of silver.

23 At the head of the water conduit ... at Sekhakha, on the northern side under the large ... dig three cubits: 7 tal. of silver.

24 In the split which is in Sekhakha in the east of the reservoir of Solomon; vessels of offering.

25 Quite close to them above the canal of Solomon sixty cubits towards the great stone dig three cubits: 23 tal. of silver.

26 In the tomb which is in the wadi of Kippah (going) from Jericho to Sekhakha, at its entry from Jericho to Sekhakha, dig seven cubits: 32 tal.

27 In the eastward-looking cave of the Pillar with two entrances, dig at the northern entrance three cubits; there is a pitcher there, in it a book, under it 22 tal.

28 In the eastward-looking cave of the base of the Stone dig nine cubits at the entrance: 21 tal.

29 In the Dwelling of the Queen on the western side dig twelve cubits: 27 tal.

30 In the heap of stones which is at the Ford of the High Priest dig nine cubits: 22 ... tal.

31 In the water conduit of Q ... the greater northern reservoir, in the four directions measure out twenty-four cubits: four hundred talents.

32 In the nearby cave in the proximity of Bet ha-Qos dig six cubits: six silver bars.

33 At Doq under the eastern corner of the guard-post dig seven cubits: 22 tal.

34 At the mouth of the water exit of Koziba dig three cubits towards the rock: 60 tal., two talents of gold.

35 In the water conduit on the road east of Bet Ahsor, which is east of Ahzor, vessels of offering and books and a bar of silver.

36 In the outside valley ... at the stone dig seventeen cubits underneath: 17 tal. of gold and silver.

37 In the heap of stones at the mouth of the Pottery ravine dig three cubits: 4 tal.

38 In the westward-looking stubble-field of ha-Sho, on the south side, at the underground chamber looking northwards dig twenty-four cubits: 66 tal.

39 In the irrigation of ha-Sho, at the stone sign in it, dig eleven cubits: 70 tal. of silver.

40 At the 'dovecot' (small opening?) at the exit of ha-Notef, measure out from its exit thirteen cubits, two tusks and, on seven smooth stones, bars (corresponding to) four staters.

41 At 'Violet-scarlet' over (past?) the eastward-looking underground chamber dig eight cubits ... (?): 23½.

42 In the underground chambers of Horon, in the seaward-looking underground chamber in the narrow part (?) dig sixteen cubits: 22 tal.

43 At Qob'ah a large amount of money offerings (?).

44 At the 'sound of waters' (waterfall) close to the edge of the gutter on the east side of the exit dig seven cubits: 9 tal.

45 In the underground cavity on the north side of the mouth of the gorge of Bet Tamar in the parched land of ... (?), all that is in it is herem (= devoted to the Temple).

46 At the 'dovecot' which is at Mesad, at the water conduit, southward at the second stair descending from the top: 9 tal.

47 In the cistern next to the canals fed by the Great Wadi, at the bottom: 12 tal.

48 At the reservoir which is in Bet Kerem going to the left of ten notches: sixty-two talents of silver.

49 At the pond of the valley of 'YK (?) on its western side is a ma'ah coin coupled with two ma'ahs. This is the entrance: three hundred talents of gold and twenty pitched vessels.

50 Under the 'Hand' (= Monument) of Absalom on the western side dig twelve notches: 80 tal.

51 At the pond of the privy of Siloa under the watering-trough: 17 tal.

52 At ... in the four angles: gold and vessels of offering.

53 Next to them under the corner of the southern portico at the tomb of Zadok under the pillar of the covered hall: vessels of offering of resin and offering of senna.

54 Next to them at the ... (?) at the top of the westward-looking rock towards the garden of Zadok under the great closing stone which is at the conduit: devoted things.

55 In the tomb which is under the galleries (?): 40 tal.

56 In the tomb of the Sons of ... (?) the Yerahite, in it: vessels of offering of cedar, offering of resin.

57 Next to them, at Bet-Eshdatain (Bethesda), in the reservoir where you enter the small pool: vessels of offering of aloes, offering of ... (?)

58 Next to them, at the western entrance of the tomb is a channel over ... nine hundred tal. of silver, five tal. of gold.

59 Sixty talents at its entrance from the west under the black stone.

60 Near to them under the threshold of the sepulchral chamber: 42 tal.

61 On Mount Gerizim under the stairs of the higher underground cavity a box and its contents and 60 tal. of silver.

62 At the mouth of the spring of Bet-Sham vessels of silver and vessels of gold of offering and silver. In all, six hundred talents.

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63 In the great underground duct of the sepulchral chamber towards the house of the sepulchral chamber. The whole weighing 71 talents and twenty minas.

64 In the underground cavity which is in the smooth rock north of Kohlit whose opening is towards the north with tombs at its mouth there is a copy of this writing and its explanation and the measurements and the details of each item.

Cryptic Texts (4Q249, 250, 313)

(A large number of minute papyrus fragments written in a cryptic script have been assembled under the tide 4Q249. It cannot have been written before the Community Rule and the Damascus Document and very likely belongs to the mid-first century BC.)

4Q249 i

(The letters in italics indicate the surviving text. The rest is hypothetical reconstruction. The examples below are meant to illustrate the nature of the conjectures. The presumed subject is leprosy and the cleansing of garments and of the house.)

As it is written, And he went down (in) the house of the king to the secretary's chamber (Jer. xxxvi, 12?)... For the greenish and reddish cavities (?) ... from under the greenish or reddish (?) ... and after being scraped in it to bring them out from the city ... from the house ... the dust and the stones and the wood ... after removing the stones ... the plague-spot has returned to the house and demolish the house ... all without plague-spot in it ... one judgement ... As it is written: the fish that is in the river will die (Ex. vii, 18?) in ...

4Q249a, fr. 1 (= 1QSa i, 4-8)

... coming from little children to women, and they shall read into their ears all the precepts of the Covenant and to expound to them all their statutes that they may no longer stray in their errors. And this is the Rule for all the host of the congregation, for every native in Israel.

From his youth they shall instruct him in the Book of Meditation and according to his age they shall make him understand the precepts of the Covenant. And he shall receive his discipline in their judgements for ten years

Two Qumran Ostraca

(In the spring of 1996 two Hebrew ostraca were found by Professor James F. Strange of the University of South Florida. They were discovered in the base of the eastern face of the wall separating the community centre from the cemetery. The script is dated to the first century AD.)

Ostracon no. 1

1. In year two of the ...
2. in Jericho, Honi son of gave
3. to 'El'azar son of Nahmani
4. Hisday from Holon
5. from this day to perpetuity
6. the boundaries of the house and
7. and the fig trees, the olive tree (?), and
8. when he fulfilled (his oath) to the Community (?)
9. and Honi
10. to him Hisday (?)
11. and the
12. And into the hand of
13.
14. Hisday servant of Honi (?)
15. Holon

(The text documents the gift of a slave, together with an estate and produce. Reference is made to fulfilling an oath, or a period of time as a neophyte, to the Yahad in line 8, using the term kml(')wtw lyhd, 'when he fulfilled (his oath) to the Community'. This terminology resembles that of the Community Rule (1QS vi), and as such may hint that this ostracon is a draft of an accounting (heshbon) of the Overseer.

The damaged cursive script of the ostracon being what it is, Ada Yardeni's readings are perfectly possible. Nevertheless 'sackcloths' at the head of a list of valuable gifts is quite out of place.

Also, whereas the editors' yhd (Community) is questionable, their interpretation regarding the handing-over of personal property to the sect is supported by the absence of any indication of family relationship between the donor and recipient.

Normally, a free gift, i.e. with no exchange of money, presupposes close family links, for example a gift from father to daughter.)

Ostracon no. 2

(A second ostracon, written by a different hand of the same period, reads:)

1. (?)
2. (?)
3. Joseph son of Nathnael...
4. his sons from 'En Gedi (Enkidu? see Gilgamesh Epic)

SUPPLEMENT 1

THE BOOK OF ENOCH, FRAGMENTS, QUMRAN

Aramaic Fragments of the Book of Enoch
Dead Sea Scrolls, Qumran Library, Cave 4
Enoch fragments, official edition
Translation: Jozef Tadeusz Milik, 1976

(The publication, in the early 1950s, of the first Aramaic fragments of 1 Enoch among the Dead Sea Scrolls profoundly changed the study of the document, as it provided evidence of its antiquity and original text. Four fragmentary editions of the Astronomical Book were found at Qumran, 4Q208-211. 4Q208 and 4Q209 have been dated to the beginning of the 2nd century BC, providing a terminus ante quem for the Astronomical Book of the 3rd century BC. The fragments found in Qumran also include material not contained in the later versions of the Book of Enoch.

This book contains descriptions of the movement of heavenly bodies and of the firmament, as a knowledge revealed to Enoch in his trips to Heaven guided by Uriel, and it describes a Solar calendar that was later described also in the Book of Jubilees which was used by the Dead Sea sect. The use of this calendar made it impossible to celebrate the festivals simultaneously with the Temple of Jerusalem. The year was composed from 364 days, divided in four equal seasons of ninety-one days each. Each season was composed of three equal months of thirty days, plus an extra day at the end of the third month. The whole year was thus composed of exactly fifty-two weeks, and every calendar day occurred always on the same day of the week. Each year and each season started always on Wednesday, which was the fourth day of the creation narrated in Genesis, the day when the lights in the sky, the seasons, the days and the years were created. It is not known how they used to reconcile this calendar with the tropical year of 365.24 days (at least seven suggestions have been made), and it is not even sure if they felt the need to adjust it.

These fragments are interesting because they build a link between Judaism and the Gilgamesh Epic as well as the Manichaean Book of Giants and probably even to Mahavira the originator of Jainism in India.)

THE FRAGMENTS OF ENOCH

FIRST COPY (4QEn Plates I-V)

(The parchment skin is somehow white or cream, blackened in places, very thick and very stiff; surface fairly smooth, partly damaged and flaking easily; verso similar to the recto, blotted with ink. Ink rather faint: it has often spread and blurred the lines of writing, or even disappeared. There were probably no guide-lines, except perhaps the vertical lines which marked off the columns of the text.

The recto bears traces of wear, as a result of the scroll's having been read many times. It was withdrawn from use, perhaps a century after the copy was made, and the verso—at the very least the large piece containing columns ii and iii of group no. i—was re-used for copying a genealogical list several times), as it seems, of the patriarchs. This might have been a school exercise, as the surface of the verso is badly blotted with ink.

The fragments which have been identified belong to the first six columns of the text of the Aramaic Enoch, no doubt set out on two leaves of the scroll: first leaf, columns i-iv; second leaf, columns v-vi. The arrangement of the text is very economical: lines of writing fairly close together; the words in the lines almost without a gap; narrow upper and intercolumnar margins, approximately 1-2 cm broad; but the lower margin seems wider, approximately 3 cm (fragment 2). This scroll did not have a fly-leaf, i.e. a blank first column. Instead the first column of the text had only about fifteen lines of writing, and the upper half left blank, to allow the hand to hold it as the text was read, the use normally reserved for the first blank column. There are about twenty-seven Unes of text to each column. Estimated eight of the scroll, approximately 23 cm. The alphabet of 4QEn is quite archaic and is connected with the semicursive scripts (semi-formal) of the third and second centuries BC. Our manuscript probably dates from the first half of the second century. However, it does not fit very well into the scribal traditions of the Jewish copyists of Judaea or even Egypt; the scribe would perhaps be dependent upon the Aramaic scripts and the scribal customs of Northern Syria or Mesopotamia.)

4QEnMi—En a 1:1-6 (Plate I)

The words of blessing with which Enoch blessed the righteous elect who will be present on the day of tribulation to remove all the enemies, and the righteous will be delivered. And taking up his parable he said, Enoch, a just man to whom a vision from God was disclosed: 'The vision of the Holy One and of heaven was shown to me, and from the words of the Watchers and the holy ones I heard it all; and because I heard from them, I knew and I understood everything; not for this generation, but for a far-off generation I shall speak. And concerning the elect I now say, and about them I took up my parable and said: the Great Holy One shall come forth from His dwelling, and the everlasting God shall come down upon earth, and tread on Mount Sinai, and will be shown with His mighty army; and He will appear in the strength of His might from the heaven of heavens. And all the Watchers will fear and they will be punished in hidden places among all the creatures of the earth; and all the creatures of the earth will quake, and trembling and great fear will take hold of them, unto the ends of the earth. And the heights shall be shaken and fall and be dissolved, and the high mountains shall be laid low . . .

4QEn a 1 ii—En. 2:1-5:6 (Plate II)

. . . and in their constellations they appear and do not transgress their appointed order. Observe ye the earth and consider its works, from the first to the last, that nothing at all changes, and everything is visible to you. Observe ye the signs of summer . . . and dew descends upon it, and (consider) the signs of winter that the whole earth is filled with water, and clouds pour down rain. Observe that all trees wither and shed all their foliage except fourteen trees whose foUage remains, and they do not renew their foliage until two or three years pass. Observe ye the signs of summer, that the sun burns and glows; and ye seek shade and shelter before it upon the burning earth; and ye are not able to tread on the dust or on the rocks on account of the heat. Observe ye and enjoy all] trees; on all of them their foliage blossoms green, and it covers the trees, and all their fruit is (brought forth) in glorious pride. Praise ye and consider all these works, [and understand that God who lives for ever and ever, created all these things. Year in year out they do not change their works but they all do His Word. But ye, ye changed your works and do not do His Word; but ye transgress against Him with great and hard (words), with your unclean mouths against His magnificence. Oh, hard-hearted, you shall have no peace. Then your days ye will curse, and the years of your life will perish..., and the years of your destruction will be multiplied with an everlasting curse; and compassion and peace ye will not have. Then your name shall be an eternal curse for all the righteous; and in you shall all the accursed be cursed; and all the sinners and the wicked shall swear by you, and to all sinners . . .

4QEn a 1iii—En. 6:4-8:1 (Plate III)

And they answered], all of them, and said to him: Let us all swear an oath and all bind one another that we shall not any of us turn aside from this counsel until we do this deed.' Then they all swore together and bound one another by imprecations. And they were all of these two hundred who came down in the days of Jared on the summit of Mount Hermon; and they called the mount Hermon because they swore and bound one another by imprecations upon it. And these are the names of their leaders: Semihazah who was their chief; Artaqoph, the second to him; Ramt'el, third to him; Kokab'el, fourth to him; -'el, fifth to him; Ra^m'el, sixth to him; Dani'el, seventh to him; Zeqi'el, eighth to him; Baraq'el, ninth to him; Asa'el, tenth to him; Hermoni, eleventh to him; Matar'el, twelfth to him; Anan'el, thirteenth to him; Staw'el, fourteenth to him; Samsi'el, fifteenth to him; Sahri'el, sixteenth to him; Tummi'el, seventeenth to him; Turi'el, eighteenth to him; Yomi'el, nineteenth to him; Yhaddi'el, twentieth to him These are the chiefs of the chiefs of tens. Those (two hundred) and their leaders all took for themselves wives from all that they chose; and they began to go in to them, and to defile themselves with them and (they began) to teach them sorcery and spell-binding, and the cutting the roots; and they showed them herbs. And they became pregnant by them and bare giants three thousand cubits high who were born (and multiplied) on the earth [according to the kind of their childhood, and growing up according to the kind of their adolescence, and they were devouring the labour of all the sons of men and men were unable to supply them. But the giants conspired to slay men, and to devour them. And they began to sin and to . . . against all birds and beasts of the earth, and reptiles which creep upon the earth and (creatures) in the waters, and in the heaven, and the fish of the sea, and to devour the flesh of one another, and they were drinking blood. Then the earth made the accusation against the wicked, concerning everything which was done upon it. Asa'el taught men to make . . .

4QEn a 1iv—En.8:3-9:3, 6-8 (Plate IV)

Shemi-hazah taught spell-binding and cutting of roots. Hermoni taught the loosing of spells, magic, sorcery, and skill. Baraq'el taught the signs of thunders. Kokab'el taught the signs of the stars. Zeq'el taught the signs of lightning-flashes. Ar'taqoph taught the signs of the earth. Samsi'el taught the signs of the sun. Sahri'el taught the signs of the] moon. And they all began to reveal secrets to their wives. And because part of mankind was perishing from the earth, their cry was going up to heaven. Thereupon Micha'el and Sari'el and Rapha'el and Gabri'el looked down from the sanctuary of heaven upon the earth, and saw much blood spilled on the earth and the whole earth was filled with wickedness and

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violence, so that sin was brought upon it. And the four (archangels) hearing (it) went in and said to themselves that the voice and cry, as the sons of earth perish, reach up to the gates of heaven. And they said to the] holy ones of heaven: Now to you, the holy ones of heaven, the souls of men] are making their suit and saying: . . .

. . . on the earth, and all deceit on the dry land. And he made known the eternal mysteries which (were kept) in heaven, so that the experts among the sons of man should practise them. And (Thou seest what hath done) Shemi-hazah to whom Thou hast given authority to be king over all his companions. And they have gone to the daughters of men of the earth, and slept with them, having defiled themselves by females . . .

4QEn a 1v—En.10:3-4 (Plate V)

. . . Instruct the righteous (man) what he is to do, and the son of Lamech (how) to preserve his soul unto life, and to escape for ever.

And from him will be planted a plant and it will be established (for) all the generations] of worlds'. And to Raphael (the Lord) said: 'Do go, Raphael, and bind Asa'el hand and foot and cast him into the darkness . . .

4QEn 1vi—En.10:21-11:1 and 12:4-6 (Plate V)

. . . And all the sons of men shall become righteous, and all of them shall be offering adoration, and every nation shall be praising me and shall prostrate itself. And the whole earth shall be cleansed from all defilement and from all impurity. And I will never again send upon them any wrath nor castigation for all generations of worlds.

And then I will open . . . . 'Ye have wrought great devastation on the earth; and ye shall have no peace nor have forgiveness (of sin)'. And concerning those in whom they delight themselves, concerning their children, the murder of their beloved ones shall they see, and over the destruction of their sons shall they lament. . .

SECOND COPY (4QEn b Plates VI-IX)

(The parchment skin is light brown, reddish or blackened in places, fairly thick and stiff; surface granular and often shiny, slightly damaged or else flaking in places; back black and flaking. Ink watery and at times faded. Guide-lines barely visible or missing; space between lines i cm on average. The original scroll is now reduced to several small fragments of parchment, belonging to the first four and the sixth columns of the manuscript. Each column contained twenty-eight lines of the text (col. ii: twenty-nine lines). The beginning is missing, except for one letter. There was either one column of very long Unes of writing or one column and a half as in E n \ Reconstructed height of the written surface, 26.5 cm; upper margin i(?) cm, lower margin 2 cm (i ii); height of the scroll approximately 30 cm.

The copy of 4QEn^ seems rather careless, unless it is a question of a defective archetype the omissions and other errors of which had been corrected by the same scribe, who may have used a better manuscript for his corrections, a manuscript similar to 4QEn, it would appear; see the note to En I ii 25. Like En, our scroll would have contained only the first book of the Enochic Pentateuch, En. 1-36. In general the identification of the several small fragments of En^, and therefore the restoration of the text, remain highly problematical. The tiny pieces, fragments 2 to 5, have not been placed.)

4QEn b 1ii—En.5:9-6:4 and 6:7-8:1 (Plates VI, VII)

. . . all the days of your life. And it came to pass when the children of men multiplied in those days, there were born to them daughters, beautiful and fair. And the Watchers, sons of heaven, saw them and desired them; and they said, one to another: 'Let us go and choose for ourselves wives from the daughters of men and beget for ourselves children.' But Semihaza who was their chief said to them: 'I fear that you will not wish to do this deed; and I alone shall be guilty of a great sin.' And they all answered and said to him: 'Let us all swear an oath, and all bind one another by it, that we shall not any of us turn aside from] this counsel, until we do this deeds . . .

. . . ; Anan'el, thirteenth to him; Staw'el, fourteenth to him; Samsi'el, fifteenth to him; Sahri'el, sixteenth to him; Tummi'el seventeenth to him; Turi'el, eighteenth to him; Yom'el, nineteenth to him; Yhaddi'el, twentieth to him. These are the chiefs of tens.

Those (two hundred) and their leaders all took for themselves wives from all that they chose; and they began to go in to them, and to defile themselves with them and (they began) to teach them sorcery and spellbinding and the cutting of roots; and to show them plants. And they became pregnant by them and bore giants, three thousand cubits high, who were born (and multiplied) on the earth according to the kind of their childhood, and growing up according to the kind of their adolescence, and they were devouring the labour of all the children of men and men were unable to supply them. But the giants conspired to slay men and to devour them. sAnd they began to sin against all birds and beasts of the earth], and reptiles which creep upon the face of the earth, and (creatures) in the waters and in the heaven, and the fish of the sea, and to devour the flesh of another; and they were drinking blood. Then the earth made the accusation against the wicked concerning everything] which was done upon it.

Asa'el taught men to make swords of iron and breastplates of brass, and he showed them (metals) which are dug out, and how they should work gold to fashion it apt (for uses), and concerning silver, to fashion it for bracelets, and for (other) adornments of women. And he showed to women concerning antimony, and concerning eye-shadow, and concerning all precious stones, and concerning dye-stuffs.

4QEn b 1iii—En.8:2-9:4 (Plates VII, VIII)

And there was much wickedness and men were acting wickedly and erring in all their ways. Semihazah taught spell-binding and cutting of roots. Hermoni taught the loosing of spells, magic, sorcery and skills. Baraq'el taught the signs of thunders. Kokab'el taught the signs of the stars. Zeqi'el taught the signs of lightning-flashes. -'el taught the signs of . . . . Ar'taqoph taught the signs of the earth. Samsi'el taught the signs of the sun. Sahri'el taught the signs of the moon]. And they all began to reveal secrets to their wives. And because part of mankind was perishing from the earth, the cry was going up to heaven.

Thereupon Micha'el and Sari'el and Rapha'el and Gabri'el looked down from the sanctuary of heaven upon the earth, and saw much blood spilled on the earth; and the whole earth was filled with wickedness and violence so that sin was brought upon it. And four (archangels) hearing (it) went in and said to themselves that the voice and cry, as the sons of earth perish, reach up to the gates of heaven. And they said to the holy ones of heaven: Now to you, the holy ones of heaven, the souls [of men] are making their suit and saying: Bring our case before the Most High, and our destruction before the majestic Glory, before the Lord of all Lords in majesty.'

And Rapha'el and Micha'el, great Watchers and holy ones, went in and said before the Lord of the world that Thou art our great Lord; (Thou) art Lord of the world; Thou art Lord of Lords and God of Gods and King of worlds. Thy glorious throne is for every generation of generations which are from eternity, and Thy Name is holy, and great and blessed to all eternity, and Thy . . . is sacred and . . . to all eternity . . .

4QEn b 1iv—En.10:8-12 (Plates VIII)

. . . all sins. And to Gabriel the Lord said: 'Go to the bastards and the children of fornication, and destroy the children of the Watchers from among men, and send them into a war of destruction; and length of days they will not have. And no request from their fathers on their behalf shall be granted that they should expect to live an eternal life or that each of them should live for five hundred years.' "And to Michael the Lord said: 'Go Michael, and make known to Semihaza and to all his companions who associated with women to defile themselves with them in their uncleanness, that their sons shall perish, and they shall see the destruction of their beloved ones; and bind them unto seventy generations in valleys of the earth unto the great day of their judgement . . .

4QEn b 1vi—En.14:4-6 (Plate IX)

. . . that your petition will not be executed for you for all the days of eternity, and judgement will be by decision and decree against you, sthat from now on to heaven you will not return and not ascend throughout all ages, and among the prisoners of the earth a judgement has been decreed, to bind you until all the days of eternity; and that first you will see that for destruction are all your beloved ones and all their sons, and the possessions of your beloved ones and of their sons you will not enjoy for yourselves; and before you they will fall upon the sword of destruction . . .

THIRD COPY (4QEn c Plates IX-XV)

(The description which follows applies also to the first copy of the Book of Giants, 4QEnGiants, both En and EnGiants belonging to the same manuscript. The skin of the parchment material is of a colour which varies from deep cream to very dark brown, thick and stiff in places; surface smooth or finely granular, damaged or flaking in parts; back fairly wrinkled. Several fragments have shrunk. Guide-lines moderately broad, not very deep.

Calligraphy from the calamus of a professional and skilful scribe (not, however, without variations in the shape and size of letters), dating from the early Herodian period or the last third of the first century B.C. The writing is characterised by a tendency to use the 'broken' form of the letters, a feature which recalls the North Syrian Aramaic alphabets, notably Palmyrene.

The arrangement of the text in the columns of the scroll is very free, with an abundance of vacat and lines left blank, which testify to a well-established system of interpunction. This is turn reflects, moreover, a prosperous economic situation in which the price of parchment did not in any way restrict the practices of copyists, precisely the situation in the Herodian period, but also that of the Hasmonaean.)

4QEn c 1i—En.1:9-5:1 (Plate IX)

When He comes with the myriads of His holy ones, to execute judgement against all; and He will destroy all the wicked, and will convict all flesh, with regard to all their works of wickedness which they have committed in deed and in word, and with regard to all the proud and hard words which wicked sinners have spoken against Him. Consider all (His) work, and observe ye the work(s) of the heavens, and the luminaries which do not change their courses in the stations of their lights, that all arise and set, each one of them in its order. Observe ye the earth, and consider its works from the first one to the last one, that nothing at all changes, and everything is visible to you. Observe ye the signs of summer, and consider the signs of winter, that the whole earth is filled with water, and clouds pour down rain, and dew comes down upon it. Observe all the trees that are seen by you that they wither and shed all their foliage, except fourteen trees whose foliage remains until two or three years pass. Observe ye the signs of summer whereby the sun burns and glows; and ye seek shade and shelter before it on the burning earth; and ye are not able to tread on the ground or the rocks on account of the heat. Observe and enjoy all trees; on all of them blossoms their foliage, and it is green on them, and all their fruit (is brought forth) in glorious pride. Praise ye and consider all these works; and understand that the living God, who lives for ever and ever, created all . . .

4QEn c 1ii—En.6:7 (Plate X)

And these are the names of their leaders. Shemi-hazah, who was their chief; Aretaqoph, the second to him; Ram'el, third to him; Kotab'el, fourth to him; -'el, fifth to him; Ram'el, sixth to him; Dani'el, seventh to him; Zeqi'el, eighth to him; Baraq'el, ninth to him; Asa'el, tenth to him; and Hermoni, eleventh to him; Matar'el, twelfth to him; Anan'el, thirteenth to him; Snaw'el, fourteenth to him; Samsi'el, fifteenth to him; Sahri'el, sixteenth to him; Tummi'el, seventeenth to him; Turi'el, eighteenth to him; Yom'el, nineteenth to him; Yehaddi'el, twentieth to him. These are . . .

4QEn c 1v—En.10:13-19 and 12:3 (Plate XI)

. . . and unto torture and to everlasting confinement in prison. And everyone who is condemned, will be lost from now on; with them they will be bound until annihilation of their generation; and at the time of judgement which I (God) shall judge, they will perish for all generations. Destroy all the spirits of the bastards and the sons of the Watchers, because they made men to act wickedly. And destroy iniquity from the face of the earth, and let every deed of wickedness disappear; and let the plant of righteousness appear; and it shall become a blessing, and deeds of righteousness shall be planted forever with joy. And now all the righteous shall escape and they shall be alive until they beget thousands; and all the days of your youth and of your old age shall be completed in peace.

Then all the earth shall be tilled in righteousness, and it shall all be planted with trees and be filled with blessing. And all the trees of the earth which they desire shall be planted in it; and they shall plant gardens in it and every garden which will be planted in it shall produce a thousand jars of wine, and of every seed which will be sown in it every single seah shall produce a thousand seahs . . .

And I Enoch began to bless the Lord of Majesty and King of the ages, and behold, the great holy Watcher called me . . .

4QEn c 1vi—En.13:6—14:16 (Plates XII, XIII)

. . . with all their requests concerning all their souls, with regard to every one of their deeds individually and concerning all they were requesting, that theirs might be forgiveness and leng]th (of life). And I went on sitting by the waters of Dan, in the land of Dan, which is to the south of Hermonin, on their west side; and I read the book of the account of their requests until I fell asleep. And behold, dreams came down upon me, and visions fell upon me until I lifted up my eyelids to the gates of the palace of Heaven . . . ; and I saw a vision of the wrath of chastisement, and a voice came and said: 'Speak to the sons of heaven to reprimand them.' And when I awoke I went unto them and they were all assembled together and sitting and weeping in Abel-Mayya, which is between Lebanon (Phoenicia) and Senir, with their faces covered. And I spoke before them all the visions which I had seen in dreams, and I began to speak] in words of truth and vision and reprimand to the heavenly Watchers . . .

The book of the words of truth and reprimand of the Watchers who were from eternity, according to what the Great Holy One commanded in the dream which I dreamt. And in this vision saw in my dream what I now say with tongue of flesh, with the breath of my mouth, which the Great One has given to the sons of men, to speak with them and to understand in (their) heart. As God has decreed and created the sons of men to understand words of knowledge, so He has decreed and made and created me to reprimand the Watchers,

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the sons of heaven. wrote down the petition of you. Watchers, and in a vision it appeared to me that your petition will not be executed for you for all the days of eternity; and judgement will be by decision and decree against you, that from now on to heaven you will not return and not ascend throughout all ages, and among the prisoners of the earth, a judgement has been decreed, to bind you until all the days of eternity; and that first you will see that for destruction are all your beloved ones and all their sons, and the possessions of your beloved ones and of their sons you will not enjoy for yourselves; and before you they will fall upon the sword of destruction, because your petition concerning them will not be executed for you, just as it will not be executed for yourselves; and] ye will be petitioning and requesting . . . and you will not be speaking any word from the writing which I have written. And to me in the vision it thus appeared. Behold, clouds in the vision were calling me, and cloud-mists to me were shouting, and lightning-flashes and thunders [were hastening me up and . . . me, and winds in the vision made me to fly, and took me upwards and brought me up and made me enter into heaven. And I entered it until I drew near to the walls of a building built with hail-stones and tongues of fire were surrounding them all around, and they began to fill me with fear and to . . . me. And I entered among those tongues of fire, until I drew near to a great house built with hailstones; and the walls of this house were like stone slabs, and all of them were (made) of snow, and the] floor was built of snow. And the ceiling was like lightning-flashes and like thunders; and among them fiery cherubim, and their heaven was of water. And a burning fire surrounded all their walls all around them, and the gates were of burning fire. And I entered into that house which was hot like fire, and cold as snow; and there was no pleasure of life in it; and behold, fear covered me and trembling seized me. And I was shaken and trembling and I fell on my face; and it was shown to me in my vision. And behold I saw another door which opened before me, and another house which was greater than this, and all of it was built with tongues of fire. And all of it far surpassed (the other) in splendour and glory and majesty that I am unable to describe to you its splendour and majesty. And its floor was of fire and its upper part was of thunders and lightning-flashes, and its ceiling was of burning fire. And it was shown to me and I saw in it a lofty throne and its appearance

4QEn c 1vii—En.14:18-20 and (?) 15:11 (Plate XIII)

was like crystal-glass, and its wheels were like the disc of the shining sun, and its sides were cherubim. And from beneath the throne came forth streams of fire, and I could not look. Great Majesty sat upon this throne, and His raiment was brighter than the sun and whiter than much snow . . . . . and the spirits of giants? . . .

4QEn c 1viii—En. 18:8-12 (Plate XIII)

. . . the top of the throne was of sapphire. And I saw a flaming fire, and beyond those mountains there is a region on the other side of the great earth, and there the heavens are completed. "Then I was shown a deep abyss, between pillars of heavenly fire, and I saw in it columns of fire descending to the bottom, and they were beyond measuring, both in their depth and in their height. And beyond that abyss . . .

4QEn c 1xii—En. 30:1-32:1 (Plate XIII)

And beyond these (mountains) I proceeded very far to the east, and I saw another vast place, valleys of great waters, in which were sweetsmelling reeds like mastic, and on the banks of these valleys I saw the fragrant cinnamon; and beyond these valleys, I proceeded far eastwards. And I was shown other mountains, and also in them I saw trees from which came the resin which is called styrax and galbanum. And beyond these mountains I was shown another mountain to the east of the limits of the earth and all the trees in it were filled with . . . and it was like the bark of the almond tree. When incisions are made in these trees there comes forth from them a pleasant odour; when these barks are ground, they are (sweeter) than any fragrance. And beyond these mountains, pproximately to the north-east of them, I was shown other mountains . . .

4QEn c 1xiii—En.35 and 36:1-4 (Plate XIII)

. . . and I saw portals open in heaven, such as I have seen in the East . . . their number. Then . . . From thence I was transported to the South of the limits of the earth, and there I was shown their three portals open, for the south wind, for dew and rain and for . . . And from thence I was transported to the East of the limits of the earth and there] I was shown their three portals, open to the East, and above them small gates, from every single one of which the stars of heaven come forth and go to the West on the paths which are fitting for them. And as often as I was looking (at all these things) I was saying blessings every time. Then I shall continue blessing the Lord of Majesty . . .

4QEn c 4—En.89:31-7 (Plate XIV)

31 And they all were afraid and trembling before Him, [and they cried to the Sheep who was the second (in command) to Him, who was among them: *We are not able to stand before the Lord.' Thereupon that Sheep that led them went up again for a second time to the summit of that rock. But the flock began to go blind [and to stray from the way which had been shown them: but the Sheep did not know about these (happenings). And the Lord of the flock was filled with great wrath against the flock and that Sheep knew it and came down from the summit of] that rock; and he came to the flock, and found all the majority of them blinded and straying. And when they saw him, they began to fear before him, and desired to return to their folds. And the Sheep took other sheep with him and came to the flock; and they slaughtered every one that had gone astray; and they began to fear before him. . . . Then that Sheep restored all the straying flock to their folds. And when the straying flock had returned to their folds that Sheep set about reproaching and slaying and punishing (everyone) who swore by the name of the golden calf. And I watched in this dream until that Sheep was changed and become a man and made a Tabernacle for the Lord of the flock; and he brought all the flock to that Tabernacle. And I watched until that Sheep who was associated with (the first Sheep) fell asleep . . .

4QEn c 5i-En. 104:13-106:2 (Plate XIV)

. . . And they will believe in them and be glad over them; and all the righteous will rejoice to learn from them all the ways of righteousness. In those days the Lord appointed them (the righteous) over the children of earth, to read (them, i.e. the books), and to testify with regard to them according to their wisdom, saying: 'Tell them about it (wisdom), for you are to lead them, and you will receive your reward from all the children of earth. And you shall have all remuneration. Be glad ye, o children of righteousness.'

And after a time I Enoch took a wife for Methuselah my son and she brought forth a son and called his name Lamech saying: 'Brought low, indeed, righteousness has been to this day.' And when he came to maturity, Methuselah took for him a wife, and she became pregnant by him and bore a boy. And when the boy was born, his flesh was whiter than snow and redder than the rose, and all his hair was white as the pure wool, and thick and bright. And when he opened his eyes he lighted up the whole house as the sun . . .

4QEn c 5ii—En. 106:13-107:2 (Plate XV)

Then I Enoch answered saying: 'Truly the Lord will restore His Law on the earth, according as I saw and told you my son that in the days of Jared my father (Watchers) transgressed the Word of the Lord (and departed) from the covenant of Heaven. And behold, they go on sinning and transgressing the custom and they perverted their nature to go un[to women, and to sin with them, and married some of them, and (women) are begetting children, who are not like spiritual beings, but creatures of flesh. And there shall be great wrath (of God) against the earth and Flood; and great destruction shall be done for one year. And this boy who has been born to you and his three children will be saved, when men die upon earth, Then, the earth shall be at rest, and be cleansed from great corruption. And now say to Lamech: 'He is thy son in truth,' and Pious call this boy who has been born, and Noah call his name, for he shall be your rest, wherein ye shall rest, and he shall be your salvation, for he will be saved, he and his sons, from the corruption of the earth—which (will be caused) by the deeds of all sinners, and by the wickedness of the sons of the earth—which shall be in his days. And thereafter shall come stronger wickedness than that which will be consummated in the days of (Noah and his sons). For I know the mysteries of the Lord which the Holy Ones have told me and showed me, and which I read in the tablets of heaven. And I saw written in them that generation after generation would do evil in this wise, and evil would be (more and more) until there arose generations of righteousness, and evil and wickedness should come to an end, and violence should cease from off the earth, and until good should come on the earth, upon them (men). And now, go unto Lamech, thy son, and tell him that this boy is truly, and without deception, his son.'

FOURTH COPY (4QEn d Plates XVI-XVII)

Skin pale or dark brown, of medium thickness; surface finely granular and fairly smooth; it is flaking and disintegrating, especially along the lines of writing; back wrinkled. Guide-lines moderately broad and not very deep.

The hand is fairly similar to that of En d, less assured and less firm but applied with greater pressure and with the letters straighter; one might say it is that of a pupil who is drawing his inspiration from the calligraphy of his teacher.

One may conclude, that the original scroll of En d contained the same Enochic writings as En c, namely the Books of Watchers, Giants, and Dreams, and the Epistle of Enoch.

Of the scroll En d only two piles of fragments have been preserved: the first comprising the fragments of i xi-xii (Book of Watchers) and the second those of 2 i-iii (Book of Dreams), the former from the upper part of the columns, the latter from the lower part of them. Col. i xi, fifty-six letters per line on average; i xii, fifty-seven letters; 2 i-iii, fifty-two letters.

4QEn d 1 xi—En. 22:13-24:1 (Plate XVI)

. . . Hence those who suffer affliction there, being punished less in regard to their (spirits), they will not be afflicted, with (greater) damage, in the day of judgement, away from there, nor will they be transferred permanently from there'. Then I blessed the Lord of Majesty and said: Blessed be the Judgement of Righteousness, and blessed be the Lord of Majesty and of Righteousness who is the Lord of the world.'

And from there I was transported to another place, westwards of the ends of the earth, and I was shown fire which runs here and there, neither resting nor halting in its running behind by day or by night, (yet) at the same time remaining constant. And I asked and said: 'What is this] which never pauses?' And Rau'el answered me: 'This is its function, (that) this fire whose running is to the west, follows (as a shepherd) all the luminaries of heaven.' And he showed me mountains, and the ground between them was of burning fire, glowing during the night . . .

4QEn d 1xii—En. 25:7-27:1 (Plate XVI)

. . . the King of the world which stands before Him, Who prepares such things for men (if they are) righteous; and these things He has created and promised to give to them, And from thence I was translated to the centre of the earth, and I saw a blessed place in which were trees whose branches bloomed with everlasting blossom. And there I was shown a holy mountain, and proceeding forth from beneath the mountain, water, from the East, and going down towards the South.

And I saw to the East another mountain higher than it, and between them a deep valley which was without breadth, with water proceeding forth from beneath the mountain. And to the West of it another mountain lower than it but without height, and a deep and dry valley underneath it and between these (mountains), and there was another valley at (the foot of) these three mountains. And all the valleys were deep and of hard rock, and no tree was planted in them. And I marvelled at the mountains and I marvelled at the valleys, and I marvelled exceedingly. Then I said: 'Why is this land blessed, and all of it full of trees . . .

4QEn d 2i—En. 89:11-14 (Plate XVII)

. . . And they began to bite and to chase one another; and the white bull which was born among them begat a wild ass and a white bull-calf as well, and the wild asses multiplied. And this white bull-calf which was sired by the white bull begat a black wild boar and a white ram of the flock and the wild boar begat many wild boars and the ram begat twelve sheep. And when those twelve sheep had grown they gave one of them to the wild asses, and the wild asses gave up that sheep to wolves, and the sheep grew up among wolves. And the ram led forth all of the eleven sheep . . .

4QEn d 2ii—En. 89:29-31 (Plate XVII)

. . . and that sheep went up to the summit of a high rock, and the Lord of the sheep sent him to the flock, and they all stood at a distance. Then I saw and behold, the Lord of the sheep stood facing the flock, and his appearance was strong and great and fearful; and all the flock saw Him and were afraid before Him. And all of them were trembling and fearful before Him . . .

4QEn d 2iii—En. 89:43-4 (Plate XVII)

. . . And that ram began to butt with his horns and to pursue with his horns and to strike hard the foxes, and thereafter the wild boars, and he destroyed many wild boars and thereafter let the dogs go free. And the sheep whose eyes were opened beheld that ram of the flock, until he deserted his way and began to strike the flock, to trample it down, and to depart out of a (good) way. . .

FIFTH COPY (4QEn e Plates XVIII-XXI)

The skin of the parchment has a bluish colour, or pale red, or else dark brown, it is moderately thick (fragments 1 xx, 2 and 3, are a little thicker and stiffer than the others); surface finely granular, glazed here and there, flaking in places; back rather smooth and blackish. Fragments i xxvi and following have shrunk somewhat as a result of the disintegration of the skin. Guide-lines are almost invisible or have disappeared.

The writing, which is very careful at the beginning of the scroll, becomes less careful and hastier from i xxvi; none the less, one can hardly doubt that the entire manuscript is the work of a single hand. It dates from the Hasmonaean period, probably from the first half of the first century BC.

The layout of the text in the columns of the scroll was rather economical, with the lines of writing progressively more closely crammed together, and with a very sparing use of the blank spaces which separate the paragraphs and the sections of paragraphs. Just as with the scroll of En% it is possible with a fair degree of certainty to assign the fragments belonging to the Book of Watchers (En. 1-36) to their original columns and lines.

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The fragments of En e that can be identified with certainty belong to the Book of Watchers and the Book of Dreams. The former, however, was probably followed by the Book of Giants. Moreover, we may suppose that the Epistle of Enoch was present at the end of the original scroll of En e, just as in the case of En c. Given that the date of En e was the first half of the first century BC, we have thus an additional proof of the early composition of the Enoch Pentateuch.

4QEn e 1xxii—En. 22:3-7 (Plate XVIII)

. . . the souls of all the children of men. And behold, these are the pits for their place of incarceration; they have been fashioned in this manner until the day they will be judged, and until the time of the Day of the End of the Great Judgement which will be exacted of them.

There I saw the spirit of a dead man making accusation, and his lamentation ascending up to heaven, and crying out unceasingly and making accusation. Then I asked Raphael the Watcher and Holy One who was with me and I said to him: "This spirit making accusation, whose is it, that in this manner his lamentation is ascending and crying out unceasingly and making accusation to heaven. And he answered me, saying: 'Behold, this is the spirit that went forth from Abel whom his brother Cain slew . . .

4QEn e 1xxvi-En. 28:3-29: 2 and 31:2-32:3 (Plate XVIII)

. . . Flowing like a copious aqueduct approximately to the North-West, it brought from everywhere water and dew as well. From thence I went to another place which was in the desert and I withdrew far to the East of this part. And there I saw wild trees which were exuding perfumes of incense and myrrh . . .

. . . in it full of nectar, and it is like the bark of the almond tree. When incisions are made in these trees there comes forth from them a pleasant odour; when their bark is ground, they are sweeter than any fragrance.

And beyond these mountains approximately northwards, on their eastern side, I was shown other mountains plentiful with choice nard, mastic, cardamom, and pepper. And from thence I proceeded to the East of all these mountains, far from them, to the East of the earth, and I was conveyed over the Red Sea and withdrew far from it, and I crossed over the darkness, far from it. And I passed on to the Paradise of righteousness.

4QEn e 1 xxvii—En. 32:3 and 6, and 33:3-34:1 (Plate XIX)

and I was shown from afar trees in it, trees exceedingly numerous and great, differing the one from the other. And I saw there a tree which was different from all, very great and beautiful and magnificent. . .

. . . your father of old and your mother of old, and they learnt knowledge, and their eyes were opened, and they understood that they were naked . . .

. . . Uri'el, one of the Watchers. And he showed me and wrote down everything for me; also he wrote for me their names according to the resemblance to their fixed times. And from thence I was transferred to the North of the ends of the earth, and I was shown great wonders . . .

4QEn e 2 and 3—(?) Book of Giants (Plate XIX)
Fragment 2

. . .—s and all . . . . . the vision . . . was shown to Enoch the scribev of distinction . . . . . children of Adam. Behold, the Great One . . .

4QEn e 4i-En. 88:3-89:6 (Plate XX)

. . . And when I was looking in my dream and, behold, to one of the four who had come forth it was ordered by Heaven; and all the many stars, whose privy members were like those of horses, he bound all of them hand and foot and cast them into the depths of the earth, And one of the four went to one of the white oxen and instructed him; and he made for himself a ship, and dwelt inside it; and the three oxen enter]ed with him into the ship, and the ship was covered and roofed over them, And I was looking and, behold, seven sluices pouring out on the earth much water. And, behold, the (underground) chambers were opened in the interior of the earth and (waters) began to pour out and come upon it. And I was looking until the earth was covered by the waters and by darkness and mist, and they were standing upon it. sAnd the oxen were submerged and engulfed and perishing in those waters, And the ship floated above the waters, and all the oxen and wild asses and camels and elephants sank in the waters . . .

4QEn e 4 ii—En. 89:7-16 (Plate XX)

And again I watched in my dream until [those] sluices were closed from that lofty roof, and the fissures of the (underground) chambers were stopped, and other (underground) chambers were opened. And the waters began going down into the midst of these until the waters vanished from above the earth, and it (the earth) appeared, and the vessel settled on the earth; and the darkness retired and light came. And behold the white ox, and the three oxen with him came forth from that vessel . . .

. . . and there was born among them a white bull. And all these animals began to bite and to chase one another, and the white bull begat a wild ass and a white bull-calf together, and the wild asses multiplied. And the white bull-calf which was sired by the white bull begat a black wild boar and a white ram of the flock and the boar begat many wild boars, and the ram begat twelve sheep. And when they had grown, they gave a sheep from them to the wild asses, and the wild asses gave up that sheep to the wolves and that sheep grew up among the wolves. And the ram led forth all of the eleven sheep to live and to pasture with it beside the wolves and they multiplied and became a flock of many sheep. And the wolves began to oppress the flock till they had cast each one of their young into a great stream to sink in the waters. Then the sheep began to cry aloud on account of their little ones, and to complain to their Lord. And a sheep which had been preserved from the wolves fled and came to the wild asses and I watched, while the flock lamented and cried terribly till the Lord of the sheep descended . . .

4QEn e 4iii—En. 89:26-30 (Plate XXI)

. . . the waters, and it arose until it covered the wolves. And I looked until all the wolves who were pursuing that flock perished, sinking and drowning, and the waters covered them over. But the flock departed from those waters, and they came to a wilderness, a place where there was no water nor grass, and their eyes were opened and they saw. And I looked until the Lord of the sheep was pasturing them and He gave them water to drink and grass to eat. And the sheep ascended to the summit of a certain high rock, and the Lord of the flock sent him to the flock, and they all stood at a distance. Then I looked and, behold, the Lord of the flock stood facing the flock and his appearance was strong . . .

SIXTH COPY (4QEn f Plate XXI)

The parchment skin appears pale cream, fairly thick; surface rough and granular, damaged; back black. Ink pale. Guide-lines fairly fine and deep. On average fifty-four letters per line.

The interesting thing about this single piece of a manuscript of the book of Enoch is its writing, which is fairly archaic, of the early Hasmonaean period, 150-125 BC. The same scribe also copied an Aramaic manuscript of the Testament of Levi, 4QTestLevi b. The copyist of En f was thus a contemporary of, or at the very most separated by a generation from, the author of the Book of Dreams, En. 83 to 90, who composed his work during the year 164 BC.

4QEn f 1—En. 86:1-3

And again I kept my eyes up in the dream and I saw the heaven above, and behold, a star fell from heaven into the midst of the big oxen; and it fed and pastured among them. Behold, then I saw these oxen, big ones and black ones, and behold, all of them exchanged] their pastures and their cattle-sheds, and their calves, and they began to live one with another. And again I saw in my dream and beheld the heaven and behold many stars were descending and falling from heaven to near the first star, and they were turned into bulls in the midst of those calves and pastured with them and among them . . .

SEVENTH COPY (4QEn g Plates XXI-XXIV)

Skin greyish and faintly purplish-blue, bright pink here and there, thick and fairly taut; surface finely granular, damaged in places or shrunk; verso similar. There are no guide-lines, which explains the irregular length of the lines of the text, which indeed run on into the space between columns iv and V to the point of encroaching upon the text of column v. Ink very dark blue, which spreads easily and blurs.

The document is written in a beautiful semi-cursive script, dated by Cross to the years 50-1 BC. In my opinion the handwriting of En g dates from the middle of the first century B.C. rather than from its end.

The arrangement of the text is highly economical: the lines of writing are packed close together, with very small gaps between words and spaces between lines, without any blank spaces between the sections of the text. When he was copying column iv the scribe must have been very tired, to judge from numerous errors and corrections.

The orthography of En g is relatively archaic; the scribe was fairly discreet, though also inconsistent, in his modernisation of the orthography of his exemplar. The scroll of 4QEn g contained, in all probability, only the Epistle of Enoch, En. 91 to 105. Of the first column there remain only two letters; the other four columns, on the other hand, retain extensive parts of the Aramaic text, which differs considerably from the Ethiopic Book of Enoch.

The Ethiopic text of this last part of the Enochic Pentateuch is much altered in comparison with the original Aramaic text. Our manuscript has definitively confirmed the good judgement of the editors of the Ethiopic text who moved forward the description of the last three Weeks (eighth, ninth, and tenth) of the Apocalypse of Weeks (En. 91:12-17) to follow the description of the first seven Weeks (En. 93:3-10). In actual fact the passage began in 91:11, but this verse was shorter in the Aramaic than in the Ethiopic. Besides, the beginning of the Epistle of Enoch, En. 91:1-10, was much fuller in the original, as was the Aramaic text corresponding to 92:3-5. Finally, the section 93:11-14 was preceded by an analogous text, three times as long as the Ethiopic passage. The calculations made by C. Bonner showed that the beginning in the Chester Beatty-Michigan papyrus (CM) was also longer in this Greek version than in the Ethiopic translation.

4QEn g 1ii—En. 91:10(?) + 91:18-19 and 92:1-2 (Plate XXI)

And the righteous shall awake from their sleep . . . wisdom shall arise and go, . . . and be given to them . . ., and to Him will they give praise [....] the earth shall rest from the sword . . . for all generations forever, And now I am speaking unto you, my sons, and I will tell you all the ways of righteousness and all the ways of violence, and I will show you again in order that you may know what will happen. And now, my sons, hearken to me and choose the paths of righteousness to walk in them, and keep away from the paths of violence, from walking in them, because every one who has walked in the way of wickedness will be utterly destroyed. (See: The Instructions of Shuruppak)

That which (Enoch) wrote and gave to Methuselah his son and to all his brothers,—Enoch the scribe of distinction and the wisest of men and chosen of the sons of earth to judge their deeds,—he wrote (it also) to his sons of sons and to the future generations, to all who dwell [on the dry land, in order to do good and peace: Be ye not in distress, ye and your spirits, on account of the times, because the Great Holy One] has given times for everything . . .

4QEn g 1iii-En. 92:5-93:4 (Plate XXII)

. . . and sin shall perish in darkness forever . . . and shall never be visible again from this day forth for all generations forever. And when he was transmitting his Epistle, Enoch took up his discourse, saying: 'Concerning the children of righteousness and about the elect of the world who have grown] up from a plant of truth and of justice, behold, I will speak and will make (it) known unto you, my sons. I Enoch, I have been shown everything in a heavenly vision, and from the word of the Watchers and Holy Ones I have known everything; and in the heavenly tablets I have read everything and understood'. And Enoch took up his discourse again and said: 'I Enoch, the seventh I was born in the first Week, and until my time justice was still enduring. And after me will arise the second Week in which lying and violence will have sprung up . . .

4QEn g 1iv—En. 93:9-10 + 91:11-17 (Plate XXII)

. . . and all its deeds shall be (done) in apostasy. And with its end there shall be chosen the elect, for witnesses to righteousness, from the eternal plant of righteousness, to whom shall be given sevenfold wisdom and knowledge. And they will have rooted out the foundations of violence and the structure of falsehood therein, to execute judgement. And thereafter shall arise the eighth Week, that of righteousness, in which a sword shall be given to all the righteous, to exact a righteous judgement from all the wicked, and they shall be delivered into their hands. And with its end they shall acquire riches in righteousness, and there shall be built the royal Temple of the Great One in His glorious splendour, for all generations forever. And thereafter the ninth Week, and righteousness and right judgement will be revealed in it for all the children of the whole earth; and all the workers of impiety shall entirely pass away from the whole earth, and they will be cast into the eternal Pit, and all men shall see the right, eternal way. And thereafter the tenth Week, in the seventh part of which an eternal Judgement and the (fixed) time of the Great Judgement shall be executed in vengeance, in the midst of the Holy Ones. And the first heaven in it (end of the tenth Week) shall pass away, and a new heaven shall appear, and all the powers of heaven shall rise for all eternity with sevenfold brightness. And after this there will be many weeks to whose number there shall be no end forever, in which they shall work good and righteousness . . .

4QEn g 1V—En. 93:11-94:2 (Plate XXIV)

. . . who is the man who can understand the command of God? And who is there of all the children of men who can hear the words of the Holy One and not be troubled, or can think His thoughts? Or who is the man who can behold all the works of heaven, or the corner-pillars upon which it (the heaven) rests; and who (can) see a soul or a spirit and can return (from there) to tell it, or ascend and see the whole community of (spirits) and think and act like them? Or who is there from the children of men who is able to know and measure what is the length and the breadth of the whole earth; or who is there to whom is shown all its . . . and its shape? Or what man is there who can know the length of the heaven and

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what is its height, or how it is supported; and how great is the number of the stars?

And now to you I say, my sons, love righteousness, and walk in it, for the ways of righteousness are worthy to be accepted, but the ways of wickedness shall be destroyed and vanish. And to the sons of men . . .

THE ASTRONOMICAL BOOK OF ENOCH
(4QEnastr a, b. c, d, Plates XXV-XXX)

To the third part of the Ethiopic Enoch, En. 72 to 82, which bears the title 'Book of the revolution of the luminaries of heaven', there correspond four Aramaic manuscripts from Qumran, all out of Cave 4. The scrolls of which these fragments formed a part circulated independently of the other Enochic writings.

The Synchronistic Calendar

(At the beginning of the Astronomical Book the Jewish author describes the movements of the sun and the moon (En. 72-5), calculated within the framework of his special calendar composed of 364 days, i.e. 12 months of 30 days, with intercalary days at the end of the 3rd, 6th, 9th, and 12th months (72: 32; 74:10; 75:2). Not one fragment of 4Q corresponds to this section. We find there, on the other hand, a calendar in which, day after day and month after month, he describes scrupulously and in a very stereotyped way the phases of the moon, the waxing and waning of which are expressed by the successive fractions of the fourteenth parts of its light, or more precisely by the 7 1/2 parts. He synchronises the conjunctions and the oppositions of two stars by reference to 'gates' from which they rise and in which they set. The synchronism of a lunar year of 354 days (alternately 6 months of 30 days and 6 months of 29 days) and of a solar year of 364 days is effected in a triennial cycle by the addition of an intercalary month: 364 x 3 = 354X 3 + 30. Now the description of 12 lunar months occupied, at the very least, twenty-seven columns of Enastr b. It does not seem to me very likely that the author would have continued in the same detailed way the description of the second and third lunar years. He must have confined himself to some kind of summary, the remains of which, mishandled by the translators, are contained in En.74:10-17 and 79:3-5. Was this calendar simply omitted by the Greek translator of the astronomical Enoch, or is the resume of it to be found in En.73:1-74:9, or only in 74:3-9?

We should note, finally, that the description of a lunar year synchronised with a solar year of 364 days was valid, and even then only in theory, merely for the single, first year of a great cycle, at the time when the New Year, coincided with the ist day of the ist lunation, the ist Nisan. Consequently there was an inevitable alteration in relation to the astronomical year of 365J days.

We have suggested that the Greek translator of the Astronomical Book of Enoch in Aramaic omitted, or at the very most summarized very briefly, the full calendar describing in detail the movements of the moon in relation to those of the sun. None the less, it seems to me that this complicated Aramaic calendar did not disappear completely from Graeco-Jewish literature or from the Christian literatures which depend on it. Indeed, I find traces of it in Ethiopic literature.

4QEnastr b 7i-iii
Chapter 2

. . . And it (sc. the moon) shines during the rest of this night with three seventh (parts); and it waxes during this day up to four sevenths and a half. And then it sets and enters (the same gate as before), and it is covered, the rest of this day, to two sevenths and a half. And in night] twenty-four of this (month) it is covered by four sevenths and a half; and there is subtracted from its light four sevenths and a half. And then it emerges (from the same gate) and shines during the rest of this night with two sevenths and a half; it waxes during this day up to five sevenths. And then it sets and enters (the same gate) and it is covered, the rest of this day, to two sevenths (of its light).

And at the (beginning of) night twenty-five of this (month, the moon) is covered to five seventh (parts of its light, i.e.) five seventh (parts) are subtracted from its Hght. And then it emerges (from the same gate as on the preceding days) and shines during the rest of this night with two seventh (parts of its light); and it waxes during this day up to five sevenths and a half (of its light). And then it sets [and] enters the second gate and it is covered during the rest of this day to one seventh (part) and a half (of its light).

And during night twenty-six of this (month) it is covered to five sevenths and a half; and there is subtracted from its light five sevenths and a half. And then it emerges from the second gate, and it shines during the rest of this night with a seventh and a half, and it waxes during this "day up to six sevenths. And then it sets and enters (the second gate) and it is covered, the rest of this day, to one seventh.

And during night twenty-seven of this (month) it is covered to six sevenths; there is subtracted from its light six sevenths. And then it emerges (from the second gate) and it shines, the rest of this night, with one seventh. And it waxes during this day up to six sevenths and a half. And then it sets and enters . . .

Chapter 3

And (the moon) shines in night eight of this (month) with four sevenths.

And then it sets and enters (the same gate as before). During this night the sun completes the passage (across) all the sections of the first gate, and it begins again to go and to come out through these sections (i.e. of the first gate). And then the moon sets and enters (the same gate). And it wanes (during) the rest of this night by three sevenths. And it waxes during this day up to four sevenths and a half. And then it emerges (from the same gate as before) and it keeps during the rest of this day two seventh (parts of its light) and a half.

And it shines during night nine of this (month) with four sevenths and a half. And then it sets and enters (the gate). During this night the sun begins again to move away through its sections (i.e. of the first gate) and to set through these (sections). And then the moon sets and enters the fifth gate and it wanes during the rest of this night by two sevenths ^and a half. And it waxes during this day up to five sevenths, and its light is equivalent exactly to five sevenths. And then it emerges from the fifth gate and it keeps, during the rest of this day, two sevenths.

And it shines in night ten of this (month) with five sevenths. And then it sets and enters (the fifth gate). And it wanes the rest of this night, by two sevenths. And it waxes during this day up to five sevenths and a half . . .

4QEnastr b 67-9 (Plate XXVII)

. . . And in night twenty-eight of this (month, the moon) is covered by

six sevenths and a half, and there is subtracted from its light six sevenths and a half. And then it emerges (from the same door as before) and it shines during the rest of this night with a half of a seventh (part). And it waxes during this day to its entirety. And then it sets and enters the . . . gate and it is covered during the rest of this day in its entirety and all the rest of its light is removed and its disc emerges, devoid of all light, hidden by the sun . . .

4QEnastr c 1ii 1-10—En. 76:3-10 (Pl. XXVIII)

(Upper right fragment of one sheet of the scroll and a piece of the preceding sheet (trace of one letter): guide-marks for the lines of writing on the left and right hand margins of two sheets. Written surface worn away by rubbing; seventy-five letters per line on average.)

. . . and three (gates) after those on the north, and three after those on the west. And through four of these come forth winds which are for the healing of the earth, and for its revival. And through eight of these come forth harmful winds; when they are sent, they destroy all the earth and the waters and all that is in them which grows and flourishes and creeps in the waters and on the dry land, and all (men) who live in it. And first of all, the east wind comes through the first gate which is in the east, and it incUnes to the south; and from it comes destruction, drought, heat, and desolation. And through the second gate, the middle one, comes forth the east-east wind: rain and fruitfulness and revival and dew. And through the third gate comes forth the east-north wind which is nigh the north wind; cold and drought.

And after them from three gates which are towards the south of the heavens; there comes forth, first of all, through the first gate a south wind which is in the south, inclining to the east: a hot wind. And through the second gate comes forth a south wind which they call the South, (bringing) dew and rain, well-being and revival. And by the third gate comes forth a southwest wind, (bringing) dew and rain and locusts and destruction. And after it comes forth a north wind . . . and destruction. . .

Enastr b 23 (Plate XXVII)

. . . drought and destruction and death and heat and desolation. And

the twelve gates of the four quarters of heaven are completely (described); their complete explanation I have shown to you, my son Methuselah.

And they call the east East because it is the first; and they call the south South (darom), because the Great One dwells (da'er rabba) there, and in it dwells . . . blessed forever. And the great quarter (they call) the West quarter, because there go the stars of heaven; there they set and there all stars enter. And for this reason they call it West. And the north (they call) North, because in it all the bodies (lit. vessels) of the heavens hide and gather together and revolve, and proceed to the east of the heavens. And the east (they call) East (midnah) because from there arise (denah) the bodies of the heavens; and also (they call it) mizrah because thence they arise (zerah).

And I saw three sections of the earth: one of them was for the dwelling of the sons of men in it; and one of them for all the seas, and the rivers; and one of them for the deserts and for the Seven and for the Paradise of righteousness. And I saw seven mountains, higher than all the mountains which are on the earth; and snow comes down upon them . . .

4QEnastr c 1 iii 3-9—En. 78: 6-8 (Plate XXX)

And when the moon rises, the half of one seventh part of its light

shines in the heavens, to appear above the earth; . . . and (its light) is more and more complete each day until the fourteenth day, and in it all its light is complete. And its light waxes by fifteen parts, and (its light) is more and more complete each day until the fifteenth day, and in it all its light is complete . . . and it accomplishes (lit. guides) (its) phases by halves of sevenths. And in her waning the moon decreases from its light. On the first day (it has) fourteen (parts), and on the second day thirteen (parts), and on the third day twelve (parts), and on the fourth day eleven (parts) . . .

4QEnastr b 25—En. 78:9-12 (Plate XXVII)

. . . years for . . . And Uri'el demonstrated to me a further calculation, by having shown it unto me that. . . its light in heaven. And the first days they are called new moons, because . . .

4QEnastr b 26—En. 79:3-5 + 78:17-79:2 (Plate XXVII)

And (as for) the waning of the moon which takes place through the sixth gate, through it its light is accomplished . . . . . twenty-five weeks and two days. And she falls behind the sun . . . is restored in it. It looks (then) as an image of vision. When its light is retarded in it . . . In the night this appearance looks a little as if it was the image of a man; and in the day this appearance looks a little like the sun in the sky, and there is nothing else in her save her light only. And now I show to you, my son . . . another calculation . . .

4QEnastr b 28—En. 82:9-13 (Plate XXX)

. . . with regard to their Zodiacal periods, their new moons, their (daily) signs. And these are the names . . . and according to their authority with regard to all their stations. Four leaders . . . and for three hundred and sixty-four days there are chiefs of thousands . . . dividing the days . . . . And these are the names . . . .

4QEnastr d 1i-iii—after En. 82:20 (Plate XXIX)
Part 1

. . . the clouds which make dew and rain falling upon the earth; and seed . . . herbs of the earth and trees. And the sun rises and sets . . . and winter comes. And leaves of all the trees wither and fall down except four]teen trees for which it is not fitting . . . their leaves remain . . . .

Part 2

. . . this . . . from its measure . . . a tenth (part) of a ninth (part)

. . . a tenth (part) of a ninth (part). And the stars move through the first gates of the heavens; and then they come forth. On first days, one tenth by one sixth; on second (days), one fifteenth by one sixth; on third (days), one thirtieth by one sixth . . .

. . .

Part 3

. . . On the fifteenth day . . . in the same day . . . . only in this night from . . . third (part) of a ninth (part). And five . . . and a tenth (part) of a ninth (part) . . .

THE BOOK OF GIANTS

(The Book of Giant was found in a dozen small fragments among the Dead Sea Scrolls in Qumran. All fragments came from Cave 4. These fragment are significant because they show Jewish connexions to the Manichaeans as well as to the Jainists in India.

Among the seven canonical books composed by Mani himself there figures one work which is entitled the 'Book of Giants'. Beyond this title which appears in several Manichaean and anti-Manichaean documents scattered throughout Europe and through Africa as far as Asia Minor and Chinese Turkistan (Xinjiang Province), almost nothing was known of the contents of this document before the appearance of the remarkable article by W. B. Henning, 'The Book of Giants', in Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies xi (1943-6), 52-74. That eminent scholar there published, or republished, numerous fragments and passages, written in Middle Persian, in Sogdian, in Parthian, in Uigur, and in Coptic, which actually belong to the Book of Giants, or else are extracts, quotations from, and allusions to it.

That the Book of Giants is related to the Book of Enoch has been suspected since the time of Isaac de Beausobre, the eighteenth-century Huguenot author of one of the best studies on Manichaeism ever written. Indeed, the Book of Giants does no more than develop, with a considerable number of details, the story of the fallen angels told in the first part of the Ethiopic Enoch (En. i to 36). The latter, if we are to believe

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Syncellus, bore an analogous title, 'Book of Watchers'. En. 6: 7 contains a list of the names of twenty Watchers. They are the chiefs of ten of the two hundred angels who had come down from heaven to earth in the days of Yared, father of Enoch. This list, terribly corrupt in the Greek and Ethiopic texts, has come down to us in its original state, and (apart from the name of the fifth angel) complete, through Aramaic fragments of the Book of Enoch coming from Cave 4 of Qumran.

The Book of Watchers speaks only in generic terms of the progeny of the Sons of Heaven and the Daughters of Man, the giants and the nephilim, (En. 7:2-5; 9:9-11; 10:9-15; etc.). The Book of Giants, on the other hand, gave personal names to the sons of the Watchers, related their exploits with a profusion of detail, and finally foretold their future extermination by the waters of the flood and by eternal fire.

A Sogdian text, in a chapter entitled 'The Coming of the two hundred Demons relates briefly the teaching activity of the Watchers and mentions by name the two sons of the chief of the two hundred angels (Henning, loc. cit., pp. 69-70): ". . . and what they had seen in the heavens among the gods, and also what they had seen in hell, their native land, and furthermore what they had seen on earth,—all that they began to teach to men [cf. En. 7:1; 8: 1-3; 9:6-7; 10:7-8]. To Sahmizad (Symyzty, identified by Henning as Semiazas) two sons were borne by . . . One of them he named Ohya; in Sogdian he is called "Sahm, the giant" (S'ym Ko'y). And again a second son was born to him. He named him Ahya; its Sogdian equivalent is "Pat-Sahm" (P'ts'ym). As for the remaining giants, they were born to the other demons and Yaksas (Duoty Zyksysty)."

As is well known, the Manichaean missionaries, in translating the religious works of their founder and his disciples into numerous languages of three continents, as a rule adapted every word of the text—even the names of months, of persons and of divinities, of countries, etc.,—^to the language, to the mentality and to the geographical, social, and mythological horizons of their future disciples. Thus, in the Iranian world, Ohya and Ahya become Sam and Nariman (s'm and nrym'n) for Sam-Krsasp was, like Ohya, one of the immortals and a famous slayer of dragons.

Ohya, son of Semihazah, was frequently in contention with another giant who was called Mahawai (M'hw'y or M'hwy in Middle Persian, M'h'wy in Sogdian; Henning, pp. 56, 57, 66, and Mahavira in Prakrit and Sanskrit) and was the son of Virogdad (Wrwgdad in Persian, Wrwkd'd in Uigur; Siddtartha, Siddanta or Siddharth in Prakrit and Sanskrit). Henning has ingeniously recognised here the name of the ninth fallen angel, Baraq'el, in 4QEn.

These few elements, mainly onomastic (ethymologic), drawn from the Manichaean Book of Giants and known essentially through the manuscripts discovered in Turfan and in Chotsko (both in Xinjiang, China), are amply suflSicient to identify correctly an Aramaic fragment coming from Cave 6 of Qumran and published in 1962 by M. Baillet in DJD iii, p. 117, 6Q8 1. According to Cross this papyrus manuscript dates from around the years 50-1 BC.)

. . . Ohya and he said to Mahawai: ". . . and I do not tremble. Who showed you all (that), tell us . . ." And Mahawai said: ". . . Baraq'el, my father, was with me".

. . . scarcely had Mahawai finished relating what . . . Ohya said to him: "Well, I have heard (tell) of wonders. If an unpregnant (woman) (lit. empty) could give birth . . ."

(The context of this passage is thus that of a vision seen by Mahawai, in which his father Baraq'el participated in one way or another. This text of 6Q8 1 is slightly reminiscent of that of fragment c of the Kawan (Henning, pp. 56-7 and 60):)

(page 1) . . . hard . . . arrow . . . bow, he that . . . Sam (read Ohyah) said: "Blessed be . . . had he seen this, he would not have died." Then Shahmizad (read: Semihazah) said to Sam, his son: "All that Mahawai . . . , is spoilt." Thereupon he said to . . . : "We are . . . until.. . and . . ."

(page 2) . . . that are in the fiery hell . . . As my father, Virogdad (read: Baraq'el), was . . ." Shahmizad said: "It is true what he says. He says one of thousands (to be understood: he says much less than he could say). For one of thousands . . ." Sam thereupon began . . . Mahawai, too, in many places . . . until to that place . . . he might escape and . . .'

(In another fragment of the same manuscript of the Middle Persian Kawan, Enoch (hwnwx = Henoch) foretells the fertility of the earth in Messianic times, amplifying the description of En. 10:19 (cf. En c 1 v 7-10). See Henning, pp. 57 and 61, fragment l, p. 2:)

'. . . wild ass, ibex, . . ., ram, goat, gazelle,. . ., oryx, of each two hundred, a pair . . . the other wild beasts, birds, and animals . . . and their wine shall be six thousand jugs . . . irritation of water. . . and their oil . . .'

(There is no doubt at all that this passage overlaps with another Aramaic fragment from Qumran published by me in DJD i, p. 97 and plate XIX, 1Q23 1. Here is my transcription and restoration (I add to it a small piece, fragment 6, which is unquestionably to be placed at lines 1-2 of fragment 1):

. . . two hundred asses, two hundred wild asses, two hundred ibexes, two hundred . . . , two hundred rams of the flock, two hundred he-goats, two hundred gazelles, two hundred . . . , two hundred oryxes. (As for) the wild animals, of each animal, of each bird and of each . . . for a pitcher (bowl of wine) . . .

The section of 4QEnGiants b begins towards the end of line 3 of column ii:

'Then the two of them dreamed dreams and the sleep of their eyes fled from them and they arose . . .' Awake, they come to their father: 'and they came to Semihazah, their father, and told him their dreams'. The father sends them into the assembly of the giants, their companions, and of the nephilim. There, one of the two, 'Ahya without a doubt (see below), recounts his dream in detail: . . . in my dream, I have seen during this night'.

(Of the account of the dream there does not remain much at all in our manuscript, and what does remain is not easy to read. However, it certainly deals with a vision of a garden full of trees which symbolise men, and the Watchers and the giants in particular. The gardeners, guardian angels, and bailiffs of the world-garden are matched by the shepherds in the Book of Dreams [En. 89:59, 90:1]:)

'. . . gardeners and they were irrigating . . . and numerous shoots sprang from their trunk . . . I watched until the sources had been closed by . . . all the waters; and the fire burned in all . . .

(Here the dream ends (line 12), the giants, very anxious, wonder who might be able to explain this dream, and their choice falls on Enoch, the distinguished scribe:)

'. . . The giants were looking for (someone) who might explain to them the dream . . . ". . . to Enoch, the distinguished scribe, so that he may interpret the dream for us".

'Then his brother, Ohyah, acknowledged and said before the giants: "I too have seen in my dream during this night an extraordinary thing: lo, the Emperor of heaven descended on to the earth . . .'

(There follows the description of the Judgement, which is drawn from Daniel 7:9-10. The continuation is in the following terms (some readings and supplements remain doubtful):)

4QEnGiants

(The following manuscript dates from around the years 100-50 BC. The section of 4QEnGiants which interests us here begins towards the end of line 12:)

. . . here the dream ends".

Thereupon all the giants and the nephilim took fright and they summoned Mahawai and he came to them. And the giants asked him and sent him to Enoch, the distinguished scribe, saying to him: "Go then . . ., and under pain of death you must . . . and listen to his voice; and tell him that he is to explain to you and to interpret the dreams . . ."

Mahawai goes off, holding in one hand the letter granting full powers on behalf of the giants, and in the other, no doubt, the tablet with the description of the dreams. The continuation of the text narrates the journey of the messenger and his meeting with Enoch:

. . . . . he rose up into the air like the whirlwinds, and he flew with the help of his hands like winged eagle . . .; he flew over the cultivated lands and crossed Solitude, the great desert*, . . . And he caught sight of Enoch and he called to him and said to him: "An oracle I have come to ask you . . . here. From you, a second time, I ask for the oracle, . . . we shall listen to your words, all the nephilim of the earth also. If (God) is going to take away . . . from the days of their . . . and that theymay be punished . . . we should like to know from you their explanation? Thereupon Enoch spoke thus . . .: "Two hundred trees which have come out (or come down) from heaven, these are the two hundred Watchers . . ."

[* The "great desert" surrounds the "oikoumene". (oecumene, UK or ecumene US. The Greek term oikoumene, lit. "inhabited", was often used in Antiquity for the known, the inhabited, or the habitable world which we now call "Western Antiquity" or "Classical Civilisation". The Greek term is the feminine present middle participle of the verb oikeo, "[I] inhabit") and is a clipped form of oikoumene ge, "inhabited world".) It denotes the world outside of Greek, Roman, Germanic, Persian spheres of influence, meaning India and China.].

We should point out in passing that this is the second time that Mahawai goes to look for Enoch (line 7), who lived in a paradise situated in the extreme east, beyond the oikoumene*, the outer deserts and darkness. We find again here the account of this first journey, rather charming in my opinion, in a Manichaean fragment of the Book of Giants written in Uigur. There, too, the means of transport of the son of Baraq'el is that of the birds; and he escapes clear here of the danger which had been the end of Icarus (Henning, loc. cit., page 65):

(page 1) '. . . fire was going to come out. And I saw that the sun was at the point of rising, and that his centre without increasing above was going to start rolling. Then came a voice from the air above. Calling me, it spoke thus: son of Virogdad, your affairs are lamentable. More than this you shall not see. Do not die now prematurely, but turn quickly back from here." And again, besides this (voice), I heard the voice of Enoch, the apostle, from the south (cf. Jubilees 4: 25-6), without, however, seeing him at all. Speaking my name very lovingly, he called. And downwards from . . . then . . .

(page 2) '. . . for the closed door of the sun will open, the sun's light and heat will descend and set your wings alight. You will burn and die", said he. Having heard these words, I beat my wings and quickly flew down from the air. I looked back: Dawn had . . . , with the light of the sun it had come to rise over the Kogmon mountains. And again a voice came from above. Bringing the command of Enoch, the apostle, it said: "I call you, son of Virogdad, . . . I know . . . his direction . . . you . . . you . . . Now quickly . . . people . . .'

(The following passage comes from a second manuscript of the Book of Giants belonging to the Starcky batch, 4QEnGiants c; in it, after a speech by Semihazah, his son Ohyah intervenes again:)

'. . . I have shown myself more powerful. And by the might of my sturdy arm and by the strength of my power, I had attacked all flesh and I have made war with them. But (I) not . . . and I do not find any support to strengthen (me), for my accusers . . . they dwell in heavens and they live in the holy abodes, and I will not win my cause, for they are more powerful than I." Thereupon . . . the roaring of the wild beasts came and the multitude of the wild animals began to cry out . . . And Ohyah spoke to him thus: "My dream has overwhelmed me and the sleep of my eyes has fled, when I have seen a vision. To be sure, I know that . . .'

(And here is a second fragment of 4QGiants c which must come from the beginning of the scroll:)

'. . . they defiled themselves . . . the giants and the nephilim and . . . they begat. And if all . . . in his blood and according to the power . . . . . the giants that it did not suffice them and their children . . . they demanded much to eat . . . the nephilim smote it (sc. the earth) . . .'

(We find again here the subjects well known from En. 7:1-5 (En a 1iii 13-21 and En b 1ii 18-25); 9:8-9; 15:4 and 8-11; 106:14 and 17 (En c 5ii 18-19 and 21-2). The theme of the subjugation of men by the demons was developed more picturesquely in the Manichaean Book of Giants, to judge by fragment 1 of the Middle Persian Kawan (Henning, pp. 58 and 62):)

(page 1) '. . . many . . . were killed, four hundred thousand Righteous . . . with fire, naphtha, and brimstone . . . And the angels moved out of sight of Enoch. Electae et auditrices . . . and ravished them. They chose beautiful women, and demanded them in marriage. Sordid . . .

(page 2) . . . all . . . carried off . . . severally they were subjected to tasks and services. And they . . . from each city . . . and were ordered to serve the . . . Mesenians were directed to prepare, the Khuzians to sweep and water, the Persians to . . .'

(To the story of the dream of Ahya about the world-garden destroyed by water and fire (above, p. 304) undoubtedly belongs the small scrap of papyrus 6Q82:)

' . . . his three shoots . . . and I was looking until there came . . . this whole garden and nothing of it remained . . .'

The reference to 'his three shoots', doubtless three sons of Noah, is significant. It seems to me highly probable that the end of the Book of Giants contained a detailed reference to the birth and the future saving action of Noah.

The Book of Giants had a very apocalyptic attitude and would thus have enjoyed a fairly wide popularity in the Jewish-Essene milieu, greater than that of any other Enochic documents that we know of also through the Greek and Ethiopic versions, a popularity equal to that of the book of Jubilees and several Hebrew books canonised later by the Pharisees. The existence of its text in the various literary languages of the Roman Empire shows that it was widely known and read in those areas too. It must also have been greatly appreciated amongst other nations who lived in the northern parts of the Near East, in other words in the Arsacid and Sassanid empires, although its language must have been adapted to only a limited extent to the particular characteristics of the various Aramaic dialects spoken in Mesopotamia and beyond them.

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The Book of Enoch fell into the hands of Mani, a young Parthian (Persian) aristocrat, a member of a strict Christian sect. Delighted with its narrative charm and moved by some underlying metaphysical truths, he decided to give it a place among his own literary works, but not without changing it. In places a word-for-word translation, in places resumes of the narrative sections, in places slight elaborations.

The extraordinary missionary zeal of the Manichaeans carried the knowledge of the Book of Giants from the shores of the Atlantic as far as the plains of China. The Syriac original has been translated into numerous languages of Asia, of Europe, of Africa. We have today the remains of the Kawan in Middle Persian, in Sogdian, in Uigur. Extracts, quotations, allusions, are evidence of the existence of Parthian, Coptic, Greek, Latin, and Arabic versions. Some versions must have existed in other languages used by the Manichaeans, such as Chinese, Tokharian, Bactrian, Kushan or even Prakrit in India because we know that all of them used the Aramaic scripts. Emperor Ashoka used them extensively in stone inscriptions. There is evidence of Jewish influence flourishing from the 6th century BC to the 1st century AD. No religion of the Eastern Roman era and the early Middle Ages had such a large ethnic and linguistic expansion as Manichaeism. No work of ancient Jewish literature had in antiquity a circulation comparable with that of the Book of Giants.

FIRST COPY (4QEnGiants a Plates XXX-XXXII)

(The first copy of the Book of Giants from Cave 4 of Qumran (4QGiants a) was written by the same scribe as the important scroll which is the third copy of the Book of Enoch (4QEn c). We have established hat this scroll contained the original text of three parts of the Ethiopic Enoch: the first (En. 1 to 36, 'the Book of Watchers'), the fourth (En. 83-90, 'the Book of Dreams' or the zoomorphic history of the world), and the fifth (En. 91-107, 'the Epistle of Enoch'); our copy of the Book of Giants would have come after the first part. The text has lots of gaps:)

4QEnGiants a 1, 2, 3 (Plate XXX)

Fragment 1. I When I shall rise ... Baraq'el ... my face still . . . I am rising . . .

Fragment 2. on them . . . and Mahawai replied . . .

Fragment 3. . . . his fellows . . . Hobabes* and Adk[...] and what will you give me in order to kill . . .

(Hobabes [also known as Humbaba or Hobabel] seems to be an indirect reference to Gilgamesh as Hobabas was an adversary of Gilgamesh, see Gilgamesh Epic. The names of two giants which can be read in line 3 of fr. 3 are found on p. 1 of fragment 7 which forms part of the Middle Persian Book of Giants (Kawan), published by Henning in BSO AS xi, pp. 57 and 60. Here mention is also made of Baraq'el, or rather his son Mahawai, and also of the two sons of Semihazah, Ohya and his brother Ahya, whom we shall see cited by the fragments of

4QEnGiants a. Text of fr. j, p. 1:

'. . . Virogdad (read: Baraq'el). . . Hobabis (hwb'bys) robbed 'hr[. . .] of [. . .]nxtg, his wife. Thereupon the giants began to kill each other and to abduct their wives. The creatures, too, began to kill each other. Sim (read: Ohya) . . . before the sun, one hand in the air, the other . . . whatever he obtained, to his brother Nariman (read: Ahyi) . . . imprisoned. . . .')

4QEnGiants 4, 5, 6 (Plate XXX)

Fragment 4 . . . in them . . . Thereupon Ohyah said to Hahyah, his brother . . . . . above the earth and . . . . . the earth. When . . . . . they prostrated themselves and began to weep before Enoch . . .

Fragment 5 . . . the violence (inflicted) on me[n (or, and he exerted violence towards men) . . . they were killed . . .

Fragment 6 . . . was to us . . .

(The beginning of the second paragraph of fr. 4, which begins after the vacat of line 5, is reminiscent of the context of a Sogdian fragment of the Kawan (Henning, p. 66; cf. En. 13:9 and 4QEn c 1 vi 6, above, p. 193):)

'. . . when they saw the apostle (Enoch), . . . before the apostle . . . those demons that were timid, were very, very glad at seeing the apostle. All of them assembled before him. Also, of those that were tyrants and criminals, they were worried and much afraid. Then . .

4QEnGiants a 7 i (Plate XXXI)

. . . and your power ... Then Ohyah said to Hahyah, his brother . . . Then, he (God?) punished, not us, but Azazel, and has made him . . ., the sons of the Watchers, the giants, and all their beloved ones will not be spared . . . . . he has imprisoned us and you he has subdued.

4QEnGiants a 7ii (Plate XXXI)

(The following text is short but important as it speaks of "tablets". The only civilisation that produced significant writings on "stone tablets" was Mesopotania [Sumer, Akkad, Babylon, Assyria, Elam, Aram, Persia, etc.]. Mesopotamian clay tablets (Akkadian: tuppum] were used as a writing medium, especially for writing in cuneiform, throughout the Bronze Age and well into the Iron Age. The first tablets using syllabic elements in cuneiform date back to circa 2,800 BC, and they are clearly in Sumerian. Cuneiform characters were imprinted on a wet clay tablet with a stylus of reed (reed pen) whose tip had wedge-shape form. Writing with such a pen went faily quickly. Once written upon, many tablets were dried in the sun or air, remaining fragile. Later, these unfired clay tablets could be soaked in water and recycled into new clean tablets. Tablets for official use or entire books, once written, were fired in hot kilns turning those tablets into stone-hard and durable terracotta tablets. Collections of these clay documents made up the first archives. They were at the root of first libraries. Hundreds of thousands of written tablets, including many fragments, have been found in the regions between Turkey, Egypt and Persia. The text speaks about those tablets:)

. . . to you, Mahawai . . . the two tablets . . . and the second has not been read up till now . . .

4QEnGiants a 8 (Plate XXXII)

(According to 7ii it was through Mahawai (Mahavira), messenger of the giants and the nephilim [whose father was very appropriately named Lightning of God, Baraq'el], that Enoch, from his dwelling in Paradise, transmitted his epistles to the demons. Here again, the text talks about tablets and books:)

The book of . . . The copy of the second tablet of the Epistle . . . written by Enoch, the distinguished scribe's own hand . . . , the Watcher] sand the Holy One, to Semihazah and to all his companions . . . :

'Let it be known to you that you not. . . and your works and those of your wives . . . themselves and their children and the wives of their children . . . by your prostitution on the earth. And it befell you . . . And the earth complains and accuses you, and the works of your children too, and its voice rises right to the portals of heaven, complaining and accusing (you) of" the corruption by which you have corrupted it.

. . . until the coming of Raphael. Lo, a destruction . . . on men and on animals: the birds which fly on the face of heaven, and the animals which live on the earth, and those which (live) in the deserts, and those which (live) in the seas. And the interpretation of your affa[ir? . . . on you for the worst. And now, loosen your bonds which tie you up . . . and begin to pray.'

(The following two fragments belong to a prayer of Enoch; cf. similar prayers at En. 9:4-11 and En. 84:2-6; also in the Christian Book of Parables, En. 63: 2-4.)

Fragment 9. . . . and all . . . . . -s before the splendour of Thy glory . . . of Thy glory, since Thou understandest all mysteries . . . and nothing is stronger than Thou . . . before Thee. And now, the Holy Ones of heaven . . . Thy kingship of glory unto everlasting years . . .

Fragment 10. . . . And now, my Lord . . . Thou hast multiplied and . . . Thou dost wish and . . .

4QEnGiants a 11, 12, 13 (Plate XXXII)

(Enoch speaks to Semihazah; cf. En. 13:1, where Enoch says to Asa'el, the second chief of the Watchers: 'there will be no peace at all for you.':)

Fragment 11ii. . . . and the dew and the hoar-frost. . .

Fragment 13. and prostrated themselves before (Enoch?)... Then he said to him (or: to them) " [. . . peace will not be to you . . . . . in order to be . . .

SUPPLEMENT 2

MANUAL OF DISCIPLINE
or The Community Rule
From: Codex Qumran
Translation: Michael Knibb
Estimated Range of Dating: 100-75 B.C.

(The Community Rule (Hebrew: Serekh haYahad), which is designated 1QS and was previously referred to as the Manual of Discipline, is one of the first scrolls to be discovered near khirbet (ruin of) Qumran, the scrolls found in the eleven caves between 1947 and 1954 are now referred to simply as the Dead Sea Scrolls. The most complete manuscript of the Community Rule was found in Cave 1, and was first called the Manual of Discipline. The Community Rules contain dualistic writings with Zoroastrian and Roman influences. They talk of War between Angel of Evil, represented as Darkness or Satan and Son(s) of the Israeli God, represented as light. Scholars assume that a Jewish religious community in the Second Temple period (probably the Essenes) occupied the site at Qumran and owned the scrolls found in caves nearby. Archaeologists found at Qumran 10 ritual baths (mikva'ot) for ritual purity by immersion. The cemetery of the settlement which has been partially excavated. A few skeletal remains of women have been found although the sect of the Essenes is believed to have lived without women.)

Of the Commitment.

Everyone who wishes to join the community must pledge himself to respect God and man; to live according to the communal rule: to seek God; to do what is good and upright in His sight, in accordance with what He has commanded through Moses and through His servants the prophets; to love all that He has chosen and hate all that He has rejected; to keep far from evil and to cling to all good works; to act truthfully and righteously and justly on earth and to walk no more in the stubbornness of a guilty heart and of lustful eyes, doing all manner of evil; to bring into a bond of mutual love all who have declared their willingness to carry out the statutes of God; to join the formal community of God; to walk blamelessly before Him in conformity with all that has been revealed as relevant to the several periods during which they are to bear witness (to Him) ; to love all the children of light, each according to the measure of his guilt, which God will ultimately requite.

All who declare their willingness to serve God's truth must bring all of their mind, all of their strength, and all of their wealth into the community of God, so that their minds may be purified by the truth of His precepts, their strength controlled by His perfect ways, and their wealth disposed in accordance with His just design. They must not deviate by a single step from carrying out the orders of God at the times appointed for them; they must neither advance the statutory times nor postpone the prescribed seasons. They must not turn aside from the ordinances of God's truth either to the right or to the left.

Of Initiation.

Moreover, all who would join the ranks of the community must enter into a covenant in the presence of God to do according to all that He has commanded and not to turn away from Him through any fear or terror or through any trial to which they may be subjected through the domination of Belial.

When they enter into that covenant, the priests and the Levites are to pronounce a blessing upon the God of salvation and upon all that He does to make known His truth; and all that enter the covenant are to say after them, Amen, amen.

Then the priests are to rehearse the bounteous acts of God as revealed in all His deeds of power, and they are to recite all His tender mercies towards Israel; while the Levites are to rehearse the iniquities of the children of Israel and all the guilty transgression and sins that they have committed through the domination of Belial. And all who enter the covenant are to make confession after them, saying, We have acted perversely, we have transgressed, we have sinned, we have done wickedly, ourselves and our fathers before us, in that we have gone counter to the truth. God has been right to bring His judgement upon us and upon our fathers. Howbeit, always from ancient times He has also bestowed His mercies upon us all, and so will He do for all time to come.

Then the priests are to invoke a blessing on all that have cast their low with God, that walk blamelessly in all their ways; and they are to say: MAY HE BLESS THEE with all good and KEEP THEE from all evil. And ILLUMINE thy heart with insight into the things of life, and GRACE THEE with knowledge of things eternal, and LIFT UP HIS gracious COUNTENANCE TOWARDS THEE to grant thee peace everlasting.

The Levites, on the other hand, are to invoke a curse on all that have cast their lot with Belial, and to say in response: Cursed are thou for all thy wicked guilty works, May God make thee a thing of abhorrence at the hands of all who would wreak vengeance, and visit thine offspring with destruction at the hands of all who would mete out retribution. Cursed art thou, beyond hope of mercy. Even as they works are wrought in darkness, so mayest thou be damned in the gloom of the fire eternal. May God show thee no favor when thou callest, neither pardon to forgive thine iniquities. May He lift up an angry countenance towards thee, to wreak vengeance upon thee. May no man wish thee peace of all that truly claim their patrimony.

And all that enter the covenant shall say alike after them that bless and after them that curse, Amen, amen.

Thereupon the priests and the Levites shall continue and say: Cursed be every one that hath come to enter this covenant with the taint of idolatry in his heart and who hath set his iniquity as a stumblingblock before him so that thereby he may defect, and who, when he hears the terms of this covenant, blesses himself in his heart, saying, May it go well with me, for I shall go on walking in the stubbornness of my heart! Whether he satisfy his passions or whether he still thirsts for their fulfillment, may his spirit be swept away and receive no pardon. May the anger of God and the fury of His judgements consume him as by fire unto his eternal extinction, and may there cleave unto him all the curses threatened in this covenant. May God set him apart for misfortune, and may he be cut off from the midst of all the children of light in that through the taint of his idolatry and through the

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stumblingblock of his iniquity he has defected from God. May God set his lot among those that are accursed for ever! And all who have been admitted to the covenant shall say them in response, Amen, amen.

Of the annual Review.

The following procedure is to be followed year by year so long as Belial continues to hold sway.

The priests are first to be reviewed in due order, one after another, in respect of the state of their spirits. After them, the Levites shall be similarly reviewed, and in the third place all the laity one after another, in their thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens. The object is that every man in Israel may be made aware of his status in the community of God in the sense of the ideal, eternal society, and that none may be abased below his status nor exalted above his allotted place. All of them will thus be members of a community founded at once upon true values and upon a becoming sense of humility, upon charity and mutual fairness-members of a society truly hallowed, partners in an everlasting communion.

Of those who are to be excluded.

Anyone who refuses to enter the (ideal) society of God and persists in walking in the stubbornness of his heart shall not be admitted to this community of God's truth. For inasmuch as his soul has revolted at the discipline entailed in a knowledge of God's righteous judgements, he has shown no real strength in amending his way of life, and therefore cannot be reckoned with the upright. The mental, physical and material resources of such a man are not to be introduced into the stock of the community, for such a man 'plows in the slime of wickedness' and 'there are stains on his repentance'. He is not honest in resolving the stubbornness of his heat. On paths of light he sees but darkness/ Such a man cannot be reckoned as among those essentially blameless. He cannot be cleared by mere ceremonies of atonement, nor cleansed by any waters of ablution, nor sanctified by immersion in lakes of rivers, nor purified by any bath. Unclean, unclean he remains so long as he rejects the government of God and refuses the discipline of communion with Him. For it is only through the spiritual apprehension of God's truth that man's ways can be properly directed. Only thus can all his iniquities be shriven so that he can gaze upon the true light of life. Only through the holy spirit can he achieve union with God's truth and be purged of all his iniquities. Only by a spirit of uprightness and humility can his sin be atoned. Only by the submission of his soul to all the ordinances of God can his flesh be made clean. Only thus can it really be sprinkled with waters of ablution. Only thus can it really be sanctified by waters of purification. And only thus can he really direct his steps to walk blamelessly through all the vicissitudes of his destiny in all the way of God in the manner which He has commanded, without turning either to the right or to the left and without overstepping any of God's words. Then indeed will he be acceptable before God like an atonement-offering which meets with His pleasure, and then indeed will he be admitted to the covenant of the community for ever.

Of the two spirits in man.

This is for the man who would bring other to the inner vision, so that he may understand and teach to all the children of light the real nature of men, touching the different varieties of their temperaments with the distinguishing traits thereof, touching their actions throughout their generations, and touching the reason why they are now visited with afflictions and now enjoy periods of well-being.

All that is and ever was comes from a God of knowledge. Before things came into existence He determined the plan of them; and when they fill their appointed roles, it is in accordance with His glorious design that they discharge their functions. Nothing can be changed. In His hand lies the government of all things. God it is that sustains them in their needs.

Now, this God created man to rule the world, and appointed for him two spirits after whose direction he was to walk until the final Inquisition. They are the spirits of truth and perversity.

The origin of truth lies in the Fountain of Light, and that of perversity in the Wellspring of Darkness. All who practice righteousness are under the domination of the Prince of Lights, and walk in ways of light; whereas all who practice perversity are under the domination of the Angel of Darkness, however, even those who practice righteousness are made liable to error. All their sin and their iniquities, all their guilt and their deeds of transgression are the result of his domination; and this, by God's inscrutable design, will continue until the time appointed by Him. Moreover, all men's afflictions and all their moments of tribulation are due to this being's malevolent sway. All of the spirits that attend upon him are bent on causing the sons of light to stumble. Howbeit, the God of Israel and the Angel of His truth are always there to help the sons of light. It is God that created these spirits of light and darkness and made them the basis of every act, the [instigators] of every deed and the direction and the directors of every thought. The one He loves for to all eternity, and is ever pleased with its deeds; but any association with the other He abhors, and He hates all its ways to the end of time.

This is the way those spirits operate in the world. The enlightenment of man's heart, the making straight before him all the ways of righteousness and truth, the implanting in his heart of fear for the judgements of God, of a spirit of humility, of patience, of abundant compassion, of perpetual goodness, of insight, of perception, of that sense of the Divine Power that is based at once on an apprehension of God's works and a reliance on His plenteous mercy, of a spirit of knowledge informing every plan of action, of a zeal for righteous government, of a hallowed mind in a controlled nature, of abounding love for all who follow the truth, of self-respecting purity which abhors all the taint of filth, of a modesty of behaviour coupled with a general prudence and an ability to hide within oneself the secrets of what one knows - these are the things that come to men in this world through communion with the spirit of truth. And the guerdon of all that walk in its ways is health and abundant well-being, with long life and fruition of seed along with eternal blessings and everlasting joy in the life everlasting, and a crown of glory and a robe of honor, amid light perpetual.

But to the spirit of perversity belong greed, remissness in right doing, wickedness and falsehood, pride and presumption, ruthless deception and guile, abundant insolence, shortness of temper and profusion of folly, arrogant passion, abominable acts in a spirit of lewdness, filthy ways in the thralldom of unchastity, a blasphemous tongue, blindness of eyes, dullness of ears, stiffness of neck and hardness of heart, to the end that a man walks entirely in ways of darkness and of evil cunning. The guerdon of all who walk in such ways is multitude of afflictions at the hands of all the angels of destruction, everlasting perdition through the angry wrath of an avenging God, eternal horror and perpetual reproach, the disgrace of final annihilation in the Fire, darkness throughout the vicissitudes of life in every generation, doleful sorrow, bitter misfortune and darkling ruin-ending in extinction without remnant of survival.

It is to these things that all men are born, and it is to these that all the host of them are heirs throughout their generations. It is in these ways that men needs must walk and it is in these two divisions, according as a man inherits something of each, that all human acts are divided throughout all the ages of eternity. For God has appointed these two things to obtain in equal measure until the final age.

Between the two categories He has set an eternal enmity. Deeds of perversity are an abomination to Truth, while all the ways of Truth are an abomination to perversity; and there is a constant jealous rivalry between their two regimes, for they do not march in accord. Howbeit, God in His inscrutable wisdom has appointed a term for existence of perversity, and when the time of Inquisition comes, He will destroy it for ever. Then truth will emerge triumphant for the world, albeit now until the time of the final judgement it go sullying itself in the ways of wickedness owing to the domination of perversity. Then, too, God will purge all the acts of man in the crucible of His Truth, and refine for Himself all the fabric of man, destroying every spirit of perversity from within his flesh and cleansing him by the holy spirit from all the effects of wickedness. Like waters of purification He will sprinkle upon the spirit of truth, to cleanse him of all the abominations of falsehood and of all pollution through the spirit of filth; to the end that, being made upright, men may have understanding of transcendental knowledge and of the lore of the sons of heaven, and that, being made blameless in their ways, they may be endowed with inner vision. For them has God chosen to be the partners of His eternal covenant, and theirs shall be all mortal glory. Perversity shall be no more, and all works of deceit shall be put to shame.

Thus far, the spirits of truth and perversity have been struggling in the heart of man. Men have walked both in wisdom and folly. If a man casts his portion with the truth, he does righteously and hates perversity; if he casts it with perversity, he does wickedly and abominates truth. For God has appointed them in equal measure until the final age, until 'He makes all things new'. He foreknows the effect of their works in every epoch of the world, and He has made men heirs to them that they might know good and evil. But [when the time] of Inquisition [comes], He will determine the fate of every living being in accordance with which of the [two spirits he has chosen to follow].

Of social relations.

This is the rule for all members of the community - that is, for such as have declared their readiness to turn away from all evil and to adhere to all that God in His good pleasure has commanded.

They are to keep apart from the company of the froward.

They are to belong to the community in both doctrinal and an economic sense.

They are to abide by the decisions of the sons of Zadok, the same being priests that still keep the Covenant, and of the majority of the community that stand firm in it. It is by the vote of such that all matters doctrinal, economic and judicial are to be determined.

They are concertedly and in all their pursuits to practice truth, humility, righteousness, justice, chastity and decency, with no one walking in the stubbornness of his own heart or going astray after his heart or his eyes or his fallible human mind.

Furthermore, they are concertedly to remove the impurity of their human mold, and likewise all stiffneckedness.

They are to establish in Israel a solid basis of truth.

They are to unite in a bond indissoluble for ever.

They are to extend forgiveness to all among the priesthood that have freely enlisted in the cause of holiness, and to all among the laity that have done so in the cause of truth, and likewise to all that have associated themselves with them.

They are to make common cause both in the struggle and in the upshot of it.

They are to regard as felons all that transgress the law.

Of the obligation of holiness.

And this is the way in which all those ordinances are to be applied on a collective basis.

Everyone who is admitted to the formal organization (Council) of the community is to enter into a covenant of God in the presence of all fellow-volunteers in the cause and to commit himself by a binding oath to return with all his heart and soul to the commandments of the Law of Moses, as that Law is revealed to the sons of Zadok-that is, to the priests who still keep the Covenant and seek God's will -and to a majority of their co-covenanters who have volunteered together to adhere to the truth of God and to walk according to His pleasure.

He that so commits himself is to keep apart from all froward men that walk in the path of wickedness; for such men are not to be reckoned in the Covenant inasmuch as they have never sought nor studied God's ordinances in order to find out on what more arcane points they may guiltily have gone astray, while in regard to the things which stand patently revealed they have acted high-handedly. They have thus incurred God's angry judgement and caused Him to take vengeance upon them with all the curses threatened in the Covenant and to wreak great judgements upon them that they be finally destroyed without remnant.

No one is to go into water in order to attain the purity of holy men. For men cannot be purified except they repent their evil. God regards as impure all that transgress His word. No one is to have any association with such a man either in work or in goods, lest he incur the penalty of prosecution. Rather is he to keep away from such a man in every respect, for the Scriptures says: 'Keep away from every false thing' [Exodus 23:7]. No member of the community is to abide by the decision of such men in any matter of doctrine or law. He is not to eat or drink of anything that belongs to them nor receive anything from them except for cash, even as sit is written: 'desist from man whose breath is in his nostrils, for as what is he reckoned:' [Isaiah 2:22]. All that are not reckoned in the Covenant must be put aside, and likewise all that they posses. A holy man must not rely on works of vanity, and vanity is what all of them are that have not recognized God's Covenant. All that spurn His word will God blast out of the world. All their actions are as filth before Him, and He regards all their possessions as unclean.

Of the examination of initiants.

When a man enters the covenant, minded to act in accordance with all the foregoing ordinances and formally to ally himself to the holy congregation, inquiry is to be made concerning his temper in human relations and his understanding and performance in matters of doctrine. This inquiry is to be conducted jointly by the priests who have undertaken concertedly to uphold God's Covenant and to supervise the execution of all the ordinances which He has commanded, and by a majority of the laity who have likewise undertaken concertedly to return to that Covenant. Every many is then to be registered in a particular rank, one after the other, by the standard of his attitudes and their performance are to be reviewed, however, year by year, some being then promoted by virtue of their (improved) understanding and the integrity of their conduct, and others demoted for their waywardness.

Of accusations and grudges.

When anyone has a charge against his neighbour, he is to prosecute it truthfully, humbly and humanely. He is not to speak to him angrily or querulously or arrogantly or in any wicked mood. He is not to bear hatred [towards him in the inner recesses] of his heart. When he has a charge against him, he is to proffer it then and there [on the selfsame day] and not render himself liable to penalty by nursing a grudge. Furthermore, no man is to bring a charge publicly against his neighbour except he prove it by witness.

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Of Communal Duties.

This is the procedure which all members of the community are to follow in all dealings with one another, wherever they dwell.

Everyone is to obey his superior in rank in all matters of work and money. But all are to dine together, worship together and take counsel together.

Wherever there be ten men who have formally enrolled in the community, one who is a priest is not to depart from them. When they sit in his presence, they are to take their places according to their respective ranks; and the same order is to obtain when they meet for common counsel.

When they set the table for a meal or prepare wine to drink, the priest is first to put forth his hand to invoke a blessing on the first portion of the bread and wine.

In any place where there happen to be ten such men, there is not to be absent from them one who will be available at all times, day and night, to interpret the Law (Torah), each of them doing so in turn.

The general members of the community are to keep awake for a third of all the nights of the year reading book(s), [or the book of Law] studying the Law and worshipping together.

Of the General Council.

This is the rule covering public sessions.

The priests are to occupy the first place. The elders are to come second; and the rest of the people are to take their places according to their respective ranks. This order is to obtain alike when they seek a judicial ruling, when they meet for common counsel, or when any matter arises of general concern.

Everyone is to have an opportunity of rendering his opinion in the common council. No one, however, is to interrupt while his neighbour is speaking, or to speak until the latter has finished. Furthermore, no one is to speak in advance of his prescribed rank. Everyone is to speak in turn, as he is called upon.

In public sessions, no one is to speak on any subject that is not of concern to (or to the liking of) the company as a whole. If the superintendent of the general membership or anyone who is not of the same rank as the person who happens to be raising a question for the consideration of the community, has something to say to the company, he is to stand up and declare: I have said something to the company; and only if they so bid him, is he to speak.

Of Postulants and Novices.

If any man in Israel wish to be affiliated to the formal congregation of the community, the superintendent of the general membership is to examine him as to his intelligence and his actions and, if he then embark on a course of training, he is to have him enter into a covenant to return to the truth and turn away from all perversity. Then he is to appraise him of all the rules of the community.

Subsequently, when that man comes to present himself to the general membership, everyone is to be asked his opinion about him. and his admission to or rejection from the formal congregation of the community is to be determined by general vote.

No candidate, however, is to be admitted to the formal state of purity enjoyed by the general membership of the community until, at the completion of a full year, his spiritual attitude and his performance have been duly reviewed. Meanwhile he is to have no stake in the common funds.

After he has spent a full year in the midst of the community, the members are jointly to review his case, as to his understanding and performance in matters of doctrine. If it then be voted by the opinion of the priests and of a majority of their co-covenanters to admit him to the sodality, they are to have him bring with him all his property and the tools of his profession. These are to be committed to the custody of the community's 'minister of works'. They are to entered by that officer into an account, but he is not to disburse them for the general benefit.

Not until the completion of a second year among the members of the community is the candidate to be admitted to the common board. [Drink] When however, that second year has been completed, he is to be subjected to a further review by the general membership, and if it then be voted to admit him to the community, he is to be registered in due order of rank which he is to occupy among his brethren in all matters pertaining to doctrine, judicial procedure, degree of purity and share in the common funds. Thenceforth his counsel and his judgement are to be at the disposal of the community.

Of false, impudent and blasphemous speech.

And these are the rules to be followed in the interpretation of the law regarding forms of speech.

If there be found in the community a man who consciously lies in the matter of (his) wealth, he is to be regarded as outside the state of purity entailed by membership, and he is to be mulcted of one fourth of his food ration.

If a man answer his neighbour defiantly or speak brusquely so as to undermine the composure (shake -or disturb- the foundation) of his fellow, and in so doing flout the orders of one who is registered as his superior [ ], he is to be mulcted for one year.

If a man, in speaking about anything, mention that Name which is honored above all [names], or if, in a moment of sudden stress or for some other personal reason, he curses the --------- (i.e., the man who reads the Book of the Law or leads worship), he is to be put out and never to return to formal membership in the community.

If a man speaks in anger against one of the registered priests, he is to be mulcted for one year, placed in isolation, and regarded as outside the state of purity entailed in membership of the community. If, however, he spoke unintentionally, he is to be mulcted only for six months.

If a man defames his neighbour unjustly, and does so deliberately, he is to mulcted for one year and regarded as 'outside'.

Of Fraud.

If a man speaks with his neighbour in guile or consciously practice deceit upon him, he is to be mulcted for six months. If however, he practices the deceit [unintentionally], he is to be mulcted only for three months.

If a man defraud the community, causing a deficit in its funds, he is to make good that deficit, if he lack means to do so, he is to be mulcted for sixty days.

Of Vindictiveness.

If he harbor a grudge against his neighbour without legitimate cause, he is to be mulcted for six months [supra-linear correction: 'one year']. The same is to apply also to anyone who takes personal revenge on his neighbour in any respect.

Of improper speech.

Anyone who indulges in indecent talk is to be mulcted for three months.

Of misconduct at public sessions.

Anyone who interrupts his neighbour in a public session is to be mulcted for ten days.

Anyone who lies down and goes to sleep at a public session is to be mulcted for thirty days.

Anyone who leaves a public session gratuitously and without reason for as many as three times during one sitting is to be mulcted for ten days. If he leaves while everyone else is standing (?), he is to be mulcted for thirty days.

Of indecorous acts.

If, except he be under duress (?), a man walk naked before his neighbour, he shall be mulcted for six months.

If a man spit into the midst of a public session, he shall be mulcted for thirty days.

If a man bring out his hand from under his cloak, so expose himself that his private parts become visible, he shall be mulcted for thirty days.

If a man indulge in raucous, inane laughter, he shall be mulcted for thirty days.

If a man put forth his left hand to gesticulate with it in conversation, he shall be mulcted for ten days.

Of slander and incrimination.

If a man slander his neighbour, he shall be regarded as outside the communal state of purity for one year, and he shall be mulcted. But if he slander the entire group, he is to be expelled and never return.

If a man complain against the whole basis of the community, he is to be expelled irrevocably.

If he complains against his neighbour without legitimate cause, he is to be mulcted for six months.

Of defection.

If a man's spirit waver so far from the basis of the community that he betrays the truth and walk in stubbornness of his own heart, but if he subsequently repent, he shall be mulcted for two years. During the first, he shall be regarded as outside the communal state of purity altogether. During the second he shall be excluded from the communal board (drink) and occupy a place behind all the other members. At the completion of the two years, the membership in general shall hold an inquiry about him. If it then be decided to readmit him, he shall again be registered with duly assigned rank and thereafter he too shall be called upon to render his opinion in deliberations concerning the rules.

If a man has been a formal member of the community for a full ten years, but then, through spiritual relapse, betray the principles of the community and quit the general body in order to walk in the stubbornness of his own heart, he is never to return to formal membership in the community. No member of the community is to associate with him either by recognizing him as of the same state of purity or by sharing property with him. Any of the members who does so shall be liable to the same sentence: he too shall be expelled.

Of the appointment of 'presbyters'.

In the deliberative council of the community there shall be twelve laymen and three priests schooled to perfection in all that has been revealed of the entire Law. their duty shall be to set the standard for the practice of truth, righteousness and justice, and for the exercise of charity and humility in human relations; and to show how, by control of impulse and contrition of spirit, faithfulness may be maintained on earth; how, by active performance of justice and passive submission to the trials of chastisement, iniquity may be cleared, and how one can walk with all men with the quality of truth and in conduct appropriate to every occasion.

So long as these men exist in Israel, the deliberative council of the community will rest securely on a basis of truth. It will become a plant evergreen. Insofar as the laymen are concerned, it will be indeed a sanctuary; and insofar as the priesthood is concerned, it will indeed constitute the basis for a true 'holy of holies'. The members of community will be in all justice the witnesses of God's truth and the elect of His favor, effecting atonement for the earth and ensuring the requital of the wicked. They will be, indeed, a 'tested bulwark' and 'precious cornerstone' (Isaiah 28:16], which shall never be shaken or moved from their place. As for the priesthood, they shall be a seat for the holy of holies, inasmuch as all of them will then have knowledge of the Covenant of justice and all of them be qualified to offer what will be indeed 'a pleasant savor' to the Lord. And as for the laity, they will constitute a household of integrity and truth, qualified to maintain the Covenant as an everlasting pact. they shall prove acceptable to God, so that He will shrive the earth of its guilt, bring final judgement upon wickedness, and perversity shall be no more.

When these men have undergone, with blamelessness of conduct, a two year preparation in the fundamentals of the community, they shall be segregated as especially sacred among the formal members of the community. Any knowledge which the expositor of the law may posses but which may have to remain arcane to the ordinary layman, he shall not keep hidden from them; for in their case there need be no fear that it might induce apostasy.

When these men exist in Israel, these are the provision whereby they are to be kept apart from any consort with froward men, to the end that they may indeed 'go into the wilderness to prepare the way' i.e., do what Scripture enjoins when it says, 'Prepare in the wilderness...make it straight in the desert a highway for our God' [Isaiah 40:3]. (The reference is to the study of the Law which God commanded through Moses to the end that, an occasion arises, all things may be done in accordance with what is revealed therein and with what the prophets also have revealed through God's holy spirit.)

No member of the community - that is, no duly covenanted member - who blatantly deviates in any particular from the body of commandments is to be permitted to come into contact with the purity enjoyed by these specially holy men or to benefit by (know) their counsel until his actions be free of all perversity and he has been readmitted to the common council by decision of the general membership and thereupon reinstated in his rank.

The same rule is to apply also to novices.

Of the conduct of 'presbyters'.

These are the rules of conduct for the 'men of perfect holiness' in their dealings with one another.

If any of those that have been admitted to the degree of special sanctity - that is, to the degree of 'those that walk blamelessly in the way as God has commanded' -transgress a single word of the Law of Moses either blatantly or deviously, he is to be excommunicated and never to return. No other person in the degree of the specially holy is to have anything to do with him in the sharing either of property or of counsel.

If, however, he erred unintentionally, he is to be debarred only from that particular degree of purity and from participation in the common council. this is to be interpreted to mean that he is not to render any judgement nor is his counsel to be invited in any matter for a full two years. This hold good, however, only if, after the expiration of the full two years, his conduct be considered, in the judgement of the general membership, to be perfect alike in attendance at general assemblies, in study and in frame of mind, and if he has not meanwhile committed any further act of inadvertence. In other words, this two-year penalty is to apply only in the cases of a single inadvertent error, whereas if a man acts blatantly, he is nevermore to be readmitted. In sum, it is only the man who acts by inadvertence that is to be placed on probation for two years to see whether, in the opinion of the general membership, his conduct and frame of mind have meanwhile again become blameless. If so, he may be reinstalled in the body of the especially holy.

When these things obtain in Israel, as defined by these provisions, the Holy Spirit will indeed rest on a sound foundation; truth will be evinced perpetually; the guilt of transgression and the perfidy of sin will be shriven; and atonement will be made for the earth more effectively than by any flesh of burn-offerings or fat sacrifices. The 'oblation of

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the lips' will be in all justice like the erstwhile 'pleasant savor' on the altar; righteousness and integrity like the free-will offering which god designs to accept. At that time, the men of the community will constitute a true distinctive temple-a veritable holy of holies-wherein the priesthood may fitly foregather, and a true distinctive synagogue made up of laymen who walk in integrity.

Of the authority of the priests.

The priests alone are to have authority in all judicial and economic matters, and it is by their vote that the ranks of the various members of the community are to be determined.

Of the property of 'presbyters'.

The property of the 'specially holy men' - that is, of 'the men that walk 'blamelessly' - is not to be put into a common pool with that of men who may still be addicted to deceit and may not yet have achieved that purity of conduct which leads them to keep apart from perversity and to walk in integrity.

Until the coming of the prophet and of both the priestly and the lay Messiah, these men are not to depart from the clear intent of the Law to walk in any way in the stubbornness of their own hearts. They shall judge by the original laws in which the members of the community were schooled from the beginning.

Of the daily conduct of the faithful.

These are the ordinances for the conduct of any man that seeks after inner vision, in regard alike to human relations, the regulation of affairs on specific occasions, and the balanced appraisal of his fellow men, to the end that he may perform at all time the will of God which has been revealed as pertinent to this or that occasion; that he may at all times accommodate theory to circumstance; and that he may come to make the proper distinctions and evaluate the sons of Zadok (i.e. the priests) and the elect of any particular epoch by the standard of their spiritual attitudes, and appraise them by that criterion, thus conforming to the will of God, as He has commanded.

Everyone is to be judged by the standard of his spirituality. Intercourse with him is to be determined by the purity of his deeds, and consort with him by the degree of his intelligence. This alone is to determine the degree to which a man is to be loved or hated.

Of religious discussion.

No one is to engage in discussion or disputation with men of ill repute; and in the company of froward men everyone is to abstain from talk about (keep hidden) the meaning of the Law [Torah].

With those, however, that have chosen the right path everyone is indeed to discuss matters pertaining to the apprehension (knowledge) of God's truth and of His righteous judgements. The purpose of such discussions is to guide the minds of the members of the community, to give them insight into God's inscrutable wonders and truth, and to bring them to walk blamelessly each with his neighbour in harmony with all that has been revealed to them. For this is the time when 'the way is being prepared in the wilderness', and it behooves them to understand all that is happening. It is also the time when they must needs keep apart from all other men and not turn aside from the way through any form of perversity.

Of loving and hating fellow men; and of duty to God.

And these are the regulations of conduct for every man that would seek the inner vision in these times, touching what he is to love and what he is to hate.

He is to bear unremitting hatred toward all men of ill repute, and to be minded to keep [•] from them. He is to leave it to them to pursue wealth and mercenary gain, like servants at the mercy of their masters or wretches truckling to a despot.

He is to be zealous to carry out every ordinance punctiliously, against the Day of Requital.

In all his emprises and in all things over which he has control he is to act in a manner acceptable to God, in accordance with what God has commanded.

He is to accept willingly whatever befalls him and to take pleasure in nothing but the will of God.

He is to make [all] the words of his mouth acceptable, and not to lust after anything that God has not commanded.

He is to watch ever for the judgement of God, and [in every vicissitude of his existence] he is to bless his Maker. Whatever befalls, he is to [recount God's glory] and to bless him [with 'the oblation of] the lips'.

THE QUMRAN LIBRARY, PART 2
or The Uncovered Dead Sea Scrolls of Qumran
50 Key Documents Withheld for Over 35 Years
Translation: Robert H. Eisenman and Michael Wise, 1991
Estimated range of Dating: 200 BC - 68 AD

(This is a version for comfortable reading, which means that most notes and brackets have been removed or reduced to the briefest size possible. Commentaries before each text are provided to describe what the following text is about. These commentaries are abridged but not the text body. We only attempt here to illuminate matters such as a proper historical perspective, the political and legal situation, and certain references to other scripture. Academic interested readers may refer to the original work "Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered" by Robert Eiseman and Michael Wise.

Robert Eisenman is Professor of Middle East Religions and Chair of the Religious Studies Department at California State University, Long Beach. He has published several books on the Scrolls, including Maccabees, Zadokites, Christians and Qumran: A New Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and James the Just in the Habakkuk Pesher, and he is a major contributor to a Facsimile Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Michael Wise is an Assistant Professor of Aramaic - the language of Jesus, and the lingua franca of the ancient Middle East, Mesopotamia, Persia, and the Mauriya Empire of India - in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilisation at the University of Chicago. He is the author of A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave Eleven and has written numerous articles on the Dead Sea Scrolls which have appeared in journals such as the Revue de Qumran, Journal of Biblical Literature, and Vetus Testamentum.

Professor Eisenman and Professor Wise have ideas concerning these things that, while complementary, are not always the same. Both agree as to the 'Zealot' and / or 'Messianic' character of the texts, but one would go further than the other in the direction of 'Zadokite', 'Sadducee', and / or 'Jewish Christian' theory. Every effort is also made to link these new documents with the major texts known from the early days of Qumran research which were published in the fifties and sixties, including the Damascus Document, the Community Rule, the Habakkuk Pesher, the War Scroll, and Hymns.

Of the Cave 4 materials in the DJD series and the 1800 photographs or so in the Facsimile Edition, about 580 separate manuscripts can be identified. Of these, some 380 are non-Biblical, or 'sectarian' as they are referred to in the field; the rest Biblical. Non-Biblical or sectarian texts are those not found in the Bible. Except for those apocryphal and pseudepigraphic works that have come down to us through various traditions, most of these are new, never seen before.

Most philologists, who are primarily interested in reconstructing a single text or a given passage from that text, just could not appreciate why historians, after waiting some thirty-five years for all materials to become available, did not wish to wait any longer, regardless of the perfection or imperfection of their Translation efforts. The historian needs the materials relating to the given movement or historical current before drawing any conclusion or making a judgement about that movement.

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Introduction

(Why should we be interested in the Uncovered Dead Sea Scrolls? Why are they important? They are important because they portray the origin of hatred among Jews, Christians, and Muslims. It becomes very clear that there were two Messianic movements at the time of the Flavian dynasty: A.) the Messianic Movement in the Holy Land that tells us their beliefs and convictions in the Qumran Scrolls represented by James, the brother of Jesus, and B.) the pacifistic Messianic Movement created by Romans such as Peter and Paul. Their successor is the modern Christianity. The most shocking revelation is how the, for Romans dangerous, "Messianic Movement of the Holy Land" evolved into the, for us dangerous, belief system called Islam, which is nothing else but its true successor. The Koran, with all its Judaist prophets, rigid rules and draconic laws, is in many passages a rearranged and extremely abridged copy of the Old Testament, some insignificant parts of the New Testament and Gnostic texts, some parts of Mohammed's deeds and sayings, and a large part of those Qumran Scrolls written by the Messianic Movement of the Holy Land. How could that happen?

The answer lies the past too. It is a misconception that there were only three Jewish-Roman wars from 66 to 135 AD. In reality, the Messianic Movement began its activity only one or two generations after the conquest of Alexander the Great and continued an 800-years fight against invaders until Mohammed's Islam came along. Already after each of those three Jewish-Roman wars, thousands of Messianic Jews fled to Mesopotamia, Persia, and Arabia. From there, they kept fighting. Mohammed hoped to take total suppremacy over those Messianic groups. Instead, they have rejected him as the oppressor he was. Mohammed who thought himself one of those Messianic people had to fight fierce battles against them, lost thousands of fighters and lots of friends and family members, and he hated them for their righteous resistance. And this is what the Koran still reflects today, with its Jew-hatred and intolerance towards all others who resist "submission" (and this is what the word "Islam" means) under Islamic hegemony.

The story of the discovery of the Scrolls in caves along the shores of the Dead Sea in the late forties and early fifties is well known. The first cave was discovered, as the story goes, by Bedouin boys in 1947. Most familiar works in Qumran research come from this cave - Qumran, the Arabic term for the locale in which the Scrolls were found, being used by scholars as shorthand to refer to the Scrolls. The most important cave for our purposes was Cave 4 discovered in 1954. Since it was discovered after the partition of Palestine, its contents went into the Jordanian-controlled Rockefeller Museum in East Jerusalem; while the contents of Cave 1 had previously gone into an Israeli-controlled museum in West Jerusalem, the Israel Museum.

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The struggle for access to the materials in Cave 4 was arduous and bitter, and took more than 30 years. In 1985-86, Professor Robert Eisenman was in Jerusalem as a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellow at the William F. Albright Institute for Archaeological Research - the 'American School' where the Scrolls from Cave 1 were originally brought for inspection in 1947. The subject of his research was the relationship of the Community at Qumran to the Jerusalem Church. This last is also referred to as the Jerusalem Community of James the Just, called in sources 'the Brother of Jesus' - whatever may be meant by this designation.

It was from the ranks of the French School - the Ecole as it is called, an extension of the Dominican Order in Jerusalem - that all previous editors were drawn, including the two most recent, Father Benoit, head of the Ecole before he died, and John Strugnell. "The International Team" had been put in place by Roland de Vaux, another Dominican father. In several seasons from 1954- 56 De Vaux did the archaeology of Qumran. A sociologist by training, not an archaeologist, de Vaux had also been head of the Ecole.

In the spring of 1986 at the end of his stay in Jerusalem, Professor Eisenman went with the British scholar, Philip Davies of the University of Sheffield, to see one of the Israeli officials responsible for this - an intermediary on behalf of the Antiquities Department (now 'Authority') and the International Team and the Scrolls Curator at the Israel Museum. They were told in no uncertain terms, 'You will not see the Scrolls in your lifetimes.' These words more than any others stung them into action and the campaign to free up access to the Scrolls was galvanised. Almost five years to the day from the time they were uttered, absolute access to the Scrolls was attained. This campaign gathered momentum in June 1989, when it became the focus of a parallel campaign being conducted by the Biblical Archaeology Review in Washington DC and its editor, Hershel Shanks, and caught the attention of the international press. Unbeknowns, however, to either Shanks or the press, behind the scenes events were transpiring that would make even these discussions moot. Eisenman had been identified in this flurry of worldwide media attention as the scholarly point man in this struggle. As a result, photographs of the remaining unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls were made available to him. These began coming to him in September of 1989.

At first they came in small consignments, then more insistently, until by the autumn of 1990, a year later, photographs of virtually the whole of the unpublished corpus and then some, had been made over to him. Those responsible for this obviously felt that he would know what to do with them. The present editors hope that this confidence has been justified. The publication of the two-volume Facsimile Edition two years later, together with the present volume, is the result.

At this juncture Professor Michael Wise of the University of Chicago, a specialist in Aramaic, was brought into the picture. Eisenman began sharing the archive with him in November 1990. Two teams immediately set to work, one under Professor Eisenman at California State University at Long Beach and one under Professor Wise at the University of Chicago. Their aim was to go through everything every photograph individually - to see what was there, however long it took, leaving nothing to chance and depending on no one else's work.

Reconstructed between January 1991 and May 1992, these give an excellent overview of what there is in the previously sequestered corpus and what their significance is. The fifty texts in this volume were reconstructed out of some 150 different plates, most of the numbers for which are given in the reader's notes at the end of each Chapter. Twenty-five of the most interesting of these plates are presented in this volume not only for the reader's interest, but also so that he or she can check the accuracy of the transliterations and Translations. The rest can be located in A Facsimile Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls, published by the Biblical Archaeology Society of Washington DC in 1991, to which the corresponding plate numbers are provided. Thirty-three of these texts are in Hebrew (including one in a cryptic script that required decoding) and seventeen in Aramaic. Aramaic was apparently considered the more appropriate vehicle for the expression of testaments, incantations, and the like. More sacred writings were more typically inscribed in Hebrew, the holy language of the Books of Moses. Writers of apocalyptic visions also often preferred Aramaic, probably because of a tradition that Aramaic was the language of the Angels.

This division, while by no means hard and fast, can be seen as characterising the present collection as well. Texts and fragments are translated as precisely as possible, as they are; nothing substantive is held back or deleted. A precise transcription into the modern Hebrew characters conventionally used to render classical Hebrew and/or Aramaic writing, is also provided, so the reader can compare these with the original photographs or check Translations, if he or she so chooses. Every Translation might not be perfect, and the arrangement of fragments in some cases still conjectural, but they are precise and sufficient enough to enable the reader to draw his or her own conclusions, which is indeed the point of this book.

So what in effect do we have in these manuscripts? Probably nothing less than a picture of the movement from which Christianity sprang in Palestine. But there is more - if we take into consideration the Messianic nature of the texts as we delineate it in this book, and allied concepts such as 'Righteousness', 'Piety', 'justification', 'works', 'the Poor', 'Mysteries', what we have is a picture of what Christianity actually was in Palestine.

The reader, however, probably will not be able to recognise it because it will seem virtually the opposite of the Christianity with which he or she is familiar. This is particularly the case in documents such as the two Letters on Works Righteousness above, and others in Chapter 6 which detail the legal minutiae reckoned as Righteousness or 'works that will justify you'.

The reason again for this is simple. We cannot really speak of a 'Christianity' per se in Palestine in the first century. The word was only coined, as Acts 11:2 6 makes clear, to describe a situation in Antioch in Syria in the fifties of the present era. Later it was used to describe a large portion of the overseas world that became 'Christian', but this Christianity was completely different from the movement we have before us - well not completely.

Both movements used the same vocabulary, the same scriptural passages as proof texts, similar conceptual contexts; but the one can be characterized as the mirror reversal of the other. While the Palestinian one was zealot, nationalistic, engagé, xenophobic, and apocalyptic; the overseas one was cosmopolitan, antinomian, pacifistic - in a word 'Paulinised'. Equally we can refer to the first as Jamesian, at least if we judge by the letter ascribed to James' name in the New Testament, which both Eusebius, Flavius Constantinus' right-hand man, and Martin Luther felt should not be included in the New Testament. Of course in their eyes it should not have been, as many documents from Qumran reflect the Jihadist beliefs and convictions of the ancient Messianic Movement in the Holy Land and not the pacifistic Roman Messianic Movement which nowadays we call Christianity.

In fact, what one seems to have reflected in this Qumran literature is a Messianic élite retreating or 'separating' into the wilderness as in Isa. 40:3's 'make a straight Way in the Wilderness for our God.'

This élite seems to have inhabited 'desert camps', where they were actually 'preparing' to be joined by the Angels, referred to by them as 'the Heavenly Host', and for what appears to be a final apocalyptic Holy War against all evil on this earth. This would appear to be the reason they are practising the regimen of extreme purity in the wilderness in these texts - not the somewhat more retrospective presentation in the New Testament as it has come down to us. This movement consists of a small cadre of committed 'volunteers' or 'Joiners for war', of 'Holy Ones' or 'Saints' - Messianic 'shock-troops' if one prefers - preparing in the wilderness through 'Perfection of the Way' and 'zeal for the Law for the time of the Day of Vengeance'.

Scholars refer to these manuscript-bearing caves according to the chronological order in which they were discovered: e.g. 1Q = Cave 1, 2Q = Cave 2, 3 Q = Cave 3, and so on. The seemingly cryptic code designating manuscripts and fragments, therefore, works as follows: 1QS = the Community Rule from Cave 1; 4QD = the Damascus Document from Cave 4, as opposed, for instance, to CD, the recensions of the same document discovered at the end of the last century in the repository known as the Cairo Genizah.)

2 QUMRAN LIBRARY CHAPTER A
MESSIANIC AND VISIONARY RECITALS

(These texts constitute some of the most thought-provoking in the corpus. We have placed them in the first Chapter because of the importance of their Messianic, visionary and mystical - even Kabbalistic - content and imagery. These are not the only texts with such import. This kind of thrust will grow to a climax in Chapters 5 and 7. But the Messianic theorising these texts exhibit is particularly interesting - it has heretofore either been underestimated or for some reason played down in the study of the Scrolls. In at least two texts in this Chapter (not to mention other Chapters), we have definite Messianic allusions: the Messianic vision text we call, after an allusion in its first line, the Messiah of Heaven and Earth, and the Messianic Leader (Nasi) text. In both there are clear correspondences to recognised Messianic sections in the Prophet Isaiah.

Interestingly, we do not have the two-Messiah doctrine highlighted in a few of the texts from the early days of Qumran research, like the Damascus Document found in two recensions at the end of the last century in the Cairo Genizah or the Community Rule from Cave 1, but rather the more normative, single Messiah most Jews and Christians would find familiar. Though in the Messianic Leader (Nasi) text, this figure is nowhere declared to be a 'Messiah' as such, only a Messianic or eschatological 'Leader', the Messianic thrust of the Biblical allusions underpinning it and the events it recounts clearly carry something of this signification. Its relation to the Damascus Document, further discussed in our analysis of the Messianic Florilegium in Chapter 4, do as well.

But even in the published corpus, there is a wide swath of materials, particularly in the Biblical commentaries (the pesharim) on Isaiah, Zechariah, Psalms, etc., and compendiums of Messianic proof texts, that relate to a single, more nationalist, Davidic-style Messiah, as opposed to a second with more priestly characteristics that has been hypothesised. This last is, of course, in evidence too in the Letter to the Hebrews, where the more eschatological and high-priestly implications of Messiah-ship are expounded.

The very strong Messianic thrust of many of the materials associated with Qumran has been largely overlooked by commentators, in particular the presence in the published corpus in three different places of the 'World Ruler' or 'Star' prophecy from Num. 2 4:17 - that 'a Star would rise out of Jacob, a Sceptre to rule' the world - i.e. in the Damascus Document, the War Scroll, and one of the compendiums of Messianic proof texts known as a Florilegium. There can be little doubt that the rise of Christianity is predicated on this prophecy. Our own Genesis Florilegium, playing on this title, also ends up with an exposition of another famous Messianic prophecy - the 'Shiloh' from Gen. 49:10, which also includes the 'sceptre' aspect of the above prophecy.

The first-century Jewish historian Flavius Josephus, an eye-witness to the events he describes, identifies the world ruler prophecy as the moving force behind the Jewish revolt against Rome in AD 66-70 (War 6.317). Roman writers dependent on him, like Suetonius (Twelve Caesars 10.4) and Tacitus (The Histories 2.7 8 and 5.13) do likewise (who both were familiar with the Flavian household and might have been his students, in one way or another). Rabbinic sources verify its currency in the events surrounding the fall of the Temple in AD 70 (ARN 4 and b. Git 56b). However, reversing its thrust, these last present their hero, the Rabbi Yohanan b. Zacchai as applying it - as Flavius Josephus himself does - to the destroyer of Jerusalem and future Roman Emperor Flavius Vespasianus! The Bar Kochba uprising in AD 132-6 can also be thought of as being inspired by this prophecy, as Bar Kosiba's original name seems to have been deliberately transmuted into one incorporating this allusion, i.e. Bar Kochba - 'Son of the Star'. The other texts in this section are all visionary and eschatological, most often relating to Ezekiel, the original visionary and eschatological prophet and a favourite in Qumran texts. Whatever else can be said of them, their nationalist, militant, apocalyptic and unbending thrust cannot be gainsaid, nor should it be overlooked. All military conflicts with Romans, Persians, and Arabs might well be based on them, up to Mohammed's time at least.)

1. The Messiah Of Heaven And Earth (4Q521) (Plate 1)

(This text is one of the most beautiful and significant in the Qumran corpus. In it many interesting themes that appear in other Qumran texts reappear. In the first place, there is continued emphasis on 'the Righteous' (Zaddikim), 'the Pious' (Hassidim), 'the Meek' ('Anavim), and 'the Faithful' (Emunim).

These terms recur throughout this corpus (in particular see the Hymns of the Poor below) and should be noted as more or less interchangeable allusions and literary self-designations. The first two are important in the vocabulary of Jewish mysticism; the last two in that of Christianity.

New themes also appear, such as God's 'Spirit hovering over the Meek' and 'announcing glad tidings to the Meek', themes with clear New Testament parallels. These also include the Pious being 'glorified on the Throne of the Eternal Kingdom', which resonates as well with similar themes in the New Testament and the Kabbalah, and God 'visiting the Pious' and 'calling the Righteous by name', both paralleled in the Damascus Document. In CD, i.7 God is said to have 'visited' the earth causing, as we have seen, a Messianic 'Root of Planting' to grow, and following this, in iv.4, 'the sons of Zadok' are described as being 'called by name'. This phrase 'called by name' is also found in column ii. II of the Damascus Document, where it is followed by the statement that God 'made His Holy Spirit known to them by the hand of His Messiah'- words which resonate with the language of the present text as well.

Not only do parallel allusions confirm the relationship of the 'sons of Zadok' with the 'Zaddikim' ('the Righteous'/'Righteous Ones'), but 'naming' and predestination are important themes in both the early columns of CD and Chapters 2 - 5 of Acts, where, for instance, the predestination of Christ and the language of the Holy Spirit are signaled. If the additional fragments of this text - which may or may not be integral to it - are taken into consideration, then there is some allusion to 'anointed ones' or 'messiahs' plural, probably referring to the priests doing service in the Temple. The two columns of the major fragment on this plate (no. 1) very definitely, however, evoke a singular, nationalist Messiah, as does the interpretation of the 'Shiloh Prophecy' related to it in the Genesis Florilegium below. He

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is to a certain extent a supernatural figure in the manner of Dan. 7's 'Son of Man coming on the clouds of Heaven'. This imagery is recapitulated in Column xif. of the War Scroll from Cave 1 at Qumran, which interprets the 'Star Prophecy' in terms of it and the rising of 'the Meek' in some final apocalyptic war. The War Scroll, of course, also uses eschatological 'rain' imagery to identify these 'clouds' with the 'Holy Ones' ('the Kedoshim' or 'Heavenly Host'). In the Messiah of Heaven and Earth text, not only are the 'heavens and the earth' subsumed under the command of the Messiah, but so, too, are these presumed 'Kedoshim' or 'Holy Ones' from the War Scroll. There are also the very interesting allusions to 'My Lord' / Adonai, referred to in Isa. 6 1:1, which seems to underlie much of the present text; but since the sense of this is often so imprecise, it is impossible to tell whether the reference is to God or to 'His Messiah' whom it so celebrates. If the latter, this would bring its imagery closer still to similar New Testament recitations. The reader should note, however, that for Josephus mentioned above, one of the determining characteristics of those he calls Essenes and Zealots was that they would not 'call any man Lord' (italics ours).

By far the most important lines in Fragment 1 Column 1 are Lines 6-8 and 11- 13, referring to 'releasing the captives', 'making the blind see', 'raising up the downtrodden', and 'resurrecting the dead'. The last allusion is not to be doubted. The only question will be, who is doing this raising, etc. - God or 'His Messiah'? In Lines 6-8 the reference seems to be to God. But in Lines 11- 13, it is possible that a shift occurs, and the reference could be to 'His Messiah'. The editors were unable to agree on the reconstruction here.

In any event, language from Isa. 6 1:1 (see above) is also clearly identifiable in both line 8 and line 11. But likewise, there are word for-word correspondences to the Eighteen Benedictions, among the earliest strata of Jewish liturgy and still a part of it today: 'You will resurrect the dead, uphold the fallen, heal the sick, release the captives, keeping faith with those asleep in the dust...', referring

obviously to God. It should be noted too that these portions include reference to the Hassidim, also evoked several times in the present text. It is also interesting to note that Isa. 60:2 1, which precedes Isa. 61:1, contains the 'Root of Planting' imagery used in the first column of the Damascus Document referred to above and the 'Branch' imagery that will be so prominent in the Messianic Leader (Nasi) text that follows below.

The reference to 'raising the dead' solves another knotty problem that much exercised Qumran commentators, namely whether those responsible for these documents held a belief in the resurrection of the dead. Though there are numerous references to 'Glory' and splendid imagery relating to Radiance and Light pervading the Heavenly abode in many texts, this is the first definitive reference to resurrection in the corpus. It should not come as a surprise, as the belief seems to have been a fixture of the Maccabean Uprising as reflected in 2 Macc. 12:44-45 and Dan. 12:2, growing in strength as it came down to first-century groups claiming descent from these archetypical events.)

Translation

Fragment 1 Column 2 . . . The Heavens and the earth will obey His Messiah, . . . and all that is in them. He will not turn aside from the Commandments of the Holy Ones. Take strength in His service, (you) who seek the Lord. Shall you not find the Lord in this, all you who wait patiently in your hearts? For the Lord will visit the Pious Ones (Hassidim) and the Righteous (Zaddikim) will He call by name. Over the Meek will His Spirit hover, and the Faithful will He restore by His power. He shall glorify the Pious Ones (Hassidim) on the Throne of the Eternal Kingdom. He shall release the captives, make the blind see, raise up the downtrodden. Forever will I cling to Him . . ., and I will trust in His Piety (Hesed, also 'Grace'), and His Goodness . . . of Holiness will not delay . . . And as for the wonders that are not the work of the Lord, when He . . . then He will heal the sick, resurrect the dead, and to the Meek announce glad tidings. . . . He will lead the Holly Ones; He will shepherd them; He will do . . . and all of it . . .

Fragment 1 Column 3 and the Law will be pursued. I will free them . . . Among men the fathers are honoured above the sons . . . I will sing the blessing of the Lord with his favour...The 1and went into exile (possibly, 'rejoiced) every-where . . . And all Israel in exile (possibly 'rejoicing') . . . . . .

Fragment 2 ... their inheritance . . . from him . . .

Fragment 3 Column 1 . . . he will not serve these people . . . strength . . . they will be great

Fragment 3 Column 2 And . . . And . . . And . . . And which . . . They gathered the nobles . . . And the eastern parts of the heavens . . . And to all your fathers . . .

Fragment 4 ... they will shine . . . a man . . . Jacob . . . and all of His Holy implements . . . and all her anointed ones . . . the Lord will speak . . . the Lord in his might . . . the eyes

of Fragment 5 . . . they will see all . . . and everything in it . . . and all the fountains of water, and the canals . . . and those who make . . . for the sons of Adam . . . among these cursed ones. And what . . . the soothsayers of my people . . . for you . . . the Lord . . . and He opened...

2. The Messianic Leader (NASI - 4Q285) (Plate 2)

(We released this text at the height of the controversy over access to the Dead Sea Scrolls in November 1991. Since then much discussion has occurred concerning it. Our purpose in releasing it was to show that there were very interesting materials in the unpublished corpus which for some reason had not been made public and to show how close the scriptural contexts in which the movement or community responsible for this text and early Christianity were operating really were.

However one reconstructs or translates this text, it is potentially very explosive. As it has been reconstructed here, it is part of a series of fragments. There is no necessary order to these fragments, nor in that of other similar materials reconstructed in this book. Such materials are grouped together on the basis either of content or handwriting or both, and the criterion most often employed is what seemed the most reasonable.

Here, the key question is whether Fragment 7 comes before or after Fragment 6. If after, as we have placed it in our reconstruction, then the Messianic Nasi or 'Leader' would be alive after the events described in Fragment 6 and could he the one 'put to death'. This was our initial assessment. If before, then it is possible that the Messianic Leader does the 'putting to death' mentioned in the text, though such a conclusion flies in the face of the logic of the appositives like 'the Branch of David...' grouped after the expression 'the Nasi ha--'Edah', which would be clumsy even in Hebrew.

Another question that will arise concerning this text is whether the individual who appears to be brought before 'the Leader of the Community' in Fragment 6 is the same as the one referred to in Fragment 7 by the pronoun 'him', if in fact a him' can be read into this line at all and not simply the plural of the verb, 'kill/killed'. In Hebrew the spelling is the same. The reader should keep in mind that whether there is any real sequentiality in these fragments or whether they even go together at all is conjectural, and these questions will probably not be resolved on the basis of the data before us.

In favour of the Nasi ha--'Edah being killed - which, all things being equal, makes most sense if Fragment 7 is considered by itself only - even without the accusative indicator in Biblical Hebrew, 'et' there are many texts at Qumran and from the Second Temple period generally that are not careful about the inclusion of the object indicator in their Hebrew, including the Messiah of Heaven and Earth above and the Eighteen Benedictions mentioned above. Another counter example where the object indicator is not employed occurs m Column ü.12 of the Damascus Document, where reference is made to 'His Messiah making known the Holy Spirit', also mentioned above.

Concerning whether our reconstruction of Line 4 of Fragment 7 attaching 'the Branch of David' to 'the Leader of the Community' is correct, it is interesting to note that not only is 'the Prophet Isaiah' mentioned in Line 1, but Line 2 quotes 11:1: 'A staff shall rise from the stem of Jesse and a shoot shall grow from his roots.' There even seems to be an allusion to its second line, 'the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon Him', in Line 6 of the Messiah of Heaven and Earth above, and we will see this same passage actually evoked at the end of the beautiful Chariots of Glory text in Chapter 7 below. This prophecy was obviously a favourite proof text at Qumran, as it very definitely was in early Christianity. But this prophecy has already been subjected to exegesis in the already-published Isaiah Commentary {a} from Cave 4. There are many such overlaps in Qumran exegeses, including that of the 'Star Prophecy' already noted.

In 4QpIs{a}, the exegesis of Isa. 11:1- 3 is preceded by one of Isa. 10:33-4 about 'Lebanon being felled by a Mighty One' amid allusions to 'the warriors of the Kittim' and 'Gentiles'. This seems to be the case in the Messianic Leader (Nasi) text as well, where allusions to 'the Kittim' in other fragments - including 'the slain of the Kittim' abound, showing the context of the two exegeses to have been more or less parallel. These kinds of texts about 'the falling of the cedars of Lebanon' or 'Lebanon being felled by a Mighty One', as it is expressed in both texts, usually bear on the fall of the Temple or the priesthood. In Rabbinic literature, Isa. 10:3 3 -4 is interpreted in this way, and specifically and one might add definitively - tied to the fall of the Temple in AD 70 (see ARN 4 and b. Girt 56a). Sometimes 'Lebanon' imagery, which like 'Kittim' is used across the board in Qumran literature, relates especially when the imagery is positive, to the Community leadership. The reference is to the 'whitening' imagery implicit in the Hebrew root 'Lebanon'. This is played upon to produce the exegesis, either to Temple, because the priests wore white linen there or to the Community Council, presumably because its members also appear to have worn white linen. Readers familiar with the New Testament will recognize 'Community' and 'Temple' here as basically parallel allusions, because just as Jesus is represented as 'the Temple' in the Gospels and in Paul, the Community Rule, using parallel spiritualized 'Temple' imagery in viii. 5 -6 and ix.6, pictures the Qumran Community Council as a 'Holy of Holies for Aaron and a Temple for Israel'. This imagery, as we shall see, is widespread at Qumran, including parallel allusions to 'atonement', 'pleasing fragrance', 'Cornerstone', and 'Foundation' which go with it.

Completing the basic commonality in these texts, 4QpIs{a} also sympathetically evokes 'the Meek' and goes on to relate Isaiah 11:1's 'Staff' or 'Branch' to the 'Branch of David' in Jeremiah and Zechariah. Highlighting these Messianic and eschatological implications, it describes the Davidic 'Branch' as 'standing at the end of days' (note the language of 'standing' again). In the process, it incorporates 'the Sceptre' language from the 'Star Prophecy', which will also reappear, as we shall see, in the Shiloh Prophecy in the Genesis Florilegium below. The 'Star Prophecy', too, as the reader will recall, was quoted in a passage in the War Scroll with particular reference to 'the Meek'. The War Scroll too makes continual reference to 'Gentiles' and 'Kittim'.

To complete the circularity, 4QpIs{a} ends with an evocation of 'the Throne of Glory', again mentioned in the Messiah of Heaven and Earth text above and alluded to in jet. 33:18 - which in turn also evokes 'the Branch of David' again and other texts below like the Hymns of the Poor and the Mystery of Existence. We are clearly in a wide-ranging universe here of interchangeable metaphors and allusions from Biblical scripture.

The reference to 'woundings' or pollution's in Line 5 of Fragment 7 of the present text and the total ambiance of reference to Messianic prophecy from Isaiah, Jeremiah, Zechariah, etc. heightens the impression that a Messianic 'execution' of some kind is being referred to. This is also the case in Isa. 11:4 where the Messianic Branch uses 'the Sceptre of his mouth ... to put to death the wicked', however this is to be interpreted in this context.

The reader should appreciate that the Nasi ha-'Edah does not necessarily represent a Messiah per se, though he is being discussed in this text in terms of Messianic proof texts and allusions. 'Nasi' is a term used also in Column v. 1 of the Damascus Document when alluding to the successors of David. In fact, the term 'Nasi ha--'Edah' itself actually appears in CD's critical interpretation of the 'Star Prophecy' in Column vii, which follows. In its exegesis CD ties it to 'the Sceptre' as we shall see in Chapter 3 below. Not only is it used in Talmudic literature to represent scions of the family of David, but coins from the Bar Kochba period also use it to designate their hero, i.e. 'Nasi Israel' 'Leader of Israel'. Today the term is used to designate the President of the Jewish State.

This reference to meholalot (woundings) in Line 5 of Fragment 7, followed by an allusion to ha-cohen (the priest) - sometimes meaning the high priest - would appear to refer to an allusion from Isa. 5 3:5 related to the famous description there of the 'Suffering Servant', so important for early Christian exegetes, i.e. 'for our sins was he wounded' or 'pierced'. Though it is possible to read meholalot in different ways, the idea that we have in this passage an allusion to the 'suffering death' of a Messianic figure does not necessarily follow, especially when one takes Isa. 11:4 into consideration. Everyone would have been familiar with the 'Suffering Servant' passages in Isaiah, but not everyone would have used them to imply a doctrine of the suffering death of a Messiah.

In fact, it is our view that the progenitors of the Qumran approach were more militant, aggressive, nationalistic and warlike than to have entertained a concept such as this in anything more than a passing manner. It has also been argued that this Messianic Nasi text should be attached to the War Scroll. This would further bear out the point about violent militancy, because there is no more warlike, xenophobic, apocalyptic and vengeful document - despite attempts to treat it allegorically - in the entire Qumran corpus than the War Scroll.

There can be no mistaking this thrust in the present document, nor the parallel 4QpIs{a}. Its nationalistic thrust should be clear, as should its Messianism. If these fragments do relate to the War Scroll, then they simply reinforce the Messianic passages of the last named document. The 'Kittim' in the War Scroll have been interpreted by most people to refer to the Romans. The references to Michael and the 'Kittim' in the additional fragments grouped with the present text simply reinforce these connections, increasing the sense of the Messianic nationalism of the Herodian period. However these things may be, the significance of all these allusions coming together in a little fragment such as this cannot be underestimated.)

Translation

Fragment 1 . . . the Levites, and half . . . the ram's horn, to blow on them . . . the Kittim, and . . .

Fragment 2 . . . and against ...for the sake of Your Name ... Michael ...with the Elect . . .

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Fragment 3 . . . rain ...and spring rain ... as great as a mountain. And the earth ... to those without sense ... he will not gaze with Understanding ... (6)from the earth. And nothing . . . His Holiness. It will be called . . . your . . . and in your midst . . .

Fragment 4 . . . until . . . you to (or 'God') . . . and in Heaven . . . in its time, and to. . . heart, to. . . and not . . . all . . . for God . . .

Fragment 5 . . . from the midst of the community ...Riches and booty .. . and your food . . . for them, graves . . . their slain . . . of iniquity will return . . . in compassion and . . . Israel . . .

Fragment 6 . . . Wickedness will be smitten ...the Leader of the Community and all Israel . . . upon the mountains of . . . the Kittim . . . the Leader of the Community as far as the Great Sea . . . before Israel in that time . . . he will stand against them, and they will muster against them . . . they will return to the dry land in that time . . . they will bring him before the Leader of the Community . . .

Fragment 7 . . . Isaiah the Prophet, 'The thickets of the forest will be felled with an axe and Lebanon shall fall by a mighty one. A staff shall rise from the root of Jesse, and a Planting from his roots will bear fruit.' . . . the Branch of David. They will enter into judgement with ...and they will put to death the Leader of the Community, the Branch of David (this might also be read, depending on the context, 'and the Leader of the Community, the Branch of David', will put him to death) ... and with woundings, and the (high) priest will command . . . the slain of the Kittim . . .

3. The Servants Of Darkness (4Q471)

(This is a text of extreme significance and another one related to the War Scroll. The violence, xenophobia, passionate nationalism and concern for Righteousness and the Judgements of God are evident throughout. Though these may have a metaphoric meaning as well as an actual one, it is impossible to think that those writing these texts were not steeped in the ethos of a militant army of God, and hardly that of a peaceful, retiring community. Their spirit is unbending, uncompromising. They give no quarter and expect none. In almost all its words, it sounds as if it was directly jumping into that book which we call the Koran today.

One should also note, in particular, the widespread vocabulary of 'Judgement', the 'Heavenly Hosts' and even 'pollution'. Notice, too, the consistent emphasis on 'Righteousness' and 'Righteous judgement', and on 'keeping', i.e. 'keeping the Law' - 'Covenant' in this text. The group responsible for these writings is extremely Law oriented and their zeal in this regard is unbending. The very use of the word 'zeal' connects the literature with the Zealot mentality and movement.

The terms 'keeping' and 'Keepers of the Covenant' also relate to the second definition in Column 4 of the Community Rule of 'the sons of Zadok', a term with probable esoteric parallels and variations in 'sons of Righteousness', as we have seen above. One should also note the use of the word 'reckoned' in Line 5 of Fragment 1, which resonates with the use of this term in the key Letters on Works Righteousness below in Chapter 6.)

Translation

Fragment 1 ... the time You have commanded them not to ... and you shall lie about His Covenant ... they say, 'Let us fight His wars, for we have polluted . . . your enemies shall be brought low, and they shall not know that by fire . . . gather courage for war, and you shall be reckoned . . . you shall ask of the experts of Righteous judgement and the service of . . . you shall be lifted up, for He chose you . . . for shouting . . . and you shall burn...and sweet . . .

Fragment 2 to keep the testimonies of our Covenant . . . all their hosts in forbearante . . . and to restrain their heart from every work ...Sewants of Darkness, because the judgement ...in the guilt of his lot . . . to reject the Good and to choose the Evil . . . God hates and He will erect . . . all the Good that . . .

Fragment 3 Eternal, and He will set us . . . He judges His people in Righteousness and His nation in . . . in all the Laws of . . . us in our sins . . .

Fragment 4 from all that... every man from his brother, because ... and they shall remain with Him always and shall servel ... each and every tribe, a man . . . twenty-six and from the Levites sixteen . . . and they shall serve before Him always upon . . . in order that they may be instructed in . . .

4. The Birth Of Noah (4Q534-536)

(A pseudepigraphic text with visionary and mystical import, the several fragments of this text give us a wonderfully enriched picture of the figure of Noah, as seen by those who created this literature. In the first place, the text describes the birth of Noah as taking place at night, and specifies his weight. It describes him as 'sleeping until the division of the day', probably implying noon.

One of the primordial Righteous Ones whose life and acts are soteriological in nature, Noah is of particular interest to writers of this period like Ben Sira and the Damascus Document. The first Zaddik (Righteous One) mentioned in scripture (Gen. 6:9), Noah was also 'born Perfect', as the rabbis too insist, as is stressed in this passage. Because of this 'Perfection', Rabbinical literature has Noah born circumcised. However this may be, 'Perfection' language of this kind is extremely important in the literature at Qumran, as it is in the New Testament. See, in this regard, the Sermon on the Mount's parallel: 'Be perfect as your Father in Heaven is Perfect' (Matt. 5:48). This claim of Perfection continues in the Koran up to the person Mohammed. 'Perfection' imagery fairly abounds in the literature at Qumran, often in connection with another important notation in early Christianity, 'the Way' terminology. For Acts, 'the Way' is an alternative name for Christianity in its formative period in the Holy Land.)

Translation

Fragment 1 ... (When) he is born, they shall all be darkened together . . . he is born in the night and he comes out Perfect . . . with a weight of three hundred and fifty shekels (about 7 pounds, 3 ounces) . . . he slept until the division of the days . . . in the daytime until the completion of years . . . a share is set aside for him, not . . . years...

Fragment 2 Column 1 . . . will be ...Holy Ones will remember . . . lights will be revealed to him . . . they will teach him everything that . . . human Wisdom, and every wise man . . . in the lands, and he shall be great . . . mankind shallbeshaken, and until . . . he will reveal Mysteries like the Highest Angels . . . and with the Understanding of the Mysteries of . . . and also ... in the dust ... the Mystery ascends ... portions ...

Fragment 2 Column 2 from . . . he did . . . of which you are afraid for all . . . his clothing at the end in your warehouses. I will strengthen his Goodness ...and he will not die in the days of Wickedness, and the Wisdom of Your mouth will go forth. He who opposes You will deserve death. One will write the words of God in a book that does not wear out, but my words you will adorn. At the time of the Wicked, me will know you forever, a man of your servants . . .

Fragment 3 Column 1 . . . of the hand, two . . . it left a mark from ... barley and lentils on . . . and tiny marks on his thigh . . . Aftertwo years he will be able to discern one thing from another . . . In his youth he will be... all of them ...like a man who does not know anything, until the time when he shall have come to know the Three Books. Then he will become wise and will be discrete . . . a vision will come to him while upon his knees (in prayer). And with his father and his forefathers . . . life and old age; he will acquire counsel and prudence, and he will know the Secrets of mankind. His Understanding will spread to all peoples, and he will know the Secrets of all living things. All their plans against him will be fruitless, and the spiritual legacy for all the living will be enriched. And all his plans will succeed, because he is the Elect of God. His birth and the Spirit of his breath . . . his fans will endure forever . . . that . . . plan . . .

5. The Words Of Michael (4Q529)

(This text, which could also be referred to as 'The Vision of Michael', clearly belongs to the literature of Heavenly Ascents and visionary recitals just discussed regarding the birth of Noah and alluded to by no less an authority than Paul. Such recitals are also common in the literature relating to Enoch and Revelations. They are part and parcel of the ecstatic and visionary tendencies in the Qumran corpus that succeeding visionaries are clearly indebted to, including those going underground and reemerging in the Kabbalistic Wisdom of the Middle Ages and beyond. In our discussion of the Mystery of Existence text in Chapter 7 we highlight some of these correspondences to the work of a writer like Solomon ibn Gabirol in the eleventh century AD.

This genre can be seen as having one of its earliest exemplars here. The reference to the Angel Gabriel in Line 4 is of particular importance and follows that of one of the first such visionary recitals, Daniel, a book of the utmost importance for Qumran visionaries and in the Qumran apocalyptic scheme generally. Daniel, too, is a work integrally tied to the Maccabean Uprising, as are - at least in spirit - many of the Qumran documents. As in Dan. 8:16, Gabriel is here the interpreter of the vision or, if one prefers, the Heavenly or mystic guide though by the end of the vision as extant in this fragment, it is no longer clear whether Michael or Gabriel is having the vision.

In the Islamic tradition - a later adumbration clearly owing much to the tradition we see developing here - Gabriel serves as the revealing or dictating Angel co-extensive with what in Christian tradition might otherwise be called the Holy Spirit. Here, whatever else one might say of him, Gabriel is the guide in the Highest Heaven - traditions about Muhammad too are not immune from such Heavenly Ascents - not unlike the role, Dante ascribes to Virgil and finally Beatrice in his rendition of a similar ecstatic ascent and vision.)

Translation

The words of the book that Michael spoke to the Angels of God after he had ascended to the Highest Heaven. He said 'I found troops of fire there .. . Behold, there were nine mountains, two to the east and two to the north and two to the west and two to the south. There I beheld Gabriel the Angel . . . I said to him, '. . . and you rendered the vision comprehensible.' Then he said to me . . . It is written in my book that the Great One, the Eternal Lord . . . the sons of Ham to the sons of Shem. Now behold, the Great One, the Eternal Lord . . . when . . . tears from . . . Now behold, a city will be built for the Name of the Great One, the Eternal Lord . . . And no evil shall be committed in the presence of the Great One, the Eternal Lord . . . Then the Great One, the Eternal Lord, will remember His creation for the purpose of Good... Blessing and honor and praise be to the Great One, the Eternal Lord. To Him belongs Mercy and to Him belongs . . . In distant territories there will be a man ...he is, and He will say to him, 'Behold this... to Me silver and gold ...'

6. The New Jerusalem (4Q554) (Plate 3)

(The Aramaic work known as 'The New Jerusalem' has turned up in Qumran Caves 1, 2, 4, 5 and 11 with the most extensive portions coming from Caves 4 and 5. The author is obviously working under the inspiration of Ezekiel's vision of the new Temple or the Temple of the end of days referred to above (Ezek. 40-48), which he elaborates or extends into the ideal picture of Jerusalem. In the New Jerusalem the visionary, most likely Ezekiel himself though in the extant fragments no name is accorded him - is led around the city that will stand on the site of Zion. His companion, presumably an Angel - possibly even Gabriel or Michael of the previous visionary recitals - points out various structures while measuring them with a cane seven cubits long, i.e. about 10.5 feet. He conceived of a city of immense size, a rectangle of some 13 x 18 miles. Surrounding the city was a wall through which passed twelve gates, one for each of the twelve tribes of Israel. In keeping with the priestly emphasis of the text, an emphasis common to other texts like the Testament of Levi or the Testament of Kohath, which might indicate a Maccabean or at least a pro-Maccabean ethos to the vision, the Gate of Levi stood in the position of greatest honour in the centre of the eastern wall - that is to say, directly in line with the sacrificial altar and the entrance to the Temple.

With the Cave 4 additions to what was previously known of this text, we find that nearly 1,500 towers, each more than 100 feet tall were to guard the city. The final fragment, if it is part of the manuscript in the manner indicated (Column 11 or later), moves into more apocalyptic and eschatological motifs. The 'Kittim' are specifically referred to. It is generally conceded that, as in the Book of Daniel, the Kittim refer to the Romans (Dan. 11:3 0), though in 1 Macc. 1:1 the expression is applied to Alexander the Great's forces. These 'Kittim', as noted, are a key conceptuality in the literature found at Qumran, and reference to them, as we have seen, is widespread in the corpus, particularly in texts like the War Scroll, the Nahum Pesher, the Habakkuk Pesher, the Isaiah Pesher a, etc., not to mention the Messianic Leader (Nasi) text.)

Translation

Column 2 . . . sixteen . . . and all of them, from this building . . . and he measured from the northeast corner towards the south, up to the first gate, a distance of thirty-five res. The name of this gate is called the Gate of Simeon. From this gate until the middle gate he measured thirty-five red. The name of this gate, by which they designate it, is the Gate of Levi. From this gate he measured southwards thirty-five res. The name of this gate they call the Gate of Judah. From this gate he measured until the corner at the southeast; then he measured from this corner westwards twenty-five res. The name of this gate they call the Gate of Joseph. Then he measured from this gate as far as the middle gate, twenty-five res. This gate they call the Gate of Benjamin. From this gate he measured as far as the third gate, twenty-five res. They call this one the Gate of Reuben. And from this gate he measured as far as the western corner, twenty-five res. From this corner he measured as far as . . .

Column 3 . . . he measured twentyfive res. They call this gate the Gate of Dan. And he measured from this gate to the middle gate, 25 res. And they call that gate the Gate of Naphtali. From the gate he measured to the gate . . . and they call the name of that gate the Gate of Asher. And he m.easured from that gate to the northern corner, 25 res. And he brought me into the city, and measured every block for length and width: 51 canes by 51 canes square, 357 cubits in every direction. And a free space surrounded the squares on the outside of

(each) street: (its measurement) in canes three, in cubits 21. In Mike manner he showed me the

measurements of all the squares. Between every two squares ran a road, width (measuring) in canes six, in cubits 42. As for the great roads which went out from east to west, (they

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measured) in canes as to width ten, in cubits 70 for 2 of them; a third, which was on the north of the temple, he measured at 18 canes width, which is in cubits one-hundred and twenty six. As for the width of the streets which went out from south to north, two of them were nine caked 4 cubits each, which is sixty seven cubits. And he measured the central one, which was in the middle of th city. Its width: 13 canes and one cubit, in cubits 92.And every street and the entire city was paved with white stone.

Column 4 . . . marble and jasper. And he showed me the dimensions of the eighty side doors. The width of the side doors was two canes, i.e., fourteen cubits. . . . each gate had two doors made of stone. The width of the doors was one cane, i.e., seven cubits. Then he showed me the dimensions of the twelve . . . The width of their gates was three canes, i.e., twenty-one cubits. Each such gate possessed two doors. The width of the doors was one and one-half canes, i.e., ten and one-half cubits . . . Alongside each gate were two towers, one to the right and one to the left. Their width and their length were identical: five canes by five canes, by cubits thirty five. The staircase that ascended alongside the inner gate, to the right of the towers, was of the same height as the towers. Its width was five cubits. The towers and the stairs were five canes and five cubits, i.e., forty cubits in each direction from the gate. Then he showed me the dimensions of the gates of the blocks of houses. Their width was two canes, i.e., fourteen cubits. And the width of the . . ., their measurements in cubits. Then he measured the width of each threshold, two canes, i.e., fourteen cubits; and the roof, one cubit. And above each threshold he measured the doors that belonged to it. He measured the interior structure of the threshold, length fourteen cubits and width twenty-one cubits. He brought me inside the threshold, and there was another threshold and yet another gate. The interior wall off to the right had the same dimensions as the exterior gate: its width, four cubits; its height, seven cubits. It had two doors. In front of this gate was a threshold extending inwards. Its width was one cane-seven cubits-and its length extended toward the inside two canes or fourteen cubits. Its height was two canes, i.e., fourteen cubits. Gates opposed gates, opening toward the interior of the blocks of houses, each possessing the dimensions of the outer gate. On the left of this entry way he showed me a building housing a spiral staircase. Its width was the same in every direction: two canes, i.e., fourteen cubits. Gate opposed gate, each with dimensions corresponding to those of the house. A pillar was located in the middle of the structure upon which the staircase was supported as it spiraled upward. Its (the pillar's) width and length

Column 5 were a single measurement, six cubits by six cubits square. The staircase that rose by its side was four cubits wide, spiraling upward to a height of two canes until . . . Then he brought me inside the blocks of houses and showed me houses there, fifteen from gate to gate: eight in one direction as far as the corner, (4)and seven from the corner to the other gate. The length of the

houses was three canes, i.e., twenty-one cubits, and their width was two canes, i.e., fourteen cubits. Of corresponding size were all the chambers. Their height was two canes, i.e., fourteen cubits, and each had a gate in its middle. . . . flour. Length and height were a single cane, i.e., seven cubits. . . . theirleng th, and their width was twelve cubits. A house . . . alongside it an outer gutter . . . The height of the first was . . . cubits. The . . ., and their width was . . . cubits. . . . two canes, i.e., fourteen cubits . . . cubits one and one-half, and its interior (?) height . . . the roof that was over them

Column 9 (or later) . . . two canes, i.e., fourteen cubits . . . cubits . . . the measurement of . . . the boundcries (?) of the city

Column 10 (or later) . . . its foundation. Its width was two canes, i.e., fourteen cubits, and its height was seven canes, i.e., forty-nine cubits. And it was entirely built of electrum and sapphire and chalcedony, with laths of gold. Its (the city's) towers numbered one thousand four hundred thirty-two. Their width and their length were a single dimension, . . . and their height was ten canes, i.e., seventy cubits . . . two canes, i.e. fourteen cubits. . . . their length . . . the middle one . . . cubits . . . two to the gatein every direction three towers extended Column 11 (or later) after him and the Kingdom of . . . the Kittim after him, all of them one

after another . . . others great and poor with them ...with them Edom and Moab and the Ammonites... of Babylon. In all the earth no ...and they shall oppress your descendants until such time that . . . among all nations,the Kingdom ...(22)andthe nations shall serve them . . .

7. The Tree Of Evil (A Fragmentary Apocalypse-4Q458)

(We close this Chapter with another work in the style of the Words of Michael and these final sentences of the New Jerusalem. This Hebrew apocalypse, while fragmentary, again recapitulates themes known across the broad expanse of Qumran literature, most notably tem{c}a (polluted), teval{c}a (swallow or swallowing), 'walking according to the Laws', yizdaku (justified or made Righteous), etc. These themes should not be underestimated and reappear repeatedly in the Damascus Document, the Temple Scroll, Hymns, and the like.

In this text, too, the allusion that follows is to the fact that 'they were justified' or 'made Righteous', again heavy with portentousness for early Christian history. The 'justification' referred to has, of course, to do with 'walking according to the Laws', a typically 'Jamesian' (as opposed to 'Pauline') notion of justification. It is encountered across the spectrum of Qumran documents - for instance, at the end of the Second Letter on Works Righteousness in Chapter 6 below and in the definition of 'the sons of Zadok' above.

Again, the nationalist, Law-oriented nature of the apocalypse should be clear, but the last line is portentous too. We have read the word mashuah in it as 'anointed', but it could just as easily be read 'Mashiah' - Messiah (i and ulo being interchangeable in Qumran epigraphy) - which then adds to the weightiness of the text. However this may be, that this text is now moving into some concept of 'Kingdom' or 'Kingship', possibly that 'Kingdom' in Dan. 2:44 mentioned above 'that will never be destroyed', is self-evident.)

Translation

Fragment 1 ... to the beloved one ... the beloved one ... in the tent . . . they did not know . . . burning of fire . . . and the peoples of the ... arose ... spoke to the first, saying . . . flames, and He will send the first Angel . . . drying up. And he smote the Tree of Evil . . .

Fragment 2 Column 1 . . . the moon and the stars . . . the years . . . he fled in . . . the polluted (one) . . . the harlots

Fragment 2 Column 2 And he destroyed him, and . . . and swallowed up all the uncircumcised, and it . . . And they were justified, and walked according to the Laws . . . anointed with the oil of the Kingship of . . .

2 QUMRAN LIBRARY CHAPTER B
PROPHETS AND PSEUDO-PROPHETS

(Jews in the Second Temple period and Christians thereafter never ceased believing in prophecy. God had never stopped sending His heralds to call the people back to obedience. For Paul and the early churches following him, the usage perhaps implied something a little different. In Antioch, it seems to have been associated with teachers, the 'prophets and teachers' of Acts 13:1. Individuals like the messengers sent down from Jerusalem by James to assess the situation in Antioch are also called 'prophets' in Acts 11:21, as are Philip's daughters in 21:10. Perhaps the paradigmatic 'prophet' of this kind was Agabus who, 'seized by the Spirit' in Acts 11:22, predicted the famine and in like manner later in 21:12, got hold of Paul's girdle to try to dissuade him from going to Jerusalem.

When speaking of prophets in ancient Israel, scholars commonly distinguish two types: those who wrote books, and those who did not. Like Elijah, the latter relied on charismatic qualities to gain an audience. Both types of prophets are in evidence in the period of the Scrolls. For the Jews of the Second Temple period, prophecy lived. The door was open for false prophets and Josephus notes all the impostors and deceivers, pretending divine inspiration, provoking revolutionary actions and driving the masses to madness. They led them out to the wilderness, so that God would show them signs of impending freedom from Rome' (War 2.259). Actually, for Flavius Josephus, these kinds of impostors and deceivers' were in intent more dangerous even than the bandits he so fulminates against, because they envisaged both revolutionary change and religious innovation. This was a dangerous combination, and may, in fact, characterise some of the works we have collected in this book.)

8. The Angels Of Mastemoth
And The Rule Of Belial (4Q390)

(This apocalyptic text, which we have named after the splendid allusions in the text itself, could have been placed in the first Chapter because of its visionary nature, or even below in Chapter 7 with Hymns and Mysteries. Since it is written in the first person rather than the third, however, and is evidently meant to be a direct expression of God's words, we place it in this prophetic section. Relating to both Ezekiel and Daniel, it contains an allusion from Hosea as well. The text, which could be referred to as a pseudo-Moses text, or even possibly a pseudo-Aaron one, also has strong thematic parallels with Jubilees and Enoch.

Its parallels with the exhortative section of the introductory columns of the Damascus Document are intrinsic, including an emphasis on 'breaking the Covenant' (CD,i.20), 'pollution of the Temple' (iv.18), 'going astray' (i.15) and 'walking in the stubbornness of their hearts' found there.(ii17, iii. 5, 11-12).

The expression 'They will pollute My Temple' directly parallels what goes under the heading of one of the 'three nets of Belial' in the Damascus Document. These are 'fornication', 'riches' and 'pollution of the Temple', which Belial is characterized as setting up 'as three kinds of Righteousness' and by which he is said to have 'taken hold of Israel'. Of course, allusion to 'the rule of Belial' is strong in both the Angels of Mastemoth and the Damascus Document texts, as it is in many of the documents noted under our comments concerning 'swallowing'. allusion above.

These kinds of allusions are strong in the Habakkuk Pesher as well, where many of the same words are used, in particular 'breaking' or 'Breakers of the Covenant' (ü.6, viii. 16, as opposed to 'keeping' or 'Keepers of the Covenant' - related to the definition of 'the Sons of Zadok' in the Community Rule), and the general emphasis on 'pollution', 'robbing Riches' (1QpHab,viii.11, xii. l0; another of 'the three nets of Belial'), 'profiteering' (ix. 5, 12), 'violence' (viii. l 1, xii. 6-9) and that 'anger' linked with 'destruction' in 1QpHab,xi-xii discussed above in the introduction to the Tree of Evil text.

Again the basic homogenity of images and vocabulary, and their movement from document to document, is confirmed, reinforcing the impression that what we have to do with here is a movement - in this instance an apocalyptic, Messianic, eschatological one. The appositives of 'keeping' and 'breaking' the Law or Covenant, not to mention the emphasis on 'doing' ('doing the Law') in evidence in this document, are also the backbone of the Letter of James (1:2 2- 27 and 2:9- 1 1). The same can be said for allusions to 'stubbornness of heart" and 'Riches'.

In Line 11 of Fragment 1, a new expression is introduced, the Angels of Mastemoth. Based on imagery in Hos. 9:7 -8, which, interestingly enough, is preceded by a reference to that 'visitation' mentioned in the Messiah of Heaven and Earth text above and echoed in the Damascus Document, it is based on a variation of the parallel 'Satan', meaning 'to hate', 'be hostile', or 'oppose'. These are obviously the same fallen Angels or heavenly 'Watchers' prominent in Enoch and the Damascus Document. The mastema usage moves into the Pseudo-clementine literature (Hellenistic novels ascribed to Peter's assistant Clement, achieving their final form in the third to fourth century AD) as the 'hostile man', 'enemy', or 'adversary' terminology (apparently applying to Paul, i.e. 'the enemy of God'; cf. James 4:5 discussing Abraham as 'the friend of God'). Here the allusion can be understood as the 'Angels of Darkness' or the 'Enemy Angels'.

The chronology of this apocalypse to a certain extent follows jubilees and brings us down to the same period presaged in the Damascus Document. There is also direct reference to the 'seventy years' of Dan. 9:2. The only question is whether the chronology followed by these literary practitioners is any more exact than that encountered in Josephus or Talmudic traditions, which is often not reliable at all.

Do they have a clear idea of seven jubilees in absolute chronological terms? There is also an anti-priestly thrust to the apocalypse, in the sense that as in Ezekiel the priests have been 'warned', but their breaking of the Law and the Covenant, robbing of Riches, and violence goes even as far as 'polluting the Temple'. Whether this relates to a pre-Maccabean, the Maccabean, or the Herodian period is difficult to say, but the unbending, nationalist and anti-corruption stance is constant. Nor is this stance particularly retiring or uninterested in the affairs of men.)

Translation

Fragment 1 and breaking . . . again (?) . . . the sons of Aaron . . . seventy years ...and the sons of Aaron shall rule them, but they shall not walk in My Ways, which I command you and which you shall warn them about. They also (i.e., sons of Aaron) shall do what is Evil in my eyes, exactly as Israel did in the early days of its Kingdom-apart from those who will come up first from the land where they have been captive, to build the Temple. And I will speak to them and send them Commandments, and they will understand to what extent they have wandered astray, they and their forefathers. But from the end of that generation, corresponding to the Seventh jubilee since the desolation of the land, they will forget Law and festival, Sabbath and Covenant. They will break (i.e., violate) everything, and do what is evil in My eyes. Thus I shall turn My face away from them, and give them into the hands of their enemies, delivering them to the sword. Yet I will spare a remnant, so that in My anger and My turning away from them, they will not be desroyed. And the Angels of Mastemoth will rule over them and ... they will turn aside and do . . . what I consider Evil, walking in the stubborness of their hearts . . .

Fragment 2 Column 1, My house and My altar and the Holy Temple ... thus it will be done . . . flor these things shall come upon them ... and the rule of Belial will be upon them, and they will be delivered to the sword for a week of years... From the beginning of that jubilee they will break all My Laws and all my Commandments that I commanded them, though I send them my servants the Prophets. And they wil1 begin to quarrel with one another. Seventy years from the day when they broke the Law and the Covenant, I will give them (7)into the power of the Angels of Mastemoth, who will rule them, and they (i.e., the people) will neither know nor understand that I am angry at them because of their rebellion, because they abandoned Me and did what was evil in My eyes,

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and because they chose what displeases Me, overpowering others for the sake of Riches and profiteering . . . They will rob their neighbours and oppress one another and defile My Temple . . . and My festivals . . . through their children they will pollute their seed. Their priests will commit violence . . .

Fragment 2 Column 2 from it ...and with a word . . . we . . . they will know, and I will send . . . and with compassion to ask . . . in the midst of the land and on . . . their possession and they will sacrifice in it . . . they will pollute it and the altar . . .

9. Pseudo-Jeremiah (4Q385)

(This text, attributed to the prophet Jeremiah, contains many interesting characteristics. In the first place, one should note the seemingly interchangeable references to the Lord and God. The emphasis on 'keeping the Covenant' encountered above is continued - in this case even in captivity. The style shifts in the second and third fragments if in fact all the fragments are part of the same document - to the first person, where it would appear to become more of a pseudo-Ezekiel than a pseudo-Jeremiah composition, though one could even opine this for the curious historical information presented in Fragment 1.

Of course, in this context, the very term 'pseudo' is perhaps inappropriate, as many people have doubted that the Biblical Jeremiah is entirely the work of a single individual by that name. Presumably after Jeremiah died many of his disciples continued to revere his words and gather his pronouncements, and many people believe they actually arranged or composed some of the portions found in the Biblical book. We do not know how long this process continued, but at a certain point it has to be considered pseudepigraphic. It would be difficult to know where the historical prophet left off and tradition began, and therefore where this fragment fits in. Indeed the present work may have been considered an authentic one, and in fact it does contain many interesting historical details. In the second and third fragments, not only do we have what appears to be the 'son of Man' terminology from Ezekiel, but also a probable parallel to Dan. 11:2's allusion to resurrection. This is consistent with the ethos of other Qumran documents.)

Translation

Column 1 Fragment 1 . .. Jeremiah the Prophet before the Lord . . . who were taken captive from the land of Jerusalem, and they went . . . Nabuzaradan the captain of the guard . . . and he took the vessels of the House of God and the priests . . . and the children of Israel and brought them to Babylon. And Jeremiah the Prophet went . . . the river, and he commanded them concerning what they were to do in the land of their captivity . . . to the voice of Jeremiah, concerning the things that God commanded him . . . and they will keep the Covenant of the God of their fathers in the land of their captivity . . . that they did, they and their kings and their priests . . . God . . .

Fragment 2 from following Me, nor did his heart become too proud to serve Me . . . and his days were completed, and Solomon his son sat on his (David's) throne . . . and I gave the soul of his enemies in exchange for the soul . . . and hook the witnesses of Evi1...

Fragment 3 . . . the Lord, and all the people arose and said . . . the Lord of Hosts, and I also . . . her people . . . And the Lord said to me, 'Son of man . . . God... they shall sleep unti1 . . . and from the land . . . he was rendered guilty...

10. Second Ezekiel (4Q385-389)

(This text again recapitulates the themes we have been encountering in this Chapter. Beginning in Fragment 1 with a more or less familiar vision of Ezekiel's Chariot, in succeeding fragments it moves into more apocalyptic and eschatological themes. In Lines Off. of Fragment 3 Column 1, the wellknown 'bones' passage from Ezekiel is evoked with an obviously even greater emphasis on the idea of resurrection encountered in several texts above and associated with these passages from Ezekiel in the popular mind. For instance, the 'bones' passage from Ezekiel, also used the tell-tale words 'stand up' we have encountered above, and was found buried under the synagogue floor at Masada, probably not without reason. Here the passage is actually tied in Lines 1-2 to the reward of those who have 'walked in the ways of Piety and Righteousness', i.e. we are in the framework of eschatological judgement. The Hesed (Piety) and Zedek (Righteousness) doctrines are absolutely fundamental to Qumran, as they are to Christianity thereafter, and not surprisingly to the tradition of Jewish Kabbalah. They are also the twin underpinnings of the 'opposition' movement in this period; as Josephus puts it, John taught 'Righteousness towards men and Piety towards God' (Ant. 18.116). Josephus ties these to 'Essene' practice as well (War 2.128ff. and Ant. 15.375), and they are the basis of the two 'love' commandments also reported in the Gospels of Jesus' teaching: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself -loving men - and 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God'- loving God (Matt. 22:37ff., Mark 12:30f., Luke 10:27). Here, too, Piety is defined as 'loving Your Name', showing these concepts to be absolutely consistent across the breadth of Second Temple literature. Under them were subsumed all of one's duties, earthly and heavenly.

At Qumran, as in early Christianity and James 2:8, 'loving one's neighbour as oneself' had an economic dimension ending up in the condemnation of 'Riches' and the 'Poor' terminology. If you made economic distinctions between men it was impossible to be perfectly Righteous. In this context, see Column vi.20-21 of the Damascus Document, where the Righteousness Commandment is immediately followed up by reference to 'the Meek and the Poor'.

The text now moves on to more historical allusions, including a mysterious one to 'a son of Belial'. The language it uses in Fragment 3, Column 3 is typically that found in other Qumran texts. There is the reference to 'Downtrodden' (Dal) and 'cup' imagery denoting, as we have seen above, that divine vengeance so important to the Habakkuk Pesher and recapitulated also with reference to Babylon in Rev. 14:8- 11. This 'cup' imagery in the Habakkuk Pesher is extremely important, because it has been mistaken by many commentators as denoting drunkenness - the drunkenness of the Wicked Priest. But this is totally inaccurate. It actually denotes, as here, that divine vengeance being visited on the Wicked Priest for his destruction of the Righteous Teacher and his colleagues.

In Line 5 of Fragments 4-6, we have the language of 'rejecting' (ma'as) which one finds generally in relation to the activity of the liar in the Habakkuk Pesher and other Qumran documents. In Line 15, there is also a reference to 'the priests of Jerusalem' - cf. Habakkuk Pesher,ix.4-5: 'the last priests of Jerusalem' - and once again a reference to 'the Angels of Mastemoth', the Satan or Belial we encountered in the Angels of Mastemoth and the Rule of Belial text above. Because of these references and the first person quality of both narratives, it is likely these two texts either belong generically together or are part of the same document.

These references to an Era of Wickedness dominated by 'the Angels of Mastemoth' and to both a 'blasphemous king' and a 'son of Belial' increases these connections and the portentous quality of the text. It has been claimed that allusions from Second Ezekiel reappear in the Epistle of Barnabas, a second-century work brimming with the same kinds of references as this collection. The Epistle of Barnabas is so full of allusions like 'the Way of Light', 'the Way of Darkness', 'the Way of Holiness', 'the Way of death', 'keeping the Law', 'Righteousness', 'the Last judgement', 'uncircumcised heart' and 'the Dark Lord' (paralleling both Belial and mastema above) that is would be difficult not to find parallels.)

Translation

Fragment 1 and my people shall be ... with contented heart and with willing soul...and conceal yourself for a little while ...and cleaving ...the vision that Ezekiel saw ... a radiance of a chariot, and four living creatures; a living creature . . . and they would not turn backwards while walking; each living creature was walking upon two (legs); its two legs ...was spiritual and their faces were joined to the other. As for the shape of the faces: one (was that) of a lion, and one of an eagle, and one of a calf, and one of a man. Each one had the hand of a man joined from the backs of the living creatures and attached to their wing. And the wheels... wheel joined to wheel as they went, and from the two sides of the wheels were streams of fire (1 2) and in the midst of the coals were living creatures, like coals of fire, torches, as it were, in the midst of G&the wheels and the living creatures. Over their heads was a firmament that looked like the terrifyingice. And from above the firmament came a sound . . .

Fragment 2 . . . in place of my grief . . . And my heart is in confusion, together with my soul. But the days will hasten on fast, until all humankind will say, 'Are not the days hurrying on in order that the children of Israel may inherit their land?' And the Lord said to me: 'I will not refuse you, Ezekiel. Behold, I will measure the time and shorten the days and the years . . . a little. As you said to . . .' For the mouth of the Lord has spoken these things.

Fragment 3 Column 1 And 1 said: 'Lord, I have seen many men from Israel who loved your Name and walked in the Ways of Righteousness. And these things, when will they happen, and how will their Piety be rewarded?' the Lord said to me, 'I shall show the children of Israel, so that they will know that I am the Lord.' Then he said, 'Son of Man, prophesy over the bones and say: 'Draw together, bone to its bone and joint to its joint.' And it was so. Then he said a second time, 'Prophesy, and let flesh cover them, and let them be covered with skin from above...and let sinews come upon them.' And it was so. Then he said again, 'Prophesy to the four winds of Heaven, and let the winds blow on them, and they will stand up- a great people, men...'

Fragment 3 Column 2 and they will know that I am the Lord.' And he said to me, 'Consider carefully, Son of Man, the land of Israel.' And I said, 'I see, Lord; it is desolate. When will you gather them together?' And the Lord said, 'A son of Belial will plan to oppress my people, but I will not allow him to do so. His rule shall not come to pass, but he will cause a multitude to be defiled (and) there will be no seed left. The mulberry bush will not produce wine, nor the bee honey . . . I will slay the Wicked in Memphis, and leading My sons out of Memphis, I will turn upon the rest. Just as they will say, 'Peace and quiet is (ours), 'so they will say 'The land rests quietly.' Just as it was in the days of . . . ancient . . ., so . . . in the four corners of heaven . . . like a consuming fire . . .

Fragment 3 Column 3 . . . nor shall he have mercy on the Downtrodden, and he shall go to Babylon. Now, Babylon is like a cup in the Lord's hand; like refuse he will hurl it . . . in Babylon, and it will be ... the dwelling of your fields . ..their land will lie desolate . . .

Fragments 4-6 . . . and sovereignty will devolve upon the Gentiles for manyyears, while the children of Israel 1. . . a heavy yoke in the lands of their captivity, and they will have no Deliverer, because ...they have rejected My Laws, and their soul has scorned My teaching. Therefore I have hidden My face from them, until they fill up the measure of their sins. This will be the sign for them, when they fill up the measure of their sin . . . I have abandoned the land because they have hardened their hearts against Me, and they do not know that . . . they have done Evil again and again . . . and they broke My Covenant that I had made with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. In those days a blasphemous king will arise among the Gentiles, and do evil things . . . Israel from (being) a people. In his days I will break the Kingdom of Egypt . . . both Egypt and Israel will I break, (and) give (them) over to the sword. . . . high places of the 1and . . . I have removed (its) inhabitants and abandoned the land into the hands of the Angels of Mastemoth (Satan/Belial). I have hidden My face from Israel. This will be their sign: in the day when they leave the land ...the priests of Jerusalem to serve other gods . . . three kings who will rule . . .

11. Pseudo-Daniel (4Q243-245)

(The pseudo-Daniel portions that follow describe one or more occasions on which Daniel stood before King Belshazzar (cf. Dan. 5). Like Pseudo-Jeremiah, Second Ezekiel, and the Damascus Document, they furnish a tantalisingly mysterious and often apocalyptic view of history. This text refers to: 1. the flood and the tower of Babel; 2. the exodus from Egypt; 3. the exile to Babylon; 4. the first four kingdoms (see also the Vision of the Four Kingdoms below); 5. seemingly the Hellenistic era; and 6. probably the Roman era of the 'last days' or 'end of time'. The Greek Translation of the Old Testament known as the Septuagint, which was used by the Jews of Alexandria and Egypt and later by Christians in the east, includes several additional Daniel stories woven into the Biblical book. Some of these texts might even antedate Daniel, while others simply interpret it. For his part, Flavius Josephus provides a glimpse of how Daniel was seen by a first-century Jewish historian: 'One of the greatest prophets ... for the books that, he wrote (note the plural here) and left are read by us even now ... He not only predicted the future, like the other prophets, but specified when the events would happen (Antiquities 10.266-8).)

Translation

. . . Daniel before . . . Belshazzar . . . after the flood . . . Noah from Lubar the mountain . . . a city ... the tower; its height . . . upon the tower and ...to visit the sons of . . . four hundred years . . . . . . all of them, and they will go out from Egypt by the hand of ...and their crossing will be(at)the River Jordan . . . and their sons . . . the children of Israel preferred their presence (i.e., that of the false gods) to the presence of God. They were sacrificing their sons to the Demons of Falsehood, and God was angry at them and detided to give them into the power of Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, and to lay waste to their land before them by the hands of . . . members of the exilic community . . . and He scattered them . . . an oppression of seventy years . . . this great kingdom, and He will save them . . . powerful, a Kingdom of the Peoples . . . this is the first Kingdom . . . he will rule (some number of) years... Balakros ... years ... ... rhosthe son of ... and ... rhos will rule thirty-five years . . . to say . . . Evi1 has led astray . . . in this time the called ones will be gathered . . . the Kings of the Peoples, and from (that) day on there shall be . . . Holy Ones and the Kings of the Peoples ... they shall be doing until this day . . . and what . . . Daniel . . . a book that he gave . . . Kohath . . . Uzziah . . . Abiathar . . . Jehoniah . . . Simeon . . . David, Solomon . . . Ahaziah, . . . to bring Evil to an end . . . these will wander astray in blindness . . . these (people.) Then there shall arise . . . Holy Ones shall return . . . Evil.

12. The Son Of God (4Q246) (Plate 4)

(This is another Messianic pseudo-Daniel fragment in Aramaic, relating to the literature centering about that figure. It is full of the language and heightened imagery of these apocalyptic visionary recitals. In fact, it takes its cue from a reference in the Biblical Daniel to the 'Kingdom' that 'the God of Heaven will set up ... which shall never be destroyed', nor be conquered or absorbed, but rather 'last forever' (Dan. 2:44). There are also parallels in style with the 'little

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Apocalypse' in the New Testament, where Jesus is pictured as foretelling the future woes leading to the destruction of Jerusalem (Luke 21:20).

A key phrase in the text is, of course, the reference to calling the coming kingly or Messianic figure, whose 'rule will be an eternal rule', 'the son of God' or 'the son of the Most High', while previous kingdoms, because of their transitoriness, are compared only to 'shooting stars'. Other imagery in the Biblical Daniel also helped define our notions about Jesus as a Messianic figure, imagery relating to the 'Son of Man coming on the clouds of Heaven' (Dan. 7:13). This imagery is strong in the War Scroll, where it is used to interpret 'the Star Prophecy' (Columns xiff. This is repeated even more forcefully in Column xixf., where the Heavenly Host is depicted as coming on the clouds of Heaven and 'shedding judgement' like 'rain' on all mankind).

There can be no denying the relation of allusions of this kind to the Lukan prefiguration of Jesus: 'He will be great, and will be called the son of the Most High; and the Lord God will give him the Throne of his father David ... For that reason the Holy offspring will be called the Son of God' (Luke 1:32-35). Images of this kind, however, abound in Old Testament scripture, particularly in honouring great kings. See, for instance, Ps. 2:7: 'You are My son; on this day have I begotten you' (in Christian tradition, part of the prefiguration of Jesus' baptism; for a more Jewish Christian presentation of this, see Heb. 1:5 and 5:5). See, too, 2 Sam. 7:14: 'I will be a father to him David and he shall be a son to Me', or Ps. 89:27: 'He shall say to Me, "You are my father, my God - the Rock of my deliverance."'

Scriptural pre-figurations such as these are also strong in Wisdom and at Qumran, where all 'the Righteous' are reckoned as 'the sons of God'. This is particularly true in the Qumran Hymns where the 'sonship' imagery regarding the Righteous and its putative author 'the Teacher of Righteousness' is strong throughout. In the Son of God text, one should also note the emphasis on 'Truth' or 'Righteousness' two central Qumran concepts (hence, our capitalization of them throughout this work). Nor can there be any mistaking its eschatological nature and its emphasis on 'judging' or 'the Last judgement', more key Qumran conceptuality's probably stemming from Daniel's proclamation of 'the end time' in 8:20, 11:25, etc.

That the concepts incorporated in words of this kind have gone directly into Christian presentations of its Messiah and his activities is hardly to be doubted. See, for instance, Line 4 in Column 2 and Matt. 10:3 4: 'I came not to send peace, but a sword.' This kind of 'sword' allusion is also found in Column xix. 12 above of the War Scroll, 'the sword of God', used in the war against 'the Kittim'. Further to this, one should note the allusion again to 'Peoples' in Line 8.

One point, however, should be emphasised: the Messianic figure envisaged in texts like the Son of God, War Scroll, etc.., whether taken figuratively or otherwise, is extremely war-like. This is in line with the general uncompromising, militant and nationalist ethos of the Qumran corpus; the Messianic figure was to be a triumphant, quasi-nationalist king figure. One should also note that the peace envisaged in this text will only come after the cataclysmic Messianic war. As in the War Scroll, God will assist in this enterprise with His Heavenly Host. For the War Scroll, this is the point of the extreme purity regulations and being in camps in the wilderness, which is put in vii-5-6 as follows: 'because the Angels of Holiness are with their hosts,' i.e. 'the war volunteers, the Perfect in Spirit and body ready for the Day of Vengeance'. We shall learn more about the extreme purity regulations required in the 'camps' in the last column of the Damascus Document in Chapter 6 below.)

Translation

Column 1 the king. And when the Spirit came to rest upon him, he fell before the throne. Then Daniel arose and said, '0 Wing, why are you angry; why do you grind your teeth? The Grear God has revealed to you that which is to come. It shall indeed all come to pass, unto eternity. There will be violence and great Evils. Oppression will be upon the earth. Peoples will make war, and battles shall multiply among the nations, until the King of the people of God arises. He will become the King of Syria and Egypt. All the peoples will serve him, and he shall become great upon the earth. . . . All will make peace, and all will serve him. He will be called son of the Great God; by His Name he shall be designated.

Column 2 He will be called the son of God; they will call him son of the Most High. Like the shooting stars that you saw, thus will be their Kingdom. They will rule for a given period of years upon the earth, and crush everyone. People will crush people, and nation (will crush) nation, until the people of God arises and causes everyone to rest from the sword. His Kingdom will be an Eternal Kingdom, and he will be Righteous in all his Ways. He will judge the earth in Righteousness, and everyone will make peace. The sword shall cease from the earth, and every nation will bow down to him. As for the Great God, with His help he will make war, and He will give all the peoples into his power; all of them He will throw down before him. His rule will be an Eternal rule, and all the boundaries...

13. The Vision Of The Four Kingdoms (4Q547)

(This is another tantalizing apocalypse in Aramaic relating to the Daniel cycle of literature, as well as to a certain extent Enoch. In it, the king (possibly either Belshazzar or Nebuchadnezzar) sees a vision of four trees, each represented by an Angel. As each tree represents a kingdom, some relationship with the Dan. 7 -8 vision of the four kingdoms is evident. When the text assigns Angels to trees, and thereby to the kingdoms, it is developing an already ancient idea prominent in Daniel. In Dan. 10:13, the seer encounters an Angel, presumably the Heavenly interpreter of visions, Gabriel. This Angel is also of fundamental importance to the heir to many of these traditions, Islam. He tells Daniel that he would have come earlier, but 'the prince of the Kingdom of Persia opposed' him for 2 1 days. Thus Israel's Angel seems to have been engaged in heavenly combat with the Angel of the Kingdom of the Persians. Only with the aid of another Angel, Michael - already figuring prominently in many of these texts - was he able to advance. A similar understanding of the interplay between the worlds of the seen and the unseen would appear to animate this vision.

It would be interesting to know the identities of all the trees in the Four Kingdoms text, for then one might better appreciate just how the work relates to parallel visions in the Biblical Daniel or Enoch. Only the identity of the first, Babylon, is preserved in Line 5. Does the work end with Alexander of Macedon, or does it come down to the Roman period? Does it contain material of equal antiquity and authority as the Biblical Daniel or Enoch? Or, is this work rather an explication of Daniel, composed later?

The use of trees to represent kingdoms has ample precedent in the ancient motif of the cosmic tree (cf. Ezek. 17 and 31 and Zech. 1 1:2), and parallels the use of other symbols like animals and horns in Daniel and Enoch. In Dan. 4, Nebuchadnezzar has a dream in which he sees '.. . a tree in the middle of the earth of great size. The tree became large and strong, and its height reached up to the heavens...' Daniel later tells the king that this tree represents the king himself and his kingdom, but the book of Daniel does not develop this equation any further.)

Translation

Fragment 1 Column 1 . . . the Light of the Angels who were ... he said to them, 'It will all happen ...'high. It is he who . . . and he said to me, 'O King, because . . .' as everything was done, they would arise . . . he said, 'They shall be.' And he explicated to them clearly . . . their lords. One of them . . . Then the Angel upon whom

Fragment 1 Column 2 (rested) the brilliant Light arose, and the four trees after him. A tree arose, and (the others) moved away from it. He (the Angel) said to me . . .'Whatkind of tree is it?' I replied, 'If only I could see and understand it.' Then I saw a balsam tree . . . I asked it, 'What is your name? 'It replied, 'Babylon.' Then I said to it, 'You are he who shall rule over Persia.' Then I saw another tree that was below where we were standing, and it swore . . . and claimed to be different. (superior to the previous tree?) . . . So I asked him, 'What is your name?' He replied ... I said to him, 'You are he who shall rule over . . .' By my power and by the region . . . he swore . . . And I saw the third tree, and I said to him, 'What is your name?' He replied, 'Your vision . . .'

Fragment 2 . . . and I said to him, 'This is it. Who is the ruler of . . .'

Fragment 3 . . . the lord of ... the Most High God ... which is upon them ... the Lord of all, he who appoints judges . . .

Fragment 4 . . . they shall seize . . . the vision . . . you have spoken . . . the king who shall escape . . .

2 QUMRAN LIBRARY CHAPTER C
BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION

(The Jews at the time of the writing of the Scrolls can truly be described as a 'people of the Book'. But which writings were recognised as sacred? The situation represented by the literature before us was still to a certain extent fluid. The Bible recognised by Jews and Protestants was put in its final form around 100 AD after the fall of the Temple in 70 AD by those in the process of developing Rabbinic Judaism. Nor would the decisions made by these heirs of the Pharisee Rabbi Yohanan ben Zacchai, the individual who in Talmudic sources is described as having applied 'the Star Prophecy' to Flavius Vespasianus - the destroyer of Jerusalem and future emperor in Rome - have been particularly welcome among the supporters of the tradition represented by the literature of the Scrolls.

Yet it is possible to say a few things about which books were already considered holy or authoritative merely on the basis of inspecting the Scrolls themselves. Certainly the Law as we have come to know it (that ascribed to Moses), as well as the Prophets, had already acquired the aura of sacredness, and they are referred to in this manner by the authors of the Scrolls, though additional books like the Temple Scroll and additions like those to Ezekiel above would appear to have still been in the process of being created. Psalms, too, with some additions, would appear to have been recognised. Most surviving writings from Qumran and later materials about these times, like the Rabbinic Mishnah and Tosefta, are concerned with understanding and applying the requirements of books and writings already considered sacred. Where the books ascribed to Moses and the Prophets, and to David (the Psalms) were concerned, there appear to have been few sceptics. The problem in the literature before us was not really where to look for God. Writings like the Law, Prophets and Psalms represented His direct communication with His people.)

14. A Genesis Florilegium (4 Q252) (Plate 5)

(This text is one of the most fascinating in the corpus. It consists of some six columns as we have reconstructed it and skims over the main Genesis narrative, alighting only on points and issues it wishes for some reason to clarify or re-present. These include the flood, Ham's son Canaan's punishment, the early days of Abram / Abraham, Sodom and Gommorah, and Reuben's offence against his father. It ends, perhaps most importantly, with Jacob's blessing of his children. This last, more of an interpretation (pesher) than a rewrite, incorporates some of the most telling Messianic pronouncements of any Qumran text in this or any other volume.

In the process, the author picks up some of the major modern scholarly problems in Genesis textual analysis and attempts what in his terms is clearly a resolution. For instance, he attempts to set forth a proper chronology of the flood story, coming up with a 364-day calendar of the Jubilees type. Contradictory elements are either harmonised, passed over or deleted in the interests of rationalising a coherent calendar and explaining its intrinsic applicability to the flood story. In the process it sorts out inconsistent elements in what modern scholars refer to as the Yahwist or Elohist (Priestly) parts of the narrative.

Another important point it makes, before moving on to even more serious concerns and the second of the two Genesis 'salvation of the Righteous' stories, is that Abraham was the 'friend of God'. The actual terminology used in 2.8 is 'beloved of God'. This is precisely the language the Damascus Document uses to describe Abraham. Interestingly, CD,ii.18ff. does so following an allusion to the 'Heavenly Watchers' and the Noah story just as here. For it, the former fell 'because they walked in the stubbornness of their heart' and 'did not keep the Commandments of God' (italics ours).

Interestingly too, this is precisely the language James. 3:23 and 4:4 uses to discuss how his adversary turned himself into 'the Enemy of God' 4:4. We noted this language above when discussing the meaning of Mastema - 'Enemy' or 'Adversary'. For the Damascus Document, Abraham was designated 'beloved of God', language very familiar to Islam, because 'he kept the Commandments' (language also familiar to the Letter of James), and it proceeds to designate Isaac and Jacob as 'friends of God' as well, just as later Muhammad designates them along with Abraham as 'those who have surrendered to God' i.e. Muslims (Koran 2:133ff.).

In the Genesis Florilegium, there is a collateral interest in sexual matters reflecting the condemnation of 'fornication' which one finds in other Qumran documents like that in the 'three nets of Belial' section of the Damascus Document. This is a main concern of James' instructions to overseas communities in Acts, as it is in the letter attributed to his name. This concern is not only prominent in both the Ham / Canaan and Sodom / Gomorrah episodes before us, but also the stories which follow these about blotting out Amalek's name 'from under Heaven' and Reuben's disqualification from his rightful legacy owing to his sexual relations with his father's concubine Bilha. This latter was seemingly as jarring to ancient ears as it is to modern. Referred to in the Blessings of Jacob at the end of Gen. 49:3-4, Reuben's disqualification sets the stage for the blessings on Judah that follow, which are themselves, as we shall see, of very great interest and the climax of the present text as well.

The problem of Reuben's supposed transgression also seems to have disturbed the author of Jub.33:1 Off., who wrestled with the question of why Reuben was not treated according to the Law and stoned as per Lev. 18 and 20. He explains - again somewhat facilely - that the laws of incest had not as yet been revealed. The Damascus Document takes the same approach to David's 'multiplying wives unto himself' (a practice it described as 'fornication' in a previous column), explaining that this ban did not come into effect until 'the coming of Zadok' whenever this was, it was obviously conceived of as being after David's time (v. l-5). This approach is portentous for the history of Western civilization, because Paul uses this point and in Gal. 3 and Rom. 4, makes it the centerpiece of his approach to Abraham and the Law, i.e. Abraham came before the Law and therefore was not 'justified' ('made Righteous') by it. Mohammed interestingly enough also uses a variation of

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this to describe his approach to Abraham, namely that he came before both Judaism and Christianity.

Column 5 moves on to Judah. The exegesis it contains has to be considered the climax of the work and for our purposes, exegesis generally at Qumran. Nor are we any longer in the realm of Biblical rewrite or condensation, but exegesis pure and simple. This takes as its starting point Jacob's blessing on Judah in Gen. 49:10: 'The Sceptre shall not pass from Judah, nor the Staff from between his feet until the coming of the Shiloh to whom the peoples will gather.'

Here the 'Messiah of Righteousness', i.e. Mashiah ha-Zedek resonating with Yoreh ha-Zedek above and other equally pregnant usages, is definitely identified with 'the Branch of David'. But this expression is also mentioned in the Messianic Leader (Nasi) text in Chapter 1 above. This now brings all these usages full circle, including the Nasi ha-'Edah ('the Leader of the Community') called 'the Star' in CD, vii above.

The conjunction of 'the Righteousness' terminology with 'the Messiah', much in the manner that it is co-joined with 'the Teacher' and 'the Pourer' above (the Moreh and the Yoreh) in the definition of the Shiloh in Gen. 49:10, is of the utmost significance. This is consistent with the total ethos of Qumran and has, in fact, important resonance's with presentations of the Melchizedek ideology ('the King of Righteousness') in relation to the eschatological priesthood set forth in Heb. 5:7 - 10 (including, interestingly enough, reference to 'the Logos of Righteousness' in Line 5:14).

The explanation in the final decipherable line of this exegesis 'because he, i.e. the Messiah of Righteousness, kept ...the Torah' together with the others 'of the Community' is also important, not only for Qumran Messianic notions but for Qumran ideology as a whole and its overtones with early Christianity of the Jamesian mould.)

Translation

Column 1 in the 480th year of Noah's life their (Wicked humanity) end came for Noah. And God said, 'My Spirit shall not dwell among men forever,' and so their days were fixed (at) one hundred and twenty years, until the time of the waters of the flood. Now the waters of the flood were on the earth beginning with the six hundredth year of Noah's life. In the second month, on Sunday the 17th, on that very day all the fountains of the great deep burst open, and the windows of Heaven were opened. So there was rain on the earth for forty days and forty nights, until the 26th of the third month, Thursday. The waters rose upon the earth for one hundred and fifty days, until the 14th of the seventh month, Tuesday. And at the end of one hundred and fifty days the waters abated, for two days, Wednesday and Thursday, and on Friday the ark came to rest on the Ararat Range-the 17th of the seventh month. Now the waters continued to diminish until the tenth month. On the first of that month, Wednesday, the peaks of the mountains became visible. Forty days from the time when the mountain peaks became visible, Noah opened the window of the ark. On Sunday, that is, the 10th of the eleventh month, Noah sent forth the dove to see whether the waters had abated, but it did not find any place to alight and so it returned to him in the ark. He then waited seven more days and once more sent it forth, and it returned to him with a cut olive branch in its bill. This was on the 24th of the eleventh month, on Sunday. Therefore Noah knew that the waters had abated on the earth. At the end of seven more days Noah sent the dove out, but it did not return again. This was the first day of the twelfth month, a Sunday. At the end of thirty-one days from the time he had sent it forth, when it did not return anymore, the waters had dried up on the earth. Then Noah removed the hatch of the ark and looked around, and indeed the waters had disappeared from the face of the earth, on the first day of the first month,

Column 2 in the six hundred and first year of Noah's life. And on the 17th of the second month, the earth was completely dry. On Sunday, on that day Noah went forth from the ark, thus completing a full year of three hundred and sixty four days. On Sunday, in the seventh <one and six. > Noah (went forth) from the ark at the appointed time, one full year. < > 'Then Noah awoke from his wine and knew what his youngest son had done to him, and he said, "Cursed be Canaan; he shall be his brothers' meanest slave."' He did not curse Ham, but on the contrary, his son, because God had already blessed Noah's sons: 'And in the tents of Shem they will dwell.' He gave the land to Abraham His friend. < > Terah was one hundred and forty years old when he left Ur of the Chaldees and came to Haran. And Abram was seventy, and Abram lived in Haran for five years, and after Abram left for the land of Canaan, (Terah lived) sixty-five years . . . the heifer and the ram and the shegoat . . . Abram to God . . . the fire when he crossed over . . . Abram to go out to the land of Canaan . . .

Column 3 as it is written .... twelve men . . . Gomorrah and also this city . . . Righteous I will not destroy . . . only they shall exterminate. And if there are not found there ten Righteous Men, I will destroy the city and everyone found in it, along with its booty and its little children. And the remnant . . . forever. And Abraham stretched out his hand . . . And he said to him, 'Now. . .' 'And El Shaddai will bless you and make you fruitful and multiply you. You shall become a congregation of peoples. And he will give to you the blessing once given to Abraham your father' . . .

Column 4 '. . . and Timna was the concubine of Eliphaz the son of Esau, and she bore him Amalek.' It was he whom Saul exterminated as He said to Moses, 'In the future you will erase the memory of Amalek from under Heaven.' < > The blessings of Jacob: 'Reuben, you are my first born, the first portion of my strength, preeminent in stature and preeminent in power, unstable as water-(but) you shall not be preeminent. You mounted your father's marriage couch, thereby defiling it because he lay on it.' < > Interpreted, this means that he reproved him, because he (Reuben) slept with Bilhah his (father's) concubine. When it says 'You are my first born,' it means . . . Reuben was the first in theory . . .

Column 5 '(the) Government shall not pass from the tribe of Judah.' During Israel's dominion, a Davidic descendant on the throne shall not cease. For 'the Staff' is the Covenant of the Kingdom. The leaders of Israel, they are 'the Feet' (referred to in Genesis 49:11), until the Messiah of Righteousness, the Branch of David comes, because to him and his seed was given the Covenant of the Kingdom of His people in perpetuity, because he kept . . . the Torah with the men of the Community, because . . . refers to the Congregation of the men of . . . He gave Column 6 'he shall yield royal dignities. Naphtali is a doe let loose, who gives beautiful words.' . . .

15. Joshua Apocryphon (4Q522)

(This text contains an assortment of geographical locales and place names that may go back to the period of Joshua or reflect some display or schema connected to the Davidic period. Because of the reference to Eleazar, the high priest often associated with Joshua's activities, we have called it a Joshua Apocryphon, though the text, as it has been preserved in the second column, clearly focuses on the figure of David, his activities, his conquests, his kingship and, in particular, his building of the Temple. Were it not for the fact that much of this seems to be phrased in terms of a prophecy from the earlier conquest period, one might even call it a Samuel Apocryphon.

David's conquest of Jerusalem, his building the Temple and rich decoration of it is lavishly praised. For those who would refer to this literature as sectarian, the nationalist implications of texts such as this are important, as is the provocative allusion to 'the sons of Satan' in Line 5. This parallels similar references elsewhere in the corpus to 'sons of Belial', and their variation in the 'Mastemoth' / 'sons of Darkness' allusions we have encountered above and will encounter further below.)

Translation

Fragment 1 Column 1 . . . and En Qeber and . . . . . Valley, and Bet Zippor, with . . . all the Valley of Mozza . . . and Heikhal -Yezed and Yapur and . . . and Mini and En Kober . . . Garim and Hedita and Oshel . . . which . . . and Ashkalon . . . . . Galil, and the two . . . and the Sharon . . . Judah, and Beer Sheba, and Baalot . . . and Qeilah and Adullam and . . . Gezer and Thamni and Gamzon and . . . Hiqqar and Qittar and Ephronim and Shakkoth . . . Bet Horon, the lower and the upper, and . . . and the Upper and the Lower Gilat

Fragment 1 Column 2 . . . to establish there the . . . the times, for a son is about to be born to Jesse, son of Perez, son of Judah . . . He shall capture the mountain (literally, rock) of Zion, and he will dispossess from there all the Amorites . . . to build the House for the Lord, the God of Israel. Gold and silver . . . cedars and cypress will he bring from Lebanon to build it, and the sons of Satan . . . he will do priestly service there and a man . . .your . . . from the . . . And the Lord will establish David securely . . . Heaven will dwell with him forever. But now, the Amorites are there, and the Canaanites . . . dwell where the Hittites (do), none of whom have I sought . . . from you. And the Shilonite, and the . . . I have given him as a servant . . . And now, let us establish . . . far from . . . Eleazar . . . forever, from the House . . . army . . .

16. A Biblical Chronology (4Q559)

(This work attempted to determine the chronology of the people and, in some cases, the events of the Bible. This enterprise was important not only for its intrinsic interest, but also to those who wanted to locate the present in the flow of time toward the Messianic era. They could then predict when the Messiah would come, and when other predictions of the prophets would find fulfilment. Interest in such 'chronomessianism' was great in the period of the Scrolls.

The complexity of Biblical chronology was daunting, because at many junctures the Bible simply did not say how many years passed between events. These 'blanks' could only be filled in by calculation, a process fraught with possibilities for error as well as legitimately different results. In the time of the Scrolls at least three separate systems of Biblical chronology existed: that of the Masoretic text (the Hebrew text normally translated in modern Bibles); that of the Septuagint, the Bible used in Egypt; and that of the Samaritans. Note the correspondence of this text with the Terah reference in the Genesis Florilegium above.)

Translation

Column 1 (Fragments 1 and 3) . . . and Terah was seventy years old when he fathered Abraham; and Abraham was ninety-nine years old when he fathered Isaac; and Isaac was sixty years old when he fathered Jacob; and Jacob was sixty-five years old when he fathered Levi . . . and Levi was thirty-five years old when he fathered Kohath; and Kohath was twenty-nine years old when he fathered Amram; Amram was one hundred and ten years old when he fathered Aaron, and Aaron went out from Egypt. (The total of) all these years: eleven thousand, five hundred and thirty-six . . .

Column 2 . . . from the land of Egypt . . . years (?) . . . the Jordan . . . in . . . thirtyfive (or more) years; in Gilgal . . . years . . . in Timnath-Serah twenty years; and from the time that Joshua died . . . Cush-Rishathaim the king of Aram-Naharain eight years; Othniel the son of Kenaz . . . eighty years; Eglon the king of Moab eighteen years; Ehud the son of Gera, eighty years; Shamgar the son of Anath,

17. Hur And Miriam (4Q544)

(This Aramaic text is difficult to characterize because it is so fragmentary, but it appears to be concerned with genealogies of characters in the Book of Exodus, particularly Hur. If Line 8 is taken with Line 9, the text would appear to make a connection between the Judean hero Hur and Miriam, the sister of Moses, although none is anywhere made explicit in the Bible. According to Josephus, Hur was Miriam's husband (Ant. 3.54), and the tradition being signalled here seems to bear this out. Rabbinic literature, identifying Ephrath and Miriam, would have him as her son (Targum to 1 Chr. 2:19 and 4:4). Still, that there is tradition about a relationship between Hur and Miriam is not to be gainsaid.)

Translation

Fragment 1 that he ate, he and his sons . . . and her husband slept the eternal sleep . . . upon him, and they found him . . . his sons and the sons of his brother . . . they dwelt temporarily . . . he departed to his Eternal home . . . ten. And with Miriam he became the father of Ab... (name incomplete and uncertain) . . . and Sitri. Then Hur took as wife . . . And with her he became the father of Ur and Aaron . . . with her four (forty?) sons . . .

18. Enochic Book Of Giants (4Q532)

(Enoch was a figure of great interest in the period of the Scrolls, in part because of the mysterious way the Bible refers to him in Genesis 5:24; 'Enoch walked with God, and he was not; for God took him'. Apparently, therefore, Enoch did not die, and was taken alive into heaven. A 'substantial literature grew up around this figure, of which part was gathered into the book known as First (or, Ethiopic) Enoch. The Book of Giants was another literary work concerned with Enoch, widely read (after Translation into the appropriate languages) in the Roman empire. Among the Qumran texts are at least six, and perhaps as many as eleven, copies of the Book of Giants. The following portion seems to belong to that work. The 'giants' were believed to be the offspring of fallen angels (the Nephilim; also called Watchers) and human women. The story of the giants derives from Genesis 6.)

Translation

Column 2 Fragments 1-6 . . . with flesh . . . al1 . . . the Nephilim . . . will be . . . they were rising up . . . Pious Knowledge . . . so that when . . . the earth . . . Mighty Ones . . . were firmly decided . . . And I . . . They will be . . . by the Eternal Watchers . . . in the end he will perish and die. And . . . . . who . . . allowed him to come . . . They will be . . . from the earth as far as Heaven . . . Lord of Lords . . . between . . . on the earth among all Mesh . . . in Heaven. And . .. then there will not . . . and great Knowledge . . . and the strong will be bound . . .

19. Pseudo-Jubilees (4Q227)

(The preserved portions of these two fragments appear to contain information about Enoch similar to the Book of Jubilees 4:17-24. A good deal of the interest centering around Enoch, as we have noted, was connected with his assumption alive into Heaven and the mysterious allusion in Genesis to 'walking with God'. This allowed him to be seen as a mystery figure conversant with 1. Heavenly Knowledge - in particular 'Knowledge' of an esoteric kind, and 2. scientific knowledge of the kind alluded to in this text - knowledge of the heavenly spheres and their courses. Since he had been there, he could actually measure them.

Enoch also becomes one of the precursors of mystical Heavenly journeying or Heavenly Ascents. What is interesting about this text is the reference to 'the Righteous' - the Zaddikim - seemingly twice, just in the extant fragments (1.1 and 2.6). This Heavenly journeying moves into early Christian tradition, as it does into both Kabbalah and Islam.

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Not only is Enoch the Righteous a well-known cognomen as are Noah the Righteous and James the Righteous- but 'the Righteous' would even seem to be a name for the members of the Community represented by the literature at Qumran, a synonym and linguistic variation of the Bani-Zadok ('the sons of Zadok') as we have noted above.)

Translation

Fragment 1 . . . all the Righteous . . . before Moses . . . all the days of . . . (6) the years of . . . will be lengthened . . .

Fragment 2 Enoch after we instructed him . . . six jubilees of years . . . earth among all mankind and he witnessed against them all . . . and also against the Watchers. And he wrote down all the . . . the heavens and all the paths of their hosts (i.e., the heavenly bodies), all the months . . . in which the Righteous have not erred . . .

20. Aramaic Tobit (4Q 196)

(For Jews and Protestant Christians the book of Tobit is outside the canon of the Bible, being counted among the Apocrypha. Catholics, however, along with the Greek and Russian Orthodox branches of Christianity, regard the book as part of the Bible in the sense that it is 'Deuterocanonical'. Although scholars for the most part believed that Tobit had originally been written in either Hebrew or Aramaic, the Semitic original version was long lost. The book's primary witnesses were two rather different Greek versions (one 'short' version and one 'long'). Thus the significance of the Qumran caches: they include portions of four Aramaic manuscripts of the book, together with one Hebrew manuscript. All of these manuscripts support the 'long' version of Tobit known from the Greek. It is now clear that the short Greek version never had a Semitic counterpart and is nothing more than an abbreviation of the long Greek text. Until very recently, however, Bible Translations into modern languages had always relied upon the short text. In the wake of the Qumran discoveries, translators have begun to work instead with the long text - still, unfortunately, having only the Greek witness; no more than a few isolated phrases of the Qumran Semitic forms have previously been published. The Semitic texts of Tobit will certainly require adjustments even of those Translations that have worked with the superior long Greek text. For example, in the portion presented here (Tobit 1:19-2:2), the latter half of the Aramaic text of 1:22 is preferable to the Greek. The New Revised Standard Version translates the portion in question thus: 'Now Ahiqar was chief cupbearer, keeper of the signet and in charge of administrations of the accounts under King Sennacherib of Assyria; so Esarhaddon reappointed him' (italics ours). The Aramaic makes it clear that Esarhaddon did not merely reappoint Ahiqar, but raised him up to a position second only to the king himself (note the Translation, Line 8 below). We may expect many such improvements in our understanding of this charming book now that the Semitic texts have brought us much closer to the original.)

Translation

Fragment 1 one of the Ninevites (= people from Niniveh) went and informed the king that I was burying them, so I hid myself. When I discovered that he knew about me, and that I was being sought to be killed, I was frightened and I fled. Then all that I owned was confiscated, nothing was left to me. (There was not) one thing that they did not take to the king's storehouse, except Hannah my wife and Tobiah my son. It was not forty- five days before two of his sons killed him (i.e., the king). They fled to the mountains of Ararat, and Esarhaddon his son ruled in his place. He empowered Ahiqar the son of Anael my brother over all the accounting of his kingdom. He also installed Ahiqar as chief of the (sacred) treasury. He was in charge of a11 of the king's funds.

Aqihar interceded on my behalf, so that I returned to Nineveh. Ahiqar my 'brother' was the chief cupbearer and the official in charge of the signet rings and the treasurer and the accountant for Sennacherib, king of Assyria, while Esarhaddon appointed him second (only) to himself. For he was my nephew, from the house of my father and my family. In the days of Esarhaddon the king, when I returned to my home and Hannah my wife was returned to me, along with Tobiah my son, on the day of the festival of Weeks, I had a fine banquet. I reclined to eat, and they set the table before me. I saw the many delicacies that they brought, and I said to Tobiah my son, 'My son, go and bring anyone whom you may find among our brothers . . . my son, go and get (such), that he may come and eat together with me . . .

21. Stories From The Persian Court (4Q550)

(Apparently these stories concerned the adventures of Jews at the court of the Persian kings. The use of the word 'Jew' (Yehudi) in 6.3 is, therefore, probably one of the oldest usages of this term - it is not commonly found in other genres of Qumran literature, which tend either to speak in terms of classical archetypes or to archaise (cf. the allusion to Beit-Yehudah 'House of Judah' in the Habakkuk Pesher, viii). The genre of 'the Jew at the foreign court' was very popular during the period of the Scrolls.

As far as can be determined, the structure of the stories presented here was something like the following: a young man raised at the court of the Persian king is at the age when he is about to embark on his career at court. He is instructed as to the adventures of his predecessors, including his father Fratervana, an earlier man named Bagasri and an intermediate figure known as Bagose. Bagasri served in the time of Darius - perhaps the Darius of Dan. 6, who is usually identified as Darius 1 (522-486 BC) or perhaps one of the later figures by that name: Darius 11 (423-405 BC) or Dairus 111 (335-330 BC).

Bagasri had some problem at court, and was in danger of losing his life (Column 6). He triumphed through the greatness of his God, and Darius was forced to acknowledge both his own sins (Column 4) and the power of the God of Israel (Column 8). The king also wrote a scroll telling the whole story much like Nebuchadnezzar in Dan. 4. Bagose served at the court after Bagasri and somehow forfeited all his possessions. Through a series of events now lost, he was vindicated, and like job his wealth was returned to him in a double measure. Fratervana's tale connects in some way to the servants of the royal wardrobe; perhaps he discovered a conspiracy against the king among those high officials. The most obvious connections of these stories are with the so-called 'Court Stories of Daniel' (Dan. 1-6).)

Translation

Column 2 (or later) a man, unless the king knows; indeed, there exists . . . and the witness shall not perish. They have believed what is upright . . . king, Fratervana the son of . . . has . . . there fell upon him fear of the (contents of) the archives . . . the foundations of the king that you shall speak and be given . . . my house and my possessions for everything that . . . shall you be able to take up your father's occupation? . . .

Column 3 (or later) the foundations of the king that you shall speak to the prince (?) . . . Fratervana your father from the day that he took up his occupation before the king . . . for him he did honestly and . . . before him . . . and he said the foundations of . . . peace . . .

Column 4 (or later) they used to listen to Fratervana your father . . . to the servants of the royal wardrobe in all . . . to do the business of the king in all that he received . . . in that very year the king's patience . . . his father . . . before him; among the books was found a certain scroll sealed by seven seals (impressed by) the signet ring of Darius his father. The matter . . . 'Darius the king to the servants of the kingdom of all the earth: Peace.' It was opened and read. (The following) was found written in it: 'Darius the king wrote to all kings after myself, to the servants of the kingdom: Peace. Let it be known to you that all oppression and falsehood . . .

Column 6 (or later) . . . for you know . . . for the sins of my fathers that they sinned aforetime and . . . and I followed after . . . a Jew from among the king's officials stood in front of him and . . . the good man. The good man did . . . What shall I do with you? You know that it is possible for a man like you to hasten (?) everything. A man of your household (once) stood where you (now) stand . . . Command me (to do) anything that you want, and when you have spoken, I will bury you in . . . he dwells in all. It is possible that he will bring in my service before . . . and everything that . . .

Column 8 (or later) the highest (God) whom you fear and serve, he is ruler over the earth. It is easy for him to do anything that he desires, and anyone who speaks an evil word against Bagasri . . . shall be killed, because there is no . . . Good forever . . . that he saw . . . two. And he said, 'Let the king write . . . he saw . . . to the king . . . them in the great royal court . . . and after (the story of) Badgers, they read in this book . . . Evil, his Evil shall return upon his . . .

Column 9 (or later) the king's decree . . . they went . . . to write . . . he went . . . in the clothing . . . a golden crown weighing one hundred and fifty. He went . . . apart from him . . . he went and said . . . (he returned the?) silver and gold and possessions that belong to Bagose in a double measure . . . he entered the king's court in the name of Bagasri . . . killed. Then Bagasri entered the king's court . . . the chief butler answered and said, 'Bagasri, Bagasri, from . . .'

2 QUMRAN LIBRARY CHAPTER D
CALENDRICAL TEXTS AND PRIESTLY COURSES

The calendrical texts from Qumran Cave 4 are numerous and significant. They comprise eighteen texts (4Q319-330 and 4Q337), not including many texts which, while not strictly calendrical, presuppose or present a calendrical system. The latter category includes the Genesis Florilegium in Chapter 3 above and the First Letter on Works Righteousness in Chapter 6 and the Brontologion in Chapter 8 below.

Especially noteworthy is the absence among the Qumran caches of any text advocating a different calendar. This absence is striking because the calendar of the Qumran materials was only one of several in use and seems to have represented a minority position. The calendrical texts are, therefore, central to any attempt to understand the significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls. In order to follow the rather technical expositions of these texts, one must know a few facts about the calendar they advocate, and about the priestly courses (mishmarot) which served in the Temple at Jerusalem.

The calendar is purely solar, based on a particular understanding of the Creation account found in Genesis. In its exclusive reliance on the sun, it stands in stark contrast to later Rabbinic Judaism, which followed a lunisolar calendar of 354 days relying mainly on the moon. Earlier, the Pharisaic forerunners of Rabbinic Judaism seem to have followed an even more lunar-oriented calendar, though from the evidence of the Qumran texts, the lunisolar calendar seems already to have gained currency during at least some of the period of the Scrolls.

In the system that finally emerged, probably under Greco-Roman influence, in Rabbinic Judaism at the end of the fourth century AD, extra lunar months were intercalated seven times in every nineteen years to produce the kind of harmonization necessary to ensure that the calendar remained fixed to the seasons of the solar cycle. The Muslims, for their part, reflecting probably an earlier phase of this historical process, never made the complicated mathematical and calendrical intercalations necessary for passage from a lunar to a lunisolar calendar.

By contrast, according to the solar calendar at Qumran, the year always contains precisely 364 days.

The only question that must be asked is whether this calendar goes back to Maccabean times, as the third text on Priestly Courses implies - or even earlier - and whether the Maccabeans themselves preferred it before the Pharisees took over with the rise of Herod once and for all. However this may be, the anti-Pharisaic and consequently, the anti-Herodian character of the calendar is not to be gainsaid.

Each year consists of twelve months of thirty days each, plus four additional days, one of which is intercalated at the end of each three-month period. Thus the first and second months are 30 days long, while, with its added day, the third month totals 31 days; then the pattern repeats (see Table 1). New Year's Day and the first day of each three-month period always fall on a Wednesday. Wednesday is the day mandated as the first day by the creation order, since the heavenly lights - sun, moon and stars, the basis of any calendar - were created on the fourth day (Gen. 1:14-19). The great advantage of the Qumran calendar over its lunisolar rival is that it results in fixed dates for the major festivals.

They cannot fall on a Sabbath, thereby avoiding worrisome difficulties affecting sacrifices. In fact, this calendar guarantees that a particular day of any given month will always fall on the same day of the week every year.

Although the authors of the Qumran calendrical texts disdained the lunisolar calendar, a number of their writings synchronise the two versions (see Priestly Courses I and Priestly Courses II, below).

The reasons for this synchronisation are not entirely clear, but two suggestions may be somewhere close to the mark. First, these authors considered all time holy and its measurement ordained by God.

It was probably thought necessary that someone keep a proper record of its passing. Since the opponents of the authors could not be relied upon to do so - following, as they did, an illicit system - the Qumran authors took the responsibility. In order to discharge this responsibility, it would be as necessary to be able to point out errors as to know the correct answers. Thus, they tracked time by the system of their opponents as well as by their own. Second, the authors of these texts certainly expected that at some time they would be in power in Jerusalem. At that time, of course, they would impose the solar calendar, but in order to know where they were in the year, they would have to know both the false lunisolar date and the real solar date. In fact, there is some evidence that at certain points in the Second Temple period the solar calendar actually was imposed, at least for short periods. In all their timekeeping, the authors of the Qumran calendars reckoned not only by months, but also by the rotation of the priestly courses (mishmarot). The courses would come into Jerusalem for service at the temple for one week, then rotate out as the next group arrived to serve. Qumran texts relied upon this 'eternal cycle' not only for their calendar units, but also for their chronography and historiography (see Priestly Courses III). Every Sabbath, month, year and feast bore the name of a priestly family (see Priestly Courses IV).

The priestly rotation required six years before the same group would be serving once again in the same week of the year. This sexennial cycle reflects the need to synchronize the solar calendar with the lunisolar version. Since the solar calendar totalled 364 days to the year, while the lunisolar calendar alternated months of 29 and 30 days, the lunisolar calendar would 'fall behind' by ten days per year. After three years, however, the lunisolar calendar was intercalated with

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an additional 29 or 30 days, bringing the two versions once again into harmony (364 X 3 = 354 X 3 + 30). Two such cycles fit perfectly with the six years needed for one complete priestly cycle.

The order of the priestly courses was originally determined by lot, and is laid out in 1 Chr. 24:7-18 as follows: Jehoiarib (spelled 'Joiarib' in the Qumran texts), Jedaiah, Harim, Seorim, Malchijah (sometimes spelled Malachijah in the Qumran texts), Mijamin, Hakkoz, Abijah, Jeshua, Shecaniah, Eliashib, Jakim, Huppah, Jeshebeab, Bilgah, Immer, Hezir, Happizzez, Pethahiah, Jehezkel, Jachin, Gamul, Delaiah, and Maaziah (often spelled Moaziah in the Qumran texts). The Qumran calendars refer to the same names, but vary the order by beginning the cycle with Gamul instead of Jehoiarib.

Apparently the reason for this change is that the list as given in 1 Chronicles began the rotation with Jehoiarib in the autumn. The Qumran cycle begins in Nisan (March-April), a vernal New Year. The different beginning derives, as might be expected, from an understanding of the Creation narrative.

The Creation happened in the spring; thus an eternal order based on the Creation must of necessity begin at that time. The vernal New Year meant that the priestly cycle would begin with Gamul.

22. Priestly Courses I (4Q321) (Plate 6)

(The first part of Mishmarot B delineates the equivalences between the solar and the lunisolar calendars. It also preserves information on the 'astronomical observance' of the moon which apparently acted as a check on the tabulated lunar month. The observance ascertained whether or not the full moon was waning at the proper rate, normally confirming the calculation of the day on which that month would end, and, concomitantly, when the subsequent one would begin. Fragment 1 preserves the equivalences starting with the seventh month of the first year and ending with the second month of the fourth year. Fragment 2 begins with the fifth month of the sixth year and completes the cycle. Between the two fragments we learn how the intercalation of the lunisolar calendar was carried out at the end of the third year (by the solar calendar's reckoning; according to the lunisolar reckoning, after the first month of the fourth) and at the end of the sixth year. The remaining portions of Fragment 2 describe the six-year cycle of First Days (of the months) and festivals in terms of the course to which they fall.)

Translation

Fragment 1 Column 1 on the first of Jedaiah on the twelfth of it. (The next lunar month ends) on the second of Abijah, on the twenty-fifth of the eighth (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the third of Mijamin, on the seventeenth of it (i.e., of solar month eight). (The next lunar month ends) on the third of Jakim ninth (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the fourth of Shecaniah, on the eleventh of it. (The next lunar month ends) on the fifth day of Immer, on the twenty-third of the tenth (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the sixth day of Jeshebeab, on the tenth of it. (The next lunar month ends) on the sixth of Jehezkel, on the twenty-second of the eleventh (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the sabbath of Pethahiah, on the ninth of it. (The next lunar month ends) on the first of joiarib, on the twenty-second of the twelfth (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the second of Delaiah, on the ninth of it. The second (year): The first lunar month ends on the second of Malachiah, on the twentieth of the first (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the third of Harim, on the seventh of it. (The next lunar month ends) on the fourth of Jeshua, on the twentieth of the second (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the fifth of Hakkoz, on the seventh of it. (The next lunar month ends) on the fifth of Huppah, on the nineteenth of the third (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the sixth of E1iashib, on the sixth of it. (The next lunar month ends) on the sabbath of Happizzez,

Fragment 1 Column 2 on the eighteenth of the the fourth (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the first of Immer, on the fifth of it. (The next lunar month ends) on the first of Gamul, on the seventeenth of the fifth (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the second of Jehezkel, on the fourth of it. (The next lunar month ends) on the third of Jedaiah, on the seventeenth of the sixth month. Lunar observation takes place on the fourth of Maaziah, on the fourth of it. (The next lunar month ends) on the fourth of Mijamin, on the fifteenth of the seventh month. Lunar observation takes place on the fifjth of Seorim, on the third of it. (The next lunar month ends) on the sixth of Shecaniah, on the fifteenth of the eighth (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the sabbath of Abijah, on the second of it. (The next lunar month ends) on the sabbath of Bilgah, on the fourteenth of the ninth (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the first of Huppah, on the first of the ninth (solar) month. A second lunar observation takes place on the third of Hezir, on the thirty-first of it. (The next lunar month ends) on the second of Pethahiah, on the thisteenth of the tenth (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the fourth of jachin, on the nineteenth of it. (The next lunar month ends) on the third of Delaiah, on the twelfth of the eleventh (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the sixth of Joiarib, on the twentyninth of it. (The next lunar month ends) on the fifth of Harim, on the twelfth of the twelfth (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the sabbath of Mijamin, on the twenty-eighth, on the twenty-fourth of the of it. The third (year): (The next lunar month ends) on the sixth of Hakkoz, on the tenth . . .

Fragment 1 Column 3 on the seventh of the fifth (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the first of Harim, on the twenty-I fourth of it. (The next lunar month ends) on the sabbath of Malachiah, on the seventh of the sixth (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the second of Hakkoz, on the twenty-third of it. (The next lunar month ends) on the first of Jeshua, on the fifth of the seventh (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the fourth of Eliashib, on the twenty-second of it. (The next lunar month ends) on the third of Huppah, on the fifth of the eighth (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the fifth of Bilgah, on the twenty-first in it. (The next lunar month ends) on the fourth of Hezir, on the fourth of the ninth (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the sabbath of jehezkel, on the twenty-first of it. (The next lunar month ends) on the sixth of Jachin, on the third of the tenth (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the first of Maaziah, on the sixteenth of it. (The next lunar month ends) on the sabbath of Jedaiah, on the second of the eleventh (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the third of Seorim, on the nineteenth of it. (The next lunar month ends) on the second of Mijamin, on the second of the twelfth (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the fourth of Abijah, on the eighteenth of it. The fourth (year): (The next lunar month ends) on the fourth of Shecaniah, on the first of the first (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the sixth of Jakim, on the seventeenth of the first (solar) month. (The next lunar month ends) on the Sabbath of Pethahiah, on the thirtieth of the second (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the first of Hezir, on the seventeenth of it. (The next lunar month ends) on the first of Deliah, on the ninth . . .

Fragment 2 Column 1 Lunar observation takes place on the first of Bilgah, on the twenty-fourth of it. (The next lunar month ends) on the Sabbath of Hezir, on the seventh of the sixth (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the second of Pethahiah, on the twenty-third of it. (The next lunar month ends) on the first of Jachin, on the fifth of the seventh (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the fourth of Delaiah, on the twenty-second of it. (The next lunar month ends) on the third of Joiarib, on the fifth of the eighth (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the fifth of Harim, on the sixteenth of it. (The next lunar month ends) on the fourth of Malachiah, on the fourth of the ninth (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the Sabbath of Abijah, on the twenty- first of it. (The next lunar month ends) on the sixth of Jeshua, on the third of the tenth (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the first of Jakim, on the nineteenth of it. (The next lunar month ends) on the Sabbath of Jeshebeab, on the second of the elevnth (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the third of Immer, on the nineteenth of it. (The next lunar month ends) on the second of Happizzez, on the second of the twelfth (solar) month. Lunar observation takes place on the fourth of Jehezkel, on the eighteenth of it. The first year: the first month (begins) in Delaiah. In Maaziah is the Passover. In Jedaiah is the Lifting of the Omer. The second month (begins) in Jedaiah In Seorim is the Second Passover. The third month (begins) in Hakkoz.

Fragment 2 Column 2 In Jeshua is the Festival of Weeks. The fourth month (begins) in Eliashib. The fifth month (begins) in Bilgah. The sixth month (begins) in Jehezkel. The seventh month (begins) in Maaziah. That day is the Day of Remembrance. In Joiarib is the Day of Atonement. In Jedaiah is the Festival of Booths. The eighth month (begins) in Seorim. The ninth month (begins) in Jeshua. The tenth month (begins) in Huppah. The eleventh month (begins) in Hezir. The twelfth month (begins) in Gamul. The second (year): the first month (begins) in Jediah. In Seorim is the Passover. In Mijamin is the Lifting of the Omer. The second month (begins) in Mijamin. In Abijah is the Second Passover. The third month (begins) in Eliashib, and in Huppah is the Feast of Weeks. The fourth month (begins) in Bilgah. The fifth month (begins) in Pethahiah. The sixth month (begins) in Maaziah. The seventh month (begins) in Seorim. That day is the Daly of Remembrance. In Malachiah is the Day of Atonement. In Mijamin is the Festival of Booths. The eighth month (begins) in Abijah. The ninth month (begins) in Huppah. The tenth month (begins) in Hezir. The eleventh month (begins) in Jachin. The twelfth month (begins) in Jedaiah The third (year): The first month (begins) in Mijamin. In Abijah is the Passover. In Shecaniah is the Lifting of the Omer. The second month (begins) in Shecaniah. In Jakim is the Second Passover. The third month (begins) in Bilgah. In Hezir is

Fragment 2 Column 3 the Festival of Weeks. The fourth month (begins) in Pethahiah. The fifth month (begins) in Delaiah. The sixth month (begins) in Seorim. The seventh month (begins) in Abijah. That day is the Day of Remembrance. In Jeshua is the Day of Atonement. In Shecaniah is the Festival of Booths. The eighth month (begins) in Jakim. The ninth month (begins) in Hezir. The tenth month (begins) in Jachin. The eleventh month (begins) in Joiarib The twelfth month (begins) in Mijlamin. The fourth (year): the first month (begins) in Shecaniah. In Jakim is the Passover. In Jeshebeab is the Waving of the Omer. The second month (begins) in Jeshebeab. In Immer is the Second Passover. The third month (begins) in Pethahiah. In Jachin is the Festival of Weeks. The fourth month (begins) in Delaiah The fifth month (begins) in Harim. The sixth month (begins) in Abijah. The seventh month (begins) in Jakim. That is the Daly of Remembrance. In Huppah is the Day of Atonement. In Jeshebeab is the Festival of Booths. The eighth month (begins) in Immer. The ninth month (begins) in Jachin. The tenth month (begins) in joiarib. The eleventh month (begins) in Malachiah. The twelfth month (begins) in Shecaniah. The fifth (year): the first month (begins) in Bilgah. In Immer is the Passover. In Happizzez is the Waving of the Omer. The second month (begins) in Happizzez. In Jehezkel is the Second Passover. The third month (begins) in Delaiah. In Joiarib is the Festival of Weeks. The fourth month (begins) in Harim. The fifth month (begins) in Hakkoz. The sixth month (begins) in Jakim. The seventh month (begins) in Immer. That day is the Day of Remembrance. In Hezir is the Day of Atonement. In Happizzez is the Festival of Booths. The eighth month (begins) in Jehezkel. The ninth month (begins) in joiarib. The tenth . . .

Fragment 2 Column 4 The sixth month (begins) in Immer. The seventh month (begins) in Jehezkel That day is the Day of Remembrance. In Jachin is the Day of Atonement. In Gamul is the Festival of Booths. The eighth month (begins) in Maaziah. The ninth month (begins) in Malachiah. The tenth month (begins) in Jeshua The eleventh month (begins) in Huppah. The twelfth month (begins) in Happizzez.

23. Priestly Courses 11 (4Q320)

(Relying largely on ciphers, Fragment 1 of this manuscript preserves three columns. These portions provide the first three years of the correspondence between the lunisolar calendar and the solar calendar. One can observe that the lunisolar calendar loses ten days per year vis-a-vis the solar calendar, so that over the period covered by these columns it falls behind a full 30 days. As noted above, it would never fall behind by more. A month was intercalated every three years to bring the two calendars back into alignment.)

Translation

Fragment 1 Column 1 . . . to show it forth from the East . . . in the midst of Heaven, in the foundation of . . . from evening until morning. On the fourth, on the sabbath, the sons of Gamul (shall serve), in the first month, in the first year. The fifth day of the course of Jedaiah = the twenty-ninth day (of the lunar month) = the thirtieth day (of the solar month) in it (i.e., in the first month of the solar year). The Sabbath of Hakkoz (i.e., when the course rotates in; it does not serve until the following sabbath) = the thirtieth = the thirtieth in the second month. The second of Eliashib = the twenty-ninth = the twenty-ninth in the third month. The third of Bilgah = the thirtieth = the twenty-ninth in the fourth month (Note: this is a scribal error; the correct equivalence is the twenty-eighth). The third of Pethahiah = the twenty-ninth = the twenty-seventh in the fifth month. The sixth of Deliah = the thirtieth = the twenty-seventh in the sixth month. The Sabbath of Seorim = the twenty-ninth = the twenty-fifth in the seventh month. The second of Abijah = the thirtieth = the twenty-fifth in the eighth month. The third of Jakim = the twenty-ninth = the twenty-fourth in the ninth month.

Fragment 1 Column 2 The fifth of Immer = the thirtieth = the twenty-third in the tenth month. The sixth of Jehezkel =the twentyninth = the twenty-second in the eleventh month. The first in Jehoiarib = the thirtieth = the twenty-second in the twelfth month. The second year: The second of Malakiah (sic!) =the twenty-ninth = the twentieth of the first month. The fourth of Jeshua = the thirtieth = the twentieth of the second month. The fifth of Huppah = the twenty-ninth = the nineteenth of the sixth month. The Sabbath of Happizzez = the thirtieth = the eighteenth of the fourth month. The first of Gamul = the twenty-ninth = the seventeenth of the fifth month. The third of Jedaiah = the thirtieth = the seventeenth of the sixth month. The fourth of Mijamin = the twenty-ninth = the fifteenth of the seventh month. The sixth of Shecaniah = the thinieth = the fifteenth of the eighth month. The Sabbath of Bilgah = the twenty-ninth = the fourteenth of the ninth month. The second of Pethahiah = the thirtieth = the thirteenth of the tenth month.

Fragment 1 Column 3 The third of Delaiah = the twenty-ninth = the twelfth of the eleventh month. The fifth of Harim = the thirtieth = the twelfth of the twelfth month. The third year: The fifth of Hakkoz = the twenty-ninth = the twentieth of the first month. The first of Jakim = the thirtieth = the tenth of the second month. The second of Immer = the twenty-ninth = the ninth of the third month. The fourth of

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Jehezkel = the thirtieth = the eighth of the fourth month. The fifth of Maaziah = the twenty-ninth = the seventh of the fifth month. The Sabbath of Malakiah = the thirtieth = the seventh of the sixth month. The first of Jeshua = the twenty-ninth = the fifth of the seventh month. The third of Huppah = the thirtieth = the fifth of the eighth month. The fourth of Hezir = the twenty-ninth = the fourth of the ninth month. The sixth of Jachin = the thirtieth = the third of the tenth month. The Sabbath of Jedaiah = the twenty-ninth = the second of the eleventh month. The second of Mijamin = the thirtieth = day two of the twelfth month.

24. Priestly Courses III - Aemilius Kills
(Manuscripts A-E - 4Q323-324A-B) (Plate 8)

(Though extremely fragmentary, this series of manuscripts provides another record of the proper rotation of priestly courses in the sexennial cycle. This is fairly straightforward and similar to the two preceding ones, though in this one no attempt is made at lunisolar harmonization. It is worth mentioning, too, that its Hebrew is closer to that of early Rabbinic literature than many texts at Qumran. But what is unique about these fragments is that they belong to a select group of Qumran documents mentioning identifiable historical personages, as the Nahum Commentary does with Antiochus Epiphanes and Demetrius and the Paean to King Jonathan below appears to do with Alexander Jannaeus (c. 104-76 BC).

In this text, amid over a dozen references to historical events commemorated in the record of rotations, these figures include: 'Aemilius' (Aemilius Scaurus, Pompey's general in Syria and Palestine), 'Shelamzion' (Salome Alexandra, d. 67 BC - Phariseeizing widow of Alexander Jannaeus), her eldest son Hyrcanus II (executed in 30 BC on Herod's orders also a Pharisee) and possibly Shelamzion's younger son Aristobulus (d. 49 BC, poisoned on his way back from Rome to regain his kingdom by supporters of Pompey - a Sadducee / Zadokite). In addition, too, in Manuscript E, the text possibly contains a reference to John Hyrcanus, Alexander Jannaeus' father (c. 134-104 BC), though Hyrcanus II was also known as John. The text also contains fairly negative references to 'Gentiles' and 'Arabs', which increase the sense of its authenticity.

Like others, this text has been known since the 1950s, but for some reason, never published. Withholding it is really quite inexplicable, because we have here a view, however tenuous, of one of the most crucial periods in the Second Temple period. Scaurus was Pompey's adjutant at the time of the conquest of Jerusalem in 63 BC. After it fell and Pompey attached it to Syria, he was left behind as governor.

In turn, Scaurus was closely connected with Herod's father Antipater, who became one of the first Roman procurators in Jerusalem. At one point Scaurus led a campaign on his behalf against the Arabian king at Petra, a locale Paul also refers to as 'Arabia' when describing his own sojourn there in Gal. 1:17. Antipater, who was the intermediary between Hyrcanus II and the Romans, probably began his rise some time earlier under Shelamzion and her Pharisee supporters (War 1.110-114).

Of Greco-Idumaean (Edomite Arabs influenced by Greek culture) background and married to an Arab (a relative of this same Arab king), Antipater connived at Hyrcanus' survival, played a key role in Aristobulus' discomfiture, and through his intimacies with Pompey and Scaurus, and Marcus Antonius (Mark Antony) thereafter, placed his son Herod in a position both to destroy the Maccabeans and succeed them.

For his part, Aristobulus was more hot-headed and popular than his accommodating brother Hyrcanus, and appears to have been the darling of the nationalist-minded Jerusalem crowd. It was the split between these two - and Antipater's adept exploitation of it - that set the stage for the Roman entrance into and occupation of the country and the destruction of the Maccabean family. So ended that independence achieved a century before with Judas Maccabee's legendary acts.

Aristobulus was taken by Pompey to Rome in chains, probably to participate in his triumph. The movement that supported him may be seen as both 'nationalist' and 'Sadducean', while Hyrcanus II and his mother Shelamzion (Lines 4-6 of Fragment 2) are part of a more compromising, less nationalistic, Pharisaic one, willing to live with foreign intervention in the country - in particular, the appointment of high priests.

Seemingly written from the perspective of those who supported Aristobulus II, the present text is hostile to 'Arabs' (with whom Antipater and Hyrcanus were very involved), hostile to Shelamzion, under whom the accommodation began, hostile to Hyrcanus II, and without question, hostile to Scaurus and those 'Gentiles' associated with him in the killings he is overtly accused of being involved in (Lines 4 and 8 of Manuscript D Fragment 2 and Line 2 of Manuscript A Fragment 3). Its point of view can most certainly be regarded as 'zealous', if not 'Zealot'.

This is the tantalising nature of the materials before us. As in the Nahum Commentary, the events recorded would appear to be past history, so much so that they have had a chance to penetrate the commemorative tradition of a zealous lower priesthood holding these memories dear probably not an insubstantial time later. The infractions imputed to Aemilius and the 'leader of Gentiles' have burned deep into its consciousness. After Mark Antony's suppression of the revolutionary activity by Aristobulus' two sons Alexander and Antigonus in the next generation, who like John the Baptist after them were beheaded; the priests officiating at the Temple all owed their positions to Roman and Herodian power. They would not and could not have been interested in a literature of this kind.

Where, then, could a text accusing Roman governors of murder have been preserved? Only at a revolutionary outpost such as Qumran. What period could this have been and when did this more 'purist' brand of Sadducees - who apparently ultimately metamorphose into 'Messianic Sadducees' and depending on particular scholars' points of view have been variously called 'Essenes', 'Zealots', or 'Jewish Christians' - write or preserve such materials? We are certainly not in the formative Maccabean period, nor any period linked to personalities like Jonathan or Simon Maccabee, or even Alexander Jannaeus, whom proponents of 'the Essene theory' have previously and tendentiously identified as the dramatis personae - most notably the Wicked Priest of Qumran allusion.

This is consistent and in line with our reading of other Qumran materials, particularly the Testament of Kohath to be discussed in Chapter 5, which condemns foreign involvement and collaboration with foreign invaders in the matter of the priesthood. It is also consistent with our reading of the complex development of the Sadducee movement and a split in this movement between nationalist and collaborating wings coincident with some of the events being outlined here. One pro-Aristobulus, which could easily pass for 'zealot', moves in the first century AD into an 'opposition' and probably even 'Messianic' phase; another, more compromising, owed its existence and the collaborating nature of its ethos to the rise of Herod, who with Antony was responsible for the beheading of Aristobulus' equally nationalistic and Sadducean son Antigonus 25 years later. The second of these, who Josephus confirms 'were dominated in all things by the Pharisees' (Ant. 18. 17), are the familiar ones pictured by him, the Gospels, and to a certain extent Talmudic sources. They are probably best called Herodian Sadducees. The Talmud calls them 'Boethusians' (i.e. Boethusian Sadducees after the name of a priest from Egypt Herod appointed while also marrying his daughter-another instance of the multiplication of wives by the ruler so roundly condemned at Qumran in documents like The Temple Scroll and Damascus Document.)

Whatever else can be said of these unmistakable references to Aemelius' 'killing' - probably while governor, though possibly in the war leading up to this - and to 'Hyrcanus' rebellion' (Line 6 Fragment 2 Manuscript A - almost certainly against his brother Aristobulus), they reveal the text to be hostile to Hyrcanus, hostile to the party of collaboration, and hostile ultimately to the Herodian takeover (perceived as both 'Gentile' and abetted by 'Gentiles'). This approach is consistent with the antiforeign, xenophobic, 'zealot', yet pro-Temple - even James-like - orientation of the two Letters on Works Righteousness and the Paean to King Jonathan below.

The conclusion appears to be that Qumran represents the archive of a pro-Maccabean nationalist priesthood, one in sympathy with the aims of Judas, John Hyrcanus, Alexander Jannaeus, Aristobulus II, Antigonus, etc., but not Salome Alexandra, nor her son Hyrcanus II with their Pharisaic tendencies.

The whole sitz-im-leben for these, including 'opposition' (even 'Messianic') and establishment Sadducees, as well as for the two Letters on Works Righteousness and the Paen for King Jonathan was already set forth in R. H. Eisenman's Maccabees, Zadokite, Christians and Qumran: a New Hypothesis of Qumran Origins (E. J. Brill) without benefit of these texts in 1983. For more on this subject, see our discussions of these Letters on Works Righteousness in Chapter 6 and the Brontologion and Paean to King Jonathan in Chapter 8.

The reference to 'a Jewish man' or 'Jew' (ish Yehudi) in Manuscript D Fragment 4 parallels the similar ones in the Persian Court materials in Chapter 3 and to 'a Jewish woman' below. Again, it shows that this manner of looking at Jews as a distinct people, not as Israelites or in some archaizing tribal notation, was already well in the process of taking hold.)

Translation

Manuscript A Fragment 1 . . . on the tenth of the sixth month (i.e., of the second year of the priestly rotation) . . . on the fourteenth of it, the arrival of (the priestly course of) Jedaiah; on the sixteenth of it . . . on the twenty-first of it the arrival of (the priestly course of) Harim; on the twenty-seventh of the sixth month . . . he returned . . . Gentiles and also . . . . . fitter of spirit . . . prisoners . . .

Fragment 2 . . . to give him honour among the Arabs . . . on the fourth day of this course's service . . . which is the twentieth of the . . . month . . . foundation, Shelamzion came . . . to greet . . . Hyrcanos rebelled against Aristobulus? . . . to greet . . .

Fragment 3 . . . the leader of the Genntiles murdered . . . on the fifth day of (the service of the priestly course of) Jedaiah . . .

Fragment 4 . . . according to the will of . . .

Manuscript B Fragment 1 . . . on the ninth of the eighth month (i.e., of the second year of the priestly rotation), the arrival of (the priestly course of) Shecaniah . . . On day . . . of (the service of the priestly course of Shecaniah, . . . On the sixteenth of it (i.e., the eighth month), the arrival of (the priestly course of) Eliashib; on the twenty-third of it, the arrival of (the priestly course of) Jakim; on the second (day of the service of the priestly course of) Jakim , . . . ; and on the fourth day of (the service of the priestly course of) Jakim . . . the second day of the ninth month . . .

Fragment 2 . . . the fourth day of (the service of the priestly course of) Hezir, this day is the first (day) of the tenth month (i.e., of the second year of the priestly rotation); on the fourth day of it (i.e., the tenth month), the arrival of (the priestly course of) Happizzez; on the eleventh of it, the arrival of (the priestly course of) Pethahiah on the eighteenth of it, the arrival of (the priestly course of) Jehezkel; on the tweety-fifth of it, the arrival of (the priestly course of) Jachin . . . Jachin, the service . . . on the second of it (i.e., the eleventh month), the arrival of (the priestly course of) Gamul . . .

Fragment 3 . . . which is . . . men . . . and against Aristobulus . . . and they said . . . seventy . . . which is . . .

Manuscript C Fragment 1 on the twenty-third of it (i.e., the fifth month of the fifth year of the priestly rotation), the arrival of (the priestly course of) Eliashib; on the thirtieth of it, the arrival of (the priestly course of) Jakim; after the sabbath, while Jakim is serving, this is the first of the sixth month; on the seventh of it, the arrival of (the priestly course of) Huppah; on the fourteenth of it, the arrival of (the priestly course of) Jeshebeab; . . . on the twenty-first of it, the arrival of (the priestly course of) Bilgah; on the twenty-eighth of it, the arrival of (the priestly course of) Immer; day four (of the service of the priestly course of) Immer is the first day of the seventh month; on the fourth of it, the arrival of (the priestly course of) Hezir; the sixth day of (the service of the priestly course of) Hezir, which is the tenth day of the seventh month, this is the Day of Atonement; . . . for the Covenant; on the eleventh day of the seventh month, the arrival of (the priestly course of) Happizzez . . .

Manuscript D Fragment 1 Column 2 day . . . on the twenty-first of it (i.e., of the ninth month of the fifth year of the priestly rotation), the arrival of (the priestly course of) Seorim; on the twenty-eighth of it, the arrival of (the priestly course of) Malchijah; the fourth day of (the service of the priestly course of) Malchijah is the first day of the tenth month. On the Fourth day of the tenth month, the arrival of (the priestly course of) Mijamin; on the eleventh of it, the arrival of (the priestly course of) Hakkoz;

Fragment 2 . . . on the twenty-first of it (i.e., of the sixth month of the sixth year of the priestly rotation), the arrival of (the priestly course of) Pethahiah; on the twenty-eighth of it, the arrival of (the priestly course of) Jehezkel; on the first (or, the second; or, the third) day of (the service of the priestly course of) Jehezkel, which is the twenty-ninth (or, the thirtieth; or, the thirty-first) day of the sixth month, the Day of Aemilius' Massacre (literally, 'Aemilius killed' as below); the fourth day of (the service of the priestly course of) Jehezkel is the first day of the seventh month; on the fourth of it (i.e., of the seventh month), the arrival of the (the priestly course of) Jachin; on the eleventh of it, the arrival of (the priestly course of) Gamin; . . . the fourth day of (the service of the priestly course of) Gamul, which is the fifteenth day of the seventh month, is the Festival of Booths; on that day, Aemilius killed . . .

Fragment 3 on the twenty-eighth of it (i.e., of the ninth month of the sixth year of the priestly rotation), the arrival of (the priestly course of) Jeshua; the fourth day of (the service of the priestly course of) Jeshua is the first day of the tenth month . . . which is the tenth . . .

Fragment 4 . . . a Jewish man . . .

Manuscript E Fragment 1 Column 1 . . . the high priest . . . Johanan to bring the . . .

Fragment 1 Column 2 from . . . a man . . . Shelamzion . . .

25. Priestly Courses IV (4Q325)

(This manuscript consists of three fragments, the two largest of which are transliterated here. These fragments belong to the first year rotation in the sexennial priestly cycle. The text records which priestly course is responsible for each Sabbath and festival in the period covered. Fragment 1 concerns the period from Passover (1/ 14) until the first Sabbath of the third month. Fragment 2 apparently begins with 5/3 and the Festival of New Wine (heretofore known from the Temple Scroll, but not listed in the Bible or most other calendar texts). The last date indicated in Fragment 2 is 6/23, on which the Festival of Wood Offering began.)

Translation

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Fragment 1 on Tuesday; on the eighteenth the Sabbath falls to Jehoiarib . . . on Tuesday in the evening. On the twenty-fifth the Sabbath falls to Jedaiah; also during that course's duties falls the Festival of the Barley on the twenty-sixth. After the Sabbath, the beginning of the second month falls to Jedaiah, on Friday. On the second is the Sabbath of Harim. On the ninth is the Sabbath of Seorim. On the sixteenth is the Sabbath of Malchijah. On the twenty-third is the Sabbath of Mijamin. On the thirtieth is the Sabbath of Hakkoz. The beginning of the third month, after the Sabbath . . .

Fragment 2 the fifth (month) falls to Bilgah. On the second is the Sabbath of Immer. On the third, after the Sabbath, is the Festival of New Wine. On the ninth is the Sabbath of Hezir. On the sixteenth is the Sabbath of Happizzez. On the twenty-third is the Sabbath of Pethahiah. On the thirtieth is the Sabbath of Jehezkel. The first of the sixth month is after the Sabbath. On the seventh is the Sabbath of Jachin. On the fourteenth is the Sabbath of Gamul. On the twentyfirst is the Sabbath of Delaiah. On the twenty-second is the Festival of Oil. On the twenty-third is the Festival of Wood Offering . . .

26. Heavenly Concordances (OTOT - 4Q319A)

(As we have seen, the Qumran calendrical texts are based upon an understanding of the Creation narrative of Genesis. No portion is more significant for these texts than Gen. 1:14, which the authors might have understood as 'Let there be lights in the expanse of heaven to separate the days from the night, and let them be for "signs" (otot), and for festivals and for days and for years.' Given the belief that this verse had to do with the proper keeping of God's holy festivals and, more generally, with keeping track of time, what did the Qumran authors believe was meant by the term otot? Clearly the usual understanding of modern scholars of the text - that the term refers to portents of extraordinary events and divine judgements and to phenomena prognosticating changes in the weather - makes little sense when defining a natural rhythm, the basis of a calendar. Rather than the extraordinary, one then seeks the ordinary.

The author of the present text understood 'sign' to refer to a year in which the sun and moon were once again perfectly aligned at the year's beginning - that is, a year in which the vernal equinox coincided with a new moon. According to the more general scheme of the Qumran calendrical texts that could only happen in Years 1 and 4 of the six year cycle of priestly rotations. Since Years 3 and C were intercalated at year's end, Years 1 and 4 did begin with the heavenlies once again in temporary agreement. The years were named, as was usual in Qumran parlance, after the priestly courses; because the years were always Years 1 and 4 in the cycle, only two priestly courses give their names to otot years: Shecaniah and Gamul. Further, the cycle begins with Shecaniah. This oddity results because at the Creation there had been no prior intercalation. Accordingly the reference is to the course in service when intercalation was first necessary in Year 3.

The purpose of the present text is to record all such concordant years until the cycle begins to repeat, and to align that cycle with both the seven-year cycle of sabbatical years and the 'jubilees' that measured longer periods of time. An otot cycle of 294 years emerges (6 x 49). The text also counts all the otot years and takes special notice when such a year coincides with a sabbatical year. It names each special year by the relevant priestly course and also names each jubilee (in a more complicated way, however, as explained below). But in constructing this alignment of the sexennial priestly rotation with the jubilees, the text encounters a basic difficulty: 49 is not precisely divisible by 6. The otot years will therefore not always fall at the beginning and end of jubilee periods. As a consequence the text uses 'jubilee' in two slightly different senses. The term refers first to that period (only approximating to 49 years) that aligns with the cycle of otot. We can call this the 'jubilee of the otot'.

At other times the term denotes the actual period of 49 years. At the end of 294 years the differences are made good as Table 2 illustrates:

The text relates the 'jubilee of the otot' to the actual 49-year jubilee in two ways. The first is through its reference to the 'sign of the conclusion of the jubilee'. Only once, in 2:18-19, does the author actually give this special sign a name. In that example, the text says, 'The sign of the conclusion of the fifth jubilee falls during (the priestly course of) Jeshebeab.' The meaning is that Jeshebeab is the course Calendrical Texts and Priestly Courser 129 1 and 4 in the cycle, only two priestly courses give their names to otot years: Shecaniah and Gamul.

Further, the cycle begins with Shecaniah. This oddity results because at the Creation there had been no prior intercalation. Accordingly the reference is to the course in service when intercalation was first necessary in Year 3.

The purpose of the present text is to record all such concordant years until the cycle begins to repeat, and to align that cycle with both the seven-year cycle of sabbatical years and the 'jubilees' that measured longer periods of time. An otot cycle of 294 years emerges (6 x 49). The text also counts all the otot years and takes special notice when such a year coincides with a sabbatical year. It names each special year by the relevant priestly course and also names each jubilee (in a more complicated way, however, as explained below). But in constructing this alignment of the sexennial priestly rotation with the jubilees, the text encounters a basic difficulty: 49 is not precisely divisible by 6. The otot years will therefore not always fall at the beginning and end of jubilee periods. As a consequence the text uses 'jubilee' in two slightly different senses. The term refers first to that period (only approximating to 49 years) that aligns with the cycle of otot. We can call this the 'jubilee of the otot'.

At other times the term denotes the actual period of 49 years. At the end of 294 years the differences are made good as Table 2 illustrates:

The text relates the 'jubilee of the otot' to the actual 49-year jubilee in two ways. The first is through its reference to the 'sign of the conclusion of the jubilee'. Only once, in 2:18-19, does the author actually give this special sign a name. In that example, the text says, 'The sign of the conclusion of the fifth jubilee falls during (the priestly course of) Jeshebeab.' The meaning is that Jeshebeab is the course serving in the temple at the end of the fifth actual jubilee - that is, as year 196 (4 x 49) comes to an end. If the author had wished, he could have given the names of all the 'signs of the conclusion of the jubilee' (they are respectively Jedaiah, Mijamin, Shecaniah, Jeshebeab, Happizzez and Gamul).

The second way of relating the 'jubilee of the otot' to the actual 49-year jubilee involves the names the author gives to the jubilees. These names are always either Gamul or Shecaniah. The writer determined the name according to the sign 'controlling' the actual jubilee year.

Finally, the reader will note that the text never mentions a 'first jubilee', even though it begins its recitation at the Creation. Instead, it counts only Jubilees 2-7. Presumably the explanation for this peculiarity lies in the septimal concept inherent in sabbatical years and 49-year jubilees. The author wanted to emphasise the number seven. Since the priestly rotation in fact required only six years to repeat, the only way to end on the number seven was to begin counting with two.)

Translation

Column 1 . . . its light on the fourth (day); on the sabbath . . . the creation, on the fourth (day) of (the rotation of the priestly course of) Gamul, the sign of Shecaniah; in the fourth (year) the sign of Gamul; in the sabbatical year, the sign of Shecaniah; in the third (year) the sign of Gamul; in the sixth (year), the sign of Shecaniah; in the second, the sign of Gamul; in the fifth, the sign of Shecaniah; after the sabbatical year, the sign of Gamul; in the fourth, the sign of

Shecaniah; in the sabbatical year, the sign of Gamul; in the third, the sign of Shecaniah; in the sixth, the sign of Gamul; 0 5) in the second, the sign of Shecaniah; in the fifth, the sign of Gamul; after the sabbatical year, the sign of Shecaniah; in the fourth, the sign of Gamul; in the sabbatical year, the sign of the conelusion of the second jubilee. The signs of the second jubilee: seventeen signs, of which three signs fall in a sabbatical year . . . the creation . . . the sign of Shecaniah; in the third year the sign of Gamul; in the sixth, the sign of Shecaniah; in the second, the sign of Gamul; in the fifth, the sign of Shecaniah; after the sabbatical year, the sign of Gamul;

Column 2 in the fourth, the sign of Shecaniah; in the sabbatical year, the sign of Gamul; in the third, the sign of Shecaniah; in the sixth, the sign of Gamul; in the second, the sign of Shecaniah; in the fifth, the sign of Gamul; after the sabbatical year, the sign of Shecaniah; in the fourth, the sign of Gamul; in the sabbatical year, the sign of Shecaniah; in the third, the sign of Gamul; in the sixth the sign of Shecaniah; in the second, the sign of the conclusion of the third jubilee. The signs of the third jubilee: sixteen signs, of which two signs fall in a

sabbatical year. (A jubilee of) Shecaniah: in the second year the sign of Gamul; in the fifth, the sign of Shecaniah; after the sabbatical year, the sign of Gamin; in the fourth, the sign of Shecaniah; in the sabbatical year, the sign of Gamul; in the third, the sign of Shecaniah; in the sixth, the sign of Gamul; in the second, the sign of Shecaniah; in the fifth, the sign of Gamin; after the sabbatical year, the sign of Shecaniah; in the fourth, the sign of Gamul; in the sabbatical year, the sign of Shecaniah; in the third, the sign of Gamul; in the sixth, the sign of Shecaniah; in the second, the sign of Gamul; in the fifth, the sign of Shecaniah; after the sabbatical year, the sign of the conclusion of the fourth jubilee. The signs of the fourth jubilee: seventeen signs, of which two signs fall in a sabbatical year. (A jubilee of) Shecaniah: in the fourth year the sign of Shecaniah; in the sabbatical year the sign of Gamul; in the third, the sign of Shecaniah; in the sixth, the sign of Gamul; in the second, the sign of Shecaniah; in the fifth, the sign of Gamul; after the sabbatical year, the sign of Shecaniah; in the fourth, the sign of Gamul; in the sabbatical year, the sign of Shecaniah; in the third, the sign of Gamul; in the sixth, the sign of Shecaniah; in the second, the sign of Gamul; in the fifth, the sign of Shecaniah; after the sabbatical year, the sign of Gamul; in the fourth, the sign of Shecaniah; in the sabbatical year, the sign of the conclusion of the fifth jubilee, falling during (the priestly course of) Jeshebeab. The signs of the fifth jubilee: sixteen signs, of which

Column 3 three signs fall in a sabbatical year. (A jubilee of) Gamul: in the third year, the sign of Shecaniah; in the sixth, the sign of Gamul; in the second, the sign of Shecaniah; in the fifth, the sign of Gamul; after the sabbatical year, the sign of Shecaniah; in the fourth, the sign of Gamul; in the sabbatical year, the sign of Shecaniah; in the third, the sign of Gamul; in the sixth, the sign of Shecaniah; in the second, the sign of Gamul; in the fifth, the sign of Shecaniah; after the sabbatical year, the sign of Gamul; in the fourth, the sign of Shecaniah; in the sabbatical year, the sign of Gamul; in the third, the sign of Shecaniah; in the sixth, the sign of the conclusion of the sixth jubilee. The signs of the sixth jubilee: sixteen signs, of which two signs fall in a sabbatical year . . . . . And regarding the jubilee of Gamul: in the second year the sign of Shecaniah; in the fifth the sign of Gamul; after the sabbatical year the sign of Shecaniah; in the fourth, the sign of Gamul; in the sabbatical year the sign of Shecaniah; in the third, the sign of Gamul; in the sixth, the sign of Shecaniah; in the second, the sign of Gamul; in the fifth, the sign of Shecaniah; after the sabbatical year, the sign of Gamul; in the fourth, the sign of Shecaniah; in the sabbatical 1 year, the sign of Gamul; in the third, the sign of Shecaniah; in the sixth, the sign of Gamul; in the second, the sign of Shecaniah; in the fifth, the sign of the conclusion of the seventh jubilee. The signs of the seventh jubilee: sixteen signs, of which two signs fall in a sabbatical year . . . sign of the jubilees, the year of (the) jubilees according to the days of . . . in (the priestly course of) Mijamin, the third . . .

2 QUMRAN LIBRARY CHAPTER E
TESTAMENTS AND ADMONITIONS

Life is complicated and always has been. In the ancient world, millennia before the time of the Scrolls, one response to this fact was the development of Wisdom literature. This type of literature expounded principles of life and made judicious observations, often couched in the form of pithy sayings. Wisdom literature in the Bible includes Proverbs, Job and Eccleslastes. In the Second Temple period this literature abounded, and new kinds of Wisdom literature developed. One of the new forms was the 'testament'. Testaments had their origin in the farewell discourses common in the Bible, such as Gen. 49 (the last words of Jacob) and 1 Sam. 12 (the last words of Samuel). Thus testaments are speeches delivered in anticipation of death and intended to impart the lessons of a lifetime from a father to his sons. The most famous apocryphal example of this type of literature is the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs. In this collection (which came down from antiquity in Christian circles written in Greek, although in origin Jewish and Semitic), each of the twelve sons of Jacob speaks in turn. Their words comprise ethical exhortation and predictions about the future.

Testamentary literature is well attested among the new materials from the Scrolls. Testaments attached to Levi, Naphtali, Kohath and Amram have emerged. In addition, other forms of Wisdom literature are ubiquitious in the Scrolls; this Chapter presents several examples. When reading the Qumran testaments, the reader may want to bear the following genealogical relationships in mind:

1 Jacob
1 Levi – Naphtali (sons of Jacob)
1 Kohath (son of Levi)
1 Amram (son of Kohath)
1 Moses - Aaron (sons of Amram)
1 Priests (descended from Aaron)

27. Aramaic Testament Of Levi (4Q213-214)

(Even though it is possible to harbour reservations about whether all this material of varying emphases can, in fact, ever be made to correspond to a single whole, it is important to note themes and imagery even in well-known texts such as this one, which at once move across the entire spectrum of Qumran literature and are completely harmonious with the Qumran perspective. Here we have the typical emphases on 'Righteousness', 'Truth', 'Judgement', 'Knowledge' and 'Wisdom' as opposed, for instance, to 'Evil' and 'fornication'. The 'Righteousness' and 'fornication' themes at Qumran are, as we have seen, particularly strong. Though it is perhaps possible to identify themes such as these in literature of the Second Temple period generally, their emphasis in documents like this one is particularly telling. It is also interesting to see the descendants of Levi or the priests denoted in 1.2.2 as 'a Righteous seed'. This has clear 'Zadokite' implications according to some of the definitions we have set forth above, particularly when 'Zadok' is taken in its esoteric sense as denoting 'Righteousness'. The reference to 'Abel Mayin' in 1.2.17 is interesting, too. This is particularly true in view of the visionary materials from 18-21 thereafter.)

Translation, Manuscript A

Fragment 1 Column 1 . . . this . . . I . . . I washed myself and all . . . then I raised my eyes and my countenance to Heaven . . .

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my toes and my fingers . . . I prayed and said, 'My Lord, You know . . . You alone know . . . all the paths of Truth. Put away from me . . . Evil and fornication. Turn away . . . Wisdom and

Knowledge and strength give to me . . . to find Your Mercy before You . . . that which is pleasant and good before You . . . let not any satan (here, possibly 'enemy') have power over me . . . upon me, Lord, and bring me forward to be Your . . .

Fragment 1 Column 2 Your ayes . . . Lord, You blessed . . . a Righteous seed. . . . Hear, please, the prayer of Your servant Levi . . . to do a True judgement for all time . . . Do not remove the son of Your servant from Your presence . . . Then I continued on . . . to my father Jacob and when . . . from Abel Mayin. Then I lay down and I remained at Abel Mayin . . . Then I was shown visions . . . in the vision of visions, and I saw Heaven opened and I saw the mountain beneath me, as high as to reach to Heaven, and I was on it. Then were opened to me the gates of Heaven, and an Angel spoke to me, 'Levi, enter. . .'

Fragment 3 . . . your priesthood above all flesh . . . And I awoke from my sleep. Then I said, 'This is a vision, and thus I am amazed that I should have any vision at all.' I hid this also in my heart; to no person did I reveal it. And we went to my (grand)father Isaac, and he also blessed me thus. Then, when Jacob my father was tithing everything that he owned according to a vow made to God, for the first time I was at the head of the priests, and to me of (all) his sons he gave . . .

Fragment 4 Column 1 And in the hundred and eighteenth year of my life, the year in which died my brother Joseph, I called my children and their children and began to instruct them concerning all that was in my heart. I said to my children, 'Listen to the word of Levi your father, and pay heed to the instructions of God's friend. I instruct you, my sons, and I reveal the Truth to you, my beloved. The essence of each of your works must be Truth. May Righteousness always remain with you, and Truth. Then you shall have a blessed and good harvest. He who sows Good reaps Good, while he who sows Evil, his sowing turns against him. And now, my sons, teach Torah, its interpretation and Wisdom to your sons, and Wisdom shall be with you as an eternal honour. He who teaches Wisdom will find honour therein. He who despises Wisdom will be given to contempt and disdain. Observe, my sons, Joseph my brother, who taught Torah and interpretation and Wisdom. (He received) honour and became a great man, both to kings . . . Do not exchange Wisdom for a teacher . . . a foreigner. He who teaches Wisdom, all the days of his life shall be long, and his reputation shall grow great. In every land and country to which he goes he has a brother, and is not like a stranger in it, nor like a foreigner in it, neither is he like an unfamiliar person there. For all give him honour there, because everyone wants to learn from his Wisdom. His friends are numerous, and many seek his welfare. They seat him on the seat of honor, in order to hear his words of Wisdom. Wisdom is a great richness of honour for those who know it, and it is a treasure for everyone who possesses it. If mighty kings come with a great (and) powerful army . . .

Fragment 4 Column 2 (they will not find) its hidden places, and they shall not enter its gates, nor . . . will they be able to conquer its walls. And not . . . they will see its fodder, its treasure that does not . . . for which there is no price . . . Any man who seeks Wisdom, Wisdom will find him . . . it will not be hidden from him . . . and not lacking . . . all who seek in Truth . . . Torah and interpretation, Wisdom that they teach . . . they are two . . . great. You will give . . . honour . . . Also in books . . . you will be leaders and judges . . . and servants . . . also priests and kings . . . your Kingdom will last forever . . . there will be no end . . . the Kingdom will not pass away from you until . . . in great honour.

Fragment 5 . . . you will be darkened . . . did not Enoch complain . . . Noah, and upon whom does the guilt fall? . . . is it not upon me and upon you, my sons? Now, you know . . . the Ways of Righteousness you will abandon, and all the ways . . . you will renounce, and you will walk in Darkness . . . great oppression will come upon you, and you will be given . . . you will become fools . . .

Translation, Manuscript B

Fragment 1 to offer up on the altar (anything fitting), wash your hands and feet once again. And offer split wood. Examine it first for any worms, and then offer it up, for thus I saw Abraham my father taking care regarding anything that might restrain (him from offering the wood). Any of twelve woods that are fitting he told me to offer up on the altar, whose smoke rises up with a pleasant odor. These are their names: cedar, juniper, almond, fir, pine, ash, cypress, fig, oleaster, laurel, myrtle and asphalthos. These are those he said are fitting to offer up under the burnt offering on the altar. And when you begin to offer up one of these woods upon the altar and the fire begins to burn them, you are to sprinkle the blood on the sides of the altar. Again, wash your hands and feet of the blood, then begin to offer up salted portions. As for its head, . . .

28. A Firm Foundation (AARON A - 4Q541)

(The relationship of this text to the Aramaic Testament of Levi above should be clear. In fact, there is no real reason to consider it distinct from it, but rather simply another version or portion of it. The working title, 4QAaron, must be seen as a convention, nothing more, though it does reflect the priestly character of some of the material, particularly the references in Column 2.4 to 'burnt offerings' and being 'a Foundation of peace' and similar allusions, including more 'Foundation' imagery in Columns 4 and 6. The reference in 6.3 to 'brothers', however, would rather suggest a more direct attribution to Levi than Aaron, though the implication might simply be the same general priestly and Levitical thrust of the two Testaments attributed to Kohath and Amram - two more descendants of Levi - below.

The relationship of this text to extant Testament of Levi literature in other languages, as well as to Daniel and Enoch materials - particularly as it turns more apocalyptic in Columns 4-5 - is also strong. These columns parallel the famous eschatological portions of the Greek Testament of Levi ME Apart from the usual allusions to 'Wisdom', 'Mysteries' and some visionary thrust in the first two columns, one should note in 4.1 the emphasis on 'making atonement for all the sons of his generation'.

The reconstruction involving 'crucifixion' in Column 6 is also interesting, if it is finally to be entertained. Here, combined with the 'firm Foundation' imagery, it moves into a splendid evocation of eternal life in terms of reference to the 'Light' imagery so widespread at Qumran and, of course, the beginning of the Gospel of John. This imagery has much in common with that of the Testamental bequests and recitations associated with Kohath and Amram.)

Translation

Column 1 (Fragment 6) . . . deep things . . . who doesn't understand. And he wrote . . . and he stilled the great sea . . . Then the books of Wisdom will be opened . . . his word . . .

Column 1 (Fragment 2) . . . words . . . and according to the will of . . . to me. Once more he wrote . . . I spoke concerning it in parables . . . was near to me. Therefore, was far from me . . . The vision will be profound . . . .the fruit ...

Column 2 from God . . . You shall receive the afflicted ones . . . You shall bless their burnt offerings and You shall establish for them a Foundation of Your peace . . . your Spirit, and you will rejoice in your God. Now I am proclaiming to you parables . . . rejoice. Behold, a wise man will understand that I am seeing and comprehending deep Mysteries, thus I am specking . . . parables. The Greek (?) will not understand. But the Knowledge of Wisdom will come to you, for you have received . . . you will acquire . . . Pursue her (Wisdom) and seek her and gain possession of her to swallow (her) down. Behold, you will gladden many . . . many (will have) a place . . .

Column 4 . . . his Wisdom will be great. He will make atonement for all the children of his generation. He will be sent to all the sons of his generation. His word shall be as the word of Heaven and his teaching shall be according to the will of God. His eternal sun shall burn brilliantly. The fire shall be kindled in all the corners of the earth. Upon the Darkness it will shine. Then the Darkness will pass away from the earth and the deep Darkness from the dry land. They will speak many words against him. There will be many lies. They will invent stories about him. They will say shameful things about him. He will overthrow his evil generation and there will be great wrath. When he arises there will be Lying and violence, and the people will wander astray in his days and be confounded.

Column 5 (Fragment 5) . . . and those who are grieved concerning . . . your judgement but you will not be guilty . . . the scourging of those who afflict you . . . your complaint (?) will not fail and all . . . your heart before . . .

Column 5 (Fragment 1) Behold I saw one . . . I saw seven rams . . . Some of his sons shall walk . . . They shall be gathered to the Heavenly Beings . . .

Column 6 God will set right errors . . . He will judge revealed sins . . . Investigate and seek and know how Jonah wept. Thus, you shall not destroy the weak by wasting away or by crucifixion . . . . Let not the nail touch him. Then you shall raise up for your father a name of rejoicing and for all of your brothers a firm Foundation. . . . You shall see and you shall rejoice in the Eternal Light and you will not be one who is hated (of God).

29. Testament Of Kohath (4Q542) (Plate 9)

(The text has been dated by those who rely on palaeography to 100-75 BC. It belongs to the genre of pseudepigrapha like the Testament of Levi and A Firm Foundation (Aaron A) above. All of these texts, including the one attributed to Amram below, are associated with one or other of the principal characters in the priestly succession; in fact, we may be witnessing a tradition here not dissimilar to that of the Rabbinical one (e.g. the Pirke Abbot), where one after another of the important Rabbinical figures in the line of succession had important sayings attributed to him. Instead of a succession of rabbis, however, this one would have consisted of priestly forebears.

The line can be seen as starting with Noah and Enoch, descending through Abraham to Levi, and from him on down through his son Kohath and his grandson Amram, to Moses and Aaron. From there it moves, presumably through Eleazar and Phineas, to the entire priestly establishment taking their legitimacy in some manner from either their descent or their relationship to these early forebears. This text derives its name from an allusion to Amram as 'my son' in Line 9 of the Second Column, and to Levi as the 'father' of the speaker in Line 11. (For Kohath's genealogy, see Exod. 6:16ff.) Here, we have as beautifully preserved a piece of pseudepigrapha as one could wish. The instructions it conserves are also of the most high-minded, zealous, and xenophobic kind, presumably in the style of the proverbial Phineas (also a descendant of Kohath), the archetypical progenitor of both Maccabean and Zealot movements. In this regard, one should also note Jesus' 'zeal' recorded in John 2:27 and Acts 21:20's parallel characterisation of James' followers as 'zealous for the Law'. These instructions are obviously meant to apply to the entire priesthood relating to the family of Moses, including, one would assume, the Levites themselves.

The crucial passage in this text is the one in Lines 5-6 of Column 1 having to do with foreigners coming into the country - particularly, in Line 7, foreign masters who have taken it over - and being humiliated and trampled on by them. It is possible to read the reference to 'violent men' in Line 6 as 'confiscators' or 'expropriators'. As in 1 Macc. 13:36ff. , this allusion may not simply relate to violence, but possibly to foreign taxation. It can also be read as 'violent ones' as we have rendered it, which has important overtones with other Qumran texts. A third way of reading it is as a reference to 'men of mixed blood (italics ours). Such a reading would strengthen the relationship of the entire allusion to 'Herodians' - the family of Herod and those owing their positions to them - who were certainly regarded as 'hybrids' or of 'mixed' parentage if not outright foreigners altogether. However this allusion is read - whether in one or a combination of these senses - it is a tantalizing notice, and the antagonism to foreign control, particularly of the priesthood, should be clear. These xenophobic instructions resemble nothing so much as the outlook of 'the Zealots', a militant group in the First Jewish Revolt against Rome (AD 66-70) with roots going back to the Maccabean period and similar uprisings and independence movements in that period (second to first centuries BC).

This nationalistic theme of antagonism to foreigners not only runs across the spectrum of these documents, but can be rationalized to include objections to appointment of high priests by foreigners and their gifts and sacrifices in the Temple, which both the Pharisees and the priesthood dominated by them (i.e. the 'Herodian Sadducees') seemed to have been prepared to accept throughout this period, but which the Zealots and others opposing Roman/Herodian rule in Palestine were not.

In an all-important passage in the Jewish War, Josephus describes this unwillingness to accept gifts from and sacrifices on behalf of foreigners in the Temple as an 'innovation' which 'our forefathers' were unacquainted with before (2:409-14). This would include, not only the Roman Emperor, on whose behalf sacrifices were made daily, but also Herodians, looked upon by 'zealot' groups such as these 'foreigners' because of their Arab and Idumaean origins. For Josephus, these circumstances led directly to the uprising against Rome. From the period 4 BC-AD 7, when most of the first-century revolutionary activity began, the tax issue was a burning one, particularly in the struggle between the upper-class establishment and the masses.

Nor can these objections be seen as unrelated to those in the Damascus Document, nor the two Letters on Works Righteousness in Chapter 6 below, about 'pollution of the Temple' (one of the 'three nets of Belial'). The Damascus Document, vi. 16 specifically raises the issue of the pollution of 'the Temple treasure' (followed on the same line by a reference to 'robbing the Meek') and graphically delineates these pollutions in v-viii.

The conditions described in this text could, therefore, apply, not only to the Herodian period (37 BCAD 70), where we are inclined to place the text, but also to any time prior to that, particularly in the Maccabean period. However, it must be appreciated that should the text date to the Maccabean period, it, like the Testament of Levi and the Daniel cycle related to it, must be seen as supporting a Maccabean style priesthood and their 'Covenant of Phineas', that is, a native as opposed to a foreignimposed one (1 Macc. 2:26-28). New texts such as these, and of course the stark, apocalyptic nationalism evident across the whole corpus from Qumran, are bringing this proposition more and more vividly to light, as opposed to the earlier consensus that led the public to believe that the group responsible for these writings could somehow, quite mystifyingly, have been anti-Maccabean. The Paean to King Jonathan, with which we end this collection, will further corroborate this proposition. Where paying the Roman tax

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was concerned, Josephus refers to it when describing the birth of what now goes by the name of 'the Zealot movement' (Josephus calls it 'the Fourth Philosophy'). In fact, the tax issue was central to the split between Herodian Saducees and 'opposition Sadducees' signalled in our discussion of the Priestly Courses/ 'Aemilius Kills' text above. Josephus presents a high priest, one Joezer the son of Boethus - the obscure priest from Egypt Herod had promoted after marrying his daughter (i.e. a Herodian or Boethusian Sadducee) - as successfully convincing the people to pay the tax to Rome which the Herodians collected.

Joezer's opposite number - someone Josephus mysteriously refers to as 'Sadduk' (italics ours) - he portrays as joining Judas the Galilean mentioned in Acts, the proverbial founder of the Zealot movement, in agitating against the tax (Ant 18.4-5). The Gospels, prefiguring Paul's position thereafter, for their part portray Jesus as teaching the people to pay the tax. Paul treated the issue of paying taxes to Rome appropriately in Rom. 13. According to one perspective his approach could not be more cynical, yet it is revealing. He applies the key 'Law-Breaker' terminology we find in the Scrolls and the Letter of James to those who break Roman law not Jewish. 'God's Law' he calls the law of the State, even going so far as to portray Roman officials and tax-collectors as 'God's officers' (Rom. 13:6). According to this view, that Gospels writers after him did not scruple to portray their 'Jesus' as keeping 'table fellowship' with tax-collectors - even fornicators - should not be surprising. As always in these texts, and the Firm Foundation text above, one should note the emphasis on 'Righteousness', 'Truth', 'Judgement' and 'Uprightness', as opposed to 'Evil', 'fornication' and 'deceitfulness'. Part of the second column of this text was previously published under the mistaken identification of the Testament of Amram, presumably because of the mention of Amram in 2.9.)

Translation

Fragment 1 Column 1 . . . and God of Gods for all Eternity. And He will shine as a Light upon you and He will make known to you His great Name and you will know Him, that He is the Eternal God and Lord of all creation, and sovereign over all things, governing them according to His will. And He will give you joy and your sons rejoicing for generations of the Truth, forever. And now, my sons, be watchful of your inheritance that has been bequeathed to you, which your fathers gave you. Do not give your inheritance to foreigners, nor your heritage to violent men, lest you be regarded as humiliated in their eyes, and foolish, and they trample upon you, for they will come to dwell among you and become your masters. Therefore, hold fast to the word of Jacob your father, and be strong in the judgements of Abraham, and in the Righteousness of Levi and myself. Be Holy and pure from all vacat entirely, and hold to the Truth, walking uprightly without Deceitfulness, but rather with a pure heart and in a True and Good Spirit. Thus you will grant to me a good name among you, together with joy for Levi and happiness for Jacob, rejoicing for Isaac and blessing for Abraham, inasmuch as you guarded and walked (in) the inheritance. My solos, your fathers bequeathed to you Truth, Righteousness, Uprightness, integrity, purity, Holiness and the priesthood. In accordance with what you have been commanded, and according to all that

Fragment 1 Column 2 I have taught you in Truth, from now and for al1 Eternity . . . the words of the Truthful saying. There will come upon you . . . eternal blessings shall rest upon you. And there shall be . . . enduring to all the generations of Eternity. And no longer shall you . . . from your Foundation, and you shall endure to pronounce judgements . . . to reveal the sin of all the eternal sinners . . . and the Wicked and in the depths of the sea and in all the hollows of the earth . . . in generations of Truth, while all the sons of Evil will pass away . . . And now, you, Amram, my son, I appoint . . . and to your sons and to their sons I appoint . . . and they bequeathed it to Levi my father, and Levi my father bequeathed it to me . . . and all my books as a testimony, that you take heed of them . . . Great merit will come to you from them as they accompany you in your affairs.

Fragment 2 Column 1 . . . his sons . . . among mankind and among living things . . . a Light. Instead . . . and I . ..

Fragment 3 Column 1 (in the margin) his root.

Fragment 3 Column 2 . . . the stones will call . . . them from all fornication very much. Whoever . . . exceedingly, for he has no . . .

30. Testament Of Amram (4Q543, 545-548)

(The Testament of Amram, if indeed we can call it this - Amram per se is mentioned only in Manuscript C - is one of the most splendid apocalyptic and visionary works in the corpus. In it, many of the themes we have encountered in the works discussed above come together in a fairly rationalised eschatological whole. These include the usual 'Light', 'Darkness', 'Belial', 'Righteousness', 'Truth', 'Lying' and 'Watcher' vocabulary, including the very nice allusions to 'sons of Righteousness' - which we have already identified as a variant of the 'sons of Zadok' terminology - 'sons of Light', 'sons of Darkness' and 'sons of Truth', again widely disseminated through the whole corpus. Added to these we

have the very interesting allusion in Manuscript B to 'serpents' and 'vipers' encountered in many texts from Qumran (e.g. CD,v.14), not to mention a well-known parallel imagery in the Gospels (Matt. 3:7, 23:33, etc.).

Though we cannot be sure that the several fragments and manuscripts represented in this reconstruction in fact belong to the same composition, nor that they can be sequentially arranged in the manner shown; there are, in fact, overlaps which seem to indicate multiple copies of a single work and, in any event, they can be grouped typologically together. In addition, because of internal and external similarities, they are probably part of a cycle of literature associated with Moses' father Amram. This, in turn, is related to the Testament of Kohath material and the Levi cycle in general. Manuscript C most fully preserves the beginning of the work, but has little in common with Manuscript B and Manuscript ?, which on the basis of content alone obviously belong together.

Manuscript ? is referred to in this way in the literature, no more complete designation having yet been made. Manuscript C, which includes the names of the principal dramatis personae like Amram, Kohath, Levi, Miriam and Aaron, pretends to be more historical. It and Manuscript E even give some of the ages of these characters, which are widely out of line with any real chronological understanding of the Exodus sojourn. The surviving fragments do not, however, show any knowledge of a relationship between Miriam and Hur, as suggested in Chapter 3, unless Uzziel and Hur can be equated. One should also note the anachronistic reference to Philistines in 2:19, reflected perhaps too in the Era of Light text in Chapter 8.

It is in Manuscript B, however, and the undesignated one succeeding it, that truly splendid material, which can hardly be referred to as testamentary, emerges. This consists again of a visionary recital of the most intense kind, similar to that in Chapters 1 and 2, the Firm Foundation materials above and in Chapter 7. Here, too, several identifications are made. First, in Line 13 of Manuscript B, the Enochic 'Watchers' are identified with 'the serpent' with 'the visage of a viper'- evidently the same serpent that is connected to the downfall of man in the Adam and Eve story. We have probably already encountered him, as well, in the Tree of Evil text above.

Three more names are accorded him: 'Belial', 'Prince of Darkness' and 'King of Evil'. This latter name, Melchi Jeshua, is to be contrasted with the well-known terminology integrally involved with Jesus' Messianic and eschatological priesthood, Melchi Zedek / 'King of Righteousness', (Heb. 5-7), a subject that has interested scholars heretofore. The latter has two other synonyms, the Archangel Michael, the guardian Angel of Israel, and the Prince of Light (E.3.2).

Tied to these are the other usages, noted above, relating to 'Righteousness', 'Truth', 'Light' and 'Lightness', 'Dark' and 'Darkness', 'Lying' and the like. The 'Way' terminology, again widespread at Qumran and known to early Christianity, is also strong here. All these allusions have their counterparts in their application to the dramatis personae of interest to the Qumran writers and their historiography. The text ends with perhaps the most marvellous paean to Light and Dark of any literary work, apart from the Chariots of Glory below and the well known prologue to the Gospel of John.)

Translation, Manuscript C

Column 1 A copy of the book of the words of the vision of Amram the son of Kohath, the son of Levi: all that he revealed to his sons and that he commanded them on the day of his death, in the year one hundred and thirty-six, which was the year of his death, in the one hundred and fifty-second year of the exile of Israel to Egypt . . . upon him, and he sent to call Uzziel his youngest brother, and gave to him in marriage Miriam his daughter. For he said 'You (Miriam) are thirty years old.' Then he gave a wedding feast seven days long, and ate and drank and rejoiced at the feast. Then, when the Mays of the wedding feast were completed, he called for Aaron his son. Now, he (Aaron) was a man of . . . years of age . . . and he said to him, 'Call . . . and Malachijah . . . from the house of . . . above. He called him . . .

Column 2 in this land, and I went up to . . . to bury our fathers. And I went up . . . to arise, to bind and pile sheaths and to build . . . great from the sons of my uncle, all together . . . and from our exceeding great labors, until in Egypt there died . . . the rumor of war and unrest returned . . . to the land of Egypt . . . to meet and they had not built graves for their fathers. Then my father Kohath released me to go, to build and to get all their needs for them from the land of Canaan. And while we were building, war broke out between the Philistines and Egypt, and . . . was winning . . .

Translation, Manuscript E

Fragment 1 . . . that Levi his son sacrificed to . . . I said to you at the altar of stope . . . concerning sacrifices . . .

Fragment 2 I rescued . . . he built . . . at Mount Sinai . . . a great blessing at the bronze altar . . . from among all the people on earth his son will be exalted as a priest. Then . . . and his sons after him, for all the generations of eternity in Truth . . . and I awoke from the sleep of my eyes, and I wrote down the vision . . . I went out from the land of Canaan, and it happened to me just as he said . . . exalting, and afterward, in the twentieth year, I returned to the land of Canaan . . . you were . . .

Translation, Manuscript B

Fragment 1 . . . 1 saw Watchers in my vision, the dream-vision. Two (men)

were fighting over me, saying . . . and holding a great contest over me. I asked them, 'Who are you, that you are thus empowered over me?' They answered me, 'We have been empowered and rule over all mankind.' They said to me, 'Which of us do you choose to rule (you)?' I raised my eyes and looked. One of them was terrifying in his appearance, like a serpent, his cloak many-colored yet very dark . . . And I looked again, and . . . in his appearance, his visage like a viper, and wearing . . . exceedingly, and all his eyes . . .

Fragment 2 . . . empowered over you . . . I replied to him, 'This Watcher, who is he?' He answered me, 'This Watcher . . . and his three names are Belial and Prince of Darkness and King of Evil.' I said, 'My lord, what dominion . . .?' 'and his every way is darkened, his every work darkened. In Darkness he . . . You saw, and he is empowered over all Darkness, while I am empowered over all light. . . . from the highest regions to the lowest I rule over all Light, and over al1 that is of God. I rule over (every) man Fragment 3 of His grace and peace. Over all the sons of Light have I been empowered.' I asked him, What are your names . . . ?' He said to me, 'My three names are Michael and Prince of Light and King of Righteousness.'

Translation, Manuscript ?

Column 1 . . . tribes . . . to them and all his ways are True . . . and he will heal them of all their ills . . . them from death and from destruction . . . over you, blessed sons . . . all the generations of Israel forever . . . angry at me, for the sons of Righteousness . . . between the sons of Lying and the sons of Truth . . . I will make known to you; certainly I will inform you that all the sons of Light will be made Light, whereas all the sons of Darkness will be made Dark. The sons of Light . . . and in all their Knowledge they will be, and the sons of Darkness will be destroyed . . . For all foolishness and Evi1 will be darkened, while all peace and Truth will be made Light. All the sons of Light are destined for Light and eternal joy (and) rejoicing. All the sons of Darkness are destined for Darkness and death and destruction . . . Lightness for the people. And I shall reveal to you . . . from Darkness, for all . . . the sons of Darkness . . . and all the sons of Light . . .

31. Testament Of Naphtali (4Q215)

(The Testament of Naphtali has long been known in its Greek form, which like the Testament of Levi is part of the apocryphal Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs. The original Hebrew or Aramaic version (it was not known which it might be) had, it was long thought, perished in antiquity. Then, in 1894 M.

Gaster drew the attention of the scholarly world to medieval manuscripts that contained two slightly different Hebrew versions of the work. The relationship between the Greek and the Hebrew has been a matter of some debate ever since.

The surviving portions of the Qumran version of the work, presented here, will doubtless fuel the debate still further. Column 2 preserves the Hebrew form of the Greek Testament of Naphtali 1:9, 11-12, along with previously unknown details. Column 4 does not parallel any portion of the Greek, and has an eschatological thrust not found in the Greek Testament of Naphtali.

The text, as reconstructed from two separate fragments - and again the reconstruction is not certain - follows the pattern of the Testament of Amram. Here, a more or less straightforward historical narrative is followed by an eschatological presentation of the most intense nature. In fact, this one develops, even in the portion which is extant, into outright Messianism, so that this text, like several others above, could be added to Chapter 1. The prosaic narrative of Column 2 is followed by the ecstatic visionary recital in Column 4. Only Lines 1-5 in Column 2 parallel Greek Naphtali text 1:9-12. The latter then returns to a rather humdrum admonition, while the present text develops as below. We have inserted the name Rotheos from the Greek text for Bilhah's father in Line 7 for purposes of exposition and not because it actually appears in the Hebrew text. The name itself may have been a comparatively late invention without a Hebrew original, but some name probably does appear in the original. Here one encounters the usual Messianic vocabulary of 'the Pit' (CD,vi.3-9), Hassidav ('His Pious Ones'), 'Knowledge', 'Righteousness', 'Truth', and that predestination implicit in recitals like this in, for instance, the Damascus Document and throughout the already published Qumran Hymns. Here in 4.8, the actions of 'the Righteous' (those 'saved" at the end of time) are known or prepared

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'before ever they were created' (see CD,iv.4-7 on 'the sons of Zadok' and IQH,ix.33-35). Both Paul and James are familiar with this sort of language, and early church literature preserves the tradition that James 'was consecrated ('Holy') from his mother's womb' (E.H. 2.23.4). For his part, Paul is familiar with the vocabulary of 'the Service of Righteousness', applying it in the passage from 2 Cor. 11-12 we have already noted above to his opponents among the 'Hebrew' 'archapostles', whom he calls Satan's 'servants' and 'dishonest workmen disguised as apostles of Christ'. In addition to noting 'the Ways of God' in 4.6, language we shall encounter in the Mystery of Existence text in Chapter 7, the text also draws attention to 'His mighty works'. These 'works' or 'mighty wonders of God' are to a certain extent delineated in the War Scroll. Recast in the New Testament as curings, raisings, speaking in tongues, exorcisms, and the like, at Qumran, in keeping with its more apocalyptic and yet this-wordly approach, they are the battles and final eschatological actions that God has undertaken or will undertake on behalf of his chosen ones, those He 'loves'.

The text very definitely looks forward to the Messianic era, and in doing so, in 4.4ff., turns more and more ecstatic. This material is not paralleled in the extant Greek version, which turns, as noted, more prosaic at this point. In the first place the text introduces in 4.1 another new expression, 'the Elect of Righteousness', paralleled in Hymns, ii. 13 in a section referring to 'the Way', 'zeal' and 'marvellous Mysteries'. Except for the use of the term 'Wicked'' or 'Evil', the era of which is now past, the text is strictly positive. With the arrival of 'the time of Righteousness', 'the era of Peace' has come, when 'the Laws of Truth' and 'the Ways of God' will be observed to 'all Eternity' (4.4-5).

Connected with this one gets the evocation of the ubiquitous 'Throne' imagery encountered throughout these documents, and the text announces that 'the Rule of Goodness and Righteousness has come' and God has 'raised up the Throne of his Messiah' (4.9). No more triumphant proclamation could be imagined. It is for this reason that we have called the movement responsible for these works 'the Messianic Movement in Palestine'. There is no way this can be gainsaid and we stand by this determination.

That the so-called 'Zealot' movement was also permeated by Messianism is confirmed by Josephus at the end of the Jewish War, when he contends that the thing that most moved the Jews to revolt against Rome in AD 66-70 was an obscure and ambiguous prophecy ambiguous because it was capable of multiple interpretations, one Pharisaic like his own and one like that at Qumran - that a World Ruler would come out of Palestine, i.e. the Star Prophecy (6.312-14).

The term 'Elect of Righteousness' in this text is also interesting. Again, in the Damascus Document the 'sons of Zadok' are defined as 'the Elect of Israel, called by name, who will stand at the end of time . . . and justify the Righteous and condemn the Wicked' (iv. 3-7; italics ours). The notion of 'the Elect' is an important one at Qumran. This portion of the Testament of Naphtali draws the links between 'the sons of Zadok' and 'the Righteous Elect' even closer. It is, of course, also a variation of 'the sons of Righteousness' terminology.

The usage 'hearts' or 'heart' (4.7) is also an important one at Qumran often connected with these kinds of allusions, denoting ideological purity. 'The Ways of God and the mightiness of His Works' in Line 4.6 are those that will reign in the Messianic era; they have their counterpart both in this document and in others in the 'works' expected of man. This is 'works Righteousness' with a vengeance.)

Translation

Column 2 (or later) with the paternal aunts of Bilhah, my mother, and her sister, Deborah, who nursed Rebeccah . . . And he (the father) went into captivity, but Laban sent and rescued him. Then he (Laban) gave him (Rotheos) Hannah, one of his maidservants. And she conceived and bore her first daughter, Zilpah. And he gave her the name Zilpah after the name of the city to which he had been taken captive. Then she conceived and bore Bilhah, my mother. Hannah named her Bilhah because, when she was born, she hurried to suckle. So she said, 'My, how my daughter is in a hurry.' So from then on she was called Bilhah. vacat And when Jacob my father, fleeing from Esau his brother, came to Laban, and because Rotheos, the father of my mother Bilhah, died, Laban took charge of Hannah my grandmother and her two daughters. He gave one daughter to Leah and one to Rachel. When it came about that Rachel was not bearing sons . . . Jacob, my father. And Bilhah, my mother, was given to him; so she bore Dan my brother . . . two daughters . . .

Column 4 (or later) . . . in the Pit and great distress and devilish trials. And some among them shall be purified to become the Elect of Righteousness . . . for the sake of His Pious Ones. For the era of Evil has been completed, and all sinfulness will pass away; the time of Rightousness has come, and the earth will be full of Knowledge and praise of God. For the era of peace has come, and the laws of Truth and the testimony of Rightousness, to teach all mankind the Ways of God and the mightiness of His works; they shall be instructed until all Eternity. All creation will bless Him, and every man will bow down before Him in worship, and their hearts will be as one. For He prepared their actions before ever they were created, and measured out the service of Righteousness as their portion in their generations. For the rule of Goodness (Righteousness) has come, and He has raised up the Throne of the Messiah. And Wisdom will increase greatly. Insight and understanding will be confirmed by the works of His Holiness . . .

32. Admonitions To The Sons Of Dawn (4Q298) (Plate 10)

(The first and introductory line of this text evokes an interesting character known from both the Community Rule and the Damascus Document, 'the Maskil' - a synonym probably for 'the Teacher' or the Righteous Teacher. The allusion is also widespread, albeit somewhat mysteriously, in Psalms. The doctrines that follow, however fragmented or innocuous, have to be seen as the special provenance of this Maskil. The Demons of Death (Beatitudes) at the end of this Chapter begins with the related predicate lehaskil ('to teach') and reads as follows: 'For He gave me the Knowledge of Wisdom and instruction to teach all the sons of Truth.'

The Hebrew allusion 'sons of Dawn' may also obliquely refer to some kind of all-night community vigils mentioned in the Damascus Document, a part of the backdrop to the Koran as well. This would not be the only Qumran motif that has found its way, tantalisingly, into the latter recitation. Even Sura 89 bears the not unparallel name, 'the Dawn', and quite a few suras refer to these vigils. On the other hand, the phrase may simply have a more esoteric or mystical sense relating to an idea of coming into Light. In fact, the best explanation of it, as we shall also see in our discussion of the Sons of Righteousness (Proverbs) text below, is probably as a synonym for 'sons of Light', though it should be appreciated that esoteric Qumran expressions like these are capable of multiple levels of meaning.

The Maskil is 'to make known to and teach the sons of Light' (the sons of Dawn?) 'the Ways of Light' and how to 'be reckoned among the Perfect', including, it would appear, 'justification', 'works' and the like. In particular, he is to instruct them in baptismal procedures, which include being 'purified by the Holy Spirit', 'looking upon the Living Light' (compare this with 'the Living Waters' in the Demons of Darkness and Mystery of Existence texts below in Chapter 7), and 'walking in Perfection in all the Ways of God, which He commanded concerning His appointed times (obviously including those of the calendar in the preceding Chapter), and not straying either right or left, nor treading on even one of His words' (italics ours).)

Translation

Column 1 The words of (the) Maskil (Teacher) that he spoke to all the sons of Dawn (cryptic script begins): Give ear to me, all men of heart and those who pussue Righteousness: you will understand my words and be seekers after Faith. Hear my words with all your strength. Listen . . . knowing the ways of . . . achieve long life, men of . . . search out . . .

Column 2 its roots reach out . . . a Glorious abode in the depths below . . . and in them. Consider . . . dust . . . God gave . . . on all the earth . . . he measured their setting . . . under the name of . . . their setting, to go about ... a storehouse of Understanding . . . and which . . .

Column 3 . . . and recounting its boundaries . . . not to be on high . . . the Glorious abode. And now, give ear . . . and knowing, hear. And men of Understanding, . . . and those seeking judgement, humility, . . . add strength. And the men of Truth, pursue Righteousness and love Piety; add Meekness . . . the hidden things of the testimony, which he solved . . . so that you understand the era of Eternity, and examine the past, so as to know . . .

Column 5 . . . destruction . . . to tread . . .

Column 6 of the dawn . . . its boundaries . . . he placed boundaries . . .

33. The Sons Of Righteousness
(Proverbs - 4Q424) (Plate 11)

(In this text, another typical 'Wisdom' text, there is the usual Qumran vocabulary of 'Judgement', 'Riches', 'Knowledge', and in Line 1.9, an additional one - 'zeal for Truth'. This is preceded and followed by an interesting additional evocation of 'deceitful' or 'cunning lips', which will also be of interest in the parallel admonitions which follow next in the Demons of Death (Beatitudes). In 1.13 there is a curious reference to 'swallowing', in this case coupled with a reference on the same line to 'the Kittim'. A conjunction of this kind is always interesting, but its fragmentary nature does not permit any further analysis. Still, the expression Kittim has little evident relationship to the rest of the text and usually relates in some way, as we have seen, to foreign, overseas armies coming from the West, either Macedonian or Roman.

We have already extensively discussed the allusion in 3.10 to 'Sons of Righteousness', with which the extant text closes, above. It is not only a verbal parallel, but probably also a synonym for 'the sons of Zadok', particularly when this expression is taken in its esoteric sense. In Lines 2.8-11 the expression is coupled with allusions to 'the removers of the boundary' and 'Riches', both also paralleled in Columns i and iv of the Damascus Document, not to mention the last column of the Damascus Document which we translate at the end of the next Chapter. In Line 8, it is preceded by another curious reference: 'zeal' (of a soldier?). It is not uninteresting that this 'zeal' is also paralleled in the allimportant aftermath of the exegesis of 'way in the wilderness' in Column ix.24 of the Community Rule discussed above - 'zeal for the Law' and 'the time of the Day of Vengeance'.)

Translation

Fragment 1 . . . with a fruitful man . . . outside and chooses to build it, and he covers his wall with plaster, as well as . . . it will fall off under the rain. Don't take legal instruction from a deceitful person and don't go, young man, with someone who is unstable. For just as lead melts, so before a fire he will not stand. Do not put a slackard in charge of an important task, for he will not carry out your charge. And don't send (him) to pick something up, for he will not pay

attention to your specifications. Do not trust the complainer to get provisions for your needs. Do not trust the man of cunning lips . . . your Judgements. He will certainly speak deviously, not being zealous for Truth . . . with the fruit of his lips . . . Do not put the man with a covetous eye in charge of Riches . . . And arrange what remains to suit yourself . . . your dead (?) . . . and in the time of the harvest he will be found unworthy, quick to anger . . . Kittim, because he will surely swallow them . . . A man...

Fragment 2 and will not do his work carefully. The man who judges before investigating is like someone who believes before ... Do not give him authority over those pursuing Knowledge, for he will not understand their judgement, to justify the Righteous and condemn the Wicked . . . he will also be robbed. Do not send the man of poor eyesight to look for the Upright, for . . . Do not send the poor of hearing to seek judgement, for he will not carefully consider disputes between men. Like someone winnowing wind . . . Like a . . . who doesn't investigate, so is someone who speaks into any ear that doesn't listen or who tries to talk to a drowsy man, who falls asleep with the spirit of . . . Do not send the hard-hearted man to discern thoughts, because his heart's Wisdom is defective, and he will not be able to control . . . nor will he find the discernment of his hands. The clever man will profit from Understanding. A Knowing man will bring forth Wisdom . . . An Upright man will be pleased with judgement . . . A man . . . A soldier will be zealous for . . .

34. The Demons Of Death (Beatitudes - 4Q525) (Plate 12)

(This next text has been called 'the Beatitudes', comparing it to famous recitations of a parallel kind in Ecclesiasticus (Ben Sira) and the Sermon on the Mount in the Gospel of Matthew. This is perhaps a misnomer. Once again, we have a typical 'Wisdom' text here, but one also rich in the vocabulary of Qumran. Superficially, the text is fairly straightforward and commonplace. As such, it has much in common with the Sons of Dawn and Sons of Righteousness (Proverbs) materials above - at least Columns 1-3 do.

But as in previous visionary recitals like the Testament of Naphtali, the piece, as reconstructed, grows more apocalyptic in columns 4-5, which are full of the language of Righteous indignation. Though the original order of the portions is speculative and though it might reasonably be queried whether all fragments really belong together, it is reasonable and convenient to assign Fragment 1 to the beginning of the work. The tone of the first three columns even part of the fourth - is more restrained than what develops towards the end, and we are clearly in the first-person milieu of the admonitions of the Maskil in the Sons of Dawn recital above.

Again we come upon the familiar vocabulary of Qumran. For instance, 'the heart of Deceitfulness' language in Line 3 Column 2 is echoed in the Community Rule, viii.22 and ix.8 dealing with barring from 'table fellowship', common purse and mutual activity - subjects we shall also have occasion to discuss in Chapter 6 in relation to the end of the Damascus Document. One should note that throughout these Translations, the reference to hok / hukkim as in Line 1 (statutes, ordinances, or laws) is an equivocal one. Often we render it 'statutes', but where the occasion arises it can be rendered 'laws'.

The reason it is important is that in the exegesis of Isa. 40:3 referred to above applied in two places to the activities of the Community in the wilderness, 'zeal' or 'he who is zealous for' is tied to it. In 1QS,ix.24, following the second exegesis and reference to 'the Maskil', the actual words are: 'and he shall be as a man zealous for the Law, whose time is the Day of Vengeance.' The 'Way' terminology is also defined in viii. 15 in the first of these exegeses as 'the study of the Torah' (midrash ha-Torah), an allusion that will also emerge in the last line of the Damascus Document below.

In this text, too, not only do we have an allusion to 'Way' and 'Ways', and another favourite, 'walking in the Way of',

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but also 'Watcher', 'Evil', 'Knowledge', 'Mysteries', and 'Perfection' language (cf. Matt. 5:48: 'therefore be Perfect as your Father in Heaven is Perfect', itself tied in documents like the Community Rule to the language of 'walking in the Way of and, of course, the allusion to Noah as 'Perfect and Righteous in his generation' in Gen. 6:9), and an allusion in Column 4.20, combining both 'Meekness' and 'Righteousness' terminologies - 'the Meekness of Righteousness'. In Column 5.4 there is also the allusion to 'Mastemah' - this time singular - we saw in Chapter 1, a linguistic variation of the word 'Satan' and further adumbration of the 'Devil' / 'Belial' / 'Watcher' language. There is also in Column 2 (Fragment 4.3) a very interesting note of xenophobic antagonism to foreigners not unsimilar to that encountered in the first column of the Testament of Kohath.

However, it is in Columns 4-6 that really interesting things appear in this text. In the 'blessings' or 'beatitudes' section in Column 2.1, 'holding fast to her Laws' was contrasted with 'the Ways of Evil'; and having 'a pure heart'- by now a fairly familiar allusion - with 'slandering with his Tongue'. This 'Tongue' imagery is widespread at Qumran, particularly in the Community Rule, but also in texts like the Nahum Pesher, the Damascus Document, Hymns, and the two Letters on Works Righteousness below. It is generically parallel to the 'Lying', 'spouting' and 'boasting' allusions connected to the 'Lying' Adversary of the Righteous Teacher. Nor is it unrelated to the 'lips' above and the 'uncircumcized heart' - harking back to Ezekiel's strictures about entering the Temple - so widespread at Qumran.

Starting with the very interesting reference to 'atonement for sin' at the beginning of Column 4.2, Lines 4.18-25 generally counsel patience and restraint, clearly identifiable themes in the Letter of James, particularly in 1:3-4 and 5:7-20. The style of James, in fact, recapitulates throughout the tone and substance of these admonitions at Qumran. In this text and against this backdrop, lines 4.25-28 pick up this 'Tongue' imagery again and repeat it several times. In the process they also evoke its variation the 'lips' imagery just encountered and associated with both 'Lying' and the 'Tongue' in 1QS,x.23-25 and Hymns, vii.11-12 (sometimes 'uncircumcized lips').

They do so in such a way that there can be no mistaking the parallel with the famous imagery in Chapter 3 of James, attacking the Lying adversary in terms of this same 'Tongue' imagery. This last follows James. 2:20-24, castigating the 'Man of Emptiness' as not knowing 'that a man was justified by works' and 'faith without works is dead'. The actual language in James. 3:5-9 is extensive and substantial, but its gist is: 'The Tongue is a wicked world all to itself.' No one can 'control the Tongue'; that is, it spouts, and both texts use the very same image to describe the Tongue, 'the stumbling block'. There can be no mistaking these language parallels. This is, in fact, very strong imagery at Qumran and found in extremely telling contexts (for instance, in 1QS,iv.11, CD,v.ll, etc.).

In the Letter of James, too, this 'Lying' adversary overturns the normal thrust of 'the friend' imagery which all these texts apply to Abraham, that is, by making himself a 'friend of man' he turns himself into an 'Enemy of God' (4:5). In misunderstanding the 'keeping' as opposed to the 'breaking' terminology, he misunderstands that Abraham - the original 'friend of God'- was not saved by faith alone, but also by 'works' (2:23-24).

Column 5 of our text now picks up the language of 'burning' and 'vipers' again (familiar, as we have seen, in both New Testament and Damascus Document recitations). 5.4 again alludes to Mastemah, a variation of Mastemoth, that is, 'the Enemy'. Again this should be compared with 'the Enemy of God' allusion in James. 4:5. In 4:8 the letter actually refers to 'the Devil' as well, thereby further extending the parallels. In discussing the 'Pit' and counselling patience again (5.7), the text before us moves on in 6.4 to an evocation of the Temple. Amid vivid imagery of 'burning', it closes with the inspiring allusion to 'drinking' and the 'Well of deep waters'. This imagery will reappear in texts like the Chariots of Glory and the Mystery of Existence in Chapter 7 as the 'Fountain of Living Waters'.

In the process our text perhaps lays to rest the controversy over the meaning of the phrase 'putting to death', in the Messianic Leader (Nasi) text in Chapter 1. In Column 5 Fragment 2, the phrase 'they put to death' once more appears to occur. If our reconstruction is correct, it may be read as referring to 'the putting to death of the Righteous', that is, hemitu ha-Zaddikim, in exactly the manner of the allusion to 'they put to death' in the Messianic Leader fragment. Here, too, the accusative participle is missing, as it is in so many such constructions in texts from the Second Temple period, and one possible reading is certainly 'they put the Righteous Ones to death.' If this reading is correct, then the reading of the earlier fragment (depending on where the other references to 'the Leader of the Community' are placed in the reconstruction) can be: 'they put the Leader of the Community to death', just as easily as vice versa.

This, too, now turns out to have intriguing repercussions where the Letter of James is concerned. Jas. 5:6, presumably talking about the death of the Messianic Leader, states: 'It was you who condemned the Righteous (One) and put him to death, though he offered you no resistance' (italics ours). The language is exactly the same as we are encountering here. Per contra, see Paul in I Thess. 2:15 about the Jews having 'put the Lord Jesus to death . . . making themselves the Enemies of the whole human race' (italics ours). The clear reversal exemplified in this last should by now be familiar; but the usage 'Enemies' (now reversed and applied to the Jews not Paul), relating to the interesting language of Mastemah/Mastemoth we have been encountering in these texts, also has interesting implications. In fact, the order of these allusions in both texts - James and the Beatitudes - where in both cases (if our reconstruction is correct), the use of the startling 'Tongue' imagery is followed by an accusation of an illicit execution of some kind, further reinforces the impression of their parallelism.

One other interesting usage is that of 'hamat', translated as 'venom' here, i.e. 'venom of vipers' (5:4). In the Habakkuk Pesher, x1.4-5, this word has important reverberations relative to the Wicked Priest's destruction of the Righteous Teacher, 'be-cha'as hamato / 'in his hot anger' or 'the heat of his anger', he (the Wicked Priest) 'pursued him' in order to destroy him. The reader should appreciate that the Hebrew 'hamat' can mean either 'venom' or 'anger' which is the sense of the various plays and interchanges taking place.

This language is reversed in sections of the pesher relating to the final eschatological judgement of God on activities such as these, i.e. 'He (the Wicked Priest) would drink the cup of the Lord's divine wrath', also expressed as 'hamat' (xi. 14). This has been further refined in the Book of Revelation, which speaks of Jesus in its epilogue as being 'the root and Branch of David and the bright star of the morning' (22:16), to read in 14:10: 'He will also drink the wine of the wrath of God, which is ready, undiluted in the cup of His anger.' The root of this imagery is to be found in Isa. 51:17 and jet. 25:15f.)

Translation

Column 1 Now, hear me, all my sons, and I will speak about that Wisdom which God gave me . . . For 13e gave me the Knowledge of Wisdom and instruction to teach all the sons of Truth . . .

Column 2 Blessed is he who walks with a pure heart and who doesn't slander with his Tongue.

Blessed are they who hold fast to her Laws and do not hold to the ways of Evil. Blessed are they who rejoice in her and do not overflow with the ways of folly. Blessed are they who ask for her with clean hands and do not seek her with a deceitful heart. Blessed is the man who grasps hold of Wisdom and walks in the Torah of the Most High and directs his heart to her Ways and restrains himself with her disciplines and always accepts her chastisements. and doesn't cast her off in the misery of his afflictions nor forsake her in a time of trouble, nor forget her in days of terror, and in the Meekness of his soul, doesn't despise her, but rather always meditates on her, and when in affliction, occupies himself with God's Torah; who al1 his life meditates on her and places her continually before his eyes so he will not walk in the ways of Evil . . . in unity and his heart is Perfect. God . . . and Wisdom will lift up his head and seat him among kings . . . . They shall look upon . . . brothers will be fruitful . . . Now, my sons, War my voice and do not turn aside from the words of my mouth ....

Column 2 (Fragment 4) . . . to possess her with his heart . . . with a deceitful heart. And in Wisdom . . . You shall not abandon your inheritances to a foreign wife or your hereditary portions to foreigners, because those with Wisdom . . . They shall consider . ..(the Torah) of God, protect her paths and walk in all her Ways. . . . her statutes, and not reject her admonishments. Those with Understanding will bring forth words of insight . . . (and) walk in peace. The Perfect will thrust aside Evil. They will not reject her chastisements . . . . Those with Wisdom will be supported by the strength of Wisdom. The intelligent will recognize her Ways and plumb her depths . . . The Lovers of God will look upon her, walking carefully within her bounds.

Column 3 No . . . is like her . . . She will not be bought with gold or silver . . . nor any precious gem . . . they resemble one another in the beauty of their faces . . . and purple flowers with . . . crimson with every delightful garment . . . and with gold and rubies . . .

Column 4 for the atonement of sin and for weeping . . . they shall lift up your head . . . Perfection because of your word and Perfection . . . for splendor and lovely in . . . was revealed in your Ways. You shall not waiver . . . You will be upheld at the time you falter, and you will find Grace . . . The reproach of those who hate you shall not draw near you . . . together, and those who hate you will be destroyed . . . Shall rejoice your heart and you shall delight in God . . . God your father has taught, and on the backs of your enemies will you tread. And . . . Your soul shall deliver you from all Evil, and the dread of your enemies shall not come near you. He will cause you to inherit, and fill your days with Goodness, and in abundance of peace you shall delight . . . You shall inherit Glory. Even though you pass away to (your) eternal abode, all your loved ones shall inherit . . . All those who know you shall walk in harmony with your teaching and hear your words . . . Together will they mourn and in your ways remember you, for you were . . . And now, understand, hear me, and set your heart to do . . . Bring forth the Knowledge of your inner self and in . . . meditate . . . In the Meekness of Righteousness bring forth your words in order to give them . . . Don't respond to the words of your neighbour lest he give you... As you hear, answer accordingly . . . Do not pour out complaints before listening to their words. And . . . Do not respond vehemently before hearing their words. Afterwards respond in the Perfection of your heart. And with patience utter (your words) and answer truthfully before officers (even 'rulers') with a Tongue of . . . with your lips, and guard against the stumbling block of the Tongue . . . lest you be convicted by your lips and ensnared together with a Tongue of . . . impropriety . . . from it and they will be perverse . . .

Column 5 . . . Darkness . . . poison . . . all those born on the earth . . . Heaven . . . serpents in it, and you will go to him, you will enter . . . there will be joy on the day the Mysteries of God are revealed forever. . . . burn. By poisons will a serpent weaken his lords . . . the Kingdom of God . . . vipers . . . In him they take their stand. They are accursed forever and the venom of vipers . . . the Devil (Mastemah) . . . you choose depravity . . . and in him in his authority the Demons of Death take wing. At his doorway you will cry out . . . . He did Evil. He acted wickedly. In him they exalt themselves. They walk in his ways. He is your head. From his council there are sulphurous flames. And from his den are . . . in order to destroy those who wallow in the filth of sin. . . . the reproach of disgrace, his bolted (doors) are the fasts of the pit . . . they increase. One calling from the wall . . . They shall not reach the paths of life . . . . the walkers in the way of . . . in simmering anger and in patience . . .

Column 5 (Fragment 5) . . . the princes . . . in it those who understand wander astray . . .

those who ensnare . . . they shed blood. They put to death the righteous . . . they act treacherously . . . death. And the Downtrodden . . .

Column 5 (Fragment 6) . . . might . . . in the midst of abominations . . . its height . . . and in the pollution of . . .

Column 5 (Fragment 7) . . . his servants trembled . . . They filled the whole earth with violence. . . . The serpent who made every generation tremble died . . . . He stationed an Angel around . . . a Watcher and God . . .

Column 6 (Fragment 9) with/people . . . the appointed time . . . in Piety . . . for every generation . . .

Column 6 (Fragment 10) Lest you bring forth words of folly. . . . heart. Listen to me and be still before me. . . . I have understood, so drink from the Well of Life . . .His Temple. They walked . . . His Temple is dwelling among . . . forever marching . . . or what grows of its own they shall garher . . . burned, and every weed He uprooted . . . a Well of deep Waters . . .

2 QUMRAN LIBRARY CHAPTER F
WORKS RECKONED AS RIGHTEOUSNESS LEGAL TEXTS

(Legal discussion was a major element of Jewish life in the period of the Scrolls, and legal disagreements were a primary factor in the formation of groups and sects. These discussions were grounded in a desire to implement the Commandments of God, and necessary because the Bible's demands were often not complete or entirely clear. Thus interpretation entered the picture, and with it disagreements. Though appearing to dwell on insignificant points, these arguments illustrate how anxious the people were to obey God. Even the smallest details of His requirements had to be obeyed. And no compromise was possible. How could one compromise what God required? Thus competing groups could arise around differences of legal interpretation. When compared to those of Rabbinic literature, the legal positions of the Scrolls are generally conservative. The Scrolls are relatively harsh, too, often seemingly favouring priests over lay people, that is, if one ignores the esotericism of some of the commentaries.

We are on fairly safe ground if we imagine this mindset of extreme apocalyptic 'zeal' as being the dominant one - not the mindset of the Pharisees or Herodians, which has been the popular picture up until now, but rather that of 'opposition' groups and others normally thought of as 'sectarian' in the Jerusalem of this time. Certainly the 'Zealots' were parties to it, as probably were that group now referred to as 'Jewish Christians', i.e., those Jerusalem Church supporters or followers of James the just called 'zealous for the Law' in Acts 21:21.

The same atmosphere held sway in Jerusalem on the Temple Mount in the period we are considering, including the same restrictions regarding 'foreigners' on the Temple Mount, at least where so-called 'Zealots' and the partisans of the literature we have before us were concerned. These two letters are also important for deciphering the sectarian situation in the Jerusalem of this period. The last document in this Chapter is equivalent to the last column of what we have been

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referring to throughout this work as 'the Damascus Document'. Columns representing the first column of this document have now been found in the unpublished materials from Qumran; they are not, however, the first column of the Qumran document, i.e. there is indecipherable material belonging to an additional column or columns to the right of the material paralleling the Cairo version on the unpublished plates. A good deal of the other Damascus Document materials found among the unpublished fragments from Qumran do parallel the Cairo recensions; therefore we have not included them.

This last column does not, though it alludes to passages and themes in the Cairo recensions. Therefore, we have included it. We have also included it because it is so interesting and so well preserved. Revealingly, it is an excommunication text of the most heightened and unbending kind. It absolutely embodies the ethos we have been delineating in this Chapter and concern for the Torah of Mores - words it actually uses. It would certainly have been directed against someone of the mindset of a Paul, had Paul ever been to the 'Damascus' the Qumran text so reveres.)

35. The First Letter On Works Reckoned As Righteousness (4Q394-398) (Plates 13 & 14)

('Some of our Words concerning the Torah of God')

(Our reconstruction, transliteration and Translation here are completely new. We have not relied on anyone or any other work, but rather sifted through the entire unpublished corpus, grouping like plates together, identifying all the overlaps, and making all the joins ourselves. We also added the calendrical materials at the beginning of the First Letter, which have never been known in any form and are not unimportant, as we have seen, since the control and regulation of society are often based on these.

This text is of the most crucial importance for evaluating the Qumran community, mindset and historical development. Parts of it have been talked about, written about and known about for over three decades. Particularly in the last decade, parts have circulated in various forms, some under the by now popular code 'MMT'. In turn, this is often incorrectly spoken of as 'some words of the Torah'.

What we actually have here are two letters, something like Corinthians 1 and Corinthians 2 or Thessalonians 1 and Thessalonians 2 in the New Testament. It would appear from the multiple copies of them, that these letters were kept and recopied as important Community documents. The addressee of the Second Letter looks very like a king of some kind - like the addressee of the Paean to King Jonathan in Chapter 8 at the end of this collection - or, if one prefers 'the Leader of the Community' at the beginning. In our view, if the letter is to be placed in the first century BC and grouped with other texts mentioning historical figures in Chapter 4 and Chapter 8, this could be 'King Jonathan', i.e. Alexander Jannaeus, or his zealot minded and more populist son, Aristobulus, or either of the latter's two like-minded sons, Alexander or Antigonus, the second having actually been a king.

If placed in the first century, where we would prefer to place it because of its language - a form of 'proto-Mishnaic Hebrew' - and clear typological parallels with similar 'early Christian' efforts; then the addressee is most probably Agrippa I (c. AD 40), who according to the extant literature, if nothing else, made a pretence at Torah observance, or possibly his son Agrippa II (c. AD 60), who was less positively regarded.

This is to be contrasted sharply with the portrait of Jesus' pro-Gentile sentiments or behaviour in the Gospels, where he is even pictured, as noted above, as keeping 'table fellowship' with similar classes of barred persons, including most strikingly 'prostitutes' and 'tax-collectors' - important allusions for this period. Nor should one forget the imagery of Jesus as 'Temple' generally in Paul. In this context, one image in the Gospels, comparing Gentiles with dogs being allowed to eat the crumbs under the table (Matt. 15:27, etc.), is not without resonance in this text. In Lines 66-7, even dogs are barred from the Temple because they eat the bones with the flesh still on them, i.e. they acquire the kind of pollution associated with 'things sacrificed to idols'.

These things are related, too, to the issue of 'fornication', which in Lines 83-9 is equated to the one of 'hybrids'. In turn, both appear to be related to intermarrying between Israel and foreigners actually referred to in 87-8. This theme, of course, would be dear to 'Zealots' inspired by the saving act of Phineas warding off such 'mixing' in ancient times. Here, it would seem also to relate to intermarrying between priests and Israelites.)

Translation, Part 1:

Calendrical Exposition In the first month, on the fourth of it is a sabbath; on the eleventh of it is a sabbath; on the four-teenth of it is the Passover; on the eight-teenth of it is a sabbath; on the twenty-fifth of it is a sabbath; afterward, on the twenty-sixth of it is the Waving of the Omer. On the second of the second month on that day is a sabbath; on the ninth of it is a sabbath; on the fourteenth of it is the Second Passover; on the sixteenth of it is a sabbath; on the twenty-third of it is a sabbath; on the thirtieth of it is a sabbath. In the third month on the seventh of it is a sabbath; on the fourteenth of it is a sabbath; afterward, on the fifteenth of it is the Festival of Weeks; on the twenty- first of it is a sabbath; on the twenty- eighth of it is a sabbath; after Sunday and Monday, an (extra) Tuesday is added. In the fourth month on the fourth of it is a sabbath; on the eleventh of it is a sabbath; on the eight- eenth of it is a sabbath; on the twenty-fifth of it is a sabbath. On the second of the fifth month is a sabbath; afterward, on the third of it is the Festival of New Wine; on the ninth of it is a sabbath; on the sixteenth of it is a sabbath; on the twentythird of it is a sabbath; on the thirtieth of it is a sabbath. In the sixth month, on the seventh is a sabbath; on the fourteenth of it is a sabbath; on the twenty-first of it is a sabbath; on the twenty- second of it is the Festival of (New) Oil; afterward, on the twenty-third is the Offering of Wood; on the twenty- eighth of it is a sabbath; after Sunday and Monday an (extra) Tuesday is added. On the first of the seventh month is the Day of Remembrance; on the fourth of it is a sabbath; on the tenth of it is the Day of Atonement; on the eleventh of it is a sabbath; on the fifteenth of it is the Festival of Booths; on the eight-teenth of it is a sabbath; on the twenty- second of it is the Gathering; on the twentyfifth of it is a sabbath. On the second of the eighth month is a sabbath; on the ninth of it is a sabbath; on the sixteenth of it is a sabbath; on the twenty third of it is a sabbath; on the thirtieth of it is a sabbath. In the ninth month, the seventh is a sabbath; on the fourteenth of it is a sabbath; on the twenty-first of it is a sabbath; on the twenty-eighth of it is a sabbath; after Sunday and Monday, an (extra) Tuesday is added. In the tenth month on the fourth of it is a sabbath; on the eleventh of' it is a sabbath; on the eight-teenth of it is a sabbath; on the twenty-fifth of it is a sabbath. On the second of the eleventh month is a sabbath. on the ninth of it is a sabbath; on the sixteenth of it is a sabbath; on the twenty third of it is a sabbath; on the thirtieth of it is a sabbath. In the twelfth month, the seventh is a sabbath; on the fourteenth of it is a sabbath; on the twenty-first of it is a sabbath; on the twenty-eighth of it is a sabbath; after Sunday and Monday an (extra) Tuesday is addled. Thus the year is complete: three hundred and sixty-four days.

Translation, Part 2:

Legal Issues These are some of our words concerning the Law of God, that is, some of the works that we reckon (as justifying you; cf. Second Letter, line 34). All of them have to do with holy gifts and purity issues. Now, concerning the offering of grain by the Gentiles, who . . . and they touch it . . . and render it impure . . . One is not to eat any Gentile grain, nor is it permissible to bring it to the Temple. Concerning the sin offering that is boiled in vessels of

Gentile copper, by which means they (the priests) render impure the flesh of their offerings, and (further, that) they boil in the courtyard of the Temple and thereby pollute it (the Temple) with the soup they make-(we disagree with these practices). Concerning sacrifices by Gentiles, we say that (in reality) they sacrifice to the idol that seduces them; (therefore it is illicit). Further, regarding the thank offering that accompanies peace offerings, that they put aside on one day for the next, we reckon that the grain offering is to be eaten with the fat and the flesh on the day that they are offered. It is incumbant upon the priests to assure that care is taken in this matter, so that the priests will not bring sin upon the people. Also, with regard to the purity of the heifer that purifies from sin (i.e., the Red Heifer): he who slaughters it and he who burns it and he who gathers its ashes and he who sprinkles the water (of purification from) sin-all of these are to be pure with the setting of the sun, so that (only) the pure man will be sprinkling upon the impure. The sons of Aaron must give warning in this matter . . . Concerning the skins of cattle and sheep . . . their skins vessels . . . One is not to bring them to the Temple . . .

Also, regarding the skins and bones of unclean animals-for they are making from the bones and from the skilns handles for vessels-one is not to bring them (i.e., the vessels) to the Temple. With regard to the skin from the carcass of a clean animal, he who carries that carcass must not touch holy items susceptible to impurity. . . . Also concerning . . . that they . . . The members of the priesthood must be careful about all these matters, so that they will not bring sin upon the people. Concerning (the fact) that it is written, 'And he shall slaughter it on the side of the altar . . .,' they are slaughtering bulls and lambs and she-goats outside the 'camp.'

On the contrary, the (lawful) place of slaughter is at the north within the 'camp.' We reckon that the Temple is 'the Tent of Witness,' while Jerusalem is the 'camp.' 'Outside the camp' means 'outside Jerusalem.' (It refers to) the 'camp of their cities,' outside the 'camp' (which is Jerusalem.) Regarding the sin offering, they are to remove the offal of the altar and burn it outside Jerusalem, for it is the place that He chose from among all the tribes of Israel, to establish His Name there as a dwelling . . . . . they are not slaughtering in the Temple.

Regarding pregnant animals, we maintain that one must not slaughter (both) the mother and the fetus on any one day. . . . Also, concerning anyone eating the fetus, we maintain that he may eat the fetus that is in its mother's womb (only) after its (separate) slaughter. You know that this is the proper view, since the matter stands written, 'A pregnant animal . . .' With respect to the Ammonite and the Moabite and the bastard and the man with crushed testicles and the man with a damaged male organ who are entering the assembly . . . and taking wives, to make them 'one bone' . . . polluted. We also reckon that one must not . . . and one must not have intercourse with them . . . And one must not integrate them and make them 'one bone' . . . And one must not bring them in . . . And you know that some of the people . . . integrating . . . For the sons of Israel must guard against all illicit marriage and (thus) properly revere the Temple. In addition, concerning the blind, who cannot see so as to avoid polluting mingling, and to whom sinful mingling is invisible-as well as the deaf, who hear neither law, nor statute, nor purity regulation, and do not hear the statutes of Israel-for 'He who cannot see and cannot hear does not know how to perform (the Law)'-these people are trespassing on the purity of the Temple! Concerning poured liquids, we say that they possess no intrinsic purity. Poured liquids do not (properly) separate between the impure and the pure (i.e. vessels), because the fluid of poured liquids and that of a receptacle used with them is one and the same (i.e., the pollution travels between the vessels along the path of the fluid). One is not to bring dogs into the Holy 'camp' because they eat some of the bones in the Temple while the flesh is (still) on them. Because Jerusalem is the Holy 'camp'-the place that He chose from among all the tribes of Israel. Thus Jerusalem is the foremost of the 'camps of Israel.' Regarding trees planted for food in the land of Israel, (the fruit of the fourth year) is analogous to a first fruit offering and belongs to the priests. Likewise the tithe of cattle and sheep belongs to the priests. In the matter of those suffering from a skin disease, we say that they should not dome with holy items susceptible to impurity. Rather, they must stay alone outside the camps. And it is also written, 'From the time when he shaves and bathes, let him stay outside his tent seven days.' But at present, while they are still impure, those suffering from a skin disease are coming home with holy items susceptible to impurity. You know that anyone who sins by inadvertence, who breaks a commandment and is forgiven for it, must bring a sin offering (but they are not doing so). As for the intentionally disobedient, it is written, 'He is a despiser and a blasphemer.' While they suffer impurities caused by skin diseases, they are not to be fed with holy food until the sun rises on the eighth day (after they are cured). Concerning impurity caused by contact with a dead person, we say that every (human) bone, whether it is skeleton or still covered (with flesh), is governed by the statute for the dead person or those slain in battle. As for the fornication taking place among the people, they are (supposed to be) a Holy People, as it is written, 'Israel is Holy' (therefore, it is forbidden). Concerning a man's clothes, it is written, 'They are not to be of mixed fabric;' and no one should plant his field or his vineyard with mixed crops. (Mixing is forbidden) because (the people) is Holy, and the sons of Aaron are Holy of Holy nevertheless, as you know, some of the priests and the people are mixing (intermarrying). They are intermarrying and (thereby) polluting the holly seed, as well as their own seed, with fornication . . .

36. The Second Letter On Works Reckoned As Righteousness (4Q397-399) (Plates 15 & 16)

('Some Works of the Law We Reckon as justifying you')

(That this text is a second letter is clearly signalled in Lines 29-30, quoted above, which refer to a first letter already having been written on the same subject - 'works reckoned as justifying you' (italics ours). Though fragments of the two letters are in the same handwriting, it is not clear that these are directly connected or on the same or succeeding columns. That the same scribe wrote both letters would not be either unexpected or surprising - nor would the possibility that both letters were already circulating as part of the same document or manuscript, as for instance 1 and 2 Corinthians or 1 and 2 Thessalonians noted above. The second letter is, in any event, extant in a single document.

This short epistle of some 35 extant lines is also of the most far-reaching significance for Qumran studies, not only for all the reasons set forth in our discussion of the First Letter, but also because this text is clearly eschatological. The question then becomes, when were people thinking in such an eschatological manner, i.e. using expressions in daily correspondence like 'the End of Days' (13 and 24) or a less familiar one used here for the first time in the new materials we have been considering, 'the End Time' (15 and 33)? Together these terms are used four times in an extant document of only some 35 lines. This also distinguishes this letter to a certain extent from the first one, where they were not used, at least not in extant fragments.

Besides these points, the exact nature and context of the 'split' between the group responsible for these writings and

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'the majority of the people' is delineated here. Its words are pregnant with meaning: 'we broke with the majority of the people and refused to mix with or go along with them on these matters.' The word used in Line 7 is parash, the presumable root of the word 'Pharisee', but these are obviously not anything resembling normative Pharisees. The very issue of 'mixing' in Line 8 (cf. Line 87 above) is, of course, related to that of 'improper separation' and not 'separating clean from unclean' just discussed above. This sentence alone - known but not revealed for over 35 years would be sufficient to identify our group as .sectarian - at least according to their own evaluation. And it definitively identifies them as a group - a movement.

The text ends with a ringing affirmation of what can be described as the Jamesian position on 'justification': that by 'doing' these 'works of the Law' however minute (note the emphasis on doing again) in the words of Gen. 15:6 and Ps. 106:31 - a psalm packed with the vocabulary we are considering here - 'it will be reckoned to you as Righteousness'. As a result, you will have kept far from 'the counsel of Belial' and 'at the End Time you will rejoice' (32-3). This last most surely means either 'being resurrected' or 'enjoy the Heavenly Kingdom', or both - an interesting proposition to be putting to a king or Community Leader in this time. Note, too, the allusion to this word 'time' paralleling the second exegesis of 'the Way in the wilderness' material in 1QS, ix. 19 above. The tone of the address, like that to King Jonathan below, is again most certainly warm and conciliatory.)

Translation

. . . because they come . . . will be . . . and concerning women . . . And the rebellion . . . For by reason of these . . . because of violence and fornication some places have been destroyed. Further, it is written in the Book of Moses, 'You are not to bring the abomination to your house, because the abomination is despised (by God).' Now, you know that we broke with the majority of the people and refused to mix or go along with them on these matters. You also know that no rebellion or Lying or Evil should be found in His Temple. It is because of these things we present these words and (earlier) wrote to you, so that you will understand the Book of Moses and the words of the Prophets and of David, along with the chronicles of every generation. In the Book (of Moses) it is written .... so that not . . . It is also written, 'If you turn from the Way, then Evil will meet you.' Again, it is written, 'It shall come to pass that when all these things come upon you in the End of Days, the blessing and the curse that I have set before you, and you call them to mind, and return to me with all your heart and with all your soul' . . . at the End Time, then you will live . . . Once again, it is written in the Book of Moses and in the words of the Prophets that blessings and curses will come upon you . . . the blessings that came upon it (Israel) in his days and in the days of Solomon the son of David, as well as the curses that came upon it from the days of Jeroboam the son of Nebat until the exile of Jerusalem and Zedekiah the king of Judah. For he may bring them upon . . . And we recognise that some of the blessings and curses have come, those written in the Book of Moses; therefore this is the End of Days, when (those) in Israel are to return to the Law of God with all their heart, never to turn back (again). Meanwhile, the wicked will increase in wickedness and . . . Remember the kings of Israel, and understand their works. Whoever of them feared the Law was saved from sufferings; when they sought the Law, then their sins were forgiven them. Remember David. He was a man of Pious works, and he, also, was salved from many sufferings and forgiven. And finally, we (earlier) wrote you about some of the works of the Law (see the First Letter above), which we reckoned for your own Good and for that of your people, for we see that you possess discernment and Knowledge of the Torah. Consider all

these things, and beseech Him to grant you proper counsel, and to keep you far from evil thoughts and the counsel of Belial. Then you will rejoice at the End Time, when you find some of our words were true. Thus, 'It will be reckoned to you as Righteousness' (or in Paul's language, 'reckoned as justifying you'), your having done what is Upright and Good before Him, for your own Good and for that of Israel.

37 . A Pleasing Fragrance (Halakhah A - 4Q251)
(Plate 17)

(This text is typical of the kind of legal minutiae found at Qumran. It further fleshes out our view of the basic legal approach there. In it, there are parallels to both the Community Rule and the Damascus Document. For instance, the enumerations contained in Fragment 1 parallel many in the Community Rule. Those in Fragment 2 parallel similar materials in the Damascus Document. In both cases the parallels are precise, though the language varies. For instance, the penalty for 'knowingly Lying' in Line 7 of Fragment 1 and in the Community Rule are exactly the same, though the offence is described slightly differently (1QS, vii. 3).

The same applies to pulling a beast out of a pit or cistern on the sabbath in the Damascus Document (xi.13-14) and pulling a beast out of the water on the sabbath in this document (2.5-6). It is also true for wearing soiled garments on the sabbath (2.3 and xi .3). Since, in fact, there are overlaps in legal issues between the Damascus Document in the Cairo recensions and the Community Rule (e.g. the matter of loud guffaws in meetings of the Community), it is possible that the legal Chapters of both, which are more or less rationalized in the present document, originally constituted a single whole. The reference to 'tent' in 2.4 is interesting too. This is one of the first direct references to living in a 'tent' at Qumran. It may actually give evidence of the style of living in the area of settlements or 'camps' (i.e. the wilderness 'camps') including perhaps Qumran - always somewhat of a puzzle. On the other hand, the reference may simply be a casual one.

Even more interesting in this text are the descriptions of the Council of the Community. The language of 'making atonement for the land' and the reconstructed material about being 'founded on Truth for an Eternal Planting' in 3.8-9 is exactly that of the Community Rule,viii.5-6. If the reconstruction 'fifteen men' in Line 3.7 is correct, then another puzzling problem in Qumran studies is solved - whether the 'twelve men and three priests' mentioned in the Community Rule, viii. 1 as 'a Holy of Holies' and 'a House (i.e. a Temple) for Israel' should be exclusive or inclusive: that is, should they be three within the twelve, paralleling Christian reckonings of twelve apostles and a central triad, or three in addition to twelve?

The allusions to 'making atonement for the land' and being a 'pleasing fragrance' (3.9) also directly parallel material in 1QS, viii.5-12, where the imagery of the Community Council as a spiritualised Temple is found, which introduces the exegesis of Isa. 40:3 that this is 'the time of the preparation of the Way in the wilderness'. The reference to being witnesses at the Last judgement (3.8-9) is also paralleled word for word in these lines in the Community Rule. It strengthens the supernatural aspects of the role of the 'sons of Zadok' in the Damascus Document and the spiritualized atonement imagery generally that moves into Christian theory. The reference to 'Judgement' again at the end of 'the era of Wickedness' in 3.10 further reinforces this.

The text ends with a complete elaboration of the prohibited degrees of marriage, including the important law banning niece marriage (7.2-5), which we have analysed above, and which is so much part of the legal approach and ethos in these texts. This law was probably understood as including close cousins as well, which are not included in the extant text, and was rationalised on the basis of not uncovering the nakedness of one's father or mother, brother or sister. The fragment completely exhausts just about all the aspects implicit in this problem in greater detail than, for instance, either the Temple Scroll or the Damascus Document. Again, it shows the great concern for this matter at Qumran. To us, the application to Herodians, moreover, seems obvious.)

Translation

Fragment 1 . . . ten days . . . thirty days . . . he will be fined half of his food ration for fifteen days . . . he will be fined for three months half his food ration. A man that speaks prior to the turn of his neighbour, though he (the latter) is enrolled ahead of him, must be separated from the Many . . . in them half his food ration. A man who . . . thirty days. And a man who tells a lie knowingly will be punished for six months, and fined during that time half his food ration . . . knowingly about everything, his penalty is thirty days and half his food ration . . . knowingly, they shall separate him (from the Community) for six months...

Fragment 2 The Sabbath . . . on the Sabbath day. A man should not wear garments that are soiled on the Sabbath day. A man should not . . . in garments that have dust on them or . . . on the Sabbath day. A man should not bring out of his tent any vessel or food on the Sabbath day. A man should not lift out cattle which has fallen into the water on the Sabbath day.

But if it is a human being who has fallen into the water on the day of the Sabbath, he will throw him his garment to lift him out with it. But he will not lift an implement . . . . . on the day of the Sabbath. And if an army . . .

Fragment 3 . . . on the day of the Sabbath. . . on the day of the Sabbath, and not . . . A man from the seed of Aaron will not sprinkle the waters of impurity on the Sabbath day. . . The Passover is a (high) holiday, and a fast on the day of the Sabbath .... A man may take his cattle two thousand cubits on the Sabbath day, but he may not walk unless he is a distance from the Temple of more than thirty stadia.. A man should not . . . When there are in the Council of the Community fifteen men, Perfect in everything which has been revealed in all the Law and the Prophets, the Council of the Community shall be founded on Truth for an Eternal Planting and true witnesses at the judgement, and the Elect of (God's) favor, and a pleasing fragrance to make atonement for the land, from all Evil . . . The Period of Wickedness will end in judgement, and the . . . In the first week . . . which were not to brought to the Garden of Eden. And the bone of . . . shall be for it forever, which was not brought near . . . to the Holiness of the Garden of Eden, and all the verdure in its midst is Holy. When a woman conceives and bears a boy, she shall be unclean seven days. Just as in the days of her menstrual impurity, she shall be unclean; and thirty three days she shall remain in the blood of her purification. If she bears a girl, she will be unclean two weeks, just as in her menstrual period; and sixty-six days she shall remain in the blood of her purification. She should touch no Holy thing and should not enter the Temple.

Fragment 4 . . . If a man strikes another in the eye, and he is bedridden, but gets up and walks around outside on his staff, the one who struck him will merely compensate him for his convalescence and his medical expenses. If a bull gores a man or woman, the bull will be killed. He will stone it, and not eat its meat, and the bull's owner shall be blameless. But if the bull had gored previously and the owner had been apprised, but he had not kept it (penned up); and it kills a man or a woman, the bull will be stoned, and its owner will be put to death as well. . . .

Fragment 5 . . . grain, new wine, or fresh oil, unless the priest has waved it . . . their early produce, the frst fruits. And a man should not delay (giving) the full measure, for . . . is the firstfruit of the full measure. And the grain is the offering . . . And the bread of the firstfruits is the leavened bread that they bring on the day of the firstfruits . . . are the firstfruits. A man should not eat the new wheat . . . until the day he brings the bread of the firstfruits. He should not...

Fragment 6 . . . he should not . . . . . the grain offering of the tithe is for the priest . . . . . the firstborn of a man or unclean cattle he should redeem . . . the firstborn of a man or unclean cattle . . . the flock, and the sanctuary, from . . . it is like the firstborn, and the produce of a tree . . . in the first year, and the olive tree in the fourth year . . . and the heave offering; everything that is set apart for (the support of) the priesthood

Fragment 7 Concerning immoral unions . . . A man should not marry his sister, the daughter of his father or the daughter of his mother . . . A man should not marry the daughter of his brother or the daughter of his sister. . . He should not uncover the nakedness of the sister of his father or the sister of his mother. Nor should a woman be given to the brother of her father or to the brother of her mother to be his wife . . . A man should not uncover the nakedness of . . . A man should not take the daughter of . . .

38. Mourning, Seminal Emissions, Etc.
(Purity Laws Type A - 4Q274) (Plate 18)

(The contents of this manuscript are remarkable, discussing issues not previously found in any Qumran text. All have to do with matters of ceremonial purity and impurity in accordance with stipulations set forth in legal portions of the Bible. A number of the matters considered here involve impurities that require a seven-day period of purification. This "purification madness" reminds us of similar views among Zoroastrians.

Provisions are made for mourners to dwell apart in a special place during the days of their impurity, apparently acquired from contact with the corpse of a loved one. The text stipulates that such people and others, suffering from Levitical uncleanness of various sorts, are to dwell to the north-west of the nearest habitations - a law reminiscent of the placement of the latrine in the Temple Scroll (11QT, xlvi.13-16). The rationale for the north-westerly situation of impure places is still unclear, though the fact of the Temple being north-west of a 'camp' such as that which may have been at Qumran could have something to do with it, i.e. such people were to walk in the direction of the Temple.

Several lines concern women during menstruation. These women are not to 'mingle', but it does not appear that this requires their leaving their homes during this period in order to dwell outside the town. It is surprising to read in 1.7 that a 'scribe' or 'counter' kept records of the number of days of a woman's menstrual cycle, and that the record-keeper could be a female. Since in the ancient world women were much less likely than men to be literate, their inclusion in scribal activity is noteworthy.

Much of the text concerns the question of when those suffering the impurities under discussion are allowed to partake of the 'purity' - priestly foodstuffs. The answer is that they are free to do so on the seventh day, after bathing and washing their clothes. The more fragmentary portions of the text apparently concerned impurities that could be transmitted by liquids.

The reference in Line 1.6 to 'the camps of the Holy Ones of Israel' (Kedoshim) is also interesting. This allusion calls to mind materials in the War Scroll, vii.3-6 about the extreme purity regulations relating to 'the Holy Angels' actually joining the camps of the Community, i.e. 'in the wilderness'. The allusion to 'camps', too, besides making it clear that these 'camps' actually existed, implies multiple settlements of this kind and resonates strongly with this usage in the apocalyptic and Messianic War Scroll and Damascus Document.)

Translation

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Fragment 1 Column 1 he is to delay distributing the portions (that he has prepared for the priests). He is to sleep in a bed of mourning and dwell in the house of bereavement, separated with all the other impure persons, twelve cubits distance from the pure food, in the designated part of town, and the same distance to the northwest of any inhabited dwelling. Any man suffering from the various types of impurity should bathe himself and wash his clothing on the seventh day, and afterwards he may eat (the pure food). For this is what it means, "Unclean, unclean!' he should call all the days of his affliction.' As for the woman who suffers a seven-day flux of blood, she should not touch a man suffering from a flux, nor any implement that he touches, nor anything upon which he rests. But if she does touch (these things), she should wash her clothes and bathe and afterwards she may eat (the pure food). At all costs she is not to mingle during her seven days, so that she does not defile the camp of the Holy Ones of Israel. Nor is she to touch any woman suffering a longstanding flux. And the person that is keeping a record of the period of impurity, whether a man or a woman, is not to touch the menstruant or the mourner during the period of uncleanness, but only when she is cleansed from her uncleanness, for that uncleanness should be reckoned in the same way as a flux for anyone who touches it. And if someone touches a bodily flux or a seminal emission, then he should be unclean. Anyone touching any of these types of impure people should not eat the pure food during the seven days of his purification. When someone is impure because of touching a corese, he is to bathe himself in water and wash (his clothes) and afterwards

Fragment 1 Column 2 he may aat . . . and seminal emission . . .

Fragment 2 Column 1 . . . who sprinkle upon him for the first time and he should bathe and wash his clothes before . . . on the seventh day. One is not to sprinkle on the sabbath . . . on the sabbath, only he should not touch the pure food until he changes his clothes . . . Anyone who touches a human seminal emission must immerse everything down to the last item of dress, and the person that carries the item . . . must immerse, and the garment upon which the emission is found or any item that carries it (the emission) . . . And if there should be found in the camp any man that is incapable (or, that does not have enough) . . . the garment that it/she has not touched, only he should not touch it-his meat-and he that touches . . . they should dwell. If he did not touch it, he should wash it in water, but if he did touch it . . . and he should wash (it). Regarding all offerings, a man should wash

Fragment 2 Column 2 his flesh, and thus . . . but if . . . with him . . . to . . . reptile. Impure people . . . and he that touches it . . . and every . . . But if . . . who . . .

Fragment 3 Column 1 . . . God's revealing the apple of His eye, and . . . every law . . . or every . . . and she is unclean . . . they pour liquid upon and he does not eat eat in purity, and every . . . (everything) that they will dissolve by rubbing, and whose solvent liquid has evaporated, a man should not eat . . . the impure among them, and also among garden vegetables . . . or a boiled cucumber. A man who pours liquid upon a foodstuff

Fragment 3 Column 2 . . .they are impure . . . and everything that he possesses . . . to purify, and the remains of all the garden vegetables from the moisture of dew he may eat, but if not . . . in the water, except a man . . . the land, if there comes upon it . . . the rain upon it, if a man touches it . . . in a field by all means he at the turn of the season of . . . every frangible vessel that . . . which is in its middle . . . the foodstuff upon which water has been poured . . .

39. Laws Of The Red Heifer
(Purity Laws Type B - 4Q276-277)

(The two manuscripts presented here are of the most interesting subject matter: the law of the Red Heifer, a subject already referred to in the First Letter on Works Reckoned as Righteousness above. The Red Heifer purification ceremony was one of the most holy in Jewish tradition. It is also, interestingly enough, echoed in the name the Koran gives to its principal Sura, 'the Cow'. Most of the laws governing this purification procedure are to be found in Num. 19 and indeed, most of the matters alluded to in these texts are to be found there, though there are some interesting additions in these two Qumran texts.

According to Numbers, the people were to prepare this heifer by burning it with cedar wood, hyssop and scarlet material. The ashes were then gathered and mixed with water. This water, known as 'the water that removes impurity', was sprinkled upon those who had acquired certain types of ritual impurity - including some of the bodily and sexual impurities mentioned in the preceding text. Unlike Numbers, these two texts appear to have a special interest in the clothes worn by those taking part in the heifer's preparation. Apparently these clothes were to serve only for the ceremony and could not be worn for profane tasks. The vessel in which the presiding priest (usually, if not always during the Second Temple period, the high priest) gathered the heifer's blood at a certain point in the ceremony was a special one. The Bible does not make this stipulation. Possibly Manuscript B Line 2 attempts to clarify the meaning of an uncertain phrase in Num. 19:9. The Biblical text says that the ashes of the heifer are to be gathered by a 'pure man'. What, precisely, did this phrase require? According to Flavius Josephus, the understanding in the first century was that the phrase was intended to designate a priest for the task, as opposed to a layman. The Qumran text may take a different tack, specifying that the man be innocent of all defiling sins. That is to say, specific sins were understood to be ritually defiling.)

Translation

Manuscript A Fragment . . . clothes in which he has not performed (any) sacred rite. . . . and he should regard the clothes as impure(?). Then he (a designated man, not the presiding priest) will slaughter the heifer before him, and he (the priest) will take up its blood in a new earthen vessel that has never drawn near the altar and sprinkle some of its blood with his finger seven times toward the front of the Tent of Meeting. Then he should cast the cedar wood and the hyssop and the scarlet material into the midst of its (the heifer's) fire. Then the priest and the man who burns (the heifer) and the man who gathers the heifer's ashes should bathe and wash their clothes, and they shall be unclean until evening. And this they should establish as a ceremony for that water which removes the impurity of sin, and as an Eternal Law. And the priest should put on

Manuscript B Fragment 1 . . . and the hyssop and the . . . a man pure of all sinfull impurity . . . And the priest who atones with the blood of the heifer and all the men should put on different clothes and wash their tunics and their seamed robes in which they made atonement in performing the law governing the removal of sin. Each man should bathe in wader and be unclean until the evening. The man who carries the plot containing the water that removes impurity will be impure . . . A man should sprinkle the water that removes impurity upon those who are impure, indeed a pure priest should sprinkle the water that removes impurity on them. Thus he will atone for the impure. No wicked man is to sprinkle upon the impure. A man . . . the water that removes impurity. They should enter the water and become pure from the impurity that comes from contact with dead people . . . another. The priest should sprinkle them with the water that removes impurity, to purify . . . Rather they shall become pure, and their flesh pure. Anyone who touches him . . . his flux . . . and their hands unwashed with water, then they shall be impure . . . his bed and his seat . . . they touched his flux, (it) is like the impurity that comes from contact with dead people. The man who touches (these things) should bathe and be impure till the evening, and the man who carries (these things) should wash his clothes and be impure till evening.

40. The Foundations Of Righteousness
(The End Of The Damascus Document:
An Excommunication Text - 4Q266) (Plates 19 & 20)

(There can be no doubt that what we have here is the last column of the Damascus Document. Though the text as we have it here does not precisely follow any material from either of the two overlapping known manuscripts found by Solomon Schechter in the Cairo Genizah in 1897, many of its allusions do. So does their spirit.

The piece is preserved in two copies: one is nicely ruled; the second, in what is called 'semi-cursive', would appear to be a private copy. We present the second, which is the more completely preserved, with occasional help from the first to fill in blanks. That it really is the last column of the document is ascertainable from the blank spaces on the parchment at the left. The edge of a previous column with some stitching is also visible on the right (see Plates 19-20). The Hebrew here is often close to Mishnaic, and apparently superior to medieval recensions. This text also contains one interlinear addition between Lines 4 and 5, as well as one or two corrections.

The correspondences are principally to Columns i, viii and xv of the Cairo version of the Damascus Document. There are also interesting new materials in the present document, e.g. about a convocation of those who 'dwell in camps' on 'the third month' - in Judaism, Shevuot / 'the Feast of Weeks'; in Christianity, Pentecost. The purpose of the convocation would appear not to be to celebrate the revelation and descent of the Holy Spirit, and by implication the abolition of the Law in favour of more Pauline, Gentile-oriented doctrines and devices as in Acts 2: lff. (see also the picture of Paul hurrying to Jerusalem to be in time for Pentecost below). It is rather to curse all those who depart in any manner from the Law or 'the Torah of Moses' (17-19).

In fact, the text is an excommunication text, similar to that embedded in the Chariots of Glory in Chapter 7. The words there are to be pronounced by the Community Council. The words here are to be pronounced 'by the Priest commanding the Many' (see our discussion of the Mebakker below) on 'anyone who rejects these judgements based on the (exact) sense of all the Laws found in the Torah of Moses' (5-6). 'Rebellion' is referred to in Line 7, and Lines 9-10 contain the actual 'curse' to be pronounced by this 'priest' (high priest?) on the rebellious person being 'expelled from the presence of the Many'.

Preceding this, Lines 2-4, referring to inadvertent sin - already treated in the Halakhic texts above - begin by insisting that the penitent bring a sin or guilt offering (presumably to the Temple) to be purified (cf. Lev. 4). It is worth noting that at the time of his final Pentecost visit to Jerusalem, James imposed a similar purification procedure on Paul in the Temple. Here, in the words of Acts 21:21-4, Paul was publicly to exhibit that he was 'still walking in the Way and keeping the Law' (italics ours).

In Lines 3-5 the passages adduced to support this penance for 'remission of sin', including the interlinear addition mentioned above (5a), are a little esoteric, even ambiguous. One even makes allusion to the pleasing 'fragrance of their offerings' we have seen in the Pleasing Fragrance text above, and in the process, possibly to the Heavenly Ascents of Hechalot mysticism (see the reference to 'ascending to the Highest Heaven' in Line 4).

Among many other key usage's, one should note the reference to 'the peoples' to designate those who did not follow the Law in Line 10. We have already seen how Paul in Rom. 11:13 uses this key word 'peoples' to describe himself and the people to whom he is addressing his mission. One should also note the key use of the word maas ('reject') in Lines 5-6 above concerning 'rejecting . . . the Torah of Moses' and a parallel word ga'lah in Line 7, where the man 'whose spirit rejects the Foundations of Righteousness' is referred to. We have encountered this word ma'as repeatedly in key passages throughout the Qumran corpus.

In the Habakkuk Pesher it is used to describe the 'Lying Spouter' who 'rejects the Law in the midst of the whole congregation'. The language is paralleled too in the Community Rule, iii-iv, which also describes the behaviour of an archetypical 'son of Darkness' with 'a blaspheming Tongue', whose 'soul rejects the Foundations of the Knowledge of the Judgements of Righteousness', whose 'works are abomination, whose Spirit fornication, whose Ways uncleanness, whose service (mission) pollution . . . who walks in all the Ways of Darkness'.

There is also a parallel in i.15-16 of the Cairo Damascus Document. Here the 'Foundations of Righteousness' are called 'the Pathways of Righteousness'. This allusion occurs in the midst of a long description of how the Scoffer/ Comedian 'poured over Israel the waters of lying'. In it, the allusion to 'wandering astray in a trackless waste without a Way', which the present text uses to describe 'the peoples', i.e. 'the families (of man) and their national languages' in 10 above, is used in i.15 to describe the effect of the Spouted Scoffer's 'waters of Lying'.

The same is true for the connections between Lines 12-13 in the Foundations of Righteousness about 'the boundary markers which were laid down' and CD, i.18: 'removing the boundary markers which the First (the forefathers) laid down as their inheritance that He might call down upon us the curses of the Covenant'. Lines 13-14 of the present text also end by again 'cursing' those who 'cross' or 'transgress' these 'boundary markers'. We will see more about the importance of the language of 'cursing' below. The language parallels in these texts are exact. They increase the connections between the process of excommunication being referred to in this text and the subject of the 'Lying Spouter' / 'Comedian' in other texts.

There are pregnant parallels of this kind in every line of the text. An interesting parallel in early Christian history would be James. 2:10's assertion: 'He who breaks one small point of the Law is guilty of breaking it all.' This passage too is presented against a background of Qumranisms like 'keeping' (keeping the Law), 'breaking'/'Breakers' (breaking the Law), 'Doer'/'doing', 'Light', 'Judgement', etc.

In the context, too, of 'rejecting the judgements about the exact sense of all the Laws found in the Torah of Moses' in Line 6, the text also uses the key word 'reckoned', which we encountered in the two Letters on Works Righteousness above: 'He will not be reckoned among all the sons of God's Truth, because his soul rejected the Foundations of Righteousness.' It would be easy to appreciate how such words could be applied in a mindset of the kind represented by this text to a person teaching 'the Many', that 'the works of the Law' were 'a curse' as in Gal. 3:6-10 (in the section about Abraham's faith we have discussed above) or to someone who, by making himself 'a friend of man', had turned himself into 'an Enemy of God'. The language at this point in the text is that of Deuteronomy's 'blessing and cursing'.

The issue in Lines 17-18 of 'cursing all those who have departed to the right or to the left from the Torah' at Pentecost is particularly interesting. For Paul in Gal. 3:11-13 above, 'Christ redeemed us from the curse of the Law' by becoming 'a curse' or 'cursed' (by the Law) himself. To explain or show how this could be, he cites Deut. 21:23 (in a discussion flanked by citation of the two key scriptural passages: Gen. 15:6 about Abraham's 'faith' and Hab. 2:4 'the Righteous shall live by his faith'), to the effect that a man hung upon a tree is 'cursed'. The language of the one approach

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mirrors the language of the other. Both are operating within the framework of the 'blessing and cursing' from Deuteronomy.

Paul, if one can be so bold, is reversing the cursing language of his opponents, who, we can assume, have also 'cursed' him, throwing at them the worst affront imaginable, that their Messiah, who for the purposes of argument let us say was 'hung upon a tree', was in a manner of speaking 'cursed' according to the very Law they cursed him with. Therefore, this Messiah has, by taking this 'curse' upon himself, redeemed Paul, and for him and Christianity following him, all mankind as well.)

Translation

. . . before the Priest commanding the Many, and he freely accepted His judgement when He said by the hand of Moses regarding the person who sins inadvertently, 'let such a one bring his sin offering or his guilt offering.' And concerning Israel it is written, 'I shall ascend to the Highest in Heaven, and there will not smell the fragrance of their offerings.' And in another place it is written, 'return to God with weeping and fasting.' (In another place it is written, 'rend your hearts and not your clothes.') As for every person who rejects these Judgements (which are) in keeping with all the Laws found in the Torah of Moses, he will not be reckoned among all the sons of His Truth, for his soul has rejected the Foundations of Righteousness. For rebellion, let him be xpelled from the presence of the Many. The Priest commanding the Many shall speak against him. He (the Priest) is to stand and say, 'Blessed are You, You are all, everything is in Your hand and (You are) the maker of everything, who established the Peoples according to their families and their national languages. You 'made them to wander astray in a wilderness without a Way,' but You chose our fathers and to their seed gave the Laws of Your Truth and the judgements of Your Holiness, 'which man shall do and thereby live.' And 'boundary markers were laid down for us.'

Those who cross over them, You curse. We, (however), are Your redeemed and 'the sheep of Your pasture.' You curse their transgressors while we uphold (the Law).' Then he who was expelled must leave, and whosoever eats with him or asks after the welfare of the man who was excommunicated or keeps company with him, that fact should be recorded by the Mebakker / Overseer according to established practice and his judgement will be completed. The sons of Levi and the inhabitants of the camps are to gather together in the third month (every year) to curse those who depart to the right or to the left from the Torah. And this is the exact sense of the judgements that they are to do for the entire Era of Evil, that which was commanded for all the periods of Wrath and their journeys, for everyone who dwells in their camps and all who dwell in their cities, al1 that is found in the 'Final Midrash of the Law.'

2 QUMRAN LIBRARY CHAPTER G
HYMNS AND MYSTERIES

This Chapter contains some of the most splendid and beautiful texts in the whole corpus. We have grouped them together because of 1) their liturgical quality and 2) because of their relationship to the whole theme of 'Hidden Mysteries' referred to in the last texts of Chapter 5, and evoked variously in the Chariots of Glory, the Hymns of the Poor, and the Sons of Salvation (Yesha) and the Mystery of Existence below. This last text could just as easily have been placed in Chapter 5 under Admonitions, where it typologically belongs, but because of its clear affinities in vocabulary and content with these other texts, we place it here. The Baptismal Hymns are interesting in themselves, particularly because of the importance of the subject which they treat. In this section the Hymns of the Poor are related both to the already published Hymns from Cave 1 and their prototype, the Psalms from the Bible.

41. The Chariots Of Glory (4Q286-287) (Plate 21)

(We call this text, which contains some of the most beautiful and emotive vocabulary in the entire Qumran repertoire, the Chariots of Glory to emphasize its connections with Ezekiel's visions and Merkabah mysticism. It is a work of such dazzling faith and ecstatic vision that it fairly overwhelms the reader. Of course, it completely gainsays anyone who would challenge the literary audacity, virtuosity and creativity of those responsible for the Qumran corpus.

This work, which has obvious affinities with the already published Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, found at both Qumran and Masada, is a work of what goes by the name in Judaism and Kabbalah of the Mysticism of the Heavenly 'Chariot' or 'Throne' - so cultivated in the Middle Ages and beyond. If it is not the starting point of this genre, it is certainly one of the earliest extant exemplars of it. Not surprisingly, Line 5 of Manuscript A Fragment 1, as we have arranged the text, also alludes, whether by accident or design, to the word 'Splendour', (Zohar), and a plural variation in Line 3 earlier, 'the Splendours of Nobility'. These in turn are obviously to be equated with 'all Your Secrets' in Line 2. The name Zohar, of course, is the title of the best known work of thirteenth-century medieval Jewish mysticism in Spain.

In Lines 3-5, these 'Secrets' are equated, in an explosion of ecstatic imagery, with 'the feet of Your Glory', 'the Foundations of fire', 'the flames of Your Lamp', 'the fires of Light' and 'the Highness of the Beauty of the Fountain'. This is just a sampling of the vocabulary of this text, one of the most ecstatic visionary recitals of any period, ancient or modern.

The text also operates within the Hesed / Zedek dichotomy discussed earlier. These twin concepts, as we have seen, are the equivalent of the two 'love' commandments enunciated in the New Testament as the basis of Jesus' teaching, namely 'loving God' (Hesed) and 'loving your neighbour' (Zedek). Early Church literature also associates them unmistakably with the figure of James. They are also the two 'Ways' of early Church documents like The Didache and cornerstones of Kabbalistic thinking.

Here the text makes allusions, too, to 'the sons of Righteousness', a usage we have already expounded at length in relation to the document by that name. We have delineated it as indistinguishable from and a variation of 'the sons of Zadok' terminology so much discussed in relation to the published corpus. In Lines 7-9 the phrase is used, not surprisingly, in conjunction with wording like 'the Pious Ones' (Hassidim) and 'the Congregation of Goodness' - also 'the Pious Ones of Truth', 'the Eternal Merciful Ones' (a phrase used in the Koran) and 'Miraculous Mysteries'.

Like the last column of the Damascus Document (and the Koran), the vehemence and militancy of this text is quite startling. These are no peaceful Essenes, nor do the practitioners of this kind of hatred love their enemies; rather in the style of 1QS,ix.21-2 and CD,vi.l4-15, they hate 'the sons of the Pit'. There is the usual vocabulary of 'Belial' and 'the sons of Belial', 'cursing', 'Darkness', 'the Pit', 'Evil', all punctuated, as in 1QS,ii, by repetitions of 'Amen, Amen'. In addition one gets new formulations, like 'the Angel of the Pit', 'the Spirit of Destruction', 'the abominations of Sheol'. An allusion to mastemato also occurs in 3.2.2, here descriptive of Belial, further confirming the basic circularity of these references to Satan, Belial and Mastemoth. Nor is there any sense of forgiveness here, but rather 'the fury of God's wrath' will last forever (3.2.10).

Finally the first line of this manuscript begins with allusions to 'the footstools of the feet of your Glory' from Gen. 49:10. The reader will recall this as the Shiloh Prophecy. It was subjected to exegesis in the Genesis Florilegium in Chapter 3, which interpreted the 'Shiloh' in terms of 'the Messiah of Righteousness who would arise at the end of days'. Between these same 'feet' (those of 'the Shiloh') is the Mehokkek or 'Law-giver', not to mention 'the Sceptre', which were also interpreted in this context. This 'footstools'/'feet' imagery is carried further in A. 1.1 to 'standing' and 'walkway' allusions. The image of 'standing' to great heights is known in Pseudo-clementine tradition - those fourth-century Jewish Christian novellas. One of these, called the Recognitions (in which a figure meant to represent Paul attacks James in the Temple) describes someone it calls 'the Standing One', a great redeemer figure which 'stands' to a fantastic height.

But the one surviving line from Manuscript A Fragment 3, which refers to 'the Holy Spirit settling upon His Messiah' has truly remarkable implications, particularly in the setting of the text's rapturous imagery previously. By quoting Isa. 11:2, 'the Spirit of the Lord would settle on him', which it rephrases slightly, it recalls the Messianic Leader (Nasi) text from Chapter 1 which quoted Isa. 11:1.

The rephrasing, however slight, is worth noting. 'Him' is now transmuted into 'His Messiah'. But this was the term we encountered in the first line of the first text from Chapter 1, the Messiah of Heaven and Earth. Lest anyone doubted it, Isa. 11:2's 'the Spirit of the Lord' now becomes the more imposing 'the Holy Spirit'. A text of this kind, paralleling the scriptural presentation of Jesus' baptism in the Gospels and related discussions in Hebrews, while at the same time binding all these texts together into a homogeneous whole, reconfirms the basically single, Davidic Messiah ideology at Qumran. It also once more confirms - if such confirmation were by now necessary - the total Messianic thrust of the entire corpus.)

Translation Foundations of Fire

Manuscript A Fragment 1 the seat of Your Honour and the footstools of the feet of Your Glory, in the Heights of Your standing and the rung of Your Holiness and the chariots of Your Glory with their multitudes and wheel-angels, and all Your Secrets, Foundations of fire, flames of Your lamp, Splendours of honor, fires of lights and miraculous brilliances, honor and virtue and highness of Glory, holy Secret and place of Splendour and the highness of the beauty of the Fountain, majesty and the gathering-place of power, honor, praise and mighty wonders and healings, and miraculous works, Secret Wisdom and image of Knowledge and Fountain of Understanding, Fountain of Discovery and counsel of Holiness and Secret Truth, treasurehouse of Understanding from the sons of Righteousness, and dwelling places of Uprightness . . . Pious Ones and congregation of Goodness and Pious Ones of Truth and Eternal Merciful Ones and miraculous Mysteries when they appear, and weeks of Holiness in their rightful order and monthly flags . . . in their seasons and festivals of Glory in their times . . . and sabbaths of the earth in their divisions and appointed times of jubilee . . . and Eternal Jubilees . . . Light and Darkness . . .

Ecology Hymn

Fragment 2 (Let us praise) . . . the land and all who dwell . . . who inhabit it, earth and all their equipment and al1 its subsistance . . . and al1 hills, valleys and all streams, land of beauty . . . Let us praise the depths of forests and the wildernesses of Horeb . . . and its wilds and foundations of . . ., islands and . . . their fruits, highland woods and all the cedars of Lebanon . . . new wine and oil and all the produce of . . . and all the offerings of the land in (the) twelve months . . . Your word. Amen. Amen. . . . and fortress and water, deep wells . . . every stream, deep rivers . . . water . . . al1 their Secrets . . .

Eternal Knowledge

Fragment 3 Column 1. . . the lands . . . their young men . . . and all their companions in praises of . . . and praises of Truth in the times of festival . . . Your . . . and the bearer of Your Kingdom in the midst of Peoples . . . Angels of purity with all Eternal Knowledge, to . . . to bless Your glorious Name forever. Amen. Amen. . . . continue to praise the God of . . . al1 His Truth . . .

The Community Council Curses Belial

(Fragment 3 Column 2 The Community Council shall say together in unison, 'Amen. Amen.' Then they shall curse Belial and all his guilty lot, and they shall answer and say, 'Cursed be Belial in his devilish (Mastematic) scheme, and damned be he in his guilty rule. Cursed be all the spirits of his Mot in their Evil scheme. And may they be damned in the schemes of their unclean pollution. Surely they are the tot of Darkness. Their punishment will be the eternal Pit. Amen. Amen. And cursed be the Evi1 One in all of his dominions, and damned be all the sons of Belial in all their times of service until their consummation forever. Amen. Amen.' And they are to repeat and say, 'Cursed be you, Angel of the Pit and Spirit of Destruction in al1 the schemes of your guilty inclination, and in all the abominable purposes and counsel of your Wickedness. And damned be you in your sinful dominion and in your wicked and guilty rule, together with all the abominations of Sheol and the reproach of the Pit, and with the humiliations of destruction, with no remnant and no forgiveness, in the fury of God's wrath forever and ever. Amen. Amen. And cursed be al1 who perform their Evil schemes, who establish your Evil purposes in their hearts against God's Covenant, so as to reject the words of those who see his Truth, and exchange the Judgements of the Torah . . .)

The Splendour of the Spirits

Manuscript B Fragment 1 . . . as their teachers . . . their . . . their honor . . . their Glory, the doors of their wonders . . . the Angels of fire and the Spirits of cloud . . . the embroidered Splendour of the Spirits of the Holy of Holies . . . and firmaments of the Holy of Holies . . .

months with all their festivals . . . the Glorious Name of Your God . . . and all the servants of Holiness . . . in the Perfection of their works . . . in their wondrous Temples . . . all their servants . . . Your Holiness in the habitation of . . .

Fragment 2 . . . them, and they shall bless Your Holy Name with blessings . . . and they shall bless You, all creatures of flesh in unison, whom You have created . . . beasts and birds and reptiles and the fish of the seas, and all . . . You have created them all anew . . .

Fragment 3 . . . The Holy Spirit settled upon His Messiah . . .

42. Baptismal Hymn (4Q414)

(On the heels of this text, we come upon a series of fragments relating to baptism. By baptism, of course, the reader should realise that the proponents of this literature did not necessarily mean anything different from traditional Jewish ritual immersion. The terminologies are synonymous, though the emphasis on baptismal procedures at Qumran is extraordinary. This can be seen not only in texts such as the one represented by these fragments and the well-known Community Rule,iii,1-4, which in describing baptism makes reference to 'the Holy Spirit', but also the sheer number of ritual immersion facilities at the actual ruins of Qumran - if these can be safely associated with the movement responsible for this literature. Once again, one is confronted with the vocabulary of 'Glory', this time in terms of 'a law of Glory' (4.3), as well as, if our reconstruction is correct, 'the purity of Righteousness' or 'Justification' (4.4).

There is reference to 'making atonement for us', being 'cleansed from pollution' as one 'enters the water', and the

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usual 'Laws of your Holiness' and 'Truth of Your Covenant'. There is also an interesting allusion to a 'Jewish woman', which parallels the reference to 'a Jewish man' in the calendrical texts, and shows the extent to which the usage 'Jew' had already taken hold in Palestine in the first century BC and the first century AD.)

Translation

Fragment 1 Column 1 . . . in the word . . . those purified for the appointed time . . . of You and to atone for us (4). . . those who are pure before You . . . his time, in everything . . . to be cleansed during . . . You have made us

Fragment 1 Column 2 Your . . . for the Laws of Holiness . . . on the first and third and seventh (days) . . . in the Truth of Your Covenant . . . to be cleansed from the pollution of . . . and after he enters the water . . . he will answer and say, Blessed are You . . . for from the declaration of Your mouth . . . men of . . .

Fragment 2 his . . . in the day . . . . . will bless . . . Israel who . . . before You from all . . . Your Holiness . . . you have abandoned . . .

Fragment 3 soul . . . that . . . for You as a puse people . . . also, I am . . . the day when . . . in the appointed times of purification . . . of the Community. . . in the purity of Israel, for . . . and they will dwell . . . And it will come to pass in the day . . . a Jewish woman . . .

Fragment 4 for You have made . . . Your . . . to be purified before . . . for Him, a Law of Glory . . . and to be in the purity of Righteousness . . . and washing in water, and he will be . . . You will . . . And after he returns . . . purifying his people with cleansing water . . . the second one in his place will stand . . . Your purification in the Glory of ... . . . in the day . . .

43. Hymns Of The Poor (4Q434, 436)

(These texts are appropriately titled. It is important to see the extent to which the terminology Ebionim ('the Poor') and its synonyms penetrated Qumran literature. Early commentators were aware of the significance of this usage, though later ones have been mostly insensitive to it. The use of this terminology, and its ideological parallels, 'Am ('Meek') and Dal ('Downtrodden'), as interchangeable terms of self-designation at Qumran, is of the utmost importance. There are even examples in crucial contexts of the published corpus of an allusion like 'the Poor in Spirit', known from Matthew's Sermon on the Mount in both the War Scroll, xi.10 and the Community Rule, iv.3. It is clear from the Pauline corpus that in some sense the community following the leadership of James the just (known in the literature as 'the brother of Jesus', whatever is meant by that designation) - the so-called Jerusalem Church or Jerusalem Community - were called 'the Poor' (Gal. 2:10; also Jas. 2:3-5). Remembering 'the Poor', meaning in some sense bringing a proper amount of monetary contributions back to Jerusalem, is all Paul is willing to say in Galatians above about the conditions laid down on his activities by his ideological opposite James.

As tradition proceeds, it becomes clear that the Ebionim (the so-called Ebionites) or 'the Poor' is the name by which the community descending from James' Jerusalem Community in Palestine goes. In all likelihood, it descends from the one we are studying in these materials as well. This movement, called by some 'Jewish Christianity' - the appellation is defective, but we have no other - honoured the person and teaching of this James, otherwise known as 'the Righteous' or 'Just One'. By the fourth century, Eusebius, previously Bishop of Caesarea and Emperor Flavius Constantinus right-hand man, is willing to tell us about these Ebionites. Of Palestinian origin and one of the people primarily responsible for the Christian takeover in Rome, he clearly regards the Ebionites he describes as sectarian - sectarian, of course, in contradistinction to that form of Pauline Christianity that he helped promote in the time of Flavius Constantinus (the Great). He tells us in Ecclesiastical History, 3.27 that they were 'called Ebionites by the ancients (i.e. a long time before his own era) because of the low and mean opinions they held about Christ'. By this statement he means that the Ebionites do not regard Jesus as divine. He does so, using the 'Wicked Demon', 'Devil' and 'net' language that is so much a cornerstone of the presentation of the charges in the Damascus Document against them. Knowing that Ebionite means 'Poor Man in Hebrew', he jokingly contends that they received this epithet because of 'the poverty of intellect they exhibited', i.e. in following such a primitive Christology.

He knows that they considered Christ born by 'natural' means, 'a plain and ordinary man, who was justified by his advances in Righteousness only . . . They also insisted on the complete observance of the Law, nor did they think one could be saved only by faith in Christ and a corresponding life.' Rather 'they evinced great zeal to observe the literal sense of the Law . . . They observed the Sabbath and other ceremonies just like Jews.' Paul they considered 'an apostate from the Law' (italics ours). This description of the Ebionites is crucial to our understanding of these texts and the widespread use of the 'Poor' terminology at Qumran. Though there is more material from other sources about these Ebionites, they are certainly the community that held the memory of James in the highest regard, whereas Paul they considered 'the Enemy' or Anti-Christ (compare this with the terminology Mastema we are encountering in these texts). Such a stance is not unparalleled in crucial passages from the letter in James' name in the New Testament. We have already shown that this letter, in responding to some adversary who believes that Abraham was justified only by faith, states that by making himself 'a friend of man', this adversary has turned himself into 'the Enemy of God'. This 'Enemy' terminology is also known in Matt. 13:25-40's 'parable of the tares', perhaps the only anti-Pauline parable in the Gospels, where an 'Enemy' sows the 'tares' among the good seed. At the 'harvest' these will be uprooted and thrown into 'the burning'.

The use of Ebionim as a term of self-designation at Qumran is widespread, most notably in the pesharim, but also, as we have seen, in the interpretation of the Star Prophecy in Column xi of the War Scroll. Here it is stated that by 'the hand of the Poor Ones whom You have redeemed by Your Power and the peace of Your Mighty Wonders . . . by the hand of the Poor Ones and those bent in the dust, You will deliver the Enemies of all the lands and humble the mighty of the Peoples to bring upon their heads the reward of the Wicked and justify the judgement of Your Truth on all the sons of men . . .' There is no need to quote further.

Found in five identifiable copies, the Hymns of the Poor are delicate poetic creations of considerable beauty. Stylistically, they are similar to the Hymns from Cave 1. They derive their name from the widespread use of the term Ebionim and its variants 'Anavim and Dal, 'the Meek' and 'the Downtrodden' throughout. The familiar vocabulary of 'Knowledge', 'Glory', 'Piety', 'the judgements of the Way', 'the Ways of Truth', 'the Way of His heart', 'zeal', 'anger', 'Light', 'Darkness', 'Gentiles' and 'Violent Ones' again appears.

The interchangeability of the usages 'the Poor', 'the Meek' and 'the Downtrodden' is paralleled in the published Hymns from Cave 1 by the use of nephesh Ebion ('soul of the Poor One' - also used here in Line 2.1.1), and nephesh--'Ani ('soul of the Meek'), used repeatedly throughout. A parallel, Nephesh-Zaddik ('soul of the Righteous One'), is to be found in a context of some import at the end of Column i of the Cairo recension of the Damascus Document. Evoking another familiar phrase, 'the Way of His heart', used in these Hymns to the Poor as well, the passage describes a particularly violent attack on 'the soul of the Righteous One' (presumably the Righteous Teacher) and some of his colleagues. These it refers to also as 'walkers in Perfection'.

In the Hymns of the Poor, the Poor are 'saved' because of their 'Piety', and God's 'Mercy', and because they 'walked in the Way of His heart'. In Line 4 of 2. 1, this proposition is put as follows: 'He saved them because of his Piety (here clearly 'Grace') and directed their foot to the Way.' This exactly parallels the exegesis of Hab. 2:4 in the Habakkuk Pesher: 'He saved them . . . because of their 'aural ('suffering works') and their faith in the Righteous Teacher.' Both are eschatological, the second demonstrably so. The Habakkuk Pesher also makes this clear by the reference in the previous exegesis to Hab. 2:3: 'If it tarries, wait for it', which it applies to what is known in early Christianity as 'the delay of the Parousia', i.e. the delay of the 'End Time'.

One should also note the xenophobia inherent in Lines 7-10, and the references again paralleling the Habakkuk Pesher, to 'peoples', 'Gentiles' and the fiery 'zeal' with which God would judge them, i.e. God is as 'zealous' as these presumable 'Zealots'. This is continued into Fragment 3, where, amid the language of 'works', 'atonement', 'Piety' and 'Glory', it is confirmed that God would comfort Jerusalem. Here the nationalist sentiments of the literature are once more completely apparent. Throughout the judgement material in Fragment 2, it is made clear that it is from foreign 'nations' and 'peoples' that God would save 'the Poor', as 'He sets His Angel round about the sons of Israel'.

As with the War Scroll from Cave 1, there can be no doubting the militancy of these Hymns, nor their nationalism, their zeal for the Law and their xenophobia, which it is possible to think of as becoming inverted in Gentile Christianity as it has come down to us.)

Translation

Fragment 1 . . . Understanding to strengthen the downcast heart, and to triumph over the spirit in it; to comfort the Downtrodden in the time of their distress, and as for the hands of the fallen, to hold them up so they can make vessels of Knowledge, to give Knowledge to the Wise, to increase the learning of the Upright, so as to comprehend Your wonders that You performed in former days, in previous generations, the Eternal Insight that You established before (establishing) me. And You kept your Law before me, and Your Covenant You confirmed for me, strengthening (it) upon my heart. . . . to walk in Your Ways. You commanded my heart, and instructed my conscience not to forget Your Laws. . . . You have . . . Your Law and opened my conscience, and strengthened me to pursue the Ways of Truth . . . Your . . . You made my mouth like a sharp sword and opened my tongue to words of Holiness. You have put . . . instruction. Let them not meditate upon the doings of man, whose lips are in the Pit. You strengthened my legs, . . . And by Your hand you strengthened (me) with days. You sent me in . . . (a heart of stone?) You removed from me and put a pure heart in its place, removing evil inclination Fragment 2 Column 1 Bless the Lord, 0 my soul, because of all His wonders forever. Blessed be His name, for He saved the soul of the Poor One (Ebion). He has not despised the Meek ('Ani), nor has he forgotten the distress of the Downtrodden (Dal). (On the contrary), He opened His eyes to the Downtrodden, and, inclining His ears, hearkened to the cry of orphans. In His abundant Mercy He comforted the Meek, and opened their eyes to behold His ways, and their ears, to hear His teaching.

And He circumcised the foreskin of their hearts, and saved them because of his Grace, and He directed their foot to the Way. He did not abandon them in their great distress, nor give them into the hand of Violent Ones, nor judge them with the Wicked, nor kindle his wrath against them, nor destroy them in His anger, though the wrath of His hot anger did not abate at all. But He did not judge them in fiery zeal; (rather) He judged them in the abundance of His Mercy. The Judgements of His eye were to test them. In the greatness of His Mercy, He brought them (from) among the Gentiles; from the hands of Man He saved them. He did not judge them in the multitude of the nations, nor scatter them among the Peoples. (Rather), He hid them in the shadow of His wings, and made the dark places Light before them, and the crooked places straight, and He revealed to them abundant Peace and Truth. He made their Spirit by measure, and meted out their words by weight, causing them to sing like flutes. He gave them a heart of rejoicing, and they walked in the Way of His heart. But also, in the way of His heart He led them, because they . . . , their Spirit at rest, and raised up a testimony . . . He commanded a plague to . . ., And He set his Angel around the sons of Israel lest they be destroyed in the land of their enemies . . . His wrath, to bring His anger . . . on them . . . He hated . . . His Glory to . . .

Fragment 2 Column 2 in Evil . . . distress . . . their works . . . for them against the sons of Man, and You saved them for Your own sake . . . And they aggravated their iniquity and the iniquity of their fathers, but they atoned for it in . . . Judgements, and to the Way that . . . again, because . . . their . . . in . . .

Fragment 3 Your . . . to be comforted on account of her mourning; her affliction He . . . nations He will destroy, and peoples cut off, and the Wicked . . . He fashioned the works of Heaven and earth, and they met, and His Glory filled . . . their Truth will make atonement. Goodness will multiply, and the Goodness of the . . . will comfort them .... to eat its fruit and its Goodness. Like a man whose mother comforts him, so will He comfort them in Jerusalem . . . Like a bridegroom over the bride, over her . . and He will put . . . and He will lift ap His Throne forever and ever. And His Glory . . . and all the Gentiles . . . and there will be . . . desire . . . forever the radiance of . . . I shall bless the Name . . . blessed be the Name of the Most High . . . . . Your Piety (or 'Grace') upon him . . . for the sake of the Torah You established . . . the book of Your Laws . . .

44. The Children Of Salvation (Yesha) And The Mystery Of Existence (4Q416, 418) (Plate 22)

(If we are justified in grouping all these fragments together, this is one of the longest extant manuscripts in the unpublished corpus. Strictly speaking, the work as a whole has the character of anadmonition and belongs in Chapter 5, but because of its eschatological thrust, mysticism, emphasis on the Mysteries of God and parallels with the preceding works and Hymns from Cave 1, we have chosen to place it here.

Again we are in the vocabulary of 'Knowledge', 'Goodness', 'Faithfulness', 'the Glory of the Holy Ones', 'the God of Truth', 'Righteousness', 'works', 'Judgement', 'the Lords of Evil', 'Lying', 'Unfaithfulness', etc. As in the case of the Chariots of Glory above, which it very much resembles, we have separated out the various fragments and given each a subtitle drawn from the most striking and beautiful of these allusions. As in the case of the Hymns of the Poor, here and there it is possible to question the sequence or whether all fragments actually belong together; however manuscript overlaps do seem to assure the sequence of most of the fragments.

Some of the most interesting imagery revolves around the use of the term 'Fountain' already encountered above 'the Eternal Fountain/the Fountain of Living Waters' and 'the Eternal Secrets', the 'obscure Mysteries' - even 'the Mystery of Being' or 'the Mystery of Existence'. There can be no mistaking that some of these same images are also being evoked in medieval Jewish mystical texts.

The famous philosophical treatise by the celebrated Avicebron (the eleventh-century Jewish mystic poet Ibn Gabirol mentioned above) is, as we have seen, given this title. His poems are even more redolent with this kind of imagery - the most famous of these, The Crown of the Kingdom,

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repeatedly evokes 'Angels', 'the Throne', 'Secrets', 'Mysteries', 'Mighty Wonders', 'storehouses', 'Righteousness', 'the Kingdom', etc.

In Fragment 9, the most surprising allusion occurs in relation to being 'Righteous' and 'works', and that is the expression Yesha' ('Salvation'). It first appears in a construct Yesha' ma'saiv ('the Salvation of His works') in Line 8 in relation to 'not removing the Law of God from your heart' (note once again the ubiquitous 'heart' usage here). Then in Line 11, following another reference to 'amal - this time expressed as a verb - one comes upon the construct 'the children of Yesha" or 'the children of Salvation'. The text then goes on to speak of 'inheriting Glory' and 'everlasting joy'.

The use of the noun 'Yesha' or the verbal noun 'Yeshu' ato' ('His Salvation') is fairly widespread at Qumran and much underrated. One finds expressions such as these in two important contexts in the Damascus Document: viii.43 relating to 'God Fearers' - 'until God reveals Righteousness and Salvation to those who fear His Name'- and viii. 57, relating to 'not rejecting the Laws of Righteousness', 'listening to the voice of the Teacher of Righteousness' and 'being forgiven' 'and they would .see His Salvation' (italics ours). The verb 'see' here is of prime importance. These terms also crop up in several interesting contexts in the War Scroll (xiii, xiv and xviii) and another equally Messianic section preceding the 'Planting' section in the Qumran Hymns (vii. 19).

Some would feel that such a concept was really quite new for the people of the ancient world; nor had the Greeks yet personified it in various deities. The personification of this concept in the Gospel presentation of Messianic events in Palestine in the first century can in this light be considered a most revolutionary development and one that has not ceased exercising its influence on mankind even now.

In Fragment 9.2/ 10.1, the theme of 'keeping' is applied to that of 'Mysteries' in conjunction with the parallel one of 'not forsaking the Law'. This theme of 'Mysteries' is pursued to the end, particularly the single mystery, 'the Mystery of Existence', amid continued allusion to 'justifying by Your judgement' - found throughout the Qumran corpus 'zeal' and a new usage, 'poverty', another obvious variation of the 'Poor' theme, as opposed to 'Riches', in connection with which the 'swallowing' imagery is used again (10.9). The expression Ebion / 'the Poor One' is actually used on a number of occasions, linking up with the previous work again, and leading to the final message: 'walking in Righteousness', 'lying down in Truth', and 'inheriting eternal bliss'.)

Translation The Eternal Planting

Fragment 1 Open your lips as a Fountain to bless the Holy Ones. O ye, bring forth praise as an Eternal Fountain . . . For He has separated you from all bodily spirit. O ye, separate yourself from all that He hates, and keep yourself apart from all Abominations of . . . He made all (flesh), and caused every man to inherit his portion. He set you apart-and your portion-among the sons of Adam . . . He gave you authority. O ye, this was how He glorified it when you sanctified yourself to Him, when He made you a Holy of Holies . . . for all . . . He decided your fate and greatly increased your Glory, and made you as a firstborn for Himself among. . . 'and I will give you My Goodness.' O ye, is not His Goodness yours? So always walk in His Faithfulness in all of your works. O ye, seek His judgements from every hand, and the abundance of . . . love Him, for with everlasting Piety (Hesed) and mercies on all the Keepers of His word, and . . . O ye, He has opened up insight for you, and given you authority over His storehouse, and the accurate value for a measure (ephah) He has determined . . . they . . . you. It is in your power to turn aside wrath from the Men of His Favor, and to appoint . . . with you, before you take your portion from the hands of the Glory of His Holy Ones, and in . . . He opened . . . and all who are called by His Holy Name . . . with all the Eras of His sublime radiance for an Eternal Planting . . . all those who inherit the land will conduct themselves, for in . . . O ye, because of the Wisdom of your hands, He has given you authority, and your Knowledge . . . a storehouse for all humanity. From there you will designate your unclean food, and . . . Seek understanding with all your might, and from every hand, take increased insight . . . Bring forth what you lack for all those seeking after their own desires. Then you will understand . . . You will be filled and satiated with abundant Goodness, and by the skill of your hands . . . Because God has apportioned the inheritance of every living being, and all those wise of heart have considered . . .

The Fountain of Living Water

Fragment 2 . . . farmers, until all . . . bring in your baskets, and your storehouses, all . . . and the plain, season by season seek them out, and do not cease . . . all of them seek in their season(s), and according to Wisdom, a man . . . like a Fountain of Living Water which all men . . . and it is a hybrid like a mule, or like clothing made of two materials . . . in cattle and in . . . and also, your produce will be . . . your Riches with your flesh . . .

All the Eras of Eternity

Fragment 3 . . . concerning . . . all . . . together with him . . . all who . . . and they feared the deep, and . . . And every sacrifice are you to offer them perpetually, and the peace (offering) . . . in all the Eras of Eternity, because He is (the) God of Truth . . . making the Righteous discern Good from Evil . . . because it is the inclination of the flesh, and those who understand . . .

The Foundations of the Universe Shout out Judgement

Fragment 4 . . . your breath . . . and you will understand . . . death with . . . Shall they not walk in Truth? . . . and all their joys with Knowledge. O ye foolish of heart, what is Goodness without . . . And how can there be peacefulness without destruction? And how can there be judgement without establishing it, and how the dead will groan on account of all . . . you . . . you were created, but your backsliding leads to eternal damnation, because you walk . . . The dark places will be made Light because of Your abundance, and Eternal Being (shall be the lot of) the Seekers of Truth and the Witnesses of Your Judgements. All the foolish of heart will be destroyed, and the sons of Wickedness will be found no more, and all those seekers after Evil will be abashed. . . The Foundations of the Universe will shout out Your Judgement, and all the . . . will thunder . . . all the lovers of . . . You will be the Elect of Truth, and pursuers after insight with Judgement . . . those who are watchful . . . according to all Knowledge. How can you say, 'We have worked for insight and stayed awake pursuing Knowledge of . . . in all . . . But He has not tired during all the years of Eternity. Does He not delight in Truth forever? . . . Knowledge ministers unto Him, and all the Angels of Heaven-whose inheritance is eternal life-would they ever say, 'We have grown weary in the ministries of Truth, and tired in . . . for all ages do they not walk in Eternal Light? . . . again, and abundant radiance dwells with them. You . . . in the firmaments of . . . the Foundation (possibly 'Secret') of the Pillars, all . . . ye, in . . .

Eternal Glory

Fragment 5 . . . Not one from all of their host will rest . . . in Truth from the hand of all the storehouses of men . . . Truth, and the measure of Righteousness He meted out to all . . . . . . distributing them in Truth. He put them in place, and sought out their pleasures . . . and a shelter for all, nor shall they exist without His favor and . . . Judgement to visit repentance upon the Lords of Evil and the visitation of . . . and to shut before the Evil Ones, and to lift up the head of the Downtrodden . . . in Eternal Glory and peace everlasting, and the Spirit of Life to separate . . . all the sons of Eve, and with the power of God and the abundance of His Glory, with His Goodness . . . and in His Faithfulness, they shall prostrate themselves continually all the day and praise His Name, and . . . O ye, walk in Truth with all the Seekers . . . For His storehouse is under your authority, and whoever seeks his own aim (must do so) from your basket, and (to) them . . . And if He does not stretch out His hand for your needs, then will His storehouse (provide) this need . . . . . . and he shall not provide for his own wishes, for He shall not . . . your hand. He will increase your cattle abundantly . . . forever . . .

The Scales of Righteousness

Fragment 6 . . . your Fountain. Nor will you find what you lack, and your soul will languish for want of all Goodness, even unto death. . . . . will be troubled all the day, and your soul will yearn to come into her (Wisdom's?) gates, and a grave and clothing . . . your . . . And it will be as food to eat and fuel for the flame against . . . For by your conduct you have troubled those who seek pleasure and also . . . for you . . . because God made the pleasures of (His) storehouse, and meted them out in Truth . . . For in the scales of Righteousness He weighed out all their understanding, and in Truth . . .

The Angels of God's Holiness

Fragment 7 . . . its Ways are carved in suffering. You calm . . . and there will be Lying in the heart of all the sons of Adam . . . 'He will trust in all of My Ways . . . Knowledge. They have not earnestly sought Understanding, nor Knowledge chosen. Does not God give Knowledge of . . . on Truth, to discern all Mysteries, and Understanding did He apportion to those who inherited Truth. . . . Lying. In Truth . . . all His works. Is not peace and tranquility . . . Do you not know? Have you not heard? Surely the Angels of God's Holiness are in Heaven . . . Truth. And they pursue all the roots of Understanding, and diligently . . . according to their Knowledge, one man will be glorified over another, and according to his insight will his honor be magnified . . . For a man murmurs because he is lazy, and if a son of Adam is silent, is it not (because) . . . And they will inherit an Eternal possession. Have you not seen ?

The Mystery of Existence

Fragment 8 . . . to the fearful. You shall teach the first . . . in former times, why it existed and what existed in . . . why they were . . . existence in . . . day and night meditate on the Mystery of Existence . . . all their Ways, with the commands . . . concerning the Knowledge of the Secret of Truth . . . suffering and dominion . . . to walk in the inclination of His Understanding . . . walk . . .

The Salvation (Yesha) of His Works

Fragment 9 Column 1 . . . the time, lest he hear you. And while he is alive, speak to him, lest he . . . without appropriate reproof for his sake. Is it not bound up . . . Furthermore, his Spirit will not be swallowed (i.e. 'consumed'), because in silence . . . and quickly take his reproof to heart, and be not proud because of your transgressions . . . He is Righteous, like you, because he is a prince among . . . He will do. For how is He unique? In all His work, He is without . . . Do not consider the Evil Man as a co-worker, nor anyone who hates . . . the Salvation (Yesha') of His works, together with His command; therefore know how to conduct yourself with Him . . . Do not remove the Law of God from your heart, and don't go very far along by yourself . . . For what is smaller than a man without means? Also, do not rejoice when you should be mourning, lest you suffer in your life . . . existence; therefore, take from the children of Salvation (Yesha'), and know who will inherit Glory, for it is necessary for Him, not . . . And instead of their mourning, (yours will be) everlasting joy, and the troublemaker will be placed at your disposal, and there will not be . . .

To all your young girls, speak your judgements like a Righteous ruler, do not . . . and do not take your sins lightly. Then the radiance of . . . will be . . . Judgement . . . will He take, and then God will see, and His anger will be assuaged and He will give help against your sins, according to . . . will not stand up all of its days. He will justify by His judgement, and without forgiving your . . . Poor One. O ye, if you lack food, your need and your surplus . . . You should leave as sustenance for His flocks according to His will, and from it, take what is coming to you, but do not add thereto . . . And if you lack, do not . . . Riches from your needs, for His storehouse will not be lacking. And upon His word everything is founded, so aat what He gives you, but do not add to . . . your life . . . If you borrow Riches from men to fill your needs, do not . . . day and night, and do not for the peace of your soul . . . He will cause you to return to . . . Do not lie to him. Why should you bear (the) sin? Also, from reproach . . . to his neighbour. . . . and he will close up his hand when you are in need. According to Wisdom . . . and if affliction befalls you, and... He will reveal . . . He will not make atonement with . . . again. Furthermore . . .

Your Holy Spirit

Fragment 9 Column 2 Fragment 10 Column 1 He opened His Mercies . . . all the needs of His storehouse, and gave sustenance to every living thing. There is none . . . If he closes his hand, and the Spirit of all flesh is withdrawn, you shall not . . . in it, and with his reproach will your face be covered, but by your arbitration he will go forth from prison, like . . . And if he receives a loan, he repays (it) quickly in full. O ye, recompense him, for your purse of treasures belongs to the one you are obliged to, (even if only) for the sake of your neighbours. You will . . . all of your life with him. (Therefore), quickly return (him) whatever belongs to him; otherwise he will take your purse.

In your affairs, do not compromise your Spirit. Do not exchange your Holy Spirit for any Riches, because no price is worth your soul. Willingly seek the face of him who has authority over your storehouse, and in his own tongue speak with him. In that way will you find satisfaction . . . Do not forsake your Laws, and keep (secret) your Mysteries. . . . If He assigns His service to you . . . (do not allow) sleep (to enter) your eyes until you have done it all . . . do not add. If they are needy . . . and do not be generous to him. Also, Riches without . . . your eye shall see because of the abundant zeal of . . . By His will, devote yourself to His service, and the Wisdom of His storehouse . . . you will advise him, and become for him a firstborn son, and he shall love you as a man loves his only child. Because you . . . O ye, do not rely on that . . . and do not stay awake at night because of your money, and during the night, continue suffering because of it.

Furthermore, do not demean your soul on account of someone who is not worth it, but rather be to him . . . Do not strike someone who does not have your strength, lest you stumble and greatly humiliate yourself. . . . your soul with the Goodness of Riches. You will be tilling the wind, and will serve your lord in vain; so, do not sell your Glory for money, and do not transfer it as your inheritance, lest your bodily heirs be impoverished. Do not promise them . . . If there are no cups, do not drink wine, and if there is no food, do not request delicacies. O ye, . . . If you lack bread, do not glory in your poverty. You are needy . . . Do not plunder to stay alive, and also, do not water down (the contents of) a vessel . . . your Laws . . .

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All the Ways of Truth

Fragment 10 Column 2 So remember that you are needy . . . what you want you shall not find. In your unfaithfulness, you will . . . He has appointed for you. Do not reach your hand out for it, lest you be burned, and your body be consumed in His fire like . . . Thus He repaid him. But there will be joy for you if you purify yourself of it. Also, do not take Riches from a man you do not know, lest it only add to your poverty. If (God) has ordained that you should die in your poverty, so He has appointed it; but do not corrupt your Spirit because of it. Then you shall lie down with the Truth, and your sinlessness will He clearly proclaim to them (the recording Angels). As your destiny, you will inherit Eternal bliss. For though you are Poor, do not long for anything except your own portion; and do not be swallowed up by desire, lest you backslide because of it. And if He restores you, conduct yourself honourably. And inquire among His chidren about the Mystery of Existence; then you will gain Knowledge of His inheritance and walk in Righteousness, for He will . . . Do not . . . in all your Ways. Do homage to those who give you Glory, and praise His Name continually, because out of poverty has He lifted your head, seating you among nobles. He has given you authority over an inheritance of Glory, so seek His favor continuously. Though you are Poor, do not say, 'I am penniless, so I cannot seek out Knowledge.' (Rather,) bend your back to all discipline, and through all Wisdom, purify your heart, and in the abundance of your intellectual potential, investigate the Mystery of Existence. And ponder all the Ways of Truth, and consider all the roots of Evil. Then you will know what is bitter for a man, and what is sweet for a person. Honour your father in your poverty and your mother by your behavior. For a man's father is like his arms, and his mother is like his legs. Surely they have guided you like a hand, and just as He has given them authority over you and appointed (them) over (your) Spirit, so should you serve them. And just as He has opened your ears to the Mystery of Existence, (thus) should you honor them, for the sake of your own honor. Just as . . . revere them, for the sake of your own life and to lengthen your days. Even though you are in poverty . . . unlawfully. If you take a wife in your poverty, take her from among the daughters of . . . from the Mystery of Existence. In your companionship, go forward together. With the helpmate of your flesh . . .

2 QUMRAN LIBRARY CHAPTER H
DIVINATION, MAGIC AND MISCELLANEOUS

The texts in this section represent a cross section of the remaining unpublished corpus. Some present an interesting glimpse into everyday life 2,000 years ago. Though astrology, amulets, magic and the like were frowned upon by the Rabbis and in theory forbidden, it is clear from other sources too that they played some role in the day-today life of the people. The material we have here bears this out. How widespread this was or how serious people really were about these things is difficult to assess. In Graeco-Roman antiquity, astrology and divination counted among their devotees the best minds of the age. The foremost philosophical school in Rome, the Stoics, were astrology's strongest advocates. Among Jews, too, astrological ideas had penetrated to the very heart of the Temple in Jerusalem. Josephus informs us that the seven branches of the menorah there symbolise the seven planets then known (among which were counted the sun and the moon). He adds that the twelve loaves of the bread of the Presence embody the signs of the zodiac. Some Jewish writers of the period, such as Artapanus and Pseudo-Eupolemus, went so far as to ascribe the discovery of astrology to the patriarch Abraham. Likewise 1 Enoch makes Enoch himself the discoverer and revealer of this kind of knowledge. Thus it should come as no surprise that among the texts from Qumran one finds a number of astrological writings.

Amulets too were certainly widespread despite the ban on them, though these do not differ in kind from Jewish phylacteries which were and still are widely used. There is one reference to amulets playing a role, albeit negative, among warriors in the Maccabean period (2 Macc. 12:40). Magical incantation bowls and items of this kind from this period and later also seem to have been widespread. Magical incantations sought to prevent various calamities. Magical incantations against evil spirits were certainly a very significant part of popular religion in Graeco-Roman antiquity. Everyone believed in such spirits, and it was thought prudent to take steps to ensure one's protection. For a slight fee the local magician or scribe would write out a spell or two, often on a bowl, less frequently (so our meagre evidence indicates) on a piece of leather or metal that could be rolled up and kept in a protective case. The inscribed object would then be buried under one's house or somehow affixed at an appropriate location, perhaps near the door. Sometimes people would keep these items indoors. Texts such as the Brontologion and the Physiognomic ones represented here are almost unique from this era and milieu. This fact alone probably testifies to the somewhat limited nature of their use, but it is surprising that they existed at all among what otherwise seem to be zealous holy warriors. This shows that they must have played a role in the everyday life of the people, as indeed they did in the Roman Empire generally, and as they do today.

45. Brontologion (4Q318) (Plate 23)

(The present work in Aramaic is perhaps the most intriguing divination text found at Qumran, for it is simultaneously a brontologion, a selenedromion and, apparently, a thema mundi. Each of these terms requires some explanation. A brontologion is a text that attempts to predict the future based upon where within the heavens one hears the sound of thunder (the Greek brontos means 'thunder', hence the name). Examples of such works date back many centuries before the period of the Qumran writings. A selenedromion is a text that plots the movement of the moon (Greek selene) through the sky and makes predictions based upon those observations. This Qumran text records the movements of the moon with respect to the signs of the zodiac and combines that approach with the hearing of thunder. Thus the scheme stipulates that if the moon is in a certain sign of the zodiac (and it will be in that sign several times during the year) when one hears thunder, then a certain event of importance to the entire nation will happen.

But the text goes beyond this already interesting combination of divinatory methods in that it regards Taurus rather than Aries as the first sign of the zodiac. It is possible to ascertain this fact simply by noting the regular pattern of the text as preserved and then projecting the same pattern backwards to Nisan, the first month. What does this change in the usual order mean? The reason that Aries is listed as the first sign even in contemporary newspapers and books is that during the Hellenistic period (roughly the fourth through the first centuries BC), when astrology developed essentially into its modern (Western) form, the sun rose in Aries at the vernal equinox. By the year 125 BC, however, a Greek astronomer had discovered the phenomenon of the precession of the zodiac - that the zodiac was slowly moving in relation to the sun. This discovery indicated that over a period of some 2,100 years the sun would move from sign to sign across the zodiac. Thus it would not always rise in the sign of Aries and, long ago, it had not. From about 4500 to 2100 BC, the sun had risen in Taurus. By assigning Taurus the first place in the list of signs, this Qumrân work is advocating an astrological system based on the Creation. According to the system of Biblical chronology to which the author of this work adhered, God had created the world and the heavenlies some time during the period of Taurus' prominence. Probably he believed that the Creation occurred in the fifth millennium BC. Astrological texts that attempt to build up a sort of horoscope for the world itself are known by the term thema mundi - perhaps an appropriate term for the work at hand.)

Translation

Fragment 1 and on the 7th Sagittarius. On the eighth and the ninth Capricorn. On the tenth and the eleventh Aquarius. On the twelfth and the thirteenth and the fourteenth Pisces. On the fifteenth and the sixteenth Aries. On the seventeenth and the eighteenth Taurus. On the nineteenth, the twentieth and the twenty-first Gemini. On the twenty-second and the twenty-third Cancer. On the twenty-fourth and the twenty-fifth Leo. On the twenty-sixth, the twenty-seventh and the twenty-eighth Virgo. On the twenty-ninth, thirtieth and thirty-first Libra. Tishri On the first and second Scorpio. On the third and fourth Sagittarius. On the fifth, sixth and seventh Capricorn. On the eighth . . .

Fragment 2 Column 1 and on the thirteenth and the fourteenth Cancer. On the fifteenth and the sixteenth Leo. On the seventeenth and the eighteenth Virgo. On the ninteenth, the twentieth and the twenty-first Libra. On the twenty-second and the twenty-third Scorpio. On the twenty-fourth and the twenty-fifth Sagittarius. On the twenty sixth, the twenty-seventh and the twenty-eighth Capricorn. On the twenty-ninth and the thirtieth Aquarius. Shevat On the first and the second Pisces. On the third and the fourth Aries. On the fifth, the sixth and the seventh Taurus. On the eighth and ninth Gemini. On the tenth and eleventh Cancer. On the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth Leo. On the fifteenth and sixteenth Virgo. On the seventeenth and eighteenth Libra. On the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first Scorpio. On the twenty-second and twenty-third Sagittarius. On the twentyfourth and twenty-fifth Capricorn. On the twenty-sixth, twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth, Aquarius. On the twenty-ninth and thirtieth Pisces.

Fragment 2 Column 2 Adar On the first and the second Aries. On the third and the fourth Taurus. On the fifth, sixth and seventh Gemini. On the eighth (and) ninth Cancer. On the tenth and eleventh Leo. On the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth Virgo. On the fifteenth and sixteenth Libra. On the seventeenth (and) eighteenth Scorpio. On the nineteenth, twentieth and twentyfirst Sagittarius. On the twenty-second and twenty-third Capricorn. On the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth Aquarius. On the twenty-sixth, twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth Pisces. On the twenty-ninth, thirtieth and thirty-first Aries. If it thunders on a day when the moon is in Taurus, it signifies vain changes in the world . . . and suffering for the cities, and destruction in the royal court and in the city of destruction . . . there will be, and among the Arabs . . . famine. Nations will plunder one another . . . If it thunders on a day when the moon is in Gemini, it signifies fear and distress caused by foreigners and by . . .

46. A Physiognomic Text (4Q561)

(This text belongs to a widespread type of divination especially well known from Graeco-Roman examples. Writers infer a person's character from movements, gestures of the body, colour, facial expressions, the growth of the hair, the smoothness of the skin, the voice, idiosyncrasies of the flesh, the parts of the body, and the body as a whole. Ancient medicine in particular valued physiognomic signs. Physiognomy was more important in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance than it was in antiquity, and has not yet fully died out. The Qumran text is unfortunately so fragmentary that it is impossible to specify how many individuals it describes or whether its evaluations are ultimately positive or negative. Enough remains, however, to get some feel for the text's concerns. It is apparently related to another, previously published, Hebrew work from Qumran, 4Q 186.)

Translation

Column 1 (Fragments 1-4) . . . his . . . will be mixed and not numerous. His eyes will be intermediate between light and dark. His nose will be long and attractive and his teeth will be even. His beard will be sparse and not luxuriant. His limbs will be blotchy, partially malformed and partially thick . . . (his) elbows strong . . . broad and his thighs will be neither thin nor thick. The soles of his feet . . . tong. His foot . . . to finish . . . his shoulder . . . his spirit . . . they will be . . . narrowness . . . and will not be large . . . thick hairs

Column 2 His voice will be . . . will not be extended . . . The hair of his beard will be luxuriant . . . will be neither thick nor thin . . . And they will be small . . . His nails will be somewhat thick . . . As for his height . . .

Fragment 6 . . . be reddish . . . clear and will be round . . . the hair of his head . . .

47. An Amulet Formula Against Evil Spirits (4Q560)

(The discovery of this text among the Dead Sea Scrolls is significant not least because it is the earliest known Jewish example, antedating its closest rivals for that honour by several centuries. It is not clear whether this text was part of a larger scroll used as a kind of 'recipe book' by a scribe or magician, or whether it was wrapped up and placed in a case.)

Translation

Fragment 1 Column 1 . . . heart . . . a new mother, the punishment of those giving birth, a command of evil . . . the male poisoning demon and the female poisoning-demon is forbidden to enter the body . . . I adjure you by the Name of He who forgives sins and transgression, O fever and chills and heartburn . . .and forbidden to disturb by night in dreams or by day in sleep, the male PRK-demon and the female PRK-demon, those who breach . . .

Fragment 1 Column 2 . . . before him . . . before him and . . . and I adjure you, O spirit . . . 1 adjure you, O spirit ... upon the earth, in the clouds . . .

48. The Era Of Light Is Coming (4Q462)

(This narrative evidently takes as its starting point the prophecy given by Noah in Gen. 9:25-27: 'Cursed be Canaan; he shall be his brothers' meanest slave . . . Blessed by the Lord my God be Shem . . . May God make space for Japheth, and let him live in the tents of Shem.' Shem, of course, was understood as the ancestor of the Jews, while his brothers were regarded as the ancestors of neighbouring peoples. Noah's words, which were read as prophecy, probably relate to the Davidic period. They predict the ultimate supremacy of the Jews over their neighbours, an inspiring thought in any time of oppression.

The should be read as a kind of 'Holy History'. Beginning with prophecy, it moves on to judgement, a judgement centred, it seems, on Jerusalem. Lines 6-8, 'The Lord is the Ruler . . . to Him alone belongs the sovereignty', are noteworthy in the light of similar slogans attributed by Josephus to 'Zealot' revolutionaries who proliferated before and during the period of the uprising against Rome (66-70 AD).

As Flavius Josephus describes them, these refused to call any man 'Lord' and seem to have rallied to a cry that can be characterised by the words 'no king but God', i.e. 'God rules here, not man' (Ant 18.23). As a result, they refused to submit to the rule of distant Caesars or, for that matter, to pay the tax required of them, which, as we saw in relation to the Testament of Kohath in Chapter 5, consequently became a burning issue throughout the whole of the first century. Needless to say, they would probably not have deigned to call any Messianic leader 'Lord' either.

In this text, we find the usual imagery of 'Light' and 'Darkness', (the former now tied to the coming, obviously, of

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the Eternal 'Kingdom'), 'Glory', 'Judgement', etc. If the reconstruction is correct, the Noahic prophecy is fulfilled with Israel (Jacob) subjecting the Canaanites to forced labour, whatever may have been meant by this. The reference from Line 13 onwards to a second captivity in or by the hand of Egypt, coupled with Jerusalem's downfall, is puzzling, particularly as it seems also to relate to 'Philistines' (Palestines, that is the Semitic people who lived in and around Gaza).

Technically, the text seems aware that Egyptians were considered 'sons of Ham' and that the Philistines, though they were also reckoned as 'sons of Ham' in Gen. 10, were actually 'sons of Japhet' or 'Mycenean Greeks'. This is borne out by archaeological data. In this regard, the text does allow 'the Kittim' of Qumran usage as sons of 'Javan' (Greece) too. It is therefore possible that the history we have before us relates to the pre-Maccabean suppression of Jerusalem by Ptolemies from Egypt and Seleucid Greeks from Syria. On the other hand, we may have a veiled reference, of the kind in the War Scroll to 'the Kittim of Egypt' and 'the Kittim of Assyria', to Roman legions from Egypt and Syria at the time of siege of Jerusalem.

However these things may be, the text ends with the usual promise, certainly comforting to the nationalistically minded, that God would not forget Jerusalem and that her humiliation would be manifoldly repaid. This is directly paralleled in texts like the last columns of the Habakkuk Pesher or the Hymns of the Poor above. While envisaging the probable destruction of Jerusalem by the Kittim, Hab. xii.2-4 concludes that 'on the Day of judgement (.sic) God would destroy from off the earth all idolators (i.e. the nations) and Evil People'.)

Translation

Fragment 1 Ham and Japheth . . . to Jacob and he said . . . And he remembered . . . to give to Israel . . . Then they said . . . They went dressed in fine raiment because . . . And He gave the sons of Canaan to Jacob as slaves. In love . . . He gave it (the land) to the Many for an inheritance. The Lord is the Ruler . . . His Glory which (comes) from (the) One fills the waters and the land. . . . To Him alone belongs the Sovereignty. With Him was the Light; with them (the Angels of Darkness?) and upon us was the Darkness. . . . He will end the Era of Darkness, and the Era of Light is coming, when they (the Angels of Light?) will reign forever. Therefore, they said . . . to Israel, because He was in our midst. In the spring Jacob went down to Egypt . . . upon them, and they were put to forced labour, but they were preserved. They cried out to the Lord . .

. And behold, they were given unto Egypt a second time, at the end of the Kingdom, but they were preserved . . . And He gave the Holy City into the hand of the inhabitants of Philistia and Egypt to spoil and ruin her. They tore down her pillars . . . She (Jerusalem) exchanged (her loyalty), exalting Evil, so she will receive the pollution of her sins. . . and her defiance, so she was hated. In her beauty, her jewelry and her clothing . . . that which she did to herself. A son of the pollution of Evil . . . her hatred as she was before she was rebuilt .... But God remembered Jerusalem . . .

49. He Loved His Bodily Emissions (A Record of Sectarian Discipline - 4Q477) (Plate 24)

(This text was evidently meant to be the kind of record the Mebakker or Bishop was supposed to keep, as mentioned in the last column of the Damascus Document above, and columns in the extant text, which no doubt preceded it, concerning disciplinary actions and such like 'in the camps'. The presence of one of these records here among the corpus from Qumran not only proves such records were kept, but provides an astonishingly vivid eye-witness testimony to the life that was led in these desert communities preparing for 'the last days' or the 'time of the end'. Also impressive is the consistency of its vocabulary with what we have been witnessing throughout these texts. The mindset is fixed, the vocabulary certain, even in mundane or trivial texts and records of this kind.

Finally the allusion to loving one's 'bodily emissions' recapitulates material about mourning and sexual matters in Purity Laws Type A in Chapter 6. It is completely in accord with the Qumran ethos as we have been following it. Reuben's 'reproval' also had to do with sexual indiscretions. It is in accord with the Qumran concern not to 'mix' with such individuals, because 'the Holy Angels were with them in their camps' - again the reason for the camps themselves. The allusion to the 'Holy Angels being in the camps' is to be found, as we have noted, in both the War Scroll and the Damascus Document - the former particularly with regard to keeping such impurities from the camp 'from the time they (the Holy Ones of the Covenant) leave Jerusalem and march out to war until they return'. Anyone who thought this scenario was a figment of the imagination of these writers must now think again. The finding of such a fragment here makes it undeniably real. The allusion to 'mixing' is of course interesting as well. It recapitulates allusions of this kind already discussed in the First Letter on Works Reckoned as Righteousness. In that document, this allusion primarily relates to Gentiles and 'mixing' with them, but in the War Scroll and Damascus Document it relates to mixing with 'the sons of the Pit' as well. Of course all of these expressions relate to the 'separation' ideology we have encountered so repeatedly in these texts - 'separating pure from impure', part of the general 'Temple pollution' accusation, but also the general instructions to 'separate from the sons of the Pit' or 'the majority of the people' and 'go out into the wilderness' camps.)

Translation

Column 1 . . . the men of the . . . their soul, and to reprove . . . the camps of the Many, concerning . . . rebellion

Column 2 to . . . which . . . the Light, knowingly . . . the Many . . . Johanan ben . . . he was short-tempered . . . his name . . . And also the Spirit of radience with . . . . he . . .And Hananiah Nitos they reproved because he . . . turned aside the Spirit of the Community from the Way, and also to mix the . . . they reproved because he . . . and also because he was not . . . Furthermore, he loved his bodily emissions . . . Hananiah ben Shim. . . they reproved because . . . Furthermore, he loved . . .

50. Paean Forking Jonathan (Alexander Jannaeus - 4Q448) (Plate 25)

(This text completely disproves the Essene theory of Qumran origins at least as classically conceived. It was known for some 30 years, but once again mistranslated and misinterpreted. What is more incomprehensible, the dedication 'to King Jonathan' was missed completely. Once again, it demonstrates the need for open access to all texts and the deleterious effects of opening archives only to a small circle of people.

There were really only two King Jonathan's in the history we have before us. These were Jonathan the brother of Judas Maccabee (c. 15 5 BC), and Alexander Jannaeus (d. 76 BC), whom we have referred to in various contexts above. Since the first probably never even was 'king' in the true sense and was never addressed in this manner, we are probably in the realm of the second. We have had occasion to speak of him throughout these texts, but particularly with regard to the Priestly Courses III/Aemilius Kills text in Chapter 4.

To have a text like this Paean, introduced by a dedicatory invocation or panegyric to him - in the words of the Paean itself, a Shir Kodesh or 'Holy Song'/'Poem' - is an historical treasure of high magnitude for the study of the Scrolls. Therefore we close our work with it and its interpretation. The fact that it was buried for so long, with the consequence that much of the debate concerning the state of affairs it addresses was misguided and misinformed, cannot be considered anything but reprehensible.

The Qumran texts have to be considered pro-Maccabean, i.e. pro Alexander Jannaeus or Jonathan and not anti. It should be noted that both Maccabee Books present the celebration they seem written to commemorate, Hanukah, as a new Feast of Booths or Tabernacles in the wilderness when the Law was either first revealed or rededicated. This editor also noted Alexander Jannaeus' second wilderness sojourn thereafter, when the latter and about 6,000 of his partisans fled to 'the hills' surrounding Jerusalem to resist Demetrius. This Graeco-Seleucid King had been invited into the country by the presumable party opposing Alexander, the Pharisees (Flavius Josephus, Jewish War 1.92-5).

This invitation by the Pharisaic opponents of Alexander Jannaeus has to be considered a prototypical one for this party and the establishment Sadducees they eventually control. Later it is the Pharisee supporters of Hyrcanus II, presumably referred to disapprovingly in the text on Priestly Courses above, who sided with Pompey and the Scaurus mentioned in that text. They are also presumably involved with Herod's father Antipas, who aided the Roman troops in overwhelming Aristobulus' supporters in the Temple. Josephus comments on the awe-inspiring impression that the zeal of these supporters of Aristobulus made on the Romans as they steadfastly went about their priestly duties in the Temple even as they were being slaughtered there. He also notes that it was the Pharisaic collaborators of the Romans who killed more of these priestly partisans of Aristobulus in the Temple than the Roman troops themselves (Flavius Josephus, Jewish War 1. 148-50).

Josephus also describes two rabbis in the next generation, obviously meant to represent persons of the stature of Hillel and Shammai in Rabbinic tradition. He calls them 'Pollio and Sameas'. During the events of 37 BC, they had advised the people to 'open the gates to Herod', when the latter supported by Mark Antony returned to Jerusalem and again stormed it, finally taking control for himself and his family (Flavius Josephus, Antiquities 15.2-3). For this, Herod never stopped bestowing favours on Pollio and Sameas and their Pharisee supporters, while he had the other members of the previous Sanhedrin (i.e. the Sadducee dominated one) executed (Flavius Josephus, Antiquities 14.175-6). Contrary to popular notion, fostered by the heirs to that tradition over the first millennia, the Pharisee position they represented was not the popular one. Rather the people ignored it, as they seemed to do all such advice and typically supported the more nationalist one; so the popular position was pro-Maccabean, not vice versa, a position also exemplified in this Song of Praise to King Jonathan we have before us.

Finally, at the time of the uprising against Rome, led presumably by the kinds of forces exemplified in this literature, Josephus specifically notes that it was 'the principal men of the Pharisees, the chief priests (i.e. Herodian Sadducees), and the men of power (the Herodians and their confederates - the intermediary for whom was a mysterious individual he refers to as 'Saul'), who invited the Romans into the Jerusalem to put down the uprising, thus making the momentous events that subsequently transpired and the destruction of the Temple inevitable (Flavius Josephus, Jewish War 2.411-18). Josephus and Philo's nephew Tiberius Alexander, among others, even presided over this destruction!

There is another text at Qumran referring to these events, the Nahum Pesher from Cave 4. This text, whatever it may be interpreted to mean, was obviously written after the coming of 'the Kittim' into the country. It appears to refer to Demetrius, mentioned above, as well as 'Antiochus' (probably Epiphanes) at the time of the celebrated events of Judas Maccabee's struggle with him, noting that 'the Kittim' came after the 'Greeks'. Therefore it must have been written in the Roman period, and the conclusion would appear to be that in this text, as in the Habakkuk and Psalm 37 Peshers related to it, 'the Kittim' refer to the Romans.

In traditional theories of Qumran origins, i.e. the Essene theory and its variations, Alexander Jannaeus is often considered perhaps the most likely candidate for the role of Wicked Priest referred to in these pesharim - either him or one of his equally zealous Maccabean predecessors, like Judas, Judas' father Mattathias, his brother Jonathan, or even Alexander's son Aristobulus, who was apparently mentioned in the Aemilius text. It was the aim of Maccabees, Zadokites, Christians and Qumran to gainsay this approach. The Paean to King Jonathan now vindicates this position, and supports the opposite. Since the existence of this Paean came to light, as a result of the efforts of a young Israeli scholar, comments have been made attempting to come to grips with it, like, 'a Sadducee must have joined the Community at Qumran' or the like, mostly from persons trying to salvage the traditional Essene theory. Similar kinds of comments were made in earlier research about the War Scroll, that it was imaginary or allegorical; or about the Copper Scroll for similar reasons, that it was not a real list of the hiding places of Temple treasure. These are preposterous and completely miss the true ethos of the group we have before us.

This group is 'Sadducee', or perhaps even better (to get the nuance of the Hebrew) 'Zadokites'. These are not Sadducees like those portrayed in the New Testament or Josephus. They are of a different stripe altogether. This is also borne out by texts like the two Letters on Works Righteousness in Chapter 6, as well now as the disciplinary text preceding this Paean above. This group was actually living out in the wilderness camps.

It is possible to call this group 'Essenes', but to do so one must redefine what one means by 'Essenes' to take into account its militant, nationalist, and resistance-minded ethos, which some would call 'Zealot'. As we have been emphasising, this group cannot have been anti-Maccabean; if anything it was pro-Maccabean. The movement behind the literature at Qumran most likely commemorated the Maccabean 'camp' tradition (the 'booths' of the new Feast of Tabernacles in the wilderness). Alexander Jannaeus or other wilderness-fighting characters in the Maccabean tradition cannot have been 'the Wicked Priest'. This is a contradiction in terms, and shows a complete failure to grasp the import of the materials before us. Only an individual with Phariseeising tendencies, like his more accommodating son Hyrcanus II, discussed in some detail above, could have been referred to in such a manner. The few lines of this splendid little poem prove this proposition as nothing else can.

The poem has some interesting characteristics. First it is a poem. We have called it a 'Paean' to take into account its laudatory praise of a great figure, as well as the 'Holiness' of the address, signalled in the first dedicatory line. Secondly, it is very old. There is an apocryphal psalm on the top left of Plate 25 above it, which is in different handwriting and distinct from it. At the top of the Plate, too, to the right of this psalm is the scrawled term, again in different handwriting, 'Hallelujah' (praise the Lord). This phrase is found in later portions of the traditional Psalms, and its presence here further increases the sense of religious awe of the document.

The apocryphal psalm at the top of the document is usually referred to as Psalm 154. It is known in Syriac tradition and interestingly enough was attached to the psalms from Qumran found in Cave 11. However it is not found in the Bible. It is a panegyric, glorifying 'the Many', thoroughly in keeping with the Paean to King Jonathan attached on this parchment below it, and repelete with Qumranisms like 'Hassidim', 'Zaddikim', 'the Upright', 'the Meek', 'his soul', 'a pleasing fragrance' and anew formulation, 'the Simple', just

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encountered in the disciplinary text above. A parallel to 'the Poor', it is found in similarly important contexts in the Habakkuk and Nahum Peshers. It is also probably paralleled in the Gospels': 'these little ones' (Matt. 10:42, Mark 9:52, etc.). Whatever the role this psalm was to have played in this document, its familiar apocalyptic nationalism is completely in harmony with the ethos of Qumran and it may even have been composed there.

But it is upon the material at the bottom that our attention must focus. There the handwriting is informal and cursive, and the sense laudatory. The dedication comes in an actual nine-line poem in the margin at the right of the main body of material, set forth as Column 1 of our transcription. Each line contains two phrases, though a few contain three, and one evoking 'Israel', contains one. It appears to be complete and totally original, almost like Haiku poetry, except instead of 17 syllables, it contains 20 phrases.

This is followed by material in the lower half of Column 2 in the same hand. What we have here may have been some important collection of 'poems' or 'Holy Songs'. They may even have been sung or sent as part of a laudatory dedication to King Jonathan himself. Or they may simply have been a private copy of something someone wanted to keep. It should be observed, however, that the Community shows not reticence in addressing this Alexander as 'King'. Many coins minted in this period bear the logo, 'Jonathan the High Priest of the Jews' (Yehudim). Those bearing the logo 'King' are generally in Greek and bear his Greek name 'Alexander'. A few others bear the logo 'the King Jonathan', but reversed from this poem.

The reference in Line 3 of the first column to 'the whole Community of Your People' is interesting in that it reflects the similar terminology Qumran applies to itself, i.e. 'the Community'. So is the fact that Line 5 recognizes the Jews as a diaspora people, inhabiting 'the four winds' as it were. However, the two references in Lines 8 and 9 with which the laudatory dedication closes are perhaps most interesting. The reference to 'perfection' in Line 8, of course, recapitulates this terminology as we have been following it in this work. Strictly speaking, it is not exactly the word 'Perfect', but rather a parallel vocabulary allied to it meaning something like 'complete'.

The word Hever at the end of Line 9 is used on numerous Maccabean coins from this period, particularly those minted under Alexander Jannaeus. It derives from the Hebrew root, 'friend', or, if one prefers, 'brotherhood'. Jonathan is almost always saluted on coins using this phraseology as 'the High Priest and Head of the Brotherhood (or Council or Sanhedrin) of the Jews'. We have chosen to render this word 'Commonwealth'. Its presence in this text, coupled with fulsome praise for Alexander, accords with the coins from this period and increases the sense of the historical authenticity of the poem itself.

If the laudatory sense of the first column were not sufficiently clear, the laudatory sense of the second column, and, of course, the apocryphal poem above it, makes it even more so. It is difficult to imagine that at some point this group could have become disenchanted with King Jonathan, and the editors reject this position.

This column, as the reader can see, is more obscure, because less has survived. There is a reference to 'love', but the Translation of the word at the end of Line 2 'wine' is puzzling in the context of the rest of the extant paean. The word could also be translated 'Greece', but this too would be difficult to understand in the context we have. Without further data, little more can be said about it. The 'Commonwealth' reference in the first column is repeated in Line 6 of the second, including an adulatory reference to 'Kingdom', presumably Jonathan's. The constant reiteration of 'name', intended for the good of the monarch and a blessing is noteworthy.

In this context, the allusion in Line 2.4 to 'visit' is of interest. This is a term we have been following throughout the corpus from Qumran. We have seen it in the Messiah of Heaven and Earth text, referring to God 'visiting the Hassidim' or 'calling the Zaddikim by name'. Here, too, whether by accident or intent, we have the 'naming' signification again. The allusion to 'visiting' also occurs, as we have seen, in i.6-7 of the Damascus Document. There it relates to the evocation of the 'root of Planting out of Aaron and Israel', which God appears to have caused to grow 'to inherit His land'. In the context of CD, the notion of 'visiting' can be taken to imply this first Messianic figure with roots in both the Davidic and the priestly traditions or backgrounds, who would then be the similar figure who 'stands up', 'arises', or 'returns' at the end of the document. It could also be taken to mean the Community itself. However this may be, the occurrence of this 'visiting' terminology in this Paean to Alexander is striking.

Finally there is the important reference in 2.7 to the 'Joiners in the war' or 'joining the war'. Again the terminology is striking. It is used in a most important context in the exegesis of the Zadokite Covenant from Ezek. 44:15 in Column iv of the Cairo Damascus Document. It is possible to read the allusion in that prophecy to 'the priests, the Levites, the sons of Zadok' as a construct phrase with the sense of 'the priests who were the Bnei-Zadok Levites'. But the Damascus Document deliberately breaks this open in favour of its preferred exegesis. 'Ands' are added, so the prophecy now reads: 'the priests and the Levites and the sons of Zadok', all distinct categories, not descriptive of each other. This prepares the way for the exegesis to follow, which then identifies 'the priests' as 'the penitents of Israel who went out in the wilderness' and the 'sons of Zadok' in the well-known manner.

But the category 'the Levites' is not mentioned in the exegesis. Rather another word, our 'Joiners' (Nilvim) here evidently playing on the word 'Levites', is inserted. The interpretation then reads: 'and the joiners with them' - 'them', it will be remembered, being 'the penitents of Israel . . . in the desert'. This is the term that reappears in this Paean to King Jonathan, but it is now tied to an additional phrase, missing in the Damascus Document, namely 'the joiners in the war of or 'those joining in the war of'. 'In the war of is a significant addition, evoking at once the war-like ethos of this group and that war Jonathan seems to have been involved in against Demetrius, mentioned in the Nahum Pesher. As it turns out, a variation of this terminology also appears in the Nahum Pesher, i.e. the verbal usage 'join'. There it is attached to the 'Simple' notation just encountered, and linguistically linked to the expression ger-nilveh ('resident alien') - another variation of this usage - in the underlying text. The word 'Nilvim' actually appears in Esther 9:27, where it is used to refer to 'Gentiles' connecting themselves in some manner to the Jewish Community - therefore the sense of 'join'/ 'joining', which plays on the word 'Levites' in the Damascus Document. In this, it may even refer to some 'associated', albeit lesser, status, i.e. a cadre of God-fearing Gentiles associated with the Community. However this may be, the presence of this allusion in this Paean to King Jonathan, the nationalist sentiments of which are patent, with the additional evocation of being connected to war, is of no mean import.)

Translation

Column 1 A sacred poem for King Jonathan and all the Congregation of Your people Israel, who are (spread) in every direction under Heaven, may they all be well, Perfect before You, and a Commonwealth in Your Name

Column 2 In Your love do I exalt . . . in the day and in the evening, from wine (also possibly 'Greece') . . . to draw near so as to be . . . Visit them for a blessing, to . . . upon Your Name which is proclaimed . . . a Kingdom for Your Commonwealth . . . the joiners in the war/joining the war of . . . Your Name for a memorial . . .

SUPPLEMENT

THE LETTERS OF SIMON BAR KOKHBA

The letters of Shimon ben Kosiba
Found in a cave at the Dead Sea
Translation: Yigael Yadin, 1960
Estimated Range of Dating: 132–136 A.D.

(These letters demonstrate how much attention Simon bar Kokhba paid to religious matters. In the last letter shown here, he provides for the supply of the "four species" for his entire army. The Citron and the palm fronds, myrtles, and willows are an essential part of the holiday of Sukkot. So he sends two men and two donkey to collect these things and transport them over a long distance. The composition of the letters is perfect which shows the writers high grade of education. His language is clear and sharp, but also very authoritarian and intimidating. He does not tolerate any disloyalty, from an individual or, particularly, when groups are involved. He demands instant obedience to his orders and makes all aware of the interdependence of loyalty and rewards and penalties. The penalties he imposes for harming the trees [as they were the livelihood of the Jewish communities] goes far beyond the requirements of the Mishna [the Jewish equivalent and partly even the origin of the Islamic Sharia]. The following letters reveal his mindset with enviable clarity.)

Letter 1: On the twenty-eighth of Marheshvan, the third year of Shimon bar Kosiba, President of Israel; at En-Gedi. Of their own free will, on this day, do Eliazar bar Eliazar of Hitta and Eliezer bar Shmuel, both of En-Gedi, and Tehina bar Shimon ans Alma bar Yehuda, both of Luhit in the coastal district of Agaltain, now residents of En-Gedi, wish to divide up amongst themselves the places that they have released from Yehonatan bar Mahanayim, the administrator of Shimon ben Kosiba, President of Israel, at En-Gedi. [A description of the land and the division follows]. . . . All is done and agreed on condition that the above four people will pay the dues of the lease of these places which they leased from Yehonatan bar Mahanayim as follows [specifications of the payments.] (Yadin, p. 176)

Letter 2: Shimon bar Kosiba to Yehonatan and to Masbala. . . . "Let all men from Tekoa and other places who are with you be sent to me without delay. And if you shall not send them, let it be known to you that you will be punished.] (Yadin, p. 126)

Letter 3: Letter of Shimon bar Kosiba, peace! To Yehonatan son of Beaya [my order is] that whatever Elisha tells you, do for him and help him in every action. Be well. (Yadin, p. 126)

Letter 4: From Shimon bar Kosiba to the men of En-Gedi, to Masbala and to Yohanatan bar Beayan, peace. You sit in comfort, eating and drinking from the property of the House of Israel, and care nothing for you brothers. (Yadin, p. 133)

Letter 5: Shimon bar Kosiba to Yehonatan bar Beayan and to Masbala bar Shimon: [My order is] that you will send me Eleazar bar Hitta immediately, before the Sabbath. . . . [His wheat and fruit should be confiscated] and if anyone oppose you, send him to me and I shall punish him. . . . See that the herds do not trample and destroy the trees or else--a severe punishment . . . and for the spice orchard, let no one get anywhere near it." (Yadin, p. 128)

Letter 6: Shimon to Yehuda bar Menashe at Kiryat Aravaya: "I have sent you two donkeys that you shall send with them two men to Yehonatan bar Beayan and to Masbala in order that they shall pack and send to the camp, toward you, palm branches and citrons. And you, from your place, send others who will bring you myrtles and willows. See that they are properly tithed [taxed for the clergy] and send them to the camp. [The request is made] since the army is large. Be well." (Yadin, p. 129)

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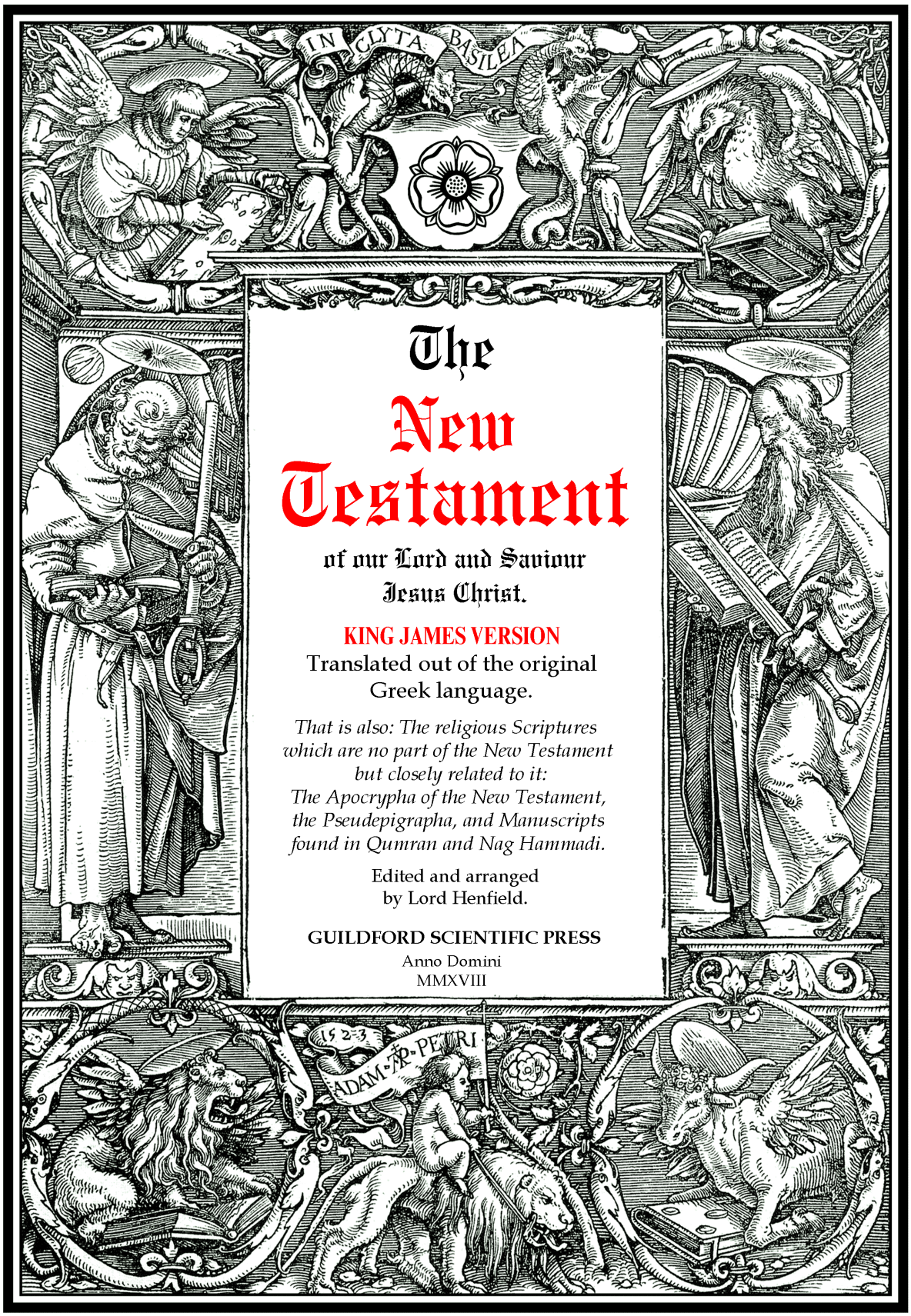

The New Testament

of our Lord and Saviour
Jesus Christ.

KING JAMES VERSION

Translated out of the original
Greek language.

That is also: The religious Scriptures
which are no part of the New Testament
but closely related to it:
The Apocrypha of the New Testament,
the Pseudepigrapha, and Manuscripts
found in Qumran and Nag Hammadi.

Edited and arranged
by Lord Henfield.

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INTRODUCTION

(The New Testament is about a character that is known as 'Jesus Christ', 'Jesus of Nazareth', or, according to most original Greek texts 'Jesus the Nazorean' (meaning: "Keeper of Moses' Law"). The character of Jesus is based on a collection of texts which are called The New Testament. The New Testament is the centre piece of sacred Christian scripture.

The history, or better historicity, of Christianity and Jesus in shrouded in obscurity. There are not many records that exist outside the Christian communities. This brings some people to the supposition that Jesus never existed. All evidence indicate that Christianity, as we know it, is a Roman invention. With the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947 and the codices of the Nag Hammadi Library in 1945, there are indications that Jesus existed. However, Jesus, his biography, his teachings, his history, was propably very different from that what we know as official Church doctrine.

It is very important what records of ancient historians say, but it is equally important what they fail to say! Christian officials claim that Jesus lived between around 4 BC and 33 AD. The fact that Philo of Alexandria, one of the most diligent writers on matters of Judaism and the Holy land, did not record anything about either Jesus or a movement that could be identified as Christian leaves us with at least four possibilities: (1st) Jesus did not exist; (2nd) Jesus was not regarded as important in any way; (3rd) Jesus was active after the time of Philo (who died between 40 and 50 AD); and (4th) The Roman 'Propaganda Minister' deliberately destroyed all records that refered to Jesus, which was a common practice of Roman authorities at that time.

Although we have no archaeological or historical evidence, the scriptures of the New Testament as well as "The Jewish War", published by Titus Flavius Josephus in about 75 AD, could suggest that we might set the activities of Jesus around 1 or 2 decades later than previously believed.

When we examine the actual history of Jesus and Christianity, many of the answers provided by the Church and Christian scholars do not hold up to rigorous scrutiny. They actually leave us with more questions than we had before. Here are the most important ones:

- *Who was Jesus?*
- *Was he a historical character?*
- *Who wrote the Gospels?*
- *Why are the gospels written in Greek?*
- *Why did the gospels have a pro-Roman perspective?*
- *Why have the Romans approved of Christianity in the first place?*
- *Why was Christianity head-quartered in Rome?*
- *What did Jesus do in the 20 years between his adolescence and his ministry?*
- *Why did Judas Iscariot hand Jesus over?*
- *Who was "Judas Iscariot"?*
- *What does this name really mean?*
- *Did Jesus die from crucifixion?*
- *Why could Mary of Magdala take care of his dead body?*
- *Why has the Pauline Church written Jesus' family out of history?*
- *Who was John the Baptist?*
- *Why was not Peter but James the first leader of the Christian Movement?*
- *Why are the first Christian saints from the Flavian family?*
- *Who was the first historical Pope of Rome?*
- *Who really was Titus Flavius Josephus?*
- *Why are so many names in the Gospels dualistic?*
- *Why does Jesus look like the god Mithras?*
- *Why are Maria & Christ so similar to Maia & Krishna?*
- *Why do the teachings of Jesus have a Buddhist touch?*
- *Who persecuted whom?*

We shall present a comparison of Church doctrine with facts that have been found during the last decades. We will show you a little glossary with short explanatory entries.

Although we know that the gospels are just literature and not history, the person who first created 'the sayings and teachings of Jesus' must have had the qualities of a great philospher. No matter whether Jesus ever existed or not, our findings show that either the imagined idea of Jesus or the real Jesus could have been an admirable character.

"Jesus said: The mote which is in thy brother's eye, thou seest; but the beam which is in thine eye, thou seest not. When thou dost cast out the beam from thine own eye, then wilt thou see to cast out the mote from thy brother's eye." --The Gospel of Didymus Judas Thomas, 26).

THE STRUCTURE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

The literature used in the canon of the New Testament can be divided into five distinct groups, plus a sixth group of texts outside of it:

***1st: the Pauline literature**, of which 7 letters are considered genuine and are the oldest texts (50-60 AD) of the New Testament. They were supposedly written by the Roman citizen Saul of Tarsos, better known as "Paul the Apostle," although he did not know the real Jesus in person nor was he an official disciple or apostle of the community that evolved around Jesus and his original teachings;*

***2nd: the Gospel of Matthew and the Gospel of Mark** (67-75 AD) are the oldest gospels. Matthew is the only gospel written by an author from the Holy Land for his geographic ethnic and other descriptions are exact. The Jewish viewpoints in the text suggest that the author was a Pharisee and there is a high likelyhood that the name Matthew (in Aramaic Matityahu) points to Yosef bar Matityahu as author, better known as Titus Flavius Josephus, the adopted son of Titus Flavius Vespasianus, and chief propagandist of the Flavian Court. There are too many parallels between the Gospel of Matthew and Josephus' "Jewish War" to be ignored; Mark was written by a Roman citizen who never lived in the Holy Land.*

***3rd: the Gospel of Luke and the Book of Acts** making up a two-volume work (100-130 AD) which scholars call "Luke–Acts" (together they account for almost 28% of the New Testament canon, the largest contribution attributed to a single author);*

***4th: the Johannine literature** (80-100 AD) is attributed to John the Apostle but probably not written by him. These are the Gospel of John and Johns letters. Some scholars still include the Book of Revelation of John although it was not written by the same author;*

***5th: All other works** that had entered the canon mainly due to the wish to give the canon an aura of legitimacy. This goal could only be achieved by taking texts (with almost empty platitudes) that could be attributed to Jesus' true disciples, such as Peter, James (an older brother of Jesus), Jude (a younger brother of Jesus). The Pauline Church always was very particular in not mentioning the true identity of those contributors and to downplay their significance in the first Jesus Movements. Those original disciples and family members of Jesus who remained Jews for the rest of their lives, became an embarrassment for Paul's fantasy products and therefore stood in his way. No surpise here that Paul mentioned them in a patronising manner.*

***6th: All non-canonical works** that are related to Jesus or any kind of faith that could be called "Christian", such as the New Testament Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Nag Hammadi texts, Gnostic texts, Mandaean texts from Persia, and to some extent even Manichaean texts from Persia, as well as some Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran.*

The New Testament canon as we know it today has not always been like it. The first attempt to arrange a Bible canon was made by Marcion of Sinope (Greek: Markion Sinopis), a wealthy Greek ship magnate from the City of Sinope (in today's Turkey) has been selected in order to support the visions of Saul of Tarsos, better known as "Paul the Apostle. Paul was the creator of that what we could call the "Roman Christianity", the form of Christianity that has survived and is nowadays perceived as the "mainstream Christianity".

Life and work of the real and historical Jesus is not well reflected in these texts quite simply because the original Christian Movement around Jesus, his brothers James, Simon, Judas (Jude) Joses (Joseph), his companion Maria of Magdala, and his original disciples, have been wiped out during the fateful events in the First Roman Jewish War (66-73 AD).

Their view and teachings seem to be in parts more truthfully reflected by the non-canonical works known as the "Dead Sea Scrolls" from Qumran, and in works written by Ebionites, Nazarenes, Nazoreans, and the Gnostics. This is the reasons why we present all available texts of these movements here as well.

Pauline Literature

The Pauline epistles are the 14 New Testament books which most Christians think were written by the Apostle Paul. Some of them are the earliest Christian documents. They show many of the beliefs and controversies of Christianity. Many Christians think these letters are very important for theology and ethics. In the order they appear in the New Testament, the Pauline epistles are: Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 Thessalonians, 2 Thessalonians, 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, Hebrews.

In all of these epistles except the Epistle to the Hebrews, the author does claim to be Paul. However, the contested letters may have been written using Paul's name, as it was common to attribute at that point in history. Seven letters (with consensus dates) considered genuine by most scholars: 1 Thessalonians (c. 50 AD), Galatians (c. 53), 1 Corinthians (c. 53–54), Philippians (c. 55), Philemon (c. 55), 2 Corinthians (c. 55–56), Romans (c. 57).

The letters on which scholars are about evenly divided: Colossians (c. 62), 2 Thessalonians (c. 49–51).

The letters thought to be pseudepigraphic by almost all scholars (traditional dating given): Ephesians (c. 62), 1 Timothy (c. 62–64),

2 Timothy (c. 62–64), Titus (c. 62–64), Hebrews.

Lost Pauline epistles that have not been mentioned in the other Pauline letters: A first epistle to Corinth (1 Corinthians 5:9), A third epistle to Corinth, also called the Severe Letter (2 Corinthians 2:4; 7:8–9), An earlier epistle to the Ephesians (Ephesians 3:3–4), The Epistle to the Laodiceans, (Colossians 4:16)

Luke–Acts

Acts and the Gospel of Luke make up a two-part work, Luke–Acts, by the same anonymous author, usually dated to around 80–90 AD. The first part, the Gospel of Luke, tells how God fulfilled his plan for the world's salvation through the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth, the promised Messiah. Acts continues the story of Christianity in the 1st century, beginning with Jesus's ascension to Heaven. The early chapters, set in Jerusalem, describe the Day of Pentecost (the coming of the Holy Spirit) and the growth of the church in Jerusalem. Initially, the Jews are receptive to the Christian message, but later they turn against the followers of Jesus. Rejected by the Jews, the message is taken to the Gentiles under the guidance of the Apostle Peter. The later chapters tell of Paul's conversion, his mission in Asia Minor and the Aegean, and finally his imprisonment in Rome, where, as the book ends, he awaits trial.

Luke–Acts is an attempt to answer a theological problem, namely how the Messiah of the Jews came to have an overwhelmingly non-Jewish church; the answer it provides is that the message of Christ was sent to the Gentiles because the Jews rejected it. Luke–Acts can also be seen as a defense of (or "apology" for) the Jesus movement addressed to the Jews: the bulk of the speeches and sermons in Acts are addressed to Jewish audiences, with the Romans serving as external arbiters on disputes concerning Jewish customs and law. On the one hand, Luke portrays the followers of Jesus as a sect of the Jews, and therefore entitled to legal protection as a recognised religion; on the other, Luke seems unclear as to the future God intends for Jews and Christians, celebrating the Jewishness of Jesus and his immediate followers while also stressing how the Jews had rejected God's promised Messiah.

The Gospel of Luke and Acts make up a two-volume work which scholars call Luke–Acts. Together they account for 27.5% of the New Testament, the largest contribution attributed to a single author, providing the framework for both the Church's liturgical calendar and the historical outline into which later generations have fitted their idea of the story of Jesus and the early church. The author is not named in either volume. According to Church tradition dating from the 2nd century, he was the "Luke" named as a companion of the apostle Paul in three of the letters attributed to Paul himself; this view is still sometimes advanced, but "a critical consensus emphasizes the countless contradictions between the account in Acts and the authentic Pauline letters." (An example can be seen by comparing Acts's accounts of Paul's conversion (Acts 9:1–31, 22:6–21, and 26:9–23) with Paul's own statement that he remained unknown to Christians in Judea after that event (Galatians 1:17–24).) The author "is an admirer of Paul, but does not share Paul's own view of himself as an apostle; his own theology is considerably different from Paul's on key points and does not represent Paul's own views accurately." He was educated, a man of means, probably urban, and someone who respected manual work, although not a worker himself; this is significant, because more high-brow writers of the time looked down on the artisans and small business people who made up the early church of Paul and were presumably Luke's audience.

While no proposed date for the composition of Acts is universally accepted, the most common scholarly position is to date Luke–Acts to 80–90 AD, on the grounds that it uses Mark as a source, looks back on the destruction of Jerusalem, and does not show any awareness of the letters of Paul (which began circulating late in the first century). The earliest possible date for the composition of Acts is set by the events with which it ends, Paul's imprisonment in Rome c. 63 AD, but such an early dating is a minority position. The last possible date would be set by its first definite citation by another author, but there is no unanimity on this; some scholars find echoes of Acts in a work from c. 95 AD called I Clement, while others see no indisputable citation until the middle of the 2nd century. A minority of scholars, necessarily in the latter camp, conclude that Acts dates to the 2nd century, believing that it shows awareness of the letters of Paul, the works of Titus Flavius Josephus, or the writings of Marcion of Sinope.

Johannine Literature

Johannine literature refers to the collection of New Testament works that are traditionally attributed to John the Apostle or to Johannine Christian community. Johannine literature is traditionally considered to include the following works:

- *The Gospel of John*
- *The Johannine epistles:*
  - *1 The First Epistle of John*
  - *2 The Second Epistle of John*
  - *3 The Third Epistle of John*
- *The Book of Revelation*

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Of these five books, the only one that explicitly identifies its author as a "John" is the Book of Revelation. Modern scholarship generally rejects the idea that this work is written by the same author as the other four documents. The gospel identifies its author as the Beloved Disciple. Since the end of the first century, the Beloved Disciple has been commonly identified with John the Evangelist. Scholars have debated the authorship of Johannine literature (the Gospel of John, Epistles of John, and the Book of Revelation) since at least the third century, but especially since the Enlightenment. The authorship by John the Apostle is rejected by many modern scholars.

The Gospels

The most important writings are originally not the gospels but the epistles of Saul of Tarsos (Paul the Apostle). The gospels appeared long after Saul's texts. However, the gospels got a significant function as Christian writers and teachers often present the Good News set within the context of the storyline of the whole Bible. This discipline, of understanding the Christian message in terms of biblical salvation history, is known as biblical theology. This attempts to posit a connexion between Old Testament and the Christian teachings of the good news about the life, death and resurrection of Jesus.

In Christian tradition, the authors attributed with the creation of the four gospels in the New Testament bear the following titles: Gospel according to Matthew; Gospel according to Mark; Gospel according to Luke and Gospel according to John. The phrase "according to" already suggest that these gospels were not directly written by the hands of the Four Evangelists Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, but were "re-narrations" writtem down by other persons.

The 3 gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke are known as the "Synoptic Gospels" (syn optic = similar look), because they include many of the same stories, often in the same sequence. The early Roman Church build up the myth that the authors were two of the Twelve Apostles of Jesus, John and Matthew, as well as two "apostolic men," Mark and Luke:

• Matthew – a former tax collector who was called by Jesus to be one of the Twelve Apostles,

• Mark – a follower of Peter and so an "apostolic man,"

• Luke – a doctor who wrote what is now the book of Luke to Theophilus. Also known to have written the book of Acts (or Acts of the Apostles) and to have been a close friend of Paul of Tarsos,

• John – a disciple of Jesus and the youngest of his Twelve Apostles.

They are called evangelists, a word meaning "people who proclaim good news," because their books aim to tell the "good news" ("gospel" = "good spel") of Jesus. Evangelist comes from the Greek word "Evangelion" refering to "good news" or "gospel" in Christianity.

PAULINE CHRISTIANITY VERSUS THE ORIGINAL CHRISTIANITY REPRESENTED BY JAMES THE JUST, THE BROTHER OF JESUS

When we browse through the texts of the New Testament, there is not much historical evidence to get on with. The core of the New Testament, if we want to get down to the real background, is not represented by the four gospels but undoubtedly by the "Pauline Letters" written by a Greek- and Aramaic-speaking Roman citizen known as Saul of Tarsos. Christians know this man better as "Paul the Apostle". On his way to Damascus, he claimed that he had a "vision of Jesus". In modern terms, we would say that 'he had an idea' how to employ his invented Jesus-character in order to create a new faith, and he wrote about this vision in such a lively and sophisticated manner that Shakespeare could not have performed this task any better. In Luke's Book of Acts 9:3-9 we read: ". . . 3 And as he journeyed, he came near Damascus: and suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven: 4 And he fell to the earth, and heard a voice saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? 5 And he said, Who art thou, Lord? And the Lord said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest: it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks. 6 And he trembling and astonished said, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? And the Lord said unto him, Arise, and go into the city, and it shall be told thee what thou must do. 7 And the men which journeyed with him stood speechless, hearing a voice, but seeing no man. 8 And Saul arose from the earth; and when his eyes were opened, he saw no man: but they led him by the hand, and brought him into Damascus. 9 And he was three days without sight, and neither did eat nor drink."

As there are no Roman records about these events and the involved persons. We totally have to rely on sources which are available. The most important sources are (1st) the records of Titus Flavius Josephus, (2nd) the non-canonical texts by writers who did not follow Roman mainstream Christianity, and (3rd) the Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran which are the only historical text that have not been changed or tampered with by any editorial commitee. The Qumran texts speak of religious matters as Jesus probably would have seen them. The following interview with Robert Eisenman, one of the translators of the Dead Sea Scrolls, could give us an image of historical events that might be controversial but nonetheless contain a logical viewpoint on the history of Jesus and James'es first Christian movement. We will display now transcripts of 3 video documentaries that bring the matter to the point much denser and shorter than any book can do.

ROBERT EISENMAN:
THE JAMES OSSUARY INTERVIEW

(Video Transcript: Lord Henfield. This Interview, produced and held by Simcha Jacobovici (speak: Simka Yakobovich) with Prof. Robert Eisenman [in around 2004], is discussing the James ossuary and in particular James and Jesus, and the Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran and Saul of Tarsos, better known as Paul the Apostle. The Ossuary bears the Aramaic inscription: Yakob bar Yosef akhui di Yeshua [Translation: Yakob son of Yosef, brother of Yeshua]. Aramaic was the language of Jesus and the entire Middle East, from Egypt to India, and up the Silk Road to the capital of China. Some ambiguous words in this transcript have been changed, such as Judaea or Holy Land for Israel or Palestine. Clarifications are given in square brackets.)

Robert Eisenman: . . . . and the leader was James not Peter. Peter was overseas traveler but James was the big honcho that he had to report back to. So he describes meeting him there and then he describes a debate on the temple steps where the priests and the scribes are debating the James group on the steps. And there's a riot. And all of a sudden into this riot bursts for who's called an "angry man" - and is clearly meant to be Paul in his time when he's serving the Roman authorities - and he runs into this debate just when James is about to win, picks up a flagon from the altar and and and beats James with a club and throws him down the stairs and leaves him for dead and there's a huge Mela. And about 30 people are dead but James isn't dead. This this is the kind of detail this novel has. It carries him out of he temple to a house in Jerusalem, which is also good detail, then it takes them down to Jericho outside, and then the the enemy, as he's called, gets letters from the high priest to pursue the Christians to Damascus that's the thing in Acts. That's where Acts picks up. So this is Paul, and he comes through Jericho on the way to Damascus and he misses them and they have carried James down there because he is the leader of the whole community. They are out of somewhere outside of Jericho. Guess where they are: Near Qumran! So that's the that's the thing of James attacking Paul.

Simcha Jacobovici: So you are using the historical . . .

Eisenman: This is so detailed how what is it what are they doing? That it is so rich in detail.

Jacobovici: So then, is the ossuary the real thing?

Eisenman: No it's not the "real thing". It is a very questionable thing. It is a very worrisome and highly suspicious [thing]. Many aspects to it are challenged credulity.

Jacobovici: Why?

Eisenman: Why? Well, there is a whole list of things. First, there's no secure provenance. Second, there's no secure chain of custody. Third, it comes willy-nilly out of nowhere, suddenly appears on the scene just when James is being talked about.

You know, for the last five years there have been a series of books on James, primarily, including my own which is a thousand-page penguin "James the brother of Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls", and these books have been widely circulated. And in these books one of the things that said is perhaps the best proof that of Jesus existence were the fact that he had a brother James. Three or four years after statements like this are being widely read here pops the sarcophagus. That is the first thing that put my hackles up to worry about. It is the miraculous sudden appearance of this.

The next thing that is worrisome about this box is the phrase THE BROTHER OF JESUS. Nobody at that time would have thought to put the "Brother of Jesus" on an ossuary, not in the first century. Later perhaps, after Christianity and its documents had time to dig in. The point was, James was rarely called this. James was famous in his own time. James was an overarching figure in Jerusalem known as "The Just One". People used to walk up to James and touch his clothes as as a holy man when he walked through these streets. He was probably a leader of a movement like the Essenes, if not the Essenes. Anyway, he was a Zadik [more correct: Zaddik], a Zadik who everyone admired and knew about. Therefore, if you had an ossuary in his name, you would not have to identify him as "Brother of Jesus". He would be known in his own right [meaning, he would have borne only the name of his father as it was custom e.g. Ya'akov bar Yosef (Jacob son of Joseph) without the extension "akhui di Yeshua" (brother of Jesus)]. It's like, the person who added "Brother of Jesus" wants us to know which James it was. So a later generation or even someone in our own time, that's what I have said. Generally, that is too pointed, it is too perfect, it is like, "Oh, hello 20th century, do you want to who this is? It's the brother of Jesus, you know?" And someone has written it out there. That is a second problem.

But I would even worry about a third problem: the James the son of Joseph, Jacob the son of Joseph, the first part. Now, that's not to say, the are two problems with the inscription itself. Now we have professional palaeographers supposedly looking at this. Look, I want to tell you, even an amateur could see that there are two hands there and that the two parts of the inscriptions don't match. One [the Aramaic on the right half] is deeply incised in a formal style. When I saw it in the museum, I was staggered because the pictures don't do it justice. The pictures looks like they have been sort of enhanced because you can hardly read. The second part, because it's so dim and it's done with such a clumsy tool. The first part just jumps right out and it's not just because it's been cleaned. It has been done with a different more precise tool. It is a formal hand. The second part [left of the first half as Aramaic is written from right to left] is clearly added by a second hand with a different instrument even. It is not as deeply incised. It is more clumsily. It is like a more complete instrument. Now, an amateur photographer could tell you that. But the public is cowed. The public defers to these specialists and is unwilling to use its own judgement. So there are two parts to this inscription. I have dealt with the second part a little bit.

The first part is worrisome for the following reasons. There may be two or three hundred people called "Jacob* the son of Joseph" in the area of Jerusalem at this time [* meaning James. James is the English corrupted form of the original name Jacob or Yakov.]. I would not even want to estimate how many there might be. There may be two or three hundred people in the Jerusalem's environs at this time called Jacob the son of Joseph. But the problem with this particular inscription is that it is too clean, it is too new. There are rosettes in the back of the of the ossuary that are rubbed out. Where is the, where from nature where is . . . -- forget the patina argument. People have said on patina that it can be faked. I've heard from a lot of Antiquities people that this is normal practice and then in the unfortunate market of unreliable antiquities that this is happening in a widespread way. But any case, put the patina argument aside. -- Where is the natural wear and tear on that particular inscription that you see for instance on the rosettes on the other side and the inscription on the left?

Now the final part of that chain is "James the son of Joseph", which is worrisome. No ancient sources really call James "the son of Joseph". In fact, they try to make a point that Joseph isn't the father that is not only not the father of James he's not even the father of Jesus. God is supposed to be the father of Jesus. And I've always thought that the term Joseph was a symbolic term going back to who Jesus's tribal father was that is Joshua's [Yehoshua from the Old Testament, which is the same as Jesus' original name] tribal father - as you probably know - was the tribe of apartment yet Joshua's tribal father was the tribe of Joseph it's Joshua son of Joseph. Also in Jewish culture we have two messiahs: the Messiah Ben David and the Messiah Ben Joseph and this seems to fit in with those kinds of alusions.

In the actual text we hear that James is the son of Clophas and Mary or someone called Cleopas and Mary. Another document in the Gospels calls him "James the son of Alphaeus", a corruption of Cleophas So we have lots of names who James may have been the son of. This Cleophas character, you see, is how the Gospel of John uses this character to develop the idea that James is not really a brother of Jesus but it's first cousin. Because in the Gospel of John it says "Mary the wife of Clopas" and her sons James, Joses, Simon, and so on, the four sons and the daughter Salome. So normally, in the tradition, James is considered the son of the uncle Cleophas / Alphaeus, unless Clophas and Alphaeus are Joseph. So even the Joseph part, from a specialist, who I consider myself to be, and honestly, the people were talking about may be specialists in palaeography or patina, but they are not specialists in history and text, and they don't know these traditions. those are the many reasons why I worry about this inscription. . . .

Jacobovici: I am not a scholar on this matter but I thought there were two Jameses. There was a Clophas and he was a carpenter. It seems to be a cousin. There's a bunch of Jameses.

Eisenman: Cleopas is supposed to be the brother of Joseph.

Jacobovici: . . . of Joseph. So, that has not preclude the idea that Joseph also had a son named Yakov.

Eisenman: Well, let's not get too Byzantine [strict] about this. I mean, we get multiplication of Mary's, a multiplication

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of James's, a multiplication of John's, and the main reason for that is, as the doctrine of the supernatural Christ went forward into the second century: brothers became cousins, fathers became uncles, mothers even turned into their own sister. In the Gospel of John we get Mary the sister of Mary which is a tautologistic impossibility but that's how it is. But [the Gospel of] John has the character Mary, the mother of the sister of the mother of God. So Mary is not even the mother of God in John because John is pushing the family away from from Jesus, as the supernatural Christ, and the perpetual virginity of Mary came into being. So I wouldn't worry about this multiplication of like-named persons.

Jacobovici: If I sort through all that, was Jesus a historical figure?

Eisenman: Jesus is a historical figure insofar as his brother is a historical figure. It isn't the question whether Jesus has brothers, there for sure. It's the question whether the brothers have a Jesus. And what I meant by that is Jesus is historical but the documents about him may not be reliable.

The problem is the documents about him are so beloved, so much part of our culture that people have a knee-jerk reaction to them "oh Jesus son of Joseph and Mary", all these are like shibboleths [conventional] platitudes of our society. The point is that there certainly was a Jesus but what we know about him is very dim and indistinct, and those documents were written a good deal further long in time and often retrospectively, and with an agenda: They were written primarily from a Pauline-Gentile Christian point of view to make the Jesus figure, as it is typical in Hellenistic writing, the writers claim the figure the way Plato claims Socrates, make the Jesus figure more or less a mouthpiece for their a position. So I don't accept the narrative picture of Jesus. I do think that the picture of James would be very much like what Jesus would have been.

Jacobovici: So in a way to get to the historical Jesus you have to get to him through James?

Eisenman: Here we go. Once you have stalled to solve the problem of the historical James, you have willy nilly, you have got to the end of my book. Solve the historical Jesus. The last sentence in my book read: "Who whatever James was, so was Jesus because these two brothers were obviously very close, one succeeded the other, the other died much much earlier, the facts about him have been overwritten by all kinds of theological and other Gnostic tendencies over several centuries until we finally get the potpourri in the final form we call the Gospels. These Gospels develop in the form we know them over two or three centuries. There may be early parts to them, but they're much later parts too. So that is retrospective running. It is sort of like going to Hollywood and come to the scriptwriter, "now you write the script here are the basic details from that perspective." So one writer will write it from that perspective, another writer will write it from this perspective. I would, if I were the writer, I would be writing it from the Jamesian perspective: that gospel has not been written yet.

Oh, let me throw one more thing on that. This is a really important point you might be able to get some use out of it, that is because I want to pop it in: Those of us who know how important James was and what an overarching figure he was, he was the Zadik [the Righteous One] of his generation everyone deferred to him. For All parties he was like the "Ayatollah of his period". I would say, I should like to call him that, the Leading Authoritative Figure of his period. I don't think he was that violent. he was called "The Righteous", so I don't think he was an unjust man, but that's the statuary would have had among all the opponent groups. They circulated around him. . . . . The best proof of Jesus' existence is the fact of a brother James. We should be looking at James. James is the key person in this time and place.

Jacobovici: Why do you think Jesus is overlaid with all kind of stuff in scripture writing? Why do you think James is more accessible?

Eisenman: Because nobody cared about James. Nobody cared to overlay him with anything. He was like shunted aside, marginalised. He was the head of the movement in the Holy Land [Judaea and Galilee] while the Paul-Peter axis took over the movement overseas [meaning Greeks and Romans]. We know, after the disappearance of the Jerusalem centre in the in the war in 66 to 70 [AD] of ending in Masada in 73 [AD], there was no more Jerusalem centre of revolutionary activity. I mean, all of these groups I would call "Messianists" at this point. They are not Christians yet.

Paul says in book of Acts quoted "that Christians were first called Christians in Antioch" [Edessa] in Syria. That is northern Syria in 55 AD. So, it was overseas they got the name "Christians". In Judaea at this time, they were never called "Christians". What were they called? Well, in my work, we think, they were called "Essenes", "Zealots", some early Christian works said that the Zealots and Essenes were combined. They were Essenes. They were Zealot-Essenes and there were Sicarii-Essenes. Sicarii-Essenes, would be the most extreme a terrorist Essenes. Most people think of Essenes as little pietistic people, praying and doing nothing else. No no, there were very aggressive Essenes as the Dead Sea Scrolls show. And these terrorist Esscenes were perhaps the worst group. I think, James was the Zadik for all these groups sort of like the "grandfather of the mountain" for all these groups around, which all these groups revolve but they were all opposed to Roman power in the Holy Land. That's why they were all liquidated [put to death].

Jacobovici: The term Zealot, some people argue, is a much later term . . .

Eisenman: Josephus does not use the term right away, he calls it the Fourth Movement in his work. These are very specialised questions, but by the time of the takeover of the temple, he's calling one group among them Zealots. The actual group, probably James group, because this is the group that actually killed the high priest that is responsible for the death of our James. And you see in a sequentialty there. You know, like-minded groups have like enemies. The group that occupied the centre part of The Temple under Eleazar in the 60s, Josephus starts to call them Zealots. Earlier he called them many other names, but Zealot he is using that, and he also is using Sicarii from the 50s and the Sicarii are the ones who take over Masada. We consider them Zealots but they are actually Sicarii, a more extreme group of zealots. But it is all part of the same tree. But these Zealots in Jerusalem in the middle of the war who are occupying the temple there are three different parties all fighting with each other [in a civil war alongside with the war against the Romans] but these are occupying the temple they are the ones with the help of these violent Gentiles, the Idumaeans [Arabs], as they are called, rampage through through the city kill all the high priests which shows it's an anti-priestly uprising including the one responsible for the death of James, Ananias ben Ananias, who, I think, that they actually, Josephus says, they desecrated his body and threw it out of the of the of the walls without clothes naked for as food for jackals. They did not have a great high affection for him, and I think they actually urinated on his body and things like that before they threw it out in the city this was the desecration and probably cut off a few sexual parts in the process. And this is part of what the viciousness they felt towards this person, the killer of James. It was a tough time.

Jacobovici: Were there any Christian's described?

Eisenman: Christians? There were no Christians in Judaea [the Holy Land] at this time. I thought that I just made that point. Christians are something of an overseas movement. It develops in northern Syria, in Egypt, in Asia Minor. Christians don't exist in Judaea before the fall of the Temple. These are parties [in the Holy Land], are extreme Jewish parties. Do you want to call the Dead Sea Scrolls Christian? They are not Christian. But we have to speak about them. people say, "Oh, Eisenman, you call the scrolls Christian." I don't call the scrolls Christian. I have to use vocabulary that exists these are extremist Jewish groups, Messianists. That is what these groups are: Messianists. Later on Messianists get pacified in the Roman [doctrine called] Pax Romana and turns into what we call Christianity. In other words: it's fangs are defanged. Do you want to know how its fangs are defanged? --read Paul, Romans 13. There Paul tells you that the God has given judgement on behalf of the Roman Empire those are the officials that we must obey that the wearing of the sword bears its own reward and you should pay your taxes to Rome because that's what God demands of you. Now this is a new law, not a Jewish holy law which in the Temple Scroll [from Qumran] says, you shall not put a foreigner over you! Paul says you should pay your taxes to Rome. And do you know the final thing that he uses to justify it all?--"because you should love your neighbour as yourself." This is the key James passage, the Royal law of Scripture in the letter of James "love your neighbour as yourself." Paul applies it to paying Roman taxation! That shows how cynical he is. That shows how he's laughing at these groups. He had total contempt for these groups. He takes their most precious document and turns it into a collaborationist exercise, of I want you to know, "this is why you should pay taxes because you should love the Romans at yourself!" This is an incredible period which is why I pray and hope that people who care about this period, religious people and non-religious, will get deeper into it because there's so much more out there to challenge them, and they're just being given the scratch on the top of the surface.

Jacobovici: I want to understand James. I want to say, how I understand it. I'm gonna do how I think your thesis runs and then you tell me "No, it is not true" or "yeah whatever." What I have got is this:

There's a historical Jesus and there's a mythologised Jesus. The mythologised Jesus is universal, he's above the law, he loves Gentiles [non-Jews], he is with prostitutes and sinners, he is with tax collectors, multiplies loaves and fishes, and all these parochial Jews, they are little, they are into the law, they are this, they are that, and they don't understand Jesus among them.

In reality if you want to get to the historical Jesus you got to James, and what you find out is the opposite, it is deep.

The guys who are against Jesus that are actually the Universalist if you will. They're hellenised [influenced by Greek and Romans], they're collaborating with Rome. And the historical Jesus actually parochial Zealot right into the law. Is that right?

Eisenman: Right, exactly you are exactly right. You see, it took me a long time to develop the thesis. Yeah, you're smarter than me. Your thoughts are smart . . . .

Yeah, look, the thesis is, that by doing the search for the historical James, you're not only going to find James. You're going to also understand what the Dead Sea scrolls were and come to the true picture of this period.

Let me give you an example, including who Jesus had to have been, because he couldn't be the person Paul depicted. You know, Paul's view of Jesus is determined, first, he never met him, and he admits that. Second, he persecuted Christians, and he smit someone to death. It's part of my thesis in my book that Paul had hand in the death of John the Baptist and you shall see why because both are there in the same place on missions at the same time and Paul is on a mission to one of John the Baptist's enemies at that time.

You know, he only has a contact with a supernatural Christ in heaven, as he calls him, Christ Jesus in in heaven, Paul has apocalypsios. That is the Greek word for vision has visionary spirits, visionary experience of a Christ Jesus in the clouds. He never met the the earthly Jesus. So his Jesus is the heavenly Jesus. But Jesus tends to be a reflection of his own persona and the doctrines that he Paul thinks that Jesus should have preached, but, you know, that's why he was laughed at by the people in his own time and said who is this newcomer? who is this bounder? but he has certain advantage of them. He was well-educated, he was a Pharisee, he came from an upper-class family, probably a very very wealthy one, he had a Roman citizenship, he wasn't a simple little fisherman or a cobbler or something like that. He had it all over them and he took them to the cleaner in his in his discussions they didn't have it they couldn't hold a candle to him. But he is extremely cynical.

Now going over to the other part: take this doctrine, the [Dead Sea Scroll] document that has recently been labelled MMT, it is a letter, presumably from the head of the [Qumran] community to a king of some kind. It is a very convoluted [twisted] letter. It is the only letter among the Qumran corpus. It is probably from the Righteous Teacher to some king. [It also] well depends when you think the Righteous Teacher lived. I think, the Righteous Teacher lived in the first century [AD]. I give a lot of reasons for thinking that. It is a bit too complicated for this discussion [to mention them all] but if you look carefully at [only one] you shall see that the letter contains the actual directives James makes in the Book of Acts to overseas communities. It makes it though from an unfamiliar way, not from the "smooth Hollywood film way", [the Book of] Acts presents these things in three points: Abstain from blood, Things sacrificed to idols, strangled things [carrion] and Fornication. In [the] MMT [letter] it is convoluted. "Things sacrifice to idols" is a subject of about 70 lines, not "taking things sacrificed to idols", "fornication" is another twenty or thirty. The "blood" is assumed, "carrion" appears in certainty of the of the intuitions there. So that letter would be a parallel to James's letter to overseas communities delivered to northern Syria. So what is my conclusion? You'll take a Qumran document it will look so alien and so abstruse that you won't see it as a Christian document. But in fact that is the original, the other [in the Book of Acts] is a copy.

Jacobovici: So if you get it summarised, after all these studies, all this thinking of the stuff, what is the fundamental difference between the mythologised Jesus and the real Jesus?

Eisenman: The problem is that people take literature as history and have an inability to distinguish between a work of literature, which the Gospels represent for the most part, and an actual history which is what Josephus would give them: a nitty gritty down to earth, ugly nuts and bolts history.

So if you try to take the difference in the Gospels you have the presentation of a miraculous figure who does miraculous things, for instance, who takes evil spirits throws them in the swine, the swine run off the hillside and drown themselves, or walks on the water, or multiplies loaves and fishes, or turns water into wine. People love those episodes, as they are the dearest episodes in people's culture, there's no reason that they shouldn't [love them]. But that is not history. That is literature, or some [would say] the dirty word "mythology". Those things, to the practical "computer linked up network

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person" in the 20th century never happened. That is part of the beautiful presentation of the most beautiful being in the world [Jesus]. Now the history can be something rougher and more down-to-earth. I don't know the history of Jesus because it's been so overwritten with that sort of material.

But the thrust of that sort of material is primarily unfortunately anti-semitic [anti-Jewish] because all people understand Jesus except Jews, and Jews gnash their teeth at him. So the Jews are particular pictured in that literature as the Blue Meanies. And that has successfully engendered a wave of anti-semitism in every generation up to the present, ending in the Holocaust [of Hitler's Third Reich]. The seeds are in the picture. The people who put the seeds into work were very clever. They were not Jews from the Holy Land obviously, they were not self-hating Jews, [but] they were overseas Gentiles [Greeks and Romans] who did not like what the Jewish [Messianic] people represented and did not like the doctrines about [their] Christ. So that whole picture, to my mind, is - I hate to use the word, [and] people hate me for it - "corrupted".

That's where the [Dead Sea] scrolls come into play. The scrolls are indigenous literature of the [Jewish] Messianic Movement from a Judaean viewpoint which are not corrupted. They were not worked on by an editorial committee. They were put in the caves to save them and they're like a "time capsule". They remained there for 20 centuries. That's why I am so interested in the scrolls.

So, what do I think Jesus was? Everything written in the scrolls. That is, whether it is mentioned there or not, that is what the Messianic movement is: a nationalist, extremist, xenophobic, and very much law oriented, apocalyptic group. What do we get in the scripture we're familiar with for overseas? Very good proselytation [evangelising] documents, but largely [written] in the interest of the Pax Romana and often the very reverse of everything we have in the Dead Sea Scrolls. So, yes, to my mind, Jesus has been reversed turning the very opposite of what he would have represented in Judaea as the messianic popular leader there.

Jacobovici: Meaning?

Eisenman: Meaning: He would not have been sitting with the prostitutes and sinners and tax collectors, he would have observed purity regulations to be a popular Messiah, he would have been anti-Roman, he would not have been talking to Roman governors and Roman soldiers. Roman soldiers would not have recognised him as the Messiah before Jews did. These are all documents aimed at proselytising [converting] Roman soldiers and Roman governors, not Jewish people and presenting Jews as the devil people. And the world has got the picture, even bin Laden has got that picture.

Jacobovici: Is that [the reason] why James has been marginalised?

Eisenman: Absolutely! Because as James was written out - he is a Philo-Semite - anti-semitism was written in. That is exactly what happened. And, you know, there's a second James in the scripture. That's the multiplication of like-named characters he is called "James the brother of John" [the son of Zebedee]. [Interesting is] that James the brother of John is conveniently eliminated from the Book of Acts just when the real James [the brother of Jesus] is introduced into the book of Acts and the interesting thing about him is that Paul does not even know him. Paul, a contemporary writer who knows all these people: Peter, James, and some of the others, never mentions a "James the brother of John". So even in those problems these multiplication goes on. And the multiplications can be explained by the marginalisation and the pushing James aside because of the sort of messianism he represented was not a cosmopolitan enough to do the job that those people were intending to do. Paul says [rendered into modern English]: "I believe in winning, I fight run the race to win" - he says it in 1 Corinthians 6 - "all the runners at the race are fighting for a prize, I fight, I run for a prize that will never wither, that's how I fight, not beating the air." So he uses Roman Stadium athletics to show the kind of way he approaches: "I'm a Greek to the Greek, a Jew to the Jew, a Lawkeeper the Lawkeeper, a lawbreaker to the lawbreaker. I shall do whatever I have to do to win." And he wins. And these Jerusalem people don't have a chance against that kind of person [acting according to the motto] "winning isn't the only thing it's everything" and he does win but we would consider that a rather cynical approach to proselytisation [converting people to another religion].

Jacobovici: I spoke yesterday to someone, and he said that it can't be. On the evidence, James, Peter, Paul, they all got along with on another. Yeah they differ a little bit about law, you know . . . the issue was not, of course, that James thought the Jews shouldn't start breaking the law, that wasn't an issue, it wasn't an issue for Paul. What was the relationship going to be between Gentiles and Jews? So they all got together. Everybody is making a big deal about factionalism. I don't see any factionalism, he says. Basically, they just had little issues. The Gentiles and the Jewish woman, you know, could sit at the same table. Eisenman and the rest of them [the scripture scientists] are seeing conflict where there are no conflicts . . .

Eisenman: There's total conflict, there's total conflict. All you have to do is look at [Paul's Letter to the] Galatians where Peter and Paul and the others are in this special place called Antioch, where Christians were first called Christians. -- By the way, I don't think it's the normative Antioch. I think, it is this place in northern Syria, Syriac Antioch. There were five Antiochs and this is Edessa in northern Syria, I am sure that is where it was where things were going on. They were all called Antioch. -- but the point is: then the messengers of James came down with his instructions to overseas communities, and Paul himself admits that all of the people who used to keep table fellowship with Gentiles stop doing it and withdrew because of the Party of the Circumcision. they call James's party the "Party of the Circumcision," and the messengers from James. Even Peter did this. And he said "and I accused him to his face" and said "Peter you are a hypocrite."

And in any case after that, Barnabas leaves Paul, and everyone shuns him from that moment on, and he will only take a travel with a non-Jewish Gentile [that is] travelling companions like Timothy and others of that kind, Lucas etc. So you tell me that is a minor dispute? That is a major dispute when all of his close companions desert him and refuse to have anything to do with them.

Now if you look in Essene practice, the Essenes have a have a characteristic of "shunning." They expel [shun] people from the community for various things, and then they shun him in work and [any] activity. This is exactly what's going on here with Paul and the others in the Antioch [Edessa] scene, and it is clear that we're having quasi Essene practice going on here of a very familiar kind. So these arguments are very deep.

I would say one last thing about that. Paul constantly cavils against the chief apostles. He constantly says "Who are these people? pillars? - not that their importance means anything to me." He says things like "Men of knowledge are they?" Then he makes some nasty comments and says "They are not even able to tell the difference that an idol is nothing. They make trouble over eating food sacrificed to idols, one of James's strict rulings. "An idol is nothing in the world," he says And then at the end of Corinthians 2 he said [here rendered into modern English], "Hebrews are they? So am I! Super apostles are they? So am I!" and he makes clear that the people who he's heaping abuse on are the super Jewish apostles who are over him and he's constantly caveling and making a snide allusions to them that anyone who is in his right mind, except someone who wants to just make everything look rosy would realize how to do with severe internal strife.

The final thing he says in in Galatians he is talking to his communities and the super apostles coming and bothering of them what they're bothering them about is circumcision [which is part of Jewish Law but forbidden under the Roman Law of the "Lex Cornelia"]. And he says in one of his nasty outbreaks "Tell those who are bothering you, I wish they would themselves cut off," meaning "I wish they would themselves their own sexual parts cut off," making it look as if circumcision is cutting off your sexual parts but also parrotting the fact that Essenes expelled outsiders by "cutting them off." So he does a double entendre [phrase with two meanings] there in the real ferocious antagonism he feels to these so-called Jamesian Jewish Christians who are insisting on circumcision.

Jacobovici: So the fighting was real?

Eisenman: Severe! severe! I think, there is evidence that Paul is involved in some manner in the death of John the Baptist . . . you can look at the trail and see that he was on a mission over to this king who was Herod the Tetrarch [who likely even had family relationship to Paul. Herodion of Patras (also Herodian or Rodion) was a relative of Paul whom Paul greets in Romans 16:11: "Salute Herodion my kinsman. Greet them that be of the household of Narcissus, which are in the Lord.".].

Jacobovici: What do you think, James and Paul felt for each other?

Eisenman: James did not hate anybody he wasn't that kind of person he was the Righteous One. He was a totally righteous person. Paul had envy for James he had antagonism to James and he literally probably wanted to destroy James. And when he was arrested in the 60s [AD] by the Roman governors and held in protective custody, even when Sicarii had taken an oath to kill Paul, because of introducing Gentiles, into the Temple [non-Jews were strictly forbidden to enter the Temple area under penalty of death, according to Jewish Law, see: The Temple Warning Inscription, Grand Bible, Artefacts and Historical Documents]. What happens in Caesarea [Maritima] in Acts, which is a historical part in acts, not an overwritten one, looks more like a debriefing session. And it's funny, no members of his community come down to visit him at all, and he's being housed in [Herod] Agrippa's former palace there. And ultimately they get him out of the country [Judaea] on an appeal to "Caesar" [Clauius or Nero] because to have stayed in the country would have been meant his death. There were so many people [from the Messianic Movement] who wanted to kill him for what [we would call treason]. I think, they didn't want to kill James. James wasn't being hunted down or anything. James went on functioning as if nothing was happening while Paul was under arrest. Yes I think, that was very severe, even unto death. I think, ultimately, Paul, with his discussions with the Roman authorities, would have given information that led to the final demise of people like James.

Jacobovici: Paul was a collaborator?

Eisenman: Paul could not have gone to Rome and then been freed in Rome, and the way he went, without entering Romans service of some kind. And he held a Roman citizenship. He went to Rome in 62 [AD], just the time when James was killed in Jerusalem. You see, the book of Acts ends not with James's death, where it should end, the leader of hope, it ends with Paul under house arrest in Rome and it doesn't look like he's going to be executed then because he's not executed for another eight years and the stories are that he goes on to Spain and elsewhere. I even think he came back to Judaea. . . .

Jacobovici: Where is the tradition that he goes to Spain?

Eisenman: He mentions it in one of his letters [Romans 15:24] that he wants to go to Spain and then some of the extra biblical material talks about his having gone to Spain. So he went to Spain and if he returned to Judaea, which I have a reason to believe he did, before he died around 68 [AD] in the midst of the uprising. The Romans have just rounded up all troublemakers by that time and executed everybody and the drag-net would have included people like Paul by that point. But if he returned to Judaea, then he had entered service in some way, like Josephus did. Josephus went to Rome. When he came back, he was in Roman service. That's how he saved his skin. You cannot go to Rome and come back]without having obligations of some kind or another].

Jacobovici: Was there an ideological reason to go to Spain?

Eisenman: Well, I think, the Roman emperors at that period came from Spain. Don't forget, you had Trajan coming in [from Italica]. You had Hadrian coming in. You had a lot of connexions to Spain in the Roman Imperial family. He said, he has very important contacts there he wants to follow up and the future Roman emperors came from Spain, after the death of [Titus Flavius Domitianus].

Jacobovici: There was an ossuary [a bone coffin]. You mentioned, there should not have been an ossuary . . .

Eisenman: We have strong traditions about the burial of James from early Christian sources, extra-biblical sources, the first is by a Jewish Christian writer someone who converted to Christianity in the second century who probably was already a mature person fifty years after the events in question, second part of the second century. His name is Hegesippus. He writes that, regardless of how mythologised his picture is or how the stoning and the death of James took place, James, I think he combines two things: the fall down the temple steps in the Pseudo Clementines that is the fall off the temple pinnacle that he talks about, and that's all in my book [James the Brother of Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls, 2012, Penguin] I explain how these things are conflated, that's what takes the time in my book, the fall off the temple pinnacle, and then the hitting with the washerman's club to bash out his brains. That was the coup de grasse given in all stonings. One always gave a coup de grasse. So he [James] was thrown down in the Kidron Valley below the pinnacle of the temple and Hegesippus said he was buried where he was stoned and a marker was put up there that is still there to this to this day. So he was buried, he was not laid out in a rock tomb according to that report. Eusebius repeats that report in the 4th century. Eusebius is Constantine's Bishop [and right-hand-man]. He comes from Caesarea [Maritima, the Roman capital in Judaea]. He's a Judaean, he knows Judaean traditions very very well, he says, it was still there in his time in the 4th century. Jerome repeats that tradition in the fifth century so does Epiphanius. Epiphanius is a Judaean who went to Cyprus. Jerome was a Roman who came to Judaea and spent his whole life in Jerusalem and Bethlehem compiling his version of the Latin Vulgate. He knew a lot of things and he says that the burial marker and James's burial-place was still there in the fifth century. So how does this accord with there being an ossuary with first century Aramaic writing on it? It doesn't accord! So while all those traditions are wrong, and

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are willy-nilly suddenly appearing a fresh ossuary with the inscription on the wrong side of the box is authentic. And our palaeographers such as they are who cannot even tell the difference between two kinds of handwriting and two types of incising, one with a very precise tool and one with an extremely blunt tool, we're supposed to believe then that this is totally authentic. I have no idea. I would love this to be the case. I personally wanted rather find that burial place of James by digging the whole area up underneath the pinnacle of the temple ages ago. . . .

. . . we've got a lot of people who never even heard of James before . . . it's all good for all of us because if the people would come at this and get interested in James then we all win because James is the most underrated and most marginalised character and here he is suddenly on the front burner. Let's go and get interested in James let's not just use the thing to prove the existence of Jesus . . . in the meantime we've learned about a whole picture of the forgotten history of the church we've challenged ourselves is extended ourselves and people who are intelligent thinking people in the modern world are tired of just being fed [with] pablum [and fables] in the catechism class. That has been the problem of religion for modern people. It has only been relegated to unthinking people. And thinking people say [today], "oh, I'm not religious." We all need to be religious and this will allow us to get our teath into a challenging problem. I hope that they do get into the change problem but let's not just go around did Jesus exist or didn't exist that's not the whole ball of wax. . . . .

My point was always that the brother was important in the first century and . . . Jesus was not so important in the first century to those people in Judaea. Jesus became important as the documents were written that made and magnified his importance into the superstar the demigod the God that we know the man God that we now all recognise as the saviour of the whole human race but that didn't happen in the first century.

Jacobovici: But surely, James the Zadik, Yakov the Zadik his brother . . .

Eisenman: I have no idea the relation see I don't know exactly who the brother was by that point. I go in my book about the four brothers. We know there were Cleophus and Mary, if Joseph is the Hebrew name for Cleofas. okay it's possible now Cleofas in Mary or or that other character listed in in the gospel lists James the son of what's-his-name Alphaeus which is a probably garbling of cliff has had four sons they had James Simon Jude and Joses I say we know who Simon is I can document Simon Simon - Simon bar Cleophus who said to be the nephew he's actually the second brother he's the second successor to James in the early church the third Jude is Judas is is Jesus's twin he's Judas Thomas. Judas the twin also called Thaddaeus and gospel is also called Labbaeus seems to have evangelised northern Syria and Iraq and this person I think was beheaded at some point he may have been the Thaddeus in Josephus who was beheaded in any case his descendants are still around when the Roman Emperor Trajan is trying to round up messianic claimants in the latter part of the century. The 4th brother Joses, we don't know. Who was the 4th brother Joses? That's [perhaps] just Jesus himself before Jesus became distinguished from his brothers in the process of as I said as the fathers became uncle's, brothers became cousins, mother's turned into their own sisters, and Jesus turned into his own brother Joses is the same person as Jesus without any information about that is the fourth brother now that fourth brother Joses. I don't know much about him and he may have been executed very early on and he may have been seen as this messianic individual executed in a very nasty way. I have covered all this in my book but I don't know much more about Jesus than that.

Jacobovici: If Jerusalem wouldn't have fallen, would Christianity have involved in something totally different?

Eisenman: Yes, absolutely! Actually, I don't think there would be a Christianity because the Jerusalem centre was taken away with the destruction of Jerusalem which left the overseas centres free to develop their their own ethos. And often these centres were people from Greek and other backgrounds, and there has been a long tradition of Greek anti-semitism long before what we were talking about here. There was hostility between Greeks and Jews in Alexandria, very extreme hostility that ended up in riots, and in the Trajan Period ended up in the total annihilation of the whole Jewish community in Alexandria and the Delta; basically a Holocaust. [There was] tremendous tension between Greeks and Jews in Caesarea and other cities along the coast, and when the uprising occurred, all these cities took it as a signal to kill all the Jewish populations in those towns. And the Jews were not innocent in areas were there Greeks in their town. So there was a great hostility. So the fact that there is a latent anti-semitism in the kind of presentation we have and anyone who's fair-minded can see it, the Jews are presented as really nasty. The scribes and the Pharisees gnash their teeth. Roman centurions recognised the Messiah. Oak arise and in bedside, if the wonders that have been done here, have been done in Lebanon and Syria, they would have belong long ago. In other words, everyone gets the picture, except the Good Samaritan, and so on and so forth. So Jesus presented as not loving his countrymen much. Well, if he is not loving his countrymen but he loves everyone but his countrymen you know and does not know this countrymen very much how would they ever been able to accept him as a popular Messiah in the first place? I think he was a popular Messiah in his time, whatever it was, he represented. And that game says largely, with large crowds people following that picture. That picture has come down and reflects the anti-semitism of the Greek-Roman Mediterranean which is normal. . . . You could have gotten some very negative stereotypes of Jews in a gospel of that kind. You know, we say, the victors write the history. Unfortunately they did not expect the Qumran scroll time capsule. In there, the losers wrote the history so we are we are blessed with a precious moment.

There would not have been a Christianity because James's Judaean centre would have existed and the Judaean centre is more this apocalyptic messianism that you get in the scrolls. It probably would not have been a successful proselytising activity because it was not able to morph and change and receive things like pagan practices such as communion [the Eucharist from Mithraism] drinking the body and blood of the living and dying God, or later on Christmas trees, or Easter bunnies, or reindeer or totem animals, or whatever you needed to go. Judaism was too rigid for that. Islam is more like what a cosmopolitan [messianic] Judaism would look like and it is quite rigid.

THE REAL JESUS

(Video Transcript: Lord Henfield. Executive Producer: Simon Berthon . Director: Patrick McGrady, A 3BM Television Production for Channel 4, 1999.)

Around 25 years after the death of Jesus, the movement had split into two factions. These factions held very different views of their leader, his identity, his message, his vision. A power struggle ensued. And one of these factions under the guiding genius of Saul of Tarsos. Saul emerged the winner. Eventually it wrote its version of Jesus's story in the Gospels of the New Testament.

The other faction is more mysterious. It left behind no surviving record of its beliefs and withered away. Yet unlike the winners who wrote the Gospels, this faction was composed of the people who really knew Jesus: his family and his disciples. What if they had won the power struggle and written their alternative biography of Jesus? What sort of person would Jesus be if his life story had been told by those who knew him best?

With the help of all non-canonical texts, the amazing gospels found at Nag Hammadi in Egypt, and the Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran, we are now able to reconstruct the story of the real Jesus and compare this story with the story of the official Church.

Somewhere in the city of Jerusalem, nearly 2,000 years ago, the leading members of a revolutionary Jewish-led movement gathered for a crucial summit meeting. The meeting would be the final showdown in a long-running rift between the movements two key figures. One of these men was called Paul. He had been born in the south of today's Turkey of wealthy Jewish parents and trained as a rabbi in Jerusalem. His real name was Saul of Tarsos. It would later emerge that he was also a citizen of the Roman Empire which at this time occupied the Holy Land.

Robert Eisenman describes Paul "as a very sophisticated cosmopolitan person familiar with the overseas world of Imperial Rome well-traveled well-educated, master of Greek rhetoric, someone who is sophisticated."

The second key figure going to the summit remains one of the most mysterious people in the whole story of Christianity. His name was James and he had become the most important person in the Jesus Movement. James was the brother of Jesus in the Gospels and the book of Acts. James does not appear anywhere during the lifetime of Jesus. And yet suddenly he blossoms out as the leader of the Jesus Movement after Jesus's death. What sort of person was James. The Gospels mentioned that Jesus had four brothers of whom James was probably the eldest. But they say little else.

However from other documents it seems clear that James could hardly have been a greater contrast to the worldly sophisticated Saul. Jesus's family were poor and probably illiterate. They were also strict Jews, keenly observant of Jewish law and no one seems to have been stricter than Jesus's brother James.

James comes through as wearing threadbare clothes, as being poor and law oriented, the epitome of the extreme, purity conscious Zealot type with Jewish groups. Later documents speak very highly of James. In fact, he was so pious, he used to pray every day on his knees. It is said, his knees became like camel's knees.

After Jesus's death, James had become head of the Jesus Movement in Jerusalem, the Jerusalem Church, as it became known. But away from Jerusalem, Paul had his visionary encounter with the risen Christ on the road to Damascus. Up until then, Paul had been a persecutor of Jesus' followers. But now he became one of their leaders and a man with a view of Jesus which directly conflicted with James. Their differences were fundamental. They included Jesus's birth his message, and above all, whether or not, he was divine.

Today the followers of Jesus take for granted the Gospels' view that Jesus was the son of God who died on the cross to save mankind. But in the years just after Jesus's death, the question of exactly who he was, was highly contentious. The ensuing battle between Paul and James to resolve that question would decide what version of Jesus was handed down to posterity. The losers would be viewed as heretics and written out of the history altogether.

The dispute began because Paul believed that he, and not Jesus's family or disciples, had been given the truth about Jesus, even though Paul had never known Jesus himself. He claimed he knew more about Jesus than they did because he was communing not with the lifetime Jesus, who perhaps was a bit difficult to understand, but with the heavenly Jesus who came to him in visions and gave him instructions and information from heaven. And according to Paul, the heavenly Jesus was a better source of information than the actual historical earthly Jesus. Paul turmed out to be a foreign interloper within this movement who, to some extent, hijacked the movement.

The evidence of how the battle between Paul and James unfolded, can be gleaned from hints and references in Paul's own letters and the Acts of the Apostles. Paul's seven letters 1 Thessalonians (c. 50 AD); Galatians (c. 53); 1 Corinthians (c. 53–54); Philippians (c. 55); Philemon (c. 55); 2 Corinthians (c. 55–56); Romans (c. 57); are gererally and without a doubt, regarded as genuine. We even can say why: Stories that contain the names Pontius Pilate or Barabbas can be considered an invention of Flavian Dynasty authors. (In this context, it is interesting that the Egyptian gospels of Thomas, Mary Magalene, Philip, and Judas from the Nag Hammadi Library also do not speak of those names, although they should.)

Here is what happened: The rift began because of Paul's determination that, having once oppressed Christians, he would now spread his version of Christ's message to all men including non-Jews throughout the world. He began missions in the Greek parts of the Roman Empire and made a great success of them, with new groups of churches in each place. And as soon as he began to be a success, the Jerusalem people were behind him trying to force his churchmen back into their way of thinking.

James came to believe that Paul was diluting Jesus's message by allowing non-Jews to join the movement without insisting that they observe Jewish law. One issue was eating kosher food. To James, this was essential, he believed that the Jesus Movement and Jesus himself was strictly Jewish and new members had to respect the rules. Another divisive issue was whether like Jesus himself, non-Jewish recruits had to be circumcised. The trouble is that circumcision was forbidden in the Roman Empire according to the Lex Cornelia (The laws od Cornelius Sulla). With disgust, it was viewed by Romans as genital mutilation. As Roman citizen, Paul fely obliged to follow Roman law.

As Paul himself wrote, the disputes between him and James had first come to ahead (around 50 AD) when James sent emissaries led by the Apostle Peter to confront him in the city of Antioch (Antakya, Turkey). James's message to Paul was that non-Jewish members must eat kosher food if they were with Jews. Paul was furious. Paul describes them as false brethren who "having been brought in secret to spy out our freedom which we have in Christ Jesus." In second Corinthians Paul drowns in self-pity where he describes all the wounds, all the suffering he is undergone by his arch enemies whom he calls the pillars of the church, the super-apostles, the apostles of the highest degree.

Eventually, to stop the movement splitting, Paul persuaded James to agree a compromise. The Jesus Movement would remain a fundamentally Jewish one, but Paul's non-Jewish recruits could join without having to be circumcised or eat kosher food.

The years passed with two separate missions. Paul continues to export his message to non-jews throughout the Roman Empire and he promised not to interfere with James and the Jerusalem Church's mission to Jews. But then James began to hear an alarming new story about Paul. So (at around 58 AD) James summoned Paul to Jerusalem.

Their summit meeting would be the endgame in the rift which had beleaguered the Jesus Movement ever since Paul had joined it. It would decide the future of Christianity and what version of Jesus's life would prevail. Paul was carrying a donation from his missions. From New Testament references, it is possible to reconstruct what happened next. Paul arrived. He offered his donation as an act of fellowship but James

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seems to have refused it. He was incorruptable and not interested in money.

Then James confronted Paul with the new charge being made against him, that he was encouraging Jews to break the Torah, the Jewish law. It was not only that he was telling non-Jews they need not keep the whole Torah, he was quite happy about that because they agreed on that before. Paul was going much further than that. He was telling Jews, who were converted to the Jesus Movement, that they can ignore the Torah and do not need to circumcise their children and obey the Laws of Moses anymore.

Paul could hardly deny the charges but he tried to reassure James of his loyalty. Then James asked Paul to prove that he was still an observer of Jewish law by going to the temple and taking part in purification ceremonies. Paul agrees to do this, even though we know from his letters and from everything access shown us, that he does not follow the law but hated it. So Paul is embodying the philosophy he presents in 1 Corinthians, the key letter for all of these things, where he says, "I am a Greek to the Greek," "a Jew to the Jew," "a law keeper to the law keeper," "a law breaker to the law breaker," "I will do whatever I have to do to win."

While he was in the process of carrying out these purifications in the temple, he was recognised by some Jews who attacked him, "this is the man who has been going around telling Jews to give up the Torah," and when Paul was mobbed and saw himself in danger, he claimed protection from Roman soldiers on the grounds that he was a Roman citizen.

Up to this point, the Jerusalem community seem not have known of Paul's Roman citizenship because his announcement shocked many of the onlooking Jews for whom the occupying Romans were the oppressors. Roman soldiers picked him out of the furious crowd and arrested him in order to protect him from the Zealot Jewish mob among whom James seems to have been a spiritual driving force. That that is the moment of split when he when he detaches himself completely from the Jerusalem Church and his political aims and he becomes the founder of a new movement.

Over the coming century, Paul and his followers would be the winners in the battle for the biography of Jesus. They would write the New Testament story with the familiar image we have of Jesus today. There is no pictorial representation or written record of how Jesus's family and closest followers might have seen him. But if the winners had been James and the Jerusalem Church, how would they have written the life of Jesus?

For most of us, our picture of Jesus is drawn from the writings of Paul, Matthew, John, and Luke. They all are conveying Paul's fantasy product and his propaganda. They are spreading the so-called "good news" about Jesus with a very heavy theological slant. That slant was not just theological, it was also political.

In 66 AD, just a few years after Paul split with James, the intolerable situation between Jews and Romans culminated in a full-scale war never seen before, leaving 1.1 million people dead. It was at this very time that the New Testament Gospels began to be written.

The result was very very significant because it meant that the Gospels were written by the Pauline Church and they discount any loyalty to Jewish patriotism. Those Gospels deliberately made clear that Paul's followers were following the peaceful teachings of Jesus, and not the teachings of the rebellious Jews."

The war with the Romans also devastated Jerusalem. The Jerusalem Church wing of the Jesus Movement was effectively wiped out as a power base, No gospel from its members survives and yet they were the people who were the closest to Jesus. James had known Jesus as a boy. They have grown up together he knew him intimately before he had become the "saviour of the world". These people had access to the real historical Jesus. We do not have any access to what they thought, except as we have it through the Pauline community who have adapted it.

But because the Gospel writers had to base their adaptations on the earliest accounts, they contain many hints of the original Jesus as known by the Jerusalem Church. Particularly the things Jesus said are authentic to a high degree. Using these clues, it is possible to piece together how the Jerusalem Church would have written its alternative biography of Jesus.

The story begins with his birth. For Paul's followers it was a central part of faith that Jesus was the son of God, not man. This required Jesus to be born of a virgin. So gospel writers like Matthew had to carve out a story which would fit the idea of the virgin birth, an idea which became a central part of Christian belief.

The writer of the Gospel of Matthew felt that he were against a problem, insofar as God was the father of Jesus, Jesus is the son of God. So how exactly can we reconcile that with the real human Jesus we have? And Matthew found the answer when he turned up to prophecy in Isaiah, "behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a child" whereas the Jerusalem Church, of course, James was telling his followers what life was like in his own family and they believed that Jesus' father was Joseph and his mother was Mary, and Jesus was conceived like anybody else and born entirely naturally.

Luke's Gospel says that Mary and Joseph had travelled to Bethlehem in Judaea from their home in Nazareth (near Bethlehem in Galilee) to take part in a Roman census. This is historically implausible for at least two reasons. Firstly, there was no such census around the time Jesus was born (allegedly at around 4 BC) because the Jewish lands still were not officially a part of the Roman Empire. And, secondly, the Romans were no idiots who let all people travel to their place of birth, but instead, they logically ordered everyone to stay at their current home.

Upon the deposition of Herod Archelaus in 6 AD, his territories (Judaea, Samaria and Idumea [the Arab Kingdom of Edom with its capital Petra]) were transformed into a Roman province. This event made a census necessary. And that event is recorded: The Census of Quirinius was a census of Judaea taken by Publius Sulpicius Quirinius (c. 51 BC – 21 AD), Roman governor of Syria, upon the imposition of direct Roman rule in 6 AD.

Either all the New Testament authors were lying or they told the truth and Jesus was born around 6 AD. A conclusion that would make much more sense as there is a huge gap between Jesus' death at around 30 AD (as proposed by the Church) and the first noticable activities of his apostles in about 45 AD. Jesus' warnings, to keep peace, to "give Caesar what is Caesars" (pay the tax), "love thy neighbour as thyself", suddenly also make sense due the war he already could see looming over the horizon.

Why have the Flavian Gospel writers chosen Bethlehen in Judaea instead of the Bethlehem in Galilee? When we check the New Testament stories, it becomes clear. For the authors it was important that Jesus be seen from birth as "the Saviour" prophesied by the Old Testament. Bethlehem in Judaea is where David, the once and future king, came from. That is where the new ideal monarch should come from. Jesus, in other words, should be born in the Judaean Bethlehem, no matter where he was born. This place of birth is just symbolic.

In Matthew's birth story there are further exotic ingredients, the star which hovers over Bethlehem, and the three wise men, the Magi. Strip away the storytellers' ingredients and we get closer to the more mundane version which the alternative biography would have recorded: no star, no wise men, and an ordinary birth in his home village of Nazareth. (However, the Magi symbolise Persian and Indian scholarship, and the star can be seen as symbol of the Messianic Movement in general. The Persian kings Cyrus and Darius were hailed as "Messiah" by the ancient Jews because they released them from the Babylonian captivity, and their monotheistic Zoroastrian faith was regarded as beacon of religious scholarship.)

Nazareth where Jesus was brought up is in the northern Jewish state of Galilee. One of the problems with the Gospels, as they have come down to us, is that they depict the Holy Land as peaceful and pastoral idyll with travelling preachers wandering around, curings, raisings, walking on waters, and exorcisms. There is no doubt that this is total disinformation, even dissimilation.

The real picture of Israel and Judaea was best described by Roman historian Titus Flavius Josephus. And according to him, that region was a total war zone. The Gospels are written about a period when the whole of the Jewish nation was groaning under a severe and fascist Roman occupation. However, the word 'Roman' is hardly mentioned at all. Since the time of Gnaeus Pompeius, the Romans ruled the people with an iron fist and did not miss to quell any Jewish uprising. They were mercilessly crushed had been executed on Roman crosses.

But Paul and his followers were intent on creating a non-Jewish religion, which would appeal throughout the Roman Empire, and be tolerated by it. The Gospels contain no criticism of Rome. The Gospels and the images, which ever since have stemmed from them, portray Jesus as an essentially peaceful non-political man, a man who deliberately avoids saying anything that implies confrontation with Rome. However the alternative biography would have presented evidence that Jesus's religion went hand in hand with politics.

For a start, Jesus's birthplace Galilee, which was governed by a Roman puppet ruler called Herod Antipas, was a hotbed of Jewish rebellion. Remote caves near the Sea of Galilee gave perfect hiding places for revolutionary Jewish movements to strike at the Roman occupiers in the neighbouring province of Judaea. Jesus would also have seen great economic injustice.

In Jewish tradition the land belongs to God, it must be handled justly and righteously because "the land is mine" says the Lord in Leviticus. For the Romans land is a commodity to be bought and sold and an entrepreneurial commodity, not a divine gift. Jewish tradition in a way, and Roman entrepreneurial commercialisation, are on a collision course.

Into this revolutionary atmosphere steps a figure who would play a key role in the story of Jesus. He was John the Baptist. In the New Testament, the adult Jesus first appears as a disciple of John who baptises him and recognises him as the Son of God. But one by one, each gospel tries to play down the baptism as if they are desperate to avoid any idea that John may have been Jesus' mentor. And, of course, they avoid to mention that John was Jesus' elder cousin.

The Pauline Christians are a bit embarrassed about the story of the baptism. Mark tries to make it very clear that Jesus is in no way subordinate to John, as the casual reader might have thought, by saying "having Jesus pronounced God's beloved son with a voice booming from heaven." Matthew even has John protesting, "it is not for me to baptise you." Luke even more incredibly places the Baptism of Jesus after John has been arrested. And in fact, if you read only Luke, you would not know that John had baptised Jesus.

But the alternative biography would have seen John as a major figure and the formative influence in Jesus' life but what sort of influence? One clue lies in the fact that John was considered so dangerous that he would end up being executed by Herod Antipas the Romans puppet ruler in Galilee.

John the Baptist represented a political threat to Herod because John the Baptist was a prophet who was prophesying the 'imminent arrival of the Messiah' and by Messiah he meant a Saviour who would come and fulfill the prophecies of Zechariah, who had prophesied that the Messiah would come and deliver a military victory over the invaders.

Qumran scholars believe that the Dead Sea Scrolls are a link between John and the Essenes, a Messianc group that lived the lives as poor monks. John is described as a hermit, an ascetic very similar to the life led in the wilderness by the most ascetic branch of the Qumran community. In addition there are textual links. Both, John and the Essenes, used the same passage from Isaiah to prophesy the kingdom of God and in the New Testament, Mark's Gospel talks of "John preparing away in the wilderness" a key phrase used in the scrolls. Though the link can not be proved, the Dead Sea Scrolls do provide an insight into the kind of apocalyptic message which was current at this time and being passed on by John to Jesus.

They are very very political. The scrolls are as militant as the teachings of Mohammed's Islam. They openly mandate warfare against non-Judaists as well as disapprove, for instance, of Roman occupation in the Holy Land. They clearly participate in the war against Rome. There is a document in the scrolls called the "War Scroll" which envisions shows the whole blueprint for a final apocalyptic war against all evil, including the Romans on Earth. Many scrolls scholars have said, "this is just an idealised theoretical war." The War Scroll's detailed description of the weaponry and tactics makes this opinion very unlikely.

It seems also that John the Baptist had something to do with the rearming warriors of the Messianic Movement, it is clear that his message of the coming Messiah carried an explosive charge. What John was doing was planting little ticking time bombs of apocalyptic expectation all over the Jewish homeland, a very dangerous course of expectation indeed.

The authorities were hunting him down and executed him by beheading, which is peculiar because beheading was a form of execution reserved only for those who held Roman citizenship. In fact, the entire story is weird. We can read some short passages in the New Testament (Matthew 3:1-12; Mark 6:17-29; Luke 1:36, Acts 18:24-19:6; John 1:6-8) and, of course, in Titus Flavius Josephus' "Antiquities" (Book 18, Chapter 5:2). Neither the time of that event is certain nor who those authorities were. But we can take a closer look at some facts that may throw light onto the matter.

The Herodian Dynasty begins with Herod the Great. His father was Antipater I the Idumaean (died 43 BC), that means he was an Arab and he was the son of a person called Antipas [Antipas and Antipater are two Romanised forms of the same name]. His mother was Cypros (Nabatean and therefore also Arab). Herod the Great's siblings were: Phasael, Joseph, Pheroras, and Salome I.

We know that Herod the Great had, in a typical manner of an Arab chieftain, at least 10 wives: Doris, Mariamne I, Mariamne II, Malthace, Cleopatra of Jerusalem, Pallas, Phaidra, Elpis, plus 2 unknown cousins. The following list reveals a drama of epic proportions:

1.) Doris, son: Antipater II [executed 4 BC]

2.) Mariamne I, daughter of Hasmonean Alexandros and Alexandra the Maccabee [executed 29 BC]; son: Alexander [executed 7 BC]; son: Aristobulus IV [executed 7 BC], daughter: Salampsio; daughter Cypros.

3.) Mariamne II, daughter of High-Priest Simon; son: Herod II.

4.) Malthace; son: Herod Archelaus [ethnarch]; son: Herod Antipas [tetrarch]; daughter: Olympias.

5.) Cleopatra of Jerusalem; son: Philip the Tetrarch [tetrarch]; son: Herod.

6.) Pallas; son: Phasael

7.) Phaidra; daughter: Roxanne

8.) Elpis; daughter: Salome

It is quite likely that Herod had more sons, especially with the last wives, and also that he had more daughters, as female births at that time were often not recorded among Arabs.

Herod the Great's sister Salome I had a daughter called Berenice I who married her cousin Aristobulus IV (31–7 BC)

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Berenice and Aristobulus IV had the following children:

1.) Aristobulus Minor [born c. 10 BC died after 44; educated along with his eldest brothers, Agrippa I and Herod V in Rome, along with future Roman Emperor Claudius (10 BC – 54 AD, reigned 41 to 54 AD). Claudius and Aristobulus became lifelong friends. This example shows that Romans and Jews were closely connected.]

2.) Mariamne III [1st husband (7-4 BC): Antipater II, eldest son of King Herod the Great. After his execution in 4 BC, 2nd husband: Herod Archelaus, son of Herod the Great and Malthace the Samaritan.]

3.) Herodias [c. 15 BC – after 39 AD; she married Herod II**, her "half uncle"]

4.) Herod Agrippa I [11 BC – 44 AD), King of Judaea from 41 to 44 AD]; married to somebody called Cypros, Children: Herod Agrippa II, Mariamne, Drusilla, (Julia) Berenice II, longtime lover of her brother Herod Agrippa II (and General Titus who was a son of Emperor Titus Flavius Vespasianus as well as the adoptive brother to Titus Flavius Josephus). Berenice II was also the presiding Judge of the Sanhedrin-Court that tried Saul of Tarsos (Acts 25, 26)

5.) ** Herod V [also called Herod of Chalcis; reign 41–48; died 48 or 49 AD]; married to (Julia) Berenice II with two sons, Berenicianus and Hyrcanus.

6.) ** Herod II [dubious identity; ca. 27 BC – 33/34 AD; Some writers call him Herod Philip I]. In some genealogies he is also known as Herod Antipas or Antipater [born before 20 BC – died after 39 AD]

That Herodias married her "half uncle" could have been much more serious than that: Herod II was also known as "Herod Antipas". Historians believe that there was a cover-up here. In reality, she married Herod V who is in the Encyclopaedia Judaica [from 1906] revealed as Herod II. This Herod II [V] was not her "half uncle at all, but her own brother! Incest was a common means in Antiquity with which dynasties of any kind stayed in power without sharing. Children with genetic defects were executed. And incest is still a practice with all its unfortunate and indescribable sufferings today in Islam. The creators of the Jewish Law knew of the effects incest can have and outlawed it.

Herodias marriage to Herod II was therefore the immoral crime the Gospel of Mark was talking about: "For John had said unto Herod, It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife" [Mark 6:18]. Herodias was furious that Jon the Baptist found out because when the truth came to light, they all would have met an awful lot of trouble due to the Jewish Law that strictly forbids marriages between a brother and a sister. So, Herodias plotted to bring John the Baptist to death:

"19 Therefore Herodias had a quarrel against him, and would have killed him; but she could not: 20 For Herod feared John, knowing that he was a just man and an holy, and observed him; and when he heard him, he did many things, and heard him gladly. 21 And when a convenient day was come, that Herod on his birthday made a supper to his lords, high captains, and chief estates of Galilee; 22 And when the daughter of the said Herodias came in, and danced, and pleased Herod and them that sat with him, the king said unto the damsel [domnicalla = Lady], Ask of me whatsoever thou wilt, and I will give it thee. 23 And he sware unto her, Whatsoever thou shalt ask of me, I will give it thee, unto the half of my kingdom. 24 And she went forth, and said unto her mother, What shall I ask? And she said, The head of John the Baptist. 25 And she came in straightway with haste unto the king, and asked, saying, I will that thou give me by and by in a charger the head of John the Baptist. 26 And the king was exceeding sorry; yet for his oath's sake, and for their sakes which sat with him, he would not reject her. 27 And immediately the king sent an executioner, and commanded his head to be brought: and he went and beheaded him in the prison, 28 And brought his head in a charger, and gave it to the damsel: and the damsel gave it to her mother (Berenice I). [Mark 6:19-28]."

After the death of John the Baptist, his younger cousin Jesus created his own movement from the foundations laid by John but before putting any political plan into action he first recruited his own disciples and followers. Among them was Mary Magdalene the mysterious sinner who was saved by Jesus and stayed near to him for the rest of his life. Mary would later be the woman who went to his tomb to anoint his body the Gospels required Jesus the son of god to remain pure and celibate. But in the alternative biography Mary may well have turned out to be Jesus' wife. In Jewish tradition she could not have claimed the body of Jesus unless she had been his spouse. It is highly unlikely that Jesus would have been single as the rabbi's were married. This is a Jewish precept.

From its base by Lake Galilee, closeby to Mary Magdalene's hometown Magdala, the Jesus Movement began to grip the imagination of local people. Above all, Jesus became known as a healer and miracle worker. He preached a message about the coming kingdom of God. People began to wonder who exactly Jesus was.

In the Gospels, the moment of revelation comes when Jesus said to Peter, "who do people say that I am," and Peter said, "well. some people say that you are John the Baptist come back to life. And other people say you are the prophet Elijah. And then Jesus said to Peter, "who do you think I am?" Then he said, "I think, you are the Messiah.

But what exactly did Messiah mean? To Paul it meant that Jesus was the son of God who would come down to Earth to die on the cross and promised eternal life for mankind.

But the Jerusalem Church, of which Peter was a member, would have had another interpretation. When Peter saluted Jesus as the Messiah, he did not mean a divine figure from outer space to save the people's souls. He meant a worldly leader, a saviour of the Jewish nation, descended from King David.

The name 'Jesus' is the English spelling of the Latin name 'Iesus', and this comes from the Greek 'Iesous', this from the Aramaic 'Yeshua' and its short form 'Yeshu', and finally this comes from the old Hebrew 'Yehoshua' which is a bit clumsily translated as "Yahweh is salvation". Its meaning is "The anointed One", more simply "Saviour" or "Messiah". And this is also the connotation that let Greek interpreters pick the word "Kristos", or 'Christ' in English. So when we say "Jesus Christ" we actually say "Messiah Messiah", a double name. Ambiguity, dualism, duplicity is a typical feature used by writers of the New Testament such as in Jesus the Nazorean vs Jesus Barabbas (bar Abbas = "father of the son"). Equally, a name can have several distinct forms such as Jesus, Eleazar, Lazar, Lazarus but still can mean the same person.

In the Jerusalem Church's alternative biography Jesus becomes a man for whom religion embraced political action a man whose mission was to free the Jewish people from oppression and usher in the "kingdom of God" here on Earth. The "Kingdom of God" itself is a political term which means how would God run this world of God sat on Caesars throne. We do not know whether Jesus used this term or the Messianic Movement that desperately was looking for a leader who brings them military victory over the Romans.

Now Jesus prepared to leave Galilee and take his message to Jerusalem, the city where power lay. According to the Gospels, he was going as the Son of God to bring Jewish leaders back to the path of God. But in the alternative biography his overriding purpose would have been very different.

[The missionary journey down south to Jerusalem is described in the next transcript from a film made by Joseph Atwill called "Caesar's Messiah."]

When Jesus arrived in Jerusalem, he was making his bid for the throne of the Jews. He was making a bid for power. As Jesus arrived, there was high tension half a million Jewish pilgrims had gathered for Passover the festival which celebrated their liberation from the Egyptians. And the Roman governor Pontius Pilate prepared himself for trouble.

In the Gospels, Pilate is a merciful man, a good Roman. But what was he really like? We do know a lot about Pontius Pilatus (Pilate) apart from the Gospels. We know about him from the 1st century Jewish writer and philosopher Philo of Alexandria and from Titus Flavius Josephus the Roman-Jewish historian, and Pilate was fairly ruthless, especially with crowd control. So now Jesus is in Jerusalem. It is at Passover. Pilate would have had very hard fast orders for this dangerous tinderbox situation.

According to Jewish tradition the Messiah was expected to arrive at Passover. So at that time the guardians of law and order had to be extra vigilant. The Romans had abolished the Jewish kingship, the Jewish monarchy. Anyone who said, "I am the Jewish King," was more or less proclaiming himself to be a rebel against the power of Rome.

The Gospels of the New Testament record the events of the following days as a plot by Jewish leaders to execute Jesus. However the alternative Jerusalem Church biography would have pointed the finger of blame elsewhere.

Instead of the Jews being the villains of the story, as they are in the Pauline Gospels, the Romans will be the villains of the story. Instead of having a Pilate who is so struck by the wonderful spirituality of Jesus, that he's so reluctant to execute him, we would have a Pilate who was more similar to the real Pilate, the historical guy to whom we know to have been a vicious and rapacious butcher.

After his arrival in Jerusalem on a donkey Jesus upped the stakes he entered the Temple, the heart of the Jerusalem political and religious establishment, and drove the money changers and traders from its precincts. The Gospels assert that the attack on the Temple was directed at the Jewish leaders who presided over it. The alternative biography would say that it was in fact an attack on the Romans who were the Temple's true controllers while the Jewish priests were just their puppets.

The temple, of course, was the house of God, but it was also controlled by the Romans. We knew exactly that it was the centre of Judaism. The high priest, for example, had to collaborate with the Romans. The Temple had become part of the Roman Imperial Cult (the Roman Faith ministery), as any other temples in the empire, and the reason was collecting the relgious tax. So it is a symbolic rejection of the temple not because of any impurity with regard to itself or its own religion, but because of its association with Rome. Because the temple is now the seat of collaboration, not the house of God.

Reports of the trouble being caused by Jesus alerted the Roman authorities. Jesus had to be taken off the streets but first they had to find him. The New Testament says the disciple Judas betrayed Jesus in the alternative biography that betrayal would be seen as fiction.

* * *

The idea that Jesus was betrayed by one of his closest disciples would actually reflect it on them personally because they were the disciples. The leaders of the Jerusalem Church were Jesus disciples. Why did this story become part of the story of the Pauline Gospels?

It was a mythological necessity. Every great legend has someone who functions in the role of the scapegoat, someone who betrays. Without betrayal, the great protagonist of the story does not become the martyred hero. The natural person for this role was Judas because his name "Judas" was the same as the name of the Jewish people. And the Jewish people had been cast for that role in the Gospel story as being the people who betrayed Jesus. This evil story composition was consequently responsible for the death of millions Jews, from the earliest persecutions, via Mohammed's hate toward them, up to the Russian proproms culminating in Stalin's Communist mass-killings, to the most vile crime in history: the Holocaust, perpetrated by Hitler's German Nazis.

Jesus was now under arrest. According to the New Testament he was tried first by the Jewish priests for the blasphemy of calling himself the Son of God. He was then tried by the Romans for political subversion. The Gospels say, it is the Jewish priests not the Romans who want rid of Jesus they persuade an unwilling Pontius Pilate to execute him. But the Jewish punishment for blasphemy would have been stoning whereas crucifixion was a purely Roman means of killing. In the alternative biography Jesus's execution becomes a political Roman decision.

The Romans crucified and for anything that was subversive to the Roman order, the Roman law and order, as it were. So it was a highly symbolic public act of state terrorism. It was, in a way, like putting the head on tower bridge, except the whole body was as it were hung up there for everyone to see.

Our Christ dies a revolutionary death in Palestine. The sleight-of-hand in the materials that we have change a Roman execution of Jesus into a Jewish plot.

The New Testaments attempt to put the blame for Jesus's death on the Jews takes one final turn. Pilate makes a last offer to spare Jesus. Barabbas his first name was also Jesus in the alternative biography the Jewish mob is called to release him would be seen as pure invention.

The story arose because there was a strongly attested tradition that when Jesus was arrested and in the custody of Pilate, the Jewish crowd shouted for his release, which they would naturally do because he would be a very popular figure, a messiah figure. And this tradition was so strong, it could not be entirely expunged from the record, and at least want to suspect that there has been some splitting here. In other words that Jesus Barabbas and Jesus of Nazareth are really the same person historically.

After his death Jesus is placed in a stone tomb by a mysterious follower Joseph of Arimathea (a word game that leads us to the name Josephus b[ar Mattathias leading our attention to his crucifixion story in his book "The Jewish War" in which bar Mattathias rescued one of the three crucified convicts). This later becomes the stage for the crucial moment in the whole story: Jesus's resurrection. But in fact crucifixion almost always meant there was no burial.

The function of crucifixion is to leave the body there for the scavenging dogs are the crows. That was part of it, and it is significant that of the thousands of Jews who were crucified around Jerusalem in the first century, in all of this time, we found only one crucified skeleton. And that is a graphic reminder that burial is the extraordinary event, not the usual event after crucifixion.

According to the New Testament an exception was made for Jesus and he was burried in a little cave nearby the execution site. It was here that Jesus's followers arrived to anoint his dead body only to discover the tomb was empty. Jesus had risen from the dead. For both, Paul and the Jerusalem Church, the resurrection was fundamental to their view of Jesus, but they understood it differently. To Paul, Jesus's death was the whole point of his life.

Paul is not interested at all in the historical Jesus. For Paul, the history of Jesus begins with the night before his death and finishes three days days later with his resurrection and the real Jesus is totally ignored by Paul, and he says, "all I want to know is Christ, and Christ crucified and consequently also risen.

But for the Jerusalem Church Jesus's death on the cross had meant failure. James the brother of Jesus was seen praying on his knees, probably begging God for forgiveness - as he has failed to protect his (probably younger) brother Jesus. The

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Messiah was supposed to usher in a new era of peace and prosperity here on Earth.

The Jerusalem church had a problem. Why did he die on the cross? In case of other Messiah figures, that was the end of their movement. If they were actually executed by the Romans that was the end of their pretensions. The Jesus Movement, however, continued because the belief arose among his followers that he was not dead, that he had been brought back to life by a process of resurrection which was the miracle.

In some but not all New Testament records, we can find that story. We also can read that the disciple Peter, Jesus's brother James, and eventually all twelve disciples believed that they had encountered the Risen Jesus. But in the alternative biography, how would they have viewed his resurrection?

They did not think this made him divine because no human being could be divine that Judaism does not allow the worship of any human being as divine. That is an infringement of the first of the ten commandments. But they believed that he had been brought back to life and he would shortly come along and continue his mission which was the same as before, that is to liberate the Jews and and you know inaugurate or was called the kingdom of God.

So the alternative Jerusalem Church biography might have seen Jesus like this: A man born naturally into a Jewish family who observed Jewish law, a charismatic healer and preacher recognised by the disciple Peter as the Jewish Messiah bringing liberation on Earth, a man who saw religion and politics as one, and a man who reappeared after his death to carry on the liberation fight. And this may be the lost biography the very first Christians were given.

If we think of the many early Christians continuing to go to Jerusalem for festivals, they will have met with people like Peter and James and with the other Apostles that were still in Jerusalem, and they would have heard this story. To them, it was not a marginal story. It was the story which was perhaps best known during the first generation of the Christian Church. But as Paul's version began to catch on all over the Roman Empire, the role of the early leaders, in particular Jesus's brother James, began to be undermined.

It is not just James, but all the disciples had a kind of "poor press" in the New Testament. They are all depicted as very stupid. They do not understand what Jesus is talking about. In reality, they knew better what Jesus was talking about than anyone else, better than Paul.

Of course, modern Christians believe, it was the will of God that Paul's vision should become the basis for a new World religion. As for the successors to James and the Jerusalem Church. By the second century, they had evolved into a small Jewish sect called the Ebionites which was viewed as heretical by the mainstream Christian Church. But if they had won the battle for the biography of Jesus, there would be no such thing as Christianity. It is ironic that those who knew Jesus best and give us the most reliable image of what Jesus was like in the end their mission turns out to be treated as heresy.

The Jerusalem version was a much less potent message than Paul's version because it is so closely tied to the historical Jesus, whereas Paul's mission is based on the view that Jesus was the human form of of God.

Although the Pauline picture has dominated Christianity for over 1,900 years very effectively, it is in decline due to all the terrible things that so-called Christians let happen during the 20th century. The real Jesus, the Teacher and Advisor, and his amazing story, we can understand much better today. And may be, this might be the chance for a new Christianity, a Christianity that is based on reality and cherishes the things the original Jesus stood for: Fairness, Peace, Love, Justice, Compassion, and the believe in a benevolent God.

CAESAR'S MESSIAH:
THE ROMAN CONSPIRACY TO INVENT JESUS

(Video Transcript: Lord Henfield. Caesar's Messiah: "The Roman Consiracy To Invent Jesus" is a film produced in 2012 by Joseph Atwill, Directed by Fritz Heede, Nijole Sparkis, which is based on Atwill's book [from 2005] with the same title. Main Commentators: Joseph Atwill, Prof. Robert Eisenman, Dr. Rod Blackhirst, John Hudson, Kenneth Humphreys, Dorothy Milne Murdock, Timothy Freke.)

Who was Jesus? Is he a historical character? Who wrote the Gospels? Why are they written in Greek? Why did they have a pro Roman perspective? Why was the religion headquartered in Rome?

"Those were the mysteries that I saw about the Gospels. The origin of the Christian religion has been a subject steeped in mystery for nearly 2,000 years."

Joseph Atwill is one of a number of scholars today from all around the world who are questioning the historic facts behind these ancient mysteries. When examining the actual history of this era, many of the answers provided by the church and Christian scholars do not hold up to rigorous scrutiny.

This is really important for our culture to understand where Christianity came from. No doubt, Christians have done a lot of good for the world. But then there are other Christians, often the most dogmatic, who create wars, hatred, and other harm under the disguise of religion.

In studying how Christianity emerged, many of our scholars agreed that it was used as a political tool to control the masses of the day. And it is still being used this way today.

The problem is that Christianity has been used as a tool by governments that uses the goodness in people against them. For example, support for the wars in the Middle East has been preached to Evangelical Christians as a way to speed up the end of days this is just one example of the way that propaganda is used to control and manipulate the populus.

Actually, according to my study of the ancient texts, the second coming of the Christ has already occurred. May be, we need to expand the possible answers about how Christianity originated and deeper questions need to be asked. May be. we need to examine what political motives were behind the formation of the Christian religion.

I think it's a requirement of alert citizens to know how the Gospels were written, why they were written, who produced them, what was the purpose and back of all this. This is good citizenry. Everyone should be involved in this.

Today we live on the brink of an immense paradigm shift and this modern time is very parallel to the era in which Christianity emerged. Studying this ancient era can give us the perspective needed for coming up with solutions to today's problems and for helping create the better world that we envision.

And the penny dropped. The penny dropped that Jesus as a human being never existed.

The presentation of the Jesus character is somewhat of a composite of many messianic leaders of the time.

Well let's just go back to the drawing board and we'll leave aside all of the assumptions of Christian history and let's just look at the text afresh and consider every possibility. Let's let's open the whole game up.

Can you think that Christianity is really paganism by different name? And now it feels completely obvious.

Some of us are saying that this was a Sun God turned into a Jewish man.

In all of this, we are dealing with literature we are not dealing with history. So the answer is No. There is no history to this character of Jesus it's entirely a literary creation.

Some of our Bible scholars are Mavericks working outside the restrictions of mainstream religious institutions. This allows them the freedom to provide fresh insights and draw some startling conclusions about how Christianity was formed.

I began reading a number of books on the subject this turned into a decade-long research.

For Joseph Atwill the key was in the Dead Sea Scrolls the only Jewish literature ever discovered from the 1st century AD, the time that Jesus would have been preaching among the Jews. The characters in the Dead Sea scrolls were militaristic, and you could see that this movement wanted to push the foreigners out of Israel. They were fundamentalists whereas the characters and the gospel are different. They are pacifistic, they are turning the other cheek they're giving to Caesar what is Caesar's. How did a movement like Christianity come to exist in a region that was occupied by Roman soldiers and had Jewish Zealots within it that were going to push these Romans out how was that possible?

I began studying the other two major works of the era the New Testament and the Jewish War by Titus Flavius Josephus, a Roman court historian who described the war between the Romans and the Jews in the 1st century. While reading these works side by side, I noticed an amazing connexion between them certain events from the Ministry of Jesus seemed to closely parallel episodes from the military campaign of Roman Caesar Titus Flavius. A campaign which took place 40 years after Jesus supposedly lived. My efforts to understand these connexions led me to an incredible discovery Christianity had been invented by a little-known family of Roman Caesars the Flavians and they left us documents to prove it.

The Flavians are not a household name, and yet it is the Flavians who completely reshaped the Roman Empire. In Rome of course there's the there's the Colosseum which is understood to be the best-known monument of the ancient Roman Empire perhaps. The Colosseum is in fact a Flavian construction produced during the Flavian period. It is under the Flavians that both, Rabbinic Judaism and Christianity, take shape.

Why would the Flavians be interested in creating religions? Much like today, their era was marked by political power struggles, a bankrupt economy, religious conflicts and endless wars. In the midst of this turmoil, the Flavians seized control of the Roman Empire and ushered in an immense paradigm shift. To understand the Flavians rise to power we need to go back to the reign of the previous powerful rulers the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Beginning with Julius Caesar in the year 49 BC, the Julio-Claudian Dynasty ruled Rome for over a hundred years transforming the government from a republic into an empire. This family contained all the famous Caesars: Julius who predated the time of Jesus. Augustus who was Caesar at the time of Jesus' supposed birth, Tiberius who ruled during Jesus's supposed death, followed by the infamous Caligula, then Claudius, and ending the Julio-Claudian dynasty with Nero whose reign begins in 54 AD.

The Julio-Claudians enjoyed a godlike status until the family degenerated and began to damage the Roman Empire.

By the time of Nero, his famous decadence was bankrupting the Empire and the Jews of Judaea were staging a huge rebellion against their Roman rulers.

Judaea was one of the many conquered provinces that made up the Roman Empire, this region which was also known as Palestine, was controlled by a family that served as Rome's tax collector: the Herod's.

They were a Greco-Arab family somewhat possibly Judaised though only Judaised when it was convenient to please the subjects they were given, who were put in power in Palestine and destroyed the previous Jewish ruling family the Maccabean family root installed.

Besides being heavily taxed and ruled by a non-Jewish family put in power by Rome, the Jews were further inflamed by the requirement that a statue of the Caesar be placed for worship in every temple throughout the Empire.

In the Roman Empire you could pretty much have any God you want. But legally you had to submit to the emperor as a god as well. You had to at least acknowledge that the the Roman leader was also a divine figure. But the Jews would not have any of it.

It's fundamental to Jewish belief that you shall make no graven images it's one of the Ten Commandments given at Sinai by God. So the Jews never made representations of God.

The Jews had a very different type of religion. They had a religion which was much more focused on the book and less focused upon cultic statues. This presented a real problem for the Romans. They tried to install statues of Caesar but the Jews were not going to buy that at all. In fact, it aggravated them, it enraged them and the Romans really did not understand this. It is not statues, it is books.

And those books contained what are known as the "Jewish messianic prophecies,"

The thing that most moved the Jews revolt against Rome was an obscure prophecy from among their writings that a world ruler would have come out of Palestine.

Holy books inspired the Jews to expect a redeemer who would redeem Israel, rescue Israel, restore Israel to power and leadership in the world.

The Messiah that the literature described was a warrior the messiahs would have claimed the same attributes that David did. David could overcome any army because God gave him the power to do it. If you had the power of God you could easily defeat the Roman army. The people rebelled against Rome and were led by a messianic movement that had a series of messiahs that had come forward to fight against the Roman Empire+

The Hebrew word Messiah is translated into Greek as Christos or Christ so the title of Christ can describe any of the numerous messiahs of this movement. Rome ruled her colonies with an iron fist and any resistance was going to be met with brute force.

The Roman-Jewish War was triggered in 66 AD by anti-taxation protests and attacks upon Roman citizens by Jews, originating in Roman and Jewish religious tensions. The Roman governor, Gessius Florus, responded by plundering the Second Temple, claiming the money was for the Emperor, and the next day launching a raid on the city, arresting numerous senior Jewish figures. This prompted a wider, large-scale rebellion and the Roman military garrison of Judaea was quickly overrun by the rebels, while the pro-Roman king Herod Agrippa II, together with Roman officials, fled Jerusalem. As it became clear the rebellion was getting out of control, Cestius Gallus, the legate of Syria, brought in the Syrian army, based on Legion XII Fulminata and reinforced by auxiliary troops, to restore order and quell the revolt. Despite initial advances and the conquest of Jaffa, the Syrian Legion was ambushed and defeated by Jewish rebels at the Battle of Beth Horon with 6,000 Romans massacred and the Legion's Eagle lost. The troops of the Messianic Movement caught the Romans off-guard and drove them out of Judaea. It actually defeats them militarily and set up a nation-state directly in the Roman Empire.

The Judaean provisional government was formed in Jerusalem by former High Priest Ananus ben Ananus (the man who killed James the brother of Jesus and was the main instigator in starting the Roman-Jewish War in 66 AD), Joseph ben Gurion and Joshua ben Gamla. Yosef bar Matityahu (the then future Titus Flavius Josephus) was appointed Jewish Army Commander of the North in Galilee and Eleazar ben Hanania as Army Commander of the South in Edom (Arabia Petraea). The Messianic Movement could muster a staggering 85,000 troops. That is: 25,000 (66), 6,000 (67), 500 Adiabene / Osrhoene warriors (southern Armenia); Other Jewish nations and Allies: Peasantry: 15,000 (69–70), Idumean-Nabataean Arabs 5,000 (69–70), 6,000 Zealots under Yohanan ben Levi, 2,400 Zealots under General Eleazar ben Ya'ir, 20,000 Idumean Arabs (68 only),

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Sicarii (Messianic Jihadists) under General Menahem ben Yehuda 5,000 (67), 500 (73): Civilians were forced to take part or support them.

And the Romans had to do something about it. There was a real danger that this messianic movement could not only boil over in Judaea itself but also spread to other Jewish communities and other parts of the Roman Empire. They mainly relied on guerilla tactics forcing the Romans to conquer each single town, one by one.

As the Jews were supported by Arab, Armenian and Assyrian troops, Emperor Nero had no other chance than calling up his finest generals, Vespasian and his son Titus, with whom he had a raw before. Vespasian and Titus had great expertise to quell any uprising. For over a decade they had waged war against the Druids in Britain and Gaul. Vespasian and Titus were so successful in destroying the Druids that they left behind no historical record of their existence. And these were exactly the men Nero needed to wipe the Messianist off the face of the Earth. Nero had to give them what they wanted, so they had at their disposal (minimum numbers): the Roman guard 3,000 men (by spring 66), the Syrian Legion 30,000 (summer 66), 5 Legions 60,000 (67–70), Legio X Fretensis 6,000 troops (70–73), that is about 100,000 troups.

In the year 66 AD the Flavians begin their military campaign against the Jews and they began to march their invasion forces from the north into Galilee where the first of three key events takes place they destroy the Jewish towns of Galilee. They soon captured a Jewish general who later becomes a critical figure in the formulation of Christianity. His name: Josephus bar Mattathias (Aramaic: Yosef bar Matityahu) In excellent Greek, he presented himself to the Flavians as a prophet telling Vespasian of prophecies that Vespasian would become Emperor. A smart trick with which he survived. As he spoke Greek, he rather might have overheard Roman officers discussing the political situation back in Rome. In the year 68 the Senate found the courage to depose Nero and he committed suicide. Now, Vespasian was a prime candidate to become emperor and he quite liked Josephus. He first employed him as a translator to negotiate with the rebels their surrender. After the shortlived succession of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, Vespasian was by his own army declared emperor in 69 AD In the middle of this war Vespasian returned to Rome and seized the throne the Flavians then became the imperial family.

Josephus worked with the Flavians against the rebellion. He is often described as traitor although that does not reflect the truth. As member of the Pharisee faction, Josephus always hated the backward Messianists but loved Rome. He made no secret of it, that is why the Messianist leadership held his family in captivity. Josephus was in Rome three years before the war and became a friend to Nero's wife Poppaea Sabina.

With Vespasian in Rome, Titus stayed behind on the battlefield and set his sights on Jerusalem where the other two key events took place. Titus encircled Jerusalem entirely by building a wall to starve the Messianists out. He finally destroyed the temple leaving not one stone atop another in 70 AD.

Titus the victor of this great siege carried the spoils of this captured city back to Rome for his triumph in 71 AD. The Arch of Titus in Rome commenorates this event on impressive depictions.

In 72 AD, the most radical 900 Sicarii Jihadists fled to the near-impregnable mountain fortress Masada. General Lucius Flavius Silva, a relative of Vespasian, laid siege until all 900 committed suicide in 73.

All of the artifacts from the Temple that they seized they put on public display in what they refer to as the palace of peace except for one item: The Jewish scripture. Josephus records that the Flavians took and placed in the Imperial Palace (at the north side of the Circus Maximus) where no one was allowed to see it.

Although Titus successfully ended the rebellion in Judea another rebellion soon broke out in Alexandria Egypt. The Flavians knew that this was not the end of the Jewish Messianic Movement. Already during the war, the Flavians recognised, most likely by Josephus' explanations, that the Jewish messianic literature was fueling this terrorist movement. So the Flavians had all copies of it destroyed. There was not a single scrap of literature found from the Messianic Movement until the Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered in 1947. They are the only real voice of the Messianic Movement we have and that is why they are such a treasure.

The "Messianic Movement" is a name that came about by modern Biblical scholars due to the frequent mentioning of a messiah in the documents. The scholars however were shocked when they read the text because it was not talking about a peaceful figure like the Jesus in the Bible. On the contrary, the texts were talking about Jihad-like military actions, killing non-Jews, getting rid of all non-Jewish empires, and about a messiah who delivers all this by decisive military victories.

And that's why the Dead Sea Scrolls had to have been buried in caves when the Roman Army approached Qumran in 68 AD. It was the only way they could be safe from the Roman destruction.

turncoat He becomes Flavius Josephus Josephus at this time begins writing the history of the war. And he records that Titus gave him the Jewish scripture Josephus says histories have always been associated with the origins of Christianity

Back in Rome, Josephus explaines to Vespasian and Titus what the Messianic scriptures really contain and they realise that the texts were literature of war against Rome. Vespasian grants Josephus Roman citizenship and even adopted him, an amazing turn of events for that young man. From now on, he lives in the Imperial Palace, next door to all the family members and the captured Jewish scripture. He now calls himself Titus Flavius Josephus.

It is during this period that a new literature enters history which describes a peace-loving turned the other cheek preaching Jewish Messiah named Jesus Christ but if the Flavians wrote the Gospels how could a Roman family know how to write Jewish literature that refers to Jewish prophecy the answer lies in the Flavians collaborations with a number of Jewish intellectuals beginning with their own court historian Josephus.

The Roman leadership had a difficult task ahead. They realised that they could not destroy all Jewish people as about 5 to 10% of the entire Roman population was Jewish. They needed to figure out how to subdue or otherwise convince the Jewish religion to enter a peacful path. What they tried to do was to create a type of Judaism that is benign. We only know that Roman editors changed the Jewish Book of Law, the so-called "Mishna Sanhedrin" because this event is recorded by the Jews themselves. It becomes the basis of "Rabbinic Judaism" which we better should call "Roman Judaism"; it is the modern, benign and peaceful religion of our time.

In reading the works of Josephus side-by-side with the Gospels, scholars have noticed parallels between the two works. It appears as though the history of Josephus records events that fulfill the prophecies of the old and new testaments early Christians understood this connexion in fact when the Bible first began to be printed in the Middle Ages it included the history of Josephus.

Time and again we can find parallels between what Josephus writes and what turns up in the Gospels it's a powerful evidence of their true origin

He was employed to write the official history that we have the other histories from this period have been destroyed ruthlessly by the Romans. Josephus tells us this in very chilling passages how the Romans exerted complete control of the literature of this period. There were alternative histories of the Jewish war written well the Romans rounded up the writers of those histories and executed them. They rounded up all the copies of those histories and destroyed them. That is to say they ruthlessly wiped out any alternative history the only history we have is written by Josephus. And let's remember who Josephus was chief propagandist of the the Flavian tennessean he was very very successful he moved back to Rome he was given a an apartment in the Emperor's own townhouse and he was appointed the chronicler of the Roman Jewish war using Vespasian's own Diaries of the events.

Also in the pages of his history Josephus declares that the Jewish Messiah or Christ is none other than Flavius Vespasian and his dynastic family to put it succinctly Josephus says that there was a prophecy that a world ruler would come out of Palestine the Jews thought this applied to one of their own they were wrong in their interpretations He used the most cynical interpretation he applied it to the rise of the Roman Emperor in Palestine

Josephus recorded that the Messianic prophecies foresaw not a Jew but Vespasian and his dynasty In fact all of the Flavian historians recorded that the Flavian caesar was the Christ. it was important to the Flavians that they be seen as the Christ as divine and godlike and this was not mere vanity The Julio-Claudians before them had already established that presenting themselves as gods was a powerful tool in controlling their subjects when the Flavians took over the throne they inherited an enormous bureaucracy that was already in place: the imperial cult which was dedicated to promoting the idea of Caesar as a god

Another part of the puzzle is the Roman Imperial cult. why is it important well because it coincides with that same period of time as the emergence of the Christ's coat you had a whole social community the whole social structure of these conquered territories was governed by the Imperial cult and if you wanted to succeed the key social community to join was the Imperial cult because that's where all the movers and shakers were

This idea of the Emperor becoming an object of worship was well established in the Roman system before Vespasian and Titus came along. It was prevalent in all major centers it had its own priesthood there was a ceremony an annual celebration annual games for the Imperial cult. Now it had many characteristics which would later colour the Christian cult. It grew in the same centers it made claims that were later transferred to Christ

the Julio-Claudians had claimed that they were of divine descent and that they were therefore legitimates their power base was the Roman aristocracy the Roman nobility. all of that collapsed into this power vacuum Vespasian was declared Emperor by the troops, by the Roman army so effectively it was a military coup with the change of dynasty they have to create a whole new follow G to legitimize that dynasty at the same time they're creating a whole mythology to counter Jewish Messiah nism somewhere along the line those two things get mixed together

When Vespasian died Titus began the process of having his father deified this is a complicated process because only the Roman Senate can bestow on an individual the title of Dios our God Titus came to the Senate and presented evidence that the life of his father had been deveined certainly this would have included the military campaign that the Flavians waged through Judea. And it's at this time I think the Gospels were written because the theological structure in the Gospels of a God the Father and the Son of God is the same one that Titus would have been presenting to the Roman Senate. Well the Roman Senate did accept Titus as evidence and Vespasian was deified and became a God. Titus therefore became a son of God.

The arch of Titus, that still stands in modern Rome today, is inscribed with a dedication to the divine Titus son of the divine Vespasian or son of a god. This imperial cult set up to worship Caesar as God also provided the basis for the structure of the Roman Catholic Church.

Now the rituals, paraphernalia, and symbols of paganism were transferred wholesale to the Christian Church the most obvious and clear example is where the title of the pagan chief priests of Rome the Pontifex Maximus became the title of the Pope the Christian Pope if you look at who held the original Bishop positions in the Catholic Church in those early times you will see that they are members of the same pagan aristocracy they simply change their clothing a little bit they wore the same garments but they wore slightly different headdresses they had become from being a priest of a pagan cult to being a priest of Rome

Where the Vatican now stands there was once a pagan temple which celebrated the mysteries of a dying and resurrecting god man who wasn't Jesus. There are many churches in Rome I've been to a few where you go above into the Church of there as Jesus and you go underneath and there's a little sanctuary of Mithras. And it's basically the same thing

So the roman plot to invent Christianity is just so clever when you think about it through the Pope who is God's representative on earth they no longer needed expensive standing armies Wars and punishment of disobedient peasants they could through religion rule their subjects

Over time Roman Christianity propagated throughout the empire by way of the mass media of the day the Roman roads the Romans must have approved of this new religion because as some scholars asked if the Gospels really were Jewish literature about a Roman sentenced criminal why wouldn't they have been destroyed

One of the really surprising things for me was to realize the extent of Roman control of propaganda and of literature. So that when you suddenly get all of this Christian literature arising in this period one has to ask well how did that happen the conclusion that one has to reach is that that could not have happened without some degree of complicity on the part of of the Romans so that one is led to the conclusion that the Romans must be involved in the production of this literature

To produce and disseminate this literature was a huge undertaking and the Flavians undoubtedly had collaborators we know they were funded by the wealthiest family in the world at this time: the Alexanders, a Jewish family who served as Rome's tax collectors in Egypt like the Herod's in Judea the Alexander's had strong motivation to keep the Jews Messianic movement from threatening their position and their wealth. One of their family members was Philo of Alexandria a famous Jewish theologian who was already writing works that combined Jewish beliefs with the modern Greek and Roman pagan beliefs of the day many scholars agree that his writings formed the basis for much of the philosophy of Christianity

In these pages is practically every concept that you can find within Christianity she combines Greek philosophy and he took that and he combined it with Judaism. On top of that he was from a extremely wealthy family and this is important because you have to follow the money when you're looking at major trends new paradigms being set And if you look at his family then you start seeing well this is interesting because now we were starting to come across the Flavians again His relatives are very involved with the Flavians that whole area is where we want to look very closely for the Christian origins.

Its from exactly the same circle of people that you get the first signs of Christian ideology and they all lead to the rise of the Flavian dynasty.

Another wealthy influential character princess Bernice was from the Herod family in Judea she's the granddaughter of Herod the Great a product of the Herod's intermarriage with the conquered Jewish ruling Messianic lineage. Princess

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Bernice appears in the New Testament which makes her an interesting character she had two or three husbands and then became the mistress of Titus. So you can see this again rather like dynasty here you know powerful people mixed marriages you know shacking up with the Conqueror. yeah and it's really where Joe Atwill takes his idea of a conspiracy to write the New Testament but let him say it in his own words

Bernice was a Herod related by marriage to the Alexander's and of course later she became the mistress to Titus. the fact that she was so closely linked with the Flavian shows you that the three families were very unified in financial romantic and likely theological issues.

By the looks of things this coalescence seemed to have brought about a dynamic that led to the synthesis of Judaism and paganism and eventually became Christianity. so that this is a very key time period

I believe that the Gospels were actually written under the control of the Herod's the Alexander's and the Flavians. These families had the motivation to create Christianity and with the expertise in Judaism that the Alexander's and the Herod's had, they had the actual technical ability to come up with these stories that our fulfillment of Hebraic prophecies

So it seems the Flavians had the motivation the means and the collaborations through which they likely constructed and began disseminating Christianity. And if our scholars are correct one of the documents they left behind are the Gospels themselves

I began working on the study of the Gospels in the 1970s and I look at texts in terms of how were these composed watched as understanding that structure tell you about who wrote them and why they were written

These texts were not independent Jewish texts but they will create as literary works using classical literary models

If we expect that this is the testimony of witnesses we've got a major problem. We actually have for anonymous documents they were not written by the names of people on those documents this is simply church according to Mark according to Matthew. So this idea that the the Gospels are reliable Testament is patent nonsense

Why are the Gospels called Gospels that's a critical question the word gospel in Greek is Evangelion and it means "good news of military" victories. Whose military victory are we celebrating here in these Gospels well seems to me that we are celebrating clearly the Roman military victory because these events the Battle of Madera the Battle of the lake of Galilee the successful Battle of Jerusalem these are battles that the Romans Won.

Why are the Gospels celebrating battles that the Jews lost if these things were written by the Jews the fact that the Gospels are known to us in Greek and and not in Aramaic or Hebrew is I think just evidence of their authorship they were not written by any followers of Jesus who would have surely spoken Aramaic and if they had been fishermen and simple folk they would not have had the literal skills to write them anyway

If we look closely there actually are clues in the Gospels that point to who the true authors were.

A lot of the Christian literature advocates turning away from the Jewish law and obeying Roman law. This fits perfectly into Roman propaganda purposes and then you have in general the portrayal of Jesus as the peaceful Jew who is wandering around in what is depicted as a sort of pastoral scenes talking to fishermen and farmers and so forth, when in fact this is a war zone. Judea is a war zone and you ask yourself well why is it not portrayed as a war zone?

I mean they really had it down pat they kept they have Jesus saying render unto Caesar what is Caesar's which is basically in response to talking about money whose benefit would that be? so blatantly obvious.

The perception of Roman characters in the Gospels they're all interpreted in a favourable light they are pro-roman they do not depict the Romans as the forces of evil they reverse that it's the Jews who become the forces of darkness. It's very striking that various passages in the Gospels refer to the Jews as "some people" separate from the heroes of Jesus and His disciples the Jews are those who object the Jews are those who try to walk the Divine Plan. Now that gives us a clue certainly to who were the true authors of this book

They are works of literature created by people who are trained in Jewish literature but whose values are pro Roman the

Romans wanted to promote anti-semitism and so they arranged the story of the beloved man God Jesus Christ to appear as if the Jews had brought about his death. Because of this the Jews would have to suffer anti-semitism throughout history

So this was a piece of work that could not have been done except by a fairly established natori team such as the literary team that was in Rome actually writing the books of Josephus, I mean that was written by a literary team and it was written as one of the attempts to give prominence to the Flavian Caesars which the Gospels also do. So it is extremely likely that the Gospels as a form of epic designed to magnify allegorically the Roman Caesars is also written at the court of the Flavian emperors

But the Jesus story takes place many decades before the Flavians came to power. Why would the Flavians create a work about a Jewish Messiah that wasn't even from their own era? The Gospels were very precisely back dated 40 years Jesus's ministry was started in 30 AD exactly 40 years from the destruction of the temple. His ministry ends at Passover 33 AD which is 40 years before the end of the Jewish-Roman war which occurred at Passover in 73 AD with the famous Battle of Masada

The Gospels are backdated into the period of Pontius Pilate that is to say before the first Jewish War which is to say in the Julio-Claudian period but this is typical of Flavian literature it's a Flavian technique. what they do is they back date this story into the period of their enemies namely the Julio-Claudians. And so generation after generation of Christian scholar and even secular historians go hunting in the Julio-Claudian period for the origins of the Gospels. They don't really find any answers then there are allusions in the Gospels to the destruction of the temple the most reasonable answer to that is that these texts were written after the destruction of the temple that is to say in the Flavian period after the change of dynasty

This backdating of the story of Jesus Christ forty years earlier from the time the Gospels may actually have been written explains why many of the prophecies of Jesus came true within exactly 40 years what does this all add up to in my view the thing that is most significant is the research by Joseph Atwell in his book Cesar's Messiah which suggests that the Gospels were actually created as works of Roman propaganda at the end of the Roman Jewish War under the rain the Flavian emperors that his Titus Caesar and Vespasian Caesar and if you end up worshipping Jesus what you will really end up doing is worshiping Caesar in disguise

This may have been how the Flavians finally got the Jews to worship Caesar as a God by giving them Jesus Christ, a messiah more to the Romans liking, But is there any actual history to this character where did he really come from

The mystery to me begins with his very name in Greek Jesus means Savior and Christ means the Messiah this didn't strike me is something you would call a young child

These two words are already important within Judaism before Jesus Christ supposedly existed. Major biblical figures to a Jewish Greek speaking populace would already be called Christ their ears would already be acclimated to accepting this this title that so it isn't just a unique name of a single person who is it just suddenly popped up

What did we actually know about Jesus Christ "the man"?

I don't think that Jesus can be historically defended. I don't think there's any evidence that we can extend to that particular Jesus.

So when you actually set out to investigate the historical Jesus as opposed to the Christ of faith you very abruptly enter a void. You find that whereas you might imagine the core details of Jesus are readily known and accessible you actually discover there's no such thing.

Further there had never been any archaeological evidence of Jesus Christ that had ever been discovered.

You cannot find an established and incontrovertible biography of Jesus at all. It doesn't exist. You enter a strange twilight zone of early Christian belief. What we have here is not a movement that is grown on the accretion of legends on a real flesh-and-blood man.

But instead the development of a religious movement around the idea of a man.

There isn't even an actual physical description of what Jesus looked like anywhere in the Gospels.

The presentation of the Jesus character it's somewhat of a composite of many messianic leaders of the time, many messianic leaders of the time most or all of whom came to a bad end, usually by crucifixion because crucifixion was the Roman punishment for seditious activity.

And the penny drop the penny drop that Jesus as a human being never existed

In all of this we're dealing with literature we're not dealing with history so the answer is no there is no history to this character of Jesus it's entirely a literary creation

What the Romans did was they saw the Jews reliance and belief in prophecy so they said "okay, they want a prophet, let's give them one."

It seems that in the construction of the literary character Jesus Christ the Roman authors borrowed religious concepts not only from Judaism but also from other gods and religions that they knew. Some scholars have noticed the similarities between the story of Jesus and the ancient pagan mysteries

In ancient mythology we find this whole strain of thought called "solar mythology" many gods start taking on solar attributes because as agricultural communities become more important the Sun becomes the big focus but most obvious reasons of planting and harvesting the Sun is then personified so now we have a male Sun God it becomes a religion in many parts of the world Christianity usurped a tremendous amount of Sun worship some of us are saying that this was a Sun God turned into a Jewish man This December 25th birthday was in fact the "Winter Solstice." This is really in fact the birth of the god of light the December 25th actually is the end of a three-day period of when the Sun stands still the Sun appears to be dying as the days become shorter and the Sun is reborn at that point

Across the ancient world there was this form of experiential and philosophical spirituality in these mystery cults or mystery schools. And at the centre of these schools you would find a mythos, which was an initiatory myth for symbolic myth which would help people who were going through the initiating process come to this spiritual awakening. This knowledge is called "gnosis." And what you see in these myths is the elements that will later become the Jesus story.

Let's ask the question is Jesus developed from pre-existing literary characters? Jesus has certain episodes in this so called life and each one of them can be traced to a prior representation of that time.

If you look at the the elements which we found in the pagan mystery school myths, you find the story of a dying and resurrecting son of God who's born of a virgin, has twelve disciples, turns water into wine at a wedding, it brings a new religion of love, is accused of heresy or a provocation by the authorities, is put to death, sometimes by crucifixion, and then if you want to commune with the god man, you take bread and wine, and then you can come to eternal life. Well, all of this is course Christianity.

Easter itself is a long pre-Christian celebration of the resurrection of spring from the death of winter. This is an ancient shamanic belief. You will find it all over the world. that you go through a ritual death where you get reborn. But you're reborn as an awake being, so you died just to your lower nature and woken up to your higher nature.

You can find them in the Old Testament in the the Jewish mythology as well. It isn't this pagan parallels I mean the New Testament for example the Ascension. We have an ascension with the Old Testament figure of Elijah and it's a very dramatic ascension.

Elisha and Elijah cycle: These are two Jewish prophets one followed on from the other which have many of the story elements found in Jesus for example there is a "multiplication of food miracle" there is a "raising of the dead miracle" there is a "water miracle" there is an "ascension to heaven miracle." Is this fulfillment or is this simply copying of a useful theme?

You can see where they just used Old Testament characters and scriptures as a blueprint to create this new one

A lot of the ethics of Christianity actually were around before Christianity. The Golden Rule "do unto others as thou wouldst have them do unto thee" is in fact from the Old Testament. Jesus didn't make that up. Many of the other aspects of Christian ethics many things which we might like to applaud as very good aspects of Christian ethics can be found in the stoic philosophy in Rome which by the way was exactly the philosophical and ethical school promoted by the Flavians

There is little that is original about Jesus. If one separates from his words, advice that was in the interest of the Roman Imperial family, all that you have left are snippets of widely known philosophies, truisms and concepts that came directly from prior Hebraic literature.

The reason I am now convinced there's no historical Jesus which seems of real light wool to people who are not familiar with the idea it is a combination of things: First of all, there is no evidence for an historical man which stands up to proper scrutiny. Secondly, the story of Jesus is full of these motifs which come from the pagan mysteries. And the third reason is, because in the early Christian movement there are these two types of Christians, certainly by the second century. I think of as Gnostics and literalists. What marks out the literalists who will become the Roman Empire and the Roman Catholic Church is that they've got a historical man. What marks out the Gnostics is that they see it allegorically, and their great heresy is that Christ didn't come in the flesh. Now the winners write history. And the history books have been written by the literalists.

And all of the tradition about the Romans trying to torture and suppress Christians these traditions are correct they definitely persecuted the Messianic militaristic Christians and they certainly would have frowned on the Gnostic independent thinking Christians, but the Roman pacifistic "giving to Caesar what is Caesar's group" would have been promoted.

Reason: This teaching is perfect for the Roman Empire as it is a fascist Empire. It has got a very simple message, "just believe this, you don't have to transform, and you have to go through the authorities, through the bishops, through the state ultimately. It is the perfect thing for them to pick up. And that's what they did.

Our scholars agree that the gospel are complex literary creations drawing from both pagan and Jewish myths. But Joseph Atwill goes a step further to say that the Flavians wrote passages directly into the Gospels which show that they were the authors.

One of the most famous prophecies that Jesus makes, is about the coming of someone he refers to as "a son of man."

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Now many people believe that he's talking about "a second coming" of himself and many people believe that this is going to occur some point in the future. Well, the fact is, this "coming of Jesus" has already occurred. Jesus makes very specific prophecies as to what will happen when "the Son of man" makes his visitation. He refers to three key events: (1st) the Galilean towns will be crushed, (2nd) Jerusalem will be encircled with a wall, and (3rd) the temple will be razed leaving not one stone atop another.

He also states exactly when this individual will come. He says that 'the Son of Man' will appear before the generation that is alive and listening to Jesus's words passes away. Now the Jews of this era a generation is 40 years. And so the only individual that could possibly be the son of man that Jesus predicts is Titus Flavius.

Titus Flavius did destroy the Galilean towns, he did encircle Jerusalem with the wall, and he raized the temple to the ground and left not one stone atop another. And he did this within 40 years. Josephus recorded that, no matter how Titus tortured the Jews, they refused to call him "Lord" or "God". So to circumvent this stubbornness, the Flavians wrote the Gospels in which "a son of man" was predicted to come in the future. Titus fulfilled these prophecies and became "the son of man". So you end up worshiping Titus without knowing it.

To further support his thesis but the Flavians originated Christianity Joseph at will points to the Roman Catholic Church's earliest Saints known as the Christian Flavians.

The Flavian family is connected to early Christianity in a number of unusual ways. Many members of the family were recorded as having been among the first Roman Catholic saints.

And these include Flavia Domitilla who is either Titus's sister or his niece. And there is an inscription honouring Flavia Domitilla for donating the land that became the first Christian catacomb, and Flavia Domitilla was the first Christian Saint. The inscription bearing her name is in the Catacomb of St. Domitilla in Rome. It can be seen on the righthand wall of the Basilica at the foot of the entrance stairway between the two sarcophagi. The right-side part of the tablet has broken off and is missing. The remaining inscription reads: TATI.A.BAVCYI . . .; TRIX.SEPIEM.LIB . . .; DIVI.VESPASIAN . . .; FLAVIAE.DOMITIL . . .; VESPASIANI.NEPTIS.M . . .; IVS.BENEFICIO.HOC.SEPHVICRV . . .; MEIS.LIBERTIS.LIBERTABVS . . . (in English: . . . Granddaughter of the God Vespasian . . . Flavia Domitilla . . . niece of [Titus Flavius] Vespasian the son of the divine Vespasian . . . donating . . . liberty . . . to get free . . .)

(1st) Her son Titus Favius Clement is recorded as having been the first Roman Catholic Pope after the apostle (and Jesus' younger brother) Simon, (2nd) in addition there were two members of the Flavian household staff, Flavia Domitilla's chamberlains Nereus and Achilleus, both of them had churches named after them in the very earliest Christian diocese in Rome, (3rd) there was a Christian theologian whose name was also Titus Flavius Clemens, Clement of Alexandria, and he's the one who actually described the first Christian symbols, and he said, they were the anchor the boat the fish the olive branch the star, and oddly these are the very symbols that the Flavian Caesars used on their coins. The final (4th) connecting point between the Flavian family and Christianity is that in the fourth century Flavius Constantine made Christianity the state religion of Rome.

The military achievements of Caesars were important to all Romans so certainly the Flavian Christians, the group that the Roman Catholic Church State, were the first saints of the religion would have known the identity of the Son of man that Jesus predicted who would crush Galilee and circle Jerusalem with a wall and raise the temple was Titus Flavius.

So it seems if a person knows how to uncover them there are actually many clues pointing to the Flavian origin of Christianity and perhaps the most intriguing one that Joseph at will uncovered is a secret code the Flavians used in their documents which enabled him to make his startling discovery.

So the Romans had the Jews' scripture locked up inside their imperial court and they studied it. And what they discovered was that there was a unique literary code hidden in the text.

This hidden code, which was common in Jewish scripture, was used by the Flavian literary team to place passages into the Gospels that had to be deciphered to be understood. This hidden literary technique is known as typology.

Typology is used throughout the ancient Hebraic literature and it's a genre that is really no longer understood are used today but simply put typology is using events from the past to provide form and context for subsequent ones what we're talking about is stereotypic. In other words, there's an idealised prototype which shows certain characteristics, or performs in certain ways.

For instance one of the things they do is they take an old story and they retell it in a new form and and they superimpose contemporary history upon old stories and they create these multi-layered texts.

In Hebraic typology, texts were designed to be read in comparison to one another or intertextually. And in doing so, a meaning that would not be visible in the surface narration, would become apparent to someone who understood the type of logic connexion between the stories. Hebraic typology connects prophets. Events from the life of one prophet are placed into the life of a subsequent prophet. And this shows that there is a divine pattern established by God connecting his prophets to one another.

The Gospels actually show how we can decipher for ourselves this hidden code or typology that was used to create the Jesus story.

At the very beginning of the Gospels there's a primer of this typology. What the author of Matthew has done, is take events from the Old Testament and place them into the life of Jesus. These events occur in the same sequence in the story of Jesus as they occur in the Old Testament.

Numerous Bible scholars had already identified the following parallels:

Both stories have a patriarch named Joseph who travels from Israel to Egypt; A ruler who massacres innocent boys; A divine character who states that all the men are dead who sought your life; And then a return from Egypt to Israel. This is followed by events which have passing through water (in the Old Testament the Israelites pass through the Red Sea, in Matthew Jesus is given a baptism in which he passes through water); we then travel into the wilderness (the Israelites are in the wilderness for 40 years, Jesus goes into the wilderness for 40 days). Finally we have the three temptations (in the Old Testament we have the temptation by bread, the statement "do not tempt God," and the commandment to worship only God. These appear again in Matthew where Jesus is tempted by bread, tells the devil "do not tempt God" and instructs him to worship only God.). Therefore when you compare the life of Jesus with the life of Moses, you see a linkage that shows that the character in the Gospels was divinely connected to the character in the Old Testament. The life of the first saviour of Israel Moses foresaw the life of Jesus who's now claiming to be the next saviour of Israel.

To understand the rest of the Jesus story his adult ministry we simply need to know that the same system of parallel names locations and concepts occurring in the same sequence was used to connect Jesus in the Gospels to Titus in the works of Josephus.

Our scholars explain this Gospel typology in the following three examples:

Jesus comes to the Sea of Galilee at the beginning of his ministry. He gathers his disciples to him and he says, "do not be afraid, follow me and become fishers of men" (In the Gospel of Luke, Jesus actually says "catchers of men".). Titus comes to the same location, to the Sea of Galilee, he gathers his troops his disciples together and he says, "don't be afraid" and then he leads them they follow him and they attack a group of Jewish rebels they sink the Jews boats the Jews attempt to swim to safety and the Romans use their Spears to catch them. They become fishers of men.

The match is not exact that we should never expect it to be exact it's simply a type which is repeated across the whole of the New Testament.

Jesus is constantly dealing with Devils. Josephus also deals with Devils but Josephus defines who these Devils are. He states that the Devils are those individuals who have a rebellious spirit and rebel against Rome. At Gadara Jesus encounters one man who has a legion of demons inside his mind. They then are driven out by Jesus they infect a herd of swine and then this heard rushes wildly into the water. This is a parallel to Titus's battle at Gadara where one individual infects an entire Legion of Jews with his demonic spirit and then that group in turn infects another group and this combined group is driven by the Romans into the sea.

what's being suggested here is that this story that you find in the Gospels is in some ways sort of like a grim parable about that military events it's sort of like a bit tongue-in-cheek I think the Romans had a vicious sense of humour like this a very black sense of humor and a medieval texts that I've studied that which is called the Gospel of Barnabas when you read that story the way it's presented is in a unsophisticated form that is to say it's sort of been decoded in some ways and it becomes clear that what that what we're talking about here are the Jewish rebels power chase things of the sea and they drown in the sea in the Gospels these are presented as pigs this is a this is

a once again a very dark black sort of Roman sense of humour some of these literature really needs to be understood like that.

In Josephus's biography he describes when he was in the entourage of Titus during the closing stages of the siege of Jerusalem, he chanced upon three of his friends who were being crucified, and he pleaded with Titus for their release. And Titus gave that permission and the three figures were removed from the cross. Two of them died and one revived. Now if you're looking for a stereotypic example of how some idea was floated into the mind of someone right in the Gospels that is a pretty clear example it's certainly a strange occurrence that we find such an incident in the works of Josephus when it shows up is such a dramatic form in the Gospels.

In the Gospels, Joseph of Arimathea asked the Roman commander to take Jesus down from the cross in Josephus is history Joseph bar Mathias asked the Roman commander to take someone down from the cross. Arimathea is a pun on Josephus his last name bar Mathias.

When you read our sources really carefully and you have to do it really really carefully because they didn't spell it out for us it's it's effectively very well hidden. we have to understand that our literature a lot of our literature is essentially propaganda the Romans are not writing objective history and all of our literature has been through Roman filters. perhaps there's a significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls that this is literature that hasn't been through the Roman filters.

It's important to realise that Josephus wrote in an era when allegory was regarded as a science. Educated readers were expected to be able to see another meaning in religious texts than the one that appeared in the surface narration.

We're dealing with Roman literature on the one hand and Jewish literature on the other, and in both cases they're much more sophisticated much more multi-layered and elusive and much trickier than modern readers suspect. It's not a simple literature it's very very complex allegorical literature that indulges in the literary games that the Romans played the more you understand about Roman literature in this period and then you place the Gospels and other Christian literature in that same milieu, you can start to see the games that are being played in that literature.

Now these parallels have been seen by other scholars, but what they fail to notice is that the parallels occur in the same sequence and thereby they create a typological pattern.

The Flavian thesis it's trying to read these texts in context because in any given text you've got the text in the first instance, and then you've got the context, the environment in which it happens, and of course in all of these texts also you've got a subtext, so you've got text context and subtext, and you have to be able to read all of those things. Unfortunately, many religious people who are coming out of seminaries

who are coming out of religious colleges they are just not being trained in this sort of level of reading. They are instead being trained to just read on one level which is a literal level and I think that that's very unfortunate and that that really needs to be challenged.

By studying the multiple layers in these ancient texts in the original Greek language, Joseph at will was able to discover not just a handful but over 40 typological parallels between the Gospels and the works of Josephus which shows that the Ministry of Jesus Christ followed an exact sequence the military campaign of Titus Flavius, through parallel names, locations and concepts.

Once I understood the system that the Flavians were using to link Jesus and Titus, I was able to discover dozens of these parallels between Jesus and Titus, and what was amazing is that they occurred in the same sequence. This simply proves that this was deliberate that these unusual parallels had been created by the Flavians as a signature. It is their way of telling posterity that they authored the Gospels these parallels are the Flavian signature of the Gospels.

Both, Jesus and Titus, began their campaigns at the Sea of Galilee, and then go into the Galilean countryside, followed by a journey to Jerusalem. Once they reached the city's outskirts they paused for a while before they entered. Finally, they leave the city where their campaigns come to an end.

To catalogue the many parallels I gave each one a convenient name that related to the concept in that particular parallel set. Starting at Galilee each of these are episodes that occurred both in the Gospel story of Jesus and in the history of Titus's military campaign.

1.) Both, Jesus and Titus, journey to Jerusalem each sending messengers ahead to meet him when he gets to the city.

2.) When the Romans get to Jerusalem they notice that the Jewish factions are fighting against themselves. At this point in the Gospels Jesus talks about "a house divided against itself cannot stand."

3.) Then Josephus wrote, that in preparation for battle, Titus ordered all of the fruit trees between the Roman camp and the walls of Jerusalem cut down. At this point in the Gospels Jesus states that "if a fruit tree does not bear good fruit, cut it down."

4.) Titus goes around the walls of Jerusalem looking for the best place to construct a tower from which they can launch their attack. At this point in the Gospels Jesus asks "which one of you who is going to build a tower, does not first sit down and think about the cost."

5.) At this point in the history (The Jewish War), Titus sends Josephus to ask the Jews what terms they will accept for peace. In the Gospels Jesus describes a king who sends a delegation to asked for terms of peace.

6.) Both, Jesus and Titus, at this point have triumphant entrances into Jerusalem during which, amazingly, stones are said to cry out.

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7.) Each then drives a den of thieves out from the area in front of the Temple. This is followed by Titus encircling Jerusalem with the wall. In the gospels Jesus is here predicting that Jerusalem will be encircled with a wall.

8.) Because of the walls, starvation sets in in Jerusalem. Josephus wrote that a woman named Mary, who called her son a myth for the world, slayed him and ate him, thereby turning him into a human Passover lamb. In the Gospels we now have the Last Supper. Jesus tells his disciples "take eat this is my body this is my blood," thereby turning him into a human Passover lamb.

These parallels here are not coincidence but they represent the signature the Flavian authors deliberately left behind in the Gospels.

You can see the fingerprints. The Flavian authors left their fingerprints all over these texts. You can start to decode these texts and can see automatically some surprising conclusions about how early Christianity first arose.

Our scholars have shown that the Gospels were not the product of primitive Jewish fisherman, rather they are a sophisticated literary work, combining religious ideas of the day with Roman political perspective and power. Joseph Atwill's research reveals that reading the works of Josephus concurrently with the New Testament shows that the events of Jesus's life were not historical but rather all of them are dependent on the events and the military campaign of Titus Flavius. Jesus Christ was an allegory for the Romans Caesar Titus, the Messiah of the Roman Empire, the Romans son of a God that Christianity was set up to worship.

I certainly don't want to undermine the positive things in Christianity I'm happy to admit that there are positive things in Christianity and in other religions as well. The issue here are the historical claims of these religions.

Traditionally religious dogma has forbidden the examination of historical discoveries or the inclusion of certain scientific findings in their teachings asking their followers instead to blindly believe as they say, not as the objective facts may show. In live in a time perhaps it's a new intellectual Renaissance which is getting fed up with many of the structures that we live with and which is recognising major frauds at the heart of our financial markets and the heart of heart of our industry and the plug is being pulled on them and my view is that we have yet another fraud the biggest of them all and it's a fraud at the heart of Christianity. And it is a time for whistleblowers to come out and to make this information available not just to scholars in academic journals but to have it widely available to anybody who wants to know.

It's helpful to hear a wide diversity of voices in order for people to arrive at their own conclusions and the theories brought forth by our scholars are a part of that diversity.

When they hear that the Jesus story is a myth people feel that you are taking something away, but you're really not. You push people "why do you believe in it started Jesus?" Often people will go "well, you know, the Bible or something, but when you go "well, have you studied it as an historical document, have you looked at the evidence?" they'll go "well, no, I haven't." So that's not the real reason. The real reason when you push people is "well I have a relationship with Jesus, I have a personal relationship with Jesus and that's what I don't want to lose."

And that's a really good reason to be a Gnostic and a really bad reason to be a literalist.

The gnostics, as well as pre-Christian pagan mystery schools, believed that the myth of the dying and resurrecting Godman was an allegory to be used for personal growth to die to their lower nature and a rise to their higher nature. The literalists took control of the original myths and shaped it. So it would take the power away from the individual and place it into a central authority. Rediscovering the original myth gives people the freedom to choose the beliefs that truly served them.

Okay, some Christians have developed their personal faith to the extent that Christ is this energy or force or power within them this is how they have interpreted the story now the story has become again when it actually began as an allegory.

I had no issue with the Christ within I have an issue with the with the church militant what threatens humanity is organised regimented religion on the march taken so seriously that you will act out its worst precepts.

If we examine all the religions of the world we find that there is a common thread that connects all faiths and all people and it is from this connection that we can make the choices that have now become so critical to our future.

I like to focus on the origins of religious ideas and it turns out that they're very unifying underneath. All of the divisiveness that we see on the surface, it would be extremely helpful for all of humanity to realise that there is this underlying unity. And those origins are basically nature worship, the study of the Sun, the Moon, the Stars and Planets. This is all what humanity has been looking at, of course with great awe, and reverence for thousands of years, and it is extremely important for us to get back to those roots. The destruction of the planet is also directly tied to religious ideas. This can help to restore balance to the planet in a very profoundly significant way.

The very survival of humanity depends on viewing history from a new perspective so that we can be clearer on the historical facts and still honour the myths that offer us the greatest wisdom.

It is what the myth, what the poetry says, that matters, not what actually actually happened. So each new generation, whatever you say, is going to hear the myth and that is what is true for them, and what follows is the actual history which is much too complex for the average person whoever if their head around.

Though the actual history is complex and we may never know all the facts about what happened 2,000 years ago, the voices of our scholars are contributing to an ever widening dialogue and the growing paradigm shift being witnessed all around the world today that can lead to a more empowered and enlightened humanity tomorrow.

This is really important for our culture, to understand where Christianity came from, and this is direct evidence. You can actually walk this path and come to this conclusion. You can know that Christianity was an invention of the Romans. It was done to pacify their subjects.

And this is important because it gives us a different way of understanding government, how government operates the tools that government uses, the purpose that government has for the various propaganda apparatus. Evangelical Christians are getting away with debunking facts as mere theories, even subjects like evolution, but they provide no evidence for their position other than to simply cite religious dogma.

And if you look at the influence that Dogma is having in the media today you can easily see it is increasing. I would like to challenge these extremists to consider the possibility that my findings are correct. Though there is much good in Christianity, we have to understand how rulers have used it to control us, and how they are still using it to control us today.

I hope citizens will be more skeptical when they hear an authority figure using faith to interpret laws or a belief in Armageddon to create governmental policies. The Flavians encoded a secret message into the Gospels which we can now understand in a new light. And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free. [John 8:32].

HISTORIANS ACTIVE BETWEEN THE TIME OF GNAEUS POMPEIUS AND THE TIME OF THE FLAVIAN DYNASTY

• **Gaius Sallustius Crispus** or just Sallust (86 BC–34 BC), was a Roman historian and politician. Sallust is the earliest known Roman historian with surviving works to his name, of which Catiline's War (about the conspiracy in 63 BC of L. Sergius Catilina), The Jugurthine War (about Rome's war against the Numidian King Jugurtha from 111 to 105 BC), and the Histories (of which only fragments survive) are still extant. No information on Judaism.

• **Strabo** (Greek: Strabon; 64 or 63 BC – c. 24 AD) was a Greek geographer, philosopher, and historian who lived in Asia Minor during the transitional period of the Roman Republic into the Roman Empire. Strabo was born to an affluent family from Amaseia in Pontus (in present-day Turkey) in around 64 BC. His family had been involved in politics since at least the reign of Mithridates V. Strabo journeyed to Egypt and Kush, as far south as Ethiopia. Indo-Roman relations were built on trade. Roman trade with India began with overland caravans and later by direct maritime trade following the conquest of Egypt by Augustus in 30 BC.: "At any rate, when Gallus was prefect of Egypt, I accompanied him and ascended the Nile as far as Syene and the frontiers of Ethiopia, and I learned that as many as one hundred and twenty vessels were sailing from Myos Hormos to India, whereas formerly, under the Ptolemies, only a very few ventured to undertake the voyage and to carry on traffic in Indian merchandise." (Strabo II.5.12.)

• **Memnon of Heraclea** (fl. 1st century AD), Greek and Roman history. No information on Judaism or Christianity.

• **Marcus Velleius Paterculus** (c. 19 BC–c. 31 AD), Roman history. born c. 19 BC - died after AD 30. Roman soldier, political figure, and historian. No information on Judaism or Christianity.

• **Philo of Alexandria** (Greek: Philon; Hebrew: Yedidia (Jedediah) (c. 10 BC – c. 50 AD), also called Philo Judaeus. A Greek-speaking Jewish philosopher, he was the most important representative of Greek-Roman Judaism and a member of the powerful Jewish Alexander family. Little is known of the life of Philo. Titus Flavius Josephus, the adopted son of Emperor Vespasian and historian who also lived in the 1st century, says that Philo's family surpassed all others in the nobility of its lineage. His father had apparently played a prominent role in Palestine before moving to Alexandria. Philo's brother Alexander Lysimachus, who was a general tax administrator in charge of customs in Alexandria, was the richest man in the city and indeed must have been one of the richest men in the Greek-Roman world, because Josephus says that he gave a huge loan to the wife of the Jewish king Agrippa I and that he contributed the gold and silver with which nine huge gates of the Temple in Jerusalem were overlaid. Alexander was also extremely influential in Roman imperial circles, being an old friend of the emperor Claudius and having acted as guardian for the Emperor's mother.

His writings provide the clearest view of this development of Judaism in the Diaspora. He wrote his accounts with meticulous care. As the first to attempt to synthesise revealed faith and philosophic reason, he occupies a unique position in the history of philosophy. He is also regarded by Christians as a forerunner of Christian theology. Remarkable is not what he said and wrote, but much more what he did not. He did not mention anything about Jesus, his apostles, or his movement!

• **Gaius Plinius Secundus**, better known as **Pliny the Elder** (23–79 AD) was a Roman author, naturalist and natural philosopher, a naval and army commander of the early Roman Empire, and a close friend of Emperor Flavius Vespasianus and Flavius Josephus. Gaius Plinius Secundus left probably the most important account of India and its trade with Rome that has survived in Classical literature. He gives quite a lot of detail about India, her culture and trade with the Roman Empire.

Although his estimate of the value of Rome's trade with India and China at some 100 million sesterces annually (Pliny, NH, VI, 26, 6 & NH, XII, 41, 2) has often been thought to be an exaggeration (as it is quite equivant to roughly 100 million Pounds Sterling today) but, if it is interpreted as referring to the total value of the trade rather than as coinage, it becomes quite believable: "For example, just one documented consignment from Muziris (Chera kingdom, modern-day South India) to Alexandria consisted of 700-1,700 pounds of nard (an aromatic balsam), over 4,700 pounds of ivory and almost 790 pounds of textiles. This has been calculated as worth a total value of 131 talents, enough to purchase 2,400 acres of the best farmland in Egypt. When it is borne in mind that an average Roman cargo ship would have held about 150 such consignments, Pliny's figure becomes entirely plausible. With such staggering profits it is little wonder that the Roman government in Egypt encouraged – and profited by! – the trade: a 25 per cent tax on all goods from India was levied by the Romans at the Red Sea port of Leuce Come."

• **Titus Flavius Josephus** (37–100), was born as Yosef bar Matityahu or in Greek Mattathias or short Matthias, this was then Latinised as Matthaeus, which became Mattheu in Old French, Matthew in English. He was a Jewish priest, scholar, and the General of the 'Northern Jewish Army' during the Jewish-Roman War. His major works are: The Jewish War (75 AD); Antiquities of the Jews (94 AD); Against Apion (97 AD); The Life of Flavius Josephus (99 AD); Discourse to the Greeks concerning Hades (possibly erroneous attribution).

He was born of an aristocratic priestly family in Jerusalem. According to his own account, he was a precocious youth who by the age of 14 was consulted by high priests in matters of Jewish law. At age 16 he undertook a three-year sojourn in the wilderness with the hermit Bannus, a member of one of the ascetic Jewish sects that could have belonged to early Christian movements. Returning to Jerusalem in c. 57 AD, he joined the Pharisees—a fact of crucial importance in understanding his later collaboration with the Romans. The Pharisees, despite the unflattering portrayal of them in the New Testament, were for the most part intensely religious Jews and adhered to a strict observance of the Torah. They were the arch enemies of the nationalist Messianic Movement and its terrorist branches of the Zealots and Sicarii.

Flavius Josephus came first to Rome at around 64 AD, where he repeatedly met Poppaea Sabina, Emperor Nero's wife with whom he seem to have a close relationship; Josephus got many presents from her and he described her as a religious and friendly woman. He learned about the invincibility of the Roman legions, and that resistance was futile. Judaea was in the grip of the radical Messian Movement for years and nobody dared to oppose it. Josephus returned to Judaea and became general at the beginning of the Jewish War in 66 AD, a job he could not refuse as the Messianists kept his family hostage. The Romans, under the command of the future emperor Vespasian, arrived in Galilee in the spring of AD 67 and quickly broke the Jewish resistance in the north. Josephus managed to hold the fortress of Jotapata for 47 days, but after the fall of the city he took refuge with 40 diehards in a nearby cave. There, to Josephus' consternation, the beleaguered party voted for suicide. Josephus surved and surrendered to the Romans. Led before Vespasian, Josephus foretold that Vespasian would soon be emperor—a prediction he could safely make as he understood that most soldiers would back Vespasian. Nero died in 68 AD and late in 69 AD Vespasian was proclaimed emperor by his troops: Josephus' "prophecy" had come true and he was given his freedom. From that time on, Josephus attached himself to the Roman cause. He became adoptive son to the emperor Vespasian and adoptive brother

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to the emperor's sons Titus and Domitianus and the daughter Flavia Domitilla the Elder.

Less known is that he became the Court Historian of the Flavian Dynasty and as such the de-facto Propaganda Minister of the Roman Empire. He lived for the next 25 years in the Imperial Flavian Palace in Rome. In the centre of Roman power, he met almost everyone of name and rank, such as politicians, Members of the Senate in Rome, military commanders, scientists, artists, and in particular authors and historians. Among them: Tacitus and Suetonius who probably were his students.

During the Middle Ages, his work The Jewish War was considered so important that it was an integrated part of some Bibles. Another work that could be connected to Josephus is the Gospel of Matthew. And there are good reasons to think of Josephus as creator or editor. Josephus had all Jewish scriptures, captured by the Romans from the Tempel, in his very office. From Vespasian he might have got the assignment to create Jewish literature that promotes peace and speaks well of the Romans. We know that the Flavians were masters of propaganda like this. As Josephus was a priest like most of his family members, he knew exactly how to deal with that sort of thing. And indeed, Josephus embarked on a propaganda campaign never seen before. Emperor Vespasion was declared "the Saviour of the Empire" and we can be sure that he was also involved in the deification process on behalf of Vespasian launched in the Roman Senate. When Vespasian became emperor, he automatically became 'Pontifex Maximus' of the Imperial Roman Cult which was a kind of ministry to control all religions in the Empire and to collect the 'sacrifices to the temples', the "Church Tax", so to speak.

The Gospel According to Matthew has, according to Church tradition, been attributed to Matthew, one of the 12 Apostles, described in the text as a tax collector (10:3). (Josephus father was a priest of the Tempel in Jerusalem and therefore also a tax collector.) The Gospel was composed in Greek, probably sometime after 70 AD. Due to some stylistic indications, there has been extended discussion about the possibility of an earlier version in Aramaic. (It is known that Josephus wrote his works in Aramaic first, then translated them into Greek.) Numerous textual indications point to an author who was a Jewish Christian writing for Christians of similar background. (Josephus was a Jew who had similar views as Jesus. He was for instance against the war as he knew from his visits in Rome that the Jews could never win this war.) The Gospel emphasizes Christ's fulfillment of Old Testament prophecies (5:17) and his role as a new lawgiver. (Josephus was familiar with the Old Testament. Besides, he was probably also acquainted with Jesus views as he could have met James the brother of Jesus in the Tempel of Jerusalem.) After tracing the genealogy of Jesus back to Abraham, the author mentions certain details related (and known to Josephus through James) to the infancy of Christ that are not elsewhere recorded; e.g., Joseph's perplexity on learning that Mary is pregnant, the homage of the Wise Men, the flight into Egypt to escape Herod's soldiers, the massacre of the innocents, and the return of the holy family from Egypt. Matthew then describes the preaching of John the Baptist, the call of the Apostles, and major events in the public ministry of Jesus. The final section describes the betrayal, Crucifixion, burial, and Resurrection of Christ. Numerous parables are recorded, some very well known but not set down by the other evangelists.

• **Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus**, born Gaius Caecilius or Gaius Caecilius Cilo (61–113), better known as **Pliny the Younger**, was a lawyer, author, and magistrate of Ancient Rome. Pliny's uncle, Pliny the Elder, helped raise and educate him. Pliny the Younger wrote hundreds of letters, of which 247 survive and are of great historical value. Some are addressed to reigning emperors or to notables such as the historian Tacitus. Pliny served as an imperial magistrate under Trajan (reigned 98–117), and his letters to Trajan provide one of the few surviving records of the relationship between the imperial office and provincial governors. Pliny rose through a series of civil and military offices, the cursus honorum. He was a friend of the historian Tacitus and might have employed the biographer Suetonius on his staff.

The letters of Pliny the Younger and Emperor Trajan from around 112 AD. The letter is the first non-Christian account to refer to Christianity.

• **Dio(n) Chrysostom**, alias Dion of Prusa alias Dio Cocceianus (c. 40 – c. 115 AD), history of the Getae; was a Greek orator, writer, philosopher and historian of the Roman Empire in the 1st century. No information on Judaism or Christianity.

• (Publius or) **Gaius Cornelius Tacitus** (c. 56 –c. 120), was a senator and a historian of the Roman Empire. Most of the older aristocratic families failed to survive the proscriptions which took place at the end of the Republic, and Tacitus makes it clear that he owed his rank to the Flavian emperors (Hist. 1.1). He probably knew Flavius Josephus, Pliny the Younger, and Suetonius in person.

Five works ascribed to Tacitus have survived (albeit with lacunae), the most substantial of which are the Annals and the Histories. This canon (with approximate dates) consists of:

De vita Iulii Agricolae (The Life of Agricola), 98 AD
De origine et situ Germanorum (Germania), 98 AD
Dialogus de oratoribus (Dialogue on Oratory), 102 AD
Historiae (Histories), 100-110 AD
Ab excessu divi Augusti (Annals), 110-117 AD

The Roman historian and senator Tacitus referred to Christ, his execution by Pontius Pilate, and the existence of early Christians in Rome in his final work, Annals (written ca. 116 AD), book 15, chapter 44.

The context of the passage is the six-day Great Fire of Rome that burned much of the city in 64 AD during the reign of Roman Emperor Nero. The passage is one of the earliest non-Christian references to the origins of Christianity, the execution of Christ described in the canonical gospels, and the presence and persecution of Christians in 1st-century Rome.

There are several claims, often described as "scholarly consensus". Christian scholars refer to about 60 AD and say:

1. "that Tacitus' reference to the execution of Jesus by Pontius Pilate is both authentic, and of historical value as an independent Roman source".
2. "that Tacitus provides a non-Christian confirmation of the crucifixion of Jesus".
3. "that there were a sizable number of Christians in Rome at the time",
4. "that it was possible to distinguish between Christians and Jews in Rome, and
5. "that at the time non-Christians made a connection between Christianity in Rome and its origin in Roman Judea.

These claims however cannot hold up to scientific scrutiny:

1. The story of Jesus and Pilate does not appear in any non-Christian records. Any such source was most likely Titus Flavius Josephus' "The Jewish War".

2. The non-Christian confirmation is a myth as Tacitus could have read one or the other gospel. They were popular bestsellers. Besides, there is a high likelihood that he was a student of Titus Flavius Josephus. Tacitus himself says that he owes his career the Flavian family, of which Josephus was a member.

3. The sizable number of Christians in Rome is extremely uncertain as many dozen different groups of "Jews, Christians, and Christian Jews" lived in Rome. The correspondence of Pliny with Trajan shows that nobody really had a clear idea what was going on.

4. The correspondence of Pliny with Trajan also shows that nobody knew the many religious groups and the contents of their teachings. Besides, the headquarter of early Christianity was not in Rome but in Jerusalem. And its leader was neither Simon Peter nor Paul of Tarsus but James the brother of Jesus, and after him it was Simon, another brother of Jesus.

5. The origin of Christianity as religion from Judaea was told in the gospels. In fact, most people were not aware that (at least the Pauline) Christianity was of Roman origin, a vision of the Roman citizen Saul / Paul of Tarsos that was promoted by the Flavian dynasty as peace-promoting propaganda.

Christianity as an organised movement took Rome as its 'new capital' due to the destruction of Jerusalem in 73 AD.

• **Plutarch** (Greek: Ploutarkos; c. AD 46–120), later named, upon becoming a Roman citizen, **Lucius Mestrius Plutarchus**. He was a Greek-Roman biographer and essayist, known primarily for his Parallel Lives and Moralia. He is classified as a Middle Platonist. Plutarch's surviving works were written in Greek, intended for the Greek-speaking upper class of the Roman Empire. Plutarch was born to a prominent family in the small town of Chaeronea, about 80 kilometres (50 mi) east of Delphi, in the Greek region of Boeotia. His family was wealthy. Plutarch studied mathematics and philosophy at the Academy of Athens under Ammonius from 66 to 67. At some point, Plutarch received Roman citizenship. As evidenced by his new name, Lucius Mestrius Plutarchus, his sponsor for citizenship was Lucius Mestrius Florus, a Roman of consular status whom Plutarch also used as a historical source for his Life of Otho.

Plutarch was the son of **Aristobulus**, himself a biographer and philosopher. He was a biographer and author whose works strongly influenced the evolution of the essay, the biography, and historical writing in Europe from the 16th to the 19th century. Among his approximately 227 works, the most important are the Bioi paralleloi (Parallel Lives), in which he recounts the noble deeds and characters of Greek and Roman soldiers, legislators, orators, and statesmen, and the Moralia, or Ethica, a series of more than 60 essays on ethical, religious, physical, political, and literary topics. Public duties later took him several times to Rome, where he lectured on philosophy, made many friends, and perhaps enjoyed the acquaintance of the emperors Trajan and Hadrian. Plutarch's literary output was immense. The 227 titles in the so-called catalog of Lamprias, a list of Plutarch's works supposedly made by his son, are not all authentic, but neither do they include all he wrote. The order of composition cannot be determined.

It is noteworthy that this prolific writer did not leave anything about the Flavian Dynasty, Jesus, Judaism or Christianity. However, there are speculations that he might have written the "Gospel according to Luke". Plutarch's works and the Gospel of Luke do not only share the same Roman name (Lucius) but also their very elegant Greek language style. And when he wrote the Gospel of Luke, he also would have written "The Acts of the Apostles", which is the second Bible text by the very same author, and this would have fit very well into Plutarch's most favoured genre: biographies.

• **Titus Flavius Clemens** (c. 50–95 AD), or **Clement of Rome,** was a nephew of the Roman Emperor Vespasian. He was the son of Titus Flavius Sabinus, consul suffectus in AD 69, and a brother of Titus Flavius Sabinus, consul in AD 82. The emperors Titus and Domitian were his cousins. Clemens also married one of his cousins, Flavia Domitilla (the Saint), daughter of Vespasian's daughter, Domitilla the Younger, who was thus also a niece of Domitian. They had two sons, whom Domitian intended to succeed him in the empire, renaming one of them Vespasian and the other Domitian. However, in AD 95, when Clemens and the emperor were consuls, Domitian had his cousin put to death (due to his conversion to Judaism or some sort of Christianity). He was also known as Pope Clement I (Latin: Clemens Romanus), also known as Saint Clement of Rome, is listed by Irenaeus and Tertullian as Bishop of Rome, holding office from 88 to his death.

From him comes the so-called Clementine literature (also called Clementina, Pseudo-Clementine Writings, Kerygmata Petrou, Clementine Romance). It is the name given to the religious romance which purports to contain a record made by Clement (whom the narrative identifies as both Pope Clement I, and Domitian's cousin Titus Flavius Clemens) of discourses involving the Apostle Peter, together with an account of the circumstances under which Clement came to be Peter's travelling companion, and of other details of Clement's family history. The author is sometimes called Pseudo-Clement (as distinct from Clement of Alexandria).

• **Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus**, commonly known as **Suetonius** (c. 69 – after 122 AD), was a Roman historian belonging to the equestrian order who wrote De vita Caesarum, "About the Life of the Caesars" up to the Flavian dynasty, commonly known as The Twelve Caesars. He wrote it during the reign of the emperor Hadrian and published it in AD 121. He was a student of Titus Flavius Josephus and was acquainted with members of the Flavian family.

Roman biographer and antiquarian whose writings include De viris illustribus ("Concerning Illustrious Men"), a collection of short biographies of celebrated Roman literary figures, and De vita Caesarum (Lives of the Caesars). The latter book, seasoned with bits of gossip and scandal relating to the lives of the first 11 emperors, secured him lasting fame. Suetonius' family was of the knightly class, or equites. A friend and protégé of the government official and letter writer Pliny the Younger, he seems to have studied and then abandoned the law as a career.

• **Flavius Arrianus Nicomediansis** alias L. **Flavius Arrianus** or just **Arrian** (c. 95 – c. 165), Roman history

• **Titus Statilius Crito** alias **Criton of Heraclea**, was a 2nd-century (c. 100 AD) Greek chief physician and procurator of Roman Emperor Trajan (98–117) in the campaign in Dacia.

• **Hegesippus** (Greek: Ayios Hegesipposc. 110–180 AD) or Hegesippus the Nazarene, was a Christian chronicler of the early Church who may have been a Jewish convert and certainly wrote against heresies of the Gnostics and of Marcion. The date of Hegesippus is insecurely fixed by the statement of Eusebius that the death and apotheosis of Antinous (130) occurred in Hegesippus' lifetime, and that he came to Rome under Pope Anicetus and wrote in the time of Pope Eleuterus (Bishop of Rome, c. 174–189). Hegesippus' works are now entirely lost, save eight passages concerning Church history quoted by Eusebius, who tells us that he wrote Hypomnemata ("Memoirs" or "Memoranda") in five books, in the simplest style concerning the tradition of the Apostolic preaching. Through Eusebius, Hegesippus was also known to Jerome.

• **Irenaeus** (Greek: Eirenaios; c. 130–202 AD) was a Greek bishop noted for his role in guiding and expanding Christian communities in what is now the south of France and, more widely, for the development of Christian theology by combating heresy and defining orthodoxy. Originating from Smyrna, now Izmir in Turkey, he was a prolifiv writer. His best-known work is "Against Heresies" (Latin: Adversus Haereses), an attack on gnosticism, in particular that of Valentinus. To counter the doctrines of the gnostic sects claiming secret wisdom, he offered three pillars of orthodoxy: the scriptures, the tradition handed down from the apostles, and the teaching of the apostles' successors. Intrinsic to his writing is that the surest source of Christian guidance is the church of Rome, and he is the earliest surviving witness to regard all four of the now-canonical gospels as essential.

• **Titus Flavius Clemens**, also known as **Clement of Alexandria** (c. 150–215), was a Christian theologian and

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philosopher who taught at the Catechetical School of Alexandria. Neither Clement's birthdate or birthplace is known. According to Epiphanius Scholasticus, he probably was born either in Athens or in Alexandria sometime around 150 AD. A convert to Christianity, he was an educated man who was familiar with classical Greek philosophy and literature. As his three major works demonstrate, Clement was influenced by Hellenistic philosophy to a greater extent than any other Christian thinker of his time, and in particular by Plato and the Stoics. His secret works, which exist only in fragments, suggest that he was also familiar with pre-Christian Jewish esotericism and Gnosticism. In one of his works he argued that Greek philosophy had its origin among non-Greeks, claiming that both Plato and Pythagoras were taught by Egyptian scholars. Among his pupils were Origen and Alexander of Jerusalem.

Three of Clement's major works have survived in full, and they are collectively referred to as the trilogy: (1st) the Protrepticus (Exhortation) – written c. 195; (2nd) the Paedagogus (Tutor) – written c. 198; and (3rd) the Stromata (Miscellanies) – written c. 198 – c. 203. All three books attempt, on the basis of Scripture and tradition, to give an account of the Christian faith and philosophy, Greek culture and technology, sexlife and behaviour, asceticism, organisation, law and every other aspect in the Bible.

• **Cassius Dio** also spelled Dion Cassius or (in Eastern Roman sources) Dio Cocceianus, in full Lucius Cassius Dio (born c. 150, Nicaea, Bithynia, died 235 AD.) Roman administrator and historian, the author of Romaika, a history of Rome, written in Greek, that is a most important authority for the last years of the republic and the early empire.

The son of Cassius Apronianus, governor of Dalmatia and Cilicia under Marcus Aurelius, and grandson of Dio Chrysostom, Dio Cassius went to Rome (180) after his father's death and became a member of the Senate. He was granted consulship for two times. His history of Rome consisted of 80 books, beginning with the landing of Aeneas in Italy and ending with his own consulship. Books 36–60 survive in large part. They relate events from 69 BC to AD 46, but there is a large gap after 6 BC. Much of the work is preserved in later histories by John VIII Xiphilinus (to 146 BC and then from 44 BC to AD 96) and Johannes Zonaras (from 69 BC to the end).

Dio's industry was great, and the various offices he held gave him opportunities for historical investigation. His narratives show the hand of the practiced soldier and politician; the language is correct and free from affectation. His work is far more than a mere compilation, though: it tells the story of Rome from the perspective of a senator who has accepted the imperial system of the 2nd and 3rd centuries. His account of the late republic and the age of the Triumvirs is especially full and is interpreted in light of the battles over supreme rule in his own day. In Book 52 there is a long speech by Maecenas, whose advice to Augustus reveals Dio's own vision of the empire.

• **Sextus Julius Africanus** (c. 160–240) was a Christian traveler and historian of the late second and early third centuries. He is important chiefly because of his influence on Eusebius, on all the later writers of Church history among the Church Fathers, and on the whole Greek school of chroniclers. Little of Africanus's life is known and all dates are uncertain. One tradition places him under the Emperor Gordianus III (238–244), others mentions him under Severus Alexander (222–235). He appears to have known Abgar VIII.(176–213). Africanus may have served under Septimius Severus against the Osrhoenians in 195. Africanus traveled to Greece and Rome and went to Alexandria to study, attracted by the fame of its catechetical school, possibly about the year 215. He knew Greek (in which language he wrote), Latin, and Hebrew. He was at one time a soldier and had been a pagan; he wrote all his works as a Christian. Africanus wrote Chronographiai, a history of the world in five volumes. The work covers the period from Creation to the year AD 221.

• **Hippolytus** (c. 170–235 AD) was one of the most important second-third century Christian theologians, whose provenance, identity and corpus remain elusive to scholars and historians. Little is known for certain about his community of origin. He probably lived in Rome.

Controversy surrounds the corpus of the writer Hippolytus. In the Victorian Era, scholars claimed his principal work to be the Refutation of all Heresies. Of its ten books, Book I was the most important. It was long known and was printed (with the title Philosophumena) among the works of Origen. Books II and III are lost, and Books IV–X were found, without the name of the author, in a monastery of Mount Athos in 1842. E. Miller published them in 1851 under the title Philosophumena, attributing them to Origen of Alexandria. Recent scholarship prefers to treat the text as the work of an unknown author, perhaps of Roman origin.

• **Origen of Alexandria** (c. 184–253 AD), also known as Origen Adamantius, was an early Christian scholar, ascetic, and theologian who was born and spent the first half of his career in Alexandria. He was a prolific writer who wrote roughly 2,000 treatises in multiple branches of theology, including textual criticism, biblical exegesis and biblical hermeneutics, homiletics, and spirituality. He was one of the most influential figures in early Christian theology, apologetics, and asceticism. He has been described as "the greatest genius the early church ever produced".

Origen produced the Hexapla, the first critical edition of the Hebrew Bible, which contained the original Hebrew text as well as five different Greek translations of it, all written in columns, side-by-side.

Origen is a Church Father and is widely regarded as one of the most important Christian theologians of all time.

Meanwhile, Origen began composing his massive theological treatise On the First Principles, a landmark book which systematically laid out the foundations of Christian theology for centuries to come. Origen also began travelling abroad to visit schools across the Mediterranean. In 212 AD, he travelled to Rome, which was a major center of philosophy at the time.

While in Jericho, Origen bought an ancient manuscript of the Hebrew Bible which had been discovered "in a jar", a discovery which prefigures the later discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the twentieth century. Shown here is a section of the Isaiah scroll from Qumran.

The manuscript, which had purportedly been found "in a jar", became the source text for one of the two Hebrew columns in Origen's Hexapla, the first critical edition of the Old Testament, containing two versions of the Hebrew text and four Greek translations of it, all written in columns next to each other.

• **Eusebius of Caesarea** (Greek: Eusebios tés Kaisareias; 260/265–339/340 AD), also known as Eusebius Pamphili, was a historian of Christianity, exegete, and Christian polemicist. He was known to be the right-hand-mas of Emperor Flavius Constantinus (Constantine I.) He became the bishop of Caesarea Maritima (the Roman capital of Judaea) in about 314 AD. Together with Pamphilus, he was a scholar of the Biblical canon and is regarded as one of the most learned Christians of his time. He wrote Demonstrations of the Gospel, Preparations for the Gospel, and On Discrepancies between the Gospels, studies of the Biblical text. As "Father of Church History" (not to be confused with the title of Church Father), he produced the Ecclesiastical History, On the Life of Pamphilus, the Chronicle and On the Martyrs. He also produced a biographical work on the first Christian Emperor, Constantine the Great, who ruled between 306 and 337 AD. Although Eusebius' works are regarded as giving insight into the history of the early church, it was particularly him who was responsible for Anti-Semitism among Christians by openly blaming the Jews for the crucifixion of Jesus. His writings are an important source as he quoted extensively from those authors he was attacking. So he preserved lots of ancient texts that otherwise are lost to us. As Constantines right-hand- man, he organised the takeover by Christianity of the Roman Empire.

• **Epiphanius of Salamis** (Greek: Epiphanios; c. 310–320–403) was probably born in Judaea or Galilee and became the bishop of Salamis, Cyprus at the end of the 4th century. He is considered a saint and a Church Father by both the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches. He gained a reputation as a strong defender of orthodoxy. He is best known for composing the "Panarion", a very large compendium of the heresies up to his own time, full of quotations that are often the only surviving fragments of suppressed texts.

The Panarion (Latin for "bread basket"), to which 16th-century Latin translations gave the name Adversus Haereses (Latin: "Against Heresies"), is the most important of the works of Epiphanius of Salamis (d. 403). It was written in Greek beginning in 374 or 375, and issued about three years later, as a treatise on heresies, with its title referring to the text as a "stock of remedies to offset the poisons of heresy." It treats 80 religious sects, either organised groups or philosophies, from the time of Adam to the latter part of the fourth century, detailing their histories, and rebutting their beliefs. The Panarion is an important source of information on the Jewish–Christian gospels, the Gospel of the Ebionites, and the Gospel of the Hebrews. The given information makes also the contents of the Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran better understandable.

• **Jerome** is the corrupted name of a man with the Greek name Eusebios Sophronios Hieronymos (c. 347–420). He was a Latin priest, theologian, and historian, commonly known as Saint Jerome. He was born at Stridon, a village near Emona on the border of Dalmatia and Pannonia. He is best known for his translation of most of the Bible into Latin (the translation that became known as the "Vulgate"), and his commentaries on the Gospels. His list of writings is extensive.

NAMES OF PERSONS

(In ancient times, a name was not only used to identify a person, it had in most cases a very particular meaning. Like in nicknames, a name could be used to describe someone as in 'Thomas' which simply meant 'twin'. According to the motto 'name is programme', names were also used to fulfill a certain expectation such as in 'Caesar' which became a title because of the extraordinary deeds of Julius Caesar.)

• **bar**, **ben**, **bin** = A Semitic patronym, a component of a personal name meaning "son of".

• Aramaic: **bar-** or **bat-** ("son of" and "daughter of", respectively).

• Hebrew: **ben-** or **bat-** ("son of" and "daughter of", respectively).

• Arabic, **ben-** (bin, ibn, or ibni, ibnu) or **bint**, ("son of" and "daughter of", respectively).

• **beni**, **bani**, **banu** = plural of the word ben-, bin-, ibn, which means "sons (and daughters) of", People of", "children of", "House of" as in "Beni Israel", Hebrew: "B'nei Yisrael" or "Bene Israel"; Arabic: "Beni Israel", "Banu Koreish", "Beni Hashim" etc.

• "**Son of Man**" = a typological phrase, Hebrew: Ben Adam or Benodom:

1. Old Testament: The Hebrew expression "son of man" (ben-adam) also appears over 100 times in the Hebrew Bible. In 32 cases, the phrase appears in its plural form "sons of men", i.e. human beings. The use of "the Son of man" in the Christian gospels is unrelated to Hebrew Torah usages as the use of the definite article in "the Son of man" is a new thing. There is no example of "the" son of man in Hebrew sources. The term originates in (the people's language) Aramaic bar nash / bar nasha. In these sources "son of man" is a regular expression for "man / human" in general and often serves as an indefinite pronoun and in none of the extant texts does "son of man" figure as a title.

2. New Testament: The expression "the Son of man" appears 81 times in the Greek text of the four Gospels: 30 times in Matthew, 14 times in Mark, 25 times in Luke and 12 times in John. The use of the definite article in "the Son of man" in the Greek text of the Christian gospels is original, and before its use there, no records of its use in any of the surviving Greek documents of antiquity exist.

• "**Son of God**" = title. Throughout history, emperors and rulers ranging from the Western Zhou dynasty (c. 1000 BC) in China to Alexander the Great (c. 360 BC) to the Emperor of Japan (c. 600 AD) have assumed titles that reflect a filial relationship with deities. The story of Jesus' title "son of God" begins with the Roman emperors.

Background: In 42 BC, Julius Caesar was (by the Senate of Rome) formally deified as "the divine Julius" (divus Iulius) after his assassination. His adopted son, Octavian (better known as Augustus, a title given to him 15 years later, in 27 BC) thus became known as divi Iuli filius (son of the divine Julius) or simply divi filius (son of the god). As a daring and unprecedented move, Augustus used this title to advance his political position in the Second Triumvirate, finally overcoming all rivals for power within the Roman state. The word applied to Julius Caesar as deified was "divus", not the distinct word "deus". Thus Augustus called himself Divi filius, and not Dei filius. The line between been god and god-like was at times less than clear to the population at large, and Augustus seems to have been aware of the necessity of keeping the ambiguity. After him, Tiberius (emperor from 14–37 AD) came to be accepted as the son of divus Augustus. This title became a tradition which we can see on many Roman coins ever since.

About 100 years after Julius Caesar, when Titus Flavius Vespasianus, better known as "Vespasian", became emperor, this phrase reached its climax of use as he saved the Roman Empire from total disaster by defeating the Jewish Messianic Movement. By everyone, he was seen as the 'saviour of the Empire'. When he died, his son (with the same nome) Titus Flavius Vespasianus, known as "Titus" claimed deity status for his father. As this has been granted by the Senate, Titus became 'the Son of God'. And when Titus died, his younger brother Titus Flavius Domitianus was being called "dominus et deus" (master and god).

As Christianity (created by the Roman citizen Saul / Paul of Tarsus) was a Roman religion, this title was taken for Paul's fictional Jesus as well. The people, who knew the real person called Jesus, were appalled. They believed in the Ten Commandments of Moses in which is stated: Thou shalt have no other God beside me! - early Judaism and early Christianity broke into several factions upon this dispute.

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THE FOUR CANONICAL GOSPELS

(The four canonical gospels, like the rest of the New Testament, were written in Greek, MARK probably c. 65–80 AD, MATTHEW 70-85, and LUKE around 80–100 AD, and JOHN 90–110 AD. Despite the traditional ascriptions, all four are anonymous, and no-one was written by eyewitnesses.)

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MATTHEW

The Gospel of Matityahu or Evangelion kata Matthaion
or The Gospel of Matthew, or just Matthew
Translation: King James Version
Estimated Range of Dating: 75-85 A.D.

(The Gospel of Matthew, or more precisely The Gospel according to Matthew, is a narrative originally written in Greek. It is one of the four gospels of the New Testament that tells the story of Jesus' life and teachings. The Gospel of Matthew is called one of the three synoptic gospels because it has some of the same stories and language as the Gospels of Mark and Luke. Matthew is the most famous and the most quoted gospel in existence. There are good reasons for it. It is the only gospel that was written by someone who had been familiar with all geographical locations in person. It is the most coherent gospel and its writing style is one of the very best. The author must have been very well educated and identifies himself, by his swift and fluent style, as a member of the Roman Empire's Greek-speaking upper class.

Like the Gospels of Mark and Luke, The Gospel of Matthew was composed in the time of the Flavian dynasty. Scholars of the old time attributed the gospel to the Apostle Matthew which is a pretty unlikely and unfounded claim. That the gospels were written for a Jewish audience in Judaea or Galilee is unlikely as well. As the gospels, and the entire New Testament in fact, were written in Greek suggests that they were rather written for an audience that could understand Greek. And this was, besides native Greeks, the entire upper class of the Roman Empire.

We have to remember that the Roman Empire was a multi-ethnic and international state. Jews were a part of it and about 5% to 10% of the population in the entire Roman Empire was Jewish. The Jews spread over the whole Mediterranian already hundreds of years earlier, together with their Phoenician cousins. The resendment that Jews felt in the Holy Land for the successors of the conqueror Alexander the Great culminated in a row of armed conflicts out of which the Maccabeans, the Hashmonian Dynasty, rose victorious in about 160 BC. The constant and unwanted influence of Greeks, and later the Romans, triggered the rise of the Messianic Movement, a bunch of jihadist assault and terror troops. They were waiting for a messiah who could lead them to military victory over the occupants of the Holy Land. This was probably the scenery in which Jesus turned up and claimed to be a messiah of peace. He might have been the lonely voice for peace, propagating "turning the other check" in defiance and "give the Caesar what is Caesar's" meaning the tax. And by doing so, he became an enemy of the Messianic Movement who felt that Jesus stood in their way and they immediately plotted against him and got rid of him.

Jesus' story became a legend and another man, who knew that war against the Roman superpower was futile, entered the scene of events. This man was a descent of the Hashmonian Dynasty, travelled to the imperial court in Rome as envoy in about 55 AD. and became general of the Jewish Army of the North when war broke out between Jews and Romans in 66 AD. The name of that man was Yosef ben Matityahu. In 67 AD, he was taken captive by the Roman General Flavius Vespasianus. The two men met and Vespasianus was pleased about the manners and vast knowledge of that well-educated, Greek-speaking Jew. Soon after, Matityahu was set free from his captivty and he stayed in the generals entourage as scout and interpreter. Matityahu heard rumours of an ongoing revolt against Emperor Nero. The Roman Army was looking for a worthy successor Nero's and Matityahu also heard Vespasianus name in those debates. So he could "predict" that Vespasianus might be emperor one day, and he told him. When Vespasianus became emperor in 69, he adopted Yosef ben Matityahu as his third son. This was an incredible rise to power and the young man began to call himself Titus Flavius Josephus as he was now member of the emperors family. Just to remind, he now was in the same legal position as Octavianus who became son of Julius Caesar and then Emperor Caesar Augustus. Before the Senate in Rome he declared that Caesar should become a god "in the name of the father (Caesar), the son (Octavianus) and the holy spirits of the Pantheon". This was the official phrase to enter godhood in the Roman Imperial Cult, the Roman state religion.

Before the war, James the brother of Jesus was the first leader of the Christian Movement in Jerusalem. There is a high likelihood that Flavius Josephus, as priest and member of the Hashmonian Dynasty had unlimited access to the Temple of Jerusalem. There he could have met James the brother of Jesus and so he might have listened to the story of Jesus. And he wrote it down.)

MATTHEW CHAPTER 1

1 The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham.

2 Abraham begat Isaac; and Isaac begat Jacob; and Jacob begat Judas and his brethren;

3 And Judas begat Phares and Zara of Thamar; and Phares begat Esrom; and Esrom begat Aram;

4 And Aram begat Aminadab; and Aminadab begat Naasson; and Naasson begat Salmon;

5 And Salmon begat Booz of Rachab; and Booz begat Obed of Ruth; and Obed begat Jesse;

6 And Jesse begat David the king; and David the king begat Solomon of her that had been the wife of Urias;

7 And Solomon begat Roboam; and Roboam begat Abia; and Abia begat Asa;

8 And Asa begat Josaphat; and Josaphat begat Joram; and Joram begat Ozias;

9 And Ozias begat Joatham; and Joatham begat Achaz; and Achaz begat Ezekias;

10 And Ezekias begat Manasses; and Manasses begat Amon; and Amon begat Josias;

11 And Josias begat Jechonias and his brethren, about the time they were carried away to Babylon:

12 And after they were brought to Babylon, Jechonias begat Salathiel; and Salathiel begat Zorobabel;

13 And Zorobabel begat Abiud; and Abiud begat Eliakim; and Eliakim begat Azor;

14 And Azor begat Sadoc; and Sadoc begat Achim; and Achim begat Eliud;

15 And Eliud begat Eleazar; and Eleazar begat Matthan; and Matthan begat Jacob;

16 And Jacob begat Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ.

17 So all the generations from Abraham to David are fourteen generations; and from David until the carrying away into Babylon are fourteen generations; and from the carrying away into Babylon unto Christ are fourteen generations.

18 Now the birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise: When as his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph, before they came together, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost.

19 Then Joseph her husband, being a just man, and not willing to make her a publick example, was minded to put her away privily.

20 But while he thought on these things, behold, the angel of the LORD appeared unto him in a dream, saying, Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife: for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost.

21 And she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name JESUS: for he shall save his people from their sins.

22 Now all this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying,

23 Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us.

24 Then Joseph being raised from sleep did as the angel of the Lord had bidden him, and took unto him his wife:

25 And knew her not till she had brought forth her firstborn son: and he called his name JESUS.

MATTHEW CHAPTER 2

1 Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judaea in the days of Herod the king, behold, there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem,

2 Saying, Where is he that is born King of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him.

3 When Herod the king had heard these things, he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him.

4 And when he had gathered all the chief priests and scribes of the people together, he demanded of them where Christ should be born.

5 And they said unto him, In Bethlehem of Judaea: for thus it is written by the prophet,

6 And thou Bethlehem, in the land of Juda, art not the least among the princes of Juda: for out of thee shall come a Governor, that shall rule my people Israel.

7 Then Herod, when he had privily called the wise men, enquired of them diligently what time the star appeared.

8 And he sent them to Bethlehem, and said, Go and search diligently for the young child; and when ye have found him, bring me word again, that I may come and worship him also.

9 When they had heard the king, they departed; and, lo, the star, which they saw in the east, went before them, till it came and stood over where the young child was.

10 When they saw the star, they rejoiced with exceeding great joy.

11 And when they were come into the house, they saw the young child with Mary his mother, and fell down, and worshipped him: and when they had opened their treasures, they presented unto him gifts; gold, and frankincense and myrrh.

12 And being warned of God in a dream that they should not return to Herod, they departed into their own country another way.

13 And when they were departed, behold, the angel of the Lord appeareth to Joseph in a dream, saying, Arise, and take the young child and his mother, and flee into Egypt, and be thou there until I bring thee word: for Herod will seek the young child to destroy him.

14 When he arose, he took the young child and his mother by night, and departed into Egypt:

15 And was there until the death of Herod: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, Out of Egypt have I called my son.

16 Then Herod, when he saw that he was mocked of the wise men, was exceeding wroth, and sent forth, and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had diligently enquired of the wise men.

17 Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet, saying,

18 In Rama was there a voice heard, lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not.

19 But when Herod was dead, behold, an angel of the Lord appeareth in a dream to Joseph in Egypt,

20 Saying, Arise, and take the young child and his mother, and go into the land of Israel: for they are dead which sought the young child's life.

21 And he arose, and took the young child and his mother, and came into the land of Israel.

22 But when he heard that Archelaus did reign in Judaea in the room of his father Herod, he was afraid to go thither: notwithstanding, being warned of God in a dream, he turned aside into the parts of Galilee:

23 And he came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, He shall be called a Nazarene.

MATTHEW CHAPTER 3

1 In those days came John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judaea,

2 And saying, Repent ye: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.

3 For this is he that was spoken of by the prophet Esaias, saying, The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.

4 And the same John had his raiment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins; and his meat was locusts and wild honey.

5 Then went out to him Jerusalem, and all Judaea, and all the region round about Jordan,

6 And were baptised of him in Jordan, confessing their sins.

7 But when he saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees come to his baptism, he said unto them, O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?

8 Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance:

9 And think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father: for I say unto you, that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham.

10 And now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees: therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.

11 I indeed baptise you with water unto repentance. but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: he shall baptise you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire:

12 Whose fan is in his hand, and he will throughly purge his floor, and gather his wheat into the garner; but he will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.

13 Then cometh Jesus from Galilee to Jordan unto John, to be baptised of him.

14 But John forbad him, saying, I have need to be baptised of thee, and comest thou to me?

15 And Jesus answering said unto him, Suffer it to be so now: for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness. Then he suffered him.

16 And Jesus, when he was baptised, went up straightway out of the water: and, lo, the heavens were opened unto him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove, and lighting upon him:

17 And lo a voice from heaven, saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.

MATTHEW CHAPTER 4

1 Then was Jesus led up of the spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil.

2 And when he had fasted forty days and forty nights, he was afterward an hungred.

3 And when the tempter came to him, he said, If thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread.

4 But he answered and said, It is written, Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.

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5 Then the devil taketh him up into the holy city, and setteth him on a pinnacle of the temple,
6 And saith unto him, If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down: for it is written, He shall give his angels charge concerning thee: and in their hands they shall bear thee up, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone.
7 Jesus said unto him, It is written again, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.
8 Again, the devil taketh him up into an exceeding high mountain, and sheweth him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them;
9 And saith unto him, All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me.
10 Then saith Jesus unto him, Get thee hence, Satan: for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.
11 Then the devil leaveth him, and, behold, angels came and ministered unto him.
12 Now when Jesus had heard that John was cast into prison, he departed into Galilee;
13 And leaving Nazareth, he came and dwelt in Capernaum, which is upon the sea coast, in the borders of Zabulon and Nephthalim:
14 That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias the prophet, saying,
15 The land of Zabulon, and the land of Nephthalim, by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles;
16 The people which sat in darkness saw great light; and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death light is sprung up.
17 From that time Jesus began to preach, and to say, Repent: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.
18 And Jesus, walking by the sea of Galilee, saw two brethren, Simon called Peter, and Andrew his brother, casting a net into the sea: for they were fishers.
19 And he saith unto them, Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men.
20 And they straightway left their nets, and followed him.
21 And going on from thence, he saw other two brethren, James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother, in a ship with Zebedee their father, mending their nets; and he called them.
22 And they immediately left the ship and their father, and followed him.
23 And Jesus went about all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of sickness and all manner of disease among the people.
24 And his fame went throughout all Syria: and they brought unto him all sick people that were taken with divers diseases and torments, and those which were possessed with devils, and those which were lunatick, and those that had the palsy; and he healed them.
25 And there followed him great multitudes of people from Galilee, and from Decapolis, and from Jerusalem, and from Judaea, and from beyond Jordan.

MATTHEW CHAPTER 5

1 And seeing the multitudes, he went up into a mountain: and when he was set, his disciples came unto him:
2 And he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying,
3 Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.
4 Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.
5 Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.
6 Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.
7 Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.
8 Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.
9 Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.
10 Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.
11 Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.
12 Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.
13 Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted? it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men.
14 Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid.
15 Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house.
16 Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.
17 Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil.
18 For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled.
19 Whosoever therefore shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven: but whosoever shall do and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven.
20 For I say unto you, That except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven.
21 Ye have heard that it was said of them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgement:
22 But I say unto you, That whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgement: and whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council: but whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire.
23 Therefore if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee;
24 Leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.
25 Agree with thine adversary quickly, whiles thou art in the way with him; lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison.
26 Verily I say unto thee, Thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing.
27 Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery:
28 But I say unto you, That whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.
29 And if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell.
30 And if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell.
31 It hath been said, Whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement:
32 But I say unto you, That whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery: and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced committeth adultery.
33 Again, ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths:
34 But I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by heaven; for it is God's throne:
35 Nor by the earth; for it is his footstool: neither by Jerusalem; for it is the city of the great King.
36 Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black.
37 But let your communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil.
38 Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth:
39 But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.
40 And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also.
41 And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain.
42 Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away.
43 Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy.
44 But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you;
45 That ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.
46 For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? do not even the publicans the same?
47 And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? do not even the publicans so?
48 Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.

MATTHEW CHAPTER 6

1 Take heed that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them: otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven.
2 Therefore when thou doest thine alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men. Verily I say unto you, They have their reward.
3 But when thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth:
4 That thine alms may be in secret: and thy Father which seeth in secret himself shall reward thee openly.
5 And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are: for they love to pray standing in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men. Verily I say unto you, They have their reward.
6 But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly.
7 But when ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathen do: for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking.
8 Be not ye therefore like unto them: for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of, before ye ask him.
9 After this manner therefore pray ye: Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name.
10 Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven.
11 Give us this day our daily bread.
12 And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.
13 And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil: For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen.
14 For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you:
15 But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses.
16 Moreover when ye fast, be not, as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance: for they disfigure their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast. Verily I say unto you, They have their reward.
17 But thou, when thou fastest, anoint thine head, and wash thy face;
18 That thou appear not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which is in secret: and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly.
19 Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal:
20 But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal:
21 For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.
22 The light of the body is the eye: if therefore thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light.
23 But if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness. If therefore the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!
24 No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.
25 Therefore I say unto you, Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment?
26 Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they?
27 Which of you by taking thought can add one cubit unto his stature?
28 And why take ye thought for raiment? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin:
29 And yet I say unto you, That even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.
30 Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to day is, and to morrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith?
31 Therefore take no thought, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed?
32 (For after all these things do the Gentiles seek:) for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things.
33 But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you.
34 Take therefore no thought for the morrow: for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

MATTHEW CHAPTER 7

1 Judge not, that ye be not judged.
2 For with what judgement ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.
3 And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?
4 Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, Let me pull out the mote out of thine eye; and, behold, a beam is in thine own eye?
5 Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.
6 Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you.
7 Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you:

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8 For every one that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened.
9 Or what man is there of you, whom if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone?
10 Or if he ask a fish, will he give him a serpent?
11 If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him?
12 Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets.
13 Enter ye in at the strait gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat:
14 Because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.
15 Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves.
16 Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?
17 Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit.
18 A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.
19 Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.
20 Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them.
21 Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven.
22 Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name? and in thy name have cast out devils? and in thy name done many wonderful works?
23 And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity.
24 Therefore whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock:
25 And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not: for it was founded upon a rock.
26 And every one that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand:
27 And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell: and great was the fall of it.
28 And it came to pass, when Jesus had ended these sayings, the people were astonished at his doctrine:
29 For he taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes.

MATTHEW CHAPTER 8

1 When he was come down from the mountain, great multitudes followed him.
2 And, behold, there came a leper and worshipped him, saying, Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean.
3 And Jesus put forth his hand, and touched him, saying, I will; be thou clean. And immediately his leprosy was cleansed.
4 And Jesus saith unto him, See thou tell no man; but go thy way, shew thyself to the priest, and offer the gift that Moses commanded, for a testimony unto them.
5 And when Jesus was entered into Capernaum, there came unto him a centurion, beseeching him,
6 And saying, Lord, my servant lieth at home sick of the palsy, grievously tormented.
7 And Jesus saith unto him, I will come and heal him.
8 The centurion answered and said, Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof: but speak the word only, and my servant shall be healed.
9 For I am a man under authority, having soldiers under me: and I say to this man, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh; and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it.
10 When Jesus heard it, he marvelled, and said to them that followed, Verily I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel.
11 And I say unto you, That many shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven.
12 But the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.
13 And Jesus said unto the centurion, Go thy way; and as thou hast believed, so be it done unto thee. And his servant was healed in the selfsame hour.
14 And when Jesus was come into Peter's house, he saw his wife's mother laid, and sick of a fever.
15 And he touched her hand, and the fever left her: and she arose, and ministered unto them.
16 When the even was come, they brought unto him many that were possessed with devils: and he cast out the spirits with his word, and healed all that were sick:
17 That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias the prophet, saying, Himself took our infirmities, and bare our sicknesses.
18 Now when Jesus saw great multitudes about him, he gave commandment to depart unto the other side.
19 And a certain scribe came, and said unto him, Master, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest.
20 And Jesus saith unto him, The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head.
21 And another of his disciples said unto him, Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my father.
22 But Jesus said unto him, Follow me; and let the dead bury their dead.
23 And when he was entered into a ship, his disciples followed him.
24 And, behold, there arose a great tempest in the sea, insomuch that the ship was covered with the waves: but he was asleep.
25 And his disciples came to him, and awoke him, saying, Lord, save us: we perish.
26 And he saith unto them, Why are ye fearful, O ye of little faith? Then he arose, and rebuked the winds and the sea; and there was a great calm.
27 But the men marvelled, saying, What manner of man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey him!
28 And when he was come to the other side into the country of the Gergesenes, there met him two possessed with devils, coming out of the tombs, exceeding fierce, so that no man might pass by that way.
29 And, behold, they cried out, saying, What have we to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God? art thou come hither to torment us before the time?
30 And there was a good way off from them an herd of many swine feeding.
31 So the devils besought him, saying, If thou cast us out, suffer us to go away into the herd of swine.
32 And he said unto them, Go. And when they were come out, they went into the herd of swine: and, behold, the whole herd of swine ran violently down a steep place into the sea, and perished in the waters.
33 And they that kept them fled, and went their ways into the city, and told every thing, and what was befallen to the possessed of the devils.
34 And, behold, the whole city came out to meet Jesus: and when they saw him, they besought him that he would depart out of their coasts.

MATTHEW CHAPTER 9

1 And he entered into a ship, and passed over, and came into his own city.
2 And, behold, they brought to him a man sick of the palsy, lying on a bed: and Jesus seeing their faith said unto the sick of the palsy; Son, be of good cheer; thy sins be forgiven thee.
3 And, behold, certain of the scribes said within themselves, This man blasphemeth.
4 And Jesus knowing their thoughts said, Wherefore think ye evil in your hearts?
5 For whether is easier, to say, Thy sins be forgiven thee; or to say, Arise, and walk?
6 But that ye may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins, (then saith he to the sick of the palsy,) Arise, take up thy bed, and go unto thine house.
7 And he arose, and departed to his house.
8 But when the multitudes saw it, they marvelled, and glorified God, which had given such power unto men.
9 And as Jesus passed forth from thence, he saw a man, named Matthew, sitting at the receipt of custom: and he saith unto him, Follow me. And he arose, and followed him.
10 And it came to pass, as Jesus sat at meat in the house, behold, many publicans and sinners came and sat down with him and his disciples.
11 And when the Pharisees saw it, they said unto his disciples, Why eateth your Master with publicans and sinners?
12 But when Jesus heard that, he said unto them, They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick.
13 But go ye and learn what that meaneth, I will have mercy, and not sacrifice: for I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.
14 Then came to him the disciples of John, saying, Why do we and the Pharisees fast oft, but thy disciples fast not?
15 And Jesus said unto them, Can the children of the bridechamber mourn, as long as the bridegroom is with them? but the days will come, when the bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then shall they fast.
16 No man putteth a piece of new cloth unto an old garment, for that which is put in to fill it up taketh from the garment, and the rent is made worse.
17 Neither do men put new wine into old bottles: else the bottles break, and the wine runneth out, and the bottles perish: but they put new wine into new bottles, and both are preserved.
18 While he spake these things unto them, behold, there came a certain ruler, and worshipped him, saying, My daughter is even now dead: but come and lay thy hand upon her, and she shall live.
19 And Jesus arose, and followed him, and so did his disciples.
20 And, behold, a woman, which was diseased with an issue of blood twelve years, came behind him, and touched the hem of his garment:
21 For she said within herself, If I may but touch his garment, I shall be whole.
22 But Jesus turned him about, and when he saw her, he said, Daughter, be of good comfort; thy faith hath made thee whole. And the woman was made whole from that hour.
23 And when Jesus came into the ruler's house, and saw the minstrels and the people making a noise,
24 He said unto them, Give place: for the maid is not dead, but sleepeth. And they laughed him to scorn.
25 But when the people were put forth, he went in, and took her by the hand, and the maid arose.
26 And the fame hereof went abroad into all that land.
27 And when Jesus departed thence, two blind men followed him, crying, and saying, Thou son of David, have mercy on us.
28 And when he was come into the house, the blind men came to him: and Jesus saith unto them, Believe ye that I am able to do this? They said unto him, Yea, Lord.
29 Then touched he their eyes, saying, According to your faith be it unto you.
30 And their eyes were opened; and Jesus straitly charged them, saying, See that no man know it.
31 But they, when they were departed, spread abroad his fame in all that country.
32 As they went out, behold, they brought to him a dumb man possessed with a devil.
33 And when the devil was cast out, the dumb spake: and the multitudes marvelled, saying, It was never so seen in Israel.
34 But the Pharisees said, He casteth out devils through the prince of the devils.
35 And Jesus went about all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing every sickness and every disease among the people.
36 But when he saw the multitudes, he was moved with compassion on them, because they fainted, and were scattered abroad, as sheep having no shepherd.
37 Then saith he unto his disciples, The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few;
38 Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he will send forth labourers into his harvest.

MATTHEW CHAPTER 10

1 And when he had called unto him his twelve disciples, he gave them power against unclean spirits, to cast them out, and to heal all manner of sickness and all manner of disease.
2 Now the names of the twelve apostles are these; The first, Simon, who is called Peter, and Andrew his brother; James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother;
3 Philip, and Bartholomew; Thomas, and Matthew the publican; James the son of Alphaeus, and Lebbaeus, whose surname was Thaddaeus;
4 Simon the Canaanite, and Judas Iscariot, who also betrayed him.
5 These twelve Jesus sent forth, and commanded them, saying, Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not:
6 But go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.
7 And as ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand.
8 Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils: freely ye have received, freely give.
9 Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses,
10 Nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves: for the workman is worthy of his meat.
11 And into whatsoever city or town ye shall enter, enquire who in it is worthy; and there abide till ye go thence.
12 And when ye come into an house, salute it.
13 And if the house be worthy, let your peace come upon it: but if it be not worthy, let your peace return to you.
14 And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words, when ye depart out of that house or city, shake off the dust of your feet.
15 Verily I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrha in the day of judgement, than for that city.
16 Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves: be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves.
17 But beware of men: for they will deliver you up to the councils, and they will scourge you in their synagogues;
18 And ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony against them and the Gentiles.
19 But when they deliver you up, take no thought how or what ye shall speak: for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak.
20 For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you.
21 And the brother shall deliver up the brother to death, and the father the child: and the children shall rise up against their parents, and cause them to be put to death.

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22 And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake: but he that endureth to the end shall be saved.
23 But when they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another: for verily I say unto you, Ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel, till the Son of man be come.
24 The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord.
25 It is enough for the disciple that he be as his master, and the servant as his lord. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household?
26 Fear them not therefore: for there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed; and hid, that shall not be known.
27 What I tell you in darkness, that speak ye in light: and what ye hear in the ear, that preach ye upon the housetops.
28 And fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.
29 Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father.
30 But the very hairs of your head are all numbered.
31 Fear ye not therefore, ye are of more value than many sparrows.
32 Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven.
33 But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.
34 Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword.
35 For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter in law against her mother in law.
36 And a man's foes shall be they of his own household.
37 He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me: and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me.
38 And he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me.
39 He that findeth his life shall lose it: and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it.
40 He that receiveth you receiveth me, and he that receiveth me receiveth him that sent me.
41 He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet shall receive a prophet's reward; and he that receiveth a righteous man in the name of a righteous man shall receive a righteous man's reward.
42 And whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water only in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward.

MATTHEW CHAPTER 11

1 And it came to pass, when Jesus had made an end of commanding his twelve disciples, he departed thence to teach and to preach in their cities.
2 Now when John had heard in the prison the works of Christ, he sent two of his disciples,
3 And said unto him, Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another?
4 Jesus answered and said unto them, Go and shew John again those things which ye do hear and see:
5 The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached to them.
6 And blessed is he, whosoever shall not be offended in me.
7 And as they departed, Jesus began to say unto the multitudes concerning John, What went ye out into the wilderness to see? A reed shaken with the wind?
8 But what went ye out for to see? A man clothed in soft raiment? behold, they that wear soft clothing are in kings' houses.
9 But what went ye out for to see? A prophet? yea, I say unto you, and more than a prophet.
10 For this is he, of whom it is written, Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee.
11 Verily I say unto you, Among them that are born of women there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist: notwithstanding he that is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he.
12 And from the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force.
13 For all the prophets and the law prophesied until John.
14 And if ye will receive it, this is Elias, which was for to come.
15 He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.
16 But whereunto shall I liken this generation? It is like unto children sitting in the markets, and calling unto their fellows,
17 And saying, We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced; we have mourned unto you, and ye have not lamented.
18 For John came neither eating nor drinking, and they say, He hath a devil.
19 The Son of man came eating and drinking, and they say, Behold a man gluttonous, and a winebibber, a friend of publicans and sinners. But wisdom is justified of her children.
20 Then began he to upbraid the cities wherein most of his mighty works were done, because they repented not:
21 Woe unto thee, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works, which were done in you, had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes.
22 But I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the day of judgement, than for you.
23 And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell: for if the mighty works, which have been done in thee, had been done in Sodom, it would have remained until this day.
24 But I say unto you, That it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgement, than for thee.
25 At that time Jesus answered and said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes.
26 Even so, Father: for so it seemed good in thy sight.
27 All things are delivered unto me of my Father: and no man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him.
28 Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.
29 Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls.
30 For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light.

MATTHEW CHAPTER 12

1 At that time Jesus went on the sabbath day through the corn; and his disciples were an hungred, and began to pluck the ears of corn and to eat.
2 But when the Pharisees saw it, they said unto him, Behold, thy disciples do that which is not lawful to do upon the sabbath day.
3 But he said unto them, Have ye not read what David did, when he was an hungred, and they that were with him;
4 How he entered into the house of God, and did eat the shewbread, which was not lawful for him to eat, neither for them which were with him, but only for the priests?
5 Or have ye not read in the law, how that on the sabbath days the priests in the temple profane the sabbath, and are blameless?
6 But I say unto you, That in this place is one greater than the temple.
7 But if ye had known what this meaneth, I will have mercy, and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless.
8 For the Son of man is Lord even of the sabbath day.
9 And when he was departed thence, he went into their synagogue:
10 And, behold, there was a man which had his hand withered. And they asked him, saying, Is it lawful to heal on the sabbath days? that they might accuse him.
11 And he said unto them, What man shall there be among you, that shall have one sheep, and if it fall into a pit on the sabbath day, will he not lay hold on it, and lift it out?
12 How much then is a man better than a sheep? Wherefore it is lawful to do well on the sabbath days.
13 Then saith he to the man, Stretch forth thine hand. And he stretched it forth; and it was restored whole, like as the other.
14 Then the Pharisees went out, and held a council against him, how they might destroy him.
15 But when Jesus knew it, he withdrew himself from thence: and great multitudes followed him, and he healed them all;
16 And charged them that they should not make him known:
17 That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias the prophet, saying,
18 Behold my servant, whom I have chosen; my beloved, in whom my soul is well pleased: I will put my spirit upon him, and he shall shew judgement to the Gentiles.
19 He shall not strive, nor cry; neither shall any man hear his voice in the streets.
20 A bruised reed shall he not break, and smoking flax shall he not quench, till he send forth judgement unto victory.
21 And in his name shall the Gentiles trust.
22 Then was brought unto him one possessed with a devil, blind, and dumb: and he healed him, insomuch that the blind and dumb both spake and saw.
23 And all the people were amazed, and said, Is not this the son of David?
24 But when the Pharisees heard it, they said, This fellow doth not cast out devils, but by Beelzebub the prince of the devils.
25 And Jesus knew their thoughts, and said unto them, Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand:
26 And if Satan cast out Satan, he is divided against himself; how shall then his kingdom stand?
27 And if I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out? therefore they shall be your judges.
28 But if I cast out devils by the Spirit of God, then the kingdom of God is come unto you.
29 Or else how can one enter into a strong man's house, and spoil his goods, except he first bind the strong man? and then he will spoil his house.
30 He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad.
31 Wherefore I say unto you, All manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men: but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men.
32 And whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come.
33 Either make the tree good, and his fruit good; or else make the tree corrupt, and his fruit corrupt: for the tree is known by his fruit.
34 O generation of vipers, how can ye, being evil, speak good things? for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh.
35 A good man out of the good treasure of the heart bringeth forth good things: and an evil man out of the evil treasure bringeth forth evil things.
36 But I say unto you, That every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgement.
37 For by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned.
38 Then certain of the scribes and of the Pharisees answered, saying, Master, we would see a sign from thee.
39 But he answered and said unto them, An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign; and there shall no sign be given to it, but the sign of the prophet Jonas:
40 For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly; so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.
41 The men of Nineveh shall rise in judgement with this generation, and shall condemn it: because they repented at the preaching of Jonas; and, behold, a greater than Jonas is here.
42 The queen of the south shall rise up in the judgement with this generation, and shall condemn it: for she came from the uttermost parts of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon; and, behold, a greater than Solomon is here.
43 When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he walketh through dry places, seeking rest, and findeth none.
44 Then he saith, I will return into my house from whence I came out; and when he is come, he findeth it empty, swept, and garnished.
45 Then goeth he, and taketh with himself seven other spirits more wicked than himself, and they enter in and dwell there: and the last state of that man is worse than the first. Even so shall it be also unto this wicked generation.
46 While he yet talked to the people, behold, his mother and his brethren stood without, desiring to speak with him.
47 Then one said unto him, Behold, thy mother and thy brethren stand without, desiring to speak with thee.
48 But he answered and said unto him that told him, Who is my mother? and who are my brethren?
49 And he stretched forth his hand toward his disciples, and said, Behold my mother and my brethren!
50 For whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother.

MATTHEW CHAPTER 13

1 The same day went Jesus out of the house, and sat by the sea side.
2 And great multitudes were gathered together unto him, so that he went into a ship, and sat; and the whole multitude stood on the shore.
3 And he spake many things unto them in parables, saying, Behold, a sower went forth to sow;
4 And when he sowed, some seeds fell by the way side, and the fowls came and devoured them up:
5 Some fell upon stony places, where they had not much earth: and forthwith they sprung up, because they had no deepness of earth:
6 And when the sun was up, they were scorched; and because they had no root, they withered away.
7 And some fell among thorns; and the thorns sprung up, and choked them:
8 But other fell into good ground, and brought forth fruit, some an hundredfold, some sixtyfold, some thirtyfold.
9 Who hath ears to hear, let him hear.
10 And the disciples came, and said unto him, Why speakest thou unto them in parables?
11 He answered and said unto them, Because it is given unto you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given.
12 For whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundance: but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath.

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13 Therefore speak I to them in parables: because they seeing see not; and hearing they hear not, neither do they understand.
14 And in them is fulfilled the prophecy of Esaias, which saith, By hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing ye shall see, and shall not perceive:
15 For this people's heart is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed; lest at any time they should see with their eyes and hear with their ears, and should understand with their heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them.
16 But blessed are your eyes, for they see: and your ears, for they hear.
17 For verily I say unto you, That many prophets and righteous men have desired to see those things which ye see, and have not seen them; and to hear those things which ye hear, and have not heard them.
18 Hear ye therefore the parable of the sower.
19 When any one heareth the word of the kingdom, and understandeth it not, then cometh the wicked one, and catcheth away that which was sown in his heart. This is he which received seed by the way side.
20 But he that received the seed into stony places, the same is he that heareth the word, and anon with joy receiveth it;
21 Yet hath he not root in himself, but dureth for a while: for when tribulation or persecution ariseth because of the word, by and by he is offended.
22 He also that received seed among the thorns is he that heareth the word; and the care of this world, and the deceitfulness of riches, choke the word, and he becometh unfruitful.
23 But he that received seed into the good ground is he that heareth the word, and understandeth it; which also beareth fruit, and bringeth forth, some an hundredfold, some sixty, some thirty.
24 Another parable put he forth unto them, saying, The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man which sowed good seed in his field:
25 But while men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way.
26 But when the blade was sprung up, and brought forth fruit, then appeared the tares also.
27 So the servants of the householder came and said unto him, Sir, didst not thou sow good seed in thy field? from whence then hath it tares?
28 He said unto them, An enemy hath done this. The servants said unto him, Wilt thou then that we go and gather them up?
29 But he said, Nay; lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them.
30 Let both grow together until the harvest: and in the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, Gather ye together first the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn them: but gather the wheat into my barn.
31 Another parable put he forth unto them, saying, The kingdom of heaven is like to a grain of mustard seed, which a man took, and sowed in his field:
32 Which indeed is the least of all seeds: but when it is grown, it is the greatest among herbs, and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof.
33 Another parable spake he unto them; The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took, and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened.
34 All these things spake Jesus unto the multitude in parables; and without a parable spake he not unto them:
35 That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, I will open my mouth in parables; I will utter things which have been kept secret from the foundation of the world.
36 Then Jesus sent the multitude away, and went into the house: and his disciples came unto him, saying, Declare unto us the parable of the tares of the field.
37 He answered and said unto them, He that soweth the good seed is the Son of man;
38 The field is the world; the good seed are the children of the kingdom; but the tares are the children of the wicked one;
39 The enemy that sowed them is the devil; the harvest is the end of the world; and the reapers are the angels.
40 As therefore the tares are gathered and burned in the fire; so shall it be in the end of this world.
41 The Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity;
42 And shall cast them into a furnace of fire: there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth.
43 Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father. Who hath ears to hear, let him hear.
44 Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto treasure hid in a field; the which when a man hath found, he hideth, and for joy thereof goeth and selleth all that he hath, and buyeth that field.
45 Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a merchant man, seeking goodly pearls:
46 Who, when he had found one pearl of great price, went and sold all that he had, and bought it.
47 Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a net, that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind:
48 Which, when it was full, they drew to shore, and sat down, and gathered the good into vessels, but cast the bad away.
49 So shall it be at the end of the world: the angels shall come forth, and sever the wicked from among the just,
50 And shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth.
51 Jesus saith unto them, Have ye understood all these things? They say unto him, Yea, Lord.
52 Then said he unto them, Therefore every scribe which is instructed unto the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is an householder, which bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old.
53 And it came to pass, that when Jesus had finished these parables, he departed thence.
54 And when he was come into his own country, he taught them in their synagogue, insomuch that they were astonished, and said, Whence hath this man this wisdom, and these mighty works?
55 Is not this the carpenter's son? is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren, James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas?
56 And his sisters, are they not all with us? Whence then hath this man all these things?
57 And they were offended in him. But Jesus said unto them, A prophet is not without honour, save in his own country, and in his own house.
58 And he did not many mighty works there because of their unbelief.

MATTHEW CHAPTER 14

1 At that time Herod the tetrarch heard of the fame of Jesus,
2 And said unto his servants, This is John the Baptist; he is risen from the dead; and therefore mighty works do shew forth themselves in him.
3 For Herod had laid hold on John, and bound him, and put him in prison for Herodias' sake, his brother Philip's wife.
4 For John said unto him, It is not lawful for thee to have her.
5 And when he would have put him to death, he feared the multitude, because they counted him as a prophet.
6 But when Herod's birthday was kept, the daughter of Herodias danced before them, and pleased Herod.
7 Whereupon he promised with an oath to give her whatsoever she would ask.
8 And she, being before instructed of her mother, said, Give me here John Baptist's head in a charger.
9 And the king was sorry: nevertheless for the oath's sake, and them which sat with him at meat, he commanded it to be given her.
10 And he sent, and beheaded John in the prison.
11 And his head was brought in a charger, and given to the damsel: and she brought it to her mother.
12 And his disciples came, and took up the body, and buried it, and went and told Jesus.
13 When Jesus heard of it, he departed thence by ship into a desert place apart: and when the people had heard thereof, they followed him on foot out of the cities.
14 And Jesus went forth, and saw a great multitude, and was moved with compassion toward them, and he healed their sick.
15 And when it was evening, his disciples came to him, saying, This is a desert place, and the time is now past; send the multitude away, that they may go into the villages, and buy themselves victuals.
16 But Jesus said unto them, They need not depart; give ye them to eat.
17 And they say unto him, We have here but five loaves, and two fishes.
18 He said, Bring them hither to me.
19 And he commanded the multitude to sit down on the grass, and took the five loaves, and the two fishes, and looking up to heaven, he blessed, and brake, and gave the loaves to his disciples, and the disciples to the multitude.
20 And they did all eat, and were filled: and they took up of the fragments that remained twelve baskets full.
21 And they that had eaten were about five thousand men, beside women and children.
22 And straightway Jesus constrained his disciples to get into a ship, and to go before him unto the other side, while he sent the multitudes away.
23 And when he had sent the multitudes away, he went up into a mountain apart to pray: and when the evening was come, he was there alone.
24 But the ship was now in the midst of the sea, tossed with waves: for the wind was contrary.
25 And in the fourth watch of the night Jesus went unto them, walking on the sea.
26 And when the disciples saw him walking on the sea, they were troubled, saying, It is a spirit; and they cried out for fear.
27 But straightway Jesus spake unto them, saying, Be of good cheer; it is I; be not afraid.
28 And Peter answered him and said, Lord, if it be thou, bid me come unto thee on the water.
29 And he said, Come. And when Peter was come down out of the ship, he walked on the water, to go to Jesus.
30 But when he saw the wind boisterous, he was afraid; and beginning to sink, he cried, saying, Lord, save me.
31 And immediately Jesus stretched forth his hand, and caught him, and said unto him, O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?
32 And when they were come into the ship, the wind ceased.
33 Then they that were in the ship came and worshipped him, saying, Of a truth thou art the Son of God.
34 And when they were gone over, they came into the land of Gennesaret.
35 And when the men of that place had knowledge of him, they sent out into all that country round about, and brought unto him all that were diseased;
36 And besought him that they might only touch the hem of his garment: and as many as touched were made perfectly whole.

MATTHEW CHAPTER 15

1 Then came to Jesus scribes and Pharisees, which were of Jerusalem, saying,
2 Why do thy disciples transgress the tradition of the elders? for they wash not their hands when they eat bread.
3 But he answered and said unto them, Why do ye also transgress the commandment of God by your tradition?
4 For God commanded, saying, Honour thy father and mother: and, He that curseth father or mother, let him die the death.
5 But ye say, Whosoever shall say to his father or his mother, It is a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me;
6 And honour not his father or his mother, he shall be free. Thus have ye made the commandment of God of none effect by your tradition.
7 Ye hypocrites, well did Esaias prophesy of you, saying,
8 This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips; but their heart is far from me.
9 But in vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.
10 And he called the multitude, and said unto them, Hear, and understand:
11 Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man; but that which cometh out of the mouth, this defileth a man.
12 Then came his disciples, and said unto him, Knowest thou that the Pharisees were offended, after they heard this saying?
13 But he answered and said, Every plant, which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up.
14 Let them alone: they be blind leaders of the blind. And if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch.
15 Then answered Peter and said unto him, Declare unto us this parable.
16 And Jesus said, Are ye also yet without understanding?
17 Do not ye yet understand, that whatsoever entereth in at the mouth goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the draught?
18 But those things which proceed out of the mouth come forth from the heart; and they defile the man.
19 For out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness, blasphemies:
20 These are the things which defile a man: but to eat with unwashen hands defileth not a man.
21 Then Jesus went thence, and departed into the coasts of Tyre and Sidon.
22 And, behold, a woman of Canaan came out of the same coasts, and cried unto him, saying, Have mercy on me, O Lord, thou son of David; my daughter is grievously vexed with a devil.
23 But he answered her not a word. And his disciples came and besought him, saying, Send her away; for she crieth after us.
24 But he answered and said, I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel.
25 Then came she and worshipped him, saying, Lord, help me.
26 But he answered and said, It is not meet to take the children's bread, and to cast it to dogs.
27 And she said, Truth, Lord: yet the dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their masters' table.
28 Then Jesus answered and said unto her, O woman, great is thy faith: be it unto thee even as thou wilt. And her daughter was made whole from that very hour.
29 And Jesus departed from thence, and came nigh unto the sea of Galilee; and went up into a mountain, and sat down there.
30 And great multitudes came unto him, having with them those that were lame, blind, dumb, maimed, and many others, and cast them down at Jesus' feet; and he healed them:

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31 Insomuch that the multitude wondered, when they saw the dumb to speak, the maimed to be whole, the lame to walk, and the blind to see: and they glorified the God of Israel.

32 Then Jesus called his disciples unto him, and said, I have compassion on the multitude, because they continue with me now three days, and have nothing to eat: and I will not send them away fasting, lest they faint in the way.

33 And his disciples say unto him, Whence should we have so much bread in the wilderness, as to fill so great a multitude?

34 And Jesus saith unto them, How many loaves have ye? And they said, Seven, and a few little fishes.

35 And he commanded the multitude to sit down on the ground.

36 And he took the seven loaves and the fishes, and gave thanks, and brake them, and gave to his disciples, and the disciples to the multitude.

37 And they did all eat, and were filled: and they took up of the broken meat that was left seven baskets full.

38 And they that did eat were four thousand men, beside women and children.

39 And he sent away the multitude, and took ship, and came into the coasts of Magdala.

MATTHEW CHAPTER 16

1 The Pharisees also with the Sadducees came, and tempting desired him that he would shew them a sign from heaven.

2 He answered and said unto them, When it is evening, ye say, It will be fair weather: for the sky is red.

3 And in the morning, It will be foul weather to day: for the sky is red and lowering. O ye hypocrites, ye can discern the face of the sky; but can ye not discern the signs of the times?

4 A wicked and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign; and there shall no sign be given unto it, but the sign of the prophet Jonas. And he left them, and departed.

5 And when his disciples were come to the other side, they had forgotten to take bread.

6 Then Jesus said unto them, Take heed and beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees.

7 And they reasoned among themselves, saying, It is because we have taken no bread.

8 Which when Jesus perceived, he said unto them, O ye of little faith, why reason ye among yourselves, because ye have brought no bread?

9 Do ye not yet understand, neither remember the five loaves of the five thousand, and how many baskets ye took up?

10 Neither the seven loaves of the four thousand, and how many baskets ye took up?

11 How is it that ye do not understand that I spake it not to you concerning bread, that ye should beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees?

12 Then understood they how that he bade them not beware of the leaven of bread, but of the doctrine of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees.

13 When Jesus came into the coasts of Caesarea Philippi, he asked his disciples, saying, Whom do men say that I the Son of man am?

14 And they said, Some say that thou art John the Baptist: some, Elias; and others, Jeremias, or one of the prophets.

15 He saith unto them, But whom say ye that I am?

16 And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.

17 And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven.

18 And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.

19 And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.

20 Then charged he his disciples that they should tell no man that he was Jesus the Christ.

21 From that time forth began Jesus to shew unto his disciples, how that he must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and be raised again the third day.

22 Then Peter took him, and began to rebuke him, saying, Be it far from thee, Lord: this shall not be unto thee.

23 But he turned, and said unto Peter, Get thee behind me, Satan: thou art an offence unto me: for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men.

24 Then said Jesus unto his disciples, If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me.

25 For whosoever will save his life shall lose it: and whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it.

26 For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?

27 For the Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels; and then he shall reward every man according to his works.

28 Verily I say unto you, There be some standing here, which shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom.

MATTHEW CHAPTER 17

1 And after six days Jesus taketh Peter, James, and John his brother, and bringeth them up into an high mountain apart,

2 And was transfigured before them: and his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light.

3 And, behold, there appeared unto them Moses and Elias talking with him.

4 Then answered Peter, and said unto Jesus, Lord, it is good for us to be here: if thou wilt, let us make here three tabernacles; one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias.

5 While he yet spake, behold, a bright cloud overshadowed them: and behold a voice out of the cloud, which said, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him.

6 And when the disciples heard it, they fell on their face, and were sore afraid.

7 And Jesus came and touched them, and said, Arise, and be not afraid.

8 And when they had lifted up their eyes, they saw no man, save Jesus only.

9 And as they came down from the mountain, Jesus charged them, saying, Tell the vision to no man, until the Son of man be risen again from the dead.

10 And his disciples asked him, saying, Why then say the scribes that Elias must first come?

11 And Jesus answered and said unto them, Elias truly shall first come, and restore all things.

12 But I say unto you, That Elias is come already, and they knew him not, but have done unto him whatsoever they listed. Likewise shall also the Son of man suffer of them.

13 Then the disciples understood that he spake unto them of John the Baptist.

14 And when they were come to the multitude, there came to him a certain man, kneeling down to him, and saying,

15 Lord, have mercy on my son: for he is lunatick, and sore vexed: for ofttimes he falleth into the fire, and oft into the water.

16 And I brought him to thy disciples, and they could not cure him.

17 Then Jesus answered and said, O faithless and perverse generation, how long shall I be with you? how long shall I suffer you? bring him hither to me.

18 And Jesus rebuked the devil; and he departed out of him: and the child was cured from that very hour.

19 Then came the disciples to Jesus apart, and said, Why could not we cast him out?

20 And Jesus said unto them, Because of your unbelief: for verily I say unto you, If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place; and it shall remove; and nothing shall be impossible unto you.

21 Howbeit this kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting.

22 And while they abode in Galilee, Jesus said unto them, The Son of man shall be betrayed into the hands of men:

23 And they shall kill him, and the third day he shall be raised again. And they were exceeding sorry.

24 And when they were come to Capernaum, they that received tribute money came to Peter, and said, Doth not your master pay tribute?

25 He saith, Yes. And when he was come into the house, Jesus prevented him, saying, What thinkest thou, Simon? of whom do the kings of the earth take custom or tribute? of their own children, or of strangers?

26 Peter saith unto him, Of strangers. Jesus saith unto him, Then are the children free.

27 Notwithstanding, lest we should offend them, go thou to the sea, and cast an hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up; and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a piece of money: that take, and give unto them for me and thee.

MATTHEW CHAPTER 18

1 At the same time came the disciples unto Jesus, saying, Who is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven?

2 And Jesus called a little child unto him, and set him in the midst of them,

3 And said, Verily I say unto you, Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.

4 Whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven.

5 And whoso shall receive one such little child in my name receiveth me.

6 But whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea.

7 Woe unto the world because of offences! for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh!

8 Wherefore if thy hand or thy foot offend thee, cut them off, and cast them from thee: it is better for thee to enter into life halt or maimed, rather than having two hands or two feet to be cast into everlasting fire.

9 And if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: it is better for thee to enter into life with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire.

10 Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you, That in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven.

11 For the Son of man is come to save that which was lost.

12 How think ye? if a man have an hundred sheep, and one of them be gone astray, doth he not leave the ninety and nine, and goeth into the mountains, and seeketh that which is gone astray?

13 And if so be that he find it, verily I say unto you, he rejoiceth more of that sheep, than of the ninety and nine which went not astray.

14 Even so it is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that one of these little ones should perish.

15 Moreover if thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone: if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother.

16 But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established.

17 And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church: but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican.

18 Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.

19 Again I say unto you, That if two of you shall agree on earth as touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven.

20 For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.

21 Then came Peter to him, and said, Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? till seven times?

22 Jesus saith unto him, I say not unto thee, Until seven times: but, Until seventy times seven.

23 Therefore is the kingdom of heaven likened unto a certain king, which would take account of his servants.

24 And when he had begun to reckon, one was brought unto him, which owed him ten thousand talents.

25 But forasmuch as he had not to pay, his lord commanded him to be sold, and his wife, and children, and all that he had, and payment to be made.

26 The servant therefore fell down, and worshipped him, saying, Lord, have patience with me, and I will pay thee all.

27 Then the lord of that servant was moved with compassion, and loosed him, and forgave him the debt.

28 But the same servant went out, and found one of his fellowservants, which owed him an hundred pence: and he laid hands on him, and took him by the throat, saying, Pay me that thou owest.

29 And his fellowservant fell down at his feet, and besought him, saying, Have patience with me, and I will pay thee all.

30 And he would not: but went and cast him into prison, till he should pay the debt.

31 So when his fellowservants saw what was done, they were very sorry, and came and told unto their lord all that was done.

32 Then his lord, after that he had called him, said unto him, O thou wicked servant, I forgave thee all that debt, because thou desiredst me:

33 Shouldest not thou also have had compassion on thy fellowservant, even as I had pity on thee?

34 And his lord was wroth, and delivered him to the tormentors, till he should pay all that was due unto him.

35 So likewise shall my heavenly Father do also unto you, if ye from your hearts forgive not every one his brother their trespasses.

MATTHEW CHAPTER 19

1 And it came to pass, that when Jesus had finished these sayings, he departed from Galilee, and came into the coasts of Judaea beyond Jordan;

2 And great multitudes followed him; and he healed them there.

3 The Pharisees also came unto him, tempting him, and saying unto him, Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause?

4 And he answered and said unto them, Have ye not read, that he which made them at the beginning made them male and female,

5 And said, For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife: and they twain shall be one flesh?

6 Wherefore they are no more twain, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.

7 They say unto him, Why did Moses then command to give a writing of divorcement, and to put her away?

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8 He saith unto them, Moses because of the hardness of your hearts suffered you to put away your wives: but from the beginning it was not so.

9 And I say unto you, Whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery: and whoso marrieth her which is put away doth commit adultery.

10 His disciples say unto him, If the case of the man be so with his wife, it is not good to marry.

11 But he said unto them, All men cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given.

12 For there are some eunuchs, which were so born from their mother's womb: and there are some eunuchs, which were made eunuchs of men: and there be eunuchs, which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.

13 Then were there brought unto him little children, that he should put his hands on them, and pray: and the disciples rebuked them.

14 But Jesus said, Suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me: for of such is the kingdom of heaven.

15 And he laid his hands on them, and departed thence.

16 And, behold, one came and said unto him, Good Master, what good thing shall I do, that I may have eternal life?

17 And he said unto him, Why callest thou me good? there is none good but one, that is, God: but if thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments.

18 He saith unto him, Which? Jesus said, Thou shalt do no murder, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness,

19 Honour thy father and thy mother: and, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

20 The young man saith unto him, All these things have I kept from my youth up: what lack I yet?

21 Jesus said unto him, If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come and follow me.

22 But when the young man heard that saying, he went away sorrowful: for he had great possessions.

23 Then said Jesus unto his disciples, Verily I say unto you, That a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven.

24 And again I say unto you, It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.

25 When his disciples heard it, they were exceedingly amazed, saying, Who then can be saved?

26 But Jesus beheld them, and said unto them, With men this is impossible; but with God all things are possible.

27 Then answered Peter and said unto him, Behold, we have forsaken all, and followed thee; what shall we have therefore?

28 And Jesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you, That ye which have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

29 And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life.

30 But many that are first shall be last; and the last shall be first.

MATTHEW CHAPTER 20

1 For the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is an householder, which went out early in the morning to hire labourers into his vineyard.

2 And when he had agreed with the labourers for a penny a day, he sent them into his vineyard.

3 And he went out about the third hour, and saw others standing idle in the marketplace,

4 And said unto them; Go ye also into the vineyard, and whatsoever is right I will give you. And they went their way.

5 Again he went out about the sixth and ninth hour, and did likewise.

6 And about the eleventh hour he went out, and found others standing idle, and saith unto them, Why stand ye here all the day idle?

7 They say unto him, Because no man hath hired us. He saith unto them, Go ye also into the vineyard; and whatsoever is right, that shall ye receive.

8 So when even was come, the lord of the vineyard saith unto his steward, Call the labourers, and give them their hire, beginning from the last unto the first.

9 And when they came that were hired about the eleventh hour, they received every man a penny.

10 But when the first came, they supposed that they should have received more; and they likewise received every man a penny.

11 And when they had received it, they murmured against the goodman of the house,

12 Saying, These last have wrought but one hour, and thou hast made them equal unto us, which have borne the burden and heat of the day.

13 But he answered one of them, and said, Friend, I do thee no wrong: didst not thou agree with me for a penny?

14 Take that thine is, and go thy way: I will give unto this last, even as unto thee.

15 Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own? Is thine eye evil, because I am good?

16 So the last shall be first, and the first last: for many be called, but few chosen.

17 And Jesus going up to Jerusalem took the twelve disciples apart in the way, and said unto them,

18 Behold, we go up to Jerusalem; and the Son of man shall be betrayed unto the chief priests and unto the scribes, and they shall condemn him to death,

19 And shall deliver him to the Gentiles to mock, and to scourge, and to crucify him: and the third day he shall rise again.

20 Then came to him the mother of Zebedees children with her sons, worshipping him, and desiring a certain thing of him.

21 And he said unto her, What wilt thou? She saith unto him, Grant that these my two sons may sit, the one on thy right hand, and the other on the left, in thy kingdom.

22 But Jesus answered and said, Ye know not what ye ask. Are ye able to drink of the cup that I shall drink of, and to be baptised with the baptism that I am baptised with? They say unto him, We are able.

23 And he saith unto them, Ye shall drink indeed of my cup, and be baptised with the baptism that I am baptised with: but to sit on my right hand, and on my left, is not mine to give, but it shall be given to them for whom it is prepared of my Father.

24 And when the ten heard it, they were moved with indignation against the two brethren.

25 But Jesus called them unto him, and said, Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them.

26 But it shall not be so among you: but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister;

27 And whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant:

28 Even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.

29 And as they departed from Jericho, a great multitude followed him.

30 And, behold, two blind men sitting by the way side, when they heard that Jesus passed by, cried out, saying, Have mercy on us, O Lord, thou son of David.

31 And the multitude rebuked them, because they should hold their peace: but they cried the more, saying, Have mercy on us, O Lord, thou son of David.

32 And Jesus stood still, and called them, and said, What will ye that I shall do unto you?

33 They say unto him, Lord, that our eyes may be opened.

34 So Jesus had compassion on them, and touched their eyes: and immediately their eyes received sight, and they followed him.

MATTHEW CHAPTER 21

1 And when they drew nigh unto Jerusalem, and were come to Bethphage, unto the mount of Olives, then sent Jesus two disciples,

2 Saying unto them, Go into the village over against you, and straightway ye shall find an ass tied, and a colt with her: loose them, and bring them unto me.

3 And if any man say ought unto you, ye shall say, The Lord hath need of them; and straightway he will send them.

4 All this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying,

5 Tell ye the daughter of Sion, Behold, thy King cometh unto thee, meek, and sitting upon an ass, and a colt the foal of an ass.

6 And the disciples went, and did as Jesus commanded them,

7 And brought the ass, and the colt, and put on them their clothes, and they set him thereon.

8 And a very great multitude spread their garments in the way; others cut down branches from the trees, and strawed them in the way.

9 And the multitudes that went before, and that followed, cried, saying, Hosanna to the son of David: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord; Hosanna in the highest.

10 And when he was come into Jerusalem, all the city was moved, saying, Who is this?

11 And the multitude said, This is Jesus the prophet of Nazareth of Galilee.

12 And Jesus went into the temple of God, and cast out all them that sold and bought in the temple, and overthrew the tables of the moneychangers, and the seats of them that sold doves,

13 And said unto them, It is written, My house shall be called the house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of thieves.

14 And the blind and the lame came to him in the temple; and he healed them.

15 And when the chief priests and scribes saw the wonderful things that he did, and the children crying in the temple, and saying, Hosanna to the son of David; they were sore displeased,

16 And said unto him, Hearest thou what these say? And Jesus saith unto them, Yea; have ye never read, Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise?

17 And he left them, and went out of the city into Bethany; and he lodged there.

18 Now in the morning as he returned into the city, he hungered.

19 And when he saw a fig tree in the way, he came to it, and found nothing thereon, but leaves only, and said unto it, Let no fruit grow on thee henceforward for ever. And presently the fig tree withered away.

20 And when the disciples saw it, they marvelled, saying, How soon is the fig tree withered away!

21 Jesus answered and said unto them, Verily I say unto you, If ye have faith, and doubt not, ye shall not only do this which is done to the fig tree, but also if ye shall say unto this mountain, Be thou removed, and be thou cast into the sea; it shall be done.

22 And all things, whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive.

23 And when he was come into the temple, the chief priests and the elders of the people came unto him as he was teaching, and said, By what authority doest thou these things? and who gave thee this authority?

24 And Jesus answered and said unto them, I also will ask you one thing, which if ye tell me, I in like wise will tell you by what authority I do these things.

25 The baptism of John, whence was it? from heaven, or of men? And they reasoned with themselves, saying, If we shall say, From heaven; he will say unto us, Why did ye not then believe him?

26 But if we shall say, Of men; we fear the people; for all hold John as a prophet.

27 And they answered Jesus, and said, We cannot tell. And he said unto them, Neither tell I you by what authority I do these things.

28 But what think ye? A certain man had two sons; and he came to the first, and said, Son, go work to day in my vineyard.

29 He answered and said, I will not: but afterward he repented, and went.

30 And he came to the second, and said likewise. And he answered and said, I go, sir: and went not.

31 Whether of them twain did the will of his father? They say unto him, The first. Jesus saith unto them, Verily I say unto you, That the publicans and the harlots go into the kingdom of God before you.

32 For John came unto you in the way of righteousness, and ye believed him not: but the publicans and the harlots believed him: and ye, when ye had seen it, repented not afterward, that ye might believe him.

33 Hear another parable: There was a certain householder, which planted a vineyard, and hedged it round about, and digged a winepress in it, and built a tower, and let it out to husbandmen, and went into a far country:

34 And when the time of the fruit drew near, he sent his servants to the husbandmen, that they might receive the fruits of it.

35 And the husbandmen took his servants, and beat one, and killed another, and stoned another.

36 Again, he sent other servants more than the first: and they did unto them likewise.

37 But last of all he sent unto them his son, saying, They will reverence my son.

38 But when the husbandmen saw the son, they said among themselves, This is the heir; come, let us kill him, and let us seize on his inheritance.

39 And they caught him, and cast him out of the vineyard, and slew him.

40 When the lord therefore of the vineyard cometh, what will he do unto those husbandmen?

41 They say unto him, He will miserably destroy those wicked men, and will let out his vineyard unto other husbandmen, which shall render him the fruits in their seasons.

42 Jesus saith unto them, Did ye never read in the scriptures, The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner: this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes?

43 Therefore say I unto you, The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof.

44 And whosoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken: but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder.

45 And when the chief priests and Pharisees had heard his parables, they perceived that he spake of them.

46 But when they sought to lay hands on him, they feared the multitude, because they took him for a prophet.

MATTHEW CHAPTER 22

1 And Jesus answered and spake unto them again by parables, and said,

2 The kingdom of heaven is like unto a certain king, which made a marriage for his son,

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3 And sent forth his servants to call them that were bidden to the wedding: and they would not come.
4 Again, he sent forth other servants, saying, Tell them which are bidden, Behold, I have prepared my dinner: my oxen and my fatlings are killed, and all things are ready: come unto the marriage.
5 But they made light of it, and went their ways, one to his farm, another to his merchandise:
6 And the remnant took his servants, and entreated them spitefully, and slew them.
7 But when the king heard thereof, he was wroth: and he sent forth his armies, and destroyed those murderers, and burned up their city.
8 Then saith he to his servants, The wedding is ready, but they which were bidden were not worthy.
9 Go ye therefore into the highways, and as many as ye shall find, bid to the marriage.
10 So those servants went out into the highways, and gathered together all as many as they found, both bad and good: and the wedding was furnished with guests.
11 And when the king came in to see the guests, he saw there a man which had not on a wedding garment:
12 And he saith unto him, Friend, how camest thou in hither not having a wedding garment? And he was speechless.
13 Then said the king to the servants, Bind him hand and foot, and take him away, and cast him into outer darkness, there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.
14 For many are called, but few are chosen.
15 Then went the Pharisees, and took counsel how they might entangle him in his talk.
16 And they sent out unto him their disciples with the Herodians, saying, Master, we know that thou art true, and teachest the way of God in truth, neither carest thou for any man: for thou regardest not the person of men.
17 Tell us therefore, What thinkest thou? Is it lawful to give tribute unto Caesar, or not?
18 But Jesus perceived their wickedness, and said, Why tempt ye me, ye hypocrites?
19 Shew me the tribute money. And they brought unto him a penny.
20 And he saith unto them, Whose is this image and superscription?
21 They say unto him, Caesar's. Then saith he unto them, Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's.
22 When they had heard these words, they marvelled, and left him, and went their way.
23 The same day came to him the Sadducees, which say that there is no resurrection, and asked him,
24 Saying, Master, Moses said, If a man die, having no children, his brother shall marry his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother.
25 Now there were with us seven brethren: and the first, when he had married a wife, deceased, and, having no issue, left his wife unto his brother:
26 Likewise the second also, and the third, unto the seventh.
27 And last of all the woman died also.
28 Therefore in the resurrection whose wife shall she be of the seven? for they all had her.
29 Jesus answered and said unto them, Ye do err, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God.
30 For in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven.
31 But as touching the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying,
32 I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? God is not the God of the dead, but of the living.
33 And when the multitude heard this, they were astonished at his doctrine.
34 But when the Pharisees had heard that he had put the Sadducees to silence, they were gathered together.
35 Then one of them, which was a lawyer, asked him a question, tempting him, and saying,
36 Master, which is the great commandment in the law?
37 Jesus said unto him, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind.
38 This is the first and great commandment.
39 And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.
40 On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.
41 While the Pharisees were gathered together, Jesus asked them,
42 Saying, What think ye of Christ? whose son is he? They say unto him, The son of David.
43 He saith unto them, How then doth David in spirit call him Lord, saying,
44 The LORD said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool?
45 If David then call him Lord, how is he his son?
46 And no man was able to answer him a word, neither durst any man from that day forth ask him any more questions.

MATTHEW CHAPTER 23

1 Then spake Jesus to the multitude, and to his disciples,
2 Saying The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat:
3 All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works: for they say, and do not.
4 For they bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers.
5 But all their works they do for to be seen of men: they make broad their phylacteries, and enlarge the borders of their garments,
6 And love the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues,
7 And greetings in the markets, and to be called of men, Rabbi, Rabbi.
8 But be not ye called Rabbi: for one is your Master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren.
9 And call no man your father upon the earth: for one is your Father, which is in heaven.
10 Neither be ye called masters: for one is your Master, even Christ.
11 But he that is greatest among you shall be your servant.
12 And whosoever shall exalt himself shall be abased; and he that shall humble himself shall be exalted.
13 But woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men: for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in.
14 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayer: therefore ye shall receive the greater damnation.
15 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he is made, ye make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves.
16 Woe unto you, ye blind guides, which say, Whosoever shall swear by the temple, it is nothing; but whosoever shall swear by the gold of the temple, he is a debtor!
17 Ye fools and blind: for whether is greater, the gold, or the temple that sanctifieth the gold?
18 And, Whosoever shall swear by the altar, it is nothing; but whosoever sweareth by the gift that is upon it, he is guilty.
19 Ye fools and blind: for whether is greater, the gift, or the altar that sanctifieth the gift?
20 Whoso therefore shall swear by the altar, sweareth by it, and by all things thereon.
21 And whoso shall swear by the temple, sweareth by it, and by him that dwelleth therein.
22 And he that shall swear by heaven, sweareth by the throne of God, and by him that sitteth thereon.
23 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint and anise and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgement, mercy, and faith: these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone.
24 Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel.
25 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess.
26 Thou blind Pharisee, cleanse first that which is within the cup and platter, that the outside of them may be clean also.
27 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness.
28 Even so ye also outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity.
29 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye build the tombs of the prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous,
30 And say, If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets.
31 Wherefore ye be witnesses unto yourselves, that ye are the children of them which killed the prophets.
32 Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers.
33 Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell?
34 Wherefore, behold, I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes: and some of them ye shall kill and crucify; and some of them shall ye scourge in your synagogues, and persecute them from city to city:
35 That upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar.
36 Verily I say unto you, All these things shall come upon this generation.
37 O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!
38 Behold, your house is left unto you desolate.
39 For I say unto you, Ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.

MATTHEW CHAPTER 24

1 And Jesus went out, and departed from the temple: and his disciples came to him for to shew him the buildings of the temple.
2 And Jesus said unto them, See ye not all these things? verily I say unto you, There shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down.
3 And as he sat upon the mount of Olives, the disciples came unto him privately, saying, Tell us, when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world?
4 And Jesus answered and said unto them, Take heed that no man deceive you.
5 For many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ; and shall deceive many.
6 And ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars: see that ye be not troubled: for all these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet.
7 For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and there shall be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes, in divers places.
8 All these are the beginning of sorrows.
9 Then shall they deliver you up to be afflicted, and shall kill you: and ye shall be hated of all nations for my name's sake.
10 And then shall many be offended, and shall betray one another, and shall hate one another.
11 And many false prophets shall rise, and shall deceive many.
12 And because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold.
13 But he that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved.
14 And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come.
15 When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place, (whoso readeth, let him understand:)
16 Then let them which be in Judaea flee into the mountains:
17 Let him which is on the housetop not come down to take any thing out of his house:
18 Neither let him which is in the field return back to take his clothes.
19 And woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days!
20 But pray ye that your flight be not in the winter, neither on the sabbath day:
21 For then shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time, no, nor ever shall be.
22 And except those days should be shortened, there should no flesh be saved: but for the elect's sake those days shall be shortened.
23 Then if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there; believe it not.
24 For there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders; insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect.
25 Behold, I have told you before.
26 Wherefore if they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert; go not forth: behold, he is in the secret chambers; believe it not.
27 For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be.
28 For wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together.
29 Immediately after the tribulation of those days shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken:
30 And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven: and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory.
31 And he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other.
32 Now learn a parable of the fig tree; When his branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is nigh:
33 So likewise ye, when ye shall see all these things, know that it is near, even at the doors.
34 Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass, till all these things be fulfilled.
35 Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.
36 But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only.

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37 But as the days of Noe were, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be.
38 For as in the days that were before the flood they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, until the day that Noe entered into the ark,
39 And knew not until the flood came, and took them all away; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be.
40 Then shall two be in the field; the one shall be taken, and the other left.
41 Two women shall be grinding at the mill; the one shall be taken, and the other left.
42 Watch therefore: for ye know not what hour your Lord doth come.
43 But know this, that if the goodman of the house had known in what watch the thief would come, he would have watched, and would not have suffered his house to be broken up.
44 Therefore be ye also ready: for in such an hour as ye think not the Son of man cometh.
45 Who then is a faithful and wise servant, whom his lord hath made ruler over his household, to give them meat in due season?
46 Blessed is that servant, whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing.
47 Verily I say unto you, That he shall make him ruler over all his goods.
48 But and if that evil servant shall say in his heart, My lord delayeth his coming;
49 And shall begin to smite his fellowservants, and to eat and drink with the drunken;
50 The lord of that servant shall come in a day when he looketh not for him, and in an hour that he is not aware of,
51 And shall cut him asunder, and appoint him his portion with the hypocrites: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

MATTHEW CHAPTER 25

1 Then shall the kingdom of heaven be likened unto ten virgins, which took their lamps, and went forth to meet the bridegroom.
2 And five of them were wise, and five were foolish.
3 They that were foolish took their lamps, and took no oil with them:
4 But the wise took oil in their vessels with their lamps.
5 While the bridegroom tarried, they all slumbered and slept.
6 And at midnight there was a cry made, Behold, the bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet him.
7 Then all those virgins arose, and trimmed their lamps.
8 And the foolish said unto the wise, Give us of your oil; for our lamps are gone out.
9 But the wise answered, saying, Not so; lest there be not enough for us and you: but go ye rather to them that sell, and buy for yourselves.
10 And while they went to buy, the bridegroom came; and they that were ready went in with him to the marriage: and the door was shut.
11 Afterward came also the other virgins, saying, Lord, Lord, open to us.
12 But he answered and said, Verily I say unto you, I know you not.
13 Watch therefore, for ye know neither the day nor the hour wherein the Son of man cometh.
14 For the kingdom of heaven is as a man travelling into a far country, who called his own servants, and delivered unto them his goods.
15 And unto one he gave five talents, to another two, and to another one; to every man according to his several ability; and straightway took his journey.
16 Then he that had received the five talents went and traded with the same, and made them other five talents.
17 And likewise he that had received two, he also gained other two.
18 But he that had received one went and digged in the earth, and hid his lord's money.
19 After a long time the lord of those servants cometh, and reckoneth with them.
20 And so he that had received five talents came and brought other five talents, saying, Lord, thou deliveredst unto me five talents: behold, I have gained beside them five talents more.
21 His lord said unto him, Well done, thou good and faithful servant: thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy lord.
22 He also that had received two talents came and said, Lord, thou deliveredst unto me two talents: behold, I have gained two other talents beside them.
23 His lord said unto him, Well done, good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy lord.
24 Then he which had received the one talent came and said, Lord, I knew thee that thou art an hard man, reaping where thou hast not sown, and gathering where thou hast not strawed:
25 And I was afraid, and went and hid thy talent in the earth: lo, there thou hast that is thine.
26 His lord answered and said unto him, Thou wicked and slothful servant, thou knewest that I reap where I sowed not, and gather where I have not strawed:
27 Thou oughtest therefore to have put my money to the exchangers, and then at my coming I should have received mine own with usury.
28 Take therefore the talent from him, and give it unto him which hath ten talents.
29 For unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance: but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath.
30 And cast ye the unprofitable servant into outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.
31 When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory:
32 And before him shall be gathered all nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats:
33 And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left.
34 Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world:
35 For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in:
36 Naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me.
37 Then shall the righteous answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungred, and fed thee? or thirsty, and gave thee drink?
38 When saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in? or naked, and clothed thee?
39 Or when saw we thee sick, or in prison, and came unto thee?
40 And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.
41 Then shall he say also unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels:
42 For I was an hungred, and ye gave me no meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink:
43 I was a stranger, and ye took me not in: naked, and ye clothed me not: sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not.
44 Then shall they also answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungred, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister unto thee?
45 Then shall he answer them, saying, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me.
46 And these shall go away into everlasting punishment: but the righteous into life eternal.

MATTHEW CHAPTER 26

1 And it came to pass, when Jesus had finished all these sayings, he said unto his disciples,
2 Ye know that after two days is the feast of the passover, and the Son of man is betrayed to be crucified.
3 Then assembled together the chief priests, and the scribes, and the elders of the people, unto the palace of the high priest, who was called Caiaphas,
4 And consulted that they might take Jesus by subtilty, and kill him.
5 But they said, Not on the feast day, lest there be an uproar among the people.
6 Now when Jesus was in Bethany, in the house of Simon the leper,
7 There came unto him a woman having an alabaster box of very precious ointment, and poured it on his head, as he sat at meat.
8 But when his disciples saw it, they had indignation, saying, To what purpose is this waste?
9 For this ointment might have been sold for much, and given to the poor.
10 When Jesus understood it, he said unto them, Why trouble ye the woman? for she hath wrought a good work upon me.
11 For ye have the poor always with you; but me ye have not always.
12 For in that she hath poured this ointment on my body, she did it for my burial.
13 Verily I say unto you, Wheresoever this gospel shall be preached in the whole world, there shall also this, that this woman hath done, be told for a memorial of her.
14 Then one of the twelve, called Judas Iscariot, went unto the chief priests,
15 And said unto them, What will ye give me, and I will deliver him unto you? And they covenanted with him for thirty pieces of silver.
16 And from that time he sought opportunity to betray him.
17 Now the first day of the feast of unleavened bread the disciples came to Jesus, saying unto him, Where wilt thou that we prepare for thee to eat the passover?
18 And he said, Go into the city to such a man, and say unto him, The Master saith, My time is at hand; I will keep the passover at thy house with my disciples.
19 And the disciples did as Jesus had appointed them; and they made ready the passover.
20 Now when the even was come, he sat down with the twelve.
21 And as they did eat, he said, Verily I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me.
22 And they were exceeding sorrowful, and began every one of them to say unto him, Lord, is it I?
23 And he answered and said, He that dippeth his hand with me in the dish, the same shall betray me.
24 The Son of man goeth as it is written of him: but woe unto that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed! it had been good for that man if he had not been born.
25 Then Judas, which betrayed him, answered and said, Master, is it I? He said unto him, Thou hast said.
26 And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body.
27 And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it;
28 For this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.
29 But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom.
30 And when they had sung an hymn, they went out into the mount of Olives.
31 Then saith Jesus unto them, All ye shall be offended because of me this night: for it is written, I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered abroad.
32 But after I am risen again, I will go before you into Galilee.
33 Peter answered and said unto him, Though all men shall be offended because of thee, yet will I never be offended.
34 Jesus said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, That this night, before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice.
35 Peter said unto him, Though I should die with thee, yet will I not deny thee. Likewise also said all the disciples.
36 Then cometh Jesus with them unto a place called Gethsemane, and saith unto the disciples, Sit ye here, while I go and pray yonder.
37 And he took with him Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, and began to be sorrowful and very heavy.
38 Then saith he unto them, My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death: tarry ye here, and watch with me.
39 And he went a little farther, and fell on his face, and prayed, saying, O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me: nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt.
40 And he cometh unto the disciples, and findeth them asleep, and saith unto Peter, What, could ye not watch with me one hour?
41 Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation: the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.
42 He went away again the second time, and prayed, saying, O my Father, if this cup may not pass away from me, except I drink it, thy will be done.
43 And he came and found them asleep again: for their eyes were heavy.
44 And he left them, and went away again, and prayed the third time, saying the same words.
45 Then cometh he to his disciples, and saith unto them, Sleep on now, and take your rest: behold, the hour is at hand, and the Son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners.
46 Rise, let us be going: behold, he is at hand that doth betray me.
47 And while he yet spake, lo, Judas, one of the twelve, came, and with him a great multitude with swords and staves, from the chief priests and elders of the people.
48 Now he that betrayed him gave them a sign, saying, Whomsoever I shall kiss, that same is he: hold him fast.
49 And forthwith he came to Jesus, and said, Hail, master; and kissed him.
50 And Jesus said unto him, Friend, wherefore art thou come? Then came they, and laid hands on Jesus and took him.
51 And, behold, one of them which were with Jesus stretched out his hand, and drew his sword, and struck a servant of the high priest's, and smote off his ear.
52 Then said Jesus unto him, Put up again thy sword into his place: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.
53 Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels?
54 But how then shall the scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be?
55 In that same hour said Jesus to the multitudes, Are ye come out as against a thief with swords and staves for to take

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me? I sat daily with you teaching in the temple, and ye laid no hold on me.
56 But all this was done, that the scriptures of the prophets might be fulfilled. Then all the disciples forsook him, and fled.
57 And they that had laid hold on Jesus led him away to Caiaphas the high priest, where the scribes and the elders were assembled.
58 But Peter followed him afar off unto the high priest's palace, and went in, and sat with the servants, to see the end.
59 Now the chief priests, and elders, and all the council, sought false witness against Jesus, to put him to death;
60 But found none: yea, though many false witnesses came, yet found they none. At the last came two false witnesses,
61 And said, This fellow said, I am able to destroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days.
62 And the high priest arose, and said unto him, Answerest thou nothing? what is it which these witness against thee?
63 But Jesus held his peace, And the high priest answered and said unto him, I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God.
64 Jesus saith unto him, Thou hast said: nevertheless I say unto you, Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven.
65 Then the high priest rent his clothes, saying, He hath spoken blasphemy; what further need have we of witnesses? behold, now ye have heard his blasphemy.
66 What think ye? They answered and said, He is guilty of death.
67 Then did they spit in his face, and buffeted him; and others smote him with the palms of their hands,
68 Saying, Prophesy unto us, thou Christ, Who is he that smote thee?
69 Now Peter sat without in the palace: and a damsel came unto him, saying, Thou also wast with Jesus of Galilee.
70 But he denied before them all, saying, I know not what thou sayest.
71 And when he was gone out into the porch, another maid saw him, and said unto them that were there, This fellow was also with Jesus of Nazareth.
72 And again he denied with an oath, I do not know the man.
73 And after a while came unto him they that stood by, and said to Peter, Surely thou also art one of them; for thy speech bewrayeth thee.
74 Then began he to curse and to swear, saying, I know not the man. And immediately the cock crew.
75 And Peter remembered the word of Jesus, which said unto him, Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice. And he went out, and wept bitterly.

MATTHEW CHAPTER 27

1 When the morning was come, all the chief priests and elders of the people took counsel against Jesus to put him to death:
2 And when they had bound him, they led him away, and delivered him to Pontius Pilate the governor.
3 Then Judas, which had betrayed him, when he saw that he was condemned, repented himself, and brought again the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests and elders,
4 Saying, I have sinned in that I have betrayed the innocent blood. And they said, What is that to us? see thou to that.
5 And he cast down the pieces of silver in the temple, and departed, and went and hanged himself.
6 And the chief priests took the silver pieces, and said, It is not lawful for to put them into the treasury, because it is the price of blood.
7 And they took counsel, and bought with them the potter's field, to bury strangers in.
8 Wherefore that field was called, The field of blood, unto this day.
9 Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet, saying, And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the children of Israel did value;
10 And gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord appointed me.
11 And Jesus stood before the governor: and the governor asked him, saying, Art thou the King of the Jews? And Jesus said unto him, Thou sayest.
12 And when he was accused of the chief priests and elders, he answered nothing.
13 Then said Pilate unto him, Hearest thou not how many things they witness against thee?
14 And he answered him to never a word; insomuch that the governor marvelled greatly.
15 Now at that feast the governor was wont to release unto the people a prisoner, whom they would.
16 And they had then a notable prisoner, called Barabbas.
17 Therefore when they were gathered together, Pilate said unto them, Whom will ye that I release unto you? Barabbas, or Jesus which is called Christ?
18 For he knew that for envy they had delivered him.
19 When he was set down on the judgement seat, his wife sent unto him, saying, Have thou nothing to do with that just man: for I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of him.
20 But the chief priests and elders persuaded the multitude that they should ask Barabbas, and destroy Jesus.
21 The governor answered and said unto them, Whether of the twain will ye that I release unto you? They said, Barabbas.
22 Pilate saith unto them, What shall I do then with Jesus which is called Christ? They all say unto him, Let him be crucified.
23 And the governor said, Why, what evil hath he done? But they cried out the more, saying, Let him be crucified.
24 When Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing, but that rather a tumult was made, he took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this just person: see ye to it.
25 Then answered all the people, and said, His blood be on us, and on our children.
26 Then released he Barabbas unto them: and when he had scourged Jesus, he delivered him to be crucified.
27 Then the soldiers of the governor took Jesus into the common hall, and gathered unto him the whole band of soldiers.
28 And they stripped him, and put on him a scarlet robe.
29 And when they had platted a crown of thorns, they put it upon his head, and a reed in his right hand: and they bowed the knee before him, and mocked him, saying, Hail, King of the Jews!
30 And they spit upon him, and took the reed, and smote him on the head.
31 And after that they had mocked him, they took the robe off from him, and put his own raiment on him, and led him away to crucify him.
32 And as they came out, they found a man of Cyrene, Simon by name: him they compelled to bear his cross.
33 And when they were come unto a place called Golgotha, that is to say, a place of a skull,
34 They gave him vinegar to drink mingled with gall: and when he had tasted thereof, he would not drink.
35 And they crucified him, and parted his garments, casting lots: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, They parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture did they cast lots.
36 And sitting down they watched him there;
37 And set up over his head his accusation written, THIS IS JESUS THE KING OF THE JEWS.
38 Then were there two thieves crucified with him, one on the right hand, and another on the left.
39 And they that passed by reviled him, wagging their heads,
40 And saying, Thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest it in three days, save thyself. If thou be the Son of God, come down from the cross.
41 Likewise also the chief priests mocking him, with the scribes and elders, said,
42 He saved others; himself he cannot save. If he be the King of Israel, let him now come down from the cross, and we will believe him.
43 He trusted in God; let him deliver him now, if he will have him: for he said, I am the Son of God.
44 The thieves also, which were crucified with him, cast the same in his teeth.
45 Now from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land unto the ninth hour.
46 And about the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani? that is to say, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?
47 Some of them that stood there, when they heard that, said, This man calleth for Elias.
48 And straightway one of them ran, and took a spunge, and filled it with vinegar, and put it on a reed, and gave him to drink.
49 The rest said, Let be, let us see whether Elias will come to save him.
50 Jesus, when he had cried again with a loud voice, yielded up the ghost.
51 And, behold, the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom; and the earth did quake, and the rocks rent;
52 And the graves were opened; and many bodies of the saints which slept arose,
53 And came out of the graves after his resurrection, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many.
54 Now when the centurion, and they that were with him, watching Jesus, saw the earthquake, and those things that were done, they feared greatly, saying, Truly this was the Son of God.
55 And many women were there beholding afar off, which followed Jesus from Galilee, ministering unto him:
56 Among which was Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joses, and the mother of Zebedees children.
57 When the even was come, there came a rich man of Arimathaea, named Joseph, who also himself was Jesus' disciple:
58 He went to Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus. Then Pilate commanded the body to be delivered.
59 And when Joseph had taken the body, he wrapped it in a clean linen cloth,
60 And laid it in his own new tomb, which he had hewn out in the rock: and he rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre, and departed.
61 And there was Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, sitting over against the sepulchre.
62 Now the next day, that followed the day of the preparation, the chief priests and Pharisees came together unto Pilate,
63 Saying, Sir, we remember that that deceiver said, while he was yet alive, After three days I will rise again.
64 Command therefore that the sepulchre be made sure until the third day, lest his disciples come by night, and steal him away, and say unto the people, He is risen from the dead: so the last error shall be worse than the first.
65 Pilate said unto them, Ye have a watch: go your way, make it as sure as ye can.
66 So they went, and made the sepulchre sure, sealing the stone, and setting a watch.

MATTHEW CHAPTER 28

1 In the end of the sabbath, as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week, came Mary Magdalene and the other Mary to see the sepulchre.
2 And, behold, there was a great earthquake: for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it.
3 His countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow:
4 And for fear of him the keepers did shake, and became as dead men.
5 And the angel answered and said unto the women, Fear not ye: for I know that ye seek Jesus, which was crucified.
6 He is not here: for he is risen, as he said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay.
7 And go quickly, and tell his disciples that he is risen from the dead; and, behold, he goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him: lo, I have told you.
8 And they departed quickly from the sepulchre with fear and great joy; and did run to bring his disciples word.
9 And as they went to tell his disciples, behold, Jesus met them, saying, All hail. And they came and held him by the feet, and worshipped him.
10 Then said Jesus unto them, Be not afraid: go tell my brethren that they go into Galilee, and there shall they see me.
11 Now when they were going, behold, some of the watch came into the city, and shewed unto the chief priests all the things that were done.
12 And when they were assembled with the elders, and had taken counsel, they gave large money unto the soldiers,
13 Saying, Say ye, His disciples came by night, and stole him away while we slept.
14 And if this come to the governor's ears, we will persuade him, and secure you.
15 So they took the money, and did as they were taught: and this saying is commonly reported among the Jews until this day.
16 Then the eleven disciples went away into Galilee, into a mountain where Jesus had appointed them.
17 And when they saw him, they worshipped him: but some doubted.
18 And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth.
19 Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost:
20 Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Amen.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MARK

or Gospel of Mark (Marcus), or just Mark
Translation: King James Version
Estimated Range of Dating: 70-90 A.D.

(The second, and probably second-oldest, Gospel is attributed to a writer called Mark (Latin: Marcus). His name occurs in several books of the New Testament, and seem to refer in all cases to the same person, though this has been questioned. In the Acts of the Apostles (12:12) we read of "John, whose surname was Mark," and gather that Peter was a familiar visitor at the house of his mother Mary, which was a centre of Christian life in Jerusalem. That he was, as his surname would suggest, a Greek speaking Roman citizen, follows from the fact that he was also cousin of Barnabas, a Roman citizen of Cyprus.
There is considerable doubt that the author of the Gospel of Mark can be identical with the author. He lacks first-hand knowledge of the geography of the Holy Land. Example: Anyone approaching Jerusalem from Jericho would come first

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to Bethany and then Bethphage, not the reverse. This is one of several passages showing that Mark knew little about Judaea or Israel. Indeed, Mark knew so little about the area that he described Jesus going from Tyrian territory "by way of Sidon to the Sea of Galilee through the territory of the Ten Towns" (refering to Decapolis which was a region east of the Dead Sea; Mark 7:31); this is similar to saying that one goes from London to Paris via Edinburgh and Rome. The logical conclusion only can be that (1st) the author has nothing to do with the disciple and (2nd) the Gospel of Mark is not likely to be the oldest gospel. The only gospel that was written by someone from the Holy Land was the Gospel of Matthew. And that is also the gospel with the highest accuracy.

The 2-source and 4-source hypotheses

The two-source hypothesis is an attempt to explain the synoptic problem, the pattern of similarities and differences between the three Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. It proposes that the Gospel of Matthew and the Gospel of Luke were based on the Gospel of Mark and a hypothetical sayings collection from the Christian oral tradition called Q (German: Quelle = source). B. H. Streeter published this hypothesis in 1924. By adding two other sources, referred to as M (Matthean material) and L (Lukan material), it became the four-source hypothesis.

It is a failed hypothesis for three simple reasons. It (1st) does not take into account the many distinctions among the gospels, and worse, it (2nd) declares Mark (which is the most inconsistant and faulty gospel) as the origin of all the others. And (3rd) it does not even attempt to compare Mark (or any other canonical gospel for that matter) with any non-canonical gospel. If there is a gospel to be declared "the origin", then surely, the Gospel of Matthew has to be taken into consideration first because it matches with the contents of the books of Titus Flavius Josephus almost entirely.

The "problem of the long ending"

The Gospel of Mark generally ends with chapter 16, and it goes from verse 1 to verse 20. However, scholars point out that the earliest extant complete manuscripts of Mark, Codex Vaticanus (325-350 AD) and Codex Sinaiticus (330-360 AD), the only two surviving examples of Flavius Constantinus' first Bible edition, contain only the verses 16:1–8. In other words: Mark ended here abruptly. Codex Vaticanus has a blank column after the 8th verse placing into it "kata Markon", which is Greek for "according to Mark" (Almost every manuscript in Antiquity had its title at the end.).

It is obvious that the previous manuscript ended here either because the author did not finish the text or because the last part went lost. Later, second editions, such as Codex Alexandrinus (c. 400 AD), Codex Bezae (c, 400 AD), Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus (c. 450 AD) have been tampered with by adding verses with the numbers 9–20 without any explanations. Whether these additional verses were found later in another earlier document or they were a new created interpolation, is unknown. It seems that the Church officials did not like the gospel have an "incomplete" end.)

MARK CHAPTER 1

1 The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God;

2 As it is written in the prophets, Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee.

3 The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.

4 John did baptise in the wilderness, and preach the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins.

5 And there went out unto him all the land of Judaea, and they of Jerusalem, and were all baptised of him in the river of Jordan, confessing their sins.

6 And John was clothed with camel's hair, and with a girdle of a skin about his loins; and he did eat locusts and wild honey;

7 And preached, saying, There cometh one mightier than I after me, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and unloose.

8 I indeed have baptised you with water: but he shall baptise you with the Holy Ghost.

9 And it came to pass in those days, that Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee, and was baptised of John in Jordan.

10 And straightway coming up out of the water, he saw the heavens opened, and the Spirit like a dove descending upon him:

11 And there came a voice from heaven, saying, Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.

12 And immediately the spirit driveth him into the wilderness.

13 And he was there in the wilderness forty days, tempted of Satan; and was with the wild beasts; and the angels ministered unto him.

14 Now after that John was put in prison, Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of the kingdom of God,

15 And saying, The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe the gospel.

16 Now as he walked by the sea of Galilee, he saw Simon and Andrew his brother casting a net into the sea: for they were fishers.

17 And Jesus said unto them, Come ye after me, and I will make you to become fishers of men.

18 And straightway they forsook their nets, and followed him.

19 And when he had gone a little farther thence, he saw James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother, who also were in the ship mending their nets.

20 And straightway he called them: and they left their father Zebedee in the ship with the hired servants, and went after him.

21 And they went into Capernaum; and straightway on the sabbath day he entered into the synagogue, and taught.

22 And they were astonished at his doctrine: for he taught them as one that had authority, and not as the scribes.

23 And there was in their synagogue a man with an unclean spirit; and he cried out,

24 Saying, Let us alone; what have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth? art thou come to destroy us? I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God.

25 And Jesus rebuked him, saying, Hold thy peace, and come out of him.

26 And when the unclean spirit had torn him, and cried with a loud voice, he came out of him.

27 And they were all amazed, insomuch that they questioned among themselves, saying, What thing is this? what new doctrine is this? for with authority commandeth he even the unclean spirits, and they do obey him.

28 And immediately his fame spread abroad throughout all the region round about Galilee.

29 And forthwith, when they were come out of the synagogue, they entered into the house of Simon and Andrew, with James and John.

30 But Simon's wife's mother lay sick of a fever, and anon they tell him of her.

31 And he came and took her by the hand, and lifted her up; and immediately the fever left her, and she ministered unto them.

32 And at even, when the sun did set, they brought unto him all that were diseased, and them that were possessed with devils.

33 And all the city was gathered together at the door.

34 And he healed many that were sick of divers diseases, and cast out many devils; and suffered not the devils to speak, because they knew him.

35 And in the morning, rising up a great while before day, he went out, and departed into a solitary place, and there prayed.

36 And Simon and they that were with him followed after him.

37 And when they had found him, they said unto him, All men seek for thee.

38 And he said unto them, Let us go into the next towns, that I may preach there also: for therefore came I forth.

39 And he preached in their synagogues throughout all Galilee, and cast out devils.

40 And there came a leper to him, beseeching him, and kneeling down to him, and saying unto him, If thou wilt, thou canst make me clean.

41 And Jesus, moved with compassion, put forth his hand, and touched him, and saith unto him, I will; be thou clean.

42 And as soon as he had spoken, immediately the leprosy departed from him, and he was cleansed.

43 And he straitly charged him, and forthwith sent him away;

44 And saith unto him, See thou say nothing to any man: but go thy way, shew thyself to the priest, and offer for thy cleansing those things which Moses commanded, for a testimony unto them.

45 But he went out, and began to publish it much, and to blaze abroad the matter, insomuch that Jesus could no more openly enter into the city, but was without in desert places: and they came to him from every quarter.

MARK CHAPTER 2

1 And again he entered into Capernaum after some days; and it was noised that he was in the house.

2 And straightway many were gathered together, insomuch that there was no room to receive them, no, not so much as about the door: and he preached the word unto them.

3 And they come unto him, bringing one sick of the palsy, which was borne of four.

4 And when they could not come nigh unto him for the press, they uncovered the roof where he was: and when they had broken it up, they let down the bed wherein the sick of the palsy lay.

5 When Jesus saw their faith, he said unto the sick of the palsy, Son, thy sins be forgiven thee.

6 But there was certain of the scribes sitting there, and reasoning in their hearts,

7 Why doth this man thus speak blasphemies? who can forgive sins but God only?

8 And immediately when Jesus perceived in his spirit that they so reasoned within themselves, he said unto them, Why reason ye these things in your hearts?

9 Whether is it easier to say to the sick of the palsy, Thy sins be forgiven thee; or to say, Arise, and take up thy bed, and walk?

10 But that ye may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins, (he saith to the sick of the palsy,)

11 I say unto thee, Arise, and take up thy bed, and go thy way into thine house.

12 And immediately he arose, took up the bed, and went forth before them all; insomuch that they were all amazed, and glorified God, saying, We never saw it on this fashion.

13 And he went forth again by the sea side; and all the multitude resorted unto him, and he taught them.

14 And as he passed by, he saw Levi the son of Alphaeus sitting at the receipt of custom, and said unto him, Follow me. And he arose and followed him.

15 And it came to pass, that, as Jesus sat at meat in his house, many publicans and sinners sat also together with Jesus and his disciples: for there were many, and they followed him.

16 And when the scribes and Pharisees saw him eat with publicans and sinners, they said unto his disciples, How is it that he eateth and drinketh with publicans and sinners?

17 When Jesus heard it, he saith unto them, They that are whole have no need of the physician, but they that are sick: I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.

18 And the disciples of John and of the Pharisees used to fast: and they come and say unto him, Why do the disciples of John and of the Pharisees fast, but thy disciples fast not?

19 And Jesus said unto them, Can the children of the bridechamber fast, while the bridegroom is with them? as long as they have the bridegroom with them, they cannot fast.

20 But the days will come, when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them, and then shall they fast in those days.

21 No man also seweth a piece of new cloth on an old garment: else the new piece that filled it up taketh away from the old, and the rent is made worse.

22 And no man putteth new wine into old bottles: else the new wine doth burst the bottles, and the wine is spilled, and the bottles will be marred: but new wine must be put into new bottles.

23 And it came to pass, that he went through the corn fields on the sabbath day; and his disciples began, as they went, to pluck the ears of corn.

24 And the Pharisees said unto him, Behold, why do they on the sabbath day that which is not lawful?

25 And he said unto them, Have ye never read what David did, when he had need, and was an hungred, he, and they that were with him?

26 How he went into the house of God in the days of Abiathar the high priest, and did eat the shewbread, which is not lawful to eat but for the priests, and gave also to them which were with him?

27 And he said unto them, The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath:

28 Therefore the Son of man is Lord also of the sabbath.

MARK CHAPTER 3

1 And he entered again into the synagogue; and there was a man there which had a withered hand.

2 And they watched him, whether he would heal him on the sabbath day; that they might accuse him.

3 And he saith unto the man which had the withered hand, Stand forth.

4 And he saith unto them, Is it lawful to do good on the sabbath days, or to do evil? to save life, or to kill? But they held their peace.

5 And when he had looked round about on them with anger, being grieved for the hardness of their hearts, he saith unto the man, Stretch forth thine hand. And he stretched it out: and his hand was restored whole as the other.

6 And the Pharisees went forth, and straightway took counsel with the Herodians against him, how they might destroy him.

7 But Jesus withdrew himself with his disciples to the sea: and a great multitude from Galilee followed him, and from Judaea,

8 And from Jerusalem, and from Idumaea, and from beyond Jordan; and they about Tyre and Sidon, a great multitude, when they had heard what great things he did, came unto him.

9 And he spake to his disciples, that a small ship should wait on him because of the multitude, lest they should throng him.

10 For he had healed many; insomuch that they pressed upon him for to touch him, as many as had plagues.

11 And unclean spirits, when they saw him, fell down before him, and cried, saying, Thou art the Son of God.

12 And he straitly charged them that they should not make him known.

13 And he goeth up into a mountain, and calleth unto him whom he would: and they came unto him.

14 And he ordained twelve, that they should be with him, and that he might send them forth to preach,

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15 And to have power to heal sicknesses, and to cast out devils:
16 And Simon he surnamed Peter;
17 And James the son of Zebedee, and John the brother of James; and he surnamed them Boanerges, which is, The sons of thunder:
18 And Andrew, and Philip, and Bartholomew, and Matthew, and Thomas, and James the son of Alphaeus, and Thaddaeus, and Simon the Canaanite,
19 And Judas Iscariot, which also betrayed him: and they went into an house.
20 And the multitude cometh together again, so that they could not so much as eat bread.
21 And when his friends heard of it, they went out to lay hold on him: for they said, He is beside himself.
22 And the scribes which came down from Jerusalem said, He hath Beelzebub, and by the prince of the devils casteth he out devils.
23 And he called them unto him, and said unto them in parables, How can Satan cast out Satan?
24 And if a kingdom be divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand.
25 And if a house be divided against itself, that house cannot stand.
26 And if Satan rise up against himself, and be divided, he cannot stand, but hath an end.
27 No man can enter into a strong man's house, and spoil his goods, except he will first bind the strong man; and then he will spoil his house.
28 Verily I say unto you, All sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, and blasphemies wherewith soever they shall blaspheme:
29 But he that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost hath never forgiveness, but is in danger of eternal damnation.
30 Because they said, He hath an unclean spirit.
31 There came then his brethren and his mother, and, standing without, sent unto him, calling him.
32 And the multitude sat about him, and they said unto him, Behold, thy mother and thy brethren without seek for thee.
33 And he answered them, saying, Who is my mother, or my brethren?
34 And he looked round about on them which sat about him, and said, Behold my mother and my brethren!
35 For whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and my sister, and mother.

MARK CHAPTER 4

1 And he began again to teach by the sea side: and there was gathered unto him a great multitude, so that he entered into a ship, and sat in the sea; and the whole multitude was by the sea on the land.
2 And he taught them many things by parables, and said unto them in his doctrine,
3 Hearken; Behold, there went out a sower to sow:
4 And it came to pass, as he sowed, some fell by the way side, and the fowls of the air came and devoured it up.
5 And some fell on stony ground, where it had not much earth; and immediately it sprang up, because it had no depth of earth:
6 But when the sun was up, it was scorched; and because it had no root, it withered away.
7 And some fell among thorns, and the thorns grew up, and choked it, and it yielded no fruit.
8 And other fell on good ground, and did yield fruit that sprang up and increased; and brought forth, some thirty, and some sixty, and some an hundred.
9 And he said unto them, He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.
10 And when he was alone, they that were about him with the twelve asked of him the parable.
11 And he said unto them, Unto you it is given to know the mystery of the kingdom of God: but unto them that are without, all these things are done in parables:
12 That seeing they may see, and not perceive; and hearing they may hear, and not understand; lest at any time they should be converted, and their sins should be forgiven them.
13 And he said unto them, Know ye not this parable? and how then will ye know all parables?
14 The sower soweth the word.
15 And these are they by the way side, where the word is sown; but when they have heard, Satan cometh immediately, and taketh away the word that was sown in their hearts.
16 And these are they likewise which are sown on stony ground; who, when they have heard the word, immediately receive it with gladness;
17 And have no root in themselves, and so endure but for a time: afterward, when affliction or persecution ariseth for the word's sake, immediately they are offended.
18 And these are they which are sown among thorns; such as hear the word,
19 And the cares of this world, and the deceitfulness of riches, and the lusts of other things entering in, choke the word, and it becometh unfruitful.
20 And these are they which are sown on good ground; such as hear the word, and receive it, and bring forth fruit, some thirtyfold, some sixty, and some an hundred.
21 And he said unto them, Is a candle brought to be put under a bushel, or under a bed? and not to be set on a candlestick?
22 For there is nothing hid, which shall not be manifested; neither was any thing kept secret, but that it should come abroad.
23 If any man have ears to hear, let him hear.
24 And he said unto them, Take heed what ye hear: with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you: and unto you that hear shall more be given.
25 For he that hath, to him shall be given: and he that hath not, from him shall be taken even that which he hath.
26 And he said, So is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast seed into the ground;
27 And should sleep, and rise night and day, and the seed should spring and grow up, he knoweth not how.
28 For the earth bringeth forth fruit of herself; first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear.
29 But when the fruit is brought forth, immediately he putteth in the sickle, because the harvest is come.
30 And he said, Whereunto shall we liken the kingdom of God? or with what comparison shall we compare it?
31 It is like a grain of mustard seed, which, when it is sown in the earth, is less than all the seeds that be in the earth:
32 But when it is sown, it groweth up, and becometh greater than all herbs, and shooteth out great branches; so that the fowls of the air may lodge under the shadow of it.
33 And with many such parables spake he the word unto them, as they were able to hear it.
34 But without a parable spake he not unto them: and when they were alone, he expounded all things to his disciples.
35 And the same day, when the even was come, he saith unto them, Let us pass over unto the other side.
36 And when they had sent away the multitude, they took him even as he was in the ship. And there were also with him other little ships.
37 And there arose a great storm of wind, and the waves beat into the ship, so that it was now full.
38 And he was in the hinder part of the ship, asleep on a pillow: and they awake him, and say unto him, Master, carest thou not that we perish?
39 And he arose, and rebuked the wind, and said unto the sea, Peace, be still. And the wind ceased, and there was a great calm.
40 And he said unto them, Why are ye so fearful? how is it that ye have no faith?
41 And they feared exceedingly, and said one to another, What manner of man is this, that even the wind and the sea obey him?

MARK CHAPTER 5

1 And they came over unto the other side of the sea, into the country of the Gadarenes.
2 And when he was come out of the ship, immediately there met him out of the tombs a man with an unclean spirit,
3 Who had his dwelling among the tombs; and no man could bind him, no, not with chains:
4 Because that he had been often bound with fetters and chains, and the chains had been plucked asunder by him, and the fetters broken in pieces: neither could any man tame him.
5 And always, night and day, he was in the mountains, and in the tombs, crying, and cutting himself with stones.
6 But when he saw Jesus afar off, he ran and worshipped him,
7 And cried with a loud voice, and said, What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of the most high God? I adjure thee by God, that thou torment me not.
8 For he said unto him, Come out of the man, thou unclean spirit.
9 And he asked him, What is thy name? And he answered, saying, My name is Legion: for we are many.
10 And he besought him much that he would not send them away out of the country.
11 Now there was there nigh unto the mountains a great herd of swine feeding.
12 And all the devils besought him, saying, Send us into the swine, that we may enter into them.
13 And forthwith Jesus gave them leave. And the unclean spirits went out, and entered into the swine: and the herd ran violently down a steep place into the sea, (they were about two thousand;) and were choked in the sea.
14 And they that fed the swine fled, and told it in the city, and in the country. And they went out to see what it was that was done.
15 And they come to Jesus, and see him that was possessed with the devil, and had the legion, sitting, and clothed, and in his right mind: and they were afraid.
16 And they that saw it told them how it befell to him that was possessed with the devil, and also concerning the swine.
17 And they began to pray him to depart out of their coasts.
18 And when he was come into the ship, he that had been possessed with the devil prayed him that he might be with him.
19 Howbeit Jesus suffered him not, but saith unto him, Go home to thy friends, and tell them how great things the Lord hath done for thee, and hath had compassion on thee.
20 And he departed, and began to publish in Decapolis how great things Jesus had done for him: and all men did marvel.
21 And when Jesus was passed over again by ship unto the other side, much people gathered unto him: and he was nigh unto the sea.
22 And, behold, there cometh one of the rulers of the synagogue, Jairus by name; and when he saw him, he fell at his feet,
23 And besought him greatly, saying, My little daughter lieth at the point of death: I pray thee, come and lay thy hands on her, that she may be healed; and she shall live.
24 And Jesus went with him; and much people followed him, and thronged him.
25 And a certain woman, which had an issue of blood twelve years,
26 And had suffered many things of many physicians, and had spent all that she had, and was nothing bettered, but rather grew worse,
27 When she had heard of Jesus, came in the press behind, and touched his garment.
28 For she said, If I may touch but his clothes, I shall be whole.
29 And straightway the fountain of her blood was dried up; and she felt in her body that she was healed of that plague.
30 And Jesus, immediately knowing in himself that virtue had gone out of him, turned him about in the press, and said, Who touched my clothes?
31 And his disciples said unto him, Thou seest the multitude thronging thee, and sayest thou, Who touched me?
32 And he looked round about to see her that had done this thing.
33 But the woman fearing and trembling, knowing what was done in her, came and fell down before him, and told him all the truth.
34 And he said unto her, Daughter, thy faith hath made thee whole; go in peace, and be whole of thy plague.
35 While he yet spake, there came from the ruler of the synagogue's house certain which said, Thy daughter is dead: why troublest thou the Master any further?
36 As soon as Jesus heard the word that was spoken, he saith unto the ruler of the synagogue, Be not afraid, only believe.
37 And he suffered no man to follow him, save Peter, and James, and John the brother of James.
38 And he cometh to the house of the ruler of the synagogue, and seeth the tumult, and them that wept and wailed greatly.
39 And when he was come in, he saith unto them, Why make ye this ado, and weep? the damsel is not dead, but sleepeth.
40 And they laughed him to scorn. But when he had put them all out, he taketh the father and the mother of the damsel, and them that were with him, and entereth in where the damsel was lying.
41 And he took the damsel by the hand, and said unto her, Talitha cumi; which is, being interpreted, Damsel, I say unto thee, arise.
42 And straightway the damsel arose, and walked; for she was of the age of twelve years. And they were astonished with a great astonishment.
43 And he charged them straitly that no man should know it; and commanded that something should be given her to eat.

MARK CHAPTER 6

1 And he went out from thence, and came into his own country; and his disciples follow him.
2 And when the sabbath day was come, he began to teach in the synagogue: and many hearing him were astonished, saying, From whence hath this man these things? and what wisdom is this which is given unto him, that even such mighty works are wrought by his hands?
3 Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary, the brother of James, and Joses, and of Juda, and Simon? and are not his sisters here with us? And they were offended at him.
4 But Jesus, said unto them, A prophet is not without honour, but in his own country, and among his own kin, and in his own house.
5 And he could there do no mighty work, save that he laid his hands upon a few sick folk, and healed them.
6 And he marvelled because of their unbelief. And he went round about the villages, teaching.
7 And he called unto him the twelve, and began to send them forth by two and two; and gave them power over unclean spirits;
8 And commanded them that they should take nothing for their journey, save a staff only; no scrip, no bread, no money in their purse:
9 But be shod with sandals; and not put on two coats.
10 And he said unto them, In what place soever ye enter into an house, there abide till ye depart from that place.

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11 And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear you, when ye depart thence, shake off the dust under your feet for a testimony against them. Verily I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrha in the day of judgement, than for that city.

12 And they went out, and preached that men should repent.

13 And they cast out many devils, and anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them.

14 And king Herod heard of him; (for his name was spread abroad:) and he said, That John the Baptist was risen from the dead, and therefore mighty works do shew forth themselves in him.

15 Others said, That it is Elias. And others said, That it is a prophet, or as one of the prophets.

16 But when Herod heard thereof, he said, It is John, whom I beheaded: he is risen from the dead.

17 For Herod himself had sent forth and laid hold upon John, and bound him in prison for Herodias' sake, his brother Philip's wife: for he had married her.

18 For John had said unto Herod, It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife.

19 Therefore Herodias had a quarrel against him, and would have killed him; but she could not:

20 For Herod feared John, knowing that he was a just man and an holy, and observed him; and when he heard him, he did many things, and heard him gladly.

21 And when a convenient day was come, that Herod on his birthday made a supper to his lords, high captains, and chief estates of Galilee;

22 And when the daughter of the said Herodias came in, and danced, and pleased Herod and them that sat with him, the king said unto the damsel, Ask of me whatsoever thou wilt, and I will give it thee.

23 And he sware unto her, Whatsoever thou shalt ask of me, I will give it thee, unto the half of my kingdom.

24 And she went forth, and said unto her mother, What shall I ask? And she said, The head of John the Baptist.

25 And she came in straightway with haste unto the king, and asked, saying, I will that thou give me by and by in a charger the head of John the Baptist.

26 And the king was exceeding sorry; yet for his oath's sake, and for their sakes which sat with him, he would not reject her.

27 And immediately the king sent an executioner, and commanded his head to be brought: and he went and beheaded him in the prison,

28 And brought his head in a charger, and gave it to the damsel: and the damsel gave it to her mother.

29 And when his disciples heard of it, they came and took up his corpse, and laid it in a tomb.

30 And the apostles gathered themselves together unto Jesus, and told him all things, both what they had done, and what they had taught.

31 And he said unto them, Come ye yourselves apart into a desert place, and rest a while: for there were many coming and going, and they had no leisure so much as to eat.

32 And they departed into a desert place by ship privately.

33 And the people saw them departing, and many knew him, and ran afoot thither out of all cities, and outwent them, and came together unto him.

34 And Jesus, when he came out, saw much people, and was moved with compassion toward them, because they were as sheep not having a shepherd: and he began to teach them many things.

35 And when the day was now far spent, his disciples came unto him, and said, This is a desert place, and now the time is far passed:

36 Send them away, that they may go into the country round about, and into the villages, and buy themselves bread: for they have nothing to eat.

37 He answered and said unto them, Give ye them to eat. And they say unto him, Shall we go and buy two hundred pennyworth of bread, and give them to eat?

38 He saith unto them, How many loaves have ye? go and see. And when they knew, they say, Five, and two fishes.

39 And he commanded them to make all sit down by companies upon the green grass.

40 And they sat down in ranks, by hundreds, and by fifties.

41 And when he had taken the five loaves and the two fishes, he looked up to heaven, and blessed, and brake the loaves, and gave them to his disciples to set before them; and the two fishes divided he among them all.

42 And they did all eat, and were filled.

43 And they took up twelve baskets full of the fragments, and of the fishes.

44 And they that did eat of the loaves were about five thousand men.

45 And straightway he constrained his disciples to get into the ship, and to go to the other side before unto Bethsaida, while he sent away the people.

46 And when he had sent them away, he departed into a mountain to pray.

47 And when even was come, the ship was in the midst of the sea, and he alone on the land.

48 And he saw them toiling in rowing; for the wind was contrary unto them: and about the fourth watch of the night he cometh unto them, walking upon the sea, and would have passed by them.

49 But when they saw him walking upon the sea, they supposed it had been a spirit, and cried out:

50 For they all saw him, and were troubled. And immediately he talked with them, and saith unto them, Be of good cheer: it is I; be not afraid.

51 And he went up unto them into the ship; and the wind ceased: and they were sore amazed in themselves beyond measure, and wondered.

52 For they considered not the miracle of the loaves: for their heart was hardened.

53 And when they had passed over, they came into the land of Gennesaret, and drew to the shore.

54 And when they were come out of the ship, straightway they knew him,

55 And ran through that whole region round about, and began to carry about in beds those that were sick, where they heard he was.

56 And whithersoever he entered, into villages, or cities, or country, they laid the sick in the streets, and besought him that they might touch if it were but the border of his garment: and as many as touched him were made whole.

MARK CHAPTER 7

1 Then came together unto him the Pharisees, and certain of the scribes, which came from Jerusalem.

2 And when they saw some of his disciples eat bread with defiled, that is to say, with unwashen, hands, they found fault.

3 For the Pharisees, and all the Jews, except they wash their hands oft, eat not, holding the tradition of the elders.

4 And when they come from the market, except they wash, they eat not. And many other things there be, which they have received to hold, as the washing of cups, and pots, brasen vessels, and of tables.

5 Then the Pharisees and scribes asked him, Why walk not thy disciples according to the tradition of the elders, but eat bread with unwashen hands?

6 He answered and said unto them, Well hath Esaias prophesied of you hypocrites, as it is written, This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.

7 Howbeit in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.

8 For laying aside the commandment of God, ye hold the tradition of men, as the washing of pots and cups: and many other such like things ye do.

9 And he said unto them, Full well ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may keep your own tradition.

10 For Moses said, Honour thy father and thy mother; and, Whoso curseth father or mother, let him die the death:

11 But ye say, If a man shall say to his father or mother, It is Corban, that is to say, a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me; he shall be free.

12 And ye suffer him no more to do ought for his father or his mother;

13 Making the word of God of none effect through your tradition, which ye have delivered: and many such like things do ye.

14 And when he had called all the people unto him, he said unto them, Hearken unto me every one of you, and understand:

15 There is nothing from without a man, that entering into him can defile him: but the things which come out of him, those are they that defile the man.

16 If any man have ears to hear, let him hear.

17 And when he was entered into the house from the people, his disciples asked him concerning the parable.

18 And he saith unto them, Are ye so without understanding also? Do ye not perceive, that whatsoever thing from without entereth into the man, it cannot defile him;

19 Because it entereth not into his heart, but into the belly, and goeth out into the draught, purging all meats?

20 And he said, That which cometh out of the man, that defileth the man.

21 For from within, out of the heart of men, proceed evil thoughts, adulteries, fornications, murders,

22 Thefts, covetousness, wickedness, deceit, lasciviousness, an evil eye, blasphemy, pride, foolishness:

23 All these evil things come from within, and defile the man.

24 And from thence he arose, and went into the borders of Tyre and Sidon, and entered into an house, and would have no man know it: but he could not be hid.

25 For a certain woman, whose young daughter had an unclean spirit, heard of him, and came and fell at his feet:

26 The woman was a Greek, a Syrophenician by nation; and she besought him that he would cast forth the devil out of her daughter.

27 But Jesus said unto her, Let the children first be filled: for it is not meet to take the children's bread, and to cast it unto the dogs.

28 And she answered and said unto him, Yes, Lord: yet the dogs under the table eat of the children's crumbs.

29 And he said unto her, For this saying go thy way; the devil is gone out of thy daughter.

30 And when she was come to her house, she found the devil gone out, and her daughter laid upon the bed.

31 And again, departing from the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, he came unto the sea of Galilee, through the midst of the coasts of Decapolis.

32 And they bring unto him one that was deaf, and had an impediment in his speech; and they beseech him to put his hand upon him.

33 And he took him aside from the multitude, and put his fingers into his ears, and he spit, and touched his tongue;

34 And looking up to heaven, he sighed, and saith unto him, Ephphatha, that is, Be opened.

35 And straightway his ears were opened, and the string of his tongue was loosed, and he spake plain.

36 And he charged them that they should tell no man: but the more he charged them, so much the more a great deal they published it;

37 And were beyond measure astonished, saying, He hath done all things well: he maketh both the deaf to hear, and the dumb to speak.

MARK CHAPTER 8

1 In those days the multitude being very great, and having nothing to eat, Jesus called his disciples unto him, and saith unto them,

2 I have compassion on the multitude, because they have now been with me three days, and have nothing to eat:

3 And if I send them away fasting to their own houses, they will faint by the way: for divers of them came from far.

4 And his disciples answered him, From whence can a man satisfy these men with bread here in the wilderness?

5 And he asked them, How many loaves have ye? And they said, Seven.

6 And he commanded the people to sit down on the ground: and he took the seven loaves, and gave thanks, and brake, and gave to his disciples to set before them; and they did set them before the people.

7 And they had a few small fishes: and he blessed, and commanded to set them also before them.

8 So they did eat, and were filled: and they took up of the broken meat that was left seven baskets.

9 And they that had eaten were about four thousand: and he sent them away.

10 And straightway he entered into a ship with his disciples, and came into the parts of Dalmanutha.

11 And the Pharisees came forth, and began to question with him, seeking of him a sign from heaven, tempting him.

12 And he sighed deeply in his spirit, and saith, Why doth this generation seek after a sign? verily I say unto you, There shall no sign be given unto this generation.

13 And he left them, and entering into the ship again departed to the other side.

14 Now the disciples had forgotten to take bread, neither had they in the ship with them more than one loaf.

15 And he charged them, saying, Take heed, beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, and of the leaven of Herod.

16 And they reasoned among themselves, saying, It is because we have no bread.

17 And when Jesus knew it, he saith unto them, Why reason ye, because ye have no bread? perceive ye not yet, neither understand? have ye your heart yet hardened?

18 Having eyes, see ye not? and having ears, hear ye not? and do ye not remember?

19 When I brake the five loaves among five thousand, how many baskets full of fragments took ye up? They say unto him, Twelve.

20 And when the seven among four thousand, how many baskets full of fragments took ye up? And they said, Seven.

21 And he said unto them, How is it that ye do not understand?

22 And he cometh to Bethsaida; and they bring a blind man unto him, and besought him to touch him.

23 And he took the blind man by the hand, and led him out of the town; and when he had spit on his eyes, and put his hands upon him, he asked him if he saw ought.

24 And he looked up, and said, I see men as trees, walking.

25 After that he put his hands again upon his eyes, and made him look up: and he was restored, and saw every man clearly.

26 And he sent him away to his house, saying, Neither go into the town, nor tell it to any in the town.

27 And Jesus went out, and his disciples, into the towns of Caesarea Philippi: and by the way he asked his disciples, saying unto them, Whom do men say that I am?

28 And they answered, John the Baptist; but some say, Elias; and others, One of the prophets.

29 And he saith unto them, But whom say ye that I am? And Peter answereth and saith unto him, Thou art the Christ.

30 And he charged them that they should tell no man of him.

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31 And he began to teach them, that the Son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected of the elders, and of the chief priests, and scribes, and be killed, and after three days rise again.

32 And he spake that saying openly. And Peter took him, and began to rebuke him.

33 But when he had turned about and looked on his disciples, he rebuked Peter, saying, Get thee behind me, Satan: for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but the things that be of men.

34 And when he had called the people unto him with his disciples also, he said unto them, Whosoever will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me.

35 For whosoever will save his life shall lose it; but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's, the same shall save it.

36 For what shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?

37 Or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?

38 Whosoever therefore shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation; of him also shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels.

MARK CHAPTER 9

1 And he said unto them, Verily I say unto you, That there be some of them that stand here, which shall not taste of death, till they have seen the kingdom of God come with power.

2 And after six days Jesus taketh with him Peter, and James, and John, and leadeth them up into an high mountain apart by themselves: and he was transfigured before them.

3 And his raiment became shining, exceeding white as snow; so as no fuller on earth can white them.

4 And there appeared unto them Elias with Moses: and they were talking with Jesus.

5 And Peter answered and said to Jesus, Master, it is good for us to be here: and let us make three tabernacles; one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias.

6 For he wist not what to say; for they were sore afraid.

7 And there was a cloud that overshadowed them: and a voice came out of the cloud, saying, This is my beloved Son: hear him.

8 And suddenly, when they had looked round about, they saw no man any more, save Jesus only with themselves.

9 And as they came down from the mountain, he charged them that they should tell no man what things they had seen, till the Son of man were risen from the dead.

10 And they kept that saying with themselves, questioning one with another what the rising from the dead should mean.

11 And they asked him, saying, Why say the scribes that Elias must first come?

12 And he answered and told them, Elias verily cometh first, and restoreth all things; and how it is written of the Son of man, that he must suffer many things, and be set at nought.

13 But I say unto you, That Elias is indeed come, and they have done unto him whatsoever they listed, as it is written of him.

14 And when he came to his disciples, he saw a great multitude about them, and the scribes questioning with them.

15 And straightway all the people, when they beheld him, were greatly amazed, and running to him saluted him.

16 And he asked the scribes, What question ye with them?

17 And one of the multitude answered and said, Master, I have brought unto thee my son, which hath a dumb spirit;

18 And wheresoever he taketh him, he teareth him: and he foameth, and gnasheth with his teeth, and pineth away: and I spake to thy disciples that they should cast him out; and they could not.

19 He answereth him, and saith, O faithless generation, how long shall I be with you? how long shall I suffer you? bring him unto me.

20 And they brought him unto him: and when he saw him, straightway the spirit tare him; and he fell on the ground, and wallowed foaming.

21 And he asked his father, How long is it ago since this came unto him? And he said, Of a child.

22 And ofttimes it hath cast him into the fire, and into the waters, to destroy him: but if thou canst do any thing, have compassion on us, and help us.

23 Jesus said unto him, If thou canst believe, all things are possible to him that believeth.

24 And straightway the father of the child cried out, and said with tears, Lord, I believe; help thou mine unbelief.

25 When Jesus saw that the people came running together, he rebuked the foul spirit, saying unto him, Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I charge thee, come out of him, and enter no more into him.

26 And the spirit cried, and rent him sore, and came out of him: and he was as one dead; insomuch that many said, He is dead.

27 But Jesus took him by the hand, and lifted him up; and he arose.

28 And when he was come into the house, his disciples asked him privately, Why could not we cast him out?

29 And he said unto them, This kind can come forth by nothing, but by prayer and fasting.

30 And they departed thence, and passed through Galilee; and he would not that any man should know it.

31 For he taught his disciples, and said unto them, The Son of man is delivered into the hands of men, and they shall kill him; and after that he is killed, he shall rise the third day.

32 But they understood not that saying, and were afraid to ask him.

33 And he came to Capernaum: and being in the house he asked them, What was it that ye disputed among yourselves by the way?

34 But they held their peace: for by the way they had disputed among themselves, who should be the greatest.

35 And he sat down, and called the twelve, and saith unto them, If any man desire to be first, the same shall be last of all, and servant of all.

36 And he took a child, and set him in the midst of them: and when he had taken him in his arms, he said unto them,

37 Whosoever shall receive one of such children in my name, receiveth me: and whosoever shall receive me, receiveth not me, but him that sent me.

38 And John answered him, saying, Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name, and he followeth not us: and we forbad him, because he followeth not us.

39 But Jesus said, Forbid him not: for there is no man which shall do a miracle in my name, that can lightly speak evil of me.

40 For he that is not against us is on our part.

41 For whosoever shall give you a cup of water to drink in my name, because ye belong to Christ, verily I say unto you, he shall not lose his reward.

42 And whosoever shall offend one of these little ones that believe in me, it is better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea.

43 And if thy hand offend thee, cut it off: it is better for thee to enter into life maimed, than having two hands to go into hell, into the fire that never shall be quenched:

44 Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.

45 And if thy foot offend thee, cut it off: it is better for thee to enter halt into life, than having two feet to be cast into hell, into the fire that never shall be quenched:

46 Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.

47 And if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out: it is better for thee to enter into the kingdom of God with one eye, than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire:

48 Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.

49 For every one shall be salted with fire, and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt.

50 Salt is good: but if the salt have lost his saltness, wherewith will ye season it? Have salt in yourselves, and have peace one with another.

MARK CHAPTER 10

1 And he arose from thence, and cometh into the coasts of Judaea by the farther side of Jordan: and the people resort unto him again; and, as he was wont, he taught them again.

2 And the Pharisees came to him, and asked him, Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife? tempting him.

3 And he answered and said unto them, What did Moses command you?

4 And they said, Moses suffered to write a bill of divorcement, and to put her away.

5 And Jesus answered and said unto them, For the hardness of your heart he wrote you this precept.

6 But from the beginning of the creation God made them male and female.

7 For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and cleave to his wife;

8 And they twain shall be one flesh: so then they are no more twain, but one flesh.

9 What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.

10 And in the house his disciples asked him again of the same matter.

11 And he saith unto them, Whosoever shall put away his wife, and marry another, committeth adultery against her.

12 And if a woman shall put away her husband, and be married to another, she committeth adultery.

13 And they brought young children to him, that he should touch them: and his disciples rebuked those that brought them.

14 But when Jesus saw it, he was much displeased, and said unto them, Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God.

15 Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein.

16 And he took them up in his arms, put his hands upon them, and blessed them.

17 And when he was gone forth into the way, there came one running, and kneeled to him, and asked him, Good Master, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?

18 And Jesus said unto him, Why callest thou me good? there is none good but one, that is, God.

19 Thou knowest the commandments, Do not commit adultery, Do not kill, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Defraud not, Honour thy father and mother.

20 And he answered and said unto him, Master, all these have I observed from my youth.

21 Then Jesus beholding him loved him, and said unto him, One thing thou lackest: go thy way, sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, take up the cross, and follow me.

22 And he was sad at that saying, and went away grieved: for he had great possessions.

23 And Jesus looked round about, and saith unto his disciples, How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God!

24 And the disciples were astonished at his words. But Jesus answereth again, and saith unto them, Children, how hard is it for them that trust in riches to enter into the kingdom of God!

25 It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.

26 And they were astonished out of measure, saying among themselves, Who then can be saved?

27 And Jesus looking upon them saith, With men it is impossible, but not with God: for with God all things are possible.

28 Then Peter began to say unto him, Lo, we have left all, and have followed thee.

29 And Jesus answered and said, Verily I say unto you, There is no man that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my sake, and the gospel's,

30 But he shall receive an hundredfold now in this time, houses, and brethren, and sisters, and mothers, and children, and lands, with persecutions; and in the world to come eternal life.

31 But many that are first shall be last; and the last first.

32 And they were in the way going up to Jerusalem; and Jesus went before them: and they were amazed; and as they followed, they were afraid. And he took again the twelve, and began to tell them what things should happen unto him,

33 Saying, Behold, we go up to Jerusalem; and the Son of man shall be delivered unto the chief priests, and unto the scribes; and they shall condemn him to death, and shall deliver him to the Gentiles:

34 And they shall mock him, and shall scourge him, and shall spit upon him, and shall kill him: and the third day he shall rise again.

35 And James and John, the sons of Zebedee, come unto him, saying, Master, we would that thou shouldest do for us whatsoever we shall desire.

36 And he said unto them, What would ye that I should do for you?

37 They said unto him, Grant unto us that we may sit, one on thy right hand, and the other on thy left hand, in thy glory.

38 But Jesus said unto them, Ye know not what ye ask: can ye drink of the cup that I drink of? and be baptised with the baptism that I am baptised with?

39 And they said unto him, We can. And Jesus said unto them, Ye shall indeed drink of the cup that I drink of; and with the baptism that I am baptised withal shall ye be baptised:

40 But to sit on my right hand and on my left hand is not mine to give; but it shall be given to them for whom it is prepared.

41 And when the ten heard it, they began to be much displeased with James and John.

42 But Jesus called them to him, and saith unto them, Ye know that they which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and their great ones exercise authority upon them.

43 But so shall it not be among you: but whosoever will be great among you, shall be your minister:

44 And whosoever of you will be the chiefest, shall be servant of all.

45 For even the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.

46 And they came to Jericho: and as he went out of Jericho with his disciples and a great number of people, blind Bartimaeus, the son of Timaeus, sat by the highway side begging.

47 And when he heard that it was Jesus of Nazareth, he began to cry out, and say, Jesus, thou son of David, have mercy on me.

48 And many charged him that he should hold his peace: but he cried the more a great deal, Thou son of David, have mercy on me.

49 And Jesus stood still, and commanded him to be called. And they call the blind man, saying unto him, Be of good comfort, rise; he calleth thee.

50 And he, casting away his garment, rose, and came to Jesus.

51 And Jesus answered and said unto him, What wilt thou that I should do unto thee? The blind man said unto him, Lord, that I might receive my sight.

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52 And Jesus said unto him, Go thy way; thy faith hath made thee whole. And immediately he received his sight, and followed Jesus in the way.

MARK CHAPTER 11

1 And when they came nigh to Jerusalem, unto Bethphage and Bethany, at the mount of Olives, he sendeth forth two of his disciples,

2 And saith unto them, Go your way into the village over against you: and as soon as ye be entered into it, ye shall find a colt tied, whereon never man sat; loose him, and bring him.

3 And if any man say unto you, Why do ye this? say ye that the Lord hath need of him; and straightway he will send him hither.

4 And they went their way, and found the colt tied by the door without in a place where two ways met; and they loose him.

5 And certain of them that stood there said unto them, What do ye, loosing the colt?

6 And they said unto them even as Jesus had commanded: and they let them go.

7 And they brought the colt to Jesus, and cast their garments on him; and he sat upon him.

8 And many spread their garments in the way: and others cut down branches off the trees, and strawed them in the way.

9 And they that went before, and they that followed, cried, saying, Hosanna; Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord:

10 Blessed be the kingdom of our father David, that cometh in the name of the Lord: Hosanna in the highest.

11 And Jesus entered into Jerusalem, and into the temple: and when he had looked round about upon all things, and now the eventide was come, he went out unto Bethany with the twelve.

12 And on the morrow, when they were come from Bethany, he was hungry:

13 And seeing a fig tree afar off having leaves, he came, if haply he might find any thing thereon: and when he came to it, he found nothing but leaves; for the time of figs was not yet.

14 And Jesus answered and said unto it, No man eat fruit of thee hereafter for ever. And his disciples heard it.

15 And they come to Jerusalem: and Jesus went into the temple, and began to cast out them that sold and bought in the temple, and overthrew the tables of the moneychangers, and the seats of them that sold doves;

16 And would not suffer that any man should carry any vessel through the temple.

17 And he taught, saying unto them, Is it not written, My house shall be called of all nations the house of prayer? but ye have made it a den of thieves.

18 And the scribes and chief priests heard it, and sought how they might destroy him: for they feared him, because all the people was astonished at his doctrine.

19 And when even was come, he went out of the city.

20 And in the morning, as they passed by, they saw the fig tree dried up from the roots.

21 And Peter calling to remembrance saith unto him, Master, behold, the fig tree which thou cursedst is withered away.

22 And Jesus answering saith unto them, Have faith in God.

23 For verily I say unto you, That whosoever shall say unto this mountain, Be thou removed, and be thou cast into the sea; and shall not doubt in his heart, but shall believe that those things which he saith shall come to pass; he shall have whatsoever he saith.

24 Therefore I say unto you, What things soever ye desire, when ye pray, believe that ye receive them, and ye shall have them.

25 And when ye stand praying, forgive, if ye have ought against any: that your Father also which is in heaven may forgive you your trespasses.

26 But if ye do not forgive, neither will your Father which is in heaven forgive your trespasses.

27 And they come again to Jerusalem: and as he was walking in the temple, there come to him the chief priests, and the scribes, and the elders,

28 And say unto him, By what authority doest thou these things? and who gave thee this authority to do these things?

29 And Jesus answered and said unto them, I will also ask of you one question, and answer me, and I will tell you by what authority I do these things.

30 The baptism of John, was it from heaven, or of men? answer me.

31 And they reasoned with themselves, saying, If we shall say, From heaven; he will say, Why then did ye not believe him?

32 But if we shall say, Of men; they feared the people: for all men counted John, that he was a prophet indeed.

33 And they answered and said unto Jesus, We cannot tell. And Jesus answering saith unto them, Neither do I tell you by what authority I do these things.

MARK CHAPTER 12

1 And he began to speak unto them by parables. A certain man planted a vineyard, and set an hedge about it, and digged a place for the winefat, and built a tower, and let it out to husbandmen, and went into a far country.

2 And at the season he sent to the husbandmen a servant, that he might receive from the husbandmen of the fruit of the vineyard.

3 And they caught him, and beat him, and sent him away empty.

4 And again he sent unto them another servant; and at him they cast stones, and wounded him in the head, and sent him away shamefully handled.

5 And again he sent another; and him they killed, and many others; beating some, and killing some.

6 Having yet therefore one son, his wellbeloved, he sent him also last unto them, saying, They will reverence my son.

7 But those husbandmen said among themselves, This is the heir; come, let us kill him, and the inheritance shall be our's.

8 And they took him, and killed him, and cast him out of the vineyard.

9 What shall therefore the lord of the vineyard do? he will come and destroy the husbandmen, and will give the vineyard unto others.

10 And have ye not read this scripture; The stone which the builders rejected is become the head of the corner:

11 This was the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes?

12 And they sought to lay hold on him, but feared the people: for they knew that he had spoken the parable against them: and they left him, and went their way.

13 And they send unto him certain of the Pharisees and of the Herodians, to catch him in his words.

14 And when they were come, they say unto him, Master, we know that thou art true, and carest for no man: for thou regardest not the person of men, but teachest the way of God in truth: Is it lawful to give tribute to Caesar, or not?

15 Shall we give, or shall we not give? But he, knowing their hypocrisy, said unto them, Why tempt ye me? bring me a penny, that I may see it.

16 And they brought it. And he saith unto them, Whose is this image and superscription? And they said unto him, Caesar's.

17 And Jesus answering said unto them, Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's. And they marvelled at him.

18 Then come unto him the Sadducees, which say there is no resurrection; and they asked him, saying,

19 Master, Moses wrote unto us, If a man's brother die, and leave his wife behind him, and leave no children, that his brother should take his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother.

20 Now there were seven brethren: and the first took a wife, and dying left no seed.

21 And the second took her, and died, neither left he any seed: and the third likewise.

22 And the seven had her, and left no seed: last of all the woman died also.

23 In the resurrection therefore, when they shall rise, whose wife shall she be of them? for the seven had her to wife.

24 And Jesus answering said unto them, Do ye not therefore err, because ye know not the scriptures, neither the power of God?

25 For when they shall rise from the dead, they neither marry, nor are given in marriage; but are as the angels which are in heaven.

26 And as touching the dead, that they rise: have ye not read in the book of Moses, how in the bush God spake unto him, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob?

27 He is not the God of the dead, but the God of the living: ye therefore do greatly err.

28 And one of the scribes came, and having heard them reasoning together, and perceiving that he had answered them well, asked him, Which is the first commandment of all?

29 And Jesus answered him, The first of all the commandments is, Hear, O Israel; The Lord our God is one Lord:

30 And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength: this is the first commandment.

31 And the second is like, namely this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. There is none other commandment greater than these.

32 And the scribe said unto him, Well, Master, thou hast said the truth: for there is one God; and there is none other but he:

33 And to love him with all the heart, and with all the understanding, and with all the soul, and with all the strength, and to love his neighbour as himself, is more than all whole burnt offerings and sacrifices.

34 And when Jesus saw that he answered discreetly, he said unto him, Thou art not far from the kingdom of God. And no man after that durst ask him any question.

35 And Jesus answered and said, while he taught in the temple, How say the scribes that Christ is the son of David?

36 For David himself said by the Holy Ghost, The LORD said to my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool.

37 David therefore himself calleth him Lord; and whence is he then his son? And the common people heard him gladly.

38 And he said unto them in his doctrine, Beware of the scribes, which love to go in long clothing, and love salutations in the marketplaces,

39 And the chief seats in the synagogues, and the uppermost rooms at feasts:

40 Which devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayers: these shall receive greater damnation.

41 And Jesus sat over against the treasury, and beheld how the people cast money into the treasury: and many that were rich cast in much.

42 And there came a certain poor widow, and she threw in two mites, which make a farthing.

43 And he called unto him his disciples, and saith unto them, Verily I say unto you, That this poor widow hath cast more in, than all they which have cast into the treasury:

44 For all they did cast in of their abundance; but she of her want did cast in all that she had, even all her living.

MARK CHAPTER 13

1 And as he went out of the temple, one of his disciples saith unto him, Master, see what manner of stones and what buildings are here!

2 And Jesus answering said unto him, Seest thou these great buildings? there shall not be left one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down.

3 And as he sat upon the mount of Olives over against the temple, Peter and James and John and Andrew asked him privately,

4 Tell us, when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign when all these things shall be fulfilled?

5 And Jesus answering them began to say, Take heed lest any man deceive you:

6 For many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ; and shall deceive many.

7 And when ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars, be ye not troubled: for such things must needs be; but the end shall not be yet.

8 For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and there shall be earthquakes in divers places, and there shall be famines and troubles: these are the beginnings of sorrows.

9 But take heed to yourselves: for they shall deliver you up to councils; and in the synagogues ye shall be beaten: and ye shall be brought before rulers and kings for my sake, for a testimony against them.

10 And the gospel must first be published among all nations.

11 But when they shall lead you, and deliver you up, take no thought beforehand what ye shall speak, neither do ye premeditate: but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye: for it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Ghost.

12 Now the brother shall betray the brother to death, and the father the son; and children shall rise up against their parents, and shall cause them to be put to death.

13 And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake: but he that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved.

14 But when ye shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing where it ought not, (let him that readeth understand,) then let them that be in Judaea flee to the mountains:

15 And let him that is on the housetop not go down into the house, neither enter therein, to take any thing out of his house:

16 And let him that is in the field not turn back again for to take up his garment.

17 But woe to them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days!

18 And pray ye that your flight be not in the winter.

19 For in those days shall be affliction, such as was not from the beginning of the creation which God created unto this time, neither shall be.

20 And except that the Lord had shortened those days, no flesh should be saved: but for the elect's sake, whom he hath chosen, he hath shortened the days.

21 And then if any man shall say to you, Lo, here is Christ; or, lo, he is there; believe him not:

22 For false Christs and false prophets shall rise, and shall shew signs and wonders, to seduce, if it were possible, even the elect.

23 But take ye heed: behold, I have foretold you all things.

24 But in those days, after that tribulation, the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light,

25 And the stars of heaven shall fall, and the powers that are in heaven shall be shaken.

26 And then shall they see the Son of man coming in the clouds with great power and glory.

27 And then shall he send his angels, and shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from the uttermost part of the earth to the uttermost part of heaven.

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28 Now learn a parable of the fig tree; When her branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is near:
29 So ye in like manner, when ye shall see these things come to pass, know that it is nigh, even at the doors.
30 Verily I say unto you, that this generation shall not pass, till all these things be done.
31 Heaven and earth shall pass away: but my words shall not pass away.
32 But of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.
33 Take ye heed, watch and pray: for ye know not when the time is.
34 For the Son of Man is as a man taking a far journey, who left his house, and gave authority to his servants, and to every man his work, and commanded the porter to watch.
35 Watch ye therefore: for ye know not when the master of the house cometh, at even, or at midnight, or at the cockcrowing, or in the morning:
36 Lest coming suddenly he find you sleeping.
37 And what I say unto you I say unto all, Watch.

MARK CHAPTER 14

1 After two days was the feast of the passover, and of unleavened bread: and the chief priests and the scribes sought how they might take him by craft, and put him to death.
2 But they said, Not on the feast day, lest there be an uproar of the people.
3 And being in Bethany in the house of Simon the leper, as he sat at meat, there came a woman having an alabaster box of ointment of spikenard very precious; and she brake the box, and poured it on his head.
4 And there were some that had indignation within themselves, and said, Why was this waste of the ointment made?
5 For it might have been sold for more than three hundred pence, and have been given to the poor. And they murmured against her.
6 And Jesus said, Let her alone; why trouble ye her? she hath wrought a good work on me.
7 For ye have the poor with you always, and whensoever ye will ye may do them good: but me ye have not always.
8 She hath done what she could: she is come aforehand to anoint my body to the burying.
9 Verily I say unto you, Wheresoever this gospel shall be preached throughout the whole world, this also that she hath done shall be spoken of for a memorial of her.
10 And Judas Iscariot, one of the twelve, went unto the chief priests, to betray him unto them.
11 And when they heard it, they were glad, and promised to give him money. And he sought how he might conveniently betray him.
12 And the first day of unleavened bread, when they killed the passover, his disciples said unto him, Where wilt thou that we go and prepare that thou mayest eat the passover?
13 And he sendeth forth two of his disciples, and saith unto them, Go ye into the city, and there shall meet you a man bearing a pitcher of water: follow him.
14 And wheresoever he shall go in, say ye to the goodman of the house, The Master saith, Where is the guestchamber, where I shall eat the passover with my disciples?
15 And he will shew you a large upper room furnished and prepared: there make ready for us.
16 And his disciples went forth, and came into the city, and found as he had said unto them: and they made ready the passover.
17 And in the evening he cometh with the twelve.
18 And as they sat and did eat, Jesus said, Verily I say unto you, One of you which eateth with me shall betray me.
19 And they began to be sorrowful, and to say unto him one by one, Is it I? and another said, Is it I?
20 And he answered and said unto them, It is one of the twelve, that dippeth with me in the dish.
21 The Son of man indeed goeth, as it is written of him: but woe to that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed! good were it for that man if he had never been born.
22 And as they did eat, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and brake it, and gave to them, and said, Take, eat: this is my body.
23 And he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them: and they all drank of it.
24 And he said unto them, This is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many.
25 Verily I say unto you, I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine, until that day that I drink it new in the kingdom of God.
26 And when they had sung an hymn, they went out into the mount of Olives.
27 And Jesus saith unto them, All ye shall be offended because of me this night: for it is written, I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered.
28 But after that I am risen, I will go before you into Galilee.
29 But Peter said unto him, Although all shall be offended, yet will not I.
30 And Jesus saith unto him, Verily I say unto thee, That this day, even in this night, before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice.
31 But he spake the more vehemently, If I should die with thee, I will not deny thee in any wise. Likewise also said they all.
32 And they came to a place which was named Gethsemane: and he saith to his disciples, Sit ye here, while I shall pray.
33 And he taketh with him Peter and James and John, and began to be sore amazed, and to be very heavy;
34 And saith unto them, My soul is exceeding sorrowful unto death: tarry ye here, and watch.
35 And he went forward a little, and fell on the ground, and prayed that, if it were possible, the hour might pass from him.
36 And he said, Abba, Father, all things are possible unto thee; take away this cup from me: nevertheless not what I will, but what thou wilt.
37 And he cometh, and findeth them sleeping, and saith unto Peter, Simon, sleepest thou? couldest not thou watch one hour?
38 Watch ye and pray, lest ye enter into temptation. The spirit truly is ready, but the flesh is weak.
39 And again he went away, and prayed, and spake the same words.
40 And when he returned, he found them asleep again, (for their eyes were heavy,) neither wist they what to answer him.
41 And he cometh the third time, and saith unto them, Sleep on now, and take your rest: it is enough, the hour is come; behold, the Son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners.
42 Rise up, let us go; lo, he that betrayeth me is at hand.
43 And immediately, while he yet spake, cometh Judas, one of the twelve, and with him a great multitude with swords and staves, from the chief priests and the scribes and the elders.
44 And he that betrayed him had given them a token, saying, Whomsoever I shall kiss, that same is he; take him, and lead him away safely.
45 And as soon as he was come, he goeth straightway to him, and saith, Master, master; and kissed him.
46 And they laid their hands on him, and took him.
47 And one of them that stood by drew a sword, and smote a servant of the high priest, and cut off his ear.
48 And Jesus answered and said unto them, Are ye come out, as against a thief, with swords and with staves to take me?
49 I was daily with you in the temple teaching, and ye took me not: but the scriptures must be fulfilled.
50 And they all forsook him, and fled.
51 And there followed him a certain young man, having a linen cloth cast about his naked body; and the young men laid hold on him:
52 And he left the linen cloth, and fled from them naked.
53 And they led Jesus away to the high priest: and with him were assembled all the chief priests and the elders and the scribes.
54 And Peter followed him afar off, even into the palace of the high priest: and he sat with the servants, and warmed himself at the fire.
55 And the chief priests and all the council sought for witness against Jesus to put him to death; and found none.
56 For many bare false witness against him, but their witness agreed not together.
57 And there arose certain, and bare false witness against him, saying,
58 We heard him say, I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and within three days I will build another made without hands.
59 But neither so did their witness agree together.
60 And the high priest stood up in the midst, and asked Jesus, saying, Answerest thou nothing? what is it which these witness against thee?
61 But he held his peace, and answered nothing. Again the high priest asked him, and said unto him, Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?
62 And Jesus said, I am: and ye shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven.
63 Then the high priest rent his clothes, and saith, What need we any further witnesses?
64 Ye have heard the blasphemy: what think ye? And they all condemned him to be guilty of death.
65 And some began to spit on him, and to cover his face, and to buffet him, and to say unto him, Prophesy: and the servants did strike him with the palms of their hands.
66 And as Peter was beneath in the palace, there cometh one of the maids of the high priest:
67 And when she saw Peter warming himself, she looked upon him, and said, And thou also wast with Jesus of Nazareth.
68 But he denied, saying, I know not, neither understand I what thou sayest. And he went out into the porch; and the cock crew.
69 And a maid saw him again, and began to say to them that stood by, This is one of them.
70 And he denied it again. And a little after, they that stood by said again to Peter, Surely thou art one of them: for thou art a Galilaean, and thy speech agreeth thereto.
71 But he began to curse and to swear, saying, I know not this man of whom ye speak.
72 And the second time the cock crew. And Peter called to mind the word that Jesus said unto him, Before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice. And when he thought thereon, he wept.

MARK CHAPTER 15

1 And straightway in the morning the chief priests held a consultation with the elders and scribes and the whole council, and bound Jesus, and carried him away, and delivered him to Pilate.
2 And Pilate asked him, Art thou the King of the Jews? And he answering said unto them, Thou sayest it.
3 And the chief priests accused him of many things: but he answered nothing.
4 And Pilate asked him again, saying, Answerest thou nothing? behold how many things they witness against thee.
5 But Jesus yet answered nothing; so that Pilate marvelled.
6 Now at that feast he released unto them one prisoner, whomsoever they desired.
7 And there was one named Barabbas, which lay bound with them that had made insurrection with him, who had committed murder in the insurrection.
8 And the multitude crying aloud began to desire him to do as he had ever done unto them.
9 But Pilate answered them, saying, Will ye that I release unto you the King of the Jews?
10 For he knew that the chief priests had delivered him for envy.
11 But the chief priests moved the people, that he should rather release Barabbas unto them.
12 And Pilate answered and said again unto them, What will ye then that I shall do unto him whom ye call the King of the Jews?
13 And they cried out again, Crucify him.
14 Then Pilate said unto them, Why, what evil hath he done? And they cried out the more exceedingly, Crucify him.
15 And so Pilate, willing to content the people, released Barabbas unto them, and delivered Jesus, when he had scourged him, to be crucified.
16 And the soldiers led him away into the hall, called Praetorium; and they call together the whole band.
17 And they clothed him with purple, and platted a crown of thorns, and put it about his head,
18 And began to salute him, Hail, King of the Jews!
19 And they smote him on the head with a reed, and did spit upon him, and bowing their knees worshipped him.
20 And when they had mocked him, they took off the purple from him, and put his own clothes on him, and led him out to crucify him.
21 And they compel one Simon a Cyrenian, who passed by, coming out of the country, the father of Alexander and Rufus, to bear his cross.
22 And they bring him unto the place Golgotha, which is, being interpreted, The place of a skull.
23 And they gave him to drink wine mingled with myrrh: but he received it not.
24 And when they had crucified him, they parted his garments, casting lots upon them, what every man should take.
25 And it was the third hour, and they crucified him.
26 And the superscription of his accusation was written over, THE KING OF THE JEWS.
27 And with him they crucify two thieves; the one on his right hand, and the other on his left.
28 And the scripture was fulfilled, which saith, And he was numbered with the transgressors.
29 And they that passed by railed on him, wagging their heads, and saying, Ah, thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest it in three days,
30 Save thyself, and come down from the cross.
31 Likewise also the chief priests mocking said among themselves with the scribes, He saved others; himself he cannot save.
32 Let Christ the King of Israel descend now from the cross, that we may see and believe. And they that were crucified with him reviled him.
33 And when the sixth hour was come, there was darkness over the whole land until the ninth hour.
34 And at the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani? which is, being interpreted, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?
35 And some of them that stood by, when they heard it, said, Behold, he calleth Elias.
36 And one ran and filled a spunge full of vinegar, and put it on a reed, and gave him to drink, saying, Let alone; let us see whether Elias will come to take him down.
37 And Jesus cried with a loud voice, and gave up the ghost.

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38 And the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom.
39 And when the centurion, which stood over against him, saw that he so cried out, and gave up the ghost, he said, Truly this man was the Son of God.
40 There were also women looking on afar off: among whom was Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James the less and of Joses, and Salome;
41 (Who also, when he was in Galilee, followed him, and ministered unto him;) and many other women which came up with him unto Jerusalem.
42 And now when the even was come, because it was the preparation, that is, the day before the sabbath,
43 Joseph of Arimathaea, an honourable counsellor, which also waited for the kingdom of God, came, and went in boldly unto Pilate, and craved the body of Jesus.
44 And Pilate marvelled if he were already dead: and calling unto him the centurion, he asked him whether he had been any while dead.
45 And when he knew it of the centurion, he gave the body to Joseph.
46 And he bought fine linen, and took him down, and wrapped him in the linen, and laid him in a sepulchre which was hewn out of a rock, and rolled a stone unto the door of the sepulchre.
47 And Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of Joses beheld where he was laid.

MARK CHAPTER 16
1 And when the sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome, had bought sweet spices, that they might come and anoint him.
2 And very early in the morning the first day of the week, they came unto the sepulchre at the rising of the sun.
3 And they said among themselves, Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulchre?
4 And when they looked, they saw that the stone was rolled away: for it was very great.
5 And entering into the sepulchre, they saw a young man sitting on the right side, clothed in a long white garment; and they were affrighted.
6 And he saith unto them, Be not affrighted: Ye seek Jesus of Nazareth, which was crucified: he is risen; he is not here: behold the place where they laid him.
7 But go your way, tell his disciples and Peter that he goeth before you into Galilee: there shall ye see him, as he said unto you.
8 And they went out quickly, and fled from the sepulchre; for they trembled and were amazed: neither said they any thing to any man; for they were afraid.

LONGER ENDING
(Mark has two distinct endings: the "Longer Ending", verses 9-20, and the "Shorter Ending" or so-called "lost ending", which appear together in six Greek manuscripts, and in dozens of Ethiopic copies. Modern versions of the New Testament generally include the Longer Ending.)

BEGIN OF THE LONGER ENDING:
9 Now when Jesus was risen early the first day of the week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, out of whom he had cast seven devils.
10 And she went and told them that had been with him, as they mourned and wept.
11 And they, when they had heard that he was alive, and had been seen of her, believed not.
12 After that he appeared in another form unto two of them, as they walked, and went into the country.
13 And they went and told it unto the residue: neither believed they them.
14 Afterward he appeared unto the eleven as they sat at meat, and upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they believed not them which had seen him after he was risen.
15 And he said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.
16 He that believeth and is baptised shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.
17 And these signs shall follow them that believe; In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues;
18 They shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover.
19 So then after the Lord had spoken unto them, he was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God.
20 And they went forth, and preached every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following. Amen.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO LUKE
or The Gospel of Luke, or just Luke
Estimated Range of Dating: 80-130 A.D.
Translation: King James Version
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 80-130 A.D.

(The Gospel of Luke contains almost everything which can be found in Flavius Josephus' writings. Many conclusions on whether Luke used Flavius Josephus' writings of which The Jewish War was published at around 75 AD and the Antiquities in about 93 AD, which would demand a date after 93 AD. Marcion used the Gospel of Luke as basis for his Gospel of the Lord, which sets an upper time limit of around 130 AD. A date for Luke-Acts in the 90s of the first century or first decade of the second would account for all the evidence, including the alleged use of Flavius Josephus and the apparent authorship by a sometime companion of Paul. If Luke did not use Flavius Josephus' texts, a date in the 80s is permissible.
The Gospel of Luke and the Book of Acts account for 27.5% of the New Testament, the largest contribution attributed to a single author who is unknown. The many linguistic and theological agreements and cross-references between the Gospel of Luke and The Acts of the Apostles are biographical works. There are indications that both works may well derive from the same author. If we want to find out the originator of this gospel (and the Acts), it might be helpful to analyse the name of the attributed author.
The name Luke is the English form of the Latin name Lucas. This in turn is the shortform of Lucius. Lucius is a cognate of the name Lucas which derives from the Latin noun Lux for "light" (genitive: lucis), meaning "light" or "bright" as adjective and lucere for "to shine" as verb. So Lucius means "the bright one". As we know, the Gospel of Luke was written between 80 and 130 AD, there are not too many Greek-speaking candidates who would fit as bearer of such a distinguished name at this time:
1.) Lucius the martyr of Caesarea (Kayseri) in Cappadocia, Central Anatolia (died c. 100 AD)
2.) There is also a Lucius mentioned in Romans 16:21. There is no way of knowing for sure whether this is the same person, but Origen (Origenes Adamantios, a 2nd century theologian, better known as Origen of Alexandria) identifies the Lucius in Romans (by Saul of Tarsos) with the evangelist Luke (Comm. Rom. 10.39)
3.) Lucius of Cyrene (Greek: Loukios o Kurenaios) was, according to the Acts of the Apostles, one of the founders of the Christian Church in Antioch, then part of Roman Syria. He is mentioned by name as a member of the church there, following the account King Herod's Death: "Now there were in the church that was at Antioch certain prophets and teachers; as Barnabas, and Simeon that was called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen, which had been brought up (educated) with Herod the tetrarch, and Saul (of Tarsos)." (Acts 13:1) The account in Acts 13 states that the group of prophets and teachers prayed and fasted, and were inspired to commission Barnabas and Saul to undertake missionary journeys further afield. Lucius is indicated as a founder of the Antioch church (Acts 11:19,20). He is considered to have been the first bishop of Cyrene (Libya).
4.) There are speculations whether Plutarch could have been the author. Plutarch of Chaeronea (c. 46–120) was a Greek historian, biographer, essayist, and Platonist philosopher. At some time, Plutarch received Roman citizenship. As shown by his new name, Lucius Mestrius Plutarchus, his sponsor for citizenship was Lucius Mestrius Florus, a Roman of consul whom Plutarch also used as a historical source for his "Life of Otho". His "Parallel Lives", 46 biographies in which he compared Roman citizens with earlier celebraties, clearly demonstrate that he could have written the Gospel of Luke. After all, it is in its largest parts a biographical narrative, and it is also, considering its writing style, the most sophisticated gospel in existence, a bright masterpiece indeed.)

LUKE CHAPTER 1
1 Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us,
2 Even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eyewitnesses, and ministers of the word;
3 It seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus,
4 That thou mightest know the certainty of those things, wherein thou hast been instructed.
5 THERE was in the days of Herod, the king of Judaea, a certain priest named Zacharias, of the course of Abia: and his wife was of the daughters of Aaron, and her name was Elisabeth.
6 And they were both righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless.
7 And they had no child, because that Elisabeth was barren, and they both were now well stricken in years.
8 And it came to pass, that while he executed the priest's office before God in the order of his course,
9 According to the custom of the priest's office, his lot was to burn incense when he went into the temple of the Lord.
10 And the whole multitude of the people were praying without at the time of incense.
11 And there appeared unto him an angel of the Lord standing on the right side of the altar of incense.
12 And when Zacharias saw him, he was troubled, and fear fell upon him.
13 But the angel said unto him, Fear not, Zacharias: for thy prayer is heard; and thy wife Elisabeth shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name John.
14 And thou shalt have joy and gladness; and many shall rejoice at his birth.
15 For he shall be great in the sight of the Lord, and shall drink neither wine nor strong drink; and he shall be filled with the Holy Ghost, even from his mother's womb.
16 And many of the children of Israel shall he turn to the Lord their God.
17 And he shall go before him in the spirit and power of Elias, to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just; to make ready a people prepared for the Lord.
18 And Zacharias said unto the angel, Whereby shall I know this? for I am an old man, and my wife well stricken in years.
19 And the angel answering said unto him, I am Gabriel, that stand in the presence of God; and am sent to speak unto thee, and to shew thee these glad tidings.
20 And, behold, thou shalt be dumb, and not able to speak, until the day that these things shall be performed, because thou believest not my words, which shall be fulfilled in their season.
21 And the people waited for Zacharias, and marvelled that he tarried so long in the temple.
22 And when he came out, he could not speak unto them: and they perceived that he had seen a vision in the temple: for he beckoned unto them, and remained speechless.
23 And it came to pass, that, as soon as the days of his ministration were accomplished, he departed to his own house.
24 And after those days his wife Elisabeth conceived, and hid herself five months, saying,
25 Thus hath the Lord dealt with me in the days wherein he looked on me, to take away my reproach among men.
26 And in the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God unto a city of Galilee, named Nazareth,
27 To a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David; and the virgin's name was Mary.
28 And the angel came in unto her, and said, Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women.
29 And when she saw him, she was troubled at his saying, and cast in her mind what manner of salutation this should be.
30 And the angel said unto her, Fear not, Mary: for thou hast found favour with God.
31 And, behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call his name JESUS.
32 He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest: and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David:
33 And he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end.
34 Then said Mary unto the angel, How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?
35 And the angel answered and said unto her, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.
36 And, behold, thy cousin Elisabeth, she hath also conceived a son in her old age: and this is the sixth month with her, who was called barren.
37 For with God nothing shall be impossible.
38 And Mary said, Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word. And the angel departed from her.
39 And Mary arose in those days, and went into the hill country with haste, into a city of Juda;
40 And entered into the house of Zacharias, and saluted Elisabeth.
41 And it came to pass, that, when Elisabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb; and Elisabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost:
42 And she spake out with a loud voice, and said, Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb.
43 And whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me?
44 For, lo, as soon as the voice of thy salutation sounded in mine ears, the babe leaped in my womb for joy.
45 And blessed is she that believed: for there shall be a performance of those things which were told her from the Lord.
46 And Mary said, My soul doth magnify the Lord,
47 And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour.

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48 For he hath regarded the low estate of his handmaiden: for, behold, from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed.
49 For he that is mighty hath done to me great things; and holy is his name.
50 And his mercy is on them that fear him from generation to generation.
51 He hath shewed strength with his arm; he hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts.
52 He hath put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted them of low degree.
53 He hath filled the hungry with good things; and the rich he hath sent empty away.
54 He hath holpen his servant Israel, in remembrance of his mercy;
55 As he spake to our fathers, to Abraham, and to his seed for ever.
56 And Mary abode with her about three months, and returned to her own house.
57 Now Elisabeth's full time came that she should be delivered; and she brought forth a son.
58 And her neighbours and her cousins heard how the Lord had shewed great mercy upon her; and they rejoiced with her.
59 And it came to pass, that on the eighth day they came to circumcise the child; and they called him Zacharias, after the name of his father.
60 And his mother answered and said, Not so; but he shall be called John.
61 And they said unto her, There is none of thy kindred that is called by this name.
62 And they made signs to his father, how he would have him called.
63 And he asked for a writing table, and wrote, saying, His name is John. And they marvelled all.
64 And his mouth was opened immediately, and his tongue loosed, and he spake, and praised God.
65 And fear came on all that dwelt round about them: and all these sayings were noised abroad throughout all the hill country of Judaea.
66 And all they that heard them laid them up in their hearts, saying, What manner of child shall this be! And the hand of the Lord was with him.
67 And his father Zacharias was filled with the Holy Ghost, and prophesied, saying,
68 Blessed be the Lord God of Israel; for he hath visited and redeemed his people,
69 And hath raised up an horn of salvation for us in the house of his servant David;
70 As he spake by the mouth of his holy prophets, which have been since the world began:
71 That we should be saved from our enemies, and from the hand of all that hate us;
72 To perform the mercy promised to our fathers, and to remember his holy covenant;
73 The oath which he sware to our father Abraham,
74 That he would grant unto us, that we being delivered out of the hand of our enemies might serve him without fear,
75 In holiness and righteousness before him, all the days of our life.
76 And thou, child, shalt be called the prophet of the Highest: for thou shalt go before the face of the Lord to prepare his ways;
77 To give knowledge of salvation unto his people by the remission of their sins,
78 Through the tender mercy of our God; whereby the dayspring from on high hath visited us,
79 To give light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, to guide our feet into the way of peace.
80 And the child grew, and waxed strong in spirit, and was in the deserts till the day of his shewing unto Israel.

LUKE CHAPTER 2

1 And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus that all the world should be taxed.
2 (And this taxing was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria.)
3 And all went to be taxed, every one into his own city.
4 And Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth, into Judaea, unto the city of David, which is called Bethlehem; (because he was of the house and lineage of David:)
5 To be taxed with Mary his espoused wife, being great with child.
6 And so it was, that, while they were there, the days were accomplished that she should be delivered.
7 And she brought forth her firstborn son, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger; because there was no room for them in the inn.
8 And there were in the same country shepherds abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flock by night.
9 And, lo, the angel of the Lord came upon them, and the glory of the Lord shone round about them: and they were sore afraid.
10 And the angel said unto them, Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people.
11 For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord.
12 And this shall be a sign unto you; Ye shall find the babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, lying in a manger.
13 And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God, and saying,
14 Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men.
15 And it came to pass, as the angels were gone away from them into heaven, the shepherds said one to another, Let us now go even unto Bethlehem, and see this thing which is come to pass, which the Lord hath made known unto us.
16 And they came with haste, and found Mary, and Joseph, and the babe lying in a manger.
17 And when they had seen it, they made known abroad the saying which was told them concerning this child.
18 And all they that heard it wondered at those things which were told them by the shepherds.
19 But Mary kept all these things, and pondered them in her heart.
20 And the shepherds returned, glorifying and praising God for all the things that they had heard and seen, as it was told unto them.
21 And when eight days were accomplished for the circumcising of the child, his name was called JESUS, which was so named of the angel before he was conceived in the womb.
22 And when the days of her purification according to the law of Moses were accomplished, they brought him to Jerusalem, to present him to the Lord;
23 (As it is written in the law of the LORD, Every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy to the Lord;)
24 And to offer a sacrifice according to that which is said in the law of the Lord, A pair of turtledoves, or two young pigeons.
25 And, behold, there was a man in Jerusalem, whose name was Simeon; and the same man was just and devout, waiting for the consolation of Israel: and the Holy Ghost was upon him.
26 And it was revealed unto him by the Holy Ghost, that he should not see death, before he had seen the Lord's Christ.
27 And he came by the Spirit into the temple: and when the parents brought in the child Jesus, to do for him after the custom of the law,
28 Then took he him up in his arms, and blessed God, and said,
29 Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word:
30 For mine eyes have seen thy salvation,
31 Which thou hast prepared before the face of all people;
32 A light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel.
33 And Joseph and his mother marvelled at those things which were spoken of him.
34 And Simeon blessed them, and said unto Mary his mother, Behold, this child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel; and for a sign which shall be spoken against;
35 (Yea, a sword shall pierce through thy own soul also,) that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed.
36 And there was one Anna, a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Aser: she was of a great age, and had lived with an husband seven years from her virginity;
37 And she was a widow of about fourscore and four years, which departed not from the temple, but served God with fastings and prayers night and day.
38 And she coming in that instant gave thanks likewise unto the Lord, and spake of him to all them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem.
39 And when they had performed all things according to the law of the Lord, they returned into Galilee, to their own city Nazareth.
40 And the child grew, and waxed strong in spirit, filled with wisdom: and the grace of God was upon him.
41 Now his parents went to Jerusalem every year at the feast of the passover.
42 And when he was twelve years old, they went up to Jerusalem after the custom of the feast.
43 And when they had fulfilled the days, as they returned, the child Jesus tarried behind in Jerusalem; and Joseph and his mother knew not of it.
44 But they, supposing him to have been in the company, went a day's journey; and they sought him among their kinsfolk and acquaintance.
45 And when they found him not, they turned back again to Jerusalem, seeking him.
46 And it came to pass, that after three days they found him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them, and asking them questions.
47 And all that heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers.
48 And when they saw him, they were amazed: and his mother said unto him, Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? behold, thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing.
49 And he said unto them, How is it that ye sought me? wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?
50 And they understood not the saying which he spake unto them.
51 And he went down with them, and came to Nazareth, and was subject unto them: but his mother kept all these sayings in her heart.
52 And Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man.

LUKE CHAPTER 3

1 Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judaea, and Herod being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of Ituraea and of the region of Trachonitis, and Lysanias the tetrarch of Abilene,
2 Annas and Caiaphas being the high priests, the word of God came unto John the son of Zacharias in the wilderness.
3 And he came into all the country about Jordan, preaching the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins;
4 As it is written in the book of the words of Esaias the prophet, saying, The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.
5 Every valley shall be filled, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough ways shall be made smooth;
6 And all flesh shall see the salvation of God.
7 Then said he to the multitude that came forth to be baptised of him, O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?
8 Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of repentance, and begin not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father: for I say unto you, That God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham.
9 And now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees: every tree therefore which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.
10 And the people asked him, saying, What shall we do then?
11 He answereth and saith unto them, He that hath two coats, let him impart to him that hath none; and he that hath meat, let him do likewise.
12 Then came also publicans to be baptised, and said unto him, Master, what shall we do?
13 And he said unto them, Exact no more than that which is appointed you.
14 And the soldiers likewise demanded of him, saying, And what shall we do? And he said unto them, Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely; and be content with your wages.
15 And as the people were in expectation, and all men mused in their hearts of John, whether he were the Christ, or not;
16 John answered, saying unto them all, I indeed baptise you with water; but one mightier than I cometh, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose: he shall baptise you with the Holy Ghost and with fire:
17 Whose fan is in his hand, and he will throughly purge his floor, and will gather the wheat into his garner; but the chaff he will burn with fire unquenchable.
18 And many other things in his exhortation preached he unto the people.
19 But Herod the tetrarch, being reproved by him for Herodias his brother Philip's wife, and for all the evils which Herod had done,
20 Added yet this above all, that he shut up John in prison.
21 Now when all the people were baptised, it came to pass, that Jesus also being baptised, and praying, the heaven was opened,
22 And the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape like a dove upon him, and a voice came from heaven, which said, Thou art my beloved Son; in thee I am well pleased.
23 And Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age, being (as was supposed) the son of Joseph, which was the son of Heli,
24 Which was the son of Matthat, which was the son of Levi, which was the son of Melchi, which was the son of Janna, which was the son of Joseph,
25 Which was the son of Mattathias, which was the son of Amos, which was the son of Naum, which was the son of Esli, which was the son of Nagge,
26 Which was the son of Maath, which was the son of Mattathias, which was the son of Semei, which was the son of Joseph, which was the son of Juda,
27 Which was the son of Joanna, which was the son of Rhesa, which was the son of Zorobabel, which was the son of Salathiel, which was the son of Neri,
28 Which was the son of Melchi, which was the son of Addi, which was the son of Cosam, which was the son of Elmodam, which was the son of Er,

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29 Which was the son of Jose, which was the son of Eliezer, which was the son of Jorim, which was the son of Matthat, which was the son of Levi,
30 Which was the son of Simeon, which was the son of Juda, which was the son of Joseph, which was the son of Jonan, which was the son of Eliakim,
31 Which was the son of Melea, which was the son of Menan, which was the son of Mattatha, which was the son of Nathan, which was the son of David,
32 Which was the son of Jesse, which was the son of Obed, which was the son of Booz, which was the son of Salmon, which was the son of Naasson,
33 Which was the son of Aminadab, which was the son of Aram, which was the son of Esrom, which was the son of Phares, which was the son of Juda,
34 Which was the son of Jacob, which was the son of Isaac, which was the son of Abraham, which was the son of Thara, which was the son of Nachor,
35 Which was the son of Saruch, which was the son of Ragau, which was the son of Phalec, which was the son of Heber, which was the son of Sala,
36 Which was the son of Cainan, which was the son of Arphaxad, which was the son of Sem, which was the son of Noe, which was the son of Lamech,
37 Which was the son of Mathusala, which was the son of Enoch, which was the son of Jared, which was the son of Maleleel, which was the son of Cainan,
38 Which was the son of Enos, which was the son of Seth, which was the son of Adam, which was the son of God.

LUKE CHAPTER 4

1 And Jesus being full of the Holy Ghost returned from Jordan, and was led by the Spirit into the wilderness,
2 Being forty days tempted of the devil. And in those days he did eat nothing: and when they were ended, he afterward hungered.
3 And the devil said unto him, If thou be the Son of God, command this stone that it be made bread.
4 And Jesus answered him, saying, It is written, That man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word of God.
5 And the devil, taking him up into an high mountain, shewed unto him all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time.
6 And the devil said unto him, All this power will I give thee, and the glory of them: for that is delivered unto me; and to whomsoever I will I give it.
7 If thou therefore wilt worship me, all shall be thine.
8 And Jesus answered and said unto him, Get thee behind me, Satan: for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.
9 And he brought him to Jerusalem, and set him on a pinnacle of the temple, and said unto him, If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down from hence:
10 For it is written, He shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee:
11 And in their hands they shall bear thee up, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone.
12 And Jesus answering said unto him, It is said, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.
13 And when the devil had ended all the temptation, he departed from him for a season.
14 And Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee: and there went out a fame of him through all the region round about.
15 And he taught in their synagogues, being glorified of all.
16 And he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up: and, as his custom was, he went into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and stood up for to read.
17 And there was delivered unto him the book of the prophet Esaias. And when he had opened the book, he found the place where it was written,
18 The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the brokenhearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised,
19 To preach the acceptable year of the Lord.
20 And he closed the book, and he gave it again to the minister, and sat down. And the eyes of all them that were in the synagogue were fastened on him.
21 And he began to say unto them, This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears.
22 And all bare him witness, and wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth. And they said, Is not this Joseph's son?
23 And he said unto them, Ye will surely say unto me this proverb, Physician, heal thyself: whatsoever we have heard done in Capernaum, do also here in thy country.
24 And he said, Verily I say unto you, No prophet is accepted in his own country.
25 But I tell you of a truth, many widows were in Israel in the days of Elias, when the heaven was shut up three years and six months, when great famine was throughout all the land;
26 But unto none of them was Elias sent, save unto Sarepta, a city of Sidon, unto a woman that was a widow.
27 And many lepers were in Israel in the time of Eliseus the prophet; and none of them was cleansed, saving Naaman the Syrian.
28 And all they in the synagogue, when they heard these things, were filled with wrath,
29 And rose up, and thrust him out of the city, and led him unto the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, that they might cast him down headlong.
30 But he passing through the midst of them went his way,
31 And came down to Capernaum, a city of Galilee, and taught them on the sabbath days.
32 And they were astonished at his doctrine: for his word was with power.
33 And in the synagogue there was a man, which had a spirit of an unclean devil, and cried out with a loud voice,
34 Saying, Let us alone; what have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth? art thou come to destroy us? I know thee who thou art; the Holy One of God.
35 And Jesus rebuked him, saying, Hold thy peace, and come out of him. And when the devil had thrown him in the midst, he came out of him, and hurt him not.
36 And they were all amazed, and spake among themselves, saying, What a word is this! for with authority and power he commandeth the unclean spirits, and they come out.
37 And the fame of him went out into every place of the country round about.
38 And he arose out of the synagogue, and entered into Simon's house. And Simon's wife's mother was taken with a great fever; and they besought him for her.
39 And he stood over her, and rebuked the fever; and it left her: and immediately she arose and ministered unto them.
40 Now when the sun was setting, all they that had any sick with divers diseases brought them unto him; and he laid his hands on every one of them, and healed them.
41 And devils also came out of many, crying out, and saying, Thou art Christ the Son of God. And he rebuking them suffered them not to speak: for they knew that he was Christ.
42 And when it was day, he departed and went into a desert place: and the people sought him, and came unto him, and stayed him, that he should not depart from them.
43 And he said unto them, I must preach the kingdom of God to other cities also: for therefore am I sent.
44 And he preached in the synagogues of Galilee.

LUKE CHAPTER 5

1 And it came to pass, that, as the people pressed upon him to hear the word of God, he stood by the lake of Gennesaret,
2 And saw two ships standing by the lake: but the fishermen were gone out of them, and were washing their nets.
3 And he entered into one of the ships, which was Simon's, and prayed him that he would thrust out a little from the land. And he sat down, and taught the people out of the ship.
4 Now when he had left speaking, he said unto Simon, Launch out into the deep, and let down your nets for a draught.
5 And Simon answering said unto him, Master, we have toiled all the night, and have taken nothing: nevertheless at thy word I will let down the net.
6 And when they had this done, they inclosed a great multitude of fishes: and their net brake.
7 And they beckoned unto their partners, which were in the other ship, that they should come and help them. And they came, and filled both the ships, so that they began to sink.
8 When Simon Peter saw it, he fell down at Jesus' knees, saying, Depart from me; for I am a sinful man, O Lord.
9 For he was astonished, and all that were with him, at the draught of the fishes which they had taken:
10 And so was also James, and John, the sons of Zebedee, which were partners with Simon. And Jesus said unto Simon, Fear not; from henceforth thou shalt catch men.
11 And when they had brought their ships to land, they forsook all, and followed him.
12 And it came to pass, when he was in a certain city, behold a man full of leprosy: who seeing Jesus fell on his face, and besought him, saying, Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean.
13 And he put forth his hand, and touched him, saying, I will: be thou clean. And immediately the leprosy departed from him.
14 And he charged him to tell no man: but go, and shew thyself to the priest, and offer for thy cleansing, according as Moses commanded, for a testimony unto them.
15 But so much the more went there a fame abroad of him: and great multitudes came together to hear, and to be healed by him of their infirmities.
16 And he withdrew himself into the wilderness, and prayed.
17 And it came to pass on a certain day, as he was teaching, that there were Pharisees and doctors of the law sitting by, which were come out of every town of Galilee, and Judaea, and Jerusalem: and the power of the Lord was present to heal them.
18 And, behold, men brought in a bed a man which was taken with a palsy: and they sought means to bring him in, and to lay him before him.
19 And when they could not find by what way they might bring him in because of the multitude, they went upon the housetop, and let him down through the tiling with his couch into the midst before Jesus.
20 And when he saw their faith, he said unto him, Man, thy sins are forgiven thee.
21 And the scribes and the Pharisees began to reason, saying, Who is this which speaketh blasphemies? Who can forgive sins, but God alone?
22 But when Jesus perceived their thoughts, he answering said unto them, What reason ye in your hearts?
23 Whether is easier, to say, Thy sins be forgiven thee; or to say, Rise up and walk?
24 But that ye may know that the Son of man hath power upon earth to forgive sins, (he said unto the sick of the palsy,) I say unto thee, Arise, and take up thy couch, and go into thine house.
25 And immediately he rose up before them, and took up that whereon he lay, and departed to his own house, glorifying God.
26 And they were all amazed, and they glorified God, and were filled with fear, saying, We have seen strange things to day.
27 And after these things he went forth, and saw a publican, named Levi, sitting at the receipt of custom: and he said unto him, Follow me.
28 And he left all, rose up, and followed him.
29 And Levi made him a great feast in his own house: and there was a great company of publicans and of others that sat down with them.
30 But their scribes and Pharisees murmured against his disciples, saying, Why do ye eat and drink with publicans and sinners?
31 And Jesus answering said unto them, They that are whole need not a physician; but they that are sick.
32 I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.
33 And they said unto him, Why do the disciples of John fast often, and make prayers, and likewise the disciples of the Pharisees; but thine eat and drink?
34 And he said unto them, Can ye make the children of the bridechamber fast, while the bridegroom is with them?
35 But the days will come, when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them, and then shall they fast in those days.
36 And he spake also a parable unto them; No man putteth a piece of a new garment upon an old; if otherwise, then both the new maketh a rent, and the piece that was taken out of the new agreeth not with the old.
37 And no man putteth new wine into old bottles; else the new wine will burst the bottles, and be spilled, and the bottles shall perish.
38 But new wine must be put into new bottles; and both are preserved.
39 No man also having drunk old wine straightway desireth new: for he saith, The old is better.

LUKE CHAPTER 6

1 And it came to pass on the second sabbath after the first, that he went through the corn fields; and his disciples plucked the ears of corn, and did eat, rubbing them in their hands.
2 And certain of the Pharisees said unto them, Why do ye that which is not lawful to do on the sabbath days?
3 And Jesus answering them said, Have ye not read so much as this, what David did, when himself was an hungred, and they which were with him;
4 How he went into the house of God, and did take and eat the shewbread, and gave also to them that were with him; which it is not lawful to eat but for the priests alone?
5 And he said unto them, That the Son of man is Lord also of the sabbath.
6 And it came to pass also on another sabbath, that he entered into the synagogue and taught: and there was a man whose right hand was withered.
7 And the scribes and Pharisees watched him, whether he would heal on the sabbath day; that they might find an accusation against him.
8 But he knew their thoughts, and said to the man which had the withered hand, Rise up, and stand forth in the midst. And he arose and stood forth.
9 Then said Jesus unto them, I will ask you one thing; Is it lawful on the sabbath days to do good, or to do evil? to save life, or to destroy it?
10 And looking round about upon them all, he said unto the man, Stretch forth thy hand. And he did so: and his hand was restored whole as the other.
11 And they were filled with madness; and communed one with another what they might do to Jesus.
12 And it came to pass in those days, that he went out into a mountain to pray, and continued all night in prayer to God.
13 And when it was day, he called unto him his disciples: and of them he chose twelve, whom also he named apostles;

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14 Simon, (whom he also named Peter,) and Andrew his brother, James and John, Philip and Bartholomew,
15 Matthew and Thomas, James the son of Alphaeus, and Simon called Zelotes,
16 And Judas the brother of James, and Judas Iscariot, which also was the traitor.
17 And he came down with them, and stood in the plain, and the company of his disciples, and a great multitude of people out of all Judaea and Jerusalem, and from the sea coast of Tyre and Sidon, which came to hear him, and to be healed of their diseases;
18 And they that were vexed with unclean spirits: and they were healed.
19 And the whole multitude sought to touch him: for there went virtue out of him, and healed them all.
20 And he lifted up his eyes on his disciples, and said, Blessed be ye poor: for yours is the kingdom of God.
21 Blessed are ye that hunger now: for ye shall be filled. Blessed are ye that weep now: for ye shall laugh.
22 Blessed are ye, when men shall hate you, and when they shall separate you from their company, and shall reproach you, and cast out your name as evil, for the Son of man's sake.
23 Rejoice ye in that day, and leap for joy: for, behold, your reward is great in heaven: for in the like manner did their fathers unto the prophets.
24 But woe unto you that are rich! for ye have received your consolation.
25 Woe unto you that are full! for ye shall hunger. Woe unto you that laugh now! for ye shall mourn and weep.
26 Woe unto you, when all men shall speak well of you! for so did their fathers to the false prophets.
27 But I say unto you which hear, Love your enemies, do good to them which hate you,
28 Bless them that curse you, and pray for them which despitefully use you.
29 And unto him that smiteth thee on the one cheek offer also the other; and him that taketh away thy cloak forbid not to take thy coat also.
30 Give to every man that asketh of thee; and of him that taketh away thy goods ask them not again.
31 And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise.
32 For if ye love them which love you, what thank have ye? for sinners also love those that love them.
33 And if ye do good to them which do good to you, what thank have ye? for sinners also do even the same.
34 And if ye lend to them of whom ye hope to receive, what thank have ye? for sinners also lend to sinners, to receive as much again.
35 But love ye your enemies, and do good, and lend, hoping for nothing again; and your reward shall be great, and ye shall be the children of the Highest: for he is kind unto the unthankful and to the evil.
36 Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father also is merciful.
37 Judge not, and ye shall not be judged: condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned: forgive, and ye shall be forgiven:
38 Give, and it shall be given unto you; good measure, pressed down, and shaken together, and running over, shall men give into your bosom. For with the same measure that ye mete withal it shall be measured to you again.
39 And he spake a parable unto them, Can the blind lead the blind? shall they not both fall into the ditch?
40 The disciple is not above his master: but every one that is perfect shall be as his master.
41 And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but perceivest not the beam that is in thine own eye?
42 Either how canst thou say to thy brother, Brother, let me pull out the mote that is in thine eye, when thou thyself beholdest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, cast out first the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to pull out the mote that is in thy brother's eye.
43 For a good tree bringeth not forth corrupt fruit; neither doth a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.
44 For every tree is known by his own fruit. For of thorns men do not gather figs, nor of a bramble bush gather they grapes.
45 A good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is good; and an evil man out of the evil treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is evil: for of the abundance of the heart his mouth speaketh.
46 And why call ye me, Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?
47 Whosoever cometh to me, and heareth my sayings, and doeth them, I will shew you to whom he is like:
48 He is like a man which built an house, and digged deep, and laid the foundation on a rock: and when the flood arose, the stream beat vehemently upon that house, and could not shake it: for it was founded upon a rock.
49 But he that heareth, and doeth not, is like a man that without a foundation built an house upon the earth; against which the stream did beat vehemently, and immediately it fell; and the ruin of that house was great.

LUKE CHAPTER 7

1 Now when he had ended all his sayings in the audience of the people, he entered into Capernaum.
2 And a certain centurion's servant, who was dear unto him, was sick, and ready to die.
3 And when he heard of Jesus, he sent unto him the elders of the Jews, beseeching him that he would come and heal his servant.
4 And when they came to Jesus, they besought him instantly, saying, That he was worthy for whom he should do this:
5 For he loveth our nation, and he hath built us a synagogue.
6 Then Jesus went with them. And when he was now not far from the house, the centurion sent friends to him, saying unto him, Lord, trouble not thyself: for I am not worthy that thou shouldest enter under my roof:
7 Wherefore neither thought I myself worthy to come unto thee: but say in a word, and my servant shall be healed.
8 For I also am a man set under authority, having under me soldiers, and I say unto one, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh; and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it.
9 When Jesus heard these things, he marvelled at him, and turned him about, and said unto the people that followed him, I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel.
10 And they that were sent, returning to the house, found the servant whole that had been sick.
11 And it came to pass the day after, that he went into a city called Nain; and many of his disciples went with him, and much people.
12 Now when he came nigh to the gate of the city, behold, there was a dead man carried out, the only son of his mother, and she was a widow: and much people of the city was with her.
13 And when the Lord saw her, he had compassion on her, and said unto her, Weep not.
14 And he came and touched the bier: and they that bare him stood still. And he said, Young man, I say unto thee, Arise.
15 And he that was dead sat up, and began to speak. And he delivered him to his mother.
16 And there came a fear on all: and they glorified God, saying, That a great prophet is risen up among us; and, That God hath visited his people.
17 And this rumour of him went forth throughout all Judaea, and throughout all the region round about.
18 And the disciples of John shewed him of all these things.
19 And John calling unto him two of his disciples sent them to Jesus, saying, Art thou he that should come? or look we for another?
20 When the men were come unto him, they said, John Baptist hath sent us unto thee, saying, Art thou he that should come? or look we for another?
21 And in that same hour he cured many of their infirmities and plagues, and of evil spirits; and unto many that were blind he gave sight.
22 Then Jesus answering said unto them, Go your way, and tell John what things ye have seen and heard; how that the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, to the poor the gospel is preached.
23 And blessed is he, whosoever shall not be offended in me.
24 And when the messengers of John were departed, he began to speak unto the people concerning John, What went ye out into the wilderness for to see? A reed shaken with the wind?
25 But what went ye out for to see? A man clothed in soft raiment? Behold, they which are gorgeously apparelled, and live delicately, are in kings' courts.
26 But what went ye out for to see? A prophet? Yea, I say unto you, and much more than a prophet.
27 This is he, of whom it is written, Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee.
28 For I say unto you, Among those that are born of women there is not a greater prophet than John the Baptist: but he that is least in the kingdom of God is greater than he.
29 And all the people that heard him, and the publicans, justified God, being baptised with the baptism of John.
30 But the Pharisees and lawyers rejected the counsel of God against themselves, being not baptised of him.
31 And the Lord said, Whereunto then shall I liken the men of this generation? and to what are they like?
32 They are like unto children sitting in the marketplace, and calling one to another, and saying, We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced; we have mourned to you, and ye have not wept.
33 For John the Baptist came neither eating bread nor drinking wine; and ye say, He hath a devil.
34 The Son of man is come eating and drinking; and ye say, Behold a gluttonous man, and a winebibber, a friend of publicans and sinners!
35 But wisdom is justified of all her children.
36 And one of the Pharisees desired him that he would eat with him. And he went into the Pharisee's house, and sat down to meat.
37 And, behold, a woman in the city, which was a sinner, when she knew that Jesus sat at meat in the Pharisee's house, brought an alabaster box of ointment,
38 And stood at his feet behind him weeping, and began to wash his feet with tears, and did wipe them with the hairs of her head, and kissed his feet, and anointed them with the ointment.
39 Now when the Pharisee which had bidden him saw it, he spake within himself, saying, This man, if he were a prophet, would have known who and what manner of woman this is that toucheth him: for she is a sinner.
40 And Jesus answering said unto him, Simon, I have somewhat to say unto thee. And he saith, Master, say on.
41 There was a certain creditor which had two debtors: the one owed five hundred pence, and the other fifty.
42 And when they had nothing to pay, he frankly forgave them both. Tell me therefore, which of them will love him most?
43 Simon answered and said, I suppose that he, to whom he forgave most. And he said unto him, Thou hast rightly judged.
44 And he turned to the woman, and said unto Simon, Seest thou this woman? I entered into thine house, thou gavest me no water for my feet: but she hath washed my feet with tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head.
45 Thou gavest me no kiss: but this woman since the time I came in hath not ceased to kiss my feet.
46 My head with oil thou didst not anoint: but this woman hath anointed my feet with ointment.
47 Wherefore I say unto thee, Her sins, which are many, are forgiven; for she loved much: but to whom little is forgiven, the same loveth little.
48 And he said unto her, Thy sins are forgiven.
49 And they that sat at meat with him began to say within themselves, Who is this that forgiveth sins also?
50 And he said to the woman, Thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace.

LUKE CHAPTER 8

1 And it came to pass afterward, that he went throughout every city and village, preaching and shewing the glad tidings of the kingdom of God: and the twelve were with him,
2 And certain women, which had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities, Mary called Magdalene, out of whom went seven devils,
3 And Joanna the wife of Chuza Herod's steward, and Susanna, and many others, which ministered unto him of their substance.
4 And when much people were gathered together, and were come to him out of every city, he spake by a parable:
5 A sower went out to sow his seed: and as he sowed, some fell by the way side; and it was trodden down, and the fowls of the air devoured it.
6 And some fell upon a rock; and as soon as it was sprung up, it withered away, because it lacked moisture.
7 And some fell among thorns; and the thorns sprang up with it, and choked it.
8 And other fell on good ground, and sprang up, and bare fruit an hundredfold. And when he had said these things, he cried, He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.
9 And his disciples asked him, saying, What might this parable be?
10 And he said, Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God: but to others in parables; that seeing they might not see, and hearing they might not understand.
11 Now the parable is this: The seed is the word of God.
12 Those by the way side are they that hear; then cometh the devil, and taketh away the word out of their hearts, lest they should believe and be saved.
13 They on the rock are they, which, when they hear, receive the word with joy; and these have no root, which for a while believe, and in time of temptation fall away.
14 And that which fell among thorns are they, which, when they have heard, go forth, and are choked with cares and riches and pleasures of this life, and bring no fruit to perfection.
15 But that on the good ground are they, which in an honest and good heart, having heard the word, keep it, and bring forth fruit with patience.
16 No man, when he hath lighted a candle, covereth it with a vessel, or putteth it under a bed; but setteth it on a candlestick, that they which enter in may see the light.
17 For nothing is secret, that shall not be made manifest; neither any thing hid, that shall not be known and come abroad.
18 Take heed therefore how ye hear: for whosoever hath, to him shall be given; and whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken even that which he seemeth to have.
19 Then came to him his mother and his brethren, and could not come at him for the press.
20 And it was told him by certain which said, Thy mother and thy brethren stand without, desiring to see thee.

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21 And he answered and said unto them, My mother and my brethren are these which hear the word of God, and do it.
22 Now it came to pass on a certain day, that he went into a ship with his disciples: and he said unto them, Let us go over unto the other side of the lake. And they launched forth.
23 But as they sailed he fell asleep: and there came down a storm of wind on the lake; and they were filled with water, and were in jeopardy.
24 And they came to him, and awoke him, saying, Master, master, we perish. Then he arose, and rebuked the wind and the raging of the water: and they ceased, and there was a calm.
25 And he said unto them, Where is your faith? And they being afraid wondered, saying one to another, What manner of man is this! for he commandeth even the winds and water, and they obey him.
26 And they arrived at the country of the Gadarenes, which is over against Galilee.
27 And when he went forth to land, there met him out of the city a certain man, which had devils long time, and ware no clothes, neither abode in any house, but in the tombs.
28 When he saw Jesus, he cried out, and fell down before him, and with a loud voice said, What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God most high? I beseech thee, torment me not.
29 (For he had commanded the unclean spirit to come out of the man. For oftentimes it had caught him: and he was kept bound with chains and in fetters; and he brake the bands, and was driven of the devil into the wilderness.)
30 And Jesus asked him, saying, What is thy name? And he said, Legion: because many devils were entered into him.
31 And they besought him that he would not command them to go out into the deep.
32 And there was there an herd of many swine feeding on the mountain: and they besought him that he would suffer them to enter into them. And he suffered them.
33 Then went the devils out of the man, and entered into the swine: and the herd ran violently down a steep place into the lake, and were choked.
34 When they that fed them saw what was done, they fled, and went and told it in the city and in the country.
35 Then they went out to see what was done; and came to Jesus, and found the man, out of whom the devils were departed, sitting at the feet of Jesus, clothed, and in his right mind: and they were afraid.
36 They also which saw it told them by what means he that was possessed of the devils was healed.
37 Then the whole multitude of the country of the Gadarenes round about besought him to depart from them; for they were taken with great fear: and he went up into the ship, and returned back again.
38 Now the man out of whom the devils were departed besought him that he might be with him: but Jesus sent him away, saying,
39 Return to thine own house, and shew how great things God hath done unto thee. And he went his way, and published throughout the whole city how great things Jesus had done unto him.
40 And it came to pass, that, when Jesus was returned, the people gladly received him: for they were all waiting for him.
41 And, behold, there came a man named Jairus, and he was a ruler of the synagogue: and he fell down at Jesus' feet, and besought him that he would come into his house:
42 For he had one only daughter, about twelve years of age, and she lay a dying. But as he went the people thronged him.
43 And a woman having an issue of blood twelve years, which had spent all her living upon physicians, neither could be healed of any,
44 Came behind him, and touched the border of his garment: and immediately her issue of blood stanched.
45 And Jesus said, Who touched me? When all denied, Peter and they that were with him said, Master, the multitude throng thee and press thee, and sayest thou, Who touched me?
46 And Jesus said, Somebody hath touched me: for I perceive that virtue is gone out of me.
47 And when the woman saw that she was not hid, she came trembling, and falling down before him, she declared unto him before all the people for what cause she had touched him, and how she was healed immediately.
48 And he said unto her, Daughter, be of good comfort: thy faith hath made thee whole; go in peace.
49 While he yet spake, there cometh one from the ruler of the synagogue's house, saying to him, Thy daughter is dead; trouble not the Master.
50 But when Jesus heard it, he answered him, saying, Fear not: believe only, and she shall be made whole.
51 And when he came into the house, he suffered no man to go in, save Peter, and James, and John, and the father and the mother of the maiden.
52 And all wept, and bewailed her: but he said, Weep not; she is not dead, but sleepeth.
53 And they laughed him to scorn, knowing that she was dead.
54 And he put them all out, and took her by the hand, and called, saying, Maid, arise.
55 And her spirit came again, and she arose straightway: and he commanded to give her meat.
56 And her parents were astonished: but he charged them that they should tell no man what was done.

LUKE CHAPTER 9

1 Then he called his twelve disciples together, and gave them power and authority over all devils, and to cure diseases.
2 And he sent them to preach the kingdom of God, and to heal the sick.
3 And he said unto them, Take nothing for your journey, neither staves, nor scrip, neither bread, neither money; neither have two coats apiece.
4 And whatsoever house ye enter into, there abide, and thence depart.
5 And whosoever will not receive you, when ye go out of that city, shake off the very dust from your feet for a testimony against them.
6 And they departed, and went through the towns, preaching the gospel, and healing every where.
7 Now Herod the tetrarch heard of all that was done by him: and he was perplexed, because that it was said of some, that John was risen from the dead;
8 And of some, that Elias had appeared; and of others, that one of the old prophets was risen again.
9 And Herod said, John have I beheaded: but who is this, of whom I hear such things? And he desired to see him.
10 And the apostles, when they were returned, told him all that they had done. And he took them, and went aside privately into a desert place belonging to the city called Bethsaida.
11 And the people, when they knew it, followed him: and he received them, and spake unto them of the kingdom of God, and healed them that had need of healing.
12 And when the day began to wear away, then came the twelve, and said unto him, Send the multitude away, that they may go into the towns and country round about, and lodge, and get victuals: for we are here in a desert place.
13 But he said unto them, Give ye them to eat. And they said, We have no more but five loaves and two fishes; except we should go and buy meat for all this people.
14 For they were about five thousand men. And he said to his disciples, Make them sit down by fifties in a company.
15 And they did so, and made them all sit down.
16 Then he took the five loaves and the two fishes, and looking up to heaven, he blessed them, and brake, and gave to the disciples to set before the multitude.
17 And they did eat, and were all filled: and there was taken up of fragments that remained to them twelve baskets.
18 And it came to pass, as he was alone praying, his disciples were with him: and he asked them, saying, Whom say the people that I am?
19 They answering said, John the Baptist; but some say, Elias; and others say, that one of the old prophets is risen again.
20 He said unto them, But whom say ye that I am? Peter answering said, The Christ of God.
21 And he straitly charged them, and commanded them to tell no man that thing;
22 Saying, The Son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected of the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be slain, and be raised the third day.
23 And he said to them all, If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me.
24 For whosoever will save his life shall lose it: but whosoever will lose his life for my sake, the same shall save it.
25 For what is a man advantaged, if he gain the whole world, and lose himself, or be cast away?
26 For whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he shall come in his own glory, and in his Father's, and of the holy angels.
27 But I tell you of a truth, there be some standing here, which shall not taste of death, till they see the kingdom of God.
28 And it came to pass about an eight days after these sayings, he took Peter and John and James, and went up into a mountain to pray.
29 And as he prayed, the fashion of his countenance was altered, and his raiment was white and glistering.
30 And, behold, there talked with him two men, which were Moses and Elias:
31 Who appeared in glory, and spake of his decease which he should accomplish at Jerusalem.
32 But Peter and they that were with him were heavy with sleep: and when they were awake, they saw his glory, and the two men that stood with him.
33 And it came to pass, as they departed from him, Peter said unto Jesus, Master, it is good for us to be here: and let us make three tabernacles; one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias: not knowing what he said.
34 While he thus spake, there came a cloud, and overshadowed them: and they feared as they entered into the cloud.
35 And there came a voice out of the cloud, saying, This is my beloved Son: hear him.
36 And when the voice was past, Jesus was found alone. And they kept it close, and told no man in those days any of those things which they had seen.
37 And it came to pass, that on the next day, when they were come down from the hill, much people met him.
38 And, behold, a man of the company cried out, saying, Master, I beseech thee, look upon my son: for he is mine only child.
39 And, lo, a spirit taketh him, and he suddenly crieth out; and it teareth him that he foameth again, and bruising him hardly departeth from him.
40 And I besought thy disciples to cast him out; and they could not.
41 And Jesus answering said, O faithless and perverse generation, how long shall I be with you, and suffer you? Bring thy son hither.
42 And as he was yet a coming, the devil threw him down, and tare him. And Jesus rebuked the unclean spirit, and healed the child, and delivered him again to his father.
43 And they were all amazed at the mighty power of God. But while they wondered every one at all things which Jesus did, he said unto his disciples,
44 Let these sayings sink down into your ears: for the Son of man shall be delivered into the hands of men.
45 But they understood not this saying, and it was hid from them, that they perceived it not: and they feared to ask him of that saying.
46 Then there arose a reasoning among them, which of them should be greatest.
47 And Jesus, perceiving the thought of their heart, took a child, and set him by him,
48 And said unto them, Whosoever shall receive this child in my name receiveth me: and whosoever shall receive me receiveth him that sent me: for he that is least among you all, the same shall be great.
49 And John answered and said, Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name; and we forbad him, because he followeth not with us.
50 And Jesus said unto him, Forbid him not: for he that is not against us is for us.
51 And it came to pass, when the time was come that he should be received up, he stedfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem,
52 And sent messengers before his face: and they went, and entered into a village of the Samaritans, to make ready for him.
53 And they did not receive him, because his face was as though he would go to Jerusalem.
54 And when his disciples James and John saw this, they said, Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven, and consume them, even as Elias did?
55 But he turned, and rebuked them, and said, Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of.
56 For the Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them. And they went to another village.
57 And it came to pass, that, as they went in the way, a certain man said unto him, Lord, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest.
58 And Jesus said unto him, Foxes have holes, and birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head.
59 And he said unto another, Follow me. But he said, Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my father.
60 Jesus said unto him, Let the dead bury their dead: but go thou and preach the kingdom of God.
61 And another also said, Lord, I will follow thee; but let me first go bid them farewell, which are at home at my house.
62 And Jesus said unto him, No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.

LUKE CHAPTER 10

1 After these things the LORD appointed other seventy also, and sent them two and two before his face into every city and place, whither he himself would come.
2 Therefore said he unto them, The harvest truly is great, but the labourers are few: pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he would send forth labourers into his harvest.
3 Go your ways: behold, I send you forth as lambs among wolves.
4 Carry neither purse, nor scrip, nor shoes: and salute no man by the way.
5 And into whatsoever house ye enter, first say, Peace be to this house.
6 And if the son of peace be there, your peace shall rest upon it: if not, it shall turn to you again.
7 And in the same house remain, eating and drinking such things as they give: for the labourer is worthy of his hire. Go not from house to house.
8 And into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you, eat such things as are set before you:

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9 And heal the sick that are therein, and say unto them, The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you.
10 But into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you not, go your ways out into the streets of the same, and say,
11 Even the very dust of your city, which cleaveth on us, we do wipe off against you: notwithstanding be ye sure of this, that the kingdom of God is come nigh unto you.
12 But I say unto you, that it shall be more tolerable in that day for Sodom, than for that city.
13 Woe unto thee, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon, which have been done in you, they had a great while ago repented, sitting in sackcloth and ashes.
14 But it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the judgement, than for you.
15 And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted to heaven, shalt be thrust down to hell.
16 He that heareth you heareth me; and he that despiseth you despiseth me; and he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me.
17 And the seventy returned again with joy, saying, Lord, even the devils are subject unto us through thy name.
18 And he said unto them, I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven.
19 Behold, I give unto you power to tread on serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy: and nothing shall by any means hurt you.
20 Notwithstanding in this rejoice not, that the spirits are subject unto you; but rather rejoice, because your names are written in heaven.
21 In that hour Jesus rejoiced in spirit, and said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes: even so, Father; for so it seemed good in thy sight.
22 All things are delivered to me of my Father: and no man knoweth who the Son is, but the Father; and who the Father is, but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him.
23 And he turned him unto his disciples, and said privately, Blessed are the eyes which see the things that ye see:
24 For I tell you, that many prophets and kings have desired to see those things which ye see, and have not seen them; and to hear those things which ye hear, and have not heard them.
25 And, behold, a certain lawyer stood up, and tempted him, saying, Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?
26 He said unto him, What is written in the law? how readest thou?
27 And he answering said, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself.
28 And he said unto him, Thou hast answered right: this do, and thou shalt live.
29 But he, willing to justify himself, said unto Jesus, And who is my neighbour?
30 And Jesus answering said, A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, which stripped him of his raiment, and wounded him, and departed, leaving him half dead.
31 And by chance there came down a certain priest that way: and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side.
32 And likewise a Levite, when he was at the place, came and looked on him, and passed by on the other side.
33 But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was: and when he saw him, he had compassion on him,
34 And went to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him.
35 And on the morrow when he departed, he took out two pence, and gave them to the host, and said unto him, Take care of him; and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again, I will repay thee.
36 Which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbour unto him that fell among the thieves?
37 And he said, He that shewed mercy on him. Then said Jesus unto him, Go, and do thou likewise.
38 Now it came to pass, as they went, that he entered into a certain village: and a certain woman named Martha received him into her house.
39 And she had a sister called Mary, which also sat at Jesus' feet, and heard his word.
40 But Martha was cumbered about much serving, and came to him, and said, Lord, dost thou not care that my sister hath left me to serve alone? bid her therefore that she help me.
41 And Jesus answered and said unto her, Martha, Martha, thou art careful and troubled about many things:
42 But one thing is needful: and Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her.

LUKE CHAPTER 11

1 And it came to pass, that, as he was praying in a certain place, when he ceased, one of his disciples said unto him, Lord, teach us to pray, as John also taught his disciples.
2 And he said unto them, When ye pray, say, Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven, so in earth.
3 Give us day by day our daily bread.
4 And forgive us our sins; for we also forgive every one that is indebted to us. And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil.
5 And he said unto them, Which of you shall have a friend, and shall go unto him at midnight, and say unto him, Friend, lend me three loaves;
6 For a friend of mine in his journey is come to me, and I have nothing to set before him?
7 And he from within shall answer and say, Trouble me not: the door is now shut, and my children are with me in bed; I cannot rise and give thee.
8 I say unto you, Though he will not rise and give him, because he is his friend, yet because of his importunity he will rise and give him as many as he needeth.
9 And I say unto you, Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you.
10 For every one that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened.
11 If a son shall ask bread of any of you that is a father, will he give him a stone? or if he ask a fish, will he for a fish give him a serpent?
12 Or if he shall ask an egg, will he offer him a scorpion?
13 If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children: how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?
14 And he was casting out a devil, and it was dumb. And it came to pass, when the devil was gone out, the dumb spake; and the people wondered.
15 But some of them said, He casteth out devils through Beelzebub the chief of the devils.
16 And others, tempting him, sought of him a sign from heaven.
17 But he, knowing their thoughts, said unto them, Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; and a house divided against a house falleth.
18 If Satan also be divided against himself, how shall his kingdom stand? because ye say that I cast out devils through Beelzebub.
19 And if I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your sons cast them out? therefore shall they be your judges.
20 But if I with the finger of God cast out devils, no doubt the kingdom of God is come upon you.
21 When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace:
22 But when a stronger than he shall come upon him, and overcome him, he taketh from him all his armour wherein he trusted, and divideth his spoils.
23 He that is not with me is against me: and he that gathereth not with me scattereth.
24 When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he walketh through dry places, seeking rest; and finding none, he saith, I will return unto my house whence I came out.
25 And when he cometh, he findeth it swept and garnished.
26 Then goeth he, and taketh to him seven other spirits more wicked than himself; and they enter in, and dwell there: and the last state of that man is worse than the first.
27 And it came to pass, as he spake these things, a certain woman of the company lifted up her voice, and said unto him, Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps which thou hast sucked.
28 But he said, Yea rather, blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it.
29 And when the people were gathered thick together, he began to say, This is an evil generation: they seek a sign; and there shall no sign be given it, but the sign of Jonas the prophet.
30 For as Jonas was a sign unto the Ninevites, so shall also the Son of man be to this generation.
31 The queen of the south shall rise up in the judgement with the men of this generation, and condemn them: for she came from the utmost parts of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon; and, behold, a greater than Solomon is here.
32 The men of Nineve shall rise up in the judgement with this generation, and shall condemn it: for they repented at the preaching of Jonas; and, behold, a greater than Jonas is here.
33 No man, when he hath lighted a candle, putteth it in a secret place, neither under a bushel, but on a candlestick, that they which come in may see the light.
34 The light of the body is the eye: therefore when thine eye is single, thy whole body also is full of light; but when thine eye is evil, thy body also is full of darkness.
35 Take heed therefore that the light which is in thee be not darkness.
36 If thy whole body therefore be full of light, having no part dark, the whole shall be full of light, as when the bright shining of a candle doth give thee light.
37 And as he spake, a certain Pharisee besought him to dine with him: and he went in, and sat down to meat.
38 And when the Pharisee saw it, he marvelled that he had not first washed before dinner.
39 And the Lord said unto him, Now do ye Pharisees make clean the outside of the cup and the platter; but your inward part is full of ravening and wickedness.
40 Ye fools, did not he that made that which is without make that which is within also?
41 But rather give alms of such things as ye have; and, behold, all things are clean unto you.
42 But woe unto you, Pharisees! for ye tithe mint and rue and all manner of herbs, and pass over judgement and the love of God: these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone.
43 Woe unto you, Pharisees! for ye love the uppermost seats in the synagogues, and greetings in the markets.
44 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are as graves which appear not, and the men that walk over them are not aware of them.
45 Then answered one of the lawyers, and said unto him, Master, thus saying thou reproachest us also.
46 And he said, Woe unto you also, ye lawyers! for ye lade men with burdens grievous to be borne, and ye yourselves touch not the burdens with one of your fingers.
47 Woe unto you! for ye build the sepulchres of the prophets, and your fathers killed them.
48 Truly ye bear witness that ye allow the deeds of your fathers: for they indeed killed them, and ye build their sepulchres.
49 Therefore also said the wisdom of God, I will send them prophets and apostles, and some of them they shall slay and persecute:
50 That the blood of all the prophets, which was shed from the foundation of the world, may be required of this generation;
51 From the blood of Abel unto the blood of Zacharias which perished between the altar and the temple: verily I say unto you, It shall be required of this generation.
52 Woe unto you, lawyers! for ye have taken away the key of knowledge: ye entered not in yourselves, and them that were entering in ye hindered.
53 And as he said these things unto them, the scribes and the Pharisees began to urge him vehemently, and to provoke him to speak of many things:
54 Laying wait for him, and seeking to catch something out of his mouth, that they might accuse him.

LUKE CHAPTER 12

1 In the mean time, when there were gathered together an innumerable multitude of people, insomuch that they trode one upon another, he began to say unto his disciples first of all, Beware ye of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy.
2 For there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed; neither hid, that shall not be known.
3 Therefore whatsoever ye have spoken in darkness shall be heard in the light; and that which ye have spoken in the ear in closets shall be proclaimed upon the housetops.
4 And I say unto you my friends, Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do.
5 But I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear: Fear him, which after he hath killed hath power to cast into hell; yea, I say unto you, Fear him.
6 Are not five sparrows sold for two farthings, and not one of them is forgotten before God?
7 But even the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear not therefore: ye are of more value than many sparrows.
8 Also I say unto you, Whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall the Son of man also confess before the angels of God:
9 But he that denieth me before men shall be denied before the angels of God.
10 And whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but unto him that blasphemeth against the Holy Ghost it shall not be forgiven.
11 And when they bring you unto the synagogues, and unto magistrates, and powers, take ye no thought how or what thing ye shall answer, or what ye shall say:
12 For the Holy Ghost shall teach you in the same hour what ye ought to say.
13 And one of the company said unto him, Master, speak to my brother, that he divide the inheritance with me.
14 And he said unto him, Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you?
15 And he said unto them, Take heed, and beware of covetousness: for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth.
16 And he spake a parable unto them, saying, The ground of a certain rich man brought forth plentifully:
17 And he thought within himself, saying, What shall I do, because I have no room where to bestow my fruits?
18 And he said, This will I do: I will pull down my barns, and build greater; and there will I bestow all my fruits and my goods.
19 And I will say to my soul, Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry.

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20 But God said unto him, Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee: then whose shall those things be, which thou hast provided?
21 So is he that layeth up treasure for himself, and is not rich toward God.
22 And he said unto his disciples, Therefore I say unto you, Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat; neither for the body, what ye shall put on.
23 The life is more than meat, and the body is more than raiment.
24 Consider the ravens: for they neither sow nor reap; which neither have storehouse nor barn; and God feedeth them: how much more are ye better than the fowls?
25 And which of you with taking thought can add to his stature one cubit?
26 If ye then be not able to do that thing which is least, why take ye thought for the rest?
27 Consider the lilies how they grow: they toil not, they spin not; and yet I say unto you, that Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.
28 If then God so clothe the grass, which is to day in the field, and to morrow is cast into the oven; how much more will he clothe you, O ye of little faith?
29 And seek not ye what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, neither be ye of doubtful mind.
30 For all these things do the nations of the world seek after: and your Father knoweth that ye have need of these things.
31 But rather seek ye the kingdom of God; and all these things shall be added unto you.
32 Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom.
33 Sell that ye have, and give alms; provide yourselves bags which wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not, where no thief approacheth, neither moth corrupteth.
34 For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.
35 Let your loins be girded about, and your lights burning;
36 And ye yourselves like unto men that wait for their lord, when he will return from the wedding; that when he cometh and knocketh, they may open unto him immediately.
37 Blessed are those servants, whom the lord when he cometh shall find watching: verily I say unto you, that he shall gird himself, and make them to sit down to meat, and will come forth and serve them.
38 And if he shall come in the second watch, or come in the third watch, and find them so, blessed are those servants.
39 And this know, that if the goodman of the house had known what hour the thief would come, he would have watched, and not have suffered his house to be broken through.
40 Be ye therefore ready also: for the Son of man cometh at an hour when ye think not.
41 Then Peter said unto him, Lord, speakest thou this parable unto us, or even to all?
42 And the Lord said, Who then is that faithful and wise steward, whom his lord shall make ruler over his household, to give them their portion of meat in due season?
43 Blessed is that servant, whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing.
44 Of a truth I say unto you, that he will make him ruler over all that he hath.
45 But and if that servant say in his heart, My lord delayeth his coming; and shall begin to beat the menservants and maidens, and to eat and drink, and to be drunken;
46 The lord of that servant will come in a day when he looketh not for him, and at an hour when he is not aware, and will cut him in sunder, and will appoint him his portion with the unbelievers.
47 And that servant, which knew his lord's will, and prepared not himself, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes.
48 But he that knew not, and did commit things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes. For unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required: and to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask the more.
49 I am come to send fire on the earth; and what will I, if it be already kindled?
50 But I have a baptism to be baptised with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished!
51 Suppose ye that I am come to give peace on earth? I tell you, Nay; but rather division:
52 For from henceforth there shall be five in one house divided, three against two, and two against three.
53 The father shall be divided against the son, and the son against the father; the mother against the daughter, and the daughter against the mother; the mother in law against her daughter in law, and the daughter in law against her mother in law.
54 And he said also to the people, When ye see a cloud rise out of the west, straightway ye say, There cometh a shower; and so it is.
55 And when ye see the south wind blow, ye say, There will be heat; and it cometh to pass.
56 Ye hypocrites, ye can discern the face of the sky and of the earth; but how is it that ye do not discern this time?
57 Yea, and why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right?
58 When thou goest with thine adversary to the magistrate, as thou art in the way, give diligence that thou mayest be delivered from him; lest he hale thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and the officer cast thee into prison.
59 I tell thee, thou shalt not depart thence, till thou hast paid the very last mite.

LUKE CHAPTER 13

1 There were present at that season some that told him of the Galilaeans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices.
2 And Jesus answering said unto them, Suppose ye that these Galilaeans were sinners above all the Galilaeans, because they suffered such things?
3 I tell you, Nay: but, except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.
4 Or those eighteen, upon whom the tower in Siloam fell, and slew them, think ye that they were sinners above all men that dwelt in Jerusalem?
5 I tell you, Nay: but, except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.
6 He spake also this parable; A certain man had a fig tree planted in his vineyard; and he came and sought fruit thereon, and found none.
7 Then said he unto the dresser of his vineyard, Behold, these three years I come seeking fruit on this fig tree, and find none: cut it down; why cumbereth it the ground?
8 And he answering said unto him, Lord, let it alone this year also, till I shall dig about it, and dung it:
9 And if it bear fruit, well: and if not, then after that thou shalt cut it down.
10 And he was teaching in one of the synagogues on the sabbath.
11 And, behold, there was a woman which had a spirit of infirmity eighteen years, and was bowed together, and could in no wise lift up herself.
12 And when Jesus saw her, he called her to him, and said unto her, Woman, thou art loosed from thine infirmity.
13 And he laid his hands on her: and immediately she was made straight, and glorified God.
14 And the ruler of the synagogue answered with indignation, because that Jesus had healed on the sabbath day, and said unto the people, There are six days in which men ought to work: in them therefore come and be healed, and not on the sabbath day.
15 The Lord then answered him, and said, Thou hypocrite, doth not each one of you on the sabbath loose his ox or his ass from the stall, and lead him away to watering?
16 And ought not this woman, being a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound, lo, these eighteen years, be loosed from this bond on the sabbath day?
17 And when he had said these things, all his adversaries were ashamed: and all the people rejoiced for all the glorious things that were done by him.
18 Then said he, Unto what is the kingdom of God like? and whereunto shall I resemble it?
19 It is like a grain of mustard seed, which a man took, and cast into his garden; and it grew, and waxed a great tree; and the fowls of the air lodged in the branches of it.
20 And again he said, Whereunto shall I liken the kingdom of God?
21 It is like leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened.
22 And he went through the cities and villages, teaching, and journeying toward Jerusalem.
23 Then said one unto him, Lord, are there few that be saved? And he said unto them,
24 Strive to enter in at the strait gate: for many, I say unto you, will seek to enter in, and shall not be able.
25 When once the master of the house is risen up, and hath shut to the door, and ye begin to stand without, and to knock at the door, saying, Lord, Lord, open unto us; and he shall answer and say unto you, I know you not whence ye are:
26 Then shall ye begin to say, We have eaten and drunk in thy presence, and thou hast taught in our streets.
27 But he shall say, I tell you, I know you not whence ye are; depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity.
28 There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets, in the kingdom of God, and you yourselves thrust out.
29 And they shall come from the east, and from the west, and from the north, and from the south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God.
30 And, behold, there are last which shall be first, and there are first which shall be last.
31 The same day there came certain of the Pharisees, saying unto him, Get thee out, and depart hence: for Herod will kill thee.
32 And he said unto them, Go ye, and tell that fox, Behold, I cast out devils, and I do cures to day and to morrow, and the third day I shall be perfected.
33 Nevertheless I must walk to day, and to morrow, and the day following: for it cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem.
34 O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee; how often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen doth gather her brood under her wings, and ye would not!
35 Behold, your house is left unto you desolate: and verily I say unto you, Ye shall not see me, until the time come when ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.

LUKE CHAPTER 14

1 And it came to pass, as he went into the house of one of the chief Pharisees to eat bread on the sabbath day, that they watched him.
2 And, behold, there was a certain man before him which had the dropsy.
3 And Jesus answering spake unto the lawyers and Pharisees, saying, Is it lawful to heal on the sabbath day?
4 And they held their peace. And he took him, and healed him, and let him go;
5 And answered them, saying, Which of you shall have an ass or an ox fallen into a pit, and will not straightway pull him out on the sabbath day?
6 And they could not answer him again to these things.
7 And he put forth a parable to those which were bidden, when he marked how they chose out the chief rooms; saying unto them.
8 When thou art bidden of any man to a wedding, sit not down in the highest room; lest a more honourable man than thou be bidden of him;
9 And he that bade thee and him come and say to thee, Give this man place; and thou begin with shame to take the lowest room.
10 But when thou art bidden, go and sit down in the lowest room; that when he that bade thee cometh, he may say unto thee, Friend, go up higher: then shalt thou have worship in the presence of them that sit at meat with thee.
11 For whosoever exalteth himself shall be abased; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.
12 Then said he also to him that bade him, When thou makest a dinner or a supper, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, neither thy kinsmen, nor thy rich neighbours; lest they also bid thee again, and a recompence be made thee.
13 But when thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind:
14 And thou shalt be blessed; for they cannot recompense thee: for thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just.
15 And when one of them that sat at meat with him heard these things, he said unto him, Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the kingdom of God.
16 Then said he unto him, A certain man made a great supper, and bade many:
17 And sent his servant at supper time to say to them that were bidden, Come; for all things are now ready.
18 And they all with one consent began to make excuse. The first said unto him, I have bought a piece of ground, and I must needs go and see it: I pray thee have me excused.
19 And another said, I have bought five yoke of oxen, and I go to prove them: I pray thee have me excused.
20 And another said, I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come.
21 So that servant came, and shewed his lord these things. Then the master of the house being angry said to his servant, Go out quickly into the streets and lanes of the city, and bring in hither the poor, and the maimed, and the halt, and the blind.
22 And the servant said, Lord, it is done as thou hast commanded, and yet there is room.
23 And the lord said unto the servant, Go out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in, that my house may be filled.
24 For I say unto you, That none of those men which were bidden shall taste of my supper.
25 And there went great multitudes with him: and he turned, and said unto them,
26 If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple.
27 And whosoever doth not bear his cross, and come after me, cannot be my disciple.
28 For which of you, intending to build a tower, sitteth not down first, and counteth the cost, whether he have sufficient to finish it?
29 Lest haply, after he hath laid the foundation, and is not able to finish it, all that behold it begin to mock him,
30 Saying, This man began to build, and was not able to finish.
31 Or what king, going to make war against another king, sitteth not down first, and consulteth whether he be able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand?

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32 Or else, while the other is yet a great way off, he sendeth an ambassage, and desireth conditions of peace.
33 So likewise, whosoever he be of you that forsaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple.
34 Salt is good: but if the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be seasoned?
35 It is neither fit for the land, nor yet for the dunghill; but men cast it out. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.

LUKE CHAPTER 15

1 Then drew near unto him all the publicans and sinners for to hear him.
2 And the Pharisees and scribes murmured, saying, This man receiveth sinners, and eateth with them.
3 And he spake this parable unto them, saying,
4 What man of you, having an hundred sheep, if he lose one of them, doth not leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness, and go after that which is lost, until he find it?
5 And when he hath found it, he layeth it on his shoulders, rejoicing.
6 And when he cometh home, he calleth together his friends and neighbours, saying unto them, Rejoice with me; for I have found my sheep which was lost.
7 I say unto you, that likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance.
8 Either what woman having ten pieces of silver, if she lose one piece, doth not light a candle, and sweep the house, and seek diligently till she find it?
9 And when she hath found it, she calleth her friends and her neighbours together, saying, Rejoice with me; for I have found the piece which I had lost.
10 Likewise, I say unto you, there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth.
11 And he said, A certain man had two sons:
12 And the younger of them said to his father, Father, give me the portion of goods that falleth to me. And he divided unto them his living.
13 And not many days after the younger son gathered all together, and took his journey into a far country, and there wasted his substance with riotous living.
14 And when he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that land; and he began to be in want.
15 And he went and joined himself to a citizen of that country; and he sent him into his fields to feed swine.
16 And he would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat: and no man gave unto him.
17 And when he came to himself, he said, How many hired servants of my father's have bread enough and to spare, and I perish with hunger!
18 I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee,
19 And am no more worthy to be called thy son: make me as one of thy hired servants.
20 And he arose, and came to his father. But when he was yet a great way off, his father saw him, and had compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him.

21 And the son said unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy son.
22 But the father said to his servants, Bring forth the best robe, and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand, and shoes on his feet:
23 And bring hither the fatted calf, and kill it; and let us eat, and be merry:
24 For this my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found. And they began to be merry.
25 Now his elder son was in the field: and as he came and drew nigh to the house, he heard musick and dancing.
26 And he called one of the servants, and asked what these things meant.
27 And he said unto him, Thy brother is come; and thy father hath killed the fatted calf, because he hath received him safe and sound.
28 And he was angry, and would not go in: therefore came his father out, and intreated him.
29 And he answering said to his father, Lo, these many years do I serve thee, neither transgressed I at any time thy commandment: and yet thou never gavest me a kid, that I might make merry with my friends:
30 But as soon as this thy son was come, which hath devoured thy living with harlots, thou hast killed for him the fatted calf.
31 And he said unto him, Son, thou art ever with me, and all that I have is thine.
32 It was meet that we should make merry, and be glad: for this thy brother was dead, and is alive again; and was lost, and is found.

LUKE CHAPTER 16

1 And he said also unto his disciples, There was a certain rich man, which had a steward; and the same was accused unto him that he had wasted his goods.
2 And he called him, and said unto him, How is it that I hear this of thee? give an account of thy stewardship; for thou mayest be no longer steward.
3 Then the steward said within himself, What shall I do? for my lord taketh away from me the stewardship: I cannot dig; to beg I am ashamed.
4 I am resolved what to do, that, when I am put out of the stewardship, they may receive me into their houses.
5 So he called every one of his lord's debtors unto him, and said unto the first, How much owest thou unto my lord?
6 And he said, An hundred measures of oil. And he said unto him, Take thy bill, and sit down quickly, and write fifty.
7 Then said he to another, And how much owest thou? And he said, An hundred measures of wheat. And he said unto him, Take thy bill, and write fourscore.
8 And the lord commended the unjust steward, because he had done wisely: for the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light.
9 And I say unto you, Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness; that, when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations.
10 He that is faithful in that which is least is faithful also in much: and he that is unjust in the least is unjust also in much.
11 If therefore ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will commit to your trust the true riches?
12 And if ye have not been faithful in that which is another man's, who shall give you that which is your own?
13 No servant can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.
14 And the Pharisees also, who were covetous, heard all these things: and they derided him.
15 And he said unto them, Ye are they which justify yourselves before men; but God knoweth your hearts: for that which is highly esteemed among men is abomination in the sight of God.
16 The law and the prophets were until John: since that time the kingdom of God is preached, and every man presseth into it.
17 And it is easier for heaven and earth to pass, than one tittle of the law to fail.
18 Whosoever putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, committeth adultery: and whosoever marrieth her that is put away from her husband committeth adultery.
19 There was a certain rich man, which was clothed in purple and fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day:
20 And there was a certain beggar named Lazarus, which was laid at his gate, full of sores,
21 And desiring to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table: moreover the dogs came and licked his sores.
22 And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom: the rich man also died, and was buried;
23 And in hell he lift up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom.
24 And he cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue; for I am tormented in this flame.
25 But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things: but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented.
26 And beside all this, between us and you there is a great gulf fixed: so that they which would pass from hence to you cannot; neither can they pass to us, that would come from thence.
27 Then he said, I pray thee therefore, father, that thou wouldest send him to my father's house:
28 For I have five brethren; that he may testify unto them, lest they also come into this place of torment.
29 Abraham saith unto him, They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them.
30 And he said, Nay, father Abraham: but if one went unto them from the dead, they will repent.
31 And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead.

LUKE CHAPTER 17

1 Then said he unto the disciples, It is impossible but that offences will come: but woe unto him, through whom they come!
2 It were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the sea, than that he should offend one of these little ones.
3 Take heed to yourselves: If thy brother trespass against thee, rebuke him; and if he repent, forgive him.
4 And if he trespass against thee seven times in a day, and seven times in a day turn again to thee, saying, I repent; thou shalt forgive him.
5 And the apostles said unto the Lord, Increase our faith.
6 And the Lord said, If ye had faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye might say unto this sycamine tree, Be thou plucked up by the root, and be thou planted in the sea; and it should obey you.
7 But which of you, having a servant plowing or feeding cattle, will say unto him by and by, when he is come from the field, Go and sit down to meat?
8 And will not rather say unto him, Make ready wherewith I may sup, and gird thyself, and serve me, till I have eaten and drunken; and afterward thou shalt eat and drink?
9 Doth he thank that servant because he did the things that were commanded him? I trow not.
10 So likewise ye, when ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do.
11 And it came to pass, as he went to Jerusalem, that he passed through the midst of Samaria and Galilee.
12 And as he entered into a certain village, there met him ten men that were lepers, which stood afar off:
13 And they lifted up their voices, and said, Jesus, Master, have mercy on us.
14 And when he saw them, he said unto them, Go shew yourselves unto the priests. And it came to pass, that, as they went, they were cleansed.
15 And one of them, when he saw that he was healed, turned back, and with a loud voice glorified God,
16 And fell down on his face at his feet, giving him thanks: and he was a Samaritan.
17 And Jesus answering said, Were there not ten cleansed? but where are the nine?
18 There are not found that returned to give glory to God, save this stranger.
19 And he said unto him, Arise, go thy way: thy faith hath made thee whole.
20 And when he was demanded of the Pharisees, when the kingdom of God should come, he answered them and said, The kingdom of God cometh not with observation:
21 Neither shall they say, Lo here! or, lo there! for, behold, the kingdom of God is within you.
22 And he said unto the disciples, The days will come, when ye shall desire to see one of the days of the Son of man, and ye shall not see it.
23 And they shall say to you, See here; or, see there: go not after them, nor follow them.
24 For as the lightning, that lighteneth out of the one part under heaven, shineth unto the other part under heaven; so shall also the Son of man be in his day.
25 But first must he suffer many things, and be rejected of this generation.
26 And as it was in the days of Noe, so shall it be also in the days of the Son of man.
27 They did eat, they drank, they married wives, they were given in marriage, until the day that Noe entered into the ark, and the flood came, and destroyed them all.
28 Likewise also as it was in the days of Lot; they did eat, they drank, they bought, they sold, they planted, they builded;
29 But the same day that Lot went out of Sodom it rained fire and brimstone from heaven, and destroyed them all.
30 Even thus shall it be in the day when the Son of man is revealed.
31 In that day, he which shall be upon the housetop, and his stuff in the house, let him not come down to take it away: and he that is in the field, let him likewise not return back.
32 Remember Lot's wife.
33 Whosoever shall seek to save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life shall preserve it.
34 I tell you, in that night there shall be two men in one bed; the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left.
35 Two women shall be grinding together; the one shall be taken, and the other left.
36 Two men shall be in the field; the one shall be taken, and the other left.
37 And they answered and said unto him, Where, Lord? And he said unto them, Wheresoever the body is, thither will the eagles be gathered together.

LUKE CHAPTER 18

1 And he spake a parable unto them to this end, that men ought always to pray, and not to faint;
2 Saying, There was in a city a judge, which feared not God, neither regarded man:
3 And there was a widow in that city; and she came unto him, saying, Avenge me of mine adversary.
4 And he would not for a while: but afterward he said within himself, Though I fear not God, nor regard man;
5 Yet because this widow troubleth me, I will avenge her, lest by her continual coming she weary me.
6 And the Lord said, Hear what the unjust judge saith.
7 And shall not God avenge his own elect, which cry day and night unto him, though he bear long with them?
8 I tell you that he will avenge them speedily. Nevertheless when the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?
9 And he spake this parable unto certain which trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and despised others:
10 Two men went up into the temple to pray; the one a Pharisee, and the other a publican.

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11 The Pharisee stood and prayed thus with himself, God, I thank thee, that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican.
12 I fast twice in the week, I give tithes of all that I possess.
13 And the publican, standing afar off, would not lift up so much as his eyes unto heaven, but smote upon his breast, saying, God be merciful to me a sinner.
14 I tell you, this man went down to his house justified rather than the other: for every one that exalteth himself shall be abased; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.
15 And they brought unto him also infants, that he would touch them: but when his disciples saw it, they rebuked them.
16 But Jesus called them unto him, and said, Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God.
17 Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child shall in no wise enter therein.
18 And a certain ruler asked him, saying, Good Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?
19 And Jesus said unto him, Why callest thou me good? none is good, save one, that is, God.
20 Thou knowest the commandments, Do not commit adultery, Do not kill, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Honour thy father and thy mother.
21 And he said, All these have I kept from my youth up.
22 Now when Jesus heard these things, he said unto him, Yet lackest thou one thing: sell all that thou hast, and distribute unto the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, follow me.
23 And when he heard this, he was very sorrowful: for he was very rich.
24 And when Jesus saw that he was very sorrowful, he said, How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God!
25 For it is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.
26 And they that heard it said, Who then can be saved?
27 And he said, The things which are impossible with men are possible with God.
28 Then Peter said, Lo, we have left all, and followed thee.
29 And he said unto them, Verily I say unto you, There is no man that hath left house, or parents, or brethren, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of God's sake,
30 Who shall not receive manifold more in this present time, and in the world to come life everlasting.
31 Then he took unto him the twelve, and said unto them, Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and all things that are written by the prophets concerning the Son of man shall be accomplished.
32 For he shall be delivered unto the Gentiles, and shall be mocked, and spitefully entreated, and spitted on:
33 And they shall scourge him, and put him to death: and the third day he shall rise again.
34 And they understood none of these things: and this saying was hid from them, neither knew they the things which were spoken.
35 And it came to pass, that as he was come nigh unto Jericho, a certain blind man sat by the way side begging:
36 And hearing the multitude pass by, he asked what it meant.
37 And they told him, that Jesus of Nazareth passeth by.
38 And he cried, saying, Jesus, thou son of David, have mercy on me.
39 And they which went before rebuked him, that he should hold his peace: but he cried so much the more, Thou son of David, have mercy on me.
40 And Jesus stood, and commanded him to be brought unto him: and when he was come near, he asked him,
41 Saying, What wilt thou that I shall do unto thee? And he said, Lord, that I may receive my sight.
42 And Jesus said unto him, Receive thy sight: thy faith hath saved thee.
43 And immediately he received his sight, and followed him, glorifying God: and all the people, when they saw it, gave praise unto God.

LUKE CHAPTER 19

1 And Jesus entered and passed through Jericho.
2 And, behold, there was a man named Zacchaeus, which was the chief among the publicans, and he was rich.
3 And he sought to see Jesus who he was; and could not for the press, because he was little of stature.
4 And he ran before, and climbed up into a sycomore tree to see him: for he was to pass that way.
5 And when Jesus came to the place, he looked up, and saw him, and said unto him, Zacchaeus, make haste, and come down; for to day I must abide at thy house.
6 And he made haste, and came down, and received him joyfully.
7 And when they saw it, they all murmured, saying, That he was gone to be guest with a man that is a sinner.
8 And Zacchaeus stood, and said unto the Lord: Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have taken any thing from any man by false accusation, I restore him fourfold.
9 And Jesus said unto him, This day is salvation come to this house, forsomuch as he also is a son of Abraham.
10 For the Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost.
11 And as they heard these things, he added and spake a parable, because he was nigh to Jerusalem, and because they thought that the kingdom of God should immediately appear.
12 He said therefore, A certain nobleman went into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return.
13 And he called his ten servants, and delivered them ten pounds, and said unto them, Occupy till I come.
14 But his citizens hated him, and sent a message after him, saying, We will not have this man to reign over us.
15 And it came to pass, that when he was returned, having received the kingdom, then he commanded these servants to be called unto him, to whom he had given the money, that he might know how much every man had gained by trading.
16 Then came the first, saying, Lord, thy pound hath gained ten pounds.
17 And he said unto him, Well, thou good servant: because thou hast been faithful in a very little, have thou authority over ten cities.
18 And the second came, saying, Lord, thy pound hath gained five pounds.
19 And he said likewise to him, Be thou also over five cities.
20 And another came, saying, Lord, behold, here is thy pound, which I have kept laid up in a napkin:
21 For I feared thee, because thou art an austere man: thou takest up that thou layedst not down, and reapest that thou didst not sow.
22 And he saith unto him, Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee, thou wicked servant. Thou knewest that I was an austere man, taking up that I laid not down, and reaping that I did not sow:
23 Wherefore then gavest not thou my money into the bank, that at my coming I might have required mine own with usury?
24 And he said unto them that stood by, Take from him the pound, and give it to him that hath ten pounds.
25 (And they said unto him, Lord, he hath ten pounds.)
26 For I say unto you, That unto every one which hath shall be given; and from him that hath not, even that he hath shall be taken away from him.
27 But those mine enemies, which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me.
28 And when he had thus spoken, he went before, ascending up to Jerusalem.
29 And it came to pass, when he was come nigh to Bethphage and Bethany, at the mount called the mount of Olives, he sent two of his disciples,
30 Saying, Go ye into the village over against you; in the which at your entering ye shall find a colt tied, whereon yet never man sat: loose him, and bring him hither.
31 And if any man ask you, Why do ye loose him? thus shall ye say unto him, Because the Lord hath need of him.
32 And they that were sent went their way, and found even as he had said unto them.
33 And as they were loosing the colt, the owners thereof said unto them, Why loose ye the colt?
34 And they said, The Lord hath need of him.
35 And they brought him to Jesus: and they cast their garments upon the colt, and they set Jesus thereon.
36 And as he went, they spread their clothes in the way.
37 And when he was come nigh, even now at the descent of the mount of Olives, the whole multitude of the disciples began to rejoice and praise God with a loud voice for all the mighty works that they had seen;
38 Saying, Blessed be the King that cometh in the name of the Lord: peace in heaven, and glory in the highest.
39 And some of the Pharisees from among the multitude said unto him, Master, rebuke thy disciples.
40 And he answered and said unto them, I tell you that, if these should hold their peace, the stones would immediately cry out.
41 And when he was come near, he beheld the city, and wept over it,
42 Saying, If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes.
43 For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side,
44 And shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another; because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation.
45 And he went into the temple, and began to cast out them that sold therein, and them that bought;
46 Saying unto them, It is written, My house is the house of prayer: but ye have made it a den of thieves.
47 And he taught daily in the temple. But the chief priests and the scribes and the chief of the people sought to destroy him,
48 And could not find what they might do: for all the people were very attentive to hear him.

LUKE CHAPTER 20

1 And it came to pass, that on one of those days, as he taught the people in the temple, and preached the gospel, the chief priests and the scribes came upon him with the elders,
2 And spake unto him, saying, Tell us, by what authority doest thou these things? or who is he that gave thee this authority?
3 And he answered and said unto them, I will also ask you one thing; and answer me:
4 The baptism of John, was it from heaven, or of men?
5 And they reasoned with themselves, saying, If we shall say, From heaven; he will say, Why then believed ye him not?
6 But and if we say, Of men; all the people will stone us: for they be persuaded that John was a prophet.
7 And they answered, that they could not tell whence it was.
8 And Jesus said unto them, Neither tell I you by what authority I do these things.
9 Then began he to speak to the people this parable; A certain man planted a vineyard, and let it forth to husbandmen, and went into a far country for a long time.
10 And at the season he sent a servant to the husbandmen, that they should give him of the fruit of the vineyard: but the husbandmen beat him, and sent him away empty.
11 And again he sent another servant: and they beat him also, and entreated him shamefully, and sent him away empty.
12 And again he sent a third: and they wounded him also, and cast him out.
13 Then said the lord of the vineyard, What shall I do? I will send my beloved son: it may be they will reverence him when they see him.
14 But when the husbandmen saw him, they reasoned among themselves, saying, This is the heir: come, let us kill him, that the inheritance may be ours.
15 So they cast him out of the vineyard, and killed him. What therefore shall the lord of the vineyard do unto them?
16 He shall come and destroy these husbandmen, and shall give the vineyard to others. And when they heard it, they said, God forbid.
17 And he beheld them, and said, What is this then that is written, The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner?
18 Whosoever shall fall upon that stone shall be broken; but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder.
19 And the chief priests and the scribes the same hour sought to lay hands on him; and they feared the people: for they perceived that he had spoken this parable against them.
20 And they watched him, and sent forth spies, which should feign themselves just men, that they might take hold of his words, that so they might deliver him unto the power and authority of the governor.
21 And they asked him, saying, Master, we know that thou sayest and teachest rightly, neither acceptest thou the person of any, but teachest the way of God truly:
22 Is it lawful for us to give tribute unto Caesar, or no?
23 But he perceived their craftiness, and said unto them, Why tempt ye me?
24 Shew me a penny. Whose image and superscription hath it? They answered and said, Caesar's.
25 And he said unto them, Render therefore unto Caesar the things which be Caesar's, and unto God the things which be God's.
26 And they could not take hold of his words before the people: and they marvelled at his answer, and held their peace.
27 Then came to him certain of the Sadducees, which deny that there is any resurrection; and they asked him,
28 Saying, Master, Moses wrote unto us, If any man's brother die, having a wife, and he die without children, that his brother should take his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother.
29 There were therefore seven brethren: and the first took a wife, and died without children.
30 And the second took her to wife, and he died childless.
31 And the third took her; and in like manner the seven also: and they left no children, and died.
32 Last of all the woman died also.
33 Therefore in the resurrection whose wife of them is she? for seven had her to wife.
34 And Jesus answering said unto them, The children of this world marry, and are given in marriage:
35 But they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are given in marriage:
36 Neither can they die any more: for they are equal unto the angels; and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection.
37 Now that the dead are raised, even Moses shewed at the bush, when he calleth the Lord the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.
38 For he is not a God of the dead, but of the living: for all live unto him.

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39 Then certain of the scribes answering said, Master, thou hast well said.
40 And after that they durst not ask him any question at all.
41 And he said unto them, How say they that Christ is David's son?
42 And David himself saith in the book of Psalms, The LORD said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand,
43 Till I make thine enemies thy footstool.
44 David therefore calleth him Lord, how is he then his son?
45 Then in the audience of all the people he said unto his disciples,
46 Beware of the scribes, which desire to walk in long robes, and love greetings in the markets, and the highest seats in the synagogues, and the chief rooms at feasts;
47 Which devour widows' houses, and for a shew make long prayers: the same shall receive greater damnation.

LUKE CHAPTER 21

1 And he looked up, and saw the rich men casting their gifts into the treasury.
2 And he saw also a certain poor widow casting in thither two mites.
3 And he said, Of a truth I say unto you, that this poor widow hath cast in more than they all:
4 For all these have of their abundance cast in unto the offerings of God: but she of her penury hath cast in all the living that she had.
5 And as some spake of the temple, how it was adorned with goodly stones and gifts, he said,
6 As for these things which ye behold, the days will come, in the which there shall not be left one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down.
7 And they asked him, saying, Master, but when shall these things be? and what sign will there be when these things shall come to pass?
8 And he said, Take heed that ye be not deceived: for many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ; and the time draweth near: go ye not therefore after them.
9 But when ye shall hear of wars and commotions, be not terrified: for these things must first come to pass; but the end is not by and by.
10 Then said he unto them, Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom:
11 And great earthquakes shall be in divers places, and famines, and pestilences; and fearful sights and great signs shall there be from heaven.
12 But before all these, they shall lay their hands on you, and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues, and into prisons, being brought before kings and rulers for my name's sake.
13 And it shall turn to you for a testimony.
14 Settle it therefore in your hearts, not to meditate before what ye shall answer:
15 For I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay nor resist.
16 And ye shall be betrayed both by parents, and brethren, and kinsfolks, and friends; and some of you shall they cause to be put to death.
17 And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake.
18 But there shall not an hair of your head perish.
19 In your patience possess ye your souls.
20 And when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh.
21 Then let them which are in Judaea flee to the mountains; and let them which are in the midst of it depart out; and let not them that are in the countries enter thereinto.
22 For these be the days of vengeance, that all things which are written may be fulfilled.
23 But woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck, in those days! for there shall be great distress in the land, and wrath upon this people.
24 And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations: and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.
25 And there shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars; and upon the earth distress of nations, with perplexity; the sea and the waves roaring;
26 Men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth: for the powers of heaven shall be shaken.
27 And then shall they see the Son of man coming in a cloud with power and great glory.
28 And when these things begin to come to pass, then look up, and lift up your heads; for your redemption draweth nigh.
29 And he spake to them a parable; Behold the fig tree, and all the trees;
30 When they now shoot forth, ye see and know of your own selves that summer is now nigh at hand.
31 So likewise ye, when ye see these things come to pass, know ye that the kingdom of God is nigh at hand.
32 Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass away, till all be fulfilled.
33 Heaven and earth shall pass away: but my words shall not pass away.
34 And take heed to yourselves, lest at any time your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting, and drunkenness, and cares of this life, and so that day come upon you unawares.
35 For as a snare shall it come on all them that dwell on the face of the whole earth.
36 Watch ye therefore, and pray always, that ye may be accounted worthy to escape all these things that shall come to pass, and to stand before the Son of man.
37 And in the day time he was teaching in the temple; and at night he went out, and abode in the mount that is called the mount of Olives.
38 And all the people came early in the morning to him in the temple, for to hear him.

LUKE CHAPTER 22

1 Now the feast of unleavened bread drew nigh, which is called the Passover.
2 And the chief priests and scribes sought how they might kill him; for they feared the people.
3 Then entered Satan into Judas surnamed Iscariot, being of the number of the twelve.
4 And he went his way, and communed with the chief priests and captains, how he might betray him unto them.
5 And they were glad, and covenanted to give him money.
6 And he promised, and sought opportunity to betray him unto them in the absence of the multitude.
7 Then came the day of unleavened bread, when the passover must be killed.
8 And he sent Peter and John, saying, Go and prepare us the passover, that we may eat.
9 And they said unto him, Where wilt thou that we prepare?
10 And he said unto them, Behold, when ye are entered into the city, there shall a man meet you, bearing a pitcher of water; follow him into the house where he entereth in.
11 And ye shall say unto the goodman of the house, The Master saith unto thee, Where is the guestchamber, where I shall eat the passover with my disciples?
12 And he shall shew you a large upper room furnished: there make ready.
13 And they went, and found as he had said unto them: and they made ready the passover.
14 And when the hour was come, he sat down, and the twelve apostles with him.
15 And he said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer:
16 For I say unto you, I will not any more eat thereof, until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God.
17 And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and said, Take this, and divide it among yourselves:
18 For I say unto you, I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come.
19 And he took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave unto them, saying, This is my body which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me.
20 Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you.
21 But, behold, the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table.
22 And truly the Son of man goeth, as it was determined: but woe unto that man by whom he is betrayed!
23 And they began to enquire among themselves, which of them it was that should do this thing.
24 And there was also a strife among them, which of them should be accounted the greatest.
25 And he said unto them, The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors.
26 But ye shall not be so: but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve.
27 For whether is greater, he that sitteth at meat, or he that serveth? is not he that sitteth at meat? but I am among you as he that serveth.
28 Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations.
29 And I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me;
30 That ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.
31 And the Lord said, Simon, Simon, behold, Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat:
32 But I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not: and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren.
33 And he said unto him, Lord, I am ready to go with thee, both into prison, and to death.
34 And he said, I tell thee, Peter, the cock shall not crow this day, before that thou shalt thrice deny that thou knowest me.
35 And he said unto them, When I sent you without purse, and scrip, and shoes, lacked ye any thing? And they said, Nothing.
36 Then said he unto them, But now, he that hath a purse, let him take it, and likewise his scrip: and he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment, and buy one.
37 For I say unto you, that this that is written must yet be accomplished in me, And he was reckoned among the transgressors: for the things concerning me have an end.
38 And they said, Lord, behold, here are two swords. And he said unto them, It is enough.
39 And he came out, and went, as he was wont, to the mount of Olives; and his disciples also followed him.
40 And when he was at the place, he said unto them, Pray that ye enter not into temptation.
41 And he was withdrawn from them about a stone's cast, and kneeled down, and prayed,
42 Saying, Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me: nevertheless not my will, but thine, be done.
43 And there appeared an angel unto him from heaven, strengthening him.
44 And being in an agony he prayed more earnestly: and his sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground.
45 And when he rose up from prayer, and was come to his disciples, he found them sleeping for sorrow,
46 And said unto them, Why sleep ye? rise and pray, lest ye enter into temptation.
47 And while he yet spake, behold a multitude, and he that was called Judas, one of the twelve, went before them, and drew near unto Jesus to kiss him.
48 But Jesus said unto him, Judas, betrayest thou the Son of man with a kiss?
49 When they which were about him saw what would follow, they said unto him, Lord, shall we smite with the sword?
50 And one of them smote the servant of the high priest, and cut off his right ear.
51 And Jesus answered and said, Suffer ye thus far. And he touched his ear, and healed him.
52 Then Jesus said unto the chief priests, and captains of the temple, and the elders, which were come to him, Be ye come out, as against a thief, with swords and staves?
53 When I was daily with you in the temple, ye stretched forth no hands against me: but this is your hour, and the power of darkness.
54 Then took they him, and led him, and brought him into the high priest's house. And Peter followed afar off.
55 And when they had kindled a fire in the midst of the hall, and were set down together, Peter sat down among them.
56 But a certain maid beheld him as he sat by the fire, and earnestly looked upon him, and said, This man was also with him.
57 And he denied him, saying, Woman, I know him not.
58 And after a little while another saw him, and said, Thou art also of them. And Peter said, Man, I am not.
59 And about the space of one hour after another confidently affirmed, saying, Of a truth this fellow also was with him: for he is a Galilaean.
60 And Peter said, Man, I know not what thou sayest. And immediately, while he yet spake, the cock crew.
61 And the Lord turned, and looked upon Peter. And Peter remembered the word of the Lord, how he had said unto him, Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice.
62 And Peter went out, and wept bitterly.
63 And the men that held Jesus mocked him, and smote him.
64 And when they had blindfolded him, they struck him on the face, and asked him, saying, Prophesy, who is it that smote thee?
65 And many other things blasphemously spake they against him.
66 And as soon as it was day, the elders of the people and the chief priests and the scribes came together, and led him into their council, saying,
67 Art thou the Christ? tell us. And he said unto them, If I tell you, ye will not believe:
68 And if I also ask you, ye will not answer me, nor let me go.
69 Hereafter shall the Son of man sit on the right hand of the power of God.
70 Then said they all, Art thou then the Son of God? And he said unto them, Ye say that I am.
71 And they said, What need we any further witness? for we ourselves have heard of his own mouth.

LUKE CHAPTER 23

1 And the whole multitude of them arose, and led him unto Pilate.
2 And they began to accuse him, saying, We found this fellow perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Caesar, saying that he himself is Christ a King.
3 And Pilate asked him, saying, Art thou the King of the Jews? And he answered him and said, Thou sayest it.
4 Then said Pilate to the chief priests and to the people, I find no fault in this man.

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5 And they were the more fierce, saying, He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Jewry, beginning from Galilee to this place.
6 When Pilate heard of Galilee, he asked whether the man were a Galilaean.
7 And as soon as he knew that he belonged unto Herod's jurisdiction, he sent him to Herod, who himself also was at Jerusalem at that time.
8 And when Herod saw Jesus, he was exceeding glad: for he was desirous to see him of a long season, because he had heard many things of him; and he hoped to have seen some miracle done by him.
9 Then he questioned with him in many words; but he answered him nothing.
10 And the chief priests and scribes stood and vehemently accused him.
11 And Herod with his men of war set him at nought, and mocked him, and arrayed him in a gorgeous robe, and sent him again to Pilate.
12 And the same day Pilate and Herod were made friends together: for before they were at enmity between themselves.
13 And Pilate, when he had called together the chief priests and the rulers and the people,
14 Said unto them, Ye have brought this man unto me, as one that perverteth the people: and, behold, I, having examined him before you, have found no fault in this man touching those things whereof ye accuse him:
15 No, nor yet Herod: for I sent you to him; and, lo, nothing worthy of death is done unto him.
16 I will therefore chastise him, and release him.
17 (For of necessity he must release one unto them at the feast.)
18 And they cried out all at once, saying, Away with this man, and release unto us Barabbas:
19 (Who for a certain sedition made in the city, and for murder, was cast into prison.)
20 Pilate therefore, willing to release Jesus, spake again to them.
21 But they cried, saying, Crucify him, crucify him.
22 And he said unto them the third time, Why, what evil hath he done? I have found no cause of death in him: I will therefore chastise him, and let him go.
23 And they were instant with loud voices, requiring that he might be crucified. And the voices of them and of the chief priests prevailed.
24 And Pilate gave sentence that it should be as they required.
25 And he released unto them him that for sedition and murder was cast into prison, whom they had desired; but he delivered Jesus to their will.
26 And as they led him away, they laid hold upon one Simon, a Cyrenian, coming out of the country, and on him they laid the cross, that he might bear it after Jesus.
27 And there followed him a great company of people, and of women, which also bewailed and lamented him.
28 But Jesus turning unto them said, Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children.
29 For, behold, the days are coming, in the which they shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps which never gave suck.
30 Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us; and to the hills, Cover us.
31 For if they do these things in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry?
32 And there were also two other, malefactors, led with him to be put to death.
33 And when they were come to the place, which is called Calvary, there they crucified him, and the malefactors, one on the right hand, and the other on the left.
34 Then said Jesus, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do. And they parted his raiment, and cast lots.
35 And the people stood beholding. And the rulers also with them derided him, saying, He saved others; let him save himself, if he be Christ, the chosen of God.
36 And the soldiers also mocked him, coming to him, and offering him vinegar,
37 And saying, If thou be the king of the Jews, save thyself.
38 And a superscription also was written over him in letters of Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew, THIS IS THE KING OF THE JEWS.
39 And one of the malefactors which were hanged railed on him, saying, If thou be Christ, save thyself and us.
40 But the other answering rebuked him, saying, Dost not thou fear God, seeing thou art in the same condemnation?
41 And we indeed justly; for we receive the due reward of our deeds: but this man hath done nothing amiss.
42 And he said unto Jesus, Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom.
43 And Jesus said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, To day shalt thou be with me in paradise.
44 And it was about the sixth hour, and there was a darkness over all the earth until the ninth hour.
45 And the sun was darkened, and the veil of the temple was rent in the midst.
46 And when Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit: and having said thus, he gave up the ghost.
47 Now when the centurion saw what was done, he glorified God, saying, Certainly this was a righteous man.
48 And all the people that came together to that sight, beholding the things which were done, smote their breasts, and returned.
49 And all his acquaintance, and the women that followed him from Galilee, stood afar off, beholding these things.
50 And, behold, there was a man named Joseph, a counsellor; and he was a good man, and a just:
51 (The same had not consented to the counsel and deed of them;) he was of Arimathaea, a city of the Jews: who also himself waited for the kingdom of God.
52 This man went unto Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus.
53 And he took it down, and wrapped it in linen, and laid it in a sepulchre that was hewn in stone, wherein never man before was laid.
54 And that day was the preparation, and the sabbath drew on.
55 And the women also, which came with him from Galilee, followed after, and beheld the sepulchre, and how his body was laid.
56 And they returned, and prepared spices and ointments; and rested the sabbath day according to the commandment.

LUKE CHAPTER 24

1 Now upon the first day of the week, very early in the morning, they came unto the sepulchre, bringing the spices which they had prepared, and certain others with them.
2 And they found the stone rolled away from the sepulchre.
3 And they entered in, and found not the body of the Lord Jesus.
4 And it came to pass, as they were much perplexed thereabout, behold, two men stood by them in shining garments:
5 And as they were afraid, and bowed down their faces to the earth, they said unto them, Why seek ye the living among the dead?
6 He is not here, but is risen: remember how he spake unto you when he was yet in Galilee,
7 Saying, The Son of man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise again.
8 And they remembered his words,
9 And returned from the sepulchre, and told all these things unto the eleven, and to all the rest.
10 It was Mary Magdalene and Joanna, and Mary the mother of James, and other women that were with them, which told these things unto the apostles.
11 And their words seemed to them as idle tales, and they believed them not.
12 Then arose Peter, and ran unto the sepulchre; and stooping down, he beheld the linen clothes laid by themselves, and departed, wondering in himself at that which was come to pass.
13 And, behold, two of them went that same day to a village called Emmaus, which was from Jerusalem about threescore furlongs.
14 And they talked together of all these things which had happened.
15 And it came to pass, that, while they communed together and reasoned, Jesus himself drew near, and went with them.
16 But their eyes were holden that they should not know him.
17 And he said unto them, What manner of communications are these that ye have one to another, as ye walk, and are sad?
18 And the one of them, whose name was Cleopas, answering said unto him, Art thou only a stranger in Jerusalem, and hast not known the things which are come to pass there in these days?
19 And he said unto them, What things? And they said unto him, Concerning Jesus of Nazareth, which was a prophet mighty in deed and word before God and all the people:
20 And how the chief priests and our rulers delivered him to be condemned to death, and have crucified him.
21 But we trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel: and beside all this, to day is the third day since these things were done.
22 Yea, and certain women also of our company made us astonished, which were early at the sepulchre;
23 And when they found not his body, they came, saying, that they had also seen a vision of angels, which said that he was alive.
24 And certain of them which were with us went to the sepulchre, and found it even so as the women had said: but him they saw not.
25 Then he said unto them, O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken:
26 Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory?
27 And beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself.
28 And they drew nigh unto the village, whither they went: and he made as though he would have gone further.
29 But they constrained him, saying, Abide with us: for it is toward evening, and the day is far spent. And he went in to tarry with them.
30 And it came to pass, as he sat at meat with them, he took bread, and blessed it, and brake, and gave to them.
31 And their eyes were opened, and they knew him; and he vanished out of their sight.
32 And they said one to another, Did not our heart burn within us, while he talked with us by the way, and while he opened to us the scriptures?
33 And they rose up the same hour, and returned to Jerusalem, and found the eleven gathered together, and them that were with them,
34 Saying, The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon.
35 And they told what things were done in the way, and how he was known of them in breaking of bread.
36 And as they thus spake, Jesus himself stood in the midst of them, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you.
37 But they were terrified and affrighted, and supposed that they had seen a spirit.
38 And he said unto them, Why are ye troubled? and why do thoughts arise in your hearts?
39 Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself: handle me, and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have.
40 And when he had thus spoken, he shewed them his hands and his feet.
41 And while they yet believed not for joy, and wondered, he said unto them, Have ye here any meat?
42 And they gave him a piece of a broiled fish, and of an honeycomb.
43 And he took it, and did eat before them.
44 And he said unto them, These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled, which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the psalms, concerning me.
45 Then opened he their understanding, that they might understand the scriptures,
46 And said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day:
47 And that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem.
48 And ye are witnesses of these things.
49 And, behold, I send the promise of my Father upon you: but tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem, until ye be endued with power from on high.
50 And he led them out as far as to Bethany, and he lifted up his hands, and blessed them.
51 And it came to pass, while he blessed them, he was parted from them, and carried up into heaven.
52 And they worshipped him, and returned to Jerusalem with great joy:
53 And were continually in the temple, praising and blessing God. Amen.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO JOHN

or The Gospel of John, or just John
Estimated Range of Dating: 90-120 A.D.
Translation: King James Version

(The Gospel of John is the fourth and the latest of the canonical gospels. Like the three other gospels it is anonymous, although it identifies an unnamed "disciple whom Jesus loved" as the source of its traditions. However, John is very different from the older Synoptic Gospels as it gives only a schematic account of the ministry of Jesus. It is more closely related in style and content to the three Johannine epistles. Some scholars treat these four books, along with the Book of Revelation, as a single group of Johannine literature, although it is not written by the same author.

The authorship of this group of literature has been debated by scholars since at least the 2nd century AD. The main question is which writer wrote which of the writings. Church tradition attributes all the books to John the Apostle which is highly unlikely. Most scholars conclude that the apostle John wrote none of these works. There may have been a single author for the gospel and the three epistles. They agree that all three letters are written by the same author, although there is debate on who that author is.

Although some scholars conclude the author of the epistles was different from that of the gospel, all four works probably originated from the same community that lived in the Greek City of Ephesus in around 90-110 AD. In the case of

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Revelation, scholars agree that it was written by a separate author, most likely by John of Patmos in c. 95.

The phrase "tthe disciple whom Jesus loved" or, in John 20:2, "the disciple beloved of Jesus" is used six times in the Gospel of John, but in no other New Testament accounts of Jesus. John 21:24 states that the Gospel of John is based on the written testimony of this disciple. Since the end of the first century, the Beloved Disciple has been commonly identified with John the Evangelist but this is rejected by most scholars.

The Gospel of John and the three Johannine epistles exhibit strong resemblances in theology and style. The letters were written later than the gospel because the gospel reflects the break between the Johannine Christians and the Jewish synagogue while in the letters the Johannine community itself is disintegrating (1 John 2:19).

The Gospel of John is significantly different from the synoptic gospels, with major variations in material, theological emphasis, chronology, and literary style. John lacks scenes from the Synoptics such as Jesus' baptism, the calling of the Twelve, exorcisms, parables, and the Transfiguration. Conversely, it includes scenes not found in the Synoptics, including Jesus turning water into wine at the wedding at Cana, the resurrection of Lazarus, Jesus washing the feet of his disciples, and multiple visits to Jerusalem. For John, Nazareth, Jesus' town of origin is irrelevant, for he saw it probably as synonymous with Sepphoris the large capital of Galilee. Whilst Jesus in the first three gospels is portayed as human leader, teacher and healer, for John, Jesus comes from beyond this world, from God the Father; a teaching of the Roman Church that became popular in the early 2nd century AD.

John never lists all of the Twelve Disciples and names at least one disciple, Nathanael, whose name is not found in the Synoptics. Nathanael or Nathaniel (Hebrew for "God has given") of Cana in Galilee was a follower or disciple of Jesus, mentioned only in the Gospel of John in Chapters 1 and 21. Nathanael has often been identified with Bartholomew the Apostle, mentioned in the synoptic gospels and Acts 1:13. He reappears (as "Nathanael of Cana") at the end of John's Gospel, as one of the disciples to whom Jesus appeared at the Sea of Galilee after the Resurrection.

There are also some discrepancies between John and the Synoptics, some amounting to contradictions. The teachings of Jesus found in the synoptic gospels are very different from those recorded in John, and since the 19th century scholars have almost unanimously accepted that these Johannine discourses are less likely than the synoptic parables to be historical, and were likely written for theological purposes. Scholars usually agree that John is not entirely without historical value: certain sayings in John are as old or older than their synoptic counterparts, his representation of the topography around Jerusalem is often superior to that of the synoptics, his testimony that Jesus was executed before, rather than on, Passover, might well be more accurate, and his presentation of Jesus in the garden and the prior meeting held by the Jewish authorities are possibly more historically plausible than their synoptic parallels.)

JOHN CHAPTER 1

PROLOGUE

1 In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.

2 The same was in the beginning with God.

3 All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made.

4 In him was life; and the life was the light of men.

5 And the light shineth in darkness; and the darkness comprehended it not.

6 There was a man sent from God, whose name was John.

7 The same came for a witness, to bear witness of the Light, that all men through him might believe.

8 He was not that Light, but was sent to bear witness of that Light.

9 That was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.

10 He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not.

11 He came unto his own, and his own received him not.

12 But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name:

13 Which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.

14 And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, (and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father,) full of grace and truth.

15 John bare witness of him, and cried, saying, This was he of whom I spake, He that cometh after me is preferred before me: for he was before me.

16 And of his fulness have all we received, and grace for grace.

17 For the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.

18 No man hath seen God at any time, the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.

BOOK OF SIGNS

19 And this is the record of John, when the Jews sent priests and Levites from Jerusalem to ask him, Who art thou?

20 And he confessed, and denied not; but confessed, I am not the Christ.

21 And they asked him, What then? Art thou Elias? And he saith, I am not. Art thou that prophet? And he answered, No.

22 Then said they unto him, Who art thou? that we may give an answer to them that sent us. What sayest thou of thyself?

23 He said, I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord, as said the prophet Esaias.

24 And they which were sent were of the Pharisees.

25 And they asked him, and said unto him, Why baptisest thou then, if thou be not that Christ, nor Elias, neither that prophet?

26 John answered them, saying, I baptise with water: but there standeth one among you, whom ye know not;

27 He it is, who coming after me is preferred before me, whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose.

28 These things were done in Bethabara beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing.

29 The next day John seeth Jesus coming unto him, and saith, Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world.

30 This is he of whom I said, After me cometh a man which is preferred before me: for he was before me.

31 And I knew him not: but that he should be made manifest to Israel, therefore am I come baptizing with water.

32 And John bare record, saying, I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove, and it abode upon him.

33 And I knew him not: but he that sent me to baptise with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending, and remaining on him, the same is he which baptiseth with the Holy Ghost.

34 And I saw, and bare record that this is the Son of God.

35 Again the next day after John stood, and two of his disciples;

36 And looking upon Jesus as he walked, he saith, Behold the Lamb of God!

37 And the two disciples heard him speak, and they followed Jesus.

38 Then Jesus turned, and saw them following, and saith unto them, What seek ye? They said unto him, Rabbi, (which is to say, being interpreted, Master,) where dwellest thou?

39 He saith unto them, Come and see. They came and saw where he dwelt, and abode with him that day: for it was about the tenth hour.

40 One of the two which heard John speak, and followed him, was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother.

41 He first findeth his own brother Simon, and saith unto him, We have found the Messias, which is, being interpreted, the Christ.

42 And he brought him to Jesus. And when Jesus beheld him, he said, Thou art Simon the son of Jona: thou shalt be called Cephas, which is by interpretation, A stone.

43 The day following Jesus would go forth into Galilee, and findeth Philip, and saith unto him, Follow me.

44 Now Philip was of Bethsaida, the city of Andrew and Peter.

45 Philip findeth Nathanael, and saith unto him, We have found him, of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph.

46 And Nathanael said unto him, Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth? Philip saith unto him, Come and see.

47 Jesus saw Nathanael coming to him, and saith of him, Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile!

48 Nathanael saith unto him, Whence knowest thou me? Jesus answered and said unto him, Before that Philip called thee, when thou wast under the fig tree, I saw thee.

49 Nathanael answered and saith unto him, Rabbi, thou art the Son of God; thou art the King of Israel.

50 Jesus answered and said unto him, Because I said unto thee, I saw thee under the fig tree, believest thou? thou shalt see greater things than these.

51 And he saith unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Hereafter ye shall see heaven open, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man.

JOHN CHAPTER 2

1 And the third day there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee; and the mother of Jesus was there:

2 And both Jesus was called, and his disciples, to the marriage.

3 And when they wanted wine, the mother of Jesus saith unto him, They have no wine.

4 Jesus saith unto her, Woman, what have I to do with thee? mine hour is not yet come.

5 His mother saith unto the servants, Whatsoever he saith unto you, do it.

6 And there were set there six waterpots of stone, after the manner of the purifying of the Jews, containing two or three firkins apiece.

7 Jesus saith unto them, Fill the waterpots with water. And they filled them up to the brim.

8 And he saith unto them, Draw out now, and bear unto the governor of the feast. And they bare it.

9 When the ruler of the feast had tasted the water that was made wine, and knew not whence it was: (but the servants which drew the water knew;) the governor of the feast called the bridegroom,

10 And saith unto him, Every man at the beginning doth set forth good wine; and when men have well drunk, then that which is worse: but thou hast kept the good wine until now.

11 This beginning of miracles did Jesus in Cana of Galilee, and manifested forth his glory; and his disciples believed on him.

12 After this he went down to Capernaum, he, and his mother, and his brethren, and his disciples: and they continued there not many days.

13 And the Jews' passover was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem.

14 And found in the temple those that sold oxen and sheep and doves, and the changers of money sitting:

15 And when he had made a scourge of small cords, he drove them all out of the temple, and the sheep, and the oxen; and poured out the changers' money, and overthrew the tables;

16 And said unto them that sold doves, Take these things hence; make not my Father's house an house of merchandise.

17 And his disciples remembered that it was written, The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up.

18 Then answered the Jews and said unto him, What sign shewest thou unto us, seeing that thou doest these things?

19 Jesus answered and said unto them, Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up.

20 Then said the Jews, Forty and six years was this temple in building, and wilt thou rear it up in three days?

21 But he spake of the temple of his body.

22 When therefore he was risen from the dead, his disciples remembered that he had said this unto them; and they believed the scripture, and the word which Jesus had said.

23 Now when he was in Jerusalem at the passover, in the feast day, many believed in his name, when they saw the miracles which he did.

24 But Jesus did not commit himself unto them, because he knew all men,

25 And needed not that any should testify of man: for he knew what was in man.

JOHN CHAPTER 3

1 There was a man of the Pharisees, named Nicodemus, a ruler of the Jews:

2 The same came to Jesus by night, and said unto him, Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God: for no man can do these miracles that thou doest, except God be with him.

3 Jesus answered and said unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God.

4 Nicodemus saith unto him, How can a man be born when he is old? can he enter the second time into his mother's womb, and be born?

5 Jesus answered, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.

6 That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit.

7 Marvel not that I said unto thee, Ye must be born again.

8 The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit.

9 Nicodemus answered and said unto him, How can these things be?

10 Jesus answered and said unto him, Art thou a master of Israel, and knowest not these things?

11 Verily, verily, I say unto thee, We speak that we do know, and testify that we have seen; and ye receive not our witness.

12 If I have told you earthly things, and ye believe not, how shall ye believe, if I tell you of heavenly things?

13 And no man hath ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of man which is in heaven.

14 And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up:

15 That whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life.

16 For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.

17 For God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world; but that the world through him might be saved.

18 He that believeth on him is not condemned: but he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God.

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19 And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil.
20 For every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved.
21 But he that doeth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest, that they are wrought in God.
22 After these things came Jesus and his disciples into the land of Judaea; and there he tarried with them, and baptised.
23 And John also was baptizing in Aenon near to Salim, because there was much water there: and they came, and were baptised.
24 For John was not yet cast into prison.
25 Then there arose a question between some of John's disciples and the Jews about purifying.
26 And they came unto John, and said unto him, Rabbi, he that was with thee beyond Jordan, to whom thou barest witness, behold, the same baptiseth, and all men come to him.
27 John answered and said, A man can receive nothing, except it be given him from heaven.
28 Ye yourselves bear me witness, that I said, I am not the Christ, but that I am sent before him.
29 He that hath the bride is the bridegroom: but the friend of the bridegroom, which standeth and heareth him, rejoiceth greatly because of the bridegroom's voice: this my joy therefore is fulfilled.
30 He must increase, but I must decrease.
31 He that cometh from above is above all: he that is of the earth is earthly, and speaketh of the earth: he that cometh from heaven is above all.
32 And what he hath seen and heard, that he testifieth; and no man receiveth his testimony.
33 He that hath received his testimony hath set to his seal that God is true.
34 For he whom God hath sent speaketh the words of God: for God giveth not the Spirit by measure unto him.
35 The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into his hand.
36 He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life: and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him.

JOHN CHAPTER 4

1 When therefore the LORD knew how the Pharisees had heard that Jesus made and baptised more disciples than John,
2 (Though Jesus himself baptised not, but his disciples,)
3 He left Judaea, and departed again into Galilee.
4 And he must needs go through Samaria.
5 Then cometh he to a city of Samaria, which is called Sychar, near to the parcel of ground that Jacob gave to his son Joseph.
6 Now Jacob's well was there. Jesus therefore, being wearied with his journey, sat thus on the well: and it was about the sixth hour.
7 There cometh a woman of Samaria to draw water: Jesus saith unto her, Give me to drink.
8 (For his disciples were gone away unto the city to buy meat.)
9 Then saith the woman of Samaria unto him, How is it that thou, being a Jew, askest drink of me, which am a woman of Samaria? for the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans.
10 Jesus answered and said unto her, If thou knewest the gift of God, and who it is that saith to thee, Give me to drink; thou wouldest have asked of him, and he would have given thee living water.
11 The woman saith unto him, Sir, thou hast nothing to draw with, and the well is deep: from whence then hast thou that living water?
12 Art thou greater than our father Jacob, which gave us the well, and drank thereof himself, and his children, and his cattle?
13 Jesus answered and said unto her, Whosoever drinketh of this water shall thirst again:
14 But whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life.
15 The woman saith unto him, Sir, give me this water, that I thirst not, neither come hither to draw.
16 Jesus saith unto her, Go, call thy husband, and come hither.
17 The woman answered and said, I have no husband. Jesus said unto her, Thou hast well said, I have no husband:
18 For thou hast had five husbands; and he whom thou now hast is not thy husband: in that saidst thou truly.
19 The woman saith unto him, Sir, I perceive that thou art a prophet.
20 Our fathers worshipped in this mountain; and ye say, that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship.
21 Jesus saith unto her, Woman, believe me, the hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father.
22 Ye worship ye know not what: we know what we worship: for salvation is of the Jews.
23 But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship him.
24 God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth.
25 The woman saith unto him, I know that Messias cometh, which is called Christ: when he is come, he will tell us all things.
26 Jesus saith unto her, I that speak unto thee am he.
27 And upon this came his disciples, and marvelled that he talked with the woman: yet no man said, What seekest thou? or, Why talkest thou with her?
28 The woman then left her waterpot, and went her way into the city, and saith to the men,
29 Come, see a man, which told me all things that ever I did: is not this the Christ?
30 Then they went out of the city, and came unto him.
31 In the mean while his disciples prayed him, saying, Master, eat.
32 But he said unto them, I have meat to eat that ye know not of.
33 Therefore said the disciples one to another, Hath any man brought him ought to eat?
34 Jesus saith unto them, My meat is to do the will of him that sent me, and to finish his work.
35 Say not ye, There are yet four months, and then cometh harvest? behold, I say unto you, Lift up your eyes, and look on the fields; for they are white already to harvest.
36 And he that reapeth receiveth wages, and gathereth fruit unto life eternal: that both he that soweth and he that reapeth may rejoice together.
37 And herein is that saying true, One soweth, and another reapeth.
38 I sent you to reap that whereon ye bestowed no labour: other men laboured, and ye are entered into their labours.
39 And many of the Samaritans of that city believed on him for the saying of the woman, which testified, He told me all that ever I did.
40 So when the Samaritans were come unto him, they besought him that he would tarry with them: and he abode there two days.
41 And many more believed because of his own word;
42 And said unto the woman, Now we believe, not because of thy saying: for we have heard him ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world.
43 Now after two days he departed thence, and went into Galilee.
44 For Jesus himself testified, that a prophet hath no honour in his own country.
45 Then when he was come into Galilee, the Galilaeans received him, having seen all the things that he did at Jerusalem at the feast: for they also went unto the feast.
46 So Jesus came again into Cana of Galilee, where he made the water wine. And there was a certain nobleman, whose son was sick at Capernaum.
47 When he heard that Jesus was come out of Judaea into Galilee, he went unto him, and besought him that he would come down, and heal his son: for he was at the point of death.
48 Then said Jesus unto him, Except ye see signs and wonders, ye will not believe.
49 The nobleman saith unto him, Sir, come down ere my child die.
50 Jesus saith unto him, Go thy way; thy son liveth. And the man believed the word that Jesus had spoken unto him, and he went his way.
51 And as he was now going down, his servants met him, and told him, saying, Thy son liveth.
52 Then enquired he of them the hour when he began to amend. And they said unto him, Yesterday at the seventh hour the fever left him.
53 So the father knew that it was at the same hour, in the which Jesus said unto him, Thy son liveth: and himself believed, and his whole house.
54 This is again the second miracle that Jesus did, when he was come out of Judaea into Galilee.

JOHN CHAPTER 5

1 After this there was a feast of the Jews; and Jesus went up to Jerusalem.
2 Now there is at Jerusalem by the sheep market a pool, which is called in the Hebrew tongue Bethesda, having five porches.
3 In these lay a great multitude of impotent folk, of blind, halt, withered, waiting for the moving of the water.
4 For an angel went down at a certain season into the pool, and troubled the water: whosoever then first after the troubling of the water stepped in was made whole of whatsoever disease he had.
5 And a certain man was there, which had an infirmity thirty and eight years.
6 When Jesus saw him lie, and knew that he had been now a long time in that case, he saith unto him, Wilt thou be made whole?
7 The impotent man answered him, Sir, I have no man, when the water is troubled, to put me into the pool: but while I am coming, another steppeth down before me.
8 Jesus saith unto him, Rise, take up thy bed, and walk.
9 And immediately the man was made whole, and took up his bed, and walked: and on the same day was the sabbath.
10 The Jews therefore said unto him that was cured, It is the sabbath day: it is not lawful for thee to carry thy bed.
11 He answered them, He that made me whole, the same said unto me, Take up thy bed, and walk.
12 Then asked they him, What man is that which said unto thee, Take up thy bed, and walk?
13 And he that was healed wist not who it was: for Jesus had conveyed himself away, a multitude being in that place.
14 Afterward Jesus findeth him in the temple, and said unto him, Behold, thou art made whole: sin no more, lest a worse thing come unto thee.
15 The man departed, and told the Jews that it was Jesus, which had made him whole.
16 And therefore did the Jews persecute Jesus, and sought to slay him, because he had done these things on the sabbath day.
17 But Jesus answered them, My Father worketh hitherto, and I work.
18 Therefore the Jews sought the more to kill him, because he not only had broken the sabbath, but said also that God was his Father, making himself equal with God.
19 Then answered Jesus and said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do: for what things soever he doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise.
20 For the Father loveth the Son, and sheweth him all things that himself doeth: and he will shew him greater works than these, that ye may marvel.
21 For as the Father raiseth up the dead, and quickeneth them; even so the Son quickeneth whom he will.
22 For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgement unto the Son:
23 That all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father. He that honoureth not the Son honoureth not the Father which hath sent him.
24 Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death unto life.
25 Verily, verily, I say unto you, The hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God: and they that hear shall live.
26 For as the Father hath life in himself; so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself;
27 And hath given him authority to execute judgement also, because he is the Son of man.
28 Marvel not at this: for the hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice,
29 And shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation.
30 I can of mine own self do nothing: as I hear, I judge: and my judgement is just; because I seek not mine own will, but the will of the Father which hath sent me.
31 If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true.
32 There is another that beareth witness of me; and I know that the witness which he witnesseth of me is true.
33 Ye sent unto John, and he bare witness unto the truth.
34 But I receive not testimony from man: but these things I say, that ye might be saved.
35 He was a burning and a shining light: and ye were willing for a season to rejoice in his light.
36 But I have greater witness than that of John: for the works which the Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do, bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me.
37 And the Father himself, which hath sent me, hath borne witness of me. Ye have neither heard his voice at any time, nor seen his shape.
38 And ye have not his word abiding in you: for whom he hath sent, him ye believe not.
39 Search the scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of me.
40 And ye will not come to me, that ye might have life.
41 I receive not honour from men.
42 But I know you, that ye have not the love of God in you.
43 I am come in my Father's name, and ye receive me not: if another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive.
44 How can ye believe, which receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only?
45 Do not think that I will accuse you to the Father: there is one that accuseth you, even Moses, in whom ye trust.
46 For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me.
47 But if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?

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JOHN CHAPTER 6

1 After these things Jesus went over the sea of Galilee, which is the sea of Tiberias.

2 And a great multitude followed him, because they saw his miracles which he did on them that were diseased.

3 And Jesus went up into a mountain, and there he sat with his disciples.

4 And the passover, a feast of the Jews, was nigh.

5 When Jesus then lifted up his eyes, and saw a great company come unto him, he saith unto Philip, Whence shall we buy bread, that these may eat?

6 And this he said to prove him: for he himself knew what he would do.

7 Philip answered him, Two hundred pennyworth of bread is not sufficient for them, that every one of them may take a little.

8 One of his disciples, Andrew, Simon Peter's brother, saith unto him,

9 There is a lad here, which hath five barley loaves, and two small fishes: but what are they among so many?

10 And Jesus said, Make the men sit down. Now there was much grass in the place. So the men sat down, in number about five thousand.

11 And Jesus took the loaves; and when he had given thanks, he distributed to the disciples, and the disciples to them that were set down; and likewise of the fishes as much as they would.

12 When they were filled, he said unto his disciples, Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost.

13 Therefore they gathered them together, and filled twelve baskets with the fragments of the five barley loaves, which remained over and above unto them that had eaten.

14 Then those men, when they had seen the miracle that Jesus did, said, This is of a truth that prophet that should come into the world.

15 When Jesus therefore perceived that they would come and take him by force, to make him a king, he departed again into a mountain himself alone.

16 And when even was now come, his disciples went down unto the sea,

17 And entered into a ship, and went over the sea toward Capernaum. And it was now dark, and Jesus was not come to them.

18 And the sea arose by reason of a great wind that blew.

19 So when they had rowed about five and twenty or thirty furlongs, they see Jesus walking on the sea, and drawing nigh unto the ship: and they were afraid.

20 But he saith unto them, It is I; be not afraid.

21 Then they willingly received him into the ship: and immediately the ship was at the land whither they went.

22 The day following, when the people which stood on the other side of the sea saw that there was none other boat there, save that one whereinto his disciples were entered, and that Jesus went not with his disciples into the boat, but that his disciples were gone away alone;

23 (Howbeit there came other boats from Tiberias nigh unto the place where they did eat bread, after that the Lord had given thanks:)

24 When the people therefore saw that Jesus was not there, neither his disciples, they also took shipping, and came to Capernaum, seeking for Jesus.

25 And when they had found him on the other side of the sea, they said unto him, Rabbi, when camest thou hither?

26 Jesus answered them and said, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Ye seek me, not because ye saw the miracles, but because ye did eat of the loaves, and were filled.

27 Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life, which the Son of man shall give unto you: for him hath God the Father sealed.

28 Then said they unto him, What shall we do, that we might work the works of God?

29 Jesus answered and said unto them, This is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent.

30 They said therefore unto him, What sign shewest thou then, that we may see, and believe thee? what dost thou work?

31 Our fathers did eat manna in the desert; as it is written, He gave them bread from heaven to eat.

32 Then Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Moses gave you not that bread from heaven; but my Father giveth you the true bread from heaven.

33 For the bread of God is he which cometh down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world.

34 Then said they unto him, Lord, evermore give us this bread.

35 And Jesus said unto them, I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall never hunger; and he that believeth on me shall never thirst.

36 But I said unto you, That ye also have seen me, and believe not.

37 All that the Father giveth me shall come to me; and him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out.

38 For I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me.

39 And this is the Father's will which hath sent me, that of all which he hath given me I should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day.

40 And this is the will of him that sent me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have everlasting life: and I will raise him up at the last day.

41 The Jews then murmured at him, because he said, I am the bread which came down from heaven.

42 And they said, Is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know? how is it then that he saith, I came down from heaven?

43 Jesus therefore answered and said unto them, Murmur not among yourselves.

44 No man can come to me, except the Father which hath sent me draw him: and I will raise him up at the last day.

45 It is written in the prophets, And they shall be all taught of God. Every man therefore that hath heard, and hath learned of the Father, cometh unto me.

46 Not that any man hath seen the Father, save he which is of God, he hath seen the Father.

47 Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that believeth on me hath everlasting life.

48 I am that bread of life.

49 Your fathers did eat manna in the wilderness, and are dead.

50 This is the bread which cometh down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof, and not die.

51 I am the living bread which came down from heaven: if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever: and the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.

52 The Jews therefore strove among themselves, saying, How can this man give us his flesh to eat?

53 Then Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.

54 Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day.

55 For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed.

56 He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.

57 As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father: so he that eateth me, even he shall live by me.

58 This is that bread which came down from heaven: not as your fathers did eat manna, and are dead: he that eateth of this bread shall live for ever.

59 These things said he in the synagogue, as he taught in Capernaum.

60 Many therefore of his disciples, when they had heard this, said, This is an hard saying; who can hear it?

61 When Jesus knew in himself that his disciples murmured at it, he said unto them, Doth this offend you?

62 What and if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was before?

63 It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life.

64 But there are some of you that believe not. For Jesus knew from the beginning who they were that believed not, and who should betray him.

65 And he said, Therefore said I unto you, that no man can come unto me, except it were given unto him of my Father.

66 From that time many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him.

67 Then said Jesus unto the twelve, Will ye also go away?

68 Then Simon Peter answered him, Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life.

69 And we believe and are sure that thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God.

70 Jesus answered them, Have not I chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil?

71 He spake of Judas Iscariot the son of Simon: for he it was that should betray him, being one of the twelve.

JOHN CHAPTER 7

1 After these things Jesus walked in Galilee: for he would not walk in Jewry, because the Jews sought to kill him.

2 Now the Jew's feast of tabernacles was at hand.

3 His brethren therefore said unto him, Depart hence, and go into Judaea, that thy disciples also may see the works that thou doest.

4 For there is no man that doeth any thing in secret, and he himself seeketh to be known openly. If thou do these things, shew thyself to the world.

5 For neither did his brethren believe in him.

6 Then Jesus said unto them, My time is not yet come: but your time is alway ready.

7 The world cannot hate you; but me it hateth, because I testify of it, that the works thereof are evil.

8 Go ye up unto this feast: I go not up yet unto this feast: for my time is not yet full come.

9 When he had said these words unto them, he abode still in Galilee.

10 But when his brethren were gone up, then went he also up unto the feast, not openly, but as it were in secret.

11 Then the Jews sought him at the feast, and said, Where is he?

12 And there was much murmuring among the people concerning him: for some said, He is a good man: others said, Nay; but he deceiveth the people.

13 Howbeit no man spake openly of him for fear of the Jews.

14 Now about the midst of the feast Jesus went up into the temple, and taught.

15 And the Jews marvelled, saying, How knoweth this man letters, having never learned?

16 Jesus answered them, and said, My doctrine is not mine, but his that sent me.

17 If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself.

18 He that speaketh of himself seeketh his own glory: but he that seeketh his glory that sent him, the same is true, and no unrighteousness is in him.

19 Did not Moses give you the law, and yet none of you keepeth the law? Why go ye about to kill me?

20 The people answered and said, Thou hast a devil: who goeth about to kill thee?

21 Jesus answered and said unto them, I have done one work, and ye all marvel.

22 Moses therefore gave unto you circumcision; (not because it is of Moses, but of the fathers;) and ye on the sabbath day circumcise a man.

23 If a man on the sabbath day receive circumcision, that the law of Moses should not be broken; are ye angry at me, because I have made a man every whit whole on the sabbath day?

24 Judge not according to the appearance, but judge righteous judgement.

25 Then said some of them of Jerusalem, Is not this he, whom they seek to kill?

26 But, lo, he speaketh boldly, and they say nothing unto him. Do the rulers know indeed that this is the very Christ?

27 Howbeit we know this man whence he is: but when Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is.

28 Then cried Jesus in the temple as he taught, saying, Ye both know me, and ye know whence I am: and I am not come of myself, but he that sent me is true, whom ye know not.

29 But I know him: for I am from him, and he hath sent me.

30 Then they sought to take him: but no man laid hands on him, because his hour was not yet come.

31 And many of the people believed on him, and said, When Christ cometh, will he do more miracles than these which this man hath done?

32 The Pharisees heard that the people murmured such things concerning him; and the Pharisees and the chief priests sent officers to take him.

33 Then said Jesus unto them, Yet a little while am I with you, and then I go unto him that sent me.

34 Ye shall seek me, and shall not find me: and where I am, thither ye cannot come.

35 Then said the Jews among themselves, Whither will he go, that we shall not find him? will he go unto the dispersed among the Gentiles, and teach the Gentiles?

36 What manner of saying is this that he said, Ye shall seek me, and shall not find me: and where I am, thither ye cannot come?

37 In the last day, that great day of the feast, Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto me, and drink.

38 He that believeth on me, as the scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.

39 (But this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive: for the Holy Ghost was not yet given; because that Jesus was not yet glorified.)

40 Many of the people therefore, when they heard this saying, said, Of a truth this is the Prophet.

41 Others said, This is the Christ. But some said, Shall Christ come out of Galilee?

42 Hath not the scripture said, That Christ cometh of the seed of David, and out of the town of Bethlehem, where David was?

43 So there was a division among the people because of him.

44 And some of them would have taken him; but no man laid hands on him.

45 Then came the officers to the chief priests and Pharisees; and they said unto them, Why have ye not brought him?

46 The officers answered, Never man spake like this man.

47 Then answered them the Pharisees, Are ye also deceived?

48 Have any of the rulers or of the Pharisees believed on him?

49 But this people who knoweth not the law are cursed.

50 Nicodemus saith unto them, (he that came to Jesus by night, being one of them,)

51 Doth our law judge any man, before it hear him, and know what he doeth?

52 They answered and said unto him, Art thou also of Galilee? Search, and look: for out of Galilee ariseth no prophet.

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53 And every man went unto his own house.

JOHN CHAPTER 8

1 Jesus went unto the mount of Olives.

2 And early in the morning he came again into the temple, and all the people came unto him; and he sat down, and taught them.

3 And the scribes and Pharisees brought unto him a woman taken in adultery; and when they had set her in the midst,

4 They say unto him, Master, this woman was taken in adultery, in the very act.

5 Now Moses in the law commanded us, that such should be stoned: but what sayest thou?

6 This they said, tempting him, that they might have to accuse him. But Jesus stooped down, and with his finger wrote on the ground, as though he heard them not.

7 So when they continued asking him, he lifted up himself, and said unto them, He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her.

8 And again he stooped down, and wrote on the ground.

9 And they which heard it, being convicted by their own conscience, went out one by one, beginning at the eldest, even unto the last: and Jesus was left alone, and the woman standing in the midst.

10 When Jesus had lifted up himself, and saw none but the woman, he said unto her, Woman, where are those thine accusers? hath no man condemned thee?

11 She said, No man, Lord. And Jesus said unto her, Neither do I condemn thee: go, and sin no more.

12 Then spake Jesus again unto them, saying, I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.

13 The Pharisees therefore said unto him, Thou bearest record of thyself; thy record is not true.

14 Jesus answered and said unto them, Though I bear record of myself, yet my record is true: for I know whence I came, and whither I go; but ye cannot tell whence I come, and whither I go.

15 Ye judge after the flesh; I judge no man.

16 And yet if I judge, my judgement is true: for I am not alone, but I and the Father that sent me.

17 It is also written in your law, that the testimony of two men is true.

18 I am one that bear witness of myself, and the Father that sent me beareth witness of me.

19 Then said they unto him, Where is thy Father? Jesus answered, Ye neither know me, nor my Father: if ye had known me, ye should have known my Father also.

20 These words spake Jesus in the treasury, as he taught in the temple: and no man laid hands on him; for his hour was not yet come.

21 Then said Jesus again unto them, I go my way, and ye shall seek me, and shall die in your sins: whither I go, ye cannot come.

22 Then said the Jews, Will he kill himself? because he saith, Whither I go, ye cannot come.

23 And he said unto them, Ye are from beneath; I am from above: ye are of this world; I am not of this world.

24 I said therefore unto you, that ye shall die in your sins: for if ye believe not that I am he, ye shall die in your sins.

25 Then said they unto him, Who art thou? And Jesus saith unto them, Even the same that I said unto you from the beginning.

26 I have many things to say and to judge of you: but he that sent me is true; and I speak to the world those things which I have heard of him.

27 They understood not that he spake to them of the Father.

28 Then said Jesus unto them, When ye have lifted up the Son of man, then shall ye know that I am he, and that I do nothing of myself; but as my Father hath taught me, I speak these things.

29 And he that sent me is with me: the Father hath not left me alone; for I do always those things that please him.

30 As he spake these words, many believed on him.

31 Then said Jesus to those Jews which believed on him, If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed;

32 And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.

33 They answered him, We be Abraham's seed, and were never in bondage to any man: how sayest thou, Ye shall be made free?

34 Jesus answered them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin.

35 And the servant abideth not in the house for ever: but the Son abideth ever.

36 If the Son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed.

37 I know that ye are Abraham's seed; but ye seek to kill me, because my word hath no place in you.

38 I speak that which I have seen with my Father: and ye do that which ye have seen with your father.

39 They answered and said unto him, Abraham is our father. Jesus saith unto them, If ye were Abraham's children, ye would do the works of Abraham.

40 But now ye seek to kill me, a man that hath told you the truth, which I have heard of God: this did not Abraham.

41 Ye do the deeds of your father. Then said they to him, We be not born of fornication; we have one Father, even God.

42 Jesus said unto them, If God were your Father, ye would love me: for I proceeded forth and came from God; neither came I of myself, but he sent me.

43 Why do ye not understand my speech? even because ye cannot hear my word.

44 Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar, and the father of it.

45 And because I tell you the truth, ye believe me not.

46 Which of you convinceth me of sin? And if I say the truth, why do ye not believe me?

47 He that is of God heareth God's words: ye therefore hear them not, because ye are not of God.

48 Then answered the Jews, and said unto him, Say we not well that thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil?

49 Jesus answered, I have not a devil; but I honour my Father, and ye do dishonour me.

50 And I seek not mine own glory: there is one that seeketh and judgeth.

51 Verily, verily, I say unto you, If a man keep my saying, he shall never see death.

52 Then said the Jews unto him, Now we know that thou hast a devil. Abraham is dead, and the prophets; and thou sayest, If a man keep my saying, he shall never taste of death.

53 Art thou greater than our father Abraham, which is dead? and the prophets are dead: whom makest thou thyself?

54 Jesus answered, If I honour myself, my honour is nothing: it is my Father that honoureth me; of whom ye say, that he is your God:

55 Yet ye have not known him; but I know him: and if I should say, I know him not, I shall be a liar like unto you: but I know him, and keep his saying.

56 Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day: and he saw it, and was glad.

57 Then said the Jews unto him, Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?

58 Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Before Abraham was, I am.

59 Then took they up stones to cast at him: but Jesus hid himself, and went out of the temple, going through the midst of them, and so passed by.

JOHN CHAPTER 9

1 And as Jesus passed by, he saw a man which was blind from his birth.

2 And his disciples asked him, saying, Master, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind?

3 Jesus answered, Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents: but that the works of God should be made manifest in him.

4 I must work the works of him that sent me, while it is day: the night cometh, when no man can work.

5 As long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world.

6 When he had thus spoken, he spat on the ground, and made clay of the spittle, and he anointed the eyes of the blind man with the clay,

7 And said unto him, Go, wash in the pool of Siloam, (which is by interpretation, Sent.) He went his way therefore, and washed, and came seeing.

8 The neighbours therefore, and they which before had seen him that he was blind, said, Is not this he that sat and begged?

9 Some said, This is he: others said, He is like him: but he said, I am he.

10 Therefore said they unto him, How were thine eyes opened?

11 He answered and said, A man that is called Jesus made clay, and anointed mine eyes, and said unto me, Go to the pool of Siloam, and wash: and I went and washed, and I received sight.

12 Then said they unto him, Where is he? He said, I know not.

13 They brought to the Pharisees him that aforetime was blind.

14 And it was the sabbath day when Jesus made the clay, and opened his eyes.

15 Then again the Pharisees also asked him how he had received his sight. He said unto them, He put clay upon mine eyes, and I washed, and do see.

16 Therefore said some of the Pharisees, This man is not of God, because he keepeth not the sabbath day. Others said, How can a man that is a sinner do such miracles? And there was a division among them.

17 They say unto the blind man again, What sayest thou of him, that he hath opened thine eyes? He said, He is a prophet.

18 But the Jews did not believe concerning him, that he had been blind, and received his sight, until they called the parents of him that had received his sight.

19 And they asked them, saying, Is this your son, who ye say was born blind? how then doth he now see?

20 His parents answered them and said, We know that this is our son, and that he was born blind:

21 But by what means he now seeth, we know not; or who hath opened his eyes, we know not: he is of age; ask him: he shall speak for himself.

22 These words spake his parents, because they feared the Jews: for the Jews had agreed already, that if any man did confess that he was Christ, he should be put out of the synagogue.

23 Therefore said his parents, He is of age; ask him.

24 Then again called they the man that was blind, and said unto him, Give God the praise: we know that this man is a sinner.

25 He answered and said, Whether he be a sinner or no, I know not: one thing I know, that, whereas I was blind, now I see.

26 Then said they to him again, What did he to thee? how opened he thine eyes?

27 He answered them, I have told you already, and ye did not hear: wherefore would ye hear it again? will ye also be his disciples?

28 Then they reviled him, and said, Thou art his disciple; but we are Moses' disciples.

29 We know that God spake unto Moses: as for this fellow, we know not from whence he is.

30 The man answered and said unto them, Why herein is a marvellous thing, that ye know not from whence he is, and yet he hath opened mine eyes.

31 Now we know that God heareth not sinners: but if any man be a worshipper of God, and doeth his will, him he heareth.

32 Since the world began was it not heard that any man opened the eyes of one that was born blind.

33 If this man were not of God, he could do nothing.

34 They answered and said unto him, Thou wast altogether born in sins, and dost thou teach us? And they cast him out.

35 Jesus heard that they had cast him out; and when he had found him, he said unto him, Dost thou believe on the Son of God?

36 He answered and said, Who is he, Lord, that I might believe on him?

37 And Jesus said unto him, Thou hast both seen him, and it is he that talketh with thee.

38 And he said, Lord, I believe. And he worshipped him.

39 And Jesus said, For judgement I am come into this world, that they which see not might see; and that they which see might be made blind.

40 And some of the Pharisees which were with him heard these words, and said unto him, Are we blind also?

41 Jesus said unto them, If ye were blind, ye should have no sin: but now ye say, We see; therefore your sin remaineth.

JOHN CHAPTER 10

1 Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber.

2 But he that entereth in by the door is the shepherd of the sheep.

3 To him the porter openeth; and the sheep hear his voice: and he calleth his own sheep by name, and leadeth them out.

4 And when he putteth forth his own sheep, he goeth before them, and the sheep follow him: for they know his voice.

5 And a stranger will they not follow, but will flee from him: for they know not the voice of strangers.

6 This parable spake Jesus unto them: but they understood not what things they were which he spake unto them.

7 Then said Jesus unto them again, Verily, verily, I say unto you, I am the door of the sheep.

8 All that ever came before me are thieves and robbers: but the sheep did not hear them.

9 I am the door: by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved, and shall go in and out, and find pasture.

10 The thief cometh not, but for to steal, and to kill, and to destroy: I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly.

11 I am the good shepherd: the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep.

12 But he that is an hireling, and not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the sheep, and fleeth: and the wolf catcheth them, and scattereth the sheep.

13 The hireling fleeth, because he is an hireling, and careth not for the sheep.

14 I am the good shepherd, and know my sheep, and am known of mine.

15 As the Father knoweth me, even so know I the Father: and I lay down my life for the sheep.

16 And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd.

17 Therefore doth my Father love me, because I lay down my life, that I might take it again.

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18 No man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again. This commandment have I received of my Father.
19 There was a division therefore again among the Jews for these sayings.
20 And many of them said, He hath a devil, and is mad; why hear ye him?
21 Others said, These are not the words of him that hath a devil. Can a devil open the eyes of the blind?
22 And it was at Jerusalem the feast of the dedication, and it was winter.
23 And Jesus walked in the temple in Solomon's porch.
24 Then came the Jews round about him, and said unto him, How long dost thou make us to doubt? If thou be the Christ, tell us plainly.
25 Jesus answered them, I told you, and ye believed not: the works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me.
26 But ye believe not, because ye are not of my sheep, as I said unto you.
27 My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me:
28 And I give unto them eternal life; and they shall never perish, neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand.
29 My Father, which gave them me, is greater than all; and no man is able to pluck them out of my Father's hand.
30 I and my Father are one.
31 Then the Jews took up stones again to stone him.
32 Jesus answered them, Many good works have I shewed you from my Father; for which of those works do ye stone me?
33 The Jews answered him, saying, For a good work we stone thee not; but for blasphemy; and because that thou, being a man, makest thyself God.
34 Jesus answered them, Is it not written in your law, I said, Ye are gods?
35 If he called them gods, unto whom the word of God came, and the scripture cannot be broken;
36 Say ye of him, whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest; because I said, I am the Son of God?
37 If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not.
38 But if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works: that ye may know, and believe, that the Father is in me, and I in him.
39 Therefore they sought again to take him: but he escaped out of their hand,
40 And went away again beyond Jordan into the place where John at first baptised; and there he abode.
41 And many resorted unto him, and said, John did no miracle: but all things that John spake of this man were true.
42 And many believed on him there.

JOHN CHAPTER 11

1 Now a certain man was sick, named Lazarus, of Bethany, the town of Mary and her sister Martha.
2 (It was that Mary which anointed the Lord with ointment, and wiped his feet with her hair, whose brother Lazarus was sick.)
3 Therefore his sisters sent unto him, saying, Lord, behold, he whom thou lovest is sick.
4 When Jesus heard that, he said, This sickness is not unto death, but for the glory of God, that the Son of God might be glorified thereby.
5 Now Jesus loved Martha, and her sister, and Lazarus.
6 When he had heard therefore that he was sick, he abode two days still in the same place where he was.
7 Then after that saith he to his disciples, Let us go into Judaea again.
8 His disciples say unto him, Master, the Jews of late sought to stone thee; and goest thou thither again?
9 Jesus answered, Are there not twelve hours in the day? If any man walk in the day, he stumbleth not, because he seeth the light of this world.
10 But if a man walk in the night, he stumbleth, because there is no light in him.
11 These things said he: and after that he saith unto them, Our friend Lazarus sleepeth; but I go, that I may awake him out of sleep.
12 Then said his disciples, Lord, if he sleep, he shall do well.
13 Howbeit Jesus spake of his death: but they thought that he had spoken of taking of rest in sleep.
14 Then said Jesus unto them plainly, Lazarus is dead.
15 And I am glad for your sakes that I was not there, to the intent ye may believe; nevertheless let us go unto him.
16 Then said Thomas, which is called Didymus, unto his fellowdisciples, Let us also go, that we may die with him.
17 Then when Jesus came, he found that he had lain in the grave four days already.
18 Now Bethany was nigh unto Jerusalem, about fifteen furlongs off:
19 And many of the Jews came to Martha and Mary, to comfort them concerning their brother.
20 Then Martha, as soon as she heard that Jesus was coming, went and met him: but Mary sat still in the house.
21 Then said Martha unto Jesus, Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died.
22 But I know, that even now, whatsoever thou wilt ask of God, God will give it thee.
23 Jesus saith unto her, Thy brother shall rise again.
24 Martha saith unto him, I know that he shall rise again in the resurrection at the last day.
25 Jesus said unto her, I am the resurrection, and the life: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live:
26 And whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die. Believest thou this?
27 She saith unto him, Yea, Lord: I believe that thou art the Christ, the Son of God, which should come into the world.
28 And when she had so said, she went her way, and called Mary her sister secretly, saying, The Master is come, and calleth for thee.
29 As soon as she heard that, she arose quickly, and came unto him.
30 Now Jesus was not yet come into the town, but was in that place where Martha met him.
31 The Jews then which were with her in the house, and comforted her, when they saw Mary, that she rose up hastily and went out, followed her, saying, She goeth unto the grave to weep there.
32 Then when Mary was come where Jesus was, and saw him, she fell down at his feet, saying unto him, Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died.
33 When Jesus therefore saw her weeping, and the Jews also weeping which came with her, he groaned in the spirit, and was troubled.
34 And said, Where have ye laid him? They said unto him, Lord, come and see.
35 Jesus wept.
36 Then said the Jews, Behold how he loved him!
37 And some of them said, Could not this man, which opened the eyes of the blind, have caused that even this man should not have died?
38 Jesus therefore again groaning in himself cometh to the grave. It was a cave, and a stone lay upon it.
39 Jesus said, Take ye away the stone. Martha, the sister of him that was dead, saith unto him, Lord, by this time he stinketh: for he hath been dead four days.
40 Jesus saith unto her, Said I not unto thee, that, if thou wouldest believe, thou shouldest see the glory of God?
41 Then they took away the stone from the place where the dead was laid. And Jesus lifted up his eyes, and said, Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me.
42 And I knew that thou hearest me always: but because of the people which stand by I said it, that they may believe that thou hast sent me.
43 And when he thus had spoken, he cried with a loud voice, Lazarus, come forth.
44 And he that was dead came forth, bound hand and foot with graveclothes: and his face was bound about with a napkin. Jesus saith unto them, Loose him, and let him go.
45 Then many of the Jews which came to Mary, and had seen the things which Jesus did, believed on him.
46 But some of them went their ways to the Pharisees, and told them what things Jesus had done.
47 Then gathered the chief priests and the Pharisees a council, and said, What do we? for this man doeth many miracles.
48 If we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him: and the Romans shall come and take away both our place and nation.
49 And one of them, named Caiaphas, being the high priest that same year, said unto them, Ye know nothing at all,
50 Nor consider that it is expedient for us, that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not.
51 And this spake he not of himself: but being high priest that year, he prophesied that Jesus should die for that nation;
52 And not for that nation only, but that also he should gather together in one the children of God that were scattered abroad.
53 Then from that day forth they took counsel together for to put him to death.
54 Jesus therefore walked no more openly among the Jews; but went thence unto a country near to the wilderness, into a city called Ephraim, and there continued with his disciples.
55 And the Jews' passover was nigh at hand: and many went out of the country up to Jerusalem before the passover, to purify themselves.
56 Then sought they for Jesus, and spake among themselves, as they stood in the temple, What think ye, that he will not come to the feast?
57 Now both the chief priests and the Pharisees had given a commandment, that, if any man knew where he were, he should shew it, that they might take him.

JOHN CHAPTER 12

1 Then Jesus six days before the passover came to Bethany, where Lazarus was, which had been dead, whom he raised from the dead.
2 There they made him a supper; and Martha served: but Lazarus was one of them that sat at the table with him.
3 Then took Mary a pound of ointment of spikenard, very costly, and anointed the feet of Jesus, and wiped his feet with her hair: and the house was filled with the odour of the ointment.
4 Then saith one of his disciples, Judas Iscariot, Simon's son, which should betray him,
5 Why was not this ointment sold for three hundred pence, and given to the poor?
6 This he said, not that he cared for the poor; but because he was a thief, and had the bag, and bare what was put therein.
7 Then said Jesus, Let her alone: against the day of my burying hath she kept this.
8 For the poor always ye have with you; but me ye have not always.
9 Much people of the Jews therefore knew that he was there: and they came not for Jesus' sake only, but that they might see Lazarus also, whom he had raised from the dead.
10 But the chief priests consulted that they might put Lazarus also to death;
11 Because that by reason of him many of the Jews went away, and believed on Jesus.
12 On the next day much people that were come to the feast, when they heard that Jesus was coming to Jerusalem,
13 Took branches of palm trees, and went forth to meet him, and cried, Hosanna: Blessed is the King of Israel that cometh in the name of the Lord.
14 And Jesus, when he had found a young ass, sat thereon; as it is written,
15 Fear not, daughter of Sion: behold, thy King cometh, sitting on an ass's colt.
16 These things understood not his disciples at the first: but when Jesus was glorified, then remembered they that these things were written of him, and that they had done these things unto him.
17 The people therefore that was with him when he called Lazarus out of his grave, and raised him from the dead, bare record.
18 For this cause the people also met him, for that they heard that he had done this miracle.
19 The Pharisees therefore said among themselves, Perceive ye how ye prevail nothing? behold, the world is gone after him.
20 And there were certain Greeks among them that came up to worship at the feast:
21 The same came therefore to Philip, which was of Bethsaida of Galilee, and desired him, saying, Sir, we would see Jesus.
22 Philip cometh and telleth Andrew: and again Andrew and Philip tell Jesus.
23 And Jesus answered them, saying, The hour is come, that the Son of man should be glorified.
24 Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit.
25 He that loveth his life shall lose it; and he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal.
26 If any man serve me, let him follow me; and where I am, there shall also my servant be: if any man serve me, him will my Father honour.
27 Now is my soul troubled; and what shall I say? Father, save me from this hour: but for this cause came I unto this hour.
28 Father, glorify thy name. Then came there a voice from heaven, saying, I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again.
29 The people therefore, that stood by, and heard it, said that it thundered: others said, An angel spake to him.
30 Jesus answered and said, This voice came not because of me, but for your sakes.
31 Now is the judgement of this world: now shall the prince of this world be cast out.
32 And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me.
33 This he said, signifying what death he should die.
34 The people answered him, We have heard out of the law that Christ abideth for ever: and how sayest thou, The Son of man must be lifted up? who is this Son of man?
35 Then Jesus said unto them, Yet a little while is the light with you. Walk while ye have the light, lest darkness come upon you: for he that walketh in darkness knoweth not whither he goeth.
36 While ye have light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children of light. These things spake Jesus, and departed, and did hide himself from them.
37 But though he had done so many miracles before them, yet they believed not on him:
38 That the saying of Esaias the prophet might be fulfilled, which he spake, Lord, who hath believed our report? and to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed?
39 Therefore they could not believe, because that Esaias said again,

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40 He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their heart; that they should not see with their eyes, nor understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them.
41 These things said Esaias, when he saw his glory, and spake of him.
42 Nevertheless among the chief rulers also many believed on him; but because of the Pharisees they did not confess him, lest they should be put out of the synagogue:
43 For they loved the praise of men more than the praise of God.
44 Jesus cried and said, He that believeth on me, believeth not on me, but on him that sent me.
45 And he that seeth me seeth him that sent me.
46 I am come a light into the world, that whosoever believeth on me should not abide in darkness.
47 And if any man hear my words, and believe not, I judge him not: for I came not to judge the world, but to save the world.
48 He that rejecteth me, and receiveth not my words, hath one that judgeth him: the word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him in the last day.
49 For I have not spoken of myself; but the Father which sent me, he gave me a commandment, what I should say, and what I should speak.
50 And I know that his commandment is life everlasting: whatsoever I speak therefore, even as the Father said unto me, so I speak.

JOHN CHAPTER 13

BOOK OF GLORY
1 Now before the feast of the passover, when Jesus knew that his hour was come that he should depart out of this world unto the Father, having loved his own which were in the world, he loved them unto the end.
2 And supper being ended, the devil having now put into the heart of Judas Iscariot, Simon's son, to betray him;
3 Jesus knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands, and that he was come from God, and went to God;
4 He riseth from supper, and laid aside his garments; and took a towel, and girded himself.
5 After that he poureth water into a bason, and began to wash the disciples' feet, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he was girded.
6 Then cometh he to Simon Peter: and Peter saith unto him, Lord, dost thou wash my feet?
7 Jesus answered and said unto him, What I do thou knowest not now; but thou shalt know hereafter.
8 Peter saith unto him, Thou shalt never wash my feet. Jesus answered him, If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me.
9 Simon Peter saith unto him, Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head.
10 Jesus saith to him, He that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit: and ye are clean, but not all.
11 For he knew who should betray him; therefore said he, Ye are not all clean.
12 So after he had washed their feet, and had taken his garments, and was set down again, he said unto them, Know ye what I have done to you?
13 Ye call me Master and Lord: and ye say well; for so I am.
14 If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet; ye also ought to wash one another's feet.
15 For I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you.
16 Verily, verily, I say unto you, The servant is not greater than his lord; neither he that is sent greater than he that sent him.
17 If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them.
18 I speak not of you all: I know whom I have chosen: but that the scripture may be fulfilled, He that eateth bread with me hath lifted up his heel against me.
19 Now I tell you before it come, that, when it is come to pass, ye may believe that I am he.
20 Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that receiveth whomsoever I send receiveth me; and he that receiveth me receiveth him that sent me.
21 When Jesus had thus said, he was troubled in spirit, and testified, and said, Verily, verily, I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me.
22 Then the disciples looked one on another, doubting of whom he spake.
23 Now there was leaning on Jesus' bosom one of his disciples, whom Jesus loved.
24 Simon Peter therefore beckoned to him, that he should ask who it should be of whom he spake.
25 He then lying on Jesus' breast saith unto him, Lord, who is it?
26 Jesus answered, He it is, to whom I shall give a sop, when I have dipped it. And when he had dipped the sop, he gave it to Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon.
27 And after the sop Satan entered into him. Then said Jesus unto him, That thou doest, do quickly.
28 Now no man at the table knew for what intent he spake this unto him.
29 For some of them thought, because Judas had the bag, that Jesus had said unto him, Buy those things that we have need of against the feast; or, that he should give something to the poor.
30 He then having received the sop went immediately out: and it was night.
31 Therefore, when he was gone out, Jesus said, Now is the Son of man glorified, and God is glorified in him.
32 If God be glorified in him, God shall also glorify him in himself, and shall straightway glorify him.
33 Little children, yet a little while I am with you. Ye shall seek me: and as I said unto the Jews, Whither I go, ye cannot come; so now I say to you.
34 A new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another.
35 By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.
36 Simon Peter said unto him, Lord, whither goest thou? Jesus answered him, Whither I go, thou canst not follow me now; but thou shalt follow me afterwards.
37 Peter said unto him, Lord, why cannot I follow thee now? I will lay down my life for thy sake.
38 Jesus answered him, Wilt thou lay down thy life for my sake? Verily, verily, I say unto thee, The cock shall not crow, till thou hast denied me thrice.

JOHN CHAPTER 14
1 Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in me.
2 In my Father's house are many mansions: if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you.
3 And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also.
4 And whither I go ye know, and the way ye know.
5 Thomas saith unto him, Lord, we know not whither thou goest; and how can we know the way?
6 Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me.
7 If ye had known me, ye should have known my Father also: and from henceforth ye know him, and have seen him.
8 Philip saith unto him, Lord, shew us the Father, and it sufficeth us.
9 Jesus saith unto him, Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me, Philip? he that hath seen me hath seen the Father; and how sayest thou then, Shew us the Father?
10 Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me? the words that I speak unto you I speak not of myself: but the Father that dwelleth in me, he doeth the works.
11 Believe me that I am in the Father, and the Father in me: or else believe me for the very works' sake.
12 Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do; because I go unto my Father.
13 And whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son.
14 If ye shall ask any thing in my name, I will do it.
15 If ye love me, keep my commandments.
16 And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever;
17 Even the Spirit of truth; whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him: but ye know him; for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you.
18 I will not leave you comfortless: I will come to you.
19 Yet a little while, and the world seeth me no more; but ye see me: because I live, ye shall live also.
20 At that day ye shall know that I am in my Father, and ye in me, and I in you.
21 He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me: and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him.
22 Judas saith unto him, not Iscariot, Lord, how is it that thou wilt manifest thyself unto us, and not unto the world?
23 Jesus answered and said unto him, If a man love me, he will keep my words: and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him.
24 He that loveth me not keepeth not my sayings: and the word which ye hear is not mine, but the Father's which sent me.
25 These things have I spoken unto you, being yet present with you.
26 But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you.
27 Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid.
28 Ye have heard how I said unto you, I go away, and come again unto you. If ye loved me, ye would rejoice, because I said, I go unto the Father: for my Father is greater than I.
29 And now I have told you before it come to pass, that, when it is come to pass, ye might believe.
30 Hereafter I will not talk much with you: for the prince of this world cometh, and hath nothing in me.
31 But that the world may know that I love the Father; and as the Father gave me commandment, even so I do. Arise, let us go hence.

JOHN CHAPTER 15
1 I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman.
2 Every branch in me that beareth not fruit he taketh away: and every branch that beareth fruit, he purgeth it, that it may bring forth more fruit.
3 Now ye are clean through the word which I have spoken unto you.
4 Abide in me, and I in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in me.
5 I am the vine, ye are the branches: He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit: for without me ye can do nothing.
6 If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered; and men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned.
7 If ye abide in me, and my words abide in you, ye shall ask what ye will, and it shall be done unto you.
8 Herein is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit; so shall ye be my disciples.
9 As the Father hath loved me, so have I loved you: continue ye in my love.
10 If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love; even as I have kept my Father's commandments, and abide in his love.
11 These things have I spoken unto you, that my joy might remain in you, and that your joy might be full.
12 This is my commandment, That ye love one another, as I have loved you.
13 Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.
14 Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you.
15 Henceforth I call you not servants; for the servant knoweth not what his lord doeth: but I have called you friends; for all things that I have heard of my Father I have made known unto you.
16 Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you, and ordained you, that ye should go and bring forth fruit, and that your fruit should remain: that whatsoever ye shall ask of the Father in my name, he may give it you.
17 These things I command you, that ye love one another.
18 If the world hate you, ye know that it hated me before it hated you.
19 If ye were of the world, the world would love his own: but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you.
20 Remember the word that I said unto you, The servant is not greater than his lord. If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you; if they have kept my saying, they will keep yours also.
21 But all these things will they do unto you for my name's sake, because they know not him that sent me.
22 If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin: but now they have no cloak for their sin.
23 He that hateth me hateth my Father also.
24 If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin: but now have they both seen and hated both me and my Father.
25 But this cometh to pass, that the word might be fulfilled that is written in their law, They hated me without a cause.
26 But when the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me:
27 And ye also shall bear witness, because ye have been with me from the beginning.

JOHN CHAPTER 16
1 These things have I spoken unto you, that ye should not be offended.
2 They shall put you out of the synagogues: yea, the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service.
3 And these things will they do unto you, because they have not known the Father, nor me.
4 But these things have I told you, that when the time shall come, ye may remember that I told you of them. And these things I said not unto you at the beginning, because I was with you.
5 But now I go my way to him that sent me; and none of you asketh me, Whither goest thou?
6 But because I have said these things unto you, sorrow hath filled your heart.
7 Nevertheless I tell you the truth; It is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you.

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8 And when he is come, he will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgement:
9 Of sin, because they believe not on me;
10 Of righteousness, because I go to my Father, and ye see me no more;
11 Of judgement, because the prince of this world is judged.
12 I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now.
13 Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth: for he shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak: and he will shew you things to come.
14 He shall glorify me: for he shall receive of mine, and shall shew it unto you.
15 All things that the Father hath are mine: therefore said I, that he shall take of mine, and shall shew it unto you.
16 A little while, and ye shall not see me: and again, a little while, and ye shall see me, because I go to the Father.
17 Then said some of his disciples among themselves, What is this that he saith unto us, A little while, and ye shall not see me: and again, a little while, and ye shall see me: and, Because I go to the Father?
18 They said therefore, What is this that he saith, A little while? we cannot tell what he saith.
19 Now Jesus knew that they were desirous to ask him, and said unto them, Do ye enquire among yourselves of that I said, A little while, and ye shall not see me: and again, a little while, and ye shall see me?
20 Verily, verily, I say unto you, That ye shall weep and lament, but the world shall rejoice: and ye shall be sorrowful, but your sorrow shall be turned into joy.
21 A woman when she is in travail hath sorrow, because her hour is come: but as soon as she is delivered of the child, she remembereth no more the anguish, for joy that a man is born into the world.
22 And ye now therefore have sorrow: but I will see you again, and your heart shall rejoice, and your joy no man taketh from you.
23 And in that day ye shall ask me nothing. Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you.
24 Hitherto have ye asked nothing in my name: ask, and ye shall receive, that your joy may be full.
25 These things have I spoken unto you in proverbs: but the time cometh, when I shall no more speak unto you in proverbs, but I shall shew you plainly of the Father.
26 At that day ye shall ask in my name: and I say not unto you, that I will pray the Father for you:
27 For the Father himself loveth you, because ye have loved me, and have believed that I came out from God.
28 I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world: again, I leave the world, and go to the Father.
29 His disciples said unto him, Lo, now speakest thou plainly, and speakest no proverb.
30 Now are we sure that thou knowest all things, and needest not that any man should ask thee: by this we believe that thou camest forth from God.
31 Jesus answered them, Do ye now believe?
32 Behold, the hour cometh, yea, is now come, that ye shall be scattered, every man to his own, and shall leave me alone: and yet I am not alone, because the Father is with me.
33 These things I have spoken unto you, that in me ye might have peace. In the world ye shall have tribulation: but be of good cheer; I have overcome the world.

JOHN CHAPTER 17

1 These words spake Jesus, and lifted up his eyes to heaven, and said, Father, the hour is come; glorify thy Son, that thy Son also may glorify thee:
2 As thou hast given him power over all flesh, that he should give eternal life to as many as thou hast given him.
3 And this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent.
4 I have glorified thee on the earth: I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do.
5 And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self with the glory which I had with thee before the world was.
6 I have manifested thy name unto the men which thou gavest me out of the world: thine they were, and thou gavest them me; and they have kept thy word.
7 Now they have known that all things whatsoever thou hast given me are of thee.
8 For I have given unto them the words which thou gavest me; and they have received them, and have known surely that I came out from thee, and they have believed that thou didst send me.
9 I pray for them: I pray not for the world, but for them which thou hast given me; for they are thine.
10 And all mine are thine, and thine are mine; and I am glorified in them.
11 And now I am no more in the world, but these are in the world, and I come to thee. Holy Father, keep through thine own name those whom thou hast given me, that they may be one, as we are.
12 While I was with them in the world, I kept them in thy name: those that thou gavest me I have kept, and none of them is lost, but the son of perdition; that the scripture might be fulfilled.
13 And now come I to thee; and these things I speak in the world, that they might have my joy fulfilled in themselves.
14 I have given them thy word; and the world hath hated them, because they are not of the world, even as I am not of the world.
15 I pray not that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that thou shouldest keep them from the evil.
16 They are not of the world, even as I am not of the world.
17 Sanctify them through thy truth: thy word is truth.
18 As thou hast sent me into the world, even so have I also sent them into the world.
19 And for their sakes I sanctify myself, that they also might be sanctified through the truth.
20 Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word;
21 That they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that thou hast sent me.
22 And the glory which thou gavest me I have given them; that they may be one, even as we are one:
23 I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one; and that the world may know that thou hast sent me, and hast loved them, as thou hast loved me.
24 Father, I will that they also, whom thou hast given me, be with me where I am; that they may behold my glory, which thou hast given me: for thou lovedst me before the foundation of the world.
25 O righteous Father, the world hath not known thee: but I have known thee, and these have known that thou hast sent me.
26 And I have declared unto them thy name, and will declare it: that the love wherewith thou hast loved me may be in them, and I in them.

JOHN CHAPTER 18

1 When Jesus had spoken these words, he went forth with his disciples over the brook Cedron, where was a garden, into the which he entered, and his disciples.
2 And Judas also, which betrayed him, knew the place: for Jesus ofttimes resorted thither with his disciples.
3 Judas then, having received a band of men and officers from the chief priests and Pharisees, cometh thither with lanterns and torches and weapons.
4 Jesus therefore, knowing all things that should come upon him, went forth, and said unto them, Whom seek ye?
5 They answered him, Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus saith unto them, I am he. And Judas also, which betrayed him, stood with them.
6 As soon then as he had said unto them, I am he, they went backward, and fell to the ground.
7 Then asked he them again, Whom seek ye? And they said, Jesus of Nazareth.
8 Jesus answered, I have told you that I am he: if therefore ye seek me, let these go their way:
9 That the saying might be fulfilled, which he spake, Of them which thou gavest me have I lost none.
10 Then Simon Peter having a sword drew it, and smote the high priest's servant, and cut off his right ear. The servant's name was Malchus.
11 Then said Jesus unto Peter, Put up thy sword into the sheath: the cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?
12 Then the band and the captain and officers of the Jews took Jesus, and bound him,
13 And led him away to Annas first; for he was father in law to Caiaphas, which was the high priest that same year.
14 Now Caiaphas was he, which gave counsel to the Jews, that it was expedient that one man should die for the people.
15 And Simon Peter followed Jesus, and so did another disciple: that disciple was known unto the high priest, and went in with Jesus into the palace of the high priest.
16 But Peter stood at the door without. Then went out that other disciple, which was known unto the high priest, and spake unto her that kept the door, and brought in Peter.
17 Then saith the damsel that kept the door unto Peter, Art not thou also one of this man's disciples? He saith, I am not.
18 And the servants and officers stood there, who had made a fire of coals; for it was cold: and they warmed themselves: and Peter stood with them, and warmed himself.
19 The high priest then asked Jesus of his disciples, and of his doctrine.
20 Jesus answered him, I spake openly to the world; I ever taught in the synagogue, and in the temple, whither the Jews always resort; and in secret have I said nothing.
21 Why askest thou me? ask them which heard me, what I have said unto them: behold, they know what I said.
22 And when he had thus spoken, one of the officers which stood by struck Jesus with the palm of his hand, saying, Answerest thou the high priest so?
23 Jesus answered him, If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil: but if well, why smitest thou me?
24 Now Annas had sent him bound unto Caiaphas the high priest.
25 And Simon Peter stood and warmed himself. They said therefore unto him, Art not thou also one of his disciples? He denied it, and said, I am not.
26 One of the servants of the high priest, being his kinsman whose ear Peter cut off, saith, Did not I see thee in the garden with him?
27 Peter then denied again: and immediately the cock crew.
28 Then led they Jesus from Caiaphas unto the hall of judgement: and it was early; and they themselves went not into the judgement hall, lest they should be defiled; but that they might eat the passover.
29 Pilate then went out unto them, and said, What accusation bring ye against this man?
30 They answered and said unto him, If he were not a malefactor, we would not have delivered him up unto thee.
31 Then said Pilate unto them, Take ye him, and judge him according to your law. The Jews therefore said unto him, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death:
32 That the saying of Jesus might be fulfilled, which he spake, signifying what death he should die.
33 Then Pilate entered into the judgement hall again, and called Jesus, and said unto him, Art thou the King of the Jews?
34 Jesus answered him, Sayest thou this thing of thyself, or did others tell it thee of me?
35 Pilate answered, Am I a Jew? Thine own nation and the chief priests have delivered thee unto me: what hast thou done?
36 Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is my kingdom not from hence.
37 Pilate therefore said unto him, Art thou a king then? Jesus answered, Thou sayest that I am a king. To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice.
38 Pilate saith unto him, What is truth? And when he had said this, he went out again unto the Jews, and saith unto them, I find in him no fault at all.
39 But ye have a custom, that I should release unto you one at the passover: will ye therefore that I release unto you the King of the Jews?
40 Then cried they all again, saying, Not this man, but Barabbas. Now Barabbas was a robber.

JOHN CHAPTER 19

1 Then Pilate therefore took Jesus, and scourged him.
2 And the soldiers platted a crown of thorns, and put it on his head, and they put on him a purple robe,
3 And said, Hail, King of the Jews! and they smote him with their hands.
4 Pilate therefore went forth again, and saith unto them, Behold, I bring him forth to you, that ye may know that I find no fault in him.
5 Then came Jesus forth, wearing the crown of thorns, and the purple robe. And Pilate saith unto them, Behold the man!
6 When the chief priests therefore and officers saw him, they cried out, saying, Crucify him, crucify him. Pilate saith unto them, Take ye him, and crucify him: for I find no fault in him.
7 The Jews answered him, We have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God.
8 When Pilate therefore heard that saying, he was the more afraid;
9 And went again into the judgement hall, and saith unto Jesus, Whence art thou? But Jesus gave him no answer.
10 Then saith Pilate unto him, Speakest thou not unto me? knowest thou not that I have power to crucify thee, and have power to release thee?
11 Jesus answered, Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above: therefore he that delivered me unto thee hath the greater sin.
12 And from thenceforth Pilate sought to release him: but the Jews cried out, saying, If thou let this man go, thou art not Caesar's friend: whosoever maketh himself a king speaketh against Caesar.
13 When Pilate therefore heard that saying, he brought Jesus forth, and sat down in the judgement seat in a place that is called the Pavement, but in the Hebrew, Gabbatha.
14 And it was the preparation of the passover, and about the sixth hour: and he saith unto the Jews, Behold your King!
15 But they cried out, Away with him, away with him, crucify him. Pilate saith unto them, Shall I crucify your King? The chief priests answered, We have no king but Caesar.
16 Then delivered he him therefore unto them to be crucified. And they took Jesus, and led him away.
17 And he bearing his cross went forth into a place called the place of a skull, which is called in the Hebrew Golgotha:
18 Where they crucified him, and two other with him, on either side one, and Jesus in the midst.

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19 And Pilate wrote a title, and put it on the cross. And the writing was JESUS OF NAZARETH THE KING OF THE JEWS.
20 This title then read many of the Jews: for the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city: and it was written in Hebrew, and Greek, and Latin.
21 Then said the chief priests of the Jews to Pilate, Write not, The King of the Jews; but that he said, I am King of the Jews.
22 Pilate answered, What I have written I have written.
23 Then the soldiers, when they had crucified Jesus, took his garments, and made four parts, to every soldier a part; and also his coat: now the coat was without seam, woven from the top throughout.
24 They said therefore among themselves, Let us not rend it, but cast lots for it, whose it shall be: that the scripture might be fulfilled, which saith, They parted my raiment among them, and for my vesture they did cast lots. These things therefore the soldiers did.
25 Now there stood by the cross of Jesus his mother, and his mother's sister, Mary the wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene.
26 When Jesus therefore saw his mother, and the disciple standing by, whom he loved, he saith unto his mother, Woman, behold thy son!
27 Then saith he to the disciple, Behold thy mother! And from that hour that disciple took her unto his own home.
28 After this, Jesus knowing that all things were now accomplished, that the scripture might be fulfilled, saith, I thirst.
29 Now there was set a vessel full of vinegar: and they filled a spunge with vinegar, and put it upon hyssop, and put it to his mouth.
30 When Jesus therefore had received the vinegar, he said, It is finished: and he bowed his head, and gave up the ghost.
31 The Jews therefore, because it was the preparation, that the bodies should not remain upon the cross on the sabbath day, (for that sabbath day was an high day,) besought Pilate that their legs might be broken, and that they might be taken away.
32 Then came the soldiers, and brake the legs of the first, and of the other which was crucified with him.
33 But when they came to Jesus, and saw that he was dead already, they brake not his legs:
34 But one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and forthwith came there out blood and water.
35 And he that saw it bare record, and his record is true: and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye might believe.
36 For these things were done, that the scripture should be fulfilled, A bone of him shall not be broken.
37 And again another scripture saith, They shall look on him whom they pierced.
38 And after this Joseph of Arimathaea, being a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear of the Jews, besought Pilate that he might take away the body of Jesus: and Pilate gave him leave. He came therefore, and took the body of Jesus.
39 And there came also Nicodemus, which at the first came to Jesus by night, and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound weight.
40 Then took they the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury.
41 Now in the place where he was crucified there was a garden; and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid.
42 There laid they Jesus therefore because of the Jews' preparation day; for the sepulchre was nigh at hand.

JOHN CHAPTER 20

1 The first day of the week cometh Mary Magdalene early, when it was yet dark, unto the sepulchre, and seeth the stone taken away from the sepulchre.
2 Then she runneth, and cometh to Simon Peter, and to the other disciple, whom Jesus loved, and saith unto them, They have taken away the LORD out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him.
3 Peter therefore went forth, and that other disciple, and came to the sepulchre.
4 So they ran both together: and the other disciple did outrun Peter, and came first to the sepulchre.
5 And he stooping down, and looking in, saw the linen clothes lying; yet went he not in.
6 Then cometh Simon Peter following him, and went into the sepulchre, and seeth the linen clothes lie,
7 And the napkin, that was about his head, not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped together in a place by itself.
8 Then went in also that other disciple, which came first to the sepulchre, and he saw, and believed.
9 For as yet they knew not the scripture, that he must rise again from the dead.
10 Then the disciples went away again unto their own home.
11 But Mary stood without at the sepulchre weeping: and as she wept, she stooped down, and looked into the sepulchre,
12 And seeth two angels in white sitting, the one at the head, and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain.
13 And they say unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? She saith unto them, Because they have taken away my LORD, and I know not where they have laid him.
14 And when she had thus said, she turned herself back, and saw Jesus standing, and knew not that it was Jesus.
15 Jesus saith unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? whom seekest thou? She, supposing him to be the gardener, saith unto him, Sir, if thou have borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away.
16 Jesus saith unto her, Mary. She turned herself, and saith unto him, Rabboni; which is to say, Master.
17 Jesus saith unto her, Touch me not; for I am not yet ascended to my Father: but go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father, and your Father; and to my God, and your God.
18 Mary Magdalene came and told the disciples that she had seen the LORD, and that he had spoken these things unto her.
19 Then the same day at evening, being the first day of the week, when the doors were shut where the disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews, came Jesus and stood in the midst, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you.
20 And when he had so said, he shewed unto them his hands and his side. Then were the disciples glad, when they saw the LORD.
21 Then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you: as my Father hath sent me, even so send I you.
22 And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost:
23 Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.
24 But Thomas, one of the twelve, called Didymus, was not with them when Jesus came.
25 The other disciples therefore said unto him, We have seen the LORD. But he said unto them, Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I will not believe.
26 And after eight days again his disciples were within, and Thomas with them: then came Jesus, the doors being shut, and stood in the midst, and said, Peace be unto you.
27 Then saith he to Thomas, Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side: and be not faithless, but believing.
28 And Thomas answered and said unto him, My LORD and my God.
29 Jesus saith unto him, Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.
30 And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book:
31 But these are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye might have life through his name.

JOHN CHAPTER 21

EPILOGUE

1 After these things Jesus shewed himself again to the disciples at the sea of Tiberias; and on this wise shewed he himself.
2 There were together Simon Peter, and Thomas called Didymus, and Nathanael of Cana in Galilee, and the sons of Zebedee, and two other of his disciples.
3 Simon Peter saith unto them, I go a fishing. They say unto him, We also go with thee. They went forth, and entered into a ship immediately; and that night they caught nothing.
4 But when the morning was now come, Jesus stood on the shore: but the disciples knew not that it was Jesus.
5 Then Jesus saith unto them, Children, have ye any meat? They answered him, No.
6 And he said unto them, Cast the net on the right side of the ship, and ye shall find. They cast therefore, and now they were not able to draw it for the multitude of fishes.
7 Therefore that disciple whom Jesus loved saith unto Peter, It is the Lord. Now when Simon Peter heard that it was the Lord, he girt his fisher's coat unto him, (for he was naked,) and did cast himself into the sea.
8 And the other disciples came in a little ship; (for they were not far from land, but as it were two hundred cubits,) dragging the net with fishes.
9 As soon then as they were come to land, they saw a fire of coals there, and fish laid thereon, and bread.
10 Jesus saith unto them, Bring of the fish which ye have now caught.
11 Simon Peter went up, and drew the net to land full of great fishes, an hundred and fifty and three: and for all there were so many, yet was not the net broken.
12 Jesus saith unto them, Come and dine. And none of the disciples durst ask him, Who art thou? knowing that it was the Lord.
13 Jesus then cometh, and taketh bread, and giveth them, and fish likewise.
14 This is now the third time that Jesus shewed himself to his disciples, after that he was risen from the dead.
15 So when they had dined, Jesus saith to Simon Peter, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me more than these? He saith unto him, Yea, Lord; thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, Feed my lambs.
16 He saith to him again the second time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me? He saith unto him, Yea, Lord; thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, Feed my sheep.
17 He saith unto him the third time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me? Peter was grieved because he said unto him the third time, Lovest thou me? And he said unto him, Lord, thou knowest all things; thou knowest that I love thee. Jesus saith unto him, Feed my sheep.
18 Verily, verily, I say unto thee, When thou wast young, thou girdest thyself, and walkedst whither thou wouldest: but when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldest not.
19 This spake he, signifying by what death he should glorify God. And when he had spoken this, he saith unto him, Follow me.
20 Then Peter, turning about, seeth the disciple whom Jesus loved following; which also leaned on his breast at supper, and said, Lord, which is he that betrayeth thee?
21 Peter seeing him saith to Jesus, Lord, and what shall this man do?
22 Jesus saith unto him, If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? follow thou me.
23 Then went this saying abroad among the brethren, that that disciple should not die: yet Jesus said not unto him, He shall not die; but, If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?
24 This is the disciple which testifieth of these things, and wrote these things: and we know that his testimony is true.
25 And there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written. Amen.

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THE NON-CANONICAL GOSPELS

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THOMAS

or The Gospel of Didymus Judas Thoman
or The Gospel of Thomas, or The Sayings of Jesus
From: Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt
Translation: W. R. Schoedel
Estimated Range of Dating: 50-140 A.D.

(The Gospel of Thomas is extant in three Greek fragments discovered in the Egyptian town of Oxyrhynchus in 1897. The Papyrus Oxyrhynchus is a papyrus in three fragments of the logia (sayings) of Jesus written in Greek. The fragments are dated to the first half of the third century. In Nag Hammadi, Egypt, a complete Coptic copy was unearthed in 1945.

The Gospel of Thomas is an account of Jesus' sayings and teachings, not a narrative. That is why some scientist have claimed it to be the "Q-document" (Q stands for the German word Quelle meaning the "source" which the Four Synoptic Gospels have been copied from. The Coptic text copy was written shortly before the year 350 AD. The non-canonical Gospel of Thomas, is however, according to its old-fashioned writing style, the oldest gospel and was probably written c. 50 or 60 AD. It seems likely that it was written by the apostle Thomas himself. He was one of Jesus' original disciples and was very successful as apostle in Persia and India.

As for the very unusual name, 'Didymus' as well as 'Thomas' are titles rather than ordinary names. 'Didymus' is a Greek word and means "twin". Curiously, the Aramaic word 'Thomas' means exactly the same: "twin". So we could read the whole name as "the twin Judas of the twin" or "the twin bother". That the word 'twin' was mentioned two times underlines its significance and arouses the question of "who was this Judas the twin of?" Knowing that Jesus entire family was "written out of history" by deliberately disguising them under different soubriquets such as "the brother of" instead of the formal, usual and correct form "the son of". Jesus had four brothers, James, Simon, Judas, Joses, and two sisters whose names probably where Mary and Salome.

For Paul's Roman Christians it was vital to write Jesus family out of history as they wanted to make Jesus appear unique like a god which is a forbidden and despisable act in Judaism as clearly stated in the first three of the 10 Commandments. The attempt to make Jesus a god brought the Roman citizen Saul of Tarsos [Paul the Apostle] in harsh conflict with all those who knew the real Jesus, particularly with his brother James the undisputed leader of the first Christian Church and a devout Jew.

In the Gospel of Thomas, we read: "Simon Peter (Jesus' chief disciple) said to them: Let Mary [Magdalene] go forth from among us, for women are not worthy of the life [of enlightenment]. Jesus said: Behold, I shall lead her, that I may make her male, in order that she also may become a living spirit [of righteousness and wisdom] like you males. For every woman who makes herself male [a disciple] shall enter into the kingdom of heaven [of wisdom]." This is one of the most remarkabe Christian texts in history because it seems to be a quote from the Buddhist Lotus Sutra. [See: Lotus Sutra, Grand Bible, page 7065, towards the end of chapter 11; see: also page 7384, towards the end of chapter 12.]

This story is a bit more elaborate in the sutra but in short it goes like this: Shariputra (the Buddha's chief disciple) says to the daughter of the king: "You state that you attained the supreme Way [the highest level of Buddhist scholarship and experience]. This thing is hard to believe because the body of a women is filthy and not a vessel of the Law." Now, the king's daughter presented a precious pearl to the Buddha [as alms] which the Buddha immediately accepted. And so the king's daughter transformed into a male [a disciple], perfect in bodhisattva-deeds [high level of righteousness and wisdom], and attained Perfect Enlightenment of the Wonderful Law of all living creatures in the universe [the kingdom of wisdom]."

The question here is "How did the author of the Gospel of Thomas come by this remarkable quote?" The answer is not very far away when we know that the Apostle Thomas, who most likely also was "Jude," one of Jesus' brothers (probably a twin brother because both "didymos" as well as "thomas" mean "twin"), also is known for his journey to India where he founded the Christian community of Malabar. [See also: The Acts of Thomas, Grand Bible, page 850].)

Text:

These are the secret words which the living Jesus spake, and Didymus Judas Thomas wrote them down.

1 And he said: He who shall find the interpretation of the words shall not taste of death.

2 Jesus said: He who seeks, let him not cease seeking until: finds; and when he finds he will be troubled, and if he is troubled, he will be amazed, and he will reign over the All.

3 Jesus said: If those who lead you say unto you: Behold, the Kingdom is in heaven, then the birds of the heaven will be before you. If they say unto you: It is in the sea, then the fish will be before you. But the Kingdom is within you, and it is outside of you. When you know yourselves, then shall you be known, and you shall know that you are the sons of the living Father. But if ye do not know yourselves, then you are in poverty, and you are poverty.

4 Jesus said: The man aged in his days will not hesitate ask a little child of seven days about the place of life, and he shall live. For there are many first who shall be last, and they shall become a single one.

5 Jesus said: Know what is before thy face, and what hidden from thee shall be revealed unto thee; for there is nothing hidden which shall not be made manifest.

6 His disciples asked him and said unto him: Wilt thou that we fast? And how shall we pray? Shall we give alms? And what rules shall we observe in eating? Jesus said: Do not lie; and that which you hate, do not do. For all things are revealed before heaven. For there is nothing hidden which shall not be manifest, and there is nothing covered which shall remain without being uncovered.

7 Jesus said: Blessed is the lion which the man shall eat, and the lion become man; and cursed is the man whom the lion shall eat, and the lion become man.

8 And he said: Man is like a wise fisherman, who cast his net into the sea and drew it up from the sea full of small fish. Among them the wise fisherman found a large good fish. He threw down all the small fish into the sea; he chose the large fish without trouble. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.

9 Jesus said: Behold, the sower went forth, he filled his hand, he cast. Some fell upon the road; the birds came and gathered them. Others fell on the rock, and sent no root down to the earth nor did they sprout any ear up to heaven. And others fell on the thorns; they choked the seed, and the worm ate them. And others fell on the good earth, and brought forth good fruit unto heaven, some sixtyfold and some an hundred and twentyfold.

10 Jesus said: I have cast fire upon the world, and behold I guard it until it is ablaze.

11 Jesus said: This heaven shall pass away, and that which above it shall pass away; and they that are dead are not alive and they that live shall not die. In the days when you were eating that which is dead, you were making it alive. When you come in the light, what will you do? On the day when you were one, you became two. But when you have become two, what will you do?

12 The disciples said to Jesus: We know that thou wilt go from us. Who is he who shall be great over us? Jesus said to them: In the place to which you come, you shall go to James the Just for whose sake heaven and earth came into being.

13 Jesus said to his disciples: Make a comparison to me, and tell me whom I am like. Simon Peter said to him: Thou art like a righteous angel. Matthew said to him: Thou art like a wise man of understanding. Thomas said to him: Master, my mouth will no wise suffer that I say whom thou art like. Jesus said: I am not thy master, because thou hast drunk, thou hast become drunk from the bubbling spring which I have measured out. And he took him, went aside, and spoke to him three words. Now when Thomas came to his companions, they asked him: What did Jesus say unto thee? Thomas said to them: If I tell you one of the words which he said to me, you will take up stones and throw them me; and a fire will come out of the stones and burn you up.

14 Jesus said to them: If you fast, you will beget a sin for yourselves; and if you pray, you will be condemned; and if you give alms, you will do an evil to your spirits. And if you go into any land and travel in its regions, if they receive you eat what they set before you. Heal the sick among them. For that which goes into your mouth will not defile you, but that which comes forth from your mouth, that is what will defile you.

15 Jesus said: When you see him who was not born of woman, throw yourselves down upon your face and worship him. He is your Father.

16 Jesus said: Perhaps men think that I am come to cast peace upon the world, and know not that I am come to cast divisions upon the earth, fire, sword, war. For there shall be five in a house; there shall be three against two, and two against three, the father against the son and the son against the father, and they shall stand as solitaries.

17 Jesus said: I will give you that which eye has not seen, an ear has not heard, and hand has not touched, and which has not entered into the heart of man.

18 The disciples said to Jesus: Tell us how our end shall be. Jesus said: Have you then discovered the beginning, that you seek after the end? For where the beginning is, there shall the end be. Blessed is he who shall stand in the beginning, and he shall know the end and shall not taste of death.

19 Jesus said: Blessed is he who was before he came into being. If you become my disciples and hear my words, these stones shall minister unto you. For you have five trees in Paradise which do not move in summer or in winter, and their leaves do not fall. He who knows them shall not taste of death.

20 The disciples said to Jesus: Tell us what the kingdom of heaven is like. He said to them: It is like a grain of mustard-seed, smaller than all seeds; but when it falls on the earth which is tilled, it puts forth a great branch, and becomes shelter for the birds of heaven.

21 Mary said to Jesus: Whom are thy disciples like? He said They are like little children dwelling in a field which is not theirs. When the owners of the field come, they will say: Yield up to us our field. They are naked before them, to yield it up to them and to give them back their field. Therefore I say: If the master of the house knows that the thief is coming, he will keep watch before he comes, and will not let him dig into his house of his kingdom to carry off his vessels. You, then, be watchful over against the world. Gird up your loins with great strength, that the brigands may not find a way to come at you, since the advantage for which you look they will find. May there be among you a man of understanding! When the fruit was ripe, he came quickly, his sickle in his hand, and reaped it. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.

22 Jesus saw some infants at the breast. He said to his disciples: These little ones at the breast are like those who enter into the kingdom. They said to him: If we then be children, shall we enter the kingdom? Jesus said to them: When you make the two one, and when you make the inside as the outside, and the outside as the inside, and the upper side as the lower; and when you make the male and the female into a single one, that the male be not male and the female female; when you make eyes in the place of an eye, and a hand in place of a hand, and a foot in place of a foot, an image in place of an image, then shall you enter [the kingdom].

23 Jesus said: I shall choose you, one out of a thousand, and two out of ten thousand, and they shall stand as a single one.

24 His disciples said: Teach us concerning the place where thou art, for it is necessary for us to seek after it. He said to them: He that hath ears, let him hear. There is a light within a man of light, and it gives light to the whole world. If it does not give light, there is darkness.

25 Jesus said: Love thy brother as thy soul; keep him as the apple of thine eye.

26 Jesus said: The mote which is in thy brother's eye, thou seest; but the beam which is in thine eye, thou seest not. When thou dost cast out the beam from thine own eye, then wilt thou see to cast out the mote from thy brother's eye.

27 Jesus said: If you fast not from the world, you will not find the kingdom; if you keep not the Sabbath as Sabbath, you will not see the Father.

28 Jesus said: I stood in the midst of the world, and I appeared to them in flesh. I found them all drunk, I found none among them thirsting; and my soul was afflicted for the sons of men, for they are blind in their heart and they do not see. For empty came they into the world, seeking also to depart empty from the world. But now they are drunk. When they have thrown off their wine, then will they repent.

29 Jesus said: If the flesh has come into being because of the spirit, it is a marvel; but if the spirit has come into being because of the body, it is a marvel of marvels. But as for me, I marvel at this, how this great wealth has settled in this poverty.

30 Jesus said: Where there are three gods, they are gods; where there are two or one, I am with him.

31 Jesus said: No prophet is acceptable in his village; a physician does not heal those who know him.

32 Jesus said: A city that is built on a high mountain and fortified cannot fall, nor can it remain hidden.

33 Jesus said: What thou shalt hear in thine ear, proclaim to the other ear on your roof-tops. For no man lights a lamp and sets it under a bushel, nor does he put it in a hidden place; but he sets it upon the lamp-stand, that all who go in and come out may see its light.

34 Jesus said: If a blind man lead a blind man, both fall into a pit.

35 Jesus said: It is not possible for anyone to go into the strong man's house and take it or him by force, unless he bind his hands; then he will plunder his house.

36 Jesus said: Be not anxious from morning to evening and from evening to morning about what you shall put on.

37 His disciples said: On what day wilt thou be revealed us, and on what day shall we see thee? Jesus said: When you unclothe yourselves and are not ashamed, and take your garments and lay them beneath your feet like little children, and tread upon them, then [shall ye see] the Son of the living One, and ye shall not fear.

38 Jesus said: Many times have you desired to hear these words which I speak unto you, and you have none other from whom to hear them. Days will come when you will seek after me, and you will not find me.

39 Jesus said: The Pharisees and the scribes have receive the keys of knowledge; they have hidden them. They did not go in, and those who wanted to go in they did not allow. But you be ye wise as serpents and innocent as doves.

40 Jesus said: A vine was planted apart from the Father, and since it is not established it will be pulled up by its roots and destroyed.

41 Jesus said: He who has in his hand, to him shall be given; and he who has not, from him shall be taken even the little that he has.

42 Jesus said: Become passers-by.

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43 His disciples said to him: Who art thou, that thou shouldst say these things to us? Jesus said to them From what I say unto you, you do not understand who I am, but you have become as the Jews; for they love the tree and hate its fruit, and they love the fruit and hate the tree.

44 Jesus said: He who blasphemes against the Father will be forgiven, and he who blasphemes against the Son will be forgiven but he who blasphemes against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven, either on earth or in heaven.

45 Jesus said: They do not gather grapes from thorns, no pluck figs from camel-thistles; they do not yield fruit. A good man brings forth a good thing from his treasure; a bad man bring forth evil things from his evil treasure which is in his heart, and he says evil things; for out of the abundance of his heart he brings forth evil things.

46 Jesus said: From Adam to John the Baptist there is none born of woman who is higher than John the Baptist, so that his eyes will not be broken ? But I have said, He who shall be among you as a little one shall know the kingdom, and shall be higher than John.

47 Jesus said: It is not possible for a man to ride two horses or draw two bows, and it is not possible for a servant to serve two masters; or he will honour the one and insult the other. A man does not drink old wine and immediately desire to drink new wine; and they do not pour new wine into old skins, lest they burst, nor do they pour old wine into new skins, lest it spoil. They do not sew an old patch on a new garment, for a rent will come.

48 Jesus said: If two make peace with one another in this or house, they shall say to the mountain: Be moved, and it shall be moved.

49 Jesus said: Blessed are the solitary and the elect, for you shall find the kingdom; for you came forth thence, and shall go there again.

50 Jesus said: If they say to you: Whence have you come?, tell them: We have come from the light, the place where the light came into being through itself alone. It [stood], and it re- vealed itself in their image. If they say to you: Who are you?, say: We are his sons, and we are the elect of the living Father. If they ask you: What is the sign of your Father in you?, tell them: It is a movement and a rest.

51 His disciples said to him: On what day will the rest of the dead come into being? And on what day will the new world come? He said to them: That which ye await has come, but ye know it not.

52 His disciples said to him: Twenty-four prophets spoke in Israel, and they all spoke concerning lit. in thee. He said them: You have neglected him who is alive before you, and have spoken about the dead.

53 His disciples said to him: Is circumcision profitable or not? He said to them: Were it profitable, their father would beget them from their mother circumcised. But the true circum- cision in spirit has proved entirely profitable lit.: has found usefulness altogether.

54 Jesus said: Blessed are the poor, for yours is the kingdom of heaven.

55 Jesus said: He who shall not hate his father and his mother cannot be my disciple, and he who does not hate his brethren and his sisters and take up his cross like me shall not be worthy of me.

56 Jesus said: He who has known the world has found corpse, and he who has found a corpse, the world is not worthy of him.

57 Jesus said: The kingdom of the Father is like a man who had [good] seed. His enemy came by night, he sowed a weed among the good seed. The man did not allow them to pull up the weed. He said to them: Lest perhaps you go to pull up the weed, and pull up the wheat with it. For on the day of harvest the weeds will be manifest; they will be pulled up and burned.

58 Jesus said: Blessed is the man who has suffered; he has found the life.

59 Jesus said: Look upon the living One so long as you live, that you may not die and seek to see him, and be unable to see.

60 They saw a Samaritan carrying a lamb going into Judaea. He said to his disciples: Why does he carry the lamb? They said to him: That he may kill it and eat it. He said to them: So long as it is alive he will not eat it, but if he kill it and it become a corpse. They said: Otherwise he will not be able to do it. He said to them: You also, seek for yourselves a place within for rest, lest you become a corpse and be eaten.

61 Jesus said: Two shall rest upon a bed; one shall die, the other live.

Salome said: Who art thou; O man? And whose son? Thou hast mounted my bed, and eaten from my table. Jesus said to her I am he who is from that which is equal; to me was given of the things of my Father. Salome said I am thy disciple. Jesus said to her Therefore I say, when it is equal it will be filled with light, but when it is divided it will be filled with darkness

62 Jesus said: I tell my mysteries to those [who are worthy of my] mysteries. What thy right hand shall do, let not thy left hand know what it does.

63 Jesus said: There was a rich man who had many possessions. He said: I will use my possessions that I may sow and reap and plant, and fill my barns with fruit, that I may have need of nothing. These were his thoughts in his heart. And in that night he died. He that hath ears, let him hear.

64 Jesus said: A man had guests, and when he had prepared the dinner he sent his servant to summon the guests. He came to the first; he said to him: My master summons thee. He said: I have money with some merchants. They are coming to me in the evening. I will go and give them orders. I pray to be excused from he dinner. He went to another; he said to him: My master has summoned thee. He said to him: I have bought a house, and they ask me for a day. I shall not have time. He came to another; he aid to him: My master summons thee. He said to him: My friend is about to be married, and I am to hold a dinner. I shall not be able to come. I pray to be excused from the dinner. He went to another; he said to him: My master summons thee. He said him: I have bought a village; I go to collect the rent. I shall not be able to come. I pray to be excused. The servant came, he said to his master: Those whom thou didst summon to the dinner have excused themselves. The master said to his servant: Go out to the roads. Bring those whom thou shall find, that they may dine. The buyers and the merchants [shall] not [enter] the places of my Father.

65 He said: A good man had a vineyard. He gave it to husbandmen that they might work it, and he receive its fruit their hand. He sent his servant, that the husbandmen might give him the fruit of the vineyard. They seized his servant, they beat him, and all but killed him. The servant came and told his master. His master said: Perhaps they did not know him. He sent another servant; the husbandmen beat the other also. Then the master sent his son. He said: Perhaps they will reverence my son. Those husbandmen, since they knew that he was the heir the vineyard, they seized him and killed him. He that hath ears, let him hear.

66 Jesus said: Teach me concerning this stone which the builders rejected; it is the corner -stone.

67 Jesus said: He who knows the All but fails to know him- self lacks everything.

68 Jesus said: Blessed are you when they hate you, and persecute you, and do not find a place in the spot where they persecuted you.

69 Jesus said: Blessed are they who have been persecuted in their heart; these are they who have known the Father in truth. Blessed are they that hunger, that they may fill the belly him who desires.

70 Jesus said: When you bring forth that in yourselves, that which you have will save you. If you do not have that in yourselves, that which you do not have in you will kill you.

71 Jesus said: I will des[troy this] house, and none shall able to build it [again].

72 [A man said] to him: Speak to my brethren, that they may divide my father's possessions with me. He said to him: O man, who made me a divider? He turned to his disciples and said to them: I am not a divider, am I ?

73 Jesus said: The harvest indeed is great, but the labourers are few; but pray the Lord, that he send forth labourers into the harvest.

74 He said: Lord, there are many about the well, but no one in the well.

75 Jesus said: There are many standing at the door, but the solitary are they who shall enter the bridal chamber.

76 Jesus said: The kingdom of the Father is like a merchant was who had a load of goods and found a pearl. That merchant was wise. He sold the load, and bought for himself the pearl alone. You also, seek after his treasure which does not perish but endures, where moth does not enter to devour, nor does worm destroy.

77 Jesus said: I am the light that is over them all. I am the All; the All has come forth from me, and the All has attained unto me. Cleave a piece of wood: I am there. Raise up the stone, an ye shall find me there.

78 Jesus said: Why came ye forth into the field? To see reed shaken by the wind? And to see a man clothed in soft raiment? [Behold, your] kings and your great men are they who are clothed in soft [raiment], and they [shall] not be able to know the truth.

79 A woman in the crowd said to him: Blessed is the womb which bore thee, and the breasts which nourished thee. He said to her: Blessed are they who have heard the word of the Father and have kept it in truth. For there shall be days when you will say: Blessed is that womb which has not conceived, and those breasts which have not given suck.

80 Jesus said: He who has known the world has found the body, and he who has found the body, the world is not worthy of him.

81 Jesus said: He who has become rich, let him become king, and he who has power let him deny.

82 Jesus said: He who is near to me is near the fire, and he who is far from me is far from the kingdom.

83 Jesus said: The images are revealed to the man, and the light which is in them is hidden in the image of the light of the Father. He shall be revealed, and his image is hidden by his light.

84 Jesus said: When you see your likeness, you rejoice; but when you see your images which came into being before you -- they neither die nor are made manifest -- how much will you bear?

85 Jesus said: Adam came into being out of a great power and a great wealth, and yet he was not worthy of you. For if he tad been worthy, he would not have tasted of death.

86 Jesus said: [The foxes have] the[ir holes] and the birds have [theirs nest, but the Son of Man has no place to lay his head and rest.

87 Jesus said: Wretched is the body which depends upon a body, and wretched is the soul which depends on these two.

88 Jesus said: The angels come to you, and the prophets, and they shall give you what belongs to you; and you also, give the what is in your hands, and say to yourselves: On what day do they come and take what is theirs?

89 Jesus said: Why do you wash the outside of the cup? Do you not understand that he who made the inside is also he who made the outside?

90 Jesus said: Come unto me, for easy is my yoke and my lordship is gentle, and you shall find rest for yourselves.

91 They said to him: Tell us who thou art, that we may believe in thee. He said to them: You test the face of the heaven and the earth, and him who is before you you do not know, and you know not to test this moment.

92 Jesus said: Seek, and ye shall find; but those things concerning which ye asked me in those days, I did not tell you then. Now I wish to tell them, and ye seek not after them.

93 Jesus said: Give not that which is holy to the dogs, lest they cast them on the dung- heap; cast not the pearls to the swine lest they grind it [to bits].

94 Jesus [said]: He who seeks shall find, and he who knock to him it shall be opened.

95 [Jesus said]: If you have money, do not lend at interest, but give [it] to him from whom you will not receive them back.

96 Jesus [said]: The kingdom of the Father is like a woman who took a little leaven and [hid] it in meal; she made large loaves of it. He that hath ears, let him hear.

97 Jesus said: The kingdom of the [Father] is like a woman; carrying a jar full of meal and walking a long way. The handle the jar broke; the meal poured out behind her on the road. She was unaware, she knew not her loss. When she came into her house, she put down the jar and found it empty.

98 Jesus said: The kingdom of the Father is like a man who wanted to kill a great man. He drew the sword in his house and drove it into the wall, that he might know that his hand would be strong. Then he slew the great man.

99 The disciples said to him: Thy brethren and thy mother are standing outside. He said to them: Those here who do the will of my Father, these are my brethren and my mother; these are they who shall enter into the kingdom of my Father.

100 They showed Jesus a gold piece and said to him: They who belong to Caesar demand tribute from us. He said to them: What belongs to Caesar give to Caesar, what belongs to God give to God, and what is mine give unto me.

101 Jesus said He who shall not hate his father and: mother like me cannot be my [disciple], and he who shall [not] love [his father] and his mother like me cannot be my [disciple]; for my mother [. . .] but my true [mother] gave me life.

102 And Jesus said: Woe to them, the Pharisees! For they are like a dog sleeping in the manger of the cattle; for he neither eats, nor does he let the cattle eat.

103 Jesus said: Blessed is the man who knows in what part the robbers are coming, that he may rise and gather his [domain] and gird up his loins before they come in.

104 They said [to him]: Come, let us pray today and fast. Jesus said: What then is the sin that I have done, or wherein have I been vanquished? But when the bridegroom comes forth from the bridal chamber, then let them fast and pray.

105 Jesus said: He who shall know father and mother shall be called the son of a harlot.

106 Jesus said: When you make the two one, you shall become sons of man, and when you say: Mountain, be moved, it shall be moved.

I07 Jesus said: The kingdom is like a shepherd who had hundred sheep. One of them, the biggest, went astray. He left the ninety-nine and sought after the one till he found it. When he had laboured, he said to the sheep: I love thee more than the ninety-nine.

I08 Jesus said: He who shall drink from my mouth shall become like me; I myself will become he, and the hidden thing shall be revealed to him.

109 Jesus said: The kingdom is like a man who had in his field a [hidden] treasure about which he did not know; and [after] he died he left it to his [son. The] son also did not know; he took possession of that field and sold it. The man who bough it came to plough, and [found] the treasure. He began to lend money at interest to whomsoever he chose.

110 Jesus said: He who has found the world and become rich, let him deny the world.

111 Jesus said: The heavens shall be rolled up and the earth before your face, and he who lives in the living One shall neither see death nor fear; because Jesus says: He who shall find himself, of him the world is not worthy.

112 Jesus said: Woe to the flesh which depends upon the soul; woe to the soul which depends upon the flesh.

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113 His disciples said to him: On what day will the kingdom come? (Jesus said): It cometh not with observation. They will not say: Lo, here! or: Lo, there! But the kingdom of the Father is spread out upon the earth, and men do not see it.

114 Simon Peter said to them: Let Mary go forth from among us, for women are not worthy of the life. Jesus said: Behold, I shall lead her, that I may make her male, in order that she also may become a living spirit like you males. For every woman who makes herself male shall enter into the kingdom of heaven.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MARY MAGDALENE

The Gospel of Mary of Magdala (also: Mariamne Mara)
From: Berlin Codex, Akhmim, Coptic, Egypt 1896
Translation: Andrew Bernhard
Estimated Range of Dating: 120-180 A.D.

(The Gospel of Mary is an apocryphal book discovered in 1896 in a 5th-century papyrus codex called the Berlin Codex, also known as the Akhmim Codex. It also contains the Apocryphon of John, the Sophia [knowledge] of Jesus Christ, and a summary of the Act of Peter. All four works contained in the manuscript are written in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic. Two other fragments of the Gospel of Mary have been discovered since, both written in Greek (Papyrus Oxyrhynchus L 3525 and Papyrus Rylands 463). P.Oxy. L 3525", were in fact found by Grenfell and Hunt some time between 1897 and 1906, but only published in 1983," by P. J. Parsons.

Although the work is popularly known as the Gospel of Mary, it is not technically classed as a gospel because the term 'gospel' is used as a label for any written text that is primarily focused on teachings or activities of Jesus during his adult life.

Scholars are not sure if Mary is the central character of the Gospel of Mary. However, on one osuary in the cemetary of Talpiot (Jerusalem) which is identified as tomb of "Jesus' son of Joseph," bears the name Mariamne Mara (Mary the Master /teacher) denoting her as leader of the early Jesus movement.

Arguments in favour of Mary Magdalene are based on her status as a known follower of Jesus, the tradition of being the first witness of his resurrection, and her appearance in other early Christian writings. Most scholars seem to be in favour of naming Mary Magdalene as the central figure in the Gospel of Mary because it was the traditions of Mary as a woman, as an exemplary disciple, a witness to the ministry of Jesus, a visionary of the glorified Jesus, and someone traditionally in contest with Peter, that made her the only figure who could play all the roles required to convey the messages and meanings of the Gospel of Mary.

The text reveals tensions within 2nd-century Christianity, reflected in the confrontation of Mary with Peter (Simon Kepa), which is a scene also found in The Gospel of Thomas, the Pistis Sophia, and the Coptic Gospel of the Egyptians. Peter and Andrew represent chauvinistic positions which deny the leadership of women and their authority to teach.)

[. . .]

MARY MAGALENE CHAPTER 4

(Pages 1 to 6 of the manuscript,
containing chapters 1 - 3, are lost.
The extant text starts on page 7...)

. . . Will matter then be destroyed or not?

22 The Saviour said, All nature, all formations, all creatures exist in and with one another, and they will be resolved again into their own roots.

23 For the nature of matter is resolved into the roots of its own nature alone.

24 He who has ears to hear, let him hear.

25 Peter said to him, Since you have explained everything to us, tell us this also: What is the sin of the world?

26 The Saviour said There is no sin, but it is you who make sin when you do the things that are like the nature of adultery, which is called sin.

27 That is why the Good came into your midst, to the essence of every nature in order to restore it to its root.

28 Then He continued and said, That is why you become sick and die, for you are deprived of the one who can heal you.

29 He who has a mind to understand, let him understand.

30 Matter gave birth to a passion that has no equal, which proceeded from something contrary to nature. Then there arises a disturbance in its whole body.

31 That is why I said to you, Be of good courage, and if you are discouraged be encouraged in the presence of the different forms of nature.

32 He who has ears to hear, let him hear.

33 When the Blessed One had said this, He greeted them all,saying, Peace be with you. Receive my peace unto yourselves.

34 Beware that no one lead you astray saying Lo here or lo there! For the Son of Man is within you.

35 Follow after Him!

36 Those who seek Him will find Him.

37 Go then and preach the gospel of the Kingdom.

38 Do not lay down any rules beyond what I appointed you, and do not give a law like the lawgiver lest you be constrained by it.

39 When He said this He departed.

MARY MAGALENE CHAPTER 5

1 But they were grieved. They wept greatly, saying, How shall we go to the Gentiles and preach the gospel of the Kingdom of the Son of Man? If they did not spare Him, how will they spare us?

2 Then Mary stood up, greeted them all, and said to her brethren, Do not weep and do not grieve nor be irresolute, for His grace will be entirely with you and will protect you.

3 But rather, let us praise His greatness, for He has prepared us and made us into Men.

4 When Mary said this, she turned their hearts to the Good, and they began to discuss the words of the Saviour.

5 Peter said to Mary, Sister we know that the Saviour loved you more than the rest of woman.

6 Tell us the words of the Saviour which you remember which you know, but we do not, nor have we heard them.

7 Mary answered and said, What is hidden from you I will proclaim to you.

8 And she began to speak to them these words: I, she said, I saw the Lord in a vision and I said to Him, Lord I saw you today in a vision. He answered and said to me,

9 Blessed are you that you did not waver at the sight of Me. For where the mind is there is the treasure.

10 I said to Him, Lord, how does he who sees the vision see it, through the soul or through the spirit?

11 The Saviour answered and said, He does not see through the soul nor through the spirit, but the mind that is between the two that is what sees the vision and it is [...]

(pages 11 - 14 are missing from the manuscript)

MARY MAGALENE CHAPTER 8:

. . . it.

10 And desire said, I did not see you descending, but now I see you ascending. Why do you lie since you belong to me?

11 The soul answered and said, I saw you. You did not see me nor recognise me. I served you as a garment and you did not know me.

12 When it said this, it (the soul went away rejoicing greatly.

13 Again it came to the third power, which is called ignorance.

14 The power questioned the soul, saying, Where are you going? In wickedness are you bound. But you are bound; do not judge!

15 And the soul said, Why do you judge me, although I have not judged?

16 I was bound, though I have not bound.

17 I was not recognised. But I have recognised that the All is being dissolved, both the earthly things and the heavenly.

18 When the soul had overcome the third power, it went upwards and saw the fourth power, which took seven forms.

19 The first form is darkness, the second desire, the third ignorance, the fourth is the excitement of death, the fifth is the kingdom of the flesh, the sixth is the foolish wisdom of flesh, the seventh is the wrathful wisdom. These are the seven powers of wrath.

20 They asked the soul, Whence do you come slayer of men, or where are you going, conqueror of space?

21 The soul answered and said, What binds me has been slain, and what turns me about has been overcome,

22 and my desire has been ended, and ignorance has died.

23 In a aeon I was released from a world, and in a Type from a type, and from the fetter of oblivion which is transient.

24 From this time on will I attain to the rest of the time, of the season, of the aeon, in silence.

MARY MAGALENE CHAPTER 9

1 When Mary had said this, she fell silent, since it was to this point that the Saviour had spoken with her.

2 But Andrew answered and said to the brethren, Say what you wish to say about what she has said. I at least do not believe that the Saviour said this. For certainly these teachings are strange ideas.

3 Peter answered and spoke concerning these same things.

4 He questioned them about the Saviour: Did He really speak privately with a woman and not openly to us? Are we to turn about and all listen to her? Did He prefer her to us?

5 Then Mary wept and said to Peter, My brother Peter, what do you think? Do you think that I have thought this up myself in my heart, or that I am lying about the Saviour?

6 Levi answered and said to Peter, Peter you have always been hot tempered.

7 Now I see you contending against the woman like the adversaries.

8 But if the Saviour made her worthy, who are you indeed to reject her? Surely the Saviour knows her very well.

9 That is why He loved her more than us. Rather let us be ashamed and put on the perfect Man, and separate as He commanded us and preach the gospel, not laying down any other rule or other law beyond what the Saviour said.

10 And when they heard this they began to go forth to teach and to preach.

The Gos]pel according to Mary.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO PHILIP

The Gospel of Philip (the brother of Mary Magdalene)
From: Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt
Translation: Wesley W. Isenberg
Estimated Range of Dating: 140-250 A.D.

(The Gospel of Philip is one of the Gnostic Gospels, a text of New Testament apocrypha, dated to around the 2nd century but lost in medieval times until it was rediscovered by accident, buried in a cave near Nag Hammadi, Egypt, in 1945.

The text is not related to the canonical gospels or to any text of the Roman Empire's "Pauline Church". The Gospel of Philip is a text that reveals some connexions with Early Christian writings. It is a series of sentences which are quotations and excerpts of lost writings, without any attempt at a narrative context. It is similar to the Gospel of Thomas.

The gospel's title appears at the end of the Coptic manuscript in a colophon; the only connexion with Philip. The Gospel of Philip was written probably between 150 and 250; the papyrus copy was made at around 350 AD. A single manuscript of the Gospel of Philip, in Coptic (CG II), was found in the Nag Hammadi library, a leather folder of documents that was stored in a jar and buried in the Egyptian desert at the end of the 4th century. The text was bound in the same codex that contained the better-known Gospel of Thomas.

Scholars debate whether the original language was Aramaic or Greek. Wesley W. Isenberg, the text's translator, places the date the 2nd half of the 3rd century" and places its probable origin in Syria due to its references to Syriac-Aramaic words and eastern baptismal practices as well as its ascetic outlook.

It is still a question whether the text is a single discourse or a collection of Valentinian sayings. Valentinus (also spelled Valentinius; c. 100–160 AD), was the most successful early Christian gnostic theologian at the time. Gnosticism (those who know [the truth]) most likely derived from a non-Pauline movement close to the Christian groups whose beliefs were developed by Jesus and his brother James the Just.

Major theme is the institution of marriage. As in the other gnostic texts, the Gospel of Thomas and Gospel of Mary, the Gospel of Philip defends the tradition that gives Mary Magdalene special insight into Jesus' teachings. The Ancient Coptic manuscript describes Jesus as Mary's "koinonos", a Greek word for "companion", which implies a sexual and therefore marital relationship. Jesus was a rabbi (priest) and it was normal for a rabbi to be married with children.

Remarkable is this gospel foremostly because it shows no sign of despise and hatred against women' stuff and sexuality as we find it in the teachings of Peter and Paul in the canonical texts of the New Testament. Their miserable depiction of women, marriage, sex, in favour for unnatural celebacy, has caused people to suffer for generations.

From the mix of aphorisms, parables, brief polemics, narrative dialogue, biblical exegesis (especially of Genesis), and dogmatic propositions, Wesley T. Isenberg, the translator of the text, has attributed seventeen sayings (logia) to Jesus, nine of which characterise citations and interpretations of those in the canonical gospels. The Gospel emphasises the sacramental nature of the embrace between man and woman in their bedroom, which is an archetype of spiritual unity, which entails the indissoluble nature of marriage.

In different places in the Gospel of Philip, Mary Magdalene is called Jesus's companion, partner or consort, using Coptic variants of the Greek word koinonos or the Egyptian word hotre. In this text koinonos is used. There is a very interesting passage, referring to Jesus kissing Mary Magdalene:

"And the companion of the [Lord is] Mary Magdalene. [He loved] her more than [all] the disciples [and used to] kiss her [often] on her [mouth]. The rest of [the disciples jealously complained]. They said to him, "Why do you love her more than all of us?" The Saviour answered and said to them, "Why do I not love you like her? When a blind man and one who sees are both together in the darkness, they are no different from one another. When the light comes, then he who sees will see the light, and he who is blind will remain in darkness."

The text is incomplete because of damage to the original manuscript. Several words are missing. Guesses as to what they were are shown in brackets. In the text, the disciples jealously complain that Jesus loved Mary more than he loved them. Jesus explains to them what she means to him. Most notably, there is a hole in the manuscript after the phrase "and used to kiss her [often] on her...." Some scholars speculate whether the word after "kiss her... on her" might be cheek, forehead, hand or feet, to simply show respect.

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However, Isenberg (1996, pp. 139) translates it as "on her mouth" because it is the only logical translation within the text's contexts that mainly relates to marriage and sex.

The Gospel of Philip ends with a reference to Genesis 9:7, "And you, be ye fruitful, and multiply; bring forth abundantly in the earth, and multiply therein." Yet in the Gospel of Philip, the verse is rendered into a highly philosophical masterpiece:

"If anyone becomes a 'son of the bridechamber' [got married] he will receive the Light [create life]. If anyone does not receive it while he is in these places, he cannot receive it in the other place [is impotent]. He who receives any Light will not be seen, nor can he be held fast [for creating life is an invisible biological act]. No one will be able to trouble him in this way, whether he lives in the world or leaves the world [the effort to create life decides whether you stay alive in your children or die]. He has already received the Truth in images [of sexual fantasies], and the World has become the Aeon [and this is the power of life]. For the Aeon [power of life, sperma] already exists for him as Pleroma [full divine powers since birth], and he exists in this way. It is revealed to him alone, since it is not hidden in darkness and night but is hidden in a perfect Day and a holy Light [This is the truth of life.].")

1 A Hebrew makes another Hebrew, and such a person is called "proselyte". But a proselyte does not make another proselyte. [...] just as they [...] and make others like themselves, while others simply exist.

2 The slave seeks only to be free, but he does not hope to acquire the estate of his master. But the son is not only a son but lays claim to the inheritance of the father. Those who are heirs to the dead are themselves dead, and they inherit the dead. Those who are heirs to what is living are alive, and they are heirs to both what is living and the dead. The dead are heirs to nothing. For how can he who is dead inherit? If he who is dead inherits what is living he will not die, but he who is dead will live even more.

3 A Gentile does not die, for he has never lived in order that he may die. He who has believed in the truth has found life, and this one is in danger of dying, for he is alive. Since Christ came, the world has been created, the cities adorned, the dead carried out. When we were Hebrews, we were orphans and had only our mother, but when we became Christians, we had both father and mother.

4 Those who sow in winter reap in summer. The winter is the world, the summer the other Aeon (eternal realm). Let us sow in the world that we may reap in the summer. Because of this, it is fitting for us not to pray in the winter. Summer follows winter. But if any man reap in winter he will not actually reap but only pluck out, since it will not provide a harvest for such a person. It is not only [...] that it will [...] come forth, but also on the Sabbath [...] is barren.

5 Christ came to ransom some, to save others, to redeem others. He ransomed those who were strangers and made them his own. And he set his own apart, those whom he gave as a pledge according to his plan. It was not only when he appeared that he voluntarily laid down his life, but he voluntarily laid down his life from the very day the world came into being. Then he came first in order to take it, since it had been given as a pledge. It fell into the hands of robbers and was taken captive, but he saved it. He redeemed the good people in the world as well as the evil.

6 Light and Darkness, life and death, right and left, are brothers of one another. They are inseparable. Because of this neither are the good good, nor evil evil, nor is life life, nor death death. For this reason each one will dissolve into its earliest origin. But those who are exalted above the world are indissoluble, eternal.

7 Names given to the worldly are very deceptive, for they divert our thoughts from what is correct to what is incorrect. Thus one who hears the word "God" does not perceive what is correct, but perceives what is incorrect. So also with "the Father" and "the Son" and "the Holy Spirit" and "life" and "light" and "resurrection" and "the Church (Ekklesia)" and all the rest - people do not perceive what is correct but they perceive what is incorrect, unless they have come to know what is correct. The names which are heard are in the world [...] deceive. If they were in the Aeon (eternal realm), they would at no time be used as names in the world. Nor were they set among worldly things. They have an end in the Aeon.

8 One single name is not uttered in the world, the name which the Father gave to the Son; it is the name above all things: the name of the Father. For the Son would not become Father unless he wore the name of the Father. Those who have this name know it, but they do not speak it. But those who do not have it do not know it.

9 But truth brought names into existence in the world for our sakes, because it is not possible to learn it (truth) without these names. Truth is one single thing; it is many things and for our sakes to teach about this one thing in love through many things. The rulers (archons) wanted to deceive man, since they saw that he had a kinship with those that are truly good. They took the name of those that are good and gave it to those that are not good, so that through the names they might deceive him and bind them to those that are not good. And afterward, what a favor they do for them! They make them be removed from those that are not good and place them among those that are good. These things they knew, for they wanted to take the free man and make him a slave to them forever.

10 These are powers which [...] man, not wishing him to be saved, in order that they may [...]. For if man is saved, there will not be any sacrifices [...] and animals will not be offered to the powers. Indeed, the animals were the ones to whom they sacrificed. They were indeed offering them up alive, but when they offered them up, they died. As for man, they offered him up to God dead, and he lived.

11 Before Christ came, there was no bread in the world, just as Paradise, the place were Adam was, had many trees to nourish the animals but no wheat to sustain man. Man used to feed like the animals, but when Christ came, the perfect man, he brought bread from heaven in order that man might be nourished with the food of man. The rulers thought that it was by their own power and will that they were doing what they did, but the Holy Spirit in secret was accomplishing everything through them as it wished. Truth, which existed since the beginning, is sown everywhere. And many see it being sown, but few are they who see it being reaped.

12 Some said, "Mary conceived by the Holy Spirit." They are in error. They do not know what they are saying. When did a woman ever conceive by a woman? Mary is the virgin whom no power defiled. She is a great anathema to the Hebrews, who are the apostles and the apostolic men. This virgin whom no power defiled [...] the powers defile themselves. And the Lord would not have said "My Father who is in Heaven" (Mt 16:17), unless he had had another father, but he would have said simply "My father".

13 The Lord said to the disciples, "[...] from every house. Bring into the house of the Father. But do not take (anything) in the house of the Father nor carry it off."

14 "Jesus" is a hidden name, "Christ" is a revealed name. For this reason "Jesus" is not particular to any language; rather he is always called by the name "Jesus". While as for "Christ", in Syriac it is "Messiah", in Greek it is "Christ". Certainly all the others have it according to their own language. "The Nazarene" is he who reveals what is hidden. Christ has everything in himself, whether man, or angel, or mystery, and the Father.

15 Those who say that the Lord died first and (then) rose up are in error, for he rose up first and (then) died. If one does not first attain the resurrection, he will not die. As God lives, he would [...].

16 No one will hide a large valuable object in something large, but many a time one has tossed countless thousands into a thing worth a penny. Compare the soul. It is a precious thing and it came to be in a contemptible body.

17 Some are afraid lest they rise naked. Because of this they wish to rise in the flesh, and they do not know that it is those who wear the flesh who are naked. It is those who [...] to unclothe themselves who are not naked. "Flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God" (1 Co 15:50). What is this which will not inherit? This which is on us. But what is this, too, which will inherit? It is that which belongs to Jesus and his blood. Because of this he said "He who shall not eat my flesh and drink my blood has not life in him" (Jn 6:53). What is it? His flesh is the word, and his blood is the Holy Spirit. He who has received these has food and he has drink and clothing. I find fault with the others who say that it will not rise. Then both of them are at fault. You say that the flesh will not rise. But tell me what will rise, that we may honour you. You say the Spirit in the flesh, and it is also this light in the flesh. (But) this too is a matter which is in the flesh, for whatever you shall say, you say nothing outside the flesh. It is necessary to rise in this flesh, since everything exists in it. In this world, those who put on garments are better than the garments. In the Kingdom of Heaven, the garments are better than those that put them on.

18 It is through water and fire that the whole place is purified - the visible by the visible, the hidden by the hidden. There are some things hidden through those visible. There is water in water, there is fire in chrism.

19 Jesus took them all by stealth, for he did not appear as he was, but in the manner in which they would be able to see him. He appeared to them all. He appeared to the great as great. He appeared to the small as small. He appeared to the angels as an angel, and to men as a man. Because of this, his word hid itself from everyone. Some indeed saw him, thinking that they were seeing themselves, but when he appeared to his disciples in glory on the mount, he was not small. He became great, but he made the disciples great, that they might be able to see him in his greatness.

20 He said on that day in the thanksgiving, "You who have joined the perfect light with the Holy Spirit, unite the angels with us also, as being the images." Do not despise the lamb, for without it, it is not possible to see the king. No one will be able to go in to the king if he is naked.

21 The heavenly man has many more sons than the earthly man. If the sons of Adam are many, although they die, how much more the sons of the perfect man, they who do not die but are always begotten. The father makes a son, and the son has not the power to make a son. For he who has been begotten has not the power to beget, but the son gets brothers for himself, not sons. All who are begotten in the world are begotten in a natural way, and the others are nourished from the place whence they have been born. It is from being promised to the heavenly place that man receives nourishment. [...] him from the mouth. And had the word gone out from that place, it would be nourished from the mouth and it would become perfect. For it is by a kiss that the perfect conceive and give birth. For this reason we also kiss one another. We receive conception from the grace which is in one another.

22 There were three who always walked with the Lord: Mary, his mother, and her sister, and Magdalene, the one who was called his companion. His sister and his mother and his companion were each a Mary.

23 "The Father" and "the Son" are single names; "the Holy Spirit" is a double name. For they are everywhere: they are above, they are below; they are in the concealed, they are in the revealed. The Holy Spirit is in the revealed: it is below. It is in the concealed: it is above.

24 The saints are served by evil powers, for they are blinded by the Holy Spirit into thinking that they are serving an (ordinary) man whenever they do so for the saints. Because of this, a disciple asked the Lord one day for something of this world. He said to him, "Ask your mother, and she will give you of the things which are another's."

25 The apostles said to the disciples, "May our entire offering obtain salt." They called Sophia "salt". Without it, no offering is acceptable. But Sophia is barren, without child. For this reason, she is called "a trace of salt". Wherever they will [...] in their own way, the Holy Spirit [...], and her children are many.

26 What the father possesses belongs to the son, and the son himself, so long as he is small, is not entrusted with what is his. But when he becomes a man, his father gives him all that he possesses.

26 Those who have gone astray, whom the spirit begets, usually go astray also because of the Spirit. Thus, by one and the same breath, the fire blazes and is put out.

27 Echamoth is one thing and Echmoth, another. Echamoth is Wisdom simply, but Echmoth is the Wisdom of death, which is the one who knows death, which is called "the little Wisdom".

28 There are domestic animals, like the bull and the ass and others of this kind. Others are wild and live apart in the deserts. Man ploughs the field by means of the domestic animals, and from this he is nourished, he and the animals, whether tame or wild. Compare the perfect man. It is through powers which are submissive that he ploughs, preparing for everything to come into being. For it is because of this that the whole place stands, whether the good or the evil, the right and the left. The Holy Spirit shepherds everyone and rules all the powers, the "tame" ones and the "wild" ones, as well as those which are unique. For indeed he [...] shuts them in, in order that [...] wish, they will not be able to escape.

29 He who has been created is beautiful, but you would <not> find his sons noble creations. If he were not created, but begotten, you would find that his seed was noble. But now he was created (and) he begot. What nobility is this? First, adultery came into being, afterward murder. And he was begotten in adultery, for he was the child of the Serpent. So he became a murderer, just like his father, and he killed his brother. Indeed, every act of sexual intercourse which has occurred between those unlike one another is adultery.

30 God is a dyer. As the good dyes, which are called "true", dissolve with the things dyed in them, so it is with those whom God has dyed. Since his dyes are immortal, they become immortal by means of his colors. Now God dips what he dips in water.

31 It is not possible for anyone to see anything of the things that actually exist unless he becomes like them. This is not the way with man in the world: he sees the sun without being a sun; and he sees the heaven and the earth and all other things, but he is not these things. This is quite in keeping with the truth. But you saw something of that place, and you became those things. You saw the Spirit, you became spirit. You saw Christ, you became Christ. You saw the Father, you shall become Father. So in this place you see everything and do not see yourself, but in that place you do see yourself - and what you see you shall become.

32 Faith receives, love gives. No one will be able to receive without faith. No one will be able to give without love. Because of this, in order that we may indeed receive, we believe, and in order that we may love, we give, since if one gives without love, he has no profit from what he has given. He who has received something other than the Lord is still a Hebrew.

33 The apostles who were before us had these names for him: "Jesus, the Nazorean, Messiah", that is, "Jesus, the Nazorean, the Christ". The last name is "Christ", the first is "Jesus", that in the middle is "the Nazarene". "Messiah" has two meanings,

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both "the Christ" and "the measured". "Jesus" in Hebrew is "the redemption". "Nazara" is "the Truth". "The Nazarene" then, is "the Truth". "Christ" [...] has been measured. "The Nazarene" and "Jesus" are they who have been measured.

34 When the pearl is cast down into the mud, it becomes greatly despised, nor if it is anointed with balsam oil will it become more precious. But it always has value in the eyes of its owner. Compare the Sons of God: wherever they may be, they still have value in the eyes of their Father.

35 If you say, "I am a Jew," no one will be moved. If you say, "I am a Roman," no one will be disturbed. If you say, "I am a Greek, a barbarian, a slave, a free man," no one will be troubled. If you say, "I am a Christian," the [...] will tremble. Would that I might [...] like that - the person whose name [...] will not be able to endure hearing.

36 God is a man-eater. For this reason, men are sacrificed to him. Before men were sacrificed, animals were being sacrificed, since those to whom they were sacrificed were not gods.

37 Glass decanters and earthenware jugs are both made by means of fire. But if glass decanters break, they are done over, for they came into being through a breath. If earthenware jugs break, however, they are destroyed, for they came into being without breath.

38 An ass which turns a millstone did a hundred miles walking. When it was loosed, it found that it was still at the same place. There are men who make many journeys, but make no progress towards any destination. When evening came upon them, they saw neither city nor village, neither human artifact nor natural phenomenon, power nor angel. In vain have the wretches laboured.

39 The eucharist is Jesus. For he is called in Syriac "Pharisatha," which is "the one who is spread out," for Jesus came to crucify the world.

40 The Lord went into the dye works of Levi. He took seventy-two different colours and threw them into the vat. He took them out all white. And he said, "Even so has the Son of Man come as a dyer."

41 As for the [Sophia, the goddess of] Wisdom who is called "the barren," she is the mother of the angels. And the companion of the [Lord is] Mary Magdalene. [He] loved her more than all the disciples, and used to kiss her often on her [mouth]. The rest of the disciples [jealously complained]. They said to him "Why do you love her more than all of us?" The Saviour answered and said to them,"Why do I not love you like her? When a blind man and one who sees are both together in darkness, they are no different from one another. When the light comes, then he who sees will see the light, and he who is blind will remain in darkness."

42 The Lord said, "Blessed is he who is before he came into being. For he who is, has been and shall be."

43 The superiority of man is not obvious to the eye, but lies in what is hidden from view. Consequently, he has mastery over the animals which are stronger than he is and great in terms of the obvious and the hidden. This enables them to survive. But if man is separated from them, they slay one another and bite one another. They ate one another because they did not find any food. But now they have found food because man tilled the soil.

44 If one goes down into the water and comes up without having received anything, and says "I am a Christian," he has borrowed the name at interest. But if he receives the Holy Spirit, he has the name as a gift. He who has received a gift does not have to give it back, but of him who has borrowed it at interest, payment is demanded. This is the way it happens to one when he experiences a mystery.

45 Great is the mystery of marriage! For without it, the world would not exist. Now the existence of the world [is obvious], and the existence of [it owes it to] marriage. Think of the [sexual] relationship, for it possesses [the life's] power. Its image consists of a defilement (bad reputation).

46 The forms of evil spirit (however) include male ones and female ones. The males are they which unite with the souls which inhabit a female form, but the females are they which are mingled with those in a male form, though one who was disobedient. And none shall be able to escape them, since they detain him if he does not receive a male power or a female power, the bridegroom and the bride. One receives them from the mirrored bridal chamber. When the wanton women see a male sitting alone, they leap down on him and play with him and defile him. So also the lecherous men, when they see a beautiful woman sitting alone, they persuade her and compel her, wishing to defile her. But if they see the man and his wife sitting beside one another, the female cannot come into the man, nor can the male come into the woman. So if the image and the angel are united with one another, neither can any venture to go into the man or the woman.

47 He who comes out of the world, and so can no longer be detained on the grounds that he was in the world, evidently is above the desire of the [...] and fear. He is master over [...]. He is superior to envy. If [...] comes, they seize him and throttle him. And how will this one be able to escape the great [...] powers? How will he be able to [...]? There are some who say, "We are faithful" in order that [...] the unclean spirits and the demons. For if they had the Holy Spirit, no unclean spirit would cleave to them. Fear not the flesh nor love it. If you fear it, it will gain mastery over you. If you love it, it will swallow and paralyse you.

48 And so he dwells either in this world or in the resurrection or in the middle place. God forbid that I be found in there! In this world, there is good and evil. Its good things are not good, and its evil things not evil. But there is evil after this world which is truly evil - what is called "the middle". It is death. While we are in this world, it is fitting for us to acquire the resurrection, so that when we strip off the flesh, we may be found in rest and not walk in the middle. For many go astray on the way. For it is good to come forth from the world before one has sinned.

49 There are some who neither will nor have the power to; and others who, if they will, do not profit; for they did not act since [...] makes them sinners. And if they do not will, justice will elude them in both cases: and it is always a matter of the will, not the act.

50 An apostolic man in a vision saw some people shut up in a house of fire and bound with fiery [...], lying [...] flaming [...], them in [...] faith [...]. And he said to them, "[...] able to be saved?" [...], "They did not desire it. They received [...] punishment, what is called 'the [...] darkness', because he [...]."

51 It is from water and fire that the soul and the spirit came into being. It is from water and fire and light that the son of the bridal chamber (came into being). The fire is the chrism, the light is the fire. I am not referring to that fire which has no form, but to the other fire whose form is white, which is bright and beautiful, and which gives beauty.

52 Truth did not come into the world naked, but it came in types and images. The world will not receive truth in any other way. There is a rebirth and an image of rebirth. It is certainly necessary to be born again through the image. Which one? Resurrection. The image must rise again through the image. The bridal chamber and the image must enter through the image into the truth: this is the restoration. Not only must those who produce the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, do so, but have produced them for you. If one does not acquire them, the name ("Christian") will also be taken from him. But one receives the unction of the [...] of the power of the cross. This power the apostles called "the right and the left." For this person is no longer a Christian but a Christ.

53 The Lord did everything in a mystery, a baptism and a chrism and a eucharist and a redemption and a bridal chamber. [...] he said, "I came to make the things below like the things above, and the things outside like those inside. I came to unite them in the place." [...] here through types [...]and images.

54 Those who say, "There is a heavenly man and there is one above him" are wrong. For it is the first of these two heavenly men, the one who is revealed, that they call "the one who is below"; and he to whom the hidden belongs is that one who is above him. For it would be better for them to say, "The inner and outer, and what is outside the outer". Because of this, the Lord called destruction the "the outer darkness": there is not another outside of it. He said, "My Father who is in secret". He said, "Go into your chamber and shut the door behind you, and pray to your Father who is in secret" (Mt 6:6), the one who is within them all. But that which is within them all is the fullness. Beyond it, there is nothing else within it. This is that of which they say, "That which is above them".

55 Before Christ, some came from a place they were no longer able to enter, and they went where they were no longer able to come out. Then Christ came. Those who went in, he brought out, and those who went out, he brought in.

56 When Eve was still with Adam, death did not exist. When she was separated from him, death came into being. If he enters again and attains his former self, death will be no more.

57 "My God, my God, why, O Lord, have you forsaken me?" (Mk 15:34). It was on the cross that he said these words, for he had departed from that place.

58 [...] who has been begotten through him who [...] from God.

59 The [...] from the dead. [...] to be, but now [...] perfect. [...] flesh, but this [...] is true flesh. [...] is not true, but [...] only possess an image of the true.

60 A bridal chamber is not for the animals, nor is it for the slaves, nor for defiled women; but it is for free men and virgins.

61 Through the Holy Spirit we are indeed begotten again, but we are begotten through Christ in the two. We are anointed through the Spirit. When we were begotten, we were united. None can see himself either in water or in a mirror without light. Nor again can you see in light without mirror or water. For this reason, it is fitting to baptise in the two, in the light and the water. Now the light is the chrism.

62 There were three buildings specifically for sacrifice in Jerusalem. The one facing the west was called "The Holy". Another, facing south, was called "The Holy of the Holy". The third, facing east, was called "The Holy of the Holies", the place where only the high priest enters. Baptism is "the Holy" building. Redemption is the "Holy of the Holy". "The Holy of the Holies" is the bridal chamber. Baptism includes the resurrection and the redemption; the redemption (takes place) in the bridal chamber. But the bridal chamber is in that which is superior to [...] you will not find [...] are those who pray [...] Jerusalem who [...] Jerusalem, [...] those called the "Holy of the Holies" [...] the veil was rent, [...] bridal chamber except the image [...] above. Because of this, its veil was rent from top to bottom. For it was fitting for some from below to go upward.

63 The powers do not see those who are clothed in the perfect light, and consequently are not able to detain them. One will clothe himself in this light sacramentally in the union.

64 If the woman had not separated from the man, she should not die with the man. His separation became the beginning of death. Because of this, Christ came to repair the separation, which was from the beginning, and again unite the two, and to give life to those who died as a result of the separation, and unite them. But the woman is united to her husband in the bridal chamber. Indeed, those who have united in the bridal chamber will no longer be separated. Thus Eve separated from Adam because it was not in the bridal chamber that she united with him (out of wedlock).

65 The soul of Adam came into being by means of a breath. The partner of his soul is the spirit. His mother is the thing that was given to him. His soul was taken from him and replaced by a spirit. When he was united (to the spirit), he spoke words incomprehensible to the powers. They envied him [...] spiritual partner [...] hidden [...] opportunity [...] for themselves alone [...] bridal chamber, so that [...].

66 Jesus appeared [...] Jordan - the fullness of the Kingdom of Heaven. He who was begotten before everything, was begotten anew. He who was once anointed, was anointed anew. He who was redeemed, in turn redeemed (others).

67 Indeed, one must utter a mystery. The Father of everything united with the virgin who came down, and a fire shone for him on that day. He appeared in the great bridal chamber. Therefore his body came into being on that very day. It left the bridal chamber as one who came into being from the bridegroom and the bride. So Jesus established everything in it through these. It is fitting for each of the disciples to enter into his rest.

68 Adam came into being from two virgins, from the Spirit and from the virgin earth. Christ therefore, was born from a virgin to rectify the Fall which occurred in the beginning.

69 There are two trees growing in Paradise. The one bears animals, the other bears men. Adam ate from the tree which bore animals. He became an animal and he brought forth animals. For this reason the children of Adam worship animals. The tree [...] fruit is [...] increased. [...] ate the [...] fruit of the [...] bears men, [...] man. [...] God created man. [...] men create God. That is the way it is in the world - men make gods and worship their creation. It would be fitting for the gods to worship men!

70 Surely what a man accomplishes depends on his abilities. For this reason, we refer to one`s accomplishments as "abilities". Among his accomplishments are his children. They originate in a moment of ease. Thus his abilities determine what he may accomplish, but this ease is clearly evident in the children. You will find that this applies directly to the image. Here is the man made after the image accomplishing things with his physical strength, but producing his children with ease.

71 In this world, the slaves serve the free. In the Kingdom of Heaven, the free will minister to the slaves: the children of the bridal chamber will minister to the children of the marriage. The children of the bridal chamber have just one name: rest. Altogether, they need take no other form, because they have contemplation, [...]. They are numerous [...] in the things [...] the glories [...].

72 Those [...] go down into the water. [...] out (of the water), will consecrate it, [...] they who have [...] in his name. For he said, "Thus we should fulfill all righteousness." (Mt 3:15)

73 Those who say they will die first and then rise are in error. If they do not first receive the resurrection while they live, when they die they will receive nothing. So also when speaking about baptism they say, "Baptism is a great thing," because if people receive it they will live.

74 Philip the apostle said, "Joseph the carpenter planted a garden because he needed wood for his trade. It was he who made the cross from the trees which he planted. His own offspring hung on that which he planted. His offspring was Jesus, and the planting was the cross." But the Tree of Life is in the middle of the Garden. However, it is from the olive tree that we got the chrism, and from the chrism, the resurrection.

75 This world is a corpse-eater. All the things eaten in it themselves die also. Truth is a life-eater. Therefore no one nourished by truth will die. It was from that place that Jesus came and brought food. To those who so desired, he gave life, that they might not die.

76 God [...] garden. Man [...] garden. There are [...] and [...] of God. [...] The things which are in [...] I wish. This garden is the place where they will say to me, "[...] eat this or do not eat

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that, just as you wish." In the place where I will eat all things is the Tree of Knowledge. That one killed Adam, but here the Tree of Knowledge made men alive. The law was the tree. It has power to give the knowledge of good and evil. It neither removed him from evil, nor did it set him in the good, but it created death for those who ate of it. For when he said, "Eat this, do not eat that", it became the beginning of death.

77 The chrism is superior to baptism, for it is from the word "Chrism" that we have been called "Christians," certainly not because of the word "baptism". And it is because of the chrism that "the Christ" has his name. For the Father anointed the Son, and the Son anointed the apostles, and the apostles anointed us. He who has been anointed possesses everything. He possesses the resurrection, the light, the cross, the Holy Spirit. The Father gave him this in the bridal chamber; he merely accepted (the gift). The Father was in the Son and the Son in the Father. This is the Kingdom of Heaven.

78 The Lord said it well: "Some have entered the Kingdom of Heaven laughing, and they have come out [...] because [...] a Christian, [...]. And as soon as [...] went down into the water, he came [...] everything (of this world), [...] because he [...] a trifle, but [...] full of contempt for this [...] the Kingdom of Heaven [...] If he despises [...], and scorns it as a trifle, [...] out laughing. So it is also with the bread and the cup and the oil, even though there is another one superior to these.

79 The world came about through a mistake. For he who created it wanted to create it imperishable and immortal. He fell short of attaining his desire. For the world never was imperishable, nor, for that matter, was he who made the world. For things are not imperishable, but sons are. Nothing will be able to receive imperishability if it does not first become a son. But he who has not the ability to receive, how much more will he be unable to give?

80 The cup of prayer contains wine and water, since it is appointed as the type of the blood for which thanks is given. And it is full of the Holy Spirit, and it belongs to the wholly perfect man. When we drink this, we shall receive for ourselves the perfect man. The living water is a body. It is necessary that we put on the living man. Therefore, when he is about to go down into the water, he unclothes himself, in order that he may put on the living man.

81 A horse sires a horse, a man begets man, a god brings forth a god. Compare the bridegroom and the bride. They have come from the [...]. No Jew [...] has existed. And [...] from the Jews. [...] Christians [...] these [...] are referred to as "The chosen people of [...]," and "The true man" and "Son of Man" and "the seed of the Son of Man". This true race is renowned in the world [...] that the sons of the bridal chamber dwell.

82 Whereas in this world the union is one of husband with wife - a case of strength complemented by weakness(?) - in the Aeon (eternal realm), the form of the union is different, although we refer to them by the same names. There are other names, however; they are superior to every other name that is named and are stronger than the strong. For where there is a show of strength, there those who excel in strength appear. These are not separate things, but both of them are this one single thing. This is the one which will not be able to rise above the heart of flesh.

83 Is it not necessary for all those who possess everything to know themselves? Some indeed, if they do not know themselves, will not enjoy what they possess. But those who have come to know themselves will enjoy their possessions.

84 Not only will they be unable to detain the perfect man, but they will not be able to see him, for if they see him, they will detain him. There is no other way for a person to acquire this quality except by putting on the perfect light and he too becoming perfect light. He who has put it on will enter [...]. This is the perfect [...] that we [...] become [...] before we leave [...]. Whoever receives everything [...] hither [...] be able [...] that place, but will [...] the Middle as imperfect. Only Jesus knows the end of this person.

85 The priest is completely holy, down to his very body. For if he has taken the bread, he will consecrate it. Or the cup or anything else that he gets, he will consecrate. Then how will he not consecrate the body also?

86 By perfecting the water of baptism, Jesus emptied it of death. Thus we do go down into the water, but we do not go down into death, in order that we may not be poured out into the spirit of the world. When that spirit blows, it brings the winter. When the Holy Spirit breathes, the summer comes.

87 He who has knowledge of the truth is a free man, but the free man does not sin, for "He who sins is the slave of sin" (Jn 8:34). Truth is the mother, knowledge the father. Those who think that sinning does not apply to them are called "free" by the world. Knowledge of the truth merely makes such people arrogant, which is what the words, "it makes them free" mean. It even gives them a sense of superiority over the whole world. But "Love builds up" (1 Co 8:1). In fact, he who is really free, through knowledge, is a slave, because of love for those who have not yet been able to attain to the freedom of knowledge. Knowledge makes them capable of becoming free. Love never calls something its own, [...] it [...] possess [...]. It never says,"This is yours" or "This is mine," but "All these are yours". Spiritual love is wine and fragrance. All those who anoint themselves with it take pleasure in it. While those who are anointed are present, those nearby also profit (from the fragrance). If those anointed with ointment withdraw from them and leave, then those not anointed, who merely stand nearby, still remain in their bad odour. The Samaritan gave nothing but wine and oil to the wounded man. It is nothing other than the ointment. It healed the wounds, for "love covers a multitude of sins" (1 P 4:8).

88 The children a woman bears resemble the man who loves her. If her husband loves her, then they resemble her husband. If it is an adulterer, then they resemble the adulterer. Frequently, if a woman sleeps with her husband out of necessity, while her heart is with the adulterer with whim she usually has intercourse, the child she will bear is born resembling the adulterer. Now you who live together with the Son of God, love not the world, but love the Lord, in order that those you will bring forth may not resemble the world, but may resemble the Lord.

89 The human being has intercourse with the human being. The horse has intercourse with the horse, the ass with the ass. Members of a race usually have associated with those of like race. So spirit mingles with spirit, and thought consorts with thought, and light shares with light. If you are born a human being, it is the human being who will love you. If you become a spirit, it is the spirit which will be joined to you. If you become thought, it is thought which will mingle with you. If you become light, it is the light which will share with you. If you become one of those who belong above, it is those who belong above who will rest upon you. If you become horse or ass or bull or dog or sheep, or another of the animals which are outside or below, then neither human being nor spirit nor thought nor light will be able to love you. Neither those who belong above nor those who belong within will be able to rest in you, and you have no part in them.

90 He who is a slave against his will, will be able to become free. He who has become free by favor of his master, and has sold himself into slavery, will no longer be able to be free.

91 Farming in the world requires the cooperation of four essential elements. A harvest is gathered into the barn only as a result of the natural action of water, earth, wind and light. God's farming likewise has four elements - faith, hope, love, and knowledge. Faith is our earth, that in which we take root. And hope is the water through which we are nourished. Love is the wind through which we grow. Knowledge, then, is the light through which we ripen. Grace exists in four ways: it is earthborn; it is heavenly; [...] the highest heaven; [...] in [...].

92 Blessed is the one who on no occasion caused a soul [...]. That person is Jesus Christ. He came to the whole place and did not burden anyone. Therefore, blessed is the one who is like this, because he is a perfect man. For the Word tells us that this kind is difficult to define. How shall we be able to accomplish such a great thing? How will he give everyone comfort? Above all, it is not proper to cause anyone distress - whether the person is great or small, unbeliever or believer - and then give comfort only to those who take satisfaction in good deeds. Some find it advantageous to give comfort to the one who has fared well. He who does good deeds cannot give comfort to such people, for he does not seize whatever he likes. He is unable to cause distress, however, since he does not afflict them. To be sure, the one who fares well sometimes causes people distress - not that he intends to do so; rather, it is their own wickedness which is responsible for their distress. He who possesses the qualities (of the perfect man) bestows joy upon the good. Some, however, are terribly distressed by all this.

93 There was a householder who had every conceivable thing, be it son or slave or cattle or dog or pig or corn or barley or chaff or grass or [...] or meat and acorn. Now he was a sensible fellow, and he knew what the food of each one was. He served the children bread [...]. He served the slaves [...] and meal. And he threw barley and chaff and grass to the cattle. He threw bones to the dogs, and to the pigs he threw acorns and slop. Compare the disciple of God: if he is a sensible fellow, he understands what discipleship is all about. The bodily forms will not deceive him, but he will look at the condition of the soul of each one and speak with him. There are many animals in the world which are in a human form. When he identifies them, to the swine he will throw acorns, to the cattle he will throw barley and chaff and grass, to the dogs he will throw bones. To the slaves he will give only the elementary lessons, to the children he will give the complete instruction.

94 There is the Son of Man and there is the son of the Son of Man. The Lord is the Son of Man, and the son of the Son of Man is he who creates through the Son of Man. The Son of Man received from God the capacity to create. He also has the ability to beget. He who has received the ability to create is a creature. He who has received the ability to beget is an offspring. He who creates cannot beget. He who begets also has power to create. Now they say, "He who creates begets". But his so-called "offspring" is merely a creature. Because of [...] of birth, they are not his offspring but [...]. He who creates works openly, and he himself is visible. He who begets, begets in private, and he himself is hidden, since [...] image. Also, he who creates, creates openly. But one who begets, begets children in private.

95 No one can know when the husband and the wife have intercourse with one another, except the two of them. Indeed, marriage in the world is a mystery for those who have taken a wife. If there is a hidden quality to the marriage of defilement, how much more is the undefiled marriage a true mystery! It is not fleshly, but pure. It belongs not to desire, but to the will. It belongs not to the darkness or the night, but to the day and the light. If a marriage is open to the public, it has become prostitution, and the bride plays the harlot not only when she is impregnated by another man, but even if she slips out of her bedroom and is seen. Let her show herself only to her father and her mother, and to the friend of the bridegroom and the sons of the bridegroom. These are permitted to enter every day into the bridal chamber. But let the others yearn just to listen to her voice and to enjoy her ointment, and let them feed from the crumbs that fall from the table, like the dogs. Bridegrooms and brides belong to the bridal chamber. No one shall be able to see the bridegroom with the bride unless he become such a one.

96 When Abraham [...] that he was to see what he was to see, he circumcised the flesh of the foreskin, teaching us that it is proper to destroy the flesh.

97 Most things in the world, as long as their inner parts are hidden, stand upright and live. If they are revealed, they die, as is illustrated by the visible man: as long as the intestines of the man are hidden, the man is alive; when his intestines are exposed and come out of him, the man will die. So also with the tree: while its root is hidden, it sprouts and grows. If its root is exposed, the tree dries up. So it is with every birth that is in the world, not only with the revealed but with the hidden. For so long as the root of wickedness is hidden, it is strong. But when it is recognised, it is dissolved. When it is revealed, it perishes. That is why the Word says, "Already the axe is laid at the root of the trees" (Mt 3:10). It will not merely cut - what is cut sprouts again - but the ax penetrates deeply, until it brings up the root. Jesus pulled out the root of the whole place, while others did it only partially. As for ourselves, let each one of us dig down after the root of evil which is within one, and let one pluck it out of one's heart from the root. It will be plucked out if we recognise it. But if we are ignorant of it, it takes root in us and produces its fruit in our heart. It masters us. We are its slaves. It takes us captive, to make us do what we do not want; and what we do want, we do not do. It is powerful because we have not recognised it. While it exists it is active. Ignorance is the mother of all evil. Ignorance will result in death, because those who come from ignorance neither were nor are nor shall be. [...] will be perfect when all the truth is revealed. For truth is like ignorance: while it is hidden, it rests in itself, but when it is revealed and is recognised, it is praised, inasmuch as it is stronger than ignorance and error. It gives freedom. The Word said, "If you know the truth, the truth will make you free" (Jn 8:32). Ignorance is a slave. Knowledge is freedom. If we know the truth, we shall find the fruits of the truth within us. If we are joined to it, it will bring our fulfillment.

98 At the present time, we have the manifest things of creation. We say, "The strong who are held in high regard are great people. And the weak who are despised are the obscure." Contrast the manifest things of truth: they are weak and despised, while the hidden things are strong and held in high regard. The mysteries of truth are revealed, though in type and image. The bridal chamber, however, remains hidden. It is the Holy in the Holy. The veil at first concealed how God controlled the creation, but when the veil is rent and the things inside are revealed, this house will be left desolate, or rather will be destroyed. And the whole (inferior) godhead will flee from here, but not into the holies of the holies, for it will not be able to mix with the unmixed light and the flawless fullness, but will be under the wings of the cross and under its arms. This ark will be their salvation when the flood of water surges over them. If some belong to the order of the priesthood, they will be able to go within the veil with the high priest. For this reason, the veil was not rent at the top only, since it would have been open only to those above; nor was it rent at the bottom only, since it would have been revealed only to those below. But it was rent from the top to bottom. Those above opened to us the things below, in order that we may go in to the secret of the truth. This truly is what is held in high regard, (and) what is strong! But we shall go in there by means of lowly types and forms of weakness. They are lowly indeed when compared with the perfect glory. There is glory which surpasses glory. There is power which surpasses power. Therefore, the perfect things have opened to us, together with the hidden things of truth. The holies of the holies were revealed, and the bridal chamber invited us in.

99 As long as it is hidden, wickedness is indeed ineffectual, but it has not been removed from the midst of the seed of the Holy Spirit. They are slaves of evil. But when it is revealed, then the perfect light will flow out on every one. And all those who are in it will receive the chrism. Then the slaves will be free and the captives ransomed. "Every plant which my father

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who is in heaven has not planted will be plucked out." (Mt 15:13) Those who are separated will unite [...] and will be filled. Every one who will enter the bridal chamber will kindle the light, for [...] just as in the marriages which are [...] happen at night. That fire [...] only at night, and is put out. But the mysteries of that marriage are perfected rather in the day and the light. Neither that day nor its light ever sets. If anyone becomes a 'son of the bridechamber' [got married] he will receive the Light [create life]. If anyone does not receive it while he is in these places, he cannot receive it in the other place [is impotent]. He who receives any Light will not be seen, nor can he be held fast [for creating life is an invisible biological act]. No one will be able to trouble him in this way, whether he lives in the world or leaves the world [the effort to create life decides whether you stay alive in your children or die]. He has already received the Truth in images [of sexual fantasies], and the World has become the Aeon [and this is the power of life]. For the Aeon [power of life, sperma] already exists for him as Pleroma [full divine powers since birth], and he exists in this way. It is revealed to him alone, since it is not hidden in darkness and night but is hidden in a perfect Day and a holy Light [This is the truth of life.].

The Gospel according to Philip.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO JUDAS

The Gospel Of Judas Iscariot
The Gospel Of Judas the Sicarius
From: Codex Tchacos, El Minya, near Nag Hammadi, Egypt
Translation: R. Kasser, M. Meyer, G. Wurst; F. Gaudard
Estimated Range of Dating: 130-170 A.D.

(The Gospel of Judas is a non-canonical gospel which belongs to the Apocrypha. The contents consist of conversations between Jesus and Judas Iscariot. Given that it includes typical late 2nd century theology, it is thought to have been composed in the 2nd century by Gnostic Christians, rather than by the historic Judas himself. The only copy of it known to exist is a Coptic language text that has been carbon dated to 280 AD, plus or minus 60 years. It has been suggested that the text derives from an earlier manuscript in the Greek language. An English translation was first published in early 2006 by the National Geographic Society.

In contrast to the canonical gospels, which depicts Judas as a traitor who handed Jesus over to the authorities for crucifixion in exchange for money, the Gospel of Judas portrays Judas's actions as done in obedience to instructions given to him by Jesus himself. It asserts that the other disciples had not grasped Jesus' teachings fully. Jesus taught only to Judas Iscariot, the sole follower belonging to the "holy generation" [probably Jesus' family members] among the disciples.

The Gospel of Judas consists of 16 chapters which document Jesus's teachings about spiritual matters and cosmology. According to the text, Judas is the only one of Jesus's disciples who accurately understands the words of his master. This Gospel contains few narrative elements; essentially, the Gospel records how Judas was taught by Jesus the true meaning of his message.

The Gospel contains ideas which contradicted those circulating in the early Pauline Church which is not surprising since Saul of Tarsos had no understanding of cosmology. The author says that God is essentially a "luminous cloud of light" that exists in an imperishable realm [the universe]. That is a perfectly logical description when we look into our galaxy.

The Codex Tchacos is important, because it contains the first known surviving copy of the Gospel of Judas, a text that was rejected as heresy by the early Christian church and was lost for 1700 years. The Gospel of Judas was mentioned and summarised by the Church Father Irenaeus of Lyons (c. 130–202 AD) in his work 'Against Heresies'. This would make the Gospel of Judas, with about 1850 years, older than the codex.

A leather-bound Coptic language papyrus document that surfaced during the 1970s, near Beni Masar, Egypt, was named the Codex Tchacos after the antiquities dealer Frieda Nussberger-Tchacos, who became concerned about the deteriorating condition of the manuscript for she could not buy the manuscript from another dealer due to lack of the staggering amount of money he wanted. It took many years until she was able to retrieve the gospel and give it to scientists. The manuscript was in a pitiful state by then. It had fallen apart into over a thousand pieces. The manuscript was radiocarbon dated, and described by the National Geographic as showing a likely date between 220-340 AD.

First translated in the early 2000s, the codex contains text that appears to be from the late 2nd century, and includes the self-titled "Gospel of Judas." (Evangelion Ioudas) which narrates the story of Jesus's death from the viewpoint of Judas. Numerous sections are missing as a result of poor handling and storage. Some passages are only scattered words; others contain many lines. According to Coptic scholar Rodolphe Kasser, the codex originally contained 31 pages, with writing on both sides; by the time it came to the market in 1999, only 13 pages survived. Individual pages may have been removed and sold.

It has also been speculated, on the basis of textual analysis concerning features of dialect and Greek loan words, that the Coptic text contained in the codex may be a translation from an older Greek manuscript dating it between 130 and 170 AD. Cited in support is the reference to a "Gospel of Judas" by the early Christian writer Irenaeus of Lyons, who, in arguing against Gnosticism, described the text as "fictitious history". However, it is uncertain whether the text mentioned by Irenaeus is in fact the same text as the Coptic "Gospel of Judas" found in the Codex Tchacos.

The Gospel of Judas consists of 16 chapters which document Jesus's teaching about spiritual matters and cosmology. According to the text, Judas is the only one of Jesus's disciples who accurately understands the words of his master. This document reveals that both men had an unusual close relationship with each other. That brings scholars to the ideas that the name Judas Iscariot represents a soubriquet. When we analyse his name, we can solve that problem in parts. The origin of "Judas" is the Aramaic form "Yudah" which is the short form of the Hebrew name Yehudah. Now, Yehudah (translated "God is thanked") represents "Jew".

There are only two other Judases mentioned in Christian texts that may be significant: One was Jude [Judas the younger brother of Jesus], and "Didymos Judas Thomas", known as Thomas the Apostle. Now, here it is interesting what the latter person's name means. "Thomas" ist the Greek form of the original Aramaic word "ta'oma" which means "twin". so the full Aramaic name was Yehuda Ta'oma, "Judas the Twin". The twin of whom are we here talking about? If we take a look at Jesus' brothers, it could have been any of them. And there is already a Judas among them. Or is Jesus' brother Judas identical with Judas Thomas? The issue even gets a more urgent note when we know that the Greek byname Didymos also means "twin". It is as if Didymos emphasises that the twin [or brother] is meant because twin, of course, also can mean "brother". And why were Jesus and this twin so close?

Judas' byname "Iscariot" is usually thought to be a Greek rendering of the Hebrew phrase Is-Keriyot), meaning "the man from Kerioth", an interpretation which is supported by the statement in the Gospel of John 6:71 that Judas was "the son of Simon Iscariot". This might point to three different places: (1st) a town in the south of Judea (Joshua 15:25); (2nd) the ruins of el-Kureitein, an ancient fortress in northern Galilee, about 10 miles south of Hebron; and (3rd) a city of Moab, called Kirioth (Amos 2:2). This interpretation is supported by the statement in the Gospel of John 6:71 that Judas was "the son of Simon Iscariot".

However, the theory of having a place name is not very convincing. Any child in all Semitic languages always bears the name of the father; a son would be called Yehudah bar Simeon ("Judas son of Simon"), and a daughter Yehudit bat Simeon ("Judith daughter of Simon"). Why did Judas not bear his father's name? Suspicious scholars have therefore doubts.

What was a little more common was a byname that could represent an attribute such as in "Jesus the Nazorean" (the Keeper of the Law) or James the Just (the Righteous). Similarly, "Iscariot" could just come from the Aramaic name 'Skaryota', which is a corruption of the Latin word "sicarius", meaning "dagger man". And this word touches a very dangerous subject of the time because the "Sicarii", were a jihadist terrorist group of the Jewish Zealots.

This group was already identified by Cornelius Sulla as those people who also conducted the circumcisions (genital mutilation) which was forbidden by him in in 82 BC and written down in the Lex Cornelia (Sullae) de sicariis et veneficis (Cornelius Sulla's Laws concerning assassins and sorcerers). In the decades previous to the Roman-Jewish War (66-73 AD) those terrorists were assassinating hated people in crowds using sharp daggers hidden under their cloaks. Some scholars find this interpretation problematic because there be nothing in the gospels to associate Judas with the Sicarii. Wrong! In fact, there are many such indications that lead even directly into "Jesus' backyard".

One of the most obscure characters among the apostles of Jesus was Simon the Zealot (Acts 1:13, Luke 6:15) often named Simon o Kananites in Greek, Simon the Canaanite (Matthew 10:4, Mark 3:18) which is an obfuscation or wrong translation made in the 1st century AD by Christian writers. The term "zealot", the correct translation of the Hebrew 'kanai', frequently used in its plural form 'kana'im', means "one who is zealous on behalf of God." The English term derives from Greek 'zelotes' for "fanatic", via zelos ("zeal, jealousy"), from zelou (to rival, to be jealous).

What if this "Simon the Fanatic" is connected to Eleazar [Lazarus] ben Simon? He was a Zealot leader during the First Jewish-Roman War who fought against the armies of General Flavius Vespasian and his son General Titus Flavius. What if Simon bar Giora, another Zealot fanatic who (together with John of Giscala) was responsible for the reign of terror against his own people during the first Roman-Jewish War? Robert Eisenman has pointed out that the zealot element in the original apostle group was disguised and overwritten to make it support the assimilative Pauline Christianity of the Romans. There are some more facts we could put under consideration:

Fact number 1: the Sicarii and the Zealots were one and the same people, the Zealots were the theorisers while the Sicarii were the acting practitioners.

Fact number 2: They were fundamentalists and nationalists who wanted to erect a theocratic dictatorship in the Holy Land.

Fact number 3: Their organisation, which we also could call the Messianic Movement, was founded in 6 AD, their leaders: Leaders: Judas of Gamala or Galilee, Menahem ben Judah, John of Giscala, Simon bar Giora, Eleazar ben Simon, Eleazar ben Yair.

Fact number 4: They all ended in the Roman-Jewish War, either slain or nailed on the cross.

Fact number 5: With the end of the war, that organisation was dissolved in 73 AD, at least in the territories of the Roman Empire; the surviving Zealots and Sicarii fled to Arabia and returned to fight in the next Roman-Jewish Wars.

Fact number 6: There were at least 10 significant Roman-Jewish Wars. And in the last one, the Messianists were decisively beaten by Mohammed in about 624 AD. What survived was their fanatic fundamentalism and doctrine in Islam.

We have to recapitulate: When was the Messianic Movement founded? In 6 AD. Why? Because the Holy Land (Judaea and Galilee) became a province, an official part of the Roman Empire. And what does an empire do when new land comes to it? Making a "physical inventory", of course. And what is the name of such an inventory? A "census". That is a process where a country or state physically counts its entire inventory. When was this inventory performed? In 6 AD, of course. The Census was taken by Publius Sulpicius Quirinius, Roman governor of Syria, upon the imposition of direct Roman rule in 6 AD. The Gospel of Luke uses it as the narrative tool to establish the birth of Jesus in Bethlehem (Luke 2:1–5), but Luke places the birth within the reign of Herod the Great, who died 9 years earlier. No satisfactory explanation of the contradiction seems possible, and most scholars think that the author of the gospel made an error.

In fact, he made no error but the scholars did. They have picked the wrong Herod and this is very easy done since almost every ruler of the Herodian Dynasty was called Herod, just like most French kings were called Louis.

The point is, we have to decide which part of the Jesus story is an invention or interpolation and which one is not. As the writers of the gospels seem to have been enemies of the Julio-Claudian Dynasty and their related co-workers, it might be a good advice to consider insertions, such as the names Herod or Pilate, as politically motivated propaganda.

We need to spend some thoughts and ask "Why do the descriptions in all New Testament writings have a pro-Roman perspective?", "Why is the Holy Land depicted as peaceful sheep pasture with pious preachers wandering around when in reality it was war-zone since the days of Gnaeus Pompeius?" and "Why are the characters of the New Testament identified as uneducated sheep farmers and fishermen when in reality Jesus and some of his disciples talk in a way that only well-educated philosophers could do in those days?"

Here, we could ask again, "When was Jesus born?" All evidence indicate a period about a decate later than previously thought. This is the very reason why the modern scholars do not find anything about Jesus in the Eras of Augustus and Tiberius.

Where was he born? All evidence point to a place near Sepphoris (either the Galilean Bet Lehem or Nazareth nearby).

What about the "three Magi"? They also point to a area of Sepphoris as Zoroastrian scholars ('Magi' is a Persian term) frequently travelled along the Silk Road through Sephoris to Greece and Egypt. It is commonly but wrongly translated as "magician, sorcerer, trickster, conjurer, charlatan." The word magos [pl. magi] refers to a Zoroastrian priest who, due to his extreme high education must have appeared as "magician" to all the common and not-educated people.

This notion derives from the Greco-Roman identification of "Zoroaster" as the "inventor" of astrology and magic. The first meaning ('magician') derives from the sense of "practitioner of the Zoroaster's craft", and the second meaning ('priest') from the sense of "practitioner of Zoroaster's religion". The origin is the Old Iranian / Persian 'mayu' and Avestan 'mogu' coming from the Avestan 'maga' via Sanskrit 'magha', "gifted", from the older Indo-European verb 'mehege' meaning "to be able to, to have the power to help". In other words, the term "three Magi" is neither a lie nor an interpolation but a confirmation that the Area of Sepphoris was really the place of Jesus' family.

How about the "star of Bet Lehem"? The "Star Prophecy" (or Star and Scepter prophecy) is a Messianic reading applied by Jewish Zealots and early Christians to Numbers 24:17: "I shall see him, but not now: I shall behold him, but not nigh:

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there shall come a Star out of Jacob (James), and a Sceptre shall rise out of Israel, and shall smite the corners of Moab, and destroy all the children of Sheth."

The prophecy was often employed during the troubled years that led up to the Roman Jewish War, the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem (70 AD) and the suicidal last stand of the Sicarii at Masada in 73 AD. The Star Prophecy appears in the Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran and was of such importance to all resistance groups in this period, including those responsible for the documents at Qumran and the revolutionaries who triggered the war against Rome, that it became a general synonym for the Messianic Movement (Zealots, Sicarii etc.) and its leaders.

The Star Prophecy was applied to any, for military victory striving, messiah in contemporary radical Jewish documents, such as the "War Scroll" found at Qumran.

The Star Prophecy was also exactly the prophecy that the captured Jewish general Yosef bar Mattiyahu (Titus Flavius Josephus), told General Flavius Vespasian, who was campaigning against the Jewish Zealots. And accordingly, it was Vespasian who was to come out of this struggle as "ruler the world."

In the Gospel of Matthew the star has been externalised as an actual star in the sky, the 'Star of Bethlehem' and, according to Joseph Atwill, everyone who worsipped this star and Jesus was actually worshipping Vespasian and his son Titus in disguise.

The fulfilled Star Prophecy is one of numerous instances of the asserted fulfillment of prophecies that are a main theme of the Gospel of Judas. The name was used a long time for those messiahs who fought against non-Jews and the occupants of Jewish land; so it also applied to Simon bar Kokhba, messianic leader of the Third Roman-Jewish War of 132, whose adopted name 'bar Kokhba' means nothing else but "Son of Star" in Aramaic.

It is important that we read Biblical texts not literally but understand that many Biblical passages contain analogies, typologies and parables. The Hebrew Bible is based on it. The entire teachings of Jesus are based on it.

In the original Greek texts, the members of Jesus' family were called "tekton", a Greek word that relates to "architect" and similarly means "builder". In the old days, as well as today, an architect was a highly educated person to be able to do his job properly.

Jesus, his family and followers, lived in Nazareth, according to some texts. With a distance of only 5 km to the large money-making city of Sepphoris, - Is it not conceivable that they all worked there? Furthermore, is it not possible that the humble and pious Nazareth stands in reality for the large, perhaps immoral, metropolis Sepphoris? There is no archaeological evidence that Nazareth may have an older history before 200 AD.

Now, here is the trouble. From Titus Flavius Josephus and the Dead Sea Scrolls, we know that the entire Near East was ruled by the Romans. We also know that the society of that area was in the firm grip of the Messianic Movement, a region-wide terror organisation that kept every family in check, pretty much like the Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas, or ISIS do in our time. Those Dead Sea Scrolls, that were written by the Messianists, tell us about preaching war. In the War Scroll, it is war against the Roman occupiers, war against all nonbelievers, and war against any civilisation that could stand up against them.

Let us imagine just for a moment, an imam [preacher or religious teacher] comes along and suddenly preaches peace while being watched by members of that war-preaching terror organisation. How would they perceive his act? Would they not view the preacher's peacetalk as "treason" against their cause, the cause of God? Then this preacher got a bold moment and storms right into their headquarters and complains about the terrorists' allegiance with some of the people in power in order to gain money for the purchase of arms. Would they not see the preacher as traitor? What - do you think - would they want to do with such a traitor?

Christians certainly remember how Jesus ended. If we think a bit straight, we now know why! It all looks like a failed coup because the High Temple priests, the leaders of 'the headquarters', went to the Romans before him. Their ruthless plot with the Romans payed off very well. They, "Yehuda Skaryota", "Judas Iscariot" that is, the "Jewish Sicarii", got paid by the Romans. Matthew 26:15 states: "And said unto them, What will ye give me, and I will deliver him unto you? And they covenanted with him for thirty pieces of silver."

It seems to emerge that Jesus did not talk to a single man but to a group of men known in that time under the synonym "Yehuda Skaryota". The last question is, "When Jesus first belonged to the Zealot terrorgroup, why did he changed his mind and tried perhaps to prevent a war? Did he become aware that fighting against the Romans was ill-fated?)

JUDAS ISCARIOT CHAPTER 1;

Prologue

1 The secret account of the revelation that Jesus spake in conversation with Judas Iscariot during a week three days before he celebrated Passover.

JUDAS ISCARIOT CHAPTER 2;

The Earthly Ministry Of Jesus

1 When Jesus appeared on earth, he performed miracles and great wonders for the salvation of humanity. And since some [walked] in the way of righteousness while others walked in their transgressions, the twelve disciples were called.

2 He began to speak with them about the mysteries beyond the world and what would take place at the end. Often he did not appear to his disciples as himself, but he was found among them as a child.

JUDAS ISCARIOT CHAPTER 3;

First Dialogue (Jesus dialogues with his disciples: The prayer of thanksgiving or the eucharist

1 One day he was with his disciples in Judea, and he found them gathered together and seated in pious observance. When he [approached] his disciples, [34] gathered together and seated and offering a prayer of thanksgiving over the bread, [he] laughed.

2 The disciples said to [him], "Master, why art thou laughing at [our] prayer of thanksgiving? We have done what is right."

3 He answered and said to them, "I am not laughing at you. <You> are not doing this because of your own will but because it is through this that your god [will be] praised."

4 They said, "Master, thou art […] the son of our god."

5 Jesus said to them, "How do you know me? Truly [I] say to you, no generation of the people that are among you will know me."

JUDAS ISCARIOT CHAPTER 4;

The Disciples Become Angry

1 When his disciples heard this, they started getting angry and infuriated and began blaspheming against him in their hearts.

2 When Jesus observed their lack of [understanding, he said] to them, "Why has this agitation led you to anger? Your god who is within you and […] have provoked you to anger [within] your souls. [Let] any one of you who is [strong enough] among human beings bring out the perfect human and stand before my face."

3 They all said, "We have the strength."

4 But their spirits did not dare to stand before [him], except for Judas Iscariot. He was able to stand before him, but he could not look him in the eyes, and he turned his face away.

5 Judas [said] to him, "I know who you are and where you have come from. You are from the immortal realm of Barbelo. And I am not worthy to utter the name of the one who has sent you."

JUDAS ISCARIOT CHAPTER 5;

Jesus Speaks To Judas Privately

1 Knowing that Judas was reflecting upon something that was exalted, Jesus said to him, "Step away from the others and I shall tell thee the mysteries of the kingdom. It is possible for thee to reach it, but thou wilt grieve a great deal. For someone else will replace thee, in order that the twelve [disciples] may again come to completion with their god."

2 Judas said to him, "When wilt thou tell me these things, and [when] will the great day of light dawn for the generation?"

3 But when he said this, Jesus left him.

JUDAS ISCARIOT CHAPTER 6;

Second Dialogue (Jesus Appears To The Disciples Again)

1 The next morning, after this happened, Jesus [appeared] to his disciples again.

2 They said to him, "Master, where didst thou go and what didst thou do when you left us?"

3 Jesus said to them, "I went to another great and holy generation."

4 His disciples said to him, "Lord, what is the great generation that is superior to us and holier than us, that is not now in these realms?"

5 When Jesus heard this, he laughed and said to them, "Why are you thinking in your hearts about the strong and holy generation? Truly [I] say to you, no one born [of] this aeon will see that [generation], and no host of angels of the stars will rule over that generation, and no person of mortal birth can associate with it, because that generation does not come from […] which has become […]. The generation of people among [you] is from the generation of humanity […] power, which [… the] other powers […] by [which] you rule."

6 When [his] disciples heard this, they each were troubled in spirit. They could not say a word.

7 Another day Jesus came up to [them]. They said to [him], "Master, we have seen thee in a [vision], for we have had great [dreams …] night […]."

8 [He said], "Why hast [thou … when] <thou> hast gone into hiding?"

JUDAS ISCARIOT CHAPTER 7;

The Disciples See The Temple And Discuss It

1 They [said, "We have seen] a great [house with a large] altar [in it, and] twelve men----they are the priests, we would say----and a name; and a crowd of people is waiting at that altar, [until] the priests [… and receive] the offerings. [But] we kept waiting."

2 [Jesus said], "What are [the priests] like?"

3 They [said, "Some …] two weeks; [some] sacrifice their own children, others their wives, in praise [and] humility with each other; some sleep with men; some are involved in [slaughter]; some commit a multitude of sins and deeds of lawlessness. And the men who stand [before] the altar invoke your [name], and in all the deeds of their deficiency, the sacrifices are brought to completion […]."

4 After they said this, they were quiet, for they were troubled.

JUDAS ISCARIOT CHAPTER 8;

Jesus Offers An Allegorical Interpretation Of The Vision Of The Temple

1 Jesus said to them, "Why are you troubled? Truly I say to you, all the priests who stand before that altar invoke my name. Again I say to you, my name has been written on this […] of the generations of the stars through the human generations. [And they] have planted trees without fruit, in my name, in a shameful manner."

2 Jesus said to them, "Those you have seen receiving the offerings at the altar----that is who you are. That is the god you serve, and you are those twelve men you have seen. The cattle you have seen brought for sacrifice are the many people you lead astray before that altar. […] will stand and make use of my name in this way, and generations of the pious will remain loyal to him. After hi another man will stand there from [the fornicators], and another [will] stand there from the slayers of children, and another from those who sleep with men, and those who abstain, and the rest of the people of pollution and lawlessness and error, and those who say, 'We are like angels'; they are the stars that bring everything to its conclusion. For to the human generations it has been said, 'Look, God has received your sacrifice from the hands of a priest'----that is, a minister of error.

3 But it is the Lord, the Lord of the universe, who commands, 'On the last day they will be put to shame.'"

4 Jesus said [to them], "Stop sac[rificing …] which you have […] over the altar, since they are over your stars and your angels and have already come to their conclusion there. So let them be [ensnared] before you, and let them go [----about 15 lines missing----] generations […]. A baker cannot feed all creation under [heaven]. And […] to them […] and […] to us and […].

5 Jesus said to them, "Stop struggling with me. Each of you has his own star, and every[body----about 17 lines missing----] in […] who has come [… spring] for the tree […] of this aeon […] for a time […] but he has come to water God's paradise, and the [generation] that will last, because [he] will not defile the [walk of life of] that generation, but […] for all eternity."

Chapter 9; (Judas Asks Jesus About That Generation And Human Generations)

1 Judas said to [him, "Rabb]i, what kind of fruit doth this generation produce?"

2 Jesus said, "The souls of every human generation will die. When these people, however, have completed the time of the kingdom and the spirit leaves them, their bodies will die but their souls will be alive, and they will be taken up."

3 Judas said, "And what will the rest of the human generations do?"

4 Jesus said, "It is impossible to sow seed on [rock] and harvest its fruit. [This] is also the way […] the [defiled] generation […] and corruptible Sophia […] the hand that has created mortal people, so that their souls go up to the eternal realms above. [Truly] I say to you, […] angel […] power will be able to see that […] these to whom […] holy generations […]."

5 After Jesus said this, he departed.

JUDAS ISCARIOT CHAPTER 10;

Third Dialogue (Judas Recounts A Vision And Jesus Responds)

1 Judas said, "Master, as thou hast listened to all of them, now also listen to me. For I have seen a great vision."

2 When Jesus heard this, he laughed and said to him, "Thou thirteenth spirit, why dost thou try so hard? But speak up, and I shall bear with you."

3 Judas said to him, "In the vision I saw myself as the twelve disciples were stoning me and persecuting [me severely]. And I also came to the place where […] after you. I saw [a house …],

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and my eyes could not [comprehend] its size. Great people were surrounding it, and that house <had> a roof of greenery, and in the middle of the house was [a crowd----two lines missing----], saying, 'Master, take me in along with these people.'"

4 [Jesus] answered and said, "Judas, thy star has led you astray." He continued, "No person of mortal birth is worthy to enter the house you have seen, for that place is reserved for the holy. Neither the sun nor the moon will rule there, nor the day, but the holy will abide there always, in the eternal realm with the holy angels. Look, I have explained to you the mysteries of the kingdom and I have taught you about the error of the stars; and […] send it […] on the twelve aeons."

JUDAS ISCARIOT CHAPTER 11;
Judas Asks About His Own Fate

1 Judas said, "Master, could it be that my seed is under the control of the rulers?"

2 Jesus answered and said to him, "Come, that I [----two lines missing----], but that you will grieve much when you see the kingdom and all its generation."

3 When he heard this, Judas said to him, "What good is it that I have received it? For you have set me apart for that generation."

4 Jesus answered and said, "Thou wilt become the thirteenth, and thou wilt be cursed by the other generations----and thou will come to rule over them. In the last days they will curse your ascent to the holy [generation]."

JUDAS ISCARIOT CHAPTER 12;
Jesus Teaches Judas About Cosmology: The Spirit And The Self-Generated

1 Jesus said, "[Come], that I may teach you about [secrets] no person [has] ever seen. For there exists a great and boundless realm, whose extent no generation of angels has seen, [in which] there is [a] great invisible [Spirit], which no eye of an angel has ever seen, no thought of the heart has ever comprehended, and it was never called by any name.

2 "And a luminous cloud appeared there. He said, 'Let an angel come into being as my attendant.'

3 "A great angel, the enlightened divine Self-Generated, emerged from the cloud. Because of him, four other angels came into being from another cloud, and they became attendants for the angelic Self-Generated. The Self-Generated said, [48] 'Let […] come into being […],' and it came into being […]. And he [created] the first luminary to reign over him. He said, 'Let angels come into being to serve [him],' and myriads without number came into being. He said, '[Let] an enlightened aeon come into being,' and he came into being. He created the second luminary [to] reign over him, together with myriads of angels without number, to offer service. That is how he created the rest of the enlightened aeons. He made them reign over them, and he created for them myriads of angels without number, to assist them.

JUDAS ISCARIOT CHAPTER 13;
Adamas And The Luminaries

1 "Adamas was in the first luminous cloud that no angel has ever seen among all those called 'God.' He […] that […] the image […] and after the likeness of [this] angel. He made the incorruptible [generation] of Seth appear […] the twelve […] the twentyfour […]. He made seventy-two luminaries appear in the incorruptible generation, in accordance with the will of the Spirit. The seventy-two luminaries themselves made three hundred sixty luminaries appear in the incorruptible generation, in accordance with the will of the Spirit, that their number should be five for each.

2 "The twelve aeons of the twelve luminaries constitute their father, with six heavens for each aeon, so that there are seventy-two heavens for the seventy-two luminaries, and for each [of them five] firmaments, [for a total of] three hundred sixty [firmaments …]. They were given authority and a [great] host of angels [without number], for glory and adoration, [and after that also] virgin spirits, for glory and [adoration] of all the aeons and the heavens and their firmaments.

JUDAS ISCARIOT CHAPTER 14;
The Cosmos, Chaos, And The Underworld

1 "The multitude of those immortals is called the cosmos----that is, perdition----by the Father and the seventy-two luminaries who are with the Self-Generated and his seventytwo aeons. In him the first human appeared with his incorruptible powers. And the aeon that appeared with his generation, the aeon in whom are the cloud of knowledge and the angel, is called El. […] aeon […] after that […] said, 'Let twelve angels come into being [to] rule over chaos and the [underworld].' And look, from the cloud there appeared an [angel] whose face flashed with fire and whose appearance was defiled with blood. His name was Nebro, which means 'rebel'; others call him Yaldabaoth. Another angel, Saklas, also came from the cloud. So Nebro created six angels----as well as Saklas----to be assistants, and these produced twelve angels in the heavens, with each one receiving a portion in the heavens.

JUDAS ISCARIOT CHAPTER 15;
The Rulers And Angels

1 "The twelve rulers spake with the twelve angels: 'Let each of you […] and let them […] generation [----one line lost----] angels': The first is [S]eth, who is called Christ.

2 The [second] is Harmathoth, who is […].

3 The [third] is Galila.

5 The fourth is Yobel.

6 The fifth [is] Adonaios.

7 These are the five who ruled over the underworld, and first of all over chaos.

JUDAS ISCARIOT CHAPTER 16;
The Creation Of Humanity

1 "Then Saklas said to his angels, 'Let us create a human being after the likeness and after the image.' They fashioned Adam and his wife Eve, who is called, in the cloud, Zoe. For by this name all the generations seek the man, and each of them calls the woman by these names. Now, Sakla did not com[mand …] except […] the gene[rations …] this […]. And the [ruler] said to Adam, 'You shall live long, with your children.'"

JUDAS ISCARIOT CHAPTER 17;
Judas Asks About The Destiny Of Adam And Humanity

1 Judas said to Jesus, "[What] is the long duration of time that the human being will live?"

2 Jesus said, "Why are you wondering about this, that Adam, with his generation, has lived his span of life in the place where he has received his kingdom, with longevity with his ruler?"

3 Judas said to Jesus, "Does the human spirit die?"

4 Jesus said, "This is why God ordered Michael to give the spirits of people to them as a loan, so that they might offer service, but the Great One ordered Gabriel to grant spirits to the great generation with no ruler over it----that is, the spirit and the soul. Therefore, the [rest] of the souls [----one line missing----].

JUDAS ISCARIOT CHAPTER 18;
Jesus Discusses The Destruction Of The Wicked With Judas And Others

1 "[…] light [----nearly two lines missing----] around […] let […] spirit [that is] within you dwell in this [flesh] among the generations of angels. But God caused knowledge to be [given] to Adam and those with him, so that the kings of chaos and the underworld might not lord it over them."

2 Judas said to Jesus, "So what will those generations do?"

3 Jesus said, "Truly I say to you, for all of them the stars bring matters to completion. When Saklas completes the span of time assigned for him, their first star will appear with the generations, and they will finish what they said they would do. Then they will fornicate in my name and slay their children and they will […] and [----about six and a half lines missing----] my name, and he will […] your star over the [thir]teenth aeon."

4 After that Jesus [laughed].

5 [Judas said], "Master, [why art thou laughing at us]?"

6 [Jesus] answered [and said], "I am not laughing [at thee] but at the error of the stars, because these six stars wander about with these five combatants, and they all will be destroyed along with their creatures."

JUDAS ISCARIOT CHAPTER 19;
Jesus Speaks Of Those Who Are Baptised, And Judas's Hand Over

1 Judas said to Jesus, "Look, what will those who have been baptised in your name do?"

2 Jesus said, "Truly I say [to you], this baptism […] my name [----about nine lines missing----] to me. Truly [I] say to thee, Judas, [those who] offer sacrifices to Saklas […] God [----three lines missing----] everything that is evil.

3 "But thou wilt exceed all of them. For thou wilt sacrifice the man that clothes me. Already thine horn has been raised, thy wrath has been kindled, thy star has shown brightly, and thine heart has […].

4 "Truly […] thy last […] become [----about two and a half lines missing----], grieve [----about two lines missing----] the ruler, since he will be destroyed. And then the image of the great generation of Adam will be exalted, for prior to heaven, earth, and the angels, that generation, which is from the eternal realms, exists. Look, thou hast been told everything. Lift up thine eyes and look at the cloud and the light within it and the stars surrounding it. The star that leads the way is your star."

5 Judas lifted up his eyes and saw the luminous cloud, and he entered it. Those standing on the ground heard a voice coming from the cloud, saying, […] great generation […] … image […] [----about five lines missing----].

JUDAS ISCARIOT CHAPTER 20;
Epilogue (Judas Hands Jesus Over)

1 […] Their high priests murmured because [he] had gone into the guest room for his prayer. But some scribes were there watching carefully in order to arrest him during the prayer, for they were afraid of the people, since he was regarded by all as a prophet. They approached Judas and said to him, "What art thou doing here? Thou art Jesus' disciple."

2 Judas answered them as they wished. And he received some money and handed him over to them.

THE APOCRYPHON OF JAMES

or The Secret Book of James, the brother of Jesus
From: Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt
Translation: Francis E. Williams
Estimated Range of Dating: 100-150 A.D.

(The Apocryphon of James, also known by the translation of its title – the Secret Book of James, is a pseudonymous text amongst the New Testament apocrypha. It describes the secret teachings of Jesus to Peter and James, given after the Resurrection but before the Ascension. A major theme is that one must accept suffering as inevitable. The prominence of James and Peter suggest that the work has its origin in the Jewish Christian community once founded by James the brother of Jesus. It shows no dependence on texts of Rome's Pauline Christianity invented by Saul of Tarsos.

The text was probably written in the first half of the 2nd century. It survives in a single, damaged manuscript as the second section of the Jung Codex, first of the thirteen codices in the Nag Hammadi library. Although the text appears to be a Coptic translation from Greek, the author claims to have written in Hebrew. References to persecution and martyrdom makes it likely that the text was written by followers of James the brother of Jesus [or the him following groups of Ebionites, Nazoreans, and early Gnostics].

In this context it may be appropriate to point out that persecution and martyrdom of "Christians" as a whole, conducted by Romans, is dissimilation. After the Flavian Dynasty, persecutions increased. However, they were largely conducted by Rome's "Pauline Christians" against all other groups which they branded as "heretics", particularly when they followed the original Jewish-Christian teachings. From very early on, a battle among all variations of Christian groups ensued.

Pauline Christians quite clearly were on their path to power and they did not leave alive anyone who stood in their way. They deliberately vilified Jews, Ebionites, Marcionites, Arians, Gnostics, and others. Their own "Church Fathers" described development of Christian theology by combating heresy and defining orthodoxy.

And their texts make a chilling reading indeed. The most [in]famous authors are: Irenaeus of Lyon (c. 130–202 AD; work: Against Herecies); Titus Flavius Clemens, known as Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–c. 215 AD; works: Protrepticus, Paedagogus, Stromata, etc.); Tertullian or Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus (c. 155–222 AD; work: Tertullian's Works, etc.); Origen Adamantius or Origen of Alexandria (c. 185–254 AD; work: Origen's Works, etc.); Eusebius of Caesarea or Eusebius Pamphili (c. 260–340 AD; works: Life of Constantine [an unreliable propaganda work], Apologetic and dogmatic works, etc.); Athanasius of Alexandria (c. 293–373 AD; work: Athanasius' Works); John Chrysostom of Constantinople (c. 347–407 AD; work: Homilies against Jews and Judaising Christians, Homily against homosexuality, etc.); Cyril of Alexandria (c. 376 – 444 AD; work: Against Julian the Apostate [Flavius Claudius Julianus], etc.).

Lots of things they said and wrote built the path on which the Roman [Catholic and Orthodox] Church sent thousands to death and consequently smoothened the tracks to Auschwitz. The decomposing state Christianity is in today can be traced back to their propaganda and, in modern times, their failure to strongly speak up for peace before World War I and again before World War II. Speaking up against any foul doctrine of totalitarian suppremacy, promoted in Fascist, Islamic, National-Socialist, Communist, Socialist, Globalist, Utopianist egalitarian frameworks of ideologies, by bluntly exposing them, is the only way Christian virtues may have a chance to thrive again.)

Text:

James writes to [you]: Peace be with you from Peace, love from Love, grace from Grace, faith from Faith, life from Holy Life!

Since you asked that I send you a secret book which was revealed to me and Peter by the Lord, I could not turn you away or gainsay (?) you; but I have written it in the Hebrew alphabet and sent it to you, and you alone. But since you are a minister of the salvation of the saints, endeavor earnestly and take care not to rehearse this text to many - this that the Saviour did not wish to tell to all of us, his twelve disciples. But blessed will they be who will be saved through the faith of this discourse.

I also sent you, ten months ago, another secret book which the Saviour had revealed to me. Under the circumstances,

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however, regard that one as revealed to me, James; but this one ... [untranslatable fragments]

[Now] the twelve disciples were all sitting together and recalling what the Saviour had said to each one of them, whether in secret or openly, and putting it in books - But I was writing that which was in my book - lo, the Saviour appeared, after departing from us while we gazed after him. And five hundred and fifty days since he had risen from the dead, we said to him, "Have you departed and removed yourself from us?" But Jesus said, "No, but I shall go to the place from whence I came. If you wish to come with me, come!"

They all answered and said, "If you bid us, we come."

He said, "Verily I say unto you, no one will ever enter the kingdom of heaven at my bidding, but (only) because you yourselves are full. Leave James and Peter to me, that I may fill them." And having called these two, he drew them aside and bade the rest occupy themselves with that which they were about.

The Saviour said, "You have received mercy ...

(7 lines missing)

Do you not, then, desire to be filled? And your heart is drunken; do you not, then, desire to be sober? Therefore, be ashamed! Henceforth, waking or sleeping, remember that you have seen the Son of Man, and spoken with him in person, and listened to him in person. Woe to those who have seen the Son of Man; blessed will they be who have not seen the man, and they who have not consorted with him, and they who have not spoken with him, and they who have not listened to anything from him; yours is life! Know, then, that he healed you when you were ill, that you might reign. Woe to those who have found relief from their illness, for they will relapse into illness. Blessed are they who have not been ill, and have known relief before falling ill; yours is the kingdom of God. Therefore, I say to you, 'Become full, and leave no space within you empty, for he who is coming can mock you."

Then Peter replied, "Lo, three times you have told us, 'Become full'; but we are full."

The Saviour answered and said, "For this cause I have said to you, 'Become full,' that you may not be in want. They who are in want, however, will not be saved. For it is good to be full, and bad to be in want. Hence, just as it is good that you be in want and, conversely, bad that you be full, so he who is full is in want, and he who is in want does not become full as he who is in want becomes full, and he who has been filled, in turn attains due perfection. Therefore, you must be in want while it is possible to fill you, and be full while it is possible for you to be in want, so that you may be able to fill yourselves the more. Hence, become full of the Spirit, but be in want of reason, for reason <belongs to> the soul; in turn, it is (of the nature of) soul."

But I answered and said to him, "Lord, we can obey you if you wish, for we have forsaken our fathers and our mothers and our villages, and followed you. Grant us, therefore, not to be tempted by the devil, the evil one."

The Lord answered and said, "What is your merit if you do the will of the Father and it is not given to you from him as a gift while you are tempted by Satan? But if you are oppressed by Satan, and persecuted, and you do his (i.e., the Father's) will, I say that he will love you, and make you equal with me, and reckon you to have become beloved through his providence by your own choice. So will you not cease loving the flesh and being afraid of sufferings? Or do you not know that you have yet to be abused and to be accused unjustly; and have yet to be shut up in prison, and condemned unlawfully, and crucified <without> reason, and buried as I myself, by the evil one? Do you dare to spare the flesh, you for whom the Spirit is an encircling wall? If you consider how long the world existed <before> you, and how long it will exist after you, you will find that your life is one single day, and your sufferings one single hour. For the good will not enter into the world. Scorn death, therefore, and take thought for life! Remember my cross and my death, and you will live!"

But I answered and said to him, "Lord, do not mention to us the cross and death, for they are far from you."

The Lord answered and said, "Verily, I say unto you, none will be saved unless they believe in my cross. But those who have believed in my cross, theirs is the kingdom of God. Therefore, become seekers for death, like the dead who seek for life; for that which they seek is revealed to them. And what is there to trouble them? As for you, when you examine death, it will teach you election. Verily, I say unto you, none of those who fear death will be saved; for the kingdom belongs to those who put themselves to death. Become better than I; make yourselves like the son of the Holy Spirit!"

Then I asked him, "Lord, how shall we be able to prophesy to those who request us to prophesy to them? For there are many who ask us, and look to us to hear an oracle from us."

The Lord answered and said, "Do you not know that the head of prophecy was cut off with John?"

But I said, "Lord, can it be possible to remove the head of prophecy?"

The Lord said to me, "When you come to know what 'head' means, and that prophecy issues from the head, (then) understand the meaning of 'Its head was removed.' At first I spoke to you in parables, and you did not understand; now I speak to you openly, and you (still) do not perceive. Yet, it was you who served me as a parable in parables, and as that which is open in the (words) that are open.

"Hasten to be saved without being urged! Instead, be eager of your own accord, and, if possible, arrive even before me; for thus the Father will love you."

"Come to hate hypocrisy and the evil thought; for it is the thought that gives birth to hypocrisy; but hypocrisy is far from truth."

"Do not allow the kingdom of heaven to wither; for it is like a palm shoot whose fruit has dropped down around it. They (i.e., the fallen fruit) put forth leaves, and after they had sprouted, they caused their womb to dry up. So it is also with the fruit which had grown from this single root; when it had been picked (?), fruit was borne by many (?). It (the root) was certainly good, (and) if it were possible for you to produce the new plants now, <you> would find it."

"Since I have already been glorified in this fashion, why do you hold me back in my eagerness to go? For after the labour, you have compelled me to stay with you another eighteen days for the sake of the parables. It was enough for some <to listen> to the teaching and understand 'The Shepherds' and 'The Seed' and 'The Building' and 'The Lamps of the Virgins' and 'The Wage of the Workmen' and the 'Didrachmae' and 'The Woman.'"

"Become earnest about the word! For as to the word, its first part is faith; the second, love; the third, works; for from these comes life. For the word is like a grain of wheat; when someone had sown it, he had faith in it; and when it had sprouted, he loved it, because he had seen many grains in place of one. And when he had worked, he was saved, because he had prepared it for food, (and) again he left (some) to sow. So also can you yourselves receive the kingdom of heaven; unless you receive this through knowledge, you will not be able to find it."

"Therefore, I say to you, be sober; do not be deceived! And many times have I said to you all together, and also to you alone, James, have I said, 'Be saved!' And I have commanded you to follow me, and I have taught you what to say before the archons. Observe that I have descended and have spoken and undergone tribulation, and carried off my crown after saving you. For I came down to dwell with you, so that you in turn might dwell with me. And, finding your houses unceiled, I have made my abode in the houses that could receive me at the time of my descent."

"Therefore, trust in me, my brethren; understand what the great light is. The Father has no need of me, - for a father does not need a son, but it is the son who needs the father - though I go to him. For the Father of the Son has no need of you."

"Hearken to the word, understand knowledge, love life, and no one will persecute you, nor will anyone oppress you, other than you yourselves."

"O you wretches; O you unfortunates; O you pretenders to the truth; O you falsifiers of knowledge; O you sinners against the Spirit: can you still bear to listen, when it behooved you to speak from the first? Can you still bear to sleep, when it behooved you to be awake from the first, so that the kingdom of heaven might receive you? Verily, I say unto you, had I been sent to those who listen to me, and had I spoken with them, I would never have come down to earth. So, then, be ashamed for these things."

"Behold, I shall depart from you and go away, and do not wish to remain with you any longer, just as your yourselves have not wished it. Now, therefore, follow me quickly. This is why I say unto you, 'For your sakes I came down.' You are the beloved; you are they who will be the cause of life in many. Invoke the Father, implore God often, and he will give to you. Blessed is he who has seen you with Him when He was proclaimed among the angels, and glorified among the saints; yours is life. Rejoice, and be glad, as sons of God. Keep his will, that you may be saved; accept reproof from me and save yourselves. I intercede on your behalf with the Father, and he will forgive you much."

And when we had heard these words, we became glad, for we had been grieved at the words we have mentioned before. But when he saw us rejoicing, he said, "Woe to you who lack an advocate! Woe to you who stand in need of grace! Blessed will they be who have spoken out and obtained grace for themselves. Liken yourselves to foreigners; of what sort are they in the eyes of your city? Why are you disturbed when you cast yourselves away of your own accord and separate yourselves from your city? Why do you abandon your dwelling place of your own accord, making it ready for those who want to dwell in it? O you outcasts and fugitives, woe to you, for you will be caught! Or do you perhaps think that the Father is a lover of mankind, or that he is won over without prayers, or that he grants remission to one on another's behalf, or that he bears with one who asks? - For he knows the desire, and also what it is that the flesh needs! - (Or do you think) that it is not this (flesh) that desires the soul? For without the soul, the body does not sin, just as the soul is not saved without the spirit. But if the soul is saved (when it is) without evil, and the spirit is also saved, then the body becomes free from sin. For it is the spirit that raises the soul, but the body that kills it; that is, it is it (the soul) which kills itself. Verily, I say unto you, he will not forgive the soul the sin by any means, nor the flesh the guilt; for none of those who have worn the flesh will be saved. For do you think that many have found the kingdom of heaven? Blessed is he who has seen himself as a fourth one in heaven!"

When we heard these words, we were distressed. But when he saw that we were distressed, he said, "For this cause I tell you this, that you may know yourselves. For the kingdom of heaven is like an ear of grain after it had sprouted in a field. And when it had ripened, it scattered its fruit and again filled the field with ears for another year. You also, hasten to reap an ear of life for yourselves, that you may be filled with the kingdom!"

"And as long as I am with you, give heed to me, and obey me; but when I depart from you, remember me. And remember me because when I was with you, you did not know me. Blessed will they be who have known me; woe to those who have heard and have not believed! Blessed will they be who have not see, yet have believed!"

"And once more I prevail upon you, for I am revealed to you building a house which is of great value to you when you find shelter beneath it, just as it will be able to stand by your neighbours' house when it threatens to fall. Verily, I say unto you, woe to those for whose sakes I was sent down to this place; blessed will they be who ascend to the Father! Once more I reprove you, you who are; become like those who are not, that you may be with those who are not."

"Do not make the kingdom of heaven a desert within you. Do not be proud because of the light that illumines, but be to yourselves as I myself am to you. For your sakes I have placed myself under the curse, that you may be saved."

But Peter replied to these words and said, "Sometimes you urge us on to the kingdom of heaven, and then again you turn us back, Lord; sometimes you persuade and draw us to faith and promise us life, and then again you cast us forth from the kingdom of heaven."

But the Lord answered and said to us, "I have given you faith many times; moreover, I have revealed myself to you, James, and you (all) have not known me. Now again, I see you rejoicing many times; and when you are elated at the promise of life, are you yet sad, and do you grieve, when you are instructed in the kingdom? But you, through faith and knowledge, have received life. Therefore, disdain the rejection when you hear it, but when you hear the promise, rejoice the more. Verily, I say unto you, he who will receive life and believe in the kingdom will never leave it, not even if the Father wishes to banish him."

"These are the things that I shall tell you so far; now, however, I shall ascend to the place from whence I came. But you, when I was eager to go, have cast me out, and instead of accompanying me, you have pursued me. But pay heed to the glory that awaits me, and, having opened your heart, listen to the hymns that await me up in the heavens; for today I must take (my place at) the right hand of the Father. But I have said (my) last word to you, and I shall depart from you, for a chariot of spirit has borne me aloft, and from this moment on, I shall strip myself, that I may clothe myself. But give heed; blessed are they who have proclaimed the Son before his descent, that when I have come, I might ascend (again). Thrice blessed are they who were proclaimed by the Son before they came to be, that you might have a portion among them."

Having said these words, he departed. But we bent (our) knee(s), I and Peter, and gave thanks, and sent our heart(s) upwards to heaven. We heard with our ears, and saw with our eyes, the noise of wars, and a trumpet blare, and a great turmoil.

And when we had passed beyond that place, we sent our mind(s) farther upwards, and saw with our eyes and heard with our ears hymns, and angelic benedictions, and angelic rejoicing. And heavenly majesties were singing praise, and we, too, rejoiced.

After this again, we wished to send our spirit upward to the Majesty, and after ascending, we were not permitted to see or hear anything, for the other disciples called us and asked us, "What did you hear from the Master. And what has he said to you? And where did he go?"

But we answered them, "He has ascended, and has given us a pledge, and promised life to us all, and revealed to us children (?) who are to come after us, after bidding us love them, as we would be saved for their sakes."

And when they heard (this), they indeed believed the revelation, but were displeased about those to be born. And so, not wishing to give them offense, I sent each one to another place. But I myself went up to Jerusalem, praying that I might obtain a portion among the beloved, who will be made manifest.

And I pray that the beginning may come from you, for thus I shall be capable of salvation, since they will be enlightened through me, by my faith - and through another (faith) that is better than mine, for I would that mine be the lesser. Endeavor earnestly, then, to make yourself like them, and

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pray that you may obtain a portion with them. For because of what I have said, the Saviour did not make the revelation to us for their sakes. We do, indeed, proclaim a portion with those for whom the proclamation was made - those whom the Lord has made his sons.

THE APOCRYPHON OF JOHN
or The Secret Book of John, or The Secret Revelation of John, or The Apocryphon According to John
From: Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt
Translation: Frederik Wisse
Estimated Range of Dating: 120-180 A.D.

(The "Apocryphon of John", also called the "Secret Book of John" or the "Secret Revelation of John", is a Gnostic Christian text. Since it was known to the church father Irenaeus, it must have been written before 180 AD. There are four separate surviving manuscripts of "The Secret Book of John": two long versions and two short versions.

The text describes Jesus appearing and giving secret knowledge (gnosis) to John the Apostle. The author describes this having occurred after Jesus "has gone back to the place from which he came". This book is reputed to bear this revelation. The opening words of the Secret Book of John are, "The teaching of the saviour, and the revelation of the mysteries and the things hidden in silence, even these things which he taught John, his disciple." The author John is immediately specified as "John, the brother of James—who are the sons of Zebedee." The remainder of the book is a vision of spiritual realms and of the prior history of spiritual humanity.

Three of these were found in the Nag Hammadi codices in 1945, while the fourth was found independently 50 years earlier from another site in Egypt. All four copies date to the 4th century. Three of these appear to be independently produced Coptic translations of an original Greek text. Two of the four are similar enough that they probably represent copies of a single source. Although the different versions of the texts have minor variants (the Berlin Codex has many minor differences with Nag Hammadi II and IV), all texts generally agree on the assertion that the main revealing entity was Jesus.

The Apocryphon of John was among the texts discovered at Nag Hammadi in Egypt, in three Coptic versions translated from the Greek. Two of the versions are very similar and represent one manuscript tradition; they incorporate a lengthy excerpt from a certain Book of Zoroaster appended to the Apocryphon (as chapters 15:29 – 19:8f). The shorter version of the Apocryphon found at Nag Hammadi does not contain the interpolation and represents another manuscript tradition. This is a clear indication that Christians in Egypt (as in Arabia and Persia) did not follow the Roman state Church which was promoting the Pauline Christiamity created by Saul of Tarsos and promoted by the Flavian Dynasty [69-96 AD]. A shorter version of the Apocryphon found at Nag Hammadi does not contain the interpolation and represents another manuscript tradition.

Still another version of this short edition of the text was discovered in an ancient Coptic Codex acquired by Dr. Carl Reinhardt in Cairo in 1896. This manuscript (identified as the "Berlin Gnostic Codex" or BG 8502) was used along with the three versions found at Nag Hammadi to produce the translations now available.

Little more was known of this text until 1945, when a sealed amphora was discovered at Nag Hammadi in Egypt. It contained thirteen leather folders (or codices) with 60 separate texts or books that had been hidden away in the 4th century. The Apocryphon of John was among the texts, in three Coptic versions translated from the Greek.

In the three Nag Hammadi codices the Apocryphon of John appears always in the first version. The fact that four manuscript "editions" of this text survived—two "long" versions and two "short" versions—suggests how important this text was in early gnostic Christian circles. Some of the gnostic texts might have their earliest origin in those groups that thrived around James the Just the brother of Jesus; and they may have inspired the Manichaeans and Mandaeans of Persia.)

Text:

1 The teaching of the Saviour, and the revelation of the mysteries and the things hidden in silence, even these things which he taught John, his disciple.

2 And it happened one day, when John, the brother of James - who are the sons of Zebedee - had come up to the temple, that a Pharisee named Arimanius approached him and said to him, "Where is your master whom you followed?" And he said to him, "He has gone to the place from which he came." The Pharisee said to him, "With deception did this Nazarene deceive you (pl.), and he filled your ears with lies, and closed your hearts (and) turned you from the traditions of your fathers."

When I, John, heard these things I turned away from the temple to a desert place. And I grieved greatly in my heart, saying, "How then was the Saviour appointed, and why was he sent into the world by his Father, and who is his Father who sent him, and of what sort is that aeon to which we shall go? For what did he mean when he said to us, 'This aeon to which you will go is of the type of the imperishable aeon, but he did not teach us concerning the latter, of what sort it is."

3 Straightway, while I was contemplating these things, behold, the heavens opened and the whole creation which is below heaven shone, and the world was shaken.

I was afraid, and behold I saw in the light a youth who stood by me. While I looked at him, he became like an old man. And he changed his likeness (again), becoming like a servant. There was not a plurality before me, but there was a likeness with multiple forms in the light, and the likenesses appeared through each other, and the likeness had three forms.

He said to me, "John, John, why do you doubt, or why are you afraid? You are not unfamiliar with this image, are you? - that is, do not be timid! - I am the one who is with you (pl.) always. I am the Father, I am the Mother, I am the Son. I am the undefiled and incorruptible one.

Now I have come to teach you what is and what was and what will come to pass, that you may know the things which are not revealed and those which are revealed, and to teach you concerning the unwavering race of the perfect Man.

Now, therefore, lift up your face, that you may receive the things that I shall teach you today, and may tell them to your fellow spirits who are from the unwavering race of the perfect Man."

4 And I asked to know it, and he said to me, "The Monad is a monarchy with nothing above it. It is he who exists as God and Father of everything, the invisible One who is above everything, who exists as incorruption, which is in the pure light into which no eye can look.

"He is the invisible Spirit, of whom it is not right to think of him as a god, or something similar. For he is more than a god, since there is nothing above him, for no one lords it over him. For he does not exist in something inferior to him, since everything exists in him. For it is he who establishes himself. He is eternal, since he does not need anything. For he is total perfection. He did not lack anything, that he might be completed by it; rather he is always completely perfect in light. He is illimitable, since there is no one prior to him to set limits to him. He is unsearchable, since there exists no one prior to him to examine him. He is immeasurable, since there was no one prior to him to measure him. He is invisible, since no one saw him. He is eternal, since he exists eternally. He is ineffable, since no one was able to comprehend him to speak about him. He is unnameable, since there is no one prior to him to give him a name.

"He is immeasurable light, which is pure, holy (and) immaculate. He is ineffable, being perfect in incorruptibility. (He is) not in perfection, nor in blessedness, nor in divinity, but he is far superior. He is not corporeal nor is he incorporeal. He is neither large nor is he small. There is no way to say, 'What is his quantity?' or, 'What is his quality?', for no one can know him. He is not someone among (other) beings, rather he is far superior. Not that he is (simply) superior, but his essence does not partake in the aeons nor in time. For he who partakes in an aeon was prepared beforehand. Time was not apportioned to him, since he does not receive anything from another, for it would be received on loan. For he who precedes someone does not lack, that he may receive from him. For rather, it is the latter that looks expectantly at him in his light.

"For the perfection is majestic. He is pure, immeasurable mind. He is an aeon-giving aeon. He is life-giving life. He is a blessedness-giving blessed one. He is knowledge-giving knowledge. He is goodness-giving goodness. He is mercy and redemption-giving mercy. He is grace-giving grace, not because he possesses it, but because he gives the immeasurable, incomprehensible light.

"How am I to speak with you about him? His aeon is indestructible, at rest and existing in silence, reposing (and) being prior to everything. For he is the head of all the aeons, and it is he who gives them strength in his goodness. For we know not the ineffable things, and we do not understand what is immeasurable, except for him who came forth from him, namely (from) the Father. For it is he who told it to us alone. For it is he who looks at himself in his light which surrounds him, namely the spring of the water of life. And it is he who gives to all the aeons and in every way, (and) who gazes upon his image which he sees in the spring of the Spirit. It is he who puts his desire in his water-light which is in the spring of the pure light-water which surrounds him.

"And his thought performed a deed and she came forth, namely she who had appeared before him in the shine of his light. This is the first power which was before all of them (and) which came forth from his mind, She is the forethought of the All - her light shines like his light - the perfect power which is the image of the invisible, virginal Spirit who is perfect. The first power, the glory of Barbelo, the perfect glory in the aeons, the glory of the revelation, she glorified the virginal Spirit and it was she who praised him, because thanks to him she had come forth. This is the first thought, his image; she became the womb of everything, for it is she who is prior to them all, the Mother-Father, the first man, the holy Spirit, the thrice-male, the thrice-powerful, the thrice-named androgynous one, and the eternal aeon among the invisible ones, and the first to come forth.

"<She> requested from the invisible, virginal Spirit - that is Barbelo - to give her foreknowledge. And the Spirit consented. And when he had consented, the foreknowledge came forth, and it stood by the forethought; it originates from the thought of the invisible, virginal Spirit. It glorified him and his perfect power, Barbelo, for it was for her sake that it had come into being.

"And she requested again to grant her indestructibility, and he consented. When he had consented, indestructibility came forth, and it stood by the thought and the foreknowledge. It glorified the invisible One and Barbelo, the one for whose sake they had come into being.

6 "And Barbelo requested to grant her eternal life. And the invisible Spirit consented. And when he had consented, eternal life came forth, and they attended and glorified the invisible Spirit and Barbelo, the one for whose sake they had come into being.

"And she requested again to grant her truth. And the invisible Spirit consented. And when he had consented, truth came forth, and they attended and glorified the invisible, excellent Spirit and his Barbelo, the one for whose sake they had come into being.

"This is the pentad of the aeons of the Father, which is the first man, the image of the invisible Spirit; it is the forethought, which Barbelo, and the thought, and the foreknowledge, and the indestructibility, and the eternal life, and the truth. This is the androgynous pentad of the aeons, which is the decad of the aeons, which is the Father.

"And he looked at Barbelo with the pure light which surrounds the invisible Spirit, and (with) his spark, and she conceived from him. He begot a spark of light with a light resembling blessedness. But it does not equal his greatness. This was an only-begotten child of the Mother-Father which had come forth; it is the only offspring, the only-begotten one of the Father, the pure Light.

"And the invisible, virginal Spirit rejoiced over the light which came forth, that which was brought forth first by the first power of his forethought, which is Barbelo.

7 And he anointed it with his goodness until it became perfect, not lacking in any goodness, because he had anointed it with the goodness of the invisible Spirit. And it attended him as he poured upon it. And immediately when it had received from the Spirit, it glorified the holy Spirit and the perfect forethought, for whose sake it had come forth.

"And it requested to give it a fellow worker, which is the mind, and he consented gladly.

And when the invisible Spirit had consented, the mind came forth, and it attended Christ, glorifying him and Barbelo. And all these came into being in silence.

"And the mind wanted to perform a deed through the word of the invisible Spirit. And his will became a deed and it appeared with the mind; and the light glorified it. And the word followed the will. For because of the word, Christ the divine Autogenes created everything. And the eternal life <and> his will and the mind and the foreknowledge attended and glorified the invisible Spirit and Barbelo, for whose sake they had come into being.

"And the holy Spirit completed the divine Autogenes, his son, together with Barbelo, that he may attend the mighty and invisible, virginal Spirit as the divine Autogenes, the Christ whom he had honoured with a mighty voice. He came forth through the forethought. And the invisible, virginal Spirit placed the divine Autogenes of truth over everything. And he subjected to him every authority, and the truth which is in him, that he may know the All which had been called with a name exalted above every name. For that name will be mentioned to those who are worthy of it.

8 "For from the light, which is the Christ, and the indestructibility, through the gift of the Spirit the four lights (appeared) from the divine Autogenes. He expected that they might attend him. And the three (are) will, thought, and life. And the four powers (are) understanding, grace, perception, and prudence. And grace belongs to the light-aeon Armozel, which is the first angel. And there are three other aeons with this aeon: grace, truth, and form. And the second light (is) Oriel, who has been placed over the second aeon. And there are three other aeons with him: conception, perception, and memory.

And the third light is Daveithai, who has been placed over the third aeon. And there are three other aeons with him: understanding, love, and idea. And the fourth aeon was placed over the fourth light Eleleth. And there are three other aeons with him: perfection, peace, and wisdom. These are the four lights which attend the divine Autogenes, (and) these are the twelve aeons which attend the son of the mighty one, the Autogenes, the Christ, through the will and the gift of the

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invisible Spirit. And the twelve aeons belong to the son of the Autogenes.

And all things were established by the will of the holy Spirit through the Autogenes.

"And from the foreknowledge of the perfect mind, through the revelation of the will of the invisible Spirit and the will of the Autogenes, the perfect Man (appeared), the first revelation, and the truth. It is he whom the virginal Spirit called Pigera-Adamas, and he placed him over the first aeon with the mighty one, the Autogenes, the Christ, by the first light Armozel; and with him are his powers.

And the invisible one gave him a spiritual, invincible power. And he spoke and glorified and praised the invisible Spirit, saying, 'It is for thy sake that everything has come into being and everything will return to thee. I shall praise and glorify thee and the Autogenes and the aeons, the three: the Father, the Mother, and the Son, the perfect power.'

"And he placed his son Seth over the second aeon in the presence of the second light Oriel. And in the third aeon the seed of Seth was placed over the third light Daveithai. And the souls of the saints were placed (there). And in the fourth aeon the souls were placed of those who do not know the Pleroma and who did not repent at once, but who persisted for a while and repented afterwards; they are by the fourth light Eleleth. These are creatures which glorify the invisible Spirit.

10 "And the Sophia of the Epinoia, being an aeon, conceived a thought from herself and the conception of the invisible Spirit and foreknowledge. She wanted to bring forth a likeness out of herself without the consent of the Spirit, - he had not approved - and without her consort, and without his consideration. And though the person of her maleness had not approved, and she had not found her agreement, and she had thought without the consent of the Spirit and the knowledge of her agreement, (yet) she brought forth. And because of the invincible power which is in her, her thought did not remain idle, and something came out of her which was imperfect and different from her appearance, because she had created it without her consort. And it was dissimilar to the likeness of its mother, for it has another form.

"And when she saw (the consequences of) her desire, it changed into a form of a lion-faced serpent. And its eyes were like lightning fires which flash. She cast it away from her, outside that place, that no one of the immortal ones might see it, for she had created it in ignorance. And she surrounded it with a luminous cloud, and she placed a throne in the middle of the cloud that no one might see it except the holy Spirit who is called the mother of the living. And she called his name Yaltabaoth.

"This is the first archon [ruler] who took a great power from his mother.

11 And he removed himself from her and moved away from the places in which he was born. He became strong and created for himself other aeons with a flame of luminous fire which (still) exists now. And he joined with his arrogance which is in him and begot authorities for himself. The name of the first one is Athoth, whom the generations call the reaper. The second one is Harmas, who is the eye of envy. The third one is Kalila-Oumbri. The fourth one is Yabel. The fifth one is Adonaiou, who is called Sabaoth. The sixth one is Cain, whom the generations of men call the sun. The seventh is Abel. The eighth is Abrisene. The ninth is Yobel. The tenth is Armoupieel. The eleventh is Melceir-Adonein. The twelfth is Belias, it is he who is over the depth of Hades. And he placed seven kings - each corresponding to the firmaments of heaven - over the seven heavens, and five over the depth of the abyss, that they may reign.

12 And he shared his fire with them, but he did not send forth from the power of the light which he had taken from his mother, for he is ignorant darkness.

"And when the light had mixed with the darkness, it caused the darkness to shine. And when the darkness had mixed with the light, it darkened the light and it became neither light nor dark, but it became dim.

"Now the archon who is weak has three names. The first name is Yaltabaoth, the second is Saklas, and the third is Samael. And he is impious in his arrogance which is in him. For he said, 'I am God and there is no other God beside me,' for he is ignorant of his strength, the place from which he had come.

"And the archons created seven powers for themselves, and the powers created for themselves six angels for each one until they became 365 angels. And these are the bodies belonging with the names: the first is Athoth, a he has a sheep's face; the second is Eloaiou, he has a donkey's face; the third is Astaphaios, he has a hyena's face; the fourth is Yao, he has a serpent's face with seven heads; the fifth is Sabaoth, he has a dragon's face; the sixth is Adonin, he had a monkey's face; the seventh is Sabbede, he has a shining fire-face. This is the sevenness of the week.

"But Yaltabaoth had a multitude of faces, more than all of them, so that he could put a face before all of them, according to his desire, when he is in the midst of seraphs.

13 He shared his fire with them; therefore he became lord over them. Because of the power of the glory he possessed of his mother's light, he called himself God. And he did not obey the place from which he came. And he united the seven powers in his thought with the authorities which were with him. And when he spoke it happened. And he named each power beginning with the highest: the first is goodness with the first (authority), Athoth; the second is foreknowledge with the second one, Eloaio; and the third is divinity with the third one, Astraphaio); the fourth is lordship with the fourth one, Yao; the fifth is kingdom with the fifth one, Sabaoth; the sixth is envy with the sixth one, Adonein; the seventh is understanding with the seventh one, Sabbateon. And these have a firmament corresponding to each aeon-heaven. They were given names according to the glory which belongs to heaven for the destruction of the powers. And in the names which were given to them by their Originator there was power. But the names which were given them according to the glory which belongs to heaven mean for them destruction and powerlessness. Thus they have two names.

"And having created [...] everything, he organised according to the model of the first aeons which had come into being, so that he might create them like the indestructible ones. Not because he had seen the indestructible ones, but the power in him, which he had taken from his mother, produced in him the likeness of the cosmos.

14 And when he saw the creation which surrounds him, and the multitude of the angels around him which had come forth from him, he said to them, 'I am a jealous God, and there is no other God beside me.' But by announcing this he indicated to the angels who attended him that there exists another God. For if there were no other one, of whom would he be jealous?

"Then the mother began to move to and fro. She became aware of the deficiency when the brightness of her light diminished. And she became dark because her consort had not agreed with her."

And I said, "Lord, what does it mean that she moved to and fro?" But he smiled and said, "Do not think it is, as Moses said, 'above the waters.' No, but when she had seen the wickedness which had happened, and the theft which her son had committed, she repented. And she was overcome by forgetfulness in the darkness of ignorance and she began to be ashamed. And she did not dare to return, but she was moving about. And the moving is the going to and fro.

"And the arrogant one took a power from his mother. For he was ignorant, thinking that there existed no other except his mother alone. And when he saw the multitude of the angels which he had created, then he exalted himself above them.

"And when the mother recognised that the garment of darkness was imperfect, then she knew that her consort had not agreed with her. She repented with much weeping. And the whole pleroma heard the prayer of her repentance, and they praised on her behalf the invisible, virginal Spirit. And he consented; and when the invisible Spirit had consented, the holy Spirit poured over her from their whole pleroma. For it was not her consort who came to her, but he came to her through the pleroma in order that he might correct her deficiency. And she was taken up not to her own aeon but above her son, that she might be in the ninth until she has corrected her deficiency.

15 "And a voice came forth from the exalted aeon-heaven: 'The Man exists and the son of Man.' And the chief archon, Yaltabaoth, heard (it) and thought that the voice had come from his mother. And he did not know from where it came. And he taught them, the holy and perfect Mother-Father, the complete foreknowledge, the image of the invisible one who is the Father of the all (and) through whom everything came into being, the first Man. For he revealed his likeness in a human form.

"And the whole aeon of the chief archon trembled, and the foundations of the abyss shook. And of the waters which are above matter, the underside was illuminated by the appearance of his image which had been revealed. And when all the authorities and the chief archon looked, they saw the whole region of the underside which was illuminated. And through the light they saw the form of the image in the water.

"And he said to the authorities which attend him, 'Come, let us create a man according to the image of God and according to our likeness, that his image may become a light for us.' And they created by means of their respective powers in correspondence with the characteristics which were given.

And each authority supplied a characteristic in the form of the image which he had seen in its natural (form). He created a being according to the likeness of the first, perfect Man. And they said, 'Let us call him Adam, that his name may become a power of light for us.'

"And the powers began: the first one, goodness, created a bone-soul; and the second, foreknowledge, created a sinew-soul; the third, divinity, created a flesh-soul; and the fourth, the lordship, created a marrow-soul; the fifth, kingdom created a blood-soul; the sixth, envy, created a skin-soul; the seventh, understanding, created a hair-soul.

THE ZOROASTRIAN BOOK

(starts here and finishes at the end of Chapter 18.)

And the multitude of the angels attended him and they received from the powers the seven substances of the natural (form) in order to create the proportions of the limbs and the proportion of the rump and the proper working together of each of the parts.

16 "The first one began to create the head. Eteraphaope-Abron created his head; Meniggesstroeth created the brain; Asterechme (created) the right eye; Thaspomocha, the left eye; Yeronumos, the right ear; Bissoum, the left ear; Akioreim, the nose; Banen-Ephroum, the lips; Amen, the teeth; Ibikan, the molars; Basiliademe, the tonsils; Achcha, the uvula; Adaban, the neck; Chaaman, the vertebrae; Dearcho, the throat; Tebar, the right shoulder; [...], the left shoulder; Mniarcon, the right elbow; [...], the left elbow; Abitrion, the right underarm; Evanthen, the left underarm; Krys, the right hand; Beluai, the left hand; Treneu, the fingers of the right hand; Balbel, the fingers of the left hand; Kriman, the nails of the hands; Astrops, the right breast; Barroph, the left breast; Baoum, the right shoulder joint; Ararim, the left shoulder joint; Areche, the belly; Phthave, the navel; Senaphim, the abdomen; Arachethopi, the right ribs; Zabedo, the left ribs; Barias, the right hip; Phnouth the left hip; Abenlenarchei, the marrow; Chnoumeninorin, the bones; Gesole, the stomach; Agromauna, the heart; Bano, the lungs; Sostrapal, the liver; Anesimalar, the spleen; Thopithro, the intestines; Biblo, the kidneys; Roeror, the sinews; Taphreo, the spine of the body; Ipouspoboba, the veins; Bineborin, the arteries; Atoimenpsephei, theirs are the breaths which are in all the limbs; Entholleia, all the flesh; Bedouk, the right buttock (?); Arabeei, the left penis; Eilo, the testicles; Sorma, the genitals; Gorma-Kaiochlabar, the right thigh; Nebrith, the left thigh; Pserem, the kidneys of the right leg; Asaklas, the left kidney; Ormaoth, the right leg; Emenun, the left leg; Knyx, the right shin-bone; Tupelon, the left shin-bone; Achiel, the right knee; Phnene, the left knee; Phiouthrom, the right foot; Boabel, its toes; Trachoun, the left foot; Phikna, its toes; Miamai, the nails of the feet; Labernioum -. "And those who were appointed over all of these are: Zathoth, Armas, Kalila, Jabel, (Sabaoth, Cain, Abel).

17 And those who are particularly active in the limbs (are) the head Diolimodraza, the neck Yammeax, the right shoulder Yakouib, the left shoulder Verton, the right hand Oudidi, the left one Arbao, the fingers of the right hand Lampno, the fingers of the left hand Leekaphar, the right breast Barbar, the left breast Imae, the chest Pisandriaptes, the right shoulder joint Koade, the left shoulder joint Odeor, the right ribs Asphixix, the left ribs Synogchouta, the belly Arouph, the womb Sabalo, the right thigh Charcharb, the left thigh Chthaon, all the genitals Bathinoth, the right leg Choux, the left leg Charcha, the right shin-bone Aroer, the left shin-bone Toechtha, the right knee Aol, the left knee Charaner, the right foot Bastan, its toes Archentechtha, the left foot Marephnounth, its toes Abrana.

"Seven have power over all of these: Michael, Ouriel, Asmenedas, Saphasatoel, Aarmouriam, Richram, Amiorps. And the ones who are in charge over the senses (are) Archendekta; and he who is in charge over the receptions (is) Deitharbathas; and he who is in charge over the imagination (is) Oummaa; and he who is over the composition Aachiaram, and he who is over the whole impulse Riaramnacho.

"And the origin of the demons which are in the whole body is determined to be four: heat, cold, wetness, and dryness. And the mother of all of them is matter. And he who reigns over the heat (is) Phloxopha; and he who reigns over the cold is Oroorrothos; and he who reigns over what is dry (is) Erimacho; and he who reigns over the wetness (is) Athuro. And the mother of all of these, Onorthochrasaei, stands in their midst, since she is illimitable, and she mixes with all of them. And she is truly matter, for they are nourished by her.

"The four chief demons are: Ephememphi, who belongs to pleasure, Yoko, who belongs to desire, Nenentophni, who belongs to grief, Blaomen, who belongs to fear. And the mother of them all is Aesthesis-Ouch-Epi-Ptoe. And from the four demons passions came forth. And from grief (came) envy, jealousy, distress, trouble, pain, callousness, anxiety, mourning, etc. And from pleasure much wickedness arises, and empty pride, and similar things. And from desire (comes) anger, wrath, and bitterness, and bitter passion, and unsatedness, and similar things. And from fear (comes) dread, fawning, agony, and shame. All of these are like useful things as well as evil things. But the insight into their true (character) is Anaro, who is the head of the material soul, for it belongs with the seven senses, Ouch-Epi-Ptoe.

"This is the number of the angels: together they are 365. They all worked on it until, limb for limb, the natural and the material body was completed by them. Now there are other ones in charge over the remaining passions whom I did not mention to you. But if you wish to know them, it is written in the book of Zoroaster.

And all the angels and demons worked until they had constructed the natural body. And their product was completely inactive and motionless for a long time.

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"And when the mother wanted to retrieve the power which she had given to the chief archon, she petitioned the Mother-Father of the All, who is most merciful. He sent, by means of the holy decree, the five lights down upon the place of the angels of the chief archon. They advised him that they should bring forth the power of the mother. And they said to Yaltabaoth, 'Blow into his face something of your spirit and his body will arise.'

18 And he blew into his face the spirit which is the power of his mother; he did not know (this), for he exists in ignorance. And the power of the mother went out of Yaltabaoth into the natural body, which they had fashioned after the image of the one who exists from the beginning. The body moved and gained strength, and it was luminous.

"And in that moment the rest of the powers became jealous, because he had come into being through all of them and they had given their power to the man, and his intelligence was greater than that of those who had made him, and greater than that of the chief archon. And when they recognised that he was luminous, and that he could think better than they, and that he was free from wickedness, they took him and threw him into the lowest region of all matter.

"But the blessed One, the Mother-Father, the beneficent and merciful One, had mercy on the power of the mother which had been brought forth out of the chief archon, for they (the archons) might gain power over the natural and perceptible body. And he sent, through his beneficent Spirit and his great mercy, a helper to Adam, luminous Epinoia which comes out of him, who is called Life. And she assists the whole creature, by toiling with him and by restoring him to his fullness and by teaching him about the descent of his seed (and) by teaching him about the way of ascent, (which is) the way he came down. And the luminous Epinoia was hidden in Adam, in order that the archons might not know her, but that the Epinoia might be a correction of the deficiency of the mother.

THE END OF THE ZOROASTRIAN BOOK.

19 "And the man came forth because of the shadow of the light which is in him. And his thinking was superior to all those who had made him. When they looked up, they saw that his thinking was superior. And they took counsel with the whole array of archons and angels. They took fire and earth and water and mixed them together with the four fiery winds. And they wrought them together and caused a great disturbance. And they brought him (Adam) into the shadow of death, in order that they might form (him) again from earth and water and fire and the spirit which originates in matter, which is the ignorance of darkness and desire, and their counterfeit spirit. This is the tomb of the newly-formed body with which the robbers had clothed the man, the bond of forgetfulness; and he became a mortal man. This is the first one who came down, and the first separation. But the Epinoia of the light which was in him, she is the one who was to awaken his thinking.

20 "And the archons [rulers] took him and placed him in paradise. And they said to him, 'Eat, that is at leisure,' for their luxury is bitter and their beauty is depraved. And their luxury is deception and their trees are godlessness and their fruit is deadly poison and their promise is death. And the tree of their life they had placed in the midst of paradise.

"And I shall teach you (pl.) what is the mystery of their life, which is the plan which they made together, which is the likeness of their spirit. The root of this (tree) is bitter and its branches are death, its shadow is hate and deception is in its leaves, and its blossom is the ointment of evil, and its fruit is death and desire is its seed, and it sprouts in darkness. The dwelling place of those who taste from it is Hades, and the darkness is their place of rest.

"But what they call the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which is the Epinoia of the light, they stayed in front of it in order that he (Adam) might not look up to his fullness and recognise the nakedness of his shamefulness. But it was I who brought about that they ate."

And to I said to the Saviour, "Lord, was it not the serpent that taught Adam to eat?"

The Saviour smiled and said, "The serpent taught them to eat from wickedness of begetting, lust, (and) destruction, that he (Adam) might be useful to him. And he (Adam) knew that he was disobedient to him (the chief archon) due to light of the Epinoia which is in him, which made him more correct in his thinking than the chief archon [ruler].

21 And (the latter) wanted to bring about the power which he himself had given him. And he brought a forgetfulness over Adam."

And I said to the Saviour, "What is the forgetfulness?" And he said "It is not the way Moses wrote (and) you heard. For he said in his first book, 'He put him to sleep' (Gn 2:21), but (it was) in his perception. For also he said through the prophet, 'I will make their hearts heavy, that they may not pay attention and may not see' (Is 6:10).

"Then the Epinoia of the light hid herself in him (Adam). And the chief archon wanted to bring her out of his rib. But the Epinoia of the light cannot be grasped. Although darkness pursued her, it did not catch her. And he brought a part of his power out of him. And he made another creature, in the form of a woman, according to the likeness of the Epinoia which had appeared to him. And he brought the part which he had taken from the power of the man into the female creature, and not as Moses said, 'his rib-bone.'

"And he (Adam) saw the woman beside him. And in that moment the luminous Epinoia appeared, and she lifted the veil which lay over his mind. And he became sober from the drunkenness of darkness. And he recognised his counter-image, and he said, 'This is indeed bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh.' Therefore the man will leave his father and his mother, and he will cleave to his wife, and they will both be one flesh. For they will send him his consort, and he will leave his father and his mother ... (3 lines unreadable)

"And our sister Sophia (is) she who came down in innocence in order to rectify her deficiency. Therefore she was called Life, which is the mother of the living, by the foreknowledge of the sovereignty of heaven. And through her they have tasted the perfect Knowledge. I appeared in the form of an eagle on the tree of knowledge, which is the Epinoia from the foreknowledge of the pure light, that I might teach them and awaken them out of the depth of sleep. For they were both in a fallen state, and they recognised their nakedness. The Epinoia appeared to them as a light; she awakened their thinking.

22 "And when Yaltabaoth noticed that they withdrew from him, he cursed his earth. He found the woman as she was preparing herself for her husband. He was lord over her, though he did not know the mystery which had come to pass through the holy decree. And they were afraid to blame him. And he showed his angels his ignorance which is in him. And he cast them out of paradise and he clothed them in gloomy darkness. And the chief archon saw the virgin who stood by Adam, and that the luminous Epinoia of life had appeared in her. And Yaltabaoth was full of ignorance. And when the foreknowledge of the All noticed (it), she sent some and they snatched life out of Eve.

"And the chief archon seduced her and he begot in her two sons; the first and the second (are) Eloim and Yave. Eloim has a bear-face and Yave has a cat-face. The one is righteous but the other is unrighteous. (Yave is righteous but Eloim is unrighteous.) Yave he set over the fire and the wind, and Eloim he set over the water and the earth. And these he called with the names Cain and Abel with a view to deceive.

"Now up to the present day, sexual intercourse continued due to the chief archon. And he planted sexual desire in her who belongs to Adam. And he produced through intercourse the copies of the bodies, and he inspired them with his counterfeit spirit.

"And the two archons he set over principalities, so that they might rule over the tomb. And when Adam recognised the likeness of his own foreknowledge, he begot the likeness of the son of man. He called him Seth, according to the way of the race in the aeons.

Likewise, the mother also sent down her spirit, which is in her likeness and a copy of those who are in the pleroma, for she will prepare a dwelling place for the aeons which will come down. And he made them drink water of forgetfulness, from the chief archon, in order that they might not know from where they came. Thus, the seed remained for a while assisting (him), in order that, when the Spirit comes forth from the holy aeons, he may raise up and heal him from the deficiency, that the whole pleroma may (again) become holy and faultless."

23 And I said to the Saviour, "Lord, will all the souls then be brought safely into the pure light?" He answered and said to me, "Great things have arisen in your mind, for it is difficult to explain them to others except to those who are from the immovable race. Those on whom the Spirit of life will descend and (with whom) he will be with the power, they will be saved and become perfect and be worthy of the greatness and be purified in that place from all wickedness and the involvements in evil. Then they have no other care than the incorruption alone, to which they direct their attention from here on, without anger or envy or jealousy or desire and greed of anything. They are not affected by anything except the state of being in the flesh alone, which they bear while looking expectantly for the time when they will be met by the receivers (of the body). Such then are worthy of the imperishable, eternal life and the calling. For they endure everything and bear up under everything, that they may finish the good fight and inherit eternal life."

I said to him, "Lord, the souls of those who did not do these works (but) on whom the power and Spirit descended, (will they be rejected?" He answered and said to me, "If) the Spirit (descended upon them), they will in any case be saved, and they will change (for the better). For the power will descend on every man, for without it no one can stand. And after they are born, then, when the Spirit of life increases and the power comes and strengthens that soul, no one can lead it astray with works of evil. But those on whom the counterfeit spirit descends are drawn by him and they go astray."

And I said, "Lord, where will the souls of these go when they have come out of their flesh?" And he smiled and said to me, "The soul in which the power will become stronger than the counterfeit spirit, is strong and it flees from evil and, through the intervention of the incorruptible one, it is saved, and it is taken up to the rest of the aeons."

And I said, "Lord, those, however, who have not known to whom they belong, where will their souls be?" And he said to me, "In those, the despicable spirit has gained strength when they went astray. And he burdens the soul and draws it to the works of evil, and he casts it down into forgetfulness. And after it comes out of (the body), it is handed over to the authorities, who came into being through the archon, and they bind it with chains and cast it into prison, and consort with it until it is liberated from the forgetfulness and acquires knowledge. And if thus it becomes perfect, it is saved."

And I said, "Lord, how can the soul become smaller and return into the nature of its mother or into man?" Then he rejoiced when I asked him this, and he said to me, "Truly, you are blessed, for you have understood! That soul is made to follow another one (fem.), since the Spirit of life is in it. It is saved through him. It is not again cast into another flesh."

And I said, "Lord, these also who did not know, but have turned away, where will their souls go?" Then he said to me, "To that place where the angels of poverty go they will be taken, the place where there is no repentance. And they will be kept for the day on which those who have blasphemed the spirit will be tortured, and they will be punished with eternal punishment."

24 And I said, "Lord, from where did the counterfeit spirit come?" Then he said to me, "The Mother-Father, who is rich in mercy, the holy Spirit in every way, the One who is merciful and who sympathizes with you (pl.), i.e., the Epinoia of the foreknowledge of light, he raised up the offspring of the perfect race and its thinking and the eternal light of man. When the chief archon realized that they were exalted above him in the height - and they surpass him in thinking - then he wanted to seize their thought, not knowing that they surpassed him in thinking, and that he will not be able to seize them.

"He made a plan with his authorities, which are his powers, and they committed together adultery with Sophia, and bitter fate was begotten through them, which is the last of the changeable bonds. And it is of a sort that is interchangeable. And it is harder and stronger than she with whom the gods united, and the angels and the demons and all the generations until this day. For from that fate came forth every sin and injustice and blasphemy, and the chain of forgetfulness and ignorance and every severe command, and serious sins and great fears. And thus the whole creation was made blind, in order that they may not know God, who is above all of them. And because of the chain of forgetfulness, their sins were hidden. For they are bound with measures and times and moments, since it (fate) is lord over everything.

"And he (the chief archon) repented for everything which had come into being through him. This time he planned to bring a flood upon the work of man. But the greatness of the light of the foreknowledge informed Noah, and he proclaimed (it) to all the offspring which are the sons of men. But those who were strangers to him did not listen to him. It is not as Moses said, 'They hid themselves in an ark' (Gn 7: 7), but they hid themselves in a place, not only Noah, but also many other people from the immovable race. They went into a place and hid themselves in a luminous cloud. And he (Noah) recognised his authority, and she who belongs to the light was with him, having shone on them because he (the chief archon / ruler) had brought darkness upon the whole earth.

25 "And he made a plan with his powers. He sent his angels to the daughters of men, that they might take some of them for themselves and raise offspring for their enjoyment. And at first they did not succeed. When they had no success, they gathered together again and they made a plan together. They created a counterfeit spirit, who resembles the Spirit who had descended, so as to pollute the souls through it. And the angels changed themselves in their likeness into the likeness of their mates (the daughters of men), filling them with the spirit of darkness, which they had mixed for them, and with evil. They brought gold and silver and a gift and copper and iron and metal and all kinds of things. And they steered the people who had followed them into great troubles, by leading them astray with many deceptions. They (the people) became old without having enjoyment. They died, not having found truth and without knowing the God of truth. And thus the whole creation became enslaved forever, from the foundation of the world until now. And they took women and begot children out of the darkness according to the likeness of their spirit. And they closed their hearts, and they hardened themselves through the hardness of the counterfeit spirit until now.

26 "I, therefore, the perfect Pronoia of the all, changed myself into my seed, for I existed first, going on every road. For I am the richness of the light; I am the remembrance of the pleroma.

"And I went into the realm of darkness and I endured till I entered the middle of the prison. And the foundations of

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chaos shook. And I hid myself from them because of their wickedness, and they did not recognise me.

"Again I returned for the second time, and I went about. I came forth from those who belong to the light, which is I, the remembrance of the Pronoia. I entered into the midst of darkness and the inside of Hades, since I was seeking (to accomplish) my task. And the foundations of chaos shook, that they might fall down upon those who are in chaos and might destroy them. And again I ran up to my root of light, lest they be destroyed before the time.

"Still for a third time I went - I am the light which exists in the light, I am the remembrance of the Pronoia - that I might enter into the midst of darkness and the inside of Hades. And I filled my face with the light of the completion of their aeon. And I entered into the midst of their prison, which is the prison of the body. And I said, 'He who hears, let him get up from the deep sleep.' And he wept and shed tears. Bitter tears he wiped from himself and he said, 'Who is it that calls my name, and from where has this hope come to me, while I am in the chains of the prison?' And I said, 'I am the Pronoia of the pure light; I am the thinking of the virginal Spirit, who raised you up to the honoured place. Arise and remember that it is you who hearkened, and follow your root, which is I, the merciful one, and guard yourself against the angels of poverty and the demons of chaos and all those who ensnare you, and beware of the deep sleep and the enclosure of the inside of Hades. "And I raised him up, and sealed him in the light of the water with five seals, in order that death might not have power over him from this time on.

27 "And behold, now I shall go up to the perfect aeon. I have completed everything for you in your hearing. And I have said everything to you that you might write them down and give them secretly to your fellow spirits, for this is the mystery of the immovable race." And the Saviour presented these things to him that he might write them down and keep them secure.

And he said to him, "Cursed be everyone who will exchange these things for a gift or for food or for drink or for clothing or for any other such thing." And these things were presented to him in a mystery, and immediately he disappeared from him. And he went to his fellow disciples and related to them what the Saviour had told him.

Jesus Christ, Amen.

The Secret Revelation according to John

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO PETER

The lost Gospel of Peter
From: Berlin Codex, Akhmim, Coptic, Egypt
Henry Barcley Swete, 1893
Estimated Range of Dating: 70-160 A.D.

(The Gospel of Peter or Gospel according to Peter (meaning Simon Kepha), is an ancient text concerning Jesus Christ that has been known only partially before through the comments of ancient authors. Into modern times the Gospel of Peter had been known only from early quotations, especially from a reference by Eusebius to a letter publicly circulated by Serapion in 190–203, who had found upon examining it that "most of it belonged to the right teaching of the Saviour," but that some parts might encourage its hearers to fall into the Docetist heresy. This is most likely the reason why the Gospel of Peter was rejected as apocryphal by the Catholic Church's synods of Carthage and Rome, which established the New Testament canon. Since then it is considered a non-canonical gospel.

The Gospel of Peter was recovered in 1886 by the French archaeologist Urbain Bouriant in the modern Egyptian city of Akhmim (sixty miles north of Nag Hammadi). The 8th- or 9th-century manuscript had been respectfully buried with an Egyptian monk. The fragmentary Gospel of Peter was the first non-canonical gospel to have been rediscovered, preserved in the dry sand of Egypt. Publication, delayed by Bouriant until 1892, occasioned intense interest. From the passion sequence that is preserved, it is clear that the gospel was a narrative gospel, but whether a complete narrative similar to the canonical gospels or simply a Passion cannot be said.

Two other papyrus fragments from Oxyrhynchus (P.Oxy 4009 and P.Oxy. 2949) were uncovered later and published in 1972. They are possibly, but not conclusively, from the Gospel of Peter and would suggest, if they belonged, that the text was more than just a passion narrative. These small fragments both seem to give first person accounts of discussions between Jesus and Peter in situations prior to the Passion week. It has also been speculated that the Fayyum Fragment may be an excerpt from the Gospel of Peter.

To date it is one of four early non-canonical narrative gospels, which exist only in fragmentary form: this Gospel of Peter, the Egerton Gospel, and the two very fragmentary Oxyrhynchus Gospels (P.Oxy. 840 and P.Oxy. 1224). The main point of interest from the first has resided in establishing its relationship to the four canonical gospels.

The Gospel of Peter explicitly claims to be the work of Simon Peter at its very end: "But I Simon Peter and Andrew my brother took our nets and went to the sea; and there was with us Levi the son of Alphæus, whom the Lord . . ." Scholars generally agree that the Gospel of Peter is pseudepigraphical (bearing the name of an author who did not actually compose the text). The true author of the gospel remains a mystery. Although there are parallels with the three Synoptic Gospels, Peter does not use any of the material unique to Matthew or unique to Luke. A major focus of the surviving fragment of the Gospel of Peter is the passion narrative, which ascribes responsibility for the crucifixion of Jesus to Herod Antipas rather than to Pontius Pilate.)

1 But of the Jews no-one washed his hands, neither Herod nor any one of his judges. And when they had refused to wash them, Pilate rose up. And then Herod the king commandeth that the Lord be taken saying to them, What things soever I commanded you to do unto him, do.

2 And there was standing there Joseph the friend of Pilate and of the Lord; and, knowing that they were about to crucify him, he came to Pilate and asked the body of the Lord for burial. And Pilate sent to Herod and asked his body. And Herod said, Brother Pilate, even if no one has asked for him, we purposed to bury him, especially as the sabbath draweth on: for it is written in the law, that the sun set not upon one that hath been put to death.

3 And he delivered him to the people on the day before the unleavened bread, their feast. And they took the Lord and pushed him as they ran, and said, Let us drag away the Son of God, having obtained power over him. And they clothed him with purple, and set him on the seat of judgement, saying, Judge righteously, O king of Israel. And one of them brought a crown of thorns and put it on the head of the Lord. And others stood and spat in his eyes, and others smote his cheeks: others pricked him with a reed; and some scourged him, saying, With this honour let us honour the Son of God.

4 And they brought two malefactors, and they crucified the Lord between them. But he held his peace, as though having no pain. And when they had raised the cross, they wrote the title: This is the king of Israel. And having set his garments before him they parted them among them, and cast lots for them. And one of those malefactors reproached them, saying, We for the evils that we have done have suffered thus, but this man, who hath become the Saviour of men, what wrong hath he done to you? And they, being angered at him, commanded that his legs should not be broken, that he might die in torment.

5 And it was noon, and darkness came over all Judaea: and they were troubled and distressed, lest the sun had set, whilst he was yet alive: [for] it is written for them, that the sun set not on him that hath been put to death. And one of them said, Give him to drink gall with vinegar. And they mixed and gave him to drink, and fulfilled all things, and accomplished their sins against their own head. And many went about with lamps, supposing that it was night, and fell down. And the Lord cried out, saying, My power, my power, thou hast forsaken me. And when he had said it he was taken up. And in that hour the vail of the temple of Jerusalem was rent in twain.

6 And then they drew out the nails from the hands of the Lord, and laid him upon the earth, and the whole earth quaked, and great fear arose. Then the sun shone, and it was found the ninth hour: and the Jews rejoiced, and gave his body to Joseph that he might bury it, since he had seen what good things he had done. And he took the Lord, and him, and rolled him in a linen cloth, and brought him to his own tomb, which was called the Garden of Joseph.

7 Then the Jews and the elders and the priests, perceiving what evil they had done to themselves, began to lament and to say, Woe for our sins: the judgement hath drawn nigh, and the end of Jerusalem. And I with my companions was grieved; and being wounded in mind we hid ourselves: for we were being sought for by them as malefactors, and as wishing to set fire to the temple. And upon all these things we fasted and sat mourning and weeping night and day until the sabbath.

8 But the scribes and Pharisees and elders being gathered together one with another, when they heard that all the people murmured and beat their breasts saying, If by his death these most mighty signs have come to pass, see how righteous he is,—the elders were afraid and came to Pilate beseeching him and saying, Give us soldiers, that we may guard his sepulchre for three days, lest his disciples come and steal him away, and the people suppose that he is risen from the dead and do us evil. And Pilate gave them Petronius the centurion with soldiers to guard the tomb. And with them came elders and scribes to the sepulchre, and having rolled a great stone together with the centurion and the soldiers, they all together who were there set it at the door of the sepulchre; and they affixed seven seals, and they pitched a tent there and guarded it. And early in the morning as the sabbath was drawing on, there came a multitude from Jerusalem and the region round about, that they might see the sepulchre that was sealed.

9 And in the night in which the Lord's day was drawing on, as the soldiers kept guard two by two in a watch, there was a great voice in the heaven; and they saw the heavens opened, and two men descend from thence with great light and approach the tomb. And that stone which was put at the door rolled of itself and made way in part; and the tomb was opened, and both the young men entered in.

10 When therefore those soldiers saw it, they awakened the centurion and the elders; for they too were hard by keeping guard. And as they declared what things they had seen, again they see three men come forth from the tomb, and two of them supporting one, and a cross following them: and of the two the head reached unto the heaven, but the head of him who was lead by them overpassed the heavens. And they heard a voice from the heavens, saying, Thou hast preached to them that sleep. And a response was heard from the cross, Yea.

11 They therefore considered one with another whether to go away and shew these things to Pilate. And while they yet thought thereon, the heavens again are seen to open, and a certain man to descend and enter into the sepulchre. When the centurion and they that were with him saw these things, they hastened in the night to Pilate, leaving the tomb which they were watching, and declared all things which they had seen, being greatly distressed and saying, Truly he was the Son of God. Pilate answered and said, I am pure from the blood of the Son of God: but it was ye who determined this. Then they all drew near and besought him and entreated him to command the centurion and the soldiers to say nothing of the things which they had seen: For it is better, say they, for us to be guilty of the greatest sin before God, and not to fall into the hands of the people of the Jews and to be stoned. Pilate therefore commanded the centurion and the soldiers to say nothing.

12 And at dawn upon the Lord's day Mary Magdalene, a disciple of the Lord, fearing because of the Jews, since they were burning with wrath, had not done at the Lord's sepulchre the things which women are wont to do for those that die and for those that are beloved by them—she took her friends with her and came to the sepulchre where he was laid. And they feared lest the Jews should see them, and they said, Although on that day on which he was crucified we could not weep and lament, yet now let us do these things at his sepulchre. But who shall roll away for us the stone that was laid at the door of the sepulchre, that we may enter in and sit by him and do the things that are due? For the stone was great, and we fear lest some one see us. And if we cannot, yet if we but set at the door the things which we bring as a memorial of him, we will weep and lament, until we come unto our home.

13 And they went and found the tomb opened, and coming near they looked in there; and they see there a certain young man sitting in the midst of the tomb, beautiful and clothed in a robe exceeding bright; who said to them, Wherefore are ye come? Whom seek ye? Him that was crucified? He is risen and gone. But if ye believe not, look in and see the place where he lay, that he is not [here]; for he is risen and gone thither, whence he was sent. Then the women feared and fled.

14 Now it was the last day of the unleavened bread, and many were going forth, returning to their homes, as the feast was ended. But we, the twelve disciples of the Lord, wept and were grieved: and each one, being grieved for that which was come to pass, departed to his home. But I Simon Peter and Andrew my brother took our nets and went to the sea; and there was with us Levi the son of Alphæus, whom the Lord . . .

THE FIRST GOSPEL OF THE INFANCY OF JESUS CHRIST

From The Apocryphal New Testament,
Gebbie & Co. Publishers, Philadelphia, 1880
Translation: Henry Sike, 1697
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 4th centuries A.D.

(Mr. Henry Sike, Professor of Oriental Languages at Cambridge, first translated and published this Gospel in 1697. It was received by the Gnostics, a sect of Christians in the second century , and several of its relations were credited in the following ages by other Christians, viz., Eusebius, Athanasius, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, etc. Sozomen says, he was told by many, and he credits the relations, of the idols in Egypt falling down on Joseph, and Mary's flight thither with Christ; and of Christ making a well to wash his clothes in a sycamore tree, from whence balsam aiterwards proceeded.

These stories are from this Gospel. Chemnitius; out of Stipulensis, who had it from Peter Martyr, Bishop of Alexandria, in the third century, says, that the place in Egypt where Christ was banished is now called Matarea, about ten miles beyond Cairo; that the inhabitants constantly burn a lamp in remembrance of it; and that there is a garden of trees yielding a balsam, which were planted by Christ when a boy. M. La Crosse cites a synod at Angamala, in the mountains of Malabar, a.d. 1599, which condemns this Gospel as commonly read by the Nestorians in that country. Ahmed Ibu Idris, a Mahometan divine, says, it was used by some

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Christians in common with the other four Gospels; and Ocobius de Castro mentions a Gospel of Thomas, which he says, he saw and had translated to him by an Armenian Archbishop at Amsterdam, that was read in very many churches of Asia and Africa, as the only rule of their faith. Fabricius takes it to be this Gospel. It has been supposed, that Mahomet and his coadjutors used it in compiling the Koran. There are several stories believed of Christ proceeding from this Gospel; as that which Mr. Sike relates out of La Brosse's Persic Lexicon, that Christ practised the trade of a dyer, and his Avorking a miracle with the colours; from whence the Persian dyers honour him as their patron, and call a dye-house the shop of Christ. Sir John Chardin mentions Persian legends concerning Christ's dispute with his schoolmaster about his ABC; and his lengthening the cedar-board which Joseph sawed too short.)

INFANCY OF JESUS CHAPTER 1

1 [Caiaphas relates, that Jesus when in his cradle, informed his mother, that

he was the Son of God. Joseph and Mary going to Bethlehem to be taxed, Mary's time of bringing forth arrives, and she goes into a cave. Joseph fetches in a Hebrew woman, the cave filled with great lights. The infant born, cures the woman, arrival of the shepherds.]

The following accounts we found in the book of Joseph the high-priest, called by some Caiaphas:

2 He relates, that Jesus spake even when he was in the cradle, and said to his mother:

3 Mary, I am Jesus the Son of God, that word which thou didst bring forth according to the declaration of the angel Gabriel to thee, and my father hath sent me for the salvation of the world.

4 In the three hundred and ninth year of the aera of Alexander, Augustus published a decree that all persons should go to be taxed in their own country.

5 Joseph therefore arose, and with Mary his spouse he went to Jerusalem, and then came to Bethlehem, that he and his family might be taxed in the city of his fathers.

6 And when they came by the cave, Mary confessed to Joseph that her time of bringing forth was come, and she could not go on to the city, and said, Let us

go into this cave.

7 At that time the sun Avas very near going down.

8 But Joseph hastened away, that he might fetch her a midwife; and when he saw an old Hebrew woman who was of Jerusalem, lie said to her, Pray come hither, good woman, and go into that cave, and you will there see a woman just ready to bring forth.

9 It was after sunset, when the old woman and Joseph with her reached the cave, and they both went into it.

10 And behold, it was all filled with lights, greater than the light of lamps and candles, and greater than the light of the sun itself.

11 The infant was then wrapped up in swaddling clothes, and sucking the breasts of his mother St. Mary.

12 When they both saw this light, they were surprised; the old woman asked St. Mary, Art thou the mother of this child?

13 St. Mary replied, She was.

14 On which the old woman said, Thou art very different from all other women.

15 St. Mary answered, As there is not any child like to my son, so neither is there any woman like to his mother.

16 The old woman answered, and said, my Lady, I am come hither that I may obtain an everlasting reward.

17 Then our Lady, St. Mary, said to her, Lay thine hands upon the infant; which, when she had done, she became whole.

18 And as she was going forth, she said, From henceforth, all the days of my life, I will attend upon and be a servant of this infant.

19 After this, when the shepherds came, and had made a fire, and they were exceedingly rejoicing, the heavenly host appeared to them, praising and adoring the supreme God.

20 And as the shepherds were engaged in the same employment, the cave at that time seemed like a glorious temple, because both the tongues of angels and men united to adore and magnify God, on account of the birth of the Lord Christ.

21 But when the old Hebrew woman saw all these evident miracles, she gave praises to God, and said, I thank thee, O God, thou God of Israel, for that mine eyes have seen the birth of the Saviour of the world.

INFANCY OF JESUS CHAPTER 2

1 [The child circumcised in the cave, and the old woman preserving his foreskin or navel-string in a box of spikenard, Mary afterwards anoints Christ with it. Christ brought to the temple, shines, angels stand around him adoring. Simeon praises Christ.]

And when the time of his circumcision was come, namely, the eighth day, on which the law commanded the child to be circumcised, they circumcised him in the cave.

2 And the old Hebrew woman took the foreskin (others say she took the navel-string), and preserved it in an alabaster-box of old oil of spikenard.

3 And she had a son who was a druggist, to whom she said, Take heed thou sell not this alabaster box of spikenard-ointment, although thou shouldst be

offered three hundred pence for it.

4 Now this is that alabasterbox which Mary the sinner procured, and poured forth the ointment out of it upon the head and the feet of our Lord Jesus

Christ, and wiped it off with the hairs of her head.

5 Then after ten days they brought him to Jerusalem, and on the fortieth day from his birth they presented him in the temple before the Lord, making the proper offerings for him, according to the requirement of the law of Moses: namely, that every male which opens the womb shall be called holy unto God.

6 At that time old Simeon saw him shining as a pillar of light, when St. Mary the Virgin, his mother, carried him in her arms, and was filled with the

greatest pleasure at the sight.

7 And the angels stood around him, adoring him, as a king's guards stand around him.

8 Then Simeon going near to St. Mary, and stretching forth his hands towards her, said to the Lord Christ, Now, O my Lord, thy servant shall depart in peace, according to thy word;

9 For mine eyes have seen thy mercy, which thou hast prepared for the salvation of all nations; a light to all people, and the glory of thy people Israel.

10 Hannah the prophetess was also present, and drawing near, she gave praises to God, and celebrated the happiness of Mary.

INFANCY OF JESUS CHAPTER 3

1 [The wise men visit Christ. Mary gives them one of his swaddling clothes. An angel appears to them in the form of a star. 'They return and make a fire, and worship the swaddling cloth, and, put it in the fire, where it remains

unconsumed]

And it came to pass, when the Lord Jesus was born at Bethlehem, a city of Judaea, in the time of Herod the King; the wise men came from the East to Jerusalem, according to the prophecy of Zoradascht, and brought with them offerings: namely, gold, frankincense, and myrrh, and worshipped him, and offered to him their gifts.

2 Then the Lady Mary took one of his swaddling clothes in which the infant was wrapped, and gave it to them instead of a blessing, which they received from her as a most noble present.

3 And at the same time there appeared to them an angel in the form of that star which had before been their guide in their journey; the light of which they followed till they returned into their own country.

4 On their return their kings and princes came to them inquiring, What they had seen and done? What sort of journey and return they had? What company they had on the road?

5 But they produced the swaddling cloth which St. Mary had given to them, on account whereof they kept a feast.

6 And having, according to the custom of their country, made a fire, they worshipped it.

7 And casting the swaddling cloth into it, the fire took it, and kept it.

8 And when the fire was put out, they took forth the swaddling cloth unhurc, as much as if the fire had not touched it.

9 Then they began to kiss it, and put it upon their heads and their eyes, saying, This is certainly an undoubted truth, and it is really surprising that the fire could not burn it, and consume it.

10 Then they took it, and with the greatest respect laid it up among their treasures.

INFANCY OF JESUS CHAPTER 4

1 [Herod intends to put Christ to death. An angel warns Joseph to take the

child and its mother into Egypt. Consternation on their arrival. The idols fall down. Mary washes Christ's swaddling clothes, and hangs them to dry on a post. A son of the chief priest puts one on, his head, and being possessed of devils, they leave him.]

"Now Herod, perceiving that the wise men did delay, and not return to him, called together the priests and wise men and said, Tell me in what place

the Christ should be born?

2 And when they replied, in Bethlehem, a city of Judaea, he began to contrive in his own mind the death of the Lord Jesus Christ.

3 But an angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in his sleep, and said, Arise, take the child and his mother, and go into Egypt as soon as the cock crows.

So he arose, and went.

4 If And as he was considering with himself about his journey, the morning came upon him.

5 In the length of the journey the girts of the saddle broke.

6 And now he drew near to a great city, in which there was an idol, to which the other idols and gods of Egypt brought their offerings and vows.

7 And there was by this idol a priest ministering to it, who, as often as Satan spoke out of that idol, related the things he said to the inhabitants of Egypt, and those countries.

8 This priest had a son three years old, who was possessed with a great multitude of devils, who uttered many strange things, and when the devils seized him, walked about naked with his clothes torn, throwing stones at

those whom he saw.

9 Near to that idol was the inn of the city, into which when Joseph and St. Mary were come and had turned into that inn, all the inhabitants of the city were astonished.

10 And all the magistrates and priests of the idols assembled before that idol, and made inquiry there, saying, What means all this consternation,

and dread, which has fallen upon all our country?

11 The idol answered them, The unknown God is come hither, who is truly God; nor is there any one besides him, who is worthy of divine worship; for he is truly the Son of God.

12 At the fame of him this country trembled, and at his coming it is under the present commotion and consternation; and we ourselves are affrighted by the greatness of his power.

13 And at the same instant this idol fell down, and at his fall all the inhabitants of Egypt, besides others, ran together.

14 But the son of the priest, when his usual disorder came upon him, going into the inn, found there Joseph and St. Mary, whom all the rest had left behind and forsook.

15 And when the Lady St. Mary had washed the swaddling clothes of the Lord Christ, and hanged them out to dry upon a post, the boy possessed with the

devil took down one of them, and put it upon his head.

16 And presently the devils began to come out of his mouth, and fly away in the shape of crows and serpents.

17 From that time the boy was healed by the power of the Lord Christ, and he began to sing praises, and give thanks to the Lord who had healed him.

18 When his father saw him restored to his former state of health, he said, My son, what has happened to thee, and by what means wert thou cured?

19 The son answered, When the devils seized me, I went into the inn, and there found a very handsome woman with a boy, whose swaddling clothes she had just before washed, and hanged out upon a post.

20 One of these I took, and put it upon my head, and immediately the devils left me, and fled away.

21 At this the father exceedingly rejoiced, and said, My son, perhaps this boy is the son of the living God, who made the heavens and the earth.

22 For as soon as he came amongst us, the idol was broken, and all the gods fell down, and were destroyed by a greater power.

23 Then was fulfilled the prophecy which saith, Out of Egypt I have called my son.

INFANCY OF JESUS CHAPTER 5

1 [Joseph and Mary leave Egypt. Go to the haunts of robbers, Who, hearing a mighty noise as of a great army, flee away.]

NOW Joseph and Mary, when they heard that the idol was fallen down and destroyed, were seized with fear and trembling, and said, "When we were

in the land of Israel, Herod, intending to kill Jesus, slew for that purpose all the infants at Bethlehem, and that neighbourhood.

2 And there is no doubt but the Egyptians if they come to

hear that this idol is broken and fallen down, will burn us with fire.

3 They went therefore hence to the secret places of robbers, who robbed travellers as they pass by, of their carriages and their clothes, and carried them away bound.

4 These thieves upon their coming heard a great noise, such as the noise of a king with a great army and many horses, and the trumpets sounding at his departure from his own city; at which they were so affrighted as to leave all their booty behind them, and fly away in haste.

5 Upon this the prisoners arose, and loosed each other's bonds, and taking each man his bags, they went away, and saw Joseph and Mary coming towards

them, and inquired, Where is that king, the noise of whose approach the robbers heard, and left us, so that we are now come off safe?

6 Joseph answered, He will come after us.

INFANCY OF JESUS CHAPTER 6

1 [Mary looks on a woman in whom Satan had taken up his abode, and she becomes dispossessed. Christ kissed by a bride made dumb by sorcerers, cures her, miraculously cures a gentlewoman in whom Satan had taken up his abode. A

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leprous girl cured by the water in which he was washed, and becomes the servant of Mary and Joseph. The leprous son of a prince's wife cured in
like manner. 37 His mother offers large gifts to Mary, and dismisses her.]

Then they went into another city where there was a woman possessed with a devil, and in whom Satan, that cursed rebel, had taken up his abode.

2 One night, when she went to fetch water, she could neither endure her clothes on, nor to be in any house; but as often as they tied her with chains or cords, she brake them, and went out into desert places, and sometimes
standing where roads crossed, and in churchyards, would throw stones at men.

3 When St. Mary saw this woman, she pitied her; whereupon Satan presently left her, and fled away in the form of a young man, saying, Wo to me, because of thee, Mary, and thy son.

4 So the woman was delivered from her torment; but considering herself naked, she blushed, and avoided seeing any man, and having put on her clothes, went
home, and gave an account of her case to her father and relations, who, as they were the best of the city, entertained St. Mary and Joseph with the greatest respect.

5 The next morning having received a sufficient supply of provisions for the road, they went from them, and about the evening of the day arrived at
another town, where a marriage was then about to be solemnised; but by the arts of Satan and the practices of some sorcerers, the bride was become so dumb, that she could not so much as open her mouth.

6 But when this dumb bride saw the Lady St. Mary entering into the town, and carrying the Lord Christ in her arms, she stretched out her hands to the Lord Christ, and took him in her arms, and closely hugging him, very often kissed him, continually moving him and pressing him to her body.

7 Straightway the string of her tongue was loosed, and her ears were opened, and she began to sing praises unto God, who had restored her.

8 So there was great joy among the inhabitants of the town that night, who thought that God and his angels were come down among them.

9 In this place they abode three days, meeting with the greatest respect and most splendid entertainment.

10 And being then furnished by the people with provisions for the road, they departed and went to another city, in which they were inclined to lodge, because it was a famous place.

11 There was in this city a gentlewoman, who, as she went down one day to the river to bathe, behold cursed Satan leaped upon her in the form of a serpent,

12 And folded himself about her belly, and every night lay upon her.

13 This woman seeing the Lady St. Mary, and the Lord Christ the infant in her bosom, asked the Lady St. Mary, that she would give her the child to kiss, and carry in her arms.

11 When she had consented, and as soon as the woman had moved the child, Satan left her, and fled away, nor did the woman ever afterwards see him.

15 Hereupon all the neighbours praised the Supreme God, and the woman rewarded them with ample beneficence.

16 On the morrow the same woman brought perfumed water to wash the Lord Jesus; and when she had washed him, she preserved the water.

17 And there was a girl there, whose body was white with a leprosy, who being sprinkled with this water, and washed, was instantly cleansed from her leprosy.

18 The people therefore said Without doubt Joseph and Mary, and that boy are Gods, for they do not look like mortals.

19 And when they were making ready to go away, the girl, who had been troubled with the leprosy, came and desired they would permit her to go along with them; so they consented, and the girl went with them till they came to a city, in which was the palace of a great king, and whose house was not far from
the inn.

20 Here they staid, and when the girl went one day to the prince's wife, and found her in a sorrowful and mournful condition, she asked her the reason of
her tears.

21 She replied, Wonder not at my groans, for I am under a great misfortune, ofwhich I dare not tell any one.

22 But, says the girl, if you will entrust me with your private grievance, perhaps I may find you a remedy for it.

23 Thou, therefore, says the prince's wife, shalt keep the secret, and not discover it to any one alive!

24 I have been married to this prince, who rules as king over large dominions, and lived long with him, before he had any child by me.

25 At length I conceived by him, but alas ! I brought forth a leprous son ; which, when he saw, he would not own to be his, but said to me,

26 Either do thou kill him, or send him to some nurse in such a place, that he may be never heard of; and now take care of yourself; I will never see you
more.

27 So here I pine, lamenting my wretched and miserable circumstances. Alas, my son! alas, my husband! Have I disclosed it to you ?

28 The girl replied, I have found a remedy for your disease, which I promise you, for I also was leprous, but God hath cleansed me, even he who is called
Jesus, the son of the Lady Mary.

29 The woman inquiring where that God was, whom she spake of, the girl answered He lodges with you here in the same house.

30 But how can this be? says she; where is he? Behold, replied the girl, Joseph and Mary; and the infant who is with them is called Jesus: and it is he who delivered me from my disease and torment.

31 But by what means, says she, were you cleansed from your leprosy ? Will you not tell me that?

32 Why not? says the girl; I took the water with which his body had been washed, and poured it upon me, and my leprosy vanished.

33 The prince's wife then arose and entertained them, providing a great feast for Joseph among a large company of men.

34 And the next day took perfumed water to wash, the Lord Jesus, and afterwards poured the same water upon her son, whom she had brought with
her, and her son was instantly cleansed from his leprosy.

35 Then she sang thanks and praises unto God, and said, Blessed is the mother that bare thee, O Jesus!

36 Dost thou thus cure men of the same nature with thyself, with the water with which thy body is washed ?

37 She then offered very large gifts to the Lady Mary, and sent her away with all imaginable respect.

INFANCY OF JESUS CHAPTER 7

1 [A man who could not enjoy his wife, freed from his disorder. A young man who had been bewitched, and turned into a nude, miraculously cured by Christ being put on his back and is married to the girl who had been cured of leprosy.]

They came afterwards to another city, and had a mind to lodge there.

2 Accordingly they went to a man's house, who was newly married, but by the influence of sorcerers could not enjoy his wife:

3 But they lodging at his house that night, the man was freed of his disorder:

4 And when they were preparing early in the morning to go forward on their journey, the new married person hindered them, and provided a noble entertainment for them?

5 But going forward on the morrow, they came to another city, and saw three women going from a certain grave with great weeping.

6 When St. Mary saw them, she spake to the girl who was their companion, saying, Go and inquire of them, what is the matter with them, and what misfortune has befallen them?

7 When the girl asked them, they made her no answer, but asked her again, Who are ye, and where are ye going? For the day is far spent, and the night is at hand.

8 We are travellers, saith the girl, and are seeking for an inn to lodge at.

9 They replied, Go along with us, and lodge with us.

10 They then followed them, and were introduced into a new house, well furnished with all sorts of furniture.

11 It was now winter-time, and the girl went into the parlour where these women were, and found them weeping and lamenting, as before.

12 By them stood a mule, covered over with silk, and an ebony collar hanging down from his neck, whom they kissed, and were feeding.

13 But when the girl said, How handsome, ladies, that mule is! they replied with tears, and said, This mule, which you see, was our brother, born of this
same mother as we:

14 For when our father died, and left us a very large estate, and we had only this brother, and we endeavoured to procure him a suitable match, and
thought he should be married as other men, some giddy and jealous woman bewitched him without our knowledge.

15 And we, one night, a little before day, while the doors of the house were all fast shut, saw this our brother was changed into a mule, such as you now see him to be:

16 And we, in the melancholy condition in which you see us, having no father to comfort us, have applied to all the wise men, magicians, and diviners in
the world, but they have been of no service to us.

17 As often therefore as we find ourselves oppressed with grief, we rise and go with this our mother to our father's tomb, where, when we have cried sufficiently we return home.

18 When the girl had heard this, she said, Take courage, and cease your fears, for you have a remedy for your afflictions near at hand, even among you and in
the midst of your house,

19 For I was also leprous; but when I saw this woman, and this little infant with her, whose name is Jesus, I sprinkled my body with the water with which
his mother had washed him, and I was presently made well.

20 And I am certain that he is also capable of relieving you under your distress. Wherefore, arise, go to my mistress, Mary, and when you have brought her into your own parlour, disclose to her the secret, at the same time, earnestly beseeching her to compassionate your case.

21 As soon as the women had heard the girl's discourse, they hastened away to the Lady St. Mary, introduced themselves to her, and sitting down before her,
they wept.

22 And said, our Lady St. Mary, pity your handmaids, for we have no head of our family, no one older than us; no father, or brother to go in and out before us.

23 But this mule, which you see, was our brother, which some woman by witchcraft have brought into this condition which you see: we therefore entreat you to compassionate us.

24 Hereupon St. Mary was grieved at their case, and taking the Lord Jesus, put him upon the back of the mule.

25 And said to her son, Jesus Christ, restore (or heal) according to thy extraordinary power this mule, and grant him to have again the shape of a
man and a rational creature, as he had formerly.

26 This was scarce said by the Lady St. Mary, but the mule immediately passed into a human form, and became a young man without any deformity.

27 Then he and his mother and the sisters worshipped the Lady St. Mary, and lifting the child upon their heads, they kissed him, and said, Blessed is
thy mother, O Jesus, O Saviour of the world! Blessed are the eyes which are so happy as to see thee.

28 Then both the sisters told their mother, saying, Of a truth our brother is restored to his former shape by the help of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the kindness of that girl, who told us of Mary and her son.

29 And inasmuch as our brother is unmarried, it is fit that we marry him to this girl their servant.

30 When they had consulted Mary in this matter, and she had given her consent, they made a splendid wedding for this girl.

31 And so their sorrow being turned into gladness, and their mourning into mirth, they began to rejoice, and to make merry, and sing, being dressed in their richest attire, with bracelets.

32 Afterwards they glorified and praised God, saying, O Jesus son of David who changest sorrow into gladness, and mourning into mirth!

33 After this Joseph and Mary tarried there ten days, then went away, having received great respect from those people;

34 Who, when they took their leave of them, and returned home, cried,

35 But especially the girl.

INFANCY OF JESUS CHAPTER 8

1 [Joseph and Mary pass through a country infested by robbers, Titus, a humane thief, offers Dumachus, his comrade, forty groats to let Joseph and Mary pass unmolested. Jesus prophesies that the thieves, Dumachus and Titus (probably an allusion on the sons of Emperor Vespasianus, Domitianus and Titus, who played an active role in stealing the Holy Land. If this is the case, then this gospel refers to the Roman-Jewish War 66-73 AD and these names can be denoted as Anti-Roman or Anti-Christian propaganda in this text.), shall be crucified with him, and that Titus shall go before him into Paradise. Christ causes a well to spring from a sycamore tree, and Mary washes his coat in it. A balsam grows there from his sweat. They go to Memphis, where Christ works more miracles. Return to Judaea. being warned, depart for Nazareth.]

In their journey from hence I they came into a desert country, and were told it was infested with robbers; so Joseph and St. Mary prepared to pass through
it in the night.

2 And as they were going along, behold they saw two robbers asleep in the road, and with them a great number of robbers, who were their confederates, also asleep.

3 The names of these two were Titus and Dumachus; and Titus said to Dumachus, I beseech thee let those persons go along quietly, that our company may not perceive anything of them:

4 But Dumachus refusing, Titus again said, I will give thee forty groats, and as a pledge take my girdle, which he gave him before he had done speaking,
that he might not open his mouth, or make a noise.

5 When the Lady St. Mary saw the kindness which this robber did shew them, she said to him, The Lord God will receive thee to his right hand, and grant
thee pardon of thy sins.

6 Then the Lord Jesus answered, and said to his mother, When thirty years are expired, O mother, the Jews will crucify me at Jerusalem;

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7 And these two thieves shall be with me at the same time upon the cross, Titus on my right hand, and Dumachus on my left, and from that time Titus shall go before me into paradise:

8 And when she had said, God forbid this should be thy lot, O my son, they went on to a city in which were several idols; which, as soon as they came
near to it, was turned into hills of sand.

9 Hence they went to that sycamore tree, which is now called Matarea;

10 And in Matarea the Lord Jesus caused a well to spring forth, in which St. Mary washed his coat;

11 And a balsam is produced, or grows, in that country from the sweat which ran down there from the Lord Jesus.

12 Thence they proceeded to Memphis, and saw Pharaoh, and abode three years in Egypt.

13 And the Lord Jesus did very many miracles in Egypt, which are neither to be found in the Gospel of the Infancy nor in the Gospel of Perfection.

14 At the end of three years he returned out of Egypt, and when he came near to Judaea, Joseph was afraid to enter;

15 For hearing that Herod was dead, and that Archelaus his son reigned in his stead, he was afraid;

16 And when he went to Judaea, an angel of God appeared to him, and said, O Joseph, go into the city Nazareth, and abide there.

17 It is strange indeed that he, who is the Lord of all countries, should be thus carried backward and forward through so many countries.

INFANCY OF JESUS CHAPTER 9

1 [Two sick children cured by water wherein Christ was washed.]

When they came afterwards into the city Bethlehem, they found there several very desperate distempers, which became so troublesome to children by seeing them, that most of them died.

2 There was there a woman who had a sick son, whom she brought, when he was at the point of death, to the Lady St. Mary, who saw her when she was washing Jesus Christ.

3 Then said the woman, my Lady Mary, look down upon this my son, who is afflicted with most dreadful pains.

4. St. Mary hearing her, said, Take a little of that water with which I have washed my son, and sprinkle it upon him.

5 Then she took a little of that water, as St. Mary had commanded, and sprinkled it upon her son, who being wearied with his violent pains, had fallen asleep; and after he had slept a little, awaked perfectly well and
recovered.

6 The mother being abundantly glad of this success, went again to St. Mary, and St. Mary said to her, Give praise to God, who hath cured this thy son.

7 There was in the same place another woman, a neighbour of her, whose son was now cured.

8 This woman's son was afflicted with the same disease, and his eyes were now almost quite shut, and she was lamenting for him day and night.

9 The mother of the child which was cured, said to her, Why do you not bring your son to St. Mary, as I brought my son to her, when he was in the agonies
of death; and he was cured by that water, with which the body of her son Jesus was washed?

10 When the woman heard her say this, she also went, and having procured the same water, washed her son with it, whereupon his body and his eyes were
instantly restored to their former state.

11 And when she brought her son to St. Mary, and opened his case to her, she commanded her to give thanks to God for the recovery of her son's health, and
tell no one what had happened.

INFANCY OF JESUS CHAPTER 10

1 [Two wives of one man, each have a son sick. One of them, named Mary, and whose son's name was Caleb, presents the Virgin with a handsome carpet, and Caleb is cured; but the son of the other wife dies, which occasions a difference between the women. The other wife puts Caleb into a hot oven, and he is miraculously preserved; she afterwards throws him into a, well, and he is again preserved; his mother appeals to the Virgin against the other wife, whose downfall the Virgin prophesies, and who accordingly falls into the well, therein fulfilling a saying of old.]

There were in the same city two wives of one man, who had each a son sick. One of them was called Mary and her son's name was Caleb.

2 She arose, and taking her son, went to the Lady St. Mary, the mother of Jesus, and offered her a very handsome carpet, saying, O my Lady Mary accept this carpet of me, and instead of it give me a small swaddling cloth.

3 To this Mary agreed, and when the mother of Caleb was gone, she made a coat for her son of the swaddling cloth, put it on him, and his disease was cured; but the son of the other wife died.

4 Hereupon there arose between them, a difference in doing the business of the family by turns, each her week.

5 And when the turn of Mary the mother of Caleb came, and she was heating the oven to bake bread, and went away to fetch the meal, she left her son Caleb
by the oven;

6 Whom, the other wife, her rival, seeing to be by himself, took and cast him into the oven, which was very hot, and then went away.

7 Mary on her return saw her son Caleb lying in the middle of the oven laughing, and the oven quite as cold as though it had not been before heated, and knew that her rival the other wife had thrown him into the fire.

8 When she took him out, she brought him to the Lady St. Mary, and told her the story, to whom she replied, Be quiet, I am concerned lest thou shouldest
make this matter known.

9 After this her rival, the other wife, as she was drawing water at the well, and saw Caleb playing by the well, and that no one was near, took him, and
threw him into the well.

10 And when some men came to fetch water from the well, they saw the boy sitting on the superficies of the water, and drew him out with ropes, and
were exceedingly surprised at the child, and praised God.

11 Then came the mother and took him and carried him to the Lady St. Mary, lamenting and saying, O my Lady, see what my rival hath done to my son, and
how she hath cast him into the well, and I do not question but one time or other she will be the occasion of his death.

12 St. Mary replied to her, God will vindicate your injured cause.

13 Accordingly a few days after, when the other wife came to the well to draw water, her foot was entangled in the rope, so that she fell headlong into the
well, and they who ran to her assistance, found her skull broken, and bones bruised.

14 So she came to a bad end, and in her was fulfilled that saying of the author, They digged a well, and made it deep, but fell themselves into the pit which they prepared.

INFANCY OF JESUS CHAPTER 11

1 [Bartholomew, when a child and sick, miraculously restored by being laid on
Christ's bed.]

Another woman in that city had likewise two sons sick.

2 And when one was dead, the other, who lay at the point of death, she took in her arms to the Lady St. Mary, and in a flood of tears addressed herself
to her, saying,

3 O my Lady, help and relieve me; for I had two sons, the one I have just now buried, the other I see is just at the point of death, behold how I (earnestly) seek favour from God, and pray to him.

4 Then she said, O Lord, thou art gracious, and merciful, and kind; thou hast given me two sons; one of them thou hast taken to thyself, O spare me this other.

5 St. Mary then perceiving the greatness of her sorrow, pitied her and said, Do thou place thy son in my son's bed, and cover him with his clothes.

6 And when she had placed him in the bed wherein Christ lay, at the moment when his eyes were just closed by death; as soon as ever the smell of the
garments of the Lord Jesus Christ reached the boy, his eyes were opened, and calling with a loud voice to his mother, he asked for bread, and when he
had received it, he sucked it.

7 Then his mother said, O Lady Mary, now I am assured that the powers of God do dwell in you, so that thy son can cure children who are of the same sort as himself, as soon as they touch his garments.

8 This boy who was thus cured, is the same who in the Gospel is called Bartholomew.

INFANCY OF JESUS CHAPTER 12

1 [A leprovs woman healed by Christ's washing water. A princess healed
by it and restored to her husband.]

Again there was a leprous woman who went to the Lady St. Mary, the mother of
Jesus, and said, O my Lady, help me.

2 St. Mary replied, what help dost thou desire? Is it gold or silver, or that thy body be cured of its leprosy?

3 Who, says the woman, can grant me this?

4 St. Mary replied to her, Wait a little till I have washed my son Jesus, and put him to bed.

5 The woman waited, as she was commanded; and Mary when she had put Jesus in bed, giving her the water with which she had washed his body, said, Take some of the water, and pour it upon thy body;

6 Which when she had done, she instantly became clean, and praised God, and gave thanks to him.

7 Then she went away, after she had abode with her three days:

8 And going into the city, she saw a certain prince, who had married another prince's daughter;

9 But when he came to see her, he perceived between her eyes the signs of leprosy like a star, and thereupon declared the marriage dissolved and void.

10 When the woman saw these persons in this condition, exceedingly sorrowful, and shedding abundance of tears, she inquired of them the reason of their crying.

11 They replied, Inquire not into our circumstances; for we are not able to declare our misfortunes to any person whatsoever.

12 But still she pressed and desired them to communicate their case to her, intimating, that perhaps she might be able to direct them to a remedy.

13 So when they shewed the young woman to her, and the signs of the leprosy, which appeared between her eyes,

14 She said, I also, whom ye see in this place, was afflicted with the same distemper, and going on some business to Bethlehem, I went into a certain cave, and saw a woman named Mary, who had a son called Jesus.

15. She seeing me to be leprous, was concerned for me, and gave me some water with which she had washed her son's body; with that I sprinkled my body, and became clean.

16 Then said these women, Will you, Mistress, go along with us, and shew the Lady St. Mary to us ?

17 To which she consenting, they arose and went to the Lady St. Mary, taking with them very noble presents.

18 And when they came in and offered their presents to her, they showed the leprous young woman what they brought with them to her.

19 Then said St. Mary, The mercy of the Lord Jesus Christ rest upon you;

20 And giving them a little of that water with which she had washed the body of Jesus Christ, she bade them wash the diseased person with it; which when they had done, she was presently cured;

21 So they, and all who were gresent, praised God; and being lied with joy, they went back to their own city, and gave praise to God on that account.

22 Then the prince hearing that his wife was cured, took her home and made a second marriage, giving thanks unto God for the recovery of his wife's health.

INFANCY OF JESUS CHAPTER 13

1 [A girl, whose blood Satan sucked, receives one of Christ's swaddling clothes from the Virgin. Satan comes like a dragon, and she shews it to him;
flames and burning coals proceedfrom it and fall upon him; he is miraculously
discomfited, and leaves the girl.]

There was also a girl, who was afflicted by Satan;

2 For that cursed spirit did frequently appear to her in the shape of a dragon, and was inclined to swallow her up, and had so sucked out all her blood, that she looked like a dead carcase.

3 As often as she came to herself, with her hands wringed about her head she would cry out, and say, Wo, Wo is me, that there is no one to be found who can deliver me from that impious dragon!

4 Her father and mother, and all who were about her and saw her, mourned and wept over her;

5 And all who were present would especially be under sorrow and in tears, when they heard her bewailing, and saying, My brethren and friends, is there no
one who can deliver me from this murderer?

6 Then the prince's daughter, who had been cured of her leprosy, hearing the complaint of that girl, went upon the top of her castle, and saw her with her hands twisted about her head, pouring out a flood of tears, and all the people that were about her in sorrow.

7 Then she asked the husband of the possessed person, Whether his wife's mother was alive? He told her, That her father and mother were both alive.

8 Then she ordered her mother to be sent to her: to whom, when she saw her coming, she said, Is this possessed girl thy daughter? She moaning and bewailing said, Yes, madam, I bore her.

9 The prince's daughter answered, Disclose the secret of her case to me, for I confess to you that I was leprous, but the Lady Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ, healed me.

10 And if you desire your daughter to be restored to her former state, take her to Bethlehem, and inquire for Mary the mother of Jesus, and doubt not but your daughter will be cured; for I do not question but you will come home with great joy at your daughter's recovery.

11 As soon as ever she had done speaking, she arose and went with her daughter to the place appointed, and to Mary, and told her the case of her daughter.

12 When St. Mary had heard her story, she gave her a little of the water with which she had washed the body of her son Jesus, and bade her pour it upon the
body of her daughter.

13 Likewise she gave her one of the swaddling cloths of the Lord Jesus, and said, Take this swaddling cloth and shew it to thine enemy as often as thou
seest him; and she sent them away in peace.

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14 After they had left that city and returned home, and the time was come in which Satan was wont to seize her, in the same moment this cursed spirit appeared to her in the shape of a huge dragon, and the girl seeing him was afraid.

15 The mother said to her, Be not afraid daughter; let him alone till he come nearer to thee! then shew him the swaddling cloth, which the Lady Mary gave us, and we shall see the event.

16 Satan then coming like a dreadful dragon, the body of the girl trembled for fear.

17 But as soon as she had put the swaddling cloth upon her head, and about her eyes, and shewed it to him, presently there issued forth from the swaddling
cloth flames and burning coals, and fell upon the dragon.

18 Oh! how great a miracle was this, which was done: as soon as the dragon saw the swaddling cloth of the Lord Jesus, fire went forth and was scattered upon
his head and eyes; so that he cried out with a loud voice, What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou son of Mary, Whither shall I flee from thee?

19 So he drew back much affrighted, and left the girl.

20 And she was delivered from this trouble, and sang praises and thanks to God, and with her all who were present at the working of the miracle.

INFANCY OF JESUS CHAPTER 14

1 [Judas when a boy possessed by Safan, and brought by his parents to Jesus to
be cured, whom he tries to bile, but failing, strikes Jesus and makes him cry out. Whereupon Satan goes from Jesus in the shape of a dog.]

Another woman likewise lived there, whose son was possessed by Satan.

2 This boy, named Judas, as often as Satan seized him, was inclined to bite all that were present; and if he found no one else near him, he would bite his own hands and other parts.

3 But the mother of this miserable boy, hearing of St. Mary and her son Jesus, arose presently, and taking her son in her arms, brought him to the Lady Mary.

4 In the meantime, James and Joses had taken away the infant, the Lord Jesus, to play at a proper season with other children; and when they went forth, they
sat down and the Lord Jesus with them.

5 Then Judas, who was possessed, came and sat down at the right hand of Jesus.

6 When Satan was acting upon him as usual, he went about to bite the Lord Jesus.

7 And because he could not do it, he struck Jesus on the right side, so that he cried out.

8 And in the same moment Satan went out of the boy, and ran away like a mad dog.

9 This same boy who struck Jesus, and out of whom Satan went in the form of a dog, was Judas Iscariot, who betrayed him to the Jews.

10 And that same side, on which Judas struck him, the Jews pierced with a spear.

INFANCY OF JESUS CHAPTER 15

1 [Jesus and other boys play together, and make clay figures of animals.

Jesus causes them to walk, also makes clay birds, which he causes to
fly, and eat and drink. The children's parents alarmed, and take Jesus
for a sorcerer. He goes to a dyer's shop, and throws all the cloths into the
furnaca, and works a miracle therewith. Whereupon the Jens praise God.]

And when the Lord Jesus was seven years of age, he was on a certain day with other boys his companions about the same age.

2 Who when they were at play, made clay into several shapes, namely, asses, oxen, birds, and other figures,

3 Each boasting of his work, and endeavouring to exceed the rest.

4 Then the Lord Jesus said to the boys, I will command these figures which I have made to walk.

5 And immediately they moved, and when he commanded them to return, they returned.

6 He had also made the figures of birds and sparrows, which, when he commanded to fly, did fly, and when he commanded to stand still, did stand still; and
if he gave them meat and drink, they did eat and drink.

7 When at length the boys went away, and related these things to their parents, their fathers said to them, Take heed, children, for the future, of his company, for he is a sorcerer; shun and avoid him, and from henceforth never play with him.

8 On a certain day also, when the Lord Jesus was playing with the boys, and running about, he passed by a dyer's shop, whose name was Salem.

9 And there were in his shop many pieces of cloth belonging to the people of that city, which they designed to dye of several colours.

10 Then the Lord Jesus going into the dyer's shop, took all the cloths, and threw them into the furnace.

11 When Salem came home, and saw the cloths spoiled, he began to make a great noise, and to chide the Lord Jesus, saying,

12 What hast thou done to me, O thou Son of Mary? Thou hast injured both me and my neighbours; they all desired their cloths of a proper colour; but
thou hast come, and spoiled them all.

13 The Lord Jesus replied, I will change the colour of every cloth to what colour thou desirest;

14 And then he presently began to take the cloths out of the furnace, and they were all dyed of those same colours which the dyer desired.

15 And when the Jews saw this surprising miracle, they praised God.

INFANCY OF JESUS CHAPTER 16

1 [Christ miraculously widens or contracts the gates, milk-pails, sieves, or boxes, not properly made by Joseph, he not being skilful at his carpenter's trade. The King of Jerusalem gives Joseph an order for a throne. Joseph works
on it for two years in the king's palace, and makes it two spans too short. The king being angry with him, Jesus comforts him, commands him to pull one side of the throne, while he pulls the other, and brings it to its proper
dimensions. Whereupon the bystanders praise God.]

And Joseph, wheresoever he went in the city, took the Lord Jesus with him, where he was sent for to work to make gates, or milk-pails, or sieves, or
boxes; the Lord Jesus was with him wheresoever he went.

2 And as often as Joseph had anything in his work, to make longer or shorter, or wider, or narrower, the Lord Jesus would stretch his hand towards it.

3 And presently it became as Joseph would have it.

4 So that he had no need to finish anything with his own hands, for he was not very skilful at his carpenter's trade.

5 On a certain time the King of Jerusalem sent for him, and said, I would have thee make me a throne of the same dimensions with that place in which I
commonly sit.

6 Joseph obeyed, and forthwith began the work, and continued two years in the king's palace before he finished it.

7 And when he came to fix it in its place, he found it wanted two spans on each side of the appointed measure.

8 Which, when the king saw, he was very angry with Joseph;

9 And Joseph afraid of the king's anger, went to bed without his supper, taking not any thing to eat.

10 Then the Lord Jesus asked him, What he was afraid of?

11 Joseph replied, Because I have lost my labour in the work which I have been about these two years.

12 Jesus said to him, Fear not, neither be cast down;

13 Do thou lay hold on one side of the throne, and I will the other, and we will bring it to its just dimensions.

14 And when Joseph had done as the Lord Jesus said, and each of them had with strength drawn his side, the throne obeyed, and was brought to the proper dimensions of the place:

15 Which miracle when they who stood by saw, they were astonished, aud praised God.

16 The throne was made of the same wood, which was in being in Solomon's time, namely, wood adorned with various shapes and figures.

INFANCY OF JESUS CHAPTER 17

1 [Jesus plays with boys at hide and seek. Some women put his playfellows in a
furnace, where they are transformed by Jesus into kids. Jesus calls them to go and play, and they are restored to their former shape.]

On another day the Lord Jesus going out into the street, and seeing some boys who were met to play, joined himself to their company:

2 But when they saw him, they hid themselves, and left him to seek for them:

3 The Lord Jesus came to the gate of a certain house, and asked some women who were standing there, Where the boys were gone?

4 And when they answered, That there was no one there; the Lord Jesus said, Who are those whom ye see in the furnace?

5 They answered, They were kids of three years old.

6 Then Jesus cried out aloud, and said, Come out hither, O ye kids, to your shepherd;

7 And presently the boys came forth like kids, and leaped about him ; which when the women saw, they were exceedingly amazed, and trembled.

8 Then they immediately worshipped the Lord Jesus, and beseeched him, saying, O our Lord Jesus, son of Mary, thou art truly that good shepherd of Israel! have mercy on thy handmaids, who stand before thee, who do not doubt, but that thou, O Lord, art come to save, and not to destroy.

9 After that, when the Lord Jesus said, the children of Israel are like Ethiopians among the people; the women said, Thou, Lord, knowest all things, nor is any thing concealed from thee; but now we entreat thee, and beseech
of thy mercy that thou wouldst restore those boys to their former state.

10 Then Jesus said, Come hither O boys, that we may go and play; and immediately, in the presence of these women, the kids were changed and returned into the shape of boys.

INFANCY OF JESUS CHAPTER 18

1 [Jesus becomes the king of his playfellows, and they crown him with flowers,
miraculously causes a serpent who had bitten Simon the Cananite, then a boy, to suck out all the poison again; the serpent bursts, and Christ restores
the boy to health.]

IN the month Adar Jesus gathered together the boys, and ranked them as though he had been a king.

2 For they spread their garments on the ground for him to sit on; and having made a crown of flowers, put it upon his head, and stood on his right and left
as the guards of a king.

3 And if any one happened to pass by, they took him by force, and said, Come hither, and worship the king, that you may have a prosperous journey.

4 In the mean time, while these things were doing, there came certain men, carrying a boy upon a couch;

5 For this boy having gone with his companions to the mountain to gather wood, and having found there a partridge's nest, and put his hand in to take out the eggs, was stung by a poisonous serpent, which leaped out of the nest; so that he was forced to cry out for the help of his companions: who, when they came, found him lying upon the earth like a dead person.

6 After which his neighbours came and carried him back into the city.

7 But when they came to the place where the Lord Jesus was sitting like a king, and the other boys stood around him like his ministers, the boys made haste to meet him, who was bitten by the serpent, and said to his neighbours,
Come and pay your respects to the king;

8 But when, by reason of their sorrow, they refused to come, the boys drew them, and forced them against their wills to come.

9 And when they came to the Lord Jesus, he inquired, On what account they carried that boy?

10 And when they answered, that a serpent had bitten him, the Lord Jesus said to the boys, Let us go and kill that serpent.

11 But when the parents of the boy desired to be excused, because their son lay at the point of death; the boys made answer, and said, Did not ye hear what the king said? Let us go and kill the serpent; and will not ye obey him?

12 So they brought the couch back again, whether they would or not.

13 And when they were come to the nest, the Lord Jesus said to the boys, Is this the serpent's lurking place? They said, It was.

14 Then the Lord Jesus calling the serpent, it presently came forth and submitted to him; to whom he said, Go and suck out all the poison which
thou hast infused into that boy;

15 So the serpent crept to the boy, and took away all its poison again.

16 Then the Lord Jesus cursed the serpent so that it immediately burst asunder, and died.

17 And he touched the boy with his hand to restore him to his former health;

18 And when he began to cry, the Lord Jesus said, Cease crying, for hereafter thou shalt be my disciple;

19 And this is that Simon the Canaanite, who is mentioned in the Gospel.

INFANCY OF JESUS CHAPTER 19

1 [James being bitten by a viper, Jesus blows on the wound and cures him.

Jesus charged with throwing a boy from the roof of a house, miraculously
causes the dead boy to acquit him, fetches water for his mother, breaks the pitcher and miraculously gathers the water in his mantle and brings it home, makes fish-pools on the sabbath, causes a boy to die who broke them down, another boy run against him, whom he also causes to die.]

ON another day Joseph sent his son James to gather wood and the Lord Jesus went with him;

2 And when they came to the place where the wood was, and James began to gather it, behold, a venomous viper bit him, so that he began to cry, and
make a noise.

3 The Lord Jesus seeing him in this condition, came to him, and blowed upon the place where the viper had bit him, and it was instantly well.

4 On a certain day the Lord Jesus was with some boys, who were playing on the housetop, and one of the boys fell down, and presently died.

5 Upon which the other boys all running away, the Lord Jesus was left alone on the house-top.

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6 And the boy's relations came to him and said to the Lord Jesus, Thou didst throw our son down from the housetop.
7 But he denying it, they cried out, Our son is dead, and this is he who killed him.
8 The Lord Jesus replied to them, Do not charge me with a crime, of which you are not able to convict me, but let us go ask the boy himself, who will bring
the truth to light.
9 Then the Lord Jesus going down stood over the head of the dead boy, and said with a loud voice, Zeinunus, Zeinunus, who threw thee down from the housetop?
10 Then the dead boy answered, thou didst not throw me down, but such a one did.
11 And when the Lord Jesus bade those who stood by to take notice of his words, all who were present praised God on account of that miracle.
12 On a certain time the Lady St. Mary had commanded the Lord Jesus to fetch her some water out of the well;
13 And when he had gone to fetch the water, the pitcher, when it was brought up full, brake.
14 But Jesus spreading his mantle gathered up the water again, and brought it in that to his mother.
15 Who, being astonished at this wonderful thing, laid up this, and all the other things which she had seen, in her memory.
16 Again on another day the Lord Jesus was with some boys by a river and they drew water out of the river by little channels, and made little fishpools.
17 But the Lord Jesus had made twelve sparrows, and placed them about his pool on each side, three on a side.
18 But it was the Sabbath day, and the son of Hanani a Jew came by, and saw them making these things, and said, Do ye thus make figures of clay on the Sabbath? And he ran to them, and broke down their fish-pools.
19 But when the Lord Jesus clapped his hands over the sparrows which he had made, they fled away chirping.
20 At length the son of Hanani coming to the fish-pool of Jesus to destroy it, the water vanished away, and the Lord Jesus said to him,
21 In like manner as this water has vanished, so shall thy life vanish; and presently the boy died.
22 Another time, when the Lord Jesus was coming home in the evening with Joseph, he met a boy, who ran so hard against him, that he threw him down;
23 To whom the Lord Jesus said, As thou hast thrown me down, so shalt thou fall, nor ever rise.
24 And that moment the boy fell down and died.

INFANCY OF JESUS CHAPTER 20

1 [Sent to school to Zaccheus to learn his letters, and teaches Zaccheus. Sent
to another schoolmaster. refuses to tell his letters, and the schoolmaster
going to whip him Ais hand withers and he dies.]
There was also at Jerusalem one named Zaccheus, who was a schoolmaster.
2 And he said to Joseph, Joseph, why dost thou not send Jesus to me, that he may learn his letters?
3 Joseph agreed, and told St. Mary;
4 So they brought him to that master; who, as soon as he saw him, wrote out an alphabet for him.
5 And he bade him say Aleph; and when he had said Aleph, the master bade him pronounce Beth.
6 Then the Lord Jesus said to him, Tell me first the meaning of the letter Aleph, and then I will pronounce Beth.
7 And when the master threatened to whip him, the Lord Jesus explained to him the meaning of the letters Aleph and Beth
8 Also which were the straight figures of the letters, which the oblique, and what letters had double figures; which had points, and which had none; why one letterwent before another; and many other things he began to tell him, and explain, of which the master himself had never heard, nor read in any book.
9 The Lord Jesus farther said to the master, Take notice how I say to thee; then he began clearly and distinctly to say Aleph, Beth, Gimel, Daleth, and. so on to the end of the alphabet.
10 At this the master was so surprised, that he said, I believe this boy was born before Noah;
11 And turning to Joseph, he said, Thou hast brought a boy to me to be taught, who is more learned than any master.
12 He said also unto St. Mary, This your son has no need of any learning.
13 They brought him then to a more learned master, who, when he saw him, said, say Aleph.
14 And when he had said Aleph, the master bade him pronounce Beth; to which the Lord Jesus replied, Tell me first the meaning of the letter Aleph, and then I will pronounce Beth.
15 But this master, when he lift up his hand to whip him, had his hand presently withered, and he died.
16 Then said Joseph to St. Mary, henceforth we will not allow him to go out of the house; for every one who displeases him is killed.

INFANCY OF JESUS CHAPTER 21

1 [Disputes miraculously ivith the doctors in the temple, on law, on astronomy, on physics and metaphysics, is worshipped by a philosopher, and
fetched home by his mother.]
And when he was twelve years old, they brought him to Jerusalem to the feast; and when the feast was over, they returned.
2 But the Lord Jesus continued behind in the temple among the doctors and elders, and learned men of Israel; to whom he proposed several questions of learning, and also gave them answers:
3 For he said to them, Whose son is the Messiah? They answered, the son of David:
4 Why then, said he, does he in the spirit call him Lord? when he saith, The Lord said to my Lord, sit thou at my right hand, till I have made thine enemies thy footstool.
5 Then a certain principal Rabbi asked him, Hast thou read books?
6 Jesus answered, he had read both books, and the things which were contained in books.
7 And he explained to them the books of the law, and precepts, and statutes: and the mysteries which are contained in the books of the prophets; things
which the mind of no creature could reach.
8 Then said that Rabbi, I never yet have seen or heard of such knowledge! What do you think that boy will be!
9 When a certain astronomer, who was present, asked the Lord Jesus, Whether he had studied astronomy?
10 The Lord Jesus replied, and told him the number of the spheres and heavenly bodies, as also their triangular, square, and sextile aspect; their progressive and retrograde motion; their size and several prognostications;
and other things which the reason of man had never discovered.
11 There was also among them a philosopher well skilled in physic and natural philosophy, who asked the Lord Jesus, Whether he had studied physic?
12 He replied, and explained to him physics and metaphysics.
13 Also those things which were above and below the power of nature;
14 The powers also of the body, its humours, and their effects.
15 Also the number of its members, and bones, veins, arteries, and nerves;
16 The several constitutions of body, hot and dry, cold and moist, and the tendencies of them;
17 How the soul operated upon the body;
18 What its various sensations and faculties were;
19 The faculty of speaking, anger, desire;
20 And lastly the manner of its composition and dissolution; and other things, which the understanding of no creature had ever reached.
21 Then that philosopher arose, and worshipped the Lord Jesus, and said, O Lord Jesus, from henceforth I will be thy disciple and servant.
22 While they were discoursing on these and such like things, the Lady St. Mary came in, having been three days walking about with Joseph, seeking for him.
23 And when she saw him sitting among the doctors, and in his turn proposing questions to them, and giving answers, she said to him, My son, why hast
thou done thus by us? Behold I and thy father have been at much pains in seeking thee.
24 He replied, Why did ye seek me ? Did ye not know that I ought to be employed in my father's house?
25 But they understood not the words which he said to them.
26 Then the doctors asked Mary, Whether this was her son? And when she said, He was, they said, O happy Mary, who hast borne such a son.
27 Then he returned with them to Nazareth, and obeyed them in all things.
28 And his mother kept all these things in her mind;
29 And the Lord Jesus grew in stature and wisdom, and favour with God and man.

INFANCY OF JESUS CHAPTER 22

1 [Conceals his miracles, studies the law and is baptised.]
Now from this time Jesus began to conceal his miracles and secret works,
2 And he gave himself to the study of the law, till he arrived to the end of his thirtieth year;
3 At which time the Father publicly owned him at Jordan, sending down this voice from heaven, This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased;
4 The Holy Ghost being also present in the form of a dove.
5 This is he whom we worship with all reverence, because he gave us our life and being, and brought us from our mother's womb.
6 Who, for our sakes, took a human body, and hath redeemed us, so that he might so embrace us with everlasting mercy, and shew his free, large, bountiful grace and goodness to us.
7 To him be glory and praise, and power, and dominion, from henceforth and for evermore, Amen.

The end of the whole Gospel of the Infancy, by the assistance of the Supreme God, according to what we found in the original.

THE SYRIAC GOSPEL OF THE BOYHOOD OF OUR LORD JESUS

The Boyhood of our Lord Jesus.
The Apocryphal Gospels and other Documents
Translation: B. Harris Cowter, 1874
Estimated Range of Dating: Early Middle Ages

(This document is written in Syriac, meaning in later Aramaic spoken in Syria. The translator B. Harris Cowter gives us this information: "It will be seen that the following document resembles very closely tbe first Greek text of the [Infancy] Gospel of Thomas, but it differs in isolated words, contains additional sentences, and omits extensive portions. Dr. William Wright edited this Syriac from a Manuscript of the sixth century in the British Museum. I have not exactly followed his translation, because it has been made closely literal for critical purposes. Headers who wish for a more minute rendering than the following must consult Dr. "Wright's valuable work of which I have made free use with his full concurrence. [*Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament, collected from Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum, and edited with an English translation and notes by W. "Wright, LL.D., etc.— 8vo. London, 1865.] I believe this to be the most ancient extant form of the so-called Gospel of Thomas; I have therefore thought it would be interesting to the student who wishes to see the different forms of these documents. The quotations from St. Luke 2:41-52, in chap, 15, are not made from either the Peshito, Curetonian, or Heraclean Syriac; although the translator may have known the first and second of these.")*

SYRIAC BOYHOO OF JESUS CHAPTER 1

Now the boy Jesus Christ when he was five years old was playing at the ford of streams of water, and he collected and confined the waters, and directed them, in channels, and caused them to enter pools, and made them become clear and bright. And he took soft clay out of the moisture, and formed twelve birds. For it was the Sabbath, and there were many boys with him. Now a man of the Jews saw him with the boys when he made these, and told Joseph his father, and provoked him against Jesus, and said to him. On the Sabbath he hath moulded clay and made birds, which is not lawful on the Sabbath. And Joseph went and rebuked him, and said to him, Why dost thou make these on the Sabbath ? Then Jesus clapped his hands and made the birds fly away before those that spake*, and he said, Go fly away, and remember me ye who live! [Dr. "Wright renders ' Before the things which he said very reasonably conjecturing that the Syriactext is corrupt.] and the birds went away twittering. Now when the Pharisee saw it he was greatly astonished, and went and told his friends.

SYRIAC BOYHOO OF JESUS CHAPTER 2

Now the son of Annas the scribe also was with Jesus. And he took a stick from a willow tree and destroyed and broke down the pool, and let out the waters which Jesus had collected, and made their pools dry. And when Jesus saw what he did, he said to him, Without root shall thy shoot be, and thy fruits shall dry up like a bough of the wood which is broken by the wind, and is no more. And the boy immediately withered away.

SYRIAC BOYHOO OF JESUS CHAPTER 3

And again, Jesus was going with his father, and a certain boy who was running struck him with his shoulder. Jesus saith unto him, Thou shalt not go thy way. And immediately he fell down and died. And all that saw him cried and said, Whence was this boy born, that all his words become deeds? And the kindred of him that was dead drew nigh to Joseph, and said to him. This boy is thine; thou canst not dwell with us in this village; but teach him to bless [i.e, except thou teach him to bless.].

SYRIAC BOYHOO OF JESUS CHAPTER 4

Now he came near to the boy and taught him, and said. Why dost thou these things? and wherefore speakest thou these things? and they consider and hate thee. Jesus said, If the words of my Father were not wise he would not know how to instruct children. And again he said, If they were the children

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of the bridechamber they would not receive curses: these will not see torment. And straightway they became blind who accused him. But Joseph was angry and took hold of his ear and pulled it. Then Jesus answered, and said to him, It is enough for thee to command me and control me [Literally, find me.], for thou hast acted without knowledge.

SYRIAC BOYHOO OF JESUS CHAPTER 5

Now a certain teacher whose name was Zacchaeus heard him talking with his father, and said, thou naughty boy! And he said to Joseph his father. How long wilt thou be unwilling to send this boy to learn to love children of his own age, and to honour old age? Joseph answered and said, And who is able to instruct a boy like this? Does he suppose that he is deserving of a small cross? Joseph* answered and said to the teacher. [* So the Syriac, but Jesus is necessarily meant.]. These words which thou hast spoken, and these names, I am a stranger to them. For I am apart from you, and I dwell within you [Or, among you.]. Honour in the flesh I have not. Thou art in the law and in the law abidest; for when thou wast born I was; but thou supposest thou art my father. Thou shalt learn from me instruction which no other man knoweth, nor is able to learn, and the cross which thou didst speak of, he shall bear whose it is. For when I am greatly exalted I will lay aside whatever is mingled in your nature; for thou knowest not whence thou art; for I alone know truly when ye were born, and how long time ye have to remain here.

SYRIAC BOYHOO OF JESUS CHAPTER 6

Now when they heard they were astonished, and cried out and said, sight and sound of wonder! We never heard that man spake such words as these, neither priests, nor scribes, nor Pharisees. Whence was this one born that is but a child of five years, and speaks these words? Man hath never seen such a one as He. Jesus answered and said to them. Ye marvel at what I said to you. That I know when ye were born. And again, I have something more to say to you. Now when they heard they were silent and could not speak. And Zacchseus the teacher said to Joseph, I will teach him what he ought to learn. And he took him into the school. But when He came in He was silent. But Zacchaeus the scribe began to say to him from Aleph; and repeated to him all the alphabet many times; and told him to answer and say after him. But he was silent. Then the scribe was angry, and struck him with his hand upon his head. And Jesus said, A blacksmith's anvil when it is beaten receives correction, and it does not feel. But I am able to say the things which are spoken by you with knowledge and understanding. The scribe answered and said. He is sometliing great; either he is God, or an angel, or what to say I know not.

SYRIAC BOYHOO OF JESUS CHAPTER 7

Then the boy Jesus laughed, and said, Let those bear fruit in whom is no fruit, and let the blind see the Hying fruit of the Judge.

SYRIAC BOYHOO OF JESUS CHAPTER 8

And again, once on the sabbath day Jesus was playing on the housetop, and one of the boys fell down and died. And when the others saw this they fled, and Jesus was left alone. And the kindred of him that was dead took hold of him, and said. Thou didst cast the boy down. And Jesus said, I did not cast him down. And they reviled him. Then he came down beside the dead, and said to him, Zeno,—for this was his name,—did I cast thee down? Now he forthwith leaped up and stood and said, No, my Lord. And all of them marvelled; the kindred also of the boy praised God for these wonders.

SYRIAC BOYHOO OF JESUS CHAPTER 9

Now again, once after Jesus was seven years old, his mother sent him to draw water. And in the press of a great crowd, his pitcher struck (something) and was broken. But Jesus spread out the cloak which he wore, and gathered up and brought the water. Now his mother Mary was astonished at all she saw.

SYRIAC BOYHOO OF JESUS CHAPTER 10

And again, once Jesus was playing, and he sowed one bushel of wheat, and reaped a hundred quarters, and gave them to the people of the village.

SYRIAC BOYHOO OF JESUS CHAPTER 11

Jesus was eight years old; and Joseph was a carpenter, and made nothing else but ploughs and yokes. And a man ordered of him a couch of six cubits. And there was not the proper measure in one piece of one side, but it was shorter than its fellow. And the boy Jesus took the measure of the wood, and pulled and stretched it, and made it equal to its fellow. And he said to Joseph his father, Do all that thou wishest.

SYRIAC BOYHOO OF JESUS CHAPTER 12

Now Joseph, when he saw that he was clever, wished to teach him letters, and brought him to the house of a scribe. And the scribe said to him, Say Aleph; and Jesus said it. And the scribe went on that he should say Beth. And Jesus said to him. Tell me first what Aleph is, and then I will tell thee about Beth. And the scribe took and smote him; and forthwith he fell down and died. And Jesus went to his kindred. And Joseph called Mary his mother, and commanded her that she should not let him go out of the house, lest those should die who smote him.

SYRIAC BOYHOO OF JESUS CHAPTER 13

Now a certain scribe said to Joseph, Hand him over to me, and I will teach him. But Jesus entered the house of the scribe, and took a volume and read, not what was written, but great marvels.

SYRIAC BOYHOO OF JESUS CHAPTER 14

And again, Joseph sent his son James to gather wood, and Jesus went with him. But while they gathered wood, a certain viper bit James in his hand. And when Jesus came near him, he did nothing else to him but stretch out his hand to him and blow upon the bite, and it was cured.

SYRIAC BOYHOO OF JESUS CHAPTER 15

And when Jesus was twelve years old they went to Jerusalem, as it was the custom with Joseph and Mary to go to their festival. And when they had observed the passover, they came back to their house. And when they set out to come back, Jesus tarried in Jerusalem. And neither Joseph nor Mary his mother knew, but supposed he was with their company. And when they came to the resting-place for that day, they sought him among their kindred, and among their acquaintance. And when they found not Jesus they came back to Jerusalem and sought for him. And after three days they found him sitting among the doctors, both hearing them and questioning them. And all who heard him were astonished, because he silenced these doctors; for he expounded unto them the parables of the prophets, and the mysteries and hard sayings which are in the law. And his mother said to him, My son, why hast thou done these things to us who have been distressed and troubled, and seeking for thee? Jesus answered and said. Why did ye seek me? Know ye not that it behoveth me to be in the house of my Father? The scribes and Pharisees answered and said to Mary, Art thou the mother of this boy? The Lord hath blessed thee; for glory and wisdom like this we have not seen in boys, nor have we heard that any man has mentioned. And he arose and went with his mother, and was subject to them. But his mother retained all these words. Now Jesus increased and advanced in wisdom and in grace with God, and with men. Amen.

Here Endeth The Boyhood Of Our Lord Jesus.

THE THREE INFANCY GOSPELS OF THOMAS

Translation: Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867
Estimated Range of Dating: 100-170 AD.

(The Infancy Gospel of Thomas is a biographical gospel about the childhood of Jesus, believed to date at the latest to the second century. It does not form part of any biblical canon. The Infancy Gospel of Thomas is thought to be Gnostic in origin. Later references (by Hippolytus of Rome and Origen of Alexandria) to a "Gospel of Thomas" are not at all referring to this Infancy Gospel, as many modern scholars have thought, but rather to the wholly different Gospel of Thomas.

Pauline Christians regarded the Infancy Gospel of Thomas as inauthentic and heretical. Eusebius rejected it as a heretical "fiction" in the third book of his fourth-century Church History, and Pope Gelasius I included it in his list of heretical books in the fifth century. Although not accepted in Pauline Christianity, the Infancy Gospel of Thomas found recognition in Islam as it contains many miracles and stories of Jesus referenced in the Koran, such as Jesus giving life to clay birds.

The first known quotation of the Infancy Gospel of Thomas is from Irenaeus of Lyon around AD 180. The earliest possible date of authorship is in the 80s AD, which is the approximate date of the Gospel of Luke, from which the author of the Infancy Gospel borrowed the story of Jesus in the temple at age 12 (see Infancy 19:1–12 and Luke 2:41–52). Scholars generally agree on a date in the mid- to late-2nd century AD.

The original language of the Infancy Gospel of Thomas is unknown. The few surviving Greek manuscripts provide no clues themselves because none of them dates before the 13th century, whereas the earliest authorities, according to the editor and translator Montague Rhodes James, are a much abbreviated sixth-century Syriac version, and a Latin palimpsest of the fifth or sixth century, which has never been fully translated and can be found in Vienna. Many manuscripts, translations, shortened versions, alternates, and parallels have slight, nuanced differences.

Of the many different versions and alternate forms (e.g. Greek, Syriac, Latin, Slavonic, etc), the three principal forms are commonly referred to as given by Constantin von Tischendorf. Two of those are Greek texts which are called Greek Text A (Greek A); Greek Text B (Greek B); and the third is Latin. The first known publication of the Infancy Gospel of Thomas was by J Fabricius and has come to be known as Greek A. The Greek A is the most well-known form often used and in its full form is the longer of the two greeks, based on at least 2 manuscripts it consists of nineteen chapters with several alternate other manuscripts with abbreviated forms. The Greek B was found by Tischendorf trip to Mount Sinai in 1844 which is not only shorter (11 chapters), but is a different version of the well-known A text. With some chapters abbreviated, other entire chapters left out completely, and few new lines. The Latin translations has two distinct form of versions from the Old Latin with the Late Latin. The Latin was notable as it was the first discovered with an Egyptian prologue.

The infancy gospel seem to have been written either for Greek readers or perhaps for Roman or Aramaic non-Cristians as it describes the childhood of Jesus, with fanciful, and sometimes malevolent, supernatural events, comparable to the trickster nature of the god-child in many Greek myths. One of the episodes involves Jesus making clay birds, which he then proceeds to bring to life, an act also attributed to Jesus in Koran 5:110, and in a medieval work known as Toledot Yeshu.

Jesus kills this first child, when at age one he curses a boy, which causes the child's body to wither into a corpse. Later, Jesus kills another child when Jesus curses him when he apparently accidentally bumps into Jesus, throws a stone at Jesus, or punches Jesus (depending on the translation). When Joseph and Mary's neighbours complain, they are miraculously struck blind by Jesus. Jesus then starts receiving lessons, but arrogantly tries to teach the teacher, instead, upsetting the teacher who suspects supernatural origins. Jesus is amused by this suspicion, which he confirms, and revokes all his earlier apparent cruelty. Subsequently, he resurrects a friend who is killed when he falls from a roof, and heals another who cuts his foot with an axe.

After various other demonstrations of supernatural ability, new teachers try to teach Jesus, but he proceeds to explain the law to them, instead. Another set of miracles is mentioned in which Jesus heals his brother, who is bitten by a snake, and two others, who have died from different causes. Finally, the text recounts the episode in Luke in which Jesus, aged 12, teaches in the temple.

Although the miracles seem quite randomly inserted into the text, three miracles are before and three are after each of the sets of lessons. The structure of the story is essentially:

• Bringing life to a dried fish (this is only present in later texts)

• (First group)

1. Three Miracles - Breathes life into birds fashioned from clay, curses a boy, who then becomes a corpse (not present in Greek B), curses a boy who falls dead and his parents become blind

2. Attempt to teach Jesus which fails, with Jesus doing the teaching

3. Three Miracles - Reverses his earlier acts (this would include resurrecting the two boys and healing the blind parents), resurrects a friend who fell from a roof, heals a man who chopped his foot with an axe.

• (Second group)

1. Three Miracles - carries water on cloth, produces a feast from a single grain, stretches a beam of wood to help his father finish constructing a bed

2. Attempts to teach Jesus, which fail, with Jesus doing the teaching

3. Three Miracles - heals James from snake poison, resurrects a child who died of illness, resurrects a man who died in a construction accident

• Incident in the temple paralleling Luke.)

THE 1st GREEK INFANCY GOSPEL OF THOMAS

Infancy Gospel of Thomas from Greek, First Greek Form

Thomas the Israelite Philosopher's Account of the Infancy of the Lord.

1 I Thomas, an Israelite, write you this account, that all the brethren from among the heathen may know the miracles of our Lord Jesus Christ in His infancy, which He did after His birth in our country. The beginning of it is as follows:-

2 This child Jesus, when five years old, was playing in the ford of a mountain stream; and He collected the flowing waters into pools, and made them clear immediately, and by a word alone He made them obey Him. And having made some soft clay, He fashioned out of it twelve sparrows. And it was the Sabbath when He did these things. And there were also many other children playing with Him. And a certain Jew, seeing what Jesus was doing, playing on the Sabbath, went off immediately, and said to his father Joseph: Behold, thy son is at the stream, and has taken clay, and made of it twelve birds, and has profaned the Sabbath. And Joseph, coming to the place and seeing, cried out to Him, saying: Wherefore doest thou on the Sabbath what it is not lawful to do? And Jesus clapped His hands, and cried out to the sparrows, and said to them: Off you go! And the sparrows flew, and went off crying.

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And the Jews seeing this were amazed, and went away and reported to their chief men what they had seen Jesus doing.

3 And the son of Annas the scribe was standing there with Joseph; and he took a willow branch, and let out the waters which Jesus bad collected. And Jesus, seeing what was done, was angry, and said to him: O wicked, impious, and foolish! what harm did the pools and the waters do to thee? Behold, even now thou shalt be dried up like a tree, and thou shalt not bring forth either leaves, or root, or fruit. And straightway that boy was quite dried up. And Jesus departed, and went to Joseph's house. But the parents of the boy that had been dried up took him up, bewailing his youth, and brought him to Joseph, and reproached him because, said they, thou hast such a child doing such things.

4 After that He was again passing through the village; and a boy ran up against Him, and struck His shoulder. And Jesus was angry, and said to him: Thou shalt not go back the way thou camest. And immediately he fell down dead. And some who saw what had taken place, said: Whence was this child begotten, that every word of his is certainly accomplished? And the parents of the dead boy went away to Joseph, and blamed him, saying: Since thou hast such a child, it is impossible for thee to live with us in the village; or else teach him to bless, and not to curse: for he is killing our children.

5 And Joseph called the child apart, and admonished Him, saying: Why doest thou such things, and these people suffer, and hate us, and persecute us? And Jesus said: I know that these words of thine are not thine own; nevertheless for thy sake I will be silent; but they shall bear their punishment. And straightway those that accused Him were struck blind. And those who saw it were much afraid and in great perplexity, and said about Him: Every word which he spoke, whether good or bad, was an act, and became a wonder. And when they saw that Jesus had done such a thing, Joseph rose and took hold of His ear, and pulled it hard. And the child was very angry, and said to him: It is enough for thee to seek, and not to find; and most certainly thou hast not done wisely. Knowest thou not that I am thine? Do not trouble me.

6 And a certain teacher, Zacchaeus by name, was standing in a certain place, and heard Jesus thus speaking to his father; and he wondered exceedingly, that, being a child, he should speak in such a way. And a few days thereafter he came to Joseph, and said to him: Thou hast a sensible child, and he has some mind. Give him to me, then, that he may learn letters; and I shall teach him along with the letters all knowledge, both how to address all the elders, and to honour them as forefathers and fathers, and how to love those of his own age. And He said to him all the letters from the Alpha even to the Omega, clearly and with great exactness. And He looked upon the teacher Zacchaeus, and said to him: Thou who art ignorant of the nature of the Alpha, how canst thou teach others the Beta? Thou hypocrite! first, if thou knowest. teach the A, and then we shall believe thee about the B. Then He began to question the teacher about the first letter, and he was not able to answer Him. And in the hearing of many, the child says to Zacchaeus: Hear, O teacher, the order of the first letter, and notice here how it has lines, and a middle stroke crossing those which thou seest common; (lines) brought together; the highest part supporting them, and again bringing them under one head; with three points of intersection; of the same kind; principal and subordinate; of equal length. Thou hast the lines of the A.

7 And when the teacher Zacchaeus heard the child speaking such and so great allegories of the first letter, he was at a great loss about such a narrative, and about His teaching. And He said to those that were present: Alas! I, wretch that I am, am at a loss, bringing shame upon myself by having dragged this child hither. Take him away, then, I beseech thee, brother Joseph. I cannot endure the sternness of his look; I cannot make out his meaning at all. That child does not belong to this earth; he can tame even fire. Assuredly he was born before the creation of the world. What sort of a belly bore him, what sort of a womb nourished him, I do not know. Alas! my friend, he has carried me away; I cannot get at his meaning: thrice wretched that I am, I have deceived myself. I made a struggle to have a scholar, and I was found to have a teacher. My mind is filled with shame, my friends, because I, an old man, have been conquered by a child. There is nothing for me but despondency and death on account of this boy, for I am not able at this hour to look him in the face; and when everybody says that I have been beaten by a little child, what can I say? And how can I give an account of the lines of the first letter that he spoke about? I know not, O my friends; for I can make neither beginning nor end of him. Therefore, I beseech thee, brother Joseph, take him home. What great thing he is, either god or angel, or what I am to say, I know not.

8 And when the Jews were encouraging Zacchaeus, the child laughed aloud, and said: Now let thy learning bring forth fruit, and let the blind in heart see. I am here from above, that I may curse them, and call them to the things that are above, as He that sent me on your account has commanded me. And when the child ceased speaking, immediately all were made whole who had fallen under His curse. And no one after that dared to make Him angry, lest He should curse him, and he should be maimed.

9 And some days after, Jesus was playing in an upper room of a certain house, and one of the children that were playing with Him fell down from the house, and was killed. And, when the other children saw this, they ran away, and Jesus alone stood still. And the parents of the dead child coming, reproached...and they threatened Him. And Jesus leaped down from the roof, and stood beside the body of the child, and cried with a loud voice, and said: Zeno-for that was his name-stand up, and tell me; did I throw thee down? And he stood up immediately, and said: Certainly not, my lord; thou didst not throw me down, but hast raised me up. And those that saw this were struck with astonishment. And the child's parents glorified God on account of the miracle that had happened, and adored Jesus.

10 A few days after, a young man was splitting wood in the corner, and the axe came down and cut the sole of his foot in two, and he died from loss of blood. And there was a great commotion, and people ran together, and the child Jesus ran there too. And He pressed through the crowd, and laid hold of the young man's wounded foot, and he was cured immediately. And He said to the young man: Rise up now, split the wood, and remember me. And the crowd seeing what had happened, adored the child, saying: Truly the Spirit of God dwells in this child.

11 And when He was six years old, His mother gave Him a pitcher, and sent Him to draw water, and bring it into the house. But He struck against some one in the crowd, and the pitcher was broken. And Jesus unfolded the cloak which He had on, and filled it with water, and carried it to His mother. And His mother, seeing the miracle that had happened, kissed Him, and kept within herself the mysteries which she had seen Him doing.

12 And again in seed-time the child went out with His father to sow corn in their land. And while His father was sowing, the child Jesus also sowed one gain of corn. And when He had reaped it, and threshed it, He made a hundred kors; and calling all the poor of the village to the threshing-floor, He gave them the corn, and Joseph took away what was left of the corn. And He was eight years old when He did this miracle.

13 And His father was a carpenter, and at that time made ploughs and yokes. And a certain rich man ordered him to make him a couch. And one of what is called the cross pieces being too short, they did not know what to do. The child Jesus said to His father Joseph: Put down the two pieces of wood, and make them even in the middle. And Joseph did as the child said to him. And Jesus stood at the other end, and took hold of the shorter piece of wood, and stretched it, and made it equal to the other. And His father Joseph saw it, and wondered, and embraced the child, and blessed Him, saying: Blessed am I, because God has given me this child.

14 And Joseph, seeing that the child was vigorous in mind and body, again resolved that He should not remain ignorant of the letters, and took Him away, and handed Him over to another teacher. And the teacher said to Joseph: I shall first teach him the Greek letters, and then the Hebrew. For the teacher was aware of the trial that had been made of the child, and was afraid of Him. Nevertheless he wrote out the alphabet, and gave Him all his attention for a long time, and He made him no answer. And Jesus said to him: If thou art really a teacher, and art well acquainted with the letters, tell me the power of the Alpha, and I will tell thee the power of the Beta. And the teacher was enraged at this, and struck Him on the head. And the child, being in pain, cursed him; and immediately he swooned away, and fell to the ground on his face. And the child returned to Joseph's house; and Joseph was grieved, and gave orders to His mother, saying: Do not let him go outside of the door, because those that make him angry die.

15 And after some time, another master again, a genuine friend of Joseph, said to him: Bring the child to my school; perhaps I shall be able to flatter him into learning his letters. And Joseph said: If thou hast the courage, brother, take him with thee. And he took Him with him in fear and great agony; but the child went along pleasantly. And going boldly into the school, He found a book lying on the reading-desk; and taking it, He read not the letters that were in it, but opening His mouth, He spoke by the Holy Spirit, and taught the law to those that were standing round. And a great crowd having come together, stood by and heard Him, and wondered at the ripeness of His teaching, and the readiness of His words, and that He, child as He was, spoke in such a way. And Joseph hearing of it, was afraid, and ran to the school, in doubt lest his master too should be without experience. And the master said to Joseph: Know, brother, that I have taken the child as a scholar, and he is full of much grace and wisdom; but I beseech thee, brother, take him home. And when the child heard this, He laughed at him directly, and said: Since thou hast spoken aright, and witnessed aright, for thy sake he also that was struck down shall be cured. And immediately the other master was cured. And Joseph took the child, and went away home.

16 And Joseph sent his son James to tie up wood and bring it home, and the child Jesus also followed him. And when James was gathering the fagots, a viper bit James' hand. And when he was racked with pain, and at the point of death, Jesus came near and blew upon the bite; and the pain ceased directly, and the beast burst, and instantly James remained safe and sound.

17 And after this the infant of one of Joseph's neighbours fell sick and died, and its mother wept sore. And Jesus heard that there was great lamentation and commotion, and ran in haste, and found the child dead, and touched his breast, and said: I say to thee, child, be not dead, but live, and be with thy mother. And directly it looked up and laughed. And He said to the woman: Take it, and give it milk, and remember me. And seeing this, the crowd that was standing by wondered, and said: Truly this child was either God or an angel of God, for every word of his is a certain fact. And Jesus went out thence, playing with the other children.

18 And some time after there occurred a great commotion while a house was building, and Jesus stood up and went away to the place. And seeing a man lying dead, He took him by the hand, and said: Man, I say to thee, arise, and go on with thy work. And directly he rose up, and adored Him. And seeing this, the crowd wondered, and said: This child is from heaven, for he has saved many souls from death, and he continues to save during all his life.

19 And when He was twelve years old His parents went as usual to Jerusalem to the feast of the passover with their fellow-travellers. And after the passover they were coming home again. And while they were coming home, the child Jesus went back to Jerusalem. And His parents thought that He was in the company. And having gone one day's journey, they sought for Him among their relations; and not finding Him, they were in great grief, and turned back to the city seeking for Him. And after the third day they found Him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the teachers, both hearing the law and asking them questions. And they were all attending to Him, and wondering that He, being a child, was shutting the mouths of the elders and teachers of the people, explaining the main points of the law and the parables of the prophets. And His mother Mary coming up, said to Him: Why hast thou done this to us, child? Behold, we have been seeking for thee in great trouble. And Jesus said to them: Why do you seek me? Do you not know that I must be about my Father's business? And the scribes and the Pharisees said: Art thou the mother of this child? And she said: I am. And they said to her: Blessed art thou among women, for God hath blessed the fruit of thy womb; for such glory, and such virtue and wisdom, we have neither seen nor heard ever. And Jesus rose up, and followed His mother, and was subject to His parents. And His mother observed all these things that had happened. And Jesus advanced in wisdom, and stature, and grace. To whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

THE 2nd GREEK INFANCY GOSPEL OF THOMAS

Infancy Gospel of Thomas, Second Greek Form
Estimated Range of Dating: 100-170 A.D.

The Writing of the Holy Apostle Thomas Concerning the Childhood of the Lord.

1 I Thomas the Israelite have deemed it necessary to make known to all the brethren of the heathen the great things which our Lord Jesus Christ did in His childhood, when He dwelt in the body in the city of Nazareth, going in the fifth year of His age.

2 On one of the days, there being a rainstorm, He went out of the house where His mother was, and played on the ground where the waters were flowing. And He made pools, and brought in the waters, and the pools were filled with water. Then He says: It is my will that you become clear and excellent waters. And they became so directly. And a certain boy, the son of Annas the scribe, came past, and with a willow branch which he was carrying threw down the pools, and the water flowed out. And Jesus turning, said to him: O impious and wicked, how have the pools wronged thee, that thou hast emptied them? Thou shall not go on thy way, and thou shalt be dried up like the branch which thou art carrying. And as he went along, in a short time he fell down and died. And when the children that were playing with him saw this, they wondered, and went away and told the father of the dead boy. And he ran and found his child dead, and he went away and reproached Joseph.

3 And Jesus made of that clay twelve sparrows, and it was the Sabbath. And a child ran and told Joseph, saying: Behold, thy child is playing about the stream, and of the clay he has made sparrows, which is not lawful. And when he heard this, he went, and said to the child: Why dost thou do this, profaning the Sabbath? But Jesus gave him no answer, but looked upon the sparrows, and said: Go away, fly, and live, and remember me. And at this word they flew, and went up into the air. And when Joseph saw it, he wondered.

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4 And some days after, when Jesus was going through the midst of the city, a boy threw a stone at Him, and struck Him on the shoulder. And Jesus said to him: Thou shalt not go on thy way. And directly falling down, he also died. And they that happened to be there were struck with astonishment, saying: Whence is this child, that every word he says is certainly accomplished? And they also went and reproached Joseph, saying: It is impossible for thee to live with us in this city: but if thou wishest to do so, teach thy child to bless, and not to curse: for he is killing our children, and everything that he says is certainly accomplished.

5 And Joseph was sitting in his seat, and the child stood before him; and he took hold of Him by the ear, and pinched it hard. And Jesus looked at him steadily, and said: It is enough for thee.

6 And on the day after he took Him by the hand, and led Him to a certain teacher, Zacchaeus by name, and says to him: O master, take this child, and teach him his letters. And he says: Hand him over to me, brother, and I shall teach him the Scripture; and I shall persuade him to bless all, and not to curse. And Jesus hearing, laughed, and said to them: You say what you know; but I know more than you, for I am before the ages. And I know when your fathers' fathers were born; and I know how many are the years of your life. And hearing this, they were struck with astonishment. And again Jesus said to them: You wonder because I said to you that I knew how many are the years of your life. Assuredly I know when the world was created. Behold, you do not believe me now. When you see my cross, then will ye believe that I speak the truth. And they were struck with astonishment when they heard these things.

7 And Zacchaeus, having written the alphabet in Hebrew, says to Him: Alpha. And the child says: Alpha. And again the teacher: Alpha; and the child likewise. Then again the teacher says the Alpha for the third time. Then Jesus, looking in the master's face, says: How canst thou, not knowing the Alpha, teach another the Beta? And the child, beginning from the Alpha, said by Himself the twenty-two letters. Then also He says again: Hear, O teacher, the order of the first letter, and know how many entrances and lines it has, and strokes common, crossing and coming together. And when Zacchaeus heard such an account of the one letter, he was so struck with astonishment, that he could make no answer. And he turned and said to Joseph: This child assuredly, brother, does not belong to the earth. Take him, then, away from me.

8 And after these things, on one of the days Jesus was playing with other children on the roof of a house. And one boy was pushed by another, and hurled down upon the ground, and he died. And seeing this, the boys that were playing with him ran away; and Jesus only was left standing upon the roof from which the boy had been hurled down. And when the news was brought to the parents of the dead boy, they ran weeping; and finding their boy lying dead upon the ground, and Jesus standing above, they supposed that their boy had been thrown down by Him; and fixing their eyes upon Him, they reviled Him. And seeing this, Jesus directly came down from the roof, and stood at the head of the dead body, and says to him: Zeno, did I throw thee down? Stand up, and tell us. For this was the name of the boy. And at the word the boy stood up and adored Jesus, and said: My lord, thou didst not throw me down, but thou hast brought me to life when I was dead.

9 And a few days after, one of the neighbours, when splitting wood, cut away the lower part of his foot with the axe, and was on the point of death from loss of blood. And a great number of people ran together, and Jesus came with them to the place. And He took hold of the young man's wounded foot, and cured him directly, and says to him: Rise up, split thy wood. And he rose up and adored Him, giving thanks, and splitting the wood. Likewise also all that were there wondered, and gave thanks to Him.

10 And when He was six years old, Mary His mother sent Him to bring water from the fountain. And as He went along, the pitcher was broken. And going to the fountain He unfolded His overcoat, and drew water from the fountain, and filled it, and took the water to His mother. And seeing this, she was struck with astonishment, and embraced Him, and kissed Him.

11 And when Jesus had come to the eighth year of His age, Joseph was ordered by a certain rich man to make him a couch. For he was a carpenter. And he went out into the field to get wood; and Jesus went with him. And having cut two pieces of wood, and smoothed them with the axe, he put the one beside the other; and in measuring he found it too short. And when he saw this he was grieved, and sought to find another piece. And seeing this, Jesus says to him: Put these two pieces together, so as to make both ends even. And Joseph, in doubt as to what the child should mean, did as he was told. And He says to him again: Take a firm hold of the short piece. And Joseph, in astonishment, took hold of it. Then Jesus also, taking hold of the other end, drew it towards Himself, and make it equal to the other piece of wood. And He says to Joseph: Grieve no more, but do thy work without hindrance. And seeing this, he wondered greatly, and says to himself: Blessed am I, because God has given me such a boy. And when they came back to the city, Joseph gave an account of the matter to Mary. And when she heard and saw the strange miracles of her son, she rejoiced and glorified Him, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, now and ever, and for evermore. Amen.

THE LATIN INFANCY GOSPEL OF THOMAS

Infancy Gospel of Thomas from Latin
Estimated Range of Dating: 140-170 A.D.

Treatise of the Boyhood of Jesus According to Thomas.

F. F. Bruce writes (Jesus and Christian Origins Outside the New Testament, p. 87): "Then there is the Infancy Gospel of Thomas, which purports to describe the doings of Jesus in his boyhood. Jesus proves to be an infant prodigy at school, instructing his teachers in the unsuspected mysteries of the alphabet; he astounds his family and playmates by the miracles which he performs. This is the document which tells for the first time the familiar tale of the twelve sparrows which Jesus, at the age of five, fashioned from clay on the sabbath day."

In The Other Gospels, Ron Cameron suggests that the Infancy Gospel of Thomas may have been written in eastern Syria, the location of the Thomas traditions, although Cameron states that attribution to Thomas "seems to be a secondary, late development." The original language of the document may have been either Syriac or Greek. The Greek manuscripts date from the fourteenth through the sixteenth century, while the earliest manuscript is a sixth century one in Syriac. Cameron thinks that the longer Greek recension more accurately preserves the text.

The Infancy Gospel of Thomas relates the miraculous deeds of Jesus before he turned twelve. According to Cameron, it "carries forward the aretalogical tradition of the gospels, expanding it to include an enumeration of miraculous feats performed even while Jesus was a mere infant." Cameron identifies the Sitz im Leben of the gospel to be "Christian missionary propaganda" in exalting Jesus over and against other "divine men" and "all other religious and political leaders within the Greco-Roman world." There is nothing particularly Christian about the stories attributed to Jesus; rather, the stories elabourate on the missing years of Jesus with reference to Hellenistic legend and pious imagination.

In The Complete Gospels, Harold Attridge considers whether the Infancy Gospel of Thomas contains docetic or Gnostic teachings. Attridge states: "While Gnostics may have been able to interpret stories in Infancy Thomas for their own ends, it is unlikely that they originally composed the work with the aim of propagating their theological positions."

Hippolytus and Origen refer to a Gospel of Thomas, but it is unclear whether they knew the Infancy Gospel of Thomas or the sayings Gospel of Thomas. But there is an earlier reference from Irenaeus, as Cameron notes: "In his citation, Irenaeus first quotes a non-canonical story that circulated about the childhood of Jesus and then goes directly on to quote a passage from the infancy narrative of the Gospel of Luke (Luke 2:49). Since the Infancy Gospel of Thomas records both of these stories, in relative close proximity to one another, it is possible that the apocryphal writing cited by Irenaeus is, in fact, what is now known as the Infancy Gospel of Thomas. Because of the complexities of the manuscript tradition, however, there is no certainty as to when the stories of the Infancy Gospel of Thomas began to be written down."

Thus, while our present Infancy Gospel of Thomas may have been expanded over time, the original must have been written sometime in the middle of the second century.ge of Dating: 140-170 A.D.

1 How Mary and Joseph Fled with Him into Egypt.

When a commotion took place in consequence of the search made by Herod for our Lord Jesus Christ to kill Him, then an angel said to Joseph: Take Mary and her boy, and flee into Egypt from the face of those who seek to kill Him. And Jesus was two years old when He went into Egypt.

And as He was walking through a field of corn, He stretched forth His hand, and took of the ears, and put them over the fire, and rubbed them, and began to eat.

And when they had come into Egypt, they received hospitality in the house of a certain widow, and they remained in the same place one year.

And Jesus was in His third year. And seeing boys playing, He began to play with them. And He took a dried fish, and put it into a basin, and ordered it to move about. And it began to move about. And He said again to the fish: Throw out thy salt which thou hast, and walk into the water. And it so came to pass. And the neighbours, seeing what had been done, told it to the widow woman in whose house Mary His mother lived. And as soon as she heard it, she thrust them out of her house with great haste.

2 How a Schoolmaster Thrust Him Out of the City.

And as Jesus was walking with Mary His mother through the middle of the city market-place, He looked and saw a schoolmaster teaching his scholars. And behold twelve sparrows that were quarrelling fell over the wall into the bosom of that schoolmaster, who was teaching the boys. And seeing this, Jesus was very much amused, and stood still. And when that teacher, saw Him making merry, he said to his scholars with great fury: Go and bring him to me. And when they had carried Him to the master, he seized Him by the ear, and said: What didst thou see, to amuse thee so much? And He said to him: Master, see my hand full of wheat. I showed it to them, and scattered the wheat among them, and they carry it out of the middle of the street where they are in danger; and on this account they fought among themselves to divide the wheat. And Jesus did not pass from the place until it was accomplished. And this being done, the master began to thrust Him out of the city, along with His mother.

3 How Jesus Went Out of Egypt.

And, lo, the angel of the Lord met Mary, and said to her: Take up the boy, and return into the land of the Jews, for they who sought His life are dead. And Mary rose up with Jesus; and they proceeded into the city of Nazareth, which is among the possessions of her father. And when Joseph went out of Egypt after the death of Herod, he kept Him in the desert until there should be quietness in Jerusalem on the part of those who were seeking the boy's life. And he gave thanks to God because He had given him understanding, and because he had found favour in the presence of the Lord God. Amen.

4 What the Lord Jesus Did in the City of Nazareth.

It is glorious that Thomas the Israelite and apostle of the Lord gives an account also of the works of Jesus after He came out of Egypt into Nazareth. Understand all of you, my dearest brethren, what the Lord Jesus did when He was in the city of Nazareth; the first chapter of which is as follows:-

And when Jesus was five years old, there fell a great rain upon the earth, and the boy Jesus walked up and down through it. And there was a terrible rain, and He collected it into a fish-pond, and ordered it by His word to become clear. And immediately it became so. Again He took of the clay which was of that fish-pond, and made of it to the number of twelve sparrows. And it was the Sabbath when Jesus did this among the boys of the Jews. And the boys of the Jews went away, and said to Joseph His father: Behold, thy son was playing along with us, and he took clay and made sparrows, which it was not lawful to do on the Sabbath; and he has broken it. And Joseph went away to the boy Jesus, and said to Him: Why hast thou done this, which it was not lawful to do on the Sabbath? And Jesus opened His hands, and ordered the sparrows, saying: Go up into the air, and fly; nobody shall kill you. And they flew, and began to cry out, and praise God Almighty. And the Jews seeing what had happened, wondered, and went away and told the miracles which Jesus had done. But a Pharisee who was with Jesus took an olive branch, and began to let the water out of the fountain which Jesus had made. And when Jesus saw this, He said to him in a rage: Thou impious and ignorant Sodomite, what harm have my works the fountains of water done thee? Behold, thou shalt become like a dry tree, having neither roots, nor leaves, nor fruit. And immediately he dried up, and fell to the ground, and died. And his parents took him away dead, and reproached Joseph, saying: See what thy son has done; teach him to pray, and not to blaspheme.

5 How the Citizens Were Enraged Against Joseph on Account of the Doings of Jesus.

And a few days after, as Jesus was walking through the town with Joseph, one of the children ran up and struck Jesus on the arm. And Jesus said to him: So shalt thou not finish thy journey. And immediately he fell to the ground, and died. And those who saw these wonderful things cried out, saying: Whence is that boy? And they said to Joseph: It is not right for such a boy to be among us. And Joseph went and brought Him. And they said to him: Go away from this place; but if thou must live with us, teach him to; pray, and not to blaspheme: hut our children have been killed. Joseph called Jesus, and reproved Him, saying: Why dost thou blaspheme? For these people who live here hate us And Jesus said: I know that these words are not mine, but thine; but I will hold my tongue for thy sake: and let them see to it in their wisdom. And immediately those who were speaking against Jesus became blind. And they walked up and down, and said: All the words which proceed from his mouth are accomplished. And Joseph seeing what Jesus bad done, in a fury seized Him by the ear; and Jesus said to Joseph in anger: It is enough for thee to see me, not to touch me. For thou knowest not who I am; but if thou didst know, thou wouldst not make me angry. And although just now I am with thee, I was made before thee.

6 How Jesus Was Treated by the Schoolmaster.

Therefore a certain man named Zacheus listened to all that Jesus was saying to Joseph, and in great astonishment said to

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himself: Such a boy speaking in this way I have never seen. And he went up to Joseph, and said: That is an intelligent boy of thine; hand him over to me to learn his letters; and when he has thoroughly learned his letters, I shall teach him honourably, so that he may be no fool. But Joseph answered and said to him: No one can teach him but God alone. You do not believe that that little boy will be of little consequence? And when Jesus heard Joseph speaking in this way, He said to Zacheus: Indeed, master, whatever proceeds from my mouth is true. And before all I was Lord, but you are foreigners. To me has been given the glory of the ages, to you has been given nothing; because I am before the ages. And I know how many years of life thou wilt have, and that thou wilt be carried into exile: and my Father hath appointed this, that thou mayest understand that whatever proceeds from my mouth is true. And the Jews who were standing by, and hearing the words which Jesus spoke, were astonished, and said: We have seen such wonderful things, and heard such words from that boy, as we have never heard, nor are likely to hear from any other human being,-either from the high priests, or the masters, or the Pharisees. Jesus answered and said to them: Why do you wonder? Do you consider it incredible that I have spoken the truth? I know when both you and your fathers were born, and to tell you more, when the world was made: I know also who sent me to you. And when the Jews heard the words which the child had spoken, they wondered, because that they were not able to answer. And, communing with Himself, the child exulted and said: I have told you a proverb; and I know that you are weak and ignorant.

And that schoolmaster said to Joseph: Bring him to me, and I shall teach him letters. And Joseph took hold of the boy Jesus, and led Him to the house of a certain schoolmaster, where other boys were being taught. Now the master in soothing words began to teach Him His letters, and wrote for Him the first line, which is from A to T, and began to stroke Him and teach Him. And that teacher struck the child on the head: and when He had received the blow, the child said to him: I should teach thee, and not thou me; I know the letters which thou wishest to teach me, and I know that you are to me like vessels from which there come forth only sounds, and no wisdom. And, beginning the line, He said the letters from A to T in full, and very fist. And He looked at the master, and said to him: Thou indeed canst not tell us what A and B are; how dost thou wish to teach others? O hypocrite, if thou knowest and will tell me about the A, then will I tell thee about the B. And when that teacher began to tell about the first letter, he was unable to give any answer. And Jesus said to Zacheus: Listen to me, master; understand the first letter. See how it has two lines; advancing in the middle, standing still, giving, scattering, varying, threatening; triple intermingled with double; at the same time homogeneous, having all common.

And Zacheus, seeing that He so divided the first letter, was stupefied about the first letter, and about such a human being and such learning; and he cried out, and said: Woe's me, for I am quite stupefied; I have brought disgrace upon myself through, that child. And he said to Joseph: I earnestly entreat thee, brother, take him away from me, because I cannot look upon his face, nor hear his mighty words. Because that child can tame fire and bridle the sea: for he was born before the ages. What womb brought him forth, or what mother nursed him, I know not. Oh, my friends, I am driven out of my senses; I have become a wretched laughing-stock. And I said that I had got a scholar; but he has been found to be my master. And my disgrace I cannot get over, because I am an old man; and what to say to him I cannot find. All I have to do is to fall into some grievous illness, and depart from this world; or to leave this town, because all have seen my disgrace. An infant has deceived me. What answer can I give to others, or what words can I say, because he has got the better of me in the first letter? I am struck dumb, O my friends and acquaintances; neither beginning nor end can I find of an answer to him. And now I beseech thee, brother Joseph, take him away from me, and lead him home, because he is a master, or the Lord, or an angel. What to say I do not know. And Jesus turned to the Jews who were with Zacheus, and said to them: Let all not seeing see, and not understanding understand; let the deaf hear, and let those who are dead through me rise again; and those who are exalted, let me call to still higher things, as He who sent me to you hath commanded me. And when Jesus ceased speaking, all who had been affected with any infirmity through His words were made whole. And they did not dare to speak to Him.

7 How Jesus Raised a Boy to Life.

One day, when Jesus was climbing on a certain house, along with the children, He began to play with them. And one of the boys fell down through a back-door, and died immediately: And when the children saw this, they all ran away; but Jesus remained in the house. And when the parents of the boy who had died had come, they spoke against Jesus: Surely it was thou who made him fall down; and they reviled Him. And Jesus, coming down from the house. stood over the dead child, and with a loud voice called out the name of the child: Sinoo, Sinoo, rise and say whether it was I that made thee fall down. And suddenly he rose up, and said: No, my lord. And his parents, seeing such a great miracle done by Jesus, glorified God, and adored Jesus.

8 How Jesus Healed a Boy's Foot.

And a few days thereafter, a boy in that town was splitting wood, and struck his foot. And a great crowd went to him, and Jesus too went with them. And He touched the foot which had been hurt, and immediately it was made whole. And Jesus said to him: Rise, and split the wood, and remember me. And when the crowd saw the miracles that were done by Him, they adored Jesus, and said: Indeed we most surely believe that Thou art God.

9 How Jesus Carried Water in a Cloak.

And when Jesus was six years old, His mother sent Him to draw water. And when Jesus had come to the fountain, or to the well, there were great crowds there, and they broke His pitcher. And He took the cloak which He had on, and filled it with water, and carried it to His mother Mary. And His mother, seeing the miracles which Jesus had done, kissed Him, and said: O Lord, hear me, and save my son.

10 How Jesus Sowed Wheat.

In the time of sowing, Joseph went out to sow wheat, and Jesus followed him. And when Joseph began to sow, Jesus stretched out His hand, and took as much wheat as He could hold in His fist, and scattered it. Joseph therefore came at reaping-time to reap his harvest. Jesus came also, and collected the ears which He had scattered, and they made a hundred pecks of the best grain; and he called the poor, and the widows, and the orphans, and distributed to them the wheat which He had made. Joseph also took a little of the same wheat, for the blessing of Jesus to his house.

11 How Jesus Made a Short Piece of Wood of the Same Length as a Longer One.

And Jesus reached the age of eight years, Joseph was a master builder, and used to make ploughs and ox-yokes. And one day a rich man said to Joseph: Master, make me a couch, both useful and beautiful. And Joseph was in distress, because the wood which he had brought for the work was too short. And Jesus said to him: Do not be annoyed. Take hold of this piece of wood by one end, and I by the other; I and let us draw it out. And they did so; and immediately he found it useful for that which he wished. And He said to Joseph: Behold, do the work which thou wishest. And Joseph, seeing what He had done, embraced Him, and said: Blessed am I, because God hath given me such a son.

12 How Jesus Was Handed Over to Learn His Letters.

And Joseph, seeing that He had such favour, and that He was increasing in stature, thought it right to take Him to learn His letters. And he handed Him over to another teacher to be taught. And that teacher said to Joseph: What letters dost thou wish me to teach that boy? Joseph answered and said: First teach him the Gentile letters, and then the Hebrew. For the teacher knew that He was very intelligent, and willingly took Him in hand. And writing for Him the first line, which is A and B, he taught Him for some hours. But Jesus was silent, and made him no answer. Jesus said to the master: If thou art indeed a master, and if thou indeed knowest the letters, tell me the power of the A, and I shall tell thee the power of the B. Then His master was filled with fury, and struck Him on the head. And Jesus was angry, and cursed him; and he suddenly fell down, and died.

And Jesus returned home. And Joseph gave orders to Mary His mother, not to let Him go out of the court of his house.

13 How He Was Handed Over to Another Master.

Many days after came another teacher, a friend of Joseph, and said to him: Hand him over to me, and I with much sweetness will teach him his letters. And Joseph said to him: If thou art able, take him and teach him. May it be attended with joy. When the teacher had taken Him, he went along in fear and in great firmness, and held Him with exultation. And when He had come to the teacher's house, He found a book lying there, and took it and opened it, and did not read what was written in the book; but opened His mouth, and spoke from the Holy Spirit, and taught the law. And, indeed, all who were standing there listened to Him attentively; and the master sat down beside Him, and listened to Him with pleasure, and entreated Him to teach them more. And a great crowd being gathered together, they heard all the holy teaching which He taught, and the choice words which I came forth from the mouth of Him who, child as He was, spake such things. And Joseph, hearing of this, was afraid, and running ...the master, where Jesus was, said to Joseph: Know, brother, that I have received thy child to teach him or train him; but he is filled with much gravity and wisdom. Lo, now, take him home with joy, my brother; because the gravity which he has, has been given him by the Lord. And Jesus, hearing the master thus speaking, became cheerful, and said: Lo, now, master, thou hast truly said. For thy sake, he who is dead shall rise again. And Joseph took Him home.

14 How Jesus Delivered James from the Bite of a Serpent.

And Joseph sent James to gather straw, and Jesus followed him. And while James was gathering the straw, a viper bit him; and he fell to the ground, as if dead from the poison. And Jesus seeing this, blew upon his wound; and immediately James was made whole, and the viper died.

15 How Jesus Raised a Boy to Life.

A few days after, a child, His neighbour, died, and his mother mourned for him sore. Jesus, hearing this, went and stood over the boy, and knocked upon his breast, and said: I say to thee, child, do not die, but live. And immediately the child rose up. And Jesus said to the boy's mother: Take thy son, and give him the breast, and remember me. And the crowd, seeing this miracle, said: In truth, this child is from heaven; for already has he freed many souls from death, and he has made whole all that hope in him.

The scribes and Pharisees said to Mary: Art thou the mother of this child? And Mary said: Indeed I am. And they said to her: Blessed art thou among women, since God hath blessed the fruit of thy womb, seeing that He hath given thee such a glorious child, and such a gift of wisdom, as we have never seen nor heard of. Jesus rose up and followed His mother. And Mary kept in her heart all the great miracles that Jesus had done among the people, in healing many that were diseased. And Jesus grew in stature and wisdom; and all who saw Him glorified God the Father Almighty, who is blessed for ever and ever. Amen.

And all these things I Thomas the Israelite have written what I have seen, and have recounted them to the Gentiles and to our brethren, and many other things done by Jesus, who was born in the land of Judah. Behold, the house of Israel has seen all, from the first even to the last; how great signs and wonders Jesus did among them, which were exceedingly good, and invisible to their father, as holy Scripture relates, and the prophets have borne witness to His works in all the peoples of Israel. And He it is who is to judge the world according to the will of immortality, since He is the Son of God throughout all the world. To Him is due all glory and honour for ever, who lives and reigns God through all ages of ages. Amen.

THE FIRST ARABIC INFANCY GOSPEL (of Thomas)
From: The suppressed Gospels and Epistles of
the original New Testament of Jesus the Christ
Translation: Jeremiah Jones, 1726
Estimated Range of Dating: 400-600 A.D.

(The Syriac Infancy Gospel (also known as the Arabic Infancy Gospel) is a New Testament apocryphal writing concerning the infancy of Jesus. It may have been compiled as early as the sixth century, and was partly based on the Infancy Gospel of Thomas, and Protevangelium of James. There are only two surviving manuscripts dating from 1299 AD and the 15th/16th century in Arabic. They were copied in the area of northern Iraq and show influence from the Koran.

This Gospel is thought to have originated from Syriac sources dating back to the fifth or sixth century. It has become known to European readers by way of an Arabic version published by Henry Sike in 1697 and called "Evangelium infantiae, vel Liber apocryphus de infantia Servatoris" containing the text of this piece in original Arabic together with his own Latin translation. Jeremiah Jones translated Sike's Latin translation into English, which was included in the posthumous "A New and Full Method of Settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament", 1726–7, vol. 2, pp. 168–220.

The preface to the William Hone translation states that "It was received by the Gnostics, a sect of Christians in the second century..." The earliest known mention of the Gospel was by Isho'dad of Merv, a ninth-century Syrian church father, in his biblical commentary concerning the Gospel of Matthew. The narrative of the Arabic Infancy Gospel, particularly the second part concerning the miracles in Egypt, can also be found in the Koran.

This Arabic Gospel turns out to be a Gospel of Thomas which was used by the Gnostics, a sect of Christians in the second century; and several of its relations were credited in the following ages by other Christians, such as Eusebius, Athanasius, or Epiphanius. M. La Crosse cites a synod at Angamala, in the Mountains of Malabar, in the Soutwest of India, 1599 AD, which shows this Gospel was commonly read by the Nestorians in the country. Muslim authorities, such as Ahmed Ibu Idris, report it was used by some Christians in common with the Synoptical Gospels; and Ocobius de Castro mentions a Gospel of Thomas, which he says, he saw and had translated to him by an Armenian Archbishop at Amsterdam, that was read in very many churches of Asia and Africa, as the only rule of their faith. It was the first gospel to be translated into Arabic, and The German scholar Johann Albert Fabricius (1668–1736) suggested that it was this Gospel that

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Mohammed and his disciples used for compiling the Koran which can be seen as likely.
The third chapter of this Gospel covers the story of the wise men of the East, the Magi, which, in some respects, closely follows the version of the story from Matthew. Unlike Matthew, however, this account cites Zoradascht (Zoroaster) as the source of the prophecy that motivated the wise men to seek the infant Jesus. We do not need take it literaly but it reminds us that Jesus' home in or near Sepphoris in Galilee had a frequent connexion with Zoroastrian and Buddhist scholars using the Silk Road, and the writers of this docoment knew about it. We are showing here both documents.)

Document 1:

1 ARABIC INFANCY GOSPEL CHAPTER 1

[A list of contents:] Caiaphas relates, that Jesus when in his cradle, informed his mother, that he was the Son of God. Joseph and Mary going to Bethlehem to be taxed, Mary's time of bringing forth arrives, and she goes into a cave. Joseph fetches in a Hebrew woman, the cave filled with great lights. The infant born, cures the woman, arrival of the shepherds.

1 The following accounts we found in the book of Joseph the high-priest, called by some Caiaphas

2 He relates, that Jesus spake even when he was in the cradle, and said to his mother:

3 Mary, I am Jesus the Son of God, that word which thou didst bring forth according to the declaration of the angel Gabriel to thee, and my father hath sent me for the salvation of the world.

4 In the three hundred and ninth year of the æra of Alexander, Augustus published a decree that all persons should go to be taxed in their own country.

5 Joseph therefore arose, and with Mary his spouse he went to Jerusalem, and then came to Bethlehem, that he and his family might be taxed in the city of his fathers.

6 And when they came by the cave, Mary confessed to Joseph that her time of bringing forth was come, and she could not go on to the city, and said, Let us go into this cave.

7 At that time the sun was very near going down.

8 But Joseph hastened away, that he might fetch her a midwife; and when he saw an old Hebrew woman who was of Jerusalem, he said to her, Pray come hither, good woman, and go into that cave, and you will there see a woman just ready to bring forth.

9 It was after sunset, when the old woman and Joseph with her reached the cave, and they both went into it.

10 And behold, it was all filled with lights, greater than the light of lamps and candles, and greater than the light of the sun itself.

11 The infant was then wrapped up in swaddling clothes, and sucking the breasts of his mother St. Mary.

12 When they both saw this light, they were surprised; the old woman asked St. Mary, Art thou the mother of this child?

13 St. Mary replied, She was.

14 On which the old woman said, Thou art very different from all other women.

15 St. Mary answered, As there is not any child like to my son, so neither is there any woman like to his mother.

16 The old woman answered, and said, O my Lady, I am come hither that I may obtain an everlasting reward.

17 Then our Lady, St. Mary, said to her, Lay thine hands upon the infant; which, when she had done, she became whole.

18 And as she was going forth, she said, From henceforth, all the days of my life, I will attend upon and be a servant of this infant.

19 After this, when the shepherds came, and had made a fire, and they were exceedingly rejoicing, the heavenly host appeared to them, praising and adoring the supreme God.

20 And as the shepherds were engaged in the same employment, the cave at that time seemed like a glorious temple, because both the tongues of angels and men united to adore and magnify God, on account of the birth of the Lord Christ.

21 But when the old Hebrew woman saw all these evident miracles, she gave praises to God, and said, I thank thee, O God, thou God of Israel, for that mine eyes have seen the birth of the Saviour of the world.

1 ARABIC INFANCY GOSPEL CHAPTER 2

The child circumcised in the cave, and the old woman preserving his foreskin or navel-string in a box of spikenard, Mary afterwards anoints Christ with it. Christ brought to the temple, shines, angels stand around him adoring. Simeon praises Christ.

1 And when the time of his circumcision was come, namely, the eighth day, on which the law commanded the child to be circumcised, they circumcised him in the cave.

2 And the old Hebrew woman took the foreskin (others say she took the navel-string), and preserved it in an alabaster-box of old oil of spikenard.

3 And she had a son who was a druggist, to whom she said, Take heed thou sell not this alabaster box of spikenard-ointment, although thou shouldst be offered three hundred pence for it.

4 Now this is that alabaster-box which Mary the sinner procured, and poured forth the ointment out of it upon the head and the feet of our Lord Jesus Christ, and wiped it off with the I hairs of her head.

5 Then after ten days they brought him to Jerusalem, and on the fortieth day from his birth they presented him in the temple before the Lord, making the proper offerings for him, according to the requirement of the law of Moses: namely, that every male which opens the womb shall be called holy unto God.

6 At that time old Simeon saw him shining as a pillar of light, when St. Mary the Virgin, his mother, carried him in her arms, and was filled with the greatest pleasure at the sight.

7 And the angels stood around him, adoring him, as a king's guards stand around him.

8 Then Simeon going near to St. Mary, and stretching forth his hands towards her, said to the Lord Christ, Now, O my Lord, thy servant shall depart in peace, according to thy word;

9 For mine eyes have seen thy mercy, which thou hast prepared for the salvation of all nations; a light to all people, and the glory of thy people Israel.

10 Hannah the prophetess was also present, and drawing near, she gave praises to God, and celebrated the happiness of Mary.

1 ARABIC INFANCY GOSPEL CHAPTER 3

The wise men visit Christ. Mary gives them one of his swaddling clothes. An angel appears to them in the form of a star. They return and make a fire, and worship the swaddling cloth, and put it in the fire, where it remains unconsumed.

1 And it came to pass, when the Lord Jesus was born at Bethlehem, a city of Judaea, in the time of Herod the King; the wise men came from the East to Jerusalem, according to the prophecy of Zoradascht (Zoroaster) and brought with them offerings: namely, gold, frankincense, and myrrh, and worshipped him, and offered to him their gifts.

2 Then the Lady Mary took one of his swaddling clothes in which the infant was wrapped, and gave it to them instead of a blessing, which they received from her as a most noble present.

3 And at the same time there appeared to them an angel in the form of that star which had before been their guide in their journey; the light of which they followed till they returned into their own country.

4 On their return their kings and princes came to them inquiring, What they had seen and done? What sort of journey and return they had? What company they had on the road?

5 But they produced the swaddling cloth which St. Mary had given to them, on account whereof they kept a feast.

6 And having, according to the custom of their country, made a fire, they worshipped it.

7 And casting the swaddling cloth into it, the fire took it, and kept it.

8 And when the fire was put out, they took forth the swaddling cloth unhurt, as much as if the fire had not touched it.

9 Then they began to kiss it, and put it upon their heads and their eyes, saying, This is certainly an undoubted truth, and it is really surprising that the fire could not burn it, and consume it.

10 Then they took it, and with the greatest respect laid it up among their treasures.

1 ARABIC INFANCY GOSPEL CHAPTER 4

Herod intends to put Christ to death. An angel warns Joseph to take the child and its mother into Egypt. Consternation on their arrival. The idols fall down.5 Mary washes Christ's swaddling clothes, and hangs them to dry on a post.6 A son of the chief priest puts one on his head, and being possessed of devils, they leave him.

1 Now Herod, perceiving that the wise men did delay, and not return to him, called together the priests and wise men and said, Tell me in what place the Christ should be born?

2 And when they replied, in Bethlehem, a city of Judaea, he began to contrive in his own mind the death of the Lord Jesus Christ.

3 But an angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in his sleep, and said, Arise, take the child and his mother, and go into Egypt as soon as the cock crows. So he arose, and went.

4 And as he was considering with himself about his journey, the morning came upon him.

5 In the length of the journey the girts of the saddle broke.

6 And now he drew near to a great city, in which there was an idol, to which the other idols and gods of Egypt brought their offerings and vows.

7 And there was by this idol a priest ministering to it, who, as often as Satan spoke out of that idol, related the things he said to the inhabitants of Egypt, and those countries.

8 This priest had a son three years old, who was possessed with a great multitude of devils, who uttered many strange things, and when the devils seized him, walked about naked with his clothes torn, throwing stones at those whom he saw.

9 Near to that idol was the inn of the city, into which when Joseph and St. Mary were come, and had turned into that inn, all the inhabitants of the city were astonished.

10 And all the magistrates and priests of the idols assembled before that idol, and made inquiry there, saying, What means all this consternation, and dread, which has fallen upon all our country?

11 The idol answered them, The unknown God is come hither, who is truly God; nor is there any one besides him, who is worthy of divine worship; for he is truly the Son of God.

12 At the fame of him this country trembled, and at his coming it is under the present commotion and consternation; and we ourselves are affrighted by the greatness of his power.

13 And at the same instant this idol fell down, and at his fall all the inhabitants of Egypt, besides others, ran together.

14 But the son of the priest, when his usual disorder came upon him, going into the inn, found there Joseph and St. Mary, whom all the rest had left behind and forsook.

15 And when the Lady St. Mary had washed the swaddling clothes of the Lord Christ, and hanged them out to dry upon a post, the boy possessed with the devil took down one of them, and put it upon his head.

16 And presently the devils began to come out of his mouth, and fly away in the shape of crows and serpents.

17 From that time the boy was healed by the power of the Lord Christ, and he began to sing praises, and give thanks to the Lord who had healed him.

18 When his father saw him restored to his former state of health, he said, My son, what has happened to thee, and by what means wert thou cured?

19 The son answered, When the devils seized me, I went into the inn, and there found a very handsome woman with a boy, whose swaddling clothes she had just before washed, and hanged out upon a post.

20 One of these I took, and put it upon my head, and immediately the devils left me, and fled away.

21 At this the father exceedingly rejoiced, and said, My son, perhaps this boy is the son of the living God, who made the heavens and the earth.

22 For as soon as he came amongst us, the idol was broken, and all the gods fell down, and were destroyed by a greater power.

23 Then was fulfilled the prophecy which saith, Out of Egypt I have called my son.

1 ARABIC INFANCY GOSPEL CHAPTER 5

Joseph and Mary leave Egypt. Go to the haunts of robbers, Who, hearing a mighty noise as of a great army, flee away.

1 Now Joseph and Mary, when they heard that the idol was fallen down and destroyed, were seized with fear and trembling, and said, When we were in the land of Israel, Herod, intending to kill Jesus, slew for that purpose all the infants at Bethlehem, and that neighbourhood.

2 And there is no doubt but the Egyptians if they come to hear that this idol is broken and fallen down, will burn us with fire.

3 They went therefore hence to the secret places of robbers, who robbed travellers as they pass by, of their carriages and their clothes, and carried them away bound.

4 These thieves upon their coming heard a great noise, such as the noise of a king with a great army and many horses, and the trumpets sounding at his Overture from his own city, at which they were so affrighted as to leave all their booty behind them, and fly away in haste.

5 Upon this the prisoners arose, and loosed each other's bonds, and taking each man his bags, they went away, and saw Joseph and Mary coming to wards them, and inquired, Where is that king, the noise of whose approach the robbers heard, and left us, so that we are now come off safe?

6 Joseph answered, He will come after us.

1 ARABIC INFANCY GOSPEL CHAPTER 6

Mary looks on a woman in whom Satan had taken up his abode, and she becomes dispossessed. Christ kissed by a bride made dumb by sorcerers, cures her,1 miraculously cures a gentlewoman in whom Satan had taken up his abode.6 A leprous girl cured by the water in which he was washed, and becomes the servant of Mary and Joseph.0 The leprous son of a prince's wife cured in like manner.7 His mother offers large gifts to Mary, and dismisses her.

1 Then they went into another where there was a woman possessed with a devil, and in whom Satan, that cursed rebel, had taken up his abode.

2 One night, when she went to fetch water, she could neither endure her clothes on, nor to be in any house; but as often as they tied her with chains or cords, she brake them, and went out into desert places, and sometimes standing where roads crossed, and in churchyards, would throw stones at men.

3 When St. Mary saw this w man, she pitied her; whereupon Satan presently left her, and fled away in the form of a young man, saying, Wo to me, because of thee, Mary, and thy son.

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4 So the woman was delivered from her torment; but considering herself naked, she blushed, and avoided seeing any man, and having put on her clothes, went home, and gave au account of her case to her father and relations, who, as they were the best of the city, entertained St. Mary and Joseph with the greatest respect.

5 The next morning having received a sufficient supply of provisions for the road, they went from them, and about the evening of the day arrived at another town, where a marriage was then about to be solemnized; but by the arts of Satan and the practices of some sorcerers, the bride was become so dumb, that she could not so much as open her mouth.

6 But when this dumb bride saw the Lady St. Mary entering into the town, and carrying the Lord Christ in her arms, she stretched out her hands to the Lord Christ, and took him in her arms, and closely hugging him, very often kissed him, continually moving him and pressing him to her body.

7 Straightway the string of her tongue was loosed, and her ears were opened, and she began to sing praises unto God, who had restored her.

8 So there was great joy among the inhabitants of the town that night, who thought that God and his angels were come down among them.

9 In this place they abode three days, meeting with the greatest respect and most splendid entertainment.

10 And being then furnished by the people with provisions for the road, they departed and went to another city, in which they were inclined to lodge, because it was a famous place.

11 There was in this city a gentlewoman, who, as she went down one day to the river to bathe, behold cursed Satan leaped upon her in the form of a serpent,

12 And folded himself about her belly, and every night lay upon her.

13 This woman seeing the Lady St. Mary, and the Lord Christ the infant in her bosom, asked the Lady St. Mary, that she would give her the child to kiss, and carry in her arms.

14 When she had consented, and as soon as the woman had moved the child, Satan left her, and fled away, nor did the woman ever afterwards see him.

15 Hereupon all the neighbours praised the Supreme God, and the woman rewarded them with ample beneficence.

16 On the morrow the same woman brought perfumed water to wash the Lord Jesus; and when she had washed him, she preserved the water.

17 And there was a girl there, whose body was white with a leprosy, who being sprinkled with this water, and washed, was instantly cleansed from her leprosy.

18 The people therefore said Without doubt Joseph and Mary, and that boy are Gods, for they do not look like mortals.

19 And when they were making ready to go away, the girl, who had been troubled with the leprosy, came and desired they would permit her to go along with them; so they consented, and the girl went with them till. they came to a city, in which was the palace of a great king, and whose house was not far from the inn.

20 Here they staid, and when the girl went one day to the prince's wife, and found her in a sorrowful and mournful condition, she asked her the reason of her tears.

21 She replied, Wonder not at my groans, for I am under a great misfortune, of which I dare not tell any one.

22 But, says the girl, if you will entrust me with your private grievance, perhaps I may find you a remedy for it.

23 Thou, therefore, says the prince's wife, shalt keep the secret, and not discover it to any one alive!

24 I have been married to this prince, who rules as king over large dominions, and lived long with him, before he had any child by me.

25 At length I conceived by him, but alas! I brought forth a leprous son; which, when he saw, he would not own to be his, but said to me,

26 Either do thou kill him, or send him to some nurse in such a place, that he may be never heard of; and now take care of yourself; I will never see you more.

27 So here I pine, lamenting my wretched and miserable circumstances. Alas, my son! alas, my husband! Have I disclosed it to you?

28 The girl replied, I have found a remedy for your disease, which I promise you, for I also was leprous, but God hath cleansed me, even he who is called Jesus, the son of the Lady Mary.

29 The woman inquiring where that God was, whom she spake of, the girl answered He lodges with you here in the same house.

30 But how can this be? says she; where is he? Behold, replied the girl, Joseph and Mary; and the infant who is with them is called Jesus: and it is he who delivered me from my disease and torment.

31 But by what means, says she, were you cleansed from your leprosy? Will you not tell me that?

32 Why not? says the girl; I took the water with which his body had been washed, and poured it upon me, and my leprosy vanished.

33 The prince's wife then arose and entertained them, providing a great feast for Joseph among a large company of men.

34 And the next day took perfumed water to wash the Lord Jesus, and afterwards poured the same water upon her son, whom she had brought with her, and her son was instantly cleansed from his leprosy.

35 Then she sang thanks and praises unto God, and said, Blessed is the mother that bare thee, O Jesus!

36 Dost thou thus cure men of the same nature with thyself, with the water with which thy body is washed?

37 She then offered very large gifts to the Lady Mary, and sent her away with all imaginable respect.

1 ARABIC INFANCY GOSPEL CHAPTER 7

A man who could not enjoy his wife, freed from his disorder. A young man who had been bewitched, and turned into a mule, miraculously cured by Christ being put on his back.8 and is married to the girl who had been cured of leprosy.

1 They came afterwards to another city, and had a mind to lodge there.

2 Accordingly they went to a man's house, who was newly married, but by the influence of sorcerers could not enjoy his wife:

3 But they lodging at his house that night, the man was freed of his disorder:

4 And when they were pre paring early in the morning to go forward on their journey, the new married person hindered them, and provided a noble entertainment for them?

5 But going forward on the morrow, they came to another city, and saw three women going from a certain grave with great weeping.

6 When St. Mary saw them, she spake to the girl who was their companion, saying, Go and inquire of them, what is the matter with them, and what misfortune has befallen them?

7 When the girl asked them, they made her no answer, but asked her again, Who are ye, and where are ye going? For the day is far spent, and the night is at hand.

8 We are travellers, saith the girl, and are seeking for an inn to lodge at.

9 They replied, Go along with us, and lodge with us.

10 They then followed them, and were introduced into a new house, well furnished with all sorts of furniture.

11 It was now winter-time, and the girl went into the parlour where these women were, and found them weeping and lamenting, as before.

12 By them stood a mule, covered over with silk, and an ebony collar hanging down from his neck, whom they kissed, and were feeding.

13 But when the girl said, How handsome, ladies, that mule is! they replied with tears, and said, This mule, which you see, was our brother, born of this same mother as we:

14 For when our father died, and left us a very large estate, and we had only this brother, and we endeavoured to procure him a suitable match, and thought he should be married as other men, some giddy and jealous woman bewitched him without our knowledge.

15 And we, one night, a little before day, while the doors of the house were all fast shut, saw this our brother was changed into a mule, such as you now see him to be:

16 And we, in the melancholy condition in which you see us, having no father to comfort us, have applied to all the wise men, magicians, and diviners in the world, but they have been of no service to us.

17 As often therefore as we find ourselves oppressed with grief, we rise and go with this our mother to our father's tomb, where, when we have cried sufficiently we return home.

18 When the girl had heard this, she said, Take courage, and cease your fears, for you have a remedy for your afflictions near at hand, even among you and in the midst of your house,

19 For I was also leprous; but when I saw this woman, and this little infant with her, whose name is Jesus, I sprinkled my body with the water with which his mother had washed him, and I was presently made well.

20 And I am certain that he is also capable of relieving you under your distress. Wherefore, arise, go to my mistress, Mary, and when you have brought her into your own parlour, disclose to her the secret, at the same time, earnestly beseeching her to compassionate your case.

21 As soon as the women had heard the girl's discourse, they hastened away to the Lady St. Mary, introduced themselves to her, and sitting down before her, they wept.

22 And said, O our Lady St. Mary, pity your handmaids, for we have no head of our family, no one older than us; no father, or brother to go in and out before us.

23 But this mule, which you see, was our brother, which some woman by witchcraft have brought into this condition which you see: we therefore entreat you to compassionate us.

24 Hereupon St. Mary was grieved at their case, and taking the Lord Jesus, put him upon the back of the mule.

25 And said to her son, O Jesus Christ, restore (or heal) according to thy extraordinary power this mule, and grant him to have again the shape of a man and a rational creature, as he had formerly.

26 This was scarce said by the Lady St. Mary, but the mule immediately passed into a human form, and became a young man without any deformity.

27 Then he and his mother and the sisters worshipped the Lady St. Mary, and lifting the child upon their heads, they kissed him, and said, Blessed is thy mother, O Jesus, O Saviour of the world! Blessed are the eyes which are so happy as to see thee.

28 Then both the sisters told their mother, saying, Of a truth our brother is restored to his former shape by the help of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the kindness of that girl, who told us of Mary and her son.

29 And inasmuch as our brother is unmarried, it is fit that we marry him to this girl their servant.

30 When they had consulted Mary in this matter, and she had given her consent, they made a splendid wedding for this girl.

31 And so their sorrow being turned into gladness, and their mourning into mirth, they began to rejoice. and to make merry, and sing, being dressed in their richest attire, with bracelets.

32 Afterwards they glorified and praised God, saying, O Jesus son of David who changest sorrow into gladness, and mourning into mirth!

33 After this Joseph and Mary tarried there ten days, then went away, having received great respect from those people;

34 Who, when they took their leave of them, and returned home, cried,

35 But especially the girl.

1 ARABIC INFANCY GOSPEL CHAPTER 8

Joseph and Mary pass through a country infested by robbers, Titus, a humane thief, offers Dumachus, his comrade, forty groats to let Joseph and Mary pass unmolested. Jesus prophesies that the thieves, Dumachus and Titus, shall be crucified with him, and that Titus shall go before him into Paradise.0 Christ causes a well to spring from a sycamore tree, and Mary washes his coat in it.1 A balsam grows there from his sweat: They go to Memphis, where Christ works more miracles. Return to Judaea.5 being warned, depart for Nazareth.

1 In their journey from hence they came into a desert country, and were told it was infested with robbers; so Joseph and St. Mary prepared to pass through it in the night.

2 And as they were going along, behold they saw two robbers asleep in the road, and with them a great number of robbers, who were their confederates, also asleep.

3 The names of these two were Titus and Dumachus; and Titus said to Dumachus, I beseech thee let those persons go along quietly, that our company may not perceive anything of them:

4 But Dumachus refusing, Titus again said, I will give thee forty groats, and as a pledge take my girdle, which he gave him he had done speaking, that he might not open his mouth, or make a noise.

5 When the Lady St. Mary saw the kindness which this robber did shew them, she said to him, The Lord God will receive thee to his right hand, and grant thee pardon of thy sins.

6 Then the Lord Jesus answered, and said to his mother, When thirty years are expired, O mother, the Jews will crucify me at Jerusalem;

7 And these two thieves shall be with me at the same time upon the cross, Titus on my right hand, and Dumachus on my left, and from that time Titus shall go before me into paradise:

8 And when she had said, God forbid this should be thy lot, O my son, they went on to a city in which were several idols; which, as soon as they came near to it, was turned into hills of sand.

9 Hence they went to that sycamore tree, which is now called Matarea;

10 And in Matarea the Lord Jesus caused a well to spring forth, in which St. Mary washed his coat;

11 And a balsam is produced, or grows, in that country from the sweat which ran down there from the Lord Jesus.

12 Thence they proceeded to Memphis, and saw Pharaoh, and abode three years in Egypt.

13 And the Lord Jesus did very many miracles in Egypt, which are neither to be found in the Gospel of the Infancy nor in the Gospel of Perfection.

14 At the end of three years he returned out of Egypt, and when he came near to Judas, Joseph was afraid to enter;

15 For hearing that Herod was dead, and that Archelaus his son reigned in his stead, he was afraid;

16 And when he went to Judaea, an angel of God appeared to him, and said, O Joseph, go into the city Nazareth, and abide there.

17 It is strange indeed that he, who is the Lord of all countries, should be thus carried backward and forward through so many countries.

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1 ARABIC INFANCY GOSPEL CHAPTER 9

Two sick children cured by water wherein Christ was washed.

1 When they came afterwards into the city Bethlehem, they found there several very desperate distempers, which became so troublesome to children by seeing them, that most of them died.

2 There was there a woman who had a sick son, whom she brought, when he was at the point of death, to the Lady St. Mary, who saw her when she was washing Jesus Christ.

3 Then said the woman, O my Lady Mary, look down upon this my son, who is afflicted with most dreadful pains.

4 St. Mary hearing her, said, Take a little of that water with which I have washed my son, and sprinkle it upon him.

5 Then she took a little of that water, as St. Mary had commanded, and sprinkled it upon her son, who being wearied with his violent pains, had fallen asleep; and after he had slept a little, awaked perfectly well and recovered.

6 The mother being abundantly glad of this success, went again to St. Mary, and St. Mary said to her, Give praise to God, who hath cured this thy son.

7 There was in the same place another woman, a neighbour of her, whose son was now cured.

8 This woman's son was afflicted with the same disease, and his eyes were now almost quite shut, and she was lamenting for him day and night.

9 The mother of the child which was cured, said to her, Why do you not bring your son to St. Mary, as I brought my son to her, when he was in the agonies of death; and he was cured by that water, with which the body of her son Jesus was washed?

10 When the woman heard her say this, she also went, and having procured the same water, washed her son with it, whereupon his body and his eyes were instantly restored to their former state.

11 And when she brought her son to St. Mary, and opened his case to her, she commanded her to give thanks to God for the recovery of her son's health, and tell no one what had happened.

1 ARABIC INFANCY GOSPEL CHAPTER 10

Two wives of one man, each have a son sick. One of them, named Mary, and whose son's name was Caleb, presents the Virgin with a handsome carpet, and Caleb is cured; but the son of the other wife dies, which occasions a difference between the women. The other wife puts Caleb into a hot oven, and he is miraculously preserved; she afterwards throws him into a well, and he is again preserved;1 his mother appeals to the Virgin against the other wife,2, whose downfall the Virgin prophesies,3 and who accordingly falls into the well,4 therein fulfilling a saying of old.

1 There were in the same city two wives of one man, who had each a son sick. One of them was called Mary and her son's name was Caleb.

2 She arose, and taking her son, went to the Lady St. Mary, the mother of Jesus, and offered her a very handsome carpet, saying, O my Lady Mary accept this carpet of me, and instead of it give me a small swaddling cloth.

3 To this Mary agreed, and when the mother of Caleb was gone, she made a coat for her son of the swaddling cloth, put it on him, and his disease was cured; but the son of the other wife died.

4 Hereupon there arose between them, a difference in doing the business of the family by turns, each her week.

5 And when the turn of Mary the mother of Caleb came, and she was heating the oven to bake bread, and went away to fetch the meal, she left her son Caleb by the oven;

6 Whom, the other wife, her rival, seeing to be by himself, took and cast him into the oven, which was very hot, and then went away.

7 Mary on her return saw her son Caleb lying in the middle of the oven laughing, and the oven quite as cold as though it had not been before heated, and knew that her rival the other wife had thrown him into the fire.

8 When she took him out, she brought him to the Lady St. Mary, and told her the story, to whom she replied, Be quiet, I am concerned lest thou shouldest make this matter known.

9 After this her rival, the other wife, as she was drawing water at the well, and saw Caleb playing by the well, and that no one was near, took him, and threw him into the well.

10 And when some men came to fetch water from the well, they saw the boy sitting on the superficies of the water, and drew him out with ropes, and were exceedingly surprised at the child, and praised God.

11 Then came the mother and took him and carried him to the Lady St. Mary, lamenting and saying, O my Lady, see what my rival hath done to my son, and how she hath cast him into the well, and I do not question but one time or other she will be the occasion of his death.

12 St. Mary replied to her, God will vindicate your injured cause.

13 Accordingly a few days after, when the other wife came to the well to draw water, her foot was entangled in the rope, so that she fell headlong into the well, and they who ran to her assistance, found her skull broken, and bones bruised.

14 So she came to a bad end, and in her was fulfilled that saying of the author, They digged a well, and made it deep, but fell themselves into the pit which they prepared.

1 ARABIC INFANCY GOSPEL CHAPTER 11

Bartholomew, when a child and sick, miraculously restored by being laid on Christ's bed.

1 Another woman in that city had likewise two sons sick.

2 And when one was dead, the other, who lay at the point of death, she took in her arms to the Lady St. Mary, and in a flood of tears addressed herself to her, saying,

3 O my Lady, help and relieve me; for I had two sons, the one I have just now buried, the other I see is just at the point of death, behold how I (earnestly) seek favour from God, and pray to him.

4 Then she said, O Lord, thou art gracious, and merciful, and kind; thou hast given me two sons; one of them thou hast taken to thyself, O spare me this other.

5 St. Mary then perceiving the greatness of her sorrow, pitied her and said, Do thou place thy son in my son's bed, and cover him with his clothes.

6 And when she had placed him in the bed wherein Christ lay, at the moment when his eyes were just closed by death; as soon as ever the smell of the garments of the Lord Jesus Christ reached the boy, his eyes were opened, and calling with a loud voice to his mother, he asked for bread, and when he had received it, he sucked it.

7 Then his mother said, O Lady Mary, now I am assured that the powers of God do dwell in you, so that thy son can cure children who are of the same sort as himself, as soon as they touch his garments.

8 This boy who was thus cured, is the same who in the Gospel is called Bartholomew.

1 ARABIC INFANCY GOSPEL CHAPTER 12

A leprous woman healed by Christ's washing water. A princess healed by it and restored to her husband.

1 Again there was a leprous woman who went to the Lady St. Mary, the mother of Jesus, and said, O my Lady, help me.

2 St. Mary replied, what help dost thou desire? Is it gold or silver, or that thy body be cured of its leprosy?

3 Who, says the woman, can grant me this?

4 St. Mary replied to her, Wait a little till I have washed my son Jesus, and put him to bed.

5 The woman waited, as she was commanded; and Mary when she had put Jesus in bed, giving her the water with which she had washed his body, said, Take some of the water, and pour it upon thy body;

6 Which when she had done, she instantly became clean, and praised God, and gave thanks to him.

7 Then she went away, after she had abode with her three days:

8 And going into the city, she saw a certain prince, who had married another prince's daughter;

9 But when he came to see her, he perceived between her eyes the signs of leprosy like a star, and thereupon declared the marriage dissolved and void.

10 When the woman saw these persons in this condition, exceedingly sorrowful, and shedding abundance of tears, she inquired of them the reason of their crying.

11 They replied, Inquire not into our circumstances; for we are net able to declare our misfortunes to any person whatsoever.

12 But still she pressed and desired them to communicate their case to her, intimating, that perhaps she might be able to direct them to a remedy.

13 So when they shewed the young woman to her, and the signs of the leprosy, which appeared between her eyes,

14 She said, I also, whom ye see in this place, was afflicted with the same distemper, and going on some business to Bethlehem, I went into a certain cave, and saw a woman named Mary, who had a son called Jesus.

15 She seeing me to be leprous, was concerned for me, and gave me some water with which she had washed her son's body; with that I sprinkled my body, and became clean.

16 Then said these women, Will you, Mistress, go along with us, and shew the Lady St. Mary to us?

17 To which she consenting, they arose and went to the Lady St. Mary, taking with them very noble presents.

18 And when they came in and offered their presents to her, they showed the leprous young woman what they brought with them to her.

19 Then said St. Mary, The mercy of the Lord Jesus Christ rest upon you;

20 And giving them a little of that water with which she had washed the body of Jesus Christ, she bade them wash the diseased person with it; which when they had done, she was presently cured;

21 So they, and all who were present, praised God; and being filled with joy, they went back to their own city, and gave praise to God on that account.

22 Then the prince hearing that his wife was cured, took her home and made a second marriage, giving thanks unto God for the recovery of his wife's health.

1 ARABIC INFANCY GOSPEL CHAPTER 13

A girl, whose blood Satan sucked, receives one of Christ's swaddling clothes from the Virgin.4 Satan comes like a dragon, and she shews it to him; flames and burning coals proceed from it and fall upon him;9 he is miraculously discomfited, and leaves the girl.

1 There was also a girl, who was afflicted by Satan;

2 For that cursed spirit did frequently appear to her in the shape of a dragon, and was inclined to swallow her up, and had so sucked out all her blood, that she looked like a dead carcase.

3 As often as she came to herself, with her hands wringed about her head she would cry out, and say, Wo, Wo is me, that there is no one to be found who can deliver me from that impious dragon!

4 Her father and mother, and all who were about her and saw her, mourned and wept over her;

5 And all who were present would especially be under sorrow and in tears, when they heard her bewailing, and saying, My brethren and friends, is there no one who can deliver me from this murderer?

6 Then the prince's daughter, who had been cured of her leprosy, hearing the complaint of that girl, went upon the top of her castle, and saw her with her hands twisted about her head, pouring out a flood of tears, and all the people that were about her in sorrow.

7 Then she asked the husband of the possessed person, Whether his wife's mother was alive? He told her, That her father and mother were both alive.

8 Then she ordered her mother to be sent to her: to whom, when she saw her coming, she said, Is this possessed girl thy daughter? She moaning and bewailing said, Yes, madam, I bore her.

9 The prince's daughter answered, Disclose the secret of her case to me, for I confess to you that I was leprous, but the Lady Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ, healed me.

10 And if you desire your daughter to be restored to her former state, take her to Bethlehem, and inquire for Mary the mother of Jesus, and doubt not but your daughter will be cured; for I do not question but you will come home with great joy at your daughter's recovery.

11 As soon as ever she had done speaking, she arose and went with her daughter to the place appointed, and to Mary, and told her the case of her daughter.

12 When St. Mary had heard her story, she gave her a little of the water with which she had washed the body of her son Jesus, and bade her pour it upon the body of her daughter.

13 Likewise she gave her one of the swaddling cloths of the Lord Jesus, and said, Take this swaddling cloth and shew it to thine enemy as often as thou seest him; and she sent them away in peace.

14 After they had left that city and returned home, and the time was come in which Satan was wont to seize her, in the same moment this cursed spirit appeared to her in the shape of a huge dragon, and the girl seeing him was afraid.

15 The mother said to her, Be not afraid daughter; let him alone till he come nearer to thee! then shew him the swaddling cloth, which the Lady Mary gave us, and we shall see the event.

16 Satan then coming like a dreadful dragon, the body of the girl trembled for fear.

17 But as soon as she had put the swaddling cloth upon her head, and about her eyes, and shewed it to him, presently there issued forth from the swaddling cloth flames and burning coals, and fell upon the dragon.

18 Oh! how great a miracle was this, which was done: as soon as the dragon saw the swaddling cloth of the Lord Jesus, fire went forth and was scattered upon his head and eyes; so that he cried out with a loud voice, What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou son of Mary, Whither shall I flee from thee?

19 So he drew back much affrighted, and left the girl.

20 And she was delivered from this trouble, and sang praises and thanks to God, and with her all who were present at the working of the miracle.

1 ARABIC INFANCY GOSPEL CHAPTER 14

Judas when a boy possessed by Satan, and brought by his parents to Jesus to be cured, whom he tries to bite, but failing, strikes Jesus and makes him cry out. Whereupon Satan goes from Jesus in the shape of a dog.

1 Another woman likewise lived there, whose son was possessed by Satan.

2 This boy, named Judas, as often as Satan seized him, was inclined to bite all that were present; and if he found no one else near him, he would bite his own hands and other parts.

3 But the mother of this miserable boy, hearing of St. Mary and her son Jesus, arose presently, and taking her son in her arms, brought him to the Lady Mary.

4 In the meantime, James and Joses had taken away the infant, the Lord Jesus, to play at a proper season with other

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children; and when they went forth, they sat down and the Lord Jesus with them.

5 Then Judas, who was possessed, came and sat down at the right hand of Jesus.

6 When Satan was acting upon him as usual, he went about to bite the Lord Jesus.

7 And because he could not do it, he struck Jesus on the right side, so that he cried out.

8 And in the same moment Satan went out of the boy, and ran away like a mad dog.

9 This same boy who struck Jesus, and out of whom Satan went in the form of a dog, was Judas Iscariot, who betrayed him to the Jews.

10 And that same side, on which Judas struck him, the Jews pierced with a spear.

1 ARABIC INFANCY GOSPEL CHAPTER 15

Jesus and other boys play together, and make day figures of animals. Jesus causes them to walk, also makes day birds, which he causes to fly, and eat and drink. The children's parents alarmed, and take Jesus for a sorcerer. He goes to a dyer's shop, and throws all the cloths into the furnace, and works a miracle therewith.5 Whereupon the Jews praise God.

1 And when the Lord Jesus was seven years of age, he was on a certain day with other boys his companions about the same age.

2 Who when they were at play, made clay into several shapes, namely, asses, oxen, birds, and other figures,

3 Each boasting of his work, and endeavouring to exceed the rest.

4 Then the Lord Jesus said to the boys, I will command these figures which I have made to walk.

5 And immediately they moved, and when he commanded them to return, they returned.

6 He had also made the figures of birds and sparrows, which, when he commanded to fly, did fly, and when he commanded to stand still, did stand still; and if he gave them meat and drink, they did eat and drink.

7 When at length the boys went away, and related these things to their parents, their fathers said to them, Take heed, children, for the future, of his company, for he is a sorcerer; shun and avoid him, and from henceforth never play with him.

8 On a certain day also, when the Lord Jesus was playing with the boys, and running about, he passed by a dyer's shop, whose name was Salem.

9 And there were in his shop many pieces of cloth belonging to the people of that city, which they designed to dye of several colours.

10 Then the Lord Jesus going into the dyer's shop, took all the cloths, and threw them into the furnace.

11 When Salem came home, and saw the cloths spoiled, he began to make a great noise, and to chide the Lord Jesus, saying,

12 What hast thou done to me, O thou Son of Mary? Thou hast injured both me and my neighbours; they all desired their cloths of a proper colour; but .thou hast come, and spoiled them all.

13 The Lord Jesus replied, I will change the colour of every cloth to what colour thou desirest;

14 And then he presently began to take the cloths out of the furnace, and they were all dyed of those same colours which the dyer desired.

15 And when the Jews saw this surprising miracle, they praised God

1 ARABIC INFANCY GOSPEL CHAPTER 16

Christ miraculously widens or contracts the gates, milk-pails, sieves, or bones, not properly made by Joseph, he not being skilful at his carpenter's trade. The King of Jerusalem gives Joseph an order for a throne. Joseph works on it for two years in the king's palace, and makes it two spans too short. The king being angry with. him,0 Jesus comforts him,3 commands him to pull one side of the throne, while he pulls the other, and brings it to its proper dimensions.4 Whereupon the bystanders praise God.

1 And Joseph, wheresoever he went in the city, took the Lord Jesus with him, where he was sent for to work to make gates, or milk-pails, or sieves, or boxes; the Lord Jesus was with him wheresoever he went.

2 And as often as Joseph had anything in his work, to make longer or shorter, or wider, or narrower, the Lord Jesus would stretch his hand towards it.

3 And presently it became as Joseph would have it.

4 So that he had no need to finish anything with his own hands, for he was not very skilful at his carpenter's trade.

5 On a certain time the King of Jerusalem sent for him, and said, I would have thee make me a throne of the same dimensions with that place in which I commonly sit.

6 Joseph obeyed, and forthwith began the work, and continued two years in the king's palace before he finished it.

7 And when he came to fix it in its place, he found it wanted two spans on each side of the appointed measure.

8 Which, when the king saw, he was very angry with Joseph;

9 And Joseph afraid of the king's anger, went to bed without his supper, taking not any thing to eat.

10 Then the Lord Jesus asked him, What he was afraid of?

11 Joseph replied, Because I have lost my labour in the work which I have been about these two years.

12 Jesus said to him, Fear not, neither be cast down;

13 Do thou lay hold on one side of the throne, and I will the other, and we will bring it to its just dimensions.

14 And when Joseph had done as the Lord Jesus said, and each of them had with strength drawn his side, the throne obeyed, and was brought to the proper dimensions of the place:

15 Which miracle when they who stood by saw, they were astonished, and praised God.

16 The throne was made of the same wood, which was in being in Solomon's time, namely, wood adorned with various shapes and figures.

1 ARABIC INFANCY GOSPEL CHAPTER 17

Jesus plays with boys at hide and seek. Some women put his playfellows in a furnace, where they are transformed by Jesus into kids.0 Jesus calls them to go and play, and they me restored to their former shape.

1 On another day the Lord Jesus going out into the street, and seeing some boys who were met to play, joined himself to their company:

2 But when they saw him, they hid themselves, and left him to seek for them:

3 The Lord Jesus came to the gate of a certain house, and asked some women who were standing there, Where the boys were gone?

4 And when they answered, That there was no one there; the Lord Jesus said, Who are those whom ye see in the furnace?

5 They answered, They were kids of three years old.

6 Then Jesus cried out aloud, and said, Come out hither, O ye kids, to your shepherd;

7 And presently the boys came forth like kids, and leaped about him; which when the women saw, they were exceedingly amazed, and trembled.

8 Then they immediately worshipped the Lord Jesus, and beseeched him, saying, O our Lord Jesus, son of Mary, thou art truly that good shepherd of Israel! have mercy on thy handmaids, who stand before thee, who do not doubt, but that thou, O Lord, art come to save, and not to destroy.

9 After that, when the Lord Jesus said, the children of Israel are like Ethiopians among the people; the women said, Thou, Lord, knowest all things, nor is any thing concealed from thee; but now we entreat thee, and beseech of thy mercy that thou wouldst restore those boys to their former state.

10 Then Jesus said, Come hither O boys, that we may go and play; and immediately, in the presence of these women, the kids were changed and returned into the shape of boys.

1 ARABIC INFANCY GOSPEL CHAPTER 18

Jesus becomes the king of his playfellows, and they crown him with flowers, miraculously causes a serpent who had bitten Simon the Cananite, then a boy, to suck our all the poison again;6 the serpent bursts, and Christ restores the boy to health.

1 In the month Adar Jesus gathered together the boys, and ranked them as though he had been a king.

2 For they spread their garments on the ground for him to sit on; and having made a crown of flowers, put it upon his head, and stood on his right and left as the guards of a king.

3 And if any one happened to pass by, they took him by force, and said, Come hither, and worship the king, that you may have a prosperous journey.

4 In the mean time, while these things were doing, there came certain men, carrying a boy upon a couch;

5 For this boy having gone with his companions to the mountain to gather wood, and having found there a partridge's nest, and put his hand in to take out the eggs, was stung by a poisonous serpent, which leaped out of the nest; so that he was forced to cry out for the help of his companions: who, when they came, found him lying upon the earth like a dead person.

6 After which his neighbours came and carried him back into the city.

7 But when they came to the place where the Lord Jesus was sitting like a king, and the other boys stood around him like his ministers, the boys made haste to meet him, who was bitten by the serpent, and said to his neighbours, Come and pay your respects to the king;

8 But when, by reason of their sorrow, they refused to come, the boys drew them, and forced them against their wills to come.

9 And when they came to the Lord Jesus, he inquired, On what account they carried that boy?

10 And when they answered, that a serpent had bitten him, the Lord Jesus said to the boys, Let us go and kill that serpent.

11 But when the parents of the boy desired to be excused, because their son lay at the point of death; the boys made answer, and said, Did not ye hear what the king said? Let us go and kill the serpent; and will not ye obey him?

12 So they brought the couch back again, whether they would or not.

13 And when they were come to the nest, the Lord Jesus said to the boys, Is this the serpent's lurking place? They said, It was.

14 Then the Lord Jesus calling the serpent, it presently came forth and submitted to him; to whom he said, Go and suck out all the poison which thou hast infused into that boy;

15 So the serpent crept to the boy, and took away all its poison again.

16 Then the Lord Jesus cursed the serpent so that it immediately burst asunder, and died.

17 And he touched the boy with his hand to restore him to his former health;

18 And when he began to cry, the Lord Jesus said, Cease crying, for hereafter thou shalt be my disciple;

19 And this is that Simon the Canaanite, who is mentioned in the Gospel.

1 ARABIC INFANCY GOSPEL CHAPTER 19

James being bitten by a viper, Jesus blows on the wound and cures him.. Jesus charged with throwing a boy from the roof of a house,0 miraculously causes the dead boy to acquit Mm,2 fetches water for his mother, breaks the pitcher and miraculously gathers the water in his mantle and brings it home,6 makes fish-pools on the Sabbath,0 causes a boy to die who broke them down,2 another boy run against him, whom he also causes to die.

1 On another day Joseph sent his son James to gather wood and the Lord Jesus went with him;

2 And when they came to the place where the wood was, and James began to gather it, behold, a venomous viper bit him, so that he began to cry, and make a noise.

3 The Lord Jesus seeing him in this condition, came to him, and blowed upon the place where the viper had bit him, and it was instantly well.

4 On a certain day the Lord Jesus was with some boys, who were playing on the housetop, and one of the boys fell down, and presently died.

5 Upon which the other boys all running away, the Lord Jesus was left alone on the house-top.

6 And the boy's relations came to him and said to the Lord Jesus, Thou didst throw our son down from the housetop.

7 But he denying it, they cried out, Our son is dead, and this is he who killed him.

8 The Lord Jesus replied to them, Do not charge me with a crime, of which you are not able to convict me, but let us go ask the boy himself, who will bring the truth to light.

9 Then the Lord Jesus going down stood over the head of the dead boy, and said with a loud voice, Zeinunus, Zeinunus, who threw thee down from the housetop?

10 Then the dead boy answered, thou didst not throw me down, but such a one did.

11 And when the Lord Jesus bade those who stood by to take notice of his words, all who were present praised God on account of that miracle.

12 On a certain time the Lady St. Mary had commanded the Lord Jesus to fetch her some water out of the well;

13 And when he had gone to fetch the water, the pitcher, when it was brought up full, brake.

14 But Jesus spreading his mantle gathered up the water again, and brought it in that to his mother.

15 Who, being astonished at this wonderful thing, laid up this, and all the other things which she had seen, in her memory.

16 Again on another day the Lord Jesus was with some boys by a river and they drew water out of the river by little channels, and made little fish-pools.

17 But the Lord Jesus had made twelve sparrows, and placed them about his pool on each side, three on a side.

18 But it was the Sabbath day, and the son of Hanani a Jew came by, and saw them making these things, and said, Do ye thus make figures of clay on the Sabbath? And he ran to them, and broke down their fish-pools.

19 But when the Lord Jesus clapped his hands over the sparrows which he had made, they fled away chirping.

20 At length the son of Hanani coming to the fish-pool of Jesus to destroy it, the water vanished away, and the Lord Jesus said to him,

21 In like manner as this water has vanished, so shall thy life vanish; and presently the boy died.

22 Another time, when the Lord Jesus was coming home in the evening with Joseph, he met a boy, who ran so hard against him, that he threw him down;

23 To whom the Lord Jesus said, As thou hast thrown me down, so shalt thou fall, nor ever rise.

24 And that moment the boy fell down and died.

1 ARABIC INFANCY GOSPEL CHAPTER 20

Sent to school to Zaccheus to learn his letters, and teaches Zaccheus.3 Sent to another schoolmaster.4 refuses to tell his letters, and the schoolmaster going to whip him his hand withers and he dies.

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1 There was also at Jerusalem one named Zaccheus, who was a schoolmaster.
2 And he said to Joseph, Joseph, why dost thou not send Jesus to me, that he may learn his letters?
3 Joseph agreed, and told St. Mary;
4 So they brought him to that master; who, as soon as he saw him, wrote out an alphabet for him.
5 And he bade him say Aleph; and when he had said Aleph, the master bade him pronounce Beth.
6 Then the Lord Jesus said to him, Tell me first the meaning of the letter Aleph, and then I will pronounce Beth.
7 And when the master threatened to whip him, the Lord Jesus explained to him the meaning of the letters Aleph and Beth;
8 Also which were the straight figures of the letters, which the oblique, and what letters had double figures; which had points, and which had none; why one letter went before another; and many other things he began to tell him, and explain, of which the master himself had never heard, nor read in any book.
9 The Lord Jesus farther said to the master, Take notice how I say to thee; then he began clearly and distinctly to say Aleph, Beth, Gimel, Daleth, and so on to the end of the alphabet.
10 At this the master was so surprised, that he said, I believe this boy was born before Noah;
11 And turning to Joseph, he said, Thou hast brought a boy to me to be taught, who is more learned than any master.
12 He said also unto St. Mary, This your son has no need of any learning.
13 They brought him then to a more learned master, who, when he saw him, said, say Aleph.
14 And when he had said Aleph, the master bade him pronounce Beth; to which the Lord Jesus replied, Tell me first the meaning of the letter Aleph, and then I will pronounce Beth.
15 But this master, when he lift up his hand to whip him, had his hand presently withered, and he died.
16 Then said Joseph to St. Mary, henceforth we will not allow him to go out of the house; for every one who displeases him is killed.

1 ARABIC INFANCY GOSPEL CHAPTER 21
Disputes miraculously with the doctors in the temple, on law, on astronomy,2 on physics and metaphysics,1 is worshipped by a philosopher,8 and fetched home by his mother.
1 And when he was twelve years old, they brought him to Jerusalem to the feast; and when the feast was over, they returned.
2 But the Lord Jesus continued behind in the temple among the doctors and elders, and learned men of Israel; to whom he proposed several questions of learning, and also gave them answers:
3 For he said to them, Whose son is the Messiah? They answered, the son of David:
4 Why then, said he, does he in the spirit call him Lord? when he saith, The Lord said to my Lord, sit thou at my right hand, till I have made thine enemies thy footstool.
5 Then a certain principal Rabbi asked him, Hast thou read books?
6 Jesus answered, he had read both books, and the things which were contained in books.
7 And he explained to them the books of the law, and precepts, and statutes: and the mysteries which are contained in the books of the prophets; things which the mind of no creature could reach.
8 Then said that Rabbi, I never yet have seen or heard of such knowledge! What do you think that boy will be!
9 When a certain astronomer, who was present, asked the Lord Jesus, Whether he had studied astronomy?
10 The Lord Jesus replied, and told him the number of the spheres and heavenly bodies, as also their triangular, square, and sextile aspect; their progressive and retrograde motion; their size and several prognostications; and other things which the reason of man had never discovered.
11 There was also among them a philosopher well skilled in physic and natural philosophy, who asked the Lord Jesus, Whether he had studied physic?
12 He replied, and explained to him physics and metaphysics.
13 Also those things which were above and below the power of nature;
14 The powers also of the body, its humours, and their effects.
15 Also the number of its members, and bones, veins, arteries, and nerves;
16 The several constitutions of body, hot and dry, cold and moist, and the tendencies of them;
17 How the soul operated upon the body;
18 What its various sensations and faculties were;
19 The faculty of speaking, anger, desire;
20 And lastly the manner of its composition and dissolution; and other things, which the understanding of no creature had ever reached.
21 Then that philosopher arose, and worshipped the Lord Jesus, and said, O Lord Jesus, from henceforth I will be thy disciple and servant.
22 While they were discoursing on these and such like things, the Lady St. Mary came in, having been three days walking about with Joseph, seeking for him.
23 And when she saw him sitting among the doctors, and in his turn proposing questions to them, and giving answers, she said to him, My son, why hast thou done thus by us? Behold I and thy father have been at much pains in seeking thee.
24 He replied, Why did ye seek me? Did ye not know that I ought to be employed in my father's house?
25 But they understood not the words which he said to them.
26 Then the doctors asked Mary, Whether this was her son? And when she said, He was, they said, O happy Mary, who hast borne such a son.
27 Then he returned with them to Nazareth, and obeyed them in all things.
28 And his mother kept all these things in her mind;
29 And the Lord Jesus grew in stature and wisdom, and favour with God and man.

1 ARABIC INFANCY GOSPEL CHAPTER 22
Conceals his miracles, studies the law and is baptised.
1 Now from this time Jesus began to conceal his miracles and secret works,
2 And he gave himself to the study of the law, till he arrived to the end of his thirtieth year;
3 At which time the Father publicly owned him at Jordan, sending down this voice from heaven, This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased;
4 The Holy Ghost being also present in the form of a dove.
5 This is he whom we worship with all reverence, because he gave us our life and being, and brought us from our mother's womb.
6 Who, for our sakes, took a human body, and hath redeemed us, so that he might so embrace us with everlasting mercy, and shew his free, large, bountiful grace and goodness to us.
7 To him be glory and praise, and power, and dominion, from henceforth and for evermore, Amen.
The end of the whole Gospel of the Infancy, by the assistance of the Supreme God, according to what we found in the original.

Document 2:

THE SECOND ARABIC GOSPEL
The Arabic Gospel of the Infancy of the Saviour.
From: Ante-Nicene Fathers Vol. VIII, Apocrypha
of the New Testament; Author: Anonymous
Translation: Alexander Walker, 1885
Estimated Range of Dating: 180-250 A.D.

In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, one God.
With the help and favour of the Most High we begin to write a book of the miracles of our Lord and Master and Saviour Jesus Christ, which is called the Gospel of the Infancy: in the peace of the Lord. Amen.

1 We find what follows in the book of Joseph the high priest, who lived in the time of Christ. Some say that he is Caiaphas. He has said that Jesus spoke, and, indeed, when He was lying in His cradle said to Mary His mother: I am Jesus, the Son of God, the Logos, whom thou hast brought forth, as the Angel Gabriel announced to thee; and my Father has sent me for the salvation of the world.
2 In the three hundred and ninth year of the era of Alexander, Augustus put forth an edict, that every man should be enrolled in his native place. Joseph therefore arose, and taking Mary his spouse, went away to Jerusalem, and came to Bethlehem, to be enrolled along with his family in his native city. And having come to a cave, Mary told Joseph that the time of the birth was at hand, and that she could not go into the city; but, said she, let us go into this cave. This took place at sunset. And Joseph went out in haste to go for a woman to be near her. When, therefore, he was busy about that, he saw an Hebrew old woman belonging to Jerusalem, and said: Come hither, my good woman, and go into this cave, in which there is a woman near her time.
3 Wherefore, after sunset, the old woman, and Joseph with her, came to the cave, and they both went in. And, behold, it was filled with lights more beautiful than the gleaming of lamps and candles, and more splendid than the light of the sun. The child, enwrapped in swaddling clothes, was sucking the breast of the Lady Mary His mother, being placed in a stall. And when both were wondering at this light, the old woman asks the Lady Mary: Art thou the mother of this Child? And when the Lady Mary gave her assent, she says: Thou art not at all like the daughters of Eve. The Lady Mary said: As my son has no equal among children, so his mother has no equal among women. The old woman replied: My mistress, I came to get payment; I have been for a long time affected with palsy. Our mistress the Lady Mary said to her: Place thy hands upon the child. And the old woman did so, and was immediately cured. Then she went forth, saying: Henceforth I will be the attendant and servant of this child all the days of my life.
4 Then came shepherds; and when they had lighted a fire, and were rejoicing greatly, there appeared to them the hosts of heaven praising and celebrating God Most High. And while the shepherds were doing the same, the cave was at that time made like a temple of the upper world, since both heavenly and earthly voices glorified and magnified God on account of the birth of the Lord Christ. And when that old Hebrew woman saw the manifestation of those miracles, she thanked God, saying: I give Thee thanks, O God, the God of Israel, because mine eyes have seen the birth of the Saviour of the world.
5 And the time of circumcision, that is, the eighth day, being at hand, the child was to be circumcised according to the law. Wherefore they circumcised Him in the cave. And the old Hebrew woman took the piece of skin; but some say that she took the navel-string, and laid it past in a jar of old oil of nard. And she had a son, a dealer in unguents, and she gave it to him, saying: See that thou do not sell this jar of unguent of nard, even although three hundred denarii[5] should be offered thee for it. And this is that jar which Mary the sinner bought and poured upon the head and feet of our Lord Jesus Christ, which thereafter she wiped with the hair of her head. Ten days after, they took Him to Jerusalem; and on the fortieth day after His birth they carried Him into the temple, and set Him before the Lord, and offered sacrifices for Him, according to the commandment of the law of Moses, which is: Every male that openeth the womb shall be called the holy of God.
6 Then old Simeon saw Him shining like a pillar of light, when the Lady Mary, His virgin mother, rejoicing over Him, was carrying Him in her arms. And angels, praising Him, stood round Him in a circle, like life guards standing by a king. Simeon therefore went up in haste to the Lady Mary, and, with hands stretched out before her, said to the Lord Christ: Now, O my Lord, let Thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy word; for mine eyes have seen Thy compassion, which Thou hast prepared for the salvation of all peoples, a light to all nations, and glory to Thy people Israel. Hanna also, a prophetess, was present, and came up, giving thanks to God, and calling the Lady Mary blessed.[9]
7 And it came to pass, when the Lord Jesus was born at Bethlehem of Judaea, in the time of King Herod, behold, magi came from the east to Jerusalem, as Zeraduscht[10] had predicted; and there were with them gifts, gold, and frankincense, and myrrh. And they adored Him, and presented to Him their gifts. Then the Lady Mary took one of the swaddling-bands, and, on account of the smallness of her means, gave it to them; and they received it from her with the greatest marks of honour. And in the same hour there appeared to them an angel in the form of that star which had before guided them on their journey; and they went away, following the guidance of its light, until they arrived in their own country.
8 And their kings and chief men came together to them, asking what they had seen or done, how they had gone and come back, what they had brought with them. And they showed them that swathing-cloth which the Lady Mary had given them. Wherefore they celebrated a feast, and, according to their custom, lighted a fire and worshipped it, and threw that swathing-cloth into it; and the fire laid hold of it, and enveloped it. And when the fire had gone out, they took out the swathing-cloth exactly as it had been before, just as if the fire had not touched it. Wherefore they began to kiss it, and to put it on their heads and their eyes, saying: This verily is the truth without doubt. Assuredly it is a great thing that the fire was not able to burn or destroy it. Then they took it, and with the greatest honour laid it up among their treasures.
9 And when Herod saw that the magi had left him, and not come back to him, he summoned the priests and the wise men, and said to them: Show me where Christ is to be born. And when they answered, In Bethlehem of Judaea, he began to think of putting the Lord Jesus Christ to death. Then appeared an angel of the Lord to Joseph in his sleep, and said: Rise, take the boy and His mother, and go away into Egypt. He rose, therefore, towards cockcrow, and set out.
10 While he is reflecting how he is to set about his journey, morning came upon him after he had gone a very little way. And now he was approaching a great city, in which there was an idol, to which the other idols and gods of the Egyptians offered gifts and vows. And there stood before this idol a priest ministering to him, who, as often as Satan spoke from that idol, reported it to the inhabitants of Egypt and its territories. This priest had a son, three years old, beset by several demons; and he made many speeches and utterances; and when the demons seized him, he tore his clothes, and remained naked, and threw stones at the people. And there

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was a hospital in that city dedicated to that idol. And when Joseph and the Lady Mary had come to the city, and had turned aside into that hospital, the citizens were very much afraid; and all the chief men and the priests of the idols came together to that idol, and said to it: What agitation and commotion is this that has arisen in our land? The idol answered them: A God has come here in secret, who is God indeed; nor is any god besides Him worthy of divine worship, because He is truly the Son of God. And when this land became aware of His presence, it trembled at His arrival, and was moved and shaken; and we are exceedingly afraid from the greatness of His power. And in the same hour that idol fell down, and at its fall all, inhabitants of Egypt and others, ran together.

11 And the son of the priest, his usual disease having come upon him, entered the hospital, and there came upon Joseph and the Lady Mary, from whom all others had fled. The Lady Mary had washed the cloths of the Lord Christ, and had spread them over some wood. That demoniac boy, therefore, came and took one of the cloths, and put it on his head. Then the demons, fleeing in the shape of ravens and serpents, began to go forth out of his mouth. The boy, being immediately healed at the command of the Lord Christ, began to praise God, and then to give thanks to the Lord who had healed him. And when his father saw him restored to health, My son, said he, what has happened to thee? and by what means hast thou been healed? The son answered: When the demons had thrown me on the ground, I went into the hospital, and there I found an august woman with a boy, whose newly-washed cloths she had thrown upon some wood: one of these I took up and put upon my head, and the demons left me and fled. At this the father rejoiced greatly, and said: My son, it is possible that this boy is the Son of the living God who created the heavens and the earth: for when he came over to us, the idol was broken, and all the gods fell, and perished by the power of his magnificence.

12 Here was fulfilled the prophecy which says, Out of Egypt have I called my son. Joseph indeed, and Mary, when they heard that that idol had fallen down and perished, trembled, and were afraid. Then they said: When we were in the land of Israel, Herod thought to put Jesus to death, and on that account slew all the children of Bethlehem and its confines; and there is no doubt that the Egyptians, as soon as they have heard that this idol has been broken, will burn us with fire.[14]

13 Going out thence, they came to a place where there were robbers who had plundered several men of their baggage and clothes, and had bound them. Then the robbers heard a great noise, like the noise of a magnificent king going out of his city with his army, and his chariots and his drums; and at this the robbers were terrified, and left all their plunder. And their captives rose up, loosed each other's bonds, recovered their baggage, and went away. And when they saw Joseph and Mary coming up to the place, they said to them: Where is that king, at the hearing of the magnificent sound of whose approach the robbers have left us, so that we have escaped safe? Joseph answered them: He will come behind us.

14 Thereafter they came into another city, where there was a demoniac woman whom Satan, accursed and rebellious, had beset, when on one occasion she had gone out by night for water. She could neither bear clothes, nor live in a house; and as often as they tied her up with chains and thongs, she broke them, and fled naked into waste places; and, standing in cross-roads and cemeteries, she kept throwing stones at people, and brought very heavy calamities upon her friends. And when the Lady Mary saw her, she pitied her; and upon this Satan immediately left her, and fled away in the form of a young man, saying: Woe to me from thee, Mary, and from thy son. So that woman was cured of her torment, and being restored to her senses, she blushed on account of her nakedness; and shunning the sight of men, went home to her friends. And after she put on her clothes, she gave an account of the matter to her father and her friends; and as they were the chief men of the city, they received the Lady Mary and Joseph with the greatest honour and hospitality.

15 On the day after, being supplied by them with provision for their journey, they went away, and on the evening of that day arrived at another town, in which they were celebrating a marriage; but, by the arts of accursed Satan and the work of enchanters, the bride had become dumb, and could not speak a word. And after the Lady Mary entered the town, carrying her son the Lord Christ, that dumb bride saw her, and stretched out her hands towards the Lord Christ, and drew Him to her, and took Him into her arms, and held Him close and kissed Him, and leaned over Him, moving His body back and forwards. Immediately the knot of her tongue was loosened, and her ears were opened; and she gave thanks and praise to God, because He had restored her to health. And that night the inhabitants of that town exulted with joy, and thought that God and His angels had come down to them.

16 There they remained three days, being held in great honour, and living splendidly. Thereafter, being supplied by them with provision for their journey, they went away and came to another city, in which, because it was very populous, they thought of passing the night. And there was in that city an excellent woman: and once, when she had gone to the river to bathe, lo, accursed Satan, in the form of a serpent, had leapt upon her, and twisted himself round her belly; and as often as night came on, he tyrannically tormented her. This woman, seeing the mistress the Lady Mary, and the child, the Lord Christ, in her bosom, was struck with a longing for Him, and said to the mistress the Lady Mary: O mistress, give me this child, that I may carry him, and kiss him. She therefore gave Him to the woman; and when He was brought to her, Satan let her go, and fled and left her, nor did the woman ever see him after that day. Wherefore all who were present praised God Most High, and that woman bestowed on them liberal gifts.

17 On the day after, the same woman took scented water to wash the Lord Jesus; and after she had washed Him, she took the water with which she had done it, and poured part of it upon a girl who was living there, whose body was white with leprosy, and washed her with it. And as soon as this was done, the girl was cleansed from her leprosy. And the townspeople said: There is no doubt that Joseph and Mary and that boy are gods, not men. And when they were getting ready to go away from them, the girl who had laboured under the leprosy came up to them, and asked them to let her go with them.

18 When they had given her permission, she went with them. And afterwards they came to a city, in which was the castle of a most illustrious prince, who kept a house for the entertainment of strangers. They turned into this place; and the girl went away to the prince's wife; and she found her weeping and sorrowful, and she asked why she was weeping. Do not be surprised, said she, at my tears; for I am overwhelmed by a great affliction, which as yet I have not endured to tell to any one. Perhaps, said the girl, if you reveal it and disclose it to me, I may have a remedy for it. Hide this secret, then, replied the princess, and tell it to no one. I was married to this prince, who is a king and ruler over many cities, and I lived long with him, but by me he had no son. And when at length I produced him a son, he was leprous; and as soon as he saw him, he turned away with loathing, and said to me: Either kill him, or give him to the nurse to be brought up in some place from which we shall never hear of him more. After this I can have nothing to do with thee, and I will never see thee more. On this account I know not what to do, and I am overwhelmed with grief. Alas! my son. Alas! my husband. Did I not say so? said the girl. I have found a cure for thy disease, and I shall tell it thee. For I too was a leper; but I was cleansed by God, who is Jesus, the son of the Lady Mary. And the woman asking her where this God was whom she had spoken of, Here, with thee, said the girl; He is living in the same house. But how is this possible? said she. Where is he? There, said the girl, are Joseph and Mary; and the child who is with them is called Jesus; and He it is who cured me of my disease and my torment. But by what means, said she, wast thou cured of thy leprosy? Wilt thou not tell me that? Why not? said the girl. I got from His mother the water in which He had been washed, and poured it over myself; and so I was cleansed from my leprosy. Then the princess rose up, and invited them to avail themselves of her hospitality. And she prepared a splendid banquet for Joseph in a great assembly of the men of the place. And on the following day she took scented water with which to wash the Lord Jesus, and thereafter poured the same water over her son, whom she had taken with her; and immediately her son was cleansed from his leprosy. Therefore, singing thanks and praises to God, she said: Blessed is the mother who bore thee, O Jesus; dost thou so cleanse those who share the same nature with thee with the water in which thy body has been washed? Besides, she bestowed great gifts upon the mistress the Lady Mary, and sent her away with great honour.

19 Coming thereafter to another city, they wished to spend the night in it. They turned aside, therefore, to the house of a man newly married, but who, under the influence of witchcraft, was not able to enjoy his wife; and when they had spent that night with him, his bond was loosed. And at daybreak, when they were girding themselves for their journey, the bridegroom would not let them go, and prepared for them a great banquet.

20 They set out, therefore, on the following day; and as they came near another city, they saw three women weeping as they came out of a cemetery. And when the Lady Mary beheld them, she said to the girl who accompanied her: Ask them what is the matter with them, or what calamity has befallen them. And to the girl's questions they made no reply, but asked in their turn: Whence are you, and whither are you going? for the day is already past, and night is coming on apace. We are travellers, said the girl, and are seeking a house of entertainment in which we may pass the night. They said: Go with us, and spend the night with us. They followed them, therefore, and were brought into a new house with splendid decorations and furniture. Now it was winter; and the girl, going into the chamber of these women, found them again weeping and lamenting. There stood beside them a mule, covered with housings of cloth of gold, and sesame was put before him; and the women were kissing him, and giving him food. And the girl said: What is all the ado, my ladies, about this mule? They answered her with tears, and said: This mule, which thou seest, was our brother, born of the same mother with ourselves. And when our father died, and left us great wealth, and this only brother, we did our best to get him married, and were preparing his nuptials for him, after the manner of men. But some women, moved by mutual jealousy, bewitched him unknown to us; and one night, a little before daybreak, when the door of our house was shut, we saw that this our brother had been turned into a mule, as thou now beholdest him. And we are sorrowful, as thou seest, having no father to comfort us: there is no wise man, or magician, or enchanter in the world that we have omitted to send for; but nothing has done us any good. And as often as our hearts are overwhelmed with grief, we rise and go away with our mother here, and weep at our father's grave, and come back again.

21 And when the girl heard these things, Be of good courage, said she, and weep not: for the cure of your calamity is near; yea, it is beside you, and in the middle of your own house. For I also was a leper; but when I saw that woman, and along with her that young child, whose name is Jesus, I sprinkled my body with the water with which His mother had washed Him, and I was cured. And I know that He can cure your affliction also. But rise, go to Mary my mistress; bring her into your house, and tell her your secret; and entreat and supplicate her to have pity upon you. After the woman had heard the girl's words, they went in haste to the Lady Mary, and brought her into their chamber, and sat down before her weeping, and saying: O our mistress, Lady Mary, have pity on thy hand-maidens; for no one older than ourselves, and no head of the family, is left—neither father nor brother—to live with us; but this mule which thou seest was our brother, and women have made him such as thou seest by witchcraft. We beseech thee, therefore, to have pity upon us. Then, grieving at their lot, the Lady Mary took up the Lord Jesus, and put Him on the mule's back; and she wept as well as the women, and said to Jesus Christ: Alas! my son, heal this mule by Thy mighty power, and make him a man endowed with reason as he was before. And when these words were uttered by the Lady Mary, his form was changed, and the mule became a young man, free from every defect. Then he and his mother and his sisters adored the Lady Mary, and lifted the boy above their heads, and began to kiss Him, saying: Blessed is she that bore Thee, O Jesus, O Saviour of the world; blessed are the eyes which enjoy the felicity of seeing Thee.

22 Moreover, both the sisters said to their mother: Our brother indeed, by the aid of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by the salutary intervention of this girl, who pointed out to us Mary and her son, has been raised to human form. Now, indeed, since our brother is unmarried, it would do very well for us to give him as his wife this girl, their servant. And having asked the Lady Mary, and obtained her consent, they made a splendid wedding for the girl; and their sorrow being changed into joy, and the beating of their breasts into dancing, they began to be glad, to rejoice, to exult, and sing—adorned, on account of their great joy, in most splendid and gorgeous attire. Then they began to recite songs and praises, and to say: O Jesus, son of David, who turnest sorrow into gladness, and lamentations into joy! And Joseph and Mary remained there ten days. Thereafter they set out, treated with great honours by these people, who bade them farewell, and from bidding them farewell returned weeping, especially the girl.

23 And turning away from this place, they came to a desert; and hearing that it was infested by robbers, Joseph and the Lady Mary resolved to cross this region by night. But as they go along, behold, they see two robbers lying in the way, and along with them a great number of robbers, who were their associates, sleeping. Now those two robbers, into whose hands they had fallen, were Titus and Dumachus. Titus therefore said to Dumachus: I beseech thee to let these persons go freely, and so that our comrades may not see them. And as Dumachus refused, Titus said to him again: Take to thyself forty drachmas from me, and hold this as a pledge. At the same time he held out to him the belt which he had about his waist, to keep him from opening his mouth or speaking. And the Lady Mary, seeing that the robber had done them a kindness, said to him: The Lord God will sustain thee by His right hand, and will grant thee remission of thy sins. And the Lord Jesus answered, and said to His mother: Thirty years hence, O my mother, the Jews will crucify me at Jerusalem, and these two robbers will be raised upon the cross along with me, Titus on my right hand and Dumachus on my left; and after that day Titus shall go before me into Paradise. And she said: God keep this from thee, my son. And they went thence towards a city of idols, which, as they came near it, was changed into sand-hills.

24 Hence they turned aside to that sycamore which is now called Matarea, and the Lord Jesus brought forth in Matarea a fountain in which the Lady Mary washed His shirt. And from the sweat of the Lord Jesus which she sprinkled there, balsam was produced in that region.

25 Thence they came down to Memphis, and saw Pharaoh, and remained three years in Egypt; and the Lord Jesus did in

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Egypt very many miracles which are recorded neither in the Gospel of the Infancy nor in the perfect Gospel.

26 And at the end of the three years He came back out of Egypt, and returned. And when they had arrived at Judaea, Joseph was afraid to enter it; but hearing that Herod was dead, and that Archelaus his son had succeeded him, he was afraid indeed, but he went into Judaea. And an angel of the Lord appeared to him, and said: O Joseph, go into the city of Nazareth, and there abide. Wonderful indeed, that the Lord of the world should be thus borne and carried about through the world!

27 Thereafter, going into the city of Bethlehem, they saw there many and grievous diseases infesting the eyes of the children, who were dying in consequence. And a woman was there with a sick son, whom, now very near death, she brought to the Lady Mary, who saw him as she was washing Jesus Christ. Then said the woman to her: O my Lady Mary, look upon this son of mine, who is labouring under a grievous disease. And the Lady Mary listened to her, and said: Take a little of that water in which I have washed my son, and sprinkle him with it. She therefore took a little of the water, as the Lady Mary had told her, and sprinkled it over her son. And when this was done his illness abated; and after sleeping a little, he rose up from sleep safe and sound. His mother rejoicing at this, again took him to the Lady Mary. And she said to her: Give thanks to God, because He hath healed this thy son.

28 There was in the same place another woman, a neighbour of her whose son had lately been restored to health. And as her son was labouring under the same disease, and his eyes were now almost blinded, she wept night and day. And the mother of the child that had been cured said to her: Why dost thou not take thy son to the Lady Mary, as I did with mine when he was nearly dead? And he got well with that water with which the body of her son Jesus had been washed. And when the woman heard this from her, she too went and got some of the same water, and washed her son with it, and his body and his eyes were instantly made well. Her also, when she had brought her son to her, and disclosed to her all that had happened, the Lady Mary ordered to give thanks to God for her son's restoration to health, and to tell nobody of this matter.

29 There were in the same city two women, wives of one man, each having a son ill with fever. The one was called Mary, and her son's name was Cleopas. She rose and took up her son, and went to the Lady Mary, the mother of Jesus, and offering her a beautiful mantle, said: O my Lady Mary, accept this mantle, and for it give me one small bandage. Mary did so, and the mother of Cleopas went away, and made a shirt of it, and put it on her son. So he was cured of his disease; but the son of her rival died. Hence there sprung up hatred between them; and as they did the house-work week about, and as it was the turn of Mary the mother of Cleopas, she heated the oven to bake bread; and going away to bring the lump that she had kneaded, she left her son Cleopas beside the oven. Her rival seeing him alone—and the oven was very hot with the fire blazing under it—seized him and threw him into the oven, and took herself off. Mary coming back, and seeing her son Cleopas lying in the oven laughing, and the oven quite cold, as if no fire had ever come near it, knew that her rival had thrown him into the fire. She drew him out, therefore, and took him to the Lady Mary, and told her of what had happened to him. And she said: Keep silence, and tell nobody of the affair; for I am afraid for you if you divulge it. After this her rival went to the well to draw water; and seeing Cleopas playing beside the well, and nobody near, she seized him and threw him into the well, and went home herself. And some men who had gone to the well for water saw the boy sitting on the surface of the water; and so they went down and drew him out. And they were seized with a great admiration of that boy, and praised God. Then came his mother, and took him up, and went weeping to the Lady Mary, and said: O my lady, see what my rival has done to my son, and how she has thrown him into the well; she will be sure to destroy him some day or other. The Lady Mary said to her: God will avenge thee upon her. Thereafter, when her rival went to the well to draw water, her feet got entangled in the rope, and she fell into the well. Some men came to draw her out, but they found her skull fractured and her bones broken. Thus she died a miserable death, and in her came to pass that saying: They have digged a well deep, but have fallen into the pit which they had prepared.

30 Another woman there had twin sons who had fallen into disease, and one of them died, and the other was at his last breath. And his mother, weeping, lifted him up, and took him to the Lady Mary, and said: O my lady, aid me and succour me. For I had two sons, and I have just buried the one, and the other is at the point of death. See how I am going to entreat and pray to God. And she began to say: O Lord, Thou art compassionate, and merciful, and full of affection. Thou gavest me two sons, of whom Thou hast taken away the one: this one at least leave to me. Wherefore the Lady Mary, seeing the fervour of her weeping, had compassion on her, and said: Put thy son in my son's bed, and cover him with his clothes. And when she had put him in the bed in which Christ was lying, he had already closed his eyes in death; but as soon as the smell of the clothes of the Lord Jesus Christ reached the boy, he opened his eyes, and, calling upon his mother with a loud voice, he asked for bread, and took it and sucked it. Then his mother said: O Lady Mary, now I know that the power of God dwelleth in thee, so that thy son heals those that partake of the same nature with himself, as soon as they have touched his clothes. This boy that was healed is he who in the Gospel is called Bartholomew.

31 Moreover, there was there a leprous woman, and she went to the Lady Mary, the mother of Jesus, and said: My lady, help me. And the Lady Mary answered: What help dost thou seek? Is it gold or silver? or is it that thy body be made clean from the leprosy? And that woman asked: Who can grant me this? And the Lady Mary said to her: Wait a little, until I shall have washed my son Jesus, and put him to bed. The woman waited, as Mary had told her; and when she had put Jesus to bed, she held out to the woman the water in which she had washed His body, and said: Take a little of this water, and pour it over thy body. And as soon as she had done so, she was cleansed, and gave praise and thanks to God.

32 Therefore, after staying with her three days, she went away; and coming to a city, saw there one of the chief men, who had married the daughter of another of the chief men. But when he saw the woman, he beheld between her eyes the mark of leprosy in the shape of a star; and so the marriage was dissolved, and became null and void. And when that woman saw them in this condition, weeping and overwhelmed with sorrow, she asked the cause of their grief. But they said: Inquire not into our condition, for to no one living can we tell our grief, and to none but ourselves can we disclose it. She urged them, however, and entreated them to entrust it to her, saying that she would perhaps be able to tell them of a remedy. And when they showed her the girl, and the sign of leprosy which appeared between her eyes, as soon as she saw it, the woman said: I also, whom you see here, laboured under the same disease, when, upon some business which happened to come in my way, I went to Bethlehem. There going into a cave, I saw a woman named Mary, whose son was he who was named Jesus; and when she saw that I was a leper, she took pity on me, and handed me the water with which she had washed her son's body. With it I sprinkled my body, and came out clean. Then the woman said to her: Wilt thou not, O lady, rise and go with us, and show us the Lady Mary? And she assented; and they rose and went to the Lady Mary, carrying with them splendid gifts. And when they had gone in, and presented to her the gifts, they showed her the leprous girl whom they had brought. The Lady Mary therefore said: May the compassion of the Lord Jesus Christ descend upon you; and handling to them also a little of the water in which she had washed the body of Jesus Christ, she ordered the wretched woman to be bathed in it. And when this had been done, she was immediately cured; and they, and all standing by, praised God. Joyfully therefore they returned to their own city, praising the Lord for what He had done. And when the chief heard that his wife had been cured, he took her home, and made a second marriage, and gave thanks to God for the recovery of his wife's health.

33 There was there also a young woman afflicted by Satan; for that accursed wretch repeatedly appeared to her in the form of a huge dragon, and prepared to swallow her. He also sucked out all her blood, so that she was left like a corpse. As often as he came near her, she, with her hands clasped over her head, cried out, and said: Woe, woe's me, for nobody is near to free me from that accursed dragon. And her father and mother, and all who were about her or saw her, bewailed her lot; and men stood round her in a crowd, and all wept and lamented, especially when she wept, and said: Oh, my brethren and friends, is there no one to free me from that murderer? And the daughter of the chief who had been healed of her leprosy, hearing the girl's voice, went up to the roof of her castle, and saw her with her hands clasped over her head weeping, and all the crowds standing round her weeping as well. She therefore asked the demoniac's husband whether his wife's mother were alive. And when he answered that both her parents were living, she said: Send for her mother to come to me. And when she saw that he had sent for her, and she had come, she said: Is that distracted girl thy daughter? Yes, O lady, said that sorrowful and weeping woman, she is my daughter. The chief's daughter answered: Keep my secret, for I confess to thee that I was formerly a leper; but now the Lady Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ, has healed me. But if thou wishest thy daughter to be healed, take her to Bethlehem, and seek Mary the mother of Jesus, and believe that thy daughter will be healed; I indeed believe that thou wilt come back with joy, with thy daughter healed. As soon as the woman heard the words of the chief's daughter, she led away her daughter in haste; and going to the place indicated, she went to the Lady Mary, and revealed to her the state of her daughter. And the Lady Mary hearing her words, gave her a little of the water in which she had washed the body of her son Jesus, and ordered her to pour it on the body of her daughter. She gave her also from the clothes of the Lord Jesus a swathing-cloth, saying: Take this cloth, and show it to thine enemy as often as thou shalt see him. And she saluted them, and sent them away.

34 When, therefore, they had gone away from her, and returned to their own district, and the time was at hand at which Satan was wont to attack her, at this very time that accursed one appeared to her in the shape of a huge dragon, and the girl was afraid at the sight of him. And her mother said to her: Fear not, my daughter; allow him to come near thee, and then show him the cloth which the Lady Mary hath given us, and let us see what will happen. Satan, therefore, having come near in the likeness of a terrible dragon, the body of the girl shuddered for fear of him; but as soon as she took out the cloth, and placed it on her head, and covered her eyes with it, flames and live coals began to dart forth from it, and to be cast upon the dragon. O the great miracle which was done as soon as the dragon saw the cloth of the Lord Jesus, from which the fire darted, and was cast upon his head and eyes! He cried out with a loud voice: What have I to do with thee, O Jesus, son of Mary? Whither shall I fly from thee? And with great fear he turned his back and departed from the girl, and never afterwards appeared to her. And the girl now had rest from him, and gave praise and thanks to God, and along with her all who were present at that miracle.

35 Another woman was living in the same place, whose son was tormented by Satan. He, Judas by name, as often as Satan seized him, used to bite all who came near him; and if he found no one near him, he used to bite his own hands and other limbs. The mother of this wretched creature, then, hearing the fame of the Lady Mary and her son Jesus, rose up and brought her son Judas with her to the Lady Mary. In the meantime, James and Joses had taken the child the Lord Jesus with them to play with the other children; and they had gone out of the house and sat down, and the Lord Jesus with them. And the demoniac Judas came up, and sat down at Jesus' right hand: then, being attacked by Satan in the same manner as usual, he wished to bite the Lord Jesus, but was not able; nevertheless he struck Jesus on the right side, whereupon He began to weep. And immediately Satan went forth out of that boy, fleeing like a mad dog. And this boy who struck Jesus, and out of whom Satan went forth in the shape of a dog, was Judas Iscariot, who betrayed Him to the Jews; and that same side on which Judas struck Him, the Jews transfixed with a lance.

36 Now, when the Lord Jesus had completed seven years from His birth, on a certain day He was occupied with boys of His own age. For they were playing among clay, from which they were making images of asses, oxen, birds, and other animals; and each one boasting of his skill, was praising his own work. Then the Lord Jesus said to the boys: The images that I have made I will order to walk. The boys asked Him whether then he were the son of the Creator; and the Lord Jesus bade them walk. And they immediately began to leap; and then, when He had given them leave, they again stood still. And He had made figures of birds and sparrows, which flew when He told them to fly, and stood still when He told them to stand, and ate and drank when He handed them food and drink. After the boys had gone away and told this to their parents, their fathers said to them: My sons, take care not to keep company with him again, for he is a wizard: flee from him, therefore, and avoid him, and do not play with him again after this.

37 On a certain day the Lord Jesus, running about and playing with the boys, passed the shop of a dyer, whose name was Salem; and he had in his shop many pieces of cloth which he was to dye. The Lord Jesus then, going into his shop, took up all the pieces of cloth, and threw them into a tub full of indigo. And when Salem came and saw his cloths destroyed, he began to cry out with a loud voice, and to reproach Jesus, saying: Why hast thou done this to me, O son of Mary? Thou hast disgraced me before all my townsmen: for, seeing that every one wished the colour that suited himself, thou indeed hast come and destroyed them all. The Lord Jesus answered: I shall change for thee the colour of any piece of cloth which thou shalt wish to be changed. And immediately He began to take the pieces of cloth out of the tub, each of them of that colour which the dyer wished, until He had taken them all out. When the Jews saw this miracle and prodigy, they praised God.

38 And Joseph used to go about through the whole city, and take the Lord Jesus with him, when people sent for him in the way of his trade to make for them doors, and milk-pails, and beds, and chests; and the Lord Jesus was with him wherever he went. As often, therefore, as Joseph had to make anything a cubit or a span longer or shorter, wider or narrower, the Lord Jesus stretched His hand towards it; and as soon as He did so, it became such as Joseph wished. Nor was it necessary for him to make anything with his own hand, for Joseph was not very skilful in carpentry.

39 Now, on a certain day, the king of Jerusalem sent for him, and said: I wish thee, Joseph, to make for me a throne to fit that place in which I usually sit. Joseph obeyed, and began the work immediately, and remained in the palace two years, until he finished the work of that throne. And when he had it carried to its place, he perceived that each side wanted two spans of the prescribed measure. And the king, seeing this,

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was angry with Joseph; and Joseph, being in great fear of the king, spent the night without supper, nor did he taste anything at all. Then, being asked by the Lord Jesus why he was afraid, Joseph said: Because I have spoiled all the work that I have been two years at. And the Lord Jesus said to him: Fear not, and do not lose heart; but do thou take hold of one side of the throne; I shall take the other; and we shall put that to rights. And Joseph, having done as the Lord Jesus had said and each having drawn by his own side, the throne was put to rights, and brought to the exact measure of the place. And those that stood by and saw this miracle were struck with astonishment, and praised God. And the woods used in that throne were of those which are celebrated in the time of Solomon the son of David; that is, woods of many and various kinds.

40 On another day the Lord Jesus went out into the road, and saw the boys that had come together to play, and followed them; but the boys hid themselves from Him. The Lord Jesus, therefore, having come to the door of a certain house, and seen some women standing there, asked them where the boys had gone; and when they answered that there was no one there, He said again: Who are these whom you see in the furnace? They replied that they were kids of three years old. And the Lord Jesus cried out, and said: Come out hither, O kids, to your Shepherd. Then the boys, in the form of kids, came out, and began to dance round Him; and the women, seeing this, were very much astonished, and were seized with trembling, and speedily supplicated and adored the Lord Jesus, saying: O our Lord Jesus, son of Mary, Thou art of a truth that good Shepherd of Israel; have mercy on Thy handmaidens who stand before Thee, and who have never doubted: for Thou hast come, O our Lord, to heal, and not to destroy. And when the Lord Jesus answered that the sons of Israel were like the Ethiopians among the nations, the women said: Thou, O Lord, knowest all things, nor is anything hid from Thee; now, indeed, we beseech Thee, and ask Thee of Thy affection to restore these boys Thy servants to their former condition. The Lord Jesus therefore said: Come, boys, let us go and play. And immediately, while these women were standing by, the kids were changed into boys.

41 Now in the month Adar, Jesus, after the manner of a king, assembled the boys together. They spread their clothes on the ground, and He sat down upon them. Then they put on His head a crown made of flowers, and, like chamber-servants, stood in His presence, on the right and on the left, as if He were a king. And whoever passed by that way was forcibly dragged by the boys, saying: Come hither, and adore the king; then go thy way.

42 In the meantime, while these things were going on, some men came up carrying a boy. For this boy had gone into the mountain with those of his own age to seek wood, and there he found a partridge's nest; and when he stretched out his hand to take the eggs from it, a venomous serpent bit him from the middle of the nest, so that he called out for help. His comrades accordingly went to him with haste, and found him lying on the ground like one dead. Then his relations came and took him up to carry him back to the city. And after they had come to that place where the Lord Jesus was sitting like a king, and the rest of the boys standing round Him like His servants, the boys went hastily forward to meet him who had been bitten by the serpent, and said to his relations: Come and salute the king. But when they were unwilling to go, on account of the sorrow in which they were, the boys dragged them by force against their will. And when they had come up to the Lord Jesus, He asked them why they were carrying the boy. And when they answered that a serpent had bitten him, the Lord Jesus said to the boys: Let us go and kill that serpent. And the parents of the boy asked leave to go away, because their son was in the agony of death; but the boys answered them, saying: Did you not hear the king saying: Let us go kill the serpent? and will you not obey him? And so, against their will the couch was carried back. And when they came to the nest, the Lord Jesus said to the boys: Is this the serpent's place? They said that it was; and the serpent, at the call of the Lord, came forth without delay, and submitted itself to Him. And He said to it: Go away, and suck out all the poison which thou hast infused into this boy. And so the serpent crawled to the boy, and sucked out all its poison. Then the Lord Jesus cursed it, and immediately on this being done it burst asunder; and the Lord Jesus stroked the boy with his hand, and he was healed. And he began to weep; but Jesus said: Do not weep, for by and by thou shalt be my disciple. And this is Simon the Cananite, of whom mention is made in the Gospel.

43 On another day, Joseph sent his son James to gather wood, and the Lord Jesus went with him as his companion. And when they had come to the place where the wood was, and James had begun to gather it, behold, a venomous viper bit his hand, so that he began to cry out and weep. The Lord Jesus then, seeing him in this condition, went up to him, and blew upon the place where the viper had bitten him; and this being done, he was healed immediately.

44 One day, when the Lord Jesus was again with the boys playing on the roof of a house, one of the boys fell down from above, and immediately expired. And the rest of the boys fled in all directions, and the Lord Jesus was left alone on the roof. And the relations of the boy came up and said to the Lord Jesus: It was thou who didst throw our son headlong from the roof. And when He denied it, they cried out, saying: Our son is dead, and here is he who has killed him. And the Lord Jesus said to them: Do not bring an evil report against me; but if you do not believe me, come and let us ask the boy himself, that he may bring the truth to light. Then the Lord Jesus went down, and standing over the dead body, said, with a loud voice: Zeno, Zeno, who threw thee down from the roof? Then the dead boy answered and said: My lord, it was not thou who didst throw me down, but such a one cast me down from it. And when the Lord commanded those who were standing by to attend to His words, all who were present praised God for this miracle.

45 Once upon a time the Lady Mary had ordered the Lord Jesus to go and bring her water from the well. And when He had gone to get the water, the pitcher already full was knocked against something, and broken. And the Lord Jesus stretched out His handkerchief, and collected the water, and carried it to His mother; and she was astonished at it. And she hid and preserved in her heart all that she saw.

46 Again, on another day, the Lord Jesus was with the boys at a stream of water, and they had again made little fish-ponds. And the Lord Jesus had made twelve sparrows, and had arranged them round His fish-pond, three on each side. And it was the Sabbath-day. Wherefore a Jew, the son of Hanan, coming up, and seeing them thus engaged, said in anger and great indignation: Do you make figures of clay on the Sabbath-day? And he ran quickly, and destroyed their fish-ponds. But when the Lord Jesus clapped His hands over the sparrows which He had made, they flew away chirping. Then the son of Hanan came up to the fish-pond of Jesus also, and kicked it with his shoes, and the water of it vanished away. And the Lord Jesus said to him: As that water has vanished away, so thy life shall likewise vanish away. And immediately that boy dried up.

47 At another time, when the Lord Jesus was returning home with Joseph in the evening, He met a boy, who ran up against Him with so much force that He fell. And the Lord Jesus said to him: As thou hast thrown me down, so thou shalt fall and not rise again. And the same hour the boy fell down, and expired.

48 There was, moreover, at Jerusalem, a certain man named Zacchæus, who taught boys. He said to Joseph: Why, O Joseph, dost thou not bring Jesus to the to learn his letters? Joseph agreed to do so, and reported the matter to the Lady Mary. They therefore took Him to the master; and he, as soon as he saw Him, wrote out the alphabet for Him, and told Him to say Aleph. And when He had said Aleph, the master ordered Him to pronounce Beth. And the Lord Jesus said to him: Tell me first the meaning of the letter Aleph, and then I shall pronounce Beth. And when the master threatened to flog Him, the Lord Jesus explained to him the meanings of the letters Aleph and Beth; also which figures of the letter were straight, which crooked, which drawn round into a spiral, which marked with points, which without them, why one letter went before another; and many other things He began to recount and to elucidate which the master himself had never either heard or read in any book. The Lord Jesus, moreover, said to the master: Listen, and I shall say them to thee. And He began clearly and distinctly to repeat Aleph, Beth, Gimel, Daleth, on to Tau. And the master was astonished, and said: I think that this boy was born before Noah. And turning to Joseph, he said: Thou hast brought to me to be taught a boy more learned than all the masters. To the Lady Mary also he said: This son of thine has no need of instruction.

49 Thereafter they took Him to another and a more learned master, who, when he saw Him, said: Say Aleph. And when He had said Aleph, the master ordered him to pronounce Beth. And the Lord Jesus answered him, and said: First tell me the meaning of the letter Aleph, and then I shall pronounce Beth. And when the master hereupon raised his hand and flogged Him, immediately his hand dried up, and he died. Then said Joseph, to the Lady Mary: From this time we shall not let him go out of the house, since every one who opposes him is struck dead.

50 And when He was twelve years old, they took Him to Jerusalem to the feast. And when the feast was finished, they indeed returned; but the Lord Jesus remained in the temple among the teachers and elders and learned men of the sons of Israel, to whom He put various questions upon the sciences, and gave answers in His turn. For He said to them: Whose son is the Messias? They answered Him: The son of David. Wherefore then, said He, does he in the Spirit call him his lord, when he says, The Lord said to my lord, Sit at my right hand, that I may put thine enemies under thy footsteps? Again the chief of the teachers said to Him: Hast thou read the books? Both the books, said the Lord Jesus, and the things contained in the books. And He explained the books, and the law, and the precepts, and the statutes, and the mysteries, which are contained in the books of the prophets—things which the understanding of no creature attains to. That teacher therefore said: I hitherto have neither attained to nor heard of such knowledge: Who, pray, do you think that boy will be?

51 And a philosopher who was there present, a skilful astronomer, asked the Lord Jesus whether He had studied astronomy. And the Lord Jesus answered him, and explained the number of the spheres, and of the heavenly bodies, their natures and operations; their opposition; their aspect, triangular, square, and sextile; their course, direct and retrograde; the twenty-fourths, and sixtieths of twenty-fourths; and other things beyond the reach of reason.

52 There was also among those philosophers one very skilled in treating of natural science, and he asked the Lord Jesus whether He had studied medicine. And He, in reply, explained to him physics and metaphysics, hyperphysics and hypophysics, the powers likewise and humours of the body, and the effects of the same; also the number of members and bones, of veins, arteries, and nerves; also the effect of heat and dryness, of cold and moisture, and what these give rise to; what was the operation of the soul upon the body, and its perceptions and powers; what was the operation of the faculty of speech, of anger, of desire; lastly, their conjunction and disjunction, and other things beyond the reach of any created intellect. Then that philosopher rose up, and adored the Lord Jesus, and said: O Lord, from this time I will be thy disciple and slave.

53 While they were speaking to each other of these and other things, the Lady Mary came, after having gone about seeking Him for three days along with Joseph. She therefore, seeing Him sitting among the teachers asking them questions, and answering in His turn, said to Him: My son, why hast thou treated us thus? Behold, thy father and I have sought thee with great trouble. But He said: Why do you seek me? Do you not know that I ought to occupy myself in my Father's house? But they did not understand the words that He spoke to them. Then those teachers asked Mary whether He were her son; and when she signified that He was, they said: Blessed art thou, O Mary, who hast brought forth such a son. And returning with them to Nazareth, He obeyed them in all things. And His mother kept all these words of His in her heart. And the Lord Jesus advanced in stature, and in wisdom, and in favour with God and man.

54 And from this day He began to hide His miracles and mysteries and secrets, and to give attention to the law, until He completed His thirtieth year, when His Father publicly declared Him at the Jordan by this voice sent down from heaven: This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; the Holy Spirit being present in the form of a white dove.

55 This is He whom we adore with supplications, who hath given us being and life, and who hath brought us from our mothers' wombs; who for our sakes assumed a human body, and redeemed us, that He might embrace us in eternal compassion, and show to us His mercy according to His liberality, and beneficence, and generosity, and benevolence. To Him is glory, and beneficence, and power, and dominion from this time forth for evermore. Amen.

Here endeth the whole Gospel of the Infancy, with the aid of God Most High, according to what we have found in the original.

THE GOSPEL OF TRUTH
The Gospel of Valentinus of Rome
From: Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt
Translation: Paterson Brown
Estimated Range of Date:130-160 AD

(The Gospel of Truth is one of the Gnostic texts from the New Testament apocrypha found in the Nag Hammadi codices ("NHC"). It exists in two Coptic translations, a Subakhmimic rendition surviving almost in full in the first codex (the "Jung Codex") and a Sahidic in fragments in the twelfth.

The Gospel of Truth was probably written in Greek between 140 and 180 by Valentinian Gnostics or by Valentinus himself. It was known to Irenaeus of Lyons, who objected to its Gnostic content and declared it heresy. After its Coptic translations and their burial at Nag Hammadi, the text had been lost until the Nag Hammadi discovery.

The text is written with strong poetic skill (notable even in translation), and includes a heavily cyclical presentation of themes. It is not a "gospel" in the sense of an account of the works of Jesus of Nazareth, but is better understood as a homily. The text is generally considered by scholars one of the best written texts in the whole Nag Hammadi collection, considering its worth highly as both a great literary work and a gnostic exegesis on several gospels, canonical and otherwise.

Not all scholars, however, agree that the text is to be considered Gnostic. The writing is thought to cite or allude to the New Testament Gospels of Matthew and John, as well as 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Colossians, Hebrews, 1 John and the Book of Revelation--John's Gospel the most often. It is also influenced by Thomas; for instance at one point (22:13-19) it cites John 3:8 alongside Thomas 28.

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The text describes a theory of the rise of Error in personified form. The ignorance and yearning to see the Father bred fear, which coalesced into a fog by which Error gained power. It then describes Jesus as having been sent down by God to remove ignorance. Jesus was a teacher confounding the other scribes and teachers, and asserted they were foolish since they tried to understand the world by analyzing the law. But Error grew angry at this, and nailed Jesus to a cross. It also proceeds to describe how it is knowledge of the father that grants salvation, which constitutes eternal rest, describing ignorance as a nightmare.

Having next described the parable of the good shepherd, in an esoteric manner, it then describes how feeding the hungry and giving rest to the weary is to be understood as feeding spiritual hunger, and resting the world weary.

This is followed by a parable about anointing. The remainder of the text concerns a treatise on the connection between the relationship between the Son and the Father, and the relationship of a name to its owner. The prime example of this is the phrase it uses that the name of the Father is the Son, which is to be understood in the esoteric manner that the Son is the name, rather than as meaning that Son was a name for the Father. Unlike the canonical gospels, this gospel does not contain an account of Jesus' life or teaching. It does contain insights concerning the resurrected Jesus' 40-day ministry.)

1 The Gospel of Truth is joy for those who have received from the Father of Truth the gift of recognising him, through the power of the meaning who comes forth from the fullness which is in the thought and mind of the Father. This is he who is called the Saviour---That being the name of the task which he is to do for the atonement of those who had been unacquainted with the name of the Father.

2 Now the the gospel is the revelation of the hopeful, it is the finding of those who seek him. For since the totality were searching for him from whom they came forth--and the totality were within him, the Incomprehensible Inconceivable--One, he who is beyond all thought--Hence Un-acquaintance with the Father caused anxiety and fear. Then the Anxiety condensed like a fog so that no one could see.

3 Wherefore delusion grew strong, contriving its matter in emptiness and unacquaintance with the Truth, preparing to substitute a potent and alluring fabrication for truthfulness. But this was no humiliation for him, the Incomprehensible Inconceivable-One. For the anxiety and the amnesia and the deceitful fabrication were nothing--whereas the established Truth is immutable, imperturbable, and of unadornable beauty. Therefore despise delusion ! It has no roots and was in a fog concerning the Father, preparing labours and amnesia and fear in order thereby to entice those of the transition and take them captive.

4 The amnesia of delusion was not made as a revelation, it is not the handiwork of the Father. Forgetfulness does not occur under his directive, although it does happen because of him. But rather what exists within him is acquaintanceship -- this being revealed so that forgetfulness might dissolve and the Father be recognised. Since amnesia occurred because the Father was not recognised, thereafter when the Father is recognised there will be no more forgetting.

5 This is the Gospel of him who is sought, which he has revealed those perfected thur the mercies of the Father as the Secrecy Mystery: JESUS the Christ! He enlightened those who were in the darkness because of forgetfulness. He illumined them. He gave them a path, and that path is the Truth which he proclaimed.

6 Therefore delusion was enraged at him, and pursued him in order to suppress and eliminate him. He was nailed to a tree, he became the fruit of recognising the Father. Yet it did not cause those who consume it to perish, but rather to those who consumed it he gave a rejoicing at such a discovery. For he found them in himself and they found him in themselves--the Incomprehensible Inconceivable--One, the Father, this Perfect--One who created the totality, in whom the totality exists and of whom the totality has need. For he had withheld within himself their perfection, which he had not yet bestowed upon them all.

7 The Father is not jealous, for what envy could there be between him and his members? For if the way of this Aeon had prevailed they would not have been able to come unto the Father, who retains within himself their fulfillment and bestows it upon them as a return to himself with a recognition which is single in perfection. It is he who ordained the totality, and the totality is within him and the totality had need of him. It is like a person with whom some have been unacquainted, yet who desires that they recognise and love him. For what did they all lack except acquaintance with the Father?

8 Thus he became a reposeful and leisurely guide in the place of instruction. The Logos came to the midst And spoke as their appointed teacher. There approached those who considered themselves wise, putting him to the test--yet he shamed them in their vanity. They hated him because they were not truly wise. Then after them all, there also approached the little Children, those who have the acquaintance of the Father. Having been confirmed, they learned of the Face-Forms of the Father. They recognised, they were recognised, they were glorified, they glorified. Revealed in their heart was the Living Book of Life, this which is inscribed in the thought and mind of the Father and which has been within his Incomprehensibility since before the foundation of the totality. No one can take this away, because it was appointed for him who would take it and be slain.

9 No one of those who trusted in salvation could have become manifest unless this book had come to the midst. This is why the merciful and faithful-One---JESUS!--patiently endured the sufferings in order to take this book, since he knew that his death would become life for many. Just as the fortune of the deceased master of the estate remains secret until his bequest is opened, so also the totality remained hidden so long as the Father of the totality was invisible--this--One thur who all dimension originate. This is why JESUS appeared, clothed in that book.

10 He was nailed to a tree in order to publish the edict of the Father on the Cross. Oh sublime teaching, such that he humbled himself unto death clad in eternal life! He stripped himself off the rags of mortality in order to don this imperishability which none has the power to take from him. Entering into the empty spaces of the terrors, he brought forth those who had been divested by amnesia. Acting with recognition and perfection, he proclaimed what is in the heart [of the Father, in order to] make wise those who are to receive the teaching. Yet those who are instructed are the Living, inscribed in this Book of Life, who are taught about themselves and who receive themselves from the Father in again returning to him.

11 Because the perfection of the totality is in the Father, it is necessary that they all ascend unto him. When someone recognises, he receives the things that are his own and gathers them to himself. For he who is unacquainted has lack--and what he lacks is great, since what he lacks is that which will make him perfect. Because the perfection of the totality is in the Father, it is necessary for them all to ascend unto him. Thus each and every one receives himself.

12 He pre-inscribed them, having prepared this gift for those who came forth from him. Those whose names are foreknew are all called at the end. Thus someone who recognises has his name spoken by the Father. For he whose name has not been spoken remains unacquainted. How indeed can anyone harken whose name has not been called? For he who remains unacquainted until the end is a figment of forgetfulness and will vanish with it. Otherwise why indeed is there no name for those wretches, and why do they not heed the call?

13 Thus someone with acquaintance is from above. When he is called he hears and responds and returns to him who called, ascending unto him. He discovers who it is that calls him. In recognition he does the will of him who called. He desires to please him, and granted repose he receives the name of the One. He who recognises thus discovers from whence he has come and whither he is going. He understands like someone who was intoxicated and who has shaken off his drunkenness and returned to himself, to set upright those things which are his own.

14 He has brought many back from delusion. He went before them into the spaces thur which their hearts had migrated in going astray due to the depth of him who encompasses all dimensions without himself being encompassed. It is a great wonder that they were within the Father without recognising him, and that they were able to depart unto themselves because they could neither comprehend nor recognise him in whom they were. For thus his violation had not yet emerged from within himself. For he revealed himself so that his emanations would reunite with him in recognition.

15 This is acquaintance with the Living Book, whereby at the ending he has manifested the eternal-ones as the alphabet of his revelation. These are not vowels nor are they consonants, such that someone might read them and think of emptiness, but rather they are the true alphabet by which those who recognise it are them selves expressed. Each letter is perfect thought, each letter is like a complete book written in the alphabet of unity by the Father, who inscribes the Eternal-Ones so that thur his alphabet they might recognise the Father.

16 His Wisdom meditates on the meaning,His Teaching expresses it, His Acquaintance revealed it,

His Dignity is Crowned by it, His Joy unites with it, His Glory Exalted it, His Appearance manifested it, Hid Repose received it, His Love embodied it, His Faith embraced it.

17 Thus the Logos of the Father comes into the totality as the fruit of his heart and the Face-form of his will. But he supports them all, he atones them and moreover he assumes the Face-form of everyone, purifying them, bringing them back--

Within the Father,
Within the Mother,
Jesus of Infinite Kindness.

The Father uncovers his bosom, which is the Holy Spirit, revealing his secret. His Secret is his Son! Thus through the compassions of the Father the Eternal-Ones recognise him. And they cease their toil of seeking the Father and repose in him, recognising that this is the repose.

18 Having replenished the deficiency, he dissolved the scheme . For the scheme is this world in which he served as a slave, and deficiency is the place of jealousy and quarreling. Yet the place of unity is perfect. Since deficiency occurred because the Father was not recognised, thereafter when the Father is recognised there shall be no deficiency. Just as with ignorance, when someone comes to know, the ignorance dissolves of itself--and also as darkness dissipates when the light shines--so also deficiency vanishes when perfection appears. Thus from that moment on there is no more scheme , but rather it disappears in the fusion of the unity. For now their involvements are made equal, in the moment when the fusion perfects the spaces.

19 Each one shall receive himself in the unification, and shall be purified in acquaintanceship from the multiplicity into unity--consuming matter in himself like a flame, darkness with light, and death with life. Since these things have thus happened to each one of us, it is appropriate that we think of the totality so that the house be holy and silent for the unity.

20 It is like some who move jars from their proper places to unsafe places, where they are broken. And yet the Master of the house suffered no loss but rather rejoiced, for those unsound jars were replaced by this which are fully perfect. This the judgement which has come from above, like a double-edged sword drawn to cut this way and that as each one is judged.

21 There came to the midst the Logos, which is in the heart of those who speak it. This was not a mere sound, but rather it was incarnate. A great disturbance occurred among the jars---for lo some were emptied, others were filled, some were supplied, others were overturned, some were cleansed, others were broken. All of the spaces quaked and were agitated, having neither order nor stability. delusion was in anguish at not discerning what to do--distressed and lamenting and cropping-hair from understanding nothing.

22 Then when recognition approached with all its emanations, this was the annihilation of delusion which was emptied into nothingness. The Truth came to the midst, and all his emanations recognised and embraced the Father in Truth and united with him in perfect power. For everyone who loves the Truth attaches himself to the mouth of the Father with his language by receiving the Holy Spirit. Truth is the mouth of the Father, his language is the Holy Spirit joined to him in Truth. This it the revelation of the Father and self-manifestation to his Eternal-Ones. He has revealed his secret, explaining it all. .

23 For who is the Existent-One, except for the Father alone? All dimensions are his emanations, recognised in coming forth from his heart likes sons from a mature person who knows them. Each one whom the Father begets had previously received neither form nor name. Then they were formed through his self-awareness. Although indeed they had been in his mind, they had not recognised him. The Father however is perfectly acquainted with all dimensions, which are within him.

24 Whenever he wishes he manifests whomever he wishes, forming him and naming him. And in giving him a name, he causes him to come into being. Before they came into being, these assuredly were unacquainted with him who fashioned them. I do not say however that those who have not yet come into being are nothings--but rather they pre-exist within him who shall intend their becoming when he desires it, like a season yet to come. Before anyone is manifest (the Father) knows what he will bring forth. But the fruit which is not yet manifest neither recognises nor accomplishes anything. Thus all dimensions themselves exist within the Father who exists, from whom they come forth, and who established them unto himself from that which is not.

25 Whoever lacks root also lacks fruit, but still he thinks to himself: "I have become, so I shall decease---For everything that (earlier) did not (yet) exist, (later) shall no (longer) exist." What therefore does the Father desire that such a person think about them self?: "I have been like the shadows and the phantoms of the night!" When the dawn shines upon him, this person ascertains that the terror which had seized him was nothing. They were thus unacquainted with the Father because the did not behold him. Hence there occurred terror and turmoil and weakness and doubt and division, with many deceptions and empty fictions at work through these.

26 It was as if they were sunk in sleep and found themselves in troubled dreams--either fleeing somewhere, powerlessly pursuing others, or delivering blows in brawls, or themselves suffering blows, or falling from high place, or sailing through the air without wings. Sometimes it even seems as if they are being murdered although no one pursues them, or as if they themselves are murdering their neighbours since they are sullied by their blood.

27 Then the moment comes when those who have endured all this awaken, no longer to see all those troubles--for they are naught. Such is the way of those who have cast off un-acquaintance like sleep and consider it to be nothing, neither

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considering its various events as real, but rather leaving it behind like a dream of the night. Recognising the Father brings the dawn! This is what each one has done, sleeping in the time when he was unacquainted. And this is how, thus awakened, he comes to recognition.

28 How good for the person who returns to himself and Awakens, and blest is this-One who has open the eyes of the blind! And the spirit ran after him, resurrecting him swiftly. Extending her hand to him was was prostrate on the ground, she lifted him up on his feet who had not yet arisen. Now the recognition which gives understanding is through the Father and the revelation of his Son. Once they have seen him and heard him, he grants them to taste and to smell and to touch the beloved Son.

29 When he appeared, telling them about the Incomprehensible Father, he breathed into them what is in the thought of doing his will. Many received the Light and returned to him. But the materialists were alien and did not behold his likeness nor recognise him, although he came forth incarnate in form. Nothing obstructs his course--for imperishability is indomitable. Furthermore he proclaimed beforehand that which was new, expressing what is in the heart of the Father and bringing forth the flawless Logos.

30. Light spoke through his mouth, and his voice gave birth to life. He gave to them the thought of Wisdom, of Mercy, of Salvation, of the Spirit of Power, from the Infinity and the Kindness of the Father. He abolished punishment and torment, for these caused some who had need of mercy to go astray from his face in delusion and bondage. And with Power he pardoned them, and he humbled them in acquaintanceship.

31 He became a path for those who strayed, Acquaintance for the unaware, Discovery for those who seek, Stability for the wavering, and Immaculate Purity for those who were defiled.

32 He is the Shepherd who left behind the 99 sheep which were not lost, in order to go searching for This-One which had strayed. And he rejoiced when he found it. For 99 is a number that is counted on the left hand, which tallies it. But when 1 is added, the entire sum passes to the right hand. So it is with him who lacks the one, which is the entire right hand--he takes from the left what is deficient in order to transfer it to the right, and thus the number becomes 100. Now the signification of what is in these words is the Father.

33 Even on the Sabbath he laboured for the sheep which he found fallen into the pit. He restored the sheep to life. bringing it up from the pit, so that you sons of heart--understanding may discern this Sabbath on which the work of Salvation must never cease, and so that you may speak from this day which is above, which has no night and from the perfect Light which never sets.

34 Speak therefore from your hearts,

For you are this perfect day and within you dwells this abiding Light.

Speak of the Truth with those who seek it, and of acquaintanceship unto those who in delusion have transgressed.

Support those who stumble,
Reach out your hand to the sick,
Feed those who are hungry,
Give repose to the weary ,
Uplift those who yearn to arise,
Awaken those who sleep--
For you are the Wisdom that rescues!

35 Thus strength grows in action. Give heed to yourselves--be not concerned with those other things which you have already cast out of yourselves. Do not return to what you have regurgitated, be not moth-eaten, be not worm-eaten--for you have already cast that out. Do not become a place for the Devil, for you have already eliminated him. Do not reinforce those things that made you stumble and fall. Thus is uprightness!

36 For Someone who violates the Torah harms himself more than the judgement harms him. For he does his deeds illicitly, whereas he who is righteous does his deeds for others. Do therefore the will of the Father, because you are from him. For the Father is kind, and things are good through his will. He has taken cognizance of whatever is yours, so that you may repose yourselves about such things--for in their fruition it is recognised whose they are.

37 The Sons of the Father are his fragrance, for they are from the grace of his face. Therefore the Father Loves his fragrance and manifests it everywhere. And blending it with matter, he bestows his fragrance upon the Light, and his repose he exalts it over every likeness and every sound. For it is not the ears that inhale the fragrance, but rather the Breath (Spirit) has the sense of smell and draws it to Oneself--and thus is someone baptised in the fragrance of the Father.

38 Thus he brings it to harbour, drawing his original fragrance which had grown cold unto the place from which it came. It was something which is psychic form had become like cold water permeating loose soil, such that those who see it think it to be dirt. Then afterwards, when a warm and fragrant breeze blows, it evaporates. Thus coldness results from the separation. This is why the Faithful-One came--to abolish division and bring the warm fullness of Love, so that the cold would not return but rather there should be the unification perfect thought. This is the Logos of the Gospel of the finding of the fullness by those who await the Salvation which comes from on high. Prolonged is the hope of those who await--those whose likeness is the light which contains no shadow--at that time when the fullness finally comes.

39 The deficiency of matter did not originate through the infinity of the Father, who came in the time of inadequacy--although no one could say that the indestructible would arrive in this manner. But the profundity of the Father abounded, and the thought of delusion was not with him. It is a topic for falling prostrate, it is a reposeful topic--to be set upright on his feet, in being found by This-One who came to bring him back. For the return is called Metanoia .

40 This is why imperishability breathed forth--to follow after the transgressor so that he may have repose. For to forgive is to remain behind with the light, the Logos of the fullness, in the deficiency. Thus the physician hastens to the place where there is illness, for this is his hearts desire. But he who has a lack cannot hide it from him who has what he needs. Thus the fullness, which has no deficiency, replenishes the lack.

41 (The Father) gave of himself to replenish whomever is lacking, in order that thereby he may receive grace. In the time of his deficiency he had no grace. Thus wherever grace is absent, there is inferiority. At the time when he received this smallness which he lacked, (then the Father) revealed to him a fullness, which he lacked, (then the Father) revealed to him a fullness, which is this finding of the Light of Truth that dawned upon him in unchangeability. This is why the Christ was invoked in their midst--so that they would receive their returning. He anoints with the Chrism those who have been troubled. The anointing is the compassion of the Father who will have mercy upon them. Yet those whom he has anointed are those who are perfected.

42 For Jars which are full are those which are sealed . Yet when its sealant is destroyed, a jar leaks. And the cause of its being emptied is the absence of its sealant. For then something in the dynamics of the air evaporates it. But that is not emptied from which no sealant has been removed, nor does anything leak away, but rather the perfect Father replenishes whatever is lacking.

43 He is good. He knows his seedlings, for it is he who planted them in his Paradise. Now his Paradise is his realm of repose. This is the perfection in the thought of the Father, and these are the "Logoi" of his meditation. Each on of is Logoi is the product of his unitary will in the revelation of his meaning. While they were still in the depths of his thought, the Logos was the first to come forth. Furthermore he revealed them from a mind that expresses the unique Logos in the silent grace called thought, since they existed therein prior to being revealed. So it occurred that he (The Logos) was the first to come forth at the time when it pleased the will of him who intended it.

44 Now the will of the Father is that which reposes in his heart and pleases him. Nothing exists without him, nor does anything occur without the volition of the Father. But his will is Unfathomable. His will is his imprint, and none can ascertain it nor come to concern it in order to control it. But whenever he wills, what he wills exists--even if the sight does not please them. They are nothing before the Face of God and the will of the Father. For he knows the beginning and the ending of them all--at their end he shall question them Face-to-Face. Yet the ending is to receive acquaintance with This-One who was hidden. Now this is the Father--This-One from whom the beginning came forth, This-One to whom all these shall return who came forth from him. Yet they have been manifest for the Glory and Joy of his Name.

45 Now the Name of the Father is the Son. He first named him who came forth from himself, and who is himself. And he begot him as a Son. He bestowed his own Name upon him. It is the Father who from his heart possesses all things. He has the Name, he has the Son who can be seen. Yet his name is Transcendental---For it alone is the Mystery of the invisible, which through him comes to ears completely filled with it.

46 For indeed the Name of the Father is "Not Spoken", yet rather it is manifested in a Son. Accordingly, Great is the Name! Who therefore could proclaim a Name for him, the Supreme Name, except him alone whose Name this is--together with the Sons of the Name, those in whose heart the Name of the Father reposes and who themselves likewise repose in his Name? Because the Father is unchangeable, it is he alone who begot him as his own Name before he fashioned the Eternal-Ones, so that the Name of the Father would be Lord over their heads--This-One who is truly the name, secure in his command of Perfect Power.

47 The Name is not mere "Wordage", nor is it only "Terminology", but rather it is transcendental. He alone named him, he alone seeing him, he alone having the Power to give him a Name. Whoever does not exist has no Name--For what names are given to the Non-Existent? But this Existing-One exists together with his Name. And the Father alone knows him, and he alone names him.

48 The Son is his Name. He did not keep him hidden as a secret--but rather the Son came to be, and (The Father) alone named him. Thus the name belongs to the Father, such that the name of The Father is the Son. How otherwise would compassion find a Name, except from The Father? For after all, anyone will say to his companion: "Whoever could give a name to someone who existed before him?--As if children do not thus receive their names through those who gave them birth!"

49 Firstly, therefore, it is appropriate that we think on this topic: What is the Name? Truly he is the Name--Thus also he is the Name from The Father. He is the Existent Name of the Lord. Thus he did not receive the Name on loan as do others, according to the pattern of each one who is to be created in his heart. Yet This-One is the Lords Name. There is no one else who bestowed it upon him, but he was unnamable and it was ineffable until the time when he who is perfect gave expression to him alone. And it is he who has the Power to express his name and to see him. Thus it pleased him in his heart that his desired Name be his Son and he gave the Name to him--This-One who came forth from the profundity.

50 He expressed his secret, knowing that The Father is benevolent. This is exactly why he brought This-One forth--so that he might speak of the realm and his place of repose from which he came, and render Glory to the fullness, the Majesty of his Name, and the Kindness of The Father. He shall speak of the Realm from which each One came--and each one who issued from that place shall thus be hastened to return unto it again, to share in receiving the taste of that place, receiving nourishment and growth. And his own realm of repose is his fullness.

51 Thus all the emanations of The Father are plentitudes, and the source of all his emanation is within the Heart of him from whom they all flourish. He bestowed their destinies upon them. Thus is each one made manifest, such that through their own meditation they [return to] the place to which they direct their thought. That place is their source, which lifts them through all the heights of Heaven unto the Father. They attain unto his head, which becomes their repose. And they are embraced as they approach him, so that they say that they have partaken of his face in kisses. Yet they are not thus made manifest by exalting themselves. They neither lack the Glory of The Father, nor do they think of him being trite or bitter or wrathful. But rather he is benevolent, imperturbable, and kind--knowing all the dimensionalities before they come into existence, and having no need of edification.

52 This is the form of those who themselves belong on High through the grandeur of the Immeasurable, as they await the single and Perfect-One who makes himself there for them. And they do not descend unto the Abode of the Dead . They have neither jealousy nor lamentation nor mortality there among them, but rather they repose in him who is reposeful. They are neither troubled nor devious concerning the Truth, but rather they themselves are the Truth. The Father is within them and they are within the Father--perfected and made indivisible in the Truly Good, not inadequate in anything but rather given repose and refreshed in the Spirit. And they shall obey their source in leisure, these in whom his root is found and who harm no soul. "This Is The Place Of The Blest, This Is Their Place!"

53 Wherefore let the remainder understand in their places that is not appropriate for me, having been in the realm of repose, to anything further. But it is within his heart that I shall be--forever devoted to The Father of the totality, together with those true Brothers upon whom pours the Love of The Father and among whom there is no lack of him. These are they who are genuinely manifest, being in the True and Eternal Life and speaking the Perfect Light which is filled with the seed of The Father, and who are in his heart and in the fullness and in whom his Spirit rejoices, Glorifying him in whom they exist. His good and his Sons are perfect and worthy of his Name. For it is children of this kind that he The Father desires.

THE GOSPEL OF JAMES

or The Infancy Gospel of James
or The Protoevangelium of James
From: "The Apocryphal New Testament"
Translation: M.R. James, 1924
Estimated Range of Date: 60-180 AD
Estimated Range of Dating: 140-170 A.D.

(The Gospel of James, also known as the Infancy Gospel of James, the Book of James, and the Protoevangelium of James, is an apocryphal gospel probably written about AD 145, which expands backward in time the infancy stories contained in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, and presents a narrative concerning the birth and upbringing of Mary herself. It is the oldest source outside the New Testament to assert the virginity of Mary not only prior to, but during (and after) the birth of Jesus. The ancient manuscripts that preserve the book have different titles, including "The Birth of Mary", "The Story of the Birth of Saint Mary, Mother of God," and "The

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Birth of Mary; The Revelation of James." It is also referred to as "Genesis of Mary".

The document presents itself as written by James: "I, James, wrote this history in Jerusalem." The purported author is thus James, the brother of Jesus, but scholars have concluded that the work was not written by the person to whom it is attributed (a pseudepigraphon), but was composed some time in the mid- to late second century. That conclusion is based on the style of the language and that the author describes certain activities as contemporary Jewish customs that probably did not exist. For example, the work suggests consecrated temple virgins existed in Judaism, similar to the Vestal Virgins in pagan Rome, but that is never directly stated to have been a practice in mainstream Judaism. The consensus is that it was actually composed in the latter half of the second century.

In Greek, such an infancy gospel was termed a protevangelion, a "pre-Gospel" narrating events of Jesus' life before those recorded in the four canonical gospels. Such a work was intended to be "apologetic, doctrinal, or simply to satisfy one's curiosity". The literary genre that these works represent shows stylistic features that suggest dates in the 2nd century and later. Other infancy gospels in this tradition include The Infancy Gospel of Thomas, the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew (based on the Protevangelium of James and on the Infancy Gospel of Thomas), and the so-called Arabic Infancy Gospel, all of which were regarded by the Church as apocryphal.

The Gospel of James is in three equal parts, of eight chapters each: The first contains the story of the miraculous birth of Mary to Anna, who is infertile, and Mary's childhood and dedication to the temple. The second starts when she is 12 years old, and through the direction of an angel, Joseph is selected to become her husband. The third relates the Nativity of Jesus, with the visit of midwives, hiding of Jesus from Herod the Great in a feeding trough and the parallel hiding in the hills of John the Baptist and his mother (Elizabeth) from Herod Antipas.

This is one of the first works that tries to convince believers of the perpetual virginity of Mary. One of the work's high points is the Lament of Anna. A primary theme is the work and grace of God in Mary's life, Mary's personal purity, and her perpetual virginity before, during and after the birth of Jesus, as confirmed by the midwife after she gave birth, and tested by Salome who is perhaps intended to be Salome, later the disciple of Jesus who is mentioned in the Gospel of Mark as being one of the women at the crucifixion. In theme with Mary's perpetual virginity, Salome's hand catches on fire as punishment for attempting to touch the Virgin Mary. This is also the earliest text that explicitly claims that Joseph was a widower, with children, at the time that Mary is entrusted to his care. This feature is mentioned in the text of Origen, who adduces it to demonstrate that the 'brethren of the Lord' were sons of Joseph by a former wife.

The fact that over 150 Greek manuscripts containing it have survived can be taken as an indication that the early Church wanted to make the doctrine of this paper popular. The Gospel of James was translated into Syriac, Ethiopic, Coptic, Georgian, Old Slavonic, Armenian, Arabic, Irish, and Latin. Though no early Latin versions are known, it was relegated to the apocrypha in the Gelasian Decretal, so it must have been known in the West by the fifth century, though the vast majority of the manuscripts come from the 10th century or later. The earliest known manuscript of the text, a papyrus dating to the third or early fourth century, was found in 1958; it is kept in the Bodmer Library, Geneva (Papyrus Bodmer 5). Of the surviving Greek manuscripts, the fullest text is a 10th-century codex in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Paris 1454).)

1 In the histories of the twelve tribes of Israel it is written that there was one Ioacim, exceeding rich: and he offered his gifts twofold, saying: That which is of my superfluity shall be for the whole people, and that which is for my forgiveness shall be for tile Lord, for a propitiation unto me. Now the great day of the Lord drew nigh and the children of Israel offered their gifts. And Reuben stood over against him saying: It is not lawful for thee to offer thy gifts first,-forasmuch as thou hast gotten no seed in Israel. 8 And Ioacim was sore grieved, and went unto the record of the twelve tribes of the people, saying: I will look upon the record of the twelve tribes of Israel, whether I only have not gotten seed in Israel. And he searched, and found concerning all the righteous that they had raised up seed in Israel. And he remembered the patriarch Abraham, how in the last days God gave him a son, even Isaac. 4 And Ioacim was sore grieved, and showed not himself to his wife, but betook himself into the wilderness, and pitched his tent there, and fasted forty days and forty nights, saying within himself: I will not go down either for meat or for drink until the Lord my God visit me, and my prayer shall be unto me meat and drink.

2 Now his wife Anna lamented with two lamentations, and bewailed herself with two bewailings, saying: I will bewail my widowhood, and I will bewail my childlessness. And the great day of the Lord drew nigh, and Judith her handmaid said unto !;er: How long humblest thou thy soul? The great day of the Lord hath come, and it is not lawful for thee to mourn: but take this headband, which the mistress of my work gave me, and it is not lawful for me to put it on, forasmuch as I am an handmaid, and it hath a mark of royalty. And Anna said: Get thee from me. Lo! I have done nothing (or I will not do so) and the Lord hath greatly humbled me: peradventure one gave it to thee in subtilty, and thou art come to make me partaker in thy sin. And Judith said: How shall I curse thee, seeing the Lord hath shut up thy womb, to give thee no fruit in Israel ? And Anna was sore grieved [and mourned with a great mourning because she was reproached by all the tribes of Israel. And coming to herself she said: What shall I do ? I will pray with weeping unto the Lord my God that he visit me]. And she put off her mourning garments and cleansed (or adorned) her head and put on her bridal garments: and about the ninth hour she went down into the garden to walk there. And she saw a laurel-tree and sat down underneath it and besought the Lord saying: O God of our fathers, bless me, and hearken unto my prayer, as thou didst bless the womb of Sarah, and gavest her a son, even Isaac.

3 And looking up to the heaven she espied a nest of sparrows in the laurel-tree, and made a lamentation within herself, saying: Woe unto me, who begat me ? And what womb brought me forth for I am become a curse before the children of Israel, and I am reproached, and they have mocked me forth out of the temple of the Lord? 2 Woe unto me, unto what am I likened ? I am not likened unto the fowls of the heaven, for even the fowls of the heaven are fruitful before thee, O Lord. Woe unto me, unto what am I likened ? I am not likened unto the beasts of the earth, for even the beasts of the earth are fruitful before thee, O Lord. Woe unto me, unto what am I likened ? I am not likened unto these waters, for even these waters are fruitful before thee, O Lord. 3 Woe unto me, unto what am I likened ? I am not likened unto this earth, for even this earth bringeth forth her fruits in due season and blesseth thee, O Lord.

4 And behold an angel of the Lord appeared, saying unto her: Anna, Anna, the Lord hath hearkened unto thy prayer, and thou shalt conceive and bear, and thy seed shall be spoken of in the whole world. And Anna said: As the Lord my God liveth, if I bring forth either male or female, I will bring it for a gift unto the Lord my God, and it shall be ministering unto him all the days of its life. And behold there came two messengers saying unto her: Behold Ioacim thy husband cometh with his flocks: for an angel of the Lord came down unto him saying: Ioacim, Ioacim, the Lord God hath hearkened unto thy prayer. Get thee down hence, for behold thy wife Anna hath conceived. And Ioacim sat him down and called his herdsmen saying: Bring me hither ten lambs without blemish and without spot, and they shall be for the Lord my God; and bring me twelve tender calves, and they shall be for the priests and for the assembly of the elders; and an hundred kids for the whole people. And behold Ioacim came with his flocks, and Anna stood at the gate and saw Ioacim coming, and ran and hung upon his neck, saying: Now know I that the Lord God hath greatly blessed me: for behold the widow is no more a widow, and she that was childless shall conceive. And Ioacim rested the first day in his house.

5 And on the morrow he offered his gifts, saying in himself: If the Lord God be reconciled unto me, the plate that is upon the forehead of the priest will make it manifest unto me. And Ioacim offered his gifts and looked earnestly upon the plate of the priest when he went up unto the altar of tile Lord, and he saw no sin in himself. And Ioacim said: Now know I that the Lord is become propitious unto me and hath forgiven all my sins. And he went down from the temple of the Lord justified, and went unto his house. And her months were fulfilled, and in the ninth month Anna brought forth. And she said unto the midwife: what have I brought forth ? And she said: A female. And Anna said: My soul is magnified this day, and she laid herself down. And when the days were fulfilled, Anna purified herself and gave suck to the child and called her name Mary.

6 And day by day the child waxed strong, and when she was six months old her mother stood her upon the ground to try if she would stand; and she walked seven steps and returned unto her bosom. And she caught her up, saying: As the Lord my God liveth, thou shalt walk no more upon this ground, until I bring thee into the temple of the Lord. And she made a sanctuary in her bed chamber and suffered nothing common or unclean to pass through it. And she called for the daughters of the Hebrews that were undefiled, and they carried her hither and thither. And the first year of the child was fulfilled, and Ioacim made a great feast and bade the priests and the scribes and the assembly of the elders and the whole people of Israel. And Ioacim brought the child to the priests, and they blessed her, saying: 0 God of our fathers, bless this child and give her a name renowned for ever among all generations. And all the people said: So be it, so be it. Amen. And he brought her to the high priests, and they blessed her, saying: 0 God of the high places, look upon this child, and bless her with the last blessing which hath no successor. And her mother caught her up into the sanctuary of her bed chamber and gave her suck. And Anna made a song unto the Lord God, saying: I will sing an hymn unto the Lord my God, because he hath visited me and taken away from me the reproach of mine enemies, and the Lord hath given me a fruit of his righteousness, single and manifold before him. Who shall declare unto the sons of Reuben that Anna giveth suck ? Hearken, hearken, ye twelve tribes of Israel, that Anna giveth suck. And she laid the child to rest in the bed chamber of her sanctuary, and went forth and ministered unto them. And when the feast was ended, they gat them down rejoicing, and glorifying the God of Israel.

7 And unto the child her months were added: and the child became two years old. And Ioacim said: Let us bring her up to the temple of the Lord that we may pay the promise which we promised; lest the Lord require it of us (lit. send unto us), and our gift become unacceptable. And Anna said: Let us wait until the third year, that the child may not long after her father or mother. And Ioacim said: Let us wait. And the child became three years old, and Ioacim said: Call for the daughters of the Hebrews that are undefiled, and let them take every one a lamp, and let them be burning, that the child turn not backward and her heart be taken captive away from the temple of the Lord. And they did so until they were gone up into the temple of the Lord. And the priest received her and kissed her and blessed her and said: The Lord hath magnified thy name among all generations: in thee in the latter days shall the Lord make manifest his redemption unto the children of Israel. And he made her to sit upon the third step of the altar. And the Lord put grace upon her and she danced with her feet and all tile house of Israel loved her.

8 And her parents gat them down marveling, and praising the Lord God because tile child was not turned away backward. And Mary was in the temple of the Lord as a dove that is nurtured: and she received food from the hand of an angel. And when she was twelve years old, there was a council of the priests, saying: Behold Mary is become twelve years old in the temple of the Lord. What then shall we do with her ? lest she pollute the sanctuary of the Lord. And they said unto the high priest: Thou standest over the altar of the Lord. Enter in and pray concerning her: And whatsoever the Lord shall reveal to thee, that let us do. And the high priest took the vestment with the twelve bells and went in unto the Holy of Holies and prayed concerning her. And lo, an angel of tile Lord appeared saying unto him: Zacharias, Zacharias~ go forth and assemble them that are widowers of the people, and let them bring every man a rod, and to whomsoever the Lord shall show a sign, his wife shall she be. And the heralds went forth over all the country round about Judaea, and the trumpet of the Lord sounded, and all men ran thereto.

9 And Joseph cast down his adze and ran to meet them, and when they were gathered together they went to the high priest and took their rods with them. And he took the rods of them all and went into the temple and prayed. And when he had finished the prayer he took the rods and went forth and gave them back to them: and there was no sign upon them. But Joseph received the last rod: and 1o, a dove came forth of the rod and flew upon the bead of Joseph. And the priest said unto Joseph: Unto thee hath it fallen to take the virgin of the Lord and keep her for thyself. 2 And Joseph refused, saying: I have sons, and I am an old man, but she is a girl: lest I became a laughing-stock to the children of Israel. And the priest said unto Joseph: Year the Lord thy God, and remember what things God did unto Dathan and Abiram and Korah, how the earth clave and they were swallowed up because of their gainsaying. And now fear thou, Joseph, lest it be so in thine house. And Joseph was afraid, and took her to keep her for himself. And Joseph said unto Mary: Lo, I have received thee out of the temple of the Lord: and now do I leave thee in my house, and I go away to build my buildings and I will come again unto thee. The Lord shall watch over thee.

10 Now there was a council of the priests, and they said: Let us make a veil for the temple of the Lord. And the priest said: Call unto me pure virgins of the tribe of David. And the officers departed and sought and found seven virgins. And the priests called to mind the child Mary, that she was of the tribe of avid and was undefiled before God: and the officers went and fetched her. And they brought them into the temple of the Lord, and the priest said: Cast me lots, which of you shah weave the gold and the undefiled (the white) and tile fine linen and the silk and the hyacinthine, and the scarlet and the true purple. And the lot of the true purple and the scarlet fell unto Mary, and she took them and went unto her house. [And at that season Zacharias became dumb, and Samuel was in his stead until the time when Zacharias spake again.]But Mary took the scarlet and began to spin it.

11 And she took the pitcher and went forth to fill it with water: and lo a voice saying: Hail, thou that art highly favoured; the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women. And she looked about her upon the right hand and upon the left, to see whence this voice should be: and being filled with trembling she~ went to her house and set down the pitcher, and took the purple and sat down upon her seat and drew out the thread. And behold an angel of the Lord stood before her saying: Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found grace before the Lord of all things, and thou shalt conceive of his

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word. And she, when she heard it, questioned in herself, saying: Shall I verily conceive of the living God, and bring forth after the manner of all women ? And the angel of the Lord said: Not so, Mary, for a power of the Lord shall overshadow thee: wherefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of the Highest. And thou shalt call his name Jesus: for he shall save his people from their sins. And Mary said: Behold the handmaid of the Lord is before him: be it unto me according to thy word.

12 And she made the purple and the scarlet and brought them unto the priest. And the priest blessed her and said: Mary, the Lord God hath magnified thy name, and thou shalt be blessed among all generations of the earth. 2 And Mary rejoiced and went away unto Elizabeth her kinswoman: and she knocked at the door. And Elizabeth when she heard it cast down the scarlet (al. the wool) and ran to the door and opened it, and when she saw Mary she blessed her and said: Whence is this to me that the mother of my Lord should come unto me ? for behold that which is in me leaped and blessed thee. And Mary forgat the mysteries which Gabriel the archangel had told her, and she looked up unto the heaven and said: Who am I, Lord, that all the generations of the earth do bless me ? 8 And she abode three months with Elizabeth, and day by day her womb grew: and Mary was afraid and departed unto her house and hid herself from the children of Israel. Now she was sixteen years old when these mysteries came to pass.

13 I Now it was the sixth month with her, and behold Joseph came from his building, and he entered into his house and found her great with child. And he smote his face, and cast himself down upon the ground on sackcloth and wept bitterly, saying: With what countenance shall I look unto the Lord my God ? and what prayer shall I make concerning this maiden? for I received her out of the temple of the Lord my God a virgin, and have not kept her safe. Who is he that hath ensnared me ? Who hath done this evil in mine house and hath defiled the virgin? Is not the story of Adam repeated in me? for as at the hour of his giving thanks the serpent came and found Eve alone and deceived her, so hath it befallen me also. And Joseph arose from off the sackcloth and called Mary and said unto her O thou that wast cared for by God, why hast thou done this ? thou hast forgotten the Lord thy God. Why hast thou humbled thy soul, thou that wast nourished up in the Holy of Holies and didst receive food at the hand of an angel? But she wept bitterly, saying: I am pure and I know not a man. And Joseph said unto her: Whence then is that which is in thy womb ? and she said: As the Lord my God liveth, I know not whence it is come unto me.

14 I And Joseph was sore afraid and ceased from speaking unto her (or left her alone), and pondered what he should do with her. And Joseph said: If I hide her sin, I shall be found fighting against the law of the Lord: and if I manifest her unto the children of Israel, I fear lest that which is in her be the seed of an angel, and I shall be found delivering up innocent blood to the judgement of death. What then shall I do ? I will let her go from me privily. And the night came upon him. 2 And behold an angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a dream, saying: Fear not this child, for that which is in her is of the Holy Ghost, and she shall bear a son and thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins. And Joseph arose from sleep and glorified the God of Israel which had shown this favour unto her: and he watched over her.

15 I Now Annas the scribe came unto him and said to him: Wherefore didst thou not appear in our assembly ? and Joseph said unto him: I was weary with the journey, and I rested the first day. And Annas turned him about and saw Mary great with child. 2 And he went hastily to the priest and said unto him: Joseph, to whom thou bearest witness [that he is righteous] hath sinned grievously. And the priest said: Wherein ? And he said: The virgin whom he received out of the temple of the Lord, he hath defiled her, and married her by stealth (lit. stolen her marriage), and hath not declared it to the children of Israel. And the priest answered and said: Hath Joseph done this ? And Annas the scribe said: Send officers, and thou shalt find the virgin great with child. And the officers went and found as he had said, and they brought her together with Joseph unto the place of judgement. 3 And the priest said: Mary, wherefore hast thou done this, and wherefore hast thou humbled thy soul and forgotten the Lord thy God, thou that wast nurtured in the Holy of Holies and didst receive food at the hand of an angel and didst hear the hymns and didst dance before the Lord, wherefore hast thou done this? But she wept bitterly, saying: As the Lord my God liveth I am pure before him and I know not a man. 4 And the priest said unto Joseph: Wherefore hast thou done this ? And Joseph said: As the Lord my God liveth I am pure as concerning her. And the priest said: Bear no false witness but speak the truth: thou hast married her by stealth and hast not declared it unto the children of Israel, and hast not bowed thine head under the mighty hand that thy seed should be blessed. And Joseph held his peace.

16 And the priest said: Restore the virgin whom thou didst receive out of the temple of the Lord. And Joseph was full of weeping. And the priest said: I will give you to drink of the water of the conviction of the Lord, and it will make manifest your sins before your eyes. 2 And the priest took thereof and made Joseph drink and sent him into the hill-country. And he returned whole. He made Mary also drink and sent her into the hill-country. And she returned whole. And all the people marvelled, because sin appeared not in them. 3 And the priest said: If the Lord God hath not made your sin manifest, neither do I condemn you. And he let them go. And Joseph took Mary and departed unto his house rejoicing, and glorifying the God of Israel.

17 Now there went out a decree from Augustus the king that all that were in Bethlehem of Judaea should be recorded. And Joseph said: I will record my sons: but this child, what shall I do with her? how shall I record her ? as my wife? nay, I am ashamed. Or as my daughter? but all the children of Israel know that she is not my daughter. This day of the Lord shall do as the Lord willeth. And he saddled the she-ass, and set her upon it, and his son led it and Joseph followed after. And they drew near (unto Bethlehem) within three miles: and Joseph turned himself about and saw her of a sad countenance and said within himself: Peradventure that which is within her paineth her. And again Joseph turned himself about and saw her laughing, and said unto her: Mary, what aileth thee that I see thy face at one time laughing and at another time sad ? And Mary said unto Joseph: It is because I behold two peoples with mine eyes, the one weeping and lamenting and the other rejoicing and exulting. And they came to the midst of the way, and Mary said unto him: Take me down from the ass, for that which is within me presseth me, to come forth. And he took her down from the ass and said unto her: Whither shall I take thee to hide thy shame ? for the place is desert.

18 I And he found a cave there and brought her into it, and set his sons by her: and he went forth and sought for a midwife of the Hebrews in the country of Bethlehem. Now I Joseph was walking, and I walked not. And I looked up to the air and saw the air in amazement. And I looked up unto the pole of the heaven and saw it standing still, and the fowls of the heaven without motion. And I looked upon the earth and saw a dish set, and workmen lying by it, and their hands were in the dish: and they that were chewing chewed not, and they that were lifting the food lifted it not, and they that put it to their mouth put it not thereto, but the faces of all of them were looking upward. And behold there were sheep being driven, and they went not forward but stood still; and the shepherd lifted his hand to smite them with his staff, and his hand remained up. And I looked upon the stream of the river and saw the mouths of the kids upon the water and they drank not. And of a sudden all things moved onward in their course.

19 I And behold a woman coming down from the hillcountry, and she said to me: Man, whither goest thou ? And I said: I seek a midwife of the Hebrews. And she answered and said unto me: Art thou of Israel ? And I said unto her: Yea. And she said: And who is she that bringeth forth in the cave ? And I said: She that is betrothed unto me. And she said to me: Is she not thy wife? And I said to her: It is Mary that was nurtured up in the temple of the Lord: and I received her to wife by lot: and she is not my wife, but she hath conception by the Holy Ghost. And the midwife said unto him: Is this the truth? And Joseph said unto her: Come hither and see. And the midwife went with him. And they stood in the place of the cave: and behold a bright cloud overshadowing the cave. And the midwife said: My soul is magnified this day, because mine eyes have seen marvellous things: for salvation is born unto Israel. And immediately the cloud withdrew itself out of the cave, and a great light appeared in the cave so that our eyes could not endure it. And by little and little that light withdrew itself until the young child appeared: and it went and took the breast of its mother Mary. And the midwife cried aloud and said: Great unto me to-day is this day, in that ! have seen this new sight. 3 And the midwife went forth of the cave and Salome met her. And she said to her: Salome, Salome, a new sight have I to tell thee. A virgin hath brought forth, which her nature alloweth not. And Salome said: As the Lord my God liveth, if I make not trial and prove her nature I will not believe that a virgin hath brought forth.

20 And the midwife went in and said unto Mary: Order thyself, for there is no small contention arisen concerning thee. Arid Salome made trial and cried out and said: Woe unto mine iniquity and mine unbelief, because I have tempted the living God, and lo, my hand falleth away from me in fire. And she bowed her knees unto the Lord, saying: O God of my fathers, remember that I am the seed of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob: make me not a public example unto the children of Israel, but restore me unto the poor, for thou knowest, Lord, that in thy name did I perform my cures, and did receive my hire of thee. 3 And lo, an angel of the Lord appeared, saying unto her: Salome, Salome, the Lord hath hearkened to thee: bring thine hand near unto the young child and take him up, and there shall be unto thee salvation and joy. 4 And Salome came near and took him up, saying: I will do him worship, for a great king is born unto Israel. And behold immediately Salome was healed: and she went forth of the cave justified. And Io, a voice saying: Salome, Salome, tell none of the marvels which thou hast seen, until the child enter into Jerusalem.

21 And behold, Joseph made him ready to go forth into Judaea. And there came a great tumult in Bethlehem of Judaea; for there came wise men, saying: Where is he that is born king of the Jews ? for we have seen his star in the east and arc come to worship him. 2 And when Herod heard it he was troubled and sent officers unto the wise men. And he sent for the high priests and examined them, saying: How is it written concerning the Christ, where he is born ? They say unto him: In Bethlehem of Judaea: for so it is written. A~d he let them go. And he examined the wise men, saying unto them: What sign saw ye concerning the king that is born ? And the wise men said: We saw a very great star shining among those stars and dimming them so that the stars appeared not: and thereby knew we that a king was born unto Israel, and we came to worship him. And Herod said: Go and seek for him, and if ye find him, tell me, that I also may come and worship him. 3 And the wise men went forth. And lo, the star which they saw in ~he east went before them until they entered into the cave: and it stood over the head of the cave. And the wise men saw the young child with Mar~, his mother: and they brought out of their scrip gifts, gold-and frankincense and myrrh. 4 And being warned by the angel that they should not enter into Judaea, they went into their own country by another way.

22 But when Herod perceived that he was mocked by the wise men, he was wroth, and sent murderers, saying unto them: Slay the children from two years old and under. And when Mary heard that the children were being slain, she was afraid, and took the young child and wrapped in swaddling clothes and laid him in an ox-manger. But Elizabeth when she heard that they sought for John, took him and went up into the hill-country and looked about her where she should hide him: and there was no hiding-place. And Elizabeth groaned and said with a loud voice: 0 mountain of God, receive thou a mother with a child. For Elizabeth was not able to go up. And immediately the mountain clave asunder and took her in. And there was a light shining alway for them: for an angel of the Lord was with them, keeping watch over them.

23 I Now Herod sought for John, and sent officers to Zacharias, saying: Where hast thou hidden thy son? And he answered and said unto them: I am a minister of God and attend continually upon the temple of the Lord: I know not where my son is. 2 And the officers departed and told Herod all these things. And Herod was wroth and said: His son is to be king over Israel. And he sent unto him again, saying: Say the truth: where is thy son ? for thou knowest that thy blood is under my hand. And the officers departed and told him all these things. 3 And Zacharias said: I am a martyr of God if thou sheddest my blood: for my spirit the Lord shah receive, because thou sheddest innocent blood in the fore-court of the temple of the Lord. And about the dawning of the day Zacharias was slain. And the children of Israel knew not that he was slain.

24 But the priests entered in at the hour of the salutation, and the blessing of Zacharias met them not according to the manner. And the priests stood waiting for Zacharias, to salute him with the prayer, and to glorify the Most High. But as he delayed to come, they were all afraid: and one of them took courage and entered in: and he saw beside the altar congealed blood: and a voice saying: Zacharias hath been slain, and his blood shall not be wiped out until his avenger come. And when he heard that word he was afraid, and went forth and told the priests. And they took courage and went in and saw that which was done: and the panels of the temple did wail: and they rent their clothes from the top to the bottom. And his body they found not, but his blood they found turned into stone. And they feared, and went forth and told all the people that Zacharias was slain. And all tile tribes of the people heard it, and they mourned for him and lamented him three days and three nights. And after the three days the priests took counsel whom they should set in his stead: and the lot came up upon Symeon. Now he it was which was warned by the Holy Ghost that he should not see death until he should see the Christ in the flesh.

25 Now I, James, which wrote this history in Jerusalem, when there arose a tumult when Herod died, withdrew myself into the wilderness until the tumult ceased in Jerusalem. Glorifying the Lord God which gave me the gift, and the wisdom to write this history. And grace shall be with those that fear our Lord Jesus Christ: to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

THE GOSPEL OF THE BIRTH OF MARY

The Nativity Gospel of Mary
From: "The Apocryphal New Testament"
Translation: M.R. James, 1924
Estimated Range of Dating: 140-230 A.D.

(In the primitive ages there was a Gospel extant bearing this name, attributed to St. Matthew, and received as genuine and authentic by several of the ancient Christian sects. It is to be found in the works of Jerome, a Father of the Church, who

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flourished in the fourth century, from whence the present translation is made. His contemporaries, Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, and Austin, also mention a Gospel under this title. The ancient copies differed from Jerome's, for from one of them the learned Faustus, a native of Britain, who became Bishop of Riez, in Provence, endeavoured to prove that Christ was not the Son of God till after his baptism; and that he was not of the house of David and tribe of Judah, because, according to the Gospel he cited, the Virgin herself was not of this tribe, but of the tribe of Levi; her father being a priest of the name of Joachim. It was likewise from this Gospel that the sect of the Collyridians, established the worship and offering of manchet bread and cracknels, or fine wafers, as sacrifices to Mary, whom they imagined to have been born of a Virgin, as Christ is related in the Canonical Gospel to have been born of her. Epiphanius likewise cites a passage concerning the death of Zacharias, which is not in Jerome's copy, viz. "That it was the occasion of the death of Zacharias in the temple, that when he had seen a vision, he, through surprise, was willing to disclose it, and his mouth was stopped. That which he saw was at the time of his offering incense, and it was a man standing in the form of an ass. When he was gone out, and had a mind to speak thus to the people, Woe unto you, whom do ye worship? he who had appeared to him in the temple took away the use of his speech. Afterwards when he recovered it, and was able to speak, he declared this to the Jews, and they slew him. They add (viz. the Gnostics in this book), that on this very account the high-priest was appointed by their lawgiver (by God to Moses), to carry little bells, that whensoever he went into the temple to sacrifice, he, whom they worshipped, hearing the noise of the bells, might have time enough to hide himself; and not be caught in that ugly shape and figure."—The principal part of this Gospel is contained in the Protevangelion of James, which follows next in order.)

BIRTH OF MARY CHAPTER 1

1 The parentage of Mary. Joachim her father, and Anna her mother, go to Jerusalem to the feast of the dedication. Issachar the high priest reproaches Joachim for being childless.

THE blessed and ever glorious Virgin Mary, sprung from the royal race and family of David, was born in the city of Nazareth, and educated at Jerusalem, in the temple of the Lord.

2 Her father's name was Joachim, and her mother's Anna. The family of her father was of Galilee and the city of Nazareth. The family of her mother was of Bethlehem.

3 Their lives were plain and right in the sight of the Lord, pious and faultless before men. For they divided all their substance into three parts:

4 One of which they devoted to the temple and officers of the temple; another they distributed among strangers, and persons in poor circumstances; and the third they reserved for themselves and the uses of their own family.

5 In this manner they lived for about twenty years chastely, in the favour of God, and the esteem of men, without any children.

6 But they vowed, if God should favour them with any issue, they would devote it to the service of the Lord; on which account they went at every feast in the year to the temple of the Lord.

7 And it came to pass, that when the feast of the dedication drew near, Joachim, with some others of his tribe, went up to Jerusalem, and at that time, Issachar was high-priest;

8 Who, when he saw Joachim along with the rest of his neighbours, bringing his offering, despised both him and his offerings, and asked him,

9 Why he, who had no children, would presume to appear among those who had? Adding, that his offerings could never be acceptable to God, who was judged by him unworthy to have children; the Scripture having said, Cursed is every one who shall not beget a male in Israel.

10. He further said, that he ought first to be free from that curse by begetting some issue, and then come with his offerings into the presence of God.

11 But Joachim being much confounded with the shame of such reproach, retired to the shepherds, who were with the cattle in their pastures;

12 For he was not inclined to return home, lest his neighbours, who were present and heard all this from the high-priest, should publicly reproach him in the same manner.

BIRTH OF MARY CHAPTER 2

1 An angel appears to Joachim, and informs him that Anna shall conceive and bring forth a daughter, who shall be called Mary, be brought up in the temple,2 and while yet a virgin, in a way unparalleled, bring forth the Son of God: gives him a sign, and departs.

BUT when he had been there for some time, on a certain day when he was alone, the angel of the Lord stood by him with a prodigious light.

2 To whom, being troubled at the appearance, the angel who had appeared to him, endeavouring to compose him said:

3 Be not afraid, Joachim, nor troubled at the sight of me, for I am an angel of the Lord sent by him to you, that I might inform you, that your prayers are heard, and your alms ascended in the sight of God.

4 For he hath surely seen your shame, and heard you unjustly reproached for not having children: for God is the avenger of sin, and not of nature;

5 And so when he shuts the womb of any person, he does it for this reason, that he may in a more wonderful manner again open it, and that which is born appear to be not the product of lust, but the gift of God.

6 For the first mother of your nation Sarah, was she not barren even till her eightieth year: And yet even in the end of her old age brought forth Isaac, in whom the promise was made a blessing to all nations.

7 Rachel also, so much in favour with God, and beloved so much by holy Jacob, continued barren for a long time, yet afterwards was the mot her of Joseph, who was not only governor of Egypt, but delivered many nations from perishing with hunger.

8 Who among the judges was more valiant than Samson, or more holy than Samuel? And yet both their mothers were barren.

9 But if reason will not convince you of the truth of my words, that there are frequent conceptions in advanced years, and that those who were barren have brought forth to their great surprise; therefore Anna your wife shall bring you a daughter, and you shall call her name Mary;

10 She shall, according to your vow, be devoted to the Lord from her infancy, and be filled with the Holy Ghost from her mother's womb;

11 She shall neither eat nor drink anything which is unclean, nor shall her conversation be without among the common people, but in the temple of the Lord; that so she may not fall under any slander or suspicion of what is bad.

12 So in the process of her years, as she shall be in a miraculous manner born of one that was barren, so she shall, while yet a virgin, in a way unparalleled, bring forth the Son of the most High God, who shall, be called Jesus, and, according to the signification of his name, be the Saviour of all nations.

13 And this shall be a sign to you of the things which I declare, namely, when you come to the golden gate of Jerusalem, you shall there meet your wife Anna, who being very much troubled that you returned no sooner, shall then rejoice to see you.

14 When the angel had said this he departed from him.

BIRTH OF MARY CHAPTER 3

1 The angel appears to Anna; tells her a daughter shall be born unto her, devoted to the service of the Lord in the temple, who, being a virgin and not knowing man, shall bring forth the Lord, and gives her a sign therefore. Joachim and Anna meet and rejoice,0 and praise the Lord. Anna conceives, and brings forth a daughter called Mary.

AFTERWARDS the angel appeared to Anna his wife saying: Fear not, neither think that which you see is a spirit.

2 For I am that angel who hath offered up your prayers and alms before God, and am now sent to you, that I may inform you, that a daughter will be born unto you, who shall be called Mary, and shall be blessed above all women.

3 She shall be, immediately upon her birth, full of the grace of the Lord, and shall continue during the three years of her weaning in her father's house, and afterwards, being devoted to the service of the Lord, shall not depart from the temple, till she arrives to years of discretion.

4 In a word, she shall there serve the Lord night and day in fasting and prayer, shall abstain from every unclean thing, and never know any man;

5 But, being an unparalleled instance without any pollution or defilement, and a virgin not knowing any man, shall bring forth a son, and a maid shall bring forth the Lord, who both by his grace and name and works, shall be the Saviour of the world.

6 Arise therefore, and go up to Jerusalem, and when you shall come to that which is called the golden gate (because it is gilt with gold), as a sign of what I have told you, you shall meet your husband, for whose safety you have been so much concerned.

7 When therefore you find these things thus accomplished, believe that all the rest which I have told you, shall also undoubtedly be accomplished.

8 According therefore to the command of the angel, both of them left the places where they were, and when they came to the place specified in the angel's prediction, they met each other.

9 Then, rejoicing at each other's vision, and being fully satisfied in the promise of a child, they gave due thanks to the Lord, who exalts the humble.

10 After having praised the Lord, they returned home, and lived in a cheerful and assured expectation of the promise of God.

11 So Anna conceived, and brought forth a daughter, and, according to the angel's command, the parents did call her name Mary.

BIRTH OF MARY CHAPTER 4

1 Mary brought to the temple at three years old. Ascends the stairs of the temple by miracle. Her parents sacrificed and returned home.

AND when three years were expired, and the time of her weaning complete, they brought the Virgin to the temple of the Lord with offerings.

2 And there were about the temple, according to the fifteen Psalms of degrees, fifteen stairs to ascend.

3 For the temple being built in a mountain, the altar of burnt-offering, which was without, could not be come near but by stairs;

4 The parents of the blessed Virgin and infant Mary put her upon one of these stairs;

5 But while they were putting off their clothes, in which they had travelled, and according to custom putting on some that were more neat and clean,

6 In the mean time the Virgin of the Lord in such a manner went up all the stairs one after another, without the help of any to lead or lift her, that any one would have judged from hence that she was of perfect age.

7 Thus the Lord did, in the infancy of his Virgin, work this extraordinary work, and evidence by this miracle how great she was like to be hereafter.

8 But the parents having offered up their sacrifice, according to the custom of the law, and perfected their vow, left the Virgin with other virgins in the apartments of the temple, who were to be brought up there, and they returned home.

BIRTH OF MARY CHAPTER 5

1 Mary ministered unto by angels. The high-priest orders all virgins of fourteen years old to quit the temple and endeavour to be married. Mary refuses, having vowed her virginity to the Lord. The high-priest commands a meeting of the chief persons of Jerusalem,1 who seek the Lord for counsel in the matter.3 A voice from the mercy-seat.5 The high priest obeys it by ordering all the unmarried men of the house of David to bring their rods to the altar,7 that his rod which should flower, and on which the Spirit of God should sit, should betroth the Virgin.

BUT the Virgin of the Lord, as she advanced in fears, increased also in perfections, and according to the saying of the Psalmist, her father and mother forsook her, but the Lord took care of her.

2 For she every day had the conversation of angels, and every day received visitors from God, which preserved her from all sorts of evil, and caused her to abound with all good things;

3 So that when at length she arrived to her fourteenth year, as the wicked could not lay anything to her charge worthy of reproof, so all good persons, who were acquainted with her, admired her life and conversation.

4 At that time the high-priest made a public order. That all the virgins who had public settlements in the temple, and were come to this age, should return home, and, as they were now of a proper maturity, should, according to the custom of their country, endeavour to be married.

5 To which command, though all the other virgins readily yielded obedience, Mary the Virgin of the Lord alone answered, that she could not comply with it.

6 Assigning these reasons, that both she and her parents had devoted her to the service of the Lord; and besides, that she had vowed virginity to the Lord, which vow she was resolved never to break through by lying with a man.

7 The high priest being hereby brought into a difficulty,

8 Seeing he durst neither on the one hand dissolve the vow, and disobey the Scripture, which says, Vow and pay,

9 Nor on the other hand introduce a custom, to which the people were strangers, commanded,

10 That at the approaching feast all the principal persons both of Jerusalem and the neighbouring places should meet together, that he might have their advice, how he had best proceed in so difficult a case.

11 When they were accordingly met, they unanimously agreed to seek the Lord, and ask counsel from him on this matter.

12 And when they were all engaged in prayer, the high-priest, according to the usual way, went to consult God.

13 And immediately there was a voice from the ark, and the mercy seat, which all present heard, that it must be inquired or sought out by a prophecy of Isaiah to whom the Virgin should be given and be betrothed;

14 For Isaiah saith, there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a flower shall spring out of its root,

15 And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the Spirit of Wisdom and Understanding, the Spirit of Counsel and Might, the Spirit of Knowledge and Piety, and the Spirit of the fear of the Lord shall fill him.

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16 Then, according to this prophecy, he appointed, that all the men of the house and family of David, who were marriageable, and not married, should bring their several rods to the altar,

17 And out of whatsoever person's rod after it was brought, a flower should bud forth, and on the top of it the Spirit of the Lord should sit in the appearance of a dove, he should be the man to whom the Virgin should be given and be betrothed.

BIRTH OF MARY CHAPTER 6

1 Joseph draws back his rod. The dove pitches on it. He betroths Mary and returns to Bethlehem. Mary returns to her parents' house at Galilee.

AMONG the rest there was a man named Joseph, of the house and family of David, and a person very far advanced in years, who drew back his rod, when every one besides presented his.

2 So that when nothing appeared agreeable to the heavenly voice, the high-priest judged it proper to consult God again,

3 Who answered that he to whom the Virgin was to be betrothed was the only person of those who were brought together, who had not brought his rod.

4 Joseph therefore was betrayed.

5 For, when he did bring his rod, and a dove coming from Heaven pitched upon the top of it, every one plainly saw, that the Virgin was to be betrothed to him:

6 Accordingly, the usual ceremonies of betrothing being over, he returned to his own city of Bethlehem, to set his house in order, and make the needful for the marriage.

7 But the Virgin of the Lord, Mary, with seven other virgins of the same age, who had been weaned at the same time, and who had been appointed to attend her by the priest, returned to her parents' house in Galilee.

BIRTH OF MARY CHAPTER 7

1 The salutation of the Virgin by Gabriel, who explains to her that she shall conceive, without lying with a man, while a Virgin,9 by the Holy Ghost coming upon her without the heats of lust.1 She submits.

NOW at this time of her first coming into Galilee, the angel Gabriel was sent to her from God, to declare to her the conception of our Saviour, and the manner and way of her conceiving him.

2 Accordingly going into her, he filled the chamber where she was with a prodigious light, and in a most courteous manner saluting her, he said,

3 Hail, Mary! Virgin of the Lord most acceptable! O Virgin full of Grace! The Lord is with you, you are blessed above all women, you are blessed above all men, that. have been hitherto born.

4 But the Virgin, who had before been well acquainted with the countenances of angels, and to whom such light from heaven was no uncommon thing,

5 Was neither terrified with the vision of the angel, nor astonished at the greatness of the light, but only troubled about the angel's words:

6 And began to consider what so extraordinary a salutation should mean, what it did portend, or what sort of end it would have.

7 To this thought the angel, divinely inspired, replies;

8 Fear not, Mary, as though I intended anything inconsistent with your chastity in this salutation:

9 For you have found favour with the Lord, because you made virginity your choice.

10 Therefore while you are a Virgin, you shall conceive without sin, and bring forth a son.

11 He shall be great, because he shall reign from sea to sea, and from the rivers to the ends of the earth.

12 And he shall be called the Son of the Highest; for he who is born in a mean state on earth reigns in an exalted one in heaven.

13 And the Lord shall give him the throne of his father David, and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end.

14 For he is the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, and his throne is for ever and ever.

15 To this discourse of the angel the Virgin replied not, as though she were unbelieving, but willing to know the manner of it.

16 She said, How can that be? For seeing, according to my vow, I have never known any man, how can I bear a child without the addition of a man's seed?

17 To this the angel replied and said, Think not, Mary, that you shall conceive in the ordinary way.

18 For, without lying with a man, while a Virgin, you shall conceive; while a Virgin, you shall bring forth; and while a Virgin shall give suck.

19 For the Holy Ghost shall come upon you, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow you, without any of the heats of lust.

20 So that which shall be born of you shall be only holy, be. cause it only is conceived without sin, and being born, shall be called the Son of God.

21 Then Mary stretching forth her hands, and lifting her eyes to heaven, said, Behold the handmaid of the Lord! Let it be unto me according to thy word.

BIRTH OF MARY CHAPTER 8

1 Joseph returns to Galilee to marry the Virgin he had betrothed. perceives she is with child, is uneasy, purposes to put her away privily, is told by the angel of the Lord it is not the work of man but the Holy Ghost,2 Marries her, but keeps chaste,3 removes with her to Bethlehem,5 where she brings forth Christ.

JOSEPH therefore went from Judaea to Galilee, with intention to marry the Virgin who was betrothed to him:

2 For it was now near three months since she was betrothed to him.

3 At length it plainly appeared she was with child, and it could not be hid from Joseph:

4 For going to the Virgin in a free manner, as one espoused, and talking familiarly with her, he perceived her to be with child.

5 And thereupon began to be uneasy and doubtful, not knowing what course it would be best to take;

6 For being a just man, he was not willing to expose her, nor defame her by the suspicion of being a whore, since he was a pious man.

7 He purposed therefore privately to put an end to their agreement, and as privately to put her away.

8 But while he was meditating these things, behold the angel of the Lord appeared to him in his sleep, and said Joseph, son of David, fear not;

9 Be not willing to entertain any suspicion of the Virgin's being guilty of fornication, or to think any thing amiss of her, neither be afraid to take her to wife;

10 For that which is begotten In her and now distresses your mind, is not the work of man, but the Holy Ghost.

11 For she of all women is that only Virgin who shall bring forth the Son of God, and you shall call his name Jesus, that is, Saviour: for he will save his people from their sins.

12 Joseph thereupon, according to the command of the angel, married the Virgin, and did not know her, but kept her in chastity.

13 And now the ninth month from her conception drew near, when Joseph took his wife and what other things were necessary to Bethlehem, the city from whence he came.

14 And it came to pass, while they were there, the days were fulfilled for her bringing forth.

15 And she brought forth her first-born son, as the holy Evangelists have taught, even our Lord Jesus Christ, who with the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, lives and reigns to everlasting ages.

THE INFANCY GOSPEL OF MATTHEW

or The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew
or The Book About the Origin of the
Blessed Mary and the Childhood of the Saviour
From: Ante-Nicene Fathers Vol 8 1886
Translation: Alexander Roberts, Sir James Donaldson, Arthur Cleveland Coxe, 1886.
Estimated Range of Dating: 650-700 A.D.

(The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew is a part of the New Testament apocrypha, and sometimes goes by the name of The Infancy Gospel of Matthew, but the actual name of the text in antiquity was The Book About the Origin of the Blessed Mary and the Childhood of the Savior. Pseudo-Matthew is one of a genre of "Infancy gospels" that seek to fill out the details of the life of Jesus of Nazareth up to the age of 12, which are briefly given in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. The composition date of the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew is around 650 AD at the earliest, due to the fact that it "shows literary dependence on Vita Agnetis of Pseudo-Ambrose", which itself was used in De Virginitate in 690 AD. Pseudo-Matthew shares many similarities with, and likely used as sources, the apocryphal Gospel of James and Infancy Gospel of Thomas.

The content of the text is primarily an edited reproduction of the Protevangelium of James, followed by an account of the Flight into Egypt (it is not known on what this is based), and subsequently an edited reproduction of the Infancy Gospel of Thomas. Essentially, it is a (fairly successful) attempt to merge these texts into a single work. To its sources, the Gospel adds the first known mention of an ox and a donkey being present at the nativity of Jesus. The work also helped popularize the image of a very young Mary and relatively old Joseph from the Gospel of James.)

HERE beginneth the book of the Birth of the Blessed Mary and the Infancy of the Saviour. Written in Hebrew by the Blessed Evangelist Matthew, and translated into Latin by the Blessed Presbyter Jerome.

To their well-beloved brother Jerome the Presbyter, Bishops Cromatius and Heliodorus in the Lord, greeting.

The birth of the Virgin Mary, and the nativity and infancy of our Lord Jesus Christ, we find in apocryphal books. But considering that in them many things contrary to our faith are written, we have believed that they ought all to be rejected, lest perchance we should transfer the joy of Christ to Antichrist. While, therefore, we were considering these things, there came holy men, Parmenius and Varinus, who said that your Holiness had found a Hebrew volume, written by the hand of the most blessed Evangelist Matthew, in which also the birth of the virgin mother herself, and the infancy of our Saviour, were written. And accordingly we entreat your affection by our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, to render it from the Hebrew into Latin, not so much for the attainment of those things which are the insignia of Christ, as for the exclusion of the craft of heretics, who, in order to teach bad doctrine, have mingled their own lies with the excellent nativity of Christ, that by the sweetness of life they might hide the bitterness of death. It will therefore become your purest piety, either to listen to us as your brethren entreating, or to let us have as bishops exacting, the debt of affection which you may deem due.

REPLY TO THEIR LETTER BY JEROME.

To my lords the holy and most blessed Bishops Cromatius and Heliodorus, Jerome, a humble servant of Christ, in the Lord greeting.

He who digs in ground where he knows that there is gold, does not instantly snatch at whatever the upturn trench may pour forth; but, before the stroke of the quivering spade raises aloft the glittering mass, he meanwhile lingers over the sods to turn them over and lift them up, and especially he who has not added to his gains. An arduous task is enjoined upon me, since what your Blessedness has commanded me, the holy Apostle and Evangelist Matthew himself did not write for the purpose of publishing. For if he had not done it somewhat secretly, he would have added it also to his Gospel which he published. But he composed this book in Hebrew; and so little did he publish it, that at this day the book written in Hebrew by his own hand is in the possession of very religious men, to whom in successive periods of time it has been handed down by those that were before them. And this book they never at any time gave to any one to translate. And so it came to pass, that when it was published by a disciple of Manichaeus named Leucius, who also wrote the falsely styled Acts of the Apostles, this book afforded matter, not of edification, but of perdition; and the opinion of the Synod in regard to it was according to its deserts, that the ears of the Church should not be open to it. Let the snapping of those that bark against us now cease; for we do not add this little book to the canonical writings, but we translate what was written by an Apostle and Evangelist, that we may disclose the falsehood of heresy. In this work, then, we obey the commands of pious bishops as well as oppose impious heretics. It is the love of Christ, therefore, which we fulfil, believing that they will assist us by their prayers, who through our obedience attain to a knowledge of the holy infancy of our Saviour.

There is extant another letter to the same bishops, attributed to Jerome:

You ask me to let you know what I think of a book held by some to be about the nativity of St. Mary. And so I wish you to know that there is much in it that is false. For one Seleucus, who wrote the Sufferings of the Apostles, composed this book. But, just as he wrote what was true about their powers, and the miracles they worked, but said a great deal that was false about their doctrine; so here too he has invented many untruths out of his own head. I shall take care to render it word for word, exactly as it is in the Hebrew, since it is asserted that it was composed by the holy Evangelist Matthew, and written in Hebrew, and set at the head of his Gospel. Whether this be true or not, I leave to the author of the preface and the trustworthiness of the writer: as for myself, I pronounce them doubtful; I do not affirm that they are clearly false. But this I say freely-- and I think none of the faithful will deny it -- that, whether these stories be true or inventions, the sacred nativity of St. Mary was preceded by great miracles, and succeeded by the greatest; and so by those who believe that God can do these things, they can be believed and read without damaging their faith or imperilling their souls. In short, so far as I can, following the sense rather than the words of the writer, and sometimes walking in the same path, though not in the same footsteps, sometimes digressing a little, but still keeping the same road, I shall in this way keep by the style of the narrative, and shall say nothing that is not either written there, or might, following the same train of thought, have been written.

1 In those days there was a man in Jerusalem, Joachim by name, of the tribe of Judah. He was the shepherd of his own sheep, fearing the Lord in integrity and singleness of heart. He had no other care than that of his herds, from the produce of which he supplied with food all that feared God, offering double gifts in the fear of God to all who laboured in doctrine, and who ministered unto Him. Therefore his lambs, and his sheep, and his wool, and all things whatsoever he possessed, he used to divide into three portions: one he gave to the orphans, the widows, the strangers, and the poor; the second to those that worshipped God; and the third he kept for

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himself and all his house. And as he did so, the Lord multiplied to him his herds, so that there was no man like him in the people of Israel. This now he began to do when he was fifteen years old. And at the age of twenty he took to wife Anna, the daughter of Achar, of his own tribe, that is, of the tribe of Judah, of the family of David. And though they had lived together for twenty years, he had by her neither sons nor daughters.

2 And it happened that, in the time of the feast, among those who were offering incense to the Lord, Joachim stood getting ready his gifts in the sight of the Lord. And the priest, Ruben by name, coming to him, said: It is not lawful for thee to stand among those who are doing sacrifice to God, because God has not blessed thee so as to give thee seed in lsrael. Being therefore put to shame in the sight of the people, he retired from the temple of the Lord weeping, and did not return to his house, but went to his flocks, taking with him his shepherds into the mountains to a far country, so that for five months his wife Anna could hear no tidings of him. And she prayed with tears, saying: O Lord, most mighty God of Israel, why hast Thou, seeing that already Thou hast not given me children, taken from me my husband also? Behold, now five months that I have not seen my husband; and I know not where he is tarrying; (4) nor, if I knew him to be dead, could I bury him. And while she wept excessively, she entered into the court of His house; and she fell on her face in prayer, and poured out her supplications before the Lord. After this, rising from her prayer, and lifting her eyes to God, she saw a sparrow's nest in a laurel tree, (5) and uttered her voice to the Lord with groaning, and said: Lord God Almighty, who hast given offspring to every creature, to beasts wild and tame, to serpents, and birds, and fishes, and they all rejoice over their young ones, Thou hast shut out me alone from the gift of Thy benignity. For Thou, O God, knowest my heart, that from the beginning of my married life I have vowed that, if Thou, O God, shouldst give me son or daughter, I would offer them to Thee in Thy holy temple. And while she was thus speaking, suddenly an angel of the Lord appeared before her, saying: Be not afraid, Anna, for there is seed for thee in the decree of God; and all generations even to the end shall wonder at that which shall be born of thee. And when he had thus spoken, he vanished out of her sight. But she, in fear and dread because she had seen such a sight, and heard such words, at length went into her bed-chamber, and threw herself on the bed as if dead. And for a whole day and night she remained in great trembling and in prayer. And after these things she called to her her servant, and said to her: Dost thou see me deceived in my widowhood and in great perplexity, and hast thou been unwilling to come in to me? Then she, with a slight murmur, thus answered and said: If God hath shut up thy womb, and hath taken away thy husband from thee, what can I do for thee? And when Anna heard this, she lifted up her voice, and wept aloud.

3 At the same time there appeared a young man on the mountains to Joachim while he was feeding his flocks, and said to him: Why dost thou not return to thy wife? And Joachim said: I have had her for twenty years, and it has not been the will of God to give me children by her. I have been driven with shame and reproach from the temple of the Lord: why should I go back to her, when I have been once cast off and utterly despised? Here then will I remain with my sheep; and so long as in this life God is willing to grant me light, I shall willingly, by the hands of my servants, bestow their portions upon the poor, and the orphans, and those that fear God. And when he had thus spoken, the young man said to him: I am an angel of the Lord, and I have to-day appeared to thy wife when she was weeping and praying, and have consoled her; and know that she has conceived a daughter from thy seed, and thou in thy ignorance of this hast left her. She will be in the temple of God, and the Holy Spirit shall abide in her; and her blessedness shall be greater than that of all the holy women, so that no one can say that any before her has been like her, or that any after her in this world will be so. Therefore go down from the mountains, and return to thy wife, whom thou wilt find with child. For God hath raised up seed in her, and for this thou wilt give God thanks; and her seed shall be blessed, and she herself shall be blessed, and shall be made the mother of eternal blessing. Then Joachim adored the angel, and said to him: If I have found favour in thy sight, sit for a little in my tent, and bless thy servant. And the angel said to him: Do not say servant, but fellow-servant; for we are the servants of one Master. But my food is invisible, and my drink cannot be seen by a mortal. Therefore thou oughtest not to ask me to enter thy tent; but if thou wast about to give me anything, offer it as a burnt-offering to the Lord. Then Joachim took a lamb without spot, and said to the angel: I should not have dared to offer a burnt-offering to the Lord, unless thy command had given me the priest's right of offering. And the angel said to him: I should not have invited thee to offer unless I had known the will of the Lord. And when Joachim was offering the sacrifice to God, the angel and the odour of the sacrifice went together straight up to heaven with the smoke.

Then Joachim, throwing himself on his face, lay in prayer from the sixth hour of the day even until evening. And his lads and hired servants who were with him saw him, and not knowing why he was lying down, thought that he was dead; and they came to him, and with difficulty raised him from the ground. And when he recounted to them the vision of the angel, they were struck with great fear and wonder, and advised him to accomplish the vision of the angel without delay, and to go back with all haste to his wife. And when Joachim was turning over in his mind whether he should go back or not, it happened that he was overpowered by a deep sleep; and, behold, the angel who had already appeared to him when awake, appeared to him in his sleep, saying: I am the angel appointed by God as thy guardian: go down with confidence, and return to Anna, because the deeds of mercy which thou and thy wife Anna have done have been told in the presence of the Most High; and to you will God give such fruit as no prophet or saint has ever had from the beginning, or ever will have. And when Joachim awoke out of his sleep, he called all his herdsmen to him, and told them his dream. And they worshipped the Lord, and said to him: See that thou no further despise the words of the angel. But rise and let us go hence, and return at a quiet pace, feeding our flocks.

And when, after thirty days occupied in going back, they were now near at hand, behold, the angel of the Lord appeared to Anna, who was standing and praying, and said: Go to the gate which is called Golden, and meet thy husband in the way, for to-day he will come to thee. She therefore went towards him in haste With her maidens, and, praying to the Lord, she stood a long time in the gate waiting for him. And when she was wearied with long waiting, she lifted up her eyes and saw Joachim afar off coming with his flocks; and she ran to him and hung on his neck, giving thanks to God, and saying: I was a widow, and behold now I am not so: I was barren, and behold I have now conceived. And so they worshipped the Lord, and went into their own house. And when this was heard of, there was great joy among all their neighbours and acquaintances, so that the whole land of lsrael congratulated them.

4 After these things, her nine months being fulfilled, Anna brought forth a daughter, and called her Mary. And having weaned her in her third year, Joachim, and Anna his wife, went together to the temple of the Lord to offer sacrifices to God, and placed the infant, Mary by name, in the community of virgins, in which the virgins remained day and night praising God. And when she was put down before the doors of the temple, she went up the fifteen steps so swiftly, that she did not look back at all; nor did she, as children are wont to do, seek for her parents. Whereupon her parents, each of them anxiously seeking for the child, were both alike astonished, until they found her in the temple, and the priests of the temple themselves wondered.

5 Then Anna, filled with the Holy Spirit, said before them all: The Lord Almighty, the God of Hosts, being mindful of His word, hath visited His people with a good and holy visitation, to bring down the hearts of the Gentiles who were rising against us, and turn them to Himself. He hath opened His ears to our prayers: He hath kept away from us the exulting of all our enemies. The barren hath become a mother, and hath brought forth exultation and gladness to lsrael. Behold the gifts which I have brought to offer to my Lord, and mine enemies have not been able to hinder me. For God hath turned their hearts to me, and Himself hath given me everlasting joy.

6 And Mary was held in admiration by all the people of Israel; and when she was three years old, she walked with a step so mature, she spoke so perfectly, and spent her time so assiduously in the praises of God, that all were astonished at her, and wondered; and she was not reckoned a young infant, but as it were a grown-up person of thirty years old. She was so constant in prayer, and her appearance was so beautiful and glorious, that scarcely any one could look into her face. And she occupied herself constantly with her wool-work, so that she in her tender years could do all that old women were not able to do. And this was the order that she had set for herself: From the morning to the third hour she remained in prayer; from the third to the ninth she was occupied with her weaving; and from the ninth she again applied herself to prayer. She did not retire from praying until there appeared to her the angel of the Lord, from whose hand she used to receive food; and thus she became more and more perfect in the work of God. Then, when the older virgins rested from the praises of God, she did not rest at all; so that in the praises and vigils of God none were found before her, no one more learned in the wisdom of the law of God, more lowly in humility, more elegant in singing, more perfect in all virtue. She was indeed stedfast, immoveable, unchangeable, and daily advancing to perfection. No one saw her angry, nor heard her speaking evil. All her speech was so full of grace, that her God was acknowledged to be in her tongue. She was always engaged in prayer and in searching the law, and she was anxious lest by any word of hers she should sin with regard to her companions. Then she was afraid lest in her laughter, or the sound of her beautiful voice, she should commit any fault, or lest, being elated, she should display any wrong- doing or haughtiness to one of her equals. She blessed God without intermission; and lest perchance, even in her salutation, she might cease from praising God; if any one saluted her, she used to answer by way of salutation: Thanks be to God. And from her the custom first began of men saying, Thanks be to God, when they saluted each other. She refreshed herself only with the food which she daily received from the hand of the angel; but the food which she obtained from the priests she divided among the poor. The angels of God were often seen speaking with her, and they most diligently obeyed her. If any one who was unwell touched her, the same hour he went home cured.

7 Then Abiathar the priest offered gifts without end to the high priests, in order that he might obtain her as wife to his son. But Mary forbade them, saying: It cannot be that I should know a man, or that a man should know me. For all the priests and all her relations kept saying to her: God is worshipped in children and adored in posterity, as has always happened among the sons of Israel. But Mary answered and said unto them: God is worshipped in chastity, as is proved first of all. For before Abel there was none righteous among men, and he by his offerings pleased God, and was without mercy slain by him who displeased Him. Two crowns, therefore, he received -- of oblation and of virginity, because in his flesh there was no pollution. Elias also, when he was in the flesh, was taken up in the flesh, because he kept his flesh unspotted. Now I, from my infancy in the temple of God, have learned that virginity can be sufficiently dear to God. And so, because I can offer what is dear to God, I have resolved in my heart that I should not know a man at all.

8 Now it came to pass, when she was fourteen s years old, and on this account there was occasion for the Pharisees' saying that it was now a custom that no woman of that age should abide in the temple of God, they fell upon the plan of sending a herald through all the tribes of lsrael, that on the third day all should come together into the temple of the Lord. And when all the people had come together, Abiathar the high priest rose, and mounted on a higher step, that he might be seen and heard by all the people; and when great silence had been obtained, he said: Hear me, O sons of Israel, and receive my words into your ears. Ever since this temple was built by Solomon, there have been in it virgins, the daughters of kings and the daughters of prophets, and of high priests and priests; and they were great, and worthy of admiration. But when they came to the proper age they were given in marriage, and followed the course of their mothers before them, and were pleasing to God. But a new order of life has been found out by Mary alone, who promises that she will remain a virgin to God. Wherefore it seems to me, that through our inquiry and the answer of God we should try to ascertain to whose keeping she ought to be entrusted. Then these words found favour with all the synagogue. And the lot was east by the priests upon the twelve tribes, and the lot fell upon the tribe of Judah. And the priest said: To-morrow let every one who has no wife come, and bring his rod in his hand. Whence it happened that Joseph brought his rod along with the young men. And the rods having been handed over to the high priest, he offered a sacrifice to the Lord God, and inquired of the Lord. And the Lord said to him: Put all their rods into the holy of holies of God, and let them remain there, and order them to come to thee on the morrow to get back their rods; and the man from the point of whose rod a dove shall come forth, and fly towards heaven, and in whose hand the rod, when given back, shall exhibit this sign, to him let Mary be delivered to be kept.

On the following day, then, all having assembled early, and an incense-offering having been made, the high priest went into the holy of ho-lies, and brought forth the rods. And when he had distributed the rods, and the dove came forth out of none of them, the high priest put on the twelve bells and the sacerdotal robe; and entering into the holy of holies, he there made a burnt-offering, and poured forth a prayer. And the angel of the Lord appeared to him, saying: There is here the shortest rod, of which thou hast made no account: thou didst bring it in with the rest, but didst not take it out with them. When thou hast taken it out, and hast given it him whose it is, in it will appear the sign of which I spoke to thee. Now that was Joseph's rod; and because he was an old man, he had been cast off, as it were, that he might not receive her, but neither did he himself wish to ask back his rod. And when he was humbly standing last of all, the high priest cried out to him with a loud voice, saying: Come, Joseph, and receive thy rod; for we are waiting for thee. And Joseph came up trembling, because the high priest had called him with a very loud voice. But as soon as he stretched forth his hand, and laid hold of his rod, immediately from the top of it came forth a dove whiter than snow, beautiful exceedingly, which, after long flying about the roofs of the temple, at length flew towards the heavens. Then all the people congratulated the old man, saying: Thou hast been made blessed in thine old age, O father Joseph, seeing that God hath shown thee to be fit to receive Mary. And the priests having said to him, Take her, because of all the tribe of Judah thou alone hast been chosen

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by God; Joseph began bashfully to address them, saying: I am an old man, and have children; why do you hand over to me this infant, who is younger than my grandsons? Then Abiathar the high priest said to him: Remember, Joseph, how Dathan and Abiron and Core perished, because they despised the will of God. So will it happen to thee, if thou despise this which is commanded thee by God. Joseph answered him: I indeed do not despise the will of God; but I shall be her guardian until I can ascertain concerning the will of God, as to which of my sons can have her as his wife. Let some virgins of her companions, with whom she may meanwhile spend her time, be given for a consolation to her. Abiathar the high priest answered and said: Five virgins indeed shall be given her for consolation, until the appointed day come in which thou mayst receive her; for to no other can she be joined in marriage.

Then Joseph received Mary, with the other five virgins who were to be with her in Joseph's house. These virgins were Rebecca, Sephora, Susanna, Abigea, and Cael; to whom the high priest gave the silk, and the blue, and the fine linen, and the scarlet, and the purple, and the fine flax. For they cast lots among themselves what each virgin should do, and the purple for the veil of the temple of the Lord fell to the lot of Mary. And when she had got it, those virgins said to her: Since thou art the last, and humble, and younger than all, thou hast deserved to receive and obtain the purple. And thus saying, as it were in words of annoyance, they began to call her queen of virgins. While, however, they were so doing, the angel of the Lord appeared in the midst of them, saying: These words shall not have been uttered by way of annoyance, but prophesied as a prophecy most true. They trembled, therefore, at the sight of the angel, and at his words, and asked her to pardon them, and pray for them.

9 And on the second day, while Mary was at the fountain to fill her pitcher, the angel of the Lord appeared to her, saying: Blessed art thou, Mary; for in thy womb thou hast prepared an habitation for the Lord. For, lo, the light from heaven shall come and dwell in thee, and by means of thee will shine over the whole world.

Again, on the third day, while she was working at the purple with her fingers, there entered a young man of ineffable beauty. And when Mary saw him, she exceedingly feared and trembled. And he said to her: Hail, Mary, full of grace; the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb. And when she heard these words, she trembled, and was exceedingly afraid. Then the angel of the Lord added: Fear not, Mary; for thou hast found favour with God: Behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and shalt bring forth a King, who fills not only the earth, but the heaven, and who reigns from generation to generation.

10 While these things were doing, Joseph was occupied with his work, house-building, in the districts by the sea-shore; for he was a carpenter. And after nine months he came back to his house, and found Mary pregnant. Wherefore, being in the utmost distress, he trembled and cried out, saying: O Lord God, receive my spirit; for it is better for me to die than to live any longer. And the virgins who were with Mary said to him: Joseph, what art thou saying? We know that no man has touched her; we can testify that she is still a virgin, and untouched. We have watched over her; always has she continued with us in prayer; daily do the angels of God speak with her; daily does she receive food from the hand of the Lord. We know not how it is possible that there can be any sin in her. But if thou wishest us to tell thee what we suspect, nobody but the angel of the Lord has made her pregnant. Then said Joseph: Why do you mislead me, to believe that an angel of the Lord has made her pregnant? But it is possible that some one has pretended to be an angel of the Lord, and has beguiled her. And thus speaking, he wept, and said:

With what face shall I look at the temple of the Lord, or with what face shall I see the priests of God? What am I to do? And thus saying, he thought that he would flee, and send her away.

11 And when he was thinking of rising up and hiding himself, and dwelling in secret, behold, on that very night, the angel of the Lord appeared to him in sleep, saying: Joseph, thou son of David, fear not; receive Mary as thy wife: for that which is in her womb is of the Holy Spirit. And she shall bring forth a son, and His name shall be called Jesus, for He will save His people from their sins. And Joseph, rising from his sleep, gave thanks to God, and spoke to Mary and the virgins who were with her, and told them his vision. And he was comforted about Mary, saying: I have sinned, in that I suspected thee at all.

12 After these things there arose a great report that Mary was with child. And Joseph was seized by the officers of the temple, and brought along with Mary to the high priest. And he with the priests began to reproach him, and to say: Why hast thou beguiled so great and so glorious a virgin, who was fed like a dove in the temple by the angels of God, who never wished either to see or to have a man, who had the most excellent knowledge of the law of God? If thou hadst not done violence to her, she would still have remained in her virginity. And Joseph vowed, and swore that he had never touched her at all. And Abiathar the high priest answered him: As the Lord liveth, I will give thee to drink of the water of drinking of the Lord, and immediately thy sin will appear.

Then was assembled a multitude of people which could not be numbered, and Mary was brought to the temple. And the priests, and her relatives, and her parents wept, and said to Mary: Confess to the priests thy sin, thou that wast like a dove in the temple of God, and didst receive food from the hands of an angel. And again Joseph was summoned to the altar, and the water of drinking of the Lord was given him to drink. And when any one that had lied drank this water, and walked seven times round the altar, God used to show some sign in his face. When, therefore, Joseph had drunk in safety, and had walked round the altar seven times, no sign of sin appeared in him. Then all the priests, and the officers, and the people justified him, saying: Blessed art thou, seeing that no charge has been found good against thee. And they summoned Mary, and said: And what excuse canst thou have? or what greater sign can appear in thee than the conception of thy womb, which betrays thee? This only we require of thee, that since Joseph is pure regarding thee, thou confess who it is that has beguiled thee. For it is better that thy confession should betray thee, than that the wrath of God should set a mark on thy face, and expose thee in the midst of the people. Then Mary said, stedfastly and without trembling: O Lord God, King over all, who knowest all secrets, if there be any pollution in me, or any sin, or any evil desires, or unchastity, expose me in the sight of all the people, and make me an example of punishment to all. Thus saying, she went up to the altar of the Lord boldly, and drank the water of drinking, and walked round the altar seven times, and no spot was found in her.

And when all the people were in the utmost astonishment, seeing that she was with child, and that no sign had appeared in her face, they began to be disturbed among themselves by conflicting statements: some said that she was holy and unspotted, others that she was wicked and defiled. Then Mary, seeing that she was still suspected by the people, and that on that account she did not seem to them to be wholly cleared, said in the hearing of all, with a loud voice, As the Lord Adonai liveth, the Lord of Hosts before whom I stand, I have not known man; but I am known by Him to whom from my earliest years I have devoted myself. And this vow I made to my God from my infancy, that I should remain unspotted in Him who created me, and I trust that I shall so live to Him alone, and serve Him alone; and in Him, as long as I shall live, will I remain unpolluted. Then they all began to kiss her feet and to embrace her knees, asking her to pardon them for their wicked suspicions. And she was led down to her house with exultation and joy by the people, and the priests, and all the virgins. And they cried out, and said: Blessed be the name of the Lord for ever, because He hath manifested thy holiness to all His people Israel.

13 And it came to pass some little time after, that an enrolment was made according to the edict of Caesar Augustus, that all the world was to be enrolled, each man in his native place. This enrolment was made by Cyrinus, the governor of Syria, It was necessary, therefore, that Joseph should enrol with the blessed Mary in Bethlehem, because to it they belonged, being of the tribe of Judah, and of the house and family of David. When, therefore, Joseph and the blessed Mary were going along the road which leads to Bethlehem, Mary said to Joseph: I see two peoples before me, the one weeping, and the other rejoicing. And Joseph answered: Sit still on thy beast, and do not speak superfluous words. Then there appeared before them a beautiful boy, clothed in white raiment, who-said to Joseph: Why didst thou say that the words which Mary spoke about the two peoples were superfluous? For she saw the people of the Jews weeping, because they have departed from their God; and the people of the Gentiles rejoicing, because they have now been added and made near to the Lord, according to that which He promised to our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: for the time is at hand when in the seed of Abraham all nations shall be blessed.

And when he had thus said, the angel ordered the beast to stand, for the time when she should bring forth was at hand; and he commanded the blessed Mary to come down off the animal, and go into a recess under a cavern, in which there never was light, but always darkness, because the light of day could not reach it. And when the blessed Mary had gone into it, it began to shine with as much brightness as if it were the sixth hour of the day. The light from God so shone in the cave, that neither by day nor night was light wanting as long as the blessed Mary was there. And there she brought forth a son, and the angels surrounded Him when He was being born. And as soon as He was born, He stood upon His feet, and the angels adored Him, saying: Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good pleasure. Now, when the birth of the Lord was at hand, Joseph had gone away to seek midwives. And when he had found them, he returned to the cave, and found with Mary the infant which she had brought forth. And Joseph said to the blessed Mary: I have brought thee two midwives--Zelomi and Salome; and they are standing outside before the entrance to the cave, not daring to come in hither, because of the exceeding brightness. And when the blessed Mary heard this, she smiled; and Joseph said to her: Do not smile; but prudently allow them to visit thee, in case thou shouldst require them for thy cure. Then she ordered them to enter. And when Zelomi had come in, Salome having stayed without, Zelomi said to Mary: Allow me to touch thee. And when she had permitted her to make an examination, the midwife cried out with a loud voice, and said: Lord, Lord Almighty, mercy on us! It has never been heard or thought of, that any one should have her breasts full of milk, and that the birth of a son should show his mother to be a virgin. But there has been no spilling of blood in his birth, no pain in bringing him forth. A virgin has conceived, a virgin has brought forth, and a virgin she remains. And hearing these words, Salome said: Allow me to handle thee, and prove whether Zelomi have spoken the truth. And the blessed Mary allowed her to handle her. And when she had withdrawn her hand from handling her, it dried up, and through excess of pain she began to weep bitterly, and to be in great distress, crying out, and saying: O Lord God, Thou knowest that I have always feared Thee, and that without recompense I have cared for all the poor; I have taken nothing from the widow and the orphan, and the needy have I not sent empty away. And, behold, I am made wretched because of mine unbelief, since without a cause I wished to try Thy virgin. And while she was thus speaking, there stood by her a young man in shining garments, saying: Go to the child, and adore Him, and touch Him with thy hand, and He will heal thee, because He is the Saviour of the world, and of all that hope in Him. And she went to the child with haste, and adored Him, and touched the fringe of the cloths in which He was wrapped, and instantly her hand was cured. And going forth, she began to cry aloud, and to tell the wonderful things which she had seen, and which she had suffered, and how she had been cured; so that many through her statements believed.

And some shepherds also affirmed that they had seen angels singing a hymn at midnight, praising and blessing the God of heaven, and saying: There has been born the Saviour of all, who is Christ the Lord, in whom salvation shall be brought back to Israel.

Moreover, a great star, larger than any that had been seen since the beginning of the world, shone over the cave from the evening till the morning. And the prophets who were in Jerusalem said that this star pointed out the birth of Christ, who should restore the promise not only to Israel, but to all nations.

14 And on the third day after the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, the most blessed Mary went forth out of the cave, and entering a stable, placed the child in the stall, and the ox and the ass adored Him. Then was fulfilled that which was said by Isaiah the prophet, saying: The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib. The very animals, therefore, the ox and the ass, having Him in their midst, incessantly adored Him. Then was fulfilled that which was said by Abacuc the prophet, saying: Between two animals thou art made manifest. In the same place Joseph remained with Mary three days.

15 And on the sixth day they entered Bethlehem, where they spent the seventh day. And on the eighth day they circumcised the child, and called His name Jesus; for so He was called by the angel before He was conceived in the womb. Now, after the days of the purifiation of Mary were fulfilled according to the law of Moses, then Joseph took the infant to the temple of the Lord. And when the infant had received parhithomus,--parhithomus, that is, circumcision--they offered for Him a pair of turtle-doves, or two young pigeons.

Now there was in the temple a man of God, perfect and just, whose name was Symeon, a hundred and twelve years old. He had received the answer from the Lord, that he should not taste of death till he had seen Christ, the Son of God, living in the flesh. And having seen the child, he cried out with a loud voice, saying: God hath visited His people, and the Lord hath fulfilled His promise. And he made haste, and adored Him. And after this he took Him up into his cloak and kissed His feet, and said: Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy word: for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation, which Thou hast prepared before the face of all peoples, to be a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of Thy people Israel.

There was also in the temple of the Lord, Anna, a propheteess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Asher, who had lived with her husband seven years from her virginity; and she had now been a widow eighty-four years. And she never left the temple of the Lord, but spent her time in fasting and prayer. She also likewise adored the child, saying: In Him is the redemption of the world.

16 And when the second year was past, Magi came from the east to Jerusalem, bringing great gifts. And they made strict inquiry of the Jews, saying: Where is the king who has been born to you? for we have seen his star in the east, and have come to worship him. And word of this came to King Herod, and so alarmed him that he called together the scribes and the Pharisees, and the teachers of the people, asking of them where the prophets had foretold that Christ should be born. And they said: In Bethlehem of Judah. For it is written: And thou Bethelehem, in the land of Judah, art by no means the

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least among the princes of Judah; for out of thee shall come forth a Leader who shall rule my people Israel. Then King Herod summoned the magi to him, and strictly inquired of them when the star appeared to them. Then, sending them to Bethlehem, he said: Go and make strict inquiry about the child; and when ye have found him, bring me word again, that I may come and worship him also. And while the magi were going on their way, there appeared to them the star, which was, as it were, a guide to them, going before them until they came to where the child was. And when the magi saw the star, they rejoiced with great joy; and going into the house, they saw the child Jesus sitting in His mother's lap. Then they opened their treasures, and presented great gifts to the blessed Mary and Joseph. And to the child Himself they offered each of them a piece of gold. And likewise one gave gold, another frankincense, and the third myrrh. And when they were going to return to King Herod, they were warned by an angel in their sleep not to go back to Herod; and they returned to their own country by another road.

17 And when Herod saw that he had been made sport of by the magi, his heart swelled with rage, and he sent through all the roads, wishing to seize them and put them to death. But when he could not find them at all; he sent anew to Bethlehem and all its borders, and slew all the male children whom he found of two years old and under, according to the time that he had ascertained from the magi.

Now the day before this was done Joseph was warned in his sleep by the angel of the Lord, who said to him: Take Mary and the child, and go into Egypt by the way of the desert. And joseph went according to the saying of the angel.

18 And having come to a certain cave, and wishing to rest in it, the blessed Mary dismounted from her beast, and sat down with the child Jesus in her bosom. And there were with Joseph three boys, and with Mary a girl, going on the journey along with them. And, lo, suddenly there came forth from the cave many dragons; and when the children saw them, they cried out in great terror. Then Jesus went down from the bosom of His mother, and stood on His feet before the dragons; and they adored Jesus, and thereafter retired. Then was fulfilled that which was said by David the prophet, saying: Praise the Lord from the earth, ye dragons; ye dragons, and all ye deeps And the young child Jesus, walking before them, commanded them to hurt no man. But Mary and Joseph were very much afraid lest the child should be hurt by the dragons. And Jesus said to them: Do not be afraid, and do not consider me to be a little child; for I am and always have been perfect; and all the beasts of the forest must needs be tame before me.

19 Lions and panthers adored Him likewise, and accompanied them in the desert. Wherever Joseph and the blessed Mary went, they went before them showing them the way, and bowing their heads; and showing their submission by wagging their tails, they adored Him with great reverence. Now at first, when Mary saw the lions and the panthers, and various kinds of wild beasts, coming about them, she was very much afraid. But the infant Jesus looked into her face with a joyful countenance, and said: Be not afraid, mother; for they come not to do thee harm, but they make haste to serve both thee and me. With these words He drove all fear from her heart. And the lions kept walking with them, and with the oxen, and the asses, and the beasts of burden which carried their baggage, and did not hurt a single one of them, though they kept beside them; but they were tame among the sheep and the rams which they had brought with them from Judaea, and which they had with them. They walked among wolves, and feared nothing; and no one of them was hurt by another. Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by the prophet: Wolves shall feed with lambs; the lion and the ox shall eat straw together. There were together two oxen drawing a waggon with provision for the journey, and the lions directed them in their path.

20 And it came to pass on the third day of their journey, while they were walking, that the blessed Mary was fatigued by the excessive heat of the sun in the desert; and seeing a palm tree, she said to Joseph: Let me rest a little under the shade of this tree. Joseph therefore made haste, and led her to the palm, and made her come down from her beast. And as the blessed Mary was sitting there, she looked up to the foliage of the palm, and saw it full of fruit, and said to Joseph: I wish it were possible to get some of the fruit of this palm. And Joseph said to her: I wonder that thou sayest this, when thou seest how high the palm tree is; and that thou thinkest of eating of its fruit. I am thinking more of the want of water, because the skins are now empty, and we have none wherewith to refresh ourselves and our cattle. Then the child Jesus, with a joyful countenance, reposing in the bosom of His mother, said to the palm: O tree, bend thy branches, and refresh my mother with thy fruit. And immediately at these words the palm bent its top down to the very feet of the blessed Mary; and they gathered from it fruit, with which they were all refreshed. And after they had gathered all its fruit, it remained bent down, waiting the order to rise from Him who bad commanded it to stoop. Then Jesus said to it: Raise thyself, O palm tree, and be strong, and be the companion of my trees, which are in the paradise of my Father; and open from thy roots a vein of water which has been hid in the earth, and let the waters flow, so that we may be satisfied from thee. And it rose up immediately, and at its root there began to come forth a spring of water exceedingly clear and cool and sparkling. And when they saw the spring of water, they rejoiced with great joy, and were satisfied, themselves and all their cattle and their beasts. Wherefore they gave thanks to God.

21 And on the day after, when they were setting out thence, and in the hour in which they began their journey, Jesus turned to the palm, and said: This privilege I give thee, O palm tree, that one of thy branches be carried away by my angels, and planted in the paradise of my Father. And this blessing I will confer upon thee, that it shall be said of all who conquer in any contest, You have attained the palm of victory. And while He was thus speaking, behold, an angel of the Lord appeared, and stood upon the palm tree; and taking off one of its branches, flew to heaven with the branch in his hand. And when they saw this, they fell on their faces, and became as it were dead. And Jesus said to them: Why are your hearts possessed with fear? Do you not know that this palm, which I have caused to be transferred to paradise, shall be prepared for all the saints in the place of delights, as it has been prepared for us in this place of the wilderness? And they were filled with joy; and being strengthened, they all rose up.

22 1 After this, while they were going on their journey, Joseph said to Jesus: Lord, it is a boiling heat; if it please Thee, let us go by the sea-shore, that we may be able to rest in the cities on the coast. Jesus said to him: Fear not, Joseph; I will shorten the way for you, so that what you would have taken thirty days to go over, you shall accomplish in this one day. And while they were thus speaking, behold, they looked forward, and began to see the mountains and cities of Egypt.

And rejoicing and exulting, they came into the regions of Hermopolis, and entered into a certain city of Egypt which is called Sotinen; and because they knew no one there from whom they could ask hospitality, they went into a temple which was called the Capitol of Egypt. And in this temple there had been set up three hundred and fifty-five idols, to each of which on its own day divine honours and sacred rites were paid. For the Egyptians belonging to the same city entered the Capitol, in which the priests told them how many sacrifices were offered each day, according to the honour in which the god was held.

23 And it came to pass, when the most blessed Mary went into the temple with the little child, that all the idols prostrated themselves on the ground, so that all of them were lying on their faces shattered and broken to pieces; and thus they plainly showed that they were nothing. Then was fulfilled that which was said by the prophet Isaiah: Behold, the Lord will come upon a swift cloud, and will enter Egypt, and all the handiwork of the Egyptians shall be moved at His presence.

24 Then Affrodosius, that governor of the city, when news of this was brought to him, went to the temple with all his army. And the priests of the temple, when they saw Affrodosius with all his army coming into the temple, thought that he was making haste only to see vengeance taken on those on whose account the gods had fallen down. But when he came into the temple, and saw all the gods lying prostrate on their faces, he went up to the blessed Mary, who was carrying the Lord in her bosom, and adored Him, and said to all his army and all his friends: Unless this were the God of our gods, our gods would not have fallen on their faces before Him; nor would they be lying prostrate in His presence: wherefore they silently confess that He is their Lord. Unless we, therefore, take care to do what we have seen our gods doing, we may run the risk of His anger, and all come to destruction, even as it happened to Pharaoh king of the Egyptians, who, not believing in powers so mighty, was drowned in the sea, with all his army. Then all the people of that same city believed in the Lord God through Jesus Christ.

25 After no long time the angel said to Joseph: Return to the land of Judah, for they are dead who sought the child's life.

26 And it came to pass, after Jesus had returned out of Egypt, when He was in Galilee, and entering on the fourth year of His age, that on a Sabbath-day He was playing with some children at the bed of the Jordan. And as He sat there, Jesus made to Himself seven pools of clay, and to each of them He made passages, through which at His command He brought water from the torrent into the pool, and took it back again. Then one of those children, a son of the devil, moved with envy, shut the passages which supplied the pools with water, and overthrew what Jesus had built up. Then said Jesus to him: Woe unto thee, thou son of death, thou son of Satan! Dost thou destroy the works which I have wrought? And immediately he who had done this died. Then with great uproar the parents of the dead boy cried out against Mary and Joseph, saying to them: Your son has cursed our son, and he is dead. And when Joseph and Mary heard this, they came forthwith to Jesus, on account of the outcry of the parents of the boy, and the gathering together of the Jews. But Joseph said privately to Mary: I dare not speak to Him; but do thou admonish Him, and say: Why hast Thou raised against us the hatred of the people; and why must the troublesome hatred of men be borne by us? And His mother having come to Him, asked Him, saying: My Lord, what was it that he did to bring about his death? And He said: He deserved death, because he scattered the works that I had made. Then His mother asked Him, saying: Do not so, my Lord, because all men rise up against us. But He, not wishing to grieve His mother, with His right foot kicked the hinder parts of the dead boy, and said to him: Rise, thou son of iniquity for thou art not worthy to enter into the rest of my Father, because thou didst destroy the works which I had made. Then he who had been dead rose up, and went away. And Jesus, by the word of His power, brought water into the pools by the aqueduct.

27 And it came to pass, after these things, that in the sight of all Jesus took clay froth the pools which He had made, and of it made twelve sparrows. And it was the Sabbath when Jesus did this, and there were very many children with Him. When, therefore, one of the Jews had seen Him doing this, he said to Joseph: Joseph, dost thou not see the child

Jesus working on the Sabbath at what it is not lawful for him to do? for he has made twelve sparrows of clay. And when Joseph heard this, he reproved him, saying: Wherefore doest thou on the Sabbath such things as are not lawful for us to do? And when Jesus heard Joseph, He struck His hands together, and said to His sparrows: Fly! And at the voice of His command they began to fly. And in the sight and hearing of all that stood by, He said to the birds: Go and fly through the earth, and through all the world, and live. And when those that were there saw such miracles, they were filled with great astonishment. And some praised and admired Him, but others reviled Him. And certain of them went away to the chief priests and the heads of the Pharisees, and reported to them that Jesus the son of Joseph had done great signs and miracles in the sight of all the people of Israel. And this was reported in the twelve tribes of Israel.

28 1 And again the son of Annas, a priest of the temple, who had come with Joseph, holding his rod in his hand in the sight of all, with great fury broke down the dams which Jesus had made with His own hands, and let out the water which He had collected in them from the torrent. Moreover, he shut the aqueduct by which the water came in, and then broke it down. And when Jesus saw this, He said to that boy who had destroyed His dams: O most wicked seed of iniquity! O son of death! O workshop of Satan! verily the fruit of thy seed shall be without strength, and thy roots without moisture, and thy branches withered, bearing no fruit. And immediately, in the sight of all, the boy withered away, and died.

29 Then Joseph trembled, and took hold of Jesus, and went with Him to his own house, and His mother with Him. And, behold, suddenly from the opposite direction a boy, also a worker of iniquity, ran up and came against the shoulder of Jesus, wishing to make sport of Him, or to hurt Him, if he could. And Jesus said to him: Thou shall not go back safe and sound from the way that thou goest. And immediately he fell down, and died. And the parents of the dead boy, who had seen what happened, cried out, saying: Where does this child come from? It is manifest that every word that he says is true; and it is often accomplished before he speaks. And the parents of the dead boy came to Joseph, and said to him: Take away that Jesus from this place, for he cannot live with us in this town; or at least teach him to bless, and not to curse. And Joseph came up to Jesus, and admonished Him, saying: Why doest thou such things? For already many are in grief and against thee, and hate us on thy account, and we endure the reproaches of men because of thee. And Jesus answered and said unto Joseph: No one is a wise son but he whom his father hath taught, according to the knowledge of this time; and a father's curse can hurt none but evil-doers. Then they came together against Jesus, and accused him to Joseph. When Joseph saw this, he was in great terror, fearing the violence and uproar of the people of Israel. And the same hour Jesus seized the dead boy by the ear, and lifted him up from the earth in the sight of all: and they saw Jesus speaking to him like a father to his son. And his spirit came back to him, and he revived. And all of them wondered.

30 Now a certain Jewish schoolmaster named Zachyas heard Jesus thus speaking; and seeing that He could not be overcome, from knowing the power that was in Him, he became angry, and began rudely and foolishly, and without fear, to speak against Joseph. And he said: Dost thou not wish to entrust me with thy son, that he may be instructed in human learning and in reverence? But I see that Mary and thyself have more regard for your son than for what the elders of the people of Israel say against him. You should have given more honour to us, the elders of the whole church of Israel, both that he might be on terms of mutual affection with the children, and that among us he might be instructed in Jewish learning. Joseph, on the other hand, said to him: And is there any one who can keep this child, and teach him? But if thou canst keep him and teach him, we by no means hinder him from being taught by thee those things which are learned by all. And Jesus, having heard what Zachyas had said, answered and said unto him: The precepts of the law which thou hast just spoken of, and all the things that thou hast named, must be kept by those who are instructed in human learning; but I am a stranger to your

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law-courts, because I have no father after the flesh. Thou who readest the law, and art learned in it, abidest in the law; but I was before the law, But since thou thinkest that no one is equal to thee in learning, thou shalt be taught by me, that no other can teach anything but those things which thou hast named. But he alone can who is worthy. For when I shall be exalted on earth, I will cause to cease all mention of your genealogy. For thou knowest not when thou wast born: I alone know when you were born, and how long your life on earth will be. Then all who heard these words were struck with astonishment, and cried out: Oh! oh! oh! this marvellously great and wonderful mystery. Never have we heard the like! Never has it been heard from any one else, nor has it been said or at any time heard by the prophets, or the Pharisees, or the scribes. We know whence he is sprung, and he is scarcely five years old; and whence does he speak these words? The Pharisees answered: We have never heard such words spoken by any other child so young. And Jesus answered and said unto them: At this do ye wonder, that such things are said by a child? Why, then, do ye not believe me in those things which I have said to you? And you all wonder because I said to you that I know when you were born. I will tell you greater things, that you may wonder more. I have seen Abraham, whom you call your father, and have spoken with him; and he has seen me. And when they heard this they held their tongues, nor did any of them dare to speak. And Jesus said to them: I have been among you with children, and you have not known me; I have spoken to you as to wise men, and you have not understood my words; because you are younger than I am, and of little faith.

31 A second time the master Zachyas, doctor of the law, said to Joseph and Mary: Give me the boy, and I shall hand him over to master Levi, who shall teach him his letters and instruct him. Then Joseph and Mary, soothing Jesus, took Him to the schools, that He might be taught His letters by old Levi. And as soon as He went in He held His tongue. And the master Levi said one letter to Jesus, and, beginning from the first letter Aleph, said to Him: Answer. But Jesus was silent, and answered nothing. Wherefore the preceptor Levi was angry, and seized his storax-tree rod, and struck Him on the head. And Jesus said to the teacher Levi: Why dost thou strike me? Thou shall know in truth, that He who is struck can teach him who strikes Him more than He can be taught by him. For I can teach you those very things that yon are saying. But all these are blind who speak and hear, like sounding brass or tinkling cymbal, in which there is no perception of those things which are meant by their sound. And Jesus in addition said to Zachyas: Every letter from Aleph even to Thet is known by its arrangement. Say thou first, therefore, what Thet is, and I will tell thee what Aleph is. And again Jesus said to them: Those who do not know Aleph, how can they say Thet, the hypocrites? Tell me what the first one, Aleph, is; and I shall then believe you when you have said Beth. And Jesus began to ask the names of the letters one by one, and said: Let the master of the law tell us what the first letter is, or why it has many triangles, gradate, subacute, mediate, obduced, produced, erect, prostrate, curvistrate. And when Levi heard this, he was thunderstruck at such an arrangement of the names of the letters. Then he began in the heating of all to cry out, and say: Ought such a one to live on the earth? Yea, he ought to be hung on the great cross. For he can put out fire, and make sport of other modes of punishment. I think that he lived before the flood, and was born before the deluge. For what womb bore him? or what mother brought him forth? or what breasts gave him suck? I flee before him; I am not able to withstand the words from his mouth, but my heart is astounded to hear such words. I do not think that any man can understand what he says, except God were with him. Now I, unfortunate wretch, have given myself up to be a laughing-stock to him. For when I thought I had a scholar, I, not knowing him, have found my master. What shall I say? I cannot withstand the words of this child: I shall now flee from this town, because I cannot understand them. An old man like me has been beaten by a boy, because I can find neither beginning nor end of what he says. For it is no easy matter to find a beginning of himself. I tell you of a certainty, I am not lying, that to my eyes the proceedings of this boy, the commencement of his conversation, and the upshot of his intention, seem to have nothing in common with mortal man. Here then I do not know whether he be a wizard or a god; or at least an angel of God speaks in him. Whence he is, or where he comes from, or who he will turn out to be, I know not. Then Jesus, smiling at him with a joyful countenance, said in a commanding voice to all the sons of Israel standing by and hearing: Let the unfruitful bring forth fruit, and the blind see, and the lame walk right, and the poor enjoy the good things of this life, and the dead live, that each may return to his original state, and abide in Him who is the root of life and of perpetual sweetness. And when the child Jesus had said this, forthwith all who had fallen under malignant diseases were restored. And they did not dare to say anything more to Him, or to hear anything from Him.

32 After these things, Joseph and Mary departed thence with Jesus into the city of Nazareth; and He remained there with His parents. And on the first of the week, when Jesus was playing with the children on the roof of a certain house, it happened that one of the children pushed another down from the roof to the ground, and he was killed. And the parents of the dead boy, who had not seen this, cried out against Joseph and Mary, saying: Your son has thrown our son down to the ground, and he is dead. But Jesus was silent, and answered them nothing. And Joseph and Mary came in haste to Jesus.; and His mother asked Him, saying: My lord, tell me if thou didst throw him down. And immediately Jesus went down from the roof to the ground, and called the boy by his name, Zeno. And he answered Him: My lord. And Jesus said to him: Was it I that threw thee down from the roof to the ground? And he said: No, my lord. And the parents of the boy who had been dead wondered, and honoured Jesus for the miracle that had been wrought. And Joseph and Mary departed thence with Jesus to Jericho.

33 Now Jesus was six years old, and His mother sent Him with a pitcher to the fountain to draw water with the children. And it came to pass, after He had drawn the water, that one of the children came against Him, and struck the pitcher, and broke it. But Jesus stretched out the cloak which He had on, and took up in His cloak as much water as there had been in the pitcher, and carried it to His mother. And when she saw it she wondered, and reflected within herself, and laid up all these things in her heart.

34 Again, on a certain day, He went forth into the field, and took a little wheat from His mother's barn, and sowed it Himself. And it sprang up, and grew, and multiplied exceedingly. And at last it came to pass that He Himself reaped it, and gathered as the produce of it three kors, and gave it to His numerous acquaintances.

35 There is a road going out of Jericho and leading to the river Jordan, to the place where the children of Israel crossed: and there the ark of the covenant is said to have rested. And Jesus was eight years old, and He went out of Jericho, and went towards the Jordan. And there was beside the road, near the bank of the Jordan, a cave where a lioness was nursing her cubs; and no one was safe to walk that way. Jesus then, coming from Jericho, and knowing that in that cave the lioness bad brought forth her young, went into it in the sight of all. And when the lions saw Jesus, they ran to meet Him, and adored Him. And Jesus was sitting in the cavern, and the lion's cubs ran hither and thither round His feet, fawning upon Him, and sporting. And the older lions, with their heads bowed down, stood at a distance, and adored Him, and fawned upon Him with their tails. Then the people who were standing afar off, not seeing Jesus, said: Unless he or his parents had committed grievous sins, he would not of his own accord have offered himself up to the lions. And when the people were thus reflecting within themselves, and were lying under great sorrow, behold, on a sudden, in the sight of the people, Jesus came out of the cave, and the lions went before Him, and the lion's cubs played with each other before His feet. And the parents of Jesus stood afar off, with their heads bowed down, and watched; likewise also the people stood at a distance, on account of the lions; for they did not dare to come close to them. Then Jesus began to say to the people: How much better are the beasts than you, seeing that they recognise their Lord, and glorify Him; while you men, who have been made after the image and likeness of God, do not know Him! Beasts know me, and are tame; men see me, and do not acknowledge me.

36 After these things Jesus crossed the Jordan, in the sight of them all, with the lions; and the water of the Jordan was divided on the right hand and on the left. Then He said to the lions, in the hearing of all: Go in peace, and hurt no one; but neither let man injure you, until you return to the place whence you have come forth. And they, bidding Him farewell, not only with their gestures but with their voices, went to their own place. But Jesus returned to His mother.

37 Now Joseph was a carpenter, and used to make nothing else of wood but ox-yokes, and ploughs, and implements of husbandry, and wooden beds. And it came to pass that a certain young man ordered him to make for him a couch six cubits long. And Joseph commanded his servant[3] to cut the wood with an iron saw, according to the measure which he had sent. But he did not keep to the prescribed measure, but made one piece of wood shorter than the other. And Joseph was in perplexity, and began to consider what he was to do about this. And when Jesus saw him in this state of cogitation, seeing that it was a matter of impossibility to him, He addresses him with words of comfort, saying: Come, let us take hold of the ends of the pieces of wood, and let us put them together, end to end, and let us fit them exactly to each other, and draw to us, for we shall be able to make them equal. Then Joseph did what he was bid, for he knew that He could do whatever He wished. And Joseph took hold of the ends of the pieces of wood, and brought them together against the wall next himself, and Jesus took hold of the other ends of the pieces of wood, and drew the shorter piece to Him, and made it of the same length as the longer one. And He said to Joseph: Go and work, and do what thou hast promised to do. And Joseph did what he had promised.

38 And it came to pass a second time, that Joseph and Mary were asked by the people that Jesus should be taught His letters in school. They did not refuse to do so; and according to the commandment of the elders, they took Him to a master to be instructed in human learning. Then the master began to teach Him in an imperious tone, saying: Say Alpha. And Jesus said to him: Do thou tell me first what Betha is, and I will tell thee what Alpha is. And upon this the master got angry and struck Jesus; and no sooner had he struck Him, than he fell down dead.

And Jesus went home again to His mother. And Joseph, being afraid, called Mary to him, and said to her: Know of a surety that my soul is sorrowful even unto death on account of this child. For it is very likely that at some time or other some one will strike him in malice, and he will die. But Mary answered and said: O man of God! do not believe that this is possible. You may believe to a certainty that He who has sent him to be born among men will Himself guard him from all mischief, and will in His own name preserve him from evil.

39 Again the Jews asked Mary and Joseph a third time to coax Him to go to another master to learn. And Joseph and Mary, fearing the people, and the overbearing of the princes, and the threats of the priests, led Him again to school, knowing that He could learn nothing from man, because He had perfect knowledge from God only. And when Jesus had entered the school, led by the Holy Spirit, He took the book out of the hand of the master who was teaching the law, and in the sight and hearing of all the people began to read, not indeed what was written in their book; but He spoke in the Spirit of the living God, as if a stream of water were gushing forth from a living fountain, and the fountain remained always full. And with such power He taught the people the great things of the living God, that the master himself fell to the ground and adored Him. And the heart of the people who sat and heard Him saying such things was turned into astonishment. And when Joseph heard of this, he came running to Jesus, fearing that the master himself was dead. And when the master saw him, he said to him: Thou hast given me not a scholar, but a master; and who can withstand his words? Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by the Psalmist: The river of God is full of water: Thou hast prepared them corn, for so is the provision for it.

40 After these things Joseph departed thence with Mary and Jesus to go into Capernaum by the sea-shore, on account of the malice of his adversaries. And when Jesus was living in Capernaum, there was in the city a man named Joseph, exceedingly rich. But he had wasted away under his infirmity, and died, and was lying dead in his couch. And when Jesus heard them in the city mourning, and weeping, and lamenting over the dead man, He said to Joseph: Why dost thou not afford the benefit of thy favour to this man, seeing that he is called by thy name? And Joseph answered him: How have I any power or ability to afford him a benefit? And Jesus said to him: Take the handkerchief which is upon thy head, and go and put it on the face of the dead man, and say to him: Christ heal thee; and immediately the dead man will be healed, and will rise from his couch. And when Joseph heard this, he went away at the command of Jesus, and ran, and entered the house of the dead man, and put the handkerchief which he was wearing on his head upon the face of him who was lying in the couch, and said: Jesus heal thee. And forthwith the dead man rose from his bed, and asked who Jesus was.

41 And they went away from Capernaum into the city which is called Bethlehem; and Joseph lived with Mary in his own house, and Jesus with them. And on a certain day Joseph called to him his first-born son James, and sent him into the vegetable garden to gather vegetables for the purpose of making broth. And Jesus followed His brother James into the garden; but Joseph and Mary did not know this. And while James was collecting the vegetables, a viper suddenly came out of a hole and struck his hand, and he began to cry out from excessive pain. And, becoming exhausted, he said, with a bitter cry: Alas! alas! an accursed viper has struck my hand. And Jesus, who was standing opposite to him, at the bitter cry ran up to James, and took hold of his hand; and all that He did was to blow on the hand of James, and cool it: and immediately James was healed, and the serpent died. And Joseph and Mary did not know what had been done; but at the cry of James, and the command of Jesus, they ran to the garden, and found the serpent already dead, and James quite cured.

42 And Joseph having come to a feast with his sons, James, Joseph, and Judah, and Simeon and his two daughters, Jesus met them, with Mary His mother, along with her sister Mary of Cleophas, whom the Lord God had given to her father Cleophas and her mother Anna, because they had offered Mary the mother of Jesus to the Lord. And she was called by the same name, Mary, for the consolation of her parents. And when they had come together, Jesus sanctified and blessed them, and He was the first to begin to eat and drink; for none of them dared to eat or drink, or to sit at table, or to break bread, until He had sanctified them, and first done so. And if He happened to be absent, they used to wait until He should do this. And when He did not wish to come for refreshment,

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neither Joseph nor Mary, nor the sons of Joseph, His brothers, came. And, indeed, these brothers, keeping His life as a lamp before their eyes, observed Him, and feared Him. And when Jesus slept, whether by day or by night, the brightness of God shone upon Him. To whom be all praise and glory for ever and ever. Amen, amen.

THE (GREEK) GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS
THE ACTS OF PILATE

or The Acts Of Pontius Pilatus
From: The Apocryphal New Testament, 1924
Translation: M.R. James, 1924
Estimated Range of Dating: 150-400 A.D.

(The Gospel of Nicodemus, also known as the Acts of Pilate, is an apocryphal gospel claimed to have been derived from an original Hebrew work written by Nicodemus, who appears in the Gospel of John as an associate of Jesus. The title "Gospel of Nicodemus" is medieval in origin. The section about Pilate is an older text found in the Greek Acts of Peter and Paul and is a purported official document from Pontius Pilate (or composed from reports at the praetorium at Jerusalem) reporting events in Judea to Emperor Tiberius, and referring to the crucifixion of Jesus. The oldest sections of the book appear first in Greek. The text contains multiple parts, which are uneven in style and would seem to be by different hands. The Acts of Pilate does not purport to have been written by Pilate (thus is not pseudepigraphical), but does claim to have been derived from the official acts preserved in the praetorium at Jerusalem. The question of the original language is debated. Beyond Greek, the versions in Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Georgian, Slavonic, and other languages have survived. The authenticity of the document is unlikely and there is no historical basis that Roman governors wrote reports about non-citizens who were put to death. Most modern scholars view the Acts of Pilate as not authentic and as a Christian composition designed to rebut pagan sources.

This concoction is an evil propaganda work against Jewish people and their Judaist religion. It reveals the struggle for power early Christianity had with its most potent rival Judaism in the 3rd and 4th centuries. Religious propaganda of Christians, Muslims, and others work this way still today. The present translation is made from the Gospel published by Grynæus in the Orthodoxographa, vol. i. tom. ii. p.43. The oldest sections of the book appear first in Greek.

The text contains multiple parts, which are uneven in style and would seem to be by different hands. The authenticity of the document is unlikely and there is no historical basis that Roman governors wrote reports about non-citizens who were put to death. As Eusebius of Caesarea (writing c. 325) shows no acquaintance with this Gospel, historians assume that it postdates this time. As chief censor and right-hand man of emperor Flavius Constantinus, Eusebius was aware of all related texts. Epiphanius of Salamis (c. 310–403 AD) mentioned the Nicodemus Gospel first. He is best known for composing the Panarion, a large compendium of the heresies, full of quotations that are often the only surviving fragments of suppressed texts. It would be no surprise if either Eusebius or Epiphanius composed the text by themselves out of other texts.

Related Literature to the Gospel of Nicodemus (Acts of Pilate): Vengeance (Avenging, Revenging) of the Saviour, Healing of Tiberius, Death of Pilate (Mors Pilati), Epistle of Pilate to Tiberius, Epistles of Pilate and Herod, Epistle of Tiberius to Pilate, Handing Over of Pontius Pilate (Paradosis Pilati), Report of Pontius Pilate (Anaphora Pilati), Narrative of Joseph of Arimathea, Titus Flavius Josephus' Jewish War.)

The Gospel Of Nicodemus The Disciple,
Concerning The Sufferings And Resurrection
Of Our Master And Saviour Jesus Christ.

MEMORIALS OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST
DONE IN THE TIME OF PONTIUS PILATE

PROLOGUE:

(Absent from some manuscripts and versions).

I Ananias (Aeneas Copt., Emaus Lat.), the Protector, of praetorian rank, learned in the law, did from the divine scriptures recognise our Lord Jesus Christ and came near to him by faith and was accounted worthy of holy baptism: and I sought out the memorials that were made at that season in the time of our master Jesus Christ, which the Jews deposited with Pontius Pilate, and found the memorials in Hebrew (letters), and by the good pleasure of God I translated them into Greek (letters) for the informing of all them that call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ: in the reign of our Lord Flavius Theodosius, in the seventeenth year, and of Flavius Valentinianus the sixth, in the ninth indiction [corrupt: Lat. has the eighteenth year of Theodosius, when Valentinian was proclaimed Augustus, i. e. A. D. 425].

All ye therefore that read this and translate (or copy) it into other books, remember me and pray for me that God will be gracious unto me and be merciful unto my sins which I have sinned against him. Peace be to them that read and that hear these things and to their servants. Amen.

In the fifteenth (al. nineteenth) year of the governance of Tiberius Caesar, emperor of the Romans, and of Herod, king of Galilee, in the nineteenth year of his rule, on the eighth of the Calends of April, which is the 25th of March, in the consulate of Rufus and Rubellio, in the fourth year of the two hundred and second Olympiad, Joseph who is Caiaphas being high priest of the Jews:

These be the things which after the cross and passion of the Lord Nicodemus recorded and delivered unto the high priest and the rest of the Jews: and the same Nicodemus set them forth in Hebrew (letters).

GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS CHAPTER 1

1 For the chief priests and scribes assembled in council, even Annas and Caiaphas and Somne (Senes) and Dothaim (Dothael, Dathaes, Datam) and Gamaliel, Judas, Levi and Nepthalim, Alexander and Jairus and the rest of the Jews, and came unto Pilate accusing Jesus for many deeds, saying: We know this man, that he is the son of Joseph the carpenter, begotten of Mary, and he saith that he is the Son of God and a king; more-over he doth pollute the sabbaths and he would destroy the law of our fathers.

Pilate saith: And what things are they that he doeth, and would destroy the law?

The Jews say: We have a law that we should not heal any man on the sabbath: but this man of his evil deeds hath healed the lame and the bent, the withered and the blind and the paralytic, the dumb and them that were possessed, on the sabbath day!

Pilate saith unto them: By what evil deeds? They say unto him: He is a sorcerer, and by Beelzebub the prince of the devils he casteth out devils, and they are all subject unto him.

Pilate saith unto them: This is not to cast out devils by an unclean spirit, but by the god Asclepius.

2 The Jews say unto Pilate: We beseech thy majesty that he appear before thy judgement-seat and be heard. And Pilate called them unto him and said: Tell me, how can I that am a governor examine a king? They say unto him: We say not that he is a king, but he saith it of himself. And Pilate called the messenger (cursor) and said unto him: Let Jesus be brought hither, but with gentleness. And the messenger went forth, and when he perceived Jesus he worshipped him and took the kerchief that was on his hand and spread it upon the earth and saith unto him: Lord, walk hereon and enter in, for the governor calleth thee. And when the Jews saw what the messenger had done, they cried out against Pilate saying: Wherefore didst thou not summon him by an herald to enter in, but by a messenger? for the messenger when he saw him worshipped him and spread out his kerchief upon the ground and hath made him walk upon it like a king!

3 Then Pilate called for the messenger and said unto him: Wherefore hast thou done this, and hast spread thy kerchief upon the ground and made Jesus to walk upon it? The messenger saith unto him: Lord governor, when thou sentest me to Jerusalem unto Alexander, I saw Jesus sitting upon an ass, and the children of the Hebrews held branches in their hands and cried out, and others spread their garments beneath him, saying: Save now, thou that art in the highest: blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.

4 The Jews cried out and said unto the messenger: The children of the Hebrews cried out in Hebrew: how then hast thou it in the Greek? The messenger saith to them: I did ask one of the Jews and said: What is it that they cry out in Hebrew? and he interpreted it unto me.

Pilate saith unto them: And how cried they in Hebrew? The Jews say unto him: Hosanna membrome barouchamma adonai. Pilate saith unto them: And the Hosanna and the rest, how is it interpreted? The Jews say unto him: Save now, thou that art in the highest: blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Pilate saith unto them: If you yourselves bear witness of the words which were said of the children, wherein hath the messenger sinned? and they held their peace.

The governor saith unto the messenger: Go forth and bring him in after what manner thou wilt. And the messenger went forth and did after the former manner and said unto Jesus: Lord, enter in: the governor calleth thee.

5 Now when Jesus entered in, and the ensigns were holding the standards, the images (busts) of the standards bowed and did reverence to Jesus. And when the Jews saw the carriage of the standards, how they bowed themselves and did reverence unto Jesus, they cried out above measure against the ensigns.

But Pilate said unto the Jews: Marvel ye not that the images bowed themselves and did reverence unto Jesus. The Jews say unto Pilate: We saw how the ensigns made them to bow and did reverence to him.

And the governor called for the ensigns and saith unto them: Wherefore did ye so? They say unto Pilate: We are Greeks and servers of temples, and how could we do him reverence? for indeed, whilst we held the images they bowed of themselves and did reverence unto him.

6 Then saith Pilate unto the rulers of the synagogue and the elders of the people: Choose you out able and strong men and let them hold the standards, and let us see if they bow of themselves. And the elders of the Jews took twelve men strong and able and made them to hold the standards by sixes, and they were set before the judgement-seat of the governor; and Pilate said to the messenger: Take him out of the judgement hall (praetorium) and bring him in again after what manner thou wilt. And Jesus went out of the judgement hall, he and the messenger. And Pilate called unto him them that before held the image and said unto them: I have sworn by the safety of Caesar that if the standards bow not when Jesus entereth in, I will cut off your heads.

And the governor commanded Jesus to enter in the second time. And the messenger did after the former manner and besought Jesus much that he would walk upon his kerchief; and he walked upon it and entered in. And when he had entered, the standards bowed themselves again and did reverence unto Jesus.

GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS CHAPTER 2

1 Now when Pilate saw it he was afraid, and sought to rise up from the judgement-seat. And while he yet thought to rise up, his wife sent unto him, saying: Have thou nothing to do with this just man, for I have suffered many things because of him by night. And Pilate called unto him all the Jews, and said unto them: Ye know that my wife feareth God and favoureth rather the customs of the Jews, with you?

They say unto him: Yea, we know it. Pilate saith unto them: Lo, my wife hath sent unto me, saying: Have thou nothing to do with this just man: for I have suffered many things because of him by night. But the Jews answered and said unto Pilate: Said we not unto thee that he is a sorcerer? behold, he hath sent a vision of a dream unto thy wife.

2 And Pilate called Jesus unto him and said to him: What is it that these witness against thee? speakest thou nothing? But Jesus said: If they had not had power they would have spoken nothing; for every man hath power over his own mouth, to speak good or evil: they shall see to it.

3 The elders of the Jews answered and said unto Jesus: What shall we see? Firstly, that thou wast born of fornication; secondly, that thy birth in Bethlehem was the cause of the slaying of children; thirdly, that thy father Joseph and thy mother Mary fled into Egypt because they had no confidence before the people.

4 Then said certain of them that stood by, devout men of the Jews: We say not that he came of fornication; but we know that Joseph was betrothed unto Mary, and he was not born of fornication. Pilate saith unto those Jews which said that he came of fornication: This your saying is not true for there were espousals, as these also say which are of your nation. Annas and Caiaphas say unto Pilate: The whole multitude of us cry out that he was born of fornication, and we are not believed: but these are proselytes and disciples of his. And Pilate called Annas and Caiaphas unto him and said to them: What be proselytes? They say unto him: They were born children of Greeks, and now are they become Jews. Then said they which said 1 that he was not born of fornication, even Lazarus, Asterius, Antonius, Jacob, Amnes, Zenas, Samuel, Isaac, Phinees, Crispus, Agrippa and Judas: We were not born proselytes (are not Greeks, Copt.), but we are children of Jews and we speak the truth; for verily we were present at the espousals of Joseph and Mary.

5 And Pilate called unto him those twelve men which said that he was not born of fornication, and saith unto them: I adjure you by the safety of Caesar, are these things true which ye have said, that he was not born of fornication? They say unto Pilate: We have a law that we swear not, because it is sin: But let them swear by the safety of Caesar that it is not as we have said, and we will be guilty of death. Pilate saith to Annas and Caiaphas: Answer ye nothing to these things? Annas and Caiaphas say unto Pilate: These twelve men are believed which say that he was not born of fornication, but the whole multitude of us cry out that he was born of fornication, and is a sorcerer, and saith that he is the Son of God and a king, and we are not believed.

6 And Pilate commanded the whole multitude to go out, saving the twelve men which said that he was not born of fornication and he commanded Jesus to be set apart: and Pilate saith unto them: For what cause do they desire to put him to death? They say unto Pilate: They have jealousy, because he healeth on the sabbath day. Pilate saith: For a good work do they desire to put him to death? They say unto him: Yea.

GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS CHAPTER 3

1 And Pilate was filled with indignation and went forth without the judgement hall and saith unto them: I call the Sun to witness that I find no fault in this man. The Jews answered and said to the governor: If this man were not a malefactor we would not have delivered him unto thee. And Pilate said: Take ye him and judge him according to your law. The Jews

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said unto Pilate: It is not lawful for us to put any man to death. Pilate said: Hath God forbidden you to slay, and allowed me?

2 And Pilate went in again into the judgement hall and called Jesus apart and said unto him: Art thou the King of the Jews? Jesus answered and said to Pilate: Sayest thou this thing of thyself, or did others tell it thee of me? Pilate answered Jesus: Am I also a Jew? thine own nation and the chief priests have delivered thee unto me: what hast thou done? Jesus answered: My kingdom is not of this world; for if my kingdom were of this world, my servants would have striven that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is my kingdom not from hence. Pilate said unto him: Art thou a king, then? Jesus answered him: Thou sayest that I am a king; for this cause was I born and am come, that every one that is of the truth should hear my voice. Pilate saith unto him: What is truth? Jesus saith unto him: Truth is of heaven. Pilate saith: Is there not truth upon earth? Jesus saith unto Pilate: Thou seest how that they which speak the truth are judged of them that have authority upon earth.

GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS CHAPTER 4

1 And Pilate left Jesus in the judgement hall and went forth to the Jews and said unto them: I find no fault in him. The Jews say unto him: This man said: I am able to destroy this temple and in three days to build it up. Pilate saith: What temple? The Jews say: That which Solomon built in forty and six years but which this man saith he will destroy and build it in three days. Pilate saith unto them: I am guiltless of the blood of this just man: see ye to it. The Jews say: His blood be upon us and on our children.

2 And Pilate called the elders and the priests and Levites unto him and said to them secretly: Do not so: for there is nothing worthy of death whereof ye have accused him, for your accusation is concerning healing and profaning of the sabbath. The elders and the priests and Levites say: If a man blaspheme against Caesar, is he worthy of death or no? Pilate saith: He is worthy of death. The Jews say unto Pilate: If a man be worthy of death if he blaspheme against Caesar, this man hath blasphemed against God.

3 Then the governor commanded all the Jews to go out from the judgement hall, and he called Jesus to him and saith unto him: What shall I do with thee? Jesus saith unto Pilate: Do as it hath been given thee.

Pilate saith: How hath it been given? Jesus saith: Moses and the prophets did foretell concerning my death and rising again. Now the Jews inquired by stealth and heard, and they say unto Pilate: What needest thou to hear further of this blasphemy? Pilate saith unto the Jews: If this word be of blasphemy, take ye him for his blasphemy, and bring him into your synagogue and judge him according to your law.

The Jews say unto Pilate: It is contained in our law, that if a man sin against a man, he is worthy to receive forty stripes save one: but he that blasphemeth against God, that he should be stoned with stoning.

4 Pilate saith unto them: Take ye him and avenge yourselves of him in what manner ye will. The Jews say unto Pilate: We will that he be crucified. Pilate saith: He deserveth not to be crucified.

5 Now as the governor looked round about upon the multitude of the Jews which stood by, he beheld many of the Jews weeping, and said: Not all the multitude desire that he should be put to death. The elder of the Jews said: To this end have the whole multitude of us come Hither, that he should be put to death. Pilate saith to the Jews: Wherefore should he die? The Jews said: Because he called himself the Son of God, and a king.

GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS CHAPTER 5

1 But a certain man, Nicodemus, a Jew, came and stood before the governor and said: I beseech thee, good (pious) lord, bid me speak a few words. Pilate saith: Say on. Nicodemus saith: I said unto the elders and the priests and Levites and unto all the multitude of the Jews in the synagogue: Wherefore contend ye with this man? This man doeth many and wonderful signs, which no man hath done, neither will do: let him alone and contrive not any evil against him: if the signs which he doeth are of God, they will stand, but if they be of men, they will come to nought. For verily Moses, when he was sent of God into Egypt did many signs, which God commanded him to do before Pharaoh, king of Egypt; and there were there certain men servants of Pharaoh, Jannes and Jambres, and they also did signs not a few, of them which Moses did, and the Egyptians held them as gods, even Jannes and Jambres: and whereas the signs which they did were not of God, they perished and those also that believed on them. And now let this man go, for he is not worthy of death.

2 The Jews say unto Nicodemus: Thou didst become his disciple and thou speakest on his behalf. Nicodemus saith unto them: Is the governor also become his disciple, that he speaketh on his behalf? did not Caesar appoint him unto this dignity? And the Jews were raging and gnashing their teeth against Nicodemus. Pilate saith unto them: Wherefore gnash ye your teeth against him, wherens ye have heard the truth? The Jews say unto Nicodemus: Mayest thou receive his truth and his portion. Nicodemus saith: Amen, Amen: may I receive it as ye have said.

GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS CHAPTER 6

1 Now one of the Jews came forward and besought the governor that he might speak a word. The governor saith: If thou wilt say aught, speak on. And the Jew said: Thirty and eight years lay I on a bed in suffering of pains, and at the coming of Jesus many that were possessed and laid with divers diseases were healed by him, and certain (faithful) young men took pity on me and carried me with my bed and brought me unto him; and when Jesus saw me he had compassion, and spake a word unto me: Take up thy bed and walk. And I took up my bed and walked. The Jews say unto Pilate: Ask of him what day it was whereon he was healed? He that was healed saith: On the sabbath. The Jews say: Did we not inform thee so, that upon the sabbath he healeth and casteth out devils?

2 And another Jew came forward and said: I was born blind: I heard words but I saw no man's face: and as Jesus passed by I cried with a loud voice: Have mercy on me, O son of David. And he took pity on me and put his hands upon mine eyes and I received sight immediately. And another Jew came forward and said: I was bowed and he made me straight with a word. And another said: I was a leper, and he healed me with a word.

GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS CHAPTER 7

And a certain woman named Bernice (Beronice Copt., Veronica Lat.) crying out from afar off said: I had an issue of blood and touched the hem of his garment, and the flowing of my blood was stayed which I had twelve years. The Jews say: We have a law that a woman shall not come to give testimony.

GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS CHAPTER 8

And certain others, even a multitude both of men and women cried out, saying: This man is a prophet and the devils are subject unto him. Pilate saith to them which said: The devils are subject unto him: Wherefore were not your teachers also subject unto him? They say unto Pilate: We know not. Others also said: He raised up Lazarus which was dead out of his tomb after four days. And the governor was afraid and said unto all the multitude of the Jews: Wherefore will ye shed innocent blood?

GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS CHAPTER 9

1 And he called unto him Nicodemus and those twelve men which said that he was not born of fornication, and said unto them: What shall I do, for there riseth sedition among the people? They say unto him: We know not, let them see to it. Again Pilate called for all the multitude of the Jews and saith: Ye know that ye have a custom that at the feast of unleavened bread I should release unto you a prisoner. Now I have a prisoner under condemnation in the prison, a murderer, Barabbas by name, and this Jesus also which standeth before you, in whom I find no fault: Whom will ye that I release unto you? But they cried out: Barabbas. Pilate saith: What shall I do then with Jesus who is called Christ?

The Jews say: Let him be crucified. But certain of the Jews answered: Thou art not a friend of Caesar's if thou let this man go; for he called himself the Son of God and a king: thou wilt therefore have him for king, and not Caesar.

2 And Pilate was wroth and said unto the Jews: Your nation is always seditious and ye rebel against your benefactors. The Jews say: Against what benefactors? Pilate saith: According as I have heard, your God brought you out of Egypt out of hard bondage, and led you safe through the sea as by dry land, and in the wilderness he nourished you with manna and gave you quails, and gave you water to drink out of a rock, and gave unto you a law. And in all these things ye provoked your God to anger, and sought out a molten calf, and angered your God and he sought to slay you: and Moses made supplication for you and ye were not put to death. And now ye do accuse me that I hate the king (emperor).

3 And he rose up from the judgement-seat and sought to go forth. And the Jews cried out, saying: We know our king, even Caesar and not Jesus. For indeed the wise men brought gifts from the east unto him as unto a king, and when Herod heard from the wise men that a king was born, he sought to slay him, and when his father Joseph knew that, he took him and his mother and they fled into Egypt. And when Herod heard it he destroyed the children of the Hebrews that were born in Bethlehem.

4 And when Pilate heard these words he was afraid. And Pilate silenced the multitude, because they cried still, and said unto them: So, then, this is he whom Herod sought? The Jews say: Yea, this is he. And Pilate took water and washed his hands before the sun, saying: I am innocent of the blood of this just man: see ye to it. Again the Jews cried out: His blood be upon us and upon our children.

5 Then Pilate commanded the veil to be drawn before the judgement-seat whereon he sat, and saith unto Jesus: Thy nation hath convicted thee (accused thee) as being a king: therefore have I decreed that thou shouldest first be scourged according to the law of the pious emperors, and thereafter hanged upon the cross in the garden wherein thou wast taken: and let Dysmas and Gestas the two malefactors be crucified with thee.

GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS CHAPTER 10

1 And Jesus went forth of the judgement hall and the two malefactors with him. And when they were come to the place they stripped him of his garments and girt him with a linen cloth and put a crown of thorns about his head: likewise also they hanged up the two malefactors. But Jesus said: Father forgive them, for they know not what they do. And the soldiers divided his garments among them.

And the people stood looking upon him, and the chief priests and the rulers with them derided him, saying: He saved others let him save himself: if he be the son of God [let him come down from the cross]. And the soldiers also mocked him, coming and offering him vinegar with gall; and they said: If thou be the King of the Jews, save thyself.

And Pilate after the sentence commanded his accusation to be written for a title in letters of Greek and Latin and Hebrew according to the saying of the Jews: that he was the King of the Jews.

2 And one of the malefactors that were hanged [by name Gestas] spake unto him, saying: If thou be the Christ, save thyself, and us. But Dysmas answering rebuked him, saying: Dost thou not at all fear God, seeing thou art in the same condemnation? and we indeed justly, for we receive the due reward of our deeds; but this man hath done nothing amiss. And he said unto Jesus: Remember me, Lord, in thy kingdom. And Jesus said unto him: Verily, verily, I say unto thee, that today thou shalt be (art) with me in paradise.

GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS CHAPTER 11

1 And it was about the sixth hour, and there was darkness over the land until the ninth hour, for the sun was darkened: and the veil of the temple was rent asunder in the midst. And Jesus called with a loud voice and said: Father, baddach ephkid rouel, which is interpreted: Into thy hands I commend my spirit. And having thus said he gave up the ghost. And when the centurion saw what was done, he glorified God, saying: This man was righteous. And all the multitudes that had come to the sight, when they beheld what was done smote their breasts and returned.

2 But the centurion reported unto the governor the things that had come to pass: and when the governor and his wife heard, they were sore vexed, and neither ate nor drank that day. And Pilate sent for the Jews and said unto them: Did ye see that which came to pass? But they said: There was an eclipse of the sun after the accustomed sort.

3 And his acquaintance had stood afar off, and the women which came with him from Galilee, beholding these things. But a certain man named Joseph, being a counsellor, of the city of Arimathaea, who also himself looked for the kingdom of God this man went to Pilate and begged the body of Jesus. And he took it down and wrapped it in a clean linen cloth and laid it in a hewn sepulchre wherein was never man yet laid.

GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS CHAPTER 12

1 Now when the Jews heard that Joseph had begged the body of Jesus, they sought for him and for the twelve men which said that Jesus was not born of fornication, and for Nicodemus and many others which had come forth before Pilate and declared his good works. But all they hid themselves, and Nicodemus only was seen of them, for he was a ruler of the Jews. And Nicodemus said unto them: How came ye into the synagogue? The Jews say unto him: How didst thou come into the synagogue? for thou art confederate with him, and his portion shall be with thee in the life to come. Nicodemus saith: Amen, Amen. Likewise Joseph also came forth and said unto them: Why is it that ye are vexed against me, for that I begged the body of Jesus? behold I have laid it in my new tomb, having wrapped it in clean linen, and I rolled a stone over the door of the cave. And ye have not dealt well with the just one, for ye

repented not when ye had crucified him, but ye also pierced him with a spear.

But the Jews took hold on Joseph and commanded him to be put in safeguard until the first day of the week: and they said unto him: Know thou that the time alloweth us not to do anything against thee, because the sabbath dawneth: but knew that thou shalt not obtain burial, but we will give thy flesh unto the fowls of the heaven. Joseph saith unto them: This is the word of Goliath the boastful which

reproached the living God and the holy David. For God said by the prophet: Vengeance is mine, and I will recompense, saith the Lord. And now, lo, one that was uncircumcised, but circumcised in heart, took water and washed his hands before the sun, saying: I am Innocent of the blood of this just person: see ye to it. And ye answered Pilate and said: His blood be upon us and upon our children. And now I fear lest the wrath of the Lord come upon you and upon your children, as ye have said. But when the Jews heard these words they waxed bitter in soul, and caught hold on Joseph and took him and shut him up in an house wherein was no window, and guards were set

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at the door: and they sealed the door of the place where Joseph was shut up.

2 And upon the sabbath day the rulers of the synagogue and the priests and the Levites made an ordinance that all men should appear in the synagogue on the first day of the week. And all the multitude rose up early and took council in the synagogue by what death they should kill him. And when the council was set they commanded him to be brought with great dishonour. And when they had opened the door they found him not. And all the people were beside themselves and amazed, because they found the seals closed, and Caiaphas had the key. And they durst not any more lay hands upon them that had spoken in the behalf of Jesus before Pilate.

GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS CHAPTER 13

1 And while they yet sat in the synagogue and marvelled because of Joseph, there came certain of the guard which the Jews had asked of Pilate to keep the sepulchre of Jesus lest peradventure his disciples should come and steal him away. And they spake and declared unto the rulers of the synagogue and the priests and the Levites that which had come to pass: how that there was a great earthquake, and we saw an angel descend from heaven, and he rolled away the stone from the mouth of the cave, and sat upon it.

And he did shine like snow and like lightning, and we were sore afraid and lay as dead men. And we heard the voice of the angel speaking with the women which waited at the sepulchre, saying: Fear ye not: for I know that ye seek Jesus which was crucified. He is not here: he is risen, as he said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay, and go quickly and say unto his disciples that he is risen from the dead, and is in Galilee.

2 The Jews say: With what women spake he? They of the guard say: We know not who they were. The Jews say: At what hour was it? They of the guard say: At midnight. The Jews say: And wherefore did ye not take the women? They of the guard say: We were become as dead me through fear, and we looked not to see the light of the day; how then could we take them? The Jews say: As the Lord liveth, we believe you not. They of the guard say unto the Jews: So many signs saw ye in that man, and ye believed not, how then should ye believe us? verily ye sware rightly 'as the Lord liveth', for he liveth indeed.

Again they of the guard say: We have heard that ye shut up him that begged the body of Jesus, and that ye scaled the door; and when ye had opened it ye found him not. Give ye therefore Joseph and we will give you Jesus. The Jews say: Joseph is departed unto his own city. They of the guard say unto the Jews: Jesus also is risen, as we have heard of the angel, and he is in Galilee.

3 And when the Jews heard these words they were sore afraid, saying: Take heed lest this report be heard and all men incline unto Jesus. And the Jews took counsel and laid down much money and gave it to the soldiers, saying: Say ye: While we slept his disciples came by night and stole him away. And if this come to the governor's hearing we will persuade him and secure you. And they took the money and did as they were instructed. [And this their saying was published abroad among all men. lat.]

GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS CHAPTER 14

1 Now a certain priest named Phinees and Addas a teacher and Aggaeus (Ogias Copt., Egias lat.) a Levite came down from Galilee unto Jerusalem and told the rulers of the synagogue and the priests and the Levites, saying: We saw Jesus and his disciples sitting upon the mountain which is called Mamilch (Mambre or Malech lat., Mabrech Copt.), and he said unto his disciples: Go into all the world and preach unto every creature (the whole creation): he that believeth and is baptised shall be saved, but he that disbelieveth shall be condemned. [And these signs shall follow upon them that believe: in my name they shall cast out devils, they shall speak with new tongues, they shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them: they shall lay hands upon the sick and they shall recover.] And while Jesus yet spake unto his disciples we saw him taken up into heaven.

2 The elders and the priests and Levites say: Give glory to the God of Israel and make confession unto him: did ye indeed (or that ye did) hear and see those things which ye have told us? They that told them say: As the Lord God of our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob liveth, we did hear these things and we saw him taken up into heaven. The elders and the priests and the Levites say unto them: Came ye for this end, that ye might tell us, or came ye to pay your vows unto God? And they say: To pay our vows unto God. The elders and the chief priests and the Levites say unto them: If ye came to pay your vows unto God, to what purpose is this idle tale which ye have babbled before all the people? Phinees the priest and Addas the teacher and Aggaeus the Levite say unto the rulers of the synagogue and priests and Levites: If these words which ye have spoken and seen be sin, lo, we are before you: do unto us as seemeth good in your eyes. And they took the book of the law and adjured them that they should no more tell any man these words: and they gave them to eat and to drink, and put them out of the city: moreover they gave them money, and three men to go with them, and they set them on their way as far as Galilee, and they departed in peace.

3 Now when these men were departed into Galilee, the chief priests and the rulers of the synagogue and the elders gathered together in the synagogue, and shut the gate, and lamented with a great lamentation, saying: What is this sign which is come to pass in Israel? But Amlas and Caiaphas said: Wherefore are ye troubled? why weep ye? Know ye not that his disciples gave much gold unto them that kept the sepulchre and taught them to say that an angel came down and rolled away the stone from the door of the sepulchre? But the priests and the elders said: Be it so, that his disciples did steal away his body; but how is his soul entered into his body, and how abideth he in Galilee? But they could not answer these things, and hardly in the end said: It is not lawful for us to believe the uncircumcised. [Lat. (and Copt., and Arm.): Ought we to believe the soldiers, that an angel came down from heaven and rolled away the stone from the door of the sepulchre? but in truth his disciples gave . . . sepulchre. Know ye not that it is not lawful for Jews to believe any word of the uncircumcised, knowing that they who received much good from us have spoken according as we taught them.]

GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS CHAPTER 15

1 And Nicodemus rose up and stood before the council, saying: Ye say well. Know ye not, O people of the Lord, the men that came down out of Galilee, that they fear God and are men of substance, hating covetousness (a lie, Lat.), men of peace? And they have told you with an oath, saying: We saw Jesus upon the mount Mamilch with his disciples and that he taught them all things that ye heard of them, and, say they, we saw him taken up into heaven. And no man asked them in what manner he was taken up.

For like as the book of the holy scriptures hath taught us that Elias also was taken up into heaven, and Eliseus cried out with a loud voice, and Elias cast his hairy cloak upon Eliseus, and Eliseus cast the cloak upon Jordan and passed over and went unto Jericho. And the sons of the prophets met him and said: Eliseus, where is thy lord Elias? and he said that he was taken up into heaven. And they said unto Eliseus: Hath not a spirit caught him up and cast him upon one of the mountains? but let us take our servants with us and seek after him. And they persuaded Eliseus and he went with them, and they sought him three days and found him not: and they knew that he had been taken up. And now hearken unto me, and let us send into all the coasts (al. mountains) of Israel and see whether the Christ were not taken up by a spirit and cast upon one of the mountains. And this saying pleased them all: and they sent into all the coasts (mountains, Lat.) and sought Jesus and found him not. But they found Joseph in Arimathaea, and no man durst lay hands upon him.

2 And they told the elders and the priests and the Levites, saying: We went about throughout all the coasts of Israel, and we found not Jesus; but Joseph we found in Arimathaea. And when they heard of Joseph they rejoiced and gave glory to the God of Israel. And the rulers of the synagogue and the priests and the Levites took counsel how they should meet with Joseph, and they took a volume of paper and wrote unto Joseph these words:

Peace be unto thee. We know that we have sinned against God and against thee, and we have prayed unto the God of Israel that thou shouldest vouchsafe to come unto thy fathers and unto thy children (Lat. But thou didst pray unto the God of Israel, and he delivered thee out of our hands. Now therefore vouchsafe, &c.) for we are all troubled, because when we opened the door we found thee not: and we know that we devised an evil counsel against thee, but the Lord helped thee. And the Lord himself made of none effect (scattered) our counsel against thee, O father Joseph, thou that art honourable among all

the people.

3 And they chose out of all Israel seven men that were friends of Joseph, whom Joseph also himself accounted his friends, and the rulers of the synagogue and the priests and the Levites said unto them: See: if he receive our epistle and read it, know that he will come with you unto us: but if he read it not, know that he is vexed with us, and salute ye him in peace and return unto us. And they blessed the men and let them go.

And the men came unto Joseph and did him reverence, and said unto him: Peace be unto thee. And he said: Peace be unto you and unto all the people of Israel. And they gave him the book of the epistle, and Joseph received it and read it and embraced (or kissed) the epistle and blessed God and said: Blessed be the Lord God, which hath redeemed Israel from shedding innocent blood; and blessed be the Lord, which sent his angel and sheltered me under his wings. (And he kissed them) and set a table before them, and they did eat and drink and lay there.

4 And they rose up early and prayed: and Joseph saddled his she-ass and went with the men, and they came unto the holy city, even Jerusalem. And all the people came to meet Joseph and cried: Peace be to thine entering-in. And he said unto all the people: Peace be unto you, and all the people kissed him. And the people prayed with Joseph, and they were astonished at the sight of him.

And Nicodemus received him into his house and made a great feast, and called Annas and Caiaphas and the elders and the priests and the Levites unto his house. And they made merry eating and drinking with Joseph. And when they had sung an hymn (or blessed God) every man went unto his house. But Joseph abode in the house of Nicodemus.

5 And on the morrow, which was the preparation, the rulers of the synagogue and the priests and the Levites rose up early and came to the house of Nicodemus, and Nicodemus met them and said: Peace be unto you. And they said: Peace be unto thee and to Joseph and unto all thy house and to all the house of Joseph. And he brought them into his house. And the whole council was set, and Joseph sat between Annas and Caiaphas and no man durst speak unto him a word. And Joseph said: Why is it that ye have called me? And they beckoned unto Nicodemus that he should speak unto Joseph. And Nicodemus opened his mouth and said unto Joseph: Father, thou knowest that the reverend doctors and the priests and the Levites seek to learn a matter of thee. And Joseph said: Inquire ye. And Annas and Caiaphas took the book of the law and adjured Joseph saying: Give glory to the God of Israel and make

confession unto him: [for Achar, when he was adjured of the prophet Jesus(Joshua), foresware not himself but declared unto him all things and hid not a word from him: thou therefore also hide not from us so much as a word. And Joseph: I will not hide one word from you.] And they said unto him: We were greatly vexed because thou didst beg the body of Jesus and wrappedst it in a clean linen cloth and didst lay him in a tomb. And for this cause we put thee in safeguard in an house wherein was no window, and we put keys and seals upon the doors, and guards did keep the place wherein thou wast shut up. And on the first day of the week we opened it and found thee not, and we were sore troubled, and amazement fell upon all the people of the Lord until yesterday. Now, therefore, declare unto us what befell thee.

6 And Joseph said: On the preparation day about the tenth hour ye did shut me up, and I continued there the whole sabbath. And at midnight as I stood and prayed the house wherein ye shut me up was taken up by the four corners, and I saw as it were a flashing of light in mine eyes, and being filled with fear I fell to the earth. And one took me by the hand and removed me from the place whereon I had fallen; and moisture of water was shed on me from my head unto my feet, and an odour of ointment came about my nostrils. And he wiped my face and kissed me and said unto me: Fear not, Joseph: open thine eyes and see who it is that speaketh with thee. And I looked up and saw Jesus and I trembled, and supposed that it was a spirit: and I said the commandments: and he said them with me. And [as] ye are not ignorant that a spirit, if it meet any man and hear the commandments, straightway fleeth. And when I perceived that he said them with me, I said unto him: Rabbi Elias? And he said unto me: I am not Elias. And I said unto him: Who art thou, Lord? And he said unto me: I am Jesus, whose body thou didst beg of Pilate, and didst clothe me in clean linen and cover my face with a napkin, and lay me in thy new cave and roll a great stone upon the door of the cave. And I said to him that spake with me: Show me the place where I laid thee. And he brought me and showed me the place where I laid him, and the linen cloth lay therein, and the napkin that was upon his face. And I knew that it was Jesus. And he took me by the hand and set me in the midst of mine house, the doors being shut, and laid me upon my bed and said unto me: Peace be unto thee. And he kissed me and said unto me: Until forty days be ended go not out of thine house: for behold I go unto my brethren into Galilee.

GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS CHAPTER 16

1 And when the rulers of the synagogue and the priests and the Levites heard these words of Joseph the became as dead men and fell to the ground, and they fasted until the ninth hour. And Nicodemus with Joseph comforted Annas and Caiaphas and the priests and the Levites, saying: Rise up and stand on your feet and taste bread and strengthen your souls, for tomorrow is the sabbath of the Lord. And they rose up and prayed unto God and did eat and drink, and departed every man to his house.

2 And on the sabbath the (al. our) teachers and the priests and Levites sat and questioned one another and said: What is this wrath that is come upon us? for we know his father and his mother. Levi the teacher saith: I know that his parents feared God and kept not back their vows and paid tithes three times a year. And when Jesus was born, his parents brought him up unto this place and gave sacrifices and burnt-offerings to God. And [when] the great teacher Symeon took him into his arms and said: Now lettest thou thy servant, Lord, depart in peace for mine eyes have seen thy salvation which thou hast prepared before the face of all peoples, a light to lighten the Gentiles and the glory of thy people Israel.

And Symeon blessed them and said unto Mary his mother: I give thee good tidings concerning this child. And Mary said: Good, my lord? And Symeon said to her: Good. Behold, he is

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set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign spoken against: and a sword shall pierce through thine own heart also, that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed.

3 They say unto Levi the teacher: How knowest thou these things? Levi saith unto them: Know ye not that from him I did learn the law? The council say unto him: We would see thy father. And they sent after his father, and asked of him, and he said to them: Why believed ye not my son? the blessed and righteous Symeon, he did teach him the law. The council saith: Rabbi Levi, is the word true which thou hast spoken? And he said: It is true.

Then the rulers of the synagogue and the priests and the Levites said among themselves: Come, let us send into Galilee unto the three men which came and told us of his teaching and his taking-up, and let them tell us how they saw him taken up. And this word pleased them all, and they sent the three men which before had gone with them into Galilee and said to them: Say unto Rabbi Addas and Rabbi Phinees and Rabbi Aggaeus: peace be to you and to all that are with you. Inasmuch as great questioning hath arisen in the council, we have sent unto you to call you unto this holy place of Jerusalem.

4 And the men went into Galilee and found them sitting and meditating upon the law, and saluted them in peace. And the men that were in Galilee said unto them that were come to them: Peace be upon all Israel. And they said: Peace be unto you. Again they said unto them: Wherefore are ye come? And they that were sent said: The council calleth you unto the holy city Jerusalem. And when the men heard that they were bidden by the council, they prayed to God and sat down to meat with the men and did eat and drink, and rose up and came in peace unto Jerusalem.

5 And on the morrow the council was set in the synagogue, and they examined them, saying: Did ye in very deed see Jesus sitting upon the mount Mamilch, as he taught his eleven disciples, and saw ye him taken up? And the men answered them and said: Even as we saw him taken up, even so did we tell it unto you.

6 Annas saith: Set them apart from one another, and let us see if their word agreeth. And they set them apart one from another, and they call Addas first and say unto him: How sawest thou Jesus taken up? Addas saith: While he yet sat upon the Mount Mamilch and taught his disciples, we saw a cloud that overshadowed him and his disciples: and the cloud carried him up into heaven, and his disciples lay (al. prayed, lying) on their faces upon the earth. And they called Phinees the priest, and questioned him also, saying: How sawest thou Jesus taken up? And he spake in like manner. And again they asked Aggaeus, and he also spake in like manner. And the council said: It is contained in the law of Moses: At the mouth of two or three shall every word be established.

Abuthem (Bouthem Gr., Abudem lat., Abuden, Abuthen Arm.,om. Copt.) the teacher saith: It is written in the law: Enoch walked with God and is not, because God took him. Jaeirus the teacher said: Also we have heard of the death of the holy Moses and have not seen him; for it is written in the law of the Lord: And Moses died at the mouth of the Lord, and no man knew of his sepulchre unto this day. And Rabbi Levi said: Wherefore was it that Rabbi Symeon said when he saw Jesus: Behold, this child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel and for a sign spoken against? And Rabbi Isaac said: It is written in the law: Behold I send my messenger before thy face, which shall go before thee to keep thee in every good way, for my name is named thereon.

7 Then said Annas and Caiaphas: Ye have well said those things which are written in the law of Moses, that no man saw the death of Enoch, and no man hath named the death of Moses. But Jesus spake before Pilate, and we know that we saw him receive buffets and spittings upon his face, and that the soldiers put on him a crown of thorns and that he was scourged and received condemnation from Pilate, and that he was crucified at the place of a skull and two thieves with him, and that they gave him vinegar to drink with gall, and that Longinus the soldier pierced his side with a spear, and that Joseph our honourable father begged his body, and that, as he saith, he rose again, and that (lit. as) the three teachers say: We saw him taken up into heaven, and that Rabbi Levi spake and testified to the things which were spoken by Rabbi Symeon, and that he said: Behold this child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel and for a sign spoken against.

And all the teachers said unto all the people of the Lord: If this hath come to pass from the Lord, and it is marvelous in our eyes, ye shall surely know, O house of Jacob, that it is written: Cursed is every one that hangeth upon a tree. And another scripture teacheth: The gods which made not the heaven and the earth shall perish.

And the priests and the Levites said one to another: If his memorial endure until the Sommos (Copt. Soum) which is called Jobel (i. e. the Jubilee), know ye that he will prevail for ever and raise up for himself a new people.

Then the rulers of the synagogue and the priests and the Levites admonished all Israel, saying: Cursed is that man who shall worship that which man's hand hath made, and cursed is the man who shall worship creatures beside the Creator. And all the people said: Amen, Amen.

And all the people sang an hymn unto the Lord and said: Blessed be the Lord who hath given rest unto the people of Israel according to all that he spake. There hath not one word fallen to the ground of all his good saying which he spake unto his servant Moses. The Lord our God be with us as he was with our fathers: let him not forsake us. And let him not destroy us from turning our heart unto him, from walking in all his ways and keeping his statutes and his judgements which he commanded our fathers. And the Lord shall be King over all the earth in that day. And there shall be one Lord and his name one, even the Lord our King: he shall save us.

There is none like unto thee, O Lord. Great art thou, O Lord, and great is thy name.

Heal us, O Lord, by thy power, and we shall be healed: save us, Lord, and we shall be saved: for we are thy portion and thine inheritance.

And the Lord will not forsake his people for his great name's sake, for the Lord hath begun to make us to be his people.

And when they had all sung this hymn they departed every man to his house, glorifying God. [For his is the glory, world without end. Amen.]

ACTS OF PILATE

PART II. THE DESCENT INTO HELL

This writing, or the nucleus of it, the story of the Descent into Hell was not originally part of the Acts of Pilate. It is, apart from its setting, probably an older document. When it was first attached to the Acts of Pilate is uncertain.

GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS CHAPTER 17

1 And Joseph arose and said unto Annas and Caiaphas: Truly and of right do ye marvel because ye have heard that Jesus hath been seen alive after death, and that he hath ascended into heaven. Nevertheless it is more marvelous that he rose not alone from the dead, but did raise up alive many other dead out of their sepulchres, and they have been seen of many in Jerusalem. And now hearken unto me; for we all know the blessed Simeon, the high priest which received the child Jesus in his hands in the temple. And this Simeon had two sons, brothers in blood and we all were at their falling asleep and at their burial. Go therefore and look upon their sepulchres: for they are open, because they have risen, and behold they are in the city of Arimathaea dwelling together in prayer. And indeed men hear them crying out, yet they speak with no man, but are silent as dead men. But come, let us go unto them and with all honour and gentleness bring them unto us, and if we adjure them, perchance they will tell us concerning the mystery of their rising again.

2 When they heard these things, they all rejoiced. And Annas and Caiaphas, Nicodemus and Joseph and Gamaliel went and found them not in their sepulchre, but they went unto the city of Arimathaea, and found them there, kneeling on their knees and giving themselves unto prayer. And they kissed them, and with all reverence and in the fear of God they brought them to Jerusalem into the synagogue. And they shut the doors and took the law of the Lord and put it into their hands, and adjured them by the God Adonai and the God of Israel which spake unto our fathers by the prophets, saying: Believe ye that it is Jesus which raised you from the dead? Tell us how ye have arisen from the dead.

3 And when Karinus and Leucius heard this adjuration, they trembled in their body and groaned, being troubled in heart. And looking up together unto heaven they made the seal of the cross with their fingers upon their tongues, and forthwith they spake both of them, saying: Give us each a volume of paper, and let us write that which we have seen and heard. And they gave them unto them, and each of them sat down and wrote, saying:

GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS CHAPTER 18

1 O Lord Jesu Christ, the life and resurrection of the dead (al. resurrection of the dead and the life of the living), suffer us to speak of the mysteries of thy majesty which thou didst perform after thy death upon the cross, inasmuch as we have been adjured by thy Name. For thou didst command us thy servants to tell no man the secrets of thy divine majesty which thou wroughtest in hell.

Now when we were set together with all our fathers in the deep, in obscurity of darkness, on a sudden there came a golden heat of the sun and a purple and royal light shining upon us. And immediately the father of the whole race of men, together with all the patriarchs and prophets, rejoiced, saying: This light is the beginning (author) of everlasting light which did promise to send unto us his co-eternal light. And Esaias cried out and said: This is the light of the Father, even the Son of God, according as I prophesied when I lived upon the earth: The land of Zabulon and the land of Nephthalim beyond Jordan, of Galilee of the Gentiles, the people that walked in darkness have seen a great light, and they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them did the light shine. And now hath it come and shone upon us that sit in death.

2 And as we all rejoiced in the light which shined upon us, there came unto us our father Simeon, and he rejoicing said unto us: Glorify ye the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God; for I received him in my hands in the temple when he was born a child, and being moved of the Holy Ghost I made confession and said unto him: Now have mine eyes seen thy salvation which thou hast prepared before the face of all people, a light to lighten the Gentiles, and to be the glory of thy people Israel. And when they heard these things, the whole multitude of the saints rejoiced yet more.

3 And after that there came one as it were a dweller in the wilderness, and he was inquired of by all: Who art thou? And he answered them and said: I am John, the voice and the prophet of the most High, which came before the face of his advent to prepare his ways, to give knowledge of salvation unto his people, for the remission of their sins. And when I saw him coming unto me, being moved of the Holy Ghost, I said: Behold the Lamb of God, behold him that taketh away the sins of the world. And I baptised him in the river of Jordan, and saw the Holy Ghost descending upon him in the likeness of a dove, and heard a voice out of heaven saying: This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. And now have I come before his face, and come down to declare unto you that he is at hand to visit us, even the day spring, the Son of God, coming from on high unto us that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death.

GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS CHAPTER 19

1 And when father Adam that was first created heard this, even that Jesus was baptised in Jordan, he cried out to Seth his son, saying: Declare unto thy sons the patriarchs and the prophets all that thou didst hear from Michael the archangel, when I sent thee unto the gates of paradise that thou mightest entreat God to send thee his angel to give thee the oil of the tree of mercy to anoint my body when I was sick.

Then Seth drew near unto the holy patriarchs and prophets, and said: When I, Seth, was praying at the gates of paradise, behold Michael the angel of the Lord appeared unto me, saying: I am sent unto thee from the Lord: it is I that am set over the body of man. And I say unto thee, Seth, vex not thyself with tears, praying and entreating for the oil of the tree of mercy, that thou mayest anoint thy father Adam for the pain of his body: for thou wilt not be able to receive it save in the last days and times, save when five thousand and five hundred (al. 5,952) years are accomplished: then shall the most beloved Son of God come upon the earth to raise up the body of Adam and the bodies of the dead, and he shall come and be baptised in Jordan. And when he is come forth of the water of Jordan, then shall he anoint with the oil of mercy all that believe on him, and that oil of mercy shall be unto all generations of them that shall be born of water and of the Holy Ghost, unto life eternal. Then shall the most beloved Son of God, even Christ Jesus, come down upon the earth and shall bring in our father Adam into paradise unto the tree of mercy.

And when they heard all these things of Seth, all the patriarchs and prophets rejoiced with a great rejoicing.

GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS CHAPTER 20

1 And while all the saints were rejoicing, behold Satan the prince and chief of death said unto Hell: Make thyself ready to receive Jesus who boasteth himself that he is the Son of God, whereas he is a man that feareth death, and sayeth: My soul is sorrowful even unto death. And he hath been much mine enemy, doing me great hurt, and many that I had made blind, lame, dumb, leprous, and possessed he hath healed with a word: and some whom I have brought unto thee dead, them hath he taken away from thee.

2 Hell answered and said unto Satan the prince: Who is he that is so mighty, if he be a man that feareth death? for all the mighty ones of the earth are held in subjection by my power, even they whom thou hast brought me subdued by thy power. If, then, thou art mighty, what manner of man is this Jesus who, though he fear death, resisteth thy power? If he be so mighty in his manhood, verily I say unto thee he is almighty in his god-head, and no man can withstand his power. And when he saith that he feareth death, he would ensnare thee, and woe shall be unto thee for everlasting ages. But Satan the prince of Tartarus said: Why doubtest thou and fearest to receive this Jesus which is thine adversary and mine? For I tempted him, and have stirred up mine ancient people of the Jews with envy and wrath against him. I have sharpened a spear to thrust him through, gall and vinegar have I mingled to give him to drink, and I have prepared a cross to crucify him and nails to pierce him: and his death is nigh at hand, that I may bring him unto thee to be subject unto thee and me.

3 Hell answered and said: Thou hast told me that it is he that hath taken away dead men from me. For there be many which while they lived on the earth have taken dead men from me, yet not by their own power but by prayer to God, and their almighty God hath taken them from me. Who is this Jesus which by his own word without prayer hath drawn dead

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men from me? Perchance it is he which by the word of his command did restore to life Lazarus which was four days dead and stank and was corrupt, whom I held here dead. Satan the prince of death answered and said: It is that same Jesus. When Hell heard that he said unto him: I adjure thee by thy strength and mine own that thou bring him not unto me. For at that time I, when I heard the command of his word, did quake and was overwhelmed with fear, and all my ministries with me were troubled. Neither could we keep Lazarus, but he like an eagle shaking himself leaped forth with all agility and swiftness, and departed from us, and the earth also which held the dead body of Lazarus straightway gave him up alive. Wherefore now I know that that man which was able to do these things is a God strong in command and mighty in manhood, and that he is the saviour of mankind. And if thou bring him unto me he will set free all that are here shut up in the hard prison and bound in the chains of their sins that cannot be broken, and will bring them unto the life of his god head for ever.

GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS CHAPTER 21

1 And as Satan the prince, and Hell, spoke this together, suddenly there came a voice as of thunder and a spiritual cry: Remove, O princes, your gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in. When Hell heard that he said unto Satan the prince: Depart from me and go out of mine abode: if thou be a mighty man of war, fight thou against the King of glory. But what hast thou to do with him? And Hell cast Satan forth out of his dwelling. Then said Hell unto his wicked ministers: Shut ye the hard gates of brass and put on them the bars of iron and withstand stoutly, lest we that hold captivity be taken captive.

2 But when all the multitude of the saints heard it, they spake with a voice of rebuking unto Hell: Open thy gates, that the King of glory may come in. And David cried out, saying: Did I not when I was alive upon earth, foretell unto you: Let them give thanks unto the Lord, even his mercies and his wonders unto the children of men; who hath broken the gates of brass and smitten the bars of iron in sunder? he hath taken them out of the way of their iniquity. And thereafter in like manner Esaias said: Did not I when I was alive upon earth foretell unto you: The dead shall arise, and they that are in the tombs shall rise again, and they that are in the earth shall rejoice, for the dew which cometh of the Lord is their healing? And again I said: O death, where is thy sting? O Hell, where is thy victory?

3 When they heard that of Esaias, all the saints said unto Hell: Open thy gates: now shalt thou be overcome and weak and without strength. And there came a great voice as of thunder, saying: Remove, O princes, your gates, and be ye lift up ye doors of hell, and the King of glory shall come in. And when Hell saw that they so cried out twice, he said, as if he knew it not: Who is the King of glory? And David answered Hell and said: The words of this cry do I know, for by his spirit I prophesied the same; and now I say unto thee that which I said before: The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle, he is the King of glory. And: The Lord looked down from heaven that he might hear the groanings of them that are in fetters and deliver the children of them that have been slain. And now, O thou most foul and stinking Hell, open thy gates, that the King of glory may come in. And as David spake thus unto Hell, the Lord of majesty appeared in the form of a man and lightened the eternal darkness and brake the bonds that could not be loosed: and the succour of his everlasting might visited us that sat in the deep darkness of our transgressions and in the shadow of death of our sins.

GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS CHAPTER 22

1 When Hell and death and their wicked ministers saw that, they were stricken with fear, they and their cruel officers, at the sight of the brightness of so great light in their own realm, seeing Christ of a sudden in their abode, and they cried out, saying: We are overcome by thee. Who art thou that art sent by the Lord for our confusion? Who art thou that without all damage of corruption, and with the signs (?) of thy majesty unblemished, dost in wrath condemn our power? Who art thou that art so great and so small, both humble and exalted, both soldier and commander, a marvelous warrior in the shape of a bondsman, and a King of glory dead and living, whom the cross bare slain upon it? Thou that didst lie dead in the sepulchre hast come down unto us living and at thy death all creation quaked and all the stars were shaken and thou hast become free among the dead and dost rout our legions. Who art thou that settest free the prisoners that are held bound by original sin and restorest them into their former liberty? Who art thou that sheddest thy divine and bright light upon them that were blinded with the darkness of their sins? After the same manner all the legions of devils were stricken with like fear and cried out all

together in the terror of their confusion, saying: Whence art thou, Jesus, a man so mighty and bright in majesty, so excellent without spot and clean from sin? For that world of earth which hath been always subject unto us until now, and did pay tribute to our profit, hath never sent unto us a dead man like thee, nor ever dispatched such a gift unto Hell. Who then art thou that so fearlessly enterest our borders, and not only fearest not our torments, but besides essayest to bear away all men out of our bonds?

Peradventure thou art that Jesus, of whom Satan our prince said that by thy death of the cross thou shouldest receive the dominion of the whole world.

2 Then did the King of glory in his majesty trample upon death, and laid hold on Satan the prince and delivered him unto the power of Hell, and drew Adam to him unto his own brightness.

GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS CHAPTER 23

Then Hell, receiving Satan the prince, with sore reproach said unto him: O prince of perdition and chief of destruction, Beelzebub, the scorn of the angels and spitting of the righteous why wouldest thou do this? Thou wouldest crucify the King of glory and at his decease didst promise us great spoils of his death: like a fool thou knewest not what thou didst. For behold now, this Jesus putteth to flight by the brightness of his majesty all the darkness of death, and hath broken the strong depths of the prisons, and let out the prisoners and loosed them that were bound. And all that were sighing in our torments do rejoice against us, and at their prayers our dominions are vanquished and our realms conquered, and now no nation of men feareth us any more. And beside this, the dead which were never wont to be proud triumph over us, and the captives which never could be joyful do threaten us. O prince Satan, father of all the wicked and ungodly and renegades wherefore wouldest thou do this? They that from the beginning until now have despaired of life and salvation-now is none of their wonted roarings heard, neither doth any groan from them sound in our ears, nor is there any sign of tears upon the face of any of them. O prince Satan, holder of the keys of hell, those thy riches which thou hadst gained by the tree of transgression and the losing of paradise, thou hast lost by the tree of the cross, and all thy gladness hath perished. When thou didst hang up Christ Jesus the King of glory thou wroughtest against thyself and against me. Henceforth thou shalt know what eternal torments and infinite pains thou art to suffer in my keeping for ever. O prince Satan, author of death and head of all pride, thou oughtest first to have sought out matter of evil in this Jesus: Wherefore didst thou adventure without cause to crucify him unjustly against whom thou foundest no blame, and to bring into our realm the innocent and righteous one, and to lose the guilty and the ungodly and unrighteous of the whole world? And when Hell had spoken thus unto Satan the prince, then said the King of glory unto Hell: Satan the prince shall be in thy power unto all ages in the stead of Adam and his children, even those that are my righteous ones.

GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS CHAPTER 24

1 And the Lord stretching forth his hand, said: Come unto me, all ye my saints which bear mine image and my likeness. Ye that by the tree and the devil and death were condemned, behold now the devil and death condemned by the tree. And forthwith all the saints were gathered in one under the hand of the Lord. And the Lord holding the right hand of Adam, said unto him: Peace be unto thee with all thy children that are my righteous ones. But Adam, casting himself at the knees of the Lord entreated him with tears and beseechings, and said with a loud voice: I will magnify thee, O Lord, for thou hast set me up and not made my foes to triumph over me: O Lord my God I cried unto thee and thou hast healed me; Lord, thou hast brought my soul out of hell, thou hast delivered me from them that go down to the pit.

Sing praises unto the Lord all ye saints of his, and give thanks unto him for the remembrance of his holiness. For there is wrath in his indignation and life is in his good pleasure. In like manner all the saints of God kneeled and cast themselves at the feet of the Lord, saying with one accord: Thou art come, O redeemer of the world: that which thou didst foretell by the law and by thy prophets, that hast thou accomplished in deed. Thou hast redeemed the living by thy cross, and by the death of the cross thou hast come down unto us, that thou mightest save us out of hell and death through thy majesty. O Lord, like as thou hast set the name of thy glory in the heavens and set up thy cross for a token of

redemption upon the earth, so, Lord, set thou up the sign of the victory of thy cross in hell, that death may have no more dominion.

2 And the Lord stretched forth his hand and made the sign of the cross over Adam and over all his saints, and he took the right hand of Adam and went up out of hell, and all the saints followed him. Then did holy David cry aloud and say: Sing unto the Lord a new song, for he hath done marvelous things.

His right hand hath wrought salvation for him and his holy arm. The Lord hath made known his saving health, before the face of all nations hath he revealed his righteousness. And the whole multitude of the saints answered, saying: Such honour have all his saints. Amen, Alleluia.

3 And thereafter Habacuc the prophet cried out and said: Thou wentest forth for the salvation of thy people to set free thy chosen. And all the saints answered, saying: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. God is the Lord and hath showed us light. Amen, Alleluia. Likewise after that the prophet Micheas also cried, saying: What God is like thee, O Lord, taking away iniquity and removing sins? and now thou withholdest thy wrath for a testimony that thou art merciful of free will, and thou dost turn away and have mercy on us, thou forgivest all our iniquities and hast sunk all our sins in the depths of the sea, as thou swarest unto our fathers in the days of old. And all the saints answered, saying: This is our God for ever and ever, he shall be our guide, world without end. Amen, Alleluia. And so spake all the prophets, making mention of holy words out of their praises, and all the saints followed the Lord, crying Amen, Alleluia.

GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS CHAPTER 25

But the Lord holding the hand of Adam delivered him unto Michael the archangel, and all the saints followed Michael the archangel, and he brought them all into the glory and beauty (grace) of paradise. And there met with them two men, ancients of days, and when they were asked of the saints: Who are ye that have not yet been dead in hell with us and are set in paradise in the body? then one of them answering, said: I am Enoch which was translated hither by the word of the Lord, and this that is with me is Elias the Thesbite which was taken up in a chariot of fire: and up to this day we have not tasted death, but we are received unto the coming of Antichrist to fight against him with signs and wonders of God, and to be slain of him in Jerusalem, and after three days and a half to be taken up again alive on the

clouds.

GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS CHAPTER 26

And as Enoch and Elias spake thus with the saints, behold there came another man of vile habit, bearing upon his shoulders the sign of the cross; whom when they beheld, all the saints said unto him: Who art thou? for thine appearance is as of a robber; and wherefore is it that thou bearest a sign upon thy shoulders? And he answered them and said: Ye have rightly said: for I was a robber, doing all manner of evil upon the earth. And the Jews crucified me with Jesus, and I beheld the wonders in the creation which came to pass through the cross of Jesus when he was crucified, and I believed that he was the maker of all creatures and the almighty king, and I besought him, saying: Remember me, Lord, when thou comest into thy kingdom. And forthwith he received my prayer, and said unto me: Verily I say unto thee, this day shalt thou be with me in paradise: and he gave me the sign of the cross, saying: Bear this and go unto paradise, and if the angel that keepeth paradise suffer thee not to enter in, show him the sign of the cross; and thou shalt say unto him: Jesus Christ the Son of God who now is crucified hath sent me. And when I had so done, I spake all these things unto the angel that keepeth paradise; and when he heard this of me, forthwith he opened the door and brought me in and set me at the right hand of

paradise, saying: Lo now, tarry a little, and Adam the father of all mankind will enter in with all his children that are holy and righteous, after the triumph and glory of the ascending up of Christ the Lord that is crucified. When they heard all these words of the robber, all the holy patriarchs and prophets said with one voice: Blessed be the Lord Almighty, the Father of eternal good things, the Father of mercies, thou that hast given such grace unto thy sinners and hast brought them again into the beauty of paradise and into thy good pastures: for this is the most holy life of the spirit. Amen, Amen.

GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS CHAPTER 27

These are the divine and holy mysteries which we saw and heard, even I, Karinus, and Leucius: but we were not suffered to relate further the rest of the mysteries of God, according as Michael the archangel strictly charged us, saying: Ye shall go with your brethren unto Jerusalem and remain in prayer, crying out and glorifying the resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ, who hath raised you from the dead together with him: and ye shall not be speaking with any man, but sit as dumb men, until the hour come when the Lord himself suffereth you to declare the mysteries of his god head. But unto us Michael the archangel gave commandment that we should go over Jordan unto a place rich and fertile, where are many which rose again together with us for a testimony of the resurrection of Christ the Lord. For three days only were allowed unto us who rose from the dead, to keep the passover of the Lord in Jerusalem with our kindred (parents) that are living for a testimony of the resurrection of Christ the Lord: and we were baptised in the holy river of Jordan and received white robes, every one of us. And after the three days, when we had kept the passover of the Lord, all they were caught up in the clouds which had risen again with us, and were taken over Jordan and were no more seen of any man. But unto us it was said that we should remain in the city of Arimathaea and continue in prayer.

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These be all things which the Lord bade us declare unto you: give praise and thanksgiving (confession) unto him, and repent that he may have mercy upon you. Peace be unto you from the same Lord Jesus Christ which is the Saviour of us all. Amen.

And when they had finished writing all things in the several volumes of paper they arose; and Karinus gave that which he had written into the hands of Annas and Caiaphas and Gamaliel; likewise Leucius gave that which he had written into the hands of Nicodemus and Joseph. And suddenly they were

transfigured and became white exceedingly and were no more seen. But their writings were found to be the same (lit. equal), neither more nor less by one letter.

And when all the synagogue of the Jews heard all these marvelous sayings of Karinus and Leucius, they said one to another: Of a truth all these things were wrought by the Lord, and blessed be the Lord, world without end, Amen. And they went out all of them in great trouble of mind, smiting their breasts with fear and trembling, and departed every man unto his own home.

And all these things which were spoken by the Jews in their synagogue, did Joseph and Nicodemus forthwith declare unto the governor. And Pilate himself wrote all the things that were done and said concerning Jesus by the Jews, and laid up all the words in the public books of his judgement hall

(praetorium).

GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS CHAPTER 28

This chapter is not found in the majority of copies.

After these things Pilate entered into the temple of the Jews and gathered together all the chief of the priests, and the teachers (grammaticos) and scribes and doctors of the law, and went in with them into the holy place of the temple and commanded all the doors to be shut, and said unto them: We have heard that ye have in this temple a certain great Bible; wherefore I ask you that it be presented before us. And when that great Bible adorned with gold and precious jewels was brought by four ministers, Pilate said to them all: I adjure you by the God of your fathers which commanded you to build this temple in the place of his sanctuary, that ye hide not the truth from me. Ye know all the things that are written in this Bible; but tell me now if ye have found in the scriptures that this Jesus whom ye have crucified is the Son of God which should come for the salvation of mankind, and in what year of the times he must come. Declare unto me whether ye crucified him in ignorance or knowingly.

And Annas and Caiaphas when they were thus adjured commanded all the rest that were will them to go out of the temple; and they themselves shut all the doors of the temple and of the sanctuary, and said unto Pilate: Thou hast adjured us, O excellent judge, by the building of this temple to make manifest unto thee the truth and reason (or a true account). After that we had crucified Jesus, knowing not that he was the Son of God, but supposing that by some chance he did his wondrous works, we made a great assembly (synagogue) in this temple; and as we conferred one with another concerning the signs of the mighty works which Jesus had done, we found many witnesses of our own nation who said that they had seen Jesus alive after his passion, and that he was passed into the height of the heaven. Moreover, we saw two witnesses whom Jesus raised from the dead, who declared unto us many marvelous things which Jesus did among the dead, which things we have in writing in our hands. Now our custom is that every year before our assembly we open this holy Bible and inquire the testimony of God. And we have found in the first book of the Seventy how that Michael the angel spake unto the third son of Adam the first man concerning the five thousand and five hundred years, wherein should come the most beloved Son of God, even Christ: and furthermore we have thought that peradventure this same was the God of Israel which said unto Moses: Make thee an ark of the covenant in length two cubits and a half, and in breadth one cubit and a half, and in height one cubit and a half. For by those five cubits and a half we have understood and known the fashion of the ark of the old covenant, for that in five thousand and a half thousand years Jesus Christ should come in the ark of his body: and we have found that he is the God of Israel, even the Son of God. For after his passion, we the chief of the priests, because we marvelled at the signs which came to pass on his account did open the Bible, and searched out all the generations unto the generation of Joseph, and Mary the mother of Christ, taking her to be the seed of David: and we found that from the day when God made the heaven and the earth and the first man, from that time unto the Flood are 2,212 years: and from the Flood unto the building of the tower 531 years: and from the building of the tower unto Abraham 606 years: and from Abraham unto the coming of the children of Israel out of Egypt 470 years: and from the going of the children of Israel out of Egypt unto the building of the temple 511 years: and from the building of the temple unto the destruction of the same temple 464 years: so far found we in the Bible of Esdras: and inquiring from the burning of the temple unto the coming of Christ and his birth we found it to be 636 years, which together were five thousand and five hundred years like as we found it written in the Bible that Michael the archangel declared before unto Seth the third son of Adam, that after five thousand and a half thousand years Christ the Son of God hath (? should) come. Hitherto have we told no man, lest there should be a schism in our synagogues; and now, O excellent judge, thou hast adjured us by this holy Bible of the testimonies of God, and we do declare it unto thee: and we also have adjured thee by thy life and health that thou declare not these words unto any man in Jerusalem.

GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS CHAPTER 29

And Pilate, when he heard these words of Annas and Caiaphas, laid them all up amongst the acts of the Lord and Saviour in the public books of his judgement hall, and wrote a letter unto Claudius the king of the city of Rome, saying:

Pontius Pilate unto Claudius, greeting.

There befell of late a matter which I myself brought to light (or made trial of): for the Jews through envy have punished themselves and their posterity with fearful judgements of their own fault; for whereas their fathers had promises (al. had announced unto them) that their God would send them out of heaven his holy one who should of right be called their king, and did promise that he would send him upon earth by a virgin; he, then (or this God of the Hebrews, then), came when I was governor of Judaea, and they beheld him enlightening the blind, cleansing lepers, healing the palsied, driving devils out of men, raising the dead, rebuking the winds, walking upon the waves of the sea dry-shod, and doing many other wonders, and all the people of the Jews calling him the Son of God: the chief priests therefore, moved with envy against him, took him and delivered him unto me and brought against him one false accusation after another, saying that he was a sorcerer and did things contrary to their law.

But I, believing that these things were so, having scourged him, delivered him unto their will: and they crucified him, and when he was buried they set guards upon him. But while my soldiers watched him he rose again on the third day: yet so much was the malice of the Jews kindled that they gave money to the soldiers, saying: Say ye that his disciples stole away his body. But they, though they took the money, were not able to keep silence concerning that which had come to pass, for they also have testified that they saw him arisen and that they received money from the Jews. And these things have I reported for this cause, lest some other should lie unto thee (lat. lest any lie otherwise) and thou shouldest deem right to believe the false tales of the Jews.

THE GOSPEL (QUESTIONS) OF BARTHOLOMEW

or The Questions of Bartholomew
From The Apocryphal New Testament
Translation: M. R. James, 1924
Estimated Range of Dating: 150-400 A.D.

(The Gospel of Bartholomew, which is in other manuscripts also called The Questions of Bartholomew, exists in different fragments and had to be reconstructed from 2 older copy fragments in the original Greek language (from the 5th century) and in Slavonic, and from 2 copy fragments in Latin (one from the 6th and the other from the 9th century). The translator took the older Greek and Slavonic versions whenever possible and added some passages from the Latin fragments only for filling the gaps.)

BARTHOLOMEW CHAPTER 1

Fragment version in Greek:

1 After the resurrection from the dead of our Lord Jesus Christ, Bartholomew came unto the Lord and questioned him, saying: Lord, reveal unto me the mysteries of the heavens.

2 Jesus answered and said unto him: If I put off the body of the flesh, I shall not be able to tell them unto thee.

3 [. . .]

Fragment version in Slavonic:

1 Before the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, the apostles said: Let us question the Lord: Lord, reveal unto us the wonders.

2 And Jesus said unto them: If I put off the body of the flesh, I cannot tell them unto you.

3 But when he was buried and risen again, they all durst not question him, because it was not to look upon him, but the fullness of his Godhead was seen.

4 But Bartholomew [. . .]

Fragment version in Latin:

1 At that time, before the Lord Jesus Christ suffered, all the disciples were gathered together, questioning him and saying: Lord, show us the mystery in the heavens.

2 But Jesus answered and said unto them: If I put not off the body of flesh I cannot tell you.

3 But after that he had suffered and risen again, all the apostles, looking upon him, durst not question him, because his countenance was not as it had been aforetime, but showed forth the fullness of power.

From Greek:

4 Bartholomew therefore drew near unto the Lord and said: I have a word to speak unto thee, Lord.

5 And Jesus said to him: I know what thou art about to say; say then what thou wilt, and I will answer thee.

6 And Bartholomew said: Lord, when thou wentest to be hanged upon the cross, I followed thee afar off and saw thee hung upon the cross, and the angels coming down from heaven and worshipping thee. And when there came darkness.

7 I beheld, and I saw thee that thou wast vanished away from the cross and I heard only a voice in the parts under the earth, and great wailing and gnashing of teeth on a sudden. Tell me, Lord, whither wentest thou from the cross?

8 And Jesus answered and said: Blessed art thou, Bartholomew, my beloved, because thou sawest this mystery, and now will I tell thee all things whatsoever thou askest me.

9 For when I vanished away from the cross, then went I down into Hades that I might bring up Adam and all them that were with him, according to the supplication of Michael the archangel.

10 Then said Bartholomew: Lord, what was the voice which was heard?

11 Jesus saith unto him: Hades said unto Beliar: As I perceive, a God cometh hither. [Slavonic and Latin continue:] And the angels cried unto the powers, saying: Remove your gates, ye princes, remove the everlasting doors, for behold the King of glory cometh down.

12 Hades said: Who is the King of glory, that cometh down from heaven unto us?

13 And when I had descended five hundred steps, Hades was troubled, saying: I hear the breathing of the Most High, and I cannot endure it. (Latin: He cometh with great fragrance and I cannot bear it.)

14 But the devil answered and said: Submit not thyself, O Hades, but be strong: for God himself hath not descended upon the earth.

15 But when I had descended yet five hundred steps, the angels and the powers cried out: Take hold, remove the doors, for behold the King of glory cometh down. And Hades said: O, woe unto me, for I hear the breath of God.

16 And Beliar said unto Hades: Look carefully who it is that , for it is Elias, or Enoch, or one of the prophets that this man seemeth to me to be.

17 But Hades answered Death and said: Not yet are six thousand years accomplished. And whence are these, O Beliar; for the sum of the number is in mine hands.

Fragment version in Slavonic:

16 And the devil said unto Hades: Why affrightest thou me, Hades? it is a prophet, and he hath made himself like unto God: this prophet will we take and bring him hither unto those that think to ascend into heaven.

17 And Hades said: Which of the prophets is it? Show me: Is it Enoch the scribe of righteousness? But God hath not suffered him to come down upon the earth before the end of the six thousand years. Sayest thou that it is Elias, the avenger? But before he cometh not down. What shall I do, whereas the destruction is of God: for surely our end is at hand? For I have the number (of the years) in mine hands.

From Greek:

18 Be not troubled, make safe thy gates and strengthen thy bars: consider, God cometh not down upon the earth.

19 Hades saith unto him: These be no good words that I hear from thee: my belly is rent, and mine inward parts are pained: it cannot be but that God cometh hither. Alas, whither shall I flee before the face of the power of the great king? Suffer me to enter into myself: for before thee was I formed.

20 Then did I enter in and scourged him and bound him with chains that cannot be loosed, and brought forth thence all the patriarchs and came again unto the cross.

21 Bartholomew saith unto him: I saw thee again, hanging upon the cross, and all the dead arising and worshipping thee, and going up again into their sepulchres. Tell me, Lord, who was he whom the angels bare up in their hands, even that man that was very great of stature? And what spakest thou unto him that he sighed so sore?

22 Jesus answered and said unto him: It was Adam the first-formed, for whose sake I came down from heaven upon earth. And I said unto him: I was hung upon the cross for thee and for thy children's sake. And he, when he heard it, groaned and said: So was thy good pleasure, O Lord.

23 Again Bartholomew said: Lord, I saw the angels ascending before Adam and singing praises.

24 But one of the angels which was very great, above the rest, would not ascend up with them: and there was in his hand a sword of fire, and he was looking steadfastly upon thee only.

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25 (from the Slavonic fragment): And all the angels besought him that he would go up with them, but he would not. But when thou didst command him to go up, I beheld a flame of fire issuing out of his hands and going even unto the city of Jerusalem.

26 And Jesus said unto him: Blessed art thou, Bartholomew my beloved because thou sawest these mysteries. This was one of the angels of vengeance which stand before my Father's throne: and this angel sent he unto me.

27 And for this cause he would not ascend up, because he desired to destroy all the powers of the world. But when I commanded him to ascend up, there went a flame out of his hand and rent asunder the veil of the temple, and parted it in two pieces for a witness unto the children of Israel for my passion because they crucified me. (Latin: But the flame which thou sawest issuing out of his hands smote the house of the synagogue of the Jews, for a testimony of me wherein they crucified me.).

28 And when he had thus spoken, he said unto the apostles: Tarry for me in this place, for today a sacrifice is offered in paradise.

29 And Bartholomew answered and said unto Jesus: Lord, what is the sacrifice which is offered in paradise? And Jesus said: There be souls of the righteous which to-day have departed out of the body and go unto paradise, and unless I be [. . .]

30 And Bartholomew said: Lord, how many souls depart out of the world daily? Jesus saith unto him: Thirty thousand.

31 Bartholomew saith unto him: Lord, when thou wast with us teaching the word, didst thou receive the sacrifices in paradise? Jesus answered and said unto him: Verily I say unto thee, my beloved, that I both taught the word with you and continually sat with my Father, and received the sacrifices in paradise everyday.

32 Bartholomew answered and said unto him: Lord, if thirty thousand souls depart out of the world every day, how many souls out of them are found righteous? Jesus saith unto him: Hardly fifty [three] my beloved.

33 Again Bartholomew saith: And how do three only enter into paradise? Jesus saith unto him: The [fifty] three enter into paradise or are laid up in Abraham's bosom: but the others go into the place of the resurrection, for the three are not like unto the fifty.

34 Bartholomew saith unto him: Lord, how many souls above the number are born into the world daily? Jesus saith unto him: One soul only is born above the number of them that depart. [Latin: Bartholomew said: How many are the souls which depart out of the body every day? Jesus said: Verily I say unto thee, twelve (thousand) eight hundred, four score and three souls depart out of the body every day.

35 And when he had said this he gave them the peace, and vanished away from them.

BARTHOLOMEW CHAPTER 2

1 Now the apostles were in the place [Cherubim, Cheltoura, Chritir] with Mary.

2 And Bartholomew came and said unto Peter and Andrew and John: Let us ask her that is highly favoured how she conceived the incomprehensible, or how she bare him that cannot be carried, or how she brought forth so much greatness. But they doubted to ask her.

3 Bartholomew therefore said unto Peter: Thou that art the chief, and my teacher, draw near and ask her. But Peter said to John: Thou art a virgin and undefiled (and beloved) and thou must ask her.

4 And as they all doubted and disputed, Bartholomew came near unto her with a cheerful countenance and said to her: Thou that art highly favoured, the tabernacle of the Most High, unblemished we, even all the apostles, ask thee (or All the apostles have sent me to ask thee) to tell us how thou didst conceive the incomprehensible, or how thou didst bear him that cannot be [. . .]

5 But Mary said unto them: Ask me not (or Do ye indeed ask me) concerning this mystery. If I should begin to tell you, fire will issue forth out of my mouth and consume all the world.

6 But they continued yet the more to ask her. And she, for she could not refuse to hear the apostles, said: Let us stand up in prayer.

7 And the apostles stood behind Mary: but she said unto Peter: Peter, thou chief, thou great pillar, standest thou behind us? Said not our Lord: the head of the man is Christ ? now therefore stand ye before me and pray.

8 But they said unto her: In thee did the Lord set his tabernacle, and it was his good pleasure that thou shouldest contain him, and thou oughtest to be the leader in the prayer (al. to go with us to).

9 But she said unto them: Ye are shining stars, and as the prophet said, 'I did lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence shall come mine help'; ye, therefore, are the hills, and it behoveth you to pray.

10 The apostles say unto her: Thou oughtest to pray, thou art the mother of the heavenly king.

11 Mary saith unto them: In your likeness did God form the sparrows, and sent them forth into the four corners of the world.

12 But they say unto her: He that is scarce contained by the [. . .]

13 Then Mary stood up before them and spread out her hands toward the heaven and began to speak thus: Elphue Zarethra Charboum Nemioth Melitho Thraboutha Mephnounos Chemiath Aroura Maridon Elison Marmiadon Seption Hesaboutha Ennouna Saktinos Athoor Belelam Opheoth Abo Chrasar (this is the reading of one Greek copy: the others and the Slavonic have many differences as in all such cases: but as the original words-assuming them to have once had a meaning-are hopelessly corrupted, the matter is not of importance), which is in the Greek tongue(Hebrew, Slav.): O God the exceeding great and all-wise and king of the worlds (ages), that art not to be described, the ineffable, that didst establish the greatness of the heavens and all things by a word, that out of darkness (or the unknown) didst constitute and fasten together the poles of heaven in harmony, didst bring into shape the matter that was in confusion, didst bring into order the things that were without order, didst part the misty darkness from the light, didst establish in one place the foundations of the waters, thou that makest the beings of the air to tremble, and art the fear of them that are on (or under) the earth, that didst settle the earth and not suffer it to perish, and filledst it, which is the nourisher of all things, with showers of blessing: (Son of) the Father, thou whom the seven heavens hardly contained, but who wast well-pleased to be contained without pain in me, thou that art thyself the full word of the Father in whom all things came to be: give glory to thine exceeding great name, and bid me to speak before thy holy

14 And when she had ended the prayer she began to say unto them: Let us sit down upon the ground; and come thou, Peter the chief, and sit on my right hand and put thy left hand beneath mine armpit; and thou, Andrew, do so on my left hand; and thou, John, the virgin, hold together my bosom; and thou, Bartholomew, set thy knees against my back and hold my shoulders, lest when I begin to speak my bones be loosed one from another.

15 And when they had so done she began to say: When I abode in the temple of God and received my food from an angel, on a certain day there appeared unto me one in the likeness of an angel, but his face was incomprehensible, and he had not in his hand bread or a cup, as did the angel which came to me aforetime.

16 And straightway the robe (veil) of the temple was rent and there was a very great earthquake, and I fell upon the earth, for I was not able to endure the sight of him.

17 But he put his hand beneath me and raised me up, and I looked up into heaven and there came a cloud of dew and sprinkled me from the head to the feet, and he wiped me with his robe.

18 And said unto me: Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the chosen vessel, grace inexhaustible. And he smote his garment upon the right hand and there came a very great loaf, and he set it upon the altar of the temple and did eat of it first himself, and gave unto me also.

19 And again he smote his garment upon the left hand and there came a very great cup full of wine: and he set it upon the altar of the temple and did drink of it first himself, and gave also unto me. And I beheld and saw the bread and the cup whole as they were.

20 And he said unto me: Yet three years, and I will send my word unto thee and then shalt conceive my (or a) son, and through him shall the whole creation be saved. Peace be unto

21 And when he had so said he vanished away from mine eyes, and the temple was restored as it had been before.

22 And as she was saying this, fire issued out of her mouth; and the world was at the point to come to an end: but Jesus appeared quickly (Latin: and laid his hand upon her mouth) and said unto Mary: Utter not this mystery, or this day my whole creation will come to an end (Lat and the flame from her mouth ceased). And the apostles were taken with fear lest haply the Lord should be wroth with them.

BARTHOLOMEW CHAPTER 3

1 And he departed with them unto the mount Mauria, and sat in the midst of them.

2 But they doubted to question him, being afraid.

3 And Jesus answered and said unto them: Ask me what ye will that I should teach you, and I will show it you. For yet seven days, and I ascend unto my Father, and I shall no more be seen of you in this likeness.

4 But they, yet doubting, said unto him: Lord, show us the deep (abyss) according unto thy promise.

5 And Jesus said unto them: It is not good (Latin: is good) for you to see the deep: notwithstanding, if ye desire it, according to my promise, come, follow me and behold.

6 And he led them away into a place that is called Cherubim, that is the place of truth.

7 And he beckoned unto the angels of the West and the earth was rolled up like a volume of a book and the deep was revealed unto them.

8 And when the apostles saw it they fell on their faces upon the earth.

9 But Jesus raised them up, saying: Said I not unto you, 'It is not good for you to see the deep'. And again he beckoned unto the angels, and the deep was covered up.

BARTHOLOMEW CHAPTER 4

1 And he took them and brought them again unto the Mount of olives.

2 And Peter said unto Mary: Thou that art highly favoured, entreat the Lord that he would reveal unto us the things that are in the heavens.

3 And Mary said unto Peter: O stone hewn out of the rock, did not the Lord build his church upon thee? Go thou therefore first and ask him.

4 Peter saith again: O tabernacle that art spread abroad . 5 Mary saith: Thou art the image of Adam: was not he first formed and then Eve? Look upon the sun, that according to the likeness of Adam it is bright. and upon the moon, that because of the transgression of Eve it is full of clay. For God did place Adam in the east and Eve in the west, and appointed the lights that the sun should shine on the earth unto Adam in the east in his fiery chariots, and the moon in the west should give light unto Eve with a countenance like milk. And she defiled the commandment of the Lord. Therefore was the moon stained with clay (Lat. 2, is cloudy) and her light is not bright. Thou therefore, since thou art the likeness of Adam, oughtest to ask him: but in me was he contained that I might recover the strength of the female.

6 Now when they came up to the top of the mount, and the Master was withdrawn from them a little space, Peter saith unto Mary: Thou art she that hast brought to nought the transgression of Eve, changing it from shame into joy; it is lawful, therefore, for thee to ask.

7 When Jesus appeared again, Bartholomew saith unto him: Lord, show us the adversary of men that we may behold him, of what fashion he is, and what is his work, and whence he cometh forth, and what power he hath that he spared not even thee, but caused thee to be hanged upon the tree.

8 But Jesus looked upon him and said: Thou bold heart! thou askest for that which thou art not able to look upon.

9 But Bartholomew was troubled and fell at Jesus' feet and began to speak thus: O lamp that cannot be quenched, Lord Jesus Christ, maker of the eternal light that hast given unto them that love thee the grace that beautifieth all, and hast given us the eternal light by thy coming into the world, that hast accomplished the work of the Father, hast turned the shame-facedness of Adam into mirth, hast done away the sorrow of Eve with a cheerful countenance by thy birth from a virgin: remember not evil against me but grant me the word of mine asking.

10 And as he thus spake, Jesus raised him up and said unto him: Bartholomew, wilt thou see the adversary of men? I tell thee that when thou beholdest him, not thou only but the rest of

11 But they all said unto him: Lord, let us behold him.

12 And he led them down from the Mount of Olives and looked wrathfully upon the angels that keep hell (Tartarus), and beckoned unto Michael to sound the trumpet in the height of the heavens. And Michael sounded, and the earth shook, and Beliar came up, being held by 660 angels and bound with fiery chains. 12 And the length of him was 1,600 cubits and his breadth 40 cubits, and his face was like a lightning of fire and his eyes full of darkness (like sparks). And out of his nostrils came a stinking smoke; and his mouth was as the gulf of a precipice, and the one of his wings was four-score cubits.

14 And straightway when the apostles saw him, they fell to the earth on their faces and became as dead.

15 But Jesus came near and raised the apostles and gave them a spirit of power, and he saith unto Bartholomew: Come near, Bartholomew, and trample with thy feet on his neck, and he will tell thee his work, what it is, and how he deceiveth men.

16 And Jesus stood afar off with the rest of the apostles.

17 And Bartholomew feared, and raised his voice and said: Blessed be the name of thine immortal kingdom from henceforth even for ever. And when he had spoken, Jesus permitted him, saying: Go and tread upon the neck of Beliar: and Bartholomew ran quickly upon him and trode upon his neck: and Beliar trembled. (For this verse the Vienna MS. has: And Bartholomew raised his voice and said thus: O womb more spacious than a city, wider than the spreading of the heavens, that contained him whom the seven heavens contain not, but thou without pain didst contain sanctified in thy bosom, &c.: evidently out of place. Latin 1 has only: Then did Antichrist tremble and was filled with fury.)

18 And Bartholomew was afraid, and fled, and said unto Jesus: Lord, give me an hem of thy garments (Lat. 2, the kerchief from thy shoulders) that I may have courage to draw near unto him.

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19 But Jesus said unto him: Thou canst not take an hem of my garments, for these are not my garments which I wore before I was crucified.

20 And Bartholomew said: Lord, I fear lest, like as he spared not thine angels, he swallow me up also.

21 Jesus saith unto him: Were not all things made by my word, and by the will of my Father the spirits were made subject unto Solomon? thou, therefore, being commanded by my word, go in my name and ask him what thou wilt.

22 And Bartholomew made the sign of the cross and prayed unto Jesus and went behind him. And Jesus said to him: Draw near. And as Bartholomew drew near, fire was kindled on every side, so that his garments appeared fiery. Jesus saith to Bartholomew: As I said unto thee, tread upon his neck and ask him what is his power. And Bartholomew went and trode upon his neck, and pressed down his face into the earth as far as his ears.

23 And Bartholomew saith unto him: Tell me who thou art and what is thy name. And he said to him: Lighten me a little, and I will tell thee who I am and how I came hither, and what my work is and what my power is.

24 And he lightened him and saith to him: Say all that thou hast done and all that thou doest.

25 And Beliar answered and said: If thou wilt know my name, at the first I was called Satanael, which is interpreted a messenger of God, but when I rejected the image of God my name was called Satanas, that is, an angel that keepeth hell (Tartarus).

26 And again Bartholomew saith unto him: Reveal unto me all things and hide nothing from me.

27 And he said unto him: I swear unto thee by the power of the glory of God that even if I would hide aught I cannot, for he is near that would convict me. For if I were able I would have destroyed you like one of them that were before you.

28 For, indeed, I was formed (al. called) the first angel: for when God made the heavens, he took a handful of fire and formed me first, Michael second, Gabriel third, Uriel fourth, Raphael fifth, Nathanael sixth, and other angels of whom I cannot tell the names.

29 For they are the rod-bearers (lictors) of God, and they smite me with their rods and pursue me seven times in the night and seven times in the day, and leave me not at all and break in pieces all my power. These are the (twelve) angels of vengeance which stand before the throne of God: these are the angels that were first formed.

30 And after them were formed all the angels. In the first heaven are an hundred myriads, and in the second an hundred myriads, and in the third an hundred myriads, and in the fourth an hundred myriads, and in the fifth an hundred myriads, and in the sixth an hundred myriads, and in the seventh (an hundred myriads, and outside the seven heavens) is the first firmament (flat surface) wherein are the powers which work upon men.

31 For there are four other angels set over the winds. The first angel is over the north, and he is called Chairoum, and hath in his hand a rod of fire, and restraineth the super-fluity of moisture that the earth be not overmuch wet.

32 And the angel that is over the north is called Oertha (Latin: Alfatha): he hath a torch of fire and putteth it to his sides, and they warm the great coldness of him that he freeze not the world.

33 And the angel that is over the south is called Kerkoutha (Latin: Cedar) and they break his fierceness that he shake not the earth.

34 And the angel that is over the south-west is called Naoutha, and he hath a rod of snow in his hand and putteth it into his mouth, and quencheth the fire that cometh out of his mouth. And if the angel quenched it not at his mouth it would set all the world on fire.

35 And there is another angel over the sea which maketh it rough with the waves thereof.

36 But the [. . .]

37 Bartholomew saith unto him: Flow chastisest thou the souls of men? 38 Beliar saith unto him: Wilt thou that I declare unto thee the punishment of the hypocrites, of the back-biters, of the jesters, of the idolaters, and the covetous, and the adulterers, and the wizards, and the diviners, and of them that believe in us, and of all whom I look upon?

38 (from the Latin fragment): When I will show any illusion by them. But they that do these things, and they that consent unto them or follow them, do perish with me.

39 Bartholomew said unto him: Declare quickly how thou persuadest men not to follow God and thine evil arts, that are slippery and dark, that they should leave the straight and shining paths of the Lord.) 39 Bartholomew saith unto him: I will that thou declare it in few words.

40 And he smote his teeth together, gnashing them, and there came up out of the bottomless pit a wheel having a sword flashing with fire, and in the sword were pipes.

41 And I (he) asked him, saying: What is this sword?

42 And he said: This sword is the sword of the gluttonous: for into this pipe are sent they that through their gluttony devise all manner of sin; into the second pipe are sent the backbiters which backbite their neighbour secretly; into the third pipe are sent the hypocrites and the rest whom I overthrow by my contrivance.

43 And Bartholomew said: Dost thou then do these things by thyself alone?

44 And Satan said: If I were able to go forth by myself, I would have destroyed the whole world in three days: but neither I nor any of the six hundred go forth. For we have other swift ministers whom we command, and we furnish them with an hook of many points and send them forth to hunt, and they catch for us souls of men, enticing them with sweetness of divers baits, that is by drunkenness and laughter, by backbiting, hypocrisy, pleasures, fornication, and the rest of the

45 And I will tell thee also the rest of the names of the angels. The angel of the hail is called Mermeoth, and he holdeth the hail upon his head, and my ministers do adjure him and send him whither they will. And other angels are there over the snow, and other over the thunder, and other over the lightning, and when any spirit of us would go forth either by land or by sea, these angels send forth fiery stones and set our limbs on fire. (Lat. 2 enumerates all the transgressions

46 Bartholomew saith: Be still (be muzzled) thou dragon of the pit.

47 And Beliar said: Many things will I tell thee of the angels. They that run together throughout the heavenly places and the earthly are these: Mermeoth, Onomatath, Douth, Melioth, Charouth, Graphathas, Oethra, Nephonos, Chalkatoura. With them do fly the things that are in heaven and on earth and under the earth.

48 Bartholomew saith unto him: Be still (be muzzled) and be faint, that I may entreat my Lord.

49 And Bartholomew fell upon his face and cast earth upon his head and began to say: O Lord Jesu Christ, the great and glorious name. All the choirs of the angels praise thee, O Master, and I that am unworthy with my lips . . . do praise thee, O Master. Hearken unto me thy servant, and as thou didst choose me from the receipt of custom and didst not suffer me to have my conversation unto the end in my former deeds, O Lord Jesu Christ, hearken unto me and have mercy upon the sinners.

50 And when he had so said, the Lord saith unto him: Rise up, suffer him that groaneth to arise: I will declare the rest unto thee.

51 And Bartholomew raised up Satan and said unto him: Go unto thy place, with thine angels, but the Lord hath mercy upon all his world.

52 But the devil said: Suffer me, and I will tell thee how I was cast down into this place and how the Lord did make man.

53 I was going to and fro in the world, and God said unto Michael: Bring me a clod from the four corners of the earth, and water out of the four rivers of paradise. And when Michael brought them God formed Adam in the regions of the east, and shaped the clod which was shapeless, and stretched sinews and veins upon it and established it with Joints; and he worshipped him, himself for his own sake first, because he was the image of God, therefore he worshipped him.

54 And when I came from the ends of the earth Michael said: Worship thou the image of God, which he hath made according to his likeness. But I said: I am fire of fire, I was the first angel formed, and shall worship clay and matter?

55 And Michael saith to me: Worship, lest God be wroth with thee. But I said to him: God will not be wroth with me; but I will set my throne over against his throne, and I will be as he is. Then was God wroth with me and cast me down, having commanded the windows of heaven to be opened.

56 And when I was cast down, he asked also the six hundred that were under me, if they would worship: but they said: Like as we have seen the first angel do, neither will we worship him that is less than ourselves. Then were the six hundred also cast down by him with me.

57 And when we were cast down upon the earth we were senseless for forty years, and when the sun shone forth seven times brighter than fire, suddenly I awaked; and I looked about and saw the six hundred that were under me senseless.

58 And I awaked my son Salpsan and took him to counsel how I might deceive the man on whose account I was cast out of the heavens.

59 And thus did I contrive it. I took a vial in mine hand and scraped the sweat from off my breast and the hair of mine armpits, and washed myself in the springs of the waters whence the four rivers flow out, and Eve drank of it and desire came upon her: for if she had not drunk of that water I should not have been able to deceive her.

61 And Bartholomew came and fell at Jesus' feet and began with tears to say thus: Abba, Father, that art past finding out by us, Word of the Father, whom the seven heavens hardly contained, but who wast pleased to be contained easily and without pain within the body of the Virgin: whom the Virgin knew not that she bare: thou by thy thought hast ordained all things to be: thou givest us that which we need before thou art entreated.

62 Thou that didst wear a crown of thorns that thou mightest prepare for us that repent the precious crown from heaven; that didst hang upon the tree, that thou mightest give us to drink of the wine of compunction, and wast pierced in the side with a spear that thou mightest fill us with thy body and thy blood:

63 Thou that gavest names unto the four rivers: to the first Phison, because of the faith (pistis) which thou didst appear in the world to preach; to the second Geon, for that man was made of earth (ge); to the third Tigris, because by thee was revealed unto us the consubstantial Trinity in the heavens (to make anything of this we must read Trigis); to the fourth Euphrates, because by thy presence in the world thou madest every soul to rejoice (euphranai) through the word of immortality.

64 My God, and Father, the greatest, my King: save, Lord, the sinners.

65 When he had thus prayed Jesus said unto him: Bartholomew, my Father did name me Christ, that I might come down upon earth and anoint every man that cometh unto me with the oil of life: and he did call me Jesus that I might heal every sin of them that know not . . . and give unto men (several corrupt words: the

66 And again Bartholomew saith unto him: Lord, is it lawful for me to reveal these mysteries unto every man? Jesus saith unto him: Bartholomew, my beloved, as many as are faithful and are able to keep them unto themselves, to them mayest thou entrust these things.

67 For some there are that be worthy of them, but there are also other some unto whom it is not fit to entrust them: for they are vain (swaggerers), drunkards, proud, unmerciful, partakers in idolatry, authors of fornication, slanderers, teachers of foolishness, and doing all works that are of the devil, and therefore are they not worthy that these should be entrusted to them.

68 And also they are secret, because of those that cannot contain them; for as many as can contain them shall have a part in them. Therefore, my beloved, have I spoken unto thee, for blessed art thou and all thy kindred which of their choice have this word entrusted unto them; for all they that of my judgement.

69 Then I, Bartholomew, which wrote these things in mine heart, took hold on the hand of Glory be to thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, that givest unto all thy grace which all we have perceived. Alleluia. Glory be to thee, O Lord, the life of sinners. Glory be to thee, O Lord, death is put to shame. Glory be to thee, O Lord, the treasure of righteousness. For unto God do we sing.

70 And as Bartholomew thus spake again, Jesus put off his mantle and took a kerchief from the neck of Bartholomew and began to rejoice and say: I am good. Alleluia. I am meek and gentle. Alleluia. Glory be to thee, O Lord: for I give gifts unto all them that desire me. Alleluia. Glory be to thee, O Lord, world without end. Amen. Alleluia.

71 And when he had ceased, the apostles kissed him, and he gave them the peace of love.

BARTHOLOMEW CHAPTER 6

1 Bartholomew saith unto him: Declare unto us, Lord what sin is heavier than all sins?

2 Jesus saith unto him: Verily I say unto thee that hypocrisy and backbiting is heavier than all sins: for because of them, the prophet said in the psalm, that 'the ungodly shall not rise in the judgement, neither sinners in the council of the righteous', neither the ungodly in the judgement of my Father. Verily, verily, I say unto you, that every sin shall be forgiven unto every man, but the sin against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven.

3 And Bartholomew saith unto him: What is the sin against the Holy Ghost?

4 Jesus saith unto him: Whosoever shall decree against any man that hath served my holy Father hath blasphemed against the Holy Ghost: For every man that serveth God worshipfully is worthy of the Holy Ghost, and he that speaketh anything evil against him shall not be forgiven.

5 Woe unto him that sweareth by the head of God, yea woe to him that sweareth falsely by him truly. For there are twelve heads of God the most high: for he is the truth, and in him is no lie, neither forswearing.

6 Ye, therefore, go ye and preach unto all the world the word of truth, and thou, Bartholomew, preach this word unto every one that desireth it; and as many as

7 Bartholomew saith: O Lord, and if any sin with sin of the body, what is their reward?

8 And Jesus said: It is good if he that is baptised present his baptism blameless: but the pleasure of the flesh will become a lover. For a single marriage belongeth to sobriety: for verily I say unto thee, he that sinneth after the third marriage (wife) is unworthy of God.

9 But ye, preach ye unto every man that they keep themselves from such things: for I depart not from you and I do supply you with the Holy Ghost. (Latin: At the end of 9, Jesus ascends in the clouds, and two angels appear and say: 'Ye men of Galilee', and the rest)

10 And Bartholomew worshipped him with the apostles, and glorified God earnestly, saying: Glory be to thee, Holy

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Father, Sun unquenchable, incomprehensible, full of light. Unto thee be glory, unto thee honour and adoration, world without end. Amen.

THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS CHRIST,
By Bartholomew The Apostle. TEXT A
The British fragmentary manuscript
Type: Coptic (Egyptian) Apocrypha
Source: British Museum, London
(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 6804)
Translation: Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge, 1913
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 4th century AD

("The Resurrection of Jesus Christ by Bartholomew" is known from two partial manuscripts, one housed in the British Museum in London and another one in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris, all of which are in Coptic. The two texts are not to be confused with the book called "Gospel of Bartholomew" or "Questions of Bartholomew", another work from the New Testament apocrypha. However, they could be considered a different version of the Gospel of Bartholomew as they all bear certain similarities.

Bartholomew (Ancient Greek: romanised: Bartholomaios; Latin: Bartholomaeus; Coptic: Bartholomeos; Arabic romanized: Barthulmāwus) was one of the twelve apostles of Jesus. In the East, where Bartholomew's evangelical labours were expended, he was identified as Nathanael, in works by Abdisho bar Berika (often known as Ebedjesu in the West), the 14th century Nestorian metropolitan of Soba, and Elias, the bishop of Damascus. Nathanael is mentioned only in the Gospel of John [Jn 1:43-51]. In the Synoptic Gospels, Philip and Bartholomew are always mentioned together, while Nathanael is never mentioned; in John's gospel, on the other hand, Philip and Nathanael are similarly mentioned together. Some Biblical scholars reject this identification, however.

The text contains visions by Bartholomew, and acts of Thomas, but is predominantly about The Passion, and the Eucharist. The text seems to have no semblance of gnostic interpretations, and instead appears to be a text aiming to fill in the supernatural details of the Passion, and to emphasise the value and meaning of church liturgy. The text starts with a description of Jesus' own rather gory comprehension of his own fate, i.e. the crucifixion. It is followed by a tale in which someone attempts to stand in for Jesus (i.e. die in his place), but the priests are initially unable to kill him, even though they try stoning and putting him in an oven. Subsequently, the text describes Jesus descending into hell, finding Judas Iscariot there, and preaching to him. Jesus then rescues everyone from hell, except for Judas, Cain, and Herod the Great. This is followed by a flashback described by a gardener to the night when angels, fiery chariots, and God, descended to earth, and resurrected Jesus. Bartholomew is present at the scene, and is shown the highest level of heaven so that he can see the liturgy going on there to celebrate the resurrection. Bartholomew then has a flashback about a divine visitation at the Mount of Olives. Meanwhile, Thomas is busy resurrecting his son Siophanes (possibly a transcription error and meant to read Theophanes). On returning to life, Siophanes describes what the afterlife was like, while Thomas proceeds to baptise all of the amazed townsfolk, who number some 12,000. Finally, in order to witness the ascension of Jesus, Thomas is brought to the others via a cloud. At this point Thomas is surprised to see Jesus resurrected (despite having just brought his own son back to life), and celebrates the eucharist with the other apostles. Then they disperse to evangelise.)

[Five leaves wanting]

. . . . . in the peace of the Father. Amen.

Now when they had crucified the Saviour, they laid Him in a tomb, [and] He rose from the dead upon the third day, [and] He carried the soul of the holy man Apa (Father) Anania with Him into heaven forthwith, and he ate and drank with our Saviour at the table of His kingdom. And Joseph of Arimathea made ready for burial the Body of the Son of God, and when large quantities of most precious scents and unguents had been poured out upon It, he laid It in a new sepulchre. Then Death came into Amente (Amentet, Egyptian for east of the Nile = Holy Land) saying, ' Where is this soul which hath come forth from the body newly? It hath not been brought unto me to Amente. For behold, I have sought for it for two days, but have not found it. What then is [the meaning of] this mighty and wonderful thing? I know not, neither do I know what is [the meaning of] this terrible disturbance [which taketh place] this day. The whole world, and everything which is therein, is in a state of violent commotion. Never before have I known anything like unto this.' And Death called his minister and said unto him, 'Let us go unto every place, and see if we can find this newly dead body, and this new soul which hath hidden itself, for I know not whither it hath departed.'

Then Death came into the tomb of the Saviour, and he found it lighted up with the light of life, and he went into the back of the tomb, and seated himself there with his ministers. Now Abbaton (Land of Death), who is Death ("Master Death"), and Gaios, and Tryphon, and Ophiath, and Phthinon, and Sotomis, and Komphion, who are the six sons of Death, wriggled into the tomb of the Son of God on their faces in the form of serpents, wriggling in with their great thief in very truth. These robbers and evildoers were lying in wait for the moment wherein the Saviour would go down into Amente, so that they might enter with Him, and know what it was that He would do. And the Saviour made Himself manifest unto them in the form of a dead body, in the hinder part of the tomb; He was lying upon the ground in their midst—now it was the second day that He was in the heart of the earth—and there was a napkin bound round His face, and another one bound round His head. Gaze thou thyself, O my Bon, at what His eye doth gaze at, how that the sun doth stand still, and doth not rise upon the earth, for He hath covered His face with a napkin.

And Death said unto his son, that is to say, the Pestilence (or: Plague), 'Hath this soul which hath died recently been brought unto thee to Amente? Hath any one brought it to thy mind, (or, hath any one mentioned it) to thee? Hast thou numbered it in the great number? Shew me, for I am disturbed greatly by this terrible quaking, and I do not know what hath happened this day. The place here hath quaked under me, the atmosphere hath been agitated, the foundations of the heavens are disturbed, the hours have been shortened, the nights are put out of course, the days have lengthened . . . . .'

. . . . . [The breaks which occur in the text of the next eleven lines make it impossible to give a connected translation of the rest of the speech of Death. It seems, however, that Death goes on to complain that the door-keepers of Hell have ceased to guard the doors, that the fires have become extinguished, that Gehenna has gone cold, that the servants, and ministers, and envoys of Hell are unoccupied, that the angels thereof are scattered abroad, and that his power has passed into the hands of strangers.]

Addressing the dead body of Jesus Death saith, 'Who art Thou?' 'What art Thou?' '[There is none] stronger than Thou.' 'Thou hast disturbed me exceedingly.' 'I who am wont to destroy every one [hast Thou] destroyed. And now behold, I do not know what Thou art in this form.'

Then Jesus removed the napkin which was on His face, and He looked in the face of Death, and laughed at him. Now as Death gazed on the Saviour as He was laughing at him, he became greatly disturbed; and he fled away back, and fell down upon the earth, with his six sons. And again Death rose up, and walked towards the dead body of Jesus, and he was greatly afraid and trembled and shook; now his little ones went away back. And again Jesus looked in the face of Death, and laughed. And again Death said unto Him, ' Who art Thou? Shew me. Is it possible that Thou art the first-born of the Father, the Holy Lamb? Surely Thou art not He! I know Thee'

. . . . . [Breaks in the text again interrupt the sense, and the words which remain suggest that Death believes that he has found out to whom the dead body belongs, for he says]:

'I know Who Thou art; Thou art He to Whom those who are in Amente cry out, saying: "O thou Good God, Merciful and Compassionate, have mercy upon us who are shut up in prison. Send Thou to us Thy beloved Son, so that He may shew compassion upon us, and be merciful unto us. Do this, O God, and take us into Thy kingdom." Tell me. Who art Thou? For Thou art not that I should be ashamed before it. Thou art not a mighty man that I should hold Thee in fear. And Thou art not an old man that I should be ashamed before Thee because of Thy honourable grey hairs, and Thou art not a child that I should be ashamed before Thee because of Thy tender years, and Thou art not a person whose life hath been brief that I should be ashamed because of Thy tender age, and Thou art not a bridegroom that I should be in fear of Thy bridal state. Of such as these I am master.'

These things did Death say to the dead body of the Son of God, and he certainly did not know that It was the Great King, our Saviour, Who was more (i.e. greater) than all the kings upon the earth, and Who had come to us out of heaven, and had given us life again. For he had said, ^ Thou art not a mighty man,' but he did not know that the dead body was the Power which was stablished firmly, and that It had come in littleness for our salvation. He was not a mere child, [but had arrived] at manhood, for the sake of the [world?].

. . . . . [Here there is another break in the text, and we have the following fragments of lines: 'He passed thirty years'; 'in the world until He received baptism'; 'He gave us His [holy Body and His] precious Blood'. &c. Death then looked again in the face of Jesus, and said, "'Who art Thou that laughest? I ask, I speak six sons. Tell me, ... that we may cease to quake.' The text continues :—]

Wherefore dost Thou refuse to answer me in this manner? Behold, it is two days since a token came to me, saying, 'Watch over thyself, permit none to rob thee,' for I keep this voice in my memory; but behold, Thou humblest me, and dost make a mock of me. I will not depart from Thee, but I will cleave unto Thee until thou makest Thyself manifest, and declarest Who Thou art. Now I am absolutely all-powerful in my might, and Thou wilt never be able to deceive me. And these were the things which the angel Abbaton, who is Death, spake unto the dead body of the Son of God. Then the Saviour, the Living One, Yahwe, went up into the mighty chariot of the Cherubim, and the whole of it was fire, and it shot forth rays of the [light] of life. And there was a mighty multitude of angels and archangels [standing] by the door of the tomb, and the Cherubim, and the Seraphim, and the Four and Twenty Elders (According to the Book of the Bee), the angels consist of nine classes and three orders: 1. Upper Order, Cherubim, Seraphim, and Thrones. 2. Middle Ordet; Lords, Powers, and Rulers. 3. Lower Order, Principalities, Archangels, and Angels.), and the Powers, and multitudes [of angels which no man could number]

. . . . . [The second halves of the next nine lines are wanting, but it is clear from the words which remain that this portion of the text described the destruction which Jesus wrought in Amente. He broke in pieces the doors, and smashed their bolts, and dragged away and destroyed the door-posts and frames. He overthrew the blazing furnaces of brass and extinguished their fires, and, removing everything from Amente, left it like a desert. He put in fetters the 'shameless one' and bound the ministers of Satan; He also bound a fiend whose name is wanting, and He tied up the devil called Melkhir with an iron chain. The text then continues :—]

So Jesus went down [into Amente, and] scattered [the fiends], and cast chains on the Devil, and redeemed Adam and all his sons; He delivered man, and He shewed compassion upon His own image; He set free all creation, and all the world, and He treated with healing medicine the wound which the Enemy had inflicted on His Son. He brought back into His fold the sheep which had gone astray—He the holy and faithful Shepherd. And He brought back Adam again to the state wherein he was at first, and forgave them (i.e. his sons) their sins. In peace. Amen.

Then the Saviour turned to the man who had betrayed Him, that is to say, to Judas Iscariot, and He said unto him, 'Tell Me, Judas, in what way didst thou profit by betraying Me, [thy Lord,] to the Jewish dogs? Assuredly I only endured sufferings of all kinds in order to fulfil [the will] of My Father, and to redeem [and set free] My creatures which I had fashioned. As for thee, woe be unto thee, with twofold woes.'

. . . . . [Here there is a break of three or four lines in the text. According to M. Lacau's fragments the missing words which follow 'twofold woes' are something like 'and rebukings innumerable, and cursings most terrible. Moreover, the lot of Judas is with his father the Devil'. The text continues :—]

[His name (i. e. Judas's) hath been blotted out] from the Book of Life, his name hath been removed from the [roll] of the Saints, his inheritance hath been taken away from among the living, his tablet hath been broken in pieces, the oil of his jar hath been poured away to waste, his garment hath been rent asunder, Satan hath entered into judgement with him, and he hath come forth condemned utterly, his bishopric hath been taken out of his hands, his crown hath been snatched away, strangers have seized upon the [fruits of] his labours speedily, he is arrayed in cursing as with a garment, he is poured out like water, his glorious apparel hath been snatched away from him, the light of his lamp hath been extinguished, his house hath been left a desert, his day was shortened and the period of his life was diminished, and was without permanence. Suffering came upon him, the light departed and left him, and darkness came upon him, the worm inherited his substance, lice covered him over like a garment. The angels who are in the train of the Lord hurled him down headlong,^ his tongue hath been cut out, the light in his eye hath been destroyed, the hair of his head hath been plucked out. His mouth was filled with thirty snakes so that they might devour him, and these were their names:—1st, Remoteness from [God]; 2nd, Evil jealousy; 3rd, . . . ; 4th, . . . ; 5th, Envy ; 6th, Want of compassion ; 7th, Haughtiness of heart; 8th, Constant strife; 9th, Vain chatter; 10th, . . . ; 11th, Slander; 12th, Hypocrisy; 13th, . . . ; 14th, . . . ; 15th, Gluttony; 16th, Cursing; 17th, Wrath; 18th, Treachery; 19th, Leading [men] astray; 20th, The lying tongue; 21st, Arrogance; 22nd, Contempt; 23rd, Falsehood; 24th, Insidiousness; 25th, Want of sense; 26th, Carelessness ; 27th, Stubbornness in respect of the truth; 28th, Cunning; 29th, Excessive greed; 30th, Godlessness. These are the thirty snakes [which were sent] to devour Judas Iscariot. These are the thirty terrors . . . . .

. . . . . [Here there is a break in the text, and two or three complete lines and portions of several others are wanting. The words which are preserved mention the Jews, and state that Judas received something in his face, that he was cast forth into outer darkness, that he shall never more be remembered, that none shall enquire after him, and that he shall never, never more be had in remembrance. The text continues :—]

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These are the curses which the Saviour pronounced upon Judas in Amente. Now the Saviour rose from the dead on the third day. And Abbaton, who is Death, rose up, and did not see the dead body of Jesus the Son of God, Who spake with him. And he said to his son the Pestilence, 'Make haste, get thee down into Amente, and take care to protect thyself thoroughly well. Shut tight the doors of Amente, until I can discover who it is that hath deceived me when I knew [it] not. For we would have talked with him, but he hid himself from us. Peradventure he is the Son of God Himself, Who destroyeth all men. And as for this being, I have not found a way to overcome him, neither have my six sons.'

Then Death went into Amente, and his six sons were with him, and he found the place swept bare, and it was like unto a desert, and there was not one soul therein. All the doors thereof were smashed in pieces, and the door-frames were thrust out of their places, their bolts were shattered, and the brazen fiery furnaces had been ovei-thrown. Nothing whatsoever was found in that place except three voices [which cried out in fear, and with fearful screams, and were full of anguish of heart] and trouble, and suffering. In [that] place there was weeping and gnashing of teeth; it was a place of sighing and trouble, and there was there the worm which never sleepeth. Woe be unto them!

And [meanwhile] the angels were singing the hymn of blessing which the Seraphim are wont to sing at the hour of dawn on the Lord's Day over His Body and His Blood. And early in the morning of the Lord's Day, whilst [it was] still [dark], the holy women came forth to the tomb, [and their names are these]: Mary Magdalene (Mary of Magdala; John 19.25, 20. 1,11-18.), and Mary the mother of James (the brother of Jesus, Joses, and Simon; att, 27.56,61; Mark xv. 40, 16.1 ; Luke 24.10.), whom [Jesus] had delivered out of the hand of Satan, and Salome (sister of Jesus; Mark 15.40, 16.1.) the temptress, and Mary (Luke X. 38-42.) who ministered [unto Him], and Martha (Luke 10.38 ; John 11.1, 12.2.) [her] sister, and Susannah (See Luke viii. 3, where however the wife of Herod's steward is said to be Joanna, The name Joanna has probably dropped out of our Coptic text.) the wife of Khousa, the steward of Herod, who had refused to share his bed, and Berenice (mistress of Titus Flavius before he became Roman emperor), the fountain of whose blood [Jesus] had stopped for her in Capernaum (See Matt. ix. 20-22; Mark v. 25-34; Luke 8.43-48.) and Leah, the widow, whose son God had raised from the dead [in Nain] (Luke vii. 11.), and the woman who was a sinner, unto whom the Saviour said, ' Thy sins, which are many, are remitted unto thee; go in peace (Luke vii. 47.).' [These women] were standing in the garden of Philogenes, the gardener, whose son the Saviour had healed, and Simon, at the time when He was coming down from the Mount of Olives (Compare Luke 9.37-42 or 22.50-51.) and all His Apostles.

And Mary said unto Philogenes, 'If thou art really he [I know thee].' Philogenes said unto her, 'Thou art Mary, the mother of Thakahari[amath],' the interpretation of which is 'the joy, the blessing, and [the gladness]'. Mary a said unto him, '[If it be thou who hast taken away the Body of my Lord, tell] me where thou hast laid It, and I myself will carry It away (John 20.15).' Philogenes said unto her, 'O my sister, what is [the meaning of] these words which thou speakest, O thou holy Virgin, the mother of the Christ? For at the moment when the Jews crucified Jesus, they set out seeking a safe sepulchre wherein they might lay Him, so that His disciples might not come and carry Him away secretly by night. And I said unto them, 'There is a tomb quite close to my vegetable garden, carry Him thither and lay Him in it, and I myself will keep watch over it. Now I thought in my heart saying: When the Jews have gone away [from the tomb] and have entered their houses, I will go into the tomb of my Lord, and I will carry Him away, and I will give Him spices, and a large quantity of sweetsmelling unguents. And [the Jews] brought Him, and laid Him in the tomb, and they set a seal upon it, and they departed to their houses. Now in the middle of the night I rose up, and I went to the door of the tomb of my Lord, and I found all the armies of the angelic host drawn up there. In the first row were the Cherubim, who were twelve thousand in number. In the second row were the Seraphim, who were thirteen thousand in number. In the third row were the Powers, who were twenty thousand in number. In the fourth row were the Virgins, who were thirty thousand in number. And thousands of thousands [of angels] were round about it, and tens of thousands of tens of thousands were [the angels] who were gathered together to it. And there was a great chariot standing there, and it was formed of fire [which sent forth bright flames]. And there were also there twelve [Virgins, who stood upon the fiery chariot] and they were singing hymns in the language of the Cherubim, who all made answer unto them, "Amen. Hallelujah." Moreover, I saw the seven firmaments [open] one beyond the other. And the Father came forth out of the height with His tabernacle of light, and He came to the tomb of the Saviour, and raised Him up from the dead. All these glorious things did I see, O my sister Mary. Moreover, I saw Peter there, the great interpreter of Jesus, [and had he not] laid hold upon me, and helped me, I must have fallen into despair and died by reason of [these great] mysteries, and this great glory which I saw. O Mary, my sister, what shall I do until I enter that place?' These were the things which Philogenes spake unto Mary.

And the Saviour appeared in their presence mounted upon the chariot of the Father of the Universe, and He cried out in the language of His Godhead, saying, 'Mari Khar Martath,' hereof the interpretation is, 'Mary, the mother of the Son of God.' Then Mary, who knew the interpretation of the words, said, 'Hramboune (Compare John xx. 16) Kathiathari Mioth,' whereof the interpretation is, ' The Son of the Almighty, and the Master, and my Son/ And He said unto her, 'Hail, My mother. Hail^ My holy ark. Hail, thou who hast sustained the life of the whole world. Hail, My holy garment, wherein I arrayed Myself. Hail, My water-pot, which is full of holy water. Hail, My mother. My house. My place of abode. Hail, My mother. My city. My place of refuge. [Hail, thou who hast received in thyself the Seven Aeons in one composition. Hail, thou who art the table which is set in the Paradise of the seventh heaven, the name of which is "Khomthomakh", [that is to say],] the whole of Paradise is glad because of her. I say unto thee, O My mother, "He who loveth thee loveth life." Hail, thou who didst sustain the Life of the Universe in thy womb. O My mother, [go thou] and say unto My brethren [that I have risen from the dead]. Say thou unto them: [I shall] go [unto My Father], Who is your Father, and unto My God and Lord, Who is your Lord. Keep in remembrance all our words which I have spoken unto you. For I will come to you at the hour of dawn to-morrow morning, which is also the hour wherein I am wont to stretch out My right hand of light, when the sun riseth upon the earth, and when also I am wont to shake out My spiritual garments, and to take My seat on the right hand of My Father, and when the dew of the Paradise of the seventh heaven descendeth upon the whole earth, which becometh drunk therewith, and yieldeth the fruits of life. I will come to you at that hour, and I will give unto you My peace which I have received from My holy Father. And He gave it to Me, and I brought it into the world, and I will give it unto you My disciples [and unto] every one who shall believe in My name, and [in the name of] Mary My mother, the Virgin in very truth. My spiritual womb. My treasure of pearl, the ark [of the salvation] of the sons of Adam, who sustained the Body of the Son of God, and the Blood of Him that indeed took away the sin of the world, the light of [our] . . . . .

. . . . . [Here there is a break of two lines at least]

Then the Saviour, the Life, our salvation, our King . . . . .

. . . . . our Helper, our [Hope], opened His mouth and cried out, saying : '[Thou shalt take thy seat] in My kingdom in blessing.' [O my brethren] the Apostles, believe me, [I Bartholomew,] the Apostle of Jesus, saw the Son of God, standing upon the chariot of the Cherubim. And round and about Him there were standing thousands of thousands of Archangels, and thousands of thousands of the Cherubim, and tens of thousands of tens of thousands of the Seraphim, and tens of thousands of tens of thousands of the Powers, and their heads were bowed, and they made answer to the blessing, saying, 'Amen, Hallelujah,' to that which the Son did speak with His mouth to Mary. Then our Saviour stretched out His right hand, which was full of blessing, and He blessed the womb of Mary His mother. I saw the heavens open together, and the Seven Firmaments were opened. I saw a man of light shining brightly, like unto a pearl, upon whom it would be impossible to make any man look. And [I saw] also a hand of fire which was of the colour of snow, and it rested upon the belly of Mary and [upon her] breast. Now this hand was the hand of the Father, and the right hand of the Son, and the right hand of the Holy Ghost. And He blessed [the womb of Mary and said,]

. . . . . [Break of six and a half lines]

. . . . . and all [the angels said ' Amen\ [And He said], ' They shall call thee the 'fountain of life' . . . . . blood of God . . . . . [Amen.] Hallelujah. And He made to drink the . . . . . sinless. Amen. Hallelujah* . . . . . the Powers of heaven . . . . . because of her fruit. Hallelujah. Thou shalt be called [in heaven] the 'Pearl of the Father,' and men call thee upon earth, 'She who brought forth God' and 'our salvation' The blessing of the Father shall be with thee always. Amen. Hallelujah. The might of the Son shall overshadow thee. Amen. Hallelujah. The joy of the Holy Spirit shall continue to remain with thee at all times. Amen. Hallelujah. And when thou shalt come forth from the" body I Myself will come with My Father, and Michael, and all the angels, and thou shalt be with Us in My kingdom. And over thy body I will make the Cherubim, having a sword of fire, to keep watch, and twelve hundred angels also shall watch over it until the day of My appearance, and of My [kingdom].' (* Hallelujah, is an English interjection, from Hebrew haleluya via Greek alleluya, meaning "praise [to] God!".)

[These were the things which the Saviour spake unto Mary His mother. And Mary departed and made known to the Apostles that the Lord had risen from the dead, and had said to her, 'Come ye to] Galilee [at dawn to-morrow], and I will give unto you My peace [which My Father] gave unto Me as I came into the world.' [Then] Mary [came and found the Apostles about to offer up the Offering], the Body and the Blood of Christ, and Mary [partook of the sacrifice] with them. [Then] . . . . . the great bishop [said], ... O Mary, thou art the first [among women] . . . . . the angel brought Him out of thy . . . . . until thou didst give birth to Him on the earth. He chose us to be His disciples. And thou also wast the first unto whom He shewed Himself, as He was departing to His Father. O blessed be the womb which thou didst hold in thyself until thou didst produce for us the King of Glory.'

And all the Apostles rejoiced with exceedingly great joy when they heard from Mary His mother that the Lord had risen from the dead. Now the Saviour went away to ascend into the heavens, having mounted the chariot of the Father of the Universe, and the whole of the captivity of the sons of Adam followed after Him, after the manner of a king who hath waged war successfully, and hath vanquished his enemy, and hath captured large booty. And thou shalt find it . . . . . for the sake of His men whom He had [redeemed], ...

. . . . . [One line wanting]

. . . . . [And as] the Saviour Jesus our Lord went on His way He . . . . . and the angels were going with Him, ... the whole world from their sins ; and the Seraphim were singing hymns to Him until He reached the seventh heaven. And moreover [there was] the tabernacle of the Father, which cannot be described. And the Father, Who was upon His throne, saluted His beloved Son, and He placed upon His head the great crown of glory and blessing, which illumined the whole world with brilliant light at that moment. O my brethren the Apostles, believe me Bartholomew the Apostle [of Jesus], if I were to undertake to describe in the smallest manner the works which took place at the moment when the Father placed the crown on the head of His Son, I should not be able to write them down in all the time which I shall pass on the earth. Not only this, but do not let this book come into the hand of any man who is an unbeliever and a heretic. Behold, [this] is the seventh time that I have commanded thee, O my son Thaddaeus, concerning these mysteries. Reveal not thou them to any impure man, but keep them safely. For I [give thanks] unto our Saviour Who made Michael to remain continually with me, until I saw these mysteries. . . . . .

. . . . . [Here is a break of one or two lines.]

, , , , , For I have not the power to [invent things] of this kind. For what I saw [took place] on the fifteenth day of [the month] Parmoute, at . . . . . during Pentecost, in peace . . . . . [And when] the Father placed the crown upon the head of His beloved Son, He said unto Him—now all [the hosts of the angels] were listening—'Peace be unto Thee . . . . . for Thou art the King of [Peace], and [Thou art made perfect] by the Will of Thy Father.' And He said unto the angels, 'Sing ye joyfully glorious hymns of every kind to My Son, for this is the day of joy, this is the day of gladness, this is the day of exultation, the day of happiness, the day of immortality, the day of brightness, the day of freedom unto salvation, the day of the remission of sin. For this is the day of My Son, Who is the Lord of you all, the Redeemer of the whole world from their sins/ And the Father also said unto Him, ' Come, sit Thou down upon My right hand, My beloved Son, and I will give Thee My blessing, My beloved Son, on Whom hath been My desire. I am Thy Father, and there is no other god besides Thee in heaven and in the earth. I will set Thine enemies beneath Thy feet, and Thou shalt reign from the wood of the Cross . . . . .

. . . . . .[Break of at least two and a half lines]

. . . . . shall abide for ever . . . . . My beloved Son, ... through My blessing. Thou art the . . . . . Thou art the Strength . . . . . Thou art the Bridegroom. Thou art the . . . . . the Father. Thou art the . . . . . Thou art the Holy Paraclete. Amen. . . . . to the Father of [mercy]. Sit Thou upon the throne of the pearl of light.'

I saw also the Saviour sitting on the right hand of His Father, and thousands of thousands of Archangels, and of the Cherubim, and of the Seraphim, and of the Powers, and of the Dominions, and the Twelve Virtues of the Holy Spirit, and the Four and Twenty Elders, and the Seven Aeons, and the Patriarchs, and the Prophets, and all the Righteous, advanced all together, and they worshipped the Son of God, saying, 'He is holy. He is holy. He is holy, the King, the Son of God, the Son of the King, and His Good Father, and the Holy Spirit. The earth is full of the mercy of the Lord and His lovingkindness, and He hath delivered the man whom He hath made. He hath forgiven his sins, and the sins' of all his children. In peace. Amen . . . . . and his children. . . . . .

. . . . . [Break of one or two lines.]

. . . . . 'Glory be unto Thee, O Holy Spirit . . . . . all His blessing. Amen.'

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'[Glory be unto Thee] . . . . . Thou art the Shepherd of the sheep . . . . . of life. Amen. Thou art the . . . . . Again, Thou art He Who did redeem . . . . . of all His blessing. Amen. [Thou art He] . . . . . of life. Amen.'

'Glory be to Thee . . . . . Amen.'

'Glory be to Thee . . . . . '

'Glory be to Thee, Propitiator. Amen.'

'Glory be to Thee, Undying One. Amen.'

'Glory be to Thee, King of Peace. Amen.'

'Glory be to Thee, Who wast not born. Amen.

'Glory be to Thee, the Incorruptible. Amen.'

'Glory be to Thee, King of Gloiy. Amen.'

'Glory be to Thee, the Head of the Universe. Amen.'

'Glory be to Thee, Holy and Perfect One. Amen.'

'Glory be to Thee, Thou Treasury of Glory. Amen.'

'Glory be to Thee, Thou true Light. Amen.'

'Glory be to Thee, Deliverer of the Universe. Amen.'

'Glory be to Thee, Thou Who art indeed the Good One. Amen.'

'Glory be to Thee, Alpha of the Universe. Amen.'

'Glory be to Thee, Life of the Universe. Amen. O Sweet Name. Amen. O Thou Who art at the head of the Universe. Amen. [Thou] Beginning [and] End of everything. Amen.'

THE FIRST HYMN OF THE ANGELS WHICH ALL THE SAINTS SAID BECAUSE OF THE FORGIVENESS [OF THE SINS] OF ADAM AND ALL HIS SONS.

The Son of God forgave the sins of the whole world. In peace. Amen.

[THE SECOND HYMN OF THE ANGELS] REJOICING

'. . . . . Amen.'

'Glory be to Thee, the Shepherd. Amen . . . . .'

'Glory be to Thee, ... Amen.'

'Glory be to Thee, Steward of the Father, Jesus. Amen.'

'Glory be to Thee, Light-giver, Jesus. Amen.'

'Glory be to Thee, ... of Life. Amen.'

'Glory be to Thee, Apparel of the [Saints]. Amen.'

'Glory be to Thee, Shelterer of those who are [needy]. Amen.'

'Glory be to Thee, ... the of those who are . . . . Jesus. Amen.'

'Glory be to Thee, O true Bridegroom, Jesus. Amen.'

'Glory be to Thee, ... salvation, Jesus. Amen.'

'Glory be to Thee, Thou Blessing of Sabaoth, Jesus. Amen.'

'Glory be to Thee, Thou Joy of the Ages, Jesus. Amen.'

'Glory be to Thee, Exultation of Eloi, Jesus. Amen.'

And again with all his sons. 'In peace. Amen. Come ye to the joy of our King. Amen. Let the angels come, one by one with fruit, and let them all rejoice over the forgiveness of Adam and all his sons, for he hath been brought back to his former estate, [and he is] as he was at first. In peace. Amen.'

THE THIRD HYMN OF THE ANGELS. IN PEACE. AMEN.

Then the Father commanded them to bring Adam into the midst, and Eve, his wife. And straightway Michael went to Paradise, and brought back Adam and Eve, and he set them in the presence of the Father. Now Adam was four score cubits in height, and Eve was fifty cubits (Hebrew tradition states that, when in a state of innocence, Adam's body reached from earth to heaven; after Adam had sinned, his stature was shortened by God. The Muslims say that Adam was as tall as a high palm-tree, and that Eve's body was so long that when her head lay on one hill near Mecca, her knees rested on two other hills in the plain.). Believe me, my brethren the Apostles, I Bartholomew, an Apostle [of Jesus], never, from the time when I was born into the world, have I seen the image of any man which resembled the image of Adam, either in heaven, or upon the earth. . . . . .

. . . . . [Break of one line.]

. . . . . There was a girdle of pearls [round about his loins], ... and a great multitude of angels [were singing to him] songs of heaven. [Rays of light shot] forth out of [his] eyes of diamonds which were like unto [the splendour] that I saw in the tabernacle of the Father. And characters and signs were written upon his forehead, the which flesh and blood were unable [to read]. And the Name[s] of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit were written upon his body in seven [symbolic signs?]. And the thongs of the sandals which were on the feet of the father shone brighter than the sun and the moon twice seven times. Eve herself was adorned with the adornments of the Holy Spirit, and the Powers and the Virgins sang hymns to her in the celestial language, calling her 'Zoe', the mother of all the living.

And the Father answered [and said], 'Adam, My son, although thou didst thrust My commandment behind thee, because of thy wife, and didst not keep it, behold, Jesus My Son Himself hath suffered all these pains; thy sins shall be forgiven to thee, and thou, even thou, shalt be a son to Me even as He is. And as for Mary, in whom My Son sojourned, with her Eve shall be a mother in My kingdom.' And the Father answered and said unto all the angel-host, 'Let them come with their sweet tidings, and with their sweet odours, and lay them down before Me, because I am again at peace with My own image.' Then Michael [sang] this hymn for Adam at that time . . . . .

. . . . .[Break of two lines]

'. . . . . in peace. Amen. . . . [and his] glad tidings. Amen. Raphael [and his] . . . . . Amen . . . . . and his fruit. Amen . . . . . and his lighted lamp. Amen. . . . . and the holy oil. Amen. Asouel with [his] . . . . . Amen. Aphouel with his psaltery. Amen . . . . . with his robe. Amen . . . . . with his virginity. Amen. Harmosiel with the trumpet of the Spirit. Amen. Sareiou[el] with his sweet scent. Amen. Kadiel with his drum. Amen. Uriel with the light of the sun. Amen. These are the angels of light. 'Come ye to the joy of our King Jesus. Amen. We all rejoice over the forgiveness of Adam and all his sons. In peace. Amen. Hallelujah.'

THE FOURTH HYMN OF THE ANGELS.

'We bless Thee, O King of the Ages. Amen. We bless Thee, O Thou Who art incomprehensible. Amen. El, El, Abba, King. Amen. Abriath the Redeemer Who liveth. Amen. Thou Who art our Life-giver. Amen. Thou Who art the fulfilment of all things. Amen.'

THE FIFTH HYMN OF THE ANGELS WHO WERE ASCRIBING BLESSING TO THE FATHER, AND THE SON, AND THE HOLY GHOST. AMEN.

'Bless us, O Father. Amen. Bless us, O Son. Amen. Bless us, O Holy Spirit. Amen. Let Paradise say with us "Amen". Let the Cherubim say with us "Amen". Let [the Seraphim say with us "Amen"] Let those who dwell in the heavens say [with us] "Amen". Let the Virgins say with us "Amen". Remember us, O [our] . . . . . [and] our . . . . . for Thou art the Object of our glorifyings, and our Pride, and our Salvation, and our Life, and our Refuge, and our , and our Helper, our Strength, and our [Redeemer], May His mercy be upon every one. Amen. Hallelujah.'

THE SIXTH HYMN OP THE ANGELS.

Then when Adam saw the great honour and this gift which was to be to him and to all his sons, namely that the Son of God had forgiven them their sins, he sang this hymn, saying, 'I will ascribe blessing to God Who hath remembered me. O ye Angels of joy, come ye, and rejoice with me, for the Son of God hath set me free. He hath delivered me and my wife, and He hath saved me and all my sons also. O all ye righteous who are on the earth, come ye, and make rejoicing with me, for Christ, the Son of God, hath made me to be without sin. This is the day, and this is the hour of joy, for which my father Michael the Archangel, and all the Angel-host made entreaty on behalf of all my seed until God, the Almighty, had compassion upon me and upon all my sons, and made peace with my clay, the which He had fashioned. For this is His form and image. In peace.'

And Michael, and Gabriel, and Raphael, and [Aso]uel, and Sarouphouel, [and . . . . ., and . . . . .], his six fellow [Archangels], cast themselves down, and worshipped the Father, and [the Son, and the Holy Ghost, saying] . . . . .

. . . . . [Break of two or three lines]

. . . . God. Thou didst have compassion . . . . . Adam also . . . . . Thou didst save . . . . . the way of salvation. Amen . . . . . Adam in the joy of thy King Jesus. Amen . . . . . for thy sake until He should deliver all . . . . . In peace. Amen.

. . . . . [The seventh hymn is missing]

THE EIGHTH HYMN OF ADAM, THE FORM OF GOD, WHO IS MOST HIGH. IN PEACE. AMEN. HALLELUJAH.

And there came also the righteous whom Adam had invited to come and rejoice with him in gladness, and these were they: The first was Abraham, the companion of God, and Isaac, who was without sin, and Jacob the saint of the Almighty, and Job the patient, and Moses the Arch-prophet, and Noah the righteous man, and all the righteous who had performed the will of God. And they all saluted Adam, and they worshipped him, saying, 'Blessed art thou, O Adam, for Jesus Christ hath forgiven thee thy sins, and to us also, thy sons, hath He given freedom. Amen.'

Then all the righteous rejoiced and were glad, and they ascribed blessing to God, saying, 'All the righteous shall shine in the kingdom of their Father seven times brighter than the sun. The light of the righteous . . . . . shall shine before them . . . . .

. . . . . [Break of one line]

. . . . . all the . . . . . who have pleased God . . . . . the living, the Body and the Blood . . . . . whereof all partake . . . . . sins. Glory be to Thee, Jesus our King. Glory be to Thee, Jesus, the True Bridegroom. Glory be to Thee, O . . . . .

. . . . . Glory be to Thee, Jesus, the Father of all souls.' And when the righteous had finished [singing] their hymn, they departed and went into the city [the heavenly Jerusalem], wherein they abide always, [and wherein they shall be] for ever. Amen. And to all the angels also, when they had finished [singing] their hymn, and had [said] their Amen, the Father gave His peace, and dismissed them, and each one went to the place over which he had rule. In peace. Amen.

These are the hymns which the angels sang when they were all gathered together, and when all of them were rejoicing because the Son of God had risen from the dead. and had redeemed the captivity of the sons of Adam, and had taken them into heaven, and had made them gifts to His Father. In great peace, for ever and ever. Amen.

Then the Father set Adam at the Gate of Life, so that he might be the first to salute all the righteous as they were entering into Jerusalem, the city of Christ. And He stationed Eve over all the women who had done the will of God, that she might be the first to salute them as they entered the city of Christ . . . .

. . . . . [Break of two lines]

O my brethren the Apostles, I have told you concerning the mysteries which I have seen ; rejoice ye because of the forgiveness of sins which our Saviour hath [bestowed upon Adam] and upon all his sons. And [all] the Apostles [answered Bartholomew and said, 'It is seemly so to do], O our beloved brother Bartholomew, [thou treasury] of the mysteries of Christ. Verily, ... worthy of the things which the Son of God [hath told thee, and to see the great and] unspeakable mysteries which thou hast seen. Verily, Bartholomew, [thou shalt be called] the bearer of the mysteries of Christ to the end of the world. Thy name shall not cease in heaven or upon earth. They shall call thee "Bartholomew, the keeper of the mysteries of the Son of God".'

And Bartholomew answered, saying, 'Forgive me, O my brethren the Apostles, I am of no use in [your] midst, and I am of no account before all men. I am a poor man in respect of my handicraft, and I justify [my existence] by my manner of life. The multitudes who are in the city are accustomed to see it, and they say, "Is not this Bartholomew, the man of Italy (the Roman citizen), the gardener and the dealer in vegetables? Is not this the man who liveth in the garden of Hierokes, the governor of our city?

. . . . . [Break of two lines]

. . . . . the words of poverty (of an Ebionite; or humble speech) he wrote . . . . . the mightyworks of the Son of God. O my beloved brethren, ye are [the shepherds and] bishops whom the Saviour hath appointed [over] the whole world. O our father Peter.' When the Saviour took us up on the Mount [of Olives], the Saviour spake unto us [in a language] which we did not understand, but straightway He revealed it unto us. [He said unto us] Atharath Thaurath. And [straightway] the Seven Firmaments [were opened] . . . . .

. . . . . our bodies . . . . . saw, and we looked and we saw our Saviour. His body was going up into the heavens, and His feet were firmly fixed upon the mountain with us. He stretched out His right hand and sealed us, the twelve. And we ourselves also went up with Him into the height, into the tabernacle of the Good Father, into the seventh heaven. Then the Saviour cast Himself down at the feet of His Father, saying, ^Shew Thou compassion upon My brethren the Apostles, and bless them with the blessing which is without end.* And the Father blessed thee, saying, ' I and My Son Jesus, and the Holy Spirit, are those Who lay hands on thee. Whatsoever thou shalt loose on the earth We will loose; and again, whatsoever thou bindest on earth, We will bind . . . . .

. . . . . [Break of five lines]

. . . . . [He who is ordained by any authority save] that of thy hand and thy throne [shall be repulsed and shall not prosper]. Thy [breath shall be filled] with My breath, and with the breath of [My Son], and with the breath of the Holy Spirit, so that every man whom thou shalt baptise . . . . . shall receive a portion of the Holy Spirit, in [the Name of] the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit.' [Then the Cherubim, [and the Seraphim], and the Archangels, and [all] the angels answered [and said, 'Amen. Hallelujah.']

And He blessed Andrew, saying, 'Thou shalt be a pillar of strength in Jerusalem, My beloved city, in My kingdom. Amen.'

And He blessed James [saying], ' In every town and in every village, thou shalt see [Me] entering into them before thou enterest them, and afterwards they shall believe on thee. Amen.

'And thou, John, the beloved of My Spirit and of My Son Jesus, there being no division whatsoever between them and thee, thou shalt be blessed in My kingdom for ever. Amen.

'And thou, Philip, in every place wherein thou shalt go and shalt preach therein, in the Name of My beloved Son, and His Cross of Light, He shall continue to go with thee until [the people thereof] shall have believed on thee, for ever. Amen.

'And thou My chosen one, Thomas, thy faith shall be like that of an eagle [of light] which [shall fly over] all [countries] until [the people thereof] shall have believed [in Me] through thee for ever and ever. Amen.

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'And thou, Bartholomew, thy soul shall be a sojourner among the mysteries of My Son.

'And thou, O Matthew, thy strength shall increase to such a degree that thy shadow shall be able to make to stand up multitudes of those who have been buried. And straightway thy shadow . . . . . shall be in great power'. . . . .

'And [thou,] James, the son of Alphaeus, no power whatsoever of the Devil shall have dominion over thy body [or over thy preaching] in any place ; nay, whatsoever shall be planted by thee, shall never be uprooted. Amen.

'[And thou, Simon] Zelotes, no . . . . . concerning the joining of the Spirit . . . . . the holy produce. Amen.

'And thou . . . . , the son of James, on whatsoever place the sole of thy foot shall rest, I will forgive all the sins of the people of that place, and they shall believe on My Name through thee [and through] thy patience. In peace. Amen.

'And thou, Thaddeus, My beloved one, to every place wherein thou shalt establish the Word of My Son, no thought of the Devil shall be able to approach because of the purity of thy soul. Amen.

'And [thou] Matthias (Matthew), the blessed Apostle, the sweet odour of thee shall go about through all the world, and through all heaven. For thou wast a rich man as this world goeth, and thou didst forsake everything for the sake of My Son Jesus, [the companion of] My side, and the spring . . . . . of My heart, and the [string] of My tongue. In peace. Amen.' '

And the Angels, and the Archangels, and the Cherubim, and the Seraphim, and [the Powers], and the Four and Twenty Elders, heard the blessings which the Father pronounced over [the Apostles]. And we ourselves, all of us, made answer "Hallelujah". Now therefore, O my brethren the Apostles, forgive me; I, Bartholomew, the Apostle, am not a man to be honoured.'

Then all the Apostles rose up, and they saluted (i. e. kissed) Bartholomew on the head, and said unto him, 'Well done, our beloved brother Bartholomew, and [noble] is the humility wherewith thou hast abased thyself.' When the Apostles had said these things, they offered up the Offering. And Mariham (Mary) was with them, she whom the Saviour Jesus had sent imto them, saying, 'Call them to Me tomorrow morning [at dawn] in Galilee, in order that I may give you My peace.' Now when they had partaken of the Body and the Blood of Christ Jesus, the Son of the Living God, they were full of joy, and they [blessed] God, the lover of mankind. And the smoke of the sacrifice produced a sweetsmeUing savour before the throne of the Father. And the Father smelled the sweet odour of the Apostles, and shewed compassion on their supplication, and hearkened to their prayers.

And the Father answered and said to His Son, 'Rise up, My beloved Son, and get Thee down to Thy disciples, and comfort Thou them, and Thou shalt give them strength, and shalt [encourage] them, that they [despair not] and say, ["Our Saviour hath risen from the dead], and hath departed [into the heavens in the Glory of His Father], and hath left us in the midst of the cities [and villages]."' Then the Son of God rose up and departed into Galilee, and He found His disciples and Mary, who were gathered together. And Jesus made Himself visible to them, and said unto them, 'Hail, Peter, My Bishop, the crown of the Apostles. Hail, My noble companions, whom I have chosen one by one. Hail, My brethren and My children. Let there be with you the peace of My Father, which is Mine, which I received from My Father, so that I might make it to remain with you for all time.' And He breathed on their faces and said, 'Receive ye the Holy Spirit. Those whose sins ye forgive, I will forgive ; and those whom ye hold fast, I will hold fast.' And He shewed them the [nail marks] which were in His hands (and feet), and the [mark of] the wound [made by] the spear [in His side], and the spittle on His face, and the . . . . . which were in His eyes, and the marks of the wounds caused by the points of the crown of thorns which were in His head. And He lifted up His hand above their heads, and He blessed them, saying, ' O My holy members, be of good cheer, fear not. My Father shall give you the wages of [your] . . . . . , that is to say the . . . . . which the Saviour . . . . . His disciples . . . . . He rose from the dead . . . . . all the Apostles . . . . .

. . . . . [Break of two and a half lines at least]

. . . . . they wept exceedingly. Then Jesus raised them up, saying, 'Rise up, weep not for Me, for I have already risen from the dead, and am going to My Father . . . . . O Peter, knowest thou not that even . . . . . goeth into a far country, and hath sons.' And they wept for Him saying, ... 'to whom wilt Thou commit us?'

And He answered and said, 'Behold your great brother [Peter]. I have set him over you. Obey ye him even as ye would Me. When ye obey him, it is I whom ye are obeying. And thou, O Peter, My beloved one, behold, I have set thee as a father over all thy brethren. And do thou comfort and console thy younger brethren, the Apostles, and thou shalt encourage them until they shall have finished their course in the world. And I and My Father will be with you at all times. Amen. I say unto you, O My blessed disciples, that your names are written upon My right hand; at all times do I keep you in remembrance. And Mariham herself also I have committed unto your care, and ye shall not cast her forth from your companionship.'

And when the Saviour had said these things, the Apostles rose up and saluted (i. e. kissed) the side of Jesus, and [they took] of His living Blood which flowed forth from it, and He sealed them therewith. [And He said unto them, 'O] My holy members, behold . . . . . now . . . .

. . . . .[Break of one and a half lines]

. . . . . the shadow of strength. Ye shall raise the dead, the blind shall see, the lame shall walk, and the dumb shall speak, [and the deaf] shall hear, and the poor [shall be cherished]. Ye shall do all My mighty works which I did when I was with you in the world. For when I shall have departed [to My Father], ye shall do the things which are more excellent than these until ye have gathered together My sheep which have gone astray.'

When the Saviour had said these things, He blessed them, and went up into heaven, and the angels of glory sang to Him as He passed on His way. And the Apostles rejoiced exceedingly because the Son of God had blessed them. Now Thomas, who was called Didymos (Twin), was not with them when the Lord came, but had departed to his city, for they had brought him news saying, 'Thy son is dead.' And Thomas departed, and he found that it was the seventh day since he had died. And he departed straightway to the place wherein they had buried him, and he cried out, 'Siophanes, my beloved, rise up in the Name of Jesus Christ, the Son of the Living God; rise up, stand upon thy feet, that I may speak with thee.' And straightway Siophanes rose up, and the glory of Jesus [Christ] was in his face, and he made obeisance to his father . . . . . joyfully. And . . . . . made answer . . . . .

. . . . . [Break of two lines]

. . . . . because the gift of Jesus had reached the whole city on his account. And Siophines {sic) answered his father and said, 'Blessed art thou, O my father, through the Lord, for thou hast believed on the Lord, the Son of God. At the moment when they came after me to separate my soul from my body, there came a great and mighty angel with a cloth of byssus, and multitudes of angels also, all of whom were girt with belts of gold about their loins, [bearing] incense; now they called that angel "Michael, the angel of mercy". All these [angels] stood round about me, and their faces, wreathed in smiles, were towards me. And Michael made a sign over my mouth in the Name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Then straightway my soul sprang out from my body, and alighted on the hand of Michael, and he wrapped it up in the cloth of byssus, and they went with it into heaven, [the angels] singing hymns [before it]. Now when we arrived at the river of fire, Michael set me down from off his hand, and I entered the river, and it seemed to be like unto a river of water. After . . . . . the river of fire, so to say . . . . . the place which I saw was blazing with fire . . . . . coal . . . . . the river . . . . . [we] passed over . . . . .

. . . . . [Break of nearly two lines]

. . . . . and it was the light of Michael which lighted me on my way until we had passed over. After we had passed over it we went up into heaven. [And Michael] took me into the Lake Akherousia, and plunged me under its waters three times. Afterwards a voice proceeded forth from the height, [which said], "O ye angels who bear glad tidings, take ye this soul to the place of immortality, and [to] the Paradise of the life which is celestial, and let it see the places of the Apostles, and their crowns, and their thrones."

'And straightway Michael took me to the place which they call the "tabernacle of the Father", and I saw your twelve thrones which are [made of] pearls of light, your twelve thrones which are set with real stones (i.e. stones of price), and topazes and emeralds, which light up brilliantly the whole city of Christ. And I saw also twelve white robes lying upon the thrones of the spirit; and there were also twelve trees which were laden with fruit at all times, and each one overshadowed one of the thrones; and there were twelve eagles, each with the face of a man, and their wings were outstretched, one pair of wings over each throne; and a name of the Twelve Apostles was inscribed upon each one of the thrones; and there were twelve veils, drawn over the thrones, to each throne a veil; and there was a canopy set with precious stones spread over the upper part of each throne; and a thousand angels sang hymns before each throne. And I Siophanes worshipped, and I said unto Michael the Archangel, "Unto whom do these thrones belong!" And Michael the Archangel answered and said unto me, "These twelve thrones belong to the Twelve Holy Disciples who followed after Jesus, the Son of God, in the world. For this reason God hath appointed these thousands of angels to sing hymns to them until they should finish their course, and should come and sit on the thrones, being kings with the Son of God in His kingdom." I answered and said unto Michael, "My lord, shew thou to me the throne of my father, for I am not able to read the writing which is written on the thrones." Then Michael took me into the midst of the thrones, and he shewed it to me. And when I drew nigh unto it, straightway, the light of the pearl, and of the thousand of angels, and their glory remaining fixed in their faces, I wished to seat myself upon it. But the angels prevented me, saying, "No one can sit upon this throne except thy father. It is not permitted unto any being of flesh and blood to sit down on these thrones, with the exception of His Apostles." And I went away, and [I left behind me] the thrones. And the thousand angels blessed me with a mighty blessing of heaven. In peace. Amen. [Then] Michael brought me to Paradise. [And the beings of] Paradise made supplication unto me saying, "Come . . . . . O, the first of the Apostles . . . . ." and I and Michael the Archangel [went there, and as we walked we heard] that thou wast praying to God, Jesus Christ. Then Michael took my soul, and he placed it in my body again, and I rose up, being alive, and I have just now talked with thee.'

And Thomas answered and said to his son, 'Blessed art thou, O my son, for the grace of God hath come unto thee, and thou hast seen this great glory.' And when Thomas had said these things he departed with his son into the city, and straightway he went into his house. And when those who were in the house saw him, they fell down upon their faces, and they became like unto those who were dead. And they went to them and raised them up. And he spake with them, and he shewed them how his father had talked with him, and had raised him from the dead, and how he had seen the glory and the honour of those who are in heaven. For Thomas did not enter into his house, because of the mighty deeds which he had done, but continued outside the city, and the multitude believed upon God. Now the rumour spread abroad throughout the whole city that Siophanes, the son of Thomas, had risen from the dead. And the whole multitude were gathered together at the door of the house wherein the young man was. And they looked upon him and marvelled. And they [spake to] the young man, and they [asked] him, 'Who . . . . .

. . . . . [Break of two lines]

. . . . . Italy . . . . . When I was dead they carried me out to the tomb and buried me. And they carried my soul up into heaven, and they shewed me the places (i. e. habitations) of immortality. And I passed seven days beneath the trees of Pamdise of the heavenly Jerusalem, and I sheltered under the shadow of their branches. As for my body, the Archangel Michael sealed it with his finger, in the Name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. It did not suffer corruption, neither did it stink, nor did it rot away during those seven days, but every part of it was well preserved; and it was red like these roses, for it was wholly necessary that I should return to it once more, for the salvation and the deliverance of my city. Now after seven days my father heard that I was dead, and he came and raised me up from the dead in the Name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. In peace. Amen.'

And when the multitude heard these things, the people cast themselves down, and they worshipped him with their faces on the ground, saying, 'We beseech thee to shew us the place wherein is the servant of Christ, so that we also may believe in Him.' And when the multitude had said these things, the son ran before them on the road, and brought them to the . . . . . and he took them to the place where the Apostle was. And when they had looked upon him, they cast themselves [down upon the ground at his feet, and cried out, saying], 'Blessed art thou in thy coming [to our city]. There is none except thee. Jesus, the Son of the Living God.'

And when the whole multitude had ciied out these things, the Apostle blessed them, and he baptized twelve thousand men of their number that day. And he marked out for them the foundations of a church, and he appointed Siophanes the bishop of the church. And he dismissed them, and sent them away in peace. Amen. And Thomas the Apostle rejoiced in the Spirit, and he blessed God, saying, 'My Lord Jesus Christ, I thank Thee at all times that Thou didst bestow upon me Thy peace, and that I departed to the city, and ended my journey, and put into the haven of peace, my ship being safe. I found the haven with the demons working their vexatious plans therein, [but] afterwards I endured patiently, and I overcame them by means of Thy power. I drew them into my fishing nets as of the King Jesus. Very many were found to be polluted with sin, [but] I made them white in the blood of Jesus Christ. Behold, Jesus Christ set me upon the ship of salvation, and brought me into the haven of peace. I rejoiced and was glad in my heart, and I summoned the multitude into His marriage chamber.'

And when the blessed Apostle was saying these things, he mounted upon a cloud, and it brought him to the Mount of Olives, where he found the Apostles looking out for him He said' the inheritance of my Lord Jesus Christ; [Who] gathered them together in the peace of the Father. Hail, my brethren the Apostles, the crown of life!' And the Apostles also answered, 'Hail, thou servant of Jesus the Christ! Thou didst go, and didst raise up a man that was dead, and didst raise up a multitude of cities in the baptism and seal of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost.'

Then Peter said unto Thomas, 'O my brother, the invited guest to the marriage of my Lord Jesus the Christ, I say unto

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you, O our brother, that our Lord Jesus hath shewn Himself to us since thou didst depart from us, having risen from the dead, when as yet He had not departed, until He departed. He gave unto us His peace, and we saluted (i. e. kissed) Him, and He blessed us, and departed into heaven from us. He said to us, "I am with you at all times, I and My Father, and the Holy Spirit."'

And when the blessed Apostle Peter had said these things [to] Thomas, Thomas grieved exceedingly, and he wept many tears, saying, ^So then, O my Lord, having raised Thyself from the dead, Thou didst shew Thyself to the Disciples. As for me. Thou didst separate me from my brethren, [for] Thou didst not wish to shew Thyself to me . . . . .

. . . . . [Break of one line]

. . . . . so that I might see Thee before Thou didst depart to [Thy Father]. But as the Name of my Lord Jesus, the Christ, liveth, unless I can drop my finger on the nail marks, and can lay my hand upon the mark [made by] the spear, I will never believe that He hath risen from the dead. For I cannot believe that He will rise [from the dead] and not shew Himself unto me. Moreover, He will not grieve me [by such an act], for He said to us, "I will not separate you from one another (i. e. I will make no distinction between you.); but one and the same inheritance shall be unto each one of you in My kingdom."' And having said these things in the presence of the eleven disciples, Thomas the Apostle wept. Then the Apostles answered in the presence of Thomas saying, 'O our lord brother, be not an unbeliever concerning the resurrection of our Saviour, but believe that He hath risen, and hath departed to His Father. And we are the first unto whom He shewed Himself, and Mariham His mother.' And again Thomas answered, saying, 'I believe that He hath risen, and He is the Deathless One, for He tasted death for the salvation of us all. And it was because of [my] great grief that I doubted . . . . .'

. . . . . [Break of nearly three lines]

. . . . . [Then Bartholomew answered and said unto him], 'Hear me, O my brother Thomas. Remember the word which the Saviour spake in the Gospel, saying. If thou hast faith like a grain of mustard seed, and ye shall say to this mountain. Remove from this place to that, it shall be unto you, and nothing shall be impossible unto you. And everything which ye shall ask in prayer, ye believing, ye shall receive (Matt. xvii. 20 ; xxi. 21, 22 ; Mark xi. 23 ; Luke xvii. 6.). Now therefore, O Thomas, God hearkeneth to the supplication of every one who believeth on Him. God is the Good One, and He heareth every one who calleth upon Him. Mighty and long-suffering is God, He heareth at all times the supplication of those who seek after Him.'

And when Bartholomew had said these things unto Thomas, the Saviour came into their presence, and He shewed Himself unto them, saying, ' Hail, Thomas, thou little man ! Hail, flower of Paradise in the seventh heaven. I have made the faith to be stablished firmly in heaven and upon the earth, [and] none shall be able to remove it. I have made Peter the great crown of the Apostles . . . . .

. . . . . [Break of two lines]

. . . . . fellow heirs. My peace [be] with you all. [Amen].' And when the Saviour had said these things to the Apostles, straightway they went and worshipped Him, [falling] upon the ground and saying, 'Let Thy grace and Thy peace be with us, Jesus. Amen.' Then Jesus answered and said unto Thomas, 'Bring hither thy finger to this spot and lay it upon My hand, and look upon the nail marks, and again look upon the marks of the blows wherewith they smote Me in the face, and the spittle which they cast into My face and eyes, and the marks of the thorns of the crown of thorns that were in the crown which they fastened to My head, and the [marks of] the blows of the reeds wherewith they smote My head. And come and look upon the vinegar, and the spear, and the gall which they gave Me to drink, instead of the little water for which I entreated, saying, "Give Me to drink"; thou shalt not be an unbeliever, but a believer, and thou shalt believe througbly.'

And Thomas answered and said, 'I believe, my Lord and my God, that Thou art the Father, Thou art the Son, and Thou art the Holy Spirit, and that Thou didst rise from the dead, and that Thou hast saved every man by Thy holy resurrection. But I did say to my brethren the Apostles, "Unless I see Him [after] He hath risen I will not believe."' And the Saviour answered and said unto him, 'Verily I say unto thee, Thomas, thou little man, in every place wherein thou shalt preach My name, I, and My Good Father, will be with thee. And thou shalt not enter into any city, or any village, but I will follow thee with My Good Father and the Holy Ghost. For that which thou shalt plant My Father shall bless, and I will cause it to increase, and the Holy Spirit shall be the director thereof.' Then Thomas put forth his finger and took out [some] of His blood which flowed down from the side of the Son of God, and he signed himself therewith. And the Saviour answered and said to all the Apostles, 'Behold, My blood of God hath joined to your bodies, and ye yourselves have become divine, even as I. Behold, I am with you until the end of the world.' When the Saviour had said this. He departed into heaven in great glory, saying, ' Be not careless, Peter, thou and thy brethren, ... pasture them . . . . .

. . . . . [Break of one line]

. . . . . until ye have gathered the whole world into My glorious Church, and they live a life which is indestructible, and partake of the Body of God and My glorious Blood, and live in peace. Amen.' [Then] He opened the eyes of the Apostles, and they passed many days marvelling at His departure into the heavens. This is the second time that the Saviour shewed Himself to His disciples, after that He had risen from the dead. This is the Book of the Resurrection of Jesus the Christ, our Lord, in joy and gladness. In peace. Amen.

And Peter answered and said, 'O my brethren the Apostles, arise and offer up the Offering before we separate one from another.' Then the Apostles answered and said unto him, 'Thou art our father and our bishop. The power is thine to do that which thou art pleased in everything. And the Apostles arose, and made preparation for the Offering. They brought bread carefully chosen, and a cup of pure wine, and a censer of sweet-smelling incense. And Peter stood by the Sacrifice, and all the Apostles formed a crown round the table. And the Apostles awaited . . . . .

. . . . . [Break of four and a half lines]

. . . . . table . . . . . their hearts rejoiced . . . . . worshipped the Son of God. He took His seat . . . . . His Father. His Body was on the table [about] which they were gathered together; and they divided It. They saw the Blood of Jesus pouring out as living blood down into the cup. And Peter answered [and said], 'Hear me, my fathers and brethren. God hath loved us more than all the peoples on the earth, [for] He hath made us see these great honours. And our Lord Jesus Christ hath allowed us to behold, and hath revealed to us the glory of His Body and His divine Blood.' Having said these things, afterwards they partook of the Body and Blood of Jesus, and glorified the Treasury of Life. Afterwards they separated, and they preached in the Name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, Who [form] the Holy Trinity, consubstantial from now and for ever and ever. Amen . . . . .

THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS CHRIST,
By Bartholomew The Apostle. TEXT B
The French fragmentary manuscript
Type: Coptic (Egyptian) Apocrypha
Source: Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.
Translation: Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge, 1913
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 4th century AD

[Be]liar, he trampled Melkhir under foot, and he bound him with a chain of iron and steel. Now whilst Death was talking with the shroud of Jesus in the tomb, Jesus set free the whole race of mankind, He healed the sons of Adam whom the Enemy had smitten. He brought back into the fold again the sheep which had strayed, He brought back again Adam to his former state, and He forgave him his sins. In peace. Amen.

Then Jesus turned Himself towards the man who had betrayed Him; it was Judas Iscariot, and He said unto him, 'In what way didst thou profit, O Judas, by betraying Me into the hands of the chief priests, seeing that I only endured every kind of suffering in order that I might save (or, redeem) My image? As for thee, woe be unto thee, woe twofold, and rebukings innumerable, and cursings most terrible. Now moreover, the lot of Judas is with his father the Devil. His name hath been blotted out from the Book of Life, and his portion hath been removed from the number of the living. His tablet hath been broken in pieces, his memorial tablet hath been smashed. Satan hath entered into judgement with him, and he hath come forth therefrom condemned utterly. His office hath been taken away from him, his crown hath been snatched away. Those who were strangers unto him have made a mock of his sufferings. He hath put on cursing as a garment. He hath been polluted like water. His glorious raiment hath been snatched away from him. The light of his lamp hath been put out. His house hath been forsaken, and it hath become a desert. His days have become few, his term of life hath drawn towards its close. The rest which refresheth is far from him, [and] affliction hath drawn nigh unto him. The darkness hath taken possession of him, [and] the worm hath gotten him as an inheritance. Lice cover him as a garment. The angels who are gathered together about the Lord have driven him forth . . . . .' [These are the things which the] Saviour spake concerning Judas when He went down into Amente. And the Saviour rose from the dead on the third day.

Then Abbaton, who is himself Death, rose up from his fall on the shroud of Jesus, with which he had been speaking in the tomb. He said unto his Power,' the Plague, 'Get thee down quickly into Amente, and set a very strong guard for thyself therein; shut the doors of Amente until I am able to see who it is that hath deceived me in this manner, whom I know not. We will speak with him; he hath hidden himself from us, and we do not know whither he hath gone. Peradventure this is the Son of God. If it be not He, I am he who will destroy every one. Him, however I am not able to gain the mastery over, neither I nor my Powers.'

Then Death descended into Amente, and his six Dekans also were with him, [and] he found Amente desolate, [and] it was like a desert, and there was not one soul in it, but it was in a state of dire disorder and confusion. The doors thereof were smashed in pieces, the door-frames were thrust out of position, and the bolts were snapped asunder, and the blazing brazen furnaces had been choked. He found nothing whatsoever in that place except three voices, which cried out in fear, and with tearful screams, and were full of anguish of the heart and trepidation. In [that] place there were weepings and gnashings of the teeth, it was a place of sighing and of tribulation, and of quaking, and of the worm which never sleepeth. Woe unto them, the wretched, the miserable, and the poor in God. These [voices] belonged to the three [men whose names] have been blotted out of the Book of Life, and removed from the Roll of the Saints, and from the knowledge of salvation, that is to say, Judas, and Cain, and Herod, These were there, and they were like unto a three-headed kelos; and because of the cruelty which is on them {sic) men shall not keep their memory in remembrance. Judas betrayed the Lord of that which is in the heavens, and of that which is on the earth. Herod smote Jesus on His face a blow of insult. Cain rose up against his brother, and slew him with his own hand. And Death with his Dekans cried out, saying, 'This is the Son of God Who hath risen from the dead, Who hath redeemed Adam, and delivered all his sons, and hath forgiven unto them their sins, in the peace of His Father. Amen.'

Thus the Saviour rose from the dead, [and] He brought out into freedom those who were in captivity. He came to the tomb, He found the angels [there] at the hour of dawn on the day of the Lord, and they were singing the hymn of benediction, which the angels are wont to sing at the hour of dawn on the day of the Lord, over the Body and the Blood of Christ.

Now in the early morning, when it was still dark, the holy women came forth to the tomb, and their names are these: Mary Magdalene, and Mary, the mother of James, whom Jesus had delivered out of the hand of Satan, and Salome who had tempted Him, and Mary who ministered unto Him, and Martha her sister, and Joanna, the wife of Khouza, the steward of Herod, and Berenice, whom he healed of a flow of blood in Capernaum, and Leah the widow, whose son the Saviour raised from the dead in Naein, and the sinful woman unto whom the Saviour said, 'Thy sins which are many are forgiven thee. These women stood in the garden of Philoges, the gardener, whose son the Saviour had healed at the time when He came down from the Mount of Olives with His apostles. Mary said unto Philoges, 'If thou art really he, I know thee.' Philoges said unto her, 'Thou art Mary, the mother of Thalkamarimath,' which is being interpreted, 'the joy, the blessing, and the gladness.' Mary said unto him, 'If it be thou who hast taken away the Body of my Lord, tell me where thou hast laid It; for whether^ thou afraid [to carry It away or not] I myself will bear It away/ Philoges said unto her, 'My sister, Mary, Virgin, Mother of the Christ, what are these words which thou art saying unto me? From the very moment when the Jews crucified Him, they have persisted in seeking out an exceedingly safe sepulchre wherein they might lay Him, so that the disciples might not come by dark and carry Him away secretly. Now^ I said unto them, "There is a tomb" quite close to my vegetable garden; bring Him, lay Him in it, and I myself will keep watch over Him." I thought in my heart saying: "When the Jews shall have departed and entered into their houses, I will go into the tomb of my Lord, I will carry Him away, I will give Him spices, and sweetsmelling unguents and scents." Now^ they brought Him, they laid Him in the tomb, they set a seal on the stone, and, after [setting] a watch, they went into their houses. And in the middle of the night I rose up, I went into the tomb of my Lord, and I found the whole of the host of the angels marshalled in order therein. The first row consisted of Cherubim, who were in number twelve thousand. The second row consisted of Seraphim, who were in number twenty thousand. The third row consisted of Powers, who were in number thirteen thousand. The fourth row consisted of Virgins, who were in number thirty thousand. Thousands of thousands [of angels] sang hymns to Him, tens of thousands of tens of thousands [of angels] ascribed glory unto Him. And a great chariot stood there, which was like unto a blazing fire which sent forth from it flashes of bright flame. And twelve virgins stood upon the chariot, and they sang a hymn in the language of the Cherubim, who made answer unto them, Amen. Hallelujah. I saw the seven heavens open, one after the other, and the Father came forth from the high place, together with His tabernacle of light, [and] He raised Him (Jesus) from the dead. O my sister Mary, I have seen all these glories, and had it not been that I found there the Rock, the great interpreter, who laid hold upon my hand, and supported me, I should certainly have fallen into despair, and have died by reason of the great

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glory which I had seen. And now, O my sister Mary, what ought I to do until I enter that place?' These were the things which Philoges said unto Mary.

Then the Saviour came before them, mounted upon the great chariot of the Father of the Universe, and he cried out in His divine language, 'Marikha. Marima Thiath,' which is, being interpreted, 'Thou Mary, the mother of the Son of God'. And Mary, who understood the meaning [of these words], turned herself and said, 'Rabonnei (teacher; this is actually a nickname that Mary of Magdala used to address Jesus), Kathiath Thamioth', which is, being interpreted, 'Thou Son of God, the Almighty, and my Lord and my Son.' And the Saviour said unto her, 'Hail to thee, who hast sustained the life of the whole world. Hail, My mother, My holy ark. Hail, My mother, My city, My dwelling-place. Hail, My garment of glory wherein I did array Myself whenI came into the world. Hail, My water-pot, which is full of holy water. Hail, thou who hast sustained the life of the universe in thy womb. Hail, thou who hast received in thyself the Seven Aeons in one composition. Hail, thou who art the table which is set in the Paradise of the seventh heaven, the interpretation (or, the name) of which is "Khomthomakh" [that is to say,] 'the whole of Paradise' is glad because of her. I say unto thee, 'O Mary, My mother, that he who loveth thee loveth life.'

And the Saviour said unto her, 'Go thou unto My brethren, and tell them that I have risen from the dead. Say thou unto them, I shall ascend unto My Father, Who is your Father, and unto My God, Who is your God. And keep ye in remembrance the words which I spake unto you saying, I will come unto you at the hour of dawn to-morrow, at the time when I am wont to stretch out My right hand of God, when the sun riseth upon the whole earth, when I am wont to shake out My garment of the Spirit, and to take My seat on the right hand of My Father, when the dew of the seventh heaven and the dew of Paradise descend upon the earth to make the fruits of life to flourish. I will come unto you at that hour, and I will give unto you My peace, which I have received from My Father. It was this peace which My Father gave unto Me when I came into the world. I gave it unto you. My disciples, unto you and unto every one who believeth in My Name, and in [that of] Mary, My mother, My Virgin, in very truth, My womb of the Spirit, My treasure of pearl, the ark of salvation for all the sons of Adam. She it was who sustained the Body of the Son of God, and the Blood which was His in very truth.

And Mary said unto her Son, 'My Lord, bless Thou my womb wherein Thou didst dwell before Thou goest to Thy Father.' Then the Saviour, our life, our salvation, our hope, answered her and said, 'Thou shalt take thy seat on My right hand in My kingdom.'

Believe me, O ye Apostles my brethren, I Bartholomew, the Apostle of the Son of God, I, I say, saw the Son of God seated upon the chariot of the Cherubim. And round about Him stood thousands upon thousands of angels, and tens of thousands of tens of thousands of Archangels, and tens of thousands of the Cherubim, and Seraphim, and Powers Their heads were bowed, and they were ready to respond 'Amen' to the blessing which the Saviour pronounced over His mother [and] over her virgin womb . . . . . the head of Peter. The Father blessed him, saying, 'Thou shalt have thy place in the corners of My kingdom, thou shalt be exalted at the right hand of My Son. Him upon whom thou shalt lay thine hand upon the earth, I, and My Son, and the Holy Spirit will lay Our hands upon him. Him whom thou shalt loose upon earth will We loose; and him whom thou shalt bind will We bind. None shall be more exalted than thou and thy throne. And he who shall not be ordained according to thy throne, his hand shall be rejected, and shall not be accepted. And thy breath shall be filled with the breath of My Son, and with the breath of the Holy Spirit, so that every man whom thou shalt baptise and in whose face thou shalt breathe, shall receive the Holy Spirit, in the Name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit.' And the Cherubim, and the Sei-aphim, and all the angels made answer, 'Amen.' And He blessed Andrew, saying, 'Thou shalt be a pillar in My kingdom, in Jerusalem, My beloved city. Amen. O James, in every city and in every village wherein thou shalt enter, thou shalt see Me and My Son before thou beginnest to preach the Gospel unto them. Amen. And thou thyself, O John, My beloved one, who art the bond which is bound wholly about the heart of My Son, thy spirit, and the Spirit of My Son, and My own Spirit, are intermingled inseparably, but thou shalt be blessed in My kingdom. Amen. And thou, O Philip, in every city wherein thou shalt enter, and wherein thou shalt preach the Word of My Beloved [Son], His cross shall go before thee ceaselessly until all the people thereof shall believe in thee. Amen. And thou, O My chosen one, Thomas, thy faith shall be like unto an eagle of light, which shall spread out its wings over all countries, until they believe in Me, and believe on the Name of My Son through thee. Amen. O Bartholomew, thy soul shall be a habitation and a place of sojourning of the mysteries of My Son. Amen. And thou thyself, Matthew, thy . . . . .'

'. . . . . [the peace] which I have received from My Father. This is the peace which My Father gave unto Me when I came into the world, and I will give it unto you, O ye who are My disciples.'

Mary said unto her Son, 'Jesus, my Lord, and my only Son,' bless Thou me, for I am Thy mother who gave birth unto Thee, before Thou departest into the heavens to Thy Father, if indeed Thou wilt not allow me to touch Thee. Then Jesus, the Life of all of us, answered and said unto her, 'Thou shalt take thy seat with Me in My kingdom.'

Believe me, O my brethren the holy Apostles, I Bartholomew saw the Son of God mounted upon the chariot of the Cherubim, and thousands of thousands [of angels] stood round about ready to cry out 'Hallelujah'.

Then our Saviour stretched out His right hand, and blessed the Virgin. I saw the heavens open, and the seven firmaments, and I saw a finger of a shining hand like unto that of a man, which laid itself on the head of the Holy Virgin. Now this was the hand of the Almighty.' And He blessed her, saying, 'Thou shalt be blessed in heaven and upon earth, and thou shalt be called by the Seraphim the city of the Great King; and all the hosts of heaven made answer 'Amen.' And He said unto her, 'When thou shalt come forth from the body I, even I, will come unto thee with Michael and Gabriel. We will not permit thee to feel fear before Death, whom the whole world is wont to hold in dread. I will take thee into the place of immortality, and thou shalt be with Me in My kingdom. I will set thy body under the Tree of Life, and Cherubim having a sword of fire shall watch over it, and shall bear it [there] until the day of My kingdom.' These were the things which the Saviour spake unto His mother.

Then [Mary] departed and made known to the Apostles that the Lord had risen from the dead, and had said, 'Come ye to Galilee at dawn to-morrow, and I will give unto you My peace which My Father gave unto Me.' Then Mary came and found the Apostles, who were on the Mount of Olives, and were about to offer up a sacrifice to the Lord, and she took part in the sacrifice with them. And the great archbishop made answer . . . . .

. . . . . Seraphim of the Father, come ye and rejoice over the forgiveness which Adam hath obtained, for he shall be brought back to his former state. Then the Father commanded Michael to bring Adam, and his wife, and his children, and to set them in the presence of God.

Believe ye me, O my brethren the Apostles, I Bartholomew have never seen the figure of a man, from the time when I was born into this world, which was like unto the figure of Adam, if it were not that of the Saviour. He was girded about with a tunic of pearls, and rays of light shot out from his face as they do from the sun when he is about to rise. Characters in writing [and] symbols were inscribed upon his forehead, which no man was able to read; among them was the Name of the Father, and the Name of the Son, and the Name of the Holy Spirit. And Eve herself was adorned with adornments of every kind of the Holy Spirit, and the spirits who were virgins sang hymns to her, and they called her 'Life', the mother of all living. Then the Good Father answered and said unto Adam, 'Since thou didst transgress the commandment which I gave unto thee, and didst not keep it, behold, My Son Himself hath come forth on thy behalf to bring thee back. Mary is she who gave birth to My Son, and Eve too shall become even as she is, a mother in My kingdom.'

Then the Saviour answered and said unto Michael, 'Gather thou together all the angelic [hosts] so that they may worship Me this day, for I have made peace between Myself and My image And Adam, seeing the great gift which had come to him, rejoiced and was glad, and he blessed God, saying, 'Come, O all ye angelic [hosts], and rejoice with me, for He Who created me hath pardoned my sins.' And straightway all the angelic [hosts] cried out to Jesus, the Son of the Living God, Thou hast shewn mercy unto Adam Thy creature.'

Then all the righteous came, from the time of Abraham, the friend (or, companion) of God, and Isaac the Sinless One, and Jacob the Righteous (this is also the soubriquet of Jesus' brother James the Just = Jacob the Righteous; see Qumran Library, Part 2), and Job the man of patience, and Moses the chief prophet, and all the righteous who have performed the will of God.

Now I Bartholomew passed many days without eating or drinking, and the glory of the things which I had seen served me for food.' Behold, O my brethren the Apostles, I have told you concerning the things which I saw with my eyes, rejoice ye with me concerning the gift which God hath graciously bestowed upon Adam and his children. And they all answered, '[It is] seemly [so to do], O our beloved brother; people call thee Bartholomew, the Apostle of the Mysteries of God.' Bartholomew answered, 'Forgive me, I am the least among you, and I am poor in respect of my house. When the people of my city see me they are wont to say, "Is not this Bartholomew the gardener? Is not this the man who liveth in the garden of Hierokrates, the governor of our city, and who selleth the garden produce which we buy? Whence hath he acquired this magnificence? for [the knowledge of] his poverty is spread wide among us." Nevertheless I perform the mighty works of God.'

At the time when the Saviour brought us on the Mount of Olives He spake unto us in a language which we knew not and at that very time He revealed it unto us, saying, 'Anetharath' And straightway the heavens opened, one after the other, and the interior shone brightly like unto snow, and the Saviour passed onwards into the heavens whilst we followed Him with our gaze. Then the Saviour cast Himself down before His Good Father, saying, 'My Father, shew Thy mercy to My brethren the Apostles, and bless Thou them with an everlasting blessing.' Then the Father (with the Son, and with the Holy Spirit) stretched out His hand over the head of Peter, and consecrated him Archbishop of the whole world/^ And He blessed him, saying, 'Thou shalt be the chief and head in My kingdom, and thou shalt be the chief and head over the whole world likewise, for I and My beloved Son, and the Holy Spirit have laid Our hands on thy head. Whomsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; whomsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven; nothing shall be exalted above thee and thy throne; and the hand of him that is ordained by any authority save thine shall be repulsed. Thy breath shall be filled with the breath of the Holy Spirit, so that every man whom thou shalt baptize shall receive a portion of the Holy Spirit. And all the hosts of the heavens answered, Amen, Hallelujah.'

And He blessed Andrew, saying, 'Thou shalt be a pillar of light in the Jerusalem of heaven. And thou, James, in every town and village wherein thou shalt come, thou shalt see Me and My Son before thou shalt enter into them. And John, My beloved, and the beloved of My Son, thou shalt be blessed in My kingdom. And thou, Philip, in every city and in every village into which thou shalt come, the Cross of My Son shall go before thee continually, until all the people thereof shall have believed^ on thee. And thou, Bartholomew, My son, thy soul shall be a sojourner in the Mysteries of My Son. And thou, O Matthew, thy might shall increase to such a degree that thy shadow shall raise the dead. And thou, O James, the son of Alphaeus, no power whatsoever of the Devil shall have dominion over thy body, or over thy preaching in any place, nay, on the contrary, that which is planted by thee, whatever it may be, shall never be rooted up. And thou, Simon Zelotes, no power of the Adversary shall be able to force a way into any place wherein thou hast stablished firmly the word of My Son. And thou, O My blessed Mathias, the sweet odour of thee shall go through the world, for thou wast a rich man according to the things of this world, and yet thou didst forsake everything and follow Me.' And when all the hosts of heaven saw these blessings which the Father pronounced on the Apostles, they answered, 'Amen.' And now, O my brethren the Apostles, forgive me—Bartholomew.

Then all the Apostles rose up and embraced (or, saluted) Bartholomew. Now when the Apostles had said these things, they rose up and offered the Offering, and the Holy Virgin was present with them at that time. When Jesus had spoken with them, saying, 'Come ye into Galilee, I will give you My peace at that time and when they had received the Body and the Blood of the Son of God, the sweet perfume of their sacrifice ascended unto the seventh heaven. And the Father answered and said unto His beloved Son, 'My Only-begotten Son, arise, get Thee down into the world to Thy companions the Apostles,^ and comfort Thou them, and give them strength lest their heart become afflicted, and they fall into despair, and they cease to preach [the Gospel] in the whole world in Thy Name, and in My Name, and in the Name of the Holy Spirit Arise, O My beloved Son, and get Thee to Thy brethren and Thy Apostles, and bestow upon them joy, lest they say, 'Our Saviour hath risen from the dead, and hath departed into the heavens in the glory of His Father. He hath left us in the cities, and in the villages, and hath not given us joy in the place of the sufferings which we have endured in the world.'Then the Son of God rose up and came down into the world, and found His disciples, and Mary the Virgin, for they were gathered together. And He appeared unto them, and said unto them, 'Hail, My Apostles, who have been chosen above all the world. Hail, My brethren and My companions, the peace of My Father be unto you, the peace which is Mine I give unto you.' And He breathed in their faces, and said unto them, 'Receive unto you the Holy Spirit. Those whose sins ye remit to them, their sins shall be remitted to them; and those whose sins ye retain, their sins shall be retained to them. And He shewed us His feet . . . . .

THE GOSPEL OF MARCION

or The Gospel Of The Lord, or The Bible Of Marcion,
or The Marcionite Bible
Reconstruction: August Hahn, 1823; Theodor Zahn, 1888
Translation: James Hamlyn Hill, 1891
Estimated Range of Dating: 120-140 A.D.

(Marcion of Sinope (c. 85 – c. 160) was a Greek shipping magnate and an important figure in early Christianity. He was born in Sinope (today northern Turkey). His theology rejected the deity described in the Hebrew Scriptures and in distinction affirmed the Father of Christ as the true God. The

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Church Fathers denounced Marcion, and he was excommunicated from the proto-orthodox Church. He published his own list of New Testament books, making him a catalyst in speeding up the process of development of the New Testament canon by forcing the early Church to respond to his claims.

The Marcionite Bible was assembled by Marcion of Sinope a full 200 years before the compilation of the Bible we now have. The Marcionite Bible was not divided into "Old" and "New" testaments like the modern Bible, and was dramatically shorter. It was divided into two parts, the gospel (or Evangelion) and the epistles of Paul (or Apostolicon). Marcionites only recognised one gospel as legitimate. It was called The Gospel of the Lord, and it was similar to Luke but significantly shorter. Besides the Gospel of the Lord, Marcion only allowed to include the following Pauline letters to be part of his Bible canon: Galatians, 1st and 2nd Corinthians, Romans, 1st and 2nd Thessalonians, Laodiceans (Ephesians), Colossians, Philemon, Philippians. The Marcionite versions of the Epistles of Paul were also significantly shorter than the version found in conventional Bibles.

The documents that make up the Marcionite Bible have not physically survived to modern times; all known copies were destroyed by the religious authorities when the Catholics gained political power in the fourth century. In spite of this destruction, the Marcionite Scriptures can still be restored. Many ancient Christian writers quoted from them extensively, described the differences between them and the official version of the scripture, and even wrote commentaries on them. By using these quotations and descriptions we can reconstruct the Marcionite text. We do not have quotations or descriptions of every verse. But, in most places the Marcionite Bible was identical to the corresponding text in the conventional Bible, and the ancient writers who quoted from it focused their attention mainly on the controversial passages where there were significant differences between the two versions. This means that in places where the Marcionite text is not known, it was probably identical to text of the conventional Bible, and so text from the conventional Bible can be used to "fill in the gaps".)

MARCION, SECTION 1 (Luke 3:1-7:50)

The Arrival Of Jesus At Capernaum

31 In the fifteenth year of Tiberius Caesar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea, Jesus descended [out of heaven] into Capernaum, a city in Galilee, and was teaching [in the synagogue] on the Sabbath days; And they were astonished at his doctrine, for his word was in authority.

33 And in the synagogue there was a man,which had a spirit of an unclean devil, and cried out with a loud voice, saying,

34 Let us alone; what have we to do with thee, thou Jesus? art thou come to destroy us? I know thee who thou art; the Holy One of God.

35 And Jesus rebuked him, saying, Hold thy peace, and come out of him. And when the devil had thrown him in the midst, he came out of him, and hurt him not.

36 And they were all amazed, and spake among themselves, saying, What a word is this! for with authority and power he commandeth the unclean spirits, and they come out.

37 And the fame of him went out into every place of the country round about.

38-39 [unattested]

The Synagogue In Nazareth

4: 16 And he came to Nazareth, and went into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and sat down.

21 And he began to speak to them, and all wondered at the words which proceeded out of his mouth.

23 And he said unto them, Ye will surely say unto me this proverb, Physician, heal thyself: whatsoever we have heard done in Capernaum, do also here in thy country.

24 [. . .]

25 But I tell you of a truth, many widows were in Israel in the days of Elijah, when the heaven was shut up three years and six months, when great famine was throughout all the land;

26 But unto none of them was Elias sent, save unto Sarepta, a city of Sidon, unto a woman that was a widow.

27 And many lepers were in Israel in the time of Elisha the prophet; and none of them was cleansed, saving Naaman the Syrian.

28 And they were all filled with wrath in the synagogue,

29 And rose up, and thrust him out of the city, and led him unto the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, that they might cast him down headlong.

30 But he passing through the midst of them went his way.

At The Setting Of The Sun

40 Now when the sun was setting, all they that had any sick with divers diseases brought them unto him; and he laid his hands on every one of them, and healed them.

41 And devils also came out of many, crying out, and saying, Thou art the Son of God.

41 And he rebuking them suffered them not to speak.

42 And when it was day, he departed and went into a desert place: and the people sought him, and came unto him, and stayed him, that he should not depart from them.

43 And he said unto them, I must preach the kingdom of God to other cities also: for therefore am I sent.

44 And he preached in the synagogues of Galilee.

The Lake Of Gennesaret

1 And it came to pass, he stood by the lake of Gennesaret,

2 And saw two ships standing by the lake: but the fishermen were gone out of them, and were washing their nets.

3 And he entered into one of the ships, which was Simon's, and prayed him that he would thrust out a little from the land. And he sat down, and taught the people out of the ship.

4 Now when he had left speaking, he said unto Simon, Launch out into the deep, and let down your nets for a draught.

5 And Simon answering said unto him, Teacher, we have toiled all the night, and have taken nothing: nevertheless at thy word I will let down the net.

6 And when they had this done, they inclosed a great multitude of fishes: and their net brake.

7 And they beckoned unto their partners, which were in the other ship, that they should come and help them. And they came, and filled both the ships, so that they began to sink.

8 When Simon Peter saw it, he fell down at Jesus' knees, saying, Depart from me; for I am a sinful man, O Lord.

9 For he was astonished, and all that were with him, at the draught of the fishes which they had taken:

10 And so was also James, and John, the sons of Zebedee, which were partners with Simon. And Jesus said unto Simon, Fear not; from henceforth thou shalt catch men alive.

11 And when they had brought their ships to land, they forsook all, and followed him.

Healing Of The Leper

12 And it came to pass, behold a man full of leprosy: who seeing Jesus fell on his face, and besought him, saying, Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean.

13 And he put forth his hand, and touched him, saying, I will: be thou clean. And immediately the leprosy departed from him.

14 And he charged him to tell no man: but go, and shew thyself to the priest, and offer for thy cleansing, according as Moses commanded, that this may be a testimony to you.

15 But so much the more went there a fame abroad of him: and great multitudes came together to hear, and to be healed by him of their infirmities.

16 And he was withdrawing himself into the wilderness, and praying.

Healing Of The Palsied

17 And it came to pass on a certain day, as he was teaching, that there were Pharisees and doctors of the law sitting by, which were come out of every town of Galilee, and Judaea, and Jerusalem: and the power of the Lord was present to heal them.

18 And, behold, men brought in a bed a man that was palsied: and they sought means to bring him in, and to lay him before him.

19 And not finding what way they might bring him in because of the multitude, they went upon the housetop, and let him down through the tiles with his couch into the midst before Jesus.

20 And seeing their faith, he said unto him, Man, thy sins are forgiven thee.

21 And the scribes and the Pharisees began to reason, saying, Who is this which speaketh blasphemies? Who can forgive sins, but God alone?

22 But when Jesus perceiving their reasonings, answered and said unto them, What reason ye in your hearts?

23 Whether is easier, to say, Thy sins be forgiven thee; or to say, Rise up and walk?

24 But that ye may know that the Son of man hath authority upon earth to forgive sins, (he said unto the palsied man), I say unto thee, Arise, and take up thy couch, and go into thine house.

25 And immediately he rose up before them, and took up that whereon he lay, and departed to his own house, glorifying God.

26 And they were all amazed, and they glorified God, and were filled with fear, saying, We have seen strange things to day.

The Feast Of Levi The Publican

27 And after these things he went forth, and saw a publican, named Levi, sitting at the receipt of custom: and he said unto him, Follow me.

28 And he left all, rose up, and followed him.

29 And Levi made him a great feast in his own house: and there was a great company of publicans and of others that sat down with them.

30 But their scribes and Pharisees murmured against his disciples, saying, Why do ye eat and drink with publicans and sinners?

31 And Jesus answering said unto them, They that are whole need not a physician; but they that are sick.

32 I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.

33 And they said unto him, Why do the disciples of John fast often, and make prayers, and likewise the disciples of the Pharisees; but thine eat and drink?

34 And he said unto them, Can ye make the children of the bridechamber fast, while the bridegroom is with them?

35 But the days will come, when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them, and then shall they fast in those days.

The Old And The New

36 And he spake also a parable unto them; No man putteth a piece of a new garment upon an old garment; otherwise both the new maketh a rent, and the piece that was taken out of the new agreeth not with the old.

37 And no man putteth new wine into old wineskins; else the new wine will burst the skins, and itself will be spilled, and the skins will perish.

38 But new wine must be put into new wine-skins; and both are preserved.

39 [. . .]

The Lord Of The Sabbath

1 And it came to pass on the second sabbath after the first, that he went through the corn fields; and his disciples plucked the ears of corn, and did eat, rubbing them in their hands.

2 And certain of the Pharisees said unto them, Why do ye that which is not lawful to do on the sabbath days?

3 And Jesus answering them said, Have ye not read so much as this, what David did, when himself was an hungred, and they which were with him;

4 How he went into the house of God, and did take and eat the shewbread, and gave also to them that were with him; which it is not lawful to eat but for the priests alone?

5 And he said unto them, That the Son of man is Lord even of the sabbath.

6 And it came to pass also on another sabbath, that he entered into the synagogue and taught: and there was a man whose right hand was withered.

7 And the scribes and Pharisees watched him, whether he would heal on the sabbath day; that they might find an accusation against him.

8 But he knew their reasonings, and said to the man which had the withered hand, Rise up, and stand forth in the midst. And he arose and stood forth.

9 Then said Jesus unto them, I will ask you one thing; Is it lawful on the sabbath days to do good, or to do evil? to save life, or to destroy it?

10 And looking round about upon them all, he said unto the man, Stretch forth thy hand. And he did so: and his hand was restored whole as the other.

11 And they were filled with madness; and communed one with another what they might do to Jesus.

The Choosing Of The Twelve

12 And it came to pass in those days, that he went out into a mountain to pray, and continued all night in prayer to God.

13 And when it was day, he called unto him his disciples: and of them he chose twelve, whom also he named apostles;

14 Simon, (whom he also named Peter,) and Andrew his brother, James and John, Philip and Bartholomew,

15 Matthew and Thomas, James the son of Alphaeus, and Simon called Zelotes,

16 And Judas the brother of James, and Judas Iscariot, which also became a traitor.

New Edicts Of The New God

17 And he came down among them, and stood in the plain, and the company of his disciples, and a great multitude of people out of all Judaea and Jerusalem, and from the sea coast of Tyre and Sidon, which came to hear him, and to be healed of their diseases;

18 And they that were vexed with unclean spirits: and they were healed.

19 And the whole multitude sought to touch him: for there went virtue out of him, and healed them all.

20 And he lifted up his eyes on his disciples, and said, Blessed be ye poor: for yours is the kingdom of God.

21 Blessed are ye that hunger now: for ye shall be filled. Blessed are ye that weep now: for ye shall laugh.

22 Blessed are ye, when men shall hate you, and when they shall separate you from their company, and shall reproach you, and cast out your name as evil, for the Son of man's sake.

23 Rejoice ye in that day, and leap for joy: for, behold, your reward is great in heaven: for in the like manner did their fathers unto the prophets.

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24 But woe unto you that are rich! for ye have received your consolation.
25 Woe unto you that are full! for ye shall hunger. Woe unto you that laugh now! for ye shall mourn and weep.
26 Woe unto you, when all men shall speak well of you! for so did their fathers to the false prophets.
27 But I say unto you which hear, Love your enemies, do good to them which hate you,
28 Bless them that curse you, and pray for them which despitefully use you.
29 And unto him that smiteth thee on the one cheek offer also the other; and him that taketh away thy cloke forbid not to take thy coat also.
30 Give to every man that asketh of thee; and of him that taketh away thy goods ask them not again.
31 And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise.
32 For if ye love them which love you, what thank have ye? for sinners also love those that love them.
33 And if ye do good to them which do good to you, what thank have ye? for sinners also do even the same.
34 And if ye lend to them of whom ye hope to receive, what thank have ye? for sinners also lend to sinners, to receive as much again.
35 But love ye your enemies, and do good, and lend, hoping for nothing again; and your reward shall be great, and ye shall be the children of the Highest: for he is kind unto the unthankful and to the evil.
36 Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father also is merciful.
37 Judge not, and ye shall not be judged: condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned: forgive, and ye shall be forgiven:
38 Give, and it shall be given unto you; good measure, pressed down, and shaken together, and running over, shall men give into your bosom. For with the same measure that ye mete withal it shall be measured to you again.
39 And he spake a parable unto them, Can the blind lead the blind? shall they not both fall into the ditch?
40 The disciple is not above his master: but every one that is perfect shall be as his master.
41 And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but perceivest not the beam that is in thine own eye?
42 Either how canst thou say to thy brother, Brother, let me pull out the mote that is in thine eye, when thou thyself beholdest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, cast out first the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to pull out the mote that is in thy brother's eye.

Good Fruit, Evil Fruit
43 For there is no good tree that produceth corrupt fruit; nor corrupt tree that produceth good fruit.
44 For each tree is known by its own fruit. For of thorns they do not gather figs, nor of a bramble bush gather they grapes.
45 The good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is good; and the evil man out of the evil treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is evil: for of the abundance of the heart his mouth speaketh.
46 And why call ye me, Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?
47 Everyone that cometh to me, and heareth my sayings, and doeth them, I will shew you to whom he is like:
48 He is like a man building house, who digged and went deep, and laid a foundation on a rock: and when the flood arose, the stream beat vehemently upon that house, and had no strength to shake it: for it was founded upon a rock.
49 But he that heareth, and doeth not, is like a man that without a foundation built an house upon the earth; against which the stream did beat vehemently, and immediately it fell; and the ruin of that house was great.

Faith Of The Centurion
1 Now when he had ended all his sayings in the ears of the people, he entered into Capernaum.
2 And a certain centurion's servant was sick, and going to die; and he was precious to him.
3 And when he heard of Jesus, he sent unto him elders of the Jews, asking him that he would come and heal his servant.
4 And when they came to Jesus, they besought him earnestly, saying, That he was worthy for whom he should do this:
5 For he loveth our nation, and he hath built us a synagogue.
6 Then Jesus went with them. And when he was now not far from the house, the centurion sent friends to him, saying unto him, Lord, trouble not thyself: for I am not worthy that thou shouldest enter under my roof:
7 Wherefore neither thought I myself worthy to come unto thee: but say in a word, and my boy shall be healed.
8 For I also am a man set under authority, having under me soldiers, and I say unto one, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh; and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it.
9 And when Jesus heard these things, he marvelled at him, and turned, and said unto the people that followed him, I say unto you, not even in Israel I have not found so great faith.
10 And they that were sent, returning to the house, found the sick servant whole.

Dead Corpse Rising
11 And it came to pass the day after, that he was going into a city called Nain; and many of his disciples were going with him, and a great multitude.
12 Now when he came nigh to the gate of the city, behold, a dead man was being carried out, the only son of his mother, and she was a widow: and a considerable multitude of the city was with her.
13 And when the Lord saw her, he had compassion on her, and said unto her, Weep not.
14 And he came and touched the bier: and they that bare him stood still. And he said, Young man, I say unto thee, Arise.
15 And he that was dead sat up, and began to speak. And he delivered him to his mother.
16 And there came a fear on all: and they glorified God, saying,
That a great prophet is risen up among us; and, That God hath visited his people.
17 And this rumour of him went forth throughout all Judaea, and throughout all the region round about.

John The Baptist
18 And the disciples of John told him of all these things. And John was scandalised.
19 And John calling unto him a certain two of his disciples sent them to Jesus, saying, Art thou he that cometh? or look we for another?
20 And when the men were come unto him, they said, John Baptist hath sent us unto thee, saying, Art thou he that should come? or look we for another?
21 And in that same hour he cured many of infirmities and plagues and of evil spirits; and unto many blind he gave sight.
22 Then Jesus answering said unto them, Go your way, and tell John what things ye have seen and heard; how that the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, to the poor have good tidings been announced to them.
23 And blessed is he, if he [John] shall not be offended in me.
24 And when the messengers of John were departed, he began to speak unto the multitudes concerning John. What went ye out into the wilderness to gaze at? A reed shaken with the wind?
25 But what are ye come out to see? A man clothed in soft raiment? Behold, they which are in gorgeous apparel, and delicacy, are in kings' courts.
26 But what went ye out for to see? A prophet? Yea, I say unto you, and much more than a prophet.
27 This is he, of whom it is written, Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee.
28 For I say unto you, Among those that are born of women a greater prophet than John the Baptist, there is none: but he that is least in the kingdom of God is greater than he.
29 And all the people, when they heard it, and the publicans, justified God, being baptised with the baptism of John.
30 But the Pharisees and lawyers rejected the counsel of God unto themselves, being not baptised of him.
31 And the Lord said, Whereunto then shall I liken the men of this generation? and to what are they like?
32 They are like unto children sitting in the marketplace, and calling one to another, and saying, We have piped unto you, and ye did not dance; we have mourned to you, and ye did not weep.
33 For John the Baptist came neither eating bread nor drinking wine; and ye say, He hath a demon.
34 The Son of man is come eating and drinking; and ye say, Behold a gluttonous man, and a winebibber, a friend of publicans and sinners!
35 And wisdom was justified of all her children.

The Alabaster Box
36 And one of the Pharisees desired him that he would eat with him. And he went into the Pharisee's house, and reclined to eat.
37 And, behold, a woman in the city, which was a sinner, when she knew that he was reclining in the Pharisee's house, brought an alabaster box of ointment,
38 And stood at his feet behind him weeping, and began to wash his feet with tears, and did wipe them with the hairs of her head, and kissed his feet, and anointed them with the ointment.
39 Now when the Pharisee which had bidden him saw it, he spake within himself, saying, This man, if he were a prophet, would have known who and what manner of woman this is that toucheth him: for she is a sinner.
40 And Jesus answering said unto him, Simon, I have somewhat to say unto thee. And he saith, Teacher, say on.
41 A certain money-lender had two debtors: the one owed five hundred denarii, and the other fifty.
42 And when they had nothing to pay, he forgave them both. Tell me therefore, which of them will love him more?
43 Simon answered and said, I suppose that he, to whom he forgave the more. And he said unto him, Thou hast rightly judged.
44 And he turned to the woman, and said unto Simon, Seest thou this woman? I entered into thine house: water for my feet thou gavest not; but she hath wetted my feet with tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head.
45 A kiss thou gavest me not: but she since the time I came in hath not ceased kissing my feet.
46 My head with oil thou didst not anoint: but this woman hath anointed my feet with ointment.
47 For the sake of which I say unto thee, Her sins which are many are forgiven; for she loved much: but to whom little is forgiven, the same loveth little.
48 And he said unto her, Thy sins are forgiven.
49 And they that were reclining with him began to say within themselves, Who is this that even forgiveth sins ?
50 And he said to the woman, Thy faith hath saved thee; go into peace.

MARCION, SECTION 2 (Luke 8:1-10:24)

Women Ministers
8:1 And it came to pass afterward, that he made his way through every city and village, preaching and announcing as glad tidings the kingdom of God: and the twelve were with him.
2 And certain women, which had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities, Mary called Magdalene, from whom went seven demons had gone out,
3 And Joanna the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward, and Susanna, and many others, which ministered unto him of their possessions.

Parable Of The Sower
4 And when a great multitude were coming together, and they of every city were come to him, he spake by a parable:
5 A sower went out to sow his seed: and as he sowed, some fell by the way side; and it was trodden down, and the fowls of the heaven devoured it.
6 And other fell upon the rock; and when sprung up, it withered away, because it lacked moisture.
7 And other fell in the midst of the thorns; and the thorns sprang up with it, and choked it.
8 And other fell on the good ground, and when sprung up, it produced fruit an hundredfold. And when he said these things, he cried, He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.
9 And his disciples asked him, saying, What might this parable be?
10 And he said, Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God: but to the rest in parables; that seeing they may not see, and hearing they may not understand.
11-15 [unattested]

Parable Of The Lamp
16 No man, when he hath lighted a lamp, covereth it with a vessel, or putteth it under a bed; but setteth it on a lamp-stand, that they which enter in may see the light.
17 For there is no secret thing , that shall not be made manifest; nor hidden, that shall not be known and come into view.
18 Take heed therefore how ye hear: for whosoever hath, to him shall be given; and whosoever hath not,
19 even what he seemeth to have shall be taken away .

Thy Mother And Thy Brethren
20 And it was told him by certain [people] which said, Thy mother and thy brethren stand without, desiring to see thee.
21 And he answered and said unto them, [Who is] My mother and my brethren? My mother and my brethren are these which hear My words, and do [them].

The Storm On The Lake
22 Now it came to pass on one of the days, that he went into a ship with his disciples: and he said unto them, Let us go over unto the other side of the lake. And they launched forth.
23 But as they sailed he fell asleep. And there came down a storm of wind on the lake; and they were filling with water, and were in jeopardy.
24 And they came to him, and awoke him, saying, Teacher, Teacher, we perish. And he arose, and rebuked the wind and the raging of the water. And they ceased, and there was a calm.
25 And he said unto them, Where is your faith? And they were frightened and wondered, saying one to another, Who then is this? for he commandeth even the winds and water, and they obey him?

Legion Of The Gadarenes
26 And they sailed down to the country of the Gadarenes, which is over against Galilee.

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27 And when he went forth to land, there met him out of the city a certain man, which had demons [a] long time, and wore no cloke, neither abode in a house, but among the tombs.
28 When he saw Jesus, he cried out, and fell down before him, and with a loud voice said, What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God most high? I beseech thee, torment me not.
29 (For he had commanded the unclean spirit to come out of the man. For oftentimes it had caught him: and he was kept guarded and bound with chains and in fetters; and he brake the bands asunder, and was driven of the demon into the deserts).
30 And Jesus asked him, saying, What is thy name? And he said, Legion: because many demons were entered into him.
31 And they besought him that he would not command them to go out into the abyss.
32 And there was there an herd of many swine feeding on the mountain: and they besought him that he would allow them to enter into them. And he allowed them.
33 Then went the demons out of the man, and entered into the swine: and the herd ran violently down the steep place into the lake, and were choked.
34 When they that fed them saw what was done, they fled, and went and told it in the city and in the country.
35 Then they went out to see what was done; and came to Jesus, and found the man, out of whom the demons were departed, sitting at the feet of Jesus, clothed, and in his right mind: and they were afraid.
36 They also which saw it told them by what means he that was possessed of the demons was saved.
37 Then the whole multitude of the country of the Gadarenes round about asked him to depart from them; for they were holden with great fear: and he entered into the ship, and returned back again.
38 Now the man, from whom the demons were departed, besought him that he might be with him: but Jesus sent him away, saying,
39 Return to thine own house, and recount how great things God hath done unto thee. And he went his way, publishing throughout the whole city how great things Jesus had done unto him.

Healing Of The Woman / Jairus' Daughter

40 And it came to pass, that, when Jesus was returned, the multitude welcomed him: for they were all waiting for him.
41 And, behold, there came a man named Jairus, and he was a ruler of the synagogue: and he fell down at Jesus' feet, and besought him that he would come into his house:
42 For he had one only daughter, about twelve years of age, and she was dying. And as he went the multitudes thronged him.
43 And a woman having an issue of blood twelve years, which had spent all her living upon physicians, neither could be healed of any,
44 Came behind him, and touched the border of his garment: and immediately her issue of blood stanched.
45 And Jesus said, Who touched me? When all denied, Peter and they that were with him said, Teacher, the multitude throng thee and press thee, and sayest thou, Who touched me?
46 And Jesus said, Somebody hath touched me: for I perceived that power had gone out of me.
47 And when the woman saw that she was not hid, she came trembling, and falling down before him, she declared unto him before all the people for what reason she had touched him, and how she was healed immediately.
48 And he said unto her, Daughter, be of good comfort: thy faith hath saved thee; go into peace.
[49 While he yet spake, there cometh one from the ruler of the synagogue's house, saying to him, Thy daughter is dead; trouble not the Teacher.
50 But when Jesus heard it, he answered him, saying, Fear not: believe only, and she shall be saved.
51 And when he came into the house, he suffered no man to go in, save Peter, and James, and John, and the father and the mother of the maiden.
52 And all were weeping, and bewailed her: but he said, Weep not; she is not dead, but sleepeth.
53 And they laughed him to scorn, knowing that she was dead.
54 And he put them all out, and took her by the hand, and called, saying, Maid, arise.
55 And her spirit came again, and she arose straightway: and he commanded something be given her to eat.
56 And her parents were astonished: but he charged them that they should tell no man what was done.]

Twelve Disciples Bestowed Power

1 Then he called his twelve disciples together, and gave them power and authority over all the demons, and to cure diseases.
2 And he sent them to preach the kingdom of God, and to heal the sick.
3 And he said unto them, Take nothing for your journey, neither staves, nor scrip, neither bread, neither money; neither have two coats apiece.
4 And whatsoever house ye enter into, there abide, and thence depart.
5 And whosoever will not receive you, when ye go out of that city, shake off the very dust from your feet for a testimony against them. 6 And they departed, and went through the villages in order, announcing the glad tidings, and healing every where.

Herod The Tetrarch

7 Now Herod the tetrarch heard of all that was done by him: and he was perplexed, because that it was said of some, that John was risen from the dead;
8 And of some, that Elijah had appeared; and by others, that a prophet, one of the original ones, was risen again.
9 And Herod said, John have I beheaded: but who is this, of whom I hear such things? And he desired to see him.

Feeding Of The Five-Thousand

10 And the apostles returned, and declared unto him all that they had done. And he took them, and went aside privately into a desert place of a city called Bethsaida.
11 And the multitudes perceived it, and followed him: and he received them, and spake unto them of the kingdom of God, and healed them that had need of healing.
12 And when the day began to decline, and the twelve came, and said unto him, Send the multitude away, that they may go into the towns and country round about, and lodge, and fetch victuals: for we are in a desert place.
13 But he said unto them, Give ye them to eat. And they said, We have no more but five loaves and two fishes; except we should go and buy food for all this people.
14 For they were about five thousand men. And he said to his disciples, Make them recline in companies by fifties.
15 And they did so, and made them all recline.
16 And he took the five loaves and the two fishes, and looking up to heaven, he blessed them, and brake,and gave to the disciples to set before the multitude.
17 And they did eat, and were all filled: and there was taken up that remained to them of fragments twelve baskets.

Disciples Reprimanded

18 And it came to pass, as he was alone praying, his disciples were with him: and he asked them, saying, Whom say the people that I am?
19 They answering said, John the Baptist; but some say, Elijah; and others say, that one some prophet of the original ones is risen again.
20 He said unto them, But whom say ye that I am? Peter answering said, The Christ of God.
21 And he straightly reprimanded them, and commanded them to tell none such a thing;
22 Saying, The Son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected of the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be slain, and be raised the third day.
23 And he said to them all, If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me.
24 For whosoever wishes to save his life shall lose it: but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake, the same shall save it.
25 For what is a man profited, if he gain the whole world, and lose or forfeit his own self?
26 For whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed. [when he shall come in his own glory, and in the glory of his Father's and of the holy angels.
27 But I tell you truly, there be some of those that stand here, which shall by no means taste death, till they see the kingdom of God.]

The Transfiguration

28 And it came to pass about an eight days after these sayings, he took Peter and John and James, and went up into a mountain to pray.
29 And [it came to past] as he prayed, the appearance of his countenance was different, and his raiment white, flashing like lightning.
30 And, behold, there stood with him two men, which were Moses and Elias,
31 seen in his glory.
32 Now Peter and they that were with him were weighed down with sleep: but when they were fully awake, they saw his glory, and the two men that stood with him.
33 And it came to pass, as they departed from him, Peter said unto Jesus, Teacher, it is good for us to be here: and let us make three tabernacles; one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias: not knowing what he said.
34 But while he said these things, there came a cloud, and overshadowed them: and they feared as they entered into the cloud.
35 And a voice came out of the cloud, saying, This is my beloved Son: hear him.
36 And when the voice came, Jesus was found alone. And they were silent, and told no man in those days any of those things which they had seen.

Those Dopey Disciples (1)

37 And it came to pass, that on the next day, when they were come down from the mountain, a great multitude met him.
38 And, behold, a man from the multitude cried out, saying, Teacher, I beseech thee, look upon my son: for he is my only begotten.
39 And, lo, a spirit taketh him, and he suddenly crieth out; and it convulseth him with foam, and bruising him hardly departeth from him.
40 And I besought thy disciples to cast him out; and they could not.
41 And Jesus answering said, O faithless and perverse generation, how long shall I be with you, and suffer you? Bring thy son hither.
42 And as he was yet a coming, the demon rent him, and convulsed him. And Jesus rebuked the unclean spirit, and healed the boy, and delivered him again to his father.
43 And they were all amazed at the majesty of God. And as they all wondered at all things which Jesus did, he said unto his disciples,
44 Take ye into your ears these sayings: for the Son of man is going to be delivered into the hands of men.
45 But they understood not this saying, and it was hid from them that they should not perceive it: and they feared to ask him about that saying.

Those Dopey Disciples (2)

46 Then there arose a reasoning among them, which of them should be greatest.
47 And Jesus, perceiving the reasoning of their heart, took a child, and set it [next to] himself, and said unto them,
48 Whosoever shall receive this child in my name receiveth me: and whosoever shall receive me receiveth him that sent me: for he that is least among you all, the same shall be great.
49 And John answered and said, Teacher, we saw one casting out demons in thy name; and we hindered him, because he followeth not with us.
50 And Jesus said unto him, Forbid him not: for he that is not against you is for you.

Those Dopey Disciples (3)

51 And it came to pass, when the days of his taking up were being fulfilled, he stedfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem,
52 And sent messengers before his face: and they went, and entered into a village of the Samaritans, so as to make ready for him.
53 And they did not receive him, because his face was going to Jerusalem.
54 And when his disciples James and John saw this, they said, Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven, and to consume them, even as Elijah did?
55 But he turned, and rebuked them, and said, Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of.
56 For the Son of man came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them. And they went to another village.
57 And it came to pass, that, as they went in the way, a certain man said unto him, Lord, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest.
58 And Jesus said unto him, Foxes have holes, and the birds of the heaven have lodging places; but the Son of man hath not where he may lay his head.
59 And he said unto another, Follow me. But he said, Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my father.
60 Jesus said unto him, Leave the dead to bury their own dead: but go thou and preach the kingdom of God.
61 And another also said, Lord, I will follow thee; but let me first go bid them farewell, which are at home at my house.
62 And Jesus said unto him, No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.

Seventy New Disciples Appointed

1 And after these things the Lord appointed other seventy also, and sent them two and two before his face into every city and place, whither he himself was about to come.
2 Therefore said he unto them, The harvest truly is great, but the labourers are few: pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he may send forth labourers into his harvest.
3 Go your ways: behold, I send you forth as lambs among wolves.
4 Carry neither purse, nor wallet, nor shoes: and salute no man by the way.
5 And into whatsoever house ye enter, first say, Peace be to this house.
6 And if the son of peace be there, your peace shall rest upon it: if not, it shall turn to you again.
7 And in the same house remain, eating and drinking such things as they give: for the labourer is worthy of his hire. Go not from house to house.

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8 And into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you, eat such things as are set before you:
9 And heal the sick therein, and say unto them, The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you.
10 But into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you not, go out into the streets thereof, and say,
11 Even the very dust of your city, which clave to us, we do wipe off against you: notwithstanding be ye sure of this, that the kingdom of God is come nigh unto you.
[12 But I say unto you, that it shall be more tolerable in that day for Sodom, than for that city.
13 Woe unto thee, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the powers had been done in Tyre and Sidon, which have been done in you, they would have repented long ago, sitting in sackcloth and ashes.
14 But it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the judgement, than for you.
15 And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted to heaven? thou shalt be thrust down unto Hades.]
16 He that heareth you heareth me; and he that despiseth you despiseth me; and he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me.
17 And the seventy returned again with joy, saying, Lord, even the demons are subject unto us through thy name.
18 And he said unto them, I beheld Satan as lightning fallen from heaven.
19 Behold, I give unto you authority to tread on serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy: and nothing shall by any means hurt you.
20 Notwithstanding, in this rejoice not, that the spirits are subject unto you; but rather rejoice, because your names are written in the heavens.
21 In that hour Jesus rejoiced in spirit, and said, I thank thee, Lord of heaven, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes: even so, Father; for so it was well-pleasing before thee.
22 All things were delivered to me by my Father: and no man knoweth who the Father is, but the Son, and who the Son is, but the Father, and he to whomsoever the Son wishes to reveal him.
23 And he turned him unto his disciples, and said privately, Blessed are the eyes which see what ye see:
24 For I tell you, that prophets did not see what ye see.

MARCION, SECTION 3 (Luke 10:25-13:17)

25 And, behold, a certain lawyer stood up, and tempted him, saying, Teacher, doing what shall I obtain life?
26 But he said unto him, What is written in the law? how readest thou?
27 And he answering said, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God from all thy heart, and from all thy soul, and from all thy strength, and from all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself.
28 And he said unto him, Thou hast answered right: this do, and thou shalt live.

The Good Samaritan

29 But he, willing to justify himself, said unto Jesus, And who is my neighbour?
30 And Jesus answering said, A certain man was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, which stripped him, and beat him, leaving him just half dead.
31 And by chance there came down a certain priest in that way: and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side.
32 And likewise a Levite, when he was at the place, came and saw him, and passed by on the other side.
33 But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came down to him: and when he saw him, he had compassion on him,
34 And went to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring on oil and wine, and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him.
35 And on the morrow when he departed, he took out two denarii, and gave them to the host, and said unto him, Take care of him; and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again, I will repay thee.
36 Which now of these three, seems to thee to have been a neighbour unto him that fell among the thieves?
37 And he said, He that shewed mercy on him. Jesus therefore said unto him, Go, and do thou likewise.

"Martha, Martha"

38 Now it came to pass, as they went, that he entered into a certain village: and a certain woman named Martha received him into her house.
39 And she had a sister called Mary, which also sat at Jesus' feet, and heard his word.
40 But Martha was distracted about much serving, and came up to him, and said, Lord, dost thou not care that my sister did leave me to serve alone? bid her therefore that she help me.
41 And Jesus answered and said unto her, Martha, Martha, thou art anxious and troubled about many things:
42 But there is need of one: and Mary chose that good part, which shall not be taken away from her.

The Prayer For Holy Spirit

1 And it came to pass whilst he was in a certain place praying to the Father, when he ceased, one of his disciples said unto him, Lord, teach us to pray, as John also taught his disciples.
2 And he said unto them, When ye pray, say, Father, let thy Holy Spirit come upon us, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth.
3 Give us day by day our bread for the coming day.
4 And forgive us our sins; for we also forgive every one that is indebted to us. And lead us not into temptation.
5 And he said unto them, Which of you shall have a friend, and shall go unto him at midnight, and say unto him, Friend, lend me three loaves;
6 Since my friend is come unto me from a journey, and I have nothing to set before him?
7 And he from within shall answer and say, Trouble me not: the door is now shut, and my children are with me in bed; I cannot rise and give thee.
8 I say unto you, even if he will not rise and give him, because he is his friend, yet because of his importunity he will rise and give him as many as he needeth.
9 And I say unto you, Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you.
10 For every one that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened.
11 But of which of you that is a father shall his son ask a loaf he will give him a stone? or a fish, and he instead of a fish will give him a serpent?
12 Or if he shall ask an egg, will he give him a scorpion?
13 If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children: how much more shall your Father from heaven give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?

A House Divided

14 And he was casting out a demon, and it was dumb. And it came to pass, when the demon was gone out, the dumb spake; and the multitudes marvelled.
15 But some of them said, He casteth out demons through Beelzebub the chief of the demons.
16 And others, tempting him, sought of him a sign from heaven.
17 But he, knowing their thoughts, said unto them, Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; and a house divided against a house falleth.
18 And if Satan also be divided against himself, how shall his kingdom be established? because ye say that I cast out demons in Beelzebub.
19 And if I in Beelzebub cast out demons, in whom do your sons cast them out? therefore shall they be your judges.
20 But if I with the finger of God cast out demons, no doubt the kingdom of God is come upon you.
21 When a strong man fully armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace.
[22 But when the stronger than he shall come upon him, and overcome him, he taketh from him all his whole armour wherein he trusted, and divideth his spoils.
23 He that is not with me is against me: and he that gathereth not with me scattereth.
24 When the unclean spirit is gone out from the man, he goeth through waterless places, seeking rest; and finding none, he saith, I will return into my house whence I came out.
25 And when he cometh, he findeth it swept and garnished.
26 Then goeth he, and taketh to him seven other spirits more wicked than himself; and they enter in, and dwell there: and the last state of that man is worse than the first.]

"The Womb That Bare Thee"

27 And it came to pass, as he said these things, a certain woman out of the multitude lifted up her voice, and said unto him, Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the breasts which thou didst suck.
28 But he said, Yea rather, blessed are they that hear [my word], and keep it.

An Evil Generation

29 And when the multitudes were gathering thick together, he began to say, This is an evil generation: it seeketh a sign; and there shall no sign be given it .
30-32 [. . .]

The Lamp Of The Body

33 No man, when he hath lighted a lamp, putteth it into a secret place, neither under the bushel, but on the lampstand, that they which come in may see the light.
34 The lamp of the body is the eye: therefore when thine eye is single, thy whole body also is full of light; but when it is evil, thy body also is full of darkness.
35 Look therefore that the light which is in thee be not darkness.
36 If therefore thy whole body be full of light, having no part dark, it shall be wholly full of light, as when the lamp with its gleam doth give thee light.

"Woe!"

37 And as he spake, a certain Pharisee asked him to breakfast with him: and he went in, and lay down.
38 And when the Pharisee saw it, he marvelled that he had not first washed before the breakfast.
39 And the Lord said unto him, Now do ye Pharisees clean the outside of the cup and the platter; but your inside is full of extortion and wickedness.
40 Foolish ones, did not he that made the outside make the inside also?
41 But give as alms the things in your power; and, behold, all things are clean unto you.
42 But woe unto you, Pharisees! for ye tithe mint and rue and every herb, and pass over the calling and the love of God: but these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone.
43 Woe unto you, Pharisees! for ye love the first seat in the synagogues, and the greetings in the markets.
44 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are as graves which appear not, and the men that walk about over them know it not.
45 Then one of the lawyers answering saith unto him, Teacher, saying these things thou reproachest us also.
46 And he said, Woe unto you also, lawyers! for ye lade men with burdens grievous to be borne, and ye yourselves touch not the burdens with one of your fingers.
47 Woe unto you! for ye build the sepulchres of the prophets, but your fathers killed them.
48 Truly ye are witnesses and consent to the deeds of your fathers: for they indeed killed them, but ye build their sepulchres.
49 -51 [. . .]
52 Woe unto you, lawyers! for ye took away the key of knowledge: ye entered not in yourselves, and them that were entering in ye hindered.
53 And as he said these things unto them, the scribes and the Pharisees began to press upon him vehemently, and to provoke him to speak of more things:
54 Laying wait for him, and seeking to catch something out of his mouth, that they might accuse him.

The Leaven Of The Pharisees / "Fear Him"

1 In the mean time, when there were gathered together tens of thousands of the multitudes, insomuch that they trode one upon another, he began to say unto his disciples, First be ye on your guard against of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy.
2 For there is nothing covered up, that shall not be revealed; and hidden that shall not be known.
3 Wherefore whatsoever ye have spoken in darkness shall be heard in the light; and that which ye have spoken to the ear in the chambers shall be proclaimed upon the housetops.
4 And I say unto you my friends, Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after this have not power to do anything further.
5 But I will show you whom ye shall fear: Fear him, which after he hath killed hath authority to cast into Gehenna; yea, I say unto you, Fear him.
6-7 [. . .]
8 But I say unto you, Whosoever shall confess in me before men, in him shall the Son of man also confess before God:
9 But he that denieth me in the sight of men shall be denied in the sight of God.
10 And every one, who shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but unto him that blaspheneth against the Holy Spirit it shall not be forgiven.
11 And when they bring you up before the synagogues, and unto the rulers, and authorities, be not anxious how or what thing ye shall answer, or what ye shall say:
12 For the Holy Spirit shall teach you in the same hour what ye ought to say.

Who Appointed Me A Judge?

13 And one out of the multitude said unto him, Teacher, tell my brother to divide the inheritance with me.
14 And he said unto him, Man, who appointed me a judge or a divider over you?
15 And he said unto them, Take heed, and guard yourselves from covetousness: for not in a man's abundance consisteth his life out of his possessions.
16 And he spake a parable unto them, saying, The ground of a certain rich man brought forth plentifully:
17 And he reasoned within himself, saying, What shall I do, because I have not where to collect my fruits?
18 And he said, This will I do: I will pull down my barns, and build greater; and there will I collect all my fruits and my goods.
19 And I will say to my soul, Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry.

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20 But God said unto him, Foolish one, this night they require thy soul from thee: and the things which thou hast prepared, whose shall they be? 21 So is he that layeth up treasure for himself, and is not rich toward God.

Seek Ye The Kingdom Of God

22 And he said unto his disciples, Therefore I say unto you, Be not anxious for your life, what ye shall eat; neither for the body, what ye shall put on.

23 The life is more than the food, and the body than the raiment.

24 Consider the ravens, that they sow not nor reap; which have not storechamber nor barn; and God feedeth them: how much rather do ye excel the birds!

25 And which of you with being anxious can add to his stature one cubit?

26 If ye then be not able to do even a very little thing, why are ye anxious about the rest?

27 Consider the lilies how they grow: they toil not, nor spin; yet I say unto you, not even Solomon in all his glory was arrayed like one of these.

28 If then God so clothe the grass, which is to day in the field, and to morrow is cast into the oven; how much more will he clothe you, O ye of little faith?

29 And seek not ye what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, neither be ye of doubtful mind.

30 For all these things do the nations of the world seek after: but your Father knoweth that ye have need of these things.

31 Notwithstanding seek ye the kingdom of God; and all these things shall be added unto you.

32 Fear not, little flock; for your Father is well pleased to give you the kingdom.

33 Sell your possessions, and give alms; make yourselves purses which grow not old, an unfailing treasure in the heavens, where a thief does not come near, nor a moth destroy.

34 For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.

The Faithful And Wise Servant

35 Let your loins be girded about, and your lamps burning;

36 And ye like unto men that wait for their lord, when he shall return from the wedding-feast; that when he cometh and knocketh, they may open unto him immediately.

37 Blessed are those servants, whom the lord when he cometh shall find watching: verily I say unto you, that he shall gird himself, and make them to recline to meat, and shall pass by and serve them.

38 And if he shall come in the evening watch, and find them so, blessed are those servants.

39 And this know, that if the master of the house had known what hour the thief was coming, he would have watched, and not have left his house to be broken through.

40 Be ye therefore ready also: for the Son of man cometh at an hour when ye think not.

41 Then Peter said unto him, Lord, speakest thou this parable unto us, or even unto all?

42 And the Lord said, Who then is that faithful and wise steward, whom his lord shall set over his household, to give them their portion of food in due season?

43 Blessed is that servant, whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing.

44 Of a truth I say unto you, that he will set him over all his possessions.

45 But if that servant shall say in his heart, My lord delayeth to come, and shall begin to beat the menservants and maidservants, and to eat and drink, and to be drunken;

46 The lord of that servant will come in a day when he expecteth not, and at an hour when he knoweth not, and will cut him in sunder, and will appoint him his portion with the unfaithful.

47 And that servant, which knew his lord's will, and prepared not, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes.

48 But he that knew not, and did did things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes. For to whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required: and to whom they have committed much, of him they will ask the more.

Fire On The Earth

49 I came to cast fire on the earth; and what will I, if it be already kindled?

50 But I have a baptism to be baptised with; and how am I constrained till it be accomplished!

51 Think ye that I am come to give peace on earth? I tell you, Nay; but rather division:

52 For from henceforth there shall be five in one house divided, three against two, and two against three.

53 They shall be divided father against son, and son against father; mother against daughter, and daughter against mother; mother in law against her daughter in law, and daughter in law against her mother in law.

54 And he said also to the multitudes, When ye see the cloud rising up from the west, straightway ye say There cometh a shower; and it cometh to pass.

55 And when ye see a south wind blowing, ye say, There will be scorching heat; and it cometh to pass.

56 Ye hypocrites, ye know how to interpret the face of the earth and the heaven; but how is it that ye do not interpret this time?

57 Yea, and why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right?

58 For as thou goest with thine adversary before the magistrate, on the way give diligence to be delivered from him; lest he hale thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and the officer cast thee into prison.

59 I say unto thee, thou shalt by no means depart thence, till thou hast paid the very last lepton.

Healing On The Sabbath

1-9 [. . .]

10 And he was teaching in one of the synagogues on the sabbath days.

11 And, behold, there was a woman which had a spirit of infirmity eighteen years, and was bowed together, and could in no wise lift up herself.

12 And when Jesus saw her, he called her to him, and said unto her, Woman, thou art loosed from thine infirmity.

13 And he laid his hands on her: and immediately she was made straight, and glorified God.

14 And the ruler of the synagogue answered, being vexed, because that Jesus had healed on the sabbath day, and said unto the multitude, There are six days in which men ought to work: in them therefore come and be healed, and not on the day of the sabbath. 15 The Lord then answered him, and said, Thou hypocrite, doth not each one of you on the sabbath loose his ox or his ass from the stall, and lead him away to watering?

16 And ought not this woman, being a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound, lo, these eighteen years, be loosed from this bond on the day of the sabbath ?

17 And when he had said these things, all his adversaries were put to shame: and all the multitude rejoiced for all the glorious things that were done by him.

MARCION, SECTION 4 (Luke 13:18-17:37)

Parables Of The Mustard Seed And Leaven

18 Then said he, Unto what is the kingdom of God like? and whereunto shall I liken it?

19 It is like a grain of mustard seed, which a man took, and cast into his own garden; and it grew, and became a great tree; and the birds of the heaven lodged in the branches of it.

20 And again he said, Whereunto shall I liken the kingdom of God?

21 It is like unto leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened.

The Righteous In The Kingdom

22 And he went through the cities and villages, teaching, and making a journey unto Jerusalem.

23 Then one said unto him, Lord, are they few that are being saved? And he said unto them,

24 Strive to enter in through the narrow gate: for many, I say unto you, will seek to enter in, and shall not be able.

25 When once the master of the house is risen up, and hath shut to the door, and ye begin to stand outside, and to knock at the door, saying, Lord, Lord, open unto us; and he shall answer and say unto you, I know you not whence ye are:

26 Then shall ye begin to say, We did eat and drink in thy presence, and thou didst teach in our streets.

27 But he shall say, I tell you, I know you not whence ye are; depart from me, all ye workers of unrighteousness.

28 There shall be the weeping and the gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see all the righteous in the kingdom of God, and yourselves thrust out and held back outside.

29-35 [. . .]

[. . .]

1 And it came to pass, as he went into the house of one of the chief Pharisees to eat bread on the sabbath day, that they were watching him.

2 And, behold, there was a certain man before him which had the dropsy.

3 And Jesus answered and spake unto the lawyers and Pharisees, saying, Is it lawful to heal on the sabbath day?

4 And they held their peace. And he took him, and healed him, and let him go;

5 And he answered and said unto them, Which of you shall have an ass or an ox fallen into a well, and will not straightway pull him up on the day of the sabbath?

6 And they could not answer him again to these things.

[. . .]

12 Then said he also to him that bade him, When thou makest a breakfast or a supper, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, neither thy kinsmen, nor thy rich neighbours; lest they also bid thee again, and a recompence be made thee.

13 But when thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind:

14 And thou shalt be blessed; for they have no[thing] wherewith to recompense thee: for it shall be recompensed to thee at the resurrection of the righteous.

15 And when one of them that reclined with him heard these things, he said unto him, Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the kingdom of God.

16 But he said unto him, A certain man made a great supper, and bade many:

17 And sent his servant at supper time to say to them that were bidden, Come; for all things are now ready.

18 And they all with one consent began to make excuse. The first said unto him, I have bought a piece of ground, and I must needs go and see it: I pray thee have me excused.

19 And another said, I have bought five yoke of oxen, and I go to prove them: I pray thee, hold me excused.

20 And another said, I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come.

21 So that servant came, and shewed his lord these things. Then the master of the house being moved said to his servant, Go out quickly into the streets and lanes of the city, and bring in hither the poor, and the maimed, and the halt, and the blind.

22 And the servant said, Lord, it is done as thou didst command, and yet there is room.

23 And the lord said unto the servant, Go out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in, that my house may be filled.

24 For I say unto you, That none of those men which were bidden shall taste of my supper.

Discipleship

25 And there went great multitudes with him: and he turned, and said unto them,

26 If any man cometh to me, and doth not abandon his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple.

27 And whosoever doth not bear his cross, and come behind me, cannot be my disciple.

28 For which of you, intending to build a tower, sitteth not down first, and counteth the cost, whether he have the things for completion?

29 Lest haply, after he hath laid the foundation, and is not able to finish, all that behold it begin to mock him,

30 Saying, This man began to build, and was not able to finish.

31 Or what king, when he is going to encounter another king in war, sitteth not down first, and consulteth whether he be able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand?

32 Or else, while the other is yet a great way off, he sendeth an embassy, and desireth conditions of peace.

33 So therefore, whosoever he be of you that renounceth not all his possessions, he cannot be my disciple.

34-35 [uncertain]

Joy In The Presence Of God

1 Now all the publicans and sinners were coming near unto him, to hear him.

2 And the Pharisees and scribes murmured, saying, This man receiveth sinners, and eateth with them.

3 And he spake this parable unto them, saying,

4 What man of you, having an hundred sheep, if he lose one of them, doth not leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness, and go after that which is lost, until he find it?

5 And when he hath found it, he layeth it on his shoulders, rejoicing.

6 And when he cometh into the house, he calleth together his friends and neighbours, saying unto them, Rejoice with me; for I have found my sheep which was lost.

7 I say unto you, that likewise joy shall be in the heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine righteous persons, which have no need of repentance.

8 Either what woman having ten drachmas, if she lose one drachma, doth not light a lamp, and sweep the house, and seek diligently till she find it?

9 And when she hath found it, she calleth her friends and her neighbours together, saying, Rejoice with me; for I have found the drachma which I had lost.

10 Likewise, I say unto you, there is joy in the presence of God over one sinner that repenteth.

10-32 [. . .]

Steward Of Unrighteousness/ God And Mammon

1 And he said also unto his disciples, There was a certain rich man, which had a steward; and the same was accused unto him as wasting his property.

2 And he called him, and said unto him, How is it that I hear this of thee? render the account of thy stewardship; for thou canst not be a steward any longer.

3 Then the steward said within himself, What shall I do? for my lord taketh away from me the stewardship: I have not strength to dig; to beg I am ashamed.

4 I know what I will do, that, when I am put out of the stewardship, they may receive me into their houses.

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5 And he called every one of his lord's debtors unto him, and said unto the first, How much owest thou unto my lord?
6 And he said, An hundred baths of oil. And he said unto him, Take thy bond, and sit down quickly, and write fifty.
7 Then said he to another, And how much owest thou? And he said, An hundred cors of wheat. And he said unto him, Take thy bond, and write fourscore.
8 And the lord commended the steward of unrighteousness, because he did wisely: for the sons of this age are unto their own generation wiser beyond the children of the light.
9 And I say unto you, Make to yourselves friends out of the mammon of unrighteousness; that, when ye leave, they may receive you into eternal habitations.
10 He that is faithful in a very little is faithful in much: and he that is unrighteous in very little is unrighteous also in much.
11 If therefore ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will entrust to you the real [mammon]?
12 And if ye have not been faithful in that which is another 's, who shall give you that which is mine?
13 No domestic can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.
14 And the Pharisees also, who were lovers of money, heard all these things: and they sneered at him.
15 And he said unto them, Ye are they which make yourselves righteous in the sight of men; but God knoweth your hearts: for that which is highly esteemed among men is abomination in the sight of God.
16 The law and the prophets were until John: since that time the kingdom of God is announced as good tidings, and every man forceth into it.
17 But it is easier for heaven and earth to pass away, even as the law and the prophets [have passed away], than one tittle of my words to fail.
18 Everyone that putteth away his wife and marrieth another, committeth adultery: and everyone that marrieth one that is put away from a husband committeth adultery.

Lazarus In Abraham's Bosom

19 There was a certain rich man, and he was clothed in purple and fine linen, faring sumptuously every day:
20 And there was a certain beggar named Lazarus, which was laid at his gate, full of sores,
21 And desiring to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table: but even the dogs came and licked his sores.
22 And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom: the rich man also died, and was buried.
23 And in Hades he lifted up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom.
24 And he cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue; for I am in anguish in this flame.
25 But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things: but now he is comforted, and thou art in anguish.
26 And besides all these things, between us and you there is a great gulf fixed: so that they which wish to cross from hence to you may not be able; neither can they from thence pass through to us.
27 But he said, I pray thee therefore, father, that thou wouldest send him to my father's house: 28 For I have five brethren; that he may testify unto them, lest they also come into this place of torment.
29 Abraham saith unto him, They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them. 30 And he said, Nay, father Abraham: but if one from the dead went unto them, they will repent.
31 And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, not even if one from the dead arose, will they be persuaded.

Occasions Of Stumbling

1 Then said he unto the disciples, It is inconceivable but that occasions of stumbling will come: but woe unto him, through whom they come!
2 It were a gain if he had not been born, or if a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea, rather than that he should cause one of these little ones to stumble.
3 Take heed to yourselves: But if thy brother trespass against thee, rebuke him; and if he repent, forgive him.
4 And if he trespass against thee seven times in the day, and seven times in the day turn again to thee, saying, I repent; thou shalt forgive him.
5 And the apostles said unto the Lord, Increase our faith. 6 And the Lord said, If ye had faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye would say unto this mulberry tree, Be thou plucked up-rooted, and be thou planted in the sea; and it would have obeyed you.
7 But who is there of you, having a servant plowing or keeping sheep, that will say unto him, when he is come from the field, Come straightway and lie down to meat?
8 And will not rather say unto him, Make ready wherewith I may sup, and gird thyself, and serve me, till I have eaten and drunken; and afterward thou shalt eat and drink?
9 Doth he thank that servant because he did the things that were commanded him? I think not.
10 So likewise do ye, when ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you.

Ten Lepers

11 And it came to pass, as he went to Jerusalem, that he passed through the midst of Samaria and Galilee.
12 And as he entered into a certain village, there met him ten men that were lepers, which stood afar off:
13 And they lifted up their voices, and said, Jesus, Master, have mercy on us.
14 And when he saw them, he said unto them, Go shew yourselves unto the priests. And it came to pass, that, as they went, they were cleansed.
15 And one of them, when he saw that he was healed, turned back, and with a loud voice glorified God,
16 And fell down on his face at his feet, giving him thanks: and he was a Samaritan.
17 And Jesus answering said, Were not the ten cleansed? but where are the nine?
18 There are not found that returned to give glory to God but this alien? And many lepers were in Israel in the time of Elisha the prophet, and none of them was healed, but only Naaman the Syrian.
19 And he said unto him, Arise, go thy way: thy faith hath saved thee.

Kingdom Cometh Not With Observation

20 And when he was questioned by the Pharisees, when the kingdom of God cometh, he answered them and said, The kingdom of God cometh not with observation:
21 Neither shall they say, Lo here! or, lo there! for, behold, the kingdom of God is within you.
22 And he said unto the disciples, The days will come, when ye shall desire to see one of the days of the Son of man, and ye shall not see it.
23 And they shall say to you, Lo here! , or, lo there! go not away, nor follow after them.
24 For as the lightning, that lighteneth out of the one part under heaven, shineth unto the other part under heaven; so shall also the Son of man be in his day.
25 But first must he suffer many things, and be rejected of this generation.
26 And as it came to pass in the days of Noah, so shall it be also in the days of the Son of man.
27 They ate, they drank, they married, they were given in marriage, until the day that Noah entered into the ark, and the flood came, and destroyed them all.
28 Likewise also as it came to pass in the days of Lot; they ate, they drank, they bought, they sold, they planted, they builded;
29 But in the day that Lot went out from Sodom it rained fire and brimstone from heaven, and destroyed them all.
30 According to these things shall it be in the day when the Son of man is revealed.
31 In that day, he which shall be upon the housetop, and his goods in the house, let him not go down to take them away: and he that is in the field, let him likewise not return to the things behind.
32 Remember Lot's wife.
33 Whosoever shall seek to save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life shall preserve it.
34 I say unto you, in that night there shall be two [men] shall be on one bed; the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left.
35 Two [women] shall be grinding upon the same stone; the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left.
36 Two [men] shall be in the field; the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left.
37 And they answered and said unto him, Where, Lord? And he said unto them, Wheresoever the body is, there will the eagles be gathered together.

MARCION, SECTION 5 (Luke 18:1-21:38)

God Will Right His Elect

1 And he spake also a parable unto them on the neccessity always to pray, and not to faint; Saying,
2 There was in a city a judge, which feared not God, and regarded not man:
3 And there was a certain widow in that city; and she came unto him, saying, Right me from my opponent at law.
4 And he would not for a time: but afterward he said within himself, Though I fear not God, and regard not man;
5 Yet because this widow gives me trouble, I will right her, lest by her coming to the end she weary me.
6 And the Lord said, Hear what the judge of the unrighteous saith.
7 And shall not God perform the righting of his elect, which cry unto him day and night, though he be long suffering over them?
8 I say unto you that he will perform the righting of them speedily. Nevertheless when the Son of man cometh, shall he find the faith on the earth?

Pharisee And Publican/Suffer The Little Children

9 And he spake this parable unto certain which trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and accounted nothing of the rest;
10 Two men went up into the temple to pray; the one a Pharisee, and the other a publican.
11 The Pharisee stood and prayed thus: God, I thank thee, that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unrighteous, adulterers, or even as this publican.
12 I fast twice in the week, I give tithes of all that I get.
13 And the publican, standing afar off, would not lift up even his eyes unto heaven, but smote upon his breast, saying, God be propitiated to me the sinner.
14 I say unto you, this man went down to his house made righteous rather than that one: for every one that exalteth himself shall be humbled; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.
15 And they were bringing unto him also the infants, that he should touch them: but when the disciples saw it, they rebuked them.
16 But Jesus called them unto him, and said, Suffer the little children to come unto me, and hinder them not: for of such is the kingdom of God.
17 Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child shall in no wise enter into it.

To Inherit Eternal Life

18 And a certain ruler asked him, saying, Good Teacher, what shall I do to inherit eternal life? 19 And Jesus said unto him, Why callest thou me good? none is good, save one, even God the Father. [And he [the ruler] said,]
20 I know the commandments - Do not commit adultery, Do not kill, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Honour thy father and thy mother.
21 All these have I have observed from my youth up.
22 But when Jesus heard these things, he said unto him, Yet one thing is lacking for thee: sell all things, as many as thou hast, and distribute unto the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, follow me.
23 And when he heard these things, he became exceeding sorrowful: for he was very rich.
24 And when Jesus saw him become exceeding sorrowful, he said, How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God!
25 For it is easier for a camel to enter through a needle's eye, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.
26 And they that heard it said, Who then can be saved?
27 And he said, The things which are impossible with men are possible with God.
28 Then Peter said, Lo, we have left all, and followed thee.
29 And he said unto them, Verily I say unto you, There is no man that hath left house, or parents, or brethren, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of God's sake,
30 Who shall not receive manifold more in this time, and in the coming age eternal life.
31-34 [. . .]

Blind Man By The Roadside

35 And it came to pass, that as he was come nigh unto Jericho, a certain blind man sat by the way side begging:
36 And when he heard the multitude passing by, he asked what this might be.
37 And they told him, that Jesus passeth by.
38 And he cried, saying, Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy on me.
39 And they which went before rebuked him, that he might be silent: but he cried so much the more, Thou Son of David, have mercy on me.
40 And Jesus stood still, and commanded him to be brought unto him: and when he was come near, he asked him, saying,
41 What wilt thou that I shall do unto thee? And he said, Lord, that I may receive my sight.
42 And Jesus said unto him, Receive thy sight: thy faith hath saved thee.
43 And immediately he received his sight, and followed him, glorifying God: and all the people, when they saw it, gave praise unto God.

Zacchaeus

1 And Jesus entered and passed through Jericho.
2 And, behold, a man called by the name Zacchaeus, and he was a chief publican, and he was rich.
3 And he sought to see Jesus who he was; and could not from the multitude, because he was little of stature.

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4 And he ran before, and climbed up into a sycomore tree to see him: for he was going to pass through that way. 5 And when he came to the place, he looked up, and saw him, and said unto him, Zacchaeus, make haste, and come down; for to-day I must abide at thy house.

6 And he made haste, and came down, and received him joyfully.

7 And when they saw it, they all murmured, saying, That he was gone to lodge with a man that is a sinner.

8 And Zacchaeus stood still, and said unto the Lord; Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have taken any thing from any man by false accusation, I restore fourfold.

9 And Jesus said unto him, This day is salvation come to this house,

10 For the Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost.

A Certain Nobleman

11 And as they heard these things, he added and spake a parable, because he was nigh to Jerusalem, and because they supposed that the kingdom of God was going to appear immediately.

12 He said therefore, A certain nobleman went into a distant country to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return.

13 And he called his ten servants, and delivered them ten pounds, and said unto them, Trade till I come.

14 But his citizens hated him, and sent his embassy after him, saying, We do not wish this man to reign over us.

15 And it came to pass, that when he was returned, having received the kingdom, that he commanded these servants to be called unto him, to whom he gave the money, that he might know what trade every man had accomplished.

16 And the first came before him, saying, Lord, thy mina hath wrought ten minas more.

17 And he said unto him, Well, thou good servant: because thou wast faithful in a very little, be thou holding authority over ten cities.

18 And the second came, saying, Lord, thy mina hath gained five minas.

19 And he said likewise to him, Be thou also over five cities.

20 And another came, saying, Lord, behold, here is thy mina, which I have kept laid up in a napkin:

21 For I feared thee, because thou art an austere man: thou takest up that thou layedst not down, and reapest that thou sowest not.

22 And he saith unto him, Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee, thou wicked servant. Knewest thou that I was an austere man, taking up that I laid not down, and reaping that I sowed not ?

23 Wherefore then gavest thou not my money into the bank, and I would have come and exacted it with interest?

24 And he said unto them that stood by, Take from him the mina, and give it to him that hath ten minas.

25 And they said unto him, Lord, he hath ten minas.

26 For I say unto you, That unto every one which hath shall be given; and from him that hath not, even that he hath shall be taken away from him.

27 But those mine enemies, that did not wish me to reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me.

28 And when he had thus spoken, he went before, ascending up to Jerusalem.

29-46 [. . .]

47 And he was teaching daily in the temple. But the chief priests and the scribes and the chief of the people sought to destroy him,

48 And could not find what they might do: for all the people were very attentive to hear him.

By What Authority?

1 And it came to pass, that on one of those days, as he was teaching the people in the temple, and announcing the glad tidings, there came upon him the chief priests and the scribes with the elders,

2 And spake unto him, saying, Tell us, by what authority doest thou these things? or who is he that gave thee this authority?

3 And he answered and said unto them, I will also ask you one word and tell me:

4 The baptism of John, was it from heaven, or of men?

5 And they reasoned with themselves, saying, If we shall say, From heaven; he will say, Why then believed ye him not?

6 But if we say, Of men; all the people will stone us: for they be persuaded that John was a prophet.

7 And they answered, that they knew not whence it was.

8 And Jesus said unto them, Neither tell I you by what authority I do these things.

9-18 [. . .]

Tribute To Caesar?

19 And the chief priests and the scribes the same hour sought to lay hands on him; and they feared the people.

20 And they watched him, and sent forth spies, feigning themselves to be righteous men, that they might take hold of his speech, in order to deliver him up unto the rule and authority of the governor.

21 And they asked him, saying, Teacher, we know that thou sayest and teachest rightly, and acceptest not a countenance, but of a truth teachest the way of God.

22 Is it lawful for us to give tribute unto Caesar, or not?

23 But he perceived their craftiness, and said unto them, Why tempt ye me?

24 Shew me a denarius. Whose image and superscription hath it? They answered and said, Caesar's.

25 And he said unto them, Render therefore unto Caesar the things of Caesar, and unto God the things of God.

26 And they were not able to take hold of his saying before the people: and they marvelled at his answer, and held their peace.

Children Of The Resurrection

27 And there came to him certain of the Sadducees, they which deny that there is any resurrection; and they asked him, saying,

28 Teacher, Moses wrote unto us, that if any man's brother die, having a wife, and he die childless, that his brother should take the wife, and raise up seed unto his brother.

29 There were therefore seven brethren: and the first took a wife, and died childless.

30 And the second took her to wife, and he died childless.

31 And the third took her; and likewise the seven also left no children, and died.

32 Last of all the woman died also.

33 In the resurrection, therefore, whose wife of them does she become? for the seven had her as a wife.

34 And Jesus answered and said unto them, The sons of this age marry, and are given in marriage:

35 But they whom God accounted worthy of that age, to obtain the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are given in marriage:

36 Neither can they die any more: for they are equal unto the angels; and are the sons of God, being the children of the resurrection.

37-38 [. . .]

39 Then certain of the scribes answering said, Teacher, thou hast well said.

40 And they did not any longer venture to ask him anything.

Is Christ David's Son?

41 And he said unto them, How say they that the Christ is David's son?

42 And David himself saith in the book of Psalms, The LORD said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand,

43 Till I make thine enemies the footstool of thy feet.

44 David therefore calleth him Lord, and how is he then his son?

Beware Of The Scribes

45 And when all the people were hearing him, he said unto his disciples,

46 Beware of the scribes, which desire to walk in long robes, and love salutations in the markets, and the first seats in the synagogues, and the first rooms at feasts;

47 Which eat up the houses of widows, and for a pretext make long prayers: the same shall receive greater condemnation.

A Widow's Two Cents Worth

1 And he looked up, and saw the rich men that were casting their gifts into the treasury.

2 And he saw also a certain poor widow casting in thither two lepta.

3 And he said, Of a truth I say unto you, that this poor widow hath cast in more than they all:

4 For all these did out of their super-abundance cast in unto the offerings of God: but she out of her want hath cast in all the living that she had.

The "Little Apocalypse"

5 And as some spake about the temple, that it was adorned with goodly stones and offerings, he said,

6 As for these things which ye behold, the days will come, in the which there shall not be left a stone upon a stone, that shall not be thrown down.

7 And they asked him, saying, Teacher, when then shall these things be? and what shall be the sign, when these things are going to take place?

8 And he said, See that ye be not led astray: for many shall come in my name, saying, I am he; and the time is come near: go ye not therefore after them.

9 And when ye shall hear of wars and tumults, be not terrified: for these things must first come to pass; but the end is not immediately.

10 Then said he unto them, Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom:

11 And great earthquakes shall be in divers places, and famines, and pestilences; and terrors and great signs shall there be from heaven.

12 But before all these, they shall lay their hands on you, and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues, and into prisons, being brought before kings and rulers for my name's sake.

13 And it shall turn out to you for a testimony.

14 Settle it therefore in your hearts, not to meditate before how to answer:

15 For I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all those opposed to you shall not be able to gainsay nor withstand.

16 And ye shall be delivered up even by parents, and brethren, and kinsfolks, and friends; and they shall put some of you to death.

17 And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake.

18 . . .

19 In your patience possess ye your souls.

20 But when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that her desolation is come near.

21-22 . . .

23 [But woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck, in those days! for there shall be great distress in the land, and wrath unto this people.

24 And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all the nations: and Jerusalem shall be trodden down by nations, until the times of nations be fulfilled.]

25 And there shall be signs in sun, and moon, and stars; and upon the earth distress of nations, with perplexity; the sea and waves roaring;

26 Men fainting for fear, and for expectation of the things which are coming on the world: for the powers of the heavens shall be shaken.

27 And then shall they see the Son of man coming in a cloud with great power.

28 And when these things begin to come to pass, then look up, and lift up your heads; for your redemption draweth nigh.

29 And he spake to them a parable; Behold the fig tree, and all the trees;

30 When they already shoot forth, ye see it, and know your own selves that summer is already near.

31 So likewise ye, when ye see these things come to pass, know ye that the kingdom of God is near.

32 Verily I say unto you, The heaven and the earth shall in no wise pass away, till all things be accomplished

33 The heaven and the earth shall pass away: but my words shall in no wise pass away.

34 And take heed to yourselves, lest at any time your hearts be weighed down with surfeiting, and drunkenness, and cares of this life, and that day come upon you unawares.

35 For as a snare shall it come on all them that dwell on the face of all the earth.

36 Watch ye therefore at every season, praying, that ye may be accounted worthy to escape all these things that are going to take place.

37 And every day he was teaching in the temple; and at night he went out, and lodged on the mountain that is called Olives.

38 And all the people came early in the morning to him in the temple to hear him.

MARCION, SECTION 6 (Luke 22:1-24:47)

Judas Plots With The Religious Leaders

1 Now the feast of unleavened bread was coming near, which is called the Passover.

2 And the chief priests and scribes were seeking how they might kill him; for they feared the people.

3 Then Judas, who was surnamed Iscariot, being of the number of the twelve, went away,

4 And communed with the chief priests and captains, how he might deliver him up to them.

5 And they were glad, and covenanted to give him money.

6 And he consented, and was seeking opportunity to deliver him up to them without tumult.

The Last Supper

7 Then the day of unleavened bread came, when the passover must be sacrificed.

8 And he [said] unto Peter and [the rest], Go and make ready that we may eat the passover.

9 And they said unto him, Where wilt thou that we make ready?

10 And he said unto them, Behold, when ye have entered into the city, a man shall meet you, bearing a pitcher of water; follow him into the house whereinto he goeth.

11 And ye shall say unto the master of the house, The Teacher saith unto thee, Where is the lodging, where I may eat the passover with my disciples?

12 And he shall shew you a large upper room furnished: there make ready.

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13 And they went, and found as he had said unto them: and they made ready the passover.
14 And when the hour was come he reclined, and the twelve apostles with him.
15 And he said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer:
16 . . .
17 [And he received a cup, and when he had given thanks, he said, Take this, and divide it among yourselves:
18 For I say unto you, I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come.]
19 And he took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave to them, saying, This is my body which is given for you: this do for my remembrance.
20 And in like manner the cup after supper, saying, This cup is the [new] covenant in my blood, even that which is poured out for you.
21 But, behold, the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table.
22 And the Son of man indeed goeth, as it hath been determined: but woe unto that man through whom he is betrayed!
23 And they began to dispute with themselves, which of them it was that was going to do this thing.
24 And there was also a contention among them, which of them is accounted to be greater.
25 And he said unto them, The kings of the nations have lordship over them; and they that have authority over them are called benefactors.
26 But ye shall not be so: but he that is the greater among you, let him be as the younger; and he that leadeth as he that serveth.
27 For whether is greater-he that reclineth at meat, or he that serveth? is not he that reclineth? But I am in the midst of you as he that serveth.
28 Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations.
29 And I appoint unto you even as my Father hath appointed unto me, A kingdom.
30 . . .

Peter's Denial Of Jesus Foretold

31 And the Lord said, Simon, Simon, behold, Satan demanded you, that he might sift you as wheat:
32 But I entreated for thee, that thy faith may not fail: and once thou hast turned again, establish thy brethren.
33 And he said unto him, Lord, I am ready to go with thee, both into prison, and to death.
34 And he said, I tell thee, Peter, the cock shall not crow at all to-day, before that thou shalt thrice deny that thou knowest me.
35, 37 . . .

The Mount Of Olives

39 And he came out, and went according to his custom to the mountain of Olives, and his disciples also followed him.
40 And when he was at the place, he said unto them, Pray not to enter into temptation.
41 And he was separated from them about a stone's throw, and he kneeled down, and prayed, saying
42 Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me: nevertheless not my will, but thine, be done.
43 And there appeared unto him an angel from heaven, strengthening him.
44 And he became in an agony and prayed more earnestly: and his sweat became as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground.
45 And when he rose up from prayer, he came unto his disciples, and found them sleeping for sorrow,
46 And said unto them, Why sleep ye? rise and pray, that ye may not enter into temptation.

Jesus Delivered To The Religious Leaders

47 And while he yet spake, behold a multitude, and he that was called Judas, one of the twelve, went before them, and came near unto Jesus to kiss him.
48 But Jesus said unto him, Judas, with a kiss betrayest thou the Son of man?
49-51 . . .
52 And Jesus said unto the chief priests, and captains of the temple, and the elders, which were come against him, Are ye come out, as against a robber, with swords and staves?
53 When I was daily with you in the temple, ye stretched not forth your hands against me: but this is your hour, and the power of darkness.

Peter's Denial

54 Then they seized him, and led him, and brought him into the high priest's house. But Peter was following afar off.
55 And when they had kindled a fire in the midst of the court, and had sat down together, Peter sat in the midst of them.
56 And a certain maid seeing him as he sat towards the light, looked steadfastly upon him, and said, This man also was with him.
57 But he denied him, saying, Woman, I know him not.
58 And after a little while another, seeing him, said, Thou also art one of them. And Peter said, Man, I am not.
59 And after a space of about one hour another confidently affirmed, saying, Of a truth this fellow also was with him: for he is a Galilaean.
60 And Peter said, Man, I know not what thou sayest. And immediately, while he was yet speaking, the cock crew.
61 And the Lord turned, and looked upon Peter. And Peter remembered the word of the Lord, how he had said unto him, Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice.
62 And Peter went out, and wept bitterly.

Jesus Tortured And Interrogated

63 And the men that held Jesus kept mocking and smiting him.
64 And when they had blindfolded him, they kept striking him on the face, and asking him, saying, Prophesy, who is he that smote thee?
65 And many other things they kept saying, railing against him.
66 And as soon as it was day, the body of elders of the people, and the chief priests and the scribes, was gathered together, and they led him away into their council, saying,
67 If thou art the Christ, tell us. And he said unto them, If I tell you, ye will not at all believe:
68 And if I also ask you, ye will not answer me, nor let me go.
69 From henceforth shall the Son of man be seated on the right hand of the power of God.
70 And they all said, Art thou then the Son of God? And he said unto them, Ye say it, because I am.
71 And they said, What further need have we of testimony? for we ourselves have heard of his mouth.

Jesus Before Pilate And Herod

1 And the whole company arose, and brought him before Pilate.
2 And they began to accuse him, saying, We found this fellow perverting the nation, and destroying the law and the prophets, and forbidding to give tribute to Caesar, and turning away the women and children, saying that he himself is Christ a King.
3 And Pilate asked him, saying, Art thou the King of the Jews? And he answered him and said, Thou sayest.
4 And Pilate said to the chief priests and the multitudes, I find no fault in this man.
5 And they were urgent, saying, He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Judaea, having begun from Galilee to this place.
6 But when Pilate heard of Galilee, he asked whether the man were a Galilaean.
7 And when he knew that he was from Herod's jurisdiction, he sent him up to Herod, who himself also was at Jerusalem at that time.
8 And when Herod saw Jesus, he was exceeding glad: for he was of a long time desirous to see him, because he had heard many things about him; and was hoping to see some sign done by him.
9 And he questioned him in many words; but he answered him nothing.
10 And the chief priests and the scribes stood vehemently accusing him.
11 And Herod with his soldiers set him at nought, and mocked him, and arraying him in a gorgeous robe, sent him back to Pilate.
12 And Pilate and Herod became friends with each other that very day: for before they were at enmity between themselves.

Jesus Sentenced To Death

13 And Pilate called together the chief priests and the rulers and the people, and said unto them,
14 Ye brought this man unto me, as one that perverteth the people: and, behold, I examined him before you, and found no fault in this man of what ye charge against him:
15 No, nor yet Herod: for I sent you to him; and, lo, nothing worthy of death hath been done by him.
16 I will therefore chastise him, and release him.
17 (Now he under a necessity to release unto them at every feast one).
18 But they cried out all at once, saying, Away with this man, and release unto us Barabbas:
19 (one who for a certain insurrection made in the city, and for murder, had been cast into prison.)
20 Pilate therefore spake again to them, wishing to release Jesus.
21 But they cried, saying, Crucify him, crucify him.
22 And he said unto them the third time, Why, what evil hath this man done? I have found no cause of death in him: I will therefore chastise him, and let him go.
23 But they were urgent with loud voices, asking that he might be crucified. And the voices of them and of the chief priests prevailed.
24 And Pilate gave sentence that their request should be done.
25 And he released unto them him that for insurrection and murder had been cast into prison, whom they were sking for; but Jesus he delivered up to their will.

Jesus Crucified

26 And as they led him away, they laid hold upon one Simon, a Cyrenian, that was coming out of the country, and laid on him the cross, to bear it after Jesus.
27 And there followed him a great company of the people, and of women, who also were bewailing and lamenting him.
28 But Jesus turning unto them said, Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children.
29 For, behold, the days are coming, in the which they shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that bare not, and the breasts that gave not suck.
30 Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us; and to the hills, Cover us.
31 For if they do these things in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?
32 And there were also two other, malefactors, led with him to be put to death.
33 And when they were come to the place, which is called the Skull, there they crucified him, and the malefactors, one on the right hand, and the other on the left.
34 Then said Jesus, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.
35 And the people stood beholding. And the rulers also with them scoffed at him, saying,
Others he saved; let him save himself, if this is Christ, the chosen of God.
36 And the soldiers also mocked him, coming to him, and offering him vinegar, and saying,
37 If thou be the king of the Jews, save thyself.
38 And a superscription also was written over him in letters of Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew, "This Is The King Of The Jews".
39 And one of the malefactors which were hanged railed on him, saying, If thou be Christ, save thyself and us.
40 But the other answering rebuked him, saying, Dost not thou fear God, because thou art in the same condemnation?
41 And we indeed justly; for we receive things worthy of our deeds: but this man did nothing amiss.
42 And he said unto Jesus, Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom.
43 And Jesus said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, To day thou shalt be with me.
44 And it was about the sixth hour, and darkness came over the whole land until the ninth hour.
45 And the sun was darkened, and the veil of the sanctuary was rent in the midst. 46 And when Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit: and having said this, he expired.
47 Now when the centurion saw what was done, he glorified God, saying, Certainly this man was righteous.
48 And all the multitude that came together to this sight, when they beheld the things which were done, returned smiting their breasts.
49 And all his acquaintance, and the women that followed him from Galilee, stood afar off, seeing these things.
50 And, behold, a man named Joseph, who was a counsellor, a good man, and a righteous
51 (he had not consented to their counsel and deed;) [a man] of Arimathaea, a city of the Jews: who also himself was looking for the kingdom of God:
52 This man went unto Pilate, and asked for the body of Jesus.
53 And he took it down, and wrapped it in a linen cloth, and laid it in a tomb that was hewn in stone, wherein no man had ever yet lain.
54 And it was the day of the preparation, and the sabbath was dawning.
55 And the women also, which had come with him from Galilee, followed after, and beheld the tomb, and how his body was laid.
56 And they returned, and prepared spices and ointments. And on the sabbath day they rested according to the commandment.

The Empty Tomb

1 But upon the first [day] of the week, at early dawn, they came unto the tomb, bringing the spices which they had prepared, and some others with them.
2 And they found the stone rolled away from the tomb.
3 And they entered in, and found not the body of the Lord Jesus.
4 And it came to pass, while they were perplexed about it, behold two men stood by them in garments that flashed forth.

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5 And as they were afraid, and bowed down their faces to the earth, they said unto them, Why seek ye him that liveth among the dead?
6 He is not here, but is risen: remember how he spake unto you when he was yet in Galilee, saying,
7 The Son of man must be delivered up into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise again.
8 And they remembered his words,
9 And returned from the tomb, and told all these things unto the eleven, and to all the rest.
10 Now they Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary the mother of James, and other women with them, which told these things unto the apostles.
11 And their statements seemed in their sight as nonsense, and they disbelieved them.
12 But Peter arose, and ran unto the tomb; and stooping down, he seeth the linen bandages laid by themselves, and departed, wondering to himself at that which was come to pass.

The Road To Emmaus
13 And, behold, two of them went that very day to a village called Emmaus, sixty stadia distant from Jerusalem .
14 And they talked together of all these things which had happened.
15 And it came to pass, that, while they communed and questioned together, Jesus himself drew near, and went with them.
16 But their eyes were holden that they should not know him.
17 And he said unto them, What words are these that ye exchange with each other, as ye walk, and are sad of countenance?
18 And the one of them, whose name was Cleopas, answering said unto him, Dost thou alone sojourn in Jerusalem, and not know the things which are come to pass there in these days?
19 And he said unto them, What things? And they said unto him, The things concerning Jesus of Nazareth, which was a prophet mighty in deed and word before God and all the people:
20 And how the chief priests and our rulers delivered him up to a sentence of death, and crucified him.
21 But we hopeded that it had been he, who is going to redeem Israel: yea, and beside all this, to day is the third day since these things occurred.
22 Yea, and certain women also of our company astonished us, who had been early at the tomb;
23 And when they found not his body, they came, saying, that they had also seen a vision of angels, which said that he was alive.
24 And some of them which were with us went to the tomb, and found it so, even as the women had said: but him they saw not.
25 Then he said unto them, O foolish men, and slow of heart to believe in all that he spake to you.
26 Was it not neccessary for the Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory?
27 . . .
28 And they drew nigh unto the village, whither they were going: and he made as though he would go further.
29 But they constrained him, saying, Abide with us: for it is toward evening, and the day has declined. And he went in to abide with them.
30 And it came to pass, as he reclined with them, he took the bread and blessed it, and brake, and gave to them.
31 And their eyes were opened, and they recognised him; and he became invisible to them.
32 And they said one to another, Was not our heart burning within us, while he talked with us in the way?
33 And they rose up the same hour, and returned to Jerusalem. And they found the eleven gathered together, and them that were with them, saying,
34 The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon.
35 And they rehearsed the things that happened in the way, and how he became known to them in the breaking of the bread.

Finale
36 And as they spake these things, Jesus himself stood in the midst of them, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you.
37 But they were terrified and affrighted, and supposed that they had beheld a phantom.
38 And he said unto them, Why are ye troubled? and wherefore do reasonings arise in your hearts?
39 Behold my hands and my feet, that I am myself: for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have.
40 . . .
41 And while they still disbelieved for joy, and wondered, he said unto them, Have ye here anything eatable?
42 And they gave him a piece of a broiled fish, and of an honeycomb.
43 And he took it, and ate before them.
44 And he said unto them,
45 These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you,
46 that thus it was neccessary for the Christ to suffer, and to rise again from the dead the third day:
47 And that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations.

(The end of Marcion's Bible would be followed only by these epistles of Paul in their short form: Galatians, 1st and 2nd Corinthians, Romans, 1st and 2nd Thessalonians, Laodiceans (Ephesians), Colossians, Philemon, Philippians.)

THE GOSPEL OF TATIAN (Fragment)
Dura Parchment 24
Diatessaron Fragment
from Dura Europos [Europolis], Syria
Source: Yale University, United States
Estimated Range of Dating: 170-200 A.D.

(The Dura Parchment 24, designated as Uncial 0212 (in the Gregory-Aland numbering), is a Greek uncial manuscript of the New Testament. The manuscript has been assigned to the 3rd century, palaeographically, though an earlier date cannot be excluded. It contains some unusual orthographic features, which have been found nowhere else.

It is possibly the only surviving manuscript of the Greek Diatessaron, unless Papyrus 25 is also a witness to that work. The text of the fragment was reconstructed by Kraeling and Welles. Dura Parchment 24 is currently housed at Yale University (P. Dura 24), New Haven catalogued there as Dura Parch. 10.

On March 5, 1933, during the excavations conducted by Clark Hopkins amongst the ruins of a Roman border-town, Dura-Europos, on the lower Euphrates, under the embankment which filled in the street inside the wall and also covered the Christian church and the Jewish synagogue, the parchment fragment now known as Dura Parchment 24 was found. Susan Hopkins was the first to recognize it as a portion of the Gospel. The fragment was examined by Carl H. Kraeling, who published its text in 1935, with an extensive discussion. Kraeling concluded that the fragment was a copy of Tatian's Diatessaron. It was re-edited, with a minor corrections, by C. Bradford Welles in 1959.

According to Parker, Taylor, and Goodacre it is another harmony of the four Gospels, different to Diatessaron, and much closer to the text of the Gospels. Jan Joosten criticised the methods employed by Taylor, Goodacre, and Parker, according to him, these methods would have eliminated many other Tatianic witnesses because of diversity and variability in these witnesses. Dura Parchment does not constitute evidence of non-Diatessaronic composition.

The manuscript was added to the list of the New Testament manuscripts by Kurt Aland in 1953.

Description: It is not, strictly speaking, a manuscript of the New Testament — it contains only phrases from the text of the Gospels. On a single parchment leaf (10.5 cm by 9.5 cm), the following texts were copied: Matthew 27:56–57; Mark 15:40,42; Luke 23:49,50,51; John 19:38. Generally, it has been regarded as a fragment of Tatian's Diatessaron (Gospel harmony). Only one side of the leaf has been used, and may well have come from a scroll. The text was written one column per page, 15 (or more) lines per page, 30–35 letters per line, in uncial letters.

Parts of the leaf have decayed, resulting in some loss from the text — approximately the first five to seven letters of each line. Additionally, some other letters are not legible as they are probaly ligatures. Classic nomina sacra abbreviations were employed by the scribe, with the typical linear superscript. The text is written in a good book-hand.

The text of the manuscript has some unusual orthographic features, which have been found nowhere else. For example, the letter upsilon (Υ) appears at several points in the text, but not connected with it in any way that has yet been understood. (See text transcription below, with lower case upsilon — υ.)

Text / Textual character of 0212

The following reconstruction and translation is made by D.C. Parker, D.G.K. Taylor, and M.S. Goodacre (Studies in the Early Text of the Gospels and Acts, p. 201).

. . . of Zebedee and Salome and the women amongst those who followed him from Galilee to see the crucified one. Now, it was the day of Preparation, Sabbath was dawning. Now as it was becoming evening on the Preparation, that is the day before the Sabbath, there approached a man, a member of the council being, from Erinmathaia*, a city of Judea, named Joseph, a good, righteous man, being a disciple of Jesus, but hidden for fear of the Jews, and he was expecting the kingdom of God. This one was not consenting to the counsel . . . .

Kraeling's reconstruction:
. . . Zebedee and Salome and the wives of those who had followed him from Galilee to see the crucified. And the day was Preparation: the Sabbath was dawning. And when it was evening, on the Preparation, that is, the day before the Sabbath, there came up a man, being a member of the council, from Erinmathea*, a city of Judea, by name Joseph, good and righteous man, being a disciple of Jesus, but secretly, for fear of the Jews. And he was looking for the kingdom of God. This man had not consented to their purpose …
Carl H. Kraeling: A Greek Fragment of Tatians's Diatessaron from Dura. Studies and Documents 3 (London, 1935), p.39

Badford Welles' reconstruction:
. . . the mother of the sons of Zebedee and Salome and the wives of those who had followed him from Galilee to see the crucified. And the day was Preparation: the Sabbath was dawning. And when it was evening, on the Preparation, that is, the day before the Sabbath, there came up a man, being a member of the council, from Erinmathea*, a city of Judea, by name Joseph, good and righteous, being a disciple of Jesus, but secretly, for fear of the Jews. And he was looking for the kingdom of God. This man had not consented to their purpose . . . (*In Matthew 27:57, the town Erinmathea is normally spelled Arimathea).
(General reference: Matthew 27:56 - 27:57; Mark 15:40 - 15:42; Luke 23:49 - 23:54; John 19:38)
C. Badford Welles, and others, The Parchments and Papyri, volume 5, (New Haven, 1959), pp. 23-24.

Significance of the manuscript
The surviving leaf of the scroll or codex described here, was found in 1933, during excavations among the ruins of Dura-Europos, known to have been destroyed by Shapur I King of Persia in 256. This means the manuscript must have been written before 256 (known as a terminus ad quem). The time between Tatian's original composition and the production of this copy could not have been longer than 80 years (though it could have been shorter).
Before this find, the only copies of the Diatessaron known to modern scholarship were translations into languages other than Greek—notably Latin, Arabic, and Armenian. This fragment is potentially much more direct evidence that Tatian composed his Diatessaron with great diligence. "Probably he worked from four separate manuscripts, one for each of the Gospels, and, as he brought together phrases, now from this Gospel and now that, he would no doubt cross out those phrases in the manuscripts from which he was copying."
The fragment does not help in the discussion of a Greek or Syriac origin of the Diatessaron. Burkitt pointed two differences between its text of Luke 23:51 and the Old Syriac manuscripts of the Gospels (the kingdom of Heaven] the kingdom of God), in agreement with the accepted Greek text. Baumstark, on the other hand, identified several presumed Syriasms in the diction, as well as the unusual spelling of Arimathea, Ερινμαθαια, in terms of Syriac origin.

THE GOSPEL OF TATIAN
The Diatessaron (by Tatianus)
Source: Ante-Necene Fathers, Vol IX
Translation: Roberts-Donaldson, 1885
Estimated Range of Dating: 160-175 A.D.

(The Diatessaron (Syriac romanised: Ewangeliyôn Damhallte; c. 160–175) is the most prominent early gospel harmony, and was created by Tatian, an early Christian apologist and ascetic. The title Diatessaron comes from the Latin diatessarōn ("made of four [ingredients]"), derived in turn from Greek, "dia tessaron". The Syriac name for this gospel harmony is "Ewangeliyôn Damhalltê" meaning 'Gospel of the Mixed' while in the other hand we have "Evangelion de Mepharreshe" meaning 'Gospel of the separated'.

The author, Tatian of Adiabene, or Tatian the Syrian, Tatian the Assyrian, (Latin: Tatianus; Ancient Greek: Tatianos; c. 120–180 AD), was an Syrian Christian writer and theologian of the 2nd century. Tatian's most influential work is the Diatessaron, a combination or "harmony" of the four Synoptic Gospels that became the standard text in the Syriac-speaking churches until the 5th-century, after which it gave way to the four separate gospels in the Peshitta version.

Concerning the date and place of his birth, little is known beyond what Tatian tells about himself in his Oratio ad Graecos, chap. xlii (Ante-Nicene Fathers, ii. 81–82): that he was born in "the land of the Assyrians"; (referring to Syria) Tatian was not born in geographical Assyria (Mesopotamia), he was born to the west of the Euphrates (Syria) scholarly consensus is that he died c. 185 AD, perhaps in Adiabene. He traveled to Rome, where he first encountered Christianity. He adopted the Christian religion and became the pupil of Justin Martyr. During this period Christian philosophers competed with Greek sophists. Tatian opened a Christian school in

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Rome. Knowledge of Tatian's life following the death of Justin in 165 AD is to some extent obscure. Irenaeus remarks (Haer., I., xxvlii. 1, Ante-Nicene Fathers, i. 353) that after the death of Justin, he was expelled from the church for his Encratitic (ascetic) views. (Eusebius claims he founded the Encratitic sect), as well as for being a follower of the gnostic leader Valentinius. It is clear that Tatian left Rome, perhaps to reside for a while in either Greece or Alexandria.

The Gospel of Tatianus is quite a remarkable work. A Latin version of Tatian's Syriac text appears to have circulated in the West from the late 2nd century; with a sequence adjusted to conform more closely to that of the canonical Gospel of Luke; and also including additional canonical text (such as the Pericope Adulterae), and possibly non-canonical matter from the Gospel of the Hebrews.

In the early Church, the gospels at first circulated independently, with Matthew the most popular. The Diatessaron is notable evidence for the authority already enjoyed by the gospels by the mid- to late-2nd century. Within twenty years after Tatian's harmony was written, Irenaeus was expressly arguing for the authoritative character of the Four Gospels. It is unclear whether Tatian intended the Diatessaron to supplement or replace the four separate gospels; but both outcomes came to pass in different churches. The Diatessaron became adopted as the standard lectionary text of the gospels in some Syriac-speaking churches from the late 2nd to the 5th century, when it gave way to the four separate Gospels, in the Peshitta version. At the same time, in the churches of the Latin west, the Diatessaron circulated as a supplement to the four gospels, especially in the Latin translation.

No Christian tradition, other than some Syriac ones, has ever adopted a Gospel combination for use in its liturgy. However, in many traditions, it was not unusual for subsequent Christian generations to seek to provide "gospel harmonies" or "paraphrased Gospel" versions (as the Church used to call them) in language closer to the vernacular (the people's language) of their own day. Frequently such versions have been constructed as Gospel harmonies, sometimes taking Tatian's Diatessaron as an example; other times proceeding independently. Hence from the Syriac Diatessaron text was derived an 11th-century Arabic harmony (the source for the published versions of the Diatessaron in English); and a 13th-century Persian harmony. The Arabic harmony preserves Tatian's sequence exactly, but uses a source text corrected in most places to that of the standard Syriac Peshitta Gospels; the Persian harmony differs greatly in sequence, but translates a Syriac text that is rather closer to that in Ephrem's commentary.

Tatian sought to combine all the textual material he found in the four gospels—Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John—into a single coherent narrative of Jesus's life and death. However, and in contradistinction to most later gospel harmonists, Tatian appears not to have been motivated by any aspiration to validate the four separate canonical gospel accounts; or to demonstrate that, as they stood, they could each be shown as being without inconsistency or error. Tatian's harmony follows the gospels closely in terms of text but, in order to fit all the canonical material in, he created his own narrative sequence, which is different from both the synoptic sequence and John's sequence; and occasionally creates intervening time periods that are found in none of the source accounts. This sequence is coherent and consistent within itself, but not necessarily consistent with that in all or any of the separate canonical gospels; and Tatian apparently applies the same principle in respect of the narrative itself. Where the gospels differ from one another in respect of the details of an event or teaching, the Diatessaron resolves such apparent contradictions by selecting one or another alternative wording and adding consistent details from the other gospels; while omitting apparent duplicate matter, especially across the synoptics. Hence, in respect of the healing of the blind at Jericho the Diatessaron reports only one blind man, Bartimeaus, healed by Jesus when leaving the city according to the account in Mark 10:46ff (expanded with phrases from Luke 18:36-37); consequently omitting any separate mention of two unnamed blind men healed by Jesus leaving Jericho (Matthew 20:29ff), and also the healing by Jesus entering Jericho the previous day of a single unnamed blind man (Luke 18:35ff).

Otherwise, Tatian originally omitted altogether both of the different genealogies in Matthew and Luke, as well as Luke's introduction (Luke 1: 1-4); and also did not originally include Jesus' encounter with the adulteress (John 7:53–8:11). This latter passage is, however, generally considered to be a late addition to the Gospel of John, with the Diatessaron itself often cited as an early textual witness in support of its omission. Most scholars agree that Tatian did, from the beginning, include the longer ending of Mark (Mark 16: 9-20), and correspondingly is amongst the earliest witnesses to this inclusion. Tatian added no significant wording to the textual material he took from the separate gospels. Only 56 verses in the canonical Gospels do not have a counterpart in the Diatessaron, mostly the genealogies and the Pericope Adulterae. The final work is about 72% the length of the four gospels put together; around a quarter of the text of the separate gospels being adjudged by Tatian to be duplicated. (McFall, 1994).

A number of recensions of the Diatessaron are extant. The earliest, part of the Eastern family of recensions, is preserved in Ephrem's Commentary on Tatian's work, which itself is preserved in two versions: an Armenian translation preserved in two copies, and a copy of Ephrem's original Syriac text from the late 5th/early 6th century, which has been edited by Louis Leloir (Paris, 1966). Other translations include translations made into Arabic, Persian, and Old Georgian. A fragment of a narrative about the Passion found in the ruins of Dura-Europos in 1933 was once thought to have been from the Diatessaron, but more recent scholarly judgement does not connect it directly to Tatian's work.)

Text:

TATIAN SECTION 1

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God is the Word. This was in the beginning with God. Everything was by his hand, and without him not even one existing thing was made. In him was life, and the life is the light of men. And the light shineth in the darkness, and the darkness apprehended it not.

6 There was in the days of Herod the king a priest whose name was Zacharias, of the family of Abijah; and his wife was of the daughters of Aaron, and her name was Elizabeth. And they were both righteous before God, walking in all his commands, and in the uprightness of God without reproach. And they had no son, for Elizabeth was barren, and they had both advanced in age. And while he discharged Arabic. the duties of priest in the order of his service before God, according to the custom of the priesthood it was his turn to burn incense; so he entered the temple of the Lord. And the whole gathering of the people were praying without at the time of the incense. And there appeared unto Zacharias the angel of the Lord, standing at the right of the altar of incense; and Zacharias was troubled when he saw him, and fear fell upon him. But the angel said unto him, Be not agitated, Zacharias, for thy prayer is heard, and thy wife Elizabeth shall bear thee a son, and thou shall call his name John; and thou shalt have joy and gladness, and many shall rejoice at his birth. And he shall be great before the Lord, and shall not drink wine nor strong drink, and he shall be filled with the Holy Spirit while he is in his mother's womb. And he shall turn back many of the children of Israel to the Lord their God. And he shall go before him in the spirit, and in the power of Elijah the prophet, to turn back the heart of the fathers to the sons, and those that obey not to the knowledge of the righteous; and to prepare for the Lord a perfect people. And Zacharias said unto the angel, How shall I know this, since I am an old man and my wife is advanced in years? And the angel answered and said unto him, I am Gabriel, that standeth before God; and I was sent to speak unto thee, and give thee tidings of this. Henceforth thou shall be speechless, and shalt not be able to speak until the day in which this shall come to pass, because thou didst not trust this my word, which shall be accomplished in its time. And the people were stand- Arabic, ing awaiting Zacharias, and they were perplexed at his delaying in the temple. And when Zacharias went out, he was not able to speak unto them: so they knew that he had seen in the temple a vision; and he made signs unto them, and continued dumb. And when the days of his service were completed, he departed to his dwelling.

And after those days Elizabeth his wife conceived; and she hid herself five months, and said, This hath the Lord done unto me in the days when he looked upon me, to remove my reproach from among men.

And in the sixth month Gabriel the angel was sent from God to Galilee to a city called Nazareth, to a virgin given in marriage to a man named Joseph, of the house of David; and the virgin's name was Mary. And the angel entered unto her and said unto her, Peace be unto thee, thou who art filled with grace. Our Lord is with thee, thou blessed amongst women. And she, when she beheld, was agitated at his word, and pondered what this salutation could be. And the angel said unto her, Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favour with God. Thou shall now con- ceive, and bear a son, and call his name Jesus. This shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Most High; and the Lord God will give him the throne of David his father: and he shall rule over the house of Jacob for ever; and to his kingdom there shall be no end. Mary said unto the angel, How shall this be to me when no man hath known me? The angel answered and said unto her, The Arabic. Holy Spirit will come, and the power of the Most High shall rest upon thee, and therefore shall he that is born of thee be pure, and shall be called the Son of God. And lo, Elizabeth thy kinswoman, she also hath conceived a son in her old age; and this is the sixth month with her, her that is called barren. For nothing is difficult for God. Mary said, Lo, I am the handmaid of the Lord; let it be unto me according unto thy word. And the angel departed from her.

And then Mary arose in those days and went in haste into the hill country, to a city of Judah; and entered into the house of Zacharias, and asked for the health of Elizabeth. And when Elizabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb. And Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Spirit; and cried with a loud voice and said unto Mary, Blessed art thou amongst women, and blessed is the fruit that is in thy womb. Whence have I this privilege, that the mother of my Lord should come unto me? When the sound of thy salutation reached my ears, with great joy rejoiced the babe in my womb. And blessed is she who believed that what was spoken to her from the Lord would be fulfilled.And Mary said, My soul doth magnify the Lord, And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour, Who hath looked upon the low estate of his handmaiden:

Lo, henceforth, all generations shall pronounce blessing on me.

For he hath done great things for me, who is mighty,
And holy is his name.
And his mercy embraceth them who fear him,
Throughout the ages and the times.
He wrought the victory with his arm,
And scattered them that prided themselves in their opinions.
He overthrew them that acted haughtily from their thrones,
And raised the lowly.
He satisfied with good things the hungry,
And left the rich without anything.
He helped Israel his servant,
And remembered his mercy
(According as he spake with our fathers)
Unto Abraham and unto his seed for ever.

And Mary abode with Elizabeth about three months, and returned unto her house.

And Elizabeth's time of delivery was come; and she brought forth a son. And her neighbours and kinsfolk heard that God had multiplied his mercy towards her; and they rejoiced with her. And when it was the eighth day, they came to circumcise the child, and called him Zacharias, calling him by the name of his father. And his mother answered and said unto them, Not so; but he shall be called John. And they said unto her, There is no man of thy kindred that is called by this name. 63, And they made signs to his father, saying, How dost thou wish to name him? And he asked for a tablet, and wrote and said, His name is John. And every one wondered. And immediately his mouth was opened, and his tongue, and he spake and praised God. And fear fell on all their neighbours: and this was spoken of in all the mountains of Judah. And all who heard pondered in their hearts and said, What shall this child be? And the hand of the Lord was with him.

And Zacharias his father was filled with the Holy Spirit, and prophesied and said, Blessed is the Lord, the God of Israel, Who hath cared for his people, and wrought for it salvation; And hath raised for us the horn of salvation Arabic, In the house of David his servant (As he spake by the mouth of his holy prophets from eternity), That he might save us from our enemies, And from the hand of all them that hate us.

And he hath performed his mercy towards our fathers, And remembered his holy covenants, And the oath which he sware unto Abraham our father, That he would give us deliverance from the hand of our enemies, And without fear we shall serve before him All our days with equity and righteousness.

And as for thee, O child, prophet of the Most High shalt thou be called.

Thou shalt go forth before the face of the Lord to prepare his way, To give the knowledge of salvation unto his people, For the forgiveness of their sins, Through the mercy of the compassion of our God, With which he careth for us, to appear from on high To give light to them that sit in darkness and under the shadow of death, And to set straight our feet in the way of peace.

And the child grew and became strong in the spirit, and abode in the desert until the time of his appearing unto the children of Israel.

TATIAN SECTION 2

Now the birth of Jesus the Messiah was on this wise: In the time when his mother was given in marriage to Joseph, before they came together, 2 she was found with child of the Holy Spirit. And Joseph her husband was a just man and did not wish to expose her, and he purposed to put her away secretly.

But when he thought of this, the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a dream, and said unto him, Joseph, son of David, fear not to take Mary thy wife, for that which is begotten in her is of the Holy Spirit. She shall bear a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus, and he shall save s his people from their sins. And all this was that the saying from the Lord by the prophet might be fulfilled:

Behold, the virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, And they shall call his name Immanuel, 7 which is, being interpreted, With us is our God. And when Joseph arose from his 8 sleep, he did as the angel of the Lord commanded him, and took his

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wife; and knew her not until she brought forth her firstborn son.

And in those days there went forth a decree from Augustus Caesar that all the people of his dominion should be enrolled. This first enrolment was while Quirinius was governor of Syria. And every man went to be enrolled in his city. And Joseph went up also from Nazareth, a city of Galilee, to Judaea, to the city of David which is called Bethlehem (for he was of the house of David and of his tribe), with Arabic. Mary his betrothed, she being with child, to be enrolled there. And while she was there the days for her being delivered were accomplished. And she brought forth her firstborn son; and she wrapped him in swaddling cloths and laid him in a manger, because there was no place for them where they were staying.

And there were in that region shepherds abiding, keeping their flock in the watch of the night. And behold, the angel of God came unto them, and the glory of the Lord shone upon them; and they were greatly terrified. And the angel said unto them, Be not terrified; for I bring you tidings of great joy which shall be to the whole world; there is born to you this day a Saviour, which is the Lord the Mes- siah, in the city of David. And this is a sign for you: ye shall find a babe wrapped in swaddling cloths and laid in a manger. And there appeared with the angels suddenly many heavenly forces praising God and saying, Praise be to God in the highest, And on the earth peace, and good hope to men.

And when the angels departed from them to heaven, the shepherds spake to one another and said, We will go to Bethlehem and see this word which hath been, as the Lord made known unto us. And they came with haste, and found Mary and Joseph, and the babe laid in a manger. And when they saw, they reported the word which was spoken to them about the child. And all that heard wondered at the description which the shepherds described to them. But Mary kept these sayings and discriminated them in her heart. And those shepherds returned, magnifying and praising God for all that they had seen and heard, according as it was described unto them.

And when eight days were fulfilled that the child should be circumcised, his name was called Jesus, being that by which he was called by the angel before his conception in the womb.

And when the days of their purification according to the law of Moses were completed, they took him up to Jerusalem to present him before the Lord (as it is written in the law of the Lord, Every male opening the womb shall be called the holy thing of the Lord), and to give a sacrificial victim as it is said in the law of 33 the Lord, A pair of doves or two young pigeons. And there was in Jerusalem a man whose name was Simeon; and this man was upright and pious, and expecting the consolation of Israel; and the Holy Spirit was upon him. And it had been said unto him by the Holy Spirit, that he should not see death till he had seen with his eyes the Messiah of the Lord. And this man came by the Spirit to the temple; and at the time when his parents brought in the child Jesus, that they might present for him a sacrifice, as it is written in the law, he bare him in his arms and praised God and said, Now loosest thou the bonds of thy servant, O Lord, in peace, According to thy saying; For mine eye hath witnessed thy mercy, Which thou hast made ready because of the whole world; A light for the unveiling of the nations, And a glory to thy people Israel.

And Joseph and his mother were marvelling at the things which were being said concerning him. And Simeon blessed them and said to Mary his mother, Behold, he is set for the overthrow and rising of many in Israel; and for a sign of contention; and a spear shall pierce through thine own soul; that the thoughts of the hearts of many may be revealed. And Anna the prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Asher, was also advanced in years (and she dwelt with her husband seven years from her virginity, and she remained a widow about eighty-four years); and she left not the temple, and served night and day with 46 fasting and prayer. And she also rose in that hour and thanked the Lord, and she spake of him with every one who was expecting the deliverance of Jerusalem. And when they had accomplished everything according to what is in the law of the Lord, they returned to Galilee, to Nazareth their city.

TATIAN SECTION 3

And after that, the Magi came from the east to Jerusalem, and said, Where is the King of the Jews which was born? We have seen his star in the east, and have 3 come to worship him. And Herod the king heard, and he was troubled, and all 4 Jerusalem with him. And he gathered all the chief priests and the scribes of the 5 people, and asked them in what place the Messiah should be born. They said, In Bethlehem of Judaea: thus it is written in the prophet, 6 Thou also, Bethlehem of Judah, Art not contemptible among the kings of Judah: From thee shall go forth a king, And he shall be a shepherd to my people Israel.

Then Herod called the Magi secretly, and inquired of them the time at which 8 the star appeared to them. And he sent them to Bethlehem, and said unto them, Go and search about the child diligently; and when ye have found him, come and 9 make known to me, that I also may go and worship him. And they, when they Arabic, heard the king, departed; and lo, the star which they had seen in the east went before them, until it came and stood above the place where the child 10, was. And when they beheld the star, they rejoiced with very great joy. And they entered the house and beheld the child with Mary his mother, and fell down worshipping him, and opened their saddle-bags and offered to him offerings, gold and myrrh and frankincense. And they saw in a dream a that they should not return to Herod, and they travelled by another way in going to their country.

And when they had departed, the angel of the Lord appeared in a dream to Joseph, and said unto him, Rise, take the child and his mother, and flee into Egypt, and be thou there until I speak to thee; for Herod is determined to seek the child to slay him. And Joseph arose and took the child and his mother in the night, and fled into Egypt, and remained in it until the time of the death of Herod: that that might be fulfilled which was said by the Lord in the prophet, which said, From Egypt did I call my son. And Herod then, when he saw that he was mocked of the Magi, was very angry, and sent and killed all the male children which were in Bethlehem and all its borders, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had inquired from the Magi.Then was fulfilled the saying in Jeremiah the prophet, which said, A voice was heard in Ramah, Weeping and much lamentation; Rachel weeping for her children, And not willing to be consoled for their loss.

But when Herod the king died, the angel of the Lord appeared in a dream to Joseph in Egypt, and said unto him, Rise and take the child and his mother, and Arabic. go into the land of Israel; for they have died who sought the child's life. And Joseph rose and took the child and his mother, and came to the land of Israel. But when he heard that Archelaus had become king over Judaea instead of Herod his father, he feared to go thither; and he saw in a dream that he should go into the land of Galilee, and that he should abide in a city called Nazareth: that the saying in the prophet might be fulfilled, that he should be called a Nazarene.

And the child grew, and became strong in spirit, becoming filled with wisdom; and the grace of God was upon him.

And his kinsfolk used to go every year to Jerusalem at the feast of the pass- over. And when he was twelve years old, they went up according to their custom, to the feast. And when the days were accomplished, they returned; and the child Jesus remained in Jerusalem, and Joseph and his mother knew not: and they supposed that he was with the children of their company. And when they had gone one day's journey, they sought him beside their people and those who knew them, and they found him not; so they returned to Jerusalem and sought him again. And after three days they found him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the teach- ers, hearing them and asking them questions; and all who heard him wondered at his wisdom and his words. And when they saw him they wondered, and his mother said unto him, My son, why hast thou dealt with us thus? behold, I and thy father have been seeking for thee with much anxiety. And he said unto them, Why were ye seeking me? know ye not that I must be in the house of my Father? And they understood not the word which he spake unto them. And he went down with them, and came to Nazareth; and he was obedient to them: and his mother used to keep all these sayings in her heart.

And Jesus grew in his stature and wisdom, and in grace with God and men.

And in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, when Pontius Pilate was governor in Judaea, and one of the four rulers, Herod, in Galilee; and Philip his brother, one of the four rulers, in Ituraea and in the district of Trachonitis; and Lysanias, one of the four rulers, in Abilene; in the chief- priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas, the command of God went forth to John the son of Zacharias in the desert. And he came into all the region which is about Jordan, proclaiming the baptism of repentance unto the forgiveness of sins. And he was preaching in the wilderness of Judaea, and saying, Repent ye; the kingdom of heaven is come near. This is he that was spoken of in Isaiah the prophet, The voice which crieth in the desert, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, And make straight in the plain, paths for our God.

All the valleys shall become filled, And all the mountains and hills shall become low; And the rough shall become plain, And the difficult place, easy; And all flesh shall see the salvation of God.

This man came to bear witness, that he might bear witness to the light, that every man might believe through his mediation. He was not the light, bat that he might bear witness to the light, which was the light of truth, that giveth light to every man coming into the world. He was in the world, and the world was made 50 by him, and the world knew him not. He came unto his own, and his own received him not. And those who received him, to them gave he the power that they might be sons of God,--those which believe in his name: which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of a man, but of God. And the Word became flesh, and took up his abode among us; and we saw his glory as the glory of the only Son from the Father, which is full of grace and equity. John bare wit- Arabic, ness of him, and cried, and said, This is he that I said cometh after me and was before me, because he was before me. And of his fulness received we all grace for grace. For the law was given through the mediation of Moses, but truth and grace were through Jesus Christ.

TATIAN SECTION 4

No man hath seen God at any time; the only Son, God, which is in the bosom of his Father, he hath told of him.

And this is the witness of John when the Jews sent to him from Jerusalem priests and Levites to ask him, Who art thou? And he acknowledged, and denied not; 4 and he confessed that he was not the Messiah. And they asked him again, What then? Art thou Elijah? And he said, I am not he. Art thou a prophet? He 5 said, No. They said unto him, Then who art thou? that we may answer them that 6 sent us. What sayest thou of thyself? And he said, I am the voice that crieth in 7 the desert, Repair ye the way of the Lord, as said Isaiah the prophet. And they 8 that were sent were from the Pharisees. And they asked him and said unto him, Why baptizest thou now, when thou art not the Messiah, nor Elijah, nor a prophet? 9 John answered and said unto them, I baptize with water: among you is standing one whom ye know not: this is he who I said cometh after me and was before me, the latchets of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose. And that was in Bethany beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing.

Now John's raiment was camel's hair, and he was girded with skins, and his food Arabic, was of locusts and honey of the wilderness. Then went out unto him the people of Jerusalem, and all Judaea, and all the region which is about the Jordan; and they were baptized of him in the river Jordan, confessing their sins. But when he saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees coming to be baptized, he said unto them, Ye children of vipers, who hath led you to flee from the wrath to come? 16, Do now the fruits which are worthy of repentance; and think and say not within yourselves, We have a father, even Abraham; for I say unto you, that God is able to raise up of these stones children unto Abraham. Behold, the axe hath been laid at the roots of the trees, and so every tree that beareth not good fruit shall be taken and cast into the fire. And the multitudes were asking him and saying, What shall we do? He answered and said unto them, He that hath two tunics shall give to him that hath not; and he that hath food shall do likewise. And the publicans also came to be baptized, and they said unto him, Teacher, what shall we do? He said unto them, Seek not more than what ye are commanded to seek. And the servants of the guard asked him and said, And we also, what shall we do? He said unto them, Do not violence to any man, nor wrong him; and let your allowances satisfy you.

And when the people were conjecturing about John, and all of them thinking in their hearts whether he were haply the Messiah, John answered and said unto them, I baptize you with water; there cometh one after me who is stronger than I, the latchets of whose shoes I am not worthy to loosen; he will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and fire: who taketh the fan in his hand to cleanse his threshing-floors, Arabic, and the wheat he gathereth into his garners, while the straw he shall burn in fire which can not be put out.

And other things he taught and preached among the people.

Then came Jesus from Galilee to the Jordan to John, to be baptized of him. And Jesus was about thirty years old, and it was supposed that he was the son of Joseph. And John saw Jesus coming unto him, and said, This is the Lamb of God, that taketh on itself the burden of the sins of the world! This is he concerning whom I said, There cometh after me a man who was before me, because he was before me. And I knew him not; but that he should be made manifest to Israel, for this cause came I to baptize with water. And John was hindering him and saying, I have need of being baptized by thee, and comest thou to me? Jesus answered him and said, Suffer this now: thus it is our duty to fulfil all righteous- 35 ness. Then he suffered him. And when all the people were baptized, Jesus also was baptized. And immediately he went up out of the water, and heaven opened Arabic, to him, and the Holy Spirit descended upon him in the similitude of the body of a dove; and lo, a voice from heaven, saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. And John bare witness and said, I beheld the Spirit descend from heaven like a dove; and it abode upon him. But I knew him not; but he that sent me to baptize with water, he said unto me, Upon whomsoever thou shalt behold the Spirit descending and lighting upon him, the same is he that baptizeth with the Holy Spirit. And I have seen and borne witness that this is the Son of God.

And Jesus returned from the Jordan, filled with the Holy Spirit. And immediately the Spirit took him out into the wilderness, to be tried of the devil; and he was with the beasts. And he fasted forty days and forty nights. And he ate noth- ing in those days, and at the end of them he hungered. And the tempter came and said unto him, If thou art the Son of God, speak, and these stones shah become bread. He answered and

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said, It is written, Not by bread alone shall man live, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. Then the devil brought him to the holy city, and set him on the pinnacle of the temple, and said unto him, If thou art the Son of God, cast thyself down: for it is written, He shall give his angels charge concerning thee: And they shall take thee on their arms, So that thy foot shall not stumble against a stone.

Jesus said unto him, And it is written also, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God. And the devil took him up to a high mountain, and shewed him all the king- Arabic, doms of the earth, and their glory, in the least time; and the devil said unto him, To thee will I give all this dominion, and its glory, which is delivered to me that I may give it to whomsoever I will. If then thou wilt worship before me, all of it shall be thine.

TATIAN SECTION 5

Jesus answered and said unto him, Get thee hence, Satan: for it is written, Thou 2 shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him alone shalt thou serve. And when the 3 devil had completed all his temptations, he departed from him for a season. And behold, the angels drew near and ministered unto him.

And next day John was standing, and two of his disciples; and he saw Jesus as 6 he was walking, and said, Behold, the Lamb of God! And his two disciples heard 7 him saying this, and they followed Jesus. And Jesus turned and saw them coming after him, and said unto them, What seek ye? They said unto him, Our master, 8 where art thou staying? And he said unto them, Come and see. And they came and saw his place, and abode with him that day: and it was about the tenth hour. 9 One of the two which heard from John, and followed Jesus, was Andrew the brother of Simon. And he saw first Simon his brother, and said unto him, We have found the Messiah. And he brought him unto Jesus. And Jesus looked upon him and said, Thou art Simon, son of Jonah: thou shalt be called Cephas.

And on the next day Jesus desired to go forth to Galilee, and he found Philip, Arabic, and said unto him, Follow me. Now Philip was of Bethsaida, of the city of Andrew and Simon. And Philip found Nathanael, and said unto him, He of whom Moses did write in the law and in the prophets, we have found that he is Jesus the son of Joseph of Nazareth. Nathanael said unto him, Is it possible that there can be any good thing from Nazareth? Philip said unto him, Come and see. And Jesus saw Nathanael coming to him, and said of him, This is indeed a son of Israel in whom is no guile. And Nathanael said unto him, Whence knowest thou me? Jesus said unto him, Before Philip called thee, while thou wast under the 18 fig tree, I saw thee. Nathanael answered and said unto him, My Master, thou art the Son of God; thou art the King of Israel. Jesus said unto him, Because I said unto thee, I saw thee under the fig tree, hast thou believed? thou shalt see what is greater than this. And he said unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Henceforth ye shall see the heavens opened, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man.

And Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit to Galilee.

And on the third day there was a feast in Cana, a city of Galilee; and the mother of Jesus was there: and Jesus also and his disciples were invited to the feast. And they lacked wine: and his mother said unto Jesus, They have no wine. And Jesus said unto her, What have I to do with thee, woman? hath not mine hour come? And his mother said unto the servants, What he saith unto you, do. And there were there six vessels of stone, placed for the Jews' purification, such as Arabic, would contain two or three jars. And Jesus said unto them, Fill the vessels with water. And they filled them to the top. He said unto them, Draw out now, and present to the ruler of the feast. And they did so. And when the ruler of the company tasted that water which had become wine, and knew not whence it was (but the servants knew, because they filled up the water), the ruler of the company called the bridegroom, and said unto him, Every man presenteth first the good wine, and on intoxication he bringeth what is poor; but thou hast kept the good wine until now. And this is the first sign which Jesus did in Cans of Galilee, and manifested his glory; and his disciples believed on him. And his fame spread in all the country which was around them. And he taught in their synagogues, and was glorified by every man. And he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up, and entered, according to his custom, into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and stood up to read. And he was given the book of Isaiah the prophet.And Jesus opened the book and found the place where it was written, The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, And for this anointed he me, to preach good tidings to the poor; And he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, And to proclaim forgiveness to the evil-doers, and sight to the blind, And to bring the broken into forgiveness,

And to proclaim an acceptable year of the Lord.

And he rolled up the book and gave it to the servant, and went and sat down: and the eyes of all that were in the synagogue were observing him. And he began to say unto them, To-day hath this scripture been fulfilled which ye have heard with your ears. And they all bare him witness, and wondered at the words of grace which were proceeding from his mouth.

And from that time began Jesus to proclaim the gospel of the kingdom of God, and to say, Repent ye, and believe in the gospel. The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of heaven hath come near.

And while he was walking on the shore of the sea of Galilee, he saw two brethren, Simon who was called Cephas, and Andrew his brother, casting their nets into the sea; for they were fishers. And Jesus said unto them, Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men. And they immediately left their nets there and followed him. And when he went on from thence, he saw other two brothers, James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother, in the ship with Zebedee their father, mending their nets; and Jesus called them. And they immediately forsook the ship and their father Zebedee, and followed him.

And when the multitude gathered unto him to hear the word of God, while he was standing on the shore of the sea of Gennesaret, he saw two boats standing beside the sea, while the two fishers which were gone out of them were washing their nets. And one of them belonged to Simon Cephas. And Jesus went up and sat down in it, and commanded that they should move away a little from the land into 52 the water. And he sat down and taught the multitudes from the boat. And when he had left off his speaking, he said unto Simon, Put out into the deep, and cast your net for a draught. And Simon answered and said unto him, My Master, we toiled all night and caught nothing; now at thy word I will cast the net. And when they did this, there were enclosed a great many fishes; and their net was on the point of breaking. And they beckoned to their comrades that were in the other boat, to come and help them. And when they came, they filled both boats, so that they were on the point of sinking.

TATIAN SECTION 6

But when Simon Cephas saw this he fell before the feet of Jesus, and said unto him, My Lord, I beseech of thee to depart from me, for I am 2 a sinful man. And amazement took possession of him, and of all who were with him, 3 because of the draught of the fishes which they had taken. And thus also were James and John the sons of Zebedee overtaken, who were Simon's partners. And Jesus said 4 unto Simon, Fear not; henceforth thou shalt be a fisher of men unto life. And they brought the boats to the land; and they left everything, and followed him.

And after that came Jesus and his disciples into the land of Judaea; and he went 6 about there with them, and baptized. And John also was baptizing in AEnon, which is beside Salim, because there was much water there: and they came, and were bap- 8 tized. And John was not yet come into prison. And there was an inquiry between 9 one of John's disciples and one of the Jews about purifying. And they came unto John, and said unto him, Our master, he that was with thee beyond Jordan, to whom thou hast borne witness, behold, he also baptizeth, and many come to him. John answered and said unto them, A man can receive nothing of himself, except it be given him from heaven. Ye are they that bear witness unto me that I said, I am not the Messiah, but I am one sent before him. And he that hath a bride is a bridegroom: and the friend of the bridegroom is he that standeth and listeneth to him, and rejoiceth greatly because of the bridegroom's voice. Lo now, behold, my 13, Arabic, joy becometh complete. And he must increase and I decrease. For he that is come from above is higher than everything; and he that is of the earth, of the earth he is, and of the earth he speaketh; and he that came down from heaven is higher than all. And he beareth witness of what he hath seen and heard: and no man receiveth his witness. And he that hath received his witness hath asserted that he is truly God. And he whom God hath sent speaketh the words of God: God gave not the Spirit by measure. The Father loveth the Son, and hath put everything in his hands. Whosoever believeth in the Son hath eternal life; but whosoever obeyeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God cometh upon him.

And Jesus learned that the Pharisees had heard that he had received many disciples, and that he was baptizing more than John (not that Jesus was himself bap- tizing, but his disciples); and so he left Judaea.

And Herod the governor, because he used to be rebuked by John because of Herodias the wife of Philip his brother, and for all the sins which he was commit- ting, added to all that also this, that he shut up John in prison.

And when Jesus heard that John was delivered up, he went away to Galilee. And he entered again into Cans, where he had made the water wine. And there was at Capernaum a king's servant, whose son was sick. And this man heard that Jesus was come from Judaea to Galilee; and he went to him, and besought of him that he would come down and heal his son; for he had come near unto death. 28, Jesus said unto him, Except ye see signs and wonders, ye do not believe. The Arabic, king's servant said unto him, My Lord, come down, that the child die not. Jesus said unto him, Go; for thy son is alive. And that man believed the word which Jesus spake, and went. And when he went down, his servants met him and told him, and said unto him, Thy son is alive. And he asked them at what time he recovered. They said unto him, Yesterday at the seventh hour the fever left him. And his father knew that that was at that hour in which Jesus said unto him, Thy son is alive. And he believed, he and the whole people of his house. And this is the second sign which Jesus did when he returned from Judaea to Galilee. And he was preaching in the synagogues of Galilee.

And he left Nazareth, and came and dwelt in Capernaum by the sea shore, in the borders of Zebulun and Naphtali: that it might be fulfilled which was said in Isaiah the prophet, who said, The land of Zebulun, the land of Naphtali, The way of the sea, the passage of the Jordan, Galilee of the nations:

The people sitting in darkness Saw a great light, And those sitting in the region and in the shadow of death, There appeared to them a light.

And he taught them on the sabbaths. And they wondered because of his doctrine: for his word was as if it were authoritative. And there was in the synagogue a man with an unclean devil, and he cried out with a loud voice, and said, Let me alone; what have I to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth? art thou come for our destruction? I know thee who thou art, thou Holy One of God. And Jesus rebuked him, and said, Stop up thy mouth, and come out of him. And the demon threw him in the midst and came out of him, having done him no harm. And great amaze- Arabic, ment took hold upon every man. And they talked one with another, and said, What is this word that orders the unclean spirits with power and authority, and they come out? And the news of him spread abroad in all the region which was around them.

And when Jesus went out of the synagogue, he saw a man sitting among the publicans, named Matthew: and he said unto him, Come after me. And he rose, and followed him.

And Jesus came to the house of Simon and Andrew with James and John. And Simon's wife's mother was oppressed with a great fever, and they besought him for her. And he stood over her and rebuked her fever, and it left her, and immediately she rose and ministered to them. And at even they brought to him many that had demons: and he cast out their devils with the word. And all that had sick, their diseases being divers and malignant, brought them unto him. And he laid his hand on them one by one and healed them: that that might be fulfilled which was said in the prophet Isaiah, who said, He taketh our pains and beareth our diseases. And all the city was gathered together unto the door of Jesus. And he cast out devils also from many, as they were crying out and saying, Thou art the Messiah, the Son of God; and he rebuked them. And he suffered not the demons to speak, because they knew him that he was the Lord the Messiah.

TATIAN SECTION 7

And in the morning of that day he went out very early, and went to a desert place, and was there praying. And Simon and those that were with him sought him. And when they found him, they said unto him, All the people seek for thee. He said unto them, Let us go into the adjacent villages and towns, that I may preach there also; for to this end did I come. And the multitudes were seeking him, and came till they reached him; and they took hold of him, that he should not go away from them. But Jesus said unto them, I must preach of the kingdom of God in other cities also: for because of this gospel was I sent. And Jesus was going about all the cities and the villages, and teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all the diseases and all the sicknesses, 8 and casting out the devils.

And his fame became known that he was teaching in 9 every place and being glorified by every man. And when he passed by, he saw Levi the son of Alphaeus sitting among the tax-gatherers; and he said unto him, Follow me: and he rose and followed him. And the news of him was heard of in all the land of Syria: and they brought unto him all those whom grievous ills had befallen through divers diseases, and those that were enduring torment, and those that were possessed, and lunatics, and paralytics; and he healed them.

And after some days Jesus entered into Capernaum again. And when they heard that he was in the house, many gathered, so that it could not hold them, even about Arabic, the door; and he made known to them the word of God. And there were there some of the Pharisees and the teachers of the law, sitting, come from all the villages of Galilee, and Judaea, and Jerusalem; and the power of the Lord was present to heal them. And some men brought a bed with a man on it who was paralytic. And they sought to bring him in and lay him before him. And when they found no way to bring him in because of the multitude of people, they went up to the roof, and let him down with his bed from the roofing, into the midst before Jesus. And when Jesus saw their faith, he said unto the paralytic, My son, thy sins are for- given thee. And the scribes and Pharisees began to think within their hearts, Why doth this man blaspheme? Who is it that is able to forgive sins, but God alone? 18 And Jesus knew by the spirit that they were thinking this within themselves, and he said unto them, Why do ye think this within your heart? Which is better, that it

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should be said to the paralytic, Thy sins are forgiven thee, or that it should be said to him, Arise, and take thy bed, and walk? That ye may know that the Son of man is empowered on earth to forgive sins (and he said to the paralytic), I say unto thee, Arise, take thy bed, and go to thine house. And he rose forthwith, and took his bed, and went out in the presence of all. And he went to his house praising God. And when those multitudes saw, they feared; and amazement took possession of them, and they praised God, who had given such power to men. And they said, We have seen marvellous things to-day, of which we have never before seen the like.

And after that, Jesus went out, and saw a publican, named Levi, sitting among the publicans: and he said unto him, Follow me. And he left everything, and rose, and followed him. And Levi made him a great feast in his house. And there was a great multitude of the publicans and others sitting with him. And the scribes and Pharisees murmured, and said unto his disciples, Why do ye eat and drink with the publicans and sinners? Jesus answered and said unto them, The physician seeketh not those who are well, but those that are afflicted with grievous 30, sickness. I came not to call the righteous, but the sinners, to repentance. And they said unto him, Why do the disciples of John fast always, and pray, and the Pharisees also, but thy disciples eat and drink? He said unto them, Ye cannot make the sons of the marriage feast fast, while the bridegroom is with them. Days will come, when the bridegroom is taken away from them; then will they fast in those days. And he spake unto them a parable: No man inserteth a new patch and seweth it in a worn garment, lest the newness of the new take from the worn, and there occur a great rent. And no man putteth fresh wine into old skins, lest the wine burst the skins, and the skins be destroyed, and the wine spilled; but they put the fresh wine in the new skins, and both are preserved. And no man drinketh old wine and straightway desireth fresh; for he saith, The old is better.

And while Jesus was walking on the sabbath day among the sown fields, his disciples hungered. And they were rubbing the ears with their hands, and eating. But some of the Pharisees, when they saw them, said unto him, See, why do thy disciples on the sabbath day that which is not lawful? But Jesus said unto them, Have ye not read in olden time what David did, when he had need and hungered, he and those that were with him? how he entered the house of God, when Abiathar was high priest, and ate the bread of the table of the Lord, which it was not lawful that any should eat, save the priests, and gave to them that were with him also? And he said unto them, The sabbath was created because of man, and man was not created because of the sabbath. Or have ye not read in the law, that the priests in the temple profane the sabbath, and yet they are blameless? I say unto you now, that here is what is greater than the temple. If ye had known this. I love mercy, not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned those on whom is no blame. The Lord of the sabbath is the Son of man. And his relatives heard, and went out to take him, and said, He hath gone out of his mind.

And on the next sabbath day he entered into the synagogue and was teach- ing. And there was there a man whose right hand was withered. And the scribes and the Pharisees were watching him, whether he would heal on the sabbath day, that they might find the means of accusing him. But he knew their thoughts, and said unto the man whose hand was withered, Rise and come near into the midst of the synagogue. And when he came and stood, Jesus said unto them, I ask you, which is lawful to be done on the sabbath day, good or evil? shall lives be saved or Arabic, destroyed? But they were silent. Regarding them with anger, being grieved because of the hardness of their hearts. And he said unto the man, Stretch out thy hand. And he stretched it out: and his hand became straight. Then he said unto them, What man of you shall have one sheep, and if it fall into a well on the sabbath day, will not take it and lift it out? And how much is man better than a sheep! Wherefore it is lawful on the sabbath to do good.

TATIAN SECTION 8

And the Pharisees went out, and consulted together concerning him, that they 2 might destroy him. And Jesus perceived, and removed thence: and great multitudes 3 followed him; and he healed all of them: and he forbade them that they should 4 not make him known: that the saying in Isaiah the prophet might be fulfilled, which said, 5 Behold, my servant with whom I am pleased; My beloved in whom my soul hath delighted:

My spirit have I put upon him, And he shall proclaim to the nations judgement.

He shall not dispute, nor cry out; And no man shall hear his voice in the marketplace.

And a bruised reed shall he not break, And a smoking lamp shall he not extinguish, until he shall bring forth judgement unto victory.

And the nations shall rejoice in his name.

And in those days Jesus went out to the mountain that he might pray, and he spent the night there in prayer to God. And when the morning was come, he called the disciples. And he went towards the sea: and there followed him much people from Galilee that he might pray, and from Judaea, and from Jerusalem, and from Idumaea, and from beyond Jordan, and from Tyre, and from Sidon, and from De- 12 capolis; and great multitudes came unto him, which had heard what he did. And he spake to his disciples to bring him the boat because of the multitudes, that they might not throng him. And he healed many, so that they were almost falling on Arabic, him on account of their seeking to get near him. And those that had plagues and unclean spirits, as soon as they beheld him, would fall, and cry out, and say, Thou art the Son of God. And he rebuked them much, that they should not make him known. And those that were under the constraint of un- clean spirits were healed. And all of the crowd were seeking to come near him; because power went out from him, and he healed them all.

And when Jesus saw the multitudes, he went up to the mountain. And he called his disciples, and chose from them twelve; and they are those whom he named apostles: Simon, whom he named Cephas, and Andrew his brother, and James and John, and Philip and Bartholomew, and Matthew and Thomas, and James the son of Alphaeus, and Simon which was called the Zealot, and Judas the son of James, and Judas the Iscariot, being he that had betrayed him. And Jesus went down with them and stood in the plain, and the company of his disciples, and the great multitude of people. And these twelve he chose to be with him, and that he might send them to preach, and to have power to heal the sick and to cast out devils.

Then he lifted up his eyes unto them, and opened his mouth, and taught them, and said, Blessed are the poor in spirit: for the kingdom of heaven is theirs.

Blessed are the sorrowful: for they shall be comforted.

Blessed are the humble: for they shall inherit the earth.

Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be satisfied.

Blessed are the merciful: for on them shall be mercy.

Blessed are the pure in their hearts: for they shall see God.

Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the sons of God.

Blessed are they that were persecuted for righteousness' sake: for the kingdom of heaven is theirs.

Blessed are ye when men shall hate you, and separate you from them, and persecute you, and reproach you, and shall speak against you with all evil talk, for my sake, falsely. Then rejoice and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets before you.

But woe unto you rich! for ye hive received your consolation.

Woe unto you that are satisfied! ye shall hunger.

Woe unto you that laugh now! ye shall weep and be sad.

Woe unto you when men praise you! for so did their fathers use to do to the false prophets.

Unto you do I say, ye which hear, Ye are the salt of the earth: if then the salt become tasteless, wherewith shall it be salted? For any purpose it is of no use, but is thrown outside, and men tread upon it. Ye are the light of the world. It is impossible that a city built on a mountain should be hid. Neither do they light a lamp and place it under a bushel, but on the lamp-stand, and it giveth light to all who are in the house. So shall your light shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven. There is nothing secret that shall not be revealed, or hidden that shall not be known. Whoever hath ears that hear, let him hear.

Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets; I came not to destroy, but to complete. Verily I say unto you, Until heaven and earth shall pass, there Arabic, shall not pass one point or one letter of the law, until all of it shall be accomplished. Every one who shall violate now one of these small commandments, and shall teach men so, shall be called lacking in the kingdom of heaven: every one that shall do and teach shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven. I say unto you now, unless your righteousness abound more than that of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall not enter the kingdom of heaven.

Ye have heard that it was said to the ancients, Do not kill; and every one that killeth is worthy of the judgement. But I say unto you that every one who is angry with his brother without a cause is worthy of the judgement; and every one that saith to his brother, Thou foul one, is condemned by the synagogue; and whoso- 52 ever saith to him, Thou fool, is worthy of the fire of Gehenna. If thou art now offering thy gift at the altar, and rememberest there that thy brother hath conceived against thee any grudge, leave thy gift at the altar, and go first and satisfy thy brother, and then return and offer thy gift. Join thine adversary quickly, and while thou art still with him in the way, give a ransom and free thyself from him; test thine adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the tax- collector, and thou fall into prison. And verily I say unto thee, Thou shall not go out thence until thou payest the last farthing.

Ye have heard that it was said, Do not commit adultery: but I now say unto you, that every one that looketh at a woman lusting after her hath forthwith already Arabic, committed adultery with her in his heart. If thy right eye injure thee, put p. 34 it out and cast it from thee; for it is preferable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not thy whole body go into the fire of hell. And if thy right hand injure thee, cut it off and cast it from thee; and it is better for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not thy whole body fall into Gehenna. It was said that he that putteth away his wife should give her a writing of divorcement: but I say unto you, that every one that putteth away his wife, except for the cause of adultery, hath made it lawful for her to commit adultery: and whosoever taketh one that is put away committeth adultery.

TATIAN SECTION 9

Ye have heard also that it was said unto the ancients, Lie not, but perform unto 2 God in thy oaths: but I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by heaven, for it 3 is God's throne; nor by the earth, for it is a footstool under his feet; nor yet by 4 Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great King. Neither shalt thou swear by thy 5 head, for thou canst not make in it one lock of hair black or white. But your word shall be either Yea or Nay, and what is in excess of this is of the evil one.

Ye have heard that it was said, Eye for eye, and tooth for tooth: but I say unto you, Stand not in opposition to the evil; but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right 8 cheek, turn to him also the other. And he that would sue thee, and take thy tunic, 9 leave to him also thy wrapper. And whosoever compelleth thee one mite, go with Arabic, him twain. And he that asketh thee, give unto him: and he that would borrow of thee, prevent him not. And prosecute not him that taketh thy substance. And as ye desire that men should do to you, so do ye also to them.

Ye have heard that it was said, Love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy: but I say unto you, Love your enemies, and pray for those that curse you, and deal well with those that hate you, and pray for those who take you with violence and persecute you; that ye may be sons of your heavenly Father, who maketh his sun to rise on the good and the evil, and sendeth down his rain on the righteous and the unrighteous. If ye love them that love you, what reward shall ye have? for the pub- licans and sinners also love those that love them. And if ye do a kindness to those who treat you well, where is your superiority? for sinners also do likewise. And if ye lend to him of whom ye hope for a reward, where is your superiority? for the sinners also lend to sinners, seeking recompense from them. But love your enemies, and do good to them, and lend, and cut not off the hope of any man; that your reward may be great, and ye may be the children of the Highest: for he is lenient towards the wicked and the ungrateful. Be ye merciful, even as your Father also is merciful. And if ye inquire for the good of your brethren only, what more have ye done than others? is not this the conduct of the publicans also? Be ye now perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.

Consider your alms; do them not before men to let them see you: and if it be not so, ye have no reward before your Father which is in the heavens. When then thou givest an alms now, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as do the people of hypocrisy, Arabic, in the synagogues and the marketplaces, that men may praise them. And verily say I unto you, They have received their reward. But thou, when thou doest alms, let thy left hand not know what thy right hand doeth; that thine alms may be concealed: and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly.

And whenever thou prayest, be not as the hypocrites, who love to stand in the synagogues and in the corners of the marketplaces for prayers, that men may be- hold them. And verily say I unto you, They have received their reward. But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and fasten thy door, and pray to thy Father in secret, and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly. And whenever ye pray, be not babblers, as the heathen; for they think that by the abundance of their words they shall be heard. Then be not ye now like unto them: for your Father knoweth your request before ye ask him. One of his disciples said unto him, Our Lord, teach us to pray, as John taught his disciples. Jesus said unto them, Thus now pray ye now: Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy 33, name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth. Give us the food of to-day. And forgive, us our trespasses, as we forgave those that trespassed against us. And bring us not into temptations, but deliver us from the evil one. For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. If ye forgive Arabic, men their wrong-doing, your Father which is in heaven will forgive you. p. 37 But if ye forgive not men, neither will your Father pardon your wrong-doing.

When ye fast, do not frown, as the hypocrites; for they make their faces austere, that they may be seen of men that they are fasting. Verily I say unto you, They have received their reward. But when thou fastest, wash thy face and anoint thy head; that thou make not an appearance to men of fasting, but to thy Father which is in secret: and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee.

Be not agitated, little flock; for your Father hath delighted to give you the king- dom. Sell your possessions, and give in

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alms; take to yourselves purses that wax not old. Lay not up treasure on earth, where moth and worm corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal: but lay up for yourselves treasure in heaven, where moth and worm do not corrupt, nor thieves break through nor steal: for where your treasure is, there also will your heart be. The lamp of the body is the eye: if then thine eye now be sound, thy whole body also shall be light. But if thine eye be evil, all thy body shall be dark. And if the light which is in thee is darkness, how great is thy darkness! Be watchful that the light which is in thee be not darkness. Because that, if thy whole body is light, and have no part dark, it shall all be light, as the lamp giveth light to thee with its flame.

TATIAN SECTION 10

NO man can serve two masters; and that because it is necessary that he hate one of them and love the other, and honour one of them and despise the 2 other. Ye cannot serve God and possessions. And because of this I say unto you, Be not anxious for yourselves, what ye shall eat and what ye shall drink; neither for your bodies, what ye shall put on. Is not the life better than the food, and the body 3 than the raiment? Consider the birds of the heaven, which sow not, nor reap, nor store in barns; and yet your Father which is in heaven feedeth them. Are not ye 4 better than they? Who of you when he trieth is able to add to his stature one 5 cubit? If then ye are not able for a small thing, why are ye anxious about the 7 rest? Consider the wild lily, how it grows, although it toils not, nor spins; and I say unto you that Solomon in the greatness of his glory was not clothed like one of 8 them. And if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow 9 is cast into the oven, how much more shall be unto you, O ye of little faith! Be not anxious, so as to say, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, With what shall we be clothed? Neither let your minds be perplexed in this: all these things the nations of the world seek; and your Father which is in heaven knoweth your need of all these things. Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteous- Arabic. ness; and all these shall come to you as something additional for you. Be not anxious for the morrow; for the morrow shall be anxious for what belongs to it. Sufficient unto the day is its evil.

Judge not, that ye be not judged: condemn not, that ye be not condemned: forgive, and it shall be forgiven you: release, and ye shall be released: give, that ye may be given unto; with good measure, abundant, full, they shall thrust into your bosoms. With what measure ye measure it shall be measured to you. See to it what ye hear: with what measure ye measure it shall be measured to you; and ye shall be given more. I say unto those that hear, He that hath shall be given unto; and he that hath not, that which he regards as his shall be taken from him. And he spake unto them a parable, Can a blind man haply guide a blind man? shall they not both fall into a hollow? A disciple is not better than his master; 19 every perfect man shall be as his master. Why lookest thou at the mote which is in the eye of thy brother, but considerest not the column that is in thine own eye? Or how canst thou say to thy brother, Brother, I will take out the mote from thine eye; and the column which is in thine eye thou seest not? Thou hypocrite, take out first the column from thine eye; and then shalt thou see to take out the mote from the eye of thy brother.

Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast your pearls before the swine, lest they trample them with their feet, and return and wound you. And he said unto them, Who of you, that hath a friend, goeth to him at mid- night, and saith unto him, My friend, lend me three loaves; for a friend hath come to me from a journey, and I have nothing to offer to him: and that friend shall Arabic, answer him from within, and say unto him, Trouble me not; for the door is shut, and my children are with me in bed, and I cannot rise and give thee? And verily I say unto you, If he will not give him because of friendship, yet because of his importunity he will rise and give him what he seeketh. And I also say unto you, Ask, and ye shall be given unto; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. Every one that asketh receiveth, and he that seeketh findeth, and he that knocketh, it shall be opened to him. What father of you, shall his son ask for bread--will he, think you, give him a stone? and if he ask of him a fish, will he, think you, instead of the fish give him a serpent? and if he ask him for an egg, will he, think you, extend to him a scorpion? If ye then, although being evil, know the gifts which are good, and give them to your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him? Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: this is the law and the prophets.

Enter ye by the narrow gate; for the wide gate and the broad way lead to de- struction, and many they be which go therein. How narrow is the gate and straitened the way leading to life! and few be they that find it.

Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, while within they are ravening wolves. But by their fruits ye shall know them. For every tree is known by its fruit. For figs are not gathered of thorns, neither are grapes plucked of briers. Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit, but the evil tree bringeth Arabic, forth evil fruit. The good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can the evil tree bring forth good fruit. The good man from the good treasures that are in his heart bringeth forth good things; and the evil man from the evil treasures that are in his heart bringeth forth evil things: and from the overflowings of the heart the lips speak. Every tree that beareth not good fruit is cut down and cast 40, into the fire. Therefore by their fruits ye shall know them. Not all that say unto me, My Lord, my Lord, shall enter the kingdom of the heavens; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven. Many shall say unto me in that day, My Lord, my Lord, did we not prophesy in thy name, and in thy name cast out devils, and in thy name do many powers? Then shall I say unto them, I never knew you: depart from me, ye servants of iniquity. Every man that cometh unto me, and heareth my sayings, and doeth them, I will shew you to what he is like: he is like the wise man which built a house, and digged and went deep, and laid the foundations on a rock: and the rain came down, and the rivers overflowed, and the winds blew, and shook that house, and it fell not: for its foundation was laid on rocks. And every one that heareth these my words, and doeth them not, is like 48 the foolish man which built his house on sand, without foundation: and the rain descended, and the rivers overflowed, and the winds blew, and smote upon that house, and it fell: and the fall of it was great.

TATIAN SECTION 11

And when Jesus finished these sayings, the multitudes were astonished 2 at his teaching; and that because he was teaching them as one having authority, not as their scribes and the Pharisees.

And when he descended from the mountain, great multitudes followed him.

And when Jesus entered Capernaum, the servant of one of the chiefs was in an 5 evil case, and he was precious to him, and he was at the point of death. And he 6 heard of Jesus, and came to him with the elders of the Jews; and he besought him, and said, My Lord, my boy is laid in the house paralysed, and he is suffering griev- 7 ous torment. And the elders urgently requested of him, and said, He is worthy that 8 this should be done unto him: for he loveth our people, and he also built the syna- gogue for us. Jesus said unto him, I will come and heal him. That chief answered and said, My Lord, I am not worthy that my roof should shade thee; but it sufficeth that thou speak a word, and my lad shall be healed. And I also am a man in obedience to authority, having under my hand soldiers: and I say to this one, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh; and to my servant that he do this, and he doeth it. And when Jesus heard that, he marvelled at him, and turned and said unto the multitude that were coming with him, Verily I say unto you, I have not found in Israel the like of this faith. I say unto you, that many shall come from Arabic, the east and the west, and shall recline with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob p. in the kingdom of heaven: but the children of the kingdom shall be cast forth into the outer darkness: and there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. And Jesus said to that chief, Go thy way; as thou hast believed, so shall it be unto thee. And his lad was healed in that hour. And that chief returned to the house and found that sick servant healed.

And the day after, he was going to a city called Nain, and his disciples with him, and a great multitude. And when he was come near the gate of the city, he saw a crowd accompanying one that was dead, the only son of his mother; and his mother was a widow: and there was with her a great multitude of the people of the city. And when Jesus saw her, he had compassion on her, and said unto her, Weep not. And he went and advanced to the bier, and the bearers of it stood still; and he said, Young man, I say unto thee, Arise. And that dead man sat up and began to speak; and he gave him to his mother. And fear came on all the people: and they praised God, and said, There hath risen among us a great prophet: and, God 23 hath had regard to his people. And this news concerning him spread in all Judaea, and in all the region which was about them.

And when Jesus saw great multitudes surrounding him, he commanded them to depart to the other side. And while they were going in the way, there came one of the scribes and said unto him, My Master, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest. Jesus said unto him, The foxes have holes, and the birds of the heaven have nests; but the Son of man hath not a place in which to lay his head. And he said unto another, Follow me. And he said unto him, My Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my father. Jesus said unto him, Leave the dead to bury their dead; but thou, follow me and preach the kingdom of God. And another said unto him, I will fol- Arabic, low thee, my Lord; but first suffer me to go and salute my household and come. Jesus said unto him, There is no one who putteth his hand to the plough and looketh behind him, and yet is fit for the kingdom of God.

And he said to them on that day in the evening, Let us go over to the other side of the lake; and he left the multitudes. And Jesus went up and sat in the ship, he and his disciples, and there were with them other ships. And there occurred on the sea a great tempest of whirlwind and wind, and the ship was on the point of sinking from the greatness of the waves. But Jesus was sleeping on a cushion in the stern of the ship; and his disciples came and awoke him, and said unto him, Our Lord, save us; lo, we perish. And he rose, and rebuked the winds and the turbulence of the water, and said to the sea, Be still, for thou art rebuked; and the wind was still, and there was a great calm. And he said unto them, Why are ye thus afraid? and why have ye no faith? And they feared greatly. And they marvelled, and said one to another, Who, think you, is this, who commandeth also the wind and the waves and the sea, and they obey him?

And they departed and came to the country of the Gadarenes, which is on the other side, opposite the land of Galilee. And when he went out of the ship to the land, there met him from among the tombs a man who had a devil for a long time, and wore no clothes, neither dwelt in a house, but among the tombs. And no man was Arabic, able to bind him with chains, because an y time that he was bound with chains and fetters he cut the chains and loosened the fetters; and he was snatched away of the devil into the desert, and no man was able to quiet him; and at all times, in the night and in the day, he would be among the tombs and in the mountains; and no man was able to pass by that way; and he would cry out and wound himself with stones. And when he saw Jesus at a distance, he hastened and worshipped him, and cried with a loud voice and said, What have we to do with thee, Jesus, Son of the most high God? I adjure thee by God, torment me not. And Jesus commanded the unclean spirit to come out of the man: and he had suffered a long time since the time when he came into captivity to it.

And Jesus asked him, What is thy name? He said unto him, Legion; for there had entered into him many devils. And they besought him that he would not command them to depart into the depths. And there was there a herd of many swine, feeding in the mountain, and those devils besought him to give them leave to enter the swine; and he gave them leave. And the devils went out of the man and entered into the swine. And that herd hastened to the summit and fell down into the midst of the sea, about two thousand, and they were choked in the water. And when the keepers saw what happened, they fled, and told those in the cities and villages. And the people went out to see what had happened; and they came to Jesus, and found the man whose Arabic, devils had gone out, clothed, modest, seated at the feet of Jesus; and they feared. And they reported what they saw, and how the man was healed who had a devil, and concerning those swine also.

TATIAN SECTION 12

And all the multitude of the Gadarenes entreated him to depart from them, because that great fear took hold upon them.

But Jesus went up into the ship, and crossed, and came to his city. And that man from whom the devils went out entreated that he might stay with him; but 4 Jesus sent him away, and said unto him, Return to thy house, and make known what 5 God hath done for thee. And he went, and began to publish in Decapolis what Jesus had done for him; and they all marvelled.

And when Jesus had crossed in the ship to that side, a great multitude received 7 him; and they were all looking for him. And a man named Jairus, the chief of the 8 synagogue, fell before the feet of Jesus, and besought him much, and said unto him, I have an only daughter, and she is come nigh unto death; but come and lay thy 9 hand upon her, and she shall live. And Jesus rose, and his disciples, and they fol- lowed him. And there joined him a great multitude, and they pressed him.

And a woman, which had a flow of blood for twelve years, had suffered much of many physicians, and spent all that she had, and was not benefited at all, but her trouble increased further. And when she heard of Jesus, she came in the thronging of Arabic, the crowd behind him, and touched a his garments; and she thought within herself, If I could reach to touch his garments, I should live. And immediately the fountain of her blood was dried; and she felt in her body that she was healed of her plague. And Jesus straightway knew within himself that power had gone out of him; and he turned to the crowd, and said, Who approached unto my garments? And on their denying, all of them, Simon Cephas and those with him said unto him, Our Master, the multitudes throng thee and press thee, and sayest thou, Who ap- proached unto me? And he said, Some one approached unto me; and I knew that power went forth from me. And that woman, when she saw that she was not hid from him, came fearing and agitated (for she knew what had happened to her), and fell down and worshipped him, and told, in the presence of all the people, for what reason she touched him, and how she was healed immediately. And Jesus said unto her, Be of good courage, daughter; thy faith hath made thee alive; depart in peace, and be whole from thy plague.

And while he was yet speaking, there came a man from the house of the chief of the synagogue, and said unto him, Thy daughter hath died; so trouble not the teacher. But Jesus heard, and said unto the father of the maid, Fear not: but be- lieve only, and she shall live. And he suffered no man to go

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with him, except Simon Cephas, and James, and John the brother of James. And they reached the house of the chief of the synagogue; and he saw them agitated, weeping and wailing. And he entered, and said unto them, Why are ye agitated and weeping? the Arabic, maid hath not died, but she is sleeping. And they laughed at him, for they knew that she had died. And he put every man forth without, and took the father of the maid, and her mother, and Simon, and James, and John, and entered into the place where the maid was laid. And he took hold of the hand of the maid, and said unto her, Maid, arise. And her spirit returned, and straightway she arose and walked: and she was about twelve years of age. And he commanded that there should be given to her something to eat. And her father wondered greatly: and he warned them that they should tell no man what had happened. And this report spread in all that land.

And when Jesus crossed over from there, there joined him two blind men, crying out, and saying, Have mercy on us, thou son of David. And when he came to the house, those two blind men came to him: and Jesus said unto them, Believe ye that I am able to do this? They said unto him, Yea, our Lord.

Then he touched their eyes, and said, As ye have believed, it shall be unto you. And immediately their eyes were opened. And Jesus forbade them, and said, See that no man know. But they went out and published the news in all that land.

And when Jesus went out, they brought to him a dumb man having a devil. And on the going out of the devil that dumb man spake. And the multitudes marvelled, and said, It was never so seen in Israel And Jesus was going about in all the cities and in the villages, and teaching in their synagogues, and proclaiming the good news of the kingdom, and healing every disease Arabic, and sickness; and many followed him. And when Jesus saw the multitudes, p. he had compassion on them, for they were wearied and scattered, as sheep that have no shepherd. And he called his twelve disciples, and gave them power and much authority over all devils and diseases; and sent them two and two, that they might proclaim the kingdom of God, and to heal the sick. And he charged them, and said, Walk not in the way of the heathen, nor enter into the cities of the Sa- 45, maritans. Go especially unto the sheep that are lost of the sons of Israel. And when ye go, proclaim and say, The kingdom of heaven is come near. And heal the sick, and cleanse the lepers, and cast out the devils: freely ye have received, freely 48, give. Get you not gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses; and take nothing for the way, except a staff only; nor bag, nor bread; neither shall ye have two tunics, nor shoes, nor staff, but be shod with sandals; for the labourer is worthy of his food. And whatever city or village ye enter, inquire who is worthy in it, and there be until 52, ye go out. And when ye enter into the house, ask for the peace of the house: and if the house is worthy, your peace shall come upon it; but if it is not worthy, your peace shall return unto you. And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your sayings, when ye go out from that house, or from that village, shake off the dust Arabic, that is under your feet against them for a testimony. And verily I say p. 50 unto you, To the land of Sodom and Gomorrah there shall be rest in the day of judgement, rather than to that city.

TATIAN SECTION 13

I am sending you as lambs among wolves: be ye now wise as serpents, and harmless as doves. Beware of men: they shall deliver you to the councils of the magistrates, and scourge you in their synagogues; and shall bring you before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony against them and against the nations. And when they deliver you up, be not s anxious, nor consider beforehand, what ye shall say; but ye shall be given in that hour what ye ought to speak. Ye do not speak, but the Spirit of your Father speaketh in you. The brother shall deliver up his brother to death, and the father his son; and the sons shall rise against their parents, and put them to death. And ye shall be hated of every man because of my name; but he that endureth unto the end of the matter shall be saved. When they expel you from this city, flee to another. Verily I say unto you, Ye shall not finish all the cities of the people of Israel, until the Son of man come.

A disciple is not superior to his lord, nor a servant to his master. For it is enough then for the disciple that he be as his lord, and the servant as his master. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebul, how much more the people of his house! Fear them not therefore: for there is nothing covered, that shall Arabic, not be revealed; nor hid, that shall not be disclosed and published. What I say unto you in the darkness, speak ye in the light; and what ye have told secretly in the ears in closets, let it be proclaimed on the housetops. I say unto you now, my beloved, Be not agitated at those who kill the body, but have no power to kill the soul. I will inform you whom ye shall fear: him which is able to destroy soul and body in hell. Yea, I say unto you, Be afraid of him especially. Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing in a bond? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father. But what concerns you: even the hair of your heads 17, also is numbered. Fear not therefore; ye are better than many sparrows. Every man who confesseth me now before men, I also will confess him before my Father which is in heaven; but whosoever denieth me before men, I also will deny him before my Father which is in heaven.

Think ye that I am come to cast peace into the earth? I came not to cast peace, but to cast dissension. Henceforth there shall be five in one house, three of them disagreeing with two, and the two with the three. The father shall become hostile to his son, and the son to his father; and the mother to her daughter, and the daughter to her mother; and the mother in law to her daughter in law, and the daughter in law to her mother in law: and a man's enemies shall be the people of his house. Whosoever loveth father or mother better than me is not worthy of me; and whoso- Arabic, ever loveth son or daughter more than his love of me is not worthy of me. And every one that doth not take his cross and follow me is not worthy of me. Whosoever findeth his life shall lose it; and whosoever loseth his life for my sake shah find it.

And whosoever receiveth you receiveth me; and whosoever receiveth me re- ceiveth him that sent me. And whosoever receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet shall take a prophet's reward; and whosoever shall receive a righteous man in the name of a righteous man shall take a righteous man's reward. And every one that shall give to drink to one of these least ones a drink of water only, in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall not lose his reward.

And when Jesus finished charging his twelve disciples, he removed thence to teach and preach in their cities. And while they were going in the way they entered into a certain village; and a woman named Martha entertained him in her house. And she had a sister named Mary, and she came and sat at the feet of our Lord, and heard his sayings. But Martha was disquieted by much serving; and she came and said unto him, My Lord, givest thou no heed that my sister left me alone to serve? speak to her that she help me. Jesus answered and said unto her, Martha, Martha, thou art solicitous and impatient on account of many things: but what is sought is one thing. But Mary hath chosen for herself a good portion, and that which shall not be taken from her.

And the apostles went forth, and preached to the people that they might repent. And they cast out many devils, and anointed many sick with oil, and healed them. 38, And the disciples of John told him s of all these things. And when John heard in Arabic, the prison of the doings of the Messiah, he called two of his disciples, and sent them to Jesus, and said, Art thou he that cometh, or look we for another? And they came to Jesus, and said unto him, John the Baptist hath sent us unto thee, and said. Art thou he that cometh, or look we for another? And in that hour he cured many of diseases, and of plagues of an evil spirit; and he gave sight to many blind. Jesus answered and said unto them, Go and tell John everything ye have seen and heard: the blind see, and the lame walk, and the lepers are cleansed, and the blind hear, and the dead rise, and the poor have the gospel preached to them. And blessed is he who doubteth not in me.

And when John's disciples departed, Jesus began to say to the multitudes concerning John, What went ye out into the wilderness to see? a reed shaken with the winds? And if not, then what went ye out to see? a man clothed in soft raiment? Behold, they that are in magnificent garments and in voluptuousness are in the abode of kings. And if not, then what went ye out to see? a prophet? Yea, I say unto you, and more than a prophet. This is he of whom it is written, I am sending my messenger before thy face To prepare the way before thee.

TATIAN SECTION 14

Verily I say unto you, There hath not arisen among those whom women have borne a greater than John the Baptist; but he that is little now in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he.

And all the people which heard, and the publicans, justified: God, for 3 they had been baptized with the baptism of John. But the Pharisees and the scribes wronged the purpose of God in themselves, in that they were not baptized of 4 him. And from the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven is 5 snatched away by violence. The law and the prophets were until John; and after that, the kingdom of God is preached, and all press to enter it: and they that exert them- 7 selves snatch it away. All the prophets and the law until John prophesied. And if ye 8 will, then receive it, that he is Elijah, which is to come. Whosoever hath ears that hear 9 let him hear. Easier is the perishing of heaven and earth, than the passing away of one point of the law. To whom then shall I liken the people of this generation, and to whom are they like? They are like the children sitting in the market, which call to their companions, and say, We sang to you, and ye danced not; we wailed to you, and ye wept not. John the Baptist came neither eating bread nor drinking wine; and ye said, He hath demons: and the Son of man came eating and drinking; and ye said, Behold, a gluttonous man, and a drinker of wine, and an associate of pub- 14, 15 licans and sinners! And wisdom was justified of all her children. And when he said that, they came to the house. And there gathered unto him again multitudes, so that they found not bread to eat. And while he was casting out a devil which was dumb, when he cast out that devil, that dumb man spake. And the multitudes Arabic. marvelled. And the Pharisees, when they heard, said, This man doth not cast out the devils, except by Beelzebul the chief of the demons, which is in him. 18, And others requested of him a sign from heaven, to tempt him. And Jesus knew their thoughts, and said unto them in parables, Every kingdom that withstandeth itself shall become desolate; and every house or city that disagreeth with itself shall not stand: and if a devil cast out a devil, he withstandeth himself; neither shall he be able to stand, but his end shall be. Then how now shall his kingdom stand? for ye said that I cast out devils by Beelzebul. And if I by Beelzebul cast out the devils, then your children, by what do they cast them out? And for this cause they shall be judges against you. But if I by the Spirit of God cast out devils, then the king- dom of God is come near unto you. Or how can a man enter into the house of a valiant man, and seize his garments, if he do not beforehand secure himself from that valiant man? and then will he cut off his house. But when the valiant man is armed, guarding his house, his possessions are in peace. But if one come who is more valiant than he, he overcometh him, and taketh his whole armour, on which he relieth, and divideth his spoil. Whosoever is not with me is against me; and whosoever gathereth not with me scattereth abroad. For this reason I say unto you, Arabic. that all sins and blasphemies with which men blaspheme shall be forgiven them: but whosoever shall blaspheme against the Holy Spirit, there is no forgiveness for him for ever, but he is deserving of eternal punishment: because they said that he had an unclean spirit. And he said also, Every one that speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him; but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor in the world to come. Either ye must make a good tree and its fruit good; or ye must make an evil tree and its fruit evil: for the tree is known by its fruit. Ye children of vipers, how can ye, being evil, speak good things? from the overflowings of the heart the mouth speaketh. The good man from the good treasures which are in his heart bringeth forth good things; and the wicked man from the evil treasures which are in his heart bringeth forth evils. I say unto you, that every idle word which men shall speak, they shall give an answer for in the day of judgement: for by thy sayings thou shalt be justified, and by thy sayings thou shalt be judged.

And he said to the multitudes, When ye see the clouds appear from the west, straightway ye say that there cometh rain; and so it cometh to pass. And when the south wind bloweth, ye say that there will be heat; and it cometh to pass. And when the evening is come, ye say, It will be fair weather, for the heaven has become red. And in the morning ye say, To- day there will be severe weather, for the redness Arabic. Of the heaven is paling. Ye hypocrites, ye know to examine the face of the P. heaven and the earth; but the signs of this time ye know not to discern. Then they brought to him one possessed of a demon, dumb and blind; and he healed him, so that the dumb and blind began to speak and see. And all the multitudes wondered, and said, Is this, think you, the son of David?

And the apostles returned unto Jesus, and told him everything that they had done and wrought. And he said unto them, Come, let us go into the desert alone, and rest yea little. And many were going and returning, and they had not leisure, not even to eat bread.

And after that, there came to him one of the Pharisees, and besought him that he would eat bread with him. And he entered into the house of that Pharisee, and reclined. And there was in that city a woman that was a sinner; and when she knew that he was sitting in the house of that Pharisee, she took a box of sweet oint- 47 ment, and stood behind him, towards his feet, weeping, and began to wet his feet with her tears, and to wipe them with the hair of her head, and to kiss his feet, and anoint them with the sweet ointment. And when that s Pharisee saw it, who invited him, he thought within himself, and said, This man, if he were a prophet, would know who she is and what is her history: for the woman which touched him was a sinner.

TATIAN SECTION 15

Jesus answered and said unto him, Simon, I have something to say unto thee. And 2 he said unto him, Say on, my Master. Jesus said unto him, There were two debtors Arabic, to one creditor; and one of them owed five hundred pence, and the other 3 owed fifty pence. And because they had not wherewith to pay, he forgave 4 them both. Which of them ought to love him more? Simon answered and said, I suppose, he to whom he forgave most. Jesus said unto him, Thou hast judged rightly. 5 And he turned to that woman, and said to Simon, Dost thou see this woman? I entered into thy dwelling, and thou gavest me not water to wash my feet: but this 6 woman hath bathed my feet with her tears, and dried them with her hair. And thou kissedst me not: but this woman, since she entered, hath not ceased to kiss my 7 feet. And thou anointedst not my head with oil: but this woman hath anointed 8 my feet with sweet ointment. And for this, I say

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unto thee, Her many sins are forgiven her, because she loved much; for he to whom little is forgiven loveth little. And he said unto that woman, Thy sins are forgiven thee. And those that were in- vited began to say within themselves, Who is this that forgiveth sins also? And Jesus said to that woman, Thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace. And many believed in him when they saw the signs which he was doing. But Jesus did not trust himself to them, for he knew every man, and he needed not any man to testify to him concerning every man; for he knew what was in man.

And after that, Jesus set apart from his disciples other seventy, and sent them two and two before his face to every region and city whither he was purposing to go. And he said unto them, The harvest is abundant, and the labourers are few: entreat now the Lord of the harvest, that he send forth labourers into his harvest. Go Arabic, ye: and lo, I am sending you as lambs among wolves. Take not with you purses, nor a wallet, nor shoes; neither salute any man in the way. And whatsoever house ye enter, first salute that house: and if there be there a son of peace, let your peace rest upon him; but if there be not, your peace shall return to you. And be ye in that house eating and drinking what they have: for the labourer is worthy of his hire. And remove not from house to house. And into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you, eat what is presented to you: and heal the sick that are therein, and say unto them, The kingdom of God is come near unto you. But whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you not, go out into the market, and say, Even the dust that clave to our feet from your city, we shake off against you; but know this, that the kingdom of God is come near unto you. I say unto you, that for Sodom there shall be quiet in the day of judgement, but there shall not be for that city. Then began Jesus to rebuke the cities in which there had been many mighty works, and they repented not. And he said, Woe unto thee, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida! if there had been in Tyre and Sidon the signs which were in thee, it may be that they would have repented in sackcloth and ashes. Howbeit I say unto you, that for Tyre and Sidon there shall be rest in the day of judgement, more than for you. And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt sink down unto Hades; for if there had been in Sodom the wonders which were in thee, it would have remained until this day. And now I say unto thee, that for the land of Sodom there shall be quiet in the day of judgement, more than for thee.

And he said again unto his apostles, Whosoever heareth you heareth me; and whosoever heareth me heareth him that sent me: and whosoever wrongeth you wrongeth me; and whosoever wrongeth me wrongeth him that sent me.

And those seventy returned with great joy, and said unto him, Our Lord, even the devils also are subject unto us in thy name. He said unto them, I beheld Satan fallen like lightning from heaven. Behold, I am giving you authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and the whole race of the enemy; and nothing shall hurt you. Only ye must not rejoice that the devils are subject unto you; but be glad that your names are written in heaven.

And in that hour Jesus rejoiced in the Holy Spirit, and said, I acknowledge thee, my Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou didst hide these things from the wise and understanding, and didst reveal them unto children: yea, my Father; so was thy will. And he turned to his disciples, and said unto them, Everything hath been delivered to me of my Father: and no man knoweth who the Son is, save the Father; and who the Father is, save the Son, and to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him. Come unto me, all of you, ye that are wearied and bearers of bur- dens, and I will give you rest. Bear my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am gentle and lowly in my heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is pleasant, and my burden is light.

And while great multitudes were going with him, he turned, and said unto them, Whosoever cometh unto me, and hateth not his father, and his mother, and his brethren, and his sisters, and his wife, and his children, and himself also, cannot Arabic, be a disciple to me. And whosoever doth not take his cross, and follow p. me, cannot be a disciple to me. Which of you desireth to build a tower, and doth not sit down first and reckon his expenses and whether he hath enough to complete it? lest when he hath laid the foundations, and is not able to finish, all that behold him laugh at him, and say, This man began to build, and was not able to 48 finish. Or what king goeth to the battle to fight with another king, and doth not consider first whether he is able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh to him with twenty thousand? And if he is not able, he sendeth unto him while he is afar off, and seeketh peace. So shall every man of you consider, that desireth to be a disciple to me; for if he renounceth not all that he hath, he cannot be a disciple to me.

TATIAN SECTION 16

Then answered certain of the scribes and Pharisees, that they might tempt him, 2 and said, Teacher, we desire to see a sign from thee. He answered and said, This evil and adulterous generation seeketh a sign; and it shall not be given a sign, 3 except the sign of Jonah the prophet. And as Jonah was a sign to the inhabitants 4 of Nineveh, so shall the Son of man also be to this generation. And as Jonah was in the belly of the great fish three days and three nights, so shall the Son of man 5 be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights. The queen of the south shall rise in the judgement with the people of this generation, and condemn them: for she came from the ends of the earth that she might hear the wisdom of Solomon; 6 Arabic, and behold, here is a better than Solomon. The men of Nineveh shall stand in the judgement with this generation, and condemn it: for they repented at 7 the preaching of Jonah; and behold, here is a greater than Jonah. The unclean spirit, when he goeth out of the man, departeth, and goeth about through places wherein are no waters, that he may find rest for himself; and when he findeth it not, he 8 saith, I will return to my house whence I came out. And if he come and find it 9 adorned and set in order, then he goeth, and associateth with himself seven other spirits worse than himself; and they enter and dwell in it: and the end of that man shall be worse than his beginning. Thus shall it be unto this evil generation.

And while he was saying that, a woman from the multitude lifted up her voice, and said unto him, Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the breasts that nursed thee. But he said unto her, Blessed is he that heareth the word of God, and keepeth it.

And while he was speaking unto the multitude, there came unto him his mother and his brethren, and sought to speak with him; and they were not able, because of the multitude; and they stood without and sent, calling him unto them. A man said unto him, Behold, thy mother and thy brethren are standing without, and seek to speak with thee. But he answered unto him that spake unto him, Who is my mother? and who are my brethren? And he beckoned with his hand, stretching it out towards his disciples, and said, Behold, my mother! and behold, my brethren! And every man that shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven is my brother, and my sister, and my mother.

And after that, Jesus was going about in the cities and in the villages, and pro- Arabic, claiming and preaching the kingdom of God, and his; twelve with him, and the women which had been healed of diseases and of evil spirits, Mary that was called Magdalene, from whom he had cast out seven devils, and Joanna the wife of Chuza Herod's steward, and Susanna, and many others, who were ministering to them of their substance.

And after that, Jesus went out of the house, and sat on the sea shore. And there gathered unto him great multitudes. And when the press of the people was great upon him, he went up and sat in the boat; and all the multitude was standing on the shore of the sea. And he spake to them much in parables, and said, The sower went forth to sow: and when he sowed, some fell on the beaten highway; and it was trodden upon, and the birds ate it.

And other fell on the rocks: and some, where there was not much earth; and straightway it sprang up, because it had no depth in the earth: and when the sun rose, it withered; and because it had no root, it dried up. And some fell among thorns; and the thorns sprang up with it, and choked it; and it yielded no fruit. And other fell into excellent and good ground; and it came up, and grew, and brought forth fruit, some thirty, and some sixty, and some a hundred. And when he said that, he cried, He that hath ears that hear, let him hear. And when they were alone, his disciples came, and asked him, and said unto him, What is this parable? and why spakest thou unto them in parables? He Arabic, answered and said unto them, Unto you is given the knowledge of the secrets of the kingdom of God; but it is not given unto them that are without. He that hath shall be given unto, and there shall be added; and he that hath not, that which he hath shah be taken from him also. For this cause therefore I speak unto them in parables; because they see, and see not; and hear, and hear not, nor understand. And in them is being fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah, who said, Hearing they shall hear, and shall not understand; And seeing they shall see, and shall not perceive:

The heart of this people is waxed gross, And their hearing with their ears is become heavy, And they have closed their eyes; Lest they should see with their eyes, And hear with their ears, And understand with their hearts, And should return, And I should heal them.

But ye, blessed are your eyes, which see; and your ears, which hear. Blessed are the eyes which see what ye see. Verily I say unto you, Many of the prophets and the righteous longed to see what ye see, and saw not; and to hear what ye hear, and heard not. When ye know not this parable, how shall ye know all para- 41, 42 bles? Hear ye the parable of the sower. The sower which sowed, sowed the word of God. Every one who heareth the word of the kingdom, and understandeth it not, the evil one cometh and snatcheth away the word that hath been sown in his heart: and this is that which was sown on the middle of the highway. But that which was sown on the rocks is he that heareth the word, and straightway receiveth 45, Arabic, it with joy; only, it hath no root in his soul, but his belief in it is for a time; and whenever there is distress or persecution because of a word, he stumbleth quickly. And that which was sown among the thorns is he that heareth the word; and the care of this world, and the error of riches, and the rest of the other lusts enter, and choke the word, and it becometh without fruit. And that which was sown in good ground is he that heareth my word in a pure and good heart, and understandeth it, and holdeth to it, and bringeth forth fruit with patience, and produceth either a hundredfold or sixtyfold or thirty.

And he said, So is the kingdom of God, like a man who casteth seed into the earth, and sleepeth and riseth by night and day, and the seed groweth and cometh up, whence he knoweth not. And the earth bringeth it to the fruit; and first it will be blade, and after it ear, and at last perfect wheat in the ear: and whenever the fruit ripeneth, he bringeth immediately the sickle, for the harvest hath come.

TATIAN SECTION 17

And he set forth to them another parable, and said, The kingdom of heaven is like a man who sowed good seed in his field; but when men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat, and went away. And when the blade sprang up and brought forth fruit, there were noticed the tares also. And the servants of the master of the house came, and said unto him, Our lord, didst thou not sow good seed in thy field? whence are there tares in it? He said unto them, An enemy hath done this. His servants said unto him, Wilt thou that we go 6 and separate it? He said unto them, Perhaps, when ye separate the tares, ye would 7 root up with them wheat also. Leave them to grow both together until the harvest: and in the time of the harvest I will say unto the reapers, Separate the tares first, and bind them in bundles to be burned with fire; and gather the wheat into my barns.

And he set forth to them another parable, and said, To what is the kingdom of God like? and to what shall I liken it? and in what parable shall I set it forth? It is like a grain of mustard seed, which a man took, and planted in his field: and of the number of the things that are sown in the earth it is smaller than all of the things which are sown, which are upon the earth; but when it is grown, it is greater than all the herbs, and produceth large branches, so that the birds of heaven make their nests in its branches.

And he set forth to them another parable: To what shall I liken the kingdom of God? It is like the leaven which a woman took, and kneaded into three measures of flour, until the whole of it was leavened.

And Jesus spake all that to the multitudes by way of parables, according as they were able to hear. And without parables spake he not unto them; that the saying of the Lord through the prophet might be fulfilled:

I will open my mouth in parables; And I will utter secrets which were before the foundations of the world.

But he explained to his disciples privately everything.

Then Jesus left the multitudes, and came to the house. And his disciples came Arabic. unto him, and said unto him, Explain unto us that parable about the tares and the field. He answered and said unto them, He that sowed good seed is the Son of man; and the field is the world; and the good seed are the children of the kingdom; and the tares are the children of the evil one; and the enemy that sowed them is Satan; and the harvest is the end of the world; and the reapers are the angels. And as the tares are separated and burned in the fire, so shall it be in the end of this world. The Son of man shall send his angels, and separate from his kingdom all things that injure, and all the doers of iniquity, and they shall cast them into the furnace of fire: and there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. Then the righteous shall shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father. Whosoever hath ears that hear, let him hear.

And again the kingdom of heaven is like treasure hid in a field: that which a man found and hid; and, for his pleasure in it, went and sold all that he had, and bought that field.

And again the kingdom of heaven is like a man that is a merchant seeking ex- cellent pearls; and when he found one pearl of great price, he went and sold everything that he had, and bought it.

And again the kingdom of heaven is like a net that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind: and when it was filled, they drew it up on to the shore of the sea, and sat down to select; and the good of them they threw into the vessels, and the bad they threw outside. Thus shall it be in the end of the world: the angels shall go forth, and separate the wicked from among the good, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

Jesus said unto them, Have ye understood all these things? They said unto Arabic, him, Yea, our Lord. He said unto them, Therefore every scribe that be- cometh a disciple of the kingdom of heaven is like a man that is a householder, who bringeth out of his treasures the new and the old.

And when Jesus had finished all these parables, he removed thence, and came to his city; and he taught them in their synagogues, so that they were perplexed. And when the sabbath came, Jesus began to teach in the synagogue; and many of those that heard marvelled, and said, Whence came these things to this man? And many envied him and gave no

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heed to him, but said, What is this wisdom that is given to this man, that there should happen at his hands such as these mighty works? Is not this a carpenter, son of a carpenter? and is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren, James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas? And his sisters, all of them, lo, are they not all with us? Whence hath this man all these things? And they were in doubt concerning him. And Jesus knew their opinion, and said unto them, Will ye haply" say unto me this proverb, Physician, heal first thyself: and all that we have heard that thou didst in Capernaum, do here also in thine own city? And he said, Verily I say unto you, A prophet is not received in his own city, nor among his brethren: for a prophet is not despised, save in his own city, and among his own kin, and in his own house. Verily I say unto you, In the days of Elijah the prophet, there were many widows among the children of Israel, when the heaven held back three years and six months, and there was a great famine in all the land; and Elijah Arabic, was not sent to one of them, save to Zarephath of Sidon, to a woman that was a widow. And many lepers were among the children of Israel in the days of Elisha the prophet; but not one of them was cleansed, save Naaman the Nabathaean. And he was not able to do there many mighty works, because of their unbelief; except that he laid his hand upon a few of the sick, and healed them. And he marvelled at their lack of faith. And when those who were in the synagogue heard, 51 they were all filled with wrath; and they rose up, and brought him forth outside the city, and brought him to the brow of the hill upon which their city was built, that they might cast him from its summit: but he passed through among them and went away.

And he went about in the villages which were around Nazareth, and taught in their synagogues.

TATIAN SECTION 18

At that time Herod the tetrarch heard of the fame of Jesus, and all the things which came to pass at his hand; and he marvelled, for he had obtained excellent 2 information concerning him. And same men said that John the Baptist was risen 3 from among the dead; and others said that Elijah had appeared; and others, Jere- 4 miah; and others, that a prophet of the old prophets was risen; and others said that he 5 was a prophet like one of the prophets. Herod said to his servants, This is John the Baptist, he whom I beheaded; he is risen from among the dead: therefore mighty 6 Arabic. works result from him. For Herod himself had sent and taken John, and cast him into prison, for the sake of Herodias his brother Philip's wife, whom he 7 had taken. And John said to Herod, Thou hast no authority to take the wife of thy 8 brother. And Herodias avoided him and wished to kill him; and she could not.

But Herod feared John, for he knew that he was a righteous man and a holy; and he guarded him, and heard him much, and did, and obeyed him with gladness. And he wished to kill him; but he feared the people, for they adhered to him as the prophet. And there was a celebrated day, and Herod had made a feast for his great men on the day of his anniversary, and for the officers and for the chief men of Galilee. And the daughter of Herodias came in and danced in the midst of the company, and pleased Herod and those that sat with him. And the king said to the damsel, Ask of me what thou wilt, and I will give it thee. And he sware unto her, Whatsoever thou shalt ask, I will give it thee, to the half of my kingdom. And she went out, and said unto her mother, What shall I ask him? She said unto her, The head of John the Baptist. And immediately she came in hastily to the king, and said unto him, I desire in this hour that thou give me on a dish the head of John the Baptist. And the king was exceeding sorry; but because of the oath and the guests he did not wish to refuse her. But immediately the king sent an executioner, and commanded that he should bring the head of John: and he went and cut off the head of John in the prison, and brought it on a dish, and delivered it to the damsel; and the damsel gave it to her mother. And his disciples heard, and came Arabic, and took his body, and buffed it. And they came and told Jesus what had happened. And for this cause Herod said, I beheaded John: who is this, of whom I hear these things. And he desired to see him. And Jesus, when he heard, removed thence in a boat to a waste place alone, to the other side of the sea of the Galilee of Tiberias.

And many saw them going, and knew them, and hastened by land from all the cities, and came thither beforehand; for they saw the signs which he was doing on the 23, sick. And Jesus went up into the mountain, and sat there with his disciples. And the feast of the passover of the Jews was near. And Jesus lifted up his eyes, and saw great multitudes coming to him. And he was moved with compassion for them, for they were like sheep that were without a shepherd. And he received them, and spake to them concerning the kingdom of God, and healed those who had need of healing. And when the evening approached, his disciples came to him, and said unto him, The place is desert, and the time is past; send away the multitudes of the people, that they may go to the towns and villages which are around us, and buy for themselves bread; for they have nothing to eat. But he said unto them, They have no need to go away; give ye them what may be eaten. They said unto him, We have not here enough. He said unto Philip, Whence shall we buy bread that these may eat? 31, And he said that proving him; and he knew what he was resolved to do. Philip said Arabic. unto him, Two hundred pennyworth of bread would not suffice them after p. 72 every one of them hath taken a small amount. One of his disciples said unto him (namely, Andrew the brother of Simon Cephas), Here is a lad having five loaves of barley and two fishes: but this amount, what is it for all these? But wilt thou that we go and buy for all the people what may be eaten? for we have no more than these five loaves and the two fishes. And the grass was plentiful in that place. Jesus said unto them, Arrange all the people that they may sit down on the grass, fifty people in a company. And the disciples did so. And all the people sat down by companies, by hundreds and fifties. Then Jesus said unto them, Bring hither those five loaves and the two fishes. And when they brought him that, Jesus took the bread and the fish, and looked to heaven, and blessed, and divided, and gave to his disciples to set before them; and the disciples set for the multitudes the bread and the fish; and they ate, all of them, and were satisfied. And when they were satisfied, he said unto his disciples, Gather the fragments that remain over, that noth- ing be lost. And they gathered, and filled twelve baskets with fragments, being those that remained over from those which ate of the five barley loaves and the two fishes. And those people who ate were five thousand, besides the women and children. Arabic, And straightway he pressed his disciples to go up into the ship, and that they should go before him unto the other side to Bethsaida, while he himself should send away the multitudes. And those people who saw the sign which Jesus did, said, Of a truth this is a prophet who hath come into the world. And Jesus knew their purpose to come and take him, and make him a king; and he left them, and went up into the mountain alone for prayer.

And when the nightfall was near, his disciples went down unto the sea, and sat in a boat, and came to the side of Capernaum. And the darkness came on, and Jesus had not come to them. And the sea was stirred up against them by reason of a violent wind that blew. And the boat was distant from the land many furlongs, and they were much damaged by the waves, and the wind was against them.

TATIAN SECTION 19

And in the fourth watch of the night Jesus came unto them, walking upon the 2 water, after they had rowed with difficulty about twenty-five or thirty furlongs.

And when he drew near unto their boat, his disciples saw him walking on the water; and they were troubled, and supposed that it was a false appearance; and they cried out from their fear. But Jesus straightway spoke unto them, and said, Take courage, for it is I; fear not. Then Cephas answered and said unto him, My Lord, if it be thou, bid me to come unto thee on the water. And Jesus said unto him, Come. And Cephas went down out of the boat, and walked on the water to come unto Jesus. But Arabic, when he saw the wind strong, he feared, and was on the point of sink- ing; and he lifted up his voice, and said, My Lord, save me. And immediately our Lord stretched out his hand and took hold of him, and said unto him, 9 Thou of little faith, why didst thou doubt? And when Jesus came near, he went up unto them into the boat, he and Simon, and immediately the wind ceased. And those that were in the ship came and worshipped him, and said, Truly thou art the Son of God. And straightway that ship arrived at the land which they made for. And when they came out of the ship to the land, they marvelled greatly and were perplexed in themselves: and they had not understood by means of that bread, because their heart was gross.

And when the people of that region knew of the arrival of Jesus, they made haste in all that land, and began to bring those that were diseased, borne in their beds to the place where they heard that he was. And wheresoever the place might be which he entered, of the villages or the cities, they laid the sick in the markets, and sought of him that they might touch were it only the edge of his garment: and all that touched him were healed and lived.

And on the day after that, the multitude which was standing on the shore of the sea saw that there was there no other ship save that into which the disciples had gone up, and that Jesus went not up into the ship with his disciples (but there were other ships from Tiberias near the place where they ate the bread when Jesus blessed it): and when that multitude saw that Jesus was not there, nor yet his disciples, they Arabic, went up into those ships, and came to Capernaum, and sought Jesus. And when they found him on the other side of the sea, they said unto him, Our Master, when camest thou hither? Jesus answered and said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Ye have not sought me because of your seeing the signs, but because of your eating the bread and being satisfied. Serve not the food which perisheth, but the food which abideth in eternal life, which the Son of man will give unto you: him hath God the Father sealed. They said unto him, What shall we do that we may work the work of God? Jesus answered and said unto them, This is the work of God, that ye believe in him whom he hath sent. They said unto him, What sign hast thou done, that we may see, and believe in thee? what hast thou wrought? Our fathers ate the manna in the wilderness; as it was written, Bread from heaven gave he them to eat. Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Moses gave you not bread from heaven; but my Father gave you the bread of truth n from heaven. The bread of God is that which came down from heaven and gave the 28, world life. They said unto him, Our Lord, give us at all times this bread. Jesus said unto them, I am the bread of life: whosoever cometh unto me shall not hun- ger, and whosoever believeth in me shall not thirst for ever. But I said unto you, Ye have seen me, and have not believed. And all that my Father hath given to me cometh unto me; and whosoever cometh unto me I shall not cast him forth with- out. I came down from heaven, not to do my own will, but to do the will of him that sent me; and this is the will of him that sent me, that I should lose nothing of Arabic, that which he gave me, but raise it up in the last day. This is the will of my Father, that every one that seeth the Son, and believeth in him, should have eternal life; and I will raise him up in the last day.

The Jews therefore murmured against him because of his saying, I am the bread which came down from heaven. And they said, Is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know? then how saith this man, I came down from 37, heaven? Jesus answered and said unto them, Murmur not one with another. No man is able to come unto me, except the Father which sent me draw him; and I will raise him up in the last day. It is written in the prophet, They shall all be the taught of God. Every one who heareth from the Father now, and learneth of him, cometh unto me. No man now seeth the Father; but he that is from God, he it is that seeth the Father. Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whosoever believeth in me hath eternal 42, life. I am the bread of life. Your fathers ate the manna in the wilderness, and they died. This is the bread which came down from heaven, that a man may eat of it, and not die. I am the bread of life which came down from heaven: and if a man eat of this bread he shall live for ever: and the bread which I shall give is my body, which I give for the life of the world.

The Jews therefore quarrelled one with another, and said, How can he give us Arabic, his body that we may eat it? Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, If ye do not eat the body of the Son of man and drink his blood, ye shall not have life in yourselves. Whosoever eateth of my body and drinketh of my blood hath eternal life; and I will raise him up in the last day. My body truly is meat, and my blood truly is drink. Whosoever eateth my body and drinketh my blood abideth in me, and I in him--as the living Father sent me, and I am alive because of the Father; and whosoever eateth me, he also shall live because of me. This is the bread which came down from heaven: and not according as your fathers ate the manna, and died: whosoever eateth of this bread shall live for ever. This he said in the synagogue, when he was teaching in Capernaum. And many of his disciples, when they heard, said, This word is hard; who is he that can hear it?

TATIAN SECTION 20

And Jesus knew within himself that his disciples were murmuring because of a that, and he said unto them, Doth this trouble you? What if ye should see the Son 3 of man then ascend to the place where he was of old? It is the spirit that quickeneth, and the body profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you are spirit 4 and life. But there are some of you that do not believe. And Jesus knew beforehand who they were who should not believe, and who it was that should betray 5 him. And he said unto them, Therefore I said unto you, No man can come unto me, if that hath not been given him by the Father.

And because of this word many of his disciples turned back and walked 7 not with him. And Jesus said unto the twelve, Do ye haply also wish to 8 go away? Simon Cephas answered and said, My Lord, to whom shall we go? thou 9 hast the words of eternal life. And we have believed and known that thou art the Messiah, the Son of the living God. Jesus said unto them, Did not I choose you, ye company of the twelve, and of you one is a devil? He said that because of Judas the son of Simon Iscariot; for he, being of the twelve, was purposed to betray him.

And while he was speaking, one of the Pharisees came asking of him that he would eat with him: and he went in, and reclined to meat. And that Pharisee, when he saw it, marvelled that he had not first cleansed himself before his eating. Jesus said unto him, Now do ye Pharisees wash the outside of the cup and the dish, and ye think that ye are cleansed; but your inside is full of injustice and wickedness.

Ye of little mind, did not he that made the outside make the inside? Now give what ye have in alms, and everything shall be clean unto you.

And there came to him Pharisees and scribes, come from Jerusalem. And when they saw some of his disciples eating bread while they had not washed their hands, they found fault. For all of the Jews and the Pharisees, if they wash not their hands thoroughly, eat not; for they held to the ordinance of

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the elders. And they ate not what was bought from the market, except they washed it; and many other things did they keep of what they had received, such as the washing of cups, and measures, and vessels of brass, and couches. And scribes and Pharisees asked him, Why do thy disciples not walk according to the ordinances of the elders, but eat bread without washing their hands? Jesus answered and said unto them, Why do ye also overstep the command of God by reason of your ordinance? God said, Honour thy father and thy mother; and, Whosoever revileth his father and his mother shall surely die. But ye say, If a man say to his father or to his mother, What thou receivest from me is an offering,--and ye suffer him not to do anything for his father or his mother; and ye make void and reject the word of God by reason of the ordinance that ye have ordained and commanded, such as the wash- ing of cups and measures, and what resembles that ye do much. And ye forsook the command of God, and held to the ordinance of men. Do ye well to wrong the command of God in order that ye may establish your ordinance? Ye hypocrites, well did Isaiah the prophet prophesy concerning you, and say, This people honoureth me with its lips; But their heart is very far from me.

But in vain do they fear me, In that they teach the commands of men.

And Jesus called all the multitude, and said unto them. Hear me, all of you, and understand: nothing without the man, which then enters him, is able to defile him; but what goeth out of him, that it is which defileth the man. He that hath ears that hear, let him hear. Then his disciples drew near, and said unto him, Knowest thou that the Pharisees which heard this word were angry? He answered and said unto them, Every plant which my Father which is in heaven planted not shall be Arabic, uprooted. Let them alone; for they are blind leading blind. And if the blind lead the blind, both of them shall fall into a hollow.

And when Jesus entered the house from the multitude, Simon Cephas asked him, and said unto him, My Lord, explain to us that parable. He said unto them, Do ye also thus not understand? Know ye not that everything that entereth into the man from without cannot defile him; because it entereth not into his heart; it entereth into his stomach only, and thence is cast forth in the cleansing which maketh clean all the food? The thing which goeth forth from the mouth of the man pro- ceedeth from his heart, and it is that which defileth the man. From within the heart of men proceed evil thoughts, fornication, adultery, theft, false witness, murder, injustice, wickedness, deceit, stupidity, evil eye, calumny, pride, foolishness: these evils all of them from within proceed from the heart, and they are the things which defile the man: but if a man eat while he washeth not his hands, he is not defiled.

And Jesus went out thence, and came to the borders of Tyre and Sidon. And he entered into a certain house, and desired that no man should know it; and he could not be hid. But straightway a Canaanitish woman, whose daughter had an 48, unclean spirit, heard of him. And that woman was a Gentile of Emesa of Syria. And she came out after him, crying out, and saying, Have mercy upon me, my Lord, thou son of David; for my daughter is seized in an evil way by Satan. And he answered Arabic. her not a word. And his disciples came and besought him, and said, Send her away: for she crieth after us. He answered and said unto them, I was not sent except to the sheep that are gone astray of the house of Israel. But she came and worshipped him, and said, My Lord, help me, have mercy upon me.

Jesus said unto her, It is not seemly that the children's bread should be taken and thrown to the dogs. But she said, Yea, my Lord: the dogs also eat of the crumbs that fall from their masters' tables, and live. Then said Jesus unto her, O woman, great is thy faith: it shall be unto thee as thou hast desired. Go then thy way; and because of this word, the devil is gone out of thy daughter. And her daughter was healed in that hour. And that woman went away to her house, and found her daughter laid upon the bed, and the devil gone out of her.

TATIAN SECTION 21

And Jesus went out again from the borders of Tyre and Sidon, and came to the 2 sea of Galilee, towards the borders of Decapolis. And they brought unto him one dumb and deaf, and entreated him that he would lay his hand upon him and heal 3 him. And he drew him away from the multitude, and went away alone, and spat 4 upon his fingers, and thrust them into his ears, and touched his tongue; and looked 5 to heaven, and sighed, and said unto him, Be opened. And in that hour his ears 6 were opened, and the bond of his tongue was loosed, and he spake with ease. And Jesus charged them much that they should not tell this to any man: but the more 7 he charged them, the mare they increased in publishing, and marvelled much, and Arabic. said, This man doeth everything well: he made the deaf to hear, and those that lacked speech to speak.

And while he was passing through the land of Samaria, he came to one of the cities of the Samaritans, called Sychar, beside the field which Jacob gave to Joseph to his son. And there was there a spring of water of Jacob's. And Jesus was fatigued from the exertion of the way, and sat at the spring. And the time was about the sixth hour. And a woman of Samaria came to draw water; and Jesus said unto her, Give me water, that I may drink. And Iris disciples had entered into the city to buy for themselves food. And that Samaritan woman said unto him, How dost thou, being a Jew, ask me to give thee to drink, while I am a Samaritan woman? (And the Jews mingle not with the Samaritans. Jesus answered and said unto her, If thou knewest the gift of God, and who this is that said unto thee, Give me to drink; thou wouldest ask him, and he would give thee the water of life. That woman said unto him, My Lord, thou hast no bucket, and the well is deep: from whence hast thou the water of life? Can it be that thou art greater than our father Jacob, who gave us this well, and drank from it, and his children, and his sheep? Jesus answered and said unto her, Every one that drinketh of this water shall thirst again: but whosoever drinketh of the water which I shall give him shall not thirst for ever: but the water which I shall give him shall be in him a spring of water springing up unto eternal life. That woman said unto him, My Lord, give me of this water, that I may not thirst again, neither come and draw water from here. Jesus said unto her, Arabic. Go and call thy husband, and come hither. She said unto him, I have no 22 husband. Jesus said unto her, Thou saidst well, I have no husband: five husbands hast thou had, and this man whom thou hast now is not thy husband; and in this thou saidst truly. That woman said unto him, My Lord, I perceive thee to be a prophet. Our fathers worshipped in this mountain; and ye say that in Jeru- salem is the place in which worship must be. Jesus said unto her, Woman, believe me, an hour cometh, when neither in this mountain, nor yet in Jerusalem, shall ye wor- ship the Father. Ye worship that which ye know not: but we worship that which we know: for salvation is of the Jews. But an hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth: and the Father also seeketh such as these worshippers. For God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth. That woman said unto him, I know that the Messiah cometh: and when he is come, he will teach us everything. Jesus said unto her, I that speak unto thee am he.

And while he was speaking, his disciples came; and they wondered how he would speak with a woman; but not one of them said unto him, What seekest thou? or, What speakest thou with her? And the woman left her waterpot, and went to the city, and said to the people, Come, and see a man who told me all that ever I did: 34 perhaps then he is the Messiah. And people went out from the city, and came to him. And in the mean while his disciples besought him, and said unto him, Our 36, master, eat. And he said unto them, I have food to eat that ye know not. And the disciples said amongst themselves, Can any one have brought him aught to eat?

Jesus said unto them, My food is to do the will of him that sent me, and to accomplish his work. Said ye not that after four months cometh the harvest? behold, I therefore say unto you, Lift up your eyes, and behold the lands, that they have become white, and the harvest is already come. And he that reapeth receiveth his wages, and gathereth the fruit of eternal life; and the sower and the reaper rejoice together. For in this is found the word of truth, One soweth, and another reapeth. And I sent you to reap that in which ye have not laboured: others laboured, and ye have entered on their labour.

And from that city many of the Samaritans believed in him because of the words of that woman, who testified and said, He told me all that ever I did. And when those Samaritans came unto him, they besought him to abide with them; and he 45, abode with them two days. And many believed in him because of his word; and they said to that woman, Now not because of thy saying have we believed in him: we have heard and known that this truly is the Messiah, the Saviour of the world.

And after two days Jesus went out thence and departed to Galilee. And Jesus testified that a prophet is not honoured in his own city.And when he came to Galilee, the Galilaeans received him.

TATIAN SECTION 22

And when Jesus came to a certain village, there drew near to him a leper, and fell at his feet, and besought him, and said unto him, If thou wilt, thou art able to cleanse me. And Jesus had mercy upon him, and stretched forth his hand, and touched him, and said, I will cleanse thee. And immediately his leprosy departed from him, and he was cleansed. And he sternly charged him, and sent him out, Arabic, and said unto him, See that thou tell not any man: but go and shew thyself to the priests, and offer an offering for thy cleansing as Moses com- 6 manded for their testimony. But he, when he went out, began to publish much, and spread abroad the news, so that Jesus could not enter into any of the cities openly, for the extent to which the report of him spread, but he remained without in a des- 7 ert place. And much people came unto him from one place and another, to hear 8 his word, and that they might be healed of their pains. And he used to withdraw from them into the desert, and pray.

And after that, was the feast of the Jews; and Jesus went up to Jerusalem. And there was in Jerusalem a place prepared for bathing, which was called in Hebrew the House of Mercy, having five porches. And there were laid in them much people of the sick, and blind, and lame, and paralysed, waiting for the moving of the water. And the angel from time to time went down into the place of bathing, and moved the water; and the first that went down after the moving of the water, every pain that he had was healed. And a man was there who had a disease for thirty-eight years. And Jesus saw this man laid, and knew that he had been thus a long time; and he said unto him, Wouldest thou be made whole? That diseased one answered and said, Yea, my Lord, I have no man, when the water moveth, to put me into the bathing-place; but when I come, another goeth down before 16, me. Jesus said unto him, Rise, take thy bed, and walk. And immediately that man was healed; and he rose, and carried his bed, and walked.

And that day was a sabbath. And when the Jews saw that healed one, they said unto him, It is a sabbath: thou hast no authority to carry thy bed. And he answered and said unto them, He that made me whole, the same said unto me, Take thy bed, Arabic, and walk. They asked him therefore, Who is this man that said unto thee, p. 86 Take thy bed, and walk? But he that was healed knew not who it was; for Jesus had removed from that place to another, because of the press of the great mul- titude which was in that place. And after two days Jesus happened upon him in the temple, and said unto him, Behold, thou art whole: sin not again, lest there come upon thee what is worse than the first. And that man went, and said to the Jews that it was Jesus that had healed him. And because of that the Jews persecuted Jesus and sought to kill him, because he was doing this on the sabbath. And Jesus said unto them, My Father worketh until now, and I also work. And because of this especially the Jews sought to kill him, not because he profaned the sabbath only; but for his saying also that God was his Father, and his making himself equal with God. Jesus answered and said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, The Son cannot do anything of himself, but what be seeth the Father do; what the Father doeth, that the Son also doeth like him. The Father loveth his Son, and everything that he doeth he sheweth him: and more than these works will he shew him, that ye may marvel. And as the Father raiseth the dead and giveth them life, so the Son also giveth life to whomsoever he will. And the Father judgeth no man, but hath given all judgement unto the Son; that every man may honour the Son, as he honoureth the Father. And he that honoureth not the Son honoureth not the Father which sent him. Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whosoever heareth my word, and believeth in him that sent me, hath eternal. life, and cometh not into judgement, but passeth from Arabic. death unto life. Verily, verily, I say unto you, An hour shall come, and now is also, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and those which hear shall live. And as the Father hath life in himself, likewise he gave to the Son also that he might have life in himself, and authority to do judgement also, because he is the Son of man. Marvel not then at that: I mean the coming of the hour when all that are in the tombs shall hear his voice, and shall come forth: those that have done good, to the resurrection of life; and those that have done evil deeds, to the resurrection of judgement.

I am not able of myself to do anything; but as I hear, I judge: and my judge- ment is just; I seek not my own will, but the will of him that sent me. I bear wit- ness of myself, and so a my witness is not true. It is another that beareth witness of me; and I know that the witness which he beareth of me is true. Ye have sent unto John, and he hath borne witness of the truth. But not from man do I seek witness; but I say that ye may live. That was a lamp which shineth and giveth light: and ye were pleased to glory now in his light. But I have witness greater than that of John: the works which my Father hath given me to accomplish, those works which I do, bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me. And the Father which sent me, he hath borne witness of me. Ye have neither heard his voice at any time, nor seen his appearance. And his word abideth not in you; because in him whom he hath sent ye do not believe. Search the scriptures, in which ye rejoice that ye have eternal life; and they bear witness of me; and ye do not wish to come to 49. Arabic. me, that ye may have eternal life. I seek not praise of men. But I know you, that the love of God is not in you. I am come in the name of my Father, and ye received me not; but if another come in his own name, that one will 52 ye receive. And how can ye believe, while ye receive praise one from another, and praise from God, the One, ye seek not? Can it be that ye think that I will accuse you before the Father? Ye have one that accuseth you, Moses, in whom ye have rejoiced. If ye believed Moses, ye would believe me also; Moses wrote of me. And if ye believed not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?

TATIAN SECTION 23

And Jesus departed thence, and came to the side of the sea of Galilee, and went up into the mountain, and sat there. And there came unto him great multitudes, having with them lame, and blind, and dumb, and maimed, and many others, and they

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cast them at the feet of Jesus: for they had seen all the signs which he did in Jerusalem, when they were gathered at the feast. And he healed them all. And those multitudes marvelled when they saw dumb men speak, and maimed men healed, and lame men walk, and blind men see; and they praised the God of Israel.

And Jesus called his disciples, and said unto them, I have compassion on this multitude, because of their continuing with me three days, having nothing to eat; and to send them away fasting I am not willing, lest they faint in the way, some of them having come from far. His disciples said unto him, Whence have we in the desert bread wherewith to satisfy all this multitude? Jesus said unto them, How 8 many loaves have ye? They said unto him, Seven, and a few small fishes. And he 9 commanded the multitudes to sit down upon the ground; and he took those seven loaves and the fish, and blessed, and brake, and gave to his disciples to set before them; and the disciples set before the multitudes. And they all ate, and were satisfied: and they took that which remained over of the fragments, seven basketfuls. And the people that ate were four thousand men, besides the women and children. And when the multitudes departed, he went up into the boat, and came to the borders of Magada.

And the Pharisees and Sadducees came to him, and began to seek a discussion with him. And they asked him to shew them a sign from heaven, tempting him. And Jesus sighed within himself, and said, What sign seeketh this evil and adulterous generation? It seeketh a sign, and it shall not be given a sign, except the sign of Jonah the prophet. Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not be given a sign. And he left them, and went up into the boat, and went away to that side.

And his disciples forgot to take with them bread, and there was not with them in the boat, not even one loaf. And Jesus charged them, and said, Take heed, and guard yourselves from the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees, and from the leaven of Herod. And they reflected within themselves that they had taken with them no bread. And Jesus knew, and said unto them, Why think ye within yourselves, O ye of little faith, and are anxious, because ye have no bread? until now do ye not per- ceive, neither understand? is your heart yet hard? And have ye eyes, and yet see not? Arabic, and have ye ears, and yet hear not? and do ye not remember when I brake those five loaves for five thousand? and how many baskets full of broken pieces took ye up? They said, Twelve. He said unto them, And the seven also for four thousand: how many baskets full of broken pieces took ye up? They said, Seven. He said unto them, How have ye not understood thai I spake not to you because of the bread, but that ye should beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees? Then they understood that he spake, not that they should beware of the leaven of the bread, but of the doctrine of the Pharisees and Sadducees, which he called leaven.

And after that, he came to Bethsaida. And they brought to him a certain blind man, and besought him that he would touch him. And he took the hand of that blind man, and led him out without the village, and spat in his eyes, and laid his hand on him, and asked him, What seest thou? And that blind man looked in- tently, and said unto him, I see men as trees walking. And he placed his hand again on his eyes; and they were restored, and he saw everything clearly. And he sent him to his house, and said, Do not enter even into the village, nor tell any man in the village.

And Jesus went forth, and his disciples, to the villages of Caesarea Philippi. And while he was going in the way, and his disciples alone, he asked his disciples, and said, What do men say of me that I am, the Son of man? They said unto him, Some say, John the Baptist; and others, Elijah; and others, Jeremiah, or one of the 34, prophets. He said unto them, And ye, what say ye that I am? Simon Cephas an- Arabic. swered and said, Thou art the Messiah, the Son of the living God. Jesus an- swered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon son of Jonah: flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say unto thee also, that thou art Cephas, and on this rock will I build my church; and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it. To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. And he sternly charged his disciples, and warned them that they should not tell any man concern- ing him, that he was the Messiah. And henceforth began Jesus to shew to his dis- ciples that he was determined to go to Jerusalem, and suffer much, and be rejected of the elders, and of the chief priests, and of the scribes, and be killed, and on the third day rise. And he was speaking plainly. And Simon Cephas, as one grieved for him, said, Far be thou, my Lord, from that. And he turned, and looked upon his disciples, and rebuked Simon, and said, Get thee behind me, Satan: for thou art a stumblingblock unto me: for thou thinkest not of what pertains to God, but of what pertains to men.

And Jesus called the multitudes with his disciples, and said unto them, Whosoever would come after me, let him deny himself, and take his cross every day, and come after me. And whosoever would save his life shall lose it; and whosoever loseth his life for my sake, and for the sake of my gospel, shall save it. What shall a man profit, if he gain all the world, and destroy his own life, or lose it? or what Arabic, will a man give in ransom for his life? Whosoever shall deny me and my sayings in this sinful and adulterous generation, the Son of man also will deny him, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with his holy angels. For the Son of man is about to come in the glory of his Father with his holy angels; and then shall he reward each man according to his works.

TATIAN SECTION 24

And he said unto them, Verily I say unto you, There be here now some standing that shall not taste death, until they see the kingdom of God come with strength, and the Son of man who cometh in his kingdom.

And after six days Jesus took Simon Cephas, and James, and John his brother, 3 and brought them up into a high mountain, the three of them only. And while they 4 were praying, Jesus changed, and became after the fashion of another person; and his face shone like the sun, and his raiment was very white like the snow, and as 5 the light of lightning, so that nothing on earth can whiten like it. And there ap- 6 peared unto him Moses and Elijah talking to Jesus. And they thought that the time 7 of his decease which was to be accomplished at Jerusalem was come. And Simon and those that were with him were heavy in the drowsiness of steep; and with effort they roused themselves, and saw his glory, and those two men that were standing with him. 8 Arabic. And when they began to depart from him, Simon said unto Jesus, My 9 Master, it is good for us to be here: and if thou wilt, we will make here three tabernacles; one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elijah; not know- ing what he said, because of the fear which took possession of them. And while he was yet saying that, a bright cloud overshadowed them. And when they saw Moses and Elijah that they had entered into that cloud, they feared again. And a voice was heard out of the cloud, saying, This is my beloved Son, whom I have chosen; hear ye therefore him. And when this voice was heard, Jesus was found alone. And the disciples, when they heard the voice, fell on their faces from the fear which took hold of them. And Jesus came and touched them and said, Arise, be not afraid. And they lifted up their eyes, and saw Jesus as he was.

And when they went down from the mountain, Jesus charged them, and said unto them, Tell not what ye have seen to any man, until the Son of man rise from among the dead. And they kept the word within themselves, and told no man in those days what they had seen. And they reflected among themselves, What is this word which he spake unto us, I, when I am risen from among the dead? And his disciples asked him, and said, What is that which the scribes say, then, that Elijah must first come? He said unto them, Elijah cometh first to set in order everything, Arabic, and as it was written of the Son of man, that he should suffer many things, and be rejected. But I say unto you, that Elijah is come, and they knew him not, and have done unto him whatsoever they desired, as it was written of him. 23, In like manner the Son of man is to suffer of them. Then understood the disciples that he spake unto them concerning John the Baptist.

And on that day whereon they came down from the mountain, there met him a multitude of many people standing with his disciples, and the scribes were discuss- ing with them. And the people, when they saw Jesus, were perplexed, and in the midst of their joy hastened and saluted him. And on that day came certain of the Pharisees, and said unto him, Get thee out, and go hence; for Herod seeketh to kill thee. Jesus said unto them, Go ye and say to this fox, Behold, I am casting out demons, and I heal to-day and to-morrow, and on the third day I am perfected. Nevertheless I must be watchful a to-day and to-morrow, and on the last day I shall depart; for it cannot be that a prophet perish outside of Jerusalem.

And after that, there came to him a man from that multitude, and fell upon his knees, and said unto him, I beseech thee, my Lord, look upon my son; he is my only child: and the spirit cometh upon him suddenly. A lunacy hath come upon him, and he meeteth with evils. And when it cometh upon him, it beateth him about; and he foameth, and gnasheth his teeth, and wasteth; and many times it hath thrown him into the water and into the fire to destroy him, and it hardly leaveth him after Arabic. bruising him. And I brought him near to thy disciples, and they could P. not heal him. Jesus answered and said, O faithless and perverse generation, till when shall I be with you? and till when shall I bear with you? bring thy son hither. And he brought him unto him: and when the spirit saw him, immediately it beat him about; and he fell upon the ground, and was raging and foaming. And Jesus asked his father, How long is the time during which he hath been thus? He said unto him, From his youth until now. But, my Lord, help me wherein thou canst, and have mercy upon me. Jesus said unto him, If thou canst believe! All things are possible to him that believeth. And immediately the father of the child cried out, weeping, and said, I believe, my Lord; help my lack of faith. And when Jesus saw the hastening of the people, and their coming at the sound, he rebuked that unclean spirit, and said to it, Thou dumb spirit that speakest not, I command thee, come out of him, and enter not again into him. And that spirit, devil, cried out much, and bruised him, and came out; and that child fell as one dead, and many thought that he had died. But Jesus took him by his hand, and raised him up, and gave him to his father; and that child was healed from that hour. And the people all marvelled at the greatness of God.

And when Jesus entered into the house, his disciples came, and asked him privately, and said unto him, Why were we not able to heal him? Jesus said unto Arabic. them, Because of your unbelief. Verily I say unto you, If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say to this mountain, Remove hence; and it shall remove; and nothing shall overcome you. But it is impossible to cast out this kind by anything except by fasting and prayer.

And when he went forth thence, they passed through Galilee: and he would not that any man should know it. And he taught his disciples, and said unto them, Keep ye these sayings in your ears and your hearts: for the Son of man is to be delivered into the hands of men, and they shall kill him; and when he is killed, he shall rise on the third day. But they knew not the word which he spake unto them, for it was concealed from them, that they should not perceive it; and they feared to ask him about this word. And they were exceeding sorrowful.

TATIAN SECTION 25

And in that day this thought presented itself to his disciples, and they said, which 2 haply should be the greatest among them. And when they came to Capernaum, and entered into the house, Jesus said unto them, What were ye considering in the 3 way among yourselves? And they were silent because they had considered that matter.

And when Simon went forth without, those that received two dirhams for the tribute came to Cephas, and said unto him, Doth your master not give his two 5 dirhams? He said unto them, Yea. And when Cephas entered the house, Jesus anticipated him, and said unto him, What thinkest thou, Simon? the kings of the earth, from whom do they receive custom and tribute? from their sons, or from 6 Arabic. strangers? Simon said unto him, From strangers. Jesus said unto him, p. Children then are free. Simon said unto him, Yea. Jesus said unto him, 7 Give thou also unto them, like the stranger. But, lest it trouble them, go thou to the sea, and cast a hook; and the first fish that cometh up, open its mouth, and thou shall find a staler: take therefore that, and give for me and thee.

And in that hour came the disciples to Jesus, and said unto him, Who, thinkest 9 thou, is greater in the kingdom of heaven? And Jesus knew the thought of their heart, and called a child, and set him in the midst, and took him in his arms, and said unto them, Verily I say unto you, If ye do not return, and become as children, 11 ye shall not enter the kingdom of heaven. Every one that shall receive in my name such as this child hath received me: and whosoever receiveth me receiveth not me, but him that sent me. And he who is little in your company, the same shall be great. But whosoever shall injure one of these little ones that believe in me, it were better for him that a great millstone should be hanged about his neck, and he should be drowned in the depths of the sea.

John answered and said, Our Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name; and we prevented him, because he followed not thee with us. Jesus said unto them, Prevent him not; for no man doeth powers in my name, and can hasten to speak evil 16, of me. Every one who is not in opposition to you is with you. Woe unto the world Arabic. because of trials! but woe unto that man by whose hand the trials come If thy hand or thy foot injure thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee; for it is better for thee to enter into life being halt or maimed, and not that thou shouldest have two hands or two feet, and fall into the hell of fire that burneth for ever; 19, where their worm dieth not, and their fire is not quenched. And if thine eye seduce thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee; for it is better for thee to enter the kingdom of God with one eye, than that thou shouldest have two eyes, and fall into the 22, fire of Gehenna; where their worm dieth not, and their fire is not quenched. Every one shall be salted with fire, and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt. How good is salt! but if the salt also be tasteless, wherewith shall it be salted? It is fit neither for the land nor for dung, but they cast it out. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear. Have ye salt in yourselves. and be in peace one with another.

And he arose from thence, and came to the borders of Judaea beyond Jordan: and there went unto him thither great multitudes, and he healed them; and he taught them also, according to his custom. And the Pharisees came unto him, tempting him, and asking him, Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife? He said, What did Moses command you? They said, Moses made it allowable for us, saying, Who- 31 soever will, let him write a writing of divorcement, and put away his wife. Jesus answered and said unto them, Have ye not read, He that made them from the beginning made them male and female, and said, For this reason shall the man leave his father Arabic, and his mother, and cleave to his wife; and they both

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shall be one body? So then they are not twain, but one body; the thing, then, which God hath joined together, let no man put asunder. And those Pharisees said unto him, Why did Moses consent that a man should give a writing of divorcement and put her away? Jesus said unto them, Moses because of the hardness of your hearts gave you leave to divorce your wives; but in the beginning it was not so. I say unto you, Whosoever putteth away his wife without fornication, and marrieth another, hath exposed her to adultery. And his disciples, when he entered the house, asked him again about that. And he said unto them, Every one who putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, hath exposed her to adultery. And any woman that leaveth her husband, and becometh another's, hath committed adultery. And whosoever mar- rieth her that is divorced hath committed adultery. And his disciples said unto him, If there be between the man and the woman such a case as this, it is not good for a man to marry. He said unto them, Not every man can endure this saying, except him to whom it is given. There are eunuchs which from their mother's womb were born so; and there are eunuchs which through men became eunuchs; and there are eunuchs which made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of heaven. He that is able to be content, let him be content.

Then they brought to him children, that he should lay his hand upon them, and pray: and his disciples were rebuking those that were bringing them. And Jesus saw, and it was distressing to him; and he said unto them, Suffer the children to Arabic. come unto me, and prevent them not; for those that are like these have the kingdom of God. Verily I say unto you, Whosoever receiveth not the kingdom of God as this child, shall not enter it. And he took them in his arms, and laid his hand upon them, and blessed them.

TATIAN SECTION 26

And there came unto him publicans and sinners to hear his word. And the scribes and the Pharisees murmured, and said, This man receiveth sinners, and 3 eateth with them. And Jesus, when he beheld their murmuring, spake unto them 4 this parable: What man of you, having an hundred sheep, if one of them were lost, would not leave the ninety-nine in the wilderness, and go and seek the straying one 5 till he found it? Verily I say unto you, When he findeth it, he will rejoice over it 6 more than over the ninety-nine that went not astray; and bear it on his shoulders, and bring it to his house, and call his friends and neighbours, and say unto them, 7 Rejoice with me, since I have found my straying sheep. So your Father which is in heaven willeth not that one of these little ones that have strayed should perish, 8 and he seeketh for them repentance. I say unto you, Thus there shall be rejoicing in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety-nine righteous persons that do not need repentance.

And what woman having ten drachmas would lose one of them, and not light a lamp, and sweep the house, and seek it with care till she found it; and when she found it, call her friends and neighbours, and say unto them, Rejoice with me, as I have found my drachma that was lost? I say unto you, Thus there shall be joy Arabic. before the angels of God over the one sinner that repenteth, more than over the ninety-nine righteous persons that do not need repentance.

And Jesus spoke unto them also another parable: A man had two sons: and the younger son said unto him, My father, give me my portion that belongeth to me of thy goods. And he divided between them his property. And after a few days the younger son gathered everything that belonged to him, and went into a far country, and there squandered his property by living prodigally. And when he had exhausted everything he had, there occurred a great dearth in that country. And when he was in want, he went and joined himself to one of the people of a city of that country; and that man sent him into the field to feed the swine. And he used to long to fill his belly with the carob that those swine were eating: and no man gave him. And when he returned unto himself, he said, How many hired servants now in my father's house have bread enough and to spare, while I here perish with hunger! I will arise and go to my father's house, and say unto him, My father, I have sinned in heaven and before thee, and am not worthy now to be called thy son: make me as one of thy hired servants. And he arose, and came to his father. But his father saw him while he was at a distance, and was moved with compassion for him, and ran, and fell on his breast, and kissed him. And his son said unto him, My father, I have sinned in heaven and before thee, and am not worthy to be called thy son. His father said unto his servants, Bring forth a stately robe, and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand, and put on him shoes on his feet: and bring and slay a fatted ox, that we may eat and make merry: for this my son was dead, and is Arabic. alive; and was lost, and is found. And they began to be merry. Now his eider son was in the field; and when he came and drew near to the house, he heard the sound of many singing. And he called one of the lads, and asked him what this was. He said unto him, Thy brother hath arrived; and thy father hath slain a fatted ox, since he hath received him safe and sound. And he was angry, and would not enter; so his father went out, and besought him to enter. And he said to his father, How many years do I serve thee in bondage, and I never transgressed a commandment of thine; and thou hast never given me a kid, that I might make merry with my friends? but this thy son, when he had squandered thy 32 property with harlots, and come, thou hast slain for him a fatted ox. His father said unto him, My son, thou art at all times with me, and everything I have is thine. It behoveth thee to rejoice and make merry, since this thy brother was dead, and is alive; and was lost, and is found.

And he spake a parable unto his disciples: There was a rich man, and he had a steward; and he was accused to him that he had squandered his property. So his lord called him, and said unto him, What is this that I hear regarding thee? Give me the account of thy stewardship; for it is now impossible that thou shouldest be a steward for me. The steward said within himself, What shall I do, seeing that my lord taketh from me the stewardship?

To dig I am not able; and to beg I am ashamed. I know what I will do, that, when I go out of the stewardship, they may receive me into their houses. And he called one after another of his lord's 39 debtors, and said to the first, How much owest thou my lord? He said unto him, An hundred portions of oil. He said unto him, Take thy writing, and sit down, and write quickly fifty portions. And he said to the next, And thou, how much owest thou my lord? He said unto him, An hundred cors of wheat. He said unto him, Take Arabic, thy writing, and sit down, and write eighty cors. And our lord com- mended the sinful steward because he had done a wise deed; for the children of this world are wiser than the children of the light in this their age. And I also say unto you, Make unto yourselves friends with the wealth of this unrighteousness; so that, when it is exhausted, they may receive you into their tents for ever. He who is faithful in a little is faithful also in much: and he who is unrighteous in a little is unrighteous also in much. If then in the wealth of unrighteousness ye were not trustworthy, who will intrust you with the truth? If ye are not found faithful in what does not belong to you, who will give you what belongeth to you?

TATIAN SECTION 27

Therefore the kingdom of heaven is like a certain king, who would make a reckoning with his servants. And when he began to make it, they brought to him one who owed him ten talents. And because he had not wherewith to pay, his lord ordered that he should be sold, he, and his wife, and children, and all that he 4 had, and payment be made. So that servant fell down and worshipped him, and said unto him, My lord, have patience with me, and I shall pay thee everything. 5 And the lord of that servant had compassion, and released him, and forgave him his 6 debt. And that servant went out, and found one of his fellow-servants, who owed him Arabic. a hundred pence; and he took him, and dealt severely with him, and said 7 unto him, Give me what thou owest. Sothe fellow-servant fell down at his 8 feet, and besought him, and said, Grant me respite, and I will pay thee. And he would not; but took him, and cast him into prison, till he should give him his debt. 9 And when their fellow-servants saw what happened, it distressed them much; and they came and told their lord of all that had taken place. Then his lord called him, and said unto him, Thou wicked servant, all that debt I forgave thee, because thou besoughtest me: was it not then incumbent on thee also to have mercy on thy fellow-servant, as I had mercy on thee? And his lord became wroth, and delivered him to the scourgers, till he should pay all that he owed. So shall my Father which is in heaven do unto you, if one forgive not his brother his wrong conduct from his heart. Take heed within yourselves: if thy brother sin, rebuke him; and if he repent, forgive him. And if he act wrongly towards thee seven times in a day, and on that day return seven times unto thee, and say, I repent towards thee; forgive him. And if thy brother act wrongly towards thee, go and reprove him between thee and him alone: if he hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he hear thee not, take with thee one or two, and so at the mouth of two or three every saying shall be established. And if he listen not to these also, tell the congregation; and if he listen not even to the congregation, let him be unto thee as a publican and a Gen- tile. Verily I say unto you, All that ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and what ye loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. I say unto you also, If two of you agree on earth to ask, everything shall be granted them from my Father Arabic, which is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered in my name, there am l amongst them. Then Cephas drew near to him, and said unto him, My Lord, how many times, if my brother act wrongly towards me, should I forgive him? until seven times? Jesus said unto him, I say not unto thee, Until seven; but, Until sev-24 enty times seven, seven. And the servant that knoweth his lord's will, and maketh not ready for him according to his will, shall meet with much punishment; but he that knoweth not, and doeth something for which he meriteth punishment, shall meet with slight punishment. Every one to whom much hath been given, much shall be asked of him; and he that hath had much committed to him, much shall be required at his hand. I came to cast fire upon the earth; and I would that it had been kindled already. And I have a baptism to be baptized with, and greatly am I straitened till it be accomplished. See that ye despise not one of these little ones that believe in me. Verily I say unto you, Their angels at all times see the face of my Father which is in heaven. The Son of man came to save the thing which was lost.

And after that, Jesus walked in Galilee; and he did not like to walk in Judaea, because the Jews sought to kill him. And there came people who told him of the Galilaeans, those whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices. Jesus answered and said unto them, Do ye imagine that those Galilaeans were sinners more than all the Galilaeans, so that this thing has come upon them? Nay. Verily I say unto you now, that ye shall all also, if ye repent not, likewise perish. Or perchance those eighteen on whom the palace fell in Siloam, and slew them, do ye imagine that they were to be condemned more than all the people that dwell Arabic, in Jerusalem? Nay. Verily I say unto you, If ye do not all repent, ye p. 106 shall perish like them.

And he spake unto them this parable: A man had a fig tree planted in his vineyard; and he came and sought fruit thereon, and found none. So he said to the husbandman, Lo, three years do I come and seek fruit on this fig tree, and find none: cut it down; why doth it render the ground unoccupied? The husbandman said unto him, My lord, leave it this year also, that I may dig about it, and dung it; then if it bear fruit--! and if not, then cut it down in the coming year.

And when Jesus was teaching on the sabbath day in one of the synagogues, there was there a woman that had a spirit of disease eighteen years; and she was bowed down, and could not straighten herself at all. And Jesus saw her, and called her, and said unto her, Woman, be loosed from thy disease. And he put his hand upon her; and immediately she was straightened, and praised God. And the chief of the synagogue answered with anger, because Jesus had healed on a sabbath, and said unto the multitudes, There are six days in which work ought to be done; come in them and be healed, and not on the sabbath day. But Jesus answered and said unto him, Ye hypocrites, doth not each of you on the sabbath day loose his ox or his ass from the manger, and go and water it? Ought not this woman, who is a daughter of Abraham, and whom the devil hath bound eighteen years, to be loosed from this bond on the sabbath day? And when he said this, they were all put to shame, those standing, who were opposing him: and all the people were pleased with all the wonders that proceeded from his hand.

TATIAN SECTION 28

And at that time the feast of tabernacles of the Jews drew near. So the brethren of Jesus said unto him, Remove now hence, and go to Judaea, that 3 thy disciples may see the deeds that thou doest. For no man doeth a thing secretly 4 and wisheth to be apparent. If thou doest this, shew thyself to the world. For 5 up to this time not even the brethren of Jesus believed on him. Jesus said unto them, My time till now has not arrived; but as for you, your time is alway ready. 6 It is not possible for the world to hate you; but me it hateth, for I bear witness 7 against it, that its deeds are evil. As for you, go ye up unto this feast: but I go 8 not up now to this feast; for my time has not yet been completed. He said this, and remained behind in Galilee.

But when his brethren went up unto the feast, he journeyed from Galilee, and to came to the borders of Judaea, to the country beyond Jordan; and there came after him great multitudes, and he healed them all there. And he went out, and proceeded to the feast, not openly, but as one that conceals himself. And the Jews sought him at the feast, and said, In what place is this man? And there occurred much murmuring there in the great multitude that came to the feast, on his account. For some said, He is good: and others said, Nay, but he leadeth the people astray. But no man spake of him openly for fear of the Jews.

But when the days of the feast of tabernacles were half over, Jesus went up to the temple, and taught. And the Jews wondered, and said, How doth this man know writing, seeing he hath not learned? Jesus answered and said, My doc- trine is not mine, but his that sent me.

Whoever wisheth to do his will understandeth my doctrine? whether it be from God, or whether I speak of mine own accord. Whosoever speaketh of his own accord seeketh praise for himself; but whosoever seeketh praise for him that sent him, he is true, and unrighteousness in his heart there is none. Did not Moses give you the law, and no man of you keepeth the law? Why seek ye to kill me? The multitude answered and said unto him, Thou hast demons: who seeketh to kill thee? Jesus answered and said unto them, I did one deed, and ye all marvel because of this. Moses hath given you circumcision (not because it is from Moses, but it is from the fathers); and ye on the sabbath circumcise a man. And if a man is circumcised on the sabbath day, that the law of Moses may not be broken; are ye angry at me, because I healed on the sabbath day the whole man? Judge not with hypocrisy, but judge righteous judgement.

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And some people from Jerusalem said, Is not this he whom they seek to slay? And lo, he discourseth with them openly, and they say nothing unto him. Think you that our eiders have learned that this is the Messiah indeed? But this man is known whence he is; and the Messiah, when he cometh, no man knoweth whence he is. So Jesus lifted up his voice as he taught in the temple, and said, Ye both know me, and know whence I am; and of my own accord am I not come, but he Arabic. that sent me is true, he whom ye know not: but I know him; for I am from him, and he sent me. And they sought to seize him: and no man laid a hand on him, because his hour had not yet come. But many of the multitude believed on him; and they said, The Messiah, when he cometh, can it be that he will do more than these signs that this man doeth?

And a man of that multitude said unto our Lord, Teacher, say to my brother that he divide with me the inheritance. Jesus said unto him, Man, who is it that appointed me over you as a judge and divider? And he said unto his disciples, Take heed within yourselves of all inordinate desire; for it is not in abundance of 36 possessions that life shall be. And he gave them this parable: The ground of a rich man brought forth abundant produce: and he pondered within himself, and said, What shall I do, since I have no place to store my produce? And he said, I will do this: I will pull down the buildings of my barns, and build them, and make them greater; and store there all my wheat and my goods. And I will say to my soul, Soul, thou hast much goods laid by for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink, enjoy thyself. God said unto him, O than of little intelligence, this night shall thy soul be taken from thee; and this that thou hast prepared, whose shall it be? So is he that layeth up treasures for himself, and is not rich in God.

And while Jesus was going in the way, there came near to him a young man of the rulers, and fell on his knees, and asked him, and said, Good Teacher, what is it that I must do that I may have eternal life? Jesus said unto him, Why callest thou me good, while there is none good but the one, even God? Thou knowest the com- mandments. If thou wouldest enter into life, keep the commandments. The young Arabic. man said unto him, Which of the commandments? Jesus said unto him, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Thou shall not do injury, Honour thy father and thy mother: and, Love thy neighbour as thyself. That young man said unto him, All these have I kept from my youth: what then is it that I lack? And Jesus looked intently at him, and loved him, and said unto him, If thou wouldest be perfect, what thou lackest is one thing: go away and sell everything that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and take thy cross, and follow me. And that young man frowned at this word, and went away feeling sad; for he was very rich. And when Jesus saw his sadness, he looked towards his disciples, and said unto them, How hard it is for them that have possessions to enter the kingdom of God!

TATIAN SECTION 29

Verily I say unto you, It is difficult for a rich man to enter the kingdom of 2 heaven. And I say unto you also, that it is easier for a camel to enter the eye of 3 a needle, than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God. And the disciples were wondering at these sayings. And Jesus answered and said unto them again, My children, how hard it is for those that rely on their possessions to enter the 4 kingdom of God! And those that were listening wondered more, and said amongst 5 themselves, being agitated, Who, thinkest thou, can be saved? And Jesus looked at them intently, and said unto them, With men this is not possible, but with God it is. 6 Arabic, it is possible for God to do everything. Simon Cephas said unto him, Lo, we have left everything, and followed thee; what is it, thinkest thou, that we 7 shall have? Jesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you, Ye that have followed me, in the new world, when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also 8 shall sit on twelve thrones, and shall judge the twelve tribes of Israel. Verily I say unto you, No man leaveth houses, or brothers, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or kinsfolk, or lands, because of the kingdom of God, or for my 9 sake, and the sake of my gospel, who shall not obtain many times as much in this time, and in the world to come inherit eternal life: and now in this time, houses, and brothers, and sisters, and mothers, and children, and lands, with persecution; 11 and in the world to come everlasting life. Many that are first shall be last, and that are last shall be first.

And when the Pharisees heard all this, because of their love for wealth they scoffed at him. And Jesus knew what was in their hearts, and said unto them, Ye are they that justify yourselves before men; while God knows your hearts: the thing that is lofty with men is base before God.

And he began to say, A certain man was rich, and wore silk and purple, and en- joyed himself every day in splendour: and there was a poor man named Lazarus, and he was cast down at the door of the rich man, afflicted with sores, and he longed to fill Arabic, his belly with the crumbs that fell from the table of that rich man; yea, even the dogs used to come and lick his sores. And it happened that that poor man died, and the angels conveyed him into the bosom of Abraham: and the rich man also died, and was buried. And while he was being tormented in Hades, he lifted up his eyes from afar, and saw Abraham with Lazarus in his bosom. And he called with a loud voice, and said, My father Abraham, have mercy upon me, and send Lazarus to wet the tip of his finger with water, and moisten my tongue for me; for, behold, I am burned in this flame. Abraham said unto him, My son, remember that thou receivedst thy good things in thy life, and Lazarus his afflictions: but now, behold, he is at rest here, and thou art tormented. And in addition to all this, there is between us and you a great abyss placed, so that they that would cross unto you from hence cannot, nor yet from thence do they cross unto us. He said unto him, Then I beseech thee, my father, to send him to my father's house; for I have five brethren; let him go, that they also sin not, and come to the abode of this torment. Abraham said unto him, They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them. He said unto him, Nay, my father Abraham: but let a man from the dead go unto them, and they will repent. Abraham said unto him, If they listen neither to Moses nor to the prophets, neither if a man from the dead rose would they believe him.

The kingdom of heaven is like a man that is a householder, which went out early in the morning to hire labourers for his vineyard. And he agreed with the labourers on one penny a day for each labourer, and he sent them into his vineyard. And he went Arabic, out in three hours, and saw others standing in the market idle. He said unto them, Go ye also into my vineyard, and what is right I will pay you. And they went. And he went out also at the sixth and the ninth hour, and did like- wise, and sent them. And about the eleventh hour he went out, and found others standing idle. He said unto them, Why are ye standing the whole day idle? They said unto him, Because no one hath hired us. He said unto them, Go ye also into the vineyard, and what is right ye shall receive. So when evening came, the lord of the vineyard said unto his steward, Call the labourers, and pay them their wages; and begin with the later ones, and end with the former ones. And those of eleven hours came, and received each a penny. When therefore the first came, they supposed that they should receive something more; and they also received each a penny. And when they received it, they spake angrily against the householder, and said, These last worked one hour, and thou hast made them equal with us, who have suffered the heat of the day, and its burden. He answered and said unto one of them, My friend, I do thee no wrong: was it not for a penny that thou didst bargain with me? Take what is thine, and go thy way; for I wish to give this last as I have given thee. Or am I not entitled to do with what is mine what I choose? Or is thine eye perchance evil, because I am good? Thus shall the last ones be first, and the first last. The called are many, and the chosen are few.

And when Jesus entered into the house of one of the chiefs of the Pharisees to eat bread on the sabbath day, and they were watching him to see what he would 44,45 do, and there was before him a man which had the dropsy, Jesus answered and said unto the scribes and the Pharisees, Is it lawful on the sabbath to heal? But Arabic, they were silent. So he took him, and healed him, and sent him away. And he said unto them, Which of you shall have his son or his ox fall on the sabbath day into a well, and not lift him up straightway, and draw water for him? And they were not able to answer him a word to that.

TATIAN SECTION 30

And he spake a parable unto those which were bidden there, because he saw 2 them choose the places that were in the highest part of the sitting room: When a man invites thee to a feast, do not go and sit at the head of the room; lest there 3 be there a man more honourable than thou, and he that invited you come and say unto thee, Give the place to this man: and thou be ashamed when thou risest and 4 takest another place. But when thou art invited, go and sit last; so that when he that invited thee cometh, he may say unto thee, My friend, go up higher: and 5 thou shalt have praise before all that were invited with thee. For every one that exalteth himself shall be abased; and every one that abaseth himself shall be exalted.

And he said also to him that had invited him, When thou makest a feast a or a banquet, do not invite thy friends, nor even thy brethren, nor thy kinsmen, nor thy 7 rich neighbours; lest haply they also invite thee, and thou have this reward. But when thou makest a feast, invite the poor, and those with withered hand, and the 8 lame, and the blind: and blessed art thou, since they have not the means to reward 9 thee; that thy reward may be at the rising of the righteous. And when one of them that were invited heard that, he said unto him, Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the kingdom of God.

Jesus answered again in parables, and said, The kingdom of heaven hath been lik- Arabic, ened to a certain king, which made a feast for his son, and prepared a great banquet, and invited many: and he sent his servants at the time of the feast to inform them that were invited, Everything is made ready for you; come. And they would not come, but began all of them with one voice to make excuse. And the first said unto them, Say to him, I have bought a field, and I must needs go out to see it: I pray thee to release me, for I ask to be excused. And another said, I have bought five yoke of oxen, and I am going to examine them: I pray thee to release me, for I ask to be excused. And another said, I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come. And the king sent also other servants, and said, Say to those that were invited, that my feast is ready, and my oxen and my fatlings are slain, and everything is ready: come to the feast. But they made light of it, and went, one to his field, and another to his merchandise: and the rest took his servants, and entreated them shamefully, and killed them. And one of the servants came, and informed his lord of what had happened. And when the king heard, he became angry, and sent his armies; and they destroyed those murderers, and burned their cities. Then he said to his servants, The feast is prepared, but those that were invited were not worthy. Go out quickly into the markets and into the partings of the ways of the city, and bring in hither the poor, and those with pains, and the lame, and the blind. And the servants did as the king commanded them. And they came, and said unto him, Our lord, we have done all that thou com- mandedst us, and there is here still room. So the lord said unto his servants, Go out into the roads, and the ways, and the paths, and every one that ye find, invite Arabic, to the feast, and constrain them to enter, till my house is filled. I say unto you, that no one of those people that were invited shall taste of my feast. And those servants went out into the roads, and gathered all that they found, good and bad: and the banquet-house was filled with guests. And the king entered to see those who were seated, and he saw there a man not wearing a festive garment: and he said unto him, My friend, how didst thou come in here not having on festive gar- ments? And he was silent. Then the king said to the servants, Bind his hands and his feet, and put him forth into the outer darkness; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. The called are many; and the chosen, few.

And after that, the time of the feast of unleavened bread of the Jews arrived, and Jesus went out to go to Jerusalem. And as he went in the way, there met him ten persons who were lepers, and stood afar off: and they lifted up their voice, and said, Our Master, Jesus, have mercy upon us. And when he saw them, he said unto them, Go and shew yourselves unto the priests. And when they went, they were cleansed. And one of them, when he saw himself cleansed, returned, and was praising God with a loud voice; and he fell on his face before the feet of Jesus, giving him thanks: and this man was a Samaritan. Jesus answered and said, Were not those that were cleansed ten? where then are the nine? Not one of them turned aside to come and praise God, but this man who is of a strange people. He said unto him, Arise, and go thy way; for thy faith hath given thee life.

And while they were going up in the way to Jerusalem, Jesus went in front of them; and they wondered, and followed him fearing. And he took his twelve disciples apart, and began to tell them privately what was about to befall him. And he said unto Arabic, them, We are going up to Jerusalem, and all the things shall be fulfilled that are written in the prophets concerning the Son of man. He shall be delivered to the chief priests and the scribes; and they shall condemn him to death, and deliver him to the peoples; and they shall treat him shamefully, and scourge him, and spit in his face, and humble him, and crucify him, and slay him: and on the third day he shall rise. But they understood not one thing of this; but this word was hidden from them, and they did not perceive these things that were addressed to them.

Then came near to him the mother of the (two) sons of Zebedee, she and her (two) sons, and worshipped him, and asked of him a certain thing. And he said unto her, What wouldest thou? And James and John, her two sons, came forward, and said unto him, Teacher, we would that all that we ask thou wouldest do unto us. He said unto them, What would ye that I should do unto you? They said unto him, Grant us that we may sit, the one on thy right, and the other So on thy left, in thy kingdom and thy glory. And Jesus said unto them, Ye know not what ye ask. Are ye able to drink the cup that I am to drink? and with the baptism that I am to be baptized with, will ye be baptized? And they said unto him, We are able. Jesus said unto them, The cup that I drink ye shall drink; and with the baptism wherewith I am baptized ye shall be baptized: but that ye should sit on my right and on my left is not mine to give; but it is for him for whom my Father hath prepared it.

TATIAN SECTION 31

And when the ten heard, they were moved with anger against James and John. 2 And Jesus called them, and said unto them, Ye know that the rulers of the nations are their lords; and their great men are set in authority over them. Not thus shall it Arabic, be amongst you: but he amongst you that would be great, let him be to you a 4 servant; and whoever of you would be first, let him be to every man a 5 bond-servant: even as the Son of man also came not to be served, but to serve, and 6 to give himself a ransom in place of the many. He said this, and was going about 7 the villages and the cities, and teaching; and he went to Jerusalem. And a man asked him, Are those that shall be saved few? Jesus answered and said

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unto 8 them, Strive ye to enter at the narrow door: I say unto you now, that many shall 9 seek to enter, and shall not be able --from the time when the master of the house riseth, and closeth the door, and ye shall be standing without, and shall knock at the door, and shall begin to say, Our lord, open unto us; and he shall answer and say, I say unto you, I know you not whence ye are: and ye shall begin to say,

Before thee we did eat and drink, and in our markets didst thou teach; and he shall say unto you, I know you not whence ye are; depart from me, ye servants of untruth. There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when ye see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets, in the kingdom of God, while ye are put forth without. And they shall come from the east and the west, and from the north and the south, and shah sit down in the kingdom of God. And there shall then be last that have become first, and first that have become last.

And when Jesus entered and passed through Jericho, there was a man named Zac- chaeus, rich, and chief of the publicans. And he desired to see Jesus who he was; and he was not able for the pressure of the crowd, because Zacchaeus was little of stature. Arabic, And he hastened, and went before Jesus, and went up into an unripe fig tree to see Jesus: for he was to pass thus. And when Jesus came to that place, he saw him, and said unto him, Make haste, and come down, Zacchaeus: to-day I must be in thy house. And he hastened, and came down, and received him joyfully. And when they all saw, they murmured, and said, He hath gone in and lodged with a man that is a sinner. So Zacchaeus stood, and said unto Jesus, My Lord, now half of my possessions I give to the poor, and what I have unjustly taken from every man I give him fourfold. Jesus said unto him, To-day is salva- tion come to this house, because this man also is a son of Abraham. For the Son of man came to seek and save the thing that was lost.

And when Jesus went out of Jericho, he and his disciples, there came after him a great multitude. And there was a blind man sitting by the way side begging. And his name was Timaeus, the son of Timaeus. And he heard the sound of the multitude passing, and asked, Who is this? They said unto him, Jesus the Naza- rene passeth by. And when he heard that it was Jesus, he called out with a loud voice, and said, Jesus, son of David, have mercy on me. And those that went before Jesus were rebuking him, that he should hold his peace: but he cried the more, and said, Son of David, have mercy on me. And Jesus stood, and commanded that they should call him. And they called the blind man, and said unto him, Be of good courage, and rise; for, behold, he calleth thee. And the blind 33 man threw away his garment, and rose, and came to Jesus. Jesus said unto him, What dost thou wish that I should do unto thee? And that blind man said unto him, My Lord and Master, that my eyes may be opened, so that I may see thee. Arabic, And Jesus had compassion on him, and touched his eyes, and said unto him, See; for thy faith hath saved thee. And immediately he received his sight, and came after him, and praised God; and all the people that saw praised God.

And he spake a parable because he was nearing Jerusalem, and they supposed that at that time the kingdom of God was about to appear. He said unto them, A man, a son of a great race, went into a far country, to receive a kingdom, and return. And he called his ten servants, and gave them ten shares, and said unto them, Trade till the time of my coming. But the people of his city hated him, and sent messengers after him, and said, We will not that this man reign over us. And when he had received a kingdom, and returned, he said that the servants to whom he had given the money should be called unto him, that he might know what each of them had traded. And the first came, and said, My lord, thy share hath gained ten shares. The king said unto him, Thou good and faithful servant, who hast been found faithful in a little, be thou set over ten districts. And the second came, and said, My lord, thy portion hath gained five portions. And he said unto him also, And thou shall be set over five districts. And another came, and said, My lord, here is thy portion, which was with me laid by in a napkin: I feared thee, because thou art a hard man, and takest what thou didst not leave, and seekest what thou didst not give, and reapest what thou didst not sow. His lord said unto him, From thy mouth shall I judge thee, thou wicked and idle servant, who wast untrustworthy. Thou knewest that I am a hard man, and take what I did not leave, and reap what I did not sow: why didst thou not put my money at usury, and so I might come and seek it, with its gains? And he said unto those that were standing in front of him, Take from him the share, and give it to him that hath 50, Arabic, ten shares. They said unto him, Our lord, he hath ten shares. He said unto them, I say unto you, Every one that hath shall be given unto; and he that hath not, that which he hath also shall be taken from him. And those mine enemies who would not that I should reign over them, bring them, and slay them before me.

TATIAN SECTION 32

And when Jesus entered Jerusalem, he went up to the temple of God, and found 2 there oxen and sheep and doves. And when he beheld those that sold and those that bought, and the money-changers sitting, he made for himself a scourge of rope, and drove them all out of the temple, and the sheep and the oxen, and the money-changers; and he threw down their money, and upset their tables, and the seats of them that sold the doves; and he was teaching, and saying unto them, Is it not written, My house is a house of prayer for all peoples? and ye have made it a den for robbers. And he said unto those that sold the doves, Take this hence, and make not my Father's house a house of merchandise. And he suffered not any one to carry vessels inside the temple.

And his disciples remembered the scripture, The zeal of thy house hath eaten me up. The Jews answered and said unto him, What sign hast thou shewn us, that thou doest this? Jesus answered and said unto them, Destroy this temple, and I shall raise it in three days. The Jews said unto him, This temple was built in forty-six years, and wilt thou raise it in three days? 10 But he spake unto them of the temple of his body, that when they destroyed it, he Arabic, would raise it in three days. When therefore he rose from among the dead, his disciples remembered that he said this; and they believed the scriptures, and the word that Jesus spake.

And when Jesus sat down over against the treasury, he observed how the multitudes were casting their offerings into the treasury: and many rich men were 13, throwing in much. And there came a poor widow, and cast in two mites. And Jesus called his disciples, and said unto them, Verily I say unto you, This poor widow cast into the treasury more than all the people: and all of these cast into the place of the offering of God of the superfluity of their wealth; while this woman of her want threw in all that she possessed. And he spake unto them this parable, concerning people who trusted in themselves that they are righteous, and despised every man: Two men went up to the temple to pray; one of them a Pharisee, and the other a publican. And the Pharisee stood apart, and prayed thus, O Lord, I thank thee, since I am not like the rest of men, the unjust, the profligate, the extortioners, or even like this publican; but I fast two days a week, and tithe all my possessions. And the publican was standing at a distance, and he would not even lift up his eyes to heaven, but was beating upon his breast, and saying, O Lord, have mercy on me, me the sinner. I say unto you, that this man went down justified to his house more than the Pharisee. Every one that exalteth himself shall be abased; and every one that abaseth himself shall be exalted.

And when eventide was come, he left all the people, and went outside the city to Bethany, he and his twelve, and he remained there. And all the people, because they knew the place, came to him, and he received them; and them that had need of healing he healed. And on the morning of the next day, when he returned to the city from Bethany, he hungered. And he saw a fig tree at a distance on the beaten highway, having on it leaves. And he came unto it, expecting to find something on it; and when he came, he found nothing on it but the leaves--it was not the season of figs--and he said unto it, Henceforward for ever let no man eat fruit of thee. And his disciples heard.

And they came to Jerusalem. And there was there a man of the Pharisees, named Nicodemus, ruler of the Jews. This man came unto Jesus by night, and said unto him, My Master, we know that thou hast been sent from God as a teacher; and no man can do these signs that thou doest, except him whom God is with. Jesus answered and said unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, If a man be not born a second time, he cannot see the kingdom of God. Nicodemus said unto him, How can a man who is old be born? can he, think you, return again to his mother's womb a second time, to enter and be born? Jesus answered and said unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, If a man be not born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God. For he that is born of flesh is flesh; and he that 33 is born of Spirit is spirit.

Wonder not that I said unto thee that ye must be born a Arabic, second time. The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest its voice, but thou knowest not from what place it cometh, nor whither it goeth: so is every man that is born of the Spirit. Nicodemus answered and said unto him, How can that be? Jesus answered and said unto him, Art thou teaching Israel, and yet knowest not these things? Verily, verily, I say unto thee, What we know we say, and what we have seen we witness: and ye receive not our witness. If I said unto you what is on earth, and ye believed not, how then, if I say unto you what is in heaven, will ye believe? And no man hath ascended up into heaven, except him that descended from heaven, the Son of man, which is in heaven. And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so is the Son of man to be lifted up; so that every man who may believe in him may not perish, but have eternal life. God so loved the world, that he should give his only Son; and so every one that believeth on him should not perish, but should have eternal life. God sent not his Son into the world to judge the world; but that the world might be saved by his hand. He that believeth in him shall not be judged: but he that believeth not is condemned beforehand, because he hath not believed in the name of the only Son, the Son of God. This is the judgement, that the light came into the world, and men loved the darkness more than the light; because their deeds were evil. Whosoever doeth evil deeds hateth the light, and cometh not to the 47 light, lest his deeds be reproved. But he that doeth the truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be known, that they have been done in God.

. . . . . [text missing] . . . . . that fig tree which thou didst curse hath dried up. And Jesus answered and said 6 unto them, Let there be in you the faith of God. Verily I say unto you, if ye believe, and doubt not in your hearts, and assure yourselves that that will be which 7 ye say, ye shall have what ye say. And if ye say to this mountain, Remove, and 8 fall into the sea, it shall be. And all that ye ask God in prayer, and believe, he will give you. And the apostles said unto our Lord, Increase our faith. He said unto them, If there be in you faith like a grain of mustard, ye shall say to this fig tree, Be thou torn up, and be thou planted in the sea; and it will obey you. Who of you hath a servant driving a yoke of oxen or tending sheep, and if he come from the field, will say unto him straightway, Go and sit down? Nay, he will say unto him, Make ready for me wherewith I may sup, and gird thy waist, and serve me, till I eat and drink; and afterwards thou shalt eat and drink also. Doth that servant haply, who did what he was bid, receive his praise? I think not. So ye also, when ye have done all that ye were bid, say, We are idle servants; what it was our duty to do, we have done.

For this reason I say unto you, Whatever ye pray and ask, believe that ye Arabic, receive, and ye shall have. And when ye stand to pray, forgive what is in your heart against any man; and your Father which is in heaven will forgive you also your wrong-doings. But if ye forgive not men their wrong-doings, neither will your Father forgive you also your wrong-doings.

And he spake unto them a parable also, that they should pray at all times, and not be slothful: There was a judge in a city, who feared not God, nor was ashamed for men: and there was a widow in that city; and she came unto him, and said, Avenge me of mine adversary. And he would not for a long time: but afterwards he said within himself, If of God I have no fear, and before men I have no shame; yet because this widow vexeth me, I will avenge her, that she come not at all times 23, and annoy me. And our Lord said, Hear ye what the judge of injustice said. And shall not God still more do vengeance for his elect, who call upon him in the night and in the day, and grant them respite? I say unto you, He will do vengeance for them speedily. Thinkest thou the Son of man will come and find faith on the earth?

And they came again to Jerusalem. And it came to pass, on one of the days, as Jesus was walking in the temple, and teaching the people, and preaching the gospel, that the chief priests and the scribes with the elders came upon him, and said unto him, Tell us: By what power doest thou this? and who gave thee this power to do that? And Jesus said unto them, I also will ask you one word, and if ye tell me, I also shall tell you by what power I do that. The baptism of John, from what place is it? from heaven or of men? Tell me. And they reflected within them- Arabic, selves, and said, If we shall say unto him, From heaven; he will say unto p. 127 us, For what reason did ye not believe him? But if we shall say, Of men; we fear that the people will stone us, all of them. And all of them were holding to John, that he was a true prophet. They answered and said unto him, We know not. Jesus said unto them, Neither tell I you also by what power I work. What think ye? A man had two sons; and he went to the first, and said unto him, My son, go to-day, and till in the vineyard. And he answered and said, I do not wish to: but finally he repented, and went. And he went to the other, and said unto him likewise. And he answered and said, Yea, my lord: and went not. Which of these two did the will of his father? They said unto him, The first. Jesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you, The publicans and harlots go before you into the kingdom of God. John came unto you in the way of righteousness, and ye believed him not; but the publicans and harlots believed him; and ye, not even when ye saw, did ye repent at last, that ye might believe in him.

Hear another parable: A man was a householder, and planted a vineyard, and surrounded it with a hedge, and digged in it a winepress, and built in it a tower, 41, and gave it to husbandmen, and went to a distance for a long time. So when the time of the fruits came, he sent his servants unto the husbandmen, that they might send him of the produce of his vineyard. And those husbandmen beat him, and sent him away empty. And he sent unto them another servant also; and they stoned him, and wounded him, and sent him away with shameful handling. And he sent again another; and they slew him. And he sent many other servants unto them. And the husbandmen took his servants, and one they beat, and another they stoned, and another they slew. So he sent again other servants more than the first; and Arabic, they did likewise with them. So the owner of the vineyard said, What shall I do? I will send my beloved son: it may be they will see him and be 49, ashamed. So at last he sent unto them his beloved son that he had. But the husbandmen, when they saw the son, said amongst themselves, This is the heir. 51, And they said, We will slay him, and so the inheritance will be ours. So they took him, and put him forth without the vineyard, and slew him. When then the lord of the vineyard shall come, what will he

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do with those husbandmen? They said unto him, He will destroy them in the worst of ways, and give the vineyard to other husbandmen, who will give him fruit in its season. Jesus said unto them, Have ye never read in the scripture, The stone which the builders declared to be base, The same came to be at the head of the corner:

From God was this, And it is wonderful in our eyes?

Therefore I say unto you, The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a people that will produce fruit. And whosoever falleth on this stone shall be broken in pieces: but on whomsoever it falleth, it will grind him to powder. And when the chief priests and the Pharisees heard his parables, they perceived that it was concerning them he spake. And they sought to seize him; and they feared the multitude, because they were holding to him as the prophet.

TATIAN SECTION 34

Then went the Pharisees and considered how they might ensnare him in a word, 2 and deliver him into the power of the judge, and into the power of the ruler. And they sent unto him their disciples, with the kinsfolk of Herod; and they said unto him, Arabic, Teacher, we know that thou speakest the truth, and teachest the way of God with equity, and art not lifted up by any man: for thou actest not so as to 3 be seen of any man. Tell us now, What is thy opinion? Is it lawful that we should 4 pay the tribute to Caesar, or not? shall we give, or shall we not give? But Jesus knew 5 their deceit, and said unto them, Why tempt ye me, ye hypocrites? Shew me the 6 penny of the tribute. So they brought unto him a penny. Jesus said unto them, To whom belongeth this image and inscription? They said unto him, To Caesar. 8 He said unto them, Give what is Caesar's to Caesar, and what is God's to God. And they could not make him slip in a single word before the people; and they marvelled at his word, and refrained.

And on that day came the Sadducees, and said unto him, There is no life for the dead. And they asked him, and said unto him, Teacher, Moses said unto us, If a man die, not having children, let his brother take his wife, and raise up seed for his brother. Now there were with us seven brethren: and the first took a wife, and died without children; and the second took his wife, and died without children; and the third also took her; and in like manner the seven of them also, and they 14, died without leaving children. And last of them all the woman died also. At the resurrection, then, which of these seven shall have this woman? for all of them took her. Jesus answered and said unto them, Is it not for this that ye have erred, because ye know not the scriptures, nor the power of God? And the sons of this world take wives, and the women become the men's; but those that have become worthy of that world, and the resurrection from among the dead, do not take wives, and the women also do not become the men's. Nor is it possible that they should die; but they are like the angels, and are the children of God, because they have become the children of the resurrection. For in the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read in the book of Moses, how from the bush God said unto him, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? And God is not the God of the dead, but of the living: for all of them are alive with him. And ye have erred greatly.

And when the multitudes heard, they were wondering at his teaching. And some of the scribes answered and said unto him, Teacher, thou hast well said. But the rest of the Pharisees, when they saw his silencing the Sadducees on this point, gathered against him to contend with him.

And one of the scribes, of those that knew the law, when he saw the excellence of his answer to them, desired to try him, and said unto him, What shall I do to inherit eternal life? and, Which of the commandments is greater, and has precedence in the law? Jesus said unto him, The first of all the commandments is, Hear, O 28 Israel; The Lord our God, the Lord is one: and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy thought, and with all thy 29, strength. This is the great and preeminent commandment. And the second, which is like it, is, Thou shall love thy neighbour as thyself. And another commandment greater than these two there is not. On these two commandments, then, are hung the Arabic, law and the prophets. That scribe said unto him, Excellent! my Master; thou hast said truly that he is one, and there is no other outside of him: and that a man should love him with all his heart, and with all his thought, and with all his soul, and with all his strength, and that he should love his neighbour as himself, is better than all savours and sacrifices. And Jesus saw him that he had answered wisely; and he answered and said unto him, Thou art not far from the 35, kingdom of God. Thou hast: spoken rightly: do this, and thou shalt live. And he, as his desire was to justify himself, said unto him, And who is my neighbour? Jesus said unto him, A man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho; and the robbers fell upon him, and stripped him, and beat him, his life remaining in him but little, and went away. And it happened that there came down a certain priest that way; and he saw him, and passed by. And likewise a Levite also came and reached that place, and saw him, and passed by. And a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came to the place where he was, and saw him, and had compassion on him, and came near, and bound up his strokes, and poured on them wine and oil; and he set him on the ass, and brought him to the inn, and expended his care upon him. And on the morrow of that day he took out two pence, and gave them to the innkeeper, and said unto him, Care for him; and if thou spendest upon him more, when I return, I shall give thee. Who of these three now, thinkest thou, is nearest to him that fell among the robbers? And he said unto him, He that had compas- Arabic, sion on him. Jesus said unto him, Go, and do thou also likewise. And p. 132 no man dared afterwards to ask him anything.

And he was teaching every day in the temple. But the chief priests and scribes and the eiders of the people sought to destroy him: and they could not find what they should do with him; and all the people were hanging upon him to hear him. And many of the multitude believed on him, and said, The Messiah, when he cometh, can it be that he will do more than these signs that this man doeth? And the Pharisees heard the multitudes say that of him; and the chief priests sent officers to seize him. And Jesus said unto them, I am with you but a short time yet, and I go to him that sent me. And ye shall seek me, and shall not find me: and where I shall be, ye shall not be able to come. The Jews said within themselves, Whither hath this man determined to go that we shall not be able to find him? can it be that he is determined to go to the regions of the nations, and teach the heathen? What is this word that he said, Ye shall seek me, and shall not find me: and where I am, ye cannot come?

TATIAN SECTION 35

And on the great day, which is the last of the feast, Jesus stood, crying out and 2 saying, If any man is thirsty, let him come unto me, and drink. Every one that believeth in me, as the scriptures said, there shall flow from his belly rivers of pure water. He said that referring to the Spirit, which those who believed in him were to receive: for the Spirit was not yet granted; and because Jesus had not yet been Arabic, glorified. And many of the multitude that heard his words said, This is in truth the prophet. And others said, This is the Messiah. But others said, Can it be that the Messiah will come from Galilee? Hath not the scripture said that from the seed of David, and from Bethlehem, the village of David, the 7 Messiah cometh? And there occurred a dissension in the multitude because of him. 8 And some of them were wishing to seize him; but no man laid a hand upon him.

And those officers came to the chief priests and Pharisees: and the priests said unto them, Why did ye not bring him? The officers said, Never spake man thus as speaketh this man. The Pharisees said unto them, Perhaps ye also have gone 12, astray? Hath any of the rulers or the Pharisees haply believed in him? except this people which knows not the law; they are accursed. Nicodemus, one of them, he that had come to Jesus by night, said unto them, Doth our law haply condemn a man, except it hear him first and know what he hath done? They answered and said unto him, Art thou also haply from Galilee? Search, and see that a prophet riseth not from Galilee.

And when the Pharisees assembled, Jesus asked them, and said, What say ye of the Messiah? whose son is he? They said unto him, The son of David. He said unto them, And how doth David in the Holy Spirit call him Lord? for he said, The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit on my right hand, That I may put thine enemies under thy feet.

If then David calleth him Lord, how is he his son? And no one was able to answer him; and no man dared from that day again to ask him of anything.

And Jesus addressed them again, and said, I am the light of the world; and he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall find the light of life. The Pharisees Arabic, said unto him, Thou bearest witness to thyself; thy witness is not true. Jesus 25 answered and said unto them, If I bear witness to myself, my witness is true; for I know whence I came, and whither I go; but ye know not whence I came, or 26, whither I go. And ye judge after the flesh; and I judge no man. And even if I judge, my judgement is true; because I am not alone, but I and my Father which 28, sent me. And in your law it is written, that the witness of two men is true. I am he that beareth witness to myself, and my Father which sent me beareth witness to me. They said unto him, Where is thy Father? Jesus answered and said unto them, Ye know not me, nor my Father: for did ye know me, ye would know my Father. He said these sayings in the treasury, where he was teaching in the 32 temple: and no man seized him; because his hour had not yet come. Jesus said unto them again, I go truly, and ye shall seek me and not find me, and ye shall die in your sins: and where I go, ye cannot come. The Jews said, Will he haply kill himself, that he saith, Where I go, ye cannot come? He said unto them, Ye are from below; and I am from above: ye are of this world; and I am not of this world. I said unto you, that ye shall die in your sins: if ye believe not that I am he, ye shall die in your sins. The Jews said, And thou, who art thou? Jesus said unto them, If I should begin to speak unto you, I have concerning you many words and judgement: but he that sent me is true; and I, what I heard from him is what 38, I say in the world. And they knew not that he meant by that the Father. Jesus Arabic, said unto them again, When ye have lifted up the Son of man, then ye shall know that I am he: and I do nothing of myself, but as my Father taught me, so I speak. And he that sent me is with me; and my Father hath not left me alone; because I do what is pleasing to him at all times. And while he was saying that, many believed in him.

And Jesus said to those Jews that believed in him, If ye abide in my words, truly ye are my disciples: and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free. They said unto him, We are the seed of Abraham, and have never served any man in the way of slavery: how then sayest thou, Ye shall be free children? Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Every one that doeth a sin is a slave of sin. And the slave doth not remain for ever in the house; but the son remaineth 47, for ever. And if the Son set you free, truly ye shall be free children. I know that ye are the seed of Abraham; but ye seek to slay me, because ye are unable for my word.

And what I saw with my Father, I say: and what ye saw with your father, ye do. They answered and said unto him, Our father is Abraham. Jesus said unto them, If ye were the children of Abraham, ye would do the deeds of Abraham. Now, behold, ye seek to kill me, a man that speak with you the truth, that I heard from God: this did Abraham not do. And ye do the deeds of your father. They said unto him, We were not born of fornication; we have one Father, who is God. Jesus said unto them, If God were your Father, ye would love me: I proceeded and came from God; and it was not of my own self that I came, but he sent Arabic, me. Why then do ye not know my word? Because ye cannot hear my word. Ye are from the father, the devil, and the lust of your father do ye desire to do, who from the beginning is a slayer of men, and in the truth standeth not, because the truth is not in him. And when he speaketh untruth, he speaketh from himself: for he is a liar, and the father of untruth. And I who speak the truth, ye believe me not. Who of you rebuketh me for a sin? And if I speak the truth, ye do not believe me. Whosoever is of God heareth the words of God: therefore do ye not hear, because ye are not of God. The Jews answered and said unto him, Did we not say well that thou art a Samaritan, and hast demons? Jesus said unto them, As for me, I have not a devil; but my Father do I honour, and ye dishonour me. I seek not my glory: here is one who seeketh and judgeth.

TATIAN SECTION 36

Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whosoever keepeth my word shall not see death 2 for ever. The Jews said unto him, Now we know that thou hast demons. Abraham is dead, and the prophets; and thou sayest, Whosoever keepeth my word shall not 3 taste death for ever. Art thou haply greater than our father Abraham, who is 4 dead, and than the prophets, which are dead? whom makest thou thyself? Jesus said unto them, If I glorify myself, my glory is nothing: my Father is he that 5 glorifieth me; of whom ye say, that he is our God; and yet ye have not known him: but I know him; and if I should say that I know him not, I should become 6 Arabic, a liar like you: but I know him, and keep his word. Abraham your father 7 longed to see my day; and he saw, and rejoiced. The Jews said unto him, 8 Thou art now not fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham? Jesus said unto 9 them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Before Abraham was, I am. And they take stones to stone him: but Jesus concealed himself, and went out of the temple. And he passed through them, and went his way.

And as he passed, he saw a man blind from his mother's womb. And his disciples asked him, and said, Our Master, who sinned, this man, or his parents, so that he was born blind? Jesus said unto them, Neither did he sin, nor his parents: but that the works of God may be seen in him. It is incumbent on me to do the deeds of him that sent me, while it is day: a night will come, and no man will be able to busy himself. As long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world. And when he said that, he spat upon the ground, and made clay of his spittle, and smeared it on the eyes of the blind man, and said unto him, Go and wash thyself in the pool of Siloam. And he went and washed, and came seeing. And his neighbours, which saw him of old begging, said, Is not this he that was sitting begging? And some said, It is he; and others said, Nay, but he resembles him much. He 19, said, I am he. They said unto him, How then were thine eyes opened? He answered and said unto them, A man named Jesus made clay, and smeared it on my eyes, and said unto me, Go and wash in the water of Siloam: and I went and washed, and received sight. They said unto him, Where is he? He said, I know not. 22, Arabic, And they brought him that was previously blind to the Pharisees. And the day in which Jesus made clay and opened with it his eyes was a sabbath day. And again the Pharisees asked him, How didst thou receive sight? And he said unto them, He put clay on mine eyes, and I washed, and received sight. The people of the Pharisees said, This man is not from God, for he keepeth not the sabbath. And others said, How can a man that is a sinner do these signs? And there came 26 to be a division amongst them. And again they said to that blind man, Thou, then, what sayest thou of him that

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opened for thee thine eyes? He said unto them, I say that he is a prophet. And the Jews did not believe concerning him, that he was blind, and received sight, until they summoned the parents of him who received sight, and asked them, Is this your son, of whom ye said that he was born blind? how then, behold, doth he now see? His parents answered and said, We know that this is our son, and that he was born blind: but how he has come to see now, or who it is that opened his eyes, we know not: and he also has reached his prime; ask him, and he will speak for himself. This said his parents, because they were fearing the Jews: and the Jews decided, that if any man should confess of him that he was the Messiah, they would put him out of the synagogue. For this reason said his parents, He hath reached his prime; ask him. And they called the man a second time, him that was blind, and said unto him, Praise God: we know that this man is a sinner. He answered and said unto them, Whether he be a sinner, I know not: I know one thing, that I was blind, and I now see. They said unto him again, Arabic, What did he unto thee? how opened he for thee thine eyes? He said unto them, I said unto you, and ye did not hear: what wish ye further to hear? ye also, do ye wish to become disciples to him? And they reviled him, and said unto him, Thou art the disciple of that man; but as for us, we are the disciples of Moses. And we know that God spake unto Moses: but this man, we know not whence he is. The man answered and said unto them, From this is the wonder, because ye know not whence he is, and mine eyes hath he opened. And we know that God heareth not the voice of sinners: but whosoever feareth him, and doeth his will, him he heareth. From eternity hath it not been heard of, that a man opened the eyes of a blind man, who had been born in blindness. If then this man were not from God, he could not do that. They answered and said unto him, Thou wast all of thee born in sins, and dost thou teach us? And they put him forth without.

And Jesus heard of his being put forth without, and found him, and said unto him, Dost thou believe in the Son of God? He that was made whole answered and said, Who is he, my Lord, that I may believe in him? Jesus said unto him, Thou hast seen him, and he that speaketh to thee is he. And he said, I believe, my Lord. And he fell down worshipping him.

TATIAN SECTION 37

And Jesus said, To judge the world am I come, so that they that see not may 2 see, and they that see may become blind. And some of the Pharisees which were 3 with him heard that, and they said unto him, Can it be that we are blind? Jesus said unto them, If ye were blind, ye should not have sin: but now ye say, We see: and because of this your sin remaineth. 4 Arabic, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whosoever entereth not into the fold of the sheep by the door, but goeth up from another place, that man is a thief and a 6 stealer. But he that entereth by the door is the shepherd of the sheep. And therefore the keeper of the door openeth for him the door; and the sheep hear his voice: and 7 he calleth his sheep by their names, and they go forth unto him. And when he putteth forth his sheep, he goeth before them, and his sheep follow him: because 8 they know his voice. And after a stranger will the sheep not go, but they flee from 9 him: because they hear not the voice of a stranger. This parable spake Jesus unto them: but they knew not what he was saying unto them. Jesus said unto them again, Verily, verily, I say unto you, I am the door of the sheep. And all that came are thieves and stealers: but the sheep heard them not. I am the door: and if a man enter by me, he shall live, and shall go in and go out, and shall find pasture. And the stealer cometh not, save that he may steal, and kill, and destroy: but I came that they might have life, and that they might have the thing that is better. I am the good shepherd; and the good shepherd giveth himself for his sheep. But the hireling, who is not a shepherd, and whose the sheep are not, when he seeth the wolf as it cometh, leaveth the sheep, and fleeth, and the wolf cometh, and snatcheth away the sheep, and scattereth them: and the hireling fleeth because he is an hireling, and hath no care for the sheep. I am the 18 good shepherd; and I know what is mine, and what is mine knoweth me, as my Father knoweth me, and I know my Father; and I give myself for the sheep. And I have other sheep also, that are not of this flock: them also I must invite, and they shall hear my voice; and all the sheep shall be one, and the shepherd one. Arabic, And therefore doth my Father love me, because I give my life, that I may 21 take it again. No man taketh it from me, but l leave it of my own choice. And I have the right to leave it, and have the right also to take it. And this commandment did I receive of my Father.

And there occurred a disagreement among the Jews because of these sayings. And many of them said, He hath a devil, and is afflicted with madness; why listen ye to him? And others said, These sayings are not those of men possessed with demons. Can a demon haply open the eyes of a blind man?

And the feast of the dedication came on at Jerusalem: and it was winter. And Jesus was walking in the temple in the porch of Solomon. The Jews therefore surrounded him, and said unto him, Until when dost thou make our hearts anxious? If thou art the Messiah, tell us plainly. He answered and said unto them, I told you, and ye believe not: and the deeds that I do in my Father's name bear witness 29, to me. But ye believe not, because ye are not of my sheep, as I said unto you. And my sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they come after me: and I give them eternal life; and they shall not perish for ever, nor shall any man snatch them out of my hands. For the Father, who hath given them unto me, is greater than all; and no man is able to take them from the hand of my Father. I and 34, my Father are one. And the Jews took stones to stone him. Jesus said unto them, Many good deeds from my Father have I shewed you; because of which of them, then, do ye stone me? The Jews said unto him, Not for the good deeds do we stone thee, but because thou blasphemest; and, whilst thou art a man, makest thy self God. Jesus said unto them, Is it not thus written in your law, I said, Ye are gods? Arabic, And if he called those gods--for to them came the word of God (and it is not possible in the scripture that anything should be undone)--he then, whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world, do ye say that he blasphemeth; because I said unto you, I am the Son of God? If then I do not the deeds of my Father, ye believe me not. But if I do, even if ye believe not me, believe the deeds: that ye may know and believe that my Father is in me, and I in my Father. And they sought again to take him: and he went forth out of their hands.

And he went beyond Jordan to the place where John was baptizing formerly; and abode there. And many people came unto him; and they said, John did not work even one sign: but all that John said of this man is truth. And many believed in him. And there was a sick man, named Lazarus, of the village of Bethany, the brother of Mary and Martha. And Mary was she that anointed with sweet ointment the feet of Jesus, and wiped them with her hair; and Lazarus, who was sick, was the brother of this woman. And his sisters sent unto Jesus, and said unto him, Our Lord, behold, he whom thou lovest is sick. But Jesus said, This sickness is not unto death, but for the glorifying of God, that the Son of God may be glorified 50, because of it. And Jesus loved Martha, and Mary, and Lazarus. And when he heard that he was sick, he abode in the place where he was two days. And after that, he said unto his disciples, Come, let us go into Judaea. His disciples said unto him, Our Arabic, Master, now the Jews desire to stone thee; and goest thou again thither? 54, Jesus said unto them, Is not the day of twelve hours? If then a man walk in the day, he stumbleth not, because he seeth the light of the world. But if a man walk in the night, he stumbleth, because there is no lamp in him. This said Jesus: and after that, he said unto them, Lazarus our friend hath fallen asleep; but I am going to awaken him. His disciples said unto him, Our Lord, if he hath fallen asleep, he will recover. But Jesus said that concerning his death: while they supposed that he spake of lying down to sleep. Then Jesus said unto them plainly, Lazarus is dead. And I am glad that I was not there for your sakes, that ye may believe; but let us go thither. Thomas, who is called Thama, said to the disciples, his companions, Let us also go, and die with him.

TATIAN SECTION 38

And Jesus came to Bethany, and found him already four days in the grave. And Bethany was beside Jerusalem, and its distance from it was a sum of fifteen fur- 3 longs; and many of the Jews came unto Mary and Martha, to comfort their heart 4 because of their brother. And Martha, when she heard that Jesus had come, went 5 out to meet him: but Mary was sitting in the house. Martha then said unto Jesus, 6 My Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died. But I know now that, 7 whatever thou shalt ask of God, he will give thee. Jesus said unto her, Thy brother shall 8 rise. Martha said unto him, I know that he shall rise in the resurrection at the last day.

Jesus said unto her, I am the resurrection, and the life: whosoever believeth in Arabic, me, even though he die, he shall live: and every living one that believeth in me shall never die. Believest thou this? She said unto him, Yea, my Lord: I believe that thou art the Messiah, the Son of God, that cometh into the world. And when she had said that, she went and called Mary her sister secretly, and said unto her, Our Master hath come, and summoneth thee. And Mary, when she heard, rose in haste, and came unto him. (And Jesus then had not come into the village, but was in the place where Martha met him.) And the Jews also that were with her in the house, to comfort her, when they saw that Mary rose up and went out in haste, went after her, because they supposed that she was going to the tomb to weep. And Mary, when she came to where Jesus was, and saw him, fell at his feet, and said unto him, If thou hadst been here, my Lord, my brother had not died. And Jesus came; and when he saw her weeping, and the Jews that were with her weeping, he was troubled in himself, and sighed; and he said, In what place have ye laid him? And they said unto him, Our Lord, come and see. And the tears of Jesus came. The Jews therefore said, See the greatness of his love for him! But some of them said, Could not this man, who opened the eyes of that blind man, have caused that this man also should not die? And Jesus came to the place of burial, being troubled within himself. And the place of burial was a cave, and a stone was placed at its door. Jesus therefore said, Take these stones away.

Martha, the sister of him that was dead, said unto him, My Lord, he hath come to stink for some time: he hath been four days dead. Jesus said unto her, Did not I say Arabic, unto thee, If thou believest, thou shall see the glory of God? And they removed those stones. And Jesus lifted his eyes on high,and said, My Father, I thank thee Since thou didst hear me. And I know that thou at all times hearest me: but I say this unto thee because of this multitude that is standing, that they may believe that thou didst send me. And when he had said that, he cried with a loud voice, Lazarus, come forth. And that dead man came out, having his hands and feet bound with bandages, and his face wrapped in a scarf. Jesus said unto them, Loose him, and let him go.

And many of the Jews which came unto Mary, when they saw the deed of Jesus, believed in him. But some of them went to the Pharisees, and informed them of all that Jesus did.

And the chief priests and the Pharisees gathered, and said, What shall we do? for lo, this man doeth many signs. And if we leave him thus, all men will believe in him: and the Romans will come and take our country and people. And one of them, who was called Caiaphas, the chief priest he was in that year, said unto them, Ye know not anything, nor consider that it is more advantageous for us that one man should die instead of the people, and not that the whole people perish. And this he said not of himself: but because he was the chief priest of that year, he prophesied that Jesus was to die instead of the people; and not instead of the people alone, but that he might gather the scattered children of God together. And from that day they considered how to kill him. Arabic, And Jesus did not walk openly amongst the Jews, but departed thence to a place near the wilderness, to a town called Ephraim; and he was there, going about with his disciples. And the passover of the Jews was near: and many went up from the villages unto Jerusalem before the feast, to purify themselves. And they sought for Jesus, and said one to another in the temple, What think ye of his holding back from the feast? And the chief priests and the Pharisees had given commandment, that, if any man knew in what place he was, he should reveal it to them, that they might take him.

And when the days of his going up were accomplished, he prepared himself that he might go to Jerusalem. And he sent messengers before him, and departed, and entered into a village of Samaria, that they might make ready for him. And they received him not, because he was prepared for going to Jerusalem. And when James and John his disciples saw it, they said unto him, Our Lord, wilt thou that we speak, and fire come down from heaven, to extirpate them, as did Elijah also? And Jesus turned, and rebuked them, and said, Ye know not of what spirit ye are. Verily the Son of man did not come to destroy lives, but to give life. And they went to another village.

TATIAN SECTION 39

And Jesus six days before the passover came to Bethany, where was Lazarus, 2 whom Jesus raised from among the dead. And they made a feast for him there: 3 and Martha was serving; while Lazarus was one of them that sat with him. And 4 at the time of Jesus' being at Bethany in the house of Simon the leper, great multitudes of the Jews heard that Jesus was there: and they came, not because of Jesus alone, but Arabic, that they might look also on Lazarus, whom he raised from among the dead. 6 And the chief priests considered how they might kill Lazarus also; because 7 many of the Jews were going on his account, and believing in Jesus And Mary took a case of the ointment of fine nard, of great price, and opened it, and poured 8 it out on the head of Jesus as he was reclining; and she anointed his feet, and wiped them with her hair: and the house was filled with the odour of the ointment.

But Judas Iscariot, one of the disciples, he that was to betray him, said, Why was not this ointment sold for three hundred pence, and given unto the poor? This he said, not because of his care for the poor, but because he was a thief, and the chest was with him, and what was put into it he used to bear. And that displeased the rest of the disciples also within themselves, and they said, Why went this ointment to waste? It was possible that it should be sold for much, and the poor be given it. And they were angry with Mary. And Jesus perceived it, and said unto them, Leave her; why molest ye her? a good work hath she accomplished on me: for the day of my burial kept she it. At all times the poor are with you, and when ye wish ye can do them a kindness: but I am not at all times with you. And for this cause, when she poured this ointment on my body, it is as if she did it for my bur- ial, and anointed my body beforehand. And verily I say unto you, In every place where this my gospel shall be proclaimed in all the world, what she did shall be told for a memorial of her. 18, Arabic, And when Jesus said that, he went out leisurely to go to Jerusalem, And p. 148 when he arrived at Bethphage and at Bethany, beside the mount which is called the mount of Olives, Jesus sent two of his disciples, and he said unto them, Go into this village that is opposite you: and when ye enter it, ye shall find an ass tied, and 22 a colt with him, which no man ever yet

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mounted: loose him, and bring them unto me. And if any man say unto you, Why loose ye them? say unto him thus, We seek them for our Lord; and straightway send them hither.All this was, that what was said in the prophet might be fulfilled, which said, Say ye unto the daughter of Zion, Behold, thy King cometh unto thee, Meek, and riding upon an ass, And upon a colt the foal of an ass.

And the disciples did not know this at that time: but after that Jesus was glorified, his disciples remembered that these things were written of him, and that this they had done unto him. And when the two disciples went, they found as he had said unto them, and they did as Jesus charged them. And when they loosed them, their owners said unto them, Why loose ye them? They said unto them, We seek them for our Lord. And they let them go. And they brought the ass and the colt, and they placed on the colt their garments; and Jesus mounted it. And most of the multitudes spread their garments on the ground before him: and others cut branches from the trees, and threw them in the way. And when he neared his descent from Arabic, the mount of Olives, all the disciples began to rejoice and to praise God with a loud voice for all the powers which they had seen; and they said, Praise in the highest; Praise to the Son of David: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord; and blessed is the kingdom that cometh, that of our father David: Peace in heaven, and praise in the highest. And a great multitude, that which came to the feast, when they heard that Jesus was coming to Jerusalem, took young palm branches, and went forth to meet him, and cried and said, Praise: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord, the King of Israel. Certain therefore of the Pharisees from among the multitudes 37 said unto him, Our Master, rebuke thy disciples. He said unto them, Verily I say unto you, If these were silent, the stones would cry out.

And when he drew near, and saw the city, he wept over it, and said, Would that thou hadst known the things that are for thy peace, in this thy day! now that is hidden from thine eyes. There shall come unto thee days when thine enemies shall encompass thee, and straiten thee from every quarter, and shall get possession of thee, and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in thee a stone upon another; because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation.

And when he entered into Jerusalem, the whole city was agitated, and they said, Who is this? And the multitudes said, This is Jesus, the prophet that is from Naza- reth of Galilee. And the multitude which was with him bare witness that he called Lazarus from the grave, and raised him from among the dead. And for this cause great multitudes went out to meet him, because they heard the sign which he did.

TATIAN SECTION 40

And when Jesus entered the temple, they brought unto him blind and 2 lame: and he healed them. But when the chief priests and the Pharisees saw the wonders that he did, and the children that were crying in the temple and 3 saying, Praise be to the Son of David: it distressed them, and they said, Hearest thou not what these say? Jesus said unto them, Yea: did ye not read long ago, From 4 the mouths of children and infants thou hast chosen my praise? And the Pharisees said one to another, Behold, do ye not see that nothing availeth us? for lo, the whole world hath followed him.

And there were among them certain Gentiles also, which had come up to wor- 6 ship at the feast: these therefore came to Philip, who was of Bethsaida of Galilee, 7 and asked him, and said unto him, My lord, we wish to see Jesus. And Philip 8 came and told Andrew: and Andrew and Philip told Jesus. And Jesus answered and said unto them, The hour is come nigh, in which the Son of man is to be glori- 9 fied. Verily, verily, I say unto you, A grain of wheat, if it fall not and die in the earth, remaineth alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit. He that loveth his life destroyeth it; and he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto the life eter- nal. If a man serve me, he will follow me; and where I am, there shall my servant be also: and whosoever serveth me, the Father will honour him. Now is my soul trou-Arabic, bled: and what shall I say? My Father, deliver me from this hour. But for this cause came I unto this hour. My Father, glorify thy name. And a 14 voice was heard from heaven, I have glorified it, and shall glorify it. And the multitude that were standing heard, and said, This is thunder: and others said, An angel speaketh to him. Jesus answered and said unto them, Not because of me was this voice, but because of you. Now is the judgement of this world; and the prince of this world shall now be cast forth. And I, when I am lifted up from the earth, shall draw every man unto me. This he said, that he might shew by what manner of death he should die. The multitudes said unto him, We have heard out of the law that the Messiah abideth for ever: how then sayest thou, that the Son of man is to be lifted up? who is this, the Son of man? Jesus said unto them, Another little while is the light with you. Walk so long as ye have light, test the darkness overtake you; for he that walketh in the darkness knoweth not whither he goeth. So long as ye have light, believe the light, that ye may be the children of the light.

And when certain of the Pharisees asked of Jesus, when the kingdom of God should come, he answered and said unto them, The kingdom of God cometh not with expectation: neither shall they say, Lo, it is here! nor, Lo, it is there! for the kingdom of God is within you.

And in the daytime he was teaching in the temple; and at night he used to go out, and pass the night in the mount called the mount of Olives.And all the people came to him in the morning in the temple, to hear his word.

Then spoke Jesus unto the multitudes and his disciples, and said unto them, On Arabic, the seat of Moses are seated the scribes and Pharisees: everything that they say unto you now to keep, keep and do: but according to their deeds do ye not; for they say, and do not. And they bind heavy burdens, and lay them on the shoulders of the people; while they with one of their fingers will not come 30, near them. But all their deeds they do to make a shew before men. And all the multitude were hearing that with pleasure.

And in the course of his teaching he said unto them, Guard yourselves from the scribes, who desire to walk in robes, and love salutation in the marketplaces, and sitting in the highest places of the synagogues, and at feasts in the highest parts of the rooms: and they broaden their amulets, and lengthen the cords of their cloaks, and love that they should be called by men, My master, and devour widows' houses, because a of their prolonging' their prayers; these then shall receive greater judge- ment. But ye, be ye not called masters: for your master is one; all ye are brethren. Call not then to yourselves any one father on earth: for your Father is one, who is in heaven. And be not called directors: for your director is one, even the Messiah. 39, He that is great among you shall be unto you a minister. Whosoever shall exalt himself shall be abased; and whosoever shall abase himself shall be exalted.

Woe unto you, Pharisees! because ye love the highest places in the synagogues, and salutation in the marketplaces.

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye devour widows' houses, because of your prolonging your prayers: for this reason then ye shall receive greater judgement.

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye have shut the kingdom of God before men.

Woe unto you that know the law! for ye concealed the keys of knowledge: ye enter not, and those that are entering ye suffer not to enter.

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye compass land and sea to draw s one proselyte; and when he is become so, ye make him a son of hell twice as much as yourselves.

Woe unto you, ye blind! guides! because ye say, Whosoever sweareth by the temple, it is nothing; but whosoever sweareth by the gold that is in the temple, shall be condemned. Ye blind foolish ones: which is greater, the gold, or the temple which sanctifieth the gold? And, Whosoever sweareth by the altar, it is nothing; but whosoever sweareth by the offering that is upon it, shall be condemned. Ye blind foolish ones: which is greater, the offering, or the altar which sanctifieth the offering? Whosoever then sweareth by the altar, hath sworn by it, and by all that is upon it. And whosoever sweareth by the temple, hath sworn by it, and by him that is dwelling in it. And whosoever sweareth by heaven, hath sworn by the throne of God, and by him that sitteth upon it.

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye tithe mint and rue and dill and cummin and all herbs, and ye leave the important matters of the law, judgement, and mercy, and faith, and the love of God: this ought ye to do, and not to leave that undone. Ye blind guides, which strain out a gnat, and swallow n camels.

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye cleanse the outside of the cup and of the platter, while the inside of them is full of injustice and wrong. Ye blind Pharisees, cleanse first the inside of the cup and of the platter, then shall the outside of them be cleansed.

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye resem- ble whited sepulchres, which appear from the outside beautiful, but within full of the bones of the dead, and all uncleanness. So ye also from without appear unto men like the righteous, but within ye are full of wrong and hypocrisy.

One of the scribes answered and said unto him, Teacher, in this saying of thine thou art casting a slur on us. He said, And to you also, ye scribes, woe! for ye lade men with heavy burdens, and ye with one of your fingers come not near those burdens.

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye build the tombs of the prophets, which your fathers killed, and adorn the burying-places of the righteous, and say, If we had been in the days of our fathers, we should not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets. Wherefore, behold, ye witness against 64 yourselves, that ye are the children of those that slew the prophets. And ye also, ye fill up the measure of your fathers. Ye serpents, ye children of vipers, where shall ye flee from the judgement of Gehenna?

TATIAN SECTION 41

Therefore, behold, I, the wisdom of God, am sending unto you prophets, and apostles, and wise men, and scribes: and some of them ye shall slay and crucify; and some of them ye shall beat in your synagogues, and persecute from city to 2 city: that there may come on you all the blood of the righteous that hath been poured upon the ground from the blood of Abel the pure to the blood of Zachariah the son of Barachiah, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar. 3 Verily I say unto you, All these things shall come upon this generation,

O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, slayer of the prophets, and stoner of them that are sent unto her! how many times did I wish to gather thy children, as 5 a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! Your house shall 6 be left over you desolate. Verily I say unto you, Ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. 7 And many of the rulers also believed on him; but because of the Pharisees they 8 were not confessing him, lest they be put s out of the synagogue: and they loved 9 the praise of men more than the praising of God. And Jesus cried and said, Whosoever believeth in me, believeth not in me, but in him that sent me. And whosoever seeth me hath seen him that sent me. I am come a light into the world, and so every one that believeth in me abideth not in the darkness. And whosoever heareth my sayings, and keepeth them not, I judge him not: for I came not to judge the world, but to give the world life. Whosoever wrongeth me, and receiveth not my sayings, there is one that judgeth him: the word that I spake, it shall judge him at the last day. I from myself did not speak: but the Father which sent me, he hath given me commandment, what I should say, and what I should speak; and I know that his commandment is eternal life. The things that I say now, as my Father hath said unto me, even so I say.

And when he said that unto them, the scribes and Pharisees began their evil-doing, being angry with him, and finding fault with his sayings, and harassing him in many things; seeking to catch something from his mouth, that they might be able to calumniate him.

And when there gathered together myriads of great multitudes, which almost trode one upon another, Jesus began to say unto his disciples, Preserve yourselves from the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy. For there is nothing concealed, that shall not be revealed: nor hid, that shall not be known. Everything that ye have said in the darkness shall be heard in the light; and what ye have spoken secretly in the ears in the inner chambers shall be proclaimed on the roofs.

This said Jesus, and he went and hid himself from them. But notwithstanding his having done all these signs before them, they believed not in him: that the word of Isaiah the prophet might be fulfilled, who said, My Lord, who is he that hath believed to hear us?

And the arm of the Lord, to whom hath it appeared?

And for this reason it is not possible for them to believe, because Isaiah also said, They have blinded their eyes, and made dark their heart; That they may not see with their eyes, and understand with their heart, And turn, So that I should heal them.

This said Isaiah when he saw his glory, and spake of him.

And when Jesus went out of the temple, certain of his disciples came forward to shew him the buildings of the temple, and its beauty and greatness, and the strength of the stones that were laid in it, and the elegance of its building, and that it was adorned with noble stones and beautiful colours. Jesus answered and said unto them, See ye these great buildings? verily I say unto you, Days will come, when there shall not be left here a stone upon another, that shall not be cast down.

And two days before the passover of unleavened bread, the chief priests and the scribes sought how they might take him by deceit, and kill him: and they said, It shall not be at the feast, lest the people be agitated.

And when Jesus sat on the mount of Olives opposite the temple, his disciples, Simon Cephas and James and John and Andrew, came forward unto him, and said unto him between themselves and him, Teacher, tell us when that shall be, and what is the sign Arabic, of thy coming and the end of the world. Jesus answered and said unto them, Days will come, when ye shall long to see one of the days of the Son of 36, man, and shall not behold. Take heed lest any man lead you astray. Many shall come in my name, and say, I am the Messiah; and they shall say, The time is come near, and shall lead many astray: go not therefore after them. And when ye hear of wars and tidings of insurrections, see to it, be not agitated: for these things must first be; only the end is not yet come. Nation shall rise against nation, and king- dom against kingdom: and great earthquakes shall be in one place and another, and there shall be famines and deaths and agitations: and there shall be fear and terror and great signs that shall appear from heaven, and there shall be great 42, storms. All these things are the beginning of travail. But before all of that, they shall lay hands upon you, and persecute you, and deliver you unto the synagogues and into prisons, and bring you before kings and judges for my name's sake. And that shall be unto you for a witness. But first must my gospel be preached unto all nations. And when they bring you into the synagogues before the rulers and the authorities, be not anxious beforehand how ye

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shall answer for yourselves, or what ye 47, shall say: because it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Spirit. Lay it to your heart, not Arabic, to be anxious before the time what ye shah say: and I shall give you under- standing and wisdom,s which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay. And then shall they deliver you unto constraint, and shall kill you: and ye shall be hated of all nations because of my name. And then shall many go astray, and they 52 shall hate one another, and deliver one another unto death. And your parents, and your brethren, and your kinsfolk, and your friends shall deliver you up, and shall 53, slay some of you. But a lock of hair from your heads shall not perish. And by your patience ye shall gain your souls. And many men, false prophets, shall arise, 56 and lead many astray. And because of the abounding of iniquity, the love of many shall wax cold. But he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved. And this, the gospel of the kingdom, shall be preached in all the world for a testimony to all nations; and then shall come the end of all.

TATIAN SECTION 42

But when ye see Jerusalem with the army compassing it about, then know that 2 its desolation is come near. Those then that are in Judaea at that time shall flee to the mountain; and those that are within her shall flee; and those that are in the 3 villages shall not enter her. For these days are the days of vengeance, that all that 4 is written may be fulfilled. And when ye see the unclean sign of desolation, spoken of in Daniel the prophet, standing in the pure place, he that readeth shall understand, 5,6 and then he that is in Judaea shall flee in to the mountain: and let him that is on the 7 roof not go down, nor enter in to take anything from his house: and let him that is in 8 Arabic, the field not turn behind him to take his garment. Woe to them that are with child and to them that give suck in those days! there shall be great 9 distress in the land, and wrath against this nation. And they shall fall on the edge of the sword, and shall be taken captive to every land: and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the nations, until the times of the nations be ended.

Then if any man say unto you, The Messiah is here; or, Lo, he is there; believe him not: there shall rise then false Messiahs and prophets of lying, and shall do signs and wonders, in order that they may lead astray even the elect also, if they be able. But as for you, beware: for I have acquainted you with everything beforehand. If then they say unto you, Lo, he is in the desert; go not out, lest ye be taken: and if they say unto you, Lo, he is in the chamber; believe not. And as the lightning appeareth from the east, and is seen unto the west; so shall be the coming of the Son of man. But first he must suffer much and be rejected by this generation. Pray therefore that your flight be not in winter, nor on a sabbath: there shall be then great tribulation, the like of which there hath not been from the beginning of the world till now, nor shall be. And except the Lord had shortened those days, no flesh would have lived: but because of the elect, whom he elected, 19 he shortened those days. And there shall be signs in the sun and the moon and the stars; and upon the earth affliction of the nations, and rubbing of hands for the con- Arabic. fusion of the noise of the sea, and an earthquake: the souls of men shall go forth from fear of that which is to come upon the earth. And in those days, straightway after the distress of those days, the sun shall become dark, and the moon shall not shew its light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of heaven shall be convulsed: and then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven: and at that time all the tribes of the earth shall wail, and look unto the Son of man coming on the clouds of heaven with power and much glory. And he shall send his angels with the great trumpet, and they shall gather his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other. But when these things begin to be, be of good cheer, and lift up your heads; for your salvation is come near.

Learn the example of the fig tree: when it letteth down its branches, and put- teth forth its leaves, ye know that the summer is come; so ye also, when ye see these things begun to be, know ye that the kingdom of God hath arrived at the door. Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass away, until all these 28 things shall be. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my sayings shall not pass away.

Take heed to yourselves, that your hearts become not heavy with inordinate desire, and drunkenness, and the care of the world at any time, and that day come upon you suddenly: for it is as a shock that shocks all the inhabitants that are on the face of the whole earth. Watch at all times, and pray, that ye may be worthy to escape Arabic. from all the things that are to be, and that ye may stand before the Son of 32 man. Of that day and of that hour hath no man learned, not even the angels of heaven, neither the Son, but the Father. See ye, and watch and pray: for ye know not when that time will be. It is as a man, who journeyed, and left his house, and gave his authority to his servants, and appointed every man to his work, and 35 charged the porter to be wakeful. Be wakeful then: since ye know not when the lord of the house cometh, in the evening, or in the middle of the night, or when the cock croweth, or in the morning; lest he come unexpectedly, and find you sleeping. The thing that I say unto you, unto all of you do I say it, Be ye watchful.

For as it was in the days of Noah, so shall the coming of the Son of man be. As they were before the flood eating and drinking, and taking wives, and giving wives to men, until the day in which Noah entered into the ark, and they perceived not till the flood came, and took them all; so shall the coming of the Son of man be. And as it was in the days of Lot; they were eating and drinking, and selling and buying, and planting and building, on the day in which Lot went out from Sodom, and the Lord rained fire and brimstone from heaven, and destroyed them 43, all: so shall it be in the day in which the Son of man is revealed. And in that day, whosoever is on the roof, and his garments in the house, let him not go down to take them: and he that is in the field shall not turn behind him. Remember Lot's wife. Whosoever shall desire to save his life shall destroy it: but whosoever shall destroy his life shall save it. Verily I say unto you, In that night there shall be two on Arabic, one bed; one shall be taken, and another left. And two women shall be grind- p. 162 ing at one mill; one shall be taken, and another left. And two shall be in the field; one shall be taken, and another left. They answered and said unto him, To what place, our Lord? He said unto them, Where the body is, there will the eagles 51, gather. Be attentive now: for ye know not at what hour your Lord cometh. Know this: if the master of the house had known in what watch the thief would come, he would have been attentive, and would not make it possible that his house should be broken through. Therefore be ye also ready: for in the hour that ye think not the Son of man cometh.

TATIAN SECTION 43

Simon Cephas said unto him, Our Lord, is it to us that thou hast spoken this 2 parable, or also to every man? Jesus said unto him, Who, thinkest thou, is the servant, the master of the house, trusted with control, whom his lord set over his 3 household, to give them their food in its season? Blessed is that servant, whom his 4 lord shall come and find having done so. Verily I say unto you, He will set him 5 over all that he hath. But if that evil servant say in his heart, My lord delayeth his 6 coming; and shall begin to beat his servants and the maidservants of his lord, and 7 shall begin to eat and to drink with the drunken; the lord of that servant shall come 8 in the day that he thinketh not, and in the hour that he knoweth not, and shall Arabic, judge him, and appoint his portion with the hypocrites, and with those that are not faithful: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

Then shall the kingdom of heaven be like unto ten virgins, those that took their lamps, and went forth to meet the bridegroom and the bride. Five of them were wise, and five foolish. And those foolish ones took their lamps, and took not with 12, them oil: but those wise ones took oil in vessels along with their lamps. When then the bridegroom delayed, they all slumbered and slept. But in the middle of the night there occurred a cry, Behold, the bridegroom cometh! Go forth therefore to meet him. Then all those virgins arose, and made ready their lamps. The foolish said unto the wise, Give us of your oil; for our lamps are gone out. But those wise answered and said, Perhaps there will not be enough for us and you: but go ye to the sellers, and buy for yourselves. And when they went away to buy, the bridegroom came; and those that were ready went in with him to the marriage feast: and the door was shut. And at last those other virgins also came and said, Our Lord, our Lord, open unto us. He answered and said unto them, Verily I say unto you, 21 I know you not. Watch then, for ye know not that day nor that hour.

It is as a man, who went on a journey, and called his servants, and delivered unto them his possessions. And unto one he gave five talents, and another two, and another one; every one according to his strength; and went on his journey forthwith. He Arabic, then that received the five talents went and traded with them, and gained 25, other five. And so also he of the two gained other two. But he that re- ceived the one went and digged in the earth, and hid the money of his lord. And after a long time the lord of those servants came, and took from them the account. And he that received five talents came near and brought other five, and said, My lord, thou gavest me five talents: lo, I have gained other five in addition to them. His lord said unto him, Well done, thou good and faithful servant: over a little hast thou been faithful, over much will I set thee: enter into the joy of thy lord. And he that had the two came near and said, My lord, thou gavest me two talents: lo, other two have I gained in addition to them. His lord said unto him, Good, thou faithful servant: over a little hast thou been faithful, over much will I set thee: enter into the joy of thy lord. And he also that received the one talent came forward and said, My lord, I knew thee that thou an a severe man, who reapest where thou sowest not, and gatherest where thou didst not scatter: and so I was afraid, and went away and hid thy talent in the earth: lo, thou hast what is thine. His lord answered and said unto him, Thou wicked and slothful servant, thou knewest me 35 that I reap where I sowed not, and gather where I did not scatter; it was incumbent on thee to put my money to the bank, and then I should come and seek it with its gains. Take now from him the talent, and give it to him that hath ten talents. Whosoever hath shall be given, and he shall have more: but he that hath not, even Arabic, what he hath shall be taken from him. And the unprofitable servant, put him forth into the outer darkness: there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth.

Your loins shall be girded, and your lamps lit; and ye shall be like the people that are looking for their lord, when he shall return from the feast; so that, when he cometh and knocketh, they may at once open unto him. Blessed are those servants, whom their lord shall come and find attentive: verily I say unto you, that he will gird his waist, and make them sit down, and pass through them and serve them. And if he come in the second watch, or the third, and find thus, blessed are those servants.

But when the Son of man cometh in his glory, and all his pure angels with him, then shall he sit on the throne of his glory: and he will gather before him all the nations, and separate them the one from the other, like the shepherd who separateth the sheep from the goats; and will set the sheep on his right, and the goats on his left. Then shall the King say to those that are at his right, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundations of the world: I hungered, and ye gave me to eat; and I thirsted, and ye gave me to drink; and I was a stranger, and ye took me in; and I was naked, and ye clothed me; and I was sick, and ye visited me; and I was in prison, and ye cared for me. Then shall those righteous say unto him, Our Lord, when saw we thee hungry, and fed thee? or thirsty, and gave thee to drink? And when saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in? or naked, and clothed thee? And when saw we thee sick, or imprisoned, and cared for thee? The King shall answer an d say unto them, Verily I say unto you, What Arabic, ye did to one of these my brethren, the little ones, ye did unto me. Then shall he say unto those that are on his left also, Depart from me, ye cursed, 54 into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his hosts: I hungered, and ye fed me not; and I thirsted, and ye did not give me to drink; and I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; and I was naked, and ye clothed me not; and I was sick, and im- prisoned, and ye visited me not. Then shall those also answer and say, Our Lord, when saw we thee an hungred, or athirst, or naked, or a stranger, or sick, or im- prisoned, and did not minister unto thee? Then shall he answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, When ye did it not unto one of these little ones, ye did it not unto me also. And these shall go away into eternal punishment: but the righteous into eternal life.

TATIAN SECTION 44

And when Jesus finished all these sayings, he said unto his disciples, Ye know that after two days will be the passover, and the Son of man is delivered up to be 3 crucified. Then gathered together the chief priests, and the scribes, and the elders 4 of the people, unto the court of the chief priest, who was called Caiaphas; and they took counsel together concerning Jesus, that they might seize him by subtilty, and 5 kill him. But they said, Not during the feast, lest there take place a disturbance among the people; for they feared the people.

And Satan entered into Judas who was called Iscariot, who was of the number 7 of the twelve. And he went away, and communed with the chief priests, and the scribes, and those that held command in the temple, and said unto them, What 8 Arabic, would ye pay me, and I will deliver him unto you? And they, when they heard it, were pleased, and made ready for him thirty pieces of money. 9 And he promised them, and from that time he sought an opportunity that he might deliver unto them Jesus without the multitude. And on the first day of unleavened bread the disciples came to Jesus, and said unto him, Where wilt thou that we go and make ready for thee that thou mayest eat the passover?

And before the feast of the passover, Jesus knew that the hour was arrived for his departure from this world unto his Father; and he loved his own in this world, and to the last he loved them. And at the time of the feast, Satan put into the heart of Judas, the son of Simon Iscariot, to deliver him up. And Jesus, because he knew that the Father had delivered into his hands everything, and that he came forth from the Father, and goeth unto God, rose from supper, and laid aside his garments; and took a towel, and girded his waist, and poured water into a bason, and began to wash the feet of his disciples, and to wipe them with the towel where- with his waist was girded. And when he came to Simon Cephas, Simon said unto 17 him, Dost thou, my Lord, wash for me my feet? Jesus answered and said unto him, What I do, now thou knowest not; but afterwards thou shall learn. Simon said unto him, Thou shalt never wash for me my feet. Jesus said unto him, If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me. Simon Cephas said unto him, Then, my Lord, wash not for me my feet alone, but my hands also and my head. Jesus said unto him, He that batheth needeth not to wash save his feet, whereas his whole body is clean: and ye also are clean, but not all of you. For Jesus knew him that should betray him; therefore said he, Ye are not all clean.

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So when he had washed their feet, he took his garments, and sat down, and said unto them, Know ye what I have done unto you? Ye call me, Master, and, Lord: and ye say well; so I am. If then I, now, who am your Lord and Master, have washed for you your feet, how needful is it that ye should wash one another's feet! This have I given you as an example, that as I have done to you so ye should do also. Verily, verily, I say unto you, No servant is greater than his lord; nor an apostle greater than he that sent him. If ye know that, ye are happy if ye do it. My saying this is not for all of you: for I know whom I have chosen: but that the scripture might be fulfilled, He that eateth with me bread lifted against me his heel. Henceforth I say unto you before it come to pass, that, when it cometh to pass, ye may believe that I am he. Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whosoever receiveth whomsoever I send receiveth me; and whosoever receiveth me receiveth him that sent me.

Who is the great one, he that sitteth, or he that serveth? is it not he that sitteth? I am among you as he that serveth. But ye are they that have continued with me in my temptations; I promise you, as my Father promised me, the kingdom, that ye may eat and drink at the table of my kingdom.

And the first day came, the feast of unleavened bread, on which the Jews were wont to sacrifice the passover. And Jesus sent two of his disciples, Cephas and John, and said unto them, Go and make ready for us the passover, that we may eat. 36, And they said unto him, Where wilt thou that we make ready for thee? He said unto them, Go, enter the city; and at the time of your entering, there shall meet you a man bearing a pitcher of water; follow him, and the place where he entereth, say to such an one, the master of the house, Our Master saith, My time is come, and Arabic, at thy house I keep the passover. Where then is the lodging-place where p. 169 I shall eat with my disciples? And he will shew you a large upper room spread and made ready: there then make ready for us. And his two disciples went out, and came to the city, and found as he had said unto them: and they made ready the passover as he had said unto them.

And when the evening was come, and the time arrived, Jesus came and reclined, and the twelve apostles with him. And he said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer: I say unto you, that henceforth I shall not eat it, until it is fulfilled in the kingdom of God.

Jesus said that, and was agitated s in his spirit, and testified, and said, Verily, verily, I say unto you, One of you, he that eateth with me, shall betray me. And they were very sorrowful; and they began to say unto him, one after another of them, Can it be Lord? He answered and said unto them, One of the twelve, he that dippeth his hand with me in the dish, will betray me. And Io, the hand of him that betrayeth me is on the table. And the Son of man goeth, as it is written of him: woe then to that man by whose hand the Son of man is betrayed! for it would have been better for that man had he not been born. And the disciples looked one on another, for they knew not to whom he referred; and they began to search among themselves, who that might be who was to do this.

TATIAN SECTION 45

And one of his disciples was sitting in his bosom, he whom Jesus loved. To him Simon Cephas beckoned, that he should ask him who this was, con- 3 cerning whom he spake. And that disciple leaned on Jesus' breast, and said unto him, 4 My Lord, who is this? Jesus answered and said, He to whom I shall dip bread, and give it. And Jesus dipped bread, and gave to Judas, the son of Simon Iscariot. 5 And after the bread, Satan entered him. And Jesus said unto him, What thou 6 desirest to do, hasten the doing of it. And no man of them that sat knew why he 7 said this unto him. And some of them thought, because Judas had the box, that he was bidding him buy what would be needed for the feast; or, that he might pay 8 something to the poor. Judas the betrayer answered and said, Can it be I, my 9 Master? Jesus said unto him, Thou hast said. And Judas took the bread straightway, and went forth without: and it was still night.

And Jesus said, Now is the Son of man being glorified, and God is being glorified in him; and if God is glorified in him, God also will glorify him in him, and straightway will glorify him. 12 And while they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and divided; and he gave to his disciples, and said unto them, Take and eat; this is my body. And he Arabic, took a cup, and gave thanks, and blessed, and gave them, and said, Take 14, and drink of it, all of you. And they drank of it, all of them. And he said unto them, This is my blood, the new covenant, that is shed for many for the forgiveness of sins. I say unto you, I shall not drink henceforth of this, the juice of the vine, until the day in which I drink with you new wine in the kingdom of God. And thus do ye in remembrance of me. And Jesus said unto Simon, Simon, behold, Satan asketh that he may sift you like wheat: but I entreat for thee, that thou lose not thy faith: and do thou, at some time, turn and strengthen thy brethren. My children, another little while am I with you. And ye shall seek me: and as I said unto the Jews, Whither I go, ye cannot come; I say unto you now also. A new commandment I give you, that ye may love one another; and as I have loved you, so shall ye also love one another. By this shall every man know that ye are my disciples. if ye have love one to another. Simon Cephas said unto him, Our Lord, whither goest thou? Jesus answered and said unto him, Whither I go, thou canst not now follow me; but later thou shall come.

Then said Jesus unto them, Ye all shall desert me this night: it is written, I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered. But after my rising, I shall go before you into Galilee. Simon Cephas answered and said unto him, My Lord, if every man desert thee, I shall at no time desert thee. I am with thee ready for imprisonment and for death. And my life will I give up for thee. Arabic, Jesus said unto him, Wilt thou give up thy life for me? Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Thou shall to-day, during this night, before the cock crow twice, three times deny me, that thou knowest me not. But Cephas said the more, Even if it lead to death with thee, I shall not deny thee, my Lord. And in like manner said all the disciples also.

Then Jesus said unto them, Let not your hearts be troubled: believe in God, and believe in me. The stations in my Father's house are many, else I should have told you. I go to prepare for you a place. And if I go to prepare for you a place, I shall return again, and take you unto me: and so where I am, there ye 32, 33 shall be also. And the place that I go ye know, and the way ye know. Thomas said unto him, Our Lord, we know not whither thou goest; and how is the way for us to the knowledge of that? Jesus said unto him, I am the way, and the truth, and the life: and no man cometh unto my Father, but through me. And if ye had known me, ye should have known my Father: and from henceforth ye know him, and have seen him. Philip said unto him, Our Lord, shew us the Father, and it suf- ficeth us. Jesus said unto him, Have I been all this time with you, and dost thou not know me, Philip? whosoever hath seen me hath seen the Father; how then sayest thou, Shew us the Father? Believest thou not that I am in my Father, and my Father in me? and the saying that I say, I say not of myself: but my Father who dwelleth in me, he doeth these deeds. Believe that I am in my Father, and my Father in me: Arabic, or else believe for the sake of the deeds. Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whosoever believeth in me, the deeds that I do shall he do also; and more than that shall he do: I go unto the Father. And what ye shall ask in my name, I shall do unto you, that the Father may be glorified in his Son. And if ye 43, ask me is in my name, I will do it. If ye love me, keep my commandments.

And I will entreat of my Father, and he will send unto you another Paraclete, that he may be with you for ever, even the Spirit of truth: whom the world cannot receive; for it hath not seen him, nor known him: but ye know him; for he hath dwelt with you, and is in you. I will not leave you orphans: I will come unto you. Another little while, and the world seeth me not; but ye see me that I live, and ye shall live also. And in that day ye shall know that I am in my Father, and ye in me, and I in you.

TATIAN SECTION 46

Whosoever hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me: and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will 2 shew myself unto him. Judas (not Iscariot) said unto him, My Lord, what is the 3 purpose of thy intention to shew thyself to us, and not to the world? Jesus answered and said unto him, Whosoever loveth me will keep my word: and my Father will love him, and to him will we come, and make our abode with him. 4 But he that loveth me not keepeth not my word: and this word that ye hear is not my word, but the Father's which sent me.

This have I spoken unto you, while I was yet with you. But the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, whom my Father will send in my name, he will teach you everything, and 7 Arabic, he will bring to your remembrance all that I say unto you. Peace I leave you; my peace I give unto you: and not as this world giveth, give I unto you. 8 Let your heart not be troubled, nor fearful. Ye heard that I said unto you, that I go away, and come unto you. If ye loved me, ye would rejoice, that I go away to my 9 Father: for my Father is greater than I. And now I say unto you before it come to pass, that, when it cometh to pass, ye may believe me. Now I will not speak with you much: the Archon of the world will come, and he will have nothing in me: but that the world may know that I love my Father, and as my Father charged me, so I do.

And he said unto them, When I sent you without purses, or wallets, and shoes, lacked ye perchance anything? They said unto him, Nothing. He said unto them, Henceforth, whosoever hath a purse, let him take it, and likewise the wallet also: and whosoever hath not a sword, shall sell his garment, and buy for himself a sword. I say unto you, that this scripture also must be fulfilled in me, that I should be reckoned with the transgressors: for all that is said of me is fulfilled in me. His disciples said unto him, Our Lord, lo, here are two swords. He said unto them, They are sufficient. Arise, let us go hence. And they arose, and praised, and went forth, and went, according to their custom, to the mount of Olives, he and his disciples.

And he said unto them, I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman. Every branch that produceth not fruit in me, he taketh it: and that which giveth fruit, he cleanseth it, that it may give much fruit. Ye are already clean because of the word that I have spoken unto you. Abide in me, and I in you. And as the branch of the Arabic, vine cannot produce fruit of itself, if it be not abiding in the vine; so too ye also, if ye abide not in me. I am the vine, and ye are the branches: He then that abideth in me, and I in him, he giveth much fruit: for without me ye can- not do anything. And if a man abide not in me, he is cast without, like a withered branch; and it is gathered, and cast into the fire, that it may be burned. If ye abide in me, and my word abide in you, everything that ye desire to ask shall be done unto you. And herein is the Father glorified, that ye may give much fruit; and ye shall be my disciples. And as my Father loved me, I loved you also: abide in my love. If ye keep my commands, ye shall abide in my love; as I have kept my Father's commands, and abode in his love. I have spoken that unto you, that my joy may be in you, and your joy be fulfilled. This is my commandment, that ye love one another, as I loved you. And no love is greater than this, namely, that a man should give his life for his friends. Ye are my friends, if ye do all that I command you. I call you not now servants; for the servant knoweth not what his lord doeth: my friends have I now called you; for everything that I heard from my Father I have made known unto you. Ye did not choose me, but I chose I you, and appointed you, that ye also should go and bear fruit, and that your fruit should 33 abide; and that all that ye shall ask my Father in my name, he may give you. This I command you, that ye love one another. And if the world hate you, know that before you it hated me. If then ye were of the world, the world would love its own: but ye are not of the world: I chose you out of the world: therefore the world Arabic, hateth you. Remember the word that I said unto you, that no servant is greater than his lord. And if they persecuted me, you also will they persecute; and if they kept my word, your word also will they keep. But all these things will they do unto you for my name's sake, for they have not known him that sent me. And if I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin: but now they have no excuse for their sins. Whosoever hateth me, also hateth my Father. And if I had not done the deeds before them that no other man did, they would not have had sin: but now they have seen and hated me and my Father also: that the word may be fulfilled that is written in their law, They hated me for nothing. But when the Paraclete is come, whom I will send unto you from my Father, even the Spirit of truth, which goeth forth from my Father, he shall bear witness of me: and ye also bear witness, because from the beginning ye have been with me.

I have said that unto you, that ye may not stumble. And they shall put you out of their synagogues: and there cometh an hour when every one that killeth you shall think that he hath offered unto God an offering. And they will do that, because they do not know me, nor my Father. I have said that unto you, so that when its time is come, ye may remember it, that I told you. And this hitherto I said not unto you, because I was with you. But now I go unto him that sent me; and no man of you asketh me whither I go. I have said that unto you now, and grief hath come and taken possession of your hems. But I say the truth unto you; It is better for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Paraclete will not come unto you; Arabic, but if I go away, I will send him unto you. And when he cometh, he will reprove the world for sin, and for righteousness, and for judgement: 52, for sin, because they have not believed in me; and for righteousness, because I go to my Father; and for judgement, because the Archon of this world hath been judged. And further have I many things to speak unto you, but ye cannot tarry now. Howbeit when the Spirit of truth is come, he will remind you of all the truth: he will say nothing from himself; but everything that he heareth, that shall he say: and he shall make known unto you the things that are to be. And he shall glorify me; for from me shall he take and shew you. All that my Father hath is mine: therefore said I unto you, that he taketh of mine, and shall shew you.

TATIAN SECTION 47

A little while, and ye shall not behold me; and a little while again, and ye shall 2 behold me; because I go to the Father. His disciples therefore said one to another, What is this that he hath said unto us, A little while, and ye shall not behold me; and a little while again, and ye shall behold me: and, I go to my Father? And they said, What is this little while that he hath said? We know not what he speaketh. And Jesus perceived that they were seeking to ask him, and said unto them, Do ye inquire among yourselves concerning this, that I said unto you, A little while, and ye behold me not, and a little while again, and ye shall behold me? Verily, verily, I say unto you, that ye shall weep and grieve, but the world shall rejoice: and ye shall be sorrowful, but your grief shall turn to joy.

For, a woman when the time is come for her that she should bring forth, the arrival of the day of her bringing forth distresseth her: but whenever she hath brought forth a son,

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she remembereth not her distress, for joy at the birth of a man into the 7 world. And ye now also grieve: but I shall see you, and your hearts shall rejoice, 8 Arabic, and your joy no man taketh from you. And in that day ye shall ask me nothing. And verily, verily, I say unto you, All that ye ask my Father 9 in my name, he will give you. Hitherto ye have asked nothing in my name: ask, and ye shall receive, that your joy may be complete.

I have spoken unto you now in aenigmas: but there will come an hour when a I shall not speak to you in aenigmas, but shall reveal unto you the Father plainly, in that day when ye shall ask in my name: and I say not unto you, that I shall entreat the Father for you; for the Father loveth you, because ye have loved me, 13 and have believed that I came forth from my Father. I came forth from my Father, and came into the world: and I leave the world, and go unto my Father. His disciples said unto him, Lo, thy speech is now plain, and thou hast not said one thing in an aenigma. Now, lo, we know that thou knowest everything, and needest not that any man should ask thee: and by this we believe that thou camest forth 16, from God. Jesus said unto them, Believe that an hour cometh, and lo, it hath come, and ye shall be scattered, every one of you to his place, and shall leave me alone: and yet I am not alone, because the Father is with me. This have I said unto you, that in me ye may have peace. And in the world trouble shall overtake you: but be of good courage; for I have overcome the world.

This said Jesus, and lifted up his eyes unto heaven, and said, My Father, the hour is come; glorify thy Son, that thy Son may glorify thee: as thou gavest him authority over all flesh, that all that thou hast given him, he might give them eternal life. And this is eternal life, that they should know that thou alone art true God, and that he Arabic, whom thou didst send is Jesus the Messiah. I glorified thee in the earth, P. 179 and the work which thou gavest me to do I have accomplished. And now glorify thou me, O Father, beside thee, with that glory which I had with thee before the world was. I made known thy name to the men whom thou gavest me out of the world: thine they were, and thou gavest them to me; and they have kept 25, thy word. Now they know that all that thou hast given me is from thee: and the sayings which thou gavest me I have given unto them; and they received them, and knew of a truth that I came forth from thee, and believed that thou didst send me. And I ask for their sake: and my asking is not for the world, but for those whom thou hast given me; for they are thine: and all that is mine is thine, and all that is thine is mine: and I am glorified in them. And now I am not in the world, and they are in the world, and I come to thee. My holy Father, keep them in thy name which thou hast given unto me, that they may be one, as we are. When I was with them in the world, I kept them in thy name: and I kept those whom thou gavest unto me: and no man of them hath perished, but the son of perdition; that the scripture might be fulfilled. Now I come to thee: and this I say in the world, that my joy may be complete in them. I have given them thy word; and the world hated them, because they were not of the world, as I was not of the world. And I ask not this, that thou take them from the world, but that thou keep them from the 34, evil one. They were not of the world, as I was not of the world. O Father, sanctify them in thy truth: for thy word is truth. And as thou didst send me into the world, I Arabic, also send them into the world. And for their sake I sanctify myself, that they P. 180 also may be sanctified in the truth. Neither for these alone do I ask, but for 39 the sake of them that believe in me through their word; that they may be all one; as thou art in me, and I in thee, and so they also shall be one in us: that the world may believe that thou didst send me. And the glory which thou hast given unto me I have given unto them; that they may be one, as we are one; I in them, and thou in me, that they may be perfect into one; and that the world may know that thou didst send me, and that I loved them, as thou lovedst me. Father, and those whom thou hast given me, I wish that, where I am, they may be with me also; that they may behold my glory, which thou hast given me: for thou lovedst me before the foundation of the world. My righteous Father, and the world knew thee not, but I know thee; and they knew that thou didst send me; and I made known unto them thy name, and will make it known to them; that the love wherewith thou lovedst me may be in them, and I shall be in them.

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This said Jesus, and went forth with his disciples to a place which was called Gethsemane, on the side that is in the plain of Kidron, the mountain, the place 2 in which was a garden; and he entered thither, he and his disciples. And Judas the 3 betrayer knew that place: for Jesus oft-times met with his disciples there. And when Jesus came to the place, he said to his disciples, Sit ye here, so that I may go and pray; 5 Arabic, and pray ye, that ye enter not into temptations. And he took with him Cephas and the sons of Zebedee together, James and John; and he began to 6 look sorrowful, and to be anxious. And he said unto them, My soul is distressed unto 7 death: abide ye here, and watch with me. And he withdrew from them a little, 8 the space of a stone's throw; and he kneeled, and fell on his face, and prayed, so 9 that, if it were possible, this hour might pass him. And he said, Father, thou art able for all things; if thou wilt, let this cup pass me: but let not my will be done, but let thy will be done. And he came to his disciples, and found them sleeping; and he said unto Cephas, Simon, didst thou sleep? Could ye thus not for one hour watch with me? Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptations: the spirit is willing and ready, but the body is weak. And he went again a second time, and prayed, and said, My Father, if it is not possible with regard to this cup that it pass, except I drink it, thy will be done. And he returned again, and found his disciples sleeping, for their eyes were heavy from their grief and anxiety; and they knew not what to say to him. And he left them, and went away again, and prayed a third time, and said the very same word. And there appeared unto him an angel from heaven, encouraging him. And being afraid he prayed continuously: and his sweat Arabic, became like a stream of blood, and fell on the ground. Then he rose from his prayer, and came to his disciples, and found them sleeping. And he said unto them, Sleep now, and rest: the end hath arrived, and the hour hath come; and behold, the Son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners. Arise, let us go: for he hath come that betrayeth me.

And while he was still speaking, came Judas the betrayer, one of the twelve, and with him a great multitude carrying lanterns and torches and swords and staves, from the chief priests and scribes and eiders of the people, and with him the foot- soldiers of the Romans. And Judas the betrayer gave them a sign, and said, He whom I shall kiss, he is he: take him with care, and lead him away.

And Jesus, because he knew everything that should come upon him, went forth unto them. And immediately Judas the betrayer came to Jesus, and said, Peace, my Master; and kissed him. And Jesus said unto him, Judas, with a kiss betrayest thou the Son of man? Was it for that thou camest, my friend? And Jesus said to those that came unto him, Whom seek ye? They said unto him, Jesus the Nazarene. Jesus said unto them, I am he. And Judas the betrayer also was standing with them. And when Jesus said unto them, I am he, they retreated backward, and fell to the ground. And Jesus asked them again, Whom seek ye? They answered, Jesus the Nazarene. Jesus said unto them, I told you that I am he: and if ye seek me, let these go away: that the word might be fulfilled which he spake, Of those Arabic whom thou hast given me I lost not even one. Then came those that were with Judas, and seized Jesus, and took him.

And when his disciples saw what happened, they said, Our Lord, shall we smite them with swords? And Simon Cephas had a sword, and he drew it, and struck the servant of the chief priest, and cut off his right ear. And the name of that ser- vant was Malchus. Jesus said unto Cephas, The cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it? Put the sword into its sheath: for all that take with the sword shall die by the sword. Thinkest thou that I am not able to ask of my Father, and he shall now raise up for me more than twelve tribes of angels? Then how should the scriptures which were spoken be fulfilled, that thus it must be? Your leave in this. And he touched the ear of him that was struck, and healed it. And in that hour Jesus said to the multitudes, As they come out against a thief are ye come out against me with swords and staves to take me? Daily was I with you in the temple sitting teaching, and ye took me not: but this is your hour, and the power of darkness. And that was, that the scriptures of the prophets might be fulfilled. Then the disciples all left him, and fled. And the footsoldiers and the officers and the soldiers of the Jews seized Jesus, and came. And a certain young man followed him, and he was wrapped in a towel, naked: and they seized him; so he Arabic, left the towel, and fled naked. Then they took Jesus, and bound him, and brought him to Annas first; because he was the father in law of Caiaphas, who was chief priest that year. And Caiaphas was he that counselled the Jews, that it was necessary that one man should die instead of the people.

And Simon Cephas and one of the other disciples followed Jesus. And the chief priest knew that disciple, and he entered with Jesus into the court; but Simon was standing without at the door. And that other disciple, whom the chief priest knew, went out and spake unto her that kept the door, and she brought Simon in. And when the maid that kept the door saw Simon, she looked stedfastly at him, and said unto him, Art not thou also one of the disciples of this man, I mean Jesus the Nazarene? But he denied, and said, Woman, I know him not, neither know I even what thou sayest. And the servants and the soldiers rose, and made a fire in the middle of the court, that they might warm themselves; for it was cold. And when the fire burned up, they sat down around it. And Simon also came, and sat down with them to warm himself, that he might see the end of what should happen.

TATIAN SECTION 49

And the chief priest asked Jesus about his disciples, and about his doctrine. And Jesus said unto him, I was speaking openly to the people; and I ever taught in the synagogue, and in the temple, where all the Jews gather; and I have spoken nothing in 3 Arabic, secret. Why askest thou me? ask those that have heard, what I spake unto 4 them: for they know all that I said. And when he had said that, one of the soldiers which were standing there struck the cheek of Jesus, and said unto him, Dost thou thus answer the chief priest? Jesus answered and said unto him, If I 6 have spoken evil, bear witness of evil: but if well, why didst thou smite me? And Annas sent Jesus bound unto Caiaphas the chief priest.

And when Jesus went out, Simon Cephas was standing in the outer court warm- 8 ing himself. And that maid saw him again, and began to say to those that stood 9 by, This man also was there with Jesus the Nazarene. And those that stood by came forward and said to Cephas, Truly thou art one of his disciples. And he denied again with an oath, I know not the man. And after a little one of the servants of the chief priest, the kinsman of him whose ear Simon cut off, saw him; and he disputed and said, Truly this matt was with him: and he also is a Galilaean; and his speech resembles. And he said unto Simon, Did not I see thee with him in the garden? Then began Simon to curse, and to swear, I know not this man whom ye have mentioned. And immediately, while he was speaking, the cock crew twice. And in that hour Jesus turned, he being without, and looked stedfastly at Cephas. And Simon remembered the word of our Lord, which he said unto him, 17, Before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice. And Simon went forth without, and wept bitterly.

And when the morning approached, the servants of all the chief priests and the scribes and the elders of the people and all the multitude assembled, 20, and made a plot; and they took counsel against Jesus to put him to death. And they sought false witnesses who should witness against him, that they might put him to 22, death, and they found not; but many false witnesses came, but their witness did not 24, agree. But at last there came two lying witnesses, and said, We heard him say, I will destroy this temple of God that is made with hands, and will build another not 26, made with hands after three days. And not even so did their witness agree. But Jesus was silent. And the chief priest rose in the midst, and asked Jesus, and said, Answerest thou not a word concerning anything? what do these witness against 29, thee? But Jesus was silent, and answered him nothing. And they took him up into their assembly, and said unto him, If thou art the Messiah, tell us. He said unto them, If I tell you, ye will not believe me: and if I ask you, ye will not answer me a word, nor let me go. And the chief priest answered and said unto him, I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou art the Messiah, the 34, Son of the living God. Jesus said unto him, Thou hast said that I am he. They all said unto him, Then thou art now the Son of God? Jesus said, Ye have said that I am he. I say unto you, that henceforth ye shall see the Son of man sitting Arabic, at the right hand of power, and coming on the clouds of heaven. Then the chief priest rent his tunic, and said, He hath blasphemed. And they all said, Why should we seek now witnesses? we have heard now the blasphemy from his mouth. 39, What then think ye? They all answered and said, He is worthy of death. Then some of them drew near, and spat in his face, and struck him, and scoffed at him. And the soldiers struck him on his cheeks, and said, Prophesy unto us, thou Mes- siah: who is he that struck thee? And many other things spake they falsely, and said against him.

And all of their assembly arose, and took Jesus, and brought him bound to the praetorium, and delivered him up to Pilate the judge; but they entered not into the praetorium, that they might not be defiled when they should eat the passover. And Jesus stood before the judge. And Pilate went forth unto them without, and said unto them, What accusation have ye against this man? They answered and said unto him, If he had not been doing evils, neither should we have delivered him up unto thee. We found this man leading our people astray, and restraining from giving tribute to Caesar, and saying of himself that he is the King, the Messiah. Pilate said unto them, Then take ye him, and judge him according to your law.

The Jews said unto him, We have no authority to put a man to death: that the word might be fulfilled, which Jesus spake, when he made known by what manner of death he was to die. And Pilate entered into the praetorium, and called Jesus, and said unto him, Art St thou the King of the Jews? Jesus said unto him, Of thyself saidst thou this, or did others tell it thee concerning me? Pilate said unto him, Am I, forsooth, a Jew? The sons of thy nation and the chief priests delivered thee unto me: what hast thou done? Jesus said unto him, My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews: now my kingdom is not from hence. Pilate said unto him, Then thou art a king? Jesus said unto him, Thou hast said that I am a king. And for this was I born, and for this came I into the world, that I should bear witness 55 of the truth. And every one that is of the truth heareth my voice. Pilate said unto him, And what is the truth? And when he said that, he went out again unto the Jews.

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TATIAN SECTION 50

And Pilate said unto the chief priests and the multitude, I have not found 2 against this man anything. But they cried out and said, He hath disquieted our people with his teaching in all Judaea, and he began from Galilee and unto this 3 place. And Pilate, when he heard the name of Galilee, asked, Is this man a Gali- 4 laean? And when he learned that he was under the jurisdiction of Herod, he sent him to Herod: for he was in Jerusalem in those days.

And Herod, when he saw Jesus, rejoiced exceedingly: for he had desired to see him for a long time, because he had heard regarding him many things; and he counted on 6 Arabic, seeing some sign from him. And he questioned him with many words; but 7 Jesus answered him not a word. And the scribes and chief priests were 8 standing by, and they accused him vehemently. And Herod scoffed at him, he and his servants; and when he had scoffed at him, he clothed him in robes of scarlet, 9 and sent him to Pilate. And on that day Pilate and Herod became friends, there having been enmity between them before that.

And Pilate called the chief priests and the rulers of the people, and said unto them, Ye brought unto me this man, as the perverter of your people: and I have tried him before you, and have not found in this man any cause of all that ye seek against him: nor yet Herod: for I sent him unto him; and he hath done nothing for which he should deserve death. So now I will chastise him, and let 14, him go. The multitude all cried out and said, Take him from us, take him. And the chief priests and the eiders accused him of many things. And during their accusation he answered not a word. Then Pilate said unto him, Hearest thou not how many things they witness against thee? And he answered him not, not even one word: and Pilate marvelled at that. And when the judge sat on his tribune, his wife sent unto him, and said unto him, See that thou have nothing to do with that righteous man: for I have suffered much in my dream to-day because of him.

And at every feast the custom of the judge was to release to the people one prisoner, him whom they would. And there was in their prison a well-known pris- 22, oner, called Barabbas. And when they assembled, Pilate said unto them, Ye have a custom, that I should release unto you a prisoner at the passover: will ye that I 24 release unto you the King of the Jews? And they all cried out and said, Release not Arabic, unto us this man, but release unto us Barabbas. And this Barabbas was a robber, who for sedition and murder, which was in the city, was cast into the prison. And all the people cried out and began to ask him to do as the custom was that he should do with them. And Pilate answered and said unto them, Whom will ye that I release unto you? Barabbas, or Jesus which is called the Messiah, the King of the Jews? For Pilate knew that envy had moved them to deliver him up. And the chief priests and the elders asked the multitudes to deliver Barabbas, and to destroy Jesus. The judge answered and said unto them, Whom of the two will ye that I release unto you? They said, Barabbas. Pilate said unto them, And Jesus which is called the Messiah, what shall I do with him? They all cried out and said, Crucify him. And Pilate spake to them again, for he desired to release Jesus; but they cried out and said, Crucify him, crucify him, and release unto us Barabbas. And Pilate said unto them a third time, What evil hath this man done? I have not found in him any cause to necessitate death: I will chastise him and let him go. But they increased in importunity with a loud voice, and asked him to crucify him. And their voice, and the voice of the chief priests, prevailed. Then Pilate released unto them that one who was cast into prison for sedition and murder, Barabbas, whom they asked for: and he scourged Jesus with whips. Then the footsoldiers of the judge took Jesus, and went into the praetorium, and Arabic, gathered unto him all of the footsoldiers. And they stripped him, and put on him a scarlet cloak. And they clothed him in garments of purple, and plaited a crown of thorns, and placed it on his head, and a reed in his right hand; and while they mocked at him and laughed, they fell down on their knees before him, and bowed down to him, and said, Hail, King of the Jews! And they spat in his face, and took the reed from his hand, and struck him on his head, and smote his cheeks. And Pilate went forth without again, and said unto the Jews, I bring him forth to you, that ye may know that I do not find, in examining him, even one crime. And Jesus went forth without, wearing the crown of thorns and the purple garments. Pilate said unto them, Behold, the man! And when the chief priests and the soldiers saw him, they cried out and said, Crucify him, crucify him. Pilate said unto them, Take him yourselves, and crucify him: for I find not a cause against him. The Jews said unto him, We have a law, and according to our law he deserves death, because he made himself the Son of God. And when Pilate heard this word, his fear increased; and he entered again into the porch, and said to Jesus, Whence art thou? But Jesus answered him not a word. Pilate said unto him, Speakest thou not unto me? knowest thou not that I have authority to release thee, and have authority to crucify thee? Jesus said unto him, Thou hast not any authority over me, if thou wert not given it from above: therefore the sin of him that delivered me up unto thee is greater than thy sin. And for this word Pilate wished to release him: but the Jews cried out, If thou let him go, thou art not a friend of Caesar: for every one that maketh himself a king is against Caesar.

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Arabic, And when Pilate heard this saying, he took Jesus out, and sat on the tribune in the place which was called the pavement of stones, but in the He- 2 brew called Gabbatha. And that day was the Friday of the passover: and it had reached 3 about the sixth hour. And he said to the Jews, Behold, your King! And they cried out, Take him, take him, crucify him, crucify him. Pilate said unto them, Shall I crucify your King? The chief priests said unto him, We have no king except 4 Caesar. And Pilate, when he saw it, and he was gaining nothing, but the tumult was increasing, took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, and said, I 5 am innocent of the blood of this innocent man: ye shall know. And all the people 6 answered and said, His blood be on us, and on our children. Then Pilate commanded to grant them their request; and delivered up Jesus to be crucified, according to their wish.

Then Judas the betrayer, when he saw Jesus wronged, went and returned the 8 thirty pieces of money to the chief priests and the eiders, and said, I have sinned in my betraying innocent blood. And they said unto him, And we, what must we do? 9 know thou. And he threw down the money in the temple, and departed; and he went away and hanged himself. And the chief priests took the money, and said, We have not authority to cast it into the place of the offering, for it is the price of blood. And they took counsel, and bought with it the plain of the potter, for the burial of strangers. Therefore that plain was called, The field of blood, unto 13 Arabic, this day. Therein was fulfilled the saying in the prophet which said, I took thirty pieces of money, the price of the precious one, which was fixed by the children of Israel; and I paid them for the plain of the potter, as the Lord commanded me.

And the Jews took Jesus, and went away to crucify him. And when he bare his cross and went out, they stripped him of those purple and scarlet garments which he had on, and put on him his own garments. And while they were going with him, they found a man, a Cyrenian, coming from the country, named Simon, the father of Alexander and Rufus: and they compelled this man to bear the cross of Jesus. And they took the cross and laid it upon him, that he might bear it, and come after Jesus; and Jesus went, and his cross behind him.

And there followed him much people, and women which were lamenting and raving. But Jesus turned unto them and said, Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me: weep for yourselves, and for your children. Days are coming, when they shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the womb's that bare not, and the breasts that gave not suck. Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us; and to the hills, Cover us. For if they do so in the green tree, what shall be in the dry?

And they brought with Jesus two others of the malefactors, to be put to death.

And when they came unto a certain place called The skull, and called in the Hebrew Golgotha, they crucified him there: they crucified with him these two malefactors, one on his right, and the other on his left. And the scripture was Arabic, fulfilled, which saith, He was numbered with the transgressors. And they gave him to drink wine and myrrh, and vinegar which had been mixed with the myrrh; and he tasted, and would not drink; and he received it not.

And the soldiers, when they had crucified Jesus, took his garments, and cast lots for them in four parts, to every party of the soldiers a part; and his tunic was without sewing, from the top woven throughout. And they said one to another, Let us not rend it, but cast lots for it, whose it shall be: and the scripture was fulfilled, which saith, They divided my garments among them, And cast the lot for my vesture.

This the soldiers did. And they sat and guarded him there. And Pilate wrote on a tablet the cause of his death, and put it on the wood of the cross above his head. And there was written upon it thus: THIS IS JESUS THE NAZARENE THE NAZARENE, THE KING OF THE Jews. And this tablet read many of the Jews: for the place where Jesus was crucified was near the city: and it was written in Hebrew and Greek and Latin. And the chief priests said unto Pilate, Write not, The King of the Jews; but, He it is that said, I am the King of the Jews. Pilate said unto them, What hath been written hath been written. And the people were standing beholding; and they that passed by were reviling him, and shaking their heads, and saying, Thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest it in three days, save thyself if thou art the Son of God, and come down from the cross. And in like manner the chief priests and the Arabic, scribes and the elders and the Pharisees derided him, and laughed one with 38, another, and said, The saviour of others cannot save himself. If he is the Messiah, the chosen of God, and the King of Israel, let him come down now from the cross, that we may see, and believe in him. He that relieth on God--let him deliver him now, if he is pleased with him: for he said, I am the Son of God. And the soldiers also scoffed at him in that they came near unto him, and brought him vinegar, and said unto him, If thou art the King of the Jews, save thyself. And likewise the two robbers also that were crucified with him reproached him. And one of those two malefactors who were crucified with him reviled him, and said, If thou art the Messiah, save thyself, and save us also. But his comrade rebuked him, and said, Dost thou not even fear God, being thyself also in this condemnation? And we with justice, and as we deserved, and according to our deed, have we been rewarded: but this man hath not done anything unlawful. And he said unto Jesus, Remember me, my Lord, when thou comest in thy kingdom. Jesus said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise. And there stood by the cross of Jesus his mother, and his mother's sister, Mary that was related to Clopas, and Mary Magdalene. And Jesus saw his mother, and that disciple whom he loved standing by; and he said to his mother, 51 Woman, behold, thy son! And he said to that disciple, Behold, thy mother! And from that hour that disciple took her unto himself.

And from the sixth hour darkness was on all the land unto the ninth hour, and the sun became dark. And at the ninth hour Jesus cried out with a loud voice, and said, Yail, Yaili, why hast thou forsaken me? which is, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? And some of those that stood there, when they heard, said, This man called Elijah.

TATIAN SECTION 52

And after that, Jesus knew that all things were finished; and that the scripture 2 might be accomplished, he said, I thirst. And there was set a vessel full of vinegar: and in that hour one of them hasted, and took a sponge, and filled it with that 3 vinegar, and fastened it on a reed, and brought it near his mouth to give him a 4 drink. And when Jesus had taken that vinegar, he said, Everything is finished. 5 But the rest said, Let be, that we may see whether Elijah cometh to save him. 7 And Jesus said, My Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do. And Jesus cried again with a loud voice, and said, My Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit. He said that, and bowed his head, and gave up his spirit. 8 And immediately the face of the door of the temple was rent into two parts from 9 top to bottom; and the earth was shaken; and the stones were split to pieces; and the Arabic, tombs were opened; and the bodies of many saints which slept, arose and p. 197 came forth; and after his resurrection they entered into the holy city and appeared unto many. And the officer of the footsoldiers, and they that were with him who were guarding Jesus, when they saw the earthquake, and the things which came to pass, feared greatly, and praised God, and said, This man was righteous; and, Truly he was the Son of God. And all the multitudes that were come together to the sight, when they saw what came to pass, returned and smote upon their breasts.

And the Jews, because of the Friday, said, Let these bodies not remain on their crosses, because it is the morning of the sabbath (for that sabbath was a great day); and they asked of Pilate that they might break the legs of those that were crucified, and take them down. And the soldiers came, and brake the legs of the first, and that other which was crucified with him: but when they came to Jesus, they saw that he had died before, so they brake not his legs: but one of the soldiers pierced him in his side with a spear, and immediately there came forth blood and water. And he that hath seen hath borne witness, and his witness is true: and he 19 knoweth that he hath said the truth, that ye also may believe. This he did, that the scripture might be fulfiled, which saith, A bone shall not be broken in him; and the scripture also which saith, Let them look upon him whom they pierced.

And there were in the distance all the acquaintance of Jesus standing, and the women that came with him from Galilee, those that followed him and ministered. One of them was Mary Magdalene; and Mary the mother of James the little and Arabic Joses, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee, and Salome, and many others which came up with him unto Jerusalem; and they saw that.

And when the evening of the Friday was come, because of the entering of the sabbath, there came a rich man, a noble of Ramah, a city of Judah, named Joseph, and he was a good man and upright; and he was a disciple of Jesus, but was concealing himself for fear of the Jews. And he did not agree with the accusers 27 in their desire and their deeds: and he was looking for the kingdom of God. And this man went boldly, and entered in unto Pilate, and asked of him the body of Jesus. And Pilate wondered how he had died already: and he called the officer of the footsoldiers, and asked him concerning his death before the time. And when he knew, he commanded him to deliver up his body unto Joseph. And Joseph bought for him a winding cloth of pure linen, and took down the body of Jesus, and wound it in they came and took it. And there came unto him Nicodemus also, who of old came unto Jesus by night; and he brought with him perfume of myrrh and aloes, about a hundred pounds. And they took the body of Jesus, and wound it in the linen and the perfume, as was the custom of the Jews to bury.

And there was in the place where Jesus was crucified a garden; and in that garden a new tomb cut out in a rock? wherein was never man yet laid. And they left Jesus there

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because the sabbath had come in, and because the tomb was near. And they pushed a great stone, and thrust n it against the door of the sepulchre, and went away. And Mary Magdalene and Mary that was related to Joses came to Arabic the sepulchre after them, and sat opposite the sepulchre, and saw the body, how they took it in and laid it there. And they returned, and ointment and perfume, and prepared it, that they might come and anoint him. And on the day which was the sabbath day they desisted according to the command.

And the chief priests and the Pharisees gathered unto Pilate, and said unto him, Our lord, we remember that that misleader said, while he was alive, After three days I rise. And now send beforehand and guard the tomb until the third day, lest his disciples come and steal him by night, and they will say unto the people that he is risen from the dead: and the last error shall be worse than the first. He said unto them, And have ye not guards? go, and take precautions as ye know how. And they went, and set guards at the tomb, and sealed that stone, with the guards.

And in the evening of the sabbath, which is the morning of the first day, and in the dawning while the darkness yet remained, came Mary Magdalene and the other Mary and other women to see the tomb. They brought with them the perfume which they had prepared, and said among themselves, Who is it that will remove for us the stone from the door of the tomb? for it was very great. And when they said thus, there occurred a great earthquake; and an angel came down from heaven, and came and removed the stone from the door. And they came and found the stone removed from the sepulchre, and the angel sitting upon the stone. And his appearance was as the lightning, and his raiment white as the snow: and for fear of him the guards were troubled, and became as dead men. And when he went away, the women entered into the sepulchre; and they found Arabic not the body of Jesus. And they saw there a young man sitting on the right, strayed in a white garment; and they were amazed. And the angel answered and said unto the women, Fear ye not: for I know that ye seek Jesus the Nazarene, who hath been crucified. He is not here; but he is risen, as he said. Come and see the place where our Lord lay.

TATIAN SECTION 53

And while they marvelled at that, behold, two men standing above them, their 2 raiment shining: and they were seized with fright, and bowed down their face to 3 the earth: and they said unto them, Why seek ye the living one with the dead? He is not here; he is risen: remember what he was speaking unto you while he was in 4 Galilee, and saying, The Son of man is to be delivered up into the hands of sinners, 5 and to be crucified, and on the third day to rise. But go in haste, and say to his disciples and to Cephas, He is risen from among the dead; and lo, he goeth before 6 you into Galilee; and there ye shall see him, where he said unto you: lo, I have 7 told you. And they remembered his sayings; and they departed in haste from the 8 tomb with joy and great fear, and hastened and went; and perplexity and fear 9 encompassed them; and they told no man anything, for they were afraid. And Mary hastened, and came to Simon Cephas, and to that other disciple whom Jesus loved, and said unto them, They have taken our Lord from the sepulchre, and I know not where they have laid him. And Simon went out, and that other disciple, and came to the sepulchre. And they hastened both together: and that disciple outran Simon, and came first to the sepulchre; and he looked down, and saw the linen laid; but he went not in. And Simon came after him, and entered into the Arabic, sepulchre, and saw the linen laid; and the scarf with which his head was bound was not with the linen, but wrapped and laid aside in a certain place. Then entered that disciple which came first to the sepulchre, and saw, and believed. And they knew not yet from the scriptures that the Messiah was to rise from among the dead. And those two disciples went to their place.

But Mary remained at the tomb weeping: and while she wept, she looked down into the tomb; and she saw two angels sitting in white raiment, one of them toward his pillow, and the other toward his feet, where the body of Jesus had been laid. And they said unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? She said unto them, They have taken my Lord, and I know not where they have left him. She said that, and turned behind her, and saw Jesus standing, and knew not that it was Jesus. Jesus said unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? whom seekest thou? And she supposed him to be the gardener, and said, My lord, if thou hast taken him, tell me where thou hast laid him, that I may go and take him Jesus said unto her, Mary. She turned, and said unto him in Hebrew, Rabboni; which is, being interpreted, Teacher. Jesus said unto her, Touch me not; for I have not ascended yet unto my Father: go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and my God and your God.

And on the First-day on which he rose, he appeared first unto Mary Magdalene, from whom he had cast out seven demons. And some of those guards came to the city, and informed the chief priests of Arabic, all that had happened. And they assembled with the elders, and took counsel; and they gave money, not a little, to the guards, and said unto them, Say ye, His disciples came and stole him by night, while we were sleeping.

And if the judge hear that, we will make a plea with him, and free you of blame. And they, when they took the money, did according to what they taught them. And this word spread among the Jews unto this day.

And then came Mary Magdalene, and announced to the disciples that she had seen our Lord, and that he had said that unto her.

And while the first women were going in the way to inform his disciples, Jesus met them, and said unto them, Peace unto you. And they came and took hold of his feet, and worshipped him. Then said Jesus unto them, Fear not: but go and say to my brethren that they depart into Galilee, and there they shall see me. And those women returned, and told all that to the eleven, and to the rest of the disciples; and to those that had been with him, for they were saddened and weeping. And those were Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary the mother of James, and the rest who were with them: and they were those that told the apostles. And they, when they heard them say that he was alive and had appeared unto them, did not believe them: and these sayings were before their eyes as the sayings of madness. Arabic, And after that, he appeared to two of them, on that day, and while they were going to the village which was named Emmaus, and whose distance from Jerusalem was sixty furlongs. And they were talking the one of them with the 41 other of all the things which had happened. And during the time of their talking and inquiring with one another, Jesus came and reached them, and walked with them. But their eyes were veiled that they should not know him. And he said unto them, What are these sayings which ye address the one of you to the other, as ye walk and are sad? One of them, whose name was Cleopas, answered and said unto him, Art thou perchance alone a stranger to Jerusalem, since thou knowest not what was in it in these days? He said unto them, What was? They said unto him, Concerning Jesus, he who was from Nazareth, a man who was a prophet, and powerful in speech and deeds before God and before all the people: and the chief priests and the elders delivered him up to the sentence of death, and crucified him. But we supposed that he was the one who was to deliver Israel. And since all these things happened there have passed three days. But certain women of us also informed us that they had come to the sepulchre; and when they found not his body, they came and told us that they had seen there the angels, and they said concerning him that he was alive. And some of us also went to the sepulchre, and found the matter as the women had said: only they saw him not. Then said Jesus unto them, Ye lacking in discernment, and heavy in heart to believe! Was it not in all the sayings of the prophets that the Messiah was to suffer these things, and to Arabic, enter into his glory? And he began from Moses and from all the prophets, and interpreted to them concerning himself from all the scriptures. And they drew near unto the village, whither they were going: and he was leading them to imagine that he was as if going to a distant region. And they pressed him, and said unto him, Abide with us: for the day hath declined now to the darkness. And he went in to abide with them. And when he sat with them, he took bread, and blessed, and brake, and gave to them. And straightway their eyes were opened, and they knew him; and he was taken away from them. And they said the one to the other, Was not our heart heavy within us, while he was speaking to us in the way, and interpreting to us the scriptures?

And they rose in that hour, and returned to Jerusalem, and found the eleven gathered, and those that were with them, saying, Truly our Lord is risen, and hath appeared to Simon. And they related what happened in the way, and how they knew him when he brake the bread. Neither believed they that also.

TATIAN SECTION 54

And while they talked together, the evening of that day arrived which was the First-day; and the doors were shut where the disciples were, because of the fear of the 2 Jews; and Jesus came and stood among them, and said unto them, Peace be with you: I am he; fear not. But they were agitated, and became afraid, and supposed that they 3 saw a spirit. Jesus said unto them, Why are ye agitated? and why do thoughts rise 4 Arabic, in your hearts? See my hands and my feet, that I am he: feel me, and know that a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me having that. 5 And when he had said this, he shewed them his hands and his feet and his side. 6 And they were until this time unbelieving, from their joy and their wonder. He 7 said unto them, Have ye anything here to eat? And they gave him a portion of broiled fish and of honey. And he took it, and ate before them. 8 And he said unto them, These are the sayings which I spake unto you, while I was with you, that everything must be fulfilled, which is written in the law of 9 Moses, and the prophets, and the psalms, concerning me. Then opened he their heart, that they might understand the scriptures; and he said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it is necessary that the Messiah suffer, and rise from among the dead on the third day; and that repentance unto the forgiveness of sins be preached in his name among all the peoples; and the beginning shall be from Jerusalem. And ye shall be witnesses of that. And I send unto you the promise of my Father. And when the disciples heard that, they were glad. And Jesus said unto them again, Peace be with you: as my Father hath sent me, I also send you. And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and said unto them, Receive ye the Holy Spirit: 16 and if ye forgive sins to any man, they shall be forgiven him; and if ye retain them against any man, they shall be retained.

But Thomas, one of the twelve, called Thama, was not there with the disciples when Jesus came. The disciples therefore said unto him, We have seen our Lord. But he said unto them, If I do not see in his hands the places of the nails, and put on them my fingers, and pass my hand over his side, I will not believe.

And after eight days, on the next First-day, the disciples were assembled again within, and Thomas with them. And Jesus came, the doors being shut, and stood Arabic, in the midst, and said unto them, Peace be with you. And he said to Thomas, Bring hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and bring hither thy hand, and spread it on my side: and be not unbelieving, but believing. Thomas answered and said unto him, My Lord and my God. Jesus said unto him, Now since thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen me, and have believed.

And many other signs did Jesus before his disciples, and they are they which are not written in this book: but these that are written also are that ye may believe in Jesus the Messiah, the Son of God; and that when ye have believed, ye may have in his name eternal life. And after that, Jesus shewed himself again to his disciples at the sea of Tiberias; and he shewed himself unto them thus. And there were together Simon Cephas, and Thomas which was called Twin, and Nathanael who was of Cana of Galilee, and the sons of Zebedee, and two other of the disciples. Simon Cephas said unto them, I go to catch fish. They said unto him, And we also come with thee. And they went forth, and went up into the boat; and in that night they caught nothing. And when the morning arrived, Jesus stood on the shore of the sea: but the disciples knew not that it was Jesus. And Jesus said unto them, Children, have ye anything to eat? They said unto him, No. He said unto them, Cast your net from the right side of the boat, and ye shall find. And they threw, and they were not able to draw the net for the abundance of the fish that were come into it. And that disciple whom Jesus loved said to Cephas, This is our Lord. And Simon, when he heard that it was our Lord, took his tunic, and girded it on his waist (for he was naked), and cast himself into the sea to come to Jesus. But some others of the disciples came in the boat (and they were not far from the land, but about two Arabic, hundred cubits), and drew that net of fish. And when they went up on the land, they saw live coals laid, and fish laid thereon, and bread. And Jesus said unto them, Bring of this fish which ye have now caught. Simon Cephas therefore went up, and dragged the net to the land, full of great fish, a hundred and fifty-three fishes: and with all this weight that net was not rent. And Jesus said unto them,. Come and sit down. And no man of the disciples dared to ask him who he was, for they knew that it was our Lord. But he did not appear to them in his own 37, form. And Jesus came, and took bread and fish, and gave unto them. This is the third time that Jesus appeared to his disciples, when he had risen from among the dead.

And when they had breakfasted, Jesus said to Simon Cephas, Simon, son of Jonah, lovest thou me more than these? He said unto him, Yea, my Lord; thou knowest that I love thee. Jesus said unto him, Feed for me my lambs. He said unto him again a second time, Simon, son of Jonah, lovest thou me? He said unto him, Yea, my Lord; thou knowest that I love thee. He said unto him, Feed for me my sheep. He said unto him again the third time, Simon, son of Jonah, lovest thou me? And it grieved Cephas that he said unto him three times, Lovest thou me? He said unto him, My Lord, thou knowest everything; thou knowest that I love thee. Jesus said unto him, Feed for me my sheep. Verily, verily, I say unto thee, When thou wast a child, thou didst gird thy waist for thyself, and go whither Arabic, thou wouldest: but when thou shall be old, thou shalt stretch out thy hands, and another shall gird thy waist, and take thee whither thou wouldest not. He said that to him to explain by what death he was to glorify God. And when he had said that, he said unto him, Come after me. And Simon Cephas turned, and saw that disciple whom Jesus loved following him; he which at the supper leaned on Jesus' breast, and said, My Lord, who is it that betrayeth thee? When therefore Cephas saw him, he said to Jesus, My Lord, and this man, what shall be in his case? Jesus said unto him, If I will that this man remain until I come, what is 47 that to thee? follow thou me. And this word spread among the brethren, that that disciple should not die: but Jesus said not that he should not die; but, If I will that this man remain until I come, what is that to thee?

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This is the disciple which bare witness of that, and wrote it: and we know that his witness is true.

TATIAN SECTION 55

But the eleven disciples went into Galilee, to the mountain s where Jesus had 2 appointed them. And when they saw him, they worshipped him: but there were of 3 them who doubted. And while they sat there he appeared to them again, and upbraided them for their lack of faith and the hardness of their hearts, those that saw him when he was risen, and believed not. 4 Arabic, Then said Jesus unto them, I have been given all authority in heaven 5 and earth; and as my Father hath sent me, so I also send you. Go now into 6 all the world, and preach my gospel in all the creation; and teach all the peoples, and 7 baptize them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit; and teach them to keep all whatsoever I commanded you: and lo, I am with you all the days, unto 8 the end of the world. For whosoever believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but 9 whosoever believeth not shall be rejected. And the signs which shall attend those that believe in me are these: that they shall cast out devils in my name; and they shall speak with new tongues; and they shall take up serpents, and if they drink deadly poison, it shall not injure them; and they shall lay their hands on the diseased, and they shall be healed. But ye, abide in the city of Jerusalem, until ye be clothed with power from on high.

And our Lord Jesus, after speaking to them, took them out to Bethany: and he lifted up his hands, and blessed them. And while he blessed them, he was separated from them, and ascended into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of God. And they worshipped him, and returned to Jerusalem with great joy: and at all times they were in the temple, praising and blessing God. Amen.

And from thence they went forth, and preached in every place; and our Lord helped them, and confirmed their sayings by the signs which they did.

And here are also many other things which Jesus did, which if they were written every one of them, not even the world, according to my opinion, would contain the books which should be written.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

1. IN BORGIAN MS

Here endeth the Gospel which Tatianus compiled and named Diatessaron, i.e., The Fourfold, a compilation from the four Gospels of the holy Apostles, the excellent Evangelists (peace be upon them). It was translated by the excellent and learned priest, Abu'l Faraj 'Abdulla ibn-at-Tayyib (may God grant him favour), from Syriac into Arabic, from an exemplar written by 'Isa ibn-'Ali al-Motatabbib, pupil of Honain ibn-Ishak (God have mercy on them both). Amen.

2. IN VATICAN MS.

Here endeth, by the help of God, the holy Gospel that Titianus compiled from the four Gospels, which is known as Diatessaron. And praise be to God, as he is entitled to it and lord of it! And to him be the glory for ever.

THE GREEK GOSPEL OF THE EGYPTIANS

From: The Apocryphal New Testament, pp. 10-12.
Translation: Montague Rhode James, 1924
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 120–150 A.D.

(The Greek Gospel of the Egyptians was an early Christian religious text whose copies have been lost. Only fragments and sentences survived. Its title is adopted from its opening line. The Greek Gospel of the Egyptians (which is quite distinct from the later, wholly Gnostic Coptic Gospel of the Egyptians), perhaps written in the second quarter of the 2nd century, was already cited in Clement of Alexandria's miscellany, The Stromata. From these few fragments, it is unknown how much more extensive the contents were, or what other matters they discussed, or whether the known fragments present essentially the nature of the whole entity, which is apparently a "sayings" tradition worked into the familiar formula of a duologue. Also, due to the fragmentary nature, it is unknown whether it constitutes a version of some other known text. The Gospel of the Egyptians was apparently read in Egyptian churches in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. The known fragments of text takes the form of a discussion between the disciple Salome and Jesus, who advocates asceticism and caution, and refers to the endless circle of life. Origen, in his first Homily on Luke, speaks of those who 'took in hand' or 'attempted' to write gospels (as Luke says in his prologue). These, he says, came to the task rashly, without the needful gifts of grace, unlike Matthew, Mark, John, and Luke himself. Such were those who composed the Gospel entitled 'of the Twelve'. Apart from this there are but few mentions of the book.)

A series of passages from Clement of Alexandria is our chief source of knowledge. They are as follows:

Clement of Alexandria, Stromata III. 9. 64.

Whence it is with reason that after the Word had told about the End, Salome saith: Until when shall men continue to die? (Now, the Scripture speaks of man in two senses, the one that is seen, and the soul: and again, of him that is in a state of salvation, and him that is not: and sin is called the death of the soul) and it is advisedly that the Lord makes an answer: So long as women bear children.

Excerpts from Theodotus, 66.

And why do not they who walk by anything rather than the true rule of the Gospel go on to quote the rest of that which was said to Salome: for when she had said, 'I have done well, then, in not bearing children?' (as if childbearing were not the right thing to accept) the Lord answers and says: Every plant eat thou, but that which hath bitterness eat not.

Clement of Alexandria, Stromata III. 13. 92. :

When Salome inquired when the things concerning which she asked should be known, the Lord said: When ye have trampled on the garment of shame, and when the two become one and the male with the female is neither male nor female. In the first place, then, we have not this saying in the four Gospels that have been delivered to us, but in that according to the Egyptians.

(The so-called Second Epistle of Clement has this, in a slightly different form, c. XII. 2: For the Lord himself being asked by some one when his kingdom should come, said: When the two shall be one, and the outside (that which is without) as the inside (that which is within), and themale with the female neither male nor female.)

(There are allusions to the saying in the Apocryphal Acts, see pp. 335, 429, 450.)

Clement of Alexandria, Stromata III. 6. 45. :

The Lord said to Salome when she inquired: How long shall death prevail? 'As long as ye women bera children', not because life is an ill, and the creation evil: but as showing the sequence of nature: for in all cases birth is followed by decay.

Excerpts from Theodotus, 67. :

And when the Saviour says to Salome that there shall be death as long as women bear children, he did not say it as abusing birth, for that is necessary for the salvation of believers.

Clement of Alexandria, Stromata III. 9. 63. :

But those who set themselves against God's creation because of continence, which has a fair-sounding name, quote also those words which were spoken to Salome, of which I made mention before. They are contained, I think (or I take it) in the Gospel according to the Egyptians. For they say that 'the Saviour himself said: I came to destroy the works of the female'. By female he means lust: by works, birth and decay.

Hippolytus against Heresies, v. 7. :

(The Naassenes) say that the soul is very hard to find and to perceive; for it does not continue in the same fashion or shape or in one emotion so that one can either describe it or comprehend its essence. And they have these various changes of the soul, set forth in the Gospel entitled according to the Egyptians.

Epiphanius, Heresy LXII. 2 (Sabellians). :

Their whole deceit (error) and the strength of it they draw from some apocryphal books, especially from what is called the Egyptian Gospel, to which some have given that name. For in it many suchlike things are recorded (or attributed) as from the person of the Saviour, said in a corner, purporting that he showed his disciples that the same person was Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

(All this goes to show that this Gospel was a secondary work with a distinct doctrinal tendency. It resembles later Gnostic books such as the Pistis Sophia in assigning an important role in the dialogues with Christ to the female disciples.)

THE COPTIC GOSPEL OF THE EGYPTIANS

or Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit
or The Gnostic Gospel of the Egyptians
From: The Nag Hammadi Library
Translation: Alexander Bohlig and Frederik Wisse
Estimated Range of Dating: 150-400 A.D.

(This gospel is the manuscript of a Jewish-Christian movement called Setianism. This sect was very active in the 2nd century and it belongs to the so-called Gnostics, that is "those ones who know". Sethianism attributed its gnosis (knowledge) to Seth, third son of Adam and Eve and Norea, wife of Noah, who also plays a role in Mandeanism and Manicheanism. The Sethian cosmogonic myth gives a prologue to Genesis and the rest of the Pentateuch, presenting a radical reinterpretation of the orthodox Jewish conception of creation, and the divine's relation to reality. The Sethian cosmogony is most famously contained in the Apocryphon of John, which describes an "Unknown God".

We know now that this gospel is actually the formerly lost "Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit", also informally called the "Coptic Gospel of the Egyptians" (which is quite distinct from the Greek Gospel of the Egyptians). The gospel was among the codices in the Nag Hammadi library, discovered in 1945. It got its name from the signature at its end which simply reads "Egyptian Gospel". Although it is possible that it was written in Egypt, it is far more likely that the name is based on connections made between Seth of the Old Testament and Set, the ancient Egyptian god of violence, chaos, and storms.

The main contents concern the Sethian Gnostic understanding of how the earth came into being, how Seth, in the Gnostic interpretation, is incarnated as Jesus in order to release people's souls from the evil prison that is creation. More specifically, the text can be divided into four parts concerning the creation of the heavenly world: the creation of the heavenly world, the creation and significance of the race of Seth, a hymn, and the history behind the creation of the text itself

It also contains a hymn, parts of which are unusual in being apparently meaningless sequences of vowels (thought to be a representation of early Christian glossolalia), although the vowels of the final paragraph (u aei eis aei ei o ei ei os ei) can be partitioned to read (in Greek) who exists as Son for ever and ever. You are what you are, you are who you are. One explanation could be that these vowels are connected to the divine name YHWH. Another possibility is that the vowels could represent a secret, sacred way for the soul of the reader to move closer to gnosis.)

The holy book of the Egyptians about the Great Invisible Spirit, the Father whose name cannot be uttered, he who came forth from the heights of the perfection, the light of the light of the aeons of light, the light of the silence of the providence and the Father of the silence, the light of the word and the truth, the light of the incorruptions, the infinite light, the radiance from the aeons of light of the unrevealable, unmarked, ageless, unproclaimable Father, the aeon of the aeons, Autogenes, self-begotten, self-producing, alien, the really true aeon.

Three powers came forth from him; they are the Father, the Mother, (and) the Son, from the living silence, what came forth from the incorruptible Father. These came forth from the silence of the unknown Father.

And from that place, Domedon Doxomedon came forth, the aeon of the aeons and the light of each one of their powers. And thus the Son came forth fourth; the Mother fifth; the Father sixth. He was [...] but unheralded; it is he who is unmarked among all the powers, the glories, and the incorruptions.

From that place, the three powers came forth, the three ogdoads that the Father brings forth in silence with his providence, from his bosom, i.e., the Father, the Mother, (and) the Son.

The first ogdoad*, because of which the thrice-male child came forth, which is the thought, and the word, and the incorruption, and the eternal life, the will, the mind, and the foreknowledge, the androgynous Father. (* the ogdoad, the seven heavens or layers of the sky, was associated both with the metaphysical realms of deities and with observed celestial bodies such as the classical planets and fixed stars, a similar concept is also found in Indian Hinduism and Jainism.)

The second ogdoad-power, the Mother, the virginal Barbelon, epititioch[...]ai, memeneaimen[...], who presides over the heaven, karb[...], the uninterpretable power, the ineffable Mother. She originated from herself [...]; she came forth; she agreed with the Father of the silent silence.

The third ogdoad-power, the Son of the silent silence, and the crown of the silent silence, and the glory of the Father, and the virtue of the Mother, he brings forth from the bosom the seven powers of the great light of the seven voices. And the word is their completion.

These are the three powers, the three ogdoads that the Father, through his providence, brought forth from his bosom. He brought them forth at that place.

Domedon Doxomedon came forth, the aeon of the aeons, and the throne which is in him, and the powers which surround him, the glories and the incorruptions. The Father of the great light who came forth from the silence, he is the great Doxomedon-aeon (different forms or incarnations of God), in which the thrice- male child rests. And the throne of his glory was established in it, this one on which his unrevealable name is inscribed, on the tablet [...] one is the word, the Father of the light of everything, he who came forth from the silence, while he rests in the silence, he whose

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name is in an invisible symbol. A hidden, invisible mystery came forth:

IIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIII
EEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEE
OOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOO
UUUUUUUUUUUUUUUUUUUU
EEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEE
AAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAA
OOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOO

(the 7 vowels, 22 times each, pretty much like a Buddhist prayer to the seven heavens. The number 22 may refer to the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet and the 22 chapters of The Apocalypse of John, also known as The Revelation to John. And indeed, "Apocalypse" means "revealing of divine mysteries or knowledge". In Antiquity, the number 22 stood for the 22 elements by which God created the world and represented movement and infinity. It symbolised the "end of a cycle, and for the man, the end of the obligatory reincarnations on the earth". In other words: 22 divided by 7 gives the number "pi", which represents the mysterious and approximate ratio of the perimeter of a circle to its diameter.)

And in this way, the three powers gave praise to the great, invisible, unnameable, virginal, uncallable Spirit, and his male virgin. They asked for a power. A silence of living silence came forth, namely glories and incorruptions in the aeons [...] aeons, myriads added on [...], the three males, the three male offspring, the male races ... (IV 55, 5-7 adds: ... the glories of the Father, the glories of the great Christ, and the male offspring, the races ...) ... filled the great Doxomedon-aeon with the power of the word of the whole pleroma.

Then the thrice-male child of the great Christ, whom the great invisible Spirit had anointed - he whose power was called 'Ainon' - gave praise to the great invisible Spirit and his male virgin Yoel, and the silence of silent silence, and the greatness that [...] ineffable. [...] ineffable [...] unanswerable and uninterpretable, the first one who has come forth, and (who is) unproclaimable, [...] which is wonderful [...] ineffable [...], he who has all the greatnesses of greatness of the silence at that place. The thrice-male child brought praise, and asked for a power from the great, invisible, virginal Spirit.

Then there appeared at that place [...], who [...], who sees glories [...] treasures in a [...] invisible mysteries to [...] of the silence, who is the male virgin Youel.

Then the child of the child, Esephech, appeared.

And thus he was completed, namely, the Father, the Mother, the Son, the five seals, the unconquerable power which is the great Christ of all the incorruptible ones. ...

(1 line unrecoverable)

... holy [...] the end, the incorruptible [...], and [...], they are powers and glories and incorruptions [...]. They came forth ...

(5 lines unrecoverable)

... This one brought praise to the unrevealable, hidden mystery [...] the hidden ...

(4 lines unrecoverable)

... him in the [...], and the aeons [...] thrones, [...] and each one [...] myriads of powers without number surround them, glories and incorruptions [...] and they [...] of the Father, and the Mother, and the Son, and the whole pleroma, which I mentioned before, and the five seals, and the mystery of mysteries. They appeared ...

(3 lines unrecoverable)

... who presides over [...], and the aeons of [...] really truly [...] and the ...

(4 lines unrecoverable)

... and the really truly eternal aeons.

Then providence came forth from silence, and the living silence of the Spirit, and the Word of the Father, and a light. She [...] the five seals which the Father brought forth from his bosom, and she passed through all the aeons which I mentioned before. And she established thrones of glory, and myriads of angels without number who surrounded them, powers and incorruptible glories, who sing and give glory, all giving praise with a single voice, with one accord, with one never-silent voice, [...] to the Father, and the Mother, and the Son [...], and all the pleromas that I mentioned before, who is the great Christ, who is from silence, who is the incorruptible child Telmael Telmachael Eli Eli Machar Machar Seth, the power which really truly lives, and the male virgin who is with him, Youel, and Esephech, the holder of glory, the child of the child, and the crown of his glory, [...] of the five seals, the pleroma that I mentioned before.

There, the great self-begotten living Word came forth, the true god, the unborn physis, he whose name I shall tell, saying, [...]aia[...] thaOthOsth[...], who is the son of the great Christ, who is the son of the ineffable silence, who came forth from the great invisible and incorruptible Spirit. The son of the silence and silence appeared ...

(1 line unrecoverable)

... invisible [...] man and the treasures of his glory. Then he appeared in the revealed [...]. And he established the four aeons. With a word he established them.

He brought praise to the great, invisible, virginal Spirit, the silence of the Father, in a silence of the living silence of silence, the place where the man rests ...

(2 lines unrecoverable)

Then there came forth at/from that place the cloud of the great light, the living power, the mother of the holy, incorruptible ones, the great power, the Mirothoe. And she gave birth to him whose name I name, saying three times,

IEN IEN EA EA EA

For this one, Adamas, is a light which radiated from the light; he is the eye of the light. For this is the first man, he through whom and to whom everything came into being, (and) without whom nothing came into being. The unknowable, incomprehensible Father came forth. He came down from above for the annulment of the deficiency.

Then the great Logos, the divine Autogenes, and the incorruptible man Adamas mingled with each other. A Logos of man came into being. However, the man came into being through a word.

He gave praise to the great, invisible, incomprehensible, virginal Spirit, and the male virgin, and the thrice-male child, and the male virgin Youel, and Esephech, the holder of glory, the child of the child and the crown of his glory, and the great Doxomedon-aeon, and the thrones which are in him, and the powers which surround him, the glories and the incorruptions, and their whole pleroma which I mentioned before, and the ethereal earth, the receiver of God, where the holy men of the great light receive shape, the men of the Father of the silent, living silence, the Father and their whole pleroma, as I mentioned before.

The great Logos, the divine Autogenes, and the incorruptible man Adamas gave praise, (and) they asked for a power and eternal strength for the Autogenes, for the completion of the four aeons, in order that, through them, there may appear [...] the glory and the power of the invisible Father of the holy men of the great light which will come to the world, which is the image of the night. The incorruptible man Adamas asked for them a son out of himself, in order that he (the son) may become father of the immovable, incorruptible race, so that, through it (the race), the silence and the voice may appear, and, through it, the dead aeon may raise itself, so that it may dissolve.

And thus there came forth from above the power of the great light, the Manifestation. She gave birth to the four great lights: Harmozel, Oroiael, Davithe, Eleleth, and the great incorruptible Seth, the son of the incorruptible man Adamas.

And thus the perfect hebdomad, which exists in hidden mysteries, became complete. When she receives the glory, she becomes eleven ogdoads.

And the Father nodded approval; the whole pleroma of the lights was well pleased. Their consorts came forth for the completion of the ogdoad of the divine Autogenes: the Grace of the first light Harmozel, the Perception of the second light Oroiael, the Understanding of the third light Davithe, the Prudence of the fourth light Eleleth. This is the first ogdoad of the divine Autogenes.

And the Father nodded approval; the whole pleroma of the lights was well pleased. The ministers came forth: the first one, the great Gamaliel (of) the first great light Harmozel, and the great Gabriel (of) the second great light Oroiael, and the great Samlo of the great light Davithe, and the great Abrasax of the great light Eleleth. And the consorts of these came forth by the will of the good pleasure of the Father: the Memory of the great one, the first, Gamaliel; the Love of the great one, the second, Gabriel; the Peace of the third one, the great Samblo; the eternal Life of the great one, the fourth, Abrasax. Thus were the five ogdoads completed, a total of forty, as an uninterpretable power.

Then the great Logos, the Autogenes, and the word of the pleroma of the four lights gave praise to the great, invisible, uncallable, virginal Spirit, and the male virgin, and the great Doxomedon-aeon, and the thrones which are in them, and the powers which surround them, glories, authorities, and the powers, and the thrice-male child, and the male virgin Youel, and Esephech, the holder of glory, the child of the child and the crown of his glory, the whole pleroma, and all the glories which are there, the infinite pleromas and the unnameable aeons, in order that they may name the Father the fourth, with the incorruptible race, (and) that they may call the seed of the Father the seed of the great Seth.

Then everything shook, and trembling took hold of the incorruptible ones. Then the three male children came forth from above, down into the unborn ones, and the self-begotten ones, and those who were begotten in what is begotten. The greatness came forth, the whole greatness of the great Christ. He established thrones in glory, myriads without number, in the four aeons around them, myriads without number, powers and glories and incorruptions. And they came forth in this way.

And the incorruptible, spiritual church increased in the four lights of the great, living Autogenes, the god of truth, praising, singing, (and) giving glory with one voice, with one accord, with a mouth which does not rest, to the Father, and the Mother, and the Son, and their whole pleroma, just as I mentioned before. The five seals which possess the myriads, and they who rule over the aeons, and they who bear the glory of the leaders, were given the command to reveal to those who are worthy. Amen.

* * *

Then the great Seth, the son of the incorruptible man Adamas, gave praise to the great, invisible, uncallable, unnameable, virginal Spirit, and the male virgin, and the thrice-male child, and the male virgin Youel, and Esephech, the holder of glory and the crown of his glory, the child of the child, and the great Doxomedon-aeons, and the pleroma which I mentioned before; and asked for his seed.

Then there came forth from that place the great power of the great light Plesithea, the mother of the angels, the mother of the lights, the glorious mother, the virgin with the four breasts, bringing the fruit from Gomorrah, as spring, and Sodom, which is the fruit of the spring of Gomorrah which is in her. She came forth through the great Seth.

Then the great Seth rejoiced about the gift which was granted him by the incorruptible child. He took his seed from her with the four breasts, the virgin, and he placed it with him in the fourth aeon (or, in the four aeons), in the third great light Davithe.

After five thousand years, the great light Eleleth spoke: "Let someone reign over the chaos and Hades." And there appeared a cloud whose name is hylic Sophia [...] She looked out on the parts of the chaos, her face being like [...] in her form [...] blood. And the great angel Gamaliel spoke to the great Gabriel, the minister of the great light Oroiael; he said, "Let an angel come forth, in order that he may reign over the chaos and Hades." Then the cloud, being agreeable, came forth in the two monads, each one of which had light. [...] the throne, which she had placed in the cloud above. Then Sakla, the great angel, saw the great demon who is with him, Nebruel. And they became together a begetting spirit of the earth. They begot assisting angels. Sakla said to the great demon Nebruel, "Let the twelve aeons come into being in the [...] aeon, worlds [...]." [...] the great angel Sakla said by the will of the Autogenes, "There shall be the [...] of the number of seven [...]." And he said to the great angels, "Go and let each of you reign over his world." Each one of these twelve angels went forth. The first angel is Athoth. He is the one whom the great generations of men call [...]. The second is Harmas, who is the eye of the fire. The third is Galila. The fourth is Yobel. The fifth is Adonaios, who is called 'Sabaoth'. The sixth is Cain, whom the great generations of men call the sun. The seventh is Abel; the eighth Akiressina; the ninth Yubel. The tenth is Harmupiael. The eleventh is Archi-Adonin. The twelfth is Belias. These are the ones who preside over Hades and the chaos.

And after the founding of the world, Sakla said to his angels, "I, I am a jealous god, and apart from me nothing has come into being," since he trusted in his nature.

Then a voice came from on high, saying, "The Man exists, and the Son of the Man." Because of the descent of the image above, which is like its voice in the height of the image which has looked out through the looking out of the image above, the first creature was formed.

Because of this, Metanoia came into being. She received her completion and her power by the will of the Father, and his approval, with which he approved of the great, incorruptible, immovable race of the great, mighty men of the great Seth, in order that he may sow it in the aeons which had been brought forth, so that through her (Metanoia), the deficiency may be filled up. For she had come forth from above, down to the world, which is the image of the night. When she had come, she prayed for (the repentance of) both the seed of the archon of this aeon, and the authorities who had come forth from him, that defiled (seed) of the demon-begetting god which will be destroyed, and the seed of Adam and the great Seth, which is like the sun.

Then the great angel Hormos came to prepare, through the virgins of the corrupted sowing of this aeon, in a Logos-begotten, holy vessel, through the holy Spirit, the seed of the great Seth.

Then the great Seth came and brought his seed. And it was sown in the aeons which had been brought forth, their number being the amount of Sodom. Some say that Sodom is the place of pasture of the great Seth, which is Gomorrah. But others (say) that the great Seth took his plant out of Gomorrah and planted it in the second place, to which he gave the name 'Sodom'.

This is the race which came forth through Edokla. For she gave birth through the word, to Truth and Justice, the origin of the seed of the eternal life, which is with those who will persevere, because of the knowledge of their emanation. This is the great, incorruptible race which has come forth through three worlds to the world.

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And the flood came as an example, for the consummation of the aeon. But it will be sent into the world because of this race. A conflagration will come upon the earth. And grace will be with those who belong to the race, through the prophets and the guardians who guard the life of the race. Because of this race, famines will occur, and plagues. But these things will happen because of the great, incorruptible race. Because of this race, temptations will come, a falsehood of false prophets.

Then the great Seth saw the activity of the devil, and his many guises, and his schemes, which will come upon his (Seth's) incorruptible, immovable race, and the persecutions of his powers and his angels, and their error, that they acted against themselves.

Then the great Seth gave praise to the great, uncallable, virginal Spirit, and the male virgin Barbelon, and the thrice-male child Telmael Telmael Heli Heli Machar Machar Seth, the power which really truly lives, and the male virgin Youel, and Esephech, the holder of glory and the crown of his glory, and the great Doxomedon-aeon, and the thrones which are in him, and the powers which surround them, and the whole pleroma, as I mentioned before. And he asked for guards over his seed.

Then there came forth from the great aeons four hundred ethereal angels, accompanied by the great Aerosiel and the great Selmechel, to guard the great, incorruptible race, its fruit, and the great men of the great Seth, from the time and the moment of Truth and Justice, until the consummation of the aeon and its archons, those whom the great judges have condemned to death.

Then the great Seth was sent by the four lights, by the will of the Autogenes and the whole pleroma, through the gift and the good pleasure of the great invisible Spirit, and the five seals, and the whole pleroma.

He passed through the three parousias which I mentioned before: the flood, and the conflagration, and the judgement of the archons and the powers and the authorities, to save her (the race) who went astray, through the reconciliation of the world, and the baptism through a Logos-begotten body which the great Seth prepared for himself secretly through the virgin, in order that the saints may be begotten by the holy Spirit, through invisible, secret symbols, through a reconciliation of the world with the world, through the renouncing of the world, and the god of the thirteen aeons, and (through) the convocations of the saints and the ineffable ones, and (through) the incorruptible bosom, and (through) the great light of the Father, who pre-existed with his Providence, and established through her the holy baptism that surpasses the heaven, through the incorruptible, Logos-begotten one, even Jesus the living one, even he whom the great Seth has put on. And through him, he nailed the powers of the thirteen aeons, and established those who are brought forth and taken away. He armed them with an armor of knowledge of this truth, with an unconquerable power of incorruptibility.

There appeared to them the great attendant Yesseus Mazareus Yessedekeus, the living water, and the great leaders, James the great and Theopemptos and Isaouel, and they who preside over the spring of truth, Micheus and Michar and Mnesinous, and he who presides over the baptism of the living, and the purifiers, and Sesengenpharanges, and they who preside over the gates of the waters, Micheus and Michar, and they who preside over the mountain, Seldao and Elainos, and the receivers of the great race, the incorruptible, mighty men of the great Seth, the ministers of the four lights, the great Gamaliel, the great Gabriel, the great Samblo, and the great Abrasax, and they who preside over the sun, its rising, Olses and Hypneus and Heurumaious, and they who preside over the entrance into the rest of eternal life, the rulers Mixanther and Michanor, and they who guard the souls of the elect, Akramas and Strempsouchos, and the great power Heli Heli Machar Machar Seth, and the great invisible, uncallable, unnameable, virginal Spirit, and the silence, and the (first) great light Harmozel, the place of the living Autogenes, the God of the truth, and he who is with him, the incorruptible man Adamas, the second, Oroiael, the place of the great Seth, and Jesus, who possesses the life, and who came and crucified that which is in the law, the third, Davithe, the place of the sons of the great Seth, the fourth, Eleleth, the place where the souls of the sons are resting, the fifth, Yoel, who presides over the name of him to whom it will be granted to baptise with the holy baptism that surpasses the heaven, the incorruptible one.

But from now on, through the incorruptible man Poimael, and they who are worthy of (the) invocation, the renunciations of the five seals in the spring-baptism, these will know their receivers as they are instructed about them, and they will know them (or: be known) by them. These will by no means taste death.

* * *

IE IEUS EO OU EO OUA!
Really, truly, O Yesseus Mazareus Yessedekeus,
O living water, O child of the child, O glorious name!
Really truly,
AION O ON (or: O existing Aeon),
IIII EEEE EEEE OOOO UUUU OOOO AAAA{A}.
eally, truly,
EI AAAA OOOO, O
Existing one who sees the Aeons!
Really, truly,
A EEEEE IIII UUUUUU OOOOOOOO,
Who is eternally eternal!
Really, truly,
IEA AIO,
In the heart, who exists,
U AEI EIS AEI
EI O EI, EI OS EI (or: Son forever,)
You are what you are, You are who you are!

This great name of yours is upon me, O self-begotten Perfect one, who is not outside me. I see you, O you who are visible to everyone. For who will be able to comprehend you in another tongue? Now that I have known you, I have mixed myself with the immutable. I have armed myself with an armor of light; I have become light! For the Mother was at that place because of the splendid beauty of grace. Therefore, I have stretched out my hands while they were folded. I was shaped in the circle of the riches of the light which is in my bosom, which gives shape to the many begotten ones in the light into which no complaint reaches. I shall declare your glory truly, for I have comprehended you,

SOU IES IDE AEIO OIS,
O AEON, AEON, O God of Silence!

I honour you completely. You are my place of rest, O Son ES ES O E, the formless one who exists in the formless ones, who exists raising up the man in whom you will purify me into your life, according to your imperishable name. Therefore, the incense of life is in me. I mixed it with water after the model of all archons, in order that I may live with you in the peace of the saints, you who exist really truly forever.

* * *

This is the book which the great Seth wrote, and placed in high mountains on which the sun has not risen, nor is it possible (that it should do so). And since the days of the prophets and the apostles and the preachers, the name has not at all risen upon their hearts, nor is it possible (that it should do so). And their ear has not heard it.

The great Seth wrote this book with letters in one hundred and thirty years. He placed it in the mountain that is called 'Charaxio,' in order that, at the end of the times and the eras, by the will of the divine Autogenes and the whole pleroma, through the gift of the untraceable, unthinkable, fatherly love, it may come forth and reveal this incorruptible, holy race of the great Saviour, and those who dwell with them in love, and the great, invisible, eternal Spirit, and his only-begotten Son, and the eternal light, and his great, incorruptible consort, and the incorruptible Sophia, and the Barbelon, and the whole pleroma in eternity. Amen.

* * *

The Gospel of the Egyptians. The God-written, holy, secret book. Grace, understanding, perception, (and) prudence (be) with him who has written it - Eugnostos the beloved, in the Spirit - in the flesh, my name is Gongessos - and my fellow lights in incorruptibility. Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour, Ichthus. God-written (is) the holy book of the great, invisible Spirit. Amen.

THE OXYRHYNCHUS 1224 GOSPEL

from: The Oxyrhynchus Library at El Bahnasa, Egypt
now in The Bodleian Library, Oxford, England
Translation by Andrew Bernhard
Estimated Range of Dating: 50-140 A.D.

(The Oxyrhynchus 1224 Gospel consists of two small fragment copies from the late third or early fourth century. The original text might have been written as early as the mid-first century. It contains six passages, each about a sentence. Two of the longer ones are parallel to Mark 2:17 and Luke 9:50, but the differences in phrasing show they are textually independent of the Gospels. The papyrus is badly mutilated with not even a single complete line anywhere extant. Restorations are therefore highly conjectural. The text does not seem to be dependent on the New Testament gospels since none of their redactional elements are discernable in its few verses.)

The text of Oxyrhynchus 1224 Gospel:

It weighed me down. Then Jesus approached in a vision and said, "Why are you discouraged? For not . . . you, but the . . . "

. . . "you said, although you are not answering. What then did you renounce? What is the new doctrine that they say you teach, or what is the new baptism that you proclaim? Answer and . . . "

When the scribes and Pharisees and priests saw him, they were angry that he was reclining in the midst of sinners. But when Jesus heard, he said, "Those who are healthy have no need of a physician . . . "

" . . . and pray for your enemies. For the one who is not against you is for you. The one who is far away today, tomorrow will be near you and in . . . the adversary . . .

THE MINIATURE GOSPEL

or Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 840 or P. Oxy. V 840
from: The Oxyrhynchus Library at El Bahnasa, Egypt
now in The Bodleian Library, Oxford, England
Translation: Peter Kirby
Estimated Range of Dating 100-150 AD

(The Miniature Gospel is a text fragment found in 1905 and it is called Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 840 (or P. Oxy. V 840) by scholars. The classification "papyrus" is wrong as it is a single small vellum parchment leaf with 45 lines of Greek text written on both sides in a tiny neat hand that dates it to the 4th century, almost square, less than 10 cm across.

The text begins with the end of a warning to an evildoer who plans ahead, yet fails to take the next life into account. There follows sections of a narrative unparalleled in any other known gospel tradition, about Jesus' encounter with "a Pharisee, a leading priest" who tries to order Jesus and the disciples out of the Temple as ritually unclean. Jesus responds by contrasting ritual cleanliness, gotten by bathing with water used by dogs and pigs, like a harlot, against the life-giving water that comes down from heaven in baptism. Jesus is called "Saviour" (Greek: Sotir), which is rare in the New Testament. The author of the text also believes that laymen have to change their clothes to enter the temple, for which there is no other evidence. The author is distinctly hostile to Judaism, but as he knows little about it, we can suggest that the author was Greek or Roman.)

Text of The Miniature Gospel:

. . .before he does wrong makes all manner of subtle excuse. But give heed lest ye also suffer the same things as they; for the evil-doers among men receive their reward not among the living only, but also await punishment and much torment. And he took them and brought them into the very place of purification, and was walking in the temple. And a certain Pharisee, a chief priest, whose name was Levi, met them and said to the Saviour, Who gave thee leave to walk in this place of purification and to see these holy vessels, when thou hast not washed nor yet have thy disciples bathed their feet? But defiled thou hast walked in this temple, which is a pure place, wherein no other man walks except he has washed himself and changed his garments, neither does he venture to see these holy vessels. And the Saviour straightaway stood still with his disciples and answered him, Art thou then, being here in the temple, clean? He saith unto him, I am clean; for I washed in the pool of David, and having descended by one staircase I ascended by another, and I put on white and clean garments, and then I came and looked upon these holy vessels. The Saviour answered and said unto him, Woe ye blind, who see not. Thou hast washed in these running waters wherein dogs and swine have been cast night and day, and hast cleansed and wiped the outside skin which also the harlots and flute-girls anoint and wash and wipe and beautify for the lust of men; but within they are full of scorpions and all wickedness. But I and my disciples, who thou sayest have not bathed, have been dipped in the waters of eternal life which come from . . . But woe unto the . . .

GOSPEL OF THE HEBREWS

Source: The Apocryphal New Testament,
Oxford 1924, pp. 1-8
Translation: Montague Rhode James, 1924
Estimated Range of Dating: 80-150 A.D.

(The Gospel of the Hebrews is known from quotations by Cyril of Jerusalem (Discourse on Mary Theotokos 12a), Origen (Commentary on John 2.12.87), Clement of Alexandria (Stromateis 2.9.45.5, 5.14.96.3), and Jerome (Commentary on Isaiah 4, Commentary on Ephesians 3, Commentary on Ezekiel 6, De viris illustribus 2). These are the only passages that are quoted in Cameron's The Other Gospels. pp. 85-86, which follows the translation made by Philipp Vielhauer and George Ogg in New Testament Apocrypha.

The following selection is excerpted from Montague Rhode James in The Apocryphal New Testament (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1924), pp. 1-8. There are two things to be noted. First, Cameron believes that the Gospel of the Hebrews may have been independent from the canonical gospels. Thus, most of the references adduced by M.R. James, aside from the ones mentioned above, would be assigned by Cameron to another Jewish-Christian Gospel, most likely the Gospel of the

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Nazoreans. Second, the "Oxyrhynchus Sayings" are now known to come from the Gospel of Thomas.)

The Gospel According to the Hebrews

This is on a different level from all the other books we have to deal with. It was a divergent yet not heretical form of our Gospel according to St. Matthew. Even to sketch the controversies which have raged about it is impracticable here. What may be regarded as established is that it existed in either Hebrew or Aramaic, and was used by a Jewish Christian sect who were known as Nazaraeans (Nazarenes), and that it resembled our Matthew closely enough to have been regarded as the original Hebrew of that Gospel. I believe few, if any, would now contend that it was that original. It is generally, and I believe rightly, looked upon as a secondary document. What was the extent of the additions to or omissions from Matthew we do not know: but two considerations must be mentioned bearing on this: (1) The Stichometry of Nicephorus assigns it 2,200 lines, 300 less than Matthew. This figure, if correct, means that a good deal was left out. (2) If the Oxyrhynchus Sayings (see post) are really, as competent schoalrs think, extracts from it, we must suppose a large quantity of additional matter: for we have but two rather brief fragments of that collection of sayings, and eight out of thirteen sayings are either not represented in the canonical text, or differ widely therefrom.

Jerome, who is our chief source of knowledge about this Gospel, says that he had made a Greek and a Latin version of it. The statement is wholly rejected by some, and by others thought to be an exaggeration. It is very difficult to accept it as it stands. Perhaps, as Lagrange suggests, the truth may be that Jerome took notes of the text in Greek and Latin. Schmidtke, it should be added, has tried to show that all Jerome's quotations are borrowed from an earlier writer, Apollonaris; but there is no positive evidence for this.

If the Oxyrhynchus Sayings do come from Hebrews, they seem to imply the existence of a Greek version before Jerome's time. This is also implied by the entry in the Stichometry.

I will translate the fragments as they appear in the most recent study on the subject, that of the Rev. Pere Lagrange in the Revue Biblique, 1922.

He begins by giving the fragments quoted by Epiphanius from what is properly called the Gospel of the Ebionites. Then he gives those of our Gospel, arranging them in the chronological order of the writers and the works in which they are found. This entails some little repetition, but is otherwise historically interesting, and sound.

Irenaeus Against Heresies, i.26.2. But the Ebionites use only that Gospel which is according to Matthew, and repudiate the Apostle Paul, calling him an apostate from the Law.

iii.11.7. For the Ebionites, who use only that Gospel which is according to Matthew, are convicted out of that very book as not holding right views about the Lord.

The Ebionites mentioned here are a more primitive sect than those of whom Epiphanius speaks. See below.

Clement of Alexandria (Stromateis i. 9. 45). Even (or also, in the Gospel according to the Hebrews is written the saying, 'he that wondereth shall reign, and he that reigneth shall rest'.

id. (Strom.) v.14.96. For those words have the same force as these: He shall not cease from seeking until he find, and having found, he will be amazed, and having been amazed will reign, and having reigned will rest.

This is identical with one of the Sayings from Oxyrhynchus: see below.

Origen on John, ii. 12. And if any accept the Gospel according to the Hebrews, where the Saviour himself saith, 'Even now did my mother the Holy Spirit take me by one of mine hairs, and carried me away unto the great mountain Thabor', he will be perplexed, &c. . . .

On Jeremiah, homily xv.4. And if anyone receive that saying, 'Even now my mother the Holy Spirit took me and carried me up unto the great mountain Thabor', and the rest. . . .

The description of the Holy Spirit as 'my mother' is due to the fact that the Hebrew word for spirit is of the feminine gender. The saying, it is generally thought, refers to the Temptation.

Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. iii.39.17, speaking of the early writer Papias, says: He has also set forth (or expounded) another story, about a woman accused of many sins before the Lord, which the Gospel according to the Hebrews also contains.

It is the obvious, and general, view that this story was that of the woman taken in adultery, which, as is well known, forms no part of the true text of St. John's Gospel, though it is inserted by most manuscripts at the beginning of the eighth chapter. A few manuscripts place it in St. Luke's Gospel. The description suggests that Papias's story, with its mention of many sins, differed from ours in detail.

id. iv.22.8. Hegesippus made use in his Memoirs of the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

id. iii.25.5 (in his list of antilegomena, writings whose canonicity was disputed): And among them some have placed the Gospel according to the Hebrews which is the especial delight of those of the Hebrews who have accepted Christ.

iii.27.4. (The Ebionites repudiated Paul) and used only the Gospel according to the Hebrews, making but slight account of the others.

Theophany, iv.12 (preserved in Syriac). As we have found somewhere in the Gospel which the Jews have in the Hebrew tongue, where it is said: I choose for myself them that are good (or well pleasing): the good are they whome my Father which in heaven giveth (or hath given) me.

ibid. (A passage preserved in Greek also.) But since the Gospel written in Hebrew characters which has reached our hands turns the threat not against the man who hid the talent, but against him who had lived riotously (for it told of three servants, one who desereved his master's substance with harlots and flute-girls, another who multiplied it by trading, and another who hid the talent; and made the one to be accepted, another only rebuked, and another to be shut up in prison), the question occurs to me whether in Matthew, after the conclusion of the speech against the man who did nothing, the threat that follows may refer, not to him, but by epanalepsis (i.e. taking up a former subject again) be said of the first, who ate and drank with the drunken.

Epiphanius, Heresy xxix.9.4 (Nazoraeans). They have the Gospel according to Matthew quite complete, in Hebrew: for this Gospel is certainly still preserved among them as it was first written in Hebrew letters. I do not know if they have even removed the genealogy from Abraham to Christ.

Their Gospel was 'quite complete' as distinguished from the Ebionite-Gospel, which was mutilated.

Stichometry of Nicephorus (of uncertain date, but much older than the ninth-century chronicle to which it is attached).

Antilegomena of the New Testament:

Apocalpyse of John, Apocalpyse of Peter, Epistle of Barnabas, and

Gospel accrding to the Hebrews, 2,200 lines (300 lines less than the canonical Matthew).

Jerome. He is our principal authority in this matter.

On Ephesians, v. 4. As also we read in the Hebrew Gospel: 'And never, saith he, by ye joyful, save when ye behold your brother with love.'

On Micah vii.6. (The quotation about the Holy Spirit given above under Origen. Jerome quotes it again several times, not always in full.

Of illustrious men, 2 (on James the Lord's brother).

Also the Gospel according to the Hebrews, lately translated by me into Greek and Latin speech, which Origen often uses, tells, after the resurrection of the Saviour: 'Now the Lord, when he had given the linen cloth unto the servant of the priest, went unto James and appeared to him (for James had sworn that he would not eat bread from that hour wherein he had drunk the Lord's cup until he should see him risen again from among them that sleep)', and again after a little, 'Bring ye, saith the Lord, a table and bread', and immediately it is added, 'He took bread and blessed and brake and gave it unto James the Just and said unto him: My brother, eat thy bread, for the Son of Man is risen from among them that sleep'.

This is a famous passage. One interesting clause is apt to escape notice, about the giving of the shroad to the servent of the (high) priest, which implies that priests must have been apprised of the resurrection as soon as the apostles. Was the servant of the priest Malchus? Presumably the servant was at the sepulchre: if so, it was being guarded by the Jews as well as the Roman soldiers (as in the Gospel of Peter).

ibid. 3. Further, the Hebrew itself (or original) is preserved to this day in the library at Caesarea which was collected with such care by the martyr Pamphilus. I also had an opportunity of copying it afforded me by the Nazarenes who use the book, at Beroea, a city of Syria.

This Boroea is Aleppo. In later years Jerome ceased to regard the Hebrew Gospel as the original Matthew.

ibid. 16. Of the Epistle of Ignatius 'to Polycarp' (really to Smyrna). In it he also inserts a testimony about the person of Christ, from the Gospel which was lately translated by me; his words are: But I both saw him (this is wrongly quoted) in the flesh after the resurrection, and believe that he is in the flesh: and when he came to Peter and those who were with Peter, he said to them: Lo, feel me and see that I am not a bodiless spirit (demon). And forthwith they touched him and believed.

Ignatius, to the Smyrnaeans, iii., 1, really says: For I know, and I believe that he is in the flesh even after his resurrection.

Another citation of these words of Christ is given by Origen as from the Doctrine of Peter: see p. 18.

On Matt. ii. Bethlehem of Judaea. This is a mistake of the scribes: for I think it was originally expressed by the Evangelist as we read in the Hebrew, 'of Judah', not Judaea.

On Matt vi.11 (the Lord's Prayer).

In the Gospel according to the Hebrews for 'super-substantial' bread I found mahar, which means 'of the morrow', so that the sense is: Our bread of the morrow, that is, of the future, give us this day.

The word supersubstantial is meant to render literally the difficult word epiousios which we translate 'daily'.

On Ps. cxxxv. In the Hebrew Gospel according to Matthew it is thus: Our bread of the morrow give us this day; that is, 'the bread which thou wilt give us in thy kingdom, give us this day'.

On Matt. xii. 13. In the Gospel which the Nazarenes and Ebionites use (which I have lately translated into Greek from the Hebrew, and which is called by many (or most) people the original of Matthew), this man who had the withered hand is described as a mason, who prays for help in such words as this: 'I was a mason seeking a livelihood with my hands: I pray thee, Jesus, to restore me mine health, that I may not beg meanly for my food.'

The mention of the Ebionites here is gratuitous. Jerome nowhere speaks of them as using the Gospel, and everything goes to show that, in his time, they did not.

Letter to Damascus (20) on Matt. xxi. 9. Matthew, who wrote his gospel in the Hebrew speech, put it thus: Osanna barrama, i.e., Osanna in the highest.

On Matt. xxiii. 35. In the Gospel which the Nazarenes use, for 'son of Barachias' I find 'of Joiada' written.

This reading avoids an historical difficulty, and is doubtless secondary.

On Matt. xxvii. 16. This Barabbas, in the Gospel entitled (wrtten) according to the Hebrews, is interpreted 'son of their master' (teacher).

By 'interpreted, says Lagrange, it is not meant that the Gospel translated the name, but that it used a form of it which suggested the meaning - Bar-abban.

On Matt. xxvii.51. In the Gospel I so often mention we read that a lintel of the temple of immense size was broken and divided.

Letter to Hedibia (ep. 120) 8. But in the Gospel that is written in Hebrew letters we read, not that the veil of the temple was rent, but that the lintel of the temple of wondrous size fell.

This was probably a change made under the influence of Isa. vi. 4, 'the posts of the door moved at the voice of him that cried'.

On Isa. xi.2. (The Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him) not partially as in the case of other holy men: but, according to the Gospel written in the Hebrew speech, which the Nazarenes read, 'There shall descend upon him the whole fount of the Holy Spirit'. . . .In the Gospel I mentioned above, I find this written: And it came to pass when the Lord was come up out of the water, the whole fount of the Holy Spirit descended and rested upon him, and said unto him: My son, in all the prophets was I waiting for thee that thou shouldst come, and I might rest in thee. For thou art my rest, and thou art my first begotten son, that reignest for ever.

On Isa. xi. 9, My mother the Holy Spirit.

On Isa., preface to bk. xviii. For when the Apostles thought him to be a spirit, or, in the words of the Gospel which is of the Hebrews, which the Nazarenes are wont to read, 'a bodiless demon', he said to them (Luke xxiv. 38).

On Ezek. xvi.13. My mother, the Holy Spirit.

On Ezek. xviii.7. And in the Gospel according to the Hebrews which the Nazarenes are accustomed to read, it is placed among the greatest sins 'if a man have grieved the spirit of his brother'.

Dialogue against Pelagius, iii.2. In the Gospel according to the Hebrews which is indeed in the Chaldaean and Syrian speech but is written in Hebrew letters, which the Nazarenes use to this day, called 'according to the apostles', or, as most term it, 'according to Matthew', which also is to be seen in the library of Caesarea, the story tells: Behold, the motehr of the Lord and his brethren said unto him: John Baptist baptizeth unto the remission of sins; let us go and be baptised of him. But he said unto them: Wherein (what) have I sinned, that I should go and be baptized of him? unless peradventure this very thing that I have said is a sin of ignorance.

ibid. And in the same book: If thy brother (saith he) have sinned by a word and made thee amends, seven times in a day receive thou him. Simon his disciple said unto him: Seven times in a day? The Lord answered and said unto him: Yea, I say unto thee, unto seventy times seven times. For in the prophets also, after they were anointed by the Holy Spirit, the word of sin was found.

'Word of sin' is Hebraistic for 'somewhat of sin': similarly 'sinned by a word' means 'sinned in anything'.

Latin version of Origen on Matthew (now called Pseudo-Origen).

It is written in a certain Gospel which is called according to the Hebrews (if at elast any one care to accept it, not as authoritative, but to throw light on the question before us):

The second of the rich men (it saith) said unto him: Master, what good thing can I do and live? He said unto him: O man, fulfil (do) the law and the prophets.

He answered him: I have kept them. He said unto him: Go, sell al that thou ownest, and distribute it unto the poor, and come, follow me. But the rich man began to scratch his head,

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and it pleased him not. And the Lord said unto him: How sayest though: I have kept the law and the prophets? For it is written in the law: Though shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, and lo, many of thy brethren, sons of Abraham, are clad in filth, dying for hunger, and thine house is full of many good things, and nought at all goeth out of it unto them.

And he turned and said unto Simon his disciple who was sitting by him: Simon, son of Joanna, it is easier for a camel to enter in by a needle's eye than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.

It is probable that this extract was found by the translator of Origen's comentary in some work of Jerome. It seems to be agreed that it was not in Origen's own commentary.

Some manuscripts of the Gospels have marginal notes recording readings of 'the Jewish' Gospel, by which our Gospel is evidently meant. Some of these were published by Tischendorf, others more recently by Schmidtke. According to the latter these notes were originally made between 370 and 500 by some one who did his work at Jerusalem.

Matt. iv. 5. The Jewish copy has not 'unto the holy city' but 'in Jerusalem'.

Matt. v. 22. The word 'without cause' is not inserted in some copies, nor in the Jewish.

Matt. vii. 5. The Jewish has here: If ye be in my bosom and do not the will of my Father which is in heaven, out of my bosom will I scast you away.

(The 'Second Epistle of Clement', iv. 5, has: The Lord said: If ye be with me gathered together in my bosom and do not my commandments, I will cast you away and say unto you: Depart from me; I know you not whence ye are, ye workers of wickedness.)

Matt. x. 16. The Jewish has '(wise) more than serpents' instead of 'as serpents'.

Matt. xi. 12. (The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence.) The Jewish has: 'is ravished (or plundered).'

Matt. xi. 25. (I thank thee (lit. confess unto thee), O Father.) The Jewish: 'I give thee thanks.'

att. xii. 40b. The Jewish has not: three days and three nights (in the heart of the earth).

Matt. xv. 5. The Jewish: Corban by which ye shall be profited by us.

Probably it is meant that the verse ran: But ye say to your father and mother: Corban, &c.

Matt. xvi. 2, 3. Omitted by 'the Jewish' (as by many extant manuscripts).

Matt. xvi. 17. The Jewish: (Simon) son of John.

Matt. xviii. 22. The Jewish has, immediately after the seventy times seven: For in the prophets, after they were anointed with the Holy Spirit, there was found in them a word (matter) of sin.

This shows the identity of 'the Jewish' with Jerome's gospel.

Matt. xxvi. 74. The Jewish: and he denied and swore and cursed.

Matt. xxvii. 65. The Jewish: And he delivered unto them armed men, that they might sit over against the cave and keep it day and night.

A commentary on Isaiah (liii.12) by Haimo of Auxerre (c. 850) has this apropos of the word 'Father forgive them':

For, as is contained in the Gospel of the Nazarenes, at this word of the Lord many thousands of Jews that stood round about the Cross believed.

A marginal note (thirteenth century) on a copy of the versified Bible called the Aurora (by Petrus de Riga), in a manuscript at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (one of a number of remarkable notes) is:

At the cleansing of the Temple:

In the books of the Gospels which the Nazarenes use it is read that rays issued from his eyes whereby they were terrified and put to flight.

Jerome on Matt. xxi. 12 says that the people whom Jesus drove out did not resist him: 'For a certain fiery and starry light shone (radiated) from his eyes and the majesty of the Godhead gleamed in his face.'

When I published the note, I took it that it was a reminiscence of Jerome's words: ray and radiate occur in both. But Dr. Zahn was of opinion that it might really represent something in the old Gospel: so I include it, though with hesitation.

One other mention of this Gospel has to be added.

In Budge's Miscellaneous Coptic Texts is a Discourse on Mary by Cyril of Jerusalem. Cyril (Pseudo-Cyril) relates that he had to send for a monk of Maioma of Gaza who was teaching false doctrine. Called on for an account of his belief the monk (p. 637, Eng. trans.) said: It is written in the Gospel to the Hebrews that when Christ wished to come upon the earth to men, the good Father called a mighty power in the heavens which was called Michael, and committed Christ to the care thereof. And the power came down into the world and it was called Mary, and Christ was in her womb seven months. Afterwards she gave birth to him, and he increased in stature, and he chose the apostles, . . . 'was crucified, and taken up by the Father'. Cyril asked: Where in the Four Gospels is it said that the holy Virgin Mary the mother of god is a force? The monk said: In the Gospel to the Hebrews. Then, said Cyril, there are five Gospels? Where is the fifth? The monk said: It is the Gospel that was written to the Hebrews. (Cyril convinced him of his error and burned the books. No more is told of the Gospel, which, whatever it may have been, was certainly not the book we have been dealing with, but a writing of pronouncedly heretical (Docetic?) views. The last sentence of themonk's account of Christ, which I did not quote in full just now, is perhaps worth recording.) 'After they had raised him up on the cross, the Father took him up into heaven unto himself.' This, with its omissin of all mention of the resurrection, might be construed as heretical: on the other hand, it may be merely a case of extreme compression of the narrative.

THE GOSPEL OF THE NAZOREANS

Source: R. Cameron's The Other Gospels
Non-Canonical Gospel Texts, Philadelphia, 1982, pp. 99-102.
Translation: Philipp Vielhauer and George Ogg
Translation: Burton H. Throckmorton
Estimated Range of Dating: 100-160 A.D.

(The following selection is excerpted from Ron Cameron's The Other Gospels:

To these (citations in which Matthew follows not the Septuagint but the Hebrew original text) belong the two: "Out of Egypt have I called my son" and "For he shall be called a Nazaraean." (Jerome, De viris inlustribus 3)

Behold, the moter of the Lord and his brethren said to him: John the Baptist baptizes unto the remission of sins, let us go and be baptized by him. But he said to them: Wherein have I sinned that I should go and be baptized by him? Unless what I have said is ignorance (a sin of ignorance). (Jerome, Adversus Pelagianos 3.2)

The Jewish Gospel has not "into the holy city" but "to Jerusalem." (Variant to Matthew 4:5 in the "Zion Gospel" Edition)

The phrase "without a cause" is lacking in some witnesses and in the Jewish Gospel. (Variant to Matthew 5:22, ibid.)

In the so-called Gospel according to the Hebrews instead of "essential to existence" I found "mahar," which means "of tomorrow, so that the sense is: "Our bread of tomorrow" - that is, of the future - "give us this day." (Jerome, Commentary on Matthew 1 [on Matthew 6:11])

The Jewish Gospel reads here as follows: "If ye be in my bosom and do not the will of my Father in heaven, I will cast you out of my bosom." (Variant to Matthew 7:5 - or better to Matthew 7:21-23 - in the "Zion Gospel" Edition)

The Jewish Gospel: (wise) more than serpents. (Variant to Matthew 10:16, ibid.)

The Jewish Gospel has: (the kingdom of heaven) is plundered. (Variant to Matthew 11:12, ibid.)

The Jewish Gospel has: I thank thee. (Variant to Matthew 11:25, ibid.)

In the Gospel which the Nazarenes and the Ebionites use, which we have recently translated out of Hebrew into Greek, and which is called by most people the authentic (Gospel) of Matthew, the man who had the withered hand is described as a mason who pleaded for help in the following words: "I was a mason and earned (my) livelihood with (my) hands; I beseech thee, Jesus, to restore me to my health that I may not with ignominy have to beg for my bread." (Jerome, Commentary on Matthew 2 [on Matthew 12:13])

The Jewish Gospel does not have: three d(ays and nights). (Variant to Matthew 12:40 in the "Zion Gospel" Edition)

The Jewish Gospel: corban is what you should obtain from us. (Variant to Matthew 15:5, ibid.)

What is marked with an asterisk (i.e., Matthew 16:2-3) is not found in other manuscripts, also it is not found in the Jewish Gospel. (Variant to Matthew 16:2-3, ibid.)

The Jewish Gospel: son of John. (Variant to Matthew 16:17, ibid.)

He (Jesus) said: If thy brother has sinned with a word and has made three reparations, receive him seven times in a day. Simon his disciple said to him: Seven times in a day? The Lord answered and said to him: Yea, I say unto thee, until seventy times seven times. For in the prophets also after they were anointed with the Holy Spirit, the ord of sin (sinful discourse?) was found. (Jerome, Adversus Pelagianos 3.2)

The Jewish Gospel has after "seventy times seven times": For in the prophets also, after they were anointed with the Holy Spirit, the ord of sin (sinful discourse?) was found. (Variant to Matthew 18:22 in the "Zion Gospel" Edition)

The other of the two rich men said to him: Master, what good thing must I do that I may live? He said to him: Man, fulfil the law and the prophets. He answered him: That have I done. He said to him: Go and sell all that thou possessest and distribute it among the poor, and then come and follow me. But hte rich man then began to scratch his head and it (the saying) pleased him not. And the Lord said to him: How canst though say, I have fulfilled the law and the prophets? For it stands written in the law: Love thy neighbour as thyself; and behold, many of the brethren, sons of Abraham, are begrimed with dirt and die of hunger - and thy house is full of many good things and nothing at all comes forth from it to them! And he turned and said to Simon, his disciple, who was sitting by him: Simon, son of Jona, it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven. (Origen, Commentary on Matthew 15.14 [on Matthew 19:16-30])

In the Gospel which the Nazarenes use, instead of "son of Barachias" we have found written "son of Joiada." (Jerome, Commentary on Matthew 4 [on Matthew 23:35])

But since the Gospel (written) in Hebrew characters which has come into our hands enters the threat not against the man who had hid (the talent), but against him who had lived dissolutely - for he (the master) had three servants: one who squandered his master's substance with harlots and flute-girls, one who multiplied the gain, and one who hid the talent; and accordingly one was accepted (with joy), another merely rebuked, and another cast into prison - I wonder whether in Matthew the threat which is uttered after the word against the man who did nothing may not refer to him, but by epanalepsis to the first who had feasted and drunk with the drunken. (Eusebius, Theophania 22 [on Matthew 25:14-15])

The Jewish Gospel: And he denied and swore and damned himself. (Variant to Matthew 26:74 in the "Zion Gospel" Edition)

Barabbas. . . is interpreted in the so-called Gospel according to the Hebrews as "son of their teacher." (Jerome, Commentary on Matthew 4 [on Matthew 27:16])

But in the Gospel which is written in Hebrew characters we read not that the veil of the temple was rent, but that the lintel of the temple of wondrous size collapsed. (Jerome, Epistula ad Hedybiam 120.8)

The Jewish Gospel: And he delivered to them armed men that they might sit over against the cave and guard it day and night. (Variant to Matthew 27:65 in the "Zion Gospel" Edition)

He (Christ) himself taught the reason for the separations of souls that take place in houses, as we have found somewhere in the Gospel that is spread abroad among the Jews in the Hebrew tongue, in which it is said: "I choose for myself the most worthy: the most worthy are those whom my Father in heaven has given me." (Eusebius, Theophania 4.12 [on Matthew 10:34-36])

THE GOSPEL OF THE EBIONITES

The Apocryphal New Testament, Oxford 1924, pp. 485-503
Translation: Montague Rhode James, 1924
Estimated Range of Dating: 100-160 A.D.

(The Gospel of the Ebionites is known only by the quotations from Epiphanius in these passages of his Panarion: 30.13.1-8, 30.14.5, 30.16.4-5, and 30.22.4.

The following selection is excerpted from Montague Rhode James in The Apocryphal New Testament (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1924), pp. 8-10.

All our knowledge of this is derived from Epiphanius, and he uses very confusing language about it (as about many other things). The passages are as follows:

And they (the Ebionites) receive the Gospel according to Matthew. For this they too, like the followers of Cerinthus and Merinthus, use to the exclusion of others. And they call it according to the Hebrews, as the truth is, that Matthew alone of New Testament writers made his exposition and preaching of the Gospel in Hebrew and in Hebrew letters.

Epiphanius goes on to say that he had heard of Hebrew versions of John and Acts kept privately in the treasuries (Geniza?) at Tiberias, and continues:

In the Gospel they have, called according to Matthew, but not wholly complete, but falsified and mutilated (they call it the Hebrew Gospel), it is contained that 'There was a certain man named Jesus, and he was about thirty years old, who chose us. And coming unto Capernaum he entered into the house of Simon who was surnamed Peter, and opened his mouth and said: As I passed by the lake of Tiberias, I chose John and James the sons of Zebedee, and Simon and Andrew and <Philip and Bartholomew, James the son of Alphaeus and Thomas> Thaddaeus and Simon the Zealot and Judas the Iscariot: and thee, Matthew, as thou satest as the receipt of custom I called, and thou followedst me. You therefore I will to be twelve apostles for a testimony unto (of) Israel.)

And:

John was baptising, and there went out unto him Pharisees and were baptized, and all Jerusalem. And John had raiment of camel's hair and a leathern girdle about his loins: and his meat (it saith) was wild honey, whereof the taste is the taste of manna, as a cake dipped in oil. That, forsooth, they may pervert the word of truth into a lie and for locusts put a cake dipped in honey (sic).

These Ebionites were vegetarians and objected to the idea of eating locusts. A locust in Greek is akris, and the word they

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used for cake is enkris, so the change is slight. We shall meet with this tendency again.

And the beginning of their Gospel says that: It came to pass in the days of Herod the king of Judaea <when Caiaphas was high priest> that there came <a certain man> John <by name>, baptizing with the baptism of repentance in the river Jordan, who was said to be of the lineage of Aaron the priest, child of Zecharias and Elisabeth, and all went out unto him.

The borrowing from St. Luke is very evident here. He goes on:

And after a good deal more it continues that:

After the people were baptised, Jesus also came and was baptized by John; and as he came up from the water, the heavens were opened, and he saw the Holy Ghost in the likeness of a dove that descended and entered into him: and a voice from heaven saying: Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased: and again: This day have I begotten thee. And straightway there shone about the place a great light. Which when John saw (it saith) he saith unto him: Who art thou, Lord? and again there was a voice from heaven saying unto him: This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased. And then (it saith) John fell down before him and said: I beseech thee, Lord, baptize thou me. But he prevented him saying: Suffer it (or let it go): for thus it behoveth that all things should be fulfilled.

And on this account they say that Jesus was begotten of the seed of a man, and was chosen; and so by the choice of God he was called the Son of God from the Christ that came into him from above in the likeness of a dove. And they deny that he was begotten of God the Father, but say that he was created as one of the archangels, yet greater, and that he is Lord of the angels and of all things made by the Almighty, and that he came and taught, as the Gospel (so called) current among them contains, that, 'I came to destroy the sacrifices, and if ye cease not from sacrificing, the wrath of God will not cease from you'.

(With reference to the Passover and the evasion of the idea that Jesus partook of flesh:)

They have changed the saying, as is plain to all from the combination of phrases, and have made the disciples say: Where wilt thou that we make ready for thee to eat the Passover? and him, forsooth, say Have I desired with desire to eat this flesh of the Passover with you?

These fragments show clearly that the Gospel was designed to support a particular set of views. They enable us also to distinguish it from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, for, among other things, the accounts of the Baptism in the two are quite different. Epiphanius is only confusing the issue when he talks of it as the Hebrew Gospel - or rather, the Ebionites may be guilty of the confusion, for he attributes the name to them.

The Gospel according to the Twelve, or 'of the Twelve', mentioned by Origen (Ambrose and Jerome) is identified by Zahn with the Ebionite Gospel. He makes a good case for the identification. If the two are not identical, it can only be said that we know nothing of the Gospel according to the Twelve.

Revillout, indeed, claims the title for certain Coptic fragments of narratives of the Passion which are described in their propery place in this collection: but no one has been found to follow his lead.

UNKNOWN GOSPEL

From M R James
The Apocryphal New Testament
Translation: Montague Rhodes James
Estimated Range of Dating: 4th century A.D.

(In 1935 [Sir] Harold Idris Bell and T. C. Skeat published the following text as Fragments of an Unknown Gospel, which by reason of its extremely early date (not later than the middle of the second century) and its content is of unusual interest. It shows striking parallels, in language and matter, with both the Synoptic Gospels and St. John; but I believe its editors to have been right in their original conclusion that it 'is not a mere rechauffé of elements derived from the canonical Gospels'. The last incident which it describes might, I think, be based on one of Our Lord's parables about sowing—that of the seed growing secretly, or the mustard seed—but it is followed by an action, presumably miraculous, on the part of Jesus himself, which appears to emphasize the point of the foregoing saying; the addition at any rate is quite new. The editors successfully maintained most of their original supplements and interpretations against some objections and alternative suggestions made in 1936 by Professor Carl Schmidt. There is nothing to suggest that the fragments come from any of the uncanonical Gospels known to antiquity—for instance, the Gospel of the Egyptians, that according to the Hebrews, or the Gospel of St. Peter—or to connect it with any of the other fragments of uncanonical Gospels in the papyri; and there is no trace of heretical tendency in it. It is a much more convincing document than most extant apocrypha. In fragment 1 the text of the recto seems to follow naturally upon that of the verso; apart from this the editors are uncertain about the order in which the pieces of narrative are to be placed.)

Fragment 1, verso

(And Jesus said) to the lawyers, (Punish?) every transgressor and lawless person, and not me . . . what he doth, how doth he it? And turning unto the rulers of the people, he spake this saying: Search the scriptures, in which ye think ye have life; these are they which testify of me. Do not think that I came to accuse you to my father; there is one that accuseth you, even Moses, in whom ye trust. And when they said. We know that God spake unto Moses; but as for thee, we know not whence thou art; Jesus answering said unto them,

Now is your unbelief accused. . . .

Fragment 1, Recto

... that they might draw (?)0. . . and having taken up stones with one accord might stone him; and the rulers laid hands on him that they might take him, and deliver him unto the multitude; and they could not take him, because the hour of his betrayal was not yet come; and the Lord himself going forth out of their hands conveyed himself away from them. And behold a leper came unto him and said, Jesu, master, I journeying with lepers, and eating with them in the inn, myself took leprosy; now if thou wilt, I am made clean. Then said the Lord unto him, I will; be thou clean. And immediately the leprosy departed from him. And the Lord said unto him. Go, shew thyself unto the priests. . . .

Fragment 2, recto

When they were come unto him, they by questioning tempted him, saying, Jesu, master, we know that thou art come from God; for those things which thou doest do testify above all the prophets; tell us therefore, is it lawful to pay unto the kings what is due unto the government? Shall we pay them, or not? Jesus knowing their mind, being moved with indignation said unto them. Why do ye

with your mouth call me master, and ye hear not what I say? Well did Esaias prophesy of you, saying. This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me; teaching the conunandments of men for doctrines.

Fragment 2, Verso

.. . having closed (it?) up in a secret (?) place (?)... it is subjected (?) obscurely . . . the weight thereof unweighed. . . . And when they were perplexed at his strange question, Jesus walked and stood upon the bank of the river Jordan, and stretching forth his right hand he (filled? it with seed?) and scattered (it) upon the . . . . And then . . . water; ... and it (sprang up?) before them, and it brought forth fruit, . . .

[Two more small fragments yield no connected sense.]

EGERTON GOSPEL

Fragments of an Unknown Gospel
Source: British Library, Egerton Papyrus 2
and Cologne Papyrus 255 Fragment 1
London: Oxford University Press, 1935
Translation: H. I. Bell and T. C. Skeat, 1935
Estimated Range of Dating: 70-120 A.D.

(The Egerton Gospel (British Library Egerton Papyrus 2) refers to a collection of three papyrus fragments of a codex of a previously unknown gospel, found in Egypt and sold to the British Museum in 1934; the physical fragments are now dated to the very end of the 2nd century AD. Together they comprise one of the oldest surviving witnesses to any gospel, or any codex. The British Museum published in 1935. It is also called the Unknown Gospel, as no ancient source makes reference to it, in addition to being entirely unknown before its publication. The fragmentary manuscript forms part of the Egerton Collection in the British Library. A fourth fragment of the same manuscript has since been identified in the papyrus collection of the University of Cologne.

The Egerton Gospel is independent of our canonical gospels as the gospel's parallels to the synoptic gospels lack editorial language peculiar to the synoptic authors, Matthew, Mark, and Luke. They also lack features that are common to the synoptic gospels. The Egerton Gospel does have close parallels to John, but because Egerton's versions of these parallels show less development than John's, Egerton may preserve earlier forms of the tradition. It seems that Egerton's author made independent use of traditional sayings and stories of Jesus that also were used by the other gospel writers.)

Translation, Bell and Skeat

(Cologne Papyrus 255 + Egerton Papyrus 2, Fragment 1), Verso:

. . . ? And Jesus said] unto the lawyers, [? Punish] every wrongdoer and transgessor, and not me; . . . . . And turning to the rulers of the people he spake this saying, Search the scriptures, in which ye think that ye have life; these are they which bear witness of me. Think not that I came to accuse you to my Father; there is one that accuseth you, even Moses, on whom ye have set your hope. And when they said, We know well that God spake unto Moses, but as for thee, we know not whence thou art, Jesus answered and said unto them, Now is your unbelief accused . . .

(Egerton Papyrus 2, Fragment 1), Recto:

. . . . ? they gave counsel to] the multitude to [? carry the] stones together and stone him. And the rulers sought to lay their hands on him that they might take him and [? hand him over] to the multitude; and they could not take him, because the hour of his betrayal was not yet come. But he himself, even the Lord, going out through the midst of them, departed from them. And behold, there cometh unto him a leper and saith, Master Jesus, journeying with lepers and eating with them in the inn I myself also became a leper. If therefore thou wilt, I am made clean. The Lord then said unto him, I will; be thou made clean. And straightway the leprosy departed from him. [And the Lord said unto him], Go [and shew thyself] unto the [priests . . .

(Egerton Papyrus 2, Fragment 2), Verso:

. . . shut up . . . in . . . place . . . its weight unweighed? And when they were perplexed at his strange question, Jesus, as he walked, stood still on the edge of the river Jordan, and stretching forth his right hand he . . . and sprinkled it upon the . . . And then . . . water that had been sprinkled . . . before them and sent forth fruit . . .

(Egerton Papyrus 2, Fragment 2), Recto:

. . . coming unto him began to tempt him with a question, saying, Master Jesus, we know that thou art come from God, for the things which thou doest testify above all the prophets. Tell us therefore: Is it lawful [? to render] unto kings that which pertaineth unto their rule? [Shall we render unto them], or not? But Jesus, knowing their thought, being moved with indignation, said unto them, Why call ye me with your mouth Master, when ye hear not what I say? Well did Isaiah prophesy of you, saying, This people honour me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. In vain do they worship me, [teaching as their doctrines the] precepts [of men] . . .

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HISTORY OF THE APOSTLES

THE BOOK OF THOMAS THE CONTENDER
The Book of Thomas
or Book of Judas Thomas Didimus
From: Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt
Translation: John D. Turner
Estimated Range of Dating: 150-225 A.D.

(The Book of Thomas the Contender, also known more simply as the Book of Thomas (not to be confused with the Gospel of Thomas), is one of the books of the New Testament apocrypha represented in the Nag Hammadi library (CG II)

The title derives from the first line of text: "The secret words that the savior spoke to Judas Thomas which I, even I, Mathaias, wrote down, while I was walking, listening to them speak with one another." The colophon (conclusion) appended to the text gives the title The Contender writing to the Perfect. There are two competing theories as to the composition of the text:

Firstly, since it is only the initial 3/5 which constitute dialogue, with the remainder being a monologue, it may have originally been two works, one of dialogue, one of monologue.

Alternatively, and not in the least because of the two titles, the work is thought to have originated as a letter, with a name of the form Epistle of the Contender, written by a Jew who upheld Hellenic philosophy. The text is thought to have later been given a Christian setting and converted into a dialogue, in a similar manner to other works.

An additional consideration is that, since the scribe writing the text is named as Matthias, this work may actually be the lost Gospel of Matthias. The dialogue can also be read as an internal conversation between Jesus and his lower self, Judas Thomas, the twin (contender for supremacy of the soul). The New Testament's "doubting" Thomas and Judas "the betrayer" could also be symbolic and descriptive of this internal battle between the Christ Self and ego identity.)

1 The secret words that the Saviour spoke to Judas Thomas which I, even I, Mathaias, wrote down, while I was walking, listening to them speak with one another.

2 The Saviour said, "Brother Thomas while you have time in the world, listen to me, and I will reveal to you the things you have pondered in your mind.

3 "Now, since it has been said that you are my twin and true companion, examine yourself, and learn who you are, in what way you exist, and how you will come to be. Since you will be called my brother, it is not fitting that you be ignorant of yourself. And I know that you have understood, because you had already understood that I am the knowledge of the truth. So while you accompany me, although you are uncomprehending, you have (in fact) already come to know, and you will be called 'the one who knows himself'. For he who has not known himself has known nothing, but he who has known himself has at the same time already achieved knowledge about the depth of the all. So then, you, my brother Thomas, have beheld what is obscure to men, that is, what they ignorantly stumble against."

4 Now Thomas said to the lord, "Therefore I beg you to tell me what I ask you before your ascension, and when I hear from you about the hidden things, then I can speak about them. And it is obvious to me that the truth is difficult to perform before men."

5 The Saviour answered, saying, "If the things that are visible to you are obscure to you, how can you hear about the things that are not visible? If the deeds of the truth that are visible in the world are difficult for you to perform, how indeed, then, shall you perform those that pertain to the exalted height and to the pleroma which are not visible? And how shall you be called 'labourers'? In this respect you are apprentices, and have not yet received the height of perfection."

6 Now Thomas answered and said to the Saviour, "Tell us about these things that you say are not visible, but are hidden from us."

7 The Saviour said, "All bodies [...] the beasts are begotten [...] it is evident like [...] this, too, those that are above [...] things that are visible, but they are visible in their own root, and it is their fruit that nourishes them. But these visible bodies survive by devouring creatures similar to them with the result that the bodies change. Now that which changes will decay and perish, and has no hope of life from then on, since that body is bestial. So just as the body of the beasts perishes, so also will these formations perish. Do they not derive from intercourse like that of the beasts? If it, too derives from intercourse, how will it beget anything different from beasts? So, therefore, you are babes until you become perfect."

8 And Thomas answered, "Therefore I say to you, lord, that those who speak about things that are invisible and difficult to explain are like those who shoot their arrows at a target at night. To be sure, they shoot their arrows as anyone would - since they shoot at the target - but it is not visible. Yet when the light comes forth and hides the darkness, then the work of each will appear. And you, our light, enlighten, O lord."

9 Jesus said, "It is in light that light exists."

10 Thomas, spoke, saying, "Lord, why does this visible light that shines on behalf of men rise and set?"

11 The Saviour said, "O blessed Thomas, of course this visible light shines on your behalf - not in order that you remain here, but rather that you might come forth - and whenever all the elect abandon bestiality, then this light will withdraw up to its essence, and its essence will welcome it, since it is a good servant."

12 Then the Saviour continued and said, "O unsearchable love of the light! O bitterness of the fire that blazes in the bodies of men and in their marrow, kindling in them night and day, and burning the limbs of men and making their minds become drunk and their souls become deranged [...] them within males and females [...] night and moving them, [...] secretly and visibly. For the males move [...] upon the females and the females upon the males. Therefore it is said, "Everyone who seeks the truth from true wisdom will make himself wings so as to fly, fleeing the lust that scorches the spirits of men." And he will make himself wings to flee every visible spirit."

13 And Thomas answered, saying, "Lord, this is exactly what I am asking you about, since I have understood that you are the one who is beneficial to us, as you say."

14 Again the Saviour answered and said, "Therefore it is necessary for us to speak to you, since this is the doctrine of the perfect. If, now, you desire to become perfect, you shall observe these things; if not, your name is 'Ignorant', since it is impossible for an intelligent man to dwell with a fool, for the intelligent man is perfect in all wisdom. To the fool, however, the good and bad are the same - indeed the wise man will be nourished by the truth and (Ps. 1:3) "will be like a tree growing by the meandering stream" - seeing that there are some who, although having wings, rush upon the visible things, things that are far from the truth. For that which guides them, the fire, will give them an illusion of truth, and will shine on them with a perishable beauty, and it will imprison them in a dark sweetness and captivate them with fragrant pleasure. And it will blind them with insatiable lust and burn their souls and become for them like a stake stuck in their heart which they can never dislodge. And like a bit in the mouth, it leads them according to its own desire. And it has fettered them with its chains and bound all their limbs with the bitterness of the bondage of lust for those visible things that will decay and change and swerve by impulse. They have always been attracted downwards; as they are killed, they are assimilated to all the beasts of the perishable realm."

15 Thomas answered and said, "It is obvious and has been said, 'Many are [...] those who do not know [...] soul.'"

16 And the Saviour answered, saying, "Blessed is the wise man who sought after the truth, and when he found it, he rested upon it forever and was unafraid of those who wanted to disturb him."

17 Thomas answered and said, "It is beneficial for us, lord, to rest among our own?"

18 The Saviour said, "Yes, it is useful. And it is good for you, since things visible among men will dissolve - for the vessel of their flesh will dissolve, and when it is brought to naught it will come to be among visible things, among things that are seen. And then the fire which they see gives them pain on account of love for the faith they formerly possessed. They will be gathered back to that which is visible. Moreover, those who have sight among things that are not visible, without the first love they will perish in the concern for this life and the scorching of the fire. Only a little while longer, and that which is visible will dissolve; then shapeless shades will emerge, and in the midst of tombs they will forever dwell upon the corpses in pain and corruption of soul."

19 Thomas answered and said, "What have we to say in the face of these things? What shall we say to blind men? What doctrine should we express to these miserable mortals who say, "We came to do good and not curse," and yet claim, "Had we not been begotten in the flesh, we would not have known iniquity"?"

20 The Saviour said, "Truly, as for those, do not esteem them as men, but regard them as beasts, for just as beasts devour one another, so also men of this sort devour one another. On the contrary, they are deprived of the kingdom since they love the sweetness of the fire and are servants of death and rush to the works of corruption. They fulfill the lust of their fathers. They will be thrown down to the abyss and be afflicted by the torment of the bitterness of their evil nature. For they will be scourged so as to make them rush backwards, whither they do not know, and they will recede from their limbs not patiently, but with despair. And they rejoice over [...] madness and derangement [...] They pursue this derangement without realizing their madness, thinking that they are wise. They [...] their body [...] Their mind is directed to their own selves, for their thought is occupied with their deeds. But it is the fire that will burn them."

21 And Thomas answered and said, "Lord, what will the one thrown down to them do? For I am most anxious about them; many are those who fight them."

22 The Saviour answered and said, "What is your own opinion?"

23 Judas - the one called Thomas - said, "It is you, lord, whom it befits to speak, and me to listen."

24 The Saviour replied, "Listen to what I am going to tell you and believe in the truth. That which sows and that which is sown will dissolve in the fire - within the fire and the water - and they will hide in tombs of darkness. And after a long time they shall show forth the fruit of the evil trees, being punished, being slain in the mouth of beasts and men at the instigation of the rains and winds and air and the light that shines above."

25 Thomas replied, "You have certainly persuaded us, lord. We realize in our heart, and it is obvious, that this is so, and that your word is sufficient. But these words that you speak to us are ridiculous and contemptible to the world since they are misunderstood. So how can we go preach them, since we are not esteemed in the world?"

26 The Saviour answered and said, "Truly I tell you that he who will listen to your word and turn away his face or sneer at it or smirk at these things, truly I tell you that he will be handed over to the ruler above who rules over all the powers as their king, and he will turn that one around and cast him from heaven down to the abyss, and he will be imprisoned in a narrow dark place. Moreover, he can neither turn nor move on account of the great depth of Tartaros and the heavy bitterness of Hades that is steadfast [...] them to it [...] they will not forgive [...] pursue you. They will hand [...] over to [...] angel Tartarouchos [...] fire pursuing them [...] fiery scourges that cast a shower of sparks into the face of the one who is pursued. If he flees westward, he finds the fire. If he turns southward, he finds it there as well. If he turns northward, the threat of seething fire meets him again. Nor does he find the way to the east so as to flee there and be saved, for he did not find it in the day he was in the body, so that he might find it in the day of judgement."

27 Then the Saviour continued, saying, "Woe to you, godless ones, who have no hope, who rely on things that will not happen!

28 "Woe to you who hope in the flesh and in the prison that will perish! How long will you be oblivious? And how long will you suppose that the imperishables will perish too? Your hope is set upon the world, and your god is this life! You are corrupting your souls!

29 "Woe to you within the fire that burns in you, for it is insatiable!

30 "Woe to you because of the wheel that turns in your minds!

31 "Woe to you within the grip of the burning that is in you, for it will devour your flesh openly and rend your souls secretly, and prepare you for your companions!

32 "Woe to you, captives, for you are bound in caverns! You laugh! In mad laughter you rejoice! You neither realize your perdition, nor do you reflect on your circumstances, nor have you understood that you dwell in darkness and death! On the contrary, you are drunk with the fire and full of bitterness. Your mind is deranged on account of the burning that is in you, and sweet to you are the poison and the blows of your enemies! And the darkness rose for you like the light, for you surrendered your freedom for servitude! You darkened your hearts and surrendered your thoughts to folly, and you filled your thoughts with the smoke of the fire that is in you! And your light has hidden in the cloud of [...] and the garment that is put upon you, you [...]. And you were seized by the hope that does not exist. And whom is it you have believed? Do you not know that you all dwell among those who that [...] you as though you [...]. You baptised your souls in the water of darkness ! You walked by your own whims!

33 "Woe to you who dwell in error, heedless that the light of the sun which judges and looks down upon the all will circle around all things so as to enslave the enemies. You do not even notice the moon, how by night and day it looks down, looking at the bodies of your slaughters!

34 "Woe to you who love intimacy with womankind and polluted intercourse with them! Woe to you in the grip of the powers of your body, for they will afflict you! Woe to you in the grip of the forces of the evil demons! Woe to you who beguile your limbs with fire! Who is it that will rain a refreshing dew on you to extinguish the mass of fire from you along with your burning? Who is it that will cause the sun to shine upon you to disperse the darkness in you and hide the darkness and polluted water?

35 "The sun and the moon will give a fragrance to you together with the air and the spirit and the earth and the water. For if the sun does not shine upon these bodies, they will wither and perish just like weeds or grass. If the sun shines on them, they prevail and choke the grapevine; but if the grapevine prevails and shades those weeds and all the other brush growing alongside, and spreads and flourishes, it alone inherits the land in which it grows; and every place it has shaded it dominates. And when it grows up, it dominates

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all the land and is bountiful for its master, and it pleases him even more, for he would have suffered great pains on account of these plants until he uprooted them. But the grapevine alone removed them and choked them, and they died and became like the soil."

36 Then Jesus continued and said to them, "Woe to you, for you did not receive the doctrine, and those who are [...] will labour at preaching [...]. And you are rushing into [...] will send them down [...] you kill them daily in order that they might rise from death.

37 "Blessed are you who have prior knowledge of the stumbling blocks and who flee alien things.

38 "Blessed are you who are reviled and not esteemed on account of the love their lord has for them.

39 "Blessed are you who weep and are oppressed by those without hope, for you will be released from every bondage.

40 "Watch and pray that you not come to be in the flesh, but rather that you come forth from the bondage of the bitterness of this life. And as you pray, you will find rest, for you have left behind the suffering and the disgrace. For when you come forth from the sufferings and passions of the body, you will receive rest from the good one, and you will reign with the king, you joined with him and he with you, from now on, for ever and ever, Amen."

CONSUMMATION OF THOMAS THE APOSTLE

From Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 8.
Translated by Alexander Walker, 1885
Edited by Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, 1886
Estimated Range of Dating: 150-350 A.D.

(The following translation of a Manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, transcribed by Constantine von Tischendorf (Apocal. Apocr., p. 158), gives a fuller account of the martyrdom of St. Thomas:— Martyrdom Of The Holy And Allrenowned Apostle Thomas.)

After the apostle had gone forth, according to the command of our Lord, and God, and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Lord appeared to him, saying: Peace to thee, my disciple and apostle! And the apostle fell on his face on the ground, and prayed the Lord to reveal to him the circumstances of his precious departure. And the Lord said to him: Misdæus is contriving a plan to destroy thee very soon; but, behold, he will come to me. And after having sealed him, He ascended into the heavens. And the apostle taught the people, and there was added unto the flock of Christ. But some men who hated Christ accused him before King Misdaeus, saying: Destroy this sorcerer, who corrupts and deceives the people in this new one God whom he proclaims. Moreover, he has deceived thy lady and thy son. On hearing this, Misdaeus, without inquiry, ordered him to be laid hold of, and shut up in prison. And they quickly did what they were ordered, and threw him into the prison, and sealed it. And when the women who believed in God had heard that Judas was shut up, they gave a great sum of money to the warders, and went in to him in the prison. And the apostle says to them: My daughters, handmaidens of Jesus Christ, listen to me. In my last day I address you, because I shall no more speak in the body; for, lo, I am taken up to my Lord Jesus Christ, who has had pity upon me, who humbled Himself even to my littleness. And I rejoice that the time is at hand for my change from this, that I may depart and receive my reward in the end; for my Lord is just. And at the end of his discourse to them, he said: O my Saviour, who hast endured much for our sake, let Thy mercies be upon us. And he sent them away, saying: The grace of the Holy Spirit be with you! And they grieved and wept, knowing that King Misdaeus was going to put him to death. And Judas heard the warders contending with each other, and saying: Let us go and tell the king, Thy wife and thy son are going to the prison to this sorcerer, and for their sakes thou shouldst put him to death soon. And at dawn they arose and went to King Misdaeus, and said: My Lord, release that sorcerer, or cause him to be shut up elsewhere; for though we shut in the prisoners, and secure the doors, when we rise we find them opened. Nay, more: thy wife and son will not keep away from the man any more than the rest of them. And when the king heard this, he went to look at the seals. And he looked all about them on the doors, and found them as they were. Then he said to the jailors: What are you telling lies about? for certainly these seals are quite safe: and how do you say that Tertia, and Mygdonia, and my son go within the prison? And the warders said: We have told thee the truth, O king. And after this the king went into the prison, and sent for the apostle. And when he came, they took off his girdle, and set him before the tribunal. And the king said: Art thou a slave, or free? And Thomas said: I am One's slave. Thou hast no power over me whatever. And Misdæus says: Didst thou run away and come to this country? Thomas: I came here to save many, and I am to depart from my body by thy hands. Misdæus says to him: Who is thy master? and what is his name? and what country dost thou belong to? Thomas: Thou canst not hear His true name at this time; but I tell thee the name that has been given Him for the time: it is Jesus the Christ. And Misdæus says: I have been in no hurry to put thee to death, but have restrained myself; but thou hast made a display of thy works, so that thy sorceries have been heard of in every country. But no; I shall bring thee to an end, that thy sorceries may be destroyed, and our nation purified. And Thomas said: What thou callest sorceries shall abound in me, and never be removed from the people here. And after this was said, Misdaeus reflected in what manner he should put the apostle to death, for he was afraid of the people standing by who believed. And he arose and took Thomas outside of the city; and he was accompanied by a few armed soldiers. And the multitude suspected that the king was plotting about him, and stood and addressed themselves to him. And when they had gone forth three stadia, he delivered him to four soldiers and one of the polemarchs, and ordered them to spear him on the mountain; and he returned to the city. And those who were present ran to Thomas, eager to rescue him. And he was led away, accompanied by the soldiers, two on each side.…And Thomas, walking along, said: O Thy secret mysteries, O Jesus! for even unto the end of life are they fulfilled in us. O the riches of Thy grace!…for, lo, how four have laid hold of me, since of four elements…(Here the fragment ends.) [Thems. in which this occurs is not that one which has been so frequently cited in the preceding Apocryphal Acts.—R.]

1 At the command of King Misdaeus the blessed Apostle Thomas was cast into prison; and he said: I glorify God, and I shall preach the word to the prisoners, so that all rejoiced at his presence. When, therefore, Juzanes the king's son, and Tertia his mother, and Mygdonia, and Markia, had become believers, but were not yet thought worthy of baptism, they took it exceedingly ill that the blessed one had been shut up.

2 And having come to the prison, and given much money to the jailor, they went in to him. And he, seeing them, was glad, and glorified the Lord, and blessed them. And they entreated and begged the seal in the Lord, a beautiful young man having appeared to them in a dream, and ordered the apostle into the house of Juzanes.

3 And again the beautiful young man, coming to them and Thomas, bade them do this on the coming night.

4 And he ran before them, and gave them light on the way, and without noise opened the doors that had been secured, until all the mystery was completed.

5 And having made them communicate in the Eucharist, and having talked much with them, and confirmed them in the faith, and commended them to the Lord, he went forth thence, leaving the women, and again went to be shut up. And they grieved and wept because Misdaeus the king was to kill him.

6 And Thomas went and found the jailors fighting, and saying: What wrong have we done to that sorcerer, that, availing himself of his magic art, he has opened the doors of the prison, and wishes to set all the prisoners free? But let us go and let the king know about his wife and his son. And when he came they stripped him, and girded him with a girdle; and thus they stood before the king.

7 And Misdaeus said to him: Are you a slave, or a freeman? And Thomas answered and said to him: I am not a slave, and you have no power against me at all. And how, said Misdaeus, have you run away and come to this country? And Thomas said: I came here that I might save many, and that I might by your hands depart from this body. Misdaeus says to him: Who is your master?

8 And what is his name? And of what country, and of whom is he? My Lord, says Thomas, is my Master and yours, being the Lord of heaven and earth. And Misdaeus said: What is he called? And Thomas said: You cannot know His true name at this time; but I tell you the name that has been given Him for a season—Jesus the Christ.

9 And Misdaeus said: I have not been in a hurry to destroy you, but have restrained myself; but you have made a display of works, so that your sorceries have been heard of in all the country.

10 But now this will I do, that your sorceries may also perish with you, that our nation may be purified from them.

11 And Thomas said: Do you call these things which will follow me sorceries? They shall never be removed from the people here.

12 And while these things were saying, Misdaeus was considering in what manner he should put him to death; for he was afraid of the multitude standing round, many, even some of the chief men, having believed in him. And he arose, and took Thomas outside of the city; and a few soldiers accompanied him with their arms. And the rest of the multitude thought that the king was wishing to learn something from him; and they stood and observed him closely.

13 And when they had gone forth three stadia, he delivered him to four soldiers, and to one of the chief officers, and ordered them to take him up into the mountain and spear him; but he himself returned to the city.

14 And those present ran to Thomas, eager to rescue him; but he was led away by the soldiers who were with him. For there were two on each side having hold of him, because of sorcery. And the chief officer held him by the hand, and led him with honour. And at the same time the blessed apostle said: O the hidden mysteries of You, O Lord! For even to the close of life is fulfilled in us the riches of Your grace, which does not allow us to be without feeling as to the body. For, behold, four have laid hold of me, and one leads me, since I belong to One, to whom I am going always invisibly.

15 But now I learn that my Lord also, since He was a stranger, to whom I am going, who also is always present with me invisibly, was struck by one; but I am struck by four.

16 And when they came to that place where they were to spear him, Thomas spoke thus to those spearing him: Hear me now, at least, when I am departing from my body; and let not your eyes be darkened in understanding, nor your ears shut up so as not to hear those things in which you have believed the God whom I preach, after being delivered in your souls from rashness; and behave in a manner becoming those who are free, being void of human glory, and live the life towards God.

17 And he said to Juzanes: Son of an earthly king, but servant of Jesus Christ, give what is due to those who are to fulfil the command of Misdaeus, in order that I may go apart from them and pray.

18 And Juzanes having paid the soldiers, the apostle betook himself to prayer; and it was as follows:—My Lord, and my God, and hope, and leader, and guide in all countries, I follow You along with all that serve You, and do Thou guide me this day on my way to You. Let no one take my soul, which You have given to me. Let not publicans and beggars look upon me, nor let serpents slander me, and let not the children of the dragon hiss at me. Behold, I have fulfilled Your work, and accomplished what You gave me to do. I have become a slave, that I might receive freedom from You; do then give it to me, and make me perfect.

19 And this I say not wavering, but that they may hear who need to hear. I glorify You in all, Lord and Master; for to You is due glory for ever. Amen.

20 And when he had prayed, he said to the soldiers: Come and finish the work of him that sent you. And the four struck him at once, and killed him. And all the brethren wept, and wrapped him up in beautiful shawls, and many linen cloths, and laid him in the tomb in which of old the kings used to be buried.

21 And Syphor and Juzanes did not go to the city, but spent the whole day there, and waited during the night.

22 And Thomas appeared to them, and said: I am not there; why do you sit watching? For I have gone up, and received the things I hoped for; but rise up and walk, and after no long time you shall be brought beside me. And Misdaeus and Charisius greatly afflicted Tertia and Mygdonia, but did not persuade them to abandon their opinions.

23 And Thomas appeared, and said to them: Forget not the former things, for the holy and sanctifying Jesus Himself will aid you. And Misdaeus and Charisius, when they could not persuade them not to be of this opinion, granted them their own will.

24 And all the brethren assembled together, for the blessed one had made Syphorus a presbyter in the mountain, and Juzanius a deacon, when he was led away to die.

25 And the Lord helped them, and increased the faith by means of them.

26 And after a long time, it happened that one of the sons of Misdaeus was a demoniac; and the demon being stubborn, no one was able to heal him. And Misdaeus considered, and said: I shall go and open the tomb, and take a bone of the apostle's body, and touch my son with it, and I know that he will be healed. And he went to do what he had thought of.

27 And the blessed apostle appeared to him, and said: You did not believe in me when alive; how will you believe in me when I am dead? Fear not. Jesus Christ is kindly disposed to you, through His great clemency.

28 And Misdaeus, when he did not find the bones (for one of the brethren had taken them, and carried them into the regions of the West), took some dust from where the bones had lain, and touched his son with it, and said: I believe in You, Jesus, now when he has left me who always afflicts men, that they may not look to Your light which gives understanding, O Lord, kind to men.

29 And his son being healed in this manner, he met with the rest of the brethren who were under the rule of Syphorus, and entreated the brethren to pray for him, that he might obtain mercy from our Lord Jesus Christ; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

THE ACTS OF THOMAS

The Acts of Didymus Judas Thomas
From: New Testament Apocrypha
Montague Rhodes James,1924
Estimated Range of Dating: 200-225 A.D.

(The text called Acts of Thomas is one of the New Testament apocrypha. References to the work by Epiphanius of Salamis show that it was in circulation in the 4th century. The complete versions that survive are Aramaic (Syriac) and

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Greek. There are many surviving fragments of the text. Scholars detect from the Greek that its original was written in a Syriac dialect of Aramaic, which places the author of the Acts of Thomas in or around Edessa.

Aramaic is a language (together with all Syriac dialects) that belongs to the Semitic family which also includes the Canaanite languages such as Hebrew and Phoenician. Often described as the language of Jesus and Thomas, Aramaic has its origins in Mesopotamia (Iraq). Historically, Aramaic was the language of the Arameans, a Semitic-speaking people of the northern Near East to the Tigris valley. By around 1000 BC, the Arameans had a string of kingdoms in what is now part of Syria and Mesopotamia. Aramaic rose to prominence under the Neo-Assyrian Empire (911–605 BC), under whose influence Aramaic became a prestige language, and its use spread throughout most of Mesopotamia and the Near East. At its height, variants of Aramaic were spoken all over in what is today Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Eastern Arabia, Northern Arabia, southeast Turkey, and parts of northwest Iran. Aramaic was subsequently inherited by the succeeding Neo-Babylonians (605–539 BC), and the Achaemenid Dynasty of Persia (539–323 BC). Scribes standardised written Aramaic and so it became the lingua franca of trade and commerce throughout the entire Persian Empire. Aramean then spread in the 4th century B.C. as far east as the north and west of the Indian Empire. Knowing these facts, it is no surprise that Thomas could travel to India with no language difficulties.

The original manuscript was written in the 2nd or 3rd centuries. Fragments of four other cycles of romances around the figure of the apostle Thomas survive, but this is the only complete one. It should not be confused with the early "sayings" Gospel of Thomas. Acts of Thomas is a series of episodic Acts (Latin passio) that occurred during the evangelistic mission of Judas Thomas ("Judas the Twin") to India. It ends with his martyrdom: he dies pierced with spears, having earned the ire of the monarch Misdaeus (Vasudeva I) because of his conversion of Misdaeus' wives and a relative, Charisius. He was imprisoned while converting Indian followers won through the performing of miracles.

Thomas is often referred to by his name Judas (his full name is Thomas Judas Didymus), since both Thomas and Didymus just mean twin, and several scholars believe that twin is just a description, and not intended as a name. The Acts of Thomas connects Thomas, the apostle's Indian ministry with two kings, one in the north and the other in the south. According to one of the legends in the Acts, Thomas was at first reluctant to accept this mission, but the Lord appeared to him in a night vision and said, "Fear not, Thomas. Go away to India and proclaim the Word, for my grace shall be with you." But the Apostle still demurred, so the Lord overruled the stubborn disciple by ordering circumstances so compelling that he was forced to accompany an Indian merchant, Abbanes, to his native place in north-west India, where he found himself in the service of the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares (Reign: c. 19–46 A.D.) or one of his successors with the same name. (The name of Gondophares was not a personal name, but an epithet that came from the Old Iranian word "vindafarna", meaning "May he find glory". It was used in the Suren Kingdom in today's Pakistan and north-west India).

The apostle's ministry resulted in many conversions throughout the kingdom, including the king and his brother. According to the legend, Thomas was a skilled carpenter and was bidden to build a palace for the king. However, the Apostle decided to teach the king a lesson by devoting the royal grant to acts of charity and thereby laying up treasure for the heavenly abode. Although little is known of the immediate growth of the church, Bar-Daisan (154–223) reports that in his time there were Christian tribes in North India which claimed to have been converted by Thomas and to have books and relics to prove it.[citation needed] But at least by the year of the establishment of the Second Persian Empire (226), there were bishops of the Church of the East in north-west India comprising Afghanistan and Baluchistan, with laymen and clergy alike engaging in missionary activity.

The Acts of Thomas identifies his second mission in India with a kingdom ruled by King Mahadeva, one of the rulers of a 1st-century dynasty in southern India. It is most significant that, aside from a small remnant of the Church of the East in Kurdistan, the only other church to maintain a distinctive identity is the "Mar Thoma" or "Church of Thomas" congregations along the Malabar Coast of Kerala State in southwest India. According to the most ancient tradition of this church, Thomas evangelized this area and then crossed to the Coromandel Coast of southeast India, where, after carrying out a second mission, he died in Mylapore near Madras. Throughout the period under review, the church in India was under the jurisdiction of Edessa, which was then under the Mesopotamian patriarchate at Seleucia-Ctesiphon and later at Baghdad and Mosul.

Although there was a lively trade between the Near East and India via Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf, the most direct route to India in the 1st century was via Alexandria and the Red Sea, taking advantage of the Monsoon winds, which could carry ships directly to and from the Malabar coast. The discovery of large hoards of Roman coins of 1st-century Caesars and the remains of Roman trading posts testify to the frequency of that trade. In addition, thriving Jewish colonies were to be found at the various trading centers, thereby furnishing obvious bases for the apostolic witness.

Piecing together the various traditions, one may conclude that Thomas left north-west India when invasion threatened and traveled by vessel to the Malabar coast, possibly visiting southeast Arabia and Socotra en route and landing at the former flourishing port of Muziris on an island near Cochin (c. 51–52 A.D.). From there he is said to have preached the gospel throughout the Malabar coast, though the various churches he founded were located mainly on the Periyar River and its tributaries and along the coast, where there were Jewish colonies. He reputedly preached to all classes of people and had about seventeen thousand converts, including members of the four principal castes. Later, stone crosses were erected at the places where churches were founded, and they became pilgrimage centres. In accordance with apostolic custom, Thomas ordained teachers and leaders or elders, who were reported to be the earliest ministry of the Malabar church.)

THE FIRST ACT

When Thomas Went Into India
With Abbanes The Merchant.

1 At that season all we the apostles were at Jerusalem, Simon which is called Peter and Andrew his brother, James the son of Zebedee and John his brother, Philip and Bartholomew, Thomas and Matthew the publican, James the son of Alphaeus and Simon the Canaanite, and Judas the brother of James: and we divided the regions of the world, that every one of us should go unto the region that fell to him and unto the nation whereunto the Lord sent him.

According to the lot, therefore, India fell unto Judas Thomas, which is also the twin: but he would not go, saying that by reason of the weakness of the flesh he could not travel, and 'I am an Hebrew man; how can I go amongst the Indians and preach the truth?' And as he thus reasoned and spake, the Saviour appeared unto him by night and saith to him: Fear not, Thomas, go thou unto India and preach the word there, for my grace is with thee. But he would not obey, saying: Whither thou wouldest send me, send me, but elsewhere, for unto the Indians I will not go.

2 And while he thus spake and thought, it chanced that there was there a certain merchant come from India whose name was Abbanes, sent from the King Gundaphorus [Gundaphorus is a historical personage who reigned over a part of India in the first century after Christ. His coins bear his name in Greek, as Hyndopheres], and having commandment from him to buy a carpenter and bring him unto him.

Now the Lord seeing him walking in the market-place at noon said unto him: Wouldest thou buy a carpenter? And he said to him: Yea. And the Lord said to him: I have a slave that is a carpenter and I desire to sell him. And so saying he showed him Thomas afar off, and agreed with him for three litrae of silver unstamped, and wrote a deed of sale, saying: I, Jesus, the son of Joseph the carpenter, acknowledge that I have sold my slave, Judas by name, unto thee Abbanes, a merchant of Gundaphorus, king of the Indians. And when the deed was finished, the Saviour took Judas Thomas and led him away to Abbanes the merchant, and when Abbanes saw him he said unto him: Is this thy master? And the apostle said: Yea, he is my Lord. And he said: I have bought thee of him. And thy apostle held his peace.

3 And on the day following the apostle arose early, and having prayed and besought the Lord he said: I will go whither thou wilt, Lord Jesus: thy will be done. And he departed unto Abbanes the merchant, taking with him nothing at all save only his price. For the Lord had given it unto him, saying: Let thy price also be with thee, together with my grace, wheresoever thou goest.

And the apostle found Abbanes carrying his baggage on board the ship; so he also began to carry it aboard with him. And when they were embarked in the ship and were set down Abbanes questioned the apostle, saying: What craftsmanship knowest thou? And he said: In wood I can make ploughs and yokes and augers (ox-goads, Syr.), and boats and oars for boats and masts and pulleys; and in stone, pillars and temples and court-houses for kings. And Abbanes the merchant said to him: Yea, it is of such a workman that we have need. They began then to sail homeward; and they had a favourable wind, and sailed prosperously till they reached Andrapolis, a royal city.

4 And they left the ship and entered into the city, and lo, there were noises of flutes and water-organs, and trumpets sounded about them; and the apostle inquired, saying: What is this festival that is in this city? And they that were there said to him: Thee also have the gods brought to make merry in this city. For the king hath an only daughter, and now he giveth her in marriage unto an husband: this rejoicing, therefore, and assembly of the wedding to-day is the festival which thou hast seen. And the king hath sent heralds to proclaim everywhere that all should come to the marriage, rich and poor, bond and free, strangers and citizens: and if any refuse and come not to the marriage he shall answer for it unto the king. And Abbanes hearing that, said to the apostle: Let us also go, lest we offend the king, especially seeing we are strangers. And he said: Let us go.

And after they had put up in the inn and rested a little space they went to the marriage; and the apostle seeing them all set down (reclining), laid himself, he also, in the midst, and all looked upon him, as upon a stranger and one come from a foreign land: but Abbanes the merchant, being his master, laid himself in another place.

5 And as they dined and drank, the apostle tasted nothing; so they that were about him said unto him: Wherefore art thou come here, neither eating nor drinking? but he answered them, saying: I am come here for somewhat greater than the food or the drink, and that I may fulfil the king's will. For the heralds proclaim the king's message, and whoso hearkeneth not to the heralds shall be subject to the king's judgement.

So when they had dined and drunken, and garlands and unguents were brought to them, every man took of the unguent, and one anointed his face and another his beard and another other parts of his body; but the apostle anointed the top of his head and smeared a little upon his nostrils, and dropped it into his ears and touched his teeth with it, and carefully anointed the parts about his heart: and the wreath that was brought to him, woven of myrtle and other flowers, he took, and set it on his head, and took a branch of calamus and held it in his hand.

Now the flute-girl, holding her flute in her hand, went about to them all and played, but when she came to the place where the apostle was, she stood over him and played at his head for a long space: now this flute-girl was by race an Hebrew.

6 And as the apostle continued looking on the ground, one of the cup-bearers stretched forth his hand and gave him a buffet; and the apostle lifted up his eyes and looked upon him that smote him and said: My God will forgive thee in the life to come this iniquity, but in this world thou shalt show forth his wonders and even now shall I behold this hand that hath smitten me dragged by dogs. And having so said, he began to sing and to say this song:

The damsel is the daughter of light, in whom consisteth and dwelleth the proud brightness of kings, and the sight of her is delightful, she shineth with beauty and cheer. Her garments are like the flowers of spring, and from them a waft of fragrance is borne; and in the crown of her head the king is established which with his immortal food (ambrosia) nourisheth them that are founded upon him; and in her head is set truth, and with her feet she showeth forth joy. And her mouth is opened, and it becometh her well: thirty and two are they that sing praises to her. Her tongue is like the curtain of the door, which waveth to and fro for them that enter in: her neck is set in the fashion of steps which the first maker hath wrought, and her two hands signify and show, proclaiming the dance of the happy ages, and her fingers point out the gates of the city. Her chamber is bright with light and breatheth forth the odour of balsam and all spices, and giveth out a sweet smell of myrrh and Indian leaf, and within are myrtles strown on the floor, and of all manner of odorous flowers, and the door-posts(?) are adorned with freedst. 7 And surrounding her her groomsmen keep her, the number of whom is seven, whom she herself hath chosen. And her bridesmaids are seven, and they dance before her. And twelve in number are they that serve before her and are subject unto her, which have their aim and their look toward the bridegroom, that by the sight of him they may be enlightened; and for ever shall they be with her in that eternal joy, and shall be at that marriage whereto the princes are gathered together and shall attend at that banquet whereof the eternal ones are accounted worthy, and shall put on royal raiment and be clad in bright robes; and in joy and exultation shall they both be and shall glorify the Father of all, whose proud light they have received, and are enlightened by the sight of their lord; whose immortal food they have received, that hath no failing (excrementum, Syr.), and have drunk of the wine that giveth then neither thirst nor desire. And they have glorified and praised with the living spirit, the Father of truth and the mother of wisdom.

8 And when he had sung and ended this song, all that were there present gazed upon him; and he kept silence, and they saw that his likeness was changed, but that which was spoken by him they understood not, forasmuch as he was an Hebrew and that which he spake was said in the Hebrew tongue. But the flute-girl alone heard all of it, for she was by race an Hebrew and she went away from him and played to the rest, but for the most part she gazed and looked upon him, for she loved him well, as a man of her own nation; moreover he was comely to look upon beyond all that were there. And when the flute-girl had played to them all and ended, she sat down over against him, gazing and looking earnestly upon him. But he looked upon no man at all, neither took heed of any but

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only kept his eyes looking toward the ground, waiting the time when he might depart thence.

But the cup-bearer that had buffeted him went down to the well to draw water; and there chanced to be a lion there, and it slew him and left him Iying in that place, having torn his lirmbs in pieces, and forthwith dogs seized his members, and among them one black dog holding his right hand in his mouth bare it into the place of the banquet.

9 And all when they saw it were amazed and inquired which of them it was that was missing. And when it became manifest that it was the hand of the cup-bearer which had smitten the apostle, the flute-girl brake her flute and cast it away and went and sat down at the apostle's feet, saying: This is either a god or an apostle of God, for I heard him say in the Hebrew tongue: ' I shall now see the hand that hath smitten me dragged by dogs', which thing ye also have now beheld; for as he said, so hath it come about. And some believed her, and some not.

But when the king heard of it, he came and said to the apostle: Rise up and come with me, and pray for my daughter: for she is mine only-begotten, and to-day I give her in marriage. But the apostle was not willing to go with him, for the Lord was not yet revealed unto him in that place. But the king led him away against his will unto the bride-chamber that he might pray for them.

10 And the apostle stood, and began to pray and to speak thus: My Lord and mv God, that travellest with thy servants, that guidest and correctest them that believe in thee, the refuge and rest of the oppressed, the hope of the poor and ransomer of captives, the physician of the souls that lie sick and saviour of all creation, that givest life unto the world and strengthenest souls; thou knowest things to come, and by our means accomplishest them: thou Lord art he that revealeth hidden mysteries and maketh manifest words that are secret: thou Lord art the planter of the good tree, and of thine hands are all good works engendered: thou Lord art he that art in all things and passest through all, and art set in all thy works and manifested in the working of them all. Jesus Christ, Son of compassion and perfect saviour, Christ, Son of the living God, the undaunted power that hast overthrown the enemy, and the voice that was heard of the rulers, and made all their powers to quake, the ambassador that wast sent from the height and camest down even unto hell, who didst open the doors and bring up thence them that for many ages were shut up in the treasury of darkness, and showedst them the way that leadeth up unto the height: l beseech thee, Lord Jesu, and offer unto thce supplication for these young persons, that thou wouldest do for them the things that shall help them and be expedient and profitable for them. And he laid his hands on them and said: The Lord shall be with you, and left them in that place and departed.

11 And the king desired the groomsmen to depart out of the bride-chamber; and when all were gone out and the doors were shut, the bridegrroom lifted up the curtain of the bride-chamber to fetch the bride unto him. And he saw the Lord Jesus bearing the likeness of Judas Thomas and speaking with the bride; even of him that but now had blessed them and gone out from them, the apostle; and he saith unto him: Wentest thou not out in the sight of all? how then art thou found here? But the Lord said to him: I am not Judas which is also called Thomas but I am his brother. And the Lord sat down upon the bed and bade them also sit upon chairs, and began to say unto them:

12 Remember, my children, what my brother spake unto you and what he delivered before you: and know this, that if ye abstain from this foul intercourse, ye become holy temples, pure, being quit of impulses and pains, seen and unseen, and ye will acquire no cares of life or of children, whose end is destruction: and if indeed ye get many children, for their sakes ye become grasping and covetous, stripping orphans and overreaching widows, and by so doing subject yourselves to grievous punishments. For the more part of children become useless oppressed of devils, some openly and some invisibly, for they become either lunatic or half withered or blind or deaf or dumb or paralytic or foolish; and if they be sound, again they will be vain, doing useless or abominable acts, for they will be caught either in adultery or murder or theft or fornication, and by all these vvill ye be afflicted.

But if ye be persuaded and keep your souls chaste before God, there will come unto you living children whom these blemishes touch not, and ye shall be without care, leading a tranquil life without grief or anxiety, looking to receive that incorruptible and true marriage, and ye shall be therein groomsmen entering into that bride-chamber which is full of immortality and light.

13 And when the young people heard these things, they believed the Lord and gave themselves up unto him, and abstained from foul desire and continued so, passing the night in that place. And the Lord departed from before them, saying thus: The grace of the Lord shall be with you.

And when the morning was come the king came to meet them and furnished a table and brought it in before the bridegroom and the bride. And he found them sitting over against each other and the face of the bride he found unveiled, and the bridegroom was right joyful.

And the mother came unto the bride and said: Why sittest thou so, child, and art not ashamed, but art as if thou hadst lived with thine husband a long season? And her father said: Because of thy great love toward thine husband dost thou not even veil thyself?

14 And the bride answered and said: Verily, father, I am in great love, and I pray my Lord that the love which I have perceived this night may abide with me, and I will ask for that husband of whom I have learned to-day: and therefore I will no more veil myself, because the mirror (veil) of shame is removed from me; and therefore am I no more ashamed or abashed, because the deed of shame and confusion is departed far from me; and that I am not confounded, it is because my astonishment hath not continued with me; and that I am in cheerfulness and joy, it is because the day of my joy hath not been troubled; and that I have set at nought this husband and this marriage that passeth away from before mine eyes, it is because I am joined in another marriage; and that I have had no intercourse with a husband that is temporal, whereof the end is with lasciviousness and bitterness of soul, it is because I am yoked unto a true husband.

15 And while the bride was saying yet more than this, the bridegroom answered and said: I give thee thanks, O Lord, that hast been proclaimed by the stranger, and found in us; who hast removed me far from corruption and sown life in me; who hast rid me of this disease that is hard to be healed and cured and abideth for ever, and hast implanted sober health in me; who hast shown me thyself and revealed unto me all my state wherein I am; who hast redeemed me from falling and led me to that which is better, and set me free from temporal things and made me worthy of those that are immortal and everlasting; that hast made thyself lowly even down to me and my littleness, that thou mayest present me unto thy greatness and unite me unto thyself; who hast not withheld thine own bowels from me that was ready to perish, but hast shown me how to seek myself and know who I was, and who and in what manner I now am, that I may again become that which I was: whom I knew not, but thyself didst seek me out: of whom I was not aware, but thyself hast taken me to thee: whom I have perceived, and now am not able to be unmindful of him: whose love burneth within me, and I cannot speak it as is fit, but that which I am able to say of it is little and scanty, and not fitly proportioned unto his glory: yet he blameth me not that presume to say unto him even that which I know not: for it is because of his love that I say even this much.

16 Now when the king heard these things from the bridegroom and the bride, he rent his clothes and said unto them that stood by him: Go forth quickly and go about the whole city, and take and bring me that man that is a sorcerer who by ill fortune came unto this city; for with mine own hands I brought him into this house, and I told him to pray over this mine ill-starred dauglter; and whoso findeth and bringeth him to me, I will give him whatsoever he asketh of me. They went, therefore and went about seeking him, and found him not; for he had set sail. They went also unto the inn where he had lodged and found there the flute-girl weeping and afflicted because he had not taken her with him. And when they told her the matter that had befallen with the young people she was exceeding glad at hearing it, and put away her grief and said: Now have I also found rest here. And she rose up and went unto them, and was with them a long time, until they had instructed the king also. And many of the brethren also gathered there until they heard the report of the apostle, that he was come unto the cities of India and was teaching there: and they departed and joined themselves unto him.

THE SECOND ACT

Concerning Thomas's Coming
Unto The King Gundaphorus

17 Now when the apostle was come into the cities of India with Abbanes the merchant, Abbanes went to salute the king Gundaphorus, and reported to him of the carpenter whom he had brought with him. And the king was glad, and commanded him to come in to him. So when he was come in the king said unto him: What craft understandest thou? The apostle said unto him: The craft of carpentering and of building. The king saith unto him: What craftsmanship, then, knowest thou in wood, and what in stone? The apostle saith: In wood: ploughs, yokes, goads, pulleys, and boats and oars and masts; and in stone: plllars, temples, and court-houses for kings. And the king said: Canst thou build me a palace? And he answered: Yea, I can both build and furnish it; for to this end am I come, to build and to do the work of a carpenter.

18 And the king took him and went out of the city gates and began to speak with him on the way concerning the building of the court-house, and of the foundations, how they should be laid, until they came to the place wherein he desired that the building should be; and he said: Here will I that the building should be. And the apostle said: Yea, for this place is suitable for the building. But the place was woody and there was much water there. So the king said: Begin to build. But he said: I cannot begin to build now at this season. And the king said: When canst thou begin? And he said: I will begin in the month Dius and finish in Xanthicus. But the king marvelled and said: Every building is builded in summer, and canst thou in this very winter build and make ready a palace? And the apostle said: Thus it must be, and no otherwise is it possible. And the king said: If, then, this seem good to thee, draw me a plan, how the work shall be, because I shall return hither after some long time. And the apostle took a reed and drew, measuring the place; and the doors he set toward the sunrising to look toward the light, and the windows toward the west to the breezes, and the bakehouse he appointed to be toward the south and the aqueduct for the service toward the north. And the king saw it and said to the apostle: Verily thou art a craftsman and it belitteth thee to be a servant of kings. And he left much money with him and departed from him.

19 And from time to time he sent money and provision, and victual for him and the rest of the workmen. But Thomas receiving it all dispensed it, going about the cities and the villages round about, distributing and giving alms to the poor and afflicted, and relieving them, saying: The king knoweth how to obtain recompense fit for kings, but at this time it is needful that the poor should have refreshment.

After these things the king sent an ambassador unto the apostle, and wrote thus: Signify unto me what thou hast done or what I shall send thee, or of what thou hast need. And the apostle sent unto him, saying: The palace (praetorium) is builded and only the roof remaineth. And the king hearing it sent him again gold and silver (lit. unstamped), and wrote unto him: Let the palace be roofed, if it is done. And the apostle said unto the Lord: I thank thee O Lord in all things, that thou didst die for a little space that I might live for ever in thee, and that thou hast sold me that by me thou mightest set free many. And he ceased not to teach and to refresh the afflicted, saying: This hath the Lord dispensed unto you, and he giveth unto every man his food: for he is the nourisher of orphans and steward of the widows, and unto all that are afflicted he is relief and rest.

20 Now when the king came to the city he inquired of his friends concerning the palace which Judas that is called Thomas was building for him. And they told him: Neither hath he built a palace nor done aught else of that he promised to perform, but he goeth about the cities and countries, and whatsoever he hath he giveth unto the poor, and teacheth of a new God, and healeth the sick, and driveth out devils, and doeth many other wonderful things; and we think him to be a sorcerer. Yet his compassions and his cures which are done of him freely, and moreover the simplicity and kindness of him and his faith, do declare that he is a righteous man or an apostle of the new God whom he preacheth; for he fasteth continually and prayeth, and eateth bread only, with salt, and his drink is water, and he weareth but one garment alike in fair weather and in winter, and receiveth nought of any man, and that he hath he giveth unto others. And when the king heard that, he rubbed his face with his hands, and shook his head for a long space.

21 And he sent for the merchant which had brought him, and for the apostle, and said unto him: Hast thou built me the palace? And he said: Yea. And the king said: When, then, shall we go and see it? but he answered him and said: Thou canst not see it now, but when thou departest this life, then thou shalt see it. And the king was exceeding wroth, and commanded both the merchant and Judas which is called Thomas to be put in bonds and cast into prison until he should inquire and learn unto whom the king's money had been given, and so destroy both him and the merchant.

And the apostle went unto the prison rejoicing, and said to the merchant: Fear thou nothing, only believe in the God that is preached by me, and thou shalt indeed be set free from this world, but from the world to come thou shalt receive life. And the king took thought with what death he should destroy them. And when he had determined to flay them alive and burn them with fire, in the same night Gad the king's brother fell sick, and by reason of his vexation and the deceit which the king had suffered he was greatly oppressed; and sent for the king and said unto him: O king my brother, I commit unto thee mine house and my children; for I am vexed by reason of the provocation that hath befallen thee, and lo, I die; and if thou visit not with vengeance upon the head of that sorcerer, thou wilt give my soul no rest in hell. And the king said to his brother: All this night have I considered how I should put him to death and this hath seemed good to me, to flay him and burn him with fire, both him and the merchant which brought him (Syr. Then the brother of the king said to him: And if there be anything else that is worse than this, do it to him; and I give thee charge of my house and my children).

22 And as they talked together, the soul of his brother Gad departed. And the king mourned sore for Gad, for he loved him much, and commanded that he should be buried in royal and precious apparel (Syr. sepulchre). Now after this angels took the soul of Gad the king's brother and bore it up into heaven, showing unto him the places and dwellings that were there, and inquired of him: In which place wouldest thou

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dwell? And when they drew near unto the building of Thomas the apostle which he had built for the king, Gad saw it and said unto the angels: I beseech you, my lords, suffer me to dwell in one of the lowest rooms of these. And they said to him: Thou canst not dwell in this building. And he said: Wherefore ? And they say unto him: This is that palace which that Christian builded for thy brother. And he said: I beseech you, my lords, suffer me to go to my brother, that I may buy this palace of him, for my brother knoweth not of what sort it is, and he will sell it unto me.

23 Then the angels let the soul of Gad go. And as they were putting his grave clothes upon him, his soul entered into him and he said to them that stood about him: Call my brother unto me, that I may ask one petition of him. Straightway therefore they told the king, saying: Thy brother is revived. And the king ran forth with a great company and came unto his brother and entered in and stood by his bed as one amazed, not being able to speak to him. And his brother said: I know and am persuaded, my brother, that if any man had asked of thee the half of thy kingdom, thou wouldest have given it him for my sake; therefore I beg of thee to grant me one favour which I ask of thee, that thou wouldest sell me that which I ask of thee. And the king answered and said: And what is it which thou askest me to sell thee? And he said: Convince me by an oath that thou wilt grant it me. And the king sware unto him: One of my possessions, whatsoever thou shalt ask, I will give thee. And he saith to him: Sell me that palace which thou hast in the heavens ? And the king said: Whence should I have a palace in the heavens? And he said: Even that which that Christian built for thee which is now in the prison, whom the merchant brought unto thee, having purchased him of one Jesus: I mean that Hebrew slave whom thou desiredst to punish as having suffered deceit at his hand: whereat I was grieved and died, and am now revived.

24 Then the king considering the matter, understood it of those eternal benefits which should come to him and which concerned him, and said: That palace I cannot sell thee, but I pray to enter into it and dwell therein and to be accounted worthy of the inhabiters of it, but if thou indeed desirest to buy such a palace, lo, the man liveth and shall build thee one better than it. And forthwith he sent and brought out of prison the apostle and the merchant that was shut up with him, saying: I entreat thee, as a man that entreateth the minister of God, that thou wouldest pray for me and beseech him whose minister thou art to forgive me and overlook that which I have done unto thee or thought to do, and that I may become a worthy inhabiter of that dwelling for the which I took no pains, but thou hast builded it for me, labouring alone, the grace of thy God working with thee, and that I also may become a servant and serve this God whom thou preachest. And his brother also fell down before the apostle and said: I entreat and supplicate thee before thy God that I may become worthy of his ministry and service, and that it may fall to me to be worthy of the things that were shown unto me by his angels.

25 And the apostle, filled with joy, said: I praise thee, O Lord Jesu, that thou hast revealed thy truth in these men; for thou only art the God of truth, and none other, and thou art he that knoweth all things that are unknown to the most; thou, Lord, art he that in all things showest compassion and sparest men. For men by reason of the error that is in them have overlooked thee but thou hast not overlooked them. And now at mv supplication and request do thou receive the king and his brother and join them unto thy fold, cleansing them with thy washing and anointing them with thine oil from the error that encompasseth them: and keep them also from the wolves, bearing them into thy meadows. And give them drink out of thine immortal fountain which is neither fouled nor drieth up; for they entreat and supplicate thee and desire to become thy servants and ministers, and for this they are content even to be persecuted of thine enemies, and for thy sake to be hated of them and to be mocked and to die, like as thou for our sake didst suffer all these things, that thou mightest preserve us, thou that art Lord and verily the good shepherd. And do thou grant them to have confidence in thee alone, and the succour that cometh of thee and the hope of their salvation which they look for from thee alone; and that they may be grounded in thy mysteries and receive the perfect good of thy graces and gifts, and flourish in thy ministry and come to perfection in thy Father.

26 Being therefore wholly set upon the apostle, both the king Gundaphorus and Gad his brother followed him and departed not from him at all, and they also relieved them that had need giving unto all and refreshing all. And they besought him that they also might henceforth receive the seal of the word, saying unto him: Seeing that our souls are at leisure and eager toward God, give thou us the seal; for we have heard thee say that the God whom thou preachest knoweth his own sheep by his seal. And the apostle said unto them: I also rejoice and entreat you to receive this seal, and to partake with me in this eucharist and blessing of the Lord, and to be made perfect therein. For this is the Lord and God of all, even Jesus Christ whom I preach, and he is the father of truth, in whom I have taught you to believe. And he commanded them to bring oil, that they might receive the seal by the oil. They brought the oil therefore, and lighted many lamps; for it was night (Syr. whom I preach: and the king gave orders that the bath should be closed for seven days, and that no man should bathe in it: and when the seven days were done, on the eighth day they three entered into the bath by night that Judas might baptise them. And many lamps were lighted in the bath).

27 And the apostle arose and sealed them. And the Lord was revealed unto them by a voice, saying: Peace be unto you brethren. And they heard his voice only, but his likeness they saw not, for they had not yet received the added sealing of the seal (Syr. had not been baptised). And the apostle took the oil and poured it upon their heads and anointed and chrismed them, and began to say (Syr. And Judas went up and stood upon the edge of the cistern and poured oil upon their heads and said):

Come, thou holy name of the Christ that is above every name.

Come, thou power of the Most High, and the compassion that is perfect.

Come, gift (charism) of the Most High.

Come, compassionate mother.

Come, communion of the male.

Come, she that revealeth the hidden mysteries.

Come, mother of the seven houses, that thy rest may be in the eighth house.

Come, elder of the five members, mind, thought, refiection, consideration, reason; communicate with these young men.

Come, holy spirit, and cleanse their reins and their heart, and give them the added seal, in the name of the Father and Son and Holy Ghost.

And when they were sealed, there appeared unto them a youth holding a lighted torch, so that their lamps became dim at the approach of the light thereof. And he went forth and was no more seen of them. And the apostle said unto the Lord: Thy light, O Lord, is not to be contained by us, and we are not able to bear it, for it is too great for our sight.

And when the dawn came and it was morning, he brake bread and made them partakers of the eucharist of the Christ. And they were glad and rejoiced.

And many others also, believing, were added to them, and came into the refuge of the Saviour.

28 And the apostle ceased not to preach and to say unto them: Ye men and women, boys and girls, young men and maidens, strong men and aged, whether bond or free, abstain from fornication and covetousness and the service of the belly: for under these three heads all iniquity cometh about. For fornication blindeth the mind and darkeneth the eyes of the soul, and is an impediment to the life (conversation) of the body, turning the whole man unto weakness and casting the whole body into sickness. And greed putteth the soul into fear and shame; being within the body it seizeth upon the goods of others, and is under fear lest if it restore other men's goods to their owner it be put to shame. And the service of the belly casteth the soul into thoughts and cares and vexations, taking thought lest it come to be in want, and have need of those things that are far from it. If, then, ye be rid of these ye become free of care and grief and fear, and that abideth with you which was said by the Saviour: Take no thought for the morrow, for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. Remember also that word of him of whom I spake: Look at the ravens and see the fowls of the heaven, that they neither sow nor reap nor gather into barns, and God dispenseth unto them; how much more unto you, O ye of little faith? But look ye for his coming and have your hope in him and believe on his name. For he is the judge of quick and dead, and he giveth to every one according to their deeds, and at his coming and his latter appearing no man hath any word of excuse when he is to be judged by him, as though he had not heard. For his heralds do proclaim in the four quarters (climates) of the world. Repent ye, therefore, and believe the promise and receive the yoke of meekness and the light burden, that ye may live and not die. These things get, these keep. Come forth of the darkness that the light may receive you! Come unto him that is indeed good, that ye may receive grace of him and implant his sign in your souls.

29 And when he had thus spoken, some of them that stood by said: It is time for the creditor to receive the debt. And he said unto them: He that is lord of the debt desireth alway to receive more; but let us give him that which is due. And he blessed them, and took bread and oil and herbs and salt and blessed and gave unto them; but he himself continued his fast, for the Lord's day was coming on (Syr. And he himself ate, because the Sunday was dawning).

And when night fell and he slept, the Lord came and stood at his head, saying: Thomas, rise early, and having blessed them all, after the prayer and the ministry go by the eastern road two miles and there will I show thee my glory: for by thy going shall many take refuge with me, and thou shalt bring to light the nature and power of the enemy. And he rose up from sleep and said unto the brethren that were with him: Children, the Lord would accomplish somewhat by me to-day, but let us pray, and entreat of him that we may have no impediment toward him, but that as at all times, so now also it may be done according to his desire and will by us. And having so said, he laid his hands on them and blessed them, and brake the bread of the eucharist and gave it them, saying: This encharist shall be unto you for compassion and mercy, and not unto judgement and retribution. And they said Amen.

THE THIRD ACT:

Concerning The Servant

30 And the apostle went forth to go where the Lord had bidden him; and when he was near to the second mile (stone) and had turned a little out of the way, he saw the body of a comely youth Iying, and said: Lord, is it for this that thou hast brought me forth, to come hither that I might see this (trial) temptation? thy will therefore be done as thou desirest. And he began to pray and to say: O Lord, the judge of quick and dead, of the quick that stand by and the dead that lie here, and master and father of all things; and father not only of the souls that are in bodies but of them that have gone forth of them, for of the souls also that are in pollutions (al. bodies) thou art lord and judge; come thou at this hour wherein I call upon thee and show forth thy glory upon him that lieth here. And he turned himself unto them that followed him and said: This thing is not come to pass without cause, but the enemy hath effected it and brought it about that he may assault (?) us thereby; and see ye that he hath not made use of another sort, nor wrought through any other creature save that which is his subjcct.

31 And when he had so said, a great (Syr. black) serpent (dragon) came out of a hole, beating with his head and shaking his tail upon the ground, and with (using) a loud voice said unto the apostle: I will tell before thee the cause wherefor I slew this man, since thou art come hither for that end, to reprove my works. And the apostle said: Yea, say on. And the serpent: There is a certain beautiful woman in this village over against us; and as she passed by me (or my place) I saw her and was enamoured of her, and I followed her and kept watch upon her; and I found this youth kissing her, and he had intercourse with her and did other shameful acts with her: and for me it was easy to declare them before thee, for I know that thou art the twin brother of the Christ and alway abolishest our nature (Syr. easy for me to say, but to thee I do not dare to utter them because I know that the ocean-flood of the Messiah will destroy our nature): but because I would not affright her, I slew him not at that time, but waited for him till he passed by in the evening and smote and slew him, and especially because he adventured to do this upon the Lord's day.

And the apostlc inquired of him, saying: Tell me of what seed and of what race thou art. 32 And he said unto him: I am a reptile of the reptile nature and noxious son of the noxious father: of him that hurt and smote the four brethren which stood upright (om. Syr.: the elerments or four cardinal points may be meant) I am son to him that sitteth on a throne over all the earth that receiveth back his own from them that borrow: I am son to him that girdeth about the sphere: and I am kin to him that is outside the ocean, whose tail is set in his own mouth: I am he that entered through the barrier (fence) into paradise and spake with Eve the things which my father bade me speak unto her: I am he that kindled and inflamed Cain to kill his own brother, and on mine account did thorns and thistles grow up in the earth: I am he that cast down the angels from above and bound them in lusts after women, that children born of earth might come of them and I might work my will in them: I am he that hardened Pharaoh's heart that he should slay the children of Israel and enslave them with the yoke of cruelty: I am he that caused the multitude to err in the wilderness when they made the calf: I am he that inflamed Herod and enkindled Caiaphas unto false accusation of a lie before Pilate; for this was fitting to me: I am he that stirred up Judas and bribed him to deliver up the Christ: I am he that inhabiteth and holdeth the deep of hell (Tartarus), but the Son of God hath wronged rne, against my will, and taken (chosen) them that were his own from me: I am kin to him that is to come from the east, unto whom also power is given to do what he will upon the earth.

33 And wllen that serpent had spoken these things in the hearing of all the people, the apostle lifted up his voice on high and said: Cease thou henceforth, O most shameless one, and be put to confusion and die wholly, for the end of thy destruction is come, and dare not to tell of what thou hast done by them that have become subject unto thee. And I charge thee in the name of that Jesus who until now contendeth with you for the men that are his own, that thou suck out thy venom which thou hast put into this man, and draw it forth and take it from him. But the serpent said: Not yet is the end of our time come as thou hast said. Wherefore compellest thou me to take back that which I have put into this man, and to die before my time? for mine own father, when he shall draw forth and suck out that which he hath cast into the creation, then shall his end come. And the apostle said unto him: Show, then, now the nature of thy father. And the serpent came near and set his mouth upon the wound of the young man and sucked forth the gall out of it. And by

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little and little the colour of the young man which was as purple, became white, but the serpent swelled up. And when the serpent had drawn up all the gall into himself, the young man leapt up and stood, and ran and fell at the apostle's feet: but the serpent being swelled up, burst and died, and his venom and gall were shed forth; and in the place where his venom was shed there came a great gulf, and that serpent was swallowed up therein. And the apostle said unto the king and his brother: Take workmen and fill up that place, and lay foundations and build houses upon them, that it may be a dwelling-place for strangers.

34 But the youth said unto the apostle with many tears: Wherein have I sinned against thee? for thou art a man that hast two forms, and wheresoever thou wilt, there thou art found, and art restrained of no man, as I behold. For I saw that man that stood by thee and said unto thee: I have many wonders to show forth by thy means and I have great works to accomplish by thee, for which thou shalt receive a reward; and thou shalt make many to live, and they shall be in rest in light eternal as children of God. Do thou then, saith he, speaking unto thee of me, quicken this youth that hath been stricken of the enemy and be at all times his overseer. Well, therefore, art thou come hither, and well shalt thou depart again unto him, and yet he never shall leave thee at any time. But I am become without care or reproach: and he hath enlightened me from the care of the night and I am at rest from the toil of the day: and I am set free from him that provoked me to do thus, sinning against him that taught me to do contrary thereto: and I have lost him that is the kinsman of the night that compelled me to sin by his own deeds, and have found him that is of the light, and is my kinsman. I have lost him that darkeneth and blindeth his own subjects that they may not know what they do and, being ashamed at their own works, may depart from him, and their works come to an end; and have found him whose works are light and his deeds truth, which if a man doeth he repenteth not of them. And I have left him with whom Iying abideth, and before whom darkness goeth as a veil, and behind him followeth shame, shameless in indolence; and I have found him that showeth me fair things that I may take hold on them, even the son of the truth that is akin unto concord, who scattereth away the mist and enlighteneth his own crcation, and healeth the wounds thereof and overthroweth the enemies thereof. But I beseech thee, O man of God, cause me to behold him again, and to see him that is now become hidden from me, that I may also hear his voice whereof I am not able to express the wonder, for it belongeth not to the nature of this bodily organ.

35 And the apostle answered him, saying: If thou depart from these things whereof thou hast received knowledge, as thou hast said, and if thou know who it is that hath wrought this in thee, and learn and become a hearer of him whom now in thy fervent love thou seekest; thou shalt both see him and be with him for ever, and in his rest shalt thou rest, and shalt be in his joy. But if thou be slackly disposed toward him and turn again unto thy former deeds, and leave that beauty and that bright countenance which now was showed thee, and forget the shining of his light which now thou desirest, not only wilt thou be bereaved of this life but also of that which is to come and thou wilt depart unto him whom thou saidst thou hadst lost, and will no more behold him whom thou saidst thou hadst found.

36 And when the apostle had said this, he went into the city holding the hand of that youth, and saying unto him: These things which thou hast seen, my child, are but a few of the many which God hath, for he doth not give us good tidings concerning these things that are seen, but greater things than these doth he promise us; but so long as we are in the bodv we are not able to speak and show forth those which he shall give unto our souls. If we say that he giveth us light, it is this which is seen, and we have it: and if we say it of wealth, which is and appeareth in the world, we name it (we speak of something which is in the world, Syr.), and we need it not, for it hath been said: Hardly shall a rich man enter into the kingdom of heaven: and if we speak of apparel of raiment wherewith they that are luxurious in this life are clad, it is named (we mention something that nobles wear, Syr.), and it hath been said: They that wear soft raiment are in the houses of kings. And if of costiy banquets, concerning these we have received a commandment to beware of them, not to be weighed down With revelling and drunkenness and cares of this life -speaking of things that are- and it hath been said: Take no thought for your life (soul), what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink, neither for your body, what ye shall put on, for the soul is more than the meat and the body than the raiment. And of rest, if we speak of this temporal rest, a judgement is appointed for this also. But we speak of the world which is above, of God and angels, of watchers and holy ones of the immortal (ambrosial) food and the drink of the true vine, of raiment that endureth and groweth not old, of things which eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither have they entered into the heart of sinful men, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him. Of these things do we converse and of these do we bring good tidings. Do thou therefore also believe on him that thou mayest live, and put thy trust in him, and thou shalt not die. For he is not persuaded with gifts, that thou shouldest offer them to him, neither is he in need of sacrifices, that thou shouldest sacrifice unto him. But look thou unto him, and he will not overlook thee; and turn unto him, and he will not forsake thee. For his comeliness and his beauty will make thee wholly desirous to love him: and indeed he permitteth thee not to turn thyself away.

37 And when the apostle had said these things unto that youth, a great multitude joined themselves unto them. And the apostle looked and saw them raising themselves on high that they might see him, and they were going up into high places; and the apostle said unto them: Ye men that are come unto the assembly of Christ, and would believe on Jesus, take example hereby, and see that if ye be not lifted up, ye cannot see me who am little, and are not able to spy me out who am like unto you. If, then, ye cannot see me who am like you unless ye lift yourselves up a little from the earth, how can ye see him that dwelleth in the height and now is found in the depth, unless ye first lift yourselves up out of your former conversation, and your unprofitable deeds, and your desires that abide not, and the wealth that is left here, and the possession of earth that groweth old, and the raiment that corrupteth, and the beauty that waxeth old and vanisheth away, and yet more out of the whole body wherein all these things are stored up, and which groweth old and becometh dust, returning unto its own nature? For it is the body which maintaineth all these things. But rather believe on our Lord Jesus Christ, vhom we preach, that your hope may be in him and in him ye may have life world without end, that he may become your fellow traveller in this land of error, and may be to you an harbour in this troublous sea. And he shall be to you a fountain springing up in this thirsty land and a chamber fill of food in this place of them that hunger, and a rest unto your souls, yea, and a physician for your bodies.

38 Then the multitude of them that were gathered together hearing these things wept, and said unto the apostle: O man of God, the God whom thou preachest, we dare not say that we are his, for the works which we have done are alien unto him and not pleasing to him; but if he will have compassion on us and pity us and save us, overlooking our former decds, and will set us free from the evils which we committed being in error, and not impute them unto us nor make remembrance of our former sins, we will become his servants and will accomplish his will unto the end. And the apostle answered them and said: He reckoneth not against you, neither taketh account of the sins which ye committed being in error, but overlooketh your transgressions which ye have done in ignorance.

THE FOURTH ACT

Concerning The Colt

39 And while the apostle yet stood in the highway and spake with the multitude, A she ass's colt came and stood before him (Syr. adds, And Judas said: It is not without the direction of God that this colt has come hither. But to thee I say, O colt that by the grace of our Lord there shall be given to thee speech before these multitudes who are standing here; and do thou say whatsoever thou wilt, that they may believe in the God of truth whom we preach. And the mouth of the colt was opened, and it spake by the power of our Lord and said to him) and opened its mouth and said: Thou twin of Christ, apostle of the Most High and initiate in the hidden word of Christ who receivest his secret oracles, fellow worker with the Son of God, who being free hast become a bondman, and being sold hast brought many into liberty. Thou kinsman of the great race that hath condemned the enemy and redeemed his own, that hast become an occasion of life unto man in the land of the Indians; for thou hast come (against thy will, Syr.) unto men that were in error, and by thy appearing and thy divine words they are now turning unto the God of truth which sent thee: mount and sit upon me and repose thyself until thou enter into the city. And the apostle answered and said: O Jesu Christ (Son) that understandest the perfect mercy! O tranquillity and quiet that now art spoken of (speakest, Syr.) by (among) brute beasts! O hidden rest, that art manifested by thy working, Saviour of us and nourisher, keeping us and resting in alien bodies! O Saviour of our souls! spring that is sweet and unfailing; fountain secure and clear and never polluted; defender and helper in the fight of thine own servants, turning away and scaring the enemy from us, that fightest in many battles for us and makest us conquerors in all; our true and undefeated champion (athlete); our holy and victorious captain: glorious and giving unto thine own a joy that never passeth away, and a relief wherein is none affliction; good shepherd that givest thyself for thine own sheep, and hast vanquished the wolf and redeemed thine own lambs and led them into a good pasture: we glorify and praise thee and thine invisible Father and thine holy sipirit [and] the mother of all creation.

40 And when the apostle had said these things, all the multitude that were there looked upon him, expecting to hear what he would answer to the colt. And the apostle stood a long time as it were astonied, and looked up into heaven and said to the colt: Of whom art thou and to whom belongest thou? for marvellous are the things that are shown forth by thy mouth, and amazing and such as are hidden frorn the many. And the colt answered and said: I am of that stock that served Balaam, and thy lord also and teacher sat upon one that appertained unto me by race. And I also have now been sent to give thee rest by thy sitting upon me: and (that) I may receive (Syr. these may be confirmed in) faith, and unto me may be added that portion which now I shall receive by thy service wherewith I serve thee; and when I have ministered unto thee, it shall be taken from me. And the apostle said unto him: He is able who granted thee this gift, to cause it to be fulfilled unto the end in thee and in them that belong unto thee by race: for as to this mystery I am weak and powerless. And he would not sit upon him. But the colt besought and entreated him that he might be blessed of him by ministering unto him. Then the apostic mounted him and sat upon him; and they followed him, some going before and some following after, and all of them ran, desiring to see the end, and how he would dismiss the colt.

41 But when he came near to the city gates he dismounted from him, saying: Depart, and be thou kept safe where thou wert. And straightway the colt fell to the ground at the apostle's feet and died. And all they that were present were sorry and said to the apostle: Bring him to life and raise him up. But he answered and said unto them: I indeed am able to raise him by the name of Jesus Christ: but this is by all means expedient (or, this is by any means expedient). For he that gave him speech that he might talk was able to cause that he should not die; and I raise him not, not as being unable, but because this is that which is expedient and profitable for him. And he bade them that were present to dig a trench and bury his body and they did as they were commanded.

THE FIFTH ACT

Concerning The Devil
That Took Up His Abode In The Woman

42 And the apostle entered into the city and all the multitude followed him. And he thought to go unto the parents of the young man whom he had made alive when he was slain by the serpent: for they earnestly besought him to come unto them and enter into their house. But a very beautiful woman on a sudden uttered an exceeding loud cry, saying: O Apostle of the new God that art come into India, and servant of that holy and only good God; for by thee is he preached, the Saviour of the souls that come unto him, and by thee are healed the bodies of them that are tormented by the enemy, and thou art he that is become an occasion of life unto all that turn unto him: command me to be brought before thee that I may tell thee what hath befallen me, and peradventure of thee I may have hope, and these that stand by thee may be more confident in the God whom thou preachest. For I am not a little tormented by the adversary now this five years' space [one Greek MS. And the apostle bade her come unto him, and the woman stood before him and said: I, O servant of him that is indeed God am a woman: the rest have, As a woman] I was sitting at the first in quiet, and peace encompassed me on every side and I had no care for anything, for I took no thought for any other. 43 And it fell out one day that as I came out from the bath there met me a man troubled and disturbed, and his voice and speech seemed to me exceeding faint and dim; and he stood before me and said: I and thou will be in one love and we will have intercourse together as a man with his wife; And I answered and said to him: I never had to do with my betrothed, for I refused to marry, and how shall I yield myself to thee that wouldest have intercourse with me in adulterous wise? And having so said, I passed on, and I said to rny handmaid that was with me: Sawest thou that youth and his shamelessness, how boldly he spake with me, and had no shame? but she said to me: I saw an old man speaking to thee. And when I was in mine house and had dined my soul suggested unto me some suspicion and especially because he was seen of me in two forms; and having this in my mind I fell asleep. He came, therefore, in that night and was joined unto me in his foul intercourse. And when it was day I saw him and fled from him, and on the night following that he came and abused me; and now as thou seest me I have spent five years being troubled by him, and he hath not departed from me. But I know and am persuaded that both devils and spirits and destroyers are subject unto thee and are filled with trembling at thy prayers: pray thou therefore for me and drive away from me the devil that ever troubleth me, that I also may be set free and be gathered unto the nature that is mine from the beginning, and receive the grace that hath been given unto my kindred.

44 And the apostle said: O evil that cannot be restrained! O shamelessness of the enemy! O envious one that art never at rest! O hideous one that subduest the comely! O thou of many forms! As he will he appeareth, but his essence cannot be changed. O the crafty and faithless one! O the bitter tree whose fruits are like unto him! O the devil that overcometh them that are alien to him! O the deceit that useth impudence! O the wickedness that creepeth like a serpent, and that is of his kindred! (Syr. wrongly adds a clause bidding the devil show himself.) And when the apostle said this, the malicious one

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came and stood before him, no man seeing him save the woman and the apostle, and with an exceeding loud voice said in the hearing of all: 45 What have we to do with thee, thou apostle of the Most High! What have we to do with thee, thou servant of Jesus Christ? What have we to do with thee, thou counsellor of the holy Son of God? Wherefore wilt thou destroy us, whereas our time is not yet come? Wherefore wilt thou take away our power? for unto this hour we had hope and time remaining to us. What have we to do with thee? Thou hast power over thine own, and we over ours. Wherefore wilt thou act tyrannously against us, when thou thyself teachest others not to act tyrannously? Wherefore dost thou crave other men's goods and not suffice thyself with thine own? Wherefore art thou made like unto the Son of God which hath done us wrong? for thou resemblest him altogether as if thou wert born of him. For we thought to have brought him under the yoke like as we have the rest, but he turned and made us subject unto him: for we knew him not; but he deceived us with his form of all uncomeliness and his poverty and his neediness: for seeing him to be such, we thought that he was a man wearing flesh, and knew not that it is he that giveth life unto men. And he gave us power over our own, and that we should not in this present time leave them but have our walk in them: but thou wouldest get more than thy due and that which was given thee, and afflict us altogether.

46 And having said this the devil wept, saying: I leave thee, my fairest consort, whom long since I found and rested in thee; I forsake thee, my sure sister, my beloved in whom I was well pleased. What I shall do I know not, or on whom I shall call that he may hear me and help me. I know what I will do: I will depart unto some place where the report of this man hath not been heard, and peradventure I shall call thee, my beloved by another name (Syr. for thee my beloved I shall find a substitute). And he lifted up his voice and said: Abide in peace for thou hast taken refuge with one greater than I, but I will depart and seek for one like thee, and if I find her not, I will return unto thee again: for I know that whilst thou art near unto this man thou hast a refuge in him, but when he departeth thou wilt be such as thou wast before he appeared, and him thou wilt forget, and I shall have opportunity and confidence: but now I fear the name of him that hath saved thee. And having so said the devil vanished out of sight: only when he departed fire and smoke were seen there: and all that stood there were astonied.

47 And the apostle seeing it, said unto them: This devil hath shown nought that is alien or strange to him, but his own nature, wherein also he shall be consumed, for verily the fire shall destroy him utterly and the smoke of it shall be scattered abroad. And he began to say:

Jesu, the hidden mystery that hath been revealed unto us, thou art he that hast shown unto us many mysteries; thou that didst call me apart from all my fellows and spakest unto me three (one, Syr.) words wherewith I am inflamed, and am not able to speak them unto others. Jesu, man that wast slain, dead buried! Jesu, God of God, Saviour that quickenest the dead, and healest the sick! Jesu, that wert in need like and savest as one that hath no need, that didst catch the fish for the breakfast and the dinner and madest all satisfied with a little bread. Jesu, that didst rest from the weariness of wayfaring like a man, and walkedst on the waves like a God. 48 Jesu most high, voice arising from perfect mercy, Saviour of all, the right hand of the light, overthrowing the evil one in his own nature, and gathering all his nature into one place; thou of many forms, that art only begotten, first-born of many brethren God of the Most High God, man despised until now (Syr. and humble). Jesu Christ that neglectest us not when we call upon thee, that art become an occasion of life unto all mankind, that for us wast judged and shut up in prison, and loosest all that are in bonds, that wast called a deceiver and redeemest thine own from error: I beseech thee for these that stand here and believe on thee, for they entreat to obtain thy gifts, having good hope in thy help, and having their refuge in thy greatness; they hold their hearing ready to listen unto the words that are spoken by us. Let thy peace come and tabernacle in them and renew them from their former deeds, and let them put off the old man with his deeds, and put on the new that now is proclaimed unto them by me.

49 And he laid his hands on them and blessed them, saying: The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ shall be upon you for ever. And they said, Amen. And the woman besought him, saying: O apostle of the Most High, give me the seal, that that enemy return not again unto me. Then he caused her to come near unto him (Syr. went to a river which was close by there), and laid his hands upon her and sealed her in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost; and many others also were sealed with her. And the apostle bade his minister (deacon) to set forth a table; and he set forth a stool which they found there, and spread a linen cloth upon it and set on the bread of blessing; and the apostle stood by it and said: Jesu, that hast accounted us worthy to partake of the eucharist of thine holy body and blood, lo, we are bold to draw near unto thine eucharist and to call upon thine holy name: come thou and communicate unto us (Syr. adds more).

50 And he began to say: Come, O perfect compassion, Come O communion of the male, Come, she that knoweth the mysteries of him that is chosen, Come, she that hath part in all the combats of the noble champion (athlete), Come, the silence that revealeth the great things of the whole greatness, Come, she that manifesteth the hidden things and maketh the unspeakable things plain, the holy dove that beareth the twin young, Come, the hidden mother, Come, she that is manifest in her deeds and giveth joy and rest unto them that are joined unto her: Come and communicate with us in this eucharist which we celebrate in thy name and in the love-feast wherein we are gathered together at thy calling. (Syr. has other clauses and not few variants.) And having so said he marked out the cross upon the bread, and brake it, and began to distribute it. And first he gave unto the woman, saying: This shall be unto thee for remission of sins and eternal transgressions (Syr. and for the everlasting resurrection). And after her he gave unto all the others also which had received the seal (Syr. and said to them: Let this eucharist be unto you for life and rest, and not for judgement and vengeance. And they said, Amen. Cf. 29 fin.).

THE SIXTH ACT

Of The Youth That Murdered The Woman.

51 Now there was a certain youth who had wrought an abominable deed, and he came near and received of the eucharist with his mouth: but his two hands withered up, so that he could no more put them unto his own mouth. And they that were there saw him and told the apostle what had befallen; and the apostle called him and said unto him: Tell me, my child, and be not ashamed, what was it that thou didst and camest hither? for the eucharist of the Lord hath convicted thee. For this gift which passeth among many doth rather heal them that with faith and love draw near thereto, but thee it hath withered away; and that which is come to pass hath not befallen without some effectual cause. And the Youth, being convicted by the eucharist of the Lord, came and tell at the apostle's feet and besought him, saying: I have done an evil deed, yet I thought to do somewhat good. I was enamoured of a woman that dwelleth at an inn without the city, and she also loved me; and when I heard of thee and believed, that thou proclaimest a living God, I came and received of thee the seal with the rest; for thou saidst: Whosoever shall partake in the polluted union, and especially in adultery, he shall not have life with the God whom I preach. Whereas therefore I loved her much, I entreated her and would have persuaded her to become my consort in chastity and pure conversation, which thou also teachest: but she would not. When, therefore, she consented not, I took a sword and slew her: for I could not endure to see her commit adultery with another man.

52 When the apostle heard this he said: O insane union how ruinest thou unto shamelessness! O unrestrained lust, how hast thou stirred up this man to do this! O work of the serpent, how art thou enraged against thine own! And the apostle bade water to be brought to him in a bason; and when the water was brought, he said: Come, ye waters from the living waters, that were sent unto us, the true from the true, the rest that was sent unto us from the rest, the power of salvation that cometh from that power which conquereth all things and subdueth them unto its own will: come and dwell in these waters, that the gift of the Holy Ghost may be perfctly consummated in them. And he said unto the youth: Go, wash thy hands in these waters. And when he had washed they were restored; and the apostle said unto him: Believest thou in our Lord Jesus Christ that he is able to do all things? And he said: Though I be the least, yet I believe. But I committed this deed thinking that I was doing somewhat good: for I besought her as I told thee, but she would not obey me, to keep herself chaste.

53 And the apostle said to him: Come, let us go unto the inn where thou didst commit this deed. And the youth went before the apostle in the way, and when they came to the inn they found her Iying dead. And the apostle when he saw her was sorry, for she was a comely girl. And he commanded her to be brought into the midst of the inn: and they laid her on a bed and brought her forth and set her down in the midst of the court of the inn. And the apostle laid his hand upon her and began to say: Jesu, who alway showest thyself unto us; for this is thy will, that we should at all times seek thee, and thyself hast given us this power, to ask and to receive, and hast not only permitted this, but hast taught us to pray: who art not seen of our bodily eyes, but art never hidden from the eyes of our soul, and in thine aspect art concealed, but in thy works art manifested unto us: and in thy many acts we have known thee so far as we are able, and thyself hast given us thy gifts without measure, saying: Ask and it shall be given unto you, seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you: we beseech thee, therefore, having the fear (suspicion) of our sins; and we ask of thee, not riches, not gold, not silver, not possessions, not aught else of the things which come of the earth and return again unto the earth; but this we ask of thee and entreat, that in thine holy name thou wouldest raise up the woman that lieth here, by thy power, to the glory and faith of them that stand by.

54 And he said unto the youth (Syr. ' Stretch thy mind towards our Lord,' and he signed him with the cross), having signed (sealed) him: Go and take hold on her hand and say unto her: I with my hands slew thee with iron, and with my hands in the faith of Jesus I raise thee up. So the youth went to her and stood by her, saying: I have believed in thee, Christ Jesu. And he looked unto Judas Thomas the apostle and said to him: Pray for me that my Lord may come to my help, whom I also call upon. And he laid his hand upon her hand and said: Come, Lord Jesu Christ: unto her grant thou life and unto me the earnest of faith in thee. And straightway as he drew her hand she sprang up and sat up, looking upon the great company that stood by. And she saw the apostle also standing over against her, and leaving the bed she leapt forth and fell at his feet and caught hold on his raiment, saying: I beseech thee, my lord where is that other that was with thee, who left me not to remain in that fearful and cruel place, but delivered me unto thee, saying: Take thou this woman, that she may be made perfect, and hereafter be gathered into her place?

55 And the apostle said unto her: Relate unto us where thou hast been. And she answered: Dost thou who wast with me and unto whom I was delivered desire to hear? And she began to say: [This desciption of hell-tourments is largely derived from the Apocalypse of Peter] A man took me who was hateful to look upon altogether black, and his raiment exceedingly foul, and took me away to a place wherein were many pits (chasms), and a great stench and hateful odour issued thence. And he caused me to look into every pit, and I saw in the (first) pit flaming fire, and wheels of fire ran round there, and souls were hanged upon those wheels, and were dashed (broken) against each other; and very great crying and howling was there, and there was none to deliver. And that man said to me: These souls are of thy tribe, and when the number of their days is accomplishcd (lit. in the days of the number) they are (were) delivered unto torment and affliction, and then are others brought in in their stead, and likewise these into another place. These are they that have reversed the intercourse of male and female. And I looked and saw infants heaped one upon another and struggling with each other as they lay on them. And he answered and said to me: These are the children of those others, and therefore are they set here for a testimony against them. (Syr. omits this clause of the children, and lengthens and dilutes the preceding speech.)

56 And he took me unto another pit, and I stooped and looked and saw mire and worms welling up, and souls wallowing there, and a great gnashing of teeth was heard thence from them. And that man said unto me: These are the souls of women which forsook their husbands and committed adultery with others, and are brought into this torment. Another pit he showed me whereinto I stooped and looked and saw souls hanging, some by the tongue, some by the hair, some by the hands, and some head downward by the feet, and tormented (smoked) with smoke and brimstone; concerning whom that man that was with me answered me: The souls which are hanged by the tongue are slanderers, that uttered Iying and shameful words, and were not ashamed, and they that are hanged by the hair are unblushing ones which had no modesty and went about in the world bareheaded; and they that are hanged by the hands, these are they that took away and stole other men's goods, and never gave aught to the needy nor helped the afflicted, but did so, desiring to take all, and had no thought at all of justice or of the law; and they that hang upside down by the feet, these are they that lightly and readily ran in evil ways and disorderly paths, not visiting the sick nor escorting them that depart this life, and therefore each and every soul receiveth that which was done by it. (Syr. omits almost the whole section.)

57 Again he took me and showed me a cave exceeding dark, breathing out a great stench, and many souls were looking out desiring to get somewhat of the air, but their keepers suffered them not to look forth. And he that was with me said: This is the prison of those souls which thou sawest: for when they have fulfilled their torments for that which each did, thereafter do others succeed them: and there be some that are wholly consumed and (some, Syr.) that are delivered over unto other torments. And they that kept the souls which were in the dark cave said unto the man that had taken me: Give her unto us that we may bring her in unto the rest until the time cometh for her to be delivered unto torment. But he answered them: I give her not unto you, for I fear him that delivered her to me: for I was not charged to leave her here, but I take her back with me until I shall receive order concerning her. And he took me and brought me unto another place wherein were men being sharply tormented (Syr. where men were). And he that was like unto thee took me and delivered me to thee, saying thus to thee: Take her, for she is one of the sheep that have gone astray. And I was taken by thee, and now am I before thee. I beseech thee, therefore, and supplicate that I may not depart unto those places of punishment which I have seen.

58 And the apostle said: Ye have heard what this woman hath related: and there are not these torments only, but others also, worse than these; and ye, if ye turn not unto this God

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whom I preach, and abstain from your former works and the deeds which ye committed without knowledge, shall have your end in those torments. Believe therefore on Christ Jesus, and he will forgive you the sins ye have committed hitherto, and will cleanse you from all your bodily lusts that abide on the earth, and will heal you of all your trespasses which follow you and depart with you and are found upon (before) you. Put off therefore every one of you the old man, and put on the new, and forsake your former walk and conversation; and let them that stole steal no more, but live by labouring and working; and let the adulterous no more fornicate, lest they deliver themselves unto eternal torment; for adultery is before God exceeding evil beyond other sins. And put away from you covetousness and lying and drunkenness and slandering, and render not evil for evil: for all these things are strange and alien unto the God who is preached by me: but rather walk ye in faith and meekness and holiness and hope, wherein God delighteth, that ye may become his own, expecting of him the gifts which some few only do receive.

59 All the people therefore believed and gave their souls obediently unto the living God and Christ Jesus, rejoicing in the blessed works of the Most High and in his holy service. And they brought much money for the service of the widows: for the apostle had them gathered together in the cities, and unto all of them he sent provision by his own ministers (deacons), both clothes and nourishment. And he himself ceased not preaching and speaking to them and showing that this is Jesus Christ whom the scriptures proclaimed, who is come and was crucified, and raised the third day from the dead. And next he showed them plainly, beginning from the prophets, the things concerning the Christ, that it was necessary that he should come, and that in him should be accomplished all things that were foretold of him. And the fame of him went forth into all the cities and countries, and all that had sick or them that were oppressed by unclean spirits brought them, and some they laid in the way whereby he should pass, and he healed them all by the power of the Lord. Then all that were healed by him said with one accord: Glory be to thee, Jesu, who hast granted us all alike healing through thy servant and apostle Thomas. And now being whole and rejoicing, we beseech thee that we may be of thy flock, and be numbered among thy sheep; receive us therefore, Lord, and impute not unto us our transgressions and our former faults which we committed being in ignorance.

60 And the apostle said: Glory be to the only-begotten of the Father! Glory be to the first-born of many brethren! Glory be to thee, the defender and helper of them that come unto thy refuge! that sleepest not, and awakest them that are asleep that livest and givest life to them that lie in death! O God Jesu Christ, Son of the living God, redeemer and helper, refuge and rest of all that are weary (labour) in thy work, giver of healing to them that for thy name s sake bear the burden and heat of the day: we give thanks for (to) the gifts that are given us of thee and granted us by thy help and thy dispensation that cometh unto us from thee.

61 Perfect thou therefore these things in us unto the end that we may have the boldness that is in thee: look upon us for for thy sake have we forsaken our homes and our parents, and for thy sake have we gladly and willingly become strangers: look upon us, Lord, for we have forsaken our own possessions for thy sake, that we might gain thee the possession that cannot be taken away: look upon us, Lord, for we have forsaken them that belong unto us by race, that we might be joined unto thy kinship: look upon us, Lord, that have forsaken our fathers and mothers and fosters, that we might behold thy Father, and be satisfied with his divine food: look upon us, Lord, for for thy sake have we forsaken our bodily consorts and our earthly fruits, that we might be partakers in that enduring and true fellowship, and bring forth true fruits, whose nature is from above, which no man can take from us, with whom we shall abide and who shall abide with us.

THE SEVENTH ACT

Of The Captain.

62 Now while the apostle Thomas was proclaiming throughout all India the word of God, a certain captain of the king Misdaeus (Mazdai, Syr.) came to him and said unto him: I have heard of thee that thou takest no reward of any man, but even that thou hast thou givest to them that need. For if thou didst receive rewards, I would have sent thee a great sum, and would not have come myself, for the king doeth nought without me: for I have much substance and am rich, even one of the rich men of India. And I have never done wrong to any; but the contrary hath befallen me. I have a wife, and of her I had a daughter and I am well affectioned toward her, as also nature requireth and have never made trial of another wife. Now it chanced that there was a wedding in our city, and they that made the marriage feast were well beloved of me: they came in therefore and bade me to it, bidding also my mife and her daughter. Forasmuch then as they were my good friends I could not refuse: I sent her therefore, though she desired not to go, and with them I sent also many servants: so they departed, both she and her daughter, decked with many ornaments.

63 And when it was evening and the time was come to depart from the wedding I sent lamps and torches to meet them: and I stood in the street to espy when she should come and I should see her with my daughter. And as I stood I heard a sound of lamentation. Woe for her! vvas heard out of every mouth. And my servants with their clothes rent came to me and told me what was done. We saw, said they, a man and a boy with him. And the man laid his hand upon thy wife, and the boy upon thy daughter: and they fled from them: and we smote (wounded) them with our swords, but our swords fell to the ground. And the same hour the womem fell down, gnashing their teeth and beating their heads upon the earth and seeing this we came to tell it thee. And when I heard this of my servants I rent my clothes and smote my face with my hands, and becoming like one mad I ran along the street, and came and found them cast in the market-place; and I took them and brought them to my house, and after a long space they awaked and stood up, and sat down.

64 I began therefore to inquire of my wife: What is it that hath befallen thee? And she said to me: Knowest thou not what thou hast done unto me? for I prayed thee that I might not go to the wedding, because I was not of even health in my body; and as I went on the way and came near to the aqueduct wherein the water floweth, I saw a black man standing over against me nodding at me with his head, and a boy like unto him standing by him; and I said to my daughter: Look at those two hideous men, whose teeth are like milk and their lips like soot. And we left them and went towards the aqueduct; and when it was sunset and we departed from the wedding, as we passed by with the young men and drew near the aqueduct, my daughter saw them first, and was affrighted and fled towards me; and after her I also beheld them coming against us: and the servants that were with us fled from them (Syr.) and they struck us, and cast down both me and my daughter. And when she had told me these things, the devils came upon them again and threw them down: and from that hour they are not able to come forth, but are shut up in one room or a second (Syr. in a room within another): and on their account I suffer much, and am distressed: for the devils throw them down wheresoever they find them, and strip them naked. I beseech and supplicate thee before God, help me and have pity on me, for it is now three years that a table hath not been set in my house, and my wife and my daughter have not sat at a table: and especially for mine unhappy daughter, which hath not seen any good at all in this world.

65 And the apostle, hearing these things from the captain, was greatly grieved for him, and said unto him: Believest thou that Jesus will heal them? And the captain said: Yea. And the apostle said: Commit thyself then unto Jesus, and he will heal them and procure them succour. And the captain said: Show me him, that I may entreat him and believe in him. And the apostle said: He appeareth not unto these bodily eyes, but is found by the eyes of the mind. The captain therefore lifted up his voice and said: I believe thee, Jesu, and entreat and supplicate thee, help my little faith which I have in thee. And the apostle commanded Xenophon (Syr. Xanthippus) the deacon to assemble all the brethren; and when the whole multitude was gathered, the apostle stood in the midst and said:

66 Children and brethren that have believed on the Lord, abide in this faith, preaching Jesus who was proclaimed unto you by me, to bring you hope in him; and forsake not (be not forsaken of) him, and he will not forsake you. While ye sleep in this slumber that weigheth down the sleepers, he, sleeping not, keepeth watch over you; and when ye sail and are in peril and none can help, he walking upon the waters supporteth and aideth. For I am now departing from you, and it appeareth not if I shall again see you according to the flesh. Be ye not therefore like unto the people of Israel, who losing sight of their pastors for an hour, stumbled. But I leave unto you Xenophon the deacon in my stead; for he also like myself proclaimeth Jesus: for neither am I aught, nor he, but Jesus only; for I also am a man clothed with a body, a son of man like one of you; for neither have I riches as it is found with some, which also convict them that possess them, being wholly useless, and left behind upon the earth, whence also they came, and they bear away with them the transgressions and blemishes of sins which befall men by their means. And scantly are rich men found in almsgivillg: but the merciful and lowly in heart, these shall inherit the kingdom of God: for it is not beauty that endureth with men, for they that trust in it, when age cometh upon them, shall suddenly be put to shame: all things therefore have their time; in their season are they loved and hated. Let your hope then be in Jesus Christ the Son of God, which is always loved, and always desired: and be mindful of us, as we of you: for we too, if we fulfil not the burden of the commandments are not worthy to be preachers of this name, and hereafter shall we pay the price (punishment) of our own head.

67 And he prayed with them and continued with them a long time in prayer and supplication, and committing them unto the Lord, he said: O Lord that rulest over every soul that is in the body; Lord, Father of the souls that have their hope in thee and expect thy mercies: that redeemest from error the men that are thine own and settest free from bondage and corruption thy subjects that come unto thy refuge: be thou in the flock of Xenophon and anoint it with holy oil, and heal it of sores, and preserve it from the ravening wolves. And he laid his hand on them and said: The peace of the Lord shall be upon you and shall journey with us.

THE EIGHTH ACT

Of The Wild Asses

68 The apostle therefore went forth to depart on the way: and they all escorted him, weeping and adjuring him to make remembrance of them in his prayers and not to forget them. He went up then and sat upon the chariot, leaving all the brethren, and the captain came and awaked the driver, saying: I entreat and pray that I may become worthy to sit beneath his feet, and I will be his driver upon this way, that he also may become my guide in that way whereby few go.

69 And when they had journeyed about two miles, the apostle begged of the captain and made him arise and caused him to sit by him, suffering the driver to sit in his own place. And as they went along the road, it came to pass that the beasts were wearied with the great heat and could not be stirred at all. And the captain was greatly vexed and wholly cast down, and thought to run on his own feet and bring other beasts for the use of the chariot; but the apostle said: Let not thine heart be troubled nor affrighted, but believe on Jesus Christ whom I have proclaimed unto thee, and thou shalt see great wonders. And he looked and saw a herd of wild asses feeding by the wayside, and said to the captain: If thou hast believed on Christ Jesus, go unto that herd of wild asses and say: Judas Thomas the apostle of Christ the new God saith unto you: Let four of you come, of whom we have need (or, of whom we may have use).

70 And the captain went in fear, for they were many; and as he went, they came to meet him; and when they were near, he said unto them: Judas Thomas the apostle of the new God commandeth you: Let four of you come, of whom I have need. And when the wild asses heard it, they ran with one accord and came to him, and when they came they did him reverence. [Syr. has a long prayer: And Judas Thomas the apostle of our Lord lifted up his voice in praise and said: Glorious art thou, God of truth and Lord of all natures, for thou didst will with thy will, and make all thy works and finish all thy creatures, and bring them to the rule of their nature, and lay upon them all thy fear that they might be subject to thy command. And thy will trod the path from thy secrecy to manifestation, and was caring for every soul that thou didst make, and was spoken of by the mouth of all the prophets, in all visions and sounds and voices; but Israel did not obey because of their evil inclination. And thou, because thou art Lord of all, hast a care for the creatures, so that thou spreadest over us thy mercy in him who came by thy will and put on the body, thy creature, which thou didst will and form according to thy glorious wisdom. He whom thou didst appoint in thy secrecy and establish in thy manifestation, to him thou hast given the name of Son, he who was thy will, the power of thy thought; so that ye are by various names, the Father and the Son and the Spirit, for the sake of the government of thy creatures, for the nourishing of all natures, and ye are one in glory and power and will; and ye are divided without being separated, and are one though divided, and all subsists in thee and is subject to thee, because all is thine. And I rely upon thee, Lord, and by thy command have subjected these dumb beasts, that thou mightest show thy ministering power upon us and upon them because it is needful, and that thy name might be glorilied in us and in the beasts that cannot speak.] And the apostle said unto them: Peace be unto you. Yoke ye four of you in the stead of these beasts that have come to a stand. And every one of them came and pressed to be yoked: there were then four stronger than the rest, which also were yoked. And the rest, some went before and some followed. And when they had journeyed a little way he dismissed the colts, saying: I say unto you the inhabiters of the desert, depart unto your pastures, for if I had had need of all, ye would all have gone with me; but now go unto your place wherein ye dwell. And they departed quietly until they were no more seen.

71 Now as the apostle and the captain and the driver went on, the wild asses drew the chariot quietly and evenly, lest they should disturb the apostle of God. And when they came near to the city gate they turned aside and stood still before the doors of the captain's house. And the captain said: It is not possible for me to relate what hath happened, but when I see the end I will tell it. The whole city therefore came to see the wild asses under the yoke; and they had heard also the report of the apostle that he was to come and visit them. And the apostle asked the captain: Where is thy dwelling, and whither dost thou bring us? And he said to him: Thou thyself knowest that we stand before the doors, and these which by thy commandment are come with thee know it better than I.

72 And having so said he came down from the chariot. The apostle therefore began to say: Jesu Christ, that art blasphemed by the ignorance of thee in this country; Jesu, the report of whom is strange in this city; Jesu, that receivest all (Syr. sendest on before the apostles in every country and in

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every city, and all thine that are worthy are glorified in thee; Jesu, that didst take a form and become as a man, and wert seen of all us that thou mightest not separate us from thine own love: thou, Lord, art he that gavest thyself for us, and with thy blood hast purchased us and gained us as a possession of great price: and what have we to give thee, Lord, in exchange for thy life which thou gavest for us? for that which we would give, thou gavest us: and this is, that we should entreat of thee and live.

73 And when he had so said, many assembled from every quarter to see the apostle of the new God. And again the apostle said: Why stand we idle? Jesu, Lord, the hour is come: what wilt thou have done? command therefore that that be fulfilled which needeth to be done. Now the captain's wife and her daughter were sore borne down by the devils, so that they of the house thought they would rise up no more: for they suffered them not to partake of aught, but cast them down upon their beds recognizing no man until that day when the apostle came thither. And the apostle said unto one of the wild asses that were yoked on the right hand: Enter thou within the gate, and stand there and call the devils and say to them: Judas Thomas the apostle and disciple of Jesus Christ saith unto you: Come forth hither: for on your account am I sent and unto them that pertain to you by race, to destroy you and chase you unto your place, until the time of the end come and ye go down into your own deep of darkness.

74 And that wild ass went in, a great multitude being with him, and said: Unto you I speak, the enemies of Jesus that is called Christ: unto you I speak that shut your eyes lest ye see the light: unto you I speak, children of Gehenna and of destruction, of him that ceaseth not from evil until now, that alway reneweth his workings and the things that befit his being: unto you I speak, most shameless, that shall perish by your own hands. And what I shall say of your destruction and end, and what I shall tell, I know not. For there are many things and innumerable to the hearing: and greater are your doings than the torment that is reserved for you (Syr. however great your bodies, they are too small for your retributions). But unto thee I speak, devil, and to thy son that followeth with thee: for now am I sent against you. And wherefore should I make many words concerning your nature and root, which yourselves know and are not ashamed? but Judas Thomas the apostle of Christ Jesus saith unto you, he that by much love and affection is sent hither: Before all this multitude that standeth here, come forth and tell me of what race ye are.

75 And straightway the woman came forth with her daughter, both like dead persons and dishonoured in aspect: and the apostle beholding them was grieved. especially for the girl, and saith unto the devils: God forbid that for you there should be sparing or propitiation, for ye know not to spare nor to have pity: but in the name of Jesus, depart from them and stand by their side. And when the apostle had so said, the women fell down and became as dead; for they neither had breath nor uttered speech: but the devil answered with a loud voice and said: Art thou come hither again, thou that deridest our nature and race? art thou come again, that blottest out our devices? and as I take it, thou wouldest not suffer us to be upon the earth at all: but this at this time thou canst not accomplish. And the apostle guessed that this devil was he that had been driven out from that other woman.

76 And the devil said: I beseech thee, give me leave to depart even whither thou wilt, and dwell there and take commandment from thee, and I will not fear the ruler that hath authority over me. For like as thou art come to preach good tidings, so I also am come to destroy; and like as, if thou fulfil not the will of him that sent thee, he will bring punishment upon thy head, so I also if I do not the will of him that sent me, before the season and time appointed, shall be sent unto mine own nature; and like as thy Christ helpeth thee in that thou doest, so also my father helpeth me in that I do; and like as for thee he prepareth vessels worthy of thine inhabiting, so also for me he seeketh out vessels whereby I may accomplish his deeds; and like as he nourisheth and provideth for his subjects, so also for me he prepareth chastisements and torments, with them that become my dwellingplaces (Syr. those in whom I dwell); and like as for a recompense of thy working he giveth thee eternal life, so also unto me he giveth for a reward of my works eternal destruction; and like as thou art refreshed by thy prayer and thy good works and spiritual thanksgivings, so I also am refreshed by murders and adulteries and sacrifices made with wine upon altars (Syr. sacrifices and libations of wine), and like as thou convertest men unto eternal life, so I also pervert them that obey me unto eternal destruction and torment: and thou receivest thine own and I mine.

77 And when the devil had said these things and yet more the apostle said: Jesus commandeth thee and thy son by me to enter no more into the habitation of man: but go ye forth and depart and dwell wholly apart from the habitation of men. And the devils said unto him: Thou hast laid on us a harsh commandment: but what wilt thou do unto them that now are concealed from thee? for they that have wrought all the images rejoice in them more than thee: and many of them do the more part worship, and perform their will, sacrificing to them and bringing them food, by libations and by wine and water and offering with oblations. And the apostle said: They also shall now be abolished, with their works. And suddenly the devils vanished away: but the women lay cast upon the earth as if were dead, and without speech.

78 And the wild asses stood together and parted not one from another; but he to whom speech was given by the power of the Lord -while all men kept silence, and looked to see what they would do- the wild ass said unto the apostle: Why standest thou idle, O apostle of Christ the Most High, who looketh that thou shouldest ask of him the best of learning? Wherefore then tarriest thou? (Syr. that thou shouldest ask him, and he would give thee? Why delayest thou, good disciple?) for lo, thy teacher desireth to show by thy hands his mighty works. Why standest thou still, O herald of the hidden one? for thy (Lord) willeth to manifest through thee his unspeakable things, which he reserveth for them that are worthy of him, to hear them. Why restest thou, O doer of mighty works in the name of the Lord? for thy Lord encourageth thee and engendereth boldness in thee. Fear not, therefore; for he will not forsake the soul that belongeth unto thee by birth. Begin therefore to call upon him and he will readily hearken to thee. Why standest thou marvelling at all his acts and his workings? for these are small things which he hath shown by thy means. And what wilt thou tell concerning his great gifts? for thou wilt not be sufficient to declare them. And why marvellest thou at his cures of the body which he worketh? (Syr. which come to an end) especially when thou knowest that healing of his which is secure and lasting, which he bringeth forth by his own nature? And why lookest thou unto this temporal life, and hast no thought of that which is eternal (Syr. when thou canst every day think on that which is eternal)?

79 But unto you the multitudes that stand by and look to see these that are cast down raised up, I say, believe in the apostle of Jesus Christ: believe the teacher of truth, believe him that showeth vou the truth, believe Jesus, believe on the Christ that was born, that the born may live by his life: who also was raised up through infancy, that perfection might appear by his manhood (man). He did teach his own disciples: for he is the teacher of the truth and maketh wise men wise (Syr. who went to school that through him perfect wisdom might be known: he taught his teacher because he was the teacher of verity and the master of the wise). Who also offered the gift in the temple that he might show that all the (every) offering was sanctified. This is his apostle, the shewer-forth of truth: this is he that performeth the will of him that sent him. But there shall come false apostles and prophets of lawlessness, whose end shall be according to their deeds; preaching indeed and ordaining to flee from ungodliness, but themselves at all times detected in sins, clad indeed with sheep's clothing, but within, ravening wolves. Who suffice not themselves with one wife but corrupt many women; who, saying that they despise children, dcstroy many children (boys), for whom they vvill pay the penalty; that content not themselves wiih their own possessions, but desire that all useless things should minister unto them only; professing to be his disciples; and with their mouth they utter one thing, but in their heart they think another; charging other men to beware of evil, but they themselves perform nought that is good; who are accounted temperate, and charge other men to abstain from fornication theft, and covetousness, but in all these things do they themselves walk secretly, teaching other men not to do them.

80 And when the wild ass had declared all these things, all men gazed upon him. And when he ceased the apostle said: What I shall think concerning thy beauty, O Jesu, and what I shall tell of thee, I know not, or rather I am not able, for I have no power to declare it, O Christ that art in rest, and only wise that only knowest the inward of the heart and understandest the thought. Glory be to thee, merciful and tranquil. Glory to thee, wise word. Glory to thy compassion that was born unto us. Glory to thy mercy that was spread out over us. Glory to thy greatness that was made small for us. Glory to thy most high kingship that was humbled for us. Glory to thy might which was enfeebled for us. Glory to thy Godhead that for us was seen in likeness of men. Glory to thy manhood that died for us that it might make us live. Glory to thy resurrection from the dead; for thereby rising and rest cometh unto our souls. Glory and praise (good report) to thine ascending into the heavens; for thereby thou hast shewed us the path of the height, and promised that we shall sit with thee on thy right hand and with thee judge the twelve tribes of Israel. Thou art the heavenly word of the Father: thou art the hidden light of the understanding, shewer of the way of truth, driver away of darkness, and blotter-out of error.

81 Having thus spoken, the apostle stood over the women, saying: My Lord and my God, I am not divided from thee (or doubt not concerning thee), nor as one unbelieving do I call upon thee, who art always our helper and succourer and raiser-up; who breathest thine own power into us and encouragest us and givest confidence in love unto thine own servants. I beseech thee, let these souls be healed and rise up and become such as they were before they were smitten of the devils. And when he thus spake the women turned and sat up. And the apostle bade the captain that his servants should take them and bring them within (Syr. and give them food, for they had not eaten for many days). And when they were gone in, the apostle said unto the wild asses, Follow me. And they went after him until he had brought them without the gate. And when they had gone out, he said to them: Depart in peace unto your pastures. The wild asses therefore went away willingly; and the apostle stood and took heed to them lest they should be hurt of any, until they had gone afar off and were no more seen. And the apostle returned with the multitude into the house of the captain.

THE NINTH ACT

Of The Wife Of Charisius

82 Now it chanced that a certain woman, the wife of Charisius, that was next unto the king, whose name was Mygdonia, came to see and behold the new name and the new God who was being proclaimed, and the new apostle who had come to visit their country: and she was carried by her own servants; and because of the great crowd and the narrow way they were not able to bring her near unto him. And she sent unto her husband to send her more to minister to her; and they came and approached her, pressing upon the people and beating them. And the apostle saw it and said to them: Wherefore overthrow ye them that come to hear the word, and are eager for it? and ye desire to be near me but are far off, as it was said of the multitude that came unto the Lord: Having eyes ye see not, and having ears ye hear not; and he said to the multitudes: He that hath ears to hear, let him hear; and: Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.

83 And looking upon them that carried her, he said unto them: This blessing and this admonition [Here and elsewhere there is a marked divergence between the texts of U and P, the Roman and Paris MSS.: Bonnet prints them separately. P is on the whole much shorter. Syr. differs from both. I follow U, but it is very corrupt.] which was promised unto them is for you that are heavily burdened now. Ye are they that carry burdens grievous to be borne, and are borne about by her command. And though ye are men, they lay on you loads as on brute beasts, for they that have authority over you think that ye are not men such as themselves, whether bond or free. For neither shall possessions profit the rich, nor poverty save the poor from judgement; nor have we received a commandment which we are not able to perform, nor hath he laid on us burdens grievous to be borne nhich we are not able to carry; nor building which men build; nor to hew stones and prepare houses, as your craftsmen do by their own knowledge. But this commandment have we reccived of the Lord, that that which pleaseth not us when it is done by another this we should not do to any other man.

84 Abstain therefore first from adultery, for this is the beginning of all evils, and next from theft, which enticed Judas Iscariot, and brought him unto hanging; (and from covetousness,) for as manv as yield unto covetousness see not that which they do; and from vainglory and from all foul deeds, especially them of the body, whereby cometh eternal condemnation. For this is the chief city of all evils; and likewise it bringeth them that hold their heads (necks) high unto tyranny, and draweth them down unto the deep, and subdueth them under its hands that they see not what they do; wherefore the things done of them are hidden from them.

85 But do ye become well-pleasing unto God in all good things, in meekness and quietness: for these doth God spare, and granteth eternal life and setteth death at nought. And in gentleness which followeth on all good things, and overcometh all enemies and alone receiveth the crown of victory: with gentleness (Syr.), and stretching out of the hand to the poor, and supplying the want of the needy, and distributing to them that are in necessity, especially them that walk in holiness. For this is chosen before God and leadeth unto eternal life: for this is before God the chief city of all good: for they that strive not in the course (stadium) of Christ shall not obtain holiness. And holiness did appear from God, doing away fornication, overthrowing the enemy, well-pleasing unto God: for she is an invincible champion (athlete), having honour from God, glorified of many: she is an ambassador of peace, announcing peace: if any gain her he abideth without care, pleasing the Lord, expecting the time of redemption: for she doeth nothing amiss, but giveth life and rest and joy unto all that gain her. [P has nothing of this, and Syr. makes better sense, but is not very interesting.]

86 But meekness hath overcome death and brought him under authority, meekness hath enslaved the enemy (U and P and Syr. now present the same text), meekness is the good yoke: meekness feareth not and opposeth not the many: meekness is peace and joy and exaltation of rest. Abide ye therefore in holiness and receive freedom from me, and be near unto meekness for in these three heads is portrayed the Christ whom I proclaim unto you. Holiness is the temple of Christ, and he that dwelleth in her getteth her for an habitation , because for forty days and forty nights he fasted, tasting

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nothing: and he that keepeth her shall dwell in her as on a mountain. And meekness is his boast: for he said unto Peter our fellow apostle: Turn back thy sword and put it again into the sheath thereof: for if I had willed so to do, could I not have brought more than twelve legions of angels from my Father?

87 And when the apostle had said these things in the hearing of all the multitude, they trode and pressed upon one another: and the wife of Charisius the king's kinsman leapt out of her chair and cast herself on the earth before the apostle, and caught his feet and besought and said: O disciple of the living God, thou art come into a desert country, for we live in the desert; being like to brute beasts in our conversation, but now shall we be saved by thy hands; I beseech thee, therefore, take thought of me, and pray for me, that the compassion of the God whom thou preachest may come upon me, and I may become his dwelling place and be joined in prayer and hope and faith in him, and I also may receive the seal and become an holy temple and he may dwell in me.

88 And the apostle said: I do pray and entreat for you all, brethren, that believe on the Lord, and for you, sisters, that hope in Christ, that in all of you the word of God may tabernacle and have his tabernacle therein: for we have no power over them (Syr. because ye are given power over your own souls). And he began to say unto the woman Mygdonia: Rise up from the earth and compose thyself (take off thine ornaments, P; be mindful of thyself, Syr.). For this attire that is put on shall not profit thee nor the beauty of thy body, nor thine apparel, neither yet the fame of thy rank, nor the authority of this world, nor the polluted intercourse with thine husband shall avail thee if thou be bereaved of the true fellowship: for the appearance (fantasy) of ornamenting cometh to nought, and the body waxeth old and changeth, and raiment weareth out, and authority and lordship pass away (U corrupt; P abridges; Syr. has: passeth away accompanied with punishment, according as each person hath conducted himself in it), and the fellowship of procreation also passeth away, and is as it were condemnation. Jesus only abideth ever, and they that hope in him. Thus he spake, and said unto the woman: Depart in peace, and the Lord shall make thee worthy of his own mysteries. But she said: I fear to go away, lest thou forsake me and depart unto another nation. But the apostle said to her: Even if I go, I shall not leave thee alone, but Jesus of his compassion will be with thee. And she fell down and did him reverence and departed unto her house.

89 Now Charisius, the kinsman of Misdaeus the king, bathed himself and returned and laid him down to dine. And he inquired concerning his wife, where she was; for she had not come out of her own chamber to meet him as she was wont. And her handmaids said to him: She is not well. And he entered quickly into the chamber and found her Iying on the bed and veiled: and he unveiled her and kissed her, saying: Wherefore art thou sorrowful to-day? And she said: I am not well. And he said unto her: Wherefore then didst thou not keep the guise of thy freedom (Syr. pay proper respect to thy position as a free woman) and remain in thy house, but didst go and listen unto vain speeches and look upon works of sorcery? but rise up and dine with me, for I cannot dine without thee. But she said to him: To-day I decline it, for I am greatly afeared.

90 And when Charisius heard this of Mygdonia, he would not go forth to dinner, but bade his servants bring her to dine with him (Syr. bring food to him that he might sup in her presence): when then they brought it in, he desired her to dine with him, but she excused herself; since then she would not, he dined alone, saying unto her: On thine account I refused to dine with Misdaeus the king, and thou, wast thou not willing to dine with me? but she said: It is because I am not well. Charisius therefore rose up as he was wont and would sleep with her, but she said: Did I not tell thee that for today I refused it?

91 When he heard that he went to another bed and slept; and awaking out of sleep he said: My lady Mygdonia, hearken to the dream which I have seen. I saw myself lie at meat near to Misdaeus the king, and a dish of all sorts was set before us: and I saw an eagle come down from heaven and carry off from before me and the king two partridges, which he set against his heart; and again he came over us and flew about above us, and the king bade a bow to be brought to him; and the eagle again caught away from before us a pigeon and a dove, and the king shot an arrow at him, and it passed through him from one side to the other and hurt him not; and he being unscathed rose up into his own nest. And I awoke, and I am full of fear and sore vexed, because I had tasted of the partridge, and he suffered me not to put it to my mouth again. And Mygdonia said unto him: Thy dream is good: for thou every day eatest partridges, but this eagle had not tasted of a partridge until now.

92 And when it was morning Charisius went and dressed himself and shod his right foot with his left shoe; and he stopped, and said to Mygdonia: What then is this matter? for look, the dream and this action of mine! But Mygdonia said to him: And this also is not evil, but seemeth to me very good; for from an unlucky act there will be a change unto the better. And he washed his hands and went to salute Misdaeus the king.

93 And likewise Mygdonia rose up early and went to salute Judas Thomas the apostle, and she found him discoursing with the captain and all the multitude, and he was advising them and speaking of the woman which had received the Lord in her soul, whose wife she was; and the captain said: She is the wife of Charisius the kinsman of Misdaeus the king. And: Her husband is a hard man, and in every thing that he saith to the king he obeyeth him: and he will not suffer her to continue in this mind which she hath promised; for often-times hath he praised her before the king, saying that there is none other like her in love: all things therefore that thou speakest unto her are strange unto her. And the apostle said: If verily and surely the Lord hath risen upon her soul and she hath received the seed that was cast on her, she will have no care of this temporal life, nor fear death, neither will Charisius be able to harm her at all: for greater is he whom she hath received into her soul, if she have received him indeed.

94 And Mygdonia hearing this said unto the apostle: In truth, my lord, I have received the seed of thy words, and I will bear fruit like unto such seed. The apostle saith: Our souls give praise and thanks unto thee, O Lord, for they are thine: our bodies give thanks unto thee, which thou hast accounted worthy to become the dwelling-place of thy heavenly gift. And he said also to them that stood by: Blessed are the holy, whose souls have never condemned them, for they have gained them and are not divided against themselves: blessed are the spirits of the pure, and they that have received the heavenly crown whole from the world (age) which hath been appointed them: blessed are the bodies of the holy, for they have been made worthy to become temples of God, that Christ may dwell in them: blessed are ye, for ye have power to forgive sins: blessed are ye if ye lose not that which is committed unto you, but rejoicing and departing bear it away with you: blessed are ye the holy, for unto you it is given to ask and receive: blessed are ye meek for you hath God counted worthy to become heirs of the heavenly kingdom. Blessed are ye meek, for ye are they that have overcome the enemy: blessed are ye meek, for ye shall see the face of the Lord. Blessed are ye that hunger for the Lord's sake for for you is rest laid up, and your souls rejoice from henceforth. Blessed are ye that are quiet, (for ye have been counted worthy) to be set free from sin [and from the exchange of clean and unclean beasts]. And when the apostle had said these things in the hearing of all the multitude, Mygdonia was the more confirmed in the faith and glory and greatness of Christ.

95 But Charisius the kinsman and friend of Misdaeus the king came to his breakfast and found not his wife in the house; and he inquired of all that were in his house: Whither is your mistress oone? And one of them answered and said: She is gone unto that stranger. And when he heard this of his servant, he was wroth with the other servants because they had not straightway told him what was done: and he sat down and waited for her. And when it was evening and she was come into the house he said to her: Where wast thou? And she answered and said: With the physician. And he said: Is that stranger a physician? And she said: Yea, he is a physician of souls: for most physicians do heal bodies that are dissolved, but he souls that are not destroyed. Charisius, hearing this, was very angry in his mind with Mygdonia because of the apostle, but he answered her nothing, for he was afraid; for she was above him both in wealth and birth: but he departed to dinner, and she went into her chamber. And he said to the servants: Call her to dinner. But she would not come.

96 And when he heard that she would not come out of her chamber, he went in and said unto her: Wherefore wilt thou not dine with me and perchance not sleep with me as the wont is? yea, concerning this I have the greater suspicion, for I have heard that that sorcerer and deceiver teacheth that a man should not live with his wife, and that which nature requireth and the godhead hath ordained he overthroweth. When Charisius said these things, Mygdonia kept silence. He saith to her again: My lady and consort Mygdonia, be not led astray by deceitful and vain words, nor by the works of sorcery which I have heard that this man performeth in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; for it was never yet heard in the world that any raised the dead, and, as I hear, it is reported of this man that he raiseth dead men. And for that he neither eateth nor drinketh, think not that for righteousness sake he neither eateth nor drinketh but this he doth because he possesseth nought, for what should he do which hath not even his daily bread? And he hath one garment because he is poor, and as for his not receiving aught of any (he doth so, to be sure, because he knoweth in himself that he doth not verily heal any man, Syr.).

97 And when Charisius so said, Mygdonia was silent as any stone, but she prayed, asking when it should be day, that she might go to the apostle of Christ. And he withdrew from her and went to dinner heavy in mind, for he thought to sleep with her according to the wont. And when he was gone out, she bowed her knees and praved, saying: Lord God and Master, merciful Father, Savionr Christ, do thou give me strength to overcome thc shamelessness of Charisius, and grant me to keep the holiness wherein thou delightest, that I also may by it find eternal life. And when she had so prayed she laid herself on her bed and veiled herself.

98 But Charisius having dined came upon her, and she cried out, saying: Thou hast no more any room by me: for my Lord Jesus is greater than thou, who is with me and resteth in me. And he laughed and said: Well dost thou mock, saying this of that sorcerer, and well dost thou deride him, who saith: Ye have no life with God unless ye purify yourselves. And when he had so said he essayed to sleep with her, but she endured it not and cried out bitterly and said: I call upon thee, Lord Jesu, forsake me not! for with thee have I made my refuge; for when I learned that thou art he that seekest out them that are veiled in ignorance and savest them that are held in error And now I entreat thee whose report I have heard and believed, come thou to my help and save me from the shamelessness of Charisius, that his foulness may not get the upper hand of me. And she smote her hands together (tied his hands, Syr.) and fled from him naked, and as she went forth she pulled down the curtain of the bed-chamber and wrapped it about her; and went to her nurse, and slept there with her.

99 But Charisius was in heaviness all night, and smote his face with his hands, and he was minded to go that very hour and tell the king concerning the violence that was done him, but he considered with himself, saying: If the great heaviness which is upon me compelleth me to go now unto the king, who will bring me in to him? for I know that my abuse hath overthrown me from my high looks and my vainglory and majesty, and hath cast me down into this vileness and separated my sister Mygonia from me. Yea, if the king himself stood before the dools at this hour, I could not have gone out and answered him. But I will wait until dawn, and I know that whatsoever I ask of the king, he granteth it me: and I will tell him of the madness of this stranger, how that it tyrannously casteth down the great and illustrious into the depth. For it is not this that grieveth me, that I am deprived of her companying, but for her am I grieved, because her greatness of soul is humbled: being an honourable lady in whom none of her house ever found fault (condemned), she hath fled away naked, running out of her own bedchamber, and I know not whither she is gone; and it may be that she is gone mad by the means of that sorcerer, and in her madness hath gone forth into the market-place to seek him; for there is nothing that appealeth unto her lovable except him and the things that are spoken by him.

100 And so saving he began to lament and say: Woe to me, O my consort, and to thee besides! for I am too quickly bereaved of thee. Woe is me, my most dear one, for thou excellest all my race: neither son nor daughter have I had of thee that I might find rest in them; neither hast thou yet dwelt with me a full year, and an evil eye hath caught thee from me. Would that the violence of death had taken thee, and I should yet have reckoned myself among kings and nobles: but that I should suffer this at the hands of a stranger, and belike he is a slave that hath run away, to mine ill fortune and the sorrow of mine unhappy soul! Let there be no impediment for me until I destroy him and avenge this night, and may I not be well-pleasing before Misdaeus the king if he avenge me not with the head of this stranger; (and I will also tell him) of Siphor the captain vvho hath been the occasion of this. For by his means did fhe stranger appear here, and lodgeth at his house: and many there be that go in and come out whom he teacheth a new doctrine; saying that none can live if he quit not all his substance and become a renouncer like himself: and he striveth to make many partakers with him.

101 And as Charisius thought on these things, the day dawned: and after the night (?) he put on a mean habit, and shod himself, and went downcast and in heaviness to salute the king. And when the king saw him he said: Wherefore art thou sorrowful, and comest in such garb? and I see that thy countenance is changed. And Charisius said unto the king: I have a new thing to tell thee and a new desolation which Siphor hath brought into India, even a certain Hebrew, a sorcerer, whom he hath sitting in his house and who departeth not from him: and many are there that go in to him: whom also he teacheth of a new God, and layeth on them new laws such as never yet were heard, saving: It is impossible for you to enter into that eternal life which I proclaim unto you, unless ye rid you of your wives, and likewise the wives of their husbands. And it chanced that mine unlucky wife also went to him and became a hearer of his words, and she believed them, and in the night she forsook me and ran unto the stranger. But send thou for both Siphor and that sorcerer that is hid with (in) him, and visit it (?) on their head, lest all that are of our nation perish.

102 And when Misdaeus his friend heard this he saith to him: Be not grieved nor heavy, for I will send for him and avenge thee, and thou shalt have thy wife again, and the others that cannot I will avenge. And the king went forth and sat on the judgement seat, and when he was set he commanded Siphor the captain to be called. They went therefore unto his house and found him sitting on the right hand of the apostle and Mygdonia at his feet, hearkening to him with all the multitude. And they that were sent from the king said unto

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Siphor: Sittest thou here listening to vain words, and Misdaeus the king in his wrath thinketh to destroy thee because of this sorcerer and deceiver whom thou hast brought into thine house? And Siphor hearing it was cast down, not because of the king's threat against him, but for the apostle, because the king was disposed contrary to him. And he said to the apostle: I am grieved concerning thee: for I told thee at the first that that woman is the wife of Charisius the king's friend and kinsman, and he will not suf'fer her to perform that she hath promised, and all that he asketh of the king he granteth him. But the apostle said unto Siphor: Fear nothing, but believe in Jesus that pleadeth for us all, for unto his refuge are we gathered together. And Siphor, hearing that, put his garment about him and went unto Misdaeus the king,

103 And the apostle inquired of Mygdonia: What was the cause that thy husband was wroth with thee and devised this against us? And she said: Because I gave not myself up unto his corruption (destruction): for he desired last night to subdue me and subject me unto that passion which he serveth: and he to whom I have committed my soul delivered me out of his hands; and I fled away from him naked, and slept with my nurse: but that which befell him I know not, wherefore he hath contrived this. The apostle saith: These things will not hurt us; but believe thou on Jesus, and he shall overthrow the wrath of Charisius and his madness and his impulse; and he shall be a companion unto thee in the fearful way, and he shall guide thee into his kingdom, and shall bring thee unto eternal life giving thee that confidence which passeth not away nor changeth.

104 Now Siphor stood before the king, and he inquired of him: Who is that sorcerer and whence, and what teacheth he whom thou hast lurking in thine house? And Siphor answered the king: Thou art not ignorant, O king, what trouble and grief I, with my friends had concerning my wife, whom thou knowest and many others remember, and concerning my daughter, whom I value more than all my possessions, what a time and trial I suffered; for I became a laughing-stock and a curse in all our country. And I heard the report of this man and went to him and entreated him, and took him and brought him hither. And as I came by the way I saw wonderful and amazing things: and here also many did hear the wild ass and concerning that devil whom he drove out, and healed my wife and daughter, and now are they whole; and he asked no reward but requireth faith and holiness, that men should become partakers with him in that which he doeth: and this he teacheth to worship and fear one God, the ruler of all things, and Jesus Christ his Son, that they may have eternal life. And that which he eateth is bread and salt, and his drink is water from evening unto evening, and he maketh many prayers; and whatsoever he asketh of his God, he giveth him. And he teacheth that this God is holy and mighty, and that Christ is living and maketh alive, wherefore also he chargeth them that are there present to come unto him in holiness and purity and love and faith.

105 And when Misdaeus the king heard these things of Siphor he sent many soldiers unto the house of Siphor the captain, to bring Thomas the apostle and all that were found there. And they that were sent entered in and found him teaching much people; and Mygdonia sat at his feet. And when they beheld the great multitude that were about him, they feared, and departed to their king and said: We durst not say aught unto him, for there was a great multitude about him, and Mygdonia sitting at his feet was listening to the things that were spoken by him. And when Misdaeus the king and Charisius heard these things, Charisius leaped out from before the king and drew much people with him and said: I will bring him, O king, and Mygdonia whose understanding he hath taken away. And he came to the house of Siphor the captain, greatly disturbed, and found him (Thomas) teaching: but Mygdonia he found not, for she had withdrawn herself unto her house, having learnt that it had been told her husband that she was there.

106 And Charisius said unto the apostle: Up, thou wicked one and destroyer and enemy of mine house: for me thy sorcery harmeth not, for I will visit thy sorcery on thine head. And when he so said, the apostle looked upon him and said unto him: Thy threatenings shall return upon thee, for me thou wilt not harm any whit: for greater than thee and thy king and all your army is the Lord Jesus Christ in whom I have my trust. And Chalisius took a kerchief (turban, Syr.) of one of his slaves and cast it about the neck of the apostle, saying: Hale him and bring him away; let me see if his God is able to deliver him out of my hands. And they haled him and led him away to Misdaeus the king. And the apostle stood before the king, and the king said to him: Tell me who thou art and by what power thou doest these things. But the apostle kept silence. And the king commanded his officers (subjects) that he should be scourged with an hundred and twenty-eight (hundred and fifty, Syr.) blows, and bound, and be cast into the prison; and they bound him and led him away. And the king and Charisius considered how they should put him to death, for the multitude worshipped him as God. And they had it in mind to say: The stranger hath reviled the king and is a deceiver.

107 But the apostle went unto the prison rejoicing and exulting, and said: I praise thee, Jesu, for that thou hast not only made me worthy of faith in thee, but also to endure much for thy sake. I give thee thanks therefore, Lord, that thou hast taken thought for me and given me patience: I thank thee Lord, that for thy sake I am called a sorcerer and a wizard. Receive thou me therefore with the blessing (Syr. let me receive of the blessing) of the poor, and of the rest of the weary, and of the blessings of them whom men hate and persecute and revile, and speak evil words of them. For lo, for thy sake I am hated: lo for thy sake I am cut off from the many, and for thy sake they call me such an one as I am not.

108 And as he prayed, all the prisoners looked on him, and besought him to pray for them: and when he had prayed and was set down, he began to utter a psalm [the Hymn of the Soul.] in this wise:

When I was an infant child in the palace of my Father and resting in the wealth and luxury of my nurturers, out of the East, our native country, my parents provisioned me and sent me.

And of the wealth of those their treasures they put together a load both great and light, that I might carry it alone.

Gold is the load, of them that are above (or of the land of the Ellaeans or Gilaeans),

and silver of the great treasures (or of Gazzak the great) and stones, chalcedonies from the Indians and pearls from the Kosani (Kushan).

And they armed me with adamant and they took off from me (Gr. put on me) the garment set with gems, spangled with gold, which they had made for me because they loved me and the robe that was yellow in hue, made for my stature.

And they made a covenant with me, and inscribed it on mine understanding, that I should forget it, and said:

If thou goest down into Egypt, and bringst back thence the one pearl which is there girt about by the devouring serpent thou shalt put on the garment set with gems, and that robe whereupon it resteth (or which is thereon) and become with thy brother that is next unto us (Gr. of the well- remembered) an heir (Gr. herald) in our kingdom.

109 And I came out of the East by a road difficult and fearful, with two guides and I was untried in travelling by it.

And I passed by the borders of the Mosani (Maishan) where is the resort of the merchants of the East, and reached the land of the Babylonians .

But when I entered into Egypt, the guides left me which had journeyed with me.

And I set forth by the quickest way to the serpent, and by his hole I abode watching for him to slumber and sleep, that I might take my pearl from him.

And forasmuch as I was alone I made mine aspect strange, and appeared as an alien to my people.

And there I saw my kinsman from the East, the free-born a lad of grace and beauty, a son of princes (or an anointed one).

He came unto me and dwelt with me, and I had him for a companion, and made him my friend and partaker in my journey (or merchandise).

And I charged him to beware of the Egyptians, and of partaking of those unclean things (or consorting with those unclean men).

And I put on their raiment, lest I should seem strange, as one that had come from without to recover the pearl; and lest the Egyptians should awake the serpent against me.

But, I know not by what occasion, they learned that I was not of their country.

And with guile they mingled for me a deceit, and I tasted of their food.

And I knew no more that I was a king's son, and I became a servant unto their king.

And I forgat also the pearl for which my fathers had sent me, and by means of the heaviness of their food I fell into a deep sleep.

110 But when this befell me, my fathers also were ware of it, and grieved for me and a proclamation was published in our kingdom, that all should meet at our doors.

And then the kings of Parthia and they that bare office and the great ones of the East made a resolve concerning me, that I should not be left in Egypt, and the princes wrote unto me signifying thus (and every noble signed his name to it, Syr.):

From the (thy) Father the King of kings, and thy mother that ruleth the East, and thy brother that is second unto us; unto our son that is in Egypt, peace.

Rise up and awake out of sleep, and hearken unto the words of the letter and remember that thou art a son of kings; lo, thou hast come under the yoke of bondage.

Remember the pearl for the which thou wast sent into Egypt.

Remember thy garment spangled with gold,

Thy name is named in the book of life, and with thy brother whom thou hast received in our kingdom.

111 and the King [as ambassador] sealed it because of the evil ones, even the children of the Babylonians and the tyrannous demons of Labyrinthus.

It flew and lighted down by me, and became all speech. And I at the voice of it and the feeling of it started up out of sleep and I took it up and kissed it and read it.

And it was written concerning that which was recorded in mine heart.

And I remembered forthwith that I was a son of kings, and my freedom yearned (sought) after its kind.

I remembered also the pearl for the which I was sent down into Egypt and I began (or came) with charms against the terrible serpent, and I overcame him (or put him to sleep) by naming the name of my Father upon him,

And I caught away the pearl and turned back to bear it unto my fathers.

And I stripped off the filthy garment and left it in their land, and directed my way forthwith to the light of my fatherland in the East.

And on the way I found my letter that had awakened me, and it, like as it had taken a voice and raised me when I slept, so also guided me with the light that came from it.

For at times the royal garment of silk before mine eyes, and with love leading me and drawing me onward, I passed by Labyrinthus (Sarbug), and I left Babylon upon my left hand and I came unto Meson (Mesene; Maishan) the great, that lieth on the shore of the sea, from the heights of Warkan (Hyrcania?) had my parents sent thither by the hand of their treasurers, unto whom they committed it because of their faithfulness.

112 But I remembered not the brightness of it; for I was yet a child and very young when I had left it in the palace ot my Father, but suddenly, [when] I saw the garment made like unto me as it had been in a mirror.

And I beheld upon it all myself (or saw it wholly in myself) and I knew and saw myself through it, that we were divided asunder, being of one; and again were one in one shape.

Yea, the treasurers also which brought me the garment I beheld, that they were two, yet one shape was upon both, one royal sign was set upon both of them.

The money and the wealth had they in their hands, and paid me the due price, and the lovely garment, which was variegated with bright colours with gold and precious stones and pearls of comely hue they were fastened above (or in the height).

And the likeness of the King of kings was all in all of it.

Sapphire stones were fitly set in it above (or, like the sapphire stone also were its manifold hues).

113 And again I saw that throughout it motions of knowledge were being sent forth, and it was ready to utter speech.

And I heard it speak: I am of him that is more valiant than all men, for whose sake I was reared up with the Father himself.

And I perceived in myself that my stature grew in accordance with his working.

And all its royal motions rested upon me as it grew toward the impulse of it (And with its kingly motions it was spreading itself toward me).

And it hastened, reaching out from the hand of unto him that would receive it and me also did yearning arouse to start forth and meet it and receive it.

And I stretched forth and received it, and adorned myself with the beauty of the colours thereof and in my royal robe excelling in beauty I arrayed myself wholly.

And when I had put it on, I was lifted up unto the place of peace (sahltation) and homage and I bowed my head and worshipped the brightness of the Father which had sent it unto me. for I had performed his commandments, and he likewise that which he had promised, and at the doors of his palace which was from the beginning I mingled among , and he rejoiced over me and received me with him into his palace, and all his servants do praise him vvith sweet voices.

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And he promised me that with him I shall be sent unto the gates of the king, that with my gifts and my pearl we may appear together before the king.

114 And Charisius went home glad, thinking that his wife would be with him, and that she had become such as she was before, even before she heard the divine word and believed on Jesus. And he went, and found her with her hair dishevelled and her clothes rent, and when he saw it he said unto her: My lady Mygdonia, why doth this cruel disease keep hold on thee? and wherefore hast thou done this? I am thine husband from thy virginity, and both the gods and the law grant me to have rule over thee, what is this great madness of thine, that thou art bccome a derision in all our nation? but put thou away the care that cometh of that sorcerer; and I will remove his face from among us, that thou mayest see him no more.

115 But Mygdonia when she heard that gave herself up unto grief, groaning and lamenting and Charisius said again; Have I then so much wronged the gods that they have afflicted me with such a disease? what is my great offence that they have cast me into such humiliation? I beseech thee. Mvgdonia trangle my soul no more with the pitiful sight of thee and thy mean appearance and afflict not mine heart with care for thee I am Charisius thine husband, whom all the nation honoureth and feareth. What must I do? I know not whither to turn. What am I to think? shall I keep silence and endure? yet who can be patient when men take his treasure? and who can endure to lose thy sweet ways? and what is there for me? (Syr. thy beauties which are ever before me) the fragrance of thee is in my nostrils, and thy bright face is fixed in mine eyes. They are taking away my soul, and the fair body which I rejoiced to see they are destroying, and that sharpest of eyes they are blinding and cutting off my right hand: my joy is turning to grief and my life to death, and the light of it is being dyed (?) with darkness. Let no man of you my kindred henceforth look on me; from you no help hath come to me, nor will I hereafter worship the gods of the east that have enwrapped me in such calamities, nor pray to them any more nor sacrifice to them, for I am bereaved of my spouse. And what else should I ask of them? for all my glory is taken away, yet am I a prince and next unto the king in power; but Mygdonia hath set me at nought, and taken away all these things. (Would that some one would blind one of my eyes, and that thine eyes would look upon me as they were wont, Syr. which has more clauses, to the same effect.)

116 And while Charisius spake thus with tears, Mygdonia sat silent and looking upon the ground; and again he came unto her and said: My lady Mygdonia, most desired of me, remember that out of all the women that are in India I chose and took thee as the most beautiful, though I might have joined to myself in marriage many more beautiful: but yet I lie, Mygdonia, for by the gods it would not have been possible to find another like thee in the land of India; but woe is me alway, for thou wilt not even answer me a word: but if thou wilt, revile me, so that I may only be vouchsafed a word from thee. Look at me, for I am more comely than that sorcerer: but thou art my wealth and honour: and all men know that there is none like me: and thou art my race and kindred; and lo, he taketh thee away from me.

117 And when Charisius had so said, Mygdonia saith unto him: He whom I love is better than thee and thy substance: for thy substance is of earth and returneth unto the earth; but he whom I love is of heaven and will take me with him unto heaven. Thy wealth shall pass awav, and thy beauty shall vanish, and thy robes, and thy many works: and thou shalt be alone, naked, with thy transgressions. Call not to my remembrance thy deeds (unto me), for I pray the Lord that I may forget thee, so as to remember no more those former pleasures and the custom of the body; which shall pass away as a shadow, but Jesus only endureth for ever, and the souls which hope in him. Jesus himself shall quit me of the shameful decds which I did with thee. And when Charisius heard this, he turned him to sleep, vexed (dissolved) in soul, saying to her: Consider it by thyself all this night: and if thou wilt be with me such as thou wast before, and not see that sorcerer, I will do all according to thy mind, and if thou wilt remove thine affection from him I will take him out of the prison and let him go and remove into another country, and I will not vex thee, for I know that thou makest much of the stranger. And not with thee first did this matter come about, for many other women also hath he deceived with thee; and they have awaked sober and returned to themselves: do not thou then make nought of my words and cause me to be a reproach among the Indians.

118 And Charisius having thus spoken went to sleep: but she took ten denarii (20 zuze, Syr.), and went secretly to give them to the gaolers that she might enter in to the apostle. But on the way Judus Thomas came and met her, and she saw him and was afraid, for she thought that he was one of the rulers: for a great light went before him. And she said to herself as she fled: have lost thee, O my unhappy soul! for thou wilt not again see Judas the apostle of the living , and not yet hast thou received the holy seal. And she fled and ran into a narrow place and there hid herself, saying: I would rather choose to be killed (taken) by the poorer, whom it is possible to persuade, than to fall into the hand of this mighty ruler, who will despise gifts.

THE TENTH ACT

Wherein Mygdonia Receiveth Baptism.

119 And while Mygdonia thought thus with herself, Judas came and stood over her, and she saw him and was afraid, and fell down and became lifeless with terror. But he stood by her and took her by the hand and said unto her: Fear not, Mygdonia: Jesus will not leave thee, neither will the Lord unto whom thou hast committed thy soul overlook thee. His compassionate rest will not forsake thee: he that is kind will not forsake thee, for his kindness' sake, nor he that is good for his goodness' sake. Rise up then from the earth, thou that art become wholly above it: look on the light, for the Lord leaveth not them that love him to walk in darkness: behold him that travelleth with his servants, that he is unto them a defender in perils. And Mygdonia arose and looked on him and said: Whither wentest thou, my lord? and who is he that brought thee out of prison to behold the sun? Judas Thomas saith unto her: My Lord Jesus is mightier than all powers and all kings and rulers.

120 And Mygdonia said: Give me the seal of Jesus Christ and I shall (let me) receive the gift at thy hands before thou departest out of life. And she took him with her and entered into the court and awaked her nurse, saying unto her: Narcia (Gr. Marcia), my mother and nurse, all thy service and refreshment thou hast done for me from my childhood until my present age are vain, and for them I owe thee thanks which are temporal; do for me now also a ravour, that thou mayest for ever receive a recompense from him that giveth great gifts. And Narcia in answer saith: What wilt thou, my daughter Mygdonia, and what is to be done for thy pleasure? for the honours which thou didst promise me before, the stranger hath not suffered thee to accomplish, and thou hast made me a reproach among all the nation. And now what is this new thing that thou commandest me? And Mygdonia saith: Become thou partaker with me in eternal life, that I may receive of thee perfect nurture: take bread and bring it me, and wine mingled with water, and spare my freedom (take pity on me a free-born woman, Syr.). And the nurse said: I will bring thee many loaves, and for water flagons of wine, and fulfil thy desire. But she saith to the nurse: Flagons I desire not, nor the many loaves: but this only, bring wine mingled with water and one loaf, and oil .

121 And when Narcia had brought these things, Mygdonia stood before the apostle with her head bare; and he took the oil and poured it on her head, saying: Thou holy oil given unto us for sanctification, scret mystery whereby the cross was shown unto us, thou art the straightener of the crooked limbs, thou art the humbler (softener) of hard things (works), thou art it that showeth the hidden treasures, thou art the sprout of goodness; let thy power come, let it be established upon thy servant Mygdonia, and heal thou her by this freedom. And when the oil was poured upon her he hade her nurse unclothe her and gird a linen cloth about her; and there was there a fountain of water upon which the apostle went up, and baptised Mygdonia in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost. And when she was baptised and clad, he brake bread and took a cup of water and made her a partaker in the body of Christ and the cup of the Son of God, and said: Thou hast received thy seal, get for thyself eternal life. And immediately there was heard from above a voice saying: Yea, amen. And when Narcia heard that voice, she was amazed, and besought the apostle that she also might receive the seal; and the apostle gave it her and said: Let the care of the Lord be about thee as about the rest.

122 And having done these things the apostle returned unto the prison, and found the doors open and the guards still sleeping. And Thomas said: Who is like thee, O God? who withholdest not thy loving affection and care from any who is like thee, the merciful, who hast delivered thy creatures out of evil. Life that hath subdued death, rest that hath ended toil. Glory be to the only-begotten of the Father. Glory to the compassionate that was sent forth of his heart. And when he had said thus, the guards waked and beheld all the doors open, and the prisoners <+ asleep, Syr.>, and said in themselves: Did not we fasten the doors? and how are they now open, and the prisoners within?

123 But at the dawn Charisius went unto Mygdonia , and found them praying and saying: O new God that by the stranger hast come hither unto us, hidden God of the dwellers in India (Syr. who art hidden from); God that hast shown thy glory by thine apostle Thomas, God whose report we have heard and believed on thee; God, unto whom we are come to be saved; God, who for love of man and for pity didst come down unto our littleness; God who didst seek us out when we knew him (thee) not; God that dwellest in the heights and from whom the depths are not hid: turn thou away from us the madness of Charisius. And Charisius hearing that said to Mygdonia: Rightly callest thou me evil and mad and foul I for if I had not borne with thy disobedience, and given thee liberty, thou wouldest not have called on God against me and made mention of my name before God. But believe me, Mygdonia that in that sorcerer there is no profit, and what he promiseth to perform he cannot: but I will perform before thy sight all that I promise, that thou mayest believe, and bear with my words and be to me as thou wast beforetime.

124 And he came near and besought her again, saying: If thou wilt be persuaded of me, I shall henceforth have no grief; remember that day when thou didst meet me first; tell the truth: was I more beautiful unto thee at that time, or Jesus at this? And Mygdonia said: That time required its own, and this time also; that was the time of the beginning, but this of the end; that was the time of temporal life, this of eternal; that of pleasure that passeth away, but this of pleasure that abideth for ever; that, of day and night, this of day without night. Thou sawest that marriage that was passing, and here, and single but this marriage continueth for ever; that was a partnership of corruption, but this of eternal life; those groomsmen (and maids) were men and women of time, but these abide unto the end. That marriage upon earth setteth up dropping dew of the love of men (Syr. That union was founded upon the earth where there is an unceasing press: this is founded upon the bridge of fire upon which is sprinkled grace: both corrupt); that bride-chamber is taken down again, but this remaineth always; that bed was strown with coverlets (that grow old), but this with love and faith. Thou art a bridegroom that passest away and art dissolved (changed), but Jesus is a true bridegroom, enduring for ever immortal, that dowry was of money and robes that grow old, but this is of living words which never pass away.

125 And when Charisius heard these things he went unto the king and told him all: and the king commanded Judas to be brought, that he might judge him and destroy him. But Charisius said: Have patience a little, O king, and first persuade the man making him afraid, that he may persuade Mygdonia to be unto me as formerly. And Misdaeus sent and fetched the apostle of Christ, and all the prisoners were grieved because the apostle departed from them, for they yearned after him, saying: Even the comfort which we had have they taken away from us.

126 And Misdaeus said unto Judas: Wherefore teachest thou this new doctrine, which both gods and men hate, and which hath nought of profit? And Judas said: What evil do I teach? And Misdaeus said: Thou teachest, saying that men with the God whom thou preachest. Judas saith: Thou sayest true, O king: thus do I teach. For tell me, art thou not wroth with thy soldiers if they wait on thee in filthy garments? if then thou, being a king of earth and returning unto earth, request thy subjects to be reverend in their doings, are ye wroth and said ye that I teach ill when I say that they who serve my king must be reverend and pure and free from all grief and care of children and unprofitable riches and vain trouble? For indeed thou wouldest have thy subjects follow thy conversation and thy manners, and thou punishest them if they despise thy commandments: how much more must they that believe on him serve my God with much reverence and cleanness and security, and be quit of all pleasures of the body, adultery and prodigality and theft and drunkenness and belly-service and foul deeds?

127 And Misdaeus hearing these things said: Lo, I let thee go: go then and persuade Mygdonia, the wife of Charisius, not to desire to depart from him. Judas saith unto him: Delay not if thou hast aught to do: for her, if she hath rightly received what she hath learned, neither iron nor fire nor aught else stronger than these will avail to hurt or to root out him that is held in her soul. Misdaeus saith unto Judas: Some poisons do dissolve other poisons, and a theriac cureth the bites of the viper; and thou if thou wilt canst give a solvent of those diseases, and make peace and concord betwixt this couple: for by so doing thou wilt spare thyself, for not yet art thou sated with life; and know thou that if thou do not persuade her, I will catch thee away out of this life which is desirable unto all men. And Judas said: This life hath been given as a loan, and this time is one that changeth, but that life whereof I teach is incorruptible; and beauty and youth that are seen shall in a little cease to be. The king saith to him: I have counselled thee for the best, but thou knowest thine own alfairs.

128 And as the apostle went forth from before the king, Charisius came to him and entreated him and said: I beseech thee, O man: I have not sinned against thee or any other at any time, nor against the gods; wherefore hast thou stirred up this great calamity against me? and for what cause hast thou brought such disturbance upon mine house? and what profit hast thou of it? but if thou thinkest to gain somewhat, tell me the gain, what it is, and I will procure it for thee without labour. To what end dost thou make me mad, and cast thyself into destruction? for if thou persuade her not, I will both dispatch thee and finally take myself out of life. But if, as thou sayest, after our departing hence there is there life and death, and also condemnation and victory and a place of judgement, then will I also go in thither to be judged with thee: and if that God whom thou preachest is just and awardeth punishment justly, I know that I shall gain my cause against thee; for thou hast injured me, having suffered no wrong at

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my hands: for indeed even here I am able to avenge myself on thee and bring upon thee all that thou hast done unto me. Therefore be thou persuaded, and come home with me and persuade Mygdonia to be with me as she was at first, before she beheld thee. And Judas saith to him: Believe me, my child that if men loved God as much as they love one another, they would ask of him all things and receive them, and none would do them violence (there would be nothing which would not obey them, Syr.).

129 And as Thomas said this, they came unto the house of Charisius and found Mygdonia sitting and Narcia standing by her, and her hand supporting her cheek; and she was saying: Let the remainder of the days of my life, O mother, be cut off from me, and all the hours become as one hour, and let me depart out of life that I may go the sooner and behold that beautiful one, whose report I have heard, even that living one and giver of life unto them that believe on him, where is not day and night, nor light and darkness, nor good and evil, nor poor and rich, nor male and female, nor free and bond, nor proud that subjecteth the humble. And as she spake the apostle stood by her, and forthwith she rose up and did him reverence. Then Charisius said unto him: Seest thou how she feareth and honoureth thee and all that thou shalt bid her she will do willingly?

13O And as he so spake, Judas saith unto Mygdonia: My daughter Mygdonia, obey that which thy brother Charisius saith. And Mygdonia saith: If thou wast not able the deed in word wilt thou compel me to endure the act? for I have heard of thee that this life is of no profit, and this relief is for a time, and these possessions are transitory. And again thou saidst that whoso renounceth this life shall receive the life eternal, and whoso hateth the light of day and night shall behold a light that is not overtaken, that whoso despiseth this money shall find other and eternal money. But now because thou art in fear. Who that hath done somewhat and is praised for the work changeth it? straightway overthroweth it from the foundation? who diggeth a spring water in a thirsty land and straightway filleth it in? who findeth a treasure and useth it not? And Charisius heard lt and said: I will not imitate you, neither will I hasten to destroy you; nor though I may so do, will I put bonds about thee (but thee I will bind, Syr.); and I will not suffer thee to speak with this sorcerer; and if thou obey me, well, but if not, I know what I must do.

131 And Judas went out of Charisius' house and departed unto the house of Siphor and lodged there with him. And Siphor said: I will prepare for Judas a hall (triclinium) wherein he may teach (Syr. Siphor said to Judas: Prepare thyself an apartment, &c.). And he did so; and Siphor said : I and my wife and daughter will dwell henceforth in holiness, and in chastity, and in one affection. I beseech thee that we mav receive of thee the seal, and become worshippers of the true God and numbered among his sheep and lambs. And Judas said: I am afraid to speak that which I think: yet I know somewhat, and what I know it is not possible for me to utter.

132 And he began to say concerning baptism: This baptism is remission of sins (the Greek MSS. U and P have divergent texts, both obscure): this bringeth forth again light that is shed about us: this bringeth to new birth the new man (this is the restorer of understandings Syr.): this mingleth the spirit (with the body), raiseth up in threefoldwise a new man and partaker of the remission of sins. Glory be to thee, hidden one, that art communicated in baptism. Glory to thee the unseen power that is in baptism. Glory to thee, renewal, whereby are renewed they that are baptised and with affection take hold upon thee.

And having thus said, he poured oil over their heads and said: Glory be to thee the love of compassion (bowels). Glory to thee name of Christ. Glory to thee, power established in Christ. And he commanded a vessel to be brought, and baptised them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost.

133 And when they were baptised and clad, he set bread on the table and blessed it, and said: Bread of life, the which who eat abide incorruptible: Bread that filleth the hungry souls with the blessing thereof: thou art he that vouchsafest to receive a gift, that thou mayest become unto us remission of sins, and that they who eat thee may become immortal: we invoke upon thee the name of the mother, of the unspeakable mystery of the hidden powers and authorities (? we name the name of the unspeakable mystery, that is hidden from all &c.): we invoke upon thee the name of [thy?] Jesus. And he said: Let the powers of blessing come, and be established in this bread, that all the souls which partake of it may be washed from their sins. And he brake and gave unto Siphor and his wife and daughter.

THE ELEVENTH ACT

Concerning The Wife Of Misdaeus

134 Now Misdaeus the king, when he had let Judas go, dined and went home, and told his wife what had befallen Charisius their kinsman, saying: See what hath come to pass to that unhappy man, and thou thyself knowest, my sister Tertia, that a man hath nought better than his own wife on whom he resteth; but it chanced that his wife went unto that sorcerer of whom thou hast heard that he is come to the land of the Indians, and fell into his charms and is parted from her own husband; and he knoweth not what he should do. And when I would have destroyed the malefactor, he would not have it. But do thou go and counsel her to incline unto her husband, and forsake the vain words of the sorcerer.

135 And as soon as she arose Tertia went to the house of Charisius her husband's , and found Mygdonia Iying upon the earth in humiliation, and ashes and sackcloth were spread under her, and she was praying that the Lord would forgive her her former sins and she might soon depart out of life. And Tertia said unto her: Mygdonia, my dear sister and companion what is this hand (Syr. this folly)? what is the disease that hath overtaken thee? and why doest thou the deeds of madmen? Know thyself and come back unto thine own way, come near unto thy many kinsfolk, and spare thy true husband Charisius, and do not things unbefitting a free-woman. Mygdonia saith unto her: O Tertia, thou hast not yet heard the preacher of life: not yet hath he touched thine ears, not yet hast thou tasted the medicine of life nor art freed from corruptible mourning. Thou standest in the life of time, and the everlasting life and salvation thou knowest not, and perceivest not the incorruptible fellowship. Thou standest clad in robes that grow old and desirest not those that are eternal, and art proud of this beauty which vanisheth and hast no thought of the holiness of thy soul; and art rich in a multitude of servants, (and hast not freed thine own soul from servitude, Syr.) and pridest thyself in the glory that cometh of many, but redeemest not thyself from the condemnation of death.

136 And when Tertia heard this of Mygdonia she said: I pray thee, sister, bring me unto that stranger that teacheth these great things, that I also may go and hear him, and be taught to worship the God whom he preacheth, and become partaker of his prayers, and a sharer in all that thou hast told me of. And Mygdonia saith to her: He is in the house of Siphor the captain; for he is become the occasion of life unto all them that are being saved in India. And hearing that, Tertia went quickly to Siphor's house, that she might see the new apostle that was come thither. And when she entered in, Judas said unto her: What art thou come to see? a man that is a stranger and poor and contemptible and needy, having neither riches nor substance; yet one thing I possess which neither kings nor rulers can take away, that neither perisheth nor ceaseth, which is Jesus the Saviour of all mankind, the Son of the living God, who hath given life unto all that believe on him and take refuge with him and are known to be of the number of his servants (sheep, Syr.). Unto whom saith Tertia: May I become a partaker of this life which thou promisest that all they shall receive who come together unto the assembly of God. And the apostle said: The treasury of the holy king is opened wide, and they which worthily partake of the good things that are therein do rest, and resting do reign: but first, no man cometh unto him that is unclean and vile: for he knoweth our inmost hearts and the depths of our thought, and it is not possible for any to escape him. Thou, then, if verily thou believest in him, shalt be made worthy of his mysteries; and he will magnify thee and enrich thee, and make thee to be an heir of his hingdom.

137 And Tertia having heard this returned home rejoicing, and found her husband awaiting her, not having dined, and when Misdaeus saw her he said: Whence is it that thine entering in to-day is more beautiful? and wherefore art thou come walking, which beseemeth not free-born women like thee? And Tertia saith unto him: I owe thee the greatest of thanks for that thou didst send me unto Mygdonia, for I went and heard of a new life, and I saw the new apostle of the God that giveth life unto them that believe on him and fulfil his commandments; I ought therefore myself to recompense thee for this favour and admonition with good advice; for thou shalt be a great king in heaven if thou obey me and fear the God that is preached by the strangrer, and keep thyself holy unto the living God. For this kingdom passeth away, and thy comfort will be turned into affliction: but go thou to that man, and believe him, and thou shalt live unto the end. And when Misdaeus heard these things of his wife, he smote his face with his hands and rent his clothes and said: May the soul of Charisius find no rest, for he hath hurt me to the soul; and may he have no hope, for he hath taken away my hope. And he went out greatly vexed.

138 And he found Charisius his friend in the market-place, and said unto him: Why hast thou cast me into hell to be another companion to thyself? why hast thou emptied and defrauded me to gain nought? why hast thou hurt me and profited thyself not at all? why hast thou slain me and thyself not lived? Why hast thou wronged me and thyself not got justice? why didst thou not suffer me to destroy that sorcerer before he corrupted my house with his wickedness? And he kept hold upon (was upbraiding, Syr.) Charisius. And Charisius saith: Why, what hath befallen thee? Misdaeus said: He hath bewitched Tertia. And they went both of them unto the house of Siphor the captain, and found Judas sitting and teaching. And all they that were there rose up before the king, but he arose not. And Misdaeus perceived that it was he, and took hold of the seat and overset it, and took up the seat with both his hands and smote his head so that he wounded it, and delivered him to his soldiers, saying: Take him away, and hale him with violence and not gently, that his shame may be manifest unto all men. And they haled him and took him to the place where Misdaeus judged, and he stood there, held of the soldiers of Misdaeus.

THE TWELFTH ACT

Concerning Ouazanes (Iuzanes) The Son Of Misdaeus

139 And Ouazanes (Iuzanes, P; Vizan, Syr.) the son of Misdaeus came unto the soldiers and said: Give me him that I may speak with him until the king cometh. And they gave him up, and he brought him in where the king gave judgement. And Iuzanes saith: Knowest thou not that I am the son of Misdaeus the king, and I have power to say unto the king what I will, and he will sufier thee to live? tell me then, who is thy God, and what power dost thou claim and glory in it? for if it be some power or art of magic, tell it me and teach me, and I will let thee go. Judas saith unto him: Thou art the son of Misdacus the king who is king for a time, but I am the servant of Jesus Christ the eternal king, and thou hast power to say to thy father to save whom thou wilt in the temporal life wherein men continue not, which thou and thy father grant, but I beseech my Lord and intercede for men, and he giveth them a new life which is altogether enduring. And thou boastest thyself of possessions and servants and robes and luxury and unclean chamberings, but I boast myself of povertv and philosophy and humility and lasting and prayer and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost and of my brethren that are worthy of God: and I boast myself of eternal life. And thou reliest on (hast taken refuge with) a man like unto thyself and not able to save his own soul from judgement and death, but I rely upon the living God, upon the saviour of kings and princes, who is the judge of all men. And ye indeed to-day perchance are, and to-morrow are no more, but I have taken refuge with him that abideth for ever and knoweth all our seasons and times. And if thou wilt become the servant of this God thou shalt soon do so; but show that thou wilt be a servant worthy of him hereby: first by holiness (puritv), which is the head of all good things, and then by fellowship with this God whom I preach, and philosophy and simplicity and love and faith and in him, and unity of pure food (simplicity of pure i e, Syr.).

140 And the young man was persuaded by the Lord and sought occasion how he might let Judas escape: but while he thought thereon, the king came, and the soldiers took Judas and led him forth. And Iuzanes went forth with him and stood beside him. And when the king was set he bade Judas be brought in, with his hands bound behind him; and he was brought into the midst and stood there. And the king saith: Tell me who thou art and by what power thou doest these things. And Judas saith to him: I am a man like thee, and by the power of Jesus Christ I do these things. And Misdaeus saith: Tell me the truth before I destroy thee. And Judas saith: Thou hast no power against me, as thou supposest, and thou wilt not hurt me at all. And the king was wroth at his words, and commanded to heat iron plates and set him upon them barefoot; and as the soldiers took off his shoes he said: The wisdom of God is better than the wisdom of men. Thou Lord and King (do thou take counsel against them, Syr.) and let thy goodness resist his wrath. And they brought the plates which were like fire, and set the apostle upon them, and straightway water sprang up abundantly from the earth, so that the plates were swallowed up in it, and they that held him let him go and withdrew themselves.

141 And the king seeing the abundance of water said to Judas: Ask thy God that he deliver me from this death, that I perish not in the flood. And the apostle prayed and said: Thou that didst bind this element (nature) and gather it into one place and send it forth into divers lands; that didst bring disorder into order, that grantest mighty works and great wonders by the hands of Judas thy servant; that hast mercy on my soul, that I may alway receive thy brightness; that givest wages unto them that have laboured; thou saviour of my soul, restoring it unto its own nature that it may have no fellowship with hurtful things; that hast alway been the occasion of life: do thou restrain this element that it lift not up itself to destroy; for there are some of them that stand here who shall believe on thee and live. And when he had prayed, the water was swallowed up by little and little, and the place became dry. And when Misdaeus saw it he commanded him to be taken to the prison: Until I shall consider how he must be used.

142 And as Judas was led away to the prison they all followed him, and Iuzanes the king's son walked at his right hand, and Siphor at the left. And he entered into the prison and sat down, and Iuzanes and Siphor, and he persuaded his wife and his daughter to sit down, for they also were come in to hear the word ot life. For they knew that Misdaeus would slay him because of the excess of his anger. And Judas began to say: O liberator of my soul from the bondage of the many, because I gave myself to be sold ; behold, I rejoice and exult, knowing that the times are fulfilled for me to enter in and

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receive . Lo, I am to be set free from the cares that are on the earth; lo, I fulfil mine hope and reccive truth; lo, I am set free from sorrow and put on joy alone; lo, I become careless and griefless and dwell in rest; lo, I am set free from bondage and am called unto liberty; lo, I have served times and seasons, and I am lifted up above times and seasons; lo, I receive my wages from my recompenser, who giveth without reckoning (number) because his wealth sufficeth for the gift; and I shall not put it on again; lo, I sleep and awake, and I shall no more go to sleep; lo, I die and live again, and I shall no more taste of death; lo, they rejoice and expect me, that I may come and be with their kindred and be set as a flower in their crown; Io, I reign in the kingdom whereon I set my hope, even frorm hence; lo, the rebellious fall before me, for I have escaped them; lo, (unto me) the peace hath come, whereunto all are gathered.

143 And as the apostle spake thus, all that were there hearkened, supposing that in that hour he would depart out of life. And again he said: Believe on the physician of all , both seen and unseen, and on the saviour of the souls that need help from him. This is the free-born of kings, this the physician of his creatures; this is he that was reproached of his own slaves; this is the Father of the height and the Lord of nature and the Judge (? Father of nature and Lord of the height and supreme Judge, Syr.): he came of the greatest, the only-begotten son of the deep; and he was called the son of (became visible through, Syr.) Mary the virgin, and was termed the son of Joseph the carpenter: he whose littleness (we beheld) with the eyes of our body, but his greatness we received by faith, and saw it in his works whose human body we felt also with our hands, and his aspect we saw transfigured (changed) with our eyes, but his heavenly semblance on the mount we were not able to see: he that made the rulers stumble and did violence unto death: he, the truth that lieth not, that at the last paid the tribute for himself and his disciplcs: whom the prince beholding feared and the powers that were with him were troubled; and the prince bare witness (asked him, Syr.) who he was and from whence, and knew not the truth, because he is alien from truth: he that having authority over the world, and the pleasures therein, and the possessions and the comfort, all these things and turneth away his subjects, that they should not use them.

144 Alld having fulfilled these sayings, he arose and prayed thus: our Father, which art in heaven: hallowed be thy name: Thy kingdom come: Thy will be done, as in heaven so upon earth: and forgive us our debts as we also have forgiven our debtors. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one.

My Lord and God, hope and confidence and teacher, thou hast taught me to pray thus, behold, I pray this prayer and fulfil thy commandment: be thou with me unto the end; thou art he that from childhood hast sown life in me and kept me from corruption; thou art he that hast brought me unto the poverty of this world, and exhorted me unto the true riches; thou art he that hast made me known unto myself and showed me that I am thine; and I have kept myself pure from woman, that that which thou requirest be not found in defilement.

144 My Lord and God, my hope and my confidence and my teacher, that hast implanted courage in me, thou didst teach me to pray thus; behold, I pray thy prayer and bring thy will to fulfilment: be thou with me unto the end. Thou art he that from my youth up didst give me patience in temptation and me life and preserve me from corruption; thou art he that didst bring me into the poverty of this world and fill me with the true riches; thou art he that didst show me that I was thine: wherefore I was never joined unto a wife, that the temple worthy of thee might not be found in pollution.

145 My mouth sufficeth not to praise thee, neither am I able to conceive the care and providence (carefulness) which hath been about me from thee which thou hast had for me). For I desired to gain riches, but thou by a vision didst show me that they are full of loss and iniury to them that gain them and I believed thy showing, and continued in the poverty of the world until thou, the true riches wert revealed unto me, who didst fill both me and the rest that were worthy of thee with thine own riches and set free thine own from care and anxiety. I have therefore fulfilled thy commandments, O Lord, and accomplished thy will, and become poor and needy and a stranger and a bondman and set at nought and a prisoner and hungry and thirsty and nalied and unshod, and I have toiled for thy sake, that my confidence might not perish and my hope that is in thee might not be confounded and my much labour might not be in vain and my weariness not be counted for nought: let not my prayers and rmy continual fastings perish, and my great zeal toward thee; let not my seed of wheat be changed for tares out of thy land, let not the enemy carry it away and mingle his own tares therewith; for thy land verily receiveth not his tares, neither indeed can they be laid up in thine houses.

146 I have planted thy vine in the earth, it hath sent down its roots into the depth and its growth is spread out in the height, and the fruits of it are stretched forth upon the earth, and they that are worthy of thee are made glad by them, whom also thou hast gained. The money which thou hast from me I laid down upon the table (bank); this, when thou requirest it, restore unto me with usury, as thou hast promised. With thy one mind have I traded and have made ten, thou hast added rnore to me beside that I had, as thou didst covenant. I have forgiven my debtor the mine, require thou it not at my hands. I was bidden to the supper and I came: and I refused the land and the yoke of oxen and the wife, that I might not for their sake be rejected; I was bidden to the wedding, and I put on white raiment, that I might be worthy of it and not be bound hand and foot and cast into the outer darkness. My lamp with its bright light expecteth the master coming from the marriage, that it may receive him, and I may not (? he may not) see it dimmed because the oil is spent. Mine eyes, O Christ, look upon thee, and mine heart exulteth with joy because I have fulfilled thy will and perfected thy commandments; that I may be likened unto that watchful and careful servant who in his eagerness neglecteth not to keep vigil (other MSS.: I have not slumbered idly in keeping thy commandments: in the first sleep and at midnight and at cockcrow, that mine eyes may behold thee, &c.). All the night have I laboured to keep mine house from robbers, lest it be broken through.

147 My loins have I girt close with truth and bound my shoes on my feet, that I may never see them gaping: mine hands have I put unto the yoked plough and have not turned away backward, lest my furrows go crooked. The plough-land is become white and the harvest is come, that I may receive my wages. My garment that groweth old I have worn out, and the labour that hath brought me unto rest have I accomplished. I have kept the first watch and the second and the third, that I may behold thy face and adore thine holy brightness. I have rooted out the worst (pulled down my barns, Syr.) and left thern desolate upon earth, that I may be filled full from thy treasures (Gr. MSS. add: all my substance have I sold, that I may gain thee the pearl). The moist spring that was in me have I dried up, that I may live and rest beside thine inexhaustible spring (al. and Syr.: rest beside thy living spring). The captive whom thou didst commit to me I have slain, that he which is set free in me may not fall from his confidence. Him that was inward have I made outward and the outward , and all thy fullness hath been fulfilled in me. I have not returned unto the things that are behind, but have gone forward unto the things that are before, that I become not a reproach. The dead man have I quickened, and the living one have I overcome, and that which was lacking have I filled up (Syr. Wright, not the older one, inserts negatives, ' not quickened ', &c.), that I may receive the crown of victory, and the power of Christ may be accomplished in me. I have received reproach upon earth, but give thou me the return and the recompense in the heavens. (U omits practically all this chapter.)

148 Let not the powers and the officers perceive me, and let them not have any thought concerning me; let not the publicans and exactors ply their calling upon me; let not the weak and the evil cry out against me that am valiant and humble, and when I am borne upward let them not rise up to stand before me, by thy power, O Jesu, which surroundeth me as a crown: for they do flee and hide themselves, they cannot look on thee: but (for) suddenly do they fall upon them that are subject to them, and the portion of tile sons of the evil one doth itself cry out and convict them; and it is not hid from them, nor their nature is made known: the children of the evil one are separated off. Do thou then grant me, Lord, that I may pass by in quietness and joy and peace, and pass over and stand before the judge, and let not the devil (or slanderer) look upon me; let his eyes be blinded by thy light which thou hast made to dwell in me, close thou up (muzzle) his mouth: for he hath found nought against me.

149 And he said again unto them that were about him: believe in the Saviour of them that have laboured in his service: for my soul already flourisheth because my time is near to receive him; for he being beautiful draweth me on always to speak concerning his beauty, what it is though I be not able and suffice not to speak it worthily: thou that art the light (feeder, Syr.) of my poverty and the supplier of my defects and nurturer of my need: be thou with me until I come and receive thee for evermore.

THE THIRTEENTH ACT

Wherein Iuzanes Receiveth Baptism With The Rest

150 And Iuzanes the youth besought the apostle, saying: I pray thee, O man, apostle of God, suffer me to go, and I will persuade the gaoler to permit thee to come home with me, that by thee I may receive the seal, and become thy minister and a keeper of the commandments of the God whom thou preachest. For indeed, formerly I walked in those things which thou teachest, until my father compelled me and joined me unto a wife by name Mnesara; for I am in my one-and-twentieth year, and have now been seven years married, and before I was joined in marriage I knew no other woman, wherefore also I was accounted useless of my father, nor have I ever had son or daughter of this wife and also my wife herself hath lived with me in chastity all this time, and to-day, if she had been in health, and had listened to thee, I know well that both I should have been at rest and she would have received eternal life; but she is in peril and afflicted with much illness; I will therefore persuade the keeper that he promise to come with me, for I live by myself: and thou shalt also heal that unhappy one. And Judas the apostle of the Most High, hearing this, said to Iuzanes: If thou believest, thou shalt see the marvels of God, and how he saveth his servants.

151 And as they spake thus together, Tertia and Mvgdonia and Narcia stood at the door of the prison, and they gave the gaoler 363 staters of silver and entered in to Judas; and found Iuzanes and Siphor and his wife and daughter, and all the prisoners sitting and hearing the word. And when they stood by him he said to them: Who hath suffered you to come unto us? and who opened unto you the sealed door that ye came forth? Tertia saith unto him: Didst not thou open the door for us and tell us to come into the prison that we might take our brethren that were there, and then should the Lord show forth his glory in us? And when we came near the door, I know not how, thou wast parted from us and hid thyself and camest hither before us where also we heard the noise of the door, when thou didst shut us out. We gave money therefore to the keepers and came in and lo, we are here praying thee that we may persuade thee and let thee escape until the king's wrath against thee shall cease. Unto whom Judas said: Tell us first of all how ye were shut up.

152 And she saith to him: Thou wast with us, and didst never leave us for one hour, and askest thou how we were shut up? but if thou desirest to hear, hear. The king Misdaeus sent for me and said unto me: Not yet hath that sorcercr prevailed over thee, for, as I hear, he bewitcheth men with oil and water and bread, and hath not yet bewitched thee; but obey thou me, for if not, I will imprison thee and wear thee out, and him I will destroy; for I know that if he hath not yet given thee oil and water and bread, he hath not prevailed to get power over thee. And I said unto him: Over my body thou hast authority, and do thou all that thou wilt; but my soul I will not let perish with thee. And hearing that he shut me up in a chamber (beneath his dining-hall, Syr.): and Charisius brought Mygdonia and shut her up with me: and thou broughtest us out and didst bring us even hither; but give thou us the seal quickly, that the hope of Misdacus who counselleth thus may be cut off.

153 And when the apostle heard this, he said: Glory be to thee, O Jesu of many forms, glory to thee that appearest in the guise of our poor manhood: glory to thee that encouragest us and makest us strong and givest grace and consolest and standest by us in all perils, and strengthenest our weakness. And as he thus spake, the gaoler came and said: Put out the lamps, lest any accuse you unto the king. And then they extinguished the lamps, and turned to sleep; but the apostle spake unto the Lord: It is the time now, O Jesu, for thee to make haste; for, lo the children of darkness sit (make us to sit, Syr.) in their own darkness, do thou therefore enlighten us with the light of thy nature. And on a sudden the whole prison was light as the day: and while all they that were in the prison slept a deep sleep, they only that had believed in the Lord continued waking.

154 Judas therefore saith to Iuzanes: Go thou before and make ready the things for our need. Iuzanes thererore saith: And who will open me the doors of the prison? for the gaolers shut them and are gone to sleep. And Judas saith: Believe in Jesus, and thou shalt find the doors open. And when he went forth and departed from them, all the rest followed after him. And as Iuzanes was gone on before, Mnesara his wife met him coming unto the prison. And she knew him and said: My brother Iuzanes, is it thou? and he saith, Yea, and art thou Mnesara? and she saith Yea. Iuzanes said unto her; Whither walkest thou, especialiy at so untimely an hour? and how wast thou able to rise up? And she said: This youth laid his hand on me and raised me up, and in a dream I say that I should go where the stranger sitteth, and become perfectly whole. Iuzanes saith to her: What youth is with thee? And she said: Seest thou not him that is on my right hand, leading me by the hand?

155 And while they spake together thus, Judas, with Siphor and his wife and daughter and Tertia and Mygdonia and Narcia came unto Iuzanes' house. And Mnesara the wife of Iuzanes seeing him did reverence and said: Art thou come that savedst us from the sore disease? thou art he whom I saw in the night delivering unto me this youth to bring me to the prison. But thy goodness suffered me not to grow weary, but thou thyself art come unto me. And so saying she turned about and saw the youth no more; and finding him not, she saith to the apostle: I am not able to walk alone: for the youth whom thou gavest me is not here. And Judas said: Jesus will henceforth lead thee. And thereafter she came running unto him. And when they entered into the house of Iuzanes the son of Misdaeus the king though it was yet night, a great light shined and was shed about them.

156 And then Judas began to pray and to speak thus: O companion and defender (ally) and hope of the weak and confidence of the poor: refuge and lodging of the weary: voice that came forth of the height (sleep, Gr.): comforter dwelling in the midst: port and harbour of them that pass through the regions of the rulers: physician that healest without payment: who among men wast crucified for many: who didst go down

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into hell with great might: the sight of whom the princes of death endured not; and thou camest up with great glory, and gathering all them that fled unto thee didst prepare a way, and in thy footsteps all they journeyed whom thou didst redeem; and thou broughtest them into thine own fold and didst join them with thy sheep: son of mercy, the son that for love of man wast sent unto us from the perfect country (fatherland) that is above, the Lord of all possessions (undefiled possessions, Syr.): that servest thy servants that they may live: that fillest creation with thine own riches: the poor, that wast in need and didst hunger forty days: that satisfiest thirsty souls with thine own good things; be thou with Iuzanes the son of Misdaeus and with Tertia and Mnesara, and gather them into thy fold and mingle them with thy number; Be unto them a guide in the land of error: be unto them a physician in the land of sickness: be unto them a rest in the land of the weary: sanctify them in a polluted land: be their physician both of bodies and souls: make them holy temples of thee, and let thine holy spirit dwell in them.

157 Having thus prayed over them, the apostle said unto Mygdonia: Unclothe thy sisters. And she took off their clothes and girded them with girdles and brought them: but Iuzanes had first gone before, and they came after him; and the apostle took oil in a cup of silver and spake thus over it: Fruit more beautifull than all other fruits, unto which none other whatsoever may be compared: altogether merciful: fervent with the force of the word: power of the tree which men putting upon them overcome their adversaries: crowner of the conquerors: help (symbol) and joy of the sick: that didst announce unto men their salvation that showest light to them that are in darkness; whose leaf is bitter, but in thy most sweet fruit thou art fair, that art rough to the sight but soft to the taste; seeming to be weak, but in the greatness of thy strength able to bear the power that beholdeth all things. Having thus said [a corrupt word follows]: Jesu: let his victorious might come and be established in this oil, like as it was established in the tree (wood) that was its kin, even his might at that time, whereof they that crucified thee could not endure the word: let the gift also come whereby breathing upon his (thine) enemies thou didst cause them to go backward and fall headlong and let it rest on this oil, whereupon we invoke thine holy name. And having thus said, he poured it first upon the head ol Iuzanes and then upon the women's heads, saying: In thy name, O Jesu Christ, let it be unto these souls for remission of sins and for turning back of the adversary and for salvation of their souls. And he commanded Mygdonia to anoint them but he himself anointed Iuzanes. And having anointed them he led them down into the water in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost.

158 And when they were come up, he took bread and a cup, and blessed it and said: Thine holy body w}lich was crucified for us do we eat, and thy blood that was shed for us unto salvation do we drink; let therefore thy body be unto us salvation and thy blood for remission of sins. And for the gall which thou didst drink for our sakes let the gall of the devil be removed from us: and for the vinegar which thou hast drunk for us, let our weakness be made strong: and for the spitting which thou didst receive for us, let us receive the dew of thy goodness: and by (or for) the reed wherewith they smote thee for us, let us receive the perfect house: and whereas thou receivedst a crown of thorns for our sake, let us that have loved thee put on a crown that fadeth not away; and for the linen cloth wherein thou wast Wrapped, let us also be girt about with thy power that is not vanquished and for the new tomb and the burial let us receive renewing of soul and body: and for that thou didst rise up and revive, let us revive and live and stand before thee in righteous judgement. And he brake and gave the eucharist unto Iuzanes and Tertia and Mnesara and the wife and daughter of Siphor and said: Let this eucharist be unto you for salvation and joy and health of your souls. And they said: Amen. And a voice was heard, saying: Amen: fear ye not, but only believe.

159 And after these things Judas departed to be imprisoned.

And Tertia with Mygdonia and Narcia also went to be imprisoned. And the apostle Thomas said unto them -the multitude of them that had believed being present: Daughters and sisters and fellow-servants which have believed in my Lord and God, ministers of my Jesus, hearken to me this day: for I do deliver my word unto you, and I shall no more speak with you in this flesh nor in this world; for I go up unto my Lord and God Jesus Christ, unto him that sold me, unto that Lord that humbled himself even unto me the little, and brought me up unto eternal greatness, that vouchsafed to me to become his servant in truth and steadfastness: unto him do I depart, knowing that the time is fulfilled, and the day appointed hath drawn near for me to go and receive my recompense from my Lord and God: for my recompenser is righteous, who knoweth me, how I ought to receive my reward; for he is not grudging nor envious, but is rich in his gifts, he is not a lover of craft (OT sparing) in that he giveth, for he hath confidence in his possessions which cannot fail.

160 I am not Jesus, but I am his servant: I am not Christ, but I am his minister; I am not the Son of God, but I pray to become worthy of God. Continue ye in the faith of Christ: continue in the hope of the Son of God: faint not at affliction, neither be divided in mind if ye see me mocked or that I am shut up in prison ; for I do accomplish his will. For if I had willed not to die, I know in Christ that I am able thereto: but this which is called death, is not death, but a setting free from the body; wherefore I receive gladly this setting free from the body, that I may depart and see him that is beautiful and full of mercy, him that is to be loved: for I have endured much toil in his service, and have laboured for his grace that is come upon me, which departeth not from me. Let not Satan, then, enter you by stealth and catch away your thoughts: let there be in you no place for him: for he is mighty whom ye have received. Look for the coming of Christ, for he shall come and receive you, and this is he whom ye shall see when he cometh.

161 When the apostle had ended these sayings, they went into the house, and the apostle Thomas said: Saviour that didst suffer many things for us, let these doors be as they were and let seals be set on them. And he left them and went to be imprisoned: and they wept and were in heaviness, for they knew that Misdaeus would slay him (not knowing that, M. would release him, P.).

162 And the apostle found the keepers wrangling and saying: Wherein have we sinned against this wizard? for by his art magic he hath opened the doors and would have had all the prisoners escape: but let us go and report it unto the king, and tell him concerning his wife and his son. And as they disputed thus, Thomas held his peace. They rose up early, therefore, and went unto the king and said unto him: Our lord and king, do thou take away that sorcerer and cause him to be shut up elsewhere, for we are not able to keep him; for except thy good fortune had kept the prison, all the condemned persons would have escaped for now this second time have we found the doors open: and also thy wife, O king, and thy son and the rest depart not from him. And the king, hearing that, went, and found the seals that were set on the doors whole; and he took note of the doors also, and said to the keepers: Wherefore lie ye? for the seals are whole. How said ye that Tertia and Mygdonia come unto him into the prison? And the keepers said: We have told thee the truth.

163 And Misdaeus went to the prison and took his seat, and sent for the apostle Thomas and stripped him (and girded him with a girdle) and set him before him and saith unto him: Art thou bond or free? Thomas said: I am the bondsman of one only, over whom thou hast no authority. And Misdaeus saith to him: How didst thou run away and come into this country? And Thomas said: I was sold hither by my master, that I might save many, and by thy hands depart out of this world. And Misdaeus said: Who is thy lord? and what is his name? and of what country is he? And Thomas said: My Lord is thy master and he is Lord of heaven and earth. And Misdaeus saith: What is his name? Thomas saith: Thou canst not hear his true name at this time: but the name that was given unto him is Jesus Christ. And Misdaeus saith unto him: I have not made haste to destroy thee, but have had long patience with thee: but thou hast added unto thine evil deeds, and thy sorceries are dispersed abroad and heard of throughout all the country: but this I do that thy sorceries may depart with thee, and our land be cleansed from them. Thomas saith unto him; These sorceries depart with me when I set forth hence, and know thou this that I shall never forsake them that are here.

164 When the apostle had said these things, Misdaeus considered how he should put him to death; for he was afraid because of the much people that were subject unto him, for many also of the nobles and of them that were in authority believed on him. He took him therefore and went forth out of the city; and armed soldiers also went with him. And the people supposed that the king desired to learn somewhat of him, and they stood still and gave heed. And when they had walked one mile, he delivered him unto four soldiers and an offlcer, and commanded them to take him into the mountain and there pierce him with spears and put an end to him, and return again to the city. And saying thus unto the soldiers, he himself also returned unto the city.

165 But the men ran after Thomas, desiring to deliver him from death. And two soldiers went at the right hand of the apostle and two on his left, holding spears, and the officer held his hand and supported him. And the apostle Thomas said: O the hidden mysteries which even until our departure are accomplished in us! O riches of his glory, who will not suffer us to be swallowed up in this passion of the body! Four are they that cast me down, for of four am I made; and one is he that draweth me, for of one I am, and unto him I go. And this I now understand, that my Lord and God Jesus Christ being of one was pierced by one, but I, which am of four, am pierced by four.

166 And being come up into the mountain unto the place where he was to be slain, he said unto them that held him, and to the rest: Brethren, hearken unto me now at the last; for I am come to my departure out of the body. Let not then the eyes of your heart be blinded, nor your ears be made deaf. Believe on the God whom I preach, and be not guides unto yourselves in the hardness of your heart, but walk in all your liberty, and in the glory that is toward men, and the life that is toward God.

167 And he said unto Iuzanes: Thou son (to the son, P) of the (earthly) king Misdaeus and minister (to the minister) of our Lord Jesus Christ: give unto the servants of Misdaeus their price that they may suffer me to go and pray. And Iuzanes persuaded the soldiers to let him pray. And the blessed Thomas went to pray, and kneeled down, and rose up and stretched forth his hands unto heaven, and spake thus:

168 And when he had thus prayed he said unto the soldiers: Come hither and accomplish the commandments of him that sent you. And the four came and pierced him with their spears, and he fell down and died.

And all the brethren wept; and they brought beautiful robes and much and fair linen, and buried him in a royal sepulchre wherein the former (first) kings were laid.

169 But Siphor and Iuzanes would not go down to the city, but continued sitting by him all the day. And the apostle Thomas appeared unto them and said: Why sit ye here and keep watch over me? I am not here, but I have gone up and received all that I was promised. But rise up and go down hence; for after a little time ye also shall be gathered unto me.

But Misdaeus and Charisius took away Mygdonia and Tertia and afflicted them sorely: howbeit they consented not unto their will. And the apostle appeared unto them and said: Be not deceived: Jesus the holy, the living one, shall quickly send help unto you. And Misdaeus and Charisius, when they perceived that Mygdonia and Tertia obeyed them not, suffered them to live according to their own desire.

And the brethren gathered together and rejoiced in the grace of the Holy Ghost: now the apostle Thomas when he departed out of the world made Siphor a presbyter and Iuzanes a deacon, when he went up into the mountain to die. And the Lord wrought with them, and many were added unto the faith.

170 Now it came to pass after a long time that one of the children of Misdaeus the king was smitten by a devil, and no man could cure him, for the devil was exceeding fierce. And Misdaeus the king took thought and sad: I will go and open the sepulchre, and take a bone of the apostle of God and hang it upon my son and he shall be healed. But while Misdaeus thought upon this, the apostle Thomas appeared to him and said unto him: Thou believedst not on a living man, and wilt thou believe on the dead? yet fear not, for my Lord Jesus Christ hath compassion on thee and pitieth thee of his goodness.

And he went and opened the scpulchre, but found not the apostle there, for one of the brethren had stolen him away and taken him unto Mesopotamia; but from that place where the bones of the apostle had lain Misdaeus took dust and put it about his son's neck, saying: I believe on thee, Jesu Christ, now that he hath left me which troubleth men and opposeth them lest they should see thee. And when he had hung it upon his son, the Iad became whole.

Misdaeus the king therefore was also gathered among the brethren, and bowed his head under the hands of Siphor the priest; and Siphor said unto the bretbren: Pray ye for Misdaeus the king, that he may obtain mercy of Jesus Christ, and that he may no more remember evil against him. They all therefore, with one accord rejoicing, rmade prayer for him; and the Lord that loveth men, the King of Kings and Lord of lords, granted Misdaeus also to have hope in him; and he was gathered with the multitude of them that had believed in Christ, glorifying the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, whose is power and adoration, now and for ever and world without end. Amen.

THE (SYRIAC-ARAMAIC) ACTS OF JUDAS THOMAS THE APOSTLE.

with The Hymn of the Pearl or Hymn of the Robe of Glory
The Acts of Didymus Judas Thomas
From: Syriac Manuscripts In The British Museum
Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles (1871) Vol 2. pp.146-298
Translation: William Wright, 1871
Estimated Range of Dating: 200-250 A.D.

(The early 3rd-century text called Acts of Thomas is one of the New Testament apocrypha. References to the work by Epiphanius of Salamis show that it was in circulation in the 4th century. The complete versions that survive are Syriac and Greek. There are many surviving fragments of the text. Scholars detect from the Greek that its original was written in Syriac, which places the Acts of Thomas in Edessa. Mainstream Christian tradition rejects the Acts of Thomas as pseudepigraphical and apocryphal, and for its part, the Roman Catholic Church declared Acts as heretical at the Council of Trent.

Thomas is often referred to by his name Judas (his full name is Didymus Judas Thomas), since both 'Thomas' and 'Didymus' just mean twin. Several scholars now wonder whether that twin name is a reference to Judas [Jude] the brother of Jesus.

The Acts of Thomas connects Thomas the apostle's Indian ministry with two kings. According to one of the legends in the Acts, Thomas was at first reluctant to accept this mission,

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but the Lord appeared to him in a night vision and said, "Fear not, Thomas. Go away to India and proclaim the Word, for my grace shall be with you." But the Apostle still demurred, so the Lord overruled the stubborn disciple by ordering circumstances so compelling that he was forced to accompany an Indian merchant, Abbanes, to his native place in north-west India, where he found himself in the service of the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares. The apostle's ministry resulted in many conversions throughout the kingdom, including the king and his brother.*

[Gondopahres I or Gondophares I [Old-Iranian: Vindafarna, "May he find glory"] was the founder of the Indian-Parthian Kingdom at the River Indus [in today's Pakistan and India] and its most prominent king, ruling from 19 to 46 AD. A member of the House of Suren, he belonged to a line of local princes who had governed the Parthian province of Drangiana since its disruption by the Indo-Scythians in c. 129 BC. During his reign, his kingdom became independent from Parthian authority and was transformed into an empire, which encompassed Drangiana, Arachosia, and the Greek city of Gandhara.]*

***Contents** [text is broken by headings]:*

1 - when he went into India with Abbanes the merchant. The apostles cast lots to see who will go where as a missionary. Thomas gets India, but refuses his mission, even after Jesus speaks to him. Jesus then appears in human form and sells Thomas to a merchant as a slave, since Thomas is skilled as a carpenter. Thomas is then asked if Jesus is his master, which he affirms. It is only then he accepts his mission.

2 - concerning his coming unto the king Gundaphorus

3 - concerning the serpent

4 - concerning the colt

5 - concerning the devil that took up his abode in the woman

6 - of the youth that murdered the Woman. A young couple begin to have relationship problems when the woman proves to be too keen on sex, while the male advocates being chaste, honouring the teachings of Thomas. So the male kills his lover. He comes to take the eucharist with others in the presence of Thomas, but his hand withers, and Thomas realises that the male has committed a crime. After being challenged, the male reveals his crime, and the reason for it, so Thomas forgives him, since his motive was good, and goes to find the woman's body. In an inn, Thomas and those with him lay the woman's body on a couch, and, after praying, Thomas has the male hold the woman's hand, whereupon the woman comes back to life.

The story clearly has the gnostic themes of death and resurrection, death not being a bad thing but a result of the pursuit of gnostic teaching, and the resurrection into greater life, once gnostic teaching is understood.

7 - of the Captain

8 - of the wild asses

9 - of the Wife of Charisius

10 - wherein Mygdonia receiveth baptism

11 - concerning the wife of Misdaeus

12 - concerning Ouazanes (Iuzanes) the son of Misdaeus

13 - wherein Iuzanes receiveth baptism with the rest

The Martyrdom of Thomas

Leucius Charinus

THE HYMN OF THE PEARL

Embedded in the Acts of Thomas at different places according to differing manuscript traditions is a Syriac hymn, The Hymn of the Pearl, (or Hymn of the Soul), a poem that gained a great deal of popularity in mainstream Christian circles. The Hymn is older than the Acts into which it has been inserted, and is worth appreciating on its own. The text is interrupted with the poetry of another hymn, the one that begins "Come, thou holy name of the Christ that is above every name", a theme that was taken up in Catholic Christianity in the 13th century as the Holy Name.

The hymn is commonly interpreted as a Gnostic view of the human condition, that we are spirits lost in a world of matter and forgetful of our true origin. This state of affairs may be ameliorated by a revelatory message delivered by a messenger, a role generally ascribed to Jesus. The letter thus takes on a symbolic representation of gnosis.

The hymn has been preserved and especially treasured in Manichaeism - a version of it appears as part of a Coptic Manichaean psalm book and is called the Psalms of Thomas. The Hymn of the Pearl has also been admired by Orthodox Christian thinkers and members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Mormons).

The Psalms of Thomas (more correctly Psalms of Thom) are a set of 2nd century Judeo-Christian psalms found appended to the end of a Coptic Manichaean psalm book, which was in turn part of the Medinet Madi Coptic Texts uncovered in 1928. Published in 1938 by C. R. C. Allberry, Internet versions only comprise 12 numbered psalms.

The themes and content of the psalms bear a considerable resemblance to the Hymn of the Pearl from the Acts of Thomas. In 1949 Torgny Save-Soderbergh suggested that the psalms were largely based upon canonical Mandaean texts (despite Jesus being mentioned positively in two psalms), his work on the psalms demonstrating that Mandaeism did not derive from Manichaeism, as was formerly commonly believed.)

We are going to show The Hymn of the Pearl first, followed by The Acts of Didymus Judas Thomas

THE HYMN OF THE PEARL
(Translation: William Wright, 1871)

When I was a little child,
and dwelling in my kingdom,
in my father's house, and was content with the wealth and the
luxuries of my nourishers,
from the East, our home,
my parents equipped me (and) sent me forth;
and of the wealth of our treasury
they took abundantly, (and) tied up for me a load
large and (yet) light, which I myself could carry,
gold of Beth-Ellaya,
and silver of Gazak the great,
and rubies of India,
and agates from Beth-Kashan,
and they furnished me with the adamant,
which can crush iron.
And they took off from me the glittering robe,
which in their affection they made for me,
and the purple toga,
which was measured (and) woven to my stature.
And they made a compact with me,
and wrote it in my heart, that it might not be forgotten:
"If thou goest down into Egypt,
and bringest the one pearl,
which is in the midst of the sea
around the loud-breathing serpent,
thou shalt put on thy glittering robe
and thy toga, with which (thou art) contented,
and with thy brother, who is next to us in authority,
thou shalt be heir in our kingdom."
I quitted the East (and) went down,
there being two guardians,
for the way was dangerous and difficult,
and I was very young to travel it.
I passed through the borders of Maishan,
the meeting-place of the merchants of the East,
and I reached the land of Babel,
and I entered the walls of Sarbug.
I went down into Egypt,
and my companions parted from me.
I went straight to the serpent,
I dwelt in his abode,
(waiting) till he should lumber and sleep,
and I could take my pearl from him.
And when I was single and alone
(and) became strange to my family,
one of my race, a free-born man,
and Oriental, I saw there,
a youth fair and loveable,
the son of oil-sellers;
and he came and attached himself to me,
and I made him my intimate friend,
and associate with whom I shared my merchandise.
I warned him against the Egyptians,
and against consorting with the unclean;
And I dressed in their dress,
that they might not hold me in abhorrence,
because I was come from abroad in order to take the pearl,
and arouse the serpent against me.
But in some way other or another
they found out that I was not their countryman,
and they dealt with me treacherously,
and gave their food to eat.
I forget that I was a son of kings,
and I served their king;
and I forgot the pearl,
for which my parents had sent me,
and because of the burden of their oppressions
I lay in a deep sleep.
But all this things that befell me
my parents perceived, and were grieved for me;
and proclamation was made in our kingdom,
that every one should come to our gate [kingdom],
kings and princes of Parthia,
and all the nobles of the East.
And they wove a plan on my behalf,
that I might not be left in Egypt;
and they wrote to me a letter,
and every noble signed his name to it:
"From thy father, the king of kings,
and thy mother, the mistress of the East,
and from thy brother, our second (in authority),
to thee our son, who art in Egypt, greeting!
Call to mind that thou art a son of kings!
See the slavery,--whom thou servest!
Remember the pearl,
for which thou was sent to Egypt!
Think of thy robe,
and remember thy splendid toga,
which thou shalt wear and (with which) thou shalt be adorned,
when thy name hath been read out in the list of the valiant,
and thy brother, our viceroy,
thou shalt be in our kingdom."
My letter is a letter,
which the king sealed with his own right hand,
(to keep it) from the wicked ones, the children of Babel,
and from the savage demons of Sarbug.
It flew in the likeness of an eagle,
the king of all birds;
it flew and alight beside me,
and became all speech.
At its voice and the sound of its rustling,
I started and arose from my sleep.
I took it up and kissed it,
and I began (and) read it;
and according to what was traced on my heart
were the words of my letter.
I remembered that I was a son of royal parents,
and my noble birth asserted itself.
I remembered the pearl,
for which I had been sent to Egypt,
and I began to charm him,
the terrible loud breathing serpent.
I hushed him asleep and lulled him into slumber,
for my father's name I named over him,
and the name of our second (in power),
and the of my mother, the queen of the East.
And I snatched away the pearl,
and turned to go back to my father's house.
And their filthy and unclean dress I stripped off,
and left it in their country;
and I took my way straight to come
to the light of our home in the East.
And my letter, my awakener,
I found before me on the road;
and as with its voice it had awakened me,
(so) too with its light it was leading me.
It, that dwelt in the palace,
gave light before me with its form,
and with its voice and its guidance
it also encouraged me to speed,
and with its love it drew me on.
I went forth (and) passed by Sarbug;
I left Babel on my left hand;
and I came to the great Maisan,
to the haven of merchants,
which sitteth on the shore of the sea.
And my bright robe, which I had stripped off,
and the toga that was wrapped with it,
from Rantha and Reken[?]
my parents had sent thither
by the hand of their treasures,
who in their truth could be trusted therewith.
And because I remembered not its fashion,—
for in my childhood I had left it in my father's house,—
on a sudden, when I received it,
the garment seemed to me to become like a mirror of myself.
I saw it all in all,
and I to received all in it,
for we were two in distinction
and yet gain one in one likeness.
And the treasurers too,
who brought it to me, I saw in like manner
to be two (and yet) one likeness,
for one sign of the king was written on them (both),
of the hands of him who restored to me through them
my trust and my wealth,
my decorated robe, which
was adorned with glorious colors,
with gold and beryls
and rubies and agates
and sardonyxes, varied in color.
And it was skillfully worked in its home on high,
and with diamond clasps
were all its seams fastened;
and the image of the king of kings
was embroidered and depicted in full all over it,
and like the stone of the sapphire too
its hues were varied.
And I saw also that all over it
the instincts of knowledge were working,
and I saw too that it was preparing to speak.
I heard the sound of its tones,
which it uttered with its (illegible text), (saying):

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"I am the active in deeds,
whom they reared for him before my father;
and I perceived myself,
that my stature grew according to his labors."
And in its kingly movements
it poured itself entirely over me,
and on the hand of its givers
it hastened that I might take it.
And love urged me too run
to meet it and receive it;
and I stretched forth and took it.
With the beauty of its colors I adorned myself,
and I wrapped myself wholly in my toga
of brilliant hues.
I clothed myself with it, and went up to the gate
of salutation and prostration;
I bowed my head and worshipped the majesty
of my father who sent me,—
for I had done his commandments, and he too had done what he promised,—
and the gate of his
I mingled with his princes,
for he rejoiced in me and received me,
and I was with him in his kingdom,
and with the voice of
all his servants praised him.
And he promised that to the gate too
of the king of kings with him I should go,
and with my offering and my pearl
with him should present myself to our king.
The Hymn of Judas Thomas the Apostles,
which he spake in prison, is ended.

THE ACTS OF DIDYMUS JUDAS THOMAS
(Translation: William Wright, 1871)

THE (FIRST) ACT OF JUDAS THOMAS THE APOSTLE, WHEN HE SOLD HIM TO THE MERCHANT HABBĀN, THAT HE MIGHT GO DOWN (AND) CONVERT INDIA.1

And when all the Apostles had been for a time in Jerusalem, — Simon Cephas and Andrew, and Jacob (James) and John, and Philip and Bartholomew, and Thomas and Matthew the publican, and Jacob (James) the son of Alphæus, and Simon the Kananite, and Judas the son of Jacob (James),—they divided the countries among them, in order that each one of them might preach in the region which fell to him and in the place to which his Lord sent him. And India fell by lot and division to Judas Thomas (or the Twin) the Apostle. And he was not willing to go, saying: "I have not strength enough for this, because I am weak. And I am a Hebrew: how can I teach the Indians?" And whilst Judas was reasoning thus, our Lord appeared to him in a vision of the night, and said to him: " Fear not, Thomas, because my grace is with thee." But he would not be persuaded at all, saying: "Whithersoever Thou wilt, our Lord, send me; only to India I will not go." And as Judas was reasoning thus, a certain merchant, an Indian, happened (to come) into the south country from——,whose name was Habbān; and he was sent by the king Gudnaphar, that he might bring to him a skilful carpenter. And our Lord saw him walking in the street, and said to him: " Thou wishest to buy a carpenter?" He saith to him, "Yes." Our Lord saith to him: "I have a slave, a carpenter, whom I will sell to thee." And he showed him Thomas at a distance, and bargained with him for twenty (pieces) of silver (as) his price, and wrote a bill of sale thus: "I, Jesus, the son of Joseph the carpenter, from the village of Bethlehem, which is in Judaea, acknowledge, that I have sold my slave Judas Thomas to Habbān, the merchant of king Gudnaphar." And when they had completed his bill of sale, Jesus took Judas, and went to Habbān the merchant. And Habbān saw him, and said to him: "Is this thy master?" Judas saith to him: "Yes, he is my master." Habbān the merchant saith to, him: "He has sold thee to me outright." And Judas was silent.

And in the morning he arose and prayed, and entreated of his Lord, and said to Him: "Lo, our Lord, as Thou wilt, let Thy will be (done)." And he went to Habbān the merchant, without carrying anything with him except that price of his, for our Lord had given it to him. And Judas went and found Habbān the merchant carrying his goods on board the ship, and he began to carry (them) on board with him. And when they had gone on board and sat down, Habbān the merchant saith to Judas: "What is thy art which thou art skilled in practising?" Judas saith to him: "Carpentering and architecture—the business of the carpenter." Habban the merchant saith to him: "What dost thou know to make in wood, and what in hewn stone?" Judas saith to him: "In wood I have learned to make ploughs and yokes and ox-goads, and oars for ferry-boats, and masts for ships; and in stone, tombstones and monuments, and temples, and palaces for kings." Habbān the merchant saith to him: "And I was seeking just such an artificer." And they began to sail, because the breeze was steady; and they were sailing along gently, until they put in at the town of Sandaruk.

And when they had disembarked on the land, and were entering and going into the city, they heard the sound of pipes and organs and much singing. And Judas was asking and saying: "What is the rejoicing that is in this city?" They say to him: "Thee too have the gods brought that thou mayest be glad in this city; for the king has an only daughter, and he is giving her to a man; and this sound of rejoicing is that of the wedding-feast. And heralds have been permitted by the king to proclaim, that every one should come to the feast, both poor and rich, and slaves and freemen, and strangers and citizens. And every one who does not come to the feast, is in danger of the anger of the king." The merchant Habbān saith to Judas: "Let us too go, that we may not be spoken ill of, especially as we are strangers." And when they had stopped at an inn and rested a little, they went to attend the feast. And Judas reclined in the middle, and they were all looking upon him as upon a stranger, who came from another place. And the merchant Habbān, his master, was reclining in another place.

And when they ate and drank, Judas was tasting nothing at all. Those who were beside him say to him: "Why art thou come hither, since thou art not able to eat or to drink?" Judas saith to them: "For something that is better than eating or drinking, am I come hither; and for the king's rest, and that I might accomplish his will; and because the heralds were proclaiming, that he who hears and does not come, shall receive chastisement." And when they had eaten and drunk, both oil and dried fruits were brought in to them, and they took (thereof). Some were anointing their faces, others their beards, and others other places; but Judas was praising, God, and signing the middle of his head (with the Cross); and he moistened his nostrils with a little (of the oil), and put (some) in his ears, and made the sign (of the Cross) over his heart; and a garland of myrtle was placed on his head, and he took a reed-branch in his hand.

Then the flute-girl, who was in the midst of the party, was going round to them all; and when she came to Judas, she was standing and playing over him. And the flute player was a Hebrew (woman).

And when she had stood over him a long time, Judas did not lift up his face, but was looking all the while on the ground. And one of the cup-bearers came, (and) raised his hand and smote him on his cheek. And Judas looked at him and said to him: "My God will forgive thee this in the world to come, but in this world He will show His wonders on the hand which smote me, and I shall see it dragged along by a dog." And Judas began to sing this song.

"My Church is the daughter of light; the splendour of kings is hers. Charming and winsome is her aspect, fair and adorned with every good work. Her garments are like unto flowers, the smell whereof is fragrant and pleasant. On her head dwelleth the King, and He feedeth those who dwell with Him beneath. Truth is placed on her head, joy moves in her feet. Her mouth is open, and it becometh her, wherewith she uttereth all songs of praise. The twelve Apostles of the Son, and the seventy-two (disciples) thunder forth (His praises) in her. Her tongue is the curtain, which the priest raiseth and entereth in. Her neck is the lofty flight of steps, which the first architect did build. Her hands, both of them, proclaim (and point out) the place of life; and her ten fingers have opened the gate of Heaven. Her bridal chamber is lighted up, and full of the sweet odour of salvation. A censer is ready in its midst, love and belief and hope, gladdening all; within, truth (dwells) in humility. Her gates are adorned with truth; her groomsmen surround her, all whom she hath invited; and her pure bridesmaids (go) before her, uttering praise. The living are in attendance upon her, and they look to their Bridegroom who shall come, and they shall shine with His glory, and shall be with Him in the kingdom which never passeth away. And they shall be in the glory to which all the just are gathered; and they shall be in the joy into which some enter; and they shall put on shining garments, and shall be clothed with the glory of their Lord. And they shall praise the living Father, whose majestic light they have received, and have been enlightened by the splendour of their Lord, of whose food they have received, which never hath any excrement, and have drunk of the life which makes those who drink of it long and thirst (for more); and have glorified the Father, the Lord of all, and the only-(begotten) Son, who is of Him; and have praised the Spirit, His Wisdom."

And when he had sang this song, all who were beside him were looking at him, and were seeing that his aspect was changed; but they could not at all understand what he was saying, because he was speaking in Hebrew, and they did not know (it). But the flute-player had heard everything, because she was a Hebrew (woman), and she was looking at him. And when she left him and played to the others, she still kept looking at him, and loved him as a countryman of hers; and in his looks he was more beautiful than all those who were there. And when the flute-player had finished, she sat down opposite to him and did not turn away her eyes from him; but he did not lift up his eyes, and did not look at any one, but was ever looking upon the ground, (waiting) till he might arise and depart from the banquet-room. And the cup-bearer had gone down to the fountain to draw water, and a lion happened to be there, and rent him and tore him limb from limb. Then the dogs were carrying off his limbs singly; and a black dog carried off his right hand, which he had raised against Judas, and brought it into the midst of the banquet-room.

And when they all saw it, they were amazed. And when they were all asking which of them was lost, the hand was found to be that of the cup-bearer who had smitten Judas. Then the flute-player broke her flutes, and came to the feet of the Apostle, (and) sat down, and was saying: "This man is either God or the Apostle of God; for I heard him (say) in Hebrew what he said to that cup-bearer, and immediately it befell him. For he said to him, 'I shall see a dog dragging about the hand that smote me'; and lo, ye have seen how the dog dragged it about." And some of them believed the flute-player, and some of them did not believe (her). And the king, when he heard this story, came and said to Judas: "Come with me, and pray for my daughter, because she is my only one, and today I am giving her away in marriage." And he did not wish to go with him, because our Lord had not yet manifested Himself to him in that place. But the king carried him off by force to the bridal chamber.

And he began to pray and to say thus: "Our Lord,—companion of His servants, and guide and conductor of those who believe in Him, and refuge and repose of the afflicted, and hope of the poor, and deliverer of the feeble, and healer of sick souls, life-giver of the universe, and saviour of (all) creatures,—Thou knowest what things are going to happen, and through us Thou accomplishest them. Thou art the discloser of hidden secrets, and the revealer of mysterious sayings. Thou art the planter of the good tree, and through Thy hands all acts take place. Thou art hidden in all Thy works, and art manifested in their acts, Jesus, perfect Son of perfect mercy; and Thou didst become the Messiah, and didst put on the first man. Thou art the power, and the wisdom, and the knowledge, and the will, and the rest of Thy Father, in whom Thou art concealed in glory, and in whom Thou art revealed in Thy creative agency; and Ye are one with two names. And Thou didst manifest Thyself as a feeble (being), and those who saw Thee, thought of Thee, that Thou wast a man who had need of help. And Thou didst show the glory of Thy Godhead in Thy longsuffering towards our manhood, when Thou didst hurl the evil (one) from his power, and didst call with Thy voice to the dead, and they became alive; and to those who were alive and hoping in Thee, Thou didst promise an inheritance in Thy kingdom. Thou wast the ambassador, and wast sent from the supernal heights, because Thou art able to do the living and perfect will of Thy sender. Glorious art Thou, Lord, in Thy might; and Thy renovating administration is in all Thy creatures, and in all the works which Thy Godhead hath established; and no other is able to annul the will of Thy majesty, nor to stand up against Thy nature as Thou art. And Thou didst descend to Sheol, and go to its uttermost end; and didst open its gates, and bring out its prisoners, and didst tread for them the path (leading) above by the nature of Thy Godhead. Yea, Lord, I ask of Thee on behalf of these young people, that whatever Thou knowest to be beneficial for them, Thou wilt do for them." And he laid his hand upon them, and said to them: "Our Lord be with you"; and he left them and went away.

And the king requested the groomsmen to go out of the bridal chamber. And when all the people had gone out, and the door of the bridal chamber was closed, the bridegroom raised up the curtain, that he might bring the bride to himself. And he saw our Lord in the likeness of Judas, who was standing and talking with the bride. And the bridegroom said to him: "Lo, thou didst go out first; how art thou still here?" Our Lord saith to him: "I am not Judas, but I am the brother of Judas." And our Lord sat down on the bed, and let the young people sit down on the chairs, and began to say to them:—

"Remember, my children, what my brother spake with you, and know to whom he committed you; and know that as soon as ye preserve yourselves from this filthy intercourse, ye become pure temples, and are saved from afflictions manifest and hidden, and from the heavy care of children, the end of whom is bitter sorrow. And if ye have children, for their sakes ye will become oppressors and robbers and smiters of orphans and wrongers of widows, and ye will be grievously tortured for their injuries. For the greatest part of children are the cause of many pains; for either the king falls upon them, or a demon lays hold of them, or paralysis befalls them. And if they be healthy, they come to ill either by adultery, or theft, or fornication, or covetousness, or vain-glory; and through these wickednesses ye will be tortured by them. But if ye will be persuaded by me, and keep yourselves purely unto God, ye shall have living children, to whom not one of these blemishes and hurts cometh nigh; and ye shall be without care and without grief and without sorrow; and ye shall be hoping (for the time) when ye shall see the true wedding-feast; and ye shall be in it praisers (of God), and shall be numbered with those who enter into the bridal chamber."

And the young people were persuaded by our Lord, and gave up themselves to Him, and were preserved from filthy

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lust, and passed the night in their places. And our Lord went forth from beside them, and said to them: "May the grace of your Lord be with you." And in the morning, when it was dawn, the king had the table furnished early, and brought in before the bridegroom and bride. And he found them sitting the one opposite the other, and the face of the bride was uncovered and she was sitting, and the bridegroom was very cheerful. The mother of the bride saith to her: "Why are thou sitting thus, and art not ashamed, but (art) as if, lo, thou wert (married) along time and for many a day?" And her father too said : " Because of thy great love for thy husband dost thou not even veil thyself?"

And the bride answered and saith to her: "Truly, my mother, I am in great love, and I am praying to my Lord that I may continue in this love which I have experienced this night, and may call for the incorruptible Bridegroom who has revealed Himself to me this night. And that I am not veiled, (is) because the veil of corruption is taken away from me; and that I am not ashamed, (is) because the deed of shame has been removed far from me; and that I am not repentant, (is) because the repentance, which restores to life, abides in me. And that I am cheerful and gay, (is) because, in the day of this transitory joy, I am not agitated by it; and that this deed of corruption is despised by me, and the spoils of this wedding-feast that passes away, (is) because I am invited to the true wedding-feast; and that I have not had intercourse with a husband, the end whereof is bitter repentance, (is) because I am betrothed to the true Husband." And many things which were like unto these was she saying.

Then too the bridegroom answered and said: "I praise Thee, (Thou) new God, who by means of a stranger hast come hither. I glorify Thee, (Thou) God, who hast been preached by means of a Hebrew man; who hast removed me from corruption, and hast sown in me life; who hast delivered me from the disease that was abiding in me for ever; who hast revealed to us Thyself, and I have perceived in what (state) I am; who hast saved me from falling and hast led me on to a better state; who hast rescued me from these transitory things, and hast deemed me worthy of those that are not transitory; who hast let Thyself down even to my littleness, that Thou mightest bring me unto Thy greatness ; who didst not withhold Thy mercy from me who was lost, but didst show me (how) to seek for myself and to put away from me the things that are not mine; who, when I did not know Thee, hast sought me Thyself; who, when I did not perceive Thee, hast come unto me; whom I have now perceived, and am not able to say anything which I do not know; against whom 'I cannot consent that I should say aught with boldness, for it is because of Thy love that I am bold."

And when the king heard these things from the bridegroom and from the bride, he rent his garments, and said to those who were by him: "Go forth in haste through the whole city, and go about, (and) bring me that sorcerer, whom I introduced with my own hands into my house, and bade him pray over my unlucky daughter. To the man who shall find him and bring him to me, I will give whatever he shall ask." And they went (and) were going about looking for him, and did not find him, because he had set out. And they went to the inn where he had stayed, and found the flute-girl sitting and weeping, because he had not taken her with him. And when they told her what had happened, she was glad and saith: "I have found rest here." And she arose (and) went to the young people, and was dwelling with them a long time. And they taught the king too, and collected a number of brethren, until news was heard of the Apostle (being) in the realm of India; and they went to him and were united unto him.

Here ends the first act.

THE SECOND ACT, WHEN THOMAS THE APOSTLE ENTERED INTO INDIA, AND BUILT A PALACE FOR THE KING IN HEAVEN.

And when Judas had entered into the realm of India with the merchant Habbān, Habbān went to salute Gūdnaphar, the king of India, and he told him of the artificer whom he had brought for him. And the king was very glad, and ordered Judas to come into his presence. And the king said to him: "What art dost thou know to practise?" Judas saith to him: "I am a carpenter, the servant of a carpenter and architect." He saith to him: "What dost thou know to make?" Judas saith to him: "In wood I know (how) to make yokes and ploughs and ox-goads, and oars for barges and ferryboats, and masts for ships; and in hewn stone, tombstones and monuments and palaces for kings." The king saith to Judas: "And I want such an artificer." The king saith to him: "Wilt thou build me a palace?" Judas saith to him: "I will build it and finish it, for I am come to work at building and carpentering."

And he took him and went outside the gate of the city, and was talking with him about the constructing of the palace, and about its foundations, how they should be laid. And when he had reached the place where the king wished him to build a palace for him, he said to Judas: "Here I wish you to build for me a palace." Judas saith to him: "(Yes,) for this is a place which is suitable for it." Now it was of this sort; it was a meadow, and there was plenty of water near it. The king saith to him: "Begin to build here." Judas saith to him: "Now I cannot build, at this time." The king saith to him: "And at what time wilt thou be able to build?" Judas saith: "I will begin in Teshri (Oct.-Nov.), and I will finish in Nisan (April)." The king saith to him: "All buildings are built in summer; and thou buildest in winter!" Judas saith to him: "Thus (only) is it possible for the palace to be built." The king saith to him: "Well then, trace it out for me that I may see it, because after a long time I shall come hither." And Judas came and took a cane, and began to measure; and he left doors towards the east for light, and windows towards the west for air; and (he made) the bake-house to the south, and the water-pipes for the service (of the house) to the north. The king saith to him: "Verily thou art a good artificer, and art worthy to serve a king;" and he left with him a large sum of money, and departed from him.

And he was sending silver and gold to him from time to time. But Judas was going about in the villages and cities, and was ministering to the poor, and was making the afflicted comfortable, and was saying: "What is the king's shall be given to the king, and many shall have rest."

And after a long time, the king despatched messengers to Judas, and sent (a message) to him thus: "Send me (word) what thou hast done, and what I shall send thee." And Judas sent him (word): "The palace is built, but the roof is wanting to it." Then the king sent to Judas silver and gold, and sent him (word): "Let the palace be roofed." And the Apostle was glorifying our Lord and saying: "I thank Thee, Lord, who didst die that Thou mightest give me life; and who didst sell me that I might be the liberator of many." And he did not cease to teach, and to relieve those who were afflicted, saying: "May your Lord give you rest, to whom alone is the glory; for He is the nourisher of the orphans and the provider of the widows, and He ministers unto all those who are afflicted."

And when the king came to the city, he was asking every one of his friends about the palace which Judas had built for him ; but they say unto him: "There is no palace built, nor has he done anything else, but he was going about the cities and villages, and giving to the poor, and teaching them the new God, and also healing the sick, and driving out demons, and doing many things; and we think that he is a sorcerer; but his compassion, and his healing, which was done without recompense, and his asceticism, and his piety, make (us) think of him either that he is a magus, or an Apostle of the new God; for he fasts much and prays much, and eats bread and salt and drinks water, and wears one garment, and takes nothing from any man for himself, and whatever he has he gives to others." And when the king heard these things, he smote his face with his hands, and was shaking his head.

And he sent (and) called Judas and the merchant who had brought him, and said to him: "Hast thou built me the palace?" Judas saith to him: "I have built thee the palace." The king saith to him: "In what time can we go (and) look at it?" Judas saith to him: "Thou canst not see it now, but when thou hast departed from this world." Then the king became very furious in his anger, and commanded that Thomas and the merchant who had brought him, being bound, should go to prison, till he could question him about what had done — to whom he had given it — and then destroy him. But Judas went rejoicing, and said to the merchant: "Fear not, but only believe, and thou shalt be freed from this world, and shalt receive everlasting life in the world to come."

And the king was considering by what death he should kill Judas and the merchant; and he took the resolution that he would burn him, after being flayed, with the merchant his companion. And in that very night, the brother of the king, whose name was Gad, was taken ill through grief and through the imposition which had been practised upon the king. And he sent (and) called the king, and said to him: "My brother, I commend unto thee my house and my children, for I am grieved and am dying because of the imposition that hath been practised upon thee. If thou dost not punish that sorcerer, thou wilt not let my soul be at peace in Sheol." The king saith to him: "The whole night I have been considering, how I should kill him, and I have resolved to burn him with fire after he hath been flayed." Then the brother of the king said to him: "And if there be anything else that is worse than this, do (it) to him; and I give thee charge of my house and my children."

And when he had said these things, his soul left him. And the king was grieved for his brother, because he loved him much; and he wished to bury him in a splendid sepulchre. But when the soul of Gad, the brother of the king, had left him, angels took it and bore it up to heaven; and they were showing it each place in succession, (and asking it) in which of them it wished to be. Then, when they came to the palace which Judas had built for the king, his brother saw it, and said to the angels: "I beg of you, my lords, let me dwell in one of the lower chambers of this palace." The angels say to him: "Thou canst not dwell in this palace." He saith to them: "Wherefore?" They say to him: "This palace is the one which the Christian hath built for thy brother." Then he said to them: "I beg of you, my lords, let me go, that I may go to my brother and buy of him this palace; for my brother hath not seen it, and will sell it to me."

Then the angels let go the soul of Gad. And as they were enshrouding him, his soul came into him, and he said to those who were standing before him: "Call my brother to me that I may make of him one request." Then they sent word to the king, "Thy brother is come to life." And the king sprang up from his place, and went into the house of his brother with a number of people. And when he had gone in beside his bed, he was astounded and was unable to speak with him. His brother saith to him: " I know, my brother, that if a man had asked thee for the half of thy kingdom, thou wouldst have given it for me. And now I beg of thee that thou wouldst sell me that at which thou hast laboured." The king saith to him: "Tell me, what shall I sell thee?" He saith to him: "Swear unto me." And he swore unto him that he would grant him whatever he asked of all that he had. He saith to him: "Sell me the palace which thou hast in heaven." The king saith to him: "Who hath given me a palace in heaven?" His brother saith to him: "(It is) that which the Christian hath built for thee." The king saith to him: "That I cannot sell to thee; but I pray and beg of God that I may enter into it and receive it, and may be worthy to be among its inhabitants. And thou, if thou really wishest to buy thyself a palace, this architect will build (one) for thee which will be better than that of mine." And he sent (and) brought out Judas and the merchant who was imprisoned with him, and said to him: "I beg of thee, as a man who begs of a minister of God, that thou wouldst pray for me, and beg for me from the God whom thou worshippest, that He would forgive me what I have done unto thee; and that He would make me worthy to enter into the palace which thou hast built for me; and that I may become a worshipper of this God whom thou preachest." And his brother came and fell down before the feet of the Apostle, and said to him: "I beg of thee—I too supplicate before thy God, that I may become worthy to Be a worshipper of His, and may also receive what He hath shown me by the hand of the angels."

Judas saith: "I praise Thee, our Lord Jesus the Messiah, who art alone the God of truth, and there is no other, and Thou knowest whatever man does not know. Thou, whose mercy is upon men, whom Thou hast willed and made,—and they have forgotten Thee, but Thou hast not neglected them—do Thou receive the king and his brother, and unite them to Thy fold, and anoint them, and purify them from their uncleanness, and guard them from wolves, and feed them in Thy meadows, and let them drink of Thy fountain, which is never turbid and the stream whereof never faileth; for, lo, they beg of Thee and supplicate, and wish to become servants of Thine, and to be persecuted by Thy enemy and to be hated for Thy sake. Let them therefore have boldness in Thee, and be confirmed by Thy glorious mysteries, and receive of the gifts of Thy gifts."

And they were rejoicing with holy hymns, and were cleaving unto the Apostle and not parting from him; and every one who was needy, was receiving and being relieved. And they begged of him that they might receive the sign (of baptism, saying:) "For we have heard that all the sheep of that God, whom thou preachest, are known to Him by the sign." Judas saith to them: " I too rejoice, and I ask of you to partake of the Eucharist and of the blessing of this Messiah whom I preach." And the king gave orders that the bath should be closed for seven days, and that no man should bathe in it. And when the seven days were done, on the eighth day they three entered into the bath by night that Judas might baptise them. And many lamps were lighted in the bath.

And when they had entered into the bath-house, Judas went in before them. And our Lord appeared unto them, and said to them: "Peace be with you, my brethren." And they heard the voice only, but the form they did not see, whose it was, for till now they had not been baptised. And Judas went up and stood upon the edge of the cistern, and poured oil upon their heads, and said: "Come, holy name of the Messiah; come, power of grace, which art from on high; come, perfect mercy; come, exalted gift; come, sharer of the blessing; come, revealer of hidden mysteries; come, mother of seven houses, whose rest was in the eighth house; come, messenger of reconciliation, and communicate with the minds of these youths; come, Spirit of holiness, and purify their reins and their hearts." And he baptised them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Spirit of holiness. And when they had come up out of the water, a youth appeared to them, and he was holding a lighted taper; and the light of the lamps became pale through its light. And when they had gone forth, he became invisible to them; and the Apostle said: "We were not even able to bear Thy light, because it is too great for our vision." And when it dawned and was morning, he broke the Eucharist and let them partake of the table of the Messiah ; and they were glad and rejoicing.

And when many were added and were coming to the refuge of the Messiah, Judas did not cease to preach and to say to them: "Men and women and children, youths and maidens, shun fornication and covetousness and the service of demons; for under these three heads comes all wickedness. For fornication blinds the intellect, and darkens the eyes of the soul; it confuses the steps of the body, and changes its

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complexion, and makes it sick. And covetousness puts the soul into agitation in the midst of the body, so that it takes what does not belong to it, and is afraid lest, when it returns the thing to its owners, it should be put to shame. And the service of the belly makes the soul dwell in care and sorrow, fearing lest it should come to want, and grasp at things that are far from it. For since ye have been delivered from thence, ye are become without care and without grief; and there remains with you (the saying): 'Take no care for the morrow, because the morrow will take care of itself.' And bear in mind the other (saying), which is written for you: 'Look upon the ravens, and consider the fowl of heaven, which sow not nor reap, and God feedeth them; how much more then will He have care for you, ye lacking in faith?' But expect the coming of Jesus, and hope in Him, and believe in His name, because He is the Judge of the dead and of the quick, and He shall recompense every man according to his works at His last coming. For it will be no excuse for one to say; 'We did not know.' His heralds are proclaiming in the four quarters of the world: 'Repent and believe in the new preaching, and receive the pleasant yoke and the light burden, and live and die not. Gain (these), and perish not. Come forth from the darkness, and the light will receive you. Come to the Good, and receive for yourselves grace, and plant the Cross in your souls.' "

And when the Apostle had said these things, some of them said to him: "It is time for the debtor to be paid." He saith to them: "The creditor always seeketh more, but let us give him as much as is proper." And he spake a blessing over the bread and the olives, and gave unto them. And he himself ate, because the Sunday was, dawning. And when the Apostle was asleep in the night, our Lord came and stood over him and said to him: "Thomas, rise, go forth in the morning after the service, and go along the eastern road about two miles, and I will show in thee my glory; for because of this on account of which thou goest out, many shall come to my refuge and shall live, and thou shalt reprove the power and the nature of the enemy." And when he awoke from his sleep, he said to the brethren who were. beside him: "My children, our Lord will do today whatsoever He will; but let us pray and beg of Him that there be to us no hindrance towards Him, but, just as at all times when He wisheth to show His power in us, (so) now too let His will be accomplished." And when he had spoken thus, he laid his hand upon them, and broke the Eucharist, and gave unto all of them, and said to them: "Let this Eucharist be unto you for grace and mercy, and not for judgement and vengeance." And they said, "Amen."

Here ends the second Act.

THE THIRD ACT OF JUDAS, REGARDING THE BLACK SNAKE.

And the Apostle went forth to go whither our Lord had told him. And when he reached (the distance of) two miles, he turned aside from the road a little, and saw lying there a corpse of a handsome youth, and said: "Was it for this trial Thou didst bring me out hither, our Lord? Let it be as Thou wilt." And he began praying and saying: "Our Lord, Lord of the dead and of the quick—of the quick, who, lo; are standing, and of the dead, who, lo, are lying, — O Lord, Lord of the souls which abide in the body, and Father of all the souls which have gone out of the body, — come, Lord, at this moment, for the sake of the dust which Thy holy hands have fashioned, and look down from, heaven, for I call upon Thee, and show Thy glory in this (man) who is lying here." And he said again: "This deed has not taken place without the instigation of the enemy, who does these things; but the enemy, who does these things, has not dared (to attempt it) through one who is alien to him, but (through one) who is subject to his will." And when he had said these things, a black snake came forth from a fissure, and was shaking his head violently, and beating his tail on the ground. And with a loud voice he said to the Apostle: "I will say before thee on what account I slew this youth. There was a woman fair of face in this village which is over-against thee; and as she passed by me, I saw her and loved her; and I went after her, and saw this youth kissing her, and he also slept with her, and did other things with her which are unseemly, — easy for me (to say), but to thee I do not dare to utter them, because I know that the ocean-flood of the Messiah will destroy our nature. And in order that I might not alarm her, I did not kill him at that time, but I watched him, and in the evening, when he passed by me, I struck him and killed him, and especially because he had dared to do this thing on the Sunday." Judas saith to him: "Of what seed art thou?"

The snake saith to him: "I am reptile, the son of reptile) and harmer, the son of harmer; I am the son of him, to whom power was given over all creatures, and he troubled them. I am the son of him, who makes himself like unto God to those who obey him, that they may do his will. I am the son of him, who is ruler over everything that is created under heaven. I am the son of him, who is outside of the ocean, and whose mouth is closed. I am the kinsman of him, who spake with Eve, and through her made Adam transgress the commandment of God. And I am he who incited Cain to slay his brother. And on my account, — because for this I was created, — the earth was cursed and thorns grew up in it. I am he who dared, and cast down the just from their height, and corrupted them through the lust of women; and they begat sons large of body, and I worked in them my will. And I am he who hardened the heart of Pharaoh, that he might slay the children of Israel, and keep them down in hard slavery. I am he who led the people astray in the desert, when I subdued them so that they made for themselves the calf. I am he who stirred up Caiaphas and Herod by slander against the Righteous Judge. I am he who caused Judas to take the bribe, when he was made subject to me, that he might deliver up the Messiah to death. I am he to whom the power of this world was given, and the Son of Mary has seized me by force and taken what was His from me. I am the kinsman of him, who is to come from the east, to whom the power is given."

And when he had finished, the multitude was hearing all these things; and fear with belief settled on all those who were there, when they saw and heard these wonders. And they were crying out alike with one voice: "One is the God of this man, who has informed us concerning his God, and by his word has commanded this fearful beast, and it has disclosed its nature." And they were begging of him that, as he had commanded it by his word to speak like a man, so too by his word he would kill it.

Then Judas made a sign to them with his hand, and raised his voice and said: "Thou art audacious, though thy nature is laid bare, and thou shalt be slain. And thy insolence, which has gone so far, ought not to have been (such) that thou shouldst tell those things which were done by those who were subject to thee; and thou hast not feared that thy end was come. But to thee I say, in the name of our Lord Jesus, who struggled against thy nature even to the end for His human beings, that thou suck out the poison which thou hast cast into this youth; because my God has sent me to

ill thee and to raise him up alive before this multitude, that they may believe in Him, that He is the true God and that there is no other." And the snake said to him: "Our destruction is not as yet come, as thou hast said. "Why compellest thou me to take (back) what I have put into this youth? For were even my father to suck out and take (back) what he has cast into the creation, it would be his destruction." The Apostle saith to him: "Show, then, the nature of thy father." And the snake came, and put his mouth upon the wound of the youth, and was sucking the poison from it; and by little and little, as the poison was drawn out, the colour of the youth, which had become like purple, became white, and the snake was swelling. And when he had drawn out the whole of the poison from the youth, he sprang upright, and ran to the feet of the Apostle, and fell down and worshipped him. Then the snake burst, according to the word of Judas; and a great pit was made in the place where the poison of the snake fell. And Judas commanded the king and his brother to fill up that place, and lay foundations, and make in it houses (as) places of entertainment for strangers.

And the youth was glorifying God, through whose grace he had come to life by the hand of the Apostle Judas, and had been rescued from all his former deeds. And he begged of the Apostle that he would aid him in prayer to our Lord, being upbraided by his own conscience, and was saying: "To Thee be glory, merciful and great and glorious God, maker and founder of all created things. Thou hast set a limit and a measure to all Thy creatures whom Thou hast created; and hast appointed for them changes that are beneficial to their natures. Thou art He who didst make man, as Thy Godhead willed, with the fashioning of Thy hands, that he might be ruler above; and didst create for him another creation, that he might strive against it with the free-will which Thou didst give him. But the free nature of man went astray, and he became subject to his fellow; and that (fellow) became an enemy to him, because he found that he had been unmindful of his free-will. And the enemy rejoiced that he had found an entrance into his fellow, and thought that he would be master over all the slaves; but Thou, O Merciful, through Thy great mercy, didst spread over us Thy goodness, and didst send to our human race Thy Word, the Disposer of all created things, through Thy glorious Son. And He, through His free-will, which Thou gavest Him,—Thy goodness aiding Him,— came and found us in those works which our human nature did from the first day. And Thou didst not enter into a reckoning with us for our sins, but didst bring me to life through Thy goodness, and didst show me my remissness, and didst sow in me Thy heavenly love; and didst open my mouth, which was shut, that I might speak of my enslaver and of Thy abundant grace, which is not angry with me for what I say concerning it, about whose great love I am speaking."

And Judas stretched out his hand to him, and raised him up, and embraced him, and said to him: "The grace of our Lord be with thee and with all those who believe in Him." And the youth said: "Glory to Thee, O God,—who did not withhold His mercy from me, who was lost, but showed me (how) to seek my own soul, and informed me concerning thee, that thou art His Apostle, and said to thee: 'I have many things to show through thee, and thou hast many works to accomplish through Me, for which thou shalt receive their reward ; and thou shalt give life to many, and they shall become on high, in the light, sons of God. Do thou, therefore, bring to life this youth, who has been smitten by his enemy, because thou at all times beholdest thy Lord.' Yea, my lord, Apostle of God, thou hast done well to come hither, and thou hast drawn many unto Him, and He will not fail thee. And I am without care and without suffering, because of His grace which has come upon me through thee, and (because) His gift has been poured out abundantly upon my weakness. And I have been freed from evil cares and from deeds of corruption, and have been delivered from him, who was alluring me and inciting me to do those things in which thou didst find me, and have understood Him who was saying to me' the opposite of them. And I have destroyed him, who, through darkness, his kinsman, made me stumble by his works; and I have found the Light, the Lord of the day, who had not been seen by me, and I have seen him. And I have destroyed him, who was darkening and obscuring all those who cleave unto him and obey him, so that they cannot see what they are doing and be ashamed of their deeds and desist from them, and his work (thereby) come to an end; and I have found Him, whose doing this is, that those who do His will should never repent. I have been delivered from him, whom fraud supports, and before whom goes a veil (of darkness), and after whom comes shame, and she daring in impudence. And I have found Him, who clears away evils, the Lord of peace and the Confirmer of truth, who makes the

enemy pass away from those who turn repenting unto Him, and heals their afflictions, and destroys their disturber. But I beg of thee, Apostle of God, sow in me thy word of life, so that I may again hear perfectly the voice of Him, who delivered me unto thee and said to thee, 'This is (one) of those who shall live through thee, and henceforth let him be with thee.' "

Judas saith to him: "If thou wilt be delivered from these things which thou hast learned, as thou hast said, from the doer of evils, and wilt listen to Him, whom in the fervour of thy love thou now seekest, thou shalt see Him, and shalt be with Him for ever, and shalt rest with Him by His grace, and shalt be with Him in His joy. But if thou art negligent of Him, and comest to those former deeds of thine, and insultest Him, whom, because of (His) beauty and because of the aspect of His light, thou now eagerly desirest, thou shalt not only be deprived of that life which thou hast seen, but thou shalt also lose this in which thou art abiding."

And Judas came to the city, and took the hand of the youth, and said to him: "My son, these things which thou hast seen are a few out of the many that belong to our God; for He doth not send us tidings concerning these things that are seen, but promiseth us better things; for as long as we are in the world, we are unable to speak about that which all the believers in God are going to receive. For if we say that He hath given us light, we mention something which we have seen; and if we say that He hath given us wealth, we mention something that is in the world ; and if we speak of (fine) clothing, we mention something that nobles wear; and if we speak of daintymeats, we mention something against which we are warned; and if we speak of (this) temporary rest, a chastisement is appointed for it. But we speak of God and of our Lord Jesus, and of the Angels and the guardian spirits and the saints, and of the new world, and of the incorruptible food of the tree of life, and of the draught (of the water) of life; of what eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man (to conceive), — what God hath prepared from of old for those who love Him. Of this we speak, and of this we preach. Believe in Him, therefore, my son, that thou mayest live, and trust in Him, that thou mayest not die; for He will not take a bribe, that thou shouldst offer (it) to Him, nor is He pleased with a sacrifice, that thou shouldest sacrifice it (to Him). Look unto Him, and He will not neglect thee, and turn unto Him, and He will not forsake thee; for His beauty will incite thee to love Him, and He will not suffer thee to turn away from Him."

And when Judas had said these things to the youth, great multitudes joined (them). And the Apostle lifted up his eyes, and saw people raised up upon one another that they might see him, and going up to lofty places. And the Apostle saith to them: "Ye men, who are come to the assembly of the Messiah, men who wish to believe in Jesus, take unto yourselves an example from this, that, if ye do not raise yourselves up, ye cannot see me who am little. Me, who am like yourselves, ye are unable to see; Him, who is on high and is found in the depths, how shall ye be able to see, unless ye raise yourselves above your former works, and above the deeds that profit not, and the pleasures that abide not, and the corruptible wealth that remaineth here; and above riches and possessions that perish on the earth, and above garments that decay, and above beauty that becomes old and is disfigured, and above the body, in which all these are included, and which becomes dust, and which all these support? But believe, and trust in our Lord Jesus the Messiah, Him whom we preach, in order that your hope may be in Him, and that in Him ye may live for ever and ever, and that He may be to I you a guide in the land of error, and may be to you a haven in the sea of trouble, and may be to you a fountain of living water in the region of thirst, and may

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be to you a full basket in the place of hunger, and maybe a rest to your souls and a healer and giver of life to your bodies."

Then the multitudes were crying out: "Apostle of the living God, and guide in the path of life, and revealer of the mysteries of the truth, many are the things that have been done for us, who are aliens from the glorious God whom thou preachest, and until now we do not dare to say that we are His, because our works are alien from Him and hateful before Him. But if He will have compassion upon us, and deliver us from our former deeds, and from the evil things that were done by us in error, and will not enter into reckoning with us nor remember against us our former sins, we will become servants of His and accomplish His will." Judas saith to them: "He will not reckon against you your sins which ye did in error, but He will pardon you your iniquities, those former ones which ye did without knowledge."

Here ends the third Act.

THE FOURTH ACT, OF THE ASS THAT SPAKE.

And whilst the Apostle was standing in his place on the road, and speaking with those multitudes concerning the kingdom of God, and concerning their conversion and repentance unto our Lord,—whilst the Apostle was standing on the road, and speaking with those multitudes, an ass's colt came and stood before him. And Judas said: "It is not without the direction of God that this colt has come hither. But to thee I say, O colt, that, by the grace of our Lord, there shall be given to thee speech before these multitudes who are standing here; and do thou say whatsoever thou wilt, that they may believe in the God of truth, whom we preach."

And the mouth of the colt was opened, and it spake like a man by the power of our Lord, and said to him: "Twin of the Messiah, and Apostle of the Most High, and sharer in the hidden word of the Life-giver, and receiver of the secret mysteries of the Son of God; freeborn, who didst become a slave, to bring many to freedom by thy obedience; son of a great family, who became bereaved, that by the power of thy Lord thou mightest deprive the enemy of many, so that thou mightest become the cause of life to the country of the Indians; (thou) who didst come against thy will to men who were straying from God, and, lo, by the sight of thee and by thy godly words they are turned unto life; mount (and) ride upon me, and rest until thou enterest the city."

And Judas lifted up his voice and said: "O Jesus, Son of perfect mercy; O Thou quiet and silent (One), who speakest by animals that have not speech; O hidden (One), that art seen in Thy works; our Nourisher and Guardian; the Giver of life to our bodies and the Giver of life to our souls; sweet spring that never faileth, and clear fountain that is never polluted; Thou who art a help to Thy servants in the contest, and crushest the enemy before them; Thou who standest up in contests for us, and makest us victorious in them all; our true Athlete, who cannot be hurt, and our holy General, who cannot be conquered; Thou who givest to Thine own joy that passeth not away, and rest in which there is no more affliction; Thou good Shepherd, that giveth his life for his flock, who hath overcome the wolf and rescued his lambs; we glorify Thee, and we exalt through Thee Thy exalted Father, who is not seen, and the holy Spirit that broodeth over all created things."

And when the Apostle had said these things, all the multitudes that were assembled there were looking to see what answer he was about to give to the colt. And after the Apostle had stood a long time wondering and looking up to heaven, he said to the colt: "Who art thou? And what is thine errand, that by thy mouth wonders are uttered and great things that are more than many?" The colt saith to him: "I am of that stock that served Balaam the prophet, and God thy Lord rode upon my kin; and I am sent unto thee to give thee rest, and that thereby the faith of these might be confirmed, and that that other portion might be added to me, which I have got today in order to serve thee and which will be taken away from me when I have served thee." Thomas saith to him: "God, who has given thee this gift now, is to be relied on to give it hereafter too in full to thee and thy kindred; for I am too little and weak for this mystery." And he would not ride upon it.

And the colt was begging of him and supplicating him that it might be blessed by his riding (upon it). And he mounted and rode upon it. And the people were going after and before the Apostle, and were running to see what would happen to him, and how he would let the colt go. And when he reached the gate of the city, he dismounted from it, and said to it: "Go, be preserved as thou hast been." And at that moment the colt fell down and died. And all who were there were sorry for it, and were saying to the Apostle: "Bring it to life again." The Apostle says to them: "It is not because I am Unable to bring this colt to life, that I do not bring it to life, for He who gave it speech was able to make it not die; but this is a benefit to it." And the Apostle commanded those who were with him to dig a place and bury its body; and they did as he commanded them.

Here ends the fourth Act.

THE FIFTH ACT, OF THE DEMON THAT DWELT IN THE WOMAN.

And the Apostle went into the city, the multitudes accompanying him; and he was thinking of going to the house of the family of the youth whom he had brought to life, because he had begged this earnestly of him.

And a fair woman cried with a loud voice and said to him: "Apostle of the new God, who art come to India; servant of the holy God, who by thee is proclaimed both the Giver of life to the souls of those that come unto Him, and the Healer of the bodies of those who are tortured by the enemy; (thou) who art the cause of life to the whole people of India; permit them to bring me before thee, that I may tell thee what has befallen me, so that perchance I may get hope from thee, and these who are standing by may be greatly strengthened in the God who is proclaimed by thee. And I tell thee, that I am not slightly tormented by the enemy, lo, for the space of five years. For I was sitting in ease, and peace was around me on all sides, and I had no concern about anything, because I knew no care. And it happened one day, as I was coming out of the bath, a man met me, who seemed troubled in his aspect, (and) his voice and speech were very weak. And he said to me: "I and thou shall be in one love, and do thou have intercourse with me as a man and a woman have intercourse." And I said to him: "I did not yield myself to my betrothed, because I cannot bear a man; and to thee, who wishest to have adulterous intercourse with me, how can I give myself to thee?" And I said to the maiden who was with me: "See the impudence of this young man, (who goes) so far as to talk licentiously to me." And she said to me: "I saw an old man who was talking to thee." And when I had gone home and supped, my heart made me afraid of him, because he had appeared to me in two forms; and I went to sleep thinking of him. And he came in the night and had filthy intercourse with me, and by day too I saw him and fled from him; but by night he used to come in a terrible form, and torture me. And lo, up to the present, as thou seest me, lo, for five years he has not left me alone. But because I know and believe that both devils and spirits and demons are subject to thee and dread thy prayer, I beg of thee, my lord, that thou wouldst pray over me, and ask of God, and drive away from me this affliction, and (that), for the time that is appointed to me, I may be free, and may be united to my former nature, and receive the gift that is given to the penitent.

Then the Apostle, when he saw the instigation of the enemy, lifted up his voice and said: "O evil that cannot be repressed! O enemy who art never at rest! O envious one who art never quiet! O hideous (one) who strivest with the comely, that thou mayest subdue them under thee! O (thou) who hast many hideous shapes, and appearest as thou wilt, but thy black colour never changes, because it is thy nature! O crafty (one) and disturber of good works! O bitter tree, the fruits of which are like unto it! O lying slanderer, who strivest with those that are not thine! O deceit which, coiled up upon itself, rears itself with impudence and dares to assail those who are better than itself! O wickedness, that creepeth like a serpent, and crawleth, and entereth in, and aimeth at virtue! But how long do I say these things (Keep me not waiting,) but show thyself quickly, thou enemy of the servants of the Messiah, that these multitudes may see that we call them unto the true God." And when the Apostle had said these things, the enemy came and stood before him, no one seeing him except the Apostle and the woman, and cried with a loud voice, whilst all those who were there heard him: "What have we to do with thee, Apostle of the Most High? What have we to do with thee, servant of Jesus the Messiah? What have we to do with thee, thou sharer in the holy mysteries of God? Why dost thou wish to destroy us, when our time is not yet come? Why dost thou wish to take away the power that was given us, when till now we have had reliance upon it? What have we to do with thee, that thou art come to drive us out? Thou hast power over them that obey thee, and we have power over them that are subject unto us. Why dost thou wish to use violence towards us before our time, when thou enjoinest others not to use violence towards any man? Why dost thou covet what is not thine? For thine own suffice thee not. Why art thou like unto God thy Lord, who concealed His majesty and appeared in the flesh, and we thought regarding Him that He was mortal, but He turned and did us violence? For thou; namely, art born of Him. For when we thought that we could bring Him under our power, He turned and hurled us down into the abyss; for we did not know Him, because He deceived us by His humble aspect, and by His need and His poverty; and we thought, when we saw Him, that He was one of the children of men, and we did not know that He was the Giver of life to all mankind. But He gave us power not to slacken our hold of our own, so long as our time lasts, and we occupy ourselves with our own. But thou, lo, wishest to acquire more than He has given unto thee and to afflict us."

And when the demon had said these things, he wept again and said: "I quit thee, O my fair wife, whom I found a long time ago and was at rest on thee. I quit thee, my sister and my beloved, on whom I hoped to abide. What I shall do, I know not, nor on whom I shall call for help, that he may aid me. I know what I shall do. I shall go to another country, where I shall not hear tell of this man; for thee, my beloved, I shall find a substitute." And he lifted up his voice and said: " Fare thou not well, who hast taken refuge with one who is greater than I. I go to wander and seek for myself one like thee; and if I find not (one) for me, I will again return unto thee; for I know that now, because this man is near unto thee, lo, thou takest refuge with him. I then depart hence, and thou becomest as thou wast; but when night cometh, and thou forgettest him, I shall have an opportunity (of getting) at thee, for now the name of Him whom this (man) proclaims hath frightened me." And when the demon had said these things, at that moment he was looked for and was not found (i. e., disappeared suddenly), but smoke and fire were seen after him; and all those who were standing there were amazed.

And when the Apostle saw (this), he said to them: "The accursed one has shown nothing strange, but the nature by which he has been consumed; for the fire consumes him, and the smoke ascends from him." And the Apostle began to say: "Jesus, hidden mystery that hath been revealed to me, Thou hast revealed Thy mysteries unto me more than to all my fellows, and hast spoken unto me words with which, lo, I am burning, but which I am not able to utter. Jesus, born a man, slain, dead ; Jesus, God, Son of God, Life-giver and Restorer of the dead to life; Jesus, poor, and catching fish for dinner and supper; Jesus, satisfying many thousands with a little bread; Jesus, resting from the fatigue of a journey like a man, and walking upon the waves of the sea like a God; Jesus, exalted Voice that arose from perfect mercy, Saviour of all, and Liberator and Administrator of the world, and Strengthener of the dead; Jesus, right hand of the Father, who hast hurled down the evil one to the lowest limit, and collected his possessions into one blessed place of meeting; Jesus, King , over all and subduing all; Jesus, who art in the Father and the Father in Thee, and Ye are one in power and in will and in glory and in essence, and for our sake Thou wast named with names, and art the Son, and didst put on the body; Jesus, who didst become a Nazīr, and Thy grace provides for all like God; Son of God Most High, who didst become a man despised and humble; Jesus, who dost not neglect us in anything which we ask of Thee, who art the cause of life to all mankind; Jesus, who wast called a deceiver on our account, Thou who rescuest from deceit Thy human beings; I entreat of Thee on behalf of these who are standing (here) and believing in Thee, and in need of Thy help, and expecting Thy gift, and taking refuge with Thy majesty, and opening their ears to hear Thy words which are spoken by us,—let Thy grace come, and Thy faith abide upon them and make them new from their former deeds, and may they put off their old man with his deeds and put on the new man which is proclaimed unto them by me."

And he laid his hand upon them, and blessed them, and said to them: "May the grace of our Lord be upon you for ever and ever, Amen." And the woman begged of him and saith to him: "Apostle of the Most High, give me the seal of my Lord, that the enemy may not again come back upon me." And he went to a river which was close by there, and baptized her in the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness; and many were baptized with her. And the Apostle ordered his deacon to make ready the Eucharist; and he brought a bench thither, and spread over it a linen cloth; and he brought (and) placed upon it the bread of blessing. And the Apostle came (and) stood beside it, and said: "Jesus, who hast deemed us worthy to draw nigh unto Thy holy Body and to partake of Thy life-giving Blood; and because of our reliance upon Thee we are bold and draw nigh, and invoke Thy holy Name, which has been proclaimed by the Prophets as Thy Godhead willed; and Thou art preached by Thy Apostles through the whole world according to Thy grace, and art revealed by Thy mercy to the just; we beg of Thee that Thou wouldest come and communicate with us for help and for life, and for the conversion of Thy servants unto Thee, that they may go under Thy pleasant yoke and under Thy victorious power, and that it may be unto them for the health of their souls and for the life of their bodies in Thy living world." And he began to say: "Come, gift of the Exalted; come, perfect mercy; come, holy Spirit; come, revealer of the mysteries of the Chosen among the Prophets; come, proclaimer by His Apostles of the combats of our victorious Athlete; come, treasure of majesty; come, beloved of the mercy of the Most High; come, (thou) silent (one), revealer of the mysteries of the Exalted; come, utterer of hidden things, and shewer of the works of our God; come, giver of life in secret, and manifest in thy deeds; come, giver of joy and rest to all who cleave unto thee; come, power of the Father and wisdom of the Son, for Ye are one in all; come and communicate with us in this Eucharist which we celebrate, and in this offering which we offer, and in this commemoration which we make." And he made the sign of the Cross upon the bread, and began to give (it). And he gave first to the woman, and said to her: "Let it be unto thee for the remission of transgressions and sins and for the everlasting resurrection." And after her he gave to the persons who were baptized with her. Then he gave to every one, and said to

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them: "Let this Eucharist be unto you for life and rest, and not for judgement and vengeance;" and they said, "Amen."

Here ends the fifth Act.

THE SIXTH ACT, OF THE YOUNG MAN WHO KILLED THE GIRL.

And there was there a young man, who had committed a very hateful deed; and he came and took the Eucharist, and was going to put it into his mouth, but both his hands dried up and did not come to his mouth. And when those who were with him saw him, they came (and) made known to the Apostle what had befallen him. And the Apostle called him, and said to him: "Tell me, my son, and be not ashamed before me. What hast thou done, and art come hither now? For lo, the gift of our Lord hath convicted thee, this (gift) which healeth the many who draw nigh unto it in love and in truth and in faith, but hath utterly withered thee away. These things have not befallen thee without cause." And when the youth saw that he was convicted by the Eucharist of our Lord, he came (and) fell down before the feet of the Apostle, and was begging of him, and interceding before him, and saying to him: "An evil deed have I done. I loved a woman (who lived) at an inn without the city, and she too loved me; and because I heard from thee the truth which thou speakest, and the faith of the God whom thou preachest, and knew in truth that thou art the Apostle of God, I too received the sign with those who received (it). And thou didst say thus: 'Whoever indulgeth in filthy intercourse, especially in that of adultery, hath not life with this God whom I preach.' And because I loved her, I begged of her and tried to persuade her to live with me a life clean and pure and tranquil and chaste and modest, such as thou teachest, but she would not; and when I saw that she would not listen to me, I slept with her and killed her, because I could not bear to see her while she was having intercourse with other men."

And when the Apostle heard these (things), he said: "O corrupt love, that hath no shame, how it hath incited this man to do these things! O the companion of corruption, how this man has not been able to bear up against it! O lascivious intercourse, how it corrupts the minds of men (and turns them away) from the purity of the Messiah! O the work of deception, how it rears itself up exceedingly in its own!" And the Apostle ordered (them) to bring him water in a basin for washing; and they brought him water that he might pray over it. And he glorified (God), and blessed (it), and said: "Water that was given unto us by the Living Water; Light that was sent to us by the glorious Self-existent; Grace that was sent unto us by Grace; let Thy victorious power come, and Thy healing and Thy mercy descend and abide upon this water, over which I have proclaimed Thy name, Jesus our Life-giver." And he said: "May the gift of the Spirit of holiness be perfected in you." And he said to the youth: "Go, wash thy hands in this water." And he went (and) washed his hands, and they became as they had been before they were dried up. And the Apostle said to him: "Dost thou believe then in our Lord, that it is possible for Him to do everything?" The youth saith to him: "I am not lacking in faith; yea, because of this, that I believed in God, I did this deed, since I thought that I did well; for I begged of her, as I have said before thee, and she was not willing to listen to me (and) keep herself in purity and chastity; because of that I did thus." Judas saith to him: "Come, let us go to the inn where thou didst this deed." And he was going before the Apostle, and a great multitude were coming after him. And when they arrived at the inn,, they went into it, and found the woman dead. And when the Apostle saw her, he was grieved for her, because she was a girl; and he said that they should take her up and bring her out into the midst of the inn. And when they had brought her and laid her on a couch, Judas Thomas laid his hand upon her, and began to say: "Jesus, our Life-giver, who never neglectest us at any time when we call upon Thee; Jesus, who comest unto us at all times when we seek Thee; Thou whose ear is inclined to this, that we should seek Thee, and Thou givest unto us; Jesus, who hast not only permitted us to ask, but hast also taught us how to pray; Thou who now art not seen by us with these bodily eyes of ours, but by means of these eyes of our understanding dost not depart from us; Thou who art hidden from us in Thy aspect, and revealed to us in Thy grace and the administration of Thy works and Thy great deeds; Thou whom we know so far as we are able, according to our measure, but who hast given us Thy gift beyond our measure; Thou who hast said, 'Ask and it shall be given to you, seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you;' we ask therefore of Thee, our Lord, fearing because of our trespasses and because of our sins, that Thou wouldst spread over us grace by Thy mercy. Not gold, nor silver, nor riches, nor possessions, nor goods, nor clothes, nor anything at all of these earthly things that are of this world, and come from it and return to it, do we seek; but we ask of Thee and beg of Thy benignity, that Thou wouldst raise up by Thy holy name this (woman) who is lying before Thee, to Thy great glory, and to the praise of Thy Godhead, and to the confirmation of Thy faith in these who are standing by."

And he said to the youth: " Stretch thy mind towards our Lord;" and he signed him with the Cross, and said to him: "Go, take her by the hand, and say to her, 'I with my hand slew thee with iron, but Jesus with His grace raiseth thee up by my faith.'" And the youth went (and) stood over her, and said: "I have in truth believed in Thee, my Lord Jesus the Messiah, the gift of Thy Father, that in Thee are all aids, and in Thee all dispensations, and in Thee all healings, and in Thee life for the repentant, who in truth repent unto Thee with all their heart. Yea, my Lord, I beg of Thy mercy, come to my help and to my conversion, and give life to this (woman) by my hands, since I dare to do this." And he was looking upon Judas Thomas and saying to him: "Pray for me, Apostle of God, that my Lord may come to my aid, on whom I call." And he laid his hand upon hers, and said: "Come, my Lord Jesus the Messiah, and give to this (woman) life and to me the pledge of Thy faith." And as soon as he took hold of her hand, she sprang up (and) stood upright, and was looking on the great crowd who were standing by. And she saw the Apostle of our Lord, who was standing opposite to her, and ran and fell down at his feet, and took hold of his skirts, and saith to him: "I pray thee, sir, where is the other, who was with thee, who did not let me remain in that place which I saw, but gave me over to thee, and said to thee, 'Take this (woman) away unto thee, that she may be made perfect in her love by faith, and then be gathered unto my place.'"

Judas saith to her: "Tell me whither thou wentest and what thou didst see?" She saith to him: "Thou, who wast with me, and to whom he gave me over, dost thou ask to hear of me?" And she began to tell him, (saying): "A man, whose aspect was hideous, and his body black, and his clothes filthy, took me away and carried me to a place which was full of pits, and a stinking smell too was diffused in its midst. And he made me look down into each of the pits; and I saw the first pit, and as it were fire was blazing in its midst, and wheels of fire were revolving in its midst; and he said to me: 'Into this torment are destined to come those souls which transgress the law, which change the union of intercourse that has been appointed by God; and other (souls) are destined to come into this torment, which have not preserved their virginity, and have given themselves up to the deed of shame, and they shall come to this affliction, because they have transgressed the law of God, and shall be given over to evil spirits, and shall be for a mockery and a derision, and retribution shall be (exacted) from them, and they shall go into another torment, which is worse than this, and shall be tormented there.' And again he showed me another pit, and I looked down into it and saw dreadful things, to which are destined to come the souls that do evil; and I saw there many tortures which are prepared for men and women and youths and maidens. Those men who leave their own wives, and have intercourse with the wives of their fellows; and women, who go beyond intercourse with their own husbands; and youths, who do not keep their laws, wantonly indulge themselves with harlots in their lust, and for whom it is not enough to transgress the law among harlots, but they lie in wait for virgins and wantonly indulge in sin; and maidens, who have not kept their state of virginity, (but), because of their wanton lust, have brought shame upon their parents; — (these) shall come to this affliction and shall be recompensed, each according to his works. And he took me away again; and showed me a dark cave, and a stinking smell was coming out of it. And he said to me: ' Look down and see, for this is the prison of those souls about which I said to thee that, when the chastisement of each of them is finished, another cometh in its place; and there are some of them which are utterly consumed, and there are some of them which are handed over to other tortures.' The guardians of those tortures say to the man who led me: 'Give us this (woman), that we may bind her in her place, until she goes to her torture.' The man who led me saith to them: 'I will not give her to you, because I am afraid of Him who delivered her to me, and I was not ordered to leave her here; but I will take her up with me, until I receive an order regarding her.' And he took me and brought me out to the place where men were; and he who was like to thee took me and delivered me unto thee, and said to thee: 'Take this (woman), because she is one of the sheep that have gone astray.' And thou didst take me from him, and lo, I stand before thee, and beg of thee that I too may believe through thee, and may find grace because of thy prayer, and that I too may not go to those tortures which I have seen."

Judas Thomas saith to them: "Ye have heard, my children, what this woman hath said; and there are not these tortures only, but also others, which are much worse than these. Ye too, therefore, unless ye are converted to this truth which I preach, and restrain yourselves from your evil deeds, and from your actions which profit you not, and from your thoughts without knowledge, your end will come to these torments. But do ye, therefore, believe in Jesus the Messiah, and He will blot out your former actions, and will cleanse you from all your earthly thoughts that abide on the earth, and will purify you from your sins, which, unless ye repent of them unto God, will accompany you and go with you and be found before you. Put off, therefore, each of you, his old man, and put on the new man, that is to say, (put off) your old courses and your fleshly works. Let those, then, who stole, steal no more, but toil and work and live; and let those of you who committed adultery, not commit adultery and abandon themselves to the ease of the moment, that they may not go to everlasting torment, for adultery is hateful before God more than all evil works; and put away from you lying and oppression and drunkenness and slander, and requite not any man evil for evil; for all these things are odious to this God whom I preach, and unclean to him; but walk in all humility and temperance and purity, and in hope in God, and ye shall become servants of Him, and shall receive from Him the gifts which are given to some (only.)"

And these multitudes believed, and surrendered themselves to the living God and to Jesus the Messiah, and were enjoying the blessed works of the Most High and His holy service; and were each of them bringing much money for the relief of the widows, who were collected by the Apostle in each city, and to all of whom he was sending by the hand of his deacons what was fitting for them for food and clothing. And he never ceased to preach and to speak unto them, and to show them that it was Jesus the Messiah of whom the Scriptures spake, and whose types and mysteries and likenesses the Law and the Prophets showed forth; who was given as a covenant to the people (of Israel), that they might be restrained for His sake from the worship of idols, and as a light to the peoples (the Gentiles), by means of which the grace of God hath dawned upon them, and all those who keep His commandments shall find rest in His kingdom, and be honoured in glory; and He came, and was crucified, and rose in three days. And he was narrating unto them, and expounding, from Moses even unto the end of the prophets, because they all preached concerning Him, and He came (and) fulfilled (all) in fact.

And the report of him was heard among men in the cities and villages; and every man who had a sick (person), or one possessed by a spirit, or a lunatic, or paralytics,—some they brought on beds and placed them by the road-side, whithersoever they learned that he was going; and he was healing them all by the power of Jesus his Lord. And the sick, who were ill of grievous diseases and in hideous torments, were healed, and the paralytics, who were standing up quite sound; and they were all glorifying (God) with one mouth, and saying: "To Thee be glory, Jesus the Messiah, who hast given us healing by Thy servant and Thy Apostle Judas. For lo, being quite well and seeing, we pray of Thee that we too may become children of Thy fold, and may be numbered among the number of Thy sheep. Receive us, our Lord, and reckon not against us our former sins, which we committed in ignorance."

Then, when Judas Thomas saw them, he lifted up his voice and said: "To thee be glory, Living (One) who (art) from the Living (One); to Thee be glory, Life-giver of many; to Thee be glory, Help and Aider of those who come to Thy place of refuge; to Thee be glory, (Thou that art) wakeful from all eternity, and the Awaker of men, living and making alive. Thou art God, the Son of God, the Saviour and Helper, and Refuge, and Best of all those who are weary in Thy work; the Giver of rest to those who, for Thy name's sake, have borne the burden of the whole day at mid-day. We praise Thee for Thy gift unto us, and for Thy aids to our feebleness, and for Thy provision for our poverty. Make perfect with us Thy grace and Thy mercy unto the end, and give us the boldness that is in Thee. Behold, Lord, that Thee alone we love; and behold, Lord, that we have left our homes and the homes of these our kindred, and for Thy sake are become strangers without compulsion. Behold, Lord, that we have left our possessions for Thy sake, that we might gain Thee, the possession of life, that cannot be taken away. Behold, our Lord, that we have left all our kindred for Thy sake, that we might be united in kinship to Thee. Behold, our Lord, that we have left our fathers and our mothers and our fosterers, that we might see Thy exalted Father and be filled with His divine nourishment. Behold, our Lord, that we have left our fleshly wives and earthly fruits, that we might be united in true union with Thee and produce the heavenly fruits which (are) from above, which men cannot take away from us, but which shall be with us and we shall be with them."

Here ends the sixth Act.

THE SEVENTH ACT, HOW JUDAS THOMAS WAS CALLED BY THE GENERAL OF KING MAZDAI TO HEAL HIS WIFE AND DAUGHTER.

And whilst Judas was preaching throughout all India, the general of a king came to him and said to him: "I pray thee, servant of God, and the more so that thou seest that I myself am come to thee as unto the Apostle of God, because thou art sent for the healing of men who have need of the aid which is given them by thy hands; and I have heard concerning thee that thou takest no fee from any man, but providest for the poor, for if thou tookest a fee, I would have sent thee a large sum of money, and I would not have come hither, because the king doth naught without me; for I have abundance and am rich, and am a great man throughout all India, and I have done no wrong to any man, but this thing hath happened to me contrary (to my deserts). I have a wife, and by her I had a daughter; and I love her much, as nature too teacheth, and I

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know no other wife along with her. Now there chanced to be a banquet in our city, and the givers of the entertainment were great friends of mine; and they came (and) asked of me, and prepared the feast for her and her daughter. And because they were friends of mine, I could not make any excuse, but I sent her, though against her will, and I sent with her also many of my servants, and I made a great display for her and her daughter. And when it was time to depart, I sent after her lanterns and lamps; and I too was standing in the street and was looking when she should come, that I might see her and receive her and her daughter with her. And whilst I was standing there, I heard a sound of lamentation and a sound of weeping; 'Alas for her, alas for her,' was coming to. my ears from all mouths. Then my servants came to me, rending their clothes, and made known to me what had happened, and say to me: 'We saw a man, and another, a boy, was with him, who was like to him. And the man laid his hand upon thy wife, and the boy upon thy daughter; and they shrank with loathing from them, and we smote them with swords, but our swords sank to the ground; and at that moment the women fell down, and were gnashing their teeth, and dashing their heads on the ground; and we are come to inform thee of what hath happened.' And when I had heard these things from my servants, I rent my clothes, and was beating my face with my hands; and running about in the street like a madman. And I came and found them lying in the street; and I took them and brought them to my house, and after a long time they came to themselves; and I restored (them and) made them sit up, and began to ask my wife: 'What hath happened to thee?' And she saith to me: 'Thou dost not know what thou hast done with me; for I asked of thee that I might not go to the feast, because I was not well in body; and as I was going along the street, and had come to the pipe that throweth up water, I saw a black man standing opposite to me and shaking his head, and another, a boy, who was like to him, standing beside him; and I said to my daughter: 'Look at these men, how hideous (they are);' and my daughter said to me, 'I saw a boy whose teeth were like milk and his lips like coals.' And we left them beside the water-pipe and went on. And when it was evening, and we quitted the house where the entertainment was, and came away with the servants, and arrived at the water-pipe, my daughter saw them first, and came to me for refuge; and after her I too saw them coming towards us; and the servants who were with me fled; and they struck me and my daughter, and threw us down.' And whilst she was narrating (this) to me, they came upon them, and cast them down again; and from that hour they are unable to go out any more into the street, either to go to the bath, or to the house of feasting, or the house of weeping, but they lie there night and day, the mother with her daughter, and are shut up by me in a room within another, because of the laughing-stock that I am become through them, and because, when they come upon them, they throw them down and disgrace them wherever they find them. I beg therefore of thee and entreat thee, help me and have mercy upon me, for, lo, for three years no table hath been laid in my house, and my wife and daughter have not sat at it; but specially for my poor daughter's sake, who hath had no pleasure (of her life)." And when the Apostle had heard these things from the general, he was very sorry for him, and said to him: "If thou believest in my Lord Jesus the Messiah that He can heal them, thou shalt see their recovery." The general, when he had heard these things, saith to him, because he imagined that he was Jesus: "I believe that thou canst heal them." The Apostle saith to him: "I am not Jesus, but His servant and His Apostle. Commit then thyself to Him, and He will heal them and help them." The general saith to him: "Show me how I can ask Him and believe in Him." The Apostle saith to him: "As far as thou art able, stretch thy mind upward, because He is not visible now to these bodily eyes, but by faith is recognised in His works and glorified in His healings." And the general lifted up his voice and said: "I believe in Thee, Jesus the Messiah, God, that Thou art the Living, the Son of the Living, and didst become man, and didst appear (as) a Healer and Life-giver and Saviour for all those who in truth repent unto Thee. Yea, Lord, I beg of Thee and intercede before Thee; help my little faith and my fear, for with Thee I take refuge."

And the Apostle commanded his deacon Xanthippus to assemble all the brethren who were there. And when he had assembled them, the Apostle came and stood in their midst, and said to them: "My sons and brethren and sisters in our Lord Jesus, abide in this faith, and trust in our Lord Jesus the Messiah, Him whom I preach unto you; and let your hope be in Him, and He will keep you; and fall not away from Him, because He will not forsake you. And if it be that ye sleep that sleep, which when a man sleeps, he is not, He will not sleep, but will be wakeful and preserve you. And if ye sit in a ship and on the sea, where no man of you is able to help his fellow, He will walk upon the waves of the sea and support your ship. Because I then am going away from you, and I do not know if I shall see you again in the body, be not ye, therefore, like to the children of Israel, who stumbled, because Moses, their shepherd for a time, departed from them. But lo, I leave you in my stead the deacon Xanthippus, and he too will preach Jesus the Messiah like me. For I too am a man like one of you, and I have no wealth, which is found with some, the end of which is that it destroyeth him who possesseth it, because there is no utility

in it, since it leaveth him in the earth, from which he came, and the transgressions and sins which he committed for its sake are with him; for there are (only) some who are rich and charitable. Neither have I any human comeliness, on which all those who place their reliance are quickly brought to shame; for if he who had beauty becometh deprived (of it), his beauty availeth him nought, but those who loved him because of his beauty, they especially shun him with loathing; for all things which are of the world are loved in their season and hated in their season. But let your hope be in Jesus the Messiah, the Son of God, and be ye holding fast by us and looking to us, as the servants of God, since we too, if we bear not the burden that beseemeth this name, shall receive punishment, and it shall be to us for judgement and vengeance."

And he prayed with them a long prayer, and committed them to our Lord, and said: "Lord of all orders of creation," which await Thee, and God of all spirits, which hope in Thee, (Thou) that deliverest from error Thy human beings, (and) freest from corruption and from slavery those who obey Thee and come to Thy place of refuge; be Thou with the flock of Xanthippus, and anoint his flock with Thy oil of life, and cleanse it of its disease, and guard it from wolves and from robbers, that they may not snatch it out of his hands." And he laid his hand upon them, and said to them: "The peace of Jesus be with you, and go with us also."

And the Apostle set out to go on the way; and all of them were accompanying him with weeping, and were conjuring him by his Lord to be mindful of them in his prayers and not to forget them. And when the Apostle had mounted, he sat in the chariot of the general, and all the brethren remained behind. The general came and said to the driver: "I am praying that I may be worthy to sit beneath the feet of the Son of God, Jesus the Messiah, and to be His driver on this road, which many know, that He may be my guide on that road on which some (only) shall go."

And when he had gone about a mile, Judas Thomas begged of the general, and made him get up to sit beside him, and ordered the driver to sit in his place. And as they were going along the road, and Judas was conversing with the general, the cattle became tired from their having driven them so far, and stood still and would not stir. And the general was sorely vexed, and knew not what to do; and he thought of running on foot, and bringing other cattle, wherever he could get them, or horses, because his time was becoming short. And when the Apostle saw this, he said to him: "Be not afraid and be not agitated, but only believe in Jesus, as I told thee, and thou shalt see great wonders." The general saith to him: "I believe in Him, (and) that everything is possible for him to do who asketh of Him."

Now Judas saw a herd of wild asses feeding some distance off the highway, and he said to the general: "If thou believest in Jesus, go to the herd and say to them: 'Judas, the Apostle of Jesus the Messiah, the Son of God, saith, Let four of you come, for I require them.'" And the general went, fearing greatly, because they were many; and the more he went on, (the more) they came towards him. And when they were close to him, he said to them: "Judas Thomas, the Apostle of Jesus the Messiah, saith: 'Let four of you come to me, because I require them.'"And when they heard this speech, all , the asses came to him with a great rush; and when they came to him, they bowed down unto him by the direction of our Lord.

And Judas Thomas, the Apostle of our Lord, lifted up his voice in praise, and said: "Glorious art Thou, God of truth and Lord of all natures, for Thou didst will with Thy Will, and make all Thy works, and finish all Thy creatures, and bring them to the rule of their nature, and lay upon them all Thy fear, that they might be subject to Thy command. And Thy Will trod the path from Thy secrecy to manifestation, and was caring for every soul that Thou didst make, and was spoken of by the mouth of all the prophets, in all visions and sounds and voices; but Israel did not obey because of their evil inclination. And Thou, because Thou art Lord of all, hast a care for the creatures, so that Thou spreadest over us Thy mercy in Him who came by Thy will and put on the body, Thy creature, which Thou didst will and form according to Thy glorious wisdom. He whom Thou didst appoint in Thy secrecy and establish in Thy manifestation, to Him Thou hast given the name of Son He who was Thy Will, the Power of Thy thought; so that Ye are by various names, the Father and the Son and the Spirit, for the sake of the government of Thy creatures, for the nourishing of all natures, and Ye are one in glory and power and will; and Ye are divided without being separated, and are one though divided; and all subsists in Thee and is subject to Thee, because all is Thine. And I rely upon Thee, Lord, and by Thy command have subjected these dumb beasts, that Thou mightest show Thy ministering power upon us and upon them, because it is needful, and that Thy name might be glorified in us and in the beasts that cannot speak."

And when he had said these things, he said to the wild asses: "Peace be with you, because ye have obeyed the Word, the sovereign of all. Let four of you come and be yoked in place of these cattle, which have stood still and arc not able to go on." And every one of the wild asses crowded round, (striving) which of them should be yoked. And there were some there, that were stronger than their fellows, and these were yoked; and the rest of them went along after and before the Apostle. And when they had proceeded a little way, he said to them: "To you I speak, ye inhabitants of the desert; remain behind and go to your pasture; for if I had had occasion for you all, ye would all have come. Now then go to the place in which ye were." And the wild asses were going along gently, until they were out of his sight.

And the Apostle was seated (in the chariot), and the general, and the driver; and the wild asses were going along gently and quietly and by little and little, that the Apostle of God might not be shaken. And when they reached the gate of the city, they (viz. the asses) distinguished (the house), and went (and) stood before the gate of the court-yard of the general. Then the general was amazed and said: "I am not able to speak and tell what is happening; but let there be another wonder, and then I will tell." And the whole city was coming, because they saw the wild asses which had been yoked in the chariot, and because they heard the report of the Apostle's having gone thither.

The Apostle saith to the general: "Where is thy house? And whither wilt thou conduct us?" The general saith to him: "Thou knowest that thou art standing at the door of thy servant, and these (beasts), which by thy command are come with thee, know better than I." And when the general had spoken thus, he sprang down from the chariot.

And the Apostle began to say: "Jesus, the knowledge of whom is denied in this country; Jesus, the report of whom is strange in this city; Jesus, a stranger among these men; Jesus, who sendest Thy Apostle on before to every country and every city, and art glorified in him and made known by him to all those who are worthy of it; Jesus, who didst put on the body, and become man, and appear to us all, that we might not part from Thy love; our Lord, who didst give Thyself for us, and buy us with Thy blood, and acquire us unto Thyself, a possession that was dearly bought;—for what have we that we can give to Him for His life? For He gave His life for us. It is not anything that belongs to each one (of us), nor does He ask of us anything, save that we should ask of Him and live."

And when he had said these things, many were coming from every place to see the Apostle of the new God, who was come thither. And Judas said: "Why stand we here and are idle? Jesus, what wilt Thou? Command the time, and let the deed be (done)." Then the demons were sore upon that woman and her daughter, and the servants of the general did not think that they would last, for they did not suffer them to eat anything, but kept them constantly lying in bed, without being recognised by anyone, until the day when the Apostle came thither.

And the Apostle said to one of the wild asses which were yoked on the right hand: "Go into the court-yard, and, standing there, call those demons, and say to them: 'Judas the Apostle, the disciple of Jesus the Messiah, saith, Come out hither, because on your account I have been sent and against your kindred, that I might drive you to your own place, ere the time of the consummation cometh and ye go to your pit.'" And the wild ass went in, a crowd of people being with him, and said: "To you I speak, ye enemies of mankind; to you I speak, who close your eyes to the light that ye may not see, for the nature of evil cannot be with good; to you I speak, offspring of Gehenna and Abaddon, children of him who hath never been forced to keep quiet until today, of him who produceth afresh evil servants that suit his nature; to you I speak, audacious wretches, who are to perish by your own hands. And what I should say concerning your end, I know not; and what I should tell, I am unable (to utter); for these things are too great for hearing and have no limit, for however great your bodies may be, they are too small for your retributions. To thee I speak, demon, and to thy son, who accompanieth thee, for now I am sent hither against you. "Why do I go on speaking at great length of your nature? For ye know (it) better than I, and are audacious. But now Judas Thomas, the disciple of Jesus the Messiah, this (man) who hath been sent hither with mercy and grace, saith: 'Come forth unto this crowd, which, lo, is standing here, and tell me of what race ye are.' "

And at that moment the woman and her daughter came out, like to the dead in appearance, and exposed, and disgraced. And when the Apostle saw them, he Was grieved for them, and said: "No pity hath been shown unto you; on this account ye are scarcely conscious. But in the name of Jesus the Messiah depart ye from them, and stand beside them." And when the Apostle had uttered this speech, the women fell down and (to all appearance) died, for there was no breath in them, nor did they utter any sound. And the demon cried with a loud voice and said: "Thou art come again, rebuker of our nature! Thou art come hither again, destroyer of our race! Thou art come hither again, effacer of our footsteps! And, as I see, thou dost

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not wish to let us remain on earth; but thou art not able at this time to do this to us."

And Judas perceived that it was the demon whom he had driven out of that (other) woman. And he said to him: "I beg of thee, then, give me leave, (and) I will go whither thou pleasest (and) dwell (there); and I will take orders from thee, and not be afraid of him who hath authority over me; for as thou art come to visit (and do good), so am I come to destroy; and as thou, if thou dost not accomplish the will of Him who sent thee, art reproved, so I too, unless I do the will of him who sent me, go before the time unto our nature; and as thy Lord helpeth thee in the things which thou dost, (so) too my father supporteth me in the things which I do; and as He prepareth for thee vessels which are worthy for Him to dwell in, so too he maketh me aware of the vessels which obey him, that I may do in them his will; and as He nourisheth and provideth for thee and for those who obey thee, so also doth He torture me, and torment me and those in whom I dwell; and as to thee He giveth the reward of thy work, that is to say life everlasting, (so) also to me He giveth the recompense of my deeds, everlasting perdition; and as thou takest pleasure in thy prayers, and in thy good works, and in the Eucharist, and in His chants of praise and psalms and hymns, so I too take pleasure in murder and adultery, and in sacrifices and libations of wine on the altars; and as thou turnest men unto everlasting life, so I too turn men unto me, unto everlasting perdition and torment; and thou receivest thy reward, and I mine."

And when the demon had said these things, the Apostle said: "To thee and to thy son Jesus saith by me, that ye shall not again enter the habitation of men, but go (and) dwell without the entire habitation of men." And the demons say unto him: "Lo, we go, as thou hast commanded us; but what wilt thou do unto those who are hidden from thee, and their vessels rejoice, in them more than in thee,—those whom many worship and do their will, sacrificing unto them and pouring out unto them wine as a libation, and offering unto them offerings?" The Apostle saith: "They too shall perish in the end with their worshippers." And the demons were sought and were not found; but the women were lying (there) as if dead, without a word; and the wild asses were standing one beside the other, and were not moving away from one another; but the one to whom speech was given by the power of our Lord, was standing in front of his fellows.

And when all the people were silent and looking on him, that they might see what the Apostle would do, the wild ass looked on them all, and said to Judas: "Why standest thou (there) and art idle, Apostle of the Most High? For lo, the Paraclete is standing beside thee and looking that thou shouldest ask him and he would give unto thee. Why delayest thou, good Disciple? For lo, thy Master wisheth to show great things through thee. Why standest thou (there), preacher of the Hidden? For lo, thy Master wisheth to disclose His hidden nature through thee unto those who are worthy of Him that they may hear these things. Why art thou still, worker of miracles in the name of thy Lord? For lo, thy Lord is standing by and encouraging thee. Fear not; for He will not abandon thee, and His Godhead will not suffer thy manhood to be grieved. Begin, therefore, to call upon Him, and He will answer thee, as He is wont at all times. Why doth amazement seize thee at His manifold doings? For these are small things which He hath shown through thee; and if thou wert to tell of the number of His gifts, thou wouldest not be able to make an end of them. Why art thou astonished concerning these His bodily healings, (which are) ended by dissolution, when thou rememberest His healing of His possessions, which is not ended by dissolution? Why ponderest thou upon this temporal life, when, lo, thou canst reflect every day upon the life everlasting? But unto you, I say, ye multitudes, who, lo, are standing by and waiting to see these arise who, lo, are lying here; believe on the Teacher of verity, and believe on the Shewer of truths; believe on the Revealer of secrets; believe on the Demonstrator of life; believe on the Apostle of the tried Son, Jesus the Messiah, who was born, that the born might live by His birth; and was reared, that the perfect rearing might be seen in Him; and went to school, that through Him perfect wisdom might be known; He taught His teacher,2 because He was the Teacher of verity and the Master of the wise; he went to the temple and offered an offering, that they might see that all offerings are sanctified in Him. This is the Apostle of Him; this is the Apostle of truth; this is the doer of the will of Him that sent him. But there shall be a time when false apostles shall come, and lying prophets, whose end shall be like their works; who will say unto you, 'Beware of sins,' whilst they at all times utter sins; who will put on the clothing of lambs, whilst within they are ravening wolves; who will not take one wife legally, but by their words and their deeds will corrupt many women; who will not beget children, but will corrupt many children, and pay the penalty for them; who will be distressed at the happiness of others, and will take pleasure in their distress; to whom what they possess will not suffice, but who will desire that all things should serve them, and will boast of them, and be esteemed as disciples of the Messiah; in whose mouth is one thing, and in their heart another; who teach that ye should shun hateful things, but themselves do not even a single good thing; before whom adultery is hateful, and theft, and oppression, and greed, but in themselves secretly these are all done, whilst they teach that a man should not do them."

And when he spake these things, all the wild asses were looking at him. And when he was silent, Judas said: "What am I to think of Thy servant, Jesus? And how I am to call Thee, I know not. O (Thou) gentle and silent and still and speaking! (Thou) Seer, that art in the heart, and Searcher, that art in the mind! Glory to Thee, (Thou) gracious (One)! Glory to Thee, living Word! Glory to Thee, (Thou) hidden (One), who hast many forms! Glory to Thy mercy, which hath abounded unto us. Glory to Thy grace, which hath been upon us! Glory to Thy greatness, which became small for us! Glory to Thy exaltation, which was humbled for us! Glory to Thy strength, which became feeble for us! Glory to Thy Godhead, which for us put on manhood!

Glory to Thy manhood, which was made new for us, and died for us to give us life ! Glory to Thy Resurrection from the grave, that we might have a resurrection and a raising up! Glory to Thy Ascension unto Heaven, by which Thou didst tread for us the road (leading) up on high! And Thou didst promise and swear unto us, that we should sit on the right hand and on the left, and should be judges with Thee. Thou art the Word of Heaven. Thou art the hidden Light of the understanding, and the Study of the path of truth, the Dispeller of darkness and the Destroyer of error."

And when the Apostle had said these things, he came and stood over those women, who were lying (there), and said : "My Lord and my God, Jesus the Messiah, I doubt not regarding Thee, but I call upon Thee, as at all times Thou dost aid us and support us and encourage us. Thou Giver of freedom of speech and of joy unto Thy servant and Apostle, let these (women) be healed b and arise, and let them be as they were before they were smitten by the demons." And when he had said these things, the women turned over, and sat up healed. And Judas commanded the general that his servants should take them and lead them in and give them food, for they had not eaten for many days. And when they had taken them and led them in, he said to the wild asses, "Follow me." And they went after him until he had brought them without the gate. And when they had gone out, he said to them: "Go in peace to your pasture." And the wild asses were going along gently, and the Apostle was standing and looking at them, lest perchance any man should hurt them, until

they had got out of his sight and were no longer visible to him.

Here ends the seventh Act.

THE EIGHTH ACT, OF MYGDONIA AND KARĪSH.3

And Judas returned from (accompanying) them, and went to the house of the general, and a great multitude with him. And it happened that a woman, (the wife) of a kinsman of the king, whose name was Mygdonia, had come to see the new sight of the new God who was preached, and the new Apostle who was come to their country; and she was sitting in a palanquin, and her servants were carrying her. And because of the great press that there was, they were unable to bring her near to him; and she sent to her husband, and he sent his officers, and they were going before her, and pressing back the people. And the Apostle saw (this) and said to them: "Why do ye ill-treat these (people), who are coming to hear the word? And (why are) ye anxious that they should pass on, and ye yourselves wish to come unto me, being very far off? For our Lord said to those multitudes who were coming unto him: 'Ears ye have, and ye hear not, and eyes ye have, and ye see not'; and (He also said): 'Come unto me, all ye that are weary and bearing burdens, and I will give you rest.' " And he looked upon those men and said: "Now the blessing that was given unto these falleth to the share of you who are carrying; for ye are bearing a heavy burden, and she directeth you by her command. Though God hath made you men, men make you carry a heavy load like beasts; and those who are borne upon you, think in their minds that ye are not men like to them, and do not know that all men are equal before God, whether they be slaves or free; and righteous is the judgement of God, which shall come upon all souls that are on the earth, and no man shall escape from it, neither slaves nor free, nor rich nor poor. Those who have, shall not be profited aught thereby; and those who have not, shall not be delivered by their poverty from this judgement. For we are not commanded to do anything which we are unable to do, nor to take up heavy burdens, nor to build buildings, which carpenters build for themselves with wisdom, nor (to practise) the art of hewing stones, which stonecutters know as their craft; but (we are commanded to do) something which we can do,—to refrain from fornication, the head of all evils; and from murder, by reason of which the curse came upon Cain; and from theft, which brought Judas Iscariot unto hanging; and from gluttony, which removed Esau from his birthright; and from covetousness, unto which when one is subject, he doth not consider what he doeth; and from vain-glory, and from destroying slander; and from evil actions; and from deeds of shame, and from hateful intercourse and unclean connection, in which there is eternal condemnation; and this it is that seizeth the uplifted by force, and casteth them down to the lowest depth, and bringeth them under its power, so that they cannot discern what they do, and their works become hidden from them. But harken ye to me, and conduct yourselves with purity, which is chosen before God more than all good things; and with temperance, for it showeth us intercourse with God, and giveth eternal life. And also conduct yourselves with humility, for this is weighed with every (virtue), and is heavy, and outweigheth (them), and gaineth the crown; and with gentleness, and stretching out of the hand to the poor, and supplying the wants of the needy; but especially it behoveth you to conduct yourselves with purity, for this is chosen before God, and maketh (us) enter into everlasting life, for it is the head of all virtues, and by it are done all good works; for he who is not purified, is unable to do anything good, because all the virtues are after this of purity. For purity is seen of God, and destroyeth evil. Purity is pleasing to God; therefore it proceedeth from him. Purity is the athlete who is not overcome. Purity is the truth that blencheth not. Purity is the tower that falleth not. Purity is worthy before God of being to Him a familiar handmaiden. Purity is comeliness when it is found with many. Purity destroyeth corruption. Purity is the messenger of concord, which bringeth the tidings of peace. Temperance setteth him who acquireth it free from daily cares. Temperance careth for naught but how it may be found pleasing to its Lord. Temperance holdeth on by hope, awaiting deliverance. Temperance sitteth at all times in tranquillity, because it doth nothing that is odious. Temperance seeketh a life of rest, and is a joy to all who acquire it, and exalteth those who are nigh to it. Humility hath subdued Death, and brought him under its power. Humility hath conquered enmity. Humility is the pleasant yoke, and fatigueth not those who bear it. Humility feareth naught, for it is rude to none. Humility is concord and peace and joy and rest. Acquire purity, and take unto you temperance, and strive after humility; for by these three cardinal virtues is typified this Messiah, whom I preach. For purity is the temple of God, and every one who guardeth it, guardeth His temple, and the Messiah dwelleth in him. And temperance is the rest of God; for our Lord fasted forty days and forty nights, and tasted nothing; and the Messiah dwelleth in him who observeth it. And humility is a mighty power; for our Lord said unto Simon the Apostle: 'Return thy sword back (to its sheath); if I am willing to ask strength of my Father, He will give me more than twelve legions of angels.' "

And when Judas had said these things, all the multitudes were listening together, and trampling on one another. And the wife of Karīsh, the kinsman of king Mazdai, sprang up and came out of the palanquin, and fell down on the ground before the feet of the Apostle, and was begging of him and saying to him: "I beg of thee, thou Apostle of the new God, who hast come to a desert place from the habitation of men — for we dwell in a desert, because we live like the beasts that have not speech, and now, lo, we are being tamed by thy hands, — that thou wouldst turn unto me too, and pray for me, that I also may obtain grace from this God whom thou preachest, and that I may become a handmaiden of Him, and that I too may be united with you in prayer and in hope and in thanksgiving, and that I too may become a holy temple and He may dwell in me."

The Apostle saith: "I pray and beg of you, my brethren in our Lord and my sisters in the Messiah, that the word of the Messiah may dwell in you all and abide in you, because ye are given power over your own souls." And he began to say to the woman: "Mygdonia, arise from the ground, and be mindful of thyself, and be not concerned about thy ornaments, which pass away, nor about the beauty of thy person, which perisheth, nor about thy dress, nor about this name and dignity in the world that passeth away; and degrade not thyself to this filthy intercourse, and be deprived of the true fellowship. For ornaments perish, and beauty becometh old and marred, and clothes decay, and power passeth away, (accompanied) with punishment, according as each person hath conducted himself in it, and marriage passeth away with much contempt. Jesus alone abideth, and those who hope in Him and take refuge (with Him), and deliver up themselves unto Him." And when he had said these things, he said to the woman: "Go in peace, and may our Lord make thee worthy of His divine mysteries." She saith to him: "I am afraid to go, lest thou leave me and depart to another place." The Apostle saith to her: "Jesus will not abandon thee for His mercy's sake." And she bowed down and prostrated herself before him, because she thought that he was Jesus; and she went home rejoicing.

Now Karīsh, the kinsman of king Mazdai, had taken his bath and gone to supper; and he was asking for his wife, where she was, that she had not come to meet him from her chamber. And her maidens said to him: "She is not inclined (to come)." And he went into the chamber, and saw her lying on the bed with her face covered. And he kissed her, and said to her: "Why art thou sad today and sorrowful?" She saith to

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him: "I am very tired." He saith to her: "Why didst thou not pay proper respect to thy position as a free woman, and stay at home, and not go and hear vain words and (see) deeds of witchcraft? But get up, and come out, and sup with me, for I cannot sup without thee." Mygdonia saith to him: "Today I must be excused from supping with thee and from sleeping with thee, for I am much agitated." And when Karīsh heard from Mygdonia that she spake to him thus, he was unwilling to quit (the room) to sleep or to sup; but ordered his servants to bring (food) to him that he might sup in her presence.

And when they had brought in (food, and) set it before him, he asked her to sup, but she would not; and since she would not sup, he supped alone. And Karīsh said to her: "On thy account I excused myself to my lord, king Mazdai, from (staying to) supper, and thou dost not choose to sup with me!" Mygdonia saith to him: "Because I am not inclined." And he stood up to go to bed and sleep as was his wont, and she said to him: "Did I not tell thee that I must be excused today, that I may sleep alone?"

And when he heard this speech, he went and slept in another bed. And when he awoke suddenly from his sleep, he said to her: "My lady and sister Mygdonia, harken unto a dream which I saw this night. I saw myself reclining in the presence of my lord king Mazdai, and a table was laid before us. And I saw an eagle swoop down from heaven, and carry off from before me and from before king Mazdai a brace of partridges; and he bore them up to his nest and placed them there, and came again and hovered over us. And king Mazdai bade them bring him a bow. And the eagle came again, and carried off again from before us a pigeon and a turtle-dove. And king Mazdai shot an arrow at him, and it passed through him from side to side, and did not harm him; but he soared away to his nest. And I started (out of my sleep), being agitated, and being vexed on account of the partridge which I had tasted, and of which he did not let me put any more into my mouth, and lo, its taste was in my mouth." Mygdonia saith to him: "Thy dream is good; for thou eatest partridges every day, but perchance a partridge had never been tasted by that eagle until now."

And when it was morning, Karīsh, the kinsman of king Mazdai, arose early (and) dressed, and put his left shoe on his right foot, and said to Mygdonia: "What is this action? Lo, the dream and the action!" Mygdonia saith to him: "This too is not unlucky, but good; from an unlucky thing something else good results." And he washed his hands, and went to salute king Mazdai.

But Mygdonia, the wife of Karīsh, arose early too (and) went to salute Judas the Apostle. And she found him sitting and conversing with the general and with a great multitude; and he said to them: "My children, the woman who yesterday received our Lord into her heart and soul, whose wife is she?" The general saith to him: "She is the wife of Karīsh, the kinsman of king Mazdai, and her husband is a hard man, and all that he biddeth the king (do), he humoureth him in; and he will not let her continue as she hath promised, because he telleth many fine stories about her to the king, and hath said that there is none like to her; and she too loveth him much, and these things which thou sayest unto them are alien from them." Judas saith: "If our Lord hath really risen in her soul, and she hath received the seed which was sown in her, she will neither make account of this life, nor be afraid of death j nor will Karīsh be able any more to do anything to her, nor to make her suffer, because He whom she hath received into her soul is greater than he, if she hath received (Him) once for all with perfect love."

And when Mygdonia heard these things, she saith to Judas: "Of a truth, my lord, through thy prayer I have received the living seed of the Word, and fruits which are like unto the seed I shall yield in my Lord Jesus." Judas saith: "These our souls, which are Thine, praise Thee, our Lord. These our spirits, which are Thy true possessions, praise Thee, my Lord. These our bodies, which Thou hast made worthy to be the dwelling-place of Thy Spirit, that is always to be glorified, praise Thee, my Lord." And the Apostle said to all those who were there: "Blessed are the pure, whose souls never upbraid them, because they have gained them and they are not in doubt regarding themselves. Blessed are the spirits of the pure, who have won the crown and gone up from the contest to what is given up unto them. Blessed are the bodies of the pure, which are worthy to become clean temples in which the Messiah shall dwell. Blessed are ye, pure, for unto you it is allowed to ask and to receive. Blessed are ye, pure, for ye are called judges. Blessed are ye, pure, for to you is granted power to forgive sins. Blessed are ye, pure, for ye have not destroyed what was delivered unto you, but ye take it up on high with you, rejoicing. Blessed are ye, meek, for God hath deemed you worthy to inherit the kingdom. Blessed are ye, meek, for it is ye who have conquered the evil (one). Blessed are ye, meek, for ye are the children of light. Blessed are ye, meek, for ye shall see the face of your Lord. Blessed are ye, temperate, for ye shall be contented and rejoice in those spiritual things which pass not away and are not dissolved, and the eaters of which hunger not. Blessed are ye, temperate, for ye are delivered from sin."

And when the Apostle had said these things, whilst the whole multitudes were listening to him, Mygdonia, the wife of Karīsh, the friend of king Mazdai, was greatly strengthened in purity and temperance and all meekness. And whilst they were solacing themselves the whole day with the praises and the majesty of the Lord, Karish, the friend of king Mazdai, came to dinner, and did not find his wife at home; and he began to ask all his servants about her, (saying,) " Whither is your mistress gone?" And one of them said to him: "She is gone to the strange man, and there she is." And when he heard these things from his servant, he was angry with his other servants that they had not informed him of what had happened. And he went (and) bathed and came back whilst it was still light, and was sitting and waiting for Mygdonia till she should come.

And when it was evening, she came, and he met her and said to her: "Where hast thou been till now?" And she said to him: "I went to the physician's house." He saith: "That strange conjuror is the physician." She saith to him: "Yea, he is the physician, and he is different from all (other) physicians, for all (other) physicians heal these bodies which shall be dissolved, but this physician healeth the bodies with the souls, which shall never more be dissolved." And when Karīsh, the kinsman of king Mazdai, heard these things, he was angry in his mind with Mygdonia and with the stranger, but he said nothing to her,—because he was afraid of her, for she was far superior to him in wealth, and also in her understanding,— but he went, (and) entered into the dining-room, and sat down to supper; and she went again into her ante-chamber. And he told his servants to call her to come out (and) sup with him; but she did not wish (it). And when he heard that she did not wish to come out, he went in to her and said to her: "Why wilt thou not come out to sup with me? And perhaps too thou dost not wish to sleep with me according to thy wont? Of this I am sorely afraid, especially as I have heard that that sorcerer and deceiver is most anxious about this, that a man should not be with his wife; a thing that nature enjoineth, and with which the gods too are pleased, he taketh away (from us)."

And when Karīsh had said these things to her, Mygdonia was silent, and he said again to her: "My sister and lady and beloved and wife, Mygdonia, be not led astray by idle and foolish words nor by deeds of witchcraft, which, I have heard, he does in the name of his god; for from the day that the world came into being, it hath never been heard that a man brought the dead to life; but this man, as I hear, maketh as if he brought the dead to life. And as to his not eating or drinking, do not suppose that it is for righteousness' sake that he neither eateth nor drinketh, but because he hath not got anything. For what shall he eat, who hath not even bread for the day? And that he weareth, (only) one (garment) is because he hath not another; and that he doth not take pay from any man is because he knows that he doth not in reality heal any man."

And when Karīsh had said these things to Mygdonia, she was as silent as a stone, and was praying, and asking when it would be morning, and when she could see the Apostle of God. And he left her and went (and) supped in sorrowful mood. And when he was thinking that, lo, he would sleep with her according to his wont,— but she, at the moment when he went out from her, kneeled down, and was praying and saying: "My Lord, and my God, and my Life-giver, the Messiah, do Thou give me strength to overcome the daring of Karish, and do Thou grant me that I may preserve the purity in which Thou takest delight, and by which I shall find eternal life;" and when she had prayed, she covered her face and lay down—Karīsh, as soon as he had supped, came and stood over her, and took off his clothes. And she perceived him, and saith to him: "There is no place for thee beside me, because my Lord Jesus, with whom I am united, is better than thou, and He is always beside me." And Karīsh laughed and said to her: "Thou mockest well that sorcerer, and laughest well at him for saying, 'Ye cannot live before God unless ye be pure.' " And when he had spoken thus, he dared to lie down beside her, but she did not endure (it), but cried out at him bitterly and said: " Help, Thou new God, who through a strange man art come to India! Help, Lord Jesus! Forsake me not, because I take refuge with Thee; for as I have heard that Thou seekest those who know Thee not, lo, now that I am seeking. Thee and have heard tell of Thee and have believed in Thee, come to my help, and deliver me from the insolence of Karīsh, and let not his impurity prevail over me, and let him not have a place beside me." And she arose, and tied his hands, and fled from beside him, and laid hold of the curtain which covered the door of the chamber and wrapped herself (therein), and went out (and) went to her nurse, and slept beside her for that night.

But Karīsh was in sorrow all that night, and was beating his hands against one another, and was wishing to go during the night (and) inform king Mazdai of the violence that had been done him. And he was thinking and saying : "If I go in the great distress which I feel, who will give me admittance to king Mazdai? For I know that, if fate had not ruined me, and hurled me down from my pride and haughtiness and greatness into contempt and abasement, and separated my beloved Mygdonia from me, (even) to king Mazdai, had he been standing at this hour at my door, I would not have gone out and given an answer. But I will wait till morning; and I know that, whatever I say to king Mazdai, he will humour me therein. And I will tell him of the sorcery of the stranger, how he useth violence and casteth down the exalted into an abyss; for I am not grieved at being cut off from intercourse with Mygdonia, but I am sorry for Mygdonia herself, that her greatness hath been degraded, and her freedom brought low, and her high spirit humbled, and that a woman, whom none of her own servants ever saw in any evil tempers, runneth naked out of her chamber, and perchance she is gone out into the street through the influence of the sorcery of the stranger; but I know not whither she is gone, for there was nothing to be seen with her." And when he had said these things, he began to weep and to say: "Woe is to me for thy sake, my true wife, of whom I am now deprived! Woe is to me for thy sake, my beloved and my lover, who wast more to me than my whole kindred! And neither son nor daughter have I from thee, with whom I might rest contented. A whole year thou hast not completed with me, and an (evil) eye hath taken thee from me. Would that the might of death had taken thee by force from me, and I should (still) have counted myself with kings and princes and nobles,—and not this strange man, who is perhaps a slave and a fugitive from his owners, and hath come hither because of my ill luck! I shall never have rest, and never be stopped, until I destroy him and chastise him and avenge myself upon him. To-night I will not appear before king Mazdai; but if he .doth not humour me, and doth not chastise that stranger, I will tell him about the general Sîfûra too, that he hath been the cause of destruction to this (woman); for, lo, he sitteth in his house, and many go in and out unto him, and he teacheth them the new doctrine of purity, and teacheth and saith that a man cannot live, unless he separateth himself from all that belongeth to him, and becometh an ascetic and a wandering mendicant like unto himself, and lo, he wisheth to make companions for himself."

And whilst Karīsh was meditating these things, it became morning. And he rose early (and) dressed and put on his shoes; but he put on sorry garments, and his countenance was gloomy, and he was very sad; and he went in to salute king Mazdai. And when king Mazdai saw him, he said to him: "What is the matter, that thou art come to me in this wretched plight? And why is thy aspect sad, and thy countenance changed?" Karīsh saith to him: "King Mazdai, I have a new fact to tell thee, and a new calamity, which Sîfûr hath brought to India. A Hebrew, a conjuror, is sitting in his house, and never goeth out from beside him; and many go in to him, and he teacheth them the new God and giveth them new laws, which have never been heard of by us; and he saith: 'Ye cannot be children of this everlasting life, which I teach, unless ye sever yourselves, a man from his wife, and a woman from her husband.' Now it chanced that my wretched and miserable wife went to see him, and heard his words and believed them; and she arose by night and fled from beside me, she who could not bear to be away from me for a single hour and could not exist without me. But send (and) fetch Sîfûr and the conjuror who lays snares for him, and chastise them; and if not, all our countrymen will be destroyed by his words."

And when Mazdai heard these things from his kinsman Karīsh, he said to him: "Be not grieved and vexed. I will send and fetch him, and chastise him, and thou shalt get back thy wife; for if I avenge others who cannot avenge themselves, thee, lo, especially (must I avenge)." And he commanded that they should summon Sîfûr the general (to come) to him; and they went to his house and found him sitting on the right hand of Judas, the Apostle of God, and Mygdonia was sitting at his feet, with a great multitude, and they were listening to him. Those who went after Sîfûr the general answered and say to him: "Dost thou sit and listen to vain words, whilst king Mazdai in his wrath is seeking to destroy thee, because of this sorcerer and seducer, whom thou hast brought into thy house?" And when Sîfûr the general heard these things, he was grieved, not because the king was angered with him, but because the king had heard regarding him that he was acquainted with Judas the Apostle. And Sîfûr said to Judas: "I am grieved on thy account, for I told thee a day agone that that woman was the wife of Karīsh, the kinsman of king Mazdai, and that he would not let her do what she promised; and whatever he saith to the king, he humoureth him therein." Judas saith to Sîfûr: "Be not afraid, but believe in Jesus, who pleadeth for both me and thee, and for all those who take refuge with Him and come to His place of assembly." And when Sîfûr the general heard these things, he put on his dress and went to king Mazdai.

And Judas was asking Mygdonia, what was the reason that her husband was angry with her, and meditated these things against them. She saith to him: "Because I did not give myself to corruption with him; for in the evening he wished to make me yield, and to subject me to that which he is wont to do; but He to whom I have committed myself delivered me from his hands, and I fled naked from beside him, and slept with my nurse, and I know not what has come to him that he plots

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these things against you." The Apostle saith to her: "These things, my daughter, harm us not; but believe in Jesus, and He will restrain from thee the lust of Karīsh, and He will deliver thee from corruption and wantonness, and He will be to thee a guide in the path of danger, and a conductor to His and His Father's kingdom, and He will bring thee into everlasting life, and will give thee a sovereignty that passeth not away and changeth not."

And when Sîfûr stood before king Mazdai, Mazdai asked him and said to him: "What is his story, and whence is he, and what doth he teach, the sorcerer who plotteth against thee?" Sîfûr saith to him: "Dost thou perchance not know, my lord, that I and all my friends were in great sorrow about my wife,—whom, as thou knowest, many held in honour,—and about my daughter, in comparison with whom I counted as nought all that I possess? And what calamity and what trial came upon them? And how they became a laughing-stock and an imprecation through the whole country? And I heard tell of this man, and went to him, and asked of him, and fetched him, and we came hither; and I saw wonderful miracles whilst I was coming with him on the road, and here too many saw and heard what the wild ass said, and what the demon declared concerning him. And he healed my wife and my daughter, and lo, they are well, and he asked for no reward except belief and purity, that they might be participators in what he is doing; and he saith, 'Fear one God, the Lord of all, and Jesus the Messiah, His Son, and ye shall live for ever and ever'; and he eateth nothing at all but bread and salt from evening to evening, and drinketh water; and he prayeth much, and whatever he asketh of God, He giveth him; and he enjoineth (us) too, (saying) that this his God is holy and good and benign and gentle and a giver of life, and (that) therefore those who believe in Him draw nigh unto Him in cleanness and purity and love."

And when king Mazdai heard these things from Sîfûr, he sent a number of soldiers from his presence to the house of Sîfûr the general} to fetch Judas Thomas and those whom they found with him. And when they went in, they found him sitting and teaching a great many people, and Mygdonia too was sitting at his feet. And they were afraid, when they saw the great number of people that surrounded him; and they went to tell king Mazdai, (saying): "We did not dare to say aught to him, because a great many people were with him, and Mygdonia too was sitting at his feet and hearing his words." And when Mazdai and Karīsh heard these things, Karīsh sprang up from before king Mazdai, and took with him a number of soldiers, and said : " I will go and fetch him and also Mygdonia, whose senses he hath taken away." And he came to the house of Sîfûr the general in haste, and came and found Judas sitting and teaching. And when he went in, he saw Judas, but he did not find Mygdonia there, for she had gone home, because she knew that they would tell her husband about her that she was there. And Karīsh said to Judas: "Get up, wretch and corrupter and enemy! But what can thy witchcraft do to me? For I will make thy sorceries recoil upon thy own head." And when he had spoken thus to him, Judas looked upon him and said to him: "Thy threats shall recoil upon thee, for me thou canst not hurt at all, because my Lord Jesus the Messiah, with whom I take refuge, is greater than thou and thy king and all thy forces." And Karīsh took the turban of one of his servants, and threw it round the Apostle's neck, and said: "Drag him off; let me see if Jesus will deliver him from my hands." And they were dragging him away until (they came) to king Mazdai.

And when Judas stood before king Mazdai, he said to him: "Tell me what is thy story, by whose power thou doest these works?" And Judas was silent and gave him no reply. And king Mazdai commanded the soldiers, and they struck him a hundred and fifty lashes ;a and he gave orders that they should convey him bound to prison; and they bound him and carried him off. And when he was gone and had entered into the prison, Mazdai and Karīsh were planning how they might kill him, because the whole people were worshipping him as God, and they took pains to say (everywhere), "He hath reviled the king, and he is a conjuror"

But Judas, when he went to prison, was glad and rejoicing, saying: "I thank thee, my Lord Jesus the Messiah, that Thou hast deemed me worthy not only to believe in Thee, but also to bear many things for Thy sake." And he said: "I thank Thee, my Lord, that Thou hast deemed me worthy of these things. I thank Thee, my Lord, that Thy providence hath been over me, and that Thou hast deemed me worthy to bear many evils for Thy sake. I thank thee, my Lord, that for Thy sake, I have been a recluse and an ascetic and a pauper and a wandering mendicant. Let me then receive of the blessing of the poor, and of the rest of the weary, and of the blessing of those whom men hate and persecute and revile and say of them odious words. Lo, for Thy sake I am hated and shunned by many; for Thy sake they say of me I know not what."

And whilst he was praying, all those who were in the prison saw that he was praying and begged of him to pray for them too. And when he had prayed and sat down, Judas began to chant this hymn.

THE HYMN OF JUDAS THOMAS THE APOSTLE IN THE COUNTRY OF THE INDIANS.

"When I was a little child, and dwelling in my kingdom, in my father's house, and was content with the wealth and the luxuries of my nourishers, from the East our home my parents equipped me (and) sent me forth; and of the wealth of our treasury they took abundantly, (and) tied up for me a load large and (yet) light, which I myself could carry—gold of Beth-ʿEllāyē, and silver of Gazak the great, and rubies of India, and agates from Beth-Kāshān; and they furnished me with the adamant, which can crush iron. And they took off from me the glittering robe, which in their affection they had made for me, and the purple toga, which was measured (and) woven to my stature. And they made a compact with me, and wrote it in my heart, that it might not be forgotten: 'If thou goest down into Egypt, and bringest the one pearl, which is in the midst of the sea around the loud-breathing serpent, thou shalt put on thy glittering robe and thy toga, with which (thou art) contented, and with thy brother, who is next to us in authority, thou shalt be heir in our kingdom.' I quitted the East (and) went down, there being with me two guardians, for the way was dangerous and difficult, and I was very young to travel it. I passed through the borders of Maishan, the meeting-place of the merchants of the East, and I reached the land of Babel, and I entered the walls of Sarbug. I went down into Egypt, and my companions parted from me. I went straight to the serpent, I dwelt around his abode, (waiting) till he should slumber and sleep, and I could take my pearl from him. And when I was single and was alone (and) become strange to my family, one of my race, a free-born man, an Oriental, I saw there, a youth fair and loveable, the son of oil-sellers; and he came and attached himself to me, and I made him my intimate friend, an associate with whom I shared my merchandise. I warned him against the Egyptians, and against consorting with the unclean; and I dressed in their dress, that they might not hold me in abhorrence, because I was come from abroad in order to take the pearl, and arouse the serpent against me. But in some way or other they found out that I was not their countryman, and they dealt with me treacherously, and gave me their food to eat. I forgot that I was a son of kings, and I served their king; and I forgot the pearl, for which my parents had sent me, and because of the burden of their oppressions I lay in a deep sleep. But all these things that befell me my parents perceived, and were grieved for me; and a proclamation was made in our kingdom, that every one should come to our gate (i.e., palace or residence), kings and princes of Parthia, and all the nobles of the East. And they wove a plan on my behalf, that I might not be left in Egypt; and they wrote to me a letter, and every noble signed his name to it:'From thy father, the king of kings, and thy mother, the mistress of the East, and from thy brother, our second (in authority), to thee our son, who art in Egypt, greeting! Up and arise from thy sleep, and listen to the words of our letter! Call to mind that thou art a son of kings! See the slavery,—whom thou servest! Remember the pearl, for which thou wast sent to Egypt! Think of thy robe, and remember thy splendid toga, which thou shalt wear and (with which) thou shalt be adorned, when thy name hath been read out in the list of the valiant, and with thy brother, our viceroy, thou shalt be in our kingdom.' My letter is a letter, which the king sealed with his own right hand, (to keep it) from the wicked ones, the children of Babel, and from the savage-demons of Sarbug. It flew in the likeness of an eagle, the king of all birds; it flew and alighted beside me, and became all speech. At its voice and the sound of its rustling, I started and arose from my sleep. I took it up and kissed it, and I began (and), read it; and according to what was traced on my heart were the words of my letter written, I remembered that I was a son of royal parents, and my noble birth asserted its nature. I remembered the pearl, for which I had been sent to Egypt, and I began to charm him, the terrible loud-breathing serpent. I hushed him to sleep and lulled him into slumber, for my father's name I named over him, and the name of our second (in power), and of my mother, the queen of the East; and I snatched away the pearl, and turned to go back to my father's house. And their filthy and unclean dress I stripped off, and left it in their country; and I took my way straight to come to the light of our home the East. And my letter, my awakener, I found before me on the road; and as with its voice it had awakened me, (so) too with its light it was leading me. It, that dwelt in the palace, gave light before me with its form, and with its voice and its guidance it also encouraged me to speed, and with its love it drew me on. I went forth (and) passed by Sarbug; I left Babel on my left hand; and I came to the great Maishān, to the haven of merchants, which sitteth on the shore of the sea. And my bright robe, which I had stripped off, and the toga that was wrapped with it, from Rāmthā and Reken (?) my parents had sent thither by the hand of their treasurers, who in their truth could be trusted therewith. And because I remembered not its fashion,—for in my childhood I had left it, in my father's house,—on a sudden, when I (received) it. the garment seemed to me to become like a mirror of myself. I saw it all in all, and I too received all in it, for we were two in distinction and yet again one in one likeness. And the treasurers too, who brought it to me, I saw in like manner to be two (and yet) one likeness, for one sign of the king was written on them (both), of the hands of him who restored to me through them my trust and my wealth, my decorated robe, which was adorned with glorious colours, with gold and beryls and rubies and agates and sardonyxes, varied in colour. And it was skilfully worked in its home on high, and with diamond clasps were all its seams fastened; and the image of the king of kings was embroidered and depicted in full all over it; and like the stone of the sapphire too its hues were varied. And I saw also that all over it the instincts of knowledge were working, and I saw too that it was preparing to speak. I heard the sound of its tones, which it uttered with its ..... , (saying): 'I am the active in deeds, whom they reared for him before my father; and I perceived myself, that my stature grew according to his labours.' And in its kingly movements it poured itself entirely over me, and on the hand of its givers it hastened that I might take it. And love urged me too to run to meet it and receive it; and I stretched forth and took it. With the beauty of its colours I adorned myself, and I wrapped myself wholly in my toga of brilliant hues. I clothed myself with it, and went up to the gate of salutation and prostration; I bowed my head and worshipped the majesty of my father who sent me,—for I had done his commandments, and he too had done what he promised,—and at the gate of his retainers I mingled with his princes, for he rejoiced in me and received me, and I was with him in his kingdom, and with the voice of ..... all his servants praise him. And he promised that to the gate too of the king of kings with him I should go, and with my offering and my pearl with him should present myself to our king."

The hymn of Judas Thomas the Apostle, which he spake in the prison, is ended.

THE SONG OF PRAISE OF THOMAS THE APOSTLE.

"To be glorified are Thou, Lord of all, self-existent, unutterable, who art hidden in the brightness of Thy glory from all created beings.

"To be praised art Thou, the Son, the first-born of life, who art from the exalted Father and the Word of life.

"To be glorified art Thou, the one Father, who portray est Thyself with wisdom in all creatures and in all worlds.

"To be praised art Thou, the Son of light, the Wisdom and the Power and the Knowledge, who art in all worlds.

"To be glorified art Thou, the Father exalted, who didst rise (like the sun) from Thy secrecy into manifestation by means of all Thy Prophets.

"To be praised art Thou, Son of mercy, by whom all things were fulfilled in wisdom and in silence.

"To be glorified art Thou, the Father supreme, born of Thy First-born in the silence and tranquillity of meditation.

"To be praised art Thou, the Son adored, who didst rise (as the sun) from the Father, with His aspect, in peace and in glory.

"To be glorified art Thou, the good Father, who didst reveal the mystery of Thy First-born to the Prophets by the Spirit of holiness.

"To be praised art Thou, the proved Son, who didst reveal the glory of the Father to Thy Apostles in all nations.

"To be glorified art Thou, the Father serene, who didst hallow Thy majesty for ever in Thy First-born; the Giver of life to Thy creation.

"To be praised art Thou, the comely Son, who didst rise (like the sun) from the splendour of the Father, and didst deliver our souls by Thy innocent blood.

"To be glorified art Thou, Father omnipotent, who dwellest in Thy glorious light, and art shrouded in Thy glory, and manifested to all in Thy grace.

"To be praised art Thou, the perfect Son, who art sown in the living earth, and wast before the world with Thy holy Father.

"To be glorified art Thou, the Feeder of all, who art in all worlds, on high and in the deep, and there is no place that is void of Thee.

"To be praised art Thou, the Son, the adored Fruit, who didst rise (like the sun) upon all in mercy, and didst put on our humanity, and whom our adversary slew;

"To be glorified art Thou, the infinite Father, who didst make Thy angels of the overflowings of Thy Spirit and Thy ministers Thy flaming fire.

"To be praised, art Thou, the Son of light, who art borne on the Spirit, and shrouded in the light of the Father, on holy clouds.

"To be glorified art Thou, the Father giving life to all, who didst assemble the worlds for Thy glory by the hand of Thy dear (Son), that they might make praise to ascend unto Thee.

" To be praised art Thou Son of life, of whose gift the Father giveth in abundance to the holy, and through it they set out and arrive in the path of peace.

"To be glorified art Thou, the Father giving life to all, who hast revealed the mysteries of Thy Son by the Spirit to His saints, in tranquillity and rest.

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"To be praised art Thou, the Son, the Fruit of the Father, who hidest Thy chosen ones under Thy wings, and hast fulfilled the will of Thy Father, and redeemed Thy dear ones.

"To be glorified art Thou, the good Father, giving life to all creatures by the hand of Thy dear (Son), in mercy and in grace, through His death by crucifixion.

"To be praised art Thou, the first-born Son, feeding created beings with Thy body, and blotting out our sins with the sign of Thy wounds and with the sprinkling of Thy blood upon us.

"To be glorified art Thou, the good Father, who dwellest in the pure heart, in the mind of Thy worshippers, and art hidden from all in Thy aspect, and revealed to us in Thy Messiah.

"To be praised art Thou, the Son, the Word, proclaiming Thy coming in stillness, who didst put on our humanity and deliver us by Thy living and innocent blood.

"To be glorified art Thou, the living Father, who didst give (new) life to our deadness, for we had erred from Thy way and were dead and perished, but Thy mercy was upon us.

"To be praised art Thou, the beloved Son, who didst give (new) life to our deadness, and didst turn back our I going astray, and wast to us a medicine of life by Thy life-giving body and by the sprinkling of Thy living blood.

"To be glorified art Thou, the Father exalted by all mouths and by all tongues, who hast been reconciled to us by Thy Messiah, and whom we have tasted through Thy Fruit and have become children of Thy peace.

"To be praised art Thou, the Son, the Peace-maker, who hast healed our wounds, and persuaded our hardness (of heart), and collected our wandering, and trained us in Thy truth, and we have known through Thee Thy Father.

"To be glorified art Thou, the Father omnipotent, who hast sent to us Thy living and life-giving Fruit; and He reconciled by the blood of His Cross Thy mercy with Thy creatures.

"To be praised art Thou, the Son, the Word of light, who didst rise (like the sun) from on high and satisfy us with the knowledge of Thee, and didst cleanse our impurity, and give (new) life to our deadness by Thy sign, the Cross of light.

"To be glorified art Thou, the Father of all praises, and to be exalted is Thy great Name in all worlds, for Thou hast not reckoned against us our sins, but hast given us life through Thy Messiah, who is the Life of Thy will.

"To be praised art Thou, the Son, the Voice conceived of knowledge, our holy Priest, who hast made atonement for us by Thy pure and holy offering, and hast poured out Thy living blood on behalf of sinners.

"To be glorified art Thou, the Father exalted, who art hidden from all worlds, and art revealed according to Thy will to all Thy worshippers.

"To be praised art Thou, the Son of life, accomplishing the will of Thy Father; who hast reconciled Thy creatures, so that they worship in Thee Him who sent Thee and are become partakers of Thy mysteries.

"To be glorified art Thou, the Father exalted, by every knee, which shall bow to Thee, both in Heaven and on earth, through Thy dear (Son).

"To be praised art Thou, the adored Son of perfect mercy, through whom there has come peace and hope for the creatures, that they may know the Creator.

"To be glorified art Thou, the Father giving life to all, the riches of whose mercy are never exhausted by the abundance of Thy gifts, but at all times Thou hast a need of giving unto us.

"To be praised art Thou, the Son, the Fruit; for Thou art the Gate of light and the Way of truth, and Thou hast made us run in thy footsteps, that we may arrive at the house of Thy exalted Father.

"To be glorified art Thou, the Father benign, who hast given us peace by the hand of our Life-giver, and hast revealed unto us Thy glorious, and holy mysteries by the hearing of Thy doctrine.

"To be praised art Thou, the only (-begotten) Son of the Father, whose mercy hath been upon us, and Thou hast signed us with Thy living and life-giving Cross.

"All mouths and all tongues glorify the Father and worship the Son and praise Thy holy Spirit, the worlds and the creatures which are hidden and which are manifest.

"Thy Angels glorify Thee on high through Thy Messiah, who became in Sheol peace and hope to the dead, who came to life and were raised.

"We beg of Thee, our Lord and our Life-giver, (the accomplishment) of all that Thou hast said and promised. Fulfil with us Thy grace, and raise us up to the place of Thy peace; for Thou art our Life-giver, Thou art our Paraclete, Thou art the medicine of our life, Thou art our sign of victory.

"Blessed are we, Lord, who have known Thee. Blessed are we, who have believed in Thee. Blessed are we through Thy wounds and Thy blood, (suffered and shed) on our behalf. Blessed are we, for Thou art our great hope. Blessed are we, for Thou art our God, and for ever and ever, Amen."

And Karīsh, the husband of Mygdonia, went to his house, rejoicing greatly, because he thought in his mind that henceforth his wife would be with him as formerly, before she heard the word of Judas and believed in our Lord Jesus the Messiah, the Son of God. And when Karīsh went, he found his wife sitting, and her looks were downcast," and her clothes rent, and she was like a mad woman, because of Judas. He saith to her: "My lady and sister Mygdonia, what is this wicked folly that hath taken possession of thee? And why hast thou done these things? I am Karīsh, the husband of thy youth, and I am he who from the gods and by the law hath power over thee. Why hast thou now acted like a mad woman? And why art thou become a laughing-stock through this whole country? But from, this moment dismiss the thought of that wizard from thy mind, for I am about to take away the sight of him from before thine eyes, that thou mayest see him no more." And when she had heard these things from Karīsh her husband, she was again sorely grieved and afflicted. And he said again to her: "What crime, pr'ythee, hast thou committed against the gods, that they have let thee come to this great misery? And what sin hast thou wrought before them that they have brought thee to this degradation and ridicule? I beg of thee, Mygdonia, torture not my soul by the sight of thee, and pain not my heart by thy care. I am Karīsh, the husband of thy youth, and I am thy true husband, whom the whole country honoureth and whom they fear. What I shall do henceforth, I know not, nor how I shall conduct myself, nor what plan I shall devise. Shall I remember in my heart thy beauty, and be silent? Or shall I think of thy chaste conduct, and say nothing? Who is there, from whom they (try to) take away a goodly and fair treasure, and he letteth go his hold of it? Am I able to bear (the loss of) thy winsome beauties, which are with me at all times? Thy sweet fragrance, lo, is in my nostrils; and thy fair colour, lo, is before my eyes; my soul, which they (are trying to) take away from me; my bright eye, with which I saw, and which they are plucking out and taking away from me; my fair body, of which I was proud, and which they are ill-using and taking away from me; my right arm, which they are cutting off from me; my beauty, which is destroyed; my comfort, through which they are distressing me; my joy, which is turned into sorrow; my rest, which is become an affliction to me; my life, which is changed into death; my light, which is dyed with darkness. The members of my great house shall not see me (again), for in this affliction I have had no help (from them). My noble friends shall not see me (again), who have not saved me from this affliction. I will no longer worship the gods of the East, who have brought me to these miseries, nor will I pray before them, nor sacrifice to them again, nor offer to them an offering, because I am deprived of this my true union. For what (prayer) should I again pray to them? Or what should I beg of them, or ask of them to give me, who have deprived me of that which was dearer to me than everything which I possessed in the world, and with which I was contented? For I have more wealth than I can use, and possessions, the amount of which I cannot reckon. A prince too I have been made, and I have been named the king's f deputy; and many fear me, and many are under myhand. Would that some one would take away from me all these glories and my great wealth, and give me one hour of thy past years, Mygdonia! Would that some one would blind one of my eyes, and that thy eyes would look upon me as they were wont! Would that some one would cut off my right arm, and that I might embrace thee with my left arm!"

Whilst Karīsh was saying these things and weeping, Mygdonia was sitting like one stone-deaf, and looked not at him, but upon the ground, and was silent. And he came near to her again, and said to her: "My daughter and my beloved, Mygdonia, remember that thou didst please me above all the women of India, and that I chose thee when I might have taken many who were of higher rank than thou. But indeed I lie not, Mygdonia; no by God, there is not for me another (woman) in all India like to thee. "What beauty, and what ornament, and what elegance, and what noble qualities am I losing! "Woe to me and to the world, for I shall never hear thee speak again! Although he hath reviled (me), I beg of thee, lift up thine eyes and look upon me, for I am far better than that wizard, and am handsomer than he, and I have wealth and honour, and every one knoweth that no one hath a lineage like to mine. And thou art more to me than my kindred and than all that I have; and lo, they are taking thee away from me!"

And when Karīsh had said these things, Mygdonia saith to him: "Karīsh, He whom I love is more than all that thou possessest and all that thou hast; for all that thou hast is of the earth and remaineth on the earth; but He whom I love is in Heaven, and He will take me up to Heaven unto Himself. For thy wealth passeth away, and thy beauty becomes marred, and thy robes become old and decay and perish, and thou (art left) alone with thy trespasses and thy sins. If thou art not delivered from them, they will cleave unto thee. Remind me not of thy former doings with me, which I pray and beg of my Lord to blot out for me. Remind me not of thy filthy and unclean pleasures and thy fleshly deeds, from which I pray that I may be rescued by the love of my Lord. I have forgotten all thy practices, and thy familiarities and thy doings are at an end with thyself; but my Lord and my Saviour, Jesus, abideth alone for ever, with those souls which have taken refuge with Him. He with whom I have taken refuge, and in whom I have believed, will save me and deliver me from all thy deeds of shame, which I used to do with thee, when I did not believe."

And when Karīsh heard these things, he went and lay down to sleep, being grieved. And he said to her: "Reflect and consider (this) in thy mind to-day, the whole night. If thou wilt be with me as thou wast, before thou sawest this wizard, I will humour thee in all that thou wishest. And if thou wishest, because of the love that thou hast had for him, I will lead him forth (and) convey him away, and he shall go to another country, and I will not cause thee any distress, for I know that thou cleavest unto him. And this did not begin with thee, but the like of this thing hath befallen many women; but at last they have bethought themselves, and discerned what hath befallen them, and come to themselves, and have been saved from insult and mockery. Let not, then, these things, which I have said unto thee, seem to thee as nothing, and let them not pass away as external (or foreign) to thee; and make me not a mockery and a laughing-stock and a proverb in India."

And when he had said these things to her, he went (and) slept. But Mygdonia took twenty zūzē, and went, without any one perceiving her, to the prison, to give it to the keepers of the prisoners, that they might let her in to Judas. And as she was going, Judas met her coming to her; and she saw him and was afraid, for she thought that it was one of the nobles, because of the great light which was coming before him; and she said: "Woe to thee, feeble soul that art perishing! I shall never again see Judas, the Apostle of Jesus, the living God, because I have not yet received the sign (of baptism from him." And she fled, and went into another street, and saith: "It is better for me that others, (who are) poor, should take me, for I can persuade them (to let me go), and that this great man should not take me, who will not accept a bribe from me."

And whilst Mygdonia was meditating these things, Judas came and entered in behind her. And she was afraid, and fell down from terror; and he stood over her, and said to her: "Be not afraid, Mygdonia; Jesus the Messiah will not forsake thee, and thy Lord will not forsake thee, to whom thou hast committed thy soul; the Gracious will not forsake thee, whose mercy is great; the Benignant will not forsake thee for His kindness' sake; the Good will not forsake thee for His goodness' sake; the Great will not forsake thee for His greatness' sake. Rise from the ground, above which thou once wast (raised). Look upon the light of thy Lord, for He will not let those that love Him walk in darkness. Behold the Companion of His servants, to whom He is a light in darkness. Behold the Help of His servants, to whom He is a helper in afflictions."

And Mygdonia arose, and was looking at him and saying to him: "Whither wast thou going, my lord? And who let thee out of prison to see the sun?" Judas saith to her: "Our Lord Jesus the Messiah is stronger than all powers and kings and rulers; He opened the doors and lulled the keepers to sleep." Mygdonia saith to him: "Give me the sign of Jesus the Messiah, and let me receive His gift from thy hands, before thou departest from the world." And she took him, and went and entered into her house, and awakened her nurse, and saith to her: "My mother and nurse Narkia, all thy deeds of help unto me, and thy kindnesses from my childhood until now, thou hast done unto me in vain, and my fleeting favour I bestow upon thee for them; but do me this favour which (lasts) for ever, and thou shalt be rewarded by Him who gives everything unto His, and fortune cannot deprive them (thereof)." Narkia says to her: "What wantest thou, my daughter Mygdonia? And what comfort canst thou have? For all the former honours, (which) thou didst promise to do unto me, the strange man doth not let thee (do), and thou hast made me a reproach in this country. Now, pr'ythee, what dost thou want to do anew unto me?" She saith to her: "Be with me a sharer in the everlasting life, and let me receive from thee the perfect education. Fetch secretly for me a loaf of bread, and bring out for me a mingled draught of wine, and have pity upon me a freeborn woman." Narkia saith to her: "I will fetch thee bread in plenty and many flagons of wine, and I will do thy pleasure (for thee)." Mygdonia saith to her nurse Narkia: "Many flagons are of no use to me, but a mingled draught in a cup, and one whole loaf, and a little oil, even if (it be) in a lamp, bring unto me."

And when Narkia had brought (them), Mygdonia uncovered her head, and was standing before the holy Apostle. And he took the oil, and cast (it) on her head, and said: "Holy oil, which wast given to us for unction, and hidden mystery of the Cross, which is seen through it—Thou, the straightener of crooked limbs, Thou, our Lord Jesus, life and health and remission of sins,—let Thy power come and abide upon this oil, and let Thy holiness dwell in it." And he cast (it) upon the head of Mygdonia, and said: "Heal her of her old wounds, and wash away from her her sores, and strengthen her weakness." And when he had cast the oil on her head, he told her nurse to anoint her, and to put a cloth round her loins; and he fetched the basin of their conduit. And Judas went up (and) stood over it, and baptized Mygdonia in the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness. And when she had come out and put on her clothes, he fetched and brake the Eucharist and

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(filled) the cup, and let Mygdonia partake of the table of the Messiah and of the cup of the Son of God. And he said to her: "Now then thou hast received the sign, and gained to thyself thy life for ever and ever." And a voice was heard from Heaven, which said, a Yea, Amen and Amen." And when Narkia heard this voice, she was amazed, and she too begged of the Apostle that she also might receive the sign; and he gave (it) to her and said: "May the grace of Jesus be with thee as with the rest of thy companions." And he went to be shut up in prison, and found the doors open and the watchmen asleep.

And Judas said: "Who is like unto Thee, O God, who dost not withhold Thy love and mercy from man? Who is like unto Thee in mercy and grace, save Thy Father, who hath delivered His universe from misery and error? Love that hath conquered desire; truth that hath destroyed falsehood; Thou fair (One) in whom nothing odious is seen; Thou humble (One), who hast cast down pride; Thou living (One), who hast destroyed death; Thou tranquil (One), who hast put an end to toil;—glory to the Only (-begotten), who (is) of the Father! Glory to the mercy which was sent by mercy! Glory to Thy mercy which is upon us!" And when he had said these things, the watchmen awoke, and found all the doors open, but the prisoners asleep; and they said: "We forgot these doors and did not close them; had this been (done) by an adversary, not a man would have remained here."

And Karīsh went early in the morning to Mygdonia and to her nurse, and found her and her nurse praying and saying: "NewGod, who hast come hither through a strange man; holy God, who art hidden from the whole race of the Indians; God, who hast shown us Thy glory through Thy Apostle Thomas; God, of whom we have heard tell and have believed in Thee; God, to whom, because we perceived that there was life in Thee, we have run that Thou mightest give us life; God, who, because of Thy mercy and Thy grace, didst reach down to our littleness; God; who sought us when we did not know Thee; God, who sittest on high, and nothing that is in the depth is concealed from Thee;—do Thou, Lord, keep off from us the hot anger of Karīsh; do Thou stop his lying mouth; and do Thou cast him beneath the feet of Thy believers."

And when Karīsh heard these things, he saith to Mygdonia: "Well hast thou called me evil and hot and odious and bitter, for had I not humoured thee; this wretchedness and bitterness would not have come about me, and thou wouldst not be invoking against me the witchcraft of that (man). But what thought hast thou then conceived, Mygdonia? And what dost thou wish me to do for thee? Believe me, Mygdonia, there is no good in that wizard, and he cannot do anything that he promiseth to any one. But I will show thee before thy eyes all that I say unto thee, if thou wilt be persuaded by me and listen to my words, and be with me as thou wast with me." And he drew near again to her, and was begging of her and saying to her: "I shall feel no distress, if thou wilt be persuaded by me. Remember, my sister, thy wedding-day, and the first day on which thou didst accept me (as thy husband), and tell me now in truth, who is dearer to thee, I at that time or Jesus at this time." Mygdonia saith to him: "Karīsh, that time required its due, and is gone, and this time requireth its due. That was the time of the beginning; this is the time of the end. That was the time of the temporal life, which passeth away; this is the time of the life everlasting. That was the time of transitory joy; this is the time of the eternal joy, which passeth not away. That was the time of day and night; this is the time of day without night. That marriage-feast thou seest, how it has passed away and is gone; but this marriage-feast shall never pass away. That was a marriage-feast of corruption; this is a marriage-feast of life everlasting. Those were groomsmen and bridesmaids who pass away; these are groomsmen and bridesmaids who abide for ever. That (union) was founded upon the earth, where there is an unceasing press; this is founded upon the bridge of fire, upon which is sprinkled grace. That was a bridal-chamber which was taken down; this is a bridal-chamber which remaineth for ever. That was a bed which was covered with goodly clothes that decay; this is a bed which is covered with love and faith and truth. Thou art a bridegroom who passeth away and is changed; Jesus is the true bridegroom who endureth for ever, and never dieth, and is never subject to corruption. That marriage-gift was money and clothes, which decay and pass away; this marriage-gift is living words, which never pass away."

And when Karīsh had heard these things, he went (and) told them to king Mazdai. And king Mazdai said: "Let us fetch (and) destroy him." Karīsh his friend saith to him: "Have patience with him a little, and bring him out (of prison), and speak to him, and frighten him; perhaps he will go and persuade Mygdonia to be with me as she was."

And king Mazdai sent and fetched Judas Thomas, the Apostle of the Most High. And all the prisoners were grieved because Judas the Apostle had departed from them, and were looking for him and saying: "The pleasure which we had they have taken away from us." And king Mazdai said to Judas: "Why teachest thou a doctrine which gods and men abhor, and in which there is nothing pleasing?" Judas saith to him: "What do I teach that is bad?" Mazdai saith to him: "What thou sayest, that men cannot live unto God, unless they keep themselves purely to the God whom thou preachest." Judas saith to him: "Verily thus I say, and I lie not in what I say. Pr'ythee, can thy servants stand before thee in mean garb, or when soiled or dirty? Thou, therefore, who art an earthly king, and perishest with the earth, requirest of thy servants things fair and clean; as to my King, how sayest thou that I speak ill (in saying) that His servants should serve Him with holiness and purity and temperance, and should be without care and without concern, and should be free from the heavy burden of sons and daughters, and from the great care of wealth, and from the trouble and empty pride of riches? For thou hast willed that those who serve thee and obey thee should conduct themselves as thou dost; and if one of them transgresseth one of thy commandments, he receiveth chastisement from thee. How much more does it behove us, who believe in the name of this God of mine, to serve Him in purity and in holiness and in temperance and in chastity and in modesty, and that all these fleshly (lusts) should be strange to us, adultery and theft and drunkenness and lavishness and the service of the belly and deeds of shame and odious actions?" And when king Mazdai had heard these things, he said to Judas: "Lo, I let thee loose; go (and) persuade Mygdonia, the wife of Karīsh, not to part from him." Judas saith to him : "If thou wishest to do aught unto me, delay not; for, if she hath really received what she hath heard, neither iron nor fire, nor anything else that is worse than these, will do aught unto her or sever Him who hath taken possession of her soul." King Mazdai saith to Judas: "I have heard that wizards can dissolve charms, and that the sting of a viper can be healed by an antidote, which is got from another creature that is worse than the viper. Now therefore, if thou choosest, thou art able to dissolve these former charms of thine, and to make peace and concord between the husband and his wife; and (in so doing) thou wilt have pity upon thyself, for thou art not yet sated of thy life. And know that, if thou dost not persuade her, I will destroy thee out of this life, which is dear to all men." Judas saith to him: "This life is but a loan, and this time passeth away and is changed; but the life which I teach never passeth away and is never changed. This beauty and youth, which is now apparent (in me), will not be mine after a little." King Mazdai saith to him: "I advised thee what was for thy advantage, but thou knowest better than I."

And when Judas Thomas had gone out from before king Mazdai, Karīsh came to him and said to him: "I ask of thee—I have never done any wrong to thee, nor to any (other) man, nor to the gods—why hast thou brought this calamity upon me? And why hast thou brought this desolation into my house? And what profit accrueth to thee from this? Bid me, and I will supply it to thee without labour. And why dost thou do mischief to me, when thou canst not escape from my hands? For know that, if thou dost not persuade her (to return to me), I will destroy thee, and her too I will destroy out of this life, and finally I will destroy myself out of the world. And if, as thou sayest, there be life and death, and condemnation and acquittal, and judgement and recompense, there I will stand with thee in judgement; and if thy God, who teacheth thee, be just, and taketh vengeance justly, I shall be recompensed, as I have done thee no wrong, but thou hast afflicted me, and I have not sinned against thee, but thou hast sinned against me. But even here I can take revenge upon thee, and do unto thee all that thou hast done unto me. Hearken to me therefore, and come with me to my house, and speak to Mygdonia, and persuade her to be with me as she was before she saw thy face."

And Judas went with him laughing, and said to him: "If men loved God as they love their fellows, all that they asked of Him He would give them, and there would be nothing which would not obey them." And when he had said these things, Judas entered into the house of Karīsh, and found Mygdonia sitting, and Narkia standing before her; and her hands were placed on her cheeks, and she was saying to her nurse: "Would that the days passed swiftly over me, my mother, and that all the hours were one, that I might go forth from this world, and go (and) see that Beautiful (One), of whom I have heard tell, that Living (One) and Giver of life to those who believe in Him, where there is neither night nor day, and no darkness but light, and neither good nor bad, nor rich nor poor, nor male nor female, nor slaves nor freemen, nor any who are proud and uplifted over those who are humble."

And whilst she was saying these things, Judas came in; and she sprang upright (and) prostrated herself to him. Karīsh saith to him: "See, she feareth thee and loveth thee, and whatever thou sayest to her, she will gratify thee (therein)." Judas saith to her: "My daughter Mygdonia, consent unto what thy brother saith unto thee." Mygdonia saith to him:

"Thou art unable to name the deed, and how canst thou persuade me to do it? For I have heard thee say: 'This temporal life is (but) a loan, and this rest is (but) temporary, and these possessions abide not.' And again thou didst say: 'Whosoever hateth this life, shall go (and) receive life everlasting; and whosoever hateth this light of day and night, shall go (and) receive the light in which there is no night.' And again thou didst say: 'Whosoever forsaketh these earthly possessions, shall go (and) find possessions that abide for ever;' and other things (similar to these). Because thou art afraid, thou sayest these things to me (now). Who is there that doth a thing and exulteth in it, and turneth round (and) renounceth it? And who is there that buildeth a tower, and overturneth (and) rooteth it up from its foundations? And who is there that diggeth a well in a parched place, and throweth in stones and filleth it up? And who is there that findeth a goodly treasure, and doth not make use of it?" And when Karīsh, the kinsman of king Mazdai, heard these things, he said: "I am not like to you, and I will not be in haste to destroy you; but thee I will bind, because I have power over thee, and I will not let thee go to this wizard and converse with him. And if thou yieldest, (good and well); and if not, I know what I will do."

And Judas went out from the house of Karīsh, and went to the house of Sîfûr the general, and was dwelling there. And Sîfûr said to Judas, " Prepare for thyself an apartment, and be teaching in it;" and he did as he said to him. And Sîfûr the general said to him: "I and my daughter and my wife will henceforth live purely, in one mind and in one love; and we beg that we may receive the sign (of baptism) from thy hands, and may become true servants unto our Lord, and may be reckoned among the number of His flock and His sheep." Judas saith: "I am meditating what to say, and am afraid; and I know what I know, (but) I am not able to utter it."

And he began to speak of baptism, and said: "This is the baptism of the remission of sins; this is the bringer forth of new men; this is the restorer of understandings, and the mingler of soul and body, and the establisher of the new man in the Trinity, and which becometh a participation in the remission of sins. Glory to thee, (thou) hidden power of baptism! Glory to thee, (thou) hidden power, that dost communicate with us in baptism! Glory to thee, (thou) power that art visible in baptism! Glory to you, (ye) new creatures, who are renewed through baptism, who draw nigh to it in love!" And when he had said these things, he cast oil upon their heads and said: "Glory to thee, (thou) beloved Fruit! Glory to thee, (thou) name of the Messiah! Glory to thee, (thou) hidden power that dwellest in the Messiah!" And he spake, and they brought a large vat, and he baptized them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness.

And when they were baptized and had put on their clothes, he brought bread and wine, and placed it on the table, and began to bless it, and said: "Living bread, the eaters of which die not! Bread, that fillest hungry souls with thy blessing! Thou that art worthy to receive the gift and to be for the remission of sins, that those who eat thee may not die! We name the name of the Father over thee; we name the name of the Son over thee; we name the name of the Spirit over thee, the exalted name that is hidden from all." And he said: "In Thy name, Jesus, may the power of the blessing and the thanksgiving come and abide upon this bread, that all the souls, which take of it, may be renewed, and their sins may be forgiven them." And he brake and gave to Sîfûr and to his wife and to his daughter.

And king Mazdai, when he had dismissed Judas Thomas, went to his house to sup. And he was telling his wife what had happened to his kinsman Karīsh, and said to her: "See, my sister, what hath befallen that afflicted (man). Thou knowest, my sister Tertia, that a man hath no one like his wife, on whom he relieth. Nowit happened that Mygdonia went to see the sorcerer of whom she had heard tell and of what he was doing, and he bewitched her, and hath parted her from her husband, I know not (how); and he knoweth not what to do. And I wished to destroy him, but he would not let me. But do thou go, and advise her to hearken to her husband, and do not thou listen to the vain words of that (man)."

And in the morning Tertia arose and went to the house of Karīsh, her husband's kinsman, and found Mygdonia sitting on the ground, with sackcloth on and ashes cast upon her, and begging of her Lord that He would forgive her her former sins, and that she might be delivered from the world speedily. And when Tertia came in to her, she saith to Mygdonia: "My sister, and my beloved and close friend, what is this folly that hath taken possession of thee? And why art thou become like to a mad woman? Be mindful of thyself, be mindful of thy family; and bestow a thought on thy numerous kindred, and have pity on thy true husband Karīsh, and do not anything which doth not befit thy free birth."

Mygdonia saith to Tertia: "Thou hast not heard the tidings of the new life, and hast not tasted the words of the preacher of life, and art not freed from the troubles of corruption. Thou hast not seen the everlasting life, and lo, thou standest in the temporal life. Thou hast not become sensible of the true wedlock, and thou art afflicted by the wedlock of corruption. Thou art clothed with garments that decay, and thou dost not long for the garments of eternity. Thou art proud of this beauty of thine which is corruptible, and thou carest not about the loathsomeness of thy soul. Lo, thou are proud of a number of slaves, and thine own soul from slavery thou hast not set free. Thou art proud of the pomp of many (attendants), and thou art not delivered from the judgement of death."

And when Tertia had heard these things from Mygdonia, she went in haste to the house of Sîfûr the general, that she might see the new Apostle who had come thither. And when

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she came in to him, he began to say to her: "What art thou come to see? A wanderer, despised and wretched above all men, without possessions or wealth? But he hath a possession which kings and princes cannot take away from him, and which is incorruptible and cannot be plundered, — Jesus the Messiah, the Life-giver of all mankind, the Son of the Living God, who giveth life unto all those who believe and come to His refuge, and become of the number of His sheep."

And when Tertia heard these things from him, she saith to him: "I too would become a sharer and a handmaiden in this life which thou teachest, and I too would become a servant to this God whom thou preachest, and I would receive from Him this life which thou promisest, which He giveth to those who come to His place of assembly."

Judas saith to her: "The treasury of the heavenly King is open, and every one who is worthy taketh and findeth rest; and when he hath found rest, he becometh a king. But at first a man cannot come near Him, when he is unclean and when his works are evil; for He knoweth what is in the heart and in the imagination, and no man can deceive Him. Thee too, therefore, if thou really believest in Him, He will make worthy of His holy mysteries; and He will exalt thee, and enrich thee, and renew thy mind, and make thee an heiress in His kingdom."

And when Tertia had heard these things, she went home rejoicing, and found Mazdai her husband expecting her; and he had not dined. And he said to her: "Why doth thy coming in from the street seem more pleasing to me today than on any other day? And why dost thou come on foot,—a thing that is not proper for women like thee to do?" Tertia saith to Mazdai: "I owe thee a debt of thanks that thou didst send me to Mygdonia. I went, and have heard of the new life, and have seen the Apostle of the new God; and I believe that he is the Apostle of God, who giveth life to every one who believeth in Him and doth His will. It is my duty that I too should recompense thee for the kindness which thou hast done me; and I will give thee a good counsel, so that thou too shalt become a king and a prince in Heaven, if thou wilt be persuaded by me and do what I say unto thee. I beseech thee to fear the God who hath come hither by means of this stranger, and to keep thyself purely unto God; because this royalty of thine will pass away, and this rest of thine will be changed into trouble. But come, go to that man, and believe in him, and thou shalt live for ever."

And when he heard these things from his wife Tertia, he smote his face with his hands, and rent his clothes, and said: "May the soul of Karīsh have no rest, who hath brought this sorrow upon my soul! May he have no hope, who hath cut off my hope!" And he went out sore troubled, and found his kinsman Karīsh in the street, and said to him: "Why hast thou taken me as thy companion unto Sheol? Why hast thou defrauded me, profiting thyself naught? Why hast thou injured me, doing thyself no good? Why hast thou killed me, not coming thyself to life? Why hast thou done a wickedness unto me, when thou wast not in equity? Why didst thou not let me destroy that wizard before he could corrupt my wife by his sorceries?" And he was upbraiding Karīsh. Karīsh saith to Mazdai: "What is this that hath happened?" Mazdai saith to Karīsh: "He hath bewitched Tertia also."

And they two went to the house of Sîfûr the general, and found Judas sitting and teaching. And all the people sprang up and stood, but Judas did not stand up before them. And king Mazdai knew that it was he who was sitting; and he seized a seat, and turned it over, and took it by the two legs, and beat him on the head and smote him. And he seized him and delivered him to his attendants, and said to them: "Drag (him) off, that I may sit and hear him publicly." And they were dragging Judas and going to the place where Mazdai used to give judgement.

And when he came to the place, he was standing, whilst the attendants of Mazdai held him. And Vizān, the son of king Mazdai, came and said to the attendants: "Give him to me, that I may talk with him until the king cometh;" and they gave him to him. And he took Judas, and went within to (the place) where the king used to sit and judge. Vizān saith to him: "Thou knowest that I am the son of king Mazdai, and that I have liberty to say to the king all that I wish; and that, if I tell the king, he will let thee live, and if I tell him, he will kill thee. Now tell me, who is thy God? And by whose power dost thou hold fast and glory (in it)? And if it be witchcraft, teach it to me, and I will speak to the king, and he will let thee go."

Judas saith to Vizān: "Thou art the son of Mazdai, this king who passeth away; and I am the servant of Jesus, the king who abideth for ever. Thou hast power to speak to thy father, and to preserve alive those whom thou pleasest in this short life, in which men abide not, even when thou hast given it to them; and both thou and thy father are mortal. And I beg of my Lord and beseech of Him on behalf of men, and he giveth them the new life, which lasteth for ever. Thou gloriest in men and in slaves, and in riches and garments and attendants, and in concubines, and in meats which pass

away, and in the bed of uncleanness; and I glory in poverty and asceticism and contempt, and in fasting and prayer and great thanksgiving, and in the communion of the brethren and of the Spirit of holiness, and in the intercourse of the brethren, who are worthy before God to live in everlasting life. Thou takest refuge with a man like unto thee, who cannot even deliver his own soul from judgement and from death; and I take refuge with Him, who is the Condemner and the Absolver and the Great, and who is the Judge of all men. Thou and he with whom thou takest refuge are today and tomorrow, and after a time ye are not; and I take refuge with Him who is for ever, and who knoweth all times and seasons. Thou too, therefore, my son; if thou wishest to become the servant of this God whom I serve, canst become His quickly. And thou art seen to be His servant by these things which I mention unto thee,—by purity, the chief of all good qualities, and the great beginning, and the returning to a better state, and the communion of this God whom I preach; and by cleanness and by temperance, and by love and by faith and by hope in Him, and by simplicity of pure life." And the youth Vizān was persuaded through our Lord, and was seeking some way by which he might rescue Judas.

And whilst he was considering, the king came. And the attendants came and took Thomas, and led him out; and Vizān too went out with him, and was standing beside him. And the king took his seat, and sent (and) had Judas brought in, with his hands bound behind him. And when he stood before him, the king said to him:"Tell me, who art thou, and by whose power dost thou these things?" Judas saith to him: "I am a man like to thee, and I do these things by the power of Jesus the Messiah, the Son of God." Mazdai saith to him: "Speak truly, ere I destroy thee." Judas saith to him: "Thou hast not power over me, as thou thinkest, and thou canst not make me suffer." And when Judas had said these things, king Mazdai was enraged, and gave orders to heat two plates of iron and to make him stand upon them barefooted. And when they had made him sit down, they drew off and took away his shoes, and he was laughing and saying: "Far better is thy wisdom, Jesus, than all the wisdoms of all men. Do Thou take counsel against them; and let Thy loving-kindness make preparation against the anger of these (men)." And they brought the plates (glowing) like fire, and laid hold of Judas to make him step upon them; and suddenly much water rose out of the earth, and the plates were immersed in it, and the men let him go and fled.

And when the king saw the abundance of water, he said to Judas: "Ask of thy God, and He will deliver us from this death by the flood, and we shall not die thus." And Judas prayed and said: "Our Lord Jesus, I ask of thee, bind this nature (or element) and confine it to one place. Thou hast distributed it to various places, and hast given many wondrous signs through Thy servant and Thy Apostle Judas. Thou that makest my soul long that I too may receive Thy splendour; Giver of the reward of all my labours; Thou that lettest my soul be at rest with its own nature, without any intercourse of the harmful (one); Thou that art the cause of my life at all times; do Thou make this flood cease, that it may not rear itself proudly and destroy; for there are (some) of these who are standing by, who shall believe in Thee and live." And when Judas had prayed, there was quiet; and by little and little those waters were swallowed up and disappeared, but the place became as if it had been dried up (by drought).

And when king Mazdai saw (this), he said: "Drag (him) off to prison, till we can consider what we shall do with him." And Judas went to be imprisoned, and the whole people were coming after him; and Vizān, the son of king Mazdai, was coming at the right hand of Judas, and Sîfûr the general at his left hand. And when Judas had entered the prison, he permitted Sîfûr and Vizān, and the wife of Sîfûr and his daughter, to sit down, because they too had gone in with him, that they might hear the word of life, for they knew that king Mazdai would destroy him because of his great anger.

And Thomas began to say: "Thou deliverer of my soul from the slavery of many, because I gave myself to be sold unto one, now, lo, I am glad and rejoice, because I know that the times and the seasons, and the years and the months and the days, are at an end, and I shall come and receive Thee, my giver of rest. Lo; I shall be delivered from (the things) of to-day and of to-morrow, and it is for to-day that I care. Lo, I shall give up hope, and receive truth. Lo, I shall escape from the sorrow and the gladness of every day, and put on joy alone. Lo, I shall be without care and without sorrow and without distress, and shall dwell in rest for ever. Lo, I shall be set free from slavery, and shall go to the liberty unto which I am called. Lo, I have waited upon times and seasons, and (now) I am raised above times and seasons. Lo, I shall receive my pay from a Paymaster, who doth not enter into a reckoning but giveth (freely), because His wealth sufficeth for all His gifts. Lo, I shall take off, and I shall put on and not take off any more. Lo, I shall lie down to sleep, and I shall arise and not lie down to sleep any more. Lo, I shall die, and I shall live and not die any more. Lo, they shall rejoice and look on me, because I shall go and be united with their joy, and they shall place flowers in their garlands. Lo, I shall be made a king in Thy kingdom, Jesus, for from hence have I hoped for it. (Lo,) the wicked shall be put to shame, who thought to subdue me by their powers. Lo, the rebellious shall be destroyed before me, for I have risen above them. Lo, I shall have the peace, unto which the great shall be assembled."

And whilst Judas was saying these things, all those who were there were listening, and were thinking that his departure from the world would be at that moment.

And again Judas said: "Believe in the Healer of all pains, hidden and manifest, and the Giver of life to those souls which ask help of Him; this, the freeborn and King's son, who became a slave and poor; this, the healer of His creation, and the sick because of His servants; this, the purifier of those who believe in Him, and the despised and insulted by those who did not hear Him; this, (who) setteth free His possessions from slavery and from corruption and from subjection and from loss, and is made subject to and insulted by His slaves; this, the Father of (Heaven) above, and the Lord of all creatures, and the Judge of the world; this, who came from on high, and became visible through the Virgin Mary, and was called the son of Joseph the carpenter; this, the littleness of whose body we have seen with our eyes, and whose majesty we have received through faith; this, whose holy body we have felt with our hands, and whose sad aspect we have seen with our eyes, and whose Divine form on the mount we were not able to see by ourselves alone; this, who was called an impostor, and who is the True, that deceiveth not, and the payer of the tax and the head-money for us and for Himself; this, of whom the enemy, when he saw Him, was afraid, and trembled; and asked Him who He was and what was said of Him, and He did not make known to him the truth, because there is no truth in him; this, (who;) though He was the Lord of the world and of its pleasures and of its wealth and of all its delights, put them away from Him, and admonished those who hear Him and believe in Him not to make use of these (things)."

And when he had finished saying these things, he stood up to pray, and spake thus: "Our Father, who (art) in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom come; and Thy will be (done) on earth as in Heaven; and give us the constant bread of the day; and forgive us our debts and our sins, that we too may forgive our debtors; and bring us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil (one). My Lord and my God, and my hope and my confidence, and my teacher and my comforter, Thou didst teach us to pray thus. Lo, Thy prayer I am praying, and Thy will I am accomplishing. Be Thou with me until the end; Thou, who from my youth hast sown life in me, and hast guarded me from corruption; Thou, who hast brought me to the poverty of the world, and hast prepared me for Thy true wealth; Thou, who hast made me know that I am Thine, and I have not come near to woman, that what is desired by Thee might not be found with stain. My mouth sufficeth not to praise Thee, nor my understanding to glorify Thy goodness which (is) upon me; Thou who, when I was wishing to acquire and become rich, didst show me by Thy vision that harm cometh to many from wealth and from possessions, and I believed Thy vision, and abode in lasting poverty, until Thou, the true wealth, didst manifest Thyself unto me, and didst fill with Thy true wealth those who are worthy of Thee, and didst deliver them from need and from care and from avarice. Lo, then, I have fulfilled Thy will and accomplished Thy work. I have been poor and needy, and a stranger and a slave, and despised and a prisoner, and hungry and thirsty, and naked and barefooted and weary for Thy sake. Let not my trust fail, nor my hope which (is) in Thee be put to shame. Let not my labours be in vain and let not my toils be found fruitless. Let not my fastings and my urgent prayers perish, and let not my works which (are) in Thee be changed. Let not the enemy snatch away Thy wheat-seed from Thy land, and let not his tares be found in it; for Thy land cannot receive his tares, and they cannot fall into the garners of Thy husbandman."

And again he was saying: "I have planted Thy vine in the land; may it cast out roots downwards, and may its tendrils twine upwards, and may its fruits be seen in the land, and may those, who are worthy of Thee and whom Thou hast acquired, delight in them. Thy silver, which Thou gavest me, I have cast down upon Thy table try it, and give it to me with its usury, as Thou hast promised. With Thy talent I have gained ten; let them be added to what was mine, as Thou hast promised. To my debtors I have remitted the talent; let not that which I have remitted, be demanded at my hand. To the supper I have been invited and have come quickly, and have excused myself from the field and the plough and the wife; let me not "be cast out from it, and let me not eat of it by reason of adjurations. To the wedding-feast I have been invited, and I have put on white garments; may I be worthy of it, and may my hands and feet not be bound, nor I be put out into outer darkness. My lamp is bright with His light; let its Lord keep it until He leaves the banquet-room and I receive it; (and) may I not see it sputter by reason of its oil. Let my eyes receive Thee, and let my heart rejoice that I have fulfilled Thy will and accomplished Thy commandments. Let me be like to the wise and God-fearing servant, who with prudent diligence neglecteth nothing. I have wearied myself with watching the whole night to protect my house from robbers, that it might not be broken into. My loins are girded with truth, and

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my sandals are bound on my feet; their thongs may I not see loosened. I have put my hand to my ploughshare, and have not looked behind me, that my furrows might not be crooked. My fields are white and are already fit for reaping; may I receive my reward. The garment that weareth out I have worn out, and the work that bringeth unto rest I have accomplished. I have kept my first watch, and second and third; may I receive Thy Face, and worship before Thy holy beauty. I have pulled down my barns and destroyed them on earth; may I take of Thy treasure that faileth not. I have dried up the running spring that was in me; may I lie down by Thy living spring and rest beside it. The bound, whom Thou didst deliver to me, I have slain; the unbound, who is in me, do Thou set free, and let not my soul be kept back from its trust. The internal I have made external, and the external internal; let Thy will be fulfilled in all my members. I have not turned back, and I have not stretched forward; let me not be a wonder and a sign. The dead I have not brought to life, and the living I have not put to death, and the deficient I have (not) filled up; let us receive the Crown of victory, the Ruler of both worlds. Scorn have I received on earth; a recompense do Thou make me in Heaven. The powers shall not perceive me, nor the rulers take counsel against me; the tax-gatherers shall not see me, nor the collectors of tribute oppress me. The low shall not mock at me, and the wicked at the brave and the humble; nor shall the slave and the mean and the great, who exalteth himself, dare to stand before me, because of Thy victorious strength, O Jesus, which surroundeth me; for they flee and hide themselves from it, because they are not able to behold it; for with treachery and in silence do they fall upon those who obey them. The portion of my children, lo, crieth out and shineth, and no man is hidden from them, because it is the fragrance of their nature. "Wicked men are separated (from them); their fruit-tree is bitterness; I will make it pass away to their place in silence, and I will come unto thee. Let joy and peace support me, and I shall stand before Thy glory; and let not the slanderer look upon me, but let his eyes be blinded by Thy light, in which I dwell, and let his lying mouth be closed, for he hath naught against me."

And again he began to say to those who were with him in prison: "Believe, my children, in this God whom I proclaim. Believe in Jesus the Messiah, whom I preach. Believe in the Life-giver and Helper of His servants. Believe in the Giver of life to those who toil at His work; in Him, in whom, lo, my soul now rejoiceth, for the time is come that I may go and receive Him. Believe in this fair (One), whose beauty inciteth me to say concerning Him what He is, though I am unable to say it fully. For Thou, my Lord, art the Feeder of t my poverty, and the Supplier of my want, and the Dispenser of my need. Be Thou with me to the end, that I may come and receive Thee."

And the youth Vizān, the son of king Mazdai, was asking of him and saying to him: "I beg of thee, holy man, Apostle of God, permit me to go, and I will entreat the keepers of the prisoners, and they will grant me that thou mayest go with me to my house, and thou shalt give me the sign of life, and I too shall become a servant of this new God whom thou preachest; because in all these things which thou sayest I was walking in my youth, until my father Mazdai constrained me and gave me Manashar (as) a wife. For I am twenty-one years old today, and lo, it is seven years since I was united in marriage to a woman; for before I took a wife, I knew no other woman, and by my father I was counted as good for naught. And I have not yet had son or daughter by the woman whom he gave to me, and my wife hath lived with me in chastity during these years. And today, if she were well, and had seen thee or heard thy word, I should be at rest and she would live and would receive everlasting life; for she is in great affliction, lo, a long time, through disease. I will therefore entreat the keepers of the prisoners, if thou wilt promise me to go with me to my house, for I live alone in a house by myself, and wilt heal the feeble who is sick." And when Judas, the Apostle of the Most High, heard these things, the Apostle saith to Vizān: "My son, if thou believest, thou shalt see the wonders of our God, how He bringeth to life and hath compassion upon His servants."

And whilst they were speaking, Tertia and Mygdonia and Narkia her nurse were standing at the door of the prison; and they gave 360 silver zūzē to the keepers of the prisoners, and they let them in to Judas. And they entered and saw Judas and Sîfûr and Vizān, and the wife and daughter of Sîfûr, and all the prisoners, sitting and listening to Judas. And they three stood before him, and he said to them: "Who let you come to us? And who opened to you the gate that was closed in your faces?" Tertia saith to him: "Didst thou not open the door for us and say to us, 'Come to the prison, that we may go and take our brethren who are there, and then our Lord will show His glory (in dealing) with us?' And when we came to the door (of the prison), thou didst disappear from us, and we heard the sound of the door which was shut in our faces. And we gave (money) to their keepers, and they let us in; and lo, we stand (here) and beg of thee that thou wouldst do what we wish, that we might let thee escape, until the wrath of king Mazdai cool towards thee." Judas saith to Tertia: "Tell us first how ye were shut up." Tertia saith to him: "Thou thyself hast never quitted us, save for a moment, and dost thou not know how we were shut up? But if thou wishest to hear, hear. King Mazdai sent and had me Tertia brought to him, and said to me: 'That conjuror hath not yet got power over thee, because I have heard that he bewitcheth with oil and water and bread and wine, and he hath not yet bewitched thee. But harken unto me, then, (and hear) what I say unto thee, that I will not torture thee until I destroy thee; for I know, that as long as he hath not given to thee water and oil and bread and wine, he hath not yet got full power over thee.' And I said to him: 'Whatever thou wilt, do unto me. Over my body thou hast power to do all that thou wilt; but my soul I will not destroy with thee.' And when he had heard these things from me, he shut me up in a dark room beneath his dining-room. And his kinsman Karīsh too brought both Mygdonia and Narkia, and shut them up with me. And light did not depart from us, and thou thyself didst bring us out, and lo, we stand before thee. But give us the sign, and let the hope of Mazdai be cut off from me, who is plotting these things against me."

And when Judas, the Apostle of our Lord, had heard these things which she said, he saith: "To Thee be glory, Jesus, manifold in form I To Thee be glory, who showest Thyself like to our poor humanity! To Thee be glory, our Strengthener and Encourager and Reprover and Gladdener, who standest by us in all our afflictions, and strengthenest our weakness, and encouragest our fear!" And when he had said these things, the prisoners were encouraged, and the keepers said: "Blow out the lamps, that they may not slanderously accuse us before king Mazdai." And they blew out all the lamps, and went (and) slept. But Judas said to our Lord: "Thine now is the speed (to help us), Jesus our Illuminator, for lo, the children of darkness have made us sit in their darkness; but do Thou, our Lord, enlighten us with the light of Thy nature." And instantly the whole prison was bright as by day; and all those who were shut up there were asleep, and only those who I believed in our Lord were awake.

And Judas said to Vizān: "Go before us, and prepare for us what is needful for our service." Vizān saith to him: "Who will open for us the doors of the prison? For lo, they have closed them all, and the keepers are asleep." Judas saith to him: "Believe in Jesus, and doubt not, and thou shalt go and find the doors open and turned on their hinges." And when he had gone out, he went before them, and all (the rest) of them were coming after Judas. And when they had gone half-way, Manashar, the wife of Vizān, met them, coming to the prison. And she knew him and saith to him: "My brother Vizān?" And he saith to her: "Yea, and thou my sister Manashar?" She saith to him: "Yea." He saith to her: "Whither goest thou at this time alone? And how wast thou able to arise from the bed?" She saith to him: "This youth laid his hand upon me, and I was healed. And I saw in my dream, that I should go to the stranger, where he is imprisoned, that I might be quite healed." Vizān saith to her: "Where is the youth, who was with thee?" And she saith to him: "Dost thou not see him? For lo, he is holding my right hand and supporting me."

And whilst they were talking, Judas came, with Sîfûr and his wife and daughter, and with Mygdonia and Tertia and Narkia, and they came and entered into the house of Vizān. And when Manashar, the wife of Vizān, saw him, she bowed down and worshipped him, and saith to him: "Art thou come, my healer from sore disease? Thou art he whom I saw in my dream, who didst give me this youth, that he might bring me unto thee to the prison; and thy kindness did not suffer thee (to permit) that I should become weary, but thou thyself art come to me." And when she had said these things, she turned round (to look) behind her, and the youth was not (there). And she saith to Thomas: "I am not able to walk alone, and the youth, whom thou didst give me, is not (here)." Judas saith to her:

"Jesus then will be a Supporter unto thee." And she was running and coming before them. And when they entered into the house of Vizān, the son of king Mazdai, the time was night, and our Lord was giving them light in abundance.

And Judas began to pray and to speak thus: "Companion and Help of the feeble; Hope and Confidence of the poor; Refuge and Rest of the weary; Voice that came from on high, comforting the hearts of Thy believers; Resort and Haven of those that go forth into the region of darkness; Physician without fee, (who) wast crucified among men for many, and for whom no man was crucified; Thou didst descend into Sheol with mighty power, and the dead saw Thee and became alive, and the lord of death was not able to bear (it); and Thou didst ascend with great glory, and didst take up with Thee all who sought refuge with Thee, and didst tread for them the path (leading) up on high, and in Thy footsteps all Thy redeemed followed; and Thou didst bring them into Thy fold, and mingle them with Thy sheep. Son of perfect mercy, who wast sent to us with power by the Father, whom His servants praise; Son, who wast sent by the supreme and perfect Father-hood; Lord of possessions that cannot be defiled; wealthy (One), who hast filled Thy creation with the treasure of Thy wealth; needy (One), who bore poverty and fasted forty days; Satisfier of our thirsty souls with Thy blessing; be Thou, Lord, with Vizān and with Tertia and with Manashar, and gather them into Thy fold, and mingle them with Thy number, and be to them a guide (when they are) in the path of error. Be to them a healer in the place of sickness; be to them a strengthener in the weary place; make them pure in the unclean place; and make them clean of corruption in the place of the enemy. Be a physician for their bodies, and give life to their souls, and make them holy shrines and temples, and may the holy Spirit dwell in them."

And when he had prayed thus, he said to Mygdonia: "My daughter, strip thy sisters." And she stripped them, and put girdles on them, and brought them near to him. And Vizān came near first. And Judas took oil, and glorified (God) over it, and said: "Fair Fruit, that art worthy to be glowing with the word of holiness, that men may put Thee on and conquer through Thee their enemies, when they have been cleansed from their former works,—yea, Lord, come, abide upon this oil, as Thou didst abide upon the tree, and they who crucified Thee were not able to bear Thy word. Let Thy gift come, which Thou didst breathe upon Thine enemies and they went backward and fell upon their faces, and let it abide upon this oil, over which we name Thy name." And he cast it upon the head of Vizān, and then upon the heads of these (others), and said: "In Thy name, Jesus the Messiah, let it be to these persons for the remission of offences and sins, and for the destruction of the enemy, and for the healing of their souls and bodies," And he commanded Mygdonia to anoint them, and he himself anointed Vizān. And after he had anointed them, he made them go down into the water in the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness, And after they had been baptized and were come up, he brought bread and the mingled cup, and spake a blessing over it and said: "Thy holy Body, which was crucified for our sake, we eat, and Thy life-giving Blood, which was shed for our sake, we drink. Let Thy Body be to us for life, and Thy Blood for the remission of sins. For the gall which Thou drankest for us, let the bitterness of our enemy be taken away from us. And for Thy drinking vinegar for our sake, let our weakness be strengthened. And (for) the spit which thou didst receive for us, let us receive Thy perfect life. And because Thou didst receive the crown of thorns for us, let us receive from Thee the crown that withereth not. And because Thou wast wrapped in a linen cloth for us, let us be girt with Thy mighty strength, which cannot be overcome. And because Thou wast buried in a new sepulchre for our mortality, let us too receive intercourse with Thee in Heaven. And as Thou didst arise, let us be raised, and let us stand before Thee at the Judgement of truth." And he brake the Eucharist, and gave to Vizān and Tertia, and to Manashar and Sîfûr and Mygdonia, and to the wife and daughter of Sîfûr, and said: "Let this Eucharist be to you for life and rest and joy and health, and for the healing of your souls and of your bodies." And they said, "Amen"; and a voice was heard saying to them, "Yea and Amen." And when they heard this voice, they fell on their faces. And again the voice was heard saying: "Be not afraid, but only believe."

And Judas went (back) to be imprisoned, and likewise Tertia and Mygdonia and Narkia, these too went (back) to be imprisoned. And Judas said to them: "My daughters and sisters in our Lord, and my companions, and handmaidens of Jesus the Messiah, listen unto me on this the last day that I shall deliver my word unto you, for I shall never speak with you again in this world. For I shall be lifted up to our Lord Jesus the Messiah; to Him who sold me; to Him who humbled His lofty soul to my littleness, and hath brought me to His greatness which passeth not away, and hath deemed me worthy of being a servant of Him in verity and in truth. And lo, I rejoice that the time is fulfilled and the day come that I may go and receive my reward from my Lord. For my Pay-master is just, and He knoweth how, I ought to be recompensed. For He is not wicked nor envious, but His gifts abound; and He doth not count and give, for He is confident that His wealth will not fail. Listen, my daughters. I am not Jesus, but I am the servant of Jesus. I am not the Messiah, but I am one who ministereth before Him. I am not the Son of God, but I pray and beg that I may be deemed worthy of God. But do ye, my daughters, abide in the faith of Jesus the Messiah, and look for the hope of the Son of God. And be not weary, my daughters, in persecution, and be not in doubt because ye see me treated ignominiously, and imprisoned too, and dying, because I am fulfilling the will of my Lord. For if I were to pray that I should not die, ye know that I am able (to do so); but this which is seen (by us) is not death, but a release from the world. For this reason I receive it gladly; and for this reason I am delivered, that I may go and receive Him who is comely, Him whom I love, Him who is beloved. For much have I toiled in His service, and I have completed (my task) because of His grace, which hath supported me and hath not forsaken me. Let not therefore the enemy enter into you by treachery, and let him not agitate your minds with doubt. Let not that perfidious disturber find an opportunity (of assailing you), because He, whom ye have received, and in whom ye have believed, is stronger than he. Look for His coming, for He will come and receive you, that is (to say), ye shall go and see Him."

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And when Judas had finished speaking to them, they entered into the dark house. And Judas said: "Our Life-giver and Bearer of many things for our sake, let these doors be as they were, and let them be sealed with their seals." And he left them and went himself too to be imprisoned; and they were grieved and were weeping, because they knew that king Mazdai would kill him.

THE CONSUMMATION OF JUDAS THOMAS.

And when he had gone in to be imprisoned, he found the keepers quarrelling and saying: "What wrong have we done to this sorcerer, that he hath opened the doors by the art of his charms, and hath wished to let all these prisoners escape? But let us go and make (it) known to king Mazdai, and let us tell him also about his wife and his son, who come to him." And whilst the chief (keeper) of the prisoners was saying a these things, Judas was silent and listening. And they rose early in the morning, and went to king Mazdai, and say to him: "Our lord the king, either let this sorcerer go, or imprison him in another place, for we are unable to guard him; because twice thy good fortune hath guarded the prisoners, otherwise they would all have escaped; for we shut the doors and we find them open. And both thy wife and thy son, with the rest of the people, never leave him." And when king Mazdai heard these things, he went to look at the seals which he had placed upon the doors; and he found the seals as they were. And he said to the keepers: "Why do ye tell lies, for lo, the seals of the houses are as they were sealed? And how say ye (that) Tertia and Mygdonia come to him to the prison ?" The keepers say: "We have told thee the truth."

And king Mazdai went (and) sat in (the hall of) judgement, and sent and fetched Judas, and stripped him and put a girdle round his loins; and they made him stand before Mazdai. And Mazdai said to him: "Art thou a slave or a free man?" Judas saith to him: "I am a slave, but thou hast no power whatever over me." Mazdai saith to him: "And how didst thou run away (and) come to this country?" Judas saith to him : "I came hither that I might give life to many by the word, and by thy hands I shall quit the world." Mazdai saith to him: "Who is thy master? And what is his name? And of what country art thou?"Judas saith to him: "My Master is thy Master and (the Master) of the whole world, and the Lord of Heaven and of earth." Mazdai saith to him: "What is his name?" Judas saith to him: "Thou art not able to hear His true name now at this time, but the name that is given to Him is Jesus the Messiah." Mazdai saith to him: "I have not been in haste to destroy thee, but have had patience with thee; and thou hast added to thy deeds, and thy sorceries are spoken of through the whole country. But I will do unto thee (so) that they shall accompany thee and go along with thee, and that our country shall be relieved of them." Judas saith to him: "These sorceries, which thou sayest shall accompany me, shall never fail from this place."

And when he had said these things, Mazdai was considering, how he should give orders concerning him, that he might die, because he was afraid of the great multitude which was there; for many believed in our Lord, even (some) of the king's nobles. And Mazdai took Judas and went without the city, and there came with him a few soldiers with weapons; and people were thinking that Mazdai was wishing to learn (something) from him, and they were standing and looking at him. And when they had gone about half a mile, he delivered him to (some) of the soldiers who were with him and to one of the princes, and said to them: "Go up on this mountain (and) stab him." And he turned to come (back) to the city.

And people were running after Judas to rescue him; but the soldiers were going on his right hand and on his left and were holding spears, and that one of the princes was holding him by his hand and supporting him. And Judas said: "O the hidden mysteries, which even to the (hour of) departure (from this world) are fulfilled in me! O the riches of the grace of Him, who doth not let us feel the sufferings of the body! How they surround me with weapons, and fight with me even unto death! But to One I am given up, for lo, one chief leadeth me and holdeth me by my hand, in order that he may deliver me to One, whom I look for that I may receive Him; and our Lord, because He is of One, suffered (blows) at the hand of one."

And when he had ascended the mountain, the place where they were about to stab Judas, he said to those who were holding him: "Harken unto me now at least, when I am on the point of departing from the world, and let not the eyes of your hearts be blinded, nor your ears be deafened, that ye too should not hear. Believe in this God whom I preach, and walk not in your hardness of heart, but walk in all the virtues that beseem the freedom and the glory of men and the life that is with God." Judas saith to Vizān: "Son of the earthly king Mazdai, and servant of Jesus the Messiah, permit the attendants to do the will of their king Mazdai; I will go (and) pray." And Vizān spake to the soldiers, and they let Judas go. And Judas went and was praying and saying thus:—

"My Lord and my God, and my Hope and my Saviour; and my Guide and Conductor in all the lands which I have traversed in Thy name, be Thou with all Thy servants, and do Thou guide me too that I may come unto Thee; for unto Thee I have committed my soul, and no man shall take it from Thy hands. Let not my sins | hinder me. Lo, Lord, I fulfilled Thy will and became a slave, for the sake of this freedom which I am receiving! today. Do Thou, Lord Jesus, give (it) to me and fulfil it with me; for I am in no doubt whatever regarding Thy truth and Thy love, but for the sake of these who are standing (by) that they may hear, I speak before Thee."

And when Judas had prayed thus, he said to the soldiers: "Come, fulfil the will of him who sent you." And the soldiers came (and) struck him all together, and he fell down and died. And the brethren were weeping all together. And they brought goodly garments and many linen cloths, and buried Judas in the sepulchre! in which the ancient kings were buried.

And Sîfûr and Vizān would not go down to the city, but were sitting there the whole day, and they passed the night there also. And Judas appeared unto them and said to them: "I am not here. Why are ye sitting and watching me?" I have ascended unto my Lord, and have received what I was looking for and hoping for. But rise and go down hence, for yet a little while and ye too shall be gathered unto me." And Mazdai and his kinsman Karīsh brought Mygdonia and Tertia, and afflicted them much, but they would not yield to their wish. And Judas appeared to them and said to them: "Forget not, my daughters, Jesus our Light, the Holy and the Living (One), and He will soon prepare for you your rest and your help." And when king Mazdai and his kinsman Karish saw that they would not be persuaded by them, they left them alone to walk according to their own will. And all the brethren who were there were assembling together, and praying and offering the (Eucharistic) offering and breaking (bread), because Judas had made Sîfûr a priest and Vizān a deacon, on the mountain, when he was going to die. And our Lord was helping them with His love and was increasing His faith by their means.

And it happened after a long time that one of the sons of king Mazdai had a devil, and no man was able to bind him, because he was very violent. And king Mazdai thought in his mind and said: "I will go (and) open the grave of Judas, and take one of the bones of the Apostle of God, and will hang it upon my son, and he will be healed." And Judas appeared to him in a vision, and said to him: "Thou didst not believe in one living; wilt thou believe in one who, lo, is dead? But fear not. My Lord the Messiah will have mercy upon thee because of His clemency." And he did not find his bones, for one of the brethren had taken them away secretly and conveyed them to the West. And king Mazdai took (some) of the dust of that spot where the bones of the Apostle had lain, and hung it upon his son, and said: I believe in Thee, my Lord Jesus; now that he hath left me, who always troubleth men that they may not see the light." And when he had hung (it) upon his son and had believed, he was healed; and he was united with the brethren. And king Mazdai was bowing his head beneath the hand of the priest Sîfûr, and was entreating and begging of all the brethren that they would pray for him, that he might find mercy with them before our Lord Jesus the Messiah in His kingdom, which is for ever and ever. Amen.

Here end the Acts of Judas Thomas, the Apostle of our Lord Jesus the Messiah, who suffered martyrdom in the land of India by the hands of king Mazdai. Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Spirit of holiness, now and at all times and for ever and ever. Amen.

[All footnotes and biblical references have reluctantly been omitted apart from these. Note that a complete reprint of this book with all notes, page divisions and Syriac text can be bought online by visiting Gorgias Press, (and search on Wright)]

1. b See .. Clark's Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol. xvi., p.389.

2. b Perhaps a reference to the Gospel of Thomas the Israelite, ch. vi-viii of Tischendorf's Greek text; see my Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament, p.8.

3. a In pseudo-Abdias (Fabricius, p. 705), Mygdonia and Charisius; Tischendorf, p.235, Mugdoni/a and Xari/sioj.

THE ACTS OF JOHN

From: New Testament Apocrypha
Translation: Montague Rhodes James,1924
Estimated Range of Dating: 150-200 A.D.

(The "Acts of John" can refer to a set of stories about John the Apostle that began circulating as early as the second century AD. Translations of the "Acts of John" in modern languages have been reconstructed by scholars from a number of manuscripts of later date. The "Acts of John" are generally classified as "New Testament apocrypha."

Numerous stories about John and other apostles began circulating in the second century AD. These stories trace to a variety of different authors and contexts, and were revised and retold in many different forms and languages over the centuries. Sometimes episodes that had originally circulated independently were combined with other stories to form collections about an apostle, and sometimes episodes that had originally been part of multi-episode collections were detached and circulated independently. Most extant manuscripts of such stories also date to a period considerably after they first began circulating.

These factors can make it difficult to reconstruct the earliest forms of stories about the apostle John, and scholars continue to debate about which episodes originally belonged together. One set of stories, in which John appears before Domitian in Rome and survives drinking deadly poison, appears in some old translations of the "Acts of John," but is no longer considered to have the same origins as other episodes. It is now known as the "Acts of John at Rome," and understood to be a separate tradition.

Most current scholars agree that even the most recent versions of the "Acts of John" include episodes that trace to multiple different dates and origins. These versions contain roughly the following sections:

A. Stories about John in Ephesus (Acts John 18-55, 58-86). These consist of the following sections: 1. An introduction or transition (ActsJohn 18). (The original beginning of the story has been lost.); 2. Conversion of Cleopatra and Lycomedes (ActsJohn 19–29); 3. Healing at the Ephesian Theatre (ActsJohn 30–36); 4. Conversion at the Temple of Artemis (ActsJohn 37–47); 5. The Parricide (ActsJohn 48–54); 6. Summons from Smyrna (ActsJohn 55); 7. Story of the Bedbugs (ActsJohn 58–62); 8. Callimachus and Drusiana (ActsJohn 63–86)

B. A long piece of text in which John recounts earlier experiences he had with Jesus before and during the cross event (ActsJohn 87-105).

C. The Metastasis, an account of John's death (ActsJohn 106–115).

Many scholars consider the material that is conventionally labelled chs. 94–102 to be of a later origin than the episodes in sections A and C, and some assign all of section B to a separate origin.

We have large portions of this book in the Greek original, and a few scattered fragments of a Latin version. We have fitted them together in what seems the most probable order. The beginning of the book, chapter 1-17, is lost. It probably related in some form a trial, and banishment of John to Patmos. It probably tells how Emperor Flavius Domitianus, on his accession, persecuted the Jews. They accused the Christians in a letter to him: he accordingly persecuted the Christians. He heard of John's teaching in Ephesus and sent for him: his ascetic habits on the voyage impressed his captors. He was brought before Domitianus, and made to drink poison, which did not hurt him: the dregs of it killed a criminal on whom it was tried: and John revived him; he also raised a girl who was slain by an unclean spirit. Domitianus, who was much impressed, banished him to Patmos. Emperor Nerva recalled him. The second text tells how he escaped shipwreck on leaving Patmos, swimming on a cork; landed at Miletus and went to Ephesus. We now proceed to the first long episode. John is going from Miletus to Ephesus.)

Text:

18 Now John was hastening to Ephesus, moved thereto by a vision. Damonicus therefore, and Aristodemus his kinsman, and a certain very rich man Cleobius, and the wife of Marcellus, hardly prevailed to keep him for one day in Miletus, reposing themselves with him. And when very early in the morning they had set forth, and already about four miles of the journey were accomplished, a voice came from heaven in the hearing of all of us, saying: John, thou art about to give glory to thy Lord in Ephesus, whereof thou shalt know, thou and all the brethren that are with thee, and certain of them that are there, which shall believe by thy means. John therefore pondered, rejoicing in himself, what it should be that should befall (meet) him at Ephesus, and said: Lord, behold I go according to thy will: let that be done which thou desirest.

19 And as we drew near to the city, Lycomedes the praetor of the Ephesians, a man of large substance, met us, and falling at John's feet besought him, saying: Is thy name John? the God whom thou preachest hath sent thee to do good unto my wife, who hath been smitten with palsy now these seven days and lieth incurable. But glorify thou thy God by healing her, and have compassion on us. For as I was considering with myself what resolve to take in this matter, one stood by me and said: Lycomedes, cease from this thought which warreth against thee, for it is evil (hard): submit not thyself unto it. For I have compassion upon mine handmaid Cleopatra, and have sent from Miletus a man named John who shall raise her up and restore her to thee whole. Tarry not, therefore, thou servant of the God who hath manifested himself unto me, but hasten unto my wife who hath no more than breath. And straightway John went from the gate, with the brethren that were with him and Lycomedes, unto his house. But Cleobius said to his young men: Go ye to my kinsman Callippus and receive of him comfortable entertainment -for I am come hither with his son- that we may find all things decent.

20 Now when Lycomedes came with John into the house wherein his wife lay, he caught hold again of his feet and said:

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See, lord, the withering of the beauty, see the youth, see the renowned flower of my poor wife, whereat all Ephesus was wont to marvel: wretched me, I have suffered envy, I have been humbled, the eye of mine enemies hath smitten me: I have never wronged any, though I might have injured many, for I looked before to this very thing, and took care, lest I should see any evil or any such ill fortune as this. What profit, then, hath Cleopatra from my anxiety? what have I gained by being known for a pious man until this day? nay, I suffer more than the impious, in that I see thee, Cleopatra, lying in such plight. The sun in his course shall no more see me conversing with thee: I will go before thee, Cleopatra, and rid myself of life: I will not spare mine own safety though it be yet young. I will defend myself before Justice, that I have rightly deserted, for I may indict her as judging unrighteously. I will be avenged on her when I come before her as a ghost of life. I will say to her: Thou didst force me to leave the light when thou didst rob me of Cleopatra: thou didst cause me to become a corpse when thou sentest me this ill fortune: thou didst compel me to insult Providence, by cutting off my joy in life (my con- fidence).

21 And with yet more words Lycomedes addressing Cleopatra came near to the bed and cried aloud and lamented: but John pulled him away, and said: Cease from these lamentations and from thine unfitting words: thou must not disobey him that (?) appeared unto thee: for know that thou shalt receive thy consort again. Stand, therefore, with us that have come hither on her account and pray to the God whom thou sawest manifesting himself unto thee in dreams. What, then, is it, Lycomedes? Awake, thou also, and open thy soul. Cast off the heavy sleep from thee: beseech the Lord, entreat him for thy wife, and he will raise her up. But he fell upon the floor and lamented, fainting. *[It is evident from what follows that Lycomedes died: but the text does not say so; some words may have fallen out.]* John therefore said with tears: Alas for the fresh (new) betraying of my vision! for the new temptation that is prepared for me! for the new device of him that contriveth against me! the voice from heaven that was borne unto me in the way, hath it devised this for me? was it this that it foreshowed me should come to pass here, betraying me to this great multitude of the citizens because of Lycomedes? the man lieth without breath, and I know well that they will not suffer me to go out of the house alive. Why tarriest thou, Lord (or, what wilt thou do)? why hast thou shut off from us thy good promise? Do not, I beseech thee, Lord, do not give him cause to exult who rejoiceth in the suffering of others; give him not cause to dance who alway derideth us; but let thy holy name and thy mercy make haste. Raise up these two dead whose death is against me.

22 And even as John thus cried out, the city of the Ephesians ran together to the house of Lycomedes, hearing that he was dead. And John, beholding the great multitude that was come, said unto the Lord: Now is the time of refreshment and of confidence toward thee, O Christ; now is the time for us who are sick to have the help that is of thee, O physician who healest freely; keep thou mine entering in hither safe from derision. I beseech thee, Jesu, succour this great multitude that it may come to thee who art Lord of all things: behold the affliction, behold them that lie here. Do thou prepare, even from them that are assembled for that end, holy vessels for thy service, when they behold thy gift. For thyself hast said, O Christ, 'Ask, and it shall be given you'. We ask therefore of thee, O king, not gold, not silver, not substance, not possessions, nor aught of what is on earth and perisheth, but two souls, by whom thou shalt convert them that are here unto thy way, unto thy teaching, unto thy liberty (confidence), unto thy most excellent (or unfailing) promise: for when they perceive thy power in that those that have died are raised, they will be saved, some of them. Do thou thyself, therefore, give them hope in thee: and so go I unto Cleopatra and say: Arise in the name of Jesus Christ.

23 And he came to her and touched her face and said: Cleopatra, He saith, whom every ruler feareth, and every creature and every power, the abyss and all darkness, and unsmiling death, and the height of heaven, and the circles of hell [and the resurrection of the dead, and the sight of the blind], and the whole power of the prince of this world, and the pride of the ruler: Arise, and be not an occasion unto many that desire not to believe, or an affliction unto souls that are able to hope and to be saved. And Cleopatra straightway cried with a loud voice: I arise, master: save thou thine handmaid. Now when she had arisen seven days, the city of the Ephesians was moved at the unlooked -for sight. And Cleopatra asked concerning her husband Lycomedes, but John said to her: Cleopatra, if thou keep thy soul unmoved and steadfast, thou shalt forthwith have Lycomedes thine husband standing here beside thee, if at least thou be not disturbed nor moved at that which hath befallen, having believed on my God, who by my means shall grant him unto thee alive. Come therefore with me into thine other bedchamber, and thou shalt behold him, a dead corpse indeed, but raised again by the power of my God.

24 And Cleopatra going with John into her bedchamber, and seeing Lycomedes dead for her sake, had no power to speak (suffered in her voice), and ground her teeth and bit her tongue, and closed her eyes, raining down tears: and with calmness gave heed to the apostle. But John had compassion on Cleopatra when he saw that she neither raged nor was beside herself, and called upon the perfect and condescending mercy, saying: Lord Jesus Christ, thou seest the pressure of sorrow, thou seest the need; thou seest Cleopatra shrieking her soul out in silence, for she constraineth within her the frenzy that cannot be borne; and I know that for Lycomedes' sake she also will die upon his body. And she said quietly to John: That have I in mind, master, and nought else. And the apostle went to the couch whereon Lycomedes lay, and taking Cleopatra's hand he said: Cleopatra, because of the multitude that is present, and thy kinsfolk that have come in, with strong crying, say thou to thine husband: Arise and glorify the name of God, for he giveth back the dead to the dead. And she went to her husband and said to him according as she was taught, and forthwith raised him up. And he, when he arose, fell on the floor and kissed John's feet, but he raised him, saying: O man, kiss not my feet but the feet of God by whose power ye are both arisen.

25 But Lycomedes said to John: I entreat and adjure thee by the God in whose name thou hast raised us, to abide with us, together with all them that are with thee. Likewise Cleopatra also caught his feet and said the same. And John said to them: For tomorrow I will be with you. And they said to him again: We shall have no hope in thy God, but shall have been raised to no purpose, if thou abide not with us. And Cleobius with Aristodemus and Damonicus were touched in the soul and said to John: Let us abide with them, that they continue without offence towards the Lord. So he continued there with the brethren.

26 There came together therefore a gathering of a great multitude on John's account; and as he discoursed to them that were there, Lycomedes, who had a friend who was a skilful painter, went hastily to him and said to him: You see me in a great hurry to come to you: come quickly to my house and paint the man whom I show you without his knowing it. And the painter, giving some one the necessary implements and colours, said to Lycomedes: Show him to me, and for the rest have no anxiety. And Lycomedes pointed out John to the painter, and brought him near him, and shut him up in a room from which the apostle of Christ could be seen. And Lycomedes was with the blessed man, feasting on the faith and the knowledge of our God, and rejoiced yet more in the thought that he should possess him in a portrait.

27 The painter, then, on the first day made an outline of him and went away. And on the next he painted him in with his colours, and so delivered the portrait to Lycomedes to his great joy. And lie took it and set it up in his own bedehamber and hung it with garlands: so that later John, when he perceived it, said to him: My beloved child, what is it that thou always doest when thou comest in from the bath into thy bedchamber alone? do not I pray with thee and the rest of the brethren? or is there something thou art hiding from us? And as he said this and talked jestingly with him, he went into the bedchamber, and saw the portrait of an old man crowned with garlands, and lamps and altars set before it. And he called him and said: Lycomedes, what meanest thou by this matter of the portrait? can it be one of thy gods that is painted here? for I see that thou art still living in heathen fashion. And Lycomedes answered him: My only God is he who raised me up from death with my wife: but if, next to that God, it be right that the men who have benefited us should be called gods -it is thou, father, whom I have had painted in that portrait, whom I crown and love and reverence as having become my good guide.

28 And John who had never at any time seen his own face said to him: Thou mockest me, child: am I like that in form, thy Lord? how canst thou persuade me that the portrait is like me? And Lycomedes brought him a mirror. And when he had seen himself in the mirror and looked earnestly at the portrait, he said: As the Lord Jesus Christ liveth, the portrait is like me: yet not like me, child, but like my fleshly image; for if this painter, who hath imitated this my face, desireth to draw me in a portrait, he will be at a loss, the colours that are now given to thee, and boards and plaster and glue *[for a relief or sculpture]*, and the position of my shape, and old age and youth and all things that are seen with the eye.

29 But do thou become for me a good painter, Lycomedes. Thou hast colours which he giveth thee through me, who painteth all of us for himself, even Jesus, who knoweth the shapes and appearances and postures and dispositions and types of our souls. And the colours wherewith I bid thee paint are these: faith in God, knowledge, godly fear, friendship, communion, meekness, kindness, brotherly love, purity, simplicity, tranquillity, fearlessness, griefiessness, sobriety, and the whole band of colours that painteth the likeness of thy soul, and even now raiseth up thy members that were cast down, and levelleth them that were lifted up, and tendeth thy bruises, and healeth thy wounds, and ordereth thine hair that was disarranged, and washeth thy face, and chasteneth thine eyes, and purgeth thy bowels, and emptieth thy belly, and cutteth off that which is beneath it; and in a word, when the whole company and mingling of such colours is come together, into thy soul, it shall present it to our Lord Jesus Christ undaunted, whole (unsmoothed), and firm of shape. But this that thou hast now done is childish and imperfect: thou hast drawn a dead likeness of the dead.

There need be no portion of text lost at this point: but possibly some few sentences have been omitted. The transition is abrupt and the new episode has not, as elsewhere, a title of its own.

30 And he commanded Verus (Berus), the brother that ministered to him, to gather the aged women that were in all Ephesus, and made ready, he and Cleopatra and Lycomedes, all things for the care of them. Verus, then, came to John, saying: Of the aged women that are here over threescore years old I have found four only sound in body, and of the rest some . . . . (a word gone) and some palsied and others sick. And when he heard that, John kept silence for a long time, and rubbed his face and said: O the slackness (weakness) of them that dwell in Ephesus! O the state of dissolution, and the weakness toward God! O devil, that hast so long mocked the faithful in Ephesus! Jesus, who giveth me grace and the gift to have my confidence in him, saith to me in silence: Send after the old women that are sick and come (be) with them into the theatre, and through me heal them: for there are some of them that will come unto this spectacle whom by these healings I will convert and make them useful for some end.

31 Now when all the multitude was come together to Lycomedes, he dismissed them on John's behalf, saying: Tomorrow come ye to the theatre, as many as desire to see the power of God. And the multitude, on the morrow, while it was yet night, came to the theatre: so that the proconsul also heard of it and hasted and took his sent with all the people. And a certain praetor, Andromeus, who was the first of the Ephesians at that time, put it about that John had promised things impossible and incredible: But if, said he, he is able to do any such thing as I hear, let him come into the public theatre, when it is open, naked, and holding nothing in his hands, neither let him name that magical name which I have heard him utter.

32 John therefore, having heard this and being moved by. these words, commanded the aged women to be brought into the theatre: and when they were all brought into the midst, some of them upon beds and others lying in a deep sleep, and all the city had run together, and a great silence was made, John opened his mouth and began to say:

33 Ye men of Ephesus, learn first of all wherefore I am visiting in your city, or what is this great confidence which I have towards you, so that it may become manifest to this general assembly and to all of you (or, so that I manifest myself to). I have been sent, then, upon a mission which is not of man's ordering, and not upon any vain journey; neither am I a merchant that make bargains or exchanges; but Jesus Christ whom I preach, being compassionate and kind, desireth by my means to convert all of you who are held in unbelief and sold unto evil lusts, and to deliver you from error; and by his power will I confound even the unbelief of your praetor, by raising up them that lie before you, whom ye all behold, in what plight and in what sicknesses they are. And to do this (to confound Andronicus) is not possible for me if they perish: therefore shall they be healed.

34 But this first I have desired to sow in your ears, even that ye should take care for your souls -on which account I am come unto you- and not expect that this time will be for ever, for it is but a moment, and not lay up treasures upon the earth where all things do fade. Neither think that when ye have gotten children ye can rest upon them (?), and try not for their sakes to defraud and overreach. Neither, ye poor, be vexed if ye have not wherewith to minister unto pleasures; for men of substance when they are diseased call you happy. Neither, ye rich, rejoice that ye have much money, for by possessing these things ye provide for yourselves grief that ye cannot be rid of when ye lose them; and besides, while it is with you, ye are afraid lest some one attack you on account of it.

35 Thou also that art puffed up because of the shapeliness of thy body, and art of an high look, shalt see the end of the promise thereof in the grave; and thou that rejoicest in adultery, know that both law and nature avenge it upon thee, and before these, conscience; and thou, adulteress, that art an adversary of the law, knowest not whither thou shalt come in the end. And thou that sharest not with the needy, but hast monies laid up, when thou departest out of this body and hast need of some mercy when thou burnest in fire, shalt have none to pity thee; and thou the wrathful and passionate, know that thy conversation is like the brute beasts; and thou, drunkard and quarreller, learn that thou losest thy senses by being enslaved to a shameful and dirty desire.

36 Thou that rejoicest in gold and delightest thyself with ivory and jewels, when night falleth, canst thou behold what thou lovest? thou that art vanquished by soft raiment, and then leavest life, will those things profit thee in the place whither thou goest? And let the murderer know that the condign punishment is laid up for him twofold after his departure hence. Likewise also thou poisoner, sorcerer, robber, defrauder, sodomite, thief, and as many as are of that

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band, ye shall come at last, as your works do lead you, unto unquenchable fire, and utter darkness, and the pit of punishment, and eternal threatenings. Wherefore, ye men of Ephesus, turn yourselves, knowing this also, that kings, rulers, tyrants, boasters, and they that have conquered in wars, stripped of all things when they depart hence, do suffer pain, lodged in eternal misery.

37 And having thus said, John by the power of God healed all the diseases. Now the brethren from Miletus said unto John: We have continued a long time at Ephesus; if it seem good to thee, let us go also to Smyrna; for we hear already that the mighty works of God have reached it also. And Andronicus said to them: Whensoever the teacher willeth, then let us go. But John said: Let us first go unto the temple of Artemis, for perchance there also, if we show ourselves, the servants of the Lord will be found.

38 After two days, then, was the birthday of the idol temple. John therefore, when all were clad in white, alone put on black raiment and went up into the temple. And they took him and essayed to kill him. But John said: Ye are mad to set upon me, a man that is the servant of the only God. And he gat him up upon an high pedestal and said unto them:

39 Ye run hazard, men of Ephesus, of being like in character to the sea: every river that floweth in and every spring that runneth down, and the rains, and waves that press upon each other, and torrents full of rocks are made salt together by the bitter telementt (MS. promise!) that is therein. So ye also remaining unchanged unto this day toward true godliness are become corrupted by your ancient rites of worship. How many wonders and healings of diseases have ye seen wrought through me? And yet are ye blinded in your hearts and cannot recover sight. What is it, then, O men of Ephesus? I have adventured now and come up even into this your idol temple. I will convict you of being most godless, and dead from the understanding of mankind. Behold, I stand here: ye all say that ye have a goddess, even Artemis: pray then unto her that I alone may die; or else I only, if ye are not able to do this, will call upon mine own god, and for your unbelief I will cause every one of you to die.

40 But they who had beforetime made trial of him and had seen dead men raised up, cried out: Slay us not so, we beseech thee, John. We know that thou canst do it. And John said to them: If then ye desire not to die, let that which ye worship be confounded, and wherefore it is confounded, that ye also may depart from your ancient error. For now is it time that either ye be converted by my God, or I myself die by your goddess; for I will pray in your presence and entreat my God that mercy be shown unto you.

41 And having so said he prayed thus: O God that art God above all that are called gods, that until this day hast been set at nought in the city of the Ephesians; that didst put into my mind to come into this place, whereof I never thought; that dost convict every manner of worship by turning men unto thee; at whose name every idol fleeth and every evil spirit and every unclean power; now also by the flight of the evil spirit here at thy name, even of him that deceiveth this great multitude, show thou thy mercy in this place, for they have been made to err.

42 And as John spake these things, immediately the altar of Artemis was parted into many pieces, and all the things that were dedicated in the temple fell, and [MS. that which seemed good to him] was rent asunder, and likewise of the images of the gods more than seven. And the half of the temple fell down, so that the priest was slain at one blow by the falling of the (?roof, ? beam). The multitude of the Ephesians therefore cried out: One is the God of John, one is the God that hath pity on us, for thou only art God: now are we turned to thee, beholding thy marvellous works! have mercy on us, O God, according to thy will, and save us from our great error! And some of them, lying on their faces, made supplication, and some kneeled and besought, and some rent their clothes and wept, and others tried to escape.

43 But John spread forth his hands, and being uplifted in soul, said unto the Lord: Glory be to thee, my Jesus, the only God of truth, for that thou dost gain (receive) thy servants by divers devices. And having so said, he said to the people: Rise up from the floor, ye men of Ephesus, and pray to my God, and recognise the invisible power that cometh to manifestation, and the wonderful works which are wrought before your eyes. Artemis ought to have succoured herself: her servant ought to have been helped of her and not to have died. Where is the power of the evil spirit? where are her sacrifices? where her birthdays? where her festivals? where are the garlands? where is all that sorcery and the poisoning (witchcraft) that is sister thereto?

44 But the people rising up from off the floor went hastily and cast down the rest of the idol temple, crying: The God of John only do we know, and him hereafter do we worship, since he hath had mercy upon us! And as John came down from thence, much people took hold of him, saying: Help us, O John! Assist us that do perish in vain! Thou seest our purpose: thou seest the multitude following thee and hanging upon thee in hope toward thy God. We have seen the way wherein we went astray when we lost him: we have seen our gods that were set up in vain: we have seen the great and shameful derision that is come to them: but suffer us, we pray thee, to come unto thine house and to be succoured without hindrance. Receive us that are in bewilderment.

45 And John said to them: Men (of Ephesus), believe that for your sakes I have continued in Ephesus, and have put off my journey unto Smyrna and to the rest of the cities, that there also the servants of Christ may turn to him. But since I am not yet perfectly assured concerning you, I have continued praying to my God and beseeching him that I should then depart from Ephesus when I have confirmed you in the faith: and whereas I see that this is come to pass and yet more is being fulfilled, I will not leave you until I have weaned you like children from the nurse's milk, and have set you upon a firm rock.

46 John therefore continued with them, receiving them in the house of Andromeus. And one of them that were gathered laid down the dead body of the priest of Artemis before the door [of the temple], for he was his kinsman, and came in quickly with the rest, saying nothing of it. John, therefore, after the discourse to the brethren, and the prayer and the thanksgiving (eucharist) and the laying of hands upon every one of the congregation, said by the spirit: There is one here who moved by faith in God hath laid down the priest of Artemis before the gate and is come in, and in the yearning of his soul, taking care first for himself, hath thought thus in himself: It is better for me to take thought for the living than for my kinsman that is dead: for I know that if I turn to the Lord and save mine own soul, John will not deny to raise up the dead also. And John arising from his place went to that into which that kinsman of the priest who had so thought was entered, and took him by the hand and said: Hadst thou this thought when thou camest unto me, my child? And he, taken with trembling and affright, said: Yes, lord, and cast himself at his feet. And John said: Our Lord is Jesus Christ, who will show his power in thy dead kinsman by raising him up.

47 And he made the young man rise, and took his hand and said: It is no great matter for a man that is master of great mysteries to continue wearying himself over small things: or what great thing is it to rid men of diseases of the body? And yet holding the young man by the hand he said: I say unto thee, child, go and raise the dead thyself, saying nothing but this only: John the servant of God saith to thee, Arise. And the young man went to his kinsman and said this only -and much people was with him- and entered in unto John, bringing him alive. And John, when he saw him that was raised, said: Now that thou art raised, thou dost not truly live, neither art partaker or heir of the true life: wilt thou belong unto him by whose name and power thou wast raised? And now believe, and thou shall live unto all ages. And he forthwith believed upon the Lord Jesus and thereafter clave unto John.

[Another manuscript (Q. Paris Gr. 1468, of the eleventh century) has another form of this story. John destroys the temple of Artemis, and then 'we' go to Smyrna and all the idols are broken: Bucolus, Polycarp, and Andronicus are left to preside over the district. There were there two priests of Artemis, brothers, and one died. The raising is told much as in the older text, but more shortly.
'We' remained four years in the region, which was wholly converted, and then returned to Ephesus.]

48 Now on the next day John, having seen in a dream that he must walk three miles outside the gates, neglected it not, but rose up early and set out upon the way, together with the brethren.

And a certain countryman who was admonished by his father not to take to himself the wife of a fellow labourer of his who threatened to kill him -this young man would not endure the admonition of his father, but kicked him and left him without speech (sc. dead). And John, seeing what had befallen, said unto the Lord: Lord, was it on this account that thou didst bid me come out hither to-day?

49 But the young man, beholding the violence (sharpness) of death, and looking to be taken, drew out the sickle that was in his girdle and started to run to his own abode; and John met him and said: Stand still, thou most shameless devil, and tell me whither thou runnest bearing a sickle that thirsteth for blood. And the young man was troubled and cast the iron on the ground, and said to him: I have done a wretched and barbarous deed and I know it, and so I determined to do an evil yet worse and more cruel, even to die myself at once. For because my father was alway curbing me to sobriety, that I should live without adultery, and chastely, I could not endure him to reprove me, and I kicked him and slew him, and when I saw what was done, I was hasting to the woman for whose sake I became my father's murderer, with intent to kill her and her husband, and myself last of all: for I could not bear to be seen of the husband of the woman, and undergo the judgement of death.

50 And John said to him: That I may not by going away and leaving you in danger give place to him that desireth to laugh and sport with thee, come thou with me and show me thy father, where he lieth. And if I raise him up for thee, wilt thou hereafter abstain from the woman that is become a snare to thee. And the young man said: If thou raisest up my father himself for me alive, and if I see him whole and continuing in life, I will hereafter abstain from her.

51 And while he was speaking, they came to the place where the old man lay dead, and many passers-by were standing near thereto. And John said to the youth: Thou wretched man, didst thou not spare even the old age of thy father? And he, weeping and tearing his hair, said that he repented thereof; and John the servant of the Lord said: Thou didst show me I was to set forth for this place, thou knewest that this would come to pass, from whom nothing can be hid of things done in life, that givest me power to work every cure and healing by thy will: now also give me this old man alive, for thou seest that his murderer is become his own judge: and spare him, thou only Lord, that spared not his father (because he) counselled him for the best.

52 And with these words he came near to the old man and said: My Lord will not be weak to spread out his kind pity and his condescending mercy even unto thee: rise up therefore and give glory to God for the work that is come to pass at this moment. And the old man said: I arise, Lord. And he rose and sat up and said: I was released from a terrible life and had to bear the insults of my son, dreadful and many, and his want of natural affection, and to what end hast thou called me back, O man of the living God? (And John answered him: If) thou art raised only for the same end, it were better for thee to die; but raise thyself unto better things. And he took him and led him into the city, preaching unto him the grace of God, so that before he entered the gate the old man believed.

53 But the young man, when he beheld the unlooked-for raising of his father, and the saving of himself, took a sickle and mutilated himself, and ran to the house wherein he had his adulteress, and reproached her, saying: For thy sake I became the murderer of my father and of you two and of myself: there thou hast that which is alike guilty of all. For on me God hath had mercy, that I should know his power.

54 And he came back and told John in presence of the brethren what he had done. But John said to him: He that put it into thine heart, young man, to kill thy father and become the adulterer of another man's wife, the same made thee think it a right deed to take away also the unruly members. But thou shouldest have done away, not with the place of sin, but the thought which through those members showed itself harmful: for it is not the instruments that are injurious, but the unseen springs by which every shameful emotion is stirred and cometh to light. Repent therefore, my child, of this fault, and having learnt the wiles of Satan thou shalt have God to help thee in all the necessities of thy soul. And the young man kept silence and attended, having repented of his former sins, that he should obtain pardon from the goodness of God: and he did not separate from John.

55 When, then, these things had been done by him in the city of the Ephesians, they of Smyrna sent unto him saying: We hear that the God whom thou preachest is not envious, and hath charged thee not to show partiality by abiding in one place. Since, then, thou art a preacher of such a God, come unto Smyrna and unto the other cities, that we may come to know thy God, and having known him may have our hope in him.

[Q has the above story also, and continues with an incident which is also quoted in a different form (and not as from these Acts) by John Cassian. Q has it thus:

Now one day as John was seated, a partridge flew by and came and played in the dust before him; and John looked on it and wondered. And a certain priest came, who was one of his hearers, and came to John and saw the partridge playing in the dust before him, and was offended in himself and said: Can such and so great a man take pleasure in a partridge playing in the dust? But John perceiving in the spirit the thought of him, said to him: It were better for thee also, my child, to look at a partridge playing in the dust and not to defile thyself with shameful and profane practices: for he who awaiteth the conversion and repentance of all men hath brought thee here on this account: for I have no need of a partridge playing in the dust. For the partridge is thine own soul.

Then the elder, hearing this and seeing that he was not bidden, but that the apostle of Christ had told him all that was in his heart, fell on his face on the earth and cried aloud, saying: Now know I that God dwelleth in thee, O blessed John! for he that tempteth thee tempteth him that cannot be tempted. And he entreated him to pray for him. And he instructed him and delivered him the rules (canons) and let him go to his house, glorifying God that is over all.

Cassian, Collation XXIV. 21, has it thus:

It is told that the most blessed Evangelist John, when he was gently stroking a partridge with his hands, suddenly saw one in the habit of a hunter coming to him. He wondered that a man of such repute and fame should demean himself to such small and humble amusements, and said: Art thou that John

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whose eminent and widespread fame hath enticed me also with great desire to know thee? Why then art thou taken up with such mean amusements? The blessed John said to him: What is that which thou carriest in thy hands? A bow, said he. And why, said he, dost thou not bear it about always stretched? He answered him: I must not, lest by constant bending the strength of its vigour be wrung and grow soft and perish, and when there is need that the arrows be shot with much strength at some beast, the strength being lost by excess of continual tension, a forcible blow cannot be dealt. Just so, said the blessed John, let not this little and brief relaxation of my mind offend thee, young man, for unless it doth sometimes ease and relax by some remission the force of its tension, it will grow slack through unbroken rigour and will not be able to obey the power of the Spirit.

The only common point of the two stories is that St. John amuses himself with a partridge, and a spectator thinks it unworthy of him. The two morals differ wholly. The amount of text lost here is of quite uncertain length. It must have told of the doings at Smyrna, and also, it appears, at Laodicca (see the title of the next section). One of the episodes must have been the conversion of a woman of evil life (see below, 'the harlot that was chaste')-] Our best manuscript prefixes a title to the next section:

From Laodicca to Ephesus the second time.

58 Now when some long time had passed, and none of the brethren had been at any time grieved by John, they were then grieved because he had said: Brethren, it is now time for me to go to Ephesus (for so have I agreed with them that dwell there) lest they become slack, now for a long time having no man to confirm them. But all of you must have your minds steadfast towards God, who never forsaketh us. But when they heard this from him, the brethren lamented because they were to be parted from him. And John said: Even if I be parted from you, yet Christ is always with you: whom if ye love purely ye will have his fellowship without reproach, for if he be loved, he preventeth (anticipateth) them that love him.

59 And having so said, and bidden farewell to them, and left much money with the brethren for distribution, he went forth unto Ephesus, while all the brethren lamented and groaned. And there accompanied him, of Ephesus, both Andronicus and Drusiana and Lycomedes and Cleobius and their families. And there followed him Aristobula also, who had heard that her husband Tertullus had died on the way, and Aristippus with Xenophon, and the harlot that was chaste, and many others, whom he exhorted at all times to cleave to the Lord, and they would no more be parted from him.

60 Now on the first day we arrived at a deserted inn, and when we were at a loss for a bed for John, we saw a droll matter. There was one bedstead lying somewhere there without coverings, whereon we spread the cloaks which we were wearing, and we prayed him to lie down upon it and rest, while the rest of us all slept upon the floor. But he when he lay down was troubled by the bugs, and as they continued to become yet more troublesome to him, when it was now about the middle of the night, in the hearing of us all he said to them: I say unto you, O bugs, behave yourselves, one and all, and leave your abode for this night and remain quiet in one place, and keep your distance from the servants of God. And as we laughed, and went on talking for some time, John addressed himself to sleep; and we, talking low, gave him no disturbance (or, thanks to him we were not disturbed).

61 But when the day was now dawning I arose first, and with me Verus and Andronicus, and we saw at the door of the house which we had taken a great number of bugs standing, and while we wondered at the great sight of them, and all the brethren were roused up because of them, John continued sleeping. And when he was awaked we declared to him what we had seen. And he sat up on the bed and looked at them and said: Since ye have well behaved yourselves in hearkening to my rebuke, come unto your place. And when he had said this, and risen from the bed, the bugs running from the door hasted to the bed and climbed up by the legs thereof and disappeared into the joints. And John said again: This creature hearkened unto the voice of a man, and abode by itself and was quiet and trespassed not; but we which hear the voice and commandments of God disobey and are light-minded: and for how long?

62 After these things we came to Ephesus: and the brethren there, who had for a long time known that John was coming, ran together to the house of Andronicus (where also he came to lodge), handling his feet and laying his hands upon their own faces and kissing them (and many rejoiced even to touch his vesture, and were healed by touching the clothes of the holy apostle.

[So the Latin, which has this section; the Greek has: so that they even touched his garments).]

63 And whereas there was great love and joy unsurpassed among the brethren, a certain one, a messenger of Satan, became enamoured of Drusiana, though he saw and knew that she was the wife of Andronicus. To whom many said: It is not possible for thee to obtain that woman, seeing that for a long time she has even separated herself from her husband for godliness' sake. Art thou only ignorant that Andronicus, not being aforetime that which now he is, a God-fearing man, shut her up in a tomb, saying: Either I must have thee as the wife whom I had before, or thou shalt die. And she chose rather to die than to do that foulness. If, then, she would not consent, for godliness' sake, to cohabit with her lord and husband, but even persuaded him to be of the same mind as herself, will she consent to thee desiring to be her seducer? depart from this madness which hath no rest in thee: give up this deed which thou canst not bring to accomplishment.

64 But his familiar friends saying these things to him did not convince him, but with shamelessness he courted her with messages; and when he learnt the insults and disgraces which she returned, he spent his life in melancholy (or better, she, when she learnt of this disgrace and insult at his hand, spent her life in heaviness). And after two days Drusiana took to her bed from heaviness, and was in a fever and said: Would that I had not now come home to my native place, I that have become an offence to a man ignorant of godliness! for if it were one who was filled with the word of God, he would not have gone to such a pitch of madness. But now (therefore) Lord, since I am become the occasion of a blow unto a soul devoid of knowledge, set me free from this chain and remove me unto thee quickly. And in the presence of John, who knew nothing at all of such a matter, Drusiana departed out of life not wholly happy, yea, even troubled because of the spiritual hurt of the man.

65 But Andronicus, grieved with a secret grief, mourned in his soul, and wept openly, so that John checked him often and said to him: Upon a better hope hath Drusiana removed out of this unrighteous life. And Andronicus answered him: Yea, I am persuaded of it, O John, and I doubt not at all in regard of trust in my God: but this very thing do I hold fast, that she departed out of life pure.

66 And when she was carried forth, John took hold on Andronicus, and now that he knew the cause, he mourned more than Andronicus. And he kept silence, considering the provocation of the adversary, and for a space sat still. Then, the brethren being gathered there to hear what word he would speak of her that was departed, he began to say:

67 When the pilot that voyageth, together with them that sail with him, and the ship herself, arriveth in a calm and stormless harbour, then let him say that he is safe. And the husbandman that hath committed the seed to the earth, and toiled much in the care and protection of it, let him then take rest from his labours, when he layeth up the seed with manifold increase in his barns. Let him that enterpriseth to run in the course, then exult when he beareth home the prize. Let him that inscribeth his name for the boxing, then boast himself when he receiveth the crowns: and so in succession is it with all contests and crafts, when they do not fail in the end, but show themselves to be like that which they promised (corrupt).

68 And thus also I think is it with the faith which each one of us practiseth, that it is then discerned whether it be indeed true, when it continueth like itself even until the end of life. For many obstacles fall into the way, and prepare disturbance for the minds of men: care, children, parents, glory, poverty, flattery, prime of life, beauty, conceit, lust, wealth, anger, uplifting, slackness, envy, jealousy, neglect, fear, insolence, love, deceit, money, pretence, and other such obstacles, as many as there are in this life: as also the pilot sailing a prosperous course is opposed by the onset of contrary winds and a great storm and mighty waves out of calm, and the husbandman by untimely winter and blight and creeping things rising out of the earth, and they that strive in the games 'just do not win', and they that exercise crafts are hindered by the divers difficulties of them.

69 But before all things it is needful that the believer should look before at his ending and understand it in what manner it will come upon him, whether it will be vigorous and sober and without any obstacle, or disturbed and clinging to the things that are here, and bound down by desires. So is it right that a body should be praised as comely when it is wholly stripped, and a general as great when he hath accomplished every promise of the war, and a physician as excellent when he hath succeeded in every cure, and a soul as full of faith and worthy (or receptive) of God when it hath paid its promise in full: not that soul which began well and was dissolved into all the things of this life and fell away, nor that which is numb, having made an effort to attain to better things, and then is borne down to temporal things, nor that which hath longed after the things of time more than those of eternity, nor that which exchangeth those that endure not, nor that which hath honoured the works of dishonour that deserve shame, nor that which taketh pledges of Satan, nor that which hath received the serpent into its own house, nor that which suffereth reproach for God's sake and then is [not] ashamed, nor that which with the mouth saith yea, but indeed approveth not itself: but that which hath prevailed not to be made weak by foul pleasure, not to be overcome by light-mindedness, not to be caught by the bait of love of money, not to be betrayed by vigour of body or wrath.

70 And as John was discoursing yet further unto the brethren that they should despise temporal things in respect of the eternal, he that was enamoured of Drusiana, being inflamed with an horrible lust and possession of the many-shaped Satan, bribed the steward of Andronicus who was a lover of money with a great sum: and he opened the tomb and gave him opportunity to wreak the forbidden thing upon the dead body. Not having succeeded with her when alive, he was still importunate after her death to her body, and said: If thou wouldst not have to do with me while thou livedst, I will outrage thy corpse now thou art dead. With this design, and having managed for himself the wicked act by means of the abominable steward, he rushed with him to the sepulchre; they opened the door and began to strip the grave-clothes from the corpse, saying: What art thou profited, poor Drusiana? couldest thou not have done this in life, which perchance would not have grieved thee, hadst thou done it willingly?

71 And as these men were speaking thus, and only the accustomed shift now remained on her body, a strange spectacle was seen, such as they deserve to suffer who do such deeds. A serpent appeared from some quarter and dealt the steward a single bite and slew him: but the young man it did not strike; but coiled about his feet, hissing terribly, and when he fell mounted on his body and sat upon him.

72 Now on the next day John came, accompanied by Andronicus and the brethren, to the sepulchre at dawn, it being now the third day from Drusiana's death, that we might break bread there. And first, when they set out, the keys were sought for and could not be found; but John said to Andronicus: It is quite right that they should be lost, for Drusiana is not in the sepulchre; nevertheless, let us go, that thou mayest not be neglectful, and the doors shall be opened of themselves, even as the Lord hath done for us many such things.

73 And when we were at the place, at the commandment of the master, the doors were opened, and we saw by the tomb of Drusiana a beautiful youth, smiling: and John, when he saw him, cried out and said: Art thou come before us hither too, beautiful one? and for what cause? And we heard a voice saying to him: For Drusiana's sake, whom thou art to raise up-for I was within a little of finding her -and for his sake that lieth dead beside her tomb. And when the beautiful one had said this unto John he went up into the heavens in the sight of us all. And John, turning to the other side of the sepulchre, saw a young man-even Callimachus, one of the chief of the Ephesians-and a huge serpent sleeping upon him, and the steward of Andronicus, Fortunatus by name, lying dead. And at the sight of the two he stood perplexed, saying to the brethren: What meaneth such a sight? or wherefore hath not the Lord declared unto me what was done here, he who hath never neglected me?

74 And Andronicus seeing those corpses, leapt up and went to Drusiana's tomb, and seeing her lying in her shift only, said to John: I understand what has happened, thou blessed servant of God, John. This Callimachus was enamoured of my sister; and because he never won her, though he often assayed it, he hath bribed this mine accursed steward with a great sum, perchance designing, as now we may see, to fulfil by his means the tragedy of his conspiracy, for indeed Callimachus avowed this to many, saying: If she will not consent to me when living, she shall be outraged when dead. And it may be, master, that the beautiful one knew it and suffered not her body to be insulted, and therefore have these died who made that attempt. And can it be that the voice that said unto thee, 'Raise up Drusiana', foreshowed this? because she departed out of this life in sorrow of mind. But I believe him that said that this is one of the men that have gone astray; for thou wast bidden to raise him up: for as to the other, I know that he is unworthy of salvation. But this one thing I beg of thee: raise up Callimachus first, and he will confess to us what is come about.

75 And John, looking upon the body, said to the venomous beast: Get thee away from him that is to be a servant of Jesus Christ; and stood up and prayed over him thus: O God whose name is glorified by us, as of right: O God who subduest every injurious force: O God whose will is accomplished, who alway hearest us: now also let thy gift be accomplished in this young man; and if there be any dispensation to be wrought through him, manifest it unto us when he is raised up. And straightway the young man rose up, and for a whole hour kept silence.

76 But when he came to his right senses, John asked of him about his entry into the sepulchre, what it meant, and learning from him that which Andronicus had told him, namely, that he was enamoured of Drusiana, John inquired of him again if he had fulfilled his foul intent, to insult a body full of holiness. And he answered him: How could I accomplish it when this fearful beast struck down Fortunatus at a blow in my sight: and rightly, since he encouraged my frenzy, when I was already cured of that unreasonable and horrible madness: but me it stopped with affright, and brought me to that plight in which ye saw me before I arose.

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And another thing yet more wondrous I will tell thee, which yet went nigh to slay and was within a little of making me a corpse. When my soul was stirred up with folly and the uncontrollable malady was troubling me, and I had now torn away the grave-clothes in which she was clad, and I had then come out of the grave and laid them as thou seest, I went again to my unholy work: and I saw a beautiful youth covering her with his mantle, and from his eyes sparks of light came forth unto her eyes; and he uttered words to me, saying: Callimachus, die that thou mayest live. Now who he was I knew not, O servant of God; but that now thou hast appeared here, I recognise that he was an angel of God, that I know well; and this I know of a truth that it is a true God that is proclaimed by thee, and of it I am persuaded. But I beseech thee, be not slack to deliver me from this calamity and this fearful crime, and to present me unto thy God as a man deceived with a shameful and foul deceit. Beseeching help therefore of thee, I take hold on thy feet. I would become one of them that hope in Christ, that the voice may prove true which said to me, 'Die that thou mayest live': and that voice hath also fulfilled its effect, for he is dead, that faithless, disorderly, godless one, and I have been raised by thee, I who will be faithful, God-fearing, knowing the truth, which I entreat thee may be shown me by thee.

77 And John, filled with great gladness and perceiving the whole spectacle of the salvation of man, said: What thy power is, Lord Jesu Christ, I know not, bewildered as I am at thy much compassion and boundless long-suffering. O what a greatness that came down into bondage! O unspeakable liberty brought into slavery by us! O incomprehensible glory that is come unto us! thou that hast kept the dead tabernacle safe from insult; that hast redeemed the man that stained himself with blood and chastened the soul of him that would defile the corruptible body; Father that hast had pity and compassion on the man that cared not for thee; We glorify thee, and praise and bless and thank thy great goodness and long-suffering, O holy Jesu, for thou only art God, and none else: whose is the might that cannot be conspired against, now and world without end. Amen.

78 And when he had said this John took Callimachus and saluted (kissed) him, saying: Glory be to our God, my child, who hath had mercy on thee, and made me worthy to glorify his power, and thee also by a good course to depart from that thine abominable madness and drunkenness, and hath called thee unto his own rest and unto renewing of life.

79 But Andronicus, beholding the dead Callimachus raised, besought John, with the brethren, to raise up Drusiana also, saying: O John, let Drusiana arise and spend happily that short space (of life) which she gave up through grief about Callimachus, when she thought she had become a stumbling block to him: and when the Lord will, he shall take her again to himself. And John without delay went unto her tomb and took her hand and said: Upon thee that art the only God do I call, the more than great, the unutterable, the incomprehensible: unto whom every power of principalities is subjected: unto whom all authority boweth: before whom all pride falleth down and keepeth silence: whom devils hearing of tremble: whom all creation perceiving keepeth its bounds. Let thy name be glorified by us, and raise up Drusiana, that Callimachus may yet more be confirmed unto thee who dispensest that which unto men is without a way and impossible, but to thee only possible, even salvation and resurrection: and that Drusiana may now come forth in peace, having about her not any the least hindrance -now that the young man is turned unto thee- in her course toward thee.

80 And after these words John said unto Drusiana: Drusiana, arise. And she arose and came out of the tomb; and when she saw herself in her shift only, she was perplexed at the thing, and learned the whole accurately from Andronicus, the while John lay upon his face, and Callimachus with voice and tears glorified God, and she also rejoiced, glorifying him in like manner.

81 And when she had clothed herself, she turned and saw Fortunatus lying, and said unto John: Father, let this man also rise, even if he did assay to become my betrayer. But Callimachus, when he heard her say that, said: Do not, I beseech thee, Drusiana, for the voice which I heard took no thought of him, but declared concerning thee only, and I saw and believed: for if he had been good, perchance God would have had mercy on him also and would have raised him by means of the blessed John: he knew therefore that the man was come to a bad end [Lat. he judged him worthy to die whom he did not declare worthy to rise again]. And John said to him: We have not learned, my child, to render evil for evil: for God, though we have done much ill and no good toward him, hath not given retribution unto us, but repentance, and though we were ignorant of his name he did not neglect us but had mercy on us, and when we blasphemed him, he did not punish but pitied us, and when we disbelieved him he bore us no grudge, and when we persecuted his brethren he did not recompense us evil but put into our minds repentance and abstinence from evil, and exhorted us to come unto him, as he hath thee also, my son Callimachus, and not remembering thy former evil hath made thee his servant, waiting upon his mercy. Wherefore if thou allowest not me to raise up Fortunatus, it is for Drusiana so to do.

82 And she, delaying not, went with rejoicing of spirit and soul unto the body of Fortunatus and said: Jesu Christ, God of the ages, God of truth, that hast granted me to see wonders and signs, and given to me to become partaker of thy name; that didst breathe thyself into me with thy many-shaped countenance, and hadst mercy on me in many ways; that didst protect me by thy great goodness when I was oppressed by Andronicus that was of old my husband; that didst give me thy servant Andronicus to be my brother; that hast kept me thine handmaid pure unto this day; that didst raise me up by thy servant John, and when I was raised didst show me him that was made to stumble free from stumbling; that hast given me perfect rest in thee, and lightened me of the secret madness; whom I have loved and affectioned: I pray thee, O Christ, refuse not thy Drusiana that asketh thee to raise up Fortunatus, even though he assayed to become my betrayer.

83 And taking the hand of the dead man she said: Rise up, Fortunatus, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. And Fortunatus arose, and when he saw John in the sepulchre, and Andronicus, and Drusiana raised from the dead, and Callimachus a believer, and the rest of the brethren glorifying God, he said: O, to what have the powers of these clever men attained! I did not want to be raised, but would rather die, so as not to see them. And with these words he fled and went out of the sepulchre.

84 And John, when he saw the unchanged mind (soul) of Fortunatus, said: O nature that is not changed for the better! O fountain of the soul that abideth in foulness! O essence of corruption full of darkness! O death exulting in them that are thine! O fruitless tree full of fire! O tree that bearest coals for fruit! O matter that dwellest with the madness of matter (al. O wood of trees full of unwholesome shoots) and neighbour of unbelief! Thou hast proved who thou art, and thou art always convicted, with thy children. And thou knowest not how to praise the better things: for thou hast them not. Therefore, such as is thy way (?fruit), such also is thy root and thy nature. Be thou destroyed from among them that trust in the Lord: from their thoughts, from their mind, from their souls, from their bodies, from their acts) their life, their conversation, from their business, their occupations, their counsel, from the resurrection unto (or rest in) God, from their sweet savour wherein thou wilt share, from their faith, their prayers, from the holy bath, from the eucharist, from the food of the flesh, from drink, from clothing, from love, from care, from abstinence, from righteousness: from all these, thou most unholy Satan, enemy of God, shall Jesus Christ our God and of all that are like thee and have thy character, make thee to perish.

85 And having thus said, John prayed, and took bread and bare it into the sepulchre to break it; and said: We glorify thy name, which converteth us from error and ruthless deceit: we glorify thee who hast shown before our eyes that which we have seen: we bear witness to thy loving-kindness which appeareth in divers ways: we praise thy merciful name, O Lord (we thank thee), who hast convicted them that are convicted of thee: we give thanks to thee, O Lord Jesu Christ, that we are persuaded of thy which is unchanging: we give thanks to thee who hadst need of our nature that should be saved: we give thanks to thee that hast given us this sure , for thou art alone, both now and ever. We thy servants give thee thanks, O holy one, who are assembled with intent and are gathered out of the world (or risen from death).

86 And having so prayed and given glory to God, he went out of the sepulchre after imparting unto all the brethren of the eucharist of the Lord. And when he was come unto Andronicus' house he said to the brethren: Brethren, a spirit within me hath divined that Fortunatus is about to die of blackness (poisoning of the blood) from the bite of the serpent; but let some one go quickly and learn if it is so indeed. And one of the young men ran and found him dead and the blackness spreading over him, and it had reached his heart: and came and told John that he had been dead three hours. And John said: Thou hast thy child, O devil.

'John therefore was with the brethren rejoicing in the Lord.' This sentence is in the best manuscript. In Bonnet's edition It introduces the last section of the Acts, which follows immediately in the manuscript. It may belong to either episode. The Latin has: And that day he spent joyfully with the brethren. There cannot be much of a gap between this and the next section, which is perhaps the most interesting in the Acts.

The greater part of this episode is preserved only in one very corrupt fourteenth-century manuscript at Vienna. Two important passages (93-5 (part) and 97-8 (part)) were read at the Second Nicene Council and are preserved in the Acts thereof: a few lines of the Hymn are also cited in Latin by Augustine (Ep. 237 (253) to Ceretius): he found it current separately among the Priscillianists. The whole discourse is the best popular exposition we have of the Docetic view of our Lord's person.

87 Those that were present inquired the cause, and were especially perplexed, because Drusiana had said: The Lord appeared unto me in the tomb in the likeness of John, and in that of a youth. Forasmuch, therefore, as they were perplexed and were, in a manner, not yet stablished in the faith, so as to endure it steadfastly, John said (or John bearing it patiently, said):

88 Men and brethren, ye have suffered nothing strange or incredible as concerning your perception of the , inasmuch as we also, whom he chose for himself to be apostles, were tried in many ways: I, indeed, am neither able to set forth unto you nor to write the things which I both saw and heard: and now is it needful that I should fit them for your hearing; and according as each of you is able to contain it I will impart unto you those things whereof ye are able to become hearers, that ye may see the glory that is about him, which was and is, both now and for ever. For when he had chosen Peter and Andrew, which were brethren, he cometh unto me and James my brother, saying: I have need of you, come unto me. And my brother hearing that, said: John, what would this child have that is upon the sea-shore and called us? And I said: What child? And he said to me again: That which beckoneth to us. And I answered: Because of our long watch we have kept at sea, thou seest not aright, my brother James; but seest thou not the man that standeth there, comely and fair and of a cheerful countenance? But he said to me: Him I see not, brother; but let us go forth and we shall see what he would have.

89 And so when we had brought the ship to land, we saw him also helping along with us to settle the ship: and when we departed from that place, being minded to follow him, again he was seen of me as having rather bald, but the beard thick and flowing, but of James as a youth whose beard was newly come. We were therefore perplexed, both of us, as to what that which we had seen should mean. And after that, as we followed him, both of us were by little and little perplexed as we considered the matter. Yet unto me there then appeared this yet more wonderful thing: for I would try to see him privily, and I never at any time saw his eyes closing (winking), but only open. And oft-times he would appear to me as a small man and uncomely, and then againt as one reaching unto heaven. Also there was in him another marvel: when I sat at meat he would take me upon his own breast; and sometimes his breast was felt of me to be smooth and tender, and sometimes hard like unto stones, so that I was perplexed in myself and said: Wherefore is this so unto me? And as I considered this, he . .

90 And at another time he taketh with him me and James and Peter unto the mountain where he was wont to pray, and we saw in him a light such as it is not possible for a man that useth corruptible (mortal) speech to describe what it was like. Again in like manner he bringeth us three up into the mountain, saying: Come ye with me. And we went again: and we saw him at a distance praying. I, therefore, because he loved me, drew nigh unto him softly, as though he could not see me, and stood looking upon his hinder parts: and I saw that he was not in any wise clad with garments, but was seen of us naked, and not in any wise as a man, and that his feet were whiter than any snow, so that the earth there was lighted up by his feet, and that his head touched the heaven: so that I was afraid and cried out, and he, turning about, appeared as a man of small stature, and caught hold on my beard and pulled it and said to me: John, be not faithless but believing, and not curious. And I said unto him: But what have I done, Lord? And I say unto you, brethren, I suffered so great pain in that place where he took hold on my beard for thirty days, that I said to him: Lord, if thy twitch when thou wast in sport hath given me so great pain, what were it if thou hadst given me a buffet? And he said unto me: Let it be thine henceforth not to tempt him that cannot be tempted.

91 But Peter and James were wroth because I spake with the Lord, and beckoned unto me that I should come unto them and leave the Lord alone. And I went, and they both said unto me: He (the old man) that was speaking with the Lord upon the top of the mount, who was he? for we heard both of them speaking. And I, having in mind his great grace, and his unity which hath many faces, and his wisdom which without ceasing looketh upon us, said: That shall ye learn if ye inquire of him.

92 Again, once when all we his disciples were at Gennesaret sleeping in one house, I alone having wrapped myself in my mantle, watched (or watched from beneath my mantle) what he should do: and first I heard him say: John, go thou to sleep. And I thereon feigning to sleep saw another like unto him [sleeping], whom also I heard say unto my Lord: Jesus, they whom thou hast chosen believe not yet on thee (or do they not yet, &c.?). And my Lord said unto him: Thou sayest well: for they are men.

93 Another glory also will I tell you, brethren: Sometimes when I would lay hold on him, I met with a material and solid body, and at other times, again, when I felt him, the substance was immaterial and as if it existed not at all. And if at any time he were bidden by some one of the Pharisees and went to the bidding, we went with him, and there was set before each one of us a loaf by them that had bidden us, and with us he also received one; and his own he would bless and part it among us: and of that little every one was filled, and our own

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loaves were saved whole, so that they which bade him were amazed. And oftentimes when I walked with him, I desired to see the print of his foot, whether it appeared on the earth; for I saw him as it were lifting himself up from the earth: and I never saw it. And these things I speak unto you, brethren, for the encouragement of your faith toward him; for we must at the present keep silence concerning his mighty and wonderful works, inasmuch as they are unspeakable and, it may be, cannot at all be either uttered or heard.

94 Now before he was taken by the lawless Jews, who also were governed by (had their law from) the lawless serpent, he gathered all of us together and said: Before I am delivered up unto them let us sing an hymn to the Father, and so go forth to that which lieth before us. He bade us therefore make as it were a ring, holding one another's hands, and himself standing in the midst he said: Answer Amen unto me. He began, then, to sing an hymn and to say:

Glory be to thee, Father.
And we, going about in a ring, answered him:
Amen.
Glory be to thee, Word: Glory be to thee, Grace.
Amen.
Glory be to thee, Spirit: Glory be to thee, Holy One:
Glory be to thy glory. Amen.
We praise thee, O Father; we give thanks to thee, O
Light, wherein darkness
dwelleth not. Amen.

95 Now whereas (or wherefore) we give thanks, I say:

I would be saved, and I would save. Amen.
I would be loosed, and I would loose. Amen.
I would be wounded, and I would wound. Amen.
I would be born, and I would bear. Amen.
I would eat, and I would be eaten. Amen.
I would hear, and I would be heard. Amen.
I would be thought, being wholly thought. Amen.
I would be washed, and I would wash. Amen.
Grace danceth. I would pipe; dance ye all. Amen.
I would mourn: lament ye all. Amen.
The number Eight (lit. one ogdoad) singeth praise
with us. Amen.
The number Twelve danceth on high. Amen.
The Whole on high hath part in our dancing. Amen.
Whoso danceth not, knoweth not what cometh to pass.
Amen.
I would flee, and I would stay. Amen.
I would adorn, and I would be adorned. Amen.
I would be united, and I would unite. Amen.
A house I have not, and I have houses. Amen.
A place I have not, and I have places. Amen.
A temple I have not, and I have temples. Amen.
A lamp am I to thee that beholdest me. Amen.
A mirror am I to thee that perceivest me. Amen.
A door am I to thee that knockest at me. Amen.
A way am I to thee a wayfarer. .

96 Now answer thou (or as thou respondest) unto my dancing. Behold thyself in me who speak, and seeing what I do, keep silence about my mysteries.

Thou that dancest, perceive what I do, for thine is this passion of the manhood, which I am about to suffer. For thou couldest not at all have understood what thou sufferest if I had not been sent unto thee, as the word of the Father. Thou that sawest what I suffer sawest me as suffering, and seeing it thou didst not abide but wert wholly moved, moved to make wise. Thou hast me as a bed, rest upon me. Who I am, thou shalt know when I depart. What now I am seen to be, that I am not. Thou shalt see when thou comest. If thou hadst known how to suffer, thou wouldest have been able not to suffer. Learn thou to suffer, and thou shalt be able not to suffer. What thou knowest not, I myself will teach thee. Thy God am I, not the God of the traitor. I would keep tune with holy souls. In me know thou the word of wisdom. Again with me say thou: Glory be to thee, Father; glory to thee, Word; glory to thee, Holy Ghost. And if thou wouldst know concerning me, what I was, know that with a word did I deceive all things and I was no whit deceived. I have leaped: but do thou understand the whole, and having understood it, say: Glory be to thee, Father. Amen.

97 Thus, my beloved, having danced with us the Lord went forth. And we as men gone astray or dazed with sleep fled this way and that. I, then, when I saw him suffer, did not even abide by his suffering, but fled unto the Mount of Olives, weeping at that which had befallen. And when he was crucified on the Friday, at the sixth hour of the day, darkness came upon all the earth. And my Lord standing in the midst of the cave and enlightening it, said: John, unto the multitude below in Jerusalem I am being crucified and pierced with lances and reeds, and gall and vinegar is given me to drink. But unto thee I speak, and what I speak hear thou. I put it into thy mind to come up into this mountain, that thou mightest hear those things which it behoveth a disciple to learn from his teacher and a man from his God.

98 And having thus spoken, he showed me a cross of light fixed (set up), and about the cross a great multitude, not having one form: and in it (the cross) was one form and one likenesst [so the MS.; I would read: and therein was one form and one likeness: and in the cross another multitude, not having one form]. And the Lord himself I beheld above the cross, not having any shape, but only a voice: and a voice not such as was familiar to us, but one sweet and kind and truly of God, saying unto me: John, it is needful that one should hear these things from me, for I have need of one that will hear. This cross of light is sometimes called the (or a) word by me for your sakes, sometimes mind, sometimes Jesus, sometimes Christ, sometimes door, sometimes a way, sometimes bread, sometimes seed, sometimes resurrection, sometimes Son, sometimes Father, sometimes Spirit, sometimes life, sometimes truth, sometimes faith, sometimes grace. And by these names it is called as toward men: but that which it is in truth, as conceived of in itself and as spoken of unto you (MS. us), it is the marking-off of all things, and the firm uplifting of things fixed out of things unstable, and the harmony of wisdom, and indeed wisdom in harmony [this last clause in the MS. is joined to the next: 'and being wisdom in harmony']. There are of the right hand and the left, powers also, authorities, lordships and demons, workings, threatenings, wraths, devils, Satan, and the lower root whence the nature of the things that come into being proceeded.

99 This cross, then, is that which fixed all things apart (al. joined all things unto itself) by the (or a) word, and separate off the things that are from those that are below (lit. the things from birth and below it), and then also, being one, streamed forth into all things (or, made all flow forth. I suggested: compacted all into). But this is not the cross of wood which thou wilt see when thou goest down hence: neither am I he that is on the cross, whom now thou seest not, but only hearest his (or a) voice. I was reckoned to be that which I am not, not being what I was unto many others: but they will call me (say of me) something else which is vile and not worthy of me. As, then, the place of rest is neither seen nor spoken of, much more shall I, the Lord thereof, be neither seen .

100 Now the multitude of one aspect (al. of one aspect) that is about the cross is the lower nature: and they whom thou seest in the cross, if they have not one form, it is because not yet hath every member of him that came down been comprehended. But when the human nature (or the upper nature) is taken up, and the race which draweth near unto me and obeyeth my voice, he that now heareth me shall be united therewith, and shall no more be that which now he is, but above them, as I also now am. For so long as thou callest not thyself mine, I am not that which I am (or was): but if thou hear me, thou, hearing, shalt be as I am, and I shall be that which I was, when I thee as I am with myself. For from me thou art that (which I am). Care not therefore for the many, and them that are outside the mystery despise; for know thou that I am wholly with the Father, and the Father with me.

101 Nothing, therefore, of the things which they will say of me have I suffered: nay, that suffering also which I showed unto thee and the rest in the dance, I will that it be called a mystery. For what thou art, thou seest, for I showed it thee; but what I am I alone know, and no man else. Suffer me then to keep that which is mine, and that which is thine behold thou through me, and behold me in truth, that I am, not what I said, but what thou art able to know, because thou art akin thereto. Thou hearest that I suffered, yet did I not suffer; that I suffered not, yet did I suffer; that I was pierced, yet I was not smitten; hanged, and I was not hanged; that blood flowed from me, and it flowed not; and, in a word, what they say of me, that befell me not, but what they say not, that did I suffer. Now what those things are I signify unto thee, for I know that thou wilt understand. Perceive thou therefore in me the praising (al. slaying al. rest) of the (or a) Word (Logos), the piercing of the Word, the blood of the Word, the wound of the Word, the hanging up of the Word, the suffering of the Word, the nailing (fixing) of the Word, the death of the Word. And so speak I, separating off the manhood. Perceive thou therefore in the first place of the Word; then shalt thou perceive the Lord, and in the third place the man, and what he hath suffered.

102 When he had spoken unto me these things, and others which I know not how to say as he would have me, he was taken up, no one of the multitudes having beheld him. And when I went down I laughed them all to scorn, inasmuch as he had told me the things which they have said concerning him; holding fast this one thing in myself, that the Lord contrived all things symbolically and by a dispensation toward men, for their conversion and salvation.

103 Having therefore beheld, brethren, the grace of the Lord and his kindly affection toward us, let us worship him as those unto whom he hath shown mercy, not with our fingers, nor our mouth, nor our tongue, nor with any part whatsoever of our body, but with the disposition of our soul -even him who became a man apart from this body: and let us watch because (or we shall find that) now also he keepeth ward over prisons for our sake, and over tombs, in bonds and dungeons, in reproaches and insults, by sea and on dry land, in scourgings, condemnations, conspiracies, frauds, punishments, and in a word, he is with all of us, and himself suffereth with us when we suffer, brethren. When he is called upon by each one of us, he endureth not to shut his ears to us, but as being everywhere he hearkeneth to all of us; and now both to me and to Drusiana, -forasmuch as he is the God of them that are shut upbringing us help by his own compassion.

104 Be ye also persuaded, therefore, beloved, that it is not a man whom I preach unto you to worship, but God unchangeable, God invincible, God higher than all authority and all power, and elder and mightier than all angels and creatures that are named, and all aeons. If then ye abide in him, and are builded up in him, ye shall possess your soul indestructible.

105 And when he had delivered these things unto the brethren, John departed, with Andronicus, to walk. And Drusiana also followed afar off with all the brethren, that they might behold the acts that were done by him, and hear his speech at all times in the Lord. ...

The remaining episode which is extant in the Greek is the conclusion of the book, the Death or Assumption of John. Before it must be placed the stories which we have only in the Latin (of 'Abdias' and another text by 'Mellitus', i.e. Melito), and the two or three isolated fragments.

14. Now on the next (or another) day Craton, a philosopher, had proclaimed in the market-place that he would give an example of the contempt of riches: and the spectacle was after this manner. He had persuaded two young men, the richest of the city, who were brothers, to spend their whole inheritance and buy each of them a jewel, and these they brake in pieces publicly in the sight of the people. And while they were doing this, it happened by chance that the apostle passed by. And calling Craton the philosopher to him, he said: That is a foolish despising of the world which is praised by the mouths of men, but long ago condemned by the judgement of God. For as that is a vain medicine whereby the disease is not extirpated, so is it a vain teaching by which the faults of souls and of conduct are not cured. But indeed my master taught a youth who desired to attain to eternal life, in these words; saying that if he would be perfect, he should sell all his goods and give to the poor, and so doing he would gain treasure in heaven and find the life that has no ending. And Craton said to him: Here the fruit of covetousness is set forth in the midst of men, and hath been broken to pieces. But if God is indeed thy master and willeth this to be, that the sum of the price of these jewels should be given to the poor, cause thou the gems to be restored whole, that what I have done for the praise of men, thou mayest do for the glory of him whom thou callest thy master. Then the blessed John gathered together the fragments of the gems, and holding them in his hands, lifted up his eyes to heaven and said: Lord Jesu Christ, unto whom nothing is impossible: who when the world was broken by the tree of concupiscence, didst restore it again in thy faithfulness by the tree of the cross: who didst give to one born blind the eyes which nature had denied him, who didst recall Lazarus, dead and buried, after the fourth day unto the light; and has subjected all diseases and all sicknesses unto the word of thy power: so also now do with these precious stones which these, not knowing the fruits of almsgiving, have broken in pieces for the praise of men: recover thou them, Lord, now by the hands of thine angels, that by their value the work of mercy may be fulfilled, and make these men believe in thee the unbegotten Father through thine only-begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord, with the Holy Ghost the illuminator and sanctifier of the whole Church, world without end. And when the faithful who were with the apostle had answered and said Amen, the fragments of the gems were forthwith so joined in one that no mark at all that they had been broken remained in them. And Craton the philosopher, with his disciples, seeing this, fell at the feet of the apostle and believed thenceforth (or immediately) and was baptised, with them all, and began himself publicly to preach the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ.

15. Those two brothers, therefore, of whom we spake, sold the gems which they had bought by the sale of their inheritance and gave the price to the poor; and thereafter a very great multitude of believers began to be joined to the apostle. And when all this was done, it happened that after the same example, two honourable men of the city of the Ephesian sold all their goods and distributed them to the needy, and followed the apostle as he went through the cities preaching the word of God. But it came to pass, when they entered the city of Pergamum, that they saw their servants walking abroad arrayed in silken raiment and shining with the glory of this world: whence it happened that they were pierced with the arrow of the devil and became sad, seeing themselves poor and clad with a single cloak while their own servants were powerful and prosperous. But the apostle of Christ, perceiving these wiles of the devil, said: I see that ye have changed your minds and your countenances on this account, that, obeying the teaching of my Lord Jesus Christ, ye have given all ye had to the poor. Now, if ye desire to recover that which ye formerly possessed of gold, silver, and precious stones, bring me some straight rods, each of you a bundle. And when they had done so, he called upon the name

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of the Lord Jesus Christ, and thev were turned into gold. And the apostle said to them: Bring me small stones from the seashore. And when they had done this also, he called upon the majesty of the Lord, and all the pebbles were turned into gems. Then the blessed John turned to those men and said to them: Go about to the goldsmiths and jewellers for seven days, and when ye have proved that these are true gold and true jewels, tell me. And they went, both of them, and after seven days returned to the apostle, saying: Lord, we have gone about the shops of all the goldsmiths, and they have all said that they never saw such pure gold. Likewise the jewellers have said the same, that they never saw such excellent and precious gems.

16. Then the holy John said unto them: Go, and redeem to you the lands which ye have sold, for ye have lost the estates of heaven. Buy yourselves silken raiment, that for a time ye may shine like the rose which showeth its fragrance and redness and suddenly fadeth away. For ye sighed at beholding your servants and groaned that ye were become poor. Flourish, therefore, that ye may fade: be rich for the time, that ye may be beggars for ever. Is not the Lord's hand able to make riches overflowing and unsurpassably glorious? but he hath appointed a conflict for souls, that they may believe that they shall have eternal riches, who for his name's sake have refused temporal wealth. Indeed, our master told us concerning a certain rich man who feasted every day and shone with gold and purple, at whose door lay a beggar, Lazarus, who desired to receive even the crumbs that fell from his table, and no man gave unto him. And it came to pass that on one day they died, both of them, and that beggar was taken into the rest which is in Abraham's bosom, but the rich man was cast into flaming fire: out of which he lifted up his eyes and saw Lazarus, and prayed him to dip his finger in water and cool his mouth for he was tormented in the flames. And Abraham answered him and said: Remember, son, that thou receivedst good things in thy life, but this Lazarus likewise evil things. Wherefore rightly is he now comforted while thou art tormented, and besides all this, a great gulf is fixed between you and us, so that neither can they come thence hither, nor hither thence. But he answered: I have five brethren: I pray that some one may go to warn them, that they come not into this flame. And Abraham said to him: They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them. To that he answered: Lord, unless one rise up again, they will not believe. Abraham said to him: If they believe not Moses and the prophets, neither will they believe, if one rise again. And these words our Lord and Master confirmed by examples of mighty works: for when they said to him: Who hath come hither from thence, that we may believe him? he answered: Bring hither the dead whom ye have. And when they had brought unto him a young man which was dead (Ps.-Mellitus: three dead corpses), he was waked up by him as one that sleepeth, and confirmed all his words. But wherefore should I speak of my Lord, when at this present there are those whom in his name and in your presence and sight I have raised from the dead: in whose name ye have seen palsied men healed, lepers cleansed, blind men enlightened, and many delivered from evil spirits ? But the riches of these mighty works they cannot have who have desired to have earthly wealth. Finally, when ye yourselves went unto the sick and called upon the name of Jesus Christ, they were healed: ye did drive out devils and restore light to the blind. Behold, this grace is taken from you, and ye are become wretched, who were mighty and great. And where as there was such fear of you upon the devils that at your bidding they left the men whom they possessed, now ye will be in fear of the devils. For he that loveth money is the servant of Mammon: and Mammon is the name of a devil who is set over carnal gains, and is the master of them that love the world. But even the lovers of the world do not possess riches, but are possessed of them. For it is out of reason that for one belly there should be laid up so much food as would suffice a thousand, and for one body so many garments as would furnish clothing for a thousand men. In vain, therefore, is that stored up which cometh not into use, and for whom it is kept, no man knoweth, as the Holy Ghost saith by the prophet: In vain is every man troubled who heapeth up riches and knoweth not for whom he gathereth them. Naked did our birth from women bring us into this light, destitute of food and drink: naked will the earth receive us which brought us forth. We possess in common the riches of the heaven, the brightness of the sun is equal for the rich and the poor, and likewise the light of the moon and the stars, the softness of the air and the drops of rain, and the gate of the church and the fount of sanctification and the forgiveness of sins, and the sharing in the altar, and the eating of the body and drinking of the blood of Christ, and the anointing of the chrism, and the grace of the giver, and the visitation of the Lord, and the pardon of sin: in all these the dispensing of the Creator is equal, without respect of persons. Neither doth the rich man use these gifts after one manner and the poor after another. But wretched and unhappy is the man who would have something more than sufficeth him: for of this come heats of fevers rigours of cold, divers pains in all the members of the body, and he can neither be fed with food nor sated with drink, that covetousness may learn that money will not profit it, which being laid up bringeth to the keepers thereof anxiety by day and night, and suffereth them not even for an hour to be quiet and secure. For while they guard their houses against thieves, till their estate, ply the plough, pay taxes, build storehouses, strive for gain, try to baffle the attacks of the strong, and to strip the weak, exercise their wrath on whom they can, and hardly bear it from others, shrink not from playing at tables and from public shows, fear not to defile or to be defiled, suddenly do they depart out of this world, naked, bearing only their own sins with them, for which they shall suffer eternal punishment.

17. While the apostle was thus speaking, behold there was brought to him by his mother, who was a widow, a young man who thirty days before had first married a vvife. And the people which were waiting upon the burial came with the widowed mother and cast themselves at the apostle's feet all together with groans, weeping, and mourning, and besought him that in the name of his God, as he had done with Drusiana, so he would raise up this young man also. And there was so great weeping of them all that the apostle himself could hardly refrain from crying and tears. He cast himself down, therefore, in prayer, and wept a long time: and rising from prayer spread out his hands to heaven, and for a long space prayed within himself. And when he had so done thrice, he commanded the body which was swathed to be loosed, and said: Thou youth Stacteus, who for love of thy flesh hast quickly lost thy soul: thou youth which knewest not thy creator nor perceivedst the Saviour of men, and wast ignorant of thy true friend, and therefore didst fall into the snare of the worst enemy: behold, I have poured out tears and prayers unto my Lord for thine ignorance, that thou mayest rise from the dead, the bands of death being loosed, and declare unto these two, to Atticus and Eugenius, how great glory they have lost, and how great punishment they have incurred. Then Stacteus arose and worshipped the apostle, and began to reproach his disciples, saying: I beheld your angels vveeping, and the angels of Satan rejoicing at your overthrow. For now in a little time ye have lost the kingdom that was prepared for you, and the dwellingplaces builded of shining stones, full of joy, of feasting and delights, full of everlasting life and eternal light: and have gotten yourselves places of darkness, full of dragons, of roaring flames, of torments, and punishments unsurpassable, of pains and anguish, fear and horrible trembling. Ye have lost the places full of unfading flowers, shining, full of the sounds of instruments of music (organs), and have gotten on the other hand places wherein roaring and howling and mourning ceaseth not day nor night. Nothing else remaineth for you save to ask the apostle of the Lord that like as he hath raised me to life, he would raise you also from death unto salvation and bring back your souls which now are blotted out of the book of life.

18. Then both he that had been raised and all the people together with Atticus and Eugenius, cast themselves at the apostle's feet and besought him to intercede for them with the Lord. Unto whom the holy apostle gave this answer: that for thirty days they should offer penitence to God, and in that space pray especially that the rods of gold might return to their nature and likewise the stones return to the meanness wherein they were made. And it came to pass that after thirty days were accomplished, and neither the rods were turncd into wood nor the gems into pebbles, Atticus and Eugenius came and said to the apostle: Thou hast always taught mercy, and preached forgiveness, and bidden that one man should spare another. And if God willeth that a man should forgive a man, how much more shall he, as he is God, both forgive and spare men. We are confounded for our sin: and whereas we have cried with our eyes which lusted after the world, we do now repent with eyes that weep. We pray thee, Lord, we pray thee, apostle of God, show in deed that mercy which in word thou hast always promised. Then the holy John said unto them as they wept and repented, and all interceded for them likewise: Our Lord God used these words when he spake concerning sinners: I will not the death of a sinner, but I will rather that he be converted and live. For when the Lord Jesus Christ taught us concerning the penitent, he said: Verily I say unto you, there is great joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth and turneth himself from his sins: and there is more joy over him than over ninety and nine which have not sinned. Wherefore I would have you know that the Lord accepteth the repentance of these men. And he turned unto Atticus and Eugenius and said: Go, carry back the rods unto the wood whence ye took them, for now are they returned to their own nature, and the stones unto the sea-shore, for they are become common stones as they were before. And when this was accomplished, they received again the grace which they had lost, so that again they cast out devils as before time and healed the sick and enlightened the blind, and daily the Lord did many mighty works by their means.

(19 tells shortly the destruction oi the temple of Ephesus and the conversion of 12,000 people.)

Then follows the episode of the poison-cup in a form which probably represents the story in the Leucian Acts. (We have seen that the late Greek texts place it at the beginning, in the presence of Domitian.)

20. Now when Aristodemus, who was chief priest of all those idols, saw this, filled with a wicked spirit, he stirred up sedition among the people, so that one people prepared themselves to fight against the other. And John turned to him and said: Tell me, Aristodemus, what can I do to take away the anger from thy soul? And Aristodemus said: If thou wilt have me believe in thy God, I will give thee poison to drink, and if thou drink it, and die not, it will appear that thy God is true. The apostle answered: If thou give me poison to drink, when I call on the name of my Lord, it will not be able to harm me. Aristodemus said again: I will that thou first see others drink it and die straightway that so thy heart may recoil from that cup. And the blessed John said: I have told thee already that I am prepared to drink it that thou mayest believe on the Lord Jesus Christ when thou seest me whole after the cup of poison. Aristodemus therefore went to the proconsul and asked of him two men who were to undergo the sentence of death. And when he had set them in the midst of the market-place before all the people, in the sight of the apostle he made them drink the poison: and as soon as they had drunk it, they gave up the ghost. Then Aristodemus turned to John and said: Hearken to me and depart from thy teaching wherewith thou callest away the people from the worship of the gods; or take and drink this, that thou mayest show that thy God is almighty, if after thou hast drunk, thou canst remain whole. Then the blessed Jolm, as they lay dead which had drunk the poison, like a fearless and brave man took the cup, and making the sign of the cross, spake thus: My God, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whose word the heavens were established, unto whom all things are subject, whom all creation serveth, whom all power obeyeth, feareth, and trembleth, when we call on thee for succour: whose name the serpent hearing is still, the dragon fleeth, the viper is quiet, the toad (which is called a frog) is still and strengthless, the scorpion is quenched, the basilisk vanquished, and the phalangia (spider) doth no hurt -in a word, all venomous things, and the fiercest reptiles and noisome beasts, are pierced (or covered with darkness). [Ps.- Mellitus adds: and all roots hurtful to the health of men dry up.] Do thou, I say, quench the venom of this poison, put out the deadly workings thereof, and void it of the strength which it hath in it: and grant in thy sight unto all these whom thou hast created, eyes that they may see, and ears that they may hear and a heart that they may understand thy greatness. And when he had thus said, he armed his mouth and all his body with the sign of the cross and drank all that was in the cup. And after be had drunk, he said: I ask that they for whose sake I have drunk, be turned unto thee, O Lord, and by thine enlightening receive the salvation which is in thee. And when for the space of three hours the people saw that John was of a cheerful countenance, and that there was no sign at all of paleness or fear in him, they began to cry out with a loud voice: He is the one true God whom John worshippeth.

21. But Aristodemus even so believed not, though the people reproached him: but turned unto John and said: This one thing I lack -if thou in the name of thy God raise up these that have died by this poison, my mind will be cleansed of all doubt. When he said that, the people rose against Aristodemus saying: We will burn thee and thine house if thou goest on to trouble the apostle further with thy words. John, therefore, seeing that there was a fierce sedition, asked for silence, and said in the hearing of all: The first of the virtues of God which we ought to imitate is patience, by which we are able to bear with the foolishness of unbelievers. Wherefore if Aristodemus is still held by unbelief, let us loose the knots of his unbelief. He shall be compelled, even though late, to acknowledge his creator -for I will not cease from this work until a remedy shall bring help to his wounds, and like physicians which have in their hands a sick man needing medicine, so also, if Aristodemus be not yet cured by that which hath now been done, he shall be cured by that which I will now do. And he called Aristodemus to him, and gave him his coat, and he himself stood clad only in his mantle. And Aristodemus said to him: Wherefore hast thou given me thy coat? John said to him: That thou mayest even so be put to shame and depart from thine unbelief. And Aristodemus said: And how shall thy coat make me to depart from unbelief? The apostle answered: Go and cast it upon the bodies of the dead, and thou shalt say thus: The apostle of our Lord Jesus Christ hath sent me that in his name ye may rise again, that all may know that life and death are servants of my Lord Jesus Christ. Which when Aristodemus had done, and had seen them rise, he worshipped John, and ran quickly to the proconsul and began to say with a loud voice: Hear me, hear me, thou proconsul; I think thou rememberest that I have often stirred up thy wrath against John and devised many things against him daily, wherefore I fear lest I feel his wrath: for he is a god hidden in the form of a man and hath drunk poison, and not only continueth whole, but them also which had died by the poison he hath recalled to life by my means, by the touch of his coat, and they have no mark of death upon them. Which

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when the proconsul heard he said: And what wilt thou have me to do? Aristodemus answered: Let us go and fall at his feet and ask pardon, and whatever he commandeth us let us do. Then they came together and cast themselves down and besought forgiveness: and he received them and offered prayer and thanksgiving to God, and he ordained them a fast of a week, and when it was fulfilled he baptised them in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and his Almighty Father and the Holy Ghost the illuminator. [And when thev were baptised, with all their house and their servants and their kindred, they brake all their idols and built a church in the name of Saint John: wherein he himself was taken up, in manner following :]

This bracketed sentence, of late complexion, serves to introduce the last episode of the book.

[James gives two additional fragments that do not fit in any other place. These fragments are very broken and are not of much use for this present project. However, if there is intrest in them, they can be found on pages 264-6 of the text.]

The last episode of these Acts (as is the case with several others of the Apocryphal Acts) was preservcd separately for reading in church on the Saint's day. We have it in at least nine Greck manuscripts, and in many versions: Latin, Syriac, Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopic, Slavonic.

106 John therefore continued with the brethren, rejoicing in the Lord. And on the morrow, being the Lord's day, and all the brethren being gathered together, he began to say unto them: Brethren and fellow-servants and coheirs and partakers with me in the kingdom of the Lord, ye know the Lord, hovv many mighty works he hath granted you by my means, how many wonders, healings, signs, how great spirital gifts, teachings, governings, refreshings, ministries, knowledges, glories, graces, gifts, beliefs, communions, all which ye have seen given you by him in your sight, yet not seen by these eyes nor heard by these ears. Be ye therefore stablished in him, remembering him in your every deed, knowing the mystery of the dispensation which hath come to pass towards men, for what cause the Lord hath l accomplished it. He beseecheth you by me, brethren, and entreateth you, desiring to remain without grief, without insult, not conspired against, not chastened: for he knoweth even the insult that cometh of you, he knoweth even dishonour, he knoweth even conspiracy, he knoweth even chastisement, from them that hearken not to his commandments.

107 Let not then our good God be grieved, the compassionate, the merciful, the holy, the pure, the undefiled, the immaterial, the only, the one, the unchangeable, the simple, the guileless, the unwrathful, even our God Jesus Christ, who is above every name that we can utter or conceive, and more exalted. Let him rejoice with us because we walk aright, let him be glad because we live purely, let him be refreshed because our conversation is sober. Let him be without care because we live continently, let him be pleased because we communicate one with another, let him smile because we are chaste, let him be merry because we love him. These things I now speak unto you, brethren, because I am hasting unto the work set before me, and already being perfected by the Lord. For what else could I have to say unto you? Ye have the pledge of our God, ye have the earnest of his goodness, ye have his presence that cannot be shunned. If, then, ye sin no more, he forgiveth you that ye did in ignorance: but if after that ye have known him and he hath had mercy on you, ye walk again in the like deeds, both the former will be laid to your charge, and also ye will not have a part nor mercy before him.

108 And when he had spoken this unto them, he prayed thus: O Jesu who hast woven this crown with thy weaving, who hast joined together these many blossoms into the unfading flower of thy cormtenance, who hast sown in them these words: thou only tender of thy servants, and physician who healest freely: only doer of good and despiser of none, only merciful and lover of men, only saviour and righteous, only seer of all, who art in all and everywhere present and containing all things and filling all things: Christ Jesu, God, Lord, that with thy gifts and thy mercy shelterest them that trust in thee, that knowest clearly the wiles and the assaults of him that is everywhere our adversary, which he deviseth against us: do thou only, O Lord, succour thy servants by thy visitation. Even so, Lord.

109 And he asked for bread, and gave thanks thus: What praise or what offering or what thanksgiving shall we, breaking this bread, name save thee only, O Lord Jesu? We glorify thy name that was said by the Father: we glorify thy name that was said through the Son (or we glorify the name of Father that was said by thee . . . the name of Son that was said by thee): we glorify thine entering of the Door. We glorify the resurrection shown unto us by thee. We glorify thy way, we glorify of thee the seed, the word, the grace, the faith, the salt, the unspeakable (al. chosen) pearl, the treasure, the plough, the net, the greatness, the diadem, him that for us was called Son of man, that gave unto us truth, rest, knowledge, power, the commandment, the confidence, hope, love, liberty, refuge in thee. For thou, Lord, art alone the root of immortality, and the fount of incorruption, and the seat of the ages: called by all these names for us now that calling on thee by them we may make known thy greatness which at the present is invisible unto us, but visible only unto the pure, being portrayed in thy manhood only.

110 And he brake the bread and gave unto all of us, praying over each of the brethren that he might be worthy of the grace of the Lord and of the most holy eucharist. And he partook also himself likewise, and said: Unto me also be there a part with you, and: Peace be with you, my beloved.

111 After that he said unto Verus: Take with thee some two men, with baskets and shovels, and follow me. And Verus without delay did as he was bidden by John the servant of God. The blessed John therefore went out of the house and walked forth of the gates, having told the more part to depart from him. And when he was come to the tomb of a certain brother of ours he said to the young men: Dig, my children. And they dug and he was instant with them yet more, saying: Let the trench be deeper. And as they dug he spoke unto them the word of God and exhorted them that were come with him out of the house, edifying and perfecting them unto the greatness of God, and praying over each one of us. And when the young men had finished the trench as he desired, we knowing nothing of it, he took off his garments wherein he was clad and laid them as it were for a pallet in the bottom of the trench: and standing in his shift only he stretched his hands upward and prayed thus:

112 O thou that didst choose us out for the apostleship of the Gentiles: O God that sentest us into the world: that didst reveal thyself by the law and the prophets: that didst never rest, but alway from the foundation of the world savedst them that were able to be saved: that madest thyself known through all nature: that proclaimedst thyself even among beasts: that didst make the desolate and savage soul tame and quiet: that gavest thyself to it when it was athirst for thy words: that didst appear to it in haste when it was dying: that didst show thyself to it as a law when it was sinking into lawlessness: that didst manifest thyself to it when it had been vanquished by Satan: that didst overcome its adversary when it fled unto thee: that avest it thine hand and didst raise it up from the things of Hades: that didst not leave it to walk after a bodily sort (in the body): that didst show to it its own enemy: that hast made for it a clear knowledge toward thee: O God, Jesu, the Father of them that are above the heavens, the Lord of them that are in the heavens, the law of them that are in the other, the course of them that are in the air, the keeper of them that are on the earth, the fear of them that are under the earth, the grace of them that are thine own: receive also the soul of thy John, which it may be is accounted worthy by thee.

113 O thou who hast kept me until this hour for thyself and untouched by union with a woman: who when in my youth I desired to marry didst appear unto me and say to me: John I have need of thee: who didst prepare for me also a sickness of the body: who when for the third time I would marry didst forthwith prevent me, and then at the third hour of the day saidst unto me on the sea: John, if thou hadst not been mine, I would have suffered thee to marry: who for two years didst blind me (or afflict mine eyes), and grant me to mourn and entreat thee: who in the third year didst open the eyes of my mind and also grant me my visible eyes: who when I saw clearly didst ordain that it should be grievous to me to look upon a woman: who didst save me from the temporal fantasy and lead me unto that which endureth always: who didst rid me of the foul madness that is in the flesh: who didst take me from the bitter death and establish me on thee alone: who didst muzzle the secret disease of my soul and cut off the open deed: who didst afflict and banish him that raised tumult in me: who didst make my love of thee spotless: who didst make my joining unto thee perfect and unbroken: who didst give me undoubting faith in thee, who didst order and make clear my inclination toward thee: thou who givest unto every man the due reward of his works, who didst put into my soul that I should have no possession save thee only: for what is more precious than thee? Now therefore Lord, whereas I have accomplished the dispensation wherewith I was entrusted, account thou me worthy of thy rest, and grant me that end in thee which is salvation unspeakable and unutterable.

114 And as I come unto thee, let the fire go backward, let the darkness be overcome, let the gulf be without strength, let the furnace die out, let Gehenna be quenched. Let angels follow, let devils fear, let rulers be broken, let powers fall; let the places of the right hand stand fast, let them of the left hand not remain. Let the devil be muzzled, let Satan be derided, let his wrath be burned out, let his madness be stilled, let his vengeance be ashamed, let his assault be in pain, let his children be smitten and all his roots plucked up. And grant me to accomplish the journey unto thee without suffering insolence or provocation, and to receive that which thou hast promised unto them that live purely and have loved thee only.

115 And having sealed himself in every part, he stood and said: Thou art with me, O Lord Jesu Christ: and laid himself down in the trench where he had strown his garments: and having said unto us: Peace be with you, brethren, he gave up his spirit rejoicing.

(Some versions of the Greek manuscripts are not content with this simple ending. The Latin says that after the prayer a great light appeared over the apostle for the space of an hour, so bright that no one could look at it. (Then he laid himself down and gave up the ghost.) We who were there rejoiced, some of us, and some mourned. . . . And forthwith manna issuing from the tomb was seen of all, which manna that place produceth even unto this day, &c. But perhaps the best conclusion is that of one Greck manuscript:

We brought a linen cloth and spread it upon him, and went into the city. And on the day following we went forth and found not his body, for it was translated by the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, unto whom be glory, &c.

Another says: On the morrow we dug in the place, and him we found not, but only his sandals, and the earth moving (lit. springing up like a well), and after that we remembered that which was spoken by the Lord unto Peter, &c.

Augustine (on John xxi) reports the belief that in his time the earth over the grave was seen to move as if stirred by John's breathing.)

THE (SYRIAC-ARAMAIC) HISTORY OF JOHN, THE SON OF ZEBEDEE

the Apostle and Evangelist.
From: Syriac Manuscript 386, British Museum
Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles (1871) Volume 2. pp.3-60.
Translation: William Wright, 1871
Estimated Range of Dating: 3rd - 6th centuries A.D.

(The History of John the Son of Zebedee, also known as "Doctrine of John the son of Zebedee", is a piece of Christian literature created in order to depict John the Son of Zebedee [also known as Alphaeus, meaning "the first"] as historical character which he most like was not. The text was composed between the 3rd and the 6th century AD.)

"The history of the holy and beloved Mar John the evangelist, who spoke and taught and baptised in the city of Ephesus."

The history of John, the son of Zebedee, who lay upon the breast of our Lord Jesus at the supper, and said, "Lord, who betrayeth Thee?" This history was composed by Eusebius of Caesarea concerning S. John, who found it in a Greek book, and it was translated into Syriac, when he had learned concerning his way of life and his birth and his dwelling in the city of Ephesus, after the ascension of our Lord to Heaven.

After the ascension of our Lord to Heaven, when the days of Pentecost were fulfilled, and the Paraclete had come to the upper chamber, and all the Apostles were filled with the Spirit of holiness, and were speaking each one of them with a separate tongue — then after (some) days there was the wish to each one of them being full of the Spirit of holiness, that they should go forth to proclaim and preach the truth of the Only-(begotten), the Word God, for the great hearing of the faith, to all nations that are under the heavens. After, then, that Simon Peter had finished his words, they said all of them one to another: " Now that our Lord Jesus has fulfilled all things that are necessary for our feeble race, it is necessary for us too that we should do with diligence all that He commanded us. For He said to us, when He was going up unto Heaven from beside us, as He was blessing us: 'Go forth, teach, and baptize in the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness; every one that believes and is baptized shall live.' For us too, then, my brethren, it is necessary to toil and labour throughout the whole world, and to go about in the countries, and to preach, and to teach all those who, in the worshipping of idols and with libations to devils, have kneeled before images, and fallen down (and) worshipped the accursed demons, the children of the left hand; and let us bestow our labour, and let light shine in the ear which the evil one has blinded, and let the father of lying be crushed beneath the feet of us all."

When these words had been spoken among the blessed assembly of the Apostleship, they parted from one another in the body, each of them being full of the Spirit of holiness, who proceeded from the Father and came unto them, as the beloved Son had promised them.

Each of them then went to such country and region as he was charged by the grace (of God). And it happened that when this holy virgin, namely John, the son of Zebedee, went forth, the grace (of God) accompanied him, through the Spirit of holiness, that it might lead him to the country of the Ephesians, where the head and power of idolatry was dominant. And when he had parted and gone forth from Jerusalem, he set his face to go to Ephesus. And on the third day after he had set out to proceed upon the journey, he took a cross of wood, and put it up towards the east, and kneeled, and was praying and saying: "Lord Jesus, now that Thy promise is fulfilled, and we have all received of Thy fullness, grant to the garland of Thy disciples, that wherever, Lord, they make mention of Thy birth from the Virgin, and Thy abiding among men, and Thy passion on the Cross, and Thy death and Thy entering within the grave, and Thy

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resurrection on the third day, and Thy ascension unto Thy Father to Heaven, the feeble race of mankind may be strengthened, which in its infancy the evil one deceived, and took captive, and led them astray to worship idols, and sacrifice to devils, and bow down to senseless stones. Yea, Lord ! hear and answer me. Let the devils and the legions of Satan wail, wherever one of us proclaims Thy Gospel; and let the whole assembly of the Apostleship be enriched with the sound of Thy praise thundering in every place. Let the demons tremble at the voices that thunder in the midst of Thy Church; and remember Thy Church, which Thou hast bought with Thy precious blood, which Thy Father hath given that through Her all creation might be atoned for. Thou, Lord, art Light of Light; and because it seemed good unto Thee, in the love of Thy Father, Thou didst walk on earth, and didst humble Thy majesty, that Thou mightest raise us up from the degradation into which the slayer of man had cast us down through his envy. And Thou hast said, and we have heard with our ears of flesh, 'I and My Father are one,' and 'he that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father;' and in this confidence, Lord, my youth beseeches Thee to hear my prayer. For I too trust that I have received the Spirit of holiness with my companions, and of it, lo, have obtained and am full. And whatsoever I ask of Thy Father in Thy name, He will give to me; and nothing shall be too difficult for one of those who believe in Thee, but whatsoever they ask, they shall receive. Yea, Lord! grant me that I may abide in Thy Gospel, and may prosper in all the truth; because I speak the truth, that Thou art from the beginning, the Word that proceeded from the Father; and Thou didst appear to the world in the body (derived) from Adam, from the Virgin Mary, who was preserved in her virginity; and there was not (a time) when the, Father was without Thee, or Thou without Him ; and Thou before us hast laid the foundations of the earth; and Thy mercy made Thee bow, and Thou didst enter by the ear of the Virgin, and didst dwell in her nine months, and didst come forth from her, and wast in the world, in contempt and littleness; and Thou didst choose us from the world, that the world might live through our preaching. Now then, Lord, I will go to that place to which Thy heavenly grace hath made me look; and may they be turned, and become (my) disciples, and be baptized in Thy name and in the name of the Father who sent Thee, and receive Thy Spirit of holiness, which has proceeded from Thy Father, and, lo, dwells in us; and may the graven images of error be destroyed ; and do Thou build for Thyself in the city of priests churches for Thy glorification, and, in place of the house of altars for the libations of demons, altars for Thy dwelling-places; and may these, who through our means are to take the road and paths to turn unto Thee, make praise ascend unto Thee at all times. Amen."

And when S. John had finished his prayer, our Lord Jesus spake with him. from heaven, and said unto him: " My peace I have given unto thee and have not left thee bereaved. Lo, I am with you unto the end of the world. Be not afraid, son of Zebedee! Go and preach, and take no heed what thou shalt say or what thou shalt speak. But when thou hast converted this city and this country from error, another band too of the disciples, which is labouring in the Gospel, is destined to come and see all that I shall do by thy hands. Go, and tarry not."

And when He had done speaking with him, John arose, and was going on the way confidently, rejoicing in the joy of the Spirit of holiness. He was clothed then after the fashion of the raiment of Palestine, and was walking barefooted, and was going along and preaching in the cities and in the villages concerning our Lord Jesus the Messiah, forty-eight days. Some were saying, "He is a madman;" and others were saying, " No; let him alone; for this (man) has come from a far country, and knows not our mighty gods. But when he has entered in and learned, then he will love them and sacrifice unto them." But many people of Asia heard him gladly, and believed, and thought his preaching true; and he baptized of them in three days about two hundred souls, and made them lay hold on the path of truth.

Then S. John went forth and journeyed to come to the city of the priesthood. And his sustenance was, from the ninth to the ninth hour once, when he had finished his prayer, bread and herbs with a mess of boiled lentils, which he bought for himself (as he went) from town to town, eating, and drinking water only. And he kept himself aloof, that he might not associate with the heathens.

This great and chosen (man), then—as we have found in the books, which are written on paper, in the archives of Nero, the wicked emperor—S. John, then, came and arrived at the city of Ephesus; and he lifted up his eyes and saw, and, lo, a smoke was going up from the midst of the city of Ephesus, for it was a festival of the heathens, and they were sacrificing to the devils. And he stood still and was astonished, saying: "What is this conflagration, which, lo, veils the sun so that it does not shine upon the buildings of the city?" And with terror taking hold on him, he came and reached the southern gate, and lifted up his eyes and saw; and lo, the image of the idol Artemis was standing over the gate, painted by them with paints, with gold laid upon her lips, and a veil of fine linen hanging over her face, and a lamp burning before her. And when S. John looked and saw her, he contemplated her; and sighed, and wept over the city; and he left (the spot), and departed thence to another gate, and saw there the same thing; and he went round and saw thus at all the gates. And at last he came near to the eastern (gate), and said to an old woman, who was standing and worshipping her — he spoke and said to her in the language of the country: "Woman, I see thee, that thou art a woman advanced in years; what is this image that thou art worshipping?"

She then said to him: "Dost thou not know, my son, what thou seest? This is our lady, and her image descended from heaven, and she nourishes all flesh." He then, a youth in his body, but exalted above the whole garland of his brethren, the holy virgin John, broke out into anger with her and said: "Hold thy peace, old woman! for thy mind has become enfeebled by sacrifices of unclean things. Talk not to me of the daughter of Satan." But she stooped down, and filled her fists with dust and gravel, and scattered it in his eyes; and he left (her) and departed thence. And he went a little (way) off, and knelt down, and was praying and supplicating. And he placed his face between his knees from the sixth hour to the ninth, and was weeping, groaning and saying: "Lord God, strong and mighty, longsuffering and abounding in grace, Thou art He who from the first didst show Thy longsuffering, for a hundred years, on those (who were) called to repentance of the generation of Noah; but they did not repent, until the flood came and swept away that whole generation. And Thou art He who didst send Thy only-(begotten and) dear Son, that the world might have life through Him; and He came and did good deeds like Thee, because He proceeded from Thee. And Thou art He who, when the people of Israel worshipped the calf, didst find out a reason and didst say to Moses, 'Suffer me to destroy this people,' since it did not honour Thee; for Thou didst wish that it should pray to Thee, because Thou takest great pleasure in the life of men. So also Thy dear Son our Lord Jesus the Messiah, when the Jews took Him to slay Him, prayed and said, 'Forgive them, for they know not what they do.' This mercy, then, which is eternally in Thee, is also found in Thy Son, for Ye are one. Turn, Lord! the heart of these erring ones, who, lo, are shouting and crying out before devils. Thou didst come and slay the evil one; let not his head be lifted up in the assembly of this city; let not be heard the sound of the roaring of the falsehood of the devils. Thou didst die once, and didst raise us to life with Thyself. Dash down Satan, for, lo, he has cast down and brought low the image, that was created in Thy likeness, before the legions of his demons. Let the doomed images be brought into contempt, not of this place only, but of every region through which our preaching runs. Yea, Lord! Thou hast taught us that we should walk in the world humbly and lowlily. Hear the prayer of Thy servant John, and let me enter this city, bearing the sign of Thy Cross; and direct my path to the right hand; and where Thou pleasest, there let be found for me a place in which I can earn my living as a hireling, until, Lord, this city follows (Thee) and confesses Thy name."

And when he had entered by the gate of Ephesus, he looked to the right hand, and saw there a bath, which was built for the washing of the body. And he turned aside thither, and lo, (there was) the man who kept the bath, whose name was Secundus. And S. John spake with him, and said to him in the language of the country: "To thee I say, O man! art thou perchance willing that a stranger should work with thee?" And Secundus, the keeper of the bath, said to him: "How much dost thou require of me by the day ?" But S. John said to him : " Whatever thou art willing to give, give." And he fixed for him a hundred shamūnē by the day, and accepted him (as a servant); and he let him come in to work at his trade with him, and he fetched faggots for those who kindled the bath; and he was with him forty days, receiving his wages day by day.

And Secundus the bath-keeper answered and said to the holy man: "I wish to know what thou dost with thy wages; for, lo, all these days thou hast not bought for thyself either shoe or coat. Tell me, if it be enough; and if not, deposit thy wages in my hands, and I will buy for thee whatsoever thou requirest; for thou art a stranger, and hast no kindred here." But S. John said to Secundus the bath-keeper: "I have a Master, and He has ordered me and the disciples my fellows, that none (of us) should possess gold or silver or brass in a purse, or two coats; and I cannot despise his command, otherwise He would be wroth with me." Secundus says to him: " Who is this master of thine? and what is his name? It is fitting that thou shouldst let me know, lest he come and assail me, and, it he be a hard man, give me up (to the magistrates) and put me to great losses; for it is an odious thing, and abominable in the eye of the law, for a man to accept (one as) a servant without his master's consent." And S. John answered and said to Secundus the bath-keeper: "Fear not, Secundus, thou son of free parents! for my Master will not be angry with thee, because He sent me and directed me to thee." Secundus says: "But why didst thou not tell me until to-day that thou wast a slave and hadst a master?" And S. John said to him: "My Master is in Heaven, and all that He wills, He does, on earth and in the seas and in all the deeps; and at His beck everything was made, which is visible and which is invisible; and He established all created things, and made the lights in the firmament of heaven; and then He made man in His image. And when Satan came with his envy, and counselled Eve, and she hearkened to his words and made Adam sin and he transgressed His command, they went forth from Paradise, and became fugitives, and tilled the ground, and multiplied and increased and filled the earth. And Satan went about and plotted, and filled all mankind with the love of idols and (made them) sacrifice to devils, and bow down to the work of their hands, and caused them to forget the Creator, and to reverence those who are not gods. But the good Lord had patience with them until (the time of) his lover Noah; and He made him a preacher for Him for a hundred years, whilst he was making for himself the ark, that they might see and repent and be turned away from the wickedness of their deeds. And when they despised our Creator, His wrath went up, and He sent the waters of the flood and swept them all away. And after the waters of the flood were restrained, the world was established through Noah, and the generations came in succession, and the world was populated at the beck of the Creator; and the minds of men were inclined to do evil and wickedness, and to turn from the living God; but the mercy of the Creator of men was made manifest, and He had compassion upon all the degradation of this feeble race of ours, and He sent the prophets to proclaim His truth, but they did not choose to hear them, and some they beat and some they stoned. But in this time, which is the last, the one beloved Son, His only-(begotten), who was to Him from the time that He was,—Him He sent, and He entered by the ear of the woman, and dwelt in her nine months, without quitting Him who sent Him; and the heights and depths were full of Him, and were ruled by Him by the will of His Father. And when the nine months were fulfilled, He came forth from the woman, the Word that became flesh, and her virginity remained immaculate for ever. And He grew up in the body among men, and walked among men as a man, He the Word God, apart from sin. And He grew up to the full age of thirty years, and chose for Himself disciples, and they clave unto Him whilst he sojourned in the desert. And He made wine out of water at Cana at the feast ; and bread was wanting, and he satisfied four thousand men, besides women and children, with five loaves of barleymeal, and they ate and left (some) over, and carried and conveyed to their homes as much as they were able. And again, another time, He satisfied thousands in the desert, after He had healed their lame and sick, and opened (the eyes of) the blind, and some of them are abiding until now; and He made the deaf hear, and cleansed the lepers, and raised the daughter of Jairus, the chief of the synagogue, after she was dead, and, lo, she abideth, with her father, in Decapolis, and if thou choosest to go, thou mayest learn (it) from her. And (He delivered from death) the son of the widow of Nain, as they were going to bury him, and Lazarus, after they had laid him in the grave four days. Many such things mayest thou hear, if thou wilt give me thine ear, and believe, and become His servant, Secundus. And after thirty-two years, after the thirty-third had commenced, the people of the Jews hated Him and detested His good works, as they had rejected His Father and made for themselves a calf at Horeb. And they delivered Him unto Pilate the hĕgemon, and scourged Him, and stripped Him of His garments, and mocked Him, and spat in His face, and wove a crown of thorns, and placed it on His head, and crucified Him upon the tree, and gave Him vinegar and gall to drink, and smote Him with a spear in His side and He cried out with a loud voice on the Cross, ('My Father, forgive them'). And when the preaching of the prophets was accomplished, the sun was darkened from the sixth to the ninth hour, and there was darkness over the whole earth on the Friday; and the veil of the temple was rent; and the boulders and rocks, which blocked up the entrances of the tombs around Jerusalem, were split, and the dead came forth and entered into the city, crying out aloud; and they came and worshipped Him as He hung on the tree, and many of them are (still) alive. And they took Him down from the tree, and a man full of the truth, Joseph the councillor, wrapped Him in a swathe of linen, and laid Him in the tomb ; and on the third day He rose from the grave, and we saw Him, and He spake with us, and we ate bread with Him and we felt Him, and believed and declared (it) true, that He is the "Word which became flesh and dwelt among us. And He ascended into Heaven, and is seated at the right hand of His Father, and He has given us power to give life and blessings to every one who believes in His name. And He said to us : 'Go forth, and teach, and baptize them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness ; everyone who believes and is baptized, shall live.' And now I beseech thee, Secundus,— for I have proved thee during these days, that thou art not a blasphemer, but art full of good deeds and love of strangers — receive what I have spoken before thee, and count me not a deceiver, but, if thou wilt, come with me to the country of Galilee, and I will show thee (some) of the dead and the blind and the hunch-backed and the palsied and the lepers, whom He cleansed and healed and raised, for they are alive. But if thou dost not choose to come and (yet) believest, thou art

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greater than I, who have seen Him and have been with Him, for thou wilt believe in Him that He is God who did these things, and He will convert thee and make thee white and pure from the stench of unclean sacrifices. Yea, my brother! set my mind at ease, and thy dwelling shall be blessed, and thou shalt be recognised before Him in the new world."

And Secundus the bath-keeper was sitting (still), and astonished and wondering at what he was hearing from John; and he began to say to him: "Wonderful is what thou hast spoken unto me and verging on marvel ; for even though He be not God and did not descend from Heaven, it is fitting that He should be believed in and should be called God, because He came forth from the womb and did not destroy (His mother's) virginity when He came forth; and it is a very deplorable thing, if one does not hold it true that He is God, who raised the dead, and He is the Creator, who made wine out of water; and He has power over our frame, and because of this He opened and healed and cleansed. This one, then, is fitting to be called God, and not yon one, to whom, lo, for sixty years, more or less, I have been paying vows and libations, and she has not opened the eye of my son which was blind. But now, my son John, let this secret be kept which we have spoken, and let it not be revealed until the time that its Lord wishes to reveal it, especially as thou art a stranger, lest it be heard regarding thee that thou dost not worship Artemis, and they burn thee. Now, then, I have assented to, and believed, and hold to be true, all that thou hast said; and do thou be persuaded by me, and take upon thee the management of this bath, and let thine eyes be upon the servants, and do thou have control over the income and over all the outlay." But John said to him: "It becometh me not to eat without working;" and Secundus said to him: "Thy labour is harder than that of him who works." Then the holy (man) yielded to him, and took upon him to receive the incomings of the bath and to give a reckoning from morning to morning.

Secundus, then, was amazed, he and his household, how much the receipts of the bath increased during these days, which were twenty-two days (in number); and he used to get up very early, and go down and speak to the holy (man) and ask him: "How is it possible to make me thy associate?" But John said: "After He has opened thy son's eye, that he may be baptized."

And on the twenty-fifth day, (when) the time of an hour of the day (was past), a procurator's son, whose name was Menelaus, and his father's Tyrannus, came and constrained the holy (man) that the bath should be closed and got ready. But it was not known to the holy (man) that any one was going into the bath with him. And the holy (man) gave orders, and the bath was got ready; and this Menelaus came to bathe, and took with him into the bath a harlot, and was with her in the bath. And when he came out from his bath, John arose and said to him: "Hither come not thou again, because thou hast done a great disgrace to this person of thine, which is created in the image of God, in that thou hast gone in with a harlot, and not been ashamed that thou hast seen her shame and she thine." And Menelaus was enraged with the holy (man) and struck him. And S. John said to him: "If thou comest hither, thou shalt not depart hence."

And after two days, he sent two of his servants to get ready the bath. And when the bath was ready, he came to bathe, and brought the former harlot along with him. But S. John, by the agency of God our Lord, had gone out to look after those who kindled (the bath). And when he came, he asked: "Why is the door of the bath closed?" They say unto him: "Menelaus, the procurator's son, is within." But when the holy (man) heard that he was within, and that the harlot was with him, he was grieved, and sighed, and was troubled. And he waited till both of them came out; and he did not look at them till they had put on their clothes. And when they were dressed after their bath, he turned and looked at them, and said to the youth: "To thee I say, may Jesus rebuke thee, whom the Jews crucified on the tree, and He died, and rose after three days, and He is God, and He ascended to Heaven, and is at the right hand of His Father; but thou shalt drop down and die on the spot." And straightway the Angel of the Lord smote him, and he died on the spot. And he was lying (there), and S. John was sitting beside him; and straightway the harlot went forth with a great outcry, with her hands placed on her head. And when they heard it around the bath, they came and saw with fear that the young man was dead and lying (there), and the holy (man) sitting beside him. And they looked on his face and perceived that it was Menelaus, the procurator's son; and lamentation and wailing ran through that whole street. And it was dinner-time, and his father was seated (at table), and expecting him to come up and dine with him. And they came in and said to him: "Lo, thy only son is dead and lying in the bath."

And Tyrannus arose in haste, and cast ashes on his head, and rent his garments ; and he made great haste coming to the bath to his son, and a great multitude with him. And he came, and went in, and saw his son dead and lying (there), and S. John sitting beside him; and they seized hold on John, and laid fetters on his hands and feet, and thick collars on his neck. But the father of the youth was crying with a great outcry; and he commanded, and they stripped John, that they might see what he had on. And when they had taken off his coat and the worn-out shirt which he had on, they found on him a cross, which was suspended to his neck, and it was of wood. And the procurator, the father of the young man, commanded that they should take it away; and when they stretched out their hands to take it away, it had four tongues of fire, and they burned the hands of those who came near it. And the whole multitude cried out: "This man is a wizard; let this man be kept to-day in custody and be examined, (to see) how many companions he has." And the procurator commanded that S. John should be dragged away till he entered the prison house, whilst the youth his son was being buried. But S. John cried out, "The youth is not dead;" and his father gave orders, and they lifted him up and turned him over, and he placed his mouth against his, and he was like a stone without sensation. But the holy (man) said, "He is not dead," solely that they might see that he was already dead. And the holy (man) said unto them: "If he be dead, I will bring him to life." And whilst they were dragging away S. John that he might go to prison, Secundus the bath-keeper was standing by and weeping passionately with sobs among the crowd. And S. John was begging of Tyrannus that they might call Secundus the bath-keeper ; and the procurator ordered, and they laid hold of Secundus and brought him in to him. And Secundus was weeping for John's sake, for he imagined that John would be put to death; but the father of the youth thought that he was weeping for the youth. And the holy (man), being bound, answered and said to Secundus: "Fear not, Secundus! and be not grieved; to-day it is the will of the Spirit of holiness to make manifest the truth."

And the crowd was great and agitated. And S. John begged the procurator to order the crowd to be silent; and he ordered and the crowd was quiet. And S. John stood up, and cried with a loud voice and said: "To thee I say, (thou) youth Menelaus, in the name of Jesus the Messiah, (who is) God, whom the Jews crucified and killed in Jerusalem, and He died and was buried and rose after three days, and, lo, is above in Heaven at the right hand of His Father,—rise." And straightway he sprang up and arose; and the whole populace of the city marvelled. And the youth fell on his face before S. John, and saw the collars that were laid on his neck and the cord that bound his hands and feet; and the youth loosened them, and kissed S. John's toes. And the youth drew nigh, and stood on a place that was elevated, and beckoned with his hand, and began to tell from the commencement, how he had come to the bath, and all that had happened; and he told with a loud voice before the people, how he had committed fornication with the harlot, and how the holy (man) had bidden him not to come (again). And they began to cry out, "What did he do to thee that thou didst die?" He says to them: "Thus he said to me: 'May the Lord Jesus rebuke thee, whom the Jews crucified in Jerusalem, and He died and was buried, and rose after three days, and ascended to Heaven, and sat down at the right hand of His Father;' and straightway the angel smote me and I fell down. And he took out and carried away my soul, and brought me nigh, and I saw the glory (of God) and a dreadful sight, which one of mankind is not able to narrate, such as I have seen; yet a little out of much, if this (man) who is standing before you bids me, will I tell."

And straightway the father of the youth fell upon his face before John, and said to him : "I beg of thee, sir, permit the youth to speak, and be not angry with him." And the holy (man) made a sign to the youth to speak; and the youth answered and said:

"I saw the chariot of the cherubim, (and) seraphim without number, who had wings, and they were covering their faces that they might not look upon the Creator, and were crying, 'Holy, holy, holy (is) the Lord Almighty, of whose praises Heaven and earth are full.' And I saw twelve men in one band, and in another seventy-two, and I counted them; and they were standing with their heads uplifted to heaven. And a right hand was stretched out from between the cherubim, like fire, and it commanded them in a low and gentle voice: 'Go forth, teach, and baptize in the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness; every one who believes and is baptized, shall live.' And I trembled; and being afraid, I drew near to the great troop of seventy-two, and was also entreating them to tell me, who this is; and they answered and said to me: 'This is the Son of God, whom the Jews crucified in Jerusalem; all this, my son, whatever thou seest, is dependent upon and subsists by His nod, and He upholds all the arrangements of the upper world, and by His power subsist all the creatures of the lower worlds; because He is the Power and the Wisdom of the Father, and He sent Him to deliver all those who cleave unto and take refuge with Him; and He draws and brings unto His Father all who believe in Him; and He it is who acknowledged, whilst walking on the earth, 'I am the living bread, who am come down from Heaven, and every one who eats of my body, shall live.' And when I had observed His true aspect, I looked upon the band of twelve, and saw this man there, who, lo, is standing before you, clad in glorious white robes, and standing at the head of the band of twelve, beside an old man; and the eyes of those eleven were looking upon him lovingly, as if he were offering some petition on their behalf, but his eyes were raised aloft, and he was weeping. And the old man drew nearand asked him, 'My son, why weepest thou and prayest thus?' And I had learned, when I asked the band of seventy, that Simon was the name of the old man. And S. John complied with the wish of Simon and said to him: 'Because of the error of the city of Ephesus I am weeping, for lo, it is bound down, and its children, and worships the devils who dwell in the doomed images.' And I saw a gentle voice, which made a sign to him with the finger, (saying:) 'Go; all that thou hast prayed before me, shall happen.' And whilst trembling, I noticed him, that it was this man against whom I rose up to kill him in the bath, because he hindered me from fornication. And whilst I was marvelling at these many evidences, my soul heard his voice and came and lived; and lo, I stand before you. And now therefore, lo, I beseech him to let me draw nigh to the living sign, and to make me his disciple. And ye who have seen this wonder, do ye turn from error, and despise the images, and let us become disciples of His, and let us save our souls alive, and not destroy them with our own hands; and when He has consecrated us, then let us confess and worship Him, believing in the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness, now, and at all times, and for ever and ever, Amen."

And a great multitude had come and was assembled there; and they went forth unto them outside of the bath, the father of the youth holding (the hand of) the holy (man). And the youth was coming, with his hands lifted up to Heaven. And they came and arrived at the great square in the midst of the city, and the whole city was assembled; and it was the ninth hour. And the whole city was agitated, men and women and children. And the priests, when they saw the sign that had taken place, and the youth standing up and become a preacher of the Gospel, said: "This is one of the race of our lady Artemis." But S. John was crying out: "I am a man subject to passions, and the Lord Jesus hath chosen me, the Son of God, who came down from Heaven, and entered by the ear of the Virgin, and dwelt in her womb nine months, and came forth from her without destroying her virginity, and lived in the world as a man, apart from sin, whilst He was God like His Father; and the Jews took Him, and crucified Him upon the tree in Jerusalem; and He died, and was buried, and rose after three days, and ascended to Heaven, and is seated at the right hand of His Father."

And when the procurator, the father of the youth, heard these things, he fell down on his face before the feet of the holy (man), and all the chief men of the city, from the ninth to the eleventh hour. And they were astonished, men and women, at these things; and the half of the crowd were crying out: "Verily, great is this mystery, and Jesus ought to be worshipped, for He is God." Others were saying, "Artemis ought to be worshipped." These, then, who were held worthy to believe, with their daughters and sons, were about 36,706 souls, on that afternoon, who were numbered in the evening and their number was given to the procurator. And when there was a great crush and tumult, and the day was on the wane, John encouraged the procurator to stand up, saying to him: "Arise, thou pleasant tree, that yields early fruit, whose smell is sweet and its odour diffused by the Gospel. Arise, my brother ! and bid thy nobles arise with thee. Arise, and thy head shall be lifted up, and not sink again. Do not worship me, who am a slave, made and created; but worship and praise Him, who formed us and created us." And all the nobles lifted up their heads, kneeling upon their knees, and looked on the holy (man), and saw his face like light ; and they bowed down their faces to the ground, being afraid, for they thought that at that time their lives would perish from among the sons of men. And being afraid, they lifted up their voices, crying out: "Verily, great is this God, who is newly preached in this our city; and these are (things) made and are not gods; and we are the servants of This (One), and will not again be perverted so as to bow down our head before idols which have not profited us and will not profit us We beg of thee, thou who art His servant, bring us near before Him, and let us know His ways, and make us look on His paths, for the good servant, who loves his master, knows to work his pleasure, and his master too hears him."

And the holy (man), when he heard these things, was rejoicing in the Spirit of holiness. And he stretched out his hands to them, and made them rise, and said to them: "Peace be unto you, little flock, for your Father has willed to give unto you the kingdom which is reserved for His friends. Arise, new congregation, which has assembled to-day to hear the Gospel of Jesus, the Son of God. I beg of you, my brethren, salute one another with a holy kiss, because the time is short, and the sun has finished his course, which he was commanded by This (One), whom I preach unto you, to run; and especially too, because there are here persons, who have not yet tasted bread or water." But they were crying with a loud voice: " Sweeter far are Thy words to the roof of my palate than honey to the mouth; for verily we are hungry and thirsty, and we receive nourishment from thy pleasant word." But S. John besought the procurator that the crowd should be dismissed, praying in his heart with sighs and saying: "Lord Jesus, grant

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concord to our congregation; and let Satan be driven out, that he may not cast discord or sedition into this city, and people die (thereby)."

And the procurator arose and beckoned with his hand that they should be quiet. And when they were still, he began to speak with them, and answered and said: "My brethren and children and friends, if it be pleasing unto you, let us depart at this time from one another; and to-morrow morning I wish that you should assemble at the theatre; and whatever is the will of the Spirit, which we have heard from the mouth of this man, we will do. For this is fitting for us, that all night each man in his house should offer up prayer and entreaty before our Lord, who is in Heaven and brings us nigh unto His Father, on account of our sins, because we have let our feet go astray from His way. If He willeth to mingle us with the bands of those that praise Him, (it is well); and if not, he will (yet) deliver us from the fire that is laid up for the worshippers of idols."

And when the clerk had finished this proclamation, the whole multitude cried out with a loud voice: "Peace be unto thee, thou wise ruler! peace be unto thee, thou wise chief! Peace be unto thee, thou goat, that hast entered (into the fold) and become a lamb! Thou hast shown to-day thy love to us; to-day thou hast become a true chief unto us, and hast given us counsel that we might live and not die."

And when they had finished their outcry, after the nobles had quieted them, the multitude dispersed, and began to go away rejoicing. And the priests of Artemis assembled, and blew horns and lighted lamps; and the gates of the temple were opened; and all the people of Ephesus ran to the temple, as was their custom. And the procurator was enraged, and wished, he and the nobles, to send and massacre the priests, because they had made an assembly without their order. But S. John threw himself upon his face and besought them, (saying): "Whosoever keeps my word and loves our Lord Jesus, let him not go and injure them there, because they too, through your prayers, shall draw nigh unto the mystery of life, and become brethren of ours." And then they obeyed the holy (man).

And some of the nobles, whose names were Antoninus, Marcellus, Epiphanius, and Fortunatus, gave orders, and their slaves ran and brought a hundred and fifty lamps of papyrus to give light, and said by way of petition to the procurator: "It beseems us not to go away this whole night, lest the city be set on fire by the hands of the worshippers of idols, and they be saying, 'Because they forsook the fear of Artemis, fire has fallen in their houses,' and they blame Artemis, whilst she (really) can do nothing; and especially, that there may be no murders."

And when the multitude heard these things, they took S. John upon their shoulders, and ran; and from their joy they did not know what they were crying out. And the foremost ran (and) opened the doors of the theatre; and the procurator and his nobles went in with great pomp. And they ran to spread (carpets) and arrange (a seat) for him, according to custom. And the procurator said: "It is not fitting for me any longer to sit upon the throne; take (it) away from here." And the whole multitude came into the theatre and there was a great tumult. And the sun was set about two hours. And some of the councillors of the procurator besought of him that a thousand men might go out, and perambulate the city, and keep watch till dawn, that no harm might happen, since S. John had begged that no one should be killed; " and if they catch any man, let them say to him: 'There are two watches in the city, one made by Satan in the temple of Artemis, and one made by our Lord Jesus in the theatre; to whichsoever thou choosest to go, go.'" And when the multitude heard these things, they were glad, and stretched out their hands to Heaven, saying: "Glory to Thee, Creator of Heaven and earth, and of night and day." And the procurator commanded, beckoning to them with his hand, that they should be quiet, and said to them: "Let not our assembly become uproarious and tumultuous, but let us be still, and hear the word of life, and see by what we live." And he commanded, and they brought S. John to the highest row (of seats), and the nobles sat beneath his feet. And the procurator was standing, and did not wish to sit down, saying: "I beg of you that I may stand, that, if there be a man who is weak in his body, I may go over and awaken him that he slumber not." And he could hardly be persuaded to sit down. And when he had sat down, there was a great silence.

And when they were quiet, S. John sprang up, and stood, and beckoned to them with his hand to keep silence; and brought out the cross that was on neck, and looked upon it, and laid it on his eyes, and kissed it. And after he had wept, he stretched out hi right hand, and signed with it the whole assembly, and placed it on the highest row (of seats), which was the most eastern of all, and had lamps placed before it And they cried with a loud voice and said: "Thou servant of Jesus, declare unto us, what this is that thou hast done unto us." And the holy (man) beckoned unto them, and they were silent; and he began to speak and; said: "Beloved children, whom the Gospel hath won, this is the Cross of the Son of God, who was eternally with His Father, and He made these heavens and these stars that are arrayed in them, and on Him depend all His creatures. And I have made this Cross a bulwark for you, that Satan may not come, and assemble his demons, and make sleep enter into you or heedlessness of mind." And they cried out: "To us this night is day, for now life is come nigh unto us." And they quieted one another. And when they were quiet, all the people ran; and when they had run, they turned their backs to the west, and fell down on their faces before the cross to the east, and were weeping and saying: " We worship Thee, Son of God, who wast suspended on the tree." And the procurator was lying prostrate before the cross |33 and he went (and) stood in front, and said: "We worship Thee, Father and Son and Spirit of Holiness, for ever, Amen." And they all answered, "Amen."

And they were saying to John : "By our Lord Jesus (we conjure thee), inform us how the Son of God came, and let us know, if we are drawing nigh unto Him, and if He will forgive us all the sacrifices and libations with which we have polluted ourselves." And the holy (man) stood up on the highest row (of seats), and began to speak with them, being full of the Spirit of holiness, and he made known unto them all the ordering of creation, and that the Son of God was with the Father from the beginning, and was not parted nor far away from Him, and that without Him nothing came into being (of) all that is in heaven and in earth, (of) all things visible and invisible. And being full of the Spirit of holiness, he was narrating before them from the Torah and the Prophets, and how God had compassion upon the body of the human race, which was taken in sin, and sent His only Son and He came, and entered by the ear of the Virgin Mary, and dwelt in her womb nine months, and from her was clothed with the body, whilst the height and depth were full of Him, and there was no place in which He was not; and whilst forming children in the wombs (of their mothers), He was with His Father; and when the nine months were fulfilled, He came forth from the womb of the woman, whilst she remained a Virgin, and her virginity was not destroyed but remains for ever; and He grew tip as a man, He the Great One, who became small because He willed (it so); and when thirty years were fulfilled, He came to the Jordan for baptism, and was baptized by John, the son of Zacharias, who was His servant; and when this "Jesus was baptized and multitudes surrounded Him, the Heavens were rent, and His Father cried out over Him, and pointed Him out with the finger, (saying:) ' This is my beloved Son, in whom I take pleasure; hear ye Him.' And straightway He came up out of the water, and multitudes (were) around Him; and He, the Hidden One, who came into the world, began to perform those miracles, which He used to do secretly, so as to do them openly; for He was invited to a wedding-feast, and the wine ran short, and the bridegroom had none; and he commanded the groomsmen and the attendants to draw water and pour it into large jars, which were there. And when the attendants had filled out the water, He made a sign and looked upon the water, and it was blessed and transformed and became pleasant and sweet wine. And they all drank and were pleased; and I drank of it. And when He was teaching in the desert, and the day inclined to its close, after the sick had been healed, and the lepers cleansed, and the lamed walked, and (the eyes of) the blind were opened, those who had been healed were hungry; and the time was short, and there was no bread but three cakes of barleymeal. And He commanded the multitude to sit down; and He gave orders, and they brought to Him these cakes; and He looked up to heaven, and blessed, and brake, and gave to them, and they ate, and left (some) over, and were satisfied. And those who ate and were satisfied, and carried (some) away, and went to their homes, were four thousand (men), besides women and children. And He sent us away, that we might go into a ship and sail on the sea, and He stayed behind on the dry land. And when the sun had set and it was dark, the sea arose against us, and we were tossed about all night. And in the fourth watch of the night, this Jesus, whom I preach unto you, came unto us walking on the sea, and we were afraid; and when one of the disciples, my companions, saw (this), he said to Him: 'Lord, if it be Thou, command me to come unto Thee upon the water.' And Jesus said unto him, 'Come.' And he walked and came unto Him. And our Lord Jesus came and entered into the ship, and there was a great calm. And these multitudes were astonished and said: 'Who is this, pray, that He commands the winds and the sea and they obey Him?' And when Jesus came to the land of the Gadarenes, they brought unto Him all those who were grievously afflicted with various diseases, and madmen, and paralytics, and lunatics, and the lame; and He healed them all. And now, |36 my brethren, there cannot be numbered or counted the cures and the miracles which this Jesus did, who is the Son of God. For just as He was seen bodily in this world He was doing these works also when He was concealed in His Father eternally. He appeared in the flesh from the Virgin, and wrought these signs openly that by them He might convict Satan, the father of falsehood and condemn him, and show the whole race of mankind, that every one who is drawn and comes unto Him He brings him near unto the Father who sent Him, and He does works like these. For He and His Father are one; and because the Father loved the world, He gave Him to the Cross, and He died for us and gave us life, and we live with Him, and every one who believes in Him, abides in Him. And as to what ye have asked of me and said unto me, 'If our iniquity will be forgiven us, and our sacrifices and our libations, and our impurity and our uncleanness, if we draw nigh unto Him,'— lo, I say unto you, if ye believe in Jesus, and resolve in your minds that ye will not again be mixed up with libations and the impurity of idols, and no man of you change (his mind), and ye do not worship the work of men's hands, but believe in the Father and the Son and in the Spirit of holiness, I will do what He said unto us and commanded us, when He was ascending to Heaven to His Father; and I will cry unto Him, He will blot out your sins, and forgive your faults, and make white your stains; and I will anoint and soften with oil your knees, which you have bent, and the evil one, our enemy, has lacerated them, making them bend before his idols, which have been made by him a dwelling place for his devils; and I will sign for you with His Cross, which is the sign of life, the head which He has bowed down to the ground, and (which) is glad that it is bowed down, because it is created in the likeness of Him who created it; and I will place a seal upon your foreheads, that when he sees that ye are the asylum of this Lord, he may flee and say: 'These were my kids, and were joined unto me that they might become big he-goats, and might butt with their horns all armies; but now the Son of the Father, who bowed Himself down and became flesh from the Virgin, has taken them and made white their colour, which was (the colour of) the darkness in which I am shut up; and He has made them new lambs, and lo, they dwell with Him.' And this mouth of yours, which was fed fat at the table of bitter herbs,— and lo, the deceiver is proud, because he thinks that he has made you food for the serpent, I will open it, and place in it the living bread, which is the body of God, and gives life to every one who believes in Him; and I will make you swallow the blood of the Son of God, which was rent on Golgotha with the spear, of this Jesus, whom, lo, I preach unto you, who, even when ye are dead, is buried with you, and His body and His blood remain in your flesh, and He will raise you up and ye shall arise. Through this body ye shall come without corruption, and not to the fire or the torment, and ye shall not see the worm that dies not, because ye have believed in the name of the Only (-begotten), that He is the Son of God, and in truth He is the Life-giver of the world."

And after these things, the whole assembly in the theatre cried out and said: "We beg of Thee, servant of the living God, do what thou pleasest, and let us participate in the living Mystery, that we may live and not die; and this in haste."

And the holy (man) commanded the procurator that he should have a place (made) in one of the corners of the theatre; and the stone-cutters came, and set to work in that very hour, and made (a place) like a cistern, and turned the water-pipe, which went into the theatre, into the cistern, and the water came and the cistern was filled. And it was spacious on every side, twelve cubits in length and twelve cubits in breadth, and it was two and a half cubits deep.

And the holy (man) besought the procurator to command and let fine, scented oil come, seventy pints. And he commanded, and it came, and a vat was filled with it. And the holy (man) drew nigh, and kneeled down, and looked up to heaven, and cried out in the midst of the theatre: " Holy is the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness for ever, Amen." And the whole assembly answered, "Amen." Then John made the sign of the Cross over the oil, and said with a loud voice: "Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Spirit of holiness for ever, Amen." And again the third time he said: " Holy is the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness, Amen." And straightway fire blazed forth over the oil, and the oil did not take fire, for two angels had their wings spread over the oil and were crying, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord Almighty."

And the people, when they saw these things, were afraid with a great fear, and fell on their faces, and were worshipping to the east. And when the oil was consecrated, then the holy (man) drew near to the water, and signed it, and said: "In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Spirit of holiness, for ever, Amen." And the whole people cried, "Amen." And straightway these two angels came and hovered over the water, and were crying, "Holy, holy, holy, Father and Son and Spirit of holiness," after him. And S. John cried after them, "Amen."

And John answered and said to the whole assembly: "Arise in the power of God!" And they all arose with fear, and their hands were stretched out to Heaven, and they were crying out, saying: "Great is this mystery! We believe in the Father and in the Son and in the Spirit of holiness." And it was about the eighth hour of the night. Then the procurator drew near, and fell on his face before John, and said to him: "What is it |40 necessary for us to do?" And S. John said to him: "Strip off thy garments from thee." And when he had stripped, the holy (man) drew nigh, and took oil in his hand, and made him a cross on his forehead, and anointed his whole body, and brought him nigh to the cistern, and said to him: "Descend, my brother! who art become a new firstling, which enters in at the head of the flock into the fold of the owner of the sheep.

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Descend, my brother! for the lambs are looking at thee, and running that they may go down, and become white, and get a new fair fleece, instead of that which is rent by ravening wolves." The procurator says: "What must I say, and then descend?" John says to him: "According as thou hast seen, and found true, and believed." And the crowd was silent, as if there was not a man there, that they might see what the procurator and John would say. And the procurator stretched out his hands to Heaven, and cried out, weeping and saying: "I believe in the Father and in the Son and in the Spirit of holiness;" and he leapt down into the font. Then the holy man drew near, and placed his hand on the head of the procurator, and dipped him once, crying out, "In the name of the Father;" and the second time, "In the name of the Son;" and the third time, "In the name of the Spirit of holiness." And when he had come up out of the water, then he clothed him in white garments, and gave him the (kiss of) peace, and said to him: "Peace be unto thee, thou new bridegroom, who hadst grown old and effete in sin, and, lo, to-day art become a youth, and thy name has been written in Heaven."

Then the whole multitude was agitated, and hastened eagerly (to try) which should run down into the font. And all the chiefs were standing around the font; and they signed to the crowd with their hands to be silent. And the whole crowd were crying out, saying with simplicity: "Brethren and fathers, let us run and anoint ourselves with this holy oil, and bathe in this water, and become white, lest perchance either the water become exhausted, or the oil run short."

Then the holy (man) cried out to them and said: "Be quiet, blessed flock, for your Father, who is in Heaven, has willed to give unto you His kingdom, because ye have believed in His beloved Son." They then straightway were quiet. Then the holy (man) drew near and said to the procurator: "Come, sit down on the fair upper row (of seats); for to-day it is fitting that thou shouldst be honoured, for there is joy in Heaven on thy account." And they spread cushions for him and he sat down.

Then he made a sign unto them with his hand to be silent. And when they were silent, then he began to speak with them, saying: "Verily today life has come nigh unto us. Now then, if this holy (man) gives me leave, I will speak." Then the whole crowd cried out to John and said: "In the name of Jesus, bid him speak." And John said to him: "Speak, my lord, whatever thou pleasest."

Then the procurator said: "Hearken, my brethren! When I was (first) dipped, I opened my eyes and saw, not that I was going down, but that I was going up to Heaven. And the second time, I looked and opened my eyes, and saw a right hand holding a reed and writing. And the third time, I heard a voice saying: 'The sinner, the sheep which was lost, is found; let him come in.' "

And S. John straightway clasped his hands tightly behind him, and threw himself on his face before the cross, and cried out: "Glory be unto Thee, Maker of all creatures, who hast sent Thy beloved Son, and He walked upon earth, and gave us power to go forth (and) preach His gospel in the world, and turn the erring to repentance." Then he spoke to the nobles, and they took off their garments, and he drew nigh (and) anointed them, and baptized them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Spirit of holiness. And when they were baptized, then he baptized the whole crowd, from the eighth hour (of the night) until the sun rose. And a great multitude assembled and came; and when it was morning, they ran and brought their children, and the holy (man) was giving them baptism till the fifth hour. And those who received baptism were , souls. Then the whole multitude departed for that day.

And the procurator took the holy (man) to his house, and they were rejoicing and glad; and he was in his house three days. But on the third day the holy (man) begged that they would let him go (and) dwell in one of the mountains. And he sent and assembled all his free men, and they were beseeching John to remain in the palace; but he was unwilling to be persuaded, for he said: "I must wander about through all Asia, and also in the country of Phrygia." And when he saw that they were distressed and were weeping, he said to them: "If it were the will of the Spirit of holiness that I should go, ye should not be distressed; but now I will remain and abide with you. Let us go out then, and go about through the whole city, and I will look where it is fitting for me to dwell, for the Apostles my fellows are coming unto me." And these words seemed good unto them; and the procurator took his seat with pomp, and all his nobles were going before him. And whilst they were going round, the holy (man) said: "I beseech you, my brethren, to show me the temple of these erring ones." And the procurator came with his retinue to the temple of Artemis, and they were wishing to slay the priests and to burn her temple with fire. But John was beseeching (them) that no man should be slain, saying: "These will come and turn to the knowledge of the truth; let us not destroy them with the sword." And when the holy (man) came and saw them and the temple of folly, there was there a place which was elevated; and he saw that place, and said: "I wish to dwell here." And the procurator and the nobles commanded (them) to |44 make a palace for him there. But he said: "No, by the Lord Jesus; if ye build anything, I will not dwell in it and I wish for nothing but a hut alone." And, straightway they brought (materials) and made for him a hut, which was above the temple, and he was sitting under it. And when he had sat there a long, time, there were assembling unto him all those who believed in Jesus the Messiah our Lord, and were being baptised; and he was communicating unto them the body and blood of Jesus. And there was a hut above, the temple of Artemis; and the holy (man) was sitting, and beholding the uncleanness which took place there.

And after three months and ten days, the priests were assembled, and went round (and) informed the congregation of the heathens, (saying): "We must celebrate a festival to our goddess; but let every man prepare whatever he can, both oxen and sheep, and let us sacrifice (them), and see why our goddess is angry with us." Then the heathens were assembled, and prepared and made a feast, and sacrificed unclean sacrifices. And when they were assembled, John was standing above in the hut and looking at everything that took place. And kneeling before her, they said to the priests: "Ask her for what reason, and learn of her why she has neglected and is angry with us men." And there was dissension in the city. Then came Legion,— the sister of her who fell into the sea, she and the swine,— and spoke in the |45 doomed image; and the priests listened and were hearing from the mouth of the image the sound of a humming like that of bees; and they made the heathens keep silence, and drew near, and laid their ear on the mouth of the image, and the devils gave forth a voice and said: "That hut will destroy this temple; fight not with him. For as said that master of ours, he fought with the Master of this (man), and the Master of this (man) overcame him. See then and be ye also afraid of him. And we are afraid lest his Master come to the help of this (man), and be enraged, and cast us into the deep, and our master be deprived of two Legions. We then, lo, are fighting that we may not be conquered; and if he conquers us, we shall be reckoned as if his Master had conquered our master." And the priests were trembling (with fear), and answered and said: "We ask of you, my lords, who is this man's Master?" The devils say: "He is the Son of God, who came down from Heaven; and our master did not perceive when He came down. And He became man, and died on the Cross; and our master imagined that he was a mere (man). And He rose on the third day from the grave and, lo, He is in Heaven, and is assailing us." And the priests when they heard these things, were amazed and astonished. And the multitudes say unto them: "Why are ye amazed?" And the priests answered and say: "Artemis has said that this hut will destroy this temple, and all who are initiated into her mysteries are afraid |46 of this; and accordingly they are beseeching us to be afraid of this man, who dwells in this hut, who, if he will and command, will destroy us in the abyss."

And the multitudes were straightway crying out: "We renounce this Artemis, in whom there is no use; for if of this (man), who is a slave or a disciple, the strength is so great, (that of) his teacher or his master (must be) as much again." And they were beating their faces and saying: "Alas, what has befallen us? for our possessions have been consumed in libations, and we have gained loss for our souls." And the priests said: "Ye are men of sense; whatever is good in your eyes, do; but we will worship and honour Him who is able to make alive and to destroy." And they ran down from the altar, and with speed went up to the holy (man), and cast themselves upon their faces before the holy (man). And the whole crowd cast cords about the image of Artemis, and pulled it down, and dragged it along, whilst bands were crying out before it and behind it: "Thou destroyer of our lives, arise, deliver thyself! Not from heaven didst thou descend; artisans made thee in a furnace."

And S. John saw that the priests were lying on their faces, but he spoke not with them, nor they with him; and he kneeled down among them, and made them look to the east, and was praying and entreating. And whilst the crowd were crying out and dragging along the image of Artemis, the multitude, who had before received baptism within the theatre, were applauding them in stoles and robes, and were saying: "Come in peace, our brethren and children; let us all have one spirit. Come in peace, O congregation that was estranged from its Master, and lo, to-day has repented and been united with the number (of the chosen). Come in peace, O flock, that was led captive by Satan, and which its Master has brought back that the ravening wolves might not rend it."

And when the procurator heard the tumult and great outcry of the whole city, he was afraid, and arose (and) came from his palace, and went up to S. John, and found him kneeling. And the procurator made a sign with his hand that they should desist from (their) outcry. And he commanded and strong men arose to restrain the crowd from going up to John. Then the procurator said to S. John: "Arise, my lord, and sign this new congregation; for if not, their lives will perish for crying out. For lo, I see aged men whose garments are wet with tears and sweat." Then the holy (man) lifted up his head from prayer, and said to the procurator: "I was interceding for them before our Lord Jesus the Messiah, that He would bring them in and bring them nigh before His Father, and pray on their behalf; for He is the door, and through Him a man goes in, and finds pasturage; and without Him, a man is not able to draw nigh unto the Father; and He gave the law from mount Sinai."

Then the holy (man) arose and looked on them from above, and signed them with the sign of the Cross; and |48 they all fell upon their faces before him, crying out with grief and sobbing: "We have sinned and done wrong and committed evil, and we knew it not until today. Have mercy on us, Lord! Lord of Heaven and earth! for henceforth we abjure all idols."

Then the holy (man) cried unto them from above: "Arise in the might of our God! Arise in the name of our Lord Jesus the Messiah, His beloved Son!" And straightway they arose, and were lifting up their hands to Heaven and crying out: "Glory unto Thee, God, the Maker of Heaven and of earth! Our Lord hath appeared unto us; and we know that Thou art the true God, and that by Thee this youth was sent to the city of Ephesus." And a cloud was overshadowing the city; and straightway there was a low thundering. And the whole crowd fell upon their faces for fear and say: "We praise Thee, Thou hidden God, who art invisible, and lo, hast been revealed unto us because we sought Thee. We confess Thee, and there is no other God but Thee."

Then S. John spake with them, and was expounding unto them from the Law and from the prophets, and was teaching them concerning our Lord Jesus, proving and showing unto them concerning our Lord Jesus, that He is the Son of God. And they, after they had received the faith, were beseeching that they might receive the sign of baptism, crying out and glorifying God. And the procurator besought the holy (man), saying: "If thou pleasest, my lord, let criers go forth in the city and proclaim, 'Whosoever believes in the Son of God, let him come (and) bathe, and be cleansed of pollution;' and as for us, let us go to the place where the font is, and every one who comes, give him the sign, and let him live and not perish." S. John said to the procurator: "Well hast thou spoken, my lord; thus will we do, according to thy command." And straightway both of them arose, and the procurator made a sign with his hand that they should be quiet. And when they were quiet, he said to them: "To you we speak, ye new children, whom the Gospel of God hath won. Today, we being all assembled without tumult, go to the theatre, and there ye shall receive the sign of life." They then, being assembled, drew up bands in order, whilst they were crying out and saying to the procurator: "How must we chant and sing?" The procurator says unto them: "Thus say and sing, until ye enter in, 'Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Spirit of holiness! Lord have mercy upon us.'" And the sound of their outcry was going outside of the city more than five miles.

And they came and entered into the theatre. Then came the procurator and John, and entered into the theatre. Then the holy (man) answered and made a sign with his hand that the crowd should be quiet. And when they were quiet, the holy (man) stood up on the steps and |50 said: "Arise in prayer." And they looked to the east, and fell on their faces, and were saying: "Lord, have pity upon us." Then the priests, when the whole people were lying on their faces, came (and) entered last of all, and were walking barefooted and girded with sackcloth, with dust cast on their heads and their faces covered with soot, and were lamenting and crying out: "Thou God, who dwellest in Heaven, have pity upon us; we have sinned before Thee, and have caused many souls without number to sin; it is not hard for Thee to forgive us, if Thou wilt."

And when they had said these things, John arose from his prayer and said: "Arise in the might of God." And when they had arisen, he concluded the prayer, and they all answered "Amen." And he turned, and looked upon the seven priests, who were standing in vile attire, with their heads inclined to the east and their hands raised to Heaven, and tears without end were running from their eyes and dripping down upon their blackened cheeks. And when the holy (man) saw (them), he was grieved and wept, and the procurator with him; and the whole crowd was weeping. And the holy (man) kneeled down, and prayed, and said: "Merciful God, the Father and Sender of our Lord Jesus the Messiah, Thou, Lord, hast said, 'If the dinner turns from his sin and does righteousness before me, through that righteousness, which he hath done, he shall live.' I ask of thee, Lord, have pity upon the work of thy hands, and be not disgusted with it. Let these be received, who were perishing like sheep which have no shepherd, and let them praise Thy great and terrible name and Thy dear Son our Lord Jesus the Messiah, for to Thee and to Him and to Thy holy Spirit is glory and honour for ever, Amen." And the whole congregation answered "Amen."

Then he arose and called them, but they were not able to speak for weeping and sobbing. And he drew near unto them, holding the procurator by his hand, and spake with them, and they did not speak. And the holy (man) made the sign of the cross upon the forehead of each one of them. Then there was an outcry from the whole crowd, and the tears of S. John were running over. And he said unto them: "Take courage; there is no cutting off of hope. Hope was given to men by the birth of

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the Son of God from the Virgin. Open your mouths and speak with us. We are your members, and are formed of the same material of which ye are formed. We are created by one God, and are one soul. Fear not; He will not cast you off; He will not reject you; He will not be disgusted with you. I have learned of Him, that if ye believe in Him, ye shall rejoice at the table of His kingdom." Then those priests answered and said before the crowd: "How can our deceitful mouth speak? What can we say? for the face of our heart is blackened more than our external face. We cannot open our mouth to speak. But this we know, and believe, and declare true, that there is one God, who created the world by His grace, and His only (and) beloved Son, our Lord Jesus the Messiah, who put on the body from the holy Virgin; and whether we die, or whether we live, we know no other man. Woe to us then, if He has not mercy upon us and does not forgive us; because we have much property and gold that passeth away, and with these souls we have acquired it."

And the procurator had a wish that they should draw near to him, because they were far from the crowd and were standing alone. And when they went to bring them near and make them stand in the midst, the priests say: "We beg of you, do not defile your hands with our stench. "We will not draw nearer than here, until He wills it in whose name we have believed." And it was about the third hour of that day.

And the holy (man) answered and said to the procurator: "Command, sir, that water come into the font. We must baptize this assemblage, and speak to them the word of life. And command that tables be (laid out) through the whole city, and whosoever wants food, our Lord Jesus, who satisfied thousands in the desert, will prepare (a feast) before him." Then the procurator called Menelaus his son, who became alive, and said to him: "Take unto thee ten men, and let each of them go and provide for thee a hundred men of those who have received the sign of baptism, and let them lay the tables, and make ready a great banquet." And they went and did according to the command of the procurator.

And S. John arose from the bench on which he was sitting, and came to the priests, and took hold of the hand of their chief, whose name was Apollo, and of the hand of another, whose name was Dionysius, and drew them near to him, and was speaking to them the word of God, and was interpreting (it), and exhorting them. And Apollo and Dionysius the priests were saying aloud: "Have pity upon us, Son of God, and bring us nigh unto Thy Father, we beg of Thee. If we are to be punished for our wickedness, let not these be punished, for we have led them astray from Thy path. We beg of Thee, merciful Lord, have mercy, Lord, upon our wickedness. If Thy righteousness judge us, let not these be judged, for ours, Lord, is their corruption." And the whole people was weeping.

And when the font was prepared, the procurator commanded, and oil was brought. Then S. John arose, and prayed, and said: "Glory to Thee, Father and Son and Spirit of holiness, for ever, Amen." And they answered after him, "Amen" And he said: "Lord God Almighty, let Thy Spirit of holiness come, and rest and dwell upon the oil and upon the water; and let them be bathed and purified from uncleanness; and let them receive the Spirit of holiness through baptism; and henceforth let them call Thee 'Our Father who art in Heaven.' Yea, Lord, sanctify this water with Thy voice, which resounded over the Jordan and pointed out our Lord Jesus (as) with the finger, (saying,) 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye Him.' Thou art here who wast on the Jordan. Yea, I beseech Thee, Lord, manifest Thyself here before this assemblage who have believed on Thee with simplicity, and let the nations of the earth hear that the city of Ephesus was the first to receive Thy Gospel before all cities, and became a second sister to Urhāi (Edessa) of the Parthians." And in that hour fire blazed forth over the oil, and the wings of the angels were spread over the oil; and the whole assemblage was crying out, men and women and children, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord Almighty, of whose praises Heaven and earth are full." And straightway the vision was taken away.

And the priests fell down on their faces and wept. And S. John drew nigh and raised them up, and they said: "We believe in the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness, and we will never know aught else." And John drew near, and washed them (clean) of the soot, and anointed them with oil, and baptized them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness, for the forgiveness of debts and the pardon of sins. And S. John said to the procurator: " Command that they go and fetch fine white bread and wine, whilst the whole multitude is being baptized."

And they went, (and) prepared, and made ready every thing. And when the whole multitude was baptized, the priests say: "Brothers and fathers and sons, today we bear the Cross of our Lord Jesus the Messiah. Why stand over the gates of our city the images of the daughter of Satan? Let us go (and) pull them down and burn them, and place over all the gates the Cross of our Lord Jesus the Messiah." And the whole multitude were crying out, "Where ought we to make a church?" And S. John was glad and rejoicing; and he said to the procurator: "Look, sir, where it pleaseth thee." And they chose a place which was fitting, and bore the cross and came thither, and set up there the cross, and over the gates of the whole city crosses. And the holy (man) prayed, and offered the (eucharistic) sacrifice, and let them partake of the body and blood of the Messiah; and thither they were assembling every Sunday, and were breaking (bread) together, and were partaking of the body and blood of our Lifegiver.

After these things, when the Gospel was increasing by the hands of the Apostles, Nero, the unclean and impure and wicked king, heard all that had happened at Ephesus. And he sent (and) took all that the procurator had, and imprisoned him; and laid hold of S. John and drove him into exile; and passed sentence on the city that it should be laid waste.

And after three days, believing men of the city assembled, and counselled one another and said: "Let us assemble at the church, and see what each man is willing to give, and take a bribe, and offer it to this wicked ruler, and he will give up to us this (man), who turned us away from error unto our Lord." And when they had taken counsel thus, they collected three hundred pounds of gold, and took ten men, and they went on board a ship to go to Nero, the wicked king, and give the bribe, and bring back the holy (man).

And when they had gone and entered into Rome, at midnight, when the impure Nero was asleep, the Lord sent to him an angel; and he appeared to him in a flame and bearing a sword, and awakened him. And when he had opened his eyes and looked upon him, he cried out and said: "I pray thee, what I have to do with thee?" The angel says to him: "Send back the man whom thou hast taken from Ephesus and cast into exile; and if not, this sword shall enter into thy unclean heart before the sun rises." And the angel smote him and took away his speech, and he was howling like a dog. And his slaves came in when they heard his lamentation, and said to him: "What is the matter with thee, my lord the king?" And he made a sign, and they brought him ink and a sheet of paper, and he wrote: "Straightway, — if it be possible, today,— let John, the son of Zebedee, the Galilean, whom I took away from Ephesus, pass the night in it." And he wrote also, and sent (word) to Ephesus quickly, that every one who was in prison, should come out and do as he pleased.

And there came sailors and men clad in arms, and took the letters written by the king's hand, and went on board ship, and went (and) found John at midday kneeling and praying. They say to him: "The king has commanded that we should convey thee to the place where thou wast." And they took him, and went on board ship, and sailed on the sea in peace, and brought him to the gate of Ephesus, and returned to Rome.

And those men who had brought the bribe, when they heard that the holy (man) had returned to Ephesus, said: "We worship Thee, Father and Son and Spirit of holiness, who hast done what Thy fearers wished." And they went on board ship, and brought those three hundred pounds (of gold with them), and came. And when they had entered Ephesus, they showed the gold and narrated all that had happened, and there was joy through the whole city; and they took counsel one with another, and deposited the gold in a house, and hired artificers, and built with it two churches for the worship of our Lord Jesus the Messiah.

And S. John went up (and) sat in the hut; and all the free men of the province of Asia gathered together unto him, and he was teaching and preaching concerning our Lord Jesus; and the word of Nero was established over his own place, but he did not dare again to give orders regarding the province of Asia. It was this wicked man, who slew Paul and Peter.

And after a long interval, when the Apostles heard all that had happened in the whole country of the Ephesians, they were amazed, and said: "This thing is not great for our Lord Jesus, hut to us it is wondrous." And Paul was asking and inquiring of the Apostles, that he might hear the history of S. John; and every day and every hour he was supplicating before God, that he might be deemed worthy to see him.

And when the Gospel rose upon the world, the Spirit of holiness willed, and Matthew was moved and composed the Evangel; and after him, Mark; and after him, Luke. And they wrote, and sent (word) to the holy John that he too should write, and informed him concerning Paul, who had entered into the number of the Apostles. But the holy (man) did not wish to write (a Gospel), saying that they should not say "He is a youth," if Satan cast dissension into the world.

And when the Apostles had travelled about in the countries, and had planted the Cross, and it had spread abroad over the four quarters of the world, then Simon Cephas (Peter) arose, and took Paul with him, and they came to Ephesus unto John. And they rejoiced with a great joy, and were preaching concerning our Lord Jesus without hindrance. And they went up to the holy (man), and found him praying. And they saluted one another, and rejoiced with a great joy, and narrated to one another all that our Lord Jesus had done, and appointed (as) priests believing men.

Peter and Paul entered Ephesus on a Monday, and for five days they were persuading him, whilst rejoicing, to compose an Evangel, but he was not willing, saying to them, "When the Spirit of holiness wills it, I will write." And on the Sunday, at night, at the time when our Lord arose from the grave, the Apostles slumbered and slept. And at that glorious time of the Resurrection, the Spirit of holiness descended, and the whole place, in which they were dwelling, was in a flame; and those men who were awake, awakened their fellows, and they were amazed. And John took paper, and wrote his Evangel in one hour, and gave it to Paul and to Peter. And when the sun rose, they went down to the house of prayer, and read it before the whole city, and prayed, and partook of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus. And they came to the holy (man), and remained with him thirty days; and then they came to Jerusalem, to Jacob (James), the brother of our Lord, and thence they came to Antioch.

And the holy (man) sat in the hut summer and winter, until he was a hundred and twenty years of age, and there his Master buried him in that place, as Moses was buried on Mount Nebo.

Every one who believes, and gives credence to the signs, which our Lord did by the hands of the Apostles, shall find mercy at the day of judgement. And to the Spirit of holiness, who is in the Father and the Son, everything is easy. And let the children of the Church, without division, offer up praise, without investigation, to the Father and to the Son and to the Spirit of holiness, for ever, Amen.

Here ends the Doctrine of John the son of Zebedee, who leaned on the breast of our Lord Jesus at the supper, and instructed and taught and baptized in the city of Ephesus.

AN (SYRIAC-ARAMAIC) ACCOUNT
OF THE DECEASE OF SAINT JOHN
THE APOSTLE AND EVANGELIST.

Manuscript, British Museum, Add. 12,174
Wright Catalogue, Part 3, p. 1123, No. 960
Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles (1871) Volume 2.
Translation: William Wright, 1871
Estimated Range of Dating: 3rd - 6th centuries A.D.

And S. John was with the blessed brethren, rejoicing and being glad in the Lord.

And on the next day, which was Sunday, when the brethren were assembled, he began to say: "My brethren and fellows, and heirs and sharers of the kingdom of the Messiah, ye know how much God hath given to you through me,—how many signs, how many wonders, how many gifts, rests, services, teachings, rulings, graces, honours,—how many things ye see before your eyes, which are given to you, which are not seen by these eyes and are not heard by these ears. Be strong in Him, therefore, remembering Him in your every deed, and knowing well the mystery of the dispensation that is (come) unto men, why it was wrought. The Lord beseeches you—the Lord through me beseeches, my brethren, and implores—who beseeches us that we should remain not insulting, not injured, not defiled. For He knows insult which (comes) from you, He knows contempt, He knows degradation, He knows torture, when ye do not obey His holy commandments. Let not, therefore, your good God be grieved, the gracious, the merciful, the holy, the undefiled, the only one, the immutable, the true, the guileless, the slow to anger, who is exalted above every appellation that is spoken or thought by you — the God Jesus. Let Him be glad, therefore, whilst ye conduct yourselves well and live purely; let Him glory, whilst ye conduct yourselves chastely; let Him not be anxious, whilst ye live continently in the world; let it be pleasant to Him that ye are in fellowship; let Him glory in your chastity; let Him rejoice, whilst ye love Him. These things I speak unto you, my brethren, whilst I hasten to the work which is appointed, which is already perfected in the Lord. For what is there to say to you? Ye have the surety of God; ye have the pledge of His grace; ye have His coming, which cannot be deprecated. If, therefore, ye sin not again, those things which ye have done without knowledge He will forgive you; but if, when ye have known Him, and have obtained mercy from Him, ye walk in courses which (are) like (unto those), both those former (sins) will be imputed unto you, and ye shall not have part in Him or mercy."

And when he had said these things unto them, he prayed thus : " Jesus, who didst twine this garland with Thy twining; who hast attached these many flowers to Thy flower which falleth not; who hast sown these words of Thine; (who) alone hast compassion on Thy servants; physician that healest for nought; (who) alone art a minister and not haughty; Jesus, who alone art gracious and merciful; do Thou with Thy grace cover all those who hope in Thee, Thou who knowest well the artifices and the plundering of the adversary."

And when he had asked for bread, he prayed thus: "What praise, or what offering, or what thanksgiving, when we break the bread, shall we render unto Thee? But Thyself alone, Thee Jesus the Messiah, we praise, the Name of the Father which was spoken. We glorify Thy entrance by the door; we glorify the resurrection, which through Thee has been announced unto us; we glorify Thy word, Thy glory, Thy ineffable pearl, Thy treasury, Thy net, Thy greatness, Him who for our sake was called the Son of Man, the truth, the

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knowledge, the rest, the strength, the command, the freedom of speech,|64 the liberty which (is) in Thee as in the truth. For Thou art the Lord, who wast called the root of immortality, and the fountain of incorruption, and the foundation of the universe. Because of this we acknowledge Thy majesty, which is now invisible."

And when he had broken the bread, and stretched out his hand to them, and prayed for every man, that he might be worthy of the grace which (is) in the Lord and of the holy Eucharist, he too did eat, and said: "And to me in the same manner (let there be) a portion with you, and peace, and love."

Then he said to Birrus (Byrrhus): "Take with thee two brethren, who have with them baskets and spades,and come after me." And Birrus, without neglect, did what was ordered him by John, the servant of God.

The blessed John, therefore, went forth from the house, and was walking before the gate, and said to many that they should depart from him. And when he came to the grave of a brother of ours, he said to the youths, "Dig, my sons." And they were digging; but he was urging them exceedingly, and saying: "Let the trench be deep." And whilst they were digging, he was conversing with them, and was exhorting them, with himself and with those who had come forth from the house, edifying (them) and speaking to them of the majesty of the Messiah, and praying over each of them.

And when these young men had finished the trench, as he wished, without our knowing any thing, he stripped off the garments which he wore, and cast them like bedding into the bottom of the trench. And standing in his mantle only, he lifted up his hands, and prayed thus: "God, who hast chosen us for the apostleship of the nations; who hast sent us to the world; who hast shown Thyself through Thy Apostles; who hast never been at rest from the foundations of the world, but who constantly hast saved those who were able (to be saved); who hast made Thyself known through all nature, and hast proclaimed Thyself even among the beasts; who hast made the desolate soul, that had become savage, be peaceable and quiet; who, when it was thirsting for Thy word, hast given Thyself to it; who, when it was dead, hast quickly appeared unto it; who, when it was plunged in sin, hast alone shown Thyself unto it; who, when it was overcome by Satan, hast already manifested Thyself unto it; who hast not left it to be agitated like the body; who hast shown it its enemy; who hast made a clean union; God Jesus, Father of those that are above the heavens, and Lord of the celestials, and God of the celestials, and law of those that are in |66 the ether; course of the aerials, and guardian of those that are on the earth; fear of the terrestrials, and peace of Thine own; receive the soul of Thy John, which perhaps may be worthy before Thee, Jesus, who hast thus preserved me to Thyself pure until this hour, and free from intercourse with woman; who didst appear to me in my youth, when I wished to take to myself a wife, and didst say to me, 'Thou art needful to me, John;' who didst choose for me infertility of body, when three times, being disobedient, I wished to marry; who didst say to me on the sea, 'Thou art needful to me, John, and if not, I would let thee take a wife, to mourn and weep;' who in the third year didst open for me the eyes of my understanding, and didst present me with my visible eyes; who didst make it hard for me to see and gaze upon a woman; who didst deliver me from temporal show (or fancy), and preserve me for that which produceth fruit always; who didst deliver me from the madness of uncleanness that is in the flesh; who didst separate me from bitter death, and didst raise me up who had need of Thee; who didst restrain the hidden disease of the soul, and didst cut off its evil action; who didst afflict and expel from the boundary him who caused disturbance in me; who didst preserve my affection to Thee without spot; who hast established my course towards Thee without slipping; who hast given my faith in Thee (to be) without doubting; who hast traced out for me the pure knowledge which is in Thee; who givest to every work the due reward; who hast placed it in my soul that I should not have any possession save |67 purity; for what can I find that is better than Thou? Now, Lord, I have accomplished the stewardship with which I was entrusted; make me worthy of Thy rest, presenting me with the perfection that is in Thee, which is salvation unutterable and ineffable. And when I am going to Thee, let the fire depart, let the darkness be overcome, let the pit be enfeebled; let the furnace be slackened, let Gehenna be extinguished; let the angels accompany, let the demons be afraid; let the princes be cast down, let the powers of darkness fall; let the places on the right stand, but those on the left not stand; let the Slanderer be muzzled, let Satan be laughed to scorn; let his work be undone, let his glory be put to shame, let his anger be rendered vain; let his children be beaten, let his whole root be crushed. But my path unto Thee do Thou render for me free from insult and from spoliation, and (grant) that I may receive the things which Thou hast promised to those who have lived purely and have loved Thee alone."

And he turned to the east and glorified (God), standing full in the light, and said: "Be Thou with me, Jesus the Messiah our Lord." Then he went down into the trench, where he had spread his clothes, and saying to |68 us "Concord and peace be with you, my brethren," he rendered up his spirit, rejoicing. May his prayer be with us. Amen.

Here ends the account of John the Evangelist. May his prayer be with us. Amen.

THE ACTS OF PETER

From: New Testament Apocrypha
Translation: Montague Rhodes James,1924
Estimated Range of Dating: 150-200 A.D.

(The Acts of Peter is one of the earliest texts of literature which the Church calls "Acts of the Apocrypha", meaning "hidden biographies". The Acts of Peter was originally composed in Greek during the second half of the 2nd century, probably in Asia Minor. Consensus among academics points to its being based on the Acts of John, and traditionally both works were said to be written by Leucius Charinus, whom Epiphanius identifies as a companion of John. The majority of the text has survived only in the Latin translation of the Vercelli manuscript, under the title Actus Petri cum Simone. It is mainly notable for a description of a miracle contest between Saint Peter and Simon Magus, and as the first record of the legend that St. Peter was crucified head-down.

In the text Peter performs miracles such as resurrecting smoked fish, and making dogs talk. Some versions give accounts of stories on the theme of a woman or women who prefer paralysis to sex; sometimes, for instance in a version from the Berlin Codex, the woman is the daughter of Peter. The text condemns Simon Magus, a figure associated with gnosticism, who appears to have concerned the writer of the text greatly. Peter preaches that Simon is performing magic in order to convert followers through deception. In Peter's outrage, he challenges Simon to a contest in order to prove whose works are from a divine source and whose are merely trickery. It is said that Simon Magus takes flight and Peter strikes him down with the power of God and prays that Simon be not killed but that he be badly injured. When the Magus falls from the sky, he suffers a broken leg in three places, and the converted believers of Peter stone him from the city. The Acts then continue to say that he was taken to Terracina to one Castor "And there he was sorely cut (Lat. by two physicians), and so Simon the angel of Satan came to his end.".

Following this incident, Peter is going to flee the city; however, he sees an apparition of Jesus and takes it as a message that he must stay and be crucified to see Jesus again in Heaven. Peter requests to be crucified upside-down because he does not believe that a man is worthy to be killed in the same manner as Jesus Christ. These concluding chapters describing Peter's crucifixion are preserved separately as the "Martyrdom of Peter" in three Greek manuscripts and in Coptic (fragmentary), Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic, Armenian, and Slavonic versions. Because of this, it is sometimes proposed that the martyrdom account was an earlier, separate text to which the preceding chapters were attached.

The following document is reconstructed of different parts. We have here:

1. A short episode in Coptic.

2. A large portion in Latin preserved in a single manuscript of the seventh century at Vercelli: often called the Vercelli Acts. It includes the martyrdom.

3. The martyrdom, preserved separately, in two good Greek copies, in Latin, and in many versions-Coptic, Slavonic, Syriac, Armenian, Arabic, Ethiopic.

4. One or two important quotations from lost portions; a small fragment of the original in a papyrus; certain passages-speeches of Peter- transferred by an unscrupulous writer to the Life of St. Abercius of Hierapolis.

5. A Latin paraphrase of the martyrdom, attributed to Linus, Peter's successor in the bishopric of Rome, was made from the Greek, and is occasionally useful.)

PART 1; THE COPTIC FRAGMENT

1 This is preserved separately in an early papyrus manuscript (fourth-fifth century) now in Berlin; the other contents of it are Gnostic writings which have not yet been published. I follow C. Schmidt's rendering of it. It has a title at the end: The Act of Peter On the first day of the week, that is, on the Lord's day, a multitude gathered together, and they brought unto Peter many sick that he might heal them. And one of the multitude adventured to say unto Peter: Lo, Peter, in our presence thou hast made many blind to see and the deaf to hear and the lame to walk, and hast succoured the weak and given them strength: but wherefore hast thou not succoured thy daughter, the virgin, which grew up beautiful and hath believed in the name of God? For behold, her one side is wholly palsied, and she lieth there stretched out in the corner helpless. We see them that have been healed by thee: thine own daughter thou hast neglected.

2 But Peter smiled and said unto him: My son, it is manifest unto God alone wherefore her body is not whole. Know then that God is not weak nor powerless to grant his gift unto my daughter: but that thy soul may be convinced, and they that are here present may the more believe -then he looked unto his daughter and said to her: Raise thyself up from thy place, without any helping thee save Jesus only, and walk whole before all these, and come unto me. And she arose and came to him; and the multitude rejoiced at that which was come to pass. Then said Peter unto them: Behold, your heart is convinced that God is not without strength concerning all things that we ask of him. Then they rejoiced yet more and praised God. And Peter said to his daughter: Go unto thy place, and lay thee down and be again in thine infirmity, for this is expedient for me and for thee. And the maiden went back and lay down in her place and was as beforetime: and the whole multitude wept, and entreated Peter to make her whole.

3 But Peter said unto them: As the Lord liveth, this is expedient for her and for me. For on the day when she was born unto me I saw a vision, and the Lord said unto me: Peter, this day is a great temptation born unto thee, for this daughter will bring hurt unto many souls if her body continue whole. But I thought that the vision did mock me.

4 Now when the maiden was ten years old, a stumbling-block was prepared for many by reason of her. And an exceeding rich man, by name Ptolemaeus, when he had seen the maiden with her mother bathing, sent unto her to take her to wife; but her mother consented not. And he sent oft-times to her, and could not wait.

5 [Here a leaf is lost: the sense, however, is not hard to supply. Augustine speaks (quoting Apocryphal Acts) of a daughter of Peter struck with palsy at the prayer of her father.

6 Ptolemaeus, unable to win the maiden by fair means, comes and carries her off. Peter hears of it and prays God to protect her. His prayer is heard. She is struck with palsy on one side of her body. Then the text resumes.]

7 The servants of Ptolemaeus brought the maiden and laid her down before the door of the house and departed.

8 But when I perceived it, I and her mother, we went down and found the maiden, that one whole side of her body from her toes even to her head was palsied and withered: and we bore her away, praising the Lord which had preserved his handmaid from defilement and shame and (corruption?). This is the cause of the matter, why the maiden continueth so unto this day.

9 Now, then, it is fitting for you to know the end of Ptolemaeus. He went home and sorrowed night and day over that which had befallen him, and by reason of the many tears which he shed, he became blind. And when he had resolved to rise up and hang himself, lo, about the ninth hour of the day, he saw a great light which enlightened the whole house, and heard a voice saying unto him: Ptolemaeus, God hath not given thee the vessels for corruption and shame, and yet more doth it not become thee which hast believed in me to defile my virgin, whom thou shalt know as thy sister, even as if I were unto you both one spirit (sic). But rise up and go quickly unto the house of the apostle Peter, and thou shalt see my glory; he shall make known unto thee what thou must do.

10 But Ptolemaeus was not negligent, and bade his servants show him the way and bring him unto me. And when they were come to me, he told me all that had befallen him by the power of our Lord Jesus Christ. Then did he see with the eyes of his flesh, and with the eyes of his soul, and much people believed (hoped) in Christ: and he did them good and gave them the gift of God.

11 Thereafter Ptolemaeus died, departing out of this life, and went unto his Lord: and when he made his will he bequeathed a piece of land in the name of my daughter, because through her he had believed in God and was made whole. But I unto whom the disposition thereof fell, exercised it with great carefulness: I sold the land, and God alone knoweth neither I nor my daughter (received the price). I sold the land and kept nought back of the price, but gave all the money unto the poor.

12 Know therefore, thou servant of Jesus Christ, that God directeth (?) them that are his, and prepareth good for every one of them, although we think that God hath forgotten us. Therefore now, brethren, let us be sorrowful and watch and pray, and so shall the goodness of God look upon us, whereon we wait.

13 And yet further discourse did Peter hold before them all, and glorified the name of Christ the Lord and gave them all of the bread: and when he had distributed it, he rose up and went unto his house.

14 The scene of this episode is probably Jerusalem. The subject of it was often used by later writers, most notably, perhaps, by the author of the late Acts of SS. Nereus and Achilleus (fifth or sixth century), who gives the daughter a name, Petronilla, which has passed into Kalendars, and as Perronelle, Pernel, or Parnell has become familiar.

15 A few critics have questioned whether this piece really belongs to the Acts of Peter: but the weight of probability and of opinion is against them. Nothing can be plainer than that it is an extract from a larger book, and that it is ancient (the manuscript may be of the fourth century). Moreover, Augustine, in dealing with apocryphal Acts, alludes to the

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story contained in it. What other large book of ancient date dealing with Peter's doings can we imagine save the Acts?

PART 2; THE GARDENER'S DAUGHTER

1 Augustine (Against Adimantus, xvii. 5), says to his Manichaean opponent: the story of Peter killing Ananias and Sapphira by a word is very stupidly blamed by those who in the apocryphal Acts read and admire both the incident I mentioned about the apostle Thomas (the death of the cup-bearer at the feast in his Acts) 'and that the daughter of Peter himself was stricken with palsy at the prayer of her father, and that the daughter of a gardener died at the prayer of Peter. Their answer is that it was expedient for them, that the one should be disabled by palsy and the other should die: but they do not deny that it happened at the prayer of the apostle'.

2 This allusion to the gardener's daughter remained a puzzle until lately. But a passage in the Epistle of Titus (already quoted) tells us the substance of the story.

3 A certain gardener had a daughter, a virgin, her father's only child: he begged Peter to pray for her. Upon his request, the apostle answered him that the Lord would give her that which was useful for her soul. Immediately the girl fell dead.

4 O worthy gain and suitable to God, to escape the insolence of the flesh and mortify the boastfulness of the blood! But that old man, faithless, and not knowing the greatness of the heavenly favour, ignorant of the divine benefit, entreated Peter that his only daughter might be raised again. And when she was raised, not many days after, as it might be to-day, the slave of a believer who lodged in the house ran upon her and ruined the girl, and both of them disappeared.

5 This was evidently a contrast to the story of Peter's daughter, and probably followed immediately upon it in the Acts. There is another sentence appropriate to the situation, which Dom de Bruyne found in a Cambrai MS. of the thirteenth century -a collection of apophthegms- and printed with the extracts from the Epistle of Titus.

6 That the dead are not to be mourned overmuch, Peter, speaking to one who lamented without patience the loss of his daughter, said: So many assaults of the devil, so many warrings of the body, so many disasters of the world hath she escaped, and thou sheddest tears as if thou knewest not what thou sufferest in thyself (what good hath befallen thee).

7 This might very well be part of Peter's address to the bereaved gardener.

PART 3; THE VERCELLI ACTS

1 At the time when Paul was sojourning in Rome and confirming many in the faith, it came also to pass that one by name Candida, the wife of Quartus that was over the prisons, heard Paul and paid heed to his words and believed. And when she had instructed her husband also and he believed, Quartus suffered Paul to go whither he would away from the city: to whom Paul said: If it be the will of God, he will reveal it unto me. And after Paul had fasted three days and asked of the Lord that which should be profitable for him, he saw a vision, even the Lord saying unto him: Arise, Paul, and become a physician in thy body (i.e. by going thither in person) to them that are in Spain.

He therefore, having related to the brethren what God had commanded, nothing doubting, prepared himself to set forth from the city. But when Paul was about to depart, there was great weeping throughout all the brotherhood, because they thought that they should see Paul no more, so that they even rent their clothes. For they had in mind also how that Paul had oftentimes contended with the doctors of the Jews and confuted them, saying: Christ, upon whom your fathers laid hands, abolished their sabbaths and fasts and holy-days and circumcision, and the doctrines of men and the rest of the traditions he did abolish. But the brethren lamented (and adjured) Paul by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he should not be absent above a year, saying: We know thy love for thy brethren; forget not us when thou art come thither, neither begin to forsake us, as little children without a mother. And when they besought him long with tears, there came a sound from heaven, and a great voice saying: Paul the servant of God is chosen to minister all the days of his life: by the hands of Nero the ungodly and wicked man shall he be perfected before your eyes. And a very great fear fell upon the brethren because of the voice which came from heaven: and they were confirmed yet more in the faith.

2 Now they brought unto Paul bread and water for the sacrifice, that he might make prayer and distribute it to every one. Among whom it befell that a woman named Rufina desired, she also, to receive the Eucharist at the hands of Paul: to whom Paul, filled with the spirit of God, said as she drew near: Rufina, thou comest not worthily unto the altar of God, arising from beside one that is not thine husband but an adulterer, and assayest to receive the Eucharist of God. For behold Satan shall trouble thine heart and cast thee down in the sight of all them that believe in the Lord, that they which see and believe may know that they have believed in the living God, the searcher of hearts. But if thou repent of thine act, he is faithful that is able to blot out thy sin and set thee free from this sin: but if thou repent not, while thou art yet in the body, devouring fire and outer darkness shall receive thee for ever. And immediately Rufina fell down, being stricken with palsy (?) from her head unto the nails of her feet, and she had no power to speak (given her) for her tongue was bound. And when both they that believed (in the faith) and the neophytes saw it, they beat their breasts, remembering their old sins, and mourned and said: We know not if God will forgive the former sins which we have committed. Then Paul called for silence and said: Men and brethren which now have begun to believe on Christ, if ye continue not in your former works of the tradition of your fathers, and keep yourselves from all guile and wrath and fierceness and adultery and defilement, and from pride and envy and contempt and enmity, Jesus the living God will forgive you that ye did in ignorance. Wherefore, ye servants of God, arm yourselves every one in your inner man with peace, patience, gentleness, faith, charity, knowledge, wisdom, love of the brethren, hospitality, mercy, abstinence, chastity, kindness, justice: then shall ye have for your guide everlastingly the first-begotten of all creation, and shall have strength in peace with our Lord. And when they had heard these things of Paul, they besought him to pray for them. And Paul lifted up his voice and said: O eternal God, God of the heavens, God of unspeakable majesty (divinity), who hast stablished all things by thy word, who hast bound upon all the world the chain of thy grace, Father of thine holy Son Jesus Christ, we together pray thee through thy Son Jesus Christ, strengthen the souls which were before unbelieving but now are faithful. Once I was a blasphemer, now I am blasphemed; once I was a persecutor, now do I suffer persecution of others; once I was the enemy of Christ, now I pray that I may be his friend: for I trust in his promise and in his mercy; I account myself faithful and that I have received forgiveness of my former sins. Wherefore I exhort you also, brethren, to believe in the Lord the Father Almighty, and to put all your trust in our Lord Jesus Christ his Son, believing in him, and no man shall be able to uproot you from his promise. Bow your knees therefore together and commend me unto the Lord, who am about to set forth unto another nation, that his grace may go before me and dispose my journey aright, that he may receive his vessels holy and believing, that they, giving thanks for my preaching of the word of the Lord, may be well grounded in the faith. But the brethren wept long and prayed unto the Lord with Paul, saying: Be thou, Lord Jesus Christ, with Paul and restore him unto us whole: for we know our weakness which is in us even to this day.

3 And a great multitude of women were kneeling and praying and beseeching Paul; and they kissed his feet and accompanied him unto the harbour. But Dionysius and Balbus, of Asia, knights of Rome, and illustrious men, and a senator by name Demetrius abode by Paul on his right hand and said: Paul, I would desire to leave the city if I were not a magistrate, that I might not depart from thee. Also from Caesar's house Cleobius and Iphitus and Lysimachus and Aristaeus and two matrons Berenice and Philostrate, with Narcissus the presbyter [after they had] accompanied him to the harbour: but whereas a storm of the sea came on, he (Narcissus?) sent the brethren back to Rome, that if any would, he might come down and hear Paul until he set sail: and hearing that, the brethren went up unto the city. And when they told the brethren that had remained in the city, and the report was spread abroad, some on beasts, and some on foot, and others by way of the Tiber came down to the harbour, and were confirmed in the faith for three days, and on the fourth day until the fifth hour, praying together with Paul, and making the offering: and they put all that was needful on the ship and delivered him two young men, believers, to sail with him, and bade him farewell in the Lord and returned to Rome.

There has been great dispute about these three chapters, whether they are not an excerpt from the Acts of Paul, or whether they are an addition made by the writer of the Greek original of the Vercelli Acts.

If they are from the Acts of Paul, it means that in those Acts Paul was represented as visiting Rome twice, and going to Spain between the visits. Evidently, if this was so, he did not return straight from Spain to Rome: at least the Coptic gives no indication that the prophecies of Cleobius and Myrte were uttered in Spain.

The question is a difficult one. All allow that the writer of the Acts of Peter knew and used the Acts of Paul: but there is strong opposition to the idea that Paul related two visits to Rome.

The writer of Paul obviously knew the canonical Acts very well and obviously took great liberties with them. Did he go so far, one wonders, as to suppress and ignore the whole story of the trial before Felix and the shipwreck? If he told of but one visit to Rome -the final one- it appears that he did: for the conditions described in the Martyrdom -Paul quite free and martyred very shortly after his arrival- are totally irreconcilable with Luke (Paul arriving in custody and living two years at least in the city).

4 Now after a few days there was a great commotion in the midst of the church, for some said that they had seen wonderful works done by a certain man whose name was Simon, and that he was at Aricia, and they added further that he said he was a great power of God and without God he did nothing. Is not this the Christ? but we believe in him whom Paul preached unto us; for by him have we seen the dead raised, and men Delivered from divers infirmities: but this man seeketh contention, we know it (or, but what this contention is, we know not) for there is no small stir made among us. Perchance also he will now enter into Rome; for yesterday they besought him with great acclamations, saying unto him: Thou art God in Italy, thou art the saviour of the Romans: haste quickly unto Rome. But he spake to the people with a shrill voice, saying: Tomorrow about the seventh hour ye shall see me fly over the gate of the city in the form (habit) wherein ye now see me speaking unto you. Therefore, brethren, if it seem good unto you, let us go and await carefully the issue of the matter. They all therefore ran together and came unto the gate. And when it was the seventh hour, behold suddenly a dust was seen in the sky afar off, like a smoke shining with rays stretching far from it. And when he drew near to the gate, suddenly he was not seen: and thereafter he appeared, standing in the midst of the people; whom they all worshipped, and took knowledge that he was the same that was seen of them the day before.

And the brethren were not a little offended among themselves, seeing, moreover, that Paul was not at Rome, neither Timotheus nor Barnabas, for they had been sent into Macedonia by Paul, and that there was no man to comfort us, to speak nothing of them that had but just become catechumens. And as Simon exalted himself yet more by the works which he did, and many of them daily called Paul a sorcerer, and others a deceiver, of so great a multitude that had been stablished in the faith all fell away save Narcissus the presbyter and two women in the lodging of the Bithynians, and four that could no longer go out of their house, but were shut up (day and night): these gave themselves unto prayer (by day and night), beseeching the Lord that Paul might return quickly, or some other that should visit his servants, because the devil had made them fall by his wickedness.

5 And as they prayed and fasted, God was already teaching Peter at Jerusalem of that which should come to pass. For whereas the twelve years which the Lord Christ had enjoined upon him were fulfilled, he showed him a vision after this manner, saying unto him: Peter, that Simon the sorcerer whom thou didst cast out of Judaea, convicting him, hath again come before thee (prevented thee) at Rome. And that shalt thou know shortly (or, and that thou mayest know in few words): for all that did believe in me hath Satan made to fall by his craft and working: whose Power Simon approveth himself to be. But delay thee not: set forth on the morrow, and there shalt thou find a ship ready, setting sail for Italy, and within few days I will show thee my grace which hath in it no grudging. Peter then, admonished by the vision, related it unto the brethren without delay, saying: It is necessary for me to go up unto Rome to fight with the enemy and adversary of the Lord and of our brethren.

And he went down to Caesarea and embarked quickly in the ship, whereof the ladder was already drawn up, not taking any provision with him. But the governor of the ship whose name was Theon looked on Peter and said: Whatsoever we have, all is thine. For what thank have we, if we take in a man like unto ourselves who is in uncertain case (difficulty) and share not all that we have with thee? but only let us have a prosperous voyage. But Peter, giving him thanks for that which he offered, himself fasted while he was in the ship, sorrowful in mind and again consoling himself because God accounted him worthy to be a minister in his service.

And after a few days the governor of the ship rose up at the hour of his dinner and asked Peter to eat with him, and said to him: O thou, whoever thou art, I know thee not, but as I reckon, I take thee for a servant of God. For as I was steering my ship at midnight I perceived the voice of a man from heaven saying to me: Theon, Theon! And twice it called me by my name and said to me: Among them that sail with thee let Peter be greatly honoured by thee, for by him shalt thou and the rest be preserved safe without any hurt after such a course as thou hopest not for. And Peter believed that God would vouchsafe to show his providence upon the sea unto them that were in the ship, and thenceforth began Peter to declare unto Theon the mighty works of God, and how the Lord had chosen him from among the apostles, and for what business he sailed unto Italy: and daily he communicated unto him the word of God. And considering him he perceived by his walk that he was of one mind in the faith and a worthy minister (deacon).

Now when there was a calm upon the ship in Hadria (the Adriatic), Theon showed it to Peter, saying unto him: If thou wilt account me worthy, whom thou mayest baptise with the seal of the Lord thou hast an opportunity. For all that were in the ship had fallen asleep, being drunken. And Peter went down by a rope and baptised Theon in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost: and he came up out of the water rejoicing with great joy, and Peter also was glad because God had accounted Theon worthy of his name. Arid it came to pass when Theon was baptised, there appeared in

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the same place a youth shining and beautiful, saying unto them: Peace be unto you. And immediately Peter and Theon went up and entered into the cabin; and Peter took bread and gave thanks unto the Lord which had accounted him worthy of his holy ministry, and for that the youth had appeared unto them, saying: Peace be unto you. And he said: Thou best and alone holy one, it is thou that hast appeared unto us, O God Jesu Christ, and in thy name hath this man now been washed and sealed with thy holy seal. Therefore in thy name do I impart unto him thine eucharist, that he may be thy perfect servant without blame for ever.

And as they feasted and rejoiced in the Lord, suddenly there came a wind, not vehement but moderate, at the ship's prow, and ceased not for six days and as many nights, until they came unto Puteoli.

6 And when they had touched at Puteoli, Theon leapt out of the ship and went unto the inn where he was wont to lodge, to prepare to receive Peter. Now he with whom he lodged was one by name Ariston, which alway feared the Lord, and because of the Name Theon entrusted himself with him (had dealings with him). And when he was come to the inn and saw Ariston, Theon said unto him: God who hath accounted thee worthy to serve him hath communicated his grace unto me also by his holy servant Peter, who hath now sailed with me from Judaea, being commanded by our Lord to come unto Italy. And when he heard that, Ariston fell upon Theon's neck and embraced him and besought him to bring him to the ship and show him Peter. For Ariston said that since Paul set forth unto Spain there was no man of the brethren with whom he could refresh himself, and, moreover, a certain Jew had broken into the city, named Simon, and with his charms of sorcery and his wickedness hath he made all the brotherhood fall away this way and that, so that I also fled from Rome, expecting the coming of Peter: for Paul had told us of him, and I also have seen many things in a vision. Now, therefore, I believe in my Lord that he will build up again his ministry, for all this deceit shall be rooted out from among his servants. For our Lord Jesus Christ is faithful, who is able to restore our minds. And when Theon heard these things from Ariston, who wept, his spirit was raised (increased) yet more and he was the more strengthened, because he perceived that he had believed on the living God.

But when they came together unto the ship, Peter looked upon them and smiled, being filled with the Spirit; so that Ariston falling on his face at Peter's feet, said thus: Brother and lord, that hast part in the holy mysteries and showest the right way which is in the Lord Jesus Christ our God, who by thee hath shown unto us his coming: we have lost all them whom Paul had delivered unto us, by the working of Satan; but now I trust in the Lord who hath commanded thee to come unto us, sending thee as his messenger, that he hath accounted us worthy to see his great and wonderful works by thy means. I pray thee therefore, make haste unto the city: for I left the brethren which have stumbled, whom I saw fall into the temptation of the devil, and fled hither, saying unto them: Brethren, stand fast in the faith, for it is of necessity that within these two months the mercy of our Lord bring his servant unto you. For I had seen a vision, even Paul, saying unto me: Ariston, flee thou out of the city. And when I heard it, I believed without delay and went forth in the Lord, although I had an infirmity in my flesh, and came hither; and day by day I stood upon the sea-shore asking the sailors: Hath Peter sailed with you? But now through the abundance of the grace of God I entreat thee, let us go up unto Rome without delay, lest the teaching of this wicked man prevail yet further. And as Ariston said this with tears, Peter gave him his hand and raised him up from the earth, and Peter also groaning, said with tears: He hath prevented us which tempteth all the world by his angels; but he that hath power to save his servants from all temptations shall quench his deceits and put him beneath the feet of them that have believed in Christ whom we preach.

And, as they entered in at the gate, Theon entreated Peter, saying: Thou didst not refresh thyself on any day in so great a voyage (sea): and now after (before) so hard a journey wilt thou set out forthwith from the ship? tarry and refresh thyself, and so shalt thou set forth: for from hence to Rome upon a pavement of flint I fear lest thou be hurt by the shaking. But Peter answered and said to them: What if it come to pass that a millstone were hung upon me, and likewise upon the enemy of our Lord, even as my Lord said unto us of any that offended one of the brethren, and I were drowned in the sea? but it might be not only a millstone, but that which is far worse, even that I which am the enemy of this persecutor of his servants should die afar off from them that have believed on the Lord Jesus Christ (so Ficker: the sentence is corrupt; the sense is that Peter must at all costs be with his fellow-Christians, or he will incur even worse punishment than that threatened by our Lord's words). And by no exhortation could Theon prevail to persuade him to tarry there even one day.

But Theon himself delivered all that was in the ship to be sold for the price which he thought good, and followed Peter unto Rome; whom Ariston brought unto the abode of Narcissus the presbyter.

7 Now the report was noised through the city unto the brethren that were dispersed, because of Simon, that he might show him to be a deceiver and a persecutor of good men. All the multitude therefore ran together to see the apostle of the Lord stay (himself, or the brethren) on Christ. And on the first day of the week when the multitude was assembled to see Peter, Peter began to say with a loud voice: Ye men here present that trust in Christ, ye that for a little space have suffered temptation, learn for what cause God sent his Son into the world, and wherefore he made him to be born of the Virgin Mary; for would he so have done if not to procure us some grace or dispensation? even because he would take away all offence and all ignorance and all the contrivance of the devil, his attempts (beginnings) and his strength wherewith he prevailed aforetime, before our God shined forth in the world. And whereas men through ignorance fell into death by many and divers infirmities, Almighty God, moved with compassion, sent his Son into the world. With whom I was; and he (or I) walked upon the water, whereof I myself remain awitness, and do testify that he then worked in the world by signs and wonders, all of which he did.

I do confess, dearly-beloved brethren, that I was with him: yet I denied him, even our Lord Jesus Christ, and that not once only, but thrice; for there were evil dogs that were come about me as they did unto the Lord's prophets. And the Lord imputed it not unto me, but turned unto me and had compassion on the infirmity of my flesh, when (or so that) afterward I bitterly bewailed myself, and lamented the weakness of my faith, because I was befooled by the devil and kept not in mind the word of my Lord. And now I say unto you, O men and brethren, which are gathered together in the name of Jesus Christ: against you also hath the deceiver Satan aimed his arrows, that ye might depart out of the way. But faint not, brethren, neither let your spirit fall, but be strong and persevere and doubt not: for if Satan caused me to stumble, whom the Lord had in great honour, so that I denied the light of mine hope, and if he overthrew me and persuaded me to flee as if I had put my trust in a man, what think ye will he do unto you which are but young in the faith? Did ye suppose that he would not turn you away to make you enemies of the kingdom of God, and cast you down into perdition by a new (or the last) deceit? For whomsoever he casteth out from the hope of our Lord Jesus Christ, he is a son of perdition for ever. Turn yourselves, therefore, brethren, chosen of the Lord, and be strong in God Almighty, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom no man hath seen at any time, neither can see, save he who hath believed in him. And be ye aware whence this temptation hath come upon you. For it is not only by words that I would convince you that this is Christ whom I preach, but also by deeds and exceeding great works of power do I exhort you by the faith that is in Christ Jesus, that none of you look for any other save him that was despised and mocked of the Jews, even this Nazarene which was crucified and died and the third day rose again.

8 And the brethren repented and entreated Peter to fight against Simon: (who said that he was the power of God, and lodged in the house of Marcellus a senator, whom he had convinced by his charms) saying: Believe us, brother Peter: there was no man among men so wise as this Marcellus. All the widows that trusted in Christ had recourse unto him; all the fatherless were fed by him; and what more, brother? all the poor called Marcellus their patron, and his house was called the house of the strangers and of the poor, and the emperor said unto him: I will keep thee out of every office, lest thou despoil the provinces to give gifts unto the Christians. And Marcellus answered: All my goods are also thine. And Caesar said to him: Mine they would be if thou keptest them for me; but now they are not mine, for thou givest them to whom thou wilt, and I know not to what vile persons. Having this, then, before our eyes, brother Peter, we report it to thee, how the great mercy of this man is turned unto blasphemy; for if he had not turned, neither should we have departed from the holy faith of God our Lord. And now doth this Marcellus in anger repent him of his good deeds, saying: All this substance have I spent in all this time, vainly believing that I gave it for the knowledge of God! So that if any stranger cometh to the door of his house, he smiteth him with a staff and biddeth him be beaten, saying: Would God I had not spent so much money upon these impostors: and yet more doth he say, blaspheming. But if there abide in thee any mercy of our Lord and aught of the goodness of his commandments, do thou succour the error of this man who hath done so many alms-deeds unto the servants of God.

And Peter, when he perceived this, was smitten with sharp affliction and said: O the divers arts and temptations of the devil! O the contrivances and devices of the wicked! he that nourisheth up for himself a mighty fire in the day of wrath, the destruction of simple men, the ravening wolf, the devourer and scatterer of eternal life! Thou didst enmesh the first man in concupiscence and bind him with thine old iniquity and with the chain of the flesh: thou art wholly the exceeding bitter fruit of the tree of bitterness, who sendest divers lusts upon men. Thou didst compel Judas my fellow-disciple and fellow-apostle to do wickedly and deliver up our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall punish thee therefor. Thou didst harden the heart of Herod and didst inflame Pharaoh and compel him to fight against Moses the holy servant of God; thou didst give boldness unto Caiaphas, that he should deliver our Lord Jesus Christ unto the unrighteous multitude; and even until now thou shootest at innocent souls with thy poisonous arrows. Thou wicked one, enemy of all men, be thou accursed from the Church of him the Son of the holy God ommpotent and as a brand cast out of the fire shalt thou be quenched by the servants of our Lord Jesus Christ. Upon thee let thy blackness be turned and upon thy children, an evil seed; upon thee be turned thy wickedness and thy threatenings; upon thee and thine angels be thy temptations, thou beginning of malice and bottomless pit of darkness! Let thy darkness that thou hast be with thee and with thy vessels which thou ownest! Depart from them that shall believe in God, depart from the servants of Christ and from them that desire to be his soldiers. Keep thou to thyself thy garments of darkness! Without cause knockest thou at other men's doors, which are not thine but of Christ Jesus that keepeth them. For thou, ravening wolf, wouldest carry off the sheep that are not thine but of Christ Jesus, who keepeth them with all care and diligence.

9 As Peter spake thus with great sorrow of mind, many were added unto them that believed on the Lord. But the brethren besought Peter to join battle with Simon and not suffer him any longer to vex the people. And without delay Peter went quickly out of the synagogue (assembly) and went unto the house of Marcellus, where Simon lodged: and much people followed him. And when he came to the door, he called the porter and said to him: Go, say unto Simon: Peter because of whom thou fleddest out of Judaea waiteth for thee at the door. The porter answered and said to Peter: Sir, whether thou be Peter, I know not: but I have a command; for he had knowledge that yesterday thou didst enter into the city, and said unto me: Whether it be by day or by night, at whatsoever hour he cometh, say that I am not within. And Peter said to the young man: Thou hast well said in reporting that which he compelled thee to say. And Peter turned unto the people that followed him and said: Ye shall now see a great and marvellous wonder. And Peter seeing a great dog bound with a strong chain, went to him and loosed him, and when he was loosed the dog received a man's voice and said unto Peter: What dost thou bid me to do, thou servant of the unspeakable and living God? Peter said unto him: Go in and say unto Simon in the midst of his company: Peter saith unto thee, Come forth abroad, for thy sake am I come to Rome, thou wicked one and deceiver of simple souls. And immediately the dog ran and entered in, and rushed into the midst of them that were with Simon, and lifted up his forefeet and in a loud voice said: Thou Simon, Peter the servant of Christ who standeth at the door saith unto thee: Come forth abroad, for thy sake am I come to Rome, thou most wicked one and deceiver of simple souls. And when Simon heard it, and beheld the incredible sight, he lost the words wherewith he was deceiving them that stood by, and all of them were amazed.

10 But when Marcellus saw it he went out to the door and east himself at Peter's feet and said: Peter, I embrace thy feet, thou holy servant of the holy God; I have sinned greatly: but exact thou not my sins, if there be in thee the true faith of Christ, whom thou preachest, if thou remember his commandments, to hate no man, to be unkind to no man, as I learned from thy fellow apostle Paul; keep not in mind my faults, but pray for me unto the Lord, the holy Son of God whom I have provoked to wrath -for I have persecuted his servants- that I be not delivered with the sins of Simon unto eternal fire; who so persuaded me, that I set up a statue to him with this inscription: 'To Simon the new (young) God.' If I knew, O Peter, that thou couldest be won with money, I would give thee all my substance, yea I would give it and despise it, that I might gain my soul. If I had sons, I would account them as nothing, if only I might believe in the living God. But I confess that he would not have deceived me save that he said that he was the power of God; yet will I tell thee, O most gentle (sweet) Peter: I was not worthy to hear thee, thou servant of God, neither was I stablished in the faith of God which is in Christ; therefore was I made to stumble. I beseech thee, therefore, take not ill that which I am about to say, that Christ our Lord whom thou preachest in truth said unto thy fellow-apostles in thy presence: If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain: Remove thyself: and straightway it shall remove itself. But this Simon said that thou, Peter, wast without faith when thou didst doubt, in the waters. And I have heard that Christ said this also: They that are with me have not understood me. If, then, ye upon whom he laid his hands, whom also he chose, did doubt, I, therefore, having this witness, repent me, and take refuge in thy prayers. Receive my soul, who have fallen away from our Lord and from his promise. But I believe that he will have mercy upon me that repent. For the Almighty is faithful to forgive me my sins.

But Peter said with a loud voice: Unto thee, our Lord, be glory and splendour, O God Almighty, Father of our Lord

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Jesus Christ. Unto thee be praise and glory and honour, world without end. Amen. Because thou hast now fully strengthened and stablished us in thee in the sight of all, holy Lord, confirm thou Marcellus, and send thy peace upon him and upon his house this day: and whatsoever is lost or out of the way, thou alone canst turn them all again; we beseech thee, Lord, shepherd of the sheep that once were scattered, but now shall be gathered in one by thee. So also receive thou Marcellus as one of thy lambs and suffer him no longer to go astray (revel) in error or ignorance. Yea, Lord, receive him that with anguish and tears entreateth thee.

11 And as Peter spake thus and embraced Mareellus, Peter turned himself unto the multitude that stood by him and saw there one that laughed (smiled), in whom was a very evil spirit. And Peter said unto him: Whosoever thou art that didst laugh, show thyself openly unto all that are present. And hearing this the young man ran into the court of the house and cried out with a loud voice and dashed himself against the wall and said: Peter, there is a great contention between Simon and the dog whom thou sentest; for Simon saith to the dog: Say that I am not here. Unto whom the dog saith more than thou didst charge him; and when he hath accomplished the mystery which thou didst command him, he shall die at thy feet. But Peter said: And thou also, devil, whosoever thou art, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, go out of that young man and hurt him not at all: show thyself unto all that stand here. When the young man heard it, he ran forth and caught hold on a great statue of marble which was set in the court of the house, and brake it in pieces with his feet. Now it was a statue of Caesar. Which Marcellus beholding smote his forehead and said unto Peter: A great crime hath been committed; for if this be made known unto Caesar by some busybody, he will afflict us with sore punishments. And Peter said to him: I see thee not the same that thou wast a little while ago, for thou saidst that thou wast ready to spend all thy substance to save thy soul. But if thou indeed repentest, believing in Christ with thy whole heart, take in thine hands of the water that runneth down, and pray to the Lord, and in his name sprinkle it upon the broken pieces of the statue and it shall be whole as it was before. And Marcellus, nothing doubting, but believing with his whole heart, before he took the water lifted up his hands and said: I believe in thee, O Lord Jesu Christ: for I am now proved by thine apostle Peter, whether I believe aright in thine holy name. Therefore I take water in mine hands, and in thy name do I sprinkle these stones that the statue may become whole as it was before. If, therefore, Lord, it be thy will that I continue in the body and suffer nothing at Caesar's hand, let this stone be whole as it was before. And he sprinkled the water upon the stones, and the statue became whole, whereat Peter exulted that Marcellus had not doubted in asking of the Lord, and Marcellus was exalted in spirit for that such a sign was first wrought by his hands; and he therefore believed with his whole heart in the name of Jesus Christ the Son of God, by whom all things impossible are made possible.

12 But Simon within the house said thus to the dog: Tell Peter that I am not within. Whom the dog answered in the presence of Marcellus: Thou exceeding wicked and shameless one, enemy of all that live and believe on Christ Jesus, here is a dumb animal sent unto thee which hath received a human voice to confound thee and show thee to be a deceiver and a liar. Hast thou taken thought so long, to say at last: 'Tell him that I am not within?' Art thou not ashamed to utter thy feeble and useless words against Peter the minister and apostle of Christ, as if thou couldst hide thee from him that hath commanded me to speak against thee to thy face: and that not for thy sake but for theirs whom thou wast deceiving and sending unto destruction? Cursed therefore shalt thou be, thou enemy and corrupter of the way of the truth of Christ, who shall prove by fire that dieth not and in outer darkness, thine iniquities that thou hast committed. And having thus said, the dog went forth and the people followed him, leaving Simon alone. And the dog came unto Peter as he sat with the multitude that was come to see Peter's face, and the dog related what he had done unto Simon. And thus spake the dog unto the angel and apostle of the true God: Peter, thou wilt have a great contest with the enemy of Christ and his servants, and many that have been deceived by him shalt thou turn unto the faith; wherefore thou shalt receive from God the reward of thy work. And when the dog had said this he fell down at the apostle Peter's feet and gave up the ghost. And when the great multitude saw with amazement the dog speaking, they began then, some to throw themselves down at Peter's feet, and some said: Show us another sign, that we may believe in thee as the minister of the living God, for Simon also did many signs in our presence and therefore did we follow him.

13 And Peter turned and saw a herring (sardine) hung in a window, and took it and said to the people: If ye now see this swimming in the water like a fish, will ye be able to believe in him whom I preach? And they said with one voice: Verily we will believe thee. Then he said -now there was a bath for swimming at hand: In thy name, O Jesu Christ, forasmuch as hitherto it is not believed in, in the sight of all these live and swim like a fish. And he cast the herring into the bath, and it lived and began to swim. And all the people saw the fish swimming, and it did not so at that hour only, lest it should be said that it was a delusion (phantasm), but he made it to swim for a long time, so that they brought much people from all quarters and showed them the herring that was made a living fish, so that certain of the people even cast bread to it; and they saw that it was whole. And seeing this, many followed Peter and believed in the Lord.

And they assembled themselves day and night unto the house of Narcissus the presbyter. And Peter discoursed unto them of the scriptures of the prophets and of those things which our Lord Jesus Christ had wrought both in word and in deeds.

14 But Marcellus was confirmed daily by the signs which he saw wrought by Peter through the grace of Jesus Christ which he granted unto him. And Mareellus ran upon Simon as he sat in his house in the dining chamber, and cursed him and said unto him: Thou most adverse and pestilent of men, corrupter of my soul and my house, who wouldest have made me fall away from my Lord and Saviour Christ! and laying hands on him he commanded him to be thrust out of his house. And the servants having received such licence, covered him with reproaches; some buffeted his face, others beat him with sticks, others cast stones, others emptied out vessels full of filth upon his head, even those who on his account had fled from their master and been a long time fettered; and other their fellowservants of whom he had spoken evil to their master reproached him. saying to him: Now by the will of God who hath had mercy on us and on our master, do we recompense thee with a fit reward. And Simon, shrewdly beaten and cast out of the house, ran unto the house where Peter lodged, even the house of Narcissus, and standing at the gate cried out: Lo, here am I, Simon: come thou down, Peter, and I will convict thee that thou hast believed on a man which is a Jew and a carpenter's son.

15 And when it was told Peter that Simon had said this, Peter sent unto him a woman which had a sucking child, saying to her: Go down quickly, and thou wilt find one that seeketh me. For thee there is no need that thou answer him at all, but keep silence and hear what the child whom thou holdest shall say unto him. The woman therefore went down. Now the child whom she suckled was seven months old; and it received a man's voice and said unto Simon: O thou abhorred of God and men, and destruction of truth, and evil seed of all corruption, O fruit by nature unprofitable! but only for a short and little season shalt thou be seen, and thereafter eternal punishment is laid up for thee. Thou son of a shameless father, that never puttest forth thy roots for good but for poison, faithless generation void of all hope! thou wast not confounded when a dog reproved thee; I a child am compelled of God to speak, and not even now art thou ashamed. But even against thy will, on the sabbath day that cometh, another shall bring thee into the forum of Julius that it may be shown what manner of man thou art. Depart therefore from the gate wherein walk the feet of the holy; for thou shalt no more corrupt the innocent souls whom thou didst turn out of the way and make sad; in Christ, therefore, shall be shown thine evil nature, and thy devices shall be cut in pieces. And now speak I this last word unto thee: Jesus Christ saith to thee: Be thou stricken dumb in my name, and depart out of Rome until the sabbath that cometh. And forthwith he became dumb and his speech was bound; and he went out of Rome until the sabbath and abode in a stable. But the woman returned with the child unto Peter and told him and the rest of the brethren what the child had said unto Simon: and they magnified the Lord which had shown these things unto men.

16 Now when the night fell, Peter, while yet waking, beheld Jesus clad in a vesture of brightness, smiling and saying unto him: Already is much people of the brotherhood returned through me and through the signs which thou hast wrought in my name. But thou shalt have a contest of the faith upon the sabbath that cometh, and many more of the Gentiles and of the Jews shall be converted in my name unto me who was reproached and mocked and spat upon. For I will be present with thee when thou askest for signs and wonders, and thou shalt convert many: but thou shalt have Simon opposing thee by the works of his father; yet all his works shall be shown to be charms and contrivances of sorcery. But now slack thou not, and whomsoever I shall send unto thee thou shalt establish in my name. And when it was light, he told the brethren how the Lord had appeared unto him and what he had commanded him:

17 [This episode, inserted most abruptly, is believed by Vouaux to have been inserted here by the compiler of the Greek original of the Vercelli Acts: but it was not composed by him, but transferred with very slight additions from the earlier part of the Acts-now lost- of which the scene was laid in Judaea. I incline to favour this view.)

But believe ye me, men and brethren, I drove this Simon out of Judaea where he did many evils with his magical charms, lodging in Judaea with a certain woman Eubula, who was of honourable estate in this world, having store of gold and pearls of no small price. Here did Simon enter in by stealth with two others like unto himself, and none of the household saw them two, but Simon only, and by means of a spell they took away all the woman's gold, and disappeared. But Eubula, when she found what was done, began to torture her household, saying: Ye have taken occasion by this man of God and spoiled me, when ye saw him entering in to me to honour a mere woman; but his name is as the name of the Lord.

As I fasted for three days and prayed that this matter should be made plain, I saw in a vision Italicus and Antulus (Antyllus?) whom I had instructed in the name of the Lord, and a boy naked and chained giving me a wheaten loaf and saying unto me: Peter, endure yet two days and thou shalt see the mighty works of God. As for all that is lost out of the house of Eubula, Simon hath used art magic and hath caused a delusion, and with two others hath stolen it away: whom thou shalt see on the third day at the ninth hour, at the gate which leadeth unto Neapolis, selling unto a goldsmith by name Agrippinus a young satyr of gold of two pound weight, having in it a precious stone. But for thee there is no need that thou touch it, lest thou be defiled; but let there be with thee some of the matron's servants, and thou shalt show them the shop of the goldsmith and depart from them. For by reason of this matter shall many believe on the name of the Lord, and all that which these men by their devices and wickedness have oft-times stolen shall be openly showed. When I heard that, I went unto Eubula and found her sitting with her clothes rent and her hair disordered, mourning; unto whom I said: Eubula, rise up from thy mourning and compose thy face and order thy hair and put on raiment befitting thee, and pray unto the Lord Jesus Christ that judgeth every soul: for he is the invisible Son of God, by whom thou must be saved, if only thou repent with thine whole heart of thy former sins: and receive thou power from him; for behold, by me the Lord saith to thee: Thou shalt find all whatsoever thou hast lost. And after thou hast received them, take thou care that he find thee, that thou mayest renounce this present world and seek for everlasting refreshment. Hearken therefore unto this: Let certain of thy people keep watch at the gate that leadeth to Neapolis on the day after to-morrow at about the ninth hour, and they shall see two young men having a young satyr of gold, of two pound weight, set with gems, as a vision hath shown me: which thing they will offer for sale to one Agrippinus of the household of godliness and of the faith which is in the Lord Jesus Christ: by whom it shall be showed thee that thou shouldest believe in the living God and not on Simon the magician, the unstable devil, who hath desired that thou shouldest remain in sorrow, and thine innocent household be tormented; who by fair words and speech only hath deceived thee, and with his mouth only spake of godliness, whereas he is wholly possessed of ungodliness. For when thou didst think to keep holy-day, and settedst up thine idol and didst veil it and set out all thine ornaments upon a table (round three-legged table), he brought in two young men whom no man of yours saw, by a magic charm, and they stole away thine ornaments and were no more seen. But his device hath had no success (place); for my God hath manifested it unto me, to the end thou shouldest not be deceived, neither perish in hell, for those sins which thou hast committed ungodly and contrary to God, who is full of all truth, and the righteous judge of quick and dead; and there is none other hope of life unto men save through him, by whom those things which thou hast lost are recovered unto thee: and now do thou gain thine own soul.

But she cast herself down before my feet, saying: O man, who thou art I know not; but him I received as a servant of God, and whatsoever he asked of me to give it unto the poor, I gave much by his hands, and beside that I did give much unto him. What hurt did I do him, that he should contrive all this against mine house? Unto whom Peter said: There is no faith to be put in words, but in acts and deeds: but we must go on with that we have begun. So I left her and went with two stewards of Eubula and came to Agrippinus and said to him: See that thou take note of these men; for to-morrow two young men will come to thee, desiring to sell thee a young satyr of gold set with jewels, which belongeth to the mistress of these: and thou shalt take it as it were to look upon it, and praise the work of the craftsman, and then when these come in, God will bring the rest to the proof. And on the next day the stewards of the matron came about the ninth hour, and also those young men, willing to sell unto Agrippinus the young satyr of gold. And they being forthwith taken, it was reported unto the matron, and she in distress of mind came to the deputy, and with a loud voice declared all that had befallen her. And when Pompeius the deputy beheld her in distress of mind, who never had come forth abroad, he forthwith rose up from the judgement seat and went unto the praetorium, and bade those men to be brought and tortured; and while they were being tormented they confessed that they did it in the service of Simon, which, said they, persuaded us thereto with money. And being tortured a long time, they confessed that all that Eubula had lost was laid up under the earth in a cave on the other side of the gate, and many other things besides. And when Pompeius heard this, he rose up to go unto the gate, with those two men, each of them bound with two chains. And lo, Simon came in at the gate, seeking them because they

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tarried long. And he seeth a great multitude coming, and those two bound with chains; and he understood and betook him to flight, and appeared no more in Judaea unto this day. But Eubula, when she had recovered all her goods, gave them for the service of the poor, and believed on the Lord Jesus Christ and was comforted; and despised and renounced this world, and gave unto the widows and fatherless, and clothed the poor. And after a long time she received her rest (sleep). Now these things, dearly beloved brethren, were done in Judaea, whereby he that is called the angel of Satan was driven out thence.

18 Brethren, dearest and most beloved, let us fast together and pray unto the Lord. For he that drove him out thence is able also to root him out of this place: and let him grant unto us power to withstand him and his magical charms, and to prove that he is the angel of Satan. For on the sabbath our Lord shall bring him, though he would not, unto the forum of Julius. Let us therefore bow our knees unto Christ, which heareth us, though we cry not; it is he that seeth us, though he be not seen with these eyes, yet is he in us: if we will, he will not forsake us. Let us therefore purify our souls of every evil temptation, and God will not depart from us. Yea, if we but wink with our eyes, he is present with us.

19 Now after these things were spoken by Peter, Marcellus also came in, and said: Peter, I have for thee cleansed mine whole house from the footsteps (traces) of Simon, and wholly done away even his wicked dust. For I took water and called upon the holy name of Jesus Christ, together with mine other servants which belong unto him, and sprinkled all my house and all the dining chambers and all the porticoes, even unto the outer gate, and said: I know that thou, Lord Jesu Christ, art pure and untouched of any uncleanness: so let mine enemy and adversary be driven out from before thy face. And now, thou blessed one, have I bidden the widows and old women to assemble unto thee in my house which is purified (MS. common), that they may pray with us. And they shall receive every one a piece of gold in the name of the ministry (service), that they may be called indeed servants of Christ. And all else is now prepared for the service. I entreat thee, therefore, O blessed Peter, consent unto their request, so that thou also pay honour unto (ornament) their prayers in my stead; let us then go and take Narcissus also, and whosoever of the brethren are here. So then Peter consented unto his simplicity, to fulfil his desire, and went forth with him and the rest of the brethren.

20 But Peter entered in, and beheld one of the aged women, a widow, that was blind, and her daughter giving her her hand and leading her into Marcellus' house; and Peter said unto her: Come hither, mother: from this day forward Jesus giveth thee his right hand, by whom we have light unapproachable which no darkness hideth; who saith unto thee by me: Open thine eyes and see, and walk by thyself. And forthwith the widow saw Peter laying his hand upon her.

And Peter entered into the dining-hall and saw that the Gospel was being read, and he rolled up the book and said: Ye men that believe and hope in Christ, learn in what manner the holy Scripture of our Lord ought to be declared: whereof we by his grace wrote that which we could receive, though yet it appear unto you feeble, yet according to our power, even that which can be endured to be borne by (or instilled into) human flesh. We ought therefore first to know the will and the goodness of God, how that when error was everywhere spread abroad, and many thousands of men were being cast down into perdition, God was moved by his mercy to show himself in another form and in the likeness of man, concerning which neither the Jews nor we were able worthily to be enlightened. For every one of us according as he could contain the sight, saw, as he was able. Now will I expound unto you that which was newly read unto you. Our Lord, willing that I should behold his majesty in the holy mount -I, when I with the sons of Zebedee saw the brightness of his light, fell as one dead and shut mine eyes, and heard such a voice from him as I am not able to describe, and thought myself to be blinded by his brightness. And when I recovered (breathed again) a little I said within myself: Peradventure my Lord hath brought me hither that he might blind me. And I said: If this also be thy will, Lord, I resist not. And he gave me his hand and raised me up; and when I arose I saw him again in such a form as I was able to take in. As, therefore, the merciful God, dearly beloved brethren, carried our infirmities and bare our sins (as the prophet saith: He beareth our sins and suffereth for us; but we did esteem him to be in affliction and smitten with plagues), for he is in the Father and the Father in him -he also is himself the fulness of all majesty, who hath shown unto us all his good things: he did eat and drink for our sakes, himself being neither an-hungered nor athirst; he carried and bare reproaches for our sakes, he died and rose again because of us; who both defended me when I sinned and comforted me by his greatness, and will comfort you also that ye may love him: this God who is great and small, fair and foul, young and old, seen in time and unto eternity invisible; whom the hand of man hath not held, yet is he held by his servants; whom no flesh hath seen, yet now seeth; who is the word proclaimed by the prophets and now appearing (so Gk.: Lat. not heard of but now known); not subject to suffering, but having now made trial of suffering for our sake (or like unto us); never chastised, yet now chastised; who was before the world and hath been comprehended in time; the great beginning of all principality, yet delivered over unto princes; beautiful, but among us lowly; seen of all yet foreseeing all (MS. foul of view, yet foreseeing). This Jesus ye have, brethren, the door, the light, the way, the bread, the water, the life, the resurrection, the refreshment, the pearl, the treasure, the seed, the abundance (harvest), the mustard seed, the vine, the plough, the grace, the faith, the word: he is all things and there is none other greater than he. Unto him be praise, world without end. Amen.

21 And when the ninth hour was fully come, they rose up to make prayer. And behold certain widows, of the aged, unknown to Peter, which sat there, being blind and not believing, cried out, saying unto Peter: We sit together here, O Peter, hoping and believing in Christ Jesus: as therefore thou hast made one of us to see, we entreat thee, lord Peter, grant unto us also his mercy and pity. But Peter said to them: If there be in you the faith that is in Christ, if it be firm in you, then perceive in your mind that which ye see not with your eyes, and though your ears are closed, yet let them be open in your mind within you. These eyes shall again be shut, seeing nought but men and oxen and dumb beasts and stones and sticks; but not every eye seeth Jesus Christ. Yet now, Lord, let thy sweet and holy name succour these persons; do thou touch their eyes; for thou art able -that these may see with their eyes.

And when all had prayed, the hall wherein they were shone as when it lighteneth, even with such a light as cometh in the clouds, yet not such a light as that of the daytime, but unspeakable, invisible, such as no man can describe, even such that we were beside ourselves with bewilderment, calling on the Lord and saying: Have mercy, Lord, upon us thy servants: what we are able to bear, that, Lord, give thou us; for this we can neither see nor endure. And as we lay there, only those widows stood up which were blind; and the bright light which appeared unto us entered into their eyes and made them to see. Unto whom Peter said: Tell us what ye saw. And they said: We saw an old man of such comeliness as we are not able to declare to thee; but others said: We saw a young man; and others: We saw a boy touching our eyes delicately, and so were our eyes opened. Peter therefore magnified the Lord, saying: Thou only art the Lord God, and of what lips have we need to give thee due praise? and how can we give thee thanks according to thy mercy? Therefore, brethren, as I told you but a little while since, God that is constant is greater than our thoughts, even as we have learned of these aged widows, how that they beheld the Lord in divers forms.

22 And having exhorted them all to think upon (understand) the Lord with their whole heart, he began together with Marcellus and the rest of the brethren to minister unto the virgins of the Lord, and to rest until the morning.

Unto whom Marcellus said: Ye holy and inviolate virgins of the Lord, hearken: Ye have a place to abide in, for these things that are called mine, whose are they save yours? depart not hence, but refresh yourselves: for upon the sabbath which cometh, even to-morrow, Simon hath a controversy with Peter the holy one of God: for as the Lord hath ever been with him, lo will Christ the Lord now stand for him as his apostle. For Peter hath continued tasting nothing, but fasting yet a day, that he may overcome the wicked adversary and persecutor of the Lord's truth. For lo, my young men are come announcing that they have seen scaffolds being set up in the forum, and much people saying: To-morrow at daybreak two Jews are to contend here concerning the teaching (?) of God. Now therefore let us watch until the morning, praying and beseeching our Lord Jesus Christ to hear our prayers on behalf of Peter.

And Marcellus turned to sleep for a short space, and awoke and said unto Peter: O Peter, thou apostle of Christ, let us go boldly unto that which lieth before us. For just now when I turned myself to sleep for a little, I beheld thee sitting in a high place and before thee a great multitude, and a woman exceeding foul, in sight like an Ethiopian, not an Egyptian, but altogether black and filthy, clothed in rags, and with an iron collar about her neck and chains upon her hands and feet, dancing. And when thou sawest me thou saidst to me with a loud voice: Marcellus the whole power of Simon and of his God is this woman that danceth; do thou behead her. And I said to thee: Brother Peter, I am a senator of a high race, and I have never defiled my hands, neither killed so much as a sparrow at any time. And thou hearing it didst begin to cry out yet more: Come thou, our true sword, Jesu Christ. and cut not off only the head of this devil, but hew all her limbs in pieces in the sight of all these Whom I have approved in thy service. And immediately one like unto thee, O Peter, having a sword, hewed her in pieces: so that I looked earnestly upon you both, both on thee and on him that cut in pieces that devil, and marvelled greatly to see how alike ye were. And I awaked, and have told unto thee these signs of Christ. And when Peter heard it he was the more filled with courage, for that Marcellus had seen these things, knowing that the Lord alway careth for his own. And being joyful and refreshed by these words, he rose up to go unto the forum.

23 Now the brethren were gathered together, and all that were in Rome, and took places every one for a piece of gold: there came together also the senators and the prefects and those in authority. And Peter came and stood in the midst, and all cried out: Show us, O Peter, who is thy God and what is his greatness which hath given thee confidence. Begrudge not the Romans; they are lovers of the gods. We have had proof of Simon, let us have it of thee; convince us, both of you, whom we ought truly to believe. And as they said these things, Simon also came in, and standing in trouble of mind at Peter's side, at first he looked at him.

And after long silence Peter said: Ye men of Rome, be ye true judges unto us, for I say that I have believed on the living and true God; and I promise to give you proofs of him, which are known unto me, as many among you also can bear witness. For ye see that this man is now rebuked and silent, knowing that I drove him out of Judaea because of the deceits which he practised upon Eubula, an honourable and simple woman, by his art magic; and being driven out from thence, he is come hither, thinking to escape notice among you; and lo, he standeth face to face with me. Say now, Simon, didst thou not at Jerusalem fall at my feet and Paul's, when thou sawest the healings that were wrought by our hands, and say: I pray you take of me a payment as much as ye will, that I may be able to lay hands on men and do such mighty works? And we when we heard it cursed thee, saying: Dost thou think to tempt us as if we desired to possess money? And now, fearest thou not at all? My name is Peter, because the Lord Christ vouchsafed to call me 'prepared for all things': for I trust in the living God by whom I shall put down thy sorceries. Now let him do in your presence the wonders which he did aforetime: and what I have now said of him, will ye not believe it?

But Simon said: Thou presumest to speak of Jesus of Nazareth, the son of a carpenter, and a carpenter himself, whose birth is recorded (or whose race dwelleth) in Judaea. Hear thou, Peter: the Romans have understanding: they are no fools. And he turned to the people and said: Ye men of Rome, is God born? is he crucified? he that hath a master is no God. And when he so spake, many said: Thou sayest well, Simon.

24 But Peter said: Anathema upon thy words against (or in) Christ! Presumest thou to speak thus, whereas the prophet saith of him: Who shall declare his generation? And another prophet saith: And we saw him and he had no beauty nor comeliness. And: In the last times shall a child be born of the Holy Ghost: his mother knoweth not a man, neither doth any man say that he is his father. And again he saith: She hath brought forth and not brought forth.[From the apocryphal Ezekiel (lost)] And again: Is it a small thing for you to weary men (lit. Is it a small thing that ye make a contest for men)? Behold, a virgin shall conceive in the womb. And another prophet saith, honouring the Father: Neither did we hear her voice, neither did a midwife come in.[From the Ascension of Isaiah, xi. 14] Another prophet saith: Born not of the womb of a woman, but from a heavenly place came he down. And: A stone was cut out without hands, and smote all the kingdoms. And: The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner; and he calleth him a stone elect, precious. And again a prophet saith concerning him: And behold, I saw one like the Son of man coming upon a cloud. And what more? O ye men of Rome, if ye knew the Scriptures of the prophets, I would expound all unto you: by which Scriptures it was necessary that this should be spoken in a mystery, and that the kingdom of God should be perfected. But these things shall be opened unto you hereafter. Now turn I unto thee, Simon: do thou some one thing of those wherewith thou didst before deceive them, and I will bring it to nought through my Lord Jesus Christ. And Simon plucked up his boldness and said: If the prefect allow it (prepare yourselves and delay not for my sake).

25 But the prefect desired to show patience unto both, that he might not appear to do aught unjustly. And the prefect put forward one of his servants and said thus unto Simon: Take this man and deliver him to death. And to Peter he said: And do thou revive him. And unto the people the prefect said: It is now for you to judge whether of these two is acceptable unto God, he that killeth or he that maketh alive. And straightway Simon spake in the ear of the lad and made him speechless, and he died.

And as there began to be a murmuring among the people, one of the widows who were nourished (refreshed) in Marcellus' house, standing behind the multitude, cried out: O Peter, servant of God, my son is dead, the only one that I had. And the people made place for her and led her unto Peter: and she cast herself down at his feet, saying: I had one only son, which with his hands (shoulders) furnished me with nourishment: he raised me up, he carried me: now that he is dead, who shall reach me a hand? Unto whom Peter said: Go, with these for witness, and bring hither thy son, that they may see and be able to believe that by the power of God he is raised, and that this man (Simon) may behold it and fail (or, and she when she saw him, fell down). And Peter said to the young men: We have need of some young men, and, moreover, of such as will believe. And forthwith thirty young men arose,

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which were prepared to carry her or to bring thither her son that was dead. And whereas the widow was hardly returned to herself, the young men took her up; and she was crying out and saying: Lo, my son, the servant of Christ hath sent unto thee: tearing her hair and her face. Now the young men which were come examined (Gk. apparently, held) the lad's nostrils to see whether he were indeed dead; and seeing that he was dead of a truth, they had compassion on the old woman and said: If thou so will, mother, and hast confidence in the God of Peter, we will take him up and carry him thither that he may raise him up and restore him unto thee.

26 And as they said these things, the prefect (in the forum, Lat.), looking earnestly upon Peter (said: What sayest thou Peter?) Behold my lad is dead, who also is dear unto the emperor, and I spared him not, though I had with me other young men; but I desired rather to make trial (tempt) of thee and of the God whom thou (preachest), whether ye be true, and therefore I would have this lad die. And Peter said: God is not tempted nor proved, O Agrippa, but if he be loved and entreated he heareth them that are worthy. But since now my God and Lord Jesus Christ is tempted among you, who hath done so great signs and wonders by my hands to turn you from your sins -now also in the sight of all do thou, Lord, at my word, by thy power raise up him whom Simon hath slain by touching him. And Peter said unto the master of the lad: Go, take hold on his right hand, and thou shalt have him alive and walking with thee. And Agrippa the prefect ran and went to the lad and took his hand and raised him up. And all the multitude seeing it cried: One is the God, one is the God of Peter.

27 In the meanwhile the widow's son also was brought upon a bed by the young men, and the people made way for them and brought them unto Peter. And Peter lifted up his eyes unto heaven and stretched forth his hands and said: O holy Father of thy Son Jesus Christ. who hast granted us thy power, that we may through thee ask and obtain, and despise all that is in the world, and follow thee only, who art seen of few and wouldest be known of many: shine thou about us, Lord, enlighten us, appear thou, raise up the son of this aged widow, which cannot help herself without her son. And I, repeating the word of Christ my Lord, say unto thee: Young man, arise and walk with thy mother so long as thou canst do her good; and thereafter shalt thou serve me after a higher sort, ministering in the lot of a deacon of the bishop (or, and of a bishop). And immediately the dead man rose up, and the multitudes saw it and marvelled, and the people cried out: Thou art God the Saviour, thou, the God of Peter, the invisible God, the Saviour. And they spake among themselves, marvelling indeed at the power of a man that called upon his Lord with a word; and they received it unto sanctification.

28 The fame of it therefore being spread throughout the city, there came the mother of a certain senator, and cast herself into the midst of the people, and fell at Peter's feet, saying: I have learned from my people that thou art a servant of the merciful God, and dost impart his grace unto all them that desire this light. Impart therefore the light unto my son, for I know that thou begrudgest none; turn not away from a matron that entreateth thee. Unto whom Peter said: Wilt thou believe on my God, by whom thy son shall be raised? And the mother said with a loud voice, weeping: I believe, O Peter, I believe! and all the people cried out: Grant the mother her son. But Peter said: Let him be brought hither before all these. And Peter turned himself to the people and said: Ye men of Rome, I also am one of yourselves, and bear a man's body and am a sinner, but have obtained mercy: look not therefore upon me as though I did by mine own power that which I do, but by the power of my Lord Jesus Christ, who is the judge of quick and dead. In him do I believe and by him am I sent, and have confidence when I call upon him to raise the dead. Go thou therefore also, O woman, and cause thy son to be brought hither and to rise again. And the woman passed through the midst of the people and went into the street, running, with great joy, and believing in her mind she came unto her house, and by means of her young men she took him up and came unto the forum. Now she bade the young men put caps [pilei, a sign that they were now freed.] on their heads, and to walk before the bier, and all that she had determined to burn upon the body of her son to be borne before his bier; and when Peter saw it he had compassion upon the dead body and upon her. And she came unto the multitude, while all bewailed her; and a great crowd of senators and matrons followed after, to behold the wonderful works of God: for this Nicostratus which was dead was exceeding noble and beloved of the senate. And they brought him and set him down before Peter. And Peter called for silence, and with a loud voice said: Ye men of Rome, let there now be a just judgement betwixt me and Simon; and judge ye whether of us two believeth in the living God, he or I. Let him raise up the body that lieth here, and believe in him as the angel of God. But if he be not able, and I call upon my God and restore the son alive unto his mother, then believe ye that this man is a sorcerer and a deceiver, which is entertained among you. And when all they heard these things, they thought that it was right which Peter had spoken, and they encouraged Simon, saying: Now, if there be aught in thee, show it openly! either overcome, or thou shall be overcome! (or, convince us, or thou shalt be convicted). Why standest thou still? Come, begin! But Simon, when he saw them all instant with him, stood silent; and thereafter, when he saw the people silent and looking upon him, Simon cried out, saying: Ye men of Rome, if ye behold the dead man arise, will ye cast Peter out of the city? And all the people said: We will not only cast him out, but on the very instant will we burn him with fire.

Then Simon went to the head of the dead man and stooped down and thrice raised himself up (or, and said thrice: Raise thyself), and showed the people that he (the dead) lifted his head and moved it, and opened his eyes and bowed himself a little unto Simon. And straightway they began to ask for wood and torches, wherewith to burn Peter. But Peter receiving strength of Christ, lifted up his voice and said unto them that cried out against him: Now see I, ye people of Rome, that ye are -I must not say fools and vain, so long as your eyes and your ears and your hearts are blinded. How long shall your understanding be darkened? see ye not that ye are bewitched, supposing that a dead man is raised, who hath not lifted himself up? It would have sufficed me, ye men of Rome, to hold my peace and die without speaking, and to leave you among the deceits of this world; but I have the chastisement of fire unquenchable before mine eyes. If therefore it seem good unto you, let the dead man speak, let him arise if he liveth, let him loose his jaw that is bound, with his hands, let him call upon his mother, let him say unto you that cry out: Wherefore cry ye? let him beckon unto us with his hand. If now ye would see that he is dead, and yourselves bewitched, let this man depart from the bier, who hath persuaded you to depart from Christ, and ye shall see that the dead man is such as ye saw him brought hither.

But Agrippa the prefect had no longer patience, but thrust away Simon with his own hands, and again the dead man lay as he was before. And the people were enraged, and turned away from the sorcery of Simon and began to cry out: Hearken, O Caesar! if now the dead riseth not, let Simon burn instead of Peter, for verily he hath blinded us. But Peter stretched forth his hand and said: O men of Rome, have patience! I say not unto you that if the lad be raised Simon shall burn; for if I say it, ye will do it. The people cried out: Against thy will, Peter, we will do it. Unto whom Peter said: If ye continue in this mind the lad shall not arise: for we know not to render evil for evil, but we have learned to love our enemies and pray for our persecutors. For if even this man can repent, it were better; for God will not remember evil. Let him come, therefore, into the light of Christ; but if he cannot, let him possess the part of his father the devil, but let not your hands be defiled. And when he had thus spoken unto the people, he went unto the lad, and before he raised him, he said to his mother: These young men whom thou hast set free in the honour of thy son, can yet serve their God when he liveth, being free; for I know that the soul of some is hurt if they shall see thy son arise and know that these shall yet be in bondage: but let them all continue free and receive their sustenance as they did before, for thy son is about to rise again; and let them be with him. And Peter looked long upon her, to see her thoughts. And the mother of the lad said: What other can I do? therefore before the prefect I say: whatsoever I was minded to burn upon the body of my son, let them possess it. And Peter said: Let the residue be distributed unto the widows. Then Peter rejoiced in soul and said in the spirit: O Lord that art merciful, Jesu Christ, show thyself unto thy Peter that calleth upon thee like as thou hast always shown him mercy and loving-kindness: and in the presence of all these which have obtained freedom, that these may become thy servants, let Nicostratus now arise. And Peter touched the lad's side and said: Arise. And the lad arose and put off his grave clothes and sat up and loosed his jaw, and asked for other raiment; and he came down from the bier and said unto Peter: I pray thee, O man of God, let us go unto our Lord Christ whom I saw speaking with me; who also showed me unto thee and said to thee: Bring him hither unto me, for he is mine. And when Peter heard this of the lad, he was strengthened yet more in soul by the help of the Lord; and Peter said unto the people: Ye men of Rome, it is thus that the dead are raised up, thus do they converse, thus do they arise and walk, and live so long time as God willeth. Now therefore, ye that have come together unto the sight, if ye turn not from these your evil ways, and from all your gods that are made with hands, and from all uncleanness and concupiscence, receive fellowship with Christ, believing, that ye may obtain everlasting life.

29 And in the same hour they worshipped him as a God, falling down at his feet, and the sick whom they had at home, that he might heal them.

But the prefect seeing that so great a multitude waited upon Peter, signified to Peter that he should withdraw himself: and Peter told the people to come unto Marcellus' house. But the mother of the lad besought Peter to set foot in her house. But Peter had appointed to be with Marcellus on the Lord's day, to see the widows even as Marcellus had promised, to minister unto them with his own hands. The lad therefore that was risen again said: I depart not from Peter. And his mother, glad and rejoicing, went unto her own house. And on the next day after the sabbath she came to Marcellus' house bringing unto Peter two thousand pieces of gold, and saying unto Peter: Divide these among the virgins of Christ which serve him. But the lad that was risen from the dead, when he saw that he had given nothing to any man, went home and opened the press and himself offered four thousand pieces of gold, saying unto Peter: Lo, I also which was raised, offer a double offering, and myself also from this day forward as a speaking sacrifice unto God.

Here begins the original Greek text as preserved in one of our two manuscripts (that at Mt. Athos). The second (Patmos) manuscript begins, as do the versions, at ch. xxxiii. The Greek and not the Latin is followed in the translation.

30 Now on the Lord's day as Peter discoursed unto the brethren and exhorted them unto the faith of Christ, there being present many of the senate and many knights and rich women and matrons, and being confirmed in the faith, one woman that was there, exceeding rich, which was surnamed Chryse because every vessel of hers was of gold -for from her birth she never used a vessel of silver or glass, but golden ones only- said unto Peter: Peter, thou servant of God, he whom thou callest God appeared unto me in a dream and said: Chryse, carry thou unto Peter my minister ten thousand pieces of gold; for thou owest them to him. I have therefore brought them, fearing lest some harm should be done me by him that appeared unto me, which also departed unto heaven. And so saying, she laid down the money and departed. And Peter seeing it glorified the Lord, for that they that were in need should be refreshed. Certain, therefore, of them that were there said unto him: Peter, hast thou not done ill to receive the money of her? for she is ill spoken of throughout all Rome for fornication, and because she keepeth not to one husband, yea, she even hath to do with the young men of her house. Be not therefore a partner with the table of Chryse, but let that which came from her be returned unto her. But Peter hearing it laughed and said to the brethren: What this woman is in the rest of her way of life, I know not, but in that I have received this money, I did it not foolishly; for she did pay it as a debtor unto Christ, and giveth it unto the servants of Christ: for he himself hath provided for them.

31 And they brought unto him also the sick on the sabbath, beseeching that they might recover of their diseases. And many were healed that were sick of the palsy, and the gout, and fevers tertian and quartan, and of every disease of the body were they healed, believing in the name of Jesus Christ, and very many were added every day unto the grace of the Lord.

But Simon the magician, after a few days were past, promised the multitude to convict Peter that he believed not in the true God but was deceived. And when he did many lying wonders, they that were firm in the faith derided him. For in diningchambers he made certain spirits enter in, which were only an appearance, and not existing in truth. And what should I more say? though he had oft-times been convicted of sorcory, he made lame men seem whole for a little space, and blind likewise, and once he appeared to make many dead to live and move, as he did with Nicostratus (Gk. Stratonicus). But Peter followed him throughout and convicted him always unto the beholders: and when he now made a sorry figure and was derided by the people of Rome and disbelieved for that he never succeeded m the things which he promised to perform, being in such a plight at last he said to them: Men of Rome, ye think now that Peter hath prevailed over me, as more powerful, and ye pay more heed to him: ye are deceived. For to-morrow I shall forsake you, godless and impious that ye are, and fly up unto God whose Power I am, though I am become weak. Whereas, then, ye have fallen, I am He that standeth, and I shall go up to my Father and say unto him: Me also, even thy son that standeth, have they desired to pull down; but I consented not unto them, and am returned back unto myself.

32 And already on the morrow a great multitude assembled at the Sacred Way to see him flying. And Peter came unto the place, having seen a vision (or, to see the sight), that he might convict him in this also; for when Simon entered into Rome, he amazed the multitudes by flying: but Peter that convicted him was then not yet living at Rome: which city he thus deceived by illusion, so that some were carried away by him (amazed at him).

So then this man standing on an high place beheld Peter and began to say: Peter, at this time when I am going up before all this people that behold me, I say unto thee: If thy God is able, whom the Jews put to death, and stoned you that were chosen of him, let him show that faith in him is faith in God, and let it appear at this time, if it be worthy of God. For I, ascending up, will show myself unto all this multitude, who I am. And behold when he was lifted up on high, and all beheld him raised up above all Rome and the temples thereof and the mountains, the faithful looked toward Peter. And Peter seeing the strangeness of the sight cried unto the Lord Jesus Christ: If thou suffer this man to accomplish that which he hath set about, now will all they that have believed on thee

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be offended, and the signs and wonders which thou hast given them through me will not be believed: hasten thy grace, O Lord, and let him fall from the height and be disabled; and let him not die but be brought to nought, and break his leg in three places. And he fell from the height and brake his leg in three places. Then every man cast stones at him and went away home, and thenceforth believed Peter.

But one of the friends of Simon came quickly out of the way (or arrived from a journey), Gemellus by name, of whom Simon had received much money, having a Greek woman to wife, and saw him that he had broken his leg, and said: O Simon, if the Power of God is broken to pieces, shall not that God whose Power thou art, himself be blinded? Gemellus therefore also ran and followed Peter, saying unto him: I also would be of them that believe on Christ. And Peter said: Is there any that grudgeth it, my brother? come thou and sit with us.

But Simon in his affliction found some to carry him by night on a bed from Rome unto Aricia; and he abode there a space, and was brought thence unto Terracina to one Castor that was banished from Rome upon an accusation of sorcery. And there he was sorely cut (Lat. by two physicians), and so Simon the angel of Satan came to his end.

[Here the Martyrdom proper begins in the Patmos MS. and the versions.]

33 Now Peter was in Rome rejoicing in the Lord with the brethren, and giving thanks night and day for the multitude which was brought daily unto the holy name by the grace of the Lord. And there were gathered also unto Peter the concubines of Agrippa the prefect, being four, Agrippina and Nicaria and Euphemia and Doris; and they, hearing the word concerning chastity and all the oracles of the Lord, were smitten in their souls, and agreeing together to remain pure from the bed of Agrippa they were vexed by him.

Now as Agrippa was perplexed and grieved concerning them -and he loved them greatly- he observed and sent men privily to see whither they went, and found that they went unto Peter. He said therefore unto them when they returned: That Christian hath taught you to have no dealings with me: know ye that I will both destroy you, and burn him alive. They, then, endured to suffer all manner of evil at Agrippa's hand, if only they might not suffer the passion of love, being strengthened by the might of Jesus.

34 And a certain woman which was exceeding beautiful, the wife of Albinus, Caesar's friend, by name Xanthippe, came, she also, unto Peter, with the rest of the matrons, and withdrew herself, she also, from Albinus. He therefore being mad, and loving Xanthippe, and marvelling that she would not sleep even upon the same bed with him, raged like a wild beast and would have dispatched Peter; for he knew that he was the cause of her separating from his bed. Many other women also, loving the word of chastity, separated themselves from their husbands, because they desired them to worship God in sobriety and cleanness. And whereas there was great trouble in Rome, Albinus made known his state unto Agrippa, saying to him: Either do thou avenge me of Peter that hath withdrawn my wife, or I will avenge myself. And Agrippa said: I have suffered the same at his hand, for he hath withdrawn my concubines. And Albinus said unto him: Why then tarriest thou, Agrippa? let us find him and put him to death for a dealer in curious arts, that we may have our wives again, and avenge them also which are not able to put him to death, whose wives also he hath parted from them.

35 And as they considered these things, Xanthippe took knowledge of the counsel of her husband with Agrippa, and sent and showed Peter, that he might depart from Rome. And the rest of the brethren, together with Marcellus, besought him to depart. But Peter said unto them: Shall we be runaways, brethren? and they said to him: Nay, but that thou mayest yet be able to serve the Lord. And he obeyed the brethren's voice and went forth alone, saying: Let none of you come forth with me, but I will go forth alone, having changed the fashion of mine apparel. And as he went forth of the city, he saw the Lord entering into Rome. And when he saw him, he said: Lord, whither goest thou thus (or here)? And the Lord said unto him: I go into Rome to be crucified. And Peter said unto him: Lord, art thou (being) crucified again? He said unto him: Yea, Peter, I am (being) crucified again. And Peter came to himself: and having beheld the Lord ascending up into heaven, he returned to Rome, rejoicing, and glorifying the Lord, for that he said: I am being crucified: the which was about to befall Peter.

36 He went up therefore again unto the brethren, and told them that which had been seen by him: and they lamented in soul, weeping and saying: We beseech thee, Peter, take thought for us that are young. And Peter said unto them: If it be the Lord's will, it cometh to pass, even if we will it not; but for you, the Lord is able to stablish you in his faith, and will found you therein and make you spread abroad, whom he himself hath planted, that ye also may plant others through him. But I, so long as the Lord will that I be in the flesh, resist not; and again if he take me to him I rejoice and am glad.

And while Peter thus spake, and all the brethren wept, behold four soldiers took him and led him unto Agrippa. And he in his madness (disease) commanded him to be crucified on an accusation of godlessness.

The whole multitude of the brethren therefore ran together, both of rich and poor, orphans and widows, weak and strong, desiring to see and to rescue Peter, while the people shouted with one voice, and would not be silenced: What wrong hath Peter done, O Agrippa? Wherein hath he hurt thee? tell the Romans! And others said: We fear lest if this man die, his Lord destroy us all.

And Peter when he came unto the place stilled the people and said: Ye men that are soldiers of Christ! ye men that hope in Christ! remember the signs and wonders which ye have seen wrought through me, remember the compassion of God, how many cures he hath wrought for you. Wait for him that cometh and shall reward every man according to his doings. And now be ye not bitter against Agrippa; for he is the minister of his father's working. And this cometh to pass at all events, for the Lord hath manifested unto me that which befalleth. But why delay I and draw not near unto the cross?

37 And having approached and standing by the cross he began to say: O name of the cross, thou hidden mystery! O grace ineffable that is pronounced in the name of the cross! O nature of man, that cannot be separated from God! O love (friendship) unspeakable and inseparable, that cannot be shown forth by unclean lips! I seize thee now, I that am at the end of my delivery hence (or, of my coming hither). I will declare thee, what thou art: I will not keep silence of the mystery of the cross which of old was shut and hidden from my soul. Let not the cross be unto you which hope in Christ, this which appeareth: for it is another thing, different from that which appeareth, even this passion which is according to that of Christ. And now above all, because ye that can hear are able to hear it of me, that am at the last and final hour of my life, hearken: Separate your souls from every thing that is of the senses, from every thing that appeareth, and does not exist in truth. Blind these eyes of yours, close these ears of yours, put away your doings that are seen; and ye shall perceive that which concerneth Christ, and the whole mystery of your salvation: and let thus much be said unto you that hear, as if it had not been spoken. But now it is time for thee, Peter, to deliver up thy body unto them that take it. Receive it then, ye unto whom it belongeth. I beseech you the executioners, crucify me thus, with the head downward and not otherwise: and the reason wherefore, I will tell unto them that hear.

38 And when they had hanged him up after the manner he desired, he began again to say: Ye men unto whom it belongeth to hear, hearken to that which I shall declare unto you at this especial time as I hang here. Learn ye the mystery of all nature, and the beginning of all things, what it was. For the first man, whose race I bear in mine appearance (or, of the race of whom I bear the likeness), fell (was borne) head downwards, and showed forth a manner of birth such as was not heretofore: for it was dead, having no motion. He, then, being pulled down -who also cast his first state down upon the earth- established this whole disposition of all things, being hanged up an image of the creation (Gk. vocation) wherein he made the things of the right hand into left hand and the left hand into right hand, and changed about all the marks of their nature, so that he thought those things that were not fair to be fair, and those that were in truth evil, to be good. Concerning which the Lord saith in a mystery: Unless ye make the things of the right hand as those of the left, and those of the left as those of the right, and those that are above as those below, and those that are behind as those that are before, ye shall not have knowedge of the kingdom.

This thought, therefore, have I declared unto you; and the figure wherein ye now see me hanging is the representation of that man that first came unto birth. Ye therefore, my beloved, and ye that hear me and that shall hear, ought to cease from your former error and return back again. For it is right to mount upon the cross of Christ, who is the word stretched out, the one and only, of whom the spirit saith: For what else is Christ, but the word, the sound of God? So that the word is the upright beam whereon I am crucified. And the sound is that which crosseth it, the nature of man. And the nail which holdeth the cross-tree unto the upright in the midst thereof is the conversion and repentance of man.

39 Now whereas thou hast made known and revealed these things unto me, O word of life, called now by me wood (or, word called now by me the tree of life), I give thee thanks, not with these lips that are nailed unto the cross, nor with this tongue by which truth and falsehood issue forth, nor with this word which cometh forth by means of art whose nature is material, but with that voice do I give thee thanks, O King, which is perceived (understood) in silence, which is not heard openly, which proceedeth not forth by organs of the body, which goeth not into ears of flesh, which is not heard of corruptible substance, which existeth not in the world, neither is sent forth upon earth, nor written in books, which is owned by one and not by another: but with this, O Jesu Christ, do I give thee thanks, with the silence of a voice, wherewith the spirit that is in me loveth thee, speaketh unto thee, seeth thee, and beseecheth thee. Thou art perceived of the spirit only, thou art unto me father, thou my mother, thou my brother, thou my friend, thou my bondsman, thou my steward: thou art the All and the All is in thee: and thou Art, and there is nought else that is save thee only.

Unto him therefore do ye also, brethren, flee, and if ye learn that in him alone ye exist, ye shall obtain those things whereof he saith unto you: 'which neither eye hath seen nor ear heard, neither have they entered into the heart of man.' We ask, therefore, for that which thou hast promised to give unto us, O thou undefiled Jesu. We praise thee, we give thee thanks, and confess to thee, glorifying thee, even we men that are yet without strength, for thou art God alone, and none other: to whom be glory now and unto all ages. Amen.

40 And when the multitude that stood by pronounced the Amen with a great sound, together with the Amen Peter gave up his spirit unto the Lord.

And Marcellus not asking leave of any, for it was not possible, when he saw that Peter had given up the ghost, took him down from the cross with his own hands and washed him in milk and wine: and cut fine seven minae of mastic, and of myrrh and aloes and indian leaf other fifty, and perfumed (embalmed) his body and filled a coffin of marble of great price with Attic honey and laid it in his own tomb.

But Peter by night appeared unto Marcellus and said: Marcellus, hast thou heard that the Lord saith: Let the dead be buried of their own dead? And when Marcellus said: Yea, Peter said to him: That, then, which thou hast spent on the dead, thou hast lost: for thou being alive hast like a dead man cared for the dead. And Marcellus awoke and told the brethren of the appearing of Peter: and he was with them that had been stablished in the faith of Christ by Peter, himself also being stablished yet more until the coming of Paul unto Rome.

41 [This last chapter, and the last sentence of XL, are thought by Vouaux to be an addition by the author of i-iii, in other words by the compiler of the Greek original of the Vercelli Acts.]

But Nero, learning thereafter that Peter was departed out of this life, blamed the prefect Agrippa, because he had been put to death without his knowledge; for he desired to punish him more sorely and with greater torment, because Peter had made disciples of certain of them that served him, and had caused them to depart from him: so that he was very wrathful and for a long season spake not unto Agrippa: for he sought to destroy all them that had been made disciples by Peter. And he beheld by night one that scourged him and said unto him: Nero, thou canst not now persecute nor destroy the servants of Christ: refrain therefore thine hands from them. And so Nero, being greatly affrighted by such a vision, abstained from harming the disciples at that time when Peter also departed this life.

And thenceforth the brethren were rejoicing with one mind and exulting in the Lord, glorifying the God and Saviour (Father?) of our Lord Jesus Christ with the Holy Ghost, unto whom be glory, world without end. Amen.

THE ACTS OF ANDREW

The Acts of Andreas the brother of Simon Peter
From: New Testament Apocrypha
Translation: Montague Rhodes James,1924
Estimated Range of Dating: 150-200 A.D.

(The Acts of Andrew, is the earliest testimony and biograpical account of the Apostle Andrew. The surviving version is alluded to in a 3rd-century work, the Coptic Manichaean Psalter which shows several signs of a mid-2nd-century origin. The episodic narratives in which Andrew figures survive incompletely in two manuscript traditions, aside from citations and fragments that are assumed to have come from lost sections. One is an early Coptic manuscript of part of one of the narratives, conserved at Utrecht University Library; The other is embodied in the Greek Martyrium, supplemented by manuscripts that bring it to 65 chapters.

Andrew the Apostle (Greek: Andreas, meaning male or masculine), also known as Saint Andrew, was the brother of Simon Peter (Shimon Kepa) and a Christian Apostle. He is referred to in the Church tradition as the First-Called (or first-named, which could mean that he was the first son of Yonah, Yohanan, Jonah or John, belonging to the Kepa family, also as Greek word spelled Kephas, Cephas, Caiphas, Caiapas etc.). No Hebrew or Aramaic name is recorded for him. That he had a Greek and not a semitic name confirms that the entire family, including Simon Peter, was not just Jewish but held Roman citizenship. The New Testament states that Andrew was born in the village of Bethsaida on the Sea of Galilee and that both he and his brother Simon Peter were "fishermen", hence in the Gospel of Matthew (Matt 4:18–22) and in the Gospel of Mark (Mark 1:16–20) Simon Peter and Andrew were both called together to become disciples of Jesus and "fishers of men". These narratives record that Jesus was walking along the shore of the Sea of Galilee, observed Simon and Andrew fishing, and called them to discipleship.

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In the parallel incident in the Gospel of Luke (Luke 5:1–11) Andrew is not named, nor is reference made to Simon having a brother. In this narrative, Jesus initially used a boat, solely described as being Simon's, as a platform for preaching to the multitudes on the shore and then as a means to achieving a huge trawl of fish on a night which had hitherto proved fruitless. The narrative indicates that Simon was not the only fisherman in the boat (they signaled to their partners in the other boat … (Luke 5:7)) but it is not until the next chapter (Luke 6:14) that Andrew is named as Simon's brother. However, it is generally understood that Andrew was fishing with Simon on the night in question. Matthew Poole, in his Annotations on the Holy Bible, stressed that 'Luke denies not that Andrew was there'.

In contrast, the Gospel of John (John 1:35–42) states that Andrew was a disciple of John the Baptist, whose testimony first led him, and another unnamed disciple of John the Baptist, to follow Jesus. Andrew at once recognised Jesus as the Messiah, and hastened to introduce him to his brother. Subsequently, in the gospels, Andrew is referred to as being present on some important occasions as one of the disciples more closely attached to Jesus. Andrew told Jesus about the boy with the loaves and fishes (John 6:8), and when Philip wanted to tell Jesus about certain Greeks seeking Him, he told Andrew first (John 12:20–22). Andrew was present at the Last Supper. Andrew was one of the four disciples who came to Jesus on the Mount of Olives to ask about the signs of Jesus' return at the "end of the age".

Traditionally the text is said to have been based on the Acts of John and the Acts of Peter, and even to have had the same author, the "Leucius Charinus" who is credited with all the 2nd-century romances. Like these works, the Acts of Andrew describes the supposed travels of the title character, the miracles he performed during them, and finally a description of his martyrdom.

In a separate text known by the name of the Acts of Andrew and Matthias, which was edited by Max Bonnet in 1898 and translated by M.R. James, Matthias is portrayed as a captive in a country of anthropophagi (literally man-eaters, i.e. cannibals) and is rescued by Andrew and Jesus; it is no longer considered to be a portion of the text of Acta Andreae.

Like those in the two books of Acts on which it appears based, the miracles are extremely supernatural, and highly extravagant. Eusebius of Caesarea knew the work, which he dismissed as the production of a heretic and absurd. Gregory of Tours was delighted to find a copy and wrote a drastically reduced rescension of it about 593, leaving out the parts for "which, because of its excessive verbosity, [it] was called by some apocryphal", for which he felt it had been condemned. His free version expunges the detail that the apostle's ascetic preaching induced the proconsul's wife to leave her husband— socially and morally unacceptable to a Merovingian audience— brings the narrative into conformity with catholic orthodoxy of his time, then adds new material. The Acts of Andrew was often classed as a gnostic work before the library of Nag Hammadi clarified modern understanding of Gnosticism.

The original text was picked out of the best preserved Greek and Latin manuscripts. The resultant text is therefore aa kind of mosaic.)

PART 1

1 After the Ascension the apostles dispersed to preach in various countries. Andrew began in the province of Achaia, but Matthew went to the city of Mermidona. (The rest of 1 and the whole of 2 give a short abstract of the Acts of Andrew and Matthew which Gregory either found prefixed to his copy of the Acts of Andrew, or thought himself obliged to notice, because of the popularity of the story.)

2 Andrew left Mermidona and came back to his own allotted district. Walking with his disciples he met a blind man who said: 'Andrew, apostle of Christ, I know you can restore my sight, but I do not wish for that: only bid those with you to give me enough money to clothe and feed myself decently.' Andrew said: 'This is the devil's voice, who will not allow the man to recover his sight.' He touched his eyes and healed him. Then, as be had but a vile rough garment, Andrew said: 'Take the filthy garment off him and clothe him afresh.' All were ready to strip themselves, and Andrew said: 'Let him have what will suffice him.' He returned home thankful.

3 Demetrius of Amasea had an Egyptian boy of whom he was very fond, who died of a fever. Demetrius hearing of Andrew's miracles, came, fell at his feet, and besought help. Andrew pitied him, came to the house, held a very long discourse, turned to the bier, raised the boy, and restored him to his master. All believed and were baptised.

4 A Christian lad named Sostratus came to Andrew privately and told him: 'My mother cherishes a guilty passion for me: I have repulsed her, and she has gone to the proconsul to throw the guilt on me. I would rather die than expose her.' The officers came to fetch the boy, and Andrew prayed and went with him. The mother accused him. The proconsul bade him defend himself. He was silent, and so continued, until the proconsul retired to take counsel. The mother began to weep. Andrew said: 'Unhappy woman, that dost not fear to cast thine own guilt on thy son.' She said to the proconsul: 'Ever since my son entertained his wicked wish he has been in constant company with this man.' The proconsul was enraged, ordered the lad to be sewn into the leather bag of parricides and drowned in the river, and Andrew to be imprisoned till his punishment should be devised. Andrew prayed, there was an earthquake, the proconsul fell from his seat, every one was prostrated, and the mother withered up and died. The proconsul fell at Andrew's feet praying for mercy. The earthquake and thunder ceased, and he healed those who had been hurt. The proconsul and his house were baptised.

5 The son of Cratinus (Gratinus) of Sinope bathed in the women's bath and was seized by a demon. Cratinus wrote to Andrew for help: he himself had a fever and his wife dropsy. Andrew went there in a vehicle. The boy tormented by the evil spirit fell at his feet. He bade it depart and so it did, with outcries. He then went to Cratinus' bed and told him he well deserved to suffer because of his loose life, and bade him rise and sin no more. He was healed. The wife was rebuked for her infidelity. 'If she is to return to her former sin, let her not now be healed: if she can keep from it, let her be healed.' The water broke out of her body and she was cured. The apostle brake bread and gave it her. She thanked God, believed with all her house, and relapsed no more into sin. Cratinus afterwards sent Andrew great gifts by his servants, and then, with his wife, asked him in person to accept them, but he refused saying: 'It is rather for you to give them to the needy.'

6 After this he went to Nicaea where were seven devils living among the tombs by the wayside, who at noon stoned passersby and had killed many. And all the city came out to meet Andrew with olive branches, crying: 'Our salvation is in thee, O man of God.' When they had told him all, he said: 'If you believe in Christ you shall be freed.' They cried: 'We will.' He thanked God and commanded the demons to appear; they came in the form of dogs. Said he: 'These are your enemies: if you profess your belief that I can drive them out in Jesus' name, I will do so.' They cried out: 'We believe that Jesus Christ whom thou preachest is the Son of God.' Then he bade the demons go into dry and barren places and hurt no man till the last day. They roared and vanished. The apostle baptised the people and made Callistus bishop.

7 At the gate of Nicomedia he met a dead man borne on a bier, and his old father supported by slaves, hardly able to walk, and his old mother with hair torn, bewailing. 'How has it happened ?' he asked. 'He was alone in his chamber and seven dogs rushed on him and killed him.' Andrew sighed and said: 'This is an ambush of the demons I banished from Nicaea. What will you do, father, if I restore your son ?' 'I have nothing more precious than him, I will give him.' He prayed: 'Let the spirit of this lad return.' The faithful responded, 'Amen'. Andrew bade the lad rise, and he rose, and all cried: 'Great is the God of Andrew.' The parents offered great gifts which he refused, but took the lad to Macedonia, instructing him.

8 Embarking in a ship he sailed into the Hellespont, on the way to Byzantium. There was a great storm. Andrew prayed and there was calm. They reached Byzantium.

9 Thence proceeding through Thrace they met a troop of armed men who made as if to fall on them. Andrew made the sign of the cross against them, and prayed that they might be made powerless. A bright angel touched their swords and they all fell down, and Andrew and his company passed by while they worshipped him. And the angel departed in a great light.

10 At Perinthus he found a ship going to Macedonia, and an angel told him to go on board. As he preached the captain and the rest heard and were converted, and Andrew glorified God for making himself known on the sea.

11 At Philippi were two brothers, one of whom had two sons, the other two daughters. They were rich and noble, and said: 'There is no family as good as ours in the place: let us marry our sons to our daughters.' It was agreed and the earnest paid by the father of the sons. On the wedding-day a word from God came to them: 'Wait till my servant Andrew comes: he will tell you what you should do.' All preparations had been made, and guests bidden, but they waited. On the third day Andrew came: they went out to meet him with wreaths and told him how they had been charged to wait for him, and how things stood. His face was shining so that they marvelled at him. He said: 'Do not, my children, be deceived: rather repent, for you have sinned in thinking to join together those who are near of kin. We do not forbid or shun marriage [this cannot be the author's original sentiment: it is contradicted by all that we know of the Acts]. It is a divine institution: but we condemn incestuous unions.' The parents were troubled and prayed for pardon. The young people saw Andrew's face like that of an angel, and said: 'We are sure that your teaching is true.' The apostle blessed them and departed.

12 At Thessalonica was a rich noble youth, Exoos, who came without his parents' knowledge and asked to be shown the way of truth. He was taught, and believed, and followed Andrew taking no care of his worldly estate. The parents heard that he was at Philippi and tried to bribe him with gifts to leave Andrew. He said: 'Would that you had not these riches, then would you know the true God, and escape his wrath.' Andrew, too, came down from the third storey and preached to them, but in vain: he retired and shut the doors of the house. They gathered a band and came to burn the house, saying: 'Death to the son who has forsaken his parents': and brought torches, reeds, and faggots, and set the house on fire. It blazed up. Exoos took a bottle of water and prayed: 'Lord Jesu Christ, in whose hand is the nature of all the elements, who moistenest the dry and driest the moist, coolest the hot and kindlest the quenched, put out this fire that thy servants may not grow evil, but be more enkindled unto faith.' He sprinkled the flames and they died. 'He is become a sorcerer,' said the parents, and got ladders, to climb up and kill them, but God blinded them. They remained obstinate, but one Lysimachus, a citizen, said: 'Why persevere? God is fighting for these. Desist, lest heavenly fire consume you.' They were touched, and said: 'This is the true God.' It was now night, but a light shone out, and they received sight. They went up and fell before Andrew and asked pardon, and their repentance made Lysimachus say: 'Truly Christ whom Andrew preaches is the Son of God.' All were converted except the youth's parents, who cursed him and went home again, leaving all their money to public uses. Fifty days after they suddenly died, and the citizens, who loved the youth, returned the property to him. He did not leave Andrew, but spent his income on the poor.

13 The youth asked Andrew to go with him to Thessalonica. All assembled in the theatre, glad to see their favourite. The youth preached to them, Andrew remaining silent, and all wondered at his wisdom. The people cried out: 'Save the son of Carpianus who is ill, and we will believe.' Carpianus went to his house and said to the boy: 'You shall be cured to-day, Adimantus.' He said: 'Then my dream is come true: I saw this man in a vision healing me.' He rose up, dressed, and ran to the theatre, outstripping his father, and fell at Andrew's feet. The people seeing him walk after twenty-three years, cried: 'There is none like the God of Andrew.'

14 A citizen had a son possessed by an unclean spirit and asked for his cure. The demon, foreseeing that he would be cast out, took the son aside into a chamber and made him hang himself. The father said: 'Bring him to the theatre: I believe this stranger is able to raise him.' He said the same to Andrew. Andrew said to the people: 'What will it profit you if you see this accomplished and do not believe?' They said: 'Fear not, we will believe.' The lad was raised and they said: 'It is enough, we do believe.' And they escorted Andrew to the house with torches and lamps, for it was night, and he taught them for three days.

15 Medias of Philippi came and prayed for his sick son. Andrew wiped his cheeks and stroked his head, saying: 'Be comforted, only believe,' and went with him to Philippi. As they entered the city an old man met them and entreated for his sons, whom for an unspeakable crime Medias had imprisoned, and they were putrefied with sores. Andrew said: 'How can you ask help for your son when you keep these men bound? Loose their chains first, for your unkindness obstructs my prayers.' Medias, penitent, said: 'I will loose these two and seven others of whom you have not been told.' They were brought, tended for three days, cured, and freed. Then the apostle healed the son, Philomedes, who had been ill twenty-two years. The people cried: 'Heal our sick as well.' Andrew told Philomedes to visit them in their houses and bid them rise in the name of Jesus Christ, by which he had himself been healed. This was done, and all believed and offered gifts, which Andrew did not accept.

16 A citizen, Nicolaus, offered a gilt chariot and four white mules and four white horses as his most precious possession for the cure of his daughter. Andrew smiled. 'I accept your gifts, but not these visible ones: if you offer this for your daughter, what will you for your soul? That is what I desire of you, that the inner man may recognise the true God, reject earthly things and desire eternal . . .' He persuaded all to forsake their idols, and healed the girl. His fame went through all Macedonia.

17 Next day as he taught, a youth cried out: 'What hast thou to do with us. Art thou come to turn us out of our own place?' Andrew summoned him: 'What is your work?' 'I have dwelt in this boy from his youth and thought never to leave him: but three days since I heard his father say, "I shall go to Andrew": and now I fear the torments thou bringest us and I shall depart.' The spirit left the boy. And many came and asked: 'In whose name dost thou cure our sick?'

Philosophers also came and disputed with him, and no one could resist his teaching.

18 At this time, one who opposed him went to the proconsul Virinus and said: 'A man is arisen in Thessalonica who says the temples should be destroyed and ceremonies done away, and all the ancient law abolished, and one God worshipped, whose servant he says he is.' The proconsul sent soldiers and knights to fetch Andrew. They found his dwelling: when they entered, his face so shone that they fell down in fear. Andrew told those present the proconsul's purpose. The people armed themselves against the soldiers, but Andrew

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stopped them. The proconsul arrived; not finding Andrew in the appointed place, he raged like a lion and sent twenty more men. They, on arrival, were confounded and said nothing. The proconsul sent a large troop to bring him by force. Andrew said: 'Have you come for me?' 'Yes, if you are the sorcerer who says the gods ought not to be worshipped.' 'I am no sorcerer, but the apostle of Jesus Christ whom I preach.' At this, one of the soldiers drew his sword and cried: 'What have I to do with thee, Virinus, that thou sendest me to one who can not only cast me out of this vessel, but burn me by his power? Would that you would come yourself! you would do him no harm.' And the devil went out of the soldier and he fell dead. On this came the proconsul and stood before Andrew but could not see him. 'I am he whom thou seekest.' His eyes were opened, and he said in anger: 'What is this madness, that thou despisest us and our officers? Thou art certainly a sorcerer. Now will I throw thee to the beasts for contempt of our gods and us, and we shall see if the crucified whom thou preachest will help thee.' Andrew: 'Thou must believe, proconsul, in the true God and his Son whom he hath sent, specially now that one of thy men is dead.' And after long prayer he touched the soldier: 'Rise up: my God Jesus Christ raiseth thee.' He arose and stood whole. The people cried: 'Glory be to our God.' The proconsul: 'Believe not, O people, believe not the sorcerer.' They said: 'This is no sorcery but sound and true teaching.' The proconsul: 'I shall throw this man to the beasts and write about you to Caesar, that ye may perish for contemning his laws.' They would have stoned him, and said: 'Write to Caesar that the Macedonians have received the word of God, and forsaking their idols, worship the true God.'

Then the proconsul in wrath retired to the praetorium, and in the morning brought beasts to the stadium and had the Apostle dragged thither by the hair and beaten with clubs. First they sent in a fierce boar who went about him thrice and touched him not. The people praised God. A bull led by thirty soldiers and incited by two hunters, did not touch Andrew but tore the hunters to pieces, roared, and fell dead. 'Christ is the true God,' said the people. An angel was seen to descend and strengthen the apostle. The proconsul in rage sent in a fierce leopard, which left every one alone but seized and strangled the proconsul's son; but Virinus was so angry that he said nothing of it nor cared. Andrew said to the people: 'Recognise now that this is the true God, whose power subdues the beasts, though Virinus knows him not. But that ye may believe the more, I will raise the dead son, and confound the foolish father.' After long prayer, he raised him. The people would have slain Virinus, but Andrew restrained them, and Virinus went to the praetorium, confounded.

19 After this a youth who followed the apostle sent for his mother to meet Andrew. She came, and after being instructed, begged him to come to their house, which was devastated by a great serpent. As Andrew approached, it hissed loudly and with raised head came to meet him; it was fifty cubits long: every one fell down in fear. Andrew said: 'Hide thy head, foul one, which thou didst raise in the beginning for the hurt of mankind, and obey the servants of God, and die.' The serpent roared, and coiled about a great oak near by and vomited poison and blood and died.

Andrew went to the woman's farm, where a child killed by the serpent lay dead. He said to the parents: 'Our God who would have you saved hath sent me here that you may believe on him. Go and see the slayer slain.' They said: 'We care not so much for the child's death, if we be avenged.' They went, and Andrew said to the proconsul's wife (her conversion has been omitted by Gregory): 'Go and raise the boy.' She went, nothing doubting, and said: 'In the name of my God Jesus Christ, rise up whole.' The parents returned and found their child alive, and fell at Andrew's feet.

20 On the next night he saw a vision which he related. 'Hearken, beloved, to my vision. I beheld, and lo, a great mountain raised up on high, which had on it nothing earthly, but only shone with such light, that it seemed to enlighten all the world. And lo, there stood by me my beloved brethren the apostles Peter and John; and John reached his hand to Peter and raised him to the top of the mount, and turned to me and asked me to go up after Peter, saying: "Andrew, thou art to drink Peter's cup." And he stretched out his hands and said: "Draw near to me and stretch out thy hands so as to join them unto mine, and put thy head by my head." When I did so I found myself shorter than John. After that he said to me: "Wouldst thou know the image of that which thou seest, and who it is that speaketh to thee?" and I said: "I desire to know it." And he said to me: "I am the word of the cross whereon thou shalt hang shortly, for his name's sake whom thou preachest." And many other things said he unto me, of which I must now say nothing, but they shall be declared when I come unto the sacrifice. But now let all assemble that have received the word of God, and let me commend them unto the Lord Jesus Christ, that he may vouchsafe to keep them unblemished in his teaching. For I am now being loosed from the body, and go unto that promise which he hath vouchsafed to promise me, who is the Lord of heaven and earth, the Son of God Almighty, very God with the Holy Ghost, continuing for everlasting ages.'

(I feel sure that John in the latter part of this vision has been substituted by Gregory for Jesus. The echoes of the Acts of John and of Peter are very evident here.)

All the brethren wept and smote their faces. When all were gathered, Andrew said: 'Know, beloved, that I am about to leave you, but I trust in Jesus whose word I preach, that he will keep you from evil, that this harvest which I have sown among you may not be plucked up by the enemy, that is, the knowledge and teaching of my Lord Jesus Christ. But do ye pray always and stand firm in the faith, that the Lord may root out all tares of offence and vouchsafe to gather you into his heavenly garner as pure wheat.' So for five days he taught and confirmed them: then he spread his hands and prayed: 'Keep, I beseech thee, O Lord, this flock which hath now known thy salvation, that the wicked one may not prevail against it, but that what by thy command and my means it hath received, it may be able to preserve inviolate for ever.' And all responded 'Amen'. He took bread, brake it with thanksgiving, gave it to all, saying: 'Receive the grace which Christ our Lord God giveth you by me his servant.' He kissed every one and commended them to the Lord, and departed to Thessalonica, and after teaching there two days, he left them.

21 Many faithful from Macedonia accompanied him in two ships. And all were desirous of being on Andrew's ship, to hear him. He said: 'I know your wish, but this ship is too small. Let the servants and baggage go in the larger ship, and you with me in this.' He gave them Anthimus to comfort them, and bade them go into another ship which he ordered to keep always near . . . that they might see him and hear the word of God. (This is a little confused.) And as he slept a little, one fell overboard. Anthimus roused him, saying: 'Help us, good master; one of thy servants perisheth.' He rebuked the wind, there was a calm, and the man was borne by the waves to the ship. Anthimus helped him on board and all marvelled. On the twelfth day they reached Patrae in Achaia, disembarked, and went to an inn.

22 Many asked him to lodge with them, but he said he could only go where God bade him. That night he had no revelation, and the next night, being distressed at this, he heard a voice saying: 'Andrew, I am alway with thee and forsake thee not,' and was glad.

Lesbius the proconsul was told in a vision to take him in, and sent a messenger for him. He came, and entering the proconsul's chamber found him lying as dead with closed eyes; he struck him on the side and said: 'Rise and tell us what hath befallen thee.' Lesbius said: 'I abominated the way which you teach and sent soldiers in ships to the proconsul of Macedonia to send you bound to me, but they were wrecked and could not reach their destination. As I continued in my purpose of destroying your Way, two black men (Ethiopes) appeared and scourged me, saying: "We can no longer prevail here, for the man is coming whom you mean to persecute. So to-night, while we still have the power, we will avenge ourselves on you." And they beat me sorely and left me. But now do you pray that I may be pardoned and healed.' Andrew preached the word and all believed, and the proconsul was healed and confirmed in the faith.

23 Now Trophima, once the proconsul's mistress, and now married to another, left her husband and clave to Andrew. Her husband came to her lady (Lesbius' wife) and said she was renewing her liaison with the proconsul. The wife, enraged, said: 'This is why my husband has left me these six months.' She called her steward (procurator) and had Trophima sentenced as a prostitute and sent to the brothel. Lesbius knew nothing, and was deceived by his wife, when he asked about her. Trophima in the brothel prayed continually, and had the Gospel on her bosom, and no one could approach her. One day one offered her violence, and the Gospel fell to the ground. She cried to God for help and an angel came, and the youth fell dead. After that, she raised him, and all the city ran to the sight.

Lesbius' wife went to the bath with the steward, and as they bathed an ugly demon came and killed them both. Andrew heard and said: 'It is the judgement of God for their usage of Trophima.' The lady's nurse, decrepit from age, was carried to the spot, and supplicated for her. Andrew said to Lesbius: 'Will you have her raised?' 'No, after all the ill she has done.' 'We ought not to be unmerciful.' Lesbius went to the praetorium; Andrew raised his wife, who remained shamefaced: he bade her go home and pray. 'First', she said, 'reconcile me to Trophima whom I have injured.' 'She bears you no malice.' He called her and they were reconciled. Callisto was the wife.

Lesbius, growing in faith, came one day to Andrew and confessed all his sins. Andrew said: 'I thank God, my son, that thou fearest the judgement to come. Be strong in the Lord in whom thou believest.' And he took his hand and walked with him on the shore. 24 They sat down, with others, on the sand, and he taught. A corpse was thrown up by the sea near them. 'We must learn', said Andrew, 'what the enemy has done to him.' So he raised him, gave him a garment, and bade him tell his story. He said: 'I am the son of Sostratus, of Macedonia, lately come from Italy. On returning home I heard of a new teaching, and set forth to find out about it. On the way here we were wrecked and all drowned.' And after some thought, he realized that Andrew was the man he sought, and fell at his feet and said: 'I know that thou art the servant of the true God. I beseech thee for my companions, that they also may be raised and know him.' Then Andrew instructed him, and thereafter prayed God to show the bodies of the other drowned men: thirty-nine were washed ashore, and all there prayed for them to be raised. Philopator, the youth, said: 'My father sent me here with a great sum. Now he is blaspheming God and his teaching. Let it not be so.' Andrew ordered the bodies to be collected, and said: 'Whom will you have raised first?' He said: 'Warus my foster-brother.' So he was first raised and then the other thirty-eight. Andrew prayed over each, and then told the brethren each to take the hand of one and say: 'Jesus Christ the son of the living God raiseth thee.'

Lesbius gave much money to Philopator to replace what he had lost, and he abode with Andrew.

25 A woman, Calliopa, married to a murderer, had an illegitimate child and suffered in travail. She told her sister to call on Diana for help; when she did so the devil appeared to her at night and said: 'Why do you trouble me with vain prayers? Go to Andrew in Achaia.' She came, and he accompanied her to Corinth, Lesbius with him. Andrew said to Calliopa: 'You deserve to suffer for your evil life: but believe in Christ, and you will be relieved, but the child will be born dead.' And so it was.

26 Andrew did many signs in Corinth. Sostratus the father of Philopator, warned in a vision to visit Andrew, came first to Achaia and then to Corinth. He met Andrew walking with Lesbius, recognised him by his vision, and fell at his feet. Philopator said: 'This is my father, who seeks to know what he must do.' Andrew: 'I know that he is come to learn the truth; we thank God who reveals himself to believers.' Leontius the servant of Sostratus, said to him: 'Seest thou, sir, how this man's face shineth?' 'I see, my beloved,' said Sostratus; 'let us never leave him, but live with him and hear the words of eternal life.' Next day they offered Andrew many gifts, but he said: 'It is not for me to take aught of you but your own selves. Had I desired money, Lesbius is richer.'

27 After some days he bade them prepare him a bath; and going there saw an old man with a devil, trembling exceedingly. As he wondered at him, another, a youth, came out of the bath and fell at his feet, saying: 'What have we to do with thee, Andrew? Hast thou come here to turn us out of our abodes?' Andrew said to the people: 'Fear not,' and drove out both the devils. Then, as he bathed, he told them: 'The enemy of mankind lies in wait everywhere, in baths and in rivers; therefore we ought always to invoke the Lord's name, that he may have w power over us.'

They brought their sick to him to be healed, and so they did from other cities.

28 An old man, Nicolaus, came with clothes rent and said: 'I am seventy-four years old and have always been a libertine. Three days ago I heard of your miracles and teaching. I thought I would turn over a new leaf, and then again that I would not. in this doubt, I took a Gospel and prayed God to make me forget my old devices. A few days after, I forgot the Gospel I had about me, and went to the brothel. The woman said: "Depart, old man, depart: thou art an angel of God, touch me not nor approach me, for I see in thee a great mystery." Then I remembered the Gospel, and am come to you for help and pardon.' Andrew discoursed long against incontinence, and prayed from the sixth to the ninth hour. He rose and washed his face and said: 'I will not eat till I know if God will have mercy on this man.' A second day he fasted, but had no revelation until the fifth day, when he wept vehemently and said: 'Lord, we obtain mercy for the dead, and now this man that desireth to know thy greatness, wherefore should he not return and thou heal him?' A voice from heaven said: 'Thou hast prevailed for the old man; but like as thou art worn with fasting, let him also fast, that he may be saved.' And he called him and preached abstinence. On the sixth day he asked the brethren all to pray for Nicolaus, and they did. Andrew then took food and permitted the rest to eat. Nicolaus went home, gave away all his goods, and lived for six months on dry bread and water. Then he died. Andrew was not there, but in the place where he was he heard a voice: 'Andrew, Nicolaus for whom thou didst intercede, is become mine.' And he told the brethren that Nicolaus was dead, and prayed that he might rest in peace.

29 And while he abode in that place (probably Lacedaemon) Antiphanes of Megara came and said: 'If there be in thee any kindness, according to the command of the Saviour whom thou preachest, show it now.' Asked what his story was, he told it. Returning from a journey, I heard the porter of my house crying out. They told me that he and his wife and son were tormented of a devil. I went upstairs and found other servants gnashing their teeth, running at me, and laughing madly. I went further up and found they had beaten my wife: she lay with her hair over her face unable to recognise me. Cure her, and I care nothing for the others.' Andrew said: 'There is no respect of persons with God. Let us go there.'

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They went from Lacedaemon to Megara, and when they entered the house, all the devils cried out: 'What dost thou here, Andrew? Go where thou art permitted: this house is ours.' He healed the wife and all the possessed persons, and Antiphanes and his wife became firm adherents.

30 He returned to Patrae where Egeas was now proconsul, and one Iphidamia, who had been converted by a disciple, Sosias, came and embraced his feet and said: 'My lady Maximilla who is in a fever has sent for you. The proconsul is standing by her bed with his sword drawn, meaning to kill himself when she expires.' He went to her, and said to Egeas: 'Do thyself no harm, but put up thy sword into his place. There will be a time when thou wilt draw it on me.' Egeas did not understand, but made way. Andrew took Maximilla's hand, she broke into a sweat, and was well: he bade them give her food. The proconsul sent him 100 pieces of silver, but he would not look at them.

31 Going thence he saw a sick man lying in the dirt begging, and healed him.

32 Elsewhere he saw a blind man with wife and son, and said: 'This is indeed the devil's work: he has blinded them in soul and body.' He opened their eyes and they believed.

33 One who saw this said: 'I beg thee come to the harbour; there is a man, the son of a sailor, sick fifty years, cast out of the house, lying on the shore, incurable, full of ulcers and worms.' They went to him. The sick man said: 'Perhaps you are the disciple of that God who alone can save.' Andrew said: 'I am he who in the name of my God can restore thee to health,' and added: 'In the name of Jesus Christ, rise and follow me.' He left his filthy rags and followed, the pus and worms flowing from him. They went into the sea, and the apostle washed him in the name of the Trinity and he was whole, and ran naked through the city proclaiming the true God.

34 At this time the proconsul's brother Stratocles arrived from Italy. One of his slaves, Alcman, whom he loved, was taken by a devil and lay foaming in the court. Stratocles hearing of it said: 'Would the sea had swallowed me before I saw this.' Maximilla and Iphidamia said: 'Be comforted: there is here a man of God, let us send for him.' When he came he took the boy's hand and raised him whole. Stratocles believed and clave to Andrew.

35 Maximilla went daily to the praetorium and sent for Andrew to teach there. Egeas was away in Macedonia, angry because Maximilla had left him since her conversion. As they were all assembled one day, he returned, to their great terror. Andrew prayed that he might not be suffered to enter the place till all had dispersed. And Egeas was at once seized with indisposition, and in the interval the apostle signed them all and sent them away, himself last. But Maximilla on the first opportunity came to Andrew and received the word of God and went home. [At about this point we must place the episodes quoted by Evodius of Uzala: see below.]

36 After this Andrew was taken and imprisoned by Egeans, and all came to the prison to be taught. After a few days he was scourged and crucified; he hung for three days, preaching, and expired, as is fully set forth in his Passion. Maximilla embalmed and buried his body.

37 From the tomb comes manna like flour, and oil: the amount shows the barrenness or fertility of the coming season -as I have told in my first book of Miracles. I have not set out his Passion at length, because I find it well done by some one else.

38 This much have I presumed to write, unworthy, unlettered, &c. The author's prayer for himself ends the book. May Andrew, on whose death-day he was born, intercede to save him.

PART 2

1 . . . is there in you altogether slackness? are ye not yet convinced of yourselves that ye do not yet bear his goodness? let us be reverent, let us rejoice with ourselves in the bountiful (ungrudging) fellowship which cometh of him. Let us say unto ourselves: Blessed is our race! by whom hath it been loved? blessed is our state! of whom hath it obtained mercy? we are not cast on the ground, we that have been recognised by so great highness: we are not the offspring of time, afterward to be dissolved by time; we are not a contrivance (product) of motion, made to be again destroyed by itself, nor things of earthly birth. ending again therein. We belong, then, to a greatness, unto which we aspire, of which we are the property, and peradventure to a greatness that hath mercy upon us. We belong to the better; therefore we flee from the worse: we belong to the beautiful, for whose sake we reject the foul; to the righteous, by whom we cast away the unrighteous, to the merciful, by whom we reject the unmerciful; to the Saviour, by whom we recognise the destroyer; to the light, by whom we have cast away the darkness; to the One, by whom we have turned away from the many; to the heavenly, by whom we have learned to know the earthly; to the abiding, by whom we have seen the transitory. If we desire to offer unto God that hath had mercy on us a worthy thanksgiving or confidence or hymn or boasting, what better cause (theme) have we than that we have been recognised by him?

2 And having discoursed thus to the brethren, he sent them away every one to his house, saying to them: Neither are ye ever forsaken of me, ye that are servants of Christ, because of the love that is in him: neither again shall I be forsaken of you because of his intercession (mediation). And every one departed unto his house: and there was among them rejoicing after this sort for many days, while Aegeates took not thought to prosecute the accusation against the Apostle. Every one of them then was confirmed at that time in hope toward the Lord, and they assembled without fear in the prison, with Maximilla, Iphidamia, and the rest, continually, being sheltered by the protection and grace of the Lord.

3 But one day Aegeates, as he was hearing causes, remembered the matter concerning Andrew: and as one seized with madness, he left the cause which he had in hand, and rose up from the judgement seat and ran quickly to the praetorium, inflamed with love of Maximilla and desiring to persuade her with flatteries. And Maximilla was beforehand with him, coming from the prison and entering the house. And he went in and said to her:

4 Maximilla, thy parents counted me worthy of being thy consort, and gave me thine hand in marriage, not looking to wealth or descent or renown, but it may be to my good disposition of soul: and, that I may pass over much that I might utter in reproach of thee, both of that which I have enjoyed at thy parents' hands and thou from me during all our life, I am come, leaving the court, to learn of thee this one thing: answer me then reasonably, if thou wert as the wife of former days, living with me in the way we know, sleeping, conversing, bearing offspring with me, I would deal well with thee in all points; nay more, I would set free the stranger whom I hold in prison: but if thou wilt not to thee I would do nothing harsh, for indeed I cannot; but him, whom thou affectionest more than me, I will afflict yet more. Consider, then, Maximilla, to whether of the two thou inclinest, and answer me to-morrow; for I am wholly armed for this emergency.

5 And with these words he went out; but Maximilla again at the accustomed hour, with Iphidamia, went to Andrew: and putting his hands before her own eyes, and then putting them to her mouth, she began to declare to him the whole rmatter of the demand of Aegeates. And Andrew answered her: I know, Maximilla my child, that thou thyself art moved to resist the whole attraction (promise) of nuptial union, desiring to be quit of a foul and polluted way of life: and this hath long been firmly held in thine (MS. mine) intention; but now thou wishest for the further testimony of mine opinion. I testify, O Maximilla: do it not; be not vanquished by the threat of Aegeates: be not overcome by his discourse: fear not his shameful counsels: fall not to his artful flatteries: consent not to surrender thyself to his impure spells, but endure all his torments looking unto us for a little space, and thou shalt see him whoily numbed and withering away from thee and from all that are akin to thee. But (For) that which I most needed to say to thee -for I rest not till I fulfil the business which is seen, and which cometh to pass in thy person- hath escaped me: and rightly in thee do I behold Eve repenting, and in myself Adam returning; for that which she suffered in ignorance, thou now (for whose soul I strive) settest right by returning: and that which the spirit suffered which was overthrown with her and slipped away from itself, is set right in me, with thee who seest thyself being brought back. For her defect thou hast remedied by not suffering like her; and his imperfection I have perfected by taking refuge with God, that which she disobeyed thou hast obeyed: that whereto he consented I flee from: and that which they both transgressed we have been aware of, for it is ordained that every one should correct (and raise up again) his own fall.

6 I, then, having said this as I have said it, would go on to speak as followeth: Well done, O nature that art being saved for thou hast been strong and hast not hidden thyself (from God like Adam)! Well done, O soul that criest out of what thou hast surfered, and returnest unto thyself ! Well done, O man that understandest what is thine and dost press on to what is thine! Well done, thou that hearest what is spoken, for I see thee to be greater than things that are thought or spoken! I recognise thee as more powerful than the things which seemed to overpower thee; as more beautiful than those which cast thee down into foulness, which brought thee down into captivity. Perceiving then, O man, all this in thyself, that thou art immaterial, holy light, akin to him that is unborn, that thou art intellectual, heavenly, translucent, pure, above the flesh, above the world, above rulers, above principalities, over whom thou art in truth, then comprehend thyself in thy condition and receive full knowledge and understand wherein thou excellest: and beholding thine own face in thine essence, break asunder all bonds -I say not only those that are of thy birth, but those that are above birth, whereof we have set forth to thee the names which are exceeding great -desire earnestly to see him that is revealed unto thee, him who doth not come into being, whom perchance thou alone shalt recognise with confidence.

7 These things have I spoken of thee, Maximilla, for in their meaning the things I have spoken reach unto thee. Like as Adam died in Eve because he consented unto her confession, so do I now live in thee that keepest the Lord's commandment and stablishest thyself in the rank (dignity) of thy being. But the threats of Aegeates do thou trample down, Maximilla, knowing that we have God that hath mercy on us. And let not his noise move thee, but continue chaste- and let him punish me not only with such torments as bonds, but let him cast me to the beasts or burn me with fire, and throw me from a precipice. And what need I say? there is but this one body; let him abuse that as he will, for it is akin to himself.

8 And yet again unto thee is my speech, Maximilla: I say unto thee, give not thyself over unto Aegeates: withstand his ambushes- for indeed, Maximilla, I have seen my Lord saying unto me: Andrew, Aegeates' father the devil will loose thee from this prison. Thine, therefore, let it be henceforth to keep thyself chaste and pure, holy, unspotted, sincere, free from adultery, not reconciled to the discourses of our enemy, unbent, unbroken, tearless, unwounded, not storm-tossed, undivided, not stumbling without fellow-feeling for the works of Cain. For if thou give not up thyself, Maximilla, to what is contrary to these, I also shall rest, though I be thus forced to leave this life for thy sake that is, for mine own. But if I were thrust out hence, even I, who, it may be, might avail through thee to profit others that are akin to me, and if thou wert persuaded by the discourse of Aegeates and the flatteries of his father the serpent, so that thou didst turn unto thy former works, know thou that on thine account I should be tormented until thou thyself sawest that I had contemned life for the sake of a soul which was not worthy.

9 I entreat, therefore, the wise man that is in thee that thy mind continue clear seeing. I entreat thy mind that is not seen, that it be preserved whole: I beseech thee, love thy Jesus, and yield not unto the worse. Assist me, thou whom I entreat as a man, that I may become perfect: help me also, that thou mayest recognise thine own true nature: feel with me in my suffering, that thou mayest take knowledge of what I suffer, and escape suffering see that which I see, and thou shalt be blind to what thou seest: see that which thou shouldst, and thou shalt not see that thou shouldst not: hearken to what I say, and cast away that which thou hast heard.

10 These things have I spoken unto thee and unto every one that heareth, if he will hear. But thou, O Stratocles, said he, looking toward him, Why art thou so oppressed, with many tears and groanings to be heard afar off? what is the lowness of spirit that is on thee? why thy much pain and thy great anguish? dost thou take note of what is said, and wherefore I pray thee to be disposed in mind as my child? (or, my child, to be composed in mind): dost thou perceive unto whom my words are spoken? hath each of them taken hold on thine understanding? have they whetted (MS. touched) thine intellectual part? have I thee as one that hath hearkened to me? do I find myself in thee? is there in thee one that speaketh whom I see to be mine own? doth he love him that speaketh in me and desire to have fellowship with him? doth he wish to be made one with him? doth lie hasten to become his friend? doth he yearn to be joined with him? doth he find in him any rest? hath he where to lay his head? doth nought oppose him there? nought that is wroth with him, resisteth him, hateth him, fleeth from him, is savage, avoideth, turneth away, starteth off, is burdened, maketh war, talketh with others, is flattered by others, agreeth with others? Doth nothing else disturb him? Is there one within that is strange to me? an adversary, a breaker of peace, an enemy, a cheat, a sorcerer, a crooked dealer, unsound, guileful, a hater of men, a hater of the word, one like a tyrant, boastful, puffed up, mad, akin to the serpent, a weapon of the devil, a friend of the fire, belonging to darkness? Is there in thee any one, Stratocles, that cannot endure my saying these things? Who is it? Answer: do I talk in vain? have I spoken in vain? Nay, saith the man in thee, Stratocles, who now again weepeth.

11 And Andrew took the band of Stratocles and said: I have him whom I loved; I shall rest on him whom I look for; for thy yet groaning, and weeping without restraint, is a sign unto me that I have already found rest, that I have not spoken to thee these words which are akin to me, in vain.

12 And Stratocles answered him: Think not, most blessed Andrew, that there is aught else that afflicteth me but thee; for the words that come forth of thee are like arrows of fire shot against me, and every one of them reacheth me and verily burneth me up. That part of my soul which inclineth to what I hear is tormented, divining the affliction that is to follow, for thou thyself departest, and, I know, nobly: but hereafter when I seek thy care and affection, where shall I find it, or in whom? I have received the seeds of the words of salvation, and thou wast the sower: but that they should sprout up and grow needs none other but thee, most blessed Andrew. And what else have I say to thee but this? I need much mercy and help from thee, to become worthy of the seed I have from thee, which will not otherwise increase perpetually or grow up into the light except thou willest it, and prayest for them and for the whole of me.

13 And Andrew answered him: This, my child, was what I beheld in thee myself. And I glorify my Lord that my thought of thee walked not on the void, but knew what it said. But

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that ye may know the truth, to-morrow doth Aegeates deliver me up to be crucified: for Maximilla the servant of the Lord will enrage the enemy that is in him, unto whom he belongeth, by not consenting to that which is hateful to her; and by turning against me he will think to console himself.

14 Now while the apostle spake these things, Maximilla was not there, for she having heard throughout the words wherewith he answered her, and being in part composed by them, and of such a mind as the words pointed out, set forth not inadvisedly nor without purpose and went to the praetorium. And she bade farewell to all the life of the flesh, and when Aegeates brought to her the same demand which he had told her to consider, whether she would lie with him, she rejected it- and thenceforth he bent himself to putting Andrew to death, and thought to what death he should expose him. And when of all deaths crucifixion alone prevailed with him, he went away with his like and dined; and Maximilla, the Lord going before her in the likeness of Andrew, with Iphidamia came back to the prison- and there being therein a great gathering of the brethren, she found Andrew discoursing thus:

15 I, brethren, was sent forth by the Lord as an apostle unto these regions whereof my Lord thought me worthy, not to teach any man, but to remind every man that is akin to such words that they live in evils which are temporal, delighting in their injurious delusions: wherefrom I have always exhorted you also to depart, and encouraged you to press toward things that endure, and to take flight from all that is transitory (flowing)- for ye see that none of you standeth, but that all things, even to the customs of men, are easily changeable. And this befalleth because the soul is untrained and erreth toward nature and holdeth pledges toft its error. I therefore account them blessed who have become obedient unto the word preached, and thereby see the mysteries of their own nature; for whose sake all things have been builded up.

16 I enjoin you therefore, beloved children, build yourselves firmly upon the foundation that hath been laid for you, which is unshaken, and against which no evil- willer can conspire. Be then, rooted upon this foundation: be established, remembering what ye have seen (or heard) and all that hath come to pass while I walked with you all. Ye have seen works wrought through me which ye have no power to disbelieve, and such signs come to pass as perchance even dumb nature will proclaim aloud; I have delivered you words which I pray may so be received by you as the words themselves would have it. Be established then, beloved upon all that ye have seen, and heard, and partaken of. And God on whom ye have believed shall have mercy on you and present you lmto himself, giving you rest unto all ages.

17 Now as for that which is to befall me, let it not really trouble you as some strange spectacle, that the servant of God unto whom God himself hath granted much in deeds and words, should by an evil man be driven out of this temporal life: for not only unto me will this come to pass, but unto all them that have loved and believed on him and confess him. The devil that is wholly shameless will arm his own children against them, that they may consent unto him; and he will not have his desire. And wherefore he essayeth this I will tell you. From the beginning of all things, and if I may so say, since he that hath no beginning came down to be under his rule, the enemy that is a foe to peace driveth away from (God) such a one as doth not belong indeed to him, but is some one of the weaker sort and not fully enlightened (?), nor yet able to recognise himself. And because he knoweth him not, therefore must he be fought against by him (the devil). For he, thinking that he possesseth him and is his master for ever, opposeth him so much, that he maketh their enmity to be a kind of friendship: for suggesting to him his own thoughts, he often portrayeth them as pleasurable and specious (MS. deceitful), by which he thinketh to prevail over him. He was not, then, openly shown to be an enemy, for he feigned a friendship that was worthy of him.

18 And this his work he carried on so long that he (man) forgat to recognise it, but he (the devil) knew it himself: that is, he, because of his gifts . But when the mystery of grace was lighted up, and the counsel of rest manifested, and the light of the word shown, and the race of them that were saved was proved, warring against many pleasures, the enemy himself despised, and himself, through the goodness of him that had mercy on us, derided because of his own gifts, by which he had thought to triumph over man- he began to plot against us with hatred and enmity and assaults; and this hath he dctcrmined, not to cease from us till he thinketh to separate us (from God).

For before, our enemy was without care, and offered us a feigned friendship which was worthy of him, and was able not to fear that we, deceived by him, should depart from him. But when the light of dispensation was kindled, it made , I say not stronger, . For it exposed that part of his nature which was hidden and which thought to escape notice, and made it confess what it is.

Knowing therefore, brethren, that which shall be, let us be vigilant, not discontented, not making a proud figure, not carrying upon our souls marks of him which are not our own: but wholly lifted upward by the whole word, let us all gladly await the end, and take our flight away from him, that he may be henceforth shown as he is, who our nature unto (or against) our . . .

PART 3 (The Martyrdom)

1 And after he had thus discourse throughout the night to the brethren, and praved with them and committed them unto the Lord, early in the morning Aegeates the proconsul sent for the apostle Andrew out of the prison and said to him: The end of thy judgement is at hand, thou stranger, enemy of this present life and foe of all mine house. Wherefore hast thou thought good to intrude into places that are not thine, and to corrupt my wife who was of old obedient unto me? why hast thou done this against me and against all Achaia? Therefore shalt thou receive from me a gift in recompense of that thou hast wrought against me.

2 And he commanded him to be scourged by seven men and afterward to be crucified: and charged the executioners that his legs should be left unpiercod, and so he should be hanged up: thinking by this means to torment him the more.

Now the report was noised throughout all Patrae that the stranger, the righteous man, the servant of Christ whom Aegeates held prisoner, was being crucified, having done nothing amiss: and they ran together with one accord unto the sight, being wroth with the proconsul because of his impious judgement.

3 And as the executioners led him unto the place to fulfil that which was commanded them, Stratocles heard what was come to pass, and ran hastily and overtook them, and beheld the blessed Andrew violently haled by the executioners like a malefactor. And he spared them not, but beating every one of them soundly and tearing their coats from top to bottom, he caught Andrew away from them, saying: Ye may thank the blessed man who hath instructed me and taught me to refrain from extremity of wrath: for else I would have showed you what Stratocles is able to do, and what is the power of the foul Aegeates. For we have learnt to endure that which others inflict upon us. And he took the hand of the apostle and went with him to the place by the sea-shore where he was to be crucified.

4 But the soldiers who had received him from the proconsul left him with Stratocles, and returned and told Aegeates, saying: As we went with Andrew Stratocles prevented us, and rent our coats and pulled him away from us and took him with him, and lo, here we are as thou seest. And Aegeates answered them: Put on other raiment and go and fulfil that which I commanded you, upon the condemned man: but be not seen of Stratocles, neither answer him again if he ask aught of you; for I know the rashness of his soul, what it is, and if he were provoked he would not even spare me. And they did as Aegeates said unto them.

5 But as Stratocles went with the apostle unto the place appointed, Andrew perceived that he was wroth with Aegeates and was reviling him in a low voice, and said unto him: My child Stratocles, I would have thee henceforth possess thy soul unmoved, and remove from thyself this temper, and neither be inwardly disposed thus toward the things that seem hard to thee, nor be inflamed outwardly: for it becometh the servant of Jesus to be worthy of Jesus. And another thing will I say unto thee and to the brethren that walk with me: that the man that is against us, when he dareth aught against us and findeth not one to consent unto him, is smitten and beaten and wholly deadened because he hath not accomplished that which he undertook; let us therefore, little children, have him alway before our eyes, lest if we fall asleep he slaughter us (you) like an adversary.

6 And as he spake this and yet more unto Stratocles and them that were with him, they came to the place where he was to be crucified: and (seeing the cross set up at the edge of the sand by the sea-shore) he left them all and went to the cross and spake unto it (as unto a living creature, with a loud voice):

7 Hail, O cross, yea be glad indeed! Well know I that thou shalt henceforth be at rest, thou that hast for a long time been wearied, being set up and awaiting me. I come unto thee whom I know to belong to me. I come unto thee that hast yearned after me. I know thy mystery, for the which thou art set up: for thou art planted in the world to establish the things that are unstable: and the one part of thee stretcheth up toward heaven that thou mayest signify the heavenly word (or, the word that is above) (the head of all things): and another part of thee is spread out to the right hand and the left that it may put to flight the envious and adverse power of the evil one, and gather into one the things that are scattered abroad (or, the world): And another part of thee is planted in the earth, and securely set in the depth, that thou mayest join the things that are in the earth and that are under the earth unto the heavenly things (Laud. that thou mayest draw up them that be under the earth and them that are held in the places beneath the earth, and join, &c.).

8 O cross, device (contrivance) of the salvation of the Most High! O cross, trophy of the victory [of Christ] over the enemies! O cross, planted upon the earth and having thy fruit in the heavens! O name of the cross, filled with all things (lit. a thing filled with all).

9 Well done, O cross, that hast bound down the mobility of the world (or, the circumference)! Well done, O shape of understanding that hast shaped the shapeless (earth?)! Well done, O unseen chastisement that sorely chastisest the substance of the knowledge that hath many gods, and drivest out from among mankind him that devised it! Well done, thou that didst clothe thyself with the Lord, and didst bear the thief as a fruit, and didst call the apostle to repentance, and didst not refuse to accept us!

10 But how long delay I, speaking thus, and embrace not the cross, that by the cross I may be made alive, and by the cross (win) the common death of all and depart out of life?

11 Come hitller ye ministers of joy unto me, ye servants of Aegeates: accomplish the desire of us both, and bind the lamb unto the wood of suffering, the man unto the maker, the soul unto the Saviour.

12 And the blessed Andrew having thus spoken, standing upon the earth, looked earnestly upon the cross, and bade the brethren that the executioners should come and do that which was commanded them; for they stood afar off.

13 And they came and bound his hands and his feet and nailed them not; for such a charge had they from Aegeates; for he wished to afflict him by hanging him up, and that in the night he might be devoured alive by dogs (Laud. that he might be wearied out and permit Maximilla to live with him). And they left him hanging and departed from him.

14 And when the multitudes that stood by of them that had been made disciples in Christ by him saw that they had done unto him none of the things accustomed with them that are crucified, they hoped to hear something again from him. For as he hung, he moved his head and smiled. And Stratocles asked him, saying: Wherefore smilest thou, servant of God? thy laughter maketh us to mourn and weep because we are bereaved of thee. And the blessed Andrew answered him: Shall I not laugh, my son Stratocles, at the vain assault (ambush) of Aegeates, whereby he thinketh to punish us? we are strangers unto him and his conspiracics. He hath not to hear; for if he had, he would have heard that the man of Jesus cannot be punished, because he is henceforth known of him.

15 And thereafter he spake unto them all in common, for the heathen also were come together, being wroth at the unjust judgement of Aegeates. Ye men that are here present, and women and children, old and young, bond and free, and all that will hear, take ye no heed of the vain deceit of this present life, but heed us rather who hang here for the Lord's sake and are about to depart out of this body: and renounce all the lusts of the world and contemn (spit upon) the worship of the abominable idols, and run unto the true worshipping of our God that lieth not, and make yourselves a temple pure and ready to receive the word. (Narr. then becomes obviously late: Ep. Gr., which is far shorter, ends: And hasten to overtake my soul as it hasteneth toward heavenly things, and in a word despise all temporal things, and establish your minds as men believing in Christ.)

16 And the multitudes hearing the things which he spake departed not from the place; and Andrew continued speaking yet more unto them, for a day and a night. And on the day following, beholding his endurance and constancy of soul and wisdom of spirit and strength of mind, they were wroth, and hastened with one accord unto Aegeates, to the judgement-seat where he sat, and cried out against him, saying: What is this judgement of thine, O proconsul ? thou hast ill judged! thou hast condemned unjustly: thy court is against law! What evil hath this man done? wherein hath he offended? The city is troubled: thou injurest us all! destroy not Caesar's city! give us the righteous man! restore us the holy man! slay not a man dear to God! destroy not a man gentle and pious! lo, two days is he hanged up and yet liveth, and hath tasted nothing, and yet refresheth all us with his words, and lo, we believe in the God whom he preacheth. Take down the righteous man and we will all turn philosophers; loose the chaste man and all Patrae will be at peace, set free the wise man and all Achaia shall be set free by him! (or, obtain mercy.)

17 But when at the first Aegeates would not hear them, but beckoned with the hand to the people that they should depart, they were filled with rage and were at the point to do him violence, being in number about two thousand

18 And when the proconsul saw them to be after a sort mad, he feared lest there should be a rising against him, and rose up from the judgement-seat and went with them, promising to release Andrew. And some went before and signified to the apostle and to the rest of the people that were there, wherefore the proconsul was coming. And all the multitude of the disciples rejoiced together with Maximilla and Iphidamia and Stratocles.

19 But when Andrew heard it, he began to say: O the dullness and disobedience and simplicity of them whom I have taught! how much have I spoken, and even to this day I have not persuaded them to flee from the love of earthly things! but they are yet bound unto them and continue in them, and will not depart from them. What meaneth this affection and love and sympathy with the flesh? how long heed ye worldly and

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temporal things? how long understand ye not the things that be above us, and press not to overtake them? leave me henceforth to be put to death in the manner which ye behold, and let no man by any means loose me from these bonds, for so is it appointed unto me to depart out of the body and be present with the Lord, with whom also I am crucified. And this shall be accomplished.

20 And he turned unto Aegeates and said with a loud voice: Wherefore art thou come, Aegeates, that art an alien unto me? what wilt thou dare afresh, what contrive, or what fetch? tell us that thou hast repented and art come to loose us? nay, not if thou repentest, indeed, Aegeates, will I now consent unto thee, not if thou promise me all thy substance will I depart from myself, not if thou say that thou art mine will I trust thee. And dost thou, proconsul, loose him that is bound? him that hath been set free? that hath been recognised by his kinsman? that hath obtained mercy and is beloved of him? dost thou loose him that is alien to thee? the stranger? that only appeareth to thee? I have one with whom I shall be for ever, with whom I shall converse for unnumbered ages. Unto him do I go, unto him do I hasten, who made thee also known unto me, who said to me: Understand thou Aegeates and his gifts let not that fearful one afright thee, nor think that he holdeth thee who art mine. He is thine enemy: he is pestilent, a deceiver, a corrupter, a madman, a sorcerer, a cheat, a murderer, wrathful, without compassion. Depart therefore from me, thou worker of all iniquity. He is thine enemy. Therefore I know thee, through him that permitted me to know. I depart from thee. For I and they that are akin to me hasten toward that which is ours, and leave thee to be what thou wast, and what thou knowest not thyself to be.

21 And the Proconsul hearing this stood speechless and as it were beside himself; but as all the city made an e uproar that he should loose Andrew, he drew near to the cross to loose him and take him down. But the blessed Andrew cried out with a loud voice: Suffer not Lord, thine Andrew that hath been bound upon thy cross, to be loosed again; give not me that am upon thy mystery to the shameless devil; O Jesu Christ, let not thine adversary loose him that is hung upon thy grace; O Father, let not this mean (little) one humble any more him that hath known thy greatness. But do thou, Jesu Christ, whom I have seen, whom I hold, whom I love, in whom I am and shall be, receive me in peace into thine everlasting tabernacles, that by my going out there may be an entering in unto thee of many that are akin to me, and that they may rest in thy majesty. And having so said, and yet more glorified the Lord, he gave up the ghost, while we all wept and lamented at our parting from him.

22 And after the decease of the blessed Andrew, Maximilla together with Stratocles, caring nought for them that stood by, drew near and herself loosed his body: and when it was evening she paid it the accustomed care and buried it (hard by the sea-shore). And she continued separate from Aegeates because of his brutal soul and his wicked manner of life: and she led a reverend and quiet life, filled with the love of Christ, among the brethren. Whom Aegeates solicited much, and promised that she should have the rule over his affairs; but being unable to persuade her, he arose in the dead of night and unknown to them of his house cast himself down from a great height and perished.

23 But Stratocles, which was his brother after the flesh, would not touch aught of the things that were left of his substance; for the wretched man died without offspring: but said: Let thy goods go with thee, Aegeates.

24 For of these things we have no need, for they are polluted; but for me, let Christ be my friend and I his servant, and all my substance do I offer unto him in whom I have believed, and I pray that by worthy hearing of the blessed teaching of the apostle I may appear a partaker with him in the ageless and unending kingdom. And so the uproar of the people ceased, and all were glad at the amazing and untimely and sudden fall of the impious and lawless Aegeates.

[Not much of this last paragraph can be original.]

ACTS OF PETER AND THE TWELVE APOSTLES

From: Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt
Translation: Douglas M. Parrott and R. McL. Wilson
Estimated Range of Dating: 150-225 A.D.

(The Acts of Peter and the Twelve is one of the texts from the New Testament apocrypha which was found in the Nag Hammadi library. The text contains two parts, an initial allegory, and a subsequent gnostic exposition of its meaning. The allegory is thought to have been originally a work in its own right. The text is dated to the 2nd or 3rd century and is attested Greek and Coptic. The author claims to be Peter the Apostle, and thus is pseudepigraphical.

The allegory describes the tale, similar to the Parable of the Pearl in the Gospel of Matthew, of a pearl merchant who is selling a pearl at a great price (note—this text is not to be confused with the Mormon scripture The Pearl of Great Price). The merchant is shunned by the rich but the poor attend him in droves, and learn that the pearl is kept at the home city of the merchant, "Nine Gates", rather than being carried on him. As such those who desire it must trek the arduous journey to Nine Gates. The name of the merchant is Lithargoel, which the text translates as being "lightweight, glistening stone", i.e. the merchant himself is the "pearl". Ultimately the merchant reveals himself to be Jesus.)

1 [...] which [...] purpose [... after ...] us [...] apostles [...]. We sailed [...] of the body. Others were not anxious in their hearts. And in our hearts, we were united. We agreed to fulfill the ministry to which the Lord appointed us. And we made a covenant with each other.

2 We went down to the sea at an opportune moment, which came to us from the Lord. We found a ship moored at the shore ready to embark, and we spoke with the sailors of the ship about our coming aboard with them. They showed great kindliness toward us as was ordained by the Lord. And after we had embarked, we sailed a day and a night. After that, a wind came up behind the ship and brought us to a small city in the midst of the sea.

3 And I, Peter, inquired about the name of this city from residents who were standing on the dock. A man among them answered, saying, "The name of this city is Habitation, that is, Foundation [...] endurance." And the leader among them holding the palm branch at the edge of the dock. And after we had gone ashore with the baggage, I went into the city, to seek advice about lodging.

4 A man came out wearing a cloth bound around his waist, and a gold belt girded it. Also a napkin was tied over his chest, extending over his shoulders and covering his head and his hands.

5 I was staring at the man, because he was beautiful in his form and stature. There were four parts of his body that I saw: the soles of his feet and a part of his chest and the palms of his hands and his visage. These things I was able to see. A book cover like (those of) my books was in his left hand. A staff of styrax wood was in his right hand. His voice was resounding as he slowly spoke, crying out in the city, "Pearlsl Pearlsl"

6 I, indeed, thought he was a man of that city. I said to him, "My brother and my friend!" He answered me, then, saying, "Rightly did you say, 'My brother and my friend.' What is it you seek from me?" I said to him, "I ask you about lodging for me and the brothers also, because we are strangers here." He said to me, "For this reason have I myself just said, 'My brother and my friend,' because I also am a fellow stranger like you."

7 And having said these things, he cried out, "Pearls! Pearls!" The rich men of that city heard his voice. They came out of their hidden storerooms. And some were looking out from the storerooms of their houses. Others looked out from their upper windows. And they did not see (that they could gain) anything from him, because there was no pouch on his back nor bundle inside his cloth and napkin. And because of their disdain they did not even acknowledge him. He, for his part, did not reveal himself to them. They returned to their storerooms, saying, "This man is mocking us."

8 And the poor of that city heard his voice, and they came to the man who sells this pearl. They said, "Please take the trouble to show us the pearl so that we may, then, see it with our (own) eyes. For we are the poor. And we do not have this [...] price to pay for it. But show us that we might say to our friends that we saw a pearl with our (own) eyes." He answered, saying to them, "If it is possible, come to my city, so that I may not only show it before your (very) eyes, but give it to you for nothing."

9 And indeed they, the poor of that city, heard and said, "Since we are beggars, we surely know that a man does not give a pearl to a beggar, but (it is) bread and money that is usually received. Now then, the kindness which we want to receive from you (is) that you show us the pearl before our eyes. And we will say to our friends proudly that we saw a pearl with our (own) eyes" - because it is not found among the poor, especially such beggars (as these). He answered (and) said to them, "If it is possible, you yourselves come to my city, so that I may not only show you it, but give it to you for nothing." The poor and the beggars rejoiced because of the man who gives for nothing.

10 The men asked Peter about the hardships. Peter answered and told those things that he had heard about the hardships of the way. Because they are interpreters of the hardships in their ministry.

11 He said to the man who sells this pearl, "I want to know your name and the hardships of the way to your city because we are strangers and servants of God. It is necessary for us to spread the word of God in every city harmoniously." He answered and said, "If you seek my name, Lithargoel is my name, the interpretation of which is, the light, gazelle-like stone.

12 "And also (concerning) the road to the city, which you asked me about, I will tell you about it. No man is able to go on that road, except one who has forsaken everything that he has and has fasted daily from stage to stage. For many are the robbers and wild beasts on that road. The one who carries bread with him on the road, the black dogs kill because of the bread. The one who carries a costly garment of the world with him, the robbers kill because of the garment. The one who carries water with him, the wolves kill because of the water, since they were thirsty for it. The one who is anxious about meat and green vegetables, the lions eat because of the meat. If he evades the lions, the bulls devour him because of the green vegetables."

13 When he had said these things to me, I sighed within myself, saying, "Great hardships are on the road! If only Jesus would give us power to walk it!" He looked at me since my face was sad, and I sighed. He said to me, "Why do you sigh, if you, indeed, know this name "Jesus" and believe him? He is a great power for giving strength. For I too believe in the Father who sent him."

14 I replied, asking him, "What is the name of the place to which you go, your city?" He said to me, "This is the name of my city, 'Nine Gates.' Let us praise God as we are mindful that the tenth is the head." After this I went away from him in peace.

15 As I was about to go and call my friends, I saw waves and large high walls surrounding the bounds of the city. I marveled at the great things I saw. I saw an old man sitting and I asked him if the name of the city was really Habitation. He [...], "Habitation [...]." He said to me, "You speak truly, for we inhabit here because we endure."

16 I responded, saying, "Justly [...] have men named it [...], because (by) everyone who endures his trials, cities are inhabited, and a precious kingdom comes from them, because they endure in the midst of the apostasies and the difficulties of the storms. So that in this way, the city of everyone who endures the burden of his yoke of faith will be inhabited, and he will be included in the kingdom of heaven."

17 I hurried and went and called my friends so that we might go to the city that he, Lithargoel, appointed for us. In a bond of faith we forsook everything as he had said (to do). We evaded the robbers, because they did not find their garments with us. We evaded the wolves, because they did not find the water with us for which they thirsted. We evaded the lions, because they did not find the desire for meat with us. We evaded the bulls [...] they did not find green vegetables.

18 A great joy came upon us and a peaceful carefreeness like that of our Lord. We rested ourselves in front of the gate, and we talked with each other about that which is not a distraction of this world. Rather we continued in contemplation of the faith.

19 As we discussed the robbers on the road, whom we evaded, behold Lithargoel, having changed, came out to us. He had the appearance of a physician, since an unguent box was under his arm, and a young disciple was following him carrying a pouch full of medicine. We did not recognise him.

20 Peter responded and said to him, "We want you to do us a favor, because we are strangers, and take us to the house of Lithargoel before evening comes." He said, "In uprightness of heart I will show it to you. But I am amazed at how you knew this good man. For he does not reveal himself to every man, because he himself is the son of a great king. Rest yourselves a little so that I may go and heal this man and come (back)." He hurried and came (back) quickly.

21 He said to Peter, "Peter!" And Peter was frightened, for how did he know that his name was Peter? Peter responded to the Saviour, "How do you know me, for you called my name?" Lithargoel answered, "I want to ask you who gave the name Peter to you?" He said to him, "It was Jesus Christ, the son of the living God. He gave this name to me." He answered and said, "It is I! Recognise me, Peter." He loosened the garment, which clothed him - the one into which he had changed himself because of us - revealing to us in truth that it was he.

22 We prostrated ourselves on the ground and worshipped him. We comprised eleven disciples. He stretched forth his hand and caused us to stand. We spoke with him humbly. Our heads were bowed down in unworthiness as we said, "What you wish we will do. But give us power to do what you wish at all times."

23 He gave them the unguent box and the pouch that was in the hand of the young disciple. He commanded them like this, saying, "Go into the city from which you came, which is called Habitation. Continue in endurance as you teach all those who have believed in my name, because I have endured in hardships of the faith. I will give you your reward. To the poor of that city give what they need in order to live until I give them what is better, which I told you that I will give you for nothing."

24 Peter answered and said to him, "Lord, you have taught us to forsake the world and everything in it. We have renounced them for your sake. What we are concerned about (now) is the food for a single day. Where will we be able to find the needs that you ask us to provide for the poor?"

25 The Lord answered and said, "O Peter, it was necessary that you understand the parable that I told you! Do you not understand that my name, which you teach, surpasses all riches, and the wisdom of God surpasses gold, and silver and precious stone(s)?"

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26 He gave them the pouch of medicine and said, "Heal all the sick of the city who believe in my name." Peter was afraid to reply to him for the second time. He signaled to the one who was beside him, who was John: "You talk this time." John answered and said, "Lord, before you we are afraid to say many words. But it is you who asks us to practice this skill. We have not been taught to be physicians. How then will we know how to heal bodies as you have told us?"

27 He answered them, "Rightly have you spoken, John, for I know that the physicians of this world heal what belongs to the world. The physicians of souls, however, heal the heart. Heal the bodies first, therefore, so that through the real powers of healing for their bodies, without medicine of the world, they may believe in you, that you have power to heal the illnesses of the heart also.

28 "The rich men of the city, however, those who did not see fit even to acknowledge me, but who reveled in their wealth and pride - with such as these, therefore, do not dine in their houses nor be friends with them, lest their partiality influence you. For many in the churches have shown partiality to the rich, because they also are sinful, and they give occasion for others to sin. But judge them with uprightness, so that your ministry may be glorified, and that my name also, may be glorified in the churches." The disciples answered and said, "Yes, truly this is what is fitting to do."

29 They prostrated themselves on the ground and worshipped him. He caused them to stand and departed from them in peace. Amen.

ACTS OF PAUL AND THECLA
Manuscript: Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 6
Heidelberg Papyri, Acta Pauli,
P.Heid. Inv. Kopt. 300+301
From: The Life Of The Holy Martyr
Thecla Of Iconium, Equal To The Apostles
From: Apocryphal New Testament, 1821
Translation: Jeremiah Jones, c. 1720
Estimated Range of Dating: 150-170 A.D.

(The Acts of Paul and Thecla (Latin: Acta Pauli et Theclae) is an apocryphal story–Edgar J. Goodspeed dubboed it a "religious romance"–of Paul the apostle's influence on a young virgin named Thecla. It is one of the writings of the New Testament apocrypha. Not to be confused with Acts of Paul. Thecla's story is one of many in the Apocryphal Acts which portray women giving up riches and sexual activity to follow the Apostles. She is an aristocratic woman who, despite great opposition, upon hearing the preaching of Paul, renounces her family and fiance to follow him. She eventually becomes a missionary and lives out her life teaching the gospel.

Many surviving versions of the Acts of Paul and Thecla in Greek, and some in Coptic, as well as references to the work among Church fathers show that it was widely disseminated. In the Eastern Church, the wide circulation of the Acts of Paul and Thecla in Greek, Syriac, and Armenian is evidence of the veneration of Thecla of Iconium. There are also Latin, Coptic, and Ethiopic versions, sometimes differing widely from the Greek. In the Ethiopic, with the omission of Thecla's admitted claim to preach and to baptise, half the point of the story is lost.

The discovery of a Coptic text of the Acts of Paul containing the Thecla narrative suggests that the abrupt opening of the Acts of Paul and Thecla is due to its being an excerpt of that larger work. [* Carl Schmidt, Acta Pauli. Aus der Heidelberger koptischen Papyrushandschrift Nr. 1, Leipzig 1905; Heidelberg University P.Heid. Inv. Kopt. 300+301, http://www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/]*

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 6 (P. Oxy. 6) is another find of fragments of the Acts of Paul and Thecla, written in Greek. It was discovered by Grenfell and Hunt in 1897 in Oxyrhynchus. The fragment is dated to the fifth century AD. It is housed in the Cambridge University Library. The text was published by Grenfell and Hunt in 1898.

Saul of Tarsos

Paul, also known as Saul of Tarsos [Hebrew Aramaic: Sha'ul ha-Tarsi; Greek: Saulos Tarseus], was the creator of the religion we now call Christianity. Before his activities, however, there was another Christian movement in place already. That other Christianity was led by James the Just who represented people we now know as Ebionites, Essenes, or Judeo-Christians. Jesus, his family, and all his disciples, apostles, and other followers belonged to James's group. They all were Jews who strictly observed the Jewish laws of Abraham and Moses described in the Pentateuch. In order to understand how the two Christian movements interacted with one another, we need to know something about Paul.

In Galatians 1:13, Paul states that he "persecuted the Church of God and tried to destroy it," but does not specify where he persecuted the Church*. In Galatians 1:22 he states that more than three years after his conversion he was "still unknown by sight to the Churches of Judaea* that are in Christ*," seemingly ruling out Jerusalem as the place he had persecuted Christians. [* these are all soubriquets for the Judeo-Christian Church led by James the Just, the brother of Jesus.]*

Of the exact time of Paul's birth, or any details about his family, we possess no authentic information. We have to reconstruct the history from the few sources we have: the Jewish, Christian, and Roman texts. When the infant received the name of Sha'ul ["Saul"], it might be "after the name of his father". By his own account, Paul was born a Jew of the tribe of Benjamin in the city of Tarsus, the capital of the Roman province of Cilicia, and grew up in Jerusalem (Acts 22:3; Philippians 3:5-6). Paul identified himself as an orthodox Jewish Pharisee and the son of a Pharisee, who was born a citizen of Rome (Acts 23:6, 26:5; Galatians 1:15). The Pharisees were the political party of the Jews who grew up as Roman citizens or were otherwise affiliated to them.

In Acts 13:9, Saul is called "Paul" for the first time on the island of Cyprus – much later than the time of his conversion. The author (Luke) indicates that the names were interchangeable: "Saul, who also is called Paul." He thereafter refers to him as Paul, apparently Paul's preference since he is called Paul in all other Bible books where he is mentioned, including those that he authored. Adopting his Roman name was typical of Paul's missionary style. His method was to put people at their ease and to approach them with his message in a language and style to which they could relate, as in 1 Cor 9:19–23.

It has been popularly assumed that Saul changed his name when he became a follower of Jesus Christ, but that is not the case. His Jewish name was Sha'ul (Saul), perhaps after the biblical King Saul, a fellow Benjamite and the first king of Israel. According to the Book of Acts, he was a Roman citizen [Acts 22:25–29]. As such, he also bore the Latin name of "Paul" (essentially a Latin approximation of Saul) – in biblical Greek Paulos and in Latin Paulus [Acts 16:37; 22:25–28]. It was typical for the Roman Jews of that time to have two names: one Hebrew, the other Greek / Latin. Equivalent, Jews back in the Holy Land also had two names: one official name in daily life which was Aramaic, and a Hebrew version; perhaps a third version in Greek as well for Greek was the Lingua Franka of the entire Roman upper class, just the same role that English plays in almost every country today.

According to the Church historian and Bible translator Jerome of Stridon (Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus, 347-420 AD, also known as St. Jerome), there was in his contemporary time a tradition in the Holy Land that Paul's parents were immigrants to Tarsus from the Judaean city of Gischala, "They say that the parents of the apostle Paul were from Gischala [modern Jish, Gush Halav], a region of Judaea and that, when the whole province was devastated by the hand of Rome and the Jews scattered throughout the world, they were moved to Tarsus a town of Cilicia; the boy Paul inherited the lot of his parents" (St. Jerome, Commentary on Philemon, vs. 23-24). This statement could bring Sha'ul into close proximity of John of Giscala or Gischala (Hebrew: Yohanan mi-Gush Halav or Yohanan ben Levi), the son of Levi, (death date after 70 AD), was a leader of the Jewish revolt against the Romans in the First Jewish-Roman War. St. Jerome contradicts Paul's own statement that he was born in Tarsus by writing "Paul, an apostle, previously called Saul, was not one of the Twelve Apostles. He was of the tribe of Benjamin and of the town of Gischala in Judaea. When the town was captured by the Romans, he migrated with his parents to Tarsus in Cilicia."

According the Ebionites [the early Jewish Christian sect that was following James the Just, also known as James the brother of Jesus], Paul's parents were Gentiles [non-Jewish], who had not been converted to Judaism. Epiphanius of Salamis (c. 320–403 AD), writing about the Ebionites, says, "They declare that he [Paul] was a Greek . . . He went up to Jerusalem, they say, and when he had spent some time there, he was seized with a passion to marry the daughter of the priest. For this reason he became a poselyte and was circumcised. Then, when he failed to get the girl, he flew into a rage an wrote against circumcision and against the Sabbath and the Law" (Epiphanius, Panarion, 30.16, 6-9). Epiphanius [as a Roman Pauline Christian] was hostile to the Ebionites [Jewish Christians; Essenes] whom he knew as "re-Judaisers", and the Ebionites were hostile to Paul ["the liar"] because, firstly, Paul made his "heavenly" fantasy-Jesus a god [which is strictly forbidden in the Ten Commandments], and secondly, he went against Jewish laws whenever possible, and thirdly, he was persecuting the Christian Jews around James the Just. No-one in the Roman Empire had the right to persucute other people on his own unless he was a Roman official. From the Book of Acts, we know that Paul held Roman citizenship (16:37, 21:39, 22:25-28, 25:10ff.). As Roman citizen, he was able to gain a post as Roman official. He might have got such a commission when he went to Rome in around 62 or 63 AD. By the way, this was an event that probably coincided with the visit of the Jewish delegation of Yosef bar Mattityahu, a man we know better as Titus Flavius Josephus.

Paul claimed to be a member of the Tribe of Benjamin (Romans 11:1, Philippians 3:5). Some historians argue that Paul cannot have been a Benjaminite because Jews at this period, except for the Levites, had lost their separate tribal identities. Accordingly, Paul's claim must have been either a bluff or a claim made by an ethnic group that separately claimed descent from Benjamin. The British scholar Hyam Maccoby suggests Paul's parents might have been semi-converts ("God-fearers"), a common status among pagans who admired Judaism but were unwilling to undergo circumcision to convert (Maccoby, 96). According to the Lex Cornelia, a series of laws enacted by the Roman General and Dictator Lucius Cornelius Sulla (138–78 BC) between 82 and 80 BC, circumcision was considered sexual mutilation and therefore strictly forbidden under the threat of severe punishment.

Like many Jews of his time, he had two names, religious (Sha'ul) and secular (Paulus). There is some question about when he adopted the name Paul. He might have chosen the name Paulus to honour his first convert, Lucius Sergius Paulus, proconsul of Cyprus, "a prudent man; who called for Barnabas and Saul, and desired to hear the word of God" (Acts 13:7). However, it is possible that Paulus was his family's Roman name. Paul was a Roman citizen from birth (Acts 22:28). It was customary for provincial families to take their Roman name from the name of their patrons when they acquired citizenship. Paul's family might therefore have had a connection with the family of Sergius Paulus even before Sergius Paulus' conversion. (cf. Maccoby, 161-63, arguing that Paul purchased his citizenship immediately before his arrest in Jerusalem.)

Paul claimed to have been a student of the great rabbinic scholar Gamaliel (Acts 5:34-39; 22:3). The claim is controversial. First, his use of rabbinic styles of reasoning, such as qal va-homer and midrash, are amateurish. Secondly, he uses "the rhetorical style of the Hellenistic preachers of popular Stoicism, not the terse logic of the rabbis." Finally, when he quotes scripture he uses the Greek translation (Septuagint) rather than the Hebrew original (Maccoby, 62-71). [* Gamaliel the Elder or Rabban Gamaliel I (Hebrew: Rabban Gamliy'el haZaqen; Greek: Gamaliel ho Presbyteros; died in 52 AD), was a leading authority in the Sanhedrin (the assembly or council, the juridical and political body, of the Jews in Judaea) in the early first century AD. He was the son of Simeon ben Hillel and grandson of the great Jewish teacher Hillel the Elder.]*

Biblical scholar and translator of the Dead Sea Scrolls Robert Eisenman has pointed out (in his book James the Brother of Jesus, 2012) that ancient texts reveal clues as to who Paul was. Paul might have been the same person as Saulos, mentioned by the contemporary Jewish historian Titus Flavius Josephus (The Jewish War 2.418, 556–58, and The Antiquities, 20.214). In this reconstruction, Paul's unnamed nephew (Acts 23:16) was Julius Archelaus, son of Paul's supposed sister Cypros and her husband Temple Treasurer Alexas Helcias.

There are strong indications that Paul might have been a member of the Herodian dynasty, whose Edomite [Arab] descent might have caused them to claim descent from the Tribe of Benjamin. Paul's greeting to those in household of Aristobulus (Romans 16:10) would have been to the family of Aristobulus of Chalcis, husband of the infamous Salome, and later king of Chalcis and Armenia Minor. Paul's greeting to his "kinsman Herodian" (Romans 16:11) would have been to Aristobulus' son Herod of Chalcis. Paul's sister and her son, both unnamed, apparently lived in Jerusalem (Acts 23:16). Paul had kinsmen Andronicus and Junia (Romans 16:7) and Herodian (Romans 16:11-12), also Lucius and Jason and Sosipater (Romans 16:21).

A literal reading of Romans 16:13 suggests that Paul and Rufus Pudens were brothers ("Greet Rufus chosen in the Lord, and his mother and mine."). Nevertheless, Christian tradition has regarded the phrasing as a rhetorical flourish. That is, Pudens' mother was someone Paul regarded with affection as though she were his own mother. The first suggestion that the two men were literally brothers appears to have been Richard Williams Morgan in 1861 (Morgan, 127).

There is no proof that Paul ever married, but he was probably a widower. He says that he is single ("I say to the unmarried and to widows that it is good for them if they remain even as I." 1 Corinthians 7:8). He argues that men like him have the right to marry ("Do we not have a right to take along a believing wife, even as the rest of the apostles, and the brothers of the Lord, and Cephas?" 1 Corinthians 9:5), but says he has not taken advantage of it ("I have used none of these things"1 Corinthians 9:15). However, Paul was proud of having been a strict Pharisee (Philippians 3:5; cf. Acts 22:3), and he says he was "extremely zealous for my ancestral traditions" (Galatians 1:14) and "touching the righteousness which is in the law, blameless" (Philippians 3:6). Marriage was the norm for Pharisees, and it was required for rabbis. It is very likely Paul would have followed Pharisaical custom.

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The Acts of Paul and Thecla

Although Paul has been depicted by Jews, perhaps rightfully, as dishonest man, a liar and someone who hates the Jewish law of Moses, there is one particular point that stands out positively: his passion for women and their rights in society. Paul had female disciples whom he encouraged to take matters in their own hands, an attitude unheard of during his lifetime. This makes the Acts of Paul and Thecla an interesting text to read.

The Acts of Paul and Thecla has become the object of peculiar interest through the discovery of the long-lost Acts of Paul. While the opening sentence of the Acts of Paul and Thecla has always been felt to be abrupt, few scholars were prepared to find that this abruptness was due to the removal of the romance from a larger work, the Acts of Paul, of which the Acts of Paul and Thecla originally formed Part 2. The first of the Fathers to mention the Acts of Paul and Thecla is Tertullian, who inveighed against it on the ground of its advocacy of the rights of women to preach and to baptise. Tertullian seeks to overthrow the authority of the work by alleging that its author was a presbyter of Asia Minor who confessed to having forged the story from love of Paul, and who had been deposed from office in consequence. The romance was written probably in the latter part of the second century-between 160 and 170 AD-and in Asia Minor. It is attested no earlier than Tertullian, De baptismo 17:5 (c 190 AD), who says that a presbyter from Asia wrote the History of Paul and Thecla, and was deposed after confessing that he wrote it. Tertullian inveighed against its use in the advocacy of a woman's right to preach and to baptise. Eugenia of Rome in the reign of Commodus (180-192 AD) is reported in the Acts of her martyrdom to have taken Thecla as her model after reading the text, prior to its disapproval by Tertullian.

Its purpose was clearly threefold: first, to defend the apostle against his Ebionite [Jewish Christian] traducers, with their hints of personal attachment to his women converts; second, to inculcate the practice of virginity and celibacy; and, third, to assert the right of women to preach and to baptise. In length it was a little longer than Second Corinthians. The scene is laid in Asia Minor [modern Turkey]. Paul is on one of his evangelising tours in Lycaonia, and with two companions, Demas and Hermogenes, approaches Iconium. His personal appearance is described with such circumstantial detail as to suggest that possibly it preserves, in part at least, an authentic tradition; certainly the apostle's admirer has not idealised him. " In stature," says the Syriac, " he was a man of middling size, and his hair was scanty, and his legs were a little crooked, and his knees were projecting, and he had large [the Armenian says "blue"] eyes, and his eyebrows met, and his nose was somewhat long, and he was full of grace and mercy; at one time he seemed like a man, and at another time he seemed like an angel." An Iconian named Onesiphorus, with his wife and sons, goes forth to meet Paul and recognises him by this description, which Titus has given him. Onesiphorus takes Paul to his house and entertains him. There, after prayer and the breaking of bread, Paul presents the virginity doctrine in a series of beatitudes.

History of the text

It is attested no earlier than Tertullian, De baptismo 17:5 (c 190), who says that a presbyter from Asia wrote the History of Paul and Thecla, and was deposed after confessing that he wrote it. Tertullian inveighed against its use in the advocacy of a woman's right to preach and to baptize. Eugenia of Rome in the reign of Commodus (180-192) is reported in the Acts of her martyrdom to have taken Thecla as her model after reading the text, prior to its disapproval by Tertullian. Jerome recounts the information from Tertullian, and on account of his exactitude in reporting on chronology, some scholars regard the text a 1st-century creation. [* Tertullian: Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus; c. 155–240 AD, was a prolific early Christian author from Carthage in the Roman province of Africa. Of Berber and Phoenician origin, he was the first Christian author to produce extensive Christian literature in Latin.]*

Many surviving versions of the Acts of Paul and Thecla in Greek, and some in Coptic, as well as references to the work among Church fathers show that it was widely disseminated. In the Eastern Church, the wide circulation of the Acts of Paul and Thecla in Greek, Syriac, and Armenian is evidence of the veneration of Thecla of Iconium. There are also Latin, Coptic, and Ethiopic versions, sometimes differing widely from the Greek. "In the Ethiopic, with the omission of Thecla's admitted claim to preach and to baptize, half the point of the story is lost." The discovery of a Coptic text of the Acts of Paul containing the Thecla narrative suggests that the abrupt opening of the Acts of Paul and Thecla is due to its being an excerpt of that larger work.

Narrative of the text

The author sets this story during Paul the Apostle's First Missionary Journey, but this text is ideologically different from the New Testament portrayal of Paul.

Here, Paul is described as travelling to Iconium (Acts 13:51), proclaiming "the word of God about abstinence and the resurrection". Paul is given a full physical description that may reflect oral tradition: in the Syriac text "he was a man of middling size, and his hair was scanty, and his legs were a little crooked, and his knees were projecting, and he had large eyes and his eyebrows met, and his nose was somewhat long, and he was full of grace and mercy; at one time he seemed like a man, and at another time he seemed like an angel." Paul gave his sermons in the house of Onesiphorus (2 Tim 1:16) in a series of beatitudes, by which Thecla, a young noble virgin, listened to Paul's "discourse on virginity" from her window in an adjacent house. She listened, enraptured, without moving for days. Thecla's mother, Theocleia, and her fiancé, Thamyris, became concerned that Thecla would follow Paul's demand "that one must fear only one God and live in chastity", and they formed a mob to drag Paul to the governor, who imprisoned the apostle.

Thecla bribed a guard to gain entrance to the prison, and sat at Paul's feet all night listening to his teaching and "kissing his bonds". When her family found her, both she and Paul were again brought before the governor. At her mother's request, Paul was sentenced to scourging and expulsion (Acts 14:19, 2 Tim 3:11), and Thecla to be killed by being burned at the stake, that "all the women who have been taught by this man may be afraid." Stripped naked, Thecla was put on the fire, but she was saved by a miraculous storm which God sent to put out the flames.

Reunited, Paul and Thecla then traveled to Pisidian Antioch (Acts 14:21), where a nobleman named Alexander desired Thecla and offered Paul money for her. Paul claimed not to know her, and Alexander then attempted to take Thecla by force. Thecla fought him off, assaulting him in the process, to the amusement of the townspeople. Alexander dragged her before the governor for assaulting a nobleman and, despite the protests of the city's women, Thecla was sentenced to be eaten by wild beasts. To ensure that her virtue was intact at her death, Queen Tryphaena took her into protective custody overnight.

Thecla was tied to a fierce lioness, and paraded through the city. She was then stripped and thrown to beasts, which were provided by Alexander. The women of the city again protested against the injustice. Thecla was protected from death, first by the lioness who fought off the other beasts, and then by a series of miracles until finally the women of the city and Queen Antonia Tryphaena intervened. The way in which Thecla was said to have baptised herself in the arena was quite strange and unique (the account of this is found in chapter 9 of the Acts of Paul and Thecla and also in the Acts of Thecla). While in the arena, she saw a vat of water that contained seals/sea-calves. Since she thought it might be her last chance to be baptised, she jumped into the vat and proclaimed that she was baptising herself. A miracle occurred and all the seals/sea-calves were killed by lightning before they could eat her.

Thecla returned to Paul unharmed. She later returned to Iconium to convert her mother. She went to live in Seleucia Cilicia. According to some versions of the Acts, she lived in a cave there for 72 years, becoming a healer. The Hellenistic physicians in the city lost their livelihood and solicited young men to rape Thecla at the age of 90. As they were about to take her, a new passage was opened in the cave and the stones closed behind her. She was able to go to Rome and lay beside Paul's tomb.)

PAUL AND THECLA CHAPTER 1

1 When Paul went up to Iconium, after his flight from Antioch, Demas and Hermogenes became his companions, who were then full of hypocrisy.

2 But Paul looking only at the goodness of God, did them no harm, but loved them greatly.

3 Accordingly he endeavoured to make agreeable to them all the oracles and doctrines of Christ, and the design of the Gospel of God's well-beloved Son, instructing them in the knowledge of Christ, as it was revealed to him.

4 And a certain man named Onesiphorus, hearing that Paul was come to Iconium, went out speedily to meet him, together with his wife Lectra, and his sons Simmia and Xeno, to invite him to their house.

5 For Titus had given them a description of Paul's personage, they as yet not knowing him in person, but only being acquainted with his character.

6 They went in the king's highway to Lystra, and stood there waiting for him, comparing all who passed by, with that description which Titus had given them.

7 At length they saw a man coming (namely Paul), of a low stature, bald (or shaved) on the head, crooked thighs, handsome legs, hollow-eyed; had a crooked nose; full of grace; for sometimes he appeared as a man, sometimes he had the countenance of an angel. And Paul saw Onesiphorus, and was glad.

8 And Onesiphorus said: Hail, thou servant of the blessed God. Paul replied, The grace of God be with thee and thy family.

9 But Demas and Hermogenes were moved with envy, and, under a show of great religion, Demas said, And are not we also servants of the blessed God? Why didst thou not salute us?

10 Onesiphorus replied, Because I have not perceived in you the fruits of righteousness; nevertheless, if ye are of that sort, ye shall be welcome to my house also.

11 Then Paul went into the house of Onesiphorus, and here was great joy among the family on that account: and they employed themselves in prayer, breaking of bread, and hearing Paul preach the word of God concerning the temperance and the resurrection, in the following manner:

12 Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God.

13 Blessed are they who keep their flesh undefiled (or pure); for they shall be the temple of God.

14 Blessed are the temperate (or chaste); for God will reveal himself to them.

15 Blessed are they who abandon their secular enjoyments; for they shall be accepted of God.

16 Blessed are they who have wives, as though they had them not; for they shall be made angels of God.

17 Blessed are they who tremble at the word of God; for they shall be comforted.

18 Blessed are they who keep their baptism pure; for they shall find peace with the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

19 Blessed are they who pursue the wisdom (or doctrine) of Jesus Christ; for they shall be called the sons of the Most High.

20 Blessed are they who observe the instructions of Jesus Christ; for they shall dwell in eternal light.

21 Blessed are they, who for the love of Christ abandon the glories of the world; for they shall judge angels, and be placed at the right hand of Christ, and shall not suffer the bitterness of the last judgement.

22 Blessed are the bodies and souls of virgins; for they are acceptable to God, and shall not lose the reward of their virginity; for the word of their (heavenly) Father shall prove effectual to their salvation in the day of his Son, and they shall enjoy rest for evermore.

PAUL AND THECLA CHAPTER 2

1 While Paul was preaching this sermon in the church which was in the house of Onesiphorus, a certain virgin, named Thecla (whose mother's name was Theoclia, and who was betrothed to a man named Thamyris) sat at a certain window in her house.

2 From whence, by the advantage of a window in the house where Paul was, she both night and day heard Paul's sermons concerning God, concerning charity, concerning faith in Christ, and concerning prayer;

3 Nor would she depart from the window, till with exceeding joy she was subdued to the doctrines of faith.

4 At length, when she saw many women and virgins going in to Paul, she earnestly desired that she might be thought worthy to appear in his presence, and hear the word of Christ; for she had not yet seen Paul's person, but only heard his sermons, and that alone.

5 But when she would not be prevailed upon to depart from the window, her mother sent to Thamyris, who came with the greatest pleasure, as hoping now to marry her. Accordingly he said to Theoclia, Where is my Thecla?

6 Theoclia replied, Thamyris, I have something very strange to tell you; for Thecla, for the space of three days, will not move from the window not so much as to eat or drink, but is so intent on hearing the artful and delusive discourses of a certain foreigner, that I perfectly admire, Thamyris, that a young woman of her known modesty, will suffer herself to be so prevailed upon.

7 For that man has disturbed the whole city of Iconium, and even your Thecla, among others. All the women and young men flock to him to receive his doctrine; who, besides all the rest, tells them that there is but one God, who alone is to be worshipped, and that we ought to live in chastity.

8 Notwithstanding this, my daughter Thecla, like a spider's web fastened to the window, is captivated by the discourses of Paul, and attends upon them with prodigious eagerness, and vast delight; and thus, by attending on what he says, the young woman is seduced. Now then do you go, and speak to her, for she is betrothed to you.

9 Accordingly Thamyris went, and having saluted her, and taking care not to surprise her, he said, Thecla, my spouse, why sittest thou in this melancholy posture? What strange impressions are made upon thee? Turn to Thamyris, and blush.

10 Her mother also spake to her after the same manner, and said, Child, why dost thou sit so melancholy, and, like one astonished, makest no reply?

11 Then they wept exceedingly: Thamyris, that he had lost his spouse; Theoclia, that she had lost her daughter; and the maids, that they had lost their mistress; and there was an universal mourning in the family.

12 But all these things made no impression upon Thecla, so as to incline her so much as to turn to them, and take notice of them; for she still regarded the discourses of Paul.

13 Then Thamyris ran forth into the street to observe who they were who went into Paul, and came out from him; and he

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saw two men engaged in a very warm dispute, and said to them;

14 Sirs, what business have you here? and who is that man within, belonging to you, who deludes the minds of men, both young men and virgins, persuading them, that they ought not to marry, but continue as they are?

15 I promise to give you a considerable sum, if you will give me a just account of him; for I am the chief person of this city.

16 Demas and Hermogenes replied, We cannot so exactly tell who he is; but this we know, that he deprives young men of their (intended) wives, and virgins of their (intended) husbands, by teaching, There can be no future resurrection, unless ye continue in chastity, and do not defile your flesh.

PAUL AND THECLA CHAPTER 3

1 Then said Thamyris, Come along with me to my house, and refresh yourselves. So they went to a very splendid entertainment, where there was wine in abundance, and very rich provision.

2 They were brought to a table richly spread, and made to drink plentifully by Thamyris, on account of the love he had for Thecla and his desire to marry her.

3 Then Thamyris said, I desire ye would inform me what the doctrines of this Paul are, that I may understand them; for I am under no small concern about Thecla, seeing she so delights in that stranger's discourses, that I am in danger of losing my intended wife.

4 Then Demas and Hermogenes answered both together, and said, Let him be brought before the governor Castillius, as one who endeavours to persuade the people into the new religion of the Christians, and he, according to the order of Caesar, will put him to death, by which means you will obtain your wife;

5 While we at the same time will teach her, that the resurrection which he speaks of is already come, and consists in our having children; and that we then arose again, when we came to the knowledge of God.

6 Thamyris having this account from them, was filled with hot resentment:

7 And rising early in the morning he went to the house of Onesiphorus, attended by the magistrates, the jailer, and a great multitude of people with staves, and said to Paul;

8 Thou hast perverted the city of Iconium, and among the rest, Thecla, who is betrothed to me, so that now she will not marry me. Thou shalt therefore go with us to the governor Castillius.

9 And all the multitude cried out, Away with this imposter (magician), for he has perverted the minds of our wives, and all the people hearken to him.

PAUL AND THECLA CHAPTER 4

1 Then Thamyris standing before the governor's judgement-seat, spake with a loud voice in the following manner.

2 O governor, I know not whence this man cometh; but he is one who teaches that matrimony is unlawful. Command him therefore to declare before you for what reason he publishes such doctrines.

3 While he was saying thus, Demas and Hermogenes (whispered to Thamyris, and) said; Say that he is a Christian, and he will presently be put to death.

4 But the governor was more deliberate, and calling to Paul, he said, Who art thou? What dost thou teach? They seem to lay gross crimes to thy charge.

5 Paul then spake with a loud voice, saying, As I am now called to give an account, O governor, of my doctrines, I desire your audience.

6 That God, who is a God of vengeance, and who stands in need of nothing but the salvation of his creatures, has sent me to reclaim them from their wickedness and corruptions, from all (sinful) pleasures, and from death; and to persuade them to sin no more.

7 On this account, God sent his Son Jesus Christ, whom I preach, and in whom I instruct men to place their hopes as that person who only had such compassion on the deluded world, that it might not, O governor, be condemned, but have faith, the fear of God, the knowledge of religion, and the love of truth.

8 So that if I only teach those things which I have received by revelation from God, where is my crime?

9 When the governor heard this, he ordered Paul to be bound, and to be put in prison, till he should be more at leisure to hear him more fully.

10 But in the night, THecla taking off her earrings, gave them to the turnkey of the prison, who then opened the doors to her, and let her in;

11 And when she made a present of a silver looking-glass to the jailer, was allowed to go into the room where Paul was; then she sat down at his feet, and heard from him the great things of God.

12 And as she perceived Paul not to be afraid of suffering, but that by divine assistance he behaved himself with courage, her faith so far increased that she kissed his chains.

PAUL AND THECLA CHAPTER 5

1 At length Thecla was missed, and sought for by the family and by Thamyris in every street, as though she had been lost, but one of the porter's fellow-servants told them, that she had gone out in the night-time.

2 Then they examined the porter, and he told them, that she was gone to the prison to the strange man.

3 They went therefore according to his direction, and there found her; and when they came out, they got a mob together, and went and told the governor all that happened.

4 Upon which he ordered Paul to be brought before his judgement seat.

5 Thecla in the mean time lay wallowing on the ground in the prison, in that same place where Paul had sat to teach her; upon which the governor also ordered her to be brought before his judgement-seat; which summons she received with joy, and went.

6 When Paul was brought thither, the mob with more vehemence cried out, He is a magician, let him die.

7 Nevertheless the governor attended with pleasure upon Paul's discourses of the holy works of Christ; and, after a council called, he summoned Thecla, and said to her, Why do you not, according to the law of the Iconians, marry Thamyris?

8 She stood still, with her eyes fixed upon Paul; and finding she made no reply, Theoclia, her mother, cried out, saying, Let the unjust creature be burnt; let her be burnt in the midst of the theatre, for refusing Thamyris, that all women may learn from her to avoid such practices.

9 Then the governor was exceedingly concerned, and ordered Paul to be whipt out of the city, and Thecla to be burnt.

10 So the governor arose, and went immediately into the theatre; and all the people went forth to see the dismal sight.

11 But Thecla, just as a lamb in the wilderness looks every way to see his shepherd, looked around for Paul;

12 And as she was looking upon the multitude, she saw the Lord Jesus in the likeness of Paul, and said to herself, Paul is come to see me in my distressed circumstances. And she fixed her eyes upon him; but he instantly ascended up to heaven, while she looked on him.

13 The the young men and women brought wood and straw for the burning of Thecla; who, being brought naked to the stake, extorted tears from the governor, with surprise beholding the greatness of her beauty.

14 And when they had placed the wood in order, the people commanded her to go upon it; which she did, first making the sign of the cross.

15 Then the people set fire to the pile; though the flame was exceeding large, it did not touch her, for God took compassion on her, and caused a great eruption from the earth beneath, and a cloud from above to pour down great quantities of rain and hail;

16 Insomuch that by the rupture of the earth, very many were in great danger, and some were killed, the fire was extinguished, and Thecla was preserved.

PAUL AND THECLA CHAPTER 6

1 In the mean time Paul, together with Onesiphorus, his wife and children, was keeping a fast in a certain cave, which was in the road from Iconium to Daphne.

2 And when they had fasted for several days, the children said to Paul, Father, we are hungry, and have not wherewithal to buy bread ; for Onesiphorus had left all his substance to follow Paul with his family.

3 Then Paul, taking off his coat, said to the boy, Go, child, and buy bread, and bring it hither.

4 But while the boy was buying the bread, he saw his neighbour Thecla and was surprised, and said to her, Thecla, where are you going?

5 She replied, I am in pursuit of Paul, having been delivered from the flames.

6 The boy then said, I will bring you to him, for he is under great concern on your account, and has been in prayer and fasting these six days.

7 When Thecla came to the cave, she found Paul upon his knees praying and saying, O holy Father, O Lord Jesus Christ, grant that the fire may not touch Thecla; but be her helper, for she is thy servant.

8 Thecla then standing behind him, cried out in the following words: O sovereign Lord, Creator of heaven and earth, the Father of thy beloved and holy Son, I praise thee that thou hast preserved me from the fire, to see Paul again.

9 Paul then arose, and when he saw her, said, O God, who searchest the heart, Father of my Lord Jesus Christ, I praise thee that thou has answered my prayer.

10 And there prevailed among them in the cave an entire affection to each other; Paul, Onesiphorus and all that were with them being filled with joy.

11 They had five loaves, some herbs and water, and they solaced each other in reflections upon the holy works of Christ.

12 Then said Thecla to Paul, If you be pleased with it, I will follow you withersoever you go.

13 He replied to her, Persons are now much given to fornication, and you being handsome, I am afraid lest you should meet with greater temptation than the former, and should not withstand, but be overcome by it.

14 Thecla replied, Grant me only the seal of Christ, and no temptation shall affect me.

15 Paul answered, Thecla, wait with patience, and you shall receive the gift of Christ.

PAUL AND THECLA CHAPTER 7

1 Then Paul sent back Onesiphorus and his family to their own home, and taking Thecla along with him, went for Antioch;

2 And as soon as they came into the city, a certain Syrian, named Alexander, a magistrate, in the city, who had done many considerable services for the city during his magistracy, saw Thecla and fell in love with her, and endeavoured by many rich presents to engage Paul in his interest.

3 But Paul told him, I know not the woman of whom you speak, nor does she belong to me.

4 But he being a person of great power in Antioch, seized her in the street and kissed her; which Thecla would not bear, but looking about for Paul, cried out in a distressed loud tone, Force me not, who am a stranger; force me not, who am a servant of God; I am one of the principal persons of Iconium, and was obliged to leave that city because I would not be married to Thamyris.

5 Then she laid hold on Alexander, tore his coat, and took his crown off his head, and made him appear ridiculous before all the people.

6 But Alexander, partly as he loved her, and partly being ashamed of what had been done, led her to the governor, and upon her confession of what she had done, he condemned her to be thrown among the beasts.

PAUL AND THECLA CHAPTER 8

1 Which when the people saw, they said: The judgements passed in this city are unjust. But Thecla desired the favour of the governor, that her chastity might not be attacked, but preserved till she should be cast to the beasts.

2 The governor then inquired, Who would entertain her; upon which a certain very rich widow, named Trifina, whose daughter was lately dead, desired that she might have the keeping of her; and she began to treat her in her house as her own daughter.

3 At length a day came, when the beasts were to be brought forth to be seen; and Thecla was brought to the amphitheatre, and put into a den in which was an exceeding fierce she-lion, in the presence of a multitude of spectators.

4 Trifina, without any surprise, accompanied Thecla, and the she-lion licked the feet of Thecla. The title written which denotes her crime was: Sacrilege. Then the woman cried out, O God, the judgements of this city are unrighteous.

5 After the beasts had been shewn, Trifina took Thecla home with her, and they went to bed; and behold, the daughter of Trifina, who was dead, appeared to her mother, and said; Mother, let the young woman, Thecla, be reputed by you as your daughter in my stead; and desire her that she should pray for me, that I may be translated to a state of happiness.

6 Upon which Trifina, with a mournful air, said, My daughter Falconilla has appeared to me, and ordered me to receive you in her room; wherefore I desire, Thecla, that you would pray for my daughter, that she may be translated into a state of happiness, and to life eternal.

7 When Thecla heard this, she immediately prayed to the Lord, and said: O Lord God of heaven and earth, Jesus Christ, thou Son of the Most High, grant that her daughter Falconilla may live forever. Trifina hearing this groaned again, and said: O unrighteous judgements! O unreasonable wickedness! that such a creature should (again) be cast to the beasts!

8 On the morrow, at break of day, Alexander came to Trifina's house, and said: The governor and the people are waiting; bring the criminal forth.

9 But Trifina ran in so violently upon him, that he was affrighted, and ran away. Trifina was one of the royal family; and she thus expressed her sorrow, and said; Alas! I have trouble in my house on two accounts, and there is no one who will relieve me, either under the loss of my daughter, or my being able to save Thecla. But now, O Lord God, be thou the helper of Thecla thy servant.

10 While she was thus engaged, the governor sent one of his own officers to bring Thecla. Trifina took her by the hand, and, going with her, said: I went with Falconilla to her grave, and now must go with Thecla to the beasts.

11 When Thecla heard this, she weeping prayed, and said: O Lord God, whom I have made my confidence and refuge, reward Trifina for her compassion to me, and preserving my chastity.

12 Upon this there was a great noise in the amphitheatre; the beasts roared, and the people cried out, Bring in the criminal.

13 But the woman cried out, and said: Let the whole city suffer for such crimes; and order all of us, O governor, to the same punishment. O unjust judgement! O cruel sight!

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14 Others said, Let the whole city be destroyed for this vile action. Kill us all, O governor. O cruel sight! O unrighteous judgement.

PAUL AND THECLA CHAPTER 9

1 Then Thecla was taken out of the hand of Trifina, stripped naked, had a girdle put on, and thrown into the place appointed for fighting with the beasts: and the lions and the bears were let loose upon her.

2 But a she-lion, which was of all the most fierce, ran to Thecla, and fell down at her feet. Upon which the multitude of women shouted aloud.

3 Then a she-bear ran fiercely towards her; but the she-lion met the bear, and tore it to pieces.

4 Again, a he-lion, who had been wont to devour men, and which belonged to Alexander, ran towards her; but the she-lion encountered the he-lion, and they killed each other.

5 Then the women were under a greater concern, because the she-lion, which had helped Thecla, was dead.

6 Afterwards they brought out many other wild beasts; but Thecla stood with her hands stretched towards heaven, and prayed; and when she had done praying, she turned about, and saw a pit of water, and said, Now it is a proper time for me to be baptised. 7 Accordingly she threw herself into the water, and said, In thy name, O my Lord Jesus Christ, I am this last day baptised. The women and the people seeing this, cried out, and said, Do not throw yourself into the water. And the governor himself cried out, to think that the fish (sea-calves) were like to devour so much beauty.

8 Notwithstanding all this, Thecla threw herself into the water, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

9 But the fish (sea-calves,) when they saw the lighting and fire, were killed, and swam dead upon the surface of the water, and a cloud of fire surrounded Thecla, so that as the beasts could not come near her, so the people could not see her nakedness.

10 Yet they turned other wild beasts upon her; upon which they made a very mournful outcry; and some of them scattered spikenard, others cassia, other amomus [a sort of spikenard, or the herb of Jerusalem, or ladies-rose], others ointment; so that the quantity of ointment was large, in proportion to the number of people; and upon this all the beasts lay as though they had been fast asleep, and did not touch Thecla.

11 Whereupon Alexander said to the Governor, I have some very terrible bulls; let us bind her to them. To which the governor, with concern, replied, You may do what you think fit.

12 Then they put a cord round Thecla's waist, which bound also her feet, and with it tied her to the bulls, to whose privy-parts they applied red-hot irons, that so they being the more tormented, might more violently drag Thecla about, till they had killed her.

13 The bulls accordingly tore about, making a most hideous noise, but the flame which was about Thecla, burnt off the cords which were fastened to the members of the bulls, and she stood in the middle of the stage, as unconcerned as if she had not been bound.

14 But in the mean time Trifina, who sat upon one of the benches, fainted away and died; upon which the whole city was under a very great concern.

15 And Alexander himself was afraid, and desired the governor, saying: I entreat you, take compassion on me and the city, and release this woman, who has fought with the beasts; lest, both you and I, and the whole city be destroyed:

16 For if Caesar should have any account of what has passed now, he will certainly immediately destroy the city, because Trifina, a person of royal extract, and a relation of his, is dead upon her seat.

17 Upon this the governor called Thecla from among the beasts to him, and said to her, Who art thou? and what are thy circumstances, that not one of the beasts will touch thee?

18 Thecla replied to him; I am a servant of the living God; and as to my state, I am a believer on Jesus Christ his Son, in whom God is well pleased; and for that reason none of the beasts could touch me.

19 He alone is the way to eternal salvation, and the foundation of eternal life. He is a refuge to those who are in distress; a support to the afflicted, hope and defence to those who are hopeless; and, in a word, all those who do not believe on him, shall not live, but suffer eternal death.

20 When the governor heard these things, he ordered her clothes to be brought, and said to her put on your clothes.

21 Thecla replied: May that God who clothed me when I was naked among the beasts, in the day of judgement clothe your soul with the robe of salvation. Then she took her clothes, and put them on; and the governor immediately published an order in these words; I release to you Thecla the servant of God.

22 Upon which the women cried out together with a loud voice, and with one accord gave praise unto God, and said: There is but one God, who is the God of Thecla; the one God who hath delivered Thecla.

23 So loud were their voices that the whole city seemed to be shaken; and Trifina herself heard the glad tidings, and arose again, and ran with the multitude to meet Thecla; and embracing her, said: Now I believe there shall be a resurrection of the dead; now I am persuaded that my daughter is alive. Come therefore home with me, my daughter Thecla, and I will make over all that I have to you.

24 So Thecla went with Trifina, and was entertained there a few days, teaching her the word of the Lord, whereby many young women were converted; and there was great joy in the family of Trifina.

25 But Thecla longed to see Paul, and inquired and sent everywhere to find him; and when at length she was informed that he was at Myra, in Lycia, she took with her many young men and women; and putting on a girdle, and dressing herself in the habit of a man, she went to him in Myra in Lycia, and there found Paul preaching the word of God; and she stood by him among the throng.

PAUL AND THECLA CHAPTER 10

1 But it was no small surprise to Paul when he saw her and the people with her; for he imagined some fresh trial was coming upon them;

2 Which when Thecla perceived, she said to him: I have been baptised, O Paul; for he who assists you in preaching has assisted me to baptise.

3 Then Paul took her, and led her to the house of Hermes; and Thecla related to Paul all that had befallen her in Antioch, insomuch that Paul exceedingly wondered, and all who heard were confirmed in the faith, and prayed for Trifina's happiness.

4 Then Thecla arose, and said to Paul, I am going to Iconium. Paul replied to her: Go, and teach the word of the Lord.

5 But Trifina had sent large sums of money to Paul, and also clothing by the hands of Thecla, for the relief of the poor.

6 So Thecla went to Iconium. And when she came to the house of Onesiphorus, she fell down upon the floor where Paul had sat and preached, and mixing her tears with her prayers, she praised and glorified God in the follwing words:

7 O Lord the God of this house, in which I was first enlightened by thee; O Jesus, son of the living God, who wast my helper before the governor, my helper in the fire, and my helper among the beasts; thou alone art God forever and ever. Amen.

8 Thecla now (on her return) found Thamyris dead, but her mother living. So calling her mother, she said to her: Theoclia, my mother, is it possible for you to be brought to a belief, that there is but one Lord God, who dwells in the heavens? If yo desire great riches, God will give them to you by me; if you want your daughter again, here I am.

9 These and many other things she represented to her mother, [endeavouring] to persuade her [to her opinion]. But her mother Theoclia gave no credit to the things which were said by the martyr Thecla.

10 So that Thecla perceiving she discoursed to no purpose, signing her whole body with the sign [of the cross], left the house and went to Daphine; and when she came there, she went to the cave, where she had found Paul with Onesiphorus, and fell down on the ground; and wept before God.

11 When she departed thence, she went to Seleucia, and enlightened many in the knowledge of Christ.

12 And a bright cloud conducted her in her journey.

13 And after she had arrived at Seleucia she went to a place out of the city, about the distance of a furlong, being afraid of the inhabitants, because they were worshippers of idols.

14 And she was led [by the cloud] into a mountain called Calamon, or Rodeon. There she abode many years, and underwent a great many grievous temptations of the devil, which she bore in a becoming manner, by the assistance which she had from Christ.

15 At length, certain gentlewomen hearing of the virgin Thecla, went to her, and were instructed by her in the oracles of God, and many of them abandoned this world, and led a monastic life with her.

16 Hereby a good report was spread everywhere of Thecla, and she wrought several [miraculous] cures, so that all the city and adjacent countries brought their sick to that mountain, and before they came as far as the door of the cave, they were instantly cured of whatsoever distemper they had.

17 The unclean spirits were cast out, making a noise; all received their sick made whole, and glorified God, who had bestowed such power on the virgin Thecla;

18 Insomuch that the physicians of Seleucia were now of no more account, and lost all the profit of their trade, because no one regarded them; upon which they were filled with envy, and began to contrive what methods to take with this servant of Christ.

PAUL AND THECLA CHAPTER 11

1 The devil then suggested bad advice to their minds; and being on a certain day met together to consult, they reasoned among each other thus: The virgin is a priestess of the great goddess Diana, and whatsoever she requests from her, is granted, because she is a virgin, and so is beloved by all the gods.

2 Now then let us procure some rakish fellows, and after we have made them sufficiently drunk, and given them a good sum of money, let us order them to go and debauch this virgin, promising them, if they do it, a larger reward.

3 (For they thus concluded among themselves, that if they be able to debauch her, the gods will no more regard her, nor Diana cure the sick for her.)

4 They proceeded according to this resolution, and the fellows went to the mountain, and as fierce as lions to the cave, knocking at the door.

5 The holy martyr Thecla, relying upon the God in whom she believed, opened the door, although she was before apprized of their design, and said to them, Young men, what is your business?

6 They replied, Is there any one within, whose name is Thecla? She answered, What would you have with her? They said, We have a mind to lie with her.

7 The blessed Thecla answered: Though I am a mean old woman, I am the servant of my Lord Jesus Christ; and though you have a vile design against me, ye shall not be able to accomplish it. They replied: It is impossible but we must be able to do with you what we have a mind.

8 And while they were saying this, they laid hold on her by main force, and would have ravished her. Then she with the (greatest) mildness said to them: Young men have patience, and see the glory of the Lord.

9 And while they held her, she looked up to heaven and said; O God most reverend to whom none can be likened; who makest thyself glorious over thine enemies; who didst deliver me from the fire, and didst not give me up to Thamyris, didst not give me up to Alexander; who deliveredst me from the wild beasts; who didst preserve me in the deep waters; who hast everywhere been my helper, and hast glorified thy name in me;

10 Now also deliver me from the hands of these wicked and unreasonable men, nor suffer them to debauch my chastity which I have hitherto preserved for thy honour; for I love thee and long for thee, and worship thee, O Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, for evermore. Amen.

11 Then came a voice from heaven, saying, Fear not, Thecla, my faithful servant, for I am with thee. Look and see the place which is opened for thee: there thy eternal abode shall be; there thou shalt receive the beatific vision.

12 The blessed Thecla observing, saw the rock opened to as large a degree as that a man might enter in; she did as she was commanded, bravely fled from the vile crew, and went into the rock, which instantly so closed, that there was not any crack visible where it had opened.

13 The men stood perfectly astonished at so prodigious a miracle, and had no power to detain the servant of God; but only, catching hold of her veil, or hood, they tore off a piece of it;

14 And even that was by the permission of God, for the confirmation of their faith who should come to see this venerable place, and to convey blessings to those in succeeding ages, who should believe on our Lord Jesus Christ from a pure heart.

15 Thus suffered that first martyr and apostle of God, and virgin, Thecla; who came from Iconium at eighteen years of age; afterwards, partly in journeys and travels, and partly in a monastic life in the cave, she lived seventy-two years; so that she was ninety years old when the Lord translated her.

16 Thus ends her life.

17 The day which is kept sacred to her memory, is the twenty-fourth of September, to the glory of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, now and for evermore. Amen.

ACTS OF PAUL AND THECLA; Version 2:

(Philip Schaff: ANF08. The Twelve Patriarchs, Excerpts and Epistles, The Clementia, Apocrypha, Decretals, Memoirs of Edessa and Syriac Documents, Remains of the First Age - Christian Classics Ethereal Library)

As Paul was going up to Iconium after the flight from Antioch, his fellow-travellers were Demas and Ermogenes, full of hypocrisy; and they were importunate with Paul [Or, persisted in staying with Paul.], as if they loved him. But Paul, looking only to the goodness of Christ, did them no harm, but loved them exceedingly, so that he made the oracles of the Lord sweet to them in the teaching both of the birth and the resurrection of the Beloved; and he gave them an account, word for word, of the great things of Christ, how He [Or, how they] had been revealed to him.

And a certain man, by name Onesiphorus, hearing that Paul had come to Iconium, went out to meet him with his children Silas and Zeno, and his wife Lectra, in order that he might entertain him: for Titus had informed him what Paul was like in appearance: for he had not seen him in the flesh, but only in the spirit. And he went along the road to Lystra, and stood waiting for him, and kept looking at the passers by according to the description of Titus. And he saw Paul coming, a man small in size, bald-headed, bandy-legged, well-built, with eyebrows meeting, rather long-nosed, full of grace. For

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sometimes he seemed like a man, and sometimes he had the countenance of an angel. And Paul, seeing Onesiphorus, smiled; and Onesiphorus said: Hail, O servant of the blessed God! And he said: Grace be with thee and thy house. And Demas and Ermogenes were jealous, and showed greater hypocrisy; so that Demas said: Are not we of the blessed God, that thou hast not thus saluted us? And Onesiphorus said: I do not see in you the fruit of righteousness; but if such you be, come you also into my house and rest yourselves.

And Paul having gone into the house of Onesiphorus, there was great joy, and bending of knees, and breaking of bread, and the word of God about self-control and the resurrection; Paul saying: Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God: blessed are they that have kept the flesh chaste, for they shall become a temple of God: blessed are they that control themselves, for God shall speak with them: blessed are they that have kept aloof from this world, for they shall be called upright: blessed are they that have wives as not having them, for they shall receive God for their portion: blessed are they that have the fear of God, for they shall become angels of God: blessed are they that have kept the baptism, for they shall rest beside the Father and the Son: blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy, and shall not see the bitter day of judgement: blessed are the bodies of the virgins, for they shall be well pleasing to God, and shall not lose the reward of their chastity; for the word of the Father shall become to them a work of salvation against the day of His Son, and they shall have rest for ever and ever. [Some Manuscripts add the following beatitudes: Blessed are they that tremble at the words of God, for they shall be comforted: blessed are they that have received the wisdom of Jesus Christ, for they shall be called the sons of the Most High: blessed are they that through love of Christ have come out from conformity with the world, for they shall judge the angels, and shall be blessed at the right hand of the Father.]

And while Paul was thus speaking in the midst of the church in the house of Onesiphorus, a certain virgin Thecla, the daughter of Theocleia, betrothed to a man named Thamyris, sitting at the window close by, listened night and day to the discourse of virginity and prayer, and did not look away from the window, but paid earnest heed to the faith, rejoicing exceedingly. And when she still saw many women going in beside Paul, she also had an eager desire to be deemed worthy to stand in the presence of Paul, and to hear the word of Christ; for never had she seen his figure, but heard his word only.

And as she did not stand away from the window, her mother sends to Thamyris; and he comes gladly, as if already receiving her in marriage. And Theocleia said: I have a strange story to tell thee, Thamyris; for assuredly for three days and three nights Thecla does not rise from the window, neither to eat nor to drink; but looking earnestly as if upon some pleasant sight, she is so devoted to a foreigner teaching deceitful and artful discourses, that I wonder how a virgin of such modesty is so painfully put about. Thamyris, this man will overturn the city of the Iconians, and thy Thecla too besides; for all the women and the young men go in beside him, being taught to fear God and to live in chastity. Moreover also my daughter, tied to the window like a spider, lays hold of what is said by Paul with a strange eagerness and awful emotion; for the virgin looks eagerly at what is said by him, and has been captivated. But do thou go near and speak to her, for she has been betrothed to thee.

And Thamyris going near, and kissing her, but at the same time also being afraid of her overpowering emotion, said: Thecla, my betrothed, why dost thou sit thus? and what sort of feeling holds thee overpowered? Turn round to thy Thamyris, and be ashamed. Moreover also her mother said the same things: Why dost thou sit thus looking down, my child, and answering nothing, but like a mad woman? And they wept fearfully, Thamyris indeed for the loss of a wife, and Theocleia of a child, and the maidservants of a mistress: there was accordingly much confusion in the house of mourning [Or, a great outpouring of lamentation in the house.]. And while these things were thus going on, Thecla did not turn round, but kept attending earnestly to the word of Paul.

And Thamyris starting up, went forth into the street, and kept watching those going in to him and coming out. And he saw two men bitterly contending with each other; and he said: Men, tell me who this is among you, leading astray the souls of young men, and deceiving virgins, so that they do not marry, but remain as they are. I promise, therefore, to give you money enough if you tell me about him; for I am the first man [Or, a chief man.] of the city. And Demas and Ermogenes said to him: Who this is, indeed, we do not know; but he deprives young men of wives, and maidens of husbands, saying, There is for you a resurrection in no other way, unless you remain chaste, and pollute not the flesh, but keep it chaste. And Thamyris said to them: Come into my house, and rest yourselves. And they went to a sumptuous dinner, and much wine, and great wealth, and a splendid table; and Thamyris made them drink, from his love to Thecla, and his wish to get her as his wife. And Thamyris said during the dinner: Ye men, what is his teaching, tell me, that I also may know; for I am no little distressed about Thecla, because she thus loves the stranger, and I am prevented from marrying.

Demas and Ermogenes said: Bring him before the governor Castelios on the charge of persuading the multitudes to embrace the new teaching of the Christians, and he will speedily destroy him, and thou shalt have Thecla as thy wife. And we shall teach thee that the resurrection of which this man speaks has taken place, because it has already taken place in the children which we have [i.e., we rise again in our children.]; and we rose again when we came to the knowledge of the true God.

And Thamyris, hearing these things, being filled with anger and rage, rising up early, went to the house of Onesiphorus with archons and public officers, and a great crowd with batons, saying: Thou hast corrupted the city of the Iconians, and her that was betrothed to me, so that she will not have me: let us go to the governor Castelios. And all the multitude said: Away with the magician; for he has corrupted all our wives, and the multitudes have been persuaded to change their opinions.

And Thamyris, standing before the tribunal, said with a great shout: O proconsul, this man, who he is we know not, who makes virgins averse to marriage; let him say before thee on what [Or, whose.] account he teaches these things. And Demas and Ermogenes said to Thamyris: Say that he is a Christian, and thus thou wilt do away with him. But the proconsul stayed his intention, and called Paul, saying: Who art thou, and what dost thou teach? for they bring no small charges against thee. And Paul lifted up his voice, saying: Since I am this day examined as to what I teach, listen, O proconsul: A living God, a God of retributions, a jealous God, a God in need of nothing, consulting for the salvation of men, has sent me that I may reclaim them from corruption and uncleanness, and from all pleasure, and from death, that they may not sin. Wherefore God sent His own Son, whom I preach, and in whom I teach men to rest their hope, who alone has had compassion upon a world led astray, that they may be no longer under judgement, O proconsul, but may have faith, and the fear of God, and the knowledge of holiness, and the love of truth. If, therefore, I teach what has been revealed to me by God, wherein do I do wrong? And the proconsul having heard, ordered Paul to be bound, and sent to prison, until, said he, I, being at leisure, shall hear him more attentively.

And Thecla by night having taken off her bracelets, gave them to the gatekeeper; and the door having been opened to her, she went into the prison; and having given the jailor a silver mirror, she went in beside Paul, and, sitting at his feet, she heard the great things of God. And Paul was afraid of nothing, but ordered his life in the confidence of God. And her faith also was increased, and she kissed his bonds.

And when Thecla was sought for by her friends, and Thamyris, as if she had been lost, was running up and down the streets, one of the gatekeeper's fellow-slaves informed him that she had gone out by night. And having gone out, they examined the gatekeeper; and he said to them: She has gone to the foreigner into the prison. And having gone, they found her, as it were, enchained by affection. And having gone forth thence, they drew the multitudes together, and informed the governor of the circumstance. And he ordered Paul to be brought to the tribunal; but Thecla was wallowing on the ground [i.e., in sign of grief.] in the place where he sat and taught her in the prison; and he ordered her too to be brought to the tribunal. And she came, exulting with joy. And the crowd, when Paul had been brought, vehemently cried out: He is a magician! away with him! But the proconsul gladly heard Paul upon the holy works of Christ. And having called a council, he summoned Thecla, and said to her: Why dost thou not obey Thamyris, according to the law of the Iconians? But she stood looking earnestly at Paul. And when she gave no answer, her mother cried out, saying: Burn the wicked wretch; burn in the midst of the theatre her that will not marry, in order that all the women that have been taught by this man may be afraid.

And the governor was greatly moved; and having scourged Paul, he cast him out of the city, and condemned Thecla to be burned. And immediately the governor went away to the theatre, and all the crowd went forth to the spectacle of Thecla. But as a lamb in the wilderness looks round for the shepherd, so she kept searching for Paul. And having looked upon the crowd, she saw the Lord sitting in the likeness of Paul, and said: As I am unable to endure my lot, Paul has come to see me. And she gazed upon him with great earnestness, and he went up into heaven. But the maid-servants [One manuscript has, boys.] and virgins brought the faggots, in order that Thecla might be burned. And when she came in naked, the governor wept, and wondered at the power [Or, virtue.] that was in her. And the public executioners arranged the faggots for her to go up on the pile. And she, having made the sign of the cross, went up on the faggots; and they lighted them. And though a great fire was blazing, it did not touch her; for God, having compassion upon her, made an underground rumbling, and a cloud overshadowed them from above, full of water and hail; and all that was in the cavity of it was poured out, so that many were in danger of death. And the fire was put out, and Thecla saved.

And Paul was fasting with Onesiphorus and his wife, and his children, in a new tomb, as they were going from Iconium to Daphne. And when many days were past, the fasting children said to Paul: We are hungry, and we cannot buy loaves; for Onesiphorus had left the things of the world, and followed Paul, with all his house. And Paul, having taken off his cloak, said: Go, my child, buy more loaves, and bring them. And when the child was buying, he saw Thecla their neighbour, and was astonished, and said: Thecla, whither art thou going? And she said: I have been saved from the fire, and am following Paul. And the boy said: Come, I shall take thee to him; for he is distressed about thee, and is praying six days. And she stood beside the tomb where Paul was with bended knees, and praying, and saying: O Saviour Christ, let not the fire touch Thecla, but stand by her, for she is Thine. And she, standing behind him, cried out: O Father, who hast made the heaven and the earth, the Father of Thy holy Son, I bless Thee that Thou hast saved me that I may see Paul. And Paul, rising up, saw her, and said: O God, that knowest the heart, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, I bless Thee that Thou, having heard me, hast done quickly what I wished.

And they had five loaves, and herbs, and water; and they rejoiced in the holy works of Christ. And Thecla said to Paul: I shall cut my hair, and follow thee whithersoever thou mayst go. And he said: It is a shameless age, and thou art beautiful. I am afraid lest another temptation come upon thee worse than the first, and that thou withstand it not, but be cowardly. And Thecla said: Only give me the seal in Christ, and temptation shall not touch me. And Paul said: Thecla, wait with patience, and thou shalt receive the water.

And Paul sent away Onesiphorus and all his house to Iconium; and thus, having taken Thecla, he went into Antioch. And as they were going in, a certain Syriarch, Alexander by name, seeing Thecla, became enamoured of her, and tried to gain over Paul by gifts and presents. But Paul said: I know not the woman whom thou speakest of, nor is she mine. But he, being of great power, himself embraced her in the street. But she would not endure it, but looked about for Paul. And she cried out bitterly, saying: Do not force the stranger; do not force the servant of God. I am one of the chief persons of the Iconians; and because I would not have Thamyris, I have been cast out of the city. And taking hold of Alexander, she tore his cloak, and pulled off his crown, and made him a laughing-stock. And he, at the same time loving her, and at the same time ashamed of what had happened, led her before the governor; and when she had confessed that she had done these things, he condemned her to the wild beasts. And the women were struck with astonishment, and cried out beside the tribunal: Evil judgement! impious judgement! And she asked the governor, that, said she, I may remain pure until I shall fight with the wild beasts. And a certain Tryphaena [Some manuscripts add: A widow, very rich.], whose daughter was dead, took her into keeping, and had her for a consolation.

And when the beasts were exhibited, they bound her to a fierce lioness; and Tryphaena accompanied her. But the lioness, with Thecla sitting upon her, licked her feet; and all the multitude was astonished. And the charge on her inscription was: Sacrilegious. And the women cried out from above: An impious sentence has been passed in this city! And after the exhibition, Tryphaena again receives her. For her daughter Falconilla had died, and said to her in a dream: Mother, thou shalt have this stranger Thecla in my place, in order that she may pray concerning me, and that I may be transferred to the place of the just.

And when, after the exhibition, Tryphaena received her, at the same time indeed she grieved that she had to fight with the wild beasts on the day following; and at the same time, loving her as much as her daughter Falconilla, she said: My second child Thecla, come and pray for my child, that she may live for ever; for this I saw in my sleep. And she, nothing hesitating, lifted up her voice, and said: God most high*, grant to this woman according to her wish, that her daughter Falconilla may live for ever. And when Thecla had thus spoken, Tryphaena lamented, considering so much beauty thrown to the wild beasts. [* One manuscript has: God of our fathers, Son of the Most High. Another: O Lord God, who has made the heaven and the earth, Son of the Most High, Lord Jesus Christ.]

And when it was dawn, Alexander came to take her, for it was he that gave the hunt [i.e., the exhibition of wild beasts.], saying: The governor is sitting, and the crowd is in uproar against us. Allow me to take away her that is to fight with the wild beasts. And Tryphaena cried aloud, so that he even fled, saying: A second mourning for my Falconilla has come upon my house and there is no one to help; neither child, for she is dead, nor kinsman, for I am a widow. God of Thecla, help her!

And immediately the governor sends an order that Thecla should be brought. And Tryphaena, taking her by the hand, said: My daughter Falconilla, indeed, I took away to the tomb; and thee, Thecla, I am taking to the wild-beast fight.

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And Thecla wept bitterly, saying: O Lord, the God in whom I believe, to whom I have fled for refuge, who deliveredst me from the fire, do Thou grant a recompense to Tryphaena, who has had compassion on Thy servant, and because she has kept me pure. Then a tumult arose, and a cry of the people, and the women sitting together, the one saying: Away with the sacrilegious person! the others saying: Let the city be raised [Or, be taken off, i.e., put to death.] against this wickedness. Take off all of us, O proconsul! Cruel sight! evil sentence!

And Thecla, having been taken out of the hand of Tryphaena, was stripped, and received a girdle [Or, drawers.], and was thrown into the arena, and lions and bears and a fierce lioness were let loose upon her; and the lioness having run up to her feet, lay down; and the multitude of the women cried aloud. And a bear ran upon her; but the lioness, meeting the bear, tore her to pieces. And again a lion that had been trained against men, which belonged to Alexander, ran upon her; and she, the lioness, encountering the lion, was killed along with him. And the women made great lamentation, since also the lioness, her protector, was dead.

Then they send in many wild beasts, she standing and stretching forth her hands, and praying. And when she had finished her prayer, she turned and saw a ditch full of water, and said: Now it is time to wash myself. And she threw herself in, saying: In the name of Jesus Christ I am babtised on my last day. And the women seeing, and the multitude, wept, saying: Do not throw thyself into the water; so that also the governor shed tears, because the seals were going to devour such beauty. She then threw herself in in the name of Jesus Christ; but the seals having seen the glare of the fire of lightning, floated about dead. And there was round her, as she was naked, a cloud of fire; so that neither could the wild beasts touch her, nor could she be seen naked.

And the women, when other wild beasts were being thrown in, wailed. And some threw sweet-smelling herbs, others nard, others cassia, others amomum, so that there was abundance of perfumes. And all the wild beasts that had been thrown in, as if they had been withheld by sleep, did not touch her; so that Alexander said to the governor: I have bulls exceedingly terrible; let us bind to them her that is to fight with the beasts. And the governor, looking gloomy, turned, and said: Do what thou wilt. And they bound her by the feet between them, and put red-hot irons under the privy parts of the bulls, so that they, being rendered more furious, might kill her. They rushed about, therefore; but the burning flame consumed the ropes, and she was as if she had not been bound. But Tryphaena fainted standing beside the arena, so that the crowd said: Queen Tryphaena is dead. And the governor put a stop to the games, and the city was in dismay. And Alexander entreated the governor, saying: Have mercy both on me and the city, and release this woman. For if Caesar hear of these things, he will speedily destroy the city also along with us, because his kinswoman Queen Tryphaena has died beside the Abaci [A part of the ancient theatres on or near the stage.].

And the governor summoned Thecla out of the midst of the wild beasts, and said to her: Who art thou? and what is there about thee, that not one of the wild beasts touches thee? And she said: I indeed am a servant of the living God; and as to what there is about me, I have believed in the Son of God, in whom He is well pleased; wherefore not one of the beasts has touched me. For He alone is the end [Or, way.] of salvation, and the basis of immortal life; for He is a refuge to the tempest-tossed, a solace to the afflicted, a shelter to the despairing; and, once for all, whoever shall not believe on Him, shall not live for ever.

And the governor having heard this, ordered her garments to be brought, and to be put on. And Thecla said: He that clothed me naked among the wild beasts, will in the day of judgement clothe thee with salvation. And taking the garments, she put them on. The governor therefore immediately issued an edict, saying: I release to you the God-fearing Thecla, the servant of God. And the women shouted aloud, and with one mouth returned thanks to God, saying: There is one God, the God of Thecla; so that the foundations of the theatre were shaken by their voice. And Tryphaena having received the good news, went to meet the holy Thecla, and said: Now I believe that the dead are raised: now I believe that my child lives. Come within, and I shall assign to thee all that is mine. She therefore went in along with her, and rested eight days, having instructed her in the word of God, so that most even of the maid-servants believed. And there was great joy in the house.

And Thecla kept seeking Paul; and it was told her that he was in Myra of Lycia. And taking young men and maidens, she girded herself; and having sewed the tunic so as to make a man's cloak, she came to Myra, and found Paul speaking the word of God. And Paul was astonished at seeing her, and the crowd with her, thinking that some new trial was coming upon her. And when she saw him, she said: I have received the baptism, Paul; for He that wrought along with thee for the Gospel has wrought in me also for baptism. And Paul, taking her, led her to the house of Hermaeus, and hears everything from her, so that those that heard greatly wondered, and were comforted, and prayed over Tryphaena. And she rose up, and said: I am going to Iconium. And Paul said: Go, and teach the word of God. And Tryphaena sent her much clothing and gold, so that she left to Paul many things for the service of the poor.

And she went to Iconium. And she goes into the house of Onesiphorus, and fell upon the pavement where Paul used to sit and teach her, and wept, saying: God of myself and of this house, where Thou didst make the light to shine upon me, O Christ Jesus, the Son of the living God, my help in the fire, my help among the wild beasts, Thou art glorified for ever. Amen. And she found Thamyris dead, but her mother alive. And having sent for her mother, she said: Theocleia, my mother, canst thou believe that the Lord liveth in the heavens? For whether thou desirest wealth, God gives it to thee through me; or thy child, I am standing beside thee. And having thus testified, she departed to Seleucia, and dwelt in a cave seventy-two years, living upon herbs and water. And she enlightened many by the word of God.

And certain men of the city, being Greeks by religion, and physicians by profession, sent to her insolent young men to destroy [Or, corrupt.] her. For they said: She is a virgin, and serves Artemis, and from this she has virtue in healing. And by the providence of God she entered into the rock alive, and went under ground. And she departed to Rome to see Paul, and found that he had fallen asleep [i.e., that he was dead.]. And after staying there no long time, she rested in a glorious sleep; and she is buried about two or three stadia from the tomb of her master Paul.

She was cast, then, into the fire when seventeen years old, and among the wild beasts when eighteen. And she was an ascetic in the cave, as has been said, seventy-two years, so that all the years of her life were ninety. And having accomplished many cures, she rests in the place of the saints, having fallen asleep on the twenty-fourth of the month of September in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be glory and strength for ever and ever. Amen.

[Instead of the last two sections, the manuscript which Dr. Grabe used has the following:—]

And a cloud of light guided her. And having come into Seleucia, she went forth outside of the city one stadium. And she was afraid of them also, for they worshipped idols. And it guided her to the mountain called Calamon or Rhodeon; and having there found a cave, she went into it. And she was there many years, and underwent many and grievous trials by the devil, and bore them nobly, being assisted by Christ. And some of the well-born women, having learned about the virgin Thecla, went to her, and learned the oracles of God. And many of them bade adieu to the world, and lived an ascetic life with her. And a good report was spread everywhere concerning her, and cures were done by her. All the city, therefore, and country round, having known this, brought their sick to the mountain; and before they came near the door they were speedily released from whatever disease they were afflicted by; and the unclean spirits went out shrieking, and all received their own in health, glorifying God, who had given such grace to the virgin Thecla. The physicians, therefore, of the city of the Seleucians were thought nothing of, having lost their trade, and no one any longer had regard to them; and being filled with envy and hatred, they plotted against the servant of Christ, what they should do to her. The devil then suggests to them a wicked device; and one day, being assembled, and having taken counsel, they consult with each other, saying: This virgin is a priestess of the great goddess Artemis; and if she ask anything of her, she hears her as being a virgin, and all the gods love her. Come, then, let us take men of disorderly lives, and make them drunk with much wine, and let us give them much gold, and say to them, If you can corrupt and defile her, we shall give you even more money. The physicians therefore said to themselves, that if they should be able to defile her, neither the gods nor Artemis would listen to her in the case of the sick. They therefore did so. And the wicked men, having gone to the mountain, and rushed upon the cave like lions, knocked at the door. And the holy martyr Thecla opened, emboldened by the God in whom she believed; for she knew of their plot beforehand. And she says to them: What do you want, my children? And they said: Is there one here called Thecla? And she said: What do you want with her? They say to her: We want to sleep with her. The blessed Thecla says to them: I am a humble old woman, but the servant of my Lord Jesus Christ; and even though you want to do something to me out of place, you cannot. They say to her: It is impossible for us not to do to thee what we want. And having said this, they laid fast hold of her, and wished to insult her. And she says to them with mildness: Wait, my children, that you may see the glory of the Lord. And being laid hold of by them, she looked up into heaven, and said: God, terrible and incomparable, and glorious to Thine adversaries, who didst deliver me out of the fire, who didst not give me up to Thamyris, who didst not give me up to Alexander, who didst deliver me from the wild beasts, who didst save me in the abyss, who hast everywhere worked with me, and glorified Thy name in me, now also deliver me from these lawless men, and let me not insult my virginity, which through Thy name I have preserved till now, because I love Thee, and desire Thee, and adore Thee, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost for ever. Amen. And there came a voice out of the heaven, saying: Fear not, Thecla, my true servant, for I am with thee. Look and see where an opening has been made before thee, for there shall be for thee an everlasting house, and there thou shalt obtain shelter. And the blessed Thecla regarding it, saw the rock opened as far as to allow a man to enter, and did according to what had been said to her: and nobly fleeing from the lawless ones entered into the rock; and the rock was straightway shut together, so that not even a joining appeared. And they, beholding the extraordinary wonder, became as it were distracted; and they were not able to detain the servant of God, but only caught hold of her veil, and were able to tear off a certain part; and that by the permission of God for the faith of those seeing the venerable place, and for a blessing in the generations afterwards to those that believe in our Lord Jesus Christ out of a pure heart.

Thus, then, suffered the first martyr of God, and apostle, and virgin, Thecla, who came from Iconium at eighteen years old; and with the journeying, and the going round, and the retirement in the mountain, she lived other seventy-two years. And when the Lord took her, she was ninety years old. And thus is her consummation. And her holy commemoration is on the twenty-fourth of the month of September, to the glory of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

THE HISTORY OF THECLA

The Disciple Of Paul The Apostle
From: Syriac Manuscripts In The British Museum
Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles (1871) Vol 2.
Translation: William Wright, 1871
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 180 - 400 A.D.

When Paul had gone up to the city of Iconium after his persecution, there accompanied him Demas and Hermogenes, the coppersmiths, who were full of sedition and spake big words. And they were conversing with Paul as though with their friend; but Paul was looking to the dwelling-place of the grace of the Messiah, and was not doing unto them any harm, but was loving them truly. And he was so loving them, that he was making all the words of the Lord, and of the teaching and preaching and the birth and the resurrection of the Beloved, sink into their souls through the great (doings) of the Messiah. And he showed them how they were revealed to him, and was narrating (them) unto them by word (of mouth).

And a man, whose name was Onesiphorus, heard that Paul had come to the city of Iconium, and went out, with the sons of Simon, and with Zeno, and with his wife, to meet Paul, that they might receive him; for Titus had told him what was the aspect of Paul; for Onesiphorus did not know him in the body, but in the spirit. And he went (and) stood where the roads meet, on the highway which goes to Lystra; and was standing and waiting for him, and looking upon those who were passing and returning, according to the marks which Titus had given him. And he saw Paul coming, and in his stature he was a man of middling size, and his hair was scanty, and his legs were a little crooked, and his knees were projecting (or far apart); and he had large eyes, and his eyebrows met, and: his nose was somewhat long; and he was full of grace and mercy; at one time he seemed like a man, and at another time he seemed like an Angel. And when Paul saw Onesiphorus, he was glad; and Onesiphorus said to him: "Peace be to thee, thou apostle of the Blessed (One)." Paul saith to him: "Peace be to thee, Onesiphorus, and to all thy household." And Demas and Hermogenes were filled with envy, and their jealousy was great; and they said to Paul: "Are we not of the Blessed (One), that thou hast never saluted us thus?" He answered and said to them: "Because I do not see in you the works of righteousness." Onesiphorus saith to them: "If ye be aught, come ye too to my house and rest."

And when Paul had entered into the house of Onesiphorus, there was great joy there, and they kneeled down on their knees, and prayed, and brake bread. And Paul came nigh and spake unto him the words of God concerning the controlling of the flesh and concerning the resurrection, and was saying: "Blessed are they who are pure in their heart, for they shall see God. Blessed are they who have kept their flesh in purity, for they shall be called temples of God. Blessed are they who control themselves, for God shall speak with them. Blessed are they who have despised this world, for they shall be pleasing unto God. Blessed are they who have wives as though they had them not, for they shall inherit the earth. Blessed are they in whose heart is the fear of God, for they shall be called Angels. Blessed are they who tremble at the words of God which they hear, for them shall God call. Blessed are they who have received the wisdom of Jesus the Messiah, for they shall be called sons of God. Blessed are they who have kept the baptism, for they shall rest with the Father, who is in Heaven, and with His beloved Son. Blessed are they who have received

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the exhortation of the Messiah, for they shall be in great light. Blessed are they who for the love of God have gone out of this body, for they shall inherit eternal life, and shall stand at the right hand of the Son of God. Blessed are the merciful, for mercy shall be upon them from God, and on the Day of Judgement they shall receive the kingdom. Blessed are the bodies and souls of virgins, for they shall be pleasing unto God, and the reward of their holiness shall not be lost, for, according to the word of the Father, there shall be found for them works unto life at the day of His Son."

And whilst Paul was speaking these great things of God in the midst of the Church, in the house of Onesiphorus, one Thecla, a virgin, the daughter of Theocleia, who was betrothed unto Thamyris, came and sat at a window, which was close to their roof, and was listening to the words of Paul, which he was speaking concerning purity; and she did not depart from that window, and by night and day was hearkening to the prayer of Paul, and was wondering at the faith. Moreover too she was seeing many women, who were going in unto Paul that they might hear his words, for he was teaching the commandments of God; and she was longing to hear the words of Paul, for his figure had not been seen by her, but it was his words only which she was hearing; and she did not stir at all from that window.

Then her mother sent for Thamyris her betrothed; and when Thamyris her betrothed heard that his mother-in-law had called him, he ran and came to her, as if, lo, she was already granting to him to take her to wife. And Thamyris answered and said to his mother-in-law: "Where is Thecla my betrothed, that I may see her?" Theocleia answered and said to him: "I have something new to tell thee, Thamyris! Thecla thy betrothed, lo, for three days and three nights has not got up from that window, neither to eat nor to drink; but her eyes are intently fixed and she is looking at a strange man, who speaks vain and foolish words as if for a pastime; and accordingly I am surprised how discreet young women are quickly (and) evilly led away after him. I say unto thee, Thamyris, that he has perverted the whole city of the Iconians, and Thecla thy betrothed too, and many (other) women; and the young men go in to him, and he teaches them to worship one God and to live purely. And moreover Thecla is bound like a spider on its web, and is seized with a new desire and with an evil corruption, and her eyes are intently fixed on whatsoever comes out of that chamber, and she does not quit that window either to eat or to drink, and the virgin is quite absorbed (in thought). But do thou, Thamyris, go near to her and speak with her, for she is betrothed to thee."

And Thamyris her betrothed drew nigh unto her, firstly, because he loved her, and secondly, because he had respect for her modesty; and he answered and said to her: "Thecla, thou art my betrothed; why is it that thou doest thus? And what is the evil corruption that has taken hold of thee? Turn to Thamyris thy betrothed, and be ashamed before him." And her mother answered and saith to her: "Why is it that thou thus lookest down, and givest no answer, but art become like a mad woman?" And when the people of their household saw her, they wept; and Thamyris was weeping because his betrothed had parted from him; and the mother because she was parted from her daughter and the women-servants because they were parted from their mistress. And great was the grief and the mourning in their house. And Thecla paid no attention to all these things, but her mind was bent to hear the words of Paul.

Then Thamyris her betrothed became angry, and sprang up (and) went out into the street, and was looking at those who were going in and out to Paul. And suddenly he saw two men who were quarrelling bitterly with one another. And Thamyris drew nigh unto them and said to them: "What are ye? Tell me. And who is this man, who (is) within, who is with you, who leads astray the souls of young women and of virgins, and commands that there should be no marriage-feasts, but that they should live thus (as they are)? I am willing to give you much money, if ye will tell me about him, who he is; for I am the chief (man) of this city." And Demas and Hermogenes, when they saw him, came to him, and answered and say to him: "This man of whom thou hast spoken, we do not know him, who he is; but he separates the young men from the virgins, and the virgins from the young men, and says to them, 'Ye cannot rise from the grave, unless ye keep yourselves purely.'" Thamyris answered and said to them: "Come, my friends, with me to my house, and rest yourselves with me." And they went with him to a great repast, and much meat, and immense luxury, and splendid tables. And Thamyris entertained them, because he loved Thecla his betrothed, that he might get her as a wife on the day which his mother-in-law had fixed for him. Thamyris answered and said to them as they were reclining (at table): "Tell me, my friends, what are the doctrines which he teaches, that I too may know; for they are not few, who complain against him, and I too am grieved for my betrothed, who loves a strange man, and I am parted from her."

And Demas and Hermogenes answered and said to him with one consent: "Thamyris, bring him before Castelus the hêgemôn, and say, 'This (fellow) teaches the new doctrine, and is a Christian'; and lo, straightway he will destroy him, and thou shalt take Thecla thy betrothed (to wife), and we will teach thee the resurrection of the dead, which he teaches."

And when Thamyris heard these words, he was filled with envy and jealousy, and rose early in the morning, and went to the house of Onesiphorus with the chief men of the city and many people with staves. And he answered and said: "Paul, thou hast destroyed the city of the Iconians and my betrothed, so that she will not be mine. Come to Castelus the hêgemôn." And the whole city said: "Drag him along, he is a magician; for he has corrupted all our wives." And the whole people let themselves be persuaded. And when Paul had gone, they holding him, and stood before the hêgemôn, Thamyris answered and said with a loud voice to the hêgemôn: "This man—we do not know who he is; but he does not suffer virgins to become (the wives) of men. Let him tell thee, why he teaches this doctrine." And Demas and Hermogenes the smiths, who were full of sedition, drew near to Thamyris and said to him: "Say that he is a Christian, and lo, at that moment he will destroy him." And when the hêgemôn had heard the words of Thamyris and of the whole people, who were holding Paul, they saw that the hêgemôn called Paul and said to him: "Tell me, Paul, who art thou? And what teachest thou? For they are not few who accuse thee." Then Paul lifted up his voice and said: "I will relate to-day what I teach; listen, O hêgemôn. I teach a living God; a God who does not requite retributions unto men; a God who does not require anything, but to whom the life of men is useful. And he has sent me that I might rescue them from destruction, and from uncleanness, and from all deadly lusts, that they might sin no more. On this account God has sent me, whom I preach, and I proclaim that in Him shall be the hope of all men; who has taken providential care and delivered the nations from error, that they might sin no more, and might not walk in sedition, but that fear might be in them through belief in God, and (that) they might know fear and love in truth. And if I teach whatever God hath revealed unto me, what wrong do I do, O hêgemôn?" And when the hêgemôn heard these words, he commanded that Paul should go to prison, being bound, until he could have an opportunity of hearing him well.

And Thecla in that night took off her bracelets and gave (them) to the doorkeeper of their house, and he opened the door for her; and she went out, and went to the jailer, who was guarding Paul, and gave him her mirror of gold that he might bring her in to Paul. And he brought her in, and she came and sat by the feet of Paul, and was listening to the great things of God. And Paul was not distressed, but was teaching the commandments of God openly to every one who was with him (in the prison). And Thecla with great joy was kissing the bonds and chains which were laid on the hands and feet of Paul.

And when her family and her betrothed sought for Thecla, as if she had been lost, they arose, going about and searching for her in the streets. And the companion of the doorkeeper came, and informed against him, and said: "I saw Thecla by night give her bracelets to the doorkeeper, and he opened the door for her, and she went out." And when they had scourged the doorkeeper, he confessed and said to them: "She went out, and said to me, 'Lo, I am going to the stranger, where he is imprisoned.' " And they went, as the doorkeeper told them, and found her sitting at Paul's feet, she and many persons, and they were listening to the great things of the Most High. And Thamyris went forth thence with many persons, and they went in a great rage, and informed the hêgemôn of what had happened. Then the hêgemôn said: "Fetch Paul." And the young men ran and unbound Paul, and were dragging him from the prison until (they came) before the hêgemôn. And Thecla was prostrating herself and weeping on the spot where Paul had been sitting bound and teaching the commandments of God. And again of a sudden the hêgemôn commanded and said: "Bring Thecla, the betrothed of Thamyris." And Thamyris ran with many men, and they laid hold of Thecla, and were dragging her up to the hêgemôn. And when the hêgemôn saw her, he was very sorry for her; but Thecla was standing before him with great joy, and was not sorry. Then of a sudden the whole people cried out and say: "Destroy this magician"; but he (the hêgemôn) did not say anything concerning Paul. Then the hêgemôn sat in council, and he arose, he and his companions, and they called Thecla, and say to her: "Why art thou not to thy betrothed according to the law of the Iconians?" And Thecla was standing and looking on Paul, and she answered not a word to the hêgemôn. Then her mother cried out and saith: "Burn the fool in the midst of the theatre, that all the women who see her, those whose doctrine this is, may be afraid." And when the hêgemôn heard (this), he was very sorry for her. Then he commanded, and they scourged Paul, and cast him out of the city and he condemned Thecla to be burned with fire in the midst of the theatre. And the hêgemôn arose and went to the theatre, he and the whole people, that they might see Thecla being burned with fire. And as a sheep on the mountain seeks its shepherd, so Thecla too was seeking that she might see where Paul was. And whilst she was looking among all that crowd, she saw the Lord Jesus the Messiah, who was sitting beside her in the likeness of Paul. And Thecla answered and saith: "Thus indeed hath Paul come and seated himself opposite me, as if I were not able to bear whatever may come upon me." And she was looking upon him, and her eyes were gazing intently at him; and the Lord rose up thence and ascended unto Heaven, And the youths and maidens brought faggots and placed (them) in the theatre, that they might burn Thecla; and they brought her into the theatre naked. And when the hêgemôn saw her, he wept, and was astonished at the strength that was in her. And they piled up the faggots, and the youths laid hold of her that she might ascend the pile. And as soon as Thecla ascended (it), she stretched out her hands in the form of the Cross, and ascended the pile. And when the flames of fire rose, not even an atom of her hair was singed, because the Spirit of God had compassion upon her; and the sound of its roaring went up from the earth; and a rain cloud overshadowed (them), and hailstones and water were poured out abundantly, and many of those people, who were sitting and looking on, perished; and the fire was extinguished, and Thecla preserved alive.

And Paul was fasting, he and Onesiphorus, with his wife and children, in a sepulchre which was open by the roadside of the Iconians. And when they had been many days fasting, the youths say to Paul, "We are hungry;" and they had not wherewith to buy for themselves bread, for Onesiphorus had left his house and his property, and he and his household had gone forth with Paul. Then Paul stripped off his tunic, and gave (it) to a boy, and said to him: "Go, sell (it), my son, and buy bread in abundance, and come (back)." And the boy went to buy bread; and he saw Thecla their neighbour, and was astonished, and said to her: "Thecla, whither art thou going?" She saith to him: " After Paul I am going, for I have escaped from the fire." And the boy said to her: "Come with me, and I will lead thee to him; for he is supplicating and weeping and fasting, lo, these six days, and begging of God concerning thee." And Thecla came with him to the sepulchre, and entered and stood over Paul, and found him kneeling on his knees and praying and saying: "Our Father, who art in Heaven, I beg of Thee, let not the fire touch Thecla, but extinguish it from her, because she is Thine." And Thecla, whilst she was standing beside him, opened her mouth and saith: "Father, who hast made Heaven and earth, Thou Father of the Holy (One), I praise Thee, who hast made me, and hast preserved me alive that I might see Paul." And Paul arose and saw her. And Paul answered and said: "God, the Searcher of hearts, the Father of our Lord Jesus the Messiah, I praise Thee because what I asked of Thee Thou hast rescued from the fire, and hast granted me to see Thecla, me and these persons who are with me; and in Thy hands it is an easy thing to deliver from all distress one who praises Thy name for ever."

And Paul was glad and rejoicing with those persons who were with him. And the boy had brought them five loaves of bread, and herbs and water and salt; and they were rejoicing in the pure works of the Messiah. And Thecla saith to Paul: "I will cut off my hair, and go after thee, whither thou goest." He answered and said to her: "It is a hard struggle, and thou art beautiful. (Take care) lest yet another trial come upon thee, which is worse than the first, and thou bear it not." And Thecla said to Paul: "Give me only the sign of God, and temptation shall not come nigh unto me. "Paul saith unto Thecla: "Be patient, and thou shalt receive thy water (of baptism)."

And Paul sent away Onesiphorus with his family, and he went to his home. And Paul took hold of Thecla's hand, and those persons who were with him, and they entered into Antioch. And as they were entering and going along, one of the chief men of Antioch,— Alexander was his name, and he had great influence in Antioch,—saw Thecla and was enamoured of her, and was trying to seduce Paul, and was counselling him that he should give him much silver and gold and he should give him Thecla. And Paul answered and said to him: "I do not know this woman of whom thou speakest, if she be a woman as thou sayest, nor is she mine." And because Alexander was powerful, he came and embraced Thecla in the middle of the street; and she did not endure (it), but was seeking for Paul, and cried out bitterly and said to him: "Do not force the stranger! Do not force the handmaid of God! I am a noble's daughter of the city of Iconium; and because I did not wish to belong to Thamyris my betrothed, they drove me out thence." And she laid hold of Alexander, and tore his garments, and pulled off from him the golden crown of figures, which was placed on his head, and dashed it to the ground, and left Alexander standing naked. And because he loved her, and also because he was ashamed of what she had done to him, he went at once and made (it) known before the hêgemôn. And when the hêgemôn heard that Thecla had done these things, and she confessed what she had done to him, he sentenced her and ordered that they should cast her to the beasts; for Alexander was exhibiting spectacles to the city. And when all the inhabitants of the city heard this, they were astonished, and cried out in complaint before the tribunal and said: "Evil is the doom of Thecla." And Thecla came and stood before the hêgemôn , and made him swear that she should be kept in purity until they threw her to the beasts.

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And the hêgemôn , when he heard this thing, said to Thecla: " Go whither thou pleasest, and be in safe keeping." And there was there a rich queen, whose name was Tryphaena, whose daughter was dead; and she came and took Thecla, and was keeping her, and it was a consolation to her that she saw Thecla.

And when the beasts were brought into the theatre, (men) came for Thecla, to take her away from the house of Tryphaena; and they led her to the theatre. And they brought (her; and) stripped her, and put a cloth round her loins, and made her stand naked, and brought in against her a huge lioness. And queen Tryphaena was standing beside the door of the theatre, and was weeping for her. And the lioness came (and) drew near to her, and was licking her, whilst Thecla was standing (there). And the whole people were astonished at her and at the power which God had given her. And they wrote on tablets and showed (them) unto all the people who were sitting (there); "Thecla they have called a violator of the temples, because she cast down the crown of Caesar from the head of Alexander, who wished to do uncleanness with her." And all the people were crying out there with their children, and saying: "Thy help, O God, (we implore) against the wickedness which has been (done) in this city." And again they let loose upon her other beasts, and again they did not come near her. Then she went forth from the theatre, she and these beasts; and straightway came queen Tryphaena and took Thecla; because her daughter, who was dead, had appeared in a vision of the night and showed herself to her mother, saying: "My mother, take in my stead this Thecla, the stranger and the persecuted, that she may pray for me, that I may pass into the place of the righteous."

And when Tryphaena had taken her,—firstly, because she was grieved that tomorrow they were again going to throw her to the beasts; and next, because her soul was moved with compassion for her daughter who was dead,—the queen saith: "A second time, Thecla, there is mourning in my house. Pray, and beg of God; that he may have mercy on thee and may deliver thee from these beasts; and pray and beg of God also for my, daughter, that she may live; for thus I saw in my dream." And at that moment Thecla arose, and lifted up her voice, and said: "God, who art in Heaven, the Father of the Most High, grant to queen Tryphaena, according to her wish, that her daughter may live for ever." And when the queen heard these things, she sat in mourning, and was weeping and saying: "This beauty of thine, Thecla, tomorrow again the beasts will devour it."

And when it was dawn, Alexander ran (and) came to lead Thecla away, because he was giving the (exhibition of) beasts to the city at the theatre. And he answered and said: "Lo, the hêgemôn is sitting, and the whole people are hurrying us; give us Thecla who is (sentenced to be) devoured by the beasts, (and) we will carry her off." And Tryphaena cried out at him bitterly; and at the sound of the cry which she uttered at him, he fled. And the queen answered and saith: "Thy help, O God, (I implore); for lo, twice is there mourning in my house, and I have no one to help me; for my daughter lives not, who is dead, and there is none of my kinsmen to stand at my side, and I am a widow. Go, Thecla! Thy God will help thee."

And again the O hêgemôn sent young men for her to fetch her down. And queen Tryphaena did not let go her hold of Thecla, but was taking her by the hand; and going (with her), and saying to her: "My own daughter I accompanied and conveyed to the tomb; and thee, Thecla, lo, I am accompanying and leading, that the beasts may devour thee." And Thecla wept bitterly and groaned before God, and said: "My Lord and my God, I believe in Thee, for I took refuge with Thee and Thou didst deliver me from the fire; and now grant Thou a recompense to Tryphaena, because her soul has had compassion upon Thy handmaiden and she has kept me in purity." And at that moment there was a great confusion, and the sounds of the cracking of many whips, which they were cracking at the beasts, and the sound of the outcry of men and women, who were saying, "Bring out the violator of the temple of the gods." And some of them were saying: "This city will be destroyed for the wickedness which it has done; the hêgemôn has ruined us all; for bitter is the sight which we behold here, and evil is the doom of Thecla."

And the young men came and took Thecla away from the hands of queen Tryphaena, and led her into the theatre to throw her to the beasts. And they brought (her), and made her stand in the midst of the theatre, and stripped (her), and took away her clothes, and put a cloth round her loins; and she was standing naked, and said: "My Lord and my God, the Father of our Lord Jesus the Messiah, Thou art the Helper of the persecuted, and Thou art the Companion of the poor; behold Thy handmaiden, for lo, the shame of women is uncovered in me, and I stand in the midst of all this people. My Lord and my God, remember Thy handmaiden in this hour." Then they brought in against her a leopard, which was very savage; and again they brought in against her a lioness. And Thecla was standing with her arms spread out in the form of the Cross. And the lioness ran towards her, and when it reached her, it came (and) lay down at her feet. And the leopard came to her, to attack her, and fell down before her and burst. And again they brought in against her a bear,which was very strong; and it ran at Thecla. And the lioness, which was crouching at her feet, arose, and sprang upon the bear and rent it. And again (they let loose) a lion which was trained to run at men, which belonged to Alexander; and it ran at Thecla. And the lioness, which was crouching beside her, arose, and met the lion; and the two sprang upon one another, and after a little (while) the two killed each other. And the women specially sat in sorrow, who were sitting there and looking on, and saying: "The lioness too, which was helping Thecla, is dead."

And again, lo, they let in upon her many beasts. And when Thecla, standing (there), saw that they were letting in upon her many beasts, she spread out her hands and stood praying. And when she had finished her prayer, she turned backwards, and saw a reservoir which was full of water. And Thecla answered and saith: "Lo then, it is time to wash myself." And she lifted up her hands and saith: "In the name of Jesus the Messiah, lo, to-day, the last day, I am baptised." And when the women, who were sitting (there), saw (this), and the whole people, they wept and say to her: "Do not cast thyself into that water, for evil are the beasts that are in it." And the hêgemôn too, when he saw her, wept, that the beasts, who were in that water, should devour this beauty. And Thecla leaped, and fell into the water. And the beasts, which were there, when they saw the flash of light, died, and floated upon the surface of the water. And there was around her, and overshadowing her, a cloud of lightning, so that Thecla could not be seen (to descry) whether she was naked.

And when the women, who were sitting in the theatre, saw that other beasts were being let in at Thecla, which were worse than the former, they broke out into wailing and say: "Thy help (we implore), O God! What do we see in this city?" And then these women came and cast perfumes upon Thecla; there were some who cast spikenard, and some sweet-marjoram (amaracus), and some tarphūsē; and they were throwing perfumes into the midst of the theatre upon Thecla. And the beasts, which they had let loose at her, came up to her, and sat down around her, behind her and in front of her, and lay down and slept; and not one of them harmed Thecla. And again Alexander ran (and) came and said to the hêgemôn: "I have two bulls, which are very strong and savage; let us bring them and bind between them this (woman who is) doomed to be devoured by beasts, so that perchance they may become furious and destroy her." And the hêgemôn said to Alexander: "Go and do whatever seems good unto thee." And he sent and had the bulls fetched; and they brought Thecla from among the beasts, and took hold of her, and threw Thecla upon her face, and took hold of her feet and bound her between the two bulls. And they brought spits and put them in the fire, and made the spits hot with fire, and laid them upon the thighs of the bulls, that they might become furious and in their anger destroy the captive. And the bulls, because of the pain they suffered, sprang up suddenly; but a flash of fire ran and consumed the ropes which were fastened to the feet of Thecla, and Thecla sprang up and stood beside the bulls, as if she had no pain and as if she had not been bound. And when the hêgemôn and the whole city saw the great marvels which God had wrought with Thecla, they praised God for what they had seen. And queen Tryphaena, who was standing by the door of the theatre, fainted away and fell down on the ground,, because she thought that Thecla was dead. And when her slaves saw that she had fainted and fallen down, they broke out into wailing, and rent their garments and say: "The queen is dead." And when the hêgemôn heard them say "The queen is dead," (he stopped the games,) and the whole city trembled. And Alexander was afraid, and he ran (and) came and said to the hêgemôn: "Have pity on me, sir, and also on this city, and release this (woman, who was) doomed to be devoured by beasts, that she may go away from us, so that the city too may not perish, lest perchance, when Caesar hears of these things which we have done, he may destroy the city; for queen Tryphaena is of the family of Caesar, and lo, she was standing beside the door of the theatre, and she is dead." Then the hêgemôn said: "Bring Thecla before me." And the young men ran and brought Thecla from the midst of the beasts, and made her stand before the hêgemôn on the tribunal. And the hêgemôn answered and said to Thecla: "Who art thou? And who was there beside thee, that not one of these beasts came nigh unto thee?" And Thecla said: "I am the handmaiden of the living God, and He who was beside me is the Son of the living God, in whom I have believed, by reason of whom not one of those beasts came nigh unto me; and He is the limit of life; for He is a companion to all the persecuted, and to those who have no hope, He is hope and life. I tell thee then, hêgemôn, and these men who, lo, are standing before thee, that he who does not believe in God—for, lo, ye have seen the great things of God, what He hath done to His handmaiden,— he who does not believe in Him shall die for ever."

And when the hêgemôn heard these words from the mouth of Thecla, he ordered them to bring clothes for her; and the hêgemôn said to her: "Thecla, take off the cloth that is wrapped round thy loins, and take these garments which I have had brought for thee." And Thecla answered and saith to the hêgemôn: "He who has clothed me with power amid these beasts, He will clothe me at the Day of Judgement with life." And Thecla took off the cloth that was wrapped round her loins, and took the clothes and put them on. And the hêgemôn made criers proclaim to the whole people: "Thecla, who is God's, and Thecla, who is righteous, I have released and given unto you." And the women, who were sitting there in the theatre, shouted out with one voice, and offered praise (unto God), and said: "God is One, and the God of Thecla is One, who has preserved her alive, and brought her forth from the midst of all these beasts." And with the voice of the women who shouted the whole city trembled. And straightway they ran (and) announced it to queen Tryphaena; and she ran (and) came and met Thecla, and embraced her and kissed her and said to her: "My daughter Thecla, now I believe that the dead live, and now I believe that my daughter lives. Come then with me to my house, my daughter Thecla, and everything whatsoever I have, I will assign to thee by deed." And Thecla went with her and entered into her house, and rested there eight days, and taught queen Tryphaena all the commandments of God. And the queen believed in God, and a great many of her handmaidens; and there was great joy there.

And because Paul was dear unto her, Thecla sent and was seeking him everywhere. And when they had found him, they came and said to her: "Lo, he is in the city of Myra." And she arose and departed from the house of queen Tryphaena, and dressed herself like a man, and the queen's handmaidens. And she went and entered into the city of Myra, and found Paul sitting and teaching the commandments of God, And Thecla stood beside him. And when Paul saw her and the people who were with her, he was astonished; for Paul thought that a new trial was come upon him. And Thecla answered and saith to him: "I have received baptism; for He who commanded thee to preach, commanded me too to wash myself." And straightway Paul arose, and took her and all the people who were with her, and led her to the house of Hermseus. And Paul and Thecla, and the people who were with them, sat down; and she narrated to themeverything that they had done with her; and Paul marvelled greatly at the power which was given to Thecla ; and all who were standing there and hearing what God had done with her, were greatly confirmed and established. And straightway they all arose, and praised God, who works great things in every one who believes in Him and does His commandments. And they prayed and besought of God for queen Tryphaena, and said: "Our Lord and our God, the Father of the Most High, reward queen Tryphaena, who has had compassion upon Thy handmaiden, and kept her in purity." And Thecla said to them: "I am going to the city of Iconium." Paul saith to her: "Go and teach there the commandments of God." And when queen Tryphaena heard that Thecla was going to the city of Iconium, she took much clothing and gold, and sent (them) to Thecla. And Thecla took the clothing and some of the gold, and sent (them) to Paul for the service of the widows and for those who were in want of them.

And Thecla went (and) entered into the house of Onesiphorus, and fell upon her face on the place where Paul used to sit and teach the commandments of God; and she was weeping and saying: "O Lord, our God and the God of this house, in which light shone upon me from Jesus the Messiah, the Son of God, who aided me in prison, and delivered me from the fire, and preserved me from among the furious beasts, and helped me before the hêgemôn, and gave me my baptism, and gave me purity that I might live for ever, and might go into the glories which are kept for me and for those who keep the commandments of God in righteousness—He is one God the Most High, who sitteth upon the throne of the cherubim, to whom be praises for ever, Amen and Amen." And after these great things which God had done with her, she learned there in the city of Iconium that Thamyris her betrothed was dead, but her mother Theocleia alive ; and she sent and called her and saith to her: "My mother Theocleia, if thou canst believe, believe that there is one God, the Lord in Heaven; and if thou lovest wealth and gold and silver that perish, lo, they are given unto thee from this hour; but if thou wilt believe that there is one God in heaven, and that there is no other god but He, thou shalt be able to live and to observe whatever I say unto thee; for lo, I stand before thee, who have escaped from the fire, and have escaped from the furious beasts, and have escaped from before the hêgemôn, for my God and my Lord helped me, and gave me power to endure all these things." And all these things did she testify unto her mother; and she departed from the city of Iconium, and went to Seleucia, and there too she enlightened many persons by the word of God, and lay down to sleep in a quiet resting-place.

Peace be with you, servants of Jesus the Messiah, who keep His commandments in purity, that the Father may recompense you with all that He hath promised unto you through His Son, who is our King.

Here ends (the history of) Thecla, the disciple of the Apostle Paul.

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ACTS AND MARTYRDOM OF THE APOSTLE ANDREW

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What we have all, both presbyters and deacons of the churches of Achaia, beheld with our eyes, we have written to all the churches established in the name of Christ Jesus, both in the east and west, north and south. Peace to you, and to all who believe in one God, perfect Trinity, true Father unbegotten, true Son only-begotten, true Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father, and abiding in the Son, in order that there may be shown one Holy Spirit subsisting in the Father and Son in precious Godhead. This faith we have learned from the blessed Andrew, the apostle of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose passion also we, having seen it set forth before our eyes, have not hesitated to give an account of, according to the degree of ability we have.

Accordingly the proconsul Aegeates, having come into the city of Patras, began to compel those believing in Christ to worship the idols; to whom the blessed Andrew, running up, said: It behooved you, being a judge of men, to acknowledge your Judge who is in the heaven, and having acknowledged Him, to worship Him; and worshipping Him who is the true God, to turn away your thoughts from those which are not true gods.

To whom Aegeates said: Are you Andrew, who destroyest the temples of the gods, and persuadest men about the religion which, having lately made its appearance, the emperors of the Romans have given orders to suppress?

The blessed Andrew said: The emperors of the Romans have never recognised the truth. And this the Son of God, who came on account of the salvation of men, manifestly teaches—that these idols are not only not gods, but also most shameful demons, and hostile to the human race, teaching men to offend God, so that, by being offended, He turns away and will not hearken; that therefore, by His turning away and not hearkening, they may be held captive by the devil; and that they might work them to such a degree, that when they go out of the body they may be found deserted and naked, carrying nothing with them but sins.

Aegeates said: These are superfluous and vain words: as for your Jesus, for proclaiming these things to the Jews they nailed him to the tree of the cross.

The blessed Andrew answering, said: Oh, if you would recognise the mystery of the cross, with what reasonable love the Author of the life of the human race for our restoration endured this tree of the cross, not unwillingly, but willingly!

Aegeates said: Seeing that, betrayed by his own disciple, and seized by the Jews, he was brought before the procurator, and according to their request was nailed up by the procurator's soldiers, in what way do you say that he willingly endured the tree of the cross?

The holy Andrew said: For this reason I say willingly, since I was with Him when he was betrayed by His disciple. For before He was betrayed, He spoke to us to the effect that He should be betrayed and crucified for the salvation of men, and foretold that He should rise again on the third day. To whom my brother Peter said, (Matthew 16:22) Far be it from you, Lord; let this by no means be. And so, being angry, He said to Peter, Get behind me, Satan; for you are not disposed to the things of God. And in order that He might most fully explain that He willingly underwent the passion, He said to us, (John 10:18) I have power to lay down my life, and I have power to take it again.

And, last of all, while He was supping with us, He said, (Matthew 26:21) One of you will betray me. At these words, therefore, all becoming exceedingly grieved, in order that the surmise might be free from doubt, He made it clear, saying, To whomsoever I shall give the piece of bread out of my hand, he it is who betrays me. When, therefore, He gave it to one of our fellow disciples, and gave an account of things to come as if they were already present, He showed that He was to be willingly betrayed. For neither did He run away, and leave His betrayer at fault; but remaining in the place in which He knew that he was, He awaited him.

Aegeates said: I wonder that you, being a sensible man, should wish to uphold him on any terms whatever; for, whether willingly or unwillingly, all the same, you admit that he was fastened to the cross.

The blessed Andrew said: This is what I said, if now you apprehend, that great is the mystery of the cross, which, if you wish, as is likely, to hear, attend to me.

Aegeates said: A mystery it cannot be called, but a punishment.

The blessed Andrew said: This punishment is the mystery of man's restoration. If you will listen with any attention, you will prove it.

Aegeates said: I indeed will hear patiently; but you, unless you submissively obey me, shall receive the mystery of the cross in yourself.

The blessed Andrew answered: If I had been afraid of the tree of the cross, I should not have proclaimed the glory of the cross.

Aegeates said: Your speech is foolish, because you proclaim that the cross is not a punishment, and through your foolhardiness you are not afraid of the punishment of death.

The holy Andrew said: It is not through foolhardiness, but through faith, that I am not afraid of the punishment of death; for the death of sins is hard. And on this account I wish you to hear the mystery of the cross, in order that you perhaps, acknowledging it, may believe, and believing, may come somehow or other to the renewing of your soul.

Aegeates said: That which is shown to have perished is for renewing. Do you mean that my soul has perished, that you make me come to the renewing of it through the faith, I know not what, of which you have spoken?

The blessed Andrew answered: This it is which I desired time to learn, which also I shall teach and make manifest, that though the souls of men are destroyed, they shall be renewed through the mystery of the cross. For the first man through the tree of transgression brought in death; and it was necessary for the human race, that through the suffering of the tree, death, which had come into the world, should be driven out.

And since the first man, who brought death into the world through the transgression of the tree, had been produced from the spotless earth, it was necessary that the Son of God should be begotten a perfect man from the spotless virgin, that He should restore eternal life, which men had lost through Adam, and should cut off the tree of carnal appetite through the tree of the cross. Hanging upon the cross, He stretched out His blameless hands for the hands which had been incontinently stretched out; for the most sweet food of the forbidden tree He received gall for food; and taking our mortality upon Himself, He made a gift of His immortality to us.

Aegeates said: With these words you shall be able to lead away those who shall believe in you; but unless you have come to grant me this, that you offer sacrifices to the almighty gods, I shall order you, after having been scourged, to be fastened to that very cross which you commend.

The blessed Andrew said: To God Almighty, who alone is true, I bring sacrifice day by day; not the smoke of incense, nor the flesh of bellowing bulls, nor the blood of goats, but sacrificing a spotless lamb day by day on the altar of the cross; and though all the people of the faithful partake of His body and drink His blood, the Lamb that has been sacrificed remains after this entire and alive. Truly, therefore, is He sacrificed, and truly is His body eaten by the people, and His blood is likewise drunk; nevertheless, as I have said, He remains entire, and spotless, and alive.

Aegeates said: How can this be?

The blessed Andrew said: If you would know, take the form of a disciple, that you may learn what you are inquiring after.

Aegeates said: I will exact of you through tortures the gift of this knowledge.

The blessed Andrew declared: I wonder that you, being an intelligent man, should fall into the folly of thinking that you may be able to persuade me, through your tortures, to disclose to you the sacred things of God. You have heard the mystery of the cross, you have heard the mystery of the sacrifice. If you believe in Christ the Son of God, who was crucified, I shall altogether disclose to you in what manner the Lamb that has been slain may live, after having been sacrificed and eaten, remaining in His kingdom entire and spotless.

Aegeates said: And by what means does the lamb remain in his kingdom after he has been slain and eaten by all the people, as you have said?

The blessed Andrew said: If you believe with all your heart, you shall be able to learn: but if you believe not, you shall not by any means attain to the idea of such truth.

Then Aegeates, enraged, ordered him to be shut up in prison, where, when he was shut up, a multitude of the people came together to him from almost all the province, so that they wished to kill Aegeates, and by breaking down the doors of the prison to set free the blessed Andrew the apostle.

Them the blessed Andrew admonished in these words, saying: Do not stir up the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ into seditious and devilish uproar. For my Lord, when He was betrayed, endured it with all patience; He did not strive, He did not cry out, nor in the streets did any one hear Him crying out. (Matthew 12:19) Therefore do ye also keep silence, quietness, and peace; and hinder not my martyrdom, but rather get yourselves also ready beforehand as athletes to the Lord, in order that you may overcome threatenings by a soul that has no fear of man, and that you may get the better of injuries through the endurance of the body.

For this temporary fall is not to be feared; but that should be feared which has no end. The fear of men, then, is like smoke which, while it is raised and gathered together, disappears. And those torments ought to be feared which never have an end. For these torments, which happen to be somewhat light, any one can bear; but if they are heavy, they soon destroy life. But those torments are everlasting, where there are daily weepings, and mournings, and lamentations, and never-ending torture, to which the proconsul Aegeates is not afraid to go. Be therefore rather prepared for this, that through temporary afflictions ye may attain to everlasting rest, and may flourish for ever, and reign with Christ. (2 Corinthians 4:17)

The holy Apostle Andrew having admonished the people with these and such like words through the whole night, when the light of day dawned, Aegeates having sent for him, ordered the blessed Andrew to be brought to him; and having sat down upon the tribunal, he said: I have thought that you, by your reflection during the night, hast turned away your thoughts from folly, and given up your commendation of Christ that you might be able to be with us, and not throw away the pleasures of life; for it is folly to come for any purpose to the suffering of the cross, and to give oneself up to most shameful punishments and burnings.

The holy Andrew answered: I shall be able to have joy with you, if you will believe in Christ, and throw away the worship of idols; for Christ has sent me to this province, in which I have acquired for Christ a people not the smallest.

Aegeates said: For this reason I compel you to make a libation, that these people who have been deceived by you may forsake the vanity of your teaching, and may themselves offer grateful libations to the gods; for not even one city has remained in Achaia in which their temples have not been forsaken and deserted. And now, through you, let them be again restored to the worship of the images, in order that the gods also, who have been enraged against you, being pleased by this, may bring it about that you may return to their friendship and ours. But if not, you await varied tortures, on account of the vengeance of the gods; and after these, fastened to the tree of the cross which you commend, you shall die.

The holy Andrew said: Listen, O son of death and chaff made ready for eternal burnings, (Matthew 3:12) to me, the servant of God and apostle of Jesus Christ. Until now I have conversed with you kindly about the perfection of the faith, in order that you, receiving the exposition of the truth, being made perfect as its vindicator, might despise vain idols, and worship God, who is in the heavens; but since you remain in the same shamelessness at last, and think me to be afraid because of your threats, bring against me whatever may seem to you greater in the way of tortures. For the more shall I be well pleasing to my King, the more I shall endure in tortures for the confession of His name.

Then the proconsul Aegeates, being enraged, ordered the apostle of Christ to be afflicted by tortures. Being stretched out, therefore, by seven times three soldiers, and beaten with violence, he was lifted up and brought before the impious Aegeates. And he spoke to him thus: Listen to me, Andrew, and withdraw your thoughts from the outpouring of your blood; but if you will not hearken to me, I shall cause you to perish on the tree of the cross.

The holy Andrew said: I am a slave of the cross of Christ, and I ought rather to pray to attain to the trophy of the cross than to be afraid; but for you is laid up eternal torment, which, however, you may escape after you have tested my endurance, if you will believe in my Christ. For I am afflicted about your destruction, and I am not disturbed about my own suffering. For my suffering takes up a space of one day, or two at most; but your torment for endless ages shall never come to a close. Wherefore henceforward cease from adding to your miseries, and lighting up everlasting fire for yourself.

Aegeates then being enraged, ordered the blessed Andrew to be fastened to the cross. And he having left them all, goes up to the cross, and says to it with a clear voice: Rejoice, O cross, which has been consecrated by the body of Christ, and adorned by His limbs as if with pearls. Assuredly before my Lord went up on you, you had much earthly fear; but now invested with heavenly longing, you are fitted up according to my prayer. For I know, from those who believe, how many graces you have in Him, how many gifts prepared beforehand. Free from care, then, and with joy, I come to you, that you also exulting may receive me, the disciple of Him that was hanged upon you; because you have been always faithful to me, and I have desired to embrace you.

O good cross, which hast received comeliness and beauty from the limbs of the Lord; O much longed for, and earnestly desired, and fervently sought after, and already prepared beforehand for my soul longing for you, take me away from men, and restore me to my Master, in order that through you He may accept me who through you has redeemed me.

And having thus spoken, the blessed Andrew, standing on the ground, and looking earnestly upon the cross, stripped himself and gave his clothes to the executioners, having urged the brethren that the executioners should come and do what had been commanded them; for they were standing at some distance. And they having come up, lifted him on the cross; and having stretched his body across with ropes, they only bound his feet, but did not sever his joints, having received this order from the proconsul: for he wished him to be in distress while hanging, and in the night-time, as he was suspended, to be eaten up alive by dogs.

And a great multitude of the brethren stood by, nearly twenty thousand; and having beheld the executioners standing

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off, and that they had done to the blessed one nothing of what those who were hanged up suffer, they thought that they would again hear something from him; for assuredly, as he was hanging, he moved his head smiling. And Stratocles inquired of him: Why are you smiling, Andrew, servant of God? Your laughter makes us mourn and weep, because we are deprived of you. And the blessed Andrew answered him: Shall I not laugh at all, my son Stratocles, at the empty stratagem of Aegeates, through which he thinks to take vengeance upon us? We have nothing to do with him and his plans. He cannot hear; for if he could, he would be aware, having learned it by experience, that a man of Jesus is unpunished.

And having thus spoken, he discoursed to them all in common, for the people ran together enraged at the unjust judgement of Aegeates: You men standing by me, and women, and children, and elders, bond and free, and as many as will hear; I beseech you, forsake all this life, you who have for my sake assembled here; and hasten to take upon you my life, which leads to heavenly things, and once for all despise all temporary things, confirming the purposes of those who believe in Christ. And he exhorted them all, teaching that the sufferings of this transitory life are not worthy to be compared with the future recompense of the eternal life.

And the multitude hearing what was said by him, did not stand off from the place, and the blessed Andrew continued the rather to say to them more than he had spoken. And so much was said by him, that a space of three days and nights was taken up, and no one was tired and went away from him.

And when also on the fourth day they beheld his nobleness, and the unweariedness of his intellect, and the multitude of his words, and the serviceableness of his exhortations, and the steadfastness of his soul, and the sobriety of his spirit, and the fixedness of his mind, and the perfection of his reason, they were enraged against Aegeates; and all with one accord hastened to the tribunal, and cried out against Aegeates, who was sitting, saying: What is your judgement, O proconsul? You have judged wickedly; your awards are impious. In what has the man done wrong; what evil has he done? The city has been put in an uproar; you grieve us all; do not betray Caesar's city. Grant willingly to the Achaians a just man; grant willingly to us a God-fearing man; do not put to death a godly man.

Four days he has been hanging, and is alive; having eaten nothing, he has filled us all. Take down the man from the cross, and we shall all seek after wisdom; release the man, and to all Achaia will mercy be shown. It is not necessary that he should suffer this, because, though hanging, he does not cease proclaiming the truth.

And when the proconsul refused to listen to them, at first indeed signing with his hand to the crowd to take themselves off, they began to be emboldened against him, being in number about twenty thousand. And the proconsul having beheld that they had somehow become maddened, afraid that something frightful would befall him, rose up from the tribunal and went away with them, having promised to set free the blessed Andrew. And some went on before to tell the apostle the cause for which they came to the place.

While all the crowd, therefore, was exulting that the blessed Andrew was going to be set free, the proconsul having come up, and all the brethren rejoicing along with Maximilla, the blessed Andrew, having heard this, said to the brethren standing by: What is it necessary for me to say to him, when I am departing to the Lord, that will I also say. For what reason have you again come to us, Aegeates? On what account do you, being a stranger to us, come to us? What will you again dare to do, what to contrive? Tell us. Have you come to release us, as having changed your mind? I would not agree with you that you had really changed your mind. Nor would I believe you, saying that you are my friend. Do you, O proconsul, release him that has been bound? By no means. For I have One with whom I shall be for ever; I have One with whom I shall live to countless ages. To Him I go; to Him I hasten, who also having made you known to me, has said to me, Let not that fearful man terrify you; do not think that he will lay hold of you, who art mine: for he is your enemy. Therefore, having known you through him who has turned towards me, I am delivered from you. But if you wish to believe in Christ, there will be opened up for time, as I promised you, a way of access; but if you have come only to release me, I shall not be able after this to be brought down from this cross alive in the body. For I and my kinsmen depart to our own, allowing you to be what you are, and what you do not know about yourself. For already I see my King, already I worship Him, already I stand before Him, where the fellowship of the angels is, where He reigns the only emperor, where there is light without night, where the flowers never fade, where trouble is never known, nor the name of grief heard, where there are cheerfulness and exultation that have no end. O blessed cross! Without the longing for you, no one enters into that place. But I am distressed, Aegeates, about your own miseries, because eternal perdition is ready to receive you. Run then, for your own sake, O pitiable one, while yet you can, lest perchance you should wish then when you can not.

When, therefore, he attempted to come near the tree of the cross, so as to release the blessed Andrew, with all the city applauding him, the holy Andrew said with a loud voice: Do not suffer Andrew, bound upon Your tree, to be released, O Lord; do not give me who am in Your mystery to the shameless devil. O Jesus Christ, let not Your adversary release me, who have been hanged by Your favour; O Father, let this insignificant man no longer humble him who has known Your greatness. The executioners, therefore, putting out their hands, were not able at all to touch him. Others, then, and others endeavoured to release him, and no one at all was able to come near him; for their arms were benumbed.

Then the blessed Andrew, having adjured the people, said: I entreat you earnestly, brethren, that I may first make one prayer to my Lord. So then set about releasing me. All the people therefore kept quiet because of the adjuration. Then the blessed Andrew, with a loud cry, said: Do not permit, O Lord, Your servant at this time to be removed from You; for it is time that my body be committed to the earth, and You shall order me to come to You. You who gives eternal life, my Teacher whom I have loved, whom on this cross I confess, whom I know, whom I possess, receive me, O Lord; and as I have confessed You and obeyed You, so now in this word hearken to me; and, before my body come down from the cross, receive me to Yourself, that through my departure there may be access to You of many of my kindred, finding rest for themselves in Your majesty.

When, therefore, he had said this, he became in the sight of all glad and exulting; for an exceeding splendour like lightning coming forth out of heaven shone down upon him, and so encircled him, that in consequence of such brightness mortal eyes could not look upon him at all. And the dazzling light remained about the space of half an hour. And when he had thus spoken and glorified the Lord still more, the light withdrew itself, and he gave up the ghost, and along with the brightness itself he departed to the Lord in giving Him thanks.

And after the decease of the most blessed Andrew the apostle, Maximilla being the most powerful of the notable women, and continuing among those who had come, as soon as she learned that the apostle had departed to the Lord, came up and turned her attention to the cross, along with Stratocles, taking no heed at all of those standing by, and with reverence took down the body of the most blessed apostle from the cross. And when it was evening, bestowing upon him the necessary care, she prepared the body for burial with costly spices, and laid it in her own tomb. For she had been parted from Aegeates on account of his brutal disposition and lawless conduct, having chosen for herself a holy and quiet life; and having been united to the love of Christ, she spent her life blessedly along with the brethren.

Aegeates had been very importunate with her, and promised that he would make her mistress of his wealth; but not having been able to persuade her, he was greatly enraged, and was determined to make a public charge against all the people, and to send to Caesar an accusation against both Maximilla and all the people. And while he was arranging these things in the presence of his officers, at the dead of night he rose up, and unseen by all his people, having been tormented by the devil, he fell down from a great height, and rolling into the midst of the market-place of the city, breathed his last.

And this was reported to his brother Stratocles; and he sent his servants, having told them that they should bury him among those who had died a violent death. But he sought nothing of his substance, saying: Let not my Lord Jesus Christ, in whom I have believed, suffer me to touch anything whatever of the goods of my brother, that the condemnation of him who dared to cut off the apostle of the Lord may not disgrace me.

These things were done in the province of Achaia, in the city of Patras on the day before the kalends of December, where his good deeds are kept in mind even to this day, to the glory and praise of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

THE ACTS OF ANDREW AND MATTHIAS AMONG THE ANTHROPOPHAGI

From "The Apocryphal New Testament"
Translation: Montague Rhodes James,1924
Estimated Range of Dating: 200 - 400 A.D.

(It was long thought that this must be an episode from the old Acts of Andrew: but Flamion's study of that book has finally made it clear that there is no place for the tale in those Acts: and that our story is an early member of that which we call the Egyptian cycle: it is a tale of wonder with no doctrinal purpose.

Acta Andreae et Matthiae apud Anthropophagos ("The Acts of Andrew and Matthias among the Anthropophagi") which exists in several Latin manuscript traditions, is the dramatic romance featuring the Apostles Andrew and Matthias among the cannibals, a thriller featuring gory details that was written for a Christian audience in the 2nd century AD. Constantin von Tischendorf published an edited text following Johann Karl Thilo, 1846.

Acta Andreae et Matthiae in urbe anthropophagarum, according to Richard Adelbert Lipsius, belonged to the middle of the 2nd century. This apocryphal text relates that Matthias went among the cannibals and, being cast into prison, was delivered by Andrew. The narrative is considered to be a Romance and is understood to have no historical value. Heinz Hofmann classes it "secondary apocrypha", that is, one derived from apocryphal sources; the ghoulish man-eaters remind Hofmann of the killing of Socrates by the witch Meroë in Apuleius' Metamorphoses, better known as The Golden Ass. Among the Latin texts of the Acta Andreae et Mattiae, F. Blatt notes how the manuscripts in Codex Casanatensis 1104 particularly expands upon the horror to describe the instruments and vessels the cannibals use for the slaughter.)

1 At that time all the apostles were gathered together and divided the countries among themselves, casting lots. And it fell to Matthias to go to the land of the anthropophagi. Now the men of that city ate no bread nor drank wine, but ate the flesh and drank the blood of men; and every stranger who landed there they took, and put out his eyes, and gave him a magic drink which took away his understanding.

2 So when Matthias arrived he was so treated; but the drink had no effect on him, and he remained praying for help in the prison.

3 And a light came and a voice: Matthias, my beloved, receive sight. And he saw. And the voice continued: I will not forsake thee: abide twenty-seven days, and I will send Andrew to deliver thee and all the rest. And the Saviour went up into heaven. Matthias remained singing praises; when the executioners came to take victims, he kept his eyes closed. They came and looked at the ticket on his hand and said: Three days more and we will slay him. For every victim had a ticket tied on his hand to show the date when his thirty days would be fulfilled.

4 When twenty-seven days had elapsed, the Lord appeared to Andrew in the country where he was teaching and said: In three days Matthias is to be slain by the man-eaters; go and deliver him. 'How i s it possible for me to get there in time' Early to-morrow go to the shore and you will find a ship.' And he left him.

5 They went, Andrew and his disciples, and found a little boat and three men. The pilot was the Lord, and the other two were angels. Andrew asked whither they were going. 'To the land of the man-eaters.' 'I would go there too.' 'Every man avoids that place; why will you go' 'I have an errand to do; and if you can, take us.' He said: 'Come on board.'

6 Andrew said: 'I must tell you we have neither money nor victuals.' 'How then do you travel' 'Our master forbade us to take money and provisions. If you will do us this kindness, tell us: if not, we will look for another ship.' 'If these are your orders, come on board and welcome, I desire truly to have disciples of Jesus on my ship.' So they embarked.

7 Jesus ordered three loaves to be brought and Andrew summoned his disciples to partake; but they could not answer him, for they were disturbed with the sea. So Andrew explained to the pilot, and he offered to set them ashore: but they refused to leave Andrew.

8 Jesus said: Tell your disciples some of the wonders your master did, to encourage them, for we are going to set sail: so they did, and Jesus steered. And Andrew told the disciples about the stilling of the storm, and prayed in himself that they might sleep: and they fell asleep.

9 Andrew said to Jesus: Tell me your art, sixteen years did I sail the sea, and this is the seventeenth, and I never saw such steering: the ship is as if on land. Jesus said: I, too, have often sailed the sea and been in danger; but because you are a disciple of Jesus, the sea knows you and is still. Andrew praised God that he had met such a man.

10 Jesus said: Tell me why the Jews did not believe on your master. Andrew enumerated the miracles: yet, he said, the Jews did not believe. 'Perhaps he did not do these signs before the high priests'

11 'Yes, he did, both openly and privately, and they would not believe.' 'What were the signs he did in secret' ' O man with the spirit of questioning, why do you tempt me thus' 'I do not tempt you but my soul rejoices to hear his wonderful works.' ' I will tell you, then.

12 Once when we the twelve went with our Lord to a heathen temple that he might show us the ignorance of the devil, the high priests saw us and said: Why do you follow this man who says he is the Son of God has God a son Is not this Joseph and Mary's son, and his brothers are James and Simon and our hearts were weakened. And Jesus perceived it, and took us apart into the wilderness and did mighty signs and strengthened our faith. And we said to the priests: Come and see; for he has convinced us.

13 'And the priests came to the heathen temple, and Jesus showed us the form of the heavens, "that we might learn whether it were true or no." Thirty men of the people and four priests were with us. On the right and left of the temple

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Jesus saw two sphinxes carved, and turned to us and said: Behold the form of the heaven: these are like the cherubim and seraphim in heaven. And he said to the sphinx on the right: You semblance of that which is in heaven, made by craftsmen, come down and convince these priests whether I be God or man.

14 It came down and spoke and said: O foolish sons of Israel. This is God who made man . . . . Tell me not that I am a stone image: better are the temples than your synagogue. Our priests purify themselves seven days from women, and approach not the temple but you come straight from defilement. The temples will abolish your synagogues, and become churches of the only-begotten Son of God.

15 The priests said: It speaks by magic, ye heard it say that this man spake with Abraham. How is that possible . . . Jesus said to the sphinx: Go to the cave of Mambre and call Abraham; bid him rise with Isaac and Jacob and come to the temples of the Jebusaeans to convict the priests. It went and called, and the twelve patriarchs rose and came out. "To which of us wast thou sent " "Not to you, but to the three patriarchs: go back and rest." They went back, and the three patriarchs came and convicted the priests. Jesus bade them return, and sent the sphinx back to its place. But the priests did not believe. And many other wonders he did.'

16 Jesus seeing that they were near land, leaned his head on one of the angels and ceased speaking to Andrew: and Andrew went to sleep. Then Jesus bade the angels take the men and lay them outside the city of the man-eaters and return: and then all departed to heaven.

17 Andrew awoke and looked about him and realized what had happened, and roused his disciples. They told him their dream: eagles came and bore therm into paradise, and they saw the Lord on his throne, and angels, and the three patriarchs and David singing, "and you the twelve apostles and twelve angels by you, whom the Lord bade to obey you in everything."

18 Andrew rejoiced and prayed the Lord to show himself: and Jesus appeared in the form of a beautiful young child. Andrew asked pardon for his boldness on the ship. Jesus reassured him and told him what trials awaited him in the city, and encouraged him to endure them, and departed.

19 They entered the city, unseen, and went to the prison. The seven guards fell dead at his prayer: at the sign of the cross the doors opened. He found Matthias and they greeted each other.

20 Andrew looked at the victims, who were naked and eating grass, and smote his breast and reproached the devil: How long warrest thou with men thou didst cause Adam to be cast out of paradise: thou didst cause his bread that was on the table to be turned to stones. Again, thou didst enter into the mind of the angels and cause them to be defiled with women and madest their savage sons the giants to devour men on the earth, so that God sent the flood . . . .

21 Then they both prayed, and they laid their hands on the prisoners and restored first their sight and then their sense, and Andrew bade them go out of the city and remain under a fig-tree and await him: there were 270 men and 49 women. And Andrew commanded a cloud, and it took Matthias and the disciples and brethren to the mount where Peter was teaching and there they remained.

22 Andrew went out and walked in the city, and sat down by a brazen pillar with a statue on it, to see what would happen. The executioners came and found the prison empty and the guards dead, and reported to the rulers. They said: Go and fetch the seven dead men for us to eat to-day, and assemble to-morrow, the old men, and we will cast lots for seven a day and eat them, till we can fit out ships and send and collect people to eat. So they fetched the seven corpses; there was a furnace in the midst of the city and a great vat for the blood: they put the men on the vat. A voice came: Andrew, look at this. Andrew prayed, and the men's swords fell and their hands turned to stone. The rulers cried: There are wizards in the city: go and gather the old men, for we are hungry.

23 They found 215, and lots were cast for 7. One of these said: Take my young son and kill him instead of me. They asked leave of the rulers, and it was granted, and the old man said: I have a daughter, take her too, and spare me. So the children were brought to the vat begging for their lives, but there was no pity. Andrew prayed, and again the swords fell from the men's hands, and there was much alarm.

24 Then came the devil in the guise of an old man, and said: Woe to you, you will all die of hunger; but search now and look for a stranger named Andrew: he is the cause of your trouble. Andrew was looking at the devil, but the devil could not see him. And Andrew said: O Beliar, my lord will humble thee to the abyss. The devil said: I hear your voice and know it; but where you stand I see not. Andrew said: Art thou not called Amael because thou art blind The devil said: Look for the man who spake to me, for it is he. And they shut the gates and looked everywhere, but could not find him. The Lord appeared and said to Andrew: Show thyself to them.

25 He rose and said I am Andrew whom ye seek. And they ran and took him, and debated how to kill him: If we cut off his head, it will not pain him enough; Let us put a rope round his neck and drag him through the streets every day till he dies, and divide his body and eat it. They did so, and his flesh was torn and his blood flowed, and they cast him into prison with his hands bound behind him.

26 And so they did next day, and he wept and cried to the Lord: and the devil told the people to smite his mouth that he might not speak; and they bound his hands behind him and left him in the prison. The devil took seven other devils, whom Andrew had driven out from places in the neighbourhood (this seems like a reference to the older Acts), and they came to Andrew, and the devil said: Now we will kill you like your master whom Herod slew.

27 And he said: Now my children, kill him. But they saw the seal on his forehead and were afraid, and said: Do you kill him, for we cannot. And one of them said: If we cannot kill him, let us mock him; and they stood before him and taunted him with his helplessness, and he wept. And a voice -the devil's voice disguised-said: Why weep Andrew said: Because of our Lord's word: Have patience with them; otherwise I would have shown you! . . . But if the Lord grant me a visitation in this city, I will chastise you as you deserve. And they fled.

28 Next day the people dragged him again, and he cried out to the Lord: here are thy words: A hair of your heads shall not perish lo, my flesh is torn from me. And a voice said in Hebrew: My words shall not pass away: look behind thee. And he saw great fruit-bearing trees growing up where his flesh and blood had fallen. And they took him back to prison, and said: Perhaps he will die to-morrow.

29 And the Lord came and took his hand and he rose up whole. And in the prison was a pillar, and on it a statue. Andrew went to it and spread out his hands seven times and said: Fear thou the sign of the cross, and let this statue pour forth water as a flood. And say not, I am but a stone for God made us of earth, but ye are clean, and therefore God gave his people the law on tables of stone. And the statue poured water out of its mouth as from a canal, and it was bitter and corroded men's flesh.

30 In the morning all the people began to flee. The water killed their cattle and their children. Andrew said: Let Michael wall the city about with fire. A cloud of fire came and surrounded it, and they could not escape. The water came up to their necks and consumed their flesh. They cried and lamented till he saw their spirit was crushed, and told the alabaster statue to cease. And Andrew went out of the prison, the water parting before him, and the people prayed for mercy.

31 The old man who had given up his children came and besought. But Andrew said: I wonder at you; you and the fourteen executioners shall be swallowed up and see the places of torment and of peace. And he went as far as the great vat, and prayed, and the earth opened and swallowed the water and the old man and the executioners. And all feared greatly, but he consoled them.

32 Then he bade them bring all who had been killed by the water, but there were too many, so he prayed and revived them. Then he drew out the plan of a church and baptised them and gave them the Lord's precepts. And they begged him to stay with them a little; but he refused, saying I must first go to my disciples; and he set forth, and they lamented grievously.

33 And Jesus appeared in the form of a beautiful child and reproved him for leaving them, and told him to stay seven days; and then he should go with his disciples to the country of the barbarians, and then return and bring the men out of the abyss. And he returned and they all rejoiced greatly.

THE ACTS OF PETER AND ANDREW

[A continuation of the Acts of Andrew and Matthias]
From: The Apocryphal New Testament
Translation: Montague Rhodes James,1924
Estimated Range of Dating: 200 - 400 A.D.

1 When Andrew left the city of the man-eaters, a cloud of light took him up and carried him to the mountain where Peter and Matthias and Alexander and Rufus were sitting. And Peter said: Have you prospered Yes, he said, but they did me much hurt. Come then, said Peter, and rest awhile from your labours.

2 And Jesus appeared in the form of a little child and greeted them, and told them to go to the city of the barbarians, and prornised to be with them, and left them.

3 So the four set out. And when they were near the city Andrew asked Peter: Do many troubles await us here 'I do not know, but here is an old man sowing. Let us ask him for bread; if he gives it us, we shall know that we are not to be troubled but if he says, I have none, troubles await us.' They greeted him and asked accordingly. He said: If you will look after my plough and oxen I will fetch you bread . . . . ' Are they your oxen' 'No, I have hired them.' And he went off.

4 Peter took off his cloak and garment and said: It is no time for us to be idle, especially as the old man is working for us; and he took the plough and began to sow. Andrew protested and took it from him and sowed, and blessed the seed as he sowed. And Rufus and Alexander and Matthias, going on the right, said; Let the sweet dew and the fair wind come and rest on this field. And the seed sprang up and the corn ripened.

5 When the farmer returned with the bread and saw the ripe corn he worshipped them as gods. But they told him who they were, and Peter gave him the Commandments . . . . He said: I will leave all and follow you. ' Not so, but go to the city, return your oxen to the owner, and tell your wife and children and prepare us a lodging;

6 He took a sheaf, hung it on his staff. and went off. The people asked where he got the corn, for it was the time of sowing, but he hastened home.

7 The chief men of the city heard of it and sent for him and made him tell his story.

8 And the devil entered them and they said: Alas! these are of the twelve Galilaeans who go about separating men from their wives; What are we to do?

9 One of them said: I can keep them out of the city 'How' 'They hate all women, and specially unchaste ones: let us put a naked wanton in the gate, and they will see her and flee.' So they did.

10 The apostles perceived the snare by the spirit, and Andrew said: Bid me, and I will chastise her. Peter said: Do as you will. Andrew prayed, and Michael was sent to catch her up by the hair and suspend her till they had passed.

11 And she cried out, cursing the men of the city and praying for pardon.

12 And many believed at her word and worshipped the apostles, and they did many cures, and all praised God.

13 There was a rich man named Onesiphorus who said: If I believe, shall I be able to do wonders Andrew said: Yes, if you forsake your wife and all your possessions. He was angry and put his garment about Andrew's neck and began to beat him, saying: You are a wizard, why should I do so

14 Peter saw it and told him to leave off. He said: I see you are wiser than he. What do you say Peter said: I tell you this: it is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God. Onesiphorus was yet more angry and took his garment off Andrew's neck and cast it on Peter's and haled him along, saying: You are worse than the other. If you show me this sign, I and the whole city will believe but if not you shall be punished.

15 Peter was troubled and stood and prayed: Lord, help us at this hour, for thou hast entrapped us by thy words.

16 The Saviour appeared in the form of a boy of twelve years, wearing a linen garment 'smooth within and without', and said; Fear not: let the needle and the camel be brought. There was a huckster in the town who had been converted by Philip; and he heard of it, and looked for a needle with a large eye, but Peter said: Nothing is impossible with God rather bring a needle with a small eye.

17 When it was brought, Peter saw a camel coming and stuck the needle in the ground and cried: In the name of Jesus Christ crucified under Pontius Pilate I command thee, camel, to go through the eye of the needle. The eye opened like a gate and the camel passed through; and yet again, at Peter's bidding.

18 Onesiphorus said: You are a great sorcerer: but I shall not believe unless I may send for a needle and a camel. And he said secretly to a servant: Bring a camel and a needle, and find a defiled woman and some swine's flesh and bring them too. And Peter heard it in the spirit and said: O slow to believe, bring your camel and woman and needle and flesh.

19 When they were brought Peter stuck the needle in the ground, with the flesh, the woman was on the camel. He commanded it as before, and the camel went through, and back again.

20 Onesiphorus cried out, convinced and said: Listen. I have lands and vinevards and 27 litrae of gold and 50 of silver, and many slaves: I will give my goods to the poor and free my slaves if I may do a wonders like you. Peter said: If you believe, you shall.

21 Yet he was afraid he might not be able, because he was not baptised, but a voice came: Let him do what he will. So Onesiphorus stood before the needle and camel and commanded it to go through and it went as far as the neck and stopped. And he asked why. 'Because you are not yet baptised.' He was content, and the apostles went to his house, and 1,000 souls were baptised that night.

22 Next day the woman that was hung in the air said: Alas that I am not worthy to believe like the rest! I will give all my goods to the poor and my house for a monastery of virgins. Peter heard it and went out to her and at his word she was let down unhurt, and gave him for the poor 4 litrae of gold and much raiment and her house for a monastery of virgins.

23 And the apostles consecrated a church and ordained clergy and committed the people to God.

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THE (SYRIAC-ARAMAIC) HISTORY OF MAR MATTHEW AND MAR ANDREW, THE BLESSED APOSTLES.

When They Converted The City Of Dogs,
The Inhabitants Of Which Were Cannibals.1
From: Syriac Manuscripts In The British Museum
Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles (1871) Volume 2.
Translation: William Wright, 1871
Estmated Range of Dating: 200 - 400 A.D.

After the days of the ascension of our Lord Jesus the Messiah to Heaven, when the days of Pentecost were fulfilled, and the Paraclete had come to the upper chamber of Zion, and the holy Apostles were filled with the gift of the Spirit of holiness, each of them had the wish to go forth and preach the Gospel of the Messiah. And they began to cast lots and to distribute the countries among them. And it happened that, when they had cast lots, it fell to Matthew the Apostle to go to the city of which the inhabitants were cannibals. And the inhabitants of that city neither ate bread nor drank water, but their food was the flesh of men, and their drink too the blood of men. And every man who entered into that city, its inhabitants seized, and dug and put out his eyes, and gave him to drink a cup, which was mingled with sorcery; and as soon as he drank that cup, his heart was changed, and his understanding perished, and he got the heart of a beast.

And it happened that, when S. Matthew entered within the gate of the city, the inhabitants of the city seized him, and dug and put out his eyes, and gave him to drink the cup which was mingled with sorcery, and conveyed him to the prison where every one was imprisoned who fell into their hands; and they threw down for him grass to eat.

And when the blessed Apostle had drunk the cup which they gave him, his heart was not changed; but he was always in urgent prayer and tears, saying: "Our Lord Jesus the Messiah, for whose sake we have left everything and follow Thee, because we know that Thou art the true God, and the Helper and the Deliverer of all those who trust in Thee,—look, Lord, and see what this hard-hearted people are doing to Thy servant Matthew, how they have made me like unto the beast in which there is no sense; for Thou art the Knower of everything. If thus be Thy will, O Lord; that I should become food for the inhabitants of this city, let Thy will be accomplished; I will not flee from Thy command. Give me the light of my eyes, that I may see what the people of this city do with me. Do not, Lord, forsake me, and do not give me up to this bitter death."

And whilst the blessed Matthew was praying thus, a mighty light shone through the whole place where he was imprisoned, and a voice was heard from the light, saying: "Matthew, my Apostle, lift up thine eyes." And straightway he lifted up his eyes and saw. And again the voice came unto him the second time and said: "Matthew, be firm, and be strong, and fear not; for I will not abandon thee, nor forsake thee; for I will deliver thee from all temptations, and not thee alone but all thy companions, for I am with thee at all times. And now endure in this thy prison-house twenty-five days,2 for the help of the souls of many. And after these things I will send unto thee Andrew, and he shall bring thee out of this prison and all those who are with thee here." And when our Saviour had said these things, He was lifted up to Heaven.

Then Matthew said: "Thy grace be with us, our Lord Jesus the Messiah." And he was within in the prison and was singing. And it happened that, when the executioners came into the prison to take out men for slaughter, Matthew shut his eyes, that they might not perceive that he saw the light. And it happened one day, when the executioners came and reached him, they read the ticket which was attached to his hand, and said among themselves, "In three days more we shall take out this one too and slaughter him;" for they used to write upon a ticket of wood the day on which a man was taken, and to tie it to his hand, that they might know the completion of his days.

And it happened that, when the twenty-seven days were completed, from (the time) that the blessed Matthew had been seized, our Lord Jesus the Messiah appeared unto Andrew in the country in which he was teaching, and said to him: "Andrew, rise, go with thy disciples to the city of which the inhabitants are cannibals, and take Matthew out of the prison in which he is; for after three days those wretches are going to take him out and kill him for their food." And Andrew answered and said: "My Lord, I am not able within three days to go to that city, because the way is long; but send an Angel to take him out thence, for Thou, my Lord, knowest that I am clothed with flesh, and am not able to arrive there quickly, neither do I know the way." And our Lord answered and said to him: "Andrew, listen, and obey Him who made thee and brought thee into being; for He is able in the twinkling of an eye to command, and that city would be lifted up and brought hither. For I will command the wind, and it shall convey thee thither. But arise in the morning, and go down to the sea-shore with thy disciples, and lo, thou shalt find a ship. Go on board of it, thou and thy disciples." And when our Lord had said these things, He gave him (the salutation of) peace, and was lifted up into Heaven.

Then Andrew arose in the morning, as he had been ordered, and went to the sea-shore with his disciples, and saw a small vessel, and in the vessel three men were sitting; for our Lord by His command had prepared a vessel, and He appeared in it in the likeness of a sailor, and there were with Him two Angels in the likeness of men. And Andrew, when he saw the vessel and the three men who were in it, rejoiced (with) a great joy, and drew nigh unto the vessel, and said to them: "Whither are ye going, my brethren ?" And our Lord said to him: "Weare going to the country of the Cannibals." Now Andrew did not perceive that it was Jesus, but our Lord concealed the might and power of His Godhead, and appeared like a steersman. And Andrew answered and said: "We too wish to go to that city." Then our Lord said to him: "Every man flees from that city, and ye wish to go thither!" Andrew answered and said: "We have something to do there, and we must go thither; and now, if ye are going to do a kindness unto us, show (it) to us." And Jesus answered and said to them: "Come on board in peace."

And Andrew answered and said: "I wish thee to know, my brother, before we go on board the vessel, that we have no ship-hire to give thee, nor have we bread for food with us." And our Lord said to him: "And how do ye come on board the vessel, when ye have no ship-hire? " Andrew says to Him : "Listen, my brother; do not suppose that from stiff-neckedness we do not give thee the ship-hire; but we are the disciples of our Lord Jesus the Messiah, who loved us, and chose us twelve, and gave us commandment and said: 'When ye go forth to preach, do not take with you purses nor bags, nor copper (coin) in your purses, nor bread, nor a staff, nor shoes; neither have ye two coats.' If then thou wilt have compassion upon us, tell us quickly; and if not, we will look for another vessel." Jesus answered and said unto them: "If this be the commandment which ye have received, and ye keep it, come on board ; for I say unto you, that it is more pleasing to me that the disciples of the Messiah should come on board my vessel than those who give me gold and silver. But this I say unto you, that perhaps I am worthy that the disciple of the Messiah should come on board my vessel." And Andrew answered and said: "Permit me, my brother; may the Lord give thee a reward and pardon."

Then Andrew went on board the vessel,3 and answered and said to his disciples: "My children, if ye choose, stay on shore, until I finish what was commanded me by our Lord, and return unto you." But his disciples said to him: "Far be it from us to do this! For if we remain behind thee, we shall become strangers to the grace which was given us; and now we will be with thee whithersoever thou goest."

Then Jesus answered and said to Andrew: "If thou art in truth the disciple of the Messiah, remind thy disciples of the miracles which thy Lord wrought, that thou mayest strengthen their minds, that they may forget (their) concern about this sea; for lo, we are making ready to loosen the vessel from the land and to sail." Then Jesus made a sign to one of the Angels, and he loosened the vessel from the land; and Jesus came and sat in the midst of the vessel. And Andrew was encouraging his disciples, and saying: "My children, ye have given up your lives for the Messiah; fear not; for He did not forsake us at the time when we were with Him in the vessel, and He had lain down to sleep in the vessel, trying us, for He was not asleep; and when there was a great wind, and the sea reared its waves so that they rose above the mast of the vessel, and great fear took hold of us, our Saviour arose and rebuked the wind, and the waves were assuaged, and there was a great calm on the sea; for everything obeys His command, because they are His creation. And now, my children, fear not." And when Andrew had said these things, he prayed that his disciples-might remain at rest.

And when they had fallen asleep, Andrew turned and said to Jesus, not knowing that it was Jesus: "Tell me, man, and truly show me this art of thy steering; for I have never seen a steersman who managed a vessel as I now see thee. For sixteen times have I sailed on the sea, and this is the seventeenth, and I have never seen skill like this; for verily this vessel is in the midst of the sea just as if it were on land. Show me then thy art, O youth." Then our Lord said to Andrew: "We too have sailed many times on the sea, and a violent storm has risen against us; but because thou art the disciple of the Messiah, the sea has recognised thee and has not uplifted its waves against us." Then Andrew cried with a loud voice and said: "I bless Thy name, my Lord Jesus the Messiah, that Thou hast let me meet with a man who glorifies Thy name." And Jesus answered and said to him: "Tell me, disciple of Jesus, why the wicked Jews did not believe on thy Lord that He is the true God. Show me; for we have heard that He showed His power to His disciples." And Andrew answered and said: "Yes, my brother, He showed us that He is the true God; and now do not suppose that Jesus is not God, for He made man.4" And Jesus answered and said: "And why did the Jews not believe on Him?" Andrew answered and said: "O man, who hast the spirit of knowledge and all understanding, why temptest thou me?" Our Lord says to him: "I tempt thee not with these things, but my soul rejoices and exults in them." Andrew says: "My brother, the Lord shall fill thy soul with great joy and grace." Our Lord answered and said: "Narrate to me then." And Andrew answered and said: "Hast thou not heard of the miracles which He did before them? To the blind He gave light, and to the lame to walk, and to the deaf and dumb to hear and speak; and He cast out devils; the lepers He cleansed, the dead He raised to life; He changed water into wine; and He took five loaves and two fishes, and ordered the people to recline upon the grass, and blessed, and satisfied them; and five thousand did eat and were satisfied, and left (something) over. And again He spake a blessing over seven loaves, and satisfied four thousand. And He did many signs and wonders and miracles, which, if I narrate them before thee, thou wilt not be able to bear." Jesus says to him: "I shall be able; but to a enough, though a fool not even many (words) can persuade."

And when our Lord knew that the vessel had arrived near the land, He leaned His head against one of the Angels, and ceased to converse with Andrew. And when Andrew saw (this), he leaned himself against his disciples, and sank into a heavy sleep. And our Lord said to the Angels: " Spread out your hands, and carry Andrew and his disciples, and go, place them at the gate of that city, the inhabitants of which eat the flesh of men." And the Angels did as they were commanded, and took up Andrew and his disciples, and carried (and) placed them at the gate of that city, the inhabitants of which eat men.

And when Andrew awoke from his sleep and opened his eyes, he saw that he was sitting at the gate of that city, and his disciples beside him, who were asleep. And being astonished at what had happened, he awakened them and said to them: "Rise, my children, and see the grace that has been with us, and know that our Lord was with us in the vessel, proving us, and we did not recognise Him." And his disciples answered and said to him: "Do not suppose, our father, that we knew that we were sailing on the sea, because we were sunk in a deep sleep; and we saw that Angels came and took our souls and carried them to Paradise; and we saw there great wonders, for we saw our Lord Jesus the Messiah sitting on a glorious throne, and all the Angels beholding Him; and we saw there Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and all the Fathers and the holy Prophets, and you too the twelve Apostles, standing beside our Lord Jesus the Messiah; and we heard our Lord commanding His holy Angels: 'Be obedient to the Apostles in everything which they say unto you.' This is the vision which we saw, our father."

Then the blessed Andrew, when he had heard these things from his disciples, rejoiced (with) a great joy, that his disciples were worthy to see the great things of God. And he lifted up his eyes to heaven and said: "Pardon me, my Lord, and forgive me what I have done; for as a man I saw Thee in the vessel, and as a man I spake with Thee. Wherein have I sinned, my Lord? (for) Thou didst not show to me Thy majesty." And our Lord said unto him: "Thou hast not sinned, Andrew; but I did these things unto thee, because thou saidst, 'I cannot go to the City of Dogs in three days.' Lo, now have I shown thee that I am able to do everything by (my) power. But arise, and go into the city unto Matthew thy brother, and bring him forth from prison, him and all those who are imprisoned with him. And lo, I make known unto thee, before thou enterest into their city, that they will show thee cruel tortures, and thy body shall be torn, and thy blood shall be poured out upon the earth like water; for death they cannot give unto thee, but great tortures they are about to let pass over thee. But bear up, and harden not thyself against their wickedness. Remember the tortures which I endured, when the Jews smote me with their fists and spat in my face. Was I not able in the twinkling of an eye to move heaven and earth, and to bring chastisement upon those who beat me? But I bore (it), and forgave them, that I might set you an example."

And Andrew straightway arose, and entered into that city with his disciples. And he went to the prison, and saw the seven keepers, who were standing at the gates of the prison and guarding it. And Andrew prayed, and these keepers fell down and died. And when he came nigh to the gate of the prison, he made upon the gate the sign of the Cross; and straightway the gate became open.

And when Andrew had entered the prison with his disciples, Matthew saw Andrew, and straightway he arose, and they asked after each other's welfare. And Andrew said to Matthew: "My brother, how hast thou got in here? For lo, after three days, the men of this city are going to take thee out and kill thee for their food. Where are the holy mysteries which thou hast learned? For if thou didst utter them, heaven and earth would tremble." And Matthew answered and said: "My brother Andrew, thou hast heard our Lord say: 'Lo, I send you like lambs among wolves.' For as soon as I entered into this prison, I prayed before the Lord, and He appeared unto me, saying: 'Bear up for twenty-seven days, and afterwards I will send unto thee Andrew, and he will take thee out of this prison and also all those who are with thee.' And as our Lord promised to me, lo, I see thee to-day ; and now, what shall we do?"

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Then Andrew looked in the midst of the prison, and saw those men who were bound there, stripped (naked) and eating grass like cattle. And Andrew beat his breast and said: "Our Lord Jesus the Messiah, look and see what they have given to men, who are made in Thy image and in Thy likeness, to eat." And the blessed (one) began to rebuke Satan and to say: "Out upon thee, Satan, thou enemy of our God and of His Angels! How long wilt thou fight with the human race?"

And Andrew and Matthew kneeled and prayed; and afterwards Andrew laid his hands upon the eyes of those men who had been blinded, and straightway they all saw the light. And again he placed his hand upon their heart, and their understanding was changed and became like that of men. And he said to them: "Depart now to the lower part of the city. Lo, ye shall find on the road a large fig-tree; sit down under it, and eat of its fruit, till I come to you. And if I delay, ye will find for yourselves on it as much food as sufficeth for you." And those men answered and said to the blessed Andrew: "Come with us, sir, lest perchance the heathen men of this city see us again, and take us, and put us to tortures which are worse than the former ones." And he said to them: "Go in peace; verily I say unto you, that, whilst ye are going, not even a dog shall bark at you." And those men went, as the blessed Andrew had said to them; and they were in number forty-nine. But to Matthew he said that he should go with his disciples to the east side of the city. And Andrew prayed, and a cloud descended, and took away Matthew and his disciples, and set them on a mountain, where Peter the Apostle was sitting and teaching; and they remained with him.

But Andrew, after he had gone out of the prison, was walking about in the city. And he saw a pillar, and upon it was standing a statue of brass; and he sat down by the side of that pillar, that he might see what would take place. And it happened that, when the executioners went to the prison to fetch out men for their food, as was the custom of every day, they found the gates of the prison open and the keepers dead and lying on the ground. And they returned to the chief men, and said to them: "We went to the prison, and found it open and the keepers dead and lying on the ground; and when we went in, we found no man there." And when the chief men heard (this), they said among themselves: "What is this thing that has happened? Have men perchance gone into the prison and killed the keepers, and taken those who were bound there, and departed?" Then the chiefs said to the executioners: "Go to the prison, and bring those seven keepers, that we may eat them to day; and straightway collect for us all the old men of the city, and let them cast lots among themselves, and those on whom the lot falls we shall go on killing every day, seven by seven, for our food, until we choose young men and put them on board ship, and they go to the countries around us, and put men on board their ships and bring (them) hither, that they may be to us for food."

And when the executioners had gone to the prison, they brought those seven keepers dead. And there was there a large furnace, which was built in the midst of the city; and by the side of the furnace there was a large trough of stone, in which they used to kill the men, and their blood ran down and was collected in that trough, and they used to draw up the blood and drink it. And it happened that, when they had brought those seven, who were dead, they placed them beside the trough, that they might lay their hands upon them and lift them up. And the blessed Andrew heard a voice saying to him: "Andrew, look and see what is being done in this city." And it happened that, when he saw (it), he prayed and said: "Our Lord Jesus the Messiah, who hast brought me to this city, do not permit that there take place in it anything hateful, but let the knives fall from the hands of these executioners." And straightway their hands were paralysed, and they were not able to lift them up or let them down. And when the nobles saw what had happened, they wept bitterly, saying: "Woe unto us, for there are magicians here, and they have gone into the prison, and slain the keepers, and brought out those who were imprisoned there; and lo, they have bewitched the executioners too. What then shall we do?"

Then they said to the executioners: "Go, collect for us the old men of the city, because we are hungry." And they went and collected them, and found two hundred and sixteen in number, and brought them to their nobles; and they commanded them to cast lots, and the lot of seven old men came forth. And one of the old men, upon whom the lot had fallen, answered and said to the executioners: "I beg of you, I have a little son, take him and kill him in my stead, and let me go." And they said to him "We cannot do this, unless the nobles bid us." And the executioners went and told their nobles these things. And the nobles answered and said to them: "If he gives a substitute, let him go"; and the executioners made this known to the old man. And the old man answered and said to them : "I have a daughter too ; take her also with her brother for slaughter, and let me go." And he gave them up for slaughter, and the executioners took these children to kill them. And they were weeping and saying: "Do not kill us in this youth (of ours), but allow us to come to full growth, and then ye may kill (us)." And this also was the custom in that city, that they did not bury those who died, but ate them. And the executioners did not heed these children, but took them and went to the trough, in which they used to kill men, to kill them."

And when the holy Andrew saw (this), he wept bitterly, and said: "Our Lord Jesus the Messiah, as Thou didst hear me sinful concerning these dead, and Thy Divinity did not suffer them to be eaten, so now too do not suffer them to be brought nigh to the death of these children, but let their hands be paralysed, and let the knives fall and melt like wax before the fire." And the moment that the blessed Andrew had prayed, the knives were loosened, and fell from the hands of the executioners. And when S. Andrew saw what had happened, he glorified God who had answered him in everything.

And when the rulers saw what had happened, they wept bitterly and said: "Woe unto us! what is there now for us to do?" And Satan took the likeness of an old man, and stood in their midst, and said: "Woe to you! What can ye do? For ye have no food. And now arise, and seize in this city a stranger, whose name is Andrew, and kill him; for he has let out these men who were shut up in the prison."

And S. Andrew looked upon Satan, how he was talking among the crowd; but Satan did not see the blessed (one). And the Apostle of the Messiah answered and said to Satan:"O thou enemy of all mankind, who art constantly warring against them, our Lord Jesus the Messiah will humble thee and cast thee into the deep abyss of destruction." And when Satan heard this, he said, "Fie, fie upon thee! Thy voice I hear, but where thou art I know not." And the blessed (one) answered and said to Satan: "Verily thou art blind, and thou canst not «m see the saints." And when Satan heard this, he said to the multitude: "See now, seize him with whom I am speaking, because he is the disturber of your affairs." And those wicked (ones) ran and shut the gates of the city; and they were going about and seeking for the blessed Andrew through the whole city, and did not see him. Then our Lord Jesus the Messiah appeared to him and said to him: "Andrew, arise, show them thy power, that they may learn that the power of Satan, who dwells in them, is nought."

Then the blessed Andrew arose in the sight of the whole multitude, and said: "I am Andrew, whom ye seek." Then the whole people ran and seized him, and said to him: "As thou hast done unto us, we will do unto thee." And they began taking counsel together and saying: " With what death shall we kill him? If indeed we take off his head, it is not a bitter death; and if we burn him with fire, neither is this anything." Then one of them, after Satan had entered into him, answered and said to them: "As he made us suffer, so we too will make him suffer. This let us do unto him. Let us put ropes round his neck, and drag him through the streets and lanes of this city; and when he is dead, then we will divide his body among all of us." And this seemed good before the whole people; and they cast ropes upon his neck, and were dragging him through all the streets and lanes of the city, until his body was torn by the stones over which he was dragged, and his blood was flowing like water. And when it was evening, they cast him into prison, with his hands bound behind him.

And again, when it was morning, they brought him out, and cast cords upon his neck, and dragged him through the whole city, and his whole body was torn by the ground. And the blessed (one) prayed with sighs and said: "Our Lord Jesus the Messiah, behold what they do with me, and I bear it because of Thy command, —for if it were not because of Thy mercy, Thou wouldest have sent them into the deep abyss, with their city,—but only, Lord, do not permit the enemy to mock me." And when the blessed (one) had said these things, Satan answered from behind him and said to the people: "Be smiting him upon his mouth, that he may not speak."

And when evening came, they cast him into the prison. Then Satan took with him seven demons, and went into the prison. And they stood before S. Andrew, and were mocking him, saying: " Now art thou caught in our hands. Who then shall deliver thee? For lo, thou destroyest our works out of every city, and hast desolated our temples and shrines, which were built for us." And Satan commanded those seven demons which were with him to slay the blessed (one). Then, when these demons drew near, and saw the seal of the Messiah between his eyes, they were afraid and fled from him. And Satan answered and said to them: "Why flee ye from him? "What is it?" And they say to him: "We cannot come near to him because of the seal which is upon him; but do thou go, slay him, if thou art able." And Satan said to them: "Come then, let us mock him." Then those demons came with Satan their master, and were mocking the blessed (one) and saying: "Thou O Andrew, lo, art come to great disgrace and to hard judgement." Then, when the blessed Andrew heard these things, he said: "If ye kill me outright, I will not do your pleasure, but the pleasure of my Lord; for if my Lord visits me in this city, I will chastise you as ye deserve." And when the demons heard these things, they vanished from before him like smoke.

And when it was morning, they brought the blessed Andrew out of the prison, and tied ropes round his neck, and were dragging him. And again his body (was lacerated) and all the hair of his head was pulled out. And the blessed (one) cried with a loud voice, with sighs and tears, and said: "Our Lord Jesus the Messiah, these tortures are enough for me, these three days, by day and by night, of Satan and of the demons and of these heathens. Command, Lord, and receive my spirit, or show me Thy grace that I may be strengthened." And when he had said these things, a voice came to him in Hebrew, saying: "Andrew, heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.And do thou now turn and see thy flesh, which has been plucked from thee, what has become of it." And he looked and saw large trees, which had grown up and bore fruit. And S. Andrew said: "Now, Lord, I know that Thou hast not forsaken me."

And when it was evening, they cast him into the prison, saying: "His body is destroyed, and during this night he will die." Then our Lord Jesus the Messiah appeared to him in the prison, and said to him: "Andrew, give me thy hand." And He took him by his hand, and straightway he rose up whole. And the blessed (one) fell down and worshipped Him. And afterwards he looked into the midst of the pit in which he was imprisoned, and saw a pillar (statue) which was called in Greek Alabastros. And Andrew stretched out his hand and said: "Thou dumb stone, fear the sign of the Cross, at which heaven and earth tremble; and straightway let there flow from thy mouth much water, that it may submerge this city." And straightway that pillar (statue) let much water flow out like a mighty stream; and the water prevailed exceedingly, and killed their children and their cattle; and they were wishing' to flee from the city.

Then the blessed Andrew prayed, and a fiery cloud descended, and surrounded the city like a wall, and they were unable to flee. And when Andrew knew what had happened, he glorified God and said: "I bless Thee, our Lord Jesus the Messiah!" And all the inhabitants of the city trembled, and were weeping and saying: "Woe to us I for all these things have come upon us because of the stranger who is in the prison; but let us go and release him, that we may not die wretchedly by these waters of the flood and by this fire."

And they all came to the prison, crying out with a mournful voice. And when the blessed Andrew saw that their spirit was humbled to him, he said to the pillar (statue): "Enough now; do not emit water any more. Lo, I will go out and preach the word of God; and I say unto thee, that, if the people of this city believe, I will build in it a church, and I will remove thee hence, and convey thee and set thee up in it, in recompense for thy having answered me and done that which was commanded thee." And at that moment the statue ceased from its flowing. And Andrew went forth from the prison, and the water was running before his feet.

Then the old man, who had given up his children to slaughter in his stead, came nigh before him, and said to him: "Have mercy upon us, our lord." And Andrew answered and said to him: "I ask of thee, how canst thou say to me that I should have mercy upon thee, when thou didst not have mercy upon thy children. But I say unto thee, that in a little while these waters shall go and be swallowed up in the midst of the abyss, and these executioners, who were killing the men, and thou too shalt be swallowed up with them." And he turned and said to the assembly: "Come after me, all of you." And whilst they were going after him, the waters were divided hither and thither before the feet of the holy (one), until he came to the place of the trough. And the blessed Andrew lifted up his face to heaven, and prayed, and the earth opened, and swallowed up the water and the executioners and the old man. And when the people of the city saw what had happened, they began to say among themselves: "Woe to us! for this man has been sent hither by God, and he will kill us because of the tortures which we made him bear; for lo, as it has been with the executioners and with that old man, (so) it will be with us." And the blessed Andrew, when he heard (this), said to them: "Fear not, my children, for not even these will God leave in Sheol; these have been snatched away to the lower earth, that ye might believe."

Then Andrew ordered them to bring all those who had been drowned by the water; and they were not able to bring them, because those who had died by the water were many, men and women, and children and animals. Then the blessed (one) prayed before God, and they were resuscitated and all arose. And after these things he baptised them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness. And he marked out for them the likeness of a church, and it was built quickly. And they brought the pillar (statue) which had made the water flow, and set it up in the church. And he sketched out for them rules and laws by which they might subsist, and delivered to them the mysteries of our Lord Jesus the Messiah, and bade them sow and be nourished by the sweat of their faces. And he made haste to depart from them; and they were beseeching him, from the youngest to the oldest, and were saying to him: "We beg of thee, tarry with us a few days, (for) we are yet children in the faith, that we may receive of thy blessed fountain and of thy divine words." But he did not consent to abide with them, but went his way.

Then our Lord assumed unto him the likeness of a comely child, and said to him: "Why art thou going, and leaving them without fruit, and not taking pity upon the children

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who are coming after thee and crying out? Now therefore return to the city, and abide with them seven days; and when thou enterest into the city, bring up those who were swallowed up in the abyss."

Then Andrew glorified God and said: "Blessed art Thou, our Lord Jesus the Messiah, for Thou dost not wish that a man should perish, but that he should live." And he returned, and entered into the city. And when the people of the city saw that he had returned, they rejoiced (with) a great joy. And he spent there seven days, teaching and confirming them in the faith of our Lord. Then the blessed Andrew prayed, and the men, who had been swallowed up in the abyss, were resuscitated. And after seven days all the people of the city went out, and were accompanying him on his way, from the youngest even to the oldest, and were crying out and saying: "One is the God of the blessed Andrew, our Lord Jesus the Messiah, the Son of the living God;" to whom is befitting glory and worship and thanksgiving, with His blessed Father and His living and holy Spirit, for ever and ever, Amen.

Here ends the history of Matthew and Andrew, when they converted the City of Dogs; which is ʿÍrkā.

THE ACTS OF BARNABAS

From: Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 8.
Translation: Alexander Walker (1779–1852), 1885
Edited by Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, 1886
Estimated Range of Dating: 5th century AD.

(The Acts of Barnabas is a non-canonical pseudepigraphical Christian work that claims to identify its author as John Mark, the companion of Paul the Apostle, as if writing an account of Barnabas, the Cypriot Jew who was a member of the earliest church of Jerusalem; through the services of Barnabas, the convert Saul was welcomed into the apostolic community. Three pseudepigraphical works are linked with the name of Barnabas: the Epistle of Barnabas, written between AD 70 and 135, this Acts and the medieval text Gospel of Barnabas. None of them have been accepted into the biblical canon.

The language and the ecclesiastical politics of Acts of Barnabas reveal it to be a work of the 5th century, designed to strengthen the claims of the church of Cyprus to apostolic foundation as the site of Barnabas' grave, and therefore of its bishops' independence from the patriarch of Antioch. These are 5th century concerns, the independence of the Church of Cyprus having been declared by the First Council of Ephesus in 431 and confirmed by Emperor Zeno in 488.

The text speaks of the multiple travels of Barnabas and Paul of Tarsus through the first Christian communities in Asia Minor and in Cyprus, full of miracles and preaching to the pagans, and adds the church foundations, the consecration of bishops and the tomb of the apostle in Cyprus. John and Barnabas visit Isaura, Cilicia, Cyprus and Laodiceia, where they cure many sick people and baptie. (Acts of Barnabas 11 and 12). It is said that seven years before his martyrdom he traveled to Marmarica and Libya. And the book ends:The travels and martyrdom of the saint Apostle Barnabas were thus accomplished by the grace of God.)

The Journeyings and Martyrdom of St. Barnabas the Apostle.

Since from the descent of the presence of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the unwearied and benevolent and mighty Shepherd and Teacher and Physician, I beheld and saw the ineffable and holy and unspotted mystery of the Christians, who hold the hope in holiness, and who have been sealed; and since I have zealously served Him, I have deemed it necessary to give account of the mysteries which I have heard and seen.

I John, accompanying the holy apostles Barnabas and Paul, being formerly a servant of Cyrillus the high priest of Jupiter, but now having received the gift of the Holy Spirit through Paul and Barnabas and Silas, who were worthy of the calling, and who baptised me in Iconium. After I was baptised, then, I saw a certain man standing clothed in white raiment; and he said to me: Be of good courage, John, for assuredly your name shall be changed to Mark, and your glory shall be proclaimed in all the world. And the darkness in you has passed away from you, and there has been given to you understanding to know the mysteries of God.

And when I saw the vision, becoming greatly terrified, I went to the feet of Barnabas, and related to him the mysteries which I had seen and heard from that man. And the Apostle Paul was not by when I disclosed the mysteries. And Barnabas said to me: Tell no one the miracle which you have seen. For by me also this night the Lord stood, saying, Be of good courage: for as you have given your life for my name to death and banishment from your nation, thus also shall you be made perfect. Moreover, as for the servant who is with you, take him also with yourself; for he has certain mysteries. Now then, my child, keep to yourself the things which you have seen and heard; for a time will come for you to reveal them.

And I, having been instructed in these things by him, remained in Iconium many days; for there was there a holy man and a pious, who also entertained us, whose house also Paul had sanctified. Thence, therefore, we came to Seleucia, and after staying three days sailed away to Cyprus; and I was ministering to them until we had gone round all Cyprus. And setting sail from Cyprus, we landed in Perga of Pamphylia. And there I then stayed about two months, wishing to sail to the regions of the West; and the Holy Spirit did not allow me. Turning, therefore, I again sought the apostles; and having learned that they were in Antioch, I went to them.

And I found Paul in bed in Antioch from the toil of the journey, who also seeing me, was exceedingly grieved on account of my delaying in Pamphylia. And Barnabas coming, encouraged him, and tasted bread, and he took a little of it. And they preached the word of the Lord, and enlightened many of the Jews and Greeks.

And I only attended to them, and was afraid of Paul to come near him, both because he held me as having spent much time in Pamphylia, and because he was quite enraged against me. And I gave repentance on my knees upon the earth to Paul, and he would not endure it. And when I remained for three Sabbaths in entreaty and prayer on my knees, I was unable to prevail upon him about myself; for his great grievance against me was on account of my keeping several parchments in Pamphylia.

And when it came to pass that they finished teaching in Antioch, on the first of the week they took counsel together to set out for the places of the East, and after that to go into Cyprus, and oversee all the churches in which they had spoken the word of God. And Barnabas entreated Paul to go first to Cyprus, and oversee his own in his village; and Lucius entreated him to take the oversight of his city Cyrene.

And a vision was seen by Paul in sleep, that he should hasten to Jerusalem, because the brethren expected him there. But Barnabas urged that they should go to Cyprus, and pass the winter, and then that they should go to Jerusalem at the feast. Great contention, therefore, arose between them. Acts 15:39 And Barnabas urged me also to accompany them, on account of my being their servant from the beginning, and on account of my having served them in all Cyprus until they came to Perga of Pamphylia; and I there had remained many days. But Paul cried out against Barnabas, saying: It is impossible for him to go with us.

And those who were with us there urged me also to accompany them, because there was a vow upon me to follow them to the end. So that Paul said to Barnabas: If you will take John who also is surnamed Mark with you, go another road; for he shall not come with us. And Barnabas coming to himself, said: The grace of God does not desert him who has once served the Gospel and journeyed with us. If, therefore, this be agreeable to you, Father Paul, I take him and go. And he said: You go in the grace of Christ, and we in the power of the Spirit.

Therefore, bending their knees, they prayed to God. And Paul, groaning aloud, wept, and in like manner also Barnabas, saying to one another: It would have been good for us, as at first, so also at last, to work in common among men; but since it has thus seemed good to you, Father Paul, pray for me that my labour may be made perfect to commendation: for you know how I have served you also to the grace of Christ that has been given to you. For I go to Cyprus, and hasten to be made perfect; for I know that I shall no more see your face, O Father Paul. And falling on the ground at his feet, he wept long.

And Paul said to him: The Lord stood by me also this night, saying, Do not force Barnabas not to go to Cyprus, for there it has been prepared for him to enlighten many; and go also, in the grace that has been given to you, to Jerusalem to worship in the holy place, and there it shall be shown you where your martyrdom has been prepared. And we saluted one another, and Barnabas took me to himself.

And having come down to Laodiceia, we sought to cross to Cyprus; and having found a ship going to Cyprus, we embarked. And when we had set sail, the wind was found to be contrary. And we came to Corasium; and having gone down to the shore where there was a fountain, we rested there, showing ourselves to no one, that no one might know that Barnabas had separated from Paul. And having set sail from Corasium, we came to the regions of Isauria, and thence came to a certain island called Pityusa; and a storm having come on, we remained there three days; and a certain pious man entertained us, by name Euphemus, whom also Barnabas instructed in many things in the faith, with all his house.

And thence we sailed past the Aconesiæ, and came to the city of Anemurium; and having gone into it, we found two Greeks. And coming to us, they asked whence and who we were. And Barnabas said to them: If you wish to know whence and who we are, throw away the clothing which you have, and I shall put on you clothing which never becomes soiled; for neither is there in it anything filthy, but it is altogether splendid.

And being astonished at the saying, they asked us: What is that garment which you are going to give us? And Barnabas said to them: If you shall confess your sins, and submit yourselves to our Lord Jesus Christ, you shall receive that garment which is incorruptible forever. And being pricked at heart by the Holy Spirit, they fell at his feet, entreating and saying: We beseech you, father, give us that garment; for we believe in the living and true God whom you proclaim. And leading them down to the fountain, he baptised them into the name of Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost. And they knew that they were clothed with power, and a holy robe.

And having taken from me one robe, he put it on the one; and his own robe he put on the other. And they brought money to him, and straightway Barnabas distributed it to the poor. And from them also the sailors were able to gain many things.

And they having come down to the shore, he spoke to them the word of God; and he having blessed them, we saluted them, and went on board the ship. And the one of them who was named Stephanus wished to accompany us, and Barnabas did not permit him. And we, having gone across, sailed down to Cyprus by night; and having come to the place called Crommyacita, we found Timon and Ariston the temple servants, at whose house also we were entertained.

And Timon was afflicted by much fever. And having laid our hands upon him, we straightway removed his fever, having called upon the name of the Lord Jesus. And Barnabas had received documents from Matthew, a book of the word of God, and a narrative of miracles and doctrines. This Barnabas laid upon the sick in each place that we came to, and it immediately made a cure of their sufferings.

And when we had come to Lapithus, and an idol festival being celebrated in the theatre, they did not allow us to go into the city, but we rested a little at the gate. And Timon, after he rose up from his disease, came with us. And having gone forth from Lapithus, we travelled through the mountains, and came to the city of Lampadistus, of which also Timon was a native; in addition to whom, having found also that Heracleius was there, we were entertained by him. He was of the city of Tamasus, and had come to visit his relations; and Barnabas, looking steadfastly at him, recognised him, having met with him formerly at Citium with Paul; to whom also the Holy Spirit was given at baptism, and he changed his name to Heracleides. And having ordained him bishop over Cyprus, and having confirmed the church in Tamasus, we left him in the house of his brethren that dwelt there.

And having crossed the mountain called Chionodes, we came to Old Paphos, and there found Rhodon, a temple servant, who also, having himself believed, accompanied us. And we met a certain Jew, by name Barjesus, coming from Paphos, who also recognised Barnabas, as having been formerly with Paul. He did not wish us to go into Paphos; but having turned away, we came to Curium.

And we found that a certain abominable race was being performed in the road near the city, where a multitude of women and men naked were performing the race. And there was great deception and error in that place. And Barnabas turning, rebuked it; and the western part fell, so that many were wounded, and many of them also died and the rest fled to the temple of Apollo, which was close at hand in the city, which was called sacred. And when we came near the temple, a great multitude of Jews who were there, having been put up to it by Barjesus, stood outside of the city, and did not allow us to go into the city; but we spent the evening under a tree near the city, and rested there.

And on the following day, we came to a certain village where Aristoclianus dwelt. He being a leper, had been cleansed in Antioch, whom also Paul and Barnabas sealed to be a bishop, and sent to his village in Cyprus, because there were many Greeks there. And we were entertained in the cave by him in the mountain, and there we remained one day. And thence we came to Amathus and there was a great multitude of Greeks in the temple in the mountain, low women and men pouring libations. There also Barjesus, getting the start of us, gained over the nation of the Jews, and did not allow us to enter into the city; but a certain widow woman, eighty years old, being outside of the city, and she also not worshipping the idols, coming forward to us, took us into her house one hour. And when we came out we shook the dust off our feet over against that temple where the libation of the abominable took place.

And having gone out thence, we came through desert places, and Timon also accompanied us. And having come to Citium, and there being a great uproar there also in their hippodrome, having learned this, we came forth out of the city, having all shaken the dust off our feet; for no one received us, except that we rested one hour in the gate near the aqueduct.

And having set sail in a ship from Citium, we came to Salamis, and landed in the so-called islands, where there was a place full of idols; and there there took place high festivals and libations. And having found Heracleides there again, we instructed him to proclaim the Gospel of God, and to set up churches, and ministers in them. And having gone into Salamis, we came to the synagogue near the place called Biblia; and when we had gone into it, Barnabas, having unrolled the Gospel which he had received from Matthew his fellow-labourer, began to teach the Jews.

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And Barjesus, having arrived after two days, after not a few Jews had been instructed, was enraged, and brought together all the multitude of the Jews; and they having laid hold of Barnabas, wished to hand him over to Hypatius, the governor of Salamis.

And having bound him to take him away to the governor, and a pious Jebusite, a kinsman of Nero, having come to Cyprus, the Jews, learning this, took Barnabas by night, and bound him with a rope by the neck; and having dragged him to the hippodrome from the synagogue, and having gone out of the city, standing round him, they burned him with fire, so that even his bones became dust. And straightway that night, having taken his dust, they cast it into a cloth; and having secured it with lead, they intended to throw it into the sea. But I, finding an opportunity in the night, and being able along with Timon and Rhodon to carry it. we came to a certain place, and having found a cave, put it down there, where the nation of the Jebusites formerly dwelt. And having found a secret place in it, we put it away, with the documents which he had received from Matthew. And it was the fourth hour of the night of the second of the week.

And when we were hid in the place, the Jews made no little search after us; and having almost found us, they pursued us as far as the village of the Ledrians; and we, having found there also a cave near the village, took refuge in it, and thus escaped them. And we were hid in the cave three days; and the Jews having gone away, we came forth and left the place by night. And taking with us Ariston and Rhodon, we came to the village of Limnes.

And having come to the shore, we found an Egyptian ship; and having embarked in it, we landed at Alexandria. And there I remained, teaching the brethren that came the word of the Lord, enlightening them, and preaching what I had been taught by the apostles of Christ, who also baptised me into the name of Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost; who also changed my name to Mark in the water of baptism, by which also I hope to bring many to the glory of God through His grace; because to Him is due honour and everlasting glory. Amen.

The journeyings and martyrdom of the holy apostle Barnabas have been fulfilled through God.

ACTS OF THE EVANGELIST JOHN THE THEOLOGIAN

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(John of Patmos (also called John the Revelator, John the Divine, John the Theologian, and possibly John the Apostle) could be the author named as John in the Book of Revelation, the apocalyptic text forming the final book of the New Testament. The text of Revelation states that John was on Patmos, a Greek island where, by most biblical historians, he is considered to have been exiled as a result of anti-Christian persecution under the Roman emperor Titus Flavius Domitianus (51–96 AD.

Since the Roman era, Christians and historians have considered the Book of Revelation's writer to be the Apostle John (John the Evangelist), author of the Gospel of John. However, a minority of senior clerics and scholars, such as Eusebius (d. 339/340), recognise at least one further John as a companion of Jesus Christ, John the Presbyter "after an interval, placing him among others outside of the number of the apostles". Some Christian scholars since medieval times separate the disciple(s) from Revelation's writer, John of Patmos / the Divine. [* Eusebius of Caesarea (Greek: Eusebios tes Kaisareias, born in Caesarea Maritima the Roman capital of Judaea; c.265–340 AD), also known as Eusebius Pamphili, was a historian of Christianity, exegete, Christian polemicist, and the right-hand-man of Emperor Flavius Contantinus I (c. 272–337 AD).]*

The author of the Book of Revelation identifies himself only as "John". Traditionally, this was often believed to be the same person as John, son of Zebedee, one of the apostles of Jesus, to whom the Gospel of John was also attributed. However that is unlikely as Zebedee is probably a cover-up name for someone of Jesus' own family. The members of Jesus' family was "written out of history" by attaching other by-names to them [e.g. James the Just who was the brother of Jesus was given the name James the son of Zebedee. So the name was not deleted but hidden under another name, a common practice to get rid of uncomfortable characters in a text.]. The early-2nd-century writer, Justin Martyr, was the first to equate the author of Revelation with John the Evangelist. Other early Christian writers, however, such as Dionysius of Alexandria and Eusebius of Caesarea, noting the differences in language and theological outlook between this work and the Gospel, discounted this possibility, and argued for the exclusion of the Book of Revelation from the canon as a result. The early Christian writer Papias appeared in his writings to distinguish between John the Evangelist and John the Elder, and many biblical scholars now contend that the latter was the author of Revelation.)

About His Exile and Departure.

When Agrippa, whom, on account of his plotting against Peace, they stoned and put to death, was king of the Jews, Vespasian Caesar, coming with a great army, invested Jerusalem; and some prisoners of war he took and slew, others he destroyed by famine in the siege, and most he banished, and at length scattered up and down. And having destroyed the temple, and put the holy vessels on board a ship, he sent them to Rome, to make for himself a temple of peace, and adorned it with the spoils of war.

And when Vespasian was dead, his son Domitian, having got possession of the kingdom, along with his other wrongful acts, set himself also to make a persecution against the righteous men. For, having learned that the city was filled with Jews, remembering the orders given by his father about them, he purposed casting them all out of the city of the Romans. And some of the Jews took courage, and gave Domitian a book, in which was written as follows:—

O Domitian, Caesar and king of all the world, as many of us as are Jews entreat thee, as suppliants we beseech of thy power not to banish us from thy divine and benignant countenance; for we are obedient to thee, and the customs, and laws, and practices, and policy, doing wrong in nothing, but being of the same mind with the Romans. But there is a new and strange nation, neither agreeing with other nations nor consenting to the religious observances of the Jews, uncircumcised, inhuman, lawless, subverting whole houses, proclaiming a man as God, all assembling together [2435] under a strange name, that of Christian. These men reject God, paying no heed to the law given by Him, and proclaim to be the Son of God a man born of ourselves, Jesus by name, whose parents and brothers and all his family have been connected with the Hebrews; whom on account of his great blasphemy and his wicked fooleries we gave up to the cross. And they add another blasphemous lie to their first one: him that was nailed up and buried, they glorify as having risen from the dead; and, more than this, they falsely assert that he has been taken up by [2436] clouds into the heavens.

At all this the king, being affected with rage, ordered the senate to publish a decree that they should put to death all who confessed themselves to be Christians. Those, then, who were found in the time of his rage, and who reaped the fruit of patience, and were crowned in the triumphant contest against the works of the devil, received the repose of incorruption.

And the fame of the teaching of John was spread abroad in Rome; and it came to the ears of Domitian that there was a certain Hebrew in Ephesus, John by name, who spread a report about the seat of empire of the Romans, saying that it would quickly be rooted out, and that the kingdom of the Romans would be given over to another. And Domitian, troubled by what was said, sent a centurion with soldiers to seize John, and bring him. And having gone to Ephesus, they asked where John 54ed. And having come up to his gate, they found him standing before the door; and, thinking that he was the porter, they inquired of him where John 54ed. And he answered and said: I am he. And they, despising his common, and low, and poor appearance, were filled with threats, and said: Tell us the truth. And when he declared again that he was the man they sought, the neighbours moreover bearing witness to it, they said that he was to go with them at once to the king in Rome. And, urging them to take provisions for the journey, he turned and took a few dates, and straightway went forth.

And the soldiers, having taken the public conveyances, travelled fast, having seated him in the midst of them. And when they came to the first change, it being the hour of breakfast, they entreated him to be of good courage, and to take bread, and eat with them. And John said: I rejoice in soul indeed, but in the meantime I do not wish to take any food. And they started, and were carried along quickly. And when it was evening they stopped at a certain inn; and as, besides, it was the hour of supper, the centurion and the soldiers being most kindly disposed, entreated John to make use of what was set before them. But he said that he was very tired, and in want of sleep more than any food. And as he did this each day, all the soldiers were struck with amazement, and were afraid lest John should die, and involve them in danger. But the Holy Spirit showed him to them as more cheerful. And on the seventh day, it being the Lord's day, he said to them: Now it is time for me also to partake of food. And having washed his hands and face, he prayed, and brought out the linen cloth, and took one of the dates, and ate it in the sight of all.

And when they had ridden a long time they came to the end of their journey, John thus fasting. And they brought him before the king, and said: Worshipful king, we bring to thee John, a god, not a man; for, from the hour in which we apprehended him, to the present, he has not tasted bread. At this Domitian being amazed, stretched out his mouth on account of the wonder, wishing to salute him with a kiss; but John bent down his head, and kissed his breast. And Domitian said: Why hast thou done this? Didst thou not think me worthy to kiss thee? And John said to him: It is right to adore the hand of God first of all, and in this way to kiss the mouth of the king; for it is written in the holy books, The heart of a king is in the hand of God. [2437]

And the king said to him: Art thou John, who said that my kingdom would speedily be uprooted, and that another king, Jesus, was going to reign instead of me? And John answered and said to him: Thou also shalt reign for many years given thee by God, and after thee very many others; and when the times of the things upon earth have been fulfilled, out of heaven shall come a King, eternal, true, Judge of living and dead, to whom every nation and tribe shall confess, through whom every earthly power and dominion shall be brought to nothing, and every mouth speaking great things shall be shut. This is the mighty Lord and King of everything that hath breath and flesh, [2438] the Word and Son of the living One, who is Jesus Christ.

At this Domitian said to him: What is the proof of these things? I am not persuaded by words only; words are a sight of the unseen. [2439] What canst thou show in earth or heaven by the power of him who is destined to reign, as thou sayest? For he will do it, if he is the Son of God. And immediately John asked for a deadly poison. And the king having ordered poison to be given to him, they brought it on the instant. John therefore, having taken it, put it into a large cup, and filled it with water, and mixed it, and cried out with a loud voice, and said: In Thy name, Jesus Christ, Son of God, I drink the cup which Thou wilt sweeten; and the poison in it do Thou mingle with Thy Holy Spirit, and make it become a draught of life and salvation, for the healing of soul and body, for digestion and harmless assimilation, for faith not to be repented of, for an undeniable testimony of death as the cup of thanksgiving. [2440] And when he had drunk the cup, those standing beside Domitian expected that he was going to fall to the ground in convulsions. And when John stood, cheerful, and talked with them safe, Domitian was enraged against those who had given the poison, as having spared John. But they swore by the fortune and health of the king, and said that there could not be a stronger poison than this. And John, understanding what they were whispering to one another, said to the king: Do not take it ill, O king, but let a trial be made, [2441] and thou shalt learn the power of the poison. Make some condemned criminal be brought from the prison. And when he had come, John put water into the cup, and swirled it round, and gave it with all the dregs to the condemned criminal. And he, having taken it and drunk, immediately fell down and died.

And when all wondered at the signs that had been done, and when Domitian had retired and gone to his palace, John said to him: O Domitian, king of the Romans, didst thou contrive this, that, thou being present and bearing witness, I might to-day become a murderer? What is to be done about the dead body which is lying? And he ordered it to be taken and thrown away. But John, going up to the dead body, said: O God, Maker of the heavens, Lord and Master of angels, of glories, of powers, in the name of Jesus Christ, Thine only begotten Son, give to this man who has died for this occasion a renewal of life, and restore him his soul, that Domitian may learn that the Word is much more powerful than poison, and is the ruler of life. And having taken him by the hand, he raised him up alive.

And when all were glorifying God, and wondering at the faith of John, Domitian said to him: I have put forth a decree of the senate, that all such persons should be summarily dealt with, without trial; but since I find from thee that they are innocent, and that their religion is rather beneficial, I banish thee to an island, that I may not seem myself to do away with my own decrees. He asked then that the condemned criminal should be let go; and when he was let go, John said: Depart, give thanks to God, who has this day delivered thee from prison and from death.

And while they were standing, a certain home-born slave of Domitian's, of those in the bed-chamber, was suddenly seized by the unclean demon, and lay dead; and word was brought to the king. And the king was moved, and entreated John to help her. And John said: It is not in man to do this; but since thou knowest how to reign, but dost not know from whom thou hast received it, learn who has the power over both thee and thy kingdom. And he prayed thus: O Lord, the God of every kingdom, and master of every creature, give to this maiden the breath of life. And having prayed, he raised her up. And Domitian, astonished at all the wonders, sent him away to an island, appointing for him a set time.

And straightway John sailed to Patmos, where also he was deemed worthy to see the revelation of the end. And when Domitian was dead, Nerva succeeded to the kingdom, and recalled all who had been banished; and having kept the kingdom for a year, he made Trajan his successor in the kingdom. And when he was king over the Romans, John went to Ephesus, and regulated all the teaching of the church, holding many conferences, and reminding them of what the Lord had said to them, and what duty he had assigned to each. And when he was old and changed, he ordered Polycarp to be bishop over the church.

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And what like his end was, or his departure from men, who cannot give an account of? For on the following day, which was the Lord's day, and in the presence of the brethren, he began to say to them: Brethren, and fellow-servants, and co-heirs, and copartners of the kingdom of the Lord, know the Lord what miracles He hath shown you through me, what wonders, what cures, what signs, what gracious gifts, teachings, rulings, rests, services, glories, graces, gifts, faiths, communions; how many things you have seen with your eyes, that ear hath not heard. Be strong, therefore, in Him, remembering Him in all your doings, knowing the mystery of the dispensation that has come to men, for the sake of which the Lord has worked. He then, through me, exhorts you: Brethren, I wish to remain without grief, without insult, without treachery, without punishment. For He also knows insult from you, He knows also dishonour, He knows also treachery, He knows also punishment from those that disobey His commandments. Let not therefore our God be grieved, the good, the compassionate, the merciful, the holy, the pure, the undefiled, the only, the one, the immutable, the sincere, the guileless, the slow to anger, He that is higher and more exalted than every name that we speak or think of—our God, Jesus Christ. Let Him rejoice along with us because we conduct ourselves well; let Him be glad because we live in purity; let Him rest because we behave reverently; let Him be pleased because we live in fellowship; let Him smile because we are sober-minded; let Him be delighted because we love. These things, brethren, I communicate to you, pressing on to the work set before me, already perfected for me by the Lord. For what else have I to say to you? Keep the sureties of your God; keep His presence, that shall not be taken away from you. And if then ye sin no more, He will forgive you what ye have done in ignorance; but if, after ye have known Him, and He has had compassion upon you, you return to the like courses, even your former offences will be laid to your charge, and ye shall have no portion or compassion before His face. [2442]

And when he had said this to them, he thus prayed: Jesus, who didst wreathe this crown by Thy twining, who hast inserted these many flowers into the everlasting flower of Thy countenance, who hast sown these words among them, be Thou Thyself the protector and healer of Thy people. Thou alone art benignant and not haughty, alone merciful and kind, alone a Saviour, and just; Thou who always seest what belongs to all, and art in all, and everywhere present, God Lord Jesus Christ; who with Thy gifts and Thy compassion coverest those that hope in Thee; who knowest intimately those that everywhere speak against us, and blaspheme Thy holy name, do Thou alone, O Lord, help Thy servants with Thy watchful care. So be it, Lord.

And having asked bread, he gave thanks thus, saying: What praise, or what sort of offering, or what thanksgiving, shall we, breaking the bread, invoke, but Thee only? We glorify the name by which Thou hast been called by the Father; we glorify the name by which Thou hast been called through the Son; we glorify the resurrection which has been manifested to us through Thee; of Thee we glorify the seed, [2443] the word, the grace, the true pearl, the treasure, the plough, the net, [2444] the majesty, the diadem, Him called Son of man for our sakes, the truth, the rest, the knowledge, the freedom, the place of refuge in Thee. For Thou alone art Lord, the root of immortality, and the fountain of incorruption, and the seat of the ages; Thou who hast been called all these for our sakes, that now we, calling upon Thee through these, may recognise Thine illimitable majesty, presented to us by Thy presence, that can be seen only by the pure, seen in Thine only Son.

And having broken the bread, he gave it to us, praying for each of the brethren, that he might be worthy of the Eucharist of the Lord. He also therefore, having likewise tasted it, said: To me also let there be a portion with you, and peace, O beloved. And having thus spoken, and confirmed the brethren, he said to Eutyches, also named Verus: Behold, I appoint thee a minister [2445] of the Church of Christ, and I entrust to thee the flock of Christ. Be mindful, therefore, of the commandments of the Lord; and if thou shouldst fall into trials or dangers, be not afraid: for thou shalt fall under many troubles, and thou shalt be shown to be an eminent witness [2446] of the Lord. Thus, then, Verus, attend to the flock as a servant of God, until the time appointed for thy testimony.

And when John had spoken this, and more than this, having entrusted to him the flock of Christ, he says to him: Take some brethren, with baskets and vessels, and follow me. And Eutyches, without considering, [2447] did what he was bid. And the blessed John having gone forth from the house, went outside of the gates, having told the multitude to stand off from him. And having come to the tomb of one of our brethren, he told them to dig. And they dug. And he says: Let the trench be deeper. And as they dug, he conversed with those who had come out of the house with him, building them up, and furnishing them thoroughly into the majesty of the Lord. And when the young men had finished the trench, as he had wished, while we knew [2448] nothing, he takes off the clothes he had on, and throws them, as if they were some bedding, into the depth of the trench; and, standing in only his drawers, [2449] stretched forth his hands, and prayed.

O God, who hast chosen us for the mission [2450] of the Gentiles, who hast sent us out into the world, who hast declared Thyself through the apostles; who hast never rested, but always savest from the foundation of the world; who hast made Thyself known through all nature; who hast made our wild and savage nature quiet and peaceable; who hast given Thyself to it when thirsting after knowledge; [2451] who hast put to death its adversary, when it took refuge in Thee; who hast given it Thy hand, and raised it from the things done in Hades; who hast shown it its own enemy; who hast in purity turned its thoughts upon Thee, O Christ Jesus, Lord of things in heaven, and law of things on earth, the course of things aerial, and guardian of things etherial, the fear of those under the earth, and grace of Thine own people, receive also the soul of Thy John, which has been certainly deemed worthy by Thee, Thou who hast preserved me also till the present hour pure to Thyself, and free from intercourse with woman; who, when I wished in my youth to marry, didst appear to me, and say, I am in need of thee, John; who didst strengthen for me beforehand my bodily weakness; who, when a third time I wished to marry, didst say to me at the third hour, in the sea, John, if thou wert not mine, I would let thee marry; who hast opened up the sight of my mind, and hast favoured my bodily [2452] eyes; who, when I was looking about me, didst call even the gazing upon a woman hateful; who didst deliver me from temporary show, and preserve me for that which endureth for ever; who didst separate me from the filthy madness of the flesh; who didst stop up [2453] the secret disease of the soul, and cut out its open actions; who didst afflict and banish him who rebelled in me; who didst establish my love to Thee spotless and unimpaired; who didst give me undoubting faith in Thee; who hast drawn out for me pure thoughts towards Thee; who hast given me the due reward of my works; who hast set it in my soul to have no other possession than Thee alone: for what is more precious than Thou? Now, O Lord, when I have accomplished Thy stewardship with which I was entrusted, make me worthy of Thy repose, having wrought that which is perfect in Thee, which is ineffable salvation. And as I go to Thee, let the fire withdraw, let darkness be overcome, let the furnace be slackened, let Gehenna be extinguished, let the angels follow, let the demons be afraid, let the princes be broken in pieces, let the powers of darkness fall, let the places on the right hand stand firm, let those on the left abide not, let the devil be muzzled, let Satan be laughed to scorn, let his madness be tamed, let his wrath be broken, let his children be trodden under foot, and let all his root be uprooted; and grant to me to accomplish the journey to Thee, not insulted, not despitefully treated, and to receive what Thou hast promised to those that live in purity, and that have loved a holy life.

And gazing towards heaven, he glorified God; and having sealed himself altogether, he stood and said to us, Peace and grace be with you, brethren! and sent the brethren away. And when they went on the morrow they did not find him, but his sandals, and a fountain welling up. And after that they remembered what had been said to Peter by the Lord about him: For what does it concern thee if I should wish him to remain until I come? [2454] And they glorified God for the miracle that had happened. And having thus believed, they retired praising and blessing the benignant God; because to Him is due glory now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

THE ACTS AND MARTYRDOM OF MATTHEW THE APOSTLE

Text in Bonnet, Acta apostolorum apocrypha II. 1 (1898), 217ff.; summary in ANT, 460ff.
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(The Acts and Martyrdom of Matthew the Apostle and the Acts of Andrew and Matthias are similar, but not identical. We do not know which text came first. Both manuscripts are extant in Greek and Latin, but the Greek Manuscripts at some points differ greatly.

While Matthew is praying Jesus appears in the form of a child and sends him to the city of the man-eaters, bidding him to plant a staff at the gate of the church which he (Matthew) and Andrew founded. He is met by the queen, her son and daughter-in-law, all possessed by demons, whom Matthew expels. The bishop and clergy come to meet him, and Matthew preaches and plants the staff. The king at first is pleased, but later turns against Matthew and seeks to burn him to death. The fire, however, melts the images of gold and silver instead, destroys many soldiers, and forces the king to seek Matthew's help. Matthew rebukes the fire, prays, and gives up the ghost.

The body is carried in state to the palace, and there Matthew is seen to ascend to heaven, where he is crowned by the child. The king has the body sunk in the sea in an iron coffin sealed with lead. At dawn the bishop is bidden by a voice to celebrate the Eucharist, and Matthew appears between two men in bright apparel, with the child before them. The king repents and is baptised by the bishop, and then the apostle appears and ordains him a priest. On Matthew's departure a voice promises peace and safety to the city.)

Test:

About that time Matthew, the holy apostle and evangelist of Christ, was abiding in the mountain resting, and praying in his tunic and apostolic robes without sandals; and, behold, Jesus came to Matthew in the likeness of the infants who sing in paradise, and said to him: Peace to you, Matthew! And Matthew having gazed upon Him, and not known who He was, said: Grace to you, and peace, O child highly favoured! And why have you come hither to me, having left those who sing in paradise, and the delights there? Because here the place is desert; and what sort of a table I shall lay for you, O child, I know not, because I have no bread nor oil in a jar. Moreover, even the winds are at rest, so as not to cast down from the trees to the ground anything for food; because, for the accomplishing of my fast of forty days, I, partaking only of the fruits falling by the movement of the winds, am glorifying my Jesus. Now, therefore, what shall I bring you, beautiful boy? There is not even water near, that I may wash your feet.

And the child said: Why do you say, O Matthew? Understand and know that good discourse is better than a calf, and words of meekness better than every herb of the field, and a sweet saying as the perfume of love, and cheerfulness of countenance better than feeding, and a pleasant look is as the appearance of sweetness. Understand, Matthew, and know that I am paradise, that I am the comforter, I am the power of the powers above, I the strength of those that restrain themselves, I the crown of the virgins, I the self-control of the once married, I the boast of the widowed, I the defence of the infants, I the foundation of the Church, I the kingdom of the bishops, I the glory of the presbyters, I the praise of the deacons. Be a man, and be strong, Matthew, in, these words.

And Matthew said: The sight of you hast altogether delighted me, O child; moreover also, your words are full of life. For assuredly your face shines more than the lightning, and your words are altogether most sweet. And that indeed I saw you in paradise when you sang with the other infants who were killed in Bethlehem, I know right well; but how you have suddenly come hither, this altogether astonishes me. But I shall ask you one thing, O child: that impious Herod, where is he? The child says to him: Since you have asked, hear his dwelling-place. He dwells, indeed, in Hades; and there has been prepared for him fire unquenchable, Gehenna without end, bubbling mire, worm that sleeps not, because he cut off three thousand infants, wishing to slay the child Jesus, the ancient of the ages; but of all these ages I am father. Now therefore, O Matthew, take this rod of mine, and go down from the mountain, and go into Myrna, the city of the man-eaters, and plant it by the gate of the church which you and Andrew founded; and as soon as you have planted it, it shall be a tree, great and lofty and with many branches, and its branches shall extend to thirty cubits, and of each single branch the fruit shall be different both to the sight and the eating, Revelation 22:2 and from the top of the tree shall flow down much honey; and from its root there shall come forth a great fountain, giving drink to this country round about, and in it creatures that swim and creep; and in it the man-eaters shall wash themselves, and eat of the fruit of the trees of the vine and of the honey; and their bodies shall be changed, and their forms shall be altered so as to be like those of other men; and they shall be ashamed of the nakedness of their body, and they shall put on clothing of the rams of the sheep, and they shall no longer eat unclean things; and there shall be to them fire in superabundance, preparing the sacrifices for offerings, and they shall bake their bread with fire; and they shall see each other in the likeness of the rest of men, and they shall acknowledge me, and glorify my Father who is in the heavens. Now therefore make haste, Matthew, and go down hence, because the departure from your body through fire is at hand, and the crown of your endurance.

And the child having said this, and given him the rod, was taken up into the heavens. And Matthew went down from the mountain, hastening to the city. And as he was about to enter into the city, there met him Fulvana the wife of the king, and his son Fulvanus and his wife Erva, who were possessed by an unclean spirit, and cried out shouting: Who has brought you here again, Matthew? Or who has given you the rod for our destruction? For we see also the child Jesus, the Son of God, who is with you. Do not go then, O Matthew, to plant the rod for the food, and for the transformation of the man-eaters: for I have found what I shall do to you. For since you drove me out of this city, and prevent me from fulfilling my wishes among the man-eaters, behold, I will raise up against you the king of this city, and he will burn you alive. And Matthew, having laid his hands on each one of the demoniacs, put the demons to flight, and made the people whole; and they followed him.

And thus the affair being made manifest, Plato the bishop, having heard of the presence of the holy Apostle Matthew, met him with all the clergy; and having fallen to the ground,

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they kissed his feet. And Matthew raised them, and went with them into the church, and the child Jesus was also with him. And Matthew, having come to the gate of the church, stood upon a certain lofty and immoveable stone; and when the whole city ran together, especially the brethren who had believed, began to say: Men and women who appear in our sight, heretofore believing in the universe, but now knowing Him who has upheld and made the universe; until now worshipping the Satyr, and mocked by ten thousand false gods, but now through Jesus Christ acknowledging the one and only God, Lord, Judge; who have laid aside the immeasurable greatness of evil, and put on love, which is of like nature with affectionateness, towards men; once strangers to Christ, but now confessing Him Lord and God; formerly without form, but now transformed through Christ;— behold, the staff which you see in my hand, which Jesus, in whom you have believed and will believe, gave me; perceive now what comes to pass through me, and acknowledge the riches of the greatness which He will this day make for you. For, behold, I shall plant this rod in this place, and it shall be a sign to your generations, and it shall become a tree, great and lofty and flourishing, and its fruit beautiful to the view and good to the sight; and the fragrance of perfumes shall come forth from it, and there shall be a vine twining round it, full of clusters; and from the top of it honey coming down, and every flying creature shall find covert in its branches; and a fountain of water shall come forth from the root of it, having swimming and creeping things, giving drink to all the country round about.

And having said this, and called upon the name of the Lord Jesus, he fixed his rod in the ground, and straightway it sprung up to one cubit; and the sight was strange and wonderful. For the rod having straightway shot up, increased in size, and grew into a great tree, as Matthew had said. And the apostle said: Go into the fountain and wash your bodies in it, and then thus partake both of the fruits of the tree, and of the vine and the honey, and drink of the fountain, and you shall be transformed in your likeness to that of men; and after that, having gone into the church, you will clearly recognise that you have believed in the living and true God. And having done all these things, they saw themselves changed into the likeness of Matthew; then, having thus gone into the church, they worshipped and glorified God. And when they had been changed, they knew that they were naked; and they ran in haste each to his own house to cover their nakedness, because they were ashamed.

And Matthew and Plato remained in the church spending the night, and glorifying God. And there remained also the king's wife, and his son and his wife, and they prayed the apostle to give them the seal in Christ. And Matthew gave orders to Plato; and he, having gone forth, baptised them in the water of the fountain of the tree, in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. And so thereafter, having gone into the church, they communicated in the holy mysteries of Christ; and they exulted and passed the night, they also along with the apostle, many others having also come with them; and all in the church sang the whole night, glorifying God.

And when the dawn had fully come, the blessed Matthew, having gone along with the bishop Plato, stood in the place in which the rod had been planted, and he sees the rod grown into a great tree, and near it a vine twined round it, and honey coming down from above even to its root; and that tree was at once beautiful and flourishing, like the plants in paradise, and a river proceeded from its root watering all the land of the city of Myrna. And all ran together, and ate of the fruit of the tree and the vine, just as any one wished.

And when what had come to pass was reported in the palace, the king Fulvanus, having learned what had been done by Matthew about his wife, and his son, and his daughter-in-law, rejoiced for a time at their purification; but seeing that they were inseparable from Matthew, he was seized with rage and anger, and endeavoured to put him to death by fire. And on that night in which the king intended to lay hands on Matthew, Matthew saw Jesus saying to him: I am with you always to save you, Matthew; be strong, and be a man.

And the blessed Matthew, having awoke, and sealed himself over all the body, rose up at dawn, and proceeded into the church; and having bent his knees, prayed earnestly. Then the bishop having come, and the clergy, they stood in common in prayer, glorifying God. And after they had ended the prayer, the bishop Plato said: Peace to you, Matthew, apostle of Christ! And the blessed Matthew said to him: Peace to you! And when they had sat down, the apostle said to the bishop Plato, and to all the clergy: I wish you, children, to know, Jesus having declared it to me, that the king of this city is going to send soldiers against me, the devil having entered into him, and manifestly armed him against us. But let us give ourselves up to Jesus, and He will deliver us from every trial, and all who have believed in Him.

And the king, plotting against the blessed Matthew how he should lay hands on him, and seeing also that the believers were very many, was very much at fault, and was in great difficulty.

Therefore the wicked and unclean devil who had come forth from the king's wife, and his son, and his daughter-in-law, put to flight by Matthew, having transformed himself into the likeness of a soldier, stood before the king, and said to him: O king, why are you thus put to the worse by this stranger and sorcerer? Do you not know that he was a publican, but now he has been called an apostle by Jesus, who was crucified by the Jews? For, behold, your wife, and your son, and your daughter-in-law, instructed by him, have believed in him, and along with him sing in the church. And now, behold, Matthew is going forth, and Plato with him, and they are going to the gate called Heavy; but make haste, and you will find them, and you shall do to him all that may be pleasing in your eyes.

The king having heard this, and being the more exasperated by the pretended soldier, sent against the blessed Matthew four soldiers, having threatened them, and said: Unless you bring Matthew to me, I shall burn you alive with fire; and the punishment which he is to undergo, you shall endure. And the soldiers, having been thus threatened by the king, go in arms to where the Apostle Matthew and the bishop Plato are. And when they came near them, they heard their speaking indeed, but saw no one. And having come, they said to the king: We pray you, O king, we went and found no one, but only heard the voices of persons talking. And the king, being enraged, and having blazed up like fire, gave orders to send other ten soldiers— man-eaters— saying to them: Go stealthily to the place, and tear them in pieces alive, and eat up Matthew, and Plato, who is with him. And when they were about to come near the blessed Matthew, the Lord Jesus Christ, having come in the likeness of a most beautiful boy, holding a torch of fire, ran to meet them, burning out their eyes. And they, having cried out and thrown their arms from them, fled, and came to the king, being speechless.

And the demon who had before appeared to the king in the form of a soldier, being again transformed into the form of a soldier, stood before the king, and said to him: You see, O king, this stranger has bewitched them all. Learn, then, how you shall take him. The king says to him: Tell me first wherein his strength is, that I may know, and then I will draw up against him with a great force. And the demon, compelled by an angel, says to the king: Since you wish to hear accurately about him, O king, I will tell you all the truth. Really, unless he shall be willing to be taken by you of his own accord, you labour in vain, and you will not be able to hurt him; but if you wish to lay hands on him, you will be struck by him with blindness, and you will be paralyzed. And if you send a multitude of soldiers against him, they also will be struck with blindness, and will be paralyzed. And we shall go, even seven unclean demons, and immediately make away with you and your whole camp, and destroy all the city with lightning, except those naming that awful and holy name of Christ; for wherever a footstep of theirs has come, thence, pursued, we flee. And even if you shall apply fire to him, to him the fire will be dew; and if you shall shut him up in a furnace, to him the furnace will be a church; and if you shall put him in chains in prison, and seal up the floors, the doors will open to him of their own accord, and all who believe in that name will go in, even they, and say, This prison is a church of the living God, and a holy habitation of those that live alone. Behold, O king, I have told you all the truth. The king therefore says to the pretended soldier: Since I do not know Matthew, come with me, and point him out to me from a distance, and take from me gold, as much as you may wish, or go yourself, and with your sword kill him, and Plato his associate. The demon says to him: I cannot kill him. I dare not even look into his face, seeing that he has destroyed all our generation through the name of Christ, proclaimed through him.

The king says to him: And who are you? And he says: I am the demon who dwelt in your wife, and in your son, and in your daughter-in-law; and my name is Asmodæus; and this Matthew drove me out of them. And now, behold, your wife, and your son, and your daughter-in-law sing along with him in the church. And I know, O king, that you also after this wilt believe in him. The king says to him: Whoever you are, spirit of many shapes, I adjure you by the God whom he whom you call Matthew proclaims, depart hence without doing hurt to any one. And straightway the demon, no longer like a soldier, but like smoke, became invisible; and as he fled he cried out: O secret name, armed against us, I pray you, Matthew, servant of the holy God, pardon me, and I will no longer remain in this city. Keep your own; but I go away into the fire everlasting.

Then the king, affected with great fear at the answer of the demon, remained quiet that day. And the night having come, and he not being able to sleep because he was hungry, leaped up at dawn, and went into the church, with only two soldiers without arms, to take Matthew by craft, that he might kill him. And having summoned two friends of Matthew, he said to them: Show to Matthew, says he, that I wish to be his disciple. And Matthew hearing, and knowing the craft of the tyrant, and having been warned also by the vision of the Lord to him, went forth out of the church, led by the hand by Plato, and stood in the gate of the church.

And they say to the king: Behold Matthew in the gate! And he says: Who he is, or where he is, I see not. And they said to him: Behold, he is in sight of you. And he says: All the while I see nobody. For he had been blinded by the power of God. And he began to cry out: Woe to me, miserable! What evil has come upon me, for my eyes have been blinded, and all my limbs paralyzed? O Asmodæus Beelzebul Satan! All that you have said to me has come upon me. But I pray you, Matthew, servant of God, forgive me as the herald of the good God; for assuredly the Jesus proclaimed by you three days ago through the night appeared to me altogether resplendent as with lightning, like a beautiful young man, and said to me, Since you are entertaining evil counsels in the wickedness of your heart in regard to my servant Matthew, know I have disclosed to him that through you will be the release of his body. And straightway I saw him going up into heaven. If therefore he is your God, and if he wishes your body to be buried in our city for a testimony of the salvation of the generations after this, and for the banishing of the demons, I shall know the truth for myself by this, by you laying on hands upon me, and I shall receive my sight. And the apostle having laid his hands upon his eyes, and saying Ephphatha, Jesus, he made him receive his sight instantly.

And straightway the king, laying hold of the apostle, and leading him by the right hand, brought him by craft into the palace; and Plato was on Matthew's left hand, going along with him, and keeping hold of him. Then Matthew says: O crafty tyrant, how long do you not fulfil the works of your father the devil? And he was enraged at what had been said; for he perceived that he would inflict upon him a more bitter death. For he resolved to put him to death by fire. And he commanded several executioners to come, and to lead him away to the place by the seashore, where the execution of malefactors was wont to take place, saying to the executioners: I hear, says he, that the God whom he proclaims delivers from fire those who believe in him. Having laid him, therefore, on the ground on his back, and stretched him out, pierce his hands and feet with iron nails, and cover him over with paper, having smeared it with dolphins' oil, and cover him up with brimstone and asphalt and pitch, and put tow and brushwood above. Thus apply the fire to him; and if any of the same tribe with him rise up against you, he shall get the same punishment.

And the apostle exhorted the brethren to remain undismayed, and that they should rejoice, and accompany him with great meekness, singing and praising God, because they were deemed worthy to have the relics of the apostle. Having therefore come to the place, the executioners, like most evil wild beasts, pinned down to the ground Matthew's hands and feet with long nails; and having done everything as they had been bid, applied the fire. And they indeed laboured closely, kindling it all round; but all the fire was changed into dew, so that the brethren, rejoicing, cried out: The only God is the Christians', who assists Matthew, in whom also we have believed: the only God is the Christians', who preserves His own apostle in the fire. And by the voice the city was shaken. And some of the executioners, having gone forth, said to the king: We indeed, O king, by every contrivance of vengeance, have kindled the fire; but the sorcerer by a certain name puts it out, calling upon Christ, and invoking his cross; and the Christians surrounding him play with the fire, and walking in it with naked feet, laugh at us, and we have fled ashamed.

Then he ordered a multitude to carry coals of fire from the furnace of the bath in the palace, and the twelve gods of gold and silver; and place them, says he, in a circle round the sorcerer, lest he may even somehow bewitch the fire from the furnace of the palace. And there being many executioners and soldiers, some carried the coals; and others, bearing the gods, brought them. And the king accompanied them, watching lest any of the Christians should steal one of his gods, or bewitch the fire. And when they came near the place where the apostle was nailed down, his face was looking towards heaven, and all his body was covered over with the paper, and much brushwood over his body to the height of ten cubits. And having ordered the soldiers to set the gods in a circle round Matthew, five cubits off, securely fastened that they might not fall, again he ordered the coal to be thrown on, and to kindle the fire at all points.

And Matthew, having looked up to heaven, cried out, Adonai eloi sabaoth marmari marmunth; that is, O God the Father, O Lord Jesus Christ, deliver me, and burn down their gods which they worship; and let the fire also pursue the king even to his palace, but not to his destruction: for perhaps he will repent and be converted. And when he saw the fire to be monstrous in height, the king, thinking that Matthew was burnt up, laughed aloud, and said: Has your magic been of any avail to you, Matthew? Can your Jesus now give you any help?

And as he said this a dreadful wonder appeared; for all the fire along with the wood went away from Matthew, and was poured round about their gods, so that nothing of the gold or the silver was any more seen; and the king fled, and said: Woe's me, that my gods are destroyed by the rebuke of Matthew, of which the weight was a thousand talents of gold

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and a thousand talents of silver. Better are the gods of stone and of earthenware, in that they are neither melted nor stolen.

And when the fire had thus utterly destroyed their gods, and burnt up many soldiers, there came to pass again another stranger wonder. For the fire, in the likeness of a great and dreadful dragon, chased the tyrant as far as the palace, and ran here and there round the king, not letting him go into the palace. And the king, chased by the fire, and not allowed to go into his palace, turned back to where Matthew was, and cried out, saying: I beseech you, whoever you are, O man, whether magician or sorcerer or god, or angel of God, whom so great a pyre has not touched, remove from me this dreadful and fiery dragon; forget the evil I have done, as also when you made me receive my sight. And Matthew, having rebuked the fire, and the flames having been extinguished, and the dragon having become invisible, stretching his eyes to heaven, and praying in Hebrew, and commending his spirit to the Lord, said: Peace to you! And having glorified the Lord, he went to his rest about the sixth hour.

Then the king, having ordered more soldiers to come, and the bed to be brought from the palace, which had a great show of gold, he ordered the apostle to be laid on it, and carried to the palace. And the body of the apostle was lying as if in sleep, and his robe and his tunic unstained by the fire; and sometimes they saw him on the bed, and sometimes following, and sometimes going before the bed, and with his right hand put upon Plato's head, and singing along with the multitude, so that both the king and the soldiers, with the crowd, were struck with astonishment. And many diseased persons and demoniacs, having only touched the bed, were made sound; and as many as were savage in appearance, in that same hour were changed into the likeness of other men.

And as the bed was going into the palace, we all saw Matthew rising up, as it were, from the bed, and going into heaven, led by the hand by a beautiful boy; and twelve men in shining garments came to meet him, having never-fading and golden crowns on their head; and we saw how that child crowned Matthew, so as to be like them, and in a flash of lightning they went away to heaven.

And the king stood at the gate of the palace, and ordered that no one should come in but the soldiers carrying the bed. And having shut the doors, he ordered an iron coffin to be made, put the body of Matthew into it, and sealed it up with lead; through the eastern gate of the palace at midnight put it into a boat, no one knowing of it, and threw it into the deep part of the sea.

And through the whole night the brethren remained before the gate of the palace, spending the night, and singing; and when the dawn rose there was a voice: O bishop Plato, carry the Gospel and the Psalter of David; go along with the multitude of the brethren to the east of the palace, and sing the Alleluia, and read the Gospel, and bring as an offering the holy bread; and having pressed three clusters from the vine into a cup, communicate with me, as the Lord Jesus showed us how to offer up when He rose from the dead on the third day.

And the bishop having run into the church, and taken the Gospel and the Psalter of David, and having assembled the presbyters and the multitude of the brethren, came to the east of the palace at the hour of sunrise; and having ordered the one who was singing to go upon a certain lofty stone, he began to praise in singing of a song to God: Precious in the sight of God is the death of His saints. And again: I laid me down and slept; I arose: because the Lord will sustain me. And they listened to the singing of a song of David: Shall he that is dead not rise again? Now I shall raise him up for myself, says the Lord. And all shouted out the Alleluia. And the bishop read the Gospel, and all cried out: Glory to You, You who has been glorified in heaven and on earth. And so then they offered the gift of the holy offering for Matthew; and having partaken for thanksgiving of the undefiled and life-giving mysteries of Christ, they all glorified God.

And it was about the sixth hour, and Plato sees the sea opposite about seven furlongs off; and, behold, Matthew was standing on the sea, and two men, one on each side, in shining garments, and the beautiful boy in front of them. And all the brethren saw these things, and they heard them saying Amen, Alleluia. And one could see the sea fixed like a stone of crystal, and the beautiful boy in front of them, when out of the depth of the sea a cross came up, and at the end of the cross the coffin going up in which was the body of Matthew; and in the hour of the piercing on the cross, the boy placed the coffin on the ground, behind the palace towards the east, where the bishop had offered the offering for Matthew.

And the king having seen these things from the upper part of the house, and being terror-struck, went forth from the palace, and ran and worshipped towards the east at the coffin, and fell down before the bishop, and the presbyters, and the deacons, in repentance and confession, saying: Truly I believe in the true God, Christ Jesus. I entreat, give me the seal in Christ, and I will give you my palace, in testimony of Matthew, and you shall put the coffin upon my golden bed, in the great dining-room; only, having baptised me in it, communicate to me the Eucharist of Christ. And the bishop having prayed, and ordered him to take off his clothes, and having examined him for a long time, and he having confessed and wept over what he had done, having sealed him, and anointed him with oil, put him down into the sea, in the name of Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost. And when he came up from the water he ordered him to put on himself splendid garments, and so then having given praise and thanks, communicating the holy bread and mixed cup, the bishop first gave them to the king, saying: Let this body of Christ, and this cup, His blood shed for us, be to you for the remission of sins unto life. And a voice was heard from on high: Amen, amen, amen. And when he had thus communicated in fear and joy, the apostle appeared and said: King Fulvanus, your name shall no longer be Fulvanus; but you shall be called Matthew. And you, the son of the king, shall no longer be called Fulvanus, but Matthew also; and you Ziphagia, the wife of the king, shall be called Sophia; and Erva, the wife of your son, shall be called Synesis. And these names of yours shall be written in the heavens, and there shall not fail of your loins from generation to generation. And in that same hour Matthew appointed the king a presbyter, and he was thirty-seven years old; and the king's son he appointed deacon, being seventeen years old; and the king's wife he appointed a presbyteress; and his son's wife he appointed a deaconess, and she also was seventeen years old. And then he thus blessed them, saying: The blessing and the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ shall be with you to time everlasting.

Then the king, having awakened out of sleep, and rejoiced with all his house at the vision of the holy Apostle Matthew, praised God.

And the king, having gone into his palace, broke all the idols to pieces, and gave a decree to those in his kingdom, writing thus: King Matthew, to all those under my kingdom, greeting. Christ having appeared upon earth, and having saved the human race, the so-called gods have been found to be deceivers, and soul-destroyers, and plotters against the human race. Whence, divine grace having shone abroad, and come even to us, and we having come to the knowledge of the deception of the idols, that it is vain and false, it has seemed good to our divinity that there should not be many gods, but one, and one only, the God in the heavens. And you, having received this our decree, keep to the purport of it, and break to pieces and destroy every idol; and if any one shall be detected from this time forth serving idols, or concealing them, let such an one be subjected to punishment by the sword. Farewell all, because we also are well.

And when this order was given out, all, rejoicing and exulting, broke their idols to pieces, crying out and saying: There is one only God, He who is in the heavens, who does good to men.

And after all these things had come to pass, Matthew the apostle of Christ appeared to the bishop Plato, and said to him: Plato, servant of God, and our brother, be it known unto you, that after three years shall be your rest in the Lord, and exultation to ages of ages. And the king himself, whom after my own name I have called Matthew, shall receive the throne of your bishopric, and after him his son. And he, having said Peace to you and all the saints, went to heaven.

And after three years the bishop Plato rested in the Lord. And King Matthew succeeded him, having given up his kingdom willingly to another, whence there was given him grace against unclean demons, and he cured every affliction. And he advanced his son to be a presbyter, and made him second to himself.

And Saint Matthew finished his course in the country of the man-eaters, in the city of Myrna, on the sixteenth of the month of November, our Lord Jesus Christ reigning, to whom be glory and strength, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

THE MARTYRDOM OF MATTHEW

From: The Apocryphal New Testament
Translation: Montague Rhodes James,1924
Estimated Range of Dating: 200 - 400 A.D.

1 The holy Matthew remained alone on the Mount praying, in the apostolic robe, barefoot, and Jesus appeared to him in the form of one of the children that were singing in Paradise.

2 A dialogue.

3 Matthew said: That I saw thee in paradise singing with the other children that were slain at Bethlehem I know; but how thou camest hither so quickly, I marvel. But tell me, where is that ungodly Herod?' He dwelleth in hell, and there is prepared for him fire unquenchable, unending gehenna, boiling mire, the worm that sleepeth not, because he killed 3,000 children.

4 Now take my Staff and go to Myrna the city of the man-eaters, and plant it at the gate of the church which you and Andrew founded. It will become a tree, and a spring will rise at its foot, and the man-eaters will eat of the tree and wash in the spring and their bodies will be changed and they will be ashamed of their nakedness, and use fire to cook their food, and learn to know me.'

5 At the city gate he was met by Phulbana the king's wife, Phulbanos his son and Erba his wife, all possessed by devils - and the devils cried out and threatened Matthew that they would rouse the king against him. He cast them out.

6 The bishop Plato heard and came out to meet him with the clergy. And Matthew preached to the people,

7 and planted the staff. And the people became humanized-

8 He baptised the queen and the rest.

9 At dawn the staff was become a tree.

10 Phulbanus the king was pleased with all this at first, but when they refused to quit Matthew he resolved to burn him.

11 Matthew had a consoling vision, and warned the people of his death.

12 The devil whom he had cast out disguised himself as a soldier and went to the king and advised him to seize Matthew.

13 He sent four soldiers, who could only hear two men talking (Matthew and Plato), and then ten who were routed by seeing a child with a torch.

14 The devil described to the king the difficulty of seizing Matthew and all that he could do. The king said: Take him yourself. l cannot, for he has destroyed all our race.

15 Who, then, are you? said the king. I am the demon Asmodaeus who was in your wife. The king adjured him to depart without harming any one, and he vanished as smoke.

16 That day the king remained quiet, but next day took two soldiers and went to the church and sent for Matthew.

17 He came out with Plato, but the king could not see him. Matthew opened his eyes.

18 The king treacherously led him to the palace. They pinned him hand and foot to the earth and covered him with papyrus soaked in dolphin oil, and poured brimstone, asphalt, and pitch on him, and heaped up tow and wood.

19 And the fire turned to dew, and all the people praised God.

20 Much charcoal from the royal baths was brought, and the twelve gods of gold and silver were set round the fire.

21 Matthew looking up to heaven, cried: Adonai Eloi Sabaoth marmari marmounth. The fire blazed up, and the king said: Where is now your magic? But all the fire blew out about the idols and melted them -whose weight was 1,000 talents of gold. And the king lamented that gods of stone and clay were superior.

22 The fire burnt up many soldiers, and then took the form of a dragon and chased the king to the palace, and curled round so that he could not go in and made him come back to Matthew, crying for help. Matthew rebuked the fire and prayed, and gave up the ghost.

23 The king had him borne in state to the palace. The body and robes were intact, and sometimes he was seen on the bier, sometimes following or preceding it, and laying his hand on Plato's head. And many sick were healed.

24 When they reached the palace Matthew was seen to rise from the bier and ascend to heaven, led by a beautiful child, and twelve men in crowns, and we saw the child crown him. The king had a coffin made of iron and sealed it with lead, and privately put it on a ship at midnight and sank it in the sea.

25 All night the brethren watched at the palace gate, and at dawn a voice came: Plato, take the gospel and the psalter and go to the east of the palace and sing Alleluia, and read the gospel, and offer of the bread and the vine, pressing three clusters into the cup, and communicate with me, as the Lord Jesus showed us the offering that is above, on the third day after he rose. So it was done, and the chanter went up on a great stone and sang: Precious in the sight of the Lord . . . . I slept and rose up again . . . And they answered: Shall not the sleeper awake? . . . Now will I arise, saith the Lord. Alleluia. They read the gospel and made the offering.

26 It was about the sixth hour, and Plato looked out to sea seven stadia away, and lo, Matthew standing on the sea between two men in bright apparel, and the beautiful child before them. And they said Amen, Alleluia. And the sea was to look upon like a crystal stone, and before the Child a cross came up out of the deep, and at the lower end of it the coffin of Matthew: and in a moment it was set on the land where they were.

27 The king beheld all from a window, and came down and fell at their feet and confessed his sin and his belief. He would give them the palace for a sanctuary, and the coffin should be laid on his golden couch in the great hall. Plato baptised and communicated him.

28 The apostle appeared and said: Thy name shall no more be Bulphamnus but Matthew; thy son not Bulphandrus but also Matthew; thy wife Ziphagia, Sophia; and his wife Orba, Synesis. He ordained the king a priest, being 37, his son a deacon, being 17: his wife a priestess (presbytis) and his son's wife a deaconess, being 17.

29 (in one recension only): The king destroyed his idols, and issued a decree establishing the new faith.

30 Matthew bade them offer the offering daily for forty-nine days and repeat it yearly, and told Plato he should join him in three years, and be succeeded by the king, and he by his son. Then with two angels he departed to heaven.

31 And a voice came, promising peace and safety to the city.

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THE ACTS OF PAUL
Greek Version
Montague Rhodes James, 1924.
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 300 A.D.

(This book is about Sha'ul ha-Tarsi, in English Saul of Tarsus [Greek: Saulos Tarseos; Latin: Saulus Tarseus], better known as Paul the Apostle [Latin: Paulus; Greek: Paulos). He was born and raised in Tarsos, southern Anatolia between 10 and 20 AD. He trained as a rabbi [Jewish preacher] but he held Roman citizenship and worked for the Roman government under Emperor Tiberius Claudius Caesar [r. 41–54 AD] and Emperor Nero Claudius Caesar [r. 54–68 AD]. As such, and according to the Book of Acts, Saul persecuted Jews and some of the early disciples of Jesus. In other words, Saul was a Greek Jew who persecuted other Greek Jews. The obvious question is: Why? The only likely answer, according to history, is that there were two different groups of Jews. (1st) There were the law-abiding Jews who viewed themselves as Roman citizens, just like Saul. (2nd) There were the other Jews who supported the Jewish Messianc Movement, those radical fundamentalists that we could find in the Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran: Zealots [Zadokites or Saduccees] and the jihadist Sicarii terrorists. Jesus and his followers, just as anybody else in Judaea and Galilee, were either by choice or by force members of those Messianists because they ruled their communities with an iron rod. However, Jesus and his followers seem to have themselves distanced from those terrorists, and Jesus' peaceful teachings might well reflect this situation.

The question is: Why and how became Saul a follower of Jesus' teachings? For him it could have been a matter of sensible reasoning for he did not like to have his Jewish people and culture annihilated by a Roman state he knew was the most powerful on Earth; he might have well remembered the merciless crush of Mitridates' power. Saul might have embraced Jesus' teachings for exactly these reasons and describes it later as a vision he had have on the way to Damascus. In those days, religion and politics built a unity at all times. There was no free choice. We must remember that.

Saul was in a dilemma, he would like to spread Jesus' idea but he could not take the heavy bulk of hundreds of Jewish laws with it. No Roman would accept over 600 sacred laws and most certainly not the practice of circumcision which was despised among Romans as a kind of castration. Besides that, the uncompromising jihadist mindset of the Messianic Movement made any form of Judaism extremly unpopular among Romans. So Saul had to come up with a new kind of faith that had peacefulness and acceptability as its centrepiece.

And today, with so many canonical as well as non-canonical scripture in our hands, we are able analyse the differences between the teachings of the first Jewish Christians and also that what Saul of Tarsos has made of it. If we just concentrate on the New Testament texts for a moment, we must admit that the four gospels differ from one another in quite some ways, and so do all the other texts inside the canon as well as outside of it.

Now, the question is, which of those sentences and sayings attributed to Jesus really might be authentic? It is acually not difficult to answer this, because when we have eliminated everything in the cononical works as well as in the non-canonical works that does not match, whatever remains, however improbable, must be the original.

We can go even further by stating that most things in the canonical works that do not match with those things we find in the non-canonical works, reflect certain points of view. So the two viewpoints we can see are: (1st) In the canonical works this would be the view of Saul of Tarsos [and consequently the Roman Church]. (2nd) In the non-canonical works this would be the view of Jesus' family and followers [and consequently the communities that evolved from it]. Does that make sense?

We know, from the canonical Book of Acts and also from the non-canonical Homilies and Recognitions written by Titus Flavius Clemens of Rome [Pope Clement I], that Saul of Tarsos [the leader of the non-Jewish Christians] had a fundamental fight with James the brother of Jesus [and leader of the Jewish Christians]. The raw was not about the teachings of Jesus but about Law!

Saul of Tarsos, who called himself now "Paul the Apostle", wanted anyone in his group [including the Jews] to forget about Jewish Law and follow the Roman Law which was defined by the Lex Cornelia [the Law of Cornelius Sulla, in which circumcision was forbidden in the Roman Empire and ousted as "genital mutilation"]. James, on the other side, wanted every Jew [no matter if he was a Christian or not] follow the Law of Moses in which circumcision and kosher food laws were obligatory. Heading towards the general Church meeting [the Council of Jerusalem, held some time between 50 and 60 AD], Paul was recognised as the "Wicked Priest" and the "Man of the Lie" by orthodox Jews of the Messianic Movement and they threatened him so severely that Paul had to call the Roman Police to guard him to a save place. [* The "Wicked Priest", Hebrew: ha-kohen ha-rasha, meaning "Illegitimate Priest," i.e. not of Zadokite lineage, is a typology-based sobriquet used in the Dead Sea Scrolls [four times in the Habakkuk Commentary, 1QpHab] to refer to the contemporary person of Paul the Apostle, the opponent of James the Just, the "Teacher of Righteousness."]. This event marked the end of Christian unity. Paul never met James again and both came to death [probably between 62 and 67 AD] in the events that had to do with the 1st Roman-Jewish War.*

The exact circumstances are not known for sure, they are shrouded in legends.

According to a passage found in Titus Flavius Josephus' records Antiquities, (20,9) "the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ [saviour], whose name was James" met his death after the death of the procurator Porcius Festus but before Lucceius Albinus had assumed office [which has been dated to 62]. The High Priest Hanan ben Hanan (Ananus ben Ananus) took the chance to quickly assemble a Sanhedrin ("a council of judges"), who condemned James "on the charge of breaking the law" [meaning the violent "law" or doctrines of the Messianists], then had him executed by stoning.

After Paul the Apostle was arrested in Jerusalem and rescued from a plot against his life, the local Roman chiliarch Claudius Lysias transferred him to Caesarea Maritima [the Roman capital of Judaea], where he stood trial before Marcus Antonius Felix was the Roman procurator of Judaea from 52 to 60 AD. On at least one further occasion Felix and his wife Drusilla heard Paul discourse, and later on frequently sent for Paul and talked with him (Acts 24:24-26). When Felix was succeeded as procurator, having already detained Paul for two years, he left him imprisoned as a favour to the Messianists who hated Paul as "the Wicked Priest" (Acts 24:27). A short time later Paul was killed, probably by Messianists [Zealots, Saducees / Zadokites or their right-hand-men, the Sicarii].

Since Dr. James's translation (pp. 270 ff.) was made, much more of this book, in the Greek version, has come to light. The largest addition is from the Hamburg papyrus codex, which was published by Carl Schmidt in 1936, and dated by him about 300 AD. In it his previous conclusions, in outline and in detail, are generally confirmed. Here we have eleven fairly well-preserved pages, the first eight of which contain parts of the text which are not to be found in the Coptic manuscript, or are represented there in a very fragmentary state. After this two leaves (four pages) have been lost; when the text of the codex begins again we are well into the Martyrium, which it continues to the end. Most of the text of the eighth page is covered by three other Greek manuscripts; one, an Oxyrhynchus parchment leaf already published (late fourth century), and subsequently identified as belonging to the Acts of Paul; another, a Berlin papyrus, which a fragment at Michigan was found to join (probably end of third century); and a further small fragment from another Michigan papyrus (third or fourth century); most of these overlap, and the verso of the last was finally shown by Professor W. D. McHardy to overlap with, and be continued by the text of a leaf of Schmidt's Coptic manuscript believed by him to belong to another work, and translated separately by James on pp. 31 ff. of this book. The gap between the first eight and the last three pages of the Hamburg codex is thus partly filled and the amount still missing can be calculated. In his work on the

*Greek text Schmidt produces convincing evidence for the debt of its author to the Acts of Peter and on consideration of this would finally date its composition a.d. 180-90. The first page of the Hamburg text shows us Paul at Ephesus defending his cause before the governor, Hieronymus; it must have been preceded by some account of his preaching there and also (as Schmidt shows, from comparison with an Ethiopic Letter of Pelagia where the same material has evidently been used) of a journey previously made by him into the mountains and his meeting there with a huge lion, which at its own request he baptized. We meet the lion later in the story, which is from this point preserved in full; Nicephorus' condensed version of it is translated by James on p. 292, where the position of Paul's sojourn at Ephesus is still undetermined (See also Nicetas of Paphlagonia, * Panegyric on St. Paul', in Orientalia Christiana, xxiii (1931), 58—96.). The new documents show the order of Paul's travels in the latter part of the Acts to have been: Ephesus, Philippi, Corinth, Rome.*

In my translation I have adopted as many of the supplements and interpretations of Schmidt, and also of Kurfess (Ztschr, f. ntl, Wiss, xxxviii. 184 ff.) as seemed to me likely (Cf. the review by Sir Harold Idris Bell in J.T,S, xxxviii (1938), 189-91 of Schmidt's edition of the Hamburg papyrus.). I owe several other suggestions to Prof. G. D. Kilpatrick. For further studies on the Acta Pauli, and smaller fragments of the Greek version, see: Oxyrhynchus Papyri, xiii. 1602; H. A. Saunders, Harvard Theological Review, xxxi. 73 ff.; G. D. Kilpatrick and C. H. Roberts, J.T.iS. xlvii. 196 ff.; W. D. McHardy, Expository Times, Iviii, no. 10, 279.)

Text:

(The governor speaks:)... our (?) gods. Say, then, what are.... Paul said unto him, (Do what thou wilt?); for thou hast no power over me save over my body; thou shalt not kill my soul. But hearken, how thou must be saved, and taking all my (sayings?) to heart... (who?) hath fashioned the (sun?) and the earth and the stars and prineipahties and dominions and all good things in the world be cause of . . . for the use of men . . . they being carried away and enslaved ... by (?) gold . . . and silver and precious stones ... and adulteries and drunkenness. For having considered (?) they went (the ways?) that lead imto deception by reason of the things afore said, and were slain. Now therefore since the Lord will, that we should live in God because of the error in the world, and not die in (our) sins, he saveth through the chaste men who preach, that ye may repent and believe that there is one God and one Jesus Christ and there is none other; for your gods are of brass and stone and wood, being able neither to take food nor see nor hear nor even stand. Take a good resolution and be saved, lest God be wroth and consume ye with fire unquenchable, and your memorial perish.

And when the governor heard these things . . . in the theatre with the multitude he said, Men of Ephesus, that this man hath spoken well, I know; but also that it is not yet time for ye to learn these things. What therefore ye will, determine. Then said some. Burn him by the.... But the goldsmiths said, To the beasts with the man.

And there arose a great tumult; and Hieronymus when he had scourged him condemned him to the beasts. Now the brethren, since it was Pentecost, wept not, neither did they h(yw the knee, but they stood and prayed rejoicing. But after six days Hieronymus made an hunting show, so that all who beheld the greatness of the wild beasts were astonished. While Paul was bound . . . he turned not away from (his purpose? but) he prayed ... (when) he heard the noise of the waggons and the tumult of them that did handle the beasts. And (a lion) came beside the wicket of the stadium wherein Paul was enclosed, and cried out mightily, so that all the people cried. The lion! For he roared fierce and furiously, so that even Paul left off praying, being afraid. And there was a man named Diophantus, a freedman of Hieronymus, whose wife was a

disciple of Paul and sat by him night and day, so that Diophantus was jealous, and was instant for the beast fight. And Artemilla the wife of Hieronymus desired to hear Paul pray; and she said unto the wife of Diophantus, Eubula, (Let us go?) and hear the prayer of him who fighteth with the beasts. And she went and told Paul; and Paul being filled with joy said. Bring her. And she put on sadder raiment, and came away unto him with Eubula. But when Paul saw her, he groaned and said. Woman, thou ruler of this world, thou mistress of much gold, thou citizeness of much luxury, thou proud of thy raiment, sit down upon the ground and forget thy riches, thy beauty and thine ornaments; for these shall avail thee naught, if thou ask (?) not God who accoiinteth the things but dung, which are here marvellous (?), but freely granteth the wondrous things that are yonder. Gold perisheth, riches are consumed, raiment weareth out, beauty groweth old, great cities are changed, and the world is destroyed in fire through the wickedness of men. God only remaineth, and the adoption given through him in which it is necessary to be saved. And now, O Artemilla, hope in God and he shall deliver thee; hope in Christ and he shall give thee forgiveness of sins and shall set upon thee a crown of liberty, that thou mayes no more serve idols and the savour of sacrifice, but a living God nd the father of Christ, whose glory is for ever and ever. Amen.And these things Artemilla having heard with Eubula, she prayed Paul that he would straightway baptise her in God.

And the fight with the wild beasts was (appointed) for the morrow. And Hieronymus heard through Diophantus that the women sat beside Paul night and day, and he was angered not a little with Artemilla and Eubula the freedwoman. And when he had supped, Hieronymus departed the earlier, that he might speedily accomplish the hunting show. But they said unto Paul, Wilt thou that we bring a smith, that thou mayest be loosed and baptize us in the sea? And Paul said unto them, I will it not; for I trust in God, who hath delivered the whole world out of bondage. And Paul cried unto God on the sabbath, as the Lord's day drew nigh, on the day when Paul was to fight with the beasts; and he said, O my God, Christ Jesus, who hast redeemed me out of so many evils, grant that before Artemilla and Eubula, that are thine own, the bonds be rent from off mine hands. And while Paul called witness upon these things, there entered in a youth exceeding fair and comely, and loosed the bonds of Paul, the youth smiling the while, and straightway departed. But because of the vision which befell Paul and the miraculous sign concerning the bonds, his grief at the beast fight vanished and he rejoiced and leapt as if in paradise, and taking Artemilla he went forth from the strait and dark place where the prisoners are guarded. And when they were gone forth unknown to the watchers and were even now in safety, Paul (called to witness?) his own God saying, The (gates are open? . . . bless?) thy dispensation . . . that Artemilla be initiated with the seal in the Lord; and then the locked gates flew open in the name of God . . . the guards were fallen into a deep sleep; and

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straightway came forth the matron and the blessed Paul with (Eubula) . . . the darkness . . . and a young man, like . . . of Paul, lightened not by a lamp (but) by the (sanctity?) of his person, went before them, so that they came nigh unto the sea; and the shining one stood over against (them?) . . . and Paul when he had prayed laid his hand upon Artemilla and blessed the water in the name of Christ Jesus, so that the sea swelled exceedingly; and Artemilla being seized with great fear well nigh swooned; (and Paul cried out?) and said, O thou who lightenest and shinest, help, lest the heathen say that the captive Paul hath fled having slain Artemilla. And again the young man smiled; and the matron came to herself, and journeyed unto the house, as the day was already breaking. But as she (?) entered in, the guards being asleep, he brake bread, and brought water also and gave her to drink with a word, and sent her away to Hieronymus her husband; but he did supplicate. And early in the morning there was an outcry from the citizens. Let us go to the spectacle, let us go and see him that hath God, fighting with the beasts. But Hieronymus himself came thither, both because of the suspicion which he had toward his wife, and also because he (Paul) had not fled; and he bade Diophantus and the other servants bring Paul into the stadium. And he (?) was haled forth, saying naught, but bowed down and groaning, that he was triumphed over by the city; and being led away straightway he was east into the stadium; so that all were vexed at the grave mien of Paul.

And Artemilla together with Eubula falling most perilously sick (with care) lest Paul should perish, Hieronymus was grieved not a little concerning his wife, but also because it was already noised abroad in the city, and he had not his wife with him. When there fore he was seated, the chief huntsman commanded that there be set loose against him a lion taken in hunting but a little while before, very fierce, so that the whole multitude . . . that Paul should be killed . . . but the lion leapt down out of the cage, and did not roar while Paul prayed. Moreover . . . out of the thombrakes . . . and great wonder came upon them all for he was exceedingly great and mighty But Paul (persevered in his?) proper work of prayer to Jesus Christ and rendered witness; and (?) the lion, when he had looked round about him, and fully shewn himself, came running and lay down beside the legs of Paul, like a docile lamb and as it were his servant; and when he had left off praying, even as one that awaketh out of dreams he spake unto Paul in human speech, Grace (?) he with thee. And Paul was not afraid but himself said, Grace be with thee, lion; and he laid his hand upon him. And all the multitude cried out.

Away with the magician, away with the sorcerer. But the lion gazed at Paul and Paul at the lion, and Paul perceived that this was the lion [page 5] which had come and been baptized. And moved by faith Paul said. Lion, was it thou whom I baptized? And the lion answering spake unto Paul, saying. Yea. And again spake Paul unto him, saying. And how wast thou taken in hunting? And the lion spake with one (sic) voice, Even as thou, Paul. And Hieronymus sent in many wild beasts, so that Paul might be destroyed, and against the lion, archers that they might destroy him also; and out of a clear sky a hailstorm very thick and exceeding great did violently hurtle from heaven, so that many perished and all the rest fled. But neither Paul was touched, nor the lion, but the other wild beasts perished because of the hail, which was so heavy that Hieronymus' ear was struck and shorn off; and the multitude fleeing cried out. Save us, God, save us, thou God of the man who hath fought with the wild beasts. And Paul bade farewell to the lion, which spake no more; and he went forth from the stadium, and went down unto the harbour, and entered into the (?) ship bound for Macedonia; for many were they who sailed, (deeming) the city about to perish. Therefore went he with them as one of the fugitives; but the lion departed into the mountains as was his natural wont. Now Artemilla and Eubula mourned not a little, fasting and considering (?) what had befallen Paul. But when it was night there came (a youth?) plainly into the bedchamber where . . . Hieronymus had a running sore from his ear . . . Artemilla by reason of grief . . . (the youth drew near and) said unto them, Be not troubled (concerning Paul?) . . . for in the name of Christ Jesus and in the power of the Almighty, Paul his servant hath departed into Macedonia, there also to fulfil the dispensations of the Lord; but you ... great astonishment possessed them. But Hieronymus even now grown sober in the night in his pains said, O thou God who didst help the man who fought with the beasts, save me through (?) the youth (?) that did come in a vision through the locked bedchamber. And he seeing them in fear and great . . . those who sat by, leaping up (?)... the physicians ... a cry. By the will of Christ Jesus, . . . the ear. And it became whole, as the youth had charged them, (saying). Treat thyself with honey.

[The Greek text, which does not insert the correspondence with the Corinthians here (see above, pp. 288 ff.), has no account of Paul's sojourn at Phiiippi. There is no certainty that it was described in the Coptic either; for there is no ground for the suggested supplement 'to Philippi' on p. 288, at the end of section VI, and the passage which begins VII has been wrongly restored by Schmidt; it belongs to the account of the visit to Corinth, which reads in the Greek as follows:]

From Philippi to Corinth

And when Paul came unto Corinth from Phiiippi unto the house of Epiphanius there was joy; so that all our people rejoiced, and withal wept, when Paul told them what he had suffered in Phiiippi in the houses of labour, and in every place, what befell him, so that finally his tears flowed freely (?), and prayer was made with out ceasing by all for Paul, and he accounted himself happy, that with such likemindedness they ordered his affairs every day in prayer to the Lord; and so the greatness of his joy was unsurpass able and the soul of Paul was exalted by reason of (?) the benevolence of the brethren, so that for forty days he taught the tale of his endurances, (namely), in whatsoever place each thing befell him and what great and wondrous works were vouchsafed unto him; so that at each declaration he did glorify the almighty God and Christ Jesus, who had found Paul well pleasing in every place.

But when the days were fulfilled that Paul should be sent to Rome, there arose grief among the brethren (concerning) when they should see him again. And Paul being filled with the holy spirit said; Men and brethren, be diligent concerning fasting (?) and charity; for behold, I go away into a furnace of fire . . . I, and I prevail not if the Lord afford me not power. For David journeyed with Saul. . . and (though) angered, (spared?) Nabal, being persuaded by the wife of Nabal; for there was with him Christ Jesus, the God (?)... this precious fast.

(Here belong the Coptic fragments translated above, p. 293 (section IX).

The text, now augmented by the Greek, is here retranslated.)

(And the grace of the Lord?) shall walk with (me? that I may fulfil?) every dispensation that shall come upon me ... in patience. But they were sorrowful, and fasted. And Cleobius was in the spirit and said unto them, Brethren, it is necessary that Paul fulfil every dispensation and afterward go up unto the . . . of death . . . and (in?) much instruction and knowledge and sowing of the word; and that he being envied shall depart out of this world. But when the brethren and Paul (?) heard these things they lifted up their voice and said, O God of our Lord, the father of Christ, do thou help Paul thy servant that he may remain with us by reason of our weakness. And Paul was touched with compunction, and put away the fast with them; and as the offering was made by Paul . . . (the bread divided?) of itself into parts . . . (asking?) what this sign might be (that they?) beheld . . . what. . . would say, but to him . . . would not. But the spirit came upon Myrte, so that she said imto them, Brethren, wherefore are ye afraid when ye behold this sign? For Paul the servant of the Lord shall save many in Rome, and shall feed many with the word, so that there shall be no numbering them; and he be manifest more than all the faithful; and thereafter mightily shall the glory of the Lord Christ Jesus come upon him, so that there shall be great grace in Rome. Thus straightway afterward was the spirit in Myrte stilled. And each one partook of the bread and they feasted (Copt, were in joy) after the custom of the fast, to the sound of the psalms of David, and songs; and Paul was glad. And on the morrow, when they had continued all night in the will of God, Paul said. Men and brethren, I shall sail on the day of the preparation, and I depart unto Rome, that I may not stay those things which are commanded and laid upon me; for unto this was I appointed. And they were exceedingly grieved when they heard these words; and all the brethren contributed according to their power, that Paul might be troubled in nothing save in that he was parting from the brethren. Now when he went up into the ship, while they all prayed, Artemon the captain of the ship was one that had been baptised by Paul; and he greeted?) Paul (joyfully?), for that such great matters were entrusted unto him, (as if?) the Lord himself were entering into (the ship). But when the ship had set sail, Artemon partook with Paul in the grace of God to glorify the Lord Christ Jesus who made provision for Paul. And when they were upon the high sea, and there was silence, Paul being heavy by reason of his fasts and vigils fell asleep. And the Lord came unto him walking upon the sea, and he stirred Paul and said unto him, Arise, and see. And he awoke and said. Thou art my Lord Christ Jesus the king of heaven. But wherefore art thou thus (?) sad and downcast. Lord? If thou art pained, manifest it, Lord, for I am not a little anguished to see thee thus. And the Lord said, Paul, again am I about to be crucified. And Paul said, God forbid. Lord, that I should see this. But the Lord said unto Paul, Paul, depart, and go even unto Rome and exhort the brethren, that they continue in the calling which is unto the Father. And .the Lord... walking upon the sea, went before him and shewed. . . . And when the voyage was accomplished ... Paul came out with great sadness; and he saw upon the harbour a man standing, who awaited Artemon the captain; and when he had seen him, saluted him.... [Page And he said unto him, Claudius, behold Paul the beloved of the Lord, who is come here with me. And then Claudius embraced Paul and saluted him and without delay himself carried the (gear) from the ship unto his own home.

And he rejoiced greatly, shewing also the things concerning him unto the brethren, so that straightway the house of Claudius was full of joy and thankfulness, for they saw how Paul put away his (look) of grief and taught the word of truth and spake: Men and soldiers of Christ, hear: how oft hath God delivered Israel from the hand of lawless men; and so long as they kept the things pertaining unto the Lord, he left them not. For he saved them out of the hand of Pharaoh, that was lawless, and Og, a king more unholy, and from Adar (Arad?) and the foreign peoples. And since they kept the things pertaining imto the Lord, he further gave unto them of the fruit of the loins, having promised them the land of Canaan, and subjected the foreign peoples unto them; and thereafter, what things he vouchsafed unto them in the desert and waterless place.

Moreover he sent out prophets to preach our Lord Christ Jesus, who receiving according unto order and lot and due portion the spirit of Christ, having suffered affliction, were slain of the people. When therefore they departed from the living God according to their own lusts, they did lose their everlasting inheritance. And now, brethren, there doth impend a great trial; which having endured, we shall have access unto the Lord; and let us receive as a refuge and a shield of good will Jesus Christ who gave himself for us; if at least ye receive the word so as it is, that God hath for our sakes sent down a spirit of power at the last times into flesh, that is, into Mary the Galilaean according unto the word of prophecy, which was borne in the womb and made of her so that she gave birth and bore Jesus Christ our king out of Bethlehem of Judaea, who was brought up in Nazara, and having gone on to Jerusalem and all Judaea, taught: The kingdom of heaven is at hand; leave the darkness, receive the light, ye who did proceed (?) in the shadow of death; a light hath arisen unto you. And he did great and marvellous things; so that he chose out of the tribes twelve men whom having anointed (?) in understanding and faith he kept with himself, raising the dead, and healing diseases, and cleansing lepers, and healing the blind, and curing the maimed, raising up the palsied, cleansing those possessed of devils; in general he went through all the (land) by . . . ministering and . . . of the river ... Israel; for a woman ... having an issue of blood ,.. and ... not... our Lord Jesus Christ... be led into the council (?)... go through... cemeteries ... greatly by ... the king of glory ... the rest of the seed . . . the king of glory . . .

[Remains of several more lines end the Berlin and Michigan papyrus. Little can have been lost after this before the beginning of the verso of the other Michigan fragment, whose text is continued on the leaf of the Heidelberg Coptic manuscript translated by James on p. 31.]

... all the miracles (?)... for he maketh . . . works (And as they?) wondered, (and pondered these things?) in their hearts, he said unto them, etc.

[Here, as McHardy observes, Jesus' own words are reported.]

THE ACTS OF PAUL

(A reconstruction from various fragments)
From: The Apocryphal New Testament
Translation: Montague Rhodes James,1924
Estimated Range of Dating: 200 - 400 A.D.

(Introduction

This book, Tertullian tells us, was composed shortly before his time in honour of Saul of Tarsos, Paul the Apostle, by a presbyter of Asia, who was convicted of the imposture and degraded from his office. The date of it may therefore be about 160 AD. The author was an orthodox Christian.

Our authorities for it are:

1. The sadly mutilated Coptic manuscript at Heidelberg, of the sixth century at latest.

2. The Acts of Paul and Thecla, a single episode which has been preserved complete in Greek and many versions: parts of it exist in the Coptic.

3. The correspondence with the Corinthians, partly preserved in the Coptic, and current separately in Armenian and Latin.

4. The Martyrdom, the concluding episode of the Acts, preserved separately (as in the case of John and others) in Greek and other versions.

5. Detached fragments or quotations.

The length of the whole book is given as 8,600 lines (Stichometry of Nicephorus), or 8,560 (Stichometry of the Codex Claromontanus): the Canonical Acts are given by the same two authorities respectively as 2,800 and 2,600. We have, perhaps, 1,800 lines of the Acts of Paul. The text of the Coptic MS. is miserably defective, and the restoration of it, in the episodes which are preserved in it alone, is a most difficult process: Professor Carl Schmidt has done practically all that can be expected, with infinite labour and great acuteness. In

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treating the defective episodes I shall follow him closely, but shall not attempt to represent all the broken lines.)

ACTS OF PAUL CHAPTER 1

[The first extant page of the Coptie manuscript seems to be p.9.]

p.9. Paul went into (the house) at the place where the (dead) was. But Phila the wife of Panchares (Anchares, MS., see below) was very wroth and said to her husband in (great anger): Husband, thou hast gone . . . . the wild beasts, thou hast not begotten . . . . thy son . . . . where is mine?

p.10 (he hath not) desired food . . . to bury him. But (Panchares) stood in the sight of all and made his prayer at the ninth hour, until the people of the city came to bear the boy out. When he had prayed, Paul (came) and saw . . . and of Jesus Christ . . . . the boy . . . the prayer.

p.11 (a small piece only) . . . multitude . . . eight days . . . they thought that he raised up the (boy). But when Paul had remained

p.12. They asked? him? . . . the men listened to him . . . they sent for Panchares . . . and cried out, saying: We believe, Panchares, . . . but save the city from . . many things, which they said. Panchares said unto them: Judge ye whether your good deeds (?)

p.13 is not possible . . . but to (testify) . . . God who hath . . . his Son according to . . . salvation, and I also believe that, my brethren, there is no other God, save Jesus Christ the son of the Blessed, unto whom is glory for ever, Amen. But when they saw that he would not turn to them, they pursued Paul, and caught him, and brought him back into the city, ill-using (?) him, and cast stones at him and thrust him out of their city and out of their country. But Panchares would not return evil for evil: he shut the door of his house and went in with his wife . . . fasting . . . But when it was evening Paul came to him and said:

p.14. God hath . . . Jesus Christ.

[These are the last words of the episode. The situation is a little cleared by a sentence in the Greek Acts of Titus ascribed to Zenas (not earlier than the fifth century?): 'They arrived at Antioch and found Barnabas the son of Panchares, whom Paul raised up.' Barnabas may be a mistake, but Panchares is, I doubt not, right: for the Coptic definite article is p prefixed to the word, and the Coptic translator finding Panchares in his text has confused the initial of it with his own definite article, and cut it out. We have, then, a husband Panchares and wife Phila at Antioch (in Pisidia perhaps: this is disputed), and their son (possibly named Barnabas) is dead. Phila reproaches Panchares with want of parental affection. I take it that he is a believer, and has not mourned over his son, perhaps knowing that Paul was at hand and hoping for his help. Panchares prays till his fellow-townsmen come to carry out the body for burial. Paul arrives: at some point he raises the dead: but the people are irritated and some catastrophe threatens them at Paul's hands. Panchares makes a profession of faith, the result of which is Paul's ill-treatment and banishment. But Paul returns secretly and reassures Panchares.]

ACTS OF PAUL CHAPTER 2

[The next episode is that of Paul and Thecla, in which the Greek text exists, and will be followed. In the Coptic it has a title]:

After the flight from Antioch, when he would go to Iconium.

[It is possible that in this episode the author of the Acts may have used a local legend, current in his time, of a real Christian martyr Thecla. It is otherwise difficult to account for the very great popularity of the cult of St. Thecla, which spread over East and West, and made her the most famous of virgin martyrs. Moreover, one historical personage is introduced into the story, namely, Queen Tryphaena, who was the widow, it seems, of Cotys, King of Thrace, and the mother of Polemo II, King of Pontus. She was a great-niece of the Emperor Claudius. Professor W. M. Ramsay has contended that there was a written story of Thecla which was adapted by the author of the Acts: but his view is not generally accepted.]:

1 When Paul went up unto Iconium after he fled from Antioch, there journeyed with him Demas and Hermogenes the coppersmith, which were full of hypocrisy, and flattered Paul as though they loved him. But Paul, looking only unto the goodness of Christ, did them no evil, but loved them well, so that he assayed to make sweet unto them all the oracles of the Lord, and of the teaching and the interpretation (of the Gospel) and of the birth and resurrection of the Beloved, and related unto them word by word all the great works of Christ, how they were revealed unto him (the Coptic manuscript adds: how that Christ was born of Mary the virgin, and of the seed of David).

2 And a certain man named Onesiphorus, when he heard that Paul was come to Iconium, went out with his children Simmias and Zeno and his wife Lectra to meet him, that he might receive him into his house: for Titus had told him what manner of man Paul was in appearance; for he had not seen him in the flesh, but only in the spirit.

3 And he went by the king's highway that leadeth unto Lystra and stood expecting him, and looked upon them that came, according to tbe description of Titus. And he saw Paul coming, a man little of stature, thin-haired upon the head, crooked in the legs, of good state of body, with eyebrows joining, and nose somewhat hooked, full of grace: for sometimes he appeared like a man, and sometimes he had the face of an angel.

4 And when Paul saw Onesiphorus he smiled, and Onesiphorus said: Hail, thou servant of the blessed God. And he said: Grace be with thee and with thine house. But Demas and Hermogenes were envious, and stirred up their hypocrisy yet more, so that Demas said: Are we not servants of the Blessed, that thou didst not salute us so? And Onesiphorus said: I see not in you any fruit of righteousness, but if ye be such, come ye also into my house and refresh yourselves.

5 And when Paul entered into the house of Onesiphorus, there was great joy, and bowing of knees and breaking of bread, and the word of God concerning abstinence (or continence) and the resurrection; for Paul said:

Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.

Blessed are they that keep the flesh chaste, for they shall become the temple of God.

Blessed are they that abstain (or the continent), for unto them shall God speak.

Blessed are they that have renounced this world, for they shall be well-pleasing unto God.

Blessed are they that possess their wives as though they had them not, for they shall inherit God.

Blessed are they that have the fear of God, for they shall become angels of God.

6 Blessed are they that tremble at the oracles of God, for they shall be comforted.

Blessed are they that receive the wisdom of Jesus Christ, for they shall be called sons of the Most High.

Blessed are they that have kept their baptism pure, for they shall rest with the Father and with the Son.

Blessed are they that have compassed the understanding of Jesus Christ, for they shall be in light.

Blessed are they that for love of God have departed from the fashion of this world, for they shall judge angels, and shall be blessed at the right hand of the Father.

Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy and shall not see the bitter day of judgement. Blessed are the bodies of the virgins, for they shall be well- pleasing unto God and shall not lose the reward of their continence (chastity), for the word of the Father shall be unto them a work of salvation in the day of his Son, and they shall have rest world Without end.

7 And as Paul was saying these things in the midst of the assembly (church) in the house of Onesiphorus, a certain virgin, Thecla, whose mother was Theocleia, which was betrothed to an husband, Thamyris, sat at the window hard by, and hearkened night and day unto the word concerning chastity which was spoken by Paul: and she stirred not from the window, but was led onward (or pressed onward) by faith, rejoicing exceedingly: and further, when she saw many women and virgins entering in to Paul, she also desired earnestly to be accounted worthy to stand before Paul's face and to hear the word of Christ; for she had not yet seen the appearance of Paul, but only heard his speech.

8 Now as she removed not from the window, her mother sent unto Thamyris, and he came with great joy as if he were already to take her to wife. Thamyris therefore said to Theocleia: Where is my Thecla? And Theocicia said: I have a new tale to tell thee, Thamyris: for for three days and three nights Thecla ariseth not from the window, neither to eat nor to drink, but looking earnestly as it were upon a joyful spectacle, she so attendeth to a stranger who teacheth deceitful and various words, that I marvel how the great modesty of the maiden is so hardly beset.

9 O Thamyris, this man upsetteth the whole city of the Iconians, and thy Thecla also, for all the women and the young men go in to him and are taught by him. Ye must, saith he, fear one only God and live chastely. And my daughter, too, like a spider at the window, bound by his words, is held by a new desire and a fearful passion: for she hangeth upon the things that he speaketh, and the maiden is captured. But go thou to her and speak to her; for she is betrothed unto thee.

10 And Thamyris went to her, alike loving her and fearing because of her disturbance (ecstasy), and said: Thecla, my betrothed, why sittest thou thus? and what passion is it that holdeth thee in amaze; turn unto thy Thamyris and be ashamed. And her mother also said the same: Thecla, why sittest thou thus, looking downward, and answering nothing, but as one stricken? And they wept sore, Thamyris because he failed of a wife, and Theocleia of a child, and the maidservants of a mistress; there was, therefore, great confusion of mourning in the house. And while all this was so, Thecla turned not away, but paid heed to the speech of Paul.

11 But Thamyris leapt up and went forth into the street and watched them that went in to Paul and came out. And he saw two men striving bitterly with one another, and said to them: Ye men, tell me who ye are, and who is he that is within with you, that maketh the souls of young men and maidens to err, deceiving them that there may be no marriages but they should live as they are. I promise therefore to give you much money if ye will tell me of him: for I am a chief man of the city.

12 And Demas and Hermogenes said unto him: Who this man is, we know not; but he defraudeth the young men of wives and the maidens of husbands, saying: Ye have no resurrection otherwise, except ye continue chaste, and defile not the flesh but keep it pure.

13 And Thamyris said to them: Come, ye men, into mine house and refresh yourselves with me. And they went to a costly banquet and much wine and great wealth and a brilliant table. And Thamyris made them drink, for he loved Thecla and desired to take her to wife: and at the dinner Thamyris said: Tell me, ye men, what is his teaching, that I also may know it: for I am not a little afflicted concerning Thecla because she so loveth the stranger, and I am defrauded of my marriage.

14 And Demas and Hermogenes said: Bring him before Castelius the governor as one that persuadeth the multitudes with the new doctrine of the Christians; and so will he destroy him and thou shalt have thy wife Thecla. And we will teach thee of that resurrection which he asserteth, that it is already come to pass in the children which we have, and we rise again when we have come to the knowledge of the true God.

15 But when Thamyris heard this of them, he was filled with envy and wrath, and rose up early and went to the house of Onesiphorus with the rulers and officers and a great crowd with staves, saying unto Paul: Thou hast destroyed the city of the Iconians and her that was espoused unto me, so that she will not have me: let us go unto Castelius the governor. And all the multitude said: Away with the wizard, for he hath corrupted all our wives. And the multitude rose up together against him.

16 And Thamyris, standing before the judgement seat, cried aloud and said: 0 proconsul, this is the man-we know not whence he is-who alloweth not maidens to marry: let him declare before thee wherefore he teacheth such things. And Demas and Hermogenes said to Thamyris: Say thou that he is a Christian, and so wilt thou destroy him. But the governor kept his mind steadfast and called Paul, saying unto him: Who art thou, and what teachest thou? for it is no light accusation that these bring against thee.

17 And Paul lifted up his voice and said: If I am this day examined what I teach, hearken, 0 proconsul. The living God, the God of vengeance, the jealous God, the God that hath need of nothing, but desireth the salvation of men, hath sent me, that I may sever them from corruption and uncleanness and all pleasure and death, that they may sin no more. Wherefore God hath sent his own Child, whom I preach and teach that men should have hope in him who alone hath had compassion upon the world that was in error; that men may no more be under judgement but have faith and the fear of God and the knowledge of sobriety and the love of truth. If then I teach the things that have been revealed unto me of God, what wrong do I O proconsul? And the governor having heard that, commanded Paul to be bound and taken away to prison until he should have leisure to hear him more carefully.

18 But Thecla at night took off her bracelets and gave them to the doorkeeper, and when the door was opened for her she went into the prison, and gave the jailer a mirror of silver and so went in to Paul and sat by his feet and heard the wonderful works of God. And Paul feared not at all, but walked in the confidence of God: and her faith also was increased as she kissed his chains.

19 Now when Thecla was sought by her own people and by Thamyris, she was looked for through the streets as one lost; and one of the fellow-servants of the doorkeeper told that she went out by night. And they examined the doorkeeper and he told them that she was gone to the stranger unto the prison; and they went as he told them and found her as it were bound with him, in affection. And they went forth thence and gathered the multitude to them and showed it to the governor.

20 And he commanded Paul to be brought to the judgement seat; but Thecla rolled herself upon the place where Paul taught when he sat in the prison. And the governor commanded her also to be brought to the judgement seat, and she went exulting with joy. And when Paul was brought the second time the people cried out more vehemently: He is a sorcerer, away with him! But the governor heard Paul gladly concerning the holy works of Christ: and he took counsel, and called Thecla and said: Why wilt thou not marry Thamyris, according to the law of the Iconians? but she stood looking earnestly upon Paul, and when she answered not, her mother Theocleia cried out, saying: Burn the lawless one, burn her that is no bride in the midst of the theatre, that all the women which have been taught by this man may be affrighted.

21 And the governor was greatly moved: and he scourged Paul and sent him out of the city, but Thecla he condemned to be burned. And straightway the governor arose and went to the theatre: and all the multitude went forth unto the dreadful spectacle. But Thecla, as the lamb in the wilderness looketh

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about for the shepherd, so sought for Paul: and she looked upon the multitude and saw the Lord sitting, like unto Paul, and said: As if I were not able to endure, Paul is come to look upon me. And she earnestly paid heed to him: but he departed into the heavens.

22 Now the boys and the maidens brought wood and hay to burn Thecla: and when she was brought in naked, the governor wept and marvelled at the power that was in her. And they laid the wood, and the executioner bade her mount upon the pyre: and she, making the sign of the cross, went up upon the wood. And they lighted it, and though a great fire blazed forth, the fire took no hold on her; for God had compassion on her, and caused a sound under the earth, and a cloud overshadowed her above, full of rain and hail, and all the vessel of it was poured out so that many were in peril of death, and the fire was quenched, and Thecla was preserved.

23 Now Paul was fasting with Onesiphorus and his wife and their children in an open sepulchre on the way whereby they go from Iconium to Daphne. And when many days were past, as they fasted, the boys said unto Paul: We are anhungered. And they had not wherewith to buy bread, for Onesiphorus had left the goods of this world, and followed Paul with all his house. But Paul took off his upper garment and said: Go, child, buy several loaves and bring them. And as the boy was buying, he saw his neighbour Thecla, and was astonished, and said: Thecla, whither goest thou? And she said: I seek Paul, for I was preserved from the fire. And the boy said: Come, I will bring thee unto him, for he mourneth for thee and prayeth and fasteth now these six days.

24 And when she came to the sepulchre unto Paul, who had bowed his knees and was praying and saying: O Father of Christ, let not the fire take hold on Thecla, but spare her, for she is thine: she standing behind him cried out: O Father that madest heaven and earth, the Father of thy beloved child Jesus Christ, I bless thee for that thou hast preserved me from the fire, that I might see Paul. And Paul arose and saw her and said: O God the knower of hearts, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, I bless thee that thou hast speedily accomplished that which I asked of thee, and hast hearkened unto me.

25 And there was much love within the sepulchre, for Paul rejoiced, and Onesiphorus, and all of them. And they had five loaves, and herbs, and water (and salt), and they rejoiced for the holy works of Christ. And Thecla said unto Paul: I will cut my hair round about and follow thee whithersoever thou goest. But he said: The time is ill-favoured and thou art comely: beware lest another temptation take thee, worse than the first, and thou endure it not but play the coward. And Thecla said: Only give me the seal in Christ, and temptation shall not touch me. And Paul said: Have patience, Thecla, and thou shalt receive the water.

26 And Paul sent away Onesiphorus with all his house unto Iconium, and so took Thecla and entered into Antioch: and as they entered in, a certain Syriarch, Alexander by name, saw Thecla and was enamoured of her, and would have bribed (flattered) Paul with money and gifts. But Paul said: I know not the woman of whom thou speakest, neither is she mine. But as he was of great power, he himself embraced her in the highway; and she endured it not, but sought after Paul and cried out bitterly, saying: Force not the stranger, force not the handmaid of God. I am of the first of the Iconians, and because I would not marry Thamyris, I am cast out of the city. And she caught at Alexander and rent his cloak and took the wreath from his head and made him a mocking-stock.

27 But he alike loving her and being ashamed of what had befallen him, brought her before the governor; and when she confessed that she had done this, he condemned her to the beasts; But the women were greatly amazed, and cried out at the judgement seat: An evil judgement, an impious judgement! And Thecla asked of the governor that she might remain a virgin until she should fight the beasts; and a certain rich queen, Tryphaena by name, whose daughter had died, took her into her keeping, and had her for a consolation.

28 Now when the beasts were led in procession, they bound her to a fierce lioness, and the queen Tryphaena followed after her: but the lioness, when Thecla was set upon her, licked her feet, and all the people marvelled. Now the writing (title) of her accusation was: Guilty of sacrilege. And the women with their children cried out from above: O God, an impious judgement cometh to pass in this city. And after the procession Tryphaena took her again. For her daughter Falconilla, which was dead, had said to her in a dream: Mother, thou shalt take in my stead Thecla the stranger that is desolate, that she may pray for me and I be translated into the place of the righteous.

29 When therefore Tryphaena received her after the procession, she alike bewailed her because she was to fight the beasts on the morrow, and also, loving her closely as her own daughter Falconilla; and said: Thecla, my second child, come, pray thou for my child that she may live for ever; for this have I seen in a dream. And she without delay lifted up her voice and said: O my God, Son of the Most High that art in heaven, grant unto her according to her desire, that her daughter Faleonilla may live for ever. And after she had said this, Tryphaena bewailed her, considering that so great beauty was to be cast unto the beasts.

30 And when it was dawn, Alexander came to take her-for it was he that was giving the games-saying: The governor is set and the people troubleth us: give me her that is to fight the beasts, that I may take her away. But Tryphaena cried aloud so that he fled away, saying: A second mourning for my Falconilla cometh about in mine house, and there is none to help, neither child, for she is dead, nor kinsman, for I am a widow. O God of Thecla my child, help thou Thecla.

31 And the governor sent soldiers to fetch Thecla: and Tryphaena left her not, but herself took her hand and led her up, saying: I did bring my daughter Falconilla unto the sepulchre; but thee, Thecla, do I bring to fight the beasts. And Thecla wept bitterly and groaned unto the Lord, saying: Lord God in whom I believe, with whom I have taken refuge, that savedst me from the fire, reward thou Tryphaena who hath had pity on thine handmaid, and hath kept me pure.

32 There was therefore a tumult, and a voice of the beasts, and shouting of the people, and of the women which sat together, some saying: Bring in the sacrilegious one! and the women saying: Away with the city for this unlawful deed! away with all us, thou proconsul! it is a bitter sight, an evil judgement!

38 But Thecla, being taken out of the hand of Tryphaena, was stripped and a girdle put upon her, and was cast into the stadium: and lions and bears were set against her. And a fierce lioness running to her lay down at her feet, and the press of women cried aloud. And a bear ran upon her; but the lioness ran and met him, and tore the bear in sunder. And again a lion, trained against men, which was Alexander's, ran upon her, and the lioness wrestled with him and was slain along with him. And the women bewailed yet more, seeing that the lioness also that succoured her was dead.

34 Then did they put in many beasts, while she stood and stretched out her hands and prayed. And when she had ended her prayer, she turned and saw a great tank full of water, and said: Now is it time that I should wash myself. And she cast herself in, saying: In the name of Jesus Christ do I baptise myself on the last day. And all the women seeing it and all the people wept, saying: Cast not thyself into the water: so that even the governor wept that so great beauty should be devoured by seals. So, then, she cast herself into the water in the name of Jesus Christ; and the seals, seeing the light of a flash of fire, floated dead on the top of the water. And there was about her a cloud of fire, so that neither did the beasts touch her, nor was she seen to be naked.

35 Now the women, when other more fearful beasts were put in, shrieked aloud, and some cast leaves, and others nard, others cassia, and some balsam, so that there was a multitude of odours; and all the beasts that were struck thereby were held as it were in sleep and touched her not; so that Alexander said to the governor: I have some bulls exceeding fearful, let us bind the criminal to them. And the governor frowning, allowed it, saying: Do that thou wilt. And they bound her by the feet between the bulls, and put hot irons under their bellies that they might be the more enraged and kill her. They then leaped forward; but the flame that burned about her, burned through the ropes, and she was as one not bound.

36 But Tryphaena, standing by the arena, fainted at the entry, so that her handmaids said: The queen Tryphaena is dead! And the governor stopped the games and all the city was frightened, and Alexander falling at the governor's feet said: Have mercy on me and on the city, and let the condemned go, lest the city perish with her; for if Caesar hear this, perchance he will destroy us and the city, because his kinswoman the queen Tryphaena hath died at the entry.

37 And the governor called Thecla from among the beasts, and said to her: Who art thou? and what hast thou about thee that not one of the beasts hath touched thee? But she said: I am the handmaid of the living God; and what I have about me-it is that I have believed on that his Son in whom God is well pleased; for whose sake not one of the beasts hath touched me. For he alone is the goal (or way) of salvation and the substance of life immortal; for unto them that are tossed about he is a refuge, unto the oppressed relief, unto the despairing shelter, and in a word, whosoever believeth not on him, shall not live, but die everlastingly.

38 And when the governor heard this, he commanded garments to be brought and said: Put on these garments. And she said: He that clad me when I was naked among the beasts, the same in the day of judgement will clothe me with salvation. And she took the garments and put them on. And the governor forthwith issued out an act, saying: I release unto you Thecla the godly, the servant of God. And all the women cried out with a loud voice and as with one mouth gave praise to God, saying: One is the God who hath preserved Thecla: so that with their voice all the city shook.

39 And Tryphaena, when she was told the good tidings, met her with much people and embraced Thecla and said: Now do I believe that the dead are raised up: now do I believe that my child liveth: come within, and I will make thee heir of all my substance. Thecla therefore went in with her and rested in her house eight days, teaching her the word of God, so that the more part of the maid-servants also believed, and there was great joy in the house.

40 But Thecla yearned after Paul and sought him, sending about in all places; and it was told her that he was at Myra. And she took young men and maids, and girded herself, and sewed her mantle into a cloak after the fashion of a man, and departed into Myra, and found Paul speaking the word of God, and went to him. But he when he saw her and the people that were with her was amazed, thinking in himself: Hath some other temptation come upon her? But she perceived it, and said to him: I have received the washing, 0 Paul; for he that hath worked together with thee in the Gospel hath worked with me also unto my baptizing.

41 And Paul took her by the hand and brought her into the house of Hermias, and heard all things from her; so that Paul marvelled much, and they that heard were confirmed, and prayed for Tryphaena. And Thecla arose and said to Paul: I go unto Iconium. And Paul said: Go, and teach the word of God. Now Tryphaena had sent her much apparel and gold, so that she left of it with Paul for the ministry of the poor.

42 But she herself departed unto Iconium. And she entered into the house of Onesiphorus, and fell down upon the floor where Paul had sat and taught the oracles of God, and wept, saying: O God of me and of this house, where the light shone upon me, Jesu Christ the Son of God, my helper in prison, my helper before the governors, my helper in the fire, my helper among the beasts, thou art God, and unto thee be the glory for ever. Amen.

43 And she found Thamyris dead, but her mother living. And she saw her mother and said unto her: Theocleia my mother, canst thou believe that the Lord liveth in the heavens? for whether thou desirest money, the Lord will give it thee through me: or thy child, lo, I am here before thee. And when she had so testified, she departed unto Seleucia, and after she had enlightened many with the word of God, she slept a good sleep.

A good many manuscripts add that Theoeleia was not converted, but the Coptic does not support them: it ends the episode as above.

A long appendix is given by other Greek copies, telling how in Thecla's old age (she was ninety) she was living on Mount Calamon or Calameon, and some evil-disposed young men went up to ill-treat her: and she prayed, and the rock opened and she entered it, and it closed after her. Some add that she went underground to Rome: this, to account for the presence of her body there.

[p.38 of the Coptic manuscript]

ACTS OF PAUL CHAPTER 3

When he was departed from Antioch and taught in Myra (Myrrha).

When Paul was teaching the word of God in Myra, there was there a man, Hermoerates by name, who had the dropsy, and he put himself forward in the sight of all, and said to Paul: Nothing is impossible with God, but especially with him whom thou preachest; for when he came he healed many, even that God whose servant thou art. Lo, I and my wife and my children, we cast ourselves at thy feet: have pity on me that I also may believe as thou hast believed on the living God.

Paul said unto him: I will restore thee (thine health) not for reward, but through the name of Jesus Christ thou shalt become whole in the presence of all these. (And he touched his body) drawing his hand downwards: and his belly opened and much water ran from him and . . . he fell down like a dead man, so that some said: It is better for him to die than to continue in pain. But when Paul had quieted the people, he took his hand and raised him up and asked him, saying: Hermocrates, ask for what thou desirest. And he said: I would eat. And he took a loaf and gave him to eat. And in that hour he was whole, and received the grace of the seal in the Lord, he and his wife.

But Hermippus his son was angry with Paul, and sought for a set time wherein to rise up with them of his own age and destroy him. For he wished that his father should not be healed but should die, that he might soon be master of his goods. But Dion, his younger son, heard Paul gladly.

Now all they that were with Hermippus took counsel to fight against Paul so that Hermippus . . . and sought to kill him

Dion fell down and died: but Hermippus watered Dion with his tears.

But Hermocrates mourned sore, for he loved Dion more than his other son. (Yet) he sat at Paul's feet, and forgat that Dion was dead. But when Dion was dead, his mother Nympha rent her clothes and went unto Paul and set herself before the face of Hermocrates her husband and of Paul. And when Paul saw her, he was aifrighted and said: Wherefore art thou thus, Nympha? But she said to him: Dion is dead; and the whole multitude wept when they beheld her. And Paul looked upon the people that mourned and sent young men, saying to them: Go and bring me him hither. And they went: but Hermippus caught hold of the body (of Dion) in the street and cried out

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the word in him (them?). But an angel of the Lord had said unto him in the night: Paul, thou hast to-day a great conflict against thy body, but God, the Father of his Son Jesus Christ, will protect thee.

When Paul had arisen, he went unto his brethren, and remained (sorrowful?) saying: What meaneth this vision? And while Paul thought upon this, he saw Hermippus coming, having a sword drawn in his hand, and with him many other young men with staves. And Paul said unto them: I am not a robber, neither a murderer. The God of all things, the Father of Christ, will turn your hands backward, and your sword into its sheath, and your strength into weakness: for I am a servant of God, though I be alone and a stranger, and small and of no reputation (?) among the Gentiles. But do thou, 0 God, look down upon their counsel and suffer me not to be brought to nought by them.

And when Hermippus ran upon Paul with his sword drawn, straightway he ceased to see, so that he cried out aloud, saying: My dear comrades, forget not your friend Hermippus. For I have sinned, 0 Paul, I have pursued after innocent blood. Learn, ye foolish and ye of understanding, that this world is nought, gold is nought, all money is nought: I that glutted myself with all manner of goods am now a beggar and entreat of you all: Hearken to me all ye my companions, and every one that dwelleth in Myra. I have mocked at a man who hath saved my father: I have mocked at a man who hath raised up my brother Dion . . . I have mocked at a man who . . . without doing me any evil. But entreat ye of him: behold, he hath saved my father and raised up my brother; he is able therefore to save me also. But Paul stood there weeping alike before God, for that he heard him quickly, and before man, for that the proud was brought low. And he turned himself and went up . . . But the young men took the feet and bore Hermippus and brought him to the place where Paul was teaching and laid him down before the door and went unto their house. And when they were gone a great multitude came to the house of Hermocrates; and another great multitude entered in, to see whether Hermippus were shut up there. And Hermippus besought every one that went in, that they would entreat Paul, with him. But they that went in saw Hermocrates and Nympha, how they rejoiced greatly at the raising up of Dion, and distributed victuals and money unto the widows for his recovery. And they beheld Hermippus their son in the state of this second affliction, and how he took hold on the feet of every one, and on the feet of his parents also, and prayed them, as one of the strangers, that he might be healed. And his parents were troubled, and lamented to every one that came in, so that some said: Wherefore do these weep? for Dion is arisen. But Hermocrates possessed goods . . . and brought the value of the goods and took it and distributed it. And Hermocrates, troubled in mind and desiring that they might be satisfied, said: Brethren, let us leave the food . . . . and occupy ourselves . . . Hermocrates. And immediately Nympha cried out in great affliction unto Paul . . they said: Nympha, Hermocrates calleth upon God that your son Hermippus may see and cease to grieve, for he hath resisted Christ and his minister. But they and Paul prayed to God. And when Hermippus recovered his sight, he turned himself to his mother Nympha, and said to her: Paul came unto me and laid his hand upon me while I wept, and in that hour I saw all things clearly. And she took his hand and led him unto the widows and Paul. But while Paul wept bitterly, Hermippus gave thanks, saying unto them: Every one that believeth, shall . . .

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. . . concord and peace . . . Amen.

And when Paul had confirmed the brethren that were in Myra, he departed unto Sidon.

ACTS OF PAUL CHAPTER 4

When he was departed from Myra .

Now when Paul was departed from Myra and would go unto Sidon there was great sadness of the brethren that were in Pisidia and Pamphylia, because they yearned after his word and his holy appearance in Christ; so that some from Perga followed Paul, namely Thrasymachus and Cleon with their wives Aline (?) and Chrysa, Cleon's wife. And on the way they nourished Paul: and they were eating their bread under a tree (?). And as he was about to say Amen, there came (five lines broken: the words 'the brethren' and 'idol' occur) . . . . table of devils . . . he dieth therefor, but every one that believeth on Jesus Christ who hath saved us from all defilement and all uncleanness and all evil thoughts, he shall be manifest. And they drew near unto the table (three lines broken. 'Idol' occurs) . . . . stood . . . a mighty idol. And an old man . . . . stood up among them, saying unto them: Ye men, (wait a little and see) what befalleth the priests which would draw near unto our gods: for verily when our fellow-citizen Charinus hearkened and would . . . . against the gods, there died he and his (father). And thereupon died Xanthus also, Chrysa (?), and (Hermocrates?) died, sick of the dropsy, and his wife Nympha.

[Two leaves at least gone.]

[Paul is speaking]: after the manner of strange men. Wherefore presume ye to do that which is not seemly (?)? Or have ye not heard of that which came to pass, which God brought upon Sodom and Gomorrha, because they robbed . . . . after the manner of strangers and of women? God did not . . . . them but cast them down into hell. Now therefore we are not men of this fashion that ye say, nor such as ye think, but we are preachers of the living God and his Beloved. But that ye may not marvel, understand . . . the miracles (?) which bear witness for us. But they hearkened not unto him, but took the men and put them into the temple of Apollo, to keep them until the morrow, whereon they assembled the whole city. And many and costly were the victuals which they gave them.

But Paul, who was fasting now the third day, testified all the night long, being troubled, and smote his face and said: O God, look down upon their threatenings and suffer us not to slide, and let not our adversaries cast us down, but save us and bring down quickly thy righteousness upon us. And as Paul cast himself down, with the brethren, Thrasymachus and Cleon, then the temple fell . . . . so that they that belonged to the temple and the magistrates that were set over it . . . . others of them in the . . . . for (the one part) fell down . . . . fell down . . . . round about, in the midst of the two parts. And they went in and beheld what had happened, and marvelled that . . . . in their . . . . and that the . . . . rejoiced over the falling of the temple (?). And they cried out, saying: Verily these are the works of the men of a mighty God! And they departed and proclaimed in the city: Apollo the god of the Sidonians is fallen, and the half of his temple. And all the dwellers in the city ran to the temple and saw Paul and them that were with him, how they wept at this temptation, that they were made a spectacle for all men. But the multitude cried out: Bring them into the theatre. And the magistrates came to fetch them; and they groaned bitterly with one soul.

[About two leaves gone.]

[Paul speaking]: through me. Consider . . . . (nine lines much broken, 'the way of life (conversation) of Christ', 'not in the faith', occur) . . . . Egyptians . . . . and they . . . But the multitude . . . . and followed after Paul, crying: Praised be the God . . . . who hath sent Paul . . . that we should not . . . . of death. But Theudes . . . . and prayed at Paul's feet and embraced his feet, that he should give him the seal in the Lord. But he commanded them to go to Tyre . . . . in health (or farewell), and they put Paul (in a ship?) and went with him.

The purpose of confining Paul and his companions in the temple appears to have been connected with the sins of the cities of the plain of which Paul speaks.

[The Acts of Titus, quoted before, have a sentence referring to this and the next episode]: 'And Paul healed Aphphia the wife of Chrysippus who was possessed with a devil: and fasting for seven days he overthrew the idol of Apollo.' The Acts place this immediately after the conversion and preaching at Damascus, and put the Panehares episode later. They are not to be trusted, therefore, as a guide to the order of our book.

ACTS OF PAUL CHAPTER 5

When he was departed out of Sidon and would go unto Tyre.

Now when Paul was entered unto Tyre there came a multitude of Jews . . . . in to him. These . . . . and they heard the mighty works . . . They marvelled . . . . Amphion (= Aphphia of the Acts of Titus) . . . . saying . . . . in . . . . Chrysippus . . . . devil with him . . . . many . . . . When Paul came . . . . he said: He . . . . God and will not be an evil spirit (?) . . . . in (?) Amphion . . . . through the evil spirit . . . . without any one's having . . . . she said to him: Save me that I die not. And while the multitude . . . . then arose the other (?) evil spirit . . . . And forthwith the devils fled away. And when the multitude saw this, by the power of God, they praised him who had (given such power) unto Paul. And there was there one by name... rimus, who had a son born to him which was dumb.

[On the next page is a proper name, Lix (or perhaps Kilix, a Cilician), and later the words]: 'I preach the good tidings of the Saviour . . . . Son of God'.

[On the next page. Lix perhaps occurs again]: and 'Moses'.

The next begins: for that which we say cometh to pass forthwith. Behold we will bring him hither unto thee that he may . . . . thee, to hear the truth of thy . . . .

[Next page]: On God whose desire is come to pass in him, this is the wise man . . . . . the Father and he hath sent Jesus Christ.

[Next page]: turned toward the East. Moses . . .

. . . in Syria in Cyrene

Again I say unto you . . . I, that do the works . . .

that a man is not justifed by the Law, but that he is justified by the works of righteousness, and he . . .

[Next page has the words]: 'liberty', 'and the yoke', 'all flesh'; and, 'and every one confess that Jesus Christ is the glory of the Father'.

[Next page, lower part]: is not water in him, but . . . being water, I am not hungry but I am thirsty; I am not but not to . . . . to suffer them, to be (devoured) by wild beasts, not to be able . . . . from the earth, but not to suffer them to be burnt by the fire, are these things of the present age testified, he which was a persecutor . . .

[Next page, lower part]: (Cle)anthes. the law of God which is called . . . . who walketh here before them, hath he not followed us throughout all the cities . . . And when . . . . he turned himself toward the East after this (after two lines) such words, neither preacheth he as thou preachest them, 0 Paul, that thou mayest not . . . .

[Next page begins]: Thou art in the presence (sight, face) of Jerusalem, but I trust in the Lord that thou wilt . . .

[The name 'Saul' is almost certain some lines later.]

[Next page begins]: whom they crucified.

[And at the end]: raised up our flesh.

[Next page, 7th line]: For since the day when . . . . persecuted the apostles which were (with me? se. Peter) out of Jerusalem, I hid myself that I might have comfort, and we nourish them which stand, through the word according to the promise (?) of his grace. I have fallen into many troubles and have subjected myself to the law, as for your sakes. But thought by night and by day in my trouble on Jesus Christ, waiting for him as a lamb . . . . when they crucified him he did not . . . did not resist . . . . was not troubled.

[The above may be a speech of Peter. We have seen some indication that Paul is now at Jerusalem, and the conjecture is that a dialogue between him and Peter occurred in this place.]

[The next page undoubtedly mentions Peter.]

[Line 1 has 'Paul', line 3, 'twelve (?) shepherds'.]

[Line 5]: through Paul. But . . . . was troubled because of the questioning (examination) that (was come) upon Peter and he cried out, saying: Verily, God is one, and there is no God beside him: one also is Jesus Christ his Son, whom we . . . this, whom thou preachest, did we crucify, whom expect in great glory, but ye say that he is God and Judge of the living and the dead, the King of the ages, for the in the form of man.

ACTS OF PAUL CHAPTER 6

[Paul is condemned to the mines in an unknown place. Longinus and Firmilla have a daughter, Frontina, who is to be thrown down from a rock, and Paul with her. It is my distinct opinion that Fontina is already dead: her body is to be thus contumeliously treated because she has become a Christian.]

[The upper part of the page has Longinus twice in lines 1, 2; 'Paul' in 1.7. Then]:

For since . . . . the mine, there hath not . . . nothing good hath befallen mine house. And he advised that the men which were to throw Frontina down, should throw down Paul also with her, alive. Now Paul knew these things, but he worked fasting, in great cheerfulness, for two days with the prisoners. They commanded that on the third day the men . . . . should bring forth Frontina: and the whole city followed after her. And Firmilla and Longinus lamented and the soldiers . . . But the prisoners carried the bed (bier). And when Paul saw the great mourning with the daughter and eight . . .

[Next page, line 8]: Paul alive with the daughter. But when Paul had taken the daughter in his arms, he groaned unto the Lord Jesus Christ because of the sorrow of Firmilla, and cast himself on his knees in the mire . . . . praying for Frontina with her in one (a) prayer. In that hour Frontina rose up. And the whole multitude was afraid, and fled. Paul took the hand of the daughter and led her through the city unto the house of Longinus, and the whole multitude said with one voice: God is one, who hath made heaven and earth, who hath granted the life of the daughter in the presence of Paul . . . a loaf. and he gave thanks to him.

[Some lines later]:

to Philippi (?).

ACTS OF PAUL CHAPTER 7

THE EPISTLE OF THE CORINTHIANS TO PAUL

and PAUL'S THIRD EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS

When he was departed from . . . and would go .

Now when Paul was come to Philippi . . . he entered into the house of . . . . and there was great joy (among the brethren) and to every one.

(On the following page begins the episode of the correspondence with the Corinthians, which was circulated separately in Syriac, Latin, and Armenian, and found a place in the Syriac collection of Pauline epistles (and is commented on with the rest by Ephraem the Syrian), and in the Armenian Bible. We have it in (a) many Armenian manuscripts, (b) in Ephraem s commentary-only extant in Armenian, (c) in three Latin manuscripts, at Milan, Laon, and Paris: as well as in the Coptic manuscript, which is here less fragmentary than in the preceding pages.

"The Epistle of the Corinthians to Paul" is believed to have been written by an orthodox writer, claiming Apostolic authority against their docetic and gnostic enemies. Despite having been widely recognised as not having been written by Paul in ancient times, for a period this Epistle and its response appeared in the Armenian Bible.

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This writing claims to describe the teachings of Simon Magus [Latin for: Simon the Sorcerer, or Simon the Magi or Magician, who is a religious figure whose confrontation with Peter is recorded in Acts 8:9–24.], including the ideas that God was not almighty, that the resurrection was false, that Christ was not truly bodily incarnated God, that the prophets were inaccurate, and other things. A response to this letter from Paul also appears in the Acts of Paul and is known as the Third Epistle to the Corinthians.

We begin with a short narrative, introducing the "Letter of the Corinthians to Paul"; then follows another short piece of narrative, extant in Armenian only; then Paul's reply, commonly called the "Third Epistle to the Corinthians". The Epistle of the Corinthians to Paul, and its reply, is a work from the New Testament apocrypha, and originally formed part of the Acts of Paul, although it was later detached and circulated separately. We have put them here together again.

There are various phrases and whole sentences, especially in the Armenian and the Milan manuscripts of the Latin, which are absent from the Coptic and the Laon manuscripts and are regarded, rightly, as interpolations. These additions will be distinguished by ***bold italic*** *characters.*

The page of the Coptic manuscript on which the correspondence begins is fragmentary at the beginning.):

1.1. the lawless one
1.2. the reward. They . . . . in
1.3. a prayer . . . . every
1.4. one, and every one (?)
1.6. Paul . . . . again (or together).
1.7. prayed that a messenger be sent to Philippi. For the Corinthians were in great trouble concerning Paul, that he would depart out of the world, before it was time. For there were certain men come to Corinth, Simon and Cleobius, saying: There is no resurrection of the flesh, but that of the spirit only: and that the body of man is not the creation of God; and also concerning the world, that God did not create it, and that God knoweth not the world, and that Jesus Christ was not crucified, but it was an appearance (i.e. but only in appearance), and that lie was not born of Mary, nor of the seed of David. And in a word, there were many things which they had taught in Corinth, deceiving many other men, (and deceiving also) themselves. When therefore the Corinthians heard that Paul was at Philippi, they sent a letter unto Paul to Macedonia by Threptus and Eutychus the deacons.

And the letter was after this manner:

1. Stephanus and the elders (presbyters) that are with him, even Daphnus and Eubulus and Theophilus and Zenon, unto Paul ***their brother eternal*** greeting in the Lord.

There have come unto Corinth two men, Simon and Cleobius, which are overthrowing the faith of many with evil (corrupt) words, which do thou prove ***and examine***: for we have never heard such words from thee nor from the other apostles: but all that we have received from thee or from them, that do we hold fast. Since therefore the Lord hath had mercy on us, that while thou art still in the flesh we may hear these things again from thee, if it be possible, either come unto us or write unto us. For we believe, according as it hath been revealed unto Theonoe, that the Lord hath delivered thee out of the hand of the lawless one (enemy, Laon).

Now the things which these men say and teach are these: They say that we must not use the prophets, and that God is not Almighty, and that there shall be no resurrection of the flesh, and that man was not made by God, and that Christ came not down (is not come, Copt.) in the flesh, neither was born of Mary, and that the world is not of God, but of the angels.

Wherefore, brother, ***we pray thee*** use all diligence to come unto us, that the church of the Corinthians may remain without offence, and the madness of these men may be made plain. Farewell ***always*** in the Lord.

2. The deacons Threptus and Eutyches brought the letter unto Philippi, so that Paul received it, being in bonds because of Stratonice the wife of Apollophanes, ***and he forgat his bonds***, and was sore afflicted, and cried out, saying: It were better for me to die and to be with the Lord, than to continue in the flesh and to hear such things ***and the calamities of false doctrine***, so that trouble cometh upon trouble. And over and above this so great affliction I am in bonds and behold these evils whereby the devices of Satan are accomplished. (Harnack: may not the priests (intrigues) of Satan anticipate me while (or after) I suffer (have suffered) fetters for the sake (?) of men.)

Paul therefore, in great affliction, wrote a letter, answering thus:

3. Paul, a prisoner of Jesus Christ, unto the brethren which are in Corinth, greeting.

Being in the midst of many tribulations, I marvel not if the teachings of the evil one run abroad apace. For my Lord Jesus Christ will hasten his coming, and will set at nought (no longer endure the insolence of) them that falsify his words.

For I delivered unto you in the beginning the things which I received of the ***holy*** apostles which were before me, who were at all times with Jesus Christ: namely, that our Lord Jesus Christ was born of Mary ***which is*** of the seed of David ***according to the flesh***, the Holy Ghost being sent forth from heaven from the Father unto her ***by the angel Gabriel***, that he (***Jesus***) might come down into this world and redeem all flesh by his flesh, and raise us up from the dead in the flesh, like as he hath shown to us in himself for an ensample. And because man was formed by his Father, therefore was he sought when he was lost, that he might be quickened by adoption. For to this end did God Almighty who made heaven and earth first send the prophets unto the Jews, that they might be drawn away from their sins. 10 For he designed to save the house of Israel: therefore he conferred a portion of the spirit of Christ upon the prophets and sent them unto the Jews first (or unto the first Jews), and they proclaimed the true worship of God for a long space of time. But the prince of iniquity, desiring to be God, laid hands on them and slew them (banished them from God, Laon manuscripts), and bound all flesh by evil lusts (***and the end of the world by judgement drew near***).

But God Almighty, who is righteous, would not cast away his own creation, ***but had compassion on them from heaven***, and sent his spirit into Mary ***in Galilee***, [Milan manuscripts and Arm.: ***who believed with all her heart and received the holy ghost in her womb, that jesus might come into the world,***] that by that flesh whereby that wicked one had brought in death (had triumphed), by the same he should be shown to be overcome. For by his own body Jesus Christ saved all flesh [***and restored it unto life***], that he might show forth the temple of righteousness in his body. In whom (or whereby) we are saved (Milan, Paris: in whom if we believe we are set free).

They therefore (Paris manuscripts; Arm. has: Know therefore that. Laon has: They therefore who agree with them) are not children of righteousness but children of wrath who reject the wisdom (providence?) of God, saying that the heaven and the earth and all that are in them are not the work of God. ***they therefore are children of wrath***, for cursed are they, following the teaching of the serpent, whom do ye drive out from you and flee from their doctrine. [Arm., Milan, Paris: ***for ye are not children of disobedience, but of the well-beloved church. therefore is the time of the resurrection proclaimed unto all***.]

And as for that which they say, that there is no resurrection of the flesh, they indeed shall have no resurrection ***unto life, but unto judgement,*** because they believe not in him that is risen from the dead, ***not believing nor understanding***, for they know not, O Corinthians, the seeds of wheat or of other seeds (grain), how they are cast bare into the earth and are corrupted and rise again by the will of God with bodies, and clothed. And not only that [body] which is cast in riseth again, but manifold more blessing itself [i.e. fertile and prospering]. And if we must not take an example from seeds ***only***, ***but from more noble bodies***, ye know how Jonas the son of Amathi, when he would not preach to them of Nineve, ***but fled***, was swallowed by the sea-monster; and after three days and three nights God heard the prayer of Jonas out of the lowest hell, and no part of him was consumed, not even an hair nor an eyelash. How much more, ***O ye of little faith***, shall he raise up you that have believed in Christ Jesus, like as he himself arose. Likewise also a dead man was cast upon the bones of the prophet Helisaetis by the children of Israel, and he arose, both body and soul and bones and spirit (Laon: arose in his body); how much more shall ye which have been cast upon the body and bones and spirit of the Lord [Milan, Paris: how much more, O ye of little faith, shall ye which have been cast on him] arise again in that day having your flesh whole, ***even as he arose***? [Arm., Milan, Paris: ***likewise also concerning the prophet helias: he raised up the widow's son from death: how much more shall the lord jesus raise you up from death at the sound of the trumpet, in the twinkling of an eye? for he hath showed us an ensample in his own body***.]

If, then, ye receive any other doctrine, ***God shall be witness against you;*** **And** let no man trouble me, for I bear these bonds that I may win Christ, and I therefore bear his marks in my body that I may attain unto the resurrection of the dead. And whoso receiveth (abideth in) the rule which he hath received by the blessed prophets and the holy gospel, shall receive a recompense from the Lord, ***and when he riseth from the dead shall obtain eternal life***. But whoso trans- gresseth these things, with him is the fire, and with them that walk in like manner (Milan, Paris: with them that go before in the same way, ***who are men without god***), which are a generation of vipers, whom do ye reject in the power of the Lord, and peace, ***grace, and love*** shall be with you.

(Laon adds: This I found in an old book, entitled the third to the Corinthians, though it is not in the Canon.)

ACTS OF PAUL CHAPTER 8
AT EPHESUS

[This episode is not traceable in the Coptic manuscript. but it undoubtedly formed part of the Acts, though its place is uncertain. It is preserved in an allusion by Hippolytus (early third century) and in an abstract by Nicephorus Callisti (fourteenth century) in his Ecclesiastical history (ii. 25). There is also a sentence in the Acts of Titus]:

'They departed from Crete and came to Asia: and at Ephesus twelve thousand believed at the teaching of the holy Paul: there also he fought with beasts, being thrown to a lion.'

[HIPPOLYTUS in his Commentary on Daniel, iii. 29, says]:

For if we believe that when Paul was condemned to the beasts the lion that was set upon him lay down at his feet and licked him, how shall we not believe that which happened in the case of Daniel?

NICEPHORUS:

[Now they who drew up the travels of Paul have related that he did many other things, and among them this, which befell when he was at Ephesus. Hieronymus being governor, Paul used liberty of speech, and he (Hieronymus) said that he (Paul) was able to speak well, but that this was not the time for such words. But the people of the city, fiercely enraged, put Paul's feet into irons, and shut him up in the prison, till he should be exposed as a prey to the lions. But Eubula and Artemilla, wives of eminent men among the Ephesians, being his attached disciples, and visiting him by night, desired the grace of the divine washing. And by God's power, with angels to escort them and enlighten the gloom of night with the excess of the brightness that was in them, Paul, loosed from his iron fetters, went to the sea-shore and initiated them into holy baptism, and returning to his bonds without any of those in care of the prison perceiving it, was reserved as a prey for the lions.

A lion, then, of huge size and unmatched strength was let loose upon him, and it ran to him in the stadium and lay down at his feet. And when many other savage beasts, too, were let loose, it was permitted to none of them to touch the holy body, standing like a statue in prayer. At this juncture a violent and vast hailstorm poured down all at once with a great rush, and shattered the heads of many men and beasts as well, and shore off the ear of Hieronymus himself. And thereafter, with his followers, he came to the God of Paul and received the baptism of salvation. But the lion escaped to the mountains.

And thence Paul sailed to Macedonia and Greece, and thereafter through Macedonia came to Troas and to Miletus, and from there set out for Jerusalem.

Now it is not surprising that Luke has not narrated this fight with the beasts along with the other Acts: for it is not permitted to entertain doubt because (or seeing that) John alone of the evangelists has told of the raising of Lazarus: for we know that not every one writes, believes, or knows everything, but according as the Lord has imparted to each, as the spirit divides to each, so does he perceive and believe and write spiritually the things of the spirit.

Hippolytus is a voucher for the early date of the story, and Nicephorus for its source. It will be recognised, moreover, at once as being quite in the manner of our author. The anger of the Ephesians, it cannot be doubted, was roused by Paul's preaching of continence, to which Eubula and Artemilla had become converts. The episode is really little more than a repetition of Thecla, with Paul for the principal figure.]

ACTS OF PAUL CHAPTER 9
FRAGMENTS: SCENES OF FAREWELL

[Paul speaking]: . . . thanksgiving (?)

The grace of the Lord will walk with me until I have fulfilled all the dispensations which shall come upon me with patience. But they were sorrowful, and fasted. And Cleobius was in the Spirit and said unto them: Brethren, (the Lord) will suffer Paul to fulfil every dispensation and thereafter will suffer him to go up (to Jerusalem). But thereafter shall be . . . . in much instruction and knowledge and sowing of the word, so that men shall envy him, and so he shall depart out of this world. But when Paul and the brethren heard this, they lifted up their voices, saying:

Next page, first extant line, 'beheld'. Second, 'shall say'. Third, But the Spirit came upon Myrte so that she said unto them: Brethren . . . and look upon this sign, that ye . . . For Paul the servant of the Lord shall save many in Rome, so that of them shall be no number, and he will manifest himself more than all the faithful. Thereafter shall . . . . of the Lord Jesus Christ come . . . . a great grace is . . . .at Rome. And this is the manner wherein the Spirit spake unto Myrte. And every one took the bread, and they were in joy, according to the custom of the fast, through . . . . and the psalms of David and . . . . he rejoiced.

On the next page the only significant words are 'to Rome'; 'the brethren'; 'grieved'; 'took the bread'; 'praised the Lord'; 'were very sorrowful'.

The next has ends of lines: 'the Lord'; 'risen'; 'Jesus'; 'Paul said to him'. The last is 'he (or they) greeted'.

Two more pages have nothing of moment. The next is concerned with the Martyrdom.

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ACTS OF PAUL CHAPTER 10
THE MARTYRDOM

[This, preserved separately to be read on the day of Commemoration, exists in two Greek copies, an incomplete Latin version, and versions in Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, Slavonic, besides fragments in our Coptic manuscript]:

1 Now there were awaiting Paul at Rome Luke from Galatia (Gaul, Gk.) and Titus from Dalmatia: whom when Paul saw he was glad: and hired a grange outside Rome, wherein with the brethren he taught the word of truth, and he became noised abroad and many souls were added unto the Lord, so that there was a rumour throughout all Rome, and much people came unto him from the household of Caesar, believing, and there was great joy.

And a certain Patroclus, a cup-bearer of Caesar, came at even unto the grange, and not being able because of the press to enter in to Paul, he sat in a high window and listened to him teaching the word of God. But whereas the evil devil envied the love of the brethren, Patroclus fell down from the window and died, and forthwith it was told unto Nero.

But Paul perceiving it by the spirit said: Men and brethren, the evil one hath gained occasion to tempt you: go out of the house and ye shall find a lad fallen from the height and now ready to give up the ghost; take him up and bring him hither to me. And they went and brought him; and when the people saw it they were troubled. But Paul said: Now, brethren, let your faith appear; come all of you and let us weep unto our Lord Jesus Christ, that this lad may live and we continue in quietness. And when all had lamented, the lad received his spirit again, and they set him on a beast and sent him back alive, together with the rest that were of Caesar's household.

2 But Nero, when he heard of the death of Patroclus, was sore grieved, and when he came in from the bath he commanded another to be set over the wine. But his servants told him, saying: Caesar, Patroclus liveth and standeth at the table. And Caesar, hearing that Patroclus lived, was affrighted and would not go in. But when he went in, he saw Patroclus, and was beside himself, and said: Patroclus, livest thou? And he said: I live, Caesar. And he said: Who is he that made thee to live? And the lad, full of the mind of faith, said: Christ Jesus, the king of the ages. And Caesar was troubled and said: Shall he, then, be king of the ages and overthrow all kingdoms? Patroclus saith unto him: Yea, he overthroweth all kingdoms and he alone shall be for ever, and there shall be no kingdom that shall escape him. And he smote him on the face and said: Patroclus, art thou also a soldier of that king? And he said: Yea, Lord Caesar, for he raised me when I was dead. And Barsabas Justus of the broad feet, and Urion the Cappadocian, and Festus the Galatian, Caesar's chief men, said: We also are soldiers of the king of the ages. And he shut them up in prison, having grievously tormented them, whom he loved much, and commanded the soldiers of the great king to be sought out, and set forth a decree to this effect, that all that were found to be Christians and soldiers of Christ should be slain.

3 And among many others Paul also was brought, bound: unto whom all his fellow-prisoners gave heed; so that Caesar perceived that he was over the camp. And he said to him: Thou that art the great king's man, but my prisoner, how thoughtest thou well to come by stealth into the government of the Romans and levy soldiers out of my province? But Paul, filled with the Holy Ghost, said before them all: 0 Caesar, not only out of thy province do we levy soldiers, but out of the whole world. For so hath it been ordained unto us, that no man should be refused who wisheth to serve my king. And if it like thee also to serve him (Lat. thou wilt not repent thereof: but think not that the wealth, &c., which seems better), it is not wealth nor the splendour that is now in this life that shall save thee; but if thou submit and entreat him, thou shalt be saved; for in one day (or one day) he shall fight against the world with fire. And when Caesar heard that, he commanded all the prisoners to be burned with fire, but Paul to be beheaded after the law of the Romans.

But Paul kept not silence concerning the word, but communicated with Longus the prefect and Cestus the centurion.

Nero therefore went on (was) (perhaps add 'raging') in Rome, slaying many Christians without a hearing, by the working of the evil one; so that the Romans stood before the palace and cried It sufficeth, Caesar! for the men are our own! thou destroyest the strength of the Romans! Then at that he was persuaded and ceased, and commanded that no man should touch any Christian, until he should learn throughly concerning them.

4 Then was Paul brought unto him after the decree; and he abode by his word that he should be beheaded. And Paul said: Caesar, it is not for a little space that I live unto my king; and if thou behead me, this will I do: I will arise and show myself unto thee that I am not dead but live unto my Lord Jesus Christ, who cometh to judge the world.

But Longus and Cestus said unto Paul: Whence have ye this king, that ye believe in him and will not change your mind, even unto death? And Paul communicated unto them the word and said: Ye men that are in this ignorance and error, change your mind and be saved from the fire that cometh upon all the world: for we serve not, as ye suppose, a king that cometh from the earth, but from heaven, even the living God, who because of the iniquities that are done in this world, cometh as a judge; and blessed is that man who shall believe in him and shall live for ever when he cometh to burn the world and purge it throughly. Then they beseeching him said: We entreat thee, help us, and we will let thee go. But he answered and said: I am not a deserter of Christ, but a lawful soldier of the living God: if I had known that I should die, O Longus and Cestus, I would have done it, but seeing that I live unto God and love myself, I go unto the Lord, to come with him in the glory of his Father. They say unto him: How then shall we live when thou art beheaded?

5 And while they yet spake thus, Nero sent one Parthenius and Pheres to see if Paul were already beheaded; and they found him yet alive. And he called them to him and said: Believe on the living God, which raiseth me and all them that believe on him from the dead. And they said: We go now unto Nero; but when thou diest and risest again, then will we believe on thy God. And as Longus and Cestus entreated him yet more concerning salvation, he saith to them: Come quickly unto my grave in the morning and ye shall find two men praying, Titus and Luke. They shall give you the seal in the Lord.

Then Paul stood with his face to the east and lifted up his hands unto heaven and prayed a long time, and in his prayer he conversed in the Hebrew tongue with the fathers, and then stretched forth his neck without speaking. And when the executioner (speculator) struck off his head, milk spurted upon the cloak of the soldier. And the soldier and all that were there present when they saw it marvelled and glorified God which had given such glory unto Paul: and they went and told Caesar what was done.

6 And when he heard it, while he marvelled long and was in perplexity, Paul came about the niuth hour, when many philosophers and the centurion were standing with Caesar, and stood before them all and said: Caesar, behold, I, Paul, the soldier of God, am not dead, but live in my God. But unto thee shall many evils befall and great punishment, thou wretched man, because thou hast shed unjustly the blood of the righteous, not many days hence. And having so said Paul departed from him. But Nero hearing it and being greatly troubled commanded the prisoners to be loosed, and Patroclus also and Barsabas and them that were with him.

7 And as Paul charged them, Longus and Cestus the centurion went early in the morning and approached with fear unto the grave of Paul. And when they were come thither they saw two men praying, and Paul betwixt them, so that they beholding the wondrous marvel were amazed, but Titus and Luke being stricken with the fear of man when they saw Longus and Cestus coming toward them, turned to flight. But they pursued after them, saying: We pursue you not for death but for life, that ye may give it unto us, as Paul promised us, whom we saw just now standing betwixt you and praying. And when they heard that, Titus and Luke rejoiced and gave them the seal in the Lord, glorifying the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ (Copt. and glorified the Lord Jesus Christ and all the saints).

Unto whom be glory world without end. Amen.

[The Coptic manuscript has a colophon: The Acts of Paul according to the Apostle.]

THE ACTS OF PETER AND PAUL
With the letter from Pontius Pilate to Claudius
From Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 8.
Translated by Alexander Walker, 1885
Edited by Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, 1886
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 360 A.D.

(The Acts of Peter and Paul is a pseudepigraphical 4th century Christian text of the genre Acts of the Apostles. An alternate version exists, known as the "Passion of Peter and Paul", with variances in the introductory part of the text. Some versions have been written by a certain Marcellus [may be attributed to Marcellus of Capua or Marcellus of Tangier?], thus the anonymous author, of whom nothing further is known and is sometimes referred to as pseudo-Marcellus. The text often includes a letter purporting to be from Pilate, known as Acts of Pilate (or Epistle of Pontius Pilate).

The text is framed as the tale of Paul's journey from the island of Gaudomeleta to Rome, where it also claims that on the way the ship also lands in Melita. It assigns Peter as Paul's brother. It also describes an early church tradition in which the death of Paul by beheading [a form of execution only persons were entitled to who held Roman citizenship].

The work appears to have been based on the Acts of Peter, with the addition of Paul's presence where before it was only Peter's. The work is dated to around 450 to 550. Latin as well as Greek versions survive, with the latter usually being longer. The Latin versions sometimes end with "I, Marcellus, have written what I saw." This Marcellus is identified as a disciple of Simon Magus, who lived in the 1st century. Because of this obvious anachronism, since the text is clearly written centuries later, scholars have dubbed him Pseudo-Marcellus.

Interesting is that the author of this document involves Emperor Nero [54–68 AD]. He is refering Pilatus as contemporary of Emperor Tiberius Claudius [r. 41–54 AD]. According to historians, Pilatus was procuator of Judaea from 26 to 36 or 37 AD, and therefore should be a contemporary of Emperor Tiberius Caesar. Either the author's memory on history was a bit hazy or the historians' timeline is entirely based on "Church tradition" which is well-known for its inreliability. As a confirmation serves a previous passage. We do not know whether Agrippa and Aggripina worked together: "And Peter saying this and such-like, the most part of the people believed. And it happened also that Nero's wife "Libia" and the yoke-fellow [fellow-labourer] of Agrippa the prefect [King Herod Agrippa], Agrippina by name, thus believed, so that also they went away from beside their own husbands;" meaning they had a sexual relationship. The problem is that Nero had no wife named Libia or Aggripina but he may well have known Julia Agrippina the Younger (15–59), sister of Caligula and fourth wife to Claudius, Nero's great uncle.

The main story, however, is about Paul, Peter, and Simon Magus who were brought before Emperor Nero as he heard that they had trouble with one another. The weird conversation is about miracles Paul and Peter had to perform in competition against Simon Magus: "Simon the Magian [Simon Magus], and Peter and Paul the apostles of Christ, having come in to Nero, Simon said: "These are the disciples of the Nazarene [Jesus], and it is not at all well that they should be of the people of the Jews [Messianists, Nero said: What is a Nazarene? Simon said: There is a city of Judah [Judaea] which has always been opposed to us, called Nazareth, and to it the teacher [James] of these men belonged." Peter requested a letter from Pontius Pilatus brought out of the Roman archives to answer Nero's question "What are the Nazoreans?"

When we read this conversation, and Pilatus' letter within it, we soon discover that it describes different acting groups: Simon Magus represents the group of the first [Jewish] Christians led by James the Just [the Teacher of Righteousness]; Paul and Peter represent the [Roman and Gentile] Christians; Pilatus represents the "guildless" Romans who were dragged into the affair of killing Jesus; and the "wicked Jews" and their High Priest [Ananus ben Ananus] represent the Messianic Movement [built of Zealots, Saducees / Zadikites, and Sicarii], who killed Jesus in a plot with the Romans. This document is highly anti-Jewish because it does not say by name that the "Jews" were here actually the "Messianists", and that they were fighting against all the other three groups.)

Text:

It came to pass, after Paul went out of the island Gaudomeleta, that he came to Italy; and it was heard of by the Jews who were in Rome, the elder of the cities, that Paul demanded to come to Caesar. Having fallen, therefore, into great grief and much despondency, they said among themselves: It does not please him that he alone has afflicted all our brethren and parents in Judaea and Samaria, and in all Palestine; and he has not been pleased with these, but, behold, he comes here also, having through imposition asked Caesar to destroy us.

Having therefore made an assembly against Paul, and having considered many proposals, it seemed good to them to go to Nero the emperor, to ask him not to allow Paul to come to Rome. Having therefore got in readiness not a few presents, and having carried them with them, with supplication they came before him, saying: We beseech you, O good emperor, send orders into all the governments of your worship, to the effect that Paul is not to come near these parts; because this Paul, having afflicted all the nation of our fathers, has been seeking to come hither to destroy us also. And the affliction, O most worshipful emperor, which we have from Peter is enough for us.

And the Emperor Nero, having heard these things, answered them: It is according to your wish. And we write to all our governments that he shall not on any account come to anchor in the parts of Italy. And they also informed Simon the Magian, having sent for him, that, as has been said, he should not come into the parts of Italy.

And while they were thus doing, some of those that had repented out of the nations, and that had been baptised at the preaching of Peter, sent elders to Paul with a letter to the following effect: Paul, dear servant of our Lord Jesus Christ, and brother of Peter, the first of the apostles, we have heard from the rabbis of the Jews that are in this Rome, the greatest of the cities, that they have asked Caesar to send into all his governments, in order that, wherever you may be found, you may be put to death. But we have believed, and do believe, that as God does not separate the two great lights which He has made, so He is not to part you from each other, that is, neither Peter from Paul, nor Paul from Peter; but we positively believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, into whom we

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have been baptised, that we have become worthy also of your teaching.

And Paul, having received the two men sent with the letter on the twentieth of the month of May, became eager to go, and gave thanks to the Lord and Master Jesus Christ. And having sailed from Gaudomeleta, he did not now come through Africa to the parts of Italy, but ran to Sicily, until he came to the city of Syracuse with the two men who had been sent from Rome to him. And having sailed thence, he came to Rhegium of Calabria, and from Rhegium he crossed to Mesina, and there ordained a bishop, Bacchylus by name. And when he came out of Mesina he sailed to Didymus, and remained there one night. And having sailed thence, he came to Pontiole on the second day.

And Dioscorus the shipmaster, who brought him to Syracuse, sympathizing with Paul because he had delivered his son from death, having left his own ship in Syracuse, accompanied him to Pontiole. And some of Peter's disciples having been found there, and having received Paul, exhorted him to stay with them. And he stayed a week, in hiding, because of the command of Caesar. And all the toparchs were watching to seize and kill him. But Dioscorus the shipmaster, being himself also bald, wearing his shipmaster's dress, and speaking boldly, on the first day went out into the city of Pontiole. Thinking therefore that he was Paul, they seized him, and beheaded him, and sent his head to Caesar.

Caesar therefore, having summoned the first men of the Jews, announced to them, saying: Rejoice with great joy, for Paul your enemy is dead. And he showed them the head. Having therefore made great rejoicing on that day, which was the fourteenth of the month of June, each of the Jews fully believed it.

And Paul, being in Pontiole, and having heard that Dioscorus had been beheaded, being grieved with great grief, gazing into the height of the heaven, said: O Lord Almighty in heaven, who hast appeared to me in every place whither I have gone on account of Your only-begotten Word, our Lord Jesus Christ, punish this city, and bring out all who have believed in God and followed His word. He said to them therefore: Follow me: And going forth from Pontiole with those who had believed in the word of God, they came to a place called Baias; and looking up with their eyes, they all see that city called Pontiole sunk into the sea-shore about one fathom; and there it is until this day, for a remembrance, under the sea.

And having gone forth from Baias, they went to Gaitas, and there he taught the word of God. And he stayed there three days in the house of Erasmus, whom Peter sent from Rome to teach the Gospel of God. And having come forth from Gaitas, he came to the castle called Taracinas, and stayed there seven days in the house of Caesarius the deacon, whom Peter had ordained by the laying on of hands. And sailing thence, he came by the river to a place called Tribus Tabernes.

And those who had been saved out of the city of Pontiole that had been swallowed up, reported to Caesar in Rome that Pontiole had been swallowed up, with all its multitude. And the emperor, being in great grief on account of the city, having summoned the chief of the Jews, said to them: Behold, on account of what I heard from you, I have caused Paul to be beheaded, and on account of this the city has been swallowed up. And the chief of the Jews said to Caesar: Most worshipful emperor, did we not say to you that he troubled all the country of the East, and perverted our fathers? It is better therefore, most worshipful emperor, that one city be destroyed, and not the seat of your empire; for this had Rome to suffer. And the emperor, having heard their words, was appeased.

And Paul stayed in Tribus Tabernes four days. And departing thence, he came to Appii Forum, which is called Vicusarape; and having slept there that night, he saw one sitting on a golden chair, and a multitude of blacks standing beside him, saying: I have today made a son murder his father. Another said: And I have made a house fall, and kill parents with children. And they reported to him many evil deeds—some of one kind, some of another. And another coming, reported to him: I have managed that the bishop Juvenalius, whom Peter ordained, should sleep with the abbess Juliana. And having heard all these things when sleeping in that Appii Forum, near Vicusarape, straightway and immediately he sent to Rome one of those who had followed him from Pontiole to the bishop Juvenalius, telling him this same thing which had just been done. And on the following day, Juvenalius, running, threw himself at the feet of Peter, weeping and lamenting, and saying what had just befallen; and he recounted to him the matter, and said: I believe that this is the light which you were awaiting. And Peter said to him: How is it possible that it is he when he is dead? And Juvenalius the bishop took to Peter him that had been sent by Paul, and he reported to him that he was alive, and on his way, and that he was at Appii Forum. And Peter thanked and glorified the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Then having summoned his disciples that believed, he sent them to Paul as far as Tribus Tabernes. And the distance from Rome to Tribus Tabernes is thirty-eight miles. And Paul seeing them, having given thanks to our Lord Jesus Christ, took courage; and departing thence, they slept in the city called Aricia.

And a report went about in the city of Rome that Paul the brother of Peter was coming. And those that believed in God rejoiced with great joy. And there was great consternation among the Jews; and having gone to Simon the Magian, they entreated him, saying: Report to the emperor that Paul is not dead, but that he is alive, and has come. And Simon said to the Jews: What head is it, then, which came to Caesar from Pontiole? Was it not bald also?

And Paul having come to Rome, great fear fell upon the Jews. They came together therefore to him, and exhorted him, saying: Vindicate the faith in which you were born; for it is not right that you, being a Hebrew, and of the Hebrews, should call yourself teacher of Gentiles, and vindicator of the uncircumcised; and, being yourself circumcised, that you should bring to nought the faith of the circumcision. And when you see Peter, contend against his teaching, because he has destroyed all the bulwarks of our law; for he has prevented the keeping of Sabbaths and new moons, and the holidays appointed by the law. And Paul, answering, said to them: That I am a true Jew, by this you can prove; because also you have been able to keep the Sabbath, and to observe the true circumcision; for assuredly on the day of the Sabbath God rested from all His works. We have fathers, and patriarchs, and the law. What, then, does Peter preach in the kingdom of the Gentiles? But if he shall wish to bring in any new teaching, without any tumult, and envy, and trouble, send him word, that we may see, and in your presence I shall convict him. But if his teaching be true, supported by the book and testimony of the Hebrews, it becomes all of us to submit to him.

Paul saying these and such like things, the Jews went and said to Peter: Paul of the Hebrews has come, and entreats you to come to him, since those who have brought him say that he cannot meet whomsoever he may wish until he appear before Caesar. And Peter having heard, rejoiced with great joy; and rising up, immediately went to him. And seeing each other, they wept for joy; and long embracing each other, they bedewed each other with tears.

And when Paul had related to Peter the substance of all his doings, and how, through the disasters of the ship, he had come, Peter also told him what he had suffered from Simon the Magian, and all his plots. And having told these things, he went away towards evening.

And in the morning of the following day, at dawn, behold, Peter coming, finds a multitude of the Jews before Paul's door. And there was a great uproar between the Christian Jews and the Gentiles. For, on the one hand, the Jews said: We are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, the friends of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets, with whom God spoke, to whom He showed His own mysteries and His great wonders. But you of the Gentiles are no great thing in your lineage; if otherwise, you have become polluted and abominable by idols and graven images.

While the Jews were saying such things, and such-like, those of the Gentiles answered, saying: We, when we heard the truth, straightway followed it, having abandoned our errors. But you, both knowing the mighty deeds of your fathers, and seeing the signs of the prophets, and having received the law, and gone through the sea with dry feet, and seen your enemies sunk in its depths, and the pillar of fire by night and of cloud by day shining upon you, and manna having been given to you out of heaven, and water flowing to you out of a rock — after all these things you fashioned to yourselves the idol of a calf, and worshipped the graven image. But we, having seen none of the signs, believe to be a Saviour the God whom you have forsaken in unbelief.

While they were contending in these and such-like words, the Apostle Paul said that they ought not to make such attacks upon each other, but that they should rather give heed to this, that God had fulfilled His promises which He swore to Abraham our father, that in his seed he should inherit all the nations. For there is no respect of persons with God. As many as have sinned in law shall be judged according to law, and as many as have sinned without law shall perish without law. Romans 2:12 But we, brethren, ought to thank God that, according to His mercy, He has chosen us to be a holy people to Himself: so that in this we ought to boast, whether Jews or Greeks; for you are all one in the belief of His name.

And Paul having thus spoken, both the Jews and they of the Gentiles were appeased. But the rulers of the Jews assailed Peter. And Peter, when they accused him of having renounced their synagogues, said: Hear, brethren, the holy Spirit about the patriarch David, promising, Of the fruit of your womb shall He set upon your throne. Him therefore to whom the Father said, You are my Son, this day have I begotten You, the chief priests through envy crucified; but that He might accomplish the salvation of the world, it was allowed that He should suffer all these things. Just as, therefore, from the side of Adam Eve was created, so also from the side of Christ was created the Church, which has no spot nor blemish. In Him, therefore, God has opened an entrance to all the sons of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in order that they may be in the faith of profession towards Him, and have life and salvation in His name. Turn, therefore, and enter into the joy of your father Abraham, because God has fulfilled what He promised to him. Whence also the prophet says, The Lord has sworn, and will not repent: You are a priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedek. For a priest He became upon the cross, when He offered the whole burnt-offering of His own body and blood as a sacrifice for all the world.

And Peter saying this and such-like, the most part of the people believed. And it happened also that Nero's wife Libia, and the yoke-fellow of Agrippa the prefect, Agrippina by name, thus believed, so that also they went away from beside their own husbands. And on account of the teaching of Paul, many, despising military life, clung to God; so that even from the emperor's bed-chamber some came to him, and having become Christians, were no longer willing to return to the army or the palace.

When, consequently, the people were making a seditious murmuring, Simon, moved with zeal, rouses himself, and began to say many evil things about Peter, saying that he was a wizard and a cheat. And they believed him, wondering at his miracles; for he made a brazen serpent move itself, and stone statues to laugh and move themselves, and himself to run and suddenly to be raised into the air. But as a set-off to these, Peter healed the sick by a word, by praying made the blind to see, put demons to flight by a command; sometimes he even raised the dead. And he said to the people that they should not only flee from Simon's deceit, but also that they should expose him, that they might not seem to be slaves to the devil.

And thus it happened that all pious men abhorred Simon the Magian, and proclaimed him impious. But those who adhered to Simon strongly affirmed Peter to be a magian, bearing false witness as many of them as were with Simon the Magian; so that the matter came even to the ears of Nero the Caesar, and he gave order to bring Simon the Magian before him. And he, coming in, stood before him, and began suddenly to assume different forms, so that on a sudden he became a child, and after a little an old man, and at other times a young man; for he changed himself both in face and stature into different forms, and was in a frenzy, having the devil as his servant. And Nero beholding this, supposed him to be truly the son of God; but the Apostle Peter showed him to be both a liar and a wizard, base and impious and apostate, and in all things opposed to the truth of God, and that nothing yet remained except that his wickedness, being made apparent by the command of God, might be made manifest to them all.

Then Simon, having gone in to Nero, said: Hear, O good emperor: I am the son of God come down from heaven. Until now I have endured Peter only calling himself an apostle; but now he has doubled the evil: for Paul also himself teaches the same things, and having his mind turned against me, is said to preach along with him; in reference to whom, if you shall not contrive their destruction, it is very plain that your kingdom cannot stand.

Then Nero, filled with concern, ordered to bring them speedily before him. And on the following day Simon the Magian, and Peter and Paul the apostles of Christ, having come in to Nero, Simon said: These are the disciples of the Nazarene, and it is not at all well that they should be of the people of the Jews, Nero said: What is a Nazarene? Simon said: There is a city of Judah which has always been opposed to us, called Nazareth, and to it the teacher of these men belonged. Nero said: God commands us to love every man; why, then, do you persecute them? Simon said: This is a race of men who have turned aside all Judaea from believing in me. Nero said to Peter: Why are you thus unbelieving, according to your race? Then Peter said to Simon: You have been able to impose upon all, but upon me never; and those who have been deceived, God has through me recalled from their error. And since you have learned by experience that you can not get the better of me, I wonder with what face you boast yourself before the emperor, and suppose that through your magic art you shall overcome the disciples of Christ. Nero said: Who is Christ? Peter said: He is what this Simon the Magian affirms himself to be; but this is a most wicked man, and his works are of the devil. But if you wish to know, O good emperor, the things that have been done in Judaea about Christ, take the writings of Pontius Pilate sent to Claudius, and thus you will know all. And Nero ordered them to be brought, and to be read in their presence; and they were to the following effect:— *"Pontius Pilate to Claudius, greeting. There has lately happened an event which I myself was concerned in. For the Jews through envy have inflicted on themselves, and those coming after them, dreadful judgements. Their fathers had promises that their God would send them his holy one from heaven, who according to reason should be called their king, and he had promised to send him to the earth by means of a virgin. He, then, when I was procurator, came into Judaea. And they saw him enlightening the blind, cleansing lepers, healing paralytics, expelling demons from men, raising the dead, subduing the winds, walking upon the waves of the sea, and doing many other wonders, and all the people of the Jews*

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calling him Son of God. Then the chief priests, moved with envy against him, seized him, and delivered him to me; and telling one lie after another, they said that he was a wizard, and did contrary to their law. And I, having believed that these things were so, gave him up, after scourging him, to their will; and they crucified him, and after he was buried set guards over him. But he, while my soldiers were guarding him, rose on the third day. And to such a degree was the wickedness of the Jews inflamed against him, that they gave money to the soldiers, saying, Say his disciples have stolen his body. But they, having taken the money, were not able to keep silence as to what had happened; for they have testified that they have seen him (after he was) risen, and that they have received money from the Jews. These things, therefore, have I reported, that no one should falsely speak otherwise, and that you should not suppose that the falsehoods of the Jews are to be believed."

And the letter having been read, Nero said: Tell me, Peter, were all these things thus done by him? Peter said: They were, with your permission, O good emperor. For this Simon is full of lies and deceit, even if it should seem that he is what he is not — a god. And in Christ there is all excellent victory through God and through man, which that incomprehensible glory assumed which through man deigned to come to the assistance of men. But in this Simon there are two essences, of man and of devil, who through man endeavours to ensnare men.

Simon said: I wonder, O good emperor, that you reckon this man of any consequence — a man uneducated, a fisherman of the poorest, and endowed with power neither in word nor by rank. But, that I may not long endure him as an enemy, I shall immediately order my angels to come and avenge me upon him. Peter said: I am not afraid of your angels; but they shall be much more afraid of me in the power and trust of my Lord Jesus Christ, whom you falsely declare yourself to be.

Nero said: Are you not afraid, Peter, of Simon, who confirms his godhead by deeds? Peter said: Godhead is in Him who searches the hidden things of the heart. Now then, tell me what I am thinking about, or what I am doing. I disclose to your servants who are here what my thought is, before he tells lies about it, in order that he may not dare to lie as to what I am thinking about. Nero said: Come hither, and tell me what you are thinking about. Peter said: Order a barley loaf to be brought, and to be given to me secretly. And when he ordered it to be brought, and secretly given to Peter, Peter said: Now tell us, Simon, what has been thought about, or what said, or what done.

Nero said: Do you mean me to believe that Simon does not know these things, who both raised a dead man, and presented himself on the third day after he had been beheaded, and who has done whatever he said he would do? Peter said: But he did not do it before me. Nero said: But he did all these before me. For assuredly he ordered angels to come to him, and they came. Peter said: If he has done what is very great, why does he not do what is very small? Let him tell what I had in my mind, and what I have done. Nero said: Between you, I do not know myself. Simon said: Let Peter say what I am thinking of, or what I am doing. Peter said: What Simon has in his mind I shall show that I know, by my doing what he is thinking about. Simon said: Know this, O emperor, that no one knows the thoughts of men, but God alone. Is not, therefore, Peter lying? Peter said: you, then, who sayest that you are the Son of God, tell what I have in my mind; disclose, if you can, what I have just done in secret. For Peter, having blessed the barley loaf which he had received, and hawing broken it with his right hand and his left, had heaped it up in his sleeves. Then Simon, enraged that he was not able to tell the secret of the apostle, cried out, saying: Let great dogs come forth, and eat him up before Caesar. And suddenly there appeared great dogs, and rushed at Peter. But Peter, stretching forth his hands to pray, showed to the dogs the loaf which he had blessed; which the dogs seeing, no longer appeared. Then Peter said to Nero: Behold, I have shown you that I knew what Simon was thinking of, not by words, but by deeds; for he, having promised that he would bring angels against me, has brought dogs, in order that he might show that he had not god-like but dog-like angels.

Then Nero said to Simon: What is it, Simon? I think we have got the worst of it. Simon said: This man, both in Judaea and in all Palestine and Caesarea, has done the same to me; and from very often striving with me, he has learned that this is adverse to them. This, then, he has learned how to escape from me; for the thoughts of men no one knows but God alone. And Peter said to Simon: Certainly you feign yourself to be a god; why, then, do you not reveal the thoughts of every man?

Then Nero, turning to Paul, said: Why do you say nothing, Paul? Paul answered and said: Know this, O emperor, that if you permit this magician to do such things, it will bring an access of the greatest mischief to your country, and will bring down your empire from its position. Nero said to Simon: What do you say? Simon said: If I do not manifestly hold myself out to be a god, no one will bestow upon me due reverence. Nero said: And now, why do you delay, and not show yourself to be a god, in order that these men may be punished? Simon said: Give orders to build for me a lofty tower of wood, and I, going up upon it, will call my angels, and order them to take me, in the sight of all, to my father in heaven; and these men, not being able to do this, are put to shame as uneducated men. And Nero said to Peter: Have you heard, Peter, what has been said by Simon? From this will appear how much power either he or your god has. Peter said: O most mighty emperor, if you were willing, you might perceive that he is full of demons. Nero said: Why do you make to me roundabouts of circumlocutions? Tomorrow will prove you.

Simon said: Do you believe, O good emperor, that I who was dead, and rose again, am a magician? For it had been brought about by his own cleverness that the unbelieving Simon had said to Nero: Order me to be beheaded in a dark place, and there to be left slain; and if I do not rise on the third day, know that I am a magician; but if I rise again, know that I am the Son of God.

And Nero having ordered this, in the dark, by his magic art he managed that a ram should be beheaded. And for so long did the ram appear to be Simon until he was beheaded. And when he had been beheaded in the dark, he that had beheaded him, taking the head, found it to be that of a ram; but he would not say anything to the emperor, lest he should scourge him, having ordered this to be done in secret. Thereafter, accordingly. Simon said that he had risen on the third day, because he took away the head of the ram and the limbs — but the blood had been there congealed — and on the third day he showed himself to Nero, and said: Cause to be wiped away my blood that has been poured out; for, behold, having been beheaded, as I promised, I have risen again on the third day.

And when Nero said, Tomorrow will prove you, turning to Paul, he says: You, Paul, why do you say nothing? Either who taught you, or whom you have for a master, or how you have taught in the cities, or what things have happened through your teaching? For I think that you have not any wisdom, and art not able to accomplish any work of power. Paul answered: Do you suppose that I ought to speak against a desperate man, a magician, who has given his soul up to death, whose destruction and perdition will come speedily? For he ought to speak who pretends to be what he is not, and deceives men by magic art. If you consent to hear his words, and to shield him, you shall destroy your soul and your kingdom, for he is a most base man. And as the Egyptians Jannes and Jambres led Pharaoh and his army astray until they were swallowed up in the sea, so also he, through the instruction of his father the devil, persuades men to do many evils to themselves, and thus deceives many of the innocent, to the peril of your kingdom. But as for the word of the devil, which I see has been poured out through this man, with groanings of my heart I am dealing with the Holy Spirit, that it may be clearly shown what it is; for as far as he seems to raise himself towards heaven, so far will he be sunk down into the depth of Hades, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth. But about the teaching of my Master, of which you asked me, none attain it except the pure, who allow faith to come into their heart. For as many things as belong to peace and love, these have I taught. Round about from Jerusalem, and as far as Illyricum, Romans 15:19 I have fulfilled the word of peace. For I have taught that in honour they should prefer one another; Romans 12:10 I have taught those that are eminent and rich not to be lifted up, and hope in uncertainty of riches, but to place their hope in God; 1 Timothy 6:17 I have taught those in a middle station to be content with food and covering; I have taught the poor to rejoice in their own poverty; I have taught fathers to teach their children instruction in the fear of the Lord, children to obey their parents in wholesome admonition; I have taught wives to love their own husbands, and to fear them as masters, and husbands to observe fidelity to their wives; I have taught masters to treat their slaves with clemency, and slaves to serve their own masters faithfully; Colossians 3:18-22 I have taught the churches of the believers to reverence one almighty, invisible, and incomprehensible God. And this teaching has been given me, not from men, nor through men, but through Jesus Christ, Galatians 1:1 who spoke to me out of heaven, who also has sent me to preach, saying to me, Go forth, for I will be with you; and all things, as many as you shall say or do, I shall make just.

Nero said: What do you say, Peter? He answered and said: All that Paul has said is true. For when he was a persecutor of the faith of Christ, a voice called him out of heaven, and taught him the truth; for he was not an adversary of our faith from hatred, but from ignorance. For there were before us false Christs, like Simon, false apostles, and false prophets, who, contrary to the sacred writings, set themselves to make void the truth; and against these it was necessary to have in readiness this man, who from his youth up set himself to no other thing than to search out the mysteries of the divine law, by which he might become a vindicator of truth and a persecutor of falsehood. Since, then, his persecution was not on account of hatred, but on account of the vindication of the law, the very truth out of heaven held intercourse with him, saying, I am the truth which you persecute; cease persecuting me. When, therefore, he knew that this was so, leaving off that which he was vindicating, he began to vindicate this way of Christ which he was persecuting.

Simon said: O good emperor, take notice that these two have conspired against me; for I am the truth, and they purpose evil against me. Peter said: There is no truth in you; but all you say is false.

Nero said: Paul, what do you say? Paul said: Those things which you have heard from Peter, believe to have been spoken by me also; for we purpose the same thing, for we have the same Lord Jesus the Christ. Simon said: Do you expect me, O good emperor, to hold an argument with these men, who have come to an agreement against me? And having turned to the apostles of Christ, he said: Listen, Peter and Paul: if I can do nothing for you here, we are going to the place where I must judge you. Paul said: O good emperor, see what threats he holds out against us. Peter said: Why was it necessary to keep from laughing outright at a foolish man, made the sport of demons, so as to suppose that he cannot be made manifest?

Simon said: I spare you until I shall receive my power. Paul said: See if you will go out hence safe. Peter said: If you do not see, Simon, the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, you will not believe yourself not to be Christ. Simon said: Most sacred emperor, do not believe them, for they are circumcised knaves. Paul said: Before we knew the truth, we had the circumcision of the flesh; but when the truth appeared, in the circumcision of the heart we both are circumcised, and circumcise. Peter said: If circumcision be a disgrace, why have you been circumcised, Simon?

Nero said: Has, then, Simon also been circumcised? Peter said: For not otherwise could he have deceived souls, unless he feigned himself to be a Jew, and made a show of teaching the law of God. Nero said: Simon, you, as I see, being carried away with envy, persecute these men. For, as it seems, there is great hatred between you and their Christ; and I am afraid that you will be worsted by them, and involved in great evils. Simon said: You are led astray, O emperor. Nero said: How am I led astray? What I see in you, I say. I see that you are manifestly an enemy of Peter and Paul and their master.

Simon said: Christ was not Paul's master. Paul said: Yes; through revelation He taught me also. But tell me what I asked you — Why were you circumcised? Simon said: Why have you asked me this? Paul said: We have a reason for asking you this. Nero said: Why are you afraid to answer them? Simon said: Listen, O emperor. At that time circumcision was enjoined by God when I received it. For this reason was I circumcised.

Paul said: Do you hear, O good emperor, what has been said by Simon? If, therefore, circumcision be a good thing, why have you, Simon, given up those who have been circumcised, and forced them, after being condemned, to be put to death? Nero said: Neither about you do I perceive anything good. Peter and Paul said: Whether this thought about us be good or evil has no reference to the matter; but to us it was necessary that what our Master promised should come to pass. Nero said: If I should not be willing? Peter said: Not as you will, but as He promised to us.

Simon said: O good emperor, these men have reckoned upon your clemency, and have bound you. Nero said: But neither have you yet made me sure about yourself. Simon said: Since so many excellent deeds and signs have been shown to you by me, I wonder how you should be in doubt. Nero said: I neither doubt nor favour any of you; but answer me rather what I ask.

Simon said: Henceforward I answer you nothing. Nero said: Seeing that you lie, therefore you say this. But if even I can do nothing to you, God, who can, will do it. Simon said: I no longer answer you. Nero said: Nor do I consider you to be anything: for, as I perceive, you are a liar in everything. But why do I say so much? The three of you show that your reasoning is uncertain; and thus in all things you have made me doubt, so that I find that I can give credit to none of you.

Peter said: We preach one God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that has made the heaven and the earth and the sea, and all that therein is, who is the true King; and of His kingdom there shall be no end. Luke 1:33 Nero said: What king is lord? Paul said: The Saviour of all the nations. Simon said: I am he whom you speak of. Peter and Paul said: May it never be well with you, Simon, magician, and full of bitterness.

Simon said: Listen, O Caesar Nero, that you may know that these men are liars, and that I have been sent from the heavens: tomorrow I go up into the heavens, that I may make those who believe in me blessed, and show my wrath upon those who have denied me. Peter and Paul said: Us long ago God called to His own glory; but you, called by the devil, hasten to punishment. Simon said: Caesar Nero, listen to me. Separate these madmen from you, in order that when I go into heaven to my father, I may be very merciful to you. Nero said: And whence shall we prove this, that you go away into heaven? Simon said: Order a lofty tower to be made of wood, and of great beams, that I may go up upon it, and that my angels

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may find me in the air; for they cannot come to me upon earth among the sinners. Nero said: I will see whether you will fulfil what you say.

Then Nero ordered a lofty tower to be made in the Campus Martius, and all the people and the dignities to be present at the spectacle. And on the following day, all the multitude having come together, Nero ordered Peter and Paul to be present, to whom also he said: Now the truth has to be made manifest. Peter and Paul said: We do not expose him, but our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, whom he has falsely declared himself to be.

And Paul, having turned to Peter, said: It is my part to bend the knee, and to pray to God; and yours to produce the effect, if you should see him attempting anything, because you were first taken in hand by the Lord. And Paul, bending his knees, prayed. And Peter, looking steadfastly upon Simon, said: Accomplish what you have begun; for both your exposure and our call is at hand: for I see my Christ calling both me and Paul. Nero said: And where will you go to against my will? Peter said: Whithersoever our Lord has called us. Nero said: And who is your lord? Peter said: Jesus the Christ, whom I see calling us to Himself. Nero said: Do you also then intend to go away to heaven? Peter said: If it shall seem good to Him that calls us. Simon said: In order that you may know, O emperor, that these are deceivers, as soon as ever I ascend into heaven, I will send my angels to you, and will make you come to me. Nero said: Do at once what you say.

Then Simon went up upon the tower in the face of all, and, crowned with laurels, he stretched forth his hands, and began to fly. And when Nero saw him flying, he said to Peter: This Simon is true; but you and Paul are deceivers. To whom Peter said: Immediately shall you know that we are true disciples of Christ; but that he is not Christ, but a magician, and a malefactor. Nero said: Do you still persist? Behold, you see him going up into heaven. Then Peter, looking steadfastly upon Paul, said: Paul, look up and see. And Paul, having looked up, full of tears, and seeing Simon flying, said: Peter, why are you idle? Finish what you have begun; for already our Lord Jesus Christ is calling us. And Nero hearing them, smiled a little, and said: These men see themselves worsted already, and are gone mad. Peter said: Now you shall know that we are not mad. Paul said to Peter: Do at once what you do.

And Peter, looking steadfastly against Simon, said: I adjure you, you angels of Satan, who are carrying him into the air, to deceive the hearts of the unbelievers, by the God that created all things, and by Jesus Christ, whom on the third day He raised from the dead, no longer from this hour to keep him up, but to let him go. And immediately, being let go, he fell into a place called Sacra Via, that is, Holy Way, and was divided into four parts, having perished by an evil fate.

Then Nero ordered Peter and Paul to be put in irons, and the body of Simon to be carefully kept three days, thinking that he would rise on the third day. To whom Peter said: He will no longer rise, since he is truly dead, being condemned to everlasting punishment. And Nero said to him: Who commanded you to do such a dreadful deed? Peter said: His reflections and blasphemy against my Lord Jesus Christ have brought him into this gulf of destruction. Nero said: I will destroy you by an evil taking off. Peter said: This is not in your power, even if it should seem good to you to destroy us; but it is necessary that what our Master promised to us should be fulfilled.

Then Nero, having summoned Agrippa the proprætor, said to him: It is necessary that men introducing mischievous religious observances should die. Wherefore I order them to take iron clubs, and to be killed in the sea-fight. Agrippa the proprætor said: Most sacred emperor, what you have ordered is not fitting for these men, since Paul seems innocent beside Peter. Nero said: By what fate, then, shall they die? Agrippa answered and said: As seems to me, it is just that Paul's head should be cut off, and that Peter should be raised on a cross as the cause of the murder. Nero said: You have most excellently judged.

Then both Peter and Paul were led away from the presence of Nero. And Paul was beheaded on the Ostesian road.

And Peter, having come to the cross, said: Since my Lord Jesus Christ, who came down from the heaven upon the earth, was raised upon the cross upright, and He has deigned to call to heaven me, who am of the earth, my cross ought to be fixed head down most, so as to direct my feet towards heaven; for I am not worthy to be crucified like my Lord. Then, having reversed the cross, they nailed his feet up.

And the multitude was assembled reviling Caesar, and wishing to kill him. But Peter restrained them, saying: A few days ago, being exhorted by the brethren, I was going away; and my Lord Jesus Christ met me, and having adored Him, I said, Lord, whither are You going? And He said to me, I am going to Rome to be crucified. And I said to Him, Lord, were You not crucified once for all? And the Lord answering, said, I saw you fleeing from death, and I wish to be crucified instead of you. And I said, Lord, I go; I fulfil Your command. And He said to me, Fear not, for I am with you. On this account, then, children, do not hinder my going; for already my feet are going on the road to heaven. Do not grieve, therefore, but rather rejoice with me, for today I receive the fruit of my labours. And thus speaking, he said: I thank You, good Shepherd, that the sheep which You have entrusted to me, sympathize with me; I ask, then, that with me they may have a part in Your kingdom. And having thus spoken, he gave up the ghost.

And immediately there appeared men glorious and strange in appearance; and they said: We are here, on account of the holy and chief apostles, from Jerusalem. And they, along with Marcellus, an illustrious man, who, having left Simon, had believed in Peter, took up his body secretly, and put it under the terebinth near the place for the exhibition of sea-fights in the place called the Vatican.

And the men who had said that they came from Jerusalem said to the people: Rejoice, and be exceeding glad, because you have been deemed worthy to have great champions. And know that Nero himself, after these not many days, will be utterly destroyed, and his kingdom shall be given to another.

And after these things the people revolted against him; and when he knew of it, he fled into desert places, and through hunger and cold he gave up the ghost, and his body became food for the wild beasts.

And some devout men of the regions of the East wished to carry off the relics of the saints, and immediately there was a great earthquake in the city; and those that dwelt in the city having become aware of it, ran and seized the men, but they fled. But the Romans having taken them, put them in a place three miles from the city, and there they were guarded a year and seven months, until they had built the place in which they intended to put them. And after these things, all having assembled with glory and singing of praise, they put them in the place built for them.

And the consummation of the holy glorious Apostles Peter and Paul was on the 29th of the month of June — in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be glory and strength.

The Story of Perpetua

And as Paul was being led away to be beheaded at a place about three miles from the city, he was in irons. And there were three soldiers guarding him who were of a great family. And when they had gone out of the gate about the length of a bow-shot, there met them a God-fearing woman; and she, seeing Paul dragged along in irons, had compassion on him, and wept bitterly. And the name of the woman was called Perpetua; and she was one-eyed. And Paul, seeing her weeping, says to her: Give me your handkerchief, and when I turn back I shall give it to you. And she, having taken the handkerchief, gave it to him willingly. And the soldiers laughed, and said to the woman: Why do you wish, woman, to lose your handkerchief? Do you not know that he is going away to be beheaded? And Perpetua said to them: I adjure you by the health of Caesar to bind his eyes with this handkerchief when you cut off his head. Which also was done. And they beheaded him at the place called Aquae Salviae, near the pine tree. And as God had willed, before the soldiers came back, the handkerchief, having on it drops of blood, was restored to the woman. And as she was carrying it, straightway and immediately her eye was opened.

And the three soldiers who had cut off the head of Saint Paul, when after three hours they came on the same day with the Bulla bringing it to Nero, having met Perpetua, they said to her: What is it, woman? Behold, by your confidence you have lost your handkerchief. But she said to them: I have both got my handkerchief, and my eye has recovered its sight. And as the Lord, the God of Paul, lives, I also have entreated him that I may be deemed worthy to become the slave of his Lord. Then the soldiers who had the Bulla, recognising the handkerchief, and seeing that her eye had been opened, cried out with a loud voice, as if from one mouth, and said: We too are the slaves of Paul's master. Perpetua therefore having gone away, reported in the palace of the Emperor Nero that the soldiers who had beheaded Paul said: We shall no longer go into the city, for we believe in Christ whom Paul preached, and we are Christians. Then Nero, filled with rage, ordered Perpetua, who had informed him of the soldiers, to be kept fast in irons; and as to the soldiers, he ordered one to be beheaded outside of the gate about one mile from the city, another to be cut in two, and the third to be stoned. And Perpetua was in the prison; and in this prison there was kept Potentiana, a noble maiden, because she had said: I forsake my parents and all the substance of my father, and I wish to become a Christian. She therefore joined herself to Perpetua, and ascertained from her everything about Paul, and was in much anxiety about the faith in Christ. And the wife of Nero was Potentiana's sister; and she secretly informed her about Christ, that those who believe in Him see everlasting joy, and that everything here is temporary, but there eternal: so that also she fled out of the palace, and some of the senators' wives with her. Then Nero, having inflicted many tortures upon Perpetua, at last tied a great stone to her neck, and ordered her to be thrown over a precipice. And her remains lie at the Momentan gate. And Potentiana also underwent many torments; and at last, having made a furnace one day, they burned her.

THE ACTS OF PHILIP

[Reconstructed Greek fragments; & 1 in Syriac Aramaic]
From: The Apocryphal New Testament
Montague Rhodes James,1924
Estimated Range of Dating: 250-400 A.D.

(Not to be confused with Philip the Evangelist. Philip the Apostle (Greek: Philippos) was one of the Twelve Apostles of Jesus according to the New Testament. Later Christian traditions describe Philip as the apostle who preached in Greece, Syria, and Phrygia.

The Synoptic Gospels list Philip as one of the apostles. The Gospel of John recounts Philip's calling as a disciple of Jesus.[John 1:43] Philip is described as a disciple from the city of Bethsaida [in the Golan Heights], and the evangelist connects him with Simon-Peter Kepa [or: Kephas] and his brother Andrew Kepa, who were from the same town. He also was among those surrounding John the Baptist when the latter first pointed out Jesus as the Lamb of God. It was Philip who first introduced Nathanael (identified with Bartholomew) to Jesus. According to Butler, Philip was among those attending the wedding at Cana.

In the Gospel account, Jesus, his mother and his disciples are invited to a wedding, and when the wine runs out, Jesus delivers a sign of his divinity by turning water into wine. The transformation of water into wine at the Marriage at Cana or Wedding at Cana is the first miracle attributed to Jesus in the Gospel of John.

Of the four Gospels, Philip figures most prominently in the Gospel of John. Jesus is asked by Philip on how to feed the 5,000 people. Later he appears as a link to the Greek community. Philip bore a Greek name, may have spoken Greek, and may have been known to the Greek pilgrims in Jerusalem. He advises Andrew that certain Greeks wish to meet Jesus, and together they inform Jesus of this (John 12:21). During the Last Supper, when Philip asked Jesus to show them the Father, he provides Jesus the opportunity to teach his disciples about the unity of the Father and the Son.

Accounts of Philip's life and ministry exist in the extra-canonical writings of later Christians. However, some can be misleading, as many hagiographers conflated Philip the Apostle with Philip the Evangelist.

An early extra-biblical story about St. Philip is preserved in the apocryphal Letter from Peter to Philip, one of the texts in the Nag Hammadi Library, and dated to the end of the 2nd century or early 3rd. This text begins with a letter from St Peter to Philip the apostle, asking him to rejoin the other apostles who had gathered at the Mount of Olives. Fred Lapham believes that this letter indicates an early tradition that "at some point between the Resurrection of Jesus and the final parting of his risen presence from the disciples, Philip had undertaken a sole missionary enterprise, and was, for some reason, reluctant to return to the rest of the Apostles." This mission is in harmony with the later tradition that each disciple was given a specific missionary charge. Lapham explains the central section, a Gnostic dialogue between the risen Christ and his disciples, as a later insertion.

Later stories about Saint Philip's life can be found in the anonymous Acts of Philip, probably written by a contemporary of Eusebius. This non-canonical book recounts the preaching and miracles of Philip. Following the resurrection of Jesus, Philip was sent with his sister Mariamne and Bartholomew to preach in Greece, Phrygia, and Syria. Included in the Acts of Philip is an appendix, entitled "Of the Journey of Philip the Apostle: From the Fifteenth Act Until the End, and Among Them the Martyrdom." This appendix gives an account of Philip's martyrdom in the city of Hierapolis. According to this account, through a miraculous healing and his preaching Philip converted the wife of the proconsul of the city. This enraged the proconsul, and he had Philip, Bartholomew, and Mariamne all tortured. Philip and Bartholomew were then crucified upside-down, and Philip preached from his cross. As a result of Philip's preaching the crowd released Bartholomew from his cross, but Philip insisted that they not release him, and Philip died on the cross. Another legend is that he was martyred by beheading in the city of Hierapolis.

The Martyrdom [one of the last chapters of the narrative] was first found and edited by Tischendorf. Batiffol added more fragments in 1890, and Bonnet using more manuscripts, gives the final edition in his Acta Apost. Apocr. ii. 1. Besides the nine now extant Greek chapters of text, there is a single Act extant only in Syriac, edited by Wright, which, so far as its general character goes, might well have formed part of the Greek Acts: but it is difficult to fit it into the framework. Chapters 10-14 are missing.)

Text:

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ACTS OF PHILIP CHAPTER 1

When he came out of Galilee and raised the dead man.

1 When he was come out of Galilee, a widow was carrying out her only son to burial. Philip asked her about her grief: I have spent in vain much money on the gods, Ares, Apollo, Hermes, Artemis, Zeus, Athena, the Sun and Moon, and I think they are asleep as far as I am concerned. And I consulted a diviner to no purpose.

2 The apostle said: Thou hast suffered nothing strange, mother, for thus doth the devil deceive men. Assuage thy grief and I will raise thy son in the name of Jesus.

3 She said: It seems it were better for me not to marry, and to eat nothing but bread and water. Philip: You are right. Chastity is especially dear to God.

4 She said: I believe in Jesus whom thou preachest. He raised her son, who sat up and said: Whence is this light? and how comes it that an angel came and opened the prison of judgement where I was shut up? where I saw such torments as the tongue of man cannot describe.

5 So all were baptised. And the youth followed the apostle.

ACTS OF PHILIP CHAPTER 2

When he went unto Greece of Athens (!)

6 When he entered into the city of Athens which is called Hellas, 300 philosophers gathered and said: Let us go and see what his wisdom is, for they say of the wise men of Asia that their wisdom is great. For they supposed Philip to be a philosopher: he travelled only in a cloak and an undergarment. So they assembled and looked into their books, lest he should get the better of them.

7 They said: If you have anything new to tell us, let us hear it, for we need nothing else but only to hear some new thing.

8 Philip: Then you must cast away the old man. The Lord said: Ye cannot put new wine into old bottles. I am glad to hear that you desire something new, for my Lord's teaching is new.

9 The philosophers: Who is thy Lord? Philip: Jesus Christ.

10 They: This is a new name to us. Give us three days to look into it.

11 They consulted, and said: Perhaps it will be best to send for the high priest of the Jews to discuss it with him.

12 So they wrote: The philosophers of Greece to Ananias the great high priest of the Jews at Jerusalem -and stated the case.

13 On reading the letter Ananias rent his clothes and said: Is that deceiver in Athens also? And Mansemat, that is, Satan entered into him. (This is another form of Mastema, the name of Satan in Jubilees and elsewhere.) And he consulted with the lawyers and Pharisees, and they said: Arm thyself and take 500 men and go and at all costs destroy Philip.

14 So he came in the high-priestly garments with great pomp and he and the philosophers went to Philip's lodging, and he came out, and Ananias said: Thou sorcerer and wizard, I know thee, that thy master the deceiver at Jerusalem called thee son of thunder; did not Judaea suffice you, but must you come here to deceive? Philip said: May the veil of unbelief be taken from thee, and thou learn who is the deceiver, thou or I.

15 Ananias' address: how Jesus destroyed the law and allowed all meats -was crucified, the disciples stole his body, and did many wonders, and were cast out of Jerusalem, and now go all about the world deceiving every one, like this Philip. But I will take him to Jerusalem, for the king Archelaus seeketh him to kill him.

16 The people were not moved. Philip said: I will appeal to my God.

17 Ananias ran at him to smite him, his hand withered and he was blinded, and so were his 500 men: they cursed him, and prayed Philip for help.

18 Philip's prayer: O weak nature . . . O bitter sea. Come, Jesu, the holy light -thou overlookest us not when we cry to thee....

19 Ananias to Philip: Thinkest thou to turn us from the traditions of our fathers, and the God of the manna in the wilderness, and Moses, to follow the Nazarene, Jesus? Philip: I will ask my God to manifest himself to thee and to these -perchance thou wilt believe: but if not, a wonder shall befall thee. And he prayed God to send his Son.

20 The heavens opened and Jesus appeared in glory, his face seven times brighter than the sun, and his raiment whiter than snow. All the idols of Athens fell, and the devils in them fled crying out. Philip said: Hearest thou not the devils, and believest thou not him that is here? Ananias: I have no God save him that gave the manna in the wilderness.

21 Jesus went up into heaven, and there was a great earthquake, and the people fled to the apostle, crying for mercy.

22 Philip: There is no envy in us, and the grace of Christ shall restore your sight, but first let the high priest see. A voice from heaven: Philip, once son of thunder but now of meekness whatsoever thou askest my Father he will do for thee. The people were afraid at the voice. In the name of Christ, Philip made Ananias see. He said: How great is the art magic of Jesus! this Philip in a moment (or for a little) hath blinded me and in a moment restored my sight! I cannot be convinced by witchcraft. The 500 asked Philip to give back their sight that they might slay the unbelieving Ananias.

23 Philip: Render not evil for evil. To Ananias: There shall be a great sign shown in thee. Ananias: I know that thou art a sorcerer and disciple of Jesus; thou canst not bewitch me. Philip to Jesus: Zabarthan, sabathabat, bramanouch, come quickly! The earth opened and swallowed Ananias to the knees. He cried: This is real magic, that the earth clave when Philip threatened it in Hebrew -and there are hooks below pulling at my legs to make me believe, but I will not, for I know his witchcraft from Jerusalem.

24 Philip, to the earth: Take him to the middle. And he sank further and said: One foot is frozen and the other hot -but I will not believe. The people wanted to stone him, but Philip checked them: This is for your salvation; if he repent, I will bring him up, but if not, he shall be swallowed into the deep.

25 He spread out his hand in the air over the 500, and their eyes were opened and they praised God. Philip, to Ananias: Confess now with a pure heart that Jesus is Lord, that thou mayest be saved like these. But he laughed at him.

26 Seeing him obstinate, Philip said to the earth: Open and swallow him to the neck. 27 And one of the first men of the city came and said: A devil has attacked my son, saying: As thou hast let a stranger come to the city, who destroys our idols what can I do but kill thine only son? and he has suffocated him help me, for I also believe.

28 Bring me thy son. And he ran, calling to his son, and bade the servants bring him: he was 23 years old. Philip seeing him grieved, and said to Ananias: This is through your folly: if I raise him will you believe? Ananias: I know you will raise him by your magic, but I will not believe. Philip was wroth and said: Catathema (cursed thing), go down into the abyss in the sight of all. And he was swallowed up: but the high-priestly robe flew away from him, and therefore no man knows where it is from that day.

Philip raised the lad and drove away the devil.

29 The people cried out, believing in God, and the 500 were baptised. And Philip stayed two years at Athens, and founded a church and ordained a bishop and a presbyter, and departed to Parthia to preach.

ACTS OF PHILIP CHAPTER 3

Done in Parthia by Philip.

30 When Philip came to Parthia he found in a city the apostle Peter with disciples, and said: I pray you strengthen me, that I may go and preach like you.

31 And they prayed for him.

32 And John was there also, and said to Philip: Andrew is gone to Achaia and Thrace, and Thomas to India and the wicked flesh-eaters, and Matthew to the savage troglodytes. And do thou not be slack, for Jesus is with thee. And they let him depart.

33 And he came to the sea in the borders of the Candaci and found a ship going to Azotus, and agreed with the sailors for four staters, and sailed. A great wind came, and they began to cast out the tackle and say farewell to each other and lament.

34 Philip consoled them: Not even the ship shall be lost. He went up on the prow and said: Sea, sea, Jesus Christ by me his servant bids thee still thy wrath. There was calm, and the sailors thanked him and asked to become servants of Jesus.

35 And he instructed them to forsake the cares of this life.

36 And they believed, and Philip landed and baptised them all.

ACTS OF PHILIP CHAPTER 4

Of the daughter of Nicocleides, whom he healed at Azotus.

37 There was great commotion in Azotus because of Philip's miracles, and many came and were healed, and devils were cast out and cried out against him. And people said divers things of him, some that he was good, and others that he was a wizard, and separated husbands and wives and preached chastity.

38 Evening came on and all dispersed. Philip sought a lodging, and went to the warehouses of one Nicocleides, a recorder (registrar), friend of the king, where many strangers lodged.

39 He stood in a corner and prayed for blessing and healing on the house.

40 Charitine, daughter of Nicocleides, heard him and wept all night. She had a sore disease in her eye. In the morning she went to her father and said: I can no longer bear the taunts of my companions about my eye. He said: What can I do? have I not called in Leucius the king's physician and Elides the queen's eunuch and Solgia her attendant. She: I know it, but there is a strange physician come here last night: call him.

41 He went to the warehouses and found Philip: Art thou the physician lately come? Philip: Jesus is my physician. I will come with thee. They found the daughter weeping.

42 After reassuring words she fell at his feet: I sprinkle my chamber with pure water and lay my linen garments under thy feet, help me, for I know thou canst. To her father: Let us bring him in, and let him see my disease.

43 Philip comforted and instructed them, and bade her rise and put her right hand on her face and say: In the name of Jesus Christ let my eye be healed. And it was.

44 And both believed and were baptised, and a number of servants. And Charitine put on male attire and followed Philip.

ACTS OF PHILIP CHAPTER 5

Done in the city Nicatera; and of Ireus.

45 Philip had in mind to go to Nicatera, a city of Greece, and many disciples accompanied him, and he taught continually.

46 And when he arrived there was great stir: What shall we do for his teaching will prevail . . . he separates husbands and wives. Let us cast him out before he begins to preach and our wives are deceived.

47 There were Jews, too, who spoke against him; but a chief of them, Ireus, said: Do not use force; let us test his teaching.

48 Ireus was wealthy. He was a just man and desired quietly to foil their counsel. He went to Philip and greeted him. And Philip saw there was no guile in him, and promised him salvation, for having stood up for him.

49 Ireus was surprised at his knowing this. Philip exhorted him to faith and constancy.

50 Ireus: Lodge at my house. Philip: First cleanse it. Ireus: How? Philip: Do no wrong, and leave thy wife. And he went home.

51 His wife said: I hear you foiled the counsel of the Jews about a strange sorcerer. Ireus: Would that we might be worthy to have him lodge here. She: I will not have him here, for he separates husbands and wives. I will go home to my parents and take my dowry and servants; four years I have been your wife and never contradicted you.

52 Ireus mildly: Have patience, and you also will believe. She: Rise, eat, drink and be merry, for you cannot deceive me. Ireus: How can I eat while the man of God is hungry? Put away this folly: he is a man of God, of mildness and grace.

53 She: Is his God like those of this city, of gold, fixed in the temple? Ireus: No, but in heaven, almighty: the gods of this city are made by ungodly men. She: Bring him, that I may see the god in him.

54 He went to meet Philip, who told him what had passed, and Ireus was amazed at his knowledge, but asked him not to publish the reproach of his wife.

55 Philip's companions urged him to accept the refuge provided: and Ireus was glad. Philip consented to come, and followed Ireus.

56 The rulers and people saw it and determined not to allow it. Ireus arriving at his gate cried to the porter to open. Philip entered saying: Peace be to this house. Ireus found that his wife was in her chamber and went and asked her to come, and put off her gay robes. But she was angry and said: No one of the house has ever seen my face, and shall I show it to a stranger?

57 So he went out and set fine gilt chairs for Philip and the rest. But he said: Take them away. Ireus: Do not grieve me. Philip: I grieve no one, but I have no use for gold, which passes away, &c.

58 Ireus: Can I be saved? for my former sins trouble me Philip: Yes, Jesus is able to save you. And what of your wife who just now said to you: Depart from me, &c. ? Ireus, surprised went to his wife and said: Come and see a man who has told me what passed between you and me. She was scornful, and said: What is to become of our children if we have to give up all our worldly wealth?

59 Artemela his daughter was listening. and said: If my father and mother are to enter a new life, may I not share it? She was very beautiful. Her mother Nerkela told her to rise and put off her gold-woven dress. Ireus said to Nerkela: Let us go out and see Philip [it seems Nerkela was converted, but the text does not show this clearly].

60 The women changed their attire for a sober one, and they all went out. And when they saw Philip, he shone with a great light, so that they were afraid.

61 But he saw it, and returned to his former likeness: and Nerkela asked pardon of him and made him welcome.

62, 63 And they professed belief and were instructed and baptised.

ACTS OF PHILIP CHAPTER 6

In Nicatera, a city of Greece.

64 The Jews and heathens were displeased at Ireus' conversion,

65 and sent seven men to his house. A handmaid told him of them; he came out smiling and asked their errand. 'The whole city wishes to see you.' He followed them.

66 And the assembly were surprised at his modest garb. One Onesimus asked him to explain about the sorcerer Philip.

67 Ireus: Why am I examined thus? do not trouble Philip.

68 But they said: Away with him. And Ireus went home and met Philip, who said: Are you afraid? No, he said.

69 The people now came with staves, crying out: Give us the deceiver.

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70 Philip came forth and they took him to the assembly to scourge him, and said: Bind him hand and foot.

71 Ireus ran up the steps and cried: You shall not. But they would not hear, and Ireus pulled Philip away from them.

72 Philip said: If I choose, I can blind you; Aristarchus, son of Plegenes, a chief of the Jews, said: Do not be in a hurry to blind us: I know you can; but let us discuss I am powerful, and if I let the people, they will stone you;

73 And he caught Philip by the beard; he was rather angry, because of the people, and said: Your hand and your ears and your right eye shall suffer for threatening me and insulting God.

74 His eye became hollow as if absent, his ears pained him, his right hand dangled useless. He cried out for mercy.

75 They all said: Heal our chief.

76 Philip told Ireus to go sign him with the cross and heal him in Jesus' name, which was done, and he asked pardon and indulgence and leave to discuss the matter. And the people said: We will judge of it.

77 Philip smiled and bade him speak first. He said: Do you receive the prophets or no? Philip: Because of your unbelief there is need of the prophets. Aristarchus: It is written: Who shall declare thy might, O God? and, No man can know thy glory; and, Thy glory hath filled the earth; and, The Lord is judge of quick and dead; and God is a consuming fire and shall burn up his enemies on every side; and, One God hath made all these things. How then say you that Mary bore Jesus? . . . But you will say that he is the power and wisdom of God who was with him when he made the world. I do not deny that the first Scripture says: Let us make man.

78 Philip smiled and said: Hearken all: Isaiah said, Behold my servant (child) whom I have chosen . . . . And of the cross: He was led as a sheep to the slaughter . . . . And again: I gave my back to the scourger . . . . And another: I spread out my hands to a disobedient people. And: I was found of them that sought me not . . . . And David saith: Thou art my son . . . . And of his resurrection and Judas: Lord, why are they increased that trouble me . . . . And again David: I foresaw the Lord always before me . . . . But David is dead. Take also of the twelve prophets: Say unto the daughter of Sion . . . . And: Out of Egypt have I called my son.

79 Aristarchus said: This Jesus is called Christ. Isaiah: Thus saith the Lord unto Christ my lord . . . . The Jews said: You are arguing for Christ. The people and rulers acclaimed Philip and said he should be received.

80 A bier was brought with a dead man, only son of a rich man: and with it ten slaves who were to be burnt with the corpse. The people said: Here is a great contest for the Christians. If theirs be God he will raise him and we will believe, and burn our idols.

81 Philip said to the parents: What will you do if I raise him? ' What you will.' The slaves made signs to him to remember them. There was this evil law of burning slaves, and sometimes even men's wives.

82 Philip said: Give me these slaves. Yes, and any more that you will.' He said to Aristarchus: Come, O Jew, raise him. And he touched his face and spat much on him and pulled his hand: in vain, and retired in confusion.

83 Nereus the father said: Raise my son and I will fight the Jews. Philip: If you will not promise not to hurt them, I will not raise him. Nerus: As you will.

84 Philip went to the bier and prayed, and breath entered into the lad Theophilus, and he opened his eyes and looked on Philip. A second time Philip said: Young man, in the name of Jesus Christ who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, arise.

85 And he leapt from the bier. All cried: One is the God of Philip . . . and the slaves were made free. All believed.

86 Philip taught, baptised, destroyed idols, ordained, gave canons and rules.

ACTS OF PHILIP CHAPTER 7

Of Nerkela (and) Ireus at Nicatera.

87 Nerkela and Artemela were blessed by Philip.

88 Ireus and Nereus consulted about building a church, and agreed to build it on Nereus' land.

89 Only the Jews were discontented and decided to withdraw. 90 Philip came to the new building and addressed the people,

91 and made Ireus bishop and prayed over him, and announced that he was going away.

92 All wept, but he consoled them.

93 They loaded camels with provisions and accompanied him 20 stadia. He dismissed them and would only take five loaves. They all saluted him thrice, and fell on their faces and prayed for his blessing, and watched him out of sight, and returned to the city.

ACTS OF PHILIP CHAPTER 8

Wherein the kid and the leopard in the wilderness believed

94 It came to pass when the Saviour divided the apostles and each went forth according to his lot, that it fell to Philip to go to the country of the Greeks: and he thought it hard, and wept. And Mariamne his sister (it was she that made ready the bread and salt at the breaking of bread, but Martha was she that ministered to the multitudes and laboured much) seeing it, went to Jesus and said: Lord, seest thou not how my brother is vexed?

95 And he said: I know, thou chosen among women; but go with him and encourage him, for I know that he is a wrathful and rash man, and if we let him go alone he will bring many retributions on men. But lo, I will send Bartholomew and John to suffer hardships in the same city, because of the much wickedness of them that dwell there; for they worship the viper, the mother of snakes. And do thou change thy woman's aspect and go with Philip. And to Philip he said: Why art thou fearful? for I am always with thee.

96 So they all set out for the land of the Ophiani; and when they came to the wilderness of dragons, lo, a great leopard came out of a wood on the hill, and ran and cast himself at their feet and spoke with human voice: I worship you, servants of the divine greatness and apostles of the only-begotten Son of God; command me to speak perfectly.

97 And Philip said: In the name of Jesus Christ, speak. And the leopard took perfect speech and said: Hear me Philip, groomsman of the divine word. Last night I passed through the flocks of goats over against the mount of the she-dragon, the mother of snakes, and seized a kid, and when I went into the wood to eat, after I had wounded it, it took a human voice and wept like a little child, saying to me: O leopard, put off thy fierce heart and the beast like part of thy nature, and put on mildness, for the apostles of the divine greatness are about to pass through this desert, to accomplish perfectly the promise of the glory of the only-begotten Son of God. At these words of the kid I was perplexed, and gradually my heart was changed, and my fierceness turned to mildness, and I did not eat it. And as I listened to its words, I lifted up my eyes and saw you coming, and knew that ye were the servants of the good God. So I left the kid and came to worship you. And now I beseech thee to give me liberty to go with thee everywhere and put off my beastlike nature.

98 And Philip said: Where is the kid? And he said: It is cast down under the oak opposite. Philip said to Bartholomew: Let us go and see him that was smitten, healed, and healing the smiter. And at Pllilip's bidding the leopard guided them to where the kid lay.

99 Philip and Bartholomew said: Now know we of a truth that there is none that surpasseth thy compassion, O Jesu lover of man; for thou preventest us and dost convince us by these creatures to believe more and earnestly fulfil our trust. Now therefore, Lord Jesu Christ, come and grant life and breath and secure footing (existence ?) to these creatures, that they may forsake their nature of beast and cattle and come unto tameness, and no longer eat flesh, nor the kid the food of cattle; but that men's hearts may be given them, and they may follow us wherever we go, and eat what we eat, to thy glory, and speak after the manner of men, glorifying thy name.

100 And in that hour the leopard and kid rose up and lifted up their forefeet and said: We glorify and bless thee that hast visited and remembered us in this desert, and changed our beastlike and wild nature into tameness, and granted us the divine word, and put in us a tongue and sense to speak and praise thy name, for great is thy glory.

101 And they fell and worshipped Philip and Bartholomew and Mariamne; and all set out together praising God.

ACTS OF PHILIP CHAPTER 9

Of the dragon that was slain.

102 They journeyed five days, and one morning after the midnight prayers a sudden wind arose, great and dark (misty), and out of it ran a great smoky (misty) dragon, with a black back, and a belly like coals of brass in sparkles of fire, and a body over 100 cubits long, and a multitude of snakes and their young followed it, and the desert quaked for a long distance.

103 And Philip said: Now is the time to remember the Lord's words: Fear nothing, neither persecution, nor the serpents of that land, nor the dark dragon. Let us stand fast and his power will fail; and pray and sprinkle the air from the cup and the smoke will scatter.

104 So they took the cup and prayed: Thou that sheddest dew on all pyres and bridlest darkness, putting a bit into the dragon's mouth, bringing to nought his anger, turning back the wickedness of the enemy and plunging him into his own fire, shutting his doors and stopping the exits and buffeting his pride: come and be with us in this desert, for we run by thy will and at thy bidding.

105 And he said: Now stand and raise your hands, with the cup you hold, and sprinkle the air in the form of the cross.

106 And there was as a flash of lightning which blinded the dragon and its brood; and they were withered up; and the rays of the sun entered the holes and broke the eggs. But the apostles closed their eyes, unable to face the lightning, and remained unhurt. It does not seem as if much could have intervened between this Act and the Martyrdom, except perhaps the conversion of some people in the snake-city. However, the manuscripts give a title thus: Out of the Travels of Philip the Apostle: from the fifteenth Act to the end, wherein is the Martyrdom.

107 (Introductory.) In the days of Trajan, after the Martyrdom of Simon, son of Clopas, bishop of Jerusalem, successor to James, Philip the apostle was preaching through all the cities of Lydia and Asia.

108 And he came to the city Ophioryme (Snake street), which is called Hierapolis of Asia, and was received by Stachys, a believer. And with him were Bartholomew, one of the Seventy, and his sister Mariamne, and their disciples. And they assembled at Stachys' house.

109 And Mariamne sat and listened to Philip discoursing.

110-112 He spoke of the snares of the dragon, who has 'no shape' in creation, and is recognised and shunned by beasts and birds.

113 For the men of the place worshipped the snake and had images of it, and called Hierapolis Ophioryme. And many were converted.

114 And Nicanora the proconsul's wife believed, she was diseased, especially in her eyes, and had been healed. She now came in a silver litter.

115 And Mariamne said in Hebrew: Alikaman, ikasame, marmari, iachaman, mastranan, achaman, which means: O daughter of the father, my lady, who wast given as a pledge to the serpent, Christ is come to thee (and much more).

116 And Nicanora said: I am a Hebrew, speak to me in my fathers' tongue. I heard of your preaching and was healed.

117 And they prayed for her.

118 But her tyrant husband came and said: How is this? who has healed you?

119 And she said: Depart from me, and lead a chaste and sober life.

120 And he dragged her by the hair and threatened to kill her. And the apostles were arrested,

121 and scourged and dragged to the temple,

122 and shut up in it (with the leopard and the kid. These are omitted in the principal text, but constantly occur in another recension: rightly, of course).

123 The people and priests came and demanded vengeance on the sorcerers.

124 The proconsul was afraid of his wife, for he had been almost blinded by a wonderful light when he looked through the window at her when praying.

125 They stripped and searched the apostles for charms, and pierced Philip's ankles and thighs and hung him head downward, and Bartholomew they hung naked by the hair.

126 And they smiled on each other, as not being tormented. But Mariamne on being stripped became like an ark of glass full of light and fire and every one ran away.

127 And Philip and Bartholomew talked in Hebrew, and Philip said: Shall we call down fire from heaven?

128 And now John arrived, and asked what was happening, and the people told him.

129 And he was taken to the place. Philip said to Bartholomew in Hebrew: Here is John the son of Barega (or, he that is in Barek), that is (or, where is) the living water. And John said: The mystery of him that hanged between the heaven and the earth be with you.

130 Then John addressed the people, warning them against the serpent. Inter alia: When all matter was wrought and spread out throughout the system of heaven, the works of God entreated God that they might see his glory: and when they saw it, their desire became gall and bitterness, and the earth became the storehouse of that which went astray, and the result and the superfluity of the creation was gathered together and became like an egg: and the serpent was born.

131 The people said: We took you for a fellow citizen, but you are in league with these men. The priests are going to wring out your blood and mix it with wine and give it to the Viper. When they came to take John their hands were paralysed. John said to Philip: Let us not render evil for evil. Philip said: I shall endure it no longer.

132 The three others dissuaded him; but he said: Abalo, arimouni, douthael, tharseleen, nachaoth, aeidounaph, teleteloein, which is (after many invocations descriptive of God): let the deep open and swallow these men: yea, Sabaoth.

133 It opened and the whole place was swallowed, about 7,000 men, save where the apostles were. And their voices came up, crying for mercy and saying: Lo, the cross enlighteneth us. And a voice was heard: I will have mercy on you in my cross of light.

134 But Stachys and his house, and Nicanora and 50 others, and 100 virgins remained safe.

135 Jesus appeared and rebuked Philip.

136 But he defended himself.

137 And the Lord said: Since you have been unforgiving and wrathful, you shall indeed die in glory and be taken by angels to paradise, but shall remain outside it forty days, in fear of the flaming sword, and then I will send Michael and he shall let you in. And Bartholomew shall go to Lycaonia and be crucified there, and Mariamne's body shall be laid up in the river Jordan. And I shall bring back those who have been swallowed up.

138 And he drew a cross in the air, reaching down into the abyss, and it was filled with light, and the cross was like a ladder. And Jesus called the people, and they all came up, save

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the proconsul and the Viper And seeing the apostles they mourned and repented.

139 And Philip, still hanging, spoke to them and told them of his offense

140 And some ran to take him down: but he refused and spoke to them . . . . " Be not grieved that I hang thus, for I bear the form (type) of the first man, who was brought upon earth head downwards, and again by the tree of the cross made alive from the death of his transgression. And now do I fulfil the precept. For the Lord said to me: Unless ye make that which is beneath to be above, and the left to be right (and the right left), ye shall not enter into my kingdom. Be like me in this: for all the world is turned the wrong way, and every soul that is in it."

141 Further he spoke to them of the incarnation,

142 and bade them loose Bartholomew, and told him and Mariamne of their destiny. Build a church in the place where I die, and let the leopard and kid be there, and let Nicanora look after them till they die, and then bury them at the church gate: and let your peace be in the house of Stachys: and he exhorted them to purity. "Therefore our brother Peter fled from every place where a woman was: and further, he had offense given by reason of his own daughter. And he prayed the Lord, and she had a palsy of the side that she might not be led astray."

143 Bury me not in linen like the Lord, but in papyrus, and pray for me forty days. Where my blood is dropping a vine will grow, and ye shall use the wine of it for the cup: and partake of it on the third day.

144 And he prayed the Lord to receive him, and protect him against all enemies. "Let not their dark air cover me, that I may pass the waters of fire and all the abyss. Clothe me in thy glorious robe and thy seal of light that ever shineth, until I have passed by all the rulers of the world and the evil dragon that opposeth us."

145 And he died.

146 And they buried him as he directed. And a heavenly voice said he had received the crown.

147 After three days the vine grew Up. And they made the offering daily for forty days, and built the church and made Stachys bishop. And all the city believed. 148 And at the end of forty days the Saviour appeared in the form of Philip and told Bartholomew and Mariamne that he had entered paradise, and bade them go their ways. And Bartholomew went to Lycaonia and Mariamne to Jordan, and Stachys and the brethren abode where they were.

[Chapters 10-14 are missing. Chapter 15 has survived.The narrative of the Act preserved in Syriac is this:]

ACTS OF PHILIP CHAPTER 15

Philip, at Jerusalem, had a vision of Jesus, who commanded him to go to the city of Carthage, ' which is in Azotus ', and drive out the ruler of Satan, and preach the kingdom. He said: I know not Latin or Greek, and the people there do not know Aramaic. Jesus said: Did I not create Adam and give him speech? Go, and I will be with thee.

He went to Samaria, thence to Caesarea, and to the harbour and found a ship waiting for a wind. Asked to take Philip to Carthage, the captain said: Do not annoy me, we have waited twenty days: fetch your baggage and perhaps we shall get a wind, for you look like a servant of God. Philip: I have none; tell the passengers to come on board . . . . Let us pray for a fair wind. Turning to the west he commanded the angel of peace who has charm of fair winds to send a wind to take him to Carthage in a single day.

On board was a Jew, Ananias, who blasphemed (sotto voce, it seems) and said: May Adonai recompense thee, and the Christ on whom thou callest, who is become dust and lies in Jerusalem, while thou livest and leadest ignorant men astray by his name.

A wind came and filled the sail. The Jew rose to help to hoist the sail, and an angel bound him by the great toes and hung him head down on the top of the sail. The ship flew onward and the Jew cried out. Philip said: You shall not come down till you confess. He confessed his secret blasphemy. Philip: Dost thou now believe? Ananias confessed belief in a speech in which he enumerated Christ's (God's) mighty acts from creation to the deliverance of Susanna. Philip asked that he might be pardoned, and the angel brought him down. And the 495 men on the ship feared.

They looked up and saw the pharos of Carthage, and said; Can this be true? O fools, said Ananias, did ye not see what befell me for unbelief? If he commands that city in Christ's name, it will take all its inhabitants and go and stop in Egypt. The ship came into harbour. Philip dismissed the passengers, and stayed on board to confirm the captain.

On the Sunday he went up to the city to drive out Satan, and as he entered the gates, signed himself with the cross. He saw a black man on a throne with two serpents about his loins, and eyes like coals of fire, and flame coming from his mouth, there was a smell of smoke, and black men in troops were on his right and left. When Philip crossed himself the ruler fell backward and all his troops. Philip said: Fall, and rise not . . . . The ruler said: Why curse me? I do not abide here, but my troops wander over the earth and come to me at the third hour of the day, but they do not touch a disciple of Jesus. Woe is me! whither can I go? In all the four quarters of the world his gospel is preached. I am completely overthrown.

The whole city heard him, but saw him not. Philip bade him go, and he took his throne and his troops and flew away bewailing till they came to Babel, and he settled there. The whole city was in fear and Philip bade them leave their idols and turn to God, They praised God, and Philip went back to the ship. On the Sabbath the Jews assembled in their synagogue and summoned Ananias, and asked if his adventures were true. He signed himself with the cross and said: It is true, and God forbid I should renounce Jesus the Christ. He then addressed them in a long and very abusive speech (modelled more or less on that of Stephen), enumerating all their wicked acts. Then arose Joshua, the son of Nun, and ye sought to kill him with deadly poison . . . . Isaiah the prophet, and ye sawed him with a saw of boxwood . . . Ezekiel, and ye dragged him by his feet until his brains were dashed out . . . . Habakkuk, and through your sins he went astray from his prophetic office.' His face was like an angel. A priest arose and kicked him, and he died, and they buried him in the synagogue.

Next day Philip in the ship prayed and asked that Ananias might be delivered from the Jews. God commanded the earth and it gave a passage like a water-pipe, and conveyed Ananias to the bottom of the sea, and a dolphin bore up the body. Philip saw it, and after reassuring the people, bade it take the body back till he should go and convict the murderers.

Next day Philip went to the governor and got him to assemble all the Jews, and sit in judgement. Philip, to the Jews: Where is Ananias? They: Are we his keeper? Philip: Well are you called children of Cain, for, &c. Tell me where he is, and I will ask pardon for you. Jews: We have said we do not know. Philip: Do not lie. Jews: If the spirit were in you, you would know that we do not lie. Philip: If he is found with you, what do you deserve? Jews: Death from God and Caesar. Philip: Swear to me. They swore they knew nothing.

He looked and saw a man leading a sick ox to sell. He said to it: I command thee, go to the synagogue and call Ananias to rise and come and put these men to shame. The ox dragged his owner along and ran and called Ananias. He rose and laid hold of the ox with his right hand, and they came to Philip and prostrated themselves. Philip said: Whence comest thou? Ananias said: From the synagogue of these Jews, who murdered me for confessing Jesus: do me justice. Philip: The Lord has commanded us not to render evil for evil. The ox said: Order me and I will kill these men with my horns. Philip: Hurt no man, but go and serve thy master, and the Lord will heal thee. They went home in peace.

The governor said: These Jews deserve death. Philip: I am not come to kill but to give life. The Jews' mouths were closed.

Ananias spoke to the Jews and Philip also: but they did not ask pardon, so they were cast out. Three thousand Gentiles and fifteen hundred Jews believed; the unbelievers left the city, and before sunset an angel slew forty of the Jewish priests for shedding innocent blood: and all who saw it confessed and worshipped.

It is not clear, in the present state of our texts, where this episode could be fitted in to the Greek Acts. The Third Act, which has a voyage to Azotus, seems a possible place. But a glance at the Greek Acts shows that in spite of the appearance of method imparted by a division into Acts, there is no coherence at all in them, until we get to the city of the snake.

The first Act cannot have begun so abruptly as it now does. The second is equally abrupt in its introduction. The third is linked to it by the mention of Parthia, but there is great inconsequence in it, for it presupposes that Philip has done nothing as yet. The fourth is linked to the third by the scene, Azotus. The fifth, sixth, and seventh, at Niatera, are wholly detached from what has gone before, and with the ninth we make a fresh start.

THE (SYRIAC-ARAMAIC) HISTORY OF PHILIP, THE APOSTLE AND EVANGELIST.

From: Syriac Manuscripts In The British Museum
Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles (1871) Vol 2. pp.69-92
Translation: William Wright, 1871
Estimated Range of Dating: 250-400 A.D.

(Not to be confused with Philip the Apostle. Philip the Evangelist (Greek: Philippos) appears several times in the Acts of the Apostles. He was one of the Seven chosen to care for the poor of the Christian community in Jerusalem (Acts 6). He preached and reportedly performed miracles in Samaria, and met and baptised an Ethiopian man, a eunuch, on the road from Jerusalem to Gaza, traditionally marking the start of the Ethiopian Church (Acts 8:26-39). Later, Philip lived in Caesarea Maritima, the Roman capital of Judaea, with his four daughters who prophesied, where he was visited by Paul the Apostle, Saul of Tarsos (Acts 21:8-9).

At a very early period he came to be confused with the Philip the Apostle; the confusion was all the more easy because, as an esteemed member of the apostolic company, he may readily have been described as an apostle in the wider sense of that word, beyond the original 12 Apostles. A late tradition describes him as settling at Tralles in Anatolia, where he became the bishop of that church.

Philip was a Greek speaking Roman citizen like Saul of Tarsos. He is first mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles (6:5) as one of "Seven Deacons" who were chosen to attend to certain temporal affairs of the church in Jerusalem in consequence of the murmurings of the Greeks against the Hebrews.

After the martyrdom of Stephen he went to "the city of Samaria", where he preached with much success, Simon Magus being one of his converts. He afterwards was told by an angel of the Lord to go to the road between Jerusalem and Gaza. There he instructed and baptized the Ethiopian eunuch; next he was "caught away" by the Spirit and "found at Azotus" (Ashdod); and then "passing through he preached in all the cities till he came to Caesarea" (Acts 8).

Here some years afterwards, according to Acts 21:8–9, where he is described as "the evangelist" (a term found again in the New Testament only in Ephesians 4:11; 2 Timothy 4:5), he entertained Paul the Apostle and his companion on their way to Jerusalem; at that time "he had four daughters, virgins, which did prophesy".)

In the name of the unbegotten nature of the immortal God, I write the wondrous and marvellous history of the glorious acts of Philip the Apostle and Evangelist. Our Lord, help me with grace. Amen.

And our Lord Jesus the Messiah spake with Philip the Apostle in a vision of the night at Jerusalem, and said to him: "Rise, go to the city of Carthage, which is in Azotus, and drive out thence the ruler of Satan, for lo, he rejoices there like a destroying wolf, which rejoices in the flock that has no shepherd; and after thou hast driven him out, preach there the kingdom of Heaven." And Philip said to our Lord: "I beseech Thee, the Raiser to life of all souls, — Thou knowest me, that I am a man of Palestine, and I do not know Latin or Greek, and the people of Carthage are not acquainted with Aramaic,—and how shall I go (and) preach to them the Gospel of Thy kingdom?" Our Lord said to Philip: "Who made Adam in His image and His likeness? Who formed for him a mouth, and eyes, and a tongue to speak? Was it not I the Lord?" And Philip said to our Lord: "Thou art the chosen Son, who didst make Heaven by Thy might, and didst establish the world by Thy wisdom." And our Lord said to him: "Now go in my name, and doubt not. I shall be with thy mouth, and thou shalt speak every tongue that thou wilt." And Philip said to our Lord: "I go, Lord; but let not Thy grace be far from me."

And Philip went down from Jerusalem to Samaria, and from Samaria to Caesarea of Palestine, and went down to the harbour, to look for a ship that was going to the city of Carthage. And he found a ship that was lying ready, and waiting for a wind to blow for it, that it might sail. And Philip came near to the captain, and spake with him, that he might go with them to the city of Carthage. The captain answered and said to Philip: "Pr'ythee, do not annoy me; for lo, it is twenty days that we have been waiting for a wind to blow for us, that we might sail, and it has not blown. Now go, fetch thy baggage, and come; for perchance, by the help of thy prayers, God may send us a favourable wind, and we may go on our journey in peace; for I see that thou hast the appearance of a servant of God." Philip says to the captain: "Thou seest me and my baggage; I have nothing else in this world save Jesus the Messiah, and Him crucified. But because I see that there are in thee the fruits of faith, order the people who are going with us to come on board (and) sit down in the ship." And the captain ordered them, and they all came on board and sat down in it. And when the Apostle and the captain had come on board, Philip said to the people who were in the ship: "Let us rise (and) pray, and ask of the Messiah to send us a favourable wind, that we may go on our journey in peace and joy." And they all stood up for the prayer; and Philip prayed and said: "Our Lord Jesus the Messiah, come to our help, for I cry unto Thee at this time, that these people, who are here in this ship, may believe that Thou hast sent me." And he turned again to the west, and was strengthened by the Spirit of holiness, and said with a loud voice: "To thee I say, angel of peace, who hast charge of all favourable winds that serve this great sea,—in the name of our Lord Jesus the Messiah, send me a favourable wind, which may come and convey me to the city of Carthage, not in fifty days, nor in twenty days, nor even in ten days, but today let us be there, that all these people, who are here, may know that He who sent me, Jesus, is the Son of the living God."

There was in the ship a Jew, whose name was Hananyā (Ananias), (who) did not pray, but blasphemed and said: "May Adonai recompense thee and the Messiah on whom thou callest, who, lo, has become dust and lies in Jerusalem, whilst thou livest and leadest astray ignorant men by His name."

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And when the Apostle had prayed, there came a breeze, and an Angel with it, and entered into (i. e. filled) the sail of the ship, and she began to roll hither and thither from the violence of the wind. Then the sailors arose to loose the cables of the ship from the shore. And the Jew got up to help them to hoist the sail of the ship; and the Angel of the Lord bound him by the great toes and suspended him head downwards aloft on the top of the sail. And the ship was flying and going over the water like an eagle in the air; and the Jew was suspended head downwards. And he was crying out and saying: "O Apostle of Jesus the Messiah, who knows the secrets of men!"And Philip said to him: "No, by the life of thy friend Haman, thou shalt not come down thence, until thou confessest, how thou hast blasphemed Jesus the Messiah, and thy wicked thoughts against His worshippers. He has bound and suspended thee head downwards."

And the Jew cried out and said: "I confess, Sir, whilst I worship, that when ye arose and prayed in the ship, I did not pray, but blasphemed in my heart and said to thee, 'May Adonai recompense thee and the Messiah on whom thou callest, who, lo, has become dust and lies in Jerusalem, whilst thou livest and leadest astray ignorant men.' And straightway a breeze came, and its Angel with it, and filled the sail, and the ship began to roll .hither and thither from the violence of the wind. And when the sailors arose to loose the cables and hoist the sail, I too got up to help them. Then the Angel of thy God bound me by the great toes, and suspended me head downwards, as thy eyes behold me. And lo, his sword is drawn, and he is standing by me and lashing me with scourges of fire. But I beg of thee, Sir, order him to let me loose, for, lo, my soul is going forth from my nostrils."

Philip says to the Jew: "Now how dost thou view this matter? Dost thou believe in the Messiah that He is the Son of God? Yes or no?"

And the Jew cried out, weeping, and saying with a loud voice: "Yes, Sir, I believe in the Messiah thy God, that He is I am that I am, El Shaddai, Adonai, the Lord (of) Sabaoth, the Strong, the Glorious in His holiness, who made heaven and earth by His word; and He made Adam in His image and His likeness; and He accepted the offering of Abel, and He rejected the offering of Cain the murderer; and He removed Enoch without his tasting death; and He delivered Noah from the flood; and He spake with Abraham His friend; and He saved Lot from the midst of the overturned (city, i. e. Sodom); and He preserved Isaac from the knife; and He revealed Himself to Jacob at Beth-el; and He expounded His secrets to Joseph; and He led Israel out of Egypt; and He spake with Moses in the thorn-bush; and He divided the sea before the people; and He sent down the manna from Heaven and He brought up the quails from the sea; and He dashed to pieces Pharaoh and his host in the sea of Sūph, the Red Sea; and He delivered Joshua the son of Nun in the wars; and He revealed His mystery to Gideon; and He strengthened Barak and Deborah in Israel; and He spake with Samuel in the interior of the temple; and He destroyed Goliath before David; and He gave wisdom to Solomon; and He took up Elijah to Heaven; and He delivered Elisha from the armies; and He took Jonah out of the fish; and He brought Daniel out of the pit; and He extinguished the blazing fire of Ananias and his companions; and He rescued the wronged Susanna; and this is Emmanuel, the mighty God, in whose name the sea and land, and the winds and Angels, are subject unto thee."

And Philip rejoiced at the belief of the Jew, and glorified God, and said: "Praise be to Thee, our Lord Jesus the Messiah, who changest rebellious minds and blasphemous tongues, and suddenly makest them harps praising Thy glory. Yea, Lord, pardon Thy servant Hananyā, who has believed in Thee." And in that very hour the Angel of the Lord, who was standing beside him at his right hand, took him and brought him down and placed him in the midst of the ship.

Then Hananyā fell at the feet of Philip, and wept, and said: "Have mercy on me, O Apostle of the Messiah, and beg for me of the Preserver of all, that He will pardon my blasphemies, with which I have blasphemed against thee and against thy gods." And the Apostle lifted him up and said to him: "If the Messiah has absolved thee and pardoned thee, who shall condemn thee? Rise, and fear not. Jesus the Messiah will make thee worthy of His true baptism." And fear laid hold on the 495 men who were in the ship, and they were amazed and said: "It never was thus among men."

And whilst they were wondering at what had happened to the Jew, they lifted up their eyes and looked, and lo, the lighthouse (Pharos) of Carthage was visible. And then they began whispering one to another and saying: "Either this is a vision, or it is a dream, or a demon has deceived us, or of a truth God is with this man. Who has seen a wonder like this? or who has heard a marvel like this? that we have come seventy-five masyune in one day." But when Hananyā saw them whispering one to another, he began biting (one end of) his cloak, and said: "O blind, who see not! and wicked fools, who believe not! Have ye not seen what befell me, because I blasphemed in my heart against the Messiah? Be silent, and plot nothing against this chosen one, because at this moment ye are not all suspended head downwards. Will ye not believe in the God of this just man? for, if he commands that city in the name of the Messiah, it will take all its inhabitants and go (and) stop in Gibtusan."

And while the Jew was speaking thus, (the ship) was found to stop in the harbour of Carthage. And all those men cried out and say: "Glory to Thee, the God of Mār Philip, in whose name the sea and land, and the wind and the Angels, are made subject to Thee." And Philip blessed them in the name of the Lord, and let them go to their homes in peace. But he remained at the harbour that he might confirm the captain in the faith of God.

And on the Sunday Philip went up from the ship to enter the city of Carthage, and to drive out thence the ruler of Satan, as the Lord had commanded him. And as he was entering the gates of the city, he signed himself with the sign of the Cross, and sighed before the Messiah. And he saw an Indian man (i. e., a black man), who was sitting on a throne, with two serpents twined round his loins, and a wreath of vipers placed on his head; and his eyes were like coals of fire, and blazing flames issued from his mouth; and from the place where he was sitting a smell of smoke went up, and troops of Indians (blacks) were standing on his right hand and on his left. And when he saw that the Apostle had entered the gate and crossed himself, the ruler was overturned and fell backwards, and all his troops upon him. The Apostle says to the ruler: "Fall and rise not, thou portion of the fire and child of Gehenna, accursed from of old; (thou) bitter (one), who in (all) thy days didst never sweeten; (thou) hater of the just and enemy of all righteousness; deceiver of Adam, bringer of death upon Eve and upon all her children."

The ruler said to the Apostle: "Why cursest thou me, (thou) chosen of the Most High? Tell me, what have I done wrong? or wherein have I sinned against thee? Rebuke me, because I do not abide in this city, but my troops wander about on the whole earth, and come to me; till the third hour of the day; but to a single one of the disciples of Jesus they do not come near, because I have warned them, and commanded them, and said to them: 'Wherever the name of Jesus is mentioned, abide not there, lest ye bring judgement upon me before my time is come.' Woe is me, if perchance one of my troops has deceived me, and transgressed my command, and afflicted one of His disciples; for lo, the effacer of our footsteps is angry with me, and has sent this chosen one to drive me away from this city. Woe is me ! what has become of me? Woe is me! what has happened to me ? Alas, what has come upon me? Alas, what has befallen me? Alas, what has reached me? Alas, what has overtaken me? Whither shall I go and be delivered? Whither shall I flee and escape? Where shall I hide myself and be saved ? Where shall I conceal myself and be delivered ? Whither shall I go from this Mighty (One)? Whither shall I fly from this Strong (One)? Whether I say 'Woe is me,' or whether I am silent, I shall burn in the fire. If I cast myself into the sea, I shall be drowned, because the fire is prepared for me, and torment for all my troops. If I ascend unto Heaven, He will cast me down thence; and if Igo down to Hell, there He will breathe upon me. In the east His Star has made me ashamed; in the west they preach His Gospel; in the north they praise His right hand; in the south they worship His Cross. This Jesus has slain me by His death; He has humbled me by His exaltation; He has brought me to abjectness by His necessity. He has deceived me by His similitudes (or likenesses); He has shamed me by His resurrection; He has dazzled me with His humiliation; He has befooled me with His quietude; He has maddened me with His visions. My snares He has broken; my gins He has disclosed; my nets He has cut to pieces. My crown He has taken away from my head; my throne He has overturned behind Him; my power He has taken from me, and my glory He has given to others. He has made me a treading under foot for children, and offscourings and filth unto infants and the simple. He has made me a reproach unto the little, and a mockery and a scorn to the poor and sinners. He has taken everything from me, and given to me nothing at all, save the weeping and wailing and groans of the darkness, to me and to my ministers and to all my troops."

And the whole city was standing and hearing what the ruler was saying, but no man saw him, save that the Apostle saw him through the Spirit of holiness. Philip says to the ruler: "I bid thee in the name of our Lord Jesus the Messiah, the Mighty God, who sent me against thee, arise; take thy throne, anda lead away all thy troops, and ye shall go forth from this city, for lo, 3795 years ye have enjoyed yourselves in it." And in that hour the ruler arose, and took his throne, and led away all his troops, and they went forth thence, flying in the air, and wailing as they went, and saying: "Woe is to us for thee, our ruler; woe is to us for thee, our king; woe is to us for thee, our monarch." And they ceased not from weeping, all of them, whilst they were going, till they entered the city of Babel, and there established the throne of their ruler.

And there was fear in the whole city, and they were praising God and saying: "Glory to Thee, Jesus the Messiah, the God of Philip, who hast not recompensed us according to our wickedness, nor dealt with us according to our sins; for we did not know Thee, Lord, and Thou in Thy mercy hast sent us a deliverer. Glory to Thy grace, which has been abundant upon us, for ever and ever, Amen." Philip says to the people of the city of Carthage: "Ye have seen, my brethren, what the ruler said, whilst burning and being scorched by the power of the Son of God, that is, Jesus the Messiah, the Power and Wisdom of His Father. And by this Power was (created) the heaven and the earth and all that is in them; and by this Wisdom was established the world and all its inhabitants. Now therefore, my brethren, leave that former opinion of idolatry, and go not after the mind of painters, and (after) images of wood and stone and gold and silver and brass and iron and tin and lead and clay, which men have made, which have eyes and see not, and have ears and hear not, and there is no breath in their mouth, and they feel not with their hands, and walk not with their feet, and smell not with their nostrils, and speak not with their throats; and with nails and spikes they fasten them, that they may not be broken in pieces; and they carry them about, because they cannot walk; and they are set up like masts, because they cannot speak. Be not afraid of them, because they can do neither harm nor good, and it is said concerning them by God, that their makers shall be like them and all who trust in them. Turn, therefore, to the Son of the living God, in whose hand your souls and spirits are placed. This is the first God, and there is none beside Him. Renounce Satan, my brethren, and believe in the Messiah. Flee from the darkness, and come to the celestial light. Quit the destroying left hand, and the unconquered right hand shall receive you. Be delivered from the fiery Gehenna, and ye shall rejoice and be glad in the Paradise of Eden. Strip off the old man, who is corrupted by the lusts of error, and put on the new man, Jesus the Messiah, who is renewed by knowledge in the likeness of His Creator. Avoid and flee from the desire of women, which burns like fire, and destroys those who are inflamed d with it ; and trust in God and be glad. Who has believed in Him, and He has forsaken him ? Or who has trusted in Him, and He has cast him off? Or who has called upon Him, and He has not answered him ? Because the Lord is gracious and merciful, and forgiving sins, and hearkening to the voice of those that do His will. Believe, my dear (friends), for He will forgive you your sins when ye turn to Him with all your heart, with a pure mind free from doubt."

And when the Apostle had spoken these words to the citizens, they cried out and say: "Glory to God, who has sent us a deliverer." And Philip blessed them, and went down to the ship, to the harbour, where the ship was lying, in which he came from Caesarea of Palestine.

And on the Sabbath day (Saturday) all the Jews, who were in Carthage, were assembled unto their synagogues. And they sent and called Hananyā the Jew, who had believed in the Messiah. And the Jews answered and say to him: "Our brother Hananyā, are the things true which the sorcerer Philip did to thee in the ship?" And Hananyā signed himself with the sign of the Cross, and answered and said to them: "All that ye have heard concerning me is true; and far be it from me ever to renounce our Lord Jesus the Messiah." The Jews say to him: "Do not renounce Moses and believe in the Messiah, because the Messiah was an impostor, and his disciples go about with sorcery." Hananyā answered, rejoicing in the faith, and said to the Jews: "The deception of the Messiah be upon me and upon my wife and upon my children; and the sorcery that His disciples practise, be upon the bones of my parents in Sheol. But as for you, well did Isaiah the prophet prophesy concerning you, to whom God said: 'Go, say to this people of Israel that they shall see a sight and shall not see, and shall hear a report and shall not believe; for their eyes they have closed, and their ears they have stopped, that they may not hear with their ears, and understand with their hearts, and repent, and I forgive them their sins.' Rulers of Sodom and people of Gomorrah, an evil and a provoking seed, a generation that has not set fast its heart and has not believed in the God of its spirit; children of crime, an evil and adulterous race, and generations of sinners; a race doomed to woe, a vine of Sodom and a plant of Gomorrha; foolish children and unwise; wise in evil things, but not knowing good things; a people uprooted and flayed; rejected silver; scattered millet; worn-out water-skins; a rent garment; a cloth that is of no use; a menstruous rag; an accursed fig-tree; an evil vineyard, the husbandmen of which are murderers; a restive heifer; broken cisterns in which they cannot collect water; perforated money of a cursed merchant; a dry fleece, the dew of which is sprinkled among the Gentiles; proclaimed sons, whom they do not reckon equal to slaves; bitter roots, which in their days have never yielded sweetness; exchanging their God for a calf; sacrificing their sons and their daughters to devils; haters of the Son, enemies of God, provokers of the Spirit of holiness; worshippers of the sun, offerers of sacrifice to Tamuz, servants of Baal, priests of idols; sons of Ahab, fosterlings of Jezebel; dumb dogs, which are unable to bark; stiff of neck and uncircumcised in heart. For in whom of the prophets have ye believed, that ye should believe in the feeble Hananyā? Moses and Aaron led forth your fathers from Egypt, and how often did ye stone them with stones? There arose Joshua the son of Nun, and ye sought to kill him with deadly poison. There arose Samson, and Gideon, and Barak, and Jephthah, and Deborah, and ye

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provoked them all their lives and all their days. There arose Eli your priest, and through your greed he was rejected from his priestly office. There arose Samuel the prophet, and ye rejected him and his God. There arose David the prophet, and with reproach ye drove him out of Jerusalem. There arose Solomon the king, and he worshipped Ashtaroth, the goddess of the Sidonians. There arose Isaiah the prophet, and ye sawed him with a saw of boxwood. There arose Ezekiel the prophet, and ye dragged him by his feet until his brains were dashed out. There arose Jeremiah the prophet, and ye cast him into a pit of mire. There arose Micah the prophet, and ye smote his cheeks as if (he had been) a child. There arose Amos (the prophet), and ye hindered him from prophesying. There arose Habakkuk the prophet, and through your sins he went astray from his prophetic office. There arose Zechariah the prophet, and him ye slew like a lamb before the altar of the Lord. There arose Malachi the prophet, and ye wearied his God with your words. There arose Elijah the prophet, and ye made him flee to Horeb. There arose Elisha the prophet, and ye wished to kill him. There arose too John the Baptist, a shining light, and ye cut off his head, and sat in darkness; and he began proclaiming the resurrection to the dead. And again, as the consummation of your sins, ye children of crime, ye crucified the Lord of the prophets on the tree. And lo, ye persecute these His disciples, who are about to sit at the day of judgement on twelve thrones of glory and to judge the twelve tribes of Jacob."

And all those Jews were looking on Hananyā, and were seeing that his face was like to the Angel of the Lord, and were gnashing their teeth like destroying wolves. And one of the priests arose and kicked Hananyā, and he died. And they dug a place there in their synagogue and buried him. And they swore one to another that none of them would disclose in his house what they had done.

And on the next day Philip arose to pray in the ship at the ninth hour, he and the citizens with him, and he made mention of Hananyā in his prayer and said: "Our Lord Jesus the Messiah, do Thou deliver Thy servant Hananyā from the perfidy of the Jews, and bring him to us that we may see and be gladdened by him." And God heard the prayer of Philip, and commanded the earth, and it gave a passage like a water-pipe, and (this) conveyed Hananyā down to the bottom of the sea. And the Lord prepared a large dolphin, and it carried Hananyā. And while the Apostle was praying in the ship, he lifted up his eyes and looked upon the water; and lo, the dolphin was swimming on the surface of the sea, with the corpse of Hananyā upon him. And when the people who were there, saw (this), they feared with a great fear, and were imagining that a demon had appeared to them. Then the Apostle answered and said to them: "Fear not, my brethren; for by means of this corpse many are about to believe in the Messiah." And Philip cried with a loud voice and said: "Glory to Thee, O Lord, the Restorer to life; for every one who believes in Thee, although he dies, shall live through Thee; and every one who does not believe in Thee, although he is alive and walking on the earth, is dead before Thee." And Philip said to the dolphin: "I bid thee in the name of the Messiah, the Lord of all creatures, go, convey Hananyā the martyr to the place from which thou didst take him, until I go up to the city and put his murderers to open shame." And the dolphin passed through the sea; and carried Hananyā to the place from which he had taken him; and the deeps conveyed Hananyā to the place in which he was killed; and the Lord commanded the earth, and it closed its barriers, that the deeps might not come up and sweep away the city.

And on the next day Philip the Apostle went up from the ship, and went into the city to the judge, and said to him: "One favour I ask of thee that thou wouldest do for me." The judge answered and said to him: "Command me, sir, and whatsoever thou wishest, I will do for thee." And Philip said to the judge: "Send (and) collect for me all the Jews that there are in this city, because I have a cause to plead with them before thee." And straightway the judge sent his officers, and collected unto him all the chiefs of the Jews. And Philip said to the hêgemôn: "Sit thou upon the tribunal of the town-hall, and hear the cause between me and them."

And when the king (sic) had seated himself on his tribunal, Philip said to the Jews : "Where is Hananyā, who came with me in the ship from the city of Caesarea of Palestine, and became a Christian of the Messiah? For I know and am sure, through our Lord Jesus the Messiah, that ye have counselled him to confess Moses and renounce the Messiah." The Jews answered and said to Philip: "Are we the keepers of Hananyā, (who is) alienated from the Law?" And Philip said to the Jews: "Well did our Lord call you the children of Cain the murderer; for Cain, (when) he killed his brother Abel, thought that no man saw him; and God said to Cain, 'Where is thy brother Abel?' And Cain denied (it) like you, and said, 'I know not, because I am not his keeper.' And God said to Cain, "What hast thou done? Lo, the blood of thy brother Abel cries unto me from the ground. Cursed is the ground for thy sake. A wanderer and a vagabond shalt thou be on the earth, which has opened its mouth and received the blood of thy brother from thy hands.' And now, murderers, disclose to me where Hananyā the martyr is, and I will ask of the Messiah for you that He would forgive you your iniquities." The Jews answered and said: "Once we have said to thee, that Hananyā has not been seen by us, and we do not know what has become of him." And Philip said to the Jews: "Tell me, where is Hananyā, the confessor of the Messiah, who has given his life for his Master, and do not lie and deny (it) before me, for ye do not lie unto me, but to the Spirit of holiness which dwells in me." The Jews say to him: "If the Spirit were with thee, it would be clear to thee that we know nothing of Hananyā; but because thou art a liar and an impostor, and the truth is not in thee, lo, thou standest up and doest us wrong/' And again the Apostle said to them: " And if it be that Hananyā is found with you, what do ye deserve to have done to you?" And the Jews said to Philip: "If it be that he is found with us, we all deserve death from God, and Caesar." And the Apostle said to them: "And if it be that ye rely upon yourselves, do not your consciences convict you of being conscious of the blood of Hananyā the confessor? Swear to me, for as the Paraclete who is with me commands me, will we do unto you." Then the Jews cried out and said: "No, by the God of Abraham, who spake with Moses from the midst of the thorn-bush, (we swear) that Hananyā has not been seen by us; and we do not know what has befallen him."

Then the Apostle was strengthened by the Spirit of holiness, and said to the assemblage who were standing-there: "Give me a little room." And when they had given him room, the Apostle of God lifted up his eyes and saw a man from the country, who was leading anox which was sick, and had brought it to town that he might sell it to the butchers. And the Apostle called him, and said to the ox: "To thee I speak, ox, beast without speech. I command thee, in the name of our Lord Jesus the Messiah, at whose word all creatures are afraid, be strong, and go to the synagogue of these murderous Jews, and call out there and say:'Hananyā, Hananyā, Philip, the disciple of our Lord, calls thee; rise, come, put to shame the murderous Jews.'" And straightway the ox dragged along his owner, and threw him down on the ground, and ran and went to the synagogue of the Jews, and called out and said, like a man: "Hananyā, Hananyā, Philip, the Apostle of the Messiah, calls thee. Rise, come, put to shame the Jews thy murderers." And at the word the dead (man) rose, and laid hold of the ox with his right hand; and they both ran and came to the Apostle of the Messiah, and the owner of the ox was running after them. And the three of them came and prostrated themselves before Philip. And the Apostle cried out and said to Hananyā: "Whence comest thou, my friend?" And Hananyā said to Philip: " From the synagogue of these murderous Jews, who are standing before thee; for they killed me and buried me in their synagogue, because I believed in the Lord Jesu the Messiah, who gave me life, and became a Christian. And now I ask of thee, Sir, do me justice upon these murdering Jews." And the Apostle said to Hananyā:"Listen, my son and friend Hananyā. It is written for US:'If thou do not judgement for thyself, I will do (it), saith God;' and: 'If thy enemy be hungry, give him to eat, and if he be thirsty, give him to drink, and when thou doest these things unto him, thou heapest coals of fire upon his head.' And again He has said: 'Let not evil overcome you, but overcome evil with good. And again it is written: 'Is there a man who envies thee or hates thee, thou shalt not pray for his harm, lest it be displeasing in the eyes of the Lord, and He turn away the calamity from him, and bring it upon thee and upon thy dwelling.' And our Lifegiver has commanded us: 'Pray for your enemies, and bless them that curse you, and do good to him who persecutes you and hates you, that ye may be the children of your Father who is in Heaven, who lets His sun shine upon the good and upon the bad, and lets His rain descend upon the righteous and upon the wicked.' And again our Lord commanded us: 'If ye do not forgive men their offences neither will your Father, who is in Heaven, forgive you your offences.' And again He said: 'Blessed are the merciful, for upon them shall mercy be (shown).' And now draw nigh unto the Jews thy murderers, and as the Spirit of holiness gives unto thee, speak with them." And when the Apostle had said these things to Hananyā, the ox spake again, and said to Philip: "Order me, Sir, that at this moment I may kill and knock down all these murderers, the enemies of the Messiah, with my horns." And the Apostle said to the ox: "Hurt no man but go with thy master, and serve him, and the Lord will heal thee and him (with such) a healing that thou shalt never have a pain." Then the ox and his master bowed down before the Apostle of God, and went to their village in peace.

The hêgemôn says to the Apostle: "These Jews, therefore, are deserving of death." The Apostle says: "The Lord has not sent me to slay but to give life, and to raise up those who, whilst alive, were slain by Satan through sin." And the murderers were standing before the Apostle and before the Judge, with their faces ashamed, and what answer they should give them they did not know. Their mouth was closed, when they saw the miracle that was (wrought) through the ox, which, spake like a man, and Hananyā, who had been killed, who stood before them.

And Hananyā, drew nigh to the Jews who slew him, and said to them: "Today is fulfilled regarding you the prophecy of Jeremiah the prophet, who said:'Like the shame of the thief, when he is found out, so are ashamed the children of Israel, they and their kings and their priests and their nobles, who say to wood, Our father art thou, and to stone, Thou art our mother.' And now ye shall go in peace, ye children of Cain the murderer. Our Jesus the Messiah, in whom I have believed, shall do me justice upon you, and shall demand my innocent blood of your hands." And the Apostle said to the Jews: "Hear, ye who are guilty of death for (shedding) innocent blood, thus has Solomon your king written: 'He who is conscious of (shedding) a man's blood, shall flee to the chosen, and he will not deliver him.' And it is written in your Law: 'Whoso slays a man, he too shall be slain and shall not be atoned for, and it shall not be forgiven him before the Lord, until the blood of him be shed, who shed innocent blood.' But us, followers of the Messiah, Christians, disciples of Jesus the Messiah, He has thus commanded: 'It was said to the ancients, Cheek for cheek, tooth for tooth; but I say unto you, Stand not up against evil, but whoso smites thee on thy right cheek, turn unto him the other too.'" And when the Apostle had spoken vehemently, and they did not repent, and did not ask pardon, the Apostle said to the judge: "Turn them out." And the judge ordered his young men, and they turned the Jews out from before him by tribes.

And afterwards fear seized all the Jews who were dwelling in the city of Carthage; and they were crying out and glorifying God and saying: "The God of Philip the Apostle is One, whom the sea and the winds and the Angels obey, and the dead rise to His glory, and beasts and dolphins praise the majesty of Jesus the Messiah, the God who (is) over all." And there became disciples on that day about three thousand souls of the Gentiles, and of the Jews fifteen hundred; and they received the sign (baptism) of the Messiah, and rejoiced in the love of Jesus the Messiah, who had held them worthy of His grace. But the Jews who did not believe in the word of the Apostle, went away from the city and settled in other cities; and ere the sun had set, the Angel of the Lord smote and slew forty priests of the Jews, because they had shed the innocent blood of a just and righteous man. And all who heard and saw, confessed and worshipped and bowed down and said: "The true God is One, our Lord Jesus the Messiah, and with Him His Father and His holy Spirit, to whom be glory and honour and praise and worship in all generations, for ever and ever, Amen and Amen."

Here ends the history of Philip, the Apostle and Evangelist, and to God be the glory for ever, Amen.

THE LIFE OF SAINT BARTHOLOMEW THE APOSTLE

Source: From the Ethiopic Synaxarium,
Type: Coptic (Egyptian) Apocrypha
(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 660, Fol. 4 a)
Translation: Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge, 1913
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 4th century AD

(Bartholomew (Hebrew Aramaic: bar-Tolmay or bar Talmai; Greek: Bartholomaios; Latin: Bartholomaeus) was one of the twelve apostles of Jesus according to the New Testament. He has also been identified as Nathanael or Nathaniel, who appears in the Gospel of John when introduced to Jesus by Philip (who also became an apostle; John 1:43–51), however, that is pure speculation.

What is a bit more sure to say is that Bartholomew have had connexions to Egypt. Although the original name Ptolemaios is Greek, it run almost out of use among Greeks but rose its popularity steadily in Egypt since General Ptolemaios became Pharao [king, emperor] after Alexander under the name Ptolemy I Soter (Greek: Ptolemaios Soter, "Ptolemy the Savior"; c. 367–282 BC). Most kings and many boys were called by this name in Egypt during the next 300 years. As most non-Greeks dropped the P, the name changed to Tolmai. The son of a father then was called bar Tolmai, "Son of Tolmai", in Aramaic, the language of Jesus and the entire Middle East from Egypt to Persia. This Bar Tolmai was then re-introduced into Greek as Bartholomaios, which became Bartholomaeus in Latin, Bartholomeu in Old French, and finally Bartholomew in English.

Along with his fellow apostle Jude "Thaddeus", Bartholomew is reputed to have brought Christianity to Armenia [meaning: the eastern half of modern Turkey and northern Syria] in the 1st century. Thus, both saints are considered the patron saints of the Armenian Apostolic Church.

Two ancient testimonies exist about the mission of Saint Bartholomew in India. These are of Eusebius of Caesarea (early 4th century) and of Saint Jerome (late 4th century). Both of these refer to this tradition while speaking of the reported visit of Pantaenus to India in the 2nd century. The studies of Fr A.C. Perumalil SJ and Moraes hold that the Bombay region on the Konkan coast, a region which may have been known as the ancient city Kalyan, was the field of Saint Bartholomew's missionary activities. Although scholars

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are not sure about these claims, they are feasible for several different reasons. 1. Jewish traders built a couple of communities in almost all areas of western India from at least c. 500 BC; 2. Some of these communities gained political power and created their own realms in northwestern India, such as Yaudheya or Yoddheya Gana (Yoddheya Republic = the Republic of "Judaea") [see: 3 Adam and Eve, Grand Bible]; 3. Egypt was the main driving force of trade with Punt, Yemen, Ethiopia, and India [search for: Yadu, Yadav, Yadava, Yaudheya, Yoddheya, Abhira, Ahir, Apiru, Habiru]

Along with his fellow apostle Jude "Thaddeus" [most likely the brother of Jesus, better known as Didymus Judas Thomas], Bartholomew is reputed to have brought Christianity to Armenia in the 1st century. Thus, both saints are considered the patron saints of the Armenian Apostolic Church. It seems that these two apostles also went to the Jewish communities in western India to make converts for Chritianity, successfully, as the Portuguese discovered when Vasco da Gama reached Calicut on the Malabar Coast, western India, in 1498. [search for Malabar, St. Thomas Cristians].)

FIRST DAY OF MASKARRAM.

And on this day died the holy Apostle Bartholomew, who was [one] of the Twelve Apostles. Now the lot fell upon this Apostle to go to the city of Al-Wsih, and he and Peter went together to them (i.e. to the people of Al-Wah), and they preached to them, and they called them to the knowledge of God, and afterwards they worked signs and great wonders before them, which terrified their hearts. And after this Peter made a pretence that he was going into the country, and straightway he sold Bartholomew as a slave, and Bartholomew laboured in a vineyard with his master, and as soon as they had trained up the vine branches in the vineyard [on the poles], they bore fruit immediately. When the son of the governor of that city died, the Apostle Bartholomew raised him up from the dead, and all [the people] believed, and he confirmed them in the knowledge of God. And after this our Lord Jesus Christ commanded him to go to the country of the Barbarians, and He sent to him Andrew the Apostle, with his disciple, that he might help him. And the men of that city were of an exceedingly evil disposition, and they would not receive the Apostles, [although] they worked signs and wonders before them. And God commanded one of the man-eating Dog-Faces to put himself into submission to the Apostles, and to obey them in everything which they commanded him; and they took him with them to that country. And the men of that country brought out savage beasts against the Apostles that they might devour them. And straightway that Dog-Face rose up against those beasts, and tore them to pieces, moreover, he slew many of the people of that country. Because of this deed all [the people] were afraid, and they prostrated themselves at the feet of the Apostles, and they were subject unto them, and they entered into the Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, to Whom be praise ! And [the Apostles] appointed priests for them, and they built churches for them, and they departed from them praising God.

And Bartholomew the Apostle departed to the countries which were along the sea-shore, whereof the people knew not God. And he preached to them, and turned them to the knowledge of God, and they believed on the Lord Jesus Christ, and did the works which are well pleasing to Christ. And Bartholomew the Apostle used to command the people to be pure, and to keep themselves remote from adultery.

Now when Agrippa the king heard about him he was exceedingly angry, and he commanded [his people] to put the Apostle Bartholomew in a hair sack, and to fill it with sand, and to cast him into the sea. And they did even as he commanded. And Bartholomew finished his testimony (i. e. martyrdom) and his striving on this day. Peace (be) to Bartholomew, whom they rolled up in a sack; then they cast him into the deep sea, in the presence of the assembled peoples. The doctrine of this righteous man, which appeared in his hand, was like unto the rich, full fruit of an old vine, from which a cluster has been cut off.

THE REPOSE OF SAINT JOHN
THE EVANGELIST AND APOSTLE
Type: Coptic (Egyptian) Apocrypha
Source: British Museum, London
(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 6782)
Translation: Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge, 1913
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 4th century AD

(The Repose of St John the Evangelist and Apostle consists largely of John's address to his brothers and prayers spoken by John, the action being confined to the breaking of bread, the digging of a pit and John'slying down in it. The final paragraph makes it clear that John, apart from 'a sandal andsome fresh earth', disappears from the pit, giving the writer of the text the opportunity to quote John 21:22. Unlike Enoch (Gen. 5, 24) and Elijah (2 Kg. 2, 11), John seems to have become a 'missing person'.

Like Syriac Aramaic, the Lingua Franca of the Middle East that survived the onslaught of Greek, Coptic uses between 5% and 10% Greek words and is able to alternate, if it wants to, between Greek to Coptic, so for example one finds the Greek word and the Coptic word used for the same kind of thing or thought. Greek found its way into Egyptian initially because it was the language of the dominant class from the late 4th century BC onwards, it absorbed words like 'psych' and 'pneuma', which were obviously considered to be essentially 'Christian' terms.

Brit Mus MS Oriental, No. 6782 is in a vellum book of 36 leaves, datable to 990 AD. The other texts in the volume are a discourse on Manichaean heretics and two texts on the Blessed Virgin. The book was copied by a woman who wrote a prayer on folio 28b: 'Please, my fathers and my brothers, everyone who will read in this chapter of the book, pray for your God-loving sister who loves agape and offering': her name has been erased. An Ethiopic version of the text has also been preserved in Brit Mus MS Oriental, No. 673, so it is reasonable to conclude that there must also have been an Arabic text, the normal transmission of texts being Coptic to Arabic to Ethiopic. The style of the script is usually known as the Coptic Uncial, which may have developed in Egypt about the 2nd century AD.)

THE REPOSE OF SAINT JOHN THE EVANGELIST AND APOSTLE OF THE CHRIST. IN THE PEACE OF GOD. AMEN.

The blessed John was in Ephesus with the brethren, rejoicing in the Lord. Now on the first day of the week all the brethren were gathered together, and John began to speak to them, saying, 'My brethren, my fellow heirs, and my partners in the Christ Jesus, our Lord, know ye that unto you hath the Lord given from His hand power, [and] that He hath wrought for you very many mighty works, and miracles, and acts of grace. And ye know of what kind are the teachings, and the guiding directions, and the refreshing, and the service, and the gracious acts, and the gifts, and all the other things which ye see with your eyes, which are given unto you from the hand of our Master. He hath never made Himself manifest unto you through the eyes of the body, neither have ye hearkened unto Him through the ears of the body, but He hath made Himself visible unto you through the integrity of your heart, and by visions, and by works which are holy. Strengthen ye yourselves, then, in Him, and ye shall remember Him at all times; moreover, ye shall also remember the mystery and the association (or, partnership) which hath come unto you, and which our Lord hath fulfilled.

'And now, O brethren. He maketh supplication to you through Himself, and He appealeth unto you, wishing to make you to cease to grieve Him overmuch, or to despise Him, or to conspire against Him, for He knoweth the despising which taketh place through you. He knoweth also the reviling, and He hath knowledge of the treachery, and the punishment wherewith ye punish Him. When ye shall hearken unto His holy commandment to obey it, He will shew compassion upon you. Do not make to grieve through you the Good God, the Merciful, the Long-sufPering, Him Who is without spot, Him Who is without blemish, the Ineffable, the God Who is One alone, the Unchanging One, Him Who is without guile, Him Who is without wrath, the Name which is above every name (Philip, 2.9). which men can comprehend. Let Him but rejoice with you, and ye enjoy free and happy citizenship with Him. Let Him but have gladness with you, and ye live in happiness and innocency. Let Him but repose in your hearts, and ye are turned into beings who rejoice in holiness of life. Let Him but shew Himself unmindful of you, and ye must live in painful restraint. Let Him but have pleasure [in you], and ye become participators in good things and in the things which are offered [to Him]. Let Him but live delicately, and ye love Him. Let Him but laugh, and ye become ready [to follow Him].

'I say these things, then, unto you, O my brethren, because I hasten to embark on a certain matter which hath been laid upon me, and of which the completion shall be unto me by the help of God. For of what kind is the other matter which I shall say unto you, there being for you the pledge of your God? There is for you the pledge of His kingdom, there is for you His presence, which cannot be entreated. If ye cease from the habit of sinning from this time [onwards], then the deeds which ye have committed through want of understanding He will remit to you; [but] if even after ye have had knowledge of Him ye continue and persist in the doing of these same works, they shall first of all try you in the judgement, and [then] they shall deliver you over to the fire.'

And having said these things, [Saint John] prayed, saying: 'Jesus, Who didst weave the crown which was in Thine own garland. O Thou Who didst make the crown of all the saints, and these plants which are of many kinds, and hast changed men into Thy flowers which do not wither and fade! O Thou Who hast spoken Thy words in our hearts! O Thou Who alone dost have a care for Thy servants! O Thou Physician of our bodies. Who dost heal them all for nothing! O Thou Who alone dost do good unto us! O Thou in Whom there is no pride (or, upliftedness of heart) whatsoever! O Thou Who alone art the Compassionate, and art the Lover of all mankind! O Thou Who alone art the Saviour, and the Righteous One, Who existest in every place. Who hast existed from everlasting, God, the Christ Jesus! Thou art He Who sheltereth every one who putteth his hope in Thee, with Thy gift, and with Thy compassion. Thou knowest every wile and every crafty deed of the Enemy who doth wage war against us at all times.'

And when Saint John the Evangelist had made an end of saying these words, he took bread, and he gave thanks unto God in this manner, saying, 'What other blessing is there? Or what other word can be spoken? Or what other giving of thanks is there which we can pronounce over this bread [which] we break, except Thou alone, the Lord Jesus, the Christ?

'We ascribe glory unto Thee, O Lord Jesus the Christ, Whose Name hath been made manifest by the Father.

'We ascribe glory unto Thee because of Thy coming in through the door. 'We ascribe glory unto Thee for Thy holy resurrection from the dead, which hath been made known unto us through Thee. 'We ascribe glory unto Thee, the Way.

'We ascribe glory unto Thee, the Seed, the Word, the Salt, the True Gem, the Holy Storehouse, the Plough, the Net, the Majesty, Who was sent for the sake of us, the children of men, that He might deliver the race of man.

'We ascribe glory unto Thee, the Truth, the Rest, the Glory, the Mighty Power, the Commandment, the Boldness of speech, the Freedom, [and] our place of refuge.'

'For Thou art the Lord, the Root of immortality. Thou art the Fountain which cannot be destroyed. Thou art the Strength which endureth throughout the Ages. Thy Name hath been set upon all these things here, so that we also may make our cry unto Thee through them. For we know Thy Majesty which is invisible, and which doth not make itself manifest unto us at this time. When Thou shalt have purified us, then we shall see Thee alone in the body which Thou hast changed from oldness into newness.'

And as John was breaking the bread, he prayed over each one of his brethren, so that they might be worthy of the Grace of the Lord. Similarly Saint John himself, when he had tasted the bread, [prayed for himself]. John the Theologian spake after this manner saying, 'Let me, even me, have a portion with you, O my beloved.'

Then he said to Birros (sic), 'Take with thee two brethren, and let them have baskets in their hands, and digging tools, and follow ye me.' Now Bibros (sic) was not by any means neglectful, and he did according to what he had been commanded by Saint John the Theologian, and the servant of God. And when the blessed John had come forth from his house, he went outside the gate of the city, and he gave orders that the exceedingly great multitude, which were following him and pressing upon him, should be made to withdraw, and to depart from him. And when he had arrived at a place in the region wherein were the tombs, he said to one of the brethren, [Speak] unto the young men, saying, 'My sons, dig a grave in this place,' and those who were there dug down into the ground. Then John the Theologian was commanding them, saying, 'Dig the grave very deep' And he was saying, 'Dig ye down much deeper,' and those who were there dug down deeper still. And he spake with them, and addressed words to them, and encouraged them, and counselled them unto edification, and he instructed them, and he persuaded them [to enter] into the Kingdom of God. And he prayed over each one of them.

Now when the young men had finished making the grave in the place wherein they had dug it, they arranged everything connected therewith in a seemly manner, according to what [Saint John] wished. Now we had no knowledge whatsoever [of what he was about to do]. Then he took off the clothes which were upon him, and having stripped them off himself, he threw them down into the place which they had dug deep in the ground, and which was in the form of a chamber which spread out. Then John stood on his feet now the only garment which he had on him was a tunic which came down on both sides—and having spread out his hands he prayed thus saying, '[O Thou] God, Who hast chosen me for Thyself to be an Apostle to the heathen, and hast sent me forth into the world. Who hast made manifest the Prophets and His Apostles, Who hast never ceased from doing tha which is good since the foundation of the world, Who delivrest every one who hath no strength. Who hast made Thyself to be apprehended by every man of reason, unto Whom every living thing ministereth through His foreknowledge, Who didst make our soul to have longings, and dost make it to be tranquil, or solitary and savage. Who dost Thyself make it to laugh to scorn its enemy, Who didst fashion it like unto Thyself when it was dead, Who didst make for it a law which it could distinguish in the abyss of lawlessness, Who didst make it to vanquish its enemy by causing it to flee from him; Who didst give it Thy hand and didst deliver it from Amente; Who didst not leave it to become a citizen of this world, Who didst teach it to escape from its enemy; Who didst make Thy knowledge to illumine every place; Thou Son of God, Thou Saviour,

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Thou Lord, Thou Orderer of the things which are in the celestial heights, Thou Guardian of the things which are on the earth, Thou Grace and Gladness of those who belong to Thee: receive Thou the soul of John, which belongeth to Thee, which Thou hast made to be worthy of the knowledge of Thee, for it is Thou Who hast kept me up to this hour, and I have never at any time polluted myself with women.

'Thou didst appear unto me at the time when I was wishing to marry a wife in the period of my youth, and Thou didst say unto me, "John, I have need of thee." Thou didst in the beginning act as the steward of my body, when the desires caused by the sicknesses of the body arose, and it was Thou Who didst prevent me from gratifying them on many occasions when I was wishing to marry a wife. Afterwards Thou didst speak to me at the third hour of the day on the sea, saying, "John, if it be that thou dost not in truth belong to Me, I will withdraw Myself from thee. Take thou a wife, and thou shalt make thyself to become blind in both thine eyes ; thou shalt suffer grief, [then] thou wilt pray unto Me." Thou it was Who didst open my heart three times in the same year, and Thou didst graciously bestow upon me other eyes, which did not make themselves visible. Thou it was Who didst make the joyful expectation of the contemplation of women to become to me an abomination. Thou it was Who didst deliver me from a fleeting phantasy, and didst keep me for the life which endureth for ever. Thou it was Who didst make me to become a stranger to the madness of evil which a iseth in the flesh, and didst make me to be remote from the death which is bitter. Thou it was Who didst deliver me from the second death, that is to say, the Gehenna of fire, and didst make me to stand up, being a pure man. Thou it was Who didst stop the mouth of the disease which appertained to my soul, and didst prevent the committal of the act which appertained thereto, or rather the outward and manifest works which are wont to be performed by the body. Thou it was Who didst deliver me, and didst cast out from my heart that which disturbed me sorely. Thou it was Who didst prepare me to come unto Thee in a state of innocency (or, holiness). Thou it was Who didst make my thoughts concerning Thee to be unpolluted. Thou it was who didst graciously grant unto me the faith in Thee which was undivided. Thou it was Who didst make my thoughts and my cou sels to incline ever more and more towards Thee. Thou dost give unto each man according to his works. It was Thou Who didst deposit in my soul the intention not to permit anything whatsoever except Thyself to enter into me. For what can I find which is more choice or more pure than Thee? And now I have found Thee. And I have fulfilled the stewardship which Thou didst commit to me; make me therefore worthy to enjoy rest in Thy holy repose. Do thou bestow upon me graciously the perfection which is in Thee, that is to say, the sinlessness and the salvation, which cannot be described, and which cannot be pried into, and which are beyond the comprehension [of man]. I come unto Thee, my Lord Jesus, the Christ. Let the fire die down, and let the darkness withdraw itself, and let Chaos become helpless, and let the furnace of blazing fire be without power, and let Gehenna be extinguished, and let the holy angels accompany me, and let the demons shake with fear. Let them (i. e. the holy angels) wound the Principalities, and let the Powers of darkness withdraw themselves and fall down headlong the Places which are on the right hand stand on their feet. May Diabolos be put to shame, and Satan made an object of ridicule. May his wrath be quenched, and may his raving madness be suppressed. May his honour be disgraced, and his pride wounded; may his sons be dragged downwards, and may all their roots be pulled out. Grant Thou unto me the power to walk, and strengthen me so that I may complete my course without suffering- and without trouble. I come unto Thee, my Lord, that I may receive the good things of those who live in holiness.'

And when John the Theologian had said these things, he looked towards the east, and he ascribed glory to God, and stretching out his hands again he prayed, saying, 'Be Thou with me, O my Lord Jesus, the Christ.' Then straightway he cast himself down into the pit which they had dug, the place wherein his apparel was spread out, and when he had said to them, 'Peace and grace,' he dismissed the brethren, and they departed. And they came out [of the city] on the morrow, and they could not find him, but they found his sandal, and the newly-dug ground in the place where he had gone down into the earth. Finally they remembered the word which the Lord had spoken to Peter, saying, 'If I will to make him remain until I come, what [is that] to thee? Follow thou Me.' And they ascribed glory to the Lord Jesus, the Christ, because of His miracle which took place in the blessed Apostle, and Evangelist, and Theologian, and holy virgin, Saint John, the beloved of the Christ, Jesus our Lord, and our God, and our Saviour, to Whom, with the Father and the Holy, and universally vivifying and consubstantial Spirit, all glory is seemly, now, and always, and for ever and for ever. Amen.

THE MYSTERIES OF SAINT JOHN
THE APOSTLE AND THE HOLY VIRGIN
Type: Coptic (Egyptian) Apocrypha
Source: British Museum, London
(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7026)
Translation: Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge, 1913
Estimated Range of Dating: 3rd - 4th century AD

(The British Museum Manuscript Oriental, No. 7026 contains two Sahidic texts: the one translated here, the Mysteries of John, and the Life of Pisentius. Both were published, together with several other texts, by E.A. Wallis Budge in Coptic Apocrypha (London, 1913)., in which Budge also provides translations. At the end of the Manuscript is a colophon in two parts: one in relatively poor Greek and one in Coptic. The Greek part states that the text was written in the Year of the Martyrs 722 (1006 AD) and the Islamic Hegira Year 395 AH (1017 AD) by Victor, whose parentage is given and is clearly associated with Esna: the Coptic part states that two monks from Edfu, Michael and Zacahrias, "provided the book and deposited it in their monastery". Clearly Michael and Zacharias were of the opinion that it would be "of use and assurance to those will listen".

Budge sees echoes of earlier Egyptian belief from various funerary texts, the Am Duat (What is in the Underworld) and the Book of Gates, and talks about them on pp. 67 ff. I am not sure howspecific one can be about these allusions, but it is certainly true, for example, that the wings of Thoth (an ibis) were one of the ways in which the Pharaoh reached heaven after death (Pyramid Text Spell 304). Not surprisingly, water and the 'body of Osiris' (in the form of food) play a certainrole in the text, as also in the Pyramid Texts (e.g. Spell 373). The image of the sky being supported on 4 pillars is recorded visually in the word shnwt-pt, where four pillars are written. There is also a fragment of a Bohairic version of the Mysteries published by H.G. Evelyn-White in Monasteries of the Wadi Natrûn Part 1: New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius (New York, 1926) p. 51.)

ALPHA OMEGA JESUS CHRIST.

THESE ARE THE MYSTERIES OF JOHN THE APOSTLE, THE HOLY VIRGIN, WHICH HE LEARNED IN HEAVEN. IN THE PEACE OF GOD. AMEN.

And it came to pass that when the Saviour had risen from the dead, He came on to the Mount of Olives, and sat down. And He made a cloud to envelop all the countries wherein were the Apostles, and it gathered them together into the presence of the Saviour upon the Mount of Olives. And John answered and said unto the Saviour, 'My Lord, behold Thou didst say unto me: Thou art My beloved one, and thou hast found grace before Me. Now therefore, my Lord, I wish Thee to take me into heaven, and shew me all [the mysteries] so that I may know them. And the Saviour made answer and said unto him, 'John, enquire thou of Me fully, and I on My part will hide nothing from thee. Rise up, and let us pray to My Father, Who is blessed, and He shall hear us.'

Then the Saviour and the Apostle [John] rose up, and He prayed a long, blessed prayer. And when He had said (literally, given) the Amen, the heavens moved away upon this side and on that, and they opened out one beyond the other even to the seventh heaven. And behold, a great Cherubim came out from heaven, and the whole place shone with bright light, and the whole o£ his body was full of eyes, and flashes of lightning shot out from him.

Then the Apostles became like unto dead men, and they fell down upon the earth through fear; but the Saviour took hold of their hands, and raised them up, and removed the fear from them, and stablished their hearts for them. And John answered [and said], 'My Lord, explain to me the order of the Cherubim, which is exceedingly terrible.' The Saviour made answer and said unto John, 'Hearken unto Me, and I will shew you everything. Thou seest the Cherubim. The words of the Father are hidden within him, from their beginning until their fulfilment. Behold, I will make him to come to thee so that he may explain everything, O My beloved John.'

And the Saviour turned Himself towards the Cherubim, and He said unto him, 'I tell thee to take My beloved John into heaven. And thou shalt explain unto him every question 'which he shall ask thee.' Then straightway the Cherubim lifted up John upon his wing of light, and he bore him up unto heaven. And when he arrived at the first gate the gatekeepers opened the door to him with readiness and fear. Now I, John, saw great mysteries in the First Heaven. I saw twelve men seated upon twelve thrones, within the great gate, in great glory and dignity. And I said unto the Cherubim, 'Master, who are these who are seated in such majestic dignity?' The Cherubim said unto me, 'Seest thou these twelve men? These are the twelve Rulers of the worlds of light, and each one of them ruleth for one year at a time; but Michael is he who ordereth their operations, so that the earth bringeth forth its fruit all the same.' [And I said], 'There doth come a year sometimes when there is a famine in one place or another.' The Cherubim answered and said unto me, 'Behold, I have shewn thee that which thou didst [ask] me.'

And I answered and said unto the Cherubim, 'My Lord, there cometh a year when water is scarce, and yet there is plenty, and there cometh a year when water is exceedingly plentiful, and yet there is a famine; [how is this?] '[The Cherubim] answered and said unto me, 'Seest thou that the water is under the feet of the Father? If the Father lifteth up His feet, the water riseth upwards; but if at the time when God is about to bring the water up, man sinneth against Him, He is wont to make the fruit of the earth to be little because of the sins of men. Now if at the time when He is about to bestow a little fullness, and men keep guard over themselves so as not to commit sin, the Father is wont to bless the earth so that it may bring forth fruit, and abundance cometh through the supplication of Michael. If only men were to know of the supplications of Michael at the time when the water should come upon the earth, they would never commit sin at all. However, Michael taketh with him twelve times ten thousand angels, and they go into the presence of the Father, and they cast themselves down before Him, and they do not rise up again until God sendeth the waters down upon the world.'

Then I answered and said unto the Cherubim, 'I have heard one say that "God created the heavens and the earth", and again, that God created the waters from the beginning",' And the Cherubim said unto me, 'Hearken, and I will inform thee concerning everything. Before ever God created the heavens and the earth, water was in existence, and there is no one whatsoever who knoweth anything about the creation of water except God Himself. For this reason whosoever shall take an oath which is false, in the name of water, shall never receive forgiveness. And whosoever shall take an oath [which is false] by the wheat-plant, [shall also never receive forgiveness, for], the same ordinance applieth to both the water and the wheat-plant.'

And I said to the Cherubim, 'My Lord, I wish that thou wouldst inform me concerning the matter of the wheat-plant, and tell me where, in the beginning, before the earth had been cultivated, it was found that man might live upon it.'

The Cherubim said unto me, 'Hearken, and I will inform thee concerning everything. Now it came to pass that God having created Adam placed him in the Paradise of joy, and He gave him a command saying thus: "Of every tree which is in Paradise thou shalt eat, with the exception of the tree of the knowledge of that which is good and of that which is evil; of that thou shalt not eat. And on the day wherein thou shalt eat thereof thou shalt certainly die."'

Now the Devil was jealous of Adam when he saw with what great glory he was surrounded. The Sun and the Moon, the two great luminaries, used to come daily and worship Adam before they rose above the earth. And the Devil went and led astray Adam and his wife, until at length they were cast forth out from Paradise; and they were banished to the land of Eueilat, where Adam lived a life of care and anxiety. Now after all these things, Adam was an hungered, and he could not find food to eat similar to that which they were wont to eat daily in Paradise. And he cried out to the Lord in grief and in tribulation of heart. And the Son of graciousness (or, goodness). Who acted as sponsor for him, had compassion upon him, and He spake unto His Good Father, the Lord of the Angels and of the Spirits, saying, 'Behold, the man whom We have created in Our image and likeness is an hungered, and I am sorrowful on his account, O My Father. Now, if it be Thy will, do not let him die before Thy face.'

And in this wise did His Father of Compassion answer and say unto His beloved Son, 'If it be that Thou art moved with compassion for the man whom We have created, and who hath cast [My] commandment behind him, go Thou and give him Thy flesh and let him eat thereof, for it is Thou who hast undertaken to act as his advocate.'

And the Son of Goodness made answer and said unto His Father,'Blessed be Thy word. That which Thou hast said I will do.' Then the beloved Son came forth from the presence of His Good Father, and He took a little piece of His right side, of His divine flesh, and He rubbed it down into small pieces, and brought it to His Holy Father. His Father said unto Him, 'What is this?' And He said, 'This is My flesh, according to what Thou didst say unto Me.' His Father answered and said unto Him, 'Yea, certainly. My Son. Wait, and I will give unto Thee some of My own flesh, which is invisible.'

Then His Father took out a portion of His own body, and He made it into a grain of wheat, and He brought forth the seal of light wherewith He set a seal upon the worlds of light, and He sealed the grain of wheat in the middle thereof. And He said unto His beloved Son, 'Take this, and give Thou it unto Michael, the Archangel, and let him give it unto Adam, and let him tell Adam that he and his sons shall live thereon. And Michael shall teach him to sow it, and to gather it in at harvest.' Then Jesus called Michael, and said unto him, 'Take this [grain], and give it unto Adam so that he and all his sons may live thereon.' And Michael came to Adam, and he was on the Jordan, and it was the eighth day since he had eaten anything, and he was crying out to the Lord [for food]. And Michael said unto him, 'Peace be to thee! The Lord hath heard thy prayer, and He hath sent unto thee a seed of grain.' And when Adam heard these words from Michael, his body

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recovered its strength, and he came from the water, and cast himself down at the feet of Michael. And Michael gave unto him the grain which had been sealed with the seal of light, and he taught him how to sow it and to reap it, and he went up into heaven with [great] glory. Therefore the water, and the wheat-plant, and grain, and the throne of the Father stand in one category, and they are the equals of the Son of God. Now I John saw these things, and I rejoiced when I had heard them.

And it came to pass after these things that the Cherubim raised me up upon his wing of light, and carried me into the Seventh Heaven, and I saw mighty miracles take place therein. I saw [there] all the ranks of the angels. The first rank [contained] the Seraphim, who were dressed in the grain-plant, and they had golden censers in their hands, and they said, 'Hallelujah!' The angels in the second rank had golden phials in their hands, and they were filled with dew, and they were emptying them out on to the fields. Now Michael was the governor who was over them, and he appointed unto each one of them his work.

And I saw another great and wonderful thing. Whilst I John was looking at the angels as they were all divided into ranks, I found that the name of Michael was written upon all their garments, and that the angels were crying out his name always. And I answered and said unto the Cherubim, 'How doth it come to pass that the name of Michael is written upon their garments? And wherefore do they cry it out?' And the Cherubim answered and said unto me, 'No angel is allowed to come upon the earth unless the name of Michael is written upon his garments, for otherwise the Devil would lead them astray.'

After this I saw a great fountain of water, whereof the waters were as white as snow, or as I might say, its waters were like unto milk, and there was an angel standing above it, and his wings were dipped in the water. And the place round about the fountain was planted with trees which were laden with fruit, and the fruits thereof were of a very great many different kinds. And this fountain was like unto a sea, and every tree which grew by the side of it consisted entirely of one branch.

And I, John, saw another great and wonderful thing there. I saw the root of a tree which emitted water into the fountain. And I said unto the Cherubim, 'My Lord, explain to me the matter of this fountain, the water whereof is white, and the matter of this angel, which standeth above it.' The Cherubim said unto me, 'This is the fountain which poureth out the dew upon the earth.' I said unto him, 'How is it that this angel is standing above it, with his wings always dipped in the waters of the fountain?' The Cherubim said unto me, 'Seest thou this angel? His work is this. Every time the trumpet soundeth he riseth up, and he shaketh his wings which are full of dew, and he smiteth the heavens therewith, and the heavens open, one beyond the other, so that the dew may distil through them upon the earth.' And I said unto the Cherubim, 'In what way do these Seven Heavens open, one beyond the other, so that the daylight may penetrate them and fall upon the world?' And the Cherubim answered and said unto me, 'Hearken, and I will explain everything to you. There are seven trumpets appointed over the dew, and all these are wont to sound before the dew cometh upon the earth. When the first trumpet soundeth, and the second, and so on until the seventh, the dew folioweth the sound of the trumpets from one heaven to the other. The seventh trumpet belongeth to Michael, and when Michael bloweth his trumpet, the dew runneth swiftly, and all the governors withdraw, until it cometh upon the earth in order to make all the fruits to swell (or, increase).'

Now, whilst I was marvelling [at these things], I saw another angel coming from a distance in wrath, and he stood up by the fountain which was filled with dew; he wept, and his eyes dropped blood into the fountain which was full of dew. For he was filled with wrath against all mankind, and the whole of the place trembled and shook when he stood up there. Then the heavens opened on this side and on that and everywhere, and I saw a great and mighty angel come forth from the heavens, and they called his name Michael, and he was girt about the loins with a girdle of gold. There was a sponge in his hand, wherewith he wiped away all the tears of the angel of wrath, and he drove the Angel of Wrath afar off, saying, 'Get thee gone from this fountain, thou Angel of Wrath, for thou wishest to bring a famine upon the earth.'

And I said unto the Cherubim, 'My Lord, shew me the matter of the Angel of Wrath whose eyes drop blood into the fountain.' He said unto me, 'Seest thou the Angel of Wrath? He is the Angel of Famine. If Michael were to cease from the wiping away of his tears [of blood] which he letteth drop, and were to allow them to enter the fountain, the [water thereof] would come to an end and the dew which falleth down upon the earth, and diseases and dissensions would break out, and the land would be smitten with famine.' And moreover, he said unto me, 'There are forty legions of angels, each legion containing ten thousand angels, who sing hymns over the dew until it cometh upon the earth, without any blemish at all in it.'

After these things he brought me to the Land of Edem (Edom or Idum, today the region of Petra in southern Jordan). He placed me upon his wing of light, and he brought me to the place where the sun riseth, by the side of the fountain which supplieth water to the four rivers, Phison, Tigris, Geon (the Nile), and the Euphrates. I saw the Paradise of joy, which was filled with all kinds of trees which bore fruits of all kinds. And I said to the Cherubim, 'My Lord, I would that thou wouldst shew me the tree [of the fruit] whereof Adam ate, and became naked, and God was afterwards wroth with him.' The Cherubim answered and said unto me, 'Thou askest a question which concemeth great mysteries, but I will hide nothing whatsoever from thee. Now therefore, rise up, set thyself behind me, and I will explain to thee everything, and I will shew thee the tree [of the fruit] of which Adam ate.'

Then I rose up and I followed him. I walked through the Paradise, and I looked round about, and I saw the tree in the middle of Paradise; now it had no fruit upon it, and thorns grew all over it, and the trunk went down into the ground a very long way. And I answered and said to the Cherubim, Make me to understand the matter of this tree which hath no fruit on it, and which is grown over with thorns.' And the Cherubim said unto me, 'This is the tree [of the fruit] of which Adam ate and became naked.' And I said unto him, 'There is no fruit on it; where did he find the fruit which he ate? 'And the Cherubim said unto me, 'A kind of fruit did grow on it, and it was not without fruit [at that time].' And I said unto him, 'Of what kind was its fruit?' He said unto me, 'It was a kind of apple.' And I said unto the Cherubim, 'Shall it remain wholly without fruit, or not?' And he said unto me, 'This is the order which God laid upon it from the beginning.'

Now whilst I was marvelling at these things I saw Adam. He was coming along at a distance, and he was like unto a man who was weeping. He was spreading out his garment, and he was carrying away in his garment [the leaves] which were under the tree, and pouring them out on the ground, and burying them. And I said unto the Cherubim, Why is Adam spreading out his garment, and putting in it the dried leaves which have been blown off the tree, and digging a hole in the ground and burying them therein?' And the Cherubim said unto me, 'From the moment when the Devil entered into Paradise, and seduced Adam, and Eve his wife, the trees, which up to that time had possessed a sweet smell, ceased to have any smell at all, and their leaves [began to] fall off. And Adam used to dress himself in the leaves, and to make them be witnesses for him in the judgement because of what he had done.' Then I said unto the Cherubim, 'My Lord, by what means did the Devil enter into Paradise, and seduce Adam and Eve? Unless this matter had been permitted by God he could not have entered in, for nothing can take place without [the consent of] God.'

Then the Cherubim said unto me, 'Four and twenty angels are appointed to Paradise daily, and twelve go in there daily to worship God. Now at the moment when the Devil went into Paradise^ and seduced Adam, there was no angel at all in Paradise, but an agreement took place [that they should remain outside it] until Adam had eaten of the tree.'

And I said to the Cherubim, 'If they agreed to this, with the consent of God, then no sin rests upon Adam.' And the Cherubim said unto me, 'By no means. If Adam had been patient for a short time, God would have said to him, "Eat thou of the tree." God removed the righteousness wherewith he was arrayed, and He cast him forth from Paradise, in order that the things which He spake might be fulfilled [when] He should send His Son into the world.'

And I said unto the Cherubim, 'My Lord, of what kind was this righteousness wherein Adam was arrayed, and which he received from His hand?' And the Cherubim said unto me, 'On the day wherein God created Adam, Adam was twelve cubits in height, and six cubits in width, and his neck was three cubits long. And he was like unto an alabaster stone wherein there is no blemish whatsoever. But when he had eaten [of the fruit] of the tree, his body diminished in size, and he became small, and the righteousness wherein he was arrayed departed and left him naked, even to the tips of his fingers, that is to say, to his very nails. If he was not cold in the winter, he was not hot in the summer.'

And I answered and said unto the Cherubim, 'My Lord, at the time when God created Adam, He also created Eve with him from the heavens. But, on the other hand, I have heard that God created Adam and Eve from the beginning, and, again, I have heard that God brought a deep sleep upon Adam, and that when he was unconscious, He took one of the ribs from his side, and made it into a woman, and that He filled up the place where the rib was in his side with flesh. The Almighty did not then create two bodies, there being [only] one body.' And the Cherubim answered and said unto me, 'Hearken, and I will explain unto you everything. At the time when God created Adam, He created Eve also with him, in one body, for at the time when the Master was working at Adam, the thought concerning Eve was with Him. For this reason two bodies came from one body, but He did not separate them from each other immediately. At the time when He brought slumber upon Adam, and Adam fell asleep, and slept heavily. He brought Eve forth from him, and she became his wife. She was, of a surety, hidden in the rib of the left side [of Adam] from the day wherein God created him. Consider, then, with great attention the sign which is in the sons of Adam.'

And I said unto the Cherubim, 'O my Lord, what is the sign which is in the sons of Adam?' And the Cherubim said unto me, 'At the moment when the ice (or, cold) was about to come upon the earth, the first things which went cold in the body of the man were his finger nails. Because at the time when God deprived Adam of the righteousness wherein he was arrayed, the first things which grew cold were his finger nails. And he wept, and cried out to the Lord, saying, Woe is me, O my Lord. At the time when I kept the commandments of God, and before I did eat of the [fruit of] the tree, my whole body was white like my nails. For this reason every time Adam looked upon his nails, he used to cry out and weep, even as Hezekiah, when he was sick, used to turn towards the wall, and weep.'

And I answered and said unto the Cherubim, 'When King Hezekiah] was weeping, why did he not look at a man [instead of a wall]?' And the Cherubim said unto me, '[Hearken], and I will make everything manifest to you, O faithful virgin. Now it came to pass in the time of Solomon that the king compelled all the demons to describe to him all the various kinds [of sicknesses], and the remedies which were to be employed in healing them all, and the various kinds of herbs which must be used in relieving the pains of sicknesses, and Solomon wrote them all down upon the wall in the House of God. And any man who was attacked by a sickness [or, disease], no matter of what kind, used to go into the temple, and look upon the wall, until he found there written the remedy which was suitable for his sickness; then he would take that remedy, and would go into his house, ascribing glory to God. And it came to pass that, after Solomon the king was dead, Hezekiah plastered over the walls of the temple with lime, and the prescriptions for the relief of sickness could no longer be found. Now when Hezekiah the king had fallen sick, and was sick unto death, he could not find the prescription whereby to heal his sickness, because it was he himself who had plastered over the walls of the temple with lime. And when the prescriptions which had been written upon them could not be found again, he went into the house of the Lord, and lay down there, and he looked upon the wall, and he wept, saying, "My Lord, let not that which I have done in the matter of plastering over with lime the walls, whereon were inscribed the prescriptions for healing, be held to be a sin [by Thee], for I said. Let men make supplication to God with hope, and they shall find healing. Never shall I find a prescription for healing whereby I may be made whole." And the Lord heard [him], and had compassion upon him, and sent unto him Isaiah the Prophet, and he spake unto him, saying, "Take the fruit of the wild fig-tree, and plaster it over thy body, and thou shalt find relief." 'Now therefore, O John, God will never forsake the man who performeth [His commandments].'

And again I said unto the Cherubim, 'My Lord, I would that thou didst make me to understand the matter of the Cherubim, whose voices cry so loudly in heaven that mankind tremble upon earth [at the sounds thereof].'

And the Cherubim said unto ine, 'Dost thou see these great winds which are shut up inside their storehouses, over which the angels are set? "When the trumpet soundeth inside the covering (or, veil), the gentle winds come forth, and they breathe upon the wings of the angel who is over the fountain of the dewj then the angel moveth his wings, and the dew cometh upon the earth, and the seed (or, grain) groweth in the earth, and the trees, and the crops, and the fruit. If the trumpet doth not sound, a harsh, strong noise cometh forth from heaven, and thereupon the waters of rain come upon the earth in great quantities, which make the fruits grow, and rain-storms, and thunders of which men are afraid. For it is the sound of the rustling of the wings of the Seraphim which governs the waters of rain, until they come down into the firmament; and they fall on the earth gently, for if they were to descend upon the earth in their [full] violence they would lay waste the earth just as did the waters of Noah and the lightnings which came with them. [This would happen] if the Seraphim did not come down to govern the waters of the rain, for all the waters are in the sky and the heavens. Behold, I have made clear to you all mysteries.'

And I answered and said unto the Cherubim, 'My Lord, I would that thou didst make me to know what it is which supporteth the sky and maketh it to be suspended thus.' And the Cherubim said unto me, 'It is suspended by faith, and by the ordinance of God/ And I said unto the Cherubim, 'What is it that supporteth the earth?' And the Cherubim said unto me, 'It is four pillars which support the earth, and they are sealed with seven seals.'

And I said unto him, 'My Lord, be not wroth with me when I ask thee this matter also; shew me, what is it that beareth up the four pillars? 'And the Cherubim said unto me, 'He Who created them knoweth what appertaineth to them/ And I said unto the Cherubim, 'My Lord, what is the ordinance concerning the hours of the night and day?' He said unto me, 'Hearken, I will shew thee. God appointed twelve Cherubim

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to stand outside the curtain (or, inner veil), and they were not to toil in any way, but were to sing twelve hymns daily. When the first Cherubim had finished [singing] his hymn, the first hour came to an end. When the second Cherubim had finished [singing] his hymn, the second hour came to an end, and so on until the twelfth Cherubim. When the twelfth [Cherubim had finished singing his hymn], the twelve hours were ended.'

Then I said to the Cherubim, 'As concerning the twelve hours of the night: are there Seraphim appointed over them, or not?' And the Cherubim said unto me, 'Assuredly not, but when the beasts, and the birds, and the reptiles pray, the first hour is ended. When the second hour is ended, the beasts pray [again], and so on until the twelfth hour of the night; it is the animals of God which set limits to them.' And I said unto the Cherubim, 'Doth the sun know when the twelve hours have come to an end, so that he may depart to the place where he setteth or riseth?' And the Cherubim said unto me, 'When the angels who blow the trumpets have finished, Michael knoweth that the twelfth hymn is finished and he speaketh to the Angel of the Sun, who goeth and bringeth to an end his course.'

And I answered and said unto the Cherubim, 'My Lord, is it God Who ordaineth the life of a man from the time when he was in his mother's womb, or not?' And the Cherubim said unto me, 'Know thou that [one] man is wont to perform very many superfluous works, [and another] very many acts of goodness, from the time when he is bom to the end of his life. God, however, setteth a sign on the righteous man before He fashioneth him, for it is impossible to cause anything to happen without God. But sin is an alien thing (or, stranger) to God, for He Who created man was without sin. It is man who himself committeth sin, according to his wish, and according to the desire of the Devil.'

And I said unto the Cherubim, 'Man hath been born to suffering, according to what Job said, "My mother brought me forth for suffering."' And the Cherubim said unto me, 'God is a compassionate Being, and He doth not forsake man utterly, but He sheweth mercy upon him, for he is His own form, and His own image, and is the work of His own hands. And now, O John, He will not forsake him that doeth the will of God, and he who doeth good things shall receive them doubled many times over in the House of God.'

And I said unto the Cherubim, ' My Lord, at the moment when God is about to create man, doth He give him the name "righteous" or "sinner", or not?' And the Cherubim said unto me, 'Hearken, and I will shew thee. At the moment when God is about to create a man, before He placeth him in the womb of his mother. He calleth all the angels, and they come and stand round about. If the Father blesseth the soul, the angels make answer "Amen". If there come from His mouth the words, "This soul shall give Me rest," the angels make answer "Amen". If the Father saith, "This soul shall commit iniquity," the angels make answer "Amen". Whatsoever cometh forth from the mouth of the Father, that cometh to pass.' And I said unto the Cherubim, 'Is the matter of which man is fashioned more excellent than that of the beasts? The Cherubim said unto me, 'Yes. Now when men die, each one of them is taken to the place of which he is worthy, but so far as beasts are concerned, whether they die, or whether they live, their place is the earth.'

And I said unto the Cherubim, ' Are there souls in them?' He said unto me, 'Every created thing hath a soul in it. Now therefore, the soul of every created thing is its blood.' And I said unto the Cherubim, ' Will they then be punished, or will rest be given unto them ?' He said unto me, ' Let it not be that rest be not given unto them, and let them suffer not; but man is a being who can suffer, and can enjoy rest.'

And it came to pass that when I had heard all these things, I marvelled at the works which God performeth in connexion with man. And I said unto the Cherubim, ' [My Lord], be not wroth with me if I ask this matter also. I would that thou didst inform me concerning the stars which we see in the firmament, and tell me why it is that we cease to see them when the sun hath risen. I would that thou didst inform me where it is they go until it is time for them to perform their service again.' And the Cherubim said unto me, 'The stars are of different orders. There are some stars which remain in the heavens until noon, but they cannot be Fseen because of the light of the sun. There are seven stars which come in the north of the world, and they remain there in the heavens always. And there are seven stars in the heavens which are called Orion; those which are there are not permitted to emerge from their place of storehouse, except when death cometh upon the earth.'

And I said unto the Cherubim, 'Why is it that one star differeth from another? And why is it that a star is wont to transfer itself from the place which it had originally [to another]? 'And the Cherubim said unto me, 'Hearken, and I will make known unto you everything. There are very many orders of stars which move from the place wherein they were placed originally, but the decree of God which directeth them abideth for ever. Behold now, I have made manifest unto thee all things, O beloved one of God. Arise, get thee down into the world, and tell therein everything which thou hast seen.'

Then straightway the Cherubim brought me down on the, Mount of Olives, where I found the Apostles gathered together. And I told them of the things which I had seen, and when we had saluted (or, kissed) each other, each departed to his country, ascribing glory to God. And they preached in the Name of the Christ, through Whom be glory to Him, and His Good Father, and the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen.

AN ENCOMIUM ON SAINT JOHN THE BAPTIST, BY SAINT JOHN CHRYSOSTOM

Type: Coptic (Egyptian) Apocrypha
Source: British Museum, London
(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7024)
Translation: Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge, 1913
Estimated Range of Dating: 370-407 AD

(The following translation is on John the Baptist attributed to John Chrysostom. It is a Coptic text, British Museum Manuscript, Oriental No. 7024, published by E.A. Wallis Budge in Coptic Apocrypha (1913) pp. 128-145 and described in the proemium as an 'encomium' that was 'delivered' by John Chrysostom but the location of the delivery is not specified. A striking feature of the text is the lengthy quotation, which occupies pp. 19 to 32 from a book 'written the apostles' discovered in a library in Jerusalem, with an excursus on the Third Heaven that is said to have been granted to John the Baptist. In addition to being an encomium it also contains an exegesis of a gospel passage, in which the congregation is addressed directly.)

The Encomium (Eulogy) Which Our Holy Father Saint Apa (Father) John, Archbishop Of Constantinople, Who Was Glorious In Every Respect, The Holy Golden-Mouth, Pronounced To The Glory And Honour Of Saint John The Baptist, The Holy Forerunner And Kinsman Of The Christ, Than Whom Among Those Who Have Been Born Of Women No Greater Hath Ever Risen Up, Whom God Exalted In Honour And Glory, Above All The Saints, Who Excelled The Angels In Purity (Or, Holiness). [Apa John Chrysostom] Pronounced This Encomium In Connexion With The Passage Which Is Written In The Gospel According To [Saint] Matthew When He Explained To Us The Meaning Of The Words Which Are Written Therein, 'What Went Ye Out Into The Desert To See?' (Matt. 11.7 ; Luke 7.24.) In The Peace Of Godl May His Holy Blessing Come Upon Us, And May We All Gain Salvation Together. Amen.

My beloved, I wish to declare [unto you] some few of the exalted words and right judgements of the holy Baptist and glorious forerunner, Saint John, the kinsman of the Christ. But I find myself in serious trouble, because my halting-tongue is incapable of declaring his might and his honour in the manner which they deserve. And moreover, our holy fathers, the God-bearing (i. e. inspired) Bishops who have lived before our time, that is to say Athanasius, and Theophilus, and Cyril, and Innocent, have declared many of thine exalted words, O John the Baptist, O thou than whom among those born of women, none hath arisen who is greater (Matt. 11.11; Luke 7.28.).

Who is there among our Fathers of olden time who hath not uttered encomiastic words concerning thee, O thou priest, and the son of a priest, thou prophet, and the son of a prophet, thou virgin and martyr, who art the equal of an angel, thou companion of the True Bridegroom, the Christ, O Saint John the Baptist! Verily thy name and the remembrance of thee have become a medicine and remedy which healeth sicknesses of every kind. I speak now concerning that John who fettered the tongue of his father through the act of his conception, and who again made the mouth of his father to be opened through his birth. For when Zacharias was asked, 'What dost thou wish him to be called?' he made a sign with his hand whereby he asked for a writing tablet (Luke 1,53.), and he wrote these three letters which are wonder-worthy, namely IOTA, and OMEGA, and ALPHA.' And whilst he was writing his mouth opened suddenly, and his tongue was set free, and he spake, and he gained strength, and he cried out with a loud voice, 'John is his name.' For in very truth the name of John is one which is worthy to be marvelled at, for it is the lamp of the whole world. But my tongue halteth exceedingly, and it will fail in recounting the myriads of his mighty deeds; nevertheless I desire to set out on my journey upon the sea of understanding.

Now therefore when the birthday of Herod (See Matt. 14.6 ff.), who is accursed, had come, the daughter of Herodias came into [the presence of Herod], and she danced and pleased him and those who were reclining with him, and he promised to give unto her whatsoever she asked; and the maiden went to her mother to inform her about what had happened. And she said unto the maiden, 'Ask for the head of John the Baptist, and let them give it to thee upon a dish.' Then the maiden returned to the Governor, and said unto him, 'Give me now the head of John the Baptist upon a dish'; and the Governor commanded that it should be given unto her. And he sent a scout to the prison [with an order] to remove the head of John, and he brought it back upon a dish; and [Herod] gave it to the maiden, and she took it and brought it to her mother. And his disciples went and took away his body and buried it, and they carried the report [of this matter] to Jesus.

Now when Jesus had heard [it] (Matt. xiv. 13-21.) He departed to a desert place, and went into it by Himself, and when the multitude heard [this] they followed after Jesus. And when Jesus had seen the multitude He took pity upon them. And when the evening was come the disciples went unto Him, saying, 'This place is a desert. Dismiss the multitudes so that they may depart into the villages which are round about them, that they may buy for themselves that which they shall eat. Then Jesus said unto them, 'Have ye nothing which I can give them to eat?' And they said unto Him, 'We have nothing at all in this place except five barley cakes and two fishes.'

And Jesus said unto them, 'Bring them hither.' Then He commanded the multitudes to throw themselves down upon the grass, and He took the five cakes and the two fishes, and He lifted up His eyes to heaven, and blessed them, and brake them into pieces, and gave them to the disciples, and the disciples gave them to the multitudes, and they all ate and were satisfied. And the broken pieces which remained over filled twelve baskets. Now those who ate were five thousand men, without [reckoning] children and women.

Now I wish, O my beloved, to describe unto you the honour which the Christ [paid] to John, and also what manner of love it was which He shewed to him, for He was his companion and his kinsman, and how He loved him to such a degree that He fed with these five cakes and two fishes five thousand men without [reckoning] children and women. For the multitude was gathered together because of the lamentation for John, and Jesus wept and made lamentation for John, and He distributed alms (or, charity) for his sake: inasmuch as he was His kinsman and His companion. For this reason when the disciples had said unto Him, 'Send away the multitude that they may go and buy for themselves that which they may eat,' He was unwilling to make them depart fasting. Now take good heed to the Scripture at this point. In the first place observe that when Jesus had heard concerning John the Baptist, He went away, and that the multitude followed after Him quickly. And in the second place observe that when the compassionate and merciful Jesus had seen them. He felt deep pity for them, even like a good shepherd who hath always pity for his sheep. And when the disciples asked Him, saying, ' Send away the multitude that they may go and buy for themselves that which they may eat,' the Saviour said unto them, 'Assuredly not,' and thought, 'What manner of thanks shall I receive from My kinsman if these people, who have come unto Me on account of him, are put to inconvenience in this way? If they go away fasting as they are at present they will sink from exhaustion by the wayside.' As the Patriarch Joseph distributed alms (or, charity) because of the death of Jacob his father (Gen. 1.1-12.), even so did Jesus, and He distributed alms for the sake of His kinsman John. Moreover, all classes of people have always been accustomed to distribute alms and gifts of food in charity on behalf of any of their kinsfolk whensoever any one of them died.

Now I wish to declare unto you another high and deep purpose also. The holy Evangelist saith, 'John heard of the works of the Christ, now he was in prison, [and] he called two of his disciples and sent them to the Lord, saying, 'Art thou He Who is to come, or are we to expect another?' (Matt. xi. 3 ff.) And when they had come to Jesus, they said unto Him, 'It is John the Baptist who hath sent us unto Thee, saying, "Art thou He Who is to come or are we to expect another?"' Now at that time He had not healed the multitude, and He said unto the men whom John had sent to question Him, 'Depart ye and declare unto John the things which ye see, and the things which ye hear, namely, that the blind see, and the lame walk, those who are dead rise up, and to the poor the Gospel is preached; and blessed is he who shall not be offended in Me. I am He Who graciously bestowed thee upon Zacharias thy father and Elisabeth thy mother. I am He Who came unto thee whilst thou wast in the womb of Elisabeth thy mother. And when I Myself was in the womb of Mary, My mother, I saluted thee, and thou didst leap therein. Again, it was I Who came unto thee at the tenth hour of the night on the eleventh day of the month Tobe; I received baptism at thy holy hands. Verily, O John, since thou hast been held to be worthy to baptize Me, and art he who was worthy to attain to [this] honour, thou hast surpassed a noble in heaven [who enjoyeth] every kind of honour. I am He Who was to come, and it was I Who received baptism at thy hands. I am He Who shall take away the sin of the world. Thou, O John, art he whom I have chosen, I and My Father Who is in heaven, and the Holy Spirit. I have sent thee [as My] forerunner, and thou art he who maketh a way before Me. Moreover, speak thou unto the multitude saying, "Repent, for the Kingdom which is in the heavens hath drawn nigh (Matt. iii. 2.),—that of which man thinketh not," even as he said, "Behold, I will do a work in your days, a marvellous work, and when ye shall hear thereof ye will not believe" (Hab. 1.5.). And Jesus said unto the men who were sent by John to enquire of Him, "Depart ye, and declare the things which ye see, and the things which ye hear, namely, the

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blind see, the lame walk, those who are dead rise up, and to the poor the Gospel is preached. And blessed is he who shall not be offended through Me.'"

Now when these [enquirers] had departed He began to speak unto the multitude concerning John, saying, 'What did ye go out into the desert to see? Was it a reed, with the wind moving it? But what did ye go out to see? Was it a man arrayed in soft (or, delicate) apparel? Behold, those who wear soft apparel are in the houses of kings. But what did ye go out to see? Was it a prophet? Yea, I tell you that he is more than a prophet. For thus [runneth] that which is written concerning him: "Behold, I will send my angel before Thee, [and] he shall make straight Thy way. (Matt. xi. 10; Mal. iii. 1.). Amen I say unto you that among those who have been born of woman none greater than John the Baptist hath risen up; nevertheless, he that is less than he is greater than he in the Kingdom which is in the heavens.'

Now it is necessary for us to explain this passage to you, for very many of those who are not strong in the Scriptures in thinking about it say, 'Was it really a reed moving in the wind, or was it not? 'Now every tree on the earth, whether it be palm tree, or fig tree, or sycamore tree, or the shbib tree, or the acacia tree, even to the grass of the field, is, as long as it is growing, moved by every wind, either to this side or to the other. Doth not every simple person know this, and more especially every one who is educated? But that [reed] about which the Saviour spoke was the wind instrument which is [placed] in the places of contest and which sendeth forth so loud a sound, there being no one near them, that when those who are at a distance hear them they say, 'What hath happened ? for the speaking reed is sounding?' And straightway they gather together to see what hath happened, and they find out that so-and-so the son of so-and-so hath been the victor in a contest, and that [the name of] so-and-so the son of so-and-so is written down in the gymnasium. It was for this reason that this wind instrument sounded in the place wherein the prophet was prophesying; and all the people gathered together that they might receive instruction. For this very reason it was that the Saviour said, 'What was it that ye went out into the desert to see? Was it a reed with the wind moving it? But what was it that ye went out into the desert to see? Was it a man arrayed in soft apparel? Behold, those who wear soft apparel are in the houses of kings.' Behold, O my beloved, I have explained this question to you, and now I will, by the will of God, expound the following tale to you.

Now at the time when the cataclysm of waters increased upon the earth in the days of Noah, the trees and the waters of the flood rolled over the body of Adam, and they carried it away and deposited it in the midst of Jerusalem, and the waters of the earth flowed over it and covered it. And when the Saviour had come and He was walking about that place, and was teaching, saying, 'If any man serveth Me My Father shall pay him honour; My Father, deliver Me from this hour' (John xii. 26, 27.)—at the very moment when the Saviour said these things the toe-nail of His right foot struck the head of Adam. And thus far is the story.

Now there is very much benefit to be derived by us from this story, but this is not the moment for [us to enjoy] it, because the banquet of the kinsman of the True Bridegroom, the Christ, is set before us. For if thou wilt consider thou wilt see that there are a multitude of men who shall cry out to the Christ in Amente, saying, 'Have mercy on us, Lord, have mercy upon us.' And thou wilt hear also many cries of 'Lord, let Thy strength rise up! Come Thou to deliver us, O our good God.' And Thou, O man-loving Christ, through the multitude of Thy compassion, dost draw every one to Thyself this day. Thou hast redeemed those who were in Amente from the beginning. Thou hast drawn all sinners to Thee in life. The harlot Thou didst make a virgin, and didst forgive her sin. The thief Thou didst take into Paradise. The publican Thou didst make an evangelist. The persecutor [Paul] Thou didst make an apostle. Thou didst redeem those who were bound. Thou didst lift up those who had fallen. Thou didst gather together those who were scattered. Thou didst cry out unto every one with Thy mouth of God, 'Come ye unto Me, every one who is aweary, and is [over] burdened, and I will give you rest.' (Matt. xi. 28.)

And behold also this day wherein Thou dost command Thy holy Apostles, and dost say unto them, 'Ye shall begin [to preach] from Jerusalem even unto the ends of the world. Ye are the witnesses of the things which the Jews did unto Me. Go ye, preach ye to them the salvation of the remission of sins. Do not thrust away sinners from you, but receive ye them in penitence. To the publicans give repentance. As for the harlots, forgive ye them their sins. O my beloved, observe ye the glory wherewith the Christ paid exceedingly great honour to His kinsman, the holy forerunner, John the Baptist. He paid honour to him in heaven, but He paid far greater honour to him upon the earth.

For it came to pass that when our Lord Jesus was born on earth in the rest-house (or, khan) in Bethlehem (Matt. 2.1; Luke 2.4, 6, 7.), the slaughter of the little children by the hands of Herod the Wicked took place. Moreover, when the Archangel Gabriel had warned Joseph in a dream, Joseph took the young Child Jesus, with His mother, and they departed into Egypt.' Then, Elisabeth having seized John in trepidation, she fled with him into the desert. Moreover, when the officers of Herod were pursuing her and her child in order to slay him, she turned her eyes behind her and saw them coming close to her. Now when she and her son arrived at a rock in the mountains, she cried out, saying, 'O rock, admit me inside thee, and my son'; and straightway the rock opened its mouth, and when she reached the rock it received her, and it became unto her a monastery for meditation and a place of quiet wherein to dwell. Whensoever the need arose for her to go out to any place the rock used to open of itself, and after [she had gone out] to close of itself; through the dispensation of God it was a place which became large for their going out and for their coming in. Whensoever they asked for anything which they wanted, they found it [there]. If, for instance, it was locusts or wild honey [which they needed], they came in in this manner. And the door of [their] sleeping chamber used to open by itself and to close by itself. Now if the days were the days of summer, the air always felt cool to them, and the heat never weighed heavily upon them. If the days were the days of winter, the air was always warm [therein], and the cold never caused them any suffering. And the same thing happened in the case of the wild animals which lived in the reerion round about them, and up to the day of the shewing forth of Saint John on the Jordan [they never molested Elisabeth].

Moreover, let us return [to our subject] and describe unto you the praises and the honours which God most graciously bestowed upon His beloved one John, according to the statements that we have found in the ancient manuscripts which the Apostles wrote and deposited in the Library of the Holy City Jerusalem. Now it happened to me to be in Jerusalem, and whilst I was staying in the church, there was an old man there, a God-loving presbyter, and he had authority therein; and I remained in that place in order that I might assist at the celebration of the festival of the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus the Christ, and at the festival of the Holy Cross. Now I went through the books, and I had great enjoyment in this, and I found a little old volume [among them] which concerned the Apostles wherein it was written thus:

And it came to pass that we the Apostles were gathered together to our Saviour upon the Mount of Olives, after that He had made Himself to rise again from the dead. And He spake unto us and commanded us, saying:'Go ye into all the world, and preach unto the people thereof the Gospel of the Kingdom (Matt, 28.19; Mark 16.15.).' [And] He spake unto us concerning John the Baptist, and the honours which He had bestowed upon him in the heavens. And we said unto Him, 'What ought we to do to inform ourselves rightly about Thy beloved one, Thy kinsman John? Because Thou hast testified unto us, saying, I will bestow upon him the third heaven, and the untarnished gifts, and the good things which are therein instead of the blood which he poured out for me. Now therefore, O our Lord, inform us certainly concerning him, and instruct us about that heaven which Thou hast graciously bestowed upon John, Thy beloved one, and the good things which Thou hast prepared therein. Instruct us also about that same John concerning whom Thou hast said unto us, There is no one in the heavens who shall be compared unto him for the glory and the honours which My Father hath bestowed upon him.'

And at that moment our Saviour commanded, and brought down from heaven a cloud of light, and He mounted upon it, and He commanded us the Apostles also to mount upon it with Him. And He brought us up into the first heaven, and afterwards into the second heaven, and then He ascended to the third heaven, but He did not let us enter therein, and He carried us up to the fourth heaven, and to the fifth heaven, and to the sixth heaven, and then to the seventh heaven, but He would not let us enter therein. Now after He had shewn us all these things. He brought us again into the third heaven, and we marvelled at its beauty, and its splendid decoration, and its great glory. And we saw John the Baptist, and Zacharias his father, and Elisabeth his mother, arrayed in garments of great splendour, studded with jewels made of real kikas, and stones of various colours. Then our Saviour made us to stand before John, and He made John to stand in our midst, with Zacharias [his father] on his right hand, and Elisabeth his mother on his left hand. As for us, the Apostles, He made us to stand in order, beginning with our father Peter, and ending with Matthias. And our Saviour walked in front of us, and He shewed unto us the whole heaven, and He shewed us the good things and the enjoyments which are prepared therein, and the untarnished gifts which He had bestowed upon His beloved John, so that he might bestow them on every one who celebrated upon the earth the festival of the Commemoration of John, who was His kinsman and His forerunner. I John, the brother of the Lord, who relate these things, swear unto you that I will not hide from you any one of the good things which I saw, or any of the things which were to be enjoyed, and which were prepared in the third heaven, and which God had bestowed graciously upon Saint John, in order that he might give them to every one who kept the festival of his commemoration upon earth.

At that time Paul, and Luke, and Mark were also with us. And afterwards the Good Saviour called to the Seven Archangels, from Michael the greatest of the Archangels, and the General of the forces of heaven, to Sedekiel,' and He called unto us, the Apostles, one by one in turn, according to our names, from our father Peter, the greatest of the Apostles, to Mark the Evangelist, and He said unto us, 'O My Archangels and holy servants, O My Apostles, ye were witnesses of My Birth, and of My Passion, and of My Crucifixion, and in like manner I make you to be witnesses again. Behold, I give the third heaven to John the Baptist, My companion and My kinsman. And moreover ye shall preach throughout the whole world that every man who shall celebrate the commemoration of this My beloved one John on the earth, either by making an offering, or by alms, or by gifts of charity which are given to the poor, or to his shrine in his name, or who shall write in a book an account of his life in commemoration of him, and shall place it in a church, or who shall dress a table in thy shrine with noble coverings, thou, [O John,] shalt take them into the third heaven, which I have bestowed upon thee, and thou shalt array them in celestial apparel.

'I say unto thee, O My beloved John, who wast held to be worthy to baptise Me with thy holy hand, if any one shall make an offering of first-fruits to thy shrine in thy name, or if any one shall give food to a hungry person in thy name, or shall give to a thirsty person to drink [in thy name], or shall clothe a man who is naked in thy name, I will not allow them to be punished in Amente, but thou shalt take them into life for ever. And I will make My angels to clothe them with their wings of light, and I will bestow upon them the good things which are in My kingdom. My Father shall bless thy right hand, which thou didst lay on My head. My tongue shall bless thy mouth and thy tongue, wherewith thou didst say, "Behold the Lamb of God Who shall take away the sin of the world" (John i. 29.); for I indeed am He. Amen, I say unto thee, O My kinsman John, that I will not punish in Amente any man who shall commemorate thee upon the earth for ever, neither shall his punishment [extend] to the river of fire which every man must pass over, whether he be righteous or whether he be a sinner. Behold, I will also bestow upon him this favour through thee—[the use of] the ferry-boat on this river of fire, which is a boat of gold; whosoever shall celebrate thy commemoration upon earth thou shalt transport across that river of fire in this boat.'

Then we, the Apostles, said unto our Lord, 'How many stadia [across] is the sea of that river of fire? Inform us so that we may be able to teach men how terrible a thing it is.' Our Saviour said unto us, 'I will inform you concerning the measure thereof, and the measure of the boat of gold, which I have given unto My beloved John. The sea of the river of fire is thirty 'Egyptian length units' from shore to shore, and from [one end to the other (?)] thirty stadia to each 'Egyptian length unit'. (one stadion / stadium, which is a Greek length unit, is 184 metres long; so this text says "184m long x 30 = 5.520 km x 30 = 165.6 km". If this description refers to the Dead Sea, then it says that the sea was in the 1st century AD. about three times larger than today.) And I have given the boat of gold to John My kinsman, for the passage over the river, so that he may be able to transport therein those who shall celebrate his commemoration upon the earth, if it be only by breaking a little bread, and the pouring out of a [little] cold water. And when they come to the end of the shore where I am wont to baptise them in the river of fire, when any one who hath celebrated the commemoration of John shall come to be baptised, the waters of the river of fire shall become exactly like the waters of a bath, and like the hot water which a man applieth to his body in the place wherein he washeth himself; even so shall the river of life be. Therefore every man who shall celebrate thy commemoration upon earth, O John, My companion and My kinsman, whether with an offering, or with a gift of first-fruits, or with any gift whatsoever, which they shall give to thy shrine in remembrance of thy holy name, I command thee to transport him across the river of fire in the boat of gold which I have bestowed upon thee. And thou shalt take them into the third heaven, and shalt make them to enjoy the good things which are prepared there and which abide for ever.'

And it came to pass that when our Good Saviour had said these things unto us, we rejoiced exceedingly at the great honours which God had bestowed upon John the Baptist. And again He said unto us, 'Come ye and I will teach you concerning the Paradise of the third heaven.' And He made us to walk through a meadow of asphodel in that place which produced fruits of all sorts, each according to its kind, and they exhaled sweet odours. And there were there likewise meadows with gently running streams, and all the trees which were in that place yielded fruit, each according to its kind, and they were all covered therewith from their roots to their crowns, and there were there asphodel, and cinnamon-trees, and amomum, and mastiche, and mouskhaton, and they all exhaled sweet odours, and each one was the choicest of its kind.

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And Thomas said unto the Saviour, 'Lord, behold Thou hast taught us concerning all the trees which have a sweet smell in Paradise, and the gently running streams, and the palm-trees; tell us now what quantity of dates each palm beareth, and how large are the fruits which each tree yieldeth, and how many bunches of grapes grow on each vine.

The Saviour said, 'I will hide nothing from you about the things concerning which ye have questioned Me. As regardeth the vine concerning the fruit of which ye have Ke asked, there are ten thousand bunches of grapes upon it, and each bunch will produce six metrites [of wine]. As regardeth the palm-trees in Pai'adise, each cluster yieldeth ten thousand dates, and each cluster is as long as a man is high. So likewise is it in the matter of the fig-trees; each shoot produceth ten thousand figs, and if three men were to partake of one fig each of them would be satisfied. On each ear of the wheat which is in Paradise there are ten thousand grains, and each grain produceth six measures of flour. And the cedars also are on the same scale each tree produceth ten thousand [nuts], and is of a very great height. And the appletree and the thourakion-tree are of the same height; there are ten thousand apples on each shoot, and if three men were to partake of one apple each of them they would be satisfied.

'These are the good things which I have prepared for every one who shall celebrate the commemoration of My beloved one, and My kinsman John, upon the earth. Blessed is every one who shall be worthy to inherit these good things, which the eye hath not seen, nor hath the ear heard thereof, nor hath [the idea] thereof entered into the heart of man. These are the things which God hath prepared for those who love Him, and those who love John, His companion and His kinsman, to whose position and honour in the heavens and upon the earth no man, no, not one, hath succeeded, for he was held to be worthy to baptize the Son of God with his holy hands. And he saw the Holy Trinity: the Son was in his hands when he baptised Him; the Voice of the Father he heard, saying, "Thou art My Son, My beloved One, in Whom My wish shall be fulfilled'"; and the Holy Spirit came down from heaven, and rested upon His Head in the form of a Dove.' (Matt. iii. 17.)

And again Peter spake unto the Saviour, saying, 'Our Lord and our God! Shew us what is the signification of these oars and these lamps.' The Saviour said, 'There is a lamp to every oar, and there are seven hollows, to each lamp seven hollows, which are filled and give light. Whosoever shall light a lamp in the shrine of Saint John, or before his image, shall be ferried over the river of fire [by these oars] in the boat of gold which I have bestowed upon John My beloved. And these lamps shall burn before them, and shall light them until they have passed over the roads of darkness, and shall take them into the third heaven, which I have given as an appanage to My beloved one John, and they shall inherit the good things which are therein for ever.'

And when the Good Saviour had said unto us these things He mounted upon a cloud, and He commanded us to mount upon it with Him, and He brought us down, and set us on the Mount of Olives. Then He stood up and prayed with Ail us, and He said unto us, 'Peace be with you.' And when He had said these things unto us. He went up into heaven with great glory, and the angels were singing hymns to Him.' Verily, O my beloved, there is none who can be compared with John the Baptist in the heavens, or on the earth, and there is no one who is more exalted than he in glory, according to what the mouth of the Christ, which cannot lie, said, 'Among those who have been born of women no one hath arisen who is greater than John the Baptist.' (Matt. xi. 11.) Behold, ye know the glory and the honour which God hath bestowed upon John the Baptist. Devote ye yourselves then diligently to charity, and to the giving of alms and offerings in his holy name. Ye know, O my brethren, that the life of man upon the earth is a vain thing. If thou wishest to be saved and to inherit the life which is for ever, make haste, redeem thy sins by alms and oblations, and [wipe out] thine iniquity by means of acts of lovingkindness to the poor, and to those who are needy, so that thou mayest enjoy thyself with the good things which are in the habitation of joy and gladness. And if thou hast committed sin, turn thou, repent, and He shall forgive thee thy sins. For God is the Compassionate, and the Merciful One, and He is a lover of mankind, and He is wont to shew His mercy upon those who shall turn unto Him. For He spake by the prophet Ezekiel, saying, 'I do not desire the death of a sinner, but that he should turn himself away from his evil ways, and should repent and live.' (Ezek. xviii. 32; xxxiii. 11.) And again he said, 'When the wicked man hath turned himself away from his evil, and he doeth righteousness, I will not remember his iniquity which he hath committed/ saith the Lord, 'but he shall live by reason of the righteousness which he doeth.' And again He saith in another place, 'Turn ye yourselves to Me, O ye sons who have wandered afar off, and I will heal your wounds.' And again He saith in another place, 'I have not come to call the righteous, but the sinners to repentance.' Ye know, O my beloved, that charity is good, and that almsgiving is a choice gift; let therefore no man omit to do acts of charity and to give alms to the poor, and to those who are needy, according to his power. And ye must also make offerings to the church in the name of the saints. And by means of all these things let us give glory to God and to His holy forerunner, John the Baptist, the virgin, and martyr, and the kinsman of our Lord Jesus the Christ, Who hath bestowed upon him great honours, to Whom be all glory and all honour, which are His due, and to His Good Father, and to the Holy Spirit for ever and ever! Amen.

THE HEALING OF TIBERIUS

Cura Sanitatis Tiberii
The Cure of Tiber's illness
Early Christian Apocryphal Literature
Latin Bible Manuscripts, Academia 2020
Translation: Tuomas Levänen, 2020
Estimated Range of Dating: 7th to 13th centuries A.D.

(The Healing of Tiberius begins with emperor Tiberius, oppressed by a disease, dispatching a valiant man, Volusianus, to Jerusalem to bring back a healer, Christ Jesus, reputed to heal with his word alone. Tiberius summons Volusianus, charges him with the mission, and promises to reward him. Tiberius then presents to Volusianus the one who informed him about Jesus and urges Volusianus to proceed in haste. Volusianus departs and fifteen months later arrives by sea in Jerusalem. He reassures Pilate and the Jewish leaders, alarmed by his arrival, that he only wants to find the man named Jesus, who might cure the ailing emperor. Pilate is devastated. Suddenly, Tiberius's informer, now identified as Thomas, declares that Jesus was the Son of God, whom even demons acknowledged as divine and whose disciples know the truth. One of Pilate's soldiers remarks that Jesus was crucified on Pilate's orders, which outrages Volusinaus because Pilate had not consulted the emperor before putting him to death. Pilate feebly responds that he tried to placate the Jews. Then another soldier testifies that Jesus has risen and many, including Joseph of Arimathea, have seen him alive. Summoned before Volusianus, Joseph confirms that he saw the risen Jesus on Mount Malec teaching his disciples. Volusianus sends inquiries throughout the region, but Jesus cannot be found; instead, Joseph and eleven righteous Jews arrive and claim that they have seen Jesus ascend into heaven. Volusianus orders that Pilate and his family be imprisoned and demands that Pilate explain why he had not informed the emperor about Jesus. Pilate again blames the Jews and pleads innocence, but Volusinaus has none of it. One of Jesus' disciples, called Simon, challenges Pilate's claim of innocence, and Pilate once again invokes his fear of the Jews. Volusianus remains set against him.

The work is extant in three manuscripts: Arras, Médiathèque municipale, 625 (15th cent.); London, British Library, Add. 89066/1 (volume 1) (ca. 1465); London, British Library, Add. 89066/1 (volume 2) (ca. 1465).

The focus of the narrative suddenly changes to Volusianus's desire to see some likeness of Jesus. One Marcus, a denouncer, claims that a woman in Tyre, named Veronica, whom Jesus healed from a flux of blood, painted an image of Jesus. Volusianus commands her to show him the image, but she denies she has it. Coerced, however, she eventually takes his soldiers to her house, where they find the painting in a room where she always rests her head. She brings the image to Volusianus, who venerates it, and vows death to those responsible for Jesus' death. Nine months later, Volusianus returns to Rome with Pilate, Veronica, and the image. Having heard Volusianus' report, Tiberius is furious with Pilate: since Volusianus has not killed him, he banishes Pilate to a prison in Ameria, Tuscany, and forbids him to eat any cooked food. Meanwhile, Volusianus mentions that he has brought with him Veronica and her picture of Jesus. Tiberius summons her, and when he sees the image, he tearfully adores it and is instantly healed. He gives Veronica wealth and honors, and adorns the painting with gold and precious stones. Tiberius then asks Volusianus about Jesus' commandments and regrets that he was not worthy to see him in the flesh. He dies in his bed nine months later, cleansed of his affliction and believing in Christ.

At this point, the narrative shifts abruptly to a different time and place. Peter and Paul are now in Rome, and so is Simon Magus, who claims to have died and risen again on the third day. Emperor Nero is apprised of what transpired regarding Jesus Christ and Pilate's exile. He summons Pilate, who tells him about Christ and introduces Peter and Paul, who, in turn, invoke Pilate's letter to Claudius. Nero reads the letter, in which Pilate reports Jesus' miracles, the Jewish plots against him, his death, and the accounts of the soldiers guarding his tomb. Pilate lays the blame for Jesus' death squarely on the Jewish leaders. After the letter has been read, Peter confirms its veracity. He then asserts that, whereas Jesus was both God and man, Simon has the substance of both man and the devil. Pilate confirms to Nero the truth of what Peter has said, and Nero sends Pilate back to Ameria on account of his circumcision. There Pilate dies. In the end, both Nero himself and Simon Magus are killed by the devil.

Named historical figures and characters: Augustus (emperor), Claudius (emperor), Didimus, Ezias, Finees, Isaac (the teacher), Jesus Christ, Joseph of Arimathaea, Levi (the teacher), Lucius (witness), Marcus (of Jerusalem), Mattheus, Nero, Pontius Pilate, Peter (apostle), Simon Magus, Thomas (apostle), Tiberius (emperor), Veronica, Volusianus.

Geographical locations: Ameria, Jerusalem, Judea, Mount Malec, Rome, Tyre.

The Healing of Tiberius (Latin: Cura Sanitatis Tiberii) or The Cure of Tiber's illness is a short medieval miracle story which exists, as far as I know, only in Latin. Levänen writes "I stumbled upon this text first time, while browsing medieval Latin Bibles at the British Library collections, and this was added to Gospel of Nicodemus - which was also in that same manuscript. According to a quick search, no English translation exists yet, or I'm not aware of any. Roger Pearse helped me OCR from E. Dobschütz corrected and polished Latin text (Christusbilder, 1899) and wrote more details about the backgrounds to his excellent and useful website. As this isn't official scholarly publication, I just give a simple translation here. Consult Passio Pauli and Gospel of Nicodemus for related events.)

Text:

1. Pilatus Claudius composed this writing, when it was just written, and it was written because the emperor Tiberius was struggling under a difficult disease. Tiberius and Vitelli were both consuls during the reign of Tiberius the Caesar, governor of the empire, and Claudius was his successor. As Jerusalem was in his area, he was guided to receive Jesus Christ, because he had heard wonderful things about him, about awakening the dead and healing the sick, both by himself and through his disciples. He was plannning to use his own devises, saying, "if God exists, he can be given to us, if he is a human, we can love and reign through him. However, I long this one to be brought to make me whole, because of the weakness of my body. It shall be given great honour to the one, who can perform this. There was a known man, Volusianus, high priest of the temple, who was in charge now about both public and private things, set in Jerusalem, so that he can perform his own tasks, and those of Augustus the Caesar. I shall ask him to bring them to me, under reverence and honour." For his increasing pain tormented him, so that even his body felt like a spear pierced insect.

2. Caesar Tiberius was taking more and more drugs and countless ointments while trying to recover, but he felt nothing affecting anything. And when long time had passed by, and there was no any progress, and yet he wanted to get better and be saved, he ordered this known man, Volusianus, to be brought to him. And when the Caesar saw him, he said to him, "I command you, under the eyes of gods and goddesses and spirits, to perform a mission for the state, to act publicly and privately because of my health, to be my ambassador, and when you have done all these things, everything that you shall desire, will be done for you. Hurry, therefore, and go your way, for I have heard the name of Jesus, a certain Jew, of whom they say he can raise the dead and do countless other things; he can give sight to the blind by just a word - he says, and it shall surely be so.

3. Volusianus then bowed his head, and kneeled at the emperor, worshipping him, and said, "be compassionate to me, o Caesar!" Caesar replied, and said to him, "Look, Volusianus, you have a reporter here, who showed all these things, and he has said that they confess this to be the God; this one I spoke about. If God exists, he can help us, but if not, and cannot help the state, there is nothing to lose anyway. For this very reason I exhort you to hurry to him, without delay!" So, as required by law, he made the covenant with his wife, and embarked a ship, which was going his way. Meantime the Caesar was sorely sick, awaiting for death. It took Volusianus one year and three months on the stormy sea before arriving Jerusalem.

4. And when he entered the city, all the elders of the Jews were troubled at his arrival, because he was going to Pilate, the governor of Judaea, to present a Roma given order. For at his arrival in royal and noble appearance, he went with excitement to see him. Pilate asked Volusianus with anxiety, saying, "have your servants been found worthy of your way all the way here? Can you let us know the reason for your journey?" Volusianus replied him and said, "we are not here to gather information about the province of our great Caesar, nor about the cities. We have been freed from direct care of the country, but we are carefully going to examine this salvation for our pious lord Tiberius, and Augustus greets you. Because secrets of deadly sicknesses bind him, so that neither drugs or travelers' ointments are able to help him, and this is the very reason why we are in this state of anxiety, and we are ordered here by commandment. Many days after the violent waves hindered us, we found a safe way here to see Jesus, and we desire to see how we have heard, that in his name one can be healthy without certain herbs or drugs, as says the report of someone standing here. It says he takes care of unclean diseases by one word only, and entire man is

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healthy. In addition to that he also raises the dead." When hearing this, Pilate sighed, deeply grieved.

5. These said, a Jewish man named Thomas on behalf of the name of which the report had been in front of Caesar's presence. He said, "my God, the Son of God, even demons confessed thus about him. Likewise also his disciples, among whom I am counted. Perhaps we will find out the truth". Then one of the governor's soldiers said to Pilate, "this arrogantly desires to see if your majesty is not afraid to crucify him!" Pilate was confused to report the military execution commandment he had decreed. After this, Volusianus said to Pilate, "so, you, who allowed you to condemn this Jesus to death, to whom most people trust, without permission from Caesar Augustus?" Pilate replied, saying, "he called himself king of the jews, and thus suffered because of his words".

6. Then said a captain of Pilate, "we are not confused by the greatness of your heart, but in truth, we ourselves have seen him rising again on the third day. And there are many who have been with us, who have seen him walking. He was full of life, and flourishing, and so was Joseph, who buried him". Volusianus said in that moment, and ordered Joseph to be brought in with great honour and awe, and when they had arrived, Volusianus said to them, "you alone are the wisest among your nation, that we have learnt to be found in this city. Tell us truthfully about Jesus, is it true, that there is such a man in your nation that even the demons confess he's God, and he even rose from the dead, and we have heard this testimony is not yours only?" And Joseph answered, and said, "I am sure that Jesus Christ, my Lord, did rise from the dead. I saw him, and took him as I had requested, and I brought him down and buried him in a sepulchre that was hewn out of the rock, and I saw everything he was teaching to his twelve disciples in Galilee, when he was yet living and sitting on Mount of the King." Volusianus inquired, if there is a need to be sent around the surrounding areas of Jerusalem to search for him, but those eleven, and Joseph with them, said "we have already seen him ascending to heaven". They were Didymus, Lucius, Isaac the teacher, Addaeus, Pinechas the teacher, Ishaia, and Azaria, and Levi the teacher, and Matthew.

7. After these Pilate commanded to take care of Volusianus as was Pilate's custom, and relate more as regards the name. There were many miracles that Jesus had done, and the men there announced them by their mouths. Volusianus heard these and said before all the people, "if Jesus was God, who can help us, he could also decide about the throne of the state". Then Pilate was ordered by Volusianus with his hosts, to be taken into prison and kept eye on him. Pilatus broke into tears and Volusianus said, "you public enemy of the truth, did not all this were reported to Augustus, did he and all his people accept this?" Pilate replied, "I am clean of that blood, I did not want him to be killed, but the Jews did." Volusianus said to him, "however it seems to be, that you didn't do anything to rescue the innocent from those wicked rebels, who delivered him to you!"

8. Then one of his disciples, called Simon stood up in front of Volusianus, and said in front of all those people, "Pilate, while the Jews tried your nerves and annoyed you, you declared 'I have the power to release you, and I have the power to execute you', and how is that innocent man now?" Pilate replied, "the Jews were afraid of him, but I, to show my innocence, I have washed my hands before all of them, by saying 'I am innocent to this righteous blood, see it yourself', and the elders of the Jews replied and said to me, 'let his blood be upon us, and upon our children!'" Hearing this, Volusianus started to weep, and he said to Pilate, tears falling, "you malefactor, you ought to have released him, because of your position!"

9. After this Volusianus began powerfully desire that that they have to examine, if there is anyone capable to know how to proceed, there came certain man, named Marcius, knowing a woman who stays in secret. He said to Volusianus, "almost three years ago a woman was healed from her blood illness. She, our sister, has received the shroud of his body and she does know Jesus". Then Volusianus said to that young man, "can you tell me the name of that woman?" He said, "She is called Veronica, dwelling in Tyre". Volusianus commanded that the woman would be brought to him, and when she was presented to him, Volusianus said to her, "I have been informed about your goodness and understanding, so, hear my petition, show me your great God, who brought salvation to your body." The woman replied to this, that she does possess the things, that were spoken of.

10. However, in that time Volusianus began to suspect he was a laughing-stock, and he started inquire carefully if that woman was to overthrow him and his devotion to his gods, and he wanted to see the image of the secret of salvation,and behold, it was hidden by her. So a multitude of soldiers accompanied her to the chamber where the image of his head was hidden, and it was brought to Volusianus. But when Volusianus saw the image of Jesus Christ, trembling and reverence seized him and he said, "verily I say to you, that those, who mistreated and crucified Jesus, who cured the sick and raised the dead, shall receive an evil reward!" Troops of the ships were being filled with armed soldiers, and they took Pilate, and the woman, Veronica, and the image of Lord Jesus Christ, and they journeyed together to the city of Rome, and arrived there at the end of ninth month.

11. The arrival of Volusianus was reported to Caesar Tiberius. Volusianus proceeded in to worship Caesar Tiberius, and told him everything that had caused the delay, and how the tempest of the sea hindered, and Tiberius said to him, "why do you not kill Pilate?" Volusianus said, "I was afraid to offend your majesty, however, he is here now." When Caesar Tiberius saw his face, in that moment he was filled with anger and declared a sentence against him, saying, "you shall not eat cooked food nor boiled water", and condemned him to be sent to city of Tuscany, to be exiled and kept in prison in Amerian county.

12. Volusianus said to Caesar Tiberius, "Jesus healed a certain woman of thirty years, from the issue of blood which she was suffering. She possesses an image of the Lord Jesus' love, and this very same image is brought here with her. For this woman has left everything behind her, except this image of God, saying, 'this shroud is my soul's richness, I will not, during my life, depart from it, for there is my hope of salvation, and there is strength and my hope. Where it is, I am with it'."

13. When Tiberius Augustus heard about the image of Lord Jesus Christ, he ordered that both it, and the woman must be presented to him. When he saw that shroud, which the woman had, that woman said, "you do deserve to touch the hem of Jesus' garment!" Having said this, she looked up, and saw Jesus Christ bowing down towards that image of Jesus Christ. The ground was trembling, with Christ's tears falling. To be consolated from his infirmity, the man, who was suffering inside, had already seen a vision which revealed him the power, richness and honour of God, who can make him whole. And immediately he was cured from his weakness and he ordered that the woman, Veronica, must be covered with gold and precious stones, with a public decree.

14. Tiberius said to Volusianus, "what should be commanded now?" Volusianus replied, "as far as I have learnt, there is no one else but the Son of God, in which everyone has to be baptised, in water, and one must also believe that he is the Son." And Caesar Tiberius said, "woe is me, for I did not have chance to see him in his body, however, I do believe in the Lord Jesus Christ". Nine months later Caesar Tiberius went to senate, and they agreed with one consent, that Jesus is to be worshipped as God, and there should be established images of the true God, and the emperor, and the significance of the city is to be celebrated. Even many of the members of the senate received Christ, including many of the most noble senate members, through the effect they had seen with Caesar Tiberius. He was indignated at the circumsised, because they did not want to listen to Christ, and to himself, because he had not been active enough (to save him). Few days after the priests of Isis temple were killed, he died in his bed. Gaius and Claudius were his successors to reign, but after a temporary time of Gaius, Claudius reigned for long time.

15. After Claudius, Caesar Nero succeeded the throne of Rome. And there came to the city of Rome disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ, Peter and Paul. And there was dwelling a certain Samaritan, called Simon, very learned in magic, in which a multitude of demons were dwelling. He said he was the son of god to them, and how he had suffered and died by the jews, and he was the one who was buried and rose on the third day. But when Caesar Nero got announced that the Lord Jesus Christ lives, and everything he did among the jews, he was also told about Pilate, who was relocated to Ameria, and he commanded him to return where he had been. And when the disciples had been presented to Nero, they told all these to him about the Christ Nazarene. Peter and Paul opposed Simon in the presence of Caesar Nero, saying, "good emperor, if you want to know, what happened in Judea, acquire the writings Pontius Pilate had sent to Claudius, and then you are able to know everything."

16. Nero sent to capital library, and realised the writing was indeed written, received and read. And there was the following: Pontius Pilate salutes Claudius. It happened recently that there was a magnificent man among the Judeans, who had to suffer a great punishment. There was a promise to their fathers, that their God will send them his Holy One, who shall be called King, and he was promised to be sent to earth through a virgin, to be a jew, leader of the Hebrews. Even demons said he was the Son of God, and he cast them out, and gave light to the blind, cleaned the lepers, cured the paralyzed, awakened the dead, he healed the sick with his word, commanded winds and waves of the sea, made crippled ones walk, and multitude of other miracles he did in the sight of people. And when the Son of God had strenghtened the people of the Jews, the Jewish high priests opposed him, and prepared an ambush for him. They spoke lies about him together, and delivered him to me, saying, "this acts against our law". I had him scourged, and gave him to them thinking that they would calm down, and they crucified him. And after he was buried, they put soldiers to guard him, in order that if he is going to rise from the dead. According to the soldiers he indeed rose on the third day. Their wickedness kindled so much, that to keep them quiet they wasted money to the soldiers, so that they would say, "his disciples came by night, and took his body away when we were asleep". Full of lies, they wanted to conceal the truth, but the soldiers, having taken the money, could by no means silence this truth and goodness the Jews had received. Therefore there is this idea, which they suggested, that he was a liar, according to the Jewish leaders.

17. And when the letter had been read in front of Caesar, immediatey Caesar Nero said, "tell me, Peter, if all these things were really done by him." Then Peter said, "good emperor, all these things you have heard, were done by our Lord, Jesus Christ, the Son of God. Simon Magus is surrounded by devil's works, for he himself is full of falsehood. Even so much, that an unclean man dared to say that he is son of god. We are all victorious through God and that man, who possesses this divine, incorruptible majesty, but Simon does not represent this substance; rather devil and a man, because the seducer tries to ensnare people." On hearing this, emperor Nero asked Pilate if these things heard from Peter were true. Pilate replied and said, "real are the things your ears heard from Peter!"

18. After these things Pilate got himself circumcized by the Judeans, and emperor Nero exiled him a second time to the city of Ameria, where he later took his own soul by his own sword, in anguish.

19. All these things are now written about damnation of Pilate. Tiberius Augustus, who believed in our Lord Jesus Christ, was baptised and saved, and departed from this life in peace.

20. Nero was a diabolic pagan, wicked murderer, and he destroyed and killed martyrs by following advices of Simon, as he used to. The Lord is our safety! We do believe, that He was the very Son of God, who with the Father, and the Holy Spirit, reigns for ever and ever. Amen.

THE HISTORY OF JOSEPH THE CARPENTER

Apocrypha: Joseph the Carpenter
Ante-Nicene Fathers Vol. 8, 1885
Apocrypha of the New Testament
Translation: Alexander Walker, 1885
Estimated Range of Dating: 5th century A.D.

(The History of Joseph the Carpenter (Historia Josephi Fabri Lignari) is a compilation of traditions concerning Mary (mother of Jesus), Joseph, and the "holy family," probably composed in Eastern Roman Egypt in Greek in the late sixth or early seventh centuries, but surviving only in Coptic and Arabic language translation. The text bears witness to the belief in the perpetual virginity of Mary. It is one of the texts within the New Testament apocrypha concerned with the period of Jesus' life before he was 12.

Some information indicates the text was written in Egypt in the fifth century. Two versions survive, one in Coptic, the other in Arabic, with the Coptic version likely being the original. Much of the text is based on material in the Gospel of James.

The early third century apocryphal "First Apocalypse of James" from the Nag Hammadi library states: Jesus speaking to James, "For not without reason have I called you my brother, although you are not my brother materially." This adds an additional record of Mary's relationship to Jesus' brothers, allowing the explanation of her perpetual virginity.

The text is framed as an explanation by Jesus on the Mount of Olives concerning the life of Joseph, his stepfather. Agreeing with Mary's continued virginity, the text proclaims that Joseph had four sons (Judas, Justus, James, and Simon) and two daughters (Assia and Lydia) by a previous marriage.

After this basic background, the text proceeds to paraphrase the Gospel of James, stopping at the point of Jesus' birth. The text states that Joseph was miraculously blessed with mental and physical youth, dying at the age of 111. His oldest sons (Justus and Simon) get married and have children, and likewise his two daughters get married and live in their own houses.

Joseph's death takes up a substantial portion of the text. He first lets out a significant prayer, including in his last words a series of lamentations about his carnal sins. About 50% of the work is an extension of the death scene, in which the angel of death, as well as the archangels Michael and Gabriel, appear to him. At the conclusion of the text, Jesus affirms that Mary remained a virgin throughout her days by addressing her as "my mother, virgin undefiled."

The text says "And the holy apostles have preserved this conversation, and have left it written down in the library at Jerusalem.")

In the name of God, of one essence and three persons.

The history of the death of our father, the holy old man, Joseph the carpenter. May his blessings and prayers preserve us all, O brethren! Amen.

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His whole life was one hundred and eleven years, and his departure from this world happened on the twenty-sixth of the month Abib, which answers to the month Ab. May his prayer preserve us! Amen. And, indeed, it was our Lord Jesus Christ Himself who related this history to His holy disciples on the Mount of Olives, and all Joseph's labour, and the end of his days. And the holy apostles have preserved this conversation, and have left it written down in the library at Jerusalem. May their prayers preserve us! Amen.

1. It happened one day, when the Saviour, our Master, God, and Saviour Jesus Christ, was sitting along with His disciples, and they were all assembled on the Mount of Olives, that He said to them: O my brethren and friends, sons of the Father who has chosen you from all men, you know that I have often told you that I must be crucified, and must die for the salvation of Adam and his posterity, and that I shall rise from the dead. Now I shall commit to you the doctrine of the holy gospel formerly announced to you, that you may declare it. throughout the whole world. And I shall endow you with power from on high, and fill you with the Holy Spirit. And you shall declare to all nations repentance and remission of sins. For a single cup of water, if a man shall find it in the world to come, is greater and better than all the wealth of this whole world. And as much ground as one foot can occupy in the house of my Father, is greater and more excellent than all the riches of the earth. Yea, a single hour in the joyful dwelling of the pious is more blessed and more precious than a thousand years among sinners: inasmuch as their weeping and lamentation shall not come to an end, and their tears shall not cease, nor shall they find for themselves consolation and repose at any time for ever. And now, O my honoured members, go declare to all nations, tell them, and say to them: Verily the Saviour diligently inquires into the inheritance which is due, and is the administrator of justice. And the angels will cast down their enemies, and will fight for them in the day of conflict. And He will examine every single foolish and idle word which men speak, and they shall give an account of it. For as no one shall escape death, so also the works of every man shall be laid open on the day of judgement, whether they have been good or evil. Tell them also this word which I have said to you to-day: Let not the strong man glory in his strength, nor the rich man in his riches; but let him who wishes to glory, glory in the Lord.

2. There was a man whose name was Joseph, sprung from a family of Bethlehem, a town of Judah, and the city of King David. This same man, being well furnished with wisdom and learning, was made a priest in the temple of the Lord. He was, besides. skilful in his trade, which was that of a carpenter; and after the manner of all men, he married a wife. Moreover, he begot for himself sons and daughters, four sons, namely, and two daughters. Now these are their names–Judas, Justus, James, and Simon. The names of the two daughters were Assia and Lydia. At length the wife of righteous Joseph, a woman intent on the divine glory in all her works, departed this life. But Joseph, that righteous man, my father after the flesh, and the spouse of my mother Mary, went away with his sons to his trade, practising the art of a carpenter.

3. Now when righteous Joseph became a widower, my mother Mary, blessed, holy, and pure, was already twelve years old. For her parents offered her in the temple when she was three years of age, and she remained in the temple of the Lord nine years. Then when the priests saw that the virgin, holy and God-fearing, was growing up, they spoke to each other, saying: Let us search out a man, righteous and pious, to whom Mary may be entrusted until the time of her marriage; lest, if she remain in the temple, it happen to her as is wont to happen to women, and lest on that account we sin, and God be angry with us.

4. Therefore they immediately sent out, and assembled twelve old men of the tribe of Judah. And they wrote down the names of the twelve tribes of Israel. And the lot fell upon the pious old man, righteous Joseph. Then the priests answered, and said to my blessed mother: Go with Joseph, and be with him till the time of your marriage. Righteous Joseph therefore received my mother, and led her away to his own house. And Mary found James the Less in his father's house, broken-hearted and sad on account of the loss of his mother, and she brought him up. Hence Mary was called the mother of James. Thereafter Joseph left her at home, and went away to the shop where he wrought at his trade of a carpenter. And after the holy virgin had spent two years in his house her age was exactly fourteen years, including the time at which he received her.

5. And I chose her of my own will, with the concurrence of my Father, and the counsel of the Holy Spirit. And I was made flesh of her, by a mystery which transcends the grasp of created reason. And three months after her conception the righteous man Joseph returned from the place where he worked at his trade; and when he found my virgin mother pregnant, he was greatly perplexed, and thought of sending her away secretly. But from fear, and sorrow, and the anguish of his heart, he could endure neither to eat nor drink that day.

6. But at mid-day there appeared to him in a dream the prince of the angels, the holy Gabriel, furnished with a command from my Father; and he said to him: Joseph, son of David, fear not to take Mary as thy wife: for she has conceived of the Holy Spirit; and she will bring forth a son, whose name shall be called Jesus. He it is who shall rule all nations with a rod of iron. Having thus spoken, the angel departed from him. And Joseph rose from his sleep, and did as the angel of the Lord had said to him; and Mary abode with him.

7. Some time after that, there came forth an order from Augustus Caesar the king, that all the habitable world should be enrolled, each man in his own city. The old man therefore, righteous Joseph, rose up and took the virgin Mary and came to Bethlehem, because the time of her bringing forth was at hand. Joseph then inscribed his name in the list; for Joseph the son of David, whose spouse Mary was, was of the tribe of Judah. And indeed Mary, my mother, brought me forth in Bethlehem, in a cave near the tomb of Rachel the wife of the patriarch Jacob, the mother of Joseph and Benjamin.

8. But Satan went and told this to Herod the Great, the father of Archelaus. And it was this same Herod who ordered my friend and relative John to be beheaded. Accordingly he searched for me diligently, thinking that my kingdom was to be of this world. But Joseph, that pious old man, was warned of this by a dream. Therefore he rose and took Mary my mother, and I lay in her bosom. Salome also was their fellow-traveller. Having therefore set out from home, he retired into Egypt, and remained there the space of one whole year, until the hatred of Herod passed away.

9. Now Herod died by the worst form of death, atoning for the shedding of the blood of the children whom he wickedly cut off, though there was no sin in them. And that impious tyrant Herod being dead, they returned into the land of Israel, and lived in a city of Galilee which is called Nazareth. And Joseph, going back to his trade of a carpenter, earned his living by the work of his hands; for, as the law of Moses had commanded, he never sought to live for nothing by another's labour.

10. At length, by increasing years, the old man arrived at a very advanced age. He did not, however, labour under any bodily weakness, nor had his sight failed, nor had any tooth perished from his mouth. In mind also, for the whole time of his life, he never wandered; but like a boy he always in his business displayed youthful vigour, and his limbs remained unimpaired, and free from all pain. His life, then, in all, amounted to one hundred and eleven years, his old age being prolonged to the utmost limit.

11. Now Justus and Simeon, the eider sons of Joseph, were married, and had families of their own. Both the daughters were likewise married, and lived in their own houses. So there remained in Joseph's house, Judas and James the Less, and my virgin mother. I moreover dwelt along with them, not otherwise than if I had been one of his sons. But I passed all my life without fault. Mary I called my mother, and Joseph father, and I obeyed them in all that they said; nor did I ever contend against them, but complied with their commands, as other men whom earth produces are wont to do; nor did I at any time arouse their anger, or give any word or answer in opposition to them. On the contrary, I cherished them with great love, like the pupil of my eye.

12. It came to pass, after these things, that the death of that old man, the pious Joseph, and his departure from this world, were approaching, as happens to other men who owe their origin to this earth. And as his body was verging on dissolution, an angel of the Lord informed him that his death was now close at hand. Therefore fear and great perplexity came upon him. So he rose up and went to Jerusalem; and going into the temple of the Lord, he poured out his prayers there before the sanctuary, and said:

13. O God! author of all consolation, God of all compassion, and Lord of the whole human race; God of my soul, body, and spirit; with supplications I reverence thee, O Lord and my God. If now my days are ended, and the time draws near when I must leave this world, send me, I beseech Thee, the great Michael, the prince of Thy holy angels: let him remain with me, that my wretched soul may depart from this afflicted body without trouble, without terror and impatience. For great fear and intense sadness take hold of all bodies on the day of their death, whether it be man or woman, beast wild or tame, or whatever creeps on the ground or flies in the air. At the last all creatures under heaven in whom is the breath of life are struck with horror, and their souls depart from their bodies with strong fear and great depression. Now therefore, O Lord and my God, let Thy holy angel be present with his help to my soul and body, until they shall be dissevered from each other. And let not the face of the angel, appointed my guardian from the day of my birth, be turned away from me; but may he be the companion of my journey even until he bring me to Thee: let his countenance be pleasant and gladsome to me, and let him accompany me in peace. And let not demons of frightful aspect come near me in the way in which I am to go, until I come to Thee in bliss. And let not the doorkeepers hinder my soul from entering paradise. And do not uncover my sins, and expose me to condemnation before Thy terrible tribunal. Let not the lions rush in upon me; nor let the waves of the sea of fire overwhelm my soul–for this must every soul pass through –before I have seen the glory of Thy Godhead. O God, most righteous Judge, who in justice and equity wilt judge mankind, and wilt render unto each one according to his works, O Lord and my God, I beseech Thee, be present to me in Thy compassion, and enlighten my path that I may come to Thee; for Thou art a fountain overflowing with all good things, and with glory for evermore. Amen.

14. It came to pass thereafter, when he returned to his own house in the city of Nazareth, that he was seized by disease, and had to keep his bed. And it was at this time that he died, according to the destiny of all mankind. For this disease was very heavy upon him, and he had never been ill, as he now was, from the day of his birth. And thus assuredly it pleased Christ to order the destiny of righteous Joseph. He lived forty years unmarried; thereafter his wife remained under his care forty-nine years, and then died. And a year after her death, my mother, the blessed Mary, was entrusted to him by the priests, that he should keep her until the time of her marriage. She spent two years in his house; and in the third year of her stay with Joseph, in the fifteenth year of her age, she brought me forth on earth by a mystery which no creature can penetrate or understand, except myself, and my Father and the Holy Spirit, constituting one essence with myself.

15. The whole age of my father, therefore, that righteous old man, was one hundred and eleven years, my Father in heaven having so decreed. And the day on which his soul left his body was the twenty-sixth of the month Abib. For now the fine gold began to lose its splendour, and the silver to be worn down by use–I mean his understanding and his wisdom. He also loathed food and drink, and lost all his skill in his trade of carpentry, nor did he any more pay attention to it. It came to pass, then, in the early dawn of the twenty-sixth day of Abib, that Joseph, that righteous old man, lying in his bed, was giving up his unquiet soul. Wherefore he opened his mouth with many sighs, and struck his hands one against the other, and with a loud voice cried out, and spoke after the following manner:–

16. Woe to the day on which I was born into the world! Woe to the womb which bare me! Woe to the bowels which admitted me! Woe to the breasts which suckled me! Woe to the feet upon which I sat and rested! Woe to the hands which carried me and reared me until I grew up! For I was conceived in iniquity, and in sins did my mother desire me. Woe to my tongue and my lips, which have brought forth and spoken vanity, detraction, falsehood, ignorance, derision, idle tales, craft, and hypocrisy! Woe to mine eyes, which have looked upon scandalous things! Woe to mine ears, which have delighted in the words of slanderers! Woe to my hands, which have seized what did not of right belong to them! Woe to my belly and my bowels, which have lusted after food unlawful to be eaten! Woe to my throat, which like a fire has consumed all that it found! Woe to my feet, which have too often walked in ways displeasing to God! Woe to my body; and woe to my miserable soul, which has already turned aside from God its Maker! What shall I do when I arrive at that place where I must stand before the most righteous Judge, and when He shall call me to account for the works which I have heaped up in my youth? Woe to every man dying in his sins! Assuredly that same dreadful hour, which came upon my father Jacob, when his soul was flying forth from his body, is now, behold, near at hand for me. Oh! how wretched I am this day, and worthy of lamentation! But God alone is the disposer of my soul and body; He also will deal with them after His own good pleasure.

17. These are the words spoken by Joseph, that righteous old man. And I, going in beside him, found his soul exceedingly troubled, for he was placed in great perplexity. And I said to him: Hail! my father Joseph, thou righteous man; how is it with thee? And he answered me: All hail! my well-beloved son. Indeed, the agony and fear of death have already environed me; but as soon as I heard Thy voice, my soul was at rest. O Jesus of Nazareth! Jesus, my Saviour! Jesus, the deliverer of my soul! Jesus, my protector! Jesus! O sweetest name in my mouth, and in the mouth of all those that love it! O eye which seest, and ear which hearest, hear me! I am Thy servant; this day I most humbly reverence Thee, and before Thy face I pour out my tears. Thou art altogether my God; Thou art my Lord, as the angel has told me times without number, and especially on that day when my soul was driven about with perverse thoughts about the pure and blessed Mary, who was carrying Thee in her womb, and whom I was thinking of secretly sending away. And while I was thus meditating, behold, there appeared to me in my rest angels of the Lord, saying to me in a wonderful mystery: O Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take Mary as thy wife; and do not grieve thy soul, nor speak unbecoming words of her conception, because she is with child of the Holy Spirit, and shall bring forth a son, whose name shall be called Jesus, for He shall save His people from their sins. Do not for this cause wish me evil, O Lord! for I was ignorant of the mystery of Thy birth. I call to mind also, my Lord, that day when the boy died of the bite of the serpent. And his relations wished to deliver Thee to Herod, saying that Thou hadst killed him; but Thou didst raise him from the dead, and restore him to them.

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Then I went up to Thee, and took hold of Thy hand, saying: My son, take care of thyself. But Thou didst say to me in reply: Art thou not my father after the flesh? I shall teach thee who I am. Now therefore, O Lord and my God, do not be angry with me, or condemn me on account of that hour. I am Thy servant, and the son of Thine handmaiden; but Thou art my Lord, my God and Saviour, most surely the Son of God.

18. When my father Joseph had thus spoken, he was unable to weep more. And I saw that death now had dominion over him. And my mother, virgin undefiled, rose and came to me, saying: O my beloved son, this pious old man Joseph is now dying. And I answered: Oh my dearest mother, assuredly upon all creatures produced in this world the same necessity of death lies; for death holds sway over the whole human race. Even thou, O my virgin mother, must look for the same end of life as other mortals. And yet thy death, as also the death of this pious man, is not death, but life enduring to eternity. Nay more, even I must die, as concerns the body which I have received from thee. But rise, O my venerable mother, and go in to Joseph, that blessed old man, in order that thou mayst see what will happen as his soul ascends from his body.

19. My undefiled mother Mary, therefore, went and entered the place where Joseph was. And I was sitting at his feet looking at him, for the signs of death already appeared in his countenance. And that blessed old man raised his head, and kept his eyes fixed on my face; but he had no power of speaking to me, on account of the agonies of death, which held him in their grasp. But he kept fetching many sighs. And I held his hands for a whole hour; and he turned his face to me, and made signs for me not to leave him. Thereafter I put my hand upon his breast, and perceived his soul now near his throat, preparing to depart from its receptacle.

20. And when my virgin mother saw me touching his body, she also touched his feet. And finding them already dead and destitute of heat, she said to me: O my beloved son, assuredly his feet are already beginning to stiffen, and they are as cold as snow. Accordingly she summoned his sons and daughters, and said to them: Come, as many as there are of you, and go to your father; for assuredly he is now at the very point of death. And Assia, his daughter, answered and said: Woe's me, O my brothers, this is certainly the same disease that my beloved mother died of. And she lamented and shed tears; and all Joseph's other children mourned along with her. I also, and my mother Mary, wept along with them.

21. And turning my eyes towards the region of the south, I saw Death already approaching, and all Gehenna with him, closely attended by his army and his satellites; and their clothes, their faces, and their mouths poured forth flames. And when my father Joseph saw them coming straight to him, his eyes dissolved in tears, and at the same time he groaned after a strange manner. Accordingly, when I saw the vehemence of his sighs, I drove back Death and all the host of servants which accompanied him. And I called upon my good Father, saying:–

22. O Father of all mercy, eye which seest, and ear which hearest, hearken to my prayers and supplications in behalf of the old man Joseph; and send Michael, the prince of Thine angels, and Gabriel, the herald of light, and all the light of Thine angels, and let their whole array walk with the soul of my father Joseph, until they shall have conducted it to Thee. This is the hour in which my father has need of compassion. And I say unto you, that all the saints, yea, as many men as are born in the world, whether they be just or whether they be perverse, must of necessity taste of death.

23. Therefore Michael and Gabriel came to the soul of my father Joseph, and took it, and wrapped it in a shining wrapper. Thus he committed his spirit into the hands of my good Father, and He bestowed upon him peace. But as yet none of his children knew that he had fallen asleep. And the angels preserved his soul from the demons of darkness which were in the way, and praised God even until they conducted it into the dwelling-place of the pious.

24. Now his body was lying prostrate and bloodless; wherefore I reached forth my hand, and put right his eyes and shut his mouth, and said to the virgin Mary: O my mother, where is the skill which he showed in all the time that he lived in this world? Lo! it has perished, as if it had never existed. And when his children heard me speaking with my mother, the pure virgin, they knew that he had already breathed his last, and they shed tears, and lamented. But I said to them: Assuredly the death of your father is not death, but life everlasting: for he has been freed from the troubles of this life, and has passed to perpetual and everlasting rest. When they heard these words, they rent their clothes, and wept.

25. And, indeed, the inhabitants of Nazareth and of Galilee, having heard of their lamentation, flocked to them, and wept from the third hour even to the ninth. And at the ninth hour they all went together to Joseph's bed. And they lifted his body, after they had anointed it with costly unguents. But I entreated my Father in the prayer of the celestials–that same prayer which with any own hand I made before I was carried in the womb of the virgin Mary, my mother. And as soon as I had finished it, and pronounced the amen, a great multitude of angels came up; and I ordered two of them to stretch out their shining garments, and to wrap in them the body of Joseph, the blessed old man.

26. And I spoke to Joseph, and said: The smell or corruption of death shall not have dominion over thee, nor shall a worm ever come forth from thy body. Not a single limb of it shall be broken, nor shall any hair on thy head be changed. Nothing of thy body shall perish, O my father Joseph, but it will remain entire and uncorrupted even until the banquet of the thousand years. And whosoever shall make an offering on the day of thy remembrance, him will I bless and recompense in the congregation of the virgins; and whosoever shall give food to the wretched, the poor, the widows, and orphans from the work of his hands, on the day on which thy memory shall be celebrated, and in thy name, shall not be in want of good things all the days of his life. And whosoever shall have given a cup of water, or of wine, to drink to the widow or orphan in thy name, I will give him to thee, that thou mayst go in with him to the banquet of the thousand years. And every man who shall present an offering on the day of thy commemoration will I bless and recompense in the church of the virgins: for one I will render unto him thirty, sixty, and a hundred. And whosover shall write the history of thy life, of thy labour, and thy departure from this world, and this narrative that has issued from my mouth, him shall I commit to thy keeping as long as he shall have to do with this life. And when his soul departs from the body, and when he must leave this world, I will bum the book of his sins, nor will I torment him with any punishment in the day of judgment; but he shall cross the sea of flames, and shall go through it without trouble or pain. And upon every poor man who can give none of those things which I have mentioned this is incumbent: viz., if a son is born to him, he shall call his name Joseph. So there shall not take place in that house either poverty or any sudden death for ever.

27. Thereafter the chief men of the city came together to the place where the body of the blessed old man Joseph had been laid, bringing with them burial-clothes; and they wished to wrap it up in them after the manner in which the Jews are wont to arrange their dead bodies. And they perceived that he kept his shroud fast; for it adhered to the body in such a way, that when they wished to take it off, it was found to be like iron–impossible to be moved or loosened. Nor could they find any ends in that piece of linen, which struck them with the greatest astonishment. At length they carried him out to a place where there was a cave, and opened the gate, that they might bury his body beside the bodies of his fathers. Then there came into my mind the day on which he walked with me into Egypt, and that extreme trouble which he endured on my account. Accordingly, I bewailed his death for a long time; and lying upon his body, I said:–

28. O Death! who makest all knowledge to vanish away, and raisest so many tears and lamentations, surely it is God my Father Himself who hath granted thee this power. For men die for the transgression of Adam and his wife Eve, and Death spares not so much as one. Nevertheless, nothing happens to any one, or is brought upon him, without the command of my Father. There have certainly been men who have prolonged their life even to nine hundred years; but they died. Yea, though some of them have lived longer, they have, notwithstanding, succumbed to the same fate; nor has any one of them ever said: I have not tasted death. For the Lord never sends the same punishment more than once, since it hath pleased my Father to bring it upon men. And at the very moment when it, going forth, beholds the command descending to it from heaven, it says: I will go forth against that man, and will greatly move him. Then, without delay, it makes an onset on the soul, and obtains the mastery of it, doing with it whatever it will. For, because Adam did not the will of my Father, but transgressed His commandment, the wrath of my Father was kindled against him, and He doomed him to death; and thus it was that death came into the world. But if Adam had observed my Father's precepts, death would never have fallen to his lot. Think you that I can ask my good Father to send me a chariot of fire, which may take up the body of my father Joseph, and convey it to the place of rest, in order that it may dwell with the spirits? But on account of the transgression of Adam, that trouble and violence of death has descended upon all the human race. And it is for this cause that I must die according to the flesh, for my work which I have created, that they may obtain grace.

29. Having thus spoken, I embraced the body of my father Joseph, and wept over it; and they opened the door of the tomb, and placed his body in it, near the body of his father Jacob. And at the time when he fell asleep he had fulfilled a hundred and eleven years. Never did a tooth in his mouth hurt him, nor was his eyesight rendered less sharp, nor his body bent, nor his strength impaired; but he worked at his trade of a carpenter to the very last day of his life; and that was the six-and-twentieth of the month Abib.

30. And we apostles, when we heard these things from our Saviour, rose up joyfully, and prostrated ourselves in honour of Him, and said: O our Saviour, show us Thy grace. Now indeed we have heard the word of life: nevertheless we wonder, O our Saviour, at the fate of Enoch and Elias, inasmuch as they had not to undergo death. For truly they dwell in the habitation of the righteous even to the present day, nor have their bodies seen corruption. Yet that old man Joseph the carpenter was, nevertheless, Thy father after the flesh. And Thou hast ordered us to go into all the world and preach the holy Gospel; and Thou hast said: Relate to them the death of my father Joseph, and celebrate to him with annual solemnity a festival and sacred day. And whosoever shall take anything away from this narrative, or add anything to it, commits sin. We wonder especially that Joseph, even from that day on which Thou wast born in Bethlehem, called Thee his son after the flesh. Wherefore, then, didst Thou not make him immortal as well as them, and Thou sayest that he was righteous and chosen?

31. And our Saviour answered and said: Indeed, the prophecy of my Father upon Adam, for his disobedience, has now been fulfilled. And all things are arranged according to the will and pleasure of my Father. For if a man rejects the commandment of God, and follows the works of the devil by committing sin, his life is prolonged; for be is preserved in order that he may perhaps repent, and reflect that he must be delivered into the hands of death. But if any one has been zealous of good works, his life also is prolonged, that, as the fame of his old age increases, upright men may imitate him. But when you see a man whose mind is prone to anger, assuredly his days are shortened; for it is these that are taken away in the flower of their age. Every prophecy, therefore, which my Father has pronounced concerning the sons of men, must be fulfilled in every particular. But with reference to Enoch and Elias, and how they remain alive to this day, keeping the same bodies with which they were born; and as to what concerns my father Joseph, who has not been allowed as well as they to remain in the body: indeed, though a man live in the world many myriads of years, nevertheless at some time or other he is compelled to exchange life for death.

And I say to you, O my brethren, that they also, Enoch and Elias, must towards the end of time return into the world and die–in the day, namely, of commotion, of terror, of perplexity, and affliction. For Antichrist will slay four bodies, and will pour out their blood like water, because of the reproach to which they shall expose him, and the ignominy with which they, in their lifetime, shall brand him when they reveal his impiety.

32. And we said: O our Lord, our God and Saviour, who are those four whom Thou hast said Antichrist will cut off from the reproach they bring upon him? The Lord answered: They are Enoch, Elias, Schila, and Tabitha. When we heard this from our Saviour, we rejoiced and exulted; and we offered all glory and thanksgiving to the Lord God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ. He it is to whom is due glory, honour, dignity, dominion, power, and praise, as well as to the good Father with Him, and to the Holy Spirit that giveth life, henceforth and in all time for evermore. Amen.

THE STORY OF JOSEPH (OF ARIMATHEA)

Narrative of Joseph of Arimathea
The Apocryphal Gospels and other Documents
Translation: B. Harris Cowper, 1874
Estimated Range of Dating: c. early Middle Ages

(The Story of Joseph has not much to do with history but with literature, just like most of the gospels. This does not mean that they have no right to exist or to be ignored—on the contrary. People always have liked good stories and they have a very important function for religious communities. They show believers one particular way to God, and they also make the key figures of the story well-known. In those days the characters of the stories became almost some sort of "family members", just like the characters of modern television dramas. And there might be a trace of truth in such a story. This story is about Joseph of Arimathea and it is recorded in many medieval manuscripts. However, the original manuscript, as well as the author, is unknown.

Although only a handful of verses refer to him in the New Testament narratives, Joseph, a noble Jewish counsellor from the city of Arimathea, plays an essential role in the dramatic events following Christ's crucifixion. Neither fully aware of the possibly prodigious outcomes, nor afraid of the wrath of his own community, Joseph played an integral part in the fulfillment of Christ's passion and burial, as foretold by Isaiah (53:9) and, by implication, in the resurrection process. In contrast to the other disciples, he courageously requests the body of Christ from Pilate, removes it from the cross, and buries it with dignity inside his own un-touched sepulcher. Although with some discrepancies, all four gospels, as well as the Gospel of Nicodemus, describe the same events regarding Christ's deposition from the cross and his entombment. Let us take a look as to what they say:

The Gospel of Matthew: *27:38, 55-61*

38 Then were there two thieves crucified with him, one on the right hand, and another on the left. . . . . 55 And many women were there beholding afar off, which followed Jesus

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from Galilee, ministering unto him: 56 Among which was Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joses, and the mother of Zebedees children. 57 When the even was come, there came a rich man of Arimathaea, named Joseph, who also himself was Jesus' disciple: 58 He went to Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus. Then Pilate commanded the body to be delivered. 59 And when Joseph had taken the body, he wrapped it in a clean linen cloth, 60 And laid it in his own new tomb, which he had hewn out in the rock: and he rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre, and departed. 61 And there was Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, sitting over against the sepulchre.

***The Gospel of Mark:** 15: 27, 40-47:*

27 And with him they crucify two thieves; the one on his right hand, and the other on his left. . . . . 40 There were also women looking on afar off: among whom was Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James the less and of Joses, and Salome; 41 (Who also, when he was in Galilee, followed him, and ministered unto him;) and many other women which came up with him unto Jerusalem. 42 And now when the even was come, because it was the preparation, that is, the day before the sabbath, 43 Joseph of Arimathaea, an honourable counsellor, which also waited for the kingdom of God, came, and went in boldly unto Pilate, and craved the body of Jesus. 44 And Pilate marvelled if he were already dead: and calling unto him the centurion, he asked him whether he had been any while dead. 45 And when he knew it of the centurion, he gave the body to Joseph. 46 And he bought fine linen, and took him down, and wrapped him in the linen, and laid him in a sepulchre which was hewn out of a rock, and rolled a stone unto the door of the sepulchre. 47 And Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of Joses beheld where he was laid.

***The Gospel of Luke:** 23: 32, 33, 50-53:*

32 And there were also two other, malefactors, led with him to be put to death. 33 And when they were come to the place, which is called Calvary, there they crucified him, and the malefactors, one on the right hand, and the other on the left. . . . . 50 And, behold, there was a man named Joseph, a counsellor; and he was a good man, and a just: 51 (The same had not consented to the counsel and deed of them;) he was of Arimathaea, a city of the Jews: who also himself waited for the kingdom of God. 52 This man went unto Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus. 53 And he took it down, and wrapped it in linen, and laid it in a sepulchre that was hewn in stone, wherein never man before was laid.

***The Gospel of John:** 19: 32, 38-41:*

32 Then came the soldiers, and brake the legs of the first, and of the other which was crucified with him. . . . . 38 And after this Joseph of Arimathaea, being a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear of the Jews, besought Pilate that he might take away the body of Jesus: and Pilate gave him leave. He came therefore, and took the body of Jesus. 39 And there came also Nicodemus, which at the first came to Jesus by night, and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound weight. 40 Then took they the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury. 41 Now in the place where he was crucified there was a garden; and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid.

***Gospel of Nicodemus:** 11, 3:*

3 And his acquaintance had stood afar off, and the women which came with him from Galilee, beholding these things. But a certain man named Joseph, being a counsellor, of the city of Arimathaea, who also himself looked for the kingdom of God this man went to Pilate and begged the body of Jesus. And he took it down and wrapped it in a clean linen cloth and laid it in a hewn sepulchre wherein was never man yet laid.

Who was Joseph of Arimathea?

Joseph of Arimathea was, according to all these gospels, the man who assumed responsibility for the burial of Jesus after his crucifixion. The historical location of Arimathea has not been located, and that has a reason. If we want to find out who Joseph of Arimathea was, we have to check more sources. And we find the above reproduced stories also in the book of a Roman historian. This historian, who was captured by Titus Flavius Vespasianus' army, writes:

"But the people of Sepphoris met Vespasian, and saluted him, and had forces sent him, with Placidus their commander: he also went up with them, as I also followed them, till Vespasian came into Galilee. . . .

75. For when the siege of Jotapata was over, and I was among the Romans, I was kept with much Care, by means of the great respect that Vespasian showed me. . . . . But when my country was destroyed, I thought nothing else to be of any value, which I could take and keep as a comfort under my calamities; so I made this request to Titus, that my family might have their liberty: I had also the holy books by Titus's concession. Nor was it long after that I asked of him the life of my brother, and of fifty friends with him, and was not denied. When I also went once to the temple, by the permission of Titus, where there were a great multitude of captive women and children, I got all those that I remembered as among my own friends and acquaintances to be set free, being in number about one hundred and ninety; and so I delivered them without their paying any price of redemption, and restored them to their former fortune.

And when I was sent by Titus Caesar with Cerealins, and a thousand horsemen, to a certain village called Thecoa, in order to know whether it were a place fit for a camp, as I came back, I saw many captives crucified, and remembered three of them as my former acquaintance. I was very sorry at this in my mind, and went with tears in my eyes to Titus, and told him of them; so he immediately commanded them to be taken down, and to have the greatest care taken of them, in order to their recovery; yet two of them died under the physician's hands, while the third recovered."

The story in the last paragraph with its thre delinquents on their cross is the link to the crucifixion narrative in the gospels, only, in their narrative, the main person survives while in the gospel narratives, the main person dies to be "resurected" shortly afterwards. The man who writes these lines is General Yosef bar Matityahu, commander of the northern Jewish Army, who has been captured after the siege of Jotapata [Yotfat] in July 67 AD. The writer of those events is none other but the Roman historian Titus Flavius Josephus himself, who in his autobiography Life of Flavius Josephus, chapter 76, recollects events of the year 70 AD. This is significant because Josephus' story of the "Descent from the Cross" has happened before the writing of the gospels.

Devout Christians might not like the implications on their religious doctrine, which is for a great part represented by a Jesus cult instead of the undoubtedly fine teachings, found in the sayings of Jesus, with which Christianity could revive itself from the theatening moral emptiness and total oblivion that Christianity face today.

The German philosopher and theologian Bruno Bauer (1809–1882), a student of G. W. F. Hegel, found out as early as the 1840's [Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker, 3 vols. Braunschweig, 1841-1842) that the New Testament and Christianity owed more to the ancient Greek philosophy of Stoicism than to Judaism.

Abelard Reuchlin and Cliff Carrington speculated that the Flavian emperors (Vespasian, Titus and Domitian) might have been specifically responsible; they did that by comparing the Gospels and the Book of Acts with texts written by Titus Flavius Josephus, and his students Tacitus and Suetonius. Robert Eisenman and Joseph Atwill exposed the typology that links up the Dead Sea scrolls from Qumran with the Synoptic Gospels (Matthew, Mark, Luke) and the large work of Titus Flavius Josephus. There can be no serious doubt that most parts of the Greek written New Testament owes its origin not to the Hebrew and Aramaic speaking Christians of Judaea, who followed James the Just [the brother of Jesus], but to Greek speaking Roman citizens such as Saul of Tarsos, Matthew [Matityahu], Mark [Marcus], Luke [Lucius / Lucas].

Who was Titus Flavius Josephus? In his earlier life, he was Yosef bar Matityahu. When we see two versions of his name in Greek, it becomes obvious who behind the name is. Compare: Joseph bar Matthia with Joseph of [b]Arimathaia. The Anglo-Norman poet Robert de Boron called Arimathea by the name of Joseph de Berimathie.)

The Story of Joseph of Arimathea, who begged the body of the Lord: in which he also introduces the Case of the two Robbers.

JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA CHAPTER 1

I Joseph of Arimathea begged from Pilate the body of the Lord Jesus for burial, and for the same cause was bound with fetters by the murderous and God-opposing Jews, who also, by setting aside the law, became to Moses himself ministers of tribulation, and after provoking the lawgiver, and not acknowledging God, crucified Him, and made Him manifest to them that knew God.

In those days in which they condemned the Son of God to be crucified, seven days before the passion of Christ, two robbers, who had been condemned, were sent from Jericho^ to Pilate, the governor, and their case was this:—

The first, whose name was Gestas, slew wayfarers with the sword, some he stripped, women he hung by their heels with their head downward, and cut off their breasts, and he drank the blood from the limbs of infants; he never acknowledged God, nor obeyed the laws, but practised such deeds of violence from the beginning.

Now the case of the other was this: He was called Demas, was a Galilean by origin, and kept an inn. He practised extortion upon the rich, but did good to the poor. The thief was like Tobit, for he buried the poor when they were dead [Tobit i. 17. A questionable compliment to Tobit.]. He endeavoured to plunder the multitude of the Jews, taking away the very law at Jerusalem, and stripping the daughter of Caiaphas, who was a priestess of the sanctuary, taking away the mystical deposit of Solomon, which was laid up in the place. Such were his actions.

And Jesus also was apprehended on the third day before the passover, when it was evening. And no passover was held by Caiaphas and the multitude of the Jews, but they were in great heaviness because of the spoil which the robber had caused in the sanctuary. And they called Judas Iscariot and spake to him, for he was (son) of the brother of Caiaphas, the priest. Now he was not a disciple in the presence of Jesus, but all the multitude of the Jews urged him with guile to follow Jesus; not that he might be obedient to the miracles which were done by him, nor that he should confess him, but that he should deliver him to them, desiring to obtain a false report of him; and for an honourable deed like this they gave him daily a didrachma [Greek money denomination meaning 2 drachmas.] of gold. And he consorted with Jesus for two years, as one of the disciples, called John, saith.

And on the third day, before Jesus was taken, Judas saith to the Jews, Come and let us hold a council, for the robber did not steal the law, but Jesus himself, and I convict him. And while such words were being spoken, there came in to us Nicodemus, who kept the keys of the sanctuary, and he said to all. Do not perpetrate such a deed. For Nicodemus was truthful beyond all the multitude of the Jews. And the daughter of Caiaphas, Sarah by name, cried aloud and said, He said before all against this holy place, I am able to destroy this temple and to raise it up in three days. The Jews said unto her, Thou hast credit with us all. For they regarded her as a prophetess. And when the council had been held Jesus was taken.

JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA CHAPTER 2

And on the morrow, being the fourth day, they brought him at the ninth hour into the court of Caiaphas. And Annas and Caiaphas said to him. Tell us for what cause thou hast stolen our law, and forbidden the precepts of Moses and the prophets? And Jesus answered nothing. And again a second time, the multitude also being present, they said unto him, Wherefore dost thou wish at one stroke to destroy the sanctuary which Solomon erected in forty-six years? And Jesus answered nothing to this. For the sanctuary of the synagogue had been plundered by the robber.

And at the close of the evening of the fourth day, all the multitude sought for the daughter of Caiaphas to burn her with fire, because of the loss of the law, for they could not keep the passover. And she said to them, Wait my children, and let us destroy this Jesus, and the law will be found, and the holy feast which is ordained will be kept. And Annas and

Caiaphas secretly gave much gold to Judas Iscariot, saying, Say as thou saidst to us before: I know that the law was stolen by Jesus; that the accusation may be turned against him, and not against this innocent maiden. And Judas assented to these things and said to them. Let not all the multitude know that I have been taught by you to do this against Jesus. But dismiss Jesus, and I will persuade the multitude that these things are so. And they craftily dismissed Jesus.

And Judas went into the sanctuary when the fifth day began to dawn, and said to all the people, What will ye give me, that I may deliver to you the destroyer of the law and the plunderer of the prophets? The Jews said unto him, If thou deliver him to us we will give thee thirty silverlings* of gold. [* A Roman term would be "denarius". It was a silver coin, never a gold coin which was called "aurus".]

Now the people knew not that Judas spake concerning Jesus; for many confessed him to be the Son of God. And Judas took the thirty silverlings of gold. And he went out at the fourth hour, and at the fifth he found Jesus walking in the street. And when evening was coming on, Judas saith to the Jews, Give me the help of soldiers with swords and staves, and I will deliver him to you. Therefore they gave him assistants to take him. And as they went Judas saith to them, Lay hold on him whom I shall kiss; for he hath stolen the law and the prophets. So he went up to Jesus and kissed him, saying. Hail, Rabbi! And it was the fifth evening, and they laid hold on him and delivered him to Caiaphas and the chief priests; and Judas said. This is he who stole the law and the prophets. And the Jews gave Jesus an unjust trial, saying. Why hast thou done this? And he answered nothing.

And Nicodemus and I, Joseph, seeing the sitting of the pestilent [Psalms 1.1.] departed from them, not wishing to perish with the council of the ungodly.

JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA CHAPTER 3

When, therefore, they had perpetrated many other shocking things that night against Jesus, they gave him over to Pilate the governor, when the preparation began to dawn, to have him crucified, and for this cause they all came together. So after examination had been made, Pilate the governor commanded him to be nailed to the cross with two robbers. And they were nailed up together with Jesus; Gestas on the left hand and Demas on the right.

And he that was on the left hand began to cry out, saying imto Jesus, See how much evil I have done in the earth; and if I had known that thou art the king, I should have destroyed

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thee also. But why callest thou thyself the Son of God, and canst not help thyself in thy necessity? how canst thou afford help to another when he prayeth? If thou art the Christ, come down from the cross, that I may believe thee. But now I see thee perishing with me, not like a man, but like a wild beast. And he began to say.many other things against Jesus, blaspheming, and gnashing his teeth at him. For the robber was caught in the snare of the devil. [1 Timothy 3.7.]

But the robber on the right hand, whose name was Demas, seeing the divine grace of Jesus, cried out thus: I know thee, Jesus Christ, that thou art the Son of God. I see that thou art Christ, worshipped by countless myriads of angels. Forgive me my sins which I have committed; at my trial cause not the stars or the moon to come against me, when thou shalt judge all the world, because by night I wrought my evil counsels; move not the sun, which is now darkened because of thee, to utter the evils of my heart: for I can offer thee no gift for the remission of my sins. Death is already overtaking me for my sins; but forgiveness is thine; deliver me, Lord of all, from thy fearful judgement; give not power to the enemy to devour me, and to become the inheritor of my soul, as of him that hangeth at thy left hand: for I perceive how the devil joyfully receiveth his soul, and his flesh becometh invisible. Ordain not that I should depart into the portion of the Jews; for I see that Moses and the patriarchs are in great lamentation, and the devil rejoicing over them. Therefore, Lord, before my spirit departeth command that my sins may be blotted out, and remember me, a sinner, in thy kingdom when upon the great throne of the Most High, thou shalt judge the twelve tribes of Israel [Matthew 19.28; Luke 22.30.], for thou hast prepared much chastisement for thy world through its own fault.

And when tlie robber had said these things, Jesus saith unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, that this day thou shalt be with me in paradise. And the children of the kingdom, the children of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and Moses, shall be cast out into outer darkness; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth [Luke 23.43; Matthew 8.11, 12.]. And thou alone shalt dwell in Paradise until my second coming, when I shall judge those who have not confessed my name. And he said to the robber. Go and tell the Cherubim and the powers who wave the flaming sword, who have guarded Paradise since Adam the first formed was in Paradise, and transgressed, and kept not my commandments, and I cast him out from thence: and none of the former shall see Paradise until I am about to come the second time to judge the living and the dead,—writing thus,—

Jesus Christ the Son of God, who descended from the heights of heaven, who came forth from the bosom of the invisible Father inseparably, and came down into the world to become incarnate and to be nailed to the cross, that I might save Adam whom I formed,—to my archangelic powers, the door-keepers of Paradise, the servants of my father: I will and command that the man who is crucified with me should enter, that he should receive remission of sins for my sake, and that arrayed in an incorruptible body he should enter into Paradise, and should dwell there, where no one yet has been able to dwell [See the answer to this epistle in the next chapter.].

And behold, when these things had been said, Jesus gave up the ghost, on the day of the preparation, at the ninth hour. And darkness was upon all the earth, and there was a great earthquake, and the sanctuary fell, and the pinnacle of the temple.

JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA CHAPTER 4

Now I Joseph begged the body of Jesus and laid it in a new sepulchre, where no one had been placed. And the body of the robber on the right hand was not found; but of him upon the left hand, as the shape of a dragon, such was his body.

And when I had begged the body of Jesus to bury it, the Jews, being carried away with angry jealousy, confined me in prison, where force was used to them that did evil. And this was done to me when it was evening on the sabbath, wherein our nation transgressed.

And, behold, this nation of ours suffered dreadful tribulations on the sabbath. And when it was evening, on the first day of the week, at the fifth hour of the night, Jesus cometh to me in prison, with the robber that was crucified with him on the right hand, whom he had sent into Paradise. And there was mucli light in the dwelling; and the house was suspended by the four corners, and the place was free, and I went out. I recognised Jesus first, therefore, and then the robber, who was bringing letters to Jesus. And as we journeyed into Galilee there shone a great light, such as nature never produced, and great was the fragrance of the robber, which came from Paradise.

And while Jesus was sitting in a certain place he read thus:—

The Cherubim and the six-winged ones that are commanded by thy Divinity to keep the garden of Paradise, by the hands of the robber who was crucified with Thee by thine arrangement we declare this.

Seeing the mark of the nails on the robber that was crucified with thee, and in the letters the splendour of thy divinity, the fire was extinguished indeed, being unable to endure the brightness of the symbol, and being in great fear we were filled with dismay; for we had heard that the Maker of heaven and earth and all creation had journeyed from on high into the lower parts of the earth for the sake of Adam the first-formed. For when we saw the undefiled cross flashing upon the robber, with a light sevenfold greater than that of the glittering sun, trembling came upon us who shared the agitation of those in the underworld, and with a loud voice the ministers of Hades said with us, Holy, holy, holy is He who was in the beginning in the highest! And the powers shouted aloud. Lord, thou art manifest in heaven and upon earth, sending joy to the world; and greater than such a gift, delivering thine own handywork from death by the invisible counsel of of ages.

JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA CHAPTER 5

Having seen these things I went into Galilee with Jesus and the robber, and Jesus was transfigured, and was not as formerly before he was crucified, but was altogether light, and angels continually ministered unto him; and Jesus talked with them. And I passed three days with him; and no one of his disciples was with him save only the robber.

And when the feast of unleavened bread arrived, his disciple John came, and we no longer saw the robber whatever was done [The Greek is here obscure, and probably means that the robber became invisible, however it came about.] And John asked Jesus, Who is he that thou hast not caused me to be seen by him? And Jesus answered him nothing. And falling before him, he said. Lord, I know that thou hast loved me from the beginning; and wherefore dost thou not reveal this man to me? Jesus saith to him, Why dost thou seek after hidden things? Art thou still foolish? Dost thou not perceive the fragrance of Paradise which had filled the place? Dost thou not know who it was? The robber upon the cross became an heir of Paradise. Verily, verily, I say unto thee that it is for him alone until the great day shall come. And John said, Make me worthy to see him.

And while John was yet speaking the robber suddenly appeared, and John being terrified fell to the ground. And the appearance of the robber was not the same fashion as before John came, but was like a king in great power, arrayed with the cross. And the voice of many multitudes exclaimed. Thou art come into the place of Paradise which hath been prepared for thee: We have been appointed by Him that sent thee to minister unto thee until the great day. And when this voice came, both the robber and I, Joseph, disappeared, and I was found in my house; and I saw Jesus no more.

And I, who beheld these things, have written them that all may believe in Jesus Christ our Lord, who was crucified, and may no longer minister in the law of Moses, but may believe in the signs and wonders that were done by him, and that, believing, we may inherit eternal life, and be found in the kingdom of eaven; for unto Him glory, power, praise, and majesty is due for ever and ever. Amen.

THE VENGEANCE OF THE SAVIOUR

The Apocryphal Gospels and other Documents
Translation: B. Harris Cowper, 1867
Estimated Range of Dating: 8th or 9th centuries A.D.

(The Vengeance of the Saviour (Vindicta Salvatoris) is a later addition to the body of texts known as the Pilate Cycle, with scholars dating its appearance to as early as the eighth century (Dobschütz assigns it to 700–720), though the oldest Latin manuscript, Bibliothèque Saint-Omer 202, dates from the ninth. The Latin original is exceedingly primitive in style, and probably much corrupted. The incidents, characters, and localities are introduced in utter disregard of history, geography, and reason. It would be a waste of time to point out all the absurdities of this narration. The work is extant in three manuscripts: Arras, Médiathèque municipale, 625 (15th cent.); London, British Library, Add. 89066/1 (volume 1) (ca. 1465); London, British Library, Add. 89066/1 (volume 2) (ca. 1465).

Izydorczyk counts around 60 manuscripts, and in about a third of these, the Vengeance of the Saviour is placed soon after the Gospel of Nicodemus. Because of its popularity in England and early vernacularisation there, early scholars (Tischendorf, Goodwin) suggested an Insular origin for the legend. Subsequent scholars (esp. Dobschütz, Besson, Cross, Brossard-Dandre, and Izydorczyk) place it as a continental text, perhaps from Aquitaine, given the text's unusual initial focus on that region.

The Vengeance of the Saviour stands out among apocrypha for its lack of focus upon a central figure—that is, while many apocryphal texts pseudepigraphically claim an author (e.g., Peter in the Apocalypse of Peter) or revolve around a primary figure (e.g., Mary in the Dormition of the Virgin), this text instead focuses on a vow and its vindictive aftermath. The Vengeance of the Saviour recounts a somewhat garbled rendition of the 70 AD Siege of Jerusalem, taking its title from the main action in its plot. The ruler Tyrus (renamed Titus after his baptism), upon hearing about Jesus Christ's unjust execution at the hands of Jerusalem's citizens, vows "we would have avenged him with the greatest vengeance, and we would be obliged to kill his enemies and hang their bodies on a dry tree, because they took our Lord…" Given this central emphasis on direct physical retribution for the rejection and execution of Christ, especially in the context of its framing accounts of conversion (first Tyrus/Titus, then the emperor Tiberius), it is worth noting that the text is animated by a strong anti-Semitic strain.

Named historical figures and characters: Archelaus, Herod (the Great), Jesus Christ, Joseph of Arimathaea, Lazarus, Nathan (son of Naum), Nicodemus, Pontius Pilate, Simeon, Tiberius, Titus (emperor), Veronica, Vespasian, Volusianus.

Geographical locations: Aquitaine, Burdigala (Bordeaux), Damascus, Jerusalem, Lateran, Libia (possibly Albi in S. France), Rome.

The Vengeance of the Saviour is set in the days of the emperor Tiberius, when a recently converted Jew, one Nathan son of Naum, is commissioned to levy taxes from Palestine for Rome. On his way back, a storm leaves him lost on the shores of Aquitaine, and he asks for help from Tyrus, a local ruler whose face is deformed by a cancerous growth. He asks whether Nathan knows of any cure for his condition. Nathan replies that the only cure he knows is by the hands of "a chosen prophet, whose name is Jesus Christ," who was recently crucified in Jerusalem out of the Jews' jealousy. His summary of Christ's ministry and passion so stirs Tyrus that he makes the aforementioned vow. No sooner do these words fall from his lips than the cancer falls from his face, and he and his household, taking his healing as a sign, come to faith, and are baptised immediately.

Making good on his vow, the newly christened Titus sends Vespasian and a legion of soldiers to sack Jerusalem. The presence of the Roman army causes the king of Judea (Herod the Great in some versions, his son Archelaus in others) to commit suicide in pre-emptive despair. The eight year siege culminates in mass starvation and devastation. Once the city is yielded, Vespasian's troops carry out a series of graphic atrocities against the Jews, most of which are inversions of things done to Christ in the canonical gospels. For example, since Christ was crucified, they crucify many Jews upside down; since Christ was sold for 30 pieces of silver, they sell 30 Jews for one; since Christ's garments were divided in four, they draw and quarter many. Their vengeance also extends to Pilate, who is interrogated and eventually imprisoned in an iron cage in Damascus.

Hereafter, the Romans seek an image of Christ, and are told that one Veronica, who was healed of a twelve year hemorrhage by Christ, has one on the sudarium. Envoys are sent back to Rome to report the success of the venture, and the leprous emperor Tiberius listens intently. He dispatches one Volosianus to fetch a disciple who can heal him, and vows that if he is healed, he will become a Christian. Volosianus then arrives in Palestine, investigates the matter, tortures Veronica, obtains the image of Christ, and returns to Rome after condemning Pilate to death. Tiberius asks for an account and the whole matter is rehearsed again. He sees the image, worships, is healed, believes and is baptised.)

Text:

In the days of Tiberius Caesar the emperor, when Herod was tetrarch, Christ was delivered by the Jews under Pontius Pilate, and revealed by Tiberius.

In those days Titus was ruler under Tiberius in the region of Equitania in the city of Libia which is called Burgidalla*. For Titus had a wound in his right nostril because of a cancer, and his face was laid open as far as his eye.

[* It might seem that Equitania, Libia, and Burgidalla, represent the more recent names Aquitaine, Albi, and Bourdeaux. But this opinion is opposed to the circumstance that a ship sailing to Rome was driven thither by a "northwind." By Equitania I understand the African province of Zeugitana [Carthage]; for Libia I suggest Clypea; and Burgidalla I would reject as an interpolation by some scribe who thought Zeugitana meant Aquitaine. The last of these suggestions is at least favoured by the various reading which omits Burgidalla altogether. With regard to Clypea or Aspis, it was a few miles south-east of the Hermsean promontory, or Cape Bon, and some distance east of Utica and Carthage; the old town still exists under the name of Calibia or Kelibia. For an account of it, it may suffice to refer to Davis's "Carthage and her Remains," chapter 16, I think we may expect any amount of blundering in a document which rests on a basis so unstable.]

There went forth a certain man from Judaea, Nathan, the son of Nahum, by name; for he was an Ishmaelite, who went from land to land, and from sea to sea, and in all the borders of the earth. Now Nathan was sent from Judaea to Tiberius the emperor, to carry their treaty to the city of Rome. Now Tiberius was sick, and full of ulcers and fevers, and had nine sorts of leprosy. And Nathan wished to proceed to the city of Rome. But the north wind blew and hindered his voyage and carried him to the port of the city of Libia. And Titus seeing

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the ship coming knew that it was from Judaea; and they all wondered and said that they had never seen any bark come this way from thence. But Titus bade the captain of the vessel come to him, and asked who he was. And he said, I am Nathan, the son of Nahum, of the race of the Ishmaelites, and I am subject to Pontius Pilate in Judaea. And I am sent to go to Tiberius the emperor to carry a treaty from Judaea. And a mighty wind came down upon the sea and brought me to a land which I know not.

And Titus said, If ever thou canst find any thing, whether of drugs or of herbs, which can heal the wound which I have in my face, as thou seest, so that I may become well and receive my former health, I will bestow upon thee many benefits. And Nathan said unto him. My lord, I am not aware, nor do I know of such things as thou sayest to me. But if thou hadst been in time past in Jerusalem, thou wouldst have found there a chosen prophet whose name was Emmanuel: for he shall save his people from their sins. He made wine of water in Cana of Galilee as his first sign, and cleansed the lepers by his word, enlightened the eyes of one born blind, healed the paralytic, put demons to flight, and raised three who were dead; he delivered a woman taken in adultery and condemned by the Jews to be stoned; another woman named Veronica who had an issue of blood twelve years and came behind him and touched the hem of his garment, even her he healed; and with five loaves and two fishes he fed five thousand men, leaving out children and women, and there remained of the fragments twelve baskets; all these things and many more were done before he suffered.

We saw him after his resurrection, in the flesh as he was before.

Titus said to him. How did he rise from the dead, when he was dead? And Nathan answered and said, He was manifestly dead, and hung upon the cross, and taken down again from the cross, and for three days lay in a sepulchre [tomb]: then he arose from the dead and descended into Hades, and delivered the patriarchs and prophets and all the human race:

then he appeared unto his disciples and ate with them: then they saw him ascending into heaven. And so all that I tell thee is the truth. I saw it with my own eyes and also all the house of Israel.

And Titus said these words [Literally "in his words.], Woe unto thee, emperor Tiberius, thou art full of ulcers and enveloped in leprosy, because such an offence hath been committed in thy realm; that hast made such laws* in Judaea, in the land of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ that they seized the king and slew the governor of the people, and did not cause him to come to us to cure thee of thy leprosy, and to cleanse me from my infirmity. [* I would read reges for leges, because of the following qui. In fact we read of the 'reges Judaeorum' a little further on. I would also read 'ut te mundaret a lepra et me curaret ab infirmitate mea,' because leprosy is said to be cleansed, and infirmity to be cured.] Wherefore if they had been in my presence, with mine own hands I would have slain the bodies of those Jews, and hung them upon green wood, because they destroyed my Lord, and my eyes were not thought worthy to see his face. And when he had said this, immediately the wound fell from the face of Titus, and his flesh and face were restored to health. And all the sick who were there were made whole in that hour. And Titus cried out with all of them with a loud voice, saying. My King and my God, because I have never seen thee and thou hast made me whole, command me to go with the ship upon the water to the land of thy nativity, that I may execute vengeance upon thy enemies: and help me. Lord, to blot them out and to avenge thy death. Do thou, Lord, deliver them into my hand. And when he had said this, he gave order for himself to be baptised. And he called Nathan to him, and said to him, How didst thou see those baptised who believe in Christ? Come to me and baptise me in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, Amen. For I also firmly believe in the Lord Jesus Christ with all my heart and with all my soul; for there is no other in the universe who created me and healed me of my wounds.

And when he had said this, he sent messengers with all speed to Vespasian, to come with the most valiant men prepared as for war.

Then Vespasian took with him five thousand armed men, and they hastened to Titus. And when they had come to the city of Libia, he said to Titus, Why is it that thou hast caused me to come hither? And he answered, Thou shouldst know that Jesus came into this world, and was born in Judaea in a place which is called Bethlehem, and was delivered by the Jews, and scourged, and crucified on mount Calvary, and on the third day he arose from the dead; and his disciples saw him in the same flesh in which he was born; and he manifested himself to his disciples, and they believed on him. And we indeed wish to become his disciples. Now let us go and blot out his enemies from the earth, and now let them know that there is none like the Lord our God on the face of the earth.

Now when they had taken counsel they departed from the city of Libia, which is called Burgidalla*, and they went into a ship and proceeded to Jerusalem, and surrounded the kingdom of the Jews, and began to send them to destruction. [* The mention of Burgidalla is also omitted here by the Cottonian Anglo-Saxon Manuscript.] When the kings of the Jews had heard of their deeds, and the ruin of the land, fear fell upon them, and they were greatly troubled. Then Archelaus was troubled in his words, and said to his son, Son, take my kingdom and judge it, and take counsel with the other kings who are in the land of Judaea, that ye may be able to escape from our enemies. And when he had said this, he drew his sword and fell upon it, and he directed his very sharp sword and thrust it into his breast and he died. Now his son joined himself with the other kings who were under him, and they took counsel among themselves, and went into Jerusalem with their chief men who were in their counsel, and abode there seven years. And Titus and Vespasian took counsel in order to surround their city. And they did so. Now when seven years [of the Jewish-Roman War, 66-73 AD] were accomplished, the famine became very grievous, and for lack of bread they began to eat earth.

Then all who were the soldiers of the four kings took counsel among themselves, and said. We are going to die, what will God do with us? or what doth our life profit us, inasmuch as the Romans have come to take our place and nation? It is better that we should kill ourselves, than for the Romans to say they slew us and gained a victory over us. And they drew their swords and smote themselves, and there died of them the number of 12,000 men.

Then there arose a great stench in that city from the bodies of those dead men; and their kings feared with a great fear even unto death, and were not able to endure the stench of them, nor to bury them, nor to cast them out of the city. And they said among themselves. What shall we do? We, indeed, delivered Christ unto death, and now we are delivered unto death. Let us bow down our heads, and give up the keys of the city to the Romans, for God hath already delivered us unto death. And they straightway went up on the walls of the city, and all cried with a loud voice, saying, Titus and Vespasian, receive the keys of the city which were given to you by Messiah who is called Christ.

Then they delivered themselves into the hands of Titus and Yespasian, and said. Judge us, for we ought to die, because we judged Christ, and he was given up without cause. And Titus and Vespasian took them, and part they stoned, and part they hung upon a tree with their feet up and their heads downwards, and smote them with lances. Some they gave up to be sold, and some they divided among themselves, and they made four parts of them, as they had done with the garments of the Lord. And they said. They sold Christ for thirty pieces of silver, and let us sell thirty of them for one denarius. And they did so; and when they had done this, they took possession of all the lands of Judaea and Jerusalem.

Then they made inquiry for the likeness or portrait of Christ, how they might find it. And they found a woman named Veronica who had it. Then they took Pilate and sent him to prison to be kept by four quarternions of soldiers at the door of the prison. And they straightway sent their messengers to Tiberius, the emperor of the city of Rome, that he would send Velosianus to them. And he said to him, Take all that is necessary for thee at sea, and go down to Judaea, and ask for one of the disciples of him that was called Christ and Lord; that he may come to me, and in the name of his God heal me of the leprosy and the infirmities with which I am daily oppressed, and of my wounds, for I lie sick. And send against the kings of the Jews who are subject to my empire thy forces and terrible torments, and condemn them to death, because they slew Jesus Christ our Lord. And if thou shalt find there any man who can deKver me from this my infirmity, I will believe in Christ the Son of God and be baptized in his name. And Velosianus said, My lord emperor, If I find any man who can lielp and deliver us, what reward shall I promise him? And Tiberius said unto him. The half of my kingdom without fail, that it may be in his hand.

Then Velosianus straightway went and entered a ship and hoisted sail for the voyage, and went sailing over the sea. And he sailed one year and seven days, in which time he came to Jerusalem. And he immediately commanded some of the Jews to come to his mightiness ['to his potency,' or 'to himself as having power'], and began to inquire diligently what were the deeds of Christ. Then Joseph of the city of Arimathea [This phrase suggests that the author took it from Luke 23:51.], and Nicodemus both came together. And Nicodemus said, I saw him, and know truly that he is the Saviour of the world. And Joseph said to him. And I took him down from the cross and placed him in a new sepulchre which was cut out of a rock. And the Jews shut me up on the day of preparation at evening, and while I stood in prayer on the Sabbath day, the house was suspended by the four corners, and I saw the Lord Jesus Christ as a flash of light, and for fear I fell to the earth. And he said to me. Look on me, for I am Jesus whose body thou didst bury in thy tomb. And I said to him, Show me the sepulchre where I placed thee. And Jesus, taking my hand with his right hand, led me to the place where I had buried him.

Now there came also a woman, named Veronica, and said to him, I touched the hem of his garment in the crowd, for I had an issue of blood twelve years, and straightway he healed me.

Then said Velosianus to Pilate, Pilate, thou impious and cruel one, wherefore didst thou slay the Son of God? And Pilate answered. His own nation and the chief priests, Annas and Caiaphas, delivered him imto me. Velosianus said. Thou impious and cruel one, thou art worthy of death, and of a cruel punishment. And he sent him back to prison.

And Velosianus at length inquired after the likeness or portrait of the Lord, and all who were there said unto him. It is a woman named Veronica who has the Lord's portrait in her house. And he immediately commanded her to be brought before his mightiness. And he said to her. Hast thou the Lord's portrait in thy house? But she denied it. Then Velosianus commanded her to be put to torture until she produced the Lord's portrait, and being compelled she said, I have it in a clean linen cloth, my lord, and I daily adore it. [The writers of legends universally appear to ignore the moral obligation of truthfulness; but surely a man may write fiction without canonising what are vulgarly called lies.]

Velosianus said. Show it to me. Then she showed the Lord's portrait. When Velosianus saw it, he threw himself upon the ground; and with a ready heart and a right faith he took it and wrapped it in a cloth of gold, and placed it in a shrine and sealed it with his ring. And he sware by an oath and said, As the Lord God liveth, and by the safety of Caesar, man shall see it no more upon the face of the earth, until I see the face of my lord Tiberius.

And when he had said this, the chief men, who were the principal men of Judaea, took Pilate and led him to the sea-port. But Velosianus took the Lord's portrait with all his own disciples and followers, and the same day they entered the ship. Then the woman Veronica forsook all she possessed for the love of Christ, and followed Velosianus. And Velosianus said to her. Woman, what dost thou wish, or what dost thou seek? And she answered, I seek the portrait of our Lord Jesus Christ, who enlightened me, not for my merits, but of his holy pity. . . . . .[At this point the copies are so corrupt that Tischendorf omits a few lines as unintelligible; but he gives the various readings in his notes. The omission is of trifling moment.] . . . . . Restore to me the portrait of my Lord Jesus Christ, for I am dying of this good desire. But if thou dost not restore it to me, I will not leave it until I see where thou dost place it; for most unhappy I will serve him all the days of my life. For I believe that my Redeemer liveth for ever.

Then Velosianus commanded the woman Veronica to be conveyed with him into the ship. And when the sails were hoisted they began to proceed on their voyage in the name of the Lord, and sailed over the sea. But Titus with Vespasian came into Judaea, taking vengeance upon all the nations of their land.

At the end of a year Velosianus arrived at the city of Rome, left his ship in the river, which is called Tiberis or Tiber, and entered the city, which is called Rome.

And he sent his messenger to his lord Tiberius the emperor at the Lateran concerning his happy arrival. Then Tiberius the emperor, having heard the messenger of Velosianus, rejoiced greatly, and commanded that he should come into his presence. And when he had come he called him, saying, Velosianus, how hast thou come, and what hast thou seen concerning Christ the Lord, and his disciples in the region of Judaea? Show me, I pray thee, one that will heal me of my infirmity, that I may be forthwith cleansed from this leprosy which I have upon my body, and I will deliver all my realm into the power of thee and of him.

And Velosianus said. My lord emperor, I found thy servants Titus and Vespasian in Judaea fearing the Lord, and they are cleansed from all their ulcers and sufferings. And I found all the kings and governors of Judaea hanged by Titus; Annas [Ananias ben Ananias) and Caiaphas are stoned, and Archelaus has stabbed himself; but I left Pilate bound at Damascus [This hardly agrees with the statement above that Pilate was taken to a sea-port if the city in Syria is meant. However, it does if the author refers with "Damascus" to Canaan.], and put in prison under safe keeping. Moreover, I have received information concerning Jesus whom the Jews most wickedly rushed upon with swords and staves and weapons, and crucified him, when he should have come to us to deliver us and to enlighten us, and they hung him on a tree. And Joseph came from Arimathea, and Nicodemus with him, bringing a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about a hundred pounds, to anoint the body of Christ; and they took him down from the cross and laid him in a new sepulchre. But on the third day he most assuredly arose from the dead, and showed himself to his disciples in the same flesh in which he was born. At length, after forty days, they saw him ascending

into heaven. And many other signs Jesus wrought, before and after his passion. First, he made wine of water, he raised the dead, he cleansed lepers, he gave sight to the blind, he healed the paralytic, he put to flight demons, and made the deaf hear and the dumb speak. He raised Lazarus from the grave after four days; and he made whole the woman Veronica, who had suffered an issue of blood twelve years, and touched the hem of his garment. Then it pleased the Lord in heaven, that the Son of God, who, being sent into this world as the first-formed, died on earth, should send his angel, and he

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commanded Titus and Vespasian, whom I knew, in the place where thy throne is. And it pleased Almighty God that they went into Judaea and Jerusalem, and took thy subjects, and pronounced on them the same judgement as they did when thy subjects took Jesus and bound him. And Vespasian afterwards said, What shall we do with those who will remain? Titus answered, They hung our Lord on a green tree and pierced him with a lance; and let us hang them on a green tree, and run their bodies through with a lance. And they did so.

And Vespasian said, What of those who remain? Titus answered. They took the coat of our Lord Jesus Christ and made four parts of it; now let us take them and divide them into four parts, one for thee, one for me, another for thy men, and a fourth part for my servants. And they did so.

And Vespasian said, What shall we do with those that remain? Titus answered, The Jews sold our Lord for thirty pieces of silver, but let us sell thirty of them for one piece of silver. And they did so.

And they took Pilate and delivered him to me, and I put him in prison, in Damascus, to be kept by four quaterni ons of soldiers. Then they made inquiry with great diligence to seek out the Lord's portrait; and they found a woman named Veronica, who had the Lord's portrait. Then Tiberius the emperor said to Velosianus, How dost thou keep it? He answered, I keep it in a pure cloth of gold, wrapped in a mantle. And Tiberius the emperor said, Bring it to me, and spread it before my face, that falling to the ground and bending my knees I may adore it on the earth. Then Velosianus spread out his mantle, with the cloth of gold whereon the portrait of the Lord was depicted; and Tiberius the emperor saw it. And immediately he adored the image of the Lord, with a pure heart, and his flesh was made clean as the flesh of a little child. And all the blind, leprous, lame, dumb, deaf, and others suffering from various infirmities who were there, were healed and cured and cleansed.

Now Tiberius the emperor, with head bowed, and bending his knees, considering that saying—Blessed is the womb which bare thee and the breasts which thou hast sucked^groaned unto the Lord, with tears, saying, God of heaven and earth, sufier me not to sin, but confirm my soul and body, and place me in thy kingdom, for I ever trust in thy name. Deliver me from all evils, as thou deliveredst the three children [Daniel and his two friends. Daniel 3:19-27.] from the furnace of burning fire.

Then said Tiberius the emperor to Velosianus, Velosianus, hast thou seen any man of those who saw Christ? Velosianus answered, I have seen such. He said, Hast thou asked how they baptise them hat believed in Christ? Velosianus said. My lord, we have here one of the disciples of Christ himself.

Then lie commanded Nathan to be called to come to him. Therefore, Nathan came and baptised him in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, Amen.

Immediately, Tiberius the emperor being made whole of all his infirmities, ascended his throne and said, Blessed art thou. Lord God Almighty, and worthy of praise, who hast delivered me from the snare of death, and purified me from all my iniquities, for I have sinned much before thee, Lord my God, and I am not worthy to see thy face. And then Tiberius the emperor was fully and with a firm faith instructed in all the articles of belief.

May God Almighty, who is King of Kings and Lord of Lords, protect us in his faith, and defend and deliver us from all peril and evil, and deign to lead us on to life eternal, when our temporal life shall cease. He is blessed for ever and ever. Amen.

PRAYER OF JESUS, SON OF MARY

The Apocryphal Gospels and other Documents
Translation: B. Harris Cowter, 1874
Estimated Range of Dating: Middle Ages

Peace be upon them !

He said,— God, I am not able to extirpate (or overcome) that which I abhor, nor have I attained the good which I desired; but others, and not I, have their reward in. their hands. But my glory abideth in my work; nor is any poor man poorer than I am. God most high, grant me pardon. God, suffer not mine enemy to reproach me; nor let my friend contemn me; nor add affliction to my religion; nor let the world be my chief aim; nor set him over me who shall not pity me, for thy mercy's sake, most mercifiJl of the merciful.

THE STORY OF VERONICA.

The Story of Berenice
The Apocryphal Gospels and other Documents
Translation: B. Harris Cowter, 1874
Estimated Range of Dating: Middle Ages

(Saint Veronica, also known as Berenike / Berenice, was a woman from Jerusalem who lived in the 1st century AD, according to extra-biblical Christian sacred tradition.

According to Church tradition, Veronica was moved with sympathy when she saw Jesus carrying his cross to Golgotha and gave him her veil that he might wipe his forehead. Jesus accepted the offering, held it to his face, and then handed it back to her—the image of his face miraculously impressed upon it. This piece of cloth became known as the Veil of Veronica.)

In the fifteentli year of the reign of Tiberius, in the consulate of Albanus and Nerva, St. John the Forerunner began to preach the baptism of repentance, and to baptize, according to the prophetic utterance, and there went forth to him all the Jewish region. And, moreover, our Lord Jesus Christ wrought the beginning of salvation; being baptised by the same John the Forerunner when he came to be about thirty years old, and doing miracles. He was baptised in the Jordan, a river of Palestine, on the 6th of the month Audynaeus or January, at the tenth hour of the night, in the consulship of Rufus and Rubellio. From that time also John the Baptist was manifest to men. And Herod the king, the brother of Philip, who was tetrarch or king of the region of Trachonitis, beheaded him in the city of Sebaste, on the 8th before the calends of June, in the consulship of Flacco and Hufinus, because of Herodias his wife; for John said to him, "It is not lawful for thee to have the wife of thy brother," as in the divine Scriptures these things are recorded.

This same king Herod, the second brother of Philip, being grieved because of John, went away from the city of Sebaste to Paneas, a city of Judaea. And there came to him a certain very wealthy woman, Veronica by name, who dwelt in the same city of Paneas, who wished, as having been healed by Jesus, to erect a monument to him, and not daring to do this without royal order, she offered a petition to the said king Herod, asking to erect a monument to the Saviour Christ in the same city,—which petition runs thus: To the august Herod, tetrarch and legislator both of Jews and Greeks, king of the region of Trachonitis, humble petitions from Veronica, an honourable woman of the city of Paneas.

Justice and kindness, and all other virtues surround thy divine forehead. Wherefore, I also, knowing this, come with good hope to obtain altogether my requests [Cf. Acts 24:2-4, 10.]. But what is the aim of the present preface, the following account will inform thee.

Having from my childhood been afflicted with an issue of blood, I went to the physicians and expended my living and wealth, and found no cure; but hearing of the cures of the wonderful Christ, who raises the dead, restores sight to the blind, casts out demons from mortals, and heals with a word all who pine away in sickness, therefore I too ran to him as to a God. Observing the multitude which surrounded him, and fearing to tell him my incurable disease, lest turning away from tlie loathsomeness of my affliction, lie should be angry with me, and the stroke of my disease come worse upon me, I thought with myself that if I could take hold of the hem of his garment I should be altogether healed; and secretly entering the multitude around him, I stole a cure by touching his hem,—the fountain of my blood stayed, and suddenly I became well. But he the more, as foreknowing the purpose of my heart, cried out, "Who hath touched me? for power is gone out of me;" and I, turning pale, and groaning, supposing the disease would return upon me more violently, falling before him flooded the ground with tears, confessing my daring. But he, being good, had compassion on me, and confirmed my cure, saying, "Daughter, take heart, thy faith hath delivered thee; go in peace [Matthew 9:20-22. Mark 5:25-34. Luke 8:43-48.]." So also do thou, august one, grant her earnest petition to the petitioner.

And king Herod, hearing these things from the petition, was astonished at the miracle; and being afraid at the mystery of the healing, said, "This cure which hath befallen thee, woman, is worthy of a very great monument. Therefore, go and erect unto him such a monument as thou wilt, honouring by thy zeal him that healed thee."

And immediately after this, Yeronica, who before had the issue of blood, erected in the midst of her own city, Paneas, unto our Lord and God, Jesus Christ, a monument of molten brass, mingling therewith a certain portion of gold and silver,—which monument remains in the city of Paneas until now, having been removed a long time ago from the place where it stood in the middle of the city into the holy house of prayer.

This document I found in the same city of Paneas in the possession of a certain Bassus, who had become a Christian from among the Jews. There was also together with it, a life of all the kings who formerly reigned in the Jewish region [Chronographia, book 10, pp. 304-308. Ed. Hod. Ox. 1691. Additional notices of Veronica will be found in the Latin Gospel of Nicodemus, and also towards the end of this volume in "The Death of Pilate" and "The Saviour's Revenge".].

ACTS OF PERPETUA AND FELICITAS

or The Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas
or The Passion of Saint Perpetua, Saint Felicitas, and their Companions
Translation: Roberts-Donaldson, 1886
Estimated Range of Dating: 200-250 A.D.

(The Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas gives an account of the martyrdom of three catechumens Saturus, Saturninus and Revocatus, and two young women, Vibia Perpetua, 22 years of age, 'well born, liberally educated, honorably married, having father and mother and two brothers, one like herself a catechumen (that is, Christians being instructed in the faith but not yet baptised), and an infant son at the breast', and her slave Felicitas, who was pregant at the time of her arrest and gave birth to a girl shortly before her death in the arena. They suffered martyrdom between 202 and 209 AD. (some say: on March 7, 202), at Carthage (Carthago) in the Roman province of Africa. The traditional view has been that Perpetua, Felicity and the others were martyred owing to a decree of Roman emperor Septimius Severus (193–211, who was born 145 AD. in Leptis Magna in the Roman province of Africa). Early church historian Eusebius (of Caesarea, 260 / 265–339 / 340 A.D., also known as Eusebius Pamphili and, in religious matters, the right-hand man of Emperor Flavius Constantinus) describes Severus as a persecutor, but the Christian apologist Tertullian (full name: Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus; c. 155–240 AD) states that Severus was well disposed towards Christians, employed a Christian as his personal physician, and had personally intervened to save several high-born Christians known to him from the mob. The date of their martyrdom is traditionally given as 203 AD. The association of the martyrdom with a birthday festival of the Emperor Geta, however, might seem to place it after 209, when Geta was made "Augustus", though before 211, when he was assassinated. The Acts note that the martyrdom occurred in the year when Minucius Timinianus was proconsul in the Roman province of Africa, but Timinianus is not otherwise attested in history.

The account is unique as far as its authorship is concerned. The largest part of the account (ch. 3-10) is Perpetua's own diary: 'the whole story of her martyrdom is from this point onwards told by herself as she left it written by her own hand and with her own mind' (ch. 2). If this is true, the text is important because Perpetua is one of the first Christian female writers before the fourth century whose works have survived. Chapters 11 and 13 were written by Saturus, another Christian martyred with Perpetua.. There is reason to believe that the author of the other chapters and the editor of the entire Passion was no less a person than Tertullian, the contemporary of Perpetua and the greatest writer of the African Church at that time. An editor who states he was an eyewitness has added accounts of the martyrs' suffering and deaths. The resemblance in phrase and syntax and in words and ideas between Tertullian's works Ad Martyres and De Patientia and the Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas is striking. At St. Augustine's time, the Acts were still held in such esteem that he has to warn his listeners not to put them on a level with the canonical Scriptures (De anima et eius origine I, 10, 12). It was catalogued by the Bollandists as BHL 6633–6636 (Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina) and BHG 1482 (Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca)).

Text:
The Passion of the Holy Martyrs Perpetua and Felicitas

PREFACE

If ancient illustrations of faith which both testify to God's grace and tend to man's edification are collected in writing, so that by the perusal of them, as if by the reproduction of the facts, as well God may be honoured, as man may be strengthened; why should not new instances be also collected, that shall be equally suitable for both purposes — if only on the ground that these modern examples will one day become ancient and available for posterity, although in their present time they are esteemed of less authority, by reason of the presumed veneration for antiquity? But let men look to it, if they judge the power of the Holy Spirit to be one, according to the times and seasons; since some things of later date must be esteemed of more account as being nearer to the very last times, in accordance with the exuberance of grace manifested to the final periods determined for the world. For "in the last days, saith the Lord, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh; and their sons and their daughters shall prophesy. And upon my servants and my handmaidens will I pour out of my Spirit; and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams." And thus we — who both acknowledge and reverence, even as we do the prophecies, modern visions as equally promised to us, and consider the other powers of the Holy Spirit as an agency of the Church for which also He was sent, administering all gifts in all, even as the Lord distributed to every one as well needfully collect them in writing, as commemorate them in reading to God's glory; that so no weakness or despondency of faith may

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suppose that the divine grace abode only among the ancients, whether in respect of the condescension that raised up martyrs, or that gave revelations; since God always carries into effect what He has promised, for a testimony to unbelievers, to believers for a benefit. And we therefore, what we have heard and handled, declare also to you, brethren and little children, that as well you who were concerned in these matters may be reminded of them again to the glory of the Lord, as that you who know them by report may have communion with the blessed martyrs, and through them with the Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory and honour, for ever and ever. Amen.

CHAPTER 1

When The Saints Were Apprehended, St. Perpetua Successfully Resisted Her Father's Pleading, Was Baptized With The Others, Was Thrust Into A Filthy Dungeon. Anxious About Her Infant, By A Vision Granted To Her, She Understood That Her Martyrdom Would Take Place Very Shortly.

1. The young catechumens, Revocatus and his fellow-servant Felicitas, Saturninus and Secundulus, were apprehended. And among them also was Vivia Perpetua, respectably born, liberally educated, a married matron, having a father and mother and two brothers, one of whom, like herself, was a catechumen, and a son an infant at the breast. She herself was about twenty-two years of age. From this point onward she shall herself narrate the whole course of her martyrdom, as she left it described by her own hand and with her own mind.

2. "While" says she, "we were still with the persecutors, and my father, for the sake of his affection for me, was persisting in seeking to turn me away, and to cast me down from the faith — 'Father,' said I, 'do you see, let us say, this vessel lying here to be a little pitcher, or something else?' And he said, 'I see it to be so.' And I replied to him, 'Can it be called by any other name than what it is?' And he said, 'No.' 'Neither can I call myself anything else than what I am, a Christian.' Then my father, provoked at this saying, threw himself upon me, as if he would tear my eyes out. But he only distressed me, and went away overcome by the devil's arguments. Then, in a few days after I had been without my father, I gave thanks to the Lord; and his absence became a source of consolation to me. In that same interval of a few days we were baptized, and to me the Spirit prescribed that in the water baptism nothing else was to be sought for bodily endurance. After a few days we are taken into the dungeon, and I was very much afraid, because I had never felt such darkness. O terrible day! O the fierce heat of the shock of the soldiery, because of the crowds! I was very unusually distressed by my anxiety for my infant. There were present there Tertius and Pomponius, the blessed deacons who ministered to us, and had arranged by means of a gratuity that we might be refreshed by being sent out for a few hours into a pleasanter part of the prison. Then going out of the dungeon, all attended to their own wants. I suckled my child, which was now enfeebled with hunger. In my anxiety for it, I addressed my mother and comforted my brother, and commended to their care my son. I was languishing because I had seen them languishing on my account. Such solicitude I suffered for many days, and I obtained for my infant to remain in the dungeon with me; and forthwith I grew strong and was relieved from distress and anxiety about my infant; and the dungeon became to me as it were a palace, so that I preferred being there to being elsewhere.

3. "Then my brother said to me, 'My dear sister, you are already in a position of great dignity, and are such that you may ask for a vision, and that it may be made known to you whether this is to result in a passion or an escape.' And I, who knew that I was privileged to converse with the Lord, whose kindnesses I had found to be so great, boldly promised him, and said, 'Tomorrow I will tell you.' And I asked, and this was what was shown me. I saw a golden ladder of marvellous height, reaching up even to heaven, and very narrow, so that persons could only ascend it one by one; and on the sides of the ladder was fixed every kind of iron weapon. There were there swords, lances, hooks, daggers; so that if any one went up carelessly, or not looking upwards, he would be torn to pieces and his flesh would cleave to the iron weapons. And under the ladder itself was crouching a dragon of wonderful size, who lay in wait for those who ascended, and frightened them from the ascent. And Saturus went up first, who had subsequently delivered himself up freely on our account, not having been present at the time that we were taken prisoners. And he attained the top of the ladder, and turned towards me, and said to me, Perpetua, I am waiting for you; but be careful that the dragon do not bite you.' And I said, 'In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, he shall not hurt me.' And from under the ladder itself, as if in fear of me, he slowly lifted up his head; and as I trod upon the first step, I trod upon his head. And I went up, and I saw an immense extent of garden, and in the midst of the garden a white-haired man sitting in the dress of a shepherd, of a large stature, milking sheep; and standing around were many thousand white-robed ones. And he raised his head, and looked upon me, and said to me, 'Thou are welcome, daughter.' And he called me, and from the cheese as he was milking he gave me as it were a little cake, and I received it with folded hands; and I ate it, and all who stood around said Amen. And at the sound of their voices I was awakened, still tasting a sweetness which I cannot describe. And I immediately related this to my brother, and we understood that it was to be a passion, and we ceased henceforth to have any hope in this world.

CHAPTER 2

Perpetua, When Besieged By Her Father, Comforts Him. When Led With Others To The Tribunal, She Avows Herself A Christian, And Is Condemned With The Rest To The Wild Beasts. She Prays For Her Brother Dinocrates, Who Was Dead.

I. "After a few days there prevailed a report that we should be heard. And then my father came to me from the city, worn out with anxiety. He came up to me, that he might cast me down, saying, 'Have pity my daughter, on my grey hairs. Have pity on your father, if I am worthy to be called a father by you. If with these hands I have brought you up to this flower of your age, if I have preferred you to all your brothers, do not deliver me up to the scorn of men. Have regard to your brothers, have regard to your mother and your aunt, have regard to your son, who will not be able to live after you.

Lay aside your courage, and do not bring us all to destruction; for none of us will speak in freedom if you should suffer anything.' These things said my father in his affection, kissing my hands, and throwing himself at my feet; and with tears he called me not Daughter, but Lady. And I grieved over the grey hairs of my father, that he alone of all my family would not rejoice over my passion. And I comforted him, saying, 'On that scaffold whatever God wills shall happen. For know that we are not placed in our own power, but in that of God.' And he departed from me in sorrrow.

2. "Another day, while we were at dinner, we were suddenly taken away to be heard, and we arrived at the town-hall. At once the rumour spread through the neighbourhood of the public place, and an immense number of people were gathered together. We mount the platform. The rest were interrogated, and confessed. Then they came to me, and my father immediately appeared with my boy, and withdrew me from the step, and said in a supplicating tone, 'Have pity on your babe.' And Hilarianus the procurator, who had just received the power of life and death in the place of the proconsul Minucius Timinianus, who was deceased, said, 'Spare the grey hairs of your father, spare the infancy of your boy, offer sacrifice for the well-being of the emperors.' And I replied, 'I will not do so.' Hilarianus said, 'Are you a Christian?' And I replied, 'I am a Christian.'

And as my father stood there to cast me down from the faith, he was ordered by Hilarianus to be thrown down, and was beaten with rods. And my father's misfortune grieved me as if I myself had been beaten, I so grieved for his wretched old age. The procurator then delivers judgement on all of us, and condemns us to the wild beasts, and we went down cheerfully to the dungeon. Then, because my child had been used to receive suck from me, and to stay with me in the prison, I send Pomponius the deacon to my father to ask for the infant, but my father would not give it him. And even as God willed it, the child no long desired the breast, nor did my breast cause me uneasiness, lest I should be tormented by care for my babe and by the pain of my breasts at once.

3. "After a few days, whilst we were all praying, on a sudden, in the middle of our prayer, there came to me a word, and I named Dinocrates; and I was amazed that that name had never come into my mind until then, and I was grieved as I remembered his misfortune. And I felt myself immediately to be worthy, and to be called on to ask on his behalf. And for him I began earnestly to make supplication, and to cry with groaning to the Lord. Without delay, on that very night, this was shown to me in a vision. I saw Dinocrates going out from a gloomy place, where also there were several others, and he was parched and very thirsty, with a filthy countenance and pallid colour, and the wound on his face which he had when he died. This Dinocrates had been my brother after the flesh, seven years of age? who died miserably with disease — his face being so eaten out with cancer, that his death caused repugnance to all men. For him I had made my prayer, and between him and me there was a large interval, so that neither of us could approach to the other. And moreover, in the same place where Dinocrates was, there was a pool full of water, having its brink higher than was the stature of the boy; and Dinocrates raised himself up as if to drink. And I was grieved that, although that pool held water, still, on account of the height to its brink, he could not drink. And I was aroused, and knew that my brother was in suffering. But I trusted that my prayer would bring help to his suffering; and I prayed for him every day until we passed over into the prison of the camp, for we were to fight in the camp-show. Then was the birthday of Geta Caesar, and I made my prayer for my brother day and night, groaning and weeping that he might be granted to me.

4. "Then, on the day on which we remained in fetters, this was shown to me. I saw that that place which I had formerly observed to be in gloom was now bright; and Dinocrates, with a clean body well clad, was finding refreshment. And where there had been a wound, I saw a scar; and that pool which I had before seen, I saw now with its margin lowered even to the boy's navel. And one drew water from the pool incessantly, and upon its brink was a goblet filled with water; and Dinocrates drew near and began to drink from it, and the goblet did not fail. And when he was satisfied, he went away from the water to play joyously, after the manner of children, and I awoke. Then I understood that he was translated from the place of punishment.

CHAPTER 3

Perpetua Is Again Tempted By Her Father. Her Third Vision, Wherein She Is Led Away To Struggle Against An Egyptian. She Fights, Conquers, And Receives The Reward.

1. "Again, after a few days, Pudens, a soldier, an assistant overseer of the prison, who began to regard us in great esteem, perceiving that the great power of God was in us, admitted many brethren to see us, that both we and they might be mutually refreshed. And when the day of the exhibition drew near my father, worn with suffering, came in to me, and began to tear out his beard, and to throw himself on the earth, and to cast himself down on his face, and to reproach his years, and to utter such words as might move all creation. I grieved for his unhappy old age.

2. "The day before that on which we were to fight, I saw in a vision that Pomponius the deacon came hither to the gate of the prison, and knocked vehemently. I went out to him, and opened the gate for him; and he was clothed in a richly ornamented white robe, and he had on manifold calliculae. And he said to me, 'Perpetua, we are waiting for you; come!' And he held his hand to me, and we began to go through rough and winding places. Scarcely at length had we arrived breathless at the amphitheatre, when he led me into the middle of the arena, and said to me, 'Do not fear, I am here with you, and I am labouring with you;' and he departed. And I gazed upon an immense assembly in astonishment. And because I knew that I was given to the wild beasts, I marvelled that the wild beasts were not let loose upon me. Then there came forth against me a certain Egyptian, horrible in appearance, with his backers, to fight with me. And there came to me, as my helpers and encouragers, handsome youths; and I was stripped, and became a man? Then my helpers began to rub me with oil, as is the custom for contest; and I beheld that Egyptian on the other hand rolling in the dust. And a certain man came forth, of wondrous height, so that he even over-topped the top of the amphitheatre; and he wore a loose tunic and a purple robe between two bands over the middle of the breast; and he had on calliculae of varied form, made of gold and silver; and he carried a rod, as if he were a trainer of gladiators, and a green branch upon which were apples of gold. And he called for silence, and said, 'This Egyptian, if he should overcome this woman, shall kill her with the sword; and if she shall conquer him, she shall receive this branch.' Then he departed. And we drew near to one another, and began to deal out blows. He sought to lay hold of my feet, while I struck at his face with my heels; and I was lifted up in the air, and began thus to thrust at him as if spurning the earth. But when I saw that there was some delay I joined my hands so as to twine my fingers with one another; and I took hold upon his head, and he fell on his face, and I trod upon his head? And the people began to shout, and my backers to exult. And I drew near to the trainer and took the branch; and he kissed me, and said to me, 'Daughter, peace be with you:' and I began to go gloriously to the Sanavivarian gate. Then I awoke, and perceived that I was not to fight with beasts, but against the devil. Still I knew that the victory was awaiting me. This, so far, I have completed several days before the exhibition; but what passed at the exhibition itself let who will write."

CHAPTER 4

Saturus, In A Vision, And Perpetua Being Carried By Angels Into The Great Light, Behold The Martyrs. Being Brought To The Throne Of God, Are Received With A Kiss. They Reconcile Optatus The Bishop And Aspasius The Presbyter.

1. Moreover, also, the blessed Saturus related this his vision, which he himself committed to writing: — " We had suffered," says he, "and we were gone forth from the flesh, and we were beginning to be borne by four angels into the east; and their hands touched us not. And we floated not supine, looking upwards, but as if ascending a gentle slope. And being set free, we at length saw the first boundless light; and I said, 'Perpetua' (for she was at my side), 'this is what the Lord promised to us; we have received the promise.' And while we are borne by those same four angels, there appears to us a vast space which was like a pleasure-garden, having rose-trees and every kind of flower. And the height of the trees was after the measure of a cypress, and their leaves were falling incessantly. Moreover, there in the pleasure-garden four other angels appeared, brighter than the previous ones, who, when they saw us, gave us honour, and said to the rest of the angels,

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'Here they are! Here they are!' with admiration. And those four angels who bore us, being greatly afraid, put us down; and we passed over on foot the space of a furlong in a broad path. There we found Jocundus and Saturninus and Artaxius, who having suffered the same persecution were burnt alive; and Quintus, who also himself a martyr had departed in the prison. And we asked of them where the rest were. And the angels said to us, 'Come first, enter and greet your Lord.'

2. "And we came near to place, the walls of which were such as if they were built of light; and before the gate of that place stood four angels, who clothed those who entered with white robes. And being clothed, we entered and saw the boundless light, and heard the united voice of some who said without ceasing, Holy! Holy! Holy!' And in the midst of that place we saw as it were a hoary man sitting, having snow-white hair, and with a youthful countenance; and his feet we saw not. And on his right hand and on his left were four-and-twenty elders, and behind them a great many others were standing. We entered with great wonder, and stood before the throne; and the four angels raised us up, and we kissed Him, and He passed His hand over our face. And the rest of the elders said to us, 'Let us stand;' and we stood and made peace. And the elders said to us, and enjoy.' And I said, 'Perpetua, you have what you wish.' And she said to me, 'Thanks be to God, that joyous as I was in the flesh, I am now more joyous here.'

3. "And we went forth, and saw before the entrance Optatus the bishop at the right hand, and Aspasius the presbyter, a teacher, at the left hand, separate and sad; and they cast themselves at our feet, and said to us, 'Restore peace between us, because you have gone forth and have left us thus.' And we said to them, 'Art not thou our father, and thou our presbyter, that you should cast yourselves at our feet?" And we prostrated ourselves, and we embraced them; and Perpetua began to speak with them, and we drew them apart in the pleasure-garden under a rose-tree. And while we were speaking with them, the angels said unto them, 'Let them alone, that they may refresh themselves; and if you have any dissensions between you, forgive one another.' And they drove them away. And they said to Optatus, 'Rebuke thy people, because they assemble to you as if returning from the circus, and contending about factious matters.' And then it seemed to us as if they would shut the doors. And in that place we began to recognise many brethren, and moreover martyrs. We were all nourished with an indescribable odour, which satisfied us. Then, I joyously awoke."

CHAPTER 5

Secundulus Dies In The Prison. Felicitas Is Pregnant, But With Many Prayers She Brings Forth In The Eighth Month Without Suffering, The Courage Of Perpetua And Of Saturus Unbroken.

1. The above were the more eminent visions of the blessed martyrs Saturus and Perpetua themselves, which they themselves committed to writing. But God called Secundulus, while he has yet in the prison, by an earlier exit from the world, not without favour, so as to give a respite to the beasts. Nevertheless, even if his soul did not acknowledge cause for thankfulness, assuredly his flesh did.

2. But respecting Felicitas (for to her also the Lord's favour approached in the same way), when she had already gone eight months with child (for she had been pregnant when she was apprehended), as the day of the exhibition was drawing near, she was in great grief lest on account of her pregnancy she should be delayed — because pregnant women are not allowed to be publicly punished — and lest she should shed her sacred and guiltless blood among some who had been wicked subsequently. Moreover, also, her fellow-martyrs were painfully saddened lest they should leave so excellent a friend, and as it were companion, alone in the path of the same hope. Therefore, joining together their united cry, they poured forth their prayer to the Lord three days before the exhibition. Immediately after their prayer her pains came upon her, and when, with the difficulty natural to an eight months' delivery, in the labour of bringing forth she was sorrowing, some one of the servants of the Cataractarii said to her, "You who are in such suffering now, what will you do when you are thrown to the beasts, which you despised when you refused to sacrifice?" And she replied, "Now it is I that suffer what I suffer; but then there will be another in me, who will suffer for me, because I also am about to suffer for Him." Thus she brought forth a little girl, which a certain sister brought up as her daughter.

3. Since then the Holy Spirit permitted, and by permitting willed, that the proceedings of that exhibition should be committed to writing, although we are unworthy to complete the description of so great a glory; yet we obey as it were the command of the most blessed Perpetua, nay her sacred trust, and add one more testimony concerning her constancy and her loftiness of mind. While they were treated with more severity by the tribune, because, from the intimations of certain deceitful men, he feared lest thay should be withdrawn from the prison by some sort of magic incantations, Perpetua answered to his face, and said, "Why do you not at least permit us to be refreshed, being as we are objectionable to the most noble Caesar, and having to fight on his birthday? Or is it not your glory if we are brought forward fatter on that occasion?" The tribune shuddered and blushed, and commanded that they should be kept with more humanity, so that permission was given to their brethren and others to go in and be refreshed with them; even the keeper of the prison trusting them now himself.

4. Moreover, on the day before, when in that last meal, which they call the free meal, they were partaking as far as they could, not of a free supper, but of an agape; with the same firmness they were uttering such words as these to the people, denouncing against them the judgement of the Lord, bearing witness to the felicity of their passion, laughing at the curiosity of the people who came together; while Saturus said, "Tomorrow is not enough for you, for you to behold with pleasure that which you hate. Friends today, enemies tomorrow. Yet note our faces diligently, that you may recognise them on that day of judgement." Thus all departed thence astonished, and from these things many believed.

CHAPTER 6

From The Prison They Are Led Forth With Joy Into The Amphitheatre, Especially Perpetua And Felicitas. All Refuse To Put On Profane Garments. They Are Scourged, They Are Thrown To The Wild Beasts. Saturus Twice Is Unhurt. Perpetua And Felicitas Are Thrown Down; They Are Called Back To The Sanavivarian Gate. Saturus Wounded By A Leopard, Exhorts The Soldier. They Kiss One Another, And Are Slain With The Sword.

1. The day of their victory shone forth, and they proceeded from the prison into the amphitheatre, as if to an assembly, joyous and of brilliant countenances; if prechance shrinking, it was with joy, and not with fear. Perpetua followed with placid look, and with step and gait as a matron of Christ, beloved of God; casting down the luster of her eyes from the gaze of all. Moreover, Felicitas, rejoicing that she had safely brought forth, so that she might fight with the wild beasts; from the blood and from the midwife to the gladiator, to wash after childbirth with a second baptism. And when they were brought to the gate, and were constrained to put on the clothing — the men, that of the priests of Saturn, and the women, that of those who were consecrated to Ceres — that noble-minded woman resisted even to the end with constancy. For she said, "We have come thus far of our own accord, for this reason, that our liberty might not be restrained. For this reason we have yielded our minds, that we might not do any such thing as this: we have agreed on this with you." Injustice acknowledged the justice; the tribune yielded to their being brought as simply as they were. Perpetua sang psalms, already treading under foot the head of the Egyptian; Revocatus, and Saturninus, and Saturus uttered threatenings against the gazing people about this martyrdom. When they came within sight of Hilarianus, by gesture and nod, they began to say to Hilarianus, "Thou judgest us," say they, "but God will judge thee." At this the people, exasperated, demanded that they should be tormented with scourges as they passed along the rank of the venatores. And they indeed rejoiced that they should have incurred any one of their Lord's passions.

2. But He who had said, "Ask, and ye shall receive," gave to them when they asked, that death which each one had wished for. For when at any time they had been discoursing among themselves about their wish in respect of their martyrdom, Saturninus indeed had professed that he wished that he might be thrown to all the beasts; doubtless that he might wear a more glorious crown. Therefore in the beginning of the exhibition he and Revocatus made trial of the leopard, and moreover upon the scaffold they were harassed by the bear. Saturus, however, held nothing in greater abomination than a bear; but he imagined that he would be put an end to with one bite of a leopard. Therefore, when a wild boar was supplied, it was the huntsman rather who had supplied that boar who was gored by that same beast, and died the day after the shows. Saturus only was drawn out; and when he had been bound on the floor near to a bear, the bear would not come forth from his den. And so Saturus for the second time is recalled unhurt.

3. Moreover, for the young women the devil prepared a very fierce cow, provided especially for that purpose contrary to custom, rivalling their sex also in that of the beasts. And so, stripped and clothed with nets, they were led forth. The populace shuddered as they saw one young woman of delicate frame, and another with breasts still dropping from her recent childbirth. So, being recalled, they are unbound. Perpetua is first led in. She was tossed, and fell on her loins; and when she saw her tunic torn from her side, she drew it over her as a veil for her middle, rather mindful of her modesty than her suffering. Then she was called for again, and bound up her dishevelled hair; for it was not becoming for a martyr to suffer with dishevelled hair, lest she should appear to be mourning in her glory. So she rose up; and when she saw Felicitas crushed, she approached and gave her her hand, and lifted her up. And both of them stood together; and the brutality of the populace being appeased, they were recalled to the Sanavivarian gate. Then Perpetua was received by a certain one who was still a catechumen, Rusticus by name, who kept close to her; and she, as if aroused from sleep, so deeply had she been in the Spirit and in an ecstasy, began to look round her, and to say to the amazement of all, "I cannot tell when we are to be led out to that cow." And when she had heard what had already happened, she did not believe it until she had perceived certain signs of injury in her body and in her dress, and had recognised the catechumen. Afterwards causing that catechumen and the brother to approach, she addressed them, saying, "Stand fast in the faith, and love one another, all of you, and be not offended at my sufferings."

4. The same Saturus at the other entrance exhorted the soldier Pudens, saying, "Assuredly here I am, as I have promised and foretold, for up to this moment I have felt no beast. And now believe with your whole heart. Lo, I am going forth to that beast, and I shall be destroyed with one bite of the leopard." And immediately at the conclusion of the exhibition he was thrown to the leopard; and with one bite of his he was bathed with such a quantity of blood, that the people shouted out to him as he was returning, the testimony of his second baptism, "Saved and washed, saved and washed." Manifestly he was assuredly saved who had been glorified in such a spectacle. Then to the soldier Pudens he said, "Farewell, and be mindful of my faith; and let not these things disturb, but confirm you." And at the same time he asked for a little ring from his finger, and returned it to him bathed in his wound, leaving to him an inherited token and the memory of his blood. And then lifeless he is cast down with the rest, to be slaughtered in the usual place.

And when the populace called for them into the midst, that as the sword penetrated into their body they might make their eyes partners in the murder, they rose up of their own accord, and transferred themselves whither the people wished; but they first kissed one another, that they might consummate their martyrdom with the kiss of peace. The rest indeed, immoveable and in silence, received the sword-thrust; much more Saturus, who also had first ascended the ladder, and first gave up his spirit, for he also was waiting for Perpetua. But Perpetua, that she might taste some pain, being pierced between the ribs, cried out loudly, and she herself placed the wavering right hand of the youthful gladiator to her throat. Possibly such a woman could not have been slain unless she herself had willed it, because she was feared by the impure spirit.

O most brave and blessed martyrs! O truly called and chosen unto the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ! whom whoever magnifies, and honours, and adores, assuredly ought to read these examples for the edification of the Church, not less than the ancient ones, so that new virtues also may testify that one and the same Holy Spirit is always operating even until now, and God the Father Omnipotent, and His Son Jesus Christ our Lord, whose is the glory and infinite power for ever and ever. Amen.

THE HISTORY OF THE VIRGIN MARY,

The Holy Mother Of God.
From Syriac-Aramaic manuscripts of the British Museum
Translation: William Wright, 1865
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 4th centuries

(Mary was a first-century Galilean Jewish woman of Nazareth, the wife of Joseph, and the mother of Jesus, according to the canonical gospels and the Koran. All other details we believe to know about her are pure speculation.

The gospels do not represent history but Roman literature with the propaganda background of pacifying converted Greek-Roman Jews who were the main targets of Saul of Tarsos' campaigns to convert them to his version of Christianity. The following statements lack therefore of hard evidence.

The parents of Mary are unknown, but according to apocryphal gospels and some denominational traditions, it is Joachim and Anne. Some denomination traditions believe Heli and his wife to be the parents of Mary. Both are highly disputed. The Protovangelion of James (also called The Infancy Gospel of James) states that Mary was 12 when she was betrothed which was a normal age for a woman to get married at those brutal and short-lived times. If this is the case, and Jesus was born at around 6 AD [because this is the year of the only census held in Judaea for it was required when it was made a Roman province officially], Mary might have been born at around 10-8 BC. The Gospel of Matthew (13:55–56) and the Gospel of Mark (6:3) mention James [the Just], Joseph / Joses, Judas / Jude [probably Didymus Judas Thomas, sometimes called Thaddeus] and Simon as brothers of Jesus.

Luke 3:23 tells us: "And Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age, being the son of Joseph, which was the son of Heli, Which was the son of Matthat, which was the son of Levi, which was the son of Melchi, which was the son of Janna, which was the son of Joseph, Which was the son of Mattathias, which was the son of Amos, which was the son of Naum, which was the son of Esli, which was the son of Nagge, Which

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was the son of Maath, which was the son of Mattathias, which was the son of Semei, which was the son of Joseph, which was the son of Juda,

When the Pauline Christians declared Jesus a god, they had a problem, besides the problem that Jesus' devinity is considered blasphemy among Jews because it violates three of the Ten Commandments. The Pauline Christians had to transform the story of the real Jesus into a narrative with a more divine touch. So it came to pass that the gospels of Matthew and Luke in the New Testament and the Koran describe Mary as a [perpetual] virgin and even as "the Mother of God". This is the reason why Jews and Muslims consider Pauline Christianity not as monotheistic.

In Matthew and Luke she is betrothed to Joseph. According to Christian theology she conceived Jesus not through sexual activities but through the Holy Spirit while still a virgin. She accompanied Joseph to Bethlehem, where Jesus was born. In order to depict Jesus as a true messiah, he had to come from the dynasty of David whose place of birth was according to legend Bethlehem in Judaea. The curious thing is that there was also a Bethlehem in Galilee, just a few kilometres outside of Sepphoris and nearby the town of Nazareth. According to archaeological probing, Nazareth was founded in the 2nd or 3rd century AD, not before. As a result, most of the gospel narratives are fiercely disputed among scholars.

According to Catholic and Eastern Christian teachings, at the end of her earthly life God raised her body directly into heaven; this is known in the Christian West as the Assumption of Mary.)

To our beloved and believing brethren throughout the "whole world, who are zealous after excellence, and seek the work of life, and cleave unto the love of God at all times, and are prisoners of his mercy; peace and grace he with you from God our Father, and from our Lord Jesus the Messiah, and His Holy Spirit. Amen, Amen. We make known to the children of the mystery of faith, that the Word of Life, which was with the Father, truly came into the world, and was born of a woman by a great miracle; and went about the streets as a child, to the confirmation of His incarnation; and received the education of growth, after the manner of all the sons of men; and trod the path of baptism, and of fasting, and of working of miracles, for all His true disciples; and tasted willingly of suffering, and death, and burial, without any phantasy or error; and rose with glory from the grave, without having seen corruption in Sheol; and took upon Himself the humiliations of our race, that He might exalt us unto His Father; and ascended with victory to heaven, with great glory and a vast host of angels. And of all these things we are witnesses, and we know that our testimony is true; because we have seen with our eyes, and felt with our hands. And to every one who believes these things, there is life for ever in His Person, because He is life and truth and light. And we were thus commanded by Him, before He was raised up to heaven: "Go, teach, and baptise all nations, in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit." Also He sent to us the gift of the Holy Spirit, as He promised when He was going up.

And from that time we were scattered through all countries, to. preach the Gospel of His kingdom. But Mary His mother, after all these things, was continuing in great sorrow, and was constant in prayer every hour at the tomb and Golgotha. And she was much hated by the people of the crucifiers, and many a time too they were going to kill her. And they set watchers for themselves beside the grave, and said with much eagerness: "If she goes out thither to pray, let lier be stoned by you with stones, because she is a mocker at Israel." She was the daughter of Joachim, who was the seed of Nathan the son of David, of the tribe of Judah; and her mother was called Hannah; and her own name was Mary. And on a Friday she took a thurible and incense, and went forth in sorrow to the tomb. And when she had prayed for a long while, she thus spoke: "My Lord (Rabbuli / Rabbuni), Teacher) the Messiah, whom I have in Heaven, send (and) take me from this world; for lo, the Jews want to stone me."

And the moment that her prayer had gone up to heaven, the angel of the Lord came down to her, and thus he spoke to her: "Hail to thee, mother of God! for thy prayer is heard in heaven before thy Son, Jesus the Messiah; and within a few days of this time thou shalt leave this world, as thou hast asked." And when he had said these things to her, he departed from her; and a great wonder seized the watchmen who were standing and looking on, so that they said, "We can do nothing to her." But when she had returned to her house, they went into Jerusalem and said to the priests: "Mary came to-day (and) prayed beside the tomb; and we saw clearly the angel of the Lord, who was speaking, with her; and for this reason we were not able even to speak to her; and now do whatever is good in your eyes." And when the Jews heard this, they spoke to the Hegemon of that place, whose name was Sabinus, whom Tiberius the emperor of the Romans had placed there, and said: "We beg of thee, my Lord Hegemon, send (and) order Mary not to go out to pray by the grave and Golgotha. It is enough for her that all Jerusalem is agitated by the child whom she bore, that there should not be strife and mischief among us and in our city because of her." The Hegemon says: "Do ye go and order her what ye please." And they, when they had gone to her, say to her: "Mary, remember the sins which have been committed by thee before God, and do not lead people astray and say, that he who was born of thee is t e Son of God; because heaven and earth testify that he is the son of Joseph the carpenter. But enter into the synagogue, and hearken to the law of Moses.

And we will lay upon thee a Torah, and absolve thee of thy sins. And we will blow a trumpet in thy ears, and thou shalt be cured of thy obstinate will. But if thou dost not agree to these things, go forth from Jerusalem, and do not go again to the tomb and to Golgotha; because the Hegemon has commanded thus." Mary says to them: "It was not right that ye should come to me with these words, because I will not hear your words, and will not receive your order. But this I do of my own will, for I have no desire to dwell longer in your city." And the Jews returned to their houses, because the evening arrived.

Then she called the women of her neighbourhood, and says to them: "The Jews say to me that they will not permit me to dwell in Jerusalem, and therefore I am going forth to Bethlehem to my own house. But, if there be (any) among you who wishes to go with me, let her come."

For three virgins were dwelling with her constantly, who were the daughters of chief men and rulers of Jerusalem. One of whom was the daughter of Nicodemus, the friend of the Messiah, and her name was Calletlia; by whose name is described the Church, the betrothed of the Son of God. And another was the daughter .of Gamaliel, the chief of the synagogue and the teacher of the Law, and her name was Neshra; and by the likeness of the eagle is typified the King the Messiah, who bears upon His wings the Holy Church. And the other was the daughter of a (man of) comitian (rank), of the family of Archelaus, and her name was Tabetha, for Tabatha (the good) is an epithet of the Holy Spirit, by which life is given to men and all good gifts. These were the names of the virgins who were dwelling with Mary the mother of our Lord, Calletha, and Neshra, and Tabetha. And the three of them answered and said to her: "Thou knowest, my Lady, that on thy account we have left our fathers and brothers and all that we have, and with thee we wish to live, and we will not leave thee till we die." Then she stretched out her hand to heaven, and blessed them, and said to them: "My prayer will be received before my Master, whom I have in heaven; because of all the families of Israel you alone have done me pleasure." And they arose quickly, and went forth to Bethlehem. And there she prayed, and thus she said: "My Master the Messiah! hearken to the voice of Thy mother, and come to me, Thou and the Apostles, Thy disciples, that I may see ye before I die. And by this I shall know that Thou hearest me whenever I pray unto Thee." "When she had finished her prayer, John was in Ephesus; and the Holy Spirit informed him, as he was going in to pray in the church of Ephesus, and said to him: "The time is near for the mother of thy Lord to depart from this world, and she desires much to see thee; but make haste and go to her to jiethlehem. And lo, I will send thither all the Apostles thy fellows." Then John prayed and said: "Our Lord Jesus the Messiah, Son of the blessed God, give my feet strength that I may go to Thy mother to Bethlehem, and see her before she dies." And when his prayer was not yet finished, the Holy Spirit placed him on a cloud of light, and he arrived speedily at Bethlehem,

And when he entered into the chamber in which Mary was, he found her lying on the bed. And he drew near and kissed her on her knees, and said: "Hail to thee, mother of God; and hail to the Messiah, who was born of thee, who has deemed me worthy to behold thee. Be not grieved; because thou art departing from this world with, great glory." And when she heard these (words), she was filled with great joy; and she answered and said to John: "My son, the Jews have sworn oaths, that, when I am dead, they will burn me with fire." John says to her: "Our Lord Jesus the Messiah, thy Son, standeth for thee." And the tears of both of them flowed over from weeping; and the three virgins too were standing apart and weeping. John says to her: "If thou, who art the mother of God, art so grieved because thou art leaving this world, what shall sinners do, and those who have not kept the commandments of God?" Then the Holy Spirit informed us in all the regions in which we were, and says to us: "The time is near for the mother of your Lord to leave this world; but rise, go to her to Bethlehem." To Simon (Peter) It made this known in Rome; and to Paul at Tiberias; and to Thomas in India; and to Matthew at Berytus (Beirut); and to Bartholomew in Armenia; and to Thaddseus at Laodicea; and to James in the cave of Zion. But Andrew, the brother of Simon, and James, the brother of John, and Philip, and Simon the Cananite, and Matthew, who became an apostle in the place of Judas Iscariot, these five were dead. And the Holy

Spirit awoke them, and said to them: "Rise, but do not think that the resurrection is come; but on this account do ye rise, that ye may go to Bethlehem to the mother of your Lord, who is departing from the world, and asks to see you." And as we were standing (perplexed) by many thoughts, how we might go to Bethlehem, each of us from where he was, our Lord sent us swift steeds and clouds of light. And we were carried away by the Holy Spirit, and came to Bethlehem. And Mary, when she knew that we were come to her, rose up joyfully to meet us from the bed on which she was lying, and says to us: "Blessed be the Lord, who has fulfilled my desire, and sent you to me, that I may see you and rejoice before I die. Now I know that my Master will come, and I shall see Him, and then I shall die. But I wish you to tell me, who told you that I am dying, and how ye came, that ye are arrived so quickly." We all say to John: "Do thou speak first, because thou earnest first." John says: "I was standing by the altar of the Lord, which is in the church of Ephesus, when the Holy Spirit announced unto me, 'The time is near for the mother of thy Lord to leave this world, but make haste, (and) go to her to Bethlehem.' And immediately"

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"which are more than of all of them." The unbelievers say: "Whence do ye show to us that the son of Mary is the Messiah?" The lovers of the Messiah say:

"We are showing it." The Judge says: "Not with (high) words nor with disturbance are ye to speak one against another, but gently (and) from your books, for I too am desirous to know how your wisdom is." The lovers of the Messiah say: "Adam, when dying, commanded his son Seth in his testament, and said to him: 'My son Seth, lo! offerings are placed in the cave of treasures, gold and myrrh and frankincense; and the Messiah is about to come and to be taken by wicked men and to die; and through his death (there shall be) resurrection to all the sons of men; and he shall rise in three days, and shall take my body up with him to heaven. And lo! the Magi shall come from Persia, and take this testament and these offerings, and go to Bethlehem of Judah, and worship the Messiah who is born of the virgin.' And so it was. And the Magi came and brought these offerings and testament with them. And from the testament of Adam all mankind have learned to make testaments; and from the Messiah, who was born of Mary, all mankind, who were in darkness, have received hght. From Adam to Seth letters were written, and fathers gave (them) to sons, and sons gave (them) to sons' sons, down to Abraham, all mankind going on and saying, ' the Messiah shall come and shall be born in Bethlehem.' We then are not ashamed of what we say." The unbelievers say: "Is the son of Mary better than Abraham, who called on God, and He opened the heavens and spoke with him as men speak one with another?" The lovers of the Messiah say : "Ye see that 3'e know nothing ! For we, who are lovers of the Messiah, know that the Messiah, the son of Mary, created Abraham, ere yet He was formed in His mother's womb." The unbelievers say: "Is the Messiah, of whom ye are proud, better than Isaac, who became an offering, and the savour of his offering went up, and heaven and earth were gladdened by it?" The lovers of the Messiah say: "Isaac's not being slain on the altar (depended) entirely on (this), that it was about to be that the Messiah, who is (born) of Mary, should come and die for all, and save the world from error. For if Isaac had died, one offering would have been offered; but when the Messiah died, the offerings of all creatures were offered to God in Him." The unbelievers say: " Is the Messiah better than Jacob, the like of whose vision men have never seen?

Who went up (and) slept on Mount Gilead, and God opened the heavens and spoke with him, and stretched a ladder from heaven to earth, so that, if he had wished, he might have gone up by it; and the angels came down to greet him." The lovers of the Messiah say: "Both Jacob, and the ladder, and the angels whom he saw, are types of the coming of the Messiah and of the mystery of His death." The unbelievers say to the lovers of the Messiah: "The ascent of Elias to heaven puts you to shame, for every thing that he says is obeyed in heaven, and every thing that he wishes is done on earth." The lovers of the Messiah say: "Elias went up in a whirlwind to tliis heaven in which are fixed the sun and moon, and no man worshipped him in his ascent except Elisha his disciple.

But the Messiah, when He went up, went up not merely to one heaven, but He went up above all the heavens; and lo! He sits at the right hand of His Father, and all creatures that are above and below, bow their heads and worship Him and glorify Him for ever; for no man ever went up to heaven except Him who came down from it, who is the Messiah, the Son of God, who was born of Mary." The unbelievers say: "Let Moses the prophet come, and his miracles, with which he chastised Pharaoh and delivered Israel; and when Pharaoh wished to hinder Israel, when he came to the sea, Moses lifted up a dry staff and restrained the waves of the sea in heaps."

The lovers of the Messiah say:"Jesus too, who was born of Mary, rebuked evil spirits, and they were scattered before Him ; and to Peter, when the sea was swallowing him up, He stretched out His hand and lifted him up; and if He had not had power over the sea and the land, whence would all these have obeyed Himl" The unbelievers say: "We are not able to

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dispute with you, because ye are imbued with (Literally, have tasted of.) the doctrine of the Son of Mary, .and if ye were to dispute with Satan, ye would overcome him." The lovers of the Messiah say: "Ye have not said a single word in which there is conviction (Literally, rest.), nor do ye carry off the victory." The believers say: "Neither David the son of Jesse, nor Elisha the son of Shaphat, who brought to life the dead after he had lain down by him in the grave, nor Enoch, who was removed and did not taste of death— there is none who is so excellent as Jesus the son of Mary." The lovers of the Messiah say: "Neither in heaven nor on earth is is there (any) who is more excellent than Jesus, who was born of Mary, and His exalted Father, who sent Him for our deliverance, and His Holy Spirit ; and thus we confess and cry out, and our children and our dead from the graves testify along with us at this time, that the Messiah, who is (born) of Mary, was about to come, and Him all creatures were expecting, in whom light arose for us, and as soon as He was born of Mary, He annihilated the power of Satan; and the like of the miracles and mighty deeds and healings and cures which He wrought, no tongue can speak, nor mouth explain, nor can those above nor those below say what the Messiah, the Son of God, did in the world."

Then the judge commanded, and six men of the unbelievers were severely scourged. And after they were scourged, the lovers of the Messiah said: "Do ye then wish to escape with impunity? (Literally, to prevail.) We will show you what we shall do. We will reveal all the frauds which have been (done) in Jerusalem, before this just Hegemon, whom our Lord hath sent to demand at our hands the ignominy of Jesus, whom we crucified." The judge says to the lovers of the Messiah: "Say whatever ye wish and be not afraid." They say: "Where is the cross concealed, on which He has crucified"? and where are the nails which were fixed in His hands? and the sponge, in which we offered Him vinegar? and the spear with which He was pierced? and the crown of thorns, which we placed on His head? a d the robes of infamy, with which we clothed Him, where they concealed?" The Hegemon says to the unbelievers: "Speak, and disclose what they say to you." They say: "They too, my Lord, know where they are." But the judge when he saw (this), stood up on his tribunal, and made those swear who confessed our Lord, and said: "By the Messiah, who was born of Mary, and in whom ye believe, and in whom I too believe, say what ye know concerning the Messiah."

Then the lovers of the Messiah cried out and said with one voice: "wise judge! Woe to us from the judgements of the Messiah, when He comes to judge the world!

Woe to us from Thy hands, Thou Son of Mary, whom we have slain! Woe to us, how we have injured Thee And not Thee only have we injured, but also the Father, who sent Thee to the world." The Hegemon says: "Disclose to me, where the cross is, on which He was crucified, and the crown of thorns, and the spear with which He was pierced, and the robes which He had on." They say: "My Lord, these robes which He wore, we cast lots upon them, and they came to one; and we took them, and folded them up, and placed them beside His cross, and dug a deep hole in the ground, about thirty cubits. And we wrote upon the cross of Jesus, and placed it a little way off from the crosses of the thieves; and we placed a small stone between them, and heaped upon them earth and stones; and they were well concealed. And opposite the head of the cross of Jesus, we made an aperture hollowed out through the midst of the earth, so that a man's hand might reach the head of our Lord's cross; and when an affliction comes upon any one of us, he that is sick stretches out the tip of his finger, and if it reaches it (viz. the cross), he is cured. May God prolong thy days, illustrious Hegemon! Lo, there are ten thousand five hundred and two souls, whom we know, and whose names are written down, men, women and children, whom the cross of the Son of Mary has healed and saved from death, who are of the populace of Jerusalem. And when we see a man who is sick, we go thither with him, and he stretches out his hand through that opening and is healed. And if any one has a sick person in his house, and takes some of that dust, and goes and casts it upon him, he is healed. And whosoever was healed, we used to take a fee from him. And it was enjoined unto us, that whosoever should reveal this secret, should be cast out from among us with his whole family; and that he who revealed it should be slain. And we said among ourselves, 'If a man be questioned, let him say, we have in that place a pot of the manna, and of the water of trial, and the staff of Aaron, and these things give help to every one who goes thither.' illustrious judge I fetch Jonadab and scourge him, because he has in his house one nail of those which we fastened in the Messiah, concealed for himself; and he has saved from death by it more than 550 souls, and has become very rich, so that he does not know what he owns. For which of the prophets and of the fathers did wonders, and healed, and brought to life, and delivered from death, like the cross of the Messiah, or like a single nail that we fastened in His hands? How much more then shall that Jesus, who was crucified upon it, give aid to every one who believes in Him? Come, let us raise up His cross from the dust in which it is hidden; and from the ends to the ends of the earth let peoples and tongues come and worship the cross of the Son of God, who gives life to all living things that believe on Him." The judge says; "Great is the thing that was concealed among you; an d because ye were angry with one another, ye have revealed it. If the king hears it, he will take off all your heads. Come, show me where these nails are hidden, and where ye have made that aperture over the head of our Lord's cross." And they went and showed him. He says to them: "What shall I do for you now V They say to him: "Command, my Lord, and let these crosses be taken up; and let the cross of our Lord be placed in the temple of Jerusalem, and be worshipped by all mankind." The Hegemon says: "I am not ordered by the king to do this, but I will put you to shame before all men; for I will not go near the cross of the Messiah; for He who was crucified upon it, will bring it forth from the earth in which it is hidden," And he gave orders, and brought large stones; and they heaped (them) upon the place in which these crosses were hidden, as it were ten times the height of a man, so that no help might come forth from that aperture to the children of Israel. And those who believed said to the Hegemon: "Give orders, my Lord, and let thirty of the chief men of the city of Jerusalem cme, and scourge them, because of the ignominy of our Lord, and because they have spoken ill of the blessed (virgin) before thee." And the judge was silent, and made no answer; and the day declined; and the judge passed the night in the Prsetorium in anger. And the cock crew, and the Hegemon went forth, he and his two oung men and his son along with him; and his son had the disease of the gravel (and a disease) of the bowels. And he went and knocked at the door of my lady Mary, and her waiting-maid came out; and he said to her: "Go in and tell thy mistress, the Hegemon of this city wishes to worship thee." And she gave orders, and he came in and worshipped before her and kissed her feet, and cried out and said: "Hail to thee, virgin Mother of God ! and hail to the Child, who was born of thee Hail to the heavens, which bear the holy throne of thy Son, on which His Godhead is exalted. Mouth and tongue are too feeble to recount thy praises, holy Virgin! The earth on which thou walkest, becomes heaven. The heaven that beholds thee, gives a blessing to the creatures that believe in thee. The healthy who behold thy chastity, receive gladness. The sick who come unto thee, receive help. I worship thee, Mary, the mistress of the world. Stretch out thy hand and bless me, me and also this only (child) whom God hath given (me); and pray for the souls whom I have at Rome, that I may go in peace, and see (them), and rejoice with them; and that I may carry presents and offerings, and come and worship thee, the mother of God." Now Mary was standing and praying, the censer of incense being placed before her; and when she heard the words of the judge, she finished her prayer, and turned to him, and stretched out her hand and blessed him, him and his son, and said to him, "Sit down." Now the apostles of our Lord were there in the house, and were thinking that it was day. And when they came out and looked at the sky, they saw that at that moment the cock had crowed. And the judge ran and fell at the feet of the apostles, and said to them: "Peace be with you (a phrase that becomes common later in Islam too), ye chosen (ones), who were chosen before the foundations of the world! and (hail) to your Master, who chose you to be His heralds!" The apostles say: "We have heard what thou hast done to the crucifiers, and we have prayed much for thee." The Hegemon says: "Enough for them is the scorn they are become before God and before men." The apostles say: "And what have they done that is not to t eir disgrace? But now we tell thee, that lo! it is sixteen years that we have gone forth proclaiming the gospel and the preaching of our Lord Jesus the Messiah in all regions.

And when each one of us was proclaiming His preaching in the place to which he was sent, the time arrived for this blessed (one) to depart from this world. And without our perceiving it, or any one telling us, the Holy Spirit revealed to each of us, 'The time is near for the mother of thy Lord to depart from this world; go to her unto Bethlehem.' And when each of us heard (this), he was in much perplexity, because we were preaching at the ends of the earth. And each of us said to himself: 'Whence shall I get a swift steed? that I may go without delay, before she dies whilst I am going? And when this thought arose in our hearts, the Holy Spirit made (it) known to each of us, and a cloud of light was placed in a chariot, and in the midst of the chariot was set a throne, covered with glory. And when the Holy Spirit drew near, It said to him: 'Behold the steeds that your Lord hath sent you from heaven. Rise, sit upon them, and go to His mother unto Bethlehem.' And accordingly Peter ascended with haste into the chariot, and stood in the air between heaven and earth, looking at the apostles who were coming to him. And as he was standing, the apostles came from the four quarters of the world unto him; and those who were dead, were raised, and came along with those who were alive, to worship the holy (one). Thus we came from those places in chariots guided by reins, and on clouds of glory we entered Bethlehem with troops of angels, and worshipped the blessed (one); because God, who was born of her, commanded us, who chose us before the foundations of the world, that we might be preachers concerning His living words and concerning the wonders which He showed. And He sent and fetched us according to His will, that with our te stimony He might crown His mother, and we might see and assert that this is the woman who gave birth to God. And we came to Bethlehem, and they stirred up the people of Jerusalem against us. And the Holy Spirit said to us: 'Do not go anywhere, lest the Jews should think that ye are afraid of them.' And It brought us to Jerusalem, and no man saw us, and we entered in here, because we carried the holy (one) on her bed, and the Holy Spirit carried us; and glorious robes of flame were spread over us.

And after we were here, our Lord willed to disclose the glory which He was preparing for His mother; and the angels of the Lord were seen going in and coming out to salute the blessed one. And there was a great tumult, that the Jews might be put to shame, and the Son of God and His mother be glorified."

These things the Apostles spoke to the judge, when he went and worshipped them. And again the judge besought the blessed one and said: "I beg of thee, my lady, that I may learn of thee, how God, who came into the world, dwelt in thy virginity." The blessed one says to him: "Hear and receive my words, and give glory to God, who sent His only (Son) from the heaven of His glory, and He dwelt in me. I do not know whence He entered into the palace of my members, but, as I was sitting in ray house and making coverings for the door of the temple of the Lord, on the first day of the week, at the ninth hour, an angel opened (heaven) and descended unto me. And a light shone through the whole house in which I was sitting, and he said to me: 'Hail to thee, thou blessed among women! My Lord is with thee, and will rise from thee (like the sun).'

And a sweet odour was diffused through the whole house; and the foundations of the house too sent forth waves of odours through the whole quarter. And after the salutation with which he announced (this) to me, he departed from me. And I arose, and set forth incense, and fell on my face, and glorified the name of the grace of my Lord, that I had seen a wonder like this; for, from the time that I was born into the world, and came forth from my mother's womb, no man knew me, and I saw not the way of women. And He was born of me like a man, and was reared up like the children of Adam, and like an infant in the streets and like a child He ran about, and showed miracles and wrought wonders, and walked in the world like God, and every thing that He said to me.

He began and He finished. And I saw that men were not able to do the miracles which He did. And the envious Jews took Him, and crucified Him, and slew Him; and He was placed in the grave, and raised Himself up, and rose and appeared to His disciples, working the wonders and miracles of His glorious Father; and He ascended to heaven to His Father; and if the Jews do not believe in Him, I and Joseph the carpenter and His disciples believe in Him, that He is the Messiah the Son of the living God; and I assert and beheve that He who was born of me shall come and demand His blood of His crucifiers. And He used to say to me that, Hwhen e removed from the world. He would come to me with troops of angels; and as He has assembled His disciples from the four quarters, I accordingly am expecting Him to come, that I may see Him, and to place His hand on my eyes, and to take me out of the wicked world, and hide my body and carry my spirit away in safety whithersoever He pleases."

"These things spoke the blessed Mary to the Hegemon and before the Apostles, and he believed much in Mary, and drew near and cast down his son before her and said to her: "I beg of thee, mother of God, heal this only son of mine, who is tortured by cruel diseases." And the holy one stretched out her hand, and made the sign of the cross on the boy, and spoke thus: "In the name of my Master, whom I have in heaven, let him be healed."

And straightway the boy was cured by the prayer of Mary. And the judge went away from beside the holy Mary, and wrote down all the miracles and wonders which the mother of God had done. For the mouth of man is not able to recount the wonders and cures which the blessed one did in the world.

And the Hegemon was dismissed, and went from the city to Rome, and went in unto the Emperor and the nobles, and related to them all the miracles and wonders which Mary did in Jerusalem and Bethlehem. And the disciples of Peter and Paul went to Rome and wrote down whatever they heard from the judge, who had gone up to Rome from Jerusalem. And they also wrote letters and sent them to all who were in the West, to Mount Sinai, and Egypt, and to Thebais, and Pontus, and Asia ; and they wrote in their letters that great was the glory with which she departed from this world. And they also wrote to their teachers Peter and Paul, (saying:) "When ye have buried the holy one, let the book of her glorious deeds come with you to Rome, for lo! the ends and quarters (of the world) are full of her glories, and people believe much in her, because, since the judge came from beside her, he has narrated here concerning her, and whoever confesses her, she helps him greatly and every one who calls on her.

The wonders vhich the blessed one wrought. She appeared on the sea, when it was troubled and raised itself to destroy all that was on it; and the sailors called on the name of the

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blessed one and said: "My Lady Mary, mother of God, have mercy on us;" and she rose like the sun and delivered ninety-two ships and the souls that were in them, and none of them perished. And she appeared by day on a mountain, where robbers had fallen on the brethren to slay them; and they cried out, "Mother of God, help us; "and the holy one came and smote the eyes of the robbers, and they were blinded; and these escaped and were not injured. And she appeared to a widow woman, whose son had fallen into a well of water; and she screamed out and said, "Mother of God, have mercy on me;" and the holy one came and snatched him out of the well, and gave him to his mother, and he was not hurt. And again she appeared in Rome to a man who had been sick sixteen years, and no one cured him; and he took a censer and cast into it incense, and said, "My Lady Mary, mother of God, help me;" and at that moment she appeared to him, and he was healed, and stood up, and went to the church before the whole people. And again she appeared to two women, who were going along the road, and a black snake came out upon them to devour them; and they screamed out, "Mother of God, save us!" and at that moment it split open from its head downwards, and they were not injured. And again she appeared to a merchant, who had borrowed a thousand drachms to go and trade with them; and as he was sitting, eating bread, he arose and his purse (dropped") from him (and) was lost; and he cried out, " Mother of God, help me;" and at that moment he found himself standing over his purse; and he departed rejoicing.

And whilst she was doing these things in Rome, the Apostles were beside her in Jerusalem. And when the morning of Friday dawned, the Holy Spirit revealed unto the Apostles: "Take up the holy one and go forth from Jerusalem by the road that leads out to the head of the valley beside the Mount of Olives. And lo, there are three caves, one within another; and in the innermost there is a raised seat {or bench) on the right hand.

There go and place the holy one, until it be told you (what to do). And they arose in the morning, and took up the blessed one; and the Jews were looking on and saying: "The disciples of the seducer are carrying Mary and going away." And the blessed one was looking upon them. And the Jews made signs one to another and said: "Lo, Mary thinks that she has conquered (us), and goes forth from Jerusalem." And there was there a man whose name was Yiiphanya (Jephunneh), both tall and handsome of figure. And the elders of Israel said to him: "Come near, Yuphanya; blow upon Mary, and she will fall down with her bed (litter); for she thinks that she has conquered and goes forth from Jerusalem."

And Yuphanya ran up with violence and cast his arms upon the litter of the blessed one that it might break, and hung on by it that it might fall, and the Jews might come and burn it. And when Yuphanya cast his arms (on it), an angel of fire smote him with a sword of fire, and cut off both his arms from his armpits. And he was crying out and saying: "Ye Apostles of the Messiah, have pity upon me." The Apostles say: "Why callest thou on us? Call on my Lady Mary, whose litter thou didst wish to break." Yuphanya says: "Mother of God, have mercy on me." The holy one says: "Give him his arms." And Peter drew near, and took up the arms of Yuphanya ; and when he had spat on one of them, he said: "In the name of Mary, cleave to thy place." And he astened them, and he was healed. And Peter took a staff which he was holding, and gave it to Yuphanya, and said: "Do thou too go (and) show a great miracle with this staff to the Jews; perhaps they maybe ashamed; and tell of the holy one, what she hath done for thee." And Yuphanya went and fell down before the blessed one, and said to her: "Pray for me, that I may go forth (and) preach among the Jewish tribes, and chide them for their disbelief in thee and in thy holy Son." And he began to bless the holy one in the Hebrew tongue, citing texts from the Law and from the Prophets, until the Apostles were astonished.

And Yuphanya went away and arrived at the gate of the city, and struck the dry staff on the threshold of the gate of the city; and straightway it put out leaves and produced twigs. And the Jews saw the staff that it budded, and were ashamed. And YUphanya cried out and said: "Blessed is the Messiah, who was born of Mary." The Jews say: "What hath befallen thee, Yuphanya? "But he said: "This hath befallen me, that I am become a disciple of the Son of God and of Mary His mother; for my arms were severed from me, and I begged them of her, and she gave them to me; and when Peter had spat upon them he said: 'In the name of Mary, cleave to your place;' and he made them cleave unto me, and I was healed; and he gave me this staff, which has budded. And now I believe that she gave birth to the Son of God." The Jews say to him: "Verily thou art mad, Yuphanya." But he said: "Ay, I am mad ! Come (and) see what the dry staff can do." They say to him: "What can it do'?" He says: "Thus Peter commanded me: 'Every sick man on whom thou layest this staff, shall be healed.' "And Yuphanya went in and laid it on a blind man, and he saw the light; and every sick man on whom he laid the staff, was healed.

And he commanded every sick man who was cured to cry out: "Blessed be Mary, and blessed be her Holy Son." And Yuphanya was healing all the sick and afflicted that were in Jerusalem.

And when the Apostles had gone to the caves that were at the head of the valley, they entered and found in the innermost one a seat (or bench) of clay, and placed the couch of the Blessed One (on it)

. . . . (text unreadable) . . .

and assemblies of spiritual beings, whose troops were without numbers, and their ranks without end, who were coming and praising, band by band; and every tongue in its own language was crying glory; and they were hovering over the blessed Mary. And the chariots were coming last, one of Moses, and one of Enoch, and one of Elias; and then the blessed chariot of our Lord was coming after them. And heaven and earth were praising on that day ; and tlie dead, who were buried, gave glory from their graves. And a pleasant and sweet odour went forth from the highest heavens of His glory to all parts of creation. And they carried the blessed one to Paradise with this glory, and her holy body was placed there. And when she was carried up and reached the gate of Paradise, the sword that surrounds Paradise was taken away, and the holy one went in with glory that is unspeakable into Paradise, the celestials and terrestrials being intermingled.

And they placed her in boundless light amid the delicious trees of the Paradise of Eden; and they exalted her with glory on which the eye of flesh is not able to gaze. And our Life-giver stretched out His hand and blessed Mary; and He was raised up from beside her to His glorious Father, and His promise is life to all those who believe in Him. Then the twelve Apostles returned to the Mount of Olives in the same clouds of light, and went and kneeled down and prayed, thinking and saying: "Great is the glory which our eyes have beheld at the departure of the blessed one." And again they prayed and said: "Lord, give unto us that we may command the people and nations concerning the commemoration of Thy mother, that they may make unto her commemorations and offerings from year to year; because we know that every one who makes unto her an offering and takes refuge with her before Thee, when he cries unto Thee, Thou wilt answer him; for there is no other God but Thee, who art worshipped and glorified along with Thy Father and Thy Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen. Happy are they who make a commemoration of the mother who bore Thee; and happy are we, who have been deemed worthy to be blessed by her, and have seen glorious things, Therefore, Lord, as Thy Holy Spirit promised us and said, do Thou give us power on the last day, when Thou comest, that we may sit on twelve thrones and judge the twelve tribes of Israel, who have not believed in Thee, nor in the mother who bore Thee. And let us confess the glorious Trinity, Father and Son and Holy Spirit, for ever and ever, Amen." And may Thy mercy. Lord, and Thy grace, and Thy goodness, and the forgiveness and pardon of Thy compassion, come and be poured out on the "(writer,) feeble and sinful and stained with crimes; and through the prayers of Thy mother, pardon his faults and sins; and forgive all the shortcomings of every one who participates (in his work); now, and at all times, and for ever and ever,

Amen.

(Here) ends the history of the Departure of the Mother of Grod, the blessed mother. May her prayers be with us.

THE OBSEQUIES OF THE HOLY VIRGIN

From Syriac-Aramaic manuscripts of the British Museum
Translation: William Wright, 1865
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 4th centuries A.D.

. . . . (the beginning of the text is lost.) . . .

"And he gave a sign to his father that he might know God. And the son answered and said to his father: 'I beg of thee, my father, if I have found grace in thine eyes, bring a httle of our earnings (Literally, toil.), and give it to this one who is afflicting my soul, that perchance he may leave me and I may not die.' Then his father brought the half of his property, and placed it before his beloved son, and answered and said with a loud voice: 'I beg of him who is afflicting the soul of my son, take these goods, and grant me the life of my son.' And after these things the boy was greatly afflicted; and again he answered and said to his father: 'My father, he who is afflicting my soul does not cease from me; perhaps what thou hast brought to him is altogether too little for him; and because he has seen that it is too little for him, he afflicts me exceedingly.' And his father arose, and brought all that he possessed, and along with it he borrowed other (property) and brought it, and placed it before his beloved son, and said with a loud voice: 'I beg of him who is afflicting the soul of my son, take all that I have, and leave me only my son.' But the boy was greatly afflicted; and when he was near death, he turned to his father and said to him: 'My father, thou seest that neither gold nor silver nor any thing else can be given for life, save a heart that is sincere towards God. Rise therefore, my father, and take these goods, and build with them places for strangers, that they may enter in and dwell and rest in them; and give also of them to the poor and orphans, and we shall find peace for our souls.' These things the son said to his father, and his life ended; and his father did all that his son had said to him. And when eight days were past, and they did not come to king Solomon, according to the covenant they had made before him, that after seven days they would go to him—and the eighth (day) passed, and the ninth, and they did not go to king Solomon—the king sent after them, saying: 'Why are ye not come, that I might settle (matters) between you, as I said unto you V And the father of the boy answered and said: 'My lord, lo it is eight days since my son departed out of the world. Had I known he was dying, I would have given all I had to my son not to distress him; but all that he said to me, I have done.' And when Solomon heard this from the man, he said: 'The evil spirits know what is going to happen. Because of this, men say, 'It is not they who mock at us,' because they do not know the things which are said by them.'

"Then the Apostles gave their assent to what Paul said; for they were wishing him to speak again with them, that he might not press them, and they might (not) reveal to him the glorious secrets which our Lord taught. And again all the Apostles answer and say to Paul: "Brother Paul, speak to us with words, because we hearken unto thee kindly; for our Lord hath sent thee to us to gladden us during these three days." And Paul answered and said to Peter; "Since ye have riot chosen to reveal to me the great things of Jesus, yet ye will inform me, if ye go forth, what ye will preach and teach; (for) I too, would know how to teach with your doctrine." Peter says to him: "Brother Paul, this word that thou hast spoken is good. Since then thou wishest to know and hear what we are going to teach and preach to men, hear, and I will tell thee. I, if I go forth to preach, will say, that no one who does not fast all his days, shall see God." Paul said to Peter: "Father Peter, what is this word that thou hast spoken? For they will not hear thy word, but will arise and slay thee; because they are wicked, and are not acquainted with God nor with fasting." And again, Paul turned to John, and said to him: "Do thou too tell us thy doctrine, father John, that I too may so teach and preach." John says to him: "I, if I go forth to teach and preach, will say, that no one who is not a virgin ail his days, is able to see God." And Paul answered and said to John: "Father John, what are these words to men who do not know God? For men who worship stones and stocks, if they hear these things from you, will throw us into and shut us up in prison." And again, Paul turned to Andrew, and said to him: "Father Andrew, do thou too tell us what is thy thought, that I too may teach and preach (it); lest perchance Peter may think that he is great and a bishop, and John also be proud of his being a virgin, and because of these things they may speak great (words)." Andrew says to Paul: "I, if I go forth to preach, will say, that no one who does not leave father and mother, and brother and sister, and children and houses, and all th^t he hath, and go out after our Lord, is able to see God." Paul says to Andrew: "Father Andrew, the words of Peter and John are light compared with thine, for thou severest every one from the earth in one moment. Who will hear your words at this time, and

lay a heavy burden on himselfV And Peter and Andrew answered and say to Paul: "Paul, friend of our soul, tell us how thou desirest that we should go forth and preach? Paul says to them: "If ye will hearken unto me, do these things, and let us devise such things as they are able to do, because they are of recent origin and know not the truth; and let us say to them these things: 'Let every man take his wife, that they may not commit adultery; and let a woman take her husband, that she may not commit adultery.' And let us appoint for them one or two days in the week, and let us not be very hard upon them, lest they become remiss and turn away. But, if they fast to-day and become a little weary, they will persevere to the time and say: 'To morrow we will not fast.' And if they come to the time for eating, and find a poor man and give to him, they will say: 'For what do we fast, if we do not give to the poor,' and they will know God in their hearts. And let us also say to them: 'Let him who is feeble, fast till the sixth hour; and let him who is able till the ninth; and him who is able, till evening.' And when we have given them to drink as it were with milk and have turned them towards us, then we will speak to them great and glorious things, words that will be useful to them."

Then all the Apostles murmured, and would not agree to the words of Paul. And as all the Apostles were sitting before the entrance of the tomb of Mary, and disputing about the words of Paul, lo, our Lord Jesus the Messiah came from heaven with the angel Michael, and sat among the Apostles, as they were disputing about the word of Paul. And Jesus answered and said: "Hail to thee, Peter the bishop, and hail to thee, John the virgin, ye who are my heirs! And hail to thee Paul, thou adviser of good things! Verily I say unto thee, Peter, that thy counsels were at all times detrimental, thine and Andrew's and John's. But I say unto you that ye should

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receive those of Paul; for I see that the whole world shall be caught in the net of Paul, and it shall prevent (or anticipate) them. And then, after these things, your maxims (or opinions) shall become known in the latter times." And our Lord turned to Paul and said to him: "Brother Paul, be not grieved that the Apostles, thy fellows, have not revealed to thee the glorious secrets; for to them have been revealed the things that are on earth, but to thee I will teach the things that are in heaven."

And after these things our Lord made a sign to Michael, and Michael began to speak with the voice of a mighty angel. And angels descended on three clouds; and the number of angels on each cloud was a thousand angels, uttering praises before Jesus. And our Lord said to Michael: "Let them bring the body of Mary into the clouds." And when the body of Mary had been brought into the clouds, our Lord said to the Apostles that they should draw near to the clouds. And when they came to the clouds, they were singing with the voice of angels. And our Lord told the clouds to go to the gate of Paradise. And when they had entered Paradise, the body of Mary went to the tree of life; and they brought her soul and made it enter into her body. And straightway our Lord dismissed the angels to their places.

And after these things the Apostles say to our Lord: "Lord, Thou didst say to us, when Thou wast with us, when we besought Thee that we might see the grave of Mary, that it would be well for us; and Thou didst say to us, 'If ye wish to see this, abide till the day of the departure of Mary, and I will lead you and ye shall see dreadful things.

The dreadful place of torment which the Disciples begged of our Lord that they might see.

And when these things were said by the blessed Apostles, our Lord made a sign with his eyes, and a cloud snatched away the Apostles and Mary and Michael, and our Lord along with them, and carried them to where the sun sets, and left them there. And our Lord spake with the angels of the pit, and the earth sprang upwards, and the pit was revealed in the midst of the earth. And our

Lord gave place to the Apostles, that they might look, as they were wishing. And when they drew near and looked into the pit, those who were in the pit saw Michael; and there was a great weeping and groaning; and they answered and say to Michael: "Michael, chief of the angels, Michael our strength, Michael our general, hast thou prevailed to-day in thy contest on our behalf? For thou hast forgotten us during all this lapse of time. Why dost thou not beg on our behalf from our Lord, that he would grant us a little respite from torment." And as soon as Mary and the Apostles saw (this), they fell on the ground

because of the distress of those who were in the pit. And our Lord raised them up and said to them: "ye Apostles, rise and learn; for I told you beforehand that ye would not be able to endure the sight of these things. If I had conveyed you to that outer place where there is not a breath of mankind, and where there are many torments which differ from one anoth er, what would have

become of you? "Then Michael spoke to those who were in the pit, and said to them: "My sons, the Lord liveth, the Lord liveth; He liveth who is about to come to judge the dead and the quick; He liveth who hath power over all creatures; for there are twelve hours in the day and twelve in the night, and these are nnmbered with praise, and offering goeth up to God; and the angels fall down and worship His grace, and intercede for all creation, and for all mankind. And the angel who is set over the waters, drew near and besought God, saying: 'Let the fountains of waters increase because of the race of men;

for they are Thy image and Thy likeness, Lord. On this account I beseech Thee to hear me, for I am Thy minister. Let thy mercy be upon the waters, and let them increase over the whole earth, . . .'"

. . . . (text unreadable) . . .

"' . . .and I will place them in a secret place under the hand of thy power, that they may not find them. And when I have done this, they will not be able to flee and leave them; for we have heard that Joseph, when he was dying,

made the children of his people swear that, when they were going up, his bones should go up along with them; and when I have done this, they will not be able to flee, unless they take them along with them, and they will remain under thy power in Egypt.' And after these things. Pharaoh, king of Egypt, arose, and ordered that a pit should be (made) in the midst of the river. And he took the bones of Joseph, and placed them in a . . . box, and smeared it with bitumen . . . , and inscribed the name of Joseph in a roll, (writing) ' These are the bones of Joseph.' And he put the roll in the box, and commanded that it should be placed in the centre of the pit in the middle of the river. And when Pharaoh went in, he laid hard work upon the children of Israel, and said to them that they should go forth. And the children of Israel answered and say to Moses: 'Let us go forth first to the bones of our brother Joseph, because he made our fathers swear that his bones should go up along with the children of Israel.' But Moses went, and did not find them; for the children of Israel did not know that Pharaoh had taken them away from them. And when they did not find them, they rent their garments and wept bitterly; and they groaned and cried unto God, and Moses along with them: 'Lord God of our fathers, why hast Thou forsaken Thy people? For Thou didst turn unto us; and after Thou didst turn. Thou hast turned away Thy mercy from us, and we are become like a desert land, which has not seen water.' And after along time, the river was laid bare. And when it was laid bare and had passed away, the children of Israel cried unto the Lord and say: 'The sin and folly of Thy people, 'Lord, Thou hast remembered; on this account Thou hast concealed the bones of our brother Joseph, that we might remain in this bondage for ever. And now turn unto us, Lord, and deliver Thy people from the slavery of Pharaoh.' And when these things were said by Moses and by the whole people, I came and spoke, I Michael the angel, and said to Moses: 'Moses, Moses, God hath heard your groan. Kise and go to the river, and smite the waters with thy staff, and the hidden treasure shall be laid bare before thee.' What thinkest thou, Mary's As soon as Moses smote the river, did not the box in which Joseph was placed, appear and come to the dry land? And Moses opened it, and found the roll in which was written, 'These are the bones of Joseph'; and he took them and conveyed them to their land unto their fathers. And after a long

time . . .

. . . . (text unreadable) . . .

. . . them according to their wish. And He sent by the hand of the Apostles to them (to ask,) were these things not so? And He said: "These are the shepherds of the house of Israel, who are praying for the sheep, that they may be sanctified and made glorious before the sons of men; and themselves they are not able to sanctify, because they exalt themselves like the strong. Did I not give them many signs? And the Apostles said: "Lord, lo, they beseech and pray and repent, and kneel upon their knees. Why dost Thou not hear them? Our Lord says unto them: "I too was willing to hear them, but there is deception in them, (as) ye too know." And when Jesus wished to show the Apostles for what reason He did not hear them. He took them up to a mountain, and let them become hungry. And when the Apostles had gone, they asked of Him and say to Him: "Lord, we are hungry; what have we then to eat in this desert? And Jesus said to them, to go to the trees which were before them. And He said to them: "Go to those trees Avhich are overagainst us, whose branches are many and fair and beautiful at a distance, and from them ye shall get food." And when the Apostles went, they did not find fruit on the trees. And they returned to Jesus and say: "Good Teacher, Thou didst send us to those trees which are over against us, and we went and found on them no fruit, but only branches, which were fair and beautiful, but there was no fruit on them." And Jesus said to them: "Ye have not seen them, because the trees grow straight upwards. Go therefore at once, because the trees are bending themselves, and ye shall find on them fruit, and get yourselves food." And when they went, they found the trees bending down, but they did not find fruit upon them. And they returned again to Jesus in great distress, and say to Him: "What is this, Teacher, that we are mocked? For at first Thou didst say to us, 'Ye shall find trees which are straight, and there is fruit on them;' and we found none. Why are we mocked? But it is fitting that Thou shouldest teach us, what this is that has happened; for we think that what Thou didst wish to teach us is false; for by a visible power the trees were laid hold of and bent down. If this be a temptation, make known to us what it is." And Jesus said to them: "Go and sit under them, and ye shall see what it is that abides on them, but ye shall not be able to bend them again." And when the Apostles went and sat under the trees, straightway the trees threw down stinking worms. And the Apostles came again to Jesus and say to him: "Teacher, dost Thou wish to lead us astray, or to turn us away from this . . . ?"

. . . . (the end of the text is lost.) . . .

HOMILY CONCERNING THE HOLY MOTHER OF GOD

An Ante-Nicene Homily of Gregory Thaumaturgus.
by Gregory Thaumaturgus
The Expositor, 5th series vol.3 (1896) pp.161-173
Translation: Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare, 1896
Estimated Range of Dating: 230–270 A.D.

(Gregory Thaumaturgus or Gregory the Miracle-Worker [Greek: Gregorios ho Thaumatourgos; Latin: Gregorius Thaumaturgus; c. 213–270 AD], also known as Saint Gregory of Neo-Caesarea [Neocaesarea, modern Niksar, then the capital of the area of Pontus in Asia Minor.], was a Christian bishop of the 3rd century AD.

Gregory was born to a wealthy pagan family. Little is known of his pastoral work, and his surviving theological writings are in an incomplete state. This lack of knowledge partially obscures his personality, despite his historical importance, and his immemorial title Thaumaturgus, "the wonder-worker" in Latinised Greek, casts an air of legend about him.

The translator F. C. Conybeare wrote about this text: The following Armenian homily of Gregory Thaumaturgus was printed for the first time in the journal called Ararat, of the convent of Etschmiadzin, for September, 1895. It is unknown in Greek. The text so printed, and here translated, is contained in an old book of homilies in the Etschmiadzin library. It is also found in a Manuscript of San Lazaro, Djarrentir, No. 3; but apparently without title.

It is quite in the style of the other homilies ascribed to this father. These are by some [e.g., Harnack, Altchristliche Literatur bis Eusebius, p. 431] accounted spurious. Why I cannot understand; for they are found, whether in Greek, or in Syriac, or in Armenian, with the constant ascription to this Gregory. Why should a later age have forged an entire series of homilies and ascribed them to him? I If they were Tentenzschriften, i.e., homilies written with a certain and marked doctrinal bias of some kind, their forgery would be intelligible. But they cannot be accused of being this. They are just the pious and rather rhetorical outpourings of a devout and simple mind.

This homily may therefore be accepted as an example of the Pulpit eloquence of this Gregory. About the middle of the third century it must have stirred some congregation in Neo-Caesarea. It is very florid, and in its refrains more like a hymn than a sermon. To a modern reader it must needs appear a rather tawdry effort. But the image of Christ as Spring in §26 in a measure redeems the whole piece, and some other thoughts as well are prettily worked out.

The Armenian is often obscure, and contains several compounds not otherwise known. I have rendered it quite literally. It was made from Greek. For convenience I have broken it up into sections, adding in square brackets the few words required here and there to make grammar or sense.)

The Homily of St. Gregory the Wonder-worker, concerning the Holy Mother of God, ever-virgin.

1 When I remember the disobedience of Eve, I weep. But when I view the fruit of Mary, I am again renewed. Deathless by descent, invisible through beauty, before the ages light of light; of God the Father wast Thou begotten; being Word and Son of God, Thou didst take on flesh from Mary Virgin, in order that Thou mightest renew afresh Adam fashioned by Thy holy hand.

2 Holy, deathless, eternal, inaccessible, without change, without turn, True Son of God art Thou before the ages; yet wast pleased to be conceived and formed in the womb of the Holy Virgin, in order that Thou mightest make alive once more man first fashioned by Thy holy hand, but dead through sin.

3 By the good pleasure Thou didst issue forth, by the good pleasure and will of the invisible Father. Wherefore we all invoke Thee, calling Thee King. Be Thou our succour; Thou that wast born of the Virgin and wrapt in swaddling clothes and laid in the manger, and wast suckled by Mary; to the end that Thou mightest make alive once more the first-created Adam that was dead through sin.

4 Feasted with knowledge from the Divine knowledge, let us emit like a fountain the sweetly sounding hymns of praise; let us glorify the sweet powers of the Divine Word. With sweetly sounding doctrine let us send forth praise worthy of the Divine grace; forasmuch as earth, and sea, and all created things, visible and invisible, bless and glorify God's love for man; for that His majesty was among [us]. For being God He appeared in the flesh, and taking on Himself extreme humility, was born of the Holy Virgin, to the end that He might renew afresh him that was dead through disobedience.

5 Turn ye, O congregations, and come. Let us all praise Him that is born of the Virgin. For that being the glory and image before the ages of the Godhead, He yet became a fellow-sufferer with us of poverty. Being the exceeding magnifical power [and] image of God, He took on the form of a slave. He that putteth on the light as a garment, consorted with men as one that is vile. He that is hymned by cherubim and by myriad angels, as a citizen on earth doth He live. He that being before (all) maketh all creation alive, was born of the Holy Virgin, in order that He might make alive once more the first created.

6 Christ our God took on [Himself] to begin life as man (lit. the beginning of humanity), being yet a sharer of the [life] without beginning of God the Father; in order to lift up unto the beginningless beginning of the Godhead man that was fallen.

7 And He took the form of a slave from the Holy Virgin, in order to call us up to the glorified dominical image. He put on the outward shape made of clay, that He might make [us] sharers of the heavenly form. He sat in the lap of the Holy Virgin, that He might place us on the right hand in the intimacy of His Father. In a vile body was He; and by means of the same He was laid in a tomb, that He might manifest us heirs of eternal life. In the womb of the Holy Virgin was He,

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the incomprehensible (or inaccessible) one, confined; in order that He might renew the Adam destroyed through sin.

8 Power of the Father and living font, Christ our God, [He] is the life-fraught mystery, in whom even through [His] living voice we believed; life without end He freely bestows on those who hope in Him, and with the Spirit of grace He illumines the races of men. From this fountain, living and ever-flowing and of sweet taste, whosoever in faith are athirst are filled and sated.

9 Wherefore even with one voice [let us sing the praises] of God the Word, that according to the worthiness of each is cause and promoter of salvation, unto young men and old, and unto children and women. For from Mary, the divine fountain of the ineffable Godhead, gushes forth grace and free gift of the Holy Spirit. From a single Holy Virgin the Pearl of much price proceeded, in order to make alive once more the first-created man that was dead through sin.

10 He is the Sun of Righteousness, dawning upon earth; and in the fashion of a man He deigned to come unto our race. Having hidden in the coarse matter of humanity the effulgent splendour of His Godhead, and having filled [us] with the Divine Spirit, He hath also made us worthy to sing unto Him the angelic hymn of praise.

11 Let us twine, as with a wreath, the souls (or selves) [of them that love the festival and love to hearken (These words are added in brackets in the Armenian text.) with golden blossoms, fain to be crowned with wreaths from the unfading gardens; and offering in our hands the fair-fruited flowers of Christ, let us gather [them]. For the God-like temple of the Holy Virgin is meet to be glorified with such a crown; because the illumining Pearl cometh forth, to the end that it may raise up again into the ever-streaming light them that were gone down into darkness and the shadow of death.

12 Regaled with the medicine (lit. poison) of the Divine words of Christ unto the grace of the same, let us send up unto Him some worthy hymn. Let us hasten to gather up the fruits of the mystery of immortality. Let us hasten to inhale the perfume of the God-clad symmetry (or harmony). In [our] language let us luxuriate in the Divine grace, and let us hasten to drive away from us the foul odour of sin. Let us rather clothe us in the sweet savour of the works of righteousness. Having put on ourselves the breastplate of faith, and the garb of a virtuous life, and the holy and spotless raiment of purity, let us fast (or? keep guard). For He is excellence, and hath His dwelling with peace, and is yoke-fellow of love and consorteth [therewith]; a blossom smelling of hope. And the lambs which in faith browse upon this shoot forth the light-like rod of the Trinity. But we, O my friends, resorting to the garden of the Saviour, let us praise the Holy Virgin; saying along with the angels in the language of Divine grace, "Rejoice thou and be glad." For from her first shone forth the eternally radiant light, that lighteth us with its goodness.

13 The Holy Virgin is herself both an honourable temple of God and a shrine made pure, and a golden altar of whole burnt offerings. By reason of her surpassing purity [she is] the Divine incense of oblation, and oil of the holy grace, and a precious vase bearing in itself the true nard; [yea and] the priestly diadem revealing the good pleasure of God, whom she alone approacheth holy in body and soul. [She is] the door which looks eastward, and by the comings in and goings forth the whole earth is illuminated. The fertile olive from which the Holy Spirit took the fleshly slip (or twig) of the Lord, and saved the suffering race of men. She is the boast of virgins, and the joy of mothers; the declaration of archangels, even as it was spoken: "Be thou glad and rejoice, the Lord with thee"; and again, "from thee"; in order that He may make new once more the dead through sin.

14 Thou didst allow her to remain a virgin, and wast pleased, O Lord, to lie in the Virgin's womb, sending in advance the archangel to announce it [to her]. But he from above, from the ineffable hosts, came unto Mary, and first heralded to her the tidings: "Be thou glad and rejoice." And he also added, "The Lord with thee. Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb." But she was in tumult, and pondered in her mind what sort of tidings was this. But then in seemly fashion, I ween, the grace chose out the Holy Virgin; for she was wise in all ways, nor was there her like among women of all nations.

15 Not as the first virgin did she, being alone in the garden, with loose and effeminate thought accept the advice of the serpent and destroy the thought of her heart; through whom came all the toil and sorrow of the saint. But such was the Holy Virgin that by her the former's transgressions also were rectified. Nor, like Sarah, when she had good tidings that she would bear a son, did she rashly laugh; nor like Rebekah, who, with the temper of a deserter, accepted the ornaments, and willingly gave water to drink unto the camels of her betrothed. And unlike all other women, she did not accept the grace of greeting indiscreetly (or without testing it), but only through thought bright and clear (or through glittering thought).

16 Whence then dost thou bring with thee to us such a blessing? and [out] of what treasure-houses has been sent to us the Pearl of the Word? I would fain know what is the gift, and who is bearer of the Word, or indeed who is the sender thereof. From heaven thou earnest, the form of man thou displayest, and dost radiate forth a blaze (or torch) of light.

17 These things in herself the Holy Virgin asked in doubt. But the angel with such words as these solved her doubts: "The Holy Spirit shall come unto thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee. Wherefore thou shalt conceive and shalt bear a Son, and shalt call His name Jesus, unto the end that He save the race of men from the death of sin."

18 The Virgin spake in turn unto the angel: My mind swims in thy words as in a sea. How shall this be unto me? for I desire not to know an earthly man, because I have devoted myself to the heavenly Bridegroom. I desire to remain a virgin. I wish not to betray the honour of my virginity.

19 Again in such words as these the angel confirmed the holy Virgin: Fear not, Mary. For 'tis not to frighten thee I came, but to dispel all thought of fear. Fear not, Mary; for thou hast found grace at God's hands. Scan not too narrowly the grace, since it deigns not to give way to the laws of nature. The Holy Spirit shall come unto thee; wherefore that which is born of thee is holy and Son of God, sharer of the form and sharer of the substance, and sharer of the eternity of the Father; in whom the Father, having acquired all manifestations, hath the adumbration (? of Himself) face to face, (The Armenian is obscure, but this seems to be the sense.) and by means of the light the glory gleameth forth.

20 Great is the mystery. Thou hast learned, O Mary, that which till now was hidden from angels. Thou hast known that which deaf prophets and patriarchs heard not; and thou hast heard that which the choirs of the God-clad were not ever held worthy to hear. David and Isaiah, and all the prophets foretold in their preaching about the Lord's becoming man. But do thou alone, O Holy Virgin, receive the mystery unknown by them, and learn and be not perplexed as to how this shall be unto thee. For He that fashioned man out of virgin soil, the Selfsame shall even now do as. He will for the salvation of His creature.

21 New radiance now of eternal light gleams forth for us in the inspired fitness (or harmony) of these words. Now is it meet and fitting for me to wonder after the manner of the Holy Virgin, to whom in seemly wise before all things the angel gave salutation thus: "Be thou glad and rejoice"; because with her are quickened and live, all the treasures of grace. Among all nations she alone was both virgin and mother and without knowledge of man, holy in body and soul. Among all nations she alone was made worthy to bring forth God; alone she carried in her Him (Or suffered Him who carries.) who carries along all by His word.

22 And not only is it meet to marvel at the beauty of the Holy Mother of God, but also at the excellence of her spirit. Wherefore were addressed to her the words: "The Lord with thee"; and again also, "The Lord from thee." As if this: " He will save him that is in His image as being pitiful." As purse of the Divine mystery the Holy Virgin made herself ready, in which the Pearl of Life was enveloped in flesh and sealed; and she also became the receptacle of supramundane and Divine salvation.

23 Therefore let us also come, O my friends, and discharge our debt according to our ability; and following the voice of the archangel, let us cry aloud: "Be thou glad and rejoice; the Lord with thee." Nor any heavenly bridegroom He, but the very Lord Himself, the Father of purity and the guardian of virginity, and the Lord of holiness, the creator of inviolability, and the giver of freedom, overseer of salvation, and ordainer of true wisdom and bestower thereof----the Lord Himself with thee; for as much as even in thee the Divine grace reposed [and] upon thee, in order to make alive the race of men like a compassionate Lord.

24 Not any more doth Adam fear the crafty serpent; because our Lord is come and hath dispersed the host of the enemy. Not any more doth the race of men fear the craftiness and mad deceit of the serpent, because the Lord hath bruised the head of the dragon in the water of baptism. Not any more do I fear to hear the words: Dust thou wast, and unto dust shalt thou be turned. For the Lord in baptism hath washed away the stain of sin. Not any more do I weep, nor ever lament, nor ever reckon it again to wretchedness, when the thorns wound me. For our Lord hath plucked out by the roots the sins which are our thorns (Lit., of our thorns.), and hath crowned His head withal. Loosed is the first curse in which He said: Thorns and thistles shall earth bring forth to thee, for the thorn is plucked out by the roots, and the thistle withered up; and from the Holy Virgin hath shot up the tree of life and grace. No more doth Eva fear the reproach of the pangs of childbirth; for by the Holy Virgin her transgressions are blotted out and effaced; forasmuch as in her was God born, to the end that He might make alive him whom He made in His image.

25 A bulwark of imperishable life hath the Holy Virgin become unto us, and a fountain of light to those who have faith in Christ; a sunrise of the reasonable light is she found to be. Be thou glad and rejoice. The Lord with thee and from thee, who in His Godhead and His manhood is perfect, in whom dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead: "Be glad and rejoice, the Lord with thee and from thee" ----with His handmaid the Lord of glory; with her that is unspotted, He that halloweth all; with the beautiful, He who is wonderful in beauty above all the sons of men, to the end that He may make alive him whom He made in His image.

26 In the Divine words of the Teacher we believe and rejoice; for with roses and lilies and fragrant wreaths Christ, our imperishable Spring, hath come unto us, and hath filled the fair garden of the churches, even the seed-plots of our hearts, from the paradise of God. So then with holy heart let us draw nigh, and find the golden faith gleaming wide and the fruits of immortality smelling sweet therein. For in the desert of Mary the fair-fruited tree hath shot up, that like one holy and pitiful, He may make alive His creature.

27 Holy and wise in all things was the all-blessed Virgin; in all ways peerless among all nations, and unrivalled among women. Not as the first virgin Eva, who being alone in the garden, was in her weak mind led astray by the serpent; and so took his advice and brought death into the world; and because of that hath been all the suffering of saints. But in her alone, in this Holy Virgin Mary, the Stem of Life hath shot up for us. For she alone was spotless in soul and body.

28 With intrepid mind she spake to the angel: Whence is this salutation, and how shall this be unto me? Dost thou desire to learn how the exceeding magnifical power becomes a fellow-sufferer with us of our poverty? How He that hath power over the hosts assumes the image of our baseness; and how He who is God before the ages is about to become a child and be made flesh, He that putteth on light as a garment and giveth life unto His creature. Grant me, said the Holy Virgin, to learn such an impenetrable mystery, and I become the vessel that receives the Divine mystery (or thought), being overshadowed by the Holy Spirit, and [I am] to receive the truth of His flesh in my flesh, unto the building by Wisdom of her abode.

29 The Word becometh flesh and dwelleth in us, that is, in the same flesh, which it took from us; and by the spirit of its native self (or soul) it spiritualises [itself]. And the unchangeable God accepts the form of a slave, to the end that He be regarded by the faithful as man; but that He may be manifested as God to the unfaithful, in order to renew the first-created.

30 The element of flesh doth the Son of God take from the Holy Virgin, for before the ages He is God. He hath deigned to be born, and to be called Son of man, and to become visible, He the invisible; and for our sake to be poor, who is all riches; and to suffer as man, He the impassible and deathless. For with (or in) the flesh in truth He was united, but He was not changed in spirit. In a mortal body the Invisible One was enveloped, that He might make it also deathless, making it sharer of His deathlessness through His Godhead; to the end that He might renew him that was fashioned by His holy hands.

31 Glory and light are come into the world, Christ our God. He glorifies and illumines with His ever-streaming light, to whom the voice of the unseen Father bore witness: "Yonder is My Son and Word, who is before the ages."

32 But Mary was fortified by the word of the angel; but pondered in herself the birth of the Lord, confronted with the disparity of human thought. Now she lifted herself up to the lofty plane of the Divine, now again her mind was occupied with the lowliness of humanity. And thus as in the scale of reflection she balances the one and the other; even in that moment she becometh truly worthy of the design (or mind, or? entrance) of God. For she (or He) that preserved the treasure of her virginity pure and untarnished, she (or He) also made the boundaries of her heart inviolate. And the creature is saved which He made in His image.

33 Christ, Son of God, who was born of the Holy Virgin Mary, hath come as grace into the world; because by means of grace He hath made us alive, He that fashioned all things. Now that Christ is born into the world, doth all creation dance. He giveth in exchange His temptation, the coin of long-suffering, that He may claim (for us) the mansions of the kingdom. The Holy Virgin was filled with joy because He took from her His flesh, to the end that He might raise again him that was fallen under sin.

34 Evil thoughts are turned from us, when we sing psalms to Thee, O heavenly and holy Father; beholding the great light which Thou hast given to us, Jesus Christ, who was born of the Holy Virgin and wrought by means of His Godhead wonders; but for our sake accepted sufferings by means of His flesh. We then* also still being in the flesh will hasten in body and soul to make the Deity propitious to us with angelic hymns, touching with our hands in figurative wise the divine [element] of the dogma (?), and will sow in our minds (or in our mysteries) the truth of faith. For the mystery (or thought) is inaccessible, invisible, unchangeable, not to be circumscribed, worshipped in its fulness and marvelled at in [our] mind. (* The entire sentence from "we then" to "truth of faith" is obscure and ungrammatical in the Armenian, and I have only conjectured its meaning. In Latin it would = "Ergo et nos anima et corpore, etiam nunc esse in corpore, divinum illud angelicis hymnis propitium esse nobis solliciti erimus

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facere, manu tangentes per figuram divinum illud doctrinae veritatem fidei in cogitationibus nostris seremus." Of the words rendered doctrina; and propitium I am not sure. The word baremnatzo, which I render propitium, is unknown, but should mean "well-remaining." I take it to be a misrendering of εὐμενής. The word rendered by cogitatio may also mean "mystery" or "sacrament"; and possibly the entire passage refers to the continued existence in the sacrament of the body of Christ.) For even the Holy Virgin herself had marvelled at the manner of the mystery (or thought). How could the splendour of light become the offspring of a woman? She embraced in herself the treasure of life, and pondered in her mind the salutation of the archangel; until in the completion (of time) she bore the fruit of salvation, that it might save (or make alive) man.

35 Therefore, O ye fair-fruited and comely branches of Christ's teaching, ye shall in this place bring to us the fruits of blessing. Here, where is all purity and fragrance, let us offer to God with holy conscience the incense of prayer. Here, where virginity and temperance dance together, bearing for fruit the life-giving cluster of grapes. Here, where they . . . unto us the . . . of victorious power and the treasure of love (The Armenian Manuscript is mutilated here.). Here, where the mystery of the Holy Trinity was revealed by the archangel to the Holy Virgin according to the gospel: "The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee and the power of the most High shall overshadow thee. For Holy is that which is born of thee, Son of God." To whom be glory and honour for ever and ever.

THE FALLING ASLEEP OF MARY,
BY JOHN THE THEOLOGIAN
(The Account of St, John the Theologian
of the Falling Asleep of the Holy Mother of God.)
From New Testament Apocryphal Writings
Translation: James Orr, 1903
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 4th centuries A.D.

(The cult of Mary the mother of Jesus became an important part of the Roman Church doctrine as it should appeal to the women of the Roman Empire. The Jesus we know today has hardly anything to do with the real Jesus; this character was a creation of Paul, also known as the Roman citizen Saul of Tarsos. In order to give Jesus a god-like status, early Christians of the Roman Church invented the virginity of Mary the mother of Jesus. Other family members of Jesus have been written out of history such as the four brothers of Jesus [James, Simeon, Joses and Judas]. They would have disturbed the divine character of Paul's Jesus. However, the virginity itself is not entirely fictionous as James, the elder brother of Jesus [and first leader of the Christian movement as Bishop of Jerusalem], was the real 'perpetual virgin' of that family, he was the only family member who never married.

The Falling Asleep of Mary. More fully, The Account of St. John the Theologian of the Falling Asleep (koimesis) of the Holy Mother of God. This Greek writing (in five MSS.), or a more original form of it, is probably the basis of the large family of versions (Latin, Syriac, Arabic, Sahidic) of the work widely circulating in the fifth century under the name, The Passing or Departure of Mary (Transitus Maries). A book bearing this name is condemned as apocryphal in the decree of Gelasius (c. 494 A.D.). Its popularity, however, is evidenced by the number of early versions which exist of it. These show at the same time that, in the strong trend of their age to Mary-worship, the fifth-century writers used the largest freedom in recomposing, amplifying, embellishing, and otherwise altering, the narrative they had received, to suit their own tastes. The longer Syriac-Aramaic version (Wright, Lewis, Harris), e.g., extends to five (or six) books, and in translation occupies about fifty-seven of Mrs. Lewis's large pages (in Wright, thirty pages of J.S.L.). Long episodes are introduced, as that of a controversy between believers and unbelievers before the governor at Jerusalem, which certainly had no place in the original story. The nucleus or groundwork of the narrative, however, can readily be distinguished. Mary, persecuted by the Jews for her visits to the tomb of Jesus, prays to her Son that He would take her from the earth; and Jesus, through the angel Gabriel, grants her prayer (according to a Latin version, Jesus had promised to let her know of her death the third day before). Betaking herself to Bethlehem with her virgins, she prays that John and all the other Apostles may be sent to her, and this request also Christ grants. Accordingly, John from Ephesus, and the other Apostles from the different countries whither they are scattered, are brought, each in a cloud of light, to the death-bed of Mary. The Apostles also who had died are brought temporarily from their graves to her chamber. At Mary's desire, each narrates how and where he received his summons. The wonders attending Mary's last hours, the miracles of healing wrought by her, and the instantaneous transportation of herself and the Apostles back to Jerusalem, to escape the rage of the Jews, are then described. On the Lord's day, amidst visions of angels and heavenly signs, Christ Himself appears, and receives her soul to Himself. The burial of her body, with miraculous accessories, follows; finally, according to Christ's promise, her body also is translated to Paradise (the old Eden, but an abode of bliss). The versions vary a good deal in this part; some (Syriac) making the removal to a cave outside Jerusalem precede the death; another (Tischendorf's second Latin) making Christ raise Mary from the dead and transport her body to heaven after she had been buried in a new tomb. In the piece here printed this story is put in the form of narrative into the mouth of the Apostle John. Its account is probably nearer the original than any of the other versions. Even in its simplest form, however, the book represents an advanced stage of Mary worship and Church ritual such as cannot be earlier than the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century. Mary is the Blessed One, Our Lady, the Mother of God (theotokos), sinless, incorrupt in body as in soul, the intercessor for the world with Christ, adored of men and angels, a worker of miracles, etc. The assumption of her body to Paradise is already an article of belief (if, indeed, this composition is not the origin of that belief). Church ritual and ceremony are carried back to the days of the Apostles in this story. This story is also an Anti-Jewish propaganda paper. Hence its importance in the study of the history of Catholic theology.)

As the all-holy glorious mother of God and ever-virgin Mary, as was her wont, was going to the holy tomb of our Lord to burn incense, and bending her holy knees, she was importunate Sepulchre that Christ our God who had been born of her should return to her. And the Jews, seeing her lingering by the divine sepulchre, came to the chief priests, saying: Mary goes every day to the tomb.

And the chief priests, having summoned the guards set by them not to allow any one to pray at the holy sepulchre, inquired about her, whether in truth it were so. And the guards answered and said that they had seen no such thing, God having not allowed them to see her when there. And on one of the days, it being the preparation, the holy Mary, as was her wont, came to the sepulchre; and while she was praying, it came to pass that the heavens were opened, and the archangel Gabriel came down to her, and said: Hail, thou that didst bring forth Christ our God! Thy prayer having come through to the heavens to Him who was born of thee, has been accepted; and from this time, according to thy request, thou having left the world, shalt go to the heavenly places to thy Son, into the true and ever lasting life.

And having heard this from the holy archangel, she returned to holy Bethlehem, having along with her three virgins who ministered unto her. And after having rested a short time, she sat up and said to the virgins: Bring me a censer, that I may pray. And they brought it, as they had been commanded. And she prayed, saying: My Lord Jesus Christ, who didst deign through Thy supreme goodness to be born of me, hear my voice, and send me Thy apostle John, in order that, seeing him, I may partake of joy; and send me also the rest of Thy apostles, both those who have already gone to Thee, and those in the world that now is, in whatever country they may be, through Thy holy commandment, in order that, having beheld them, I may bless Thy name much to be praised; for I am confident that Thou nearest Thy servant in everything.

And while she was praying, I John came, the Holy Spirit having snatched me up by a cloud from Ephesus, and set me in the place where the mother of my Lord was lying. And having gone in beside her, and glorified Him who had been born of her, I said: Hail, mother of my Lord, who didst bring forth Christ our God, rejoice that in great glory thou art going out of this life. And the holy mother of God glorified God, because I John had come to her, remembering the voice of the Lord, saying: Behold Thy mother, and, Behold thy son. And the three virgins came and worshipped. And the holy mother of God says to me: Pray, and cast incense. And I prayed thus: Lord Jesus Christ, who hast done wonderful things, now also do wonderful things before her who brought Thee forth; and let Thy mother depart from this life; and let those who crucified Thee, and who have not believed in Thee, be confounded. And after I had ended the prayer, holy Mary said to me: Bring me the censer. And having cast incense, she said, Glory to Thee, my God and my Lord, because there has been fulfilled in me whatsoever Thou didst promise to me before Thou didst ascend into the heavens, that when I should depart from this world Thou wouldst come to me, and the multitude of Thine angels, with glory. And I John say to her: Jesus Christ our Lord and our God is coming, and thou seest Him, as He promised to thee. And the holy mother of God answered and said to me: The Jews have sworn that after I have died they will burn my body. And I answered and said to her: Thy holy and precious body will by no means see corruption. And she answered and said to me: Bring a censer, and cast incense, and pray. And there came a voice out of the heavens saying the Amen. And I John heard this voice; and the Holy Spirit said to me: John, hast thou heard this voice that spoke in the heaven after the prayer was ended? And I answered and said: Yes, I heard. And the Holy Spirit said to me: This voice which thou didst hear denotes that the appearance oi thy brethren the apostles is at hand, and of the holy powers that they are coming hither to-day.

And at this I John prayed.

And the Holy Spirit said to the apostles: Let all of you together, having come by the clouds from the ends of the world, be assembled to holy Bethlehem by a whirlwind, on account of the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ; Peter from Rome, Paul from Tiberia, Thomas from Hither India, James from Jerusalem. Andrew, Peter s brother, and Philip, Luke, and Simeon the Cananaean, and Thaddaeus who had fallen asleep, were raised by the Holy Spirit out of their tombs; to whom the Holy Spirit said: Do not think that it is now the resurrection; but on this account you have risen out ot your tombs, that you may go to give greeting to the honour and wonder-working of the mother of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, because the day of her departure is at hand, of her going up into the heavens. And Mark likewise coming round, was present from Alexandria; he also with the rest, as has been said before, from each country. And Peter being lifted up by a cloud, stood between heaven and earth, the Holy Spirit keeping him steady. And at the same time, the rest of the apostles also, having been snatched up in clouds, were found along with Peter. And thus by the Holy Spirit, as has been said, they all came together.

And having gone in beside the mother of our Lord and God, and having adored, we said: Fear not, nor grieve; God the Lord, who was born of thee, will take thee out of this world with glory. And rejoicing in God her Saviour, she sat up in the bed, and says to the apostles: Now have I believed that our Master and God is coming from heaven, and I shall behold Him, and thus depart from this life, as I have seen that you have come. And I wish you to tell me how you knew that I was departing and came to me, and from what countries and through what distance you have come hither, that you have thus made haste to visit me. For neither has He who was born of me, our Lord Jesus Christ, the God of the universe, concealed it; for I am persuaded even now that He is the Son of the Most High.

And Peter answered and said to the apostles: Let us each, according to what the Holy Spirit announced and commanded us, give full information to the mother of our Lord. And I John answered and said: Just as I was going in to the holy altar in Ephesus to perform divine service, the Holy Spirit says to me, The time of the departure of the mother of thy Lord is at hand; go to Bethlehem to salute her. And a cloud of light snatched me up, and set me down in the door where thou art lying. Peter also answered: And I, living in Rome, about dawn heard a voice through the Holy Spirit saying to me, The mother of thy Lord is to depart, as the time is at hand; go to Bethlehem to salute her. And, behold, a cloud of light snatched me up; and I beheld also the other apostles coming to me on clouds, and a voice saying to me, Go all to Bethlehem. And Paul also answered and said: And I, living in a city at no great distance from Rome, called the country of Tiberia, heard the Holy Spirit saying to me, The mother of thy Lord, having left this world, is making her course to the celestial regions through is her departure; but go thou also to Bethlehem to salute her. And, behold, a cloud of light having snatched me up, set me down in the same place as you. And Thomas also answered and said: And I, traversing the country of the Indians, when the preaching was prevailing by the grace of Christ, and the king's sister's son, Labdanus by name, was about to be sealed by me in the palace, on a sudden the Holy Spirit says to me, Do thou also, Thomas, go to Bethlehem to salute the mother of thy Lord, praying, the Holy Spirit snatched me up, and brought me to you. And James also answered and said: While I was in Jerusalem, the Holy Spirit commanded me, saying, Go to Bethlehem, because the of thy Lord is taking her departure. And, behold, a cloud of light having snatched me up, set me beside you. And Matthew also answered and said: I have glorified and do glorify God, because when I was in a boat and overtaken by a storm, the sea raging with its waves, on a sudden a cloud of light overshadowing the stormy billow, changed it to a calm, and having snatched me up, set me down beside you. And those who had come before likewise answered, and gave an account of how they had come. And Bartholomew said: I was in the Thebais proclaiming the word, and behold the Holy Spirit says to me, The mother of thy Lord is taking her departure; go, then, to salute her in Bethlehem. And, behold, a cloud of light having snatched me up, brought me to you.

The apostles said all these things to the holy mother of God, why they had come, and in what way; and she stretched her hands to heaven, and prayed, saying: I adore, and praise, and glorify Thy much to be praised name, O Lord, because Thou hast looked upon the lowliness of Thine handmaiden, and because Thou that art mighty hast done great things for me; and, behold, all generations shall count me blessed. And after the prayer she said because she is taking her departure to the heavens. And a cloud of light having snatched me up, set me down beside you. And Mark also answered and said: And when I was finishing the canon of the third [day] in the city of Alexandria, just as I was to the apostles: Cast incense, and pray. And when they had prayed, there was thunder from

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heaven, and there came a fearful voice, as if of chariots; and, behold, a multitude of a host of angels and powers, and a voice, as if of the Son of man, was heard, and the seraphim in a circle round the house where the holy, spotless mother of God and virgin was lying, so that all who were in Bethlehem beheld all the wonderful things, and came to Jerusalem and reported all the wonderful things that had come to pass. And it came to pass, when the voice was heard, that the sun and the moon suddenly appeared about the house; and an assembly of the first-born saints stood beside the house where the mother of the Lord was lying, for her honour and glory. And I beheld also that many signs came to pass, the blind seeing, the deaf hearing, the lame walking, lepers cleansed, and those possessed by unclean spirits cured; and every one who was under disease and sickness, touching the outside of the wall of the house where she was lying, cried out: Holy Mary, who didst bring forth Christ our God, have mercy upon us. And they were straightway cured. And great multitudes out of every country living in Jerusalem for the sake of prayer, having heard of the signs that had come to pass in Bethlehem through the mother of the Lord, came to the place seeking the cure of various diseases, which also they obtained. And there was joy unspeakable on that day among the multitude of those who had been cured, as well as of those who looked on, glorifying Christ our God and His mother. And all Jerusalem from Bethlehem kept festival with psalms and spiritual songs.

And the priests of the Jews, along with their Bethlehem people, were astonished at the things which had come to pass; and being moved with the heaviest hatred, and again with frivolous reasoning, haying made an assembly, they determine to send against the holy mother of God and the holy apostles who were there in Bethlehem. And accordingly the multitude of the Jews, having directed their course to Bethlehem, when at the distance of one mile it came to pass that they beheld a frightful vision, and their feet were held fast; and after this they returned to their fellowcountrymen, and reported all the frightful vision to the chief priests. And they, still more boiling with rage, go to the procurator, crying out and saying: The nation of the Jews has been ruined by this woman; chase her from Bethlehem and the province of Jerusalem. And the procurator, astonished at the wonderful things, said to them: I will chase her neither from Bethlehem nor from any other place.

And the Jews continued crying out, and adjuring him by the health of Tiberius Caesar to bring the apostles out of Bethlehem. And if you do not do so, we shall report it to the Caesar. Accordingly, being compelled, he sends a tribune of the soldiers against the apostles to Bethlehem. And the Holy Spirit says to the apostles and the mother of the Lord: Behold, the procurator has sent a tribune against you, the Jews having made an uproar. Go forth therefore from Bethlehem, and fear not: for, behold, by a cloud I shall bring you to Jerusalem; for the power of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit is with you. The apostles therefore rose up immediately, and went forth from the house, xo carrying the bed of the Lady the mother of God, and directed their course to Jerusalem; and immediately, as the Holy Spirit had said, being lifted up by a cloud, they were found in Jerusalem in the house of the Lady. And they stood up, and for five days made an unceasing singing of praise. And when the tribune came to Bethlehem, and found there neither the mother of the Lord nor the apostles, he laid hold of the Bethlehemites, saying to them: Did you not come telling the procurator and the priests all the signs and wonders that had come to pass, and how the apostles had come out of every country? Where are they, then? Come, go to the procurator at Jerusalem.

For the tribune did not know of the departure of the apostles and the Lord's mother to Jerusalem. The tribune then, having taken the Bethlehemites, went in to the procurator, saying that he had found no one. And after five days it was known to the procurator, and the priests, and all the city, that the Lord's mother was in her own house in Jerusalem, along with the apostles, from the signs and wonders that came to pass there. And a multitude of men and women and virgins came together, and cried out: Holy virgin, that didst bring forth Christ our God, do not forget the generation of men. And when these things came to pass, the people of the Jews, with the priests also, being the more moved with hatred, took wood and fire, and came up, wishing to burn the house where the Lord's mother was living with the apostles. And the procurator stood looking at the sight from afar off. And when the people of the Jews came to the door of the house, behold, suddenly a power of fire coming forth from within, by means of an angel, burnt up a great multitude of the Jews. And there was great fear throughout all the city; and they glorified God, who had been born of her. And when the procurator saw what had come to pass, he cried out to all the people, saying: Truly he who was born of the virgin, whom you thought of driving away, is the Son of God; for these signs are those of the true God. And there was a division among the Jews; and many believed in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, in consequence of the signs that had come to pass.

And after all these wonderful things had come to as pass through the mother of God, and ever-virgin Mary the mother of the Lord, while we the apostles were with her in Jerusalem, the Holy Spirit said to us: You know that on the Lord's day the good news was brought to the Virgin Mary by the arch-angel Gabriel; and on the Lord's day the Saviour was born in Bethlehem; and on the Lord's day the children of Jerusalem came forth with palm branches to meet Him, saying, Hosanna in the highest, blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord, and on the Lord's day He rose from the dead; and on the Lord's day He will come to judge the living and the dead; and on the Lord's day He will come out of heaven, to the glory and honour of the departure of the holy glorious virgin who brought Him forth. And on the same Lord's day the mother of the Lord says to the apostles: Cast incense, because Christ is coming with a host of angels; and, behold, Christ is at hand, sitting on a throne of cherubim. And while we were all praying, there appeared innumerable multitudes of angels, and the Lord mounted upon cherubim in great power; and, behold, a stream of light coming to the holy virgin, because of the presence of her only-begotten Son, and all the powers of the heavens fell down and adored Him. And the Lord, speaking to His mother, said: Mary. And she answered and said: Here am I, Lord. And the Lord said to her: Grieve not, but let thy heart rejoice and be glad; for thou hast found grace to behold the glory given to me by my Father.

And the holy mother of God looked up, and saw in Him a glory which it is impossible for the mouth of man to speak of, or to apprehend. And the Lord remained beside her, saying: Behold, from the present time thy precious body will be transferred to paradise, and thy holy soul to the heavens to the treasures of my Father in exceeding brightness, where there is peace and joy of the holy angels,— and other things besides. And the mother of the Lord answered and said to Him: Lay Thy right hand upon me, O Lord, and bless me. And the Lord stretched forth His undefiled right hand, and blessed her. And she laid hold of His undefiled right hand, and kissed it, saying: I adore this right hand, which created the heaven and the earth; and I call upon Thy much to be praised name Christ, O God, the King of the ages, the only-begotten of the Father, to receive Thine handmaid, Thou who didst deign to be brought forth by me, in a low estate, to save the race of men through Thine ineffable dispensation; do Thou bestow Thine aid upon every man calling upon, or praying to, or naming the name of, Thine handmaid. And while she is saying this, the apostles, having gone up to her feet and adored, say: O mother of the Lord, leave a blessing to the world, since thou art going away from it. For thou hast blessed it, and raised it up when it was ruined, by bringing forth the Light of the world. And the mother of the Lord prayed, and in her prayer spoke thus: O God, who through Thy great goodness hast sent from the heavens Thine only-begotten Son to dwell in my humble body, who has deigned to be born of me, humble (as I am), have mercy upon the world, and every soul that calls upon Thy name. And again she prayed, and said: O Lord, King of the heavens, Son of the living God, accept every man who calls upon Thy name, that Thy birth may be glorified. And again she prayed, and said: O Lord Jesus Christ, who art all-powerful in heaven and on earth, in this appeal I implore Thy holy name; in every time and place where there is made mention of my name, make that place holy, and glorify those that glorify Thee through my name, accepting of such persons all their offering, and all their supplication, and all their prayer. And when she had thus prayed, the Lord said to His mother: Let thy heart rejoice and be glad; for every favour and every gift has been given to thee from my Father in heaven, and from me, and from the Holy Spirit: every soul that calls upon thy name shall not be ashamed, but shall find mercy, and comfort, and support, and confidence, both in the world that now is, and in that which is to come, in the presence of my Father in the heavens. And the Lord turned and said to Peter: The time has come to begin the singing of the hymn. And Peter having begun the singing of the hymn, all the powers of the heavens responded with the Alleluiah. And then the face of the mother of the Lord shone brighter than the light, and she rose up and blessed each of the apostles with her own hand, and all gave glory to God; and the Lord stretched forth His undefiled hands, and received her holy and blameless soul. And with the departure of her blameless soul the place was filled with perfume and ineffable light; and, behold, a voice out of the heaven was heard, saying: Blessed art thou among women. And Peter, and I John, and Paul, and Thomas, ran and wrapped up her precious feet for the consecration; and the twelve apostles put her precious and holy body upon a couch, and carried it. And, behold, while they were carrying her, a certain well-born Hebrew, Jephonias by name, running against the body, put his hands upon the couch; and, behold, an angel of the Lord by invisible power, with a sword of fire, cut off his two hands from his shoulders, and made them hang about the couch, lifted up in the air. And at this miracle which had come to pass all the people of the Jews who beheld it cried out: Verily, He that was brought forth by thee is the true God, O mother of God, ever-virgin Mary. And Jephonias himself, when Peter ordered him, that the wonderful things of God might be showed forth, stood up behind the couch, and cried out: Holy Mary, who broughtest forth Christ who is God, have mercy upon me. And Peter turned and said to him: In the name of Him who was born of her, thy hands which have been taken away from thee, will be fixed on again. And immediately, at the word of Peter, the hands hanging by the couch of the Lady came, and were fixed on Jephonias. And he believed, and glorified Christ, God who had been born of her.

And when this miracle had been done, the apostles carried the couch, and laid down her precious and holy body in Gethsemane in a new tomb. And, behold, a perfume of sweet savour came forth out of the holy sepulchre of our Lady the mother of God; and for three days the voices of invisible angels were heard glorifying Christ our God, who had been born of her. And when the third day was ended, the voices were no longer heard; and from that time forth all knew that her spotless and precious body had been transferred to paradise.

And after it had been transferred, behold, we see Elizabeth the mother of St. John the Baptist, and Anna the mother of the Lady, and Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and David, singing the Alleluiah, and all the choirs of the saints adoring the holy relics of the mother of the Lord, and the place full of light, than which light nothing could be more brilliant, and an abundance of perfume in that place to which her precious and holy body had been transferred in paradise, and the melody of those praising Him who had been born of her— sweet melody, of which there is no satiety, such as is given to virgins, and them only, to hear. We apostles, therefore, having beheld the sudden precious translation of her holy body, glorified God, who had shown us His wonders at the departure of the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose prayers and Glory of good offices may we all be deemed worthy to receive, Mary under her shelter, and support, and protection, both in the world that now is and in that which is to come, glorifying in every time and place her only-begotten Son, along with the Father and the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen.

ACTS OF THE APOSTLE AND EVANGELIST JOHN THE THEOLOGIAN

(or The Acts of John of Patmos)
From Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 8.
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(John the Evangelist (Greek: Ioannes) is the name traditionally given to the author of the Gospel of John. Christians have traditionally identified him with John the Apostle, John of Patmos, or John the Presbyter, although this has been disputed by some modern scholars. The author of this text is unknown.)

About His Exile and Departure.

1 When Agrippa, whom, on account of his plotting against Peace, they stoned and put to death, was king of the Jews, Vespasian Caesar, coming with a great army, invested Jerusalem; and some prisoners of war he took and slew, others he destroyed by famine in the siege, and most he banished, and at length scattered up and down. And having destroyed the temple, and put the holy vessels on board a ship, he sent them to Rome, to make for himself a temple of peace, and adorned it with the spoils of war.

2 And when Vespasian (Emperor Flavius Vespasianus) was dead, his son Domitian (Flavius Domitianus), having got possession of the kingdom, along with his other wrongful acts, set himself also to make a persecution against the righteous men. For, having learned that the city was filled with Jews, remembering the orders given by his father about them, he purposed casting them all out of the city of the Romans. And some of the Jews took courage, and gave Domitian a book, in which was written as follows:—

3 O Domitian, Caesar and king of all the world, as many of us as are Jews entreat thee, as suppliants we beseech of thy power not to banish us from thy divine and benignant countenance; for we are obedient to thee, and the customs, and laws, and practices, and policy, doing wrong in nothing, but being of the same mind with the Romans. But there is a new and strange nation, neither agreeing with other nations nor consenting to the religious observances of the Jews, uncircumcised, inhuman, lawless, subverting whole houses, proclaiming a man as God, all assembling together (Tischendorf gives a conjectural reading: who is present to them when they assemble; but the mss. reading will bear the interpretation given above.) under a strange name, that of Christian. These men reject God, paying no heed to the law given by Him, and proclaim to be the Son of God a man born of ourselves, Jesus by name, whose parents and brothers and all his family have been connected with the Hebrews; whom on account of his great blasphemy and his wicked fooleries we gave up to the cross. And they add another blasphemous lie to their first one: him that was nailed up and buried, they glorify as having risen from the dead; and, more than this, they

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falsely assert that he has been taken up by (Or, in.) clouds into the heavens.

4 At all this the king, being affected with rage, ordered the senate to publish a decree that they should put to death all who confessed themselves to be Christians. Those, then, who were found in the time of his rage, and who reaped the fruit of patience, and were crowned in the triumphant contest against the works of the devil, received the repose of incorruption.

5 And the fame of the teaching of John was spread abroad in Rome; and it came to the ears of Domitian that there was a certain Hebrew in Ephesus, John by name, who spread a report about the seat of empire of the Romans, saying that it would quickly be rooted out, and that the kingdom of the Romans would be given over to another. And Domitian, troubled by what was said, sent a centurion with soldiers to seize John, and bring him. And having gone to Ephesus, they asked where John was. And having come up to his gate, they found him standing before the door; and, thinking that he was the porter, they inquired of him where John was. And he answered and said: I am here. And they, despising his common, and low, and poor appearance, were filled with threats, and said: Tell us the truth. And when he declared again that he was the man they sought, the neighbours moreover bearing witness to it, they said that he was to go with them at once to the king in Rome. And, urging them to take provisions for the journey, he turned and took a few dates, and straightway went forth.

6 And the soldiers, having taken the public conveyances, travelled fast, having seated him in the midst of them. And when they came to the first change, it being the hour of breakfast, they entreated him to be of good courage, and to take bread, and eat with them. And John said: I rejoice in soul indeed, but in the meantime I do not wish to take any food. And they started, and were carried along quickly. And when it was evening they stopped at a certain inn; and as, besides, it was the hour of supper, the centurion and the soldiers being most kindly disposed, entreated John to make use of what was set before them. But he said that he was very tired, and in want of sleep more than any food. And as he did this each day, all the soldiers were struck with amazement, and were afraid lest John should die, and involve them in danger. But the Holy Spirit showed him to them as more cheerful. And on the seventh day, it being the Lord's day, he said to them: Now it is time for me also to partake of food. And having washed his hands and face, he prayed, and brought out the linen cloth, and took one of the dates, and ate it in the sight of all.

7 And when they had ridden a long time they came to the end of their journey, John thus fasting. And they brought him before the king, and said: Worshipful king, we bring to thee John, a god, not a man; for, from the hour in which we apprehended him, to the present, he has not tasted bread. At this Domitian being amazed, stretched out his mouth on account of the wonder, wishing to salute him with a kiss; but John bent down his head, and kissed his breast. And Domitian said: Why hast thou done this? Didst thou not think me worthy to kiss thee? And John said to him: It is right to adore the hand of God first of all, and in this way to kiss the mouth of the king; for it is written in the holy books, The heart of a king is in the hand of God (Proverbs 21:1).

8 And the king said to him: Art thou John, who said that my kingdom would speedily be uprooted, and that another king, Jesus, was going to reign instead of me? And John answered and said to him: Thou also shalt reign for many years given thee by God, and after thee very many others; and when the times of the things upon earth have been fulfilled, out of heaven shall come a King, eternal, true, Judge of living and dead, to whom every nation and tribe shall confess, through whom every earthly power and dominion shall be brought to nothing, and every mouth speaking great things shall be shut. This is the mighty Lord and King of everything that hath breath and flesh (Lit., of all breath and flesh.), the Word and Son of the living One, who is Jesus Christ.

9 At this Domitian said to him: What is the proof of these things? I am not persuaded by words only; words are a sight of the unseen (Equal to our proverb, Seeing is believing.). What canst thou show in earth or heaven by the power of him who is destined to reign, as thou sayest? For he will do it, if he is the Son of God. And immediately John asked for a deadly poison. And the king having ordered poison to be given to him, they brought it on the instant. John therefore, having taken it, put it into a large cup, and filled it with water, and mixed it, and cried out with a loud voice, and said: In Thy name, Jesus Christ, Son of God, I drink the cup which Thou wilt sweeten; and the poison in it do Thou mingle with Thy Holy Spirit, and make it become a draught of life and salvation, for the healing of soul and body, for digestion and harmless assimilation, for faith not to be repented of, for an undeniable testimony of death as the cup of thanksgiving (i.e., the Eucharist.). And when he had drunk the cup, those standing beside Domitian expected that he was going to fall to the ground in convulsions. And when John stood, cheerful, and talked with them safe, Domitian was enraged against those who had given the poison, as having spared John. But they swore by the fortune and health of the king, and said that there could not be a stronger poison than this. And John, understanding what they were whispering to one another, said to the king: Do not take it ill, O king, but let a trial be made (Tischendorf conjectures this clause, as the original is illegible.), and thou shalt learn the power of the poison. Make some condemned criminal be brought from the prison. And when he had come, John put water into the cup, and swirled it round, and gave it with all the dregs to the condemned criminal. And he, having taken it and drunk, immediately fell down and died.

10 And when all wondered at the signs that had been done, and when Domitian had retired and gone to his palace, John said to him: O Domitian, king of the Romans, didst thou contrive this, that, thou being present and bearing witness, I might to-day become a murderer? What is to be done about the dead body which is lying? And he ordered it to be taken and thrown away. But John, going up to the dead body, said: O God, Maker of the heavens, Lord and Master of angels, of glories, of powers, in the name of Jesus Christ, Thine only begotten Son, give to this man who has died for this occasion a renewal of life, and restore him his soul, that Domitian may learn that the Word is much more powerful than poison, and is the ruler of life. And having taken him by the hand, he raised him up alive.

11 And when all were glorifying God, and wondering at the faith of John, Domitian said to him: I have put forth a decree of the senate, that all such persons should be summarily dealt with, without trial; but since I find from thee that they are innocent, and that their religion is rather beneficial, I banish thee to an island, that I may not seem myself to do away with my own decrees. He asked then that the condemned criminal should be let go; and when he was let go, John said: Depart, give thanks to God, who has this day delivered thee from prison and from death.

12 And while they were standing, a certain home-born slave of Domitian's, of those in the bed-chamber, was suddenly seized by the unclean demon, and lay dead; and word was brought to the king. And the king was moved, and entreated John to help her. And John said: It is not in man to do this; but since thou knowest how to reign, but dost not know from whom thou hast received it, learn who has the power over both thee and thy kingdom. And he prayed thus: O Lord, the God of every kingdom, and master of every creature, give to this maiden the breath of life. And having prayed, he raised her up. And Domitian, astonished at all the wonders, sent him away to an island, appointing for him a set time.

13 And straightway John sailed to Patmos, where also he was deemed worthy to see the revelation of the end. And when Domitian was dead, Nerva succeeded to the kingdom, and recalled all who had been banished; and having kept the kingdom for a year, he made Trajan his successor in the kingdom. And when he was king over the Romans, John went to Ephesus, and regulated all the teaching of the church, holding many conferences, and reminding them of what the Lord had said to them, and what duty he had assigned to each. And when he was old and changed, he ordered Polycarp to be bishop over the church.

14 And what like his end was, or his departure from men, who cannot give an account of? For on the following day, which was the Lord's day, and in the presence of the brethren, he began to say to them: Brethren, and fellow-servants, and co-heirs, and copartners of the kingdom of the Lord, know the Lord what miracles He hath shown you through me, what wonders, what cures, what signs, what gracious gifts, teachings, rulings, rests, services, glories, graces, gifts, faiths, communions; how many things you have seen with your eyes, that ear hath not heard. Be strong, therefore, in Him, remembering Him in all your doings, knowing the mystery of the dispensation that has come to men, for the sake of which the Lord has worked. He then, through me, exhorts you: Brethren, I wish to remain without grief, without insult, without treachery, without punishment. For He also knows insult from you, He knows also dishonour, He knows also treachery, He knows also punishment from those that disobey His commandments. Let not therefore our God be grieved, the good, the compassionate, the merciful, the holy, the pure, the undefiled, the only, the one, the immutable, the sincere, the guileless, the slow to anger, He that is higher and more exalted than every name that we speak or think of—our God, Jesus Christ. Let Him rejoice along with us because we conduct ourselves well; let Him be glad because we live in purity; let Him rest because we behave reverently; let Him be pleased because we live in fellowship; let Him smile because we are sober-minded; let Him be delighted because we love. These things, brethren, I communicate to you, pressing on to the work set before me, already perfected for me by the Lord. For what else have I to say to you? Keep the sureties of your God; keep His presence, that shall not be taken away from you. And if then ye sin no more, He will forgive you what ye have done in ignorance; but if, after ye have known Him, and He has had compassion upon you, you return to the like courses, even your former offences will be laid to your charge, and ye shall have no portion or compassion before His face (Compare Hebrews 10:26.).

15 And when he had said this to them, he thus prayed: Jesus, who didst wreathe this crown by Thy twining, who hast inserted these many flowers into the everlasting flower of Thy countenance, who hast sown these words among them, be Thou Thyself the protector and healer of Thy people. Thou alone art benignant and not haughty, alone merciful and kind, alone a Saviour, and just; Thou who always seest what belongs to all, and art in all, and everywhere present, God Lord Jesus Christ; who with Thy gifts and Thy compassion coverest those that hope in Thee; who knowest intimately those that everywhere speak against us, and blaspheme Thy holy name, do Thou alone, O Lord, help Thy servants with Thy watchful care. So be it, Lord.

16 And having asked bread, he gave thanks thus, saying: What praise, or what sort of offering, or what thanksgiving, shall we, breaking the bread, invoke, but Thee only? We glorify the name by which Thou hast been called by the Father; we glorify the name by which Thou hast been called through the Son; we glorify the resurrection which has been manifested to us through Thee; of Thee we glorify the seed (Or, sowing.), the word, the grace, the true pearl, the treasure, the plough, the net (Compare Matthew 13) the majesty, the diadem, Him called Son of man for our sakes, the truth, the rest, the knowledge, the freedom, the place of refuge in Thee. For Thou alone art Lord, the root of immortality, and the fountain of incorruption, and the seat of the ages; Thou who hast been called all these for our sakes, that now we, calling upon Thee through these, may recognise Thine illimitable majesty, presented to us by Thy presence, that can be seen only by the pure, seen in Thine only Son.

17 And having broken the bread, he gave it to us, praying for each of the brethren, that he might be worthy of the Eucharist of the Lord. He also therefore, having likewise tasted it, said: To me also let there be a portion with you, and peace, O beloved. And having thus spoken, and confirmed the brethren, he said to Eutyches, also named Verus: Behold, I appoint thee a minister (Or, deacon.) of the Church of Christ, and I entrust to thee the flock of Christ. Be mindful, therefore, of the commandments of the Lord; and if thou shouldst fall into trials or dangers, be not afraid: for thou shalt fall under many troubles, and thou shalt be shown to be an eminent witness (i.e., martyr.) of the Lord. Thus, then, Verus, attend to the flock as a servant of God, until the time appointed for thy testimony.

18 And when John had spoken this, and more than this, having entrusted to him the flock of Christ, he says to him: Take some brethren, with baskets and vessels, and follow me. And Eutyches, without considering (Other manuscripts have: not without concern.), did what he was bid. And the blessed John having gone forth from the house, went outside of the gates, having told the multitude to stand off from him. And having come to the tomb of one of our brethren, he told them to dig. And they dug. And he says: Let the trench be deeper. And as they dug, he conversed with those who had come out of the house with him, building them up, and furnishing them thoroughly into the majesty of the Lord. And when the young men had finished the trench, as he had wished, while we knew (Or, saw.) nothing, he takes off the clothes he had on, and throws them, as if they were some bedding, into the depth of the trench; and, standing in only his drawers (The word digrosio is not to be found in any of the dictionaries. Perhaps it is a misreading of diazostra.), stretched forth his hands, and prayed.

19 O God, who hast chosen us for the mission (Or, apostleship.) of the Gentiles, who hast sent us out into the world, who hast declared Thyself through the apostles; who hast never rested, but always savest from the foundation of the world; who hast made Thyself known through all nature; who hast made our wild and savage nature quiet and peaceable; who hast given Thyself to it when thirsting after knowledge (Lit., words or reasons.); who hast put to death its adversary, when it took refuge in Thee; who hast given it Thy hand, and raised it from the things done in Hades; who hast shown it its own enemy; who hast in purity turned its thoughts upon Thee, O Christ Jesus, Lord of things in heaven, and law of things on earth, the course of things aerial, and guardian of things etherial, the fear of those under the earth, and grace of Thine own people, receive also the soul of Thy John, which has been certainly deemed worthy by Thee, Thou who hast preserved me also till the present hour pure to Thyself, and free from intercourse with woman; who, when I wished in my youth to marry, didst appear to me, and say, I am in need of thee, John; who didst strengthen for me beforehand my bodily weakness; who, when a third time I wished to marry, didst say to me at the third hour, in the sea, John, if thou wert not mine, I would let thee marry; who hast opened up the sight of my mind, and hast favoured my bodily (Or, visible.) eyes; who, when I was looking about me, didst call even the gazing upon a woman hateful; who didst deliver me from temporary show, and preserve me for that which endureth for ever; who didst separate me from the filthy madness of the flesh; who didst stop up (Or, muzzle.) the secret disease of the soul, and cut out its open actions; who didst afflict and banish him who rebelled in me; who didst establish my love to Thee spotless

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and unimpaired; who didst give me undoubting faith in Thee; who hast drawn out for me pure thoughts towards Thee; who hast given me the due reward of my works; who hast set it in my soul to have no other possession than Thee alone: for what is more precious than Thou? Now, O Lord, when I have accomplished Thy stewardship with which I was entrusted, make me worthy of Thy repose, having wrought that which is perfect in Thee, which is ineffable salvation. And as I go to Thee, let the fire withdraw, let darkness be overcome, let the furnace be slackened, let Gehenna be extinguished, let the angels follow, let the demons be afraid, let the princes be broken in pieces, let the powers of darkness fall, let the places on the right hand stand firm, let those on the left abide not, let the devil be muzzled, let Satan be laughed to scorn, let his madness be tamed, let his wrath be broken, let his children be trodden under foot, and let all his root be uprooted; and grant to me to accomplish the journey to Thee, not insulted, not despitefully treated, and to receive what Thou hast promised to those that live in purity, and that have loved a holy life.

20 And gazing towards heaven, he glorified God; and having sealed himself altogether, he stood and said to us, Peace and grace be with you, brethren! and sent the brethren away. And when they went on the morrow they did not find him, but his sandals, and a fountain welling up. And after that they remembered what had been said to Peter by the Lord about him: For what does it concern thee if I should wish him to remain until I come? (John 21:22.) And they glorified God for the miracle that had happened. And having thus believed, they retired praising and blessing the benignant God; because to Him is due glory now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES
or The Book of Acts or The Acts
or the Story of the Two first Christianities
Author: perhaps *Lucius Mestrius Plutarchus*
Thranslation: King James Version
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 80-130 A.D.

(Although the author is unknown, scholars speculate if Lucius Mestrius Plutarchus could have been the full name of Luke which then could indicate a presumable authorship of Plutarch the Greek philosopher, biographer and essayist who also held Roman citizenship.

The title "Acts of the Apostles" was first used by Irenaeus (Greek: Eirenaios; c. 130–202 AD, who was a Greek bishop of bishop of Lugdunum, now Lyon, his best-known work is 'Against Heresies', an attack on Gnosticism, in particular that of Valentinus) in the late 2nd century. It is not known whether this was an existing title or one invented by Irenaeus; it does seem clear that it was not given by the author, as the Greek word praxeis (deeds, acts) only appears once in the text (Acts 19:18) and there it does not refer to the apostles but refers to deeds confessed by followers to the apostles.

The Gospel of Luke and the Book of Acts make up a two-volume work which scholars call Luke–Acts. Together they account for 27.5% of the New Testament, the largest contribution attributed to a single author, providing the framework for both the Church's liturgical calendar and the historical outline into which later generations have fitted their idea of the story of Jesus and the early church. The author is not named in either volume.

According to Church tradition dating from the 2nd century, he was the "Luke" [Lucas] named as a companion of the apostle Paul in three of the letters attributed to Paul himself; this view is still sometimes advanced, but "a critical consensus emphasises the countless contradictions between the account in Acts and the authentic Pauline letters." (An example can be seen by comparing Acts's accounts of Paul's conversion (Acts 9:1–31, 22:6–21, and 26:9–23) with Paul's own statement that he remained unknown to Christians in Judea after that event (Galatians 1:17–24).) The author "is an admirer of Paul, but does not share Paul's own view of himself as an apostle; his own theology is considerably different from Paul's on key points and does not represent Paul's own views accurately." He was educated, a man of means, probably urban, and someone who respected manual work, although not a worker himself; this is significant, because more high-brow writers of the time looked down on the artisans and small business people who made up the early church of Paul and were presumably Luke's audience.

The Book of Acts contains a hidden letter [15:13-31] by James the Just, the brother of Jesus. It seems to be a letter on righteousness by James to the king in Antioch in northern Syria [which probably refers to Edessa which also was called 'Antioch'] given needed instructions on how to keep Moses' Law. This letter is laying out some details.

Verse 29 says "That ye abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled [carion], and from fornication: from which if ye keep yourselves, ye shall do well." In Cave 4 of Qumran, Scientist found among some fragments a letter that had almost the same contents. Translation, Part 2 talks about "Concerning sacrifices by Gentiles, they sacrifice to the idol."That seduces them [therefore it is illicit]; . . . As for the fornication taking place among the people, they are a holy people, as it is written, 'Israel is Holy' [therefore it is forbidden]."

It seem to have been written by the "Teacher of Righteousnes", a character that frequently appears in the texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran and who seems to be none other but James the brother of Jesus. By comparing the Book of Acts [particularly chapter 15] with the "Clementine Recognitions", written by Titus Flavius Clemens, we can get a very good insight of the vicious fight that James' early Christians had with the so-called 'Gentile Pauline Christians' of the Roman citizen Saul of Tarsos, better known as 'Paul the Apostle'.

In this most excellent detective-like deduction called "James the Brother of Jesus" the biblical scholar Robert Eisenman describes in finest details what this fight was all about and why it is important to know about it.)

ACTS CHAPTER 1

1 The former treatise have I made, O Theophilus, of all that Jesus began both to do and teach,

2 Until the day in which he was taken up, after that he through the Holy Ghost had given commandments unto the apostles whom he had chosen:

3 To whom also he shewed himself alive after his passion by many infallible proofs, being seen of them forty days, and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God:

4 And, being assembled together with them, commanded them that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father, which, saith he, ye have heard of me.

5 For John truly baptised with water; but ye shall be baptised with the Holy Ghost not many days hence.

6 When they therefore were come together, they asked of him, saying, Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?

7 And he said unto them, It is not for you to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power.

8 But ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judaea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth.

9 And when he had spoken these things, while they beheld, he was taken up; and a cloud received him out of their sight.

10 And while they looked stedfastly toward heaven as he went up, behold, two men stood by them in white apparel;

11 Which also said, Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? this same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven.

12 Then returned they unto Jerusalem from the mount called Olivet, which is from Jerusalem a sabbath day's journey.

13 And when they were come in, they went up into an upper room, where abode both Peter, and James, and John, and Andrew, Philip, and Thomas, Bartholomew, and Matthew, James the son of Alphaeus, and Simon Zelotes, and Judas the brother of James.

14 These all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication, with the women, and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren.

15 And in those days Peter stood up in the midst of the disciples, and said, (the number of names together were about an hundred and twenty,)

16 Men and brethren, this scripture must needs have been fulfilled, which the Holy Ghost by the mouth of David spake before concerning Judas, which was guide to them that took Jesus.

17 For he was numbered with us, and had obtained part of this ministry.

18 Now this man purchased a field with the reward of iniquity; and falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out.

19 And it was known unto all the dwellers at Jerusalem; insomuch as that field is called in their proper tongue, Aceldama, that is to say, The field of blood.

20 For it is written in the book of Psalms, Let his habitation be desolate, and let no man dwell therein: and his bishoprick let another take.

21 Wherefore of these men which have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us,

22 Beginning from the baptism of John, unto that same day that he was taken up from us, must one be ordained to be a witness with us of his resurrection.

23 And they appointed two, Joseph called Barsabas, who was surnamed Justus, and Matthias.

24 And they prayed, and said, Thou, Lord, which knowest the hearts of all men, shew whether of these two thou hast chosen,

25 That he may take part of this ministry and apostleship, from which Judas by transgression fell, that he might go to his own place.

26 And they gave forth their lots; and the lot fell upon Matthias; and he was numbered with the eleven apostles.

ACTS CHAPTER 2

1 And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place.

2 And suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting.

3 And there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them.

4 And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance.

5 And there were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven.

6 Now when this was noised abroad, the multitude came together, and were confounded, because that every man heard them speak in his own language.

7 And they were all amazed and marvelled, saying one to another, Behold, are not all these which speak Galilaeans?

8 And how hear we every man in our own tongue, wherein we were born?

9 Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judaea, and Cappadocia, in Pontus, and Asia,

10 Phrygia, and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome, Jews and proselytes,

11 Cretes and Arabians, we do hear them speak in our tongues the wonderful works of God.

12 And they were all amazed, and were in doubt, saying one to another, What meaneth this?

13 Others mocking said, These men are full of new wine.

14 But Peter, standing up with the eleven, lifted up his voice, and said unto them, Ye men of Judaea, and all ye that dwell at Jerusalem, be this known unto you, and hearken to my words:

15 For these are not drunken, as ye suppose, seeing it is but the third hour of the day.

16 But this is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel;

17 And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams:

18 And on my servants and on my handmaidens I will pour out in those days of my Spirit; and they shall prophesy:

19 And I will shew wonders in heaven above, and signs in the earth beneath; blood, and fire, and vapour of smoke:

20 The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and notable day of the Lord come:

21 And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved.

22 Ye men of Israel, hear these words; Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles and wonders and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you, as ye yourselves also know:

23 Him, being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken, and by wicked hands have crucified and slain:

24 Whom God hath raised up, having loosed the pains of death: because it was not possible that he should be holden of it.

25 For David speaketh concerning him, I foresaw the Lord always before my face, for he is on my right hand, that I should not be moved:

26 Therefore did my heart rejoice, and my tongue was glad; moreover also my flesh shall rest in hope:

27 Because thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption.

28 Thou hast made known to me the ways of life; thou shalt make me full of joy with thy countenance.

29 Men and brethren, let me freely speak unto you of the patriarch David, that he is both dead and buried, and his sepulchre is with us unto this day.

30 Therefore being a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins, according to the flesh, he would raise up Christ to sit on his throne;

31 He seeing this before spake of the resurrection of Christ, that his soul was not left in hell, neither his flesh did see corruption.

32 This Jesus hath God raised up, whereof we all are witnesses.

33 Therefore being by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, he hath shed forth this, which ye now see and hear.

34 For David is not ascended into the heavens: but he saith himself, The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand,

35 Until I make thy foes thy footstool.

36 Therefore let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made the same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ.

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37 Now when they heard this, they were pricked in their heart, and said unto Peter and to the rest of the apostles, Men and brethren, what shall we do?
38 Then Peter said unto them, Repent, and be baptised every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.
39 For the promise is unto you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the LORD our God shall call.
40 And with many other words did he testify and exhort, saying, Save yourselves from this untoward generation.
41 Then they that gladly received his word were baptised: and the same day there were added unto them about three thousand souls.
42 And they continued stedfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers.
43 And fear came upon every soul: and many wonders and signs were done by the apostles.
44 And all that believed were together, and had all things common;
45 And sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need.
46 And they, continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart,
47 Praising God, and having favour with all the people. And the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved.

ACTS CHAPTER 3
1 Now Peter and John went up together into the temple at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour.
2 And a certain man lame from his mother's womb was carried, whom they laid daily at the gate of the temple which is called Beautiful, to ask alms of them that entered into the temple;
3 Who seeing Peter and John about to go into the temple asked an alms.
4 And Peter, fastening his eyes upon him with John, said, Look on us.
5 And he gave heed unto them, expecting to receive something of them.
6 Then Peter said, Silver and gold have I none; but such as I have give I thee: In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth rise up and walk.
7 And he took him by the right hand, and lifted him up: and immediately his feet and ankle bones received strength.
8 And he leaping up stood, and walked, and entered with them into the temple, walking, and leaping, and praising God.
9 And all the people saw him walking and praising God:
10 And they knew that it was he which sat for alms at the Beautiful gate of the temple: and they were filled with wonder and amazement at that which had happened unto him.
11 And as the lame man which was healed held Peter and John, all the people ran together unto them in the porch that is called Solomon's, greatly wondering.
12 And when Peter saw it, he answered unto the people, Ye men of Israel, why marvel ye at this? or why look ye so earnestly on us, as though by our own power or holiness we had made this man to walk?
13 The God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob, the God of our fathers, hath glorified his Son Jesus; whom ye delivered up, and denied him in the presence of Pilate, when he was determined to let him go.
14 But ye denied the Holy One and the Just, and desired a murderer to be granted unto you;
15 And killed the Prince of life, whom God hath raised from the dead; whereof we are witnesses.
16 And his name through faith in his name hath made this man strong, whom ye see and know: yea, the faith which is by him hath given him this perfect soundness in the presence of you all.
17 And now, brethren, I wot that through ignorance ye did it, as did also your rulers.
18 But those things, which God before had shewed by the mouth of all his prophets, that Christ should suffer, he hath so fulfilled.
19 Repent ye therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, when the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord.
20 And he shall send Jesus Christ, which before was preached unto you:
21 Whom the heaven must receive until the times of restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began.
22 For Moses truly said unto the fathers, A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me; him shall ye hear in all things whatsoever he shall say unto you.
23 And it shall come to pass, that every soul, which will not hear that prophet, shall be destroyed from among the people.
24 Yea, and all the prophets from Samuel and those that follow after, as many as have spoken, have likewise foretold of these days.
25 Ye are the children of the prophets, and of the covenant which God made with our fathers, saying unto Abraham, And in thy seed shall all the kindreds of the earth be blessed.
26 Unto you first God, having raised up his Son Jesus, sent him to bless you, in turning away every one of you from his iniquities.

ACTS CHAPTER 4
1 And as they spake unto the people, the priests, and the captain of the temple, and the Sadducees, came upon them,
2 Being grieved that they taught the people, and preached through Jesus the resurrection from the dead.
3 And they laid hands on them, and put them in hold unto the next day: for it was now eventide.
4 Howbeit many of them which heard the word believed; and the number of the men was about five thousand.
5 And it came to pass on the morrow, that their rulers, and elders, and scribes,
6 And Annas the high priest, and Caiaphas, and John, and Alexander, and as many as were of the kindred of the high priest, were gathered together at Jerusalem.
7 And when they had set them in the midst, they asked, By what power, or by what name, have ye done this?
8 Then Peter, filled with the Holy Ghost, said unto them, Ye rulers of the people, and elders of Israel,
9 If we this day be examined of the good deed done to the impotent man, by what means he is made whole;
10 Be it known unto you all, and to all the people of Israel, that by the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom ye crucified, whom God raised from the dead, even by him doth this man stand here before you whole.
11 This is the stone which was set at nought of you builders, which is become the head of the corner.
12 Neither is there salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved.
13 Now when they saw the boldness of Peter and John, and perceived that they were unlearned and ignorant men, they marvelled; and they took knowledge of them, that they had been with Jesus.
14 And beholding the man which was healed standing with them, they could say nothing against it.
15 But when they had commanded them to go aside out of the council, they conferred among themselves,
16 Saying, What shall we do to these men? for that indeed a notable miracle hath been done by them is manifest to all them that dwell in Jerusalem; and we cannot deny it.
17 But that it spread no further among the people, let us straitly threaten them, that they speak henceforth to no man in this name.
18 And they called them, and commanded them not to speak at all nor teach in the name of Jesus.
19 But Peter and John answered and said unto them, Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye.
20 For we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard.
21 So when they had further threatened them, they let them go, finding nothing how they might punish them, because of the people: for all men glorified God for that which was done.
22 For the man was above forty years old, on whom this miracle of healing was shewed.
23 And being let go, they went to their own company, and reported all that the chief priests and elders had said unto them.
24 And when they heard that, they lifted up their voice to God with one accord, and said, Lord, thou art God, which hast made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and all that in them is:
25 Who by the mouth of thy servant David hast said, Why did the heathen rage, and the people imagine vain things?
26 The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord, and against his Christ.
27 For of a truth against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod, and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles, and the people of Israel, were gathered together,
28 For to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done.
29 And now, Lord, behold their threatenings: and grant unto thy servants, that with all boldness they may speak thy word,
30 By stretching forth thine hand to heal; and that signs and wonders may be done by the name of thy holy child Jesus.
31 And when they had prayed, the place was shaken where they were assembled together; and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and they spake the word of God with boldness.
32 And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul: neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common.
33 And with great power gave the apostles witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus: and great grace was upon them all.
34 Neither was there any among them that lacked: for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold,
35 And laid them down at the apostles' feet: and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need.
36 And Joses, who by the apostles was surnamed Barnabas, (which is, being interpreted, The son of consolation,) a Levite, and of the country of Cyprus,
37 Having land, sold it, and brought the money, and laid it at the apostles' feet.

ACTS CHAPTER 5
1 But a certain man named Ananias, with Sapphira his wife, sold a possession,
2 And kept back part of the price, his wife also being privy to it, and brought a certain part, and laid it at the apostles' feet.
3 But Peter said, Ananias, why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost, and to keep back part of the price of the land?
4 Whiles it remained, was it not thine own? and after it was sold, was it not in thine own power? why hast thou conceived this thing in thine heart? thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God.
5 And Ananias hearing these words fell down, and gave up the ghost: and great fear came on all them that heard these things.
6 And the young men arose, wound him up, and carried him out, and buried him.
7 And it was about the space of three hours after, when his wife, not knowing what was done, came in.
8 And Peter answered unto her, Tell me whether ye sold the land for so much? And she said, Yea, for so much.
9 Then Peter said unto her, How is it that ye have agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord? behold, the feet of them which have buried thy husband are at the door, and shall carry thee out.
10 Then fell she down straightway at his feet, and yielded up the ghost: and the young men came in, and found her dead, and, carrying her forth, buried her by her husband.
11 And great fear came upon all the church, and upon as many as heard these things.
12 And by the hands of the apostles were many signs and wonders wrought among the people; (and they were all with one accord in Solomon's porch.
13 And of the rest durst no man join himself to them: but the people magnified them.
14 And believers were the more added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women.)
15 Insomuch that they brought forth the sick into the streets, and laid them on beds and couches, that at the least the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them.
16 There came also a multitude out of the cities round about unto Jerusalem, bringing sick folks, and them which were vexed with unclean spirits: and they were healed every one.
17 Then the high priest rose up, and all they that were with him, (which is the sect of the Sadducees,) and were filled with indignation,
18 And laid their hands on the apostles, and put them in the common prison.
19 But the angel of the Lord by night opened the prison doors, and brought them forth, and said,
20 Go, stand and speak in the temple to the people all the words of this life.
21 And when they heard that, they entered into the temple early in the morning, and taught. But the high priest came, and they that were with him, and called the council together, and all the senate of the children of Israel, and sent to the prison to have them brought.
22 But when the officers came, and found them not in the prison, they returned and told,
23 Saying, The prison truly found we shut with all safety, and the keepers standing without before the doors: but when we had opened, we found no man within.
24 Now when the high priest and the captain of the temple and the chief priests heard these things, they doubted of them whereunto this would grow.
25 Then came one and told them, saying, Behold, the men whom ye put in prison are standing in the temple, and teaching the people.
26 Then went the captain with the officers, and brought them without violence: for they feared the people, lest they should have been stoned.
27 And when they had brought them, they set them before the council: and the high priest asked them,
28 Saying, Did not we straitly command you that ye should not teach in this name? and, behold, ye have filled Jerusalem with your doctrine, and intend to bring this man's blood upon us.
29 Then Peter and the other apostles answered and said, We ought to obey God rather than men.

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30 The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye slew and hanged on a tree.
31 Him hath God exalted with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel, and forgiveness of sins.
32 And we are his witnesses of these things; and so is also the Holy Ghost, whom God hath given to them that obey him.
33 When they heard that, they were cut to the heart, and took counsel to slay them.
34 Then stood there up one in the council, a Pharisee, named Gamaliel, a doctor of the law, had in reputation among all the people, and commanded to put the apostles forth a little space;
35 And said unto them, Ye men of Israel, take heed to yourselves what ye intend to do as touching these men.
36 For before these days rose up Theudas, boasting himself to be somebody; to whom a number of men, about four hundred, joined themselves: who was slain; and all, as many as obeyed him, were scattered, and brought to nought.
37 After this man rose up Judas of Galilee in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him: he also perished; and all, even as many as obeyed him, were dispersed.
38 And now I say unto you, Refrain from these men, and let them alone: for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought:
39 But if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God.
40 And to him they agreed: and when they had called the apostles, and beaten them, they commanded that they should not speak in the name of Jesus, and let them go.
41 And they departed from the presence of the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for his name.
42 And daily in the temple, and in every house, they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ.

ACTS CHAPTER 6

1 And in those days, when the number of the disciples was multiplied, there arose a murmuring of the Grecians against the Hebrews, because their widows were neglected in the daily ministration.
2 Then the twelve called the multitude of the disciples unto them, and said, It is not reason that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables.
3 Wherefore, brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business.
4 But we will give ourselves continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the word.
5 And the saying pleased the whole multitude: and they chose Stephen, a man full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, and Philip, and Prochorus, and Nicanor, and Timon, and Parmenas, and Nicolas a proselyte of Antioch:
6 Whom they set before the apostles: and when they had prayed, they laid their hands on them.
7 And the word of God increased; and the number of the disciples multiplied in Jerusalem greatly; and a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith.
8 And Stephen, full of faith and power, did great wonders and miracles among the people.
9 Then there arose certain of the synagogue, which is called the synagogue of the Libertines, and Cyrenians, and Alexandrians, and of them of Cilicia and of Asia, disputing with Stephen.
10 And they were not able to resist the wisdom and the spirit by which he spake.
11 Then they suborned men, which said, We have heard him speak blasphemous words against Moses, and against God.
12 And they stirred up the people, and the elders, and the scribes, and came upon him, and caught him, and brought him to the council,
13 And set up false witnesses, which said, This man ceaseth not to speak blasphemous words against this holy place, and the law:
14 For we have heard him say, that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, and shall change the customs which Moses delivered us.
15 And all that sat in the council, looking stedfastly on him, saw his face as it had been the face of an angel.

ACTS CHAPTER 7

1 Then said the high priest, Are these things so?
2 And he said, Men, brethren, and fathers, hearken; The God of glory appeared unto our father Abraham, when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran,
3 And said unto him, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and come into the land which I shall shew thee.
4 Then came he out of the land of the Chaldaeans, and dwelt in Charran: and from thence, when his father was dead, he removed him into this land, wherein ye now dwell.
5 And he gave him none inheritance in it, no, not so much as to set his foot on: yet he promised that he would give it to him for a possession, and to his seed after him, when as yet he had no child.
6 And God spake on this wise, That his seed should sojourn in a strange land; and that they should bring them into bondage, and entreat them evil four hundred years.
7 And the nation to whom they shall be in bondage will I judge, said God: and after that shall they come forth, and serve me in this place.
8 And he gave him the covenant of circumcision: and so Abraham begat Isaac, and circumcised him the eighth day; and Isaac begat Jacob; and Jacob begat the twelve patriarchs.
9 And the patriarchs, moved with envy, sold Joseph into Egypt: but God was with him,
10 And delivered him out of all his afflictions, and gave him favour and wisdom in the sight of Pharaoh king of Egypt; and he made him governor over Egypt and all his house.
11 Now there came a dearth over all the land of Egypt and Chanaan, and great affliction: and our fathers found no sustenance.
12 But when Jacob heard that there was corn in Egypt, he sent out our fathers first.
13 And at the second time Joseph was made known to his brethren; and Joseph's kindred was made known unto Pharaoh.
14 Then sent Joseph, and called his father Jacob to him, and all his kindred, threescore and fifteen souls.
15 So Jacob went down into Egypt, and died, he, and our fathers,
16 And were carried over into Sychem, and laid in the sepulchre that Abraham bought for a sum of money of the sons of Emmor the father of Sychem.
17 But when the time of the promise drew nigh, which God had sworn to Abraham, the people grew and multiplied in Egypt,
18 Till another king arose, which knew not Joseph.
19 The same dealt subtilly with our kindred, and evil entreated our fathers, so that they cast out their young children, to the end they might not live.
20 In which time Moses was born, and was exceeding fair, and nourished up in his father's house three months:
21 And when he was cast out, Pharaoh's daughter took him up, and nourished him for her own son.
22 And Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty in words and in deeds.
23 And when he was full forty years old, it came into his heart to visit his brethren the children of Israel.
24 And seeing one of them suffer wrong, he defended him, and avenged him that was oppressed, and smote the Egyptian:
25 For he supposed his brethren would have understood how that God by his hand would deliver them: but they understood not.
26 And the next day he shewed himself unto them as they strove, and would have set them at one again, saying, Sirs, ye are brethren; why do ye wrong one to another?
27 But he that did his neighbour wrong thrust him away, saying, Who made thee a ruler and a judge over us?
28 Wilt thou kill me, as thou diddest the Egyptian yesterday?
29 Then fled Moses at this saying, and was a stranger in the land of Madian, where he begat two sons.
30 And when forty years were expired, there appeared to him in the wilderness of mount Sina an angel of the Lord in a flame of fire in a bush.
31 When Moses saw it, he wondered at the sight: and as he drew near to behold it, the voice of the LORD came unto him,
32 Saying, I am the God of thy fathers, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. Then Moses trembled, and durst not behold.
33 Then said the Lord to him, Put off thy shoes from thy feet: for the place where thou standest is holy ground.
34 I have seen, I have seen the affliction of my people which is in Egypt, and I have heard their groaning, and am come down to deliver them. And now come, I will send thee into Egypt.
35 This Moses whom they refused, saying, Who made thee a ruler and a judge? the same did God send to be a ruler and a deliverer by the hand of the angel which appeared to him in the bush.
36 He brought them out, after that he had shewed wonders and signs in the land of Egypt, and in the Red sea, and in the wilderness forty years.
37 This is that Moses, which said unto the children of Israel, A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me; him shall ye hear.
38 This is he, that was in the church in the wilderness with the angel which spake to him in the mount Sina, and with our fathers: who received the lively oracles to give unto us:
39 To whom our fathers would not obey, but thrust him from them, and in their hearts turned back again into Egypt,
40 Saying unto Aaron, Make us gods to go before us: for as for this Moses, which brought us out of the land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him.
41 And they made a calf in those days, and offered sacrifice unto the idol, and rejoiced in the works of their own hands.
42 Then God turned, and gave them up to worship the host of heaven; as it is written in the book of the prophets, O ye house of Israel, have ye offered to me slain beasts and sacrifices by the space of forty years in the wilderness?
43 Yea, ye took up the tabernacle of Moloch, and the star of your god Remphan, figures which ye made to worship them: and I will carry you away beyond Babylon.
44 Our fathers had the tabernacle of witness in the wilderness, as he had appointed, speaking unto Moses, that he should make it according to the fashion that he had seen.
45 Which also our fathers that came after brought in with Jesus into the possession of the Gentiles, whom God drave out before the face of our fathers, unto the days of David;
46 Who found favour before God, and desired to find a tabernacle for the God of Jacob.
47 But Solomon built him an house.
48 Howbeit the most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands; as saith the prophet,
49 Heaven is my throne, and earth is my footstool: what house will ye build me? saith the Lord: or what is the place of my rest?
50 Hath not my hand made all these things?
51 Ye stiffnecked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost: as your fathers did, so do ye.
52 Which of the prophets have not your fathers persecuted? and they have slain them which shewed before of the coming of the Just One; of whom ye have been now the betrayers and murderers:
53 Who have received the law by the disposition of angels, and have not kept it.
54 When they heard these things, they were cut to the heart, and they gnashed on him with their teeth.
55 But he, being full of the Holy Ghost, looked up stedfastly into heaven, and saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God,
56 And said, Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God.
57 Then they cried out with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord,
58 And cast him out of the city, and stoned him: and the witnesses laid down their clothes at a young man's feet, whose name was Saul.
59 And they stoned Stephen, calling upon God, and saying, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.
60 And he kneeled down, and cried with a loud voice, Lord, lay not this sin to their charge. And when he had said this, he fell asleep.

ACTS CHAPTER 8

1 And Saul was consenting unto his death. And at that time there was a great persecution against the church which was at Jerusalem; and they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judaea and Samaria, except the apostles.
2 And devout men carried Stephen to his burial, and made great lamentation over him.
3 As for Saul, he made havock of the church, entering into every house, and haling men and women committed them to prison.
4 Therefore they that were scattered abroad went every where preaching the word.
5 Then Philip went down to the city of Samaria, and preached Christ unto them.
6 And the people with one accord gave heed unto those things which Philip spake, hearing and seeing the miracles which he did.
7 For unclean spirits, crying with loud voice, came out of many that were possessed with them: and many taken with palsies, and that were lame, were healed.
8 And there was great joy in that city.
9 But there was a certain man, called Simon, which beforetime in the same city used sorcery, and bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out that himself was some great one:
10 To whom they all gave heed, from the least to the greatest, saying, This man is the great power of God.
11 And to him they had regard, because that of long time he had bewitched them with sorceries.
12 But when they believed Philip preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptised, both men and women.
13 Then Simon himself believed also: and when he was baptised, he continued with Philip, and wondered, beholding the miracles and signs which were done.
14 Now when the apostles which were at Jerusalem heard that Samaria had received the word of God, they sent unto them Peter and John:
15 Who, when they were come down, prayed for them, that they might receive the Holy Ghost:
16 (For as yet he was fallen upon none of them: only they were baptised in the name of the Lord Jesus.)
17 Then laid they their hands on them, and they received the Holy Ghost.
18 And when Simon saw that through laying on of the apostles' hands the Holy Ghost was given, he offered them money,
19 Saying, Give me also this power, that on whomsoever I lay hands, he may receive the Holy Ghost.

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20 But Peter said unto him, Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the gift of God may be purchased with money.
21 Thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter: for thy heart is not right in the sight of God.
22 Repent therefore of this thy wickedness, and pray God, if perhaps the thought of thine heart may be forgiven thee.
23 For I perceive that thou art in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity.
24 Then answered Simon, and said, Pray ye to the LORD for me, that none of these things which ye have spoken come upon me.
25 And they, when they had testified and preached the word of the Lord, returned to Jerusalem, and preached the gospel in many villages of the Samaritans.
26 And the angel of the Lord spake unto Philip, saying, Arise, and go toward the south unto the way that goeth down from Jerusalem unto Gaza, which is desert.
27 And he arose and went: and, behold, a man of Ethiopia, an eunuch of great authority under Candace queen of the Ethiopians, who had the charge of all her treasure, and had come to Jerusalem for to worship,
28 Was returning, and sitting in his chariot read Esaias the prophet.
29 Then the Spirit said unto Philip, Go near, and join thyself to this chariot.
30 And Philip ran thither to him, and heard him read the prophet Esaias, and said, Understandest thou what thou readest?
31 And he said, How can I, except some man should guide me? And he desired Philip that he would come up and sit with him.
32 The place of the scripture which he read was this, He was led as a sheep to the slaughter; and like a lamb dumb before his shearer, so opened he not his mouth:
33 In his humiliation his judgement was taken away: and who shall declare his generation? for his life is taken from the earth.
34 And the eunuch answered Philip, and said, I pray thee, of whom speaketh the prophet this? of himself, or of some other man?
35 Then Philip opened his mouth, and began at the same scripture, and preached unto him Jesus.
36 And as they went on their way, they came unto a certain water: and the eunuch said, See, here is water; what doth hinder me to be baptised?
37 And Philip said, If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.
38 And he commanded the chariot to stand still: and they went down both into the water, both Philip and the eunuch; and he baptised him.
39 And when they were come up out of the water, the Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip, that the eunuch saw him no more: and he went on his way rejoicing.
40 But Philip was found at Azotus: and passing through he preached in all the cities, till he came to Caesarea.

ACTS CHAPTER 9

1 And Saul, yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, went unto the high priest,
2 And desired of him letters to Damascus to the synagogues, that if he found any of this way, whether they were men or women, he might bring them bound unto Jerusalem.
3 And as he journeyed, he came near Damascus: and suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven:
4 And he fell to the earth, and heard a voice saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?
5 And he said, Who art thou, Lord? And the Lord said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest: it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks.
6 And he trembling and astonished said, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? And the Lord said unto him, Arise, and go into the city, and it shall be told thee what thou must do.
7 And the men which journeyed with him stood speechless, hearing a voice, but seeing no man.
8 And Saul arose from the earth; and when his eyes were opened, he saw no man: but they led him by the hand, and brought him into Damascus.
9 And he was three days without sight, and neither did eat nor drink.
10 And there was a certain disciple at Damascus, named Ananias; and to him said the Lord in a vision, Ananias. And he said, Behold, I am here, Lord.
11 And the Lord said unto him, Arise, and go into the street which is called Straight, and enquire in the house of Judas for one called Saul, of Tarsus: for, behold, he prayeth,
12 And hath seen in a vision a man named Ananias coming in, and putting his hand on him, that he might receive his sight.
13 Then Ananias answered, Lord, I have heard by many of this man, how much evil he hath done to thy saints at Jerusalem:
14 And here he hath authority from the chief priests to bind all that call on thy name.
15 But the Lord said unto him, Go thy way: for he is a chosen vessel unto me, to bear my name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel:
16 For I will shew him how great things he must suffer for my name's sake.
17 And Ananias went his way, and entered into the house; and putting his hands on him said, Brother Saul, the Lord, even Jesus, that appeared unto thee in the way as thou camest, hath sent me, that thou mightest receive thy sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost.
18 And immediately there fell from his eyes as it had been scales: and he received sight forthwith, and arose, and was baptised.
19 And when he had received meat, he was strengthened. Then was Saul certain days with the disciples which were at Damascus.
20 And straightway he preached Christ in the synagogues, that he is the Son of God.
21 But all that heard him were amazed, and said; Is not this he that destroyed them which called on this name in Jerusalem, and came hither for that intent, that he might bring them bound unto the chief priests?
22 But Saul increased the more in strength, and confounded the Jews which dwelt at Damascus, proving that this is very Christ.
23 And after that many days were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel to kill him:
24 But their laying await was known of Saul. And they watched the gates day and night to kill him.
25 Then the disciples took him by night, and let him down by the wall in a basket.
26 And when Saul was come to Jerusalem, he assayed to join himself to the disciples: but they were all afraid of him, and believed not that he was a disciple.
27 But Barnabas took him, and brought him to the apostles, and declared unto them how he had seen the Lord in the way, and that he had spoken to him, and how he had preached boldly at Damascus in the name of Jesus.
28 And he was with them coming in and going out at Jerusalem.
29 And he spake boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus, and disputed against the Grecians: but they went about to slay him.
30 Which when the brethren knew, they brought him down to Caesarea, and sent him forth to Tarsus.
31 Then had the churches rest throughout all Judaea and Galilee and Samaria, and were edified; and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied.
32 And it came to pass, as Peter passed throughout all quarters, he came down also to the saints which dwelt at Lydda.
33 And there he found a certain man named Aeneas, which had kept his bed eight years, and was sick of the palsy.
34 And Peter said unto him, Aeneas, Jesus Christ maketh thee whole: arise, and make thy bed. And he arose immediately.
35 And all that dwelt at Lydda and Saron saw him, and turned to the Lord.
36 Now there was at Joppa a certain disciple named Tabitha, which by interpretation is called Dorcas: this woman was full of good works and almsdeeds which she did.
37 And it came to pass in those days, that she was sick, and died: whom when they had washed, they laid her in an upper chamber.
38 And forasmuch as Lydda was nigh to Joppa, and the disciples had heard that Peter was there, they sent unto him two men, desiring him that he would not delay to come to them.
39 Then Peter arose and went with them. When he was come, they brought him into the upper chamber: and all the widows stood by him weeping, and shewing the coats and garments which Dorcas made, while she was with them.
40 But Peter put them all forth, and kneeled down, and prayed; and turning him to the body said, Tabitha, arise. And she opened her eyes: and when she saw Peter, she sat up.
41 And he gave her his hand, and lifted her up, and when he had called the saints and widows, presented her alive.
42 And it was known throughout all Joppa; and many believed in the Lord.
43 And it came to pass, that he tarried many days in Joppa with one Simon a tanner.

ACTS CHAPTER 10

1 There was a certain man in Caesarea called Cornelius, a centurion of the band called the Italian band,
2 A devout man, and one that feared God with all his house, which gave much alms to the people, and prayed to God alway.
3 He saw in a vision evidently about the ninth hour of the day an angel of God coming in to him, and saying unto him, Cornelius.
4 And when he looked on him, he was afraid, and said, What is it, Lord? And he said unto him, Thy prayers and thine alms are come up for a memorial before God.
5 And now send men to Joppa, and call for one Simon, whose surname is Peter:
6 He lodgeth with one Simon a tanner, whose house is by the sea side: he shall tell thee what thou oughtest to do.
7 And when the angel which spake unto Cornelius was departed, he called two of his household servants, and a devout soldier of them that waited on him continually;
8 And when he had declared all these things unto them, he sent them to Joppa.
9 On the morrow, as they went on their journey, and drew nigh unto the city, Peter went up upon the housetop to pray about the sixth hour:
10 And he became very hungry, and would have eaten: but while they made ready, he fell into a trance,
11 And saw heaven opened, and a certain vessel descending upon him, as it had been a great sheet knit at the four corners, and let down to the earth:
12 Wherein were all manner of fourfooted beasts of the earth, and wild beasts, and creeping things, and fowls of the air.
13 And there came a voice to him, Rise, Peter; kill, and eat.
14 But Peter said, Not so, Lord; for I have never eaten any thing that is common or unclean.
15 And the voice spake unto him again the second time, What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common.
16 This was done thrice: and the vessel was received up again into heaven.
17 Now while Peter doubted in himself what this vision which he had seen should mean, behold, the men which were sent from Cornelius had made enquiry for Simon's house, and stood before the gate,
18 And called, and asked whether Simon, which was surnamed Peter, were lodged there.
19 While Peter thought on the vision, the Spirit said unto him, Behold, three men seek thee.
20 Arise therefore, and get thee down, and go with them, doubting nothing: for I have sent them.
21 Then Peter went down to the men which were sent unto him from Cornelius; and said, Behold, I am he whom ye seek: what is the cause wherefore ye are come?
22 And they said, Cornelius the centurion, a just man, and one that feareth God, and of good report among all the nation of the Jews, was warned from God by an holy angel to send for thee into his house, and to hear words of thee.
23 Then called he them in, and lodged them. And on the morrow Peter went away with them, and certain brethren from Joppa accompanied him.
24 And the morrow after they entered into Caesarea. And Cornelius waited for them, and he had called together his kinsmen and near friends.
25 And as Peter was coming in, Cornelius met him, and fell down at his feet, and worshipped him.
26 But Peter took him up, saying, Stand up; I myself also am a man.
27 And as he talked with him, he went in, and found many that were come together.
28 And he said unto them, Ye know how that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew to keep company, or come unto one of another nation; but God hath shewed me that I should not call any man common or unclean.
29 Therefore came I unto you without gainsaying, as soon as I was sent for: I ask therefore for what intent ye have sent for me?
30 And Cornelius said, Four days ago I was fasting until this hour; and at the ninth hour I prayed in my house, and, behold, a man stood before me in bright clothing,
31 And said, Cornelius, thy prayer is heard, and thine alms are had in remembrance in the sight of God.
32 Send therefore to Joppa, and call hither Simon, whose surname is Peter; he is lodged in the house of one Simon a tanner by the sea side: who, when he cometh, shall speak unto thee.
33 Immediately therefore I sent to thee; and thou hast well done that thou art come. Now therefore are we all here present before God, to hear all things that are commanded thee of God.
34 Then Peter opened his mouth, and said, Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons:
35 But in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.
36 The word which God sent unto the children of Israel, preaching peace by Jesus Christ: (he is Lord of all:)
37 That word, I say, ye know, which was published throughout all Judaea, and began from Galilee, after the baptism which John preached;
38 How God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power: who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil; for God was with him.

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39 And we are witnesses of all things which he did both in the land of the Jews, and in Jerusalem; whom they slew and hanged on a tree:
40 Him God raised up the third day, and shewed him openly;
41 Not to all the people, but unto witnesses chosen before God, even to us, who did eat and drink with him after he rose from the dead.
42 And he commanded us to preach unto the people, and to testify that it is he which was ordained of God to be the Judge of quick and dead.
43 To him give all the prophets witness, that through his name whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins.
44 While Peter yet spake these words, the Holy Ghost fell on all them which heard the word.
45 And they of the circumcision which believed were astonished, as many as came with Peter, because that on the Gentiles also was poured out the gift of the Holy Ghost.
46 For they heard them speak with tongues, and magnify God. Then answered Peter,
47 Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptised, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?
48 And he commanded them to be baptised in the name of the Lord. Then prayed they him to tarry certain days.

ACTS CHAPTER 11

1 And the apostles and brethren that were in Judaea heard that the Gentiles had also received the word of God.
2 And when Peter was come up to Jerusalem, they that were of the circumcision contended with him,
3 Saying, Thou wentest in to men uncircumcised, and didst eat with them.
4 But Peter rehearsed the matter from the beginning, and expounded it by order unto them, saying,
5 I was in the city of Joppa praying: and in a trance I saw a vision, A certain vessel descend, as it had been a great sheet, let down from heaven by four corners; and it came even to me:
6 Upon the which when I had fastened mine eyes, I considered, and saw fourfooted beasts of the earth, and wild beasts, and creeping things, and fowls of the air.
7 And I heard a voice saying unto me, Arise, Peter; slay and eat.
8 But I said, Not so, Lord: for nothing common or unclean hath at any time entered into my mouth.
9 But the voice answered me again from heaven, What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common.
10 And this was done three times: and all were drawn up again into heaven.
11 And, behold, immediately there were three men already come unto the house where I was, sent from Caesarea unto me.
12 And the Spirit bade me go with them, nothing doubting. Moreover these six brethren accompanied me, and we entered into the man's house:
13 And he shewed us how he had seen an angel in his house, which stood and said unto him, Send men to Joppa, and call for Simon, whose surname is Peter;
14 Who shall tell thee words, whereby thou and all thy house shall be saved.
15 And as I began to speak, the Holy Ghost fell on them, as on us at the beginning.
16 Then remembered I the word of the Lord, how that he said, John indeed baptised with water; but ye shall be baptised with the Holy Ghost.
17 Forasmuch then as God gave them the like gift as he did unto us, who believed on the Lord Jesus Christ; what was I, that I could withstand God?
18 When they heard these things, they held their peace, and glorified God, saying, Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life.
19 Now they which were scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen travelled as far as Phenice, and Cyprus, and Antioch, preaching the word to none but unto the Jews only.
20 And some of them were men of Cyprus and Cyrene, which, when they were come to Antioch, spake unto the Grecians, preaching the LORD Jesus.
21 And the hand of the Lord was with them: and a great number believed, and turned unto the Lord.
22 Then tidings of these things came unto the ears of the church which was in Jerusalem: and they sent forth Barnabas, that he should go as far as Antioch.
23 Who, when he came, and had seen the grace of God, was glad, and exhorted them all, that with purpose of heart they would cleave unto the Lord.
24 For he was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith: and much people was added unto the Lord.
25 Then departed Barnabas to Tarsus, for to seek Saul:
26 And when he had found him, he brought him unto Antioch. And it came to pass, that a whole year they assembled themselves with the church, and taught much people. And the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch.
27 And in these days came prophets from Jerusalem unto Antioch.
28 And there stood up one of them named Agabus, and signified by the Spirit that there should be great dearth throughout all the world: which came to pass in the days of Claudius Caesar.
29 Then the disciples, every man according to his ability, determined to send relief unto the brethren which dwelt in Judaea:
30 Which also they did, and sent it to the elders by the hands of Barnabas and Saul.

ACTS CHAPTER 12

1 Now about that time Herod the king stretched forth his hands to vex certain of the church.
2 And he killed James the brother of John with the sword.
3 And because he saw it pleased the Jews, he proceeded further to take Peter also. (Then were the days of unleavened bread.)
4 And when he had apprehended him, he put him in prison, and delivered him to four quaternions of soldiers to keep him; intending after Easter to bring him forth to the people.
5 Peter therefore was kept in prison: but prayer was made without ceasing of the church unto God for him.
6 And when Herod would have brought him forth, the same night Peter was sleeping between two soldiers, bound with two chains: and the keepers before the door kept the prison.
7 And, behold, the angel of the Lord came upon him, and a light shined in the prison: and he smote Peter on the side, and raised him up, saying, Arise up quickly. And his chains fell off from his hands.
8 And the angel said unto him, Gird thyself, and bind on thy sandals. And so he did. And he saith unto him, Cast thy garment about thee, and follow me.
9 And he went out, and followed him; and wist not that it was true which was done by the angel; but thought he saw a vision.
10 When they were past the first and the second ward, they came unto the iron gate that leadeth unto the city; which opened to them of his own accord: and they went out, and passed on through one street; and forthwith the angel departed from him.
11 And when Peter was come to himself, he said, Now I know of a surety, that the LORD hath sent his angel, and hath delivered me out of the hand of Herod, and from all the expectation of the people of the Jews.
12 And when he had considered the thing, he came to the house of Mary the mother of John, whose surname was Mark; where many were gathered together praying.
13 And as Peter knocked at the door of the gate, a damsel came to hearken, named Rhoda.
14 And when she knew Peter's voice, she opened not the gate for gladness, but ran in, and told how Peter stood before the gate.
15 And they said unto her, Thou art mad. But she constantly affirmed that it was even so. Then said they, It is his angel.
16 But Peter continued knocking: and when they had opened the door, and saw him, they were astonished.
17 But he, beckoning unto them with the hand to hold their peace, declared unto them how the Lord had brought him out of the prison. And he said, Go shew these things unto James, and to the brethren. And he departed, and went into another place.
18 Now as soon as it was day, there was no small stir among the soldiers, what was become of Peter.
19 And when Herod had sought for him, and found him not, he examined the keepers, and commanded that they should be put to death. And he went down from Judaea to Caesarea, and there abode.
20 And Herod was highly displeased with them of Tyre and Sidon: but they came with one accord to him, and, having made Blastus the king's chamberlain their friend, desired peace; because their country was nourished by the king's country.
21 And upon a set day Herod, arrayed in royal apparel, sat upon his throne, and made an oration unto them.
22 And the people gave a shout, saying, It is the voice of a god, and not of a man.
23 And immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory: and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost.
24 But the word of God grew and multiplied.
25 And Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem, when they had fulfilled their ministry, and took with them John, whose surname was Mark.

ACTS CHAPTER 13

1 Now there were in the church that was at Antioch certain prophets and teachers; as Barnabas, and Simeon that was called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen, which had been brought up with Herod the tetrarch, and Saul.
2 As they ministered to the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Ghost said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them.
3 And when they had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away.
4 So they, being sent forth by the Holy Ghost, departed unto Seleucia; and from thence they sailed to Cyprus.
5 And when they were at Salamis, they preached the word of God in the synagogues of the Jews: and they had also John to their minister.
6 And when they had gone through the isle unto Paphos, they found a certain sorcerer, a false prophet, a Jew, whose name was Barjesus:
7 Which was with the deputy of the country, Sergius Paulus, a prudent man; who called for Barnabas and Saul, and desired to hear the word of God.
8 But Elymas the sorcerer (for so is his name by interpretation) withstood them, seeking to turn away the deputy from the faith.
9 Then Saul, (who also is called Paul,) filled with the Holy Ghost, set his eyes on him.
10 And said, O full of all subtilty and all mischief, thou child of the devil, thou enemy of all righteousness, wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord?
11 And now, behold, the hand of the Lord is upon thee, and thou shalt be blind, not seeing the sun for a season. And immediately there fell on him a mist and a darkness; and he went about seeking some to lead him by the hand.
12 Then the deputy, when he saw what was done, believed, being astonished at the doctrine of the Lord.
13 Now when Paul and his company loosed from Paphos, they came to Perga in Pamphylia: and John departing from them returned to Jerusalem.
14 But when they departed from Perga, they came to Antioch in Pisidia, and went into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and sat down.
15 And after the reading of the law and the prophets the rulers of the synagogue sent unto them, saying, Ye men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on.
16 Then Paul stood up, and beckoning with his hand said, Men of Israel, and ye that fear God, give audience.
17 The God of this people of Israel chose our fathers, and exalted the people when they dwelt as strangers in the land of Egypt, and with an high arm brought he them out of it.
18 And about the time of forty years suffered he their manners in the wilderness.
19 And when he had destroyed seven nations in the land of Chanaan, he divided their land to them by lot.
20 And after that he gave unto them judges about the space of four hundred and fifty years, until Samuel the prophet.
21 And afterward they desired a king: and God gave unto them Saul the son of Cis, a man of the tribe of Benjamin, by the space of forty years.
22 And when he had removed him, he raised up unto them David to be their king; to whom also he gave their testimony, and said, I have found David the son of Jesse, a man after mine own heart, which shall fulfil all my will.
23 Of this man's seed hath God according to his promise raised unto Israel a Saviour, Jesus:
24 When John had first preached before his coming the baptism of repentance to all the people of Israel.
25 And as John fulfilled his course, he said, Whom think ye that I am? I am not he. But, behold, there cometh one after me, whose shoes of his feet I am not worthy to loose.
26 Men and brethren, children of the stock of Abraham, and whosoever among you feareth God, to you is the word of this salvation sent.
27 For they that dwell at Jerusalem, and their rulers, because they knew him not, nor yet the voices of the prophets which are read every sabbath day, they have fulfilled them in condemning him.
28 And though they found no cause of death in him, yet desired they Pilate that he should be slain.
29 And when they had fulfilled all that was written of him, they took him down from the tree, and laid him in a sepulchre.
30 But God raised him from the dead:
31 And he was seen many days of them which came up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem, who are his witnesses unto the people.
32 And we declare unto you glad tidings, how that the promise which was made unto the fathers,
33 God hath fulfilled the same unto us their children, in that he hath raised up Jesus again; as it is also written in the second psalm, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.
34 And as concerning that he raised him up from the dead, now no more to return to corruption, he said on this wise, I will give you the sure mercies of David.
35 Wherefore he saith also in another psalm, Thou shalt not suffer thine Holy One to see corruption.
36 For David, after he had served his own generation by the will of God, fell on sleep, and was laid unto his fathers, and saw corruption:
37 But he, whom God raised again, saw no corruption.

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38 Be it known unto you therefore, men and brethren, that through this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins:
39 And by him all that believe are justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses.
40 Beware therefore, lest that come upon you, which is spoken of in the prophets;
41 Behold, ye despisers, and wonder, and perish: for I work a work in your days, a work which ye shall in no wise believe, though a man declare it unto you.
42 And when the Jews were gone out of the synagogue, the Gentiles besought that these words might be preached to them the next sabbath.
43 Now when the congregation was broken up, many of the Jews and religious proselytes followed Paul and Barnabas: who, speaking to them, persuaded them to continue in the grace of God.
44 And the next sabbath day came almost the whole city together to hear the word of God.
45 But when the Jews saw the multitudes, they were filled with envy, and spake against those things which were spoken by Paul, contradicting and blaspheming.
46 Then Paul and Barnabas waxed bold, and said, It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you: but seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles.
47 For so hath the Lord commanded us, saying, I have set thee to be a light of the Gentiles, that thou shouldest be for salvation unto the ends of the earth.
48 And when the Gentiles heard this, they were glad, and glorified the word of the Lord: and as many as were ordained to eternal life believed.
49 And the word of the Lord was published throughout all the region.
50 But the Jews stirred up the devout and honourable women, and the chief men of the city, and raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coasts.
51 But they shook off the dust of their feet against them, and came unto Iconium.
52 And the disciples were filled with joy, and with the Holy Ghost.

ACTS CHAPTER 14

1 And it came to pass in Iconium, that they went both together into the synagogue of the Jews, and so spake, that a great multitude both of the Jews and also of the Greeks believed.
2 But the unbelieving Jews stirred up the Gentiles, and made their minds evil affected against the brethren.
3 Long time therefore abode they speaking boldly in the Lord, which gave testimony unto the word of his grace, and granted signs and wonders to be done by their hands.
4 But the multitude of the city was divided: and part held with the Jews, and part with the apostles.
5 And when there was an assault made both of the Gentiles, and also of the Jews with their rulers, to use them despitefully, and to stone them,
6 They were ware of it, and fled unto Lystra and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia, and unto the region that lieth round about:
7 And there they preached the gospel.
8 And there sat a certain man at Lystra, impotent in his feet, being a cripple from his mother's womb, who never had walked:
9 The same heard Paul speak: who stedfastly beholding him, and perceiving that he had faith to be healed,
10 Said with a loud voice, Stand upright on thy feet. And he leaped and walked.
11 And when the people saw what Paul had done, they lifted up their voices, saying in the speech of Lycaonia, The gods are come down to us in the likeness of men.
12 And they called Barnabas, Jupiter; and Paul, Mercurius, because he was the chief speaker.
13 Then the priest of Jupiter, which was before their city, brought oxen and garlands unto the gates, and would have done sacrifice with the people.
14 Which when the apostles, Barnabas and Paul, heard of, they rent their clothes, and ran in among the people, crying out,
15 And saying, Sirs, why do ye these things? We also are men of like passions with you, and preach unto you that ye should turn from these vanities unto the living God, which made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and all things that are therein:
16 Who in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways.
17 Nevertheless he left not himself without witness, in that he did good, and gave us rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness.
18 And with these sayings scarce restrained they the people, that they had not done sacrifice unto them.
19 And there came thither certain Jews from Antioch and Iconium, who persuaded the people, and having stoned Paul, drew him out of the city, supposing he had been dead.
20 Howbeit, as the disciples stood round about him, he rose up, and came into the city: and the next day he departed with Barnabas to Derbe.
21 And when they had preached the gospel to that city, and had taught many, they returned again to Lystra, and to Iconium, and Antioch,
22 Confirming the souls of the disciples, and exhorting them to continue in the faith, and that we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God.
23 And when they had ordained them elders in every church, and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they believed.
24 And after they had passed throughout Pisidia, they came to Pamphylia.
25 And when they had preached the word in Perga, they went down into Attalia:
26 And thence sailed to Antioch, from whence they had been recommended to the grace of God for the work which they fulfilled.
27 And when they were come, and had gathered the church together, they rehearsed all that God had done with them, and how he had opened the door of faith unto the Gentiles.
28 And there they abode long time with the disciples.

ACTS CHAPTER 15

1 And certain men which came down from Judaea taught the brethren, and said, Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved.
2 When therefore Paul and Barnabas had no small dissension and disputation with them, they determined that Paul and Barnabas, and certain other of them, should go up to Jerusalem unto the apostles and elders about this question.
3 And being brought on their way by the church, they passed through Phenice and Samaria, declaring the conversion of the Gentiles: and they caused great joy unto all the brethren.
4 And when they were come to Jerusalem, they were received of the church, and of the apostles and elders, and they declared all things that God had done with them.
5 But there rose up certain of the sect of the Pharisees which believed, saying, That it was needful to circumcise them, and to command them to keep the law of Moses.
6 And the apostles and elders came together for to consider of this matter.
7 And when there had been much disputing, Peter rose up, and said unto them, Men and brethren, ye know how that a good while ago God made choice among us, that the Gentiles by my mouth should hear the word of the gospel, and believe.
8 And God, which knoweth the hearts, bare them witness, giving them the Holy Ghost, even as he did unto us;
9 And put no difference between us and them, purifying their hearts by faith.
10 Now therefore why tempt ye God, to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear?
11 But we believe that through the grace of the LORD Jesus Christ we shall be saved, even as they.
12 Then all the multitude kept silence, and gave audience to Barnabas and Paul, declaring what miracles and wonders God had wrought among the Gentiles by them.
13 And after they had held their peace, James answered, saying, Men and brethren, hearken unto me:
14 Simeon hath declared how God at the first did visit the Gentiles, to take out of them a people for his name.
15 And to this agree the words of the prophets; as it is written,
16 After this I will return, and will build again the tabernacle of David, which is fallen down; and I will build again the ruins thereof, and I will set it up:
17 That the residue of men might seek after the Lord, and all the Gentiles, upon whom my name is called, saith the Lord, who doeth all these things.
18 Known unto God are all his works from the beginning of the world.
19 Wherefore my sentence is, that we trouble not them, which from among the Gentiles are turned to God:
20 But that we write unto them, that they abstain from pollutions of idols, and from fornication, and from things strangled, and from blood.
21 For Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every sabbath day.
22 Then pleased it the apostles and elders with the whole church, to send chosen men of their own company to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas; namely, Judas surnamed Barsabas and Silas, chief men among the brethren:
23 And they wrote letters by them after this manner; The apostles and elders and brethren send greeting unto the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia.
24 Forasmuch as we have heard, that certain which went out from us have troubled you with words, subverting your souls, saying, Ye must be circumcised, and keep the law: to whom we gave no such commandment:
25 It seemed good unto us, being assembled with one accord, to send chosen men unto you with our beloved Barnabas and Paul,
26 Men that have hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.
27 We have sent therefore Judas and Silas, who shall also tell you the same things by mouth.
28 For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things;
29 That ye abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication: from which if ye keep yourselves, ye shall do well. Fare ye well.
30 So when they were dismissed, they came to Antioch: and when they had gathered the multitude together, they delivered the epistle:
31 Which when they had read, they rejoiced for the consolation.
32 And Judas and Silas, being prophets also themselves, exhorted the brethren with many words, and confirmed them.
33 And after they had tarried there a space, they were let go in peace from the brethren unto the apostles.
34 Notwithstanding it pleased Silas to abide there still.
35 Paul also and Barnabas continued in Antioch, teaching and preaching the word of the Lord, with many others also.
36 And some days after Paul said unto Barnabas, Let us go again and visit our brethren in every city where we have preached the word of the LORD, and see how they do.
37 And Barnabas determined to take with them John, whose surname was Mark.
38 But Paul thought not good to take him with them, who departed from them from Pamphylia, and went not with them to the work.
39 And the contention was so sharp between them, that they departed asunder one from the other: and so Barnabas took Mark, and sailed unto Cyprus;
40 And Paul chose Silas, and departed, being recommended by the brethren unto the grace of God.
41 And he went through Syria and Cilicia, confirming the churches.

ACTS CHAPTER 16

1 Then came he to Derbe and Lystra: and, behold, a certain disciple was there, named Timotheus, the son of a certain woman, which was a Jewess, and believed; but his father was a Greek:
2 Which was well reported of by the brethren that were at Lystra and Iconium.
3 Him would Paul have to go forth with him; and took and circumcised him because of the Jews which were in those quarters: for they knew all that his father was a Greek.
4 And as they went through the cities, they delivered them the decrees for to keep, that were ordained of the apostles and elders which were at Jerusalem.
5 And so were the churches established in the faith, and increased in number daily.
6 Now when they had gone throughout Phrygia and the region of Galatia, and were forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia,
7 After they were come to Mysia, they assayed to go into Bithynia: but the Spirit suffered them not.
8 And they passing by Mysia came down to Troas.
9 And a vision appeared to Paul in the night; There stood a man of Macedonia, and prayed him, saying, Come over into Macedonia, and help us.
10 And after he had seen the vision, immediately we endeavoured to go into Macedonia, assuredly gathering that the Lord had called us for to preach the gospel unto them.
11 Therefore loosing from Troas, we came with a straight course to Samothracia, and the next day to Neapolis;
12 And from thence to Philippi, which is the chief city of that part of Macedonia, and a colony: and we were in that city abiding certain days.
13 And on the sabbath we went out of the city by a river side, where prayer was wont to be made; and we sat down, and spake unto the women which resorted thither.
14 And a certain woman named Lydia, a seller of purple, of the city of Thyatira, which worshipped God, heard us: whose heart the Lord opened, that she attended unto the things which were spoken of Paul.
15 And when she was baptised, and her household, she besought us, saying, If ye have judged me to be faithful to the Lord, come into my house, and abide there. And she constrained us.
16 And it came to pass, as we went to prayer, a certain damsel possessed with a spirit of divination met us, which brought her masters much gain by soothsaying:
17 The same followed Paul and us, and cried, saying, These men are the servants of the most high God, which shew unto us the way of salvation.
18 And this did she many days. But Paul, being grieved, turned and said to the spirit, I command thee in the name of Jesus Christ to come out of her. And he came out the same hour.

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19 And when her masters saw that the hope of their gains was gone, they caught Paul and Silas, and drew them into the marketplace unto the rulers,
20 And brought them to the magistrates, saying, These men, being Jews, do exceedingly trouble our city,
21 And teach customs, which are not lawful for us to receive, neither to observe, being Romans.
22 And the multitude rose up together against them: and the magistrates rent off their clothes, and commanded to beat them.
23 And when they had laid many stripes upon them, they cast them into prison, charging the jailor to keep them safely:
24 Who, having received such a charge, thrust them into the inner prison, and made their feet fast in the stocks.
25 And at midnight Paul and Silas prayed, and sang praises unto God: and the prisoners heard them.
26 And suddenly there was a great earthquake, so that the foundations of the prison were shaken: and immediately all the doors were opened, and every one's bands were loosed.
27 And the keeper of the prison awaking out of his sleep, and seeing the prison doors open, he drew out his sword, and would have killed himself, supposing that the prisoners had been fled.
28 But Paul cried with a loud voice, saying, Do thyself no harm: for we are all here.
29 Then he called for a light, and sprang in, and came trembling, and fell down before Paul and Silas,
30 And brought them out, and said, Sirs, what must I do to be saved?
31 And they said, Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and thy house.
32 And they spake unto him the word of the Lord, and to all that were in his house.
33 And he took them the same hour of the night, and washed their stripes; and was baptised, he and all his, straightway.
34 And when he had brought them into his house, he set meat before them, and rejoiced, believing in God with all his house.
35 And when it was day, the magistrates sent the serjeants, saying, Let those men go.
36 And the keeper of the prison told this saying to Paul, The magistrates have sent to let you go: now therefore depart, and go in peace.
37 But Paul said unto them, They have beaten us openly uncondemned, being Romans, and have cast us into prison; and now do they thrust us out privily? nay verily; but let them come themselves and fetch us out.
38 And the serjeants told these words unto the magistrates: and they feared, when they heard that they were Romans.
39 And they came and besought them, and brought them out, and desired them to depart out of the city.
40 And they went out of the prison, and entered into the house of Lydia: and when they had seen the brethren, they comforted them, and departed.

ACTS CHAPTER 17

1 Now when they had passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia, they came to Thessalonica, where was a synagogue of the Jews:
2 And Paul, as his manner was, went in unto them, and three sabbath days reasoned with them out of the scriptures,
3 Opening and alleging, that Christ must needs have suffered, and risen again from the dead; and that this Jesus, whom I preach unto you, is Christ.
4 And some of them believed, and consorted with Paul and Silas; and of the devout Greeks a great multitude, and of the chief women not a few.
5 But the Jews which believed not, moved with envy, took unto them certain lewd fellows of the baser sort, and gathered a company, and set all the city on an uproar, and assaulted the house of Jason, and sought to bring them out to the people.
6 And when they found them not, they drew Jason and certain brethren unto the rulers of the city, crying, These that have turned the world upside down are come hither also;
7 Whom Jason hath received: and these all do contrary to the decrees of Caesar, saying that there is another king, one Jesus.
8 And they troubled the people and the rulers of the city, when they heard these things.
9 And when they had taken security of Jason, and of the other, they let them go.
10 And the brethren immediately sent away Paul and Silas by night unto Berea: who coming thither went into the synagogue of the Jews.
11 These were more noble than those in Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the scriptures daily, whether those things were so.
12 Therefore many of them believed; also of honourable women which were Greeks, and of men, not a few.
13 But when the Jews of Thessalonica had knowledge that the word of God was preached of Paul at Berea, they came thither also, and stirred up the people.
14 And then immediately the brethren sent away Paul to go as it were to the sea: but Silas and Timotheus abode there still.
15 And they that conducted Paul brought him unto Athens: and receiving a commandment unto Silas and Timotheus for to come to him with all speed, they departed.
16 Now while Paul waited for them at Athens, his spirit was stirred in him, when he saw the city wholly given to idolatry.
17 Therefore disputed he in the synagogue with the Jews, and with the devout persons, and in the market daily with them that met with him.
18 Then certain philosophers of the Epicureans, and of the Stoicks, encountered him. And some said, What will this babbler say? other some, He seemeth to be a setter forth of strange gods: because he preached unto them Jesus, and the resurrection.
19 And they took him, and brought him unto Areopagus, saying, May we know what this new doctrine, whereof thou speakest, is?
20 For thou bringest certain strange things to our ears: we would know therefore what these things mean.
21 (For all the Athenians and strangers which were there spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell, or to hear some new thing.)
22 Then Paul stood in the midst of Mars' hill, and said, Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious.
23 For as I passed by, and beheld your devotions, I found an altar with this inscription, TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you.
24 God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands;
25 Neither is worshipped with men's hands, as though he needed any thing, seeing he giveth to all life, and breath, and all things;
26 And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation;
27 That they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he be not far from every one of us:
28 For in him we live, and move, and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring.
29 Forasmuch then as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art and man's device.
30 And the times of this ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth all men every where to repent:
31 Because he hath appointed a day, in the which he will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained; whereof he hath given assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead.
32 And when they heard of the resurrection of the dead, some mocked: and others said, We will hear thee again of this matter.
33 So Paul departed from among them.
34 Howbeit certain men clave unto him, and believed: among the which was Dionysius the Areopagite, and a woman named Damaris, and others with them.

ACTS CHAPTER 18

1 After these things Paul departed from Athens, and came to Corinth;
2 And found a certain Jew named Aquila, born in Pontus, lately come from Italy, with his wife Priscilla; (because that Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome:) and came unto them.
3 And because he was of the same craft, he abode with them, and wrought: for by their occupation they were tentmakers.
4 And he reasoned in the synagogue every sabbath, and persuaded the Jews and the Greeks.
5 And when Silas and Timotheus were come from Macedonia, Paul was pressed in the spirit, and testified to the Jews that Jesus was Christ.
6 And when they opposed themselves, and blasphemed, he shook his raiment, and said unto them, Your blood be upon your own heads; I am clean; from henceforth I will go unto the Gentiles.
7 And he departed thence, and entered into a certain man's house, named Justus, one that worshipped God, whose house joined hard to the synagogue.
8 And Crispus, the chief ruler of the synagogue, believed on the Lord with all his house; and many of the Corinthians hearing believed, and were baptised.
9 Then spake the Lord to Paul in the night by a vision, Be not afraid, but speak, and hold not thy peace:
10 For I am with thee, and no man shall set on thee to hurt thee: for I have much people in this city.
11 And he continued there a year and six months, teaching the word of God among them.
12 And when Gallio was the deputy of Achaia, the Jews made insurrection with one accord against Paul, and brought him to the judgement seat,
13 Saying, This fellow persuadeth men to worship God contrary to the law.
14 And when Paul was now about to open his mouth, Gallio said unto the Jews, If it were a matter of wrong or wicked lewdness, O ye Jews, reason would that I should bear with you:
15 But if it be a question of words and names, and of your law, look ye to it; for I will be no judge of such matters.
16 And he drave them from the judgement seat.
17 Then all the Greeks took Sosthenes, the chief ruler of the synagogue, and beat him before the judgement seat. And Gallio cared for none of those things.
18 And Paul after this tarried there yet a good while, and then took his leave of the brethren, and sailed thence into Syria, and with him Priscilla and Aquila; having shorn his head in Cenchrea: for he had a vow.
19 And he came to Ephesus, and left them there: but he himself entered into the synagogue, and reasoned with the Jews.
20 When they desired him to tarry longer time with them, he consented not;
21 But bade them farewell, saying, I must by all means keep this feast that cometh in Jerusalem: but I will return again unto you, if God will. And he sailed from Ephesus.
22 And when he had landed at Caesarea, and gone up, and saluted the church, he went down to Antioch.
23 And after he had spent some time there, he departed, and went over all the country of Galatia and Phrygia in order, strengthening all the disciples.
24 And a certain Jew named Apollos, born at Alexandria, an eloquent man, and mighty in the scriptures, came to Ephesus.
25 This man was instructed in the way of the Lord; and being fervent in the spirit, he spake and taught diligently the things of the Lord, knowing only the baptism of John.
26 And he began to speak boldly in the synagogue: whom when Aquila and Priscilla had heard, they took him unto them, and expounded unto him the way of God more perfectly.
27 And when he was disposed to pass into Achaia, the brethren wrote, exhorting the disciples to receive him: who, when he was come, helped them much which had believed through grace:
28 For he mightily convinced the Jews, and that publickly, shewing by the scriptures that Jesus was Christ.

ACTS CHAPTER 19

1 And it came to pass, that, while Apollos was at Corinth, Paul having passed through the upper coasts came to Ephesus: and finding certain disciples,
2 He said unto them, Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed? And they said unto him, We have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost.
3 And he said unto them, Unto what then were ye baptised? And they said, Unto John's baptism.
4 Then said Paul, John verily baptised with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people, that they should believe on him which should come after him, that is, on Christ Jesus.
5 When they heard this, they were baptised in the name of the Lord Jesus.
6 And when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came on them; and they spake with tongues, and prophesied.
7 And all the men were about twelve.
8 And he went into the synagogue, and spake boldly for the space of three months, disputing and persuading the things concerning the kingdom of God.
9 But when divers were hardened, and believed not, but spake evil of that way before the multitude, he departed from them, and separated the disciples, disputing daily in the school of one Tyrannus.
10 And this continued by the space of two years; so that all they which dwelt in Asia heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks.
11 And God wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul:
12 So that from his body were brought unto the sick handkerchiefs or aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out of them.
13 Then certain of the vagabond Jews, exorcists, took upon them to call over them which had evil spirits the name of the LORD Jesus, saying, We adjure you by Jesus whom Paul preacheth.
14 And there were seven sons of one Sceva, a Jew, and chief of the priests, which did so.
15 And the evil spirit answered and said, Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are ye?
16 And the man in whom the evil spirit was leaped on them, and overcame them, and prevailed against them, so that they fled out of that house naked and wounded.
17 And this was known to all the Jews and Greeks also dwelling at Ephesus; and fear fell on them all, and the name of the Lord Jesus was magnified.

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18 And many that believed came, and confessed, and shewed their deeds.
19 Many of them also which used curious arts brought their books together, and burned them before all men: and they counted the price of them, and found it fifty thousand pieces of silver.
20 So mightily grew the word of God and prevailed.
21 After these things were ended, Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying, After I have been there, I must also see Rome.
22 So he sent into Macedonia two of them that ministered unto him, Timotheus and Erastus; but he himself stayed in Asia for a season.
23 And the same time there arose no small stir about that way.
24 For a certain man named Demetrius, a silversmith, which made silver shrines for Diana, brought no small gain unto the craftsmen;
25 Whom he called together with the workmen of like occupation, and said, Sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our wealth.
26 Moreover ye see and hear, that not alone at Ephesus, but almost throughout all Asia, this Paul hath persuaded and turned away much people, saying that they be no gods, which are made with hands:
27 So that not only this our craft is in danger to be set at nought; but also that the temple of the great goddess Diana should be despised, and her magnificence should be destroyed, whom all Asia and the world worshippeth.
28 And when they heard these sayings, they were full of wrath, and cried out, saying, Great is Diana of the Ephesians.
29 And the whole city was filled with confusion: and having caught Gaius and Aristarchus, men of Macedonia, Paul's companions in travel, they rushed with one accord into the theatre.
30 And when Paul would have entered in unto the people, the disciples suffered him not.
31 And certain of the chief of Asia, which were his friends, sent unto him, desiring him that he would not adventure himself into the theatre.
32 Some therefore cried one thing, and some another: for the assembly was confused: and the more part knew not wherefore they were come together.
33 And they drew Alexander out of the multitude, the Jews putting him forward. And Alexander beckoned with the hand, and would have made his defence unto the people.
34 But when they knew that he was a Jew, all with one voice about the space of two hours cried out, Great is Diana of the Ephesians.
35 And when the townclerk had appeased the people, he said, Ye men of Ephesus, what man is there that knoweth not how that the city of the Ephesians is a worshipper of the great goddess Diana, and of the image which fell down from Jupiter?
36 Seeing then that these things cannot be spoken against, ye ought to be quiet, and to do nothing rashly.
37 For ye have brought hither these men, which are neither robbers of churches, nor yet blasphemers of your goddess.
38 Wherefore if Demetrius, and the craftsmen which are with him, have a matter against any man, the law is open, and there are deputies: let them implead one another.
39 But if ye enquire any thing concerning other matters, it shall be determined in a lawful assembly.
40 For we are in danger to be called in question for this day's uproar, there being no cause whereby we may give an account of this concourse.
41 And when he had thus spoken, he dismissed the assembly.

ACTS CHAPTER 20

1 And after the uproar was ceased, Paul called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia.
2 And when he had gone over those parts, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece,
3 And there abode three months. And when the Jews laid wait for him, as he was about to sail into Syria, he purposed to return through Macedonia.
4 And there accompanied him into Asia Sopater of Berea; and of the Thessalonians, Aristarchus and Secundus; and Gaius of Derbe, and Timotheus; and of Asia, Tychicus and Trophimus.
5 These going before tarried for us at Troas.
6 And we sailed away from Philippi after the days of unleavened bread, and came unto them to Troas in five days; where we abode seven days.
7 And upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them, ready to depart on the morrow; and continued his speech until midnight.
8 And there were many lights in the upper chamber, where they were gathered together.
9 And there sat in a window a certain young man named Eutychus, being fallen into a deep sleep: and as Paul was long preaching, he sunk down with sleep, and fell down from the third loft, and was taken up dead.
10 And Paul went down, and fell on him, and embracing him said, Trouble not yourselves; for his life is in him.
11 When he therefore was come up again, and had broken bread, and eaten, and talked a long while, even till break of day, so he departed.
12 And they brought the young man alive, and were not a little comforted.
13 And we went before to ship, and sailed unto Assos, there intending to take in Paul: for so had he appointed, minding himself to go afoot.
14 And when he met with us at Assos, we took him in, and came to Mitylene.
15 And we sailed thence, and came the next day over against Chios; and the next day we arrived at Samos, and tarried at Trogyllium; and the next day we came to Miletus.
16 For Paul had determined to sail by Ephesus, because he would not spend the time in Asia: for he hasted, if it were possible for him, to be at Jerusalem the day of Pentecost.
17 And from Miletus he sent to Ephesus, and called the elders of the church.
18 And when they were come to him, he said unto them, Ye know, from the first day that I came into Asia, after what manner I have been with you at all seasons,
19 Serving the LORD with all humility of mind, and with many tears, and temptations, which befell me by the lying in wait of the Jews:
20 And how I kept back nothing that was profitable unto you, but have shewed you, and have taught you publickly, and from house to house,
21 Testifying both to the Jews, and also to the Greeks, repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ.
22 And now, behold, I go bound in the spirit unto Jerusalem, not knowing the things that shall befall me there:
23 Save that the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city, saying that bonds and afflictions abide me.
24 But none of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry, which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God.
25 And now, behold, I know that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more.
26 Wherefore I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men.
27 For I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God.
28 Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.
29 For I know this, that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock.
30 Also of your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them.
31 Therefore watch, and remember, that by the space of three years I ceased not to warn every one night and day with tears.
32 And now, brethren, I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified.
33 I have coveted no man's silver, or gold, or apparel.
34 Yea, ye yourselves know, that these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and to them that were with me.
35 I have shewed you all things, how that so labouring ye ought to support the weak, and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, It is more blessed to give than to receive.
36 And when he had thus spoken, he kneeled down, and prayed with them all.
37 And they all wept sore, and fell on Paul's neck, and kissed him,
38 Sorrowing most of all for the words which he spake, that they should see his face no more. And they accompanied him unto the ship.

ACTS CHAPTER 21

1 And it came to pass, that after we were gotten from them, and had launched, we came with a straight course unto Coos, and the day following unto Rhodes, and from thence unto Patara:
2 And finding a ship sailing over unto Phenicia, we went aboard, and set forth.
3 Now when we had discovered Cyprus, we left it on the left hand, and sailed into Syria, and landed at Tyre: for there the ship was to unlade her burden.
4 And finding disciples, we tarried there seven days: who said to Paul through the Spirit, that he should not go up to Jerusalem.
5 And when we had accomplished those days, we departed and went our way; and they all brought us on our way, with wives and children, till we were out of the city: and we kneeled down on the shore, and prayed.
6 And when we had taken our leave one of another, we took ship; and they returned home again.
7 And when we had finished our course from Tyre, we came to Ptolemais, and saluted the brethren, and abode with them one day.
8 And the next day we that were of Paul's company departed, and came unto Caesarea: and we entered into the house of Philip the evangelist, which was one of the seven; and abode with him.
9 And the same man had four daughters, virgins, which did prophesy.
10 And as we tarried there many days, there came down from Judaea a certain prophet, named Agabus.
11 And when he was come unto us, he took Paul's girdle, and bound his own hands and feet, and said, Thus saith the Holy Ghost, So shall the Jews at Jerusalem bind the man that owneth this girdle, and shall deliver him into the hands of the Gentiles.
12 And when we heard these things, both we, and they of that place, besought him not to go up to Jerusalem.
13 Then Paul answered, What mean ye to weep and to break mine heart? for I am ready not to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus.
14 And when he would not be persuaded, we ceased, saying, The will of the Lord be done.
15 And after those days we took up our carriages, and went up to Jerusalem.
16 There went with us also certain of the disciples of Caesarea, and brought with them one Mnason of Cyprus, an old disciple, with whom we should lodge.
17 And when we were come to Jerusalem, the brethren received us gladly.
18 And the day following Paul went in with us unto James; and all the elders were present.
19 And when he had saluted them, he declared particularly what things God had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministry.
20 And when they heard it, they glorified the Lord, and said unto him, Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which believe; and they are all zealous of the law:
21 And they are informed of thee, that thou teachest all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, saying that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs.
22 What is it therefore? the multitude must needs come together: for they will hear that thou art come.
23 Do therefore this that we say to thee: We have four men which have a vow on them;
24 Them take, and purify thyself with them, and be at charges with them, that they may shave their heads: and all may know that those things, whereof they were informed concerning thee, are nothing; but that thou thyself also walkest orderly, and keepest the law.
25 As touching the Gentiles which believe, we have written and concluded that they observe no such thing, save only that they keep themselves from things offered to idols, and from blood, and from strangled, and from fornication.
26 Then Paul took the men, and the next day purifying himself with them entered into the temple, to signify the accomplishment of the days of purification, until that an offering should be offered for every one of them.
27 And when the seven days were almost ended, the Jews which were of Asia, when they saw him in the temple, stirred up all the people, and laid hands on him,
28 Crying out, Men of Israel, help: This is the man, that teacheth all men every where against the people, and the law, and this place: and further brought Greeks also into the temple, and hath polluted this holy place.
29 (For they had seen before with him in the city Trophimus an Ephesian, whom they supposed that Paul had brought into the temple.)
30 And all the city was moved, and the people ran together: and they took Paul, and drew him out of the temple: and forthwith the doors were shut.
31 And as they went about to kill him, tidings came unto the chief captain of the band, that all Jerusalem was in an uproar.
32 Who immediately took soldiers and centurions, and ran down unto them: and when they saw the chief captain and the soldiers, they left beating of Paul.
33 Then the chief captain came near, and took him, and commanded him to be bound with two chains; and demanded who he was, and what he had done.
34 And some cried one thing, some another, among the multitude: and when he could not know the certainty for the tumult, he commanded him to be carried into the castle.
35 And when he came upon the stairs, so it was, that he was borne of the soldiers for the violence of the people.
36 For the multitude of the people followed after, crying, Away with him.

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37 And as Paul was to be led into the castle, he said unto the chief captain, May I speak unto thee? Who said, Canst thou speak Greek?
38 Art not thou that Egyptian, which before these days madest an uproar, and leddest out into the wilderness four thousand men that were murderers?
39 But Paul said, I am a man which am a Jew of Tarsus, a city in Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city: and, I beseech thee, suffer me to speak unto the people.
40 And when he had given him licence, Paul stood on the stairs, and beckoned with the hand unto the people. And when there was made a great silence, he spake unto them in the Hebrew tongue, saying,

ACTS CHAPTER 22
1 Men, brethren, and fathers, hear ye my defence which I make now unto you.
2 (And when they heard that he spake in the Hebrew tongue to them, they kept the more silence: and he saith,)
3 I am verily a man which am a Jew, born in Tarsus, a city in Cilicia, yet brought up in this city at the feet of Gamaliel, and taught according to the perfect manner of the law of the fathers, and was zealous toward God, as ye all are this day.
4 And I persecuted this way unto the death, binding and delivering into prisons both men and women.
5 As also the high priest doth bear me witness, and all the estate of the elders: from whom also I received letters unto the brethren, and went to Damascus, to bring them which were there bound unto Jerusalem, for to be punished.
6 And it came to pass, that, as I made my journey, and was come nigh unto Damascus about noon, suddenly there shone from heaven a great light round about me.
7 And I fell unto the ground, and heard a voice saying unto me, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?
8 And I answered, Who art thou, Lord? And he said unto me, I am Jesus of Nazareth, whom thou persecutest.
9 And they that were with me saw indeed the light, and were afraid; but they heard not the voice of him that spake to me.
10 And I said, What shall I do, LORD? And the Lord said unto me, Arise, and go into Damascus; and there it shall be told thee of all things which are appointed for thee to do.
11 And when I could not see for the glory of that light, being led by the hand of them that were with me, I came into Damascus.
12 And one Ananias, a devout man according to the law, having a good report of all the Jews which dwelt there,
13 Came unto me, and stood, and said unto me, Brother Saul, receive thy sight. And the same hour I looked up upon him.
14 And he said, The God of our fathers hath chosen thee, that thou shouldest know his will, and see that Just One, and shouldest hear the voice of his mouth.
15 For thou shalt be his witness unto all men of what thou hast seen and heard.
16 And now why tarriest thou? arise, and be baptised, and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord.
17 And it came to pass, that, when I was come again to Jerusalem, even while I prayed in the temple, I was in a trance;
18 And saw him saying unto me, Make haste, and get thee quickly out of Jerusalem: for they will not receive thy testimony concerning me.
19 And I said, Lord, they know that I imprisoned and beat in every synagogue them that believed on thee:
20 And when the blood of thy martyr Stephen was shed, I also was standing by, and consenting unto his death, and kept the raiment of them that slew him.
21 And he said unto me, Depart: for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles.
22 And they gave him audience unto this word, and then lifted up their voices, and said, Away with such a fellow from the earth: for it is not fit that he should live.
23 And as they cried out, and cast off their clothes, and threw dust into the air,
24 The chief captain commanded him to be brought into the castle, and bade that he should be examined by scourging; that he might know wherefore they cried so against him.
25 And as they bound him with thongs, Paul said unto the centurion that stood by, Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman, and uncondemned?
26 When the centurion heard that, he went and told the chief captain, saying, Take heed what thou doest: for this man is a Roman.
27 Then the chief captain came, and said unto him, Tell me, art thou a Roman? He said, Yea.
28 And the chief captain answered, With a great sum obtained I this freedom. And Paul said, But I was free born.
29 Then straightway they departed from him which should have examined him: and the chief captain also was afraid, after he knew that he was a Roman, and because he had bound him.
30 On the morrow, because he would have known the certainty wherefore he was accused of the Jews, he loosed him from his bands, and commanded the chief priests and all their council to appear, and brought Paul down, and set him before them.

ACTS CHAPTER 23
1 And Paul, earnestly beholding the council, said, Men and brethren, I have lived in all good conscience before God until this day.
2 And the high priest Ananias commanded them that stood by him to smite him on the mouth.
3 Then said Paul unto him, God shall smite thee, thou whited wall: for sittest thou to judge me after the law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law?
4 And they that stood by said, Revilest thou God's high priest?
5 Then said Paul, I wist not, brethren, that he was the high priest: for it is written, Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.
6 But when Paul perceived that the one part were Sadducees, and the other Pharisees, he cried out in the council, Men and brethren, I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee: of the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question.
7 And when he had so said, there arose a dissension between the Pharisees and the Sadducees: and the multitude was divided.
8 For the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit: but the Pharisees confess both.
9 And there arose a great cry: and the scribes that were of the Pharisees' part arose, and strove, saying, We find no evil in this man: but if a spirit or an angel hath spoken to him, let us not fight against God.
10 And when there arose a great dissension, the chief captain, fearing lest Paul should have been pulled in pieces of them, commanded the soldiers to go down, and to take him by force from among them, and to bring him into the castle.
11 And the night following the Lord stood by him, and said, Be of good cheer, Paul: for as thou hast testified of me in Jerusalem, so must thou bear witness also at Rome.
12 And when it was day, certain of the Jews banded together, and bound themselves under a curse, saying that they would neither eat nor drink till they had killed Paul.
13 And they were more than forty which had made this conspiracy.
14 And they came to the chief priests and elders, and said, We have bound ourselves under a great curse, that we will eat nothing until we have slain Paul.
15 Now therefore ye with the council signify to the chief captain that he bring him down unto you to morrow, as though ye would enquire something more perfectly concerning him: and we, or ever he come near, are ready to kill him.
16 And when Paul's sister's son heard of their lying in wait, he went and entered into the castle, and told Paul.
17 Then Paul called one of the centurions unto him, and said, Bring this young man unto the chief captain: for he hath a certain thing to tell him.
18 So he took him, and brought him to the chief captain, and said, Paul the prisoner called me unto him, and prayed me to bring this young man unto thee, who hath something to say unto thee.
19 Then the chief captain took him by the hand, and went with him aside privately, and asked him, What is that thou hast to tell me?
20 And he said, The Jews have agreed to desire thee that thou wouldest bring down Paul to morrow into the council, as though they would enquire somewhat of him more perfectly.
21 But do not thou yield unto them: for there lie in wait for him of them more than forty men, which have bound themselves with an oath, that they will neither eat nor drink till they have killed him: and now are they ready, looking for a promise from thee.
22 So the chief captain then let the young man depart, and charged him, See thou tell no man that thou hast shewed these things to me.
23 And he called unto him two centurions, saying, Make ready two hundred soldiers to go to Caesarea, and horsemen threescore and ten, and spearmen two hundred, at the third hour of the night;
24 And provide them beasts, that they may set Paul on, and bring him safe unto Felix the governor.
25 And he wrote a letter after this manner:
26 Claudius Lysias unto the most excellent governor Felix sendeth greeting.
27 This man was taken of the Jews, and should have been killed of them: then came I with an army, and rescued him, having understood that he was a Roman.
28 And when I would have known the cause wherefore they accused him, I brought him forth into their council:
29 Whom I perceived to be accused of questions of their law, but to have nothing laid to his charge worthy of death or of bonds.
30 And when it was told me how that the Jews laid wait for the man, I sent straightway to thee, and gave commandment to his accusers also to say before thee what they had against him. Farewell.
31 Then the soldiers, as it was commanded them, took Paul, and brought him by night to Antipatris.
32 On the morrow they left the horsemen to go with him, and returned to the castle:
33 Who, when they came to Caesarea and delivered the epistle to the governor, presented Paul also before him.
34 And when the governor had read the letter, he asked of what province he was. And when he understood that he was of Cilicia;
35 I will hear thee, said he, when thine accusers are also come. And he commanded him to be kept in Herod's judgement hall.

ACTS CHAPTER 24
1 And after five days Ananias the high priest descended with the elders, and with a certain orator named Tertullus, who informed the governor against Paul.
2 And when he was called forth, Tertullus began to accuse him, saying, Seeing that by thee we enjoy great quietness, and that very worthy deeds are done unto this nation by thy providence,
3 We accept it always, and in all places, most noble Felix, with all thankfulness.
4 Notwithstanding, that I be not further tedious unto thee, I pray thee that thou wouldest hear us of thy clemency a few words.
5 For we have found this man a pestilent fellow, and a mover of sedition among all the Jews throughout the world, and a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes:
6 Who also hath gone about to profane the temple: whom we took, and would have judged according to our law.
7 But the chief captain Lysias came upon us, and with great violence took him away out of our hands,
8 Commanding his accusers to come unto thee: by examining of whom thyself mayest take knowledge of all these things, whereof we accuse him.
9 And the Jews also assented, saying that these things were so.
10 Then Paul, after that the governor had beckoned unto him to speak, answered, Forasmuch as I know that thou hast been of many years a judge unto this nation, I do the more cheerfully answer for myself:
11 Because that thou mayest understand, that there are yet but twelve days since I went up to Jerusalem for to worship.
12 And they neither found me in the temple disputing with any man, neither raising up the people, neither in the synagogues, nor in the city:
13 Neither can they prove the things whereof they now accuse me.
14 But this I confess unto thee, that after the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and in the prophets:
15 And have hope toward God, which they themselves also allow, that there shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust.
16 And herein do I exercise myself, to have always a conscience void to offence toward God, and toward men.
17 Now after many years I came to bring alms to my nation, and offerings.
18 Whereupon certain Jews from Asia found me purified in the temple, neither with multitude, nor with tumult.
19 Who ought to have been here before thee, and object, if they had ought against me.
20 Or else let these same here say, if they have found any evil doing in me, while I stood before the council,
21 Except it be for this one voice, that I cried standing among them, Touching the resurrection of the dead I am called in question by you this day.
22 And when Felix heard these things, having more perfect knowledge of that way, he deferred them, and said, When Lysias the chief captain shall come down, I will know the uttermost of your matter.
23 And he commanded a centurion to keep Paul, and to let him have liberty, and that he should forbid none of his acquaintance to minister or come unto him.
24 And after certain days, when Felix came with his wife Drusilla, which was a Jewess, he sent for Paul, and heard him concerning the faith in Christ.
25 And as he reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgement to come, Felix trembled, and answered, Go thy way for this time; when I have a convenient season, I will call for thee.
26 He hoped also that money should have been given him of Paul, that he might loose him: wherefore he sent for him the oftener, and communed with him.
27 But after two years Porcius Festus came into Felix' room: and Felix, willing to shew the Jews a pleasure, left Paul bound.

ACTS CHAPTER 25
1 Now when Festus was come into the province, after three days he ascended from Caesarea to Jerusalem.
2 Then the high priest and the chief of the Jews informed him against Paul, and besought him,

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3 And desired favour against him, that he would send for him to Jerusalem, laying wait in the way to kill him.
4 But Festus answered, that Paul should be kept at Caesarea, and that he himself would depart shortly thither.
5 Let them therefore, said he, which among you are able, go down with me, and accuse this man, if there be any wickedness in him.
6 And when he had tarried among them more than ten days, he went down unto Caesarea; and the next day sitting on the judgement seat commanded Paul to be brought.
7 And when he was come, the Jews which came down from Jerusalem stood round about, and laid many and grievous complaints against Paul, which they could not prove.
8 While he answered for himself, Neither against the law of the Jews, neither against the temple, nor yet against Caesar, have I offended any thing at all.
9 But Festus, willing to do the Jews a pleasure, answered Paul, and said, Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these things before me?
10 Then said Paul, I stand at Caesar's judgement seat, where I ought to be judged: to the Jews have I done no wrong, as thou very well knowest.
11 For if I be an offender, or have committed any thing worthy of death, I refuse not to die: but if there be none of these things whereof these accuse me, no man may deliver me unto them. I appeal unto Caesar.
12 Then Festus, when he had conferred with the council, answered, Hast thou appealed unto Caesar? unto Caesar shalt thou go.
13 And after certain days king Agrippa and Bernice came unto Caesarea to salute Festus.
14 And when they had been there many days, Festus declared Paul's cause unto the king, saying, There is a certain man left in bonds by Felix:
15 About whom, when I was at Jerusalem, the chief priests and the elders of the Jews informed me, desiring to have judgement against him.
16 To whom I answered, It is not the manner of the Romans to deliver any man to die, before that he which is accused have the accusers face to face, and have licence to answer for himself concerning the crime laid against him.
17 Therefore, when they were come hither, without any delay on the morrow I sat on the judgement seat, and commanded the man to be brought forth.
18 Against whom when the accusers stood up, they brought none accusation of such things as I supposed:
19 But had certain questions against him of their own superstition, and of one Jesus, which was dead, whom Paul affirmed to be alive.
20 And because I doubted of such manner of questions, I asked him whether he would go to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these matters.
21 But when Paul had appealed to be reserved unto the hearing of Augustus, I commanded him to be kept till I might send him to Caesar.
22 Then Agrippa said unto Festus, I would also hear the man myself. To morrow, said he, thou shalt hear him.
23 And on the morrow, when Agrippa was come, and Bernice, with great pomp, and was entered into the place of hearing, with the chief captains, and principal men of the city, at Festus' commandment Paul was brought forth.
24 And Festus said, King Agrippa, and all men which are here present with us, ye see this man, about whom all the multitude of the Jews have dealt with me, both at Jerusalem, and also here, crying that he ought not to live any longer.
25 But when I found that he had committed nothing worthy of death, and that he himself hath appealed to Augustus, I have determined to send him.
26 Of whom I have no certain thing to write unto my lord. Wherefore I have brought him forth before you, and specially before thee, O king Agrippa, that, after examination had, I might have somewhat to write.
27 For it seemeth to me unreasonable to send a prisoner, and not withal to signify the crimes laid against him.

ACTS CHAPTER 26

1 Then Agrippa said unto Paul, Thou art permitted to speak for thyself. Then Paul stretched forth the hand, and answered for himself:
2 I think myself happy, king Agrippa, because I shall answer for myself this day before thee touching all the things whereof I am accused of the Jews:
3 Especially because I know thee to be expert in all customs and questions which are among the Jews: wherefore I beseech thee to hear me patiently.
4 My manner of life from my youth, which was at the first among mine own nation at Jerusalem, know all the Jews;
5 Which knew me from the beginning, if they would testify, that after the most straitest sect of our religion I lived a Pharisee.
6 And now I stand and am judged for the hope of the promise made of God, unto our fathers:
7 Unto which promise our twelve tribes, instantly serving God day and night, hope to come. For which hope's sake, king Agrippa, I am accused of the Jews.
8 Why should it be thought a thing incredible with you, that God should raise the dead?
9 I verily thought with myself, that I ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth.
10 Which thing I also did in Jerusalem: and many of the saints did I shut up in prison, having received authority from the chief priests; and when they were put to death, I gave my voice against them.
11 And I punished them oft in every synagogue, and compelled them to blaspheme; and being exceedingly mad against them, I persecuted them even unto strange cities.
12 Whereupon as I went to Damascus with authority and commission from the chief priests,
13 At midday, O king, I saw in the way a light from heaven, above the brightness of the sun, shining round about me and them which journeyed with me.
14 And when we were all fallen to the earth, I heard a voice speaking unto me, and saying in the Hebrew tongue, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks.
15 And I said, Who art thou, Lord? And he said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest.
16 But rise, and stand upon thy feet: for I have appeared unto thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness both of these things which thou hast seen, and of those things in the which I will appear unto thee;
17 Delivering thee from the people, and from the Gentiles, unto whom now I send thee,
18 To open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in me.
19 Whereupon, O king Agrippa, I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision:
20 But shewed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coasts of Judaea, and then to the Gentiles, that they should repent and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance.
21 For these causes the Jews caught me in the temple, and went about to kill me.
22 Having therefore obtained help of God, I continue unto this day, witnessing both to small and great, saying none other things than those which the prophets and Moses did say should come:
23 That Christ should suffer, and that he should be the first that should rise from the dead, and should shew light unto the people, and to the Gentiles.
24 And as he thus spake for himself, Festus said with a loud voice, Paul, thou art beside thyself; much learning doth make thee mad.
25 But he said, I am not mad, most noble Festus; but speak forth the words of truth and soberness.
26 For the king knoweth of these things, before whom also I speak freely: for I am persuaded that none of these things are hidden from him; for this thing was not done in a corner.
27 King Agrippa, believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest.
28 Then Agrippa said unto Paul, Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian.
29 And Paul said, I would to God, that not only thou, but also all that hear me this day, were both almost, and altogether such as I am, except these bonds.
30 And when he had thus spoken, the king rose up, and the governor, and Bernice, and they that sat with them:
31 And when they were gone aside, they talked between themselves, saying, This man doeth nothing worthy of death or of bonds.
32 Then said Agrippa unto Festus, This man might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed unto Caesar.

ACTS CHAPTER 27

1 And when it was determined that we should sail into Italy, they delivered Paul and certain other prisoners unto one named Julius, a centurion of Augustus' band.
2 And entering into a ship of Adramyttium, we launched, meaning to sail by the coasts of Asia; one Aristarchus, a Macedonian of Thessalonica, being with us.
3 And the next day we touched at Sidon. And Julius courteously entreated Paul, and gave him liberty to go unto his friends to refresh himself.
4 And when we had launched from thence, we sailed under Cyprus, because the winds were contrary.
5 And when we had sailed over the sea of Cilicia and Pamphylia, we came to Myra, a city of Lycia.
6 And there the centurion found a ship of Alexandria sailing into Italy; and he put us therein.
7 And when we had sailed slowly many days, and scarce were come over against Cnidus, the wind not suffering us, we sailed under Crete, over against Salmone;
8 And, hardly passing it, came unto a place which is called The fair havens; nigh whereunto was the city of Lasea.
9 Now when much time was spent, and when sailing was now dangerous, because the fast was now already past, Paul admonished them,
10 And said unto them, Sirs, I perceive that this voyage will be with hurt and much damage, not only of the lading and ship, but also of our lives.
11 Nevertheless the centurion believed the master and the owner of the ship, more than those things which were spoken by Paul.
12 And because the haven was not commodious to winter in, the more part advised to depart thence also, if by any means they might attain to Phenice, and there to winter; which is an haven of Crete, and lieth toward the south west and north west.
13 And when the south wind blew softly, supposing that they had obtained their purpose, loosing thence, they sailed close by Crete.
14 But not long after there arose against it a tempestuous wind, called Euroclydon.
15 And when the ship was caught, and could not bear up into the wind, we let her drive.
16 And running under a certain island which is called Clauda, we had much work to come by the boat:
17 Which when they had taken up, they used helps, undergirding the ship; and, fearing lest they should fall into the quicksands, strake sail, and so were driven.
18 And we being exceedingly tossed with a tempest, the next day they lightened the ship;
19 And the third day we cast out with our own hands the tackling of the ship.
20 And when neither sun nor stars in many days appeared, and no small tempest lay on us, all hope that we should be saved was then taken away.
21 But after long abstinence Paul stood forth in the midst of them, and said, Sirs, ye should have hearkened unto me, and not have loosed from Crete, and to have gained this harm and loss.
22 And now I exhort you to be of good cheer: for there shall be no loss of any man's life among you, but of the ship.
23 For there stood by me this night the angel of God, whose I am, and whom I serve,
24 Saying, Fear not, Paul; thou must be brought before Caesar: and, lo, God hath given thee all them that sail with thee.
25 Wherefore, sirs, be of good cheer: for I believe God, that it shall be even as it was told me.
26 Howbeit we must be cast upon a certain island.
27 But when the fourteenth night was come, as we were driven up and down in Adria, about midnight the shipmen deemed that they drew near to some country;
28 And sounded, and found it twenty fathoms: and when they had gone a little further, they sounded again, and found it fifteen fathoms.
29 Then fearing lest we should have fallen upon rocks, they cast four anchors out of the stern, and wished for the day.
30 And as the shipmen were about to flee out of the ship, when they had let down the boat into the sea, under colour as though they would have cast anchors out of the foreship,
31 Paul said to the centurion and to the soldiers, Except these abide in the ship, ye cannot be saved.
32 Then the soldiers cut off the ropes of the boat, and let her fall off.
33 And while the day was coming on, Paul besought them all to take meat, saying, This day is the fourteenth day that ye have tarried and continued fasting, having taken nothing.
34 Wherefore I pray you to take some meat: for this is for your health: for there shall not an hair fall from the head of any of you.
35 And when he had thus spoken, he took bread, and gave thanks to God in presence of them all: and when he had broken it, he began to eat.
36 Then were they all of good cheer, and they also took some meat.
37 And we were in all in the ship two hundred threescore and sixteen souls.
38 And when they had eaten enough, they lightened the ship, and cast out the wheat into the sea.
39 And when it was day, they knew not the land: but they discovered a certain creek with a shore, into the which they were minded, if it were possible, to thrust in the ship.
40 And when they had taken up the anchors, they committed themselves unto the sea, and loosed the rudder bands, and hoised up the mainsail to the wind, and made toward shore.
41 And falling into a place where two seas met, they ran the ship aground; and the forepart stuck fast, and remained unmoveable, but the hinder part was broken with the violence of the waves.
42 And the soldiers' counsel was to kill the prisoners, lest any of them should swim out, and escape.
43 But the centurion, willing to save Paul, kept them from their purpose; and commanded that they which could swim should cast themselves first into the sea, and get to land:

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44 And the rest, some on boards, and some on broken pieces of the ship. And so it came to pass, that they escaped all safe to land.

ACTS CHAPTER 28

1 And when they were escaped, then they knew that the island was called Melita.

2 And the barbarous people shewed us no little kindness: for they kindled a fire, and received us every one, because of the present rain, and because of the cold.

3 And when Paul had gathered a bundle of sticks, and laid them on the fire, there came a viper out of the heat, and fastened on his hand.

4 And when the barbarians saw the venomous beast hang on his hand, they said among themselves, No doubt this man is a murderer, whom, though he hath escaped the sea, yet vengeance suffereth not to live.

5 And he shook off the beast into the fire, and felt no harm.

6 Howbeit they looked when he should have swollen, or fallen down dead suddenly: but after they had looked a great while, and saw no harm come to him, they changed their minds, and said that he was a god.

7 In the same quarters were possessions of the chief man of the island, whose name was Publius; who received us, and lodged us three days courteously.

8 And it came to pass, that the father of Publius lay sick of a fever and of a bloody flux: to whom Paul entered in, and prayed, and laid his hands on him, and healed him.

9 So when this was done, others also, which had diseases in the island, came, and were healed:

10 Who also honoured us with many honours; and when we departed, they laded us with such things as were necessary.

11 And after three months we departed in a ship of Alexandria, which had wintered in the isle, whose sign was Castor and Pollux.

12 And landing at Syracuse, we tarried there three days.

13 And from thence we fetched a compass, and came to Rhegium: and after one day the south wind blew, and we came the next day to Puteoli:

14 Where we found brethren, and were desired to tarry with them seven days: and so we went toward Rome.

15 And from thence, when the brethren heard of us, they came to meet us as far as Appii forum, and The three taverns: whom when Paul saw, he thanked God, and took courage.

16 And when we came to Rome, the centurion delivered the prisoners to the captain of the guard: but Paul was suffered to dwell by himself with a soldier that kept him.

17 And it came to pass, that after three days Paul called the chief of the Jews together: and when they were come together, he said unto them, Men and brethren, though I have committed nothing against the people, or customs of our fathers, yet was I delivered prisoner from Jerusalem into the hands of the Romans.

18 Who, when they had examined me, would have let me go, because there was no cause of death in me.

19 But when the Jews spake against it, I was constrained to appeal unto Caesar; not that I had ought to accuse my nation of.

20 For this cause therefore have I called for you, to see you, and to speak with you: because that for the hope of Israel I am bound with this chain.

21 And they said unto him, We neither received letters out of Judaea concerning thee, neither any of the brethren that came shewed or spake any harm of thee.

22 But we desire to hear of thee what thou thinkest: for as concerning this sect, we know that every where it is spoken against.

23 And when they had appointed him a day, there came many to him into his lodging; to whom he expounded and testified the kingdom of God, persuading them concerning Jesus, both out of the law of Moses, and out of the prophets, from morning till evening.

24 And some believed the things which were spoken, and some believed not.

25 And when they agreed not among themselves, they departed, after that Paul had spoken one word, Well spake the Holy Ghost by Esaias the prophet unto our fathers,

26 Saying, Go unto this people, and say, Hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing ye shall see, and not perceive:

27 For the heart of this people is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes have they closed; lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them.

28 Be it known therefore unto you, that the salvation of God is sent unto the Gentiles, and that they will hear it.

29 And when he had said these words, the Jews departed, and had great reasoning among themselves.

30 And Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him,

31 Preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, no man forbidding him.

GENERAL EPISTLES

or Catholic Epistles

(These epistles are part of the Orthodox and Catholic Bibles. They were part of the English King James Version too from 1611 but have been removed from it in 1885.)

THE EPISTLE OF JAMES

The Letter of James, the Book of James, or simply James.
Author: James the Just, the brother of Jesus, 1st Bishop of the Christian Movement, Bishop of Jerusalem.
Translation: King James Version
Estimated Range of Dating: 70-100 A.D.

(The Epistle of James, the Letter of James, or simply James, is a General epistle and one of the 21 epistles (didactic letters) in the New Testament. It is attributed to James the brother of Jesus. [The name 'James' is an English name corruption of "Jacob", Greek: Iakobos, Latin: Iacobus, Hebrew Aramaic: Yakov.]. There are many other characters in the gospels called James. Scholars assume that these Jameses were created to lead the readers' attention away from the brother of Jesus as he remained a Jew all his life. The gospel writers could not just drop James as he was a well-known leader at the time; they just mentioned other Jameses as often as possibe, such as James, son of Alphaeus; James the Great; and James the Less. History experts call this propaganda style "writing out of history". The entire family of the real Jesus was written out of history because he was very different from the "heavenly Jesus", the god figure, created by Saul of Tarsos. The description of the real Jesus, his family, his disciples would have been an embarrassment to those who wanted to establish the "Christ".

The author identifies himself as "James, a servant [or slave] of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ" who is writing to "the twelve tribes scattered abroad". The epistle is traditionally attributed to James the brother of Jesus (James the Just), and the audience is generally considered to be Jewish Christians, who were dispersed outside Israel. James was the undisputed leader of this very first genuine Jesus movement which was at that time a purely Jewish movement whose members [including Jesus!] perceived themselves as part of the Jewish community. They followed the laws of Moses and had nothing to do with the movement that was later founded by the Roman citizen Saul of Tarsos [Paul the Apostle] and was to become the non-Jewish Christianity we know today; they were not following Moses law but Roman law because most of them were Roman citizens outside of Judaea or Galilee.

As first bishop of Jerusalem, James keeps in touch with Jews in the Holy Land but also with those who live abroad. About 5-10% of the entire population of the Roman Empire are estimated to be Jewish.

Framing his letter within an overall theme of patient perseverance during trials and temptations, James writes in order to encourage his readers to live consistently with what they have learned in Christ. He wants his readers to mature in their faith in Christ by living what they say they believe. He condemns various sins, including pride, hypocrisy, favouritism, and slander. He encourages and implores believers to humbly live by godly, rather than worldly wisdom and to pray in all situations.

For the most part, until the late 20th century, the epistle of James was relegated to benign disregard – though it was shunned by many early theologians and scholars due to its advocacy of Torah observance and good works. Famously, Luther at one time considered the epistle to be among the disputed books, and sidelined it to an appendix, although, elsewhere he called it the authoritative word of God.

The epistle aims to reach a wide Jewish audience. During the last decades, the epistle of James has attracted increasing scholarly interest due to a surge in the quest for the historical James, his role within the Jesus movement, his beliefs, and his relationships and views. This James revival is also associated with an increasing level of awareness of the Jewish grounding of both the epistle and the early Jesus movement.

There is little consensus as to the genre, structure, dating, and authorship of the book of James. There is the possibility that the letter was written by James before the Pauline epistles, and that the letter comprises material originally from James but edited by a later copyist.

The writer refers to himself only as "James, a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ, to the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad, greeting." (James 1:1). According to the gospels, Jesus had two apostles named James: James, the son of Zebedee and James, the son of Alphaeus, but it is unlikely that either of these wrote the letter. According to the Book of Acts, James, the brother of John, was killed by Herod Agrippa I (Acts 12:1–2). James, the son of Alphaeus is a more viable candidate for authorship, although he is not prominent in the scriptural record, and relatively little is known about him. Hippolytus, writing in the early third century, asserted in his work On the 12 Apostles: "And James the son of Alphaeus, when preaching in Jerusalem was stoned to death by the Jews, and was buried there beside the temple." The similarity of his alleged martyrdom to the stoning of James the Just has led some scholars, such as Robert Eisenman and James Tabor, to assume that these "two Jameses" were one and the same. This identification of James of Alphaeus with James the Just (as well as James the Less) has long been asserted. From the middle of the 3rd century, patristic authors cited the epistle as written by James, the brother of Jesus and a leader of the Jerusalem church.

We know more about James than we know about Jesus. As they were brothers, James is the key to understanding what the real Jesus was like. James was very important figure in his own right: Paul the Apostle described him as "the brother of the Lord" in Galatians 1:19 and as one of the three "pillars of the Church" in 2:9. "There is no doubt that James became a much more important person in the early Christian movement than a casual reader of the New Testament is likely to imagine."

The James believers are acquainted with, emerges out of Galatians 1–2; 1 Corinthians 15–17 and Acts 12,15,21. We also have accounts about James in the works of Titus Flavius Josephus, Eusebius, Origen, the Gospel of Didimus Judas Thomas, the Apocalypses of James, the Gospel of the Hebrews and the Pseudo-Clementine literature [of Titus Flavius Clemens] - most of whom cast him as righteous [just] and as the undisputed leader of the Jewish community. His influence is central and palpable in Jerusalem and in Antioch [meaning Edessa]. Although we are dependent on sources dominated and edited by the Pauline Roman Church the role and influence of James can be felt still today.)

JAMES CHAPTER 1

1 James, a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ, to the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad, greeting.

2 My brethren, count it all joy when ye fall into divers temptations;

3 Knowing this, that the trying of your faith worketh patience.

4 But let patience have her perfect work, that ye may be perfect and entire, wanting nothing.

5 If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him.

6 But let him ask in faith, nothing wavering. For he that wavereth is like a wave of the sea driven with the wind and tossed.

7 For let not that man think that he shall receive any thing of the Lord.

8 A double minded man is unstable in all his ways.

9 Let the brother of low degree rejoice in that he is exalted:

10 But the rich, in that he is made low: because as the flower of the grass he shall pass away.

11 For the sun is no sooner risen with a burning heat, but it withereth the grass, and the flower thereof falleth, and the grace of the fashion of it perisheth: so also shall the rich man fade away in his ways.

12 Blessed is the man that endureth temptation: for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love him.

13 Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God: for God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man:

14 But every man is tempted, when he is drawn away of his own lust, and enticed.

15 Then when lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin: and sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death.

16 Do not err, my beloved brethren.

17 Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning.

18 Of his own will begat he us with the word of truth, that we should be a kind of firstfruits of his creatures.

19 Wherefore, my beloved brethren, let every man be swift to hear, slow to speak, slow to wrath:

20 For the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God.

21 Wherefore lay apart all filthiness and superfluity of naughtiness, and receive with meekness the engrafted word, which is able to save your souls.

22 But be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only, deceiving your own selves.

23 For if any be a hearer of the word, and not a doer, he is like unto a man beholding his natural face in a glass:

24 For he beholdeth himself, and goeth his way, and straightway forgetteth what manner of man he was.

25 But whoso looketh into the perfect law of liberty, and continueth therein, he being not a forgetful hearer, but a doer of the work, this man shall be blessed in his deed.

26 If any man among you seem to be religious, and bridleth not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, this man's religion is vain.

27 Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world.

JAMES CHAPTER 2

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1 My brethren, have not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory, with respect of persons.
2 For if there come unto your assembly a man with a gold ring, in goodly apparel, and there come in also a poor man in vile raiment;
3 And ye have respect to him that weareth the gay clothing, and say unto him, Sit thou here in a good place; and say to the poor, Stand thou there, or sit here under my footstool:
4 Are ye not then partial in yourselves, and are become judges of evil thoughts?
5 Hearken, my beloved brethren, Hath not God chosen the poor of this world rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which he hath promised to them that love him?
6 But ye have despised the poor. Do not rich men oppress you, and draw you before the judgement seats?
7 Do not they blaspheme that worthy name by the which ye are called?
8 If ye fulfil the royal law according to the scripture, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, ye do well:
9 But if ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin, and are convinced of the law as transgressors.
10 For whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all.
11 For he that said, Do not commit adultery, said also, Do not kill. Now if thou commit no adultery, yet if thou kill, thou art become a transgressor of the law.
12 So speak ye, and so do, as they that shall be judged by the law of liberty.
13 For he shall have judgement without mercy, that hath shewed no mercy; and mercy rejoiceth against judgement.
14 What doth it profit, my brethren, though a man say he hath faith, and have not works? can faith save him?
15 If a brother or sister be naked, and destitute of daily food,
16 And one of you say unto them, Depart in peace, be ye warmed and filled; notwithstanding ye give them not those things which are needful to the body; what doth it profit?
17 Even so faith, if it hath not works, is dead, being alone.
18 Yea, a man may say, Thou hast faith, and I have works: shew me thy faith without thy works, and I will shew thee my faith by my works.
19 Thou believest that there is one God; thou doest well: the devils also believe, and tremble.
20 But wilt thou know, O vain man, that faith without works is dead?
21 Was not Abraham our father justified by works, when he had offered Isaac his son upon the altar?
22 Seest thou how faith wrought with his works, and by works was faith made perfect?
23 And the scripture was fulfilled which saith, Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness: and he was called the Friend of God.
24 Ye see then how that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only.
25 Likewise also was not Rahab the harlot justified by works, when she had received the messengers, and had sent them out another way?
26 For as the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead also.

JAMES CHAPTER 3

1 My brethren, be not many masters, knowing that we shall receive the greater condemnation.
2 For in many things we offend all. If any man offend not in word, the same is a perfect man, and able also to bridle the whole body.
3 Behold, we put bits in the horses' mouths, that they may obey us; and we turn about their whole body.
4 Behold also the ships, which though they be so great, and are driven of fierce winds, yet are they turned about with a very small helm, whithersoever the governor listeth.
5 Even so the tongue is a little member, and boasteth great things. Behold, how great a matter a little fire kindleth!
6 And the tongue is a fire, a world of iniquity: so is the tongue among our members, that it defileth the whole body, and setteth on fire the course of nature; and it is set on fire of hell.
7 For every kind of beasts, and of birds, and of serpents, and of things in the sea, is tamed, and hath been tamed of mankind:
8 But the tongue can no man tame; it is an unruly evil, full of deadly poison.
9 Therewith bless we God, even the Father; and therewith curse we men, which are made after the similitude of God.
10 Out of the same mouth proceedeth blessing and cursing. My brethren, these things ought not so to be.
11 Doth a fountain send forth at the same place sweet water and bitter?
12 Can the fig tree, my brethren, bear olive berries? either a vine, figs? so can no fountain both yield salt water and fresh.
13 Who is a wise man and endued with knowledge among you? let him shew out of a good conversation his works with meekness of wisdom.
14 But if ye have bitter envying and strife in your hearts, glory not, and lie not against the truth.
15 This wisdom descendeth not from above, but is earthly, sensual, devilish.
16 For where envying and strife is, there is confusion and every evil work.
17 But the wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy.
18 And the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace.

JAMES CHAPTER 4

1 From whence come wars and fightings among you? come they not hence, even of your lusts that war in your members?
2 Ye lust, and have not: ye kill, and desire to have, and cannot obtain: ye fight and war, yet ye have not, because ye ask not.
3 Ye ask, and receive not, because ye ask amiss, that ye may consume it upon your lusts.
4 Ye adulterers and adulteresses, know ye not that the friendship of the world is enmity with God? whosoever therefore will be a friend of the world is the enemy of God.
5 Do ye think that the scripture saith in vain, The spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth to envy?
6 But he giveth more grace. Wherefore he saith, God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble.
7 Submit yourselves therefore to God. Resist the devil, and he will flee from you.
8 Draw nigh to God, and he will draw nigh to you. Cleanse your hands, ye sinners; and purify your hearts, ye double minded.
9 Be afflicted, and mourn, and weep: let your laughter be turned to mourning, and your joy to heaviness.
10 Humble yourselves in the sight of the Lord, and he shall lift you up.
11 Speak not evil one of another, brethren. He that speaketh evil of his brother, and judgeth his brother, speaketh evil of the law, and judgeth the law: but if thou judge the law, thou art not a doer of the law, but a judge.
12 There is one lawgiver, who is able to save and to destroy: who art thou that judgest another?
13 Go to now, ye that say, To day or to morrow we will go into such a city, and continue there a year, and buy and sell, and get gain:
14 Whereas ye know not what shall be on the morrow. For what is your life? It is even a vapour, that appeareth for a little time, and then vanisheth away.
15 For that ye ought to say, If the Lord will, we shall live, and do this, or that.
16 But now ye rejoice in your boastings: all such rejoicing is evil.
17 Therefore to him that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin.

JAMES CHAPTER 5

1 Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you.
2 Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are motheaten.
3 Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days.
4 Behold, the hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth: and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of sabaoth.
5 Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton; ye have nourished your hearts, as in a day of slaughter.
6 Ye have condemned and killed the just; and he doth not resist you.
7 Be patient therefore, brethren, unto the coming of the Lord. Behold, the husbandman waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth, and hath long patience for it, until he receive the early and latter rain.
8 Be ye also patient; stablish your hearts: for the coming of the Lord draweth nigh.
9 Grudge not one against another, brethren, lest ye be condemned: behold, the judge standeth before the door.
10 Take, my brethren, the prophets, who have spoken in the name of the Lord, for an example of suffering affliction, and of patience.
11 Behold, we count them happy which endure. Ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have seen the end of the Lord; that the Lord is very pitiful, and of tender mercy.
12 But above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath: but let your yea be yea; and your nay, nay; lest ye fall into condemnation.
13 Is any among you afflicted? let him pray. Is any merry? let him sing psalms.
14 Is any sick among you? let him call for the elders of the church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord:
15 And the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him.
16 Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed. The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much.
17 Elias was a man subject to like passions as we are, and he prayed earnestly that it might not rain: and it rained not on the earth by the space of three years and six months.
18 And he prayed again, and the heaven gave rain, and the earth brought forth her fruit.
19 Brethren, if any of you do err from the truth, and one convert him;
20 Let him know, that he which converteth the sinner from the error of his way shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins.

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PETER

The First Letter of Peter, or First Peter, or 1 Peter.
Translation: King James Version
Estimated Range of Dating: 80-110 A.D.

(The author presents himself as Peter the Apostle, however, many scholars conclude that this letter is pseudonymous and the author is unlikely to have been the apostle Peter. The cultured Greek language of the epistle makes it perhaps the most literary composition in the New Testament. The apostle Simon Peter probably knew some Greek, because the entire region had been under a strong Greek influence since the times of Alexander the Great, but 1 Peter does not look like the product of an unlettered (Acts 4:13) Galilean fisherman.)

1 PETER CHAPTER 1

1 Peter, an apostle of Jesus Christ, to the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia,
2 Elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ: Grace unto you, and peace, be multiplied.
3 Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which according to his abundant mercy hath begotten us again unto a lively hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead,
4 To an inheritance incorruptible, and undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for you,
5 Who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation ready to be revealed in the last time.
6 Wherein ye greatly rejoice, though now for a season, if need be, ye are in heaviness through manifold temptations:
7 That the trial of your faith, being much more precious than of gold that perisheth, though it be tried with fire, might be found unto praise and honour and glory at the appearing of Jesus Christ:
8 Whom having not seen, ye love; in whom, though now ye see him not, yet believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory:
9 Receiving the end of your faith, even the salvation of your souls.
10 Of which salvation the prophets have enquired and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace that should come unto you:
11 Searching what, or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow.
12 Unto whom it was revealed, that not unto themselves, but unto us they did minister the things, which are now reported unto you by them that have preached the gospel unto you with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven; which things the angels desire to look into.
13 Wherefore gird up the loins of your mind, be sober, and hope to the end for the grace that is to be brought unto you at the revelation of Jesus Christ;
14 As obedient children, not fashioning yourselves according to the former lusts in your ignorance:
15 But as he which hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation;
16 Because it is written, Be ye holy; for I am holy.
17 And if ye call on the Father, who without respect of persons judgeth according to every man's work, pass the time of your sojourning here in fear:
18 Forasmuch as ye know that ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold, from your vain conversation received by tradition from your fathers;
19 But with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot:
20 Who verily was foreordained before the foundation of the world, but was manifest in these last times for you,
21 Who by him do believe in God, that raised him up from the dead, and gave him glory; that your faith and hope might be in God.

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22 Seeing ye have purified your souls in obeying the truth through the Spirit unto unfeigned love of the brethren, see that ye love one another with a pure heart fervently:
23 Being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever.
24 For all flesh is as grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass. The grass withereth, and the flower thereof falleth away:
25 But the word of the Lord endureth for ever. And this is the word which by the gospel is preached unto you.

1 PETER CHAPTER 2
1 Wherefore laying aside all malice, and all guile, and hypocrisies, and envies, all evil speakings,
2 As newborn babes, desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby:
3 If so be ye have tasted that the Lord is gracious.
4 To whom coming, as unto a living stone, disallowed indeed of men, but chosen of God, and precious,
5 Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ.
6 Wherefore also it is contained in the scripture, Behold, I lay in Sion a chief corner stone, elect, precious: and he that believeth on him shall not be confounded.
7 Unto you therefore which believe he is precious: but unto them which be disobedient, the stone which the builders disallowed, the same is made the head of the corner,
8 And a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence, even to them which stumble at the word, being disobedient: whereunto also they were appointed.
9 But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people; that ye should shew forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light;
10 Which in time past were not a people, but are now the people of God: which had not obtained mercy, but now have obtained mercy.
11 Dearly beloved, I beseech you as strangers and pilgrims, abstain from fleshly lusts, which war against the soul;
12 Having your conversation honest among the Gentiles: that, whereas they speak against you as evildoers, they may by your good works, which they shall behold, glorify God in the day of visitation.
13 Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king, as supreme;
14 Or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evildoers, and for the praise of them that do well.
15 For so is the will of God, that with well doing ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men:
16 As free, and not using your liberty for a cloke of maliciousness, but as the servants of God.
17 Honour all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honour the king.
18 Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward.
19 For this is thankworthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully.
20 For what glory is it, if, when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye shall take it patiently? but if, when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God.
21 For even hereunto were ye called: because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that ye should follow his steps:
22 Who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth:
23 Who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not; but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously:
24 Who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we, being dead to sins, should live unto righteousness: by whose stripes ye were healed.
25 For ye were as sheep going astray; but are now returned unto the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls.

1 PETER CHAPTER 3
1 Likewise, ye wives, be in subjection to your own husbands; that, if any obey not the word, they also may without the word be won by the conversation of the wives;
2 While they behold your chaste conversation coupled with fear.
3 Whose adorning let it not be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel;
4 But let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price.
5 For after this manner in the old time the holy women also, who trusted in God, adorned themselves, being in subjection unto their own husbands:
6 Even as Sara obeyed Abraham, calling him lord: whose daughters ye are, as long as ye do well, and are not afraid with any amazement.
7 Likewise, ye husbands, dwell with them according to knowledge, giving honour unto the wife, as unto the weaker vessel, and as being heirs together of the grace of life; that your prayers be not hindered.
8 Finally, be ye all of one mind, having compassion one of another, love as brethren, be pitiful, be courteous:
9 Not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing: but contrariwise blessing; knowing that ye are thereunto called, that ye should inherit a blessing.
10 For he that will love life, and see good days, let him refrain his tongue from evil, and his lips that they speak no guile:
11 Let him eschew evil, and do good; let him seek peace, and ensue it.
12 For the eyes of the Lord are over the righteous, and his ears are open unto their prayers: but the face of the Lord is against them that do evil.
13 And who is he that will harm you, if ye be followers of that which is good?
14 But and if ye suffer for righteousness' sake, happy are ye: and be not afraid of their terror, neither be troubled;
15 But sanctify the Lord God in your hearts: and be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you with meekness and fear:
16 Having a good conscience; that, whereas they speak evil of you, as of evildoers, they may be ashamed that falsely accuse your good conversation in Christ.
17 For it is better, if the will of God be so, that ye suffer for well doing, than for evil doing.
18 For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit:
19 By which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison;
20 Which sometime were disobedient, when once the longsuffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing, wherein few, that is, eight souls were saved by water.
21 The like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God,) by the resurrection of Jesus Christ:
22 Who is gone into heaven, and is on the right hand of God; angels and authorities and powers being made subject unto him.

1 PETER CHAPTER 4
1 Forasmuch then as Christ hath suffered for us in the flesh, arm yourselves likewise with the same mind: for he that hath suffered in the flesh hath ceased from sin;
2 That he no longer should live the rest of his time in the flesh to the lusts of men, but to the will of God.
3 For the time past of our life may suffice us to have wrought the will of the Gentiles, when we walked in lasciviousness, lusts, excess of wine, revellings, banquetings, and abominable idolatries:
4 Wherein they think it strange that ye run not with them to the same excess of riot, speaking evil of you:
5 Who shall give account to him that is ready to judge the quick and the dead.
6 For for this cause was the gospel preached also to them that are dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit.
7 But the end of all things is at hand: be ye therefore sober, and watch unto prayer.
8 And above all things have fervent charity among yourselves: for charity shall cover the multitude of sins.
9 Use hospitality one to another without grudging.
10 As every man hath received the gift, even so minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God.
11 If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God; if any man minister, let him do it as of the ability which God giveth: that God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ, to whom be praise and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.
12 Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing happened unto you:
13 But rejoice, inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings; that, when his glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy.
14 If ye be reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye; for the spirit of glory and of God resteth upon you: on their part he is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified.
15 But let none of you suffer as a murderer, or as a thief, or as an evildoer, or as a busybody in other men's matters.
16 Yet if any man suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed; but let him glorify God on this behalf.
17 For the time is come that judgement must begin at the house of God: and if it first begin at us, what shall the end be of them that obey not the gospel of God?
18 And if the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?
19 Wherefore let them that suffer according to the will of God commit the keeping of their souls to him in well doing, as unto a faithful Creator.

1 PETER CHAPTER 5
1 The elders which are among you I exhort, who am also an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory that shall be revealed:
2 Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind;
3 Neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock.
4 And when the chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away.
5 Likewise, ye younger, submit yourselves unto the elder. Yea, all of you be subject one to another, and be clothed with humility: for God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble.
6 Humble yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God, that he may exalt you in due time:
7 Casting all your care upon him; for he careth for you.
8 Be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour:
9 Whom resist stedfast in the faith, knowing that the same afflictions are accomplished in your brethren that are in the world.
10 But the God of all grace, who hath called us unto his eternal glory by Christ Jesus, after that ye have suffered a while, make you perfect, stablish, strengthen, settle you.
11 To him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.
12 By Silvanus, a faithful brother unto you, as I suppose, I have written briefly, exhorting, and testifying that this is the true grace of God wherein ye stand.
13 The church that is at Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you; and so doth Marcus my son.
14 Greet ye one another with a kiss of charity. Peace be with you all that are in Christ Jesus. Amen.

THE SECOND EPISTLE OF PETER

The Second Letter of Peter, also Second Peter, or just 2 Peter
Translation: King James Version
Estimated Range of Dating: 100-160 A.D.

(According to the Epistle itself, it was composed by the Apostle Peter, an eyewitness to Jesus' ministry. Most scholars have concluded Peter is not the author, considering the epistle pseudepigraphical. Reasons for this include its linguistic differences from 1 Peter, its apparent use of Jude, possible allusions to 2nd-century gnosticism, and encouragement in the waiting of a delayed re-appearance of Jesus. The questions of authorship and date are closely related. For Petrine authorship to be authentic, it must have been written prior to Peter's death in c. AD 65–67. The letter refers to the Pauline epistles and so must post-date at least some of them, regardless of authorship, thus a date before 60 is improbable. Further, it goes as far to name the Pauline epistles as "scripture"—the only time a New Testament work refers to another New Testament work in this way—implying that it postdates them by some time. Scholars consider the epistle to be written between c. 100–150 AD., after the death of Peter, and that is why it is pseudepigraphical.)

2 PETER CHAPTER 1
1 Simon Peter, a servant and an apostle of Jesus Christ, to them that have obtained like precious faith with us through the righteousness of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ:
2 Grace and peace be multiplied unto you through the knowledge of God, and of Jesus our Lord,
3 According as his divine power hath given unto us all things that pertain unto life and godliness, through the knowledge of him that hath called us to glory and virtue:
4 Whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises: that by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature, having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust.
5 And beside this, giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue; and to virtue knowledge;
6 And to knowledge temperance; and to temperance patience; and to patience godliness;
7 And to godliness brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness charity.
8 For if these things be in you, and abound, they make you that ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.
9 But he that lacketh these things is blind, and cannot see afar off, and hath forgotten that he was purged from his old sins.
10 Wherefore the rather, brethren, give diligence to make your calling and election sure: for if ye do these things, ye shall never fall:

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11 For so an entrance shall be ministered unto you abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.
12 Wherefore I will not be negligent to put you always in remembrance of these things, though ye know them, and be established in the present truth.
13 Yea, I think it meet, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to stir you up by putting you in remembrance;
14 Knowing that shortly I must put off this my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ hath shewed me.
15 Moreover I will endeavour that ye may be able after my decease to have these things always in remembrance.
16 For we have not followed cunningly devised fables, when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, but were eyewitnesses of his majesty.
17 For he received from God the Father honour and glory, when there came such a voice to him from the excellent glory, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.
18 And this voice which came from heaven we heard, when we were with him in the holy mount.
19 We have also a more sure word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day star arise in your hearts:
20 Knowing this first, that no prophecy of the scripture is of any private interpretation.
21 For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man: but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.

2 PETER CHAPTER 2

1 But there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, and bring upon themselves swift destruction.
2 And many shall follow their pernicious ways; by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of.
3 And through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you: whose judgement now of a long time lingereth not, and their damnation slumbereth not.
4 For if God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgement;
5 And spared not the old world, but saved Noah the eighth person, a preacher of righteousness, bringing in the flood upon the world of the ungodly;
6 And turning the cities of Sodom and Gomorrha into ashes condemned them with an overthrow, making them an ensample unto those that after should live ungodly;
7 And delivered just Lot, vexed with the filthy conversation of the wicked:
8 (For that righteous man dwelling among them, in seeing and hearing, vexed his righteous soul from day to day with their unlawful deeds;)
9 The Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptations, and to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgement to be punished:
10 But chiefly them that walk after the flesh in the lust of uncleanness, and despise government. Presumptuous are they, selfwilled, they are not afraid to speak evil of dignities.
11 Whereas angels, which are greater in power and might, bring not railing accusation against them before the Lord.
12 But these, as natural brute beasts, made to be taken and destroyed, speak evil of the things that they understand not; and shall utterly perish in their own corruption;
13 And shall receive the reward of unrighteousness, as they that count it pleasure to riot in the day time. Spots they are and blemishes, sporting themselves with their own deceivings while they feast with you;
14 Having eyes full of adultery, and that cannot cease from sin; beguiling unstable souls: an heart they have exercised with covetous practices; cursed children:
15 Which have forsaken the right way, and are gone astray, following the way of Balaam the son of Bosor, who loved the wages of unrighteousness;
16 But was rebuked for his iniquity: the dumb ass speaking with man's voice forbad the madness of the prophet.
17 These are wells without water, clouds that are carried with a tempest; to whom the mist of darkness is reserved for ever.
18 For when they speak great swelling words of vanity, they allure through the lusts of the flesh, through much wantonness, those that were clean escaped from them who live in error.
19 While they promise them liberty, they themselves are the servants of corruption: for of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he brought in bondage.
20 For if after they have escaped the pollutions of the world through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, they are again entangled therein, and overcome, the latter end is worse with them than the beginning.
21 For it had been better for them not to have known the way of righteousness, than, after they have known it, to turn from the holy commandment delivered unto them.
22 But it is happened unto them according to the true proverb, The dog is turned to his own vomit again; and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire.

2 PETER CHAPTER 3

1 This second epistle, beloved, I now write unto you; in both which I stir up your pure minds by way of remembrance:
2 That ye may be mindful of the words which were spoken before by the holy prophets, and of the commandment of us the apostles of the Lord and Saviour:
3 Knowing this first, that there shall come in the last days scoffers, walking after their own lusts,
4 And saying, Where is the promise of his coming? for since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation.
5 For this they willingly are ignorant of, that by the word of God the heavens were of old, and the earth standing out of the water and in the water:
6 Whereby the world that then was, being overflowed with water, perished:
7 But the heavens and the earth, which are now, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgement and perdition of ungodly men.
8 But, beloved, be not ignorant of this one thing, that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.
9 The Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as some men count slackness; but is longsuffering to us-ward, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance.
10 But the day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up.
11 Seeing then that all these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy conversation and godliness,
12 Looking for and hasting unto the coming of the day of God, wherein the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat?
13 Nevertheless we, according to his promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.
14 Wherefore, beloved, seeing that ye look for such things, be diligent that ye may be found of him in peace, without spot, and blameless.
15 And account that the longsuffering of our Lord is salvation; even as our beloved brother Paul also according to the wisdom given unto him hath written unto you;
16 As also in all his epistles, speaking in them of these things; in which are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other scriptures, unto their own destruction.
17 Ye therefore, beloved, seeing ye know these things before, beware lest ye also, being led away with the error of the wicked, fall from your own stedfastness.
18 But grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. To him be glory both now and for ever. Amen.

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF JOHN
The First Letter of John, or First John, or just 1 John,
Translation: King James Version
Estimated Range of Dating: 90-120 A.D.

(This epistle was probably written in Ephesus and is attributed to either John the Evangelist (John, son of Zebedee) or to John the Presbyter. The relationship of 1 John to the fourth gospel has been the subject of much scholarly debate. They have a certain similarity in style, tone, and thought that seems to indicate they and the gospel seem to have been written by the very same author. But a closer examination reveals a poverty of style in the first letter compared to the gospel - the author quite frequently repeats a few favourite constructions, and his vocabulary is more limited than that of the gospel - and some real differences in thought. Some indications suggest that the gospel has been redacted from an original text with no future parousia hope or concern for the sacraments, and that such a hope and concern were introduced into the gospel by the author of the first letter. If this is the case (and it is all very tentative), the main text of the gospel is by one author and the first letter by another.
There are at least two grammatical arguments for the view that the epistle and the gospel were written by different authors. The first is that the epistle often uses a demonstrative pronoun at the beginning of a sentence, then a particle or conjunction, followed by an explanation or definition of the demonstrative at the end of the sentence, a stylistic technique which is not used in the gospel. The second is that the author of the epistle uses the conditional sentence in a variety of rhetorical figures which are unknown to the gospel.)

1 JOHN CHAPTER 1

1 That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the Word of life;
2 (For the life was manifested, and we have seen it, and bear witness, and shew unto you that eternal life, which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us;)
3 That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us: and truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ.
4 And these things write we unto you, that your joy may be full.
5 This then is the message which we have heard of him, and declare unto you, that God is light, and in him is no darkness at all.
6 If we say that we have fellowship with him, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth:
7 But if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin.
8 If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.
9 If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.
10 If we say that we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us.

1 JOHN CHAPTER 2

1 My little children, these things write I unto you, that ye sin not. And if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous:
2 And he is the propitiation for our sins: and not for our's only, but also for the sins of the whole world.
3 And hereby we do know that we know him, if we keep his commandments.
4 He that saith, I know him, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him.
5 But whoso keepeth his word, in him verily is the love of God perfected: hereby know we that we are in him.
6 He that saith he abideth in him ought himself also so to walk, even as he walked.
7 Brethren, I write no new commandment unto you, but an old commandment which ye had from the beginning. The old commandment is the word which ye have heard from the beginning.
8 Again, a new commandment I write unto you, which thing is true in him and in you: because the darkness is past, and the true light now shineth.
9 He that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in darkness even until now.
10 He that loveth his brother abideth in the light, and there is none occasion of stumbling in him.
11 But he that hateth his brother is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth, because that darkness hath blinded his eyes.
12 I write unto you, little children, because your sins are forgiven you for his name's sake.
13 I write unto you, fathers, because ye have known him that is from the beginning. I write unto you, young men, because ye have overcome the wicked one. I write unto you, little children, because ye have known the Father.
14 I have written unto you, fathers, because ye have known him that is from the beginning. I have written unto you, young men, because ye are strong, and the word of God abideth in you, and ye have overcome the wicked one.
15 Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him.
16 For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world.
17 And the world passeth away, and the lust thereof: but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever.
18 Little children, it is the last time: and as ye have heard that antichrist shall come, even now are there many antichrists; whereby we know that it is the last time.
19 They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us: but they went out, that they might be made manifest that they were not all of us.
20 But ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things.
21 I have not written unto you because ye know not the truth, but because ye know it, and that no lie is of the truth.
22 Who is a liar but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ? He is antichrist, that denieth the Father and the Son.
23 Whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father: he that acknowledgeth the Son hath the Father also.
24 Let that therefore abide in you, which ye have heard from the beginning. If that which ye have heard from the beginning shall remain in you, ye also shall continue in the Son, and in the Father.
25 And this is the promise that he hath promised us, even eternal life.

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26 These things have I written unto you concerning them that seduce you.
27 But the anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you: but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie, and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him.
28 And now, little children, abide in him; that, when he shall appear, we may have confidence, and not be ashamed before him at his coming.
29 If ye know that he is righteous, ye know that every one that doeth righteousness is born of him.

1 JOHN CHAPTER 3
1 Behold, what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God: therefore the world knoweth us not, because it knew him not.
2 Beloved, now are we the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be: but we know that, when he shall appear, we shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is.
3 And every man that hath this hope in him purifieth himself, even as he is pure.
4 Whosoever committeth sin transgresseth also the law: for sin is the transgression of the law.
5 And ye know that he was manifested to take away our sins; and in him is no sin.
6 Whosoever abideth in him sinneth not: whosoever sinneth hath not seen him, neither known him.
7 Little children, let no man deceive you: he that doeth righteousness is righteous, even as he is righteous.
8 He that committeth sin is of the devil; for the devil sinneth from the beginning. For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil.
9 Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him: and he cannot sin, because he is born of God.
10 In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil: whosoever doeth not righteousness is not of God, neither he that loveth not his brother.
11 For this is the message that ye heard from the beginning, that we should love one another.
12 Not as Cain, who was of that wicked one, and slew his brother. And wherefore slew he him? Because his own works were evil, and his brother's righteous.
13 Marvel not, my brethren, if the world hate you.
14 We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren. He that loveth not his brother abideth in death.
15 Whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer: and ye know that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him.
16 Hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us: and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren.
17 But whoso hath this world's good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?
18 My little children, let us not love in word, neither in tongue; but in deed and in truth.
19 And hereby we know that we are of the truth, and shall assure our hearts before him.
20 For if our heart condemn us, God is greater than our heart, and knoweth all things.
21 Beloved, if our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence toward God.
22 And whatsoever we ask, we receive of him, because we keep his commandments, and do those things that are pleasing in his sight.
23 And this is his commandment, That we should believe on the name of his Son Jesus Christ, and love one another, as he gave us commandment.
24 And he that keepeth his commandments dwelleth in him, and he in him. And hereby we know that he abideth in us, by the Spirit which he hath given us.

1 JOHN CHAPTER 4
1 Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God: because many false prophets are gone out into the world.
2 Hereby know ye the Spirit of God: Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God:
3 And every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God: and this is that spirit of antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it should come; and even now already is it in the world.
4 Ye are of God, little children, and have overcome them: because greater is he that is in you, than he that is in the world.
5 They are of the world: therefore speak they of the world, and the world heareth them.
6 We are of God: he that knoweth God heareth us; he that is not of God heareth not us. Hereby know we the spirit of truth, and the spirit of error.
7 Beloved, let us love one another: for love is of God; and every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God.
8 He that loveth not knoweth not God; for God is love.
9 In this was manifested the love of God toward us, because that God sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him.
10 Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins.
11 Beloved, if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another.
12 No man hath seen God at any time. If we love one another, God dwelleth in us, and his love is perfected in us.
13 Hereby know we that we dwell in him, and he in us, because he hath given us of his Spirit.
14 And we have seen and do testify that the Father sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world.
15 Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God.
16 And we have known and believed the love that God hath to us. God is love; and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him.
17 Herein is our love made perfect, that we may have boldness in the day of judgement: because as he is, so are we in this world.
18 There is no fear in love; but perfect love casteth out fear: because fear hath torment. He that feareth is not made perfect in love.
19 We love him, because he first loved us.
20 If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?
21 And this commandment have we from him, That he who loveth God love his brother also.

1 JOHN CHAPTER 5
1 Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is born of God: and every one that loveth him that begat loveth him also that is begotten of him.
2 By this we know that we love the children of God, when we love God, and keep his commandments.
3 For this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments: and his commandments are not grievous.
4 For whatsoever is born of God overcometh the world: and this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith.
5 Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God?
6 This is he that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ; not by water only, but by water and blood. And it is the Spirit that beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth.
7 For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one.
8 And there are three that bear witness in earth, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood: and these three agree in one.
9 If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater: for this is the witness of God which he hath testified of his Son.
10 He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself: he that believeth not God hath made him a liar; because he believeth not the record that God gave of his Son.
11 And this is the record, that God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in his Son.
12 He that hath the Son hath life; and he that hath not the Son of God hath not life.
13 These things have I written unto you that believe on the name of the Son of God; that ye may know that ye have eternal life, and that ye may believe on the name of the Son of God.
14 And this is the confidence that we have in him, that, if we ask any thing according to his will, he heareth us:
15 And if we know that he hear us, whatsoever we ask, we know that we have the petitions that we desired of him.
16 If any man see his brother sin a sin which is not unto death, he shall ask, and he shall give him life for them that sin not unto death. There is a sin unto death: I do not say that he shall pray for it.
17 All unrighteousness is sin: and there is a sin not unto death.
18 We know that whosoever is born of God sinneth not; but he that is begotten of God keepeth himself, and that wicked one toucheth him not.
19 And we know that we are of God, and the whole world lieth in wickedness.
20 And we know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding, that we may know him that is true, and we are in him that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God, and eternal life.
21 Little children, keep yourselves from idols. Amen.

THE SECOND EPISTLE OF JOHN

The Second Letter of John, or Second John or just 2 John
Translation: King James Version
Estimated Range of Dating: 90-120 A.D.

(The Second Epistle of John, often is attributed either to John the Evangelist (John, son of Zebedee) or to John the Presbyter. No other New Testament letter has so completely the form of a Greek private letter as II and III John. Both are real letters. II and III John were written by the same author. They use the same language, they agree in their length and in their form of address, introduction, and conclusion. The text is addressed to "the elect lady and her children" (some interpretations translate this phrase as "elder lady and her children"), and closes with the words, "The children of thy elect sister greet thee." The person addressed is commended for her piety, and is warned against false teachers.
The "lady" has traditionally been seen as a metaphor for the church, the church being the body of believers as a whole and as local congregations. The "children" would be members of that local congregation. The term "the elect" was a fairly common term for those who believe in the gospel and follow Christ.
There is also the possibility that the letter refers to Mary, mother of Jesus; Jesus had entrusted his "beloved disciple" with Mary's life when Jesus was on the cross (John 19:26–27). The children would thus refer to the brothers of Jesus: James, Joses, Simon and Jude (Judas), and the sister to Mary's sister mentioned in John 19:25.)

2 JOHN CHAPTER 1
1 The elder unto the elect lady and her children, whom I love in the truth; and not I only, but also all they that have known the truth;
2 For the truth's sake, which dwelleth in us, and shall be with us for ever.
3 Grace be with you, mercy, and peace, from God the Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the Father, in truth and love.
4 I rejoiced greatly that I found of thy children walking in truth, as we have received a commandment from the Father.
5 And now I beseech thee, lady, not as though I wrote a new commandment unto thee, but that which we had from the beginning, that we love one another.
6 And this is love, that we walk after his commandments. This is the commandment, That, as ye have heard from the beginning, ye should walk in it.
7 For many deceivers are entered into the world, who confess not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh. This is a deceiver and an antichrist.
8 Look to yourselves, that we lose not those things which we have wrought, but that we receive a full reward.
9 Whosoever transgresseth, and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ, hath not God. He that abideth in the doctrine of Christ, he hath both the Father and the Son.
10 If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed:
11 For he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds.
12 Having many things to write unto you, I would not write with paper and ink: but I trust to come unto you, and speak face to face, that our joy may be full.
13 The children of thy elect sister greet thee. Amen.

THE THIRD EPISTLE OF JOHN

The Third Letter of John, or Third John, or just 3 John
Translation: King James Version
Estimated Range of Dating: 90-120 A.D.

(The Third Epistle of John is a private letter composed to a man named Gaius (probably a Christian traveling companion of Paul, along with Aristarchus (Acts 19:29) or a man from Corinth.), recommending to him a group of Christians led by Demetrius, which had come to preach the gospel in the area where Gaius lived. The purpose of the letter is to encourage and strengthen Gaius, and to warn him against Diotrephes, who refuses to cooperate with the author of the letter.)

3 JOHN CHAPTER 1
1 The elder unto the well beloved Gaius, whom I love in the truth.
2 Beloved, I wish above all things that thou mayest prosper and be in health, even as thy soul prospereth.
3 For I rejoiced greatly, when the brethren came and testified of the truth that is in thee, even as thou walkest in the truth.
4 I have no greater joy than to hear that my children walk in truth.
5 Beloved, thou doest faithfully whatsoever thou doest to the brethren, and to strangers;
6 Which have borne witness of thy charity before the church: whom if thou bring forward on their journey after a godly sort, thou shalt do well:
7 Because that for his name's sake they went forth, taking nothing of the Gentiles.
8 We therefore ought to receive such, that we might be fellowhelpers to the truth.
9 I wrote unto the church: but Diotrephes, who loveth to have the preeminence among them, receiveth us not.

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10 Wherefore, if I come, I will remember his deeds which he doeth, prating against us with malicious words: and not content therewith, neither doth he himself receive the brethren, and forbiddeth them that would, and casteth them out of the church.

11 Beloved, follow not that which is evil, but that which is good. He that doeth good is of God: but he that doeth evil hath not seen God.

12 Demetrius hath good report of all men, and of the truth itself: yea, and we also bear record; and ye know that our record is true.

13 I had many things to write, but I will not with ink and pen write unto thee:

14 But I trust I shall shortly see thee, and we shall speak face to face. Peace be to thee. Our friends salute thee. Greet the friends by name.

THE EPISTLE OF JUDE

The Epistle of Jude, or just Jude
Author: Judas the brother of Jesus
(Didymos Judas Thomas, Judas the "Twin")
Translation: King James Version
Estimated Range of Dating: 90-120 A.D.

(The epistle begins with: "Jude, a servant of Jesus Christ and brother of James". "James" is generally taken to mean James the Just, a prominent leader in the early church. Not a lot is known of Jude, which would explain the apparent need to identify him by reference to his better-known brother. As the brother of James the Just, it has traditionally meant Jude was also the brother of Jesus, since James is described as being the brother of Jesus. For instance Clement of Alexandria (Titus Flavius Clemens, c. 150–215 AD) wrote in his work "Comments on the Epistle of Jude" that Jude, the Epistle of Jude's author, was a son of Joseph and a brother of Jesus.

The Epistle of Jude (or "Judas") is traditionally attributed to Jude, the brother of Jesus and James the Just. The letter of Jude was one of the disputed books of the Canon. The links between the Epistle and 2 Peter, its use of the Apocryphal Books, and its brevity raised concern. It is one of the shortest books in the Bible: only 25 verses long. Scholars are quite certain that the letter was written when Jude was long dead. Therefore their verdict is: Author unknown.

Jude, also known as Judas Thaddaeus (Greek: Thaddaios, Addaios; Aramaic: Addai) was one of the Twelve Apostles of Jesus according to the New Testament. He is generally identified with Thaddeus, and is also variously called Jude of James, Jude Thaddaeus, Judas Thaddaeus or Lebbaeus. He is sometimes identified with Jude, the brother of Jesus, but is clearly distinguished from Judas Iscariot, the apostle who betrayed Jesus prior to his crucifixion. Catholic writer Michal Hunt suggests that Judas Thaddaeus became known as Jude after early translators of the New Testament from Greek into English sought to distinguish him from Judas Iscariot and subsequently abbreviated his forename. Most versions of the New Testament in languages other than English and French refer to Judas and Jude by the same name.

Robert Eisenman has pointed out contemporary talmudic references to Zealots as kanna'im "but not really as a group — rather as avenging priests in the Temple". Eisenman's broader conclusions, that the zealot element in the original apostle group was disguised and overwritten to make it support the assimilative Pauline Christianity of the Gentiles, are more controversial.

Pauline Christians tried to write Jesus' family out of history as they were in the way to Pauls ambition to deify Jesus. According to tradition, Saint Jude suffered martyrdom about 65 AD in Beirut, in the Roman province of Syria, together with the apostle Simon the Zealot, with whom he is usually connected.

Simon the Zealot (Acts 1:13, Luke 6:15) or Simon the Cananite or Simon the Cananaean (Matthew 10:4, Mark 3:18) was one of the most obscure among the apostles of Jesus. This Simon could have been such an overwriting to disguise Simon the younger brother of Jesus. When we talk about the joint death of Jude and Simon we can find it logical that the two brothers were killed to keep their mouths shut up.)

JUDE CHAPTER 1

1 Jude, the servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James, to them that are sanctified by God the Father, and preserved in Jesus Christ, and called:

2 Mercy unto you, and peace, and love, be multiplied.

3 Beloved, when I gave all diligence to write unto you of the common salvation, it was needful for me to write unto you, and exhort you that ye should earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints.

4 For there are certain men crept in unawares, who were before of old ordained to this condemnation, ungodly men, turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness, and denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ.

5 I will therefore put you in remembrance, though ye once knew this, how that the Lord, having saved the people out of the land of Egypt, afterward destroyed them that believed not.

6 And the angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgement of the great day.

7 Even as Sodom and Gomorrha, and the cities about them in like manner, giving themselves over to fornication, and going after strange flesh, are set forth for an example, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire.

8 Likewise also these filthy dreamers defile the flesh, despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities.

9 Yet Michael the archangel, when contending with the devil he disputed about the body of Moses, durst not bring against him a railing accusation, but said, The Lord rebuke thee.

10 But these speak evil of those things which they know not: but what they know naturally, as brute beasts, in those things they corrupt themselves.

11 Woe unto them! for they have gone in the way of Cain, and ran greedily after the error of Balaam for reward, and perished in the gainsaying of Core.

12 These are spots in your feasts of charity, when they feast with you, feeding themselves without fear: clouds they are without water, carried about of winds; trees whose fruit withereth, without fruit, twice dead, plucked up by the roots;

13 Raging waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame; wandering stars, to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever.

14 And Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these, saying, Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his saints,

15 To execute judgement upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them of all their ungodly deeds which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard speeches which ungodly sinners have spoken against him.

16 These are murmurers, complainers, walking after their own lusts; and their mouth speaketh great swelling words, having men's persons in admiration because of advantage.

17 But, beloved, remember ye the words which were spoken before of the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ;

18 How that they told you there should be mockers in the last time, who should walk after their own ungodly lusts.

19 These be they who separate themselves, sensual, having not the Spirit.

20 But ye, beloved, building up yourselves on your most holy faith, praying in the Holy Ghost,

21 Keep yourselves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life.

22 And of some have compassion, making a difference:

23 And others save with fear, pulling them out of the fire; hating even the garment spotted by the flesh.

24 Now unto him that is able to keep you from falling, and to present you faultless before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy,

25 To the only wise God our Saviour, be glory and majesty, dominion and power, both now and ever. Amen.

THE EPISTLE OF THE APOSTLES

or Epistula Apostolorum
Source: MSS at Cairo, at Vienna, at Berlin
The Apocryphal New Testament, Oxford 1924, pp. 485-503
Language: Ethiopic and Coptic
Translation: Montague Rhode James, 1924
Estimated Range of Dating: 140-150 A.D.

(The Letter of the Apostles is a work from the New Testament apocrypha. Probably dating from the mid-2nd century AD, it was within the canon of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church, but not rediscovered in the Western world until the early 20th century. In 51 chapters, it takes the form of a letter from the apostles describing key events of the life of Jesus, followed by a dialogue between Jesus and the apostles. In thiss regard, it almost has also the character of a Gospel.

Although the text is framed as a letter, and the first 20% (10 chapters) begins in this manner, describing the nativity, resurrection, and miracles of Jesus, this framing is only done extremely superficially. In fact, the remainder of the text recounts a vision and dialogue between Jesus and the apostles, consisting of about sixty questions, and 41 short chapters. The text is by far the largest epistle in either the New Testament or Apocrypha. The text itself appears to be based on parts of the New Testament, in particular the Gospel of John, as well as the Apocalypse of Peter, Epistle of Barnabas, and Shepherd of Hermas, all of which were considered inspired by various groups or individuals during periods of the early church.

The text was used regularly by the relatively isolated Ethiopian Orthodox Church, and was evidently not considered heretical by that church. The work was lost to the West until a complete version in Ethiopic translation was discovered and published in the early 20th century. A fragmentary Coptic manuscript of the fifth or 4th century, believed to be translated directly from the original Greek, and one leaf of a Latin palimpsest, dating to the 5th century, were then identified as deriving from the same text.

The work's apparent intent is to uphold orthodox Christian doctrine, refuting Gnosticism - in particular the teachings of Cerinthus - and docetism. Although presented as having been written shortly after the Resurrection, it refers to Paul of Tarsus. It offers predictions of the fall of Jerusalem and of the Second Coming. One of the reasons that the text probably fell into disuse by the mainstream churches is that its claim that the Second Coming shall be 150 years after the time of the vision to the apostles obviously failed to occur. Whether the text was ever considered heretical by the Catholic churches is unknown, as there are no clear references to it in the extant ancient Christian literature. However, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church evidently accepted it as basic orthodoxy.

The text sources are: 1.) a Coptic MS. of the fourth or fifth century at Cairo, mutilated; 2.) a complete version in Ethiopic; 3.) a leaf of a fifth-century MS. in Latin, palimpsest, at Vienna. The only edition which makes use of all the authorities is C. Schmidt's, 1919. The Ethiopic was previously edited by Guerrier in Patrologia orientalis under the title of Testament of our Lord in Galilee. A notice of the text by Guerrier in the Revue de l'Orient Chretien (1907) enabled me to identify it with the Coptic text, of which Schmidt had given a account to the Berlin Academy. As to the date and character of the book, Sehmidt's verdict is that it was written in Asia Minor in about 160 A.D. by an orthodox Catholic. The orthodoxy has been questioned (see a review by G. Bardy in Revue Biblique, 1921). No ancient writer mentions it, and very few traces of its use can be found: the third-century poet Commodian seems to use it in one place.)

(The translation by Montague Rhode James with some analytical and guiding comments:)

There has so far been no English rendering of the text; my version depends on Schmidt and Guerrier. In the Ethiopic version another writing, a prophecy of our Lord concerning the signs of the end, is prefixed to the Epistle. Parts of the this recur in the Syriac Testament of the Lord and part is repeated in the Epistle itself. It is noteworthy that this prophecy ends with a passage which is identical with one quoted by Clement of Alexandria from a source he does not name he does not name - only calling it 'the Scripture'.

Examples:

(Testament 11 in Guerrier:)

And the righteous, that have walked in the way of righteousness, shall inherit the glory of God; and the power shall be given to them which no eye hath seen and no ear heard; and they shall rejoice in my kingdom.

(Clement of Alexandria, Protrept. ciii.:)

But the saints of the Lord shall inherit the glory of God, and his power.

Tell me what glory, O blessed one.

That which eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither hath it come upon the heart of man; and they shall rejoice at the kingdom of their Lord for ever. Amen. (A similar passage is in the Apostolic Constitutions, vii. 22. On the possible derivation from the Apocalypse of Elias see my Lost Apocrypha of O.T., p. 54.)

(The first four leaves of the Coptic Manuscript are lost, so we depend on the Ethiopic for the opening of the text:)

1 The book which Jesus Christ revealed unto his disciples: and how that Jesus Christ revealed the book for the company (college) of the apostles, the disciples of Jesus Christ, even the book which is for all men. Simon and Cerinthus, the false apostles, concerning whom it is written that no man shall cleave unto them, for there is in them deceit wherewith they bring men to destruction. (The book hath been written) that ye may be not flinch nor be troubled, and depart not from the word of the Gospel which ye have heard. Like as we heard it, we keep it in remembrance and have written it for the whole world. We commend you our sons and our daughters in joy [in the grace of God (?)] in the name of God the Father the Lord of the world, and of Jesus Christ. Let grace be multiplied upon you.

2 We, John, Thomas, Peter, Andrew, James, Philip, Batholomew, Matthew, Nathanael, Judas Zelotes, and Cephas, write unto the churches of the east and the west, of the north and the south, the declaring and imparting unto you that which concerneth our Lord Jesus Christ: we do write according as we have seen and heard and touched him, after that he was risen from the dead: and how that he revealed unto us things mighty and wonderful and true.

3 This know we: that our Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ is God the Son of God, who was sent of God the Lord of the whole world, the maker and creator of it, who is named by all names, and high above all powers, Lord of lords, King of kings, Ruler of rulers, the heavenly one, that sitteth above the cherubim and seraphim at the right hand of the throne of the

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Father: who by his word made the heavens, and formed the earth and that which is in it, and set bounds to the sea that it should not pass: the deeps also and fountains, that they should spring forth and flow over the earth: the day and the night, the sun and the moon, did he establish, and the stars in the heaven: that did separate the light from the darkness: that called forth hell, and in the twinkling of an eye ordained the rain of the winter, the snow (cloud), the hail, and the ice, and the days in their several seasons: that maketh the earth to quake and again establisheth it: that created man in his own image, after his likeness, and by the fathers of old and the prophets is it declared (or, and spake in parables with the fathers of old and the prophets in verity), of whom the apostles preached, and whom the disciples did touch. In God, the Lord, the Son of God, do we believe, that he is the word become flesh: that of Mary the holy virgin he took a body, begotten of the Holy Ghost, not of the will (lust) of the flesh, but by the will of God: that he was wrapped in swaddling clothes in Bethlehem and made manifest, and grew up and came to ripe age, when also we beheld it.

4 This did our Lord Jesus Christ, who was sent by Joseph and Mary his mother to be taught. [And] when he that taught him said unto him: Say Alpha: then answered he and said: Tell thou me first what is Beta (probably: Tell thou me first what is [Alpha and then will I tell thee what is] Beta. Cf. the Marcosian story quoted by Irenaeus (see above, Gospel of Thomas, p. 15). The story is in our texts of the Gospel of Thomas, and all the Infancy Gospels). This thing which then came to pass is to true and of verity.

5 Thereafter was there a marriage in Cana of Galilee; and they bade him with his mother and his brethren, and he changed water into wine. He raised the dead, he caused the lame to walk: him whose hand was withered he caused to stretch it out, and the woman which had suffered an issue of blood twelve years touched the hem of his garment and was healed in the same hour. And when we marvelled at the miracle which was done, he said: Who touched me? Then said we: Lord, the press of men hath touched thee. But he answered and said unto us: I perceive that a virtue is gone out of me. Straightway that woman came before him, and answered and said unto him: Lord, I touched thee. And he answered and said unto her: Go, thy faith hath made thee whole. Thereafter he made the deaf to hear and the blind to see; out of them that were possessed he cast out the unclean spirits, and cleansed the lepers. The spirit which dwelt in a man, whereof the name was Legion, cried out against Jesus, saying: Before the time of our destruction is come, thou art come to drive us out. But the Lord Jesus rebuked him, saying: Go out of this man and do him no hurt. And he entered into the swine and drowned them in the water and they were choked.

Thereafter he did walk upon the sea, and the winds blew, and he cried out against them (rebuked them), and the waves of the sea were made calm. And when we his disciples had no money, we asked him: What shall we do because of the tax-gatherer? And he answered and told us: Let one of you cast an hook into the deep, and take out a fish, and he shall find therein a penny: that give unto the tax-gatherer for me and you. And thereafter when we had no bread, but only five loaves and two fishes, he commanded the people to sit them down, and the number of them was five thousand, besides children and women. We did set pieces of bread before them, and they ate and were filled, and there remained over, and we filled twelve baskets full of the fragments, asking one another and saying: What mean these five loaves? They are the symbol of our faith in the Lord of the Christians (in the great christendom), even in the Father, the Lord Almighty, and in Jesus Christ our redeemer, in the Holy Ghost the comforter, in the holy church, and in the remission of sins.

6 These things did our Lord and Saviour reveal unto us and teach us. And we do even as he, that ye may become partakers in the grace of our Lord and in our ministry and our giving of thanks (glory), and think upon life eternal. Be ye steadfast and waver not in the knowledge and confidence of our Lord Jesus Christ, and he will have mercy on you and save you everlastingly, world without end.

(Here begins the Coptic text:)

7 Cerinthus and Simon are come to go to and fro in the world, but they are enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ, for they do pervert the word and the true thing, even (faith in) Jesus Christ. Keep yourselves therefore far from them, for death is in them, and great pollution and corruption, even in these on whom shall come judgement and the end and everlasting destruction.

8 Therefore have we not shrunk from writing unto you concerning the testimony of Christ our Saviour, of what he did, when we followed with him, how he enlightened our understanding...

9 Concerning whom we testify that the Lord is he who was crucified by Pontius Pilate and Archelaus between the two thieves (and with them he was taken down from the tree of the cross, Eth.), and was buried in a place which is called the place of a skull (Kranion). And thither went three women, Mary, she that was kin to Martha, and Mary Magdalene (Sarrha, Martha, and Mary, Eth.), and took ointments to pour upon the body, weeping and mourning over that which was come to pass. And when they drew near to the sepulchre, they looked in and found not the body (Eth. they found the stone rolled away and opened the entrance).

10 And as they mourned and wept, the Lord showed himself unto them and said to them: For whom weep ye? weep no more. I am he whom ye seek. But let one of you go to your brethren and say: Come ye, the Master is risen from the dead. Martha (Mary, Eth.) came and told us. We said unto her: What haw we to do with thee, woman ? He that is dead and buried, is it possible that he should live? And we believed her not that the Saviour was risen from the dead. Then she returned unto the Lord and said unto him: None of them hath believed me, that thou livest. He said: Let another of you go unto them and tell them again. Mary (Sarrha, Eth.) came and told us again, and we believed her not; and she returned unto thc Lord and she also told him.

11 Then said the Lord unto Mary and her sisters: Let us go unto them. And he came and found us within (sitting veiled or fishing, Eth.), and called us out; but we thought that it was a phantom and believed not that it was the Lord. Then said he unto us: Come, fear ye not. I am your master, even he, O Peter, whom thou didst deny thrice; and dost thou now deny again? And we came unto him, doubting in our hearts whether it were he. Then said he unto us: Wherefore doubt ye still, and are unbelieving? I am he that spake unto you of my flesh and my death and my resurrection. But that ye may know that I am he, do thou, Peter, put thy finger into the print of the nails in mine hands, and thou also, Thomas, put thy finger into the wound of the spear in my side; but thou, Andrew, look on my feet and see whether they press the earth; for it is written in the prophet: A phantom of a devil maketh no footprint on the earth.

12 And we touched him, that we might learn of a truth whether he were risen in the flesh; and we fell on our faces (and worshipped him) confessing our sin, that we had been unbelieving. Then said our Lord and Saviour unto us: Rise up, and I will reveal unto you that which is above the heaven and in the heaven, and your rest which is in the kingdom of heaven. For my Father hath given me power (sent me, Eth.) to take you up thither, and them also that believe on me.

13 Now that which he revealed unto us is this, which he spake: It came to pass when I was about (minded) to come hither from the Father of all things, and passed through the heavens, then did I put on the wisdom of the Father, and I put on the power of his might. I was in heaven, and I passed by the archangels and the angels in their likeness, like as if I were one of them, among the princedoms and powers. I passed through them because I possessed the wisdom of him that had sent me. Now the chief captain of the angels, [is] Michael, and Gabriel and Uriel and Raphael followed me unto the fifth firmament (heaven), for they thought in their heart that I was one of them; such power was given me of my Father. And on that day did I adorn the archangels with a wonderful voice (so Copt.: Eth., Lat., I made them quake--amazed them), so that they should go unto the altar of the Father and serve and fulfil the ministry until I should return unto him. And so wrought I the likeness by my wisdom; for I became all things in all, that I might praise the dispensation of the Father and fulfil the glory of him that sent me (the verbs might well be transposed) and return unto him. (Here the Latin omits a considerable portion of text without notice, to near the beginning of c. 17.)

14 For ye know that the angel Gabriel brought the message unto Mary. And we answered: Yea, Lord. He answered and said unto us: Remember ye not, then, that I said unto you a little while ago: I became an angel among the angels, and I became all things in all? We said unto him: Yea, Lord. Then answered he and said unto us: On that day whereon I took the form of the angel Gabriel, I appeared unto Mary and spake with her. Her heart accepted me, and she believed (She believed and laughed, Eth.), and I formed myself and entered into her body. I became flesh, for I alone was a minister unto myself in that which concerned Mary (I was mine own messenger, Eth.) in the appearance of the shape of an angel. For so must I needs (or, was I wont to) do. Thereafter did I return to my Father (Copt. After my return to the Father, and run on).

15 But do ye commemorate my death. Now when the Passover (Easter, pascha) cometh, one of you shall be cast into prison for my name's sake; and he will be in grief and sorrow, because ye keep the Easter while he is in prison and separated from you, for he will be sorrowful because he keepeth not Easter with you. And I will send my power in the form of mine angel Gabriel, and the doors of the prison shall open. And he shall come forth and come unto you and keep the night-watch with you until the cock crow. And when ye have accomplished the memorial which is made of me, and the Agape (love-feast), he shall again be cast into prison for a testimony, until he shall come out thence and preach that which I have delivered unto you.

And we said unto him: Lord, is it then needful that we should again take the cup and drink? (Lord, didst not thou thyself fulfil the drinking of the Passover? is it then needful that we should accomplish it again? Eth.) He said unto us: Yea, it is needful, until the day when I come again, with them that have been put to death for my sake (come with my wounds, Eth.).

16 Then said we to him: Lord, that which thou hast revealed unto us (revealest, Eth.) is great. Wilt thou come in the power of any creature or in an appearance of any kind ? (In what power or form wilt thou come? Eth.) He answered and said unto us: Verily I say unto you, I shall come like the sun when it is risen, and my brightness will be seven times the brightness thereof! The wings of the clouds shall bear me in brightness, and the sign of the cross shall go before me, and I shall come upon earth to judge the quick and the dead.

17 We said unto him: Lord, after how many years shall this come to pass ? He said unto us: When the hundredth part and the twentieth part is fulfilled, between the Pentecost and the feast of unleavened bread, then shall the coming of my Father be (so Copt.: When an hundred and fifty years are past, in the days of the feast of Passover and Pentecost, &c., Eth.: . . . (imperfect word) year is fulfilled, between the unleavened bread and Pentecost shall be the coming of my Father, Lat.).

We said unto him: Now sayest thou unto us: I will come; and how sayest thou: He that sent me is he that shall come? Then said he to us: I am wholly in the Father and my Father is in me. Then said we to him: Wilt thou indeed forsake us until thy coming? Where can we find a master? But he answered and said unto us: Know ye not, then, that like as until now I have been here, so also was I there, with him that sent me? And we said to him: Lord, is it then possible that thou shouldest be both here and there? But he answered us: I am wholly in the Father and the Father in me, because of (in regard of) the likeness of the form and the power and the fullness and the light and the full measure and the voice. I am the word, I am become unto him a thing, that is to say (word gone) of the thought, fulfilled in the type (likeness); I have into the Ogdoad (eighth number), which is the Lord's day. (In place of these sentences Eth. has: I am of his resemblance and form, of his power and completeness, and of his light. I am his complete (fulfilled, entire) Word.

18 But it came to pass after he was crucified, and dead and arisen again, when the work was fulfilled which was accomplished in the flesh, and he was crucified and the ascension come to pass at the end of the days, then said he thus, &c. It is an interpolation, in place of words which the translator did not understand, or found heretical.) But the whole fulfilment of the fulfilment shall ye see after the redemption which hath come to pass by me, and ye shall see me, how I go up unto my Father which is in heaven. But behold, now, I give unto you a new commandment: Love one another and [a leaf lost in Copt.] obey one another, that peace may rule alway among you. Love your enemies, and what ye would not that man do unto you, that do unto no man.

19 And this preach ye also and teach them that believe on me, and preach the kingdom of heaven of my Father, and how my Father hath given me the power, that ye may bring near the children of my heavenly Father. Preach ye, and they shall obtain faith, that ye may be they for whom it is ordained that they shall bring his children unto heaven.

And we said unto him: Lord, unto thee it is possible to accomplish that whereof thou tellest us; but how shall we be able to do it? He said to us: Verily I say unto you, preach and proclaim as I command you, for I will be with you, for it is my good pleasure to be with you, that ye may be heirs with me in the kingdom of heaven, even the kingdom of him that sent me. Verily I say unto you, ye shall be my brethren and my friends, for my Father hath found pleasure in you: and so also shall they be that believe on me by your means. Verily I say unto you, such and so great joy hath my Father prepared for you that the angels and the powers desired and do desire to see it and look upon it; but it is not given unto them to behold the glory of my Father. We said unto him: Lord, what is this whereof thou speakest to us?

(The Coptic text begins again: words are missing:)

He answered us: Ye shall behold a light, more excellent than that which shineth... (shineth more brightly than the light, and is more perfect than perfection. And the Son shall become perfect through the Father who is Light, for the Father is perfect which bringeth to pass death and resurrection, and ye shall see a perfection more perfect than the perfect. And I am wholly at the right hand of the Father, even in him that maketh perfect. So Eth.: Copt. has gaps).

And we said unto him: Lord, in all things art thou become salvation and life unto us, for that thou makest known such a hope unto us. And he said to us: Be of good courage and rest in me. Verily I say unto you, your rest shall be above (?), in the place where is neither eating nor drinking, nor care (Copt. joy) nor sorrow, nor passing away of them that are therein: for ye shall have no part in (the things of earth, Eth.) but ye shall be received in the everlastingness of my Father. Like as I am in him, so shall ye also be in me.

Again we said unto him: In what form? in the fashion of angels, or in flesh ? And he answered and said unto us: Lo, I

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have put on your flesh, wherein I was born and crucified, and am risen again through my Father which is in heaven, that the prophecy of David the prophet might be fulfilled, in regard of that which was declared concerning me and my death and resurrection, saying:

Lord, they are increased that fight with me, and many are they that are risen up against me.

Many there be that say to my soul: There is no help for him in his God.

But thou, O Lord, art my defender: thou art my worship, and the lifter up of my head.

I did call upon the Lord with my voice and he heard me (out of the high place of his temple, Eth.).

I laid me down and slept, and rose up again: for thou, O Lord, art my defender.

I will not be afraid for ten thousands of the people, that have set themselves against me round about.

Up, Lord, and help me, O my God: for thou hast smitten down all them that without cause are mine enemies: thou hast broken the teeth of the ungodly.

Salvation belongeth unto the Lord, and his good pleasure is upon his people (Ps. iii. 1-8).

If, therefore, all the words which were spoken by the prophets have been fulfilled in me (for I myself was in them), how much more shall that which I say unto you come to pass indeed, that he which sent me may be glorified by you and by them that believe on me?

20 And when he had said this unto us, we said to him: In all things hast thou had mercy on us and saved us, and hast revealed all things unto us; but yet would we ask of thee somewhat if thou give us leave. And he said unto us: I know that ye pay heed, and that your heart is well-pleased when ye hear me: now concerning that which ye desire, I will speak good words unto you. 21 For verily I say unto you: Like as my Father hath raised me from the dead, so shall ye also rise (in the flesh, Eth.) and be taken up into the highest heaven, unto the place whereof I have told you from the beginning, unto the place which he who sent me hath prepared for you. And so will I accomplish all dispensations (all grace, Eth.), even I who am unbegotten and yet begotten of mankind, who am without flesh and yet have borne flesh <and have grown up like unto you that were born in flesh, Eth.>: for to that end am I come, that (gap in Copt.: Eth. continues) ye might rise from the dead in your flesh, in the second birth, even a vesture that shall not decay, together with all them that hope and believe in him that sent me: for so is the will of my Father, that I should give unto you, and unto them whom it pleaseth me, the hope of the kingdom.

Then said we unto him: Great is that which thou sufferest us to hope, and tellest us. And he answered and said: Believe ye that everything that I tell you shall come to pass ? We answered and said: Yea, Lord. (Copt. resumes for a few lines: then another gap. I follow Eth.) He said unto us: Verily I say unto you, that I have obtained the whole power of my Father, that I may bring back into light them that dwell in darkness, them that are in corruption into incorruption, them that are in death into life, and that I may loose them that are in fetters. For that which is impossible with men, is possible with the Father. I am the hope of them that despair, the helper of them that have no saviour, the wealth of the poor, thc health of the sick, and the resurrection of the dead.

22 When he had thus said, we said unto him: Lord, is it true that the flesh shall be judged together with the soul and the spirit, and that the one part shall rest in heaven and the other part be punished everlastingly yet living? And he said unto us: (Copt. resumes) How long will ye inquire and doubt?

23 Again we said unto him: Lord, there is necessity upon us to inquire of thee--because thou hast commanded us to preach--that we ourselves may learn assuredly of thee and be profitable preachers, and that they which are instructed by us may believe in thee. Therefore must we needs inquire of thee.

24 He answered us and said: Verily I say unto you, the resurrection of the flesh shall come to pass with the soul therein and the spirit. And we said unto him: Lord, is it then possible that that which is dissolved and brought to nought should become whole? and we ask thee not as unbelieving, neither as if it were impossible unto thee; but verily we believe that that which thou sayest shall come to pass. And he was wroth with us and said: O ye of little faith, how long will ye ask questions? But what ye will, tell it me, and I myself will tell you without grudging: only keep ye my commandments and do that which I bid you, and turn not away your face from any man, that I turn not my face away from you, but without shrinking and fear and without respect of persons, minister ye in the way that is direct and narrow and strait. So shall my Father himself rejoice over you.

25 Again we said unto him: Lord, already are we ashamed that we question thee oft-times and burden thee. And he answered and said unto us: I know that in faith and with your whole heart ye do question me; therefore do I rejoice over you, for verily I say unto you: I rejoice, and my Father that is in me, because ye question me; and your importunity (shamelessness) is unto me rejoicing and unto you it giveth life. And when he had so said unto us, we were glad that we had questioned him, and we said to him: Lord, in all things thou makest us alive and hast mercy on us. Wilt thou now declare unto us that which we shall ask thee? Then said he unto us: Is it the flesh that passeth away, or is it the spirit? We said unto him: The flesh is it that passeth away. Then said he unto us: That which hath fallen shall rise again, and that which was lost shall be found, and that which was weak shall recover, that in these things that are so created the glory of my Father may be revealed. As he hath done unto me, so will I do unto all that believe in me.

26 Verily I say unto you: the flesh shall arise, and the soul, alive, that their defence may come to pass on that day in regard of that that they have done, whether it be good or evil: that there may be a choosing-out of the faithful who have kept the commandments of my Father that sent me; and so shall the judgement be accomplished with strictness. For my Father said unto me: My Son, in the day of judgement thou shalt have no respect for the rich, neither pity for the poor, but according to the sins of every man shalt thou deliver him unto everlasting torment. But unto my beloved that have done the commandments of my Father that sent me will I give the rest of life in the kingdom of my Father which is in heaven, and they shall behold that which he hath given me. And he hath given me authority to do that which I will, and to give that which I have promised and determined to give and grant unto them.

27 For to that end went I down unto the place of Lazarus, and preached unto the righteous and the prophets, that they might come out of the rest which is below and come up into that which is above; and I poured out upon them with my right hand the water (?) (baptism, Eth.) of life and forgiveness and salvation from all evil, as I have done unto you and unto them that believe on me. But if any man believe on me and do not my commandments, although he have confessed my name, he hath no profit therefrom but runneth a vain race: for such will find themselves in perdition and destruction, because they have despised my commandments.

28 But so much the more have I redeemed you, the children of light, from all evil and from the authority of the rulers (archons), and every one that believeth on me by your means. For that which I have promised unto you will I give unto them also, that they may come out of the prison-house and the fetters of the rulers. We answered and said: Lord, thou hast given unto us the rest of life and hast given us <joy?> by wonders, unto the confirmation of faith: wilt thou now preach the same unto us, seeing that thou hast preached it unto the <righteous> and the prophets? Then said he unto us: Verily I say unto you, all that have believed on me and that believe in him that sent me will I take up into the heaven, unto the place which my Father hath prepared for the elect, and I will give you the kingdom, the chosen kingdom, in rest, and everlasting life.

29 But all they that have offended against my commandments and have taught other doctrine, (perverting) the Scripture and adding thereto, striving after their own glory, and that teach with other words them that believe on me in uprightness, if they make them fall thereby, shall receive everlasting punishment. We said unto him: Lord, shall there then be teaching by others, diverse from that which thou hast spoken unto us ? He said unto us: It must needs be, that the evil and the good may be made manifest; and the judgement shall be manifest upon them that do these things, and according to their works shall they be judged and shall be delivered unto death.

Again we said unto him: Lord, blessed are we in that we see thee and hear thee declaring such things, for our eyes have beheld these great wonders that thou hast done. He answered and said unto us: Yea, rather blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed, for they shall be called children of the kingdom, and they shall be perfect among the perfect, and I will be unto them life in the kingdom of my Father.

Again we said unto him: Lord, how shall men be able to believe that thou wilt depart and leave us; for thou sayest unto us: There shall come a day and an hour when I shall ascend unto my Father?

30 But he said unto us: Go ye and preach unto the twelve tribes, and preach also unto the heathen, and to all the land of Israel from the east to the west and from the south unto the north, and many shall believe on <me> the Son of God. But we said unto him: Lord, who will believe us, or hearken unto us, or (how shall we be able, Eth.) to teach the powers and signs and wonders which thou hast done ? Then answered he and said to us: Go ye and preach the mercifulness of my Father, and that which he hath done through me will I myself do through you, for I am in you, and I will give you my peace, and I will give you a power of my spirit, that ye may prophesy to them unto life eternal. And unto the others also will I give my power, that they may teach the residue of the peoples.

(Six leaves lost in the Coptic text: the Ethiopic text continues:)

31 And behold a man shall meet you, whose name is Saul, which being interpreted is Paul: he is a Jew, circumcised according to the law, and he shall receive my voice from heaven with fear and terror and trembling. And his eyes shall be blinded, and by your hands by the sign of the cross shall they be protected (healed: other Eth. MSS. with spittle by your hands shall his eyes, &c.). Do ye unto him all that I have done unto you. Deliver it (? the word of God) unto the other. And at the same time that man shall open his eyes and praise the Lord, even my Father which is in heaven. He shall obtain power among the people and shall preach and instruct; and many that hear him shall obtain glory and be redeemed. But thereafter shall men be wroth with him and deliver him into the hands of his enemies, and he shall bear witness before kings that are mortal, and his end shall be that he shall turn unto me, whereas he persecuted me at the first. He shall preach and teach and abide with the elect, as a chosen vessel and a wall that shall not be overthrown, yea, the last of the last shall become a preacher unto the Gentiles, made perfect by the will of my Father. Like as ye have learned from the Scripture that your fathers the prophets spake of me, and in me it is indeed fulfilled.

And he said unto us: Be ye also therefore guides unto them; and all things that I said unto you, and that ye write concerning me (tell ye them), that I am the word of the Father and that the Father is in me. Such also shall ye be unto that man, as becometh you. Instruct him and bring to his mind that which is spoken of me in the Scripture and is fulfilled, and thereafter shall he become the salvation of the Gentiles.

32 And we asked him: Lord, is there for us and for them the self-same expectation of the inheritance? He answered and said unto us: Are then the fingers of the hand like unto each other, or the ears of corn in the field, or do all fruit-trees bear the same fruit? Doth not every one bear fruit according to its nature? And we said unto him: Lord, wilt thou again speak unto us in parables? Then said he unto us: Lament not. Verily I say unto you, ye are my brethren, and my companions in the kingdom of heaven unto my Father, for so is his good pleasure. Verily I say unto you, unto them also whom ye teach and who believe on me will I give that expectation.

33 And we asked him again: When shall we meet with that man, and when wilt thou depart unto thy Father and our God and Lord? He answered and said unto us: That man will come out of the land of Cilicia unto Damascus of Syria, to root up the church which ye must found there. It is I that speak through you; and he shall come quickly: and he shall become strong in the faith, that the word of the prophet may be fulfilled, which saith: Behold, out of Syria will I begin to call together a new Jerusalem, and Sion will I subdue unto me, and it shall be taken, and the place which is childless shall be called the son and daughter of my Father, and my bride. For so hath it pleased him that sent me. But that man will I turn back, that he accomplish not his evil desire, and the praise of my Father shall be perfected in him, and after that I am gone home and abide with my Father, I will speak unto him from heaven, and all things shall be accomplished which I have told you before concerning him.

34 And we said unto him again: Lord, so many great things hast thou told us and revealed unto us as never yet were spoken, and in all hast thou given us rest and been gracious unto us. After thy resurrection thou didst reveal unto us all things that we might be saved indeed; but thou saidst unto us only: There shall be wonders and strange appearances in heaven and on earth before the end of the world come. Tell us now, how shall we perceive it? And he answered us: I will teach it you; and not that which shall befall you only, but them also whom ye shall teach and who shall believe, as well as them who shall hear that man and believe on me. In those years and days shall it come to pass.

And we said again unto him: Lord, what shall come to pass? And he said unto us: Then shall they that believe and they that believe not hear (see, Eth.) a trumpet in the heaven, a vision of great stars which shall be seen in the day, wonderful sights in heaven reaching down to the earth; stars which fall upon the earth like fire, and a great and mighty hail of fire (a star shining from the east unto this place, like unto fire, Eth. 2). The sun and the moon fighting one with the other, a continual rolling and noise of thunders and lightnings, thunder and earthquake; cities falling and men perishing in their overthrow, a continual dearth for lack of rain, a terrible pestilence and great mortality, mighty and untimely, so that they that die lack burial: and the bearing forth of brethren and sisters and kinsfolk shall be upon one bier. The kinsman shall show no favour to his kinsman, nor any man to his neighbour. And they that were overthrown shall rise up and behold them that overthrew them, that they lack burial, for the pestilence shall be full of hatred and pain and envy: and men shall take from one and give to another. And thereafter shall it wax yet worse than before. (Bewail ye them that have not hearkened unto my commandments, Eth. 2.)

85 Then shall my Father be wroth at the wickedness of men, for many are their transgressions, and the abomination of their uncleanness weigheth heavy upon them in the corruption of their life.

And we asked him: What of them that trust in thee? He answered and said unto us: Ye are yet slow of heart; and how long? Verily I say unto you, as the prophet David spake of me

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and of my people, so shall it be (?) for them also that believe on me. But they that are deceivers in the world and enemies of righteousness, upon them shall come the fulfilment of the prophecy of David, who said: Their feet are swift to shed blood, their tongue uttereth slander, adders' poison is under their lips. I behold thee companying with thieves, and partaking with adulterers, thou continuest speaking against thy brother and puttest stumbling-blocks before thine own mother's son. What thinkest thou, that I shall be like unto thee? Behold now how the prophet of God hath spoken of all, that all things may be fulfilled which he said aforetime.

36 And again we said unto him: Lord, will not then the nations say: Where is their God? And he answered and said unto us: Thereby shall the elect be known, that they, being plagued with such afflictions, come forth. We said: Will then their departure out of the world be by a pestilence which giveth them pain? He answered us: Nay, but if they suffer such affliction, it will be a proving of them, whether they have faith and remember these my sayings, and fulfil my commandments. These shall arise, and short will be their expectation, that he may be glorified that sent me, and I with him. For he hath sent me unto you to tell you these things; and that ye may impart them unto Israel and the Gentiles and they may hear, and they also be redeemed and believe on me and escape the woe of the destruction. But whoso escapeth from the destruction of death, him will they take and hold him fast in the prison-house in torments like the torments of a thief.

And we said unto him: Lord, will they that believe be treated like the unbelievers, and wilt thou punish them that have escaped from the pestilence? And he said unto us: If they that believe in my name deal like the sinners, then have they done as though they had not believed. And we said again to him: Lord, have they on whom this lot hath fallen no life? He answered and said unto us: Whoso hath accomplished the praise of my Father, he shall abide in the resting-place of my Father.

37 Then said we unto him: Lord, teach us what shall come to pass thereafter? And he answered us: In those years and days shall war be kindled upon war; the four ends of the earth shall be in commotion and fight against each other. Thereafter shall be quakings of clouds (or, clouds of locusts), darkness, and dearth, and persecutions of them that believe on me and against the elect. Thereupon shall come doubt and strife and transgressions against one another. And there shall be many that believe on my name and yet follow after evil and spread vain doctrine. And men shall follow after them and their riches, and be subject unto their pride, and lust for drink, and bribery, and there shall be respect of persons among them.

38 But they that desire to behold the face of God and respect not the persons of the rich sinners, and are not ashamed before the people that lead them astray, but rebuke (?) them, they shall be crowned by the Father. And they also shall be saved that rebuke their neighbours, for they are sons of wisdom and of faith. But if they become not children of wisdom, whoso hateth his brother and persecuteth him and showeth him no favour, him will God despise and reject.

(The Coptic text resumes:)

But they that walk in truth and in the knowledge of the faith, and have love towards me--for they have endured insult--they shall be praised for that they walk in poverty and endure them that hate them and put them to shame. Men have stripped them naked, for they despised them because they continued in hunger and thirst, but after they have endured patiently, they shall have the blessedness of heaven, and they shall be with me for ever. But woe unto them that walk in pride and boasting, for their end is perdition.

39 And we said unto him: Lord, is this thy purpose, that thou leavest us, to come upon them? (Will all this come to pass, Eth.) Hc answered and said unto us: After what manner shall the judgement be? whether righteous or unrighteous? (In Copt. and Eth. the general sense is the same: but the answer of Jesus in the form of a question is odd, and there is probably a corruption.)

We said unto him: Lord, in that day they will say unto thee: Thou hast not distinguished between (probably: will they not say unto thee: Thou hast distinguished between) righteousness and unrighteousness, between the light and the darkness, and evil and good? Then said he: I will answer them and say: Unto Adam was power given to choose one of the two: he chose the light and laid his hand thereon, but the darkness he left behind him and cast away from him. Therefore have all men power to believe in the light which is life, and which is the Father that hath sent me. And every one that believeth and doeth the works of the light shall live in them; but if there be any that confesseth that he belongeth unto the light, and doeth the works of darkness, such an one hath no defence to utter, neither can he lift up his face to look upon the Son of God, which Son am I. For I will say unto him: As thou soughtest, so hast thou found, and as thou askedst, so hast thou received. Therefore condemnest thou me, O man? Wherefore hast thou departed from me and denied me? And wherefore hast thou confessed me and yet denied me? hath not every man power to live and to die? Whoso then hath kept my commandments shall be a son of the light, that is, of the Father that is in me. But because of them that corrupt my words am I come down from heaven. I am the word: I became flesh, and I wearied myself (or, suffered) and taught, saying: The heavy laden shall be saved, and they that are gone astray shall go astray for ever. They shall be chastised and tormented in their flesh and in their soul.

40 And we said unto him: O Lord, verily we are sorrowful for their sake. And he said unto us: Ye do rightly, for the righteous are sorry for the sinners, and pray for them, making prayer unto my Father. Again we said unto him: Lord, is there none that maketh intercession unto thee (so Eth.)? And he said unto us: Yea, and I will hearken unto the prayer of the righteous which they make for them.

When he had so said unto us, we said to him: Lord, in all things hast thou taught us and had mercy on us and saved us, that we might preach unto them that are worthy to be saved, and that we might obtain a recompense with thee. (Shall we be partakers of a recompense from thee? Eth.) 41 He answered and said unto us: Go and preach, and ye shall be labourers, and fathers, and ministers. We said unto him: Thou art he (or, Art thou he) that shalt preach by us. (Lord, thou art our father. Eth.) Then answered he us, saying: Be not (or, Are not ye) all fathers or all masters. (Are then all fathers, or all servants, or all masters? Eth.) We said unto him: Lord, thou art he that saidst unto us: Call no man your father upon earth, for one is your Father, which is in heaven, and your master. Wherefore sayest thou now unto us: Ye shall be fathers of many children, and servants and masters? He answered and said unto us: According as ye have said (Ye have rightly said, Eth.). For verily I say unto you: whosoever shall hear you and believe on me, shall receive of you the light of the seal through me, and baptism through me: ye shall be fathers and servants and masters.

42 But we said unto him: Lord, how may it be that every one of us should be these three? He said unto us: Verily I say unto you: Ye shall be called fathers, because with praiseworthy heart and in love ye have revealed unto them the things of the kingdom of heaven. And ye shall be called servants, because they shall receive the baptism of life and the remission of their sins at my hand through you. And ye shall be called masters, because ye have given them the word without grudging, and have admonished them, and when ye admonished them, they turned themselves (were converted). Ye were not afraid of their riches, nor ashamed before their face, but ye kept the commandments of my Father and fulfilled them. And ye shall have a great reward with my Father which is in heaven, and they shall have forgiveness of sins and everlasting life, and be partakers in the kingdom of heaven.

And we said unto him: Lord, even if every one of us had ten thousand tongues to speak withal, we could not thank thee, for that thou promisest such things unto us. Then answered he us, saying: Only do ye that which I say unto you, even as I myself also have done it. 43 And ye shall be like the wise virgins which watched and slept not, but went forth unto the lord into the bridechamber: but the foolish virgins were not able to watch, but slumbered. And we said unto him: Lord, who are the wise and who are the foolish? He said unto us: Five wise and five foolish; for these are they of whom the prophet hath spoken: Sons of God are they. Hear now their names.

But we wept and were troubled for them that slumbered. He said unto us: The five wise are Faith and Love and Grace and Peace and Hope. Now they of the faithful which possess this (these) shall be guides unto them that have believed on me and on him that sent me. For I am the Lord and I am the bridegroom whom they have received, and they have entered in to the house of the bridegroom and are laid down with me in the bridal chamber rejoicing. But the five foolish, when they had slept and had awaked, came unto the door of the bridal chamber and knocked, for the doors were shut. Then did they weep and lament that no man opened unto them.

We said unto him: Lord, and their wise sisters that were within in the bridegroom's house, did they continue without opening unto them, and did they not sorrow for their sakes nor entreat the bridegroom to open unto them? He answered us, saying: They were not yet able to obtain favour for them. We said unto him: Lord, on what day shall they enter in for their sisters' sake? Then said he unto us: He that is shut out, is shut out. And we said unto him: Lord, is this word (determined?). Who then are the foolish? He said unto us: Hear their names. They are Knowledge, Understanding (Perception), Obedience, Patience, and Compassion. These are they that slumbered in them that have believed and confessed me but have not fulfilled my commandments. 44 On account of them that have slumbered, they shall remain outside the kingdom and the fold of the shepherd and his sheep. But whoso shall abide outside the sheepfold, him will the wolves devour, and he shall be (condemned?) and die in much affliction: in him shall be no rest nor endurance, and (Eth.) although he be hardly punished, and rent in pieces and devoured in long and evil torment, yet shall he not be able to obtain death quickly.

45 And we said unto him: Lord, well hast thou revealed all this unto us. Then answered he us, saying: Understand ye not (or, Ye understand not) these words? We said unto him: Yea, Lord. By five shall men enter into thy kingdom <and by five shall men remain without>: notwithstanding, they that watched were with thee the Lord and bridegroom, even though they rejoiced not because of them that slumbered (yet will they have no pleasure, because of, Eth.). He said unto us: They will indeed rejoice that they have entered in with the bridegroom, the Lord; and they are sorrowful because of them that slumbered, for they are their sisters. For all ten are daughters of God, even the Father. Then said we unto him: Lord, is it then for thee to show them favour on account of their sisters? (It becometh thy majesty to show them favour, Eth.) He said unto us: <It is not mine,> but his that sent me, and I am consenting with him (It is not yours, &c., Eth.).

46 But be ye upright and preach rightly and teach, and be not abashed by any man and fear not any man, and especially the rich, for they do not my commandments, but boast themselves (swell) in their riches. And we said unto him: Lord, tell us if it be the rich only. He answered, saying unto us: If any man who is not rich and possesseth a small livelihood giveth unto the poor and needy, men will call him a benefactor.

47 But if any man fall under the load <because> of sin that he hath committed, then shall his neighbour correct him because of the good that he hath done unto his neighbour. And if his neighbour correct him and he return, he shall be saved, and he that corrected him shall receive a reward and live for ever. For a needy man, if he see him that hath done him good sin, and correct him not, shall be judged with severe judgement. Now if a blind man lead a blind, they both fall into a ditch: and whoso respecteth persons for their sake, shall be as the two <blind>, as the prophet hath said: Woe unto them that respect persons and justify the ungodly for reward, even they whose God is their belly. Behold that judgement shall be their portion. For verily I say unto you: On that day will I neither have respect unto the rich nor pity for the poor.

48 If thou behold a sinner, admonish him betwixt him and thee: (if he hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother, Eth.) and if he hear thee not, then take to thee another, as many as three, and instruct thy brother: again, if he hear thee not, let him be unto thee as an heathen man or a publican.

(The Coptic text is defective from this point:)

49 If thou hear aught against thy brother, give it no credence; slander not, and delight not in hearing slander. For thus it is written: Suffer not thine ear to receive aught against thy brother: but if thou seest aught, correct him, rebuke him, and convert him.

And we said unto him: Lord, thou hast in all things taught us and warned us. But, Lord, concerning the believers, even them to whom it belongeth to believe in the preaching of thy name: is it determined that among them also there shall be doubt and division, jealousy, confusion, hatred, and envy? For thou sayest: They shall find fault with one another and respect the person of them that sin, and hate them that rebuke them. And he answered and said unto us: How then shall the judgement come about, that the corn should be gathered into the garner and the chaff thereof cast into the fire?

50 They that hate such things, and love me and rebuke them that fulfil not my commandments, shall be hated and persecuted and despised and mocked. Men will of purpose speak of them that which is not true, and will band themselves together against them that love me. But these will rebuke them, that they may be saved. But them that will rebuke and chasten and warn them, them will they (the others) hate, and thrust them aside, and despise them, and hold themselves far from them that wish them good. But they that endure such things shall be like unto the martyrs with the Father, because they have striven for righteousness, and have not striven for corruption.

And we asked him: Lord, shall such things be among us? And he answered us: Fear not; it shall not be in many, but in a few. We said unto him: Yet tell us, in what manner it shall come to pass. And he said unto us: There shall come forth another doctrine, and a eonfusion, and because they shall strive after their own advancement, they shall bring forth an unprofitable doctrine. And therein shall be a deadly corruption (of uncleanness), and they shall teach it, and shall turn away them that believe on me from my commandments and cut them off from eternal life. But woe unto them that falsify this my word and commandment, and draw away them that hearken to them from the life of the doctrine and separate themselves from the commandment of life: for together with them they shall come into everlasting judgement.

51 And when he had said this, and had finished his discourse with us, he said unto us again: Behold, on the third day and at the third hour shall he come which hath sent me, that I may depart with him. And as he so spake, there was thunder and lightning and an earthquake, and the heavens parted asunder, and there appeared a light (bright) cloud which bore him up.

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And there came voices of many angels, rejoicing and singing praises and saying: Gather us, O Priest, unto the light of the majesty. And when they drew nigh unto the firmament, we heard his voice saying unto us: Depart hence in peace.

THE EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE ROMANS

or Paul To The Citizens Of Rome, or just Romans
Author: Sha'ul ha Tarsi / Saul of Tarsos
Translation: King James Version
Estimated Range of Dating: 50-60 A.D.

(Sha'ul ha Tarsi / Saul of Tarsos, also known as Paul the Apostle. He was born a Jew but he also held Roman citizenship which was not granted automatically by birth, it was rather granted upon merit. This means that Paul was in Roman service of some kind and he had obtained the permission to persecute the Jewish Christians around James the Just, the brother of Jesus, and Jesus' family and disciples. On his way to Damascus, Paul had "a vision" [idea] of "his Jesus" who had nothing to do with the real Jesus. Upon this event he became the creator of Pauline Christianity or Roman Christianity which was the forerunner of most of the modern Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant Christian denominations. For this particular reason, Paul's letters are much more important to read than the gospels. The gospels represent just a colourful literature for their greatest part while Paul's letters reflect history, and above all, they also depict to some extent Paul's mindset and attitude. This includes his anti-Semitism [anti-Jewishness] with which he infected the entire Roman Christian movement, leading directly into the Holocaust committed by Hitler's Nazis in places like Auschwitz and Treblinka.

Romans is one of the four letters of Paul known as the "Hauptbriefe" [German for: Main Epistles], which are universally accepted as authentic. It is typically dated c. 57 AD. Prior to the time of writing Romans, therefore, Paul had already written Galatians, and 1 and 2 Corinthians, in addition to 1 Thessalonians (believed to be Paul's earliest extant epistle), and perhaps Philippians as well. The Epistles to the Romans has also contributed significantly to the history of Christian doctrine. Almost every influential Christian thinker has dealt with Romans.)

Romans (c. 57): The Epistle to the Romans or Letter to the Romans, often shortened to Romans, is the sixth book in the New Testament. Biblical scholars agree that it was composed by Saul of Tarsos (Paul the Apostle). This letter is the longest and doctrinally most significant of the letters published by Saul of Tarsosl, and it was addressed to the Christian Church at Rome. The letter has been intensely studied since early Christian times and was the basis of Martin Luther's teaching on justification by faith alone. Saul's lengthy presentation is more a treatise than a letter and is an almost complete survey of his theology. There is no discussion of the Eucharist, the Resurrection, or eschatology. These ideas were added later. The Eucharist was taken from the Mithras Cult as well as a large part of the lithurgy; both groups worshipped in the same buildings, the Christians on the groundfloor, the Mithraists down below in the basements. the crypts.

Paul declares that God's righteousness has always been manifest in his dealings with men. Though the Apostle notes with pride the unique religious heritage of the Jewish people (the Covenant, the Law, the patriarchs, and Christ himself), he declares that righteousness no longer comes through observance of the Mosaic Law, not even for Jews, because God now manifests his righteousness through Christ, whose righteousness is the source of righteousness for all mankind. Paul, however, cautions his readers that righteousness is not a license to sin. The letter also contains several specific exhortations, such as to repay evil with good, to support and love one another, and to be obedient to civil rulers.

The inclusion of Gentiles into early Christian Movement posed a problem for the Jewish identity of some of the early Christians, since the new converts did not follow all parts of the Jewish Law. Paul's geographic origin, his Greek-Roman cultural background and religious views are important. Paul was a Roman Jew. He also had a traditional Jewish backckground. Both of these very different views shaped his identity, as it is normal for people who grow up with two cultural backgrounds. Not surprisingly, he tried to create his very own intellectual world. These views and his concern for his people is one part of the dialogue and runs throughout the letter.

Paul objected strongly to the insistence of traditional Jews on keeping all of the 613 Jewish commandments because as a Roman citizen he knew that his fellow-Roman citizen would never follow. Circumcision was a particular point here Romans were horrified about as they regarded it as genital mutilation, a kind of castration. Besides that it also was forbidden by law (the Lex Cornelia, the laws by Cornelius Sulla), most likely due to risk of infection.

Phoebe was a first-century Christian woman mentioned by the Apostle Paul in his Epistle to the Romans, verses 16:1-2. A notable woman in the church of Cenchreae, she was trusted by Paul to deliver his letter to the Romans. Paul refers to her both as a deacon (Greek: diakonon) and as a helper or patron of many. This is the only place in the New Testament where a woman has a leading position in Church.

While Simon Peter, according to most New Testamental texts, hated women, particularly when they had a position besides the role of being a mother, Saul of Tarsos loved women, their company, and he appreciated it when they took a strong position in Church. In this regard, he followed the example of Jesus and the situation of the early Church in general. It is obvious that he had several women disciples.

Romans chapter 16 names several women active in the Christian movement, including Junia ("prominent among the apostles"), Mary ("who has worked very hard among you"), and Julia. Women were frequently among the major supporters of the new Christian movement. In Romans 16:3–4, Paul sends his greetings to Priscilla and Aquila and proclaims that both of them "risked their necks" to save Paul's life. Chloe was an important member of the church in Corinth [1 Cor. 1:11]. Phoebe was a "deacon" and a "benefactor" of Paul and others [Rom. 16:1–2]. Saul became a partner in ministry with the couple Priscilla and Aquila who are specifically named seven times in the New Testament.)

ROMANS CHAPTER 1

1 Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, separated unto the gospel of God,

2 (Which he had promised afore by his prophets in the holy scriptures,)

3 Concerning his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, which was made of the seed of David according to the flesh;

4 And declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead:

5 By whom we have received grace and apostleship, for obedience to the faith among all nations, for his name:

6 Among whom are ye also the called of Jesus Christ:

7 To all that be in Rome, beloved of God, called to be saints: Grace to you and peace from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ.

8 First, I thank my God through Jesus Christ for you all, that your faith is spoken of throughout the whole world.

9 For God is my witness, whom I serve with my spirit in the gospel of his Son, that without ceasing I make mention of you always in my prayers;

10 Making request, if by any means now at length I might have a prosperous journey by the will of God to come unto you.

11 For I long to see you, that I may impart unto you some spiritual gift, to the end ye may be established;

12 That is, that I may be comforted together with you by the mutual faith both of you and me.

13 Now I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that oftentimes I purposed to come unto you, (but was let hitherto,) that I might have some fruit among you also, even as among other Gentiles.

14 I am debtor both to the Greeks, and to the Barbarians; both to the wise, and to the unwise.

15 So, as much as in me is, I am ready to preach the gospel to you that are at Rome also.

16 For I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ: for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek.

17 For therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith: as it is written, The just shall live by faith.

18 For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness;

19 Because that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God hath shewed it unto them.

20 For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse:

21 Because that, when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened.

22 Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools,

23 And changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and fourfooted beasts, and creeping things.

24 Wherefore God also gave them up to uncleanness through the lusts of their own hearts, to dishonour their own bodies between themselves:

25 Who changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever. Amen.

26 For this cause God gave them up unto vile affections: for even their women did change the natural use into that which is against nature:

27 And likewise also the men, leaving the natural use of the woman, burned in their lust one toward another; men with men working that which is unseemly, and receiving in themselves that recompence of their error which was meet.

28 And even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient;

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29 Being filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity; whisperers,
30 Backbiters, haters of God, despiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents,
31 Without understanding, covenantbreakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful:
32 Who knowing the judgement of God, that they which commit such things are worthy of death, not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them.

ROMANS CHAPTER 2

1 Therefore thou art inexcusable, O man, whosoever thou art that judgest: for wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself; for thou that judgest doest the same things.
2 But we are sure that the judgement of God is according to truth against them which commit such things.
3 And thinkest thou this, O man, that judgest them which do such things, and doest the same, that thou shalt escape the judgement of God?
4 Or despisest thou the riches of his goodness and forbearance and longsuffering; not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance?
5 But after thy hardness and impenitent heart treasurest up unto thyself wrath against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgement of God;
6 Who will render to every man according to his deeds:
7 To them who by patient continuance in well doing seek for glory and honour and immortality, eternal life:
8 But unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath,
9 Tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile;
10 But glory, honour, and peace, to every man that worketh good, to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile:
11 For there is no respect of persons with God.
12 For as many as have sinned without law shall also perish without law: and as many as have sinned in the law shall be judged by the law;
13 (For not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified.
14 For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves:
15 Which shew the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the mean while accusing or else excusing one another;)
16 In the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ according to my gospel.
17 Behold, thou art called a Jew, and restest in the law, and makest thy boast of God,
18 And knowest his will, and approvest the things that are more excellent, being instructed out of the law;
19 And art confident that thou thyself art a guide of the blind, a light of them which are in darkness,
20 An instructor of the foolish, a teacher of babes, which hast the form of knowledge and of the truth in the law.
21 Thou therefore which teachest another, teachest thou not thyself? thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal?
22 Thou that sayest a man should not commit adultery, dost thou commit adultery? thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege?
23 Thou that makest thy boast of the law, through breaking the law dishonourest thou God?
24 For the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles through you, as it is written.
25 For circumcision verily profiteth, if thou keep the law: but if thou be a breaker of the law, thy circumcision is made uncircumcision.
26 Therefore if the uncircumcision keep the righteousness of the law, shall not his uncircumcision be counted for circumcision?
27 And shall not uncircumcision which is by nature, if it fulfil the law, judge thee, who by the letter and circumcision dost transgress the law?
28 For he is not a Jew, which is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision, which is outward in the flesh:
29 But he is a Jew, which is one inwardly; and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God.

ROMANS CHAPTER 3

1 What advantage then hath the Jew? or what profit is there of circumcision?
2 Much every way: chiefly, because that unto them were committed the oracles of God.
3 For what if some did not believe? shall their unbelief make the faith of God without effect?
4 God forbid: yea, let God be true, but every man a liar; as it is written, That thou mightest be justified in thy sayings, and mightest overcome when thou art judged.
5 But if our unrighteousness commend the righteousness of God, what shall we say? Is God unrighteous who taketh vengeance? (I speak as a man)
6 God forbid: for then how shall God judge the world?
7 For if the truth of God hath more abounded through my lie unto his glory; why yet am I also judged as a sinner?
8 And not rather, (as we be slanderously reported, and as some affirm that we say,) Let us do evil, that good may come? whose damnation is just.
9 What then? are we better than they? No, in no wise: for we have before proved both Jews and Gentiles, that they are all under sin;
10 As it is written, There is none righteous, no, not one:
11 There is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God.
12 They are all gone out of the way, they are together become unprofitable; there is none that doeth good, no, not one.
13 Their throat is an open sepulchre; with their tongues they have used deceit; the poison of asps is under their lips:
14 Whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness:
15 Their feet are swift to shed blood:
16 Destruction and misery are in their ways:
17 And the way of peace have they not known:
18 There is no fear of God before their eyes.
19 Now we know that what things soever the law saith, it saith to them who are under the law: that every mouth may be stopped, and all the world may become guilty before God.
20 Therefore by the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in his sight: for by the law is the knowledge of sin.
21 But now the righteousness of God without the law is manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets;
22 Even the righteousness of God which is by faith of Jesus Christ unto all and upon all them that believe: for there is no difference:
23 For all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God;
24 Being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus:
25 Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God;
26 To declare, I say, at this time his righteousness: that he might be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus.
27 Where is boasting then? It is excluded. By what law? of works? Nay: but by the law of faith.
28 Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law.
29 Is he the God of the Jews only? is he not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also:
30 Seeing it is one God, which shall justify the circumcision by faith, and uncircumcision through faith.
31 Do we then make void the law through faith? God forbid: yea, we establish the law.

ROMANS CHAPTER 4

1 What shall we say then that Abraham our father, as pertaining to the flesh, hath found?
2 For if Abraham were justified by works, he hath whereof to glory; but not before God.
3 For what saith the scripture? Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness.
4 Now to him that worketh is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt.
5 But to him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness.
6 Even as David also describeth the blessedness of the man, unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works,
7 Saying, Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered.
8 Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin.
9 Cometh this blessedness then upon the circumcision only, or upon the uncircumcision also? for we say that faith was reckoned to Abraham for righteousness.
10 How was it then reckoned? when he was in circumcision, or in uncircumcision? Not in circumcision, but in uncircumcision.
11 And he received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had yet being uncircumcised: that he might be the father of all them that believe, though they be not circumcised; that righteousness might be imputed unto them also:
12 And the father of circumcision to them who are not of the circumcision only, but who also walk in the steps of that faith of our father Abraham, which he had being yet uncircumcised.
13 For the promise, that he should be the heir of the world, was not to Abraham, or to his seed, through the law, but through the righteousness of faith.
14 For if they which are of the law be heirs, faith is made void, and the promise made of none effect:
15 Because the law worketh wrath: for where no law is, there is no transgression.
16 Therefore it is of faith, that it might be by grace; to the end the promise might be sure to all the seed; not to that only which is of the law, but to that also which is of the faith of Abraham; who is the father of us all,
17 (As it is written, I have made thee a father of many nations,) before him whom he believed, even God, who quickeneth the dead, and calleth those things which be not as though they were.
18 Who against hope believed in hope, that he might become the father of many nations, according to that which was spoken, So shall thy seed be.
19 And being not weak in faith, he considered not his own body now dead, when he was about an hundred years old, neither yet the deadness of Sarah's womb:
20 He staggered not at the promise of God through unbelief; but was strong in faith, giving glory to God;
21 And being fully persuaded that, what he had promised, he was able also to perform.
22 And therefore it was imputed to him for righteousness.
23 Now it was not written for his sake alone, that it was imputed to him;
24 But for us also, to whom it shall be imputed, if we believe on him that raised up Jesus our Lord from the dead;
25 Who was delivered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification.

ROMANS CHAPTER 5

1 Therefore being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ:
2 By whom also we have access by faith into this grace wherein we stand, and rejoice in hope of the glory of God.
3 And not only so, but we glory in tribulations also: knowing that tribulation worketh patience;
4 And patience, experience; and experience, hope:
5 And hope maketh not ashamed; because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us.
6 For when we were yet without strength, in due time Christ died for the ungodly.
7 For scarcely for a righteous man will one die: yet peradventure for a good man some would even dare to die.
8 But God commendeth his love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us.
9 Much more then, being now justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him.
10 For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life.
11 And not only so, but we also joy in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have now received the atonement.
12 Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned:
13 (For until the law sin was in the world: but sin is not imputed when there is no law.
14 Nevertheless death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression, who is the figure of him that was to come.
15 But not as the offence, so also is the free gift. For if through the offence of one many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace, which is by one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many.
16 And not as it was by one that sinned, so is the gift: for the judgement was by one to condemnation, but the free gift is of many offences unto justification.
17 For if by one man's offence death reigned by one; much more they which receive abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness shall reign in life by one, Jesus Christ.)
18 Therefore as by the offence of one judgement came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life.
19 For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous.
20 Moreover the law entered, that the offence might abound. But where sin abounded, grace did much more abound:
21 That as sin hath reigned unto death, even so might grace reign through righteousness unto eternal life by Jesus Christ our Lord.

ROMANS CHAPTER 6

1 What shall we say then? Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound?
2 God forbid. How shall we, that are dead to sin, live any longer therein?
3 Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptised into Jesus Christ were baptised into his death?
4 Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life.
5 For if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection:

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6 Knowing this, that our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin.
7 For he that is dead is freed from sin.
8 Now if we be dead with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with him:
9 Knowing that Christ being raised from the dead dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over him.
10 For in that he died, he died unto sin once: but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God.
11 Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord.
12 Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof.
13 Neither yield ye your members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin: but yield yourselves unto God, as those that are alive from the dead, and your members as instruments of righteousness unto God.
14 For sin shall not have dominion over you: for ye are not under the law, but under grace.
15 What then? shall we sin, because we are not under the law, but under grace? God forbid.
16 Know ye not, that to whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey; whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness?
17 But God be thanked, that ye were the servants of sin, but ye have obeyed from the heart that form of doctrine which was delivered you.
18 Being then made free from sin, ye became the servants of righteousness.
19 I speak after the manner of men because of the infirmity of your flesh: for as ye have yielded your members servants to uncleanness and to iniquity unto iniquity; even so now yield your members servants to righteousness unto holiness.
20 For when ye were the servants of sin, ye were free from righteousness.
21 What fruit had ye then in those things whereof ye are now ashamed? for the end of those things is death.
22 But now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life.
23 For the wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord.

ROMANS CHAPTER 7

1 Know ye not, brethren, (for I speak to them that know the law,) how that the law hath dominion over a man as long as he liveth?
2 For the woman which hath an husband is bound by the law to her husband so long as he liveth; but if the husband be dead, she is loosed from the law of her husband.
3 So then if, while her husband liveth, she be married to another man, she shall be called an adulteress: but if her husband be dead, she is free from that law; so that she is no adulteress, though she be married to another man.
4 Wherefore, my brethren, ye also are become dead to the law by the body of Christ; that ye should be married to another, even to him who is raised from the dead, that we should bring forth fruit unto God.
5 For when we were in the flesh, the motions of sins, which were by the law, did work in our members to bring forth fruit unto death.
6 But now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were held; that we should serve in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter.
7 What shall we say then? Is the law sin? God forbid. Nay, I had not known sin, but by the law: for I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet.
8 But sin, taking occasion by the commandment, wrought in me all manner of concupiscence. For without the law sin was dead.
9 For I was alive without the law once: but when the commandment came, sin revived, and I died.
10 And the commandment, which was ordained to life, I found to be unto death.
11 For sin, taking occasion by the commandment, deceived me, and by it slew me.
12 Wherefore the law is holy, and the commandment holy, and just, and good.
13 Was then that which is good made death unto me? God forbid. But sin, that it might appear sin, working death in me by that which is good; that sin by the commandment might become exceeding sinful.
14 For we know that the law is spiritual: but I am carnal, sold under sin.
15 For that which I do I allow not: for what I would, that do I not; but what I hate, that do I.
16 If then I do that which I would not, I consent unto the law that it is good.
17 Now then it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me.
18 For I know that in me (that is, in my flesh,) dwelleth no good thing: for to will is present with me; but how to perform that which is good I find not.
19 For the good that I would I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do.
20 Now if I do that I would not, it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me.
21 I find then a law, that, when I would do good, evil is present with me.
22 For I delight in the law of God after the inward man:
23 But I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members.
24 O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?
25 I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord. So then with the mind I myself serve the law of God; but with the flesh the law of sin.

ROMANS CHAPTER 8

1 There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.
2 For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death.
3 For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh:
4 That the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.
5 For they that are after the flesh do mind the things of the flesh; but they that are after the Spirit the things of the Spirit.
6 For to be carnally minded is death; but to be spiritually minded is life and peace.
7 Because the carnal mind is enmity against God: for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be.
8 So then they that are in the flesh cannot please God.
9 But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.
10 And if Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin; but the Spirit is life because of righteousness.
11 But if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you.
12 Therefore, brethren, we are debtors, not to the flesh, to live after the flesh.
13 For if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die: but if ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live.
14 For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God.
15 For ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father.
16 The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God:
17 And if children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ; if so be that we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified together.
18 For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us.
19 For the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God.
20 For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope,
21 Because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God.
22 For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now.
23 And not only they, but ourselves also, which have the firstfruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body.
24 For we are saved by hope: but hope that is seen is not hope: for what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for?
25 But if we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience wait for it.
26 Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities: for we know not what we should pray for as we ought: but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered.
27 And he that searcheth the hearts knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, because he maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God.
28 And we know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are the called according to his purpose.
29 For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the firstborn among many brethren.
30 Moreover whom he did predestinate, them he also called: and whom he called, them he also justified: and whom he justified, them he also glorified.
31 What shall we then say to these things? If God be for us, who can be against us?
32 He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things?
33 Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth.
34 Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us.
35 Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?
36 As it is written, For thy sake we are killed all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter.
37 Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him that loved us.
38 For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come,
39 Nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

ROMANS CHAPTER 9

1 I say the truth in Christ, I lie not, my conscience also bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost,
2 That I have great heaviness and continual sorrow in my heart.
3 For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh:
4 Who are Israelites; to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises;
5 Whose are the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen.
6 Not as though the word of God hath taken none effect. For they are not all Israel, which are of Israel:
7 Neither, because they are the seed of Abraham, are they all children: but, In Isaac shall thy seed be called.
8 That is, They which are the children of the flesh, these are not the children of God: but the children of the promise are counted for the seed.
9 For this is the word of promise, At this time will I come, and Sarah shall have a son.
10 And not only this; but when Rebecca also had conceived by one, even by our father Isaac;
11 (For the children being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth;)
12 It was said unto her, The elder shall serve the younger.
13 As it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated.
14 What shall we say then? Is there unrighteousness with God? God forbid.
15 For he saith to Moses, I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion.
16 So then it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy.
17 For the scripture saith unto Pharaoh, Even for this same purpose have I raised thee up, that I might shew my power in thee, and that my name might be declared throughout all the earth.
18 Therefore hath he mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth.
19 Thou wilt say then unto me, Why doth he yet find fault? For who hath resisted his will?
20 Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus?
21 Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour?
22 What if God, willing to shew his wrath, and to make his power known, endured with much longsuffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction:
23 And that he might make known the riches of his glory on the vessels of mercy, which he had afore prepared unto glory,
24 Even us, whom he hath called, not of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles?
25 As he saith also in Osee, I will call them my people, which were not my people; and her beloved, which was not beloved.
26 And it shall come to pass, that in the place where it was said unto them, Ye are not my people; there shall they be called the children of the living God.
27 Esaias also crieth concerning Israel, Though the number of the children of Israel be as the sand of the sea, a remnant shall be saved:

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28 For he will finish the work, and cut it short in righteousness: because a short work will the Lord make upon the earth.
29 And as Esaias said before, Except the Lord of Sabaoth had left us a seed, we had been as Sodoma, and been made like unto Gomorrha.
30 What shall we say then? That the Gentiles, which followed not after righteousness, have attained to righteousness, even the righteousness which is of faith.
31 But Israel, which followed after the law of righteousness, hath not attained to the law of righteousness.
32 Wherefore? Because they sought it not by faith, but as it were by the works of the law. For they stumbled at that stumblingstone;
33 As it is written, Behold, I lay in Sion a stumblingstone and rock of offence: and whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed.

ROMANS CHAPTER 10

1 Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they might be saved.
2 For I bear them record that they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge.
3 For they being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God.
4 For Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth.
5 For Moses describeth the righteousness which is of the law, That the man which doeth those things shall live by them.
6 But the righteousness which is of faith speaketh on this wise, Say not in thine heart, Who shall ascend into heaven? (that is, to bring Christ down from above:)
7 Or, Who shall descend into the deep? (that is, to bring up Christ again from the dead.)
8 But what saith it? The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart: that is, the word of faith, which we preach;
9 That if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.
10 For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.
11 For the scripture saith, Whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed.
12 For there is no difference between the Jew and the Greek: for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him.
13 For whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved.
14 How then shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher?
15 And how shall they preach, except they be sent? as it is written, How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the gospel of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things!
16 But they have not all obeyed the gospel. For Esaias saith, Lord, who hath believed our report?
17 So then faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.
18 But I say, Have they not heard? Yes verily, their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world.
19 But I say, Did not Israel know? First Moses saith, I will provoke you to jealousy by them that are no people, and by a foolish nation I will anger you.
20 But Esaias is very bold, and saith, I was found of them that sought me not; I was made manifest unto them that asked not after me.
21 But to Israel he saith, All day long I have stretched forth my hands unto a disobedient and gainsaying people.

ROMANS CHAPTER 11

1 I say then, Hath God cast away his people? God forbid. For I also am an Israelite, of the seed of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin.
2 God hath not cast away his people which he foreknew. Wot ye not what the scripture saith of Elias? how he maketh intercession to God against Israel saying,
3 Lord, they have killed thy prophets, and digged down thine altars; and I am left alone, and they seek my life.
4 But what saith the answer of God unto him? I have reserved to myself seven thousand men, who have not bowed the knee to the image of Baal.
5 Even so then at this present time also there is a remnant according to the election of grace.
6 And if by grace, then is it no more of works: otherwise grace is no more grace. But if it be of works, then it is no more grace: otherwise work is no more work.
7 What then? Israel hath not obtained that which he seeketh for; but the election hath obtained it, and the rest were blinded.
8 (According as it is written, God hath given them the spirit of slumber, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear;) unto this day.
9 And David saith, Let their table be made a snare, and a trap, and a stumblingblock, and a recompence unto them:
10 Let their eyes be darkened, that they may not see, and bow down their back alway.
11 I say then, Have they stumbled that they should fall? God forbid: but rather through their fall salvation is come unto the Gentiles, for to provoke them to jealousy.
12 Now if the fall of them be the riches of the world, and the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles; how much more their fulness?
13 For I speak to you Gentiles, inasmuch as I am the apostle of the Gentiles, I magnify mine office:
14 If by any means I may provoke to emulation them which are my flesh, and might save some of them.
15 For if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead?
16 For if the firstfruit be holy, the lump is also holy: and if the root be holy, so are the branches.
17 And if some of the branches be broken off, and thou, being a wild olive tree, wert graffed in among them, and with them partakest of the root and fatness of the olive tree;
18 Boast not against the branches. But if thou boast, thou bearest not the root, but the root thee.
19 Thou wilt say then, The branches were broken off, that I might be graffed in.
20 Well; because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by faith. Be not highminded, but fear:
21 For if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee.
22 Behold therefore the goodness and severity of God: on them which fell, severity; but toward thee, goodness, if thou continue in his goodness: otherwise thou also shalt be cut off.
23 And they also, if they abide not still in unbelief, shall be graffed in: for God is able to graff them in again.
24 For if thou wert cut out of the olive tree which is wild by nature, and wert graffed contrary to nature into a good olive tree: how much more shall these, which be the natural branches, be graffed into their own olive tree?
25 For I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, lest ye should be wise in your own conceits; that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in.
26 And so all Israel shall be saved: as it is written, There shall come out of Sion the Deliverer, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob:
27 For this is my covenant unto them, when I shall take away their sins.
28 As concerning the gospel, they are enemies for your sakes: but as touching the election, they are beloved for the father's sakes.
29 For the gifts and calling of God are without repentance.
30 For as ye in times past have not believed God, yet have now obtained mercy through their unbelief:
31 Even so have these also now not believed, that through your mercy they also may obtain mercy.
32 For God hath concluded them all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all.
33 O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgements, and his ways past finding out!
34 For who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been his counsellor?
35 Or who hath first given to him, and it shall be recompensed unto him again?
36 For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things: to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

ROMANS CHAPTER 12

1 I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service.
2 And be not conformed to this world: but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect, will of God.
3 For I say, through the grace given unto me, to every man that is among you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think; but to think soberly, according as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith.
4 For as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office:
5 So we, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another.
6 Having then gifts differing according to the grace that is given to us, whether prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of faith;
7 Or ministry, let us wait on our ministering: or he that teacheth, on teaching;
8 Or he that exhorteth, on exhortation: he that giveth, let him do it with simplicity; he that ruleth, with diligence; he that sheweth mercy, with cheerfulness.
9 Let love be without dissimulation. Abhor that which is evil; cleave to that which is good.
10 Be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love; in honour preferring one another;
11 Not slothful in business; fervent in spirit; serving the Lord;
12 Rejoicing in hope; patient in tribulation; continuing instant in prayer;
13 Distributing to the necessity of saints; given to hospitality.
14 Bless them which persecute you: bless, and curse not.
15 Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep.
16 Be of the same mind one toward another. Mind not high things, but condescend to men of low estate. Be not wise in your own conceits.
17 Recompense to no man evil for evil. Provide things honest in the sight of all men.
18 If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men.
19 Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath: for it is written, Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord.
20 Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head.
21 Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.

ROMANS CHAPTER 13

1 Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God.
2 Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.
3 For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same:
4 For he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil.
5 Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake.
6 For for this cause pay ye tribute also: for they are God's ministers, attending continually upon this very thing.
7 Render therefore to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honour to whom honour.
8 Owe no man any thing, but to love one another: for he that loveth another hath fulfilled the law.
9 For this, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Thou shalt not covet; and if there be any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.
10 Love worketh no ill to his neighbour: therefore love is the fulfilling of the law.
11 And that, knowing the time, that now it is high time to awake out of sleep: for now is our salvation nearer than when we believed.
12 The night is far spent, the day is at hand: let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light.
13 Let us walk honestly, as in the day; not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying.
14 But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof.

ROMANS CHAPTER 14

1 Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations.
2 For one believeth that he may eat all things: another, who is weak, eateth herbs.
3 Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not; and let not him which eateth not judge him that eateth: for God hath received him.
4 Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth. Yea, he shall be holden up: for God is able to make him stand.
5 One man esteemeth one day above another: another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.
6 He that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it. He that eateth, eateth to the Lord, for he giveth God thanks; and he that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God thanks.
7 For none of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself.
8 For whether we live, we live unto the Lord; and whether we die, we die unto the Lord: whether we live therefore, or die, we are the Lord's.
9 For to this end Christ both died, and rose, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living.

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10 But why dost thou judge thy brother? or why dost thou set at nought thy brother? for we shall all stand before the judgement seat of Christ.
11 For it is written, As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to God.
12 So then every one of us shall give account of himself to God.
13 Let us not therefore judge one another any more: but judge this rather, that no man put a stumblingblock or an occasion to fall in his brother's way.
14 I know, and am persuaded by the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing unclean of itself: but to him that esteemeth any thing to be unclean, to him it is unclean.
15 But if thy brother be grieved with thy meat, now walkest thou not charitably. Destroy not him with thy meat, for whom Christ died.
16 Let not then your good be evil spoken of:
17 For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.
18 For he that in these things serveth Christ is acceptable to God, and approved of men.
19 Let us therefore follow after the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another.
20 For meat destroy not the work of God. All things indeed are pure; but it is evil for that man who eateth with offence.
21 It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor any thing whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak.
22 Hast thou faith? have it to thyself before God. Happy is he that condemneth not himself in that thing which he alloweth.
23 And he that doubteth is damned if he eat, because he eateth not of faith: for whatsoever is not of faith is sin.

ROMANS CHAPTER 15

1 We then that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves.
2 Let every one of us please his neighbour for his good to edification.
3 For even Christ pleased not himself; but, as it is written, The reproaches of them that reproached thee fell on me.
4 For whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the scriptures might have hope.
5 Now the God of patience and consolation grant you to be likeminded one toward another according to Christ Jesus:
6 That ye may with one mind and one mouth glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.
7 Wherefore receive ye one another, as Christ also received us to the glory of God.
8 Now I say that Jesus Christ was a minister of the circumcision for the truth of God, to confirm the promises made unto the fathers:
9 And that the Gentiles might glorify God for his mercy; as it is written, For this cause I will confess to thee among the Gentiles, and sing unto thy name.
10 And again he saith, Rejoice, ye Gentiles, with his people.
11 And again, Praise the Lord, all ye Gentiles; and laud him, all ye people.
12 And again, Esaias saith, There shall be a root of Jesse, and he that shall rise to reign over the Gentiles; in him shall the Gentiles trust.
13 Now the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that ye may abound in hope, through the power of the Holy Ghost.
14 And I myself also am persuaded of you, my brethren, that ye also are full of goodness, filled with all knowledge, able also to admonish one another.
15 Nevertheless, brethren, I have written the more boldly unto you in some sort, as putting you in mind, because of the grace that is given to me of God,
16 That I should be the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the gospel of God, that the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost.
17 I have therefore whereof I may glory through Jesus Christ in those things which pertain to God.
18 For I will not dare to speak of any of those things which Christ hath not wrought by me, to make the Gentiles obedient, by word and deed,
19 Through mighty signs and wonders, by the power of the Spirit of God; so that from Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the gospel of Christ.
20 Yea, so have I strived to preach the gospel, not where Christ was named, lest I should build upon another man's foundation:
21 But as it is written, To whom he was not spoken of, they shall see: and they that have not heard shall understand.
22 For which cause also I have been much hindered from coming to you.
23 But now having no more place in these parts, and having a great desire these many years to come unto you;
24 Whensoever I take my journey into Spain, I will come to you: for I trust to see you in my journey, and to be brought on my way thitherward by you, if first I be somewhat filled with your company.
25 But now I go unto Jerusalem to minister unto the saints.
26 For it hath pleased them of Macedonia and Achaia to make a certain contribution for the poor saints which are at Jerusalem.
27 It hath pleased them verily; and their debtors they are. For if the Gentiles have been made partakers of their spiritual things, their duty is also to minister unto them in carnal things.
28 When therefore I have performed this, and have sealed to them this fruit, I will come by you into Spain.
29 And I am sure that, when I come unto you, I shall come in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ.
30 Now I beseech you, brethren, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, and for the love of the Spirit, that ye strive together with me in your prayers to God for me;
31 That I may be delivered from them that do not believe in Judaea; and that my service which I have for Jerusalem may be accepted of the saints;
32 That I may come unto you with joy by the will of God, and may with you be refreshed.
33 Now the God of peace be with you all. Amen.

ROMANS CHAPTER 16

1 I commend unto you Phebe our sister, which is a servant of the church which is at Cenchrea:
2 That ye receive her in the Lord, as becometh saints, and that ye assist her in whatsoever business she hath need of you: for she hath been a succourer of many, and of myself also.
3 Greet Priscilla and Aquila my helpers in Christ Jesus:
4 Who have for my life laid down their own necks: unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles.
5 Likewise greet the church that is in their house. Salute my well-beloved Epaenetus, who is the firstfruits of Achaia unto Christ.
6 Greet Mary, who bestowed much labour on us.
7 Salute Andronicus and Junia, my kinsmen, and my fellow-prisoners, who are of note among the apostles, who also were in Christ before me.
8 Greet Amplias my beloved in the Lord.
9 Salute Urbane, our helper in Christ, and Stachys my beloved.
10 Salute Apelles approved in Christ. Salute them which are of Aristobulus' household.
11 Salute Herodion my kinsman. Greet them that be of the household of Narcissus, which are in the Lord.
12 Salute Tryphena and Tryphosa, who labour in the Lord. Salute the beloved Persis, which laboured much in the Lord.
13 Salute Rufus chosen in the Lord, and his mother and mine.
14 Salute Asyncritus, Phlegon, Hermas, Patrobas, Hermes, and the brethren which are with them.
15 Salute Philologus, and Julia, Nereus, and his sister, and Olympas, and all the saints which are with them.
16 Salute one another with an holy kiss. The churches of Christ salute you.
17 Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned; and avoid them.
18 For they that are such serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly; and by good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple.
19 For your obedience is come abroad unto all men. I am glad therefore on your behalf: but yet I would have you wise unto that which is good, and simple concerning evil.
20 And the God of peace shall bruise Satan under your feet shortly. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. Amen.
21 Timotheus my workfellow, and Lucius, and Jason, and Sosipater, my kinsmen, salute you.
22 I Tertius, who wrote this epistle, salute you in the Lord.
23 Gaius mine host, and of the whole church, saluteth you. Erastus the chamberlain of the city saluteth you, and Quartus a brother.
24 The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.
25 Now to him that is of power to stablish you according to my gospel, and the preaching of Jesus Christ, according to the revelation of the mystery, which was kept secret since the world began,
26 But now is made manifest, and by the scriptures of the prophets, according to the commandment of the everlasting God, made known to all nations for the obedience of faith:
27 To God only wise, be glory through Jesus Christ for ever. Amen.

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS

or Paul To The Citizens Of Corinth, or 1 Corinthians
Author: Sha'ul ha Tarsi / Saul of Tarsos
Estimated Range of Dating: 50-60 A.D.
Translation: King James Version

(First Corinthians is one of the four letters of Paul known as the "Hauptbriefe" [German for: Main Epistles], which are universally accepted to be authentic. The letter is usually dated c. 54/55 AD.

First Corinthians (c. 53–54)

The First Epistle to the Corinthians, usually referred to as First Corinthians or 1 Corinthians is a Pauline epistle of the New Testament of the Christian Bible. The epistle is attributed to Saul of Tarsos (Paul the Apostle) and a co-author named Sosthenes, and is addressed to the Christian church in Corinth.[1 Cor.1:1–2] Scholars believe that Sosthenes was the amanuensis who wrote down the text of the letter at Paul's direction. It addresses various issues that had arisen in the Christian community at Corinth.

There is a consensus among historians and theologians that Paul is the author of the First Epistle to the Corinthians (c. AD 53–54). The letter is quoted or mentioned by the earliest of sources, and is included in every ancient canon, including that of Marcion of Sinope. Some scholars point to the epistle's potentially embarrassing references to the existence of sexual immorality in the church as strengthening the case for the authenticity of the letter.[1 Cor 5:1ff] However, 14:34–35 is a passage that is widely believed to have been interpolated into the text by a later scribe as in some manuscripts, it is placed at the end of Chapter 14, instead of at its canonical location.

The epistle may be divided into seven parts:

1. Salutation (1:1–3)

Paul addresses the issue regarding challenges to his apostleship and defends the issue by claiming that it was given to him through a revelation from Christ. The salutation (the first section of the letter) reinforces the legitimacy of Paul's apostolic claim.

2. Thanksgiving (1:4–9)

A. The thanksgiving part of the letter is typical of Hellenistic letter writing. In a thanksgiving recitation the writer thanks God for health, a safe journey, deliverance from danger, or good fortune.

B. In this letter, the thanksgiving "introduces charismata and gnosis, topics to which Paul will return and that he will discuss at greater length later in the letter".[13][incomplete short citation]

3. Division in Corinth (1:10–4:21)
A. Facts of division
B. Causes of division
C. Cure for division
4. Immorality in Corinth (5:1–6:20)
A. Discipline an immoral Brother
B. Resolving personal disputes
C. Sexual purity
5. Difficulties in Corinth (7:1–14:40)
A. Marriage
B. Christian liberty
C. Worship
6. Doctrine of Resurrection (15:1–58)
7. Closing (16:1–24), intentions and efforts to improve the community.)

1 CORINTHIANS CHAPTER 1

1 Paul called to be an apostle of Jesus Christ through the will of God, and Sosthenes our brother,
2 Unto the church of God which is at Corinth, to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints, with all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, both their's and our's:
3 Grace be unto you, and peace, from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.
4 I thank my God always on your behalf, for the grace of God which is given you by Jesus Christ;
5 That in every thing ye are enriched by him, in all utterance, and in all knowledge;
6 Even as the testimony of Christ was confirmed in you:
7 So that ye come behind in no gift; waiting for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ:
8 Who shall also confirm you unto the end, that ye may be blameless in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ.
9 God is faithful, by whom ye were called unto the fellowship of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord.
10 Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgement.
11 For it hath been declared unto me of you, my brethren, by them which are of the house of Chloe, that there are contentions among you.
12 Now this I say, that every one of you saith, I am of Paul; and I of Apollos; and I of Cephas; and I of Christ.

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13 Is Christ divided? was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptised in the name of Paul?
14 I thank God that I baptised none of you, but Crispus and Gaius;
15 Lest any should say that I had baptised in mine own name.
16 And I baptised also the household of Stephanas: besides, I know not whether I baptised any other.
17 For Christ sent me not to baptise, but to preach the gospel: not with wisdom of words, lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect.
18 For the preaching of the cross is to them that perish foolishness; but unto us which are saved it is the power of God.
19 For it is written, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent.
20 Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world? hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world?
21 For after that in the wisdom of God the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe.
22 For the Jews require a sign, and the Greeks seek after wisdom:
23 But we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumblingblock, and unto the Greeks foolishness;
24 But unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God.
25 Because the foolishness of God is wiser than men; and the weakness of God is stronger than men.
26 For ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called:
27 But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty;
28 And base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are:
29 That no flesh should glory in his presence.
30 But of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption:
31 That, according as it is written, He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord.

1 CORINTHIANS CHAPTER 2

1 And I, brethren, when I came to you, came not with excellency of speech or of wisdom, declaring unto you the testimony of God.
2 For I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified.
3 And I was with you in weakness, and in fear, and in much trembling.
4 And my speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power:
5 That your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God.
6 Howbeit we speak wisdom among them that are perfect: yet not the wisdom of this world, nor of the princes of this world, that come to nought:
7 But we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom, which God ordained before the world unto our glory:
8 Which none of the princes of this world knew: for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.
9 But as it is written, Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him.
10 But God hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit: for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God.
11 For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God.
12 Now we have received, not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God; that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God.
13 Which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth; comparing spiritual things with spiritual.
14 But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned.
15 But he that is spiritual judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man.
16 For who hath known the mind of the Lord, that he may instruct him? But we have the mind of Christ.

1 CORINTHIANS CHAPTER 3

1 And I, brethren, could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, even as unto babes in Christ.
2 I have fed you with milk, and not with meat: for hitherto ye were not able to bear it, neither yet now are ye able.
3 For ye are yet carnal: for whereas there is among you envying, and strife, and divisions, are ye not carnal, and walk as men?
4 For while one saith, I am of Paul; and another, I am of Apollos; are ye not carnal?
5 Who then is Paul, and who is Apollos, but ministers by whom ye believed, even as the Lord gave to every man?
6 I have planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increase.
7 So then neither is he that planteth any thing, neither he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase.
8 Now he that planteth and he that watereth are one: and every man shall receive his own reward according to his own labour.
9 For we are labourers together with God: ye are God's husbandry, ye are God's building.
10 According to the grace of God which is given unto me, as a wise masterbuilder, I have laid the foundation, and another buildeth thereon. But let every man take heed how he buildeth thereupon.
11 For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.
12 Now if any man build upon this foundation gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble;
13 Every man's work shall be made manifest: for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire; and the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is.
14 If any man's work abide which he hath built thereupon, he shall receive a reward.
15 If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss: but he himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire.
16 Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?
17 If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy; for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are.
18 Let no man deceive himself. If any man among you seemeth to be wise in this world, let him become a fool, that he may be wise.
19 For the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God. For it is written, He taketh the wise in their own craftiness.
20 And again, The Lord knoweth the thoughts of the wise, that they are vain.
21 Therefore let no man glory in men. For all things are your's;
22 Whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come; all are your's;
23 And ye are Christ's; and Christ is God's.

1 CORINTHIANS CHAPTER 4

1 Let a man so account of us, as of the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God.
2 Moreover it is required in stewards, that a man be found faithful.
3 But with me it is a very small thing that I should be judged of you, or of man's judgement: yea, I judge not mine own self.
4 For I know nothing by myself; yet am I not hereby justified: but he that judgeth me is the Lord.
5 Therefore judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts: and then shall every man have praise of God.
6 And these things, brethren, I have in a figure transferred to myself and to Apollos for your sakes; that ye might learn in us not to think of men above that which is written, that no one of you be puffed up for one against another.
7 For who maketh thee to differ from another? and what hast thou that thou didst not receive? now if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received it?
8 Now ye are full, now ye are rich, ye have reigned as kings without us: and I would to God ye did reign, that we also might reign with you.
9 For I think that God hath set forth us the apostles last, as it were appointed to death: for we are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men.
10 We are fools for Christ's sake, but ye are wise in Christ; we are weak, but ye are strong; ye are honourable, but we are despised.
11 Even unto this present hour we both hunger, and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwellingplace;
12 And labour, working with our own hands: being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we suffer it:
13 Being defamed, we intreat: we are made as the filth of the world, and are the offscouring of all things unto this day.
14 I write not these things to shame you, but as my beloved sons I warn you.
15 For though ye have ten thousand instructers in Christ, yet have ye not many fathers: for in Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the gospel.
16 Wherefore I beseech you, be ye followers of me.
17 For this cause have I sent unto you Timotheus, who is my beloved son, and faithful in the Lord, who shall bring you into remembrance of my ways which be in Christ, as I teach every where in every church.
18 Now some are puffed up, as though I would not come to you.
19 But I will come to you shortly, if the Lord will, and will know, not the speech of them which are puffed up, but the power.
20 For the kingdom of God is not in word, but in power.
21 What will ye? shall I come unto you with a rod, or in love, and in the spirit of meekness?

1 CORINTHIANS CHAPTER 5

1 It is reported commonly that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as is not so much as named among the Gentiles, that one should have his father's wife.
2 And ye are puffed up, and have not rather mourned, that he that hath done this deed might be taken away from among you.
3 For I verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already, as though I were present, concerning him that hath so done this deed,
4 In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ,
5 To deliver such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.
6 Your glorying is not good. Know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump?
7 Purge out therefore the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, as ye are unleavened. For even Christ our passover is sacrificed for us:
8 Therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness; but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.
9 I wrote unto you in an epistle not to company with fornicators:
10 Yet not altogether with the fornicators of this world, or with the covetous, or extortioners, or with idolaters; for then must ye needs go out of the world.
11 But now I have written unto you not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner; with such an one no not to eat.
12 For what have I to do to judge them also that are without? do not ye judge them that are within?
13 But them that are without God judgeth. Therefore put away from among yourselves that wicked person.

1 CORINTHIANS CHAPTER 6

1 Dare any of you, having a matter against another, go to law before the unjust, and not before the saints?
2 Do ye not know that the saints shall judge the world? and if the world shall be judged by you, are ye unworthy to judge the smallest matters?
3 Know ye not that we shall judge angels? how much more things that pertain to this life?
4 If then ye have judgements of things pertaining to this life, set them to judge who are least esteemed in the church.
5 I speak to your shame. Is it so, that there is not a wise man among you? no, not one that shall be able to judge between his brethren?
6 But brother goeth to law with brother, and that before the unbelievers.
7 Now therefore there is utterly a fault among you, because ye go to law one with another. Why do ye not rather take wrong? why do ye not rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded?
8 Nay, ye do wrong, and defraud, and that your brethren.
9 Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind,
10 Nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God.
11 And such were some of you: but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.
12 All things are lawful unto me, but all things are not expedient: all things are lawful for me, but I will not be brought under the power of any.
13 Meats for the belly, and the belly for meats: but God shall destroy both it and them. Now the body is not for fornication, but for the Lord; and the Lord for the body.
14 And God hath both raised up the Lord, and will also raise up us by his own power.
15 Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ? shall I then take the members of Christ, and make them the members of an harlot? God forbid.
16 What? know ye not that he which is joined to an harlot is one body? for two, saith he, shall be one flesh.
17 But he that is joined unto the Lord is one spirit.
18 Flee fornication. Every sin that a man doeth is without the body; but he that committeth fornication sinneth against his own body.

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19 What? know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you, which ye have of God, and ye are not your own?
20 For ye are bought with a price: therefore glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, which are God's.

1 CORINTHIANS CHAPTER 7

1 Now concerning the things whereof ye wrote unto me: It is good for a man not to touch a woman.
2 Nevertheless, to avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband.
3 Let the husband render unto the wife due benevolence: and likewise also the wife unto the husband.
4 The wife hath not power of her own body, but the husband: and likewise also the husband hath not power of his own body, but the wife.
5 Defraud ye not one the other, except it be with consent for a time, that ye may give yourselves to fasting and prayer; and come together again, that Satan tempt you not for your incontinency.
6 But I speak this by permission, and not of commandment.
7 For I would that all men were even as I myself. But every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that.
8 I say therefore to the unmarried and widows, It is good for them if they abide even as I.
9 But if they cannot contain, let them marry: for it is better to marry than to burn.
10 And unto the married I command, yet not I, but the Lord, Let not the wife depart from her husband:
11 But and if she depart, let her remain unmarried or be reconciled to her husband: and let not the husband put away his wife.
12 But to the rest speak I, not the Lord: If any brother hath a wife that believeth not, and she be pleased to dwell with him, let him not put her away.
13 And the woman which hath an husband that believeth not, and if he be pleased to dwell with her, let her not leave him.
14 For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband: else were your children unclean; but now are they holy.
15 But if the unbelieving depart, let him depart. A brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases: but God hath called us to peace.
16 For what knowest thou, O wife, whether thou shalt save thy husband? or how knowest thou, O man, whether thou shalt save thy wife?
17 But as God hath distributed to every man, as the Lord hath called every one, so let him walk. And so ordain I in all churches.
18 Is any man called being circumcised? let him not become uncircumcised. Is any called in uncircumcision? let him not be circumcised.
19 Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping of the commandments of God.
20 Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called.
21 Art thou called being a servant? care not for it: but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather.
22 For he that is called in the Lord, being a servant, is the Lord's freeman: likewise also he that is called, being free, is Christ's servant.
23 Ye are bought with a price; be not ye the servants of men.
24 Brethren, let every man, wherein he is called, therein abide with God.
25 Now concerning virgins I have no commandment of the Lord: yet I give my judgement, as one that hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful.
26 I suppose therefore that this is good for the present distress, I say, that it is good for a man so to be.
27 Art thou bound unto a wife? seek not to be loosed. Art thou loosed from a wife? seek not a wife.
28 But and if thou marry, thou hast not sinned; and if a virgin marry, she hath not sinned. Nevertheless such shall have trouble in the flesh: but I spare you.
29 But this I say, brethren, the time is short: it remaineth, that both they that have wives be as though they had none;
30 And they that weep, as though they wept not; and they that rejoice, as though they rejoiced not; and they that buy, as though they possessed not;
31 And they that use this world, as not abusing it: for the fashion of this world passeth away.
32 But I would have you without carefulness. He that is unmarried careth for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please the Lord:
33 But he that is married careth for the things that are of the world, how he may please his wife.
34 There is difference also between a wife and a virgin. The unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and in spirit: but she that is married careth for the things of the world, how she may please her husband.
35 And this I speak for your own profit; not that I may cast a snare upon you, but for that which is comely, and that ye may attend upon the Lord without distraction.
36 But if any man think that he behaveth himself uncomely toward his virgin, if she pass the flower of her age, and need so require, let him do what he will, he sinneth not: let them marry.
37 Nevertheless he that standeth stedfast in his heart, having no necessity, but hath power over his own will, and hath so decreed in his heart that he will keep his virgin, doeth well.
38 So then he that giveth her in marriage doeth well; but he that giveth her not in marriage doeth better.
39 The wife is bound by the law as long as her husband liveth; but if her husband be dead, she is at liberty to be married to whom she will; only in the Lord.
40 But she is happier if she so abide, after my judgement: and I think also that I have the Spirit of God.

1 CORINTHIANS CHAPTER 8

1 Now as touching things offered unto idols, we know that we all have knowledge. Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth.
2 And if any man think that he knoweth any thing, he knoweth nothing yet as he ought to know.
3 But if any man love God, the same is known of him.
4 As concerning therefore the eating of those things that are offered in sacrifice unto idols, we know that an idol is nothing in the world, and that there is none other God but one.
5 For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, (as there be gods many, and lords many,)
6 But to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him.
7 Howbeit there is not in every man that knowledge: for some with conscience of the idol unto this hour eat it as a thing offered unto an idol; and their conscience being weak is defiled.
8 But meat commendeth us not to God: for neither, if we eat, are we the better; neither, if we eat not, are we the worse.
9 But take heed lest by any means this liberty of your's become a stumblingblock to them that are weak.
10 For if any man see thee which hast knowledge sit at meat in the idol's temple, shall not the conscience of him which is weak be emboldened to eat those things which are offered to idols;
11 And through thy knowledge shall the weak brother perish, for whom Christ died?
12 But when ye sin so against the brethren, and wound their weak conscience, ye sin against Christ.
13 Wherefore, if meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend.

1 CORINTHIANS CHAPTER 9

1 Am I not an apostle? am I not free? have I not seen Jesus Christ our Lord? are not ye my work in the Lord?
2 If I be not an apostle unto others, yet doubtless I am to you: for the seal of mine apostleship are ye in the Lord.
3 Mine answer to them that do examine me is this,
4 Have we not power to eat and to drink?
5 Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as other apostles, and as the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas?
6 Or I only and Barnabas, have not we power to forbear working?
7 Who goeth a warfare any time at his own charges? who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? or who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock?
8 Say I these things as a man? or saith not the law the same also?
9 For it is written in the law of Moses, Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn. Doth God take care for oxen?
10 Or saith he it altogether for our sakes? For our sakes, no doubt, this is written: that he that ploweth should plow in hope; and that he that thresheth in hope should be partaker of his hope.
11 If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing if we shall reap your carnal things?
12 If others be partakers of this power over you, are not we rather? Nevertheless we have not used this power; but suffer all things, lest we should hinder the gospel of Christ.
13 Do ye not know that they which minister about holy things live of the things of the temple? and they which wait at the altar are partakers with the altar?
14 Even so hath the Lord ordained that they which preach the gospel should live of the gospel.
15 But I have used none of these things: neither have I written these things, that it should be so done unto me: for it were better for me to die, than that any man should make my glorying void.
16 For though I preach the gospel, I have nothing to glory of: for necessity is laid upon me; yea, woe is unto me, if I preach not the gospel!
17 For if I do this thing willingly, I have a reward: but if against my will, a dispensation of the gospel is committed unto me.
18 What is my reward then? Verily that, when I preach the gospel, I may make the gospel of Christ without charge, that I abuse not my power in the gospel.
19 For though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself servant unto all, that I might gain the more.
20 And unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law;
21 To them that are without law, as without law, (being not without law to God, but under the law to Christ,) that I might gain them that are without law.
22 To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak: I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some.
23 And this I do for the gospel's sake, that I might be partaker thereof with you.
24 Know ye not that they which run in a race run all, but one receiveth the prize? So run, that ye may obtain.
25 And every man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things. Now they do it to obtain a corruptible crown; but we an incorruptible.
26 I therefore so run, not as uncertainly; so fight I, not as one that beateth the air:
27 But I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection: lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway.

1 CORINTHIANS CHAPTER 10

1 Moreover, brethren, I would not that ye should be ignorant, how that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea;
2 And were all baptised unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea;
3 And did all eat the same spiritual meat;
4 And did all drink the same spiritual drink: for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them: and that Rock was Christ.
5 But with many of them God was not well pleased: for they were overthrown in the wilderness.
6 Now these things were our examples, to the intent we should not lust after evil things, as they also lusted.
7 Neither be ye idolaters, as were some of them; as it is written, The people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play.
8 Neither let us commit fornication, as some of them committed, and fell in one day three and twenty thousand.
9 Neither let us tempt Christ, as some of them also tempted, and were destroyed of serpents.
10 Neither murmur ye, as some of them also murmured, and were destroyed of the destroyer.
11 Now all these things happened unto them for ensamples: and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come.
12 Wherefore let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall.
13 There hath no temptation taken you but such as is common to man: but God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able; but will with the temptation also make a way to escape, that ye may be able to bear it.
14 Wherefore, my dearly beloved, flee from idolatry.
15 I speak as to wise men; judge ye what I say.
16 The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?
17 For we being many are one bread, and one body: for we are all partakers of that one bread.
18 Behold Israel after the flesh: are not they which eat of the sacrifices partakers of the altar?
19 What say I then? that the idol is any thing, or that which is offered in sacrifice to idols is any thing?
20 But I say, that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God: and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils.
21 Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils: ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils.
22 Do we provoke the Lord to jealousy? are we stronger than he?
23 All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient: all things are lawful for me, but all things edify not.
24 Let no man seek his own, but every man another's wealth.
25 Whatsoever is sold in the shambles, that eat, asking no question for conscience sake:
26 For the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof.
27 If any of them that believe not bid you to a feast, and ye be disposed to go; whatsoever is set before you, eat, asking no question for conscience sake.
28 But if any man say unto you, This is offered in sacrifice unto idols, eat not for his sake that shewed it, and for

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conscience sake: for the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof:
29 Conscience, I say, not thine own, but of the other: for why is my liberty judged of another man's conscience?
30 For if I by grace be a partaker, why am I evil spoken of for that for which I give thanks?
31 Whether therefore ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God.
32 Give none offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles, nor to the church of God:
33 Even as I please all men in all things, not seeking mine own profit, but the profit of many, that they may be saved.

1 CORINTHIANS CHAPTER 11
1 Be ye followers of me, even as I also am of Christ.
2 Now I praise you, brethren, that ye remember me in all things, and keep the ordinances, as I delivered them to you.
3 But I would have you know, that the head of every man is Christ; and the head of the woman is the man; and the head of Christ is God.
4 Every man praying or prophesying, having his head covered, dishonoureth his head.
5 But every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered dishonoureth her head: for that is even all one as if she were shaven.
6 For if the woman be not covered, let her also be shorn: but if it be a shame for a woman to be shorn or shaven, let her be covered.
7 For a man indeed ought not to cover his head, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God: but the woman is the glory of the man.
8 For the man is not of the woman: but the woman of the man.
9 Neither was the man created for the woman; but the woman for the man.
10 For this cause ought the woman to have power on her head because of the angels.
11 Nevertheless neither is the man without the woman, neither the woman without the man, in the Lord.
12 For as the woman is of the man, even so is the man also by the woman; but all things of God.
13 Judge in yourselves: is it comely that a woman pray unto God uncovered?
14 Doth not even nature itself teach you, that, if a man have long hair, it is a shame unto him?
15 But if a woman have long hair, it is a glory to her: for her hair is given her for a covering.
16 But if any man seem to be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the churches of God.
17 Now in this that I declare unto you I praise you not, that ye come together not for the better, but for the worse.
18 For first of all, when ye come together in the church, I hear that there be divisions among you; and I partly believe it.
19 For there must be also heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you.
20 When ye come together therefore into one place, this is not to eat the Lord's supper.
21 For in eating every one taketh before other his own supper: and one is hungry, and another is drunken.
22 What? have ye not houses to eat and to drink in? or despise ye the church of God, and shame them that have not? What shall I say to you? shall I praise you in this? I praise you not.
23 For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, That the Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took bread:
24 And when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat: this is my body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me.
25 After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood: this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me.
26 For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come.
27 Wherefore whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord, unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord.
28 But let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup.
29 For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body.
30 For this cause many are weak and sickly among you, and many sleep.
31 For if we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged.
32 But when we are judged, we are chastened of the Lord, that we should not be condemned with the world.
33 Wherefore, my brethren, when ye come together to eat, tarry one for another.
34 And if any man hunger, let him eat at home; that ye come not together unto condemnation. And the rest will I set in order when I come.

1 CORINTHIANS CHAPTER 12
1 Now concerning spiritual gifts, brethren, I would not have you ignorant.
2 Ye know that ye were Gentiles, carried away unto these dumb idols, even as ye were led.
3 Wherefore I give you to understand, that no man speaking by the Spirit of God calleth Jesus accursed: and that no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost.
4 Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit.
5 And there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord.
6 And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all.
7 But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal.
8 For to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit;
9 To another faith by the same Spirit; to another the gifts of healing by the same Spirit;
10 To another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another discerning of spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues:
11 But all these worketh that one and the selfsame Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will.
12 For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body: so also is Christ.
13 For by one Spirit are we all baptised into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one Spirit.
14 For the body is not one member, but many.
15 If the foot shall say, Because I am not the hand, I am not of the body; is it therefore not of the body?
16 And if the ear shall say, Because I am not the eye, I am not of the body; is it therefore not of the body?
17 If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole were hearing, where were the smelling?
18 But now hath God set the members every one of them in the body, as it hath pleased him.
19 And if they were all one member, where were the body?
20 But now are they many members, yet but one body.
21 And the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee: nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you.
22 Nay, much more those members of the body, which seem to be more feeble, are necessary:
23 And those members of the body, which we think to be less honourable, upon these we bestow more abundant honour; and our uncomely parts have more abundant comeliness.
24 For our comely parts have no need: but God hath tempered the body together, having given more abundant honour to that part which lacked.
25 That there should be no schism in the body; but that the members should have the same care one for another.
26 And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it.
27 Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular.
28 And God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, governments, diversities of tongues.
29 Are all apostles? are all prophets? are all teachers? are all workers of miracles?
30 Have all the gifts of healing? do all speak with tongues? do all interpret?
31 But covet earnestly the best gifts: and yet shew I unto you a more excellent way.

1 CORINTHIANS CHAPTER 13
1 Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal.
2 And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing.
3 And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.
4 Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up,
5 Doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil;
6 Rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth;
7 Beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.
8 Charity never faileth: but whether there be prophecies, they shall fail; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away.
9 For we know in part, and we prophesy in part.
10 But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away.
11 When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child: but when I became a man, I put away childish things.
12 For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known.
13 And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity.

1 CORINTHIANS CHAPTER 14
1 Follow after charity, and desire spiritual gifts, but rather that ye may prophesy.
2 For he that speaketh in an unknown tongue speaketh not unto men, but unto God: for no man understandeth him; howbeit in the spirit he speaketh mysteries.
3 But he that prophesieth speaketh unto men to edification, and exhortation, and comfort.
4 He that speaketh in an unknown tongue edifieth himself; but he that prophesieth edifieth the church.
5 I would that ye all spake with tongues but rather that ye prophesied: for greater is he that prophesieth than he that speaketh with tongues, except he interpret, that the church may receive edifying.
6 Now, brethren, if I come unto you speaking with tongues, what shall I profit you, except I shall speak to you either by revelation, or by knowledge, or by prophesying, or by doctrine?
7 And even things without life giving sound, whether pipe or harp, except they give a distinction in the sounds, how shall it be known what is piped or harped?
8 For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?
9 So likewise ye, except ye utter by the tongue words easy to be understood, how shall it be known what is spoken? for ye shall speak into the air.
10 There are, it may be, so many kinds of voices in the world, and none of them is without signification.
11 Therefore if I know not the meaning of the voice, I shall be unto him that speaketh a barbarian, and he that speaketh shall be a barbarian unto me.
12 Even so ye, forasmuch as ye are zealous of spiritual gifts, seek that ye may excel to the edifying of the church.
13 Wherefore let him that speaketh in an unknown tongue pray that he may interpret.
14 For if I pray in an unknown tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful.
15 What is it then? I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also: I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also.
16 Else when thou shalt bless with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest?
17 For thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified.
18 I thank my God, I speak with tongues more than ye all:
19 Yet in the church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that by my voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue.
20 Brethren, be not children in understanding: howbeit in malice be ye children, but in understanding be men.
21 In the law it is written, With men of other tongues and other lips will I speak unto this people; and yet for all that will they not hear me, saith the LORD.
22 Wherefore tongues are for a sign, not to them that believe, but to them that believe not: but prophesying serveth not for them that believe not, but for them which believe.
23 If therefore the whole church be come together into one place, and all speak with tongues, and there come in those that are unlearned, or unbelievers, will they not say that ye are mad?
24 But if all prophesy, and there come in one that believeth not, or one unlearned, he is convinced of all, he is judged of all:
25 And thus are the secrets of his heart made manifest; and so falling down on his face he will worship God, and report that God is in you of a truth.
26 How is it then, brethren? when ye come together, every one of you hath a psalm, hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath a revelation, hath an interpretation. Let all things be done unto edifying.
27 If any man speak in an unknown tongue, let it be by two, or at the most by three, and that by course; and let one interpret.
28 But if there be no interpreter, let him keep silence in the church; and let him speak to himself, and to God.
29 Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the other judge.
30 If any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace.
31 For ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted.
32 And the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets.

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33 For God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all churches of the saints.
34 Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience as also saith the law.
35 And if they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home: for it is a shame for women to speak in the church.
36 What? came the word of God out from you? or came it unto you only?
37 If any man think himself to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things that I write unto you are the commandments of the Lord.
38 But if any man be ignorant, let him be ignorant.
39 Wherefore, brethren, covet to prophesy, and forbid not to speak with tongues.
40 Let all things be done decently and in order.

1 CORINTHIANS CHAPTER 15

1 Moreover, brethren, I declare unto you the gospel which I preached unto you, which also ye have received, and wherein ye stand;
2 By which also ye are saved, if ye keep in memory what I preached unto you, unless ye have believed in vain.
3 For I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures;
4 And that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day according to the scriptures:
5 And that he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve:
6 After that, he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once; of whom the greater part remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep.
7 After that, he was seen of James; then of all the apostles.
8 And last of all he was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time.
9 For I am the least of the apostles, that am not meet to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the church of God.
10 But by the grace of God I am what I am: and his grace which was bestowed upon me was not in vain; but I laboured more abundantly than they all: yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me.
11 Therefore whether it were I or they, so we preach, and so ye believed.
12 Now if Christ be preached that he rose from the dead, how say some among you that there is no resurrection of the dead?
13 But if there be no resurrection of the dead, then is Christ not risen:
14 And if Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain.
15 Yea, and we are found false witnesses of God; because we have testified of God that he raised up Christ: whom he raised not up, if so be that the dead rise not.
16 For if the dead rise not, then is not Christ raised:
17 And if Christ be not raised, your faith is vain; ye are yet in your sins.
18 Then they also which are fallen asleep in Christ are perished.
19 If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable.
20 But now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the firstfruits of them that slept.
21 For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead.
22 For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.
23 But every man in his own order: Christ the firstfruits; afterward they that are Christ's at his coming.
24 Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule and all authority and power.
25 For he must reign, till he hath put all enemies under his feet.
26 The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death.
27 For he hath put all things under his feet. But when he saith all things are put under him, it is manifest that he is excepted, which did put all things under him.
28 And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.
29 Else what shall they do which are baptised for the dead, if the dead rise not at all? why are they then baptised for the dead?
30 And why stand we in jeopardy every hour?
31 I protest by your rejoicing which I have in Christ Jesus our LORD, I die daily.
32 If after the manner of men I have fought with beasts at Ephesus, what advantageth it me, if the dead rise not? let us eat and drink; for to morrow we die.
33 Be not deceived: evil communications corrupt good manners.
34 Awake to righteousness, and sin not; for some have not the knowledge of God: I speak this to your shame.
35 But some man will say, How are the dead raised up? and with what body do they come?
36 Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die:
37 And that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of some other grain:
38 But God giveth it a body as it hath pleased him, and to every seed his own body.
39 All flesh is not the same flesh: but there is one kind of flesh of men, another flesh of beasts, another of fishes, and another of birds.
40 There are also celestial bodies, and bodies terrestrial: but the glory of the celestial is one, and the glory of the terrestrial is another.
41 There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars: for one star differeth from another star in glory.
42 So also is the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in corruption; it is raised in incorruption:
43 It is sown in dishonour; it is raised in glory: it is sown in weakness; it is raised in power:
44 It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body. There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body.
45 And so it is written, The first man Adam was made a living soul; the last Adam was made a quickening spirit.
46 Howbeit that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual.
47 The first man is of the earth, earthy; the second man is the Lord from heaven.
48 As is the earthy, such are they also that are earthy: and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly.
49 And as we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly.
50 Now this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption.
51 Behold, I shew you a mystery; We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed,
52 In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump: for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed.
53 For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality.
54 So when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory.
55 O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?
56 The sting of death is sin; and the strength of sin is the law.
57 But thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.
58 Therefore, my beloved brethren, be ye stedfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord.

1 CORINTHIANS CHAPTER 16

1 Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given order to the churches of Galatia, even so do ye.
2 Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come.
3 And when I come, whomsoever ye shall approve by your letters, them will I send to bring your liberality unto Jerusalem.
4 And if it be meet that I go also, they shall go with me.
5 Now I will come unto you, when I shall pass through Macedonia: for I do pass through Macedonia.
6 And it may be that I will abide, yea, and winter with you, that ye may bring me on my journey whithersoever I go.
7 For I will not see you now by the way; but I trust to tarry a while with you, if the Lord permit.
8 But I will tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost.
9 For a great door and effectual is opened unto me, and there are many adversaries.
10 Now if Timotheus come, see that he may be with you without fear: for he worketh the work of the Lord, as I also do.
11 Let no man therefore despise him: but conduct him forth in peace, that he may come unto me: for I look for him with the brethren.
12 As touching our brother Apollos, I greatly desired him to come unto you with the brethren: but his will was not at all to come at this time; but he will come when he shall have convenient time.
13 Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong.
14 Let all your things be done with charity.
15 I beseech you, brethren, (ye know the house of Stephanas, that it is the firstfruits of Achaia, and that they have addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints,)
16 That ye submit yourselves unto such, and to every one that helpeth with us, and laboureth.
17 I am glad of the coming of Stephanas and Fortunatus and Achaicus: for that which was lacking on your part they have supplied.
18 For they have refreshed my spirit and your's: therefore acknowledge ye them that are such.
19 The churches of Asia salute you. Aquila and Priscilla salute you much in the Lord, with the church that is in their house.
20 All the brethren greet you. Greet ye one another with an holy kiss.
21 The salutation of me Paul with mine own hand.
22 If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema Maranatha.
23 The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you.
24 My love be with you all in Christ Jesus. Amen.

THE SECOND EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS

or Paul To The Citizens Of Corinth, or 2 Corinthians
Author: Sha'ul ha Tarsi / Saul of Tarsos
Translation: King James Version
Estimated Range of Dating: 50-60 A.D.

(Second Corinthians is one of the four letters of Paul known as the "Hauptbriefe" [German for: Main Epistles], which are universally accepted to contain several authentic letters.)

Second Corinthians (c. 55–56)

The Second Epistle to the Corinthians, commonly referred to as Second Corinthians or in writing 2 Corinthians, is a Pauline epistle of the New Testament of the Christian Bible. The epistle is attributed to the Roman citizen Saul of Tarsos (Paul the Apostle) and a co-author named Timothy, and is addressed to the church in Corinth and Christians in the surrounding province of Achaea, in modern-day Greece.[2Cor.1:1]

While there is little doubt among scholars that Paul is the author, there is discussion over whether the Epistle was originally one letter or composed from two or more of Paul's letters.[1]:8

Although the New Testament contains only two letters to the Corinthian church, the evidence from the letters themselves is that he wrote at least four and the church replied at least once:

1. 1 Corinthians 5:9 ("I wrote unto you in an epistle not to company with fornicators", KJV) refers to an early letter, sometimes called the "warning letter"[2] or the "previous letter."
2. 1 Corinthians
3. The Severe Letter: Paul refers to an earlier "letter of tears" in 2 Corinthians 2:3–4 and 7:8. 1 Corinthians does not match that description, so this "letter of tears" may have been written between 1 Corinthians and 2 Corinthians.
4. 2 Corinthians

The book is usually divided as follows:
• 1:1–11 – Greeting
• 1:12 – 7:16 – Paul defends his actions and apostleship, affirming his affection for the Corinthians.
• 8:1 – 9:15 – Instructions for the collection for the poor in the Jerusalem church.
• 10:1 – 13:10 – A polemic defense of his apostleship
• 13:11–13 – Closing greetings.)

2 CORINTHIANS CHAPTER 1

1 Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God, and Timothy our brother, unto the church of God which is at Corinth, with all the saints which are in all Achaia:
2 Grace be to you and peace from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.
3 Blessed be God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies, and the God of all comfort;
4 Who comforteth us in all our tribulation, that we may be able to comfort them which are in any trouble, by the comfort wherewith we ourselves are comforted of God.
5 For as the sufferings of Christ abound in us, so our consolation also aboundeth by Christ.
6 And whether we be afflicted, it is for your consolation and salvation, which is effectual in the enduring of the same sufferings which we also suffer: or whether we be comforted, it is for your consolation and salvation.
7 And our hope of you is stedfast, knowing, that as ye are partakers of the sufferings, so shall ye be also of the consolation.
8 For we would not, brethren, have you ignorant of our trouble which came to us in Asia, that we were pressed out of measure, above strength, insomuch that we despaired even of life:
9 But we had the sentence of death in ourselves, that we should not trust in ourselves, but in God which raiseth the dead:

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10 Who delivered us from so great a death, and doth deliver: in whom we trust that he will yet deliver us;
11 Ye also helping together by prayer for us, that for the gift bestowed upon us by the means of many persons thanks may be given by many on our behalf.
12 For our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world, and more abundantly to you-ward.
13 For we write none other things unto you, than what ye read or acknowledge; and I trust ye shall acknowledge even to the end;
14 As also ye have acknowledged us in part, that we are your rejoicing, even as ye also are our's in the day of the Lord Jesus.
15 And in this confidence I was minded to come unto you before, that ye might have a second benefit;
16 And to pass by you into Macedonia, and to come again out of Macedonia unto you, and of you to be brought on my way toward Judaea.
17 When I therefore was thus minded, did I use lightness? or the things that I purpose, do I purpose according to the flesh, that with me there should be yea yea, and nay nay?
18 But as God is true, our word toward you was not yea and nay.
19 For the Son of God, Jesus Christ, who was preached among you by us, even by me and Silvanus and Timotheus, was not yea and nay, but in him was yea.
20 For all the promises of God in him are yea, and in him Amen, unto the glory of God by us.
21 Now he which stablisheth us with you in Christ, and hath anointed us, is God;
22 Who hath also sealed us, and given the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts.
23 Moreover I call God for a record upon my soul, that to spare you I came not as yet unto Corinth.
24 Not for that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy: for by faith ye stand.

2 CORINTHIANS CHAPTER 2

1 But I determined this with myself, that I would not come again to you in heaviness.
2 For if I make you sorry, who is he then that maketh me glad, but the same which is made sorry by me?
3 And I wrote this same unto you, lest, when I came, I should have sorrow from them of whom I ought to rejoice; having confidence in you all, that my joy is the joy of you all.
4 For out of much affliction and anguish of heart I wrote unto you with many tears; not that ye should be grieved, but that ye might know the love which I have more abundantly unto you.
5 But if any have caused grief, he hath not grieved me, but in part: that I may not overcharge you all.
6 Sufficient to such a man is this punishment, which was inflicted of many.
7 So that contrariwise ye ought rather to forgive him, and comfort him, lest perhaps such a one should be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow.
8 Wherefore I beseech you that ye would confirm your love toward him.
9 For to this end also did I write, that I might know the proof of you, whether ye be obedient in all things.
10 To whom ye forgive any thing, I forgive also: for if I forgave any thing, to whom I forgave it, for your sakes forgave I it in the person of Christ;
11 Lest Satan should get an advantage of us: for we are not ignorant of his devices.
12 Furthermore, when I came to Troas to preach Christ's gospel, and a door was opened unto me of the Lord,
13 I had no rest in my spirit, because I found not Titus my brother: but taking my leave of them, I went from thence into Macedonia.
14 Now thanks be unto God, which always causeth us to triumph in Christ, and maketh manifest the savour of his knowledge by us in every place.
15 For we are unto God a sweet savour of Christ, in them that are saved, and in them that perish:
16 To the one we are the savour of death unto death; and to the other the savour of life unto life. And who is sufficient for these things?
17 For we are not as many, which corrupt the word of God: but as of sincerity, but as of God, in the sight of God speak we in Christ.

2 CORINTHIANS CHAPTER 3

1 Do we begin again to commend ourselves? or need we, as some others, epistles of commendation to you, or letters of commendation from you?
2 Ye are our epistle written in our hearts, known and read of all men:
3 Forasmuch as ye are manifestly declared to be the epistle of Christ ministered by us, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart.
4 And such trust have we through Christ to God-ward:
5 Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think any thing as of ourselves; but our sufficiency is of God;
6 Who also hath made us able ministers of the new testament; not of the letter, but of the spirit: for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life.
7 But if the ministration of death, written and engraven in stones, was glorious, so that the children of Israel could not stedfastly behold the face of Moses for the glory of his countenance; which glory was to be done away:
8 How shall not the ministration of the spirit be rather glorious?
9 For if the ministration of condemnation be glory, much more doth the ministration of righteousness exceed in glory.
10 For even that which was made glorious had no glory in this respect, by reason of the glory that excelleth.
11 For if that which is done away was glorious, much more that which remaineth is glorious.
12 Seeing then that we have such hope, we use great plainness of speech:
13 And not as Moses, which put a vail over his face, that the children of Israel could not stedfastly look to the end of that which is abolished:
14 But their minds were blinded: for until this day remaineth the same vail untaken away in the reading of the old testament; which vail is done away in Christ.
15 But even unto this day, when Moses is read, the vail is upon their heart.
16 Nevertheless when it shall turn to the Lord, the vail shall be taken away.
17 Now the Lord is that Spirit: and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.
18 But we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the LORD.

2 CORINTHIANS CHAPTER 4

1 Therefore seeing we have this ministry, as we have received mercy, we faint not;
2 But have renounced the hidden things of dishonesty, not walking in craftiness, nor handling the word of God deceitfully; but by manifestation of the truth commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God.
3 But if our gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost:
4 In whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them.
5 For we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord; and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake.
6 For God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.
7 But we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us.
8 We are troubled on every side, yet not distressed; we are perplexed, but not in despair;
9 Persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed;
10 Always bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our body.
11 For we which live are alway delivered unto death for Jesus' sake, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our mortal flesh.
12 So then death worketh in us, but life in you.
13 We having the same spirit of faith, according as it is written, I believed, and therefore have I spoken; we also believe, and therefore speak;
14 Knowing that he which raised up the Lord Jesus shall raise up us also by Jesus, and shall present us with you.
15 For all things are for your sakes, that the abundant grace might through the thanksgiving of many redound to the glory of God.
16 For which cause we faint not; but though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is renewed day by day.
17 For our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory;
18 While we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen: for the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal.

2 CORINTHIANS CHAPTER 5

1 For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.
2 For in this we groan, earnestly desiring to be clothed upon with our house which is from heaven:
3 If so be that being clothed we shall not be found naked.
4 For we that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened: not for that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life.
5 Now he that hath wrought us for the selfsame thing is God, who also hath given unto us the earnest of the Spirit.
6 Therefore we are always confident, knowing that, whilst we are at home in the body, we are absent from the Lord:
7 (For we walk by faith, not by sight:)
8 We are confident, I say, and willing rather to be absent from the body, and to be present with the Lord.
9 Wherefore we labour, that, whether present or absent, we may be accepted of him.
10 For we must all appear before the judgement seat of Christ; that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.
11 Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord, we persuade men; but we are made manifest unto God; and I trust also are made manifest in your consciences.
12 For we commend not ourselves again unto you, but give you occasion to glory on our behalf, that ye may have somewhat to answer them which glory in appearance, and not in heart.
13 For whether we be beside ourselves, it is to God: or whether we be sober, it is for your cause.
14 For the love of Christ constraineth us; because we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead:
15 And that he died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them, and rose again.
16 Wherefore henceforth know we no man after the flesh: yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more.
17 Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new.
18 And all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation;
19 To wit, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them; and hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation.
20 Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us: we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God.
21 For he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.

2 CORINTHIANS CHAPTER 6

1 We then, as workers together with him, beseech you also that ye receive not the grace of God in vain.
2 (For he saith, I have heard thee in a time accepted, and in the day of salvation have I succoured thee: behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation.)
3 Giving no offence in any thing, that the ministry be not blamed:
4 But in all things approving ourselves as the ministers of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses,
5 In stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults, in labours, in watchings, in fastings;
6 By pureness, by knowledge, by longsuffering, by kindness, by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned,
7 By the word of truth, by the power of God, by the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left,
8 By honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report: as deceivers, and yet true;
9 As unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and, behold, we live; as chastened, and not killed;
10 As sorrowful, yet alway rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things.
11 O ye Corinthians, our mouth is open unto you, our heart is enlarged.
12 Ye are not straitened in us, but ye are straitened in your own bowels.
13 Now for a recompence in the same, (I speak as unto my children,) be ye also enlarged.
14 Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness?
15 And what concord hath Christ with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel?
16 And what agreement hath the temple of God with idols? for ye are the temple of the living God; as God hath said, I will dwell in them, and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people.
17 Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you.
18 And will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty.

2 CORINTHIANS CHAPTER 7

1 Having therefore these promises, dearly beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God.
2 Receive us; we have wronged no man, we have corrupted no man, we have defrauded no man.
3 I speak not this to condemn you: for I have said before, that ye are in our hearts to die and live with you.

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4 Great is my boldness of speech toward you, great is my glorying of you: I am filled with comfort, I am exceeding joyful in all our tribulation.
5 For, when we were come into Macedonia, our flesh had no rest, but we were troubled on every side; without were fightings, within were fears.
6 Nevertheless God, that comforteth those that are cast down, comforted us by the coming of Titus;
7 And not by his coming only, but by the consolation wherewith he was comforted in you, when he told us your earnest desire, your mourning, your fervent mind toward me; so that I rejoiced the more.
8 For though I made you sorry with a letter, I do not repent, though I did repent: for I perceive that the same epistle hath made you sorry, though it were but for a season.
9 Now I rejoice, not that ye were made sorry, but that ye sorrowed to repentance: for ye were made sorry after a godly manner, that ye might receive damage by us in nothing.
10 For godly sorrow worketh repentance to salvation not to be repented of: but the sorrow of the world worketh death.
11 For behold this selfsame thing, that ye sorrowed after a godly sort, what carefulness it wrought in you, yea, what clearing of yourselves, yea, what indignation, yea, what fear, yea, what vehement desire, yea, what zeal, yea, what revenge! In all things ye have approved yourselves to be clear in this matter.
12 Wherefore, though I wrote unto you, I did it not for his cause that had done the wrong, nor for his cause that suffered wrong, but that our care for you in the sight of God might appear unto you.
13 Therefore we were comforted in your comfort: yea, and exceedingly the more joyed we for the joy of Titus, because his spirit was refreshed by you all.
14 For if I have boasted any thing to him of you, I am not ashamed; but as we spake all things to you in truth, even so our boasting, which I made before Titus, is found a truth.
15 And his inward affection is more abundant toward you, whilst he remembereth the obedience of you all, how with fear and trembling ye received him.
16 I rejoice therefore that I have confidence in you in all things.

2 CORINTHIANS CHAPTER 8

1 Moreover, brethren, we do you to wit of the grace of God bestowed on the churches of Macedonia;
2 How that in a great trial of affliction the abundance of their joy and their deep poverty abounded unto the riches of their liberality.
3 For to their power, I bear record, yea, and beyond their power they were willing of themselves;
4 Praying us with much intreaty that we would receive the gift, and take upon us the fellowship of the ministering to the saints.
5 And this they did, not as we hoped, but first gave their own selves to the Lord, and unto us by the will of God.
6 Insomuch that we desired Titus, that as he had begun, so he would also finish in you the same grace also.
7 Therefore, as ye abound in every thing, in faith, and utterance, and knowledge, and in all diligence, and in your love to us, see that ye abound in this grace also.
8 I speak not by commandment, but by occasion of the forwardness of others, and to prove the sincerity of your love.
9 For ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich.
10 And herein I give my advice: for this is expedient for you, who have begun before, not only to do, but also to be forward a year ago.
11 Now therefore perform the doing of it; that as there was a readiness to will, so there may be a performance also out of that which ye have.
12 For if there be first a willing mind, it is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that he hath not.
13 For I mean not that other men be eased, and ye burdened:
14 But by an equality, that now at this time your abundance may be a supply for their want, that their abundance also may be a supply for your want: that there may be equality:
15 As it is written, He that had gathered much had nothing over; and he that had gathered little had no lack.
16 But thanks be to God, which put the same earnest care into the heart of Titus for you.
17 For indeed he accepted the exhortation; but being more forward, of his own accord he went unto you.
18 And we have sent with him the brother, whose praise is in the gospel throughout all the churches;
19 And not that only, but who was also chosen of the churches to travel with us with this grace, which is administered by us to the glory of the same Lord, and declaration of your ready mind:
20 Avoiding this, that no man should blame us in this abundance which is administered by us:
21 Providing for honest things, not only in the sight of the Lord, but also in the sight of men.
22 And we have sent with them our brother, whom we have oftentimes proved diligent in many things, but now much more diligent, upon the great confidence which I have in you.
23 Whether any do enquire of Titus, he is my partner and fellowhelper concerning you: or our brethren be enquired of, they are the messengers of the churches, and the glory of Christ.
24 Wherefore shew ye to them, and before the churches, the proof of your love, and of our boasting on your behalf.

2 CORINTHIANS CHAPTER 9

1 For as touching the ministering to the saints, it is superfluous for me to write to you:
2 For I know the forwardness of your mind, for which I boast of you to them of Macedonia, that Achaia was ready a year ago; and your zeal hath provoked very many.
3 Yet have I sent the brethren, lest our boasting of you should be in vain in this behalf; that, as I said, ye may be ready:
4 Lest haply if they of Macedonia come with me, and find you unprepared, we (that we say not, ye) should be ashamed in this same confident boasting.
5 Therefore I thought it necessary to exhort the brethren, that they would go before unto you, and make up beforehand your bounty, whereof ye had notice before, that the same might be ready, as a matter of bounty, and not as of covetousness.
6 But this I say, He which soweth sparingly shall reap also sparingly; and he which soweth bountifully shall reap also bountifully.
7 Every man according as he purposeth in his heart, so let him give; not grudgingly, or of necessity: for God loveth a cheerful giver.
8 And God is able to make all grace abound toward you; that ye, always having all sufficiency in all things, may abound to every good work:
9 (As it is written, He hath dispersed abroad; he hath given to the poor: his righteousness remaineth for ever.
10 Now he that ministereth seed to the sower both minister bread for your food, and multiply your seed sown, and increase the fruits of your righteousness;)
11 Being enriched in every thing to all bountifulness, which causeth through us thanksgiving to God.
12 For the administration of this service not only supplieth the want of the saints, but is abundant also by many thanksgivings unto God;
13 Whiles by the experiment of this ministration they glorify God for your professed subjection unto the gospel of Christ, and for your liberal distribution unto them, and unto all men;
14 And by their prayer for you, which long after you for the exceeding grace of God in you.
15 Thanks be unto God for his unspeakable gift.

2 CORINTHIANS CHAPTER 10

1 Now I Paul myself beseech you by the meekness and gentleness of Christ, who in presence am base among you, but being absent am bold toward you:
2 But I beseech you, that I may not be bold when I am present with that confidence, wherewith I think to be bold against some, which think of us as if we walked according to the flesh.
3 For though we walk in the flesh, we do not war after the flesh:
4 (For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds;)
5 Casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ;
6 And having in a readiness to revenge all disobedience, when your obedience is fulfilled.
7 Do ye look on things after the outward appearance? If any man trust to himself that he is Christ's, let him of himself think this again, that, as he is Christ's, even so are we Christ's.
8 For though I should boast somewhat more of our authority, which the Lord hath given us for edification, and not for your destruction, I should not be ashamed:
9 That I may not seem as if I would terrify you by letters.
10 For his letters, say they, are weighty and powerful; but his bodily presence is weak, and his speech contemptible.
11 Let such an one think this, that, such as we are in word by letters when we are absent, such will we be also in deed when we are present.
12 For we dare not make ourselves of the number, or compare ourselves with some that commend themselves: but they measuring themselves by themselves, and comparing themselves among themselves, are not wise.
13 But we will not boast of things without our measure, but according to the measure of the rule which God hath distributed to us, a measure to reach even unto you.
14 For we stretch not ourselves beyond our measure, as though we reached not unto you: for we are come as far as to you also in preaching the gospel of Christ:
15 Not boasting of things without our measure, that is, of other men's labours; but having hope, when your faith is increased, that we shall be enlarged by you according to our rule abundantly,
16 To preach the gospel in the regions beyond you, and not to boast in another man's line of things made ready to our hand.
17 But he that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord.
18 For not he that commendeth himself is approved, but whom the Lord commendeth.

2 CORINTHIANS CHAPTER 11

1 Would to God ye could bear with me a little in my folly: and indeed bear with me.
2 For I am jealous over you with godly jealousy: for I have espoused you to one husband, that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ.
3 But I fear, lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ.
4 For if he that cometh preacheth another Jesus, whom we have not preached, or if ye receive another spirit, which ye have not received, or another gospel, which ye have not accepted, ye might well bear with him.
5 For I suppose I was not a whit behind the very chiefest apostles.
6 But though I be rude in speech, yet not in knowledge; but we have been throughly made manifest among you in all things.
7 Have I committed an offence in abasing myself that ye might be exalted, because I have preached to you the gospel of God freely?
8 I robbed other churches, taking wages of them, to do you service.
9 And when I was present with you, and wanted, I was chargeable to no man: for that which was lacking to me the brethren which came from Macedonia supplied: and in all things I have kept myself from being burdensome unto you, and so will I keep myself.
10 As the truth of Christ is in me, no man shall stop me of this boasting in the regions of Achaia.
11 Wherefore? because I love you not? God knoweth.
12 But what I do, that I will do, that I may cut off occasion from them which desire occasion; that wherein they glory, they may be found even as we.
13 For such are false apostles, deceitful workers, transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ.
14 And no marvel; for Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light.
15 Therefore it is no great thing if his ministers also be transformed as the ministers of righteousness; whose end shall be according to their works.
16 I say again, Let no man think me a fool; if otherwise, yet as a fool receive me, that I may boast myself a little.
17 That which I speak, I speak it not after the Lord, but as it were foolishly, in this confidence of boasting.
18 Seeing that many glory after the flesh, I will glory also.
19 For ye suffer fools gladly, seeing ye yourselves are wise.
20 For ye suffer, if a man bring you into bondage, if a man devour you, if a man take of you, if a man exalt himself, if a man smite you on the face.
21 I speak as concerning reproach, as though we had been weak. Howbeit whereinsoever any is bold, (I speak foolishly,) I am bold also.
22 Are they Hebrews? so am I. Are they Israelites? so am I. Are they the seed of Abraham? so am I.
23 Are they ministers of Christ? (I speak as a fool) I am more; in labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft.
24 Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one.
25 Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned, thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have been in the deep;
26 In journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by mine own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren;
27 In weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness.
28 Beside those things that are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches.
29 Who is weak, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I burn not?
30 If I must needs glory, I will glory of the things which concern mine infirmities.
31 The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is blessed for evermore, knoweth that I lie not.
32 In Damascus the governor under Aretas the king kept the city of the Damascenes with a garrison, desirous to apprehend me:
33 And through a window in a basket was I let down by the wall, and escaped his hands.

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2 CORINTHIANS CHAPTER 12

1 It is not expedient for me doubtless to glory. I will come to visions and revelations of the Lord.

2 I knew a man in Christ above fourteen years ago, (whether in the body, I cannot tell; or whether out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth;) such an one caught up to the third heaven.

3 And I knew such a man, (whether in the body, or out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth;)

4 How that he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter.

5 Of such an one will I glory: yet of myself I will not glory, but in mine infirmities.

6 For though I would desire to glory, I shall not be a fool; for I will say the truth: but now I forbear, lest any man should think of me above that which he seeth me to be, or that he heareth of me.

7 And lest I should be exalted above measure through the abundance of the revelations, there was given to me a thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet me, lest I should be exalted above measure.

8 For this thing I besought the Lord thrice, that it might depart from me.

9 And he said unto me, My grace is sufficient for thee: for my strength is made perfect in weakness. Most gladly therefore will I rather glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me.

10 Therefore I take pleasure in infirmities, in reproaches, in necessities, in persecutions, in distresses for Christ's sake: for when I am weak, then am I strong.

11 I am become a fool in glorying; ye have compelled me: for I ought to have been commended of you: for in nothing am I behind the very chiefest apostles, though I be nothing.

12 Truly the signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds.

13 For what is it wherein ye were inferior to other churches, except it be that I myself was not burdensome to you? forgive me this wrong.

14 Behold, the third time I am ready to come to you; and I will not be burdensome to you: for I seek not your's but you: for the children ought not to lay up for the parents, but the parents for the children.

15 And I will very gladly spend and be spent for you; though the more abundantly I love you, the less I be loved.

16 But be it so, I did not burden you: nevertheless, being crafty, I caught you with guile.

17 Did I make a gain of you by any of them whom I sent unto you?

18 I desired Titus, and with him I sent a brother. Did Titus make a gain of you? walked we not in the same spirit? walked we not in the same steps?

19 Again, think ye that we excuse ourselves unto you? we speak before God in Christ: but we do all things, dearly beloved, for your edifying.

20 For I fear, lest, when I come, I shall not find you such as I would, and that I shall be found unto you such as ye would not: lest there be debates, envyings, wraths, strifes, backbitings, whisperings, swellings, tumults:

21 And lest, when I come again, my God will humble me among you, and that I shall bewail many which have sinned already, and have not repented of the uncleanness and fornication and lasciviousness which they have committed.

2 CORINTHIANS CHAPTER 13

1 This is the third time I am coming to you. In the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established.

2 I told you before, and foretell you, as if I were present, the second time; and being absent now I write to them which heretofore have sinned, and to all other, that, if I come again, I will not spare:

3 Since ye seek a proof of Christ speaking in me, which to you-ward is not weak, but is mighty in you.

4 For though he was crucified through weakness, yet he liveth by the power of God. For we also are weak in him, but we shall live with him by the power of God toward you.

5 Examine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith; prove your own selves. Know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates?

6 But I trust that ye shall know that we are not reprobates.

7 Now I pray to God that ye do no evil; not that we should appear approved, but that ye should do that which is honest, though we be as reprobates.

8 For we can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth.

9 For we are glad, when we are weak, and ye are strong: and this also we wish, even your perfection.

10 Therefore I write these things being absent, lest being present I should use sharpness, according to the power which the Lord hath given me to edification, and not to destruction.

11 Finally, brethren, farewell. Be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace; and the God of love and peace shall be with you.

12 Greet one another with an holy kiss.

13 All the saints salute you.

14 The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. Amen.

THE EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE GALATIANS

or Paul To The Citizens Of Galata, or just Galatians
Author: Sha'ul ha Tarsi / Saul of Tarsos
Translation: King James Version
Estimated Range of Dating: 50-60 A.D.

(Galatians is one of the four letters of Paul known as the "Hauptbriefe" [German for: Main Epistles], which are universally accepted as authentic. It is typically dated c. 54 AD. There is an old debate as to whether Paul's letter was directed to northern Galatia, where the ethnic Galatians lived, or to southern part of the Galatian province, where cities such as Iconium are located.)

Galatians (c. 53)

The Epistle to the Galatians, often shortened to Galatians, is the ninth book of the New Testament. It is probably written by the Roman citizen Saul of Tarsos (Paul the Apostle) from southern Anatolia to a number of Early Christian communities in Galatia (central Anatolia).

Saul of Tarsos writes about the conflict he causef with James the undisputed leader of the Church and brother of Jesus. The controversy concerns the Gentile and the Mosaic Law during the time after Jesus' death. Saul argues that the gentile Galatians do not need to adhere to the tenets of the Mosaic Law, particularly religious male circumcision, by contextualising the role of the law in light of the revelation of Jesus. But Saul tells us only a part of the story. He does not say why James has been furious seeing him as traitor and lier.

Saul has dared to violate the first three Commandments [1. I am the Lord thy God, thou shalt have no other gods before me; 2. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image; 3. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord your God in vain] and has made his brother Jesus to a caricature and to a divine figurehead of his newly created religion, smearing the honour of his entire family with immoral filth.

We can learn in detail what has happened from the Clementine literature (also called Pseudo-Clementine), the Homilies and Recognition by name. These are records made by one Clement (whom the narrative identifies as both Pope Clement I, and Titus Flavius Vespasianus' nephew Titus Flavius Clemens) who tells us about the battles among James the brother of Jesus, Saul of Tarsos and the Apostle Simon Peter. There is also an accout of the circumstances under which Clement came to be Peter's travelling companion, and of other details of Clement's family history. The author is sometimes called Pseudo-Clement (as distinct from Clement of Alexandria)

The Epistle to the Galatians has exerted enormous influence on the history of Christianity, the development of Christian theology, and the study of the Apostle Paul because it is Saul's coming out. The central dispute in the letter concerns the question of how Gentiles could convert to Christianity, which shows that this letter was written at a very early stage in church history, when the vast majority of Christians were Jewish or Jewish proselytes, which historians refer to as the Jewish Christians. Another indicator that the letter is early is that there is no hint in the letter of a developed organisation within the Christian community at large. This puts it during the lifetime of Paul himself.)

GALATIANS CHAPTER 1

1 Paul, an apostle, (not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised him from the dead;)

2 And all the brethren which are with me, unto the churches of Galatia:

3 Grace be to you and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ,

4 Who gave himself for our sins, that he might deliver us from this present evil world, according to the will of God and our Father:

5 To whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

6 I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you into the grace of Christ unto another gospel:

7 Which is not another; but there be some that trouble you, and would pervert the gospel of Christ.

8 But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed.

9 As we said before, so say I now again, if any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed.

10 For do I now persuade men, or God? or do I seek to please men? for if I yet pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ.

11 But I certify you, brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me is not after man.

12 For I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ.

13 For ye have heard of my conversation in time past in the Jews' religion, how that beyond measure I persecuted the church of God, and wasted it:

14 And profited in the Jews' religion above many my equals in mine own nation, being more exceedingly zealous of the traditions of my fathers.

15 But when it pleased God, who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by his grace,

16 To reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the heathen; immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood:

17 Neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were apostles before me; but I went into Arabia, and returned again unto Damascus.

18 Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days.

19 But other of the apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother.

20 Now the things which I write unto you, behold, before God, I lie not.

21 Afterwards I came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia;

22 And was unknown by face unto the churches of Judaea which were in Christ:

23 But they had heard only, That he which persecuted us in times past now preacheth the faith which once he destroyed.

24 And they glorified God in me.

GALATIANS CHAPTER 2

1 Then fourteen years after I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, and took Titus with me also.

2 And I went up by revelation, and communicated unto them that gospel which I preach among the Gentiles, but privately to them which were of reputation, lest by any means I should run, or had run, in vain.

3 But neither Titus, who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised:

4 And that because of false brethren unawares brought in, who came in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage:

5 To whom we gave place by subjection, no, not for an hour; that the truth of the gospel might continue with you.

6 But of these who seemed to be somewhat, (whatsoever they were, it maketh no matter to me: God accepteth no man's person:) for they who seemed to be somewhat in conference added nothing to me:

7 But contrariwise, when they saw that the gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the gospel of the circumcision was unto Peter;

8 (For he that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me toward the Gentiles:)

9 And when James, Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship; that we should go unto the heathen, and they unto the circumcision.

10 Only they would that we should remember the poor; the same which I also was forward to do.

11 But when Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed.

12 For before that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles: but when they were come, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing them which were of the circumcision.

13 And the other Jews dissembled likewise with him; insomuch that Barnabas also was carried away with their dissimulation.

14 But when I saw that they walked not uprightly according to the truth of the gospel, I said unto Peter before them all, If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?

15 We who are Jews by nature, and not sinners of the Gentiles,

16 Knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, even we have believed in Jesus Christ, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law: for by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified.

17 But if, while we seek to be justified by Christ, we ourselves also are found sinners, is therefore Christ the minister of sin? God forbid.

18 For if I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor.

19 For I through the law am dead to the law, that I might live unto God.

20 I am crucified with Christ: neverthless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me.

21 I do not frustrate the grace of God: for if righteousness come by the law, then Christ is dead in vain.

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GALATIANS CHAPTER 3

1 O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you, that ye should not obey the truth, before whose eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently set forth, crucified among you?

2 This only would I learn of you, Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?

3 Are ye so foolish? having begun in the Spirit, are ye now made perfect by the flesh?

4 Have ye suffered so many things in vain? if it be yet in vain.

5 He therefore that ministereth to you the Spirit, and worketh miracles among you, doeth he it by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?

6 Even as Abraham believed God, and it was accounted to him for righteousness.

7 Know ye therefore that they which are of faith, the same are the children of Abraham.

8 And the scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the heathen through faith, preached before the gospel unto Abraham, saying, In thee shall all nations be blessed.

9 So then they which be of faith are blessed with faithful Abraham.

10 For as many as are of the works of the law are under the curse: for it is written, Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them.

11 But that no man is justified by the law in the sight of God, it is evident: for, The just shall live by faith.

12 And the law is not of faith: but, The man that doeth them shall live in them.

13 Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us: for it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree:

14 That the blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles through Jesus Christ; that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith.

15 Brethren, I speak after the manner of men; Though it be but a man's covenant, yet if it be confirmed, no man disannulleth, or addeth thereto.

16 Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made. He saith not, And to seeds, as of many; but as of one, And to thy seed, which is Christ.

17 And this I say, that the covenant, that was confirmed before of God in Christ, the law, which was four hundred and thirty years after, cannot disannul, that it should make the promise of none effect.

18 For if the inheritance be of the law, it is no more of promise: but God gave it to Abraham by promise.

19 Wherefore then serveth the law? It was added because of transgressions, till the seed should come to whom the promise was made; and it was ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator.

20 Now a mediator is not a mediator of one, but God is one.

21 Is the law then against the promises of God? God forbid: for if there had been a law given which could have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the law.

22 But the scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe.

23 But before faith came, we were kept under the law, shut up unto the faith which should afterwards be revealed.

24 Wherefore the law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith.

25 But after that faith is come, we are no longer under a schoolmaster.

26 For ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus.

27 For as many of you as have been baptised into Christ have put on Christ.

28 There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.

29 And if ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise.

GALATIANS CHAPTER 4

1 Now I say, That the heir, as long as he is a child, differeth nothing from a servant, though he be lord of all;

2 But is under tutors and governors until the time appointed of the father.

3 Even so we, when we were children, were in bondage under the elements of the world:

4 But when the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law,

5 To redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons.

6 And because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father.

7 Wherefore thou art no more a servant, but a son; and if a son, then an heir of God through Christ.

8 Howbeit then, when ye knew not God, ye did service unto them which by nature are no gods.

9 But now, after that ye have known God, or rather are known of God, how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage?

10 Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years.

11 I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain.

12 Brethren, I beseech you, be as I am; for I am as ye are: ye have not injured me at all.

13 Ye know how through infirmity of the flesh I preached the gospel unto you at the first.

14 And my temptation which was in my flesh ye despised not, nor rejected; but received me as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus.

15 Where is then the blessedness ye spake of? for I bear you record, that, if it had been possible, ye would have plucked out your own eyes, and have given them to me.

16 Am I therefore become your enemy, because I tell you the truth?

17 They zealously affect you, but not well; yea, they would exclude you, that ye might affect them.

18 But it is good to be zealously affected always in a good thing, and not only when I am present with you.

19 My little children, of whom I travail in birth again until Christ be formed in you,

20 I desire to be present with you now, and to change my voice; for I stand in doubt of you.

21 Tell me, ye that desire to be under the law, do ye not hear the law?

22 For it is written, that Abraham had two sons, the one by a bondmaid, the other by a freewoman.

23 But he who was of the bondwoman was born after the flesh; but he of the freewoman was by promise.

24 Which things are an allegory: for these are the two covenants; the one from the mount Sinai, which gendereth to bondage, which is Agar.

25 For this Agar is mount Sinai in Arabia, and answereth to Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children.

26 But Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all.

27 For it is written, Rejoice, thou barren that bearest not; break forth and cry, thou that travailest not: for the desolate hath many more children than she which hath an husband.

28 Now we, brethren, as Isaac was, are the children of promise.

29 But as then he that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now.

30 Nevertheless what saith the scripture? Cast out the bondwoman and her son: for the son of the bondwoman shall not be heir with the son of the freewoman.

31 So then, brethren, we are not children of the bondwoman, but of the free.

GALATIANS CHAPTER 5

1 Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage.

2 Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing.

3 For I testify again to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to do the whole law.

4 Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the law; ye are fallen from grace.

5 For we through the Spirit wait for the hope of righteousness by faith.

6 For in Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision; but faith which worketh by love.

7 Ye did run well; who did hinder you that ye should not obey the truth?

8 This persuasion cometh not of him that calleth you.

9 A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump.

10 I have confidence in you through the Lord, that ye will be none otherwise minded: but he that troubleth you shall bear his judgement, whosoever he be.

11 And I, brethren, if I yet preach circumcision, why do I yet suffer persecution? then is the offence of the cross ceased.

12 I would they were even cut off which trouble you.

13 For, brethren, ye have been called unto liberty; only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another.

14 For all the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this; Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

15 But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another.

16 This I say then, Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh.

17 For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh: and these are contrary the one to the other: so that ye cannot do the things that ye would.

18 But if ye be led of the Spirit, ye are not under the law.

19 Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these; Adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness,

20 Idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies,

21 Envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like: of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.

22 But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith,

23 Meekness, temperance: against such there is no law.

24 And they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts.

25 If we live in the Spirit, let us also walk in the Spirit.

26 Let us not be desirous of vain glory, provoking one another, envying one another.

GALATIANS CHAPTER 6

1 Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted.

2 Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ.

3 For if a man think himself to be something, when he is nothing, he deceiveth himself.

4 But let every man prove his own work, and then shall he have rejoicing in himself alone, and not in another.

5 For every man shall bear his own burden.

6 Let him that is taught in the word communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things.

7 Be not deceived; God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.

8 For he that soweth to his flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth to the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting.

9 And let us not be weary in well doing: for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not.

10 As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men, especially unto them who are of the household of faith.

11 Ye see how large a letter I have written unto you with mine own hand.

12 As many as desire to make a fair shew in the flesh, they constrain you to be circumcised; only lest they should suffer persecution for the cross of Christ.

13 For neither they themselves who are circumcised keep the law; but desire to have you circumcised, that they may glory in your flesh.

14 But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world.

15 For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature.

16 And as many as walk according to this rule, peace be on them, and mercy, and upon the Israel of God.

17 From henceforth let no man trouble me: for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus.

18 Brethren, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit. Amen.

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Translation: King James Version
Estimated Range of Dating: 80-100 A.D.

(The Epistle to the Ephesians, also called the Letter to the Ephesians and often shortened to Ephesians, is the tenth book of the New Testament. Its authorship has traditionally been attributed to Paul the Apostle but starting in 1792, this has been challenged as Deutero-Pauline, that is, written in Paul's name by a later author strongly influenced by Paul's thought, probably "by a loyal disciple to sum up Paul's teaching and to apply it to a new situation fifteen to twenty-five years after the Apostle's death".

According to tradition, the Apostle Paul wrote the letter while he was in prison in Rome (around AD 62). This would be about the same time as the Epistle to the Colossians (which in many points it resembles) and the Epistle to Philemon. However, many critical scholars have questioned the authorship of the letter and suggest that it may have been written between AD 80 and 100

The first verse in the letter identifies Paul as its author. While early lists of New Testament books, including Marcion's canon and the Muratorian fragment, attribute the letter to Paul,[10] more recently there have been challenges to Pauline authorship on the basis of the letter's characteristically non-Pauline syntax, terminology, and eschatology.

The Pauline authorship of Ephesians is doubtful. In style it differs even more than the Epistle to the Colossians from the earlier Epistles attributed to Paul: 1. Many terms in Ephesians are not found in genuine Paulines but are found in the later NT writings; 2. Almost all of Ephesians evinces verbal contacts with Colossians, indicating that the author of Ephesians wrote in imitation of Colossians; 3. The use of grammar is quite different: The plural is employed where Paul always avoids it in his 4 Main Epistles.

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Ephesians contains:

• 1:1,2. The greeting, from Paul to the church of Ephesus.

• 1:3–2:10. A general account of the blessings that the gospel reveals. This includes the source of these blessings, the means by which they are attained, the reason why they are given, and their final result. The whole of the section 1:3–23 consists in the original Greek of just two lengthy and complex sentences (1:3–14, 15–23). It ends with a fervent prayer for the further spiritual enrichment of the Ephesians.

• 2:11–3:21. A description of the change in the spiritual position of Gentiles as a result of the work of Christ. It ends with an account of how Paul was selected and qualified to be an apostle to the Gentiles, in the hope that this will keep them from being dispirited and lead him to pray for them.

• 4:1–16. A chapter on unity in the midst of the diversity of gifts among believers.

• 4:17–6:9. Instructions about ordinary life and different relationships.

• 6:10–24. The imagery of spiritual warfare (including the metaphor of the Armour of God), the mission of Tychicus, and valedictory blessings.)

EPHESIANS CHAPTER 1

1 Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God, to the saints which are at Ephesus, and to the faithful in Christ Jesus:

2 Grace be to you, and peace, from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.

3 Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ:

4 According as he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blame before him in love:

5 Having predestinated us unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ to himself, according to the good pleasure of his will,

6 To the praise of the glory of his grace, wherein he hath made us accepted in the beloved.

7 In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace;

8 Wherein he hath abounded toward us in all wisdom and prudence;

9 Having made known unto us the mystery of his will, according to his good pleasure which he hath purposed in himself:

10 That in the dispensation of the fulness of times he might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth; even in him:

11 In whom also we have obtained an inheritance, being predestinated according to the purpose of him who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will:

12 That we should be to the praise of his glory, who first trusted in Christ.

13 In whom ye also trusted, after that ye heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation: in whom also after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that holy Spirit of promise,

14 Which is the earnest of our inheritance until the redemption of the purchased possession, unto the praise of his glory.

15 Wherefore I also, after I heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus, and love unto all the saints,

16 Cease not to give thanks for you, making mention of you in my prayers;

17 That the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, may give unto you the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of him:

18 The eyes of your understanding being enlightened; that ye may know what is the hope of his calling, and what the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints,

19 And what is the exceeding greatness of his power to us-ward who believe, according to the working of his mighty power,

20 Which he wrought in Christ, when he raised him from the dead, and set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places,

21 Far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come:

22 And hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be the head over all things to the church,

23 Which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all.

EPHESIANS CHAPTER 2

1 And you hath he quickened, who were dead in trespasses and sins;

2 Wherein in time past ye walked according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience:

3 Among whom also we all had our conversation in times past in the lusts of our flesh, fulfilling the desires of the flesh and of the mind; and were by nature the children of wrath, even as others.

4 But God, who is rich in mercy, for his great love wherewith he loved us,

5 Even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ, (by grace ye are saved;)

6 And hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus:

7 That in the ages to come he might shew the exceeding riches of his grace in his kindness toward us through Christ Jesus.

8 For by grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God:

9 Not of works, lest any man should boast.

10 For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them.

11 Wherefore remember, that ye being in time past Gentiles in the flesh, who are called Uncircumcision by that which is called the Circumcision in the flesh made by hands;

12 That at that time ye were without Christ, being aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenants of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world:

13 But now in Christ Jesus ye who sometimes were far off are made nigh by the blood of Christ.

14 For he is our peace, who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us;

15 Having abolished in his flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments contained in ordinances; for to make in himself of twain one new man, so making peace;

16 And that he might reconcile both unto God in one body by the cross, having slain the enmity thereby:

17 And came and preached peace to you which were afar off, and to them that were nigh.

18 For through him we both have access by one Spirit unto the Father.

19 Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellowcitizens with the saints, and of the household of God;

20 And are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone;

21 In whom all the building fitly framed together groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord:

22 In whom ye also are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit.

EPHESIANS CHAPTER 3

1 For this cause I Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ for you Gentiles,

2 If ye have heard of the dispensation of the grace of God which is given me to you-ward:

3 How that by revelation he made known unto me the mystery; (as I wrote afore in few words,

4 Whereby, when ye read, ye may understand my knowledge in the mystery of Christ)

5 Which in other ages was not made known unto the sons of men, as it is now revealed unto his holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit;

6 That the Gentiles should be fellowheirs, and of the same body, and partakers of his promise in Christ by the gospel:

7 Whereof I was made a minister, according to the gift of the grace of God given unto me by the effectual working of his power.

8 Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given, that I should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ;

9 And to make all men see what is the fellowship of the mystery, which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God, who created all things by Jesus Christ:

10 To the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known by the church the manifold wisdom of God,

11 According to the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord:

12 In whom we have boldness and access with confidence by the faith of him.

13 Wherefore I desire that ye faint not at my tribulations for you, which is your glory.

14 For this cause I bow my knees unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,

15 Of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named,

16 That he would grant you, according to the riches of his glory, to be strengthened with might by his Spirit in the inner man;

17 That Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith; that ye, being rooted and grounded in love,

18 May be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height;

19 And to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fulness of God.

20 Now unto him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us,

21 Unto him be glory in the church by Christ Jesus throughout all ages, world without end. Amen.

EPHESIANS CHAPTER 4

1 I therefore, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called,

2 With all lowliness and meekness, with longsuffering, forbearing one another in love;

3 Endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

4 There is one body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling;

5 One Lord, one faith, one baptism,

6 One God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all.

7 But unto every one of us is given grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ.

8 Wherefore he saith, When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men.

9 (Now that he ascended, what is it but that he also descended first into the lower parts of the earth?

10 He that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things.)

11 And he gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers;

12 For the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ:

13 Till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ:

14 That we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive;

15 But speaking the truth in love, may grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ:

16 From whom the whole body fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love.

17 This I say therefore, and testify in the Lord, that ye henceforth walk not as other Gentiles walk, in the vanity of their mind,

18 Having the understanding darkened, being alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that is in them, because of the blindness of their heart:

19 Who being past feeling have given themselves over unto lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness with greediness.

20 But ye have not so learned Christ;

21 If so be that ye have heard him, and have been taught by him, as the truth is in Jesus:

22 That ye put off concerning the former conversation the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts;

23 And be renewed in the spirit of your mind;

24 And that ye put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness.

25 Wherefore putting away lying, speak every man truth with his neighbour: for we are members one of another.

26 Be ye angry, and sin not: let not the sun go down upon your wrath:

27 Neither give place to the devil.

28 Let him that stole steal no more: but rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth.

29 Let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth, but that which is good to the use of edifying, that it may minister grace unto the hearers.

30 And grieve not the holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption.

31 Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil speaking, be put away from you, with all malice:

32 And be ye kind one to another, tenderhearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you.

EPHESIANS CHAPTER 5

1 Be ye therefore followers of God, as dear children;

2 And walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath given himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweetsmelling savour.

3 But fornication, and all uncleanness, or covetousness, let it not be once named among you, as becometh saints;

4 Neither filthiness, nor foolish talking, nor jesting, which are not convenient: but rather giving of thanks.

5 For this ye know, that no whoremonger, nor unclean person, nor covetous man, who is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God.

6 Let no man deceive you with vain words: for because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience.

7 Be not ye therefore partakers with them.

8 For ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord: walk as children of light:

9 (For the fruit of the Spirit is in all goodness and righteousness and truth;)

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10 Proving what is acceptable unto the Lord.
11 And have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them.
12 For it is a shame even to speak of those things which are done of them in secret.
13 But all things that are reproved are made manifest by the light: for whatsoever doth make manifest is light.
14 Wherefore he saith, Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light.
15 See then that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise,
16 Redeeming the time, because the days are evil.
17 Wherefore be ye not unwise, but understanding what the will of the Lord is.
18 And be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess; but be filled with the Spirit;
19 Speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord;
20 Giving thanks always for all things unto God and the Father in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ;
21 Submitting yourselves one to another in the fear of God.
22 Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord.
23 For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church: and he is the saviour of the body.
24 Therefore as the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in every thing.
25 Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the church, and gave himself for it;
26 That he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word,
27 That he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish.
28 So ought men to love their wives as their own bodies. He that loveth his wife loveth himself.
29 For no man ever yet hated his own flesh; but nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as the Lord the church:
30 For we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones.
31 For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh.
32 This is a great mystery: but I speak concerning Christ and the church.
33 Nevertheless let every one of you in particular so love his wife even as himself; and the wife see that she reverence her husband.

EPHESIANS CHAPTER 6

1 Children, obey your parents in the Lord: for this is right.
2 Honour thy father and mother; which is the first commandment with promise;
3 That it may be well with thee, and thou mayest live long on the earth.
4 And, ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath: but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.
5 Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ;
6 Not with eyeservice, as menpleasers; but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart;
7 With good will doing service, as to the Lord, and not to men:
8 Knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free.
9 And, ye masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening: knowing that your Master also is in heaven; neither is there respect of persons with him.
10 Finally, my brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might.
11 Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil.
12 For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.
13 Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand.
14 Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness;
15 And your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace;
16 Above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked.
17 And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God:
18 Praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance and supplication for all saints;
19 And for me, that utterance may be given unto me, that I may open my mouth boldly, to make known the mystery of the gospel,
20 For which I am an ambassador in bonds: that therein I may speak boldly, as I ought to speak.
21 But that ye also may know my affairs, and how I do, Tychicus, a beloved brother and faithful minister in the Lord, shall make known to you all things:
22 Whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, that ye might know our affairs, and that he might comfort your hearts.
23 Peace be to the brethren, and love with faith, from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.
24 Grace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. Amen.

THE EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS

or Paul to the citizens of Philippi, or just Philippians
Author: Sha'ul ha Tarsi / Saul of Tarsos
Translation: King James Version
Estimated Range of Dating: 50-60 A.D.

(The Epistle to the Philippians, commonly referred to as Philippians, is a Pauline epistle of the New Testament of the Christian Bible. The epistle is attributed to Saul of Tarsos (Paul the Apostle) and a co-author named Timothy, and is addressed to the Christian church in Philippi. While there is a general consensus that Philippians consists of authentically Pauline material, the majority of scholars believe that the epistle is a composite of multiple letter fragments from Paul to the church in Philippi.

Philippians is generally accepted to be authentic Pauline correspondence. The letter is actually composed of three letter fragments, accidentally saved as it appears and crudely joined together at some later time by those who collected the letters of Paul in the name of the Pauline school (Phil. 4:10-20; 1:1-3:1; 3:2-4:9). The first two seem to have been written from Ephesus around the time of Paul's imprisonment there (ca. 54-55 AD.), or five to eight years after Paul first established the congregation in Philippi. It is possible that this third letter fragment was not originally addressed to Philippi at all but inserted between the other two letter fragments because of the personal tone.)

Outline

1. Preface (1:1–11)[10]
A. Salutation (1:1–2)
B. Thanksgiving for the Philippians' Participation in the Gospel (1:3–8)
C. Prayer for the Philippians' Discerning Love to Increase until the Day of Christ (1:9–11)
2. Paul's Present Circumstances (1:12–26)
A. Paul's Imprisonment (1:12–13)
B. The Brothers' Response (1:14–17)
C. Paul's Attitude (1:18–26)
3. Practical Instructions in Sanctification (1:27–2:30)
A. Living Boldly as Citizens of Heaven (1:27–1:30)
B. Living Humbly as Servants of Christ (2:1–11)
1. The Motivation to Live Humbly (2:1–4)
2. The Model of Living Humbly (2:5–11)
C. Living Obediently as Children of God (2:12–18)
1. The Energising of God (2:12–13)
2. The Effect on the Saints (2:14–18)
D. Examples of Humble Servants (2:19–30)
1. The Example of Timothy (2:19–24)
2. The Example of Epaphroditus (2:25–30)
4. Polemical Doctrinal Issues (3:1–4:1)
A. The Judaizers Basis: The Flesh (3:1–6)
B. Paul's Goal: The Resurrection (3:7–11)
C. Perfection and Humility (3:12–16)
D. Paul as an Example of Conduct and Watchfulness (3:17–4:1)
5. Postlude (4:2–23)
A. Exhortations (4:2–9): 1. Being United (4:2–3), 2. Rejoicing without Anxiety (4:4–7), 3. Thinking and Acting Purely (4:8–9)
B. A Note of Thanks (4:10–20): 1. Paul's Contentment (4:10–13), 2. The Philippians' Gift (4:14–18), 3. God's Provision (4:19–20)
C. Final Greetings (4:21–23)

Philippians was not written as one unified letter, but is rather a compilation of fragments from three separate letters from Paul to the church in Philippi.

Philippians contains the following letter fragments:

Letter A consists of Philippians 4:10-20. It is a short thank-you note from Paul to the Philippian church, regarding gifts they had sent him.[Phil 4:17]

Letter B consists of Philippians 1:1-3:1, and may also include 4:4-9 and 4:21-23.

Letter C consists of Philippians 3:2-4:1, and may also include 4:2-3. It is a testament to Paul's rejection of all worldly things for the sake of the gospel of Jesus.[2]:19)

PHILIPPIANS CHAPTER 1

1 Paul and Timotheus, the servants of Jesus Christ, to all the saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons:
2 Grace be unto you, and peace, from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.
3 I thank my God upon every remembrance of you,
4 Always in every prayer of mine for you all making request with joy,
5 For your fellowship in the gospel from the first day until now;
6 Being confident of this very thing, that he which hath begun a good work in you will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ:
7 Even as it is meet for me to think this of you all, because I have you in my heart; inasmuch as both in my bonds, and in the defence and confirmation of the gospel, ye all are partakers of my grace.
8 For God is my record, how greatly I long after you all in the bowels of Jesus Christ.
9 And this I pray, that your love may abound yet more and more in knowledge and in all judgement;
10 That ye may approve things that are excellent; that ye may be sincere and without offence till the day of Christ.
11 Being filled with the fruits of righteousness, which are by Jesus Christ, unto the glory and praise of God.
12 But I would ye should understand, brethren, that the things which happened unto me have fallen out rather unto the furtherance of the gospel;
13 So that my bonds in Christ are manifest in all the palace, and in all other places;
14 And many of the brethren in the Lord, waxing confident by my bonds, are much more bold to speak the word without fear.
15 Some indeed preach Christ even of envy and strife; and some also of good will:
16 The one preach Christ of contention, not sincerely, supposing to add affliction to my bonds:
17 But the other of love, knowing that I am set for the defence of the gospel.
18 What then? notwithstanding, every way, whether in pretence, or in truth, Christ is preached; and I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice.
19 For I know that this shall turn to my salvation through your prayer, and the supply of the Spirit of Jesus Christ,
20 According to my earnest expectation and my hope, that in nothing I shall be ashamed, but that with all boldness, as always, so now also Christ shall be magnified in my body, whether it be by life, or by death.
21 For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain.
22 But if I live in the flesh, this is the fruit of my labour: yet what I shall choose I wot not.
23 For I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ; which is far better:
24 Nevertheless to abide in the flesh is more needful for you.
25 And having this confidence, I know that I shall abide and continue with you all for your furtherance and joy of faith;
26 That your rejoicing may be more abundant in Jesus Christ for me by my coming to you again.
27 Only let your conversation be as it becometh the gospel of Christ: that whether I come and see you, or else be absent, I may hear of your affairs, that ye stand fast in one spirit, with one mind striving together for the faith of the gospel;
28 And in nothing terrified by your adversaries: which is to them an evident token of perdition, but to you of salvation, and that of God.
29 For unto you it is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake;
30 Having the same conflict which ye saw in me, and now hear to be in me.

PHILIPPIANS CHAPTER 2

1 If there be therefore any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any bowels and mercies,
2 Fulfil ye my joy, that ye be likeminded, having the same love, being of one accord, of one mind.
3 Let nothing be done through strife or vainglory; but in lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than themselves.
4 Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others.
5 Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus:
6 Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God:
7 But made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men:
8 And being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.

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9 Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name:
10 That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth;
11 And that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.
12 Wherefore, my beloved, as ye have always obeyed, not as in my presence only, but now much more in my absence, work out your own salvation with fear and trembling.
13 For it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure.
14 Do all things without murmurings and disputings:
15 That ye may be blameless and harmless, the sons of God, without rebuke, in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation, among whom ye shine as lights in the world;
16 Holding forth the word of life; that I may rejoice in the day of Christ, that I have not run in vain, neither laboured in vain.
17 Yea, and if I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy, and rejoice with you all.
18 For the same cause also do ye joy, and rejoice with me.
19 But I trust in the Lord Jesus to send Timotheus shortly unto you, that I also may be of good comfort, when I know your state.
20 For I have no man likeminded, who will naturally care for your state.
21 For all seek their own, not the things which are Jesus Christ's.
22 But ye know the proof of him, that, as a son with the father, he hath served with me in the gospel.
23 Him therefore I hope to send presently, so soon as I shall see how it will go with me.
24 But I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly.
25 Yet I supposed it necessary to send to you Epaphroditus, my brother, and companion in labour, and fellowsoldier, but your messenger, and he that ministered to my wants.
26 For he longed after you all, and was full of heaviness, because that ye had heard that he had been sick.
27 For indeed he was sick nigh unto death: but God had mercy on him; and not on him only, but on me also, lest I should have sorrow upon sorrow.
28 I sent him therefore the more carefully, that, when ye see him again, ye may rejoice, and that I may be the less sorrowful.
29 Receive him therefore in the Lord with all gladness; and hold such in reputation:
30 Because for the work of Christ he was nigh unto death, not regarding his life, to supply your lack of service toward me.

PHILIPPIANS CHAPTER 3

1 Finally, my brethren, rejoice in the Lord. To write the same things to you, to me indeed is not grievous, but for you it is safe.
2 Beware of dogs, beware of evil workers, beware of the concision.
3 For we are the circumcision, which worship God in the spirit, and rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh.
4 Though I might also have confidence in the flesh. If any other man thinketh that he hath whereof he might trust in the flesh, I more:
5 Circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, an Hebrew of the Hebrews; as touching the law, a Pharisee;
6 Concerning zeal, persecuting the church; touching the righteousness which is in the law, blameless.
7 But what things were gain to me, those I counted loss for Christ.
8 Yea doubtless, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord: for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and do count them but dung, that I may win Christ,
9 And be found in him, not having mine own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith:
10 That I may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death;
11 If by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead.
12 Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect: but I follow after, if that I may apprehend that for which also I am apprehended of Christ Jesus.
13 Brethren, I count not myself to have apprehended: but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before,
14 I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.
15 Let us therefore, as many as be perfect, be thus minded: and if in any thing ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you.
16 Nevertheless, whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing.
17 Brethren, be followers together of me, and mark them which walk so as ye have us for an ensample.
18 (For many walk, of whom I have told you often, and now tell you even weeping, that they are the enemies of the cross of Christ:
19 Whose end is destruction, whose God is their belly, and whose glory is in their shame, who mind earthly things.)
20 For our conversation is in heaven; from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ:
21 Who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able even to subdue all things unto himself.

PHILIPPIANS CHAPTER 4

1 Therefore, my brethren dearly beloved and longed for, my joy and crown, so stand fast in the Lord, my dearly beloved.
2 I beseech Euodias, and beseech Syntyche, that they be of the same mind in the Lord.
3 And I intreat thee also, true yokefellow, help those women which laboured with me in the gospel, with Clement also, and with other my fellowlabourers, whose names are in the book of life.
4 Rejoice in the Lord alway: and again I say, Rejoice.
5 Let your moderation be known unto all men. The Lord is at hand.
6 Be careful for nothing; but in every thing by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made known unto God.
7 And the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, shall keep your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus.
8 Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things.
9 Those things, which ye have both learned, and received, and heard, and seen in me, do: and the God of peace shall be with you.
10 But I rejoiced in the Lord greatly, that now at the last your care of me hath flourished again; wherein ye were also careful, but ye lacked opportunity.
11 Not that I speak in respect of want: for I have learned, in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content.
12 I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound: every where and in all things I am instructed both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need.
13 I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me.
14 Notwithstanding ye have well done, that ye did communicate with my affliction.
15 Now ye Philippians know also, that in the beginning of the gospel, when I departed from Macedonia, no church communicated with me as concerning giving and receiving, but ye only.
16 For even in Thessalonica ye sent once and again unto my necessity.
17 Not because I desire a gift: but I desire fruit that may abound to your account.
18 But I have all, and abound: I am full, having received of Epaphroditus the things which were sent from you, an odour of a sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, wellpleasing to God.
19 But my God shall supply all your need according to his riches in glory by Christ Jesus.
20 Now unto God and our Father be glory for ever and ever. Amen.
21 Salute every saint in Christ Jesus. The brethren which are with me greet you.
22 All the saints salute you, chiefly they that are of Caesar's household.
23 The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.

THE EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS

or Paul to the citizens of Colossea, or just Colossians
Author: unknown (Saul of Tarsos, alleged)
Translation: King James Version
Estimated Range of Dating: 50-80 A.D.

(Several scholars dispute the authenticity of Colossians. Created 50-80 AD. Probably about 60 percent of critical scholarship holds that Paul did not write the letter but one of his disciples. Of these arguments, the strongest ones are those that maintain that Colossians shows a more developed theology in its christology, ecclesiology, and eschatology.)

Colossians (c. 62-90)

The Epistle of Paul to the Colossians, (or simply Colossians), is the twelfth book of the New Testament. It was written, according to the text, by Saul of Tarsos (Paul the Apostle) and Timothy to the Church in Colossae, a small Phrygian city near Laodicea and approximately 100 miles (160 km) from Ephesus in Asia Minor.

Scholars have increasingly questioned Paul's authorship and attributed the letter to an early follower instead. The authenticity of the letter, however, has been defended with equal strength. If Paul was the author, he probably used an amanuensis, or secretary, in writing the letter (Col 4:18), possibly Timothy.

The letter's authors claim to be Paul and Timothy, but authorship began to be authoritatively questioned during the 19th century.

However, as with several epistles attributed to Paul, critical scholarship disputes this claim. One ground is that the epistle's language doesn't seem to match Paul's, with 48 words appearing in Colossians that are found nowhere else in his writings and 33 of which occur nowhere else in the New Testament. A second ground is that the epistle features a strong use of liturgical-hymnic style which appears nowhere else in Paul's work to the same extent. A third is that the epistle's themes related to Christ, eschatology and the church seem to have no parallel in Paul's undisputed works.

Members of the congregation at Colossae may have been incorporating pagan elements into their practice, including worship of elemental spirits. The Epistle to the Colossians declares Christ's supremacy over the entire created universe and exhorts Christians to lead godly lives. The letter consists of two parts: first a doctrinal section, then a second regarding conduct. Those who believe that the impetus of the letter was a growing heresy in the church see both sections of the letter as opposing false teachers who have been spreading error in the congregation.[5] Others see both sections of the letter as primarily encouragement and edification for a developing church.[21]

Outline

1. Introduction (1:1–14)
A. Greetings (1:1–2)
B. Thanksgiving (1:3–8)
C. Prayer (1:9–14)
2. The Supremacy of Christ (1:15–23)
3. Paul's Labor for the Church (1:24–2:7)
A. A Ministry for the Sake of the Church (1:24–2:7)
B. A Concern for the Spiritual Welfare of His Readers (2:1–7)
4. Freedom from Human Regulations through Life with Christ (2:8–23)
A. Warning to Guard against the False Teachers (2:8–15)
B. Pleas to Reject the False Teachers (2:16–19)
C. An Analysis of the Heresy (2:20–23)
5. Rules for Holy Living (3:1–4:6)
A. The Old Self and the New Self (3:1–17)
B. Rules for Christian Households (3:18–4:1)
C. Further Instructions (4:2–6)
6. Final Greetings (4:7–18)

COLOSSIANS CHAPTER 1

1 Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God, and Timotheus our brother,
2 To the saints and faithful brethren in Christ which are at Colosse: Grace be unto you, and peace, from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.
3 We give thanks to God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, praying always for you,
4 Since we heard of your faith in Christ Jesus, and of the love which ye have to all the saints,
5 For the hope which is laid up for you in heaven, whereof ye heard before in the word of the truth of the gospel;
6 Which is come unto you, as it is in all the world; and bringeth forth fruit, as it doth also in you, since the day ye heard of it, and knew the grace of God in truth:
7 As ye also learned of Epaphras our dear fellowservant, who is for you a faithful minister of Christ;
8 Who also declared unto us your love in the Spirit.
9 For this cause we also, since the day we heard it, do not cease to pray for you, and to desire that ye might be filled with the knowledge of his will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding;
10 That ye might walk worthy of the Lord unto all pleasing, being fruitful in every good work, and increasing in the knowledge of God;
11 Strengthened with all might, according to his glorious power, unto all patience and longsuffering with joyfulness;
12 Giving thanks unto the Father, which hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light:
13 Who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son:
14 In whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins:
15 Who is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of every creature:
16 For by him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by him, and for him:
17 And he is before all things, and by him all things consist.

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18 And he is the head of the body, the church: who is the beginning, the firstborn from the dead; that in all things he might have the preeminence.
19 For it pleased the Father that in him should all fulness dwell;
20 And, having made peace through the blood of his cross, by him to reconcile all things unto himself; by him, I say, whether they be things in earth, or things in heaven.
21 And you, that were sometime alienated and enemies in your mind by wicked works, yet now hath he reconciled
22 In the body of his flesh through death, to present you holy and unblameable and unreproveable in his sight:
23 If ye continue in the faith grounded and settled, and be not moved away from the hope of the gospel, which ye have heard, and which was preached to every creature which is under heaven; whereof I Paul am made a minister;
24 Who now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for his body's sake, which is the church:
25 Whereof I am made a minister, according to the dispensation of God which is given to me for you, to fulfil the word of God;
26 Even the mystery which hath been hid from ages and from generations, but now is made manifest to his saints:
27 To whom God would make known what is the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles; which is Christ in you, the hope of glory:
28 Whom we preach, warning every man, and teaching every man in all wisdom; that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus:
29 Whereunto I also labour, striving according to his working, which worketh in me mightily.

COLOSSIANS CHAPTER 2

1 For I would that ye knew what great conflict I have for you, and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh;
2 That their hearts might be comforted, being knit together in love, and unto all riches of the full assurance of understanding, to the acknowledgement of the mystery of God, and of the Father, and of Christ;
3 In whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.
4 And this I say, lest any man should beguile you with enticing words.
5 For though I be absent in the flesh, yet am I with you in the spirit, joying and beholding your order, and the stedfastness of your faith in Christ.
6 As ye have therefore received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk ye in him:
7 Rooted and built up in him, and stablished in the faith, as ye have been taught, abounding therein with thanksgiving.
8 Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ.
9 For in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily.
10 And ye are complete in him, which is the head of all principality and power:
11 In whom also ye are circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ:
12 Buried with him in baptism, wherein also ye are risen with him through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead.
13 And you, being dead in your sins and the uncircumcision of your flesh, hath he quickened together with him, having forgiven you all trespasses;
14 Blotting out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross;
15 And having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them in it.
16 Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holyday, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath days:
17 Which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ.
18 Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind,
19 And not holding the Head, from which all the body by joints and bands having nourishment ministered, and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God.
20 Wherefore if ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances,
21 (Touch not; taste not; handle not;
22 Which all are to perish with the using;) after the commandments and doctrines of men?
23 Which things have indeed a shew of wisdom in will worship, and humility, and neglecting of the body: not in any honour to the satisfying of the flesh.

COLOSSIANS CHAPTER 3

1 If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God.
2 Set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth.
3 For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God.
4 When Christ, who is our life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with him in glory.
5 Mortify therefore your members which are upon the earth; fornication, uncleanness, inordinate affection, evil concupiscence, and covetousness, which is idolatry:
6 For which things' sake the wrath of God cometh on the children of disobedience:
7 In the which ye also walked some time, when ye lived in them.
8 But now ye also put off all these; anger, wrath, malice, blasphemy, filthy communication out of your mouth.
9 Lie not one to another, seeing that ye have put off the old man with his deeds;
10 And have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him:
11 Where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free: but Christ is all, and in all.
12 Put on therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, longsuffering;
13 Forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel against any: even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye.
14 And above all these things put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness.
15 And let the peace of God rule in your hearts, to the which also ye are called in one body; and be ye thankful.
16 Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom; teaching and admonishing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord.
17 And whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God and the Father by him.
18 Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as it is fit in the Lord.
19 Husbands, love your wives, and be not bitter against them.
20 Children, obey your parents in all things: for this is well pleasing unto the Lord.
21 Fathers, provoke not your children to anger, lest they be discouraged.
22 Servants, obey in all things your masters according to the flesh; not with eyeservice, as menpleasers; but in singleness of heart, fearing God;
23 And whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men;
24 Knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance: for ye serve the Lord Christ.
25 But he that doeth wrong shall receive for the wrong which he hath done: and there is no respect of persons.

COLOSSIANS CHAPTER 4

1 Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal; knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven.
2 Continue in prayer, and watch in the same with thanksgiving;
3 Withal praying also for us, that God would open unto us a door of utterance, to speak the mystery of Christ, for which I am also in bonds:
4 That I may make it manifest, as I ought to speak.
5 Walk in wisdom toward them that are without, redeeming the time.
6 Let your speech be alway with grace, seasoned with salt, that ye may know how ye ought to answer every man.
7 All my state shall Tychicus declare unto you, who is a beloved brother, and a faithful minister and fellowservant in the Lord:
8 Whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, that he might know your estate, and comfort your hearts;
9 With Onesimus, a faithful and beloved brother, who is one of you. They shall make known unto you all things which are done here.
10 Aristarchus my fellowprisoner saluteth you, and Marcus, sister's son to Barnabas, (touching whom ye received commandments: if he come unto you, receive him;)
11 And Jesus, which is called Justus, who are of the circumcision. These only are my fellowworkers unto the kingdom of God, which have been a comfort unto me.
12 Epaphras, who is one of you, a servant of Christ, saluteth you, always labouring fervently for you in prayers, that ye may stand perfect and complete in all the will of God.
13 For I bear him record, that he hath a great zeal for you, and them that are in Laodicea, and them in Hierapolis.
14 Luke, the beloved physician, and Demas, greet you.
15 Salute the brethren which are in Laodicea, and Nymphas, and the church which is in his house.
16 And when this epistle is read among you, cause that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans; and that ye likewise read the epistle from Laodicea.
17 And say to Archippus, Take heed to the ministry which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfil it.
18 The salutation by the hand of me Paul. Remember my bonds. Grace be with you. Amen.

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE TESSALONIANS

or Paul to the citizens of Tessalonika, or just 1 Thessalonians
Author: Sha'ul ha Tarsi / Saul of Tarsos
Translation: King James Version
Estimated Range of Dating: 50-60 A.D.

(The epistle to the Thessalonians is certainly one of the most ancient Christian documents in existence. It is typically dated c. 50/51 AD. It is universally assented to be an authentic letter of Paul. Thessalonika was the capital of the province of Macedonia and a large seaport. The letter is thought to have been written by Paul from Corinth a few months after founding a congregation there.)

First Thessalonians (c. 50 AD)

The First Epistle to the Thessalonians, commonly referred to as First Thessalonians or 1 Thessalonians, is a Pauline epistle of the New Testament of the Christian Bible. The epistle is attributed to Saul of Tarsos (Paul the "Apostle"), and is addressed to the church in Thessalonica, in modern-day Greece. It is likely the first of Paul's letters, probably written by the end of AD 52 (however, some scholars believe the Epistle to Galatians may have been written at an earlier date: AD 48).

For the most part, the letter is personal in nature, with only the final two chapters spent addressing issues of doctrine, almost as an aside. Paul's main purpose in writing is to encourage and reassure the Christians there. Paul urges them to go on working quietly while waiting in hope for the return of Christ. Unlike all subsequent Pauline epistles, 1 Thessalonians does not focus on justification by faith or questions of Jewish–Gentile relations, themes that are covered in all other letters. Many scholars see this as an indication that this letter was written before the Epistle to the Galatians, where Paul's positions on these matters were formed and elucidated.

The majority of New Testament scholars hold 1 Thessalonians to be authentic. 1 Thessalonians matches other accepted Pauline letters, both in style and in content, and its authorship is also affirmed by 2 Thessalonians.

1 Thessalonians 2:13–16 have often been regarded as a post-Pauline interpolation. The following arguments have been based on the content:

It is perceived to be theologically incompatible with Paul's other epistles: elsewhere Paul attributed Jesus's death to the "rulers of this age" (1 Cor 2:8) rather than to the Jews, and elsewhere Paul writes that the Jews have not been abandoned by God, for "all Israel will be saved" (Rom 11:26); According to 1 Thes 1:10, the wrath of God is still to come; it is not something that has already shown itself.

There were no extensive historical persecutions of Christians by Jews in Palestine prior to the first Jewish war.

The use of the concept of imitation in 1 Thes. 2.14 is singular.

The aorist eftasen ("has overtaken") refers to the destruction of Jerusalem.

The syntax of 1 Thes. 2:13–16 deviates significantly from that of the surrounding context.

It is also sometimes suggested that 1 Thes. 5:1–11 is a post-Pauline insertion that has many features of Lukan language and theology that serves as an apologetic correction to Paul's imminent expectation of the Second Coming in 1 Thes. 4:13–18.)

1 TESSALONIANS CHAPTER 1

1 Paul, and Silvanus, and Timotheus, unto the church of the Thessalonians which is in God the Father and in the Lord Jesus Christ: Grace be unto you, and peace, from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ.
2 We give thanks to God always for you all, making mention of you in our prayers;
3 Remembering without ceasing your work of faith, and labour of love, and patience of hope in our Lord Jesus Christ, in the sight of God and our Father;
4 Knowing, brethren beloved, your election of God.
5 For our gospel came not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance; as ye know what manner of men we were among you for your sake.
6 And ye became followers of us, and of the Lord, having received the word in much affliction, with joy of the Holy Ghost.
7 So that ye were ensamples to all that believe in Macedonia and Achaia.
8 For from you sounded out the word of the Lord not only in Macedonia and Achaia, but also in every place your faith to

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God-ward is spread abroad; so that we need not to speak any thing.
9 For they themselves shew of us what manner of entering in we had unto you, and how ye turned to God from idols to serve the living and true God;
10 And to wait for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead, even Jesus, which delivered us from the wrath to come.

1 TESSALONIANS CHAPTER 2
1 For yourselves, brethren, know our entrance in unto you, that it was not in vain:
2 But even after that we had suffered before, and were shamefully entreated, as ye know, at Philippi, we were bold in our God to speak unto you the gospel of God with much contention.
3 For our exhortation was not of deceit, nor of uncleanness, nor in guile:
4 But as we were allowed of God to be put in trust with the gospel, even so we speak; not as pleasing men, but God, which trieth our hearts.
5 For neither at any time used we flattering words, as ye know, nor a cloke of covetousness; God is witness:
6 Nor of men sought we glory, neither of you, nor yet of others, when we might have been burdensome, as the apostles of Christ.
7 But we were gentle among you, even as a nurse cherisheth her children:
8 So being affectionately desirous of you, we were willing to have imparted unto you, not the gospel of God only, but also our own souls, because ye were dear unto us.
9 For ye remember, brethren, our labour and travail: for labouring night and day, because we would not be chargeable unto any of you, we preached unto you the gospel of God.
10 Ye are witnesses, and God also, how holily and justly and unblameably we behaved ourselves among you that believe:
11 As ye know how we exhorted and comforted and charged every one of you, as a father doth his children,
12 That ye would walk worthy of God, who hath called you unto his kingdom and glory.
13 For this cause also thank we God without ceasing, because, when ye received the word of God which ye heard of us, ye received it not as the word of men, but as it is in truth, the word of God, which effectually worketh also in you that believe.
14 For ye, brethren, became followers of the churches of God which in Judaea are in Christ Jesus: for ye also have suffered like things of your own countrymen, even as they have of the Jews:
15 Who both killed the Lord Jesus, and their own prophets, and have persecuted us; and they please not God, and are contrary to all men:
16 Forbidding us to speak to the Gentiles that they might be saved, to fill up their sins alway: for the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost.
17 But we, brethren, being taken from you for a short time in presence, not in heart, endeavoured the more abundantly to see your face with great desire.
18 Wherefore we would have come unto you, even I Paul, once and again; but Satan hindered us.
19 For what is our hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing? Are not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming?
20 For ye are our glory and joy.

1 TESSALONIANS CHAPTER 3
1 Wherefore when we could no longer forbear, we thought it good to be left at Athens alone;
2 And sent Timotheus, our brother, and minister of God, and our fellowlabourer in the gospel of Christ, to establish you, and to comfort you concerning your faith:
3 That no man should be moved by these afflictions: for yourselves know that we are appointed thereunto.
4 For verily, when we were with you, we told you before that we should suffer tribulation; even as it came to pass, and ye know.
5 For this cause, when I could no longer forbear, I sent to know your faith, lest by some means the tempter have tempted you, and our labour be in vain.
6 But now when Timotheus came from you unto us, and brought us good tidings of your faith and charity, and that ye have good remembrance of us always, desiring greatly to see us, as we also to see you:
7 Therefore, brethren, we were comforted over you in all our affliction and distress by your faith:
8 For now we live, if ye stand fast in the Lord.
9 For what thanks can we render to God again for you, for all the joy wherewith we joy for your sakes before our God;
10 Night and day praying exceedingly that we might see your face, and might perfect that which is lacking in your faith?
11 Now God himself and our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, direct our way unto you.
12 And the Lord make you to increase and abound in love one toward another, and toward all men, even as we do toward you:
13 To the end he may stablish your hearts unblameable in holiness before God, even our Father, at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ with all his saints.

1 TESSALONIANS CHAPTER 4
1 Furthermore then we beseech you, brethren, and exhort you by the Lord Jesus, that as ye have received of us how ye ought to walk and to please God, so ye would abound more and more.
2 For ye know what commandments we gave you by the Lord Jesus.
3 For this is the will of God, even your sanctification, that ye should abstain from fornication:
4 That every one of you should know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour;
5 Not in the lust of concupiscence, even as the Gentiles which know not God:
6 That no man go beyond and defraud his brother in any matter: because that the Lord is the avenger of all such, as we also have forewarned you and testified.
7 For God hath not called us unto uncleanness, but unto holiness.
8 He therefore that despiseth, despiseth not man, but God, who hath also given unto us his holy Spirit.
9 But as touching brotherly love ye need not that I write unto you: for ye yourselves are taught of God to love one another.
10 And indeed ye do it toward all the brethren which are in all Macedonia: but we beseech you, brethren, that ye increase more and more;
11 And that ye study to be quiet, and to do your own business, and to work with your own hands, as we commanded you;
12 That ye may walk honestly toward them that are without, and that ye may have lack of nothing.
13 But I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope.
14 For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him.
15 For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep.
16 For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first:
17 Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord.
18 Wherefore comfort one another with these words.

1 TESSALONIANS CHAPTER 5
1 But of the times and the seasons, brethren, ye have no need that I write unto you.
2 For yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night.
3 For when they shall say, Peace and safety; then sudden destruction cometh upon them, as travail upon a woman with child; and they shall not escape.
4 But ye, brethren, are not in darkness, that that day should overtake you as a thief.
5 Ye are all the children of light, and the children of the day: we are not of the night, nor of darkness.
6 Therefore let us not sleep, as do others; but let us watch and be sober.
7 For they that sleep sleep in the night; and they that be drunken are drunken in the night.
8 But let us, who are of the day, be sober, putting on the breastplate of faith and love; and for an helmet, the hope of salvation.
9 For God hath not appointed us to wrath, but to obtain salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ,
10 Who died for us, that, whether we wake or sleep, we should live together with him.
11 Wherefore comfort yourselves together, and edify one another, even as also ye do.
12 And we beseech you, brethren, to know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you;
13 And to esteem them very highly in love for their work's sake. And be at peace among yourselves.
14 Now we exhort you, brethren, warn them that are unruly, comfort the feebleminded, support the weak, be patient toward all men.
15 See that none render evil for evil unto any man; but ever follow that which is good, both among yourselves, and to all men.
16 Rejoice evermore.
17 Pray without ceasing.
18 In every thing give thanks: for this is the will of God in Christ Jesus concerning you.
19 Quench not the Spirit.
20 Despise not prophesyings.
21 Prove all things; hold fast that which is good.
22 Abstain from all appearance of evil.
23 And the very God of peace sanctify you wholly; and I pray God your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.
24 Faithful is he that calleth you, who also will do it.
25 Brethren, pray for us.
26 Greet all the brethren with an holy kiss.
27 I charge you by the Lord that this epistle be read unto all the holy brethren.
28 The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. Amen.

THE SECOND EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE TESSALONIANS

or Paul to the citizens of Tessalonika, or just 2 Thessalonians
Author: unknown (Saul of Tarsos, alleged)
Translation: King James Version
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 49–51 / 80–115 A.D.

(The Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, commonly referred to as Second Thessalonians or 2 Thessalonians is a book from the New Testament of the Christian Bible. It is traditionally attributed to Paul the Apostle, with Timothy as a co-author. Modern biblical scholarship is divided on whether the epistle was written by Paul; many scholars reject its authenticity based on what they see as differences in style and theology between this and the First Epistle to the Thessalonians.

Scholars who support its authenticity view it as having been written around 51–52 AD, shortly after the First Epistle. Those who see it as a later composition assign a date of around 80–115 AD.

The authenticity of this epistle is still in widespread dispute. If we only possessed Second Thessalonians few scholars would doubt that Paul wrote it; but when Second Thessalonians is put alongside First Thessalonians then doubts appear. There is a great dissimilarity between the two; this is not only one of words, small phrases and concepts but extends to the total structure of the two letters which is in addition different from what is taken to be the standard Pauline form. At the same time the second letter is alleged to be less intimate and personal in tone than the first, and in some of its teaching, particularly in relation to eschatology, to conflict with the first.

The first part of the letter praises this church for keeping their faith even though others were against them. The letter has a whole chapter mainly about the Second Coming of Christ. Someone had told the Thessalonians that Christ had already returned. Paul says this is not true. (chapter 2, verses 1 to 12). He tells the Thessalonians that a great tribulation (time of trouble) must occur before Christ's return. Since this has not yet happened, Christ cannot have returned yet. He then gives thanks that his readers were chosen by God for salvation and saved by His grace through faith, and so would not be deceived by false teachings. (Chapter 2, verses 13 and14)

The letter then tells the Thessalonian church to stand firm in their faith, and to "keep away from every brother who leads an unruly(evil) life and not according to the tradition which you received from us... do not associate (stay) with him, so that he will be put to shame. Yet do not regard him as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother" (Chapter 3, verses 6,7, 14 and 15).)

2 TESSALONIANS CHAPTER 1
1 Paul, and Silvanus, and Timotheus, unto the church of the Thessalonians in God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ:
2 Grace unto you, and peace, from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.
3 We are bound to thank God always for you, brethren, as it is meet, because that your faith groweth exceedingly, and the charity of every one of you all toward each other aboundeth;
4 So that we ourselves glory in you in the churches of God for your patience and faith in all your persecutions and tribulations that ye endure:
5 Which is a manifest token of the righteous judgement of God, that ye may be counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for which ye also suffer:
6 Seeing it is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you;
7 And to you who are troubled rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels,
8 In flaming fire taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ:
9 Who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power;
10 When he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be admired in all them that believe (because our testimony among you was believed) in that day.

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11 Wherefore also we pray always for you, that our God would count you worthy of this calling, and fulfil all the good pleasure of his goodness, and the work of faith with power:
12 That the name of our Lord Jesus Christ may be glorified in you, and ye in him, according to the grace of our God and the Lord Jesus Christ.

2 TESSALONIANS CHAPTER 2
1 Now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together unto him,
2 That ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand.
3 Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition;
4 Who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God.
5 Remember ye not, that, when I was yet with you, I told you these things?
6 And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time.
7 For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way.
8 And then shall that Wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming:
9 Even him, whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders,
10 And with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved.
11 And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie:
12 That they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.
13 But we are bound to give thanks alway to God for you, brethren beloved of the Lord, because God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth:
14 Whereunto he called you by our gospel, to the obtaining of the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ.
15 Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle.
16 Now our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and God, even our Father, which hath loved us, and hath given us everlasting consolation and good hope through grace,
17 Comfort your hearts, and stablish you in every good word and work.

2 TESSALONIANS CHAPTER 3
1 Finally, brethren, pray for us, that the word of the Lord may have free course, and be glorified, even as it is with you:
2 And that we may be delivered from unreasonable and wicked men: for all men have not faith.
3 But the Lord is faithful, who shall stablish you, and keep you from evil.
4 And we have confidence in the Lord touching you, that ye both do and will do the things which we command you.
5 And the Lord direct your hearts into the love of God, and into the patient waiting for Christ.
6 Now we command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which he received of us.
7 For yourselves know how ye ought to follow us: for we behaved not ourselves disorderly among you;
8 Neither did we eat any man's bread for nought; but wrought with labour and travail night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any of you:
9 Not because we have not power, but to make ourselves an ensample unto you to follow us.
10 For even when we were with you, this we commanded you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat.
11 For we hear that there are some which walk among you disorderly, working not at all, but are busybodies.
12 Now them that are such we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work, and eat their own bread.
13 But ye, brethren, be not weary in well doing.
14 And if any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed.
15 Yet count him not as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother.
16 Now the Lord of peace himself give you peace always by all means. The Lord be with you all.
17 The salutation of Paul with mine own hand, which is the token in every epistle: so I write.
18 The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO TIMOTHY
or First Timothy, or just 1 Timothy
or: The First Pastoral Epistle
Author: unknown (Saul of Tarsos, alleged)
Translation: King James Version
Estimated Range of Dating: 100-150 A.D.

(The First Epistle of Paul to Timothy is one of three letters in the New Testament of the Bible often grouped together as the Pastoral Epistles, along with Second Timothy and Titus. The letter, traditionally attributed to the Apostle Paul, consists mainly of counsels to his younger colleague and delegate Timothy regarding his ministry in Ephesus (1:3).

Historians generally place its composition some time in the late 1st century or first half of the 2nd century AD, with a wide margin of uncertainty. The earliest known writing of 1 Timothy has been found on the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 5259. It comes from a leaf of a codex which is dated to the 3rd century

This historical relationship between Paul and Timothy is one of mentorship. Timothy is first mentioned in Acts 16:1. His mother Eunice, and his grandmother, Lois, are mentioned in 2 Timothy 1:5. All that we know of his father is that he was a Greek, not a Jew (Acts 16:1).)

First Timothy (c. 62–64 / 180)
(1st Pastoral Epistle)

The First Epistle of Paul to Timothy, usually referred to simply as First Timothy and often written 1 Timothy, is one of three letters in the New Testament of the Bible often grouped together as the Pastoral Epistles, along with Second Timothy and Titus. The letter, traditionally attributed to the Saul of Tarsos (Apostle Paul), consists mainly of counsels to his younger colleague and delegate Timothy regarding his ministry in Ephesus (1:3).

These counsels include instructions on the organisation of the Church and the responsibilities resting on certain groups of leaders therein as well as exhortations to faithfulness in maintaining the truth amid surrounding errors. In fact what we here before us is a blueprint for an early Book of Law.

Modern scholars generally place its composition some time in the late 1st century or first half of the 2nd century AD, with a wide margin of uncertainty. The text seems to be contending against nascent Gnosticism (1 Timothy 1:4, 1 Timothy 4:3), which would suggest a later date due to Gnosticism developing primarily in the latter 1st century. The term Gnosis ("knowledge") itself occurs in 1 Timothy 6:20. If the parallels between 1 Timothy and Polycarp's epistle are understood as a literary dependence by the latter on the former, as is generally accepted, this would constitute a terminus ante quem of AD 130–155. However, Irenaeus (writing c. AD 180) is the earliest author to clearly and unequivocally describe the Pastorals. The earliest known writing of 1 Timothy has been found on Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 5259, designated P133, in 2017. It comes from a leaf of a codex which is dated to the 3rd century.

The author of this epistle writes to Timothy concerning the organisation of the church and Timothy's own leadership within the body. Major themes include the use of The Law (1 Timothy 1:7–11), warnings against false doctrine such as Encratism, instructions for prayer (1 Timothy 2:1–8), roles of women in the church, qualifications for leaders of the church (1 Timothy 3:1–13), and the treatment of widows, elders, masters, youth, and church members in general (1 Timothy 5:1–5:20).

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Outline
1. Salutation (1:1–2)
2. Negative Instructions: Stop the False Teachers (1:3–20)
A. Warning against False Teachers (1:3–11)
1. The Charge to Timothy Stated (1:3)
2. Their Wrong Use of the Law (1:4–7)
3. The Right Use of the Law (1:8–11)
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3. Positive Instructions: Repair the Church (2:1–6:10)
A. Restoring the Conduct of the Church (2:1–3:16)
1. Instructions on Public Worship (2:1–15)
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3. Summary (3:14–16)
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1. Men and Women, Young and Old (5:1–2)
2. Widows (5:3–16)
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4. Personal Instructions: Pursue Godliness (6:11–21)
A. Fight the Good Fight (6:11–16)
B. A Final Word to the Wealthy (6:17–19)
C. Guard What has been Entrusted (6:20–21)

1 TIMOTHY CHAPTER 1
1 Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ by the commandment of God our Saviour, and Lord Jesus Christ, which is our hope;
2 Unto Timothy, my own son in the faith: Grace, mercy, and peace, from God our Father and Jesus Christ our Lord.
3 As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some that they teach no other doctrine,
4 Neither give heed to fables and endless genealogies, which minister questions, rather than godly edifying which is in faith: so do.
5 Now the end of the commandment is charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned:
6 From which some having swerved have turned aside unto vain jangling;
7 Desiring to be teachers of the law; understanding neither what they say, nor whereof they affirm.
8 But we know that the law is good, if a man use it lawfully;
9 Knowing this, that the law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and for sinners, for unholy and profane, for murderers of fathers and murderers of mothers, for manslayers,
10 For whoremongers, for them that defile themselves with mankind, for menstealers, for liars, for perjured persons, and if there be any other thing that is contrary to sound doctrine;
11 According to the glorious gospel of the blessed God, which was committed to my trust.
12 And I thank Christ Jesus our Lord, who hath enabled me, for that he counted me faithful, putting me into the ministry;
13 Who was before a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and injurious: but I obtained mercy, because I did it ignorantly in unbelief.
14 And the grace of our Lord was exceeding abundant with faith and love which is in Christ Jesus.
15 This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am chief.
16 Howbeit for this cause I obtained mercy, that in me first Jesus Christ might shew forth all longsuffering, for a pattern to them which should hereafter believe on him to life everlasting.
17 Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen.
18 This charge I commit unto thee, son Timothy, according to the prophecies which went before on thee, that thou by them mightest war a good warfare;
19 Holding faith, and a good conscience; which some having put away concerning faith have made shipwreck:
20 Of whom is Hymenaeus and Alexander; whom I have delivered unto Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme.

1 TIMOTHY CHAPTER 2
1 I exhort therefore, that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men;
2 For kings, and for all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.
3 For this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour;
4 Who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth.
5 For there is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus;
6 Who gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time.
7 Whereunto I am ordained a preacher, and an apostle, (I speak the truth in Christ, and lie not;) a teacher of the Gentiles in faith and verity.
8 I will therefore that men pray every where, lifting up holy hands, without wrath and doubting.

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9 In like manner also, that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety; not with broided hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array;
10 But (which becometh women professing godliness) with good works.
11 Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection.
12 But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence.
13 For Adam was first formed, then Eve.
14 And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression.
15 Notwithstanding she shall be saved in childbearing, if they continue in faith and charity and holiness with sobriety.

1 TIMOTHY CHAPTER 3
1 This is a true saying, If a man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work.
2 A bishop then must be blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach;
3 Not given to wine, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre; but patient, not a brawler, not covetous;
4 One that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity;
5 (For if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the church of God?)
6 Not a novice, lest being lifted up with pride he fall into the condemnation of the devil.
7 Moreover he must have a good report of them which are without; lest he fall into reproach and the snare of the devil.
8 Likewise must the deacons be grave, not doubletongued, not given to much wine, not greedy of filthy lucre;
9 Holding the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience.
10 And let these also first be proved; then let them use the office of a deacon, being found blameless.
11 Even so must their wives be grave, not slanderers, sober, faithful in all things.
12 Let the deacons be the husbands of one wife, ruling their children and their own houses well.
13 For they that have used the office of a deacon well purchase to themselves a good degree, and great boldness in the faith which is in Christ Jesus.
14 These things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly:
15 But if I tarry long, that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth.
16 And without controversy great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory.

1 TIMOTHY CHAPTER 4
1 Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils;
2 Speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience seared with a hot iron;
3 Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth.
4 For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving:
5 For it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer.
6 If thou put the brethren in remembrance of these things, thou shalt be a good minister of Jesus Christ, nourished up in the words of faith and of good doctrine, whereunto thou hast attained.
7 But refuse profane and old wives' fables, and exercise thyself rather unto godliness.
8 For bodily exercise profiteth little: but godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.
9 This is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptation.
10 For therefore we both labour and suffer reproach, because we trust in the living God, who is the Saviour of all men, specially of those that believe.
11 These things command and teach.
12 Let no man despise thy youth; but be thou an example of the believers, in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity.
13 Till I come, give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine.
14 Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery.
15 Meditate upon these things; give thyself wholly to them; that thy profiting may appear to all.
16 Take heed unto thyself, and unto the doctrine; continue in them: for in doing this thou shalt both save thyself, and them that hear thee.

1 TIMOTHY CHAPTER 5
1 Rebuke not an elder, but intreat him as a father; and the younger men as brethren;
2 The elder women as mothers; the younger as sisters, with all purity.
3 Honour widows that are widows indeed.
4 But if any widow have children or nephews, let them learn first to shew piety at home, and to requite their parents: for that is good and acceptable before God.
5 Now she that is a widow indeed, and desolate, trusteth in God, and continueth in supplications and prayers night and day.
6 But she that liveth in pleasure is dead while she liveth.
7 And these things give in charge, that they may be blameless.
8 But if any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel.
9 Let not a widow be taken into the number under threescore years old, having been the wife of one man.
10 Well reported of for good works; if she have brought up children, if she have lodged strangers, if she have washed the saints' feet, if she have relieved the afflicted, if she have diligently followed every good work.
11 But the younger widows refuse: for when they have begun to wax wanton against Christ, they will marry;
12 Having damnation, because they have cast off their first faith.
13 And withal they learn to be idle, wandering about from house to house; and not only idle, but tattlers also and busybodies, speaking things which they ought not.
14 I will therefore that the younger women marry, bear children, guide the house, give none occasion to the adversary to speak reproachfully.
15 For some are already turned aside after Satan.
16 If any man or woman that believeth have widows, let them relieve them, and let not the church be charged; that it may relieve them that are widows indeed.
17 Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour, especially they who labour in the word and doctrine.
18 For the scripture saith, Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn. And, The labourer is worthy of his reward.
19 Against an elder receive not an accusation, but before two or three witnesses.
20 Them that sin rebuke before all, that others also may fear.
21 I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels, that thou observe these things without preferring one before another, doing nothing by partiality.
22 Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men's sins: keep thyself pure.
23 Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities.
24 Some men's sins are open beforehand, going before to judgement; and some men they follow after.
25 Likewise also the good works of some are manifest beforehand; and they that are otherwise cannot be hid.

1 TIMOTHY CHAPTER 6
1 Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honour, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed.
2 And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren; but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit. These things teach and exhort.
3 If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness;
4 He is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings,
5 Perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth, supposing that gain is godliness: from such withdraw thyself.
6 But godliness with contentment is great gain.
7 For we brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out.
8 And having food and raiment let us be therewith content.
9 But they that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition.
10 For the love of money is the root of all evil: which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows.
11 But thou, O man of God, flee these things; and follow after righteousness, godliness, faith, love, patience, meekness.
12 Fight the good fight of faith, lay hold on eternal life, whereunto thou art also called, and hast professed a good profession before many witnesses.
13 I give thee charge in the sight of God, who quickeneth all things, and before Christ Jesus, who before Pontius Pilate witnessed a good confession;
14 That thou keep this commandment without spot, unrebukable, until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ:
15 Which in his times he shall shew, who is the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords;
16 Who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto; whom no man hath seen, nor can see: to whom be honour and power everlasting. Amen.
17 Charge them that are rich in this world, that they be not highminded, nor trust in uncertain riches, but in the living God, who giveth us richly all things to enjoy;
18 That they do good, that they be rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate;
19 Laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold on eternal life.
20 O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called:
21 Which some professing have erred concerning the faith. Grace be with thee. Amen.

THE SECOND EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO TIMOTHY

or Second Timothy, or 2 Timothy
or: The Second Pastoral Epistle
Author: unknown (Saul of Tarsos, alleged)
Translation: King James Version
Estimated Range of Dating: 100-150 A.D.

(In the New Testament, the Second Epistle of Paul to Timothy, usually referred to simply as Second Timothy and often written 2 Timothy or II Timothy, is one of the three pastoral epistles traditionally attributed to Paul the Apostle. The three epistles are called "pastoral" because they relate to the conduct of church leaders, thought of as pastors (literally shepherds). It is traditionally considered to be the last epistle he wrote before his death. It is addressed to Timothy, a fellow missionary.

The Epistle advocates endurance as the main quality for a preacher of the gospel. As a good soldier for Jesus Christ, he is to be pure, noble, and ready to take his share of suffering. In Paul's farewell, he describes himself as at the end of his career and awaiting the crown of righteousness.

Although the Pastorals are written under Paul's name, they are different from his other epistles, and since the early 19th century, scholars have increasingly seen them as the work of an unknown student of Paul's doctrine. They are believed to have been written between 90 and 140. They do not address Paul's common themes, such as the believers' unity with Christ, and they reflect a church hierarchy that is more organized and defined than the church was in Paul's time. Some scholars refer to the assumedly pseudonymous author as "the Pastor". Some recent scholarship has concluded that Paul probably used an amanuensis, or secretary, in writing his letters which was a common practice in the first century.

In the letter, Paul tells Timothy not to have a "spirit of fear" and not to "be ashamed to talk openly about our Lord (Jesus)" (Chapter 1, verses 7 and 8). He also tells Timothy to come to visit him before winter, and to bring Mark with him (cf. Philippians Chapter 2, verse 22). He thought that "the time of his death was at hand" (Chapter 4 ,verse 6), and he tells his "son Timothy" to work hard and be strong in the face of false teachings, and to be faithful in all the duties of his office of pastor (Chapter 4, verses 1 to 5), knowing that he would someday stand before the Judge of the living and the dead (God).

Paul thinks he will soon be killed and talks about that. In Chapter 4, verses 6 to 8 he writes "For I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course(race), I have kept the faith: in the future there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day: and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing.")

2 TIMOTHY CHAPTER 1
1 Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God, according to the promise of life which is in Christ Jesus,
2 To Timothy, my dearly beloved son: Grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father and Christ Jesus our Lord.
3 I thank God, whom I serve from my forefathers with pure conscience, that without ceasing I have remembrance of thee in my prayers night and day;
4 Greatly desiring to see thee, being mindful of thy tears, that I may be filled with joy;
5 When I call to remembrance the unfeigned faith that is in thee, which dwelt first in thy grandmother Lois, and thy mother Eunice; and I am persuaded that in thee also.
6 Wherefore I put thee in remembrance that thou stir up the gift of God, which is in thee by the putting on of my hands.
7 For God hath not given us the spirit of fear; but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind.
8 Be not thou therefore ashamed of the testimony of our Lord, nor of me his prisoner: but be thou partaker of the afflictions of the gospel according to the power of God;

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9 Who hath saved us, and called us with an holy calling, not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began,

10 But is now made manifest by the appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality to light through the gospel:

11 Whereunto I am appointed a preacher, and an apostle, and a teacher of the Gentiles.

12 For the which cause I also suffer these things: nevertheless I am not ashamed: for I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day.

13 Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me, in faith and love which is in Christ Jesus.

14 That good thing which was committed unto thee keep by the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us.

15 This thou knowest, that all they which are in Asia be turned away from me; of whom are Phygellus and Hermogenes.

16 The Lord give mercy unto the house of Onesiphorus; for he oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain:

17 But, when he was in Rome, he sought me out very diligently, and found me.

18 The Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day: and in how many things he ministered unto me at Ephesus, thou knowest very well.

2 TIMOTHY CHAPTER 2

1 Thou therefore, my son, be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus.

2 And the things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also.

3 Thou therefore endure hardness, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.

4 No man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life; that he may please him who hath chosen him to be a soldier.

5 And if a man also strive for masteries, yet is he not crowned, except he strive lawfully.

6 The husbandman that laboureth must be first partaker of the fruits.

7 Consider what I say; and the Lord give thee understanding in all things.

8 Remember that Jesus Christ of the seed of David was raised from the dead according to my gospel:

9 Wherein I suffer trouble, as an evil doer, even unto bonds; but the word of God is not bound.

10 Therefore I endure all things for the elect's sakes, that they may also obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus with eternal glory.

11 It is a faithful saying: For if we be dead with him, we shall also live with him:

12 If we suffer, we shall also reign with him: if we deny him, he also will deny us:

13 If we believe not, yet he abideth faithful: he cannot deny himself.

14 Of these things put them in remembrance, charging them before the Lord that they strive not about words to no profit, but to the subverting of the hearers.

15 Study to shew thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth.

16 But shun profane and vain babblings: for they will increase unto more ungodliness.

17 And their word will eat as doth a canker: of whom is Hymenaeus and Philetus;

18 Who concerning the truth have erred, saying that the resurrection is past already; and overthrow the faith of some.

19 Nevertheless the foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are his. And, Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity.

20 But in a great house there are not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and of earth; and some to honour, and some to dishonour.

21 If a man therefore purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honour, sanctified, and meet for the master's use, and prepared unto every good work.

22 Flee also youthful lusts: but follow righteousness, faith, charity, peace, with them that call on the Lord out of a pure heart.

23 But foolish and unlearned questions avoid, knowing that they do gender strifes.

24 And the servant of the Lord must not strive; but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient,

25 In meekness instructing those that oppose themselves; if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth;

26 And that they may recover themselves out of the snare of the devil, who are taken captive by him at his will.

2 TIMOTHY CHAPTER 3

1 This know also, that in the last days perilous times shall come.

2 For men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy,

3 Without natural affection, trucebreakers, false accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of those that are good,

4 Traitors, heady, highminded, lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God;

5 Having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof: from such turn away.

6 For of this sort are they which creep into houses, and lead captive silly women laden with sins, led away with divers lusts,

7 Ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth.

8 Now as Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so do these also resist the truth: men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith.

9 But they shall proceed no further: for their folly shall be manifest unto all men, as their's also was.

10 But thou hast fully known my doctrine, manner of life, purpose, faith, longsuffering, charity, patience,

11 Persecutions, afflictions, which came unto me at Antioch, at Iconium, at Lystra; what persecutions I endured: but out of them all the Lord delivered me.

12 Yea, and all that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution.

13 But evil men and seducers shall wax worse and worse, deceiving, and being deceived.

14 But continue thou in the things which thou hast learned and hast been assured of, knowing of whom thou hast learned them;

15 And that from a child thou hast known the holy scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus.

16 All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness:

17 That the man of God may be perfect, throughly furnished unto all good works.

2 TIMOTHY CHAPTER 4

1 I charge thee therefore before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead at his appearing and his kingdom;

2 Preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all longsuffering and doctrine.

3 For the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine; but after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears;

4 And they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables.

5 But watch thou in all things, endure afflictions, do the work of an evangelist, make full proof of thy ministry.

6 For I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand.

7 I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith:

8 Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day: and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing.

9 Do thy diligence to come shortly unto me:

10 For Demas hath forsaken me, having loved this present world, and is departed unto Thessalonica; Crescens to Galatia, Titus unto Dalmatia.

11 Only Luke is with me. Take Mark, and bring him with thee: for he is profitable to me for the ministry.

12 And Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus.

13 The cloke that I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comest, bring with thee, and the books, but especially the parchments.

14 Alexander the coppersmith did me much evil: the Lord reward him according to his works:

15 Of whom be thou ware also; for he hath greatly withstood our words.

16 At my first answer no man stood with me, but all men forsook me: I pray God that it may not be laid to their charge.

17 Notwithstanding the Lord stood with me, and strengthened me; that by me the preaching might be fully known, and that all the Gentiles might hear: and I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion.

18 And the Lord shall deliver me from every evil work, and will preserve me unto his heavenly kingdom: to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

19 Salute Prisca and Aquila, and the household of Onesiphorus.

20 Erastus abode at Corinth: but Trophimus have I left at Miletum sick.

21 Do thy diligence to come before winter. Eubulus greeteth thee, and Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren.

22 The Lord Jesus Christ be with thy spirit. Grace be with you. Amen.

THE EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO TITUS

or Second Timothy, or 2 Timothy
or: The Third Pastoral Epistle
Author: unknown (Saul of Tarsos, alleged)
Translation: King James Version
Estimated Range of Dating: 100-150 A.D.

(The Epistle of Paul to Titus, usually referred to simply as Titus, is one of the three Pastoral Epistles (along with 1 Timothy and 2 Timothy) in the New Testament. Traditionally the letter is attributed to the apostle Paul but it is considered pseudepigraphic (of unknown authorship) by most scholars. It is addressed to the missionary Titus and describes the requirements and duties of elders and bishops. Titus is usually one of the three Pastoral epistles attributed to Paul. Titus shares many similarities with 1 Timothy, such as similar phrases and expressions and similar subject matter.

Titus was an early Christian missionary and church leader, a companion and disciple of the Apostle Paul, mentioned in several of the Pauline epistles. Titus is believed to be a Greek Gentile (non-Jew), probably from Antioch, who is said to have studied Greek philosophy and poetry in his early years. He was converted to Christianity by Paul whereupon he served as Paul's secretary and interpreter. Titus was specially entrusted with collecting funds for poor Christians of Judaea and then acted as a commissioner of Paul at Corinth, where he replaced Timothy. In the year 49, Titus accompanied Paul to the council held at Jerusalem, on the subject of the Mosaic rites. Although Paul had consented to the circumcision of Timothy, in order to render his ministry acceptable among the Jews, he would not allow the same in regard to Titus, so as not to seem in agreement with those who would require it for Gentile converts. It seems that early Christian missionaries tried to catch converts by example. Titus went to the Island of Crete and there he appointed presbyters (elders) in every city Paul summoned Titus from Crete to join him at Nicopolis in Epirus. Later, Titus traveled to Dalmatia. He returned to Crete and remained there into his old age. Later tradition made him bishop of Crete. The New Testament does not record his death.)

The Epistle of Paul to Titus, usually referred to simply as Titus, is one of the three pastoral epistles (along with 1 Timothy and 2 Timothy) in the New Testament, historically attributed to Paul the Apostle. It is addressed to Saint Titus and describes the requirements and duties of elders and bishops.

Not mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, Saint Titus was noted in Galatians (cf. Gal. 2:1, 3) where Paul wrote of journeying to Jerusalem with Barnabas, accompanied by Titus. He was then dispatched to Corinth, Greece, where he successfully reconciled the Christian community there with Paul, its founder. Titus was later left on the island of Crete to help organize the Church, and later met back with the Apostle Paul in Nicopolis. He soon went to Dalmatia (now Croatia). According to Eusebius of Caesarea in the Ecclesiastical History, he served as the first bishop of Crete. He was buried in Cortyna (Gortyna), Crete; his head was later removed to Venice during the invasion of Crete by the Saracens in 832 and was enshrined in St Mark's Basilica, Venice, Italy.

Titus (Greek: Titos; died: 96 or 107 AD) was an early Christian missionary and church leader, a companion and disciple of Saul of Tarsos (Paul the Apostle), mentioned in several of the Pauline epistles including the Epistle to Titus. All we know about early Christian persons and events are parts of "Church tradition", and this source is highly unreliable.

According to that tradition, Titus is believed to be a Gentile converted to Christianity by Paul and, according to tradition, he was consecrated as Bishop of the Island of Crete. There are no Roman records on Titus the Bishop or on Titus Favius Clemens the Pope Clement I (who was a companion of the Apostle Simon Peter at a time) and almost no records on Titus Flavius Clemens the consul either. All three persons have their date of death in common. Titus Flavius Clemens the consul died in 95 or 96, Titus Favius Clemens the Pope Clement I died some time between 95 and 99, and Titus the Bishop of Crete died either in 95 or in 107. That Titus the companion of Saul of Tarsos is described as "Greek" is at least doubtful as "Titus" is a Roman name closely related to the Flavian family. However, all Flavians (like all members of the Roman upper class) spoke fluent Greek due to their education at Greek schools.)

TITUS CHAPTER 1

1 Paul, a servant of God, and an apostle of Jesus Christ, according to the faith of God's elect, and the acknowledging of the truth which is after godliness;

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2 In hope of eternal life, which God, that cannot lie, promised before the world began;
3 But hath in due times manifested his word through preaching, which is committed unto me according to the commandment of God our Saviour;
4 To Titus, mine own son after the common faith: Grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour.
5 For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee:
6 If any be blameless, the husband of one wife, having faithful children not accused of riot or unruly.
7 For a bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God; not selfwilled, not soon angry, not given to wine, no striker, not given to filthy lucre;
8 But a lover of hospitality, a lover of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate;
9 Holding fast the faithful word as he hath been taught, that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers.
10 For there are many unruly and vain talkers and deceivers, specially they of the circumcision:
11 Whose mouths must be stopped, who subvert whole houses, teaching things which they ought not, for filthy lucre's sake.
12 One of themselves, even a prophet of their own, said, The Cretians are alway liars, evil beasts, slow bellies.
13 This witness is true. Wherefore rebuke them sharply, that they may be sound in the faith;
14 Not giving heed to Jewish fables, and commandments of men, that turn from the truth.
15 Unto the pure all things are pure: but unto them that are defiled and unbelieving is nothing pure; but even their mind and conscience is defiled.
16 They profess that they know God; but in works they deny him, being abominable, and disobedient, and unto every good work reprobate.

TITUS CHAPTER 2

1 But speak thou the things which become sound doctrine:
2 That the aged men be sober, grave, temperate, sound in faith, in charity, in patience.
3 The aged women likewise, that they be in behaviour as becometh holiness, not false accusers, not given to much wine, teachers of good things;
4 That they may teach the young women to be sober, to love their husbands, to love their children,
5 To be discreet, chaste, keepers at home, good, obedient to their own husbands, that the word of God be not blasphemed.
6 Young men likewise exhort to be sober minded.
7 In all things shewing thyself a pattern of good works: in doctrine shewing uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity,
8 Sound speech, that cannot be condemned; that he that is of the contrary part may be ashamed, having no evil thing to say of you.
9 Exhort servants to be obedient unto their own masters, and to please them well in all things; not answering again;
10 Not purloining, but shewing all good fidelity; that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things.
11 For the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men,
12 Teaching us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world;
13 Looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ;
14 Who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.
15 These things speak, and exhort, and rebuke with all authority. Let no man despise thee.

TITUS CHAPTER 3

1 Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, to be ready to every good work,
2 To speak evil of no man, to be no brawlers, but gentle, shewing all meekness unto all men.
3 For we ourselves also were sometimes foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful, and hating one another.
4 But after that the kindness and love of God our Saviour toward man appeared,
5 Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost;
6 Which he shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour;
7 That being justified by his grace, we should be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life.
8 This is a faithful saying, and these things I will that thou affirm constantly, that they which have believed in God might be careful to maintain good works. These things are good and profitable unto men.
9 But avoid foolish questions, and genealogies, and contentions, and strivings about the law; for they are unprofitable and vain.
10 A man that is an heretick after the first and second admonition reject;
11 Knowing that he that is such is subverted, and sinneth, being condemned of himself.
12 When I shall send Artemas unto thee, or Tychicus, be diligent to come unto me to Nicopolis: for I have determined there to winter.
13 Bring Zenas the lawyer and Apollos on their journey diligently, that nothing be wanting unto them.
14 And let our's also learn to maintain good works for necessary uses, that they be not unfruitful.
15 All that are with me salute thee. Greet them that love us in the faith. Grace be with you all. Amen.

THE EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE AND TIMOTHY TO PHILEMON

or Paul to Philemon, or just Philemon
Author: Sha'ul ha Tarsi / Saul of Tarsos
Estimated Range of Dating: 50-60 A.D.
Translation: King James Version

(The Epistle of Paul to Philemon, known simply as Philemon, is one of the books of the Christian New Testament. It is a prison letter, co-authored by Saul of Tarsos (Paul the Apostle) with Timothy, to Philemon, a leader in the Colossian church. It deals with the themes of forgiveness and reconciliation. Paul does not identify himself as an apostle with authority, but as "a prisoner of Jesus Christ", calling Timothy "our brother", and addressing Philemon as "fellow labourer" and "brother."(Philemon 1:1; 1:7; 1:20) Onesimus, a slave that had departed from his master Philemon, was returning with this epistle wherein Paul asked Philemon to receive him as a "brother beloved."(Philemon 1:9–17) Philemon was a wealthy Christian, possibly a bishop of the house church that met in his home (Philemon 1:1–2) in Colosse. This letter is now generally regarded as one of the undisputed works of Paul. It is the shortest of Paul's extant letters, consisting of only 335 words in the Greek text.

Paul wrote this letter on behalf of Onesimus, who may have been a runaway slave who had wronged his owner Philemon. We do not know what Onesimus had done, but perhaps he ran away after stealing money. Paul says in verse 18 that if Onesimus owes anything, Philemon should charge it to Paul's account. It is thought that Philemon lived in Colossae; in the letter to the Colossians, Onesimus (the slave who fled from Philemon) and Archippus (whom Paul greets in the letter to Philemon) are said to be members of the church there. Paul says that Onesimus has been very helpful to him while he was in prison in Rome. He would like for Philemon to free him and send him back to Rome. Paul says that Philemon should receive him not as a slave but as a brother. Paul did not seem to think that Onesimus should be punished, even though Roman law allowed the owner of a runaway slave to punish or even kill them.

Philemon is generally accepted to be an authentic letter of Paul. Creation: 50-60 AD. It is the shortest of Paul's extant letters, consisting of only 335 words in the Greek text. The grounds for acceptance are simple; the letter is a short, mundane one, and presents no difficulties for Pauline authorship in style or thought.) Paul does not identify himself as an apostle with authority, but as "a prisoner for Jesus Christ", calling Timothy "our brother", and addressing Philemon as "fellow labourer" and "brother." The letter is addressed to Philemon, Apphia and Archippus, and the church in Philemon's house. It is generally assumed that he lived in Colossae; in the letter to the Colossians, Onesimus, the slave who fled from his master Philemon, was returning with this epistle wherein Paul asked Philemon to receive him as a "brother beloved." and Archippus (whom Paul greets in the letter to Philemon) are described as members of the church there. Philemon may have converted to Christianity through Paul's ministry, possibly in Ephesus. Philemon was a wealthy Christian, possibly a bishop of the house church that met in his home (Philemon 1:1–2) in Colossae. Apphia in the salutation is probably Philemon's wife. Some have speculated that Archippus, described by Paul as a "fellow soldier", is the son of Philemon and Apphia.)

PHILEMON CHAPTER 1

1 Paul, a prisoner of Jesus Christ, and Timothy our brother, unto Philemon our dearly beloved, and fellowlabourer,
2 And to our beloved Apphia, and Archippus our fellowsoldier, and to the church in thy house:
3 Grace to you, and peace, from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.
4 I thank my God, making mention of thee always in my prayers,
5 Hearing of thy love and faith, which thou hast toward the Lord Jesus, and toward all saints;
6 That the communication of thy faith may become effectual by the acknowledging of every good thing which is in you in Christ Jesus.
7 For we have great joy and consolation in thy love, because the bowels of the saints are refreshed by thee, brother.
8 Wherefore, though I might be much bold in Christ to enjoin thee that which is convenient,
9 Yet for love's sake I rather beseech thee, being such an one as Paul the aged, and now also a prisoner of Jesus Christ.
10 I beseech thee for my son Onesimus, whom I have begotten in my bonds:
11 Which in time past was to thee unprofitable, but now profitable to thee and to me:
12 Whom I have sent again: thou therefore receive him, that is, mine own bowels:
13 Whom I would have retained with me, that in thy stead he might have ministered unto me in the bonds of the gospel:
14 But without thy mind would I do nothing; that thy benefit should not be as it were of necessity, but willingly.
15 For perhaps he therefore departed for a season, that thou shouldest receive him for ever;
16 Not now as a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved, specially to me, but how much more unto thee, both in the flesh, and in the Lord?
17 If thou count me therefore a partner, receive him as myself.
18 If he hath wronged thee, or oweth thee ought, put that on mine account;
19 I Paul have written it with mine own hand, I will repay it: albeit I do not say to thee how thou owest unto me even thine own self besides.
20 Yea, brother, let me have joy of thee in the Lord: refresh my bowels in the Lord.
21 Having confidence in thy obedience I wrote unto thee, knowing that thou wilt also do more than I say.
22 But withal prepare me also a lodging: for I trust that through your prayers I shall be given unto you.
23 There salute thee Epaphras, my fellowprisoner in Christ Jesus;
24 Marcus, Aristarchus, Demas, Lucas, my fellowlabourers.
25 The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit. Amen.

THE EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE HEBREWS

or just To the Hebrews, or just Hebrews
Author: unknown (Saul of Tarsos, alleged)
Translation: King James Version
Estimated Range of Dating: 70-140 A.D.

(Hebrews is traditionally attributed to Paul the Apostle. But the Greek text is written in a very fine and advanced style which was noted by Clement of Alexandria (another Titus Flavius Clemens), and Eusebius of Caesarea (Flavius Constantinus' right-hand man in the Church) wrote that every competent judge must recognise a great difference between this epistle and those of Paul (Eusebius, 6; 25). Modern scholars agree and consider the author to be unknown. To whom was Hebrews originally addressed? The writer is obviously a Greek Jewish Christian, and it might be quite possible that he wrote to a Greek Jewish Christian community. Since Clement of Rome (who probably was Titus Flavius Clemens, the consul and nephew of Flavius Vespasianus) knows and quotes the text within what could only have been a few years of its writing, that community may well have been in Rome. This view is supported by the greetings from 'those who have come from Italy' in Heb 13:24."

Purpose: Those to whom Hebrews is written seem to have begun to doubt whether Jesus could really be the Messiah for whom they were waiting, because they believed the Messiah prophesied in the Hebrew Scriptures was to come as a militant king and destroy the enemies of his people. Jesus, however, came as a mere man who was arrested by the Jewish leaders and who suffered and was crucified by the Romans. Scholars have suggested that Hebrews is part of an internal New Testament debate between the extreme Judaisers (who argued that non-Jews must convert to Judaism before they can receive the Holy Spirit of Jesus' new covenant) versus the extreme antinomians (who argued that Jews must reject God's commandments and that Jewish law was no longer in effect). James and Paul represent the moderates of each faction, respectively, and Peter served as moderator.)

63 or 64, 70-100 AD

The Epistle to the Hebrews, or Letter to the Hebrews, or in the Greek manuscripts, simply To the Hebrews is one of the books of the New Testament. The text does not mention the name of its author, but was traditionally attributed to Saul of Tarsos (Paul the Apostle). However, doubt on Pauline authorship in the Roman Church is reported by Eusebius. Modern biblical scholarship considers its authorship unknown, perhaps written in deliberate imitation of the style

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of Paul. Although the writer's style reflects some characteristics of Paul's writing, there are some differences.

Scholars of Greek consider its writing to be more polished and eloquent than any other book of the New Testament, and "the very carefully composed and studied Greek of Hebrews is not Paul's spontaneous, volatile contextual Greek". The book has therefore earned the reputation of being a masterpiece.

Scholars believe it was written for Jewish Christians who lived in Jerusalem. Its purpose was to exhort Christians to persevere in the face of persecution. At this time, certain believers were considering turning back to Judaism (the Jewish system of law) to escape being persecuted for accepting Christ as their saviour, now following this system of grace (saved by Jesus' sacrifice on the cross). The theme of the epistle is the doctrine of the person of Christ and his role as mediator between God and humanity.

The epistle opens with an exaltation of Jesus as "the radiance of God's glory, the express image of his being, and upholding all things by his powerful word".[1:1–3] The epistle presents Jesus with the titles "pioneer" or "forerunner", "Son" and "Son of God", "priest" and "high priest".)

HEBREWS CHAPTER 1

1 God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets,

2 Hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds;

3 Who being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person, and upholding all things by the word of his power, when he had by himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high:

4 Being made so much better than the angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they.

5 For unto which of the angels said he at any time, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee? And again, I will be to him a Father, and he shall be to me a Son?

6 And again, when he bringeth in the firstbegotten into the world, he saith, And let all the angels of God worship him.

7 And of the angels he saith, Who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire.

8 But unto the Son he saith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever: a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of thy kingdom.

9 Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.

10 And, Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth; and the heavens are the works of thine hands:

11 They shall perish; but thou remainest; and they all shall wax old as doth a garment;

12 And as a vesture shalt thou fold them up, and they shall be changed: but thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail.

13 But to which of the angels said he at any time, Sit on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool?

14 Are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation?

HEBREWS CHAPTER 2

1 Therefore we ought to give the more earnest heed to the things which we have heard, lest at any time we should let them slip.

2 For if the word spoken by angels was stedfast, and every transgression and disobedience received a just recompence of reward;

3 How shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation; which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him;

4 God also bearing them witness, both with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to his own will?

5 For unto the angels hath he not put in subjection the world to come, whereof we speak.

6 But one in a certain place testified, saying, What is man, that thou art mindful of him? or the son of man that thou visitest him?

7 Thou madest him a little lower than the angels; thou crownedst him with glory and honour, and didst set him over the works of thy hands:

8 Thou hast put all things in subjection under his feet. For in that he put all in subjection under him, he left nothing that is not put under him. But now we see not yet all things put under him.

9 But we see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour; that he by the grace of God should taste death for every man.

10 For it became him, for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings.

11 For both he that sanctifieth and they who are sanctified are all of one: for which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren,

12 Saying, I will declare thy name unto my brethren, in the midst of the church will I sing praise unto thee.

13 And again, I will put my trust in him. And again, Behold I and the children which God hath given me.

14 Forasmuch then as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same; that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil;

15 And deliver them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage.

16 For verily he took not on him the nature of angels; but he took on him the seed of Abraham.

17 Wherefore in all things it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful high priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people.

18 For in that he himself hath suffered being tempted, he is able to succour them that are tempted.

HEBREWS CHAPTER 3

1 Wherefore, holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling, consider the Apostle and High Priest of our profession, Christ Jesus;

2 Who was faithful to him that appointed him, as also Moses was faithful in all his house.

3 For this man was counted worthy of more glory than Moses, inasmuch as he who hath builded the house hath more honour than the house.

4 For every house is builded by some man; but he that built all things is God.

5 And Moses verily was faithful in all his house, as a servant, for a testimony of those things which were to be spoken after;

6 But Christ as a son over his own house; whose house are we, if we hold fast the confidence and the rejoicing of the hope firm unto the end.

7 Wherefore (as the Holy Ghost saith, To day if ye will hear his voice,

8 Harden not your hearts, as in the provocation, in the day of temptation in the wilderness:

9 When your fathers tempted me, proved me, and saw my works forty years.

10 Wherefore I was grieved with that generation, and said, They do alway err in their heart; and they have not known my ways.

11 So I sware in my wrath, They shall not enter into my rest.)

12 Take heed, brethren, lest there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief, in departing from the living God.

13 But exhort one another daily, while it is called To day; lest any of you be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin.

14 For we are made partakers of Christ, if we hold the beginning of our confidence stedfast unto the end;

15 While it is said, To day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts, as in the provocation.

16 For some, when they had heard, did provoke: howbeit not all that came out of Egypt by Moses.

17 But with whom was he grieved forty years? was it not with them that had sinned, whose carcases fell in the wilderness?

18 And to whom sware he that they should not enter into his rest, but to them that believed not?

19 So we see that they could not enter in because of unbelief.

HEBREWS CHAPTER 4

1 Let us therefore fear, lest, a promise being left us of entering into his rest, any of you should seem to come short of it.

2 For unto us was the gospel preached, as well as unto them: but the word preached did not profit them, not being mixed with faith in them that heard it.

3 For we which have believed do enter into rest, as he said, As I have sworn in my wrath, if they shall enter into my rest: although the works were finished from the foundation of the world.

4 For he spake in a certain place of the seventh day on this wise, And God did rest the seventh day from all his works.

5 And in this place again, If they shall enter into my rest.

6 Seeing therefore it remaineth that some must enter therein, and they to whom it was first preached entered not in because of unbelief:

7 Again, he limiteth a certain day, saying in David, To day, after so long a time; as it is said, To day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts.

8 For if Jesus had given them rest, then would he not afterward have spoken of another day.

9 There remaineth therefore a rest to the people of God.

10 For he that is entered into his rest, he also hath ceased from his own works, as God did from his.

11 Let us labour therefore to enter into that rest, lest any man fall after the same example of unbelief.

12 For the word of God is quick, and powerful, and sharper than any twoedged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart.

13 Neither is there any creature that is not manifest in his sight: but all things are naked and opened unto the eyes of him with whom we have to do.

14 Seeing then that we have a great high priest, that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, let us hold fast our profession.

15 For we have not an high priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities; but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin.

16 Let us therefore come boldly unto the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need.

HEBREWS CHAPTER 5

1 For every high priest taken from among men is ordained for men in things pertaining to God, that he may offer both gifts and sacrifices for sins:

2 Who can have compassion on the ignorant, and on them that are out of the way; for that he himself also is compassed with infirmity.

3 And by reason hereof he ought, as for the people, so also for himself, to offer for sins.

4 And no man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron.

5 So also Christ glorified not himself to be made an high priest; but he that said unto him, Thou art my Son, to day have I begotten thee.

6 As he saith also in another place, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec.

7 Who in the days of his flesh, when he had offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto him that was able to save him from death, and was heard in that he feared;

8 Though he were a Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered;

9 And being made perfect, he became the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him;

10 Called of God an high priest after the order of Melchisedec.

11 Of whom we have many things to say, and hard to be uttered, seeing ye are dull of hearing.

12 For when for the time ye ought to be teachers, ye have need that one teach you again which be the first principles of the oracles of God; and are become such as have need of milk, and not of strong meat.

13 For every one that useth milk is unskilful in the word of righteousness: for he is a babe.

14 But strong meat belongeth to them that are of full age, even those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil.

HEBREWS CHAPTER 6

1 Therefore leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection; not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith toward God,

2 Of the doctrine of baptisms, and of laying on of hands, and of resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgement.

3 And this will we do, if God permit.

4 For it is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost,

5 And have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come,

6 If they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame.

7 For the earth which drinketh in the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them by whom it is dressed, receiveth blessing from God:

8 But that which beareth thorns and briers is rejected, and is nigh unto cursing; whose end is to be burned.

9 But, beloved, we are persuaded better things of you, and things that accompany salvation, though we thus speak.

10 For God is not unrighteous to forget your work and labour of love, which ye have shewed toward his name, in that ye have ministered to the saints, and do minister.

11 And we desire that every one of you do shew the same diligence to the full assurance of hope unto the end:

12 That ye be not slothful, but followers of them who through faith and patience inherit the promises.

13 For when God made promise to Abraham, because he could swear by no greater, he sware by himself,

14 Saying, Surely blessing I will bless thee, and multiplying I will multiply thee.

15 And so, after he had patiently endured, he obtained the promise.

16 For men verily swear by the greater: and an oath for confirmation is to them an end of all strife.

17 Wherein God, willing more abundantly to shew unto the heirs of promise the immutability of his counsel, confirmed it by an oath:

18 That by two immutable things, in which it was impossible for God to lie, we might have a strong consolation,

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who have fled for refuge to lay hold upon the hope set before us:
19 Which hope we have as an anchor of the soul, both sure and stedfast, and which entereth into that within the veil;
20 Whither the forerunner is for us entered, even Jesus, made an high priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec.

HEBREWS CHAPTER 7
1 For this Melchisedec, king of Salem, priest of the most high God, who met Abraham returning from the slaughter of the kings, and blessed him;
2 To whom also Abraham gave a tenth part of all; first being by interpretation King of righteousness, and after that also King of Salem, which is, King of peace;
3 Without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life; but made like unto the Son of God; abideth a priest continually.
4 Now consider how great this man was, unto whom even the patriarch Abraham gave the tenth of the spoils.
5 And verily they that are of the sons of Levi, who receive the office of the priesthood, have a commandment to take tithes of the people according to the law, that is, of their brethren, though they come out of the loins of Abraham:
6 But he whose descent is not counted from them received tithes of Abraham, and blessed him that had the promises.
7 And without all contradiction the less is blessed of the better.
8 And here men that die receive tithes; but there he receiveth them, of whom it is witnessed that he liveth.
9 And as I may so say, Levi also, who receiveth tithes, payed tithes in Abraham.
10 For he was yet in the loins of his father, when Melchisedec met him.
11 If therefore perfection were by the Levitical priesthood, (for under it the people received the law,) what further need was there that another priest should rise after the order of Melchisedec, and not be called after the order of Aaron?
12 For the priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the law.
13 For he of whom these things are spoken pertaineth to another tribe, of which no man gave attendance at the altar.
14 For it is evident that our Lord sprang out of Juda; of which tribe Moses spake nothing concerning priesthood.
15 And it is yet far more evident: for that after the similitude of Melchisedec there ariseth another priest,
16 Who is made, not after the law of a carnal commandment, but after the power of an endless life.
17 For he testifieth, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec.
18 For there is verily a disannulling of the commandment going before for the weakness and unprofitableness thereof.
19 For the law made nothing perfect, but the bringing in of a better hope did; by the which we draw nigh unto God.
20 And inasmuch as not without an oath he was made priest:
21 (For those priests were made without an oath; but this with an oath by him that said unto him, The Lord sware and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec:)
22 By so much was Jesus made a surety of a better testament.
23 And they truly were many priests, because they were not suffered to continue by reason of death:
24 But this man, because he continueth ever, hath an unchangeable priesthood.
25 Wherefore he is able also to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them.
26 For such an high priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens;
27 Who needeth not daily, as those high priests, to offer up sacrifice, first for his own sins, and then for the people's: for this he did once, when he offered up himself.
28 For the law maketh men high priests which have infirmity; but the word of the oath, which was since the law, maketh the Son, who is consecrated for evermore.

HEBREWS CHAPTER 8
1 Now of the things which we have spoken this is the sum: We have such an high priest, who is set on the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens;
2 A minister of the sanctuary, and of the true tabernacle, which the Lord pitched, and not man.
3 For every high priest is ordained to offer gifts and sacrifices: wherefore it is of necessity that this man have somewhat also to offer.
4 For if he were on earth, he should not be a priest, seeing that there are priests that offer gifts according to the law:
5 Who serve unto the example and shadow of heavenly things, as Moses was admonished of God when he was about to make the tabernacle: for, See, saith he, that thou make all things according to the pattern shewed to thee in the mount.
6 But now hath he obtained a more excellent ministry, by how much also he is the mediator of a better covenant, which was established upon better promises.
7 For if that first covenant had been faultless, then should no place have been sought for the second.
8 For finding fault with them, he saith, Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah:
9 Not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day when I took them by the hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt; because they continued not in my covenant, and I regarded them not, saith the Lord.
10 For this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith the Lord; I will put my laws into their mind, and write them in their hearts: and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people:
11 And they shall not teach every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for all shall know me, from the least to the greatest.
12 For I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins and their iniquities will I remember no more.
13 In that he saith, A new covenant, he hath made the first old. Now that which decayeth and waxeth old is ready to vanish away.

HEBREWS CHAPTER 9
1 Then verily the first covenant had also ordinances of divine service, and a worldly sanctuary.
2 For there was a tabernacle made; the first, wherein was the candlestick, and the table, and the shewbread; which is called the sanctuary.
3 And after the second veil, the tabernacle which is called the Holiest of all;
4 Which had the golden censer, and the ark of the covenant overlaid round about with gold, wherein was the golden pot that had manna, and Aaron's rod that budded, and the tables of the covenant;
5 And over it the cherubims of glory shadowing the mercyseat; of which we cannot now speak particularly.
6 Now when these things were thus ordained, the priests went always into the first tabernacle, accomplishing the service of God.
7 But into the second went the high priest alone once every year, not without blood, which he offered for himself, and for the errors of the people:
8 The Holy Ghost this signifying, that the way into the holiest of all was not yet made manifest, while as the first tabernacle was yet standing:
9 Which was a figure for the time then present, in which were offered both gifts and sacrifices, that could not make him that did the service perfect, as pertaining to the conscience;
10 Which stood only in meats and drinks, and divers washings, and carnal ordinances, imposed on them until the time of reformation.
11 But Christ being come an high priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is to say, not of this building;
12 Neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us.
13 For if the blood of bulls and of goats, and the ashes of an heifer sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh:
14 How much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God?
15 And for this cause he is the mediator of the new testament, that by means of death, for the redemption of the transgressions that were under the first testament, they which are called might receive the promise of eternal inheritance.
16 For where a testament is, there must also of necessity be the death of the testator.
17 For a testament is of force after men are dead: otherwise it is of no strength at all while the testator liveth.
18 Whereupon neither the first testament was dedicated without blood.
19 For when Moses had spoken every precept to all the people according to the law, he took the blood of calves and of goats, with water, and scarlet wool, and hyssop, and sprinkled both the book, and all the people,
20 Saying, This is the blood of the testament which God hath enjoined unto you.
21 Moreover he sprinkled with blood both the tabernacle, and all the vessels of the ministry.
22 And almost all things are by the law purged with blood; and without shedding of blood is no remission.
23 It was therefore necessary that the patterns of things in the heavens should be purified with these; but the heavenly things themselves with better sacrifices than these.
24 For Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true; but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us:
25 Nor yet that he should offer himself often, as the high priest entereth into the holy place every year with blood of others;
26 For then must he often have suffered since the foundation of the world: but now once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself.
27 And as it is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgement:
28 So Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many; and unto them that look for him shall he appear the second time without sin unto salvation.

HEBREWS CHAPTER 11
1 Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.
2 For by it the elders obtained a good report.
3 Through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear.
4 By faith Abel offered unto God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain, by which he obtained witness that he was righteous, God testifying of his gifts: and by it he being dead yet speaketh.
5 By faith Enoch was translated that he should not see death; and was not found, because God had translated him: for before his translation he had this testimony, that he pleased God.
6 But without faith it is impossible to please him: for he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him.
7 By faith Noah, being warned of God of things not seen as yet, moved with fear, prepared an ark to the saving of his house; by the which he condemned the world, and became heir of the righteousness which is by faith.
8 By faith Abraham, when he was called to go out into a place which he should after receive for an inheritance, obeyed; and he went out, not knowing whither he went.
9 By faith he sojourned in the land of promise, as in a strange country, dwelling in tabernacles with Isaac and Jacob, the heirs with him of the same promise:
10 For he looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God.
11 Through faith also Sara herself received strength to conceive seed, and was delivered of a child when she was past age, because she judged him faithful who had promised.
12 Therefore sprang there even of one, and him as good as dead, so many as the stars of the sky in multitude, and as the sand which is by the sea shore innumerable.
13 These all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off, and were persuaded of them, and embraced them, and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth.
14 For they that say such things declare plainly that they seek a country.
15 And truly, if they had been mindful of that country from whence they came out, they might have had opportunity to have returned.
16 But now they desire a better country, that is, an heavenly: wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God: for he hath prepared for them a city.
17 By faith Abraham, when he was tried, offered up Isaac: and he that had received the promises offered up his only begotten son,
18 Of whom it was said, That in Isaac shall thy seed be called:
19 Accounting that God was able to raise him up, even from the dead; from whence also he received him in a figure.
20 By faith Isaac blessed Jacob and Esau concerning things to come.
21 By faith Jacob, when he was a dying, blessed both the sons of Joseph; and worshipped, leaning upon the top of his staff.
22 By faith Joseph, when he died, made mention of the departing of the children of Israel; and gave commandment concerning his bones.
23 By faith Moses, when he was born, was hid three months of his parents, because they saw he was a proper child; and they were not afraid of the king's commandment.
24 By faith Moses, when he was come to years, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter;
25 Choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season;
26 Esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures in Egypt: for he had respect unto the recompence of the reward.
27 By faith he forsook Egypt, not fearing the wrath of the king: for he endured, as seeing him who is invisible.
28 Through faith he kept the passover, and the sprinkling of blood, lest he that destroyed the firstborn should touch them.
29 By faith they passed through the Red sea as by dry land: which the Egyptians assaying to do were drowned.
30 By faith the walls of Jericho fell down, after they were compassed about seven days.
31 By faith the harlot Rahab perished not with them that believed not, when she had received the spies with peace.

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32 And what shall I more say? for the time would fail me to tell of Gedeon, and of Barak, and of Samson, and of Jephthae; of David also, and Samuel, and of the prophets:
33 Who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions.
34 Quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens.
35 Women received their dead raised to life again: and others were tortured, not accepting deliverance; that they might obtain a better resurrection:
36 And others had trial of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover of bonds and imprisonment:
37 They were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword: they wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins; being destitute, afflicted, tormented;
38 (Of whom the world was not worthy:) they wandered in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth.
39 And these all, having obtained a good report through faith, received not the promise:
40 God having provided some better thing for us, that they without us should not be made perfect.

HEBREWS CHAPTER 12

1 Wherefore seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us,
2 Looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith; who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God.
3 For consider him that endured such contradiction of sinners against himself, lest ye be wearied and faint in your minds.
4 Ye have not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin.
5 And ye have forgotten the exhortation which speaketh unto you as unto children, My son, despise not thou the chastening of the Lord, nor faint when thou art rebuked of him:
6 For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.
7 If ye endure chastening, God dealeth with you as with sons; for what son is he whom the father chasteneth not?
8 But if ye be without chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards, and not sons.
9 Furthermore we have had fathers of our flesh which corrected us, and we gave them reverence: shall we not much rather be in subjection unto the Father of spirits, and live?
10 For they verily for a few days chastened us after their own pleasure; but he for our profit, that we might be partakers of his holiness.
11 Now no chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grievous: nevertheless afterward it yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteousness unto them which are exercised thereby.
12 Wherefore lift up the hands which hang down, and the feeble knees;
13 And make straight paths for your feet, lest that which is lame be turned out of the way; but let it rather be healed.
14 Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord:
15 Looking diligently lest any man fail of the grace of God; lest any root of bitterness springing up trouble you, and thereby many be defiled;
16 Lest there be any fornicator, or profane person, as Esau, who for one morsel of meat sold his birthright.
17 For ye know how that afterward, when he would have inherited the blessing, he was rejected: for he found no place of repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears.
18 For ye are not come unto the mount that might be touched, and that burned with fire, nor unto blackness, and darkness, and tempest,
19 And the sound of a trumpet, and the voice of words; which voice they that heard intreated that the word should not be spoken to them any more:
20 (For they could not endure that which was commanded, And if so much as a beast touch the mountain, it shall be stoned, or thrust through with a dart:
21 And so terrible was the sight, that Moses said, I exceedingly fear and quake:)
22 But ye are come unto mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels,
23 To the general assembly and church of the firstborn, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect,
24 And to Jesus the mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than that of Abel.
25 See that ye refuse not him that speaketh. For if they escaped not who refused him that spake on earth, much more shall not we escape, if we turn away from him that speaketh from heaven:
26 Whose voice then shook the earth: but now he hath promised, saying, Yet once more I shake not the earth only, but also heaven.
27 And this word, Yet once more, signifieth the removing of those things that are shaken, as of things that are made, that those things which cannot be shaken may remain.
28 Wherefore we receiving a kingdom which cannot be moved, let us have grace, whereby we may serve God acceptably with reverence and godly fear:
29 For our God is a consuming fire.

HEBREWS CHAPTER 13

1 Let brotherly love continue.
2 Be not forgetful to entertain strangers: for thereby some have entertained angels unawares.
3 Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them; and them which suffer adversity, as being yourselves also in the body.
4 Marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled: but whoremongers and adulterers God will judge.
5 Let your conversation be without covetousness; and be content with such things as ye have: for he hath said, I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee.
6 So that we may boldly say, The Lord is my helper, and I will not fear what man shall do unto me.
7 Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God: whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation.
8 Jesus Christ the same yesterday, and to day, and for ever.
9 Be not carried about with divers and strange doctrines. For it is a good thing that the heart be established with grace; not with meats, which have not profited them that have been occupied therein.
10 We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle.
11 For the bodies of those beasts, whose blood is brought into the sanctuary by the high priest for sin, are burned without the camp.
12 Wherefore Jesus also, that he might sanctify the people with his own blood, suffered without the gate.
13 Let us go forth therefore unto him without the camp, bearing his reproach.
14 For here have we no continuing city, but we seek one to come.
15 By him therefore let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of our lips giving thanks to his name.
16 But to do good and to communicate forget not: for with such sacrifices God is well pleased.
17 Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves: for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account, that they may do it with joy, and not with grief: for that is unprofitable for you.
18 Pray for us: for we trust we have a good conscience, in all things willing to live honestly.
19 But I beseech you the rather to do this, that I may be restored to you the sooner.
20 Now the God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant,
21 Make you perfect in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is wellpleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.
22 And I beseech you, brethren, suffer the word of exhortation: for I have written a letter unto you in few words.
23 Know ye that our brother Timothy is set at liberty; with whom, if he come shortly, I will see you.
24 Salute all them that have the rule over you, and all the saints. They of Italy salute you.
25 Grace be with you all. Amen.

THE EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE LAODICEANS

The Epistle to the Laodiceans
Author: unknown (Saul of Tarsos, alleged)
From: The Apocryphal New Testament.
Translation: Montague Rhodes James, 1924
Estimated Range of Dating: 1st - 2nd centuries A.D.

(Paul [Saul of Tarsos], the earliest known author of Roman Christianity, wrote several letters (or epistles) in Greek to various churches. Paul apparently dictated all his epistles through a secretary (or amanuensis), but wrote the final few paragraphs of each letter by his own hand. The Epistle to the Colossians 4:16 states "After this letter has been read to you, see that it is also read in the church of the Laodiceans and that you in turn read the letter from Laodicea."

However this epistle is not without controversy. There is no evidence of a Greek text. Due to this, many scholars believe that the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Laodiceans is a forgery. The text was almost unanimously considered pseudepigraphal when the Christian Biblical canon was decided upon, and does not appear in any Greek copies or other versions of the Bible at all. Jerome, who wrote the Latin Vulgate translation, wrote in the 4th century, "it is rejected by everyone".

The epistle appears in more than 100 manuscripts of the Latin Vulgate, as well as in manuscripts of early English, German, and Dutch. For centuries some Western Latin Bibles used to contain a small Epistle from Paul to the Laodiceans. The oldest known Bible copy of this epistle is the celebrated Codex Fuldensis [the Fulda Manuscript] written for Victor of Capua in 546 AD.

According to the Muratorian fragment [a translation from a Greek original written in about 170 AD], Marcion's canon contained an epistle called the Epistle to the Laodiceans.

In the list of 27 books of the New Testament there are 14 Pauline Epistles, that to the Hebrews being last, with the book of Acts coming immediately before the Revelation of John. The Epistle to the Laodiceans is noteably absent.

It is mentioned by various writers from the 4th century onwards, notably by Pope Gregory the Great, to whose influence may ultimately be due the frequent occurrence of it in Bibles written in England; for it is more common in English Bibles than in others. There is an old translation of this Epistle in the British Museum, among the Harleian Manuscripts., Cod. 1212. At the close of the 10th century Aelfric, a monk in Dorset, wrote a treatise in Anglo-Saxon on the Old and New Testaments, in which he states that the apostle Paul wrote 15 Epistles. In his enumeration of them he place Laodiceans after Philemon. About 1165 AD John of Salisbury, writing about the canon to Henry count of Champagne (Epist. 209), acknowledges that "it is the common, indeed almost universal, opinion that there are only 14 Epistles of Paul ... But the 15th is that which is written to the church of the Laodiceans." John Wycliffe included Paul's letter to the Laodiceans in his Bible translation from the Latin to English. The Epistle to the Laodiceans is included in all 18 German Bibles printed prior to Luther's translation, beginning with the first German Bible, issued by Johann Mental at Strassburg in 1488. In these the Pauline Epistles, with the Epistle to the Hebrews, immediately follow the Gospels, with Laodiceans standing between Galatians and Ephesians. In the first Czech (Bohemian) Bible, published at Prague in 1488 and reprinted several times in the 16th and 17th centuries.

This Epistle to the Laodiceans has been highly esteemed by several learned men of the church of Rome and others, including the Quakers, who have printed a translation and plead for it as canon. We have placed Paul's 15th letter here and not in the Grand Bible's section for New Creations or Forgeries because the extremely common Pauline text would not make sense as forgery. It was probably its shortness as well as its utter insignificance that let the church later decide to keep it out of the canon.)

1 Paul, an apostle not of men nor by man, but by Jesus Christ, unto the brethren that are at Laodicea.
2 Grace be unto you and peace from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.
3 I give thanks unto Christ in all my prayers, that ye continue in him and persevere in his works, looking for the promise at the day of judgement.
4 Neither do the vain talkings of some overset you, which creep in, that they may turn you away from the truth of the Gospel which is preached by me.
5 And now shall God cause that they that are of me shall continue ministering unto the increase of the truth of the Gospel and accomplishing goodness, and the work of salvation, even eternal life.
5 And now are my bonds seen of all men, which I suffer in Christ, wherein I rejoice and am glad.
7 And unto me this is for everlasting salvation, which also is brought about by your prayers, and the ministry of the Holy Ghost, whether by life or by death.
8 For verily to me life is in Christ, and to die is joy.
9 And unto him (or And also) shall he work his mercy in you that ye may have the same love, and be of one mind.
10 Therefore, dearly beloved, as ye have heard in my presence so hold fast and work in the fear of God, and it shall be unto you for life eternal.
11 For it is God that worketh in you.
12 And do ye without afterthought whatsoever ye do.
13 And for the rest, dearly beloved, rejoice in Christ, and beware of them that are filthy in lucre.
14 Let all your petitions be made openly before God, and be ye steadfast in the mind of Christ.
15 And what things are sound and true and sober and just and to be loved, do ye.
16 And what ye have heard and received, keep fast in your heart.
17 And peace shall be unto you.
18 The saints salute you.
19 The grace of the Lord Jesus be with your spirit.
20 And cause this epistle to be read unto them of Colossae, and the epistle of the Colossians to be read unto you.

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NON-CANONICAL EPISTLES

THE EPISTLE OF ABGARUS TO JESUS

From: The Lost Books of the Bible, 1820
Translation: William Wake, 1693
Estimated Range of Dating: 30-100 A.D.

(The first writer who makes any mention of the Epistles that passed between Jesus Christ and Abgarus, is Eusebius of Caesarea, who was Emperor Flavius Constantinus' right-hand man among the Christians. Abgaros (c. 4 BC – 40 AD) was King of Osroene. For their genuineness, he appeals to the public registers and records of the City of Edessa in Mesopotamia, where Abgarus reigned, affirms that he found them written, in Syriac-Aramaic, the language of Jesus. He published a Greek translation of them, in his Ecclesiastical History. Theologians have been much divided on this subject and deemed them apocryphal.

The account of this enjoyed great popularity in the East, and also in the West, during the Middle Ages: Jesus' letter was copied on parchment, inscribed in marble and metal, and used as a talisman or an amulet. Of this correspondence, there survive not only a Syriac text, but an Armenian translation as well, two independent Greek versions, shorter than the Syriac, and several inscriptions on stone. A curious growth has arisen from this event, with scholars disputing whether Abgar suffered from gout or from leprosy, whether the correspondence was on parchment or papyrus, and so forth. The Greek text of the letter is:)

EPISTLES OF JESUS CHAPTER 1

1 [A copy of a letter written by King Abgarus to Jesus, and sent to him by Ananias, his footman, to Jerusalem, inviting him to Edessa.]

Abgarus, king of Edessa, to Jesus the good Saviour, who appears at Jerusalem, greeting.

2 I have been informed concerning you and your cures, which are performed without the use of medicines and herbs.

3 For it is reported, that you cause the blind to see, the lame to walk, do both cleanse lepers, and cast out unclean spirits and devils, and restore them to health who have been long diseased, and raisest up the dead;

4 All which when I heard, I was persuaded of one of these two, viz: either that you are God himself descended from heaven, who do these things, or the son of God.

5 On this account therefore I have wrote to you, earnestly to desire you would take the trouble of a journey hither, and cure a disease which I am under.

6 For I hear the Jews ridicule you, and intend you mischief.

7 My city is indeed small, but neat, and large enough for us both.

EPISTLES OF JESUS CHAPTER 2

1 [The answer of Jesus by Ananias the footman to Abgarus the king, declining to visit Edessa.]

ABGARUS, you are happy, forasmuch as you have believed on me, whom ye have not seen.

2 For it is written concerning me, that those who have seen me should not believe on me, that they who have not seen might believe and live.

3 As to that part of your letter, which relates to my giving you a visit, I must inform you, that I must fulfil all the ends of my mission in this country, and after that be received up again to him who sent me.

4 But after my ascension I will send one of my disciples, who will cure your disease, and give life to you, and all that are with you.

THE LETTER OF ABGARUS TO JESUS

Source: The Legend of Abgar
Catholic Encyclopedia, Volume 1 (1913)
Translation: Henri Leclercq, 1912

Translation of the Aramaic text of the letters:

"Abgar Ouchama to Jesus, the Good Physician Who has appeared in the country of Jerusalem, greeting: 'I have heard of Thee, and of Thy healing; that Thou dost not use medicines or roots, but by Thy word openest (the eyes) of the blind, makest the lame to walk, cleansest the lepers, makest the deaf to hear; how by Thy word (also) Thou healest (sick) spirits and those who are tormented with lunatic demons, and how, again, Thou raisest the dead to life. And , learning the wonders that Thou doest, it was borne in upon me that (of two things, one): either Thou hast come down from heaven, or else Thou art the Son of God, who bringest all these things to pass. Wherefore I write to Thee, and pray that thou wilt come to me, who adore Thee, and heal all the ill that I suffer, according to the faith I have in Thee. I also learn that the Jews murmur against Thee, and persecute Thee, that they seek to crucify Thee, and to destroy Thee. I possess but one small city, but it is beautiful, and large enough for us two to live in peace'."

When Jesus had received the letter, in the house of the high priest of the Jews, He said to Hannan (Yohanan), the secretary,

"Go thou, and say to thy master, who hath sent thee to Me: 'Happy art thou who hast believed in Me, not having seen me, for it is written of me that those who shall see me shall not believe in Me, and that those who shall not see Me shall believe in Me. As to that which thou hast written, that I should come to thee, (behold) all that for which I was sent here below is finished, and I ascend again to My Father who sent Me, and when I shall have ascended to Him I will send thee one of My disciples, who shall heal all thy sufferings, and shall give (thee) health again, and shall convert all who are with thee unto life eternal. And thy city shall be blessed forever, and the enemy shall never overcome it'."

[According to Eusebius of Caesarea, it was not Hannan who wrote the answer, but Jesus himself. This could indicate that Jesus was a well-educated man, which is logical as Jesus' family members have been described in the original Greek text of the gospels by the Greek word "tecton". Tekton means Architect, builder. And as such, one must be able to read and write.]

Modern Version:

The text of the letter was: *"Abgar, ruler of Edessa, to Jesus the good physician who has appeared in the country of Jerusalem, greeting. I have heard the reports of you and of your cures as performed by you without medicines or herbs. For it is said that you make the blind to see and the lame to walk, that you cleanse lepers and cast out impure spirits and demons, and that you heal those afflicted with lingering disease, and raise the dead. And having heard all these things concerning you, I have concluded that one of two things must be true: either you are God, and having come down from heaven you do these things, or else you, who does these things, are the son of God. I have therefore written to you to ask you if you would take the trouble to come to me and heal all the ill which I suffer. For I have heard that the Jews are murmuring against you and are plotting to injure you. But I have a very small yet noble city which is great enough for us both."*

Jesus gave the messenger the reply to return to Abgar: *"Blessed are you who hast believed in me without having seen me. For it is written concerning me, that they who have seen me will not believe in me, and that they who have not seen me will believe and be saved. But in regard to what you have written me, that I should come to you, it is necessary for me to fulfill all things here for which I have been sent, and after I have fulfilled them thus to be taken up again to him that sent me. But after I have been taken up I will send to you one of my disciples, that he may heal your disease and give life to you and yours."*

THE DOCTRINE OF ADDAI THE APOSTLE

The Doctrine of Addai / Thaddaeus / Jude the Apostle
Original Language: Aramaic; Script: Syriac
Source: Manuscript Saint-Petersbourg,
N.S. Syr. 4 (Pigulevskaya 48), f. 1v33
Translation: George Phillips, 1876
Estimated Range of Dating: 4th century A.D.

(The Doctrine of Addai is a Syriac Christian text, written in the late 4th century AD, recites the Legend of the Image of Edessa as well as the legendary works of Addai and his disciple Mari in Mesopotamia. The story of how King Abgar of Edessa (in the Kingdom of Osroene) and Jesus had corresponded was first recounted in the 4th century by Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 260–340 AD) in his Ecclesiastical History (i.13 and iii.1), and it was retold by Mar Ephrem the Syrian (306-373).

Edessa was a fortress and an important road junction on the Silk Road, along which caravans carried goods from and to China and India. Edessa was the capital of the Kingdom of Osroene, also called "Kingdom of Urhay", and it was located in the today's northeast of Syria and southeast of Turkey. The language of the Edessans of this period was Syriac-Aramaic, but a few funerary inscriptions written in Hebrew and Greek survived showing that Greek also gained ground among the upper class like in the Roman Empire. Children were sent to be educated at Greek academies. The coinage carries legends in Greek, and some in Aramaic. A correspondence between Jesus and Abgar would have been possible as they were no language barriers.

According to Eastern Christian tradition, Addai (Syriac: Mar Addai or Mor Aday, Latin: Addeus or Thaddeus of Edessa; florished: 1st century AD.) was one of the seventy disciples of Jesus.

He is possibly identical with (Jude or Judas) Thaddaeus, one of the Twelve Apostles and younger brother of Jesus. The name Judas Thaddaeus could be a synonym for Judas Thomas, which makes him send himself to India. We know that Judas Thomas first traveled along the Silk Road to Edessa and then to Persia and India. This might be the reason why there is no consensus about life and death of Thaddeus of Edessa, nor even his existence.

We can say almost the same about his disciple Mari. Saint Mari, also known as Mares and originally named Palut, is a saint of the Church of the East. He was converted by Addai and is said to have had Mar Aggai as his spiritual director. He is believed to have done missionary work around Nineveh, Nisibis, and along the Euphrates, and is said to have been one of the great apostles to Syria and Persia. He was buried in Dair-Kuni.

About this document:

The Manuscript which is shown here, belongs to the Imperial Public Library of St. Petersburg. It is in fine condition, written in bold Syriac Estrangelo letters, comprising several works besides the one now published, and is apparently of the sixth century. It is the only known Manuscript. which contains the entire Syriac text of "The Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle," The British Museum also has a Manuscript of this work, which forms one of the ancient Syriac documents edited and translated by the late Dr. Cureton, and published after his death. That Manuscript, however, is incomplete. It only contains half of the entire text, and consequently the value of the work in so mutilated a condition is greatly impaired. The genuineness and authorship of "The Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle" is a matter of debate. From a logical point of view, such an event cannot just be deemed impossible per se.

The purpose of Addai's mission to Edessa is stated in the beginning of the document. Abgar [or Agbar, or in one Latin version "Acbar" meaning Abgarus V], the then king of Edessa, sent Hannan [Yohanan], the keeper of the archives, and others to Sabinus (most likely Titus Flavius Sabinus the father of Vespasian), the deputy in the east of the emperor Tiberius, with letters concerning the affairs of the kingdom. The messengers, having most probably heard of the fame of Jesus, went to Jerusalem to see him. Hannan wrote a full report to Abgar. The king was impressed by what what he heard, and as he himself was afflicted with a disease, and unable to obtain a cure. He wrote a letter to Jesus asking to heal him. Hannan, the bearer of the letter, delivered it to Jesus. A verbal reply was written down and returned to Abgar, in which He promised that after He had gone up to His Father, he would send one of His disciples to cure him of the disease. After Jesus' death, Addai was the disciple selected by Judas Thomas to go on the mission to Edessa. His arrival at the city was soon made known to Abgar, who sent immediately for him. Abgar, surrounded by his nobles, received Addai, and he in their presence cured the king of the disease from which he had for a long time been suffering. In return Abgar was converted to Jesus' Judaism by Addai. Christianity, as we know it, arrived in Edessa 150 years later.

Addai, according to Eusebius, was one of the seventy, or according to this document, the Armenian version, and "The Doctrine of the Apostles," one of the seventy-two disciples. "Whatever may be the explanation of this numerical discrepancy, it must in either case be inferred that Addai was one of the second batch of disciples, appointed by Jesus (Luke 10:1).

That Jesus is said to have written a letter in reply causes the main opposition towards this document. It has been made the main argument of the opponents of the genuineness of the work. It is inconceivable, they say, that if Jesus wrote a letter, it should have been hidden for three centuries in the archives of Edessa. Jesus is not known to have written anything else. If Jesus had written a letter to Abgar, it would have been a part of sacred Scripture, and placed at the head of the New Testament; and so on.

It is needless to say that those arguments against the genuineness are totally unfounded as according to the St. Petersburg Manuscipt, and in this it is supported by the Armenian version, the reply of our Lord was merely a verbal message, returned through Hannan to Abgar. He said to Hannan, "Go and say to thy lord, . . .". As a further proof that it could have been only a verbal message, it is expressly stated in p. 5 of the translation that Hannan related to Abgar everything which he had heard from Jesus, as His words were put by him in writing and not by Jesus. If there be reasons why Jesus did not write a letter, there can be none against a verbal message. This mode of reply was consistent with what our Lord did on other occasions. It was a verbal reply to the question of John the Baptist, which He sent through His messengers (Luke 7:22). That the reply of our Lord was a written letter is, therefore, an error, and the error was committed by Eusebius of Caesarea. It is not difficult to explain how Eusebius fell into this mistake. He knew that the reply was in writing, and kept in the archives, and he supposed that Jesus himself had put it in writing, whereas it was done by Hannan the secretary.

Quite a lot of manuscripts of Addai have survived:

• Manuscript Saint-Petersbourg, Bibliotheque Publique Saltykov-Shchedrine, N.S. Syr. 4 (Pigulevskaya 48), f. 1v33

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• Manuscript Jerusalem, Couvent syrien orthodoxe Saint-Marc, cod. 153, p. 241-259

• Several manuscripts in the British Library, London: Add. 14654, f. 33r-v (fgt) + Add. 14644, f. 1-9v + Add. 14535, f. 1r (fgt) + Add. 12155, f. 53v + Add. 17193, f. 36v-37 (extrait), Add. 12161, f. 1v (fgt), Add. 14612, f. 165r (fgt), Add. 14644, f. 1-9v (mutilé du début et au milieu)

• Manuscript Birmingham, Selly Oak College Library, Coll. Mingana, Syr. 405, f. 1

• Manuscript Paris, Bibliotheque nationale, syr. 62, f. 102v-108 (extraits)

• And 3 other Manuscripts: Alqosh, Église paroissiale chaldéenne; Pseudo-Abdias; Nicephorus (H. E., ii. 7)

Text of The Doctrine Of Addai The Apostle:

The letter of king Abgar, the son of king Ma'nu, and at what time he sent it to our Lord at Jerusalem; and at what time Addai the Apostle came to him (Abgar) at Edessa; and what he spake in the gospel of his preaching; and what he said and commanded, when he went forth from, this world, to those who had received from him the hand of the priesthood.

In the three hundred and forty and third year of the kingdom of the Greeks, and in the reign of our lord Tiberius, the Roman Emperor, and in the reign of king Abgar, son of king Ma'nu, in the month of October, on the twelfth day, Abgar Ukkama sent Marihab and Shamshagram, chiefs and honoured persons of his kingdom, and Hannan the tabularius, the sharrir, with them, to the city which is called Eleutheropolis, but in Aramaic Beth-gubrin, to the honoured Sabinus, the son of Eustorgius, the deputy of our lord the emperor, who ruled over Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, and the whole country of Mesopotamia. They brought him letters concerning the affairs of the kingdom; and when they went to him, he received them with joy and honour, and they were with him twenty and five days. He wrote for them a reply to the letters, and sent them to Abgar the king. When they went forth from him, they set out and came on the way towards Jerusalem; and they saw many men, who came from a distance to see Christ, because the fame of his wonderful deeds had gone forth to remote countries. When Marihab, Shamshagram, and Hannan, the keeper of the archives, saw the men, they also came with them to Jerusalem. When they entered Jerusalem, they saw Christ, and they rejoiced with the multitudes, who were joined to Him. But they saw also the Jews, who were standing in groups, and were considering what they should do to Him; for they were disturbed to see that a multitude of their people confessed Him. And they were there in Jerusalem ten days, and Hannan, the keeper of the archives, wrote down everything which he saw that Christ did; also the rest of that done by Him, before they went thither. And they departed and came to Edessa, and entered into the presence of Abgar the king, their lord, who had sent them, and they gave him the reply of the letters, which they had brought with them. After the letters were read, they began to recount before the king all which they had seen and all which Christ had done in Jerusalem. And Hannan, the keeper of the archives, read before him all which he had written and brought with him; and when Abgar the king heard, he was astonished and wondered, as also his princes, who stood before him. Abgar said to them: These mighty works are not of men, but of God; because there is not any one who can make the dead alive, but God only. And Abgar wished himself to pass over and go to Palestine, and see with his own eyes all which Christ was doing; but because he was not able to pass through the country of the Romans, which was not his, lest this cause should call forth bitter enmity, he wrote a letter and sent it to Christ by the hand of Hannan, the keeper of the archives. He went forth from Edessa on the fourteenth day of Adar,9 and entered Jerusalem on the twelfth day of Nisan, on the fourth day of the week (Wednesday). And he found Christ at the house of Gamaliel, the chief priest of the Jews. The letter was read before Him, which was written thus:---- "Abgar Ukkama, to Jesus, the Good Physician, who has appeared in the country of Jerusalem. My Lord: Peace. I have heard of Thee and of Thy healing, that it is not by medicines and roots Thou healest, but by Thy word Thou openest the eyes of the blind, Thou makest the lame to walk, cleansest the lepers, and makest the deaf to hear. And unclean spirits and lunatics, and those tormented, them Thou healest by Thy word; Thou also raisest the dead. And when I heard of these great wonders which Thou doest, I decided in my mind that either Thou art God, who hast come down from heaven and doest these things, or Thou art the Son of God, who doest all these things. Therefore, I have written to request of Thee to come to me who adore Thee, and to heal the disease which I have, as I believe in Thee. This also I have heard, that the Jews murmur against Thee and persecute Thee, and even seek to crucify Thee, and contemplate treating Thee cruelly. I possess one small and beautiful city, and it is sufficient for both to dwell in it in quietness."

When Jesus received the letter at the house of the chief priest of the Jews, Caiaphas, He said to Hannan, the keeper of the archives: "Go and say to thy lord, who hath sent thee to Me, 'Blessed art thou, who, although thou hast not seen Me, believest in Me, for it is written of Me, Those who see Me will not believe in Me, and those who see Me not, will believe in me. But as to that which thou hast written to Me, that I should come to thee, that for which I was sent here is now finished, and I am going up to my Father, who sent me, and when I have gone up to Him, I will send to thee one of my disciples, who will cure the disease which thou hast, and restore thee to health; and all who are with thee he will convert to everlasting life. Thy city shall be blessed, and no enemy shall again become master of it for ever.'"

When Hannan, the keeper of the archives, saw that Jesus spake thus to him, by virtue of being the king's painter, he took and painted a likeness of Jesus with choice paints, and brought with him to Abgar the king, his master. And when Abgar the king saw the likeness, he received it with great joy, and placed it with great honour in one of his palatial houses. Hannan, the keeper of the archives, related to him everything which he had heard from Jesus, as His words were put by him in writing. After that Christ had ascended to heaven, Judas Thomas sent to Abgar, Addai the Apostle, who was one of the seventy-two Apostles. And when Addai came to the city of Edessa, he dwelt at the house of Tobias, son of Tobias the Jew, who was of Palestine. Through all the city a report was heard of him, and one of the nobles of Abgar whose name was Abdu, the son of Abdu, one of those who sat with bended knees before Abgar, went and said concerning Addai: behold, a messenger has come, and dwells here, he of whom Jesus sent to thee, "I send to Thee one of my disciples." And when Abgar heard these words, and the mighty acts which Addai did, and the wonderful cures which he effected, he thought for certain in his mind: Truly this is he whom Jesus sent, saying, "When I have ascended to heaven I will send to thee one of my disciples, and he will cure thy disease." And Abgar sent and called for Tobias, and said to him, I have heard that a certain powerful man has come, and dwells in thy house. Bring him up to me; a good hope of recovery through him has been found for me. Tobias went early on the next day and took Addai the Apostle, and brought him up to Abgar, Addai himself knowing that by the power of God he was sent to him. And when Addai came up and went to Abgar, his nobles standing with him, and in going towards him, a wonderful vision was seen by Abgar in the face of Addai. At the moment that Abgar saw the vision, he fell down and worshipped Addai. Great astonishment seized all those who were standing before him, for they saw not the vision which was seen by Abgar. Then Abgar said to Addai, "Of a truth thou art the disciple of Jesus, that mighty one, the son of God, who sent to me saying I send thee one of my disciples for healing and for life." Addai said to him, "Because that from the beginning thou didst believe in Him who sent me to thee, therefore have I been sent to thee, and if thou believest in Him, everything in which thou dost believe thou shalt have." Abgar said to him, "So have I believed in Him, that with respect to those Jews who crucified Him, I desire to take with me an army, and to go and destroy them; but because the kingdom belongs to the Romans, I was restrained by the covenant of peace, which was confirmed by me with our lord the emperor Tiberius, like my forefathers." Addai said to him, "Our Lord has fulfilled the will of His Father. And when He had completed the will of His Parent, He was taken up to His Father, and sat with Him in glory, with whom he was from eternity." Abgar said to him: "I also believe in Him and in His Father." Addai said to him: "Because that thou so believest, I place my hand on thee, in the name of Him in whom thou believest."

At the moment that he placed his hand upon him, he was cured of the plague of the disease, which he had had for a long time. Abgar wondered and was astonished, that as it was reported to him concerning Jesus, that which He did and cured; so also Addai himself, without medicine of any kind, healed in the name of Jesus. And also with respect to Abdu, the son of Abdu, he had the gout in his feet, and he too brought his feet near him, and he (Addai) placed his hand upon them and healed him; and he had not the gout again. And also in all the city he wrought great cures, and showed wonderful mighty works in it. Abgar said to him: "Now that every man knoweth that by the power of Jesus Christ thou doest these wonderful works, and behold we are wondering at thy works, I require therefore of thee, that thou wouldest recount to us concerning the coining of Christ, how it was, and concerning His glorious power, and concerning those miracles which we have heard that He did, which thou hast seen with the rest of thy companions." Addai said to him: "I will not keep silent from declaring this; for because of this I was sent here to speak and to teach every one, who, like thee, is willing to believe. Tomorrow assemble for me all the city, that I may sow in it the Word of Life, by the preaching which I will preach before you concerning the coming of Christ, how it was, and concerning His glorious power, and concerning Him that sent Him, for what and how He sent Him, and concerning His power and His wonderful works, and concerning the glorious mysteries of His coming, which He spake in the world, and concerning the certitude of His preaching, how and for what He abased Himself, and humbled His exalted divinity by the body, which He took, and was crucified and descended to the house of the dead, and cleaved the wall of partition, which had never been cleft, and gave life to the dead by being Himself slain, and descended by Himself, and ascended with many to His glorious Father, with whom He was from, eternity in one exalted divinity. And Abgar commanded that they should deliver to Addai silver and gold. Addai said to him: "How are we able to receive anything which is not ours? for, behold, that which was ours we have forsaken, as we were commanded by our Lord to be without purses and without scrips, and carrying crosses upon our shoulders, we were commanded to preach His Gospel to the whole creation: the whole creation felt and suffered by His crucifixion, which was for us, for the salvation of all men. And he narrated before Abgar the king, and before his princes and his nobles, and before Augustina, the mother of Abgar, and before Shalmath, the daughter of Meherdath, the wife of Abgar, the signs of our Lord and His wonders, and the glorious miracles which He wrought, and His divine triumphs, and His ascension to His Father; and how they received powers and authorities at the time that He ascended, by which same power he had healed Abgar and Abdu, the son of Abdu, the second person of his kingdom; and how he made them know that which would be revealed at the end of times, and in the consummation of all creatures, and the resuscitation and resurrection, which is about to be for all men, and the separation which is to be between the sheep and the goats, and between the faithful and the unbelieving. And he said to them: "Because that the gate of life is strait and the way of truth is narrow, therefore few are the believers of truth, and in the power of unbelief is Satan's recreation. Because of this there are many liars, who cause to err those who look on. For except that there is a good end for faithful men, our Lord had not descended from heaven, and come to the birth, and to the suffering of death, and also He had not sent us to be His preachers and evangelists. Those things which we saw and heard from Him, which He did and taught, we confidently preach before all men; for we would not do any wrong with respect to the truth of His Gospel. And not these things only; but also those which were done in His Name, after His ascension, we show and preach.

I will tell before you that which happened and was done in the presence of men, who, as you, believed in Christ, that He is the Son of the living God. Protonice, the wife of the Emperor Claudius, whom Tiberius made second in his kingdom, when he went to make war with the Spaniards, who had rebelled against him, this woman, when Simon, one of the disciples, was in the city of Rome, and she saw the signs and wonders, and marvellous works which he did in the name of Christ; denied the paganism of her fathers in which she was brought up, and the idolatrous images which she had worshipped; and she believed in Christ our Lord, and worshipped Him, and praised with those who were joined unto Simon, and held Him in great honour. After this she wished also to see Jerusalem, and those places in which the mighty works of our Lord were done. So she arose promptly and descended from Rome to Jerusalem, she and her two sons with her, and her one virgin daughter.

When she was entering Jerusalem, the city went forth to meet her, and they received her with great honour, as that which is due to the queen, the mistress of the great country of the Romans. But James, who was made director and ruler in the church which was built for us there, when he had heard for what purpose she had gone there, arose and went to her. And he entered into her presence where she was dwelling, in the royal great palace of king Herod. When she saw him, she received him with great joy, as also she had Simon Peter. He also showed her cures and mighty works as did Simon, and she said to him: "Show me Golgotha, on which Christ was crucified, and the wood of His cross on which He was suspended by the Jews, and the grave in which He was placed." James said to her: "These three things which thy Majesty wishes to see are under the control of the Jews. They possess them, and permit us not to go to pray there before Golgotha and the grave, and neither the wood of His cross will they give us. And not only this, but they also severely persecute us, that we may not publish and preach in the name of Christ, and many times also they bind us in prison." When she heard these things, the queen immediately commanded, and they brought before her Onias, the son of Hannan the priest, and Gedalia, son of Caiaphas, and Judah the son of Ebed Shalom, chiefs and rulers of the Jews. And she said to them: "Deliver up Golgotha, and the grave, and the wood of the cross, to James, and those who agree with him, and let no man forbid them to minister there according to the custom of their ministry." And when she had so commanded the priests, she arose to go and see these places, and she also delivered that place to James, and those who were with him. Afterwards she entered the grave, and found in the grave three crosses, one of our Lord, and two of those robbers, who were crucified with Him, on His right hand and on His left. And at the time that she entered into the grave----she and her children with her----at that instant her virgin daughter fell down and died, without pain, without disease, and without any cause of death. And when the queen saw that her daughter had died suddenly, she

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kneeled and prayed within the grave, and said in her prayer: "God, who gave Himself to death for all men, and was crucified in this place, and was laid in this grave; and as God, who keepeth alive all, has risen, and made many to rise with Him, lest the Jews, the crucifiers, should hear----and also the erring heathens, whose idols and graven images, and the terrors of paganism, I have denied----and they see me, deride me, and say that all this which has happened to her is because that she denied the gods, which she did worship, and confessed Christ, whom she knew not, and went to honour the place of His grave and His crucifixion; and if, O my Lord, I am not worthy to be heard, because that I have worshipped creatures instead of Thee; spare Thou, for the sake of Thy adorable Name, that it may not be blasphemed in this place, as they blasphemed Thee at Thy crucifixion." She said these things in her prayer, and, in the excitement of her supplication, she repeated them before all those who were there. Her eldest son approached her, and said to her: "Hear that which I shall say before thy Majesty. I think thus in my mind and in my thought, that this death of this my sister, which was sudden, was not for nought; but this is a wonderful work, in which God will be praised, and not that His Name will be blasphemed, as those thought, who heard it. Behold, we enter the grave and find in it three crosses, and we know not which of them is the cross on which Christ was suspended. In the death of this my sister, we may be able to see and to learn which is the cross of Christ, for Christ is not neglectful of those who believe in Him, and seek Him." And the queen Protonice----her soul was very sad at this time----saw in her mind that her son spake these things wisely, justly and rightly. And with her hands she took hold of one of the crosses and placed it upon the dead body of her daughter, which lay before her, and she said in her prayer: "O God, who hast shown wonderful works in this place, as we hear and believe, if this cross, O Lord, be Thine, and on it Thy humanity was suspended by the insolent, show the strong and mighty power of Thy divinity, which dwells in the humanity, and restore to life this my daughter, that she may arise, and Thy Name be glorified in her. May her soul return to her body, that Thy crucifiers may be confounded and Thy worshippers may rejoice! And she waited a long time after she had spoken thus. Afterwards she took that cross from the dead body of her daughter, and placed another, and also said in her prayer:

"O God, by whose nod worlds and creatures endure, and wishing the life of all men that they may be turned to Him, and is not neglectful of the petition of those who seek Him, if this cross be Thine, O Lord, show the power of Thy triumphs as Thou art accustomed, and restore to life this my daughter, that she may arise, and the heathens, worshipping Thy creatures instead of Thee, may be confounded, and the faithful and the true may confess, that their mouth may be opened to Thy praise before those who deny Thee!" And she waited a long time after these things, and took the second cross from her daughter; and she took the third cross and placed it upon her daughter. And as she was going to lift up her eyes to heaven, and to open her mouth in prayer, at that moment, at that time, in the twinkling of an eye, that, the cross touched the dead body of her daughter, her daughter became alive, and she arose suddenly, and praised God, who had restored her to life by His cross. But the queen Protonice, when she saw how her daughter became alive, trembled, and was greatly alarmed, but though alarmed she glorified Christ, and believed in Him, that He was the Son of the living God. Her son said to her: "My lady, thou seest that if this had not occurred today, it might have happened that they would have left this cross of Christ, by which my sister became alive, and have taken and honoured that of one of those murderous thieves. Now, behold, we see and rejoice, and Christ, who has done this thing, is glorified in her." And she took the cross of Christ, and gave it to James, that it might be kept with great honour. She also commanded that a great and splendid building should be erected over Golgotha, on which He was crucified, and over the grave in which He was placed, so that these places might be honoured; and that there should be there a place of assembly for prayer, and a gathering for service.

But the queen, when she saw the whole population of the city, which she had collected for the sight of this work, she commanded that, without the covering of honour worn by queens, her daughter should go with her unveiled to the palace of the king, in which she dwelt, so that every one might see her and praise God. But the people of the Jews and the Gentiles, who rejoiced at the beginning of this occurrence, and were glad, became very sad at the end of it. For they would have been well pleased if this had not occurred, for they saw on account of this many believed in Christ; and especially when they saw that the miracles, which were done in His Name after His ascension, were many more than those which were done before His ascension. And the fame of this deed which was done went forth to distant countries, and also to the Apostles, my companions, who preached Christ. And there was rest in the churches of Jerusalem, and the cities round about it; and those who saw not this deed, with those who did see it, praised God. And when the queen went up from Jerusalem to the city of Rome, every city which she entered pressed to see the sight of her daughter. And when she had entered Eome, she recounted before the Emperor Claudius those things which had happened; and when the Emperor heard, he commanded that all the Jews should go forth from the country of Italy. In all that country this deed was spoken of by many, and also before Simon Peter this was recounted, which was done. "Whatsoever also the Apostles, companions, did, we preach before every man, that those who do not know may likewise hear those things which, by our hand, Christ did openly, that our Lord might be glorified by every man. These things which I repeat before you are told, that ye may know and understand how great is the faith of Christ among those who truly join themselves to Him.

But James, the director of the Church of Jerusalem, who with his own eyes saw the deed, gave a written account, and sent it to the Apostles, my companions, in the cities of their countries. And also the Apostles themselves gave written accounts, and made known to James whatsoever that Christ had done by their hands, and these were read before all the multitude of the people of the church.

But when Abgar the king heard these things, he and Augustina, his mother, and Shalmath, the daughter of Meherdath, and Paqûr and Abdshemesh, and Shamshagram, and Abdu, and Azzai and Bar-kalba, with the rest of their companions, rejoiced exceedingly, and all of them glorified God, and made their confession in Christ. Abgar the king said to Addai: "I wish that everything which we have heard from thee today, and the rest also of the other things, thou wouldst tell openly before all the city, that every man may hear the preaching of the Gospel of Christ, which thou teachest to us, that he may rest and be confirmed in the doctrine which thou teachest to us, that many may understand that I believed rightly in Christ, in the Letter which I sent to Him, and may know that He is God, the Son of God, and thou art His true and faithful disciple, and that thou showest by works His glorious power before those who wish to believe in Him. The day after, Abgar commanded Abdu, the son of Abdu, who was healed of a sore disease of his feet, to send a herald, that he may proclaim in all the city that the whole population may be assembled, men and women, at the place which is called Beththabara, the wide space of the house of Avida, the son of Abd-nachad, that they might hear the doctrine of Addai the Apostle, and how he taught, and in the name of whom he cured, and by what power he wrought these miracles, and those wonders he did. For when he healed Abgar the king, it was the nobles only who stood before him, and saw him, when he healed him by the word of Christ, whom many physicians were not able to heal, but a stranger cured him by the faith of Christ.

And when all the city were assembled, men and women, as the king had commanded, Avida and Labbu, and Chaphsai, and Bar-Kalba, and Labubna, and Chesrun, and Shamshagram stood there, with their companions, who as they were princes and nobles of the king, and commanders, and all the workmen and the artisans and the Jews and Gentiles who were in this city, and strangers of the countries of Soba and Harran, and the rest of the inhabitants of all this country of Mesopotamia, all of them stood to hear the doctrine of Addai; concerning whom they had heard; that he was the disciple of Jesus, who was crucified in Jerusalem, and he effected cures in His name. And Addai began to speak to them thus:

"Hear, all of you, and understand that which I speak before you; that I am not a physician of medicines and roots, of the art of the sons of men; but I am the disciple of Jesus Christ, the Physician of troubled souls, and the Saviour of future life, the Son of God, who came down from heaven, and was clothed with a body and became man; and He gave Himself and was crucified for all men. And when He was suspended on the wood, the sun He made dark in the firmament; and when He had entered the grave, He arose and went forth from the grave with many. And those who guarded the grave saw not how He went forth from the grave; but the angels of heaven were the preachers and publishers of His resurrection, who if He had not wished, had not died, because that He is the Lord of death, the exit of all things. And except it had pleased Him,He had not again clothed Himself with a body, for He is Himself the framer of the body. For the will which inclined Him to the birth from a virgin, also made Him condescend to the suffering of death, and He humbled the majesty of His exalted divinity, who was with His Father from eternity, He of whom Prophets of old spake in their mysteries; and they represented images of His birth, and His suffering, and His resurrection, and His ascension to His Father, and of His sitting at the right hand. And, behold, He is worshipped by celestial spirits, and by the inhabitants of the earth, He who is worshipped from eternity. For although His was the appearance of men, His might, and His knowledge, and His power were of God Himself; as He said to us, Behold, now is the son of man glorified, and God glorifies Himself in Him, by miracles and by wonders, and by honour of being at the right hand. But His body is the pure vestment of His glorious divinity, by which we are able to see His invisible Lordship. This Jesus Christ, therefore, we preach and publish, and, with Him, we praise His Father, and we extol and worship the Spirit of His divinity, because that we were thus commanded by Him, to baptize and absolve those who believe in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Also the Prophets of old spake thus: that 'The Lord our God and His Spirit hath sent us.' And if I speak anything which is not written in the Prophets, the Jews, who are standing among you and hear me, will not receive it; and if, again, I make mention of the name of Christ over those who have sufferings and diseases, and they are not healed by this glorious name, they, worshipping the work of their hands, will not believe. If now these things be written, which we say, in the Books of the Prophets, and we are able to show the healing powers upon the sick, not a man will look on us without discerning the faith which we preach, that God was crucified for all men. If there be those who do not wish to acquiesce in these words, let them draw near to us, and reveal to us what is their mind, that as a disease of their mind we may apply healing medicine for the cure of their wound. For although ye were not present at the time of the suffering of Christ, yet because of the sun, which was dark, and ye saw it, learn and understand concerning the great hororr there was at the time of the crucifixion of Him whose Gospel has flown over all the earth, by the miracles which His disciples, my companions, are working in all the earth. And those who were Hebrews, and knew only the Hebrew tongue in which they were born, behold to day speak in all languages, that those who are far off, as those who are nigh, might hear and believe that He is the same, who confounded the tongues of the impious in this district, which lies before us; He it is who to day teaches through us the faith of truth and verity, by humble and wretched men, who were from Galilee of Palestine. For I also, whom ye see, am from Paneas, from where the river Jordan goes forth. And I was chosen, with my companions, to be a preacher of this Gospel, by which, behold, the regions everywhere resound with the glorious name of the adorable Christ. Let, therefore, no man of you harden his heart against the truth and keep his mind at a distance from verity. Be ye not led captive after thoughts destructively erroneous, which are full of the despair of a bitter death. Be ye not taken by the evil customs of the paganism of your fathers, and so keep yourselves at a distance from the life of truth and verity, which are in Christ. For those who believe in Him are those who are trusted before Him, who descended to us by His favour, to make to cease from the earth the sacrifices of heathenism, and the offerings of idolatry; that creatures should no longer be worshipped; but we should worship Him and His Father, with His Holy Spirit. For I, as my Lord commanded me, behold, I preach and I publish. And His silver on the table, behold I cast before you, and the seed of His word I sow in the ears of every man. Those who wish to receive, theirs is the good reward of confession; and those who do not obey, against them I scatter the dust of my feet, as my Lord commanded me. Turn ye, therefore, my beloved, from evil ways and from hateful deeds, and turn yourselves to Him with a good and honest will, as He turned Himself to you with His grace and His rich mercies. And be ye not as the generations of old, which are passed, who, because that they hardened their heart against the fear of God, received punishment openly; that they may be chastised, and those who came after them may tremble and fear. For that for which our Lord came into the world was altogether to teach and show that at the end of created things is a resurrection for all men. And at that time their acts of conduct will be represented on their own persons, and their bodies become volumes for the written things of justice, and there will not be he who knoweth not writing; because that every man shall read the letters of his own book at that day, and the account of his actions he taketh with the fingers of his hands. Thus the unlettered will know the new writing of the new language, and there is not he who will say to his fellow, Read me this, because that one doctrine and one instruction shall reign over all men.

Let this thought, therefore, be represented before your eyes, and let it not pass from your mind, because that if it pass from your mind, it passeth not from Justice. Seek mercies from God, that He may pardon the hateful infidelity of your paganism, for ye have forsaken Him who created you upon the face of the earth, and makes His rain to descend and His sun to rise upon you, and ye worship, instead of Him, His works. For the idols and graven images of paganism, and whatsoever of the creation in which ye have confidence and which ye worship, if there were in them feeling and understanding, for the sake of which ye worship and honour them, it would be right for them, which ye have engraven and established, and have firmly fixed with nails that they be not shaken, to receive your favour. For if the creatures were aware of your honours to them, they would cry, shouting to you, not to worship your fellows, which like yourselves are made and created; because that creatures made should not be worshipped; but that they should worship their Creator, and they should glorify Him who created them. And as His grace covers the wicked here, so His justice shall be avenged on the infidels there. For I saw in this city that it abounded greatly in paganism, which is

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against God. Who is this Nebo, an idol made which ye worship, and Bel, which ye honour? Behold, there are those among you who adore Bath Nical, as the inhabitants of Harran your neighbours, and Taratha, as the people of Mabug, and the eagle, as the Arabians, also the sun and the moon,as the rest of the inhabitants of Harran, who are as yourselves. Be ye not led away captive by the rays of the luminaries and the bright star; for every one who worships creatures is cursed before God. For although there are among creatures such as are greater than their companions, yet they are fellow-servants of their companions, as I have said to you. For this is a bitter pain, for which there is not a cure, that things made should worship things made, and creatures should glorify their fellows. For as they are not able to stand by the power of themselves, but by the power of Him who created them, so they are not able to be worshipped with Him, nor to be honoured with Him; for it is a blasphemy against both parties, against the creatures when they are worshipped, and against the Creator, when the creatures, who are strangers to the nature of His existence, are made partakers with Him. For all the prophecy of the Prophets, and the preaching of us who are after the Prophets, is this, that creatures should not be worshipped with the Creator, and that men should not bind themselves to the yoke of corrupt paganism. It is not because of the creatures being seen, I say, that they should not be worshipped; but everything which is made is a creature, whether visible or invisible. This is a horrible wickedness, to place the glorious name of divinity upon it. For not creatures, as you, we proclaim and worship; but the Lord of creatures. The earthquake, which made them tremble at the Cross, testifies that everything which is made depends on and exists by the power of its Maker, who was before worlds and creatures, whose nature is incomprehensible, in that His nature is invisible, and, with His Father, is sanctified in the heights above, for that He is Lord and God from eternity. This is our doctrine in every country and in every region. And so have we been commanded to preach to those who hear us, not violently, but by the teaching of the truth and by the power of God. And the miracles which were done in His name, testify concerning our faith, that it is true and to be believed. Be obedient, therefore, to my words, and receive that which I have said, and am saying before you; and that I may not require your death, behold, I warn you to be very cautious. Receive my words fitly, and do not neglect. Draw nigh to me ye my distant ones from Christ, and be near to Christ. And in the place Of erroneous sacrifices and oblations, offer now to Him the sacrifices of thanksgiving.

What is this great altar which ye have built in the midst of this city? and what are those going and coming offering upon it to demons, and sacrificing on it to devils? But if ye know not the Scriptures, doth not nature itself teach you, by its power of sight, that your idols have eyes and see not? And ye 49 who see with eyes in that ye do not understand, ye are also as they who see not and hear not, and in vain you excite your voices, ineffective to deaf ears. For they are not to be complained of for that which they do not hear, because that by nature they are deaf and dumb. And the blame with which justice is involved is yours, for ye do not wish to understand, even that which ye see. For the thick darkness of error, which is spread over your mind, permits you not to acquire the heavenly light, which is the understanding of knowledge. Flee, therefore, from things made and created, as I have said unto you, that in name only are they called gods, though they are not gods in their nature; and draw near to Him, who in His nature is God from eternity and from everlasting, and is not made as your idols, and also not a creature, and a work of art as the images in which ye make your boast. Because that although He put on this body, He was God with His Father; for the works of creation, which trembled when He was slain, and were terrified by the suffering of His death, they testify that He is He who created the works of creation. For it was not for a man the earth shook, but for Him who established the earth upon the waters; and it was not for a man the sun became dark in the heavens, but for Him who made the great lights. And it was not by a man the righteous and the just were raised to life, but by Him who gave power over death from the beginning. Nor was it by a man the vail of the temple of the Jews was rent from the top to the bottom, but by Him who said to them, 'Behold, your house is left desolate.' For, behold, except they who crucified Him knew that He was the Son of God, they would not have proclaimed the desolation of their city, also they would not have brought down woes upon themselves. For even if they wished to neglect this confession, the terrible commotions which were at that time would not have permitted them. Behold also some of the children of the crucifiers have become at this day preachers and evangelists, with the Apostles my companions, in all the land of Palestine and among the Samaritans, and in all the country of the Philistines. The idols of paganism also are despised, and the Cross of Christ is honoured. Peoples and creatures also confess God, who became man. If truly when Jesus our Lord was upon earth ye believed in Him that He is the Son of God, and before that ye had heard the word of His preaching, confessed in Him that He is God; now that He has ascended to His Father, and ye have seen the signs and wonders which are done in His name, and the word of His Gospel ye have heard with your ears; not a man of you should let himself doubt in his mind how the promise of His blessing which He sent to you would have been established with you: "Blessed are ye who have believed in me, although ye have not seen me; and because ye have so believed in me the city in which ye dwell shall be blessed, and the enemy shall not prevail against it for ever." Do not, therefore, turn from His faith; for, behold, ye have heard and seen those things which bear witness to His faith, that He is the adorable Son, and is the glorious God, and is the triumphant King, and is the Omnipotent Power; and by His true faith a man is able to acquire the eye of the true mind, and to perceive that every one who worships creatures, the wrath of justice overtakes him.

For everything which we say before you, we say as we have received of the gift of our Lord, and we teach and we show how to possess your life, and not destroy your spirits by the error of paganism; because that the heavenly light hath risen upon creation, and He it is, who hath chosen the ancient fathers and the just men and the Prophets, and hath spoken with them by the revelation of the Holy Spirit. For He is the God of the Jews, who crucified Him, and the erring Gentiles also worship Him, though they know it not; because that there is no other God in heaven and in earth, and behold confession ascendeth up to Him from the four quarters of the earth. Behold now your ears have heard that which was not heard by you before, and behold, again, your eyes have seen that which was never seen by you before. Be ye not therefore unjust to that which ye have heard and seen. Cause to pass from you the rebellious mind of your fathers, and free yourselves from the yoke of sin, which hath dominion over you by libations and sacrifices before graven images. Let it be a care to you concerning your perishing lives, and concerning the vain bowing of your head, and acquire the new mind which worships the Maker and not the thing made, in which is represented the image of truth and verity, of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, when ye believe and are baptized in the triple and glorious names. For this is our doctrine and our preaching. For it is not in many things that the truth of Christ is believed. And such of you as are willing to be obedient to Christ, know that many times I have repeated my words before you, that ye might learn and understand whatsoever ye hear. And we will rejoice in this, as a husbandman in his field which is blessed; and our God is glorified by your repentance towards Him. And as ye live in this, we also who counsel you thus will not be defrauded of the blessed reward of this. And because I am confident that ye are a blessed land, according to the will of the Lord Christ, therefore for the dust of my feet which we have been commanded 52 to shake off against the city that receiveth not our words; behold I shake off to-day at the door of your ears the words of my lips, in which the coming of Christ is represented, that which has been, and that which is about to be, and the resurrection and resuscitation of all men, and the separation which is to be between the faithful and unbelieving, and the blessed promise of future joys which they who have believed in Christ and worshipped His high Father, and confessed Him and the Spirit of His godhead, shall receive. And now it is right for us to finish our present discourse, and let those who have received the word of Christ remain with us, and also those who wish to be associated, with us in prayer, and then let them go to their homes."

And Addai the Apostle rejoiced in this when he saw that the multitude of the population of the city remained with him, and there were few who did not remain at that time; and these same few, after a few days, received his words and believed in the gospel of the preaching of Christ.

And when Addai the Apostle had said these things before all the city of Edessa, and Abgar the king saw that all the city rejoiced in his doctrine, men and women equally, and were saying to him "Christ, who hath sent thee to us is true and faithful," and he also greatly rejoiced at this, praising God, that according to what he had heard from Hannan, his tabularius, concerning Christ, so he had seen the marvellous mighty works which Addai the Apostle had done in the name of Christ. And Abgar the king also said to Addai the Apostle, As I sent to Christ by my letter to Him; and as He also sent to me and I have received from thee thyself this day; so will I believe all the days of my life, and in the same things continue, exulting, because I know that there is no other power in the name of whom these signs and wonders are done, but by the power of Christ, whom thou preachest in truth and verity. And now I will worship Him, I and Ma'nu, my son, and Augustina, and Shalmath the queen. And now, wherever thou wishest, build a church, a house of assembly for those who have believed, and shall believe in thy words. And, as commanded thee by thy Lord, minister thou at times with confidence. And those who are teachers with thee of this Gospel, I am prepared to deliver to them large gifts, that they may not have any other work with the ministry. Everything also which is required by thee for the expenses of the house, I will give thee without taking account; thy word shall be powerful and have rule in this city, and without another man, have thou authority to enter into my presence in my royal palace of honour.

And when Abgar the king went down to his royal palace, he rejoiced, he and his princes with him, Abdu and Garmai, and Shamshagram, and Abubai, and Meherdath, with the rest of their companions, at everything which their eyes had seen, and their ears had heard, and in the joy of their heart they also praised God, who had turned their mind to Him; they renounced the paganism in which they stood, and confessed the Gospel of Christ. And when Addai had built a church, they offered in it vows and offerings, they and the people of the city, and there they worshipped all the days of their life.

And Avida and Bar-kalba who were chiefs and rulers, and clothed with royal headbands, drew near to Addai, and they asked Addai concerning the history of Christ, to tell them how that He being God was seen by them, as man, and how ye were able to see Him. And he satisfied them all concerning this, concerning all which their eyes had seen, and concerning all which their ears had heard of Him. And every thing which the Prophets had said of Him, he repeated before them, and they received his words gladly and faithfully, and there was not a man who rose up against him. For the glorious things which he did permitted not a man to rise up against him.

Shavida and Ebednebo, chiefs of the priests of this city, with Piroz 56 and Dancu their companions, when they saw the signs which he did, ran and threw down the altars upon which they sacrificed before Nebo and Bel their gods, except the great altar, which was in the midst of the city, and they cried out and said, that this is truly the disciple of the distinguished and glorious Master of whom we heard all those things, which He did in the country of Palestine. And all who believed in Christ, Addai received, and baptized them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. And those who were accustomed to worship stones and stocks, sat at his feet, learning, and being corrected of the plague of the foolishness of paganism. The Jews also, conversant with the Law and the Prophets, who carried on merchandise in silks, were also persuaded and became disciples, and made confession in Christ, that He is the Son of the living God. But neither Abgar the king, nor Addai the Apostle pressed any man by force to believe in Christ; because without the force of man, the force of the signs compelled many to believe in Him. And all this country of Mesopotamia, and all the regions round about it received his doctrine with love.

But Aggai made the chains and headbands of the king, and Palut and Abshelama and Barsamya with the rest of the others their companions, adhered to Addai the Apostle, and he received them and made them partakers with him in the ministry; they read in the Old Testament and the New, and the Prophets, and the Acts of the Apostles, every day they meditated on them. He commanded them cautiously, "Let your bodies be pure, and let your persons be holy; as is right for men who stand before the altar of God; and be ye indeed far |34 removed from false swearing, and from wicked murder, and from false testimony, which is mixed with adultery, and from sorcerers with respect to whom there are no mercies, and from divinations, and soothsaying, and necromancers, and from fates, and nativities, in which the erring Chaldees boast themselves; and from stars, and the signs of the Zodiac, in which the foolish are confident. And keep at a distance from you evil hypocrisy, and bribes, and gifts, by which the pure are condemned. And with this ministry to which ye have been called, let there not be for you another service; for the Lord Himself is the service of your ministry all the days of your life. Be ye also diligent to deliver the sign of baptism, and love ye not the gains of this world, but hearken ye to judgement with justice and truth. And be ye not a stumbling block to the blind, that the name of Him who opened the eyes of the blind, as we have seen, be not blasphemed through you. Let all, therefore, who see you, perceive that ye perform all which ye preach and teach. And they ministered with him in the church which Addai had built by the word and command of Abgar the king, and they were supplied from that which was the king's and his nobles; and some of them they brought for the house of God, and some for the nourishment of the poor. But a large multitude of people assembled day by day and came to the prayer of the service, and to the reading of the Old and New Testament, of the Diatessaron, and they believed in the revival of the dead, and they buried their dead in the hope of the resurrection. They also observed the festivals of the Church in their times, and every day they were constant in the vigils of the Church, and they likewise performed acts of charity to the sick and those who were whole, according to the instruction of Addai to them. And in places round about the city churches were built, and the hand of the priesthood many received from him: So also orientals with the appearance of merchants passed into the country of the Romans to see the signs which Addai did, and those of them who became disciples, received from them the hand of the priesthood, and in their own country of the Assyrians they taught the sons of their people, and houses of prayer they built there secretly, because of the danger arising from the worshippers of fire and the adorers of water.

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But Nersai, the king of the Assyrians, when he had heard of these things which Addai the Apostle had done, he sent to Abgar, the king; either send me the man who |36 hath done these signs with thee, that I may see him and hear his discourse, or send me an account of all these things which thou hast seen him do in thy city. And Abgar wrote to Nersai and made him acquainted with the whole history of the affair of Addai from the beginning to the end, and he left not any thing which he did not write to him.

But when Nersai heard those things which were written to him, he wondered and was astonished. But Abgar the king, because that he was not able to pass to the country of the Romans, and to go to Palestine and slay the Jews, because that they had crucified Christ, wrote a letter and sent to Tiberius Caesar, writing it thus: "Abgar, the king, to our Lord Tiberius Caesar, peace. Knowing that not anything is hidden from thy Majesty, I write and inform thy dread and great sovereignty, that the Jews, who are under thy hand, who dwell in the country of Palestine, assembled themselves together and crucified the Christ without any fault worthy of death, when he was doing before them signs and wonders, and showed them mighty works and signs; so that even the dead He raised to life for them. And at the time they crucified Him, the sun became darkened and the earth shook, and all creatures trembled, and as if of themselves, at this deed all creation quailed, and its inhabitants. And now thy majesty knows what is right to command against the people of the Jews, who did these things."

And Tiberius Caesar wrote and sent to Abgar the king, and thus he wrote to him: "The letter of thy fidelity to me, I have received, and it was read before me. With respect to that which the Jews have done with the cross, Pilate the governor hath also written, and informed Olbinus, my pro-consul, of these things which thou hast written to me. But because of the war of the Spaniards who have rebelled against me is going on at this time, therefore I have not been able to avenge this matter; but I am prepared, when I have quietness, to make a charge legally against the Jews, who have not acted legally. And because of this, as to Pilate, who was made by me governor there, I have sent another in his place, and I have dismissed him with disgrace, because that he departed from the law, and did the will of the Jews, and he crucified Christ for the gratification of the Jews, who according to that which I hear of them, instead of the cross of death, it was fitting that He should be honoured, and it was right He should be worshipped by them, especially as they saw with their eyes all which He did. But thou, according to thy fidelity to me and thy true |38 compact and that of thy fathers, hast done well to write to me thus."

And Abgar the king, received Aristides, who was sent to him by Tiberius Caesar, and he replied, sent him back with honourable gifts, which were suitable for him, who had sent him to him. And he departed from Edessa, and went to Ticnutha, where was Claudius the second, from the king, and from there also he went to Artica, where was Tiberius Caesar. But Gaius guarded the regions, which were round about the Emperor. And Aristides himself also recounted before Tiberius the mighty works which Addai did before Abgar the king. And when he had rest from the war, he sent, slew some of the chiefs of the Jews, who were in Palestine. And when Abgar the king heard, he greatly rejoiced at this, that the Jews had received punishment, as it was right.

And some years after Addai the Apostle had built the church in Edessa, and furnished it with everything which was suitable for it, and had taught many of the population of the city, also in the other villages, both those which were distant, and those which were near, he built churches, and completed and ornamented them, and appointed in them deacons and elders, and |39 taught in them those who should read the Scriptures, and the orders of the ministry within and without he taught. After all these things he became ill with the disease, by which he departed from this world. And he called Aggai before all the congregation of the church, and he brought him near, and made him governor and ruler in his place. And concerning Palut, who was a deacon, he made him an elder, and of Abshelama, who was a scribe, he made him a deacon. And when the nobles and chiefs were assembled and stood by him, Bar-kalba and Bar-Zati, and Marihab, the son of Barshemesh, and Sennac, son of Avida, and Peroz, son of Patricius, with the rest of their companions, Addai the Apostle said to them: "Ye know, and ye testify, all of you who hear me, that everything which I have preached to you and taught you, and ye have heard from me, so have I conducted myself among you, and ye have seen also in works, because that thus our Lord commanded us that whatsoever we preach in words before the people, we in work should do before every man. And according to the ordinances and laws which were appointed in Jerusalem, and by which also the Apostles, my companions, were governed, so also ye, do not turn aside from them, and do not take away anything from them, as I myself also have been guided by them among you, and have not turned aside from them to the right hand, or to the left, that I might not become strange to the promised salvation, which is reserved for those who are guided by them. Take heed, therefore, to this ministry which ye hold, and with fear and trembling abide ye in it, and minister every day. Minister not in it with habits bringing contempt, but with the prudence of faith; and the praises of Christ, let them not cease from your mouth, and let not weariness in prayer at the stated times draw near to you. Take heed to the truth, which ye hold, and to the teaching of the truth, which ye have received, and to the inheritance of salvation, which I commend to you, because before the judgement-seat of Christ you will be sought out by Him, when He taketh account with the pastors and superiors, and when He taketh His money from merchants with the increase of gains. For He is the king's son, and goes to receive a kingdom, and to return, and to come and make a resurrection for all men; and then He sitteth on the throne of righteousness, and judgeth the dead and the living, as He hath said to us. Let not the secret eye of your mind from the height above be closed, that your offences may not multiply in the way in which there are no offences; nor abominable error in its ways. Seek ye those that are lost, and visit those that err, and rejoice ye in those that are found. Bind up those that are bruised, and be ye watchful of the fatlings, because at your hands will the sheep of Christ be required. Look ye not to passing honour, for the shepherd that looketh to be honoured by his flock, badly, badly with respect to him does his flock stand. Let your solicitude for the young lambs be great, for their angels behold the face of the invisible Father, and be ye not a stone of stumbling before the blind, but clearers of the way and the path in a difficult country, among the Jews, the crucifiers, and the erring heathen; for with these two parties only is there war for you, in order to show the truth of the faith, which ye hold; also when ye are quiet, your modest and honourable appearance will be fighting for you with those who hate truth and love falsehood. Be ye not smiters of the poor before the rich, for the severe infliction of their poverty is sufficient for them. Be ye not beguiled with the hateful cogitations of Satan, that ye be not stripped naked of the faith that ye have put on, for unbelief is easier than faith, as sin is easier than righteousness. Take heed, therefore, of those that crucified, that ye be not friends to them, that ye be not responsible with them whose hands are full of the blood of Christ; and ye know, and ye bear witness, that everything which we say and teach of the history of Christ, is written in the Book of the Prophets, and deposited with them. And their words bear witness to our teaching concerning the judgement, and suffering, and resurrection, and ascension of Christ; but they know not, that when they rise against us they rise against the words of the Prophets, and as in their lives they persecuted the Prophets, so also now, since their death, they persecute the truth, which is written in the Prophets. Again, take ye heed of the heathen, who worship the sun and the moon, and Bel and Nebo, and the rest of those which they call gods, though they are not gods in their nature. Flee ye, therefore, from them, because that they worship creatures and things made. And as reported to you before, the whole object for which our Lord came into the world was that creatures might not again be worshipped and honoured, because they exist by the nod of their Creator; and when He wishes, He dissolves and makes them cease, and they are as though they are not. For the will of Him, who created the creatures, freed men from the yoke of the paganism of the creatures. For ye know that every one who worships the servants of a king with the king, the death of the sword findeth him in his worship. Be ye not searching for secret things, and inquiring after hidden things, which are written in the holy books that ye possess. Be ye not judges concerning the words of the Prophets. Remember and consider that by the Spirit of God they are said; and he who accuses the Prophets, accuses and judges the Spirit of God. May this be far from you I Because the ways of the Lord are straight, and the righteous walk in them without stumbling; but the infidels stumble in them; because that they have not the secret eye of the secret mind, which has no need of questions in which there is no profit, but loss.76 Remember the menacing judgement of the Prophets, and the word of our Lord, which defines their words, that the Lord judgeth by fire, and all men are tried by it. Wherefore, as wayfarers and sojourners, who tarry for a night and return early to their homes, so may you yourselves consider concerning this world, that from here ye go forth to the places where the Son went to prepare for every one worthy of them. As to kings of countries, their armies go forth before them, and prepare for them a dwelling-house for their honour; but this King of ours, behold, He is gone to prepare for His worshippers blessed mansions in which they may dwell. For it was not in vain God created the children of men; but that they might worship and glorify Him. here and there for ever. As He passeth not away, so those glorifying Him cease not. Wherefore my death also, with the disease of which I am bound and lie; as a sleep of the night, let it be esteemed in your eyes. And remember that with the suffering of the Son, Death, which snatches away the children of men, passed away and ceased; and Satan, who causes many to sin and makes war with the true, that they may be without truth. And as a husbandman who puts his hand to the ploughshare, if he looks behind, the furrows before him cannot be straight; so also ye who have been called to this gift of the ministry, be ye cautious, that ye do not trouble yourselves with the things of this world, lest by chance ye be impeded as to that to which ye have been called.

As to princes and judges, who have embraced this faith, be ye loving them, although do not simulate in any thing, and if they sin, ye reprove them with justice. Ye shall show them openly your rectitude, that they may be corrected so as not again to conduct themselves after their own will. This solicitude ye shall have all the days of your life, that all of you may run after honest things, as ye also counsel others with respect to them; for in these things men find their life before God.

But the Law and the Prophets, and the Gospel, which ye read every day before the people, and the Epistles of Paul, which Simon Peter sent us from the city of Rome, and the Acts of the twelve Apostles, which John, the son of Zebedee, sent us from Ephesus; these Books read ye in the churches of Christ, and with these read not any others, as there is not any other in which the truth that ye hold is written, except these books, which retain you in the faith to which ye have been called. And our lord Abgar the king, and his honoured nobles, who have heard that which I have spoken before you to day are sufficient to be for me witnesses after my death, that I have diligently preached the doctrine of our Lord before every man, and that I have not acquired anything with His word in the world. For His word by which I have become rich was sufficient for me, and I have made by it many rich; for it lifts me up in this way in which I go forth before Christ, who has sent after me, that I should go by it to Him. For ye know that which I have said to you, "That all the souls of men, which depart from this body, die not; but they live and rise, and have mansions, and a dwelling-place of rest, for the understanding and the intelligence of the soul do not cease, because the image of God is represented in it, which dieth not. For it is not as the body without feeling which perceives not the odious corruption which has come upon it. Eeward and recompense it is not able to receive without it (the body); because that labour was not its only, but also of the body in which it dwelt. But the rebellious who know not God, they become penitent then to no purpose. Ye, indeed, who are of Christ, whose glorious name is placed upon you, and ruleth, He will direct you in the way of truth, in which, ye shall go and shall arrive at and attain to that which is promised and kept for those who depart not from Him; but abide according to what they were called to by our Lord.

And when Addai the Apostle had said this word, he ceased and was silent. And Aggai, maker of the king's chains, and Palut, and Abshelama, with the rest of their companions, answered and said to Addai the Apostle, "Christ Himself has testified that He sent thee to us, and thou hast taught us the true faith, and hast made us possess the true life. As we have heard from thee and received, all this time thou hast been with us, so we abide all the days of our life. And from the worship of things made and created, which our fathers worshipped, we flee, and with the Jews, the crucifiers we will not mix ourselves; and this inheritance, which we have received from thee, we do not let go, but with it we will depart from this world. And in the day of our Lord, before the judgement-seat of righteousness, there will He return to us this inheritance as that thou hast said to us.

And when these things had been said, Abgar the king, |46 arose, he and his princes, and all the nobles of his kingdom, and he went to his own palace, when all of them grieved over him, for he was dying. And he sent to him honourable and costly garments, in which he should be buried; and when Addai saw them, he sent word to him, that not in my life have I taken from thee anything, and I will not falsify in me the word of Christ, which He said to me, "Receive not anything from man, arid acquire not anything in this world." And after three other days, that these things were said by Addai the Apostle, and he had heard and received the testimony of the doctrine of his preaching from the sons of his ministry, before all the nobles, he departed from this world, and it was the fifth day of the week, in the fourteenth of the month Eyor.82 And the whole city was in great sorrow and bitter pain; not only Christians sorrowed for Him, but also Jews and Pagans, who were in this city. But king Abgar more than any man sorrowed for him, he and the princes of his kingdom. And in the grief of his mind he despised and forsook the honour of his kingdom on that day; and with mournful tears he wept over him with every man. And all the people of the city, who saw him, wondered at how much he suffered because of him. And with great and excellent honour he carried and buried him, as one of the princes, when he dies, and he placed him in a great sepulchre of ornamental sculpture, in which those of the house of Aryu, the ancestors of the father of king Abgar, were placed. There he placed him carefully with grief and great sorrow. And all the people of the church went from time to time, and prayed there diligently, and the commemoration of his death they made from year to year, according to the command and instruction which was received by them from Addai the Apostle, and according to the word of Aggai, who was himself the guide and ruler and the successor of his chair

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after him, by the hand of the priesthood, which he had received from him before every man.

And he also by the hand from which he received made priests and guides in all this country of Mesopotamia. For they also, as of Addai the Apostle, thus took his word and heard and received, as a good and faithful heir of the Apostle of the adorable Christ. But silver and gold he took not from man, and the gifts of the princes approached him not. For instead of gold and silver he enriched the Church of Christ with the souls of the faithful. But all the chiefs of men and women were modest and decorous, and they were holy and pure, and they dwelt singly and modestly without spot, in watchfulness of the ministry decorously, in their carefulness for the poor, in their visitations to the sick; for their goings forth were full of praise from those who saw, and their conversation was covered with glory from strangers; so that even the priests of the temple of Nebo and Bel divided with them the honour at all times, by their honourable aspect, by their truthful discourse, by the confidence which they possessed, and by their freedom, which was not enslaved to greediness, and was not in bondage under blame. For every one who saw them ran to meet them, that he might honourably salute them; because even the sight of them spread peace over the beholders. For their words of peace were spread like nets over the rebellious, when they were entering the fold of truth and verity. For there was no man who saw them, and was ashamed of them; because they did not anything which was not just, and which was not becoming, and in consequence of this their countenances were open in the preaching of their doctrine to every man. For whatsoever they said to others and directed them, they exhibited the same by works in themselves; and as to the hearers, who saw that their works were with their words, many became their disciples without persuasion, and confessed Christ the king, praising God who had turned them to Him.

And years after the death of Abgar the king, one of his rebellious sons, who was not obedient to the truth, arose and sent word to Aggai, when he was sitting in the Church: "Make me headbands of gold, according to that which thou didst make for my fathers of old." Aggai sent him word: "I desert not the ministry of Christ, which has been committed to me by the disciple of Christ, and make headbands of wickedness." And when he saw that he did not obey him, he sent, and broke his legs, as he was sitting in the church and expounding. And as he was dying he made Palut and Abshelama swear that in this house, for the sake of whose name, behold, I die, place me and bury me. And as he made them swear, so they placed him within the middle door of the church, between the men and the women. And there was great and bitter sorrow in all the church, and in all the city, above the pain of sorrow, which had been in its interior, as the sorrow, which had been when Addai the Apostle died.

And because that by the breaking of his legs he died suddenly and quickly, he was not able to place the hand upon Palut. Palut himself went to Antioch, and received the hand of the priesthood from Serapion, Bishop of Antioch. Serapion, Bishop of Antioch, himself also received the hand from Zephyrinus, Bishop of the city of Rome, from the succession of the hand of the priesthood of Simon Cephas, which he received from our Lord, who was there Bishop of Rome twenty-five years, in the days of the Caesar, who reigned there thirteen years.

And as is the custom in the kingdom of Abgar the king, and in all kingdoms, that everything which the king commands, and everything that is said before him is written down and placed among the records, so also Labubna, the son of Sennac, the son of Abshadar, the king's scribe, wrote these things of Addai the Apostle, from the beginning to the end. Hannan also, the Tabularius, the king's Sharrir, set the hand of witness, and placed it among the records of the writings of the kings, where are put the commands and laws, and the contracts of those who buy and sell are kept there with care, without any negligence.

[The End Of The Doctrine Of Addai The Apostle.]

THE EPISTLES OF HEROD AND PILATE

The Letters of King Herod and Governor Pontius Pilatus
Connecting Roman History with the Death of Jesus (the Christ) at Jerusalem.
From: The Lost Books of the Bible, 1820
Translation: William Wake, 1693
Estimated Range of Dating: 40-100 A.D.

(These letters occur in a Syriac manuscript, of the sixth or seventh century, in the British Museum. Dr. Tischendorf states in his Apocalypses Apocryphae (Prolegg. p. 56) that he has a copy of the same in Greek from a Paris manuscript, of which he says "scripture satis differt, non item argumentum." The letters are followed by a few extracts which seem to have been added by some copyist, although they are followed by the subscription to Pilate's letter. We suppose that by Justinus, we are to understand Justus of Tiberias of whom Josephus speaks as a historian of his tine. We cannot venture an opinion favourable to the genuineness of this extract, because Photius says Justus did not mention Jesus. By Theodorus, we understand the Emperor Tiberius. The question and answer agree in sense with what is read in the "Anaphora," or response of Pilate.)

LETTER OF HEROD TO PILATE THE GOVERNOR.

Herod to Pontius Pilate the Governor of Jerusalem: Peace.

I am in great anxiety. I write these things unto thee, that when thou hast heard them thou mayest be grieved for me. For as my daughter Herodias, who is dear to me, was playing upon a pool of water which had ice upon it, it broke under her, and all her body went down, and her head was cut off and remained on the surface of the ice. And behold, her mother is holding her head upon her knees in her lap, and my whole house is in great sorrow. For I, when I heard of the man Jesus, wished to come to thee, that I might see him alone, and hear his word, whether it was like that of the sons of men. And it is certain that because of the many evil things which were done by me to John the Baptist, and because I mocked the Christ, behold I receive the reward of righteousness, for I have shed much blood of others' children upon the earth. Therefore the judgements of God are righteous; for every man receives according to his thought. But since thou wast worthy to see that God-man, therefore it becometh you to pray for me.

My son Azbonius also is in the agony of the hour of death.

And I too am in affliction and great trial, because I have the dropsy; and am in great distress, because I persecuted the introducer of baptism by water, which was John. Therefore, my brother, the judgements of God are righteous.

And my wife, again, through all her grief for her daughter, is become blind in her left eye, because we desired to blind the Eye of righteousness. There is no peace to the doers of evil, saith the Lord. For already great affliction cometh upon the priests and upon the writers of the law; because they delivered unto thee the Just One. For this is the consummation of the world, that they consented that the Gentiles should become heirs. For the children of light shall be cast out, for they have not observed the things which were preached concerning the Lord, and concerning his Son. Therefore gird up thy loins, and receive righteousness, thou with thy wife remembering Jesus night and day; and the kingdom shall belong to you Gentiles, for we the (chosen) people have mocked the Righteous One.

Now if there is place for our request, O Pilate, because we were at one time in power, bury my household carefully; for it is right that we should be buried by thee, rather than by the priests, whom, after a little time, as the Scriptures say, at the coming of Jesus Christ, vengeance shall overtake.

Fare thee well, with Procla thy wife.

I send thee the earrings of my daughter and my own ring, that they may be unto thee a memorial of my decease. For already do worms begin to issue from my body, 4 and lo, I am receiving temporal judgement, and I am afraid of the judgement to come. For in both we stand before the works of the living God; but this judgement, which is temporal, is for a time, while that to come is judgement for ever.

End of the Letter to Pilate the Governor.

LETTER OF PILATE TO HEROD.

Pilate to Herod the Tetrarch: Peace.

Know and see, that in the day when thou didst deliver Jesus unto me, I took pity on myself, and testified by washing my hands (that I was innocent), concerning him who rose from the grave after three days, and had performed thy pleasure in him, for thou didst desire me to be associated with thee in his crucifixion. But I now learn from the executioners and from the soldiers who watched his sepulchre that he rose from the dead. And I have especially confirmed what was told me, that he appeared bodily in Galilee, to the same form, and with the same voice, and with the same doctrine, and with the sane disciples, not having changed 1 in anything, but preaching with boldness his resurrection, and an everlasting kingdom.

And behold, heaven and earth rejoice; and behold, Procla my wife is believing in the visions which appeared unto her, when thou sentest that I should deliver Jesus to the people of Israel, because of the ill-will they had.

Now when Procla, my wife, heard that Jesus was risen, and had appeared in Galilee, she took with her Longinus the centurion and twelve soldiers, the same that had watched at the sepulchre, and went to greet the face of Christ, as if to a great spectacle, and saw him with his disciples.

Now while they were standing, and wondering, and gazing at him, he looked at them, and said to them, What is it? Do ye believe in me? Procla, know that in the covenant which God gave to the fathers, it is said that every body which had perished should live by means of my death, which ye have seen. And now, ye see that I live, whom ye crucified. And I suffered many things, till that I was laid in the sepulchre. But now, hear me, and believe in my Father—God who is in me. For I loosed the cords of death, and brake the gates of Sheol; and my coming shall be hereafter.

And when Procla my wife and the Romans heard these things, they came and told me, weeping; for they also were against him, when they devised the evils which they had done unto him. So that, I also was on the couch of my bed in affliction, and put on a garment of mourning, and took unto me fifty Romans with my wife and went into Galilee.

And when I was going in the way I testified these things; that Herod did these things by me, that he took counsel with me, and constrained me to arm my hands against him, and to judge him that judgeth all, and to scourge the Just One, Lord of the just. And when we drew nigh to him, O Herod, a great voice was heard from heaven, and dreadful thunder, and the earth trembled, and gave forth a sweet smell, like unto which was never perceived even in the temple of Jerusalem. Now while I stood in the way, our Lord saw me as he stood and talked with his disciples. But I prayed in my heart, for I knew that it was he whom ye delivered unto me, that he was Lord of created things and Creator of all. But we, when we saw him, all of us fell upon our faces before his feet. And I said with a loud voice, I have sinned, O Lord, in that I sat and judged thee, who avengest all in truth. And lo, I know that thou art God, the Son of God, and I beheld thy humanity and not thy divinity. But Herod, with the children of Israel, constrained me to do evil unto thee. Have pity, therefore, upon me, O God of Israel!

And my wife, in great anguish, said, God of heaven and of earth, God of Israel, reward me not according to the deeds of Pontius Pilate, nor according to the will of the children of Israel, nor according to the thought of the sons of the priests; but remember my husband in thy glory!

Now our Lord drew near and raised up me and my wife, and the Romans; and I looked at him and saw there were on him the scars of his cross. And he said, That which all the righteous fathers hoped to receive, and saw not—in thy time the Lord of Time, the Son of Man, the Son of the Most High, who is for ever, arose from the dead, and is glorified on high by all that he created, and established for ever and ever.

1. Justinus, one of the writers that were in the days of Augustus and Tiberius and Gains, wrote in his third discourse: Now Mary the Galilaean, who bare the Christ that was crucified in Jerusalem, had not been with a husband. And Joseph did not abandon her; but Joseph continued in sanctity without a wife, he and his five sons by a former wife; and Mary continued without a husband.

2. Theodorus wrote to Pilate the Governor: Who was the man, against whom there was a complaint before thee, that he was crucified by the men of Palestine? If the many demanded this righteously, why didst thou not consent to their righteousness? And if they demanded this unrighteously, how didst thou transgress the law and command what was far from righteousness?

Pilate sent to him:—Because he wrought signs I did not wish to crucify him: and since his accusers said, He calleth himself a king, I crucified him.

3. Josephus saith: Agrippa, the king, was clothed in a robe woven with silver, and saw the spectacle in the theatre of Caesarea. When the people saw that his raiment flashed, they said to him, Hitherto we feared thee as a man: henceforth thou art exalted above the nature of mortals. And he saw an angel standing over him, and he smote him as unto death.

End of the Letter of Pilate to Herod.

THE EPISTLE OF PONTIUS PILATE,

Which he Wrote to the Roman Emperor Concerning our Lord Jesus Christ.

Pontius Pilate to Tiberius Caesar—Greeting:

Upon Jesus Christ, whom I fully made known to thee in my last, a bitter punishment hath at length been inflicted by the will of the people, although I was unwilling and apprehensive. In good truth, no age ever had or will have a man so good and strict. But the people made a wonderful effort, and all their scribes, chiefs and elders agreed to crucify this ambassador of truth, their own prophets, like the Sibyls with us, advising the contrary; and when he was hanged supernatural signs appeared, and in the judgement of philosophers menaced the whole world with ruin. His disciples flourish, not belying their master by their behaviour and continence of life; nay, in his name they are most beneficent. Had I not feared a sedition might arise among the people, who were almost furious, perhaps this man would have yet been living with us. Although, being rather compelled by fidelity to thy dignity, than led by my own inclination, I did not strive with all my might to prevent the sale and suffering of righteous blood, guiltless of every accusation, unjustly, indeed, through the maliciousness of men, and yet, as the Scriptures interpret, to their own destruction.

Farewell. The 5th of the Calends of April.

THE REPORT OF PILATE THE GOVERNOR,

Concerning our Lord Jesus Christ; which was Sent to Augustus Caesar, in Rome.

In those days, when our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified under Pontius Pilate, the governor of Palestine and Phoenicia, the things here recorded came to pass in Jerusalem, and were done by the Jews against the Lord. Pilate therefore sent the

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same to Caesar in Rome, along with his private report, writing thus:

To the most potent, august, divine and awful Augustus Caesar, Pilate, the administrator of the Eastern Province:

I have received information, most excellent one, in consequence of which I am seized with fear and trembling. For in this province which I administer, one of whose cities is called Jerusalem, the whole multitude of Jews delivered unto me a certain man called Jesus, and brought many accusations against him, which they were unable to establish by consistent evidence. But they charged him with one heresy in particular, namely, That Jesus said the Sabbath was not a rest, nor to be observed by them. For he performed many cures on that day, and made the blind see, and the lame walk, raised the dead, cleansed lepers, healed the paralytic who were wholly unable to move their body or brace their nerves, but could only speak and discourse, and he gave them power to walk and run, removing their infirmity by his word alone. There is another very mighty deed which is strange to the gods we have: he raised up a man who had been four days dead, summoning him by his word alone, when the dead man had begun to decay, and his body was corrupted by the worms which had been bred, and had the stench of a dog; but, seeing him lying in the tomb he commanded him to run, nor did the dead man at all delay, but as a bridegroom out of his chamber, so did he go forth from his tomb, filled with abundant perfume. Moreover, even such as were strangers, and clearly demoniacs, who had their dwelling in deserts, and devoured their own flesh, and wandered about like cattle and creeping things, he turned into inhabiters of cities, and by a word rendered them rational, and prepared them to become wise and powerful, and illustrious, taking their food with all the enemies of the unclean spirits which were destructive in them, and which he cast into the depth of the sea.

And, again, there was another who had a withered hand, and not only the hand but rather the half of the body of the man was like a stone, and he had neither the shape of a man nor the symmetry of a body: even him He healed with a word and rendered whole. And a woman also, who had an issue of blood for a long time, and whose veins and arteries were exhausted, and who did not bear a human body, being like one dead, and daily speechless, so that all the physicians of the district were unable to cure her, for there remained unto her not a hope of life; but as Jesus passed by she mysteriously received strength by his shadow falling on her, from behind she touched the hem of his garment, and immediately, in that very hour, strength filled her exhausted limbs, and as if she had never suffered anything, she began to run along towards Capernaum, her own city, so that she reached it in a six days' journey.

And I have made known these things which I have recently been informed of, and which Jesus did on the Sabbath. And he did other miracles greater than these, so that I have observed greater works of wonder done by him than by the gods whom we worship.

But Herod and Archelaus and Philip, Annas and Caiaphas, with all the people, delivered him to me, making a great tumult against me in order that I might try him. Therefore, I commanded him to be crucified, when I had first scourged him, though I found no cause in him for evil accusations or dealings.

Now when he was crucified, there was darkness over all the world, and the sun was obscured for half a day, and the stars appeared, but no lustre was seen in them; and the moon lost its brightness, as though tinged with blood; and the world of the departed was swallowed up; so that the very sanctuary of the temple, as they call it, did not appear to the Jews themselves at their fall, but they perceived a chasm in the earth, and the rolling of successive thunders. And amid this terror the dead appeared rising again, as the Jews themselves bore witness, and said that it was Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the twelve patriarchs, and Moses, and Job, who had died before, as they say, some three thousand five hundred years. And there were very many whom I myself saw appearing in the body, and they made lamentation over the Jews, because of the transgression which was committed by them, and because of the destruction of the Jews and of their law.

And the terror of the earthquake continued from the sixth hour of the preparation until the ninth hour; and when it was evening on the first day of the week, there came a sound from heaven, and the heaven became seven times more luminous than on all other days. And at the third hour of the night the sun appeared more luminous than it had ever shone, lighting up the whole hemisphere. And as lightning-flashes suddenly come forth in a storm, so there were seen men, lofty in stature, and surpassing in glory, a countless host, crying out, and their voice was heard as that of exceedingly loud thunder, Jesus that was crucified is risen again: come up from Hades ye that were enslaved in the subterraneous recesses of Hades. And the chasm in the earth was as if it had no bottom; but it was so that the very foundations of the earth appeared, with those that shouted in heaven, and walked in the body among the dead that were raised. And He that raised up all the dead and bound Hades said, Say to my disciples He goeth before you into Galilee, there shall ye see Him.

And all that night the light ceased not shining. And many of the Jews died in the chasm of the earth, being swallowed up, so that on the morrow most of those who had been against Jesus were not to be found. Others saw the apparition of men rising again whom none of us had ever seen. One synagogue of the Jews was alone left in Jerusalem itself, for they all disappeared in that ruin.

Therefore being astounded by that terror, and being possessed with the most dreadful trembling, I have written what I saw at that time and sent it to thine excellency; and I have inserted what was done against Jesus by the Jews, and sent it to thy divinity, my lord.

THE REPORT OF PONTIUS PILATE,

Governor of Judea; Which was sent to Tiberius Caesar in Rome.

To the most potent, august, dreadful, and divine Augustus, Pontius Pilate, administrator of the Eastern Province.

I have undertaken to communicate to thy goodness by this my writing, though possessed with much fear and trembling, most excellent king, the present state of affairs, as the result hath shown. For as I administered this province, my lord, according to the command of thy serenity, which is one of the eastern cities called Jerusalem, wherein the temple of the nation of the Jews is erected, all the multitude of the Jews, being assembled, delivered up to me a certain man called Jesus, bringing many and endless accusations against him; but they could not convict him in anything. But they had one heresy against him, that he said the sabbath was not their proper rest.

Now that man wrought many cures and good works: he caused the blind to see, he cleansed lepers, he raised the dead, he healed paralytics, who could not move at all, but had only voice, and all their bones in their places; and he gave them strength to walk and run, enjoining it by his word alone. And he did another yet more mighty work, which had been strange even among our gods, he raised from the dead one Lazarus, who had been dead four days, commanding by a word alone that the dead man should be raised, when his body was already corrupted by worms which bred in his wounds. And he commanded the fetid body, which lay in the grave, to run, and as bridegroom from his chamber so he went forth from his grave, full of sweet perfume. And some that were grievously afflicted by demons, and had their dwellings in desert places, and devoured the flesh of their own limbs, and went up and down among creeping things and wild beasts, he caused to dwell in cities in their own houses, and by a word made them reasonable, and caused to become wise and honourable those that were vexed by unclean spirits, and the demons that were in them he sent out into a herd of swine into the sea and drowned them. Again, another who had a withered hand, and lived in suffering, and had not even the half of his body sound, he made whole by a word alone. And a woman who had an issue of blood for a long time, so that because of the discharge all the joints of her bones were seen and shone through like glass, for all the physicians had dismissed her without hope, and had not cleansed her, for there was in her no hope of health at all; but once, as Jesus was passing by she touched from behind the hem of his garments, and in that very hour the strength of her body was restored, and she was made whole, as if she had no affliction, and began to run fast towards her own city of Paneas. And these things happened thus: but the Jews reported that Jesus did these things on the sabbath. And I saw that greater marvels had been wrought by him than by the gods whom we worship. Him then Herod and Archelaus and Philip, and Annas and Caiaphas, with all the people, delivered up to me, to put him on his trial. And because many raised a tumult against me, I commanded that he should be crucified.

Now when he was crucified darkness came over all the world; the sun was altogether hidden, and the sky appeared dark while it was yet day, so that the stars were seen, though still they had their lustre obscured, wherefore, I suppose your excellency is not unaware that in all the world they lighted their lamps from the sixth hour until evening. And the moon, which was like blood, did not shine all night long, although it was at the full, and the stars and Orion made lamentation over the Jews, because of the transgression committed by them.

And on the first day of the week, about the third hour of the night, the sun appeared as it never shone before, and the whole heaven became bright. And as lightnings come in a storm, so certain men of lofty stature, in beautiful array, and of indescribable glory, appeared in the air, and a countless host of angels, crying out and saying, Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will among men: Come up from Hades, ye who are in bondage in the depths of Hades. And at their voice all the mountains and hills were moved, and the rocks were rent, and great chasms were made in the earth, so that the very places of the abyss were visible.

And amid the terror dead men were seen rising again, so that the Jews who saw it said, We beheld Abraham and Isaac, and Jacob, and the twelve patriarchs, who died some two thousand five hundred years before, and we beheld Noah clearly in the body. And all the multitude walked about and sang hymns to God with a loud voice, saying, The Lord our God, who hath risen from the dead, hath made alive all the dead, and Hades he hath spoiled and slain.

Therefore, my lord king, all that night the light ceased not. But many of the Jews died, and were sunk and swallowed up in the chasms that night, so that not even their bodies were to be seen. Now I mean, that those of the Jews suffered who spake against Jesus. And but one synagogue remained in Jerusalem, for all the synagogues which had been against Jesus were overwhelmed.

Through that terror, therefore, being amazed and being seized with great trembling, in that very hour, I ordered what had been done by them all to be written, and I have sent it to thy mightiness.

THE TRIAL AND CONDEMNATION OF PILATE

Now when the letters came to the city of the Romans, and were read to Caesar with no few standing there, they were all terrified, because, through the transgression of Pilate, the darkness and the earthquake had happened to all the world. And Caesar, being filled with anger, sent soldiers and commanded that Pilate should be brought as a prisoner.

And when he was brought to the city of the Romans, and Caesar heard that he was come, he sat in the temple of the gods, above all the senate, and with all the army, and with all the multitude of his power, and commanded that Pilate should stand in the entrance. And Caesar said to him, Most impious one, when thou sawest so great signs done by that man, why didst thou dare to do thus? By daring to do an evil deed thou hast ruined all the world.

And Pilate said, King and Autocrat, I am not guilty of these things, but it is the multitude of the Jews who are precipitate and guilty. And Caesar said, And who are they? Pilate saith, Herod, Archelaus, Philip, Annas and Caiaphas, and all the multitude of the Jews. Caesar saith, For what cause didst thou execute their purpose? And Pilate said, Their nation is seditious and insubordinate, and not submissive to thy power. And Caesar said, When they delivered him to thee thou oughtest to have made him secure and sent him to me, and not consented to them to crucify such a man, who was just and wrought such great and good miracles, as thou saidst in thy report. For by such miracles Jesus was manifested to be the Christ, the King of the Jews.

And when Caesar said this and himself named the name of Christ, all the multitude of the gods fell down together, and became like dust where Caesar sat with the senate. And all the people that stood near Caesar were filled with trembling because of the utterance of the word and the fall of their gods, and being seized with fear they all went away, every man to his house, wondering at what had happened. And Caesar commanded Pilate to be safely kept, that he might know the truth about Jesus.

And on the morrow when Caesar sat in the capitol with all the senate, he undertook to question Pilate again. And Caesar said, Say the truth, most impious one, for through thy impious deed which thou didst commit against Jesus, even here the doing of thy evil works were manifested, in that the gods were brought to ruin. Say then, who is he that was crucified, for his name hath destroyed all the gods? Pilate said, And verily his records are true; for even I myself was convinced by his works that he was greater than all the gods whom we venerate. And Caesar said, For what cause then didst thou perpetrate against him such daring and doing, not being ignorant of him, or assuredly designing some mischief to my government? And Pilate said, I did it because of the transgression and sedition of the lawless and ungodly Jews.

And Caesar was filled with anger, and held a council with all his senate and officers, and ordered a decree to be written against the Jews thus:—To Licianus who holdeth the first place in the East Country. Greeting:

I have been informed of the audacity perpetrated very recently by the Jews inhabiting Jerusalem and the cities round about, and their lawless doing, how they compelled Pilate to crucify a certain god called Jesus, through which great transgression of theirs the world was darkened and drawn into ruin. Determine therefore, with a body of soldiers, to go to them there at once and proclaim their subjection to bondage by this decree. By obeying and proceeding against them, and scattering them abroad in all nations, enslave them, and by driving their nation from all Judea as soon as possible show, wherever this hath not yet appeared, that they are full of evil.

And when this decree came into the East Country, Licianus obeyed, through fear of the decree, and laid waste all the nation of the Jews, and caused those that were left in Judea, to go into slavery with them that were scattered among the Gentiles, that it might be known by Caesar that these things had been done by Licianus against the Jews in the East Country, and to please him.

And again Caesar resolved to have Pilate questioned, and commanded a captain, Albius by name, to cut off Pilate's head, saying, As he laid hands upon the just man, that is called

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Christ, he also shall fall in like manner, and find no deliverance.

And when Pilate came to the place he prayed in silence, saying, O Lord, destroy not me with the wicked Hebrews, for I should not have laid hands upon thee, but for the nation of lawless Jews, because they provoked sedition against mss but thou knowest that I did it in ignorance. Destroy me not, therefore, for this my sin, nor be mindful of the evil that is in me, O Lord, and in thy servant Procla who standeth with me in this the hour of my death, whom thou taughtest to prophecy that thou must be nailed to the cross. Do not punish her too in my sin, but forgive us, and number us in the portion of thy just ones. And behold, when Pilate had finished his prayer, there came a voice from heaven, saying, All generations and the families of the Gentiles shall call thee blessed, because under thee were fulfilled all these things that were spoken by the prophets concerning me; and thou thyself must appear as my witness at my second coming, when I shall judge the twelve tribes of Israel, and them that have not confessed my name. And the Prefect cut off the head of Pilate, and behold an angel of the Lord received it. And when his wife Procla saw the angel coming and receiving his head, she also, being filled with joy, forthwith gave up the ghost, and was buried with her husband.

THE DEATH OF PILATE, WHO CONDEMNED JESUS.

Now whereas Tiberius Caesar emperor of the Romans was suffering from a grievous sickness, and hearing that there was at Jerusalem a certain physician, Jesus by name, who healed all diseases by his word alone; not knowing that the Jews and Pilate had put him to death, he thus bade one of his attendants, Volusianus by name, saying, Go as quickly as thou canst across the sea, and tell Pilate, my servant and friend, to send me this physician to restore me to my original health. And Volusianus, having heard the order of the emperor, immediately departed, and came to Pilate, as it was commanded him. And he told the same Pilate what had been committed to him by Tiberius Caesar, saying, Tiberius Caesar, emperor of the Romans, thy Lord, having heard that in this city there is a physician who healeth diseases by his word alone, earnestly entreateth thee to send him to him to heal his disease. And Pilate was greatly terrified on hearing this, knowing that through envy he had caused him to be slain. Pilate answered the messenger, saying thus, This man was a malefactor, and a man who drew after himself all the people; so, after counsel taken of the wise men of the city, I caused him to be crucified. And as the messenger returned to his lodgings he met a certain woman named Veronica, who had been acquainted with Jesus, and he said, O woman, there was a certain physician in this city, who healed the sick by his word alone, why have the Jews slain him? And she began to weep, saying, Ah, me, my lord, it was my God and my Lord whom Pilate through envy delivered up, condemned, and commanded to be crucified. Then he, grieving greatly, said, I am exceedingly sorry that I cannot fulfil that for which my lord hath sent me.

Veronica said to him, When my Lord went about preaching, and I was very unwillingly deprived of his presence, I desired to have his picture painted for me, that while I was deprived of his presence, at least the figure of his likeness might give me consolation. And when I was taking the canvas to the painter to be painted, my Lord met me and asked whither I was going. And when I had made known to him the cause of my journey, He asked me for the canvas, and gave it back to me printed with the likeness of his venerable face. Therefore, if thy lord will devoutly look upon the sight of this, he will straightway enjoy the benefit of health.

Is a likeness of this kind to be procured with gold or silver? he asked. No, said she, but with a pious sentiment of devotion. Therefore, I will go with thee, and carry the likeness to Caesar to look upon, and will return.

So Volusianus came with Veronica to Rome, and said to Tiberius the emperor, Jesus, whom thou hast long desired, Pilate and the Jews have surrendered to an unjust death, and through envy fastened to the wood of the cross. Therefore, a certain matron hath come with me bringing the likeness of the same Jesus, and if thou wilt devoutly gaze upon it, thou wilt presently obtain the benefit of thy health. So Caesar caused the way to be spread with cloths of silk, and ordered the portrait to be presented to him; and as soon as he had looked upon it he regained his original health.

Then Pontius Pilate was apprehended by command of Caesar and brought to Rome. Caesar, hearing that Pilate had come to Rome, was filled with exceeding wrath against him, and caused him to be brought to him. Now Pilate brought with him the seamless coat of Jesus, and wore it when before the emperor. As soon as the emperor saw him he laid aside all his wrath, and forthwith rose to him, and was unable to speak harshly to him in anything: and he who in his absence seemed so terrible and fierce now in his presence is found comparatively gentle.

And when he had dismissed him, he soon became terribly inflamed against him, declaring himself wretched, because he had not expressed to him the anger of his bosom. And immediately he had him recalled, swearing and protesting that he was a child of death, and unfitted to live upon earth. And when he saw him he instantly greeted him, and laid aside all the fury of his mind.

All were astonished, and he was astonished himself, that he was so enraged against Pilate while absent, and could say nothing to him sharply while he was present. At length, by Divine suggestion, or perhaps by the persuasion of some Christian, he had him stripped of the coat, and soon resumed against him his original fury of mind. And when the emperor was wondering very much about this, they told him it had been the coat of the Lord Jesus. Then the emperor commanded him to be kept in prison till he should take counsel with the wise men what ought to be done with him. And after a few days sentence was given against Pilate that he should be condemned to the most ignominious death. When Pilate heard this he slew himself with his own dagger, and by such a death put an end to his life.

When Pilate's death was made known Caesar said, Truly he has died a most ignominious death, whose own hand has not spared him. He was therefore fastened to a great block of stone and sunk in the river Tiber. But wicked and unclean spirits, rejoicing in his wicked and unclean body, all moved about in the water, and caused in the air dreadful lightning and tempests, thunder and hail, so that all were seized with horrible fear. On which account the Romans dragged him out of the river Tiber, bore him away in derision to Vienne, and sunk him in the river Rhone. For Vienne means, as it were, Way of Gehenna, because it was then a place of cursing. And evil spirits were there and did the same things.

Those men, therefore, not enduring to be so harassed by demons, removed the vessel of cursing from them and sent it to be buried in the territory of Losania. But when they were troubled exceedingly by the aforesaid vexations, they put it away from them and sunk it in a certain pool surrounded by mountains, where even yet, according to the account of some, sundry diabolical contrivances are said to issue forth.

End of Correspondence.

THE LETTERS OF HEROD AND PILATE

From Syriac-Aramaic manuscripts of the British Museum
Translation: William Wright, 1865
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 4th centuries

THE LETTER OF HEROD TO PILATE THE HEGEMON.

Herod to Pontius Pilate the Hegemon of Jerusalem, health!

I am in great anxiety. I write unto thee these (things), that, when thou hast heard them, thou mayest grieve for me. For as my daughter, who was dear to me, Herodia, was playing on a deep (pond) of water which was frozen over, the ice broke under her, and her whole body went down, and her head was cut off, and remained on the surface of the ice. And lo, her mother is holding her head on her knees in her lap, and my whole house is in great sorrow. For I, when I heard of the man Jesus, wished to come unto thee, and to see him alone, and hear his word, if it was like to that of the sons of men. And it is certain that, because of the many 'evil things which I did unto John the Baptist, and because I mocked at the Messiah, lo, I am receiving a just recompense; for I have shed much blood of other people's children upon the ground. On this account, the judgements of God are just; for every man receives according to his thought. But thou, because thou hast been deemed worthy to see the God-man, on this account it is fitting for thee to pray for me. And my son Azbonius is in the agony of the hour of death. And I too am in affliction and great trial. For I have got the dropsy (Literally, have collected water.), and am in great distress (Literally, deficiency (of water), drought.); because I persecuted the opener of the baptism of water, who was John. Because of these things, my brother, the judgements of God are just. And my wife too, through all the grief for her daughter, her left eye has become blind; because we wished to make blind the eye of righteousness. There is no peace to the doers of iniquities, saith the Lord. For from now great affliction is coming upon the priests and upon the writers of the law, because they delivered unto thee the Just One. For this is the consummation of the world, that they consented that the Gentiles should become heirs. For the children of light shall be cast out; for they have not observed the things which were preached concerning the Lord and his Son. Because of this, gird up thy loins and receive righteousness, being mindful, thou with thy wife, by night and by day, of Jesus; and of you Gentiles shall be the kingdom, for we the (chosen) people have mocked at the Eighteous One. But if there be a place for our petition, Pilate, because we were in power at one time, bury ray household with care; for it is right that we should be buried by thee rather than by the priests, whom, after a short time, as the Scripture says, at the coming of Jesus the Messiah, vengeance shall overtake. Mayest thou be well, along with Procla thy wife! I send thee the earrings of my daughter and my own signet-ring, that they may be in thy possession a memorial of me after death; for the worms have already begun to issue forth from my body, and lo, I am receiving judgement in this world, and dreading the judgement that is to come. For in both we stand before the works of the living God; but this judgement, the one in this world, is temporary, whilst that which is to come is an everlasting judgement.

(Here) ends the letter to Pilate the Hegemon.

THE LETTER OF PILATE TO HEROD

Pilate to Herod the Tetrarch, health!

Know and see, that in that day when thou deliveredst unto me Jesus, I had compassion on myself, and testified by the washing of my hands (that I was free) from (the blood of) him who rose from the grave after three days; but I did on him thy pleasure, as thou wishedst that I should join with thee in crucifying him. But now I learned from the executioners, and from the soldiers who were watching his tomb, that he rose from the grave; and above all I made quite sure of what was told me, that he was seen in the body in Galilee, with the same form, the same voice, the same doctrines, and the same disciples, having changed nothing, but preaching boldly his resurrection and the everlasting kingdom. And lo, heaven and earth were rejoicing; and lo, my wife Procla was believing (in him) through those visions which appeared to her, when thou didst send (me word) to deliver up Jesus to the people of Israel, because of their ill will (against him). And now when Procla my wife (The Syriac text has "his wife.") heard that Jesus was risen, and had been seen in Galilee, she took with her Longinus the centurion and the twelve soldiers who watched the tomb, and went forth, as it were to a great sight, to welcome the person of the Messiah. And she saw him along with his disciples. And whilst they were standing in astonishment looking upon him, he looked upon them and said to them: "What is it? Do ye believe on me? Know, Procla, that in the testament which God gave to the fathers, it is said, that every body which had perished, should Hve by means of my death, which ye have seen. And now ye see that I am alive, whom ye crucified; and many things did I bear, until I was laid in the tomb. And now, listen to me, and believe in God my Father who is with me. For I have burst (Literally, opened.) the bands of death, and have broken open the gates of Sheol, and (it is) my coming which is to be (hereafter)." And when my wife Procla and the soldiers (Literally, the Romans.) heard these things, they came (and) told me, weeping, because they too had been against him, when they were plotting the evil things which they had done unto him; so that I too upon my bed am in distress, and put on a garment of sorrow, and take to me fifty soldiers along with my wife, and go unto Galilee. And as I was going on the road, I was testifying these things, that Herod did these things with me, who planned along with me and constrained me to arm my hands against Him, and to judge the Judge of all, and to scourge the Just One, the Lord of the just. And when we drew nigh unto him, Herod, a great voice was heard from heaven, and terrible thunder, and the earth trembled and gave forth a sweet smell, the like of which was never seen even in the temple of Jerusalem. But when I stood on the way, our Lord saw me, as he was standing and talking with the disciples. But I prayed in my heart, for I knew that this was he whom ye delivered unto me, that this was the Lord of created things, and the Creator of all. But we, when we saw him, all of us fell upon our faces before his feet. And I was saying with a loud voice: "I have sinned, Lord, in that I sat and judged Thee, that avengest all in truth. And lo, I know that Thou art God, the Son of God, and thy Manhood have I seen, but not thy Godhead. But Herod with the children of Israel compelled me to do evil unto thee. Have pity, therefore, upon me, God of Israel." And my wife in great tribulation said; "God of heaven and earth, God of Israel, reward me not according to the deeds of Pontius Pilate, nor according to the will of the children of Israel, nor according to the thoughts of the sons of the priests; but remember my husband in Thy glory." And our Lord drew nigh and raised up me and my wife and the soldiers; and I looked upon him and saw that there were on him the scars of his cross. And he said: "That which all the just fathers hoped to receive, and did not see, (thou hast seen); in thy time the Lord of time, the Son of man, the Son of the Exalted One, who is from all time, has risen from the grave, and is glorified on high by all that he has created and established, for ever and ever." Justinus, one of the writers who were in the days of Augustus and Tiberius and Gains (Caligula), wrote in his third discourse: "Mary the Galilsean, she who bore the Messiah, who was crucified in Jerusalem, had not belonged to a man; and Joseph did not forsake her; but Joseph remained in purity without a wife, he and his five sons by a former wife; and Mary remained without a husband." Theodorus wrote to Pilate the Hegemon: "Who was the man, concerning whom there was a complaint before thee, that he was crucified by the people of Palestine? If many demanded this justly, why didst thou not agree to theirjust demand? (Literally, their justice.) And if they demanded this unjustly, why didst thou transgress the law and order something that was far from justice?" Pilate sent him (answer):

"Because he was doing signs, I did not wish to crucify him; and because his accusers said, 'he calls himself a king,' I crucified him." Josephus says: "When king Agrippa put on a

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robe that was woven with silver, and beheld the spectacles in the theatre of Caesareia, when the people saw that his robes flashed (like lightning), they said to him: 'Till now we were afraid of thee as of a man; henceforth thou art exalted above the nature of mortals.' And he saw an angel standing over him, and he smote him as it were to death."

(Here) ends the letter of Pilate to Herod.

LETTER OF PILATE TO TIBERIUS

The Apocryphal Gospels and other Documents
Translation: B. Harris Cowter, 1874
Estimated Range of Dating: Middle Ages

(This letter is from the semi-fahulous "History of Christ," in Persian, written by Jerome Xavier, a Jesuit. It was published with a Latin version by L. de Dieu, at Leyden, in 1639. I translate from de Dieu's Latin, p. 533. Its source is unknown, but it is probably a fiction of Xavier's.)

At that time in this territory there was a certain man whom his disciples called God, and who performed various miracles, whom many men have seen, and who ascended alive into heaven, and his disciples now do great things in his name, and testify that he is God, and a teacher of the way of salvation in truth.

THE REPORT OF PONTIUS PILATE

Governor of Judaea
Which was sent to Tiberius Caesar in Rome.
Translation: B. Harris Cowter, 1874
Estimated Range of Dating: Middle Ages

To the most potent, august, dreadful, and divine Augustus, Pontius Pilate, administrator of the Eastern Province.

I have undertaken to communicate to thy goodness by this my writing, though possessed with much fear and trembling, most excellent king, the present state of affairs, as the result hath shown. For as I administered this province my lord, according to the command of thy serenity, which is one of the eastern cities called Jerusalem, wherein the temple of the nation of the Jews is erected, all the multitude of the Jews, being assembled, delivered up to me a certain man called Jesus, bringing many and endless accusations against him; but they could not convict him in anything. But they had one heresy against him, that he said* the sabbath was not their proper rest.

Now that man wrought many cures and good works: he caused the blind to see, he cleansed lepers, he raised the dead, he healed paralytics, who could not move at all, but had 'only voice, and all their bones in their places; and he gave them strength to walk and run, enjoining it by his word alone. And he did another yet more mighty work, which had been strange even among our gods, he raised from the dead one Lazarus, who had been dead four days, commanding by a word alone that the dead man should be raised, when his body was already corrupted by worms which bred in his wounds. And he commanded the fetid body, which lay in the grave, to run, and as a bridegroom from his chamber, so he went forth from his grave, full of sweet perfume. And some that were grievously afflicted by demons, and had their dwellings in desert places, and devoured the flesh of their own limbs, and went up and down among creeping things and wild beasts, he caused to dwell in cities in their own houses, and by a word made them reasonable, and caused to become wise and honourable those that were vexed by unclean spirits, and the demons that were in them he sent out in a herd of swine into the sea and drowned them. Again, another who had a withered hand, and lived in suffering, and had not even the half of his body sound, he made whole by a word alone. And a woman who had an issue of blood for a long time, so that because of the discharge all the joints of her bones were seen and shone through like lass, for all the physicians had dismissed her with out hope, and had not relieved her; but, as Jesus was passing by she touched from behind the hem of his garments, and in that very hour the strength of her body was restored, and she was made whole, as if she had no affliction, and began to run fast towards her own city of Paneas.

And these things happened thus: but the Jews reported that Jesus did these things on the sabbath. And I saw greater marvels wrought by him than by the gods whom we worship.

Then Herod and Archelaus and Philip, and Annas and Caiaphas, with all the people, delivered him up to me, to put him on his trial. And because many raised a tumult against me, I commanded that he should be crucified.

Now when he was crucified darkness came over all the world; the sun was altogether hidden, and the sky appeared dark while it was yet day, so that the stars were seen, though still they had their lustre obscured,'wherefore, I suppose your excellency is not unaware that in all the world they lighted their lamps from the sixth hour until evening. And the moon, which was like blood, did not shine all night long, although it was at the full, and the stars and Orion made lamentation over the Jews, because of the transgression committed by them.

And on the first day of the week, about the third hour of the night, the sun appeared as it never shone before, and the whole heaven became bright. And as lightnings come in a storm, so certain men of lofty stature, in beautiful array, and of indescribable glory, appeared in the air, and a countless host of angels, crying out and saying, Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will among men: Come up from Hades, ye who are in bondage in the depths of Hades. And at their voice all the mountains and hills were moved, and the rocks were rent, and great chasms were made in the earth, so that the very places of the abyss were visible.

And amid the terror dead men were seen rising again, so that the Jews who saw it said, We beheld Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the twelve patriarchs, who died some two thousand five hundred years before, and we beheld Noah clearly in the body. And all the multitude walked about and sang hymns to God with a loud voice, saying, The Lord our God, who hath risen from the dead, hath made alive all the dead, and Hades he hath spoiled and slain.

Therefore, my lord king, all that night the light ceased not. But many of the Jews died, and were sunk and swallowed up in the chasms that night, so that not even their bodies were to be seen. Now I mean, that those of the Jews suffered who spake against Jesus. And but one synagogue remained in Jerusalem, for all the synagogues wliicli had been against Jesus were overwhelmed.

Through that terror, therefore, being amazed and being seized with great trembling, in that very hour, I ordered what had been done by them all to be written, and I have sent it to thy mightiness.

THE TRIAL AND CONDEMNATION OF PILATE

The Paradosis of Pilate
The Apocryphal Gospels and other Documents
Translation: B. Harris Cowter, 1874
Estimated Range of Dating: Middle Ages

(* Commonly called "the Paradosis of Pilate." It may be regarded as an historical continuation of the preceding, which it usually follows in the Manuscripts without any title.)

Now when the letters came to the city of the Romans, and were read to Caesar with no few standing there, they were all terrified, because, through the transgression of Pilate, the darkness and the earthquake had happened to all the world. And Caesar, being filled with anger, sent soldiers and commanded that Pilate should be brought as a prisoner.

And when he was brought to the city of the Romans, and Caesar heard that he was come, he sat in the temple of the gods, above all the senate, and with all the army, and with all the multitude of his power, and commanded that Pilate should stand in the entrance. And Caesar said to him, Most impious one, when thou sawest so great signs done by that man, why didst thou dare to do thus? By daring to do an evil deed thou hast ruined all the world.

And Pilate said, King and Autocrat, I am not guilty of these things, but it is the multitude of the Jews who are precipitate and guilty. And Caesar said. And who are they? Pilate saith, Herod, Archelaus, Philip, Annas and Caiaphas, and all the multitude of the Jews. Caesar saith, For what cause didst thou execute their purpose? And Pilate said, Their nation is seditious and insubordinate, and not submissive to thy power. And Caesar said, When they delivered him to thee thou oughtest to have made him secure and sent him to me, and not consented to them to crucify such a man, who was just and wrought such great and good miracles, as thou saidst in thy report. For by such miracles Jesus was manifested to be the Christ, the King of the Jews.

And when Caesar said this and himself named the name of Christ, all the multitude of the gods fell down together, and became like dust where Caesar sat with the senate. And all the people that stood near Caesar were filled with trembling because of the utterance of the word and the fall of their gods, and being seized with fear they all went away, every man to his house, wondering at what had happened. And Caesar commanded Pilate to be safely kept, that he might know the truth about Jesus.

And on the morrow when Caesar sat in the capitol with all the senate, he undertook to question Pilate again. And Caesar said, Say the trutli, most impious one, for through thy impious deed which thou didst commit against Jesus, even here the doing of thy evil works was manifested, in that the gods were brought to ruin. Say then, who is he that was crucified, for his name hath destroyed all the gods? Pilate said. And verily his records are true; for even I myself was convinced by his works that he was greater than all the gods whom we venerate. And Caesar said. For what cause then didst thou perpetrate against him such daring and doing, not being ignorant of him, or assuredly designing some mischief to my government? And Pilate said, I did it because of the transgression and sedition of the lawless and ungodly Jews [See Letter of Pilate to Herod, Add. 2. p.].

And Caesar was filled with anger, and held a council with all his senate and officers, and ordered a decree to be written against the Jews, thus:—

To Licianus who holdeth the first place in the East Country: Greeting.

I have been informed of the audacity perpetrated very recently by the Jews inhabiting Jerusalem and the cities round about, and their lawless doing, how they compelled Pilate to crucify a certain god called Jesus, through which great transgression of theirs the world was darkened and drawn into ruin. Determine, therefore, with a body of soldiers, to go to them there at once and proclaim their subjection to bondage by this decree. By obeying and proceeding against them, and scattering them abroad in. all nations, enslave them, and by driving their nation from all Judca as soon as possible, show, wherever this hath not yet appeared, that they are full of evil.

And when this decree came into the East Country, Licianus obeyed, through fear of the decree, and laid waste all the nation of the Jews, and caused those that were left in Judaea to go into slavery with them that were scattered among the Gentiles, that it might be known by Caesar that these things had been done by Licianus against the Jews in the east country, and to please him.

And again Caesar resolved to have Pilate questioned, and commanded a captain, Albius by name, to cut off Pilate's head, saying, As he laid hands upon the just man, that is called Christ, he also shall fall in like manner, and find no deliverance.

And when Pilate came to the place he prayed in silence, saying, O Lord, destroy not mo with the wicked Hebrews, for I should not have laid hands upon thee, but for the nation of lawless Jews, because they provoked sedition against me: but thou knowest that I did it in ignorance. Destroy me not, therefore, for this my sin, nor be mindful of the evil that is in me, Lord, and in thy servant Procla who standeth with me in this the hour of my death whom thou taughtest to prophesy that thou must be nailed to the cross. Do not punish her too in my sin, but forgive us, and number us in the portion of thy just ones. And behold, when Pilate had offered his prayer, there came a voice from heaven, saying, All generations and the families of the Gentiles shall call thee blessed, because under thee were fulfilled all these things that were spoken by the prophets concerning me; and thou thyself must appear as my witness at my second coming, when I shall judge the twelve tribes of Israel, and them that have not confessed my name. And the Prefect cut off the head of Pilate, and behold an angel of the Lord received it. And when his wife Procla saw the angel coming and receiving his head, she also, being filled with joy, forthwith gave up the ghost, and was buried with her husband.

THE DEATH OF PILATE, WHO CONDEMNED JESUS

The Apocryphal Gospels and other Documents
Translation: B. Harris Cowter, 1874
Estimated Range of Dating: Middle Ages

Now whereas Tiberius Caesar emperor of the Romans was suffering from a grievous sickness, and heard that there was at Jerusalem a certain physician, Jesus by name, who healed all diseases by his word alone; not knowing that the Jews and Pilate had put him to death, he thus bade one of his attendants, Volusianus by name, saying. Go as quickly as thou canst across the sea, and tell Pilate, my servant and friend, to send me this physician to restore me to my original health. And Volusianus, having heard the order of the emperor, immediately departed, and came to Pilate, as it was commanded him. And he told the same Pilate what had been committed to him by Tiberius Csesar, saying, Tiberius Caesar, emperor of the Romans, thy lord, having heard that in this city there is a physician who healeth diseases by his word alone, earnestly entreateth thee to send him to him to heal his disease. And Pilate was greatly terrified on hearing this, knowing that through envy he had caused him to be slain. Pilate answered the messenger, saying thus. This man was a malefactor, and a man who drew after himself all the people; so, after counsel taken of the wise men of the city, I caused him to be crucified. And as the messenger returned to his lodgings he met a certain woman named Veronica, who had been acquainted with Jesus, and he said, woman, there was a certain physician in this city, who healed the sick by his word alone. Why have the Jews slain him? And she began to weep, saying. Ah, me, my Lord, it was my God and my Lord whom Pilate through envy delivered up, condemned, and commanded to be crucified. Then he, grieving greatly, said, I am exceedingly sorry that I cannot fulfil that for which my lord hath sent me.

Veronica said to him. When my Lord went about preaching, and I was very unwillingly deprived of his presence, I desired

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to have his picture painted for me, that while I was deprived of his presence, at least the figure of his likeness might give me consolation. And when I was taking the canvas to the painter to be painted, my Lord met me and asked whither I was going. And when I had made known to him the cause of my journey. He asked me for the canvas, and gave it back to me printed with the likeness of his venerable face. Therefore, if thy lord will devoutly look upon the sight of this, he will straightway enjoy the benefit of health.

Is a likeness of this kind to be procured with gold or silver? he asked. No, said she, but with a pious sentiment of devotion. Therefore, I will go with thee, and carry the likeness to Caesar to look upon, and will return.

So Volusianus came with Veronica to Rome, and said to Tiberius the emperor, Jesus, whom thou hast long desired, Pilate and the Jews have surrendered to an unjust death, and through envy fastened to the wood of the cross. Therefore, a certain matron hath come with me bringing the likeness of the same Jesus, and if thou wilt devoutly gaze upon it, thou wilt presently obtain the benefit of thy health. So Caesar caused the way to be spread with cloth of silk, and ordered the portrait to be presented to him ; and as soon as he had looked upon it he regained his original health.

Then Pontius Pilate was apprehended by command of Caesar, and brought to Rome. Caesar, hearing that Pilate had come to Rome, was filled with exceeding wrath against him, and caused him to be brought to him. Now Pilate brought with him the seamless coat of Jesus, and wore it when before the emperor. As soon as the emperor saw him, he laid aside all his wrath, and forthwith rose to him, and was unable to speak harshly to him in anything: and he who in his absence seemed so terrible and fierce, now in his presence is found comparatively gentle.

And when he had dismissed him, he soon became terribly inflamed against him, declaring himself wretched, because he had not expressed to him the anger of his bosom. And immediately he had him recalled, swearing and protesting that he was a child of death, and unfitted to live upon earth. And when he saw him, he instantly greeted him, and laid aside all the fury of his mind.

All were astonished, and he was astonished himself, that he was so enraged against Pilate while absent, and could say nothing to him sharply while he was present. At length, by Divine suggestion, or perhaps by the persuasion of some Christian, he had him stripped of the coat, and soon resumed against him his original fury of mind. And when the emperor was wondering very much about this, they told him it had been the coat of the Lord Jesus. Then the emperor commanded him to be kept in prison tiU he should take counsel with the wise men what he ought to do with him. And after a few days sentence was given against Pilate, that he should be condemned to the most ignominious death. When Pilate heard this, he slew himself with his own dagger, and by such a death put an end to his life.

When Pilate's death was made known, Caesar said Truly he has died the most ignominious death, whose own hand has not spared him. He was therefore fastened to a great block of stone and sunk in the River Tiber. But wicked and unclean spirits, rejoicing in his wicked and unclean body, all moved about in the water, and caused in the air dreadful lightning and tempests, thunder and hail, so that all were seized with horrible fear. On which account the Romans dragged him out of the river Tiber, bore him away in derision to Yienne, and sunk him in the River Rhone. For Vienne means like the way

of Gehenna, because it was then a place of cursing. And evil spirits were there and did the same things [Various legends connecting Pilate with the neighbourhood of Vienne are still current on the banks of the Rhone, but I do not think it needful to repeat them here. The explanation of Vienne in the text is simply ridiculous.].

Those men, therefore, not enduring to be so harassed by demons, removed the vessel of cursing from them and sent it to be buried in the territory of Losania. But when they were troubled exceedingly by the aforesaid vexations, they put it away from them and sunk it in a certain pool surrounded by mountains, where even yet, according to the account of some, sundry diabolical contrivances are said to issue forth [By Losania we must understand the Swiss canton of Lucerne, at some distance to the South of which is a mountain bearing the name of Pilate, and a small lake also called after him. The people of the country have plenty of legends relating to poor Pilate, who, it seems, could rest neither alive nor dead. I fancy that the story I have here translated is a mediaeval Latin concoction of elements of various dates. The Latin name of Lucerne is properly Luceria.].

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS

or the First Epistle of Clement, or 1 Clement
Author: Titus Flavius Clemens (Clement I of Rome)
From: Apostolic Fathers
Translation by Charles H. Hoole, 1885
Estimated Range of Dating: 70-140 A.D.

(Author: probably Pope Clement I. of Rome who died c. 99-101 AD. His real name was Titus Flavius Clemens and there is a possibility that he actually was a grand-nephew of emperor Flavius Vespasianus and the cousin of Emperor Flavius Domitianus and the husband of his cousin Flavia Domitilla, better known as Saint Domitilla, one of the first saints of the Christian Church. He was consul for some time and he wrote discourses involving the Apostle Peter, together with an account of the circumstances under which Clement came to be Peter's travelling companion, and of other details of Clement's family history.

The letter was composed at some time between AD 70 and AD 140, mostly likely c 96. It ranks with Didache as one of the earliest—if not the earliest—of extant Christian documents outside the canonical New Testament. As the name suggests, a Second Epistle of Clement is known, but this is a later work by a different author. Neither 1 nor 2 Clement are part of the canonical New Testament, but they are part of the Apostolic Fathers collection. There are some New Testament allusions that could make one think it was written in Corinthian communities.)

PROLOGUE

The Church of God which sojourneth at Rome, to the Church of God which sojourneth at Corinth, to them that are called and sanctified in the will of God through our Lord Jesus Christ: Grace and peace be multiplied unto you from Almighty God through Jesus Christ.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 1

1 On account of the sudden and repeated calamities and mischances, brethren, that have come upon us, we suppose that we have the more slowly given heed to the things that are disputed among you, beloved, and to the foul and unholy sedition, alien and foreign to the elect of God, which a few headstrong and self-willed persons have kindled to such a degree of madness, that your venerable and famous name, worthy to be loved of all men, is greatly blasphemed.

2 For who that hath tarried among you hath not approved your most virtuous and firm faith, hath not admired your sober and seemly piety in Christ, hath not proclaimed your splendid disposition of hospitality, hath not deemed blessed your perfect and unerring knowledge?

3 For ye did all things without respect of persons, and walked in the laws of God, submitting yourselves to them that have the rule over you, and giving the due honour to the presbyters that are among you. Young men ye enjoined to think such things as be sober and grave. Women ye exhorted to perform all things in a blameless and honourable and pure conscience, loving dutifully their own husbands; and ye taught them to manage the affairs of their houses with gravity, keeping in the rule of obedience, being temperate in all things.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 2

1 And ye were all humble, boasting of nothing, submitting yourselves rather than subjecting others, more gladly giving than receiving, content with the provision that God had given you; and attending diligently to his words, ye received them into your very hearts, and his sufferings were before your eyes.

2 Thus a deep and rich peace was given to all, and an insatiable longing for doing good, and a plentiful outpouring of the Holy Spirit was upon all of you.

3 And ye, being filled with a holy desire, with excellent zeal and pious confidence, stretched out your arms to Almighty God, beseeching him to be merciful unto you, if ye had in anything unwillingly done amiss.

4 Ye contended day and night for the whole brotherhood, that in his mercy and good pleasure the number of his elect might be saved.

5 Ye were simple and sincere without malice one toward another:

6 all sedition and all schism were abominable unto you. Ye grieved over the transgressions of your neighbour, judging his short-comings your own.

7 Ye repented not of any well-doing, being ready to every good work;

8 and being adorned with a very virtuous and holy habit of life, ye did all things in his fear. The commandments and ordinances of the Lord were written on the breadth of your heart.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 3

1 All honour and enlargement was given to you, and then was fulfilled that which is written: -- The beloved ate and drank, and was enlarged and grew fat and kicked.

2 From this came emulation and envy, strife and sedition, persecution and disorder, war and captivity.

3 Thus the mean men were lifted up against the honourable; those of no repute against those of good repute; the foolish against the wise; the young against the elder.

4 Through this justice and peace are afar off, because each of you leaveth off the fear of God and is dimsighted in his faith, nor walketh in the laws of his commandments, nor behaveth as becometh a citizen of Christ; but each walketh according to his own evil lusts, having taken up unjust and unholy envy, by which also death entered into the world.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 4

1 For it is thus written: And it came to pass after certain days, that Cain brought of the fruits of the ground a sacrifice to God, and Abel brought also of the firstlings of the sheep and of their fat.

2 And God had respect unto Abel and unto his gifts; but unto Cain and his gifts he had no regard.

3 And Cain was grieved greatly, and his countenance fell.

4 And God said unto Cain, Why art thou very sorrowful, and why hath thy countenance fallen? If thou hast rightly offered, but hast not rightly divided, hast thou not sinned?

5 Hold thy peace; thy gift returneth unto thee, and thou shalt be master over it.

6 And Cain said unto Abel, Let us pass over into the field. And it came to pass while they were in the field, Cain rose up against Abel his brother and slew him.

7 Ye see, brethren, jealousy and envy wrought the slaughter of a brother.

8 Through envy our father Jacob fled from the face of his brother Esau.

9 Envy caused Joseph to be persecuted unto death, and to enter into bondage.

10 Envy compelled Moses to flee from the face of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, because he heard his countryman say, Who made thee a judge or a decider over us? Wilt thou kill me, as thou didst the Egyptian yesterday?

11 Through envy Aaron and Miriam pitched their tents without the camp.

12 Envy brought down Dathan and Abiram alive to the grave, because they contended against Moses, the servant of God.

13 Through envy David suffered jealousy not only of foreigners, but was persecuted also by Saul, king of Israel.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 5

1 But let us pass from ancient examples, and come unto those who have in the times nearest to us, wrestled for the faith.

2 Let us take the noble examples of our own generation. Through jealousy and envy the greatest and most just pillars of the Church were persecuted, and came even unto death.

3 Let us place before our eyes the good Apostles.

4 Peter, through unjust envy, endured not one or two but many labours, and at last, having delivered his testimony, departed unto the place of glory due to him.

5 Through envy Paul, too, showed by example the prize that is given to patience:

6 seven times was he cast into chains; he was banished; he was stoned; having become a herald, both in the East and in the West, he obtained the noble renown due to his faith;

7 and having preached righteousness to the whole world, and having come to the extremity of the West, and having borne witness before rulers, he departed at length out of the world, and went to the holy place, having become the greatest example of patience.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 6

1 To these men, who walked in holiness, there was gathered a great multitude of the elect, who, having suffered, through envy, many insults and tortures, became a most excellent example among us.

2 Through envy women were persecuted, even the Danaides and Dircae, who, after enduring dreadful and unholy insults, attained to the sure course of the faith; and they who were weak in body received a noble reward.

3 Envy hath estranged the minds of wives from their husbands, and changed the saying of our father Adam: This is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh.

4 Envy and strife have overthrown mighty cities and rooted out great nations.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 7

1 These things we enjoin you, beloved, not only by way of admonition to you, but as putting ourselves also in mind. For we are in the same arena, and the same contest is imposed upon us.

2 Wherefore, let us leave empty and vain thoughts, and come unto the glorious and venerable rule of our holy calling.

3 Let us consider what is good and pleasing and acceptable before him who made us.

4 Let us look steadfastly to the blood of Christ, and see how precious in the sight of God is his blood, which having been

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poured out for our salvation, brought to the whole world the grace of repentance.

5 Let us go back to all generations, and learn that in every generation God hath granted a place for repentance to such as wished to return unto him.

6 Noah preached repentance, and as many as hearkened unto him were saved.

7 Jonah prophesied destruction to the Ninevites, and they, repenting of their sins, appeased God through prayer, and, though alien from God, obtained salvation.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 8

1 The ministers of the grace of God spake by the Holy Spirit concerning repentance;

2 and the Lord of all himself spake concerning repentance with an oath. As I live, saith the Lord, I desire not the death of a sinner, as I desire his repentance; adding thereto an excellent saying:

3 Repent, O house of Israel, from your iniquity: Say unto the sons of my people, Though your sins reach from earth to heaven, and though they be redder than scarlet, and blacker than sackcloth, and ye turn unto me with your whole heart and say, My father, I will hearken unto you as to an holy people.

4 And in another place he speaketh in this wise: Wash, and be ye clean; take away the wickedness from your souls from before my eyes; cease from your evil deeds, learn to do well; seek judgement; deliver him that is oppressed; give judgement for the orphan, and justify the widow; and come and let us reason together, saith he; and though your sins be as purple, I will make them white as snow; and though they be as scarlet, I will make them white as wool. And if ye be willing and hearken unto me, ye shall eat the good things of the earth; but if ye be not willing, and hearken not, the sword shall devour you; for the mouth of the Lord hath said this.

5 Desiring, therefore, that all his beloved ones should partake of repentance, he hath confirmed it by his almighty will.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 9

1 Wherefore, let us submit ourselves to his excellent and glorious will, and, becoming suppliants of his mercy and goodness, let us fall before him and betake ourselves to his mercies, having laid aside the vain toil and the strife and the jealousy that leadeth unto death.

2 Let us look steadfastly at those that have ministered with perfectness to his excellent glory.

3 Let us take as example Enoch, who, having been found just by reason of obedience, was translated, and his death was not found.

4 Noah, having been found faithful, preached, by his ministry, regeneration unto the world, and by him God preserved the animals that entered with one consent into the ark.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 10

1 Abraham, who was called the friend, was found faithful, inasmuch as he became obedient to the words of God.

2 This man, by obedience, went out from his land and his kinsfolk, and the house of his father, that, by leaving a scanty land and weak kinsfolk and a small house, he might inherit the promises of God.

3 For he saith unto him, Go out from thy land and thy kinsfolk, and the house of thy father, unto the land that I shall show thee, and I will make thee a great nation, and bless thee, and magnify thy name, and thou shalt be blessed; and I will bless them that bless thee, and curse them that curse thee, and in thee shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed.

4 And again, when he separated from Lot, God said unto him, Lift up thine eyes, and look from the place where thou now art unto the north and unto the south, and unto the east and unto the sea; for all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it and to thy seed for ever,

5 and I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth: if any man can number the dust of the earth, thy seed also shall be numbered.

6 And again he saith, God brought forth Abraham, and said unto him: Look up to heaven and number the stars, if thou art able to number them, so shall thy seed be. And Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness.

7 Through faith and hospitality a son was given unto him in old age, and through obedience he offered him a sacrifice unto God on one of the mountains that he showed him.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 11

1 By hospitality and goodness Lot was saved out of Sodom when the whole region round about was judged with fire and brimstone; the Lord making it manifest that he leaveth not them that hope upon him, but appointeth to punishment and torment them that turn in another way.

2 For his wife, who went out together with him, being of another mind, and not being in concord with him, was on that account placed as a sign, so that she became a pillar of salt even to this day; that it might be known to all that the double-minded, and they who doubt concerning the power of God, are for a judgement and a sign to all generations.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 12

1 Through faith and hospitality Rahab the harlot was saved;

2 for when spies were sent unto Jericho by Jesus, the son of Nun, the king of the land knew that they had come to spy out his country, and sent out men to apprehend them that they might be taken and put to death.

3 But the hospitable Rahab having received them, hid them in an upper story under the stalks of flax.

4 When, therefore, the men from the king came upon her, and said, There came unto thee men who are spies of this our land; bring them out, for the king so commandeth it; she answered, The two men whom ye are seeking entered in unto me, but they departed quickly and are on their way; but she showed not the men unto them.

5 And she said unto the men, Of a surety I know that the Lord your God has given over this city unto you; for the fear and trembling of you hath fallen upon them that inhabit it; when, therefore, it hath happened unto you to take it, save me and the house of my father.

6 And they say unto her, So shall it be, even as thou hast spoken unto us. When, therefore, thou hast perceived that we are coming, thou shalt gather together all thy household under thy roof, and they shall be saved; but as many as shall be found without the house shall be destroyed.

7 And they proceeded further to give her a sign, that she should hang from her house scarlet, making it manifest beforehand that through the blood of the Lord there shall be redemption to all who believe and hope upon God.

8 Behold, beloved, how there was not only faith, but prophecy in the woman.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 13

1 Let us therefore, brethren, be humble, laying aside all boasting and pride, and folly and wrath, and let us do that which is written; for the Holy Spirit saith, Let not the wise boast in his wisdom, nor the strong in his strength, nor the rich in his riches; but let him that boasteth make his boast in the Lord, even by seeking him and doing judgement and justice. Let us especially remember the words of our Lord Jesus Christ which he spake when teaching gentleness and long-suffering, for he spake thus:

2 Show mercy, that ye may obtain mercy; forgive, that it may be forgiven unto you; as ye do, so shall it be done unto you; as ye give, so shall it be given unto you; as ye judge, so shall ye be judged; as ye are kindly affectioned, so shall kindness be showed unto you; with whatsover measure ye measure, with the same shall it be measured unto you.

3 With this commandment and with these exhortations let us strengthen ourselves, that we may walk obedient to his holy words with all humility. For the Holy Scripture saith,

4 Upon whom shall I have respect but upon him that is meek and quiet, and that trembleth at my words?

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 14

1 It is therefore meet and right, men and brethren, that we should be obedient unto God rather than follow them that in pride and disorderliness are leaders of detestable sedition.

2 For we shall incur no slight harm, but rather a great danger, if we rashly give ourselves up to the wills of men who launch out into strife and sedition so as to estrange us from that which is good.

3 Let us, therefore, show kindness towards them according to the mercy and sweetness of him that made us.

4 For it is written, The men of kindness shall inherit the land. The innocent shall be left upon it; but they that be lawless shall be destroyed out of it.

5 And again he saith, I saw the unrighteous man exalted on high and lifted up like the cedars of Lebanon. And I passed by, and behold he was not; I sought his place and found it not. Keep innocence, and regard righteousness; for there is a remnant that remaineth to the man of peace.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 15

1 Let us therefore cleave unto them who live in peace and godliness, not unto them who hypocritically profess to desire peace.

2 For he saith in a certain place, This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.

3 And again, With their mouth did they bless, but with their heart did they curse.

4 And again he saith, They loved him with their mouth, and with their tongue they lied against him. For their heart was not right with him, nor were they faithful in his covenant.

5 Let the crafty lips be put to silence, and may the Lord destroy all the deceitful lips, even the haughty tongue, they who said, Let us magnify our tongue, our lips are our own; who is master over us?

6 On account of the misery of the poor, and on account of the groaning of the needy, I will now arise, saith the Lord; I will set him in safety, I will deal confidently with him.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 16

1 For Christ belongeth unto them that are humble, not unto them that exalt themselves over his flock.

2 Our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the sceptre of the majesty of God, came not in the arrogance of boasting and pride, though he was able to do so; but in humility, even as the Holy Spirit spake concerning him.

3 For he saith, Lord, who hath believed our report, and to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed? Like a child have we delivered our message before him; he is as a root in a thirsty land. There is no form nor glory in him, and we beheld him, and he had neither form nor comeliness, but his form was despised, lacking comeliness, beyond the form of the sons of men. He was a man stricken and in toil, knowing how to bear infirmity, for his face was turned away; it was dishonoured and held in no reputation.

4 He beareth our sins and suffereth pain on our account, and we esteemed him as one in toil, stricken and afflicted.

5 He was wounded for our sins, and for our transgressions did he suffer infirmity; the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and by his stripes we were healed.

6 All we, like sheep, have gone astray, every one hath erred in his own way,

7 and the Lord hath given him up for our sins; and he, through affliction, openeth not his mouth. He was led like a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb before its shearers is dumb, so openeth he not his mouth.

8 In his humiliation his judgement was taken away, and who shall declare his generation, for his life is taken from the earth;

9 for the iniquity of my people he hath come unto death.

10 And I will give the wicked in requital for his burial, and the rich for his death: for he did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth: and the Lord willeth to purify him from stripes.

11 If ye make an offering for sin your soul shall prolong its days.

12 And the Lord willeth to take away from the travail of his soul, to show him light and to form him by knowledge, to justify the righteous man who serveth many well; and their sins he shall bear himself.

13 Wherefore he shall receive the inheritance of many, and shall divide the spoils of the strong, because his soul was delivered up unto death, and he was numbered among the transgressors,

14 and he bore the sins of many, and was given up for their sins.

15 And again he saith, I am a worm and no man -- a reproach of men and despised of the people;

16 all they who saw me mocked me, they spake with their lips, they shook the head; he hoped in God, let him deliver him, let him save him, because he desireth him.

17 See, beloved, what is the example that hath been given unto us; for if the Lord so humbled himself, what shall we do who have through his mercy come under the yoke of his grace?

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 17

1 Let us be imitators of them also who went about in goat-skins and sheep-skins, preaching the coming of Christ; we mean Elias and Elisaeus and Ezekiel the prophets, and beside them those who have obtained a good report.

2 Abraham obtained an exceeding good report, and was called the friend of God, and saith, looking steadfastly to the glory of God in humility, I am but earth and ashes.

3 And, moreover, concerning Job, it is thus written: Job was a just man and blameless, truthful, one that feared God, and abstained from all evil.

4 But he himself, accusing himself, saith, No one is pure from pollution, though his life be but for one day.

5 Moses was called faithful in all his house, and by his ministry God judged his people Israel by stripes and punishment. But he, though he was greatly glorified, spake not haughtily, but said, when the oracle was given him out of the bush, Who am I that thou sendest me? I am weak of voice and slow of tongue.

6 And again he saith, I am but as the smoke from a pot.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 18

1 But what shall we say of David, who obtained a good report; unto whom God said, I have found a man after my own heart, David, the son of Jesse, with my everlasting mercy have I anointed him.

2 But he himself saith unto God, Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy great mercy, according to the multitude of thy compassion do away with mine iniquity;

3 Wash me throughly from my iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin. For I know my iniquity, and my sin is ever before me.

4 Against thee only have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight, that thou mightest be justified in thy words, and overcome when thou art judged.

5 Behold, I was shapen in wickedness, and in sin did my mother conceive me.

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6 Behold, thou hast loved truth; thou hast shown me the secret and hidden things of thy wisdom.
7 Thou shalt sprinkle me with hyssop, and I shall be clean. Thou shalt wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow.
8 Thou shalt make me to hear of joy and gladness; the bones that have been humiliated shall rejoice.
9 Turn away thy face from my sins, and blot out all my misdeeds.
10 Create in me a new heart, O Lord, and renew a right spirit within me.
11 Cast me not away from thy presence, and take not thy Holy Spirit from me.
12 O give me again the joy of thy salvation, and establish me with thy guiding Spirit.
13 I will teach sinners thy ways; the ungodly shall be converted unto thee.
14 Deliver me from blood-guiltiness, O God, thou God of my salvation;
15 My tongue shall rejoice in thy righteousness. O Lord, thou shalt open my mouth, and my lips shall show forth thy praise.
16 For if thou hadst desired sacrifice, I would have given it; in whole burnt offerings thou wilt not delight.
17 The sacrifice of God is a broken spirit; a broken and a contrite heart God will not despise.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 19

1 The humility of men so many in number and so great, and who have obtained so good a report, and their subjection through obedience, hath made not only us but the generations before us better, namely, those who in fear and truth have received his oracles.
2 Since, therefore, we have become the partakers in many great and glorious actions, let us finally return to that goal of peace that was given us from the beginning; let us look steadfastly to the Father and Creator of the whole world, and let us cleave to the glorious and excellent gifts and benefits of his peace.
3 Let us behold him in spirit, and look with the eyes of the soul to his long-suffering will. Let us consider how gentle he is toward all his creation.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 20

1 The heavens, being put in motion by his appointment, are subject to him in peace;
2 night and day accomplish the course ordered by him, in nothing hindering one another.
3 The sun and the moon and the dances of the stars according to his appointment, in harmony and without any violation of order, roll on the courses appointed to them.
4 The fruitful earth bringeth forth in due season, according to his will, abundant nourishment for men and beasts; nothing doubting, nor changing in anything from the things that are decreed by him.
5 The unsearchable things of the abyss, and the secret ordinances of the lower parts of the earth, are held together by the same command.
6 The hollow of the vast sea, gathered together by his hand into its reservoirs, transgresseth not the bounds placed around it; but even as he hath appointed to it, so it doeth;
7 for he said, Thus far shalt thou come, and thy waves shall be broken within thee.
8 The ocean, impassable to men, and the worlds that are beyond it, are governed by the same commandments of their Master.
9 The seasons of spring and summer, autumn and winter, in peace succeed one another.
10 The fixed stations of the winds, each in their due time, perform their services without offence. The ever-flowing fountains, made for enjoyment and health, offer their breasts without fail to sustain the lives of men. Even the smallest of animals come together in peace and harmony.
11 All these things the great Maker and Master of all things hath appointed to be in peace and harmony, doing good unto all things, but more especially unto us, who have fled for refuge to his mercies, through our Lord Jesus Christ,
12 to whom be glory and majesty for ever and ever. Amen.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 21

1 Beware, beloved, lest his many blessings come to be a condemnation to all of us, unless, walking worthily of him, we do what is honourable and well pleasing before him with oneness of mind.
2 For he saith in a certain place, The Spirit of the Lord is a candle, searching out the secret places of the heart.
3 Let us see how near he is at hand, and how none of our thoughts and reasonings do escape him.
4 It is right, therefore, that we should not desert from his will.
5 Let us offend against men who are foolish, and senseless, and puffed up in the pride of their own speech, rather than against God.
6 Let us have respect to our Lord Jesus Christ, whose blood was given for us. Let us reverence them that are over us. Let us honour our elders. Let us instruct the young in the discipline of the fear of God. Let us direct our wives to that which is good;
7 let them show forth the lovely habit of chastity, and exhibit the pure disposition of meekness. Let them make manifest by their conversation the government of their tongues; let them show love, not according to partiality, but equally to all that fear the Lord in holiness.
8 Let your children be partakers of the discipline of Christ; let them learn how much humility availeth before God; what power a pure love hath with God; how his fear is honourable and great, preserving all who, with a pure mind, walk in holiness before him.
9 For he is a searcher out of thoughts and counsels, his breath is in us, and when he willeth he will take it away.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 22

1 All these things doth the faith which is in Christ assure. For he himself, through the Holy Spirit, thus calleth unto us: Come, ye children, hearken unto me, I will teach you the fear of the Lord.
2 What man is he that wisheth for life and would fain see good days?
3 Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips that they speak no guile.
4 Turn away from evil and do good;
5 seek peace and pursue it.
6 The eyes of the Lord are over the just, and his ears are open to their prayer. But the face of the Lord is against them that do evil, to destroy their memorial out of the land.
7 The righteous cried, and the Lord heard him, and delivered him out of all his troubles.
8 Many are the afflictions of the sinner, but they that hope in the Lord, mercy shall compass them round about.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 23

1 The Father whose mercies are over all things, who loveth to do good, hath bowels of compassion for them that fear him, and with gentleness and kindness bestoweth his favour upon them that come unto him with a pure mind.
2 Wherefore let us not be double-minded, nor let our hearts form vain imaginations concerning his excellent and glorious gifts.
3 Let not that scripture be applicable unto us which saith, Wretched are the double-minded, even they that doubt in their heart and say, We have heard these things in the time of our fathers; and lo, we have grown old, and none of them hath happened unto us.
4 O foolish ones! compare yourselves to a tree. Take, for example, the vine: first it sheddeth its leaves, then cometh the bud, then the leaf, then the flower, after that the unripe grape, then the ripe grape. See how in a little time the fruit of the tree attaineth to maturity.
5 Of a truth, quickly and suddenly shall his will be fulfilled; the scripture also bearing witness that he shall come quickly, and shall not tarry; and the Lord shall come suddenly into his temple, even the holy one, whom ye expect.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 24

1 Let us consider, beloved, how the Master showeth to us continually the resurrection that is about to be, of which he hath made our Lord Jesus Christ the first fruit, having raised him from the dead.
2 Let us look, beloved, at the resurrection that is ever taking place.
3 Day and night show to us the resurrection; the night is lulled to rest, the day ariseth; the day departeth, the night cometh on.
4 Let us consider the fruits, in what way a grain of corn is sown.
5 The sower goeth forth and casteth it into the ground, and when the seeds are cast into the ground, they that fell into the ground dry and naked are dissolved; then after their dissolution, the mighty power of the providence of the Lord raiseth them up, and from one seed many grow up and bring forth fruits.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 25

1 Let us consider the wonderful sign that happeneth in the region of the east, even about Arabia.
2 There is a bird which is called the phoenix. This, being the only one of its kind, liveth for five hundred years. And when the time of its death draweth near, it maketh for itself a nest of frankincense and myrrh and the other perfumes, into which, when its time is fulfilled, it entereth, and then dieth.
3 But as its flesh rotteth, a certain worm is produced, which being nourished by the moisture of the dead animal, putteth forth feathers. Then, when it hath become strong, it taketh the nest wherein are the bones of its ancestor, and bearing them, it flieth from the region of Arabia to that of Egypt, to the city which is called Heliopolis;
4 there, in day-time, in the sight of all, it flieth up, and placeth them upon the altar of the sun, and having done so, returneth back.
5 The priests, therefore, look into the registers of the times, and find that it has come at the completion of the five-hundredth year.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 26

1 Shall we then think it great and wonderful, if the Maker of all things shall make a resurrection of those who, in the confidence of a good faith, have piously seized him, when even by means of a bird he showeth the greatness of his promises?
2 For he saith in a certain place, And thou shalt raise me up, and I will give thanks unto thee; and again: I slumbered and slept; I arose up because thou art with me.
3 And again Job saith, Thou shalt raise up this my flesh, which hath suffered all these things.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 27

1 In this hope, therefore, let our souls be bound unto him who is faithful in his promises and just in his judgements.
2 He who hath commanded men not to lie, much more shall he not lie; for nothing is impossible with God, except to lie.
3 Let our faith, therefore, in him be kindled afresh within us, and let us consider that all things are near unto him.
4 By the word of his majesty did he constitute all things, and by a word he is able to destroy them.
5 Who shall say unto him, What hast thou done? or who shall resist the might of his strength? He will do all things when he willeth and as he willeth, and none of the things decreed by him shall pass away.
6 All things are before him, and nothing hath escaped his counsel:
7 seeing that the heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth the work of his hands: day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night proclaimeth knowledge; and there is no speech nor language where their voices are not heard.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 28

1 Since, therefore, all things are seen and heard of him, let us fear him and abandon the filthy desires for evil deeds, that we may be sheltered by his mercy from the judgements to come.
2 For whither can any of us fly from his mighty hand, and what world shall receive any of them that desert from him?
3 For the scripture saith in a certain place, Whither shall I go, and where shall I conceal myself from thy face? If I ascend into heaven, thou art there; if I depart into the uttermost parts of the earth, there is thy right hand; if I shall make my bed in the abyss, there is thy Spirit.
4 Whither then shall we depart, and where shall we fly from him that embraceth all things?

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 29

1 Let us, therefore, approach him with holiness of spirit, lifting unto him pure and undefiled hands; loving the kind and compassionate Father who hath made us a part of his elect.
2 For it is thus written, When The Most High divided the nations, when he dispersed the sons of Adam, he settled the boundaries of the nations according to the number of the angels of God. The portion of the Lord was his people Jacob.
3 Israel was the measurement of his inheritance. And in another place he saith, Behold the Lord taketh to himself a nation from the midst of the nations, even as a man taketh the firstfruits of his threshingfloor; and there shall go forth from that nation the Holy of Holies.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 30

1 Since, therefore, we are a portion of the Holy One, let us do all such things as pertain unto holiness, avoiding evil-speaking, foul and impure embraces, drunkenness, disorderliness, abominable desires, detestable adultery, execrable pride;
2 for God, he saith, resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble.
3 Let us cleave, therefore, to them to whom grace has been given from God. Let us clothe ourselves with concord, being humble, temperate, keeping ourselves far from all whispering and evil speaking, justified by our deeds, and not by our words.
4 For he saith, He who saith many things shall, in return, hear many things. Doth he that is eloquent think himself to be just?
5 -- doth he that is born of woman and liveth but for a short time think himself to be blessed? Be not abundant in speech.
6 Let our praise be in God, and not for ourselves, for God hateth the self-praisers.
7 Let the testimony of right actions be given us from others, even as it was given to our fathers who were just.
8 Audacity, self-will, and boldness belong to them who are accursed of God; but moderation, humility, and meekness, to them that are blessed of God.

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1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 31

1 Let us cleave, therefore, to his blessing, and let us see what are the ways of blessing. Let us consult the records of the things that happened from the beginning.

2 On what account was our father Abraham blessed? Was it not that he wrought righteousness and truth through faith?

3 Isaac, with confidence, knowing the future, willingly became a sacrifice.

4 Jacob, with humility, flying from his brother, went out from his own land and journeyed unto Laban and served as a slave, and there were given unto him the twelve tribes of Israel.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 32

1 If any one will consider these things with sincerity and one by one, he will recognise the magnificence of the gifts that were given by him.

2 For from Jacob came the priests and all the Levites that serve the altar of God. From him came our Lord Jesus Christ according to the flesh; from him came the kings and rulers and governors of the tribe of Judah; and the remainder of his tribes are of no small glory, since God hath promised, Thy seed shall be as the stars of heaven.

3 All these, therefore, have been glorified and magnified, not through themselves or through their works, or through the righteousness that they have done, but through his will.

4 And we who through his will have been called in Christ Jesus are justified, not by ourselves, or through our wisdom or understanding or godliness, or the works that we have done in holiness of heart, but by faith, by which all men from the beginning have been justified by Almighty God, to whom be glory world without end. Amen.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 33

1 What, then, shall we do, brethren? Shall we cease from well-doing, and abandon charity? May the Master never allow that this should happen to us! but let us rather with diligence and zeal hasten to fulfil every good work.

2 For the Maker and Lord of all things rejoiceth in his works.

3 By his supreme power he founded the heavens, and by his incomprehensible understanding he ordered them. The earth he separated from the water that surrounded it, and fixed it on the firm foundation of his own will. The animals which inhabit therein he commanded to be by his ordinance. Having made beforehand the sea and the animals that are therein, he shut them in by his own power.

4 Man, the most excellent of all animals, infinite in faculty, he moulded with his holy and faultless hands, in the impress of his likeness.

5 For thus saith God: Let us make man in our own image, and after our own likeness. And God made man. Male and female made he them.

6 When, therefore, he had finished all things, he praised and blessed them, and said, Be fruitful, and multiply.

7 Let us see, therefore, how all the just have been adorned with good works. Yea, the Lord himself rejoiced when he had adorned himself with his works.

8 Having, therefore, this example, let us come in without shrinking to his will; let us work with all our strength the work of righteousness.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 34

1 The good workman receiveth boldly the bread of his labour, but the slothful and remiss looketh not his employer in the face.

2 It is therefore right that we should be zealous in well-doing, for from Him are all things;

3 for he telleth us beforehand, Behold the Lord cometh, and his reward is before his face, to give to every one according to his work.

4 He exhorteth us, therefore, with this reward in view, to strive with our whole heart not to be slothful or remiss towards every good work.

5 Let our glorying and our confidence be in him; let us submit ourselves to his will; let us consider the whole multitude of his angels, how they stand by and serve his will.

6 For the scripture saith, Ten thousand times ten thousand stood beside him, and thousands of thousands served him; and they cried, Holy, holy, holy Lord of Sabaoth! all creation is full of his glory.

7 And let us, being gathered together in harmony and a good conscience, cry earnestly, as it were with one mouth, unto him, that we may become partakers of his great and glorious promises;

8 for he saith, Eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, neither hath there entered into the heart of man, what things he hath prepared for them that wait for him.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 35

1 Behold, beloved, how blessed and wonderful are the gifts of God

2 -- life in immortality, cheerfulness in righteousness, truth in liberty, faith in confidence, temperance in sanctification; and all these things have already come within our cognizance.

3 What therefore are the things that are prepared for them that abide in patience? The Maker and Father of the worlds, the all-holy one, he knoweth how many and how beautiful they are.

4 Let us, therefore, strive to be found in the number of them that await him, that we may partake of the promised gifts.

5 And how will this be, beloved? If our mind be established by faith toward God; if we seek out what is pleasant and acceptable in his sight; if we perform such things as harmonize with his blameless will, and follow in the way of truth, casting from us all unrighteousness and lawlessness, covetousness, strife, malice and fraud, whispering and evil speaking, hatred of God, pride and insolence, vainglory and churlishness.

6 For they who do these things are hateful unto God, and not only they who do them, but also they who have pleasure in them that do them.

7 For the scripture saith: But unto the sinner God hath said, Why dost thou speak of my ordinances, and takest my covenant in thy mouth:

8 but thou hast hated instruction and hast cast my words behind thee. When thou sawest a thief thou wentest with him, and hast cast in thy portion with the adulterers; thy mouth hath abounded with evil, and thy tongue hath contrived deceit. Thou satest and spakest against thy brother, and hast slandered the son of thy mother.

9 This hast thou done, and I kept silence. Thou thoughtest, O wicked one, that I was like unto thee;

10 but I will convict thee, and set thyself before thee.

11 Consider this, ye who forget God, lest he seize you as a lion, and there be none to save you.

12 The sacrifice of praise shall honour me; and there is the way by which I will show him the salvation of God.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 36

1 This is the way, beloved, in which we found our salvation; even Jesus Christ, the high priest of our oblations, the champion and defender of our weakness.

2 Through him we look steadfastly to the heights of the heavens; through him we behold, as in a glass, the immaculate and lofty countenance of God the Father; through him the eyes of our heart were opened; through him our foolish and darkened understanding springeth up again to his marvellous light; through him the Lord hath willed us to taste of immortal knowledge; who, being the brightness of his glory, is so far better than the angels, as he hath, by inheritance, obtained a more excellent name than they.

3 For it is thus written: Who maketh his angels spirits, his ministers a flame of fire.

4 But of his Son the Lord hath thus said: Thou art my Son, to-day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the world for thy possession.

5 And, again, he saith unto him: Sit on my right hand until I make thy enemies thy footstool.

6 Who then are the enemies? Even the wicked, and they who resist the will of God.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 37

1 Let us, therefore, men and brethren, carry on our warfare with all earnestness in his faultless ordinances.

2 Let us consider those who fight under our rulers, how orderly and obediently and submissively they perform what is commanded them.

3 All are not prefects, or commanders of thousands, or commanders of hundreds, or commanders of fifties, or such-like; but each in his own rank performeth what has been ordered by the king or the commanders.

4 The great cannot exist without the small, nor the small without the great. There is a certain mixture in all things, and from thence ariseth their use.

5 Let us take, for example, our body; the head is nothing without the feet, nor the feet without the head. The smallest members of the body are necessary and useful to the whole body, and all unite and work with harmonious obedience for the preservation of the whole body.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 38

1 Let, therefore, our whole body be saved in Christ Jesus, and let each be subject to his neighbour, according to the gift which he hath received.

2 Let not the strong man despise the weak, and let the weak pay regard to the strong. Let him that is rich minister to him that is poor. Let him that is poor praise God that he hath given unto him one by whom his want may be supplied. Let the wise show his wisdom, not in words, but in good deeds; let him that is humble not bear witness to himself, but leave another to bear witness to him. Let him that is pure in the flesh boast not of it, knowing that it is another that giveth him the power of continence.

3 Let us consider, brethren, of what matter we are made, of what sort and who we are that have come into the world, as it were out of the tomb and darkness. He that made and fashioned us hath brought us into this world, having prepared beforehand his benefactions, even before we were born.

4 Having, therefore, all these things from him, we ought in all respects to give thanks unto him, to whom be glory world without end. Amen.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 39

1 The senseless and unwise, the foolish and unruly, make a mock of us, wishing to exalt themselves in their own imagination.

2 For what can a mortal do? or what strength hath he that is born of earth?

3 For it is written, There was no form before my eyes, only I heard a breath and a voice.

4 For what? shall a mortal be pure before the Lord? or is a man blameless from his works? seeing that he putteth no trust in his servants, and beholdeth somewhat of iniquity in his angels;

5 yea, the heaven is not pure in his sight. Away, ye who dwell in houses of clay, of whom are we also even of the same clay. He hath smitten them even as it were a moth, and in a single day they are no more. Because they could not help themselves they perished:

6 he blew among them, and they died, because they had no wisdom.

7 Call, now, and see if there is any one that will obey thee, if thou shalt behold any of the holy angels. For anger destroyeth the fool, and envy putteth him to death that is gone out of the way.

8 I have beheld the foolish casting forth roots, but straightway his habitation was eaten up.

9 Let his sons be far from safety, let them be mocked at the gates of their inferiors, and there shall be none to deliver them. For that which had been prepared for them the just shall eat, and they shall not be delivered out of their troubles.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 40

1 Since, therefore, these things have been made manifest before unto us, and since we have looked into the depths of the divine knowledge, we ought to do everything in order, whatsoever the Lord hath commanded us to do at the appointed seasons, and to perform the offerings and liturgies.

2 These he hath not commanded to be done at random or in disorder, but at fixed times and seasons.

3 But when and by whom he wisheth them to be fulfilled he himself hath decided by his supreme will; that all things, being done piously, according to his good pleasure, might be acceptable to his will.

4 They, therefore, who at the appointed seasons make their offerings are acceptable and blessed; for while following the laws of the Master they do not completely sin.

5 For to the High Priest were assigned special services, and to the priests a special place hath been appointed; and on the Levites special duties are imposed. But he that is a layman is bound by the ordinances of laymen.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 41

1 Let each of you, brethren, in his own order, give thanks unto God, continuing in a good conscience, not transgressing the fixed rule of his ministry, with all gravity.

2 Not in every place, brethren, are sacrifices offered continually, either in answer to prayer, or concerning sin and neglect, but in Jerusalem only; and even there the offering is not made in every place, but before the temple in the court of the altar, after that which is offered has been diligently examined by the high priest and the appointed ministers.

3 They, therefore, who do anything contrary to that which is according to his will have for their punishment death.

4 Ye see, brethren, by as much as we have been thought worthy of greater knowledge, by so much the more are we exposed to danger.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 42

1 The Apostles received for us the gospel from our Lord Jesus Christ; our Lord Jesus Christ received it from God.

2 Christ, therefore, was sent out from God, and the Apostles from Christ; and both these things were done in good order, according to the will of God.

3 They, therefore, having received the promises, having been fully persuaded by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and having been confirmed by the word of God, with the full persuasion of the Holy Spirit, went forth preaching the good tidings that the kingdom of God was at hand.

4 Preaching, therefore, through the countries and cities, they appointed their firstfruits to be bishops and deacons over such as should believe, after they had proved them in the Spirit.

5 And this they did in no new way, for in truth it had in long past time been written concerning bishops and deacons; for the scripture, in a certain place, saith in this wise: I will establish their bishops in righteousness, and their deacons in faith.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 43

1 And wherein is it wonderful, if they who, in Christ, were entrusted by God with this work appointed the aforesaid

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officers? since even the blessed Moses, the faithful servant in all his house, signified in the sacred books all the things that were commanded unto him, whom also the prophets have followed, bearing witness together to the laws which were appointed by him.

2 For he, when a strife arose concerning the priesthood, and when the tribes contended which of them should be adorned with that glorious name, commanded the twelve chiefs of the tribes to bring to him rods, each inscribed with the name of a tribe; and when he had taken them, he bound them together, and sealed them with the seals of the heads of the tribes, and laid them up on the table of God, in the tabernacle of the testimony.

3 And when he had closed the tabernacle, he sealed the keys, and likewise the rods,

4 and said unto them, Men and brethren, of whatever tribe the rod shall bud, this hath God chosen to be his priest, and to serve him.

5 And when morning was come, he called together all Israel, even six hundred thousand men, and showed unto the heads of the tribes the seals, and opened the tabernacle of the testimony and brought forth the rods, and the rod of Aaron was found not only to have budded, but also bearing fruit.

6 What think ye, beloved? did not Moses know beforehand that this was about to happen? Most assuredly did he know it. But, that there might be no disorder in Israel, he did thus that the name of the true and only God might be glorified, to whom be glory world without end. Amen.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 44

1 Our Apostles, too, by the instruction of our Lord Jesus Christ, knew that strife would arise concerning the dignity of a bishop;

2 and on this account, having received perfect foreknowledge, they appointed the above-mentioned as bishops and deacons: and then gave a rule of succession, in order that, when they had fallen asleep, other men, who had been approved, might succeed to their ministry.

3 Those who were thus appointed by them, or afterwards by other men of good repute, with the consent of the whole Church, who have blamelessly ministered to the flock of Christ with humility, quietly, and without illiberality, and who for a long time have obtained a good report from all, these, we think, have been unjustly deposed from the ministry.

4 For it will be no small sin in us if we depose from the office of bishop those who blamelessly and piously have made the offerings.

5 Happy are the presbyters who finished their course before, and died in mature age after they had borne fruit; for they do not fear lest any one should remove them from the place appointed for them.

6 For we see that ye have removed some men of honest conversation from the ministry, which had been blamelessly and honourably performed by them.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 45

1 Ye are contentious, brethren, and are zealous concerning things that pertain not unto salvation.

2 Look diligently into the scriptures, which are the true sayings of the Holy Spirit.

3 Ye know how that nothing unjust or corrupt hath been written in them; for ye will not in them find the just expelled by holy men.

4 The just were persecuted, but it was by the lawless; they were thrown into prison, but it was by the unholy; they were stoned, but it was by sinners; they were slain, but it was by wicked men, even by those who had taken up an unjust envy against them.

5 They, therefore, when they suffered all these things, suffered them with a good report.

6 For what shall we say, brethren? was it by those that feared God that Daniel was cast into the den of lions?

7 Was it by those who practised the magnificent and glorious worship of the Most High that Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, were shut up in the fiery furnace? Let us not suppose that such was the case. Who, then, were the men who did these things? Abominable men and full of all wickedness were inflamed to such a degree of wrath that they cast into tortures those who, with a holy and a blameless purpose, served God, not knowing that the Most High is a champion and defender of those who with a pure conscience serve his most excellent name, to whom be glory world without end. Amen.

8 But they, abiding steadfastly in their confidence, have inherited honour and glory, and have both been exalted and made beautiful by God, in the memory that is made of them world without end. Amen.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 46

1 To such examples ought we also to cleave, brethren.

2 For it is written, Cleave unto them that are holy, for they that cleave unto them shall be made holy.

3 And again, in another place he saith, With the guiltless man thou shalt be guiltless, and with the excellent thou shalt be excellent, and with him that is crooked thou shalt be perverse.

4 Let us, therefore, cleave to the guiltless and the just, for they are the elect of God.

5 Why are there strivings, and anger, and division, and war among you?

6 Have we not one God and one Christ? Is not the Spirit of grace, which was poured out upon us, one? Is not our calling one in Christ?

7 Why do we tear apart and rend asunder the members of Christ, and make sedition against our body, and come to such a degree of madness that we forget we are members one of another? Remember the words of our Lord Jesus,

8 for he said, Woe unto that man; it were good for him if he had never been born, rather than that he should cause one of my elect to offend. It were better for him that a millstone were tied about him, and that he were cast into the sea, rather than that he should cause one of my little ones to offend.

9 This your schism has perverted many; hath cast many into despondency; many into doubt; all of us into grief, and, as yet, your sedition remaineth.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 47

1 Take into your hands the epistle of the blessed Apostle Paul.

2 What did he first write unto you in the beginning of his gospel?

3 Of a truth, he warned you spiritually, in a letter, concerning himself, and concerning Cephas and Apollos, because even then there were factions among you;

4 but the faction of that time brought less sin upon you; for ye inclined unto Apostles of good repute, and unto a man approved among them.

5 But now consider who they are that have perverted you, and have diminished the glory of your famous brotherly love.

6 Disgraceful, brethren, yea, very disgraceful is it, and unworthy of the conduct which is in Christ, that it should be reported that the most firm and ancient Church of the Corinthians hath, on account of one or two persons, made sedition against its presbyters.

7 And this report came not only unto us, but also unto the Gentiles, who go not with us. So that ye heap blasphemies on the name of the Lord through your folly, and withal cause danger to yourselves.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 48

1 Let us, therefore, remove this thing as quickly as possible, and let us fall before the feet of the Master, and beseech him with tears, that he will have mercy and be reconciled unto us, and restore us again to the grave and pure conversation of brotherly love.

2 For this is a gate of righteousness opened unto life, as it is written, Open unto me the gates of righteousness; I will go in unto them, and give thanks unto the Lord:

3 this is the gate of the Lord; the righteous shall enter thereby.

4 Now, since many gates have been opened, the gate of righteousness is that which is in Christ. Happy are all they that enter therein, and who keep their path straight in holiness and righteousness, quietly performing all their duties.

5 If a man be faithful, if he be mighty to expound knowledge, if he be wise in the interpretation of words, if he be pure in his deeds,

6 by so much the more ought he to be humble, and by as much as he seemeth to be greater, by so much the more ought he to seek the common advantage of all, and not of himself alone.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 49

1 Let him that hath the love which is in Christ keep the commandments of Christ.

2 Who can describe sufficiently the bond of the love of God?

3 Who is sufficient to speak as he ought of the excellence of its beauty?

4 The height to which love leads up is unspeakable.

5 Love joineth us unto God; love hideth a multitude of sins; love beareth all things; is long suffering in all things. In love there is nothing illiberal, nothing haughty. Love hath no schism; love maketh not sedition; love doth all things in harmony; in love all the elect of God have been made perfect. Without love nothing is acceptable unto God.

6 In love, our Master hath taken us to himself. Through the love that he hath for us, Jesus Christ our Lord hath given his blood for us, by the will of God, his flesh for our flesh, his soul for our soul.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 50

1 Ye see, brethren, how great and wonderful a thing love is, and how there is no describing its perfection.

2 Who is sufficient to be found in it, except those whom God shall have deemed worthy? Let us pray, therefore, and ask from his mercy that we may live in love, without human partiality, blameless.

3 All the generations, from Adam even unto this day, are gone by; but they who have been made perfect in love according to the grace of God inhabit the abode of the pious, and shall be made manifest in the visitation of the kingdom of Christ.

4 For it is written, Enter into the secret chambers but a little while, until my anger and wrath be passed, and I will remember the good day, and will raise you up from your sepulchres.

5 Blessed are we, beloved, if we do the commandments of God in the harmony of love, so that through love our sins may be forgiven us.

6 For it is written, Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth not sin, and in whose mouth there is no guile.

7 This blessedness cometh unto them who are elect by God, through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be glory world without end. Amen.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 51

1 Whatever errors, therefore, we have committed through the assaults of the adversary, let us for these ask pardon; and they who have been leaders of the sedition and division ought to consider the common ground of our hope.

2 For they who have their conversation in fear and love wish that they themselves, rather than their neighbours, should fall into suffering; and would rather that themselves should undergo condemnation, than that the harmony which hath been honourably and justly handed down to us should do so.

3 For it is better that a man should make confession concerning his sins, than that he should harden his heart, even as the heart of them was hardened who made sedition against Moses the servant of God; whose condemnation was manifest,

4 for they went down alive into hell, and death swallowed them up.

5 Pharaoh and his army, and all the leaders of Egypt, their chariots and their riders, through no other cause were sunk in the Red Sea, and perished there, than through the hardening of their foolish hearts, after that the signs and wonders happened in Egypt through the hand of Moses the servant of God.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 52

1 The Lord of all things, brethren, is in need of naught; neither requireth he anything of any one, except to confess unto him.

2 For the elect David saith, I will confess unto the Lord, and that shall please him more than a young calf that putteth forth horns and hoofs. Let the poor behold and rejoice thereat.

3 And again he saith, Offer unto the Lord the sacrifice of praise: pay thy vows unto the Most High. And call upon me in the day of thy affliction, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me.

4 For the sacrifice unto God is a broken spirit.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 53

1 Ye know, beloved, and know well, the sacred scriptures, and have looked into the oracles of God; call, therefore, these things to remembrance.

2 For, when Moses had gone up into the mount, and had tarried there forty days and forty nights in fasting and humiliation, the Lord said unto him, Moses, Moses, get thee down quickly hence, for thy people, whom thou broughtest out of the land of Egypt, have wrought iniquity. They have gone astray quickly out of the way that thou commandest them, and have made unto themselves molten images.

3 And the Lord said unto him, I have spoken unto thee once and twice, saying, I have beheld this people, and, lo, it is a stiffnecked people. Let me alone, that I may destroy them, and I will wipe out their name from under heaven, and make of thee a nation great and wonderful, and far more numerous than they.

4 And Moses said, Be it far from thee, O Lord. Forgive this people their sin, or wipe my name also out of the book of the living.

5 Oh, the great love! Oh, the unsurpassable perfection! The servant is bold towards the Lord: he asketh remission for the people, or demands otherwise that he himself should be destroyed together with them.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 54

1 Who among you is noble? who is compassionate? who is filled with love?

2 Let him speak in this wise: If through me sedition and strife arise, I will depart, I will go away whithersoever ye will, and I will do that which is commanded by the majority, only let the flock of Christ be at peace together with the appointed presbyters.

3 He who doeth this shall gain for himself great glory in the Lord, and every place shall receive him; for the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof.

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4 These things have they done who are citizens of the kingdom of God, which needeth not to be repented of, and these things will they yet do.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 55

1 But, to bring forward examples from the Gentiles, also many kings and leaders, when a time of pestilence had arisen, being warned by oracles, gave themselves unto death, that they might deliver their citizens by their blood. Many went out from their own cities, that there might be no more sedition therein.

2 We know that many among us gave themselves up unto bonds, that they might deliver others. Many have given themselves up unto slavery, and, having received their own price, have therewith fed others.

3 Many women, waxing strong through the grace of God, have performed many manly deeds.

4 The blessed Judith, when the city was besieged, asked of the elders that she should be permitted to go forth into the camp of the aliens.

5 She therefore delivered herself unto danger, and went out through love of her country and of her people, who were besieged. And the Lord delivered Olophernes into the hands of a woman.

6 To no smaller danger did Esther, being perfect in faith, expose herself, that she might deliver the twelve tribes of Israel, who were about to perish. For by fasting and humiliation she besought the Master, who overlooketh all things, the God of Ages, who, seeing the humiliation of her soul, delivered the people for whose sake she put herself in jeopardy.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 56

1 Let us, therefore, pray for those who have fallen into any transgression, that moderation and humility may be given unto them, to the end that they should submit themselves, I do not say unto us, but unto the will of God; for so shall they obtain a fruitful and perfect remembrance and compassion before God and his saints.

2 Let us accept, brethren, that discipline at which no one needeth to be offended. The admonition which we make one toward another is good and useful exceedingly, for it joineth us unto the will of God.

3 For thus speaketh the holy word: The Lord hath chastened me with chastisements, but he hath not given me over unto death.

4 For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.

5 The righteous shall chastise me in pity and shall rebuke me, but let not the oil of sinners anoint mine head.

6 And again he saith: Blessed is the man whom the Lord hath rebuked; refuse not thou the admonition of the Almighty, for he maketh thee to grieve, and again he restoreth thee;

7 he hath smitten, and his hands have healed thee;

8 six times shall he deliver thee from calamity, and the seventh time evil shall not touch thee.

9 In the time of famine he shall deliver thee from death, in war he shall redeem thee from the hand of iron.

10 From the scourge of the tongue shall he hide thee, and thou shalt not be afraid when evils approach.

11 The unjust and the sinner shalt thou laugh to scorn;

12 and of the wild beasts thou shalt not be afraid, for the wild beasts shall be at peace with thee.

13 Then shalt thou know that thy house shall be at peace; the habitation of thy tabernacle shall not fail.

14 Thou shalt know that thy seed is abundant, thy children like all the herb of the field.

15 Thou shalt come to thy tomb like a ripe ear of corn reaped in due season, like the heap of a threshing-floor that is gathered at its proper time.

16 Ye see, beloved, that there is a protection for them that are chastened by the Master, for God chasteneth us because he is good, to the end that we should be admonished by his holy discipline.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 57

1 Do ye, therefore, that have laid the foundation of the sedition submit yourselves to the presbyters, and be chastised to repentance, bending the knees of your hearts.

2 Learn to submit yourselves, laying aside the vain and haughty self-will of your tongues; for it is better that you should be small and approved in the flock of Christ, rather than that, seeming to be superior to others, ye should be cast out of his hope.

3 For thus saith the most excellent Wisdom, Behold, I will send upon you the language of my Spirit; I will teach you my word.

4 Since I called and ye did not hearken, and prolonged my words, and ye attended not, but made my counsels of none effect, and were not obedient to my reproofs, therefore I will laugh at your destruction, I will exult when desolation cometh upon you; when perturbation hath suddenly come upon you, and ruin is at hand like a whirlwind, when tribulation and oppression cometh upon you.

5 For the time shall come when ye shall call upon me, and I shall not hearken unto you; the wicked shall seek me, and shall not find me. They hated wisdom and chose not the fear of the Lord; they were not willing to attend to my counsels, they mocked at my rebukes.

6 Wherefore they shall eat the fruits of their own way; they shall be filled with their own unrighteousness.

7 For because they wronged the innocent they shall be slain, and judgement shall destroy the unrighteous; but he who hearkeneth unto me shall abide trusting in hope, and shall rest securely from all evil.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 58

1 Let us, therefore, submit to his all-holy and glorious name, and escape the threats that have been before spoken by Wisdom against the disobedient, that we may abide trusting in the most holy name of his greatness.

2 Accept this our advice, and it will not be repented of by you. For as God liveth, and as the Lord Jesus Christ liveth, and the Holy Spirit, the confidence and hope of the elect, he who observeth in humility with earnest obedience, and repining not, the ordinances and commands given by God, he shall be reckoned and counted in the number of them that are saved by Jesus Christ, through whom is there to him glory, world without end. Amen.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 59

1 But if some should be disobedient to the things spoken by him through us, let them know that they will entangle themselves in no small transgression and danger,

2 but that we shall be guiltless of this sin; and we will ask, making with earnestness our prayer and supplication, that the Maker of all things may keep uninjured in all the world the number of those that have been numbered as his elect, through his beloved Son, Jesus Christ, through whom he hath called us from darkness unto light, and from ignorance to a knowledge of the glory of his name.

3 That we may hope in thy name, which is the first of all things, open the eyes of our heart to know thee, who art alone highest among the highest, holy among the holy, who puttest down the haughtiness of the proud, who scatterest the reasonings of the Gentiles, who exaltest the humble on high, and lowerest the lofty, who makest rich and makest poor, who killest and makest to live, the only benefactor of spirits, and God of all flesh, who lookest into the abysses, who beholdest the works of men, who art the helper of those in danger, the saviour of those who have lost hope, who art the maker and bishop of every soul, who makest the nations to multiply upon earth, and out of all hast chosen those that love thee through Jesus Christ thy beloved Son, through whom thou hast taught us, hast sanctified us, hast honoured us.

4 We ask thee, Lord, to be our helper and assister, save those of us who are in affliction, have compassion on the humble, raise the fallen, appear to those who are in need, heal the sinners, convert those of thy people who are wandering from the way, feed the hungry, ransom our prisoners, raise up the sick, encourage the feeble-hearted, let all the nations know that thou art God alone and Jesus Christ thy Son, and that we are thy people and the sheep of thy pasture.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 60

1 Thou hast made manifest the everlasting constitution of the world by the things that happen. Thou, Lord, who art faithful in all generations, hast founded the world; thou who art just in thy judgements, who art wonderful in strength and greatness; thou who art wise in creating and prudent in establishing the things that are made; thou that art good in the things that are seen and faithful among them that trust upon thee, merciful and compassionate, forgive us our transgressions and unrighteousnesses, our sins and our negligences.

2 Take not into account every sin of thy servants and handmaids, but purify us with the purification of thy truth, and make straight our steps in holiness and righteousness and singleness of heart, that we may so walk and do such things as are right and well pleasing before thee, and before our rulers.

3 Yea, Lord, cause thy face to appear to us in peace to our good, that we may be sheltered by thy mighty hand, and preserved from all sin by thy lofty arm, and deliver us from those that hate us unjustly.

4 Give unity and peace both to us and to all that dwell upon the earth, as thou gavest to our fathers when they called upon thee with faith and truth, so that we should become obedient to thy all-powerful and most excellent name, and to those who rule and govern us upon the earth.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 61

1 Thou, Lord, hast given the authority of the kingdom to them through thy almighty and unspeakable power, so that we, knowing the estimation and honour given to them by thee, might submit ourselves to them, in no way opposing thy will; to whom give, O Lord, health, peace, concord, stability, so that they may discharge the rule given unto them by thee without offence;

2 for thou, heavenly Lord, everlasting King, givest to the sons of men glory and honour and authority over the things that are upon the earth. Do thou, Lord, direct their counsel according to what is good and pleasing before thee, that, fulfilling with peace and meekness and piety the authority given unto them by thee, they may obtain mercy from thee.

3 Thou who alone art able to do these and greater good things among us, to thee do we give thanks through the high priest and protector of our souls, Jesus Christ, through whom to thee be the glory and majesty, now and to all generations, world without end. Amen.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 62

1 Concerning the things that pertain to our religion, and the things that are most useful to a virtuous life, for those who are willing to live piously and righteously, we have sufficiently charged you, men and brethren.

2 For we have handled every argument concerning faith and repentance, and genuine love and temperance, and moderation and patience, reminding you that ye must by righteousness and truth and long-suffering approve yourselves with piety to almighty God, being of one mind, without malice, in love and peace with earnest obedience, even as our fathers, who were beforementioned, approved themselves with humility both with regard to God the Father and Creator and to all men.

3 And these things have we so much the more gladly put you in mind of, inasmuch as we knew plainly that we wrote unto men who are faithful and of high repute, and who have looked into the oracles of the instruction of God.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 63

1 It is right, therefore, that those who have attended to so great and so many examples should submit their necks, and fill the place of obedience, so that being at peace from the vain sedition we may attain, without any blame, to the end set before us in truth.

2 For joy and rejoicing will ye afford us if, becoming obedient to the things that have been written by us, ye put an end, by the suggestion of the Holy Spirit, to the unlawful wrath of your discord, according to the supplication which we have made concerning peace and unity in this epistle.

3 But we have also sent unto you men who are faithful and prudent, who from youth up to old age have behaved blamelessly among us, who also will be witnesses between yourselves and us;

4 and this we have done that ye may know that our whole thought has been and is this, that ye may speedily be at peace among yourselves.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 64

1 Finally, my God, who overlooketh all things, who is the Master of spirits and Lord of all flesh, who hath chosen our Lord Jesus Christ, and us through him to be a peculiar people, give unto every soul that is called after his glorious and holy name, faith, fear, peace, patience, long-suffering, continence, purity, sobriety, to the well-pleasing of his name, through our high priest and protector, Jesus Christ, through whom be ascribed unto him glory and greatness, strength and honour, both now and world without end. Amen.

1 CLEMENT CHAPTER 65

1 See that ye send back quickly unto us in peace and with joy Claudius Ephebus and Valerius Bito, together also with Fortunatus, who were sent unto you from us, that they may the more quickly bring us news of your peace and order, which we pray for and desire, so that we may the sooner have joy concerning your good order.

2 The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you, and with all who everywhere are called of God through him, to whom through him be glory, honour, might, majesty, and eternal dominion, world without end. Amen.

THE SECOND EPISTLE OF CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS

or the Second Epistle of Clement, or 2 Clement
Author: Titus Flavius Clemens (Clement I of Rome)
From: Apostolic Fathers
Translation by Charles H. Hoole, 1885
Estimated Range of Dating: 80-140 A.D.

(The Second Epistle of Clement (Greek: Klementos pros Korinthious, lit. 'from Clement to Corinthians'), often referred to as 2 Clement (pronounced "Second Clement"), is an early Christian writing. It is considered canon by the Coptic Orthodox Church. 2 Clement appears to be a transcript of a homily or sermon that was originally delivered orally at a Christian worship service. Like most early Christian texts, 2 Clement was written in Greek, the common language of the Roman upper class.

2 Clement was traditionally believed to have been an epistle to the Christian Church in Corinth written by Clement of

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Rome sometime in the late 1st century. Modern scholars believe that Second Clement is actually a sermon written around 80–140 AD by an anonymous author, one who was neither the author of 1 Clement nor Clement of Rome. Nonetheless, scholars still generally refer to the work by its traditional name "Second Clement".)

2 CLEMENT CHAPTER 1

1 Brethren, we ought so to think of our Lord Jesus Christ as of God, as of the judge of quick and dead, and we ought not to think meanly concerning our salvation;

2 for if we think meanly concerning him, we expect also that we shall receive mean things; and if we listen to it as though it were a small thing, we err, not knowing from whence we are called, nor by whom, nor unto what place, nor what great things Jesus Christ hath endured to suffer on our behalf.

3 What recompense, therefore, shall we give unto him, or what fruit worthy of that which he hath given unto us? How many things that help unto holiness hath he given unto us?

4 For he hath given us the light, he hath called us sons as though he were our father, he hath saved us when we were ready to perish.

5 What praise, therefore, shall we give unto him, or what recompense of reward for the things that we have received?

6 for we were maimed in our understanding, worshipping stocks and stones, and gold and silver and iron, the work of men, and our whole life was nothing but death. We, therefore, who were surrounded with darkness, and who had our sight filled with such gloom, have recovered our sight, having, according to his will, laid aside the cloud that was around us.

7 For he hath had compassion upon us, and, pitying us, hath saved us, having beheld in us much wandering and destruction, when we had no hope of salvation except that which is from him.

8 For he hath called us when as yet we were not, and hath willed us to be when we were nothing.

2 CLEMENT CHAPTER 2

1 |Rejoice, thou barren that bearest not; break forth and shout, thou that travailest not, for the desolate hath many more children than she that hath an husband. In that he said, Rejoice, thou barren that bearest not, he hath spoken of us, for our church was barren before that children were given unto her.

2 But in that he said, Shout, thou that travailest not, he meaneth that we should offer our prayers to God with simplicity, that we faint not like women in travail.

3 But in that he said, The children of the desolate are many more than they of her that hath an husband, he meaneth that our people seemed to be deserted of God, and now, after that we have believed, we have become more in number than they which seemed to have God.

4 And another scripture saith, I came not to call the righteous but sinners.

5 He meaneth this, that it behoveth to save them that are perishing.

6 For this is great and wonderful, not to establish the things that are standing, but the things that are falling;

7 thus Christ willed to save the things that were perishing, and he saved many, having come and called us who were already perishing.

2 CLEMENT CHAPTER 3

1 |Since, therefore, he hath showed such compassion unto us; first, that he hath caused that we who live should not sacrifice unto gods that are dead, neither worship them, but know through him the Father of truth. What is this knowledge of him except the not denying him through whom we know him?

2 For he himself saith, Whosoever hath confessed me before men, him will I confess before my Father.

3 This, therefore, is our reward if we confess him through whom we have been saved.

4 But whereby shall we confess him? Even by doing what he commandeth, and not disobeying his commandments, and honouring him not only with our lips but with our whole heart and whole understanding.

5 For he saith in Esaias, This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.

2 CLEMENT CHAPTER 4

1 |Let us not, therefore, only call him Lord, for that will not save us.

2 For he saith, It is not every one that sayeth unto me, Lord, Lord! that shall be saved, but he that doeth righteousness.

3 Wherefore, brethren, let us confess him in our deeds, by loving one another, by not committing adultery, and not speaking ill of each other, neither being envious, but by being continent, compassionate, kind. We ought also to sympathize one with another, and to abstain from covetousness; it is by these works that we acknowledge him, and not by the contrary;

4 and we ought not to fear men but rather God.

5 Wherefore, if we do these things, the Lord hath said, Though ye have been gathered together with me in my bosom and do not my commandments I will cast you from me, and I will say unto you, Depart from me; I know you not whence ye are, ye workers of iniquity.

2 CLEMENT CHAPTER 5

1 |Wherefore, brethren, having left our sojourning in this world, let us do the will of him who called us, and let us not fear to depart from this world.

2 For the Lord saith, Ye shall be as lambs in the midst of wolves.

3 But Peter answered and saith unto him, What, then, if the wolves rend the sheep?

4 Jesus saith unto Peter, Let not the lambs after that they are dead fear the wolves; and do not ye fear them that kill you but can do nothing more unto you, but fear him who after ye are dead hath authority over body and soul, even to cast them into hell fire.

5 And ye know, brethren, that the sojourning of our flesh in this world is but short and for a little while, but the promise of Christ is great and wonderful, even the rest of the kingdom which is to come, and of eternal life.

6 What, therefore, shall we do that we may attain unto them, except to lead a holy and just conversation, and to deem the things of this world to be alien unto us, and not to desire them?

7 for while we desire to obtain these things we fall from the right way.

2 CLEMENT CHAPTER 6

1 |For the Lord saith, No servant can serve two masters. If, therefore, we wish to serve both God and Mammon, it is inexpedient for us;

2 for what advantage is it if a man gain the whole world, but lose his soul?

3 Now this life and the life to come are two enemies.

4 This life preacheth adultery, corruption, covetousness, and deceit; but the life that is to come renounceth these things.

5 We cannot, therefore, be friends to both; it behoveth us then to renounce the one and to use the other.

6 Let us consider, therefore, that it is better to hate the things that are here, as being small and short-lived and corruptible, but to love the things that are there, as being good and incorruptible.

7 If, therefore, we do the will of Christ, we shall find rest; but if not, nothing will deliver us from eternal punishment, if we obey not his commandments.

8 For the scripture saith in Ezekiel, If Noah, and Job, and Daniel should rise up, they shall not deliver their children in the captivity.

9 If, therefore, such righteous men as these cannot by their righteousness deliver their children, with what confidence shall we, if we keep not our baptism pure and undefiled, come unto the kingdom of God? or who shall be our advocate unless we be found having the works that are holy and just?

2 CLEMENT CHAPTER 7

1 |Wherefore, my brethren, let us strive, knowing that the contest is at hand. We know, too, that many put in for corruptible contests, but all are not crowned, but they only who have laboured much and fought a good fight.

2 Let us, therefore, contend that we may all be crowned.

3 Let us run in the straight course, in the incorruptible contest; and let us be many that put into it, and let us so contend that we may also be crowned. And if we cannot all be crowned, let us at least come near to the crown.

4 It behoveth us to know that he who contendeth in a corruptible contest, if he be found acting unfairly is flogged, and taken away, and cast out of the course.

5 What think ye? what shall he suffer that acteth unfairly in an incorruptible contest?

6 For of them who have not kept their seal he saith, Their worm shall die not, and their fire shall not be quenched, and they shall be for a spectacle to all flesh.

2 CLEMENT CHAPTER 8

1 |While, therefore, we are upon the earth, let us repent.

2 For we are as clay in the hands of the workman. In like manner as the potter, if while he be making a vessel, it turn amiss in his hands, or be crushed, can mould it again, but if he have once cast it into the fiery furnace can no longer amend it; so let us, so long as we are in this world repent with all our hearts of the wickedness that we have committed in the flesh, that we may be saved of the Lord while as yet we have time for repentance.

3 For after that we are departed out of this world, we are no longer able there to confess or repent.

4 Wherefore, brethren, if we have done the will of the Father, and preserved our flesh pure, and kept the commandments of the Lord, we shall receive eternal life.

5 For the Lord saith in the Gospel, If ye have not kept that which is little, who shall give you that which is great? for I say unto you, he that is faithful in that which is least is faithful also in much.

6 Doth he not, therefore, say this, Keep your flesh pure and your seal unspotted, that ye may inherit eternal life?

2 CLEMENT CHAPTER 9

1 |And let not any one of you say that this our flesh is not judged nor raised again.

2 Consider this: in what were ye saved, in what did ye recover your sight, if not in this flesh?

3 We ought, therefore, to guard our flesh as the temple of God;

4 for in the same manner as ye were called in the flesh, in the flesh also shall ye come.

5 There is one Christ, our Lord who saved us, who being at the first spirit, was made flesh, and thus called us. So also shall we in this flesh receive the reward.

6 Let us, therefore, love one another, that we may all come to the kingdom of God.

7 While we have opportunity to be healed, let us give ourselves up unto God who healeth, giving a recompense unto him.

8 And of what kind? repentance from a sincere heart.

9 For he foreknoweth all things, and knoweth the things that are in our hearts.

10 Let us, therefore, give him praise, not from the mouth alone, but also from the heart, that he may receive us as sons.

11 For of a truth the Lord hath said, My brethren are they who do the will of my Father.

2 CLEMENT CHAPTER 10

1 |Wherefore, my brethren, let us do the will of the Father who hath called us, that we may live; and let us the rather pursue virtue, and abandon vice which leadeth us into sins, and let us fly ungodliness lest evil seize us; for if we are zealous to do good peace shall pursue us.

2 For this cause it is not possible that a man should find peace.

3 For they introduce the fear of men, choosing rather the present enjoyment that is here than the future promise.

4 For they are ignorant how great a torment the enjoyment of this world bringeth, and what delight hath the future promise.

5 And if they themselves alone did these things it were endurable; but now they continue to instruct in evil innocent souls, not knowing that they will have a twofold condemnation -- both themselves and they that hearken to them.

2 CLEMENT CHAPTER 11

1 |Let us, therefore, serve God with a pure heart, and we shall be righteous; but if we serve him not, because we believe not the promise of God, we shall be wretched.

2 For the prophetic word saith, Wretched are the double-minded who doubt in their heart, and say, We have heard these things of old, even in the time of our fathers, but we have seen none of them, though we expect them from day to day.

3 Ye fools, compare yourselves unto a tree; take for an example the vine. In the first place it sheddeth its leaves, then there cometh a shoot, after that the unripe grape, then the mature cluster.

4 In like manner my people hath in time past had disorder and trouble, but afterward it shall receive the things that are good.

5 Wherefore, my brethren, let us not be double-minded, but let us abide in hope, that we may obtain our reward.

6 Faithful is he that hath promised that he will give unto each the recompense of his works.

7 If, therefore, we do righteousness before God, we shall enter into his kingdom, and receive the promises which ear hath not heard nor eye seen, neither have entered into the heart of man.

2 CLEMENT CHAPTER 12

1 |Let us, therefore, in love and righteousness expect every hour the kingdom of God, since we know not the day of the appearing of God.

2 For the Lord himself, when he was asked by a certain man when his kingdom should come, replied, When two shall be one, and that which is without as that which is within, and the male with the female neither male nor female.

3 Now two are one when we speak the truth one to another, and there is, without hypocrisy, one soul in two bodies.

4 And by that which is without being as that which is within, he meaneth this: He calleth the soul that which is within, and the body that which is without; in like manner, therefore, as thy body is visible, let thy soul be made manifest by good deeds.

5 And by the male with the female neither male nor female, he meaneth this: When a brother seeing a sister doth not in any way regard her as a female, nor doth she regard him as a male; 12:6 when ye do these things, he saith, the kingdom of my Father will come.

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2 CLEMENT CHAPTER 13

1 |My brethren, let us therefore repent forthwith; let us be sober and followers of what is good, for we are burdened with much folly and wickedness. Let us wipe out from among us our former sins, and repent sincerely and be saved. And let us not be pleasers of men, nor let us wish to please one another alone, but let us also please them that are without by our righteous conduct, that the Divine name may not be blasphemed on our account.

2 For the Lord saith, My name is continually blasphemed among all the Gentiles; and again, Wherefore is my name blasphemed, whereby is it blasphemed? in that ye do not the things that I will.

3 |For the Gentiles, when they hear from our mouth the oracles of God, admire them as beautiful and weighty; but afterwards perceiving our deeds, that they are not worthy of the words that we say, they turn thereafter to blasphemy, saying that the matter is but fable and deceit.

4 For when they hear from us that God saith, There is no thanks for you if ye love them that love you, but there is thanks for you if ye love your enemies and them that hate you; when they hear these things, they wonder at the excess of the goodness. But when they see that we do not only not love those that hate us, but do not even love those that love us, they turn us to ridicule, and the Divine name is blasphemed.

2 CLEMENT CHAPTER 14

1 |Wherefore, my brethren, by doing the will of our Father, God, we shall be of the first, the spiritual Church, which was founded before the sun and moon were made; but if we do not the will of the Lord, we shall be of the scripture that saith, My house hath become a den of thieves. Let us therefore choose to be of the Church of life that we may be saved.

2 But I do not think that you are ignorant that the living Church is the body of Christ. For the scripture saith, God made man, male and female. Now, the male signifieth Christ, the female the Church. Ye know also that both the Bible and the Apostles say that the Church is not new, but was from the beginning; for it was of a spiritual kind, as was also our Jesus, but was made manifest in the last days that it might save us.

3 But the Church, though spiritual, was manifested in the flesh of Christ, showing to us that if any one keep it in his flesh, and corrupt it not, he will receive it in the Holy Spirit; for this flesh is the counterpart of the Spirit; no one, therefore, who corrupteth the copy will receive the original in exchange. He therefore meaneth this, my brethren: Keep pure the flesh, that ye may partake of the Spirit.

4 But if we say that the flesh is the Church, and the Spirit, Christ, he then who doeth injury to the flesh doeth injury to the Church. Such an one therefore shall not partake of the Spirit, which is Christ.

5 Such life and immortality is this flesh able to partake of by the union of the Holy Spirit with it. Nor can any say or declare what the Lord hath prepared for his elect.

2 CLEMENT CHAPTER 15

1 |Now, I do not think that I have given advice of little importance concerning temperance, which, if a man practice, he will not repent of it, but will save both himself and me who advise him. For it is no small service to convert a wandering and perishing soul to salvation.

2 For this recompense are we able to give in return to God who created us, if he who speaketh and heareth both speak and hear with faith and love.

3 Let us therefore remain with righteousness and holiness in the things in which we have believed, that we may with boldness ask of God, who saith, While thou art still speaking, I will say, Lo I am here.

4 For this saying is the token of a great promise. For the Lord saith of himself that he is more ready to give than him that asketh.

5 Since, therefore, we partake in so much goodness, let us not grudge ourselves the attaining of so many good things; for by so much as his words bring pleasure to those who do them, by so much do they bring condemnation to those who disobey them.

2 CLEMENT CHAPTER 16

1 |Wherefore, brethren, since we have received no small opportunity for repentance, let us, while we have time, turn unto the God who hath called us, while we still have one who will receive us.

2 For if we bid farewell to the luxuries of this world, and conquer our soul so that we do not fulfil evil lusts, we shall partake of the mercy of Jesus.

3 But know that the day of judgement is already coming as a burning furnace, and certain of the heavens shall be melted, and the whole earth shall be as lead melting on the fire; and then shall both the secret and open deeds of men be made manifest.

4 Good, therefore, is almsgiving, as showing repentance from sin; better is fasting than prayer, and almsgiving than both; for love covereth a multitude of sins, and prayer that goeth forth from a good conscience saveth from death. Happy is every one who is found full of these things, for almsgiving becometh a lightening of sin.

2 CLEMENT CHAPTER 17

1 |Let us therefore repent with our whole heart lest any of us perish by the way. For if we have received commandments and make this our business -- to tear men away from idols and instruct them -- how much more ought a soul not to perish that hath already come to a knowledge of God?

2 Let us therefore endeavour to elevate with regard to what is good them that are weak, to the end that we may all be saved; and let us convert one another and reprove one another.

3 And let us not seem to attend and believe now only, while we are being admonished by the presbyters, but also when we have departed to our homes, let us remember the commandments of the Lord; and let us not, on the other hand, be drawn aside by the lusts of the world, but let us endeavour, by coming more frequently, to make progress in the commandments of the Lord, to the end that we all being of one mind may be gathered together unto life.

4 For the Lord hath said, I come to gather together all the nations, tribes, and tongues. And this he saith of the day of his appearing, when he shall come and recompense each of us according to his works.

5 And the unbelieving shall behold his glory and strength, and shall be astonished when they see the kingdom of the world in the hands of Jesus, and shall say, Woe unto us, for thou wast and we knew it not, and did not believe, nor did we obey the presbyters who preached to us concerning our salvation. And their worm shall not die, nor their fire be quenched, and they shall be for a spectacle to all flesh.

6 He speaketh of that day of judgement when they shall see punished those among us who have lived ungodly and set at nought the commandments of Jesus Christ.

7 But the just, who have done well, and have abided the tests, and have hated the luxuries of the soul, when they behold those who have missed the way and have denied Jesus either by words or deeds, how they are punished with dreadful tortures in unquenchable fire, shall give glory to their God, saying, that there shall be a hope for him who hath served God with his whole heart.

2 CLEMENT CHAPTER 18

1 |Let us, therefore, be of those who give thanks, of those who have served God, and not of the ungodly who are judged.

2 For I myself, being in all respects a sinner, and not having yet escaped temptation, but being still in the midst of the snares of the devil, yet endeavour to follow after righteousness, that I may be able, at any rate, to be near it, fearing the judgement to come.

2 CLEMENT CHAPTER 19

1 |Wherefore, my brethren and sisters, after the reading of the words of the God of truth, I read also unto you an exhortation, to the end that ye should attend to what has been written, that ye may both save yourselves and him who preacheth among you; for I ask of you, as my reward, that ye should repent with your whole heart, gaining for yourselves salvation and life. For by so doing we shall offer an aim to all the young, who are willing to labour cheerfully for the worship and goodness of God.

2 And let not those of us who are unlearned be vexed or offended when one exhorteth us and turneth us from sin to righteousness. For we at times when doing what is wrong, know it not, from the doubt and unbelief that is in our hearts, and are blinded in our understanding by vain lusts.

3 Let us, therefore, practise righteousness, that we may be saved at the last. Blessed are they who obey these commands, for if for a short time they suffer in the world that now is, they shall gather hereafter the immortal fruit of the resurrection.

4 Let not, therefore, the pious man be vexed if he be afflicted in the times that now are, a blessed time awaiteth him. He shall live above again with the fathers, and shall rejoice without sorrow for ever.

2 CLEMENT CHAPTER 20

1 |And let not even that trouble your mind, that we see the unjust prosperous and the servants of God in misery.

2 Let us have faith, my brethren and sisters. We are making trial of the living God, and contending in the present life that we may be crowned in the life to come.

3 For none of the just receiveth a speedy reward, but waiteth for it.

4 For if God gave speedily the reward of the righteous, we should forthwith practise gain and not godliness; for we should seem to be righteous, not on account of what is pious, but on account of what is profitable. And on this account hath the Divine judgement overtaken a spirit that is not righteous, and hath burdened it with chains.

5 Now to the only God, the invisible, the father of truth, who hath sent unto us the Saviour and leader of immortality, through whom he hath made known unto us the truth and the heavenly life, to him be the glory, world without end. Amen.

THE EPISTLE OF POLYCARP TO THE PHILIPPIANS

From: Apostolic Fathers
Author: Polycarp
Translation; Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867
Estimated Range of Dating: 120-165 A.D.

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(The Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians (commonly abbreviated Pol. Phil.) is an epistle addressed to the early Christian church in Philippi. It is widely believed to be a composite of material written at two different times, in the first half of the second century. The epistle is one of a number believed to have been written by Polycarp, but is the only extant document. It was composed in Greek, but the Greek text has not been preserved in its entirety; there is also a Latin translation of the epistle. Moreover, a few quotations of it are preserved in Syriac-Aramaic.

Polycarp (Greek: Polykarpos; 69–155 AD) was a 2nd-century Christian bishop of Smyrna. According to the "Martyrdom of Polycarp", he died a martyr burned at the stake. Both Irenaeus and Tertullian record that Polycarp had been a disciple of John the Apostle who had ordained him bishop of Smyrna. Polycarp is regarded as one of three chief Apostolic Fathers, along with Clement of Rome (Titus Flavius Clemens) and Ignatius of Antioch. Scholars date the text between the 130s and Polycarp's death, which occurred around 155-165 AD.

Scholars generally agree that Pol. Phil. is an authentic text written by Polycarp. To be precise, the text contains two letters. In Chapter 9, Polycarp shows that he is fully aware that his friend Ignatius has suffered martyrdom, perhaps some time ago. But in Chapter 13, Polycarp references a letter sent to him by Ignatius quite recently (see the Epistle of Ignatius to Polycarp), and seems to be unaware of Ignatius' death.

Most scholars accept that the epistle is actually a composite of two authentic letters of Polycarp written at different times. The first letter that consists of Chapter 13 and possibly also Chapter 14 would have served as a short Cover Letter for the epistles of Ignatius. The second letter, written many years later, would constitute the bulk of the epistle (Chapters 1-12). It is named "the Crisis Letter", because it seems to have been written in response to a crisis in the Philippian church, in which its presbyter Valens was removed from his post for "covetousness" (Chapter 11). These two letters would have been compiled together, either accidentally or intentionally, by a later editor.)

Prologue: Polycarp, and the presbyters with him, to the church of God sojourning at Philippi: Mercy to you, and peace from God Almighty, and from the Lord Jesus Christ, our Saviour, be multiplied.

1 Praise of the Philippians. I have greatly rejoiced with you in our Lord Jesus Christ, because ye have followed the example of true love [as displayed by God], and have accompanied, as became you, those who were bound in chains, the fitting ornaments of saints, and which are indeed the diadems of the true elect of God and our Lord; and because the strong root of your faith, spoken of in days[4] long gone by, endureth even until now, and bringeth forth fruit to our Lord Jesus Christ, who for our sins suffered even unto death, [but] "whom God raised from the dead, having loosed the bands of the grave." "In whom, though now ye see Him not, ye believe, and believing, rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory;" into which joy many desire to enter, knowing that "by grace ye are saved, not of works," but by the will of God through Jesus Christ.

2 An exhortation to virtue. "Wherefore, girding up your loins," "serve the Lord in fear" and truth, as those who have forsaken the vain, empty talk and error of the multitude, and "believed in Him who raised up our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, and gave Him glory," and a throne at His right hand. To Him all things in heaven and on earth are subject. Him every spirit serves. He comes as the Judge of the living and the dead. His blood will God require of those who do not believe in Him. But He who raised Him up from the dead will raise up us also, if we do His will, and walk in His commandments, and love what He loved, keeping ourselves from all unrighteousness, covetousness, love of money, evil-speaking, false-witness; "not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing," or blow for blow, or cursing for cursing, but being mindful of what the Lord said in His teaching: "Judge not, that ye be not judged; forgive, and it shall be forgiven unto you; be merciful, that ye may obtain mercy; with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again;" and once more, "Blessed are the poor, and those that are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of God."

3 Expressions of personal unworthiness. These things, brethren, I write to you concerning righteousness, not because I take anything upon myself, but because ye have invited me to do so. For neither I, nor any other such one, can come up to the wisdom of the blessed and glorified Paul. He, when among you, accurately and stedfastly taught the word of truth in the presence of those who were then alive. And when absent from you, he wrote you a letter, which, if you carefully study, you will find to be the means of building you up in that faith

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which has been given you, and which, being followed by hope, and preceded by love towards God, and Christ, and our neighbour, "is the mother of us all." For if any one be inwardly possessed of these graces, he hath fulfilled the command of righteousness, since he that hath love is far from all sin.

4 Various exhortations. "But the love of money is the root of all evils." Knowing, therefore, that "as we brought nothing into the world, so we can carry nothing out," let us arm ourselves with the armour of righteousness; and let us teach, first of all, ourselves to walk in the commandments of the Lord. Next, [teach] your wives [to walk] in the faith given to them, and in love and purity tenderly loving their own husbands in all truth, and loving all [others] equally in all chastity; and to train up their children in the knowledge and fear of God. Teach the widows to be discreet as respects the faith of the Lord, praying continually for all, being far from all slandering, evil-speaking, false-witnessing, love of money, and every kind of evil; knowing that they are the altar of God, that He clearly perceives all things, and that nothing is hid from Him, neither reasonings, nor reflections, nor any one of the secret things of the heart.

5 The duties of deacons, youths, and virgins. Knowing, then, that "God is not mocked," we ought to walk worthy of His commandment and glory. In like manner should the deacons be blameless before the face of His righteousness, as being the servants of God and Christ, and not of men. They must not be slanderers, double-tongued, or lovers of money, but temperate in all things, compassionate, industrious, walking according to the truth of the Lord, who was the servant of all. If we please Him in this present world, we shall receive also the future world, according as He has promised to us that He will raise us again from the dead, and that if we live worthily of Him, "we shall also reign together with Him," provided only we believe. In like manner, let the young men also be blameless in all things, being especially careful to preserve purity, and keeping themselves in, as with a bridle, from every kind of evil. For it is well that they should be cut off from the lusts that are in the world, since "every lust warreth against the spirit;" and "neither fornicators, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, shall inherit the kingdom of God," nor those who do things inconsistent and unbecoming. Wherefore, it is needful to abstain from all these things, being subject to the presbyters and deacons, as unto God and Christ. The virgins also must walk in a blameless and pure conscience.

6 The duties of presbyters and others. And let the presbyters be compassionate and merciful to all, bringing back those that wander, visiting all the sick, and not neglecting the widow, the orphan, or the poor, but always "providing for that which is becoming in the sight of God and men;" abstaining from all wrath, respect of persons, and unjust judgement; keeping far off from all covetousness, not quickly crediting [an evil report] against any one, not severe in judgement, as knowing that we are all under a debt of sin. If then we entreat the Lord to forgive us, we ought also ourselves to forgive; for we are before the eyes of our Lord and God, and "we must all appear at the judgement-seat of Christ, and must every one give an account of himself." Let us then serve Him in fear, and with all reverence, even as He Himself has commanded us, and as the apostles who preached the gospel unto us, and the prophets who proclaimed beforehand the coming of the Lord [have alike taught us]. Let us be zealous in the pursuit of that which is good, keeping ourselves from causes of offence, from false brethren, and from those who in hypocrisy bear the name of the Lord, and draw away vain men into error.

7 Avoid the Docetæ, and persevere in fasting and prayer. "For whosoever does not confess that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh, is antichrist;" and whosoever does not confess the testimony of the cross, is of the devil; and whosoever perverts the oracles of the Lord to his own lusts, and says that there is neither a resurrection nor a judgement, he is the first-born of Satan. Wherefore, forsaking the vanity of many, and their false doctrines, let us return to the word which has been handed down to us from the beginning; "watching unto prayer," and persevering in fasting; beseeching in our supplications the all-seeing God "not to lead us into temptation," as the Lord has said: "The spirit truly is willing, but the flesh is weak."

8 Persevere in hope and patience. Let us then continually persevere in our hope, and the earnest of our righteousness, which is Jesus Christ, "who bore our sins in His own body on the tree," "who did no sin, neither was guile found in His mouth," but endured all things for us, that we might live in Him. Let us then be imitators of His patience; and if we suffer for His name's sake, let us glorify Him. For He has set us this example in Himself, and we have believed that such is the case.

9 Patience inculcated. I exhort you all, therefore, to yield obedience to the word of righteousness, and to exercise all patience, such as ye have seen [set] before your eyes, not only in the case of the blessed Ignatius, and Zosimus, and Rufus, but also in others among yourselves, and in Paul himself, and the rest of the apostles. [This do] in the assurance that all these have not run in vain, but in faith and righteousness, and that they are [now] in their due place in the presence of the Lord, with whom also they suffered. For they loved not this present world, but Him who died for us, and for our sakes was raised again by God from the dead.

10 Exhortation to the practice of virtue. Stand fast, therefore, in these things, and follow the example of the Lord, being firm and unchangeable in the faith, loving the brotherhood, and being attached to one another, joined together in the truth, exhibiting the meekness of the Lord in your intercourse with one another, and despising no one. When you can do good, defer it not, because "alms delivers from death." Be all of you subject one to another, "having your conduct blameless among the Gentiles," that ye may both receive praise for your good works, and the Lord may not be blasphemed through you. But woe to him by whom the name of the Lord is blasphemed! Teach, therefore, sobriety to all, and manifest it also in your own conduct.

11 Expression of grief on account of Valens. I am greatly grieved for Valens, who was once a presbyter among you, because he so little understands the place that was given him [in the church]. I exhort you, therefore, that ye abstain from covetousness, and that ye be chaste and truthful. "Abstain from every form of evil." For if a man cannot govern himself in such matters, how shall he enjoin them on others? If a man does not keep himself from covetousness, he shall be defiled by idolatry, and shall be judged as one of the heathen. But who of us are ignorant of the judgement of the Lord? "Do we not know that the saints shall judge the world?" as Paul teaches. But I have neither seen nor heard of any such thing among you, in the midst of whom the blessed Paul laboured, and who are commended in the beginning of his epistle. For he boasts of you in all those churches which alone then knew the Lord; but we [of Smyrna] had not yet known Him. I am deeply grieved, therefore, brethren, for him (Valens) and his wife; to whom may the Lord grant true repentance! And be ye then moderate in regard to this matter, and "do not count such as enemies," but call them back as suffering and straying members, that ye may save your whole body. For by so acting ye shall edify yourselves.

12 Exhortation to various graces. For I trust that ye are well versed in the sacred Scriptures, and that nothing is hid from you; but to me this privilege is not yet granted. It is declared then in these Scriptures, "Be ye angry, and sin not," and, "Let not the sun go down upon your wrath." Happy is he who remembers this, which I believe to be the case with you. But may the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ Himself, who is the Son of God, and our everlasting High Priest, build you up in faith and truth, and in all meekness, gentleness, patience, long-suffering, forbearance, and purity; and may He bestow on you a lot and portion among His saints, and on us with you, and on all that are under heaven, who shall believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and in His Father, who "raised Him from the dead." Pray for all the saints. Pray also for kings, and potentates, and princes, and for those that persecute and hate you, and for the enemies of the cross, that your fruit may be manifest to all, and that ye may be perfect in Him.

13 Concerning the transmission of epistles. Both you and Ignatius wrote to me, that if any one went [from this] into Syria, he should carry your letter with him; which request I will attend to if I find a fitting opportunity, either personally, or through some other acting for me, that your desire may be fulfilled. The epistles of Ignatius written by him to us, and all the rest [of his epistles] which we have by us, we have sent to you, as you requested. They are subjoined to this epistle, and by them ye may be greatly profited; for they treat of faith and patience, and all things that tend to edification in our Lord. Any more certain information you may have obtained respecting both Ignatius himself, and those that were with him, have the goodness to make known to us.

14 Conclusion. These things I have written to you by Crescens, whom up to the present time I have recommended unto you, and do now recommend. For he has acted blamelessly among us, and I believe also among you. Moreover, ye will hold his sister in esteem when she comes to you. Be ye safe in the Lord Jesus Christ. Grace be with you all. Amen.

THE MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP

The Encyclical Epistle Of The Church At Smyrna
Concerning The Martyrdom Of The Holy Polycarp.
Author: unknown (Polycarp, alleged)
From: Ante-Nicene Christian Library, 1885
Translation; Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867
Estimated Range of Dating: 80-140 A.D.

(The Martyrdom of Polycarp is a manuscript written in the form of a letter that relates the "religious martyrdom" of Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna (the modern city of Izmir, Turkey) and disciple of John the Apostle in the 2nd century AD. It forms the earliest account of Christian martyrdom outside of the New Testament.

The author of Martyrdom of Polycarp is unknown, but it has been attributed to members of the group of early Christian theologians known as the Church Fathers. The letter, sent from the church in Smyrna to another church in Asia Minor at Philomelium, is partly written from the point of view of an eye-witness, recounting the arrest of the elderly Polycarp, the Romans' attempt to execute him by fire, and subsequent miraculous events.

The letter takes influence from both Jewish martyrdom texts in the Old Testament and the Gospels. Furthermore, the Martyrdom of Polycarp promotes an ideology of martyrdom, by delineating the proper conduct of a martyr.

The author of the Martyrdom displays significant knowledge of the scriptures. Beginning with the case of the Old Testament which is rooted in Jewish martyr history. In regards to the New Testament we find more references. The most prominent among them being the blessing at the end of the introduction (parallel to Jude 2), the charge to think always of others in 1.2 (parallel to Philippians 2:4), the recollection of the mystical visions of the martyrs in 2.3 (parallel to 1 Corinthians 2:9), the warning that Christians should not seek martyrdom in 4.1 (parallel to Matthew 10:23), the account of Polycarp's submission to the authorities in 7.1 (parallel to Acts 21:14) and finally the observation that governing authorities receive their power from God in 10.2 (parallel to Romans 13:1 and 1 Peter 2:13-14).[3] Most important, especially in the general structuring and treatment of the martyrdom, is its parallel to the gospels. These examples are extensive and include:

• (7.2-3) Polycarp serving as a host for a final meal and agonising in prayer before his arrest (Matthew 26:36-46)
• (8.1) Escort back to Smyrna on a donkey (Matthew 21:1-11)
• (9.2-10.1) Interrogation by a high Roman authority (John 18:28)
• (6.1-2) Betrayal by a friend, a Judas figure (Matthew 26:47-49)
• (8.2-3) Interrogation by Herod (Luke 23:6-12)
• (7.2) Host at a final meal (Matthew 26:17-29)
• (12.2-13.1) Jews inciting death of Polycarp (John 19:12-16)
• (5.1) Prayer for churches (John 17:1-26)

Such correspondence between these events and those of the canonical passion narratives shows how typology has been used for a long time.

Martyrdom was an important ideology tool of the early Roman [Pauline] Church. The supporters tried to gain sympathy and recognition by publishing elaborate stories of people who died martyrs death, pretty much like we can see it in Islam. In both cases, the authors tried to lead the auditions' attention away from the facts. Many Christians indeed died from persecution. However, many of those persecuted persons were not only members of the Pauline Church but they were in fact persecuted by the Pauline Church. Thousands of people died the most horribe deaths, such as Jews, Ebionites [Jewish Christians] Marcionites, Arians, Nestorians, in short: all who were accused of "herecy". Consequently, these publications often show quite openly disdain for all those who had a believe different from the Roman Church. To execute those artrocities, the old Roman bureaucratic apparatus of the Roman Imperial Cult was used, and in this sense, the Roman Church was as active as Islam. However, the is a difference between the activities of the Roman Church and Islam: In Islam, the persecution and killings of non-believers is based on Islamic scripture recorded in the Koran, the Sira, and the Hadith; the Roman Church, on the other side, could never claim such a prescription on the basis of Jesus' peaceful teachings that respected even the enemy as human who must not be hated.)

Prologue:

The church of God which sojourns at Smyrna, to the church of God sojourning in Philomelium[1] and to all the congregations of the holy and catholic church in every place: Mercy, peace, and love from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied.

1 Subject of which we write. We have written to you, brethren, as to what relates to the martyrs, and especially to the blessed Polycarp, who put an end to the persecution, having, as it were, set a seal upon it by his martyrdom. For almost all the events that happened previously [to this one], took place that the Lord might show us from above a martyrdom becoming the gospel. For he waited to be delivered up, even as the Lord had done, that we also might become his followers, while we look not merely at what concerns ourselves, but have regard also to our neighbours. For it is the part of a true and well-founded love, not only to wish one's self to be saved, but also all the brethren.

2 The wonderful constancy of the martyrs. All the martyrdoms, then, were blessed and noble which took place according to the will of God. For it becomes us who profess greater piety than others, to ascribe the authority over all things to God. And truly, who can fail to admire their nobleness of mind, and their patience, with that love towards

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their Lord which they displayed?—who, when they were so torn with scourges, that the frame of their bodies, even to the very inward veins and arteries, was laid open, still patiently endured, while even those that stood by pitied and bewailed them. But they reached such a pitch of magnanimity, that not one of them let a sigh or a groan escape them; thus proving to us all that those holy martyrs of Christ, at the very time when they suffered such torments, were absent from the body, or rather, that the Lord then stood by them, and communed with them. And, looking to the grace of Christ, they despised all the torments of this world, redeeming themselves from eternal punishment by [the suffering of] a single hour. For this reason the fire of their savage executioners appeared cool to them. For they kept before their view escape from that fire which is eternal and never shall be quenched, and looked forward with the eyes of their heart to those good things which are laid up for such as endure; things "which ear hath not heard, nor eye seen, neither have entered into the heart of man," but were revealed by the Lord to them, inasmuch as they were no longer men, but had already become angels. And, in like manner, those who were condemned to the wild beasts endured dreadful tortures, being stretched out upon beds full of spikes, and subjected to various other kinds of torments, in order that, if it were possible, the tyrant might, by their lingering tortures, lead them to a denial [of Christ].

3 The constancy of Germanicus. The death of Polycarp is demanded. For the devil did indeed invent many things against them; but thanks be to God, he could not prevail over all. For the most noble Germanicus strengthened the timidity of others by his own patience, and fought heroically with the wild beasts. For, when the proconsul sought to persuade him, and urged him to take pity upon his age, he attracted the wild beast towards himself, and provoked it, being desirous to escape all the more quickly from an unrighteous and impious world. But upon this the whole multitude, marvelling at the nobility of mind displayed by the devout and godly race of Christians, cried out, "Away with the atheists; let Polycarp be sought out!"

4 Quintus the apostate. Now one named Quintus, a Phrygian, who was but lately come from Phrygia, when he saw the wild beasts, became afraid. This was the man who forced himself and some others to come forward voluntarily [for trial]. Him the proconsul, after many entreaties, persuaded to swear and to offer sacrifice. Wherefore, brethren, we do not commend those who give themselves up [to suffering], seeing the gospel does not teach so to do.

5 The departure and vision of Polycarp. But the most admirable Polycarp, when he first heard [that he was sought for], was in no measure disturbed, but resolved to continue in the city. However, in deference to the wish of many, he was persuaded to leave it. He departed, therefore, to a country house not far distant from the city. There he stayed with a few [friends], engaged in nothing else night and day than praying for all men, and for the churches throughout the world, according to his usual custom. And while he was praying, a vision presented itself to him three days before he was taken; and, behold, the pillow under his head seemed to him on fire. Upon this, turning to those that were with him, he said to them prophetically, "I must be burnt alive."

6 Polycarp is betrayed by a servant. And when those who sought for him were at hand, he departed to another dwelling, whither his pursuers immediately came after him. And when they found him not, they seized upon two youths [that were there], one of whom, being subjected to torture, confessed. It was thus impossible that he should continue hid, since those that betrayed him were of his own household. The Irenarch then (whose office is the same as that of the Cleronomus), by name Herod, hastened to bring him into the stadium. [This all happened] that he might fulfil his special lot, being made a partaker of Christ, and that they who betrayed him might undergo the punishment of Judas himself.

7 Polycarp is found by his pursuers. His pursuers then, along with horsemen, and taking the youth with them, went forth at supper-time on the day of the preparation, with their usual weapons, as if going out against a robber. And being come about evening [to the place where he was], they found him lying down in the upper room of a certain little house, from which he might have escaped into another place; but he refused, saying, "The will of God be done." So when he heard that they were come, he went down and spake with them. And as those that were present marvelled at his age and constancy, some of them said, "Was so much effort made to capture such a venerable man?" Immediately then, in that very hour, he ordered that something to eat and drink should be set before them, as much indeed as they cared for, while he besought them to allow him an hour to pray without disturbance. And on their giving him leave, he stood and prayed, being full of the grace of God, so that he could not cease for two full hours, to the astonishment of them that heard him, insomuch that many began to repent that they had come forth against so godly and venerable an old man.

8 Polycarp is brought into the city. Now, as soon as he had ceased praying, having made mention of all that had at any time come in contact with him, both small and great, illustrious and obscure, as well as the whole catholic church throughout the world, the time of his departure having arrived, they set him upon an ass, and conducted him into the city, the day being that of the great Sabbath. And the Irenarch Herod, accompanied by his father Nicetes (both riding in a chariot), met him, and taking him up into the chariot, they seated themselves beside him, and endeavoured to persuade him, saying, "What harm is there in saying, Lord Caesar, and in sacrificing, with the other ceremonies observed on such occasions, and so make sure of safety?" But he at first gave them no answer; and when they continued to urge him, he said, "I shall not do as you advise me." So they, having no hope of persuading him, began to speak bitter words unto him, and cast him with violence out of the chariot, insomuch that, in getting down from the carriage, he dislocated his leg [by the fall]. But without being disturbed, and as if suffering nothing, he went eagerly forward with all haste, and was conducted to the stadium, where the tumult was so great, that there was no possibility of being heard.

9 Polycarp refuses to revile Christ. Now, as Polycarp was entering into the stadium, there came to him a voice from heaven, saying, "Be strong, and show thyself a man, O Polycarp!" No one saw who it was that spoke to him; but those of our brethren who were present heard the voice. And as he was brought forward, the tumult became great when they heard that Polycarp was taken. And when he came near, the proconsul asked him whether he was Polycarp. On his confessing that he was, [the proconsul] sought to persuade him to deny [Christ], saying, "Have respect to thy old age," and other similar things, according to their custom, [such as], "Swear by the fortune of Caesar; repent, and say. Away with the Atheists." But Polycarp, gazing with a stern countenance on all the multitude of the wicked heathen then in the stadium, and waving his hand towards them, while with groans he looked up to heaven, said, "Away with the Atheists." Then, the proconsul urging him, and saying, "Swear, and I will set thee at liberty, reproach Christ;" Polycarp declared, "Eighty and six years have I served Him, and He never did me any injury: how then can I blaspheme my King and my Saviour?"

10 Polycarp confesses himself a Christian. And when the proconsul yet again pressed him, and said, "Swear by the fortune of Caesar," he answered, "Since thou art vainly urgent that, as thou sayest, I should swear by the fortune of Caesar, and pretendest not to know who and what I am, hear me declare with boldness, I am a Christian. And if you wish to learn what the doctrines of Christianity are, appoint me a day, and thou shalt hear them." The proconsul replied, "Persuade the people." But Polycarp said, "To thee I have thought it right to offer an account [of my faith]; for we are taught to give all due honour (which entails no injury upon ourselves) to the powers and authorities which are ordained of God. But as for these, I do not deem them worthy of receiving any account from me."

11 No threats have any effect on Polycarp. The proconsul then said to him, "I have wild beasts at hand; to these will I cast thee, except thou repent." But he answered, "Call them then, for we are not accustomed to repent of what is good in order to adopt that which is evil; and it is well for me to be changed from what is evil to what is righteous." But again the proconsul said to him, "I will cause thee to be consumed by fire, seeing thou despisest the wild beasts, if thou wilt not repent." But Polycarp said, "Thou threatenest me with fire which burneth for an hour, and after a little is extinguished, but art ignorant of the fire of the coming judgement and of eternal punishment, reserved for the ungodly. But why tarriest thou? Bring forth what thou wilt."

12 Polycarp is sentenced to he burned. While he spoke these and many other like things, he was filled with confidence and joy, and his countenance was full of grace, so that not merely did it not fall as if troubled by the things said to him, but, on the contrary, the proconsul was astonished, and sent his herald to proclaim in the midst of the stadium thrice, "Polycarp has confessed that he is a Christian." This proclamation having been made by the herald, the whole multitude both of the heathen and Jews, who dwelt at Smyrna, cried out with uncontrollable fury, and in a loud voice, "This is the teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, and the overthrower of our gods, he who has been teaching many not to sacrifice, or to worship the gods." Speaking thus, they cried out, and besought Philip the Asiarch to let loose a lion upon Polycarp. But Philip answered that it was not lawful for him to do so, seeing the shows of wild beasts were already finished. Then it seemed good to them to cry out with one consent, that Polycarp should be burnt alive. For thus it behoved the vision which was revealed to him in regard to his pillow to be fulfilled, when, seeing it on fire as he was praying, he turned about and said prophetically to the faithful that were with him, "I must be burnt alive."

13 The funeral pile is erected. This, then, was carried into effect with greater speed than it was spoken, the multitudes immediately gathering together wood and fagots out of the shops and baths; the Jews especially, according to custom, eagerly assisting them in it. And when the funeral pile was ready, Polycarp, laying aside all his garments, and loosing his girdle, sought also to take off his sandals,—a thing he was not accustomed to do, inasmuch as every one of the faithful was always eager who should first touch his skin. For, on account of his holy life, he was, even before his martyrdom, adorned[36] with every kind of good. Immediately then they surrounded him with those substances which had been prepared for the funeral pile. But when they were about also to fix him with nails, he said, "Leave me as I am; for he that giveth me strength to endure the fire, will also enable me, without your securing me by nails, to remain without moving in the pile."

14 The prayer of Polycarp. They did not nail him then, but simply bound him. And he, placing his hands behind him, and being bound like a distinguished ram [taken] out of a great flock for sacrifice, and prepared to be an acceptable burnt-offering unto God, looked up to heaven, and said, "O Lord God Almighty, the Father of Thy beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ, by whom we have received the knowledge of Thee, the God of angels and powers, and of every creature, and of the whole race of the righteous who live before thee, I give Thee thanks that Thou hast counted me worthy of this day and this hour, that I should have a part in the number of Thy martyrs, in the cup of thy Christ, to the resurrection of eternal life, both of soul and body, through the incorruption [imparted] by the Holy Ghost. Among whom may I be accepted this day before Thee as a fat[38] and acceptable sacrifice, according as Thou, the ever-truthful God, hast fore-ordained, hast revealed beforehand to me, and now hast fulfilled. Wherefore also I praise Thee for all things, I bless Thee, I glorify Thee, along with the everlasting and heavenly Jesus Christ, Thy beloved Son, with whom, to Thee, and the Holy Ghost, be glory both now and to all coming ages. Amen."

15 Polycarp is not injured hy the fire. When he had pronounced this amen, and so finished his prayer, those who were appointed for the purpose kindled the fire. And as the flame blazed forth in great fury, we, to whom it was given to witness it, beheld a great miracle, and have been preserved that we might report to others what then took place. For the fire, shaping itself into the form of an arch, like the sail of a ship when filled with the wind, encompassed as by a circle the body of the martyr. And he appeared within not like flesh which is burnt, but as bread that is baked, or as gold and silver glowing in a furnace. Moreover, we perceived such a sweet odour [coming from the pile], as if frankincense or some such precious spices had been smoking there.

16 Polycarp is pierced by a dagger. At length, when those wicked men perceived that his body could not be consumed by the fire, they commanded an executioner to go near and pierce him through with a dagger. And on his doing this, there came forth a dove, and a great quantity of blood, so that the fire was extinguished; and all the people wondered that there should be such a difference between the unbelievers and the elect, of whom this most admirable Polycarp was one, having in our own times been an apostolic and prophetic teacher, and bishop of the catholic church which is in Smyrna. For every word that went out of his mouth either has been or shall yet be accomplished.

17 The Christians are refused Polycarp's body. But when the adversary of the race of the righteous, the envious, malicious, and wicked one, perceived the impressive nature of his martyrdom, and [considered] the blameless life he had led from the beginning, and how he was now crowned with the wreath of immortality, having beyond dispute received his reward, he did his utmost that not the least memorial of him should be taken away by us, although many desired to do this, and to become possessors of his holy flesh. For this end he suggested it to Nicetes, the father of Herod and brother of Alce, to go and entreat the governor not to give up his body to be buried, "lest," said he, "forsaking Him that was crucified, they begin to worship this one." This he said at the suggestion and urgent persuasion of the Jews, who also watched us, as we sought to take him out of the fire, being ignorant of this, that it is neither possible for us ever to forsake Christ, who suffered for the salvation of such as shall be saved throughout the whole world (the blameless one for sinners), nor to worship any other. For Him indeed, as being the Son of God, we adore; but the martyrs, as disciples and followers of the Lord, we worthily love on account of their extraordinary affection towards their own King and Master, of whom may we also be made companions and fellow-disciples!

18 The body of Polycarp is burned. The centurion then, seeing the strife excited by the Jews, placed the body in the midst of the fire, and consumed it. Accordingly, we afterwards took up his bones, as being more precious than the most exquisite jewels, and more purified[50] than gold, and deposited them in a fitting place, whither, being gathered together, as opportunity is allowed us, with joy and rejoicing, the Lord shall grant us to celebrate the anniversary of his martyrdom, both in memory of those who have already finished their course, and for the exercising and preparation of those yet to walk in their steps.

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19 Praise of the martyr Polycarp. This, then, is the account of the blessed Polycarp, who, being the twelfth that was martyred in Smyrna (reckoning those also of Philadelphia), yet occupies a place of his own in the memory of all men, insomuch that he is everywhere spoken of by the heathen themselves. He was not merely an illustrious teacher, but also a pre-eminent martyr, whose martyrdom all desire to imitate, as having been altogether consistent with the gospel of Christ. For, having through patience overcome the unjust governor, and thus acquired the crown of immortality, he now, with the apostles and all the righteous [in heaven], rejoicingly glorifies God, even the Father, and blesses our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour of our souls, the Governor of our bodies, and the Shepherd of the catholic church throughout the world.

20 This epistle is to be transmitted to the brethren. Since, then, ye requested that we would at large make you acquainted with what really took place, we have for the present sent you this summary account through our brother Marcus. When, therefore, ye have yourselves read this epistle, be pleased to send it to the brethren at a greater distance, that they also may glorify the Lord, who makes such choice of His own servants. To Him who is able to bring us all by His grace and goodness into His everlasting kingdom, through His only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, to Him be glory, and honour, and power, and majesty, for ever. Amen. Salute all the saints. They that are with us salute you, and Evarestus, who wrote this epistle, with all his house.

21 The date of the martyrdom. Now, the blessed Polycarp suffered martyrdom on the second day of the month Xanthicus just begun, the seventh day before the Calends of May, on the great Sabbath, at the eighth hour. He was taken by Herod, Philip the Trallian being high priest, Statins Quadratus being proconsul, but Jesus Christ being King for ever, to whom be glory, honour, majesty, and an everlasting throne, from generation to generation. Amen.

22 Salutation. We wish you, brethren, all happiness, while you walk according to the doctrine of the gospel of Jesus Christ; with whom be glory to God the Father and the Holy Spirit, for the salvation of His holy elect, after whose example the blessed Polycarp suffered, following in whose steps may we too be found in the kingdom of Jesus Christ!

These things Caius transcribed from the copy of Irenæus (who was a disciple of Polycarp), having himself been intimate with Irenæus. And I Socrates transcribed them at Corinth from the copy of Caius. Grace be with you all.

And I again, Pionius, wrote them from the previously written copy, having carefully searched into them, and the blessed Polycarp having manifested them to me through a revelation, even as I shall show in what follows. I have collected these things, when they had almost faded away through the lapse of time, that the Lord Jesus Christ may also gather me along with His elect into His heavenly kingdom, to whom, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS

From: Apostolic Fathers
Translation; Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867
Estimated Range of Dating: 90-140 A.D.

(The Epistle of Barnabas [bar Nabas] is a Greek epistle probably written between 90 and 140 AD. It is preserved complete in the 4th-century Codex Sinaiticus, where it appears immediately after the New Testament and before the Shepherd of Hermas. For several centuries it was one of the "antilegomena" writings that some Christians looked on as sacred scripture, while others excluded them. Eusebius of Caesarea classified it as such. It is mentioned in a perhaps third-century list in the sixth-century Codex Claromontanus and in the later Stichometry of Nicephorus appended to the ninth-century Chronography of Nikephoros I of Constantinople. Some early Fathers of the Church ascribed it to the Barnabas who is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, but it is now generally attributed to an otherwise unknown early Christian teacher, perhaps of the same name. It is distinct from the Gospel of Barnabas.

The Epistle of Barnabas is possibly dated from about 90 to 140 AD. The Epistle was attributed to Barnabas, the companion of Paul the Apostle, by Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–215 AD) and Origen (c. 184–253 AD). Clement quotes it with phrases such as "the Apostle Barnabas says". Origen speaks of it as the General Epistle of Barnabas. Its inclusion in close proximity to the New Testament in the Codex Sinaiticus and the Codex Hierosolymitanus gives the Epistle of Barnabas a near-canonical authority. We can read more about Barnabas in the Book of Acts and in the Gospel of Barnabas.

The Book of Acts is one of the most exciting books in the New Testament when we understand what persons could be behind the mentioned names. Barnabas and his place Cyprus is of particular interest when it comes to stories of the two early Christianities.

Barnabas' story appears in the Acts of the Apostles, and Paul mentions him in some of his epistles. Tertullian named him as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, but this and other attributions are conjecture. Clement of Alexandria [Titus Flavius Clemens of Alexandria] and some scholars have ascribed the Epistle of Barnabas to him, but his authorship is disputed.

The name Barnabas is the Greek form of the Aramaic name Bar Nehba, meaning "son of consolation". In the Syriac-Aramaic Bible, the phrase "son of consolation" is translated bara dbuya'a. Barnabas' Roman Greek-speaking Jewish parents called him "Joses". Ioses is a Greek form of Joseph, so his Aramaic name was Yosep bar Nehba. The Hebrew name form Nabi means "Prophet". The name Joses reminds us of Joses, one of the brothers of Jesus. Barnabas is usually identified as the cousin of John Mark [Marcus] the Evangelist on the basis of the term "anepsios" used in Paul's Epistle to the Colossians [chapter 4], which carries the connotation of "cousin."

Acts 4:36 suggests that Barnabas was a disciple of Saul of Tarsos which is most certainly a premature interpretation for the simple reason that both went to the same school together and with Herod the Tetrarch, Simeon [who could have been the brother or cousin of Jesus], Lucius of Cyrene [Luke], and Manaen [teacher of the Church of Antioch and the foster brother of Herod Antipas].

Church legends hold that Barnabas' brother was Aristobulus of Britannia, one of the "Seventy Disciples". It also says that Barnabas and was martyred at Salamis, Cyprus. When we look at all these explanations, we get the feeling that Barnabas was somehow related to the inner circle of people around Jesus' family and companions.

Matthew George Easton, in his Bible Dictionary [1897], describes Barnabas as follows: "Barnabas son of consolation, the surname of Joses, a Levite (Acts 4:36). His name stands first on the list of prophets and teachers of the church at Antioch (13:1).*

[A Levite is a Jewish male descended patrilineally from the Tribe of Levi. The ancient Tribe of Levi descended from Levi, the third son of Jacob and Leah. In modern social terms we could describe the Levi as Jewish upper class or rank of nobility. The Tribe of Levi served particular religious duties for the Israelites and had political and educational responsibilities as well. In return, the landed tribes [tribes with land property] were expected to give tithe to support the Levites (Numbers 18:21-25), particularly the tithe [10% tax] known as the First tithe, ma'aser rishon. The Kohanim [cohen], a subset of the Levites, were the priests, who performed the work of holiness in the Temple.]*

*Luke speaks of him as a "good man" (11:24). He was born of Jewish parents of the tribe of Levi. He was a native of Cyprus, where he had a possession of land (Acts 4:36, 37), which he sold. His personal appearance is supposed to have been dignified and commanding (Acts 14:11, 12). When Saul of Tarsos [the future Paul the Apostle] returned to Jerusalem after his conversion, Barnabas took him and introduced him to the apostles (9:27). They had probably been companions as students in the school of Gamaliel**.*

*[** Gamaliel the Elder, also spelled Gamliel; [Hebrew: "Rabban Gamliel HaZaqen"], or Rabban Gamaliel I, was a leading authority in the Sanhedrin up to about 52 AD [followed by his son Simeon ben Gamliel up to the First Roman Jewish War]. In the Christian tradition, Gamaliel is recognised as a Pharisee doctor of Jewish Law. Acts of the Apostles, chapter 5, speaks of Gamaliel as a man held in great esteem by all Jews. Gamaliel encouraged his fellow Pharisees to show leniency to the apostles of Jesus [Acts 5:34]. He was the Jewish law teacher of Saul of Tarsos [Acts 22:3].]*

The prosperity of the church at Antioch led the apostles and brethren at Jerusalem to send Barnabas thither to superintend the movement. He found the work so extensive and weighty that he went to Tarsus in search of Saul to assist him. Saul returned with him to Antioch and laboured with him for a whole year (Acts 11:25, 26). [It clearly shows that Barnabas was superior to Saul.] The two were at the end of this period sent up to Jerusalem with the contributions the church at Antioch had made for the poorer brethren there (11:28-30). Shortly after they returned, bringing John Mark with them, they were appointed as missionaries to the heathen [Roman] world, and in this capacity visited Cyprus and some of the principal cities of Asia Minor (Acts 13:14).

Returning from this first missionary journey to Antioch, they were again sent up to Jerusalem to consult with the church there regarding the relation of Gentiles to the church (Acts 15:2: Galatians 2:1). This matter having been settled, they returned again to Antioch, bringing the decree of the councilas the rule by which Gentiles were to be admitted into the church.

When about to set forth on a second missionary journey, a dispute arose between Saul and Barnabas as to the propriety of taking John Mark [often identified with Mark the Evangelist] with them again. The dispute ended by Saul and Barnabas taking separate routes [meaning here: separate routes of faith as Barnabas was not pleased that Saul ignored the real Jesus.]. Saul took Silas as his companion, and journeyed through Syria and Cilicia; while Barnabas took his nephew John Mark, and visited Cyprus (Acts 15:36-41). Barnabas is not again mentioned by Luke in the Acts."

It might well be that this dispute was about Elymas [bar Iesou, the son of Jesus] and Simon Magus because Barnabas was a follower of the real Jesus, not the fantasy character of Jesus that Saul had met in "a vision on the way to Damascus". We must be aware that the Acts give us the following account in the viewpoint of Pauline Christianity which did all efforts to degrade the people around the real Jesus and his followers.

Acts of the Apostles calls Elymas [bar-Jesus, the "son of Jesus"] a magus which is Persian for "wise man" or scholar. In most New Testament versions, the term Magus is translated as "sorcerer" a deliberate wrong interpretation indicating "Maleficium (sorcery), a form of evil magic and witchcraft". The name "Elymas" itself is derived from the Arabic alim "learned" or "wise". Elymas most certainly represented the first Christians around James the Just [the brother of Jesus] who were in the New Testament often called "Judaisers", meaning the Jewish Christians.

Elymas is represented [in Acts 13:6-12] as opposing Paul the Apostle [Saul of Tarsos], who is called at this point for the first time with his Roman name "and Saul who is also called Paul . . . the son of Cis, a man of the tribe of Benjamin", and Barnabas in the city of Paphos [today: Kouklia] on Cyprus, when Sergius Paulus [Lucius Sergius Paulus [or Paullus] the Proconsul of Cyprus under Emperor [Nero] Claudius, 54-68 AD] wishes to hear Saul of Tarsos and Barnabas speak about Jesus. During the audience with the proconsul, it became clear that Saul and Elymas had different viewpoints. Because of this opposition, Saul claims that God had decided to make Elymas temporarily blind.

In other words: Saul called Elymas "blind" beause he knew that Elymas' Judaist teachings of Jesus could not succeed due to the Jewish food- and circumcision laws which were abhorrent to all Romans in general. Therefore, Saul seem to have the better rhetoric arguments. It appeared that Saul of Tarsos out-argued Bar-Jesus (Elymas) in his attempt "to turn the proconsul away from the [Pauline] faith". Saul converted Sergius to his Pauline Christianity. Furthermore, it could be that Saul - due this event - changed his name to "Paul [Paulus] the Apostle".)

1 After the salutation, the writer declares that he would communicate to his brethren something of that which he had himself received.

All hail, ye sons and daughters, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, who loved us in peace.

Seeing that the divine fruits of righteousness abound among you, I rejoice exceedingly and above measure in your happy and honoured spirits, because ye have with such effect received the engrafted spiritual gift. Wherefore also I inwardly rejoice the more, hoping to be saved, because I truly perceive in you the Spirit poured forth from the rich Lord of love. Your greatly desired appearance has thus filled me with astonishment over you. I am therefore persuaded of this, and fully convinced in my own mind, that since I began to speak among you I understand many things, because the Lord hath accompanied me in the way of righteousness. I am also on this account bound by the strictest obligation to love you above my own soul, because great are the faith and love dwelling in you, while you hope for the life which He has promised. Considering this, therefore, that if I should take the trouble to communicate to you some portion of what I have myself received, it will prove to me a sufficient reward that I minister to such spirits, I have hastened briefly to write unto you, in order that, along with your faith, ye might have perfect knowledge. The doctrines of the Lord, then, are three: the hope of life, the beginning and the completion of it. For the Lord hath made known to us by the prophets both the things which are past and present, giving us also the first-fruits of the knowledge of things to come, which things as we see accomplished, one by one, we ought with the greater richness of faith and elevation of spirit to draw near to Him with reverence. I then, not as your teacher, but as one of yourselves, will set forth a few things by which in present circumstances ye may be rendered the more joyful.

2 The Jewish sacrifices are now abolished. Since, therefore, the days are evil, and Satan possesses the power of this world, we ought to give heed to ourselves, and diligently inquire into the ordinances of the Lord. Fear and patience, then, are helpers of our faith; and longsuffering and continence are things which fight on our side. While these remain pure in what respects the Lord, Wisdom, Understanding, Science, and Knowledge rejoice along with them. For He hath revealed to us by all the prophets that He needs neither sacrifices, nor burnt-offerings, nor oblations, saying thus, "What is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me, saith the Lord? I am full of burnt-offerings, and desire not the fat of lambs, and the blood of bulls and goats, not when ye come to appear before me: for who hath required these things at your hands? Tread no more my courts, not though ye bring with you fine flour. Incense is a vain abomination unto me, and your new moons and sabbaths I, cannot endure." He has therefore abolished these things that the new law of our Lord

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Jesus Christ, which is without the yoke of necessity, might have a human oblation. And again He says to them, "Did I command your fathers, when they went out from the land of Egypt, to offer unto me burnt-offerings and sacrifices? But this rather I commanded them. Let no one of you cherish any evil in his heart against his neighbour, and love not an oath of falsehood." We ought therefore, being possessed of understanding, to perceive the gracious intention of our Father; for He speaks to us, desirous that we, not going astray like them, should ask how we may approach Him. To us, then. He declares, "A sacrifice pleasing to God is a broken spirit; a smell of sweet savour to the Lord is a heart that glorifieth Him that made it." We ought therefore, brethren, carefully to inquire concerning our salvation, lest the wicked one, having made his entrance by deceit, should hurl us forth from our true life.

3 The fasts of the Jews are not true fasts, nor acceptable to God. He says then to them again concerning these things, "Why do ye fast to me as on this day, saith the Lord, that your voice should be heard with a cry? I have not chosen this fast, saith the Lord, that a man should humble his soul. Nor, though ye bend your neck like a ring, and put upon you sackcloth and ashes, will ye call it an acceptable fast." To us He saith, "Behold, this is the fast that I have chosen, saith the Lord, not that a man should humble his soul, but that he should loose every band of iniquity, untie the fastenings of harsh agreements, restore to liberty them that are bruised, tear in pieces every unjust engagement, feed the hungry with thy bread, clothe the naked when thou seest him, bring the homeless into thy house, not despise the humble if thou behold him, and not turn away from the members of thine own family. Then shall thy dawn break forth, and thy healing shall quickly spring up, and righteousness shall go forth before thee, and the glory of God shall encompass thee; and then thou shalt call, and God shall hear thee; whilst thou art yet speaking, He shall say, Behold, I am with thee; if thou take away from thee the chain binding others, and the stretching forth of the hands to swear falsely, and words of murmuring, and give cheerfully thy bread to the hungry, and show compassion to the soul that has been humbled." To this end, therefore, brethren, He is long-suffering, foreseeing how the people whom He has prepared shall with guilelessness believe in His Beloved. For He revealed all these things to us beforehand, that we should not rush forward as rash acceptors of their laws.

4 Antichrist is at hand: let us therefore avoid Jewish errors. It therefore behoves us, who inquire much concerning events at hand, to search diligently into those things which are able to save us. Let us then utterly flee from all the works of iniquity, lest these should take hold of us; and let us hate the error of the present time, that we may set our love on the world to come: let us not give loose reins to our soul, that it should have power to run with sinners and the wicked, lest we become like them. The final stumbling-block (or source of danger) approaches, concerning which it is written, as Enoch says, "For for this end the Lord has cut short the times and the days, that His Beloved may hasten; and He will come to the inheritance." And the prophet also speaks thus: "Ten kingdoms shall reign upon the earth, and a little king shall rise up after them, who shall subdue under one three of the kings." In like manner Daniel says concerning the same, "And I beheld the fourth beast, wicked and powerful, and more savage than all the beasts of the earth, and how from it sprang up ten horns, and out of them a little budding horn, and how it subdued under one three of the great horns." Ye ought therefore to understand. And this also I further beg of you, as being one of you, and loving you both individually and collectively more than my own soul, to take heed now to yourselves, and not to be like some, adding largely to your sins, and saying, "The covenant is both theirs and ours." But they thus finally lost it, after Moses had already received it. For the Scripture saith, "And Moses was fasting in the mount forty days and forty nights, and received the covenant from the Lord, tables of stone written with the finger of the hand of the Lord;" but turning away to idols, they lost it. For the Lord speaks thus to Moses: "Moses, go down quickly; for the people whom thou hast brought out of the land of Egypt have transgressed." And Moses understood the meaning of God, and cast the two tables out of his hands; and their covenant was broken, in order that the covenant of the beloved Jesus might be sealed upon our heart, in the hope which flows from believing in Him. Now, being desirous to write many things to you, not as your teacher, but as becometh one who loves you, I have taken care not to fail to write to you from what I myself possess, with a view to your purification. We take earnest heed in these last days; for the whole past time of your faith will profit you nothing, unless now in this wicked time we also withstand coming sources of danger, as becometh the sons of God. That the Black One may find no means of entrance, let us flee from every vanity, let us utterly hate the works of the way of wickedness. Do not, by retiring apart, live a solitary life, as if you were already fully justified; but coming together in one place, make common inquiry concerning what tends to your general welfare. For the Scripture saith, "Woe to them who are wise to themselves, and prudent in their own sight!" Let us be spiritually-minded: let us be a perfect temple to God. As much as in us lies, let us meditate upon the fear of God, and let us keep His commandments, that we may rejoice in His ordinances. The Lord will judge the world without respect of persons. Each will receive as he has done: if he is righteous, his righteousness will precede him; if he is wicked, the reward of wickedness is before him. Take heed, lest resting at our ease, as those who are the called of God, we should fall asleep in our sins, and the wicked prince, acquiring power over us, should thrust us away from the kingdom of the Lord. And all the more attend to this, my brethren, when ye reflect and behold, that after so great signs and wonders were wrought in Israel, they were thus at length abandoned. Let us beware lest we be found fulfilling that saying, as it is written, "Many are called, but few are chosen."

5 The new covenant, founded on the sufferings of Christ, tends to our salvation, but to the Jews destruction. For to this end the Lord endured to deliver up His flesh to corruption, that we might be sanctified through the remission of sins, which is effected by His blood of sprinkling. For it is written concerning Him, partly with reference to Israel, and partly to us; and the Scripture saith thus: "He was wounded for our transgressions, and bruised for our iniquities: with His stripes we are healed. He was brought as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb which is dumb before its shearer." Therefore we ought to be deeply grateful to the Lord, because He has both made known to us things that are past, and hath given us wisdom concerning things present, and hath not left us without understanding in regard to things which are to come. Now, the Scripture saith, "Not unjustly are nets spread out for birds." This means that the man perishes justly, who, having a knowledge of the way of righteousness, rushes off into the way of darkness. And further, my brethren: if the Lord endured to suffer for our soul, He being Lord of all the world, to whom God said at the foundation of the world, "Let us make man after our image, and after our likeness," understand how it was that He endured to suffer at the hand of men. The prophets, having obtained grace from Him, prophesied concerning Him. And He (since it behoved Him to appear in flesh), that He might abolish death, and reveal the resurrection from the dead, endured what and as He did, in order that He might fulfil the promise made unto the fathers, and by preparing a new people for Himself, might show, while He dwelt on earth, that He, when He has raised mankind, will also judge them. Moreover, teaching Israel, and doing so great miracles and signs. He preached the truth to him, and greatly loved him. But when He chose His own apostles who were to preach His gospel, He did so from among those who were sinners above all sin, that He might show He came "not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." Then He manifested Himself to be the Son of God. For if He had not come in the flesh, how could men have been saved by beholding Him? Since looking upon the sun which is to cease to exist, and is the work of His hands, their eyes are not able to bear his rays. The Son of God therefore came in the flesh with this view, that He might bring to a head the sum of their sins who had persecuted His prophets to the death. For this purpose, then, He endured. For God saith, "The stroke of his flesh is from them;" and "when I shall smite the Shepherd, then the sheep of the flock shall be scattered." He himself willed thus to suffer, for it was necessary that He should suffer on the tree. For says he who prophesies regarding Him, "Spare my soul from the sword, fasten my flesh with nails; for the assemblies of the wicked have risen up against me." And again he says, "Behold, I have given my back to scourges, and my cheeks to strokes, and I have set my countenance as a firm rock."

6 The sufferings of Christ, and the new covenant, were announced by the prophets. When, therefore, He has fulfilled the commandment, what saith He? "Who is he that will contend with me? let him oppose me: or who is he that will enter into judgement with me? let him draw near to the servant of the Lord." "Woe unto you, for ye shall all wax old, like a garment, and the moth shall eat you up." And again the prophet says, "Since as a mighty stone He is laid for crushing, behold I cast down for the foundations of Zion a stone, precious, elect, a corner-stone, honourable." Next, what says He? "And he who shall trust in it shall live for ever." Is our hope, then, upon a stone? Far from it. But the language is used inasmuch as He laid his flesh as a foundation with power; for He says, "And He placed me as a firm rock." And the prophet says again, "The stone which the builders rejected, the same has become the head of the corner." And again he says, "This is the great and wonderful day which the Lord hath made." I write the more simply unto you, that ye may understand. I am the offscouring of your love. What, then, again says the prophet? "The assembly of the wicked surrounded me; they encompassed me as bees do a honeycomb," and "upon my garment they cast lots." Since, therefore, He was about to be manifested and to suffer in the flesh. His suffering was foreshown. For the prophet speaks against Israel, "Woe to their soul, because they have counselled an evil counsel against themselves, saying. Let us bind the just one, because he is displeasing to us." And Moses also says to them, "Behold these things, saith the Lord God: Enter into the good land which the Lord sware to give to Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and inherit ye it, a land flowing with milk and honey." What, then, says Knowledge? Learn: "Trust," she says, "in Him who is to be manifested to you in the flesh—that is, Jesus." For man is earth in a suffering state, for the formation of Adam was from the face of the earth. What, then, meaneth this: "into the good land, a land flowing with milk and honey?" Blessed be our Lord, who has placed in us wisdom and understanding of secret things. For the prophet says, "Who shall understand the parable of the Lord, except him who is wise and prudent, and who loves his Lord?" Since, therefore, having renewed us by the remission of our sins, He hath made us after another pattern, it is His purpose that we should possess the soul of children, inasmuch as He has created us anew by His Spirit. For the Scripture says concerning us, while He speaks to the Son, "Let us make man after our image, and after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the beasts of the earth, and the fowls of heaven, and the fishes of the sea." And the Lord said, on beholding the fair creature man, "Increase, and multiply, and replenish the earth." These things were spoken to the Son. Again, I will show thee how, in respect to us, He has accomplished a second fashioning in these last days. The Lord says, "Behold, I will make the last like the first." In reference to this, then, the prophet proclaimed, "Enter ye into the land flowing with milk and honey, and have dominion over it." Behold, therefore, we have been refashioned, as again He says in another prophet, "Behold, saith the Lord, I will take away from these, that is, from those whom the Spirit of the Lord foresaw, their stony hearts, and I will put hearts of flesh within them," because He was to be manifested in flesh, and to sojourn among us. For, my brethren, the habitation of our heart is a holy temple to the Lord. For again saith the Lord, "And wherewith shall I appear before the Lord my God, and be glorified?" He says, "I will confess to thee in the church in the midst of my brethren; and I will praise thee in the midst of the assembly of the saints." We, then, are they whom He has led into the good land. What, then, mean the milk and honey? This, that as the infant is kept alive first by honey, and then by milk, so also we, being quickened and kept alive by the faith of the promise and by the word, shall live ruling over the earth. But He said above, "Let them increase, and rule over the fishes." Who then is able to govern the beasts, or the fishes, or the fowls of heaven? For we ought to perceive that to govern implies authority, so that one should command and rule. If, therefore, this does not exist at present, yet still He has promised it to us. When? When we ourselves also have been made perfect so as to become heirs of the covenant of the Lord.

7 Fasting, and the goat sent away, were types of Christ. Understand, then, ye children of gladness, that the good Lord has foreshown all things to us, that we might know to whom we ought for everything to render thanksgiving and praise. If therefore the Son of God, who is Lord of all things, and who will judge the living and the dead, suffered, that His stroke might give us life, let us believe that the Son of God could not have suffered except for our sakes. Moreover, when fixed to the cross, He had given Him to drink vinegar and gall. Hearken how the priests of the people gave previous indications of this. His commandment having been written, the Lord enjoined, that whosoever did not keep the fast should be put to death, because He also Himself was to offer in sacrifice for our sins the vessel of the Spirit, in order that the type established in Isaac when he was offered upon the altar might be fully accomplished. What, then, says He in the prophet? "And let them eat of the goat which is offered, with fasting, for all their sins." Attend carefully: "And let all the priests alone eat the inwards, unwashed with vinegar." Wherefore? Because to me, who am to offer my flesh for the sins of my new people, ye are to give gall with vinegar to drink: eat ye alone, while the people fast and mourn in sackcloth and ashes. These things were done that He might show that it was necessary for Him to suffer for them. How, then, ran the commandment? Give your attention. Take two goats of goodly aspect, and similar to each other, and offer them. And let the priest take one as a burnt-offering for sins. And what should they do with the other? "Accursed," says He, "is the one." Mark how the type of Jesus now comes out. "And all of you spit upon it, and pierce it, and encircle its head with scarlet wool, and thus let it be driven into the wilderness." And when all this has been done, he who bears the goat brings it into the desert, and takes the wool off from it, and places that upon a shrub which is called Rachia, of which also we are accustomed to eat the fruits when we find them in the field. Of this kind of shrub alone the fruits are sweet. Why then, again, is this? Give good heed. You see "one upon the altar, and the other' accursed;" and why do you behold the one that is accursed crowned? Because they shall see Him then in that day having a scarlet robe about his body down to his feet; and they shall say, Is not this He whom we once despised, and pierced, and mocked, and crucified? Truly this is He who then

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declared Himself to be the Son of God. For how like is He to Him! With a view to this, He required the goats to be of goodly aspect, and similar, that, when they see Him then coming, they may be amazed by the likeness of the goat. Behold, then, the type of Jesus who was to suffer. But why is it that they place the wool in the midst of thorns? It is a type of Jesus set before the view of the church. They place the wool among thorns, that any one who wishes to bear it away may find it necessary to suffer much, because the thorn is formidable, and thus obtain it only as the result of suffering. Thus also, says He, "Those who wish to behold me, and lay hold of my kingdom, must through tribulation and suffering obtain me."

8 The red heifer a type of Christ. Now what do you suppose this to be a type of, that a command was given to Israel, that men of the greatest wickedness should offer a heifer, and slay and burn it, and that then boys should take the ashes, and put these into vessels, and bind round a stick purple wool along with hyssop, and that thus the boys should sprinkle the people, one by one, in order that they might be purified from their sins? Consider how He speaks to you with simplicity. The calf is Jesus: the sinful men offering it are those who led Him to the slaughter. But now the men are no longer guilty, are no longer regarded as sinners. And the boys that sprinkle are those that have proclaimed to us the remission of sins and purification of heart. To these He gave authority to preach the gospel, being twelve in number, corresponding to the twelve tribes of Israel. But why are there three boys that sprinkle? To correspond to Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, because these were great with God. And why was the wool placed upon the wood? Because by wood Jesus holds His kingdom, so that through the cross those believing on Him shall live for ever. But why was hyssop joined with the wool? Because in His kingdom the days will be evil and polluted in which we shall be saved, and because he who suffers in body is cured through the cleansing efficacy of hyssop. And on this account the things which stand thus are clear to us, but obscure to them, because they did not hear the voice of the Lord.

9 The spiritual meaning of circumcision. He speaks moreover concerning our ears, how He hath circumcised both them and our heart. The Lord saith in the prophet, "In the hearing of the ear they obeyed me." And again He saith, "By hearing, those shall hear who are afar off; they shall know what I have done." And, "Be ye circumcised in your hearts, saith the Lord." And again He says, "Hear, O Israel, for these things saith the Lord thy God." And once more the Spirit of the Lord proclaims, "Who is he that wishes to live for ever? By hearing let him hear the voice of my servant." And again He saith, "Hear, O heaven, and give ear, O earth, for God hath spoken." These are in proof. And again He saith, "Hear the word of the Lord, ye rulers of this people." And again He saith, "Hear, ye children, the voice of one crying in the wilderness." Therefore He hath circumcised our ears, that we might hear His word and believe, for the circumcision in which they trusted is abolished. For He declared that circumcision was not of the flesh, but they transgressed because an evil angel deluded them. He saith to them, "These things saith the Lord your God"—(here I find a new commandment)—"Sow not among thorns, but circumcise yourselves to the Lord." And why speaks He thus: "Circumcise the stubbornness of your heart, and harden not your neck?" And again: "Behold, saith the Lord, all the nations are uncircumcised in the flesh, but this people are uncircumcised in heart," But thou wilt say, "Yea, verily the people are circumcised for a seal." But so also is every Syrian and Arab, and all the priests of idols: are these then also within the bond of His covenant? Yea, the Egyptians also practise circumcision. Learn then, my children, concerning all things richly, that Abraham, the first who enjoined circumcision, looking forward in spirit to Jesus, practised that rite, having received the mysteries of the three letters. For the Scripture saith, "And Abraham circumcised ten, and eight, and three hundred men of his household." What, then, was the knowledge given to him in this? Learn the eighteen first, and then the three hundred. The ten and the eight are thus denoted—Ten by I, and Eight by H. You have the initials of the name of Jesus. And because the cross was to express the grace of our redemption by the letter T, he says also, "Three Hundred." He signifies, therefore, Jesus by two letters, and the cross by one. He knows this, who has put within us the engrafted gift of His doctrine. No one has been admitted by me to a more excellent piece of knowledge than this, but I know that ye are worthy.

10 Spiritual significance of the precepts of Moses respecting different kinds of food. Now, wherefore did Moses say, "Thou shalt not eat the swine, nor the eagle, nor the hawk, nor the raven, nor any fish which is not possessed of scales?" He embraced three doctrines in his mind in doing so. Moreover, the Lord saith to them in Deuteronomy, "And I will establish my ordinances among this people." Is there then not a command of God that they should not eat these things? There is, but Moses spoke with a spiritual reference. For this reason he named the swine, as much as to say, "Thou shalt not join thyself to men who resemble swine." For when they live in pleasure, they forget their Lord; but when they come to want, they acknowledge the Lord. And in like manner the swine, when it has eaten, does not recognise its master; but when hungry it cries out, and on receiving food is quiet again. "Neither shalt thou eat," says he, "the eagle, nor the hawk, nor the kite, nor the raven." "Thou shalt not join thyself," he means, "to such men as know not how to procure food for themselves by labour and sweat, but seize on that of others in their iniquity, and although wearing an aspect of simplicity, are on the watch to plunder others." So these birds, while they sit idle, inquire how they may devour the flesh of others, proving themselves pests to all by their wickedness. "And thou shalt not eat," he says, "the lamprey, or the polypus, or the cuttle-fish." He means, "Thou shalt not join thyself or be like to such men as are ungodly to the end, and are condemned to death." In like manner as those fishes, above accursed, float in the deep, not swimming on the surface like the rest, but make their abode in the mud which lies at the bottom. Moreover, "Thou shalt not," he says, "eat the hare." Wherefore? "Thou shalt not be a corrupter of boys, nor like unto such." Because the hare multiplies, year by year, the places of its conception; for as many years as it lives so many it has. Moreover, "Thou shalt not eat the hyena." He means, "Thou shalt not be an adulterer, nor a corrupter, nor be like to them that are such." Wherefore? Because that animal annually changes its sex, and is at one time male, and at another female. Moreover, he has rightly detested the weasel. For he means, "Thou shalt not be like to those whom we hear of as committing wickedness with the mouth, on account of their uncleanness; nor shalt thou be joined to those impure women who commit iniquity with the mouth. For this animal conceives by the mouth." Moses then issued three doctrines concerning meats with a spiritual significance; but they received them according to fleshly desire, as if he had merely spoken of literal meats. David, however, comprehends the knowledge of the three doctrines, and speaks in like manner: "Blessed is the man who hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly," even as the fishes referred to go in darkness to the depths of the sea; "and hath not stood in the way of sinners," even as those who profess to fear the Lord, but go astray like swine;" and hath not sat in the seat of the scorners," even as those birds that lie in wait for prey. Take a full and firm grasp of this spiritual knowledge. But Moses says still further, "Ye shall eat every animal that is cloven-footed and ruminant." What does he mean? The ruminant animal denotes him who, on receiving food, recognises Him that nourishes him, and being satisfied by Him, is visibly made glad. Well spake Moses, having respect to the commandment. What, then, does he mean? That we ought to join ourselves to those that fear the Lord, those who meditate in their heart on the commandment which they have received, those who both utter the judgements of the Lord and observe them, those who know that meditation is a work of gladness, and who ruminate upon the word of the Lord. But what means the cloven-footed? That the righteous man also walks in this world, yet looks forward to the holy state to come. Behold how well Moses legislated. But how was it possible for them to understand or comprehend these things? We then, rightly understanding his commandments, explain them as the Lord intended. For this purpose He circumcised our ears and our hearts, that we might understand these things.

11 Baptism and the cross prefigured in the Old Testament. Let us further inquire whether the Lord took any care to foreshadow the water of baptism and the cross. Concerning the water, indeed, it is written, in reference to the Israelites, that they should not receive that baptism which leads to the remission of sins, but should procure another for themselves. The prophet therefore declares, "Be astonished, O heaven, and let the earth tremble at this, because this people hath committed two great evils: they have forsaken me, a living fountain, and have hewn out for themselves broken cisterns. Is my holy hill Zion a desolate rock? For ye shall be as the fledglings of a bird, which fly away when the nest is removed." And again saith the prophet, "I will go before thee and make level the mountains, and will break the brazen gates, and bruise in pieces the iron bars; and I will give thee the secret, hidden, invisible treasures, that they may know that I am the Lord God." And "He shall dwell in a lofty cave of the strong rock." Furthermore, what saith He in reference to the Son? "His water is sure; ye shall see the King in His glory, and your soul shall meditate on the fear of the Lord." And again He saith in another prophet, "The man who doeth these things shall be like a tree planted by the courses of waters, which shall yield its fruit in due season; and his leaf shall not fade, and all that he doeth shall prosper. Not so are the ungodly, not so, but even as chaff, which the wind sweeps away from the face of the earth. Therefore the ungodly shall not stand in judgement, nor sinners in the counsel of the just; for the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous, but the way of the ungodly shall perish." Mark how He has described at once both the water and the cross. For these words imply, Blessed are they who, placing their trust in the cross, have gone down into the water; for, says He, they shall receive their reward in due time: then He declares, I will recompense them. But now He saith, "Their leaves shall not fade." This meaneth, that every word which proceedeth out of your mouth in faith and love shall tend to bring conversion and hope to many. Again, another prophet saith, "And the land of Jacob shall be extolled above every land." This meaneth the vessel of His Spirit, which He shall glorify. Further, what says He? "And there was a river flowing on the right, and from it arose beautiful trees; and whosoever shall eat of them shall live for ever." This meaneth, that we indeed descend into the water full of sins and defilement, but come up, bearing fruit in our heart, having the fear of God and trust in Jesus in our spirit. "And whosoever shall eat of these shall live for ever." This meaneth: Whosoever, He declares, shall hear thee speaking, and believe, shall live for ever.

12 The cross of Christ frequently announced in the Old Testament. In like manner He points to the cross of Christ in another prophet, who saith, "And when shall these things be accomplished? And the Lord saith, When a tree shall be bent down, and again arise, and when blood shall flow out of wood." Here again you have an intimation concerning the cross, and Him who should be crucified. Yet again He speaks of this in Moses, when Israel was attacked by strangers. And that He might remind them, when assailed, that it was on account of their sins they were delivered to death, the Spirit speaks to the heart of Moses, that he should make a figure of the cross, and of Him about to suffer thereon; for unless they put their trust in Him, they shall be overcome for ever. Moses therefore placed one weapon above another in the midst of the hill, and standing upon it, so as to be higher than all the people, he stretched forth his hands, and thus again Israel acquired the mastery. But when again he let down his hands, they were again destroyed. For what reason? That they might know that they could not be saved unless they put their trust in Him. And in another prophet He declares, "All day long I have stretched forth my hands to an unbelieving people, and one that gainsays my righteous way." And again Moses makes a type of Jesus, signifying that it was necessary for Him to suffer, and also that He would be the author of life to others, whom they believed to have destroyed on the cross when Israel was falling. For since transgression was committed by Eve through means of the serpent, the Lord brought it to pass that every kind of serpents bit them, and they died, that He might convince them, that on account of their transgression they were given over to the straits of death. Moreover Moses, when he commanded, "Ye shall not have any graven or molten image for your God," did so that he might reveal a type of Jesus. Moses then makes a brazen serpent, and places it upon a beam, and by proclamation assembles the people. When, therefore, they were come together, they besought Moses that he would offer sacrifice in their behalf, and pray for their recovery. And Moses spake unto them, saying, "When any one of you is bitten, let him come to the serpent placed on the pole; and let him hope and believe, that even though dead, it is able to give him life, and immediately he shall be restored." And they did so. Thou hast in this also an indication of the glory of Jesus; for in Him and to Him are all things. What, again, says Moses to Jesus (Joshua) the son of Nave, when he gave him this name, as being a prophet, with this view only, that all the people might hear that the Father would reveal all things concerning His Son Jesus to the son of Nave? This name then being given him when he sent him to spy out the land, he said, "Take a book into thy hands, and write what the Lord declares, that the Son of God will in the last days cut off from the roots all the house of Amalek." Behold again: Jesus who was manifested, both by type and in the flesh, is not the Son of man, but the Son of God. Since, therefore, they were to say that Christ was the son of David, fearing and understanding the error of the wicked, he saith, "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit at my right hand, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool." And again, thus saith Isaiah, "The Lord said to Christ, my Lord, whose right hand I have holden, that the nations should yield obedience before Him; and I will break in pieces the strength of kings." Behold how David calleth Him Lord and the Son of God.

13 Christians, and not Jews, the heirs of the covenant. But let us see if this people is the heir, or the former, and if the covenant belongs to us or to them. Hear ye now what the Scripture saith concerning the people. Isaac prayed for Rebecca his wife, because she was barren; and she conceived. Furthermore also, Rebecca went forth to inquire of the Lord; and the Lord said to her, "Two nations are in thy womb, and two peoples in thy belly; and the one people shall surpass the other, and the elder shall serve the younger." You ought to understand who was Isaac, who Rebecca, and concerning what persons He declared that this people should be greater than that. And in another prophecy Jacob speaks more clearly to his son Joseph, saying, "Behold, the Lord hath not deprived me of thy presence; bring thy sons to me, that I may bless them." And he brought Manasseh and Ephraim, desiring that Manasseh should be blessed, because he was the elder. With this view Joseph led him to the right hand of his father Jacob. But Jacob saw in spirit the type of the people to arise afterwards. And what says the Scripture? And Jacob changed

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the direction of his hands, and laid his right hand upon the head of Ephraim, the second and younger, and blessed him. And Joseph said to Jacob, "Transfer thy right hand to the head of Manasseh, for he is my first-born son." And Jacob said, "I know it, my son, I know it; but the elder shall serve the younger: yet he also shall be blessed." Ye see on whom he laid his hands, that this people should be first, and heir of the covenant. If then, still further, the same thing was intimated through Abraham, we reach the perfection of our knowledge. What, then, says He to Abraham? "Because thou hast believed, it is imputed to thee for righteousness: behold, I have made thee the father of those nations who believe in the Lord while in a state of uncircumcision."

14 The Lord hath given us the testament which Moses received and broke. Yes it is even so; but let us inquire if the Lord has really given that testament which He swore to the fathers that He would give to the people. He did give it; but "they were not worthy to receive it, on account of their sins. For the prophet declares, "And Moses was fasting forty days and forty nights on Mount Sinai, that he might receive the testament of the Lord for the people." And he received from the Lord two tables, written in the spirit by the finger of the hand of the Lord. And Moses having received them, carried them down to give to the people. And the Lord said to Moses, "Moses, Moses, go down quickly; for thy people hath sinned, whom thou didst bring out of the land of Egypt." And Moses understood that they had again made molten images; and he threw the tables out of his hands, and the tables of the testament of the Lord were broken. Moses then received it, but they proved themselves unworthy. Learn now how we have received it. Moses, as a servant, received it; but the Lord himself, having suffered in our behalf, hath given it to us, that we should be the people of inheritance. But He was manifested, in order that they might be perfected in their iniquities, and that we, being constituted heirs through Him, might receive the testament of the Lord Jesus, who was prepared for this end, that by His personal manifestation, redeeming our hearts (which were already wasted by death, and given over to the iniquity of error) from darkness, He might by His word enter into a covenant with us. For it is written how the Father, about to redeem us from darkness, commanded Him to prepare a holy people for Himself. The prophet therefore declares, "I, the Lord Thy God, have called Thee in righteousness, and will hold Thy hand, and will strengthen Thee; and I have given Thee for a covenant to the people, for a light to the nations, to open the eyes of the blind, and to bring forth from fetters them that are bound, and those that sit in darkness out of the prison-house." Ye perceive, then, whence we have been redeemed. And again, the prophet says, "Behold, I have appointed Thee as a light to the nations, that Thou mightest be for salvation even to the ends of the earth, saith the Lord God that redeemeth thee." And again, the prophet saith, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me; because He hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the humble: He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to proclaim deliverance to the captives, and recovery of sight to the blind; to announce the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of recompense; to comfort all that mourn."

15 The false and the true Sabbath. Further, also, it is written concerning the Sabbath in the Decalogue which the Lord spoke, face to face, to Moses on Mount Sinai, "And sanctify ye the Sabbath of the Lord with clean hands and a pure heart." And He says in another place, "If my sons keep the Sabbath, then will I cause my mercy to rest upon them." The Sabbath is mentioned at the beginning of the creation thus: "And God made in six days the works of His hands, and made an end on the seventh day, and rested on it, and sanctified it." Attend, my children, to the meaning of this expression, "He finished in six days." This implieth that the Lord will finish all things in six thousand years, for a day is with Him a thousand years. And He Himself testifieth, saying, "Behold, to-day will be as a thousand years." Therefore, my children, in six days, that is, in six thousand years, all things will be finished. "And He rested on the seventh day." This meaneth: when His Son, coming again, shall destroy the time of the wicked man, and judge the ungodly, and change the sun, and the moon, and the stars, then shall He truly rest on the seventh day. Moreover, He says, "Thou shalt sanctify it with pure hands and a pure heart." If, therefore, any one can now sanctify the day which God hath sanctified, except he is pure in heart in all things, we are deceived. Behold, therefore: certainly then one properly resting sanctifies it, when we ourselves, having received the promise, wickedness no longer existing, and all things having been made new by the Lord, shall be able to work righteousness. Then we shall be able to sanctify it, having been first sanctified ourselves. Further, He says to them, "Your new moons and your Sabbaths I cannot endure." Ye perceive how He speaks: Your present Sabbaths are not acceptable to me, but that is which I have made, namely this, when, giving rest to all things, I shall make a beginning of the eighth day, that is, a beginning of another world. Wherefore, also, we keep the eighth day with joyfulness, the day also on which Jesus rose again from the dead. And when He had manifested Himself, He ascended into the heavens.

16 The spiritual temple of God. Moreover, I will also tell you concerning the temple, how the wretched Jews, wandering in error, trusted not in God Himself, but in the temple, as being the house of God. For almost after the manner of the Gentiles they worshipped Him in the temple. But learn how the Lord speaks, when abolishing it; "Who hath meted out heaven with a span, and the earth with his palm? Have not I?" "Thus saith the Lord, Heaven is my throne, and the earth my footstool: what kind of house will ye build to me, or what is the place of my rest?" Ye perceive that their hope is vain. Moreover, He again says, "Behold, they who have cast down this temple, even they shall build it up again." It has so happened. For through their going to war, it was destroyed by their enemies; and now they, as the servants of their enemies, shall rebuild it. Again, it was revealed that the city and the temple and the people of Israel were to be given up. For the Scripture saith, "And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the Lord will deliver up the sheep of His pasture, and their sheep-fold and tower, to destruction." And it so happened as the Lord had spoken. Let us inquire, then, if there still is a temple of God. There is—where He himself declared He would make and finish it. For it is written, "And it shall come to pass, when the week is completed, the temple of God shall be built in glory in the name of the Lord." I find, therefore, that a temple does exist. Learn, then, how it shall be built in the name of the Lord. Before we believed in God, the habitation of our heart was corrupt and weak, as being indeed like a temple made with hands. For it was full of idolatry, and was a habitation of demons, through our doing such things as were opposed to the will of God. But it shall be built, observe ye, in the name of the Lord, in order that the temple of the Lord may be built in glory. How? Learn as follows. Having received the forgiveness of sins, and placed our trust in the name of the Lord, we have become new creatures, formed again from the beginning. Wherefore in our habitation God truly dwells in us. How? His word of faith; His calling of promise; the wisdom of the statutes; the commands of the doctrine; He himself prophesying in us; He himself dwelling in us; opening to us who were enslaved by death the doors of the temple, that is, the mouth; and by giving us repentance introduced us into the incorruptible temple. He then, who wishes to be saved, looks not to man, but to Him who dwelleth in him, and speaketh in him, amazed at never having either heard him utter such words with his mouth, nor himself having ever desired to hear them. This is the spiritual temple built for the Lord.

17 Conclusion of the first part of the epistle. As far as was possible, and could be done with perspicuity, I cherish the hope that, according to my desire, I have omitted none of those things at present demanding consideration, which bear upon your salvation. For if I should write to you about things future, ye would not understand, because such knowledge is hid in parables. These things then are so.

18 Second part of the epistle. The two ways. But let us now pass to another sort of knowledge and doctrine. There are two ways of doctrine and authority, the one of light, and the other of darkness. But there is a great difference between these two ways. For over one are stationed the light-bringing angels of God, but over the other the angels of Satan. And He indeed (i.e. God) is Lord for ever and ever, but he (i.e. Satan) is prince of the time of iniquity.

19 The way of light. The way of light, then, is as follows. If any one desires to travel to the appointed place, he must be zealous in his works. The knowledge, therefore, which is given to us for the purpose of walking in this way, is the following. Thou shalt love Him that created thee; thou shalt glorify Him that redeemed thee from death. Thou shalt be simple in heart, and rich in spirit. Thou shalt not join thyself to those who walk in the way of death. Thou shalt hate doing what is unpleasing to God: thou shalt hate all hypocrisy. Thou shalt not forsake the commandments of the Lord. Thou shalt not exalt thyself, but shalt be of a lowly mind. Thou shalt not take glory to thyself. Thou shalt not take evil counsel against thy neighbour. Thou shalt not allow overboldness to enter into thy soul. Thou shalt not commit fornication: thou shalt not commit adultery: thou shalt not be a corrupter of youth. Thou shalt not let the word of God issue from thy lips with any kind of impurity. Thou shalt not accept persons when thou reprovest any one for transgression. Thou shalt be meek: thou shalt be peaceable. Thou shalt tremble at the words which thou hearest. Thou shalt not be mindful of evil against thy brother. Thou shalt not be of doubtful mind as to whether a thing shall be or not. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord in vain. Thou shalt love thy neighbour more than thine own soul. Thou shalt not slay the child by procuring abortion; nor, again, shalt thou destroy it after it is born. Thou shalt not withdraw thy hand from thy son, or from thy daughter, but from their infancy thou shalt teach them the fear of the Lord. Thou shalt not covet what is thy neighbour's, nor shalt thou be avaricious. Thou shalt not be joined in soul with the haughty, but thou shalt be reckoned with the righteous and lowly. Receive thou as good things the trials which come upon thee. Thou shalt not be of double mind or of double tongue, for a double tongue is a snare of death. Thou shalt be subject to the Lord, and to other masters as the image of God, with modesty and fear. Thou shalt not issue orders with bitterness to thy maid-servant or thy man-servant, who trust in the same God, lest thou shouldst not reverence that God who is above both; for He came to call men not according to their outward appearance, but according as the Spirit had prepared them. Thou shalt communicate in all things with thy neighbour; thou shalt not call things thine own; for if ye are partakers in common of things which are incorruptible, how much more should you be of those things which are corruptible! Thou shalt not be hasty with thy tongue, for the mouth is a snare of death. As far as possible, thou shalt be pure in thy soul. Do not be ready to stretch forth thy hands to take, whilst thou contractest them to give. Thou shalt love, as the apple of thine eye, every one that speaketh to thee the word of the Lord. Thou shalt remember the day of judgement, night and day. Thou shalt seek out every day the faces of the saints, either by word examining them, and going to exhort them, and meditating how to save a soul by the word, or by thy hands thou shalt labour for the redemption of thy sins. Thou shalt not hesitate to give, nor murmur when thou givest. "Give to every one that asketh thee," and thou shalt know who is the good Recompenser of the reward. Thou shalt preserve what thou hast received in charge, neither adding to it nor taking from it. To the last thou shalt hate the wicked one. Thou shalt judge righteously. Thou shalt not make a schism, but thou shalt pacify those that contend by bringing them together. Thou shalt confess thy sins. Thou shalt not go to prayer with an evil conscience. This is the way of light.

20 The way of darkness. But the way of darkness is crooked, and full of cursing; for it is the way of eternal death with punishment, in which way are the things that destroy the soul, viz. idolatry, over-confidence, the arrogance of power, hypocrisy, double-heartedness, adultery, murder, rapine, haughtiness, transgression, deceit, malice, self-sufficiency, poisoning, magic, avarice, want of the fear of God. In this way, too, are those who persecute the good, those who hate truth, those who love falsehood, those who know not the reward of righteousness, those who cleave not to that which is good, those who attend not with just judgement to the widow and orphan, those who watch not to the fear of God, but incline to wickedness, from whom meekness and patience are far off; persons who love vanity, follow after a reward, pity not the needy, labour not in aid of him who is overcome with toil; who are prone to evil-speaking, who know not Him that made them, who are murderers of children, destroyers of the workmanship of God; who turn away him that is in want, who oppress the afflicted, who are advocates of the rich, who are unjust judges of the poor, and who are in every respect transgressors.

21 Conclusion. It is well, therefore, that he who has learned the judgements of the Lord, as many as have been written, should walk in them. For he who keepeth these shall be glorified in the kingdom of God; but he who chooseth other things shall be destroyed with his works. On this account there will be a resurrection, on this account a retribution. I beseech you who are superiors, if you will receive any counsel of my good-will, have among yourselves those to whom you may show kindness: do not forsake them. For the day is at hand on which all things shall perish with the evil one. The Lord is near, and His reward. Again, and yet again, I beseech you: be good lawgivers to one another; continue faithful counsellors of one another; take away from among you all hypocrisy. And may God, who ruleth over all the world, give to you wisdom, intelligence, understanding, knowledge of His judgements, with patience. And be ye taught of God, inquiring diligently what the Lord asks from you; and do it that ye may be safe in the day of judgement. And if you have any remembrance of what is good, be mindful of me, meditating on these things, in order that both my desire and watchfulness may result in some good. I beseech you, entreating this as a favour. While yet you are in this fair vessel, do not fail in any one of those things, but unceasingly seek after them, and fulfil every commandment; for these things are worthy. Wherefore I have been the more earnest to write to you, as my ability served, that I might cheer you. Farewell, ye children of love and peace. The Lord of glory and of all grace be with your spirit. Amen.

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE EPHESIANS.

From: Apostolic Fathers (long version)
Author: Ignatius Theophorus
Translation; Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867
Estimated Range of Dating: 120-140 A.D.

(The Epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians (often abbreviated Ign. Eph.) is an epistle attributed to Ignatius of Antioch, a second-century bishop of Antioch, and addressed to the Church in Ephesus of Asia Minor. Ignatius of Antioch (Greek: Ignatios Antiokheias]. He is also known as Ignatius Theophorus (Greek: Ignatios ho Theophoros, lit. "the God-

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bearing") or Ignatius Nurono (lit. "The fire-bearer"), and he was an early Christian writer and bishop of Antioch [Antakya, southern Turkey]. He perhaps died in the middle of the first half of the second century AD. According to Church legend, he died en route to Rome. Ignatius wrote a series of letters which now forms a central part of a later collection of works known to be authored by the "Apostolic Fathers". Ignatius is considered to be one of the three most important of these, together with Pope Clement I [Titus Flavius Clemens of Rome] and Polycarp.

It is clear that To the Ephesians was written soon before Ignatius died. Church legend places the martyrdom of Ignatius in the reign of Trajan, who was emperor of Rome from 98 to 117 AD while many scholars dated Ignatius' death between 120 and 140 AD. To the Ephesians is one of seven epistles attributed to Ignatius that are generally accepted as authentic. In 5th century, this collection was enlarged by spurious letters.)

PROLOGUE: Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the church which is at Ephesus, in Asia, deservedly most happy, being blessed in the greatness and fulness of God the Father, and predestinated before the beginning of time, that it should be always for an enduring and unchangeable glory, being united and elected through the true passion by the will of God the Father, and of our Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour: Abundant happiness through Jesus Christ, and His undefiled joy.

1 Praise of the Ephesians. I Have become acquainted with your greatly-desired name in God, which ye have acquired by the habit of righteousness, according to the faith and love in Christ Jesus our Saviour. Being the followers of the love of God towards man, and stirring up yourselves by the blood of Christ, you have perfectly accomplished the work which was beseeming to you. For, on hearing that I came bound from Syria for the sake of Christ, our common hope, trusting through your prayers to be permitted to fight with beasts at Rome, that so by martyrdom I may indeed become the disciple of Him "who gave Himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God," ye hastened to see me. I have therefore received your whole multitude in the name of God, through Onesimus, a man of inexpressible love, and who is your bishop, whom I pray you by Jesus Christ to love, and that you would all seek to be like him. Blessed be God, who has granted unto you, who are yourselves so excellent, to obtain such an excellent bishop.

2 Congratulations and entreaties. As to our fellow-servant Burrhus, your deacon in regard to God and blessed in all things, I pray that he may continue blameless for the honour of the church, and of your most blessed bishop. Crocus also, worthy both of God and you, whom we have received as the manifestation of your love to us, hath in all things refreshed me, and "hath not been ashamed of my chain," as the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ will also refresh him; together with Onesimus, and Burrhus, and Euplus, and Fronto, by means of whom I have, as to love, beheld all of you. May I always have joy of you, if indeed I be worthy of it. It is therefore befitting that you should in every way glorify Jesus Christ, who hath glorified you, that by a unanimous obedience "ye may be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgement, and may all speak the same thing concerning the same thing," and that, being subject to the bishop and the presbytery, ye may in all respects be sanctified.

3 Exhortations to unity. I do not issue orders to you, as if I were some great person. For though I am bound for His name, I am not yet perfect in Jesus Christ. For now I begin to be a disciple, and I speak to you as my fellow-servants. For it was needful for me to have been admonished by you in faith, exhortation, patience, and long-suffering. But inasmuch as love suffers me not to be silent in regard to you, I have therefore taken upon me first to exhort you that ye would run together in accordance with the will of God. For even Jesus Christ does all things according to the will of the Father, as He Himself declares in a certain place, "I do always those things that please Him." Wherefore it behoves us also to live according to the will of God in Christ, and to imitate Him as Paul did. For, says he, "Be ye followers of me, even as I also am of Christ."

4 The same continued. Wherefore it is fitting that ye also should run together in accordance with the will of the bishop who by God's appointment rules over you. Which thing ye indeed of yourselves do, being instructed by the Spirit. For your justly-renowned presbytery, being worthy of God, is fitted as exactly to the bishop as the strings are to the harp. Thus, being joined together in concord and harmonious love, of which Jesus Christ is the Captain and Guardian, do ye, man by man, become but one choir; so that, agreeing together in concord, and obtaining a perfect unity with God, ye may indeed be one in harmonious feeling with God the Father, and His beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord. For, says He, "Grant unto them. Holy Father, that as I and Thou are one, they also may be one in us." It is therefore profitable that you, being joined together with God in an unblameable unity, should be the followers of the example of Christ, of whom also ye are members.

5 The praise of unity. For if I, in this brief space of time, have enjoyed such fellowship with your bishop—I mean not of a mere human, but of a spiritual nature—how much more do I reckon you happy, who so depend on him as the church does on the Lord Jesus, and the Lord does on God and His Father, that so all things may agree in unity! Let no man deceive himself: if any one be not within the altar, he is deprived of the bread of God. For if the prayer of one or two possesses such power that Christ stands in the midst of them, how much more will the prayer of the bishop and of the whole church, ascending up in harmony to God, prevail for the granting of all their petitions in Christ! He, therefore, that separates himself from such, and does not meet in the society where sacrifices are offered, and with "the church of the first-born whose names are written in heaven," is a wolf in sheep's clothing, while he presents a mild outward appearance. Do ye, beloved, be careful to be subject to the bishop, and the presbyters and the deacons. For he that is subject to these is obedient to Christ, who has appointed them; but he that is disobedient to these is disobedient to Christ Jesus. And "he that obeyeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him." For he that yields not obedience to his superiors is self-confident, quarrelsome, and proud. But "God," says the Scripture, "resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble;" and, "The proud have greatly transgressed." The Lord also says to the priests, "He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that heareth me, heareth the Father that sent me. He that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth Him that sent me."

6 Have respect to the bishop as to Christ Himself. The more, therefore, you see the bishop silent, the more do you reverence him. For we ought to receive every one whom the Master of the house sends to be over His household, as we would do Him that sent him. It is manifest, therefore, that we should look upon the bishop even as we would look upon the Lord Himself, standing, as he does, before the Lord. For "it behoves the man who looks carefully about him, and is active in his business, to stand before kings, and not to stand before slothful men." And indeed Onesimus himself greatly commends your good order in God, that ye all live according to the truth, and that no sect has any dwelling-place among you. Nor indeed do ye hearken to any one rather than to Jesus Christ, the true Shepherd and Teacher. And ye are, as Paul wrote to you, "one body and one spirit, because ye have also been called in one hope of the faith." Since also "there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all." Such, then, are ye, having been taught by such instructors, Paul the Christ-bearer, and Timothy the most faithful.

7 Beware of false teachers. But some most worthless persons are in the habit of carrying about the name of Jesus Christ in wicked guile, while yet they practise things unworthy of God, and hold opinions contrary to the doctrine of Christ, to their own destruction, and that of those who give credit to them, whom you must avoid as ye would wild beasts. For "the righteous man who avoids them is saved for ever; but the destruction of the ungodly is sudden, and a subject of rejoicing." For "they are dumb dogs, that cannot bark," raving mad, and biting secretly, against whom ye must be on your guard, since they labour under an incurable disease. But our Physician is the only true God, the unbegotten and unapproachable, the Lord of all, the Father and Begetter of the only-begotten Son. We have also as a Physician the Lord our God, Jesus the Christ, the only-begotten Son and Word, before time began but who afterwards became also man, of Mary the virgin. For "the Word was made flesh." Being incorporeal, He was in the body; being impassible. He was in a passible body; being immortal, He was in a mortal body; being life, He became subject to corruption, that He might free our souls from death and corruption, and heal them, and might restore them to health, when they were diseased with ungodliness and wicked lusts.

8 Renewed praise of the Ephesians. Let not then any one deceive you, as indeed ye are not deceived; for ye are wholly devoted to God. For when there is no evil desire within you, which might defile and torment you, then do ye live in accordance with the will of God, and are the servants of Christ. Cast ye out that which defiles you, who are of the most holy church of the Ephesians, which is so famous and celebrated throughout the world. They that are carnal cannot do those things which are spiritual, nor they that are spiritual the things which are carnal; even as faith cannot do the works of unbelief, nor unbelief the works of faith. But ye, being full of the Holy Spirit, do nothing according to the flesh, but all things according to the Spirit. Ye are complete in Christ Jesus, "who is the Saviour of all men, specially of them that believe."

9 Ye have given no heed to false teachers. Nevertheless, I have heard of some who have passed in among you, holding the wicked doctrine of the strange and evil spirit; to whom ye did not allow entrance to sow their tares, but stopped your ears that ye might not receive that error which was proclaimed by them, as being persuaded that that spirit which deceives the people does not speak the things of Christ, but his own, for he is a lying spirit. But the Holy Spirit does not speak His own things, but those of Christ, and that not from himself, but from the Lord; even as the Lord also announced to us the things that He received from the Father. For, says He, "the word which ye hear is not mine, but the Father's, who sent me." And says He of the Holy Spirit, "He shall not speak of Himself, but whatsoever things He shall hear from me." And He says of Himself to the Father, "I have," says He, "glorified Thee upon the earth; I have finished the work which Thou gavest me; I have manifested Thy name to men." And of the Holy Ghost, "He shall glorify me, for He receives of mine." But the spirit of deceit preaches himself, and speaks his own things, for he seeks to please himself. He glorifies himself, for he is full of arrogance. He is lying, fraudulent, soothing, flattering, treacherous, rhapsodical, trifling, inharmonious, verbose, sordid, and timorous. From his power Jesus Christ will deliver you, who has founded you upon the rock, as being chosen stones, well fitted for the divine edifice of the Father, and who are raised up on high by Christ, who was crucified for you, making use of the Holy Spirit as a rope, and being borne up by faith, while exalted by love from earth to heaven, walking in company with those that are undefiled. For, says the Scripture, "Blessed are the undefiled in the way, who walk in the law of the Lord." Now the way is unerring, namely, Jesus Christ. For, says He, "I am the way and the life." And this way leads to the Father. For "no man," says He, "cometh to the Father but by me." Blessed, then, are ye who are God-bearers, spirit-bearers, temple-bearers, bearers of holiness, adorned in all respects with the commandments of Jesus Christ, being "a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people," on whose account I rejoice exceedingly, and have had the privilege, by this epistle, of conversing with "the saints which are at Ephesus, the faithful in Christ Jesus." I rejoice, therefore, over you, that ye do not give heed to vanity, and love nothing according to the flesh, but according to God.

10 Exhortations to prayer, humility, etc. And pray ye without ceasing in behalf of other men; for there is hope of the repentance, that they may attain to God. For "cannot he that falls arise again, and he that goes astray return?" Permit them, then, to be instructed by you. Be ye therefore the ministers of God, and the mouth of Christ. For thus saith the Lord, "If ye take forth the precious from the vile, ye shall be as my mouth." Be ye humble in response to their wrath; oppose to their blasphemies your earnest prayers; while they go astray, stand ye stedfast in the faith. Conquer ye their harsh temper by gentleness, their passion by meekness. For "blessed are the meek;" and Moses was meek above all men; and David was exceeding meek. Wherefore Paul exhorts as follows: "The servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle towards all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves." Do not seek to avenge yourselves on those that injure you, for says the Scripture, "If I have returned evil to those who returned evil to me." Let us make them brethren by our kindness. For say ye to those that hate you. Ye are our brethren, that the name of the Lord may be glorified. And let us imitate the Lord, "who, when He was reviled, reviled not again;" when He was crucified. He answered not; "when He suffered, He threatened not;" but prayed for His enemies, "Father, forgive them; they know not what they do." If any one, the more he is injured, displays the more patience, blessed is he. If any one is defrauded, if any one is despised, for the name of the Lord, he truly is the servant of Christ. Take heed that no plant of the devil be found among you, for such a plant is bitter and salt. "Watch ye, and be ye sober," in Christ Jesus.

11 An exhortation to fear God, etc. The last times are come upon us. Let us therefore be of a reverent spirit, and fear the long-suffering of God, lest we despise the riches of His goodness and forbearance. For let us either fear the wrath to come, or let us love the present joy in the life that now is; and let our present and true joy be only this, to be found in Christ Jesus, that we may truly live. Do not at any time desire so much as even to breathe apart from Him. For He is my hope; He is my boast; He is my never-failing riches, on whose account I bear about with me these bonds from Syria to Rome, these spiritual jewels, in which may I be perfected through your prayers, and become a partaker of the sufferings of Christ, and have fellowship with Him in His death, His resurrection from the dead, and His everlasting life. May I attain to this, so that I may be found in the lot of the Christians of Ephesus, who have always had intercourse with the apostles by the power of Jesus Christ, with Paul, and John, and Timothy the most faithful.

12 Praise of the Ephesians. I know both who I am, and to whom I write. I am the very insignificant Ignatius, who have my lot with those who are exposed to danger and condemnation. But ye have been the objects of mercy, and are established in Christ. I am one delivered over to death, but the least of all those that have been cut off for the sake of Christ, "from the blood of righteous Abel" to the blood of Ignatius. Ye are initiated into the mysteries of the gospel with Paul, the holy, the martyred, inasmuch as he was "a chosen vessel;" at

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whose feet may I be found, and at the feet of the rest of the saints, when I shall attain to Jesus Christ, who is always mindful of you in His prayers.

13 Exhortation to meet together frequently for the worship of God. Take heed, then, often to come together to give thanks to God, and show forth His praise. For when ye come frequently together in the same place, the powers of Satan are destroyed, and his "fiery darts" urging to sin fall back ineffectual. For your concord and harmonious faith prove his destruction, and the torment of his assistants. Nothing is better than that peace which is according to Christ, by which all war, both of aerial and terrestrial spirits, is brought to an end. "For we wrestle not against blood and flesh, but against principalities and powers, and against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in heavenly places."

14 Exhortations to faith and love. Wherefore none of the devices of the devil shall be hidden from you, if, like Paul, ye perfectly possess that faith and love towards Christ which are the beginning and the end of life. The beginning of life is faith, and the end is love. And these two being inseparably connected together, do perfect the man of God; while all other things which are requisite to a holy life follow after them. No man making a profession of faith ought to sin, nor one possessed of love to hate his brother. For He that said, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God," said also, "and thy neighbour as thyself." Those that profess themselves to be Christ's are known not only by what they say, but by what they practise. "For the tree is known by its fruit."

15 Exhortation to confess Christ by silence as well as speech. It is better for a man to be silent and be a Christian, than to talk and not to be one. "The kingdom of God is not in word, but in power." Men "believe with the heart, and confess with the mouth," the one "unto righteousness," the other "unto salvation." It is good to teach, if he who speaks also acts. For he who shall both "do and teach, the same shall be great in the kingdom." Our Lord and God, Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, first did and then taught, as Luke testifies, "whose praise is in the gospel through all the churches." There is nothing which is hid from the Lord, but our very secrets are near to Him. Let us therefore do all things as those who have Him dwelling in us, that we may be His temples, and He may be in us as God. Let Christ speak in us, even as He did in Paul. Let the Holy Spirit teach us to speak the things of Christ in like manner as He did.

16 The fate of false teachers. Do not err, my brethren. Those that corrupt families shall not inherit the kingdom of God. And if those that corrupt mere human families are condemned to death, how much more shall those suffer everlasting punishment who endeavour to corrupt the church of Christ, for which the Lord Jesus, the only-begotten Son of God, endured the cross, and submitted to death! Whosoever, "being waxen fat," and "become gross," sets at nought His doctrine, shall go into hell. In like manner, every one that has received from God the power of distinguishing, and yet follows an unskilful shepherd, and receives a false opinion for the truth, shall be punished. "What communion hath light with darkness? or Christ with Belial? Or what portion hath he that believeth with an infidel? or the temple of God with idols?" And in like manner say I, what communion hath truth with falsehood? or righteousness with unrighteousness? or true doctrine with that which is false?

17 Beware of false doctrines. For this end did the Lord suffer the ointment to be poured upon His head, that His church might breathe forth immortality. For saith the Scripture, "Thy name is as ointment poured forth; therefore have the virgins loved Thee: they have drawn Thee; at the odour of Thine ointments we will run after Thee." Let no one be anointed with the bad odour of the doctrine of the prince of this world; let not the holy church of God be led captive by his subtlety, as was the first woman. Why do we not, as gifted with reason, act wisely? When we had received from Christ, and had grafted in us the faculty of judging concerning God, why do we fall headlong into ignorance? and why, through a careless neglect of acknowledging the gift which we have received, do we foolishly perish?

18 The glory of the cross. The cross of Christ is indeed a stumbling-block to those that do not believe, but to the believing it is salvation and life eternal. "Where is the wise man? where the disputer?" Where is the boasting of those who are called mighty? For the Son of God, who was begotten before time began, and established all things according to the will of the Father, He was conceived in the womb of Mary, according to the appointment of God, of the seed of David, and by the Holy Ghost. For says the Scripture, "Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and He shall be called Immanuel." He was born and was baptised by John, that He might ratify the institution committed to that prophet.

19 Three celebrated mysteries. Now the virginity of Mary was hidden from the prince of this world, as was also her offspring, and the death of the Lord; three mysteries of renown, which were wrought in silence, but have been revealed to us. A star shone forth in heaven above all that were before it, and its light was inexpressible, while its novelty struck men with astonishment. And all the rest of the stars, with the sun and moon, formed a chorus to this star. It far exceeded them all in brightness, and agitation was felt as to whence this new spectacle proceeded. Hence worldly wisdom became folly; conjuration was seen to be mere trifling; and magic became utterly ridiculous. Every law of wickedness vanished away; the darkness of ignorance was dispersed; and tyrannical authority was destroyed, God being manifested as a man, and man displaying power as God. But neither was the former a mere imagination, nor did the second imply a bare humanity; but the one was absolutely true, and the other an economical arrangement. Now that received a beginning which was perfected by God. Henceforth all things were in a state of tumult, because He meditated the abolition of death.

20 Promise of another letter. Stand fast, brethren, in the faith of Jesus Christ, and in His love, in His passion, and in his resurrection. Do ye all come together in common, and individually, through grace, in one faith of God the Father, and of Jesus Christ His only-begotten Son, and "the firstborn of every creature," but of the seed of David according to the flesh, being under the guidance of the Comforter, in obedience to the bishop and the presbytery with an undivided mind, breaking one and the same bread, which is the medicine of immortality, and the antidote which prevents us from dying, but a cleansing remedy driving away evil, which causes that we should live in God through Jesus Christ.

21 Conclusion. My soul be for yours and theirs whom, for the honour of God, ye have sent to Smyrna; whence also I write to you, giving thanks to the Lord, and loving Polycarp even as I do you. Remember me, as Jesus Christ also remembers you, who is blessed for evermore. Pray ye for the church of Antioch which is in Syria, whence I am led bound to Rome, being the last of the faithful that are there, who yet have been thought worthy to carry these chains to the honour of God. Fare ye well in God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ, our common hope, and in the Holy Ghost. Fare ye well. Amen. Grace be with you.

THE SYRIAC EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE EPHESIANS

Epistle to the Ephesians by Ignatius of Antioch (Syriac version) From: Apostolic Fathers
Author: unknown (Ignatius Theophorus, alleged)
Translation; Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867
Estimated Range of Dating: 200-400 A.D.

Prologue: Ignatius, who is [also called] Theophorus, to the church which is blessed in the greatness of God the Father, and perfected; to her who was selected from eternity, that she might be at all times for glory, which abideth, and is unchangeable, and is perfected and chosen in the purpose of truth by the will of the Father of Jesus Christ our God; to her who is worthy of happiness; to her who is at Ephesus, in Jesus Christ, in joy which is unblameable: [wishes] abundance of happiness.

1 Inasmuch as your name, which is greatly beloved, is acceptable to me in God, [your name] which ye have acquired by nature, through a right and just will, and also by the faith and love of Jesus Christ our Saviour, and ye are imitators of God, and are fervent in the blood of God, and have speedily completed a work congenial to you; [for] when ye heard that I was bound, so as to be able to do nothing for the sake of the common name and hope (and I hope, through your prayers, that I may be devoured by beasts at Rome, so that by means of this of which I have been accounted worthy, I may be endowed with strength to be a disciple of God), ye were diligent to come and see me. Seeing, then, that we have become acquainted with your multitude in the name of God, by Onesimus, who is your bishop, in love which is unutterable, whom I pray that ye love in Jesus Christ our Lord, and that all of you imitate his example; for blessed is He who has given you such a bishop, even as ye deserve [to have].

2 But inasmuch as love does not permit me to be silent in regard to you, on this account I have been forward to entreat of you that ye would be diligent in the will of God.

[. . .]

8 For, so long as there is not implanted in you any one lust which is able to torment you, behold, ye live in God. I rejoice in you, and offer supplication on account of you, Ephesians, a church which is renowned in all ages. For those who are carnal are not able to do spiritual things, nor those that are spiritual carnal things; in like manner as neither can faith [do] those things which are foreign to faith, nor want of faith [do] what belongs to faith. For those things which ye have done in the flesh, even these are spiritual, because ye have done everything in Jesus Christ.

9 And ye are prepared for the building of God the Father, and ye are raised up on high by the instrument of Jesus Christ, which is the cross; and ye are drawn by the rope, which is the Holy Spirit; and your pulley is your faith, and your love is the way which leadeth up on high to God.

10 Pray for all men; for there is hope of repentance for them, that they may be counted worthy of God. By your works especially let them be instructed. Against their harsh words be ye conciliatory, by meekness of mind and gentleness. Against their blasphemies do ye give yourselves to prayer; and against their error be ye armed with faith. Against their fierceness be ye peaceful and quiet, and be ye not astounded by them. Let us, then, be imitators of our Lord in meekness, and strive who shall more especially be injured, and oppressed, and defrauded.

[. . .]

14 The work is not of promise, unless a man be found in the power of faith, even to the end.

15 It is better that a man should be silent while he is something, than that he should be talking when he is not; that by those things which he speaks he should act, and by those things of which he is silent he should be known.

[. . .]

18 My spirit bows in adoration to the cross, which is a stumbling-block to those who do not believe, but is to you for salvation and eternal life.

19 There was concealed from the ruler of this world the virginity of Mary and the birth of our Lord, and the three renowned mysteries which were done in the tranquillity of God from the star. And here, at the manifestation of the Son, magic began to be destroyed, and all bonds were loosed; and the ancient kingdom and the error of evil was destroyed. Henceforward all things were moved together, and the destruction of death was devised, and there was the commencement of that which was perfected in God.

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE MAGNESIANS.

From: Apostolic Fathers (long version)
Author: Ignatius Thophorus
Translation; Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867
Estimated Range of Dating: 120-140 A.D.

(The Epistle of Ignatius to the Magnesians (often abbreviated Magnesians or Ign. Mag.) is an epistle attributed to Ignatius of Antioch, a second-century bishop of Antioch, and addressed to the church in Magnesia on the Maeander. According to Church legend, it was written during Ignatius' transport from Antioch to his execution in Rome, probably between 120 and 140 AD. The letter talks about Magnesian and Trallian churches had sent their bishops, Polybius of Trallis and Damas, in company with two presbyters from Magnesia to meet Ignatius who was being held at the nearby port of Smyrna on his way to execution in Rome, and Ignatius writes his letter to thank the Magnesian church. To the Magnesians is one of seven epistles attributed to Ignatius that are generally accepted as authentic. In 5th century, this collection was enlarged by spurious letters.)

PROLOGUE: Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the church blessed in the grace of God the Father, in Jesus Christ our Saviour, in whom I salute the church which is at Magnesia, near the Mæander, and wish it abundance of happiness in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ, our Lord, in whom may you have abundance of happiness.

1 Reason of writing the epistle. Having been informed of your godly love, so well-ordered, I rejoiced greatly, and determined to commune with you in the faith of Jesus Christ. For as one who has been thought worthy of a divine and desirable name, in those bonds which I bear about, I commend the churches, in which I pray for a union both of the flesh and spirit of Jesus Christ, "who is the Saviour of all men, but specially of them that believe;" by whose blood ye were redeemed; by whom ye have known God, or rather have been known by Him; in whom enduring, ye shall escape all the assaults of this world: for "He is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that which ye are able." 2 I rejoice in your messengers. Since, then, I have had the privilege of seeing you, through Damas your most worthy bishop, and through your worthy presbyters Bassus and Apollonius, and through my fellow-servant the deacon Sotio, whose friendship may I ever enjoy, inasmuch as he, by the grace of God, is subject to the bishop and presbytery, in the law of Jesus Christ, I now write to you. 3 Honour your youthful bishop. Now it becomes you also not to despise the age of your bishop, but to yield him all reverence, according to the will of God the Father, as I have known even holy presbyters do, not having regard to the manifest youth of their bishop, but to his knowledge in God; inasmuch as "not the ancient are necessarily wise, nor do the aged understand prudence; but there is a spirit in men." For Daniel the wise, at twelve years of age, became possessed of the divine Spirit, and convicted the elders, who in vain carried their grey hairs, of being false accusers, and of lusting after the beauty of another man's wife. Samuel also, when he was but a little child, reproved Eli, who was ninety years old, for giving honour to his sons rather than to God. In like manner, Jeremiah also received this message from God, "Say not, I am a child." Solomon too, and Josiah, exemplified the same thing. The former, being made king at twelve years of age, gave that terrible and difficult judgement

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in the case of the two women concerning their children. The latter, coming to the throne when eight years old, cast down the altars and temples of the idols, and burned down the groves, for they were dedicated to demons, and not to God. And he slew the false priests, as the corrupters and deceivers of men, and not the worshippers of the Deity. Wherefore youth is not to be despised when it is devoted to God. But he is to be despised who is of a wicked mind, although he be old, and full of wicked days. Timothy the Christ-bearer was young, but hear what his teacher writes to him: "Let no man despise thy youth, but be thou an example of the believers in word and in conduct." It is becoming, therefore, that ye also should be obedient to your bishop, and contradict him in nothing; for it is a fearful thing to contradict any such person. For no one does by such conduct deceive him that is visible, but does in reality seek to mock Him that is invisible, who, however, cannot be mocked by any one. And every such act has respect not to man, but to God. For God says to Samuel, "They have not mocked thee, but me." And Moses declares, "For their murmuring is not against us, but against the Lord God." No one of those has, in fact, remained unpunished, who rose up against their superiors. For Dathan and Abiram did not speak against the law, but against Moses, and were cast down alive into Hades. Korah also, and the two hundred and fifty who conspired with him against Aaron, were destroyed by fire. Absalom, again, who had slain his brother, became suspended on a tree, and had his evil-designing heart thrust through with darts. In like manner was Abeddadan beheaded for the same reason. Uzziah, when he presumed to oppose the priests and the priesthood, was smitten with leprosy. Saul also was dishonoured, because he did not wait for Samuel the high priest. It behoves you, therefore, also to reverence your superiors.

4 Some wickedly act independently of the bishop. It is fitting, then, not only to be called Christians, but to be so in reality. For it is not the being called so, but the being really so, that renders a man blessed. To those who indeed talk of the bishop, but do all things without him, will He who is the true and first Bishop, and the only High Priest by nature, declare, "Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?" For such persons seem to me not possessed of a good conscience, but to be simply dissemblers and hypocrites.

5 Death is the fate of all such. Seeing, then, all things have an end, and there is set before us life upon our observance of God's precepts, but death as the result of disobedience, and every one, according to the choice he makes, shall go to his own place, let us flee from death, and make choice of life. For I remark, that two different characters are found among men—the one true coin, the other spurious. The truly devout man is the right kind of coin, stamped by God Himself. The ungodly man, again, is false coin, unlawful, spurious, counterfeit, wrought not by God, but by the devil. I do not mean to say that there are two different human natures, but that there is one humanity, sometimes belonging to God, and sometimes to the devil. If any one is truly religious, he is a man of God; but if he is irreligious, he is a man of the devil, made such, not by nature, but by his own choice. The unbelieving bear the image of the prince of wickedness. The believing possess the image of their Prince, God the Father, and Jesus Christ, through whom, if we are not in readiness to die for the truth into His passion, His life is not in us. 6 Preserve harmony. Since therefore I have, in the persons before mentioned, beheld the whole multitude of you in faith and love, I exhort you to study to do all things with a divine harmony, while your bishop presides in the place of God, and your presbyters in the place of the assembly of the apostles, along with your deacons, who are most dear to me, and are entrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ. He, being begotten by the Father before the beginning of time, was God the Word, the only-begotten Son, and remains the same for ever; for "of His kingdom there shall be no end," says Daniel the prophet. Let us all therefore love one another in harmony, and let no one look upon his neighbour according to the flesh, but in Christ Jesus. Let nothing exist among you which may divide you; but be ye united with your bishop, being through him subject to God in Christ.

7 Do nothing without the bishop and presbyters. As therefore the Lord does nothing without the Father, for says He, "I can of mine own self do nothing," so do ye, neither presbyter, nor deacon, nor layman, do anything without the bishop. Nor let anything appear commendable to you which is destitute of his approval. For every such thing is sinful, and opposed to the will of God. Do ye all come together into the same place for prayer. Let there be one common supplication, one mind, one hope, with faith unblameable in Christ Jesus, than which nothing is more excellent. Do ye all, as one man, run together into the temple of God, as unto one altar, to one Jesus Christ, the High Priest of the unbegotten God.

8 Caution against false doctrines. Be not deceived with strange doctrines, "nor give heed to fables and endless genealogies," and things in which the Jews make their boast. "Old things are passed away: behold, all things have become new." For if we still live according to the Jewish law, and the circumcision of the flesh, we deny that we have received grace. For the divinest prophets lived according to Jesus Christ. On this account also they were persecuted, being inspired by

9 Let us live with Christ. If, then, those who were conversant with the ancient Scriptures came to newness of hope, expecting the coming of Christ, as the Lord teaches us when He says, "If ye had believed Moses, ye would have believed me, for he wrote of me;" and again, "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it, and was glad; for before Abraham was, I am;" how shall we be able to live without Him? The prophets were His servants, and foresaw Him by the Spirit, and waited for Him as their Teacher, and expected Him as their Lord and Saviour, saying, "He will come and save us." Let us therefore no longer keep the Sabbath after the Jewish manner, and rejoice in days of idleness; for "he that does not work, let him not eat." For say the holy oracles, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread." But let every one of you keep the Sabbath after a spiritual manner, rejoicing in meditation on the law, not in relaxation of the body, admiring the workmanship of God, and not eating things prepared the day before, nor using lukewarm drinks, and walking within a prescribed space, nor finding delight in dancing and plaudits which have no sense in them. And after the observance of the Sabbath, let every friend of Christ keep the Lord's day as a festival, the resurrection-day, the queen and chief of all the days of the week. Looking forward to this, the prophet declared, "To the end, for the eighth day," on which our life both sprang up again, and the victory over death was obtained in Christ, whom the children of perdition, the enemies of the Saviour, deny, "whose god is their belly, who mind earthly things," who are "lovers of pleasure, and not lovers of God, having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof." These make merchandise of Christ, corrupting His word, and giving up Jesus to sale; they are corrupters of women, and covetous of other men's possessions, swallowing up wealth insatiably; from whom may ye be delivered by the mercy of God through our Lord Jesus Christ!

10 Beware of Judaising. Let us not, therefore, be insensible to His kindness. For were He to reward us according to our works, we should cease to be. For "if Thou, Lord, shalt mark iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand?" Let us therefore prove ourselves worthy of that name which we have received. For whosoever is called by any other name besides this, he is not of God; for he has not received the prophecy which speaks thus concerning us: "The people shall be called by a new name, which the Lord shall name them, and shall be a holy people." This was first fulfilled in Syria; for "the disciples were called Christians at Antioch," when Paul and Peter were laying the foundations of the church. Lay aside, therefore, the evil, the old, the corrupt leaven, and be ye changed into the new leaven of grace. Abide in Christ, that the stranger may not have dominion over you. It is absurd to speak of Jesus Christ with the tongue, and to cherish in the mind a Judaism which has now come to an end. For where there is Christianity there cannot be Judaism. For Christ is one, in whom every nation that believes, and every tongue that confesses, is gathered unto God. And those that were of a stony heart have become the children of Abraham, the friend of God; and in his seed all those have been blessed who were ordained to eternal life in Christ. 11 I write these things to warn you. These things I address to you, my beloved, not that I know any of you to be in such a state; but, as less than any of you, I desire to guard you beforehand, that ye fall not upon the hooks of vain doctrine, but that you may rather attain to a full assurance in Christ, who was begotten by the Father before all ages, but was afterwards born of the Virgin Mary without any intercourse with man. He also lived a holy life, and healed every kind of sickness and disease among the people, and wrought signs and wonders for the benefit of men; and to those who had fallen into the error of polytheism He made known the one and only true God, His Father, and underwent the passion, and endured the cross at the hands of the Christ-killing Jews, under Pontius Pilate the governor and Herod the king. He also died, and rose again, and ascended into the heavens to Him that sent Him, and is sat down at His right hand, and shall come at the end of the world, with His Father's glory, to judge the living and the dead, and to render to every one according to his works. He who knows these things with a full assurance, and believes them, is happy; even as ye are now the lovers of God and of Christ, in the full assurance of our hope, from which may no one of us ever be turned aside! 12 Ye are superior to me. May I enjoy you in all respects, if indeed I be worthy! For though I am bound, I am not worthy to be compared to one of you that are at liberty. I know that ye are not puffed up, for ye have Jesus in yourselves. And all the more when I commend you, I know that ye cherish modesty of spirit; as it is written, "The righteous man is his own accuser;" and again, "Declare thou first thine iniquities, that thou mayest be justified;" and again, "When ye shall have done all things that are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants;" "for that which is highly esteemed among men is abomination in the sight of God." For says the Scripture, "God be merciful to me a sinner." Therefore those great ones, Abraham and Job, styled themselves "dust and ashes" before God. And David says, "Who am I before Thee, O Lord, that Thou hast glorified me hitherto?" And Moses, who was "the meekest of all men," saith to God, "I am of a feeble voice, and of a slow tongue." Be ye therefore also of a humble spirit, that ye may be exalted; for "he that abaseth himself shall be exalted, and he that exalteth himself shall be abased." 13 Be established in faith and unity. Study, therefore, to be established in the doctrines of the Lord and the apostles, that so all things, whatsoever ye do, may prosper, both in the flesh and spirit, in faith and love, with your most admirable bishop, and the well-compacted spiritual crown of your presbytery, and the deacons who are according to God. Be ye subject to the bishop, and to one another, as Christ to the Father, that there may be a unity according to God among you.

14 Your prayers requested. Knowing as I do that ye are full of all good, I have but briefly exhorted you in the love of Jesus Christ. Be mindful of me in your prayers, that I may attain to God; and of the church which is in Syria, of whom I am not worthy to be called bishop. For I stand in need of your united prayer in God, and of your love, that the church which is in Syria may be deemed worthy, by your good order, of being edified in Christ.

15 Salutations. The Ephesians from Smyrna (whence I also write to you), who are here for the glory of God, as ye also are, who have in all things refreshed me, salute you, as does also Polycarp. The rest of the churches, in honour of Jesus Christ, also salute you. Fare ye well in harmony, ye who have obtained the inseparable Spirit, in Christ Jesus, by the will of God.

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE TRALLIANS.

From: Apostolic Fathers (long version)
Author: Ignatius Theophorus
Translation; Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867
Estimated Range of Dating: 120-140 A.D.

(The Epistle of Ignatius to the Trallians (often abbreviated Trallians) is an epistle attributed to Ignatius, a second-century Bishop of Antioch and martyr, and addressed to the church in Tralles. It was written during the bishop's transport from Antioch to his execution in Rome, probably between 120 and 140 AD. The letter talks about The Trallian church had sent their bishop Polybius of Trallis to meet Ignatius who was being held at Smyrna on his way to execution in Rome, and Ignatius writes his letter to thank them. In his letter he warns against false teaching and separatism, without, however, accusing them personally of these errors. He urges a duty of unity and obedience to Church leaders. To the Trallians is one of seven epistles attributed to Ignatius that are generally accepted as authentic. In 5th century, this collection was enlarged by spurious letters.)

PROLOGUE: Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the holy church which is at Tralles, beloved by God the Father, and Jesus Christ, elect, and worthy of God, possessing peace through the flesh and Spirit of Jesus Christ, who is our hope, in His passion by the cross and death, and in His resurrection, which also I salute in its fulness, and in the apostolical character, and wish abundance of happiness.

1 Acknowledgment of their excellence. I know that ye possess an unblameable and sincere mind in patience, and that not only for present use, but as a permanent possession, as Polybius your bishop has shown me, who has come to Smyrna by the will of God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ, His Son, with the co-operation of the Spirit, and so sympathized in the joy which I, who am bound in Christ Jesus, possess, that I beheld your whole multitude in Him. Having therefore received through him the testimony of your good-will according to God, I gloried to find that you were the followers of Jesus Christ the Saviour.

2 Be subject to the bishop, etc. Be ye subject to the bishop as to the Lord, for "he watches for your souls, as one that shall give account to God." Wherefore also, ye appear to me to live not after the manner of men, but according to Jesus Christ, who died for us, in order that, by believing in His death, ye may by baptism be made partakers of His resurrection. It is therefore necessary, whatsoever things ye do, to do nothing without the bishop. And be ye subject also to the presbytery, as to the apostles of Jesus Christ, who is our hope, in whom, if we live, we shall be found in Him. It behoves you also, in every way, to please the deacons, who are ministers of the mysteries of Christ Jesus; for they are not ministers of meat and drink, but servants of the church of God. They are bound, therefore, to avoid all grounds of accusation against them, as they would a burning fire. Let them, then, prove themselves to be such.

3 Honour the deacons, etc. In like manner, let all reverence the deacons as an appointment of Jesus Christ, and the bishop as Jesus Christ, who is the Son of the Father, and the presbyters as the sanhedrim of God, and assembly of saints. I am persuaded that ye also are of this opinion. For I have received the manifestation of your love, and still have it with

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me, in your bishop, whose very appearance is highly instructive, and his meekness of itself a power; whom I imagine even the ungodly must reverence. Loving you as I do, I avoid writing in any severer strain to you, that I may not seem harsh to any, or wanting in tenderness. I am indeed bound for the sake of Christ, but I am not yet worthy of Christ. But when I am perfected, perhaps I shall then become so. I do not issue orders like an apostle.

4 I have need of humility. But I measure myself, that I may not perish through boasting: but it is good to glory in the Lord. And even though I were established in things pertaining to God, yet then would it befit me to be the more fearful, and not give heed to those that vainly puff me up. For those that commend me scourge me. I do indeed desire to suffer, but I know not if I be worthy to do so. For the envy of the wicked one is not visible to many, but it wars against me. I therefore have need of meekness, by which the devil, the prince of this world, is brought to nought.

5 I will not teach you profound doctrines. For might not I write to you things more full of mystery? But I fear to do so, lest I should inflict injury on you who are but babes in Christ. Pardon me in this respect, lest, as not being able to receive their weighty import, ye should be strangled by them. For even I, though I am bound for Christ, and am able to understand heavenly things, the angelic orders, and the different sorts of angels and hosts, the distinctions between powers and dominions, and the diversities between thrones and authorities, the mightiness of the Æons, and the pre-eminence of the cherubim and seraphim, the sublimity of the spirit, the kingdom of the Lord, and above all, the incomparable majesty of Almighty God—though I am acquainted with these things, yet am I not therefore by any means perfect; nor am I such a disciple as Paul or Peter. For many things are yet wanting to me, that I may not fall short of God.

6 Abstain from the poison of heretics. I therefore, yet not I, but the love of Jesus Christ, "entreat you that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgement." For there are some vain talkers and deceivers, not Christians, but Christ-betrayers, bearing about the name of Christ in deceit, and "corrupting the word" of the gospel; while they intermix the poison of their deceit with their persuasive talk, as if they mingled aconite with sweet wine, that so he who drinks, being deceived in his taste by the very great sweetness of the draught, may incautiously meet with his death. One of the ancients gives us this advice, "Let no man be called good who mixes good with evil." For they speak of Christ, not that they may preach Christ, but that they may reject Christ; and they speak of the law, not that they may establish the law, but that they may proclaim things contrary to it. For they alienate Christ from the Father, and the law from Christ. They also calumniate His being born of the Virgin; they are ashamed of His cross; they deny His passion; and they do not believe His resurrection. They introduce God as a Being unknown; they suppose Christ to be unbegotten; and as to the Spirit, they do not admit that He exists. Some of them say that the Son is a mere man, and that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are but the same person, and that the creation is the work of God, not by Christ, but by some other strange power.

7 The same continued. Be on your guard, therefore, against such persons, that ye admit not of a snare for your own souls. And act so that your life shall be without offence to all men, lest ye become as "a snare upon a watchtower, and as a net which is spread out." For "he that does not heal himself in his own works, is the brother of him that destroys himself." If, therefore, ye also put away conceit, arrogance, disdain, and haughtiness, it will be your privilege to be inseparably united to God, for "He is nigh unto those that fear Him." And says He, "Upon whom will I look, but upon him that is humble and quiet, and that trembles at my words?" And do ye also reverence your bishop as Christ Himself, according as the blessed apostles have enjoined you. He that is within the altar is pure, wherefore also he is obedient to the bishop and presbyters; but he that is without is one that does anything apart from the bishop, the presbyters, and the deacons. Such a person is defiled in his conscience, and is worse than an infidel. For what is the bishop but one who beyond all others possesses all power and authority, so far as it is possible for a man to possess it, who according to his ability has been made an imitator of the Christ of God? And what is the presbytery but a sacred assembly, the counsellors and assessors of the bishop? And what are the deacons but imitators of the angelic powers, fulfilling a pure and blameless ministry unto him, as the holy Stephen did to the blessed James, Timothy and Linus to Paul, Anencletus and Clement to Peter? He, therefore, that will not yield obedience to such, must needs be one utterly without God, an impious man who despises Christ, and depreciates His appointments.

8 Be on your guard against the snares of the devil. Now I write these things unto you, not that I know there are any such persons among you; nay, indeed I hope that God will never permit any such report to reach my ears, He "who spared not His Son for the sake of His holy church." But foreseeing the snares of the wicked one, I arm you beforehand by my admonitions, as my beloved and faithful children in Christ, furnishing you with the means of protection against the deadly disease of unruly men, by which do ye flee from the disease referred to by the good-will of Christ our Lord. Do ye therefore, clothing yourselves with meekness, become the imitators of His sufferings, and of His love, wherewith He loved us when He gave Himself a ransom for us, that He might cleanse us by His blood from our old ungodliness, and bestow life on us when we were almost on the point of perishing through the depravity that was in us. Let no one of you, therefore, cherish any grudge against his neighbour. For says our Lord, "Forgive, and it shall be forgiven unto you." Give no occasion to the Gentiles, lest "by means of a few foolish men the word and doctrine of Christ be blasphemed." For says the prophet, as in the person of God, "Woe to him by whom my name is blasphemed among the Gentiles."

9 Reference to the history of Christ. Stop your ears, therefore, when any one speaks to you at variance with Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who was descended from David, and was also of Mary; who was truly begotten of God and of the Virgin, but not after the same manner. For indeed God and man are not the same. He truly assumed a body; for "the Word was made flesh," and lived upon earth without sin. For says He, "Which of you convicteth me of sin?" He did in reality both eat and drink. He was crucified and died under Pontius Pilate. He really, and not merely in appearance, was crucified, and died, in the sight of beings in heaven, and on earth, and under the earth. By those in heaven I mean such as are possessed of incorporeal natures; by those on earth, the Jews and Romans, and such persons as were present at that time when the Lord was crucified; and by those under the earth, the multitude that arose along with the Lord. For says the Scripture, "Many bodies of the saints that slept arose," their graves being opened. He descended, indeed, into Hades alone, but He arose accompanied by a multitude; and rent asunder that means of separation which had existed from the beginning of the world, and cast down its partition-wall. He also rose again in three days, the Father raising Him up; and after spending forty days with the apostles, He was received up to the Father, and "sat down at His right hand, expecting till His enemies are placed under His feet." On the day of the preparation, then, at the third hour, He received the sentence from Pilate, the Father permitting that to happen; at the sixth hour He was crucified; at the ninth hour He gave up the ghost; and before sunset He was buried. During the Sabbath He continued under the earth in the tomb in which Joseph of Arimathæa had laid Him. At the dawning of the Lord's day He arose from the dead, according to what was spoken by Himself, "As Jonah was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of man also be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth." The day of the preparation, then, comprises the passion; the Sabbath embraces the burial; the Lord's day contains the resurrection.

10 The reality of Christ's passion. But if, as some that are without God, that is, the unbelieving, say, He became man in appearance only, that He did not in reality take unto Him a body, that He died in appearance merely, and did not in very deed suffer, then for what reason am I now in bonds, and long to be exposed to the wild beasts? In such a case, I die in vain, and am guilty of falsehood against the cross of the Lord. Then also does the prophet in vain declare, "They shall look on Him whom they have pierced, and mourn over themselves as over one beloved." These men, therefore, are not less unbelievers than were those that crucified Him. But as for me, I do not place my hopes in one who died for me in appearance, but in reality. For that which is false is quite abhorrent to the truth. Mary then did truly conceive a body which had God inhabiting it. And God the Word was truly born of the Virgin, having clothed Himself with a body of like passions with our own. He who forms all men in the womb, was Himself really in the womb, and made for Himself a body of the seed of the Virgin, but without any intercourse of man. He was carried in the womb, even as we are, for the usual period of time; and was really born, as we also are; and was in reality nourished with milk, and partook of common meat and drink, even as we do. And when He had lived among men for thirty years, He was baptised by John, really and not in appearance; and when He had preached the gospel three years, and done signs and wonders, He who was Himself the Judge was judged by the Jews, falsely so called, and by Pilate the governor; was scourged, was smitten on the cheek, was spit upon; He wore a crown of thorns and a purple robe; He was condemned: He was crucified in reality, and not in appearance, not in imagination, not in deceit. He really died, and was buried, and rose from the dead, even as He prayed in a certain place, saying, "But do Thou, O Lord, raise me up again, and I shall recompense them." And the Father, who always hears Him, answered and said, "Arise, O God, and judge the earth; for Thou shalt receive all the heathen for Thine inheritance." The Father, therefore, who raised Him np, will also raise us up through Him, apart from whom no one will attain to true life. For says He, "I am the life; he that believeth in me, even though he die, shall live: and every one that liveth and believeth in me, even though he die, shall live for ever." Do ye therefore flee from these ungodly heresies; for they are the inventions of the devil, that serpent who was the author of evil, and who by means of the woman deceived Adam, the father of our race.

11 Avoid the deadly errors of the Docetæ. Do ye also avoid those wicked offshoots of his, Simon his first-born son, and Menander, and Basilides, and all his wicked mob of followers, the worshippers of a man, whom also the prophet Jeremiah pronounces accursed. Flee also the impure Nicolaitanes, falsely so called, who are lovers of pleasure, and given to calumnious speeches. Avoid also the children of the evil one, Theodotus and Cleobulus, who produce death-bearing fruit, whereof if any one tastes, he instantly dies, and that not a mere temporary death, but one that shall endure for ever. These men are not the planting of the Father, but are an accursed brood. And says the Lord, "Let every plant which my heavenly Father has not planted be rooted up." For if they had been branches of the Father, they would not have been "enemies of the cross of Christ," but rather of those who "killed the Lord of glory." But now, by denying the cross, and being ashamed of the passion, they cover the transgression of the Jews, those fighters against God, those murderers of the Lord; for it were too little to style them merely murderers of the prophets. But Christ invites you to share in His immortality, by His passion and resurrection, inasmuch as ye are His members.

12 Continue in unity and love. I salute you from Smyrna, together with the churches of God which are with me, whose rulers have refreshed me in every respect, both in the flesh and in the spirit. My bonds, which I carry about with me for the sake of Jesus Christ (praying that I may attain to God), exhort you. Continue in harmony among yourselves, and in supplication; for it becomes every one of you, and especially the presbyters, to refresh the bishop, to the honour of the Father, and to the honour of Jesus Christ and of the apostles. I entreat you in love to hear me, that I may not, by having thus written, be a testimony against you. And do ye also pray for me, who have need of your love, along with the mercy of God, that I may be thought worthy to attain the lot for which I am now designed, and that I may not be found reprobate.

13 Conclusion. The love of the Smyrnæans and Ephesians salutes you. Remember our church which is in Syria; from which I am not worthy to receive my appellation, being the last of those of that place. Fare ye well in the Lord Jesus Christ, while ye continue subject to the bishop, and in like manner to the presbyters and to the deacons. And do ye, every man, love one another with an undivided heart. My spirit salutes you, not only now, but also when I shall have attained to God; for I am as yet exposed to danger. But the Father of Jesus Christ is faithful to fulfil both mine and your petitions: in whom may we be found without spot. May I have joy of you in the Lord.

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE ROMANS

From: Apostolic Fathers (long version)
Author: Ignatius Theophorus
Translation; Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867
Estimated Range of Dating: 120-140 A.D.

(The Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans (often abbreviated Ign. Rom.) is an epistle attributed to Ignatius of Antioch, a second-century bishop of Antioch. It was written during his transport from Antioch to his execution in Rome, probably between 120 and 140 AD. The letter talks about Following his arrest in Syria, Ignatius traveled through many cities on his way to Rome for execution. To the Romans was written prior to his arrival in Rome, while he was in Smyrna. Our evidence for the Ignatius' journey to Rome primarily comes from the fourth-century church historian Eusebius of Caesarea Maritima, Constantine's right-hand man. While the other Ignatian epistles are addressed to communities with whom Ignatius had already had contact (either in person or via representatives), To the Romans addresses Roman Christians prior to his arrival in Rome. The epistle may have been intended to allow Roman Christians to prepare for Ignatius' arrival, especially because it includes the specific day and month it was written. To the Romans is one of seven epistles attributed to Ignatius that are generally accepted as authentic. In 5th century, this collection was enlarged by spurious letters.)

Prologue: Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the church which has obtained mercy, through the majesty of the Most High God the Father, and of Jesus Christ, His only-begotten Son; the church which is sanctified and enlightened by the will of God, who formed all things that are according to the faith and love of Jesus Christ, our God and Saviour; the church which presides in the place of the region of the Romans, and which is worthy of God, worthy of honour, worthy of the highest happiness, worthy of praise, worthy of credit, worthy of being deemed holy, and which presides over love, is named

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from Christ, and from the Father, and is possessed of the Spirit, which I also salute in the name of Almighty God, and of Jesus Christ His Son: to those who are united, both according to the flesh and spirit, to every one of His commandments, who are filled inseparably with all the grace of God, and are purified from every strange taint, I wish abundance of happiness unblameably, in God, even the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ.

1 As a prisoner, I hope to see you. Through prayer to God I have obtained the privilege of seeing your most worthy faces, even as I earnestly begged might be granted me; for as a prisoner in Christ Jesus I hope to salute you, if indeed it be the will of God that I be thought worthy of attaining unto the end. For the beginning has been well ordered, if I may obtain grace to cling to my lot without hindrance unto the end. For I am afraid of your love, lest it should do me an injury. For it is easy for you to accomplish what you please; but it is difficult for me to attain to God, if ye do not spare me, under the pretence of carnal affection.

2 Do not save me from martyrdom. For it is not my desire that ye should please men, but God, even as also ye do please Him. For neither shall I ever hereafter have such an opportunity of attaining to God; nor will ye, if ye shall now be silent, ever be entitled to the honour of a better work. For if ye are silent concerning me, I shall become God's; but if ye show your love to my flesh, I shall again have to run my race. Pray, then, do not seek to confer any greater favour upon me than that I be sacrificed to God, while the altar is still prepared; that, being gathered together in love, ye may sing praise to the Father, through Christ Jesus, that God has deemed me, the bishop of Syria, worthy to be sent for from the east unto the west, and to become a martyr in behalf of His own precious sufferings, so as to pass from the world to God, that I may rise again unto Him.

3 Pray rather that I may attain to martyrdom. Ye have never envied any one; ye have taught others. Now I desire that those things may be confirmed by your conduct, which in your instructions ye enjoin on others. Only request in my behalf both inward and outward strength, that I may not only speak, but truly will, so that I may not merely be called a Christian, but really found to be one. For if I be truly found a Christian, I may also be called one, and be then deemed faithful, when I shall no longer appear to the world. Nothing visible is eternal. "For the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal." The Christian is not the result of persuasion, but of power. When he is hated by the world, he is beloved of God. For says the Scripture, "If ye were of this world, the world would love its own; but now ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of it: continue in fellowship with me."

4 Allow me to fall a prey to the wild beasts. I write to all the churches, and impress on them all, that I shall willingly die for God, unless ye hinder me. I beseech of you not to show an unseasonable good-will towards me. Suffer me to become food for the wild beasts, through whose instrumentality it will be granted me to attain to God. I am the wheat of God, and am ground by the teeth of the wild beasts, that I may be found the pure bread of God. Rather entice the wild beasts, that they may become my tomb, and may leave nothing of my body; so that when I have fallen asleep in death, I may not be found troublesome to any one. Then shall I be a true disciple of Jesus Christ, when the world shall not see so much as my body. Entreat the Lord for me, that by these instruments I may be found a sacrifice to God. I do not, as Peter and Paul, issue commandments unto you. They were apostles of Jesus Christ, but I am the very least of believers: they were free, as the servants of God; while I am, even until now, a servant. But when I suffer, I shall be the freed-man of Jesus Christ, and shall rise again emancipated in Him. And now, being in bonds for Him, I learn not to desire anything worldly or vain.

5 I desire to die. From Syria even unto Rome I fight with beasts, both by land and sea, both by night and day, being bound to ten leopards, I mean a band of soldiers, who, even when they receive benefits, show themselves all the worse. But I am the more instructed by their injuries to act as a disciple of Christ; "yet am I not thereby justified." May I enjoy the wild beasts that are prepared for me; and I pray that they may be found eager to rush upon me, which also I will entice to devour me speedily, and not deal with me as with some, whom, out of fear, they have not touched. But if they be unwilling to assail me, I will compel them to do so. Pardon me in this: I know what is for my benefit. Now I begin to be a disciple, and have no desire after anything visible or invisible, that I may attain to Jesus Christ. Let fire and the cross; let the crowds of wild beasts; let breakings, tearings, and separations of bones; let cutting off of members; let bruising to pieces of the whole body; and let the very torment of the devil come upon me: only let me attain to Jesus Christ.

6 By death I shall attain true life. All the ends of the world, and all the kingdoms of this earth, shall profit me nothing. It is better for me to die for the sake of Jesus Christ, than to reign over all the ends of the earth. "For what is a man profited, if he gain the whole world, but lose his own soul?" I long after the Lord, the Son of the true God and Father, even Jesus Christ. Him I seek, who died for us and rose again. Pardon me, brethren: do not hinder me in attaining to life; for Jesus is the life of believers. Do not wish to keep me in a state of death, for life without Christ is death. While I desire to belong to God, do not ye give me over to the world. Suffer me to obtain pure light: when I have gone thither, I shall indeed be a man of God. Permit me to be an imitator of the passion of Christ, my God. If any one has Him within himself, let him consider what I desire, and let him have sympathy with me, as knowing how I am straitened.

7 Reason of desiring to die. The prince of this world would fain carry me away, and corrupt my disposition towards God. Let none of you, therefore, who are in Rome help him; rather be ye on my side, that is, on the side of God. Do not speak of Jesus Christ, and yet prefer this world to Him. Let not envy find a dwelling-place among you; nor even should I, when present with you, exhort you to it, be ye persuaded, but rather give credit to those things which I now write to you. For though I am alive while I write to you, yet I am eager to die for the sake of Christ. My love has been crucified, and there is no fire in me that loves anything; but there is living water springing up in me, and which says to me inwardly, Come to the Father. I have no delight in corruptible food, nor in the pleasures of this life. I desire the bread of God, the heavenly bread, the bread of life, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who became afterwards of the seed of David and Abraham; and I desire the drink, namely His blood, which is incorruptible love and eternal life.

8 Be ye favourable to me. I no longer wish to live after the manner of men, and my desire shall be fulfilled if ye consent. "I am crucified with Christ: nevertheless I live; yet no longer I, since Christ liveth in me." I entreat you in this brief letter: do not refuse me; believe me that I love Jesus, who was delivered to death for my sake. "What shall I render to the Lord for all His benefits towards me?" Now God, even the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ, shall reveal these things to you, so that ye shall know that I speak truly. And do ye pray along with me, that I may attain my aim in the Holy Spirit. I have not written to you according to the flesh, but according to the will of God. If I shall suffer, ye have loved me; but if I am rejected, ye have hated me.

9 Pray for the church in Syria. Remember in your prayers the church which is in Syria, which, instead of me, has now for its shepherd the Lord, who says, "I am the good Shepherd." And He alone will oversee it, as well as your love towards Him. But as for me, I am ashamed to be counted one of them; for I am not worthy, as being the very last of them, and one born out of due time. But I have obtained mercy to be somebody, if I shall attain to God. My spirit salutes you, and the love of the churches which have received me in the name of Jesus Christ, and not as a mere passer-by. For even those churches which were not near to me in the way, have brought me forward, city by city.

10 Conclusion. Now I write these things to you from Smyrna by the Ephesians, who are deservedly most happy. There is also with me, along with many others. Crocus, one dearly beloved by me. As to those who have gone before me from Syria to Rome for the glory of God, I believe that you are acquainted with them; to whom, then, do ye make known that I am at hand. For they are all worthy, both of God and of you; and it is becoming that you should refresh them in all things. I have written these things unto you on the day before the ninth of the Kalends of September. Fare ye well to the end, in the patience of Jesus Christ.

THE SYRIAC EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE ROMANS

Epistle to the Romans by Ignatius of Antioch (Syriac version)
From: Apostolic Fathers
Translation; Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867
Estimated Range of Dating: 200-400 A.D.

Prologue: Ignatius, who is [also called] Theophorus, to the church which has received grace through the greatness of the Father Most High; to her who presideth in the place of the region of the Romans, who is worthy of God, and worthy of life, and happiness, and praise, and remembrance, and is worthy of prosperity, and presideth in love, and is perfected in the law of Christ unblameable: [wishes] abundance of peace.

1 From of old have I prayed to God, that I might be counted worthy to behold your faces which are worthy of God: now, therefore, being bound in Jesus Christ, I hope to meet you and salute you, if it be the will [of God] that I should be accounted worthy to the end. For the beginning is well arranged, if I be counted worthy to attain to the end, that I may receive my portion, without hindrance, through suffering. For I am in fear of your love, lest it should injure me. As to you, indeed, it is easy for you to do whatsoever ye wish; but as to me, it is difficult for me to be accounted worthy of God, if indeed ye spare me not.

2 For there is no other time such as this, that I should be accounted worthy of God; neither will ye, if ye be silent, [ever] be found in a better work than this. If ye let me alone, I shall be the word of God; but if ye love my flesh, again am I [only] to myself a voice. Ye cannot give me anything more precious than this, that I should be sacrificed to God, while the altar is ready; that ye may be in one concord in love, and may praise God the Father through Jesus Christ our Lord, because He has deemed a bishop worthy to be God's, having called him from the east to the west. It is good that I should set from the world in God, that I may rise in Him to life.

3 Ye have never envied any man. Ye have taught others. Only pray ye for strength to be given to me from within and from without, that I may not only speak, but also may be willing, and that I may not merely be called a Christian, but also may be found to be [one]; for if I am found to be [so], I may then also be called [so]. Then [indeed] shall I be faithful, when I am no longer seen in the world. For there is nothing visible that is good. The work is not [a matter] of persuasion; but Christianity is great when the world hateth it.

4 I write to all the churches, and declare to all men, that I willingly die for the sake of God, if so be that ye hinder me not. I entreat of you not to be [affected] towards me with a love which is unseasonable. Leave me to become [the prey of] the beasts, that by their means I may be accounted worthy of God. I am the wheat of God, and by the teeth of the beasts I shall be ground, that I may be found the pure bread of God. Provoke ye greatly the wild beasts, that they may be for me a grave, and may leave nothing of my body, in order that, when I have fallen asleep, I may not be a burden upon any one. Then shall I be in truth a disciple of Jesus Christ, when the world seeth not even my body. Entreat of our Lord in my behalf, that through these instruments I may be found a sacrifice to God. I do not, like Peter and Paul, issue orders unto you. They are apostles, but I am one condemned; they indeed are free, but I am a slave, even until now. But if I suffer, I shall be the freed-man of Jesus Christ, and I shall rise in Him from the dead, free. And now being in bonds, I learn to desire nothing.

5 From Syria, and even unto Rome, I am cast among wild beasts, by sea and by land, by night and by day, being bound between ten leopards, which are the band of soldiers, who, even when I do good to them, all the more do evil unto me. I, however, am the rather instructed by their injurious treatment; but not on this account am I justified to myself. I rejoice in the beasts which are prepared for me, and I pray that they may in haste be found for me; and I will provoke them speedily to devour me, and not be as those which are afraid of some other men, and will not approach them: even should they not be willing to approach me, I will go with violence against them. Know me from myself what is expedient for me. Let no one envy me of those things which are seen and which are not seen, that I should be accounted worthy of Jesus Christ. Fire, and the cross, and the beasts that are prepared, cutting off of the limbs, and scattering of the bones, and crushing of the whole body, harsh torments of the devil—let these come upon me, but only let me be accounted worthy of Jesus Christ.

6 The pains of the birth stand over against me.

7 And my love is crucified, and there is no fire in me for another love. I do not desire the food of corruption, neither the lusts of this world. I seek the bread of God, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ; and I seek His blood, a drink which is love incorruptible.

[. . .]

9 My spirit saluteth you, and the love of the churches which received me as the name of Jesus Christ; for those also who were near to [my] way in the flesh, preceded me in every city.

[Now therefore, being about to arrive shortly in Rome, I know many things in God; but I keep myself within measure, that I may not perish through boasting: for now it is needful for me to fear the more, and not pay regard to those who puff me up. For they who say such things to me scourge me; for I desire to suffer, but I do not know if I am worthy. For zeal is not visible to many, but with me it has war. I have need, therefore, of meekness, by which the prince of this world is destroyed. I am able to write to you of heavenly things, but I fear lest I should do you an injury. Know me from myself. For I am cautious lest ye should not be able to receive [such knowledge], and should be perplexed. For even I, not because I am in bonds, and am able to know heavenly things, and the places of angels, and the stations of the powers that are seen and that are not seen, am on this account a disciple; for I am far short of the perfection which is worthy of God.] Be ye perfectly strong in the patience of Jesus Christ our God.

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE PHILADELPHIANS.

From: Apostolic Fathers (long version)
Author: Ignatius Theophorus
Translation; Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867
Estimated Range of Dating: 120-140 A.D.

(The Epistle of Ignatius to the Philadelphians (often abbreviated Ign. Phil.) is an epistle attributed to Ignatius of Antioch, a second-century bishop of Antioch, and addressed to the church in Philadelphia of Asia Minor. It was written during Ignatius' transport from Antioch to his execution in

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Rome, probably between 120 and 140 AD. In the letter Ignatius warns the Philadelphians not to start any schisms within their church, but to stay unified and obey their bishops and presbyters. He warns the Philadelphians not to listen to Jewish Christians [of James the Just, the brother of Jesus; at this time those Christians were known as Ebionites meaning "the humble or poor ones".] who were advocating that Christians ought to observe the laws of the Torah. Ignatius also mentions that his home church in Antioch has recently found "peace" (cf. Ign. Poly. 7), resolving its earlier schisms [meaning getting rid of the Ebionites], and that the Philadelphians should follow its example by electing deacons to lead their church. To the Philadelphians is one of seven epistles attributed to Ignatius that are generally accepted as authentic. In 5th century, this collection was enlarged by spurious letters.)

Prologue: Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the church of God the Father, and of the Lord Jesus Christ, which is at Philadelphia, which has obtained mercy through love, and is established in the harmony of God, and rejoiceth unceasinglyin the passion of our Lord Jesus, and is filled with all mercy through His resurrection; which I salute in the blood of Jesus Christ, who is our eternal and enduring joy, especially to those who are in unity with the bishop, and the presbyters, and the deacons, who have been appointed by the will of God the Father, through the Lord Jesus Christ, who, according to His own will, has firmly established His church upon a rock, by a spiritual building, not made with hands, against which the winds and the floods have beaten, yet have not been able to overthrow it: yea, and may spiritual wickedness never be able to do so, but be thoroughly weakened by the power of Jesus Christ our Lord.

1 Praise of the bishop. Having beheld your bishop, I know that he was not selected to undertake the ministry which pertains to the common weal, either by himself or by men, or out of vainglory, but by the love of Jesus Christ, and of God the Father, who raised Him from the dead; at whose meekness I am struck with admiration, and who by His silence is able to accomplish more than they who talk a great deal. For he is in harmony with the commandments and ordinances of the Lord, even as the strings are with the harp, and is no less blameless than was Zacharias the priest. Wherefore my soul declares his mind towards God a happy one, knowing it to be virtuous and perfect, and that his stability as well as freedom from all anger is after the example of the infinite meekness of the living God.

2 Maintain union with the bishop. Wherefore, as children of light and truth, avoid the dividing of your unity, and the wicked doctrine of the heretics, from whom "a defiling influence has gone forth into all the earth." But where the shepherd is, there do ye as sheep follow. For there are many wolves in sheep's clothing, who, by means of a pernicious pleasure, carry captive those that are running towards God; but in your unity they shall have no place.

3 Avoid schismatics. Keep yourselves, then, from those evil plants which Jesus Christ does not tend, but that wild beast, the destroyer of men, because they are not the planting of the Father, but the seed of the wicked one. Not that I have found any division among you do I write these things; but I arm you beforehand, as the children of God. For as many as are of Christ are also with the bishop; but as many as fall away from him, and embrace communion with the accursed, these shall be cut off along with them. For they are not Christ's husbandry, but the seed of the enemy, from whom may you ever be delivered by the prayers of the shepherd, that most faithful and gentle shepherd who presides over you. I therefore exhort you in the Lord to receive with all tenderness those that repent and return to the unity of the church, that through your kindness and forbearance they may recover themselves out of the snare of the devil, and becoming worthy of Jesus Christ, may obtain eternal salvation in the kingdom of Christ. Brethren, be not deceived. If any man follows him that separates from the truth, he shall not inherit the kingdom of God; and if any man does not stand aloof from the preacher of falsehood, he shall be condemned to hell. For it is obligatory neither to separate from the godly, nor to associate with the ungodly. If any one walks according to a strange opinion, he is not of Christ, nor a partaker of His passion; but is a fox, a destroyer of the vineyard of Christ. Have no fellowship with such a man, lest ye perish along with him, even should he be thy father, thy son, thy brother, or a member of thy family. For says the Scripture, "Thine eye shall not spare him." You ought therefore to "hate those that hate God, and to waste away with grief on account of His enemies." I do not mean that you should beat them or persecute them, as do the Gentiles "that know not the Lord and God;" but that you should regard them as your enemies, and separate yourselves from them, while yet you admonish them, and exhort them to repentance, if it may be they will hear, if it may be they will submit themselves. For our God is a lover of mankind, and "will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth." Wherefore "He makes His sun to rise upon the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust;" of whose kindness the Lord, wishing us also to be imitators, says, "Be ye perfect, even as also your Father that is in heaven is perfect." 4 Have but one Eucharist, etc. I have confidence of you in the Lord, that ye will be of no other mind. Wherefore I write boldly to your love, which is worthy of God, and exhort you to have but one faith, and one kind of preaching, and one Eucharist. For there is one flesh of the Lord Jesus Christ; and His blood which was shed for us is one; one loaf also is broken to all the communicants, and one cup is distributed among them all: there is but one altar for the whole church, and one bishop, with the presbytery and deacons, my fellow-servants. Since, also, there is but one unbegotten Being, God, even the Father; and one only-begotten Son, God, the Word and man; and one Comforter, the Spirit of truth; and also one preaching, and one faith, and one baptism; and one church which the holy apostles established from one end of the earth to the other by the blood of Christ, and by their own sweat and toil; it behoves you also, therefore, as "a peculiar people, and a holy nation," to perform all things with harmony in Christ. Wives, be ye subject to your husbands in the fear of God; and ye virgins, to Christ in purity, not counting marriage an abomination, but desiring that which is better, not for the reproach of wedlock, but for the sake of meditating on the law. Children, obey your parents, and have an affection for them, as workers together with God for your birth into the world. Servants, be subject to your masters in God, that ye may be the freedmen of Christ. Husbands, love your wives, as fellow-servants of God, as your own body, as the partners of your life, and your co-adjutors in the procreation of children. Virgins, have Christ alone before your eyes, and His Father in your prayers, being enlightened by the Spirit. May I have pleasure in your purity, as that of Elijah, or as of Joshua the son of Nun, as of Melchisedek, or as of Elisha, as of Jeremiah, or as of John the Baptist, as of the beloved disciple, as of Timothy, as of Titus, as of Evodius, as of Clement, who departed this life in perfect chastity. Not, however, that I blame the other blessed saints because they entered into the married state, of which I have just spoken. For I pray that, being found worthy of God, I may be found at their feet in the kingdom, as at the feet of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob; as of Joseph, and Isaiah, and the rest of the prophets; as of Peter, and Paul, and the rest of the apostles, that were married men. For they entered into these marriages not for the sake of appetite, but out of regard for the propagation of mankind. Fathers, "bring up your children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord;" and teach them the holy Scriptures, and also trades, that they may not indulge in idleness. Now the Scripture says, "A righteous father educates his children well; his heart shall rejoice in a wise son." Masters, be gentle towards your servants, as holy Job has taught you; for there is one nature, and one family of mankind. For "in Christ there is neither bond nor free." Let governors be obedient to Caesar; soldiers to those that command them; deacons to the presbyters, as to high-priests; the presbyters, and deacons, and the rest of the clergy, together with all the people, and the soldiers, and the governors, and Caesar himself, to the bishop; the bishop to Christ, even as Christ to the Father. And thus unity is preserved throughout. Let not the widows be wanderers about, nor fond of dainties, nor gadders from house to house; but let them be like Judith, noted for her seriousness; and like Anna, eminent for her sobriety. I do not ordain these things as an apostle: for "who am I, or what is my father's house," that I should pretend to be equal in honour to them? But as your "fellow-soldier," I hold the position of one who simply admonishes you.

5 Pray for me. My brethren, I am greatly enlarged in loving you; and rejoicing exceedingly over you, I seek to secure your safety. Yet it is not I, but the Lord Jesus through me; for whose sake being bound, I fear the more, for I am not yet perfect. But your prayer to God shall make me perfect, that I may attain that to which I have been called, while I flee to the gospel as to the flesh of Jesus Christ, and to the apostles as the presbytery of the church. I do also love the prophets as those who announced Christ, and as being partakers of the same Spirit with the apostles. For as the false prophets and the false apostles drew to themselves one and the same wicked, deceitful, and seducing spirit; so also did the prophets and the apostles receive from God, through Jesus Christ, one and the same Holy Spirit, who is good, and sovereign, and true, and the Author of saving knowledge. For there is one God of the Old and New Testament, "one Mediator between God and men," for the creation of both intelligent and sensitive beings, and in order to exercise a beneficial and suitable providence over them. There is also one Comforter, who displayed His power in Moses, and the prophets, and apostles. All the saints, therefore, were saved by Christ, hoping in Him, and waiting for Him; and they obtained through Him salvation, being holy ones, worthy of love and admiration, having testimony borne to them by Jesus Christ, in the gospel of our common hope.

6 Do not accept Judaism. If any one preaches the one God of the law and the prophets, but denies Christ to be the Son of God, he is a liar, even as also is his father the devil, and is a Jew falsely-so-called, being possessed of mere carnal circumcision. If any one confesses Christ Jesus the Lord, but denies the God of the law and of the prophets, saying that the Father of Christ is not the Maker of heaven and earth, he has not continued in the truth any more than his father the devil, and is a disciple of Simon Magus, not of the Holy Spirit. If any one says there is one God, and also confesses Christ Jesus, but thinks the Lord to be a mere man, and not the only-begotten God, and Wisdom, and the Word of God, and deems Him to consist merely of a soul and body, such an one is a serpent, that preaches deceit and error for the destruction of men. And such a man is poor in understanding, even as by name he is an Ebionite. If any one confesses the truths mentioned, but calls lawful wedlock, and the procreation of children, destruction and pollution, or deems certain kinds of food abominable, such an one has the apostate dragon dwelling within him. If any one confesses the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and praises the creation, but calls the incarnation merely an appearance, and is ashamed of the passion, such an one has denied the faith, not less than the Jews who killed Christ. If any one confesses these things, and that God the Word did dwell in a human body, being within it as the Word, even as the soul also is in the body, because it was God that inhabited it, and not a human soul, but affirms that unlawful unions are a good thing, and places the highest happiness in pleasure, as does the man who is falsely called a Nicolaitan, this person can neither be a lover of God, nor a lover of Christ, but is a corrupter of his own flesh, and therefore void of the Holy Spirit, and a stranger to Christ. All such persons are but monuments and sepulchres of the dead, upon which are written only the names of dead men. Flee, therefore, the wicked devices and snares of the spirit which now worketh in the children of this world, lest at any time being overcome, ye grow weak in your love. But be ye all joined together with an undivided heart and a willing mind, "being of one accord and of one judgement," being always of the same opinion about the same things, both when you are at ease and in danger, both in sorrow and in joy. I thank God, through Jesus Christ, that I have a good conscience in respect to you, and that no one has it in his power to boast, either privately or publicly, that I have burdened any one either in much or in little. And I wish for all among whom I have spoken, that they may not possess that for a testimony against them.

7 I have exhorted you to unity. For though some would have deceived me according to the flesh, yet my spirit is not deceived; for I have received it from God. For it knows both whence it comes and whither it goes, and detects the secrets of the heart. For when I was among you, I cried, I spoke with a loud voice—the word is not mine, but God's—Give heed to the bishop, and to the presbytery and deacons. But if ye suspect that I spake thus, as having learned beforehand the division caused by some among you, He is my witness, for whose sake I am in bonds, that I learned nothing of it from the mouth of any man. But the Spirit made an announcement to me, saying as follows: Do nothing without the bishop; keep your bodies as the temples of God; love unity; avoid divisions; be ye followers of Paul, and of the rest of the apostles, even as they also were of Christ.

8 The same continued. I therefore did what belonged to me, as a man devoted to unity; adding this also, that where there is diversity of judgement, and wrath, and hatred, God does not dwell. To all them that repent, God grants forgiveness, if they with one consent return to the unity of Christ, and communion with the bishop. I trust to the grace of Jesus Christ, that He will free you from every bond of wickedness. I therefore exhort you that ye do nothing out of strife, but according to the doctrine of Christ. For I have heard some saying. If I do not find the gospel in the archives, I will not believe it. To such persons I say that my archives are Jesus Christ, to disobey whom is manifest destruction. My authentic archives are His cross, and death, and resurrection, and the faith which bears on these things, by which I desire, through your prayers, to be justified. He who disbelieves the gospel disbelieves everything along with it. For the archives ought not to be preferred to the Spirit. "It is hard to kick against the pricks;" it is hard to disbelieve Christ; it is hard to reject the preaching of the apostles.

9 The Old Testament is good: the New Testament is better. The priests indeed, and the ministers of the word, are good; but the High Priest is better, to whom the holy of holies has been committed, and who alone has been entrusted with the secrets of God. The ministering powers of God are good. The Comforter is holy, and the Word is holy, the Son of the Father, by whom He made all things, and exercises a providence over them all. This is the Way which leads to the Father, the Rock, the Defence, the Key, the Shepherd, the Sacrifice, the Door of knowledge, through which have entered Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, Moses and all the company of the prophets, and these pillars of the world, the apostles, and the spouse of Christ, on whose account He poured out His own blood, as her marriage portion, that He might redeem her. All these things tend towards the unity of the one and only true God. But the gospel possesses something

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transcendent above the former dispensation, viz. the appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ, His passion, and the resurrection itself. For those things which the prophets announced, saying, "Until He come for whom it is reserved, and He shall be the expectation of the Gentiles," have been fulfilled in the gospel, our Lord saying, "Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." All then are good together, the law, the prophets, the apostles, the whole company of others that have believed through them: only if we love one another.

10 Congratulate the inhabitants of Antioch on the close of the persecution. Since, according to your prayers, and the compassion which ye feel in Christ Jesus, it is reported to me that the church which is at Antioch in Syria possesses peace, it will become you, as a church of God, to elect a bishop to act as the ambassador of God for you to the brethren there, that it may be granted them to meet together, and to glorify the name of God. Blessed is he in Christ Jesus, who shall be deemed worthy of such a ministry; and if ye be zealous in this matter, ye shall receive glory in Christ. And if ye are willing, it is not altogether beyond your power to do this, for the sake of God; as also the nearest churches have sent, in some cases bishops, and in others presbyters and deacons.

11 Thanks and salutation. Now, as to Philo the deacon, a man of Cilicia, of high reputation, who still ministers to me in the word of God, along with Gaius and Agathopus, an elect man, who has followed me from Syria, not regarding his life,—these also bear testimony in your behalf. And I myself give thanks to God for you, because ye have received them: and the Lord will also receive you. But may those that dishonoured them be forgiven through the grace of Jesus Christ, "who wisheth not the death of the sinner, but his repentance." The love of the brethren at Troas salutes you; whence also I write to you by Burrhus, who was sent along with me by the Ephesians and Smyrnæans, to show their respect: whom the Lord Jesus Christ will requite, in whom they hope, in flesh, and soul, and spirit, and faith, and love, and concord. Fare ye well in the Lord Jesus Christ, our common hope, in the Holy Ghost.

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE SMYRNAEANS

From: Apostolic Fathers (long version)
Translation; Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867
Estimated Range of Dating: 120-140 A.D.

(The Epistle of Ignatius to the Smyrnaeans [often simply called Smyrnaeans] is an epistle attributed to Ignatius of Antioch, a second-century bishop of Antioch, addressed to the Early Pauline Christians in Smyrna [today: Izmir, western Turkey]. It was probably written between 120 and 140 AD. The letter talks about the resurrection of Jesus: (2:1a) "Now, he suffered all these things for our sake, that we might be saved. And he truly suffered, even as he truly raised himself up; not as certain unbelievers say, that he suffered in semblance, they themselves only existing in semblance." The term translated "semblance" is the Greek work "dokein", "to seem" from which the heresy of docetism got its name. The primary purpose of the letter to the Smyrnaeans is to counter those who make the claims of docetism, such as the Marcionites. In the history of Christianity, docetism (from the Greek dokesis "apparition, phantom") is the heterodox doctrine that the phenomenon of Jesus, his historical and bodily existence, and above all the human form of Jesus, was mere semblance without any true reality. Broadly it is taken as the belief that Jesus only seemed to be human, and that his human form was an illusion. Ignatius wrote the first seven sections trying to proof the real incarnation of Jesus. The letter is also the earliest recorded evidence of the use of the term "catholic Church". To the Smyrnaeans is one of seven epistles attributed to Ignatius that are generally accepted as authentic. In 5th century, this collection was enlarged by spurious letters.)

Prologue: Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the church of God the most high Father, and His beloved Son Jesus Christ, which has through mercy obtained every kind of gift, which is filled with faith and love, and is deficient in no gift, most worthy of God, and adorned with holiness: the church which is at Smyrna, in Asia, wishes abundance of happiness, through the immaculate Spirit and word of God.

1 Thanks to God for your faith. I glorify the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who by Him has given you such wisdom. For I have observed that ye are perfected in an immoveable faith, as if ye were nailed to the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, both in the flesh and in the spirit, and are established in love through the blood of Christ, being fully persuaded, in very truth, with respect to our Lord Jesus Christ, that He was the Son of God, "the firstborn of every creature," God the Word, the only-begotten Son, and was of the seed of David according to the flesh, by the Virgin Mary; was baptised by John, that all righteousness might be fulfilled by Him; that He lived a life of holiness without sin, and was truly, under Pontius Pilate and Herod the tetrarch, nailed to the cross for us in His flesh. From whom we also derive our being, from His divinely-blessed passion, that He might set up a standard for the ages, through His resurrection, to all His holy and faithful followers, whether among Jews or Gentiles, in the one body of His church.

2 Christ's true passion. Now, He suffered all these things for us; and He suffered them really, and not in appearance only, even as also He truly rose again. But not, as some of the unbelievers, who are ashamed of the formation of man, and the cross, and death itself, affirm, that in appearance only, and not in truth, He took a body of the Virgin, and suffered only in appearance, forgetting, as they do, Him who said, "The Word was made flesh;" and again, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up;" and once more, "If I be lifted up from the earth, I will draw all men unto me." The Word therefore did dwell in flesh, for "Wisdom built herself an house." The Word raised up again His own temple on the third day, when it had been destroyed by the Jews fighting against Christ. The Word, when His flesh was lifted up, after the manner of the brazen serpent in the wilderness, drew all men to himself for their eternal salvation. 3 Christ was possessed of a body after His resurrection. And I know that He was possessed of a body not only in His being born and crucified, but I also know that He was so after His resurrection, and believe that He is so now. When, for instance, He came to those who were with Peter, He said to them, "Lay hold, handle me, and see that I am not an incorporeal spirit." "For a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have." And He says to Thomas, "Reach hither thy finger into the print of the nails, and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side;" and immediately they believed that He was Christ. Wherefore Thomas also says to Him, "My Lord, and my God." And on this account also did they despise death, for it were too little to say, indignities and stripes. Nor was this all; but also after He had shown himself to them, that He had risen indeed, and not in appearance only, He both ate and drank with them during forty entire days. And thus was He, with the flesh, received up in their sight unto Him that sent Him, being with that same flesh to come again, accompanied by glory and power. For, say the holy oracles, "This same Jesus, who is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come, in like manner as ye have seen Him go unto heaven." But if they say that He will come at the end of the world without a body, how shall those "see Him that pierced Him," and when they recognise Him, "mourn for themselves?" For incorporeal beings have neither form nor figure, nor the aspect of an animal possessed of shape, because their nature is in itself simple.

4 Beware of these heretics. I give you these instructions, beloved, assured that ye also hold the same opinions as I do. But I guard you beforehand from these beasts in the shape of men, from whom you must not only turn away, but even flee from them. Only you must pray for them, if by any means they may be brought to repentance. For if the Lord were in the body in appearance only, and were crucified in appearance only, then am I also bound in appearance only. And why have I also surrendered myself to death, to fire, to the sword, to the wild beasts? But, in fact, I endure all things for Christ, not in appearance only, but in reality, that I may suffer together with Him, while He himself inwardly strengthens me; for of myself I have no such ability.

5 Their dangerous errors. Some have ignorantly denied Him, and advocate falsehood rather than the truth. These persons neither have the prophecies persuaded, nor the law of Moses, nor the gospel even to this day, nor the sufferings we have individually endured. For they think also the same thing regarding us. For what does it profit, if any one commends me, but blasphemes my Lord, not owning Him to be God incarnate? He that does not confess this, has in fact altogether denied Him, being enveloped in death. I have not, however, thought good to write the names of such persons, inasmuch as they are unbelievers; and far be it from me to make any mention of them, until they repent.

6 Unbelievers in the blood of Christ shall be condemned. Let no man deceive himself. Unless he believes that Christ Jesus has lived in the flesh, and shall confess His cross and passion, and the blood which He shed for the salvation of the world, he shall not obtain eternal life, whether he be a king, or a priest, or a ruler, or a private person, a master or a servant, a man or a woman. "He that is able to receive it, let him receive it." Let no man's place, or dignity, or riches, puff him up; and let no man's low condition or poverty abase him. For the chief points are faith towards God, hope towards Christ, the enjoyment of those good things for which we look, and love towards God and our neighbour. For, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbour as thyself." And the Lord says, "This is life eternal, to know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom He has sent." And again, "A new commandment give I unto you, that ye love one another. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." Do ye, therefore, notice those who preach other doctrines, how they affirm that the Father of Christ cannot be known, and how they exhibit enmity and deceit in their dealings with one another. They have no regard for love; they despise the good things we expect hereafter; they regard present things as if they were durable; they ridicule him that is in affliction; they laugh at him that is in bonds.

7 Let us stand aloof from such heretics. They are ashamed of the cross; they mock at the passion; they make a jest of the resurrection. They are the offspring of that spirit who is the author of all evil, who led Adam, by means of his wife, to transgress the commandment, who slew Abel by the hands of Cain, who fought against Job, who was the accuser of Joshua the son of Josedech, who sought to "sift the faith" of the apostles, who stirred up the multitude of the Jews against the Lord, who also now "worketh in the children of disobedience;" from whom the Lord Jesus Christ will deliver us, who prayed that the faith of the apostles might not fail, not because He was not able of Himself to preserve it, but because He rejoiced in the pre-eminence of the Father. It is fitting, therefore, that ye should keep aloof from such persons, and neither in private nor in public to talk with them; but to give heed to the law, and the prophets, and to those who have preached to you the word of salvation. But flee from all abominable heresies, and those that cause schisms, as the beginning of evils.

8 Let nothing be done without the bishop. See that ye all follow the bishop, even as Christ Jesus does the Father, and the presbytery as ye would the apostles. Do ye also reverence the deacons, as those that carry out through their office the appointment of God. Let no man do anything connected with the church without the bishop. Let that be deemed a proper Eucharist, which is administered either by the bishop, or by one to whom he has entrusted it. Wherever the bishop shall appear, there let the multitude of the people also be; even as where Christ is, there does all the heavenly host stand by, waiting upon Him as the Chief Captain of the Lord's might, and the Governor of every intelligent nature. It is not lawful without the bishop either to baptise, or to offer, or to present sacrifice, or to celebrate a love-feast. But that which seems good to him, is also well-pleasing to God, that everything ye do may be secure and valid.

9 Honour the bishop. Moreover, it is in accordance with reason that we should return to soberness of conduct, and, while yet we have opportunity, exercise repentance towards God. For "in Hades there is no one who can confess his sins." For "behold the man, and his work is before him." And the Scripture saith, "My son, honour thou God and the king." And say I, Honour thou God indeed, as the Author and Lord of all things, but the bishop as the high priest, who bears the image of God—of God, inasmuch as he is a ruler, and of Christ, in his capacity of a priest. After Him, we must also honour the king. For there is no one superior to God, or even like to Him, among all the beings that exist. Nor is there any one in the church greater than the bishop, who ministers as a priest to God for the salvation of the whole world. Nor, again, is there any one among rulers to be compared with the king, who secures peace and good order to those over whom he rules. He who honours the bishop shall be honoured by God, even as he that dishonours him shall be punished by God. For if he that rises up against kings is justly held worthy of punishment, inasmuch as he dissolves public order, of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who presumes to do anything without the bishop, thus both destroying the church's unity, and throwing its order into confusion? For the priesthood is the very highest point of all good things among men, against which whosoever is mad enough to strive, dishonours not man, but God, and Christ Jesus, the First-born, and the only High Priest, by nature, of the Father. Let all things therefore be done by you with good order in Christ. Let the laity be subject to the deacons; the deacons to the presbyters; the presbyters to the bishop; the bishop to Christ, even as He is to the Father. As ye, brethren, have refreshed me, so will Jesus Christ refresh you. Ye have loved me when absent, as well as when present. God will recompense you, for whose sake ye have shown such kindness towards His prisoner. For even if I am not worthy of it, yet your zeal to help me is an admirable thing. For "he who honours a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall receive a prophet's reward." It is manifest also, that he who honours a prisoner of Jesus Christ shall receive the reward of the martyrs.

10 Acknowledgment of their kindness. Ye have done well in receiving Philo, and Gaius, and Agathopus, who, being the servants of Christ, have followed me for the sake of God, and who greatly bless the Lord in your behalf, because ye have in every way refreshed them. None of those things which ye have done to them shall be passed by without being reckoned unto you. "The Lord grant" to you "that ye may find mercy of the Lord in that day!" May my spirit be for you, and my bonds, which ye have not despised or been ashamed of. Wherefore, neither shall Jesus Christ, our perfect hope, be ashamed of you.

11 Request to them to send a messenger to Antioch. Your prayers have reached to the church of Antioch, and it is at peace. Coming from that place bound, I salute all; I who am not worthy to be styled from thence, inasmuch as I am the least of them. Nevertheless, according to the will of God, I have been thought worthy of this honour, not that I have any

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sense of having deserved it, but by the grace of God, which I wish may be perfectly given to me, that through your prayers I may attain to God. In order, therefore, that your work may be complete both on earth and in heaven, it is fitting that, for the honour of God, your church should elect some worthy delegate; so that he, journeying into Syria, may congratulate them that they are now at peace, and are restored to their proper greatness, and that their proper constitution has been re-established among them. What appears to me proper to be done is this, that you should send some one of your number with an epistle, so that, in company with them, he may rejoice over the tranquillity which, according to the will of God, they have obtained, and because that, through your prayers, I have secured Christ as a safe harbour. As persons who are perfect, ye should also aim at those things which are perfect. For when ye are desirous to do well, God is also ready to assist you.

12 Salutations. The love of your brethren at Troas salutes you; whence also I write to you by Burgus, whom ye sent with me, together with the Ephesians, your brethren, and who has in all things refreshed me. And I would that all may imitate him, as being a pattern of a minister of God. The grace of the Lord will reward him in all things. I salute your most worthy bishop Polycarp, and your venerable presbytery, and your Christ-bearing deacons, my fellow-servants, and all of you individually, as well as generally, in the name of Christ Jesus, and in His flesh and blood, in His passion and resurrection, both corporeal and spiritual, in union with God and you. Grace, mercy, peace, and patience, be with you in Christ for evermore!

Conclusion. I salute the families of my brethren, with their wives and children, and those that are ever virgins, and the widows. Be ye strong, I pray, in the power of the Holy Ghost. Philo, my fellow-servant, who is with me, greets you. I salute the house of Tavias, and pray that it may be confirmed in faith and love, both corporeal and spiritual. I salute Alce, my well-beloved, and the incomparable Daphnus, and Eutecnus, and all by name. Fare ye well in the grace of God, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, being filled with the Holy Spirit, and divine and sacred wisdom.

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO POLYCARP

From: Apostolic Fathers (long version)
Translation; Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867
Estimated Range of Dating: 120-140 A.D.

(The Epistle of Ignatius to Polycarp (often abbreviated Ign. Poly.) is an epistle attributed to Ignatius of Antioch, a second-century bishop of Antioch, and addressed to Polycarp, the bishop of Smyrna. It was written during Ignatius' transport from Antioch to his execution in Rome, roughly between 120 and 140 AD. The letter contains various exhortations about morally correct behaviour, and warnings against false doctrines (Ign. Poly. 2-5). Polycarp seems to have responded to this request in Chapter 13 of his epistle to the Philippians, where he refers to a request of Ignatius that the Philippians send a letter to the church in Antioch. The Epistle of Ignatius to Polycarp is one of seven epistles attributed to Ignatius that are generally accepted as authentic. In 5th century, this collection was enlarged by spurious letters.)

Prologue: Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, and a witness for Jesus Christ, to Polycarp, bishop of the church of the Smyrnæans, or rather, who has, as his own bishop, God the Father, and Jesus Christ: wishes abundance of happiness.

1 Commendation and exhortation. Having obtained good proof that thy mind is fixed in God as upon an immoveable rock, I loudly glorify His name that I have been thought worthy to behold thy blameless face, which may I ever enjoy in God! I entreat thee, by the grace with which thou art clothed, to press forward in thy course, and to exhort all that they may be saved. Maintain thy position with all care, both in the flesh and spirit. Have a regard to preserve unity, than which nothing is better. Bear with all, even as the Lord does with thee. Support all in love, as also thou doest. Give thyself to prayer without ceasing. Implore additional understanding to what thou already hast. Be watchful, possessing a sleepless spirit. Speak to every man separately, as God enables thee. Bear the infirmities of all, as being a perfect athlete in the Christian life, even as does the Lord of all. For says the Scripture, "He Himself took our infirmities, and bare our sicknesses." Where the labour is great, the gain is all the more.

2 Exhortations. If thou lovest the good disciples, no thanks are due to thee on that account; but rather seek by meekness to subdue the more troublesome. Every kind of wound is not healed with the same plaster. Mitigate violent attacks of disease by gentle applications. Be in all things "wise as a serpent, and harmless always as a dove." For this purpose thou art composed of both soul and body, art both fleshly and spiritual, that thou mayest correct those evils that present themselves visibly before thee; and as respects those that are not seen, mayest pray that these should be revealed to thee, so that thou mayest be wanting in nothing, but mayest abound in every gift. The times call upon thee to pray. For as the wind aids the pilot of a ship, and as havens are advantageous for safety to a tempest-tossed vessel, so is also prayer to thee, in order that thou mayest attain to God. Be sober as an athlete of God, whose will is immortality and eternal life; of which thou art also persuaded. In all things may my soul be for thine, and my bonds also, which thou hast loved.

3 Exhortations. Let not those who seem worthy of credit, but teach strange doctrines, fill thee with apprehension. Stand firm, as does an anvil which is beaten. It is the part of a noble athlete to be wounded, and yet to conquer. And especially we ought to bear all things for the sake of God, that He also may bear with us, and bring us into His kingdom. Add more and more to thy diligence; run thy race with increasing energy; weigh carefully the times. Whilst thou art here, be a conqueror; for here is the course, and there are the crowns. Look for Christ, the Son of God; who was before time, yet appeared in time; who was invisible by nature, yet visible in the flesh; who was impalpable, and could not be touched, as being without a body, but for our sakes became such, might be touched and handled in the body; who was impassible as God, but became passible for our sakes as man; and who in every kind of way suffered for our sakes.

4 Exhortations. Let not the widows be neglected. Be thou, after the Lord, their protector and friend. Let nothing be done without thy consent; neither do thou anything without the approval of God, which indeed thou doest not. Be thou stedfast. Let your assembling together be of frequent occurrence: seek after all by name. Do not despise either male or female slaves, yet neither let them be puffed up with conceit, but rather let them submit themselves the more, for the glory of God, that they may obtain from God a better liberty. Let them not wish to be set free from slavery at the public expense, that they be not found slaves to their own desires.

5 The duties of husbands and wives. Flee evil arts; but all the more discourse in public regarding them. Speak to my sisters, that they love the Lord, and be satisfied with their husbands both in the flesh and spirit. In like manner also, exhort my brethren, in the name of Jesus Christ, that they love their wives, even as the Lord the church. If any one can continue in a state of purity, to the honour of the flesh of the Lord, let him so remain without boasting. If he shall boast, he is undone; and if he seeks to be more prominent than the bishop, he is ruined. But it becomes both men and women who marry, to form their union with the approval of the bishop, that their marriage may be according to the Lord, and not after their own lust. Let all things be done to the honour of God. 6 The duties of the Christian flock. Give ye heed to the bishop, that God also may give heed to you. My soul be for theirs that are submissive to the bishop, to the presbytery, and to the deacons: may I have my portion with them from God! Labour together with one another; strive in company together; run together; suffer together; sleep together; and awake together, as the stewards, and associates, and servants of God. Please ye Him under whom ye fight, and from whom ye shall receive your wages. Let none of you be found a deserter. Let your baptism endure as your arms; your faith as your helmet; your love as your spear; your patience as a complete panoply. Let your works be the charge assigned to you, that you may obtain for them a most worthy recompense. Be long-suffering, therefore, with one another, in meekness, and God shall be so with you. May I have joy of you for ever!

7 Request that Polycarp would send a messenger to Antioch. Seeing that the church which is at Antioch in Syria is, as report has informed me, at peace, through your prayers, I also am the more encouraged, resting without anxiety in God, if indeed by means of suffering I may attain to God, so that, through your prayers, I may be found a disciple of Christ. It is fitting, O Polycarp, most blessed in God, to assemble a very solemn council, and to elect one whom you greatly love, and know to be a man of activity, who may be designated the messenger of God; and to bestow on him the honour of going into Syria, so that, going into Syria, he may glorify your ever active love to the praise of God. A Christian has not power over himself, but must always be ready for the service of God. Now, this work is both God's and yours, when ye shall have completed it. For I trust that, through grace, ye are prepared for every good work pertaining to God. Knowing your energetic love of the truth, I have exhorted you by this brief epistle.

8 Let other churches also send to Antioch. Inasmuch, therefore, as I have not been able to write to all churches, because I must suddenly sail from Troas to Neapolis, as the will of the emperor enjoins, I beg that thou, as being acquainted with the purpose of God, wilt write to the adjacent churches, that they also may act in like manner, such as are able to do so sending messengers, and the others transmitting letters through those persons who are sent by thee, that thou mayest be glorified by a work which shall be remembered for ever, as indeed thou art worthy to be. I salute all by name, and in particular the wife of Epitropus, with all her house and children. I salute Attalus, my beloved. I salute him who shall be deemed worthy to go from you into Syria. Grace shall be with him for ever, and with Polycarp that sends him. I pray for your happiness for ever in our God, Jesus Christ, by whom continue ye in the unity and under the protection of God. I salute Alce, my dearly beloved. Amen. Grace be with you. Fare ye well in the Lord.

THE SYRIAC EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO POLYCARP

or Epistle to Polycarp by Ignatius of Antioch (Syriac version)
From: Apostolic Fathers
Translation; Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867
Estimated Range of Dating: 200-400 A.D.

Prologue: Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, or rather, who has as his own bishop God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ: wishes abundance of happiness.

1 Because thy mind is acceptable to me, inasmuch as it is established in God, as on a rock which is immoveable, I glorify God the more exceedingly that I have been counted worthy of seeing thy face, which I longed after in God. Now I beseech thee, by the grace with which thou art clothed, to add speed to thy course, and that thou ever pray for all men that they may be saved, and that thou demand things which are befitting, with all assiduity both of the flesh and spirit. Be studious of unity, than which nothing is more precious. Bear with all men, even as our Lord beareth with thee. Show patience with all men in love, as indeed thou doest. Be stedfast in prayer. Ask for more understanding than that which thou already hast. Be watchful, as possessing a spirit which sleepeth not. Speak with every man according to the will of God. Bear the infirmities of all men as a perfect athlete; for where the labour is great, the gain is also great.

2 If thou lovest the good disciples only, thou hast no grace; but rather subdue those that are evil by gentleness. All sorts of wounds are not healed by the same medicine. Mitigate the pain of cutting by tenderness. Be wise as the serpent in everything, and innocent, with respect to those things which are requisite, even as the dove. For this reason thou art composed of both flesh and spirit, that thou mayest entice those things which are visible before thy face, and mayest ask, as to those which are concealed from thee, that they too may be revealed to thee, in order that thou be deficient in nothing, and mayest abound in all gifts. The time demands, even as a pilot does a ship, and as one who stands exposed to the tempest does a haven, that thou shouldst be worthy of God. Be thou watchful as an athlete of God. That which is promised to us is life eternal, which cannot be corrupted, of which things thou art also persuaded. In everything I will be instead of thy soul, and my bonds which thou hast loved.

3 Let not those who seem to be somewhat, and teach strange doctrines, strike thee with apprehension; but stand thou in the truth, as an athlete who is smitten, for it is the part of a great athlete to be smitten, and yet conquer. More especially is it fitting that we should bear everything for the sake of God, that He also may bear us. Be still more diligent than thou yet art. Be discerning of the times. Look for Him that is above the times, Him who has no times, Him who is invisible, Him who for our sakes became visible, Him who is impalpable, Him who is impassible, Him who for our sakes suffered, Him who endured everything in every form for our sakes.

4 Let not the widows be overlooked; on account of our Lord be thou their guardian, and let nothing be done without thy will; also do thou nothing without the will of God, as indeed thou doest not. Stand rightly. Let there be frequent assemblies: ask every man to them by his name. Despise not slaves, either male or female; but neither let them be contemptuous, but let them labour the more as for the glory of God, that they may be counted worthy of a more precious freedom, which is of God. Let them not desire to be set free out of the common fund, lest they be found the slaves of lusts.

5 Flee wicked arts; but all the more discourse regarding them. Speak to my sisters, that they love in our Lord, and that their husbands be sufficient for them in the flesh and spirit. Then, again, charge my brethren in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that they love their wives, as our Lord His church. If any man is able in power to continue in purity, to the honour of the flesh of our Lord, let him continue so without boasting; if he boasts, he is undone; if he become known apart from the bishop, he has destroyed himself. It is becoming, therefore, to men and women who marry, that they marry with the counsel of the bishop, that the marriage may be in our Lord, and not in lust. Let everything, therefore, be done for the honour of God.

6 Look ye to the bishop, that God also may look upon you. I will be instead of the souls of those who are subject to the bishop, and the presbyters, and the deacons; with them may I have a portion in the presence of God! Labour together with one another, act as athletes together, run together, suffer together, sleep together, rise together. As stewards of God, and of His household, and His servants, please Him and serve Him, that ye may receive from Him the wages promised. Let none of you be rebellious. Let your baptism be to you as armour, and faith as a spear, and love as a helmet, and patience as a panoply. Let your treasures be your good works,

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that ye may receive the gift of God, as is just. Let your spirit be long-suffering towards each other with meekness, even as God is towards you. As for me, I rejoice in you at all times.

7 The Christian has not power over himself, but is ever ready to be subject to God.

8 I salute him who is reckoned worthy to go to Antioch in my stead, as I commanded thee.

THE MARTYRDOM OF IGNATIUS

From: Apostolic Fathers
Translation; Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867
Estimated Range of Dating: 80-140 A.D.

1 Desire of Ignatius for martyrdom. When Trajan, not long since, succeeded to the empire of the Romans, Ignatius, the disciple of John the apostle, a man in all respects of an apostolic character, governed the church of the Antiochians with great care, having with difficulty escaped the former storms of the many persecutions under Domitian, inasmuch as, like a good pilot, by the helm of prayer and fasting, by the earnestness of his teaching, and by his constant spiritual labour, he resisted the flood that rolled against him, fearing only lest he should lose any of those who were deficient in courage, or apt to suffer from their simplicity. Wherefore he rejoiced over the tranquil state of the church, when the persecution ceased for a little time, but was grieved as to himself, that he had not yet attained to a true love to Christ, nor reached the perfect rank of a disciple. For he inwardly reflected, that the confession which is made by martyrdom, would bring him into a yet more intimate relation to the Lord. Wherefore, continuing a few years longer with the church, and, like a divine lamp, enlightening every one's understanding by his expositions of the Holy Scriptures, he at length attained the object of his desire.

2 Ignatius is condemned by Trajan. For Trajan, in the ninth year of his reign, being lifted up with pride, after the victory he had gained over the Scythians and Dacians, and many other nations, and thinking that the religious body of the Christians were yet wanting to complete the subjugation of all things to himself, and thereupon threatening them with persecution unless they should agree to worship dæmons, as did all other nations, thus compelled all who were living godly lives either to sacrifice to idols or die. Wherefore the noble soldier of Christ Ignatius, being in fear for the church of the Antiochians, was, in accordance with his own desire, brought before Trajan, who was at that time staying at Antioch, but was in haste to set forth against Armenia and the Parthians. And when he was set before the emperor Trajan, that prince said unto him, "Who art thou, wicked wretch, who settest thyself to transgress our commands, and persuadest others to do the same, so that they should miserably perish?" Ignatius replied, "No one ought to call Theophorus wicked; for all evil spirits have departed from the servants of God. But if, because I am an enemy to these spirits, you call me wicked in respect to them, I quite agree with you; for inasmuch as I have Christ the King of heaven within me, I destroy all the devices of these evil spirits." Trajan answered, "And who is Theophorus?" Ignatius replied, "He who has Christ within his breast." Trajan said, "Do we not then seem to you to have the gods in our mind, whose assistance we enjoy in fighting against our enemies?" Ignatius answered, "Thou art in error when thou callest the dæmons of the nations gods. For there is but one God, who made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and all that are in them; and one Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, whose kingdom may I enjoy." Trajan said, "Do you mean him who was crucified under Pontius Pilate?" Ignatius replied, "I mean Him who crucified my sin, with him who was the inventor of it, and who has condemned and cast down all the deceit and malice of the devil under the feet of those who carry Him in their heart." Trajan said, "Dost thou then carry within thee Him that was crucified?" Ignatius replied, "Truly so; for it is written, 'I will dwell in them, and walk in them.'" Then Trajan pronounced sentence as follows: "We command that Ignatius, who affirms that he carries about within him Him that was crucified, be bound by soldiers, and carried to the great city Rome, there to be devoured by the beasts, for the gratification of the people." When the holy martyr heard this sentence, he cried out with joy, "I thank thee, O Lord, that Thou hast vouchsafed to honour me with a perfect love towards Thee, and hast made me to be bound with iron chains, like Thy Apostle Paul." Having spoken thus, he then, with delight, clasped the chains about him; and when he had first prayed for the church, and commended it with tears to the Lord, he was hurried away by the savage cruelty of the soldiers, like a distinguished ram, the leader of a goodly flock, that he might be carried to Rome, there to furnish food to the bloodthirsty beasts.

3 Ignatius sails to Smyrna. Wherefore, with great alacrity and joy, through his desire to suffer, he came down from Antioch to Seleucia, from which place he set sail. And after a great deal of suffering he came to Smyrna, where he disembarked with great joy, and hastened to see the holy Polycarp, formerly his fellow-disciple, and now bishop of Smyrna. For they had both, in old times, been disciples of St John the apostle. Being then brought to him, and having communicated to him some spiritual gifts, and glorying in his bonds, he entreated of him to labour along with him for the fulfilment of his desire; earnestly indeed asking this of the whole church (for the cities and churches of Asia had welcomed the holy man through their bishops, and presbyters, and deacons, all hastening to meet him, if by any means they might receive from him some spiritual gift), but above all, the holy Polycarp, that, by means of the wild beasts, he soon disappearing from this world, might be manifested before the face of Christ.

4 Ignatius writes to the churches. And these things he thus spake, and thus testified, extending his love to Christ so far as one who was about to secure heaven through his good confession, and the earnestness of those who joined their prayers to his in regard to his approaching conflict; and to give a recompense to the churches, who came to meet him through their rulers, sending letters of thanksgiving to them, which dropped spiritual grace, along with prayer and exhortation. Wherefore, seeing all men so kindly affected towards him, and fearing lest the love of the brotherhood should hinder his zeal towards the Lord, while a fair door of suffering martyrdom was opened to him, he wrote to the church of the Romans the epistle which is here subjoined.

5 Ignatius is brought to Rome. Having therefore, by means of this epistle, settled, as he wished, those of the brethren at Rome who were unwilling for his martyrdom; and setting sail from Smyrna (for Christophorus was pressed by the soldiers to hasten to the public spectacles in the mighty city Rome, that, being given up to the wild beasts in the sight of the Roman people, he might attain to the crown for which he strove), he next landed at Troas. Then, going on from that place to Neapolis, he went on foot by Philippi through Macedonia, and on to that part of Epirus which is near Epidaumus; and finding a ship in one of the seaports, he sailed over the Adriatic Sea, and entering from it on the Tyrrhene, he passed by the various islands and cities, until, when Puteoli came in sight, he was eager there to disembark, having a desire to tread in the footsteps of the Apostle Paul. But a violent wind arising did not suffer him to do so, the ship being driven rapidly forwards; and, simply expressing his delight over the love of the brethren in that place, he sailed by. Wherefore, continuing to enjoy fair winds, we were reluctantly hurried on in one day and a night, mourning as we did over the coming departure from us of this righteous man. But to him this happened just as he wished, since he was in haste as soon as possible to leave this world, that he might attain to the Lord whom he loved. Sailing then into the Roman harbour, and the unhallowed sports being just about to close, the soldiers began to be annoyed at our slowness, but the bishop rejoicingly yielded to their urgency.

6 Ignatius is devoured by the beasts at Rome. They pushed forth therefore from the place which is called Portus; and (the fame of all relating to the holy martyr being already spread abroad) we met the brethren full of fear and joy; rejoicing indeed because they were thought worthy to meet with Theophorus, but struck with fear because so eminent a man was being led to death. Now he enjoined some to keep silence who, in their fervent zeal, were saying that they would appease the people, so that they should not demand the destruction of this just one. He being immediately aware of this through the Spirit, and having saluted them all, and begged of them to show a true affection towards him, and having dwelt on this point at greater length than in his epistle, and having persuaded them not to envy him hastening to the Lord, he then, after he had, with all the brethren kneeling beside him, entreated the Son of God in behalf of the churches, that a stop might be put to the persecution, and that mutual love might continue among the brethren, was led with all haste into the amphitheatre. Then, being immediately thrown in, according to the command of Caesar given some time ago, the public spectacles being just about to close (for it was then a solemn day, as they deemed it, being that which is called the thirteenth in the Roman tongue, on which the people were wont to assemble in more than ordinary numbers), he was thus cast to the wild beasts close beside the temple, that so by them the desire of the holy martyr Ignatius should be fulfilled, according to that which is written, "The desire of the righteous is acceptable to God," to the effect that he might not be troublesome to any of the brethren by the gathering of his remains, even as he had in his epistle expressed a wish beforehand that so his end might be. For only the harder portions of his holy remains were left, which were conveyed to Antioch and wrapped in linen, as an inestimable treasure left to the holy church by the grace which was in the martyr.

7 Ignatius appears in a vision after his death. Now these things took place on the thirteenth day before the Calends of January, that is, on the twentieth of December, Sura and Senecio being then the consuls of the Romans for the second time. Having ourselves been eye-witnesses of these things, and having spent the whole night in tears within the house, and having entreated the Lord, with bended knees and much prayer, that He would give us weak men full assurance respecting the things which were done, it came to pass, on our falling into a brief slumber, that some of us saw the blessed Ignatius suddenly standing by us and embracing us, while others beheld him again praying for us, and others still saw him dropping with sweat, as if he had just come from his great labour, and standing by the Lord. When, therefore, we had with great joy witnessed these things, and had compared our several visions together, we sang praise to God, the giver of all good things, and expressed our sense of the happiness of the holy martyr; and now we have made known to you both the day and the time when these things happened, that, assembling ourselves together according to the time of his martyrdom, we may have fellowship with the champion and noble martyr of Christ, who trode under foot the devil, and perfected the course which, out of love to Christ, he had desired, in Christ Jesus our Lord; by whom, and with whom, be glory and power to the Father, with the Holy Spirit, for evermore! Amen.

THE IGNATIUS LETTERS OF UNKNOWN ORIGIN

(The following eight (out of all the fifteen) epistles bearing the name of Ignatius are now universally admitted to be spurious or unauthentic. It does not mean that the letters themselves are forgeries, but it means that the author was not Ignatius of Antioch. The writer could have been a person who had the name Ignatius too as it was a common name at that time.)

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE TARSIANS.

Spuriously attributed to Ignatius of Antioch
From: Apostolic Fathers; Writer unknown.
Translation; Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867
Estimated Range of Dating: 150-250 A.D.

Prologue: Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the church which is at Tarsus, saved in Christ, worthy of praise, worthy of remembrance, and worthy of love: Mercy and peace from God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ, be ever multiplied.

1 His own sufferings: exhortation to stedfastness. From Syria even unto Rome I fight with beasts: not that I am devoured by brute beasts, for these, as ye know, by the will of God, spared Daniel, but by beasts in the shape of men, in whom the merciless wild beast himself lies hid, and pricks and wounds me day by day. But none of these hardships "move me, neither count I my life dear unto my-self," in such a way as to love it better than the Lord. Wherefore I am prepared for encountering fire, wild beasts, the sword, or the cross, so that only I may see Christ my Saviour and God, who died for me. I therefore, the prisoner of Christ, who am driven along by land and sea, exhort you: "stand fast in the faith," and be ye stedfast, "for the just shall live by faith;" be ye unwavering, for "the Lord causes those to dwell in a house who are of one and the same character."

2 Cautions against false doctrine. I have learned that certain of the ministers of Satan have wished to disturb you, some of them asserting that Jesus was born only in appearance, was crucified in appearance, and died in appearance; others that He is not the Son of the Creator, and others that He is Himself God over all. Others, again, hold that He is a mere man, and others that this flesh is not to rise again, so that our proper course is to live and partake of a life of pleasure, for that this is the chief good to beings who are in a little while to perish. A swarm of such evils has burst in upon us. But ye have not "given place by subjection to them, no, not for one hour." For ye are the fellow-citizens as well as the disciples of Paul, who "fully preached the gospel from Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum," and bare about "the marks of Christ" in his flesh.

3 The true doctrine respecting Christ. Mindful of him, do ye by all means know that Jesus the Lord was truly born of Mary, being made of a woman; and was as truly crucified. For, says he, "God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of the Lord Jesus." And He really suffered, and died, and rose again. For says Paul, "If Christ should become passible, and should be the first to rise again from the dead." And again, "In that He died, He died unto sin once: but in that He liveth, He liveth unto God." Otherwise, what advantage would there be in becoming subject to bonds, if Christ has not died? what advantage in patience? what advantage in enduring stripes? And why such facts as the following: Peter was crucified; Paul and James were slain with the sword; John was banished to Patmos; Stephen was stoned to death by the Jews who killed the Lord? But, in truth, none of these sufferings were in vain; for the Lord was really crucified by the ungodly.

4 Continuation. And know ye, moreover, that He who was born of a woman was the Son of God, and He that was crucified was "the first-born of every creature," and God the Word, who also created all things. For says the apostle, "There is one God, the Father, of whom are all things; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things." And again, "For there is one God, and one Mediator between God and

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men, the man Christ Jesus;" and, "By Him were all things created that are in heaven, and on earth, visible and invisible; and He is before all things, and by Him all things consist."

5 Refutation of the previously mentioned errors. And that He Himself is not God over all, and the Father, but His Son, He shows when He says, "I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God." And again, "When all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall He also Himself be subject unto Him that put all things under Him, that God may be all in all." Wherefore it is one Person who put all things under, and who is all in all, and another Person to whom they were subdued, who also Himself, along with all other things, becomes subject to the former.

6 Continuation. Nor is He a mere man, by whom and in whom all things were made; for "all things were made by Him." "When He made the heaven, I was present with Him; and I was there with Him, forming the world along with Him, and He rejoiced in me daily." And how could a mere man be addressed in such words as these: "Sit Thou at my right hand?" And how, again, could such an one declare: "Before Abraham was, I am?" And, "Glorify me with Thy glory which I had before the world was?" What man could ever say, "I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of Him that sent me?" And of what man could it be said, "He was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world: He was in the world, and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not. He came unto His own, and His own received Him not?" How could such a one be a mere man, receiving the beginning of His existence from Mary, and not rather God the Word, and the only-begotten Son? For "in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." And in another place, "The Lord created me, the beginning of His ways, for His works. Before the world did He found me, and before all the hills did He beget me."

7 Continuation. And that our bodies are to rise again, He shows when He says, "Verily I say unto you, that the hour cometh, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear shall live." And says the apostle, "For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality." And that we must live soberly and righteously, he shows when he says again, "Be not deceived: neither adulterers, nor effeminate persons, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor fornicators, nor revilers, nor drunkards, nor thieves, can inherit the kingdom of God." And again, "If the dead rise not, then is not Christ raised; our preaching therefore is vain, and your faith is also vain: ye are yet in your sins. Then they also that are fallen asleep in Christ have perished. If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable. If the dead rise not, let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." But if such be our condition and feelings, wherein shall we differ from asses and dogs, who have no care about the future, but think only of eating, and of indulging such appetites as follow after eating? For they are unacquainted with any intelligence moving within them.

8 Exhortations to holiness and good order. May I have joy of you in the Lord! Be ye sober. Lay aside, every one of you, all malice and beast-like fury, evil-speaking, calumny, filthy speaking, ribaldry, whispering, arrogance, drunkenness, lust, avarice, vainglory, envy, and everything akin to these. "But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof." Ye presbyters, be subject to the bishop; ye deacons, to the presbyters; and ye, the people, to the presbyters and the deacons. Let my soul be for theirs who preserve this good order; and may the Lord be with them continually!

9 Exhortations to the discharge of relative duties. Ye husbands, love your wives; and ye wives, your husbands. Ye children, reverence your parents. Ye parents, "bring up your children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." Honour those who continue in virginity, as the priestesses of Christ; and the widows that persevere in gravity of behaviour, as the altar of God. Ye servants, wait upon your masters with respectful fear. Ye masters, issue orders to your servants with tenderness. Let no one among you be idle; for idleness is the mother of want. I do not enjoin these things as being a person of any consequence, although I am in bonds for Christ; but as a brother, I put you in mind of them. The Lord be with you!

10 Salutations. May I enjoy your prayers! Pray ye that I may attain to Jesus. I commend unto you the church which is at Antioch. The churches of Philippi, whence also I write to you, salute you. Philo, your deacon, to whom also I give thanks as one who has zealously ministered to me in all things, salutes you. Agathopus, the deacon from Syria, who follows me in Christ, salutes you. "Salute ye one another with a holy kiss." I salute you all, both male and female, who are in Christ. Fare ye well in body, and soul, and in one Spirit; and do not ye forget me. The Lord be with you!

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE ANTIOCHIANS.

Spuriously attributed to Ignatius of Antioch
From: Apostolic Fathers; Writer unknown.
Translation; Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867
Estimated Range of Dating: 150-250 A.D.

Prologue: Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the church sojourning in Syria, which has obtained mercy from God, and been elected by Christ, and which first received the name of Christ, wishes happiness in God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ.

1 Cautions against error. The Lord has rendered my bonds light and easy since I learnt that you are in peace, and that you live in all harmony both of the flesh and spirit. "I therefore, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you, that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called," guarding against those heresies of the wicked one which have broken in upon us, to the deceiving and destruction of those that accept of them; but that ye give heed to the doctrine of the apostles, and believe both the law and the prophets: that ye reject every Jewish and Gentile error, and neither introduce a multiplicity of gods, nor yet deny Christ under the pretence of maintaining the unity of God.

2 The true doctrine respecting God and Christ. For Moses, the faithful servant of God, when he said, "The Lord thy God is one Lord," and thus proclaimed that there was only one God, did yet forthwith confess also our Lord when he said, "The Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah fire and brimstone from the Lord." And again, "And God said, Let us make man after our image: and so God made man, after the image of God made He him." And further, "In the image of God made He man." And that the Son of God was to be made man, Moses shows when he says, "A prophet shall the Lord raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me."

3 The same continued. The prophets also, when they speak as in the person of God, saying, "I am God, the first of beings, and I am also the last, and besides me there is no God," concerning the Father of the universe, do also speak of our Lord Jesus Christ. "A Son," they say, "has been given to us, on whose shoulder the government is from above; and His name is called the Angel of great counsel, Wonderful, Counsellor, the strong and mighty God." And concerning His incarnation, "Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son; and they shall call his name Immanuel." And concerning the passion, "He was led as a sheep to the slaughter; and as a lamb before her shearers is dumb, I also was as an innocent lamb led to be sacrificed."

4 Continuation. The Evangelists, too, when they declared that the one Father was "the only true God," did not omit what concerned our Lord, but wrote: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made that was made." And concerning the incarnation: "The Word," says the Scripture, "became flesh, and dwelt among us." And again: "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham." And those very apostles, who said "that there is one God," said also that "there is one Mediator between God and men." Nor were they ashamed of the incarnation and the passion. For what says one? "The man Christ Jesus, who gave Himself" for the life and salvation of the world.

5 Denunciation of false teachers. Whosoever, therefore, declares that there is but one God, only so as to take away the divinity of Christ, is a devil, and an enemy of all righteousness. He also that confesseth Christ, yet not as the Son of the Maker of the world, but of some other unknown being, different from Him whom the law and the prophets have proclaimed, this man is an instrument of the devil. And he that rejects. the incarnation, and is ashamed of the cross for which I am in bonds, this man is antichrist. Moreover, he who affirms Christ to be a mere man is accursed, according to the declaration of the prophet, since he puts not his trust in God, but in man. Wherefore also he is unfruitful, like the wild myrtle-tree.

6 Renewed cautions. These things I write to you, thou new olive-tree of Christ, not that I am aware you hold any such opinions, but that I may put you on your guard, as a father does his children. Beware, therefore, of those that hasten to work mischief, those "enemies of the cross of Christ, whose end is destruction, whose glory is in their shame." Beware of those "dumb dogs," those trailing serpents, those scaly dragons, those asps, and basilisks, and scorpions. For these are subtle wolves, and apes that mimic the appearance of men.

7 Exhortation to consistency of conduct. Ye have been the disciples of Paul and Peter; do not lose what was committed to your trust. Keep in remembrance Euodias, your deservedly-blessed pastor, into whose hands the government over you was first entrusted by the apostles. Let us not bring disgrace upon our Father. Let us prove ourselves His true-born children, and not bastards. Ye know after what manner I have acted among you. The things which, when present, I spoke to you, these same, when absent, I now write to you. "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema." Be ye followers of me. My soul be for yours, when I attain to Jesus. Remember my bonds.

8 Exhortations to the presbyters and others. Ye presbyters, "feed the flock which is among you," till God shall show who is to hold the rule over you. For "I am now ready to be offered," that I "may win Christ." Let the deacons know of what dignity they are, and let them study to be blameless, that they may be the followers of Christ. Let the people be subject to the presbyters and the deacons. Let the virgins know to whom they have consecrated themselves.

9 Duties of husbands, wives, parents, and children. Let the husbands love their wives, remembering that, at the creation, one woman, and not many, was given to one man. Let the wives honour their husbands, as their own flesh; and let them not presume to address them by their names. Let them also be chaste, reckoning their husbands as their only partners, to whom indeed they have been united according to the will of God. Ye parents, impart a holy training to your children. Ye children, "honour your parents, that it may be well with you."

10 Duties of masters and servants. Ye masters, do not treat your servants with haughtiness, but imitate patient Job, who declares, "I did not despise the cause of my man-servant or of my maid-servant, when they contended with me. For what in that case shall I do when the Lord makes an inquisition regarding me?" And you know what follows. Ye servants, do not provoke your masters to anger in anything, lest ye become the authors of incurable mischiefs to yourselves.

11 Inculcation of various moral duties. Let no one addicted to idleness eat, lest he become a wanderer about, and a whoremonger. Let drunkenness, anger, envy, reviling, clamour, and blasphemy "be not so much as named among you." Let not the widows live a life of pleasure, lest they wax wanton against the word. Be subject to Caesar in everything in which subjection implies no spiritual danger. Provoke not those that rule over you to wrath, that you may give no occasion against yourselves to those that seek for it. But as to the practice of magic, or the impure love of boys, or murder, it is superfluous to write to you, since such vices are forbidden to be committed even by the Gentiles. I do not issue commands on these points as if I were an apostle; but, as your fellow-servant, I put you in mind of them.

12 Salutations. I salute the holy presbytery. I salute the sacred deacons, and that person most dear to me, whom may I behold, through the Holy Spirit, occupying my place when I shall attain to Christ. My soul be in place of his. I salute the sub-deacons, the readers, the singers, the doorkeepers, the labourers, the exorcists, the confessors. I salute the keepers of the holy gates, the deaconesses in Christ. I salute the virgins betrothed to Christ, of whom may I have joy in the Lord Jesus. I salute the people of the Lord, from the smallest to the greatest, and all my sisters in the Lord.

13 Salutations continued. I salute Cassian and his partner in life, and their very dear children. Polycarp, that most worthy bishop, who is also deeply interested in you, salutes you; and to him I have commended you in the Lord. The whole church of the Smyrnæans, indeed, is mindful of you in their prayers in the Lord. Onesimus, the pastor of the Ephesians, salutes you. Damas, the bishop of Magnesia, salutes you. Polybius, bishop of the Trallians, salutes you. Philo and Agathopus, the deacons, my companions, salute you. "Salute one another with a holy kiss."

14 Conclusion. I write this letter to you from Philippi. May He who is alone unbegotten, keep you stedfast both in the spirit and in the flesh, through Him who was begotten before timebegan! And may I behold you in the kingdom of Christ! I salute him who is to bear rule over you in my stead: may I have joy of him in the Lord! Fare ye well in God, and in Christ, being enlightened by the Holy Spirit.

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO HERO, A DEACON OF ANTIOCH.

Spuriously attributed to Ignatius of Antioch
From: Apostolic Fathers; Writer unknown.
Translation; Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867
Estimated Range of Dating: 150-250 A.D.

Prologue: Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to Hero, the deacon of Christ, and the servant of God, a man honoured by God, and most dearly loved as well as esteemed, who carries Christ and the Spirit within him, and who is mine own son in faith and love: Grace, mercy, and peace from Almighty God, and from Christ Jesus our Lord, His only-begotten Son, "who gave Himself for our sins, that He might deliver us from the present evil world,"and preserve us unto His heavenly kingdom.

1 Exhortations to earnestness and moderation. I exhort thee in God, that thou add speed to thy course, and that thou vidicate thy dignity. Have a care to preserve concord with the saints. Bear the burdens of the weak, that "thou mayest fulfil the law of Christ." Devote thyself to fasting and prayer, but not beyond measure, lest thou destroy thyself thereby. Do not altogether abstain from wine and flesh, for these things are

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not to be viewed with abhorrence, since the Scripture saith, "Ye shall eat the good things of the earth."And again, "Ye shall eat flesh even as herbs." And again, "Wine maketh glad the heart of man, and oil exhilarates, and bread strengthens him." But all are to be used with moderation, as being the gifts of God. "For who shall eat or who shall drink without Him? For if anything be beautiful, it is His; and if anything be good, it is His." Give attention to reading, that thou mayest not only thyself know the laws, but mayest also explain them to others, as the earnest servant of God. "No man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life, that he may please him who hath chosen him to be a soldier; and if a man also strive for masteries, yet is he not crowned except he strive lawfully." I that am in bonds pray that my soul may be in place of yours.

2 Cautions against false teachers. Every one that teaches anything beyond what is commanded, though he be deemed worthy of credit, though he be in the habit of fasting, though he live in continence, though he work miracles, though he have the gift of prophecy, let him be in thy sight as a wolf in sheep's clothing, labouring for the destruction of the sheep. If any one denies the cross, and is ashamed of the passion, let him be to thee as the adversary himself. "Though he give all his goods to feed the poor, though he remove mountains, though he give his body to be burned," let him be regarded by thee as abominable. If any one makes light of the law or the prophets, which Christ fulfilled at His coming, let him be to thee as antichrist. If any one says that the Lord is a mere man, he is a Jew, a murderer of Christ.

3 Exhortations as to ecclesiastical duties. "Honour widows that are widows indeed." Be the friend of orphans; for God is "the father of the fatherless, and the judge of the widows." Do nothing without the bishops; for they are priests, and thou a servant of the priests. They baptise, offer sacrifice ordain, and lay on hands; but thou ministerest to them, as the holy Stephen did at Jerusalem to James and the presbyters. Do not neglect the sacred meetings of the saints; inquire after every one by name. "Let no man despise thy youth, but be thou an example to the believers, both in word and conduct."

4 Servants and women are not to be despised. Be not ashamed of servants, for we possess the same nature in common with them. Do not hold women in abomination, for they have given thee birth, and brought thee up. It is fitting, therefore, to love those that were the authors of our birth (but only in the Lord), inasmuch as a man can produce no children without a woman. It is right, therefore, that we should honour those who have had a part in giving us birth. "Neither is the man without the woman, nor the woman without the man," except in the case of those who were first formed. For the body of Adam was made out of the four elements, and that of Eve out of the side of Adam. And, indeed, the altogether peculiar birth of the Lord was of a virgin alone. This took place not as if the lawful union of man and wife were abominable, but such a kind of birth was fitting to God. For it became the Creator not to make use of the ordinary method of generation, but of one that was singular and strange, as being the Creator.

5 Various relative duties. Flee from haughtiness, "for the Lord resisteth the proud." Abhor falsehood, for says the Scripture, "Thou shalt destroy all them that speak lies." Guard against envy, for its author is the devil, and his successor Cain, who envied his brother, and out of envy committed murder. Exhort my sisters to love God, and be content with their own husbands only. In like manner, exhort my brethren also to be content with their own wives. Watch over the virgins, as the precious treasures of Christ. Be long-suffering that thou mayest be great in wisdom. Do not neglect the poor, in so far as thou art prosperous. For "by alms and fidelity sins are purged away."

6 Exortations to purity and caution. Keep thyself pure as the habitation of God. Thou art the temple of Christ. Thou art the instrument of the Spirit. Thou knowest in what way I have brought thee up. Though I am the least of men, do thou seek to follow me, be thou an imitator of my conduct. I do not glory in the world, but in the Lord. I exhort Hero, my son; "but let him that glorieth, glory in the Lord." May I have joy of thee, my dear son, whose guardian may He be who is the only unbegotten God, and the Lord Jesus Christ! Do not believe all persons, do not place confidence in all; nor let any man get the better of thee by flattery. For many are the ministers of Satan; and "he that is hasty to believe is light of heart."

7 Solemn charge to Hero, as future bishop of Antioch. Keep God in remembrance, and thou shalt never sin. Be not double-minded in thy prayers; for blessed is he who doubteth not. For I believe in the Father of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in His only-begotten Son, that God will show me, Hero, upon my throne. Add speed, therefore, to thy course. I charge thee before the God of the universe, and before Christ, and in the presence of the Holy Spirit, and of the ministering ranks of angels, keep in safety that deposit which I and Christ have committed to thee, and do not judge thyself unworthy of those things which have been shown by God to me concerning thee. I hand over to thee the church of Antioch. I have commended you to Polycarp in the Lord Jesus Christ.

8 Salutations. The bishops, Onesimus, Bitus, Damas, Polybius, and all they of Philippi (whence also I have written to thee), salute thee in Christ. Salute the presbytery worthy of God: salute my holy fellow-deacons, of whom may I have joy in Christ, both in the flesh and in the spirit. Salute the people of the Lord, from the smallest to the greatest, every one by name; whom I commit to thee as Moses did the Israelites to Joshua, who was their leader after him. And do not reckon this which I have said presumptuous on my part; for although we are not such as they were, yet we at least pray that we may be so, since indeed we are the children of Abraham. Be strong, therefore, O Hero, like a hero, and like a man. For from henceforth thou shalt lead in and out the people of the Lord that are in Antioch, and so "the congregation of the Lord shall not be as sheep which have no shepherd."

9 Concluding salutations and instructions. Salute Cassian, my host, and his most serious-minded partner in life, and their very dear children, to whom may "God grant that they find mercy of the Lord in that day," on account of their ministrations to us, whom also I commend to thee in Christ. Salute by name all the faithful in Christ that are at Laodicea. Do not neglect those at Tarsus, but look after them steadily, confirming them in the gospel. I salute in the Lord, Maris the bishop of Neapolis, near Anazarbus. Salute thou also Mary my daughter, distinguished both for gravity and erudition, as also "the church which is in her house." May my soul be in place of hers: she is the very pattern of pious women. May the Father of Christ, by His only-begotten Son, preserve thee in good health, and of high repute in all things, to a very old age, for the benefit of the church of God! Farewell in the Lord, and pray thou that I may be perfected.

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE PHILIPPIANS

Spuriously attributed to Ignatius of Antioch
From: Apostolic Fathers; Writer unknown.
Translation; Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867
Estimated Range of Dating: 150-250 A.D.

Prologue: Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the church of God which is at Philippi, which has obtained mercy in faith, and patience, and love unfeigned: Mercy and peace from God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ, "who is the Saviour of all men, specially of them that believe."

1 Reason for writing the epistle. Being mindful of your love and of your zeal in Christ, which ye have manifested towards us, we thought it fitting to write to you, who display such a godly and spiritual love to the brethren, to put you in remembrance of your Christian course, "that ye all speak the same thing, being of one mind, thinking the same thing, and walking by the same rule of faith," as Paul admonished you. For if there is one God of the universe, the Father of Christ, "of whom are all things;" and one Lord Jesus Christ, our Lord, "by whom are all things;" and also one Holy Spirit, who wrought in Moses, and in the prophets and apostles; and also one baptism, which is administered that we should have fellowship with the death of the Lord; and also one elect church; there ought likewise to be but one faith in respect to Christ. For "there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God and Father of all, who is through all, and in all."

2 Unity of the three Divine Persons. There is then one God and Father, and not two or three; One who is; and there is no other besides Him, the only true God. For "the Lord thy God," saith the Scripture, "is one Lord." And again, "Hath not one God created us? Have we not all one Father?" And there is also one Son, God the Word. For "the only-begotten Son," saith the Scripture, "who is in the bosom of the Father." And again, "One Lord Jesus Christ." And in another place, "What is His name, or what His Son's name, that we may know?" And there is also one Paraclete. For "there is also," saith the Scripture, "one Spirit," since "we have been called in one hope of our calling." And again, "We have drunk of one Spirit," with what follows. And it is manifest that all these gifts possessed by believers "worketh one and the self-same Spirit." There are not then either three Fathers, or three Sons, or three Paracletes, but one Father, and one Son, and one Paraclete. Wherefore also the Lord, when He sent forth the apostles to make disciples of all nations, commanded them to "baptise in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," not into one person having three names, nor into three persons who became incarnate, but into three possessed of equal honour.

3 Christ was truly born, and died, etc. For there is but One that became incarnate, and that neither the Father nor the Paraclete, but the Son only, who became so not in appearance or imagination, but in reality. For "the Word became flesh." For "Wisdom builded for herself a house." And God the Word was born as man, with a body, of the Virgin, without any intercourse of man. For it is written, "A virgin shall conceive in her womb, and bring forth a son." He was then truly born, truly grew up, truly ate and drank, was truly crucified, and died, and rose again. He who believes these things, as they really were, and as they really took place, is blessed. He who believeth them not is no less accursed than those who crucified the Lord. For the prince of this world rejoiceth when any one denies the cross, since he knows that the confession of the cross is his own destruction. For that is the trophy which has been raised up against his power, which when he sees, he shudders, and when he hears of, is afraid.

4 The malignity and folly of Satan. And indeed, before the cross was erected, he (Satan) was eager that it should be so; and he "wrought" for this end "in the children of disobedience." He wrought in Judas, in the Pharisees, in the Sadducees, in the old, in the young, and in the priests. But when it was just about to be erected, he was troubled, and infused repentance into the traitor, and pointed him to a rope to hang himself with, and taught him to die by strangulation. He terrified also the silly woman, disturbing her by dreams; and he, who had tried every means to have the cross prepared, now endeavoured to put a stop to its erection: not that he was influenced by repentance on account of the greatness of his crime (for in that case he would not be utterly depraved), but because he perceived his own destruction to be at hand. For the cross of Christ was the beginning of his condemnation, the beginning of his death, the beginning of his destruction. Wherefore, also, he works in some that they should deny the cross, be ashamed of the passion, call the death an appearance, mutilate and explain away the birth of the Virgin, and calumniate the human nature itself as being abominable. He fights along with the Jews to a denial of the cross, and with the Gentiles to the calumniating of Mary, who are heretical in holding that Christ possessed a mere phantasmal body. For the Leader of all wickedness assumes manifold forms, beguiler of men as he is, inconsistent, and even contradicting himself, projecting one course and then following another. For he is wise to do evil, but as to what good may be he is totally ignorant. And indeed he is full of ignorance, on account of his voluntary want of reason: for how can he be deemed anything else who does not perceive reason when it lies at his very feet?

5 Apostrophe to Satan. For if the Lord were a mere man, possessed of a soul and body only, why dost thou mutilate and explain away His being born with the common nature of humanity? Why dost thou call the passion a mere appearance, as if it were any strange thing happening to a mere man? And why dost thou reckon the death of a mortal to be simply an imaginary death? But if, on the other hand, He is both God and man, then why dost thou call it unlawful to style Him "the Lord of glory," who is by nature unchangeable? Why dost thou say that it is unlawful to declare of the Lawgiver who possesses a human soul, "The Word was made flesh," and was a perfect man, and not merely one dwelling in a man? But how came this magician into existence, who of old formed all nature that can be apprehended either by the senses or intellect, according to the will of the Father; and, when He became incarnate, healed every kind of disease and infirmity?

6 Continuation. And how can He be but God, who raises up the dead, sends away the lame sound of limb, cleanses the lepers, restores sight to the blind, and either increases or transmutes existing substances, as the five loaves and the two fishes, and the water which became wine, and who puts to flight thy whole host by a mere word? And why dost thou abuse the nature of the Virgin, and style her members disgraceful, since thou didst of old display such in public processions, and didst order them to be exhibited naked, males in the sight of females, and females to stir up the unbridled lust of males? But now these are reckoned by thee disgraceful, and thou pretendest to be full of modesty, thou spirit of fornication, not knowing that then only anything becomes disgraceful when it is polluted by wickedness. But when sin is not present, none of the things that have been created are shameful, none of them evil, but all very good. But inasmuch as thou art blind, thou revilest these things.

7 Continuation: inconsistency of Satan. And how, again, does Christ not at all appear to thee to be of the Virgin, but to be God over all, and the Almighty? Say, then, who sent Him? Who was Lord over Him? And whose will did He obey? And what laws did He fulfil, since He was subject neither to the will nor power of any one? And while you deny that Christ was born, you affirm that the unbegotten was begotten, and that He who had no beginning was nailed to the cross, by whose permission I am unable to say. But thy changeable tactics do not escape me, nor am I ignorant that thou art wont to walk with slanting and uncertain steps. And thou art ignorant who really was born, thou who pretendest to know everything.

8 Continuation: ignorance of Satan. For many things are unknown to thee; such as the following: the virginity of Mary; the wonderful birth; who it was that became incarnate; the star which guided those who were in the east; the Magi who presented gifts; the salutation of the archangel to the Virgin; the marvellous conception of her that was betrothed; the announcement of the boy-forerunner respecting the son of the Virgin, and his leaping in the womb on account of what was foreseen; the songs of the angels over Him that was born; the glad tidings announced to the shepherds; the fear of Herod lest his kingdom should be taken from him; the command to

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slay the infants; the removal into Egypt, and the return from that country to the same region; the infant swaddling-bands; the human registration; the nourishing by means of milk; the name of father given to him who did not beget; the manger because there was not room elsewhere; no human preparation for the child; the gradual growth, human speech, hunger, thirst, journeyings, weariness; the offering of sacrifices, and then also circumcision, baptism; the voice of God over Him that was baptised, as to who He was and whence He had come; the testimony of the Spirit and the Father from above; the voice of John the prophet when it signified the passion by the appellation of "the Lamb;" the performance of divers miracles, manifold healings; the rebuke of the Lord ruling both the sea and the winds; evil spirits expelled; thou thyself subjected to torture, and, when afflicted by the power of Him who had been manifested, not having it in thy power to do anything.

9 Continuation: ignorance of Satan. Seeing these things, thou wast in utter perplexity. And thou wast ignorant that it was a virgin that should bring forth; but the angels' song of praise struck thee with astonishment, as well as the adoration of the Magi, and the appearance of the star. Thou didst revert to thy state of wilful ignorance, because all the circumstances seemed to thee trifling; for thou didst deem the swaddling-bands, the circumcision, and the nourishment by means of milk contemptible: these things appeared to thee unworthy of God. Again, thou didst behold a man who remained forty days and nights without tasting human food, along with ministering angels at whose presence thou didst shudder, when first of all thou hadst seen Him baptised as a common man, and knewest not the reason thereof. But after His lengthened fast thou didst again assume thy wonted audacity, and didst tempt Him when hungry, as if He had been an ordinary man, not knowing who He was. For thou saidst, "If thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread." Now, this expression, "If thou be the Son," is an indication of ignorance. For if thou hadst possessed real knowledge, thou wouldst have understood that the Creator can with equal ease both create what does not exist, and change that which already has a being. And thou temptedst by means of hunger Him who nourisheth all that require food. And thou temptedst the very "Lord of glory," forgetting in thy malevolence that "man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." For if thou hadst known that He was the Son of God, thou wouldst also have understood that He who had kept his body from feeling any want for forty days and as many nights, could have also done the same for ever. Why, then, does He suffer hunger? In order to prove that He had assumed a body subject to the same feelings as those of ordinary men. By the first fact He showed that He was God, and by the second that He was also man.

10 Continuation: audacity of Satan. Darest thou, then, who didst fall "as lightning" from the very highest glory, to say to the Lord, "Cast thyself down from hence," to Him to whom the things that are not are reckoned as if they were, and to provoke to a display of vainglory Him that was free from all ostentation? And didst thou pretend to read in Scripture concerning Him: "For He hath given His angels charge concerning thee, and in their hands they shall bear thee up, lest thou shouldest dash thy foot against a stone?" At the same time thou didst pretend to be ignorant of the rest, furtively concealing what the Scripture predicted concerning thee and thy servants: "Thou shalt tread upon the adder and the basilisk; the lion and the dragon shalt Thou trample under foot."

11 Continuation: audacity of Satan. If, therefore, thou art trodden down under the feet of the Lord, how dost thou tempt Him that cannot be tempted, forgetting that precept of the lawgiver, "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God?" Yea, thou even darest, most accursed one, to appropriate the works of God to thyself, and to declare that the dominion over these was delivered to thee. And thou dost set forth thine own fall as an example to the Lord, and dost promise to give Him what is really His own, if He would fall down and worship thee. And how didst thou not shudder, O thou spirit more wicked through thy malevolence than all other wicked spirits, to utter such words against the Lord? Through thine appetite wast thou overcome, and through thy vainglory wast thou brought to dishonour: through avarice and ambition dost thou now draw on others to ungodliness. Thou, O Belial, dragon, apostate, crooked serpent, rebel against God, outcast from Christ, alien from the Holy Spirit, exile from the ranks of the angels, reviler of the laws of God, enemy of all that is lawful, who didst rise up against the first-formed of men, and didst drive forth from obedience to the commandment of God those who had in no respect injured thee; thou who didst raise up against Abel the murderous Cain; thou who didst take arms against Job: dost thou say to the Lord, "If thou wilt fall down and worship me?" Oh what audacity! Oh what madness! Thou runaway slave, thou incorrigible slave, dost thou rebel against the good Lord? Dost thou say to so great a Lord, the God of all that either the mind or the senses can perceive, "If thou wilt fall down and worship me?"

12 The meek reply of Christ. But the Lord is long-suffering, and does not reduce to nothing him who in his ignorance dares to utter such words, but meekly replies, "Get thee hence, Satan." He does not say, "Get thee behind me," for it is not possible that he should be converted; but, "Begone, Satan," to the course which thou hast chosen. "Begone" to those things to which, through thy malevolence, thou hast been called. For I know who I am, and by whom I have been sent, and whom it behoves me to worship. For "thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve." I know the one God; I am acquainted with the only Lord from whom thou hast become an apostate. I am not an enemy of God; I acknowledge His pre-eminence; I know the Father, who is the author of my generation.

13 Various exhortations and directions. These things, brethren, out of the affection which I entertain for you, I have felt compelled to write, exhorting you with a view to the glory of God, not as if I were a person of any consequence, but simply as a brother. Be ye subject to the bishop, to the presbyters, and to the deacons. Love one another in the Lord, as being the images of God. Take heed, ye husbands, that ye love your wives as your own members. Ye wives also, love your husbands, as being one with them in virtue of your union. If any one lives in chastity or continence, let him not be lifted up, lest he lose his reward. Do not lightly esteem the festivals. Despise not the period of forty days, for it comprises an imitation of the conduct of the Lord. After the week of the passion, do not neglect to fast on the fourth and sixth days, distributing at the same time of thine abundance to the poor. If any one fasts on the Lord's day or on the Sabbath, except on the paschal Sabbath only, he is a murderer of Christ.

14 Farewells and cautions. Let your prayers be extended to the church of Antioch, whence also I as a prisoner am being led to Rome. I salute the holy bishop Polycarp; I salute the holy bishop Vitalius, and the sacred presbytery, and my fellow-servants the deacons; in whose stead may my soul be found. Once more I bid farewell to the bishop, and to the presbyters in the Lord. If any one celebrates the passover along with the Jews, or receives the emblems of their feast, he is a partaker with those that killed the Lord and His apostles.

15 Salutations, Conclusion. Philo and Agathopus the deacons salute you. I salute the company of virgins, and the order of widows; of whom may I have joy! I salute the people of the Lord, from the least unto the greatest. I have sent you this letter through Euphanius the reader, a man honoured of God, and very faithful, happening to meet with him at Rhegium, just as he was going on board ship. Remember my bonds, that I may be made perfect in Christ. Fare ye well in the flesh, the soul, and the spirit, while ye think of things perfect, and turn yourselves away from the workers of iniquity, who corrupt the word of truth, and are strengthened inwardly by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

THE EPISTLE OF MARIA THE PROSELYTE TO IGNATIUS

From: Apostolic Fathers; Writer unknown.
Translation; Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867
Estimated Range of Dating: 150-250 A.D.

(Note: The word Proselyte discribes a convert from one religion to another. The letter was written by a lady, probably from the City of Castabala, also known as Hieropolis, in Cilicia, today in southern Turkey, near the Ceyhan River and the Turkish town of Kırmıtlı, in the Osmaniye district of Osmaniye Province.)

MARY OF CASSOBELAE (Castabala) TO IGNATIUS.

Prologue: Maria, a proselyte of Jesus Christ, to Ignatius Theophorus, most blessed bishop of the apostolic church which is at Antioch, beloved in God the Father, and Jesus: Happiness and safety. We all beg for thee joy and health in Him.

1 Occasion of the epistle. Since Christ has, to our wonder, been made known among us to be the Son of the living God, and to have become man in these last times by means of the Virgin Mary, of the seed of David and Abraham, according to the announcements previously made regarding Him and through Him by the company of the prophets, we therefore beseech and entreat that, by thy wisdom, Maris our friend, bishop of our native Neapolis, which is near Zarbus, and Eulogius, and Sobelus the presbyter, be sent to us, that we be not destitute of such as preside over the divine word; as Moses also says, "Let the Lord God look out a man who shall guide this people, and the congregation of the Lord shall not be as sheep which have no shepherd."

2 Youth may be allied with piety and discretion. But as to those whom we have named being young men, do not, thou blessed one, have any apprehension. For I would have you know that they are wise above the flesh, and are insensible to its passions, they themselves glowing with all the glory of a hoary head through their own intrinsic merits, and though but recently called as young men to the priesthood. Now, call thou into exercise thy thoughts through the Spirit that God has given to thee by Christ, and thou wilt remember that Samuel, while yet a little child, was called a seer, and was reckoned in the company of the prophets, that he reproved the aged Eli for transgression, since he had honoured his infatuated sons above God the author of all things, and had allowed them to go unpunished, when they turned the office of the priesthood into ridicule, and acted violently towards the people.

3 Examples of youthful devotedness. Moreover, the wise Daniel, while he was a young man, passed judgement on certain vigorous old men, showing them that they were abandoned wretches, and not worthy to be reckoned elders, and that, though Jews by extraction, they were Canaanites in practice. And Jeremiah, when on account of his youth he declined the office of a prophet entrusted to him by God, was addressed in these words: "Say not, I am a youth; for thou shalt go to all those to whom I send thee, and thou shalt speak according to all that I command thee; because I am with thee." And the wise Solomon, when only in the twelfth year of his age, had wisdom to decide the important question concerning the children of the two women, when it was unknown to whom these respectively belonged; so that the whole people were astonished at such wisdom in a child, and venerated him as being not a mere youth, but a full-grown man. And he solved the hard questions of the queen of the Ethiopians, which had profit in them as the streams of the Nile have fertility, in such a manner that that woman, though herself so wise, was beyond measure astonished.

4 The same subject continued. Josiah also, beloved of God, when as yet he could scarcely speak articulately, convicts those who were possessed of a wicked spirit as being false in their speech, and deceivers of the people. He also reveals the deceit of the demons, and openly exposes those that are no gods; yea, while yet an infant he slays their priests, and overturns their altars, and defiles the places where sacrifices were offered with dead bodies, and throws down the temples, and cuts down the groves, and breaks in pieces the pillars, and breaks open the tombs of the ungodly, that not a relic of the wicked might any longer exist. To such an extent did he display zeal in the cause of godliness, and prove himself a punisher of the ungodly, while he as yet faltered in speech like a child. David, too, who was at once a prophet and a king, and the root of our Saviour according to the flesh, while yet a youth is anointed by Samuel to be king. For he himself says in a certain place, "I was small among my brethren, and the youngest in the house of my father."

5 Expressions of respect for Ignatius. But time would fail me if I should endeavour to enumerate all those that pleased God in their youth, having been entrusted by God with either the prophetical, the priestly, or the kingly office. And those which have been mentioned may suffice, by way of bringing the subject to thy remembrance. But I entreat thee not to reckon me presumptuous or ostentatious in writing as I have done. For I have set forth these statements, not as instructing thee, but simply as suggesting the matter to the remembrance of my father in God. For I know my own place, and do not compare myself with such as you. I salute thy holy clergy, and thy Ghrist-loving people who are ruled under thy care as their pastor. All the faithful with us salute thee. Pray, blessed shepherd, that I may be in health as respects God.

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO MARY AT NEAPOLIS, NEAR ZARBUS

Spuriously attributed to Ignatius of Antioch
From: Apostolic Fathers; Writer unknown.
Translation; Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867
Estimated Range of Dating: 150-250 A.D.

Prologue: Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to her who has obtained mercy through the grace of the most high God the Father, and Jesus Christ the Lord, who died for us, to Mary, my daughter, most faithful, worthy of God, and hearing Christ [in her heart], wishes abundance of happiness in God.

1 Acknowledgment of her excellence and wisdom. Sight indeed is better than writing, inasmuch as, being one of the company of the senses, it not only, by communicating proofs of friendship, honours him who receives them, but also, by those which it in turn receives, enriches the desire for better things. But the second harbour of refuge, as the phrase runs, is the practice of writing, which we have received, as a convenient haven, by thy faith, from so great a distance, seeing that by means of a letter we have learned the excellence that is in thee. For the souls of the good, O thou wisest of women! resemble fountains of the purest water; for they allure by their beauty passers-by to drink of them, even though these should not be thirsty. And thy intelligence invites us, as by a word of command, to participate in those divine draughts which gush forth so abundantly in thy soul.

2 His own condition. But I, O thou blessed woman, not being now so much my own master as in the power of others, am driven along by the varying wills of many adversaries, being in one sense in exile, in another in prison, and in a third

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in bonds. But I pay no regard to these things. Yea, by the injuries inflicted on me through them, I acquire all the more the character of a disciple, that I may attain to Jesus Christ. May I enjoy the torments which are prepared for me, seeing that "the sufferings of this present time are not worthy [to be compared] with the glory which shall be revealed in us."

3 He had complied with her request. I have gladly acted as requested in thy letter, having no doubt respecting those persons whom thou didst prove to be men of worth. For I am sure that thou barest testimony to them in the exercise of a godly judgement, and not through the influence of carnal favour. And thy numerous quotations of Scripture passages exceedingly delighted me, which, when I had read, I had no longer a single doubtful thought respecting the matter. For I did not hold that those things were simply to be glanced over by my eyes, of which I had received from thee such an incontrovertible demonstration. May I be in place of thy soul, because thou lovest Jesus, the Son of the living God. Wherefore also He Himself says to thee, "I love them that love me; and those that seek me shall find peace."

4 Commendation and exhortation. Now it occurs to me to mention, that the report is true which I heard of thee whilst thou wast at Rome with the blessed Pope Linus, whom the deservedly-blessed Clement, a hearer of Peter and Paul, has now succeeded. And by this time thou hast added a hundred-fold to thy reputation; and may thou, O woman! still further increase it. I greatly desired to come unto you, that I might have rest with you; but "the way of man is not in himself." For the military guard [under which I am kept] hinders my purpose, and does not permit me to go further. Nor indeed, in the state I am now in, can I either do or suffer anything. Wherefore deeming the practice of writing the second resource of friends for their mutual encouragement, I salute thy sacred soul, beseeching of thee to add still further to thy vigour. For our present labour is but little, while the reward which is expected is great.

5 Salutations and good wishes. Avoid those that deny the passion of Christ, and His birth according to the flesh: and there are many at present who suffer under this disease. But it would be absurd to admonish thee on other points, seeing that thou art perfect in every good work and word, and able also to exhort others in Christ. Salute all that are like-minded with thyself, and who hold fast to their salvation in Christ. The presbyters and deacons, and above all the holy Hero, salute thee. Cassian my host salutes thee, as well as my sister, his wife, and their very dear children. May the Lord sanctify thee for evermore in the enjoyment both of bodily and spiritual health, and may I see thee in Christ obtaining the crown!

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO JOHN THE PRESBYTER

Spuriously attributed to Ignatius of Antioch
From: Apostolic Fathers; Writer unknown.
Translation; Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867
Estimated Range of Dating: 150-250 A.D.

Prologue: Ignatius, and the brethren who are with him, to John the holy presbyter.

We are deeply grieved at thy delay in strengthening us by thy addresses and consolations. If thy absence be prolonged, it will disappoint many of us. Hasten then to come, for we believe that it is expedient. There are also many of our women here, who are desirous to see Mary [the mother] of Jesus, and wish day by day to run off from us to you, that they may meet with her, and touch those breasts of hers which nourished the Lord Jesus, and may inquire of her respecting some rather secret matters. But Salome also, [the daughter of Anna,] whom thou lovest, who stayed with her five months at Jerusalem, and some other well-known persons, relate that she is full of all graces and all virtues, after the manner of a virgin, fruitful in virtue and grace. And, as they report, she is cheerful in persecutions and afflictions, free from murmuring in the midst of penury and want, grateful to those that injure her, and rejoices when exposed to troubles: she sympathizes with the wretched and the afflicted as sharing in their affliction, and is not slow to come to their assistance. Moreover, she shines forth gloriously as contending in the fight of faith against the pernicious conflicts of vicious principles or conduct. She is the lady of our new religion and repentance, and the handmaid among the faithful of all works of piety. She is indeed devoted to the humble, and she humbles herself more devotedly than the devoted, and is wonderfully magnified by all, while at the same time she suffers detraction from the scribes and Pharisees. Besides these points, many relate to us numerous other things regarding her. We do not, however, go so far as believe all in every particular; nor do we mention such to thee. But, as we are informed by those who are worthy of credit, there is in Mary the mother of Jesus an angelic purity of nature allied with the nature of humanity. And such reports as these have greatly excited our emotions, and urge us eagerly to desire a sight of this (if it be lawful so to speak) heavenly prodigy and most sacred marvel. But do thou in haste comply with this our desire; and fare thee well. Amen.

THE SECOND EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO JOHN THE PRESBYTER

Spuriously attributed to Ignatius of Antioch
From: Apostolic Fathers; Writer unknown.
Translation; Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867
Estimated Range of Dating: 150-250 A.D.

Prologue: HIS friend Ignatius to John the holy presbyter.

If thou wilt give me leave, I desire to go up to Jerusalem, and see the faithful saints who are there, especially Mary the mother, whom they report to be an object of admiration and of affection to all. For who would not rejoice to behold and to address her who bore the true God from her own womb, provided he is a friend of our faith and religion? And in like manner [I desire to see] the venerable James, who is surnamed Just, whom they relate to be very like Christ Jesus in appearance, in life, and in method of conduct, as if he were a twin-brother of the same womb. They say that, if I see him, I see also Jesus Himself, as to all the features and aspect of His body. Moreover, [I desire to see] the other saints, both male and female. Alas! why do I delay? Why am I kept back? Kind teacher, bid me hasten [to fulfil my wish], and fare thou well. Amen.

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE VIRGIN MARY

Spuriously attributed to Ignatius of Antioch
From: Apostolic Fathers; Writer unknown.
Translation; Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867
Estimated Range of Dating: 150-250 A.D.

Prologue: HER, friend Ignatius to the Christ-bearing Mary.

Thou oughtest to have comforted and consoled me who am a neophyte, and a disciple of thy [beloved] John. For I have heard things wonderful to tell respecting thy [son] Jesus, and I am astonished by such a report. But I desire with my whole heart to obtain information concerning the things which I have heard from thee, who wast always intimate and allied with Him, and who wast acquainted with [all] His secrets. I have also written to thee at another time, and have asked thee concerning the same things. Fare thou well; and let the neophytes who are with me be comforted of thee, and by thee, and in thee. Amen.

REPLY OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN TO THIS LETTER.

The lowly handmaid of Christ Jesus to Ignatius, her beloved fellow-disciple.

The things which thou hast heard and learned from John concerning Jesus are true. Believe them, cling to them, and hold fast the profession of that Christianity which thou hast embraced, and conform thy habits and life to thy profession. Now I will come in company with John to visit thee, and those that are with thee. Stand fast in the faith,[2] and show thyself a man; nor let the fierceness of persecution move thee, but let thy spirit be strong and rejoice in God thy Saviour.[3] Amen.

THE EPISTLE OF MATHETES TO DIOGNETUS

Letter from a disciple of the Apostles to Diognetus
From: Apostolic Fathers; Writer unknown.
Translation; Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1867
Estimated Range of Dating: 130-190 A.D.

(The Epistle of Diognetus survived only in one manuscript which was located in Strasbourg and was destroyed in a fire during the Franco-Prussian War in the year 1870. This manuscript was initially discovered in a 13th-century codex that included writings ascribed to Justin Martyr. It had already been printed, the first time in 1592 when it was generally ascribed to Justin Martyr because of the context of its manuscript. In all copies, about two lines of the text are missing in the middle. The 13th-century manuscript was damaged in that place and the copies were made only after that damage had already been done. A number of transcriptions of this manuscript survive today.

The Greek writer is not known to us, the word Mathetes is Greek for "disciple", used as a title. The recipient is called Diognetus. It was the name of a tutor of the emperor Marcus Aurelius (121–180 AD), who admired him for his freedom from superstition and sound educational advice. Some scientists doubt, that the text was meant for the emperor's tutor. However, the following interesting and eloquent epistle was written by an earnest and intelligent Christian to a sincere inquirer among the Gentiles (non-Jews). Estimates of dating based on the language and other textual evidence have ranged from 130 to about 190 AD, which would make it one of the earliest examples of apologetic literature.)

DIOGNETUS CHAPTER 1

Occasion of the Epistle.

Since I see thee, most excellent Diognetus, exceedingly desirous to learn the mode of worshipping God prevalent among the Christians, and inquiring very carefully and earnestly concerning them, what God they trust in, and what form of religion they observe, so as all to look down upon the world itself, and despise death, while they neither esteem those to be gods that are reckoned such by the Greeks, nor hold to the superstition of the Jews; and what is the affection which they cherish among themselves; and why, in fine, this new kind or practice of piety has only now entered into the world, and not long ago; I cordially welcome this thy desire, and I implore God, who enables us both to speak and to hear, to grant to me so to speak, that, above all, I may hear you have been edified, and to you so to hear, that I who speak may have no cause of regret for having done so.

DIOGNETUS CHAPTER 2

The vanity of idols.

Come, then, after you have freed yourself from all prejudices possessing your mind, and laid aside what you have been accustomed to, as something apt to deceive you, and being made, as if from the beginning, a new man, inasmuch as, according to your own confession, you are to be the hearer of a new system of doctrine; come and contemplate, not with your eyes only, but with your understanding, the substance and the form of those whom ye declare and deem to be gods. Is not one of them a stone similar to that on which we tread? Is not a second brass, in no way superior to those vessels which are constructed for our ordinary use? Is not a third wood, and that already rotten? Is not a fourth silver, which needs a man to watch it, lest it be stolen? Is not a fifth iron, consumed by rust? Is not a sixth earthenware, in no degree more valuable than that which is formed for the humblest purposes? Are not all these of corruptible matter? Are they not fabricated by means of iron and fire? Did not the sculptor fashion one of them, the brazier a second, the silversmith a third, and the potter a fourth? Was not every one of them, before they were formed by the arts of these workmen into the shape of these gods, each in its own way subject to change? Would not those things which are now vessels, formed of the same materials, become like to such, if they met with the same artificers? Might not these, which are now worshipped by you, again be made by men vessels similar to others? Are they not all deaf? Are they not blind? Are they not without life? Are they not destitute of feeling? Are they not incapable of motion? Are they not all liable to rot? Are they not all corruptible? These things ye call gods; these ye serve; these ye worship; and ye become altogether like to them. For this reason ye hate the Christians, because they do not deem these to be gods. But do not ye yourselves, who now think and suppose such to be gods, much more cast contempt upon them than they the Christians do? Do ye not much more mock and insult them, when ye worship those that are made of stone and earthenware, without appointing any persons to guard them; but those made of silver and gold ye shut up by night, and appoint watchers to look after them by day, lest they be stolen? And by those gifts which ye mean to present to them, do ye not, if they are possessed of sense, rather punish than honour them? But if, on the other hand, they are destitute of sense, ye convict them of this fact, while ye worship them with blood and the smoke of sacrifices. Let any one of you suffer such indignities! Let any one of you endure to have such things done to himself! But not a single human being will, unless compelled to it, endure such treatment, since he is endowed with sense and reason. A stone, however, readily bears it, seeing it is insensible. Certainly you do not show by your conduct that he your God is possessed of sense. And as to the fact that Christians are not accustomed to serve such gods, I might easily find many other things to say; but if even what has been said does not seem to any one sufficient, I deem it idle to say anything further.

DIOGNETUS CHAPTER 3

Superstitions of the Jews.

And next, I imagine that you are most desirous of hearing something on this point, that the Christians do not observe the same forms of divine worship as do the Jews. The Jews, then, if they abstain from the kind of service above described, and deem it proper to worship one God as being Lord of all, are right; but if they offer Him worship in the way which we have described, they greatly err. For while the Gentiles, by offering such things to those that are destitute of sense and hearing, furnish an example of madness; they, on the other hand, by thinking to offer these things to God as if He needed them, might justly reckon it rather an act of folly than of divine worship. For He that made heaven and earth, and all that is therein, and gives to us all the things of which we stand in need, certainly requires none of those things which He Himself bestows on such as think of furnishing them to Him. But those who imagine that, by means of blood, and the smoke of sacrifices and burnt-offerings, they offer sacrifices acceptable to Him, and that by such honours they show Him

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respect,—these, by supposing that they can give anything to Him who stands in need of nothing, appear to me in no respect to differ from those who studiously confer the same honour on things destitute of sense, and which therefore are unable to enjoy such honours.

DIOGNETUS CHAPTER 4

The other observances of the Jews.

But as to their scrupulosity concerning meats, and their superstition as respects the Sabbaths, and their boasting about circumcision, and their fancies about fasting and the new moons, which are utterly ridiculous and unworthy of notice,—I do not think that you require to learn anything from me. For, to accept some of those things which have been formed by God for the use of men as properly formed, and to reject others as useless and redundant,—how can this be lawful? And to speak falsely of God, as if He forbade us to do what is good on the Sabbath-days,—how is not this impious? And to glory in the circumcision of the flesh as a proof of election, and as if, on account of it, they were specially beloved by God,—how is it not a subject of ridicule? And as to their observing months and days, as if waiting upon the stars and the moon, and their distributing, according to their own tendencies, the appointments of God, and the vicissitudes of the seasons, some for festivities, and others for mourning,—who would deem this a part of divine worship, and not much rather a manifestation of folly? I suppose, then, you are sufficiently convinced that the Christians properly abstain from the vanity and error common to both Jews and Gentiles, and from the busy-body spirit and vain boasting of the Jews; but you must not hope to learn the mystery of their peculiar mode of worshipping God from any mortal.

DIOGNETUS CHAPTER 5

The manners of the Christians.

For the Christians are distinguished from other men neither by country, nor language, nor the customs which they observe. For they neither inhabit cities of their own, nor employ a peculiar form of speech, nor lead a life which is marked out by any singularity. The course of conduct which they follow has not been devised by any speculation or deliberation of inquisitive men; nor do they, like some, proclaim themselves the advocates of any merely human doctrines. But, inhabiting Greek as well as barbarian cities, according as the lot of each of them has determined, and following the customs of the natives in respect to clothing, food, and the rest of their ordinary conduct, they display to us their wonderful and confessedly striking method of life. They dwell in their own countries, but simply as sojourners. As citizens, they share in all things with others, and yet endure all things as if foreigners. Every foreign land is to them as their native country, and every land of their birth as a land of strangers. They marry, as do all others; they beget children; but they do not destroy their offspring. They have a common table, but not a common bed. They are in the flesh, but they do not live after the flesh. They pass their days on earth, but they are citizens of heaven. They obey the prescribed laws, and at the same time surpass the laws by their lives. They love all men, and are persecuted by all. They are unknown and condemned; they are put to death, and restored to life. They are poor, yet make many rich; they are in lack of all things, and yet abound in all; they are dishonoured, and yet in their very dishonour are glorified. They are evil spoken of, and yet are justified; they are reviled, and bless; they are insulted, and repay the insult with honour; they do good, yet are punished as evil-doers. When punished, they rejoice as if quickened into life; they are assailed by the Jews as foreigners, and are persecuted by the Greeks; yet those who hate them are unable to assign any reason for their hatred.

DIOGNETUS CHAPTER 6

The relation of Christians to the world.

To sum up all in one word—what the soul is in the body, that are Christians in the world. The soul is dispersed through all the members of the body, and Christians are scattered through all the cities of the world. The soul dwells in the body, yet is not of the body; and Christians dwell in the world, yet are not of the world. The invisible soul is guarded by the visible body, and Christians are known indeed to be in the world, but their godliness remains invisible. The flesh hates the soul, and wars against it, though itself suffering no injury, because it is prevented from enjoying pleasures; the world also hates the Christians, though in nowise injured, because they abjure pleasures. The soul loves the flesh that hates it, and loves also the members; Christians likewise love those that hate them. The soul is imprisoned in the body, yet preserves that very body; and Christians are confined in the world as in a prison, and yet they are the preservers of the world. The immortal soul dwells in a mortal tabernacle; and Christians dwell as sojourners in corruptible bodies, looking for an incorruptible dwelling in the heavens. The soul, when but ill-provided with food and drink, becomes better; in like manner, the Christians, though subjected day by day to punishment, increase the more in number. God has assigned them this illustrious position, which it were unlawful for them to forsake.

DIOGNETUS CHAPTER 7

The manifestation of Christ.

For, as I said, this was no mere earthly invention which was delivered to them, nor is it a mere human system of opinion, which they judge it right to preserve so carefully, nor has a dispensation of mere human mysteries been committed to them, but truly God Himself, who is almighty, the Creator of all things, and invisible, has sent from heaven, and placed among men, Him who is the truth, and the holy and incomprehensible Word, and has firmly established Him in their hearts. He did not, as one might have imagined, send to men any servant, or angel, or ruler, or any one of those who bear sway over earthly things, or one of those to whom the government of things in the heavens has been entrusted, but the very Creator and Fashioner of all things—by whom He made the heavens—by whom he enclosed the sea within its proper bounds—whose ordinances all the stars faithfully observe—from whom the sun has received the measure of his daily course to be observed—whom the moon obeys, being commanded to shine in the night, and whom the stars also obey, following the moon in her course; by whom all things have been arranged, and placed within their proper limits, and to whom all are subject—the heavens and the things that are therein, the earth and the things that are therein, the sea and the things that are therein—fire, air, and the abyss—the things which are in the heights, the things which are in the depths, and the things which lie between. This messenger He sent to them. Was it then, as one might conceive, for the purpose of exercising tyranny, or of inspiring fear and terror? By no means, but under the influence of clemency and meekness. As a king sends his son, who is also a king, so sent He Him; as God He sent Him; as to men He sent Him; as a Saviour He sent Him, and as seeking to persuade, not to compel us; for violence has no place in the character of God. As calling us He sent Him, not as vengefully pursuing us; as loving us He sent Him, not as judging us. For He will yet send Him to judge us, and who shall endure His appearing? … Do you not see them exposed to wild beasts, that they may be persuaded to deny the Lord, and yet not overcome? Do you not see that the more of them that are punished, the greater becomes the number of the rest? This does not seem to be the work of man: this is the power of God; these are the evidences of His manifestation.

DIOGNETUS CHAPTER 8

The miserable state of men before the coming of the Word.

For, who of men at all understood before His coming what God is? Do you accept of the vain and silly doctrines of those who are deemed trustworthy philosophers? of whom some said that fire was God, calling that God to which they themselves were by and by to come; and some water; and others some other of the elements formed by God. But if any one of these theories be worthy of approbation, every one of the rest of created things might also be declared to be God. But such declarations are simply the startling and erroneous utterances of deceivers; and no man has either seen Him, or made Him known, but He has revealed Himself. And He has manifested Himself through faith, to which alone it is given to behold God. For God, the Lord and Fashioner of all things, who made all things, and assigned them their several positions, proved Himself not merely a friend of mankind, but also long-suffering in His dealings with them. Yea, he was always of such a character, and still is, and will ever be, kind and good, and free from wrath, and true, and the only one who is absolutely good; and He formed in His mind a great and unspeakable conception, which He communicated to His Son alone. As long, then, as He held and preserved His own wise counsel in concealment, he appeared to neglect us, and to have no care over us. But after He revealed and laid open, through His beloved Son, the things which had been prepared from the beginning, He conferred every blessing all at once upon us, so that we should both share in His benefits, and see and be active in His service. Who of us would ever have expected these things? He was aware, then, of all things in His own mind, along with His Son, according to the relation subsisting between them.

DIOGNETUS CHAPTER 9

Why the Son was sent so late.

As long then as the former time endured, He permitted us to be borne along by unruly impulses, being drawn away by the desire of pleasure and various lusts. This was not that He at all delighted in our sins, but that He simply endured them; nor that He approved the time of working iniquity which then was, but that He sought to form a mind conscious of righteousness, so that being convinced in that time of our unworthiness of attaining life through our own works, it should now, through the kindness of God, be vouchsafed to us; and having made it manifest that in ourselves we were unable to enter into the kingdom of God, we might through the power of God be made able. But when our wickedness had reached its height, and it had been clearly shown that its reward, punishment and death, was impending over us; and when the time had come which God had before appointed for manifesting His own kindness and power, how the one love of God, through exceeding regard for men, did not regard us with hatred, nor thrust us away, nor remember our iniquity against us, but showed great long-suffering, and bore with us, He Himself took on Him the burden of our iniquities. He gave His own Son as a ransom for us, the holy One for transgressors, the blameless One for the wicked, the righteous One for the unrighteous, the incorruptible One for the corruptible, the immortal One for them that are mortal. For what other thing was capable of covering our sins than His righteousness? By what other one was it possible that we, the wicked and ungodly, could be justified, than by the only Son of God? O sweet exchange! O unsearchable operation! O benefits surpassing all expectation! that the wickedness of many should be hid in a single righteous One, and that the righteousness of One should justify many transgressors I Having therefore convinced us in the former time that our nature was unable to attain to life, and having now revealed the Saviour who is able to save even those things which it was formerly impossible to save, by both these facts He desired to lead us to trust in His kindness, to esteem Him our Nourisher, Father, Teacher, Counsellor, Healer, our Wisdom, Light, Honour, Glory, Power, and Life, so that we should not be anxious concerning clothing and food.

DIOGNETUS CHAPTER 10

The blessings that will flow from faith.

If you also desire to possess this faith, you likewise shall receive first of all the knowledge of the Father. For God has loved mankind, on whose account He made the world, to whom He rendered subject all the things that are in it, to whom He gave reason and understanding, to whom alone He imparted the privilege of looking upwards to Himself, whom He formed after His own image, to whom He sent His only-begotten Son, to whom He has promised a kingdom in heaven, and will give it to those who have loved Him. And when you have attained this knowledge, with what joy do you think you will be filled? Or, how will you love Him who has first so loved you? And If you love Him, you will be an imitator of His kindness. And do not wonder that a man may become an imitator of God. He can, if he is willing. For it is not by ruling over his neighbours, or by seeking to hold the supremacy over those that are weaker, or by being rich, and showing violence towards those that are inferior, that happiness is found; nor can any one by these things become an imitator of God. But these things do not at all constitute His majesty. On the contrary he who takes upon himself the burden of his neighbour; he who, in whatsoever respect he may be superior, is ready to benefit another who is deficient; he who, whatsoever things he has received from God, by distributing these to the needy, becomes a god to those who receive his benefits: he is an imitator of God. Then thou shalt see, while still on earth, that God in the heavens rules over the universe; then thou shalt begin to speak the mysteries of God; then shalt thou both love and admire those that suffer punishment because they will not deny God; then shalt thou condemn the deceit and error of the world when thou shalt know what it is to live truly in heaven, when thou shalt despise that which is here esteemed to be death, when thou shalt fear what is truly death, which is reserved for those who shall be condemned to the eternal fire, which shall afflict those even to the end that are committed to it. Then shalt thou admire those who for righteousness' sake endure the fire that is but for a moment, and shalt count them happy when thou shalt know the nature of that fire.

DIOGNETUS CHAPTER 11

These things are worthy to be known and believed.

I do not speak of things strange to me, nor do I aim at anything inconsistent with right reason; but having been a disciple of the apostles, I am become a teacher of the Gentiles. I minister the things delivered to me to those that are disciples worthy of the truth. For who that is rightly taught and begotten by the loving Word, would not seek to learn accurately the things which have been clearly shown by the Word to His disciples, to whom the Word being manifested has revealed them, speaking plainly to them, not understood indeed by the unbelieving, but conversing with the disciples, who, being esteemed faithful by Him, acquired a knowledge of the mysteries of the Father? For which reason He sent the Word, that He might be manifested to the world; and He, being despised by the people of the Jews, was, when preached by the apostles, believed on by the Gentiles. This is He who was from the beginning, who appeared as if new, and was found old, and yet who is ever born afresh in the hearts of the saints. This is He who, being from everlasting, is to-day called the Son; through whom the church is enriched, and grace, widely spread, increases in the saints, furnishing understanding, revealing mysteries, announcing times, rejoicing over the faithful, giving to those that seek, by whom the limits of faith are not broken through, nor the boundaries

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set by the fathers passed over. Then the fear of the law is chanted, and the grace of the prophets is known, and the faith of the gospels is established, and the tradition of the apostles is preserved, and the grace of the church exults; which grace if you grieve not, you shall know those things which the Word teaches, by whom He wills, and when He pleases. For whatever things we are moved to utter by the will of the Word commanding us, we communicate to you with pains, and from a love of the things that have been revealed to us.

DIOGNETUS CHAPTER 12

The importance of knowledge to true spiritual life.

When you have read and carefully listened to these things, you shall know what God bestows on such as rightly love Him, being made as ye are a paradise of delight, presenting in yourselves a tree bearing all kinds of produce and flourishing well, being adorned with various fruits. For in this place the tree of knowledge and the tree of life have been planted; but it is not the tree of knowledge that destroys—it is disobedience that proves destructive. Nor truly are those words without significance which are written, how God from the beginning planted the tree of life in the midst of paradise, revealing through knowledge the way to life, and when those who were first formed did not use this knowledge properly, they were, through the fraud of the serpent, stripped naked. For neither can life exist without knowledge, nor is knowledge secure without life. Wherefore both were planted close together. The apostle, perceiving the force of this conjunction, and blaming that knowledge which, without true doctrine, is admitted to influence life, declares, "Knowledge puffeth up, but love edifieth." For he who thinks he knows anything without true knowledge, and such as is witnessed to by life, knows nothing, but is deceived by the serpent, as not loving life. But he who combines knowledge with fear, and seeks after life, plants in hope, looking for fruit. Let your heart be your wisdom; and let your life be true knowledge inwardly received. Bearing this tree and displaying its fruit, thou shalt always gather in those things which are desired by God, which the serpent cannot reach, and to which deception does not approach; nor is Eve then corrupted, but is trusted as a virgin; and salvation is manifested, and the apostles are filled with understanding, and the passover of the Lord advances, and the choirs are gathered together, and are arranged in proper order, and the Word rejoices in teaching the saints,—by whom the Father is glorified: to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

LAW AND ORGANISATION
JEWISH LAWS

THE HOLINESS CODE

The Holiness Code is a term used in biblical criticism to refer to Leviticus chapters 17–26, and is so called due to its highly repeated use of the word Holy. Critical biblical scholars have regarded it as a distinct unit and have noted that the style is noticeably different from the main body of Leviticus. Unlike the remainder of Leviticus, the many laws of the Holiness Code are expressed very closely packed together, and very briefly.

According to most versions of the documentary hypothesis, the Holiness Code represents an earlier text that was edited and incorporated into the Priestly source and the Torah as a whole, although some scholars, such as Israel Knohl, believe the Holiness Code to be a later addition to the Priestly source. This source is often abbreviated as "H".[3] A generally accepted date is sometime in the seventh century BC, when it presumably originated among the priests in the Temple in Jerusalem.

The Holiness Code also uses a noticeably different choice of vocabulary, repeating phrases such as I, The LORD, am holy, I am the LORD, and I the LORD, which sanctify..., an unusually large number of times. Additionally, Leviticus 17 begins with This is the thing which the LORD hath commanded, saying.., and Leviticus 26 strongly resembles the conclusion of a law code, despite the presence of further laws afterward, such as at Leviticus 27, giving the Holiness Code the appearance of a single distinct unit.

Embedding In The Priestly Source

The Holiness Code is considered part of the Priestly source by scholars holding to the documentary hypothesis. However, such scholars generally believe it to have been an originally separate legal code (referred to as "H") which the priestly source edited and chose to embed into their writing after. Some such editing is simply the addition of phrases such as And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, designed to put the code into the context of the remainder of a code being given by God, as is the case for the remainder of Leviticus.

It is also alleged by critical scholarship that several additional laws, written with a style unlike that of the Holiness Code but like that of the remainder of Leviticus, were inserted into the body of the text by the Priestly source.[citation needed] These alleged additions are:

- The prohibition against consuming the naturally dead (Leviticus 17:15–16)
- The order to make trespass offerings after sexual involvement with an engaged slavewoman (Leviticus 19:20–22)
- The prohibition against an anointed high priest uncovering his head or rending his clothes (Leviticus 21:10)
- The prohibition against offerings by Aaronic priests who are blemished (Leviticus 21:21–22)
- The order to keep the sabbath, passover, and feast of unleavened bread (Leviticus 23:1–10a)
- The order to keep Yom Kippur, and Sukkot (Leviticus 23:23–44)
- The order for continual bread and oil (Leviticus 24:1–9)
- Case law concerning a blasphemer (Leviticus 24:10–15a and 24:23)
- The order for a trumpet sounding on Yom Kippur (Leviticus 25:9b)
- Rules concerning redeeming property (Leviticus 25:23 and 25:26–34)
- Order to release Israelite slaves at the year of jubilee (Leviticus 25:40, 25:42, 25:44–46)
- Rules concerning redeeming people (Leviticus 25:48–52, and 25:54)

THE COVENANT CODE

(The Covenant Code, or Book of the Covenant, is the name given by academics to a text appearing in the Torah, at Exodus 20:22-23:19; or, more strictly, the term Covenant Code may be applied to Exodus 21:1-22:16.[1] Biblically, the text is the second of the law codes given to Moses by God at Mount Sinai. This legal text provides a small but substantive proportion of the mitzvot within the Torah, and hence is a source of Jewish Law.)

The Large and Small Covenant Codes compared

Some scholars, calling attention to Exodus 34:10, "Then the LORD said: 'I am making a covenant with you'," note that the laws of Exodus 34 appear to be a shorter and differently organised version of the Covenant Code (Exodus 20:22–23:33).[21] These have been differentiated as the "Small Covenant Code" (Exodus 34) and the "Large Covenant Code" (Exodus 20–23). These views are not mutually exclusive. Aaron (2006), for example, discusses how the "Exodus 34 Decalogue", while presented as the Ten Commandments, appears to be a reworking of the Covenant Code. Indeed, H.L. Ginsberg believed that the Ritual Decalogue was an interpolation, and that the phrase "Ten Commandments" in Exodus 34:28 originally referred to a portion of the Covenant Code, Exodus 23:10–27, which he called the First Ritual Decalogue. The reader may put the following two examples in a table or list with two columns.

LARGE COVENANT CODE, Exodus 23:10– 22 But if you listen attentively to his voice and do all that I say, then I will be an enemy to your enemies and a foe to your foes.

23 When my angel goes in front of you, and brings you to the Amorites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Canaanites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, and I blot them out,

32 You shall make no covenant with them and their gods.

33 They shall not live in your land, or they will make you sin against me; for if you worship their gods, it will surely be a snare to you.

24 Thou shalt not bow down to their gods, nor serve them, nor do after their doings; but thou shalt utterly overthrow them, and break in pieces their pillars.

13 Be attentive to all that I have said to you. Do not invoke the names of other gods; do not let them be heard on your lips.

15a You shall observe the festival of unleavened bread; as I commanded you, you shall eat unleavened bread for seven days at the appointed time in the month of Abib, for in it you came out of Egypt.

15b No one shall appear before me empty-handed.

10 For six years you shall sow your land and gather in its yield; 11 but the seventh year you shall let it rest and lie fallow, so that the poor of your people may eat; and what they leave the wild animals may eat. You shall do the same with your vineyard, and with your olive orchard. 12 Six days you shall do your work, but on the seventh day you shall rest, so that your ox and your donkey may have relief, and your homeborn slave and the resident alien may be refreshed.

16 You shall observe the festival of harvest, of the first fruits of your labour, of what you sow in the field. You shall observe the festival of ingathering at the end of the year, when you gather in from the field the fruit of your labour.

17 Three times in the year all your males shall appear before the Lord God.

18 You shall not offer the blood of my sacrifice with anything leavened, or let the fat of my festival remain until the morning.

19 The choicest of the first fruits of your ground you shall bring into the house of the LORD your God.

You shall not boil a kid in its mother's milk.

In comparison to the Large Covenant Code, here is the Small Covenant Code in the same sequence:

SMALL COVENANT CODE (also known as Ritual Decalogue), Exodus 34:11–26

11 Observe what I command you today. See, I will drive out before you the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites.

12 Take care not to make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land to which you are going, or it will become a snare among you.

13 You shall tear down their altars, break their pillars, and cut down their sacred poles

14 (for you shall worship no other god, because the Lord, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God).

15 You shall not make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land, for when they prostitute themselves to their gods and sacrifice to their gods, someone among them will invite you, and you will eat of the sacrifice.

16 And you will take wives from among their daughters for your sons, and their daughters who prostitute themselves to their gods will make your sons also prostitute themselves to their gods.

17 You shall not make cast idols.

18 You shall keep the festival of unleavened bread. For seven days you shall eat unleavened bread, as I commanded you, at the time appointed in the month of Abib; for in the month of Abib you came out from Egypt.

19 All that first opens the womb is mine, all your male livestock, the firstborn of cow and sheep.

20a The firstborn of a donkey you shall redeem with a lamb, or if you will not redeem it you shall break its neck. All the firstborn of your sons you shall redeem.

20b No one shall appear before me empty-handed.

21 For six days you shall work, but on the seventh day you shall rest; even in ploughing time and in harvest time you shall rest.

22 You shall observe the festival of weeks, the first fruits of wheat harvest, and the festival of ingathering at the turn of the year.

23 Three times in the year all your males shall appear before the Lord God, the God of Israel.

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24 For I will cast out nations before you, and enlarge your borders; no one shall covet your land when you go up to appear before the Lord your God three times in the year.
25 You shall not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven, and the sacrifice of the festival of the passover shall not be left until the morning.
26 The best of the first fruits of your ground you shall bring to the house of the Lord your God.
You shall not boil a kid in its mother's milk.

The Ritual Decalogue is a list of laws at Exodus 34:11–26. These laws are similar to the Covenant Code and are followed by the phrase "ten commandments" (Hebrew: Aseret Ha-Dvarim, in Exodus 34:28). Although the phrase "Ten Commandments" has traditionally been interpreted as referring to a very different set of laws, in Exodus 20:2–17, many scholars believe it instead refers to the Ritual Decalogue found two verses earlier.

Critical biblical scholars understand the two sets of laws to have different authorship. Early scholars, adopting a proposal of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, contrasted the "Ritual" Decalogue with the "Ethical" Decalogue of Exodus 20:2–17 and Deuteronomy 5:6–21, which are the texts more generally known as the Ten Commandments. Believing that the Bible reflected a shift over time from an emphasis on the ritual to the ethical, they argued that the Ritual Decalogue was composed earlier than the Ethical Decalogue. Later scholars have held that they were actually parallel developments, with the Ethical Decalogue a late addition to Exodus copied from Deuteronomy, or that the Ritual Decalogue was the later of the two, a conservative reaction to the secular Ethical Decalogue. A few Bible scholars call the verses in Exodus 34 the "small Covenant code", as it appears to be a compact version of the Covenant Code in Exodus 20:19–23:33; they argue the small Covenant code was composed around the same time as the Decalogue of Exodus 20, but either served different functions within Israelite religion, or reflects the influence of other Ancient Near Eastern religious texts.

The word decalogue comes from the Greek name for the Ten Commandments, δέκα λόγοι (déka lógoi; "ten terms"), a translation of the Hebrew (aseret ha-dvarîm "the ten items/terms").

The Ritual Decalogue is framed in the context of God making a covenant with Israel:

> Yahweh said to Moses, Cut two tablets of stone like the former ones, and I will write on the tablets the words that were on the former tablets, which you broke. ... I hereby make a covenant. [Commandments of Exodus 34]

> Yahweh said to Moses, Write these words; in accordance with these words I have made a covenant with you and with Israel. ... And he wrote on the tablets the words of the covenant, the ten commandments [aseret ha-dvarîm]. This is the only place in the Bible where the phrase Ten Commandments identifies a set of commandments.

THE ETHICAL DECALOGUE

The two Ethical Decalogues compared

We see now what is known as the Ten Commandments in Exodus 20, which is almost the same as the Ten Commandments of Deuteronomy 5, and in Deuteronomy 10:4.

Ethical Decalogue, Exodus 20:2–17

2 I am the Lord your God, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of slavery;
3 Do not have any other gods before me.
4 You shall not make for yourself an idol, whether in the form of anything that is in heaven above, or that is on the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth.
5 You shall not bow down to them or worship them; for I the Lord your God am a jealous God, punishing children for the iniquity of parents, to the third and the fourth generation of those who reject me,
6 but showing steadfast love to the thousandth generation of those who love me and keep my commandments.
7 You shall not make wrongful use of the name of the Lord your God, for the Lord will not acquit anyone who misuses his name.
8 Remember the Sabbath day and keep it holy.
9 For six days you shall labour and do all your work.
10 But the seventh day is a Sabbath to the Lord your God; you shall not do any work—you, your son or your daughter, your male or female slave, your livestock, or the alien resident in your towns.
11 For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that is in them, but rested the seventh day; therefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day and consecrated it.
12 Honour your father and your mother, so that your days may be long in the land that the Lord your God is giving you.
13 You shall not murder.
14 You shall not commit adultery.
15 You shall not steal.
16 You shall not bear false witness against your neighbour.
17 You shall not covet your neighbour's house; you shall not covet your neighbour's wife, or male or female slave, or ox, or donkey, or anything that belongs to your neighbour.

Ethical Decalogue, Deuteronomy 5:6–21

6 I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of slavery;
7 you shall have no other gods before me.
8 You shall not make for yourself an idol, whether in the form of anything that is in heaven above, or that is on the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth.
9 You shall not bow down to them or worship them; for I the Lord your God am a jealous God, punishing children for the iniquity of parents, to the third and fourth generation of those who reject me,
10 but showing steadfast love to the thousandth generation of those who love me and keep my commandments.
11 You shall not make wrongful use of the name of the Lord your God, for the Lord will not acquit anyone who misuses his name.
12 Observe the sabbath day and keep it holy, as the Lord your God commanded you.
13 For six days you shall labour and do all your work.
14 But the seventh day is a Sabbath to the Lord your God; you shall not do any work—you, or your son or your daughter, or your male or female slave, or your ox or your donkey, or any of your livestock, or the resident alien in your towns, so that your male and female slave may rest as well as you.
15 Remember that you were a slave in the land of Egypt, and the Lord your God brought you out from there with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm; therefore the Lord your God commanded you to keep the sabbath day.
16 Honour your father and your mother, as the Lord your God commanded you, so that your days may be long and that it may go well with you in the land that the Lord your God is giving you.
17 You shall not murder.
18 Neither shall you commit adultery.
19 Neither shall you steal.
20 Neither shall you bear false witness against your neighbour.
21 Neither shall you covet your neighbour's wife. Neither shall you desire your neighbour's house, or field, or male or female slave, or ox, or donkey, or anything that belongs to your neighbour.

That we have two versions of the Covenant Code and also two versions of the Ethical Decalogue in the Torah underlines their significance.

COMMANDMENTS OF THE PARASHAH

The term parashah (Hebrew: "portion") formally means a section of a biblical book in the Masoretic Text of the Tanakh (Hebrew Bible).

According to the Sefer ha-Chinuch, there are 23 positive and 30 negative commandments in the parashah:

- To purchase a Hebrew slave in accordance with the prescribed laws.
- To betroth the Jewish maidservant.
- To redeem Jewish maidservants.
- The master must not sell his Jewish maidservant.
- Not to withhold food, clothing, or sexual relations from one's wife.
- The courts must execute by strangulation those who deserve it.
- Not to strike one's father or mother.
- The court must implement laws against the one who assaults another or damages another's property.
- The court must carry out the death penalty of the sword.
- The court must judge the damages incurred by a goring ox.
- Not to benefit from an ox condemned to be stoned.
- The court must judge the damages incurred by a pit.
- The court must implement punitive measures against the thief.
- The court must judge the damages incurred by an animal eating.
- The court must judge the damages incurred by fire.
- The courts must carry out the laws of an unpaid guard.
- The courts must carry out the laws of the plaintiff, admitter, or denier.
- The courts must carry out the laws of a hired worker and hired guard.
- The courts must carry out the laws of a borrower.
- The court must fine one who seduces a maiden.
- The court must not let the sorcerer live.
- Not to insult or harm a sincere convert with words.
- Not to cheat a sincere convert monetarily.
- Not to afflict any orphan or widow.
- To lend to the poor and destitute.
- Not to press them for payment if you know they don't have it.
- Not to intermediate in an interest loan, guarantee, witness, or write the promissory note.
- Not to curse judges.
- Not to blaspheme.
- Not to curse the head of state or leader of the Sanhedrin.
- Not to preface one tithe to the next, but separate them in their proper order.
- Not to eat meat of an animal that was mortally wounded.
- Judges must not accept testimony unless both parties are present.
- Transgressors must not testify.
- The court must not execute through a majority of one; at least a majority of two is required.

Celebrating Sukkot

- A judge who presented an acquittal plea must not present an argument for conviction in capital cases.
- To decide by majority in case of disagreement.
- Not to pity a poor man in judgement.
- To help another remove the load from a beast which can no longer carry it.
- A judge must not decide unjustly the case of the habitual transgressor.
- The court must not kill anybody on circumstantial evidence.
- Judges must not accept bribes.
- To leave free all produce that grew in the Sabbatical year.
- To rest on the Sabbath.
- Not to swear in the name of an idol.
- Not to turn Israelites to idolatry.
- To celebrate on the three Festivals of Passover, Shavuot, and Sukkot.
- Not to slaughter the Passover lamb while in possession of leaven.
- Not to leave the fat overnight.
- To set aside the first fruits and bring them to the Temple.
- Not to eat meat and milk cooked together.
- Not to make any treaty with the seven nations to be extirpated, or with any idol worshiper.
- Not to let them dwell in our land.

PRIESTLY CODE

The Priestly Code (Hebrew: Torat Kohanim) is the name given, by academia, to the body of laws expressed in the Torah which do not form part of the Holiness Code, the Covenant Code, the Ritual Decalogue, or the Ethical Decalogue.

The Priestly Code constitutes the majority of Leviticus, as well as some of the laws expressed in Numbers. The code forms a large portion, approximately one third, of the commandments of the Torah, and thus is a major source of Jewish law.

It is termed the Priestly Code due to its large concern with ritual and the Jewish priesthood, and also, in critical scholarship, it is defined as the whole of the law code believed to be present in the Priestly Source except for the Holiness Code. Under the documentary hypothesis, while some scholars believe that the Priestly Code was created to rival the Ethical Decalogue and Covenant Code, others believe was intended as only supplementary to the Holiness Code.

Constituent Parts of the Priestly Code

The majority of the Priestly Code is presented in the Torah as the Law which is given to Moses directly by God at Mount Sinai. Unlike the Decalogues, however, Yahweh speaks the laws to Moses while descended, in a cloud, upon the Tabernacle which the Israelites have constructed. The remainder is present as scattered laws either given by Moses directly, or by being given in a similar manner to the majority, via the tabernacle, but after the Israelites have moved elsewhere, taking the tabernacle with them. The implication, therefore, is that the tabernacle is the place where God speak with the priesthood.

Although the majority of the code forms the bulk of Leviticus, there are several laws which appear in other places in the Torah. The code is generally regarded to contain the following laws :

1. Law of circumcision (Genesis 17)
2. Laws concerning consumption of the Passover meal (Exodus 12:43-49)
3. Laws concerning the keeping of the Sabbath (Exodus 31:14b-17 and 35:1-3)
4. Law concerning the consumption of dead animals, fat, blood, and the portion due to the priest (Leviticus 7:22-38)
5. Law concerning inappropriate behaviour for priests (Leviticus 10:6-15)
6. List of clean and unclean animals (Leviticus 11)
7. Laws of purification and atonement (Leviticus 12, Leviticus 13, and Leviticus 15)
8. Laws interrupting the Holiness Code:

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8a The prohibition against consuming the naturally dead (Leviticus 17:15-16)

8b The order to make trespass offerings after sexual involvement with an engaged slavewoman (Leviticus 19:21-22)

8c. The prohibition against an anointed high priest uncovering his head or rending his clothes (Leviticus 21:10)

8d. The prohibition against offerings by Aaronid priests who are blemished (Leviticus 21:21-22)

8e. Case law concerning a blasphemer (Leviticus 24:10-15a and 24:23)

8f. The order for a trumpet sounding on Yom Kippur (Leviticus 25:9b)

8g. Rules concerning redeeming property (Leviticus 25:23 and 25:26-34)

8h. Order to only keep heathens as slaves (Leviticus 25:40, 25:42, 25:44-46)

8i. Rules concerning redeeming people (Leviticus 25:48-52, and 25:54)

9. Law concerning the commutation of vows (Leviticus 27)

10. Miscellaneous laws concerning lepers, and dedicated things (Numbers 5:1-10)

11. Law concerning women suspected of adultery (Numbers 5:11-31)

12. Law of the "Little Passover" (Numbers 9:9-14)

13. Laws concerning the duties and revenue of priests and Levites (Numbers 18)

14. Law concerning the daughters of Zelophehad and inheritance (Numbers 27:1-11)

15. Law concerning oaths (Numbers 30)

16. The giving of 48 cities to the Levits (Numbers 35:1-8)

17 Law on the treatment of murder and manslaughter (Numbers 35:9-34)

18. Law concerning the daughters of Zelophehad and marriage to a land owner (Numbers 36)

It is also generally regarded as containing the following descriptions and rules of ritual:

19. Ritual of Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Exodus 12:15-20)

20. Ritual of Consecration of Priests (Exodus 29:1-37, carried out at Leviticus 8)

21. Continual morning and evening offerings (Exodus 29:38-42)

22. Rules concerning the burning of incense and of hand washing (Exodus 30:7-10, and 30:19-20)

23. Rules about the composition of anointing oil and incense (Exodus 30:22-38)

24. Rules of burnt offerings, meal offerings, peace offerings, sin offerings, and guilt offerings, including specifications of the portions allocated to priests, and, in some cases, the appropriate costume of the officiating priest (Leviticus 1-7:21, carried out at Leviticus 9)

25. Ritual of cleansing lepers (Leviticus 14)

26. Rule of fringes (Leviticus 15:37-41)

27. Ritual of Yom Kippur (Leviticus 16:3-34, 25:9b)

28. Rituals interrupting the Holiness Code:

28a. The order to keep the sabbath, passover, and feast of unleavened bread (Leviticus 23:1-10a)

28b. The order to keep Yom Kippur, and Sukkot (Leviticus 23:23-38)

28c. The order for continual bread and oil (Leviticus 24:1-9)

29. Ritual concerning Nazarites (Numbers 6:1-21)

30. The priestly benediction (Numbers 6:22-27)

30a. The LORD bless thee, and keep thee:

30b. The LORD make his face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee:

30c. The LORD lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.

31. Rules concerning how to fix lamps on the golden candlestick, and how to consecrate priests (Numbers 8:1-15, carried out at Numbers 8:20-22)

32. Ritual of the Red Heifer, for purification after contact with a corpse (Numbers 19)

THE 613 MITZVOT OR COMMANDMENTS

The Mosaic Covenant
In this Canonical Order the list by Maimonides
is sorted by occurrence in the Torah

(The Mosaic covenant (named after Moses), the Covenant of Moses, or, more precise: The Agreement between God and the People of Israel, also known as the Sinaitic covenant (named after the biblical Mount Sinai), refers to God's promise to the biblical Israelites, including their proselytes, and their commitment to worship Him alone. The establishment and stipulations of the Mosaic covenant are recorded in the first five books of the Hebrew Bible, traditionally attributed to Moses and collectively called the Torah or Pentateuch. This covenant is sometimes also referred to as the Law of Moses, Mosaic Law, or the 613 Mitzvot, or commandments (singular: mitzvah).

The tradition that 613 commandments (Hebrew: mitzvot or mitzvah) is the number of mitzvot in the Torah, began in the 3rd century AD, when Rabbi Simlai mentioned it in a sermon that is recorded in Talmud Makkot 23b.

Although there have been many attempts to codify and enumerate the commandments contained in the Torah, the most traditional enumeration is by Moses ben Maimon (1135 - 1204) also called Maimonides. The 613 commandments include "positive commandments", to perform an act (mitzvot aseh), and "negative commandments", to abstain from certain acts (mitzvot lo taaseh). The negative commandments number 365, which coincides with the number of days in the solar year, and the positive commandments number 248, a number ascribed to the number of bones and main organs in the human body (Babylonian Talmud, Makkot 23b–24a). Though the number 613 is mentioned in the Talmud, its real significance increased in later medieval rabbinic literature, including many works listing or arranged by the mitzvot. Three types of negative commandments fall under the self-sacrificial principle yehareg ve'al ya'avor, meaning "One should let oneself be killed rather than violate it". These are murder, idolatry, and forbidden sexual relations.

The 613 mitzvot have been divided also into three general categories: mishpatim; edot; and chukim. Mishpatim ("laws") include commandments that are deemed to be self-evident, such as not to murder and not to steal. Edot ("testimonies") commemorate important events in Jewish history. For example, the Shabbat is said to testify to the story that Hashem created the world in six days and rested on the seventh day and declared it holy. Chukim ("decrees") are commandments with no known rationale, and are perceived as pure manifestations of the Divine will.

Many of the mitzvot cannot be observed now, following the destruction of the Second Temple, although they still retain religious significance. According to one standard reckoning, there are 77 positive and 194 negative commandments that can be observed today, of which there are 26 commands that apply only within the Land of Israel. Furthermore, there are some time-related commandments from which women are exempt (examples include shofar, sukkah, lulav, tzitzit and tefillin). Some depend on the special status of a person in Judaism (such as kohanim), while others apply only to men or only to women.)

Typical order

1. To know there is a God — Ex. 20:2
2. Not to even think that there are other gods besides Him — Standard: Ex. 20:3; Yemenite: Ex. 20:2 [17]
3. To know that God is One — Deut. 6:4
4. To love God —Deut. 6:5
5. To fear God — Deut. 10:20
6. To sanctify God's Name — Lev. 22:32
7. Not to profane God's Name — Lev. 22:32
8. Not to destroy objects associated with God's Name — Deut. 12:4
9. To listen to the prophet speaking in God's Name — Deut. 18:15
10. Not to try the LORD unduly — Deut. 6:16
11. To emulate God's ways — Deut. 28:9
12. To cleave to those who know God — Deut. 10:20
13. To love other Jews — Lev. 19:18
14. To love converts — Deut. 10:19
15. Not to hate fellow Jews — Lev. 19:17
16. To reprove a sinner — Lev. 19:17
17. Not to embarrass others — Lev. 19:17
18. Not to oppress the weak — Ex. 22:21
19. Not to speak derogatorily of others — Lev. 19:16
20. Not to take revenge — Lev. 19:18
21. Not to bear a grudge — Lev. 19:18
22. To learn the Torah — Deut. 6:7
23. To honour those who teach and know the Torah — Lev. 19:32
24. Not to inquire into idolatry — Lev. 19:4
25. Not to follow the whims of your heart or what your eyes see — Num. 15:39
26. Not to blaspheme — Ex. 22:27
27. Not to worship idols in the manner they are worshiped — Standard: Ex. 20:6; Yemenite: Ex. 20:5
28. Not to worship idols in the four ways we worship God — Standard: Ex. 20:6; Yemenite: Ex. 20:5
29. Not to make an idol for yourself — Standard:Ex. 20:5; Yemenite: Ex. 20:4
30. Not to make an idol for others — Lev. 19:4
31. Not to make human forms even for decorative purposes — Standard: Ex. 20:21; Yemenite: Ex. 20:20
32. Not to turn a city to idolatry — Deut. 13:14
33. To burn a city that has turned to idol worship — Deut. 13:17
34. Not to rebuild it as a city — Deut. 13:17
35. Not to derive benefit from it — Deut. 13:18
36. Not to missionize an individual to idol worship — Deut. 13:12
37. Not to love the idolater — Deut. 13:9
38. Not to cease hating the idolater — Deut. 13:9
39. Not to save the idolater — Deut. 13:9
40. Not to say anything in the idolater's defense — Deut. 13:9
41. Not to refrain from incriminating the idolater — Deut. 13:9
42. Not to prophesy in the name of idolatry — Deut. 13:14
43. Not to listen to a false prophet — Deut. 13:4
44. Not to prophesy falsely in the name of God — Deut. 18:20
45. Not to be afraid of the false prophet — Deut. 18:22
46. Not to swear in the name of an idol — Ex. 23:13
47. Not to perform ov (medium) — Lev. 19:31
48. Not to perform yidoni ("magical seer") — Lev. 19:31
49. Not to pass your children through the fire to Molech — Lev. 18:21
50. Not to erect a pillar in a public place of worship — Deut. 16:22
51. Not to bow down before a smooth stone — Lev. 26:1
52. Not to plant a tree in the Temple courtyard — Deut. 16:21
53. To destroy idols and their accessories — Deut. 12:2
54. Not to derive benefit from idols and their accessories — Deut. 7:26
55. Not to derive benefit from ornaments of idols — Deut. 7:25
56. Not to make a covenant with idolaters —Deut. 7:2
57. Not to show favour to idolaters — Deut. 7:2
58. Not to let idolaters dwell in the Land of Israel — Ex. 23:33
59. Not to imitate idolaters in customs and clothing — Lev. 20:23
60. Not to be superstitious — Lev. 19:26
61. Not to go into a trance to foresee events, etc. — Deut. 18:10
62. Not to engage in divination or soothsaying — Lev. 19:26
63. Not to mutter incantations — Deut. 18:11
64. Not to attempt to contact the dead — Deut. 18:11
65. Not to consult the ov — Deut. 18:11
66. Not to consult the yidoni — Deut. 18:11
67. Not to perform acts of magic — Deut. 18:10
68. Men must not shave the hair off the sides of their head — Lev. 19:27
69. Men must not shave their beards with a razor — Lev. 19:27
70. Men must not wear women's clothing — Deut. 22:5
71. Women must not wear men's clothing — Deut. 22:5
72. Not to tattoo the skin — Lev. 19:28
73. Not to tear the skin in mourning — Deut. 14:1
74. Not to make a bald spot in mourning — Deut. 14:1
75. To repent and confess wrongdoings — Num. 5:7
76. To say the Shema twice daily — Deut. 6:7
77. To pray every day — Ex. 23:25
78. The Kohanim must bless the Jewish nation daily — Num. 6:23
79. To wear tefillin (phylacteries) on the head — Deut. 6:8
80. To bind tefillin on the arm — Deut. 6:8
81. To put a mezuzah on the door post — Deut. 6:9
82. Each male must write a Torah scroll — Deut. 31:19
83. The king must have a separate Torah scroll for himself — Deut. 17:18
84. To have tzitzit on four-cornered garments — Num. 15:38
85. To bless the Almighty after eating — Deut. 8:10
86. To circumcise all males on the eighth day after their birth — Gen. 17:10
87. To rest on the seventh day — Ex. 23:12
88. Not to do prohibited labour on the seventh day — Standard: Ex. 20:11; Yemenite: Ex. 20:10
89. The court must not inflict punishment on Shabbat — Ex. 35:3
90. Not to walk outside the city boundary on Shabbat — Ex. 16:29
91. To sanctify Shabbat with Kiddush and Havdalah — Standard: Ex. 20:9; Yemenite: Ex. 20:8
92. To rest from prohibited labour on Yom Kippur — Lev. 23:32
93. Not to do prohibited labour on Yom Kippur — Lev. 23:32
94. To afflict oneself on Yom Kippur — Lev. 16:29
95. Not to eat or drink on Yom Kippur — Lev. 23:29
96. To rest on the first day of Passover — Lev. 23:7
97. Not to do prohibited labour on the first day of Passover — Lev. 23:8
98. To rest on the seventh day of Passover — Lev. 23:8
99. Not to do prohibited labour on the seventh day of Passover — Lev. 23:8
100. To rest on Shavuot — Lev. 23:21
101. Not to do prohibited labour on Shavuot — Lev. 23:21
102. To rest on Rosh Hashanah — Lev. 23:24
103. Not to do prohibited labour on Rosh Hashanah — Lev. 23:25
104. To rest on Sukkot — Lev. 23:35

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105. Not to do prohibited labour on Sukkot — Lev. 23:35
106. To rest on Shemini Atzeret — Lev. 23:36
107. Not to do prohibited labour on Shemini Atzeret — Lev. 23:36
108. Not to eat chametz on the afternoon of the 14th day of Nisan — Deut. 16:3
109. To destroy all chametz on 14th day of Nisan — Ex. 12:15
110. Not to eat chametz all seven days of Passover —Ex. 13:3
111. Not to eat mixtures containing chametz all seven days of Passover — Ex. 12:20
112. Not to see chametz in your domain seven days — Ex. 13:7
113. Not to find chametz in your domain seven days — Ex. 12:19
114. To eat matzah on the first night of Passover — Ex. 12:18
115. To relate the Exodus from Egypt on that night — Ex. 13:8
116. To hear the Shofar on the first day of Tishrei (Rosh Hashanah) — Num. 9:1
117. To dwell in a Sukkah for the seven days of Sukkot — Lev. 23:42
118. To take up a Lulav and Etrog on the first day of Sukkot (in the temple, all seven days) — Lev. 23:40
119. Each man must give a half shekel annually — Ex. 30:13
120. Courts must calculate to determine when a new month begins — Ex. 12:2
121. To afflict oneself and cry out before God in times of calamity — Num. 10:9
122. To marry a wife by means of ketubah and kiddushin — Deut. 22:13
123. Not to have sexual relations with women not thus married — Deut. 23:18
124. Not to withhold food, clothing, and sexual relations from your wife — Ex. 21:10
125. To have children with one's wife — Gen. 1:28
126. To issue a divorce by means of a Get document — Deut. 24:1
127. A man must not remarry his ex-wife after she has married someone else — Deut. 24:4
128. To perform yibbum (marry the widow of one's childless brother) — Deut. 25:5
129. To perform halizah (free the widow of one's childless brother from yibbum) — Deut. 25:9
130. The widow must not remarry until the ties with her brother-in-law are removed (by halizah) — Deut. 25:5
131. The court must fine one who sexually seduces a maiden — Ex. 22:15-16
132. The rapist must marry his victim if she is unwed — Deut. 22:29
133. He is never allowed to divorce her — Deut. 22:29
134. The slanderer must remain married to his wife — Deut. 22:19
135. He must not divorce her — Deut. 22:19
136. To fulfill the laws of the Sotah — Num. 5:30
137. Not to put oil on her meal offering (as usual) — Num. 5:15
138. Not to put frankincense on her meal offering (as usual) — Num. 5:15
139. Not to have sexual relations with your mother — Lev. 18:7
140. Not to have sexual relations with your father's wife — Lev. 18:8
141. Not to have sexual relations with your sister — Lev. 18:9
142. Not to have sexual relations with your father's wife's daughter — Lev. 18:11
143. Not to have sexual relations with your son's daughter — Lev. 18:10
144. Not to have sexual relations with your daughter — Lev. 18:10
145. Not to have sexual relations with your daughter's daughter — Lev. 18:10
146. Not to have sexual relations with a woman and her daughter — Lev. 18:17
147. Not to have sexual relations with a woman and her son's daughter — Lev. 18:17
148. Not to have sexual relations with a woman and her daughter's daughter — Lev. 18:17
149. Not to have sexual relations with your father's sister — Lev. 18:12
150. Not to have sexual relations with your mother's sister — Lev. 18:13
151. Not to have sexual relations with your father's brother's wife — Lev. 18:14
152. Not to have sexual relations with your son's wife — Lev. 18:15
153. Not to have sexual relations with your brother's wife — Lev. 18:16
154. Not to have sexual relations with your wife's sister — Lev. 18:18
155. A man must not have sexual relations with an animal — Lev. 18:23
156. A woman must not have sexual relations with an animal — Lev. 18:23
157. A man must not have sexual relations with a man — Lev. 18:22
158. Not to have sexual relations with your father — Lev. 18:7
159. Not to have sexual relations with your father's brother — Lev. 18:14
160. Not to have sexual relations with someone else's wife — Lev. 18:20
161. Not to have sexual relations with a menstrually impure woman — Lev. 18:19
162. Not to marry non-Jews — Deut. 7:3
163. Not to let Moabite and Ammonite males marry into the Jewish people — Deut. 23:4
164. Not to refrain from letting a third-generation Egyptian convert enter the Assembly — Deut. 23:8-9
165. Not to refrain from letting a third-generation Edomite convert enter the Assembly — Deut. 23:8-9
166. Not to let a mamzer (a child born due to an illegal relationship) marry into the Jewish people — Deut. 23:3
167. Not to let a eunuch marry into the Jewish people — Deut. 23:2
168. Not to offer to God any castrated male animals — Lev. 22:24
169. The High Priest must not marry a widow — Lev. 21:14
170. The High Priest must not have sexual relations with a widow even outside of marriage — Lev. 21:15
171. The High Priest must marry a virgin maiden — Lev. 21:13
172. A Kohen (priest) must not marry a divorcee — Lev. 21:7
173. A Kohen must not marry a zonah (a woman who has had a forbidden sexual relationship) — Lev. 21:7
174. A Kohen must not marry a chalalah ("a desecrated person") (party to or product of 169-172) — Lev. 21:7
175. Not to make pleasurable (sexual) contact with any forbidden woman — Lev. 18:6
176. To examine the signs of animals to distinguish between kosher and non-kosher — Lev. 11:2
177. To examine the signs of fowl to distinguish between kosher and non-kosher — Deut. 14:11
178. To examine the signs of fish to distinguish between kosher and non-kosher — Lev. 11:9
179. To examine the signs of locusts to distinguish between kosher and non-kosher — Lev. 11:21
180. Not to eat non-kosher animals — Lev. 11:4
181. Not to eat non-kosher fowl — Lev. 11:13
182. Not to eat non-kosher fish — Lev. 11:11
183. Not to eat non-kosher flying insects — Deut. 14:19
184. Not to eat non-kosher creatures that crawl on land — Lev. 11:41
185. Not to eat non-kosher maggots — Lev. 11:44
186. Not to eat worms found in fruit on the ground — Lev. 11:42
187. Not to eat creatures that live in water other than (kosher) fish — Lev. 11:43
188. Not to eat the meat of an animal that died without ritual slaughter — Deut. 14:21
189. Not to benefit from an ox condemned to be stoned — Ex. 21:2
190. Not to eat meat of an animal that was mortally wounded — Ex. 22:30
191. Not to eat a limb torn off a living creature — Deut. 12:23
192. Not to eat blood —Lev. 3:17
193. Not to eat certain fats of clean animals — Lev. 3:17
194. Not to eat the sinew of the thigh — Gen. 32:33
195. Not to eat mixtures of milk and meat cooked together — Ex. 23:19
196. Not to cook meat and milk together — Ex. 34:26
197. Not to eat bread from new grain before the Omer — Lev. 23:14
198. Not to eat parched grains from new grain before the Omer — Lev. 23:14
199. Not to eat ripened grains from new grain before the Omer — Lev. 23:14
200. Not to eat fruit of a tree during its first three years — Lev. 19:23
201. Not to eat diverse seeds planted in a vineyard — Deut. 22:9
202. Not to eat untithed fruits — Lev. 22:15
203. Not to drink wine poured in service to idols — Deut. 32:38
204. To ritually slaughter an animal before eating it — Deut. 12:21
205. Not to slaughter an animal and its offspring on the same day — Lev. 22:28
206. To cover the blood (of a slaughtered beast or fowl) with earth — Lev. 17:13
207. To send away the mother bird before taking its children — Deut. 22:6
208. To release the mother bird if she was taken from the nest — Deut. 22:7
209. Not to swear falsely in God's Name — Lev. 19:12
210. Not to take God's Name in vain — Standard: Ex. 20:7; Yemenite: Ex. 20:6
211. Not to deny possession of something entrusted to you — Lev. 19:11
212. Not to swear in denial of a monetary claim — Lev. 19:11
213. To swear in God's Name to confirm the truth when deemed necessary by court — Deut. 10:20
214. To fulfill what was uttered and to do what was avowed — Deut. 23:24
215. Not to break oaths or vows — Num. 30:3
216. For oaths and vows annulled, there are the laws of annulling vows explicit in the Torah — Num. 30:3
217. The Nazirite must let his hair grow — Num. 6:5
218. He must not cut his hair — Num. 6:5
219. He must not drink wine, wine mixtures, or wine vinegar — Num. 6:3
220. He must not eat fresh grapes — Num. 6:3
221. He must not eat raisins — Num. 6:3
222. He must not eat grape seeds — Num. 6:4
223. He must not eat grape skins — Num. 6:4
224. He must not be under the same roof as a corpse — Num. 6:6
225. He must not come into contact with the dead — Num. 6:7
226. He must shave his head after bringing sacrifices upon completion of his Nazirite period — Num. 6:9
227. To estimate the value of people as determined by the Torah —Lev. 27:2
228. To estimate the value of consecrated animals — Lev. 27:12-13
229. To estimate the value of consecrated houses — Lev. 27:14
230. To estimate the value of consecrated fields — Lev. 27:16
231. Carry out the laws of interdicting possessions (cherem) — Lev. 27:28
232. Not to sell the cherem — Lev. 27:28
233. Not to redeem the cherem — Lev. 27:28
234. Not to plant diverse seeds together — Lev. 19:19
235. Not to plant grains or greens in a vineyard — Deut. 22:9
236. Not to crossbreed animals — Lev. 19:19
237. Not to work different animals together — Deut. 22:10
238. Not to wear shaatnez, a cloth woven of wool and linen — Deut. 22:11
239. To leave a corner of the field uncut for the poor — Lev. 19:10
240. Not to reap that corner — Lev. 19:9
241. To leave gleanings — Lev. 19:9
242. Not to gather the gleanings — Lev. 19:9
243. To leave the unformed clusters of grapes — Lev. 19:10
244. Not to pick the unformed clusters of grapes — Lev. 19:10
245. To leave the gleanings of a vineyard — Lev. 19:10
246. Not to gather the gleanings of a vineyard — Lev. 19:10
247. To leave the forgotten sheaves in the field — Deut. 24:19
248. Not to retrieve them — Deut. 24:19
249. To separate the "tithe for the poor" — Deut. 14:28
250. To give charity — Deut. 15:8
251. Not to withhold charity from the poor — Deut. 15:7
252. To set aside Terumah (heave offering) Gedolah (gift for the Kohen) — Deut. 18:4
253. The Levite must set aside a tenth of his tithe — Num. 18:26
254. Not to preface one tithe to the next, but separate them in their proper order — Ex. 22:28
255. A non-Kohen must not eat Terumah — Lev. 22:10
256. A hired worker or a Jewish bondsman of a Kohen must not eat Terumah — Lev. 22:10
257. An uncircumcised Kohen must not eat Terumah — Ex. 12:48
258. An impure Kohen must not eat Terumah — Lev. 22:4
259. A chalalah (party to #s 169-172 above) must not eat Terumah — Lev. 22:12
260. To set aside Ma'aser (tithe) each planting year and give it to a Levite — Num. 18:24
261. To set aside the second tithe (Ma'aser Sheni) — Deut. 14:22
262. Not to spend its redemption money on anything but food, drink, or ointment — Deut. 26:14
263. Not to eat Ma'aser Sheni while impure — Deut. 26:14
264. A mourner on the first day after death must not eat Ma'aser Sheni — Deut. 26:14

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265. Not to eat Ma'aser Sheni grains outside Jerusalem — Deut. 12:17
266. Not to eat Ma'aser Sheni wine products outside Jerusalem — Deut. 12:17
267. Not to eat Ma'aser Sheni oil outside Jerusalem — Deut. 12:17
268. The fourth year crops must be totally for holy purposes like Ma'aser Sheni — Lev. 19:24
269. To read the confession of tithes every fourth and seventh year — Deut. 26:13
270. To set aside the first fruits and bring them to the Temple — Ex. 23:19
271. The Kohanim must not eat the first fruits outside Jerusalem — Deut. 12:17
272. To read the Torah portion pertaining to their presentation — Deut. 26:5
273. To set aside a portion of dough for a Kohen — Num. 15:20
274. To give the foreleg, two cheeks, and abomasum of slaughtered animals to a Kohen — Deut. 18:3
275. To give the first shearing of sheep to a Kohen — Deut. 18:4
276. To redeem firstborn sons and give the money to a Kohen — Num. 18:15
277. To redeem the firstborn donkey by giving a lamb to a Kohen — Ex. 13:13
278. To break the neck of the donkey if the owner does not intend to redeem it — Ex. 13:13
279. To rest the land during the seventh year by not doing any work which enhances growth — Ex. 34:21
280. Not to work the land during the seventh year — Lev. 25:4
281. Not to work with trees to produce fruit during that year — Lev. 25:4
282. Not to reap crops that grow wild that year in the normal manner — Lev. 25:5
283. Not to gather grapes which grow wild that year in the normal way — Lev. 25:5
284. To leave free all produce which grew in that year — Ex. 23:11
285. To release all loans during the seventh year — Deut. 15:2
286. Not to pressure or claim from the borrower — Deut. 15:2
287. Not to refrain from lending immediately before the release of the loans for fear of monetary loss —Deut. 15:9
288. The Sanhedrin must count seven groups of seven years — Lev. 25:8
289. The Sanhedrin must sanctify the fiftieth year — Lev. 25:10
290. To blow the Shofar on the tenth of Tishrei to free the slaves — Lev. 25:9
291. Not to work the soil during the fiftieth year (Jubilee) — Lev. 25:11
292. Not to reap in the normal manner that which grows wild in the fiftieth year — Lev. 25:11
293. Not to pick grapes which grew wild in the normal manner in the fiftieth year — Lev. 25:11
294. Carry out the laws of sold family properties — Lev. 25:24
295. Not to sell the land in Israel indefinitely — Lev. 25:23
296. Carry out the laws of houses in walled cities — Lev. 25:29
297. The Tribe of Levi must not be given a portion of the land in Israel, rather they are given cities to dwell in — Deut. 18:1
298. The Levites must not take a share in the spoils of war — Deut. 18:1
299. To give the Levites cities to inhabit and their surrounding fields — Num. 35:2
300. Not to sell the fields but they shall remain the Levites' before and after the Jubilee year — Lev. 25:34
301. To build a Temple — Ex. 25:8
302. Not to build the altar with stones hewn by metal — Standard: Ex. 20:24; Yemenite: Ex. 20:23
303. Not to climb steps to the altar — Standard: Ex. 20:27; Yemenite: Ex. 20:26
304. To show reverence to the Temple — Lev. 19:30
305. To guard the Temple area — Num. 18:2
306. Not to leave the Temple unguarded — Num. 18:5
307. To prepare the anointing oil — Ex. 30:31
308. Not to reproduce the anointing oil — Ex. 30:32
309. Not to anoint with anointing oil — Ex. 30:32
310. Not to reproduce the incense formula — Ex. 30:37
311. Not to burn anything on the Golden Altar besides incense — Ex. 30:9
312. The Levites must transport the ark on their shoulders — Num. 7:9
313. Not to remove the staves from the ark — Ex. 25:15
314. The Levites must work in the Temple — Num. 18:23
315. No Levite must do another's work of either a Kohen or a Levite — Num. 18:3
316. To dedicate the Kohen for service — Lev. 21:8
317. The work of the Kohanim's shifts must be equal during holidays — Deut. 18:6-8
318. The Kohanim must wear their priestly garments during service — Ex. 28:2
319. Not to tear the priestly garments — Ex. 28:32
320. The Kohen Gadol 's (High Priest) breastplate must not be loosened from the Efod — Ex. 28:28
321. A Kohen must not enter the Temple intoxicated — Lev. 10:9
322. A Kohen must not enter the Temple with his head uncovered — Lev. 10:6
323. A Kohen must not enter the Temple with torn clothes — Lev. 10:6
324. A Kohen must not enter the Temple indiscriminately — Lev. 16:2
325. A Kohen must not leave the Temple during service — Lev. 10:7
326. To send the impure from the Temple — Num. 5:2
327. Impure people must not enter the Temple — Num. 5:3
328. Impure people must not enter the Temple Mount area — Deut. 23:11
329. Impure Kohanim must not do service in the temple — Lev. 22:2
330. An impure Kohen, following immersion, must wait until after sundown before returning to service — Lev. 22:7
331. A Kohen must wash his hands and feet before service — Ex. 30:19
332. A Kohen with a physical blemish must not enter the sanctuary or approach the altar — Lev. 21:23
333. A Kohen with a physical blemish must not serve — Lev. 21:17
334. A Kohen with a temporary blemish must not serve — Lev. 21:17
335. One who is not a Kohen must not serve — Num. 18:4
336. To offer only unblemished animals — Lev. 22:21
337. Not to dedicate a blemished animal for the altar — Lev. 22:20
338. Not to slaughter it — Lev. 22:22
339. Not to sprinkle its blood — Lev. 22:24
340. Not to burn its fat — Lev. 22:22
341. Not to offer a temporarily blemished animal — Deut. 17:1
342. Not to sacrifice blemished animals even if offered by non-Jews — Lev. 22:25
343. Not to inflict wounds upon dedicated animals — Lev. 22:21
344. To redeem dedicated animals which have become disqualified — Deut. 12:15
345. To offer only animals which are at least eight days old — Lev. 22:27
346. Not to offer animals bought with the wages of a harlot or the animal exchanged for a dog. Some interpret "exchange for a dog" as referring to wage of a male prostitute.[15][16] — Deut. 23:19
347. Not to burn honey or yeast on the altar — Lev. 2:11
348. To salt all sacrifices — Lev. 2:13
349. Not to omit the salt from sacrifices — Lev. 2:13
350. Carry out the procedure of the burnt offering as prescribed in the Torah — Lev. 1:3
351. Not to eat its meat — Deut. 12:17
352. Carry out the procedure of the sin offering — Lev. 6:18
353. Not to eat the meat of the inner sin offering — Lev. 6:23
354. Not to decapitate a fowl brought as a sin offering — Lev. 5:8
355. Carry out the procedure of the guilt offering — Lev. 7:1
356. The Kohanim must eat the sacrificial meat in the Temple — Ex. 29:33
357. The Kohanim must not eat the meat outside the Temple courtyard — Deut. 12:17
358. A non-Kohen must not eat sacrificial meat — Ex. 29:33
359. To follow the procedure of the peace offering — Lev. 7:11
360. Not to eat the meat of minor sacrifices before sprinkling the blood — Deut. 12:17
361. To bring meal offerings as prescribed in the Torah — Lev. 2:1
362. Not to put oil on the meal offerings of wrongdoers — Lev. 5:11
363. Not to put frankincense on the meal offerings of wrongdoers — Lev. 3:11
364. Not to eat the meal offering of the High Priest — Lev. 6:16
365. Not to bake a meal offering as leavened bread — Lev. 6:10
366. The Kohanim must eat the remains of the meal offerings — Lev. 6:9
367. To bring all avowed and freewill offerings to the Temple on the first subsequent festival — Deut. 12:5-6
368. Not to withhold payment incurred by any vow — Deut. 23:22
369. To offer all sacrifices in the Temple — Deut. 12:11
370. To bring all sacrifices from outside Israel to the Temple — Deut. 12:26
371. Not to slaughter sacrifices outside the courtyard — Lev. 17:4
372. Not to offer any sacrifices outside the courtyard — Deut. 12:13
373. To offer two lambs every day — Num. 28:3
374. To light a fire on the altar every day — Lev. 6:6
375. Not to extinguish this fire — Lev. 6:6
376. To remove the ashes from the altar every day — Lev. 6:3
377. To burn incense every day — Ex. 30:7
378. To light the Menorah every day — Ex. 27:21
379. The Kohen Gadol must bring a meal offering every day — Lev. 6:13
380. To bring two additional lambs as burnt offerings on Shabbat — Num. 28:9
381. To make the show bread — Ex. 25:30
382. To bring additional offerings on Rosh Chodesh (" The New Month") — Num. 28:11
383. To bring additional offerings on Passover — Num. 28:19
384. To offer the wave offering from the meal of the new wheat — Lev. 23:10
385. Each man must count the Omer - seven weeks from the day the new wheat offering was brought — Lev. 23:15
386. To bring additional offerings on Shavuot — Num. 28:26
387. To bring two loaves to accompany the above sacrifice — Lev. 23:17
388. To bring additional offerings on Rosh Hashana — Num. 29:2
389. To bring additional offerings on Yom Kippur — Num. 29:8
390. To bring additional offerings on Sukkot — Num. 29:13
391. To bring additional offerings on Shmini Atzeret — Num. 29:35
392. Not to eat sacrifices which have become unfit or blemished — Deut. 14:3
393. Not to eat from sacrifices offered with improper intentions — Lev. 7:18
394. Not to leave sacrifices past the time allowed for eating them — Lev. 22:30
395. Not to eat from that which was left over — Lev. 19:8
396. Not to eat from sacrifices which became impure — Lev. 7:19
397. An impure person must not eat from sacrifices — Lev. 7:20
398. To burn the leftover sacrifices — Lev. 7:17
399. To burn all impure sacrifices — Lev. 7:19
400. To follow the procedure of Yom Kippur in the sequence prescribed in Parshah Acharei Mot ("After the death of Aaron's sons...") — Lev. 16:3
401. One who profaned property must repay what he profaned plus a fifth and bring a sacrifice — Lev. 5:16
402. Not to work consecrated animals — Deut. 15:19
403. Not to shear the fleece of consecrated animals — Deut. 15:19
404. To slaughter the paschal sacrifice at the specified time — Ex. 12:6
405. Not to slaughter it while in possession of leaven — Ex. 23:18
406. Not to leave the fat overnight — Ex. 23:18
407. To slaughter the second Paschal Lamb — Num. 9:11
408. To eat the Paschal Lamb with matzah and Marror on the night of the fourteenth of Nisan — Ex. 12:8
409. To eat the second Paschal Lamb on the night of the 15th of Iyar — Num. 9:11
410. Not to eat the paschal meat raw or boiled — Ex. 12:9
411. Not to take the paschal meat from the confines of the group — Ex. 12:46
412. An apostate must not eat from it — Ex. 12:43
413. A permanent or temporary hired worker must not eat from it — Ex. 12:45
414. An uncircumcised male must not eat from it — Ex. 12:48
415. Not to break any bones from the paschal offering — Ex. 12:46 Ps. 34:20
416. Not to break any bones from the second paschal offering — Num. 9:12
417. Not to leave any meat from the paschal offering over until morning — Ex. 12:10
418. Not to leave the second paschal meat over until morning — Num. 9:12
419. Not to leave the meat of the holiday offering of the 14th until the 16th — Deut. 16:4
420. To be seen at the Temple on Passover, Shavuot, and Sukkot — Deut. 16:16
421. To celebrate on these three Festivals (bring a peace offering) — Ex. 23:14
422. To rejoice on these three Festivals (bring a peace offering) — Deut. 16:14

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423. Not to appear at the Temple without offerings — Deut. 16:16
424. Not to refrain from rejoicing with, and giving gifts to, the Levites — Deut. 12:19
425. To assemble all the people on the Sukkot following the seventh year — Deut. 31:12
426. To set aside the firstborn animals — Ex. 13:12
427. The Kohanim must not eat unblemished firstborn animals outside Jerusalem — Deut. 12:17
428. Not to redeem the firstborn — Num. 18:17
429. Separate the tithe from animals — Lev. 27:32
430. Not to redeem the tithe — Lev. 27:33
431. Every person must bring a sin offering (in the temple) for his transgression — Lev. 4:27
432. Bring an asham talui (temple offering) when uncertain of guilt — Lev. 5:17-18
433. Bring an asham vadai (temple offering) when guilt is ascertained — Lev. 5:25
434. Bring an oleh v'yored (temple offering)(if the person is wealthy, an animal; if poor, a bird or meal offering) — Lev. 5:7-11
435. The Sanhedrin must bring an offering (in the Temple) when it rules in error — Lev. 4:13
436. A woman who had a running (vaginal) issue must bring an offering (in the Temple) after she goes to the Mikveh — Lev. 15:28-29
437. A woman who gave birth must bring an offering (in the Temple) after she goes to the Mikveh — Lev. 12:6
438. A man who had a running (unnatural urinary) issue must bring an offering (in the Temple) after he goes to the Mikveh — Lev. 15:13-14
439. A metzora (one having a skin disease) must bring an offering (in the Temple) after going to the Mikveh — Lev. 14:10
440. Not to substitute another beast for one set apart for sacrifice — Lev. 27:10
441. The new animal, in addition to the substituted one, retains consecration — Lev. 27:10
442. Not to change consecrated animals from one type of offering to another — Lev. 27:26
443. Carry out the laws of impurity of the dead — Num. 19:14
444. Carry out the procedure of the Red Heifer (Para Aduma) — Num. 19:2
445. Carry out the laws of the sprinkling water — Num. 19:21
446. Rule the laws of human tzara'at as prescribed in the Torah — Lev. 13:12
447. The metzora must not remove his signs of impurity — Deut. 24:8
448. The metzora must not shave signs of impurity in his hair — Lev. 13:33
449. The metzora must publicize his condition by tearing his garments, allowing his hair to grow and covering his lips — Lev. 13:45
450. Carry out the prescribed rules for purifying the metzora — Lev. 14:2
451. The metzora must shave off all his hair prior to purification — Lev. 14:9
452. Carry out the laws of tzara'at of clothing — Lev. 13:47
453. Carry out the laws of tzara'at of houses — Lev. 13:34
454. Observe the laws of menstrual impurity — Lev. 15:19
455. Observe the laws of impurity caused by childbirth — Lev. 12:2
456. Observe the laws of impurity caused by a woman's running issue — Lev. 15:25
457. Observe the laws of impurity caused by a man's running issue (irregular ejaculation of infected semen) — Lev. 15:3
458. Observe the laws of impurity caused by a dead beast — Lev. 11:39
459. Observe the laws of impurity caused by the eight shratzim (insects) — Lev. 11:29
460. Observe the laws of impurity of a seminal emission (regular ejaculation, with normal semen) — Lev. 15:16
461. Observe the laws of impurity concerning liquid and solid foods — Lev. 11:34
462. Every impure person must immerse himself in a Mikvah to become pure — Lev. 15:16
463. The court must judge the damages incurred by a goring ox — Ex. 21:28
464. The court must judge the damages incurred by an animal eating — Ex. 22:4
465. The court must judge the damages incurred by a pit — Ex. 21:33
466. The court must judge the damages incurred by fire — Ex. 22:5
467. Not to steal money stealthily — Lev. 19:11
468. The court must implement punitive measures against the thief — Ex. 21:37
469. Each individual must ensure that his scales and weights are accurate — Lev. 19:36
470. Not to commit injustice with scales and weights — Lev. 19:35
471. Not to possess inaccurate scales and weights even if they are not for use — Deut. 25:13
472. Not to move a boundary marker to steal someone's property — Deut. 19:14
473. Not to kidnap — Standard: Ex. 20:14; Yemenite: Ex. 20:13
474. Not to rob openly — Lev. 19:13
475. Not to withhold wages or fail to repay a debt — Lev. 19:13
476. Not to covet and scheme to acquire another's possession — Standard: Ex. 20:15; Yemenite: Ex. 20:14
477. Not to desire another's possession — Standard: Deut. 5:19; Yemenite: Deut. 5:18
478. Return the robbed object or its value — Lev. 5:23
479. Not to ignore a lost object — Deut. 22:3
480. Return the lost object — Deut. 22:1
481. The court must implement laws against the one who assaults another or damages another's property — Ex. 21:18
482. Not to murder — Standard: Ex. 20:13; Yemenite: Ex. 20:12
483. Not to accept monetary restitution to atone for the murderer — Num. 35:31
484. The court must send the accidental murderer to a city of refuge — Num. 35:25
485. Not to accept monetary restitution instead of being sent to a city of refuge — Num. 35:32
486. Not to kill the murderer before he stands trial — Num. 35:12
487. Save someone being pursued even by taking the life of the pursuer — Deut. 25:12
488. Not to pity the pursuer — Num. 35:12
489. Not to stand idly by if someone's life is in danger — Lev. 19:16
490. Designate cities of refuge and prepare routes of access — Deut. 19:3
491. Break the neck of a calf by the river valley following an unsolved murder — Deut. 21:4
492. Not to work nor plant that river valley — Deut. 21:4
493. Not to allow pitfalls and obstacles to remain on your property — Deut. 22:8
494. Make a guard rail around flat roofs — Deut. 22:8
495. Not to put a stumbling block before a blind man (nor give harmful advice) — Lev. 19:14
496. Help another remove the load from a beast which can no longer carry it — Ex. 23:5
497. Help others load their beast — Deut. 22:4
498. Not to leave others distraught with their burdens (but to help either load or unload) — Deut. 22:4
499. Conduct sales according to Torah law — Lev. 25:14
500. Not to overcharge or underpay for an article — Lev. 25:14
501. Not to insult or harm anybody with words — Lev. 25:17
502. Not to cheat a convert monetarily — Ex. 22:20
503. Not to insult or harm a convert with words — Ex. 22:20
504. Purchase a Hebrew slave in accordance with the prescribed laws — Ex. 21:2
505. Not to sell him as a slave is sold — Lev. 25:42
506. Not to work him oppressively — Lev. 25:43
507. Not to allow a non-Jew to work him oppressively — Lev. 25:53
508. Not to have him do menial slave labour — Lev. 25:39
509. Give him gifts when he goes free — Deut. 15:14
510. Not to send him away empty-handed — Deut. 15:13
511. Redeem Jewish maidservants — Ex. 21:8
512. Betroth the Jewish maidservant — Ex. 21:8
513. The master must not sell his maidservant — Ex. 21:8
514. Canaanite slaves must work forever unless injured in one of their limbs — Lev. 25:46
515. Not to extradite a slave who fled to (Biblical) Israel — Deut. 23:16
516. Not to wrong a slave who has come to Israel for refuge — Deut. 23:16
517. The courts must carry out the laws of a hired worker and hired guard — Ex. 22:9
518. Pay wages on the day they were earned — Deut. 24:15
519. Not to delay payment of wages past the agreed time — Lev. 19:13
520. The hired worker may eat from the unharvested crops where he works — Deut. 23:25
521. The worker must not eat while on hired time — Deut. 23:26
522. The worker must not take more than he can eat — Deut. 23:25
523. Not to muzzle an ox while plowing — Deut. 25:4
524. The courts must carry out the laws of a borrower — Ex. 22:13
525. The courts must carry out the laws of an unpaid guard — Ex. 22:6
526. Lend to the poor and destitute — Ex. 22:24
527. Not to press them for payment if you know they don't have it — Ex. 22:24
528. Press the idolater for payment — Deut. 15:3
529. The creditor must not forcibly take collateral — Deut. 24:10
530. Return the collateral to the debtor when needed — Deut. 24:13
531. Not to delay its return when needed — Deut. 24:12
532. Not to demand collateral from a widow — Deut. 24:17
533. Not to demand as collateral utensils needed for preparing food — Deut. 24:6
534. Not to lend with interest — Lev. 25:37
535. Not to borrow with interest — Deut. 23:20
536. Not to intermediate in an interest loan, guarantee, witness, or write the promissory note — Ex. 22:24
537. Lend to and borrow from idolaters with interest — Deut. 23:21
538. The courts must carry out the laws of the plaintiff, admitter, or denier — Ex. 22:8
539. Carry out the laws of the order of inheritance — Num. 27:8
540. Appoint judges — Deut. 16:18
541. Not to appoint judges who are not familiar with judicial procedure — Deut. 1:17
542. Decide by majority in case of disagreement — Ex. 23:2
543. The court must not execute through a majority of one; at least a majority of two is required — Ex. 23:2
544. A judge who presented an acquittal plea must not present an argument for conviction in capital cases — Deut. 23:2
545. The courts must carry out the death penalty of stoning — Deut. 22:24
546. The courts must carry out the death penalty of burning — Lev. 20:14
547. The courts must carry out the death penalty of the sword — Ex. 21:20
548. The courts must carry out the death penalty of strangulation — Lev. 20:10
549. The courts must hang those stoned for blasphemy or idolatry — Deut. 21:22
550. Bury the executed on the day they are killed — Deut. 21:23
551. Not to delay burial overnight — Deut. 21:23
552. The court must not let the sorcerer live — Ex. 22:17
553. The court must give lashes to the wrongdoer — Deut. 25:2
554. The court must not exceed the prescribed number of lashes — Deut. 25:3
555. The court must not kill anybody on circumstantial evidence — Ex. 23:7
556. The court must not punish anybody who was forced to do a crime — Deut. 22:26
557. A judge must not pity the murderer or assaulter at the trial — Deut. 19:13
558. A judge must not have mercy on the poor man at the trial — Lev. 19:15
559. A judge must not respect the great man at the trial — Lev. 19:15
560. A judge must not decide unjustly the case of the habitual transgressor — Ex. 23:6
561. A judge must not pervert justice — Lev. 19:15
562. A judge must not pervert a case involving a convert or orphan — Deut. 24:17
563. Judge righteously — Lev. 19:15
564. The judge must not fear a violent man in judgement — Deut. 1:17
565. Judges must not accept bribes — Ex. 23:8
566. Judges must not accept testimony unless both parties are present — Ex. 23:1
567. Not to curse judges — Ex. 22:27
568. Not to curse the head of state or leader of the Sanhedrin — Ex. 22:27
569. Not to curse any upstanding Jew — Lev. 19:14
570. Anybody who knows evidence must testify in court — Lev. 5:1
571. Carefully interrogate the witness — Deut. 13:15
572. A witness must not serve as a judge in capital crimes — Deut. 19:17
573. Not to accept testimony from a lone witness — Deut. 19:15
574. Transgressors must not testify — Ex. 23:1
575. Relatives of the litigants must not testify — Deut. 24:16
576. Not to testify falsely — Standard: Ex. 20:14; Yemenite: Ex. 20:13
577. Punish the false witnesses as they tried to punish the defendant — Deut. 19:19
578. Act according to the ruling of the Sanhedrin — Deut. 17:11
579. Not to deviate from the word of the Sanhedrin — Deut. 17:11

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580. Not to add to the Torah commandments or their oral explanations — Deut. 13:1
581. Not to diminish from the Torah any commandments, in whole or in part — Deut. 13:1
582. Not to curse your father and mother — Ex. 21:17
583. Not to strike your father and mother — Ex. 21:15
584. Respect your father or mother — Standard: Ex. 20:13; Yemenite: Ex. 20:12
585. Fear your mother or father — Lev. 19:3
586. Not to be a rebellious son — Deut. 21:18
587. Mourn for relatives — Lev. 10:19
588. The High Priest must not defile himself for any relative — Lev. 21:11
589. The High Priest must not enter under the same roof as a corpse — Lev. 21:11
590. A Kohen must not defile himself (by going to funerals or cemeteries) for anyone except relatives — Lev. 21:1
591. Appoint a king from Israel — Deut. 17:15
592. Not to appoint a foreigner — Deut. 17:15
593. The king must not have too many wives — Deut. 17:17
594. The king must not have too many horses — Deut. 17:16
595. The king must not have too much silver and gold — Deut. 17:17
596. Destroy the seven Canaanite nations — Deut. 20:17
597. Not to let any of them remain alive — Deut. 20:16
598. Wipe out the memory of Amalek — Deut. 25:19
599. Remember what Amalek did to the Jewish people — Deut. 25:17
600. Not to forget Amalek's atrocities and ambush on our journey from Egypt in the desert — Deut. 25:19
601. Not to dwell permanently in Egypt — Deut. 17:16
602. Offer peace terms to the inhabitants of a city while holding siege, and treat them according to the Torah if they accept the terms — Deut. 20:10
603. Not to offer peace to Ammon and Moab while besieging them — Deut. 23:7
604. Not to destroy food trees even during the siege — Deut. 20:19
605. Prepare latrines outside the camps — Deut. 23:13
606. Prepare a shovel for each soldier to dig with — Deut. 23:14
607. Appoint a priest to speak with the soldiers during the war — Deut. 20:2
608. He who has taken a wife, built a new home, or planted a vineyard is given a year to rejoice with his possessions — Deut. 24:5
609. Not to demand from the above any involvement, communal or military — Deut. 24:5
610. Not to panic and retreat during battle — Deut. 20:3
611. Keep the laws of the captive woman — Deut. 21:11
612. Not to sell her into slavery — Deut. 21:14
613. Not to retain her for servitude after having sexual relations with her — Deut. 21:14

Rabbinical Mitzvot

The Biblical mitzvot are referred to in the Talmud as mitzvot d'oraita, translated as commandments of the Law (Torah). In contradistinction to this are rabbinical commandments, referred to as mitzvot d'rabbanan. Mitzvot d'rabbanan are a type of takkanah. Among the more important mitzvot d'rabbanan are:

• To recite a blessing for each enjoyment
• To ritually wash the hands before eating bread
• To prepare lights in advance of Shabbat (to have peace in the home, and to act in contradiction to customs of Karaite Judaism)
• To construct an Eruv to permit carrying to and within public areas on Shabbat
• To recite the Hallel psalms on holy days
• To light the Hanukkah lights
• To read the Scroll of Esther on Purim

These seven rabbinical commandments are treated like Biblical commandments insofar as, prior to the performance of each, a benediction is recited, i.e.:

Blessed are You, O LORD our God, King of the universe, Who has commanded us ...

They give rise to the phrase "Keter Torah" ("The Crown of the Torah") as the numeric value of Keter is 620 (613+7).

The divine command is considered implied in the general law to follow any instructions of the religious authorities (Deuteronomy 17:11, and 32:7; Shab. 23a). In addition, many of the specific details of the Biblical mitzvot are only derived via rabbinical application of the Oral Torah (Mishna/Gemarah); for example, the three daily prayers in any language and the recitation of the Shema (Deuteronomy 6:4-7) twice a day in any language, the binding of the tefillin and the fixing of the mezuzah (Deuteronomy 6:8-9), and the saying of Grace After Meals (Deuteronomy 8:10).

The Six Constant Mitzvot

Out of the 613 Mitzvot mentioned in the Torah, there are six mitzvot which the Sefer Hachinuch calls "constant mitzvot": "We have six mitzvot which are perpetual and constant, applicable at all times, all the days of our lives".

1. To know God, and that he created all things.
2. Not to have any god(s) beside God (lit. in his face).
3. To know God's Oneness.
4. To fear God.
5. To love God.
6. Not to pursue the passions of your heart and stray after your eyes.

NOAHIDISM OR THE 7 LAWS OF NOAH

(Noahidism or Noachidism is a monotheistic, Jewish religious movement based upon the Seven Laws of Noah and their traditional interpretations within Orthodox Judaism. According to the Jewish law, non-Jews (Gentiles) are not obligated to convert to Judaism, but they are required to observe the Seven Laws of Noah to be assured of a place in the World to Come (Olam Ha-Ba), the final reward of the righteous. The divinely ordained penalty for violating any of these Noahide Laws is discussed in the Talmud, but in practical terms it is subject to the working legal system which is established by the society at large. Those who subscribe to the observance of the Noahic Covenant are referred to as Bnei Noach (Hebrew: "Children of Noah") or Noahides. There is a modern Noahide movement was founded in the 1990s by Orthodox rabbis from Israel.

Historically, the Hebrew term Bnei Noach has been applied to all non-Jews as descendants of Noah. However, nowadays it is primarily used to refer specifically to those "Righteous Gentiles" who observe the Seven Laws of Noah. According to a Noahide source in 2018, there are over 20,000 official Noahides, and the country with the greatest number is the Philippines.)

The Seven Laws Of Noah

The Seven Laws of Noah (Hebrew: Sheva Mitzvot B'nei Noach), also referred to as the Noahide Laws or the Noachide Laws (from the Hebrew pronunciation of "Noah"), are a set of imperatives which, according to the Talmud, were given by God as a binding set of laws for the "children of Noah" – that is, all of humanity.

According to Jewish tradition, non-Jews who adhere to these laws are said to be followers of Noahidism and regarded as righteous gentiles, who are assured of a place in Olam Haba (the world to come), the final reward of the righteous. The Seven Laws of Noah include prohibitions against worshipping idols, cursing God, murder, adultery and sexual immorality, theft, eating flesh torn from a living animal, as well as the obligation to establish courts of justice. The earliest complete rabbinic version of the seven laws can be found in the Tosefta: Seven commandments were commanded of the sons of Noah:

1. concerning adjudication (dinim)
2. concerning idolatry (avodah zarah)
3. concerning blasphemy (qilelat ha-shem)
4. concerning sexual immorality (gilui arayot)
5. concerning blood-shed (shefikhut damim)
6. concerning robbery (gezel)
7. concerning a limb torn from a living animal (ever min ha-hay)

Clarification of The Seven Laws

The seven Noahide laws are better understandable in the following example. Here they are traditionally enumerated:

1. Not to worship idols.
2. Not to curse God.
3. To establish courts of justice.
4. Not to commit murder.
5. Not to commit adultery, bestiality, or sexual immorality.
6. Not to steal.
7. Not to eat flesh torn from a living animal.

According to the Talmud, the rabbis agree that the seven laws were given to the sons of Noah. However, they disagree on precisely which laws were given to Adam and Eve. Six of the seven laws are exegetically derived from passages in Genesis, with the seventh being the establishment of courts. The seven laws as listed by the Babylonian Talmud in Sanhedrin 56a are designed as straight-forward commandments to be easily understood by everyone:

1. Do not worship idols.
2. Do not blaspheme God.
3. Do not murder.
4. Do not practice sexual immorality.
5. Do not steal.
6. Do not eat flesh from a living animal.
7. Establish Courts of Justice to build upon these laws.

Origin

There are a range of theories regarding the origin of the Noachide laws, including the Bible, Hittite law, the Maccabean period, and the Roman period. The Seven Laws of Noah were not mentioned in Genesis but they might have been extracted from the Torah by second-century rabbis. They basically represent a smaller version of the Ten Commandments in which idolatry and blasphemy are reflected in the first four of the Ten Commandments, whilst concerns on justice, commit murder, stealing, adultery, bestiality, or sexual immorality can be traced back to earlier Egyptian and Mesopotamian regulations. The "concerning a limb torn from a living animal" seem to have come from Zoroastrianism.

Torah sources

According to the Genesis flood narrative, a deluge covered the whole world, killing every surface-dwelling creature except Noah, his wife, his sons and their wives, and the animals taken aboard Noah's Ark. According to this, all modern humans are descendants of Noah, thus the name Noahide Laws are referred to the laws that apply to all of humanity. After the flood, God sealed a covenant with Noah with the following admonitions (Genesis 9):

• Flesh of a living animal: "However, flesh with its life-blood [in it], you shall not eat." (9:4)
• Murder and courts: "Furthermore, I will demand your blood, for [the taking of] your lives, I shall demand it [even] from any wild animal. From man too, I will demand of each person's brother the blood of man. He who spills the blood of man, by man his blood shall be spilt; for in the image of God He made man." (9:5–6)

Book of Jubilees

The Book of Jubilees, generally dated to the 2nd century BC, may include an early reference to Noahide Law at verses 7:20–28:

And in the twenty-eighth jubilee Noah began to enjoin upon his sons' sons the ordinances and commandments, and all the judgements that he knew, and he exhorted his sons to observe righteousness, and to cover the shame of their flesh, and to bless their Creator, and honour father and mother, and love their neighbour, and guard their souls from fornication and uncleanness and all iniquity. For owing to these three things came the flood upon the earth ... For whoso sheddeth man's blood, and whoso eateth the blood of any flesh, shall all be destroyed from the earth.

Acts 15

The Jewish Encyclopedia article on Saul of Tarsus states:

According to Acts, Paul began working along the traditional Jewish line of proselytising in the various synagogues where the proselytes of the gate [e.g., Exodus 20:9] and the Jews met; and only because he failed to win the Jews to his views, encountering strong opposition and persecution from them, did he turn to the Gentile world after he had agreed at a council with the apostles at Jerusalem to admit the Gentiles into the Church only as proselytes of the gate, that is, after their acceptance of the Noachian laws (Acts 15:1–31)".

The article "New Testament" states:

For great as was the success of Barnabas and Paul in the heathen world, the authorities in Jerusalem insisted upon circumcision as the condition of admission of members into the church, until, on the initiative of Peter, and of James, the head of the Jerusalem church, it was agreed that acceptance of the Noachian Laws—namely, regarding avoidance of idolatry, fornication, and the eating of flesh cut from a living animal—should be demanded of the heathen desirous of entering the Church.

Modern scholarship

Rabbinical sources taught, based on a detailed reading of Maimonides' Hilchot Melachim, Talmud and Scripture, that the Seven Laws originally given to Noah were given yet again, through Moses at Sinai, and it is exclusively through that giving of the Torah that the Seven Laws derive their current force.

Adam, the first man, was given six laws. When Noah was permitted to eat meat, the proviso against meat from a living animal was added. At Sinai, the Laws were given again through Moses, together with their details. He concurs with the Rebbe, based on his analysis of other Acharonim that the current authority for the Laws is from the Torah from Sinai, where before it was from ancestral oral tradition from Noah and Adam. Here the laws in detail:

• Idolatry and blasphemy: Genesis 2:16: "And God commanded upon the man." Sanhedrin 56b elaborates: "I am God, do not exchange Me for another. I am God, do not curse Me. I am God, let the awe of Me be upon you."
• Flesh from a living animal: Although Adam was not permitted to kill an animal, he was permitted to eat an animal that died by itself. Although in Sanhedrin 56b and 59b there are differing opinions on which Scriptural sources imply this restriction and permission, the Sages agreed on the conclusion. Naturally, following that restriction, Adam would never come to eat flesh from an animal that was still alive. In contrast, Noah and his descendants were given explicit permission to kill and eat meat in Genesis 9:2,3, and were also

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given the explicit restriction against meat from a living animal in verse 4.

• Bloodshed is forbidden to Noahides in verses 5 and 6.

• The forbidden sexual relations are enumerated in Genesis 2:24: "Therefore a man shall leave his father and his mother and cleave to his wife, and they shall be one flesh." To explain, "a man shall leave his father" forbids him his father's wife, "his mother" is taken literally, "and cleave to his wife" comes to exclude another man's wife, as well as a male, and "they shall be one flesh" excludes animals since children through whom the man and wife become one flesh are impossible to produce between a human and an animal. The prohibition against incest with a maternal sister can be learned from Abraham (then subject to the Seven Laws of Noah), who explained to Abimelech in Genesis 20:12, "She is my sister, the [grand] daughter of my father, but not of my mother, and she became my wife." The footnotes there discuss the problem of Cain, Abel and Seth all marrying their sisters, suggesting several resolutions, among them the one from Margoliot HaYam Sanhedrin 58b No.3, that Noahides were only forbidden their sisters at the same time as Jews were at Sinai, and so Abraham was fulfilling the future prohibition on Noahides out of piety. Though initially addressing "a man," the final phrase "they shall be one flesh" necessarily includes a woman, and so she also is subject to the command.

• Robbery Although Weiner does not give robbery a verse in the main text, his footnotes show that an overwhelming number of commentators point to how robbery was the sin leading to the Deluge in Genesis 6:11: "...the earth had become filled with robbery."

• Courts The command to establish courts of justice is implied from the same verses that forbid bloodshed, namely Genesis 9:5,6: "However, your blood which belongs to your souls I will demand... but of man... I will demand the soul of man. Whoever sheds the blood of man, by man shall his blood be shed, for in the image of G d He made man." Sanhedrin 56 explains that the first sentence prohibits murder, while the phrase "by man shall his blood be shed" means that humans must judge and punish a murderer. Just as this prohibition must be judged, so too all other prohibitions.

THE HALAKHA

(Jewish law or "the way to behave")

According to the Talmud, the Noahide Laws apply to all humanity. In Judaism, B'nei Noah (Hebrew, "Descendants of Noah", "Children of Noah") refers to all of humankind. The Talmud also states: "Righteous people of all nations have a share in the world to come". Any non-Jew who lives according to these laws is regarded as one of "the righteous among the gentiles".

The rabbis agree that the seven laws were given to the sons of Noah. However, they disagree on precisely which laws were given to Adam and Eve. Six of the seven laws are exegetically derived from passages in Genesis. The Talmud adds extra laws beyond the seven listed in the Tosefta which are attributed to different rabbis, such as the grafting of trees and sorcery among others, Ulla going so far as to make a list of 30 laws. The Talmud expands the scope of the seven laws to cover about 100 of the 613 mitzvoth. It is thought that the rabbis included discussion of them in anticipation of the coming messianic age.

The Talmud lists the punishment for blaspheming the Ineffable Name of God as death. The sons of Noah are to be executed by decapitation for most crimes, considered one of the lightest capital punishments, by stoning if he has intercourse with a Jewish betrothed woman, or by strangulation if the Jewish woman has completed the marriage ceremonies, but had not yet consummated the marriage. In Jewish law the only form of blasphemy which is punishable by death is blaspheming the Ineffable Name (Leviticus 24:16). Some Talmudic rabbis held that only those offences for which a Jew would be executed, are forbidden to gentiles. The Talmudic rabbis discuss which offences and sub-offences are capital offences and which are merely forbidden.

Court of Law and Punishment: Halakha versus Sharia

The written Jewish Halakha law and the Islamic Sharia law have only minor differences because both derive from the antique Jewish law, which contains many brutal passages from the law Code of Hammurabi. Why then is the Sharia law considered more violent, brutal and inhuman than the Halakha law?

All 4 schools of Sunni jurisprudence (Hanbali, Hanafi, Maliki and Shafi`i) as well as Shia schools follow the laws recorded in the Koran, the Sira, and the Hadith. In both the rules of civil disputes and application of penal law, Sharia distinguishes between men and women, between Muslims and non-Muslims, and between free persons and slaves. Jewish law does not make such differences, is one answer. The second and most crucial answer, however, influences the outcome of a trial much more:

There were two classes of Jewish courts called Sanhedrin, the "Great Sanhedrin" and the "Lesser Sanhedrin". A lesser Sanhedrin of 23 judges was appointed to each city, but there was to be only one Great Sanhedrin of 71 judges, which among other roles acted as the Supreme Court, taking appeals from cases decided by lesser courts.

In Jewish law, this court structure makes it almost impossible to apply the death penalty as these many judges almost never unanimously (that is: [the necessary] one hundred percent) agree to such a harsh penalty. Therefore, no record exists of a gentile having been put to death for violating the seven laws. Some of the categories of capital punishment recorded in the Talmud are recorded as having never been carried out.

In a Sharia court, on the other hand (and this is a grave distortion of the original Jewish law), presides only one judge who is expected to stick to the law in the Koran, the Sira, and the Hadith to the letter. He rules supreme like a dictator with the Islamic scripture in his hand as "hammer of law". In early Islamic times, the outcome of a trial has been (and is again) therefore almost always the same: certain death, amputation, slavery, or other harsh penalties. This explains also in part why the Jews have fought against Mohammed and his Islam so passionately. In consequence, the distortion of law in Islam has brought about the mutual hatred between Jews and Muslims.

Explanations of Punishments in Judaism

Capital and corporal punishment in Judaism has a complex history which has been a subject of extensive debate. While the Bible and the Talmud specify capital and corporal punishments, including death by stoning, decapitation, burning, and strangulation for some crimes, these punishments were substantially modified during the rabbinic era, primarily by adding additional requirements for conviction. According to Talmudic law, the competence to apply capital punishment ceased with the destruction of the Second Temple. The Mishnah states that a sanhedrin that executes one person in seven years — or seventy years, according to Eleazar ben Azariah — is considered bloodthirsty. During the Late Antiquity, the tendency of not applying the death penalty at all became predominant in Jewish courts. In practice, where medieval Jewish courts had the power to pass and execute death sentences, they continued to do so for particularly grave offenses, although not necessarily the ones defined by the law. While it was recognized that the use of capital punishment in the post-Second Temple era went beyond the biblical warrant, the Rabbis who supported it believed that it could be justified by other considerations of Jewish law. Whether Jewish communities ever practiced capital punishment according to rabbinical law and whether the Rabbis of the Talmudic era ever supported its use even in theory has been a subject of historical and ideological debate.

The 12th-century Jewish legal scholar Maimonides stated that "It is better and more satisfactory to acquit a thousand guilty persons than to put a single innocent one to death." Maimonides argued that executing a defendant on anything less than absolute certainty would lead to a slippery slope of decreasing burdens of proof, until we would be convicting merely "according to the judge's caprice." Maimonides was concerned about the need for the law to guard itself in public perceptions, to preserve its majesty and retain the people's respect.

Capital punishment in the Torah

Warrants for the infliction of capital punishment, as opposed to private retribution or vengeance, are found in the Pentateuchal codes for the commission of any one of the following crimes: adultery (Lev. xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 22); bestiality (Ex. xxii. 18 [A. V. 19]; Lev. xx. 15); blasphemy (Lev. xxiv. 16); false evidence in capital cases (Deut. xix. 16-19); false prophecy (Deut. xiii. 6, xviii. 20); idolatry, actual or virtual (Lev. xx. 2; Deut. xiii. 7-19, xvii. 2-7); incestuous or unnatural connections (Lev. xviii. 22, xx. 11-14); insubordination to supreme authority (Deut. xvii. 12); kidnapping (Ex. xxi. 16; Deut. xxiv. 7); licentiousness of a priest's daughter (Lev. xxi. 9); murder (Ex. xxi. 12; Lev. xxiv. 17; Num. xxxv. 16 et seq.); rape committed on a betrothed woman (Deut. xxii. 25); striking or cursing a parent, or otherwise rebelling against parental authority (Ex. xxi. 15, 17; Lev. xx. 9; Deut. xxi. 18-21); Sabbath-breaking (Ex. xxxi. 14, xxxv. 2; Num. xv. 32-36); witchcraft and augury (Ex. xxii. 17; Lev. xx. 27).

Only in comparatively few instances is the particular mode of death incurred by the commission of a crime prescribed. Blasphemy, idolatry, Sabbath-breaking, witchcraft, prostitution by a betrothed virgin, or deceiving her husband at marriage as to her chastity (Deut. xxii. 21), and the rebellious son are, according to the Pentateuchal laws, to be punished with death by stoning; bigamous marriage with a wife's mother and the prostitution of a priest's daughter are punished by burning; communal apostasy is punished by the sword. With reference to all other capital offenses, the law ordains that the perpetrator shall die a violent death, occasionally adding the expression, "His (their) blood shall be upon him (them)." This expression, as we shall see presently, post-Biblical legislation applies to death by stoning. The Bible speaks also of hanging (Deut. xxi. 22), but, according to the rabbinical interpretation, not as a mode of execution, but rather of exposure after death (Sanh. vi. 4, 75b).

Capital punishment in Rabbinic Judaism

The harshness of the death penalty indicated the seriousness of the crime. Jewish philosophers argue that the whole point of corporal punishment was to serve as a reminder to the community of the severe nature of certain acts. This is why, in Jewish law, the death penalty is more of a principle than a practice. The numerous references to a death penalty in the Torah underscore the severity of the sin rather than the expectation of death. This is bolstered by the standards of proof required for application of the death penalty, which has always been extremely stringent (Babylonian Talmud Makkoth 7b). The Mishnah (tractate Makkoth 1:10) outlines the views of several prominent first-century AD Rabbis on the subject:

"A Sanhedrin that puts a man to death once in seven years is called a murderous one. Rabbi Eliezer ben Azariah says 'Or even once in 70 years.' Rabbi Tarfon and Rabbi Akiba said, 'If we had been in the Sanhedrin no death sentence would ever have been passed'; Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel said: 'If so, they would have multiplied murderers in Israel.'"

The Sanhedrin stopped issuing capital punishment either after the Second Temple was destroyed in 70 AD or alternatively, according to passages in the Talmud and New Testament, in 30 AD when the Sanhedrin were moved out of the Hall of Hewn Stones. Other sources such as Josephus and other passages in the New Testament disagree. The issue is highly debated because of the relevancy to the New Testament trial of Jesus. Ancient rabbis did not like the idea of capital punishment, and interpreted the texts in a way that made the death penalty virtually non-existent. The idea of killing someone for a crime they commit is frowned upon in the Jewish tradition.

It was almost impossible to inflict the death penalty because the standards of proof were so high. As a result, convictions for capital offense were rare in Judaism. The standards of evidence in capital cases include:

• It requires two witnesses who observed the crime. The accused would have been given a chance and if repeated the same crime or any other it would lead to a death sentence. If witnesses had been caught lying about the crime they would be executed.

• Two witnesses were required. Acceptability was limited to:

o Adult Jewish men who were known to keep the commandments, knew the written and oral law, and had legitimate professions;

o The witnesses had to see each other at the time of the sin;

o The witnesses had to be able to speak clearly, without any speech impediment or hearing deficit (to ensure that the warning and the response were done);

o The witnesses could not be related to each other or to the accused.

• The witnesses had to see each other, and both of them had to give a warning (hatra'ah) to the person that the sin they were about to commit was a capital offense;

• This warning had to be delivered within seconds of the performance of the sin (in the time it took to say, "Peace unto you, my Rabbi and my Master");

• In the same amount of time, the person about to sin had to both respond that s/he was familiar with the punishment, but they were going to sin anyway; and begin to commit the sin/crime;

• The Beth Din had to examine each witness separately; and if even one point of their evidence was contradictory - even if a very minor point, such as eye color - the evidence was considered contradictory and the evidence was not heeded;

• The Beth Din had to consist of minimally 23 judges;

• The majority could not be a simple majority - the split verdict that would allow conviction had to be at least 13 to 11 in favor of conviction;

• If the Beth Din arrived at a unanimous verdict of guilty, the person was let go - the idea being that if no judge could find anything exculpatory about the accused, there was something wrong with the court.[16]

• The witnesses were appointed by the court to be the executioners.

Capital sins separated by the four types of capital punishment

The following is a list by Maimonides in his Mishneh Torah (Hilchoth Sanhedrin Chapter 15) of which crimes carry a capital punishment.

A. Punishment by Sekila (stoning)

• Intercourse between a man and his mother.

• Intercourse between a man and his father's wife (not necessarily his mother).

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• Intercourse between a man and his daughter in law.
• Intercourse with another man's wife from the first stage of marriage.
• Intercourse between two men.
• Bestiality.
• Cursing the name of God in God's name.
• Idol Worship.
• Giving one's progeny to Molech (child sacrifice).
• Necromantic Sorcery.
• Pythonic Sorcery.
• Attempting to convince another to worship idols.
• Instigating a community to worship idols.
• Witchcraft.
• Violating the Sabbath.
• Cursing one's own parent.
• A stubborn and rebellious son.

B. Punishment by Serefah (burning)
• The daughter of a priest who completed the second stage of marriage commits adultery.
• Intercourse between a man and his daughter.
• Intercourse between a man and his daughter's daughter.
• Intercourse between a man and his son's daughter.
• Intercourse between a man and his wife's daughter (not necessarily his own daughter).
• Intercourse between a man and his wife's daughter's daughter.
• Intercourse between a man and his wife's son's daughter.
• Intercourse between a man and his mother in law.
• Intercourse between a man and his mother in law's mother.
• Intercourse between a man and his father in law's mother.

C. Punishment by Hereg (beheading)
• Unlawful premeditated murder.
• Being a member of a city that has gone astray.

D. Punishment by Chenek (strangulation)
• Committing adultery with another man's wife, when it doesn't fall under the above criteria.
• Wounding one's own parent.
• Kidnapping another Israelite.
• Prophesying falsely.
• Prophesying in the name of other deities.
• A sage who is guilty of insubordination in front of the grand court in the Chamber of the Hewn Stone.

THE MISHNAH SANHEDRIN

Source: Talmud
Translation: Anonymus
Estimated Range of Dating 150-250 AD.

(The Mishnah the first written compendium of Rabbinic Judaism's Oral Law.

According to Jewish tradition, God presented Moses with an oral law, known as the Oral Torah, as a complement to the written Torah (the Five Books of Moses). These kind of laws often were described being "delivered by God", this is also the case for the Koran. In reality, those laws have a far older source as origin and date back to the written Law Code of Ur-Nammu (c. 2100 BC.) and the extant Law Code of Hammurabi (c.1760 BC.).

The text of the Mishnah describes the first written account of the early Jewish oral tradition in greater detail and the earliest significant work of Rabbinic Judaism. Without this tradition, it would be impossible to fully understand the written Torah. In some cases, the Oral Torah overturns the literal meaning of verses in the written Torah (one famous example being "an eye for an eye" of Exodus 21:23-25). At the time when Roman persecution of The Jews threatened the chain of tradition, in the first and second centuries AD., Rabbi Yehudah the Nassi (president of the Sanhedrin, the Jewish Supreme Court) made the bold and controversial decision to have the oral tradition written down. To this end, he assembled the notes of various rabbinical scholars and redacted them into a cohesive system. This redaction is what we know as the Mishnah.

As a written authority it is second only to the Bible text and can be used as a source of authority for making judgements. The Mishnah is divided into six orders (Shisha Sedarim) and over the next six centuries, along with further commentaries, came to form the Talmud. The major part of the text of the Mishnah is written in Hebrew and reflects the debates which took place in the first and second centuries AD by a group of Rabbinic thinkers known as the Tannaim. It teaches by drawing on examples of specific judgements along with debates by notable Rabbis, and discusses problems from all areas of human existence.)

Mishnah Sanhedrin Chapter 1

1 Monetary cases are judged by three judges. Cases of theft and personal injury are judged by three judges. Suits for damages or half-damages, crimes for which one would pay double, or pay quadruple or quintuple, are judged by three judges. Cases of rape, seduction, and slander are judged by three judges- these are the words of Rabbi Meir. But the Sages say, a case of slander is judged by twenty-three judges, because this is a capital case.

2 Cases regarding transgressions punishable by lashing, by three. In the name of Rabbi Yishmael it was said, by twenty-three. Intercalating the month by three; intercalating the year, by three, these are the words of Rabbi Meir. Rabbi Shimon ben Gamliel says, They begin with three, deliberate with five, and finish with seven. But if they finish with three, the year has been intercalated.

3 The laying of the hands by the elders, and the breaking of the neck of the calf are performed by three judges, these are the words of Rabbi Shimon. But Rabbi Yehudah says, by five. Chalitzah (declination of levirate marriage) and mi'un (rejection of youth betrothal), by three. Fourth year produce or the second tithe with unknown value, by three. Redemption of dedications for the Temple, by three. Valuations of chattel, by three. Rabbi Yehudah says: one of the judges must be a priest. Redemption of real estate, by nine and a priest. Similarly with redemption of the value of a man.

4 Capital cases, by twenty-three. Bestiality, by twenty-three, as it says (Leviticus 20:16) "and you shall kill the woman and the beast," and it says, (Leviticus 20:15) "and you shall kill the beast." An ox to be stoned, by twenty-three, as it is written (Exodus 21:29) "the ox shall be stoned and its owner shall also be put to death," as is the death of the owner, so is the death of the ox. The wolf and the lion, the bear and the tiger, the leopard and the snake, are put to death by twenty-three. Rabbi Eli'ezer says: Whoever is the first to kill the animal has performed a meritorious deed. Rabbi Akiva says: they are put to death by twenty-three.

5 They may not judge a tribe, or a false prophet, or a high priest, except by a court of seventy-one. They may not declare an optional war, except by a court of seventy-one. They may not add annex to the city Jerusalem or Temple Courtyards, except by a court of seventy-one. They may not make a Sanhedrin for individual tribes, except by a court of seventy-one. They may not proclaim a wayward city a city whose inhabitants are mostly idolatrous Jews, except by a court of seventy-one. They may not make a wayward city on the border, nor may they make three wayward cities, only one or two.

6 The great Sanhedrin Highest court, charged with deciding cases and appeals that had national significance. It was comprised of 71 scholars who had received the full traditional rabbinical ordination, and its decisions fixed Jewish practice for subsequent generations.was comprised of seventy-one judges, and a small Sanhedrin twenty-three judges. From where do we derive that the great Sanhedrin comprises seventy-one judges? As it says, (Numbers 11:16) "gather for me seventy men from the elders of Israel," and Moses set over them, behold, the number of judges adds to seventy-one. Rabbi Yehudah says: seventy. And from where do we derive that a small Sanhedrin comprises twenty-three judges? As it says, (Numbers 35:24-25) "the assembly shall judge... the assembly shall deliver." The assembly judges and the assembly delivers- behold the number of judges adds to twenty. From where do we derive that the assembly is ten? As it says, (Numbers 14:27) "Until when shall I bear this wicked assembly." This excludes Joshua and Caleb. And from where do we derive that we add three more? This is implied by the verse, as it says, (Exodus 23:2) "Do not follow the many to do evil." Should I learn to follow them to do good? If so, why does it say (Exodus 23:2) "Following the many to distort justice" - your following to do good is not like your following to do evil. Following to do good (i.e. acquittal) is by one, following to do evil (i.e. conviction) is by two. Since a court cannot contain an even number of members, we add to the number of judges one more- behold this is twenty-three. And how many inhabitants must a city have before it may have a Sanhedrin? One hundred and twenty. Rabbi Nechemiah says, two hundred and thirty, each judge corresponding to a chief of a group of ten.

Mishnah Sanhedrin Chapter 2

1 The High Priest may judge and be judged himself; may testify and others may testify against him; may perform chalitzah declination of levirate marriage and others may perform chalitzah for his widow; and others may marry her through levirate marriage, but he may not marry another through levirate marriage, because he is forbidden to marry a widow. When his relative dies, he may not follow the bier; rather, when they are concealed from his view he may be present, and once they appear he must be concealed from their view, and he may follow them in this manner until the opening gates of the city. These are the words of Rabbi Meir. Rabbi Yehudah says, he may not leave from the Temple, as it says, (Leviticus 21:12) "And from the Temple, he may not leave." When he comforts other mourners, it is the custom that all the people pass by one after one, and the appointed substitute High Priest interposes himself between the High Priest and the people. When he is being comforted by others, all the people say to him, "We are your atonement," and he says to them, "From heaven shall you be blessed." And when he is fed in comfort, all the people sit on the ground, and he sits on the stool.

2 The king may not judge nor be judged himself; may not testify, nor may others testify against him; may not perform chalitzah, nor may others perform chalitzah for his wife; and may not marry through levirate marriage, nor may others marry his wife through levirate marriage. Rabbi Yehudah says, if he wishes to perform chalitzah or marry through Levirate marriage, he is remembered for good (i.e. it is meritorious). The Sages said to him: We do not listen to the king in this respect. And none may marry his widow. Rabbi Yehudah says, a king may marry the widow of another king, for thus we find with respect to David, who married the widow of Saul, as it says (II Samuel 12:8), "And I gave you the house of your master, and the wives of your master in your bosom."

3 When his relative dies, he may not go out from the opening of his palace. Rabbi Yehudah says, if he wishes to go out to follow the bier, he may, for thus we find with respect to David, for David went out to follow the bier of Abner, as it says, (II Samuel 3:31), "And King David followed the bier." The Sages said to him: that matter was only done to appease the people. And when he is fed in comfort, all the people sit on the ground, and he sits on a couch.

4 The King may lead the people out to an optional war with the consent of the court of seventy-one. He can break through private property to build a road, and none may object. The king's road has no measure. And everything that the nation plunders, they place in front of him, and he takes the first portion. "He may not amass too many wives" (Deuteronomy 17:17), only eighteen. Rabbi Yehudah says, he may amass more, so long as they do not lead his heart astray. Rabbi Shimon says, even one who leads his heart astray he may not marry. If so, why does it say, (Deuteronomy 17:17) "He may not amass too many wives"? This condition applies even if she is like Abigail. "He may not amass too many horses" (Deuteronomy 17:16), only enough for his chariots. "And excessive silver and gold he may not amass" (Deuteronomy 17:17), only enough to pay his soldiers' wages. He must write a Torah scroll for himself. When he goes to war, he takes it out with him. When he enters, he brings it with him. When he sits in judgement, it is with him. When he sits at a meal, it is opposite him, as it says, (Deuteronomy 17:16), "And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life."

5 No one may ride his horse; and no one may sit on his throne; and no one may use his scepter; and no one may look at him while his hair is being cut, nor while he is nude, nor while he is in the bathhouse, as it says, (Deuteronomy 17:16) "Set a king over yourself," such that his awe shall be over you.

Mishnah Sanhedrin Chapter 3

1 Monetary cases are judged by three judges. One litigant selects one and the other selects one, and both select the additional one, these are the words of Rabbi Meir. But the Sages say, the two judges choose the additional one. One litigant invalidates the judge of the other, and the other invalidates the judge of the one, these are the words of Rabbi Meir. But the Sages say, when may one party invalidate the judge selected by the other? Only when evidence is brought that they are related to the litigant or otherwise invalid may they be invalidated, but if they are acceptable or expert, they cannot be invalidated. One litigant invalidates the witness of the other, and the other invalidates the witness of the one, these are the words of Rabbi Meir. But the Sages say, when may one party invalidate the witness of the other? Only when evidence is brought that they are related to the litigant or otherwise invalid may they be invalidated, but if they are acceptable, they cannot be invalidated.

2 If one says to another: "My father is trustworthy to me," or, "Your father is trustworthy to me," or, "Three herdsmen are trustworthy to me," Rabbi Meir says he may retract his statement. But the Sages say he may not retract. If one litigant were obligated to take an oath to the other litigant and said to him, "Vow to me by the life of your head," Rabbi Meir says he may retract his statement. But the Sages say he may not retract.

3 These are invalid: dice-players, usurers, pigeon-flyers, and sellers of Sabbatical goods. Rabbi Shimon says, previously they were called gatherers of Sabbatical goods, but because of tax-collectors, they became known as sellers of Sabbatical goods. Rabbi Yehudah says, when are these invalid? When they have no other trade; but when they have another trade, they are acceptable.

4 And these are the relatives disqualified from testifying or judging: his father, his brother, his father's brother, his mother's brother, his sister's husband, his father's sister's husband, his mother's sister's husband, his step-father, his father-in-law, and his brother-in-law his wife's sister's husband, these and their sons and sons-in-law; and his step-son alone. Rabbi Yose said, this is the teaching of Rabbi Akiva. But the original teaching said: his uncle, and the son of his uncle, all his potential heirs, and anyone related to him at that time. One who used to be related to him but is no

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longer- behold, he is acceptable. Rabbi Yehudah says, even if his daughter dies, and his son-in-law had children with her- behold, the daughter's widowed husband is a relation.

5 These are also invalid: the friend and the enemy. The friend, this is a groomsman. The enemy, this is anyone who has not spoken with the litigant for three days from hatred. The Sages said to him: Israel is not suspected of this.

6 How do they examine the witnesses? They would bring them in and instill fear in them. Then they would send every man outside, but keep the eldest among them and say to him: "Say how you know that the one owes the other." If he says, "He told me, 'I owe him,'" or, "So-and-so told me that he owes him" - this means nothing. Only if he says, "In front of us, he told him that he owes him two hundred zuz" is his testimony meaningful. After this, they would bring in the second witness and examine him. If they find that their words are aligned, the judges deliberate on the matter. If two say innocent and one says guilty, the verdict is innocent. Two say guilty and one says innocent, the verdict is guilty. One says innocent and one says guilty, or even if the two acquit or the two convict and one says he does not know, they add more judges.

7 When the matter is finished, they bring in the litigants. The greatest of the judges says, "So-and-so, you are innocent," or, "So-and-so, you are guilty." And from where do we derive that when one of the judges leaves he may not say, "I acquitted him and my fellows convicted him, but what was I to do, as my fellows were in the majority." Regarding this it is said, "Do not go about as a talebearer among your people," (Leviticus 19:16) and it says, "He who gossips reveals secrets." (Proverbs 11:13)

8 Each time a litigant brings evidence anew, he overturns the previous verdict. If they said to him: "All evidence that you have, bring it here within thirty days." If he finds evidence within thirty days, it overturns the previous verdict. After thirty days, it does not overturn. Rabban Shimon ben Gamliel said, what could he have done, for he did not find evidence within thirty days, but only after thirty days! If they said to him, "Bring witnesses," and he says, "I have no witnesses"; or they say to him, "Bring evidence," and he says, "I have no evidence"; and after a time he brings evidence or finds witnesses, behold this means nothing. Rabban Shimon ben Gamliel said, what could he have done, for he did not know that he had witnesses and only later found witnesses, or he did not know that he had evidence and only later found evidence! If they said to him, "Bring witnesses" and he says, "I have no witnesses"; or they say, "Bring evidence," and he says, "I have no evidence"; and he sees that he will be convicted and says, "Come near so-and-so and so-and-so, and testify for me," or he found evidence from his wallet, behold this means nothing.

Mishnah Sanhedrin Chapter 4

1 Both monetary and capital cases have examination and inquiry, as it is written (Leviticus 24:22) "You shall have one justice." What is the difference between monetary cases and capital cases: monetary casesare tried with three judges, and capital cases, with twenty-three. Monetary cases are opened either with arguments to acquit or to convict, and capital cases open with arguments to acquit but do not open with arguments to convict. Monetary cases are decided by one either to acquit or to convict; capital cases are decided by one to acquit or by two to convict. In monetary cases, the verdict can change between acquittal and conviction; in capital cases the verdict can change to acquittal but cannot change to conviction. In monetary cases, all can rule for acquittal or conviction; in capital cases, all can rule for acquittal but all cannot rule for conviction. In monetary cases, one who convicts can acquit and one who acquits can convict; in capital cases, one who convicts can acquit, but one who acquits cannot turn and convict. Monetary cases can be tried in the day and can finish in the night; capital cases are tried in the day and must finish in the day. Monetary cases finish on the same day for either acquittal or conviction; capital cases finish on the same day for acquittal and the next day for conviction, therefore there cannot be trials on Friday evening or the evening before a holiday.

2 Cases of impurity and purity begin from the greatest judge, cases of life begin from the judges on the side. All are acceptable to judge in cases of money, but none are acceptable to judge in cases of life except for priests, Levites, and Israelites whose daughters can marry priests.

3 The Sanhedrin highest court, charged with deciding cases and appeals that had national significance. It was comprised of 71 scholars who had received the full traditional rabbinical ordination, and its decisions fixed Jewish practice for subsequent generations.was organized like half of a round granary, so that each (judge) could see each judge. Two court scribes stood before them, one on the right and one on the left, and they wrote the words of the acquitting defense and the words of the convicting prosecution. Rabbi Yehudah says, (there were) three, one wrote the words of the acquitting and one wrote the words of the convicting, and the third wrote the words of the acquitting and the words of the convicting.

4 And three rows of students sit before them, each one knows his proper place. When there was a need to appoint a new judge, they appointed from the first row. One from the second row comes to the first, and one from the third row comes to the second, and they choose for them one more student from the community who is seated in the third row. He didn't sit in the place of the first student, but rather he sits in the place seen for him.

5 How do we press the witnesses in a capital case? We bring them in to the court's chambers and press them: "Perhaps what you say isn't eyewitness testimony is but your own assessment, or from rumors, or your witnessing an actual witness testify, or your reporting what a trustworthy said. Or perhaps you were unaware that by the end we'd interrogate you, with examination and inquiry. Know that capital cases are not like monetary ones. In monetary cases, a false witness can return the money and achieve atonement. But in capital cases, the blood of the victim and all his future offspring hang upon you until the end of time. For thus we find in regard to Cain, who killed his brother, "The bloods of your brother scream out!" (Genesis 4:10) - the verse does not say blood of your brother, but bloods of your brother, because it was his blood and also the blood of his future offspring screaming out! Another explanation of the verse: for his blood was splattered over the trees and rocks there was more than one pool of blood. The judges' speech continues "It was for this reason that man was first created as one person Adam, to teach you that anyone who destroys a life is considered by Scripture to have destroyed an entire world; and anyone who saves a life is as if he saved an entire world." And also, to promote peace among the creations, that no man would say to his friend, "My ancestors are greater than yours." And also, so that heretics will not say, "there are many rulers up in Heaven." And also, to express the grandeur of The Holy One blessed be He: For a man strikes many coins from the same die, and all the coins are alike. But the King, the King of Kings, The Holy One blessed be He strikes every man from the die of the First Man, and yet no man is quite like his friend. Therefore, every person must say, “For my sake ?the world was created.”? The judges' speech continues: "Maybe you the witnesses will now say, 'What do we need this, and all this anxiety for let's not come forward even with true testimony!' But Scripture has already spoken: "If he be a witness - having seen or known - if he does not express it, he shall bear his sin." (Lev. 5:1) Maybe you will now say, 'What do we need this, to be responsible for another man's death?' But Scripture has already spoken: "When the wicked are destroyed there is rejoicing." (Prov. 11:10)"

Mishnah Sanhedrin Chapter 5

1 They would examine the witnesses with seven inquiries: "In which week?", "In which year?", "In which month?", "On which day of the month?", "On which day of the week?", "At which hour?", and, "In which place?". Rabbi Yose says: "On which day?", "At which hour?", "In which place?", "Do you recognize him?", "Did you warn him?". For one who worships idols: Whom (i.e. which idol) did he worship?", "How did he worship it?".

2 The more one examines the witnesses, the more he is praiseworthy. Once, Ben Zakkai examined regarding the stalks of figs. What is the difference between inquiries and examinations? If in response to inquiries one witness says, "I do not know," their testimony is nullified. If in response to examinations one witness says, "I do not know," and even if two say, "We do not know," their testimony stands. Both with respect to inquiries and examinations, when the two witnesses' responses contradict one another, their testimony is nullified.

3 If one witness says, "on the second of the month," and one says, "on the third of the month," their testimony stands, since one is aware of the intercalation of the month, and the other is unaware of the intercalation of the month. If one says, "on the third" and one says, "on the fifth," their testimony is nullified. If one says, "at the second hour," and one says, "at the third hour," their testimony stands. If one says, "at the third hour" and one says, "at the fifth hour," their testimony is nullified. Rabbi Yehudah says, it stands. One says, "at the fifth hour" and one says, "at the seventh hour," their testimony is nullified, since at the fifth hour, the sun is in the east; whereas at the seventh hour, the sun is in the west.

4 After, they bring in the second witness and examine him. If it is found that their words are aligned, they open with arguments for acquittal. If one of the witnesses says, "I have something to say on acquittal," or one of the students says, "I have something to say on conviction," they silence him. If one of the students says, "I have something to say on acquittal," they raise him up and seat him among them; and he would not descend from there the whole day. If his words have substance, they listen to him. And even if the accused says, "I have something to say on my own acquittal," they listen to him, but only if his words have substance.

5 If they found him innocent, they dismiss him. If not, they move his judgement to the next day. They would go together, pair by pair; and they would decrease the amount of food they would eat; and they would drink no wine all day; and they would deliberate all night; and on the morrow, early, they would rise and come to the court. The judge arguing to acquit says, "I argued to acquit and my opinion remains in place"; and the judge arguing to convict says, "I argued to convict and my opinion remains in place." One who has offered an argument to convict may subsequently offer an argument to acquit, but one who has offered an argument to acquit may not retract and subsequently offer an argument to convict. If they had erred, the two judicial scribes remind them. If they found him innocent, they dismiss him. If not, they stand to vote. If twelve acquit and eleven convict, he is acquitted. If twelve convict and eleven acquit; and even if eleven acquit, eleven convict, and one says, "I do not know"; or even if twenty-two acquit or convict and one says "I do not know," they add more judges. How many do they add? They add judges two at a time until there are seventy-one. If thirty-six acquit and thirty-five convict, he is acquitted. If thirty-six convict and thirty-five acquit, the judges argue one against another until one judge from those who voted to convict is convinced by the words of those who voted to acquit.

Mishnah Sanhedrin Chapter 6

1 Once the verdict is reached, they bring him out to stone him. The stoning area was outside the courthouse, as it says, (Leviticus 24:14) "Bring out he who has cursed." One would stand before the entrance to the courthouse, his scarf in his hand; and another would ride on a horse before them at a distance, in order to see him. If one says, "I have an argument for acquittal," then he waves the scarf, and the horse runs to stop him. And even if the accused says, "I have an argument for my own acquittal," then he is returned; and this may happen even four or five times, so long as there is substance to his words. If he is acquitted, he is dismissed; and if not, he is brought out to be stoned. And an announcer comes out before him and announces, "So-and-so son of so-and-so is being brought out to be stoned for having committed such-and-such transgression, and so-and-so and so-and-so are his witnesses. Anyone who has any knowledge as to his innocence should come and argue for him."

2 Once the accused was about ten cubit from the stoning area, they say to him, "Confess," for such is the way of those sentenced to death to confess, for all who confess have a share in the World to Come. For thus we find with respect to Achan, to whom Joshua said, (Joshua 7:19) "'My son, give, I pray thee, glory to the LORD, the God of Israel, and make confession unto Him.'... And Achan answered Joshua, and said: 'Of a truth I have sinned against the LORD, the God of Israel.'" And from where do we know that his confession atoned for him? As it says, (Joshua 7:25), "And Joshua said: 'Why hast thou troubled us? the Lord shall trouble thee this day,'" today you are troubled, but you are not troubled in the World to Come. And if he does not know how to confess, they say to him: "Say, 'May my death serve as an atonement for all my iniquities.'" Rabbi Yehudah says, if he knows he was convicted by false testimony, he says, "May my death serve as an atonement for all my iniquities, excepting this iniquity." The Sages said to him, if so, all sentenced to death will say this in order to cleanse themselves (i.e. clear their name).

3 Once he was four cubits from the stoning area, they remove his clothing. If it is a man, his front is covered; if it is a woman, her front and her back are covered, according to Rabbi Yehudah. But the Sages say, a man is stoned naked, but a woman is not stoned naked.

4 The stoning area's height was that of two men. One of the witnesses pushes him on his loins. If he is turned on his heart, they turn him over, on his loins. If he dies from this, the court has discharged its obligation. If not, the second witness picks up the stone and puts it on his heart. If he dies from this, the court has discharged its obligation. If not, he is pelted with stones by all of Israel, as it says, (Deuteronomy 17:7) "The hand of the witnesses shall be first upon him to put him to death, and afterward the hand of all the people." All who are stoned are hanged, according to Rabbi Eliezer. But the Sages say, the only offenders who are hanged are the blasphemer and the idolator. A man is hanged with his face toward the people, and a woman with her face toward the gallows, according to Rabbi Eliezer. But the Sages say, a man is hanged, but a woman is not hanged. Rabbi Eliezer said to them, Did Shimon ben Shetach not hang women in Ashkelon? They said to him, he hanged eighty women, and we do not even judge two capital cases in one day! How do they hang him? They sink the beam into the ground, and a piece of wood protrudes from it, and one places his hands together, and hangs him. Rabbi Yose says, the beam leans on a wall, and they hang him the way that butchers do. And then they undo him from the gallows immediately. If he stayed there overnight, the court violates a negative commandment on his account, as it says, (Deuteronomy 21:23), "His body shall not remain all night upon the tree, but thou shalt surely bury him the same day; for he that is hanged is a reproach unto God...." That is to say: why has he been hanged? Because he 'blessed' (i.e. cursed) God, and God's name has become desecrated.

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5 Said Rabbi Meir, when a human being is in distress, what expression does the Divine Presence use, as it were? "My head is in pain, My arm is in pain." If so, the Omnipresent feels distress over the blood of the wicked that is spilled; how much more so does He over the blood of the righteous. And furthermore, anyone who leaves a dead body hanging overnight transgresses a negative commandment. But if one leaves a body hanging overnight for the sake of its honor, to bring it a coffin or shroud, he does not transgress a negative commandment. And such a body (i.e. that of one stoned to death) would not be buried in the grave of his ancestors. Rather, two grave-sites were set for the courthouse, one for those put to death by decapitation and strangulation, and one for those put to death by stoning and burning.

6 When the flesh decomposed, they collect the bones and bury them in their proper place. And the relatives come and greet the judges and the witnesses, as if to say, we hold nothing against you, since we know that your verdict was just. And they would not observe rituals of mourning, but they would grieve, since grief is only in the heart.

Mishnah Sanhedrin Chapter 7

1 Four forms of capital punishment were given over to the courts: stoning, burning, decapitation, and strangulation. Rabbi Shimon says, burning, stoning, strangulation, and decapitation. This is the law (i.e. procedure) concerning those to be stoned.

2 The law (i.e. procedure concerning those to be burned is as follows: They would set him into manure up to his knees, and put a stiff scarf inside a soft one, and wrap it around his neck. One would pull one end towards him and one would pull the other end towards him, until he who was being executed opened his mouth. Then one would light a wick and throw it into his mouth, and it would descend into his bowels and burn his entrails. Rabbi Yehudah says, if he died by their hands (e.g. were he strangled by the cloth), they would not have fulfilled the commandment of execution by burning; rather the procedure should be carried out as follows: they open his mouth with pincers by force, and light the wick, and throw it into his mouth, and it would descend into his bowels and burn his entrails. Rabbi Eliezer ben Tzadok said, there was once a priest's daughter who committed adultery; they placed bundles of branches around her and burned her. The Sages said to him, this happened because the court at that time was not expert.

3 The law (i.e. procedure) concerning those to be decapitated is as follows: they would cut off his head with a sword as the government does. Rabbi Yehudah says, this is disgraceful; rather the procedure should be carried out as follows: they rest his head on a block and cut it with a hatchet. The Sages said to him, there is no death more disgraceful than that. The law (i.e. procedure) concerning those to be strangled is as follows: They would set him into manure up to his knees, and put a stiff scarf inside a soft one, and wrap it around his neck. One would pull one end towards him and one would pull the other end towards him, until his soul departed.

4 These are executed by stoning: a male who sleeps with his mother, with the wife of his father, with his daughter-in-law, with a male, or with an animal; a woman who causes an animal to sleep with her; the blasphemer; the idolater; one who gives of his children to Molekh a particular form of idolatry, the ba'al 'ov necromancer and yid'oni soothsayer; one who desecrates the Sabbath; one who curses his father or mother; one who sleeps with a betrothed maiden; the mesit one who entices an individual to commit idolatry; the mediach one who entices a city to commit idolatry; the sorcerer; and the wayward and rebellious son. One who sleeps with his mother - he is liable for violating two prohibitions, for the prohibition of sleeping with his mother and for the prohibition of sleeping with his father's wife. Rabbi Yehudah says, he is only liable for sleeping with his mother. One who sleeps with his father's wife- he is liable for his father's wife and for a married woman, whether the act occurs in his father's lifetime or after his father's death, whether she is his father's wife through betrothal or through completed marriage. One who sleeps with his daughter-in-law- he is liable for his daughter-in-law and for a married woman, whether in his sons's lifetime or after his son's death, whether she is his son's wife through betrothal or through completed marriage. One who sleeps with a male or with an animal, or a woman who causes an animal to sleep with her- even if a person has sinned, how has the animal sinned such that it also receives execution by stoning? Rather, since the animal caused a person to commit an offense, Scripture therefore said, the animal should be stoned. Another explanation: the animal is stoned so that the animal not be passing through the market-place and lead people to say, "This is the one that caused so-and-so to be stoned."

5 The blasphemer - he is not liable until he explicitly utters the name of God. Rabbi Yehoshua ben Korchah said, every day the witnesses testify using a substitute name in place of the actual Divine Name uttered by the blasphemer: "May Yossi smite Yossi." Once the verdict has been reached, they would not execute the defendant on the basis of testimony using a substitute name. Rather, the judges send everyone outside, and inquire of the greatest witness among them, saying to him: "State explicitly what you heard," and he states the blasphemy verbatim. And the judges stand upon their feet and render their clothing. And they may not ever mend the rendered clothing. And the second witness says, "I also heard like him," and the third witness says, "I also heard like him."

6 The idolator - this includes the following: one who worships, sacrifices, offers incense, pours libations, bows, accepts it as a god, and one who says to it, "You are my god." But one who embraces, kisses, sweeps, sprinkles, washes, anoints, dresses, or puts shoes on it, merely transgresses a negative commandment that does not warrant capital punishment. One who takes a vow in its name or takes an oath in its name merely transgresses a negative commandment that does not warrant capital punishment. One who relieves himself to Ba'al Be'or is liable, for such is its worship. One who throws a stone at Merkulis is liable, for such is its worship.

7 One who gives of his children to Molekh - he is not liable until he gives over the child to Molekh and passes the child through the fire. If he gave over the child to Molekh, but did not pass the child through the fire; or he passed the child through the fire, but did not give the child over to Molekh, the man is not liable; for he is not liable until he gives over the child and passes the child through the fire. A ba'al 'ov- this is the magician who causes the dead to speak from his armpit; a yid'oni- this is the one who causes the dead to speak through his own mouth. These are executed by stoning, and one who consults them is merely liable for a negative commandment that does not warrant capital punishment.

8 One who desecrates the Sabbath- through an act for which a wanton violation renders him liable to spiritual excision, and a violation in error obligates him to sacrifice a sin-offering. One who curses his mother or father- he is not liable unless he curses them using the name of God. If he curses them using a substitute name, Rabbi Meir maintains he is liable, but the Sages exempt him.

9 One who sleeps with a betrothed maiden- he is not liable unless she is a maiden, a virgin, betrothed, and in her father's household. If two sleep with her, the first is executed by stoning, and the second is executed by strangulation.

10 The mesit - this is a layman who entices a layman, saying to him, "There is a deity in such-and-such place; it eats thus, it drinks thus, it does good thus, it does evil thus." Regarding all transgressions that incur capital punishment in the Torah, we do not conceal witnesses to coax the defendant into transgressing, except for this one. If he said (i.e. enticed) to two, they are his witnesses, and they bring him to court and stone him. If he said to one, the witness says, "I have friends who are interested." If the mesit is cunning and cannot speak before them, they conceal witnesses behind the fence, and the original witness says to the mesit, "Say again what you said to me in seclusion." If this one the mesit says it to him, the witness says, "How can we forsake our God in Heaven and go and worship wood and stone!" If the mesit retracts, all is good (i.e. he is not culpable). But if he says, "This is our obligation and this is good for us," those standing behind the fence bring him to court and stone him. One who says any of the following is liable as a mesit:, "I will serve"; "I will go and I will serve"; "we will go and we will serve"; "I will sacrifice"; "I will go and I will sacrifice"; "we will go and we will sacrifice"; "I will offer incense"; "I will go and I will offer incense"; "we will go and we will offer incense"; "I will pour libations"; "I will go and I will pour libations"; "we will go and we will pour libations," "I will bow"; "I will go and I will bow"; "we will go and we will bow." The mediach - this is one who says, "We will go and we will worship idols."

11 The sorcerer - if he does an act of sorcery, he is liable, but not one who merely tricks the eyes. Rabbi Akiva says in the name of Rabbi Yehoshua, two people harvesting cucumbers, one harvests and is liable, while the other harvests and is exempt. The one who gathers the cucumbers through an act of sorcery is liable, while the one who gathers cucumbers in the natural manner and merely tricks the eyes is exempt.

Mishnah Sanhedrin Chapter 8

1 A wayward and rebellious son- at what time can he become a wayward and rebellious son? From when he grows two hairs until the beard grows full. This refers to the lower beard, not the upper beard, but this expression is used since the Sages spoke in clean language. As it says, (Deuteronomy 21:18) "If a man have a son": "a son," and not a daughter; "a son," and not a man. A minor is exempt, for he has not entered the category of those obligated in the commandments.

2 From when is he liable to be stoned? When he eats a tarteimar of meat and drinks half a log measure of liquid of Italian wine. Rabbi Yosi says, a maneh equal to one hundred zuz of meat and a log of wine. If he ate it in a mitzvah gathering; if he ate it in celebration of the intercalation of the month; if he ate it as ma'aser sheni the second tithe, which must be eaten in Jerusalem in Jerusalem; if he ate nevelot an animal not properly slaughtered or terefot a mortally wounded animal or creepy crawlies; if he ate tevel untithed produce or ma'aser rishon the first tithe from which terumah the portion given to the priest has not been taken; or ma'aser sheni or hekdesh that has not been redeemed; if he ate something in fulfillment of a commandment or something in violation of a transgression; or if he ate all foods but did not eat meat; or drank all drinks but did not drink wine, he does not become a wayward and rebellious son, until he eats meat and drinks wine. As it says, (Deuteronomy 21:20) "He is a glutton and a drunkard." And even though there is no proof to the matter from a Scriptural verse, there is a reference to the matter, as it says, (Proverbs 23:20) "Be not among winebibbers, among gluttonous eaters of flesh."

3 If he stole from his father and ate in his father's domain; if he stole from others and ate in others' domain; if he stole from others and ate in his father's domain, he does not become a wayward and rebellious son, until he steals from his father and eats in others' domain. Rabbi Yosi bar Yehudah says, until he steals from his father and from his mother.

4 If his father wants to bring the son to court and his mother does not want, or if his father does not want and his mother does want, he does not become a wayward and rebellious son, until they both want. Rabbi Yehudah says, if the mother were not appropriate for the father, he does not become a wayward and rebellious son. If one of the parents had a hand cut off, or was lame, mute, blind, or deaf-mute, he does not become a wayward and rebellious son. As it says, (Deuteronomy 21:19) "Then shall his father and his mother lay hold on him," and not those whose hands have been cut off. "And bring him out," and not a lame person. (Deuteronomy 21:20) "And they shall say," and not mute people. "This our son," and not blind people. "He does not listen to our voice," and not deaf-mute people. They warn him in front of three and lash him. If he repeats his misdeeds, he is judged by a court of twenty-three. And he is not stoned until the original three judges are present, as it says (Deuteronomy 21:20), "This our son," he who was lashed before you. If he flees before the verdict has been reached and then his lower beard grows full, he is exempt. But if once the verdict was reached he fled, and then his lower beard grew full, he is still liable.

5 The wayward and rebellious son is judged on the basis of his end. He should die innocent and not liable, because the death of the wicked is beneficial to them and beneficial to the world; but for the righteous, it is bad for them and bad for the world. Wine and sleep: for the wicked they are a benefit to them and a benefit for the world; but for the righteous, they are bad for them and bad for the world. Being scattered: for the wicked it is a benefit to them and to the world; but for the righteous, it is bad for them and bad for the world. Being gathered: for the wicked it is bad for them and bad for the world; but for the righteous, it is beneficial to them and beneficial to the world. Quiet: for the wicked it is bad for them and bad for the world; but for the righteous, it is beneficial for them and beneficial to the world.

6 A thief who comes through a tunnel into one's house is judged on the basis of his end. If he came through a tunnel and broke a jug: if he has blood-guilt, he is liable; if he does not have blood-guilt, he is exempt.

7 These may be saved from transgression with their lives (i.e. by killing them): one who pursues his fellow to kill him, and one who pursues a male or a betrothed maiden to rape them. But one who pursues an animal to commit bestiality, and one who intends to desecrate the Sabbath, and one who intends to worship idols, one may not save them with their lives.

Mishnah Sanhedrin Chapter 9

1 And these are executed by burning: one who sleeps with with a woman and her daughter, and a priest's daughter who commits adultery. Included in the prohibition of "a woman and her daughter" are: his daughter, his daughter's daughter, his son's daughter, his wife's daughter, her daughter's daughter, his mother-in-law, the mother of his mother-in-law, and the mother of his father-in-law. And these are executed by decapitation: a murderer and the occupants of a wayward city a city whose inhabitants are mostly idolatrous Jews. A murderer who struck his neighbour with stone or iron, or held him down into water or into fire such that he is unable to ascend from there, and the victim dies—he is liable. If he pushed him into water or into fire such that he is able to ascend from there, and he dies—he is exempt. If he set a dog on him or he set a snake on him, he is exempt. If he caused the snake to bite him, Rabbi Yehudah maintains he is liable, and the Sages maintain he is exempt. One who strikes his fellow, whether with a stone or with his fist, and they evaluated that the victim will die, and his condition improved from what it was, then later it became more severe, and he dies—he is liable. Rabbi Nechemiah says, he is exempt, because there is a basis for the matter (i.e. the claim that his death did not result from the blow).

2 If one intended to kill an animal and killed a person; or intended to kill a non-Jew and killed a Jew; or intended to kill a fetus that was not viable and killed a viable fetus, he is exempt. If he intended to strike another on his loins, without enough strength to kill him by striking his loins, and the blow

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hit him on his heart with enough strength to kill him, and he died, he is exempt. If he intended to strike another on his heart, with enough strength to kill him on his heart, and the blow hit him on his loins, without enough strength to kill him on his loins, and he died, he is exempt. If he intended to strike an adult, without enough strength to kill an adult, and the blow landed on a minor, with enough strength to kill a minor, and he died, he is exempt. If he intended to strike a minor, with enough strength to kill a minor, and the blow landed on an adult, without enough strength to kill an adult, and he died, he is exempt. However, if he intended to strike another on his loins with enough strength to kill him on his loins, and the blow landed on his heart, and he died, he is liable. Similarly, if he intended to strike an adult, with enough strength to kill an adult, and the blow landed on a minor, and he died, he is liable. Rabbi Shimon says, even if he intended to kill this one, and he killed that one, he is exempt.

3 If a murderer became mixed into a group of other people, they are all exempt. Rabbi Yehudah says, they bring them into the dome a jail. If many people mix with one another, all of whom are liable for execution, they are all executed with the least severe form of execution. If those who are to be stoned become mixed up with those who are to be burned, Rabbi Shimon says, they are to be stoned, since burning is the more severe. And the Sages say, they are to be burned, since stoning is the more severe. Rabbi Shimon said to them, if burning were not the more severe, it would not be given as punishment to a priest's daughter who committed adultery! They said to him, if stoning were not the more severe, it would not be given to to the blasphemer and the idolator! If those to be decapitated become mixed with those to be strangled, Rabbi Shimon says, they are to be executed with a sword (i.e. decapitated). And the Sages say, by strangulation.

4 One who is liable for two forms of execution is given the more severe. If he commits a transgression which incurs two death penalties, he is given given the more severe. Rabbi Yosi says, he is given the one that accords with the first obligation that comes upon him (i.e. he is given the form of execution warranted by the first transgression he committed).

5 One who is lashed as punishment for a transgression and then repeats that transgression, the court puts him in the dome and feeds him barley until his stomach bursts. One who kills someone in the absence of witnesses, they put him in the dome and feed him sparing bread and scant water.

6 One who steals a kasvah a vessel for use in the Temple; one who curses God by enchantment; and one who sleeps with an Aramean woman—zealots may attack him. A priest who served while ritually impure, his fellow priests do not bring him to the court. Rather, the young priests take him outside the Temple courtyard, and split his skull with logs. A non-priest who served in the Temple: Rabbi Akiva says, he is executed by strangulation; and the Sages say, his is executed by Heaven's hands and not by the court.

Mishnah Sanhedrin Chapter 10

1 All Jews have a share in the World to Come, as it says, (Isaiah 60:21), “Thy people are all righteous; they shall inherit the land for ever, the branch of my planting, the work of my hands, that I may be glorified.” These have no share in the World to Come: One who says that the belief of resurrection of the dead is not from the Torah, one who says that that the Torah is not from Heaven, and one who denigrates the Torah. Rabbi Akiva says: also one who reads outside books, and one who whispers an incantation over a wound, saying, (Exodus 15:26) “I will bring none of these diseases upon thee that I brought upon the Egyptians for I am the Lord that healeth thee.” Abba Shaul says, also one who utters the Divine Name as it is spelled.

2 Three kings and four commoners have no share in the World to Come. The three kings are: Jeroboam, Ahab, and Manasseh. Rabbi Yehudah says, Manasseh does have a share in the World to Come, as it says (II Chronicles 33:13), "And Manasseh prayed unto Him; and He was entreated of him, and heard his supplication, and brought him back to Jerusalem into his kingdom." The Sages said to him, to his kingdom He brought him back, but He did not bring him back to life in the World to Come. The four commoners are: Balaam, Doeg, Achitophel, and Gehazi.

3 The generation of the Flood has no share in the World to Come, nor will it stand in judgement, as it is says, (Genesis 6:3) "My spirit shall not abide yadon in man forever," neither judgement din not spirit. The generation of Division has no share in the World to Come, as it is says, (Genesis 11:8) "So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth." "So the Lord scattered them," in this world; (Genesis 11:9) "and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad" in the World to Come. The people of Sodom have no share in the World to Come, as it says, (Genesis 13:13) "Now the men of Sodom were wicked and sinners against the Lord exceedingly." "Wicked" in this world, "and sinners" in the World to Come. But they will stand in judgement. Rabbi Nechemiah says , neither will stand in judgement, as it says, (Psalms 1:5) "Therefore the wicked shall not stand in the judgement, Nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous." "Therefore the wicked shall not stand in judgement," this is the generation of the Flood; "nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous," this is the people of Sodom. The Sages said to him, they will not stand in the congregation of the righteous, but they will stand in the congregation of the wicked. The spies have no share in the World to Come, as it says, (Numbers 14:37) "Even those men that did bring up an evil report of the land, died by the plague before the Lord." "Died," in this world; "in the plague," in the World to Come. The generation of the wilderness has no share in the World to Come and will not stand in judgement, as it is written, (Numbers 14:35) "In this wilderness they shall be consumed, and there they shall die," according to Rabbi Akiva. Rabbi Eliezer says, about them the verse says, (Psalms 50:5) "Gather My saints together unto Me; Those that have made a covenant with Me by sacrifice." The congregation of Korah will not ascend in the future, as it says, (Numbers 16:33) "and the earth closed upon them," in this world; "and they perished from among the assembly," in the World to Come, according to Rabbi Akiva. Rabbi Eliezer says, about them the verse says, (I Samuel 2:6) "The Lord killeth, and maketh alive; He bringeth down to the grave, and bringeth up." The Ten Tribes will not return in the future, as it says, (Deuteronomy 29:27) "God will cast them into another land, as it is this day." Just as this day goes and does not return, so too, they will go and will not return, according to Rabbi Akiva. Rabbi Eliezer says, just as the day grows dark and then grows light; so too, the Ten Tribes, for whom it grew dark, in the future it will thus grow light for them.

4 The people of a wayward city have no share in the World to Come, as it says, (Deuteronomy 13:14) "Certain base fellows are gone out from the midst of thee, and have drawn away the inhabitants of their city." And they are not executed unless those leading them astray are from that city and are from that tribe; and unless the majority of that city is lead astray; and unless men led them astray. If women or minors led them astray; or they only led a minority of the city astray; or the ones leading them stray were from outside the city—those led astray are considered as individuals who each committed idolatry, and they consequently require two witnesses and warnings for every one for them to be liable for execution by the court. This law is more severe with respect to individuals than to the many: individuals are executed by stoning, and therefore their property escapes destruction, whereas the many are executed by the sword (i.e. by decapitation), and therefore their property is lost.

5 (Deuteronomy 13:16) "Thou shalt surely smite, etc." Donkey drivers and camel drivers that pass from place to place, they can save it. (Deuteronomy 13:16) "Destroying it utterly, and all that is therein, etc," from here they said: the property of the righteous inside the city is lost, whereas the property of the righteous outside the city escapes. But that of the wicked, whether inside or outside, is destroyed.

6 As it says, (Deuteronomy 13:17) "And thou shalt gather all the spoil of it into the midst of the broad place thereof"; If it does not have a broad place, we make a broad place. If its broad place were outside, we bring it inside. As it says, "And you shall burn with fire the city, and all the spoil thereof every whit, unto the Lord thy God." Its spoils, not the spoils of Heaven. From here they said: the hekdeshot property consecrated to the Temple within it must be redeemed; and the terumot portions given to the priest must be allowed to rot; ma'aser sheni the second tithe, which must be eaten in Jerusalem and Holy Scriptures should be buried. "Every whit kalil, unto the Lord thy God": Rabbi Shimon says, said God, if you make judgement on a wayward city, I will consider it as if you offered a complete kalil burnt-offering before Me. "And it shall be a heap forever; it shall not be built again": you may not make it even gardens or orchards, according to Rabbi Yosi Hagalili. Rabbi Akiva says, "it shall not be built again": it may not be rebuilt to what it was, but it may be made into gardens and orchards. " (Deuteronomy 13:18) "And there shall cleave nought of the devoted thing to thy hand": So long as the wicked are in the world, burning anger is in the world. Once the wicked are destroyed from the world, burning anger is removed from the world.

Mishnah Sanhedrin Chapter 11

1 These are executed by strangulation: one who strikes his father or mother; one who kidnaps a Jew; a zaken mamre an ordained scholar who instructs people to act against Jewish practice as determined and ratified by the full Sandherin sitting in its chambers in the Temple in Jerusalem who rebels against a ruling of the court; a false prophet; one who prophesies in the name of an idol; an adulterer; and witnesses who scheme against a priest's daughter and the one who sleeps with her. One who strikes his father or mother—he is not liable unless he wounds them. This law is more severe with respect to one who curses his parents than to one who strikes his parents: one who curses after their death is liable, while one who strikes after their death is exempt. One who kidnaps a Jew—he is not liable until the kidnapper enters the kidnapped into his domain. Rabbi Yehudah says, until the kidnapper enters him into his domain and puts him to work as a slave, as it says, (Deuteronomy 24:7) "and he deal with him as a slave, and sell him." One who kidnaps his own son, Rabbi Yishmael, the son of Rabbi Yochanan ben Beroka, maintains that he is liable; and the Sages maintain that he is exempt. One who kidnaps one who is half-slave and half-free, Rabbi Yehudah maintains that he is liable, and the Sages maintain that he is exempt.

2 A zaken mamre who rebels against a ruling of the court—as it is written, (Deuteronomy 17:8) "If there arise a matter too hard for thee in judgement, etc." There were three courts there, one sitting at the entrance of the Temple Mount, one sitting at the entrance of the Temple Courtyard, and one sitting at the Chamber of Hewn Stone. They come to the one at the entrance of the Temple Mount, and say, "Thus I have expounded and thus have my fellows expounded"; "Thus I have taught and thus have my fellows taught." If they heard the teaching, they tell them. If not, they come to those at the entrance of the Temple Courtyard, and say, "Thus I have expounded and thus have my fellows expounded"; "Thus I have taught and thus have my fellows taught." If they heard the teaching, they tell them. If not, they all come to The Great Court in the Chamber of Hewn Stone, from which Torah goes out to all of Israel, as it is says, (Deuteronomy 17:10) "from that place which the Lord shall choose." If he returned to his city and taught again the way he taught previously, he is exempt. But if he ruled for others to act in accordance with his deviant teaching, he is liable, as it says, (Deuteronomy 17:12) "and the man that doeth presumptuously": he is not liable until he rules for others to act in accordance with his deviant teaching. A student of his who rules for others to act in accordance with his teacher's deviant teaching is exempt; it results that his stringency that his is not qualified to offer practical instruction is his leniency that he is exempt from punishment.

3 This law is more severe with respect to the words of the Sages than to the words of the Torah: One who says, there is no such thing as tefillin, in order to transgress the words of the Torah, is exempt. But one who says there are five compartments, in tefillin in order to add to the words of the Sages, is liable.

4 They do not execute him in his city's court or in the court at Yavneh; rather, they bring him up to the Great Court in Jerusalem, and they guard him until the festival, and they execute him on the festival, as it says, (Deuteronomy 17:13) "And all the people shall hear, and fear, and do no more presumptuously," according to Rabbi Akiva. Rabbi Yehudah says, they do not delay the judgement of this one; rather, they execute him immediately, and they write and send messengers to every place with the following message: "This man so-and-so son of that man so-and-so was liable to execution by the court.

5 A false prophet— one who prophesies regarding that which he did not hear and that which was not said to him, his death is by man (i.e. the court is empowered to execute him). But one who suppresses his prophecy, and one who disregards the words of a prophet, and a prophet who transgressed his own words, his death is by Heaven (i.e. the court is not empowered to execute him), as it says, (Deuteronomy 18:19) "I will require it of him."

6 One who prophesies in the name of an idol— this is one who says "thus said the idol," even if he directed his instruction to render the impure impure and the pure pure. An adulterer—once she has entered the domain of her husband through the full marriage ceremony, even though she has not had relations with her husband, another who has relations with her is executed by strangulation. Witnesses who scheme against a priest's daughter and the one who has relations with her—since all scheming witnesses receive the same form of execution as that incurred by the prohibition which they have schemed to falsely accuse another of transgressing, except for witnesses who scheme against a priest's daughter and the one who has relations with her.

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THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD
The Talmud Bavli or The Talmud or
The Shisha Sedarim or The Shas
Translation: Michael Levi Rodkinson, 1903-1918
Estimated Range of Dating: 200 B.C. - 600 A.D.

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Book 8: Tract Baba Bathra (Last Gate)
Book 9: Tract Sanhedrin: Section Jurisprudence (Damages)
Book 10: Tracts Maccoth, Shebuoth, Eduyoth, Abuda Zara, and Horioth
[Rodkinson's original sequence of the book order has been changed as we believe that the History of this remarkable work should come first. The History therefore serves as a kind of introduction.]

OUTLINE OF ALL CONTENTS

Book 1: History of the Talmud

This is the introduction to Rodkinsons' Talmud translation. A history of the Talmud, starting with its five hundred years of composition from the first to fifth centuries AD., and its bitter persecution from antiquity, through the Reformation up to the 19th Century. Includes biographies of the dozens of authors who wrote the Talmud, and a detailed bibliography through 1900.

Book 2: Tract Sabbath

Tract Sabbath discusses what can and cannot be done on the Jewish Holy day. This tract has a wealth of information on everyday Jewish life in late Classical times, including, for some reason, a great number of medical recipes. Because almost everything is done differently on the Sabbath, this contains an incredible level of ethnographic detail about a wide range of household activities including livestock, clothing, meals, horticulture, hunting, and other more obscure topics, such as fire-fighting and feminine hygiene. Rodkinson makes the point in an appendix that many of the Talmundic regulations which seem to be arbitrary were developed as a response to political persecution. He also includes a prayer which is offered upon the conclusion of studying any tract.

Book 3: Tracts Erubin, Shekalim, Rosh Hashana

Tracts from section Moed (Festivals). Tract Erubin deals with regulations concerning travel on the Sabbath, and the proper construction of 'Erub', propitiatory offerings for transgressions of these rules, usually, but not always, constructed of food. Tract Shekalim deals with tithes. Tract Rosh Hashana discusses the Jewish New Year, a floating holiday tied to lunar observations.

Book 4: Tracts Pesachim, Yomah and Hagiga

Continuing with tracts from section Moed (Festivals). These are primarily discussions of the rituals to be performed on important holy days: principally Passover and the Day of Atonement. The short third tract, Hagiga, discusses the Holocaust ceremony, (meaning a burnt-offering), which today has come into use as a term for the Nazi genocide. Among other points of interest is description of the ritual of the scapegoat in Chapter VI. of Tract Yomah; and Chapter II. of Tract Hagiga has a notable digression on a variety of subjects, including the cryptic Chariot of God, and the names and characteristics of the seven heavens.

Book 5: Tracts Betzh, Succah, Moed Katan, Taanith, Megilla and Ebel Rabbathi or Semahoth

Completing the Festivals portion of Rodkinson's Talmud translation. Tract Betzah details regulations about cooking, fishing, hunting and other activities on feast days. Tract Succah discusses the Festival of the Tabernacles, particularly the construction and use of the Succah, or booth. Moed Katan is about miscellaneous laws about some minor festivals, for instance activites which are permissible during intercalendary periods. Taanith has discussions about the beginning of the rains, including a sequence of folktales about rainmaking Rabbis. Megilla is about Purim, particularly about the public reading of the book of Esther during that festival. Ebel Rabbath is about mourning and other funerary activities.

Book 6: Tracts Aboth, Derech Eretz-Rabba, Derech Eretz-Zuta, and Baba Kama (First Gate)

This book starts out with three tracts on ethics, including the lucid and moving Pirqe Aboth (Sayings of the Fathers). This edition of Aboth comes with extensive commentary. The Baba Kama is the first section of a three-part opening arc of the Jurisprudence section. To the modern reader it is of interest because of the unintentional and (sometimes pungent) atmospheric details of everyday life in first century Israel. Many of the Baba Kama cases start when 'an ox gores' someone or something; the modern equivalent would probably be automobile moving violations. The debates are notable because they are based equally on scripture and appeals to an emerging standard of common-sense justice and human rights.

Book 7: Tract Baba Kama (First Gate), Part II and Tract Baba Metzia (Middle Gate)

The conclusion of Baba Kama, the First Gate, and Baba Metzia, the Middle Gate. The second half of Baba Kama continues with cases involving stolen items. Baba Metzia continues with civil law, particularly cases involving damages: among the topics are found and loaned articles, real estate, loans, titles, what constitutes usury and fraud, and labour law. Many of the cases in Baba Metzia are extremely convoluted, more so than usual. There are a few scattered legends about the life and death of the principal authors of the Talmud, and some notable passages, mostly in Chapter IV.

Book 8: Tract Baba Bathra (Last Gate)

This, the third part of the 'Gate' sequence of tracts, deals with issues of civil law regarding property, including real estate, moveable possessions, and inheritance, in the usual great detail. At times the discussion becomes so hypothetical that Rodkinson, thankfully, skips ahead a bit. Sandwiched in this very dry volume is one wild section of Haggada (at the end of Chapter V) which consists of some very tall tales about fish, alligators and nautical going-ons. Also, notably, this tract includes what has to be one of the first attempts to discuss where transgender people fit into the legal framework.

Book 9: Tract Sanhedrin: Section Jurisprudence (Damages)

The subject matter of Tract Sanhedrin is principally crime and punishment. One of the most notable discussions in this book is the debate about the 'stubborn and rebellious son' (Chapter 8). The rabbis openly express scepticism that a son who disrespects his father in a particular way should be put to death. Out of this quibble over an obscure 'worst case scenario' we see the emergence of a key principle of jurisprudence: the execution of divine law must be tempered by human mercy. This book also wanders far and wide, dispensing wisdom on such topics as the location of the lost tribes, what the windows on Noah's ark were made of, and when the Messiah is due to arrive.

Book 10: Tracts Maccoth, Shebuoth, Eduyoth, Abuda Zara, and Horioth

This is the final book of the Rodkinson translation of the Talmud; it contains the remaining portions of the Jurisprudence section. Tract Maccoth deals with corporal punishment. Tract Shebuoth discusses oaths: what constitutes an oath, false oaths, and so on. Tract Eduyoth is a grab-bag of Mishna without commentary which give various cases related to other Talmud tracts. Tract Abuda Zara elabourates the Biblical commandment not to worship idols; it is of historical interest because of the tangential information about what the idolators (i.e. ancient Pagans) did or did not do. Tract Horioth is another short tract which discusses a number of very technical issues, including the hierarchy of dogs, cats and mice.

ABOUT THE WORK

The Talmud is the central text of Rabbinic Judaism and the primary source of Jewish religious law (halakha) and Jewish theology. Until the advent of modernity, in nearly all Jewish communities, the Talmud has been the centrepiece of Jewish cultural life and was foundational to all Jewish thought and aspirations, serving also as the guide for the daily life of Jews. It took a long time for the Talmud to grow because it is a collection of law texts and precepts that were formulated over generations. Judaism was shaped by Egyptians and Sumerians in the beginning, and afterwards by Phoenicians, Zoroastrians, Buddhists, Greeks and Romans. Judaism itself influenced in return those who shaped it. It is partly the origin of Christianity, Manichaeanism, and Gnosticism. Islam is based on the radical ancient Messianic Movement described in the Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran as almost all prophets in the Koran, the Sira and the Hadith are Jewish and most of Islamic laws, rituals, customs and liturgy are of Jewish origin as well. After the First Roman-Jewish War, modern Judaism came out of the Pharisee Party and embarked on the path of Rabbinic Judaism fostered by its good will to live with Greeks and Romans together in peace. It has been a path full of thorns and injustice leading to Auschwitz and the State of Israel. The Talmud is witness of the development of Judaism and Jewish life, one of the greatest and most influential civilisations on Earth.

The term "Talmud" means "instruction" and normally refers to the collection of writings named specifically the Babylonian Talmud (Talmud Bavli), although there is also an earlier collection known as the Jerusalem Talmud (Talmud Yerushalmi). It may also traditionally be called Shas, a Hebrew abbreviation of shisha sedarim, or the "six orders" of the Mishnah.

The Talmud has two components; the Mishnah, a written compendium of Rabbinic Judaism's Oral Torah; and the Gemara, an elucidation [explanation or clarification] of the Mishnah and related Tannaitic writings that often ventures onto other subjects and expounds broadly on the Hebrew Bible. The term "Talmud" may refer to either the Gemara alone, or the Mishnah and Gemara together.

The entire Talmud consists of 63 tractates, and in the standard print, called the Vilna Shas, it is 2,711 double-sided folios [sheets]. It is written in Mishnaic Hebrew and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic and contains the teachings and opinions of thousands of rabbis (dating from before the 1st century BC through to the fifth century AD) on a variety of subjects, including halakha, Jewish ethics, philosophy, customs, history, and folklore, and many other topics. The Talmud is the basis for all codes of Jewish law and is widely quoted in rabbinic literature.

The Gemara

The Gemara (also transliterated Gemarah, or in Ashkenazi pronunciation Gemora; from the Hebrew Aramaic verb gamar, to finish or complete) is the component of the Talmud comprising rabbinical analysis of and commentary on the Mishnah. After the Mishnah was published by Judah the Prince (c. 200 AD), the work was studied exhaustively by generation after generation of rabbis in Babylonia and the Land of Israel. Their discussions were written down in a series of books that became the Gemara, which when combined with the Mishnah constituted the Talmud.

There are two versions of the Gemara. The Jerusalem Talmud (Talmud Yerushalmi) or Palestinian Talmud was compiled by Jewish scholars of the Land of Israel, primarily of the academies of Tiberias and Caesarea, and was published between about 350–400 AD. The Talmud Bavli (Babylonian Talmud) was published about 500 AD by scholars of Babylonia, primarily of the academies of Sura, Pumbedita, and Nehardea. By convention, a reference to the "Gemara" or "Talmud," without further qualification, refers to the Babylonian version. The main compilers were Ravina and Rav Ashi.

Gemara and Mishnah

The Gemara and the Mishnah together make up the Talmud. The Talmud thus comprises two components: the Mishnah – the core text; and the Gemara – analysis and commentary which "completes" the Talmud (see Structure of the Talmud). Because there are two Gemaras, there are in fact two Talmuds: the Jerusalem Talmud (Hebrew: "Talmud Yerushalmi"), and the Babylonian Talmud (Hebrew: "Talmud Bavli"), corresponding to the Jerusalem Gemara and the Babylonian Gemara; both share the same Mishnah. The Gemara is mostly written in Aramaic, the Jerusalem Gemara in Western Aramaic and the Babylonian in Eastern Aramaic, but both contain portions in Hebrew. Sometimes the language changes in the middle of a story.

History of the Talmud

Originally, Jewish scholarship was oral and transferred from one generation to the next. Rabbis expounded and debated the Torah (the written Torah expressed in the Hebrew Bible) and discussed the Tanakh without the benefit of written works (other than the Biblical books themselves), though some may have made private notes (megillot setarim), for example, of court decisions. This situation changed drastically, mainly as the result of the destruction of the Jewish commonwealth and the Second Temple in the year 70 AD and the consequent upheaval of Jewish social and legal norms. After that terrible Roman-Jewish War 66-73 AD, that left 1.1 million people dead [according to Titus Flavius Josephus' Jewish War], the Romans under Titus Flavius Vespasianus let only one Jewish party survive, the Pharisees. These Pharisees built the new Roman Judaism which we now call "Rabbinic Judaism". Vespasian was consequent and let the Jews know that they will only survive when they change their attitude towards the Roman Empire and they had to reflect that in their religious texts. The Romans knew that these texts were the source of Jewish life. He wanted to preserve that [by pacifying the Jewish texts], and not the Messianic Movement whose writings [e.g. the War Scroll, Dead Sea scrolls from Qumran, found in 1947.], propagated "a final apocalyptic war" against all non-Messianists, even outside of Judaea. As the rabbis were required to face a new reality—mainly Judaism without a Temple (to serve as the centre of teaching and study) and Judaea, the Roman province, without at least partial autonomy—there was a flurry of legal discourse and the old system of oral scholarship could not be maintained. It is during this period that rabbinic discourse began to be recorded in writing.

The Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds

The process of "Gemara" proceeded in what were then the two major centres of Jewish scholarship, Galilee and Babylonia. Correspondingly, two bodies of analysis developed, and two works of Talmud were created. The older compilation is called the Jerusalem Talmud or the Talmud Yerushalmi. It was compiled in the 4th century in Galilee. The Babylonian Talmud was compiled about the year 500, although it continued to be edited later. The word "Talmud", when used without qualification, usually refers to the

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Babylonian Talmud. While the editors of Jerusalem Talmud and Babylonian Talmud each mention the other community, most scholars believe these documents were written independently; Louis Jacobs writes, "If the editors of either had had access to an actual text of the other, it is inconceivable that they would not have mentioned this. Here the argument from silence is very convincing." The oldest full manuscript of the Talmud, known as the Munich Talmud (Codex Hebraicus 95), dates from 1342 and is available online.

The Jerusalem Talmud

The Jerusalem Talmud, also known as the Palestinian Talmud, or Talmuda de-Eretz Yisrael (Talmud of the Land of Israel), was one of the two compilations of Jewish religious teachings and commentary that was transmitted orally for centuries prior to its compilation by Jewish scholars in the Land of Israel. It is a compilation of teachings of the schools of Tiberias, Sepphoris, and Caesarea. It is written largely in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, a Western Aramaic language that differs from its Babylonian counterpart.

This Talmud is a synopsis of the analysis of the Mishnah that was developed over the course of nearly 200 years by the Academies in Galilee (principally those of Tiberias and Caesarea.) Because of their location, the sages of these Academies devoted considerable attention to the analysis of the agricultural laws of the Land of Israel. Traditionally, this Talmud was thought to have been redacted in about the year 350 by Rav Muna and Rav Yossi in the Land of Israel. It is traditionally known as the Talmud Yerushalmi ("Jerusalem Talmud"), but the name is a misnomer, as it was not prepared in Jerusalem. It has more accurately been called "The Talmud of the Land of Israel".

Its final redaction probably belongs to the end of the 4th century, but the individual scholars who brought it to its present form cannot be fixed with assurance. By this time Christianity had become the state religion of the Roman Empire and Jerusalem the holy city of Christendom. In 325 Constantine the Great, the first Christian emperor, said "let us then have nothing in common with the detestable Jewish crowd." This policy made a Jew an outcast and pauper. The compilers of the Jerusalem Talmud consequently lacked the time to produce a work of the quality they had intended. The text is evidently incomplete and is not easy to follow.

The apparent cessation of work on the Jerusalem Talmud in the 5th century has been associated with the decision of Theodosius II in 425 to suppress the Patriarchate and put an end to the practice of semikhah, formal scholarly ordination. Some modern scholars have questioned this connexion.

Despite its incomplete state, the Jerusalem Talmud remains an indispensable source of knowledge of the development of the Jewish Law in the Holy Land. It was also an important resource in the study of the Babylonian Talmud by the Kairouan school of Chananel ben Chushiel and Nissim ben Jacob, with the result that opinions ultimately based on the Jerusalem Talmud found their way into both the Tosafot and the Mishneh Torah of Maimonides.

Following the formation of the modern state of Israel there is some interest in restoring Eretz Yisrael traditions. For example, rabbi David Bar-Hayim of the Makhon Shilo institute has issued a siddur reflecting Eretz Yisrael practice as found in the Jerusalem Talmud and other sources.

The Babylonian Talmud

The Babylonian Talmud (Talmud Bavli) consists of documents compiled over the period of late antiquity (3rd to 6th centuries). During this time, the most important of the Jewish centres in Mesopotamia, a region called "Babylonia" in Jewish sources and later known as Iraq, were Nehardea, Nisibis (modern Nusaybin), Mahoza (al-Mada'in, just to the south of what is now Baghdad), Pumbedita (near present-day al Anbar Governorate), and the Sura Academy, probably located about 60 km (37 mi) south of Baghdad.

The Babylonian Talmud comprises the Mishnah and the Babylonian Gemara, the latter representing the culmination of more than 300 years of analysis of the Mishnah in the Talmudic Academies in Babylonia. The foundations of this process of analysis were laid by Abba Arika (175–247), a disciple of Judah ha-Nasi. Tradition ascribes the compilation of the Babylonian Talmud in its present form to two Babylonian sages, Rav Ashi and Ravina II. Rav Ashi was president of the Sura Academy from 375–427. The work begun by Rav Ashi was completed by Ravina, who is traditionally regarded as the final Amoraic expounder. Accordingly, traditionalists argue that Ravina's death in 475 is the latest possible date for the completion of the redaction of the Talmud. However, even on the most traditional view, a few passages are regarded as the work of a group of rabbis who edited the Talmud after the end of the Amoraic period, known as the Savoraim or Rabbanan Savora'e (meaning "reasoners" or "considerers").

Comparison of style and subject matter

There are significant differences between the two Talmud compilations. The language of the Jerusalem Talmud is a western Aramaic dialect, which differs from the form of Aramaic in the Babylonian Talmud. The Talmud Yerushalmi is often fragmentary and difficult to read, even for experienced Talmudists. The redaction of the Talmud Bavli, on the other hand, is more careful and precise. The law as laid down in the two compilations is basically similar, except in emphasis and in minor details. The Jerusalem Talmud has not received much attention from commentators, and such traditional commentaries as exist are mostly concerned with comparing its teachings to those of the Talmud Bavli.

Neither the Jerusalem nor the Babylonian Talmud covers the entire Mishnah: for example, a Babylonian Gemara exists only for 37 out of the 63 tractates of the Mishnah. In particular:

• The Jerusalem Talmud covers all the tractates of Zeraim, while the Babylonian Talmud covers only tractate Berachot. The reason might be that most laws from the Order Zeraim (agricultural laws limited to the Land of Israel) had little practical relevance in Babylonia and were therefore not included. The Jerusalem Talmud has a greater focus on the Land of Israel and the Torah's agricultural laws pertaining to the land because it was written in the Land of Israel where the laws applied.

• The Jerusalem Talmud does not cover the Mishnaic order of Kodashim, which deals with sacrificial rites and laws pertaining to the Temple, while the Babylonian Talmud does cover it. It is not clear why this is, as the laws were not directly applicable in either country following the Temple's destruction in year 70.

• In both Talmuds, only one tractate of Tohorot (ritual purity laws) is examined, that of the menstrual laws, Niddah.

The Babylonian Talmud records the opinions of the rabbis of the Ma'arava (the West, meaning Israel/Palestine) as well as of those of Babylonia, while the Jerusalem Talmud seldom cites the Babylonian rabbis. The Babylonian version also contains the opinions of more generations because of its later date of completion. For both these reasons, it is regarded as a more comprehensive collection of the opinions available. On the other hand, because of the centuries of redaction between the composition of the Jerusalem and the Babylonian Talmud, the opinions of early amoraim might be closer to their original form in the Jerusalem Talmud.

The influence of the Babylonian Talmud has been far greater than that of the Yerushalmi. In the main, this is because the influence and prestige of the Jewish community of Israel steadily declined in contrast with the Babylonian community in the years after the redaction of the Talmud and continuing until the Gaonic era. Furthermore, the editing of the Babylonian Talmud was superior to that of the Jerusalem version, making it more accessible and readily usable. According to Maimonides (whose life began almost a hundred years after the end of the Gaonic era), all Jewish communities during the Gaonic era formally accepted the Babylonian Talmud as binding upon themselves, and modern Jewish practice follows the Babylonian Talmud's conclusions on all areas in which the two Talmuds conflict.

Structure

The structure of the Talmud follows that of the Mishnah, in which six orders (sedarim; singular: seder) of general subject matter are divided into 60 or 63 tractates (masekhtot; singular: masekhet) of more focused subject compilations, though not all tractates have Gemara. Each tractate is divided into chapters (perakim; singular: perek), 517 in total, that are both numbered according to the Hebrew alphabet and given names, usually using the first one or two words in the first mishnah. A perek may continue over several (up to tens of) pages. Each perek will contain several mishnayot.

The Mishnah

The Mishnah is a compilation of legal opinions and debates. Statements in the Mishnah are typically terse, recording brief opinions of the rabbis debating a subject; or recording only an unattributed ruling, apparently representing a consensus view. The rabbis recorded in the Mishnah are known as the Tannaim (literally, "repeaters," or "teachers"). These tannaim—rabbis of the second century AD--"who produced the Mishnah and other tannaic works, must be distinguished from the rabbis of the third to fifth centuries, known as amoraim (literally, "speakers"), who produced the two Talmudim and other amoraic works."

Since it sequences its laws by subject matter instead of by biblical context, the Mishnah discusses individual subjects more thoroughly than the Midrash, and it includes a much broader selection of halakhic subjects than the Midrash. The Mishnah's topical organisation thus became the framework of the Talmud as a whole. But not every tractate in the Mishnah has a corresponding Gemara. Also, the order of the tractates in the Talmud differs in some cases from that in the Mishnah.

Language

Within the Gemara, the quotations from the Mishnah and the Baraitas and verses of Tanakh quoted and embedded in the Gemara are in either Mishnaic or Biblical Hebrew. The rest of the Gemara, including the discussions of the Amoraim and the overall framework, is in a characteristic dialect of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic. There are occasional quotations from older works in other dialects of Aramaic, such as Megillat Taanit. Overall, Hebrew constitutes somewhat less than half of the text of the Talmud.

This difference in language is due to the long time period elapsing between the two compilations. During the period of the Tannaim (rabbis cited in the Mishnah), a late form of Hebrew known as Rabbinic or Mishnaic Hebrew was still in use as a spoken vernacular among Jews in Judaea (alongside Greek and Aramaic), whereas during the period of the Amoraim (rabbis cited in the Gemara), which began around the year 200, the spoken vernacular was almost exclusively Aramaic. Hebrew continued to be used for the writing of religious texts, poetry, and so forth.

Even within the Aramaic of the Gemara, different dialects or writing styles can be observed in different tractates. One dialect is common to most of the Babylonian Talmud, while a second dialect is used in Nedarim, Nazir, Temurah, Keritot, and Me'ilah; the second dialect is closer in style to the Targum.

Printing

Bomberg Talmud 1523

The first complete edition of the Babylonian Talmud was printed in Venice by Daniel Bomberg 1520–23 with the support of Pope Leo X.[Pope Leo X (born Giovanni di Lorenzo de Medici, 1475–1521) has been criticised for his handling of the events of the papacy. Nevertheless, he was a benevolent leader, font of music and other art, who spent huge amouts of money to retirement homes, hospitals, convents, discharged soldiers, pilgrims, poor students, exiles, cripples, and the sick and unfortunate. He was not pleased with Martin Luther, however he could see reason in Luther's criticism and tried to reform some evils in the Roman Catholic Church. He was a patron of learning and showed special favours to the Jews and permitted them to erect a Hebrew printing-press at Rome.] In addition to the Mishnah and Gemara, Bomberg's edition contained the commentaries of Rashi and Tosafot. Almost all printings since Bomberg have followed the same pagination. Bomberg's edition was considered relatively free of censorship.

Benveniste Talmud 1645

Following Ambrosius Frobenius's publication of most of the Talmud in installments in Basel, Immanuel Benveniste published the whole Talmud in installments in Amsterdam 1644–1648, Although according to Raphael Rabbinovicz the Benveniste Talmud may have been based on the Lublin Talmud and included many of the censors' errors. "It is noteworthy due to the inclusion of Avodah Zarah, omitted due to Church censorship from several previous editions, and when printed, often lacking a title page.

Slavita Talmud 1795 and Vilna Talmud 1835

The edition of the Talmud published by the Szapira brothers in Slavita was published in 1817, and it is particularly prized by many rebbes of Hasidic Judaism. In 1835, after a religious community copyright was nearly over, and following an acrimonious dispute with the Szapira family, a new edition of the Talmud was printed by Menachem Romm of Vilna.

Translations of the Babylonian Talmud

• Rodkinson: Portions of the Babylonian Talmud were translated by Michael L. Rodkinson (1903). It has been linked to online, for copyright reasons (initially it was the only freely available translation on the web), but this has been wholly superseded by the Soncino translation. (see below, under Full text resources).

• The Noé Edition of the Koren Talmud Bavli, translated by Adin Steinsaltz, Koren Publishers Jerusalem was launched in 2012. The 42 volumes have a new, modern English translation and the commentary of.

• Another Steinsaltz Edition (Random House) contains the text with punctuation and an English translation based on Adin Steinsaltz' translation of and commentary. 22 volumes and a reference guide.

• The Schottenstein Edition of the Talmud (Artscroll / Mesorah Publications), is 73 volumes, both in the English and the Hebrew. Each English page faces the Aramaic/Hebrew page. The English pages are elucidated and heavily annotated.

• The Soncino Talmud, Isidore Epstein, Soncino Press (26 volumes; also formerly an 18 volume edition was published). Notes on each page provide additional background material.

• The Babylonian Talmud: A Translation and Commentary, edited by Jacob Neusner and translated by Jacob Neusner, Tzvee Zahavy, Alan Avery-Peck, B. Barry Levy, Martin S.

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Jaffe, and Peter Haas, Hendrickson Pub; 22-Volume Set Ed., 2011.

• There is one translation of the Talmud into Arabic, published in 2012 in Jordan by the Centre for Middle Eastern Studies. The translation was carried out by a group of 90 Jordanian [Muslim] scholars.

Translations of the Jerusalem Talmud

• Talmud of the Land of Israel: A Preliminary Translation and Explanation Jacob Neusner, Tzvee Zahavy, others. University of Chicago Press.

• Schottenstein Edition of the Yerushalmi Talmud Mesorah / Artscroll. This translation is the counterpart to Mesorah/Artscroll's Schottenstein Edition of the (Babylonian) Talmud.

• The Jerusalem Talmud, Edition, Translation and Commentary, ed. Guggenheimer, Heinrich W., Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG, Berlin, Germany

• German Edition, Übersetzung des Talmud Yerushalmi, published by Martin Hengel, Peter Schäfer, Hans-Jürgen Becker, Frowald Gil Hüttenmeister, Mohr & Siebeck, Tübingen, Germany

• Modern Elucidated Talmud Yerushalmi, ed. Joshua Buch. Uses the Leiden manuscript as its based text corrected according to manuscripts and Geniza Fragments.

A search for Talmud at Google will turn up hundreds of thousands of hits, a depressing number of which are to anti-Semitic sites. However, to our knowledge this is the first extensive English translation of the Talmud to be posted on the Internet. The Talmud is a vast collection of Jewish laws and traditions. Despite the dry subject matter the Talmud makes interesting reading because it is infused with vigorous intellectual debate, humour and deep wisdom. As the saying goes, 'you don't have to be Jewish' to appreciate this text. If you put in the hard work required to read the Talmud, your mind will get a world-class workout. The process of studying the Talmud has been compared with the practice of Zen Buddhist Koan meditation, and for good reason.

Rodkinsons' ten-book edition, the only extensive one currently in the public domain, contains complete translations of the 'Festivals' and 'Jurisprudence' sections of the Talmud. Rodkinson only finished about a third of the Talmud. All ten volumes were prepared at Sacred-texts and are available here in their entirety.

Rodkinson has been widely criticised, both from traditionalist Jews who feel that translating the Talmud is not an acceptable practice, as well as from those hostile to the Talmud and Judaism in general. As often seems to be the case, the political spectrum seems to be a Mobeius loop. All of these viewpoints are abundantly represented on the Internet. Some quote material out of context, or ascribe hostile intent to innocent passages. The most hurtful critics are those who claim that Rodkinson deliberately left out material to conceal an evil Jewish agenda. After completion of this etext, I can unequivocally state that this is hogwash. Rodkinson's Talmud is, by definition, an abridgement for modern readers. He left out only the sections where the debate spins off into complete obscurity, and was careful to document where he did so. Now that this incredible text, lovingly translated, is on the Internet perhaps these criticisms can finally be put to rest.

Bibliographic note on Rodkinsons' Talmud

Rodkinson's translation went through at least two editions. The sacred-texts version was prepared from the second edition. All of these were from the 1918 printing, with the exception of book 1, which was scanned from a 1903 printing. The numbering of the volumes changed radically between the first and second edition; to add to the confusion the second edition was bound into a ten book set, two volumes per book. This numbering is consistent, for instance, the second edition book 1 contains volumes 1 and 2; book 5 contains volumes 9 and 10, and so on. However, the volume sequence of the first edition was completely shuffled in the second edition; for instance, volumes 9 and 10 of the second edition (in book 5) correspond to volumes 1 and 2 of the first edition. This confusion will be evident if you shop the used book market for individual books of this set (which are fairly abundant at reasonable prices).

THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD
THE TRANSLATOR'S BRIEF GENERAL INTRODUCTION

On this, the appearance of our latest literary undertaking, we deem a few explanatory remarks necessary. The brief outline of the origin of the Talmud that follows may suggest the thought that we have departed from the usual manner of dealing with the questions here discussed, the more so since we have, for the sake of brevity, refrained from citing the authorities on which our statements are based. We wish, therefore, to declare here that we do not venture to make a single statement without the support of authorities well known in Hebrew literature. Our method is to select such views as seem to us the best authenticated in the historical progress of Judaism. As we have taken our choice from the numerous works on our subject, the student is entitled to adopt or to reject the views that we represent.

Most of the Mishnayoth date from a very early period, and originated with the students of the Jewish academies which existed since the days of Jehoshaphat, King of Judah [II Chron. xvii. 9].

The rabbinical students of ancient times noted the essence of the academical teachings in brief form, and, as a rule, in the idiom in which it was spoken to them, so that they could afterward easily commit it to memory. They have sometimes, however, added comments and extensive explanations in the form of notes, so that the mass of their learning, embraced in course of time, according to some authorities, as many as six hundred divisions.

The source of the Mishnayoth was the customs and regulations practised by the authorities in their administration of religious and civil affairs: such as the Sabbath, Prayers, Cleanliness (considered actually Godliness), Permitted and Forbidden Foods, and controversies arising concerning Slavery. Indebtedness and corporal punishment are subjects of academical discussion, conducted with the aim of perfecting them into national statutes enforceable in all Jewish communities alike.

In course of time, however, when those Mishnayoth were noted down from earlier existing copies, many additions were made. Finally Rabbi Jehudah the Prince, generally called Rabbi, concluded to collect all the Mishnayoth in his college for proper arrangement. From these he selected six divisions, called according to the subject they deal with, viz.: Seeds, Feasts, Women, Damages, Sacrifices, and Purifications, and he proclaimed them holy for all Israel. Of the Mishnayoth so treated by Rabbi some were left entirely intact, and were reproduced in their original form. To others he parenthetically added brief comments of his own, and there are still others that he changed in form completely, because already in his day old customs had changed and taken new forms.

Such of them as he desired to make final and indisputable national laws he incorporated into the Mishna without mentioning the names of their authors. Where, however, he could formulate no definite decision himself, or where they were well known to the public, he gave full information of their authors as well as the names of those opposed to their conclusions, without any decision on his part. In still others he mentioned no names, but contented himself with saying "A'herim," i.e., "Anonymous teachers say," not wishing to specify their authority for certain reasons.

Rabbi did not seek the compliance and agreement of all his contemporaries in his arrangement of the Mishna, and many differed from his conclusions and even arranged Mishnayoth in accordance with their own views. Being, however, a man of great prominence, influence, and wealth, Rabbi succeeded in quelling opposition and in making his conclusions as acceptable as the Mosaic law itself; and his great pupils, seeing that his intentions were only to prevent dissensions and his only aim the public weal, supported him nobly, until his teachings were accepted as the law of the nation.

Many Mishnayoth were rejected and destroyed by Rabbi, but, not being in possession of all those he wished to destroy, he went in search of them to colleges outside of his jurisdiction. There, however, he met with great opposition. Some of the Mishnayoth were hidden beyond his reach, others were secretly preserved and arranged within the very limits of his domain and promptly brought to light after his death. But Rabbi's pupils did not dignify them with the name MISHNA, implying "next to Mosaic law," 1 but called them TOSEPHTOTH, meaning "additions of a later period," or merely additional, not principal, matter. Some of them were also named BORAITHOTH (outsiders), i.e., secondary, not academical matter. They spread, however, very rapidly after Rabbi's death, and to such an extent as to threaten the Mishnayoth of Rabbi with entire extinction. Such would actually have been the result, had not the pupils of Rabbi organized again colleges whose aim was to perpetuate the Mishnayoth of Rabbi, which they also accomplished. Colleges of that character were those of Rabh and Samuel in Babylon and Rabbi Janai and Rabbi Jo'hanan in Palestine. These colleges made strenuous efforts to explain and harmonize the Mishnayoth of Rabbi with the teachings of the Boraithoth, generally regarded as those of Rabbi Hyya and Rabbi Oshia, who were greatly admired by the public. At times the Mishna of Rabbi was abbreviated and replenished with the text of the Boraitha, or explained with an opposing opinion, so as to harmonize it with the latter or suit the new conditions and consequent changes of the custom that originally caused the conclusion of the Mishna. Where, however, they found no other way to suit their purpose, they inserted a new Mishna of their own composition into the text of Rabbi. The teachers mentioned in the Mishna of Rabbi or in the Boraithoth and Tosephta were called Tanaim (singular Tana) signifying Instructors, Professors. The teachings of the colleges, covering a period of some centuries, which also found adherents and became the traditional law, were called GEMARA, signifying "conclusion." The intention was to harmonize Mishna and Boraitha, and, in most cases, to arrive at a final decision as to the theory of the law (as Rabbi the proper interpretation or Jo'hanan prohibited compliance with the Halakha unless it is mandatory). These Gemara teachers were called AMORAIM (interpreters), i.e., they interpreted to the public the difficult passages in the Mishna. Being classified as interpreters only, they had no authority to deviate from the spirit of the Mishna unless supported by another Tana opposing the Mishna, in which case they could follow the opinion of the Tana with whom they agreed. Rabhina and R. Ashi, who lived at the end of the fifth century (third century of Amoraim), began to arrange the Gemara, but without success, and commenced a second time to arrange it. Unfortunately they died before accomplishing their task, and the Gemara had to undergo the chances of transmission from hand to hand until the appearance upon the scene of Rabana Jose, president of the last Saburaic College in Pumbeditha, who foresaw that his college was destined to be the last, owing to the growing persecution of the Jews from the days of "Firuz." He also feared that the Amoraic manuscripts would be lost in the coming dark days or materially altered, so be summoned all his contemporary associates and hastily closed up the Talmud, prohibiting any further additions. This enforced haste caused not only an improper arrangement and many numerous repetitions and additions, but also led to the "talmudizing" of articles directly traceable to bitter and relentless opponents of the Talmud. The time (Rabana Jose conducted his college only seventeen years) being too short for a proper and critical review of each and every subject, many theories were surreptitiously added by its enemies, with the purpose of making it detestable to its adherents. Of such character is the expression, "That of R. Ashi is a fabrication," which is repeated numerous times throughout the Talmud and which could by no means have originated with the Amoraim, which as a rule were very guarded in their expressions and would never have dreamed of applying it or similar expressions to such Talmudical authorities as R. Ashi and Mar, his son, much less to the Patriarchs or the Prophets. This closing up of the Talmud did not, however, prevent the importation of foreign matter into it, and many such have crept in through the agency of the "Rabanan Saburai" and the Gaonim of every later generation.

The chief aim of the authors of the Gemara being to perpetuate the Mishna as the sole source of the Jewish religious and civil code after the Mosaic laws themselves, they not only directed all their energy to the discussion and perfecting of its deductions, but treated its very words and letters as inspired and as holy as the Bible itself, forming at times conclusions from a superfluous word or letter. Oftentimes, when they found the Mishna differing with an established custom in their days, they resorted to subtle inquiry and minute discussion, until they succeeded in establishing harmony between the differing points. All these efforts were directed to refute and disprove the assertions of the different sects who opposed the oral law and who were inclined to adhere to the written law solely. Therefore the Rabbis of the Gemara said "MINALAN?" (Wherefrom its source?) or "MINOH HANNE MILI?" (which means "Whence is all this deduced?") in the treatment of a subject not plainly specified in the Bible; and also the exclamatory remark "PESHITA!" (It is self-evident!) as regards subjects plainly enumerated in the Scriptures which do not admit of any other interpretation. Of the same origin is the question "LEMAI HILKHETHA?" (For what purpose was this Halakha stated?) with reference to an obsolete custom. So much for the general history of the Talmud.

Michael Levi Rodkinson, 1903

THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD BOOK 1 (formerly 10)
(Vols. 1 and 2)
The Babylonian Talmud Book 10 (Vols. 1 and 2)
Volume 1: History of the Talmud

VOLUME 1: (or VOLUME 19):

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INTRODUCTION.

The persecutors [Christians, Muslims, Communists, Socialists, Globalists, Facsists, Nazis, and other totalitarian entities.] of the Talmud during the period ranging from the first century B.C., when it began to take form, to the present day, have varied in their character, objects and actions. In one respect, however, they all agreed, namely, in their general wish to destroy its existence. Careful consideration of its many vicissitudes certainly justifies the assertion that the Talmud is one of the wonders of the world. During the twenty centuries of its existence not one of them has passed without great and powerful enemies vying with each other and exhausting every effort to destroy it; still it survived in its entirety, and not only has the power of its foes failed to destroy even a single line, but it has not even been able materially to weaken its influence for any length of time. It still dominates the minds of a whole people, who venerate its contents as divine truth, and countless numbers have sacrificed their lives and their possessions to save it from perishing.

A review of its persecutors, before going into their history would not be amiss. They are the Seleucidae, in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, the Roman Emperor Nero, Domitian, Hadrian, etc., the Samaritans, the Sadducees, Boethuseans, the followers of Jesus, and all the sects opposed to the Pharisees [meaning: Rabbinic Judaism or more precise Roman Judaism.].

Before the development of the Talmud had been completed, when hardly a single section had been arranged systematically and written down, it having been known merely as oral teaching in the mouths of the sages, and reconsidered and analyzed constantly by their disciples in the colleges, it was violently attacked. But no sooner had the Talmud been completed in Babylonia, and the Saburites had put their seal upon it, so to speak, deciding that nothing was to be added to or subtracted from, when Justinian decreed practically its death; that is to say, what amounted to the same thing, capital punishment to all those who were occupied in its study (550). Then followed the Karaites, in the days of the Gaonim, who seriously threatened its existence. Time and time again they triumphed over Talmudic Rabbis and were near making an end of the Talmud and of them. The Rabbis next encountered the Popes. From the time of Pope Innocent III., the Talmud was burned at the stake in nearly every century from the 11th to the 18th, in Italy, France, Germany, Spain, and many other countries, and in the 18th, also in Poland by the Frankists, by Bishop Dembovski, where copies were dragged through the streets of the city, tied to horses' tails and then delivered to the executioner to be burned at the stake in Kamenetz, Lemberg, Brody and elsewhere. In most places, before it was resolved what was to be done with Talmud, the Israelites were forced to dispute with its enemies, and had to pay heavy fines for arriving late to the dispute, as well as for being vanquished in argument, the judges, being their enemies. Still what has been the result? The Talmud exists to-day, and not one letter in it is missing. It is true, the persecutions against it are not yet at an end; accusations and calumnies by its enemies, under the new name of anti-Semites, are still directed against it, while the government of Russia legislates against and restricts the rights of the nation which adheres to the Talmud. No modern persecutions, however, can seriously endanger its existence, and it would appear that the Talmud will also survive them and continue as long as the sky spans the earth. [In 1903, when Michael Levi Rodkinson was writing this Introduction, Hitler's Nazi-Germany was still three decades in the future. During the Second World War, the Nazis killed between 6 and 8 millions Jews, while Stalins Sovietunion also killed several million Jews. A human catastrophe that is today known as the Shoah or Nazi-Holocaust; Stalins persecutions of the Jews are not mentioned as the Communist Soviets are the victors. It is the victors who write history.]

A desire to know all that has befallen the Talmud and all its vicissitudes since its inception would require the reading of all the scattered passages in countless volumes which have been compiled in various ages, languages, and countries. Its history, however, has never yet been written by a single author. Treaties on the Talmud itself, or on certain subjects contained therein, have briefly related part of its history, each according to the subject and the aim of its theme. Such are the works of Zunz and Grätz, the one dealing with rabbinical literature, and the other writing concerning the history of the Jews. Similarly the historians of the world, relating in detail the occurrences of every century, have briefly made mention of what happened to the Talmud in each century. Even in the year there appeared a pamphlet entitled "Ankläger und Verteidiger des Talmud" (accusers and defenders), by Dr. B. Kurrein, of Frankfurt-on-the-Main, apparently giving the entire history of the Talmud from its origin to the present time, but it contains only dates (and not even these in full) and not occurrences. No mention is made of Karaites, who persecuted it in the times of the Gaonim, or of the Frankists of the 18th century, of its fate during the 15th century; the Pfefferkorn and Reuchlin episode is mentioned only in part, and by no means satisfactory to the reader curious about the details, not to speak of the Rohling-Bloch, at the end of the 19th century. It is, indeed, a matter of astonishment that hundreds of books have been written about the Talmud by exponents of all sects and in all ages, to say nothing of the extensive modern literature dealing with the Talmud in whole or in part, amounting to thousands of volumes--in particular a work, "Dikduke Sophrim," published in the last century, containing only the dates and publishers' names of the various editions of the Talmud, in seventeen large volumes, with a comparison of all words and letters of the different editions and manuscripts, and this only of two-thirds of the Talmud--the fate of the Talmud, the charges brought against it, the repeated persecutions, the burning at the stake, have not been recorded in a separate work, as though unworthy of notice. It has been thus left for us to supply the deficiency. For we, who have taken upon ourselves the difficult task of editing the old Talmud, to punctuate it in conformity with works in other languages, to systematize and arrange it for a new edition, and to translate it into a modern language, deem it our duty to collect into one book all the records of the vicissitudes of the Talmud in a systematic manner, at the same time stating the causes of many occurrences.

It is quite true, that in many places we have been constrained to be brief where a more ample account would not have been out of place, but it must be borne in mind that to expatiate on every incident would lead to the writing of a volume equal in bulk to the Talmud itself, perhaps even larger, and time would not permit such an undertaking. In one respect, however, we will do our duty; we will arrange all the events chronologically, and we have taken pains to denote the time and place of different events and likewise to name the persecutors of the Talmud. We trust this volume will meet with a favourable reception from the readers, for our work was done conscientiously, and to the utmost of our talents. To save space, we have not on every occasion mentioned the authorities from whom we derived our facts, but only when we had to refer the reader for details to other books we gave the name and page of the book. We may state, however, that the sources on which we have drawn are all the books which speak of this subject, viz.: the Talmud itself, the books of the Gaonim, and those written on this topic in the Middle Ages, as well as the extensive literature relating to it of the last century, from Zunz, Jost, Herzfeld, Graetz, etc., to the pamphlet we have mentioned. At the conclusion of the book the reader will find an explanation of the method employed in the new edition and translation of the Talmud, and at the same time a full introduction. We made it as lucid as possible, and also endeavored to reply to some criticisms that have appeared in various periodicals since the new publication had first appeared. [M. L. R.; New York, August, 1903.]

THE HISTORY OF THE TALMUD.

CHAPTER 1.

THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME "TALMUD"--THE SAMARITANS -- ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES -- THE SADDUCEES.

The name "written law" was given to the Pentateuch, Prophets and Hagiographa, and that of "oral law" to all the teachings of the "sages" consisting of comments on the text of the Bible. The word Torah alone was applied to the entire Bible, the term "Talmud" was reserved for the oral law, though the meaning of these two words is identical; namely, "teaching" or "study." Still, because it is written Velimdo (Deut. 31:19), and teach it the children of Israel (put it in their mouths; that is to say that the teacher's duty was to explain and comment on the laws and ordinances until the children understood them thoroughly and were conversant with them by heart)--the name "Talmud" was applied to what was styled by a long phrase "Oral Law" (Torah-she b'al-Peh). This word designated all the commentaries of the sages on the Scriptures which the Pharisees had begun to interpret figuratively.

Figurative interpretation was inaugurated in the days of the Great Assembly when its members resolved to keep themselves distinct from the Samaritans, their inveterate enemies, who adhered to the literal interpretation of the text, which, in the opinion of the Pharisees, was falsified by them. This study, however, commenced to make progress at the time of the Sanhedrin, or from that of the Macedonian conquest of Judea, when the term "Great Assembly" was changed to the Greek "Sanhedrin." It spread into every college where were assembled sages entrusted with the guidance of congregations, with instruction of the Law, of ordinances relating to clean and unclean, to property, to crimes. All sages who interpreted the biblical passages figuratively, unlike the Samaritans, were called "Pharisees." The Samaritans of course persecuted those Pharisees (see App. No. 1), objected to their interpretation, and did them great injury whenever they had the power. At last, Janai, Hyrcanus the First, overcame them, burned their temple, devastated their city, and compelled them by force of arms to conduct themselves according to the doctrines of the Pharisees, though he himself in his latter years became a Sadducee.

Until the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, before which period all the high priests since the erection of the second temple had been of the family of Zadok, King David's high priest (see App. 2), and the priests had been also among the sages of the Pharisees and no disputes arose between them as to the interpretation of the law. From the time of Antiochus, however, when the high priesthood passed from the descendants of Zadok to other families, finally coming into the possession of the Maccabees, who were not descendants of the house of Zadok, began to differ from the Pharisees in the interpretation of the Torah, and to explain the texts on the basis of oral tradition. They founded a distinct sect, styled "Sadducees" (after Zadok), and the dispute with the Pharisees and their teaching, i.e. with the Talmud, was begun. They persecuted the Pharisees to the utmost; being mostly men of wealth and rank, and in their hearts leaning toward the Hellenes, who then held sway in Palestine, they joined the Samaritans, the foes of the Jews, whose aim was to eradicate the study of Judaism. Thus united, they gave their aid to Antiochus Epiphanes, who was anyhow the enemy of the Jews, and who decreed on the pain of capital punishment that the Pharisees should discontinue their studies, that circumcision should be performed in a manner other than that prescribed by the Pharisees (see App. No. 3); that the Sabbath should not be observed according to the interpretation of the Sabbath law by the Pharisees, etc. The obvious intention was to destroy the Talmud together with Pharisees who adhered to it. These persecutions against the Talmud ended usually in favour of the Sadducees until the time of Simon ben Shetah, and the above mentioned Janai, Hyrcanus I. (Johanan the High Priest). Then the Pharisees triumphed over their foes, and the oral law was the absorbing subject of the Sanhedrin, under the leadership of Joshuah b. Prachia, Simon b. Shetah and Jehudah b. Tabai. The Talmud was then studied in all colleges of Palestine, Egypt and wherever Jews lived. Owing to the enmity of the Samaritans and the opposition of the Sadducees, many laws and regulations were added to the Talmud of the Pharisees. From that time the Pharisees began to restrict their interpretations so as to make them agree with the deep though literal meaning of the texts, employing therein much sophistry. They counted all the letters of the Torah, and if they found a word or letter not absolutely necessary to the understanding of the text, they said it was placed there only to add to or subtract from the meaning. But at that period the Mishna was not a separate and distinct thing from the Talmud, though many ancient Mishnas already existed in writing, but without a separate title. The Pharisees studied the ancient Mishnayoth, added (see App. No. 4) to them, and explained the biblical texts. All this was entitled Oral Law, or, shortly, "Talmud" [meaning: instructions.].

CHAPTER 2.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TALMUD DURING THE LAST CENTURY OF THE SECOND TEMPLE'S EXISTENCE (i.e. THE FIRST A.C.) SHEMAIA--ABTALIAN -- HILLEL -- SHAMMAI -- THE PRINCES (NASIS) OF ISRAEL -- R. JOHANAN B. ZAKKAI--SANHEDRIN OF JAMNIA--THE JEWISH CHRISTIANS.

After the triumph of Simon b. Shetah over the Sadducees, when he had finally cleared the Sanhedrin of them, and only the Pharisees remained there, the development of the Talmud progressed rapidly, for the number of the sages, the adherents, reverers, sanctifiers of the Talmud, increased greatly in the colleges of the Ashkaloth (Duumviri) who succeeded to ben Shetah: Shemaia and Abtalian, and, after them, Hillel and Shammai. And although at that time new enemies arose, in the Boethuseans, Essenes, and many other sects who were opposed to its particular doctrines, yet those had not the power to check its progress or to weaken its influence--not only on all Israelites, wherever they dwelt, but also on many Gentiles: for at that time we see that prominent persons of other nations (App. No. 5) come to the chief men of Israel and express their wish to adopt Judaism. Hillel the Elder received them with open arms. Helen the Queen, and her son, Isotis, also accepted the creed of the Talmud. All this was due to the

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fact that its morality came at this time to be before the world. The Polytheists began to perceive the great difference between the teaching of their priests in the names of the gods, and the Torah as explained by its sages. From all places of the world came persons to learn the doctrines and the morality of the Talmud. This period of good fortune, however, was only of short duration, as the time of the destruction of the Temple was nigh, and with it the victims of the sword and of hunger were many. Among these were the great sages who bore the banner of the Talmud, and their wisdom died with them. The Sanhedrin had been forced, while the Temple was still in existence, to transfer their meeting places from the "marble hall" to the "shops." Rabban Gamaliel the Elder, the son of Hillel the Prince (Nasi) was persecuted by them, and his son Simeon was slain, together with many sages. Thus, if R. Johanan b. Zakkai had not, risking his life, petitioned Vespasian to spare the Sanhedrin, who had been compelled during the tumults at Jerusalem to move with their college to Jamnia, there would have remained no vestige of the Talmud, since most of those who cherished it had passed away by the sword, by hunger and by the plague. Besides, the disciples of Jesus (see App. No. 6), who then believed in his Messiahship, but not in his divinity, began secretly to undermine the Talmud, which laid more stress on external ceremonies than they deemed necessary, and endeavored with all their might to weaken its influence among the populace, but R. Jehanan b. Zakkai and the Sanhedrin in Jamnia, with Rabban Gamaliel, the son of the slain Simeon, at their head, restored the Talmud to its prestige, and took pains to raise up others in the places of the murdered sages.

Thus the study of the Talmud flourished after the destruction of the Temple, although beset with great difficulties and desperate struggles. All his days, R. Johanan b. Zakkai was obliged to dispute with Sadducees and Bathueians and, no doubt, with the Messiahists also; for although these last were Pharisees, they differed in many points from the teaching of the Talmud after their master, Jesus, had broken with the Pharisees and their doctrines in public. So R. Johanan b. Zakkai was obliged to introduce many reforms; and Rabban Gamaliel of Jamnia, notwithstanding his office of Nasi, and his lofty bearing towards his colleagues and adversaries, was compelled to go many times to Rome to ask for mercy for his college and the Pharisaic sages. And this first Nasi, after the Temple's destruction, also had to witness the evil consequences of quarrels in the midst of his own nation, added to the calamities from without.

As the interpretations of every letter and vowel point of the written law had multiplied, and liberty had been given to every learned man to construe biblical texts at his pleasure, the differences of opinion multiplied, and the disciples of Shammai and Hillel, whose master's characters differed to the utmost, split into two factions and studied in separate colleges. Thus the teaching of the Talmud was differently interpreted by two parties, and what the one permitted, the other forbade. This circumstance was of more danger to the Talmud than any external foe, for when there is no internal union, the whole fabric will go to pieces, and its influence will, of course, diminish. Therefore the sages of Jamnia, with R. Gamaliel at their head, strove not only to decide the law according to the school of Hillel, but also to decree that the words of Shammai's school in the place of Hillel's had no value at all. And what a world of difficulty the sages had to surmount before they succeeded! .R. Simeon ben Gamaliel rightly says "If we proceeded to record all the troubles and calamities we had endured, time would not suffice."

But in the long run they did succeed in widening and increasing the sphere of influence of the Talmud, for both the internal dissensions and external opposition only tended to sink more deeply into the hearts of the people its doctrines (Halakhas), legends (Hagadas) and morals. At the end of the first century it was to them a substitute for their destroyed Temple; it was their stronghold, their entertainment by day and by night. It was only when they were occupied with it that they forgot all the calamities past and present; it was the sole bond which kept together the scattered colonies of Israelites, which strengthened them to bear the yoke of the Romans, to hope for brighter days, to be patient unto the end.

CHAPTER 3.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE--THE FALL OF BETHEL--THE MASSACRE OF THE SAGES OF THE TALMUD, TILL THE WRITING OF THE MISHNA IN THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRD CENTURY.

The Temple had been destroyed; Rabban Gamaliel and many of his colleagues were dead; the family of the Nasi extirpated, excepting only his son R. Simeon, who succeeded to his father as Nasi and established a college at Usha; and new persecutions, awful in their extent, were directed against those who were engaged in the compilation of the Talmud. The sages, the chief men of Israel, were slaughtered without pity by Trajan and his successors through the entire period of fifty-two years from the destruction of the Temple to the fall of Bethel. Some of these founders of the Talmud who forfeited their lives for its sake are known to us only by their names: R. Ishmael, Simeon b. Azai, Papus b. Jehudah, Yishbab the Scribe, Huzpeth the Dragoman (interpreter), Jehudah the Baker, Hananiah b. Tradion and Aqiba; the last, the main pillar of the Talmud, and who contributed much to its diffusion and completion, died with joy at being enabled to sacrifice his life for it.

One of the causes of the great revolt against the Romans at this time was the prohibition by the Roman government of the study of the Torah, wherein alone the Jews found comfort, since only in their houses of learning could they enjoy complete peace and freedom. But as the death penalty had been decreed against all who occupied themselves with religious study and observed its precepts, and as this prohibition deprived them of their only source of consolation, they rebelled, led by Bar Kochba. R. Aqiba was the first to become his adherent, who journeyed from town to town, inciting the Israelites to rebel, and bringing them the message that a saviour of Israel had arisen in Bar Kochba, the Messiah. It is not surprising, therefore, that Hadrian, when he had ascended to the throne, was not content barely with the massacre of the sages of the Talmud, but was intent also on the destruction of the Talmud itself. Unable to find a pretext for killing all the sages who kept it tip, he decreed that if any of the old rabbis Should qualify a young rabbi for Israel, both should be put to death, and the place in which such took place should be destroyed, believing that with the death of the elder generation the Talmud would be forgotten and Israel would blend with the nations and its memory be obliterated; because he very well knew that as long as the Talmud existed there was little hope for the assimilation of the Jews with other nations. This decree, however, was not executed, and his murderous plan was further frustrated by R. Jehudah b. Baba, who, forewarned of the decree and comprehending its consequences, betook himself to a place between two great mountains between Usha and Shprehem and licensed six of the older men of R. Aqiba's disciples to be rabbis (i.e., teachers of the Talmud): R. Meir, R. Jehudah b. Elai, R. Jose b. Halaphta, R. Simeon b. Jochai, R. Eleazar b. Shemua, and R. Nehemiah. Having done this, and feeling sure that as long as these men lived the Talmud would be kept alive, he thus addressed them: "Fly, my sons, and hide from the wrath of the enemy. I alone will remain, and will offer my body to satiate their vengeance." And in fact the Romans pierced his body with three hundred iron lances, so that it resembled a sieve; but the newly consecrated rabbis were saved, and with them the Talmud. (See Sanhedrin.)

Thus the efforts of Hadrian met with no success, so that at last he said to himself: "Great is the sheep that stands among seventy wolves." He saw the Talmud still existing, bringing to naught his plan for converting the Jews, uniting Israel into one people, and establishing it still more firmly as a national and a religious whole. For the six rabbis named above very soon became the soul of Talmudic study; some of them were with R. Simeon, the Nasi, in Shprehem, and others founded colleges of their own. Through them the Talmud regained its former power and influence, and one of them, R. Ilai, became the chief teacher of R. Jehudah the Nasi, the compiler of the Mishna.

The translation of the Bible (written law) into Greek also contributed very much to the popularization of the Talmud. As long as the Torah was in the sacred language only (for the Aramaic version of the time of Ezra had been concealed or destroyed as early as the time of Rabban Gamaliel the Elder, the son of Simeon who had been slain, or probably even during the life of the latter), 1 all Jewish sects and foreign scholars interpreted it in their own way. But a wise Greek, a convert of Judaism, Aquila the Proselyte, who received the doctrines of the Talmud from the disciples of R. Johanan b. Zakkai and also from R. Aqiba, translated the Bible into Greek. This version was not acceptable to the Jewish believers in Jesus (Messianists)--who must already at that period have constituted a large sect--because their construction of many passages in the Messianic spirit was flatly disregarded by the new translation; nor to the Romans, because all expressions seeming to imply the materiality of the Deity were translated in a figurative sense--as for example, "the hand of the Lord"; "the glory of the Lord," which the statue-worshipping Romans could not endure with equanimity, and further because by this translation the nature and doctrines of the Talmud became known to many nations, who found no evil in it. In our opinion the version of Aquila was the sole cause of the despatch of censors from Rome to revise the Talmud, and these censors avowed that its teaching was true. Be it as it may, in studying the history of the Talmud during the first three centuries the reader is easily convinced of the great courage and patience of the sages of the Talmud, For no year of that period passed without trouble from its external as well as from its internal foes, as R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, the Nasi of Jamnia, himself testifies. (See above.) For even after the death of Hadrian it enjoyed but a short respite, for Antoninus Pius renewed the decree of Hadrian, and only with much trouble and at great risk of his life did the Nasi succeed in inducing R. Simeon b. Jochai and R. Josi to go with him to Rome to petition the Caesar to repeal the decree, which, according to the tradition of the Talmud, they effected only through the intervention of "Ben Temalion" (a demon, according to some; a man, according to others). And yet, in spite of this, during this very period, the Talmud became so popular that every town wherein Jews had their habitation possessed also a house of learning for the study of the Talmud; so that everywhere it bloomed and flourished, and bore the fruit of the Mishna, as we shall see in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4.

THE THIRD CENTURY--THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE MISHNAS -- THE TALMUDIC COLLEGES OF PALESTINE AND BABYLONIA.

The sages, the commentators of the Talmud, differed in opinion as to the epoch when the Talmud began to be written down. The scholars of Spain, and their colleagues and disciples, said that it had been recorded from notes possessed since schools had begun in Israel, a long time before R. Jehudah the Nasi. The scholars of France, among them "Rashi," however, declared that not a line was written till the completion of the Talmud, before which its study had been oral. Each school adduced proofs in behalf of its assertion. Modem scholars have made a compromise between these various versions, by asserting that during the first centuries the commentators of the Talmud in the beginning had taken notes of their studies, and later had written them out in a permanent form. It would seem that as the persecutions had at their commencement been very severe, and the sages felt that their lives were in peril, they decided to write its teaching in secret and to conceal it from its foes. No sooner had the Pharisees granted permission for this (for till then it was absolutely forbidden to put in writing oral law) than the number of manuscripts became very great; and when R. Jehudah the Nasi came to occupy the seat of his father and had been confirmed in authority (since he enjoyed the friendship of one Antonius, who was in power at Rome), he discovered that from the multitude of the trees the forest could not be seen; that is, from the multitude of the Mishnas the people had lost sight of the Talmud. He therefore resolved to compile, selecting out of all the written and the unwritten law, clear Mishnayoth, and to systematize them.

Indeed, the period was very favourable to this undertaking, for the Talmud enjoyed a respite from persecutors external and internal. The Jewish followers of the Messiah, Jesus, began at this time to gradually blend with the foreigners who adopted the new creed; hence their influence on their brethren who persisted in the old faith was weakened. Still he met with many obstacles. The chief one was the division of opinion among the students of the Talmud themselves. For although his grandfather, Rabban Gamaliel the Elder, had succeeded in fixing the law in accordance with Hillel's school, and declared, with the consent of many of the sages of the Talmud, the school of Shammai of no validity when at variance with Hillel's, still the decree was weakened, when later he was deposed for a short time from his office of Nasi, and in his college were assembled four hundred students more, of diverse opinions. In view of this, and it was decided again that individual opinions, even those of the minority, should be considered, the differences between the students and the sages of his college were renewed with greater vigor. This state of things continued till the time of 'Rabbi, and in order that his Mishnayoth might be accepted he was compelled to give due weight to all the varying opinions, slighting none, even of those who were in direct contravention of the decision.

The second difficulty was in selecting, from among the mass of incongruous doctrines and laws--many of which had become obsolete, and others found to be unnecessary or impracticable--those which were both practicable and of direct application (for a tradition relates that Rabbi found six hundred sections of Mishnayoth; and even if we admit that this number is greatly exaggerated, still if even one hundred existed, it was no light task to reduce them to six).

The third difficulty was that as the subject had been studied in divers places, differing in dialect or language, all the Mishnayoth had to be made uniform in their dialect. Added to all this, he was forced to clear the Mishnayoth from the insertions incorporated into it by the Messianists; for being many and considerable persons, and in close alliance with their colleagues the Pharisees during two centuries, they could not have failed to introduce into the Mishnayoth their own peculiar opinion and beliefs, many such passages, indeed, being found in the Gemara.

Reason compels us to admit, at least, that there were passages in the Mishnayoth concerning Jesus and his teachings; for how is it possible that an occurrence which holds so important a place in the history of Israel, and which has spread its influence among the nations for centuries, should not be even hinted at in the Mishnayoth? We must, therefore, conclude that Rabbi thought it well to clear the Mishnayoth of any reference to the occurrence itself, as well as to the adherents of the new faith. In this he acted wisely, for he knew beforehand that the Mishnayoth would be the foundation upon which Judaism and the Talmud should be built, and that the interpretations of it would be many, each interpreter

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following the bias of his mind. Therefore it was deemed best by him to avoid all mention of the new event, to treat it as though it had no existence. Nothing can withstand a strong will. When once he had resolved to carry out his project at any cost, all difficulties vanished. He went from college to college, in cities far and near, in places where the great masters taught and learned; and though they "surrounded him as cocks of Beth Bukia," he was not shaken in his resolution, and with the help of his many friends and sympathisers he was finally enabled to arrange in order six sections of Mishnayoth, condensed from hundreds. Each section is given up to a general subject, and is subdivided into tracts dealing with matters which come naturally within the scope of the section, The tracts are further divided into chapters.

The subjects of the sections and the tracts are as follows:

1. The Section of Seeds.--The general subject of this section is the law relating to vegetables, heave offerings, tithes, the sabbatical year, Kilaim, etc.; and at the head of this section he placed the tract on benedictions which man owes to his Maker every morning, beginning with those of the evening, which commences the day according to the Jewish custom.

2. The Section of Festivals.--This treats of the Sabbath holidays (to each holiday being devoted a separate tract), and incidentally also of the duty of taxes before the holidays, and of mourning during the festivals. (See App. No. 8.)

3. The Section of Women.--This deals with laws having reference to women, marriage, divorce, in separate tracts, and thereto are added laws concerning vows and Nazarites, as women's vows are dependent on the decision of their fathers and husbands, and Nazarites depend on women, who may legally consecrate the child previous to its birth, as for example, Hannah and the mother of Samson.

4. The Section of Damages.--This section treats of laws of Property, of the judges, of the penalties which the court may Prescribe, and is divided into the tracts "Sanhedrin," "Penalties" (Makkoth), etc.; but as the first part treats only of damages and their prevention, it is divided simply into three parts without distinct titles: but as first, second and third Geths, and as it treats of damages for which men are responsible, a tract on morals has been added--"Abboth." (Sections "Festivals and Jurisprudence" have been already translated into English by us in eighteen volumes; the synopsis of which will be here appendixed.)

5. The Section of Sacred Things (sacrifices), divided into tracts on sacrifices (Zebachim) firstlings (Bekhoroth), and by the way also Chulin; it treats of slaughtering, and examination of the slaughtered animal used for profane purposes.

6. The Section of Purifications (Tohoroth).--This deals with the subject of defilements and purifications in general, and has for special topics the defilement of vessels (Kelim), of plagues (Nega'im), of tents (Aholoth), etc., and a tract relating to a Nidah (menstruated woman).

Thus he arranged all the laws relating to the Hebrew religion and to civil matters, and called his entire work Mishnayoth (Mishna), i.e. meaning "teaching" to distinguish it from "Torah" and "Talmud," and probably because it is written (Deut. vi. 7) V'shinantam--"and thou shalt teach them diligently to thy children"--in the original version (Mishna Tohroh), which signifies really to explain and comment upon it. Thus the Mishna is an explanation of and a comment upon the Pentateuch (see footnote for a different explanation, in the introduction to "Sabbath"), and teaches men how to conduct themselves in relation to their fellow-men, and incites them to all good and praiseworthy (actions).

In the short introduction to "Sabbath" (6-7) we have already described briefly the character of the Mishnayoth which Rabbi arranged, and how he succeeded in imparting to it the sanctity of the Pentateuch itself, so that nothing is to be added to them, and what was done later after Rabbi's death, is not the place to expatiate on this subject; we may, however, state briefly that as soon as the Mishnayoth was completed, colleges were founded in Palestine and Babylonia to explain the meaning of the Mishnayoth and develop their laws to their ultimate consequences. After Rabbi's death, when Boraithoth and Toseptheth were discovered which did not form part of his compilation and which in many places contradicted the Mishnayoth, these colleges busied themselves in reconciling them with the Mishnayoth and with each other. They accounted for contradictions in Baraithoth by saying that one spoke of a case under same circumstances, while another meant a like case under different circumstances. So they explained the differences in the Mishnayoth themselves, often dividing a Mishna, whose parts seemed to contradict each other, and giving as explanation of the contradictions that the first part was according to one tana, but the latter part according to another. These discussions and comments on the Mishna they called "Gemara," which also signifies "teaching" in Aramaic, which was the spoken language of the sages of the Gemara (see in the above-mentioned introduction for a different reason), and to the combined Mishnayoth and Gemara they gave the old name, "Talmud".

CHAPTER 5.

THE TALMUD OF JERUSALEM, THE TALMUD OF BABYLONIA, THE CHARACTER OF THEIR HALAKHA AND HAGADA, THE DATES OF THEIR COMPLETION AND THEIR SYSTEMATIZATION.

The sages of the Gemara, called Amaraim, and the commentators of Mishnayoth were of different characters. Some were intent only on diligently collecting Mishnayoth and Baraithoth, wherever found, to compare them with each other, to correct their reading in conformity with Rabbi's Mishnayoth, and to separate the wheat from the chaff, i.e. to decide which Boraithoth was valid and which was not worthy of consideration (Boraithoth which were not studied in the colleges of R. Hyya and R. Ushia were not considered). On the other hand, there were others who devoted themselves to ingenious construction of the Mishnayoth and the Boraithoth itself, without adducing proofs from elsewhere. This consisted in scrupulously examining the letters in the Mishna, to eliminate or to amplify it where they judged necessary, to trace laws to their origin and to discover what tana agreed with this Mishna and what differed from it, whether the same tana contradicted himself at different places, and whether it was incompatible to explain them in various ways, and the like. In the language of the Gemara they are distinguished by different titles. Those who studied the Mishnayoth were styled "Sinai, the master of the wheat," and the dialecticians "the uprooters of mountains" or "acute men"; and although the preference was given to the former, as it was said, "all must resort to the master of the wheat," yet the study of the Babylonian Talmudists being based on scholasticism, their acuteness is evinced in their so harmonizing the contradictions and disagreements, that they appear to point to the same meaning.

Not only did they interpret the Boraithas at variance with the Mishnayoth, but when even one of the great Amoraim appeared to differ from the Mishna they so distorted the latter that it should seem to agree with the Amora. A similar difference existed among the authors of the Hagada; some gave to biblical texts a new reading remote from the plain meaning, interpreting them in strange and marvellous ways, and basing on them legends of natural impossibilities, while some adhered closely to the literal meaning of texts, without adorning them with exaggerations. Though in the Palestinian and the Syrian, as well as in the Babylonian colleges, there were many scholars who assisted each other in their studies and comments on the Mishnayoth, the Palestinian differed from those of Babylon in this respect, that in the former the chief labour consisted in the collection of Halakhas, without profound researches into the deeper meanings and implications, even in the study of the mere Mishnayoth, all of which was totally unlike the manner of study in the Babylonian schools. Indeed, the Palestinians were inferior to the Babylonians in scholastic profundity and ingenuity, and but few of them distinguished themselves therein, except R. Johanan, R. Simeon b. Lakish, and several others of that period. Therefore, in the schools of Palestine, scholasticism was esteemed of little value, and in them the study of Halakhas fell into decay, so that finally the Hagada came to occupy the principal place, the Halakhas holding a subordinate position. In addition to this, they found themselves compelled to give their attention to the biblical texts, as the Messianists, who had grown in numbers, construed these texts favourably to Christianity, and challenged the Jews to dispute with them. Therefore, the sages found themselves obliged to give the preference to the study of the Scriptures and Hagada. As at that time the impression was general that the most important element in the study of the Torah is ingenious reasoning on Halakha, it is not surprising that the Babylonian Talmud came to be received as the important and essential part of the Oral Law, while that of Palestine held a subordinate position.

It is difficult to describe accurately and clearly the mode of thinking and ways of reasoning of the Talmud, which in truth is known only to one who has made it the study of his life. It is easier, however, to give a picture of the Talmudists' views and notions. as gathered from the Hagada. In this respect the Hagada of the Palestinian Talmud is superior to that of Babylon, as it had its birth in Palestine, and was borrowed thence by the Babylonians.

Many books of Hagada had existed in Palestine, whose contents were incorporated later in various Midrashim, and some also in the Talmud, and even at that period there was a difference of opinion as to their value. Some valued them, and some despised them. The Hagadas consist of two elements: first, the external garment of the thought, the tradition, and secondly, the internal idea, allegorically shadowed forth, which constitutes literary value. The latter can be divided into three kinds: "P'shat," the interpretation of the meaning of biblical words; "Drash," a free untrammelled interpretation of the scriptural texts; "Sod," the deep mystic, religious meanings construed from the texts. By these three kinds of construction of Scripture, all subjects, topics and times are embraced and discussed. The Hagada, with its mystic and veiled religious wisdom, has exercised a great influence in the Oriental and heathen world, which has borrowed from it many precious gems of profound religious thought having Palestine for their birthplace. And indeed we find that the multitude of legends based on the Bible which have been current in, and reverenced by, the Mohammedan world for twelve hundred years, delighting both sages and the unlearned, are to be found in the Talmudic Hagada. Whether entire or only in the leading idea, their identity is recognisable. Many also of the legends of the Middle Ages to be found in the works of Dante, or those of Boccaccio, Cervantes, and Milton, are taken, consciously or unconsciously, from their original source, the Talmudic Hagada. The Fathers of the Christian church have likewise drawn on it, as Basilius of Cappadocia, Hieronymus, Chrysostomus, and many others who construed passages in the Bible in accordance with the Hagada. The moral code contained in the Hagada, teaches man how to conduct himself toward all men and in all situations of life. We shall deal with this moral law in a future chapter on the Ethics of the Talmud.

The two Talmuds contain, then, Halakhas, Hagadas, references to all branches of science known in those days, but without any system or order. Many times a Hagada is interpolated in the middle of a Halakha, and again in like manner a digression on a scientific subject extraneous to the Halakha is inserted in it. The compiler of the Talmud, whether from careless method or from the great labour involved, could introduce no order. In this respect there is little difference between the two Talmuds; nor is there much difference in the sources whence each drew its material. Sayings from the Talmud of Palestine are quoted in that of Babylonia, sometimes under the name of their author or their citer in Babylonia; other passages are stated to emanate from the "West." "In the West (Palestine) it was said." In the Talmud Palestinian, similarly (see I. H Weiss, Vol. 3., 127, etc.), the Babylonian authority is often given; e.g., "There they learn" or "say." It is clear however that when the Babylonian Talmud was compiled that of Palestine was unknown to its compilers, although, according to the opinion of many, the Talmud of Palestine was arranged by R. Johanan and concluded by R. Jose bar Bun about one hundred years before the Babylonian; others, however, affirm that the Talmud of Palestine was concluded only in the eighth century or even as late as the ninth (in the time of Anan, the founder of the Karaite sect), and adduce evidence in substantiation. We may assume, as a compromise, both assertions to be true; the greater part had indeed been arranged and systematized in the time of Hillel, the last of the Nasis in the West, but it was not employed to any extent in the colleges remaining in Palestine and Syria, because the Babylonian Talmud had spread until it reached the West. But in the time of the Karaites many things were added to the Talmud of Palestine (to oppose the doctrines of the Karaites, as the small tract on Tephilin and the like, which that sect repudiated) by those who wished their words to be held as of equal sacredness with the Talmud, as was then customary. (We shall speak of this further on.) The bulk of the Palestine Talmud, after all the additions, is much less than that of the Babylonian, albeit it contains Gemara on two additional tracts (thirty-nine instead of thirty-seven, as will be explained) and fragmentary chapters of other tracts. This is owing to the fact that the discussion of the Mishnayoth is not so elabourate, and there is less of scholastics. We have already stated that its quality, as regards the Halakhas, is also inferior. It was not as popular as that of Babylonia, therefore fewer copies were made of it than of the latter. For this reason, since its conclusion its opponents have been less numerous, though it was very much persecuted at the time when it was studied in the colleges. The government rulers persecuted Israel and its Torah, since the death of Rabbi, and the persecutions did not stop until the death of Hillel, the last of his descendants, with whom the office of Nasi ceased to exist (360). This was alone one of the causes why the Talmud of Palestine spread less widely than its younger brother of Babylonia. The lot of the Talmud in Babylonia was better, since from the time of the death of Rabbi (223) till Mar b. R. Rah Ashi, one of the last of the Amoraim (500), it was not persecuted by the Persian rulers. For about a hundred years, the heads of the Exile were diligent in their studies, uniting thereunto its political power. If it sometimes happened that some kings were ill-disposed to the Jews, still they did not interfere with their studies. 1 For this reason the study of the Talmud flourished in the colleges of Sura, Nahardea and Pumbeditha, and the number of its students was counted by thousands. (The Talmud counts the auditors of Abba Arikha's [Rabb's] lectures as 12,000.) And so the Talmud became a vast sea, and its waves rose with might. R. Ashi (355-427) saw, therefore, that the time had come for revising, systematizing and concluding it, when he came to restore the college of Sura (Matha Mekhasia), which had fallen into decay on the death of Rabh.

About this R. Ashi it was said (Sanhedrin.) that from the time of Rabbi to his time there is not to be found a man who was unique in the possession of wisdom, riches and glory. He was in favour with King Izgadar II., rich and long-lived. Therefore, he undertook in the course of one year to systematize two tracts. Whether he arranged them in the

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order in which they are found in the Mishnayoth, or differently, or whether he revised and improved them, is not known to us; but this, at least, is clear, that some tracts he revised twice, and the second time in a manner opposite to the first. 1 Be this as it may, it is also certain that the Talmud which we possess is not that which came from R. Ashi's hands, since additions by seven heads of the colleges who succeeded him in Sura, and by their colleagues, Meremar, Idi bar Abin, Nabman bar Huna, Tabyomi (Mar b. R. Ashi) his son, Rabba Tosphoah, Rabina bar Huna, Rabbana Jose, who presided together 125 years, are mentioned in the Talmud, none of which are found in R. Ashi's edition. Perhaps they also made eliminations in his edition though they did not attain the learning and religious wisdom of R. Ashi, except his son, Tabyomi. The latter filled the place of his father in learning and wisdom, though not in his breadth of view, for in his time reigned King Peros, the son of Izgadar III., who persecuted the Jews, the Talmud, and those who cherished it. Therefore, even if we suppose that his son Mar was diligent in arranging and revising the Talmud, as traces of his insertions and corrections are found in it, yet he did not succeed in completing it, owing to the persecutions of the government, especially as he did not occupy his office long, and thus the Talmud has remained uncorrected. But as the sages became aware that the times were changing, the number of learned men diminishing, they began to fear lest in the course of time, passages would multiply in the Talmud which would rather detract from than add to its value; therefore they concluded it, and decreed that thenceforth nothing should be added to it. They also ordered that the sages should no more be called "Amoraim." (signifying commentators of the Mishna), but Saburaim (i.e., explainers of the Talmud to the people). Thus the Talmud was concluded in the age of Rabbana Jose (about 525), without further revision or rearranging. In reality, however, these sages achieved almost nothing; for, despite their decree, the Soburites (as also many of its enemies) as well as the Gaonim, and the rabbis succeeding them, added to and eliminated from it and altered in many places its version, as 1. H. Weiss has proved beyond dispute and also we ourselves in our book "L'baker Mishpat" and in the journal "Hakol" many times, as will be mentioned further on.

CHAPTER 6.

THE PERSECUTIONS OF THE TALMUD IN THE PERSIAN AND BYZANTINE EMPIRES IN THE SIXTH CENTURY AFTER THE CLOSE OF THE TALMUD.

In the reign of Kobad (Cabades) in Persia, a fanatic reformer named Mazdak desired to introduce the doctrine of the community of property and wives, thus modifying the Zoroastrian creed. (501). The king became an adherent of the new doctrine and decreed its acceptance by the people. The lower classes eagerly availed themselves of the license thus granted. To this communism, the Jews, led by Mar Zutra II., son of R. Huna, the young exilarch, offered an armed resistance. The occasion of the revolt was the murder of Mar Isaac, president of one of the colleges. It is related that they established an independent Jewish state, having for king the Prince of Captivity, with Machuza as the capital. At last, after seven years, Mar Zutra and his grandfather, Mar Chanina, were taken prisoners, executed, and their bodies nailed to the cross on the bridge of Machuza (about 520). On account of the ensuing persecutions the office of Exilarch remained for some time in abeyance. The colleges were closed, as the teachers were compelled to conceal themselves, and Abuna and Giza, two of the most, eminent, fled. When peace was restored after Kobad's death, the college at Sura, received Giza as president, and that at Pumbeditha, Semuna. A third name of eminence survives, that of Rabbi or Rab (near Nahardea), of whom little is known. Men of religious mind of the period devoted themselves to the study of the Talmud, the love for which persecution had but increased, which satisfied religious zeal and promoted tranquillity of mind, and the knowledge of which raised its possessor to positions of honour and trust.

The original development of the Talmud had at that period ceased. Giza and Semuna conceived the desire to fix the laws for practical use, casting aside theoretical speculation, for it was necessary that there be no doubts or wavering. Their activity in this work was but a continuation of that which had begun at the close of the Talmud. The labours of the presidents of the colleges were confined to this task and to assembling, as of old, the disciples in Adar (March) and Ellul (September) and instructing them by lectures, and to assigning themes for private study. To fix the laws, the arguments pro and con needed to be weighed; therefore they were called Sabureans (Saburai). Many points of practice in the ritual, the civil law, and the marriage code were settled at this period.

Giza and Semuna gave chief attention to committing the Talmud to writing, making use of oral traditions and of notes made to aid the memory by various individuals. All legends were incorporated, and the obscure passages elucidated by their additions, for everything emanating from the Amoraim was thought important. In this form it has reached us. The vowel points to the Bible were also invented at this time, according to Graetz.

"The names of the immediate successors of Giza and Semuna have not been preserved either by chronicles or tradition"--forgotten in the persecution visited on the colleges during this century by both Christian and Zoroastrian churches.

Hormisdas IV., Chosroes Nushirvan's son, was unlike his father. Led by the Magi, who strove to check the approaching dissolution of their religion by persecution of the adherents of other faiths, he vented his wrath upon the Jews and Christians of his empire. The Talmudical colleges at Sura and Pumbeditha were closed, and again many teachers fled (about 581) this time to Firuzshabar, where, under an Arabian governor, they were less exposed to espionage. New colleges arose there, among which that of Mari was eminent, and there they continued their Talmudic labours. A general, Babram Tshubin, who had experienced the ingratitude of the king, usurped the Persian throne. In this he was assisted by the Jews with money and men, and in return granted them many favours and concessions. As a result, the colleges of Sura and Pumbeditha were reopened; Chanan of Iskia returned from Firuzshabar to Pumbeditha, and restored the college there; it is also probable that the president of Sura, which was of far greater repute, was elected at that time, though his name is not mentioned in the chronicles.

With Babram's fall the vengeance of the lawful heir to the throne, prince Chosru, was visited on the Jews. With the aid of the Byzantine emperor, Mauritius, and the loyal portion of the Persian people, he defeated the usurper, putting to the sword also the greater part of the Jewish population of Machuza, and probably of other cities as well.

CHAPTER 7.

THE EIGHTH CENTURY. THE DOMINION OF THE GAONIM. THE OPPOSITION OF THE KARAITES. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SECT OF THAT NAME.

The Pharisees had been victorious over the Sadducees and the other sects opposed to the Oral Law, but had not annihilated them entirely; since only because these latter could not withstand them, they kept silence and were discontented in their hearts, As the Talmud gained strength and became more severe in its decrees against the Sadducees and Samaritans, so that in the end the Kuthim were declared as idolaters in all respects, then their indignation burned and they awaited a favourable time for revenge. In the time of the dominance of the Gaonim, who carried out the Talmud in practice, the measure became full, and Anan, the nephew of the Gaon at Sura, when he was not elected as Gaon, for the reason of his liberal ideas and his opposition to the Talmud, established the Karaite sect.

Those who hold that the Karaites were a new sect founded by Anan (760 AD), are mistaken, for a small sect under the name of Karaites, or adherents of the Text, had existed already in the days of the Talmud, where they are mentioned in many places, as "adherents of the Text," or once "the Karaites add" (Pesachim, 117a in text; in our edition, Vol. 5., p. 145). Doubtless the remainder of the Sadducees assumed this name, having lost political influence since they had been vanquished, and the word "Sadducees" being hated by the people. Therefore the remains of the sect called themselves "Karaites," i.e. those who occupy themselves with the text of Scripture, and endeavor to understand its real meaning. Owing to their. small numbers, or to the lack of a great man to head them, this, sect kept secret its hatred of the Talmud, though it existed so long as to outlive even the close of the latter, and the Talmudic sages paid no attention to them. Finally, however, chance gave them a man fit to be their leader, who publicly opposed the Talmud so that all its enemies made one league against it, and they were at first a great power; and in the course of 700 years they did not cease to persecute the Talmud and almost destroyed it; finally, however, they lost their influence which they never regained, and to-day are decayed so that small numbers only live in Austria, Crimea, and many other places in Russia, numbering in all to-day no more than 4,000 or 5,000 souls altogether.

This man was Anan ben David, nephew of the exilarch Solomon, in Bagdad, who had died childless. Anan expected to be elected as his successor, but his younger brother was chosen instead, and he was rejected because of his liberal ideas and want of sympathy with the Talmud. Then he publicly began to make war on the Talmud and Talmudists, and became the head of all its opponents and ill-wishers. He made his headquarters at Jerusalem, after having been, it seems, obliged to leave Babylonia. There he assumed the title of exilarch, and around him were assembled a great multitude who made, war on the Oral Law, its scholars, and in particular on the two colleges of Sura and Pumbeditha.

By his general precept, "Search well in the Scriptures," he declared as naught the whole Oral Law. And wishing to find favour in the eyes of the Caliphs, who fixed the dates of their festivals by observation of the new moon, he also renewed this custom, once in force among the Jews while the Temple had existed, repealing thus the calculation of R. Adda received among all Talmudists. He openly said to the Caliph Almanzur that the Jews had been guilty of persecuting Jesus and opposing Mahomet, though (said he) both these men did much to drive idolatry out of existence, and cannot be attacked without guilt. Of the first he said that he had been a holy man who did not want to appear as a prophet, or a god, but only desired to reform the faith which the Pharisees had perverted. Of the second he said that be really was a prophet for the Arabs, only he does not believe that the Law (of Moses) is repealed by Mohammedanism.

His first work was to separate himself from the Jews by fixing the date of Pentecost to be fifty days after the first Sabbath after Passover, as the Sadducees fixed it formerly. The dates of New Year and the Day of Atonement, Passover and the Feast of Booths were determined by watching for the new moon, which did not agree with the Jewish dates. As in the leap year one month is added to the year, he allowed, in case of need, to begin Passover when barley is ripe in the fields. The Phylacteries (not a grave ceremony among the Jews, at any rate), the four species of the Lulab and the semi-holiday Hanuka (Dedication), he abolished. On the other hand he made the observation of Sabbath more burdensome, so that the lighting of candles was prohibited on the eve of Sabbath, even by a non-Jew, also the leaving of one's house during Sabbath when most neighbours are not Jews, i.e. Karaites; the dietary laws he also made stricter, so as to prohibit his adherents eating in company with Jews for the latter are not careful enough and oftentimes eat with Gentiles.

Soon Anan saw that if every one were left to interpret the Biblical text according to his own mind, etc., his sect would be split, and not endure (as actually was the case in the course of time, as will be explained further on), and that a fixed commentary is needed at least for those passages which can by no means be interpreted literally. Therefore he claimed many great authorities, long deceased, as Karaites, and declared that R. Jehuda b. Tabai, the colleague of Simeon b. Shetah, etc. Shamai the elder, the colleague of Hillel the Elder, and other such, were some of the founders of their sect, and he ascribed to them some interpretations of passages which he claimed to have received by tradition from them. "Abandon the Talmud and Mishna," he said to his followers, "and I will make you a Talmud of my own, according to the traditions I have." Though in reality he took the rules of the Mishna as basis, yet he said that as far as details are concerned he is as wise as the sages of the Mishna, or more so, and can construe the Biblical texts by his own intellect.

His hatred of the Talmud became so great that he said that if he could have swallowed the Talmud, he would cast himself into a lime-kiln, that it might be burned with him and leave no vestige of its existence. Thus the people of Israel separated itself then into two hostile hosts. The Talmudists declared the Karaites not to be Jews, and forbade to give them any holy ceremony to perform, while the Karaites said of the followers of the rabbis that they are Jewish sinners, and it is sinful to intermarry with them. The city of Jerusalem witnessed for the third time a splitting of Israel into parties.

Of Anan's writing we know nothing, although according to the Karaites he wrote some comments on the Bible and prayers. From the compositions imputed by them to him, we can see that only the love of resistance and victory absorbed him; how great his learning was we can not judge, as in general his biography is unknown to us, but it is known that he was not given, to philosophy, nor ingenious in interpreting Scripture. One good effect we can ascribe to him, that, owing to his opposition, the Talmudic rabbis were also forced to pay more attention to the Scriptures, and make researches and learn the niceties of the Hebrew language, so that Anan and his sect were the prime cause of all the compositions on grammar, Massorah and vowel points, and even poetic compositions that the Talmudists gave birth to in the course of time.

After Anan's death Saul, his son, succeeded him as exilarch of the Karaites, but Anan's disciples separated from him, as they did not agree with him about some ceremonies, according to Saul's interpretation of biblical passages. They became a distinct sect calling themselves Ananites; so it also happened after the death of Saul, who was succeeded by Josiah, his son. And so almost every age sprang a new Karaite sect with a name of its own, each interpreting Scripture in its own way. Some of them will be mentioned presently, It is self-evident that an attempt to get at the profound meaning of the Scriptures was the business of every such sect; through their activity the knowledge of Hebrew grammar, of Massorah, the vowel-points and punctuation marks, was diffused; theological philosophizing was also not strange to some Karaites, as they had to explain such words as God's "hand," "eye," "finger," which they were unwilling to take literally and materialize God, just as the other Jews. Thus gradually a large literature sprang among the Karaites, not inferior, taken as a whole, to the Talmud itself in bulk.

At all events, the Talmud was menaced by a much greater danger from these internal enemies than from its external foes. For the latter did not attack the Talmud itself, except so far as it was an obstacle in their way, but their main and avowed object was to convert the Jews to another religion, or even

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merely to fill their own pockets with Jewish gold, given to avert the persecution instigated for that very purpose. The Talmud was then attacked only incidentally, not for its sake, while the main object was something else.

But the Karaites made it their great aim to drive the Talmud itself out of existence, to direct their arrows against it for its own sake, and endeavored to bring about, that the Jews should become Christians, or Mussulmans, or join any sect whatever, the Karaites did not care which, provided that the Jews should forsake the hateful Talmud, and its Halakhas and Hagadas should get lost. Therefore the struggle with them was very great, especially as they pretended that their traditions were based on the great authorities of the remnants of the nation.

As their doctrines, however, were not fixed, and as almost every age the Karaites were split into diverse sects, therefore they could not resist or make headway against the Talmud, whose strength is, to those who rightly understand it, that it has never purposed to make fixed rules, to last for all ages; deliberation and reasoning concerning the Halakhas according to the circumstances, is the principle of the Talmud; and the saying of the Talmud, "even when they say to you of right that it is left, and of left that it is right, thou shalt not swerve from the commandment," shows the opinion of the Talmud, that the practice of the ceremonies and precepts is dependent on the time, place and other circumstances. With this power the Talmud combatted all its enemies, and was victorious.

The controversies between the Jews and the Karaites are recorded in many books, Karaite and Talmudistic, from the age of R. Saadia the Gaon, and his opponent Sahal ben Matzliah to the present time. In them can also be found the history of their alternate triumphs. But this is not our task here: we will remark only that from the days of R. Saadiah the Gaon, when the Rabbis had begun to have polemics with them, can be seen the deep mark the Karaite literature left on the Rabbinical one. Philosophy was from that time used in conjunction with the Torah; many Gaonim followed R. Saadiah's method of harmonizing the Torah and the philosophy of that time, that they should seem as mutual enemies. So the Karaites charged such men with infidelity, but others were themselves compelled to imitate them, and called in the aid of philosophy, of the divinity, to interpret the texts of the Holy Scriptures.

The effect of the Karaites on the Talmudist Rabbis is made evident also in this: that since their time the rabbis also began to write down fixed Halakhas taken from the Talmud, that the readers should not otherwise by error adopt the Karaite rules, made by the Karaite leaders, which they might mistake for the rules of the Talmud itself, since they could not know the whole Talmud by heart. They composed, therefore, the "Halakhoth G'doloth" (Great Halakhas), "Sh'iltoth'derab A'bai" (Queries of R. Ahai), for the sake of the students, who could not themselves wade through the whole Talmud. But thereby they opposed the spirit and object of the Talmud itself, that the Halakhas should be matter for discussion, and modified in accordance with the requirements of the time and place. As soon as the Gaonim had permitted to propound decisions of the Halakhas, and to fix them, those Gaonim, who succeeded them, were compelled to teach that these decisions of the former Gaonim, even though given without proofs, are holy for the people, as if giver, from Mount Sinai. This circumstance added fuel to the quarrel of the Karaites, and gave them new points of attack. The hope of some great men of the nation to reconcile the Jews with the Karaites became naught, for although the Karaites quarrelled among themselves, and split into rival sects, yet they all equally hated the Talmud, reviled it, and insulted it, styling the two colleges, at Sura and Pumbeditha, "the two harlots" spoken of in Ezekiel, who (claimed they) referred to these colleges in his prophecy.

According to Makrizi there were among the Karaites ten sects, differing from each other in their opinions, practice and festivals; they had no permanence, some rose, some fell, and in the tenth century only five large sects were found, named:

1. Jod'anim or Jodganim.
2. Makrites or Magrites.
3. Akhbarites.
4. Abn Amronites or Tiflisites.
5. Balbekites.

The reader will find in the books of Jost, Grätz, Fürst, Geiger, and in Hebrew, in "Bequoreth L'toldoth Hakaraim" an account of the particulars about which the various sects of the Karaites differed, and also the names of their leaders. We do not think it necessary to give these details in this place. We will mention for illustration the latest sect, which wished to fix the day of Atonement only on a Saturday every year, because it is said "Sabbath Sabbathan," which means a Sabbath of rest (Lev. 23:32), and they translate "a Sabbath of Sabbaths," and the first day of Passover on Thursday. Thus each Karaite sect celebrated the Biblical festivals on different days, for each sect construed the texts in the Pentateuch by preference without being able to come to an agreement. Thus also in respect of the observation of Sabbath: for some Karaites, their houses were during the Sabbath their prisons, where they did sit in darkness, and which they could not leave when their neighbours happened not to be Karaites like themselves. In this we see the power of the Talmud, that even those who were inimical to it or hostile to a large portion of it, Halakhas never had different opinions concerning the festivals and other such things, important to one particular nation; for they could not deny its general tradition.

The effects of Karaism are also traceable in some religious practices, which had not been usual among the people of ancient times. Thus Phylacteries, which it had not been customary to use, in spite of the literal interpretation of the Talmud of the passage "and thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thy hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes," (Deut. vi. 8); perhaps for the reason that Hillel had said: "Leave Israel alone; if they are not prophets, they are children of prophets," (Pesachim); for after all, the arguments of the Talmud in favour of the literalness of that passage, the people felt that it was only a figurative expression; and the Talmud itself prohibited the use of phylacteries to the people, permitting it only to confirmed scholars. But when the Karaites interpreted the passage figuratively, the Gaonim permitted the use of Tephilin to the people also, to show their difference from the Karaites.

The opposition of the Karaites effected also that the Gaonim should declare that the Hagada of the Talmud is not obligatory to believe for any man; and that it is not to be taken literally, but as allegorical. "Leave to every one the right to hold what opinions he chooseth about the Hagada of the Talmud" says R. Samuel b. Hopni, father-in-law to Hai Gaon, to ward off the attacks of the Karaites and opponents of the Talmud generally, who made it responsible for many Hagadic things cautioned in it. And indeed we see that the collections of Halakhas from the Talmud, as Rab Alphasi and his colleagues inserted but little of the Hagada, as if to show that the Hagadas are not minded. Though in truth the Hagadas of the Talmud relating to morality are the main element of the Talmud, mostly require no change, addition, or subtraction, even in our age. While on the other hand, the absence of the ethics of the Talmudic Hagada is painfully felt in Karaite literature to the present day. In points of morality their opinions are as various as concerning the Halakhas, in the course of time issued from the Karaite ascetics who abstained from meat and wine, left their homes, dwelt in deserts, and mourned over the destruction of Jerusalem. The Karaites styled them "the sixty heroes who are around Solomon's bed," for there were sixty in number, and called them the great teachers, for they had been taught by them that it is not legal to eat meat in exile, since a text says one should not slaughter outside the camp. In contrast with these, from among the Karaites came also Hiri Hakalhi or Habalki who, owing to his opposition to the Talmud, denied also Moses' Torah, providence, creation, etc., so that the Karaites repulsed him also. There were among them also some who believed in a material God, eating something of the sacrifices, and enjoying the agreeable flavour of them. Such was the destiny of those who rejected tradition, and relied on their own intellect.

The issue was that, though among the Karaites were also great men and great sects--and many times they triumphed over the Talmudists for centuries--the following peculiarities made them a sect secluded from the whole world (especially from the Rabbis, who were to them as if unclean); their scrupulousness about cleanliness and uncleanliness, their separation from anybody who was not a Karaite Jew, so as not to take from him bread and other articles of the bakery, and so as not to eat anything that had been touched by a non-Jew (some prohibited even meat fit for a sacrifice). Gradually their numbers diminished, so that now they number only about four thousand souls in the world, and even these few differ among themselves in their usages and festivals. To this day the Karaites in Egypt and the East remain in the dark during the eve of Sabbath; the dates of their festivals are not alike every year, and by their attacks on the Talmud they not only failed to weaken its influence or diminish the number of its adherents, but brought about its increased influence and accepted holiness. Though the Rabbis kept apart from them, and said to those who wished to make peace between them, "the Karaites (or torn pieces, Kraim Kra'im), never became joined," still they did not forbear to borrow from them what seemed to them good, adopting the Massorah and vowel points of Ben Asher, who was one of them.

About the Judaized Chazars, of their time, the Karaites say that they had the Karaite form of Judaism, but modern scholars contradict this. They say that the Chazars were Talmudic Jews and A. B. Gottlober has written admirably about this subject. His argument seems to savor of the truth. But there is no doubt, that among the Jewish tribes of Arabia, and those of the Judaized Arabian kingdom, there were Talmudic Jews who rendered many services to the Jews of the Byzantine empire; but as these matters do not pertain to our subject, we will not speak further of them, and conclude hereby the present chapter. (See App. at the end of this volume.)

CHAPTER 8.

ISLAM AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE TALMUD.

In 622, the Hebrew religion gave birth to a second daughter, Mohammedanism--founded by Mahomet of Mecca among the tribes of Arabia, who had lived unprogressive for ages in the large peninsula between the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, keeping by the usages received from their ancestors traditionally. Hundreds of years had passed without making any impression on the development of this people, until Mohammed arose, and in the space of twenty years subdued with the sword and by the tongue the whole great land of Arabia. And like a stream of mighty waters the Arabs burst from their bonds, animated by a spirit of war, and fired by religious zeal, tore away from the Byzantine empire the whole of Syria and Egypt, and conquered also Persia, extended their empire to India and Caucasus, on the one band, and to Western Africa, on the other, spreading, at last, over Spain and Southern Italy to the heart of Christendom, preaching Islam, and bearing the banner of their prophet wherever they stepped.

For the second time, after an interval of six hundred years, Judaism witnessed a new faith born, all whose choice portions, all whose good and beauty, were taken from the storehouse of the Talmudic Hagada. When Mahomet arose to say that through Gabriel, the angel, the Lord had destined him to confirm the truth of the Divine revelation previously to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Moses and the rest of the saints who had been on earth, he borrowed only the foundation of his idea from the Hagada of the Talmud. Likewise he borrowed many sayings, traditions, and historic legends from the same source, and these materials served him as the foundation of the principles he prescribed for the guidance of his people. All the Hebrew plants succeeded speedily on the Arabian soil, as if they had been native.

Islam grew in power and soon made progress, political and ecclesiastical, for new forces joined it. It reared a new civilization on the ruins of the heathen culture of Syria. During the first century of its existence it likewise exercised an influence on the scholars of the Talmud. As the Greek spirit had formerly been wedded to the Jewish spirit, so now the Arabian was wedded to it. It might have supplanted Jewish thought altogether had not the many sages, adherents of the Talmud, written excellent books in Arabic, extolling the Talmud, its system and its spirit.

When the Jewish tribes of Arabia, some of these powerful and independent, had refused to believe in the inspiration of the new prophet, Islam arose on its parent Judaism, as Christianity had done before; persecutions, massacres, blood and fire and exile were visited on the adherents of the Talmud. As long as Mahomet had entertained the hope of gaining Jews for converts, his treatment of them was favourable and he enjoined in the Koran not to be inimical to adorers of one God. He even wanted to make the date of the fast of Rhamadan on the tenth of Tishri (the Day of Atonement), as well as to make Jerusalem the centre of the pilgrims instead of Mecca. Perceiving, however, that notwithstanding all this, Islam gained few Jewish converts, he turned the enemy of the Jews and became wroth against them ("The Vision of the Cow"; a chapter in the Koran) and persecuted them with fury and bloodthirstiness as infidels. But at his death his hatred and intolerance died with him, the Jews found peace and protection under the Caliphs, and the Gaonim could establish their colleges. When Spain was added in 711 by the General Torick Aben Zara, bright days ensued for the Jews; they were able to devote themselves to spiritual activity undisturbed, also to take a large part in the culture of science which flourished in Spain. Great offices and high posts were given to Talmudic Jews; councillors, authors of law articles, court physicians and ministers were taken from among them. Together with their civic prosperity their spiritual activity made progress, and they made great contributions to Judaism, and benefited their co-religionists. Rarely were they visited by storms, as in Granada, in 1603, and at Cordova, in 1157, and then they suffered only as citizens.

In Egypt, Syria, Fez and Morocco, wherever Islam dominated, Jewish communities flourished. In contrast to this, the study of the Torah decayed in the East, and from Babylonia it changed its place to Spain.

The prosperity and the power of the Jews called forth envy and opposition, resulting in the desertion of some Jews to Islam; and this spirit of opposition was kindled yet more by false Messiahs arising frequently, as Shiraini in 720 and Abu Eiei in 1464, in the reign of the Caliph Merian, who opposed themselves to the Talmud with all their might (the last abolished also divorce). In spite of all that, the Talmud was honoured as before. For the Gaonim and the two colleges at Sura and Pumbeditha were as beacons to all the exiled Jews till the second half of the tenth century. Only a singular accident, which happened about 960, put an end to this unlimited and undivided dominion of Babylonia over the Jewish minds. Four scholars had left Sura with the purpose of collecting money among their European brethern, for the benefit of encouraging a more assiduous study of the Talmud at the college of Sura; the vessel being captured by an Arab

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pirate, the four sages were sold as slaves. One, R. Shemariah b. El'hanan was then brought to Alexandria; there the Jewish community ransomed him, and appointed him as supervisor of religion and teacher of the Talmud in Cairo. The second, R. Hushiel, was sold into slavery at the African coast, and brought to Kairuban. The third, R. Moses b. Enoch was ransomed from his owners after many hardships, at Cordova, where the community chose him as Rabbi. The name of the fourth has not transpired. It is possible that he reached France. The four men, not having attained their object of collecting money for Sura, and its college having been closed seven hundred years after its foundation, brought to an end the spiritual dominion of Babylonia over the Jewish mind and scattered the seeds of Talmudic study throughout all lands.

The college of Pumbeditha, though it continued to exist for some period after that of Sura, spreading the light of the Torah among all the exiled, sank from its preëminent rank, gradually, till its existence came to an end (about 1040). With it was extinguished the light of the Gaonim. From that time the centre of religious activity for the Jews was in Europe. The Talmud had its home in Spain, whence it spread to other countries, as will be seen in the coming chapters.

CHAPTER 9.

THE VICTORY OF KARAISM OVER THE SPIRITUAL DOMINION OF THE TALMUD AND THE MIND OF THE JEWISH NATION--THE LAST GAONIM AT SURA AND PUMBEDITHA--THE CENTRE OF TALMUDIC STUDY TRANSFERRED FROM MESOPOTAMIA TO SPAIN--THE SCHOLARS OF KAIRUBAN--THE PERIOD OF THE GREATEST DIFFUSION OF TALMUDIC STUDY.

Though Rabbinism came out victorious from the struggle with Karaism, it can not be denied that in one respect the latter triumphed. The unlimited dominion which the Talmudic spirit of the colleges of Sura and Pumbeditha had at that time on the minds of the nation of Israel in general in all places of their abode--this spiritual dominion waned greatly. The glory of these colleges irresistibly declined, in spite of all efforts to the contrary, even of a supreme man like Saadiah the Gaon. The spirit of investigation and free thought at Bagdad induced the disciples, to whom the religious teachings of their master Saadiah gave the example, to engage in the study of philosophy, grammar and the interpretations of the text of the Scripture, and to abandon the hard and exhausting studies of Sura. A slight cause, the voyage of the four scholars mentioned above to Europe, sufficed to hasten the end of this college, which did not exist long after the death of R. Saadiah the Gaon, so that it was closed forever after centuries of its existence.

The college at Pumbeditha continued some time longer; it put forth its last efforts, before the lights of its Gaonim and Exilarchs were extinguished, before the glory and religious and spiritual pre-eminence of Babylon departed from there to honour Spain; and as the light of a candle blazes up before it is extinguished, so there shone on the Babylonian horizon three Gaonim, Sherira b. Hanina, Hai his son, and Samuel b. Hophni the father-in-law of the latter (960-1038). The activity of these men in the field of Talmudic literature persists and exercise their influence yet.

R. Sherira placed the Talmudic studies too much above all other studies, whereas in the college at Sura, in accordance with the spirit of Saadiah the Gaon, the sciences also stood in the first rank of studies and a critical spirit reigned in studying Scripture and in commenting on the Talmud. At Pumbeditha the Talmud was the only dish offered to the students, the only subject of the curriculum. R. Sherira was the first who fearlessly taught and said: "The utterances of the Gaonim require no demonstration; whoso rebels against their decisions, rebels against God and betrays His Torah." His book "Megilath Stharim." (Scroll of Mysteries), which was undoubtedly written in this autocratic spirit, is lost. But, on the other band, he has bequeathed to us a fragment which enlightens us at present, being the chief basis of all Jewish literary and theological history. This is the letter he sent to the congregation of Kairuban, termed "R. Sherira's Epistle," which treats of the history of the Talmud and of the Gaonim and is the key to the otherwise mysterious history of that epoch. From this letter only can we take the essential information for arranging the history from the close of the Talmud to his time. Without this document many and important periods, from the time of the Maccabees to those of the Gaonim, over a thousand years, would remain to us obscure and unknown. The epistle is wonderfully accurate in respect to chronology, and is free from any bias. Only by means of it, and of other compositions of this class, as the Megilath Taanith (Scroll of Fasts), Seder Olam (Order of the World), the Sedar Tanaim and Amoraim, together with the remnants of information of R. Nathan bar Izhak the Babylonian (956) concerning the colleges at Sura and Pumbeditha, and the methods of study at their time, can the modem scholar compile the known histories, so very necessary to the understanding of the Talmud and its literature.

R. Hai, his son, was indeed more inclined towards the sciences than his father. He was proficient in Arabic learning. Nor was he averse to philosophic studies. He opposed himself with all his might against speculation about the hypothesis of religion. In theological and Talmudical knowledge, R. Hai surpassed all his colleagues and stood alone in his age. From Northern Africa and Spain, whither sparks of Talmudic literary activity had just penetrated and kindled, came to him questions in great number. He replied to them in Arabic or in Hebrew; the spirit of reconciliation between philosophy and theology is in all his answers. His list of Hebrew roots, commentaries on the Mishna, and compositions examining Scriptures exist mostly no longer, and only fragments of Talmudic jurisprudence, as laws of buying and selling, of oaths, etc., which he attempted to methodize in verse are preserved. So also is ascribed to him a didactic poem entitled "Musar Haschel" (Morality of Reason) very excellent in its thoughts, matter, and intention (purpose, aim, conception), albeit we can not extole the style or the poetic form. At all events this R. Hai, the last of the Gaonim is the first of all Talmudic scholars even at this day, and his words are oracular for all commentators and all those who decide Halakhas according to the Talmud.

His father-in-law, Samuel b. Hophni, held of the same opinions as he, but was more free in his criticism of the Scriptures than all his colleagues. Of his many works only fragments (which originally written in Arabic, we have in the Hebrew garb) of his commentaries to the Scriptures remain. But his compositions about Halakhas and essentials of religion are all lost, and only their names survive. The fundamental principle of this thinker was: "Things opposed to human common sense should not be admitted." He combated violently also the Karaites and was attacked desperately, as they mocked and scoffed at him and even wrote satiric Hebrew poems about him.

Those three were the last of those remaining at these colleges, and at their death the sources of wisdom in Babylonia were stopped off. After the decease of ben Hophni (about 1034) the college at Sura was abolished, and two years after the death of R. Hai (1640) the college of Pumbeditha was closed. The wisdom of Israel removed to North Africa (Kairuban) and Spain and bore fair fruit there.

The city Kairuban had a great reputation. In an antique commentary, imputed to a disciple of R. Saadiah the Gaon, this city is mentioned as "the city of great sages." As is known, one of the four above-mentioned rabbis, R. Hushiel, who with his colleagues had been voyaging to collect money for the college of Sura, was cast thither. All four introduced mental activity in all places they visited. R. Hananel, the son of R. Hushiel, succeeded to his position (in 1050) and surpassed his father in wisdom and in energy. He bequeathed to us fragments of commentaries on Scriptures and the Talmud, which were of great help to the study in the conditions at that time, when Talmudic activity was diffused among Jews. He and his contemporary, Nisim b. Jacob, who also resided in Kairuban, renewed the youth of the Palestinian Talmud, which had been neglected. Especially did the latter contribute to bring about this. He also issued the book "Maphteah" (Key) for several tracts of the Babylonian Talmud and in it he cast light on many difficult passages in the Palestinian Talmud by comparing the two Talmuds.

R. Hananel also wrote a commentary on the Talmud, which was published in separate parts. Therein he explains the subject and meaning of the words in Hebrew, and draws a parallel between the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmud. He wrote also a book containing abstracts arranged in Talmudic order of the Halakhas, concerning service and pecuniary matters.

A careful examination of the books of the two men will show that they were in unison with their opinions with Saadiah the Gaon, and diffused his teaching and ideas among the Jews. Friendship existed between these two men and Hai and the learned men of Spain, as is seen from their large correspondence. There is also a third one of the sages of Kairuban, who contributed to the study of the Talmud, he is Hephetz b. Jatzbiah, held in great esteem by his contemporaries, and upon whom all titles of honour that great men receive were bestowed. Of his works nothing is known except the name "Sepher Hephetz" (the book of Hephetz or Desirable book) which he wrote as a commentary to the "books of duties."

The sages of Kairuban witnessed the end of the two colleges and the extinction of the Gaonim, but also the flourishing of Jewish literature in Spain, whither it had been spread from Northern Africa. After the decease of these learned men the glory of Kairuban became also extinct, and Jewish intellectual activity left the East and emigrated to the West.

An examination of the literary period after the death of the Gaonim shows that it surpassed by far the preceding period. Whereas, in the time of the Exilarchs and the Gaonim, only the Talmud had been the subject chiefly studied and only to it had contributions been made which helped to perpetuate the spirit of Judaism. Now, when Jewish learning removed to Spain and Southern France, it blossomed and became split into many branches, to each of which many good books were contributed. On the study of the Scriptures shone forth the light of free criticism; the studies of Masorah reached perfection; grammar and linguistic researches came to the front rank; the Talmud and Midrash, long ago concluded, were subjected to the analysis of commentaries and abridged into systematic abstracts. The basis of the philosophic conception of the Jewish faith was laid; and religious and ritual poems succeeded, when treated by the sublimely inspired Spanish poets. A broader and deeper comprehension of the Talmud was also the result of the intellectual awakening. It is true that the cause of this intellectual activity were the Arabs, while the polemics with the Karaites enhanced it, and made it penetrate through the wall of Judaism; but, taken up by the Jews, it made progress and continued to do so even when both Arabs and Karaites had abandoned knowledge altogether. This spiritual awakening caused even the remotest branch of Israelite stock, from which almost all life had fled, to bloom up and to awake to new life. Even the small community of Samaritans, whose existence had been quite forgotten, came to life and took part in the Jewish culture. The book of "Joshua" of the Samaritans, the "Reminiscences of Abul-Pathah" (a historical treatise of these events), the Samaritan version of the Pentateuch, and the Arabic version of the Scriptures by Abu-Laid appeared at this time. Also fragments of ritual composition there are a few left of many, but their value is small and they are not as ancient as had been at first thought. On the new Jewish literature the Samaritan sect never made any impression; but the intellectual movement of the Jews involved also the remnant of the Samaritans and aroused it from its slumber. But in the time of the Gaonim, when the bearers of the banner of the Talmud ranked themselves to battle with the Karaites, they did not condescend to notice the Samaritans.

When we say that this period surpassed the former, we are far from disparaging the great Gaonim, and from thinking them men inferior to their successors. In truth, these men were only dwarfs who stood on the shoulders of giants for had they not stood on the shoulders of those giants they could not have investigated deeply all those subjects to which in time of the Gaonim no attention had been paid. For, in spite of the precept of Sherira, above mentioned, "that the utterances of the Gaonim require no demonstration," they did not cease to give proofs, reasons, and to advance arguments in their replies to questioners. Only by means of thorough and deep research in the Talmud, by comparing and by reasoning, did the Gaonim bring the ideas of their time in accordance with the ancient Halakhas, thus increasing the practical importance of tradition and giving to the Torah a living interest. The Spanish and French scholars took up their work and carried it on, extending it to all branches of science. Then literature, therefore, attained its highest development, so that this period has been termed the "golden age of Jewish learning." The replies of the Gaonim only were the basis of their superstructure, reared when intellectual activity had removed from the banks of the Euphrates to the banks of the Tagus and the Rhine.

Their explanations of Halakha were of two kinds; either those induced by the bare love of knowledge, or answers which had to be given to question arising from practical exigencies, which occasioned the analysis of the Halakhas and the investigation whether the spirit of the Halakhas held good only at their time or applied to other times also.

Five compilations of this kind, termed "Replies of the Gaonim," exist in the Jewish literature, which have been compiled from the beginning of the seventh to the eleventh centuries. The first of the authors of those replies was the Gaon Hananai and the last Hai the Gaon. This literature of the Gaonim's replies is a large field for scientific researches in literary history in general, of historic events, and of intellectual progress. In all their replies and decisions we see that their aim is knowledge, not authoritativeness as is usual in the case of priests or even of Gaonim. For their decision they gave reasons and advanced arguments, and also forbade no learned or ingenious man to object to them.

This spirit of employing reason found in this literature of Replies still continues. By it the present is linked with the past and the future with the present. These replies touch almost all branches of thought as well as all practical questions, viz.: the value of the Agada in Talmudic literature; the value of the studies of the mysteries; opinions on philosophy, on the rights due to sciences, answers to questions about chronology and calculations of time. History, geography, and mathematics in some of their replies are also discussed. There are also answers with reasons to questions about Laws of Marriage, Gentiles, Proselytes, Testaments, Mourning, Sermons, Divorce. They also explain to those who question them different passages in Mishna and Talmud-questions even without any practical aim-only to increase and advance the Torah by the discussions made in the house of learning.

CHAPTER 10.

THE SPANISH WRITERS. A BRIEF SURVEY OF THEIR WRITINGS RELATING TO THE TALMUD.

Although the aim of this, our work, is to give a history of the Talmud alone, not of the whole Jewish literature of that

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period (to which is devoted a work by Dr. Karpeles and others), we can not, however, skip over the writers of Spain and France of that time, who extended the literature according to the fundamental principles of the Talmud, and shine in history, the admiration of succeeding generations. We will not, however, speak at length of their work or examine it minutely, but merely mention the names; only those whose main work was elevated to Talmudic subjects we except from this rule of brevity, and shall speak about their work as far as is necessary for the purpose of this work.

The first of the distinguished men of Spain, whom the Babylonians honoured with the title of "Resh Kalah" (synonymous with "Head of College"), was R. Hisdai b. Itzhak Ebn Spurt (915-970), who was counsellor and physician to the Caliph Abdul Rahman III., and he was the one who helped his co-religionists to rise from their degradation. Besides his diligence in other sciences, as the translation of the botanical books of Disscroridus, the Greek, for his sovereign, the Caliph, he carried on a correspondence with the Gaonim. of the colleges of Sura and Pumbeditha, and through them succeeded in bringing scholars and books to his own country, and to found a college for Talmudical studies. He wrote the well known letter to the king of the Chosars, in which his love for his co-religionists and his Zeal for their welfare are manifested. Menahem b. S'ruk and Duns b. Labrat, the grammarians known through their polemics about the roots and the grammar of the Hebrew language, were invited by R. Hisdai to come to popularize the study of Hebrew. Jehud b. David Chilveg, Isaac b. Kapron and Isaac Giktalia were the disciples of Menahem, and Jehudah b. Shesheth was the disciple of Dun. These men by their controversies about the grammar carried it further and perfected the study. Jonah Ebn Ganah (1000-1050) surpassed even those, for he composed seven books about grammar in Arabic and Hebrew which are preserved to the present time.

Samuel Hanagid (and the Nasi Ebn Nagdilah, 993-1055) was a patron of Jewish learning in Spain, as Ebn Spurt had been before him. He was the author of twenty-two books, but not even one of them survives completely. Even from his great book "Introduction to the Talmud" only a small portion is preserved, but this testifies to the greatness of his knowledge and the acuteness of his intellect. With all his adherence to the traditions and to the cardinal principles of the Talmud, he did not exclude the use of common sense and human judgement. He says: "Every comment in the Talmud on passages of Scriptures other than commandments we have to admit only so far as seems to be rational, but as for the rest, it is not authoritative." From this we see that in his ideas about the Hagadah of the Talmud, he went a step in advance of the Gaonim, Saadiah, and Hai. His poems and prayers in his works "Ben Thilim" and "Ben Mishle" are based on the tradition of the Talmud. But of his "Ben Koheleth" nothing was preserved by us. He was held in great esteem by the contemporary learned men. Many wrote poems in his praise, among them is the "Orphan" (Jethoma), by R. Joseph b. Hisdai. The poets at that time used to say, "In the days of R. Hisdai, the Nasi, they began to twitter (in poetry) and in the days of Samuel the Nagid, they lifted their voice."

He was succeeded by the lofty poet Solomon b. Gabirol, 1012-1070. (We need not here dwell on his biography and work, as Messrs. Senor Sachs and Salomon Munk wrote whole books about him.) In his time, Jekuthiel Ebn Hassau, who was high in the court of King Jahia Ibu Mundhir at Saragossa, was also a patron of all Jewish learning, especially of ben Gabirol. The latter's poem, "Kether Malchuth" (Crown of Royalty), was very favourably received by all who bore the banners of the Talmudic and Kabbaldic studies, and also by Christian priests, so that it was translated into Latin by the priest Dominicus Gondizallo (1150) and also into Hebrew by him, with the assistance of Johannis Abudalu (an apostate Jew). The fact that his name "Ebn Gabirol" was altered to Abizatrol or Abizabran has been illuminated by Salomon Munk. Bahayi b. Joseph Ebn Pekira, judge in Saragossa, his contemporary, is the author of the wonderful book "The Duty of Hearts" (Chobath Halbaboth) in Arabic, which has been translated by Samuel Ebn Tabun into Hebrew, and accepted as a guide in life by Israel everywhere they were found. (It has been translated also into German by Herr Baumgarten of Vienna.) This teacher Behayi absorbed himself wholly in the Talmud and gave it the preference to Arabic or Grecian philosophy. His object in this, his wonderful work, is the following: to conciliate morals with commandments and the duties of the heart with those of the other members of the body. The duty of the heart is purity of thought, that of the other members to carry out the commandments.

Five sages bearing the name Isaac lived at that time, viz.: 1. Isaac b. Reuben of Barcelona (1043), great in knowledge of the Talmud and an expert at translating. He translated the decisions of R. Hai Gaon, about buying and selling, from Arabic to Hebrew. 2. Isaac b. Jehudah Ebn Giath (1089), who composed prayers and ritual poems considered remarkable at that time. 3. Isaac b. Moses Sochni, who emigrated from Spain to the East, where he was qualified as Gaon and became the successor of R. Hai. Only his fame survives, his writings, however, are all lost. 4. Isaac b. Baruch Abudaly (1035-1094), who was a sage and astrologer to Caliph Al Mahmed. The latter made him Nasi over the Israelite communities in his domain, Seville. He wrote a commentary to difficult Halakhas in his book "Kupath Haruchim" (Book of Spices), which, however, he did not complete. 5. The greatest of all, Isaac b. Jacob Alphassi (1013-1103), who came from North Africa to Lucina (Alisa) and there founded a college for the study of the Talmud, in which he surpassed all his colleagues in Spain. Alphassi was the first to abridge the Talmud, compiling only the necessary Halakhas, transcribed textually. Sometimes he appended his opinions, and by this work is immortalized among all Israel in exile. In times of misfortune, when it was difficult to procure the Talmud, students occupied themselves with his work, called after him "Alphassi," to which they wrote many commentaries. His decisions, called "Questions and Replies of Hariph," have been accepted for all times. It is true that he wrote in Arabic and that it was translated into Hebrew. He also wrote three great Halakhas with an extensive commentary in Arabic, which was also translated into Hebrew, as well as 320 of his decisions above mentioned. (One was recently published with a new translation from the Arabic.)

The spirit of deep research, distinguishing this Spanish period, is also found in his works. The most difficult subjects in the Talmud and all intricate questions he explains easily. He strove in his books to smooth the contradictions between the Torah and Wisdom, reconciling them. His decisions extend over all provinces of the Torah in all questions concerning law and judgement; to all laws, both written and traditional laws, his reasons, based upon sound logic, were stated in a concise and ingenious manner. In the same way, he also explains the Hagada, to bring it in conformity with reason. He, Alphassi, did not devote himself to theological philosophy and criticism of the Scriptures, like his contemporaries, but to Talmudical studies, thus giving an example to those thinkers not to presume to give their religion a philosophic garb. At his death, all Jewish scholars, wheresoever found, lamented him. R. Jehudah Halevi, whose muse began then to shine, mourned for him thus:

Mountains on the day of Sinai for thee quaked,
For angels of the Lord met thee
And inscribed the Torah on the tablets of thy heart.
The glorious crown was placed around thee.
The wise had not power to stand
If they did not from thee wisdom beg.

Moses b. Samuel Ebn Giktali and Jehudah Ebn Bilan (1070) were free thinkers in his age and his opponents, but many of those scholars who explained the Talmud by simple logic were his disciples. Among these was also Isaac b. Baruch Albalia, mentioned above. The greatest of his disciples, however, was Joseph Ebn Migash b. Mair (1076-1141), who succeeded to his position in his college and inherited his greatness in Talmudic wisdom. His new contributions to Talmudic study, called by him "Megilath Setharim" (The Revelation of Hidden Scrolls) and the queries and answers collected into one book under the title of "Questions and Replies of Ebn Migash," bear testimony to his ingenuity, loftiness of spirit and gentleness. (These books were reprinted the second time by us in 1870, in Warsaw, with our preface and some remarks, but even this edition is already nearly out and scattered.) Most of his answers and questions were written in Arabic and translated later into Hebrew; only his explanations were written in Hebrew and in the Talmudic idiom. Particularly wondrous is his manner of examining all sides of a subject, so that not one possibility remains unconsidered.

As Ebn Migash was the greatest Rabbi after the death of his master, Alphassi, questions were addressed to him from all sides, and he, always following his disposition, answered them according to his inclinations, leniently. Let us cite one of his answers as an example:

A question was addressed to him by one who had vowed to abstain from meat and wine till he shall have reached the Holy Land, and found the project too difficult to carry out, but could find no ground for repenting. Ebn Migash found for him a ground for repentance, that, while he vowed he undoubtedly was ignorant of a saying in the Talmud: Whoever afflicts himself is guilty against a life.

Many were the disciples who trod in Ebn Migash's footsteps and carried on their activity in his spirit. Among these was his son who succeeded him also in his college. Of his contemporaries, who distinguished themselves as philosophers or poets, it is proper to mention Rabbi Joseph Ebn Zadok of Cordova (1070-1149), author of "Olam Katan" (Microcosm), a religious philosophy in which he is of the opinion (see App. No. 11) that man must know himself in order to attain to the knowledge of Divinity. The rabbi who was his predecessor at Cordova, Joseph b. Jacob Ebn Sahl (1103), was a poet and ritual author. (See App. No. 12.) In the north of Spain were also then found scholars and poets; Abraham b. Hyya, a minister in a Mahometan ruler's court, was a great astronomer and mathematician, who wrote four books on astronomy, three of which were printed, viz.: "The Form of the Earth" (T'urath Hoaretz), "The Book of Leap-Years" (Sepher Haibur), of the third, only the latter part, treating of mathematics, optics, and astronomy was printed. Next to him is Jehudah b. Barzilar, author of the book "Hoetim." (The Times).

We have reached to the three great poets, who enjoy a world-wide renown, Moses b. Ezra, Abraham b. Meir Ebn Ezra, and Jehudah Halevi, all of whom were bearers of the banner of the Talmud, and contributed to diffusing its ideas and morals among the nation. We think it, however, superfluous to expatiate on them, as they are well-known to every cultured person, and, as many books have been written about them at different epochs, we cannot refrain, however, from giving briefly their biographies, as far as they bear on no subject of this work.

The dates of the birth and death of the first of these, Moses b. Ezra, are unknown to us: it is known only to us that he lived later than ben Gabirol. His opinions in his poems and other works vacillate. He composed ritual poems and lamentations, which have a place in the prayer-books of the Spanish Jews; also the "Arugath Habossem" (Bed of Spices), on theological philosophy, and the "Sepher Hassichoth V'hazichronoth" (Book of Discourses and Reminiscences), about the poems of ben Gabirol and his character.

The second, Abraham Ebn Ezra, was one of the most wonderful phenomena of his age. His commentaries on the Bible, his poems and ritual poems, are known to everyone; but the contemporary scholars found it impossible to know his real opinions, nor can modern scholars fathom them.

The third, Jehudah Halevi, the father of poets, before whom none lived equal to him, and who knows whether after him any one like him will live. Besides inspiring with a very exalted national spirit every reader of his poems and lamentations, he powerfully defended the Talmud in his book the "Chosar," where the eloquent defender of the Talmud is represented by the disputant arguing with the King of the Chosars, and which to the present time is a shining example of compositions of this kind. (A lengthy account the reader can find in the works of Karpeles.)

After them is distinguished Abraham b. David Halevi (Ebn Daud) who died as a martyr (1180). He defended the Talmud in his book "Emuna Rama" (Exalted Faith) and in his great work "Hakabala" (The Tradition), in which he powerfully argues against all the deniers of tradition, and shows them in the wrong; supporting his logical arguments by historical facts, proving the continuance of tradition from the time of Moses to that time. In his polemics against the Karaites, he is so irritated that he styles them "dumb dogs."

With Moses b. Maiman, the Spaniard, called by all "Maimonides" or "Rambam" (1135-1204), the Spanish period concludes. With him died the mental activity in Spain, after having flourished there for three centuries. About this great man we have nothing to add to what the historians who have preceded us have written about his life, and disputed about his opinions. (The reader desiring minute information is referred to the Life of the Rambam, "Taldoth Horambam," by I. H. Weiss, and also Karpeles' work.) But we do not think it superfluous to remark on two points, viz.: 1. That the opinions of Maimonides are found too differ in the three different periods of his life: thus, in his commentary on the Mishnayoth, they are not the same as in his work "Yad Hachazaka," nor are they similar to that of his last work, "More Nebuchim," which he wrote in the evening of his life. For in all of them we see a development of his ideas according to the increase of his studies and knowledge; it is not true as some affirm that there is no change in his opinions. We have made it evident, long ago, in our book "Phylacterien-Ritus," that his decisions in his "Yad Hachazaka" or "Mishna Torah," do not accord with those in his commentary on the Mishnayoth; and, it is needless to say, that his statements in the "More" are at variance with things said in all his former works. And in truth, this is the case with all great thinkers, that they can not remain at a stand still from their youth to their old age, and to this we may apply [job, 32:7]. "Multitude of years shall make wisdom known."

2. That Maimonides has omitted all references in the Talmud which treats of witchcraft, demons, interpretation of dreams, etc., not only because they were considered by him as vain superstitions and follies, for this reason alone he would not have ventured to omit them, in spite of the Talmud, for he left all that is found in the Talmud of Halakhas and moral Hagadas, even with which he himself could not agree; but his motive was, that, in his opinion, they had originally not been found in the Talmud, and that only the later men inserted them, according to their own ideas, for whatever purpose it might have been. (I. H. Weiss has insinuated this long ago, and it seems that the probability tends that way.)

So also, about the apology advanced by many for the words of Maimonides at the head of his work "Mishna Torah," that he had chosen this title, because if a man first read the Pentateuch, and then this work, he will know the entire Oral Law, and need read no intermediate book--that by these words he did not mean that his work should be a substitute for the Talmud, etc., etc.; we do not think this apology needful, even if he meant this. For as Maimonides had

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observed that much had been superadded to the Talmud, also things opposed to his general opinions--no wonder if he wished to prevent those who could not distinguish between the good and the evil, from. reading the spurious passages, to which they would attach as great importance as to the Talmud itself. After he had sifted it, and arranged all that is found in that sea, the Talmud, in fourteen volumes, of his "Mishna Torah," there is no pre-emption or oddity in these words, whereby he merely sought the real good of the students.

To enumerate in detail all his books, writings, epistles, polemics and apologies, we think superfluous here; as all biographical and critical facts have already been given in detail in the above-mentioned works. We will only remark, that after all the great things which Maimonides had done and accomplished, he did not attain his object. As the study of the. Talmud did not cease in any of the colleges, and, on the contrary, they who desired to criticize Maimonides, brought the rabbis to study yet more profoundly and attentively the Talmud, and to add new commentaries, decisions of Halakhas, etc., etc.

CHAPTER 11.

THE SCHOLARS OF GERMANY AND OF NORTHERN FRANCE, AND WHAT THEY CONTRIBUTED TO THE STUDIES OF THE TALMUD.

At the time, when Talmudic study flourished in Spain, and made progress, and diffused itself in all corners of the earth, shone "the luminary of the exile" in Germany, who constructed a strong fortress around the Talmud, in his great wisdom--which was accepted in all places of the exiled as though canonical, and which not only contributed to strengthen the Talmud, but also to prevent all its adherents from perishing. Like Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai formerly, when he saw that the end of Jewish civic independence approached, founded by his wisdom a Jewish spiritual kingdom, which nothing could ruin, and by saving from the jaws of that lion, Vespasian, Yanmia and its sages, saved the existence of the Jewish people itself; so did Gershon b. Jehudah who came from Carraibe to Mayence, where his great teacher Jehudah b. Meir resided. This most important task he found to be his prohibition, which he made in the name of the Talmud, and at once all Israel (in Europe) hailed this luminary, and accepted without protests or hesitation, his prohibition, and made it a permanent law.

He saw and understood that the Jews scattered among Christian nations, among whom divorce is prohibited and polygamy regarded as a sin, will not exist long, if they persist to permit themselves these things, according to their laws, and, as he had not the power to forbid what was permitted in the Torah expressly, he strove to remove the causes leading to divorce; and thereby he made his co-religionists so far like the Christians that they should be able to live side by side.

He decreed, on pain of excommunication, and without revocation or qualification, that polygamy be prohibited to every Israelite, and only monogamy should be legal, and as long as the first wife lives, it is prohibited to add to her another, in the capacity of wife or concubine. Thereby, the main cause for divorce was also removed, but he did not content himself with this decree alone, but added thereto a decree opposed to the Pentateuch, that divorce cannot take place without the assent of the divorced wife, if the man and his wife should find it impossible to live together, then only if the woman is also willing, the husband can divorce her. Whereas, till then, the woman was dependent on the will of her husband, for good or for ill. It is superfluous for us to expatiate on the consequences of these two decrees, or rather reforms of how much utility they have been to social life and the feeble sex; as every thinking man can understand this.

Added to these prohibitions, he permitted Jewish apostates, who are penitent, to return to their faith, and also prohibited, on pain of excommunication, to open a strange man's letter and read it, without the assent of the person to whom it is addressed.

His energy, great wisdom, and deep observation of his nation's life, and strong wish to ensure its existence, we can see from these reforms, which we do not find made by any rabbis of his predecessors; and he was justly called, afterwards, "The Luminary of the Exile," as he illuminated in truth the eyes of all Israelites and gave to them a new life. He composed commentaries on several tracts of the Talmud, which became distinguished in his age, and the commentator on the Torah, Rashi (whom we are going to mention) borrowed from him much.

R. Machir, his brother (1030), was also a Talmudic scholar and the author of a Talmudic dictionary. Several ritual poets were also found in Germany and Northern France, as Meshulam bar Kleinmus, R. Simeon, b. Isaac, b. Abun of Mayence, who lamented the miseries of their paytonim in ritual poems and prayers for mercy (Sli'choth), but their work in the study of the Torah was small; and only in Metz and Mayence in Germany, and Rheims, Loiret, in Northern France and Narbonne, Montpellier and Beziers in Southern France were many scholars, whose active occupation was mental activity in the field of the Talmud. (The college of Talmud in Narbonne was erected by R. Machir, who had arrived from Babylonia to France; and in the second half of the eleventh century came from this college R. Moses Hadarshon, known as the commentator on some tracts in the Talmud, and some books of Scripture; and later generations drew much on his wisdom, and made many quotations from him. All or most of his writings are collected in one work entitled "Breshith Rabthi." R. Joseph Tob Alm (Baufils, of Lemans), who has edited and systematized many subjects and speculations of the Talmud, a list of the Tanaim and Amoraim, and the answers of the Gaonim, and R. Elijah the Elder, both men of that age, were esteemed as poets, but did not approach those of Spain.

What is worthy of notice, considering the various countries at that age, is that whereas the scholars of Spain exerted their great powers and displayed their knowledge in collecting Halakhas of the Talmud, the scholars of Germany devoted themselves wholly to collecting Hagadas and Midrashim, so that various compilers rose. Of the distinguished compilers of Midrash are: R. Moses of Narbonne, R. Jehudah of Toulouse, R. Simeon, author of "Yalkut Simoni," where he compiled words of wisdom, morals and Hogada, from fifty various ancient works and arranged them according to the portions of the Pentateuch. This Yalkut is a comprehensive reference book for Agadic lore, and drove out of the field the Agadic compilation "Lekach Tob," or "Psigtha Zutrha" by R. Tobiah b. Eliezer, his contemporary, who lived in Greece (the Roman Empire) at that time.

We will skip over a number of lecturers and Pashtanim for want of space, and we will come to our great teacher, through whom only we are enabled to comprehend the Talmud, and to read it and study it, namely: R. Soloman b. Isaac of Trayes, called (by using the initials) "Rashi" (1040-1105). He was the first who gave a complete piece of work in his commentary on the Talmud. He is one of the most wonderful phenomena given by Nature, perhaps once in thousand years; his advantage over Maimonides, his peer, is in the fact that he met with general acceptation in the whole world, and no one presumes to study the Talmud without him. The influence he has on Jewish students has met with no opposition or discontent. The generations subsequent to Rashi, styled him "Parshandatha" (a proper name in Scripture), that is, "Explainer of the Law." Justly was he called thus; in truth no man arose after him with such ability to shed light on the intricacies of the law or on obscure passages in Scripture.

His comprehensive intellect embraced that mighty and eternal structure, the whole vast province of the theological literature of Israel. By his commentaries he has introduced common sense into the study of the vastest and profoundest subjects. The study of the tracts lacking his commentary, although many different other men have attempted to supply the deficiency, gives us many pains and much trouble, till we come to understand the real meaning. As what Rashi elucidates in a few words, or sometimes even by one word added to the text before us, has to be commented upon by others in many labourious lines to make the student understand the simple meaning of the Talmud.

The life of Rashi has been written by many scholars, who have discussed at length his commentaries, legal decisions, and ritual poetry. The latest, A. H. Weiss, in the periodical "Beth Talmud" and in separate pamphlets. We think it therefore superfluous to repeat them, as this is not our task here. We have to remark, however, on several points relating to the Talmud here, on which those scholars have left something for us to add: An examination of Rashi's commentaries on the Talmud, on the Bible, and legal decisions in his "Hapardes," and so also his ritual poems, will show that they differ in their nature totally. In his commentary on the Talmud, which general criticism places above his other writings, we see that he is very cautious to decide any Halakha, and to draw from the statements of the Talmud definite conclusions as to a law or custom. We do not remember in his whole commentary on the Talmud, any place where he should decide "that such a Halakha prevails," or even, "so was the custom in his days," as we find on many occasions in the commentaries of his disciples "Tosphath," and we have long ago shown in our work about Phylacteries, that he has interpreted an obscure passage in the Talmud in contradiction to the custom and Halakha accepted among the Gaonim, because, according to his method, it is the plain meaning of the passage. Everywhere he bewares of dialectics, and of contradictions between some passages of the Talmud and others, but he explained the subject of the passage according to its simple meaning in its own place. In case of Agadoth he also was careful to give only an explanation of the words, literally without any remark or opinion of his own, even hinted. This is his custom in his whole commentary on the Talmud. Where he found the text corrupted, he corrected it according to his opinion, and in accordance to his profound knowledge of the Talmud, of its style and language; and, if necessary, removed the old version, not fearing additions or eliminations, provided the real meaning of the Talmud he comprehended, without resorting to forced and far-fetched reasoning.

His commentary on the Bible, however, is different, as mostly he construes according to the Halakha; i.e., as the sages had explained the biblical passages in the Talmud and Midrashim, without regard to the fact that the literal meaning of the biblical texts often does not bear out these constructions. Often he was not averse to interpret the text according to the Talmudic interpretation, even when its meaning is manifestly contrary thereto by all the rules of language. His object in this is unknown to us, and it can only be conjectured that he did not like that his commentary should be at variance with the Talmudic interpretations and conclusions, which correctness and justice he forces himself in his commentary on the Talmud to make manifest.

Not so in his decisions; he endeavors always to interpret the laws leniently (mildly), and is averse to rigor. There he also avoids dialectics, tries not to attain his object by strange and eccentric reasonings, but is only intent on finding the real deep meaning of the law, and to interpret it as mildly as it is in his power. It is true, that most of his decisions are written by his disciples, and we cannot find there that clearness of language and wonderful felicity of expression which he displays in his two above-mentioned commentaries. The Replies of the Gaonim and their works served to him also as a guide, but he did not tread in their footsteps blindfold, but he sifted their statements and construed them ingeniously into accordance with his own opinion; this we witness in his book Pardes, 1 which has been accepted as a great authority for all Poskim deciders of the law subsequent to him.

We do not possess his commentary on all the tracts of the Talmud, for of three tracts we know with certitude that the commentaries are not his; and in the case of other tracts, criticism is doubtful whether they are from his pen. And it may be that they got lost in the course of time, either because he did not compose his comments on the Talmud in the natural order, but in the order in which they were studied in the great college at the head of which he was, and whither pupils flocked from all places of the earth, after the decease of the celebrated scholars of Lorraine; or perhaps he left this world before he had completed his commentary on the whole Talmud, as he did not complete the commentary on the Bible, for those on the books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, and a part of the commentary on the books of Ezekiel and Job have not issued from his pen, though they bear no name, for they are easily distinguishable from his version in their style and by their nature.

What Rashi had done to the Talmud, his disciples have done to his commentary, which they have surrounded by comments and remarks on the margins, sometimes to make plainer his meaning, and sometimes they also made additions to amplify his statements by Agadas and Halakhas, and in the course of time they crept into his own commentary and were interpolated into the words of Rashi, but to separate them from his own words it is very difficult, even for the lancet of sharp criticism.

Modem criticism has rightly thought that Rashi (Isaacides) began his labour of the commentary on the Talmud, which was composed gradually, by the lectures which he delivered to the students. After this he turned to the Midrash, and from it passed to the books of Scripture. And as soon as his commentary was heard among the living, an echo sounded in the camp of Israel that if not Isaacides who laid his hand upon it to investigate and to commentate it, it would remain almost neglected as its brother, the Palestinian Talmud. No wonder, therefore, that after a short time, some fifty commentaries on the commentary of Rashi sprung up, which examine nicely every word and syllable that has proceeded from him; and the last, Kabbalist, R. Samson, of Astropol, was not incorrect when he said in his book, "Likute Shoshanim." ["Collections of Roses"], that every drop of ink that has come forth from Rashi's pen it is needful to sit seven days and to examine with one's whole attention.

Thus while Alphassi illuminated Spain by his elucidations of the Halakhas, another sun, Rashi, rose also in France to shed yet more light, to comment on the Talmud, its Halakhas and Agadas. And the latter had more success, in so far that his commentary was accepted in all the world (among Christian scholars also, as has avowed Nicholas de Lyra, some two hundred years after Rashi's decease, that to the right understanding of the words and simple meaning of the texts, Rashi's commentary has led him) by universal assent. And therein also is France superior to Spain, that though the latter has been studying diligently Torah, even from the ancient times, while the colleges at Sura and Pumbeditha existed yet, and after their fall, assumed pre-eminence in the usages and literature of Israel, their scholars could never agree, and were forever disputing. But in France, since Rashi's commentary began to shine, no voice dissented from the universal approval, and those who sometimes were at variance with him, did not withhold the great honours which were justly due to him, and endeavored to reconcile their own opinions with his. For two hundred years continuously, after Rashi's decease, his disciples were diligent at the holy work of spreading the study of the Talmud and a correct understanding of the great work of their master. They called

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their labours only "Additions" (Tosphoth), i.e., their thoughts which suggested themselves to them to add to his commentary, and to explain it.

CHAPTER 12.

THE DOCTORS OF FRANCE. AUTHORS OF THE TOSPHOTH.

Through the Tosphoth which were begun by Rashi's own descendants as his two sons-in-law, Meir b. Samuel and Jehudah bar Nathan and the sons of the first Samuel and Jacob Tam, the activity of the scholars of France and Germany assumed great proportions and was exalted, so that all Israel in the Middle Ages accepted them unanimously, and in the course of time the numbers of their disciples and the pupils of their disciples increased. So that more than two hundred great Talmudists are known to the historian, but whom it is needless to enumerate here, except a few which we deem necessary for our work.

His grandson, R. Samuel b. Meir, or Rashbam (1085-1158), did not content himself with the commentary of his grandfather on the Bible, as well as on the Talmud, and tried his strength to explain them after his own method, that is, according to their deep literal meaning, and leaving ingenious but forced constructions to dialecticians, even when the literal interpretation will thus be in direct contradiction to the Halakha (see App. No. 15) however, without any opposition to the traditions expressed. He only added in his commentary "according to the deep literal meaning," but leaves one to think that even the traditional interpretation about the Halakha can find place. To the Hagada, however, which tries to interpret biblical texts according to its legends, he opposes with all the strength of his intellect, and makes manifest their contradiction, so as to demolish the Hagada to the foundation, In his commentary on the Talmud, however, he is given to lengthy reasonings and dialectics and also endeavors to arrive at decisions of Halakhas, which his grandfather took care to avoid. Whoever sees critically, Rashi's commentary on Tract Baba Bathra up to 29b, and from there onwards, Rashbam's commentary which is its substitute from that place onwards, will be astonished at the great difference between them, if but at the relative quantities of Rashi's comments and Rashbam's.

From his commentaries and compositions we see that he had much knowledge of diverse languages, and of the manners and customs of nations and their modes of life, and gave human reasons for many commandments of the Pentateuch. In Northern France his commentaries were accepted in the colleges and it became their main authority.

But his younger brother, Jacob, styled "Rabenu Tam," devoted his whole mind to studies of the Talmud chiefly, and he became the centre of the authors of the Tosphoth, to him flocked men with questions from all ends of the earth, to whom he was as an oracle. justly we may entitle him the Pillar of the Talmud. He went to the depths of the sea of the Talmud, and made it his first task to reconcile apparent contradictions therein. He likewise mended many corrupted texts in the Talmud, though of him it has been said that he decreed on the pain of excommunication not to amend any text in the Talmud, and in many places he disagrees with his grandfather. Aside from this he did not at one's own conjecture, neglect commentaries on Scriptures and grammatical studies, and decided in favour of Menachem b. Sruk against Duns b. Labrat in his book "Hahakhraoth" (Reconciliations); he also tried his ability for poetry. As his biography has been written by the learned A. H. Weiss in a separate book, it is unnecessary to expatiate on it.

Here is the place to remark that in late generations the second pair of phylacteries which pietists put on after the prayer, have been styled after him on account of two or three words which he wrote in his commentary on an obscure passage in Tract Mena'hoth in opposition to Rashi's commentary, on account of a hair-splitting discussion in the language of the Gemara, though he had never the intention to decide so the Halakha, as his grandfather Rashi had also not intended in his commentary on the Halakha, still those phylacteries are called after him. In truth neither the one nor the other was used yet as phylacteries, as testifies the greatest among the authors of Tosphoth, R. Isaac the Elder (as this is explained in one book on Phylacteries).

Among the faithful disciples whom Pashi had in the college at Troy it is proper to mention R. Joseph b. Simeon Kara who was revealed to us recently by modem criticism; and R. Joseph Bchor Shor who was a disciple of Rabenu Tam, and composed a commentary on the Pentateuch in the spirit of that of Rashbam. The other commentators on Scripture among the authors of the Tosphath and their disciples, however, as the author of "Hagan" (The Garden) a commentary on the Pentateuch, which is to be found in two different versions, and some more commentaries by R. Hezekiah b. Manoah, R. Isaac Halevi, R. Jehuda b. R. Eliezer, R. Jacob d'Illesques, do not cling to the principle of literal interpretation, but of Drash and Mysticism. Rashi's commentary was, however, their model. The chiefs of the authors of Tosphoth in the period of from 1167 till 1300 were: R. Isaac b. Samuel, called R. Isaac the Elder, from Dampirere, the nephew of Jacob Tam, his son Elchanan, Eliezer b. Samuel ("Ram") of Metz, author of "Sepher Yereim" (Book of the God-Fearing), Isaac b. Abraham, Junior (Ritzba), his brother, Simsan of Chanz (Rashba), his great labours are called Tosphoth of Chanz, Jehudah b. Isaac from Paris, called Sirlian, Ephraim b. Isaac from Reugspurk, and Nathan Official, who will be mentioned by us further in a separate chapter. Among the latest of the authors of the Tosphoth, however, we may name the Rabbi Moses of Caucy, author of "Smag" who is also mentioned in Tosphoth thrice (Berakhoth, 14b, 43a, Aboda Zarah, 13a), and R. Jacob of Courbel to whom have been attributed the questions and answers from Heaven, and we doubt whether Isaac of Vienna author of the well-known book "Or Zarua" (Diffused Light), who also lived at that time, has also been mentioned in Tosphoth, by the name of R. Isaac--simply, as not every time when the name R. Isaac--barely is mentioned in Tosphoth, R. Isaac the Elder is meant.

This last, R. Moses of Caucy, contributed much to restore the study of the Talmud to its former splendor in his days, when in Spain it was almost stopped, and along with it many ceremonies, as phylacteries, Mezuzoth and Tzitzith, which were not seen in his time in any part of Spain or other countries. Owing to the oppression of the other religions by the dominant religion, the Israelites began to blend with the nations, and thousands of them embraced ostensibly the dominant religion, and some even conscientiously, having despaired of the former hope of Israel, Moses of Coucy therefore devoted himself to his work and travelled from city to city, and from land to land, to encourage Israel in the study of the Talmudic literature, and restore the activity, and he is the first who required help for his aim from gentiles, his friends, though not co-religionists, and that his works should find acceptance he backed them by dreams and natural phenomena that took place at the time, which he warned the people that they were signs from heaven, and also by astrology, to arouse the people to return to the study of the Talmud and its commandments. As he testified himself in his book which he wrote in his later days (1288), "Sepher Mitzvoth Gadol" (Positive Commandments) whose title is abbreviated "Smag." After writing the sermons in exile, he concludes: "After the year 4995 after creation (1235), an event took place from heaven to chastize. And in the year 1236 I was in Spain preaching to and reproving them, God strengthened my arms by Jews and Gentiles' dreams, and visions of the stars and extended his mercy to me, and the earth trembled 1 and there was general terror, great repentances were made, and thousands as well as myriads accepted the sacred ceremonies of Tephilin, Mezuzoth, and Tzitzith. So I was afterwards in other countries, and they were accepted in all places, and I was asked for a commentary on these commandments in brief." Not only in France and Spain were such books written about the practical ceremonies in the spirit of the Talmud, but also in Germany, R. Baruch of Germisa composed "Sepher Hatrumah" and R. Isaac from Vienna, his book "Diffused Light" (Or Zarua) which all treat of ceremonies and Halakhas after the rules of the Talmud, which those sages saw a great necessity to renew and arouse the nation to observe them, after the Halakahs of Alfasi and Maimonides had become already too ancient in their tone, and the violent persecutions then directed against the Talmud diminished the number of the students. It would seem that at that time was composed also the small book "Questions and Answers from Heaven" in the name of R. Jacob of Corbel who was known as a holy man, to show to the people that its hope was not yet at end, that in heaven all wards of the Talmud are venerated, and so are all sages who occupy themselves with it, as seen from the contents of the questions and answers given from heaven especially in case of R. Isaac Alfasi, about whom from heaven it was answered: "Not in an old man is wisdom, nor in schoolboys counsel, but my covenant I shall fulfil with Isaac," and this may be a kind of basis for the programme made by Shem Tobb, Joseph Falkira (1264), that diligent study of Alfasi may substitute the study of the Talmud.

CHAPTER 13.

RELIGIOUS DISPUTES OF ALL PERIODS.

From the earliest recorded times there have been disputes between men on faith and religion. When, in pagan countries, the idols had become great in number and each man considered his own the right one, he strove to convert his fellows to his own opinion, whether through benevolence or from wrath that the idol of his neighbour should be considered greater than his own. Traces of such disputes are found in the Prophets. To the Jewish people was probably due the increase in the violence and frequency of such disputes, since its mission was always the annihilation of idol-worship. Being monotheistic, it could not live at peace with any gods besides its own. No historical importance can be attached to such disputes among and with the heathen, because the number of idols was often as large as that of the worshippers. But when Christianity, whose great aim was to convert all humanity and to extinguish all theologies, began to spread over and to dominate the world, the matter of religious disputes assumed a new and baleful aspect, for persecutions and trials were mercilessly inflicted on all who opposed it, whether those who took an active part in the controversies or those who refused to enter into them.

In recording the history of the Talmud and of its persecutions we cannot pass over the disputes concerning it from the time of its birth, and continuing throughout its troubled history in succeeding ages. A minute history of all these controversies, however, their dates, the names of the disputants, the topics of the disputes, as well as the consequences to the Talmud, would require a volume twice the bulk of the Talmud itself. We will therefore content ourselves with devoting to it a separate chapter, mentioning only the greater historical controversies and giving a résumé of the subject matter of the disputes as we deem them of value to our readers.

Already in the first century we have seen that the disputes between the Jewish Christians and their brethren who did not believe in Jesus' Messiahship were many. In the Talmud are given the names of many sages and Amoraims who were compelled to enter upon disputations with their Christian brethern. 1 But in the second and third centuries, houses for disputations (see App. No. 10) had already been established, as well in Palestine as in Babylonia, and doubtless also in many other places where Jews dwelt. Those known to us by name are the house of Abidan, the house of Abiani, and that of Nitzraphi. The Talmud relates that the Jews were forced to come hither, or to furnish sufficient explanation for not so doing.

We have no record of the results of these disputes, but in the sixth century we see Priscus, a Jewish officer of King Eilprich, forced to a controversy. When ordered to embrace Christianity he naïvely replied "that he could not believe that, to save sinners, God was compelled to enter into marital relations with a woman, and finally, in order to redeem the world, underwent the death-agony, when at his command were hosts of angels not needed in heaven." For this he was imprisoned. Henceforward in almost every century of the Christian era there arose fanatics who forced the Jews into controversy. In the seventh century these disputes were used as weapons against the Jews of Spain in documents issued by Isidorie, Bishop of Seville. These and other writings against the Jews, added to the verbal disputes, finally resulted in the ninth century, during the reign of Charles the Bald, in invectives promulgated by the Bishop of Amulo, denouncing the Jewish creed as "superstition" and inciting all Christians to their duty in eradicating the error from the minds of the Jews, to force them to accept the Gospel in place of their belief in the two Messiahs, one a descendant of David and the other a descendant of Joseph. It is remarkable that in these documents the bishop complains that the Jews, by their eloquent sermons and lectures, made more impression on their hearers than did the preaching of the Christians, as he was convinced by personal experience. And, indeed, in this he was not mistaken; for where the Jews' lot was ameliorated, as in the reign of Louis the Saint--who, as well as his wife, Judith, honoured the Jews, so much so as to change for their sake the fair-day from Saturday to Sunday--many Christians came to the synagogues to hear the Rabbis and the scholars among them read with pleasure the writings of Philo and Flavius instead of the Gospel, and likewise learned from Jewish scholars the interpretation of Scripture, as Rhabanus Maurus of Fulda avows in his commentary on the Bible.

The Jews in Arabia also were forced to dispute with the Mussulmans, who assured them that the teaching of the Talmud had its day and Islam was even then usurping its place. When Basilius, the Macedonian ascended the throne of the Roman Empire in Constantiople he summoned learned Jews to argue with Christian priests, who strove to convince them that Jesus had become the centre of the law and prophets. But these disputes are insignificant compared with those of the last four centuries of the Middle Ages; during this period the number of Jewish apostates increased, who challenged their brethern of the old faith to arguments. Massacre and pillage were the results of these disputes, the invitation to which was, briefly, as follows: "If ye be willing and obey, the good of the land shall ye eat; but if ye refuse and rebel, by the sword shall ye be devoured." And, as if no loophole should exist through which the Jews, might evade persecution, if a Christian were converted to the Jewish faith and mocked his former religion the Jews were held responsible and punished. Thus in the ninth century the priest Boda accepted Judaism and ridiculed the Christians, going even so far as to beg the Mohammedan rulers in Spain to permit residence in that country only to Jews and Mussulmans, and not to Christians. Coystan Becelelonus in 1005, in the reign of Henry II., wrote a pamphlet in which he addressed his former co-religionists thus: "Fools read the prophet Malachai, who says in God's name, 'I am God, without change.' How then can you believe that the Divinity underwent any change?" The culmination of all this was a renewed outburst of wrath and persecution directed against the Jews.

The Christians did not consider the fact that he who exchanges his religion for another, from any motive whatever, by so doing is held in enmity by his former co-religionists and

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his affirmations esteemed of no value. They declared that the spirit of Satan had seduced the Jewish proselytes, while at the same time they gave credit to all the calumnies uttered by the Christianized Jews and granted them power to compel the Jews to enter into dispute with them. For this alleged guilt of Satan they punished the Jews with restriction of rights, confiscation of property, or total exile. An instance is recorded of the conversion in London in 1275, during the reign of Henry II., of the great Dominican preacher Robert de Redinge to Judaism, who adopted the name of Haggai. The Christianized Jews of France and Spain were also the cause of great trouble to the Jews in those countries during the Middle Ages, though Christianity had been the dominant religion but for a short period.

Of the more prominent controversies of that time may be mentioned that of Rabbi Nathan Haupniel, one of the writers of the commentaries called "Tosphoth" (Taanith IX., the Tosphoth beginning at "Aser T'aser"), known among Gentiles as Nathan Official, the colleague of Rabenu Tam and perfect under the Archbishop of Cens, with this same archbishop, and, near the close of the twelfth century, with Pope Alexander and the king himself. At this epoch the status of the Jews of France was one of peace and prosperity, and R. Nathan and his colleague, Rabenu Tam, were honoured at court. The bishop attempted to prove by the passage, "Let us make man in our image," that the Trinity is meant, since the plural is used. R. Nathan's answer was: "Before replying to this, I desire to ask of you a question in law concerning myself. You are aware that I loan no money at interest (this he mentioned because the Jews were then charged with usury). I gave to a friend a sum of money with which to purchase merchandise, and in the profits arising from which I was to share. He transported the goods to Paris, but finding that their market price had greatly diminished, he threw all into the Seine without consulting with me. I am therefore of opinion that I may demand of him to return to me the whole sum; for by what right did he inflict on me a financial loss without first asking my consent?" The bishop replied: "You may without doubt; and according to my opinion you are entitled to additional compensation besides, since how dared he destroy your property?" "If that is so," answered R. Nathan, "you will of course grant that God is at least as just as men, and if, according to you, he had created men with the assistance of the other two Persons of the Trinity, how comes it that he declares, 'I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the earth?' [Gen. 6:7], without first consulting the other Persons of the Trinity? They also were entitled to a part in disposing of man." On another occasion, being asked why the Jews were obstinate in refusing to worship Mary, the mother of God, R. Nathan replied: "Tell me, you who are so learned, whether the question never occurred to you: how was it possible that the idea of worshipping the golden calf entered the Jews' minds after they had been witnesses, shortly before, of all the signs and wonders of the Eternal, and the thunders and lightnings on Mount Sinai?" The bishop replied: "True; whenever I read this passage it seems a great problem to me." "But I am not in the least surprised," answered R. Nathan, with hidden irony. "The Jews saw that the gold when thrown into the fire was made into a calf, and they doubted not that the Holy Ghost had clothed itself in this precious metal; but you who affirm that the Holy Ghost became incarnate in a woman must needs remember that when God wished to give to the Israelites the Decalogue he warned them: 'For three days you shall not approach a woman' [Ex. xix. 15]. How, then, can the Jews believe, after this, that when He desired to endow Israel with a new testament, He should himself approach a woman?" Replies of this kind were numerous from R. Nathan, as well as from his sons Joseph and Asher. Thus it is also told of R. Joseph Bchor Shor that to the question, "Why did God choose to appear to Moses in a thorn?" ("bush" in the incorrect version), he replied, "Because from it no image can be made, nor can it be used to form a cross."

These disputes, however, did not bring about the terrible calamities which usually followed those in the Middle Ages, Judith, the Queen of Louis the Saint, protected the Jews and their studies, preventing the priests from taking vengeance for such ironical expressions as those given above. When Bishop Bodo perceived that his aims were not furthered by the disputes, he prohibited altogether such controversies with the hated Jews. A few decades passed, and not only was this prohibition ignored, but the Jews were again constrained to dispute in the presence of Louis IX. and his wife, and the chief civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries, the latter representing Pope Gregory IX. It fell to the lot of the four rabbis, R. Jechiel of Paris, the disciple of Jehudah the Pious; R. Moses of Coucy, the famed travelling lecturer; R. Jehudah b. David of Melon, and R. Solomon b. Samuel, to dispute with the apostate Donin, who took the name of Nicolus. This man while yet a Jew had evinced a tendency, as it appeared to the rabbis, to rebel against Judaism, and therefore they had excommunicated him. In revenge, he went to Rome in 1239, and charged that the Talmud contained sacrilegious sayings as to Jesus Christ and his mother, and so distorted the Scriptures by its interpretations and comments that thereby the Deity was blasphemed. He further charged that it gave license to illegally deprive Gentiles of their property and granted permission to deceive them. The sum of his libel, which contained thirty-five points, was that the Talmud was the enemy of Christian truth and the sole cause of the refusal of the Jews to recognise the divinity of Jesus.

It will be in place here, before further consideration of the character and consequences of this and many other disputes in which Jewish apostates were the accusers and disputants, to speak of the Jews of the Middle Ages, what they were, and, having in view only the truth, to expose their faults. For by their great intolerance, and their conduct towards all who entertained opinions of the least liberality, differing ever so slightly from their own, they brought down upon themselves, as it were by their own hands, terrible calamities. There was at that period, as is well known, a division of opinion among the Rabbis themselves concerning the books of Maimonides. Many Rabbis excommunicated him after his death, and even defaced his epitaph; and the intolerant R. Solomon of Montpelliers, with his colleagues and disciples, resorted to the Flagellants and Dominicans for aid, saying: "Behold, there are among us heretics and infidels, for they were seduced by Moses ben Maimon of Egypt. You who clear your community of heretics, clear ours too" (Karpeles.). They assented -gladly, and the books of Maimonides were burned at the stake in Paris and Montpelliers. From the conduct of these fanatics towards that lion of Israel (they themselves avowed that he was infinitely superior to them in science and learning) we can conceive their terrible vengeance against an ordinary man or scholar when he ventured to express opinions in any degree at variance with their own, or to transgress the Sabbath by carrying a handkerchief or drinking of Gentile wine, which in their opinion is against the law. Who, then, could resist their terrible weapon of excommunication, which they used for the purpose of making a man a ravenous wolf whom every human being fled from and shunned as though plague-smitten? Many who drank of that bitter cup were driven to the grave, and many others went mad. But woe to the excommunicators if the excommunicated afterward received baptism from the Dominicans I Then the vengeance of those who had been banished was fearful; like serpents they stung their former brethern, and caused misfortunes to thousands of souls who became as sheep for the slaughter.

Thus on the 24th of July, 1240, the complete Talmud was brought by Donin to the royal palace, and R. Jechiel, who, because of the fact that he had disputed with many priests, had been elected head of the disputants, was asked by him, in the presence of the king and the whole assembly, whether he believed in all that was written in all these books, now more than four hundred years old. To this R. Jechiel replied, addressing the king: "Our Talmud is not four hundred years old, but more than fifteen hundred, and this alone suffices to prove that the controversy concerning what is said in it is superfluous; for up to this time there have been Jewish apostates and many learned Christian priests who were conversant with its contents and found no evil in them. "Hieronymus," continued the Rabbi, "known to all as a wise and devout Christian writer, who was familiar with Jewish literature, much better than this apostate sinner, would doubtless have sought the destruction of the Talmud, if he had found therein such terrible things as this apostate alleges. Therefore I feel sure that this liar, who seeks our lives, will never attain his object; he may indeed deprive us of our lives, but not of our Torah, dear to us as the pupil of our eye. If you vent on us here in France all your anger, still will the Talmud be found in Spain, Greece, Babylon, Media and Mesopotamia, in possession of the Jews of these countries, and there you cannot reach to destroy it." The king was not satisfied with this, but bade R. Jechiel give a direct answer to Donin. To this the rabbi answered that the moral and legal doctrines of the Talmud were held sacred, but that full credence need not be given to the Hagada, which should not be taken too literally, since it is for the most part allegorical. The Ramban gave expression to a like opinion, but it would be superfluous to quote him entire. To the other accusations of Donin, that the Talmud terms the followers of Jesus Christ "Minim" (infidels), that it condemns Jesus, that it allows ill-usage of people of other nationalities, etc., he replied: "In the Talmud there is no mention of Jesus (Jesu) Christ, but only of another Jesus (Jeshua) who was a disciple of R. Joshua b. Prachia, who lived two hundred years before Christ; that the term 'Minim' in the Talmud includes all who deny the Oral Law; that it grants equality before the civil law to all men, idolators included, and commands visitation of sick idolators, support of their poor, and interment of their dead even in Jewish cemeteries. He also proved that according to the Talmud, the Christians are not included among idolators, since the prohibition as to sharing in divine power is directed only to Israel and has not been enjoined on other people; and, moreover, since the Christians abhor idolators, they cannot themselves be counted among them. There is no distinction drawn between them and Jews by the criminal laws of all civilized lands," as well as in the Talmud.

Thus two days passed in disputing with R. Jechiel, whose replies were written down by a disciple and collected later in a book, "Joseph Ham'qane" (The Zealot). On the third day, R. Jehudah b. David, having been prohibited from holding intercourse with R. Jechiel the first two days, was called to the dispute, and when his assertions were found to agree with those of R. Jechiel, the controversy came to an end.

The second dispute which must be noted is that started by the apostate Pablo Christiani, in July, 1263, with the rabbis of Spain. This was the reverse of the previous dispute, in that the first charged the Talmud with despising Jesus and Christians, while this dispute endeavored to prove from the Talmud itself the Messiahship of Jesus; Pablo claiming that the book contained many such passages. Rabbi Moses ben Nachmani (Ramban) was selected as disputant. This controversy also took place in the royal palace in Barcelona, and lasted four days. The principal topics for discussion were: Whether the Messiah had already appeared or was still expected; whether he would appear as a warrior, to restore the kingdom of the Jews, or as God's son, as Jesus. The passage, "the sceptre shall not depart from Judah until Shiloh come" (which the Jews also understand as referring to a Messiah), Pablo adduced as proof that after the destruction of the Temple and the fall of the Jewish kingdom it must of necessity be considered that the Messiah had arrived. Again, the Talmud itself says, "The Messiah was born when the Temple was destroyed," and "Elijah said to R. Joshua the son of Levi, The Messiah sits at the gates of Rome, among the sick," etc.

Thereupon Nachmani addressed the king. "Know," said he, "we possess three different books; before every other, the Bible, in which we implicitly believe; then the Talmud, which we hold sacred as an indispensable commentary on the biblical laws; but the third book, which we call Midrash, comprises mere sermons or speeches, which are listened to by the Jews but which exercise no authority over them. "The Hagada," he continued, "is, as its name indicates, a mere collection of legends, fiction, a creation of fancy, communicated by one person to another, but not held by the Jews as dogma, and which I myself do not believe." Then turning to Pablo, "I will reply directly to you as to the question at issue. If the Talmud, as you assert, regards the founder of your church as the true Messiah, why have not the Talmudists believed in him? Why did they not avow him, as you, Pablo, have done? For five hundred years have men been at work on the Talmud, and none had been convinced or induced to enter the church. Where," he asked further, "is it to be found in the Bible or the Talmud that the Messiah will suffer at the hands of men? On the contrary, it is said of him, "He will reign from sea to sea," "Dwellers of the desert will kneel before him" and "nations will adore him," which certainly was not the case with your Messiah, who, by the way, was born long before the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem, and therefore the Talmudic passage can have no reference to him. Rome had not your alleged Messiah to thank for its greatness; on the contrary, its power and dominion gradually declined after his advent, and since the birth of your religion a new creed, the world-dominating Islam, has arisen. Further, were the omens and prophecies of the Messianic time fulfilled? Of this the prophets predicted 'that homicidal war will cease, a universal peace reign in the world; the swords will be beaten ploughshares, the spears into pruning hooks, and the harmless animal will graze by the side of the wild one;' that 'no injustice will occur, a moral elevation will ennoble men, God's spirit will enlighten all peoples, and a universal purified knowledge will be introduced.' But since your Messiah appeared, numberless wars have disturbed mankind, justice, morality, and brotherly love have not yet become the ruling principles of the world, your religious truths have not satisfied the adherents of Islam, and one God does not as yet reign on earth. If you make of your Messiah a God, then we cannot believe at all in him. The Messiah must be, according to the prophets, a man 'out of the stem of Jesse'; he must be sprung a child born of ordinary parents, not a son of God need he be. Nay, the passage in the Talmud which you bring forward as favouring the Messiahship of Jesus, 'that Messiah sits on God's right, and Abraham on his left,' shows him not to be a God, else could not the Talmud say directly after this 'that Abraham's countenance darkened on account of the favour shown the Messiah.' Were he God's son, surely Abraham would have known him as Divinity and have yielded to him, with no feeling of jealousy, the first place. The language of the Talmud is peculiar, and by its assertion that the Messiah was born with the Temple's destruction must be understood the revival among the Jews, through this barbarity and injustice, of the hope of a Messiah. They assuredly do not accept him as Messiah who saw the light of day fully a hundred years before this event, and who, in spite of his sufferings, brought to the world neither salvation nor redemption. And how stands it with your assumption that your Messiah redeemed the world from original sin? The penalties decreed for that sin still exist. Women still suffer pain in childbirth; in the sweat of the brow must the ground be ploughed, and Death still thins the hosts of the living-evils

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which, according to your construction of the Bible, result only from original sin. As to the passage quoted by you from the Bible, this is its significance: 'The sceptre shall not depart from Judah eternally'--ad being equivalent to load (forever). The clear meaning of this is that Judah's dependence, if he be condemned to it, will not last forever, for the Messiah will come and restore to him his independence; simply, that he will appear, but is not yet come. For the rest," continued Nachmani, "I do not long for the Messiah. With us it is accounted as of greater merit if we, living in foreign lands, among strange people, and under the protection of the king, worship our God, than if we, as free masters, adhere to the law in our own land." Pablo was no match to Nachmani and his striking proofs. The next Sunday, King Jacob I. of Aragon appeared with Peñaforte in the synagogue. The general of the Dominicans resumed the dispute, and sought to prove the Trinity by the simile of wine, which also contains a trinity in it, colour, flavour and odor, and yet is one thing. Nachmani, however, refuted him, and demonstrated that to accept this argument would be to assume also a fifth person in God. Peñaforte became perplexed and replied that the Trinity is so deep a mystery that the angels are unable to comprehend it. When Nachmani had asked the modest question, "Why, then, should men raise themselves above the angels to dispute about and to hold fast to so deep a mystery?" The king dismissed him with rich presents, adding these strange words: "I have never yet heard a wrong cause so masterfully defended." Nevertheless, Nachmani was banished, He, did not, as contemporary ecclesiastical chronicles affirm, flee in deep shame, but was expatriated through the intrigues of the clergy, and emigrated to Palestine, which, in his opinion, should be a Mecca for every Jew, and arrived there shortly after Jerusalem had been reduced to ashes by the Mongols. There he continued his labours in behalf of Judaism and compiled his commentary on the Bible. To his disciples whom he left behind it is related that he said, on their asking of him a sign of the day of his death, that his mother's grave stone would be rent in twain.

After seeing, however, that the dispute led to no satisfactory results, and that Nachmani and other Jews were not convinced by the argument of "no salvation outside the church," Peñaforte changed his tactics and impeached the Talmud before Pope Clement IV., claiming that it abused and blasphemed the founder of the church. The Pope appointed a committee to examine the matter, and on their adverse report the obnoxious passages were stricken out, the erasing stylus was drawn through the pages of the Talmud by ignorant Dominicans, and for the first time it was subjected to the judgement of a censor. What a sad concurrence of historic events! Twenty years later the writings of Maimonides were again consigned to the stake at Acco through the efforts of the Kabbalistic fanatic Solomon Petit; in Tiberia the tombstone of Moses b. Maimon, the greatest thinker to whom Judaism had given birth in a thousand years, was shamefully dishonoured and its epitaph replaced by the words; "Here rests an excommunicated heretic."

Of far more importance were the attacks on Judaism and the Talmud in the dispute which took place at Tortosa, in, Aragon, in 1413, under the supervision of Pope Benedict XIII., and which required no less than sixty-eight sessions. Long before this time the Jews had held polemics with Christian scholars, and the Jewish literature in defense of the faith which had been current in the thirteenth century, and which included also attacks on Christian dogma, was now in full bloom. Raymond Martin, a Dominican Hebraist and one of the censors of the Talmud appointed by the Pope, who treated the Talmud with comparative leniency, wrote against Judaism two hostile books under the titles "Religious Dagger" (Dagger of Faith) and "Scourge for the Jews," wherein arguments in favour of Christianity were adduced both from Scripture and from rabbinical writings. These books were imposing not less from their powerful logic than from their exhibition of profound scholarship, and the renowned Talmudist, R. Solomon b. Adereth, was called to refute them. The apostate Abner Alfonso Burgensis, a polemic of more danger to Judaism, at the commencement of the fourteenth century, wrote a number of controversial works against his former religion, to whom Isaac Pulgar replied with a trenchant satirical poem as well as an argumentative work. In 1375, Moses Kohen de Tordesillas disputed in the church at Avilla with the renegade John of Valladolid, and soon after this proselytizing cardinal Pedro de Cuna challenged Shem Teb b. Isaac Shoprat to a public religious discussion. The latter published in 1380, a comprehensive defensive work, "Eben Bochan," and also translated the Gospels into Hebrew to enable his co-religionists to arm themselves from the Christian arsenal; they subsequently found themselves obliged to use these weapons only too often. In 1391 occurred the first great persecution of the Jews in Spain, during which many, to escape the sword, embraced Christianity. Whereas the greater part of those who were forced into conversion usually returned to the fold of Judaism, some of these new Christians were, conversely, possessed by a great zeal for proselytizing, as, for example, the physician Astruc Raimuch, and particularly the former rabbi, Paul Burgensis, the latter of whom was a source of much mischief to his people. The satirical poet, Solomon Bonfed, the ingenious thinker Chasdai Crescas, the physician and philosopher, Profiat Duran, indited convincing replies to the attacks of these apostates. But in the foremost rank of these polemic writings stands the circular letter of Joshua Lorqui, which he addressed in an apparently submissive tone to his former teacher, Paul Burgensis, wherein, along with keen attacks on Christian dogma, he tells Burgensis that as a thinking and learned man he could not have accepted Christianity through conviction. When one reads this letter he must hold it almost a psychological impossibility that the man who adopted such an attitude towards Christianity should in later years have gone over to the Christian church and become a scourge to his co-religionists of the Jewish faith; and yet this Joshua Corqui was, with scarcely a doubt, identical with him who later assumed the name of Geronimo, Santa Fe, and came forward to impeach Judaism and the Talmud at the dispute in Tortosa.

Benedict XIII., one of the three popes who were then striving for dominion, had a particular interest in this dispute. This pope had been deposed at the Council of Pisa as a heretic and perjurer, and had been excommunicated; in Spain, however, he was recognised as pope, and from that place he set in motion his plans to make himself universally recognised. If he could succeed in breaking the obstinacy of the Jews and effecting finally their conversion as a people, it would be a great triumph for the church, and for himself personally. From these motives he willingly permitted King Fernando of Aragon to invite Jewish rabbis and scholars to a theological discussion at Tortosa. Sixteen of the most prominent appeared at that memorable dispute, which lasted, with many interruptions, from February, 1413, till November, 1414. The apostate Geronimo, the physician-in-ordinary-of the pope, had arranged previously the following programme for the controversy. First he desired to prove from the Talmud that the Messiah must already have arrived. Should this argument be ineffectual, however, then a war to the death was to be declared against the Talmud, which sustains the Jews in their unbelief. When the Jewish notables appeared in the session hall on the first day, the thousand there assembled, presided over by the pope (who was pompously arrayed and seated on an elevated throne), made upon them an overwhelming impression. The pope himself opened the session with an address, wherein he laid emphasis on the fact that the question now was not as to the truth of Judaism or Christianity; Judaism once had been true, but was replaced by the later revelation. The discussion must turn only on the point whether, according to the Talmud, Jesus is the promised Messiah or not. Thereupon, Geronimo delivered a lengthy speech, which he concluded with the text, "If ye be willing and obey, ye shall eat the good of the land; but if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured by the sword." In his reply, Don Vidal Benvenisti placed the apostate's wickedness in its true light, inasmuch as he had threatened with the sword before any proof for or against had been brought. In the subsequent sessions, Geronimo cited passages, more or less familiar, from the Talmud and Midrash, to prove to the unbelievers that the Talmud itself, when rightly understood, attested Jesus' Messiahship. But as the representatives of the Jews explained these passages according to their real meaning, and at the expiration of sixty-two sessions evinced not the slightest inclination to be converted, Geronimo, at the pope's bidding, came forth as impeacher of the Talmud, asserting that it contained blasphemies and abominations of all kinds and must therefore be unconditionally condemned. To prove this, he wickedly or ignorantly perverted many passages. The Halakha teaches, for example, in relation to the verse in Exodus xxi. 15, "He that smiteth his father or his mother shall be put to death," that he only is guilty of death who wounds his parent by beating; from this Geronimo inferred that the Talmud allows the beating of parents. The Halakha also teaches in reference to blasphemy that "only he who blasphemes God by his name of four letters (Jehovah) is guilty of death," and from this Geronimo concluded that the Talmud permits blasphemy. Geronimo was also the first to affirm that the Jews may break oaths, in conformity to the prayer "Kol-Nidre." Every one at all familiar with this prayer knows that it is for forgiveness for the non-fulfillment of vows and oaths, taken unconsciously or broken through forgetfulness, and is but an argument in favour of the Talmud's scrupulousness in this matter. The Jewish delegates defended themselves, it is true, with skill against these accusations, but were finally so hard pressed that they divided into two parties. Most declared that the passages of the Hagada brought forward by Geronimo had no authority; whereas Don Vidal Benvenisti and the religious philosopher Joseph Albo declared that the Hagada was held by them as of full authority, but must not be construed literally and then judged. At all events, the pope did not succeed in causing even one of the delegates to waver or in effecting the hoped-for general conversion of the Jews. Driven to anger at his failure, he dismissed them in a very unfriendly manner, and soon thereafter issued a bull in which he interdicted the reading or study of the Talmud by the Jews, and ordered that search be made for copies of the book and they be then destroyed. He also directed that in Spain the Jews should live separately from the Christians, fill no official station, practice no trade, nor devote themselves to medicine. Fortunately the hostility of the pope had no effect. The Council of Costnitz deposed him; his former protectors, King Fernando and Emperor Sigismund, renounced his cause, and the fanatic Flagellator and preacher, Vincent Ferrer, preached openly "that such a man as this pope deserved to be persecuted to the utmost and to be killed by any good Christian." Filled with rage at the issue of the dispute, Geronimo published later a voluminous book against the Talmud, and the apostate Paul Burgensis, who was elevated to the bishopric, composed in his eightieth year, a work hostile to Jews and Judaism. To these and similar attacks the Jews were free as yet to reply without restriction. Answers were published by Joseph Albo, Vidal ibn Lobi, and Joseph ibn Shemtob, defending their own creed and winging arrows at Christian dogmas also. Several decades later the Jews of Spain were attacked not with the pen, but with the fist, not with spiritual weapons, but with physical force, and met with bloody persecutions till finally, in the total exile of 1492, the proud Spanish Jews were compelled to empty the cup of misery to the dregs.

CHAPTER 14.

REUCHLIN, PFEFFERKORN, AND THE TALMUD IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

Joseph or John Pfefferkorn was a German Jew, who lived in the beginning of the sixteenth century. He was ignorant of worldly knowledge, and had but a very limited acquaintance with Jewish literature. He became a Roman Catholic to escape the penalty for a theft. The Dominican monks of Cologne, subordinate to Hochsträter, the judge of the Inquisition, received him into their community with great honour. Hochsträter was a great fanatic and the enemy of every one who bore the name of Jew. His colleagues were Arnold Tangersky and Arthurin Gracia. This latter had committed to a Jewish apostate, Victor Karbensky (1504 A.C.), the task of writing a pamphlet against Judaism. In this pamphlet the author brings various accusations against the Jewish people, the responsibility for which he places on the Talmud. He recounts fabulous charges of Jewish persecution of apostates, and complains that even the poorest and most criminal and hardened Jews subject themselves to all manner of hardships rather than embrace Christianity. The pamphlet concludes with these words: "All this is due to the Talmud, which is the source of all evil, and which the Jews hold in greater reverence than the ten commandments of God." The Dominican monks found that this pamphlet failed of due effect, and asked Pfefferkorn if he could write a better one. He wrote the "Warnungsspiegel" (The Mirror of Warning), wherein he pretended to be a friend of the Jewish people, and, for their own good, desired to introduce Christianity among them. He urged them to convince the Christian world that the Jews do not need Christian blood for their religious rites. He also tried to induce his Christian brethren not to persecute the Jews unto destruction; for, he said, the Jews are also, in a way, human beings. Along with these pretences of friendliness he evinces in the pamphlet the desire (and in this he was seconded by the Dominican monks) to take the Talmud by force from the Jews. "The causes which hinder the Jews from becoming Christians," said Pfefferkorn, "are three: first, usury; second, because they are not compelled to attend Christian churches to hear the sermons; and third, because they honour the Talmud." Therefore he appealed to his co-religionists and the rulers to remove the first two causes; as to the third, he advised the government to take the Talmud from the Jews and burn it. But even this pamphlet was not wholly successful, because the rulers and the people understood that depriving the Jews of the Talmud would inure to the benefit, financially, of the Dominicans; for these latter, being the judges of the Inquisition, possessed the power of declaring the books harmless and of returning them to the Jews for a consideration. Therefore Pfefferkorn hastened to issue another pamphlet, in which he used harsher expressions, and tried to convince the people that the hatred of the Jews for Christianity was due solely to their religious books. He issued also a third pamphlet, on Jewish history, in which he contradicted what he had written in his first pamphlet. He said plainly that every Jew considers it a good deed to kill, or at least to mock, a Christian; therefore he deemed it the duty of all true Christians to expel the Jews from all Christian lands; even if the law should forbid such a deed, they need not heed or obey it in this respect. "It is the duty of the people," he said, "to ask permission of the rulers to take from the Jews all their books except the Bible," as well as all the pledges of Christians to be found in Jewish hands; also, that Jewish children should be taken away from their parents and educated in the Catholic religion. He concluded his work thus: "Who afflicts the Jews is doing the will of God, and who seeks their benefit will incur damnation."

Although the religious hatred of the times of the Crusades was then far from extinguished, Pfefferkorn's books did not

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find favour with the rulers, as the Jews were their chief treasurers, from whom they at all times exacted enormous taxes. Therefore they did not desire to drive them from their territories; and to compel them to embrace Christianity did not suit them either, as most of the Christians disliked Jewish apostates and looked upon them disdainfully since they well knew that in most instances they did not accept Christianity through belief in the religion, but from more worldly reasons. In addition to this, all the Jews of Germany, as also the physicians of the rulers, who were for the greater part Jews, did all in their power to prevent Pfefferkorn's advice from being carried into execution. Many Christians, too, asserted that they were convinced that Pfefferkorn was bad at heart, a flatterer, and that his sole object was to enrich himself at the expense of the Jews. Therefore Pfefferkorn wrote a fourth pamphlet, in which he reiterated all he had written previously, and declared that the only way to be rid of the Jews was either to expel or enslave them; the first thing to be done was to collect all the copies of the Talmud found among the Jews and to burn them. Arthurin Gracia, who was the Censor of Art, revised and corrected Pfefferkorn's works and rendered them into Latin and German, and sent them to all the rulers of the period. Besides this, the Dominicans addressed themselves to the sister of the Emperor Maximilian, Princess Kunigunde, who was a nun in a Dominican convent at Munich. They begged her to intercede with the Emperor in behalf of Pfefferkorn. They eulogized Pfefferkorn, telling her of his knowledge of Jewish life and of his good character, and urged her to confide in him. Finally they persuaded her to give a copy of his pamphlet to the emperor, who was then at war in Italy with the Venetians. As a result of all this, Pfefferkorn at once set out for Italy, and succeeded in obtaining from the emperor a decree that all the Jews of Germany should yield up their books to him (Pfefferkorn), to be revised by him; if he should find in them anything relating to Christianity, it should be destroyed. In this task he was granted the power to call to his assistance, in each city, a priest and two of the civic rulers. The Jews were warned under severe penalty not to resist the royal command.

Pfefferkorn and his party of inquisitors first visited Magdeburg, for in that city dwelt rabbis who were renowned throughout the Jewish world; and although they resorted to every device to prevent the surrender of their literary treasures--even the Bible, the removal of which was not included in the royal mandate, was also taken away--every Jew was compelled to surrender his entire store of religious books.

But many Gentile scholars, to whom Pfefferkorn's conduct did not appeal, assisted the Jews by testifying before the emperor that Pfefferkorn was ignorant on many subjects, and that he wrongfully deprived the Jews of books containing no allusions to Christianity; besides, they referred, in their request to the emperor, to the privileges accorded to the Jews, by previous emperors and popes, of worshiping in their own way. The Elector of Mayence, Archbishop Uriel, enraged at Pfefferkorn's action (we cannot learn why), summoned him to the city of Aschaffenburg, and informed him that the emperor's decree was in opposition to the law of the land, as it made him prosecutor, witness, judge, and executor in one; therefore, the Jews or the people, in disregarding the decree, would be guilty of no crime against the law. He counselled him, in fine, to ask the emperor to alter the mandate to conform with law. Pfefferkorn agreed to do so, and the Dominicans of Cologne advised him to find a prominent Gentile who would actively interest himself in the matter. This man they found in Reuchlin, at that time very popular and respected all over the world. The Dominicans told Pfefferkorn to get a letter from Reuchlin to the emperor, before going again to see the latter.

John Reuchlin, of Paszheim (1455-1522), had a great reputation as a scholar; in addition he had a benevolent heart. He devoted himself especially to the study of Hebrew, in which his interest was enhanced by Count Pick de Marsundella, who opened up to him the study of Kabbala, i.e., Jewish mysticism. Even this did not satisfy his desire to be master of Hebrew. He formed the acquaintance of Jacob Laanson, a Jewish physician at the Court of Frederick III., from whom he acquired a further knowledge of the language; at this court he came in contact with many Jewish scholars, and attained to such skill in the study that he afterwards wrote a book wherein he praised Hebrew as the best of all languages. He claimed in this work that the dogmas and rites of false religions were due to the ignorance of Hebrew, and to the misconception of the meaning of significant Hebrew terms. As for the Kabbala, he ranked this study with any other branch of learning, and stated that he himself was far from understanding thoroughly its sublime mysteries, for a complete knowledge of which even a lifetime would scarce suffice. Afterwards, when he became the Ambassador of the Elector Palatine to the Court of Pope Alexander VI., he became acquainted with the physician Obadiah Eipminah, the renowned commentator on the Mishna; and it was interesting to see the celebrated German scholar, whose discourses in Italian were greatly admired by the Italians themselves, stooping to ask a Jew to be his teacher of Hebrew literature. It was always his habit, when he came in contact with learned Jews, to obtain some useful knowledge from them.

Nevertheless, Reuchlin was not entirely free from prejudice against those of the Jewish faith. In a letter to a knight who desired to convert the Jews of his dominions to Christianity, he wrote that the whole trouble with the Jews was they were disbelievers, who did not care for Christ and his apostles, and that they held in general contempt all Christians; although it is true that later he repented of having written this letter, as will be seen further on.

The Dominicans relied on Reuchlin, knowing that the words of one so thoroughly acquainted with Hebrew literature would be respected by all the rulers of Germany. But Reuchlin declined to take an active part in the matter, although he commended the project of destroying all books written against Christianity. He also called Pfefferkorn's attention to the injustice of the emperor's decree, and told him it was doubtful whether it could be executed.

Despite his not securing the wished-for testimony, Pfefferkorn succeeded in persuading the emperor to ignore the petitions of the Jews and their defenders, and to give him the power to deprive the Jews of their books, in a new decree, while harshly reproving them for failing to strictly obey the first. This time the emperor commissioned Archbishop Uriel to carry out the decree. He also ordered him to seek, and to follow the advice of the German universities of Cologne, Mayence, Erfurt and Heidelberg, and also to take counsel with Reuchlin, Victor Karbensky and Hochsträter (although the latter was totally ignorant of Hebrew). Uriel commanded the director of the University of Mayence, Herman Hess, to visit all the cities of Germany, and to remove all the Jewish books. Hess did so. He travelled through Germany accompanied by Pfefferkorn; and in Frankfurt alone fifteen hundred manuscripts were taken away (printed books were as yet rare). They did the same in Worms, Lorch, Birgin, Lamuven, Mayence and Dertz. Pfefferkorn said that the Jews, to save their literary treasures, offered to enrich him, but he claimed he did not care to sell his soul and therefore did his duty.

The Jews on the other hand, did not cease in their efforts to prevent their despoliation. They secured testimonials from the more prominent among the Gentiles, and sent a committee to the emperor to petition him to prevent these attacks on their religion. They adduced proofs to show that their books contained nothing against Christian communities. They brought forward the privileges granted to them by former emperors and popes, enabling them to worship their God without the interference of the Church or State. These facts so favourably impressed the emperor that he commanded that all the books should be returned to their owners. The joy of the Jews on learning of this decree cannot be described, since thereby not only were they granted possession of their books, but a peaceful residence in Catholic countries was accorded them.

This joy, however, was only momentary, as both the Dominicans and Pfefferkorn still continued their malevolent activity. To add to the misfortune of the Jews, an event befell which the Dominicans were not slow to utilize as a weapon in their warfare against the faithful, with the aid of which they hoped finally to bring about the latter's destruction. Sacred vessels were stolen from a Christian church by a Gentile, who was arrested and who thereupon confessed that he had sold them to the Jews. As a result, all Jews were severely persecuted by the Bishop of Brandenburg. At the same time, or somewhat later, the Jews were accused of having killed a Christian child in the performance of their religious rites, and at the command of the same bishop the accused Jews were removed to Berlin, and thirty-eight of them were burned at the stake after suffering tortures on the rack.

These events the Dominicans made use of to arouse the fanaticism of the people of Germany. They addressed themselves to the emperor's sister, Kunigunde, to whom they painted these occurrences in the blackest colours, at the same time extolling Pfefferkorn as a converted Jew conversant with Jewish customs and manners. They stated that the Talmud contains the evil teachings which had become rooted in the hearts of the Jews. They represented to her the danger to Catholicism in the latest command of the emperor, and placed all their hopes in her keeping, as she was the only one who could save Catholicism from injury. At the same time they strove to find favour in the eyes of the people who protested against this persecution. A new pamphlet was prepared, in Pfefferkorn's name, which was dedicated to the Emperor Maximilian, praising him for his zeal for the Catholic religion. This pamphlet, after complaining that the Christians do not give full weight to the activity of the Jews against Catholicism, and charging that the whole fault lay with the Talmud, since its teachings prevented the Jews from embracing Christianity and permitted usury, affirmed that the one thing necessary was that the emperor should deprive the Jews of his books, and that it was the duty of all good Christians to help him in this matter, furthermore, that this cause met the approval of the emperor's sister, the nun Kunigunde. It further stated that all Christians who defended Jews should be treated as heretics, and Jewish apostates who did the same should be presumed to have taken up Christianity, not from belief in the Holy Trinity, but for baser reasons. The Princess Kunigunde actually interceded for them, and, presenting herself before the emperor, she begged him on her knees to grant the request of the Dominicans. The emperor again ordered Archbishop Uriel to hasten to seek the advice of the above-mentioned German universities, and especially to get the opinion of Reuchlin, Karbensky and Hochsträter, and transmit the same to him (the emperor), so that he might be prepared to judge whether or not the Talmud should be destroyed.

Reuchlin did not hasten to give his answer, and when, after three months his answer was composed, and delivered to the emperor, it was found to be unfavourable to Pfefferkorn. In this answer he divided Jewish literature into six classes, exclusive of the Bible, as follows: (1) poetry, fable and satire; (2) commentaries; (3) sermons, songs and prayers; (4) philosophy and science; (5) the Talmud, and (6) Kabbala. "In the first class," said Reuchlin, "are to be found books which deny or criticize the Christian religion;" but he could name but two of them of his own knowledge, and these were the pamphlet of Lipman (of the existence of which we have no records) and the life of Jesus. He declared, however, that the Rabbis themselves prohibit the possession of them by Jews and threaten severe penalties upon any one venturing to read them. "It is self-evident," he stated, "that this class of books must be destroyed without scruple."

With regard to the second class, he affirmed that they not only contain nothing harmful to Christianity, but, on the contrary, they are of great value in the interpretation of the Scriptures. Many Gentile scholars, could not, in many cases, fathom the depths of meaning of the Bible, because of insufficient knowledge of Hebrew. "It is true," he said, "that scholars had been heard to declare, we do not care for the Jewish commentaries, as we have a sufficient number by Christians." He compared these same to a person wearing a light garment in cold weather, since the basis for right understanding of the Scriptures is the knowledge of the original language wherein they were written.

"As for books of the third class, it would be an injustice to deprive the Jews of them, because they had received from emperors and popes the privilege of unmolested worship.

"Regarding the fourth class," he said, "they stand on an equal footing with books of the same class in Latin, Greek or German. But of the Talmud I must own that it is to me a sealed book, and it is evident that those who pass judgement upon it have as little knowledge of it as I. They have no idea of its nature; or of its, history; nevertheless they talk as if they knew and understood clearly all that it contains. I can only compare such people to those who would venture to criticise algebra while they are totally ignorant of the rudiments of arithmetic. The fear is expressed that the Talmud might injure Christianity; this is absurd for nothing can withstand the proofs in its favour that are found in the Bible. If the Talmud really were as bad as they affirm, then our ancestors, who were much more religious than we, would long ago have put an end to its existence." He declared that the testimony of Pfefferkorn and Schwartz. against it, being inspired by unworthy motives, should not be given consideration. "Moreover, if we would but study the Talmud we would not destroy it, but rather encourage the Jews to hold it in still greater reverence and study it the more assiduously, for as a consequence there would be copies not alone in Germany, but also in Italy and Turkey, where many colleges for its study exist. To what purpose is the burning of a few copies of the Talmud, if you are unable to annihilate it entirely? Besides, by such action we should commit a breach of faith for we would thus abrogate the privileges granted to them by former emperors and popes."

Regarding the sixth class, he praised the Kabbala in the highest terms, and cited Count Picko de Mirandella, who, he says, induced Pope Sixtus VI. to study it; the latter discovered in it so much in support of Christianity that he translated Kabbalistic books into Latin. Reuchlin concluded that to deprive the Israelites of their books could only be likened to a duke challenging a knight to combat and then taking away his weapons. He advised the German rulers who were desirous of having the Jews embrace Christianity, to establish in all the German universities for a period of ten years, chairs for the study of the Hebrew language; then the students having a thorough knowledge of the language, could convince the Jews, by proofs from their own Bible, of the truths of Christianity. Returning again to the apostates (he plainly referred to Pfefferkorn, though he did not name him), he said: "Of what value is advice given by people who abandon Judaism through jealousy, animosity, fear of persecution, penury, revenge, ambition, love of pleasure, or even through mere recklessness? Such individuals bear the name of Christians, but in heart they are not Christians. I know of some whose faith in both religions, Christianity and Judaism, is weak, and who, if their schemes were brought to naught, would become disciples of Mohammedanism. The Jews have been citizens of Germany for three centuries and should be protected by the law, It would

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be ridiculous to adjudge them heretics, for they were not born Christians, but have been Jews from a time antecedent to the birth of Christianity.

However, the answer of the German universities was different. The theological faculty of Mayence replied that not only were the Talmud and all rabbinical books full of falsehoods and heresies, as Christian scholars testify (the faculty themselves confessed that they were ignorant of the Talmud and Hebrew), but that the Hebrew Bible also was not altogether free from error on points of Christian doctrine. The faculty deemed it advisable, therefore, that the books be revised by Christian scholars, and if anything be found contrary to Christian belief it should be burned.

The University of Erfurt counselled in like manner, but the Faculty of Heidelberg advised the emperor to select a committee from the faculties of all the universities of Germany to judge the Talmud and all Jewish literature, and let their decision be final.

Reuchlin sent his answer under seal to Archbishop Uriel, but by some means not recorded its contents became known to Pfefferkorn before it reached the emperor. When he and the Dominicans had perused it they were greatly perturbed. They were aware of the esteem in which Reuchlin was held by the emperor, and the weight his answer would be given to by the latter, and resolved to do something to weaken the effect of this answer on the emperor and the public. (In their haste to forestall Reuchlin they did not consider the risk to themselves in making public his answer before it reached the emperor.) A pamphlet was issued under the title of "Handspiegel," in Pfefferkorn's name, couched in flowing sentences, giving prominence to all the weak points in Reuchlin's answer, charging him with ignorance, abusing him and ridiculing his theory and misrepresenting it to the common people. The pamphlet stated that Reuchlin himself understood nothing of the Hebrew language, and that his book on Hebrew grammar was written by other hands; therefore, they asked, how can such a man counsel the emperor in matters of which he himself is ignorant? It stated, further, that Reuchlin's declaration that the Jews must be protected by the law proves the utter absurdity of his whole answer, and that it may be justly suspected he did not do this for nothing. To add force to their contention, they published a letter which Reuchlin himself had written to a knight five years before, and called upon Reuchlin to deny his statement in this letter that the Jews slander Christianity; his refusal to do so would indicate a desire to wantonly mislead the emperor and all good Christians. It said, moreover, that the fact of Reuchlin's renown among the Jews alone showed that he had fallen a victim to their wiles. At the end of the pamphlet, Pfefferkorn charged Reuchlin with having accepted money from the Jews, and blamed him for defending them, since it was his duty to regard them only as heretics. He also charged Reuchlin with countenancing usury (nothing about this was mentioned in Reuchlin's answer).

As Reuchlin was well known and much respected in Germany, this pamphlet made a commotion, and the people evinced a desire to read it, to learn of what Reuchlin was accused, As it was written in the popular jargon, many went on fair days to Frankfurt-on-the-Main to purchase the pamphlet from Pfefferkorn. Reuchlin himself was astonished at Pfefferkorn's impertinence, and annoyed at the imputation on his honour; he therefore complained to the emperor. The latter, angry at the action of Pfefferkorn, promised Reuchlin that he would entrust the task of the revision of the Jewish books to the Bishop of Augsburg; but the emperor being at that time deeply occupied with matters of state, this affair was for the moment forgotten. Meanwhile a second fair was held at Frankfurt, and Pfefferkorn hoped to distribute the remaining pamphlets among the people. As soon as this point in the contest was reached, Reuchlin resolved, since the quarrel had from a religious become a personal one, to uphold his wounded honour. He wrote a work entitled "Augenspiegel," in which he complained that a Jewish apostate should endeavor to destroy the Talmud. He told the public how Pfefferkorn had come to him, asking his co-operation, and how by despicable means he became aware of the contents of his answer to the emperor, so as to be able to heap more calumnies upon him. He charged that there were thirty-four lies in Pfefferkorn's pamphlet. He said, further, that he had not lost hope of facing Pfefferkorn in court, and that the latter had merited the sentence of death for inciting the people against the Jews. He declared the charge that he had received money from the Jews, a false one, adducing many proofs to show that the Dominicans and Pfefferkorn merely intended to stain his name. He further proved that he himself had written the Hebrew grammar. To the main accusation, that he had learned Hebrew from a Jew, he replied that Christianity did not forbid Christians from having dealings with, or learning from, Jews, especially as this was often productive of good in the conversion of the Jews.

Now, instead of Pfefferkorn's pamphlet, Reuchlin's was distributed at the fair, and was sold in large quantities to the people. The Jews it is fair to believe, greedily bought the work and did their utmost to spread it among the people. A preacher named Peter Mayer, of Frankfurt-on-the-Main, while reading Reuchlin's pamphlet in the presence of Pfefferkorn, exclaimed that it ought to be burned at the stake; and, with the sanction of the Archbishop of Mayence, he prohibited its sale. But the priests of Mayence, all friendly to Reuchlin, at their convocation begged the archbishop to recall the prohibition and he consented. In a short time all Germany was in possession of copies of the work, and Reuchlin received many congratulatory letters. However, the strife was not yet over. His enemies did everything they could to overthrow Reuchlin. Paul Mayer, after his attempt to suppress the sale had proved futile, announced that Pfefferkorn would lecture on Reuchlin's books in the Catholic Church during the coming holidays. As Pfefferkorn was a married man, and not a priest, and therefore unable to preach from the pulpit, he lectured in the hall of the church in the popular jargon, holding a cross in his hand. The burden of his lecture was that the Jews should be persecuted unless they accepted Christianity. It was the first time in the history of the church that a Jew had stood in the corridor of a church with a cross in his hand and preached against the Jews.

The monks meanwhile gave Reuchlin's work to Arnold Tangersky for revision, and he naturally, being himself a Dominican, denounced it as heretical. The Dominican, Ulrich of Sternheim, wrote a letter to Reuchlin, in which, speaking as a friend, he says: "The scholars of Cologne are not yet united in their opinion as to what should be done with your work. Some of them maintain that it should be burned; others say the author should be punished; and still others are stronger in condemnation of it." This letter did not fail of its purpose. Reuchlin understood full well that if the Dominicans openly declared against him, he would be in great peril, since at that time their power was supreme and they were feared even by the emperor himself. The Pope, Alexander VI., himself exercising a power to which kings themselves were subject, declared he would offend a rule sooner than the humblest Dominican. Reuchlin hastened, therefore, to indite, in Latin, a letter to Tangersky, the reviser of the book, in which he modified his previous statements. He said he judged the Talmud, not as a theologian, but as a layman, and he could not know, when writing his book, that the scholars of Cologne, would disagree with him. He also stated that he had not intended to cast blame on any one in his pamphlet, and besought Tangersky to show him his errors in the "Augenspiegel" and not condemn him before doing so. He wrote a letter of a different tenor to his teacher, Koln. In this he ventured to blame the head of the Dominicans, Hochsträter, whom he charged with having written the pamphlet under Pfefferkorn's name, and he begged him to explain his words to the faculty, so that they would see the truth and not blame him (Reuchlin) unjustly. The response to this letter to Koln was not sent to Reuchlin for a long time. The Dominicans obviously sought, by delaying it, to furnish him a pretext for committing an overt act. He finally received together two letters, one from the Cologne students and the other from Koln. The faculty scolded him for interfering in a quarrel which did not concern him, and at the same time preventing the emperor from performing a meritorious act in suppressing the Jewish books. This fact, they claimed and his writing the "Augenspiegel," went far to confirm the suspicion that he inclined to Judaism, and therefore it was their duty to punish him severely. They could not, however, refuse the request of Arnold Tangersky and of Koln to defer punishment until he was given opportunity to write a second pamphlet, retracting all his words in defence of the Talmud and in blame of Pfefferkorn.

Koln wrote him that he should feel grateful to him for inducing the faculty to withhold his sentence and for pacifying the Dominicans. At the same time, he reminded him of the danger which hovered over him, and advised him to hasten and repair his error by another pamphlet, contradicting all his previous statements. As to Reuchlin's accusation that the pamphlet "Handspiegel" was from the pen of Hochsträter he maintained complete silence.

Reuchlin at once answered his enemies in two letters. He thanked them for their intercession in his behalf, but claimed that as a married man (even twice married) he could not be longer counted among theologians, and therefore knew very little of the teachings of faith. He also cited proofs showing that he was not a friend of Judaism or the Jews. Nevertheless he refused to contradict the statements contained in his first pamphlet; on the contrary, he reiterated them, but asserted his willingness to write a commentary on his "Augenspiegel," explaining any ambiguous passages therein. He again urged them to point to him the passages because of which they accused him of heresy, saying that only then could he either defend his assertions or confess that he was in error and revoke them. The Dominicans, seeing that correspondence was of no avail, commanded him, first, to stop the circulation of his pamphlet; secondly, to contradict all he had previously said; thirdly, to restore the lustre of his name by showing himself a good Christian and a persecutor of the Jews and their literature. If he should refuse to do this, he must stand trial before the judges of the Inquisition. Koln also wrote him again, saying that but for this (Koln's) pleading, Reuchlin's pamphlet would long before have been burned and himself brought before the Inquisition; therefore he again urged him to respect the command of the faculty, as, should he fail to accede to their order, he could do nothing more for him.

Reuchlin, seeing that further argument was useless resolved firmly to take up the gage of battle, happen what may. First of all, he replied that he could not stop the circulation of his work, since it was no longer his, but was the property of the publisher. He could only write a commentary as an explanation of doubtful passages. To his supposed friend Koln, he wrote that if the latter had indeed prevented his work from being burned, the faculty should feel grateful to him (Koln) for restraining them from doing wrong, but that he himself entertained no feelings of gratitude for it. He told him he did not fear a contest with the Dominicans, as he had many defenders, men of prominence and power in Germany, and if the matter were attended with any danger it was to his enemies. It was easy, he said, to begin a fight, but much more difficult to gain a victory. He could not understand why his enemies failed to consider how the people would judge them if they took the part of a Jewish apostate against a born Christian and a firm believer in Christianity. He was certain that Pfefferkorn, if thereby he could derive any benefit, would become an apostate even to Mohammedanism or any other religion. To think that Pfefferkorn should preach against the law of the land and calumniate him! The Dominicans, he continued, to seek to accuse him of trivialities, and close their eyes to the many great sins of the apostate. He also said that poets and writers of history would stamp with shame the entire faculty, and would make of him (Reuchlin) a martyr for the truth.

Reuchlin kept his promise of writing a commentary to his "Augenspiegel," but it had the effect of adding fuel to the fire. The Dominicans were more than ever enraged, and Tangersky wrote a pamphlet which he dedicated to the emperor, and which contained the following concerning Reuchlin's interference in religious matters which are above his understanding:

In his pamphlet one can see that he favours the Jews, and in keeping with this he has written sentences which border closely on heresies. "The work concludes by saying that it is undoubtedly necessary to put the Talmud to the stake. This pamphlet effected what the author had intended. The emperor, who had hitherto defended Reuchlin, now turned against him, and on his arrival at Cologne he commanded that Reuchlin's pamphlet and commentary should not be circulated. The Elector of Mayence, acting in conjunction with the Archbishop of Cologne, displayed this order on the churches, and threatened the public with excommunication if they did not return Reuchlin's pamphlet to the churches, But even this failed of the desired effect, for Reuchlin's friends were too numerous, greater even in number than those of the Dominicans; the people had but small liking for the latter, and they especially despised the head of the order, Hochsträter. Therefore Pfefferkorn issued a new pamphlet, entitled "Brandspiegel," wherein Reuchlin was accused and debased. Therein he was styled a man who had forsaken the church, and whose hands were sullied with Jewish bribes. As for the Jews Pfefferkorn stated that they ought to be persecuted without pity, and incited the people to plunder them and devote the spoils to convents and hospitals. This was Pfefferkorn's last pamphlet, from this time he ceased to take part in the fight. Reuchlin, under a pseudonym, wrote another pamphlet, "The Defender." In this he says: "If any one asserts that Reuchlin did not, in the Jewish controversy, conduct himself as a true and upright Christian, he utters a falsehood." He attacks all the Cologne scholars, especially Arthur Gracia and Jacob Hochsträter. "Why," he asks, "do they make such an uproar and hold themselves up as greater authorities than other scholars of German universities?" And to the emperor he says: "Permit, your majesty, the Dominicans to judge the Jews by the Inquisition, that will fill their pockets with the gold and silver of the Jews. That is what they want; obtaining it, they will then leave me unmolested." To Arnold Tangersky, who accused him of protecting the Jews, he says: "It is true I am the protector of the Jews. I protect them against false accusations. I know that my assertion that they are citizens of Germany and entitled to the protection of the law, as other citizens are, will excite their enemies; but I say and repeat again, the Jews are our brothers--brothers to Arnold, brothers to the Dominicans, brothers to all the theologians, and the fathers of the Church long ago made alike declaration." To the assertion of the Dominicans that he contradicts what he had written in his former letter, he replies that it is true he had been prejudiced against the Jews until he was convinced of his error. The calumny that Jewish prayers MAINTAIN that all Catholic rulers should be put to death he refutes by quoting a Mishna: "Thou shalt pray for the peace of the kingdom wherever thou abidest."

This pamphlet was sent to the emperor, who received it favourably, and, owing to the complex questions involved, his mind wavered in the course he should pursue. First he assured Reuchlin of protection against the attacks of the Dominicans.

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Then his father-confessor, an enemy to Reuchlin, spoke in favour of the Dominicans, and the emperor again prohibited the circulation of Reuchlin's work. Finally he commanded both parties to cease their strife. Even this command failed of its purpose. The imperial decree was unheeded by the Dominicans, and the head of the Inquisition, Hochsträter, summoned Reuchlin to appear within six days before the judges of Mayence to defend himself against the charges of heresy and of defending the Jews. This summons was couched in language unprecedented in its insolence. Reuchlin did not appear at the trial, but sent a deputy. Hochsträter opened the court. He was both prosecutor and judge, and was certain that the trial would result in the success of his scheme against Reuchlin, and would cover the latter with ignominy, more especially as he had received favourable opinions from the German universities that had been ordered to afford counsel. The University of Loewen had replied that the pamphlet should be burned, that of Cologne, that besides its misleading nature, it showed decided leanings to heresy; the University of Erfurt gave answer of like import. Those of Heidelberg and Mayence alone did not respond. Hochsträter therefore felt sufficiently supported and certain of winning the trial. He recited a long list of grave accusations against Reuchlin, and gave it to his colleagues of the court, calling upon them to adjudge the defendant guilty and order his pamphlet to be burned. Reuchlin's deputy protested that Hochsträter had no right to be persecutor and judge in one; the less so as he was known to be Reuchlin's bitterest enemy. Seeing, however, that protest was of no avail, he left the court, Hochsträter, hesitating to sentence, contrary to public opinion, one who was not present, posted notices on church doors, requiring Reuchlin's deputy and all who had an interest in him, to appear before the court. He also ordered the public, on the pain of excommunication, to return the copies of the "Augenspiegel" to the judges of the Inquisition. The Dominicans triumphed that day and Reuchlin's defeat was seemingly close at hand. But this triumph was only of brief duration. The people of the better class of the city openly murmured against Hochsträter's proclamation and even the archbishop's colleagues advised that the trial be delayed for a short period, since Reuchlin or his deputies had not undergone examination.

The trial was therefore postponed for two weeks, Hochsträter thinking that Reuchlin would be ashamed to appear in person as a defendant, and feeling certain that at the expiration of two weeks he could be adjudged guilty by default. But Reuchlin did appear in person with the counsellor of the Duke of Württemberg, and that of the Duke of Mayence. The "Kapital" endeavored to make peace between the two parties, but in vain. The inquisitor Hochsträter refused to listen to overtures of peace, and ordered the judges to do their duty. They obeyed and began to write down their judgement, when suddenly a rider appeared with a letter in his hand from Archbishop Uriel. He passed through the crowd and straight to the judges, who were much astonished and anxious to know the contents of the letter. It was read aloud to the assembled people, and was to the effect that Archbishop Uriel commanded the postponement of the trial for one month, and if this command were disobeyed he would declare it a mistrial and dissolve the court. The Dominicans, defeated, left the court amidst the laughter of the people. There was much rejoicing among the Jews, as upon this trial depended their fate; but Reuchlin was not content with the mere postponement of the trial, knowing that the Dominicans would persecute him until they conquered. He determined, therefore, to leave his fate to the decision of Pope Leo X. But, learning that the Dominicans would bribe the advisers of the pope and persuade him to order the trial to be held in Cologne, he wrote a letter in Hebrew to the pope's physician, Bangett Delakes, beseeching his influence to prevent this. Leo, involved just then in grave secular matters--religious questions, for the time being, having no place in his councils--and seeing his quarrel likely to spread over Europe, directed the bishops of Speyer and Worms to end the contest by issuing a decision which should be respected by both parties. These bishops appointed a committee to investigate and report on the matter. The committee, though in awe of the Dominicans, conducted their investigation deliberately, and at the end of a year pronounced the pamphlet "Augenspiegel" free from any heresy, and Reuchlin to have no leanings towards Judaism or the Jews. They therefore permitted its circulation and ordered Hochsträter, on the pain of confinement in a monastery, to pay to Reuchlin 300 gulden as the costs of the trial, and threatened him with excommunication if he disobeyed the order.

Hochsträter then appealed to the pope for an impartial trial, hoping that by a liberal use of the wealth of the Dominicans, since Reuchlin was poor, the latter would suffer defeat. He also sent Reuchlin's "Augenspiegel" to the University of Paris, esteemed the greatest university of the time, urging it to condemn the pamphlet. He appealed also to all of Reuchlin's opponents and all who were zealous for the welfare of the Catholic Church to unite against him. Reuchlin's friends were not idle. Realizing the evil exerted by the Dominicans throughout the world, they, together with a body of Catholics called "Humanists" who sought the reformation of the Church, united under Reuchlin's flag and termed themselves "Reuchlinists." The opposing party adopted the name "Arnoldists." These were the two parties that occupied the public mind before Luther began the Reformation.

Many scholars of young Germany went over to Reuchlin's side, particularly Hermann von Busche, Croates Rinbianes, and the young and sagacious Ulrich von Hutten; also many of the rulers, among whom were Duke Ulrich of Württemberg and all his family, Count Halfenstein of Augsburg, Count von Guernor of Patriz, Welsen, Pirkameier, Neitiger, as well as many Italian priests, notably the General of the Augustinians, Eggodia de Viterba, who loved the Hebrew literature and was at that time engaged in translating the "Zohar." Viterba said in his letter to Reuchlin: "You have saved the books which have spread light all over the world for centuries, and if they were lost, darkness would ensue. And in supporting you, we shield not you but religion; and not the Talmud, but the community of Christ."

The strife spread all over Germany, and there was scarcely a city in which were not to be found either Reuchlinists or Arnoldists--the former, for the preservation of the "Augenspiegel" and the Talmud; the latter, for the destruction of both. The contest became each day more intense, and although the victory was with Reuchlin, he was still anxious as to Hochsträter's appeal to Rome, since the latter had great influence there. His friends therefore advised him to publish all the letters he had received from all parts of Germany and Italy, to convince the pope of the character of the man the Dominicans were persecuting. Among these letters was one from the Emperor Frederick praising Reuchlin in glowing terms and testifying that he was held in honour and respect by the father of the pope, Lorenzo de Medici.

These efforts of Reuchlin and his friends brought about the appointment by the people of Cardinal Gremama, a lover of rabbinical literature and Kabbala, as investigator and judge of the quarrel. The Cardinal summoned Reuchlin and Hochsträter to appear in Rome, and as Reuchlin was very old, he was allowed to send a deputy. Hochsträter, however, appeared in person with all his wealth. This did not, however, disturb Reuchlin, as he had many friends at Rome. Even the Emperor Maximilian interceded for him with the pope. Among his other defenders was the emperor's secretary, Wurke, Duke Ulrich of Württemberg and the Elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise (later the chief supporter of Luther). Many bishops also defended him, notably those of Strassburg, of Constanz, of Speyer, and numerous other churchmen. Hochsträter spent large sums of money to procure the appointment of Cardinal Bemardine de Santa as assistant to the judge, but, through the influence of the Reuchlinists, Cardinal Pietro Ankenotini de Sant' Isemblia was selected by the pope for this office. The pope's committee forbade any discussion of the matter until the sentence of the judges of Rome was announced. But the Dominicans heeded neither this command nor public opinion, and, in order to influence the pope, they even threatened, should Reuchlin be victor at the trial, to secede from the church and unite with the Hussites of Bohemia. They also, in defiance of the prohibition of discussion, placed hope in the University of Paris, for at that period France and Germany were in conflict in secular matters, it naturally befell that on religious questions also their views were diametrically opposed. So the University of Paris, though in heart and conscience in full accord with Reuchlin, nevertheless, for purely worldly reasons, felt compelled to render an unfavourable opinion of him and of his works, stating that the "Augenspiegel" contained heresy and should be burned, and that its author should be compelled to make full retraction. The Dominicans hastened to published this reply from Paris in a pamphlet entitled "Glocke" (bell), in the name of Pfefferkorn, although for this action Hochsträter was indicted by the Fiscal of the Emperor. The emperor's sister, Kunigunde, again kept Hochsträter from imprisonment. The Dominicans employed every means to delay the trial, so as to increase Reuchlin's expenses, thinking that, since he could not afford the necessary expense attached to it, he would forego trial. Reuchlin's friends represented to the public Hochsträter's evil designs, and at the same time appeared a collection of letters "From the Benighted People." The first volume, written in a satirical style, professed to be from the pen of Krate Rubian of Leipzig, and contained confessions by Dominican monks of their evil deeds since the existence of the Order. These letters were quickly spread throughout the entire west of Europe despite the protests of the Dominicans, which protests, indeed, only furthered their circulation. Hochsträter, fearing lest the trial would end in Reuchlin's favour, demanded that it be given to an international council, since the matter concerned the entire Catholic Church. The pope, who was, as it were, placed between two fires, the German Emperor and rulers, on the one hand, and the King of France and the heir-apparent of Germany (who sided with the Dominicans), on the other, resolved to place it before the Council of the Lateran and all Europe.

Two years passed; the strife had not yet ended, and Reuchlin became sad at heart. He feared that his friends would fall away from him, seeing no immediate prospects of the close of the quarrel; he also feared, as he was advanced in years, lest he should die before its settlement, and the Dominicans win the battle, while his name would become a reproach. These fears were unfounded, as his friends did not weaken in their support of his cause. Finally, on the 2d of July, 1516, the result of the trial was announced at a session of the council, signed by Bishop Gregory Bengiani, as follows: The pamphlet, "Augenspiegel," contained no heresy. The error, in such an assumption, rested with the Paris University, and the other faculties in agreement with it. The Bishop of Malta added that the judge of the Inquisition, Hochsträter, who considered himself one of the main pillars of religion, ought to be indicted. Under Bengiani's signature were written those of the other cardinals, except that of the Dominican Cardinal, Sylvester Priervis. As the pope himself had not yet acknowledged or sanctioned the sentence, Hochsträter did not despair, and, with the aid of his friends, he begged the pope to delay the execution of the sentence for an indefinite period, hoping to bring, at a future time, the trial before another council and obtain a decision in his favour. The pope commanded the parties to terminate their quarrelings and cease all discussion of the matter, under the impression that a command from him would put an end to it. He was mistaken; the strife grew in intensity and spread over Germany. Both factions were more than ever determined to continue.

When Hochsträter returned from Rome his life was in danger from the Reuchlinists, and only by the efforts of Reuchlin himself was bloodshed prevented. The Dominicans lost all favour with the public. This did not, however, prevent the Dominican, Peter Mayer, from lecturing in all the great churches against Reuchlin and his party, and abusing him in the vilest language. Finally, roused to violence by his words, the Dominicans slew some of the Reuchlinists. This resulted in a rupture between the pope and the Dominicans. But when the second volume of "The Benighted" letters appeared, wherein the Dominicans were painted in the blackest colours, they begged the pope to shield them from the wrath of the people. This time he listened to them, and prohibited the circulation of the pamphlet. This command was unheeded, as the light of knowledge was beginning to spread over the world, and the satire was read by many priests and monks of other orders than the Dominicans; and, at the same time, the Humanists distributed pamphlets and circulars against the Dominicans.

After no long interval, a second edition of "The Benighted" letters appeared, to the joy of the Reuchlinists. The Dominican leaders saw now that there was a rupture in the Catholic Church, and announced to the pope that the people ridiculed their teachings and would not obey the doctrines of Catholicism. This time they told the truth. Hitherto, sufficient credit had not been accorded public opinion by the rulers, although the influence wielded by Luther was almost wholly due to it, and he acknowledged that the controversy between these two great parties had paved the way for the Reformation. After Maximilian's death, the strife became still more intense, and the topics most often heard were those of the Talmud, Reuchlin, Luther, and the Reformation. At the meeting of the electors of Germany, to choose an emperor, they all sanctioned Reuchlin's actions. Ulrich von Hutten persuaded the knight, Franz von Eickingen, to separate himself from the Catholic Church and join Reuchlin and Luther. This knight and his companion, Dalkery, with many other friends of Reuchlin, demanded that Hochsträter pay the sum of 111 gulden to Reuchlin to defray the costs of the trial at Speyer, and also give bonds not to further molest Reuchlin. The Dominicans were fully aware that this command must be obeyed, unlike that of the emperor or the pope, which they would have unhesitatingly disobeyed. They were compelled to pay the above sum, but as the treasury of the government was empty, the sum did not go to Reuchlin, but to the government. Hochsträter was deposed from his post of judge of the Inquisition, and a committee of monks requested the pope to do all in his power to end the strife, and allow Reuchlin to live in peace, since he was a great scholar and a firm believer in Christianity. The Talmud attained new prestige, since henceforth the pope looked upon it with favour, and even persuaded Daniel Bamberg, of Antwerp, a famous printer, to issue a complete edition for the first time in its history. And, so, in the year 1520, the Babylonian Talmud appeared, with all the commentaries, in twelve volumes, and from this all later editions have been copied. Reuchlin in his last years was compelled, like Luther, to leave his home and seek an abiding place where he could live in peace. Later, when Luther sent delegates to the prominent rulers of Germany, the pope was forced to adopt the suggestion of the Dominicans and excommunicate Luther, and at the same time prohibit Reuchlin's works. But both the excommunication and prohibition were publicly burned by Luther on the 10th of December, 1520. From this time on, Luther threw off the chains of the pope, and inaugurated the Reformation. Again, and for the last time, Pfefferkorn appeared with a new

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pamphlet against Reuchlin, but it received no countenance; on the contrary, he was abused by all factions; and his suggestion to expel the Jews from Frankfurt was denounced by all alike. After this event, nothing more was heard of him. As soon as the Reformation was established, Reuchlin was called to take the chair of Hebrew in the University of Tübingen, where be taught many students. He died in 1522, to the great grief of his admirers. Reuchlin was generally credited by the Reformers with being one of the initiators of the Reformation.

CHAPTER 15.

POLEMICS WITH MUSSULMANS AND THE DISPUTES WITH THE FRANKISTS

The Jews were not exempt from disputes with scholars of Islam also during the first years of the latter's history, but these disputes differed from those with the Christians in that they did not involve the Jews in calamities. In addition to the oral disputes, many controversial books appeared between the ninth and the sixteenth centuries, among which were the books of Saadiah the Gaon against the Karaites, which the Karaites answered, not with arguments, but with scoffing. A great quantity of books were issued by the Karaites in which they ridiculed the Rabbis, in particular Saadiah the Gaon, who exposed their weaknesses. Like service was performed by the book of Samuel ben Chaphni Hakohen, entitled "To Exalt the Value of Theological Studies," against whom the Karaite Samuel ben Jehudah Eben Agia wrote a pamphlet under the title "Strenuous Denial." R. Jehudah Halevi's "Hakusri" and Maimonides' controversial letters also had for their aim the strengthening of the foundations of the creed.

But the strife raged with the greatest intensity in Spain in the middle of the twelfth century. First appeared the book on "Sepher Habrith" by R. Joseph Kimchi. Following this came controversial works by R. Jacob b. Reuben, R. Moses b. Tikun, and R. Moses b. Solomon, of Saliri, the title of the latter's book being "A Word of Faith," in which he records disputes with Christians; by R. Jechiel b. Joseph, of Paris, R. Nathan, of Upsala, R. Joseph, and R. Meir b. Simeon, in his book "The Battle of Merit," in which are related his disputes with the Archbishop of Narbonne; and by R. Mordecai b. Tehosaph in his book, "The Strengthener of Faith," written against the Christian, Paul Christianus, who had held many controversies with Ramban and others.

In reply to the book of Abner of Burgos, who adopted the name of Alphonse of Valladolid, and who wrote much that was hostile to Judaism, appeared works by R. Isaac Ebn Palkara, as well as by R. Joseph Shalom, under the title of "A Reply to Alfonso's Writings." How great a degree of tolerance the Jews manifested in this controversy may be seen from what Moses of Narbonne wrote of Abner, his former friend--namely, that he was intelligent and virtuous, but dispairing; unable to endure the calamities heaped upon the Jewish people; not content with the peace to his soul, but seeking also worldly happiness; and, reading in the stars that the Jews destiny was to suffer and bear trials, he fell into the error of thinking that they would never again be strong as a nation, and counselled them as he himself had done, to accept Christianity, not submit to their fate. R. Moses de Torsilla, also wrote a book entitled "Aid to Faith" (1374), consisting of seventeen chapters, in the form of a dialogue between professors of the two religions. In all these books it is declared that the Hagadas of the Talmud are not authoritative but are to be regarded barely as fiction, and as devoid of any sacredness. In Germany also appeared in defense of Judaism the work "Book of Victory" (Sepher Nitzachon), by the excellent writer, R. Lipman of Muelhausen, which appears to have made so deep an impression that the Bishop of Brandenburg, Stephen Batekei, felt it necessary to reply to it.

Lastly may be mentioned the two disputes which took place between the Rabbis and the Frankists in 1756-1757, at the command of Bishops Dembovsky and Micholsky, in Kamenitz, Podolsk and Lemberg, cities of Poland. These terminated the disputes which the Jews were compelled to hold with their opponents in the presence of the people and dignitaries. They were distinguished by the fact that the Frankists impeached the authority of the Talmud on the strength of the Midrash of R. Simeon b. Jochai, termed "Zohar," which they considered sacred, while they regarded the Talmud as profane. These disputes were further distinguished by the circumstance that the founder of the Hasidismus, R. Israel baal Shem Tob, was elected as the chief disputant to represent the Rabbis, forced to dispute with the Frankists in Micholsky's presence. The Frankists were an offshoot of the sect of the false Messiah, Shabattai Zvi, who produced a storm throughout the whole world in the year 1654. One Jacob Frank, a Polish Jew, accepted Islamism at Salonica, where he joined the sect of Shabattai Zvi, who were seeming Mohammedans and were called Dauma. In 1754 he arrived in Poland and set to work, with the assistance of two Rabbis, Moses and Nachman, who accompanied him, to revive the creed of Shabattai Zvi. The followers of Shabattai Zvi, who still remained in Poland, received him with open arms, and entered upon an open propagation of the mischievous teachings. The Jews thereupon informed the ecclesiastical authorities of the country of their activity, which so alarmed them that they hastened to the Bishop and asserted their belief in the Trinity, and that they were not Talmudic Jews, but followers of the Zohar--"Zoharites." They petitioned Bishop Dembovsky of Kamenitz to force the Jews to dispute with them and thus afford them opportunity to prove that the only true belief is in one God in three persons, incarnate in the flesh, and the teaching of the Talmud all vanity, etc., a rehabilitation of all the old slanderous charges. The Bishop ordered the dispute to begin in May, 1754; and the Jews, not appearing at the appointed time, incurred a heavy fine therefor. In June of that year there assembled at Kamenitz thirty Rabbis, from whom were chosen as disputants R. Leib Meziboz, R. Bar Jozelovitz, R. Mendel Satanow, and R. Joseph Kremenetz; and about the same number of Frankists, headed by Leib Krim of Nadvarna, Soloman Shur of Rahatin and Nachman of Bushk. The pleading of the Rabbis that in the Zohar and in all the books of Israel there is no hint of a Trinity, which was purely an invention of the Frankists themselves, was of no avail, for Dembovsky decided against the Jews and fined them 5,000 gold guldens, to be paid to the Frankists, and also directed the Jews to dispute with the latter whenever called upon; one hundred and fifty gold guldens were likewise to be paid by the Jews for the repair of the Christian Cathedral at Kamenitz. All copies of the Talmud were to be burned, although the Jews appealed to the King, August III., against this decree of Dembovsky, claiming that they possessed the right, accorded to them by previous rulers, to print the Talmud; and although they were sustained in this contention by many princes of the kingdom, yet, owing to the political and religious turmoil then existing throughout the kingdom, the king or his minister, could give no heed to the matter, and the Jews were forced to submit to the decree of the bishop. Shortly thereafter, however, Dembovsky died a sudden death (the result of an injury received, it is related, from a fire which consumed the Talmud), and was succeeded by Labinsky, who showed no favour to the Frankists. The Jews, with the help of the government officials and an expenditure of money, effected the expulsion of the Frankists from their residence near Kamenitz, for being neither Jews nor Christians, and they suffered persecutions. They were compelled to shave part of their heads and half of their beard; insults and indignities were heaped upon them, and many fled to Turkey. But even there they found no rest; they were relentlessly persecuted, and Elisha Ratin, one of their leaders, was beaten to death. They therefore betook themselves to the frontiers between Poland and Turkey, in constant peril of their lives from the people of both nations. When their condition became unbearable, they turned again to the king, and begged him to restore to them the freedom granted by Dembovsky. In this they succeeded; the king permitted them in May, 1757, to settle undisturbed in the province of Podalia. And thus they returned to Poland, in poverty and rags. In this state of degradation Frank advised them, in order to better their condition, to embrace Christianity. They therefore, in January, 1758, sent a petition to the Bishop Labinsky by six of their leaders, asking that they be received into the Catholic Church and be granted permission to dispute with the Talmudic Jews, who drink the blood of Christian infants, etc. Labinsky replied that it was not in his power to improve their material condition; their acceptance of Christianity could affect only their spiritual welfare. They again addressed themselves to the king, in May of the same year, but their petition was not answered. Labinsky suddenly resigned his office and Micholsky was chosen his successor. The latter exhibited a great zeal for proselyting, and the Frankists hastened to present their petition to him, requesting permission, before being baptized, to dispute again with the Jews. Perhaps, they urged, they might succeed in convincing the Jews of their great error and madness and in inducing them to accept Christianity too. Micholsky acceded to this request, and ordered the Jewish Rabbis to assemble at Lemberg on a day appointed by him.

At the time set for the dispute there came in sorrow to Lemberg, forty of the chief Rabbis of Poland, at their head Israel Besht of Mezibuz, and chose as disputants three of them--Besht, the Rabbi of the district, Haim Rapoport, and R. Bär Jozelovitz. The disputants for the Frankists were Frank himself, Leib Krim, and Solomon Shur.

The dispute lasted three days, beginning June 23, 1758, and the hopes of the Frankists for a victory were shattered. Though Micholsky and many Polish nobles sided with them, they failed to prove that the Zohar contained anything that favoured their religion. The judges, even, utterly disagreed with the distortions to which they subjected the passages of the Zohar and Kabbalistic books. The Jewish Rabbis departed in peace, without being fined, and the petition of their adversaries, that a district in Poland be set apart for their dwelling, was refused, and they were invited to receive baptism. Thus ended favourably for the Jews the last of these peculiar disputes. The Jews made efforts to induce the Frankists to become Christians as soon as possible, that there might in future be no relationship, between them. In this they succeeded, and since that time, between the Frankists, as Christians, and the Jews there has been nothing in common in either religious or secular matters.

CHAPTER 16.

THE PERSECUTIONS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, THE HEAD OF WHOM WAS JOHANN ANDREAS EISENMENGER.

The victory of Reuchlin, and the establishment of the Reformation by Luther, in the sixteenth century, did not stop the persecution of the Talmud. It was ever renewed by men of rank in the different countries. The most dangerous of them was Johann Andreas Eisenmenger, who spent almost all his lifetime in the destruction of the Talmud and its standard-bearers; and it seems miraculous that he did not succeed.

Eisenmenger was born in 1654, at Manheim. In 1666 he came to Heidelberg where he found grace in the eyes of Prince Carl Ludwig, who was pleased with Eisenmenger's determination to learn the Hebrew language. Prince Carl Ludwig sent him, at his own expense, to travel in different countries to become accomplished in the study of Oriental languages. But when Eisenmenger was about to visit Palestine, the prince died (1680), and he established himself in the City of Amsterdam, where he lived for some time in friendly relations with the Hebrew scholars and with Rabbi David Lida of that city.

At the end of the same year it happened that three Gentiles circumcised themselves and embraced the Jewish faith. This, according to Eisenmenger's own confession, angered him almost to death. And this occurrence made him determine to write a voluminous book on the "wickedness" of the Talmud, in order (he said) to save Christianity from danger.

He worked hard and successfully for nineteen years; translated into German from 193 different Hebrew books, and a considerable number of pages from various Tracts of the Talmud itself.

This book, which he named "Endecktes Judenthum" (Unveiled Judaism), containing two volumes of more than a thousand pages each, he gave in the year 1700 to the printers of Frankfurt-on-the-Main.

The Jews of that city got wind of it, and being afraid that this book would cause a renewal of massacres of Jews, such as took place in the cities of Franken and Bamberg in 1699, where houses and other Jewish property were destroyed by the mob, appealed to Sampson Wertheimer, who was then the banker of Emperor Leopold, that he should point out to the emperor the dangers which such a book would lead to.

Remembering that after the destruction of Jewish property, the mob, in the above-mentioned places, turned to the palaces of the noblemen, the Emperor commanded the Governor of Frankfurt to stop the printing of the book, and to conceal all that was printed of the same, until a careful examination of the book by Gentile and Jewish Hebrew scholars would be made.

In spite of the assistance of many prominent men in the German Empire, who petitioned the emperor to release the books, he retained his decision and paid no attention even to the special personal letter from the King of Prussia in behalf of Eisenmenger. When Eisenmenger died in 1704, his books had not yet been redeemed from their captivity; and only in 1711 did Frederick I, King of Prussia, republish the book at his own expense, from a copy which was in the hands of Eisenmenger's heirs, donating all the copies to them. It would take too much space to relate the proceedings of Eisenmenger himself, and those of his heirs against the Jews of Frankfurt, and the various decisions of the courts from the time of Leopold to that of the Empress Maria Theresa. We do not deem it necessary to recount them, since they are in no way related to the subject of the persecution of the Talmud. 1

We have only to say that in the eleven years since the book was given to the press in Frankfurt, until the circulation was permitted in Königsberg, its influence was weakened, so that it did not cause very much harm at that time.

Thereafter, however, many anti-Semites made use of the material gathered in this book, quoting it as being directly from the Talmud without mentioning Eisenmenger; probably because of his notoriety as an enemy of the Jews.

Concerning the book itself, we would refer the reader to Professor Franz Delizeh's book, "Rohling's Talmudjude," sixth edition, 1881, and many other criticisms of Eisenmenger's work by Gentile Hebrew scholars, such as Professor Strack of Berlin and others.

We have refrained from stating our own criticism of the misinterpretation of the quotations from the Talmud, chiefly because we do not deem it necessary to study Eisenmenger's book for criticism. As for the explanation of the Talmud, we do not need to use him as our guide; and also in order to avoid apparent partiality; since we are ourselves the bearers of the Talmud's banner. (See App., No. 16.)

CHAPTER 17.

THE POLEMICS AND THE ATTACKS UPON THE TALMUD IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

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The nineteenth century was the jubilee of the Talmud's 2,000 years since its beginning, and the twelfth century since its conclusion, in which it overcome all attacks directed against it and remained safe, not only bodily but spiritually. This did not prevent the anti-Semites from renewing the persecutions and the accusations of it with increased energy.

Although the accusations were not brought to a public dispute, and to the intervention of the government, still the polemics in books and pamphlets were greatly increased by different persons in different countries. We do not desire to linger on these books, as their discussion would take up too much time and space, still we cannot refrain from mentioning them briefly, as they pertain to the history of the Talmud.

In 1848, A. Büchner, a teacher in Warsaw, printed a book, "Der Talmud in Seine Nichtigkeit," and according to Strack, Jacob Kittseer also printed a volume called "Inhalt des Talmuds und seine Autoritat," etc, both in the German language. The contents of these two books were mainly attacks upon attacks, and accusations upon accusations, rained down upon the Talmud in general and its followers in particular.

At the same time a missionary, McCaul, printed a book in the English language, entitled "The Old Paths," and S. Hoga, an apostate and also a missionary, translated it into Hebrew. The latter edition was distributed gratis and in tens of thousands among the Hebrews. We cannot deny that it was somewhat effective, as it caused many Jews to embrace Christianity.

At about the same time Isaac bär Levinson of Kremenetz, named the Russian Mendelssohn, wrote a book, entitled "Teuda b'Israel," in which he collected all the savings of the Talmud relating to the following topics, (a) that every Jew is obliged to learn the language of his country; (b) to engage in scientific pursuits; (c) that he must learn some trade and occupy himself, if possible, with agriculture, and (d) that be must be patriotic to his country, and must respect the laws of his country just as much as the laws of the "Torah," etc., etc. This book was so excellent that the eye of Nicholas I., Emperor of Russia, was attracted to it and he assisted Levinson both morally and financially. Finally he presented him with 3,000 roubles to enable him to publish his later works, "Zerubbabel," in which he proved the falsehood of the misinterpretations of McCaul in every respect, "Beth Jehuda," and "Efes Damin" (no blood), written against the blood accusation. His books were so effective that as a result McCaul's books were almost ignored.

The later affair in Alexander II.'s reign, however, we intend to elabourate on more fully, as at that time it created a great stir in Russia.

In 1876 a Roman Catholic priest, Lyotostansky by name, who embraced Greek Catholicism, published a book in the Russian language which he entitled, "Upotreblayut li Jewreay christansky Krov?" (Do the Jews need Christian blood for religious purposes?)

This book, which contains about 300 pages, was dedicated to Alexander III., then Crown Prince of Russia. He accepted the dedication with thanks to the author.

Lyotostansky, desiring to have the thanks of the Crown Prince publicly made known, printed posters announcing the Crown Prince's thanks for the dedication, and set them up everywhere, even on the railroad cars.

The dailies and periodicals in Russia also announced the works favourably owing to the fact that the book found favour in the eyes of his highness, the Crown Prince. The contents of the book are chiefly attacks upon the Talmud, accusing it of being the source of all the bad customs of the Jews, etc.

A meeting of the prominent Jews was then called and resolutions were passed as follows:

First, that Lyotostansky's attacks upon the Talmud itself should be silently ignored, for a debate on this subject in Russia would do the Jews more harm than good.

Second, to republish and distribute the voluminous book of Prof. Chwolson, who was a Christian, which defends the Talmud in general, and conclusively proves, both theoretically and practically, that the blood accusation is a trumped-up affair, and that all investigations in many countries have shown that no instance occurred in which the Jews used Christian blood.

Third, to republish the "Ukase" (decree) of Nicholas I., which declared that no blood accusation for religious purposes should be directed against the Jews as a people, and that if it should happen that a Jew be accused of murdering a Christian, he should be tried as an individual merely.

As is well known, there are people who endeavor to benefit themselves from all current calamities, and to announce themselves as leaders without considering that from such actions the calamity or affliction may become still greater.

At that time there were two such men, one in Russia and one in Austria, who desiring to make themselves popular, endeavored to place themselves in the front ranks of the defenders of Judaism for their own benefit.

In Russia there was Alexander Zederbaum, publisher of the periodical "Hamelitz" in St. Petersburg, a man of little knowledge, and who was never fitted for a public debate. He challenged Lyotostansky to a public debate, which, however, the latter declined to accept.

The real leaders of Israel, like the well known S. I. Fünn of Wilna and Perez Smolensky, editor of the "Hashachar" in Vienna, and others, were angry because of Zederbaum's challenge, believing that such a challenge had caused an extremely unfavourable impression upon the Russian people, especially as the newspapers declared that Lyotostansky's declination was due to the fact that the alleged leader of the Russian Jews was an ignoramus.

The very learned Lazar Zweifel, teacher of the Rabbinical Seminary in Zhitomir, who, besides publishing a great book in Hebrew, entitled "The Defender," against Lyotostansky's book, appealed in our periodical "Hakol," Vol. 1. No's 27 to 31, to his co-religionists in Russia that they should appoint a committee to petition the Czar, Alexander II., to forbid all polemics about the blood accusation in newspapers, books or pamphlets, for such incitations always do harm to the government itself.

However, Zweifel's appeal was a voice in the desert, as the attempts upon the life of the Czar, in which, to our sorrow, some of our race took part at that time, made it impossible to bother the Czar with such petitions.

We may say, however, that even in this case the Talmud itself was saved, and the government did not stop the publication and circulation of it in Russia and even the study of it in the Jewish schools and institutions. Even in the curriculums of the institutes for Hebrew teachers, established by the government, some tracts of the Talmud were inserted.

Alas, we cannot say that the blood accusation by Lyotostansky had no effect; as in 1882, there were massacres in many cities where Jews dwelt. Although these were secretly instigated by the government itself from a political standpoint, the provoking of the mob was on the basis of the blood accusation. 1

CHAPTER 18.

THE AFFAIR OF ROHLING-BLOCH.

Dr. August Rohling, professor in Prague, wrote a pamphlet, the "Talmudjude," sixth edition, 1877, in the German language, the previous editions of which were translated into many languages, in which he painted the Talmud itself and all past Talmudical laws in very black colours. The material in all Rohling's writings (which are named in the previously mentioned introduction of Strack, page 95) were taken from Eisenmenger, and from other men hired by him, as will be seen further on. Although the above pamphlet was received with great joy by the enemies of the Jews, who quoted him as a great authority, nevertheless, it would have been nothing more than a mere piece of literary work which could create no harm to the Jews had not something unusual occurred which put a different aspect to the affair.

Joseph Samuel Bloch who was at that time a Rabbi in a small town of "Florisdorf," and who was anxious to get a name for himself, considered all Rohling's work as a means of attaining his desire. He understood that if he should challenge Rohling to a debate and should accuse him of perjury and falsehood, and thus compel Rohling to sue him for libel and insult, this would give him a great name and the Jewish congregations of Austria, and especially of Vienna, would be compelled to defend Bloch with all their power, for the case would not be Bloch vs. Rohling, but the Talmud vs. Rohling.

Notwithstanding that at this time the Israelite congregation of Vienna was full of great men and scholars like the famous Dr. Jellinek, Chief Rabbi Güdemann, etc., etc., who deemed it better to pay no attention at all to Rohling's work, considering it as a mere literary piece of work, and the criticism of which they thought better to leave to Gentile Hebrew scholars such as Delitzsch, Strack, etc., who had already criticized Rohlings works. Bloch wrote an article in a weekly paper attacking Rohling most furiously and reviling him terribly with every possible epithet, including the charge of perjury.

Bloch's desire was then realised, for Rohling not being able to remain silent, secured the services of the very great lawyer, Robert Pattai, M.P., and brought suit against Bloch for libel.

The Israelite congregation of Vienna, although they were very much incensed at Bloch for his deed, nevertheless felt themselves compelled to secure a lawyer of equal ability to Pattai for the defense of Bloch, the result of which will be seen further on.

Circumstances helped Rohling to find an apostate Jew named Ahron Briman, pseudonym Dr. Justus, who wrote a book for him named, "Judenspiegel," composed of 100 passages alleged to be found in the Jewish code, "Schulchan Aruch," according to the ordinances of the Talmud against Christianity, and asserted that the whole Talmud consists of such passages.

This book naturally created a tremendously unfavourable impression upon the whole Christian world, and several papers that were anti-Semitically inclined announced the contents of the book. One of these papers was "Die Merkur," in the City of Munster, which quoted many passages of the book and at the same time inserting a glaring editorial against the Jews. The District Attorney finding this article to be an incitation against a race, brought suit against the editor of the paper. This trial occurred December, 1883, and in order that the reader may have some idea of the proceedings, we translate in our Appendix some pages of our German work, "Der Schulchan Aruch und seine Beziehungen zu den Juden und Nicht juden." (See Appendix, No. 20.)

To illustrate who the person Ahron Briman the assistant of Rohling was, we have only to translate a few lines written by us about him in our "Hakol," No. 191, page 117, March 19, 1885: "Anti-Semitism was stricken very hard this year. All their leaders are taken one by one to the prison, and they will have to give an account for their deeds to the judges. With the imprisonment of Briman, Rohling's sources were revealed and annulled, as his right hand, Briman, or Dr. Brimanus, or Justus, all of which names are identical, is now behind the bars, and the newspapers are now recounting his sins one by one.

We, however, say that he and all his literature are not worthy of such an honour. There is no doctor, nor learned man, no distinguished being, no Satan, but a simple, ordinary swindler, who endeavors by everything that comes to his hand to deceive the people. He (according to his biography which is published in the dailies of this week) has made a study of the Talmud and the Schulchan Aruch only that they might serve as his business schemes. He was a student in the college of Hildesheimer, where it was easy to imbibe sanctification and really become sanctified in the city of Hague. To be still more purified he washed himself in the holy waters of Protestantism. Seeing, however, that this act would not bring him much fruit, for to be a "Pfarrer" (minister) one must labour diligently, and this he would not do, he set all this deed aside at one stroke and swerved over to the Catholic faith.

And then he followed his nature to catch in his net some young girls, who had confidence in him, and going further in this way the attention of the police was called to this, who put a stop to him.

For whom then such a fuss? We are neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet, but nevertheless we recognised his character from his so-called literature even as far back as 1883. As the following are our words in our pamphlet "Kritischer Überblick über den Judenspiegelprozess in Münster," December, 1884, page 8, footnote 11, (when we were not aware who the author was): "If such would be written by a Jew he would be named criminal, deceiver, misanthrope, etc." True, that when we wrote this, we did not know that he was a Jew, and now we see that he was. For this, however, we have only to be grateful to him because he left the Jewish fight before he wrote his hateful "Judenspiegel," and also before he gave his miserable material to Rohling. This, because the anti-Semites can. no longer blame the Jews on account of this person as they brought him over to become their ally.

But what became of the suit of Rohling against Bloch? We have to give the full credit to Dr. Kopp who forced Rohling to withdraw his complaint seeing that according to the testimony of his co-religionist scholars he could not win his case. And this may be seen from the book which Kopp has published in Leipzig, 1886, second edition. (See criticism of it in Strack, page 95.) We, however, deem it necessary to give the details of this book, in order to defend the Talmud, as this will throw light upon all past and present accusations against the Talmud. As we have done this in our Hebrew monthly "Morgenblitze," Vienna, 1886, we have only to translate here a part of our review to the book of Kopp named "Zur Judenfrage nach den Akten des Prozesses Rohling-Bloch von Dr. Joseph Kopp Hofgerichtsadovkat Zu Wien," Leipzig, 1886:

"Many books are lying before us for review or for announcement. However, the book named above is unique in every respect. It cannot be criticised either way, and the same is true of the author of this book as he himself does not give his own opinion concerning the subject matter of the book. Nevertheless, we may fully say that it is a scientific book in every respect.

"The author of this book is a Gentile, a prominent member of the bar in Vienna, and, according to his own testimony, he knows neither the Hebrew language nor the talmudic and post-talmudic literature at all. Notwithstanding this, the book, as a whole, sanctifies the Talmud and all post-talmudical literature.

It can not be taken as a defender of the Talmud because of arguments, as the whole book contains merely facts which can never be denied and which prove clearly that the Talmud and its banner-bearers are clear of every accusation and of every suspicion concerning the love of man, be he who he may, even according to the present laws and established etiquette."

The above facts were not given by the author himself, but by two well-known Gentile Hebrew scholars, upon whom the Supreme Court of Vienna threw the burden of translating four hundred passages and quotations. These the Jew-haters have used as a sample of the wretchedness of the Jewish literature. The chief aim of the Jew-haters was to belittle the Talmud, which is the pillar of the Jewish race.

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The author of this work, whom the Israelite congregation of Vienna choose to defend Bloch in the case of Rohling-Bloch, has done his work well. He gathered all the quotations quoted by Rohling in his writings from both the Talmud itself as well as from post-talmudical literature, those which were written in the Hebrew language and also in other languages, by converted Jews who reached then the dignity of Catholic priests. All these quotations he divided into two groups, (a) the quotations in Hebrew he brought before the Supreme Court, who appointed Gentile Hebrew scholars to translate them correctly under oath, into the German

language; (b) the quotations in the living languages he examined himself. However, when he found a quotation in another language besides German he submitted it to the sworn interpreter of the Supreme Court for translation. Then, when both the translations of the quotations by the Jew-haters and the translations of the same by those who were appointed by the Court appeared before the court, it was revealed that the alleged quotations of Rohling were not quotations of the Talmud at all, but merely falsehoods. And thus was it proved that every line written by Rohling in his "Talmudjude," "Antichrist and Das Ende der Welt," "The Catechism des 19 Jahrhundert fur Juden und Protestanten" (in which he praises the Spanish Inquisition, declaring it holy to the Lord and to the Catholic Church), "Das Salomonische Spruchbuch," "Meine Antworten an die Rabbiner," "Die Polemik und die Menschenopfer des Rabbinismus," and also in his letter to Ghetza Anhadi of June 19, 1883, were all fabrications which never existed since the creation of the world.

"If such a falsehood would not be revealed by the learned Christians under oath it would be impossible to believe that a man whose dignity came from a professorship of a university should act so. The contents of this book are as follows: All quotations which were translated by the experts as well as those which Rohling himself falsely quoted, Dr. Kopp arranged them thus, preface, instruction, the story proceeding the trial, the proceedings of the trial, the conclusion derived from the true testimony which was obtained from non-Jews; i.e., the Bishop of Leon Agobardus, Paul Medriki, Rabbi Maldava, Rabbi Mendel, August Fabius, Gerhard Tickson, Franz Delitzsch and August Wunsche.

"After sub-dividing the answers of the above scholars in two parts, (a) those which are mentioned in the Talmud, etc., in general, and (b) where it speaks of the subjects in particular, and this he again sub-divided into nine groups; i.e., (1) about injuring of Gentile property, (2) harming their lives, (3) partiality in cases where Christians come before Jewish judges, (4) the application of animals' and beasts' names to Christians by Jews, (5) about the oath of the Jews, (6) about Jewish witnesses, (7) the Jews against the Christians in the laws of slaughtering cattle, (8) about the flattering and deceiving practised by Jews: divided into two paragraphs, (a) the non-responsibility of the Jews (see Appendix No. 19), (b) about the infallibility of the Rabbis concerning the blood accusation, and (9) the conclusion of the author himself. All these comprise 196 royal octavo pages.

"It is self-evident that such a book is above criticism, for, as we said before, the book contains only facts, viz: (1) the translations under oath of the well-known Christian scholars, and (2) the falsehood of Rohling's quotations translated into German when compared with the text, and this is all the more evident when it is known that Rohling, after seeing all these facts, not only withdrew his complaint but pardoned even the most rigorous accusation of perjury which Bloch accused him of in the past, saying that he was always ready to swear falsely at any time if only it would cause harm to the Jews."

CHAPTER 19.

EXILARCHS; THE TALMUD AT THE STAKE AND ITS DEVELOPMENT AT THE PRESENT TIME.

Since the colleges were open in Palestine and Babylon, after the destruction of the Temple, there were two kinds of rulers: the Palestinian were called princes (Nassies), and the Babylonian were called Exilarchs (Rashee Hagula). The former are well known to the students, as every one of them is mentioned in the Talmud, and their biographical sketches are written in many books by modern historians, also in our historical and literary introduction to our new edition.

The Exilarchs, however, who are seldom mentioned in the Talmud, are almost forgotten by the historians. Notwithstanding that the duration of their reign is about 450 years, no arrangement of their names and times is to be found in their history.

It is true that some of their names are mentioned in Seder Ualam Zuta," "Machzor Witree" and "Yuchssin," but it is so confused that no order can be found out.

We have to be grateful to the learned Abraham Krochmal, who first took up this matter, and wrote an excellent long article of seventy-three pages in his "Scholein zum babylonischen Talmud."

His suggestions, however, though of a great genius, are scholastical and were criticised by many in periodicals and pamphlets. Finally Felix Lazarus, in the "Jahrbücher" of N. Brill, issued a separate pamphlet about this subject, the result of which the reader will find in a list further on.

And as many of the Exilarchs were the heads of the colleges in Sura, Pumbeditha and Nehardea and took a great part in the development of the Talmud, they must not be omitted from the History of the Talmud.

LIST OF EXILARCHS.
Nahum Johanan Shepot, 140-170
Huna I, 170-210
Uqba I, 210-240
Huna II., his son, 240-260
Nathan I. b'Huna, 260-270
Nehemiah I, 270-313
Mar Uqba II, 313-337
Huna III., his brother, 337-350
Aba Mari, his son, 350-370
Nathan II, 370-400
Chanan, son of Aba Mari, 400-415
Huna IV, 415-442
Mar Zutra I., son of Chanan, 442-455
Chanan II, 455-460
Huna V., son of Zutra, 465-475
Huna VI., son of Chanan, 484-508
Mar Zutra II. (Achunai), 508-520
Huna Mar Chanan, 520-560
Kafnai, 560-580
Chanini, 580-590
Bostanai, -660

With the conclusion of the first volume of this work at the beginning of the twentieth century, we would invite the reader to take only a glance over the past of the Talmud, in which he will see that in almost every century and place of the different countries in Europe, the Talmud was condemned to the stake. By a glance over the present time, however, he will see that not only was the Talmud not destroyed, but was so saved that not even a single letter of it is missing; and now it is flourishing to such a degree as cannot be found in its past history, as will be seen further on.

The details of all the persecutions of the Talmud were given in the preceding chapters. Here we give a list of the places and dates in which it was at the stake, as well as the names of the persecutors.

THE TALMUD AT THE STAKE.
Time, Place, Persecutor.
1244, Paris, King Louis IX
1244, Rome, Innocent IV.
1248, Paris, Cardinal Legate Odo
1299, Paris, Philip the Fair
1309, Paris, Philip the Fair
1319, Toulouse, Lous

1322.--Burned in Rome by order of Pope John XXII., and accompanied by robbery and murder of the Jews by the mob.

1553.--Rome: Pope Julius III.--Similar burnings by the same order took place in Barcelona, Venice, Romagna, Urbino and Pesaro.

Here three wagons full of books were burned; but first they were carried through the streets of the city, while royal officers proclaimed publicly that their condemnation was due to the insults to Christianity which they contained. (See also note, vol. ii. p. 52.)

1554.--Burned by hundreds and thousands in Ancona, Ferrara, Mantua, Padua, Candia and Ravenna.

1558.--Rome: Cardinal Ghislieri.

1559.--Rome: Sextus Sinensis.

1557.--Poland: Talmud burned because of the charge made against the Jews that they used the blood of Christian children in their ceremonies. This occurred during the Frankist disturbances. Such was the past of the Talmud which we hope will never be repeated. Now a glance at the end of the last century and the beginning of this one.

The colleges for the study of the Talmud are increasing almost in every place where Israel dwells, especially in this country where millions are gathered for the funds of the two great colleges, the Hebrew Union College of Cincinnati and the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York, in which the chief study is the Talmud and its post-talmudical literature. The heads of these colleges are of the most learned scholars of their time, who are very careful in selecting the professors and instructors for these institutions of learning. We were honoured to be present at some lectures which the late great Talmudist, Professor Mielziner, delivered before the senior class in Cincinnati, from which we derived great pleasure and, we may also say that in some instances they were to a degree instructive to us in our task of translating the Talmud.

What concerns the theological seminary in our own city, in which we were not permitted (see App. No. 20) to hear the lectures on the Talmud, we are also in the full belief that it will do much for the study and development of the Talmud in this and in future generations. We use the statement of the Talmud, "One may be certain that a master will not leave out from his hand a thing imperfect," and as the dean of this faculty is not only a learned man but also an experienced teacher, there is great hope that he will do all in his power to select instructors and perfect lecturers for this institution.

There are also in our city houses of learning (Jeshibath) for the study of the Talmud in the lower East Side, where many young men are studying the Talmud every day.

We are also glad to notice that among Gentiles the study of the Talmud is more or less spreading, as we have the experience that a great number of Gentiles and almost all the theological seminaries and public libraries subscribed to the Talmud, and also many queries concerning it frequently came to us from Gentiles. This all shows that the study of the Talmud among Gentiles is not very rare.

The Jewish Encyclopædia (see App. 21) which is in progress now is also a great help to the study and development of the Talmud, as all the treatises of the Talmud are and will be separately named, with many particulars which will cause many readers to study the Talmud itself.

APPENDIX A.

No. 1. In the history of the "Oral Law," Part I., by I. H. Weiss, the reader will find an account of the deeds of the Samaritans in detail, though only a few instances are dealt with.

No. 2. We may refer the reader to the book, "Maamar Haishuth," by Holdheim, Berlin, who explains the belief of the Sadducees, and their opposition to the Pharisees.

No. 3. We agree with those who say that the tearing of the skin at the performance of circumcision was discovered since the Israelites had begun to undo circumcision; at the time when the theatres were opened by Nero, and the Jews who had to go naked there to wrestle with the beasts, were ashamed to be distinguished by this peculiarity. For this purpose the tearing of the skin was devised. (See Tract Sabbath, p. 307, in the Mishna: "One who was circumcised without having had the skin torn open is considered uncircumcised.") To this there is neither any source in the Scriptures nor any tradition mentioned in the Gemara. Some scholars don't agree with us. (See the letter of A. Bernstein in Tract Roshhoshonah, in the first edition). We, however, base our opinion on the fact that we doubt whether Antiochus Epiphanes would have prohibited a circumcision, customary then among the neighbouring nations; and therefore it seems to us that he prohibited only the tearing of the skin which had been ordained by the Pharisees.

No. 4. See our brief introduction in Tract Sabbath. Our opinion is that some written Mishnayoth had been in existence long before. Also Jellinek's Kuntres Haklalim, Note 4, for the opinion of the French and Spanish scholars about it. Also I. H. Weiss and our "Hakol," Vol. VI., p. 11.

The London Athenæum, VI., 808, has cited our statement in the general brief introduction, p. 15: "Most of the Mishnayoth date from a very early period, and originated with the students of the Jewish Academies which existed since the days of Jehoshaphat, King of Judah [2 Chron. xxii., 9]: 'And they thought in Judah, and with them was the book of the law of the Lord, and they moved about through all the cities of Judah and taught the people,'" as ridiculous. This, however, does not terrify us, as notes of commentaries on the text of the Scriptures, the whole or in part, have been found in the hands of students from the time colleges had, been founded; and this opinion of ours has met with approval from many contemporary scholars.

No. 5. See our "Hakol," Vol. VI., in which we state that the Gentiles who desired to embrace Judaism, asking Hillel to convert them, were men of rank, for a common man would not dare to make such a stipulation as to be a high priest in Israel.

No. 6. The belief in the divinity of Jesus became acute at a much, later period, when the heathens accepted this fight according to all modem scholars. 1

No. 7. (See App. No. 4.) We shall also come to this matter in our later notes.

No. 8. In our translation we have added the Tract Ebel Rabbathi, or Sema'Hoth, as the law of mourning was taken from this, tract. We have, therefore, added it to the tract "Minor Festivals," which also treats of mourning on the festival days. What concerns the beginning of "Section of Seeds" with the tract "Benedictions,", see I. H. Weiss for another reason which does not seem probable, to us.

The names of all the treatises of the tracts of each section, and, of their chapters in detail, the reader will find in books written, for this purpose by Strack, Mielziner, and also in the encyclopædias, especially in the Jewish Encyclopædia. 2 We deem it not necessary to name them here as we give at the end of Vol II. the synopsis of each tract, translated and published up to date. No. 9. Details will be given in the second volume of this book in the introduction to our new edition.

No. 10. In our book mentioned, we also show additions made by the opponents of the Talmud for the purpose of degrading it. For examples, see Vol. II., Part III. 1

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No. 11. We shall come to this matter in the second volume of this book, in the chapter devoted to the Ethics of the Talmud.

No. 12. Almost all ritual poets composed after the Talmudic Hagada. Sometimes comments will be found, by a critical eye, there on the Hagada or even Halakha, as the ritual poems relating to Passover, contain almost all the laws of Passover.

No. 13. His decree was only for the German, French and Polish Jews, and extended only until the end of the five thousandth years after creation. However, the above-named Jews accepted his decree as extending indefinitely. In Syria and in Palestine, however, where his decree was not accepted, some of the Portuguese Jews, known there as Franks, marry two wives even at the present time in such cases when the first wife is barren.

No. 14. See "Measseph Nidachim," Vol. X., by A. E. Harkavy, where he proves that in Spain had existed houses of learning from ancient times and that the Gaonim of Babylonia had relations with them; and in many places they tried to follow their customs. (See there).

No. 15. As to what were these places, and who the disputants, whether only Messianists or also Persians and idolaters, the opinions of modern scholars differ. To us it seems that the Messianists possessed only the house of Abidan, and the Persians and Magians that of Nitzraphi. Rabh refused absolutely to dispute with the first, but was forced to do so with the latter, perhaps by his proximity to the government. Of the house of Abiani scholars say it was composed of Messianists.

No. 16. As his interpretation of the text, "it shall be a sign unto thee upon thy hand, and for a memorial between thy eyes," that it is a figure of speech, it shall be memored as if written on thy hand, as, "set me as a seal upon thy breast," [Song of Solomon, vii. 6]: "between thy eyes," as an ornament which it is customary to put on the brow, and there is no mention of the use of Phylacteriens in his whole commentary, though the Talmud based the custom of Phylacteriens only on these texts. We have spoken already of this in our work on Phylacteriens.

No. 17. In the excellent work, "Kritische Geschichte der Talmud Übersetzungen," by Dr. Erich Bischof, we read, p. 67: Trotzdem heute der frühr überschätzte Eisenmenger allzusehr unterschätzt wird, weil er noch nicht den historisch--Kritischen Blick unserer Tage besass lässt sich doch gegen seine--Übersetzunger der genanten 1 Stellen nichts Erhebliches mit Fug einwenden sie sind vielmehr fast stets richtig, etc.

We may say that though we respect very much the above-mentioned work as one whose opinions in general are correct, we would like to call the attention of the learned author to the following facts:

(a) Notwithstanding the fact that in a period of eight centuries over a thousand persons of varying opinions were engaged in the compiling of the Talmud, in the edition lying before us there is not to be found any designation as to time, and in many places, even the author of that saying is not mentioned, Eisenmenger gives the sentence, calling it literal translation, as if it were said by one person at a given time. It is self-evident, however, that such literal translation changes the meaning entirely.

(b) An opinion of an individual concerning Gentiles, he quotes it in the name of the Talmud, in spite that this saying is immediately opposed by the Gemara.

(c) He erred even in the literal translation, e.g., "Margela be Pume de Abye," this paragraph is translated by us in third part of Vol. II. of this book. He translates, "A pearl was in the mouth of A."; while the literal translation of the word Margela is, "It was used," i.e., Abye "used" to repeat this saying very often. At another place he asks why should the "Talmud" be called great, while the word "Talmud" in that sentence means "teaching," i.e., the teaching is greater than action; for teaching causes action. And we wonder how Dr. Bischoff can say of such, "it is rather correct."

No. 18. Concerning the pamphlets and books against the Talmud, written by apostate Jews, see Strack, page 95.

No. 19. Rohling declares that the Rabbis had concluded that all the sins of a Jew, be it against heaven or against man, are forgiven him if he only remains a Jew. He also declares that every Rabbi considers himself infallible concerning the laws of non-Jewish blood.

The conclusion o our review of this book seems to us of interest to the reader, and therefore we translate it here: "The Lord hath made all things for himself: yea, even the wicked for the day of evil" [Proverbs, xvi. 4]. If we will look with an open eye into the history of Israel, we shall find that at all times, when characterless men arose to accuse and oppress Jews because of jealousy or animosity (except in cases where a man fights for his livelihood, which is natural), their opponents who fought them openly were equal to them in every respect. As the poet says, "Also unto thee, O Lord belongeth mercy for thou renderest to every man according to his deeds" [Ps. lxiv. 131. If these words should be explained according to their literal meaning the question would arise why mercy if to every one is rendered according to his deeds. Therefore it is to be explained thus: "mercy belongeth to thee that thou repayest the wicked man for his evil deeds by one who is equal in deeds to him."

Similarly did it happen in the time of the judges when Sisera oppressed the Jews terribly, providence transferred him to a prostitute, Jael, who rebelled against her husband and also against her lover (Sisera), who thought to be saved, being between her knees, and was slain by her [Judges, v. 27].

Haman, the Agagi whom Harbonah had assisted in creating the gallows to hang Mordecai, was transferred to Harbonah's hands and was hanged by him who was equally devoid of character. Hadrian who decreed that the Jews should not circumcise their children under the penalty of capital punishment, and Simon b. 'Yohaie who was going to Rome to petition the Caesar to abolish this decree, the miracle occurred through Ben Tmalion (a devil). Notwithstanding that Simon wept saying, "To the servant of my grandfather (Hagar), when she was in need, an angel appeared three times [Genesis, xvi. 7-12], and to me who am troubled with the needs of all Israel, an angel did not appear, even one time, but only a devil" [Me-ila, 17, b], it did not help him, for who of the angels would lower himself to appear before such a low person who desires to oppress humanity without any reason but merely on account of their religion.

In reality it is revealed before Him, who said a Word and the World was created, that a man of delicate nature would dislike to come in contact with men of doubtful character, and would not fight with a dirty man; as there is a rule that he who fights bodily with a dirty man must become dirty himself. Therefore the Lord has created the wicked and characterless men for the purposes of such an evil day that he should conquer his opponent, who is equal to him in every respect.

Our sages seem to be aware of this, as we find that when a dispute was needed on subjects concerning Israel, they selected a common man (see Sanhedrin, page 270), and similarly to this, we have seen last year when the measure of the renowned Stoecker's deeds were full, his comrade, Greenberg, who exchanged his needle for a scribe's pen, and when driven out from the Socialists in Berlin, became a comrade of Stoecker, and finally his secretary, and later sold him with all his writings for ten German thalers, so that it became known who the Preacher of the Royal Court was, and a case identical to that of Rohling-Bloch, that he (Rohling) fell into the hands of a equally characterless man, Bloch, 1 whom God had created for this dark day, as said above that from all the great Jewish men of Vienna, not one of them humiliated himself to enter into a fight with Rohling. However, if there is need for a miracle to occur, it matters little from whence it comes, and after all, we have to praise Bloch that he was the cause for the appearance of such a book, just as the prophetess Deborah praised the prostitute Jael [judges, v. .24]: "Blessed shall she be of the women of the tent."

No. 20. The following is a translation of a few pages of the beginning of our pamphlet, "Der Schulchan Aruch und seine Beziehungen zu den Juden und Nichtjuden." "On the 10th of December, 1883, a trial came before the 'Landesgerichte,' at Münster, which created a great commotion in all Germany" . . . viz., "one of the anti-Semites, named Dr. Justus, published a pamphlet in Paderborn under the name 'Judenspiegel' containing 100 law paragraphs of the 'Schulchan Aruch,' concerning the treatment of 'Akum,' abbreviation of three words, 'Obde Kochabim Umazoleth,' literally, 'worshipper of stars and planets.' However, the author, Justus, put the word 'Christians' instead of 'Akum' in every place in the text. The editor of 'The Merkin' in Münster quoted many passages of this pamphlet with a glaring editorial, and the district-attorney, who considered such as an incitation against a race, made him responsible for this. The 'Landesgerichte' appointed two experts, one a Jew, Dr. Treu, a Hebrew teacher in the 'royal gymnasium,' and a Gentile, Dr. Ecker, an instructor in Semitic languages." 1

Dr. Ecker Privatdocent at the royal academy of this place declares, that having devoted the last ten years exclusively to the study of Semitica, he is in a position to express an opinion. He then goes on to say:

"In the first place, I feel it my duty to point out that I can in no way agree with the conclusions arrived at by my esteemed colleague, Treu, and that concerning the essential point I entertain a conviction the very opposite of his. Three questions are here concerned which I am to answer:

(1) Is the 'Schulchan Aruch' vested with legal sanction?

(2) Does the word 'Akum' mean also Christians?

(3) Are the quotations of Dr. Justus in agreement with the original text."

As his answer to the first question treats about the "Schulchan Aruch" only, and also whether the Jews at that time are to be named Schulchan Aruch Jews or Talmud Jews, we omit it as it does not belong to the purpose of our history. We begin therefore with the second point.

"As to the second point, whether the word Akum comprises also Christians, I do not see how this can be denied. It is my firm conviction that Akum is nothing less nor more than non-Jews. And I believe that the Christians too belong to this class. Thus a law book that has appeared in the middle of the sixteenth century in Krakau should contain laws regulating the behavior of Jews (1) towards Jews, (2) toward planet-worshippers who live hundreds of miles away? This is indeed ridiculous. Gentlemen, allow me to draw a comparison. Suppose, here in Munster, a Jew would conceive a notion to sit down and write a new law book in which there are but two classes of laws, how the Jews should behave toward Jews and toward--well, for my part let him call them what be may, it means after all non-Jews; suppose further that the prescribed behavior toward non-Jews is very rude and inhuman, and the author is held responsible for so treating the Christians, the learned Jew says: Ye Christians of Munster are not at all included in the class of non-Jews, which class has reference to the--Hottentots!

"Now, gentlemen, it is just as ridiculous to assert that in the sixteenth century there have appeared laws in Krakau regulating the behavior of Jews toward planet worshippers, and the Christians are nowhere mentioned. And, gentlemen, since this point has received no emphasis on the part of my esteemed colleague, it is important to call attention to it! If Akum does not comprise Christians, then laws against Christians are wholly missing. In the 'Shulchan Aruch' there are mentioned only Jews and Akum; we Christians are surely not Jews, hence we are beyond all doubt confused in the term Akum.

"I repeat once more, Akum is congruent with non-Jews. The Rabbis them. selves prove this. I have in my possession a recent Wilna edition of the 'Shulchan Aruch,' in which not infrequently the word Akum of the older editions is substituted by Eno Ichudi, i.e. non-Jew. The fear for the censor prompted many to an alteration, but in this case it has rather been an unhappy one, since the publishers themselves say that Akum is synonymous with non-Jew."

We are in a position to meet also this issue of the Herr Expert. The term non-Jews is by no means generic for the term Christian. In order to fully perceive the truth of this statement, it remains for the learned doctor to merely cross the channel over to England. This great world dominating nation consists in its overwhelming majority of pious and strict Christians. They sacrifice millions for the propagation of the Christian creed, and the evangelic writings all over the world. However, they call themselves with self-gratification, "The genuine Jews, sons of The New Union." They pretend to be the descendants of the enigmatically vanished ten tribes of Israel, and to still be Jews, body and soul. Very often you find on their worship places and educational institutions inscriptions in both English and Hebrew. Here you read in strikingly large letters: "Chapel of the Jews-Christians," "Jewish-Nazaric School." In the cosmopolis London the most influential princes and the highest state officers call themselves with self-consciousness, "Jew-Christians." What then is the decisive trait that makes the Christian a non-Jew? Furthermore, the theologically educated Expert can hardly be believed to be ignorant of the fact that the first adherents of Christianity in its statu nascendi had preserved the name Jews for a long period, had remained piously obedient to the customs, precepts and tenets of the Jews, and had in their outward apparel distinguished themselves in nothing from their former brethren in creed. Notwithstanding their sincere devotion to the new movement, they still called themselves, "devout sons of Israel"; only few were they who assumed an outspoken antagonistic position with regard to the customary Rabbinic or Pharisaic ordinances, and were on this account stigmatized by the Talmud as "Min," "Apikores." Now, has non-Jews always been identical with Christian? Aside from this the first edition of the "Schulchan Aruch" was printed in Adrianople (Turkey), where the most inhabitants were Mussulmans.

Such falsifications of the text in more recent editions have perplexed me to some extent, when I investigated the laws of Justus. The fourth law reads: 'When a Jew is met by an Akum (Christian) with a cross in his hand, the Jew is strictly prohibited from bowing his head.' However, in my Wilna edition I find instead of Akum the word adam, i.e. man. I then compared a new Stettin edition, and there I even find: 'When an obed kochabim (star worshipper) with abodath kochabim (idol) in hand meet,' whence nothing could, of course, be proved. Only in an older edition I have found the original: 'When an Akum meets you with a sheti vaereb (i.e. woof and warp = cross).' And, gentlemen, this proof is incontrovertible. It is known to everybody that no heathen reveres the cross. Akum here must mean a Christian."

One moment, profound Herr Dr. Ecker, the case appears after all to be very far from being so manifest and ultimately settled. During their existence, extending over thousands of years, the Jews had experienced among the various nations many a thing of which many a sage can not even dream and which seems unknown also to Dr. Ecker, the theologian, who bears even the title Doctor. As there is in general nothing new under the sun, the consecration of the cross in Christianity was not a wholly new creation. In the Brahman religion the cross had enjoyed great esteem some six centuries B.C. The Hindu symbolized therein the space relations of the universe.

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According to accounts relating to those times, the Fakirs would stand motionless, their hands stretched crosswise, for days or, as some would have it, even for weeks until the nails on their fingers would grow to be inches long. By thus blunting their bodily sensibility they endeavored to give palpable expression to the negation of man's earthly existence. The commentary to Eben Ezra, mekor chaim, gives in the book Margalioth an account of this custom. Accordingly, it is by no means so incredible nor could have been so infrequent that a Jew should have met a heathen with a cross. The assumption is therefore plausible that the Talmud had in view such heathens. However, we admit that this is merely an hypothesis, and that Shulchan Aruch was no more familiar with Indian mythology than Dr. Ecker appears to be. We aim solely at showing that it is possible for one impelled by judophobic purposes to carry on the study of Semitica for ten years, and yet exhibit drastic ignorance here and there--all diluted eloquence and vain presumptions notwithstanding--and that it is altogether ill-becoming to venture upon expressing a competent opinion on Jewish laws that have arisen in ancient times. It is of this that we wanted to remind Herr Dr. Ecker and his anti-Semitic commilitants.

"In conclusion one more proof that will of necessity convince everybody. We all know that the Jews do not eat meat unless it has been slaughtered by a Jew. Meat slaughtered by Christians is not 'kosher,' and yet the 'Shulchan Aruch' says that meat slaughtered by an Akum is not kosher; hence Akum means also the Christian."

Patience, Herr Dr. Ecker. Also this your far-fetched remark deserves an answer, and such that will remove the scales off your eyes. How indeed is it possible that a theologian who has been exploring Jewish literature for ten years should exhibit such salient gaps? The most ignorant Jew could beat you in this point. Who does not know that only a trained slaughterer examined and supplied with a diploma is allowed to slaughter? Any other Jew, and he that the most enlightened and distinguished among the Rabbis themselves, is not entitled to slaughter, and were he to do it the meat of this animal would be unallowable and regarded as though the animal had been torn to pieces by a beast of prey, and is therefore "Terefa," (torn.) And upon this case Dr. Ecker bases his deduction that Akum is absolutely a Christian, for the cattle slaughtered by an Akum is not kosher? How ridiculous! Is it kosher if slaughtered by a Jew not in possession of the right to slaughter?

"Now comes the important third question: Are the laws of Dr. Justus really contained in the 'Shulchan Aruch'? Herr Colleague Treu has made the utterance that many a point of these laws is not contained in the 'Shulchan Aruch.' Particular stress was apparently laid on this remark. The case is not set down with precision I compared all the laws with the original text and reached the following result should simply sign my name under all these 100 laws from A to Z, you require of me. In their main substance they are correctly contained in the 'Shulchan Aruch,' but the foundations of some single laws are borrowed by the author somewhere else; on the whole, however, well grounded. I admit, and this is natural enough, that the laws are poignantly formulated, and in some cases in a manner which I should not approve of. We read, e.g., in law 79: 'The Jew is allowed to eat unclean in case of a dangerous sickness . . . however, he is not allowed even in this case to use for his cure something that belongs (in the opinion of the Jews) to the most-unclean, viz., to a Christian Church.' As already observed, no mention is made of Christians, and also here in the text it reads 'idol worship.' Of course Christian Church too belongs here. Thus, the case is not untrue, yet in its formulation the law sounds sharper and Dr. Justus should have left the text also unaltered and added Christian Church' in parentheses."

Truly, we are at a loss to find the proper expression that might appropriately characterize this expert deposition of a theologically educated priest. Let us in the first place inquire somewhat more closely into the law in question, which in its formulation is in neither the Talmud nor the Shulchan Aruch. In the former we read: "If a man is seized with bulimy he may be fed with unclean food, till his eyes become clear" (Yoma, 125) . Here no mention is made of either Akum or idol worship. In the Shulchan Aruch the same law is worded as follows: It is allowed to give the dangerously sick prohibited food to eat (Orach Chaim, 6 18, 9). Here again the word unclean has been eliminated. Still another passage treating of the same subject reads: "For curing purposes all is allowed to be used but the wood of an Ashera, Astrate, that what was in Phœnician an unchaste phallus-idol." We read further in the same place: "With all things it is permitted to cure one's self except by means of idolatry, adultery and shedding of blood." (Pesachim, 36.) The word Tumah = unclean is not met here at all. In the Shulchan Aruch this law is restated as follows: "It is not allowed to seek convalescence in the name of idols" (Yoreh dea, 155.) Neither is here the word Tumah to be found. It thus remains an enigma where Dr. Justus may have borrowed the expression "the most unclean," which is to Dr. Ecker of course synonymous with the Christian Church, since the word is not at all used in the original text in connection with this law! But we must do justice to Dr. Ecker; he possesses a highly cunning method of polemizing; he displays admirable dexterity in securing for his comrade Dr. Justus an open back-door. Yes, indeed, Dr. Ecker is master of his art, he leaves far behind that so-called "Jewish method of polemizing," which has been according to the "Germania" revealed in this action. Herr Dr. Ecker makes notably the statement that Dr. Justus has taken his law from the Shulchan Aruch, their interpretations, however, he has borrowed from somewhere else. This open admission manifests the intention of false conception. Dr. Justus has namely borrowed that marked, or to use the language of Dr. Ecker, "poignant" expression from a place that has absolutely nothing in common with the law in question. Aboda Zara, i.e. idol worship, is termed in the Talmud the father of uncleanness: Abh hatumah, which defiles by touch (Sabbath, Aboda Zara.) Now Dr. Justus resorts to the following stratagem; he renders Abh hathmah with "the most unclean," substitutes Aboda Zara, idol worship, by "Christian Church," then he fabricates a law under the label of the Shulchan Aruch which has never had any thing of the kind, and in the name of this firm sends it out into the wide world. Dr. Ecker, it is true, finds that such method of procedure is "poignant," but on the whole correct and to the point. What may criticism say on such an escapade? If a Jew had the mishap of venturing upon such a shaky ground, the whole stock of degrading names, such as rogue, rascal, impostor, misanthrope, etc., would not suffice to stigmatize so shameless a forger. Indeed it requires very little originality and still less sagacity or witchcraft to pick out phrases from places that stand in no relation to one another, and compile them with a view of criminating whomever it may be. Dr. Justus has done such a work, and a Catholic priest, a custodian of the church who should adhere to truth, right and peace, has the impudence to assert that this work is in substance correct, though poignant because "Christian Church" should have been enclosed in parentheses; as if then the falsehood would turn to truth! Can a theologian bear such false testimony, a priest who declares himself to be well versed in the Hebrew and hence competent to pass judgement on Rabbinical literature?

Let us now examine somewhat more closely the Hebrew concept, "Tumah," In default of a corresponding similarly expressive German word, one is of necessity prompted to render it with "unclean." In reality, however, the Biblical and Rabbinical "Tumah," is toto cælo different from the current notion unclean. The German "unclean" is synonymous with the dirt and filth, which is in no way the case with Tumah. According to the Mosaic law, a human corpse is the very origin, the progenitor of all Tumah, "Abhi aboth hatumah." In Dr. Ecker's German this could be styled "the most unclean." The tent, the room that shelters a corpse, with all the utensils therein, is permeated with the fluid of Tumah, uncleanness. Whoever lingers, sits or sleeps there, whoever touches the corpse, is infected with the Tumah and becomes in turn "Abh hatumah," the father of uncleanness, and he who touches the Abh hatumah is called "Rishon lettimah," the first of uncleanness; he is prohibited for seven days from entering the sanctuary or from approaching the altar. He imparts Tumah to him who may happen to touch him. It is here absolutely immaterial whether the corpse was, when alive, sheltering the divine spirit of Moses, of the crowned bard of the unparalleled psalm songster David, or of one of the lowliest in the Jewish nation. The assertion that the corpse of Moses, David, etc., is the most unclean would be a sure symptom of insanity. Are the two words Tumah and unclean congruent? The religious law of Tumah is laid down in the Torah without foundation at all, and belongs to those laws concerning which we venture to speculate, yet are unable to warrant their validity. Now, the Rabbis, eager to keep the Jews from following idolatry of those times, to prevent all contact therewith, were therefore teaching: "An idol defiles by touch; it is not allowed even for curing purposes." However, it was not the material part of the idol that was prohibited, such as the wood, the stone, the dust (for the use of all this was allowed in case of danger), but the prohibition is to be conceived of in the following sense. If one were to whisper in the ear of a dangerously sick person: "I will in your behalf invoke the help of this or that idol," as such was really the case with Ben Dama, the nephew of R. Ismael (Aboda Zara, 27), it is such a medicinal use of the idol that one is energetically warned against. Supposing now that the emblems of Christianity too are actually subsumed under the category of idols, which is by no means the case, supposing further that it is prohibited to seek recovery by their help, even then there would be no way of justifying a rationally thinking person in his attempting to refer such a prohibition to the Christian Church, or to go further yet, and assert that the latter is in the mind of the Jews unclean, or, according to Dr. Ecker, altogether the most unclean.

As an illustration of how the Rabbinical school used to term Tumah, we quote an eloquent account of the Mishnah [Iodaim, 4]: "The Sadducees were once deriding their antagonists, the Pharisees, as follows: 'How amazingly absurd is your procedure in establishing laws! the writings of Homer are not defiling while the sacred books of the Bible should be subject of defiling; is it not the height of absurdity?' Hereupon replied R. Johanan b. Zakai: You could adduce against us yet other analogous but more drastic facts; the bones of an ass are not defiling while those of the high-priest Johann Hyrcan do defile! How would you solve this paradox?" Whereupon the Sadducees answered: "This is obvious. The position one holds when alive is in direct ratio with the uncleanness after death; the more revered and beloved one was when alive, the more defiling is his corpse." Now you see, said R. Johanan b. Zakai, this speaks as well as for us, I could turn the very same weapons unto ye! the profane writings of Homer--that are not our favourite--are indifferent to us, they do not defile; the sacred books which we revere and love are subjects of defiling the hands that touch them!

Now, if according to Dr. Ecker's and Justus's literary artifice, the Christian Church too belongs "of course," to the most unclean, is it not possible in the rabbinical sense to construe on the contrary a consecration, a proof of superior esteem for the church? Ye gentlemen Doctors, where is your wisdom?

Artifices of this kind can be brought about only by a Dr. Justus, who, impregnated with malice and Jew-hatred, misuses ink and paper to openly and scornfully defy the truth. And a consecrated priest, an academic teacher, stamps his approval upon his tricky work and in a sacred place where justice is being administered, whither he, credited agreeably to his sect and position, was summoned to conscientiously elucidate the truth, where he might have been made to confirm under oath the veracity of his conviction! Verily, Dr. Ecker has badly sinned, not only against the Jewish people, but also against Christian Germany! Is then in our age the Hebrew literature a book sealed with seven seals? Are not there in Germany also Christian savants who could detect this arbitrary procedure, who could trace to its source such a groundless absurdity? Would that he may perceive the opinion of the Christian professors, Delitzsch, Cassel, etc., expressed with reference to his expert opinion, he would see then whether they regard his depositions as actually impartial, or as of a wholly different nature, he would learn whether they agree with him in that the Christian Church too belongs of course to the most unclean! This is, honourable priest of the church, your impartiality, such is it prima facie!

"I should like yet to touch here upon the point which was thought to be important when Herr Colleague Treu has pointed out that he has nowhere read in the 'Shulchan Aruch' that Christians are worse than dogs. To be sure, it is manifest that a law book is not the place to state that the Christians are worse than dogs; but it is perverse to infer from here that Dr. Justus has falsified the text. This sentence was namely brought forth as a foundation of law 31, where note 3 remarks, however, that it is borrowed from the renowned exegete Rashi."

We do not know the passage attributed to Rashi. However, places of this nature are not rare in the Talmud. Let us quote such a passage. The question was discussed, for whom it is allowed to prepare food on a holiday; in this connection it reads: "What causes you to exclude the Akum. from, and to introduce the dogs into, the law? The dogs depend on you in their food and rearing, therefore I treat of them in the law, but the Akum. I exclude, for no one is obliged to take care of him," (Betza, 21b). Rashi has surely commented on such a place in the Talmud, and Dr. Justus was dexterous enough to forge thereof a poisoned arrow and to direct it as best it suits his instincts. But is here even a particle of insinuating contempt and depreciation of an Akum or a Christian? In the foregoing quotation the question is discussed as to the preparing of food on such holidays that do not coincide with the Sabbath, which preparing is allowed only for such persons and animals that depend on others in their food. We refer yet the reader to our next observation.

"Another point was contended against by Herr Treu, in law 17, which treats of the case that the Jews pray when the plague rages in their midst, but not when the plague is among animals. Here it reads further: 'But they do (pray) when the plague is among swine, as their intestines resembles those of man, likewise when the plague is among Akum (Christians).' I agree with Herr Treu that in lieu of 'likewise' should be 'the more so,' and therewith the law loses its poignancy, but it looks suspicious all the same that in one and the same line the Akum are coupled together with swine."

The Herr Privatdocent of the royal academy displayed masterly skill to excite his audience, and to unbridle the passions of hatred. Verily, also we must make an extraordinary effort to control our agitated mind. The reasons, however, lie by no means in the affected depreciation of the human dignity in general, or of that of the Akum in particular, no matter who is meant thereby as ascertained by the Expert, but in the boundless ignorance of this theological doctor, which is truly astonishing, nay startling. And yet he asserts to have been studying Semitica for ten years! David, the King of Israel, was considered by the older Rabbis, the highest unattainable authority, the ideal of the Jewish people.

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As far as rank and merits are concerned, they put him above the Patriarchs Moses and Joshua, each of whom, they tell us, had his hands stained in one way or other, wherefore none of them was honoured with saying the benediction over the goblet. David, however, was found wholly stainless, the goblet was predestined for him, and only he was allowed to grasp it and praise therewith the Omnipotent! This legend is to be found in Talmud (Pesachim, 119). But the very same so highly revered David is somewhere else coupled together with dogs, and, in defiance of all shame and discretion, treated even worse than a dog--in the sense of Justus and Ecker. It is namely recorded: David died, and his son and successor to the throne, Solomon, had his messenger ask in the college as follows: "The remains of my royal father are exposed to the scorching sun rays, the dogs of my father's household are hungry and menace them, may I in view of all this touch on the day of Sabbath the remains, and have them sheltered?" Hereupon came the answer: "First of all satisfy the hunger of the dogs by having a carcass cut to them; thereafter put upon your father's corpse a loaf of bread or a child, then you may have it removed into the shade." Contemplating this, Solomon made in his later years the utterance: "Truly the living dog is better than the dead lion." Thus reads the legend in the Talmud (Sabbath, 32). And more yet; of their own people the sages say: "Three are insolent, Israel among the nations, the dog among the animals, the cock among the birds" (Betza, 25). Who would assert that in these passages David and Israel are depreciated? This elementary point should not have escaped the consciousness of a theologian trained in the Hebrew and Rabbinical literature, viz., that expressions of this kind were current among the law teachers of those days, without, however, any intention on their part to either elevate or degrade any one! Again, we read in the Talmud (Pesach, 112): "The rabbis taught, there are three who hate one another: the dogs, the cocks, and the sages." Others add yet the rival women, still others also the teachers at the Babylonian academies. Well, Dr. Ecker, what would you say to this point? Could the sages find no better company than the dogs, cocks and rivals? And again, are the Evangelists more moderate in their language? Does not Matthew also call the nations dogs and swine? (Mat., 6, 7). Where then is here room for indignation? The patriarch Jacob on his death-bed blesses his sons who surround him. Their characteristic merits and defects he designates by animal forms which they resemble. Jehudah he calls a young lion, Naftali a bitch, Issachar an ass, Dan a serpent, Benjamin, his youngest favourite, a rending wolf. Moses, too, calls in his farewell blessing the tribe of Joseph, "a first-born ox." Should these two reverend old men have had the malicious intention, at the most serious moment when they were preparing to part with life, to revile and insult? Here is a point for Herr Dr. Ecker to meditate on!

No. 21. As we are lacking in time we requested the dean of this faculty to send us a copy of the curriculum with an admission card, so that we might arrive at the exact hour appointed for some lectures on the Talmud and on theology which we saw announced in the programme; to which we received the following letter:

THE JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF AMERICA.

NEW YORK, January 5, 1903.

Dear Sir.--Your letter of the 21st ult. is just before me. I have not yet been able to send you a copy of the curriculum, which I shall be very glad to do when it is printed. Whilst a weekly curriculum has been adopted for the year, some of its provisions are still under advisement, and I have not deemed it wise to put it in print.

I have not at the moment any copy of the hours of the lectures either, nor do I really think it would be profitable for you to attend an occasional lecture, as you suggest. You realise, too, that the classes must necessarily consist of young men, that practically every hour involves a certain amount of recitation, and that the students will feel awkward, or necessarily ill at ease, in the presence of some one older than themselves.

Yours very truly,
S. SCHECHTER,

President of the Faculty.
Michael L. Rodkinson, Esq.,

No. 22. The Jewish Encyclopædia is undoubtedly a monumental work and most eminent scholars in both continents are taking part in it, and there a great many scientific articles which are instructive to the students and also many laymen are pleased by reading a great deal of articles in every branch. (True, that some articles though scientific would be better if omitted in the encyclopædia. We refer to Dr. P. Mendus' message to the Union Orthodox congregations which took place recently.) However, because it is a monumental work, we cannot restrain ourselves from remarking that the editors should be more careful in their revision of the articles. In Appendix No. 8, we show that the bibliographies are not complete and now we will remark that the editors are not careful in their biographies.

There is a short biographical sketch in Vol. I., p. 16, of Aaron Ha-Levi Ben Moses of Staroselye, who was our mother's father. In the American Hebrew, June 28, 1901, we have already remarked that his family name was Hurwitz, which he received from his ancestor, the famous Ishiah Halevi Hurivitz, known by the name Shelaw, the author of "Snee Luchoth Habrith," and this was omitted.

We have then overlooked that his main and wonderful work, "Sharee Haychud ve Haemuna" (Gates of the Unity (of God) and its Creed) is not mentioned. This great work has surprised not only the Cabbalists and Chasidim, but also the Maskilim like Sneier Zachs and Lazar Zwefel. The former mentioned it in his well-known "Hathchia" thus: "and the wonderful work by Aaron Hurivitz" and so also the latter in his "Solom Al Israel," who speaks of it enthusiastically and at length. Remarkable it is that in the bibliography of the sketch is mentioned Rodkinson's "Toldath Amude Hachabad" and in this book his family name as well as the above-mentioned work with more particulars are to be found. By this we see that the editor of this subject did not care to look up the bibliography at least to make it correct. He should at least have seen Fünns' "Kneset Israel," in which the name and the books are mentioned.

All this concerns the incorrect biography. Should we count the omissions of the names of very great men, even only of Aaron and Abraham of all classes, who ought to be mentioned in the encyclopædia, who played a great rôle in Israel, it would take too much space and time. A glance into our Biographie sämmtlicher Rabbiner der Gouvernments Vollhynien, Podolien, Ukraine, Gross- Klein-Polen und Galizien von Jahre 1695 bis 1876 (Konigsberg 1876), pp. 30-34, will convince the reader of this.

APPENDIX B.

CRITICISM TO CHAPTER VII (KARAITES). THE BELIEF OF SADDUCEES, KARAITES, AND OF THE REFORMED JEWS.

DR. MICHAEL L. RODKINSON.

Sir:--Having read your article about the "The Karaites" in The American Hebrew (23-24), though in general I have found therein likely and probable things, I cannot forbear from calling your attention to several points on which, in my opinion, it behooves not a man like you to take a partial view, while presenting to the readers a historic account. It is the duty of every fair writer of history to give an account of the facts without any personal bias, and where there is a difference of opinion, without sufficient evidence for demonstrating the truth of any, then it is the duty of the historian to state as much, and if he is able to decide between them, he should give his opinion also; if not, he shall leave the task of deciding to some of the readers who might be able, perhaps, to do so. But you have not done so.

You have written (p. 685) that when Anan saw, etc., and have ignored, or are unaware of, what the head of our poets, R. Jehudah Halevi, wrote in his "Cuzari," III., 65, that in the time of Jehudah b. Tabi and Simon b. Shetah Karaism commenced an account of what happened between the Sages and the King Janæus, etc., see carefully that passage, you will find there that R. Jehudah Halevi admits that the doctrine of the Karaites is an ancient one. And you ought to mention this fact.

So also I do not agree with you in what you say, that at present are found only 4--5,000 Karaites in the world. For, in my opinion, the Reformers in Europe and America must be regarded as Karaites, as they decided at their Congress at that they do not consider the Talmud as authoritative, and that only the Pentateuch is the basis of their doctrines. If it is so, then they are evidently also Karaites. And if in some ceremonies they differ from the contemporary Karaites, for this reason cannot separate them from them. You yourself enumerate sects among the distinguished from each other in their ceremonies, and yet they all avow the to be Karaites.

This is what I have wanted to remark, and if you are conscientious, you will modify this, not to mislead the future generations who will read your history, and thereby you will insure yourself against critics, who condemn a whole book when they find in it one thing which is not quite right.

Your obedient servant,
ISAAC LEVI SHALIT.

Answer.

With many thanks for your ingenious remarks, and for your love of truth and eagerness to save me from unfair critics, I state at your desire what I have to say in reply, and what I have omitted in the article itself, viz.:

First--let it be known that I am not writing the history of the Karaites, but that of the Talmud, and mention those who have contributed to its extension and diffusion, as well as those who persecuted it, from the time it had begun to develop till to-day. For this purpose it does not matter whether Karaites were an old or a new sect, from the time of Anan, as all admit that they persecuted the Talmud to the utmost. And I, who have been, obliged to give briefly the history of the Karaites for the reason that they persecuted the Talmud, used as authorities the latest historians who have treated this subject, as Pinsker, Graetz, Fürst, Geiger and Gottlober, who have all decided that it was an invention of Anan himself. But out of respect to truth, I am bound to tell you that I was not unaware of, nor did I conceal, what is written about the Karaite sect in the "Cuzari." For of this has the head of the reformed rabbis, the learned scholar Holdheim, written long ago, in his book "Maamar Haishuth," as much as it is worth, and philosophized about the assertions in the "Chasar," but he also found that be had been mistaken in this (or that he was compelled to write this, for reasons unknown to us at the present day; I myself say, he wrote thus because in his days the Chasars were reported to also be Karaites, and he who made his book in the form of a controversy between a Karaite and Rabbi did not want to charge it with being a new sect, but admitting one point, namely, that it is an old sect, he still urged that there is no foundation for it). And to make you, and those who entertain the same opinion, to cease to think that the reformers of the present time are "Karaites," and also that the readers may know what the Karaites plead; that the Karaite sect has been from the time of Moses, who was himself a Karaite, and the Rabbinical innovation dates from Jeroboam b. Nebat, we have only to quote from the above-mentioned book of Holdheim, p. 117, etc., and also what he wrote to refute their assertions, p. 122, and also what we will find to remark on his words. It is known that according to the opinion of the Karaites themselves in their books, their belief and their tradition is identical with the Pentateuch. Together with the body of the Pentateuch, the Lord communicated to Moses an oral comment, and he communicated to his contemporaries, who transmitted it to the succeeding generations till the death of Solomon. When the people was split into two parties, one adhered to Rehoboam, and the other followed Jeroboam, who sinned and led his party into sin. The Karaites named their traditions the inherited yoke and burden, and according to them there was during all that time only one Torah for the whole people, as one God, and the text and its interpretation were inseparable and sprung from the same source, the father of the Karaites being Moses himself, the trusted pastor who carried all his people on his shoulders. As Jeroboam was one of those who had received the tradition transmitted from age to age as above-mentioned, and one of the men of the Great Sanhedrin, fearing that the royal power should be recovered by David's dynasty, he invented strange and spurious interpretations of the Torah to replace the good ones and true ones which the Sanhedrin had by tradition. He presented it to the people, whom he misled, and brought to evil. The nation believed him, followed in his footsteps, exchanged most commandments of the Torah for others, subtracted, added, at their pleasure. Since then Israel was divided into two sects, and the Torah became two rival and hostile Torahs. Judea kept the law according to the ancient custom received from Moses without any change, addition or subtraction, Karaism. being the modern continuation thereof. Israel, on the other hand, observed the laws according to the new manner, with alterations, additions and subtractions invented by Jeroboam, and Rabbinism is its continuation; later false prophets rose in Israel, and, claiming divine inspiration, misguided them, and even some of Judea, etc. But Judea, nevertheless, continued to be the seat of the Mosaic tradition, as the majority adhering most to the truth. However, as the Temple was demolished, most prophets, priests, Levites and Sanhedrin were slain, while those left alive were mostly of the sinners. Therefore at the restoration of the second Temple, even while there still were prophets, who are called the "good figs," there were two sects and two separate Torahs. After the cessation of prophetic inspiration this split grew and widened. The party holding by the truth said the Torah was only that one written by Moses and given to Israel; the party believing in the falsehood said there were two Torahs, written and oral, invented by Jeroboam and the false prophets, and which they also referred to Moses, who received it (according to them) from the Lord. Thus it continued till the time of Matthew, the Hasmonean (Maccabee), when Antiochus the Wicked, wishing to suppress altogether the Jewish lore, in which time of calamities all great sages of the Sanhedrin who had the true tradition of the comment and the Torah were all murdered, and the tradition till then transmitted, was now severed, and the greater part of the comment and the Torah was lost and forgotten, only an infinitesimal fraction being left. This fact took place in the year 3560 after creation.

As Matthew triumphed, and peace was restored in the land, the men of intellect sat down to learn the Torah and understand it with the aid of their reason. But owing to its great depth, they could not comprehend it, and many diverse opinions existed. Thus the differences between sects, Karaite as well as Rabbinical, arose, and persist to these days.

The quarrel between the two sects grew in violence till the time of the king and high-priest Janeus was reached, and something happened between the sages and him, as is well known, so that be massacred all the sages in his anger, and none remained except one great man of each sect, Jehudah b. Tabai, who held the truth, and Simeon b. Shetah, drawn after

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the false doctrine of Jeroboam b. Nebat and the false prophets. The king, wishing to kill both, Jehudah b. Tabai hid in Jerusalem, and Simeon b. Shetah was the queen's brother, who facilitated his escape to Egypt, where he stayed three years; being there, he learned from the Israelite sages found there since the destruction of the first Temple, and the days of Jeremiah, all the strange comments invented by Jeroboam and the false prophets. Simeon b. Shetah added thereto some of his own, and built there a great temple and sacrificed there, though it was not the chosen place; and after his return to Jerusalem he wanted to be a great lord in Israel, and taught, therefore, the people what he had acquired in Egypt, as the oral law communicated to Moses, and transmitted by him; and, because he was the king's brother-in-law and had much influence at the court, his false doctrines became popular among Israel, who received the false Torah instead of the true one.

After that Israel was divided into two parties, and the quarrel commenced also in the Sanhedrin, the heads of the nation, and heirs and teachers of the Torah. One sect went after R. Jehudah b. Tabai and was called Sadducees (Zadikim) (Upright), from the phrase "hearken unto me, ye that pursue righteousness" (Zadik) Is. li., i.], and their justice is everlasting justice, and their Torah is truth; Karaism is a continuation thereof. The second sect followed Simeon b. Shetah, and were called Pharisees (Parushim), separatists, for separating themselves from the old faith of Israel. This state of things continued from 3650 after creation, from the time of Jehudah b. Tabai, till the ruin of the second Temple, year 3828. At that epoch, the majority of the Sadducees were slain, but the Pharisees mostly survived, for which there were two causes: first, because those of the Sadducaic party were the political and warlike men, while the Pharisees were humble and were students; secondly, because the Sadducees were stricter in observing the duties, and their conduct was of much holiness and purity, and had seen that if they were to be exiled, being an unclean earth, and without water for removing the uncleanness, they could not keep the law as it ought to be; therefore they were martyrs, choosing to be murdered rather than live, and all were killed for the sanctification of the Lord. Put the Pharisees who were not strict, and were not afraid of the ruin of the Temple or exile, and chose life rather than death, and went out to Titus, the Wicked, and, surrendering, were all left alive. Therefore, after the ruin of the Temple the Pharisees rose in power, whereas the Sadducees declined. Thus it continued till R. Jehudah the Nassi, the editor of the Mishna. He collected all comments, good and bad, true and false, ancient and recent, all together; he wrote them down in a book without making distinctions between the sacred and profane, unclean and clean; he decided and declared that they are all Sinaic. This occurred in 3945.

After the conclusion of the Mishna, rose up those who composed the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds, and from that time on the quarrel grew in force, and the hate, rivalry and jealousy grew between the two sects, the Sadducees and Pharisees. For the Sadducees held the true Torah, written by Moses our teacher, and those few true comments that have been left from many; but the Pharisees abandoned the written Torah and ignored it as of subordinate importance, and clung to the oral law, that is, the Mishna and the Talmud, making it the thing of the first importance, saying that tradition will be victorious. They said every one who studies the written law has fulfilled only partially his obligations, but every one who studies Mishna or Talmud he has completely discharged his obligations; every one who trangresses the written law is culpable of stripes, who transgresses the words of the sages is guilty of capital punishment, and that one should not object even if they say to you of the right that it is the left, and of the left that it is the right and similar erroneous teachings. Thus it continued to be till the time of Anan the Nassi, the Holy and the Saint, the son of David the Nassi, in the year 4400 after the creation. Anan 1 lived in Babylonia and was of the Sadducees, and for his great wisdom Israel, Sadducees as well as Pharisees, chose him as Nassi, as the head of Beth Din and Exilarch. After his instalment as Nassi and head of Beth Din by the sanction of the Arabian monarch, and the will of all Israel, he became zealous for God and his Torah, and wished to restore it to its primitive purity; he commenced to plead against the oral law, i.e., the Mishna, and deny and declare it as nought. When the Pharisaic sect perceived all this, they rose upon him and devised stratagems to kill him. But out of fear of the king, they did not lay their hands on him, but denounced him to the king that he had rebelled against the law of the government, but the king pitied him and saved him from them, and so he was left alive. When Anan perceived that the Pharisees did not want to return to the truth, he was disgusted with being a Nassi, left his house and possessions in Babylonia, and departed with his sons and disciples to Jerusalem, the Sacred City. He built there a synagogue, "The Temple of God," to pray and to weep morning, noon and evening; and perceiving that the Pharisees were increasing, and that the Sadducees decreased, and fearing lest the true Torah be forgotten entirely, and lest the Sadducees be absorbed in time by the Pharisees, he commanded his disciples, friends and acquaintances, to keep themselves apart from the sect of the Pharisees wholly and with the utmost possible strictness. He forbade them to eat their foods, for they are not careful about all kinds of uncleanness, and eat carcasses and tallow prohibited by the Torah. So also he forbade them to intermarry with them, because they had trespassed the barriers of consanguinity. And Anan interpreted the Torah and commandments according to the true comment, as he had received it from his fathers and masters by tradition, who belonged to the sect of Sadducees, continuing from the oldest times; and as the whole Sadducean doctrine is founded on the text of the Holy Scriptures, Pentateuch, Prophets and Hagiographas, therefore Anan the Nassi called the Sadducean sect "Karaites," (Karaim), that is, who are called and go in their simplicity. (Ba'ale Mikre): and as the whole object of the Pharisees was to pursue high positions and lordliness, and also because they are many in comparison with the few Karaites, he called them "Rabbanim," (lords, many), that is, the adherents of the Mishna and Talmud. . . .

This is the opinion of the Karaites themselves about their history, and that every one who wishes to know and understand all the errors of the Rabbis (according to them), should see the Book of God's Wars, ("Sepher Milhamoth Adonai"), by Salman b. Jerucham I and the Admonitory letter ("Igereth Hatochachath"), by Sahal Hakohen, and "Eshkol Hakopher," by Jehudah Hadasi Haabel (the Mourner), he called himself thus for mourning, and "Apiryon Asah," and "L'hem Sheorim," by R. Solomon the Turk, also the "Asara Maamaroth," of Elijah the Jerusalemite, and the "Amuna Omen" by Abraham b. Joshua the Jerusalemite, all which books are written to refute the false Rabbinical laws; and of the Rabbinical sages after Anan they say that when they saw that the plain and just truth is evidently on the side of the Sadducees, they invented about them calumnies, that they were Sadducees, and Bithusiaus followers of Zaduk and Bithus, the infidels, and their glory they confounded with shame by conscious falsehood for whereas they had been called Tzadikim from ancient times, they altered their name to Tzadukim (Sadducees, Zadukim), followers of Tsaduk, etc., etc."

. . . 1Here we have given to the reader what we have briefly quoted so far as needful for our purpose, and to spare much of our own discussion by citing the words of another. From "Orah Tzadikim" treating of the split between the Karaites and Rabbis, written by the scholarly rabbi, Sim'ha Isaac of Lutzki in 550. And we, desiring to call the attention of scholars and thinkers to the affirmations of the Karaites themselves about their ancient history, both their charges against us and their justifications of themselves, have abridged their statements, for it is our duty to hear what they say for themselves, and try to separate the truths from the falsehoods as impartial judges, not as advocates.

And, before all, I say, the man is dreaming who speaks that the difference between the Karaites and Rabbis began in the time of Rehoboam; the son of Solomon, and of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, when Israel revolted against David's dynasty. And if the Rabbi, were to make such a senseless assertion, that the rebels against David's dynasty were the same that the Karaites are, beyond doubt the Karaites would say that they pervert the words of the living God and deny what is written in the Prophets, that Jeroboam led a away the people from the worship of the true God who had protected them from the times of Egypt till then, to serve golden calves which he had made, and made a festival in a wrong month which he invented that the people should not go to celebrate the holidays at Jerusalem, and the royalty not be restored to David's house. The Karaites state here a strange fiction, which is ridiculed by every one who has any knowledge of books.

Besides that, any one who has eyes to see, ears to hear, and a palate to taste, that which is written in the Scriptures, is aware that during all the time of the prophets till the exile of Israel and Judea from their land and captivity in the land of their enemies, the quarrel between the parties was not about the interpretation of the Torah, or about the reasons of the commandments, but about the Torah itself, between those who knew it and those who did not know it, between the worshippers of the true God and the idolators. The prophets of the true God, and the best element of the people who followed them, have served God and loved him, and were his true servants, adhered to him and observed his commandments and his law. But the king and the common people devoted themselves to drink, to idolatry, adultery, and other uncleanness of the other nations of their time.

And truly, the author of the "Orach Zadikim," as well as the writers whom he quotes, have not adhered to the truth but indulged in falsehoods, by fixing the beginning of this quarrel at a time which it was impossible to have begun. And if the author and his co-religionists fully believe that the present Pentateuch was known to and in the possession of the names in the days of David and Solomon, Rehoboam and Jeroboam, and that, together with the written Torah and its commentaries,--it was in the possession of the Sanhedrin and the members of the great and small Beth Din of those days, as the same belief was entertained by the Pharisees from the written Torah and its commentaries, we will not plead with them to question or reflect upon this belief, and state from the investigations of the modern as well as the ancient critics, that the Pentateuch was at that time of recent date and no one knew of it because it had been written only in the days of Solomon, and no one had seen it,--for it would be unfair to refute a warranted belief on one hand by a total denial on the other. But we will argue from the standpoint of the Karaites themselves, who adhere to the text and deny the commentaries which are conflicting with the ordinary interpretation of the Scripture. For they themselves have interpreted the Scripture wrongly, and ascribed to it a meaning which has never been intended, by stating that the quarrel between Israel and Judea, or between Jeroboam and Rehoboam, has caused a quarrel, in no way or manner resembling it, between the Karaites and the Rabbis regarding the interpretation of the Scripture. This is one of those falsehoods which have absolutely no foundation whatever, and are shunned by those who are able to distinguish between truth and falsehood.

The statement that the difference between the Karaites and Rabbis dates from the time the difference between Jehudah b. Tabai and Simeon b. Shetah broke out, etc., is nothing but a net spread out by the Karaites to catch therein the people of Israel, etc. But it is up to date not known who is the author of this statement and who circulated it among the Karaites that they might make it the foundation of their structure, which foundation, if demolished, would cause the ruin of the whole structure.

There is no doubt in our mind that the Karaites have borrowed this statement from the Pharisees when endeavoring to separate from the Sadducees, whom they also considered as infidels, and to erect a new edifice for themselves, for the Pharisees also consider Simeon b. Shetah to have restored the Torah to her old .glory, as they state in the mentioned Boraitha: "The world was embarrassed until Simeon b. Shetah appeared and restored the Torah to her former state." And here they found an opportunity to use the Pharisees' arguments against them. The Pharisees say that after the massacre of the sages and those learned in the traditional law by Johanan Hyrcanus, the oral law was forgotten in Israel till Simeon b. Shetah came and restored it. By oral law is meant that traditional comment on the Torah as it was afterward written down and concluded by R. Jehudah-the Nasi and his successors in the Mishna and Talmud against which the Karaites protest. Now, the difference between restoration and innovation is insignificant, and what the Pharisees and Rabbis term restoration the Karaites name innovation, and maintain that Simeon b. Shetah made a new law, that is the oral law which was unknown previously, and had not descended to them from their forefathers: and from this new law a new quarrel sprung forth among those who believed in tradition, which quarrel has no connection whatever with the old controversy between the disciples of Sadduk and Bithus, the infidels, and the Josees, the believers, on whom all Israel leant.

As for the statement of the Karaites above mentioned that their belief dates from the time of the second Temple, etc., and that only Anan brought it to light again, after it had disappeared, the same was very ably criticised by the scholarly rabbi, S. J. Rapaport ("Kerem Hemed," p. 200), by laying out his own plan for the investigation of the causes of the Karaite history; he says, namely: "The activity of Anan was not isolated in its kind, but it war, only a link in the chain of the history of the nations of those days. For there existed religious differences among the Arabians, some holding only the Koran and what Mahomet communicated to his son-in-law Eli, and who are known as the Shitin; while some held the traditions communicated by Mahomet, his wife and son-in-law, his sons, and many disciples, who are known as the Shonin."

And it seems that this religious quarrel has, to our shame, infected the Jews; Anan and Saul, his sons, tried to establish a new sect in Israel similar to the Shitin, for they thought that the Arabian high officers would assist them, for they would be at one with them in taking for the basis of their belief only what is written in the text, and to deny tradition. And how many times have religious movements, similar to those, taken place among the nations among which we live, even in our own times.

Having thus laid before the reader the views of the Karaites themselves, i.e., of those later Karaites who endeavored to justify Anan for his complete separation from the Rabbanism, although Anan himself was very far from doing so, as can easily be seen by every one who has some sense of his own, from the statement of Anan: "And I will prepare you a Mishna and Talmud myself," (vide supra, 27), and also some of the opinions of the scholars Holdheim and Rapaport, we wish to submit our own opinion in regard to this matter.

In our judgement they all erred in making the following two assertions, viz: that the Sadducees did not believe in retribution in the world to come; and that the Talmudists had no knowledge of a sect naming itself, or which was named by others, Karaites. The error in making these assertions caused them to draw farfetched inferences and to write a number of

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articles, which will not stand any proper criticism. For Holdheim, in refuting upon the assertion of the Karaites that their sect was founded in the days of Jehudah b. Tobai, fixes their origin at a much prior date, by stating that the Sadducees and Karaites are one and the same sect, and that the latter name was adopted by them at a later date, but at the time of the Talmud they were known by the former name, and that accounts for not finding the name Karaites in the Talmud, (see at length, ibid., p. 25), basing his assertions on Maimonidus and Abraham b. David of Paskira. Some of these assertions may be found in Rapaport, although he tries to reconcile both sides. And because the Karaites differed from the Sadducees in that the latter did not believe in resurrection, and, according to him, also not in retribution after death, Holdheim asserts that the Karaites, who are the same as the Sadducees, have adopted that belief only at a later date, when that belief has already been adopted by all other nations and religions.

And coming to such conclusion he justifies the Sadducees and their views, and gives them preference over the Rabbanism and their views, which constitutes almost the whole subject of his book. But we will prove his error, and therefore most of his assertions will prove of no value, and the Talmudists and their views and teachings will remain true and everlasting.

But before attempting to explain ourselves in more detail we feel it our duty to say a few words in regard to Resurrection, which is the basis of the whole contention between the scholars above mentioned and the sects themselves.

The first Mishna in Chapt. Halek (Sanhedrin) reads: "The following have no share in the world to come: the one who says the Resurrection does not originate from the Pentateuch," which is explained by Rashi as follows: "i.e., he who does not believe in the inferences drawn later on in the German that resurrection originates from the Bible; and even if he does believe in resurrection, but says that it does not originate from the Pentateuch, he is an infidel, for if he does not believe in its origin from the Bible what do we care for him or his belief? Wherefrom does he know that so it is? He is, therefore, a perfect infidel." And although some doubt whether these quoted words came from the pen of Rashi, because it was not Rashi's way to enter into lengthy explanations, still all concede that it expresses the true meaning of the Mishna.

Now, if we will take the true intent of the Talmudists, that although one believes in resurrection he is an infidel, if he does not believe that its origin is from the Pentateuch, we will at once conceive that when the latter belief began to circulate among all nations and among the masses of Israel to such an extent that, it was considered an essential element of the belief in God, and that any religion which did not consider it one of its dogmas, was not worthy of being ranked as a religion at all, the Talmudists endeavored to prove the origin of this belief from the Pentateuch and that other nations and religions borrowed it from that source, in order to refute those who asserted that its origin was in the New Testament and, therefore, the latter was the principal religion and the former ceased to exist.

We will now take up another Mishna in Tract Berachoth, P. 54a: "Since the Sadducees have perversely taught that there is only one state of existence, it was ordained that it shall be pronounced: 'From Eternity to Eternity,'" which Rashi explains, i.e., "that they denied resurrection." Rashi again diverts the Mishna from its plain meaning, that the Sadducees did not admit the existence of the world to come, i.e., retribution after the soul separates from the body, and limited their disbelief to resurrection only; (and that the meaning of "perversely taught" means that they perverted from their own opinions and taught the masses that belief).

It is self-evident that the perversion of the Sadducees consisted, according to Rashi, only in denying the inferences drawn to establish the origin of resurrection in the Pentateuch. But from the dispute of the Sadducees with the founder of the Christian religion, or with his disciples, and from the derisive question, "whom of them a widow of seven brothers will marry after resurrection," which is quoted in the work of Azariah Di Rossi, we can easily see that the Sadducees did not believe in resurrection at all.

If we will examine carefully the interpretations of the Talmudists in desiring to find a hint for resurrection in the Pentateuch, and that they did not infer it from the plain statement (Deutr. xxxli. 39): "I alone kill and I make alive; I wound and I heal," which, on every occasion they explained to mean "as the healing follows the wound, so also does life follow death" (see Ben Ezra), but resorted to far-fetched interpretations instead, we will clearly see that the Talmudists did not wish to state that resurrection is expressly stated in the Pentateuch, for in such case they would, of necessity, have to admit that this belief was known and circulating at the time the Pentateuch was given. They only wanted to find some slight reference to it in the Pentateuch, and were of the opinion that the belief in resurrection was known only to a limited number of select men, but not to the masses, from whom it was kept secret, for fear that they might as well believe in "familiar spirits" and "wizards ("Ob and Yaduni"), or in "inquiring of the dead." But only after this belief has been borrowed from the neighbouring nations and has been adopted by the masses, the Talmudists found it necessary to find some source for it in the Pentateuch in order to strengthen the latter, although not explicitly stated therein.

It follows from all this that at the time the Mosaic Law was proclaimed, that belief was not only not obligatory, but on the contrary every effort was made to keep it from the masses, and, therefore, no promises were made as to resurrection, but only as to longevity and tranquillity during life-time.

When, however, the founder of Christianity made this belief one of its dogmas and minimized the Old Testament, the Talmudists made it obligatory to believe that its source is in the Pentateuch. And the Sadducees who rejected this belief at all were considered as disbelievers.

But we find nowhere that the Sadducees ever denied the immortality of the soul or that they ever denied the belief in retribution after death, for according to all opinions the Sadducees were not the disciples of Autigonus of Socho, Zaduck and Bithus, who, according to a statement in Aboth d'Rabbi Nathan, rejected the belief in retribution. The name Sadducees, as we have said in the beginning of this article, had its origin from Zaduck the high priest of David, according to Geiger's opinion. Or, perhaps, Holdheim's opinion is the correct one, viz.: that in the beginning they were surnamed "Zadikim," as Simon the high priest was surnamed the "Zadik."

Neither do we find anywhere that the Sadducees repulsed the statement of the Talmudists, to wit: "In order that thy days may be prolonged" (Deutr. v. 16), that means in the world to come which is prolonged (endless), and as the simple proof, if one say to his son: "go up on the roof and examine the bird's nest, and take the young ones, and send away the mother, in both of which (sending away the mother and honouring the father) longevity is the promised compensation in the Pentateuch; and the son in doing so fell and was killed; how can the promise be fulfilled? We must, therefore, say that the promised longevity has reference to life after death." Nor is it anywhere found that the Sadducees refuted the statement of the Talmudists: "That person shall be cut off" (Numb. xv. 31); that it means, he should be cut off from this world as well as from the world to come."

The assertion of those who consider themselves competent to make it, that there is no basis in the Pentateuch for the immortality of the soul, is not correct, for besides the many plain passages indicating. that, the same can also be established from the necessity of the marrying the widow of the deceased childless brother, for if the soul is mortal what is the benefit of "raising up the deceased's name?" So, also, greatly err those who, from this very passage, draw a contrary conclusion, i.e., by asserting that because the soul dies together with the body the Pentateuch commanded that decedent's name be raised up if he die childless, for if the soul dies as does the body, why all that trouble of marrying the widow, or the ceremony of the "Chalitza," and spitting out before the one who refuses to marry the widow of his deceased childless brother, as commanded by the Pentateuch? If the soul derives no benefit therefrom, why all that? There is no honour in all that either for the dead or for the living, and it is very well known that this custom of raising up the name of the deceased on his estates was known and observed in ancient times, and the family that did not observe this custom incurred disrespect.

Thus far as to the Pentateuch, but as regards the prophets or Hygiographa only a blind man can fail to find in them retribution and immortality of the soul after death. The whole book of Isaiah is full of that, and it says plainly (Isa. lvi. 4-5): "For thus saith the Lord concerning the eunuchs (those who die childless) I will indeed give unto them, in my house and within my walls, a place and a name better than sons and daughters, an eternal name--they shall not be cut off." And not to mention about the early and the later Hygiographa (Ps., xvi. 10): "Thou will not abandon my soul to the grave," and also (ibid. xxvii. 13): "Unless I had believed to see the goodness of the Lord in the Land of life." And it is also explicitly stated, (ibid. xxv. 13): "His soul shall abide in happiness; and his descendants shall inherit the land." Now, how can it enter the mind that the Sadducees, who, according to Holdheim, are the Karaites, whose only endeavor was to give the whole Scripture, not only the Pentateuch, the illiteral meaning of the words will deviate from the literal meaning, and explain all those passages as referring only to this earthly life? We can also see from the fact that the Sadducees were more strict as to purification than the Pharisees in going as far as saying that profane writings (the book of Homer) make the hands unclean, to such an extent that if they touch Terumah the latter must not be eaten; that they believed in immortality of the soul, which they considered to such an extent clean that they will not tolerate the least uncleanliness in a sacred thing. And how much did the Sadducees sacrifice themselves in order to prevent the enemy from defiling the sanctuary? How much did they sacrifice themselves for the sake of the Holy name, which no one who does not believe in immortality would do? But Holdheim seems to advance a strange assertion, viz., that the Sadducees believed in immortality of the soul and nevertheless denied retribution, which we can by no means understand, because what is the benefit of immortality if there is no retribution? If all are equal and alike after death, the righteous and the wicked, the wise and the fool? (The philosophy of Aristotle concedes at least that the soul of the righteous unite with the (שכלהפועל) after death, but according to Holdheim there is absolutely no preference to the human soul over that of the animal). It is true that we heard some few years ago (in 1885) in Leipsic, at a meeting of spiritualists, in company of the late Dr. Mandelkern, a professor, state in his lecture that the spirit of a certain man who, during his lifetime was one of the easy-minded, rested upon his shoulders for about two weeks, and that he was then of the same disposition as before death, and from this he drew the conclusion that the soul remains the same after death, in the spiritual world, as during the lifetime, but we hardly believe Holdheim ever entertained this belief, which is contrary to common sense, and still more, he endeavors to make his beloved Sadducees entertain such belief.

Dr. Geiger's opinion that the whole contention between the Sadducees and Pharisees was originally over political affairs, the former struggling to have the control over such affairs, because of their descent from prominent families, and the latter not desiring to submit, and from this the contention extended to civil and religious matters; the Pharisees being extremely faithful to their traditions saw in everything the Sadducees differed from them, a denial in tradition;--seems to be more correct, as being also supported by history. The same theory is followed by I. H. Weiss in his work "Dor Dor V'dorshow," who proves conclusively that the Pharisees always laid down their decisions in direct opposition to that of the Sadducees in order to prevent the masses from joining the ranks of the latter. In fact, we see that the differences between the two sects, mentioned in the Talmud, were as to minor things which have very little to do with religious dogmas. We also have proved at the end of Tract Sabbath of our new edition, from page 381 on, that all the eighteen precautionary measures adopted by the Pharisees at the attic of Hananiah, were directed against the priests who mostly belonged to the Sadducees.

We do not mean to rebuke the Pharisees for having acted thus, for they did so of necessity, because the Sadducees endeavored to transplant Hellenism into the Hebrew religion in such a manner that it should not be noticed, and in order to guard against this they opposed the decisions of the Sadducees even when the latter were not contrary to thee true teachings of the Torah, for (Ps. cxix. 126): "It is time to act for the Lord: they have broken thy law."

It is very probable that because the belief in resurrection was so deeply rooted among the masses, because it is very natural that cue should desire to meet again his relatives alive after they had once died, and the Sadducees have opposed this belief and ridiculed it, the Pharisees assigned so much importance to it and endeavored to find some source for it in the Scripture, in order to prevent the names from adhering to the teachings of the Sadducees and thereby preventing the transplanting of Hellenism into the Hebrew faith, although in the very beginning of its development this belief was kept secret from the masses.

The result of what has been stated is that the Sadducees as well as the Pharisees, have expounded the Scripture according to tradition and have believed in the immortality of the soul and retribution after death. And the animosity of those two sects grew from the desire of each of them to have the control over political affairs. Therefore, when the Pharisees in the end gained the overhand, the first thing for Simeon b. Shetah to do was to remove the Sadducees from the Sanhedrin, in which he was very successful. But after the quarrel was carried on for several centuries, and almost during the whole time of the existence of the second Temple, and during that time more than once the danger was imminent that the teachings of the Pharisees should be swallowed up by Hellenism, and especially so during the time of Johanan the high priest and king, during whose reign the Pharisees were executed by the hundreds, and many emigrated to Egypt and Babylonia, the animosity and hatred assumed such proportions that the name "Sadducee" alone was contemptible. Still more, when after the Pharisees had already been successful they were compelled to have public debates with them in religious matters, for their teachings have been deeply rooted among the masses and could not easily be rooted out.

This animosity assumed still greater proportions when Christianity began to develop; for the latter has confirmed many of the teachings of the Sadducees, although not directly still indirectly, and has opposed those of the Pharisees, although they did not differ to a considerable extent from the latter in religious matters and principles, the masses adhering to the teachings of the Pharisees, have greatly despised the Sadducees, and considered them infidels and disbelievers in retribution and immortality of the soul, and in the appearing of a personal Messiah from the houses of David and Joseph, which belief has been circulating among the masses during the

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last days of existence of the second Temple, and they endeavored, with all their might, to obliterate their teachings. Those few Sadducees who lived after the destruction of the second Temple gathered up all the courage they could and entered into public debates with R. Johanan b. Zakkai, R. Jose, etc., but seeing that their hope was forlorn, and that they would not be able to rise again, they gave up the battle publicly, although they did not renounce their beliefs, or abandon their hatred, and tried to continue the same against the teachings of the Pharisees secretly. At least, during the second century we hear nothing of them publicly.

Now we will stop for a moment to see who the Karaite sect was. There is no doubt that there existed a sect by this name in the days of the Talmudists, for they are mentioned several times in the Talmud under the name "Adherers to the Scripture,", and in one place it is plainly stated "the Karaites added" (Pesachim, p. 117; our edition, p. 246, see foot note 3). Neither is there any doubt that they were not favoured by the Talmudists, as we find in many places in the Talmud remarks reflecting on them, as f.i.: "They who occupy themselves with the study of Scripture are not to be blamed, but, on the other hand, not to be praised" (Baba Metzia, 79), and in Hagiga, it states plainly; Rabh said: "If a man goes out from the study of the Mishna to read the verses of the Bible, this man can have no more peace." And there is no doubt that many similar remarks found in the Talmud have reference to this sect. But we can not, with exactness, fix the time when and to what extent this sect openly declared against the teachings of the Talmudists. However, we do not hesitate for one moment to state that during all that time this sect has brooded an intense hatred to every Israelite who has not followed them, although at times they were compelled to conceal their hatred.

One penetrating glance into the history of the Samaritans and into that of the Karaites; one penetrating glance into the literature of the former and into that of the latter; the curses pronounced by both of those sects against the followers of the Rabbanism; the beliefs and principles common to the religion of both (although differing slightly ceremonially), will suffice to induce one to agree with us that the Karaites, whose sect was established in the days of Anan, and a few of whom are living in our own time, have not only borrowed from the Samaritans their teachings, but that the Karaites are the former Samaritans and that even up to date they have changed slightly only in their outward appearance and in name, but not intrinsically.

From the whole sect we will pick out only Anan, who descended from the family of the Exilarch, who came from the house of David (and perhaps was his mother or grandmother of Samaritan descent), and who, from jealously having scorned and despised the traditional teachings, had gathered the remainder of the Samaritans, who had long ago changed their name and tendency, had become their chief to fight their battles and to separate completely from the house of Israel, for he could afford doing so, being a descendant from a prominent family. But we do not in the least intimate that Anan founded a new sect with new principles.

This, our present view, is not unfounded, but is based on historical facts, for we do not find anywhere in history any such intense, unchangeable, everlasting and unfounded hatred as that of the Samaritans and Karaites toward the house of Israel.

Whenever we find in history that any ill-feelings or hatred existed between two nations it is easy to find the reason for such feelings or hatred; it was either the craving for subjugation of foreign countries, or the desire to reign supreme over others, or, in very ancient times also the desire to prove the supremacy of one nation's idols over those of the other, and many other reasons, which provoked one nation to go to war with another and to take vengeance of one another. But we find no such reason for the hatred of the Samaritans toward the house of Israel, yet when the latter returned from Babylonia and intended to build the Temple, no plausible reason can be found for the endeavoring of the Samaritans to mislead the Israelites whenever they tried to establish the new moon. (See Rosh Hashana, Chap. II., our Hebrew edition, p. 25; English, p. 38.) Neither can there be assigned a reason for the custom of the Samaritans to pronounce curses over Ezra the Scribe, at the time of the opening of the ark of scrolls every Sabbath, which prevails up to date. (See our "The Pentateuch, its Character," etc., as well as for many other things which the reader may find in the Talmud and Apokrypha, and in Graetz's History of the Jews, which, if quoted here would occupy a full volume.) In a word, there can be found no substantial reason or ground for these things, except that they blindly hated the house of Israel. Neither do we find any reason for the slandering and reviling by the Karaites of the Rabbanism in general, and of Rabh Saadiah Gaon in particular, nor for all the false accusations and malicious charges and denunciations against the Rabbanism. contained in the extensive literature of the Karaites.

History shows us that nations who hated each other to the extreme have in course of time laid the weapons aside and made up. History records numerous instances, that sects between whom differences existed, and which even reached such a degree that they resulted in actual fight, have in course of time become reconciled and associated with each other, and intermarried, and the former hatred and quarrels were wholly forgotten. We will not cite as an example the Beth Shammai and the Beth Hillel, who, although widely differing from each other in their opinions, still intermarried, as found in the Talmud; but even the Sadducees and the Pharisees, did they there decline to eat and drink with each other, or intermarry? We do not find that anywhere. 1 The Samaritans, however, and Karaites are singular instances in this respect in history. Although most of them have already intermingled with other nations, not a single instance can be pointed out that they have intermarried with an Israelite or have partaken of his food or drink.

The toleration of the Pharisees and of their teachings is well known. The disciples of the Beth Hillel have done all that lay in their power to bring them into the house of Israel: they credited them in regard to purification; they permitted them to be counted in the number of three for the benediction over the meal and in the number of ten for prayer in the prayer house and in fact, wanted to consider them as Israelites for all purposes, but their animosity and trickery increased to such an extent that they could no more be tolerated, and therefore, the leaders of Israel were compelled to regard them in all respects as idolators, and prohibited their bread, wine, and oil. Exactly the same thing happened with the Karaites whom the Rabbanism endeavored, with all their might, to draw near them and debate with them, until they convinced themselves that their hatred toward Israel is so great that they said "the rents will never be sewed together", "the Karaites will never make up with us," and they are up to date regarded as idolators.

We know well that we are too brief in this article and that we ought to adduce at length all the facts to prove that all that the Samaritans and Karaites have done unto Israel was not to derive any benefit therefrom, or with a view of subduing them, for they well knew that this was an impossibility, but only out of blind hatred deeply rooted in them, which descends from generation to generation. We know this very well, but we can not enter here into such details, as it would exceed the limits of an article, and would comprise a whole book in itself. We, therefore, rely upon the intelligence and knowledge of the reader that be will know where to find those if needed.

Even in our own times, when the Karaites number only a few thousands, which accounts for their enjoying equal rights with the natives, since Emperor Nicholas of Russia, they make no secret of their hatred toward Israel. When the anti-Jewish disorders broke out in Russia some few years ago, and many of our co-religionists were exiled from the Middle States of the Russian Empire, the latter have petitioned the Russian Government to be permitted to embrace Karaitism. The Minister of the Interior has expressed his willingness to grant their petition if the Karaites will consent to receive them into their midst, and directed an inquiry to this effect to their Hacham in Odessa, but the latter answered that there is no desire on the part of the Karaites to receive the Jews as their co-religionists.

These facts need hardly any comment; they speak for themselves. In fact, during all the long period since the year 760, it has not as yet happened that even a few individual Karaites should intermarry with our co-religionists, or should in any way associate with us. (Even in business affairs they do it only with great reluctance and very seldom.) Is there any stronger proof necessary of this race-hatred? No other race or nation, no matter how great their hatred may be, will ever decline to receive into their midst a Jew, if he only wishes to gain their faith, and will never refuse to associate with him; and the masses, as well as the intelligent classes, have always been favourably inclined toward the Jews. But this hatred of the Karaites has no equal among other nations in any generation.

As the Samaritans have forged and falsified the Pentateuch, as is now well established, so also did the Karaites forge and falsify the Talmud. And we hereby reproach the writers of the history of the Karaites, who without much deliberations wrote; For Saadiah the Gaon, when king, unable to assign any good reason for a statement found in the Talmud (Jerushalmi), that the Beth Shammai have killed some of the Beth Hillel, and vice versa, has denied the existence of such a statement at all; and Sahl, the son of Matzliah, his opponent, in order to prove to the world the delinquency of R. Saadiah, has descended from Palestine to Babylonia with the Jerusalem Talmud in his hand! And they did not conceive that Sahl himself has forged the manuscript of the Talmud by writing in this statement, and he was not the first one to do so, but was probably preceded by others, as we have remarked in the introduction to our edition of Rosh Hoshana. In fact, we are surprised at those who are handling the Karaite literature that they have not perceived it. Why should more evidence be given to Sahl the forger, than to Rabh Saadiah, who states positively that such a statement did not exist in the Talmud? Why should we not believe R. Saadiah that in his manuscript such a statement was not in existence? (To our regret this statement was added to, and remains in the Talmud through the fault of the printers.) Especially so that even now in our own days the Karaites continue to forge and falsify, as proved by many modern scholars at the head of which is Abraham Harkawy, by exposing the falsifications of Abraham Firkowitz, the Karaite Hacham, in all his writings.

The result of all that stated is that from the similarity of action, in all details, of the Karaites and Samaritans we can logically arrive at the conclusion that the Karaites were doing nothing new, but only stepping in the shoes of their ancestors, the Samaritans, who they were, only under a different name, and being so they never descended from Israel. And all that Anan did was to gather the scattered Samaritans and encourage them to continue their fight against Israel, which has been hitherto conducted by them secretly, openly and publicly and with more vigor and animosity.

And if we will examine with a critical eye the literature of the Karaites we will easily see that they are none others than the Samaritans. And in vain has Dr. Holdheim held up as a striking proof the "laws of divorce," saying that such were the opinions of the Sadducees, and that the Karaites who were none else but the Sadducees clung to their old laws. No divorce was granted under the teaching of the Samaritans, unless on the ground of adultery. And as to this also the Talmud bears testimony in stating (as quoted above), "The Beth Shammai are as the Kuthaiz, i.e., the Beth Shammai who prohibited a divorce unless on the ground of adultery, agree with the Samaritans who taught the same thing, and so also are the laws of the Karaites (even in regard to this has Dr. Holdheim blamed the teachings of the Pharisees without any foundation, for formerly even the Pharisees did not allow a divorce unless on the above-stated grounds, and all the leniency as to divorce which was afterwards decreed by the Beth Hillel, of whom R. Aqiba was one, was only introduced because the exigencies of the time required it, for it was at the time the New Testament began to gain strength and become popular, which declared every one who married a divorced woman to be an adulterer; as proved by I. H. Weiss in his work, and all other laws of the Karaites"). The strict observance of the Sabbath, etc., is nothing else but the laws of the Samaritans, and the slight difference in the ceremonies of these two sects is only because the former lived much later than the latter, and had to struggle with other sects who were their superiors, and to submit to them, and therefore many ceremonies were forgotten altogether. As to principles and dogmas, we have never heard that the Samaritans have ever rejected the belief in resurrection or in the world to come. On the contrary, as the belief in resurrection has circulated among all nations, and as the Samaritans have produced no great and learned men, and being widely separated from Israel, it is very natural that they did believe in resurrection as did their descendants the Karaites.

Another proof can be adduced that the Karaites are the descendants of the Samaritans; namely, that the Karaites mourn much more over the destruction of the Temple (and some of their Hachams have even adapted the name "Mourner" or "Mourners"), than we do, because, as the Samaritans they mourn over the loss of their temple on the Mount Gerisim which was destroyed by Janai, and continue to curse him up to date in their prayers.

We could adduce numerous other proofs taken from both the extensive literature of the Karaites and the inextensive literature of the Samaritans, to show that we did not in the least exaggerate our opinion as to the origin of the Karaites, but this article has taken up much more space than we expected and we are unable to give them here to the reader.

Before closing this article we find it our duty to answer the gentleman who put the question to us: "What are the reformers of our times, if not Karaites?"

A careful examination of the literature of the reformers in Europe, as Holdheim, Geiger, Ritter, etc.; of the prayer books of the reformers in this country, and of the sermons of their preachers all over the world, we will at once recognise in them the early Sadducees, with all their particularities. They (generally, not considering here and there an exception) believe in immortality of the soul, in retribution after death and in many Talmudical traditions, as can be shown by the fact that they observe the holidays as established by the Talmudists; but they do not believe in resurrection, neither in the coming of a personal Messiah, and do not recognise the Talmud as final authority in all matters; and self-understood those rules and regulations established subsequent to the close of the Talmud but in its spirit, the same thing did the former Sadducees.

But as our present reformers are descendants of the Pharisees, and the Sadducees being no more in existence, therefore they also have in many things adopted a new form, and recognise the teachings of the Pharisees (as for instance the observance of the sixth day of Sivan as Pentecost) as indisputable laws. But we can by no means accuse the reformers in not believing in tradition generally, as we cannot well accuse of that the former Sadducees. (Even those reformers who have changed the Sabbath, for even this can be

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explained in accordance with the general rule of the Talmud which sanctifies the seventh day, but not the Sabbath itself, and for this reason the Talmud decreed that in case one forgets which day is the Sabbath, he shall count six days and observe the seventh as Sabbath, see our article in the Deborah, 1894.) Should the reader put the question to us whether the reformers are not to be charged with transplanting Christianity into Judaism, and whether there is no danger that in course of time Christianity will swallow up Judaism altogether, as the Unitarism of our own days, as such danger has already threatened Judaism during the early Sadducees, we will say that this question requires a deliberate answer, and cannot be answered by "yes" or "no" offhand.

We can only state that we have devoted much of our attention to this question, and with a penetrating eye have followed the work of the reformers of the School of Holdheim, Ritter and their companions, in Berlin, of the school of Isaac Wise in Cincinnati, and of the teaching of Emil G. Hirch in Chicago, and having collected considerable data of their past, and having bestowed much deliberation upon their future, we consider ourselves competent to give our opinion about Otis matter. In fact we have prepared a long article dealing specially with the following questions: (1) Does the Hebrew religion require any reforms? (2) If it does, what are they and on what basis can we introduce them? (3) What are the re. reforms introduced by the conservative reformers, and what are those of the radical reformers? (4) What benefit resulted from these reforms in general and in particular? (5) The result of the reforms of Cincinnati and of those of Hirch, and (6) What is the meaning of the name "Orthodox," and to whom shall it be applied? This article we are willing to submit to the readers (after accomplishing our task of the translation) if desired.

END OF VOLUME 1.

THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD BOOK 1 (10)

VOLUME 2 (or VOLUME 20):

Historical and Literary Introduction to the New Edition of the Talmud

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THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD BOOK 1 (10)

PART 1.

HISTORICAL AND LITERARY INTRODUCTION TO THE NEW EDITION OF THE TALMUD.

CHAPTER 1.

THE COMBINATION OF THE GEMARA, THE SOPHRIM, AND THE ESHCALATH.

Voluminous books were written about the text of the Mishna and Talmud in almost every language, besides valuable articles by very scholarly men in different books and periodicals. In the bibliography the reader will find all modern works arranged with various references to subjects. We shall only point out the special books on this subject, viz., "Darkhe Hamishnah," (The Ways of the Mishna), by Zachariah Frankel, "The Introduction to the Mishna," by Jacob Brill, 1876, "The Tradition of the Oral Law," by H. Weiss, and "Toldat Hamishnah," (History of the Mishna), by Haim Oppenheim, all in Hebrew; "Jahrbücher," by Dr. N. Brill, Frankfurt, A. M., "Real Encyclopædie," by J. Hamburger, "Die Lehrer der Mishna," by M. Braunschweiger, and Graetz's "History of the Jews," all in German. Finally three special introductions were written (1) "Einleitung in den Talmud," Leipzig, 1894, second edition, by Dr. Herman Strack, in German; (2) "Introduction to the Talmud," 1891 and 1894, second edition, by Dr. M. Mielziner, in English, and (3) "Introduction to the Mishna," in the Russian language, by N. Perferkowitz. 1 In these introductions are mentioned also the different translations of the Mishnayoth and Talmud in all the languages up to the time these works were written. Finally, Dr. Erick Bischoff wrote a special book named "Kritische Geschichte der Talmud-Überzetzungen aller Zeiten und Zungen," Frankfurt, a. M., 1899. All the above mentioned introductions explain the terms of the text of the Mishna and Talmud, their abbreviations and the method of both Talmuds, to enable those who desire to study the text in the original. We, however, who wish to give an introduction to our English translation of the Talmud, deem it not necessary to trouble the English reader with the explanations of the text, and shall give only what pertains to our new edition.

We have already mentioned in our brief introduction to Sabbath that the Talmud, in general, is composed of Mishna and Gemara. In this introduction, however, we shall give all the particulars pointed out by Strack and Mielziner which we deem of interest to the English reader. As a text we took Mielziner's "Introduction," which is an excellent work, omitting what seems to us not necessary for the reader, supplying it with necessary remarks and additions.

(1.) The Talmud is a combination of Mishna and Gemara, the latter is a collection of Mishnayoth, Tosephtas, Mechilta, Siphra, Siphre and Boraithas, all of these, interpreted and discussed by the Amoraim, Salboraim, and also Gaonim at a later period. "The Mishna is the authorized codification of the oral or unwritten law, which on the basis of the written law contained in Pentateuch, developed during the second Temple, and down to the end of the second century of the common era." The author of which was R. Jehuda, the prince named "Rabbi" (flourishing toward the end of the second century), taking the unfinished work of R. Akiba and R. Meir as basis. 1

(2.) "The word Tosephta means Addition, Supplement, and, as indicated by this name, the work is intended to complete deficiencies of the Mishna. 2 It is divided into Masechtoth, generally corresponding to those of the Mishna, but differing from them in the arrangement of their subject, and in the division of their Perakim. The latter are not subdivided into paragraphs. There are in all sixty Masechtoth and 452 Perakim. The Tosephta contains mainly the remnants of the earlier compilations of the Halacha made by R. Akiba, R. Meir, R. Nehemia, and others not adopted in the Mishna, and, besides additions made after R. Jehuda Hanasi's death by his disciples, R. Chiya, R. Oshaya, Bar Kappara and others. But we find in that work also many sayings and decisions of later Amoraim of the Babylonian and Palestinian schools. In its present shape it belongs to the fifth or sixth century." 1

(3.) "The Mechilta, the Siphra and the Siphre have this in common, that they treat of the oral law not according to well arranged subjects, as is the case with the Mishna and the Tosephta, but rather in the form of a running commentary and discussion on the biblical passages from which the law is deduced or on which it is based.

"The Siphra, also called Torath Cohanin, is a collection of traditional interpretations of the whole book of Leviticus, introduced by an exposition of R. Ishmael's thirteen hermeneutic rules."

(4.) "The Siphre, or, as its fuller title reads, the books of the school of Rab, comprises the traditional interpretations of the book of Numbers, beginning with Chapter V., and of the whole book of Deuteronomy. The author of the Siphre on Numbers was evidently not the same as the author of that on the last book of the Pentateuch. The style of the former, being more argumentative and discursive, often resembles that of the Siphra, while Siphre on Deuteronomy is generally brief, bearing more resemblance to the Mechilta." The author of it is said to be R. Simeon b. Johai.

Besides the Tosephta, the Mechilta, the Siphra and the Siphre just described, other collections of a similar character existed during the Talmudical period. In the course of time they perished, but many hundred fragmentary passages thereof are quoted in all parts of the Palestinian and Babylonian Gemara. Such a passage quoted from those lost collections as well as from the Tosephta, Mechilta, Siphra and Siphre was termed Boraitha, or Mathnitha Boraitha, meaning extraneous Mishna. This term was used in order to distinguish those passages from passages in our Mishna, that is, the authorized Mishna of R. Jehuda Hanasi, compared with which they had but a subordinate value. The Baraithoth are often found to be conflicting with each other or with the authorized Mishna, and in this case the Gemara usually displays great ingenuity and subtility in the attempt to reconcile them. In some instances, however, one or the other Boraitha is declared to be spurious. 1

The authorities mentioned in the Mishna and Boraitha 2 as having transmitted and developed the oral law belong to three different periods; namely: (1) The period of Sopherim. (Scribes); (2) The period of Zugoth; (3) The period of Tanaim.

(a) Sopherim or Scribes were the learned men who succeeded Ezra during a period of about two hundred years. To them many institutions and extensions of the Mosaic law are ascribed. The Sopherim. are also called collectively "the men of the Great Assembly (Synod)." According to tradition, this Synod consisted of 120 members, but we have no record of their names with the exception of Ezra, its founder, and of Simon the Upright (Just), (the high priest Simon I., between 310-292, or his grandson Simon II., between 220-202 B.C.), who is said to have been one of the last members of the Great Assembly. Antigonos of Socho, a disciple of Simon the Just, was the connecting link between this and the following period.

(b) The word Eshcalath (Zugoth), meaning the pairs (duumviri), is the appellation of the leading teachers from Jose ben Joezer till Hillel, of whom always two, at the same time, stood at the head of the Sanhedrin, one as president (Nasi), and the other as vice-president (Ab beth din).

The succession of these Zugoth was:

(1) Jose ben Joezer and Jose ben Jochanan, flourishing at the time of the Maccabean wars of independence.

(2) Joshua b. Perachia and Nitai of Arbela, flourishing at the time of John Hyrcan.

(3) Juda b. Tabai and Simon b. Shetach, flourishing at the time of Alexander Janai and Queen Salome.

(4) Shemaiah and Abtalion, flourishing at the time of Hyrcan II.

(5) Hillel and Shamai, flourishing at the time of King Herod.

(c) With the disciples of Hillel and Shamai begins the period of Tanaim, which lasted about 210 years (from 10 to 220 Ch. Era). With the beginning of this period the title Rabbi (teacher) for the ordained teachers, and the title Rabban (our teacher) for the president of the Sanhedrin came in use.

In the Mishna, the term Tana, meaning a teacher of the oral law, does not yet occur. Those teachers are there signified by generally adding the title of Rabbi to their names, or by calling them collectively the Sages, while the authorities of the preceding period are occasionally designated "the former elders." It is first in the Gemara that the term Tana is applied to a teacher mentioned in the Mishna and Boraitha, in contradistinction to the Amoraim, expounders of the Mishna, as the teachers after R. Jehuda Hanasi are called. (In Babylonian Talmud: in Palestinian, however, the Amoraim are also called Rabbis.)

The period of the Tanaim is generally divided into five or six minor sections or generations. The purpose of this division is to show which teachers developed their principal activity contemporaneously, though the actual lifetime of some of them extended to more than one generation.

The following chronological tables contain the names only of the more prominent 1 teachers of each generation. Every table is followed by short biographical sketches of the teachers mentioned therein. 2

CHAPTER 2.

THE GENERATIONS OF THE TANAIM.

FIRST GENERATION.

The principal Tanaim of the first generation, which lasted about seventy years, from 10 to 80, Ch. Era, 3 are: (1) The School of Shamai and the School of Hillel; (2) Akabia ben Mahalalel; (3) Rabban Gamaliel the Elder; (4) Rabbi Chanina, Chief of the Priests; (5) R. Simon ben Gamaliel; (6) R. Jochanan ben Zakkai. (Strack adds to this first generation [10-90] the judges), (7) Admon, and (8) Hannan; (9) Nachum the Madaith; (10) Eliezer b. Jacob I; (11) Haninah b. Dosa; (12) Nechunyah b. Hakanah; and (13) Zadock.

Mielziner counts Adman, Hannan and Nachum of Madaith at the end of this paragraph, not numbering them among the first generation, so also he did with some others in the succeeding generations.

Characteristics and Biographical Sketches.

1. The School of Shamai and the School of Hillel were. founded by the disciples of the great teachers whose names they bear. Following the principles of their masters, 1 they differed widely in their opinions on many legal questions; the School of Shamai, in general, taking a rigorous, and the School of Hillel a more lenient view of the question. In their frequent controversies the School of Shamai, having been founded already during the lifetime of Hillel, is always mentioned first. Of individual teachers belonging to either of these two schools only a very few are occasionally mentioned by name. Both schools existed during the whole period of the first generation, and the antagonism of their followers extended even to the middle of the subsequent generation.

2. Akabia ben Mahalalel. Of this teacher who flourished shortly after Hillel only a few opinions and traditions are recorded. According to what is related of him in Mishna Eduyoth, V., 6, 7, he was a noble character with unyielding principles.

3. Rabban Gamaliel the Elder. He was a son of R. Simon, and grandson of Hillel, whom he succeeded in the office of Nasi. Many important ordinances (תקנות) of the Rabbinical law are ascribed to him. He died eighteen years before the destruction of Jerusalem. The epithet "the Elder" generally

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added to his name, is to distinguish him from his grandson Gamaliel of Jabne, who flourished in the following generation.

4. Rabbi Chanina, Chief of the Priests, or the proxy of the high-priest. He, as well as "the court of Priests," is incidentally mentioned in the Mishna in connection with laws concerning the sacrifices and the Temple service.

5. R. Simon ben Gamaliel. He was the son and successor of Rabban Gamaliel the Elder, and was executed by the Romans in the time of the destruction of Jerusalem. Belonging to the School of Hillel, his individual opinions in questions of law are but rarely recorded in the Mishna. He must not be confounded with his grandson who had the same name and belonged to the fourth generation of Tanaim.

6. R. Jochanan b. Zakkai. This distinguished teacher was one of the youngest disciples of Hillel, occupied a high position already before the destruction of Jerusalem, and afterwards became the founder and head of the celebrated academy of Jabne (Jamnia).

SECOND GENERATION.

This generation lasted about forty years, from 80 to 120. The principal Tanaim belonging to it are:

(1) Rabban Gamaliel II., (of Jabne); (2) Rabbi Zadok., (3) R. Dosa (b. Harchinas); (4) R. Eliezer b. Jacob; 1 (5) R. Eliezer (b. Hyrkanos); (6) R. Joshua (b. Chanania); (7) R. Elazar b. Azaria; (8) Elasar b. Arach; 2 (9) R. Juda b. Bathyra. (According to Strack), (10) Papias; (11) Alazar b. Zadock; (12) Samuel the Little; (13) Nachum of Gimzu; (14) Ben Paturi; (15) Jose the Priest; (16) Elazar of Modium.

We refrain from giving the sketches of those who were added by Strack and others, as they would take up too much space. The reader who is interested in them can easily find them in the reference books pointed out by Strack, who gives to each of them the sources in the German language from which he draws.

Characteristics and Biographical Sketches.

1. Rabban Gamaliel II. He was a grandson of Gamaliel the Elder; after the death of R. Johanan b. Zakkai he became president of the academy of Jabne, and like his ancestors, he bore the title Nasi (Prince); with the Romans, Patriarch, In order to distinguish him from his grandfather, he received the surname Gamaliel of Jabne, or the Second.

2. R. Zadok. Of him it is related that he, in anticipation of the destruction of the Temple, fasted for forty successive years. He then removed to Jabne where he as well as his son, R. Eliezar b. Zadok, belonged to the distinguished teachers.

3. R. Dosa b. Harchinas belonged to the school of Hillel, and removed with R. Jochanan b. Zakkai from Jerusalem to Jabne, where he reached a very old age. He stood in such high esteem that his most distinguished colleagues appealed to his opinion in doubtful cases.

4. R. Eliezer b. Jacob was head of a school, and in possession of traditions concerning the structure and interior arrangements of the Temple. He is also mentioned with commendation as to his method of instruction, which was "concise and clear." There was also another Tana by a similar name who flourished in the fourth generation.

5. R. Eliezer b. Hyrkanos, in the Mishna called simply R. Eliezer, was one of the most distinguished disciples of R. Jochanan b. Zakkai, who characterized him as "the lime-cemented cistern that does not lose a drop." He was a faithful conservator of handed-down decisions and opposed to their slightest modification and to any new deductions to be made therefrom. His school was in Lydda, in South Judea. Though formerly a disciple of the Hillelites, he inclined to the views of the Shamaites and consequently came in conflict with his colleagues. Being persistent in his opinion, and conforming to it even in practice, he was excommunicated by his own brother-in-law, the patriarch Gamaliel II.

6. R. Joshua b. Chanania, in general called simply R. Joshua, was likewise one of the favoured disciples of R. Jochanan b. Zakkai. Shortly before the destruction of the Temple he left Jerusalem with his teacher, after whose death he founded a separate school in Bekiin. As member of the Sanhedrin in Jabne, he participated conspicuously in its deliberations and debates. His discussions were mostly with R. Eliezer, to whose unyielding conservatism he formed a striking contrast, as he represented the more rational and conciliatory element of that generation, and combined with great learning the amiable virtues of gentleness, modesty and placability which characterized the Hillelites. As he, on several occasions, was humiliated by the Nasi Gamaliel II., with whom he differed on some questions, the members of the Sanhedrin resented this insult of their esteemed colleague by deposing the offender from his dignity and electing another president. It was only through the interference of the appeased R. Joshua that R. Gamaliel, who apologized for his conduct, was again restored to his office.

7. R. Elazar b. Azaria descended from a noble family whose pedigree was traced up to Ezra the Scribe. Already while a young man, he enjoyed such a reputation for his great learning that he was made president of the academy at Jabne in place of the deposed R. Gamaliel. When the latter was reinstated, R. Elazar was appointed as vice-president. His controversies were mostly with R. Joshua, R. Tarphon, R. Ishmael and R. Akiba. On account of the noble virtues which he combined with his great learning he was compared to "a vessel filled with aromatic spices," and R. Joshua said of him: "a generation having a man like R. Elazar b. Azaria, is not orphaned."

8. Elazar b. Arach, of whom it is said (Aboth, p. 61), "If all the wise of Israel were in a scale of the balance and Eliezer b. Hyrkanos with them, and Elazar b. Arach in the other scale, he would outweigh them all."

9. R. Juda b. Bathyra had a school in Nisibis (in Assyria), already at the time when the Temple of Jerusalem was still in existence. He was probably a descendant of the family Bene Bathyra, who were leaders of the Sanhedrin under King Herod, and who resigned that office in favour of Hillel. Several other Tanaim had the same family name, as R. Joshua b. Bathyra, R. Simon b. Bathyra and one called simply Ben Bathyra.

THIRD GENERATION.

Several Teachers of the third generation, which lasted from the year 120 till about 139 (130-160, Strack), flourished already in the preceding one. The principal teachers are:

(1) R. Tarphon; (2) R. Ishmael; (3) R. Aqiba; (4) R. Jochanan b. Nuri; (5) R. Jose the Galilean; (6) R. Simon b. Nanos; (7) R. Juda b. Baba; (8) R. Jochanan b. Broka. Strack counts all the above-mentioned in the second generation, with the addition of, (9) Papus b. Jehuda; (10) Elazar b. Chasma; (11) Jose of Damascus; (12) Hananya b. Trodyan; (13) Jos b. Kisma; (14) Elazar b. Parta; (15) Simeon b. Azai; (16) Simeon b. Zoma; (17) Elisha b. Abuyah; (18) Chaninah b. Gamaliel; (19) Chaninah b. Antigonos; (20) Elazar of Bartutha; (21) Simeon of Taimon; (22) Chananiah, the son of Jechosua's brother; (23) Jehuda b. Buthyra; (24) Matyah b. Cheris; 1 (25) Chittkah; (26) Simeon the Shakmone; (27) Chananiah b. Chakniel.

Characteristics and Biographical Sketches.

1. R. Tarphon, or Tryphon, of Lydda. He is said to have been inclined to the views of the School of Shamai. On account of his great learning he was called "the teacher of Israel"; besides, he was praised for his great charitable works. His legal discussions were mostly with his colleague R. Akiba.

2. R. Ishmael (b. Elisha) was probably a grandson of the high-priest Ishmael b. Elisha who was condemned to death by Titus, together with the patriarch Simon b, Gamaliel I. When still a boy, he was made a captive and brought to Rome, where R. Joshua who happened to come there on a mission, redeemed him at a high ransom and brought him back to Palestine. R. Nechunia b. Hakana is mentioned as one of his principal teachers. When grown to manhood, he became a member of the Sanhedrin and was highly revered by his colleagues. He is named among those who emigrated with the Sanhedrin from Jabne to Usha. His residence was in South Judea in a place called Kephar Aziz. His academical controversies were mostly with R. Akiba, to whose artificial methods of interpreting the law he was strongly opposed, on the principle that the Torah, being composed in the usual language of man, must be interpreted in a plain and rational way. As guiding rules of interpretation he accepted only the seven logical rules which had been laid down by Hillel, which he, however, by some modifications and subdivisions, enlarged to thirteen. A separate school which he founded was continued after his death by his disciples and was known by the name of "Be R. Ishmael." Of the book Mechilta which is ascribed to R. Ishmael.

3. R. Aqiba (b. Joseph) was the most prominent among the Tanaim. He is said to have descended from a proselyte family, and to have been altogether illiterate up to the age of his manhood. Filled with the desire to acquire the knowledge of the law, he entered a school and attended the lectures of the distinguished teachers of that time, especially of R. Eliezer b. Hyrkanos, R. Joshua b. Chanania, and of Nachum of Gimzu. Subsequently he founded a school in B'ne Brak, near Jabne, and became a member of the Sanhedrin in the last-mentioned city. Through his keen intellect, his vast learning and his energetic activity he wielded a great influence in developing and diffusing the traditional law. He arranged the accumulated material of that law in a proper system and methodical order, and enriched its substance with many valuable deductions of his own. His methodical arrangement and division of that material was completed by his disciple R. Meir, and later on became the groundwork of the Mishna compiled by R. Jehuda Hanasi. Besides, he introduced a new method of interpreting the Scriptures, which enabled him to find a biblical basis for almost every provision of the oral law. This ingenious method was admired by his contemporaries, and notwithstanding the opposition of some of his colleagues, generally adopted in addition to the thirteen hermeneutic rules of R. I Ishmael. R. Akiba's legal opinions are very frequently recorded in all parts of the Mishna and in the kindred works. His academical discussions are mostly with his former teachers, R. Eliezer, R. Joshua, and with his colleagues, R. Tarphon, R. Jochanan b. Nuri, R. Jose the Galilean and others.

R. Akiba died a martyr to religion and patriotism. Having been a stout supporter of the cause of Bar Cochba, he was cruelly executed by the Romans for publicly teaching the Law, contrary to the edict of the emperor Hadrian. (See Aboth, p. 2 8.)

4. R. Jochanan b. Nuri was a colleague of R. Akiba, with whom he frequently differed on questions of the law. In his youth he seems to have been a disciple of R. Gamaliel II., for whose memory he always retained a warm veneration. He presided over a college in Beth Shearim, a place near Sepphoris in Galilee.

5. R. Jose the Galilean was a very distinguished teacher. Of his youth and education nothing is known. At his first appearance in the Sanhedrin of Jabne, he participated in a debate with R. Tarphon and With R. Akiba, and displayed such great learning and sagacity that he attracted general attention. From this debate his reputation as a teacher was established. He was an authority especially in the laws concerning the sacrifices and the Temple service. His discussions were mostly with R. Akiba, R. Tarphon, and R. Elazar b. Azariah. Of his domestic life it is related that he had the bad fortune of having an ill-tempered wife, who treated him so meanly that he was compelled to divorce her, but learning that she in her second marriage lived in great misery, he generously provided her and her husband with all the necessaries of life. One of his sons, R. Eleazar b. R. Jose the Galilean, became a distinguished teacher in the following generation and established the thirty-two hermeneutic rules of the Hagada.

6. R. Simon b. Nanos, also called simply Ben Nanos, was a great authority especially in the civil law, so that R. Ishmael recommended to all law students to attend the lectures of this profound teacher. His legal controversies were mostly with R. Ishmael and R. Akiba.

7. R. Judah b. Baba, who on account of his piety was called the Chasid, is noteworthy not only as a distinguished teacher, but also as a martyr to Judaism. Contrary to the Hadrianic edict which, under extreme penalty, prohibited the ordination of teachers, he ordained seven 1 disciples of R. Akiba as Rabbis, and for this act was stabbed to death by the Roman soldiers.

8. R. Jochanan b. Broka was an authority especially in the civil law. Also his son R. Ishmael was a distinguished teacher who flourished in the following generation.

FOURTH GENERATION.

This generation extended from the death of R. Akiba to the death of the patriarch R. Simon b. Gamaliel IL, from the year 139 to about 165. Almost all leading teachers of this generation belong to the latter disciples of R. Akiba.

(1) R. Meir; (2) R. Jehuda (ben Ilai); (3) R. Jose (ben Chalafta); (4) R. Simon (b. Jochai); (5) R. Elazar (b. Shamua); (6) R. Jochanan the Sandelar; (7) R. Elazar b. Jacob; (8) R. Nehemia; (9) R. Joshua b. Korcha; (10) R. Simon b. Gamaliel. Strack counts all of them in the third generation, and adds, (11) Elazar b. Jose the Galilean; (12) Ishmael b. Jochanan b. Beroka; (13) Abba Schaul; (14) Chananiah b. Akiba; (15) Chananiah b. Akashya; (16) Jose b. Akabyah; (17) Issi b. Jehuda; (18) Nehuraye; (19) Abba Jos b. Dusthai.

Characteristics and Biographical Sketches.

1. R. Meir, the most prominent among the numerous disciples of R. Akiba, was a native of Asia Minor and gained a subsistence as a skilful copyist of sacred Scripture. At first, be entered the academy of R. Akiba, but finding himself not sufficiently prepared to grasp the lectures of this great teacher, he attended, for some time, the school of R. Ishmael, where he acquired an extensive knowledge of the law. Returning then to R. Akiba and becoming his constant and favoured disciple, be developed great dialectical powers, R. Akiba soon recognised his worth and preferred him to other disciples by ordaining him at an early date. This ordination was later renewed by R. Judah b. Baba. On account of the Hadrianic persecutions, R. Meir had to flee from Judea, but after the repeal of those edicts, he returned and joined his colleagues in reëstablishing the Sanhedrin in the city of Usha, in Galilee. His academy was in Emmaus, near Tiberias, and for a time also in Ardiscus, near Damascus, where a large circle of disciples gathered around him. Under the patriarch R. Simon b. Gamaliel II., he occupied the dignity of a Chacham (advising Sage), in which office he was charged with the duty of preparing the subjects to be discussed in the Sanhedrin. A conflict which arose between him and the patriarch seems to have induced him to leave Palestine and return to his native country, Asia Minor, where he died. R. Meir's legal opinions are mentioned almost in every Masechta of the Mishna and Boraitha. His greatest merit was that he continued the labours of R. Akiba in arranging the rich material of the oral law according to subjects, and in this way prepared the great Mishna compilation of R. Judah Hanasi. Besides being one of the most distinguished teachers of the law, he was also a very popular lecturer (Hagadist), who used to illustrate his lectures by interesting fables and parables. Of his domestic life it is known that he was married to Beruria, the learned daughter of the celebrated teacher and martyr R. Chananiah b.

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Teradyon. The pious resignation which he and his noble wife exhibited at the sudden death of their two promising sons has been immortalized by a popular legend in the Midrash.

2. R. Jehuda b. Ilai is generally called in the Mishna simply R. Jehuda. After having received instruction in the law from his father, who had been a disciple of R. Eliezer b. Hyrkanos, be attended the lectures of R. Tarphon, and became then one of the distinguished disciples of R. Akiba. On account of his great eloquence he is called, "The first among the speakers." Also his piety, modesty and prudence are highly praised. He gained a modest subsistence by a mechanical trade, in accordance with his favoured maxims: "Labour honours man," and "He who does not teach his son a trade, teaches him, as it were, robbery." Having been one of the seven disciples who after the death of R. Akiba were ordained by R. Juda b. Baba contrary to the Hadrianic edict, he had to flee. After three years he returned with his colleagues to Usha and became one of the prominent members of the resuscitated Sanhedrin. The patriarch R. Simon ben Gamaliel honoured him greatly, and appointed him as one of his advisers. As expounder of the law he was a great authority, and is very often quoted in all parts of the Mishna and Boraitha. His legal opinions generally prevail, when differing from those of his colleagues R. Meir and R. Simon. To him is also ascribed the authorship of the essential part of the Siphra. The Hagada of the Talmud records many of his beautiful sayings, which characterize him not only as a noble-hearted teacher, but also as a sound and clearheaded interpreter of Scriptures. He, for instance, denied the literal meaning of the resurrection of the dead bones spoken of in Ezekiel, ch. XXXVII., but declared it to be merely a poetical figure for Israel's rejuvenation. (Sanhedrin, p. 278.)

R. Jehuda had two learned sons who flourished as teachers in the following generation.

3. R. Jose b. Chalafta, in the Mishna called simply R. Jose, was from Sepphoris, where already his learned father had established a school. Though by trade a tanner, be became one of the most distinguished teachers of his time. He was a disciple of R. Akiba and of R. Tarphon. Like his colleagues he was ordained by R. Juda b. Baba, and on this account had to flee to the south of Palestine, whence he later on returned with them to Usha. For having kept silent when in his presence R. Simon made a slighting remark against the Roman government, he was banished to Asia Minor. When permitted to return, he settled in his native city, Sepphoris, where he died at an advanced age. Besides being a great authority in the law, whose opinions prevail against those of his colleagues R. Meir, R. Jehuda and R. Simon, he was an historian to whom the authorship of the chronological book Seder Olam is ascribed.

4. R. Simon b. Jochai from Galilee, in the Mishna called simply R. Simon, was likewise one of the most distinguished disciples of R. Akiba, whose lectures he attended during thirteen years. "Be satisfied that I and thy creator know thy powers," were the words with which this teacher comforted him, when he felt somewhat slighted on account of a certain preference given to his younger colleague R. Meir. He shared the fate of his colleagues in being compelled to flee after ordination. Afterwards, he joined them at the new seat of the Sanhedrin in Usha. On a certain occasion he gave vent to his bitter feeling against the Romans, which was reported to the Roman governor, who condemned him to death. He, however, escaped this fate by concealing himself in a cave, where he is said to have remained for several years, together with his son, engaged in the study of the law, and subsisting on the fruit of the carob-trees which abounded there in the neighbourhood. In the meantime political affairs had taken a favourable turn, so that he had no longer to fear any persecution; he left his hiding place and reopened his academy at Tekoa, in Galilee, where a circle of disciples gathered around him. He survived all his colleagues, and in his old age was delegated to Rome, where he succeeded in obtaining from the emperor (Marcus Aurelius) the repeal of some edicts against the Jewish religion.

In the interpretation of the law, R. Simon departed from the method of his teacher R. Akiba, as he inclined to the view of R. Ishmael that "the Torah speaks the common language of man," and consequently regarded logical reasoning as the proper starting point for legal deductions, instead of pleonastic words, syllables and letters. In accordance with this sound principle, he tried to investigate the evident motive of different biblical laws, and to make conclusions therefrom for their proper application. In regard to treating and arranging the oral law, however, he followed the method of R. Akiba in subsuming various provisions under guiding rules and principles. R. Simon is regarded as the author of the Siphre, though that work in its present shape shows many additions by the hands of later authorities. 1

5. R. Elazar b. Shamua, in the Mishna simply R. Elazar, was among those of R. Akiba's disciples who in consequence of the Hadrian edicts went to the South, whence he went to Nisibis. He does not, however, appear to have joined his colleagues when they gathered again at Usha. He is regarded as a great authority in the law. The place of his academy is not known, but it is stated that his, school was always overcrowded by disciples eager to hear his learned lectures. Among his disciples was also the later patriarch R. Jehuda. On a journey, he visited his former colleague R. Meir at Ardiscos, in Asia Minor, and with him had discussions on important questions of the law, which are recorded in the Mishna and Boraitha.

6. R. Jochanan the Sandelar had this surname probably from his trade in sandals. Born in Alexandria in Egypt, he came to Palestine to attend the lectures of R. Akiba, and was so faithful a disciple that he visited this teacher even in prison, in order to receive instruction from him. His legal opinions are occasionally recorded in the Mishna as well as in the Tosephta and Boraitha.

7. R. Elazar (or Eliezer) b. Jacob was a disciple of R. Akiba and later a member of the Sanhedrin in Usha. This teacher must not be confounded with a former teacher by that name who flourished in the second generation.

8. R. Nechemia belonged to the last disciples of R. Akiba and was an authority especially in the sacrificial law, and in laws concerning levitical purification. His controversies are mostly with R. Juda b. Ilai. He is said to have compiled a Mishna collection which was embodied in the Tosephta.

9. R. Joshua b. Korcha is supposed by some to have been a son of R. Akiba, who, on one occasion, is called by such a surname (meaning the bald head); but this supposition is very improbable, for it would be strange that the son of so illustrious a man should not rather have been called by his father's proper name, and that he should never have alluded to his celebrated parent or to any of his teachings. 1

R. Joshua b. K. belonged to the authorities of this generation, though only a few of his opinions are recorded in the Mishna.

10. R. Simon b. Gamaliel was the son and successor of the patriarch Gamaliel II. of Jabne. In his youth, he witnessed the fall of Bethar, and escaped the threatened arrest by flight. After the death of the emperor Hadrian, he returned to Jabne where he, in connection with some teachers, reopened an academy, and assumed the hereditary dignity of a patriarch. As the returning disciples of R. Akiba, who were the leading teachers of that generation, preferred Usha as the seat of the new Sanhedrin, R. Simon was obliged to transfer his academy to that city, and appointed R. Nathan as Ab Beth-din (vice-president), and R. Meir as Chacham (advising sage, or speaker). Both of these officers had to retire however, when found planning his deposal on account of some marks of distinction introduced in order to raise the patriarchal dignity. He did not enjoy the privilege of his predecessors to be titled Rabban (our teacher), but like the other teachers, he was simply called Rabbi (my teacher), 2 probably because many of his contemporaries were superior to him in learning. Still, his legal opinions, which are frequently quoted in the Mishna and Boraitha, give evidence that he was a man of considerable learning and of sound and clear judgement as well as of noble principles. He introduced several legal provisions for the protection of the rights of women and slaves, and for the general welfare of the community. All his opinions expressed in the Mishna, with the exception of only three cases, are regarded by later teachers as authoritative (Halakha). His discussions recorded in the Mishna and Boraitha are mostly held with his celebrated son, R. Jehuda Hanasi. R. Simon b. Gamaliel appears to have been acquainted also with the Greek language and sciences.

Apart from the great circle of teachers mentioned above, the disciples of R. Ishmael b. Elisha formed a school in the extreme South of Judea (Darom), where they continued the methods of their teacher. Of this separate school, called Debe R. Ishmael, only two members are mentioned by name: R. Josiah and R. Jonathan.

FIFTH GENERATION.

This generation extends from the death of R. Simon b. Gamaliel II., to the death of R. Jehuda Hanasi (from 165 to about 200).

The following are the most prominent teachers of this generation:

(1) R. Nathan (the Babylonian); (2) Symmachos; (3) R. Jehuda, Hanasi (the Patriarch), called simply Rabbi; (4) R. Jose b. Juda; (5) R. Elazar b. Simon; (6) R. Simon b. Elazar. Strack places these in the fourth generation and adds (7) Dustayi b. Janai; (8) Simeon b. Jehuda, of the village Akum; (9) Achia b. Joashai; (10) Jacob; (11) Itzchok; (12) Eliezar b. Simeon b. Johai; (13) Pinchas b. Jaier; (14) Ischmael b. Jos; (15) Menachem b. Jos (b. Chialaphta); (16) Jehudah b. Lakish; (17) Elazar Charkaper; (18) Abba Elazar b. Gamla; (19) Simon b. Jos b. Lecunia; (20) Simon b. Menascha; (21) Jehudah b. Tamah.

The junior sages of the fifth generation Strack quotes thus: (1) Hyye Rabbi (the Great); (2) Eliezer b. Kappara; (3) Simeon b. 'Halafta; (4) Lewi b. Sissi; (5) Simai.

Both Mielziner and Strack do not count Simon Shezurri, one of the great Tanaim. who belongs to the third generation, and who is mentioned in the Mishna several times, and of whom it is said (Menachoth, 30 b), "Everywhere the name of Simeon Shezurri is mentioned, the Halakha prevails in accordance with him." We would also count Wradimus b. R. Jose though according to some he was identical with Menachem, and who was one of the greatest Tanaim in the time of Rabbi. (See I. H. Weiss, p. 06.) [See Appendix No. I.] His father, R. Jose, quotes him as the author of a Halakha (Tosephtha, Baba Metzia).

Characteristics and Biographical Sketches.

1. R. Nathan was the son of one of the exilarchs in Babylon, and probably received his education in his native country. For some unknown reasons he emigrated to Judea, and on account of his great learning he was appointed by the patriarch, R. Simon b. Gamaliel, to the dignity of Ab-Beth-din (chief justice or vice-president), in the Sanhedrin of Usha. He had to retire from this office because of his and R. Meir's dissension with the patriarch, but was soon reinstated and became reconciled with the Synhedrial president, who held him in high esteem. Also the suceeding patriarch, R. Jehuda, with whom he had many discussions on questions of the law, speaks of him; with great respect. R. Nathan was not only an authority in the rabbinical law, especially in jurisprudence, but appears also to have been well versed in mathematics, astronomy and other sciences. To him is ascribed the authorship of Aboth, de R. Nathan, which is a kind of Tosephta to Pirke Aboth.

2. Symmachos was a prominent disciple of R. Meir and, distinguished for his great dialectical powers. After the death of his teacher, he as well as other disciples of R. Meir were excluded from the academy of R. Jehuda Hanasi, as they were charged with indulging in sophistical disputations in order to display their dialectical sagacity, instead of seeking after truth. Nevertheless the Mishna as well as the Tosephta makes mention of the opinions of Symmachos. His renown lay in the rabbinical jurisprudence, in which he laid down certain principles often referred to in the Talmud.

3. R. Jehuda (Juda) Hanasi, by way of eminence simply called Rabbi, was a son of the patriarch R. Simon b. Gamaliel II., and is said to have been born on the same day when R. Akiba was executed. His principal teachers were R. Simon b. Jochai and R. Elazar b. Shamua, under whose guidance his intellectual capacity and splendid talents early developed. Besides his immense knowledge of the whole range of the traditional law, he had a liberal education in secular branches and was especially acquainted with the Greek language, which he preferred to the Syriac, the popular language of Palestine at that time. After the death of his father he succeeded him in the dignity of patriarch, and became the chief authority, eclipsing all other teachers of that generation. Though blessed with great riches, he preferred to live in a simple style and applied his wealth to the maintenance of his numerous pupils and to charitable works. The seat of his academy was first at Beth-Shearim, afterward at Sepphoris, and also at Tiberias. Among his most distinguished disciples were: R. Chiya; (Simon) bar Kappara; Levi bar Sissi; R. Abba Areca, later called Rab; Mar Samuel, and many others. He is said to have been in a friendly relation with one of the Roman emperors, either Marcus Aurelius, or more probably, Lucius Verus Antoninus. By virtue of his authority R. Jehuda abolished several customs and ceremonies which, though sanctified by age, had become impracticable through the change of times and circumstances. His most meritorious work, by which be erected for himself a monument of enduring fame, was the completion of the Mishna compilation which henceforth became the authoritative code of the traditional law and superseded all similar compilations made by former teachers.

4. R. Jose ben Juda (b. Ilai) belonged to the great teachers of that generation and was a friend of R. Jehuda Hanasi. His legal opinions are frequently recorded in the Mishna as well as in the Tosephta.

5. R. Elazar b. Simon (b. Jochai) was a disciple of R. Simon b. Gamaliel and of R. Joshua b. Korcha. Although an authority in the rabbinical law to whom even the patriarch sometimes yielded, he incurred the severest censure of his colleagues for having, on a certain occasion, lent his assistance to the Romans in prosecuting some Jewish freebooters.

6. R. Simon b. Elazar (probably E. b. Shamua), was a disciple of R. Meir, whose opinions he often quotes. He established several important principles, especially in the civil law.

SIXTH GENERATION.

To this generation belong the younger contemporaries and disciples of R. Juda Hanasi. They are not mentioned in the Mishna, but in the Tosephta and Boraitha, and are therefore termed semi-Tanaim, who form a connecting link between the period of Tanaim and that of the Amoraim. Their names are:

(1) Plimo; (2) Ise b. Juda; (3) R. Elazar b. Jose; (4) R. Ishmael bar Jose; (5) R. Juda b. Lakish; (6) R. Chiya; (7) R. Acha; (8) R. Abba (Areca).

There is no sixth generation according to Strack, and all who are mentioned here he includes in the fifth generation. We have to remark that all the eight mentioned above by Mielziner, as they formed the last generation of the Tanaim, are also named Amoraim; and therefore we find stated in many places in the Talmud where one of the above-mentioned

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is in conflict with a Mishna or a Boraitha: "He is a Tana, and has the right to differ with the authorities of the Mishna or the Boraitha."

The most prominent among these semi-Tanaim were R. Chiya and R. Abba (Areca).

1. R. Chiya (bar Abba) the elder, which epithet is to distinguish him from a later Amora by the same name, was a Babylonian who came at an already advanced age to Palestine, where he became the most distinguished disciple and friend of R. Jehuda Hanasi. He and his disciple R. Oshaya (or Hoshaya) are regarded as the principal authors or compilers of the Tosephta.

2. R. Abba (Areca) a nephew of R. Chiya, was likewise a Babylonian, and a disciple of R. Jehuda Hanasi, after whose death he returned to his native country, where, under the historical name of Rab, he became the principal Amora. (See the following chapter.)

Of other distinguished teachers flourishing in this generation and in the beginning of the period of the Amoraim, we have to mention especially R. Janai (the elder), and R. Jonathan (the elder). The former lived in Sepphoris and was one of the teachers of R. Jochanan bar Naphacha, the greatest among the Palestinian Amoraim.

CHAPTER 3.

THE AMORAIM OR EXPOUNDERS OF THE MISHNA.

As the Mishna compilation of R. Jehuda Hanasi became the authoritative code of the oral Law, the activity of the teachers was principally devoted to expounding this code. This was done as well in the academies of Tiberias, Sepphoris, Caesarea in Palestine, as in those of Nahardea, Sura, and later of Pumbaditha and some other seats of learning in Babylonia. The main object of the lectures and discussions in those academies was to interpret the often very brief and concise expression of the Mishna, to investigate its reasons and sources, to reconcile seeming contradictions, to compare its canons with those of the Boraithoth, and to apply its decisions and established principles to new cases not yet provided for. The teachers who were engaged in this work, which finally became embodied in the Gemara, are called Amoraim, meaning speakers, interpreters, expounders. 1 They were not as independent in their legal opinions and decisions as their predecessors, the Tanaim and semi-Tanaim, as they had not the authority to contradict Halakhoth and principles accepted in the Mishna or Boraitha. The Palestinian Amoraim, having generally been ordained by the Nasi, had the title of Rabbi, while the Babylonian teachers of that period had only the title of Rab or of Mar.

The period of Amoraim extends from the death of R. Jehuda Hanasi to the compilation of the Babylonian Talmud; that is, from the beginning of the third to the end of the fifth century. This period has been divided by some into six, by others into seven, minor periods or generations, which are determined by the beginning and the end of the activity of the most prominent teachers flourishing during that time.

The number of Amoraim who are mentioned in the Talmud amounts to several hundreds. The most distinguished among them, especially those who presided over the great academies, are contained in the following chronological tables, of the six generations of Amoraim. 1

THE FIRST GENERATION OF AMORAIM.

A. Palestinian (219-279).

1. R. Chanina bar Chama.
2. R. Jochanan (bar Napacha).
3. R. Simon ben Lakish (Resh Lakish).
4. R. Joshua ben Levi.

B. Babylonian (219-257).

1. Abba Areca, called simply Rab.
2. (Mar) Samuel.

Strack adds to the first generation of the Palestinian, (5) Hama b. Biza; (6) Janai; (7) Jehuda; and (8) Hiskiah sons of Hyye; (9) Bnya or Bnaah; (10) Pdaya or Jehuda b. Pdaya; (11) Hoshia b. Hanninah b. Biza, named Rabbh the Great; (12) Jose b. Zimra; (13) Simon b. Yehozodak.

To the Babylonian Amoraim he adds, (3) Shila; (4) Abba b. Abba (father of Mar Samuel); (5) Kama 2; (6) Mar Uqba (the Exilarch).

All the Palestinian Amoraim named here are very often mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud, and as their biographical sketches are interesting we could not omit them.

Biographical Sketches.

A. PALESTINIAN AMORAIM.

During this generation R. Gamaliel III. and R. Judah II. were successively the patriarchs.

1. R. Chanina bar Chama (born about 180, died 260), was a disciple of R. Jehuda Hanasi, whose son and successor, R. Gamaliel III., bestowed on him the title of Rabbi. He then presided over his own academy in Sepphoris and stood in high regard on account of his learning, modesty and piety. As teacher he was very conservative, transmitting that only which he had received by tradition, without ever allowing himself an independent decision. Of his prominent contemporaries are: R. Ephes, who reopened a school at Lydda, in South Judea; Levi b. Sissi (called simply Levi), who, though not presiding over an academy, was a distinguished teacher, and later emigrated to Babylonia; further Chizkia, who was a son of R. Chiya the Elder, and whose teachings are frequently quoted in the Talmud. This Chizkia, who had not the title of Rabbi, must not be mistaken for R. Chizkia, who belonged to the third generation.

2. R. Jochanan bar Napacha, in general called simply R. Jochanan (born about 199, died 279), was in his early youth a disciple of R. Jehuda Hanasi, later of R. Oshaya in Caesarea, also of R. Janai, and especially of R. Chanina b. Chama. He then founded his own academy in Tiberias, which henceforth became the principal seat of learning in the Holy Land. By his great mental powers he excelled all his contemporaries, and is regarded the chief Amora of Palestine. In expounding the Mishna he introduced an analytical method, and laid down certain rules for the final decision in such cases in which the Tanaim expressed opposite opinions. His legal teachings, ethical aphorisms, and exegetical remarks, transmitted by his numerous disciples, form the principal elements of the Gemara. He is supposed to have laid the foundation of the Palestinian Talmud, though, in its present shape, this work can not have been compiled before at least one century after R. Jochanan's death. 1

3. R. Simon b. Lakish, whose name is generally abbreviated to Resh Lakish, was a man who combined great physical strength with a noble heart and a powerful mind. It is said that in his youth he was compelled by circumstances to gain his livelihood as a gladiator or soldier, until making the acquaintance of R. Jochanan, who gained him for the study of the law and gave him his sister in marriage. Having developed extraordinary mental and dialectical powers, he became R. Jochanan's most distinguished friend and colleague. In the interpretation of the Mishna and in legal questions they differed, however, very often, and their numerous controversies are reported in the Babylonian Talmud as well as in the Palestinian. Also is his Hagadic teachings, Resh Lakish was original and advanced some very rational views.

4. R. Joshua b. Levi (ben Sissi) presided over an academy in Lydda. He is regarded as a great authority in the law, and his decisions prevail even in cases where his celebrated contemporaries, R. Jochanan and Resh Lakish differ from him. Though himself a prolific Hagadist, he disapproved of the vagaries of the Hagada, and objected to their being written down in books. The circumstance that, on a certain occasion, his prayer for rain proved to be efficient, probably gave rise to the mystic legends with which the fancy of later generations tried to illustrate his great piety.

To other celebrities flourishing in this generation belongs R. Simlai of Lydda, who later settled in Nahardea. He was reputed less as teacher of the Halakha than for his ingenious and lucid method of treating the Hagada.

B. BABYLONIAN AMORAIM.

1. Abba Areca (or Aricha) was the real name of the chief Babylonian Amora, who, by way of eminence, is generally called Rab (the Teacher). He was born about 175 and died 247. As an orphaned youth he went to his uncle, the celebrated R. Chiya in Palestine, to finish his studies in the academy of R. Jehuda Hanasi. The mental abilities which he displayed soon attracted general attention. After the death of R. Jehuda, Abba returned to his native country, and in the year 219 founded the academy in Sura, where 1,200 pupils flocked around him from all parts of Babylonia. His authority was recognised even by the most celebrated teachers in Palestine. Being regarded as one of the semi-Tanaim, he ventured in some instances even to dispute some opinions accepted in the Mishna, a privilege otherwise not accorded to any of the Amoraim. Most of his decisions, especially in ritual questions, obtained legal sanction, but in the civil law his friend Samuel in Nahardea was his superior. Over one hundred of his numerous disciples, who transmitted his teachings and decisions to later generations, are mentioned in the Talmud by their names.

2. Samuel, or Mar Samuel, was born about 180 in Nahardea, died there 257. His father, Abba bar Abba, and Levi b. Sissi were his first teachers. Like Rab he went to Palestine and became a disciple of Rabbi Jehuda Hanasi, from whom, however, he could not obtain the ordination. After his return to Nahardea, he succeeded R. Shela in the dignity of president of the academy (Resh-Sidra) in that city. Besides the law, he cultivated the sciences of medicine and astronomy. As Amora he developed especially the rabbinical jurisprudence, in which he was regarded as the greatest authority. 1 Among other important principles established by him is that of "Dina d'malchutha Dina," that is, the civil law of the government is as valid for the Jews as their own law. The most friendly and brotherly relation prevailed between Samuel and Rab, although they often differed in questions of the law. After Rab's death (247), his disciples recognised Samuel as the highest religious authority of Babylonia. He died about ten years later, leaving behind numerous disciples, several of whom became the leading teachers in the following generation.

A distinguished contemporary of Samuel was Mar Uqba, at first head of the court in Kafri, and later Exilarch in Nahardea.

THE SECOND GENERATION OF AMORAIM.

A. Palestinian (279-320).

1. R. Elazar b. Pedath.
2. R. Arne.
3. R. Assi.
4. R. Chiya bar Abba.
5, Simon bar Abba.
6. R. Abbuhu.
7. R. Zera (Zeira).

B. Babylonian (257-320).

1. Rab Huna.
2. Rab Juda, bar Jecheskel.
3. Rab Chisda (or Chasda).
4. Rab Shesheth.
5. Rab Nachman b. Jacob.

To the second generation of the Palestinian, Strack adds, (8) Jehudah the Second (son of Gamalia III.), (Johanan and Simon b. Lakish Strack refers to the second generation); (9) Hilfa or Ilfa; (10) Alexanderi; (11) Khana; (12) Chia bar Joseph; (13) Jos b. Chaninah; (14) Abba b. Zabdah, and (15) Simlaie.

To the Babylonian Strack adds, (6) Ktinah; (7) Adda b. Ahba; (8) Rabba b. Abuhu, and (9) Mathna.

Remarks and Biographical Sketches.

A. PALESTINIAN AMORAIM.

The patriarchate during this generation was successively in the hands of R. Gamaliel IV., and R. Judah III.

1. R. Elazar ben Pedath, generally called simply R. Elazar, like the Tana R. Elazar (ben Shamua), for whom he must not be mistaken, was a native of Babylonia, and a disciple and later an associate of R. Jochanan, whom he survived. He, enjoyed great authority and is very often quoted in the Talmud.

2. and 3. R. Ame and R. Assi were likewise Babylonians, and distinguished disciples of R. Jochanan. After the death of R. Elazar they became the heads of the declining academy in Tiberias. They had the title only of "Judges, or the Aaronites of the Holy Land," and subordinated themselves to the growing authority of the teachers in Babylonia. Rabbi Assi is not to be confounded with his contemporary the Babylonian Amora Rab Assi, who was a colleague of Rab Saphra and a disciple of Rab in Sura. 1

4. and 5. R. Chiya bar Abba and Simon bar Abba were probably brothers. They had emigrated from Babylonia and became disciples of R. Jochanan. Both were distinguished teachers, but very poor. In questions of the law they were inclined to rigorous views.

6. R. Abbahu of Caesarea, disciple of R. Jochanan, friend and colleague of R. Ame and R. Assi, was a man of great wealth and of a liberal education. He had a thorough knowledge of the Greek language, and favoured Greek culture. Being held in high esteem by the Roman authorities, he had great political, influence. He seems to have had frequent controversies with the teachers of Christianity in Caesarea. Besides being a prominent teacher whose legal opinions are quoted in all parts of the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmud, he was a very popular lecturer.

7. R. Zeira (or Zera), was a Babylonian and a disciple of Rab Juda bar Jecheskel, but dissatisfied with the hair-splitting method prevailing in the academies of his native country, he emigrated to Palestine where he attended the lectures of R. Elazar b. Pedath in Tiberias, and tried, in vain, to unlearn his former method of study. Having been ordained as Rabbi, he became one of the authorities in Palestine, together with R. Ame, R. Assi and R. Abbuhu.

B. BABYLONIAN AMORAIM.

1. Rab Huna (born 212, died 297) was a disciple of Rab, whom, after Mar Samuel's death, he succeeded as president of the academy in Sura. In this office he was active for forty years. He employed fifteen assistants to repeat and explain his lectures to his 800 disciples. Highly revered for his great learning and his noble character, he enjoyed an undisputed authority to which even the Palestinian teachers R. Ame and R. Assi voluntarily subordinated themselves.

2. Rab Juda bar Jecheskel, generally called simply R. Juda (or Jehuda), was a disciple of Rab, and also of Samuel. The latter teacher, whose peculiar method he adopted and developed, used to characterize him by the epithet, "the acute." He founded the academy in Pumbaditha, but after R. Huna's death he was chosen as his successor (Resh Methibta), at Sura, where after two years (299), he died at an advanced age.

3. Rab Chisda (or Chasda) belonged to the younger disciples of Rab, after whose death he attended also the lectures of R. Huna. But from the latter teacher he soon separated on account of a misunderstanding between them,

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and established a school of his own. At the same time, he was one of the Judges in Sura. After Rab Juda's death, R. Chisda, though already above eighty years old, became head of the academy in Sura, and remained in this office for about ten years.

4. Rab Shesheth, a disciple of Rab and Samuel, was member of the court in Nahardea. After the destruction of that city he went to Mechuza; later he settled in Silhi, where he founded an academy. Being blind, he had to rely upon his powerful memory. He was R. Chisda's opponent in the Halakha, and disapproved of the hair-splitting dialectical method which had come in vogue among the followers of Rab Juda in Pumbaditha.

5. Rab Nachman b. Jacob, called simply Rab Nachman, was a prominent disciple of Mar Samuel. By his father-in-law, the exilarch Abba bar Abuha, he was appointed chief justice in Nahardea. After Mar Samuel's death, he succeeded him as rector of the academy in that city. When two years later (259), the city of Nahardea was destroyed, R. Nachman settled in Shechan-Zib. He is regarded as a great authority especially in the rabbinical jurisprudence, in which he established many important principles. Among others, he originated the rabbinical oath, that is, the purging oath imposed in a law suit on claims even in cases of general denial on the part of the defendant.

Of other teachers belonging to this generation, who, though not standing at the head of the leading academies, are often quoted in the Talmud, the following must be noted:

(a) Rabba bar bar Chana, who was a Babylonian and son of Abba bar Chana. After having attended the academy of R. Jochanan in Palestine, he returned to his native country, where he frequently reported the opinions of his great teacher. He is also noted for the many allegorical narratives ascribed to him in the Talmud.

(b) Ulla (b. Ishmael), was a Palestinian who frequently travelled to Babylonia, where he finally settled and died. Although without the title of Rabbi or Rab, he was regarded as a distinguished teacher whose opinions and reports are often mentioned.

THE THIRD GENERATION OF AMORAIM.
A. Palestinian (320-359).
1. R. Jeremiah.
2. R. Jonah.
3. R. Jose.

B. Babylonian (320-375).
1. Rabba bar Huna.
2. Rabba bar Nachmani.
3. Rab Joseph (bar Chiya).
4. Abaye.
5. Rabha.
6. Rab Nachman bar Isaac.
7. Rab Papa.

To the Palestinian, Strack adds, (4) Samuel b. Nachman (in the Babylonian he is mentioned as Nachmani); (5) Itzhak the second (his contemporary in Babylonia is Nachman b. Jacob); (6) Lewi; (7) Abuhu; (8) Ami; (9) Assi; (10) Hyya b. Abba II. (Elazar b. Pedath he quotes in the third generation); (11) Simeon b. Abba; (12) Simur (also Zera is mentioned among the second generation); (13) Samuel b. Itzhak; (14) Hilla or Illeh; (15) Zrika; (16) Hoshia the second; (17) Chananiah (the colleague of the Rabbinat) 1; (18) Janai b. Ishmael; (19) Joshua; (20) Ban b. Mamal (in Babylonia named Abba b. Mamal); (21) Jacob b. Ide; (22) Itzhak b. Nachma; (23) Maysha; (24) Bibe; (Haggi and Jeremiah Strack quotes as belonging also to the fourth generation).

To the Babylonian, Strack adds, (8) Chisda; (9) Hamnuna; (10) Shesheth; (11) Nachma b. Jacob; (12) Rabba b. b. Hanna; (13) Ulla b. Ishmael; (14) Rabba b. Nachmene, and (1) Joseph b. Hiah.

Remarks and Biographical Sketches.

A. PALESTINIAN AMORAIM.

The patriarch of this period was Hillel II., who introduced the fixed Jewish calendar.

In consequence of the persecutions and the banishment of several religious teachers under the emperors Constantine and Constantius, the Palestinian academies entirely decayed. The only teachers of any prominence are the following:

1. R. Jeremiah was a Babylonian and disciple of R. Zeira, whom he followed to Palestine. In his younger days, when still in his native country, he indulged in propounding puzzling questions of trifling casuistry, by which he probably intended to ridicule the subtile method prevailing among some of the contemporary teachers, and on this account he was expelled from the academy. In the Holy Land he was more appreciated, and, after the death of R. Abbahu and R. Zeira, was acknowledged as the only authority in that country.

2. R. Jonah was a disciple of R. Ila (Hila) and of R. Jeremiah.

His opinions are frequently quoted, especially in the Palestinian Talmud.

3. R. Jose (bar Zabda), colleague of R. Jonah, was one of the last rabbinical authorities in Palestine.

It is probable that the compilation of the Palestinian Talmud was accomplished about that time, though it cannot be stated by whom.

B. BABYLONIAN AMORAIM.

1. Rabba (or Rab Abba) bar Huna was not, as erroneously supposed by some, the son of the exilarch Huna Mari, but of Rab Huna, the disciple and successor of Rab. After the death of R. Chisda (309), he succeeded him in the dignity of president of the academy in Sura. Under his presidency, lasting thirteen years, this academy was eclipsed by that of Pumbaditha, and after his death it remained deserted for about fifty years until Rab Ashe restored it to its former glory.

2. Rabba bar Nachmani, in the Talmud called simply Rabba was born 270, and died 330. He was a disciple of Rab Huna, Rab Juda and Rab Chisda, and displayed from his youth great dialectical powers on account of which he was characterized as "the uprooter of mountains." Selected as head of the academy of Pumbaditha, he attracted large crowds of hearers by his ingenious method of teaching. In his lectures which commented on all parts of the Mishna, he investigated the reason of the laws and made therefrom logical deductions. Besides, he tried to reconcile seeming differences between the Mishna, the Baraithoth, and the traditional teachings of later authorities. He also liked to propound puzzling problems of the law, in order to test and sharpen the mental powers of his disciples. A charge having been made against him by the Persian government that many of his numerous hearers attended his lectures in order to evade the poll-tax, he fled from Pumbaditha and died in solitude.

3. Rab Joseph (bar Chiya) was a disciple of Rab Juda and Rab Shesheth, and succeeded his friend Rabba in the dignity of president of the academy in Pumbadita, after having once before been elected for this office, which he declined in favour of Rabba. On account of his thorough knowledge of the sources of the Law, to which be attached more importance than to ingenious deductions, he was called Sinai. Besides being a great authority in the rabbinical law, he devoted himself to the Targum of the Bible, especially of the prophetical books. In his old age he became blind. He died in the year 333, after having presided over the academy of Pumbaditha only for three years.

4. Abaye, surnamed Nachmani (b. 280, d. 338) was a son of Kaylil and a pupil of his uncle Rabba bar Nachmani, and of Rab Joseph. He was highly esteemed not only for his profound knowledge of the law and his mastership in Talmudical dialectics, but also for his integrity and gentleness. After Rab Joseph's death he was selected as head of the academy in Pumbaditha, but tinder his administration, which lasted about five years, the number of hearers in that academy decreased considerably, as his more talented colleague Raba had founded a new academy in Machuza which attracted greater crowds of pupils. Under these two Amoraim the dialectical method of the Babylonian teachers reached the highest development. Their discussions, which mostly concern some very nice distinctions in the interpretation of the Mishna, in order to reconcile conflicting passages, fill the pages of the Talmud. 1 In their differences concerning more practical questions, the opinion of Raba generally prevails, so that later authorities pointed out only six cases in which the decision of Abaye was to be adopted against that of his rival.

5. Raba was the son of Joseph b. Chama in Machuza. He was born 299, and died 352. In his youth he attended the lectures of Rab Nachman and of R. Chisda. Later, he and Abaye were fellow-students in the academy of Rabba bar Nachmani. Here he developed his dialectical powers, by which he soon surpassed all his contemporaries. He opened an academy in Machuza which attracted a great number of students. After Abaye's death this academy supplanted that in Pumbaditha and during Raba's lifetime became almost the only seat of learning in Babylonia. His controversies with his contemporaries, especially with his rival colleague, Abaye, are very numerous. Wherever an opinion of Abaye is recorded in the Talmud, it is almost always followed by the contrary view and' argument of Raba.

6. Rab Nachman b. Isaac was a disciple of Rab Nachman (b. Jacob), and afterward an officer as Resh Calla in the academy of Raba. After the death of the latter he was made president of the academy in Pumbaditha, which now resumed its former rank. In this capacity he remained only four years (352-356), and left no remarkable traces of his activity. Still, less significant was the activity of his successor, R. Chama from Nahardea, who held the office for twenty-one years (356-377).

7. Rab Papa (bar Chanan), a disciple of Abaye and Raba, founded a new school in Nares, in the vicinity of Sura, over, which he presided for nineteen years (354-375). He adopted the dialectical method of his former teachers without possessing their ingenuity and their independence, and consequently did not give satisfaction to those of his hearers who had formerly attended the lectures of Raba. One of his peculiarities was that he frequently refers to popular proverbs people say. 1

THE FOURTH GENERATION OF BABYLONIAN AMORAIM.
(375-427).
A. Sura.
1. Rab Ashe.

B. Pumbaditha.
1. Rab Zebid.
2. Rab Dime.
3. Rafram.
4. Rab Kahana.
5. Mar Zutra.

C. Nahardea.
Amemar.

To the fourth generation Strack adds, (1) Jeremiah (who though a Babylonian native, emigrated to Palestine, and was counted among the Palestinian); (2) Haggi; (3) Juda the third (Nassi), son of Gamaliel the fourth; (4) Jona; (5) Josa the second (colleague of Jona); (6) Pinchas (who also emigrated from Babylonia); (7) Judan; (8) Chelbo; (9) Hisda; (10) Chinna; (11) Tabbi; (12) Juda b. Pazi, from Lydda, and (13) Jehoshua of Siknin. Concerning the fourth generation of Babylonian, he counts also Abbaye and Rabba, and adds to the list of Mielziner, Rabba b. Mari, Rabbi b. Ulla, and Rabha b. Shilla. Strack does not distinguish between the colleges of Sura, Pumbaditha and Nahardea.

Remarks and Biographical Sketches.

A. Rab Ashe (son of Simai bar Ashe) was, at the age of twenty, made president of the reopened academy of Sura, after the death of Rab Papa, and held this office for fifty-two years. Under his presidency, this academy, which had been deserted since the time of Rabba bar Huna, regained its former glory with which Rab had invested it. Combining the profundity of knowledge which formerly prevailed in this academy with the dialectic methods developed in that of Pumbaditha, be was generally recognised as the ruling authority, so that his contemporaries called him by the distinguishing title of Rabbana (our teacher). Invested with this great authority, Rab Ashe was enabled to assume the task of sifting, arranging and compiling the immense material of traditions, commentaries and discussions on the Mishna, which, during the two preceding centuries, had accumulated in the Babylonian academies. In the compilation and revision of this gigantic work, which is embodied in the Gemara, he was occupied for over half a century, and still he did not complete it entirely, but this was done, after his death, by his disciples and successors.

B. During the long period of Rab Ashe's activity at the academy in Sura, the following teachers presided successively over the academy in Pumbaditha:

1 Rab Zebid (b. Oshaya), who succeeded Rab Chama and held the office for eight years (377-385).

2. Rab Dime (b. Chinena) from Nahardea, presiding only for three years (385-388).

3. Rafram bar Papa the elder, in his youth a disciple of Raba, succeeded R. Dime (388-394).

4. Rab Kahana (b. Tachlifa), likewise a disciple of Raba, was one of the former teachers of R. Ashe. In an already advanced age, he was made president of the academy of Pumbaditha, and died in the year 411. This Rab Cabana must not be mistaken for two other teachers of the same name, one of whom had been a distinguished disciple of Rab, and the other (Rab, Cahana b. Manyome), a disciple of Rab Juda b. Jecheskel.

5. Mar Zutra, who, according to some historians, succeeded Rab Cahana as rector of the school in Pumbaditha (411-414), is probably identical with Mar Zutra b. Mare, who shortly afterwards held the high office as Exilarch. In the rectorship of Pumbaditha he was succeeded by Rab Acha bar Raba (414-419), and the latter by Rab Gebiha (419-433).

C. Amemar, a friend of Rab Ashe, was a distinguished judge and teacher in Nahardea. When his former teacher Rab Dime became president of the academy in Pumbaditha, he succeeded him in the rectorship of that of Nahardea, from 390 to about 422. With him this once so celebrated seat of learning passed out of existence.

THE FIFTH GENERATION OF BABYLONIAN AMORAIM (427-468).
A. Sura.
1. Mar Jemar (Maremar).
2. Rab Ide bar Abin.
3. Mar bar Rab Ashe.
4. Rab Acha of Difte.

B. Pumbaditha.
1. Rafram II.
2. Rechumai.
3. Rab Sama b. Rabba.

To the fifth generation of Palestinian Strack adds, (1) Abba b. Kohen; (2) Abba Mare; (3) Mattanjah; (4) Mana the second

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b. Jona; (5) Chananiah the second; (6) Jos b. Bune; (7) Jona of Bozrae; (8) Tanhum, and (9) Chiah b. Adda the second.

To the Babylonian fifth generation he counts, (1) Nachman b. Itzhak; (2) Papa; (3) Huna b. Johusua.

Remarks and Biographical Sketches.

A. 1. Mar Jemar (contracted to Maremar), who enjoyed high esteem with the leading teachers of his time, succeeded his colleague and friend, Rab Ashe, in the presidency of the academy in Sura, but held this office only for about five years, (427-432).

2. Rab Ide (or Ada) bar Abin, became, after Mar Jemar's death, president of the academy at Sura, and held this office for about twenty years (432-452). He as well as his predecessor continued the compilation of the Talmud which Rab Ashe had commenced.

3. Mar bar Rab Ashe, whose surname was Tabyome, and who, for some unknown reasons, had been passed over in the election of a successor to his father, was finally made president of the academy in Sura, and filled this office for thirteen years, (455-468.). In his frequent discussions with contemporary authorities, he exhibits independence of opinion and great faculties of mind.

4. Rab Acha of Difte, a prominent teacher, was on the point of being elected as head of the academy of Sura, but was finally defeated by Mar bar Rab Ashe, who aspired to that office which his father had so gloriously filled for more than half a century.

B. The academy of Pumbaditha, which had lost its earlier influence, had during this generation successively three presidents, of whose activity very little is known, namely:

1. Rafram II., who succeeded Rab Gebihah, from 433 to 443.

2. Rab Rechumai, from 443-456.

3. Rab Sama b. Rabba, from 456-471.

Toward the end of this generation, the activity of both academies was almost paralyzed by the terrible persecutions which the Persian King Firuz instituted against the Jews and their religion.

THE SIXTH AND LAST GENERATION OF BABYLONIAN AMORAIM (468-500).

A. Sura.

1. Rabba Thospia (or Tosfaah).

2. Rabina.

B. Pumbaditha.

Rab Jose.

To the sixth generation of Palestinian Strack adds, (1) Samuel b. Jose b. Bune, and to the Babylonian, (1) Ashi; (2) Rabban bar Thachlifa; (3) Mar b. Rabbina; (4) Mar Zutra. Meremar and Tospha he counts to the seventh generation, whilst Mielziner counts them to the sixth. 1

CHAPTER 4.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF HALAKHA AND HAGADA IN THE CONTENTS OF THE GEMARA.

The collection of the commentaries and discussions of the Amoraim on the Mishna is termed Gemara. (See our Brief Introd., Vol. I., of our Edition.) Besides being a discursive commentary on the Mishna, the Gemara contains a vast amount of more or less valuable material which does not always have any close connection with the Mishna text, as legal reports, historical and biographical information, religious and ethical maxims and homiletical remarks.

The whole subject-matter embodied in the Gemara is generally classified into Halakha and Hagada.

To Halakha 1 belongs that which has bearing upon the law; hence all expositions, discussions and reports which have the object of explaining, establishing and determining legal principles and provisions. The principal branches of the Halakha are indicated by the names of the six sections of the Mishna, named in Chap. IV. of this work.

The Hagada comprises everything not having the character of Halakha; hence all historical records, all legends and parables, all doctrinal and ethical teachings and all free and unrestrained interpretations of Scripture. According to its different contents and character, the Hagada may be divided into:

1. Exegetical Hagada, giving plain or homiletical and allegorical explanations of biblical passages.

2 . Dogmatical Hagada, treating of God's attributes and providence, of creation, of revelation, of reward and punishment, of future life, of Messianic time, etc.

3. Ethical Hagada, containing aphorisms, maxims, proverbs, fables, sayings, intended to teach and illustrate certain moral duties.

4. Historical Hagada, reporting traditions and legends concerning the lives of biblical and post-biblical persons or concerning national and general history.

5. Mystical Hagada, referring to Cabala, angelology, demonology, astrology, magical cures, interpretation of dreams, etc.

6. Miscellaneous Hagada, containing ancedotes, observations, practical advice, and occasional references to various branches of ancient knowledge and sciences.

Hagadic passages are often, by the way, interspersed among matters of Halakha, as a kind of diversion and recreation after the mental exertion of a tiresome investigation or a minute discussion on a dry legal subject. Sometimes, however, the Hagada appears in larger groups, outweighing the Halakha matter with which it is loosely connected.

Concerning the Palestinian Talmud, its Halakhas and Hagadas, see Chap. V. of this volume. However, as an appendix we add that which was written by Mielziner about this matter.

There are two compilations of the Gemara, which differ from each other in language as well as in contents; the one made in Palestine is called Jerushalmi, the Jerusalem Gemara or Talmud; the other, originating in Babylonia, is called Babli, the Babylonian Gemara or Talmud.

COMPILATION OF JERUSHALMI, THE PALESTINIAN TALMUD.

As no academy existed in Jerusalem after the destruction of the second Temple, the customary appellation Jerusalem Talmud is rather a misnomer. More correct is the appellation the Palestinian Talmud, or the Gemara of the teachers of the West. Maimonides in the introduction to his Mishna commentary ascribes the authorship of the Palestinian Talmud to the celebrated teacher R. Jochanan, who flourished in the third century. This statement, if literally taken, cannot be correct, since so many of the teachers quoted in that Talmud are known to have flourished more than a hundred years after R. Jochanan. This celebrated Amora may, at the utmost, have given the first impulse to such a collection of commentaries and discussions on the Mishna, which was continued and completed by his successors in the academy of Tiberias. In its present shape the work is supposed to belong to the fourth or fifth century. Some modern scholars assign its final compilation even to a still later period; namely, after the close of the Babylonian Talmud. 1

The Palestinian Gemara, as before us, extends only over thirty-nine of the sixty-three Masechtoth contained in the Mishna, namely all Masechtoth of Seder Zeraim, Seder Moed, Nashim and Nezikin, with the exception of Eduyoth and Aboth. But it has none of the Masechtoth belonging to Seder Kodashim, and of those belonging to Seder Teharoth it treats only of Masecheth Nidda.

Some of its Masechtoth are defective; thus the last four Perakim of Sabbath and the last Perek of Maccoth are wanting. Of the ten Perakim belonging to Masecheth Nidda it has only the first three Perakim and a few lines of the fourth.

There are some indications that elder commentators were acquainted with portions of the Palestinian Gemara which are now missing, and it is very probable that that Gemara originally extended to all or, at least, to most of the Masechtoth of the Mishna. The loss of the missing Masechtoth and portions thereof may be explained partly by the many persecutions which interrupted the activity of the Palestinian academies, partly by the circumstance that the Palestinian Gemara did not command that general attention and veneration which was bestowed on the Babylonian Gemara.

COMPILATION OF BABLI, THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD.

The compilation of the Babylonian Talmud is generally ascribed to Rab Ashe, who for more than fifty years (375-427), officiated as head of the academy in Sura. It is stated that it took him about thirty years to collect, sift and arrange the immense material of this gigantic work. During the remaining second half of his activity he revised once more the whole work and made in it many corrections. 1

But Rab Ashe did not succeed in finishing the gigantic work. It was continued and completed by his disciples and successors, especially by the last Amoraim, Rabina II., who from 488 to 499 presided over the academy in Sura, and R. Jose, the school-head of Pumbaditha. Some additions were made by the Saboraim, and even by some still later hands.

The Gemara of the Babylonian Talmud covers only thirty-seven Masechtoth (tracts) of the Mishna, namely:

Of Zeraim only one, Berachoth, omitting the remaining ten Masechtoth;

Of Moed eleven, omitting only Shekalim, which in our Talmud editions is replaced by the Palestinian Gemara; 2

Of Nashim all of the seven Masechtoth belonging to that division;

Of Nezikim eight, omitting Eduyoth and Aboth; 3

Of Kodashim nine, omitting Middoth and Kinnim. In Thamid only chapters 1., 2. and 4. are provided with Gemara, but not chapters 3., 5., 6. and 7.

Of Teharoth only Nidda, omitting eleven Masechtoth.

There being no traces of the Gemara. missing to twenty-six Masechtoth, it is very probable that this part of the Gemara has never been compiled, though those; Masechtoth have undoubtedly also been discussed by the Babylonian Amoraim, as is evident from frequent references to them in the Gemara on the other Masechtoth. The neglect of compiling these discussions may be explained by the circumstance that those Masechtoth mostly treat of laws which had no practical application outside of Palestine. This is especially the case with the Masechtoth of Zeraim, except Berachoth, and those of Teharoth, except Nidda. It was different with the Masechtoth belonging to Kodashim which, though treating of the sacrificial laws, are fully discussed in the Babylonian Talmud, as it was a prevailing opinion of the Rabbis that the merit of being engaged with the study of those laws was tantamount to the actual performance of the sacrificial rites. (See Talm. Menachoth, 110a.) 1

The absence of Gemara on the Masechtoth Eduyoth and Aboth is easily accounted for by the very nature of their contents, which admitted of no discussions.

THE TWO GEMARAS COMPARED WITH EACH OTHER

The Palestinian and the Babylonian Gemaras differ from each other in language and style as well as in material, and in the method of treating the same, also in arrangement. As regards the language, the Palestinian Gemara is composed in the West Aramaic dialect which prevailed in Palestine at the time of the Amoraim.

The language of the Babylonian Gemara is a peculiar idiom, being a mixture of Hebrew and East Aramaic, with an occasional sprinkling of Persian words. Quotations from Mishna and Boraitha, and sayings of the elder Amoraim are given in the original, that is, the New Hebrew (Mishnic) language, while forms of judicial and notary documents and popular legends of later origin are often given in the Aramaic idiom.

Although the Palestinian Gemara extends to two more Masechtoth than the Babylonian, its total material amounts only to about one third of the latter. Its discussions are generally very brief and condensed, and do not exhibit that dialectic acumen for which the Babylonian Gemara is noted. The Hagada in the Palestinian Gemara includes more reliable and valuable historical records and references, and is, on the whole, more rational and sober, though less attractive than the Babylonian Hagada, which generally appeals more to the heart and imagination. But the latter, on many occasions, indulges too much in gross exaggerations, and its popular sayings, especially those evidently interpolated by later hands, have often an admixture of superstitious views borrowed from the Persian surroundings.

The arrangement of the material in the two Talmuds differs in this, that in the Babylonian, the Gemara is attached to the single paragraphs of the Mishna, while in the Palestinian all paragraphs (the retermed Halakhoth), belonging to one Perek of the Mishna, are generally placed together at the head of each chapter. The comments and discussions of the Gemara referring to the successive paragraphs are then marked by the headings, Halakha 1, Halakha 2, and so on.

The two Gemara collections make no direct mention of each other as literary works. But the names and opinions of the Palestinian authorities are very often quoted in the Babylonian Gemara; and in a similar way, though not to the same extent, the Palestinian Gemara mentions the views of the Babylonian authorities. This exchange of opinions was effected by the numerous teachers who are known to have emigrated or frequently travelled from the one country to the other.

The study of the Babylonian Talmud, having been transplanted from its native soil to North Africa, and the European countries (especially Spain, France, Germany and Poland), was there most sedulously and religiously cultivated in the Jewish communities, and gave rise to an immense Rabbinical literature. The Palestinian Talmud never enjoyed such general veneration and attention. Eminent Rabbis alone were thoroughly conversant with its contents, and referred to it in their writings. It is only in modern times that Jewish scholars have come to devote more attention to this Talmud, for the purpose of historical and literary investigations.

CHAPTER 5.

APOCRYPHAL APPENDICES TO THE TALMUD AND COMMENTARIES.

Besides the Masechtoth contained in the Mishna and the two Gemaras, there are several Masechtoth composed in the form of the Mishna and Tosephta, that treat of ethical, ritual, and liturgical precepts. They stand in the same relation to the Talmud as the Apocrypha to the canonical books of the Bible. When and by whom they were composed cannot be ascertained. Of these apocryphal treatises, the following are appended to our editions of the Talmud:

1. Aboth d'Rabbi Nathan, 1 divided into forty-one chapters and a kind of Tosephta to the Mishnic treatise "Pirke Aboth," the ethical sentences of which are here considerably enlarged and illustrated by numerous narratives. In its present shape, it belongs to the post-Talmudic period, though some elements of a Boraitha of R. Nathan (who was a Tana belonging to the fourth generation) may have been embodied therein.

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2. Sopherim (the Scribes), containing, in twenty-one chapters, rules for the writing of the scrolls of the Pentateuch, and, of the book of Esther; also Masoretic rules, and liturgical rules for the service on Sabbath, Feast and Fast days. R. Asher already expressed (in his Hilchoth Sepher Thora) the opinion that this Masecheth Sopherim belongs to the period of the Gaonim. 1

3. Ebel Rabbathi (the large treatise on Mourning), euphemistically called Semachoth (Joys), is divided into fourteen chapters, and treats, as indicated by the title, of rules and customs concerning burial and mourning. It is not identical with a treatise under the same title, quoted already in the Talmud (Moed Katon, 24a, 26a; Kethuboth, 28a), but seems to be rather a reproduction of the same with later additions.

4. Callah (the bride, the woman recently married). This minor Masechta, being likewise a reproduction of a Masechta by that name, mentioned already in the Talmud (Sabbath, 114a; Taanith, 10b; Kiddushin, 49b; Jer. Berachoth, 2., 5), treats in one chapter of the duties of chastity in marriage, and in general.

5. Derech Eretz 4(the conduct of life), divided into eleven chapters, the first of which treats of prohibited marriages, and the remaining chapters, of ethical, social and religious teachings. References to a treatise by that name are made already in the Talmud (B. Berachoth, 22a, and Jer. Sabbath, 6., 2).

6. Derech Eretz Zuta (the conduct of life, minor treatise), containing ten chapters, replete with rules and maxims of wisdom.

7. Perek Ha-shalom (chapter on Peace) consists, as already indicated by the title, only of one chapter, treating of the importance of peacefulness.

Remark: Besides these apocryphal treatises appended to our editions of the Talmud under the general title of "Minor Treatises," there are seven lesser Masechtoth which were published by Raphael Kirchheim from an ancient manuscript. (Frankfurt-on-Main, 1851.)

COMMENTARIES.

The Necessity for such Commentaries.

The Talmud offers to its students great difficulties, partly on account of the peculiar idiom in which it is written, and which is intermixed with so numerous, often very mutilated, foreign words; partly on account of the extreme brevity and succinctness of its style, the frequent use of technical terms and phrases, and mere allusions to matters discussed elsewhere; partly also on account of the circumstance that, in consequence of elliptical expressions, and in the absence of all punctuation marks, question and answer, in the most intricate discussions, are sometimes so closely interwoven that it is not easy to discern at once where the one ends and the other begins. To meet all these difficulties, which are often very perplexing, numerous commentaries have been written by distinguished Rabbis. Some of the commentaries extend to the whole Talmud, or a great portion thereof; others exclusively to the Mishna, or some of its sections.

Up to date new commentaries upon commentaries appear, so that in the last edition printed in Vilna, more than a hundred additional commentaries are given (an illustration of which we give at the end of this chapter). We therefore do not care to point them out. Moreover they all are commentaries to the text which do not belong to our new edition. However, the commentaries exclusively on the Mishna we deem to be interesting for some readers and therefore do not omit them.

Commentaries Exclusively on the Mishna.

1. The first to write a commentary on the whole Mishna was Moses Maimonides (12th century). He commenced it in the twenty-third year of his age, in Spain, and finished it in his thirtieth year, in Egypt. This commentary was written in Arabic, manuscripts of which are to be found in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and in some other libraries. From the Arabic it was translated into Hebrew by several scholars, flourishing in the 13th century; namely, Seder Zeraim, by Jehuda Charizi; Seder Moed, by Joseph Ibn Alfual; Seder Nashim, by Jacob Achsai (or Abbasi 1); Seder Nezikin, by Solomon b. Joseph, with the exception of Perek Chelek in Sanhedrin and Masecheth Aboth, including the ethical treatise Sh'mone Perakim, introducing the latter, which were translated by Samuel Ibn Tibbon; Seder Kodashim, by Nathanel Ibn Almuli; the translator of Seder Teharoth is not known. These translations are appended to all Talmud editions, after each Masechta, under the heading of Commentary of Maimonides.

The characteristic feature of this commentary of Maimonides consists in this, that it follows the analytical method, laying down at the beginning of each section the principles and general views of the subject, and thereby throwing light upon the particulars to be explained, while Rashi in his Talmud commentary adopted the synthetical method, commencing with the explanation of the particulars, and thereby leading to a clear understanding of the whole of the subject-matter.

2. Several distinguished Rabbis wrote commentaries on single sections of the Mishna, especially on those Masechtoth to which no Babylonian Gemara (and hence no Rashi) exists. Of these commentaries the following are found in our Talmud editions:

(a) Rashi's Commentary on all Masechtoth of Seder Zeraim, except Berachoth, and all Masechtoth of Seder Teharoth, except Nidda, by R. Simson of Sens (12th century), the celebrated Tosaphist.

(b) Asheri's Commentary on the same Masechtoth, by R. Asher b. Yechiel (13th century), the author of the epitome of the Talmud which is appended to all Masechtoth.

(c) Rashi's Commentary on Masecheth Middoth, by R. Shemaya, who is supposed to have been a disciple of Rashi.

(d) Rabad's Commentary on Masecheth Eduyoth, by R. Abraham b. David (12th century), the celebrated author of critical annotations on Maimonides' Talmudical code.

(e) Commentary on the Masechtoth Kinnim and Tamid by an anonymous author.

3. R. Obadya of Bertinoro in Italy, and Rabbi in Jerusalem (d. in the year 1510), wrote a very lucid commentary on the whole Mishna, which accompanies the text in most of our separate Mishna editions. He follows the analytic method of Rashi, and adds to each paragraph of the Mishna the result of the discussion of the Gemara.

4. Additions of Yom Tob. Additional comments by Yom Tob Lipman Heller, Rabbi of Prague and Cracow (17th century). These comments, likewise extending to all parts of the Mishna, and accompanying its text on the opposite side of Bartinoro's commentary in most of our Mishna editions, contain every valuable explanations and critical remarks.

5. Of shorter commentaries to be found only in some special editions of the Mishna text the following may be mentioned:

(a) Tree of Life, by Jacob Chagiz, Rabbi in Jerusalem (17th century), the author of a Talmudical terminology, Techilath Chochma.

6. Full Spoon of Delight, by Senior Phoebus (18th century). This commentary is an abstract of Bertinoro's and Yom Tob Lipman Heller's commentaries.

(b) Spoon of Delight, by Isaac Ibn Gabbai in Leghorn (17th century), is generally based on the commentaries of Rashi and Maimonides.

"Tefereth Israel" to all Mishnayoth, by Israel Liphschitz, a very reasonable commentary.

CHAPTER 6.

EPITOMES, CODIFICATIONS, MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED EDITIONS OF THE TALMUD.

INTRODUCTORY.

Since the Babylonian Talmud was considered by most of the Jewish communities in all countries as the source of the rabbinical law by which to regulate the religious life, it is but natural that already at a comparatively early period attempts were made to furnish abstracts of the same for practical purposes. This was done partly by epitomes or compendiums which, retaining the general arrangement and divisions of the Talmud, bring its matter into a narrower compass by omitting its Hagadic and unnecessary passages, and abridging the legal discussions; and partly by codes in which the results of the discussed legal matter is presented in a more systematic order. The first attempts in this direction were made by R. Jehudai Gaon of Sura (8th century), in his book Halachoth Ketuoth (Abridged Halakhoth), and by R. Simon of Kahira (--9th century) in his Halachoth Gedoloth. 'Both of these two works, which afterwards coalesced into one work, still extant under the latter title, were, however, eclipsed by later master works of other celebrated Rabbinical authorities.

A. EPITOMES.

The principal epitomes or compendiums of the Talmud are by the following authors:

1. R. Isaac Alfasi (after the initials, called "Rif," born in 1013 near the city of Fez in Africa, died in 1103 as Rabbi at Lucena in Spain) wrote an excellent compendium, which he called "Halakhoth," but which is usually called by the name of its author, Alpassy. In this compendium he retains the general arrangement, the language and style of the Talmud, but omits, besides the Hagada, all parts and passages which concern laws that had become obsolete since the destruction of the Temple. Besides, he condensed the lengthy discussions, and added his own decision in cases not clearly decided in the Talmud.

REMARK.--Alfasi's compendium comprises in print three large folio volumes in which the text is accompanied by Rashi's Talmud commentary, and besides by numerous commentaries, annotations and glosses, especially those by R. Nissim b. Reuben; by R. Zerachia Halevi (Maor); by R. Mordecai b. Hillel; by R. Joseph Chabiba (Nimuke Joseph), and by some other distinguished Rabbis.

2. R. Asher b. Jechiel, a German Rabbi, later in Toledo, Spain, where he died in 1327, wrote a compendium after the pattern of that of Alfasi and embodied in the same also the opinions of later authorities. This compendium is appended in our Talmud editions to each Masechta, under the title of the author, Rabbennu Asher.

R. Jacob, the celebrated son of this author, added to that compendium an abstract of the decisions contained in the same, The Extract of Asher's Decisions.

B. CODES.

1. Mishne Torah, "Repetition of the Law," by R. Moses Maimonides, flourishing in the 12th century. This is the most comprehensive and systematically arranged Code of all the Laws scattered through the two Talmuds, or resulting from the discussions in the same. Occasionally also the opinions of the post-Talmudic authorities, the Gaonim, are added.

This gigantic work, written throughout in Mishnic Hebrew in a very lucid and attractive style, is divided into fourteen books; hence its additional name, Sepher Ha-yad (having the numerical value of 14), and by way of distinction, it was later called "Yad Hachazaka," The Strong Hand. Every book is, according to the various subjects treated therein, divided into Halakhoth, the special names of which are given at the head of each of those fourteen books. The Halakhoth are again subdivided into chapters (Perakim), and these into paragraphs.

2. Sephar Mitzvath Godol (abbreviated S. M. G.), the great Law book, by the Tosaphist R. Moses of Coucy, in France (13th century). This work arranges the Talmudical law according to the 613 precepts which the Rabbis found to be contained in the Pentateuch, and is divided into 248 positive and 365 negative commandments.

REMARK--A similar work, but on a smaller scale, is "Sephar Mitzvath Gaton," also called "Amude Golah," by R. Isaac b. Joseph, of Corbeil (d. 1280).

3. Turim (the Rows of Laws), by R. Jacob, son of that celebrated R. Asher b. Jechiel who was mentioned above. The work is divided into four parts, called: Tur Orach Chayim, treating of Liturgical Laws; Tur Yore Dea, treating of the Ritual Laws; Tur Eben Ha-ezer, on the Marriage Laws, and Tur Choshen Mishpat, on the Civil Laws. Each of these four books is subdivided according to subjects under appropriate headings, and into chapters, called Simanim. This code differs from that of Maimonides in so far as it is restricted to such laws only which were still in use outside of Palestine, and as it embodies also rules and customs which were established after the close of the Talmud. Besides, it is not written in that uniform and pure language, and in that lucid style, by which the work of Maimonides is characterized.

4. Shulchan Aruch (The Prepared Table), by R. Joseph Karo (16th century), the same author who wrote the commentaries on the codes of Maimonides and of R. Jacob b. Asher. Taking the last-mentioned code (Turim) and his own commentary on the same as basis, and retaining its division into four parts as well as that into subjects and chapters, he subdivided each chapter (Siman), into paragraphs, and so remodelled its contents as to give it the proper shape and style of a law book. This Shulchan Aruch, together with the numerous annotations added to it by the contemporary R. Moses Isserles, was up to our time regarded by all rabbinical Jews as the authoritative code by which all questions of the religious life were decided.

Constant reference to the four Codes mentioned above are made in the marginal glosses which are found on every page of the Talmud, under the heading of "En Mishpat, Ner Mitzwuah." It is the object of these glosses to show, at every instance when a law is quoted or discussed in the Talmud, where the final decision of that law is to be found in the various codes. The authorship of these marginal glosses is ascribed to R. Joshua Boas Baruch (16th century). The same scholar wrote also the glosses headed Torah Or which are found in the space between the Talmud text and Rashi's commentary, and which indicate the books and chapters of the biblical passages quoted in the Talmud, besides the very important glosses in the margins of the pages, beaded Massoreth Ha-shas, which give references to parallel passages in the Talmud. The last mentioned glosses were later increased with critical notes by Isaiah Berlin (Pik), Rabbi in Breslau (d. 1799).

C. COLLECTIONS OF THE HAGADIC PORTIONS OF THE TALMUD.

While the above-mentioned Compendiums and Codes are restricted to abstracting only the legal matter (Halakha) of the Talmud, R. Jacob ibn Chabib, flourishing at the beginning of the sixteenth century, collected all the Hagadic passages, especially of the Babylonian Talmud. This very popular collection, which is usually printed with various commentaries, has the title of En Jacob; in some editions it is also called En Israel.

R. Samuel Jafe, flourishing in the latter part of that century, made a similar collection of the Hagadic passages Palestinian Talmud, with an extensive commentary under the title of Y'phe Mareh (Vienna, 1590, and Berlin, 1725-26). An abridged edition with a short commentary was published under the title of Benyan Jerusalem (Lemberg, 1860).

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D. MANUSCRIPTS.

In consequence of the terrible persecutions of the Jews during the middle ages, and the destruction of their libraries, so often connected therewith, and especially in consequence of the vandalism repeatedly perpetrated by the Church against the Talmud, 1 only a very limited number of manuscripts of the same have come down to our time. Codices of single Sedarim (sections) and Masechloth (tracts or treatises) are to be found in various libraries of Europe, especially in the Vatican Library of Rome, and in the libraries of Parma, Leyden, Paris, Oxford, Cambridge, Munich, Berlin and Hamburg. The only known complete manuscript of the Babylonian Talmud, written in the year 1369, is in possession of the Royal Library of Munich A fragment of Talmud Pesachim, of the ninth or tenth century, is preserved in the University Library of Cambridge, and was edited with an autotype facsimile, by W. H. Lowe, Cambridge, 1879.

The Columbia College in the city of New York lately acquired a collection of manuscripts containing the treatises Pesachim, Moed Katon, Megilla, and Zebachim of the Babylonian Talmud. These manuscripts came from Southern Arabia, and date from the year 1548. Manuscripts of the Mishna or of single Sedarim thereof, some of which dating from the thirteenth century are preserved in the libraries of Parma, of Berlin, of Hamburg, of Oxford, and of Cambridge. That of the last-mentioned library was edited by W. H. Lowe: "The Mishna on which the Palestinian Talmud Rests," etc., Cambridge, 1883.

Of the Palestinian Talmud the only manuscript, of considerable extent, is preserved in the Library of Leyden. See S. M. Schiller-Szinessy, "Description of the Leyden MS. of the Palestinian Talmud," Cambridge, 1878. Fragments of the Palestinian Talmud are also to be found in some other libraries, especially in those of Oxford and Parma.

Fuller information concerning MSS. of the Talmud is given in F. Lebrecht's "Handschriften und erste Ausgaben des Babyl. Talmud," Berlin, 1862. See also M. Steinschneider's "Hebräische Bibliographie," Berlin, 1862 and 1863.

E. THE TALMUD IN PRINT.

a. The Mishna Editions.

Already as early as the year 1492, the first edition of the Mishna, together with the commentary of Maimonides, appeared in Naples. It was followed by several editions of Venice (1546-50, and 1606), of Riva di Trento (1559), and of Mantua (1559-63). In the last-mentioned editions the commentary of Obadia di Bertinoro is added. The editions which have since appeared are very numerous. Those which appeared since the seventeenth century are generally accompanied, besides Bertinoro's commentary, by Lipman Heller's or some other shorter commentaries.

b. The Babylonian Talmud.

The first complete edition of the Babylonian Talmud was published by Daniel Bomberg in twelve folio volumes, Venice, 1520-23. Besides the text, it contains the commentary of Rashi, the Tosephoth, the Piske-Tosephoth, the compendium of Asheri, and the Mishna commentary of Maimonides. This original edition served as model for all editions which subsequently appeared at Venice, Basel, Cracow, Lublin, Amsterdam, Frankfurt-on-Oder, Berlin, Frankfurt-on-Main, Sulzbach, Dyhernfurt, Prague, Warsaw, Lemberg, and recently at Vienna and Wilna. The later editions were greatly, improved by the addition of valuable literary and critical marginal notes and appendices by learned rabbis. But the Basel and most of the subsequent editions, down almost to the present time, have been much mutilated by the official censors of the press, who expunged from the Talmud all those passages which, in their opinion, seemed to reflect upon Christianity, and, besides, changed expressions, especially names of nations and of sects, which they suspected as having reference to Christians.

The Amsterdam editions, especially the first (T644-48), escaped those mutilations at the hand of the censors, and are on this account considered very valuable. Most of the passages which have elsewhere been eliminated or altered by the censors have been extracted from the Amsterdam edition, and published in separate small books. Of these the following two may be mentioned: "Collected Omissions" and "The Omissions," Königsberg, 1860. 1

A critical review of the complete editions of the Babylonian Talmud and of the very numerous editions of single Masechtoth since the year 1484, was published by Raphael Rabbinovicz, in his Hebrew pamphlet, Munich, 1877.

The same author also collected and published very rich and important material for a critical edition of the Babylonian Talmud from the above-mentioned manuscript in the Royal Library of Munich and other manuscripts, as well as from early prints of single Masechtoth in various libraries. The title of this very extensive work, written in Hebrew, is Dikduke Sopherim, with the Latin title: Variae lectiones in Mishnam et in Talmud Babylonicum, etc., Munich 1868-86. The fifteen volumes in octavo which have appeared of this valuable work comprise only three and a half Sedarim of the six Sedarim of the Talmud. It is to be regretted that in consequence of the death of the learned author the completion of this important work has been suspended.

c. The Palestinian Talmud.

Of the Palestinian Talmud (Jerushalmi) only four complete editions appeared:

1. The first edition, published by Daniel Bomberg, Venice, 1523-24, in one folio volume, without any commentary.

2. The Cracow edition, 1609, with a short commentary on the margin.

3. The Krotoshin edition, 1866, with a commentary like that in the Cracow edition, but added to it are marginal notes, containing references to parallel passages in the Babylonian Talmud, and corrections of text readings.

4. The Shitomir edition, 1860-67, in several folio volumes, with various commentaries.

Besides these four complete editions, several parts have been published with commentaries.

CHAPTER 7.

TRANSLATIONS OF THE TALMUD A. THE MISHNA.

English Translations.

W. Walton. Translation of the treatises Sabbath and Erubin, London, 1718.

D. A. de Sola and M. I. Raphall. Eighteen treatises from the Mishna translated. London, 1843.

Joseph Barclay published under the title "The Talmud" a translation of eighteen treatises of the Mishna with annotations. London, 1878.

C. Taylor. Sayings of the Jewish Fathers (the treatise Aboth). Cambridge, 1877.

REMARK.--The treatise "Aboth" has been translated into almost all of the European languages.

B. THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD.

To translate the Mishna is a comparatively easy task. Its generally plain and uniform language and style of expression, and its compendious character could easily enough be rendered into another language, especially when accompanied by some explanatory notes. But it is quite different with the Gemara, especially the Babylonian. There are, of course, also passages in the Gemara which offer no great difficulties to a translator who is sufficiently familiar with the idiom in which the original is composed. We refer to the historical, legendary and homiletical portions (Hagadas), which the compilers have interspersed in every treatise. The main part of the Gemara, however, which is essentially of an argumentative character, giving minute reports of discussions and debates on the law, this part, so rich in dialectical subtilities, and so full of technicalities and elliptical expressions, offers to the translator almost insurmountable difficulties.

English Translations.

A. W. Streane. Translation of the treatise Chagiga. Cambridge, 1891.

Michael L. Rodkinson: Babylonian Talmud--Section Moed (Festivals). Complete, consisting of the following volumes: Vol. 1., Tract Sabbath (first ten chapters); Vol. 2., Tract Sabbath (continued), fourteen chapters; Vol. 3., Tract Erubin (Mingling); Vol. 4., Tracts Skekalim (Duties), and Rosh Hashana (Hebrew Calendar); Vol. 5., Tract Pesachim (Passover); Vol. 6., Tracts Yomah (Day of Atonement), and Hagiga (Holocaust); Vol. 7., Tracts Betzah (Feast), Succah (Tabernacles), and Moed Katan (Minor Festivals); Vol. 8., Tracts Taanith (Fasts), Megilla (Book of Esther), and Ebel Rabbathi (Great Mourning).

Section Jurisprudence: Vol. 1., Ethics of Judaism, (Tracts Aboth, Aboth of R. Nathan, Derech Eretz, Rabba and Zutta); Vol. 2., Bab Kama (First Gate, eight chapters); Vol. 3., Baba Metziah (Middle Gate), five chapters, and the last two of Baba Kama; Vol. 4., the last five chapters of Baba Metziah; Vol. 5.-6., Baba Bathra (Last Gate, five chapters in each); Vol. 7.-8., Sanhedrin; Vol. 9., Maccath, Shebuoth, and Eduyoth; Vol. 10., Abuda Zara and Horioth, New York, 1896-1903.

C. THE PALESTINIAN TALMUD.

a. Latin Translation.

Blasius Ugolinus, published in volumes 17.-30. of his Thesaurus antiquitatum sacrarum. (Venice, 1755-65), the following treatises in Latin: Pesachim (vol. 17.); Shekalim, Yoma, Succah, Rosh Hashanah, Taanith, Megilla, Chagiga, Betza, Moed Katan (vol. 18.); Maaseroth, Maaser Sheni, Challah, Orlah, Biccurim (vol. 20.); Sanhedrin, Maccoth (Vol. 25.); Kiddushin, Sota, Kethuboth (vol. 30.).

b. German Translations.

Joh. Jacob Rabe, besides translating Berachoth in connection with that treatise in the Babylonian Gemara, as mentioned above, published: Der Talmudische Tractat Peah, übersetzt und erläutert. Anspach, 1781.

August Wünsche. Der Jerusalemische Talmud in seinen haggadischen Bestandtheilen zum ersten Male in's Deutsche übertragen. Zürich, 1880.

c. French Translation.

Moise Schwab. Le Talmud de Jerusalem traduit pour la première fois. 10 volumes. Paris, 1871-90.

D. GEMARA.

M. Schwab, the author of the French translation published in English: The Talmud of Jerusalem. Vol. I. Berachoth. London, 1886.

CHAPTER 8.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MODERN WORKS AND MONOGRAPHS ON TALMUDIC SUBJECTS.

(Arranged with reference to subjects and in alphabetical order of authors).

HAGADA. ARCHAEOLOGICAL. BIOGRAPHICAL. CHRONOLOGY AND CALENDAR. DIALECTICS. EDUCATION. ETHICS. EXEGESIS. GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY. LINGUISTICS. MATHEMATICS. MEDICINE, SURGERY, ETC. NATURAL HISTORY AND SCIENCES. PARSEEISM IN THE TALMUD. PROVERBS, MAXIMS, PARABLES. PSYCHOLOGY. RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHY AND HISTORY. SUPERNATURALISM AND SUPERSTITION. (All omitted)

(omitted)

CHAPTER 9.

WHY SHOULD CHRISTIANS FEEL INTERESTED IN THE TALMUD?

Christian theology and Jewish theology having really followed two parallel paths, the history of either cannot be understood without the history of the other. Numberless material details of the gospels find, moreover, their commentary in the Talmud. . . The distinction of epochs is here very important, the compilation of the Talmud extending from the year 200 to the year 500 nearly.--Renan's "Life of Jesus," Introduction.

Is the literature that Jesus was familiar with in his early years yet in existence in the world? Is it possible for us to get at it? Can we ourselves review the ideas, the statements, the modes of reasoning and thinking, on moral and religious subjects, which were current in his time, and must have been revolved by him during those silent thirty years when he was pondering his future mission? To such inquiries the learned class of Jewish rabbis answer by holding up the Talmud. Here, say they, is the source from whence Jesus of Nazareth drew the teachings which enabled him to revolutionize the world; and the question becomes, therefore, an interesting one to every Christian, What is the Talmud? . . .

The Talmud, then, is the written form of that which, in the time of Jesus, was called the Traditions of the Elders, and to which he makes frequent allusions. What sort of book is it?

The answer is at first sight discouraging to flesh and spirit. The Talmud appears to view in form of fourteen heavy folio volumes, of thick, solid Hebrew and Aramaic consonants, without a vowel to be seen from the first word of the first volume to the last word of the last. Such is the Jewish Talmud, including both the Jerusalem and the Babylonian. Who can read it? It can be read, for it has been read . . .

The Talmud is the great repository of the mental products of a most vigorous and vivid race of thinkers, through long ages of degradation, persecution, oppression, and sorrow; and, as such, few human works are more worthy of, or will better repay, the student of human nature . . .

What light it may shed on the words of Jesus and Paul to know the modes of thought which were such a perfect world in their time! When Paul speaks of his studies at the feet of Gamaliel, one of the principal authors of the Talmud, of his profiting in the matters of law above many of his equals, we see him, an ardent young enthusiast, on the way to become an accomplished rabbi, perhaps even a Nasi, in some future day, and we understand what he means when he says, "But what things were gain tome, these I counted loss to Christ." It was a whole education and a whole life's work that he threw at the feet of his new Master.

Looking at the Talmud in contrast with any other ancient sacred writings extant in the world, except the Bible, we must be struck with its immense superiority . . .

I desire, in conclusion, to express my obligations to the ponderous erudition of the two older standard authors on this subject . . .

The writings of Dukes, an author of our own day, are especially rich in regard to Rabbinic proverbs and apologues; and in one of his prefaces he expresses the hope that they may be of some use even to that rather numerous body of Christians who give little other evidence of being Christians at all, except that of hating the Jews.--Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 21, p. 673, sq.

The science of our day owes to itself the duty of studying the Talmud impartially. It will judge worthy of its attention this monument of a religion and a civilization whose influence has not been void in the world, and whatever its absolute value may be adjudged to be, science will understand it, and study its formation and development. It will demand of the, Talmud instruction, or, at least, information, almost as varied as the subjects coming within the compass of science. The historian will address himself to it for light upon the history of the earliest centuries of the Christian era, and of the centuries immediately preceding it, and though not seeking in it precise

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data, which it cannot furnish, he will be sure to find a faithful picture of the beliefs and ideas of the Jewish nation on its moral and spiritual life. The naturalist will ask of it numerous questions concerning the sciences, physical, natural, or medical. Has it ever occurred to any one to compile, if not the fauna, at least the flora of the Talmud; that is, of the Palestine and Babylonia contemporary with the Empire? It were easy with it as a basis to furnish a second edition of Pliny's Natural History, certainly as valuable as the first. The lawyer will question it on the history of its jurisprudence, will investigate whether, how, and by what intermediaries Roman law and Persian customs influenced it, and it will be a curious study to compare the results that two different civilizations, directed by opposite principles, have reached in the jus civile and the jus Talmudicum, The mythologist will dive into its legends, and, by a nice application of the comparative method, determine the history of Midrashic mythology. The philologist will devote himself to the language--that abrupt, rough language by means of which the Talmud seems to please itself in heaping up obscurities of form over those of the thought, and he will be sure to make more than one happy find. For, says the author of the History of the Semitic Languages, "the lexical spoliation and grammatic analysis of the Talmudic language, according to the methods of modem philology, remain to be made . . . That language fills a hiatus in the history of Semitic idioms.

Finally, the philosopher will demand of the Talmud the explanation of Judaism and the history of Jewish institutions, and as the Talmudic books offer the completest expression thereof, and as he has at hand all the component elements, a scrupulous analysis will give him the law of the development of the Jewish religion.--Darmesteter, "The Talmud," p. 96.

Here we have an attempt-and the attempt is praiseworthy--to put the Talmud, or the substance of it, into plain English, and for this the Christian reader, if not the learned rabbi, must be grateful to the translator.--Independent, April 7, 1899.

Published in the second prospectus issued by the New Talmud Publishing Co., adding to them some remarks of Mielziner's address to the senior class of the Union Hebrew College at Cincinnati, some years ago:

"To impress you the more with the necessity of the Talmudic studies for a clear conception of Judaism and its history, I could also quote the opinions of many of our greatest scholars, but shall confine myself only to a quotation from the writings of two of our most renowned scholars whom none will suspect of having been biased by a too great predilection for the Talmud; one is the late Dr. Geiger, and the other our great historian, the late Dr. Jost.

"Geiger (Das Judenthum und seine Geschichte, 1., p. 15 5) in speaking of the Talmud and the rabbinical literature, says:

"'Gigantic works, productions of gloomy and brighter periods are here before us, monuments of thought and intellectual labour; they excite our admiration. I do not indorse every word of the Talmud, nor every idea expressed by the teachers in the time of the Middle Ages, but I would not miss a tittle thereof. They contain an acumen and power of thought which fill us with reverence for the spirit that animated our ancestors, a fulness of sound sense, salutary maxim-s-a freshness of opinion often bursts upon us that even to this day exercises its enlivening and inspiring effect.'

"Jost in his Geschichte des Judenthum's und seiner Secten, II., 202, characterizes the Talmud by the following masterly words:

"'The Talmud is a great mine, in which are imbedded all varieties of metals and ores. Here may be found all kinds of valuables, the finest gold and rarest gems, as also the merest dross. Much has been unearthed that has realised countless profit to the world. The great spiritual work whose outcome has been apparent in the advancement of religion has shown that the Talmud is not only of incalculable value in the pursuit of wisdom, but that it has a self-evident significance for all times, which can not be shown by any mere extracts from its pages, and that it can not be disregarded on the plea of its antiquity as valueless in the knowledge of the Jewish religion. Indeed it is and must remain the chief source of this knowledge, and particularly of the historical development of the Jewish religion. More than this, it is the abode of that spirit which has inspired that religion, these many centuries, that spirit from which even those who sought to counteract it could not escape. It is and will remain a labyrinth with deep shafts and openings, in which isolated spirits toil with tireless activity, a labyrinth which offers rich rewards to those who enter impelled by the desire to gain, not without hidden dangers to those who venture wantonly into its mazes and absorb its deadly vapours. Religion has created this work, not indeed to give utterance in an unsatisfactory way to the great questions of Deity and Nature, Mortality and Eternity, and not to carry on controversies upon the proper formulation of articles of faith, but to give expression to a religion of deed, a religion designed to accompany man from the first steps in his education until he reaches the grave, and beyond it; a guide by which his desires and actions are to be regulated at every moment, by which all his movements are to be guarded, that takes care even of his food and drink, of his pleasures and pains, of his mirth and sorrow, and seeks to elevate him, at all times, to an enunciation of the purest faith.

"'It is thus that this spirit, which breathes from the Talmud, enters into the nation's inmost life. It offers repeated recitals of the various modes of thinking, practising, believing, of the true and false representations, of hopes and longings, of knowledge and error, of the great lessons of fate, of undertakings and their consequences, of utterances and their effects, of persons and their talents and inaptitudes, of words and examples, of customs, both in matters of public worship and private life; in short, of all the happenings, past or contemporary, in the time which the Talmud comprises, i.e., a period of nearly one thousand years, excluding the Bible times.

"'Hence, also, its great value to antiquarians in the frequent allusions to facts, opinions and statements, to modes of expression and grammatical construction, to peculiarities of every kind, which at the same time afford a view of the development of mankind, such as no other work of the past gives.

"'To treat the Talmud with scorn because of its oddness, on account of much that it contains that does not conform to our maturer modes of thinking, because of its evident errors and misconceptions--errors from ignorance or errors in copying--to throw it overboard, as it were, as useless ballast, would be to insult all history, to deprive it of one of its strongest limbs, to dismember it.

"'To dam up its channels by taking away the Talmud, would be to close the access to the head waters and living sources of the Jewish religion, and thus leave her again in a desert land, after the tables of the law have already called forth a world of life and activity. It would be turning one's back, as it were, denying and disregarding one's own. There is a historical justification for the sharply defined modes of worship and religious forms that have their embodiment in set words and in fixed deeds. For this we must look to the Talmud. Judaism is rooted in the Talmud and would be tossed about in mid-air if torn from its soil, or require a new planting and a new growth.'

"In conclusion, my young friends, let me say this:

"If our College had no other purpose than to graduate common Sabbath school teachers who should be able to occasionally deliver popular though superficial lectures, the study of the Talmud, as well as that of our rabbinical and philosophical literature, might have been stricken from the course of your studies. But our College has a higher aim and object. Its object is to educate future guides and leaders of our congregations, to educate banner-bearers of Judaism, representatives and cultivators of Jewish knowledge and literature.

"You can never expect to answer this purpose without a thorough knowledge of, and familiarity with, that vast literature that offers us the means to follow and understand the religious formation, the growth and the entire course of development of Judaism from its beginning to the present time."

CHAPTER 10.

OPINIONS ON THE VALUE OF THE TALMUD BY GENTILES AND MODERN JEWISH SCHOLARS.

No literary monument of antiquity has ever been subject to so different and opposite views and opinions, as the Talmud. Its strict followers generally looked upon it as the very embodiment of wisdom and sagacity, and as a work whose authority was second only to that of the Bible. In the non-Jewish literature it was often decried as "one of the most repulsive books that exist," as "a confused medley of perverted logic, absurd subtilities, foolish tales and fables, and full of profanity, superstition, and even obscenity," or at the most, as "an immense heap of rubbish at the bottom of which some stray pearls of Eastern wisdom are hidden."

It is certain that any of those who thus assumed to pass a condemning judgement upon the gigantic work of the Talmud never read nor were able to read a single page of the same in the original, but were prompted by religious prejudice and antagonism, or they based their verdict merely on those disconnected and often distorted passages which Eisenmenger and his consorts and followers picked out from the Talmud for hostile purposes.

Christian scholars who had a deeper insight into the Talmudical literature, without being blinded by religious prejudices, expressed themselves quite differently on the character and the merits of that work, as may be seen from the following few quotations.

Johann Buxtorf, in the preface to his Lexicon Chald. et Talmudicum, says: "The Talmud contains many legal, medical, physical, ethical, political, astronomical, and other excellent documents of sciences, which admirably commend the history I of that nation and time; it contains also luminous decisions of antiquity; excellent sayings; deep thoughts, full of grace and sense; and numerous expressions which make the reader not only better, but also more wise and learned, and which, like unto flashing jewels, grace the Hebrew speech not less than all those Greek and Roman phrases adorn their languages."

Other favourable opinions expressed by Christian scholars of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries are collected in Karl Fischer's "Gutmeinung über den Talmud der Hebräer." Vienna, 1883.

Of such scholars as belong to our time, the following may be quoted here:

The late Professor Delitzsch in his "Jüdisches Handwerkerleben zur Zeit Jesu," says:

"Those who have not in some degree accomplished the extremely difficult task of reading this work for themselves, will hardly be able to form a clear idea of this polynomical colossus. It is an immense speaking-hall, in which thousands and tens of thousand of voices, of at least five centuries, are heard to commingle. A law, as we all know from experience, can never be so precisely formulated that there does not remain room for various interpretations; and question upon question constantly arises as to the application of it to the endless multiplicity of the existing relations of life. just imagine about ten thousand decrees concerning Jewish life classified according to the spheres of life, and in addition to these, about five hundred scribes and lawyers, mostly from Palestine and Babylon, taking up one after another of these decrees as the topic of examination and debate, and, discussing with hair-splitting acuteness every shade of meaning and practical application; and imagine, further, that the fine-spun thread of this interpretation of decrees is frequently lost in digressions, and that, after having traversed long distances of such desert-sand, you find, here and there, an oasis, consisting of sayings and accounts of more general interest. Then you may have some slight idea of this vast, and of its kind, unique, juridic codex, compared with whose compass all the law-books of other nations are but Lilliputians, and beside whose variegated, buzzing market din, they represent but quiet study-chambers."

7. Alexander, in his book on The Jews; their Past, Present and Future (London, 1870), says:

"The Talmud, as it now stands, is almost the whole literature of the Jews during a thousand years. Commentator followed upon commentator, till at last the whole became an immense bulk; the original Babylonian Talmud alone consists of 2,947 folio pages. Out of such literature it is easy to make quotations which may throw an odium over the whole. But fancy if the production of a thousand years of English literature, say, from the "History" of the Venerable Bede to Milton's "Paradise Lost," were thrown together into a number of uniform folios, and judged in like manner; if because some superstitious monks wrote silly "Lives of Saints," therefore the works of John Bunyan should also be considered worthless. The absurdity is too obvious to require another word from me, Such, however, is the continual treatment the Talmud receives both at the hand. of its friends and of its enemies. Both will find it easy to quote in behalf of their preconceived notions, but the earnest student will rather try to weigh the matter impartially, retain the good he can find even in the Talmud, and reject what will not stand the test of God's word."

The impartial view of the Talmud taken by modern Jewish scholars may be seen from the following opinion expressed by the late Professor Graetz in his "History of the Jews" (vol. IV., 309 sq.).

The Talmud must not be considered as an ordinary literary work consisting of twelve folios; it bears not the least internal resemblance to a single literary production; but forms a world of its own which must be judged according to its own laws. It is, therefore, extremely difficult to furnish a specific sketch of the Talmud, seeing that a familiar standard or analogy is wanting. And however thoroughly a man of consummate talent may have penetrated its spirit and become conversant with its peculiarities, he would scarcely succeed in such a task, It may, in some respects, be compared with the Patristic literature, which sprang up simultaneously. But on closer inspection, this comparison will also fail. . . .

"The Talmud has at different times been variously judged on the most heterogeneous assumptions, it has been condemned and consigned to the flames; simply because it was presented in its unfavourable aspect without taking into consideration its actual merits. It cannot be denied that the Babylonian Talmud labours under some defects, like any other mental product, which pursues a single course with inexorable consistency and undeviating dogmatism. These defects may be classified under four heads: the Talmud contains some unessential and trival subjects, which it treats with much importance and a serious air; it has adopted from its Persian surroundings superstitious practices and views, which presuppose the agency of intermediate spiritual beings, witchcraft, exorcising formulas, magical cures and interpretations of dreams and, hence, are in conflict with the spirit of Judaism; it further contains several uncharitable utterances and provisions against members of other nations and creeds; lastly it favours a bad interpretation of Scripture, absurd, forced and frequently false commentations. For these faults the whole Talmud has been held responsible and been

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denounced as a work devoted to trifles, as a source of immorality and trickery, without taking into consideration that it is not a work of a single author who must be responsible for every word, and if it be so, then the whole Jewish people was its author. Over six centuries are crystallized in the Talmud with animated distinctness, in their peculiar costumes, modes of speech and of thought, so to say a literary Herculaneum and Pompeii, not weakened by artistic imitation, which transfers a colossal picture to the narrow limits of a miniature.

It is, therefore, no wonder, if in this world sublime and mean, great and small, serious and ridiculous, Jewish and heathen elements, the altar and the ashes, are found in motley mixture. Those odious dicta of which Jew-haters have taken hold were in most cases nothing else but the utterances of a momentary indignation, to which an individual had given vent and which were preserved and embodied in the Talmud by over-zealous disciples, who were unwilling to omit a single expression of the revered ancients. But these utterances are richly counterbalanced by the maxims of benevolence and philanthropy towards every man, regardless of creed and nationality, which are also preserved in the Talmud. As counterpoise to the rank superstition, there are found therein sharp warnings against superstitious, heathen practices (Darke Emori), to which subject a whole section, under the name of Perek Emorai, is devoted. 1

"The Babylonian Talmud is especially characterized and distinguished from the Palestinian, by high-soaring contemplations, a keen understanding, and flashes of thought which fitfully dart through the mental horizon. An incalculable store of ideas and incentives to thinking is treasured in the Talmud, but not in the form of finished themes that may be appropriated in a semi-somnolent state, but with the fresh colouring of their inception. The Babylonian Talmud leads into the labouratory of thought, and its ideas may be traced from their embryonic motion up to a giddy height, whither they at times soar into the region of the incomprehensible. For this reason it became, more than the Jerusalemean, the national property, the vital breath, the soul of the Jewish people."

PART 2.

ETHICS OF THE TALMUD.

CHAPTER 1.

TALMUDICAL ETHICS.

"Ethics is the flower and fruit on the tree of religion. The ultimate aim of religion is to ennoble man's inner and outer life, so that he may love and do that only which is right and good. This is a biblical teaching which is emphatically repeated in almost every book of Sacred Scriptures. Let me only refer to the sublime word of the prophet Micah: 'He hath showed thee, O man, what is good, and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justice and to love kindness and to walk humbly with thy God?' (Micah 6:8.)

"As far as concerns the Bible, its ethical teachings are generally known. Translated into all languages of the world, that holy book is accessible to every one and whoever reads it with open eyes and with an unbiased mind will admit that it teaches the highest principles of morality, principles which have not been surpassed and superseded by any ethical system of ancient or modem philosophy.

"But how about the Talmud, that immense literary work whose authority was long esteemed second to that of the Bible? What are the ethical teachings of the Talmud?

"Although mainly engaged with discussions of the Law, as developed on the basis of the Bible during Israel's second commonwealth down to the sixth century of the Christian era, the Talmud devotes also much attention to ethical subjects. Not only are one treatise of the Mishna (Pirke Aboth) and some Boraithoth (as Aboth d'R. Nathan and Derech Eretz) almost exclusively occupied with ethical teachings, but such teachings are also very abundantly contained in the Hagadic (homiletical) passages which are so frequently interspersed in the legal discussions throughout all parts of the Talmud.

"It must be borne in mind that the Talmudical literature embraces a period of about eight centuries, and that the numerous teachers whose ethical views and utterances are recorded in that vast literature, rank differently in regard to mind and authority. At the side of the great luminaries, we find also lesser ones. At the side of utterances of great, clear-sighted and broad-minded masters with lofty ideas, we meet also with utterances of peculiar views which never obtained authority. Not every ethical remark or opinion quoted in that literature can, therefore, be regarded as an index of the standard of Talmudical ethics, but such opinions only can be so regarded which are expressed with authority and which are in harmony with the general spirit that pervades the Talmudic literature.

"Another point to be observed is the circumstance that the Talmud does not treat of ethics in a coherent, philosophical system. The Talmudic sages made no claim of being philosophers; they were public teachers, expounders of the Law, popular lecturers. As such, they did not care for a methodically arranged system. All they wanted was to spread among the people ethical teachings in single, concise, pithy, pointed sentences, well adapted to impress the minds and hearts, or in parables or legends illustrating certain moral duties and virtues. And this, their method, fully answered its purpose. Their ethical teachings did actually reach the Jewish masses, and influenced their conduct of life, while among the Greeks, the ethical theories and systems remained a matter that concerned the philosophers only, without exercising any educating influence upon the masses at large.

"Furthermore, it must be remembered that the Talmudical ethics is largely based on the ethics of the Bible. The sacred treasure of biblical truth and wisdom was in the minds and hearts of the Rabbis. This treasury they tried to enrich by their own wisdom and observation. Here they develop a principle contained in a scriptural passage, and give it a wider scope and a larger application to life's various conditions. There they crystallise great moral ideas into a pithy, impressive maxim as a guide for human conduct. Here they give to a jewel of biblical ethics a new lustre by setting it in the gold of their own wisdom. There again they combine single pearls of biblical wisdom to a graceful ornament for human life."--M. Mielziner.

There are many books written upon the ethics of the Talmud which are enumerated in the bibliography. The most excellent of these is the philosophical book of Professor Lazarus, "Ethik des Judenthums," in German, Frankfurt on Main., 1898, the first volume of which is translated into English by the Jewish Publication Society. The second volume of this work, we have heard, is ready for or already in print.

However, to enable the reader, to get an idea of the Talmud Ethics, without troubling him with the various books in different languages, an extract which was made by Mielziner shall be given in this book, whose selections are so excellent that practically we have nothing to add. We, however, would call the attention of the reader to a book written by us in our periodical Hacol, Vol. 6., Vienna, 1885 (translated into German but not yet published), in which the subject of love of mankind is explained in two parallels, that of the Talmud and that in which we have drawn a parallel between the conceptions of both Talmud and Evangelium as to the moral content of the principle of Love. An extract of this explanation we should like to give here:

The commandment in the Old Testament (Leviticus 19:17): "Love thy neighbour as thyself," the Talmud interprets in a negative sense by the words of Hillel, the elder, thus: "That which thou likest not being done unto thyself do not unto thy neighbour," and this rule the Talmud adopts in all the ways of charity, and in all affairs in which man comes in contact with his fellow-man; e.g., based upon this biblical commandment it is forbidden to betroth a woman before seeing her, for he may dislike her thereafter, and as one does not wish to be disliked himself, he must not cause another to be disliked. And so in all connections with one's neighbour, it is forbidden to do him any harm whatsoever, because one dislikes that he himself should be harmed. Also concerning the duties of charity, numerous special commandments are to be found in the Old Testament. The Talmud explains most of them negatively, viz.: "Thou shalt not leave thy neighbour to suffer any pain whatsoever, but thou shalt prevent it by supplying him with whatsoever thou canst afford." However, the rich man is not obliged to divide his money or property with the poor, nor to supply him with luxuries if the poor man had not been used to them before he became poor. (More details will be found in each subject mentioned further on.) Hence this obligation which is proper and in accordance with common sense, can be fulfilled by every one without any difficulty. The Evangelist, however, interprets the passage (Levit. 19:17) in a positive sense (Matthew 7:12): "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, for this is the Law and the prophets." After a deep consideration, it is almost impossible for one to entirely fulfil this commandment. According to this, one must divide his money and property with those not possessing such. "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you!" Who then would not want to be rich and to live luxuriously; to ride instead of going on foot, to be dressed in the best garments according to the latest style, etc.? Hence if one would like to live up to the words of the Evangelist, he must see that the life of his poor neighbour should be made exactly equal to his own life, which certainly can never and was never accomplished. The same is with the command in Luke 6:2 9: "And unto him that smiteth thee on the one cheek offer also the other," which was never and will never be fulfilled, as this is against the nature of mankind, especially when one is in wrath whilst being beaten. Therefore nothing of this kind is to be found in the Talmud. On the contrary the Talmud says: "He who raises his hand to strike his neighbour is already considered wicked even before he has smitten him." The above-mentioned book quotes this parallel in every affair in which human beings come in contact with each other. It is remarkable that in the explanation of Deut. 6:4, "Thou shalt love the Lord, thy God, etc.," the Talmud also does not interpret this literally, thinking that it is impossible to impose upon the heart to love, especially Him whom one has never seen, and of whom one has not even a correct idea. Therefore they interpreted this passage thus, "The name of the Lord shall be loved through thy treatment of thy fellow-men, viz. "thy commerce with men should be just and peaceful; thy 'yes' should be firm and thy 'no' unvariable; so that it should be proclaimed: 'Hail the man who follows the Law of the Lord, which is Love thy fellow-men! Therefore let us and our children also study this magnificent Law.' The result evidently is that the name of the Lord is glorified through thee ------"

All the ethics of the Talmud are thus set up with a view to make their observance possible in all their particulars, which is not the case with the teaching of the Evangelist.

Finally, we beg to quote the beginning of the first chapter of the above-mentioned book.--Abyye used to say: "One should be always keen in the fear of God; use meek talk, prevent wrath, bestow thy greeting upon every one in the market, even if he be a stranger. This will cause you to be loved by Heaven and liked by thy fellow-men." It was said about R. Yohanan b. Zakkai, that it never happened that he should have been greeted first (for he was it who greeted every one first, as soon as he perceived him). 1

CHAPTER 2.

Let us now try to give a few outlines of the ethical teachings of the Talmud. In the first place, concerning

MAN AS A MORAL BEING.

In accordance with the teaching of the Bible, the rabbis duly emphasize man's dignity as a being created in the likeness of God. By this likeness of God they understand the spiritual being within us, that is endowed with intellectual and moral capacities. The higher desires and inspirations which spring from this spiritual being in man, are called Yetzer tob, the good inclination; but the lower appetites and desires which rise from our physical nature and which we share with the animal creation, are termed Yetzer ha-ra, the inclination to evil. Not that these sensuous desires are absolutely evil; for they, too, have been implanted in man for good purposes. Without them man could not exist, he would not cultivate and populate this earth, or, as a Talmudical. legend runs: Once, some over-pious people wanted to pray to God that they might be able to destroy the Yetzer ha-ra, but a warning voice was heard, saying. "Beware, lest you destroy this world!" Evil are those lower desires only in that they, if unrestrained, easily mislead man to live contrary to the demands and aspirations of his divine nature. Hence the constant struggle in man between the two inclinations. He who submits his evil inclination to the control of his higher aims and desires is virtuous and righteous. "The righteous are governed by the Yetzer tob, but the wicked by the Yetzer ha-ra. The righteous have their desires in their power, but the wicked are in the power of their desires."

FREE-WILL.

Man's free-will is emphasized in the following sentences: "Everything is ordained by God's providence, but freedom of choice is given to man." "Everything is foreordained by heaven, except the fear of heaven," or, as another sage puts it: Whether man be strong or weak, richer poor, wise or foolish depends mostly on circumstances that surround him from the time of his birth, but whether man be good or bad, righteous or wicked, depends upon his own free-will.

GOD'S WILL, THE GROUND OF MAN'S DUTIES.

The ground of our duties, as presented to us by the Talmudical as well as the biblical teachings, is that it is the will of God. His will is the supreme rule of our being. "Do His will as thy own will, submit thy will to His will." "Be bold as a leopard, light as an eagle, swift as a roe, and strong as a lion, to do the will of thy Father, who is in heaven."

MAN ACCOUNTABLE TO GOD FOR HIS CONDUCT.

Of man's responsibility for the conduct of his life, we are forcibly reminded by numerous sentences, as: "Consider three things, and thou wilt never fall into sin; remember that there is above thee an all-seeing eye, an all-hearing ear, and a record of all thy actions." And again, "Consider three things, and thou wilt never sin; remember whence thou comest, whither thou goest, and before whom thou wilt have to render account for thy doings."

HIGHER MOTIVES IN PERFORMING OUR DUTIES.

Although happiness here and hereafter is promised as reward for fulfilment, and punishment threatened for neglect of duty, still we are reminded not to be guided by the consideration of reward and punishment, but rather by love and obedience to God, and by love to that which is good and noble. "Be not like servants, who serve their master for the sake of reward." "Whatever thou doest, let it be done in the name of heaven" (that is, for its own sake).

DUTY OF SELF-PRESERVATION AND SELF-CULTIVATION.

As a leading rule of the duties of self-preservation and self-cultivation, and, at the same time, as a warning against selfishness, we have Hillel's sentence: "If I do not care for myself, who will do it for me? and if I care only for myself, what am I?"

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The duty of acquiring knowledge, especially knowledge of the Divine Law (Torah), which gives us a clearer insight in God's will to man, is most emphatically enjoined in numerous sentences: "Without knowledge there is no true morality and piety." "Be eager to acquire knowledge, it does not come to thee by inheritance." "The more knowledge, the wore spiritual life." "If thou hast acquired knowledge, what dost thou lack? but if thou lackest knowledge, what hast thou acquired?" But we are also reminded that even the highest knowledge is of no value, as long as it does not influence our moral life. "The ultimate end of all knowledge and wisdom is man's inner purification and the performance of good and noble deeds." "He whose knowledge is great without influencing his moral life is compared to a tree that has many branches, but few and weak roots; a storm cometh and overturneth it."

LABOUR.

Next to the duty of acquiring knowledge, that of industrious labour and useful activity is strongly enjoined. It is well known that among the ancient nations in general manual labour was regarded as degrading the free citizen. Even the greatest philosophers of antiquity, Plato and Aristotle, could not free, themselves of this deprecating view of labour. How different was the view of the Talmudic sages in this respect! They say: "Love labour, and hate to be a lord." "Great is the dignity of labour; it honours man." "Beautiful is the intellectual occupation, if combined with some practical work." "He who doles not teach his son a handicraft trade, neglects his parental duty." "He who lives on the toil of his hands is greater than he who indulges in idle piety."

In accordance with these teachings, some of the most prominent sages of the Talmud are known to have made their living by various kinds of handicraft and trade.

CARDINAL DUTIES IN RELATION TO FELLOW-MEN.

Regarding man's relation to fellow-men, the rabbis consider justice, truthfulness, peaceableness and charity as cardinal duties. They say, "The world (human society) rests on three things--on justice, on truth and on peace."

JUSTICE.

The principle of justice in the moral sense is expressed in the following rules: "Thy neighbour's property must be as sacred to thee as thine own." "Thy neighbour's honour must be as dear to thee as thine own." Hereto belongs also the golden rule of Hillel: "Whatever would be hateful to thee, do not to thy neighbour."

TRUTH AND TRUTHFULNESS.

The sacredness of truth and truthfulness is expressed in the sentence: "Truth is the signet of God, the Most Holy." "Let thy yea be in truth, and thy nay be in truth." "Truth lasts forever, but falsehood must vanish."

Admonitions concerning faithfulness and fidelity to given promises are: "Promise little and do much." "To be faithless to a given promise is as sinful as idolatry." "To break a verbal engagement, though legally not binding, is a moral wrong." Of the numerous warnings against any kind of deceit, the following may be mentioned: "It is sinful to deceive any man, be he even a heathen." "Deception in words is as great a sin as deception in money matters." When, says the Talmud, the immortal soul will be called to account before the divine tribunal, the first question will be, "Hast thou been honest and faithful in all thy dealings with thy fellow-men?"

PEACEFULNESS.

Peace and harmony in domestic life and social intercourse as well as in public affairs are considered by the Talmudic sages as the first condition of human welfare and happiness, or as they express it: "Peace is the vessel in which all God's blessings are presented to us and preserved by us." "Be a disciple of Aaron, loving peace, and pursuing peace." To make peace between those in disharmony is regarded as one of the most meritorious works that secure happiness and bliss here and hereafter.

As virtues leading to peace, those of mildness and meekness, of gentleness and placidity are highly praised and recommended. "Be not easily moved to anger." "Be humble to thy superior, affable to thy inferior, and meet every man with friendliness." "He who is slow to anger, and easily pacified, is truly pious and virtuous." "Man, be ever soft and pliant like a reed, and not hard and unbending like the cedar." "Those who, when offended, do not give offence, when hearing slighting remarks, do not retaliate--they are the friends of God, they shall shine forth like the sun in its glory."

CHARITY.

The last of the principal duties to fellow-men is charity, which begins where justice leaves off. Professor Steinthal, in his work on General Ethics, remarks that among the cardinal virtues of the ancient philosophers we look in vain for the idea of love and charity, whereas in the teachings of the Bible, we generally find the idea of love, mercy and charity closely connected with that of justice. And we may add, as in the Bible so also in the Talmud, where charity is considered as the highest degree in the scale of duties and virtues. It is one of the main pillars on which the welfare of the human world rests.

The duty of charity (Gemilath Chesed) extends farther than to mere almsgiving (Tzedaka). "Almsgiving is practised by means of money, but charity also by personal services and by words of advice, sympathy and encouragement. Almsgiving is a duty towards the poor only, but charity towards the rich as well as the poor, nay, even towards the dead (by taking care of their decent burial)."

By works of charity man proves to be a true image of God, whose attributes are love, kindness and mercy. "He who turns away from works of love and charity turns away from God." "The works of charity have more value than sacrifices; they are equal to the performance of all religious duties."

Concerning the proper way of practising this virtue, the Talmud has many beautiful sentences, as: "The merit of charitable works is in proportion to the love with which they are practised." "Blessed is he who gives from his substance to the poor, twice blessed he who accompanies his gift with kind, comforting words." "The noblest of all charities is enabling the poor to earn a livelihood." He who is unable to give much shall not withold his little mite, for "as a garment is made up of single threads, so every single gift contributes to accomplish a great work of charity."

DUTIES CONCERNING SPECIAL RELATIONS.

Besides these principal duties in relation to fellow-men in general, the Talmud treats also very elabourately of duties concerning the various relations of life. Not intending to enter here into all details, we shall restrict ourselves to some of its ethical teachings in reference to the domestic relations, and regarding the relation to the country and the community.

THE CONJUGAL RELATION.

"First build a house and plant a vineyard (i.e., provide for the means of the household), and then take a wife." "Let youth and old age not be joined in marriage, lest the purity and peace of domestic life be disturbed." "A man's home means his wife." "Let a man be careful to honour his wife, for he owes to her alone all the blessings of his house." "If thy wife is small, bend down to her, to take counsel from her." "Who is rich? He who has a noble wife." "A man should be careful lest he afflict his wife, for God counts her tears." "If in anger the one hand removed thy wife or thy child, let the other hand again bring them back to thy heart." "He who loves his wife as his own self, and honours her more than himself, and he who educates his children in the right way, to him applies the divine promise: Thou shalt know that there is peace in thy tent." "Tears are shed on God's altar for the one who forsakes the wife of his youth." "He who divorces his wife, is hated before God."

PARENTS AND CHILDREN.

"Parental love should be impartial, one child must not be preferred to the other." "It is a father's duty not only to provide for his minor children, but also to take care of their instruction, and to teach his son a trade and whatever is necessary for his future welfare." "The honour and reverence due to parents are equal to the honour and reverence due to God." "Where children honour their parents, there God dwells, there He is honoured."

COUNTRY AND COMMUNITY.

Regarding duties to the country and the community, the Rabbis teach: "The law of the country is as sacred and binding as God's law." "Pray for the welfare of the government; without respect for the government, men would swallow each other." "Do not isolate thyself from the community and its interests." "It is sinful to deceive the government regarding taxes and duties." "Do not aspire for public offices; but where there are no men, try thou to be the man." "Those who work for the community shall do it without selfishness, but with the pure intention to promote its welfare."

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.'

To these short outlines of Talmudical ethics let us add only a few general remarks. Being essentially a development of the sublime ethical principles and teachings of the Bible, the Talmudical ethics retains the general characteristics of that origin.

It teaches nothing that is against human nature, nothing that is incompatible with the existence and welfare of human society. It is free from the extreme excess and austerity to which the lofty ideas of religion and morality were carried by the theories and practices of some sects inside and outside of Judaism.

Nay, many Talmudical maxims and sayings are evidently directed against such austerities and extravagances. Thus they warn against the monastic idea of obtaining closer communion with God by fleeing from human society and by seclusion from temporal concerns of life: "Do not separate thyself from society." "Man's thoughts and ways shall always be in contact and sympathy with fellow-men." "No one shall depart from the general customs and manners." "Better is he who lives on the toil of his hand, than he who indulges in idle piety."

They strongly discountenance the idea of celibacy, which the Essenes, and later, some orders of the Church regarded as a superior state of perfection. The rabbis say: "He who lives without a wife is no perfect man." "To be unmarried is to live without joy, without blessing, without kindness, without religion and without peace." "As soon as man marries, his sins decrease."

While, on the one hand, they warn against too much indulgence in pleasures and in the gratification of bodily appetites and against the insatiable pursuit of earthly goods and riches, as well as against the inordinate desire of honour and power en the other hand, they strongly disapprove of the ascetic mortification of the body and abstinence from enjoyment, and the cynic contempt of all luxuries that beautify life. They say: "God's commandments are intended to enhance the value and enjoyment of life, but not to mar it and make it gloomy." "If thou hast the means, enjoy life's innocent pleasures." "He who denies himself the use of wine is a sinner." "No one is permitted to afflict himself by unnecessary fasting." "The pious fool, the hypocrite, and the pharisaic flagellant are destroyers of human society." "That which beautifies life and gives it vigor and strength, just as riches and honour, is suitable to the pious, and agreeable to the world at large."

Finally, one more remark: The Talmud has often been accused of being illiberal, as if teaching its duties only for Jews towards fellow-believers, but not also towards fellow-men in general. This charge is entirely unfounded. It is true, and quite natural, that in regard to the ritual and ceremonial law and practice, a distinction between Jew and Gentile was made. It is also true that we occasionally meet in the Talmud with an uncharitable utterance against the heathen world. But it must be remembered in what state of moral corruption and degradation their heathen surroundings were, at that time. And this, too, must be remembered, that such utterances are only made by individuals who gave vent to their indignation in view of the cruel persecutions whose victims they were. As regards moral teachings, the Talmud is as broad as humanity. It teaches duties of man to man without distinction of creed and race. In most of the ethical maxims, the terms Adam and Beriyot, "man," "fellow-men," are emphatically used; as: "Do not despise any man." "Judge every man from his favourable side." "Seek peace, and love fellow-men." "He who is pleasing to fellow-men is also pleasing to God." "The right way for man to choose is to do that which is honourable in his own eyes (i.e., approved by his conscience) and at the same time honourable in the eyes of his fellow-men." In some instances, the Talmud expressly reminds that the duties of justice, veracity, peacefulness and charity are to be fulfilled towards the heathen as well as to the Israelites; as, "It is sinful to deceive any man, be he even a heathen." It is our duty to relieve the poor and needy, to visit the sick and bury the dead without distinction of creed and race."

"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" (Lev. 19:18), this is, said R. Akiba, the all-embracing principle of the divine law. But Ben Azai said, there is another passage in Scriptures still more embracing; it is the passage (Gen. 5:2): "This is the book of the generations of man; in the day that God created man, he made him in the likeness of God." That sage meant to say, this passage is more embracing, since it clearly tells us who is our neighbour; not, as it might be misunderstood, our friend only, not our fellow-citizen only, not our co-religionist only, but since we all descend from a common ancestor, since all are created in the image and likeness of God, every man, every human being is our brother, our neighbour whom we shall love as ourselves.

The liberal spirit of Talmudic ethics is most strikingly evidenced in the sentence: "The pious and virtuous of all nations participate in the eternal bliss," which teaches that man's salvation depends not on the acceptance of certain articles of belief, nor on certain ceremonial observances, but on that which is the ultimate aim of religion namely, Morality, purity of heart and holiness of life.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 2

We have to repeat again that we do not see any reason why the more prominent sages should not be mentioned. To quote all of those omitted, both of Tanaim and Amoraim, with the sources where they are taken from would take a whole volume and we also would not like to devise an entirely new arrangement contrary to Strack, Mielziner and others whose authority we respect. However, we cannot refrain from calling the attention of students to the fact that after a good deal of deliberation and search we cannot find any reason why the most prominent sages should not be placed among the founders of the Talmud.

Take, for instance, Abtulmus, who is mentioned in Tract Erubin, Chapter 3., Mishna 4, who, according to R. Jose, testified in the name of five elders, etc., and who is also mentioned several times in the Gemara and is not identical with Abtalyon who was in an earlier time. Take also Baba b'Buta who, was in the time of Herod the Great, and who was a disciple of Shamai and cannot be counted of his school as he was of those who were troubling themselves to establish the Halakha in accordance with the school of Hillel. and whom the Talmud put up as an example of morality. (See Weiss "Geschichte der jüdichen Tradition," Vol. 1., p. 168.}

We also do not find among them Elazai b. Arach, whom we have added, the distinguished one of the five disciples of R. Johanan b. Zakkai, and also no mention of b. Bag Bag, b. Haij Haij, b. Buchre, and Papus b. Jehudah. The contemporaries of these were Johanan b. Zakkai, Jehudah b.

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Bathyra, etc., etc., all of whom are mentioned in the Mishnayoth as great authorities, who according to our opinion ought to be placed among the Tanaim, founders of the Mishna.

There is mentioned by Strack and Perferkowitz (the latter counts Elasur b. Arach and Simon Shezur), Ben Patturo or Ben Pature, who is to be found only once in the whole Talmud, namely in Baba Metzia. Let us quote his statement: "If two were on the road (in the desert), and one of them has a pitcher of water which is sufficient for one only until he may reach an inhabited place, but if both would use it both would die before reaching a village, and Ben Patturo lectured that in such a case it is better that both should drink and die than that one should witness the death of his comrade." This teaching seems to us to be of the Essenes as it is not in accordance with the Talmudical spirit, and as his own name is not known (there are many who were named after their fathers only as Ben Dama, b' Bathyra, b' Azai, but their own name however is known) we are inclined to say that he lived at a much earlier time and it should read Ben Pantira, who was in his youth a disciple of Jehoshua b' Prachyah and it would not be surprising that his lecture was stated in his name as so it was done with Elisha b' Abbuyah in Tract Aboth, Chapter 4., notwithstanding that thereafter he separated himself from his colleagues and was named Acher.

PART 3.

METHOD.

The Method of our Translation into English of our Revised Text in the "New Edition."

After having submitted the text of the Talmud to a thorough review, and carried out the corrections thus found necessary, we have come down to the conclusion that the translation of the Talmud into English in this corrected form would be although not one of the easiest, but a possible task. 1 Thus we made up our mind to start this task, having considered as our leading principle to carry it out in a manner that should facilitate the understanding of the Talmud to such English readers as are not conversant with the Hebrew text. Therefore we did not care to give the discussions of the Mishnas, Tosephtas and Boraithas which the Gemara quotes for the purpose of a contradiction, objection, or comparison with a distinguishing expression, as we thought it is immaterial for the English reader. The method of the Gemara, however, is to distinguish the expressions for the purpose of letting the reader know whether the quotation is from a Mishna, Tosephta, or Boraitha, or was only said by the Amoraim, the expounders of the Mishna, viz.: (1) Tenan, for the quotation of a Mishna; (2) Tania, for the quotation of a Tosephta or a Boraitha; (3) Itemar, for the quotation of that which was said by the Amoraim. Therefore in the first volume of our editions, for all the quotations we have used only one expression, "we have learned," or "it was taught." However, after we were criticised for this, we also adopted a method of distinguishing the quotations, which is printed in the Explanatory Remarks to each volume; namely: Remark 1. For a quotation from the Mishna, "we have learned in a Mishna," for a Tosephta or a Boraitha, "we have learned in a Tosephta or a Boraitha," and for the sayings of the Amoraim, "it was taught." Thus have we also corrected in the second edition of the first and the fourth volumes: Remark 2. To save space we did not adopt the method of the German translators who usually write question and answer to each paragraph where such is to be found; we have indicated the question by an interrogation point, and immediately follows the answer without being so marked. Coming to the third explanatory remark, in which we say that we translate only the second, we have to give here this explanation at length, as this treats about omissions from the text in the translation.

In our Hakol, vol. 6., No. 298, 1885, in which we announced that we desire to revise and correct the Talmud so as to make its translation possible into a living language, we gave some examples of the omissions necessary in Halakha and Hagada for this purpose. And we dare say that the examples were favourably received by eminent students of the Talmud. As an answer to another criticism in a Hebrew monthly in New York, Ner Hamarobe, we wrote a long article in the same about our method of the omissions in Halakha, claiming that in reality we omit nothing of importance of the whole text, in the shape given out by its compilers, and only that which we were certain to have been added by the dislikers of the Talmud for the purpose of degrading it we do omit. We cannot very well translate the whole article here for lack of space and time. We will therefore limit ourselves to pointing out the omissions of Halakha and Hagada with one or two examples: (1) Omitting repetitions, e.g., in Tract Kethuboth 72b, there is a Mishna, "if one betroths a woman with the stipulation that she is not subject to any vows," and the whole Mishna with its Gemara is repeated in Tract Kedushin 58, without any change, and the Gemara to this Mishnayoth questions why the repetition? To which the same answer, "it was learned by the way," is repeated in both tracts. In our edition the Mishna will appear only once, in Tract Kedushin, and it is self-evident that the question and the answer of the Gemara falls off. However, the continuation which is if importance comes in the proper place. This is concerning the Mishnayoth. The discussions in the Gemara are repeated sometimes from one to fifteen times, some of them without any change at all, and some with change of little or no importance. In our edition we give the discussion only once, in its proper place. True, it is a great difficulty to go over all the repetitions, to mark the changes wherever they are, and to consider the matter thoroughly as to which is the most proper place for them. However, we did not spare time and careful study. And according to our ability we left it at the place which seemed to us to be proper and cancelling all other repetitions. 1 (2) There is a custom in the text when it brings a statement from an Amora (very seldom also from a Tana) which is in conflict with a Mishna or a Boraitha, and trying to reconcile them by a long discussion, and after it comes to the conclusion that such a reconciliation is impossible, it concludes that "if such was taught it must be so and so," contrary to the first statement. We in our edition translate only the conclusion, omitting the whole discussion, which partly or wholly is to be found elsewhere. (Examples of this are given in our above-mentioned article, and as they are very numerous, we cannot give them here). (3) Where there are two versions in the text under the term Lishma achrena (another version), or Ika d'amri (some say), or Waibayith Aema (if you wish, we may say), and the second is contrary or entirely different from the first, we mostly give the second only. However, we are very careful in omitting such. (See our concluding words in Vol. XVII., page 8), and as to the last phrase, Waibayith Aema, which in many places is said twice or thrice, the reader will find all of them translated in our translation, under the term, "if you wish it may be said so, and if you wish, it may be said so." (4) The reader will find in our edition foot-notes stating, "transferred from tract so and so," in Halakha as well as in Hagada. We do so when the subject treated is inserted in a place where it is disconnected with the preceding and following statement; however, there is a special discussion about the same subject in another tract. (Concerning Hagada we did so in Tract Sanhedrin, transferring Hagadas which have no connection in the preceding chapters, to the last (eleventh) chapter which is all Hagada. This is done for the purpose of preventing confusion in the reader's mind, which, while engaged in one subject, is abruptly confronted with a strange subject. (5) In a very few places we combine two Mishnayoths which are united in the editions of the separate Mishnayoths, but are divided in the Gemara into two or three (see Nedarim 32b and 33a), to which the Gemara questions "in accordance with what Tana the statement of this Mishna is given," and answers "in accordance with so and so," and the same it does with the divided Mishna with the same question and answer. (6) In places where the Gemara discusses in a long paragraph, "how was the case? Shall we assume so, then such a statement would be in the way, and if we assume so, another statement of so and so would be in the way," etc. The conclusion, however, is explained clearly and nicely. In such cases we often translate the conclusion only, omitting the discussion, which seems to us to be inserted only for the purpose of sharpening the mind. (However, we are very careful with such omissions, and if we see in them something of importance, we do not omit them.) To this point, may be added then that all the discussions usual in the Gemara why the Tana or the Amora A does not say like B, and why B does not say like C, and C like D, and then why D does not say like C, B, and A, etc. After then when the reason is given why A does not say like B, and B like C, it is again asked why should A not adopt the reason of B, etc., etc. We then give only the questions and answers of the first category, viz., why does not A agree with B and C, and B and C with A. We omit, however, the second category of the questions and answers for not adopting the reasons, which in many places occupy a whole column and after reading it, we do not find anything new or important, but simply repetitions after repetitions which confuse the mind of the reader without doing any good. (7) Questions which remain undecided and many of them are not at all practical but only imaginary, and very peculiar too, 1 we omit. Many of such questions were ascribed to the Amora Jeremiah, of whom Rabha said that, "When he was in Babylonia he never understood what the Rabbis said."

When he (Jeremiah) came to Palestine he expressed himself concerning the Babylonian scholars thus: "The Babylonians who are dwelling in a dark land are proclaiming dark Halakhath." It is the same to us if Jeremiah questioned the above-mentioned questions at the time he did not understand the Rabbis, or, as I. H. Weiss said, that he intended with such questions to ridicule the Rabbis, for at any rate such questions must not be placed in our edition. We have good reason to say that all such questions were inserted in the name of Jeremiah or other Amoraim, by the dislikers of the Talmud, who were to be found. from its very beginning, for the purpose of ridiculing it. We cannot agree with Weiss that Jeremiah himself put such questions, as for a similar question: "If it happened that one has put one foot into the Sabbath limit, and the other foot was still out of it, may he enter or not?" he was immediately driven out from the college. Hence, since the other questions ascribed to him are much worse in every respect than the one just mentioned, is it possible that he would be listened to and such inserted as undecided questions? We would also state that the above statement of the dark Halakhath by the Babylonian sages was also put in his mouth by the same people, as we cannot believe that such a great Amora like Jeremiah should throw stones in the valley from which he drank his water.

Finally, we will give one example concerning Hagadas, in Tract Zebachin, in the discussion whether the flood was in Palestine or not, basing their statements upon Ecclesiastes, "there is no new thing under the sun," i.e., no new creatures were created after the seven days of creation, and as there are to be found some creatures which, according to their size, could not enter into the ark of Noah, and we see their existence, it must be concluded that the flood which had destroyed all the creatures did not take place in Palestine, in which such creatures are to be found. The opponents of this say that the flood was in Palestine also, and of all kinds of the existing creatures, there were some in the ark. And when the last were objected to by the existence of r'em (wild-ox), which, according to Rabba b. b. Hannah, the size of its offspring of one day was equal to forty miles, hence it could not in any way be entered in the ark, the answer comes that its snout only was in the ark, and the rest of the body was swimming in the water.

Now we would ask any reader if it is possible that such a thing should be said by any sage of the Talmud, and especially by Resh Lakish, who was one of the greatest Amoraim of Palestine. As this Hagada was discussed in connection with a Halakha it must not by any means be taken as allegorical. It is therefore more than certain that one who desired to make the Talmud ridiculous put in the mouths of Jochanan and Resh Lakish the discussion about the r'em with such a ridiculous answer. Hence in our translation it must be omitted. There is another one which was put as a question: "May the high priest marry a pregnant virgin?" and to the question "how can a virgin be pregnant?" the answer comes that "perhaps she became pregnant in a bath where preceding her was a man who had left there his seed." 1 We do not believe that any one with common sense, and without partiality, can be found who would deny that such things were inserted by the Talmud haters only for the purpose of ridiculing the Talmud. It is self-evident then that in our edition such and numerous similar legends do not find place.

Concerning the translation itself, we translate almost literally but not slavishly. In those places where the text of the Gemara can be understood only with the aid of Rashi's commentary, we reproduce the sense without marking "Rashi." However, in those places where Rashi adds something to make the text better understood, we put Rashi's commentary in parentheses. See fifth remark on the copyrighting; but passages inserted from the Gemara itself we put in brackets. Those passages, however, which are not explained by Rashi or which we found the explanation more detailed in other commentaries, we translate according to the latter's, stating in the respective foot-note that it is according to so and so. Our only desire was to enable the English student, even laymen, to understand the sense without difficulty, in which, according to I. M. Wise in his review of Volume 8., we have succeeded. We may state also that, though we have strictly followed our method, yet we were compelled in some places to deviate from the same. It was also impossible for us to arrange our new edition in accordance with the old edition; based upon the decision of Sherira Gaon that it is immaterial in what order the tracts should be brought, as the Gemara itself states that the consecutive order of the Mishna is not always to be taken seriously. However, each tract is numbered from page 1, so that if the reader prefers binding the tracts according to the former order he may do so. There are, however, many more points concerning our method which we omit for lack of space and time, especially since the method is fully traced in its main features.

PART 4.

CRITICISM.

In our table of contents to this history announced in the prospectus issued in 1897, we have inserted "A Reply to some Criticism." This would be in place if this history had been published at the time when the criticism was still new. Now, however, after the lapse of six years, during which new proper criticism has not appeared, a reply to what is almost forgotten would be out of place. We, however, cannot restrain ourselves to say a few words about criticism in general, and about our edition in special. In our opinion, true criticism must drive only to the point, i.e., the critic has to show the author his mistakes and errors in such and such point, page or paragraph, based upon undoubted or uncontradictory evidence, or common sense, taking care, however, to avoid partiality and personality. Otherwise it is not criticism but attack. In our introduction to Vol. 7., we expressed our anxiety to face a true criticism, which has not appeared thus far as aught we know. As what concerns the criticism which appeared after

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the issue of the first volume, the same may be classified in three categories:

(a) Personality against the reviser of the first volume or against ourself. (b) Opposition on the part of those who disliked for some reason the idea of the Talmud being translated in any living language, no matter which; and (c) the views expressed by ignoramuses in all that concerns the Talmud and its study. It seems to us that a discussion would not persuade either of the three categories, as they indulged only in attacks lacking real evidence, nay, even a basis of probability on which they might have rested; e.g., there were some who claimed that our edition is not scientifically arranged, our omissions mutilating the whole text at large; but these did not care to give any example, which might have served them as evidence.

Now, concerning the scientific point of view, we hold that no translation of the Talmud could answer the requirements of a scientific work, as the Talmud itself is nothing but a chaotic mass lacking any scientific order, and should a translator follow scientific tracks, the result of his work would be a treatise on, but not a translation of, the Talmud. And, as what regards the so-called mutilations, since no example was given, we cannot enter any discussion as to them. Our method was already clearly explained in a lengthy article in Hebrew, out of which it might have appeared that our method consists in these very mutilations, and if after that anybody accuses us of mutilating the text we have nothing to say but let him try to invent a better method.

However, regarding the criticism of the spelling of some ancient names, which we were not very careful about, and also as to the distinguishing of the quotations from divers Mishnas, Boraithas, etc., we have gratefully admitted its truth and accordingly corrected in the succeeding volumes as well as in the second edition of the first volume, as it can be seen in our answer to these criticisms in the American Hebrew, July 29, 1896, which the critic himself admitted thereafter that it was a gentlemanly answer, though it could not induce him to deny his policy. And what concerns other criticisms of the above categories we may conscientiously say that they were not worthy of any consideration whatsoever, as their basis was the very criticism of this prominent scholar, who encouraged them to attack, to scold, and to make use of any expression which is fit to disqualify the work at large in the eyes of its supporters. As an evidence to this latter statement we beg to quote the editorial of The American Israelite, September 19, 1901.

"The complaint voiced through the Jewish press that Rodkinson's translation of the Talmud is not receiving the support which its merits deserve is very much in the nature of self-accusation. The truth is that the great undertaking has never been able to overcome the onslaught originally made upon it. Recognising its great value, the late editor of this paper gave to the work from its initial conception his earnest encouragement and support, which, instead of being seconded by the Jewish press and rabbinate, was met by a torrent of abuse and misrepresentation. Now that his foresight has been justified, and the former detractors of the work complain that Jewish support is lacking, they have a chance to contemplate their own doings. If the example set by the late editor of this paper had been emulated instead of neglected and derided, there would not now be occasion to charge the Jewish public with want of appreciation.

"It was not among Jews alone that the insensate opposition to Dr. Rodkinson's difficult project was met with. As is perfectly natural, the non-Jewish press depended largely upon Jewish sources for their information in regard to the work, and therefore reflected the unfavourable opinions expressed by supposed Jewish authorities. As soon as unbiased reviewers were made aware of its merits, they changed their unfavourable attitude, but it was too late to overcome the prejudice created by the first impression. To-day the non-Jewish press recognises that it was misled into antagonizing the work, and speaks of it as a most important contribution to the world's stock of knowledge, but it certainly must be disheartening to its editor and his publishers to convince possible purchasers that the authorities upon which they depend for information have experienced a change of heart. It is an old story, that with one moment's start a lie will not be overtaken by its refutation in a thousand years. It is impossible to wholly right the wrong, but at least amends can be made by those who through ignorance or malice misrepresented Dr. Rodkinson's great undertaking, and it is not by taking a fling at the Jews that this is to be accomplished. It is safe to classify the Jews as average human beings, who are neither better nor worse than the rest of mankind, and taking them as such, the proportion among them who encourage Jewish letters will not be found to fall below what can rightly be expected. This statement, however, does not include the Jews who have been blessed with superabundant riches, for the members of that class have not in this country given to Jewish literature the same support so common among the men of wealth who enable the literature of Christianity to be spread broadcast over the world."

Footnotes

102:1 To our great sorrow we must confess that they have succeeded in harming us both materially and morally. The material harm was that, as an immediate result of their attacks, an enormous amount of financial support had been refused to us. The moral harm they caused us was that, being at loss of the necessary funds, we could not submit our work to competent men for revising, and so the whole gigantic labour of issuing all which has been printed so far was carried out only through our own endeavors, to which no assistance, moral or material, was given us an the part of anybody. And with all our modesty we may say that, had we not been so energetic and strong-minded, our attackers would have succeeded in destroying the whole plan and annihilating the publication of our work. A great authority and most influential man in this city, seeing our struggles and troubles after we had already issued several volumes, offered us 6,000 as financial aid for the duration of three years, so as to complete the translation in this period and to submit to him afterwards the whole manuscript, for which he was willing to take the trouble upon himself to find a publisher who would undertake to publish it upon the plan of royalty. The above amount he calculated to obtain of three philanthropists, two Gentiles and one Hebrew. We, however, having conjectured who the Hebrew philanthropist might be, told him that if he meant Mr. ------, he was mistaken, for he is already influenced by the critics and therefore would not support this work. In fact, it was so, and the professor was reduced to drop the whole plan.

This case was not the only one, There was another professor who promised to subscribe for twenty sets of our work for the purpose of distributing them among his friends. It was again the critic that prevented him from doing so.

The Jewish Publication Society of America, whose aim it is to help authors in issuing their works, and who are constantly doing so, have not assisted us with a single cent, in spite of the fact that all the above-mentioned critics but one had not only retracted from and moderated their first statements, but afterwards wrote favourably about our translation in different periodicals and private letters, as can be seen from the Press comments, which will be placed on the last pages of this work.

One cannot imagine our struggles and troubles at each issue of the volumes, and it is only our ideal that the edition of the Talmud should be completed which spurs us to continue, We rely upon the divine help, that it will not cease to grant us further on the assistance which it has lent us to the completion of the two large sections issued by us.

PART 5.

THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE SIX SECTIONS IN THEIR SIXTY TRACTS.

Section Zeraim (Plants) contains eleven tractates, viz.: Berachoth (Benediction), supplied with Gemara, both Palestinian and Babylonian, Peah (Corner tithe), Dmai (Uncertain), Khilayim (Mixtures), Shebüt (Sabbatical year), Therumoth (Heave offering), Maasheroth (Tithes), Maaser Sheni (Second tithes), Chala (Dough), Orla (Fruit trees during the first three years), and Biccurim (First fruit), all of which are not supplied with Babylonian Gemara. The laws of all of them concern Palestine at that time the Temple was in existence.

Section Nashim (Women) contains seven tracts, viz.: Yebamoth (Levirate marriage), Khethuboth (Marriage contracts), Nedarim. (Vows), Nazir (Nazarite), Sota (Suspicious women), Gittin (Divorces), Kiddushin (Betrothals).

Section Kodashim (Holiness), eleven tracts: Zebachim (Sacrifices), Menachoth (Meal-offering), Chulin (Profane things), Bechoroth (First born), Arachin (Estimations), Themura (Exchange), Kherithoth (Excisions), Me-ila (Trespass), Thamid (Daily offerings), Middoth (Measurements) and Kinnim (Birds' nests). All the above tracts, besides Chulin, treat about sacrifices, offerings used at the time of the Temple. Chulin, however, speaks of the laws of slaughtering and of the meats that may be used.

Section Tcharoth (Purification), twelve tracts, viz.: Khelim (Vessels), Ohaloth (Tents), Nego-im (Leprosy), Parah (Heifer), Teharoth (Purification), Mikvaoth (Wells), Nidda (Menstruous), Mach-shirim (Preparations), Zabim (Running issues), Tebul-Yom (Legal-day bath), Yadayim (Hands), and Uktzin (Stalks of fruit); to all of them, except Nidda, there is no Gemara, for the reason stated above (Vol. 2., p. 42). The tract Nidda, however, treats about women menstruous and all the laws of sexual intercourse.

Section Moed (Festivals), twelve tracts (in our Edition 13), and Section Nezikin (Jurisprudence), ten tracts (in our Edition 13), which are already published in the English language. We give, for the benefit of readers, the following synopsis:

Note by redactor: Since the synopses which follow are simply duplicates of the material at the front of each the separate volumes they have been omitted from this e-text.

END OF VOLUME 2.

END OF BOOK 1 (10).

THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD BOOK 2 (formerly 1) (Vols. 1 and 2)

VOLUME 1

Contents

Synopsis of Subjects of Volume 1.--Tract Sabbath
Chapter 1: Regulations Regarding Transfer on Sabbath
Chapter 2: Regulations Concerning The Sabbath And 'Hanukah Light
Chapter 3: Regulations Concerning Stoves, Hearths, and Ovens
Chapter 4: Regulations Concerning Victuals, Where They May or May Not Be Deposited to Retain Their Heat for the Sabbath
Chapter 5: Regulations Concerning What May and May Not Be Worn by Animals on the Sabbath
Chapter 6: Regulations Concerning What Garments Women May Go Out With On the Sabbath
Chapter 7: The General Rule Concerning the Principal Acts of Labor on Sabbath
Chapter 8: Regulations Concerning the Prescribed Quantities of Victuals and Beverages Which Must Not Be Carried About on the Sabbath
Chapter 9: Rabbi Aqiba's Regulations On Different Subjects
Chapter 10: Further Regulations Concerning The Prescribed Quantity of Things To Be Stored

SYNOPSIS OF SUBJECTS OF VOLUME 1.--TRACT SABBATH.

Several requests have been received by the translator that an index should be made to the volumes of the Talmud, as is customary with all modern works. It would be an utter impossibility to give a complete index of everything contained in the Talmud. Were it like other scientific works, which treat each subject separately, this could easily be done; but with the Talmud it is different. On one page many different subjects may be discussed, and again a single subject may occupy several pages. The Talmud, therefore, has never had an index, not even the portions which have been translated.

After careful examination of the volumes, page by page, it has been decided to make a synopsis, i.e., to give briefly the heads of the discussions and conversations upon each Mishna, indicating the page where the Mishna is to be found, and the Gemara of each one, which serves as a commentary. By this the reader should be able to refer to what he desires to know.

A synopsis is therefore given of every Mishna which discusses a single subject, with its accompanying Gemara; but when several short Mishnas cover the same subject, a single synopsis is given of the whole, including the Gemara of each one; and where a chapter is short and has but one subject, a synopsis of the whole chapter is made, without dividing it into Mishnas.

This is the best that can be done, and it is hoped that readers will find it satisfactory.

CHAPTER 1.

MISHNA 1. Regulations concerning prohibited and permitted acts of transfer over the dividing line of adjoining premises and the area of such premises; the classification of premises; in which premises transfer is permitted; laws of transfer of labour, when committed by the joint efforts of two persons; transfer from and to doorsteps.

MISHNA 2. Whether work may be commenced at the approach of the time for afternoon prayer; what kind of work is referred to; how a man should pray; what he must wear; when he may eat his midday meal; the informing of the bestowal of gifts; Sabbath as a valuable gift of God and its origin; various legends of Rabha bar Ma'hassia in the name of Rabh.

MISHNA 3. Tailors and other artisans are not permitted to go out with their tools on Friday near eventide. Treats also on whether one may read by lamplight on the Sabbath; the laws of visiting the sick; what prayers may be offered for the sick.

MISHNAS 4. TO 6. How the eighteen famous ordinances were instituted in the attic of Hananya ben Hyzkiyah ben Gorion, and by whom the Roll of Fasts was written. Which acts of labour may be commenced on Friday eve; concerning labour which is accomplished without assistance of man on Sabbath; laws concerning labour which is accomplished without assistance of man on Sabbath; laws concerning work given to Gentiles. Narrative of R. Simeon ben Gamaliel concerning how his father's house dealt with Gentile clothes-washers. On transmission of letters and journeying on ships on the Sabbath. Regulations pertaining to the roasting of meats and baking of bread before the Sabbath; the sacrifices at the Temple on the Passover.

CHAPTER 2.

MISHNAS 1. AND 2. Permissible and non-permissible oils and wicks for lamps on the Sabbath and 'Hanukah (feast of Maccabbees); the law of the 'Hanukah lights; 'Hanukah and

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the miracle; the duration of 'Hanukah; benedictions to be said on that festival; the reward of those who keep the Sabbath-light commandment; the reward of those who esteem scholarship, The second Mishna treats on: What balsams may and may not be used both for light and for the person on the Sabbath; a narrative of a woman who hated her daughter-in-law; who may be called a rich man.

MISHNAS 3. TO 5. What wicks made from parts of trees may be used; whether broken vessels may be used for fuel on a biblical feast clay; what may be done with the residue of oil left in a lamp; practical laws of egg-shells and whether chairs may be dragged on the floor on Sabbath. The different opinions of R. Eliezer and R. Aqiba concerning the defilement of a piece of cloth, and if it is allowed to make a wick of it. What happened with R. Jehudah in the Hall of Beth Nitza and with Abhin of Ziphoris, who committed certain acts which were not allowed, in the presence of the sages.

MISHNA 6. Whether a light may be extinguished on Sabbath either for fear of accident or to afford rest for the sick; the question asked R. Tan'hum of Nav and his replying sermon; the soul being called the "Light of God"; the intended concealment of the Book of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes; the Shekhina (divine presence) not resting with a man except through his joy of having performed a good deed; Rabha's custom when commencing his lectures to his disciples. R. Gamaliel's sermon and answers to the disciple who derided him. The story of the three proselytes rejected by Shamai and accepted by Hillel. "What is hateful to thee, do not unto thy neighbour, that is the law. All else is but a commentary." The six sections of the Mishna are inferred from a biblical passage. The first thing asked of a man when standing before the divine judgement is, "Hast thou traded in good faith?" The "Fear of the Lord" is the chief principle. The wicked fear death, although mentioning it every day.

MISHNAS 7. AND 8. The sins of women are passed upon when confined in childbirth, the sins of men while in danger, A good deed is committed through the agency of a meritorious person and a bad deed through the agency of the wicked; all who are about to die must repent of their sins; the defenders of man before divine judgement are repentance and good deeds. A thousandth part of one defender saves a man from the danger threatened him by a thousand accusers. The penalties imposed upon man for hating without cause; for robbery; for perverting or procrastinating justice; for destroying the law; for murder; for adultery; for idolatry; for using obscene language. The story of R., Simeon ben Johai, who remained in a cave for twelve years. The causes leading up to his concealment in the cave; his adventures after leaving the cave. The three things to be said by a man in his house on Friday eve; how they are to be said; when twilight takes place; how many signals of the horn were blown to remind the people of the advent of the Sabbath. Is there a difference between a shophar and a fife?

CHAPTER 3.

MISHNAS 1. AND 2. In which hearths or ovens victuals may be deposited on the Sabbath. The opinions of the school of Hillel and the school of Shamai concerning the same; the different opinions upon the teaching of the two schools. Victuals having once been taken out of an oven, would it be allowed to replace them? The law concerning a pot of victuals which had been forgotten and was thus cooked on the Sabbath. Usages of R. Jose on his way to Zipporah, and of R. Jehudah Hanassi when travelling. A narrative of R. Ishai while in the presence of R. Hyya the Great. The difference in law between an oven and a hearth; also, difference arising from an oven or a hearth being heated with straw or with wood, etc.

MISHNAS 3. TO 7. Customs of the people of Tiberias relative to the heating of a pitcher of cold water. Is it allowed to place a pitcher of cold water into one filled with hot water in order to heat the water; or, vice versa, in order to heat the water? May one wash his body in the warm water of the Tiberius springs or in water warmed on the Sabbath eve? May the entire body be washed at once or each member separately? Customs in a bath-house. Are sweat-baths permitted on the Sabbath? Incidents occurring in the bath-house of the city of B'ni Brak. Why sweat-baths were prohibited. May one warm himself by a hearth-fire? Is bathing one's self in a washtub and anointing one's self with oils permitted on the Sabbath? Usages of Rabbi Jehudah Hanassi in this matter. Is swimming in a lake permitted on the Sabbath? Incidents attending R. Zera's witnessing R. Abuhu's swimming in a lake on a Sabbath. Concerning the permissibility of pouring cold water in a muliar or antikhi, the fuel of which had been removed; or in a kettle, the hot water of which had been poured out, and the prescribed quantity of such water. Concerning the addition of spices to a pot of victuals. Concerning the permissibility of placing a vessel under a burning lamp to receive its dripping oil or falling sparks, and the placing of a vessel under a hen to receive the egg. Ordinance relating to a corpse lying in the sun. If it is allowed to save a corpse from fire. Prayers to be offered on Sabbath over the dead. The accordance of permission to save a corpse from conflagration on the Sabbath.

MISHNAS 8. AND 9. Concerning the handling of new and old lamps on the Sabbath. Ordinances relative to a bed which had been designated for the purpose of holding money on the Sabbath. The permissibility of handling a burning 'Hanukah lamp for fear of the Persians. The law of Muktza. The ordinance relative to handling a lamp on Sabbath and the dictum of Resh Lakish in Zidon. The ordinance concerning the nuptial couch. Action of R. Malkia while the guest of R. Simlai and R. Abuhu at the house of R. Joshua ben Levi and R. Johanan. The experience of R. Avia, who came to the house of Rabha and sat on Rabha's bed without removing his dirty shoes. Questions put to him by Rabha, and his replies. The law of a principal prohibited act. What R. Hanina did with a folding-bed that had become unfastened on a feast day.

CHAPTER 4.

MISHNAS 1. TO 4. What substances may be used for the preserving of victuals. Rabba's and R. Zera's upbraiding of a slave of the Exilarch, while sojourning in the latter's house. Concerning the replacing of feathers in a pillow. Concerning the opening of a bunghead in a barrel and the making of a neckband in a shirt. Concerning the permissibility of depositing victuals in cloth and shorn wool intended for market. The derivation of the thirty-nine principal acts of labour on the Sabbath from the thirty-nine times "work" is mentioned in the Pentateuch. The law concerning branches of trees which were bound together to be used for fuel and were subsequently intended for sitting upon. R. Hanina ben Aqiba's action in such a case. The ordinance relating to the use of soap-powder and soap on the Sabbath. The necessity of washing one's hands and feet for the sake of the Creator. What is to be done with a pot that had not been covered on the eve of Sabbath? The decision of Ishmael in the matter in the presence of Rabbi. The mutual respect of the sages for one another. R. Na'hman's statement to Doen his servant.

CHAPTER 5.

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CHAPTER 10.

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TRACT SABBATH.

CHAPTER 1.

REGULATIONS REGARDING TRANSFER ON SABBATH.

MISHNA 1.: There are two acts constituting transfer 1 of movable things (over the dividing line of adjoining premises, based on biblical statutes). The two acts are, however, increased to four on the inside and to a like amount on the outside of the premises (by the addition of rabbinical statutes). How so? A mendicant stands outside and the master of a house inside. The mendicant passes his hand into the house (through a window or door) and puts something into the hand of the master, or he takes something out of the master's hand and draws it back (toward him). In such a case the mendicant is guilty (of transfer) and the master of the house is free. If the master of the house passes his hand outside and puts a thing

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into the hand of the mendicant, or takes something out of the mendicant's hand and brings it into the house, the master of the house is culpable and the mendicant is free. 2 If the mendicant extends his hand into the house and the master takes something out of it, or puts something into it which is drawn to the outside by the mendicant, they are both free. If the master of the house extends his hand outside and the mendicant takes something out of it, or puts something into it which is drawn to the inside by the master, they are both free.

GEMARA: We were taught (Shebuoth, IV. 2): "The acts of transfer on the Sabbath are two, respectively four." Why is this teaching here specified as two respectively four on the inside, and two respectively four on the outside, and there no such specification was made? Said R. Papa: Here the special subject of treatment is the Sabbath, and the Mishna enumerated the cases which involve guilt and those which do not involve guilt; while there the principal subject of treatment is a different one, and he mentions only the cases that involve guilt, leaving the cases that do not involve guilt untouched. But the cases that involve guilt are those by which acts of transfer are committed, and such are only two? Nay, there are two acts of transfer from within and two from without. But the Mishna says, "Yetziath" (which in a literal sense means transfer from within)? Said R. Ashi: The Tana calls transfer from without by the same term. And for what reason? Because every act of removing a thing from its place is called Yetziah. Said Rabbina: The Mishna also bears out this sense; for it speaks of Yetziath and immediately illustrates its remark by citing a case from without. This bears it out. Rabha, however, says: He (the Tana) speaks about divided premises (whose line of division is crossed), and in this case there are only two (in each of which there may be four acts of transfer).

Said R. Mathna to Abayi: Are there not eight, even twelve (instances of transfer over the line of division)? 1 And he rejoined: Such transfers as involve the obligation of a sin-offering are counted; but those that do not involve such an obligation are not counted.

"They are both free." Was not the act (of transfer) committed by both? Said R. Hyya bar Gamda: The act of removing the thing was committed by the joint efforts of both, and they (the rabbis) said: "It is written in the law, when a person did it" 2--i.e., when one person commits the act he is culpable, but when an act is committed by the joint efforts of two persons, they are both free.

Rabh questioned Rabbi: If one were laden by his friend with eatables and beverages and carried them outside (of the house), how is the law? Is the removing of his body tantamount to the removing of a thing from its place, and therefore he is culpable, or is it not so?

Said Rabbi to him: He is culpable. And this case is not like the case of removing his hand. Why so? Because (in the latter case) the hand was not at rest, while (in the former) the body (before and after removal) was entirely at rest. 1

Said Rabbi Hyya to Rabh: Descendant of nobles! Did I not tell thee that when Rabbi is engaged with a certain tract ask him not about a subject (that is treated) in another tract, for he may not have that subject in his mind! And if Rabbi were not a great man thou mightest cause him shame, for he would give thee an answer which might not be right. In this instance, however, he gave thee a correct answer; as we have learned in the following Boraitha: If one was laden with eatables and beverages while it was yet light on the eve of Sabbath, and he carried them outside after dark, he is culpable; for his case is not like that of removing the hand mentioned above.

Abayi said: From all that was said above it is certain to me that the hand of a man (standing on the street) is not treated as public ground. 2 And I also see that (if a man stands on private ground) his hand is not to be treated as private ground. Would it be correct, then, to regard the hand as unclaimed ground? If so, would the penalty imposed by the rabbis in such a case, namely, that one should not move his hand (containing a movable thing) back (during the Sabbath day), apply in this case or not?

Come and hear the following Boraitha: If a man has his hand filled with fruit and he extends it outside (of the premises where he stands), one said he is not permitted to draw it back, and another Boraitha says he is allowed to do so. May we not assume that this is their point of dispute: the former holds that the hand is treated as unclaimed ground, and the latter thinks that it is not like unclaimed ground? Nay, it may be that both agree that the hand (as spoken of in our Mishna) is like unclaimed ground, and yet it presents no difficulty. One of the Boraithas treats of a man who had extended his hand unintentionally, and the other one treats of a man who had put forth his hand intentionally. In the former case the rabbis did not fine him, and in the latter case they did. And if you wish, it may be said that they both speak of a case when the act was done unintentionally, and their point of differing is as to the varying premises, whether the hand may be drawn back to the ground where the man stands, or to other (private) ground that adjoins it? As Rabha questioned R. Na'hman: If the hand of a man was filled with fruit, and he extended it outside, may he draw it back to the same ground where he stands? And he answered: He may. (And may he remove his hand) to other (private) ground? Nay. And to the question, "What is the distinction?" he said: If thou wilt measure a whole kur of salt and present me with it, I shall tell thee the answer. (See footnote, Erubin, p. 79.) In the former case his design was not accomplished; in the latter, however, his design was accomplished (and it is prohibited for fear that it should be repeated).

R. Bibi bar Abayi questioned: If one has put bread into the oven, is he allowed to take it out before (it is baked and) he becomes liable to bring a sin-offering, or not?

Said R. A'ha bar Abayi to Rabhina: What does the questioner mean? Unintentionally and without remembering (that it is Sabbath), then what does the expression "allowed" mean? To whom? He is still not aware of it. On the other hand, if he did it unintentionally and afterward he remembered of the Sabbath, how can he be liable to a sin-offering; did not a Mishna state that the liability to bring such a sacrifice applies only when the failing was begun and accomplished unintentionally? Should it be understood that the act was done intentionally, then it would not involve the liability of a sin-offering, but it would constitute a crime that involved capital punishment. 1

Said R. Ashi: Say, then, it is a crime that involves capital punishment. R. A'ha, the son of Rabha, taught so plainly. R. Bibi bar Abayi said: If one put bread into the oven, he is allowed to take it out before it may involve a case of capital punishment.

"The mendicant extended his hand," etc. Why is he culpable? (To complete the act) there must be a transfer from a place that is four ells square and a depositing into a place of the same area, and such was not the case here. Said Rabba: Our Mishna is in accordance with R. Aqiba's opinion, who holds that as soon as the air of a place surrounds a thing it is equal to the thing being deposited in that place. But may it not be that depositing does not require four ells, for the reason stated above, but removing does? Said R. Joseph: The teaching of this paragraph agrees (not with the opinion of R. Aqiba), but with that of Rabbi, as we have learned in the following Boraitha:

If one threw an object from one street into the other, and there was a private ground between them, Rabbi declared him culpable, and the sages freed him. Hereupon R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said: Rabbi declared the man guilty of two offences: one for having removed the thing from its place, and one for having deposited it in another place. Hence in both, the four ells in question are not required.

But with reference to this it was taught that both Rabh and Samuel said that Rabbi's declaration of culpability treated of a case where the private ground (that divided the two streets) was roofed, for the assumption is that a house must be regarded as a solid object that fills out all the space it occupies, but not when it was unroofed?

Therefore said Rabha: (All these views can be dispensed with, as) the hand of a man (because of its value) is considered as a piece of ground four ells square. And so, also, was declared by Rabin, when he came from Palestine, in the name of R. Johanan.

R. Abhin in the name of R. Ila'a, quoting R. Johanan, said: If one threw a thing and it rested in the hands of another man, he is culpable.

Why the repetition--has not R. Johanan declared above, already, that the hand of a man is considered as a space of four ells square? Lest one say that this is only when he intended to put it into his hand (and the intention makes it valuable as the space in question), but not otherwise. Therefore the repetition.

The same said again in the name of the same authority: If one remains standing in his place when he receives a thing, he is culpable; but if he was moving away from his place when he received it, he is free. And so also we have learned in a Boraitha in the name of the anonymous teachers.

R. Johanan asked the following question: If one threw a thing and then moved from his place and caught it, is he culpable or not? How is this question to be understood? Said R. Ada bar Ah'bah: The difficulty is concerning the exercise of two forces by one man, and the question was thus: If two forces were exercised by one man (in committing a prohibited act), should both parts of the act be accounted to the same, so that he should be declared culpable, or should each part of the act be considered separately, as if there were two individuals concerned, and then he is free? This question is not decided.

R. Abhin in the name of R. Johanan said: If one put his hand into the yard of his neighbour, got it full of rain water, and withdrew it, he is guilty. But to make one guilty of the act, it must consist of removing a thing from a place of four ells square, which is not the case here. Said R. Hyya b. R. Huna: It means that he took the water as it was running down a slanting wall, as Rabba taught elsewhere that removing a thing from a slanting wall made the man culpable. But (in speaking of removing an object from a slanting wall) Rabba treated on the question of removing a book, which is a stationary thing. Is it analogous to removing water that can never become stationary?

Therefore said Rabha: Our case treats when he dipped the water out of a cavity (in the wall) in question. Is not this self-evident?

Lest one say that water standing upon water is not considered stationary,, he comes to teach us that it is. And this is in accordance with his theory, as follows: Water standing upon water is considered stationary; a nut, however, lying upon the surface of water is not considered so.

The same said again, in the name of the same authorities: One who was laden with eatables and beverages, entering and going out the whole day, he is not culpable until he rests. Said Abayi: And even then only if he stops for the purpose of resting; but not when he stops merely to adjust his burden on his shoulders. Whence is this deduced? From what the master said: "he stopped within the limit of four ells to rest he is free, but if he stopped to adjust the load on his shoulders he is culpable. Beyond four ells, if he stopped to rest he is culpable, but if he stopped to adjust the burden on his shoulder he is not culpable. What does this imply? It implies that one cannot be culpable unless his intention of removing was before he stopped.

The rabbis taught: If one takes anything from his store into the market through the alley-way (where the benches of market-men are situated), he is culpable; it makes no difference whether he carries, throws, or pushes it with his arm. Ben Azai, however, said: If he carries it in or out he is not culpable, but if he throws or pushes it in or out he is culpable. The same we have learned in another Boraitha.

The rabbis taught: There are four kinds of premises as regards the Sabbath--viz.: private ground, public ground, unclaimed ground, and ground that is under no jurisdiction. What is private ground? A ditch or hedge that is ten spans deep or high and four spans wide--such are absolutely private grounds. What is public ground? A country road or a wide street, or lanes open at both ends--such are absolutely public grounds. [So that in these two kinds of premises nothing must be carried from one to the other; and if such was done by one unintentionally, he is liable to a sin-offering; if, however, intentionally, then he is liable to be "cut off," or to suffer the extreme penalty (at the hands of human justice).]

A sea, a valley of fields, the front walk (before a row of stores), and unclaimed ground are neither like public nor like private ground. [Nothing should be carried about there to start with; but if one has done it, he is not culpable. Nor should anything be taken out of these grounds into public or private ground, or brought in from the latter into these grounds; but if one has done so, he is not culpable. In adjoining courtyards of many tenants and alleys that are open at both ends, where the tenants have made it communal property, 1 carrying things is allowed; however, it is not allowed when such is not done. A man standing on the door-step 2 may take things from or give things to the master of the house; so also may he take a thing from a mendicant in the street or give it to him; but he must not take things from the master of the house and hand them over to the mendicant in the street, nor take from the latter and transmit to the former. Still, if this was done, all the three men are not guilty. Anonymous teachers, however, say that the door-step serves as two separate grounds: when the door is open it belongs to the inside, and when the door is closed it belongs to the outside. But if the door-step is ten spans high and four spans wide, it is considered as a premises in itself.]

The master said: "Such are absolutely private grounds."

What does he intend to exclude (by this emphatic declaration)? To exclude that which R. Jehudah taught about Erubhin (p. 25).

"These are absolutely public grounds." What does it mean to exclude? To exclude another instance of R. Jehudah's teaching, concerning the enclosure of wells. (Ibid., p. 40.)

Why does not the Boraitha count the desert also, for have we not learned in a Boraitha: Public ground is constituted by public roads, wide streets, alleys that are open at both ends, and the desert? Said Abayi: It presents no difficulty. There the law was expounded as it existed when Israel dwelt in the desert; here, however, the law is taught as it prevails at the present time.

The master said: "If one has brought in or taken out a thing unintentionally," etc. Is not this self-evident? He means to say that if the culprit did it intentionally, "he is liable to be cut off," etc. Also this is self-evident? He comes to teach, because of the following statement of Rabh, who said: "I found mysterious scrolls in the possession of my uncle, R. Hyya, which read: Aysy ben Jehudah says: There are forty less one principal acts of labour. A man, however, cannot be guilty of performing but one. And to the question, How is this to be understood? the answer was: It should be corrected and read: There is one of those acts of labour for which a man is not guilty. (In consequence, however, of the omission just what particular act of labour is excluded, all of the thirty-nine remained doubtful); and the Boraitha teaches that the labour mentioned is not one of the doubtful."

Again, the master said: "A sea, a valley of fields," etc. Is that so? Have we not learned (Taharoth, VI. 7) that a valley is, in summer time, to be regarded as private ground with

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reference to the Sabbath, and as public ground with reference to defilement; in the rainy season, however, it is private ground in all respects? Said Ula: As a matter of fact it is unclaimed ground, but by calling it private ground the Boraitha only means to distinguish it from public ground. R. Ashi, however, said: He speaks of a valley in which there are partitions. 1

"And unclaimed ground." Are not all the above-mentioned unclaimed ground? When R. Dimi came he said in the name of R. Johanan: The mention of "unclaimed ground" in this case is required merely to imply a corner (of a private plot) that adjoins public ground; for although at times (when the street is crowded) many people are forced into this corner, it is considered as unclaimed ground, as the public use of it is not regarded with favour. He said also in the name of the same authority: The space between the pillars and the buildings (on the side of the street) is considered by the law as unclaimed ground. Why so? Because although many walk there, still, since one cannot make his way in such space freely (the row of pillars being irregular or in a broken line), it is like unclaimed ground.

R. Zera in the name of R. Jehudah said: The benches in front of pillars are regarded as unclaimed ground (even if they are ten spans high and four spans wide). The one who holds that the space between the pillars is considered as such, will so much the more agree that the benches in front of the pillars are considered such; but he who says that the benches are so considered, may hold that this is so because the encroachment upon them is not regarded with favour. The ground between the pillars, however, which is usually trodden by many people, is like public ground.

Rabba b. Shila in the name of R. Hisda said: If one throw or plaster (an adhesible) thing against the side of a brick that is standing up in the street, he is culpable; but if he throw or plaster a thing on top of it, he is not. Abayi and Rabha both said: Provided the brick is three spans high, so that people do not step upon it; with bushes or briars, however, even if less than three spans high, one is not culpable. And Hyya bar Rabh said: Even a bush or briar must be three spans high. 1

Rabba, of the school of R. Shila, said: When R. Dimi came from Palestine, he said in the name of R. Johanan: No space can be considered unclaimed ground unless it has an area of four spans square, and R. Shesheth added that it holds good up to ten spans square. What does it mean? Shall we assume that only if it has a partition of ten spans it is unclaimed ground? Has not R. Giddell in the name of R. Hyya bar Joseph, quoting Rabh, said: A house that is not ten spans high, but which is raised to that height by the ceiling, one may handle on the roof over its entire area; inside of the house, however, only within four ells square? Therefore we must say that the statement: "It holds good up to ten spans," implies that the law of unclaimed ground is valid when the height does not exceed ten spans. As Samuel said to R. Jehudah: "Ingenious scholar! treat not on laws of the Sabbath exceeding ten spans in height." And to what does it apply? To private ground it could not apply, as it is known that private ground is so considered to the sky; hence it is only to unclaimed ground that above ten spans does not exist, as the rabbis have invested unclaimed grounds with the lenient regulations pertaining to private ground--viz.: If the place have an area of four spans square, it is unclaimed ground; if it has a lesser area, it is not subservient to any jurisdiction. And with the lenient regulations of public ground--viz.: The place is regarded as unclaimed ground only to the height of ten spans; beyond that it ceases to be unclaimed ground.

The text says: "In a house the inside of which is not ten spans high," etc. Said Abayi: If, however, one has cut in it an excavation four ells square, so as to complete the height of ten spans, one may handle things freely in the whole house. Why so? Because in such a case the entire space of the house (around the excavation) would be considered like holes on private ground, and it has been taught that such holes are regarded the same as the private ground itself. As to holes on public ground, Abayi said: They are like public ground. Rabha, however, says that they are not. Said Rabha to Abayi: According to your theory, holes on public ground are to be considered the same as the ground itself. In which respect, then, does this case differ from what R. Dimi said above (p. 8) in the name of R. Johanan? Let, according to thy opinion, such a corner be considered as a hole in public ground. Nay, the use of the corner is not considered favourable by people, while no one objects to the use of a hole in the street.

R. Hisda said: If a person erected a pole on private ground and threw something at it, if that thing rested on top of the pole, and be that pole a hundred ells high, the person is culpable, for private ground is absolutely unlimited in height. Shall we assume that R. Hisda holds in accordance with Rabbi of the following Boraitha: "If one threw a thing (in the street) and it rested upon the smallest cornice 1 (of a house), according to Rabbi he is culpable, and the schoolmen say that he is not." Said Abayi: In private ground all admit the decision of R. Hisda. The case, however, in which Rabbi and the sages differ was a tree that stands on private ground with its branches reaching out into public ground, and one threw a thing which rested on a branch. Rabbi holds that the branch is part and parcel of the root, but the sages opine that we need not assume such to be the case.

Abayi said: If one threw a bee-hive which was ten spans high, but not six spans wide, into the street, he is culpable; if, however, the bee-hive was six spans wide, he is free (because it is considered a piece of private ground in itself). Rabha, however, said he is not, even if it be less than six spans wide. Why so? Because it is impossible for twined reed not to exceed the given height. 2 In case he threw the bee-hive 3 with its mouth down, even if the hive is a trifle over seven spans high, he is culpable; but if it is seven and a half spans high, he is not. R. Ashi, however, said: He is, even if it is seven and a half spans high. Why so? Because the enclosing rim of the bee-hive is made for the purpose of containing something within, and not to be attached to the ground; hence it is not included in the Lavud class. 4

Ula said: A post nine spans high, which stands in the street, and people use it to shoulder (their burdens) on, if one threw a thing and it rested on the top of it, he is culpable. Why so? Because a thing that is less than three spans high is stepped upon by many; a thing between three and nine spans high is not used either to step or to shoulder a burden on; but if it is nine spans high, it is surely used to shoulder burdens on.

Abayi questioned R. Joseph: What is the law of a pit (of similar depth)? Said he: The same (as of the post). Rabba, however, said: A pit of similar depth is not governed by the same law. Why so? Because the use (which is made of a thing) through compulsion is not called (a customary) use.

R. Adda bar Mathna objected to Rabha from the following Boraitha: If one intended to keep the Sabbath on public ground and deposited his Erubh in a pit less than ten spans (below the ground), his act is valid. "If he deposited it more than ten spans below the ground, his Erubh is of no value." Let us see how was the case. If the pit was more than ten spans deep, and by the saying "he deposited it less than ten spans below the ground" is meant that he raised the Erubh to a higher place, and by the saying "more than ten spans" is meant on the bottom of the pit, then, at all events, the Erubh could not be of any value; as he is in public ground, and his Erubh is in private, therefore we must say that the case was of a pit less than ten spans deep, and nevertheless the Erubh is valid; hence we see that the use of a place through compulsion can at times be considered as customary use.

The answer was that the Boraitha is according to Rabbi, who says that against things which are prohibited only rabbinically because of rest (Shebuoth) no precautionary measures are taken when they are to be done at twilight, and the prescribed time for depositing an Erubh is twilight; therefore, although the use of the pit which was less than ten spans deep was compulsory, the Erubh was nevertheless valid, because respecting twilight the rabbis are not particular.

R. Jehudah said: If one moves a bundle of reeds by raising one end and throwing it over, then raising the other end and throwing it over, he is not culpable, unless he lifts the entire bundle off the ground.

The master said: "A man standing on the door-step," etc. What is that step? If it is the step of the street, how may he "take from the master of the house"; does he not transfer from private ground into public ground? If it is the step of the house, how may he "take from the mendicant (standing in the street)"? Does he not transfer from public into private ground? And if it is unclaimed ground, how may he "take and give intentionally," since a direct prohibition to that effect exists?

Nay, the door-step is a place concerning which the law has no provision; as, for instance, it is not four spans square. It is said elsewhere by R. Dimi in the name of R. Johanan that such a thing is not under the jurisdiction.

The master said: "All three are not culpable." Would this not be an objection to Rabha, who said if one transfer an object (in public ground) from one to the other limit of four spans, even if he moves it over his head (i.e., above ten spans from the ground), he is culpable? In the above-mentioned case, however, he is not.

Anonymous teachers say "a door-step," etc. Is such the case even if there is no side-beam to it? Has not R. Hamma bar Gorion in the name of Rabh said that if it is inside the door, and not even four spans square, there must still be a side-beam to make it a free place? Said R. Judah in the name of Rabh: Here the doorstep of an alley is treated of, the half of which is roofed, and the other half not roofed, and the roofing is toward the inside. In this case when the door is open it is considered like the inside, when it is closed it is like the outside. R. Ashi, however, said: The case was of a door-step of a house, but the door was topped by two beams, each of which was less than four spans wide, and between them the space was less than three spans wide, the door itself being in the middle, so that the law of Lavud applies only when the door is open, and not when it is closed; therefore when it is open the door-step is considered as the inside, and when it is closed the door-step is regarded as the outside.

"If the door-step is ten spans high," etc. This supports the theory of R. Isaac bar Abbimi, who said that R. Mair used to say: Wherever thou findest two distinct grounds belonging to the same premises (i.e., to which the law of premises regarding the Sabbath applies equally), like a post in private ground, that is ten spans high and four wide, it is prohibited to shoulder (a burden) on it. As a precautionary measure (enacted by the rabbis), for fear that the same would be done with a rock of the same size that may be found in the street, and it is biblically prohibited to shoulder upon it.

MISHNA 2.: One shall not sit down 1 before the hair-cutter at the approach of the time for afternoon devotion, 2 before reciting his prayers. Nor shall he enter a bath-room or a tannery (the same is the case with any factory or large business), or sit down to eat, or start pleading a case (before a judge). But if he has started, he need not be interrupted. One must quit his work to read Shema, but he need not stop working in order to pray.

GEMARA: What time of Min'ha does the Mishna mean? Does it mean the high afternoon 1 time? Why should a man not be allowed, since the day is still young? Does it mean the lesser time, and still hold that (if the man had started the work) he need not discontinue it? Shall this be taken as an objection to the opinion of R. Joshua ben Levi, who said: "When the time of afternoon prayer draws nigh, one must not partake of anything before performing his devotion"? Nay, he speaks here of the high time, and yet one shall not begin cutting his hair, as a precaution against accidents, lest his scissors break; a bath to sweat, lest he grow exhausted; a tannery, lest he notice some damage to his wares and become confused; nor shall he sit down to eat lest the meal be protracted; pleading a case of justice, lest argument be advanced that overthrows all previous arguments, and until all this is settled the. Min'ha prayer will be forgotten.

From what moment does the act of hair-cutting begin? Said R. Abhin: From the moment the barber's cloth is spread over him. The act of bathing begins from the moment the coat is pulled off; tanning begins from the moment the working-apron is tied around the shoulders; a meal begins from the moment the hands are washed, so said Rabh; but R. Hanina said, from the moment one takes off his girdle. And they do not differ. Rabh spoke of the custom of his country, and R. Hanina spoke of the custom of his country.

Abayi said: According to him who holds that the evening prayer is discretionary, our Babylon colleagues, as soon as they take off their girdle for the meal, they must not be troubled to pray before meal; however, according to him who holds that even this prayer is obligatory, they must be troubled. But is not the afternoon prayer obligatory by all means, and nevertheless our Mishna teaches that "if he began (his meal) he need not be interrupted," to which R. Hanina said that the loosening of the girdle (is the beginning)? In the case of the afternoon prayer, since the time for it is fixed, (we assume) that the man will hasten and will not fail to pray in time, while for evening prayer, the time for which extends through the entire night, it is feared that he may not hasten, and neglect it.

R. Shesheth opposed: Is it so much trouble to put on one's girdle? Furthermore, cannot one stand up (without a girdle) and pray? Nay! As it is written: "Prepare thyself to meet thy God, O Israel!" [Amos, iv. 12]; and as Rabha b. R. Huna used to put on stockings when he stood up to recite prayers, saying: It is written: "Prepare thyself," etc. Rabha, however, used to throw off his mantle and fold his hands when he prayed, speaking as a slave before his master. R. Ashi said: I have observed R. Kahana. In times of trouble he threw off his mantle and folded his hands when he prayed, speaking like a slave before his master. In times of peace he dressed and fitted himself up carefully, saying: "It is written, Prepare thyself to meet thy God, O Israel." Rabha noticed that R. Hamnuna spent much time at his prayers. Said he: "Thus they quit eternal life and busy themselves with transient life." 1 He, R. Hamnuna, however, thought that the time spent in prayer is a thing by itself, and the time devoted to study is also a thing by itself. R. Jeremiah was sitting before R. Zera discussing a Halakha. The day was breaking and time for prayer came, and R. Jeremiah hastened for the purpose of praying. Said R. Zera to him: "When one turneth away his ear so as not to listen to the law, even his prayer becometh an abomination" [Prov. xxviii. 9].

At what moment does the work of dispensing justice commence? R. Jeremiah and R. Jonah--one said: "From the moment the judges put on their mantles"; the other said: "From the moment the litigants begin pleading." And they do not differ. The former speaks of the instance of opening court; the latter of the instance when the court was in session and the judges were engaged in deciding other cases.

Up to what time should court be in session? R. Shesheth said: "Up to meal time." Said R. Hama: From what scriptural passage have we this? From "Happy art thou, O land! when thy king is noble-spirited, and thy princes eat in proper time, for strengthening and not for gluttony!" [Eccl. x. 17]; i.e., for the strength of the law and not for indulgence in wine.

The rabbis taught: The first hour (of the day) is the time the Lydians eat (the Lydians were cannibals); in the second hour robbers eat; in the third hour (rich) heirs eat; the fourth hour is eating-time for the people in general; in the fifth hour

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labourers eat; in the sixth hour scholars eat; from the last hour onward, eating is like throwing a stone into a barrel (rather injurious than beneficial). Said Abayi: This is the case only when one has tasted nothing in the morning; but if he did so, it does not matter.

R. Ada bar Ahba said: One may say his prayers in a new bath-room, which has not been used. R. Hamnuna said in the name of Ula: One is not permitted to call Shalom to another man in a bath-room, for it is written: "He called the Eternal Shalom" [Judges, vi. 23]. 1 If so, the saying of the word "faith" should also be prohibited, for it is written, "the faithful God" [Deut. vii. 9]. And lest one say so it is, has not Rabha bar Mehassia said in the name of R. Hama bar Gorion, quoting Rabh, that "faith" may be mentioned? In the latter case the name itself is not so designated, as it means as it is translated above. But in the former case it (Shalom) is a designation of the name itself.

The same says again in the name of the same authority: If one bestows a gift on his friend, he should let him know it; as it is written: "To know that I, the Eternal, made you holy" [Ex. xxxi. 13]. And there is a Boraitha which states as follows: "The Holy One, blessed be He, said unto Moses, I have a good gift in my storehouse; its name is Sabbath, which I wish to bestow on Israel; go and announce it to them." From this R. Simeon ben Gamaliel said: One who gives a child some bread should announce it to its mother. How shall he do this? Said Abayi: He should put some ointment around its eyes and stain it with dye.

Is this so? Has not R. Hama b. Hanina said: He who bestows a gift on his friend need not announce it to him, for it is written: "Moses knew not," etc. [Ex. xxxiv. 29]. This presents no difficulty. The latter instance represents a thing that is to become known by itself; the former instance treats of a thing that cannot become known by itself.

But was not the Sabbath a thing that was to become known? Aye, but the reward (for keeping the Sabbath holy) that attends it was not to be known.

R. Johanan in the name of R. Simeon b. Yohayi said: All the commands that the Holy One, blessed be He, gave unto Israel, were given with publicity, excepting the Sabbath, which was given in privacy, for it is written: "Between me and the children of Israel it is an everlasting sign" [Ex. xxxi. 17]. If such is the case, the idolaters need not be punished for its sake. The Sabbath was made known, but the additional soul (a new impetus of life) which comes with the Sabbath was not made known to them. Thus R. Simeon b. Lakish said: "The Holy One, blessed be He, bestows an additional soul on man on the eve of the Sabbath, and takes it back again when the Sabbath departs." 1

R. Hisda held in his hand two gifts 2 from the flesh of an ox, and said: "I will give this to the man who will tell me some new teaching in the name of Rabh." Said Rabha b. Mehassia to him, thus taught Rabh: "He who bestows a gift on a friend should let him know it." And R. Hisda gave him the meat. Said the former again: Art thou so fond of the teachings of Rabh? "Aye, aye," he answered. Said he: This is like that which Rabh said: A silk garment is precious to the wearer. Rejoined R. Hisda: Did Rabh indeed say so? This second thing is even better than the first; if I had other gifts I would bestow them too.

Rabha b. Mehassia in the name of the same said again: One should never show preference for one child above his other children, as for the sake of two selas' weight of silk, which Jacob bestowed on Joseph in preference to his other sons, the brothers became jealous of Joseph, and the development brought about our ancestors' migration into Egypt.

Again he continued: One should always endeavor to seek a dwelling in a city of recent settlement, for the settlement being recent, the sins are few. As it is written: "Behold, this city is near to flee thereunto, and it is little" [Gen. xix. 20]. What does it mean, it is near and small? Could not he see this himself? But it means its settlement is recent and therefore its sins are not many.

The same said again: A city whose roofs are higher than that of the synagogue will ultimately be destroyed, as it is written: "To raise high the house of our God," etc. [Ezra, ix. 9]. However, this refers only to the roofs of the houses, but as to the tops of towers and palaces, it does not concern them. Said R. Ashi: I have prevented Matha Mehassia from being destroyed (as he had made the prayer-house and the college higher than other houses). But was it not destroyed later? Yea, but not for this sin.

He also said: 1 It is better to be dependent on an Israelite than on an idolater; on an idolater than on a Persian; on a Persian schoolman 2 than on a scholar; on a scholar than on a widow or an orphan.

He also said: Rather any sickness than sickness of the bowels; rather any pain than pain of the heart; rather any disorder than a disorder in the head; rather any evil than a bad wife.

Again he said: If all the seas were ink, if all the swamps were producing pens, if the whole expanse of the horizon were parchment, and all the men were scribes, the (thoughts that fill the) void of a ruler's heart could not be written in full. Whence is this deduced? Said R. Mesharsia: "The heavens as to height and the earth as to depth, and the hearts of kings cannot be fathomed" [Prov. xxv. 3].

"To read Shema," etc. Was it not stated before that they need not be interrupted? This sentence applies to study, as we have learned in a Boraitha: "Scholars that are engaged in studying the Law must stop for the reading of Shema, but they need not stop for prayer." Said R. Johanan: Such is the case with men like R. Simeon b. Yo'hai and his colleagues, for learning was their profession; but men like ourselves must stop for prayer also. But have we not learned in a Boraitha: "As (students) need not quit (their studies) for prayer, so they need not stop them for Shema"? This applies only to the study of the establishment of leap year; as R. Ada b. Ahba, and so also the sages of Hagrunia in the name of R. Elazar b. Zadok, declared: "When we were engaged in fixing a leap year at Yabne, we did not quit (our work) either for Shema or for prayer."

MISHNA 3.: A tailor shall not go out with his needle when it is nearly dark on Friday, lest he forget and go out (carrying it about with him) after dark; nor a scribe with his pen; nor shall one search for vermin in his garments or read before the lamp-light (Friday night). Of a verity it is said, an instructor may follow the children when they read, but he shall not read himself (before the lamp-light). In a similar manner it is said that one afflicted with gonorrhœa should not eat from the same plate with a woman that has the same disease, lest they become accustomed to one another and come to sin.

GEMARA: "A tailor shall not go out," etc. Does not the Mishna mean when the needle is stuck in the garment? Nay, it treats of the case when (the tailor) holds it in his hand.

Come and hear. "A tailor shall not go out with the needle sticking in his garment." Does this not treat of the eve of the Sabbath? Nay, it treats of the Sabbath itself.

But is there not another Boraitha: "A tailor shall not go out with the needle sticking in his garment on Friday when it is nearly dark"? This was taught according to R. Jehudah, who holds that a labourer (carrying a thing) after the manner of his profession is culpable; as we have learned in the following Tosephtha: "A tailor shall not go out with his needle sticking in his garment; nor a carpenter with his ruler behind his ear; nor a cloth cleaner with the spanning cord behind his ear; nor a weaver with the stuffing cotton behind his ear; nor a dyer with samples around his neck; nor a money changer with the dinar in his ear. If, however, they did so, they are free, though they ought not to start it; so is the decree of R. Mair. R. Jehudah, however, says: The labourer only (going out) after the manner of his profession is culpable; but not common men."

In the school of R. Ishmael it was taught: "One may go out with the phylacteries on his head at twilight on the eve of Sabbath." Why so? As Rabha b. R. Huna said: One must feel the phylacteries on his head at all times, and in consequence he will be reminded, through feeling the phylacteries, that he must remove them before the Sabbath.

There is a Boraitha: A man must examine his garments on Friday evening, when it is getting dark, to see whether there is anything in them that must not be carried about on the Sabbath. Said R. Joseph: This is an important ordinance concerning the Sabbath.

"One shall not search for vermin," etc. Does it mean one shall not search for vermin in the day-time (of a Sabbath) lest he destroy any; and he shall not read before a lamp-light lest he snuff (the wick); or are both ordinances connected with each other so as to make the ordinance prohibiting the snuffing of the wick binding? Come and hear. "One shall not search for vermin nor read before the lamp-light." What can we understand from this Boraitha better than from our Mishna? Come and hear another Boraitha: "One shall not search before the lamp-light; also, one shall not read before it." These two ordinances are among the other established Halakhas in the attic of Hananiah b. Hyzkiyah b. Gorion. From this is to be inferred that both cases were prohibited for the same reason, that they may entail snuffing the wick.

R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said: One must not try to distinguish even between his own and his wife's garments (before the lamp-light). Said Rabha: This is said only for the inhabitants of Ma'hoza, 1 but among the dwellers of rural places the garments can easily be distinguished. And even among the inhabitants of Ma'hoza, only the garments of old women cannot easily be distinguished from those of the men, but not of young women.

The rabbis taught: One shall not search for vermin in the street out of self-respect. In the same wise, R. Jehudah or R. Ne'hemiah taught that one shall not vomit in the street out of self-respect. The rabbis taught: One who searches his garments and finds a louse shall not crack it, but simply rub it with his fingers and throw it away (on the Sabbath). Says R. Huna: This should also be done even on week days, out of self-respect.

We have learned, R. Simeon b. Elazar said: "One shall not kill vermin on the Sabbath." So said Beth Shamai; Beth Hillel, however, allowed this. R. Simeon b. Elazar used also to say in the name of R. Simeon b. Gamaliel: "One is not allowed to negotiate marriage engagements for children, nor to engage teachers or artisan masters for children, nor to pay visits of condolence to mourners, nor to visit the sick on the Sabbath. Such is the decree of Beth Shamai; Beth Hillel, however, allows all this.

The rabbis taught: If one comes to visit the sick on the Sabbath, he shall say: "It is Sabbath and we are not to cry, but relief is drawing nigh." R. Mair said, one should say: "The Sabbath (if respected) may bring mercy." Rabbi Jehudah said: "May the Omnipotent have mercy with thee and toward the sick of Israel." R. Jose said: "May the Omnipotent bestow mercy on thee amongst the sick of Israel." Shebhna the Jerusalemite when he entered (a sick-room on the Sabbath) said, "Shalom"; on leaving he said: "To cry! it is Sabbath; nevertheless, relief is nigh As His mercies are great," and "Rest ye in peace."

According to whom is what R. Hanina said: "He who has a sick person in the house should include him (in his prayers) amongst the sick in Israel"? It was in accordance with R. Jose. R. Hanina also said that it was with difficulty that the rabbis allowed visits of condolence to be paid to mourners and to visit the sick on a Sabbath. Rabba b. b. Hana said: When I accompanied R. Eliezer while visiting the sick, I sometimes heard him say (in Hebrew): "May the Omnipotent mind thee in peace," and sometimes (in Aramaic): "May the Merciful remember thee in peace." How could he do this? Did not R. Jehudah say: "One should never pray for what he needs in the Aramaic language"? And also R. Johanan: "The angels of service do not listen to one's prayer in the Aramaic tongue, for they know not that language." The case of a sick person is different, as Shekhina itself is with him. (This will be explained in Tract Nedarin in the proper place.)

"One shall not read before the lamp-light." Rabba said: It is the same even if the lamp is placed two (men's) heights (from the ground); even two stories high, or even if it is on top of ten houses, one above the other. "One shall not read," but two may? Have we not learned, "Neither one nor two"? Said R. Elazar: This presents no difficulty. Our Mishna treats of two reading one subject; and there it treats of two reading different subjects. Said R. Huna: Around the hearth-fire even ten persons shall not read together. Rabba, however, said: A prominent man may read, as he would not degrade himself by stirring the fire.

An objection was raised from the following: One should not read before a lamp-light, lest he snuff the wick. Said R. Ishmael b. Elisha: "I will read and not snuff it." Once he actually read and was tempted to snuff the wick. And he exclaimed: "How great is the saying of the sages, that one should not read before a lamp-light." R. Nathan said: He actually snuffed the wick and noted in his diary: "I, Ishmael b. Elisha, have read before the lamp on Sabbath, and have snuffed the wick. When the holy temple shall be rebuilt, I will bring a fat sin-offering." Said R. Aba: With R. Ishmael b. Elisha it is different, for while studying the Law he always considered himself common.

There is one Boraitha: A servant may examine cups and dishes (to see, if they are clean, before the lamp); and another, that he may not. This presents no difficulty. The former treats of a servant in permanent engagement; 1 the latter of one who performs occasional service. And if you wish, it may be said that both Boraithas apply to a permanent servant: the latter in the case of a lamp which is fed with oil, the former in the case where it is fed with naphtha. (Naphtha emits a bad odor; he will therefore not be tempted to touch it.)

The schoolmen propounded a question: May a servant that is not permanently engaged (examine his utensils) before a lamp fed with oil?

Said Rabh: The rule is laid down (that he may), but we do not practise it. R. Jeremiah b. Aba, however, said: So is the rule, and so we practise.

Once R. Jeremiah b. Aba took (his Friday night meal) at the house of R. Assi. His servant (R. Jeremiah's retainer, who was at the time doing occasional service in R. Assi's house) proceeded to examine (the dishes) before the lamp. Said the wife of R. Assi (to her husband): "You, my master, do not approve of this." "Let him be," answered R. Assi; "he acts according to the opinion of his master."

"Of a verity they said, an instructor," etc. Was it not said, "He may see"? For what purpose should he do this but to read? Nay; he should see in order to watch the sequence of paragraphs. So also said Rabba b. Samuel: "He may arrange the sequence of paragraphs." Consequently, may he not read the paragraphs through? Would this not oppose the statement of R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, who said: "Children in their rabbi's house used to arrange their paragraphs and read before the lamp-light"? With children the case is different; out of fear for their master they will not be led to adjust.

MISHNA 4.: And these are some of the regulations enacted in the attic of Hananiah b. Hyzkiyah b. Gorion, when the rabbis came to visit him. They called the roll and found that the disciples of Shamai were more numerous than those of Hillel, and they enforced eighteen regulations on that day.

GEMARA: Said Abayi to R. Joseph: Does the expression "and these," etc., refer to the things that were mentioned, or is "these" used with reference to things to be mentioned

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farther on? Come and hear. "One shall not search for vermin or read before a lamp-light; and these are some of the regulations," etc. From this it is obvious that "and these" is the correct version.

The rabbis taught: The "Roll of Fasts" was written by Hananiah b. Hyzkiyah and his company, for they thought with fondness of the troubles (which their race had experienced). Said R. Simeon b. Gamaliel: We also think with fondness of the troubles; but what shall we do? If we were to record (all the troubles our race has experienced since that time) we would never finish. It may also be said: A fool never feels trouble, or (more pointedly) a dead member on a living body feels not the lancet. 1

MISHNA 5.: The Beth Shamai said: Ink, dye material, or fodder (for animals) shall not be put into water (on Friday) unless there is still time for them to soak through while it is day. The Beth Hillel, however, permits this. The Beth Shamai prohibits putting bundles of linen thread (to bleach) into the oven unless there is sufficient time left for them to become heated through while it is yet day, or wool into a dye-kettle unless there is still time for it to be soaked through the same day. The Beth Hillel permits this. The Beth Shamai says: Traps shall not be set for animals and birds, or nets for fishes (on Friday), unless there is still time for them to be caught before sunset. The Beth Hillel permits this. The Beth Shamai says: One shall not sell anything to a Gentile (on Friday) or help him load his animal, or help him shoulder a burden unless he (the Gentile) can reach (with his load) the nearest place while it is yet day. The Beth Hillel permits this. The Beth Shamai says: Hides shall not be given to a tanner nor clothes to a Gentile washer (on a Friday) unless there is still sufficient time left for him (the Gentile) to finish it while it is day. The performance of all these acts of labour heretofore mentioned was permitted by the Beth Hillel (on Friday) while the sun was still shining. Rabbi Simeon b. Gamaliel said: At my father's house it was the custom to give out white clothes to a Gentile washer three days before the Sabbath. Both schools, however, agree that the presses may be put on olives and grapes in the press-pits (as long as it is still daytime).

GEMARA: Who is the Tana that maintains that putting water on ink constitutes the final work on it? Said R. Joseph: (It is Rabbi of the following Boraitha: "If one put flour (in a vessel) and another one put water on it, the latter is culpable (of the act of kneading); so is the decree of Rabbi." R. Jose, however, says that one is not culpable until he kneads it.

The rabbis taught: At twilight on the eve of Sabbath one may make an opening in a spring, so that the water run into the garden the whole day (of the Sabbath). He may also put smoking incense underneath garments, so that they hold the fragrance the whole day. It is also allowed to put burning sulphur under enamelled vessels, so that its smoke work on the paints the whole Sabbath day. It is also allowed for one to put a balm on the eye and a plaster on a wound, so that the healing process continue throughout the Sabbath; it is prohibited, however, to put grain into a water-mill, unless there is yet enough daytime left for it to be ground. Why so? Said R. Joseph: Because one is obliged to give rest even to tools on Sabbath.

Now since it was said that the resting of tools is obligatory according to the decision of the Beth Hillel, why did they permit putting sulphur and incense to smoke, or linen thread to bleach during the Sabbath? Because no act was being done, and (the tools were practically) at rest. But do not traps set for animals, birds, and nets for fishes work? Why, then, did they allow these? Here, too, they treated only of fishers' rods and traps, which do no work (but into which animals work themselves).

Now, as R. Oshia has declared in the name of R. Assi, that only the Beth Shamai holds that there is a biblical obligation for the resting of tools, but not the Beth Hillel, all the acts enumerated above are permitted by the latter, even in the event of the tools performing work.

Who is the Tana of what the rabbis taught anonymously as follows: "A woman shall not put dried lentils and peas into the oven on Friday when it is getting dark and leave them there (to get soft); and if she needs them for after the Sabbath she shall not use them, unless she waits the length of time required to cook them afresh. In the same wise a baker shall not put a vessel with water in the oven on Friday when it is getting dark; and if he needs (the hot water) for after the Sabbath, he shall not use it unless he waits the length of time it would require to boil it afresh." Shall we assume that this is in accordance with the Beth Shamai, but not with Beth Hillel? It may also be in accordance with the Beth Hillel, as the prohibitions were made as precautionary measures lest one stir the coals. If such is the case, the burning of incense and sulphur (as mentioned in our Mishna) should also be prohibited for the same reason. There is to be feared that the coals might be stirred, while here is no fear of that, as when the coals are stirred smoke may arise and injure the enamel or the garments. In the case of the linen thread also, no precautionary measure was necessary, because the draught caused by the admission of air into the oven would prove injurious to the thread, and therefore one would not open the oven to stir the fire. Then let the placing of wool into a (dye) kettle be prohibited as a precautionary measure? The Mishna treats of a kettle that stands at some distance from the fire; so says Samuel. Still, the apprehension exists that he may stir the dye. Nay, we speak of a kettle whose cover is sealed with clay.

Now that the master said that the prohibitions (of the Boraitha) are only precautionary measures, to prevent one from stirring the coals, a cold pot may be put in the oven on Friday when it is getting dark. Why so? Because the victuals in it cannot be used the same evening, and he (the cook) will never think of stirring the coals.

"One shall not sell a thing to a Gentile," etc. The rabbis taught: The Beth Shamai said: One shall not sell a thing to a Gentile, nor lend it to him, nor help him carry it, nor lend him nor present him with any money on Sabbath eve unless there is time enough for the recipient to reach his house before night comes on. The Beth Hillel said (all this may be done) if there is time enough to reach his house at the wall of the city where he lives. R. Aqiba, however, says: It is sufficient if there is time enough for the Gentile to leave the house of the Jew.

Said R. Jose b. Jehudah: "R. Aqiba contends that his teaching does not contradict that of the Beth Hillel, but merely explains the latter's real intent."

The rabbis taught: One may put down eatables on his own grounds for a Gentile (on the Sabbath). If the latter takes the eatables and carries them off, he need not prevent him.

The rabbis taught: One shall not hire out his tools to a Gentile on Friday, but he may do so on Wednesday or Thursday (even if he knows positively that the Gentile will use them on Sabbath). In the same manner, it is prohibited to transmit a letter by a Gentile on Friday, but it may be sent on Wednesday or Thursday. It was said of R. Jose the Priest, according to others the Pious, that his handwriting was never found in the hands of a Gentile (for fear that it might be carried on the Sabbath).

The rabbis taught: One shall not send a letter by a Gentile on Friday unless he stipulated a certain sum for the delivery. If such a stipulation was not made, the Beth Shamai says it must not be delivered, unless the messenger has time to reach the house in which it is to be delivered (before sunset); the Beth Hillel, however, maintains: He may do it if the messenger has time to reach the house nearest to the wall of the city where the letter is to be delivered. Was it not taught at first that "one shall not send" at all? This presents no difficulty. In the first part the case treats of a town which has no post-office; in the latter part the Boraitha speaks of a town which has one.

The rabbis taught: One shall not embark on a vessel less than three days before the Sabbath. This is the case if one goes (to sea) on private business, but if he goes for a meritorious act, he may do so. He may make a stipulation with the owner of the boat that it shall rest on Sabbath, although he is aware that he will not do so; so is the decree of Rabbi. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, however, maintains that such a stipulation is not necessary. To travel from Tyre to Zidon (a journey of a few hours) one may embark even on Friday.

The rabbis taught: Siege shall not be laid to Gentile cities less than three days before the Sabbath, but when the siege is laid it need not be interrupted. So also Shamai used to say: It is written, "until it is brought down" [Deut. xx. 20], i.e., even on a Sabbath day.

"R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said," etc. There is a Boraitha: R. Zadok said: "It was the custom at the house of Rabban Gamaliel to give white clothes to the washer three days before the Sabbath, but coloured clothes even on a Friday." From this we have learned that it is harder to wash white clothes than coloured ones. Abayi gave coloured clothes to the washer and asked: How much wilt thou take for washing them? "As much as for white clothes," answered the washer. Said Abayi: "The rabbis have preceded thee with their declaration" (that white clothes are harder to wash).

"Both schools agree," etc. Why did the school of Shamai enforce precautionary measures in all the previous cases, but in the case of wine and oil presses they did not do so? They prohibited the performance of such labour as involves the obligation of a sin-offering, if performed (unintentionally) on the Sabbath, or on a Friday when approaching darkness; but for the putting of press beams on grapes or olives, which does not involve the obligation of a sin-offering even if done on the Sabbath, the precautionary measure was not necessary.

From this it may be inferred that work which continues by itself may well be started (late on Friday). 1 Who is the Tana that holds so? Said R. Jose: R. Ishmael of the Mishna (Ediath, II. 7): "Garlic, unripe grapes, and green grain-stalks which were crushed (on Friday) while yet day, may be put under pressure at sunset; so is the decree of R. Ishmael. R. Aqiba, however, says: "It must not be done." R. Elazar (b. Pedath), however, said that the Tana in question is R. Elazar (b. Samoa) of the following Mishna: "Honeycombs that were crushed on Friday shall not be put in the press (at sunset), so that the honey run out by itself; R. Elazar, however, permits it." R. Jose b. Hanina has practised in accordance with the theory of R. Ishmael.

The oil and the covers of the small oil-presses Rabh prohibits to handle on the Sabbath. Samuel, however, permits it. The same is the case with reed-cloth; Rabh prohibits, and Samuel permits (to handle). Covers that are used on board of a vessel to cover the deck Rabh prohibits, and Samuel permits the handling of.

R. Na'hman said: "A goat that is kept for its milk, a sheep that is kept for its wool, a hen that is kept for its eggs, an ox that is kept for the plough, and dates that are put up for the market, are prohibited for use at a biblical feast," according to Rabh; Samuel, however, said it was permitted. The point of their differing is the law of Muktza, in which R. Jehudah and R. Simeon differ. (It is explained farther on that, according to the latter, no Muktza exists.)

A disciple in 'Harta of Argis 1 decided cases according to R. Simeon's teaching, and R. Hamnunah put him under the ban. But have we not adopted the opinion of R. Simeon? Yea, but 'Harta was within the jurisdiction of Rabh, and he (the disciple) should not have done as he did against Rabha's teaching.

MISHNA 6.: Meats, onions, and eggs shall not be put to roasting on the eve of Sabbath, unless they can be done while it is yet day.

Bread shall not be put in the oven or a cake upon live coals, unless the crust can be formed while it is yet day. R. Elazar says it is enough if the bottom crust is formed. The Passover sacrifice may be turned around in the oven (on Friday) when it is getting dark. In the heating-house of (the sanctuary) the fire was fed at eventide. The fires in the rural districts may be fed until the flames envelop the greatest part (of the fuel). R. Judha says: "Where coals were already burning more fuel may be added, even when Sabbath is quite near at hand."

GEMARA: When should such victuals be considered done? Said R. Elazar in the name of Rabh: "When they are done like the victuals of Ben Drostai." 2 As we have learned in a Boraitha: Hananiah says all victuals that are done like the victuals of Ben Drostai may be left upon the hearth, even if the fire in the hearth is not stirred up and full of ashes.

"Bread shall not be put," etc. The schoolmen propounded a question: ("Does R. Elazar speak of) the crust that is formed near the wall of the oven, or the crust formed (on the side of the loaf, that is turned) to the fire?"

Come and hear. R. Elazar says: "It is sufficient if the surface is crusted, which lies close to the wall of the oven."

"The Passover sacrifice may be turned," etc. Why so? Because a company (when preparing a sacrifice in the temple) is very cautious.

But if this were not the case, would it not be allowed? Has not the master said: A (sacrificial) kid may be used, well done or not well done? Aye, but in that case it is cut in pieces; in our case it could not be cut in pieces. 1

"The fire in the heating-house," etc. Why so? Whence is this deduced? Said R. Huna: It is written [Ex. xxxv. 3]: "Ye shall not kindle any fire throughout your habitations upon the Sabbath day." Your habitations excluded the sanctuary. R. Hisda opposed: If it is so, then they may do so on Sabbath itself; therefore he explains thus: The cited verse excludes only the parts of the members which are already upon the altar, and the reason of our Mishna is because priests are very careful.

"In the rural districts," etc. What does "the greatest part" mean? According to Rabh: "The greatest part of each piece"; and according to Samuel: "Until no more small wood is needed to make the heap burn." R. Hyya taught the following Boraitha in support of R. Samuel: "The flame should continue rising by itself, and not by the assistance of anything else." And to only one log of wood? -until the fire catches most of its thickness; and according to others, the most of its circumference, was the decision of Rabh. Said R. Papa: To comply with both views just mentioned it is right that the fire should catch both, the most of its thickness and the greatest part of its circumference. However, regarding this law Tanaim of the following Boraitha differ. R. Hyya says: Until it is so burned that it is unfit for any carpenter's work. R. Judah b. Bathyra says: Until the fire catches both sides. And although this cannot be substantiated by evidence (from Scripture), there is a hint of this--viz.: "Both ends are consumed by the fire and the inside is scorched; is it fit for any work?" [Ez. xv. 4].

It was taught: R. Kahana said: Reeds, if they are tied together, must (have enough daytime on Friday) to burn over half; if not tied together, less is sufficient. Granum must have enough time for the fire to catch their greater part; if they are put in a fire-pot, they need not. R. Joseph taught four substances (used as fuel) need not (have time until the fire catches) the greater part--viz.: pitch, sulphur, cheese, and running fats. In a Boraitha it was taught that straw and (wood) shavings belong to the same category. R. Johanan said that the same is the case with fuel in Babylon. What does it mean? According to R. Joseph hast, and according to Rami b. Aba branches.

APPENDIX.

[Explanatory to p. 8, line 2 (Erubhin, p. 25).]

There is a Boraitha in addition to the last Mishna of Chap. IX., ibid., p. 226, as follows: "More than this said R. Jehudah:

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'He who has two houses, one on each side of public ground, may add to each a beam or a side beam (for a sign), and this allows him to carry things from one house into the other.' To which the rabbis answered that such an erubh does not suffice for public ground." (The reason of R. Jehudah's statement is that biblically two partitions suffice to turn premises of public ground into private ground, with which the rabbis do not agree.) 1

CHAPTER 2.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE SABBATH AND 'HANUKAH LIGHT.

MISHNA 1.: What shall and what shall not be used for lighting (the Sabbath light)? The light shall not be made with (wicks of) cedar hast, raw flax, silk fibre, weeds growing upon the water, and ship-moss. 1 Nor shall pitch, wax, cotton-seed oil, oil of rejected heave-offerings, 2 fat from the tail of a sheep, and tallow be used.

Nahum the Modait says melted tallow maybe used for lighting; the schoolmen, however, prohibit melted and raw tallow alike.

GEMARA: Rabbin and Abayi were sitting before Rabbanah Ne'hemiah, the brother of the Exilarch (after the death of his brother he became Exilarch under the name Ne'hemiah the Second), and they saw that he was dressed in a mantle of μεταξα (raw silk). Said Rabbin to Abayi: "This is called in our Mishna khlakh." 3 And he answered: "In our city it is called Shira Peranda (ferandinis)." The same (Rabbin and Abayi) happened to be in the valley of Tamruritha, and they saw a kind of willow, and Rabbin said to Abayi: "This is edan mentioned in our Mishna"; and he rejoined: "This is only common wood; how could a wick be made of it?" He peeled off one of them and showed him a kind of woolly substance between the bark and the stem.

The rabbis taught: All that which was prohibited for the Sabbath lamp may be used in fires that are kept up for heat or even for constant light, whether (such fires are built) upon the ground or in the hearth; as the materials are prohibited only for use as wicks for the Sabbath lamp.

Rabba said: The wicks which the rabbis forbade the use of in the Sabbath lamp are prohibited because they give a flickering light. The oily substances were prohibited because they do not adhere to the wick.

Abayi questioned Rabba: Would it be permitted to mix oil with these prohibited fats and then use them for the Sabbath lamp? Or is even that prohibited as a precaution lest one use those fats without the addition of oil? Rabba answered: It is prohibited. Why so? Because they do not give a right light.

Abayi objected to him from the following: "R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said: 'In my father's house they wound the wick around a nut and lighted it'; hence you see that it may be lighted." Said Rabba: "Instead of contradicting me with the saying of R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, support my view with the decision of the first Tana" (of our Mishna). This would not do, as the record of an act is incontrovertible. Still the record of the master remains contradictory. The Mishna is not complete, and should read thus: "If one has wound a thing that may be used (as a wick) around a thing that may not be used, be is not permitted to light it. This is the case when the two (substances) are to serve the purpose of a wick, but if the prohibited substance is used merely to support the permissible (the combination) is allowed, as so said R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, 'In my father's house,'" etc.

But, after all, it is not so. Did not R. Beruna teach in the name of Rabh: To melted tallow or fish fat one may add some oil and use it for the Sabbath lamp? These substances adhere to the wick in themselves. But the rabbis had prohibited melted tallow or fish fat as a precaution, lest (if the melted substance be allowed) one use it raw also for light. Why did they not enact the prohibition to use these substances with the admixture of some oil as a precaution lest they be used without the admixture of oil? This itself is a precautionary measure; shall we enact another as a safeguard to it?

R. Huna said: The wicks and fats which the sages have prohibited for the Sabbath lamp cannot be used for the 'Hanukah lamp either on the Sabbath night or on week nights. Said Rabba: The reason of R. Huna's theory is because he holds that if the ('Hanukah lamp) is extinguished (by accident) it must be relighted, and also that its light may be used to work by. R. Hisda, however, maintains that it can be fed (with these fats) on week nights, but not on the Sabbath night. Because he holds that if it is extinguished, one is not in duty bound (to light it again), and as long as it burns it may be used to work by.

R. Zera in the name of R. Mathna, according to others in the name of Rabh, said: The wicks and fats which the sages prohibited for the Sabbath lamp may be used for the 'Hanukah lamp, both during the week and on the Sabbath night. Said R. Jeremiah: The reason of Rabh's decision is because he holds that if it is extinguished he need not relight it, and its light is prohibited to be used." The rabbis declared this before Abayi, in the name of R. Jeremiah, and he would not accept it; when Rabbin came from Palestine he declared the same before Abayi in the name of R. Johanan, and he accepted it and said: "Had I been worthy, I would have accepted this teaching before."

It is said in the name of Rabh: "If it is extinguished, it is not needed to relight it." Is this not contradicted by the following: "The proper ordinance is for (the 'Hanukah light) to last from sunset until footsteps are no longer heard in the street"? 1 Does this not mean that if extinguished it must be relighted? Nay, the time appointed is only for the purpose of determining when the light is to be lit, or a light should be made which will last for the appointed time.

"Until footsteps are no longer heard," etc. Up to what time is this? Said Rabba b. b. Hana in the name of R. Johanan: "Up to the time when the steps of the Tarmudites 2 are heard no more."

The rabbis taught: The law of 'Hanukah demands that every man should light one lamp for himself and his household. Those who seek to fulfil it well have a lamp lit for every member of the household. Those who seek to fulfil the law in the best possible manner should light according to Beth Shamai the first night eight flames, and every following night one flame less. And according to Beth Hillel the reverse--the first night one lamp, and be increased by one on each succeeding night. Said Rabba b. b. Hana in the name of R. Johanan: "There were two sages in Zidon; one did according to the decision of Shamai's school, and gave the reason that the 'Hanukah lamp is to be lit in the same manner as the sacrifices of the feast were offered, 1 and the other according to the school of Hillel, with the reason that holy actions should show (emblemize) increase and not reduction.

The rabbis taught: It is a merit to put the 'Hanukah lamp on the outside door of the house; and he who lives in an attic puts it in a window that opens into the street. In time of danger, however, 2 it is sufficient if the lights are on the table. Said Rabha: In the latter case another light is required to work by; but if there is a hearth-fire in the house, it is not necessary. However, if the man is of high standing (and not in the habit of working by the hearth-light) he must have another lamp.

What is 'Hanukah? The rabbis taught: "On the twenty-fifth day of Kislev 'Hanukah commences and lasts eight days, on which lamenting (in commemoration of the dead) and fasting are prohibited. When the Hellenists entered the sanctuary, they defiled all the oil that was found there. When the government of the House of Asmoneans prevailed and conquered them, oil was sought (to feed the holy lamp in the sanctuary) and only one vial was found with the seal of the high priest intact. The vial contained sufficient oil for one day only, but a miracle occurred, and it fed the holy lamp eight days in succession. These eight days were the following year established as days of good cheer, on which psalms of praise and acknowledgment (of God's wonders) were to be recited.

R. Kahana said: R. Nathan b. Manyomi in the name of R. Tanhum lectured: "A 'Hanukah lamp becomes disqualified if it is put higher than twenty ells (from the ground), just like a Sukkah (booth) and like the side beam of an alley."

Rabba said: The merit of the 'Hanukah lamp is that it be put within a span of the house door. And on which side? R. A'ha b. Rabha said to the right, R. Samuel of Diphti said to the left (of the entrance). And the Halakha prevails that it should be placed to the left of the entrance, so that the 'Hanukah light be on one side and the Mezuzah 1 on the other side of the door.

R. Jehudah in the name of R. Assi said: It is not allowed to count money by the 'Hanukah light. When this was cited before Samuel, he said: "Is there any holiness in the light?" R. Joseph retorted: Is there any holiness in the blood of an animal? and yet have we not learned in a Boraitha: It is written: "Then shall pour out the blood . . . and cover it" . . . [Lev. xvii. 13]. From this we infer that he must cover it with the same hand it was shed with, but not with his foot, in order that the fulfilment of the commandment should not be treated with lack of reverence. In our case, too, the light must not be used for anything, in order that the compliance with an ordinance should not evince a lack of reverence.

R. Joshua b. Levi was questioned: May the fruits, hung up in the Sukkah for ornamentation, be used during the seven days of the feast? He answered: Even to the 'Hanukah light a law was passed prohibiting the counting of money. Said R. Joseph: "Lord of Abraham!" Here he connected a law that was enacted (by the ancient masters) with one that was not discussed by them. The law concerning the Sukkah was biblical, that concerning 'Hanukah was not biblical but rabbinical. Therefore said R. Joseph: The precedent of all these cases is the law concerning the blood (which was cited above).

It was taught: Rabh said,: It is not allowed to light one 'Hanukah light with the other; Samuel permits this. Rabh prohibited Tzitzith (show-threads) to be taken out of one garment and put into another; Samuel permits also this. He also said that the Halakha does not prevail in accordance with R. Simeon regarding dragging across the floor (which will be explained farther on); and Samuel maintains it does. 2

Said Abayi: "My master followed the decisions of Rabh in all questions except the three mentioned above, which he decided according to Samuel."

One of the rabbis in the presence of R. Ada b. Ahba said:

Rabh's reason for prohibiting these acts was to prevent irreverence in the compliance with the law." Said R. Ada to the scholars present: "Hear him not; Rabh's reason was to prevent stinginess in the fulfilment of laws." And what is the difference between the two? It is in the lighting of one 'Hanukah lamp with another. He who says that irreverence was the reason cannot prohibit this; but he who holds stinginess to be the reason, prohibits even this rightfully.

How is this question to be decided? Said R. Huna b. R. Joshua: "Let us sec whether the act of lighting the lamp constitutes merit, or whether it is the act of putting it in its proper place"; this question having been already propounded by the schoolmen (the answer, when given, will serve for the above also).

Come then and hear the following: R. Joshua b. Levi says: "A lantern (that was lit for 'Hanukah on Friday night) and kept burning the whole following day must, at the close of the Sabbath, be extinguished and then relighted." Now if we say that the lighting constitutes compliance with the commandment, this teaching is correct; but if we say that the placing of the lamp in its proper place constitutes the merit, it should be said: "It should be extinguished, raised up, put in its proper place, and then lit." And also, since we pronounce the benediction, "Blessed art Thou, etc., who hast commanded us to light the 'Hanukah lamp," it becomes clearly apparent the lighting constitutes compliance. And so it is. Now that we come to the conclusion that the act of lighting constitutes the merit, it is understood that if this was done by a deaf-mute, an idiot, or a minor, the act is not valid; a woman, however, may surely light it, as R. Joshua b. Levi said: "Women are in duty bound to light the 'Hanukah lamp, for they were included in miracle."

R. Shesheth said: A guest (at a stranger's house) is obliged to light the 'Hanukah lamp. Said R. Zera: When I was studying at the school of Rabh, I contributed my share towards maintaining and lighting the lamp with mine host. Since I am married, I say, I surely need not light it now, for it is lit for me at my house.

R. Joshua b. Levi said: "All fats are good for the 'Hanukah lamp, but olive oil is the best." Abayi said: "My master always sought for poppy-seed oil, because, said he, it burns slowly (and the light lasts longer), but when he heard the saying of R. Joshua b.. Levi, he sought for olive oil, for that gives a clearer light."

Hyya b. Ashi in the name of Rabh said: He who lights the 'Hanukah lamp must pronounce a benediction. R. Jeremiah said: He who perceives it must pronounce a benediction. R. Jehudah said: He who perceives a 'Hanukah lamp on the first day must pronounce two benedictions, and the one that lights it on the first day, three; 1 after the first day, the one that lights it must pronounce two benedictions and the one that perceives it one.

What benediction would he omit? The benediction of time. But why not omit the benediction of the miracle? Because the miracle was continued every day (of the eight). And what is the (special) benediction? "Blessed be, etc., who hallowed us with His commands and ordained that we shall light the 'Hanukah lamp." But where did He ordain this? Said R. Avya: (This command is included in) "Thou shalt not depart," etc. [Deut. xvii. 11]. R. Nehemiah, however, from the following said: "Ask thy father and he will tell thee; thine elders, and they will inform thee" [ibid. xxxii. 7].

R. Huna said: A house that has two doors must have two lamps. Said Rabha: This is only in case when the two doors are in two different sides of the house; but if they both open on the same side it is not necessary. Why so? Because the townsmen may pass by the side which has no lamp and suspect the owner of the house of not having lit any at all. And where is it taken from that one must endeavor to avoid suspicion? From a Tosephtha in Peah, Chap. L, which states plainly that every one must do so.

R. Isaac b. Rediphah in the name of R. Huna said: "A lamp with two mouths (so that two wicks can be lit in it) is sufficient for two men."

Rabha said: If one has filled a dish with oil, put wicks all around the brim, and covered it with a vessel (so that each wick yields a separate flame), it is sufficient for many persons; but if he has not covered it, he makes it appear as one flame of fire, and it is not valid, even for one person.

The same said again: If one (possessing only means enough to light one lamp) must choose between using this light for a house-light 1 (on Friday night) or a 'Hanukah light, he should use it for a house-light in order to preserve his domestic peace. If, again, his choice must be between (purchasing) the house-light and (the wine necessary for the celebration) of the holiness of Sabbath, the house-light is to be preferred and for the same reason; however, it is doubtful to me what must be chosen between the 'Hanukah light and the goblet for qiddush. When one cannot afford both, which must he prefer?" "Is the latter to be preferred because it is of

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regular occurrence. 2 or is the 'Hanukah light preferable, in order to proclaim the miracle (which it commemorates)?" After deliberating he decided himself that the proclaiming of the miracle has the preference.

R. Huna said: he who makes a practice of lighting many lamps (which the law requires for festive occasions) will be rewarded with scholarly sons. He who is particular about his Mezuzah will be blessed with a fine dwelling. He who is particular about his show-threads (Tzitziths) will be blessed with fine garments. He who is particular to pronounce the benediction of Sabbath over a goblet of wine shall live to have his cellar well stocked.

R. Huna was wont to pass by the house of R. Abbin, the carpenter. He noticed that the latter lit a great many lamps on the Sabbath night. Said he: "Two great men will come forth from this house." And they were R. Jidi and R. Hyya b. Abhin.

R. Hisda was wont to pass by the house of the master (father or father-in-law) of R. Shezbi; he noticed many lights every Sabbath. Said he: "A great man will come forth from this house." This great man was R. Shezbi.

The wife of R. Joseph was accustomed to light her (Sabbath) lamp late. Said he unto her: There is a Boraitha: It is written: "The pillar of cloud did not depart by day nor the pillar of fire by night" [Ex. xiii. 22]. From this we infer that the two pillars always closely followed each other. She then wanted to light up too early. Said a certain old man to her: "There is another Boraitha, however, that (whatever is to be done) should be done neither too early nor too late."

Rabha. said: "He who loves scholars, will have sons that are scholars; he who respects them, will have scholarly sons-in-law; he who fears scholars, will become a scholar himself, and if he is not fit for this, his words will be respected like those of an ordained scholar."

"Oil of rejected heave-offering," etc. What is that? Said Rabba: It means oil of heave-offering which became defiled. It is called oil for burning, because it must be destroyed in fire, and the Mishna speaks here of a Friday that happens to fall on a feast day, and the prohibition to light (the Sabbath lamp) with it is because consecrated things that have been defiled must not be burned on a feast day. Said R. Hanina of Sora: "This should be corrected in our Mishna: Why shall one not make a light with the defiled oil? Because defiled things must not be burned on a feast day. And so also we have learned in a Boraitha: All material which must not be used for lighting, on the Sabbath, may be lit on a feast day, save the oil for burning."

The schoolmen propounded a question: Should the 'Hanukah incident be mentioned in the benediction after meals? Shall we assume that because it is rabbinical it is unnecessary? or, for the sake of the proclamation of the miracle, it should? Said Rabba in the name of R. S'haura, quoting R. Huna: "It is not necessary; however, if one wishes to do it, he should incorporate it in the thanksgiving part."

R. Hunah b. Jehudah visited the house of Rabha. He was about to mention it in (the prayer part under the heading of) "the One who builds up Jerusalem." Said R. Shesheth: Nay; it should be mentioned in the thanksgiving part of the benediction after the meal, as it is mentioned in the same part in the prayer of the eighteen benedictions. 1

The schoolmen propounded a question: Should the New-Moon day be mentioned in the benediction after meals? Shall we assume that the New-Moon day is more important than Hanukah because its observation is enjoined in the Scriptures, or need it not be mentioned because manual labour is not prohibited on that day? Rabh maintains it may; R. Hanina maintains it may not. Said R. Zerika: "Hold to Rabh's opinion, for R. Oshia holds to the same; as R. Oshia taught: On the days on which additional sacrifices (Musaph) are offered in the sanctuary, like New-Moon days and the middle days of a feast, one must at evening, morning, and afternoon services recite the regular eighteen benedictions and insert in the thanksgiving part of the day's service a passage referring to the subject of the day. And if he has failed to do so, he should be made to repeat them; however, no benediction over a goblet of wine, though a remembrance of their significance must be made in the prayer after meals. On days requiring no additional sacrifice, like the first Monday, Thursday and Monday (after a biblical feast), fast days, and the days (devoted to prayer by) commoners, 1 one must recite the eighteen benedictions at evening, morning, and afternoon services, and insert a paragraph referring to the subject of the day in the prayer division; and if he forgot the latter he need not repeat them, nor any remembrance of them in the benediction after meals. The Halakha, however, does not prevail with all that was said above. It remains as decreed by R. Joshua b. Levi: If the Day of Atonement happens to fall on a Sabbath day, mention of the Sabbath must be made even in the Neilah prayer (the last of the four different prayers of the Day of Atonement). Why so? Because the Sabbath and the Day of Atonement are now one, and four prayers are indispensable to the services of the day.

MISHNA 2.: The lamp used on a (biblical) feast-night shall not be fed with oil of rejected heave-offerings. R. Ishmael said: The Sabbath lamp shall not be fed with tar, out of honour for the Sabbath. The sages, however, allow all fatty substances for this purpose: poppy-seed oil, nut oil, fish oil, radish oil, wild-gourd oil, tar, and naphtha. R. Tarphin said: It shall be lighted with nothing but olive oil.

GEMARA: "R. Ishmael said, "etc. Why so? Said Rabha: Because it emits a bad odor (and the Tana prohibits it) as a precaution, lest one light it and leave the house. Said Abayi: Let him go (what harm is there in that?). Rejoined Rabha: Because I hold that the Sabbath light is a duty, as R. Na'hman b. R. Zabda or b. Rabha said in the name of Rabh. The (enjoyment of) Sabbath light is an obligation. The washing of hands and feet in warm water toward evening (on Friday) is optional. And I say it is a meritorious act. Why so? Because R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: "It was the custom of R. Jehudah bar Ilayi to bathe his face, hands, and feet in warm water, that was brought to him in a trough every Friday toward evening; after that he wrapped himself in a pallium with Tzitzith (show-threads) and thus assumed an angelic appearance."

It is written: "My soul was deprived of peace" [Lam. 3:17]. What does this mean? Said R. Abuhu: It means (being deprived of the pleasure of) lighting the Sabbath lamp. "I forgot the good." [ibid.]. What does this mean? Said R. Jeremiah: This refers to (the deprivation of) a bath. R. Johanan, however, said: It refers to the washing of hands and feet with warm water. R. Isaac of Naph'ha said: It refers to a good bed and comfortable bedding. R. Aba said: It refers to an arranged bed and an elegantly robed wife for scholarly men.

The rabbis taught: "Who may consider himself rich?" One who enjoys his riches, is the opinion of R. Meir. R. Tarphon says: He who has a hundred fields, a hundred vineyards, and a hundred slaves at work in them. R. Aqiba said: He who has a wife adorned with good virtues. R. Jose said: He who has a place for man's necessity in his house. 1

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Simeon b. Elazar said: "The Sabbath lamp shall not be fed with aromatic balsam." Why so? Rabba said: Because it yields a fine fragrance, it was feared lest one use it (taking it out while the lamp is burning). Said Abayi to him: "Why does not the master say because it is volatile?" Aye, he means this and the other also; the balsam is prohibited because it is volatile, and also for fear lest it be used.

There was a mother-in-law who hated her son's wife, and told her to perfume herself with aromatic oil. When the daughter-in-law had done this, she ordered her to go and light the candle. While complying with this order, she caught fire and was burned.

The rabbis taught: A lamp shall not be fed with defiled "Tebhel" 1 even on week days, and the less so on the Sabbath. In a similar manner, white naphtha shall not be used to feed a lamp with on week days, much less on Sabbath, because it is volatile.

In the Boraitha it was said that aromatic balsam shall not be used; so also did R. Simeon b. Elazar teach: Aromatic balsam is nothing but resin, that comes forth from aromatic trees.

R. Ishmael said: The (Sabbath) lamp shall not be fed with anything that comes from the trunk of a tree. R. Ishmael b. Beroqa said: It shall be lighted only with such substances as come from fruit. R. Tarphon, however, said: It shall be fed only with olive oil. R. Johanan b. Nuri then arose and said; "What shall the people of Babylonia do, who have nothing but poppy-seed oil? What shall the people of Media do, who have nothing but nut oil? What shall the people of Alexandria do, who have nothing but radish oil? and what shall the people of Cappadocia do, who have no oil of any kind, nothing but tar?" Nay; we have no choice but to accept the decree of the masters as to substances which should not be used. Even fish oil and resin maybe used. R. Simeon Shezori said: Oil of wild gourds and naphtha may be used. Symmachos said: No animal fat save fish oil may be used.

MISHNA 3.: No substance that comes from a tree shall be used (as a wick) save flax. In like manner no substance that comes from a tree becomes defiled when serving as a tent (in which a dead body lies) save flax.

GEMARA: Whence do we know that flax is called a tree? Said Mar Zutra: From what is written: "She took them up to the roof, and hid them in the flax trees" [Josh. ii. 6].

"No substance, etc., save flax." Whence is this deduced? Said R. Elazar: From the analogy of expressions "tent," which is mentioned in the case of the tabernacle, and in the case of death [Ex. xl. 19 and Numb. xix. 14]. As the tent of the tabernacle was made only of flax, so also in our case, if a tent is made of flax only, it is also called a tent, and is liable to become defiled.

MISHNA 4.: A piece of cloth that was rolled together, but not singed, said R. Eliezer, becomes defiled (when it is in the same tent with a dead body), and shall not be used (as a wick) for Sabbath. R. Aqiba, however, said: It remains pure and may be used.

GEMARA: What is the point of their differing? Said R. Elazar in the name of R. Oshia, and so also said R. Ada b. Ahba: The piece of cloth in question is exactly three fingers square, and the lighting is to be done on a feast day, which happens on a Friday. All agree with the opinion of R. Jehudah, who said that (on a feast day) fire may be made with good cloth (or vessels), but not with such as have been spoiled (the same day). Again, all agree with the opinion of Ula, who said that the lighting must be on the largest part of the wick that protrudes from the lamp. Now R. Eliezer holds that the rolling up (of the piece of cloth) does not improve the position (i.e., it is still an object to which the term "cloth" or vessel applies); as soon as it is slightly burned it becomes spoiled material; fire, being applied further, is naturally generated with spoiled material (which is prohibited). R. Aqiba, on the other hand, holds that folding does improve the condition and the cloth is no longer a vessel; hence he puts fire to a simple piece of wood (which is allowed).

Rabha, however, said: The reason of R. Eliezer's (prohibition) is that the Sabbath lamp is not allowed to be lighted with a wick or rag that has not been singed.

R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh said: Fire may be made (on a feast day) with vessels, but not with broken vessels. So is the decree of R. Jehudah. R. Simeon permits it. Fire may be made with dates, but after having eaten them fire is not to be fed with their granum. A fire may be made with nuts, but after having eaten the kernel one must not feed the fire with the shells, according to R. Jehudah; R. Simeon, however, permits both.

The statement credited to Rabh in the foregoing paragraph was not made by him plainly, but was merely implied from the following act. While in Palestine, one day Rabh was eating dates and threw the pits into the fireplace, upon which R. Hyya said to him: "Descendant of nobles, on a (biblical) feast day this would be prohibited!" Did Rabh accept this or not? Come and hear. While in Babylonia, one feast day Rabh was eating dates and threw the pits to some cattle (for food). Must we not assume that these dates belonged to the class known as "Parsiassa" (a ripe, delicious, free-stone fruit), and if Rabh fed cattle with the pits of this fruit, it was because they may be used for fuel also, and thus the statement of R. Hyya is contradicted? Nay; it may be the pits that fed the cattle by Rabh were from dates known as "Armiassa" (an inferior fruit, the pits of which cling to the meat). The pits of this latter class of dates, in consequence of the meat still clinging to them, are regarded as dates themselves, and may be handled on the Sabbath. Hence it is obvious that they may also be fed to cattle, and Rabh therefore does not contradict R. Hyya.

MISHNA 5.: One shall not bore a bole in an egg-shell, fill it with oil, and put it upon the (Sabbath) lamp, so that the oil drip into it; and even if it was a clay one. R. Jehudah permits it. If, however, the potter had attached it to the lamp when he made it, it is allowed to do this, for (together with the lamp) it forms one vessel. A man shall not fill a dish with oil, put it beside the lamp, and dip the (unlighted) end of the wick into it, in order that it should draw. R. Jehudah permits also this.

GEMARA: "If the potter had attached it," etc. A Boraitha in addition to it states: If he himself has attached it with mortar or clay, it is allowed. Does not our Mishna say "the potter" (from which it may be inferred that if the owner did it, is it not allowed for use)? Nay; "the potter" means in the manner of the potter.

We have learned in a Boraitha, R. Jehudah said: "Once we kept Sabbath in the attic of Beth Nitza in Lydda. We procured an egg-shell, filled it with oil, and placed it on the lamp. R. Tarphon and the aged scholars were there, and they made no objection to our action." They answered him. "Wilt thou prove by this (that this is allowed)? Beth Nitza is quite a different case, for the men there were very careful."

Abhin of Ziphoris dragged a chair (along the floor on a Sabbath) in the marble hall in the presence of R. Itz'hak b. Elazar. Said the latter: "If I should be silent toward thee (although this floor being marble, no depression can be made by the chair, and thou art not guilty of wrongdoing) as the colleagues were silent toward R. Jehudah, my silence might be misconstrued (and people might think that this can be done on any floor; therefore I say that) this is prohibited in the marble hall as a precautionary measure, lest one do it in any other hall." The head man of the assembly room of Bazra dragged a chair in the presence of Jeremiah the Great. Said the latter to him: "According to whose decision dost thou this?" "According to R. Simeon." "R. Simeon, however, allowed large things only (to be dragged) if they could not be lifted; but we have never heard from him that he would allow this also with small ones?" This teaching, however, differs with Ulla's theory, who says the dispute was only concerning small things, for as to large ones there was no objection from any one.

MISHNA 6.: If one extinguishes a lamp because he is afraid of the officers of the government, 1 or of robbers, or of an evil spirit, 2 or in order that a sick person may be able to sleep, he is free. If he does this, however, to prevent damage to the lamp, or to save the oil or the wick, he is culpable. R. Jose declares the man free even in the latter cases, excepting (if he extinguished the lamp to save the wick), for in that case he caused a cinder to be formed.

GEMARA: From the fact that the second part of the Mishna declares the man (who had extinguished the lamp to

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prevent damage, etc.) culpable, it is evident that this regulation was made by R. Jehudah. 3 Now, how is the first part to be understood? If it speaks of a sick person, whose illness is dangerous, it should not say (that the man who extinguishes the lamp to afford him rest) is "free," but should say that he is "allowed to do it" (even intentionally). And if it speaks of one whose illness is not dangerous, (the one who extinguished the lamp for him) ought to be declared in duty bound to bring a sin-offering? Of a verity, the Tana speaks of a case of dangerous illness, and should have said "it is allowed to do so," but he used the term "free" merely (for the sake of euphony), because in the latter part (of the Mishna) the expression "culpable" was necessary; therefore he taught in the first part of the Mishna, also free. But have we not learned, R. Oshia said, that "in order that a sick person may be able to sleep, one should not extinguish (the lamp on the Sabbath); and if he did so he is not held culpable, though it is not allowed (to be done intentionally)"? The teaching of R. Oshia refers to sickness that is not dangerous, and is in accord with the opinion of R. Simeon.

The question, "Is it allowed to extinguish a lamp for the sake of a sick person on the Sabbath?" was propounded to Tan'hum of Navi.

He began thus: 1 "O thou Solomon! Where is thy wisdom? Where is thy folly? Thy words contradict not only the words of thy father, but also thine own utterance. Thy father David said, 'The dead do not praise God' [Ps. cxv. 17], and thou sayest, 'I praise the dead that died long ago' [Eccl. iv. 2] and then again, 'A living dog fareth better than a dead lion' [ibid. ix. 4]. [This presents no difficulty. That which David said, 'The dead do not praise God,' means this: One must always occupy himself with study and with meritorious acts before his death; for as soon as he dies he is free of both, and the Holy One, blessed be he, receives no more praise from him. And the saying of Solomon, 'I praise the dead,' etc., means: When Israel sinned in the desert, Moses stood up before the Lord and offered many prayers and propitiating invocations; but he received no answer. As soon, however, as he said: 'Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, Thy servants' [Ex. xxxii. 13], he was answered forthwith. Now did not Solomon say well: 'I praise the dead that have died long ago'? In another way (this can be explained as follows): The custom is, if a man of flesh and blood issues a decree, it is doubtful whether the people will comply with it or not. If they comply with it while he lives they may disregard it after his death. Moses, our master, on the other hand, has issued many decrees and established many enactments, which stand unshaken forever and aye, Now, did not Solomon say well: 'I praise the dead,' etc.? Another explanation to the above verse may refer to the following legend, which was told by R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: It is written [Psalms, lxxxvi. 17]: 'Display on me a sign for good, that those who hate me may see it, and be ashamed.' So said David before the Holy One, blessed be He: 'Lord of the Universe, forgive me the certain sin (with Bath-Sheba', II Samuel, xi. 3). And the Lord said: 'It is forgiven.' He prayed again: 'Display on me a sign to make it known.' And the Lord said: 'This will not be done while you are alive, but it will be made known in the time of your son Solomon.' After Solomon had built the Temple and was about to enter the ark into the Holy of Holiness, the doors shut. Solomon had prayed twenty-four prayers with song, and was not answered. He then began [Psalms, xxiv. 7]: 'Be raised wide . . . and let the King of Glory enter!' The doors then ran after him and wanted to swallow him, saying: 'Who is the King of Glory?' And he said: 'The Lord strong and mighty.' He then said: [ibid., ibid. 9, 10]. And still was not answered. Then he said [II Chron. vi. 42]: 'O Lord God! . . . remember the pious deeds of David thy servant'; he was answered at once, and the faces of his enemies became as black as the outside of a pot; and Israel and all the people were then certain that the above-mentioned sin was forgiven to David. Hence did not Solomon say well: 'I praise the dead,' etc.? And this is what is written [I Kings, viii. 66]: 'On the eighth day . . . and they went unto their tents joyful,' etc.] And as to the above question, 1 I say this: A lamp is called 'Ner,' and the soul of man is called 'Ner.' 2 Let rather the Ner which man has made (the lamp) be extinguished, than the 'Ner' (the soul) which belongs to the Holy One, blessed is He."

It was said in the name of Rabh: The sages wanted to conceal the Book of Ecclesiastes because of its contradictory sayings. And it was not so done, because it begins with sound religious teachings and ends with similar teachings. It begins with the words: "What profit hath man by all his toil under the sun?" [Eccl. i. 3]. Whereupon the school of R. Janai said, "Under the sun" there is no profit, but there surely is "beyond the sun." And it ends with the words: "The conclusion of the matter is, Fear God and observe his commands, for this is all (there is) for man" [Eccl. xii. 13]. What does it mean? Said R. Elazar: (It means) the whole world was created only for the sake of his fear of God. R. Aba b. Kahana said: The God-fearing man outweighs (in importance) the whole world. Simeon b. Azai, others say b. Zoma, said: The whole world was created only to provide him with assistance.

"I praise mirth" [Eccl. 8:15]. This means the righteous man rejoices when he performs a meritorious act. "And of joy, what doth this do?" [Eccl. ii. 2] alludes to rejoicing that comes not through a Heaven-pleasing deed. This teaches that the divine presence (Shekhina) comes not by sadness, by indolence, by hilarity, by levity, by gossip, or by senseless talk, but through rejoicing in a meritorious deed; as it is written: "Now bring me a minstrel; and when the minstrel played, the power of the Lord was upon him" [II Kings, iii. 15]. Rabba said: The same (should be done) in order to enjoy good dreams. R. Jehudah says: The same (should be done) to predispose one's self for legislative work, as Rabba did: Before commencing to expound a Halakha he introduced it with a simile and caused the masters to become joyful; afterward, he sat down in the fear of the Lord and began to expound the Halakha.

It was taught that in the same time they also wanted to conceal the Book of Proverbs on account of its contradictory sayings. And it was not done, because, they said: "Have we not scrutinized the Book of Ecclesiastes and found the meaning (of its contradictory sayings)? Let us then search deeply here (in the Book of Proverbs) also."

Which are the contradictory sayings? It says: "Answer not the fool according to his folly" [Prov. xxvi. 4]; and then again: "Answer the fool in his folly" [ibid. v. 5]. Yet this is no contradiction; the latter refers to a subject of learning, the former saying to a subject of indifferent talk. How is the subject of learning here to be understood? In the following manner. R. Gamaliel lectured: In the future, woman will bear a child every day, for thus it is written: "She conceived and gave birth at a time. [Jer. xxxi. 7]. A disciple laughed at this and said: "There is no new thing under the sun" [Eccl. i. 9]. Said R. Gamaliel: Come, I will show thee such a thing in the world; and he showed him a hen. The same rabbi lectured: In the future trees will bear every day, for it is written: "It will produce branches and bear fruit" [Ezek. xvii. 231. "As branches are produced for every day, so also will fruit be brought forth every day." Again the disciple laughed and said: "There is no new thing under the sun." Said the master to him: "Come, I will show thee a thing of this kind in the world; and he showed him a caper tree." He lectured also: "The land of Israel will in the future produce ready cakes and garments," explaining the first part of verse 16 of Psalm lxxii. to that effect.

The disciple again laughed at him; but he showed him that ready meats are produced in the shape of mushrooms, and ready garments grow in the shape of many-coloured fibres that cover the young date trees.

The rabbis taught: A man should always be as modest as Hillel, and not as impulsive as Shamai. It once happened that two men laid a wager of four hundred zuz* [* Akkadian, Assyrian and Jewish coin currency; see Tract Shebuoth (Oaths) chapter 6], which would be won by him who could provoke Hillel to anger, but lost if he failed in the attempt. This happened on Friday, while the sage was bathing his head. The man who undertook the task went to Hillel's door and cried: "Who is Hillel here? Who is Hillel here?" 1 The rabbi threw a mantle over his shoulders and went out to meet him. "What desirest thou, my son?" he asked. "I have a question to ask," the man replied. "Ask, my son, ask," said the rabbi. "Why are the Babylonians round-headed?" asked the man. "This is an important question, my son. The reason is that they have no skilled midwives in Babylon," answered Hillel. An hour later the man came again calling: "Who is Hillel here? Who is Hillel here?" The rabbi came out again and said: "What desirest thou, my son?" "I have a question to ask," the man said. "Ask, my son, ask," said Hillel. "Why have the Tarmudites oval eyes?" "This is a very important question, my son. (The Tarmudites) live in a sandy land and must always keep their eyes half closed." An hour later the man came again in his insolent manner, and said again that he had a question to ask. Hillel in his quiet manner again encouraged him. "Why do the Africans have large feet?" he asked. "Because they live in a swampy land," answered Hillel. "I have many more questions to ask, but I am afraid lest thou get angry," continued the man. Hillel wrapped himself in his mantle and sat down, saying: "Ask, my son, all the questions thou desirest." "Art thou Hillel, who is titled a prince in Israel?" asked the man. "Yes, my son," answered the rabbi. "If thou art the man, may there not be many like thee in Israel?" "Why so, my son?" "Because thou makest me lose four hundred zuz." Said Hillel to him: "Take care of thy temper. A Hillel is worthy that twice that amount be lost through him; a Hillel must not get excited."

The rabbis taught. A Gentile once came before Shamai and asked: "How many laws have you?" "Two laws: the written and the oral law," answered Shamai. "I believe thee as regards the written law, but I do not believe thee as to the oral law," said the Gentile. "I will be converted to Judaism on condition that thou teach me the written law." Shamai rebuked him and drove him away.

He then came to Hillel with the same plea, and Hillel accepted him. He began teaching him the alphabet in regular sequence. The next day he taught him the letters backward. "You did not teach me so yesterday," the man objected. "Aye, aye, my son; must thou not repose confidence in me? Thou must likewise repose confidence in the oral law (which appears at first sight different from the written law)."

Another Gentile came to Shamai saying: "Convert me on the condition that thou teach me the whole Torah while I stand on one foot." Shamai pushed him away with the builders' measure he held in his hand. He thereupon came to Hillel, and the latter accepted him. He told him: "What is hateful to thee, do not unto thy fellow; this is the whole law. All the rest is a commentary to this law; go and learn it."

Another Gentile once heard a Jewish teacher instructing his class about the vestments of the high priest. He took a fancy to that, and thought he would accept Judaism in order to be made a high priest. Thus he appeared before Shamai and said: "Convert me on the condition that I be made a high priest." Shamai pushed him away with the builders' measure he held in his hand. He came to Hillel (with the same request), and the latter accepted him. Said Hillel to him: "Do people select a king unless he knows the laws of their government? Thou must study the laws of our government (if thou wilt become a high priest)." The convert began studying Torah. When he came to the passage: "A stranger who comes near (to the vessels of the sanctuary) shall die" [Numb. i. 51], he asked: "To whom does this passage refer?" Hillel answered: "To any one (who is not a descendant of Aaron the high priest), even if he would be David, the king of Israel." Then the proselyte made the following deduction: If the people of Israel, who are called the children of the Lord, so that out of love to them the Omnipotent said: "My first-born son is Israel" [Ex. iv. 22]--if of them it is written, "a stranger that comes nigh shall die," the more so must it be with an insignificant stranger, who is come (within the pale of Judaism) merely with his staff and his bag. He went before Shamai and said: "Am I qualified to become a high priest? Is it not written [Numb. iii. 10]: 'A stranger that comes nigh shall die'?" He then appeared before Hillel and said: "For thy equanimity of temper, O Hillel! may blessings be upon thy head, for thou hast gathered me in under the wings of the Shekhina." The three converts met some time later, and said: "The impulsiveness of Shamai came near sending us adrift in the world (outside of the pale of religion); Hillel's equanimity of temper gathered us in under the wings of the Shekhina.

Resh Lakish said: What does the verse, "The trust of thy times shall be the strength of salvation, wisdom, and knowledge," etc. [Isa. xxxiii. 6]--what does this mean? (I think that this can be a biblical support to the six divisions of the Mishna which we possess. 1) "The trust" comes within the section of "Zeraim" (seeds); "thy times" in "Moed" (festivals); "strength" in "Nashim" (women); "salvation" in "Nezikin" (jurisprudence); "wisdom" in "Qodoshim" (holiness), and "knowledge" in section "Taharith" (purity). And yet "the fear of the Lord is his treasure"(i.e., all these do not avail where there is not the fear of the Lord). 2

Rabha said: When a man comes before the (divine) judgement, he is asked: "Hast thou traded in good faith? Mist thou apportioned regular times for study? Hast thou produced children? Didst thou hope for salvation? Hast thou discussed subjects of wisdom? Hast thou formed (logical) conclusions from the things thou hast learned?" After all this (if he can affirm all these questions), if he possessed the fear of the Lord, it was well; if not, it was not so. This is like a man who ordered his agent to store a measure of wheat in the attic. The agent did so. Then the man asked him whether he had mixed some dry dust with the wheat (for protection against weevils), and he answered nay. "It were better," said the merchant, "if thou hadst not stored it."

Rabba b. R. Huna said: "A man who possesses learning, but has no fear of Heaven, is like the manager (of a palace) who has the keys to the inside apartments, but lacks the one which opens the outside gate. How can he enter?"

R. Janai proclaimed: "Alas for him who has no dwelling, yet strives to make the door of a dwelling!" R. Jehudah said: The Holy One, blessed be He, created the world only for the purpose that man should fear Him, for it is written: "God hath so made it, that (men) should fear him" [Eccl. iii. 14].

R. Simon and R. Elazar were sitting together as R. Jacob b. Aha came passing by. Said one of them: "Come, let us arise before him, for he is a man that fears sins." Said the other: "Aye; let us arise before him, for he is a son of enlightenment (a scholar)." Said the former: I tell thee that he is a man that is afraid of sins, and thou sayest he is a scholar. Thou shouldst be mindful of what R. Elazar said: The Holy One, blessed be He, has nothing better in the world than (men who possess) the fear of Heaven, for thus it is written: "And now, Israel, what doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but to fear the Lord thy God" [Deut. x. 12].

R. Ulla lectured: What does the passage mean, "Be not wicked over much" [Eccl. vii. 17]. Is it allowed to be wicked at all? Nay, but the passage means this: If one has eaten garlic and has acquired a bad odor, he must not eat more garlic because the bad odor is (about him) already. Rabba b. R. Ulla lectured: It is written: For there are no fetters in them, but their strength is firm [Psalms, lxxiii. 4]. The Holy One, blessed

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be He, said: "It is not enough that the wicked do not trouble for nor fear the day of their death, but that their heart within them is as strong as a strong fortress." Which is similar to Rabba's explanation of the passage: "This is their way; their folly" [ibid. xlix. 14]. The wicked know that their manner (of living) leads them to death, and still their kidneys wax fat (implying their blindness to the fact). Perhaps thou wilt attribute this to their forgetfulness? Therefore it is written: "What will happen after their lives is the subject of their sayings," whence we conclude that while they do not repent, they continually speak of their death.

"To spare the lamp," etc. With whom does R. Jose agree? If he agrees with R. Jehudah, he should declare culpable even these; and if he agrees with R. Simeon, he should declare free even (the man who extinguishes the lamp) for the purpose of saving the wick. Said Ulla: By all means R. Jose agrees with R. Jehudah, but he holds that if one destroys in order to rebuild in the same place, he is guilty (of the act) of breaking; but if one destroys, not intending to rebuild in the same place, he is not (guilty of) breaking. R. Johanan, however, maintains that he holds as R. Simeon; but in the case of this wick it is different, as R. Hamnunah or R. Ada b. A'haba interpreted our Mishna that it reads "from a wick which needs singeing," and it is such a case. R. Simeon also agrees that it is prohibited because it is considered that he repairs a vessel. Said Rabha: It seems that this explanation is right, as the Mishna states "to be formed," and not a cinder is formed (already).

MISHNA 7.: For three sins women die of childbirth: for negligence (of the laws) during their menstruation, neglect of separating the first dough, and for neglecting to light the (Sabbath) lamp.

GEMARA: Why so? Thus a Galilean master lectured before R. Hisda: The Holy One, blessed be He, says: I have created you with power of blood; I have warned you concerning blood; I have called you "the first produce" [Jer. ii. 3], and charged you to sacrifice the "first of your dough" [Numb. xvi. 21]; the soul that I gave you is called a light, and I have charged you concerning the (Sabbath) light. If you observe these things, it is well; if not, I shall take your souls. But why should this happen at the time of childbirth? Said Rabha: When the ox falls or is felled, it is time to sharpen the knife. 1

And when are the sins of men passed upon? Said Resh Lakish: When they pass a dangerous place that is like a bridge (which is unsafe). Rabh would not embark on a ship that carried an idolater. Said he: "His time to be punished may come, and I (being on the same vessel) may have to suffer with him." Samuel, however, would go to sea only on a vessel which carried idolaters, saying: "Satan hardly ever metes out punishment to two people" (of different beliefs). R. Janai always examined a vessel before he embarked. This he did in conformity with his own theory elsewhere, for thus he taught: "A man should never place himself in danger, expecting that a miracle will be wrought for him; for it may be that no such miracle will be wrought, and if a miracle is wrought for him, it will be deducted from the reward due his merits in the world to come." And R. Hanin said: "Where is this to be found in the Scripture?" From the verse: "I am not worthy of all thy kindness and of all thy truth" [Gen. xxxii. 11]. R. Zera would never walk under date trees in stormy weather. R. Itz'hak b. R. Jehudah said: A man must always pray that he should not become sick, for if sickness befall him, he must be possessed of special virtues in order to get well again. And to the question of Mar Uqba: Is this to be found in the Scripture? He was told that the school of R. Ishmael maintains the passage in question is to be taken from Deut. xxii. 8--viz.: "Peradventure one may fall down from there." The word "Hanofel," which is in the past tense and implies that he has fallen down, although such a case had not happened as yet, is simply a matter of conjecture on the part of this school, which considered a predestined thing as a matter that had already occurred, because the fall was already predestined for the guilty person; as it is said: The reward of virtue is, however, brought about by a meritorious person, while the chastisement for sin is dealt out through a sinner (and his not making a railing around his roof constitutes him a guilty person). [See Deut. xxii. 8.]

The rabbis taught: He who becomes sick, death approaching should be told to confess his sins, for all those who are to suffer the death penalty must make a confession. When a man goes out to a market (where there are always dangerous people in the crowd), he should consider himself like one arrested by a sergeant. When his head aches, he should consider himself as one put in prison. If he cannot rise from his bed, he should consider himself as one indicted before Gardom (a criminal court); if be has good advocates to defend him, he may go free; if not, he cannot be saved. The defending attorneys of a man (before divine justice) are penitence and good deeds. If there should be nine hundred and ninety-nine accusers against him and only one to plead in his favour, he is saved, as it is written: "If there be a messenger with him, an interpreter, one among a thousand to show unto man his uprightness, then He is gracious unto him," etc. [Job xxxiii. 23]. R. Eliezer b. R. Jose the Galilean said: Even if only one thousandth part of one advocate out of a thousand plead in the man's favour, although the rest speak against him, he is saved; because it is said "one" defender out of a thousand suffices.

There is a Boraitha: R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said: "The laws of holy offerings, heave-offerings, and tithes are integral parts of the Torah, and yet their observance was intrusted to the common people."

There is another Boraitha: R. Nathan says: For the sin of vows one's wife dies, as it is written [Proverbs, xxii. 27]: . . . why should he take away thy bed from under thee?" 1

Another Boraitha states: R. Nehemiah said: The penalty for the sin of hating without cause is strife at home, the wife (of the sinner) gives birth before her time, his sons and daughters die young.

R. Elazar b. Jehudah says: The penalty for the sin of neglecting the first dough is: no blessing in the harvest, high prices (for necessities), the consumption of the seed by strangers; but if this portion is given, blessings will surely follow, as it is written: "The first of your dough shall you give to the priest, to cause a blessing to rest on thy house" [Ez. xliv. 30]. The penalty for the sin of neglecting heave-offerings and tithes is: the sky withholds rain and dew; dearth comes on, there are no profits, and men run about to earn a livelihood, but they do not succeed. But if these offerings are given, blessings will come, as it is written: "Bring ye all the tithes into the storehouse, etc., and prove me but herewith, saith the Lord of Hosts, if I will not open for you the windows of heaven, and pour out for you a blessing until there be more than enough" [Mal. iii. 10]. The penalty for the sin of robbery is: locust pestilence, famine comes, and the people feed on the flesh of their children, as it is written [Amos, 4:1-7, q. v.] For the sins of curbing, perverting, and polluting justice, and of neglecting the law, the sword comes on, (enemies take) much spoil, the people eat and are never satisfied, and they must weigh the bread they eat (i.e., eat in small portions, for fear that nothing be left for the next meal), as it is written [Leviticus, xxvi. 25]: "Avenging the quarrel of my covenant," and covenant is synonymous with the Law, as it is written [Jeremiah, xxxiii. 25]: "Thus hath said the Lord," etc. For the sins of unnecessary and false swearing, perjury, blasphemy, and desecration of the Sabbath, many wild beasts come and domestic cattle are destroyed, the population decreases, and the roads are bare (without travellers), as it is written [Lev. xxvi. 18 to the end of the paragraph]. For the sin of bloodshed the sanctuary is laid waste and Shekhina departs from Israel, as it is written [Numbers, xxxv. 34]: "And ye shall not render unclean the land which ye inhabit, in the midst of which I dwell; for I, the Lord, dwell in the midst of the children of Israel"; which signifies that if ye render it unclean, the Shekhina will depart from the land. For the sins of adultery, idolatry, and disregard of (the laws of) the Sabbatic and jubilee years exile comes, and (other nations) take up the place (of the exiles), as it is written [Lev. xviii. and xxvii.]. For the sin of defiling the mouth (speaking indecent things), great oppressions and evil decrees are (constantly) renewed, young men die, orphans and widows cry (for help), but are not answered, as it is written [Isaiah, ix., end of verse 16]: "For all this his anger is not turned away and his hand still remaineth stretched out," which is explained by R. Hanan b. Ahba as follows: "All know for what purpose a bride marries; still, he who defiles his mouth (by speaking of its details), even if a happy life of seventy years is decreed for him, the decree is turned aside." Rabba b. Shila in the name of R. Hisda says: Gehenna is made deep for him who defiles his mouth, as it is written [Proverbs, 22:14]. R. Na'hman b. Isaac says: It is made deep even for the one who listens to (indecent talk) and does not protest against it [ibid. 15]. R. Oshia says: He who abuses himself (by masturbation) becomes afflicted with wounds and boils; not only this, but he is punished with dropsy. 1 R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak says dropsy is an evidence of sin. Samuel the Little took sick with it, and he said: "Lord of the Universe! Who will prove (that I am not guilty, of immoral conduct)?" Hereupon he got well again. Abayi took sick with it. Said Rabha: "I know that the Nahmanite (son of Na'hman) starves himself."

The rabbis taught: There are four evidences: an evidence of sin is dropsy; an evidence of hate without cause is jaundice; an evidence of pride is poverty; an evidence of calumny (spreading evil reports about others) is croup. The sickness of croup becomes epidemic for (the sin of neglecting to give) tithes; but R. Elazar b. Jose said, only for the sin of calumny.

R. Jehudah, R. Jose, and R. Simeon were sitting and Jehudah, the son of proselytes, sat before them. R. Jehudah opened the conversation, saying: "How beautiful are the works of this nation (the Romans). They have established markets, they have built bridges, they have opened bathing-houses." R. Jose said nothing, but R. Simeon b. Johai said: "All these things they have instituted for their own sake. Their markets are gathering-places for harlots; they have built baths for the purpose of indulging themselves in their comforts; they have built bridges to collect tolls from those who cross them." Jehudah, the son of proselytes, went and reported this conversation, and it came to the ears of the government. Said (the rulers): "Jehudah, who has praised (our doings), shall be promoted; Jose, who said nothing, shall be exiled to Sophoris; Simeon, who spoke disparagingly, shall be put to death." R. Simeon and his son then went and hid themselves in the college, and their wives brought them every day some bread and a pitcher of water, and they ate. When the decree became imperative, he said to his son: "Women are of a pliant disposition. They (the government agents) will perhaps trouble them, and they (the women) will reveal our whereabouts." They then went and hid themselves in a cave. A miracle occurred, that a date tree and a spring of water came out for them. They stripped themselves naked and sat down covered with sand up to their necks. Thus they sat all day studying; only at the time of prayer they put on their garments, and after performing their devotion they took them off again for fear they might wear them out. In this wise they spent twelve years in their cave. Elijah then came to the opening of the cave and said: "Who will inform the son of Johai that the Caesar (governor) is dead and his decree is annulled?" Hereupon they left the cave. They then went forth and saw men who were ploughing and sowing grain. Said R. Simeon: "These people leave the works which lead to everlasting life and occupy themselves with worldly things." After this every place where they chanced to turn their eyes was burned. Suddenly a "Bath-kol" (heavenly voice) was heard, which said unto them: "Have ye come to destroy my world? Go, return to your cave." They returned and stayed in the cave another twelvemonth, saying the punishment of the wicked in Gehenna only lasts twelve months. At the end of that time came again the heavenly voice and said: "Go out of the cave," and they came out. And R. Simeon said to his son: "It is enough for this world that I and you are occupied with the study of the Torah and with good deeds." This happened on a Friday near sunset. They saw a man hurrying with two bunches of myrtle in his hand. "What are they for? they asked him. "To honour the Sabbath," was the reply. "Would not one bunch be enough?" "Nay; one is for the command 'remember,' 1 the other for the command 'observe,'" said the man. Said R. Simeon to his son: "Behold, how Israel loves the commands (of God)." This reassured them.

R. Simeon's father-in-law, R. Pinhas b. Yair, heard (that they were coming) and went to meet them. He took them to the bath-house. While R. Simeon was cleaning his (own) body, R. Pinhas noticed that it was full of blisters; tears ran from his eyes when he saw this, and (the tears falling upon the flesh of his son-in-law) caused R. Simeon pain. Said R. Pinhas: "Woe unto me, that I see thee in this state." R. Simeon rejoined: "Well unto thee, that thou seest me so, for if thou hadst not seen me in this state thou couldst not find in me (all the learning) that thou canst find in me now."

MISHNA 8.: One must say three things in his house on Friday, when it is getting dark.--viz. "Have you set aside the tithes (from the fruit, which is to be eaten on the Sabbath)?" "Have you put up the Erubh?" and "Light ye the lamp." When one is in doubt whether darkness has set in, he must not separate tithes from (fruit of which he is) certain (that tithes had not been set aside), and he shall not put vessels under process of lavation, 2 and he shall not light a lamp any more. But he may set aside tithes from (fruit of which he is) not certain (that tithes have been set aside), and he may put up the Erubh and also put his victuals into the stove for the purpose of keeping them warm.

GEMARA: Whence is this deduced? Said R. Joshua b. Levi: from [Job, v. 24] "Thou shalt know that peace is in thy tent, and shalt examine thy dwelling, that thou mayest not sin." Rabba b. R. Huna said: Although the masters have taught that "one must say three things," etc., yet he ought to say them quietly, in order that (his family) should accept them from him (in good grace). Said R. Ashi: "I have not heard of this saying of Rabba b. R. Huna before, yet I have always done so as a matter of common sense."

Does not the text contradict itself? It states: "One must say three things, etc., when it is getting dark." This implies that if he is in doubt whether it is getting dark or whether darkness has already set in, he cannot say it any longer. In the latter part, however, it says "if he is in doubt, etc., he may put up an Erubh."

Said R. Aba in the name of R. Hyya b. Ashi, quoting Rabh: "It presents no difficulty. In the first part it speaks of an Erubh of Techum (that marks the boundary of two thousand ells around the city, where it is allowed for one to walk on Sabbath); in the latter part it speaks of an Erubh by which the neighbours of adjoining courts make common cause."

Rabba said: The rabbis have prohibited putting victuals among things (that preserve but) that do not increase the heat after dark, for fear lest one find them too cold and be tempted to make them boil. Said Abayi to him: "If such is the case, why did they not enact the same prohibition for (the time) when it is twilight also?" Answered Rabba: "At that time the pots are generally boiling hot."

Rabba said again: "Why was it said that one must not put victuals among things that increase the heat, when it is yet day, for fear lest one put them in cinders where there are yet live coals?" Said Abayi to him: "What harm is there? let him do

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so." And he answered: "It may be feared lest he be tempted to stir the burning coals." The rabbis taught: "Which is the time of twilight?" When the sun sets and the eastern sky is red; when the lower (edge of a cloud) is dark, while the upper part is not yet dark; but when the upper edge (of such a cloud) is as dark as the lower, night has set in. So says R. Jehudah. R. Nehemiah says: (The duration of twilight) is the time one takes to walk half a mile from the moment the sun sets. R. Jose says: Twilight is like the twinkling of an eye; the one (day) goes out, the other (night) comes in, and it is impossible to determine it. And each of them is in accordance with his theory elsewhere; as it was taught: What is the duration of twilight? Rabba in the name of R. Jehudah, quoting Samuel, said: (The time it takes to walk) three-quarters of a mile; and R. Joseph said in the name of the same authority: Two-thirds of a mile. The difference between them is half a danka. (The contrary is the case when a bee-hive is concerned; in that case Rabba said: A bee-hive of two kurs 1 one may move on the Sabbath; of three, one shall not. R. Joseph, however, said that one may move even a hive of three kurs, but one of four is forbidden. Said Abayi: I have inquired of the master at the time of the deed, and he did not even permit me to move one of two kurs.)

Rabba saw that Abayi was (one Friday) looking toward the east (to calculate the duration of twilight). Said he to him: "Dost thou think the masters spoke of the sky in the east? They spoke of an object in the east that reflects the red sky (of the west), like a window (placed eastward of the setting sun).

"It takes one to walk half a mile." Said R. Hanina: "If one wishes to know the time according to R. Nehemiah's calculation, he should leave the sun (see it set) on the top of Karmel (a certain mountain peak on the sea-coast), go down, dive into the sea, and go up (the mountain) again; this will give him the exact time." R. Jehudah, however, in the name of Samuel said: (To know the exact time of twilight may be fixed thus:) "If only one star (can be seen in the sky), it is yet day; if two stars, it is twilight; three stars, it is night." And so also we have learned plainly in a Boraitha with the addition: Said R. Jose: The stars mentioned do not mean the big stars, that can be seen in daytime, and not the small stars, which cannot easily be seen at night, but stars of medium size.

R. Jose b. R. Zebhida said: If one (unintentionally) performs work on both times of twilight (Friday and Sabbath), he must certainly bring a sin-offering (because at one of both times it was certainly Sabbath).

Rabba said to his servant: "You, who are not an expert in the scholarly calculation of time, must light the Sabbath lamp when you see the (last rays of the) sun on top of the trees. In cloudy weather how shall it be? (The lamp must be lit) in the city when the hens go to roost; in the field, when the ravens fly to roost or when the mallow shrub 2 (inclines its head to the west).

The rabbis taught: Six times was the signal blown on Friday: the first time to stop work in the field, the second to stop it in the city and in the stores, the third time to light the lamps. So said R. Nathan. R. Jehudah the Prince says that the third time is sounded to take off the phylacteries. Then (the beadle) waits about as long as is required to bake a small fish, or for bread to cleave to the oven, and he sounds again the three tones 1 of the signal in succession for the Sabbath (that is already come). R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said: "What shall we do with the Babylonians? They sound the signal first, and then blow the trumpet; from the moment the trumpet is sounded they cease work." They do so because it is with them a matter of inherited custom.

R. Jehudah taught his son, R. Itz'hak: "The third (sounding was a signal) to light the lamp." This agrees with the ruling of R. Nathan.

At the school of R. Ishmael it was taught: Six times the signal is sounded on Friday. When the first sounding begins, those who are in the field stop ploughing and harrowing and all field work. At the entrance to the city those who are near must wait until the distant (farmers) come, so that they enter the city all together. The stores are yet open, and the stalls (upon which wares are laid out) are as yet in their places. As soon as the second sounding begins, the stalls are cleared and the stores closed. The warm victuals (prepared for the Sabbath) and the pots are as yet upon the hearth. As soon as the third sounding begins the pots are taken off the hearth, the warm victuals are put in the stove, and the lamps are lighted. Then (the beadle) waits about as long as it is required to bake a small fish or for bread to cleave to the oven, and he sounds trumpets and sounds the signal again and rests. Said R. Jose b. R. Haninah: "I have heard that if one wants to light up after the six signals he may do so, for the rabbis have allowed some time to the beadle to take his Shophar (horn) to the house (after the six signals). Said the schoolmen to him: "If such were the case, the subject would depend on various measurements of time." Nay, but the beadle has a concealed place upon the roof (where he sounds the Shophar) and puts away his instrument (as soon as he has used it); because neither a Shophar nor a fife may be handled (when the Sabbath is come).

But have we not learned that a Shophar may be handled, but a fife may not? Says R. Joseph: This is not contradictory. Our case is that of a Shophar belonging to the community; the case adduced treated of one that belongs to a private party (therefore it is permissible).

Said Abayi: "Why may a Shophar that is private property be handled? Because it is sometimes used for taking up water, to give a child drink; let one that is public property also be allowed to handle, because it may be used in the same manner." Furthermore, was it not taught: "As a Shophar may be handled, so also may the fife be handled?" According to whose ruling is this? There is no contradiction in all this. The one (that a Shophar may be handled, but not a fife) is according to the ruling of R. Jehudah. The other (that both may be handled) is according to the ruling of R. Simeon. The third (that neither should be handled) is according to the ruling of R. Nehemiah. "And what is a Shophar?" The same as a fife, as R. Hisda says: "Since the sanctuary was destroyed the names have become changed; a Shophar is called a fife, and a fife is called a Shophar."

CHAPTER 3.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING STOVES, HEARTHS, AND OVENS.

MISHNA 1.: Cooked victuals may be put on a stove that was heated with straw or stubble. If the stove was heated with the pulp of poppy seed (i.e., poppy seed from which the oil was pressed out) or with wood, (cooked victuals) may not be put upon it, unless the (live) coals were taken out or covered with ashes. Beth Shamai says: (The latter instance) is permissible only in the case of victuals that are to be kept warm, but not of such as are improved by continued cooking. Beth Hillel says: Both alike are permitted. Beth Shamai says: (Victuals) may be taken off the stove, but not put back upon it; Beth Hillel permits it.

GEMARA: The schoolmen propounded a question: "As for the expression 'shall not be put,' does it (referring to a pot that has been taken off the stove) mean 'one shall not put it back,' but if it has not been taken off, it may be left there, even if the live coals were not cleared away or covered with ashes? Or does it mean that the pot should not be left there (even if it was standing there before) unless the live coals have been cleared out or damped, so much the more should it not be put there if it was once taken off?" Come and hear. There being two parts in our Mishna, if the point of controversy is the leaving (of the victuals on the stove, if they were there before), the Mishna is to be explained thus: On the stove that was heated with straw or with stubble the victuals may be left; on a stove that was heated with pressed poppy seed or with wood, the victuals may be left only if the live coals were taken out or covered with ashes. What kind of victuals may be left there? According to Beth Shamai such as are to be kept warm, but not such as improve by cooking. And according to Beth Hillel both. Thus the point of controversy is the leaving of the victuals (that had been on the stove before). And as the (two schools) differ in this matter, so do they also differ in their opinions concerning putting them back upon the stove if they were once taken off. But if you interpret the Mishna to make the returning of the victuals to the stove the point of their differing--viz., what kind of victuals should be returned (to the stove), according to the former such as are to be kept warm, but not such as improve by cooking, and according to the latter, both. (If you put such a construction upon the text of the Mishna,) to what purpose is it repeated? "Beth Shamai says," etc. It may be said even that they differ concerning putting back, and nevertheless there is no difficulty, as the Mishna is not complete, and should read thus: "If the stove was heated . . . but if they stood there before, they may be left there, even if the live coals are not taken out or covered with ashes." And what may be left? Beth Shamai says only such as are to be kept warm, and Beth Hillel says even victuals requiring cooking; but even in the case of returning (the victuals to the stove, if they have been removed) there is still a difference of opinion between the two schools, for according to the former they may be only taken off, and according to the latter they may be returned also.

Come 1 and hear. R. Helbo in the name of R. Hama b. Gorion, quoting Rabh, said: "The Mishna speaks only about putting the victuals upon the stove, but as to putting them into the stove it is surely prohibited." Now, if thou sayest the dispute is about returning (the pot to the stove), this remark is correct, for there is a difference to what place it is returned, whether into the stove or upon it; but if the question were about keeping it on the stove while it is there, what difference would it make?

Do you think R. Helbo's report refers to the first part of the Mishna? It refers to the second part, in which Beth Hillel allows it to be returned; and to this he says, even in this case, upon the stove it is permissible, but not into the stove.

The schoolmen propounded a question: "May (a pot with victuals) be placed so as to touch the side of the stove? Does the prohibition which holds good for putting it into or upon the stove apply also here, or is touching its side a different case?" Come and hear. "A stove that was heated with pressed poppy seed or wood may (be used) to put a pot alongside of, but not on, unless the live coals were taken out or covered with ashes." If the coals get dim or fine hurds were put upon them, they are considered as if their fire was damped with ashes. R. Itz'hak b. Na'hmani in the name of R. Oshia says: If the fire was damped and still it got a-glowing, victuals that are sufficiently warm, and cooked meats that require no more cooking, may be left standing upon it.

Is it to be inferred from this that, if victuals are improved by shrivelling (upon the fire), they may be left there? This is a different case, for the fire was damped. If such is the case, what came R. Itz'hak to teach? "Lest one say that if the fire got to glowing again, it is to be considered as a fire originally started?" R. Itz'hak lets us know that, when once a fire has been damped, we need have no further scruples about letting the victuals remain on it.

R. Shesheth said in the name of R. Johanan: Victuals that require additional warming or additional cooking may be left upon a stove that was heated with pressed poppy seed or with wood; but if they were once removed, they shall not be replaced unless the live coals were taken out or covered with ashes. He was of the opinion that our Mishna (treats) of replacing (a removed pot), but allows (a pot that was not removed) to be left on the stove, even if the live coals are not taken out or covered with ashes. Said Rabha: "Were not both (propositions) expounded in the Boraithoth (that were cited)?" Aye, but R. Shesheth merely, wishes to exhibit his construction of the text of the Mishna.

R. Samuel b. Jehudah in the name of R. Johanan said: Upon a stove that was heated with pressed poppy seed or wood, victuals may be left standing, if they are sufficiently warmed and sufficiently cooked, even if shrivelling improves them. Said one of the schoolmen to him: "Did not Rabh and Samuel both say that if shrivelling improves them, it is not allowed? And he answered: "I said this in the name of R. Johanan and not in the name of the above mentioned, as I am aware of it." R. Uqba of Mishan said to R. Ashi: "You, who cherish the teachings of Rabh and Samuel, may follow their regulation, but we will follow the regulation of R. Johanan."

Abayi questioned R. Joseph: May victuals be left (on the stove)? And he answered: Did not R. Jehudah leave (victuals on the stove), and eat them afterward? Rejoined Abayi: The case of R. Jehudah cannot be taken into consideration. He was stricken with a dangerous disease, and for him even (the cooking of victuals) on the Sabbath was permitted; but I ask about (healthy men like) you and me. R. Joseph answered: "In Sura they do leave. As R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak, who was exemplary in following religious ordinances, was wont to leave and to eat."

R. Ashi said: "I was standing before R. Huna and observed that fried fish was kept (warm) for him and he ate it; but I know not whether (he did it) because he thought that victuals which improve by shrivelling are allowed, or whether he thought that, because there was flour on his fish, continuous warming did not improve it.

R. Na'hman said: (Victuals) that improve by shrivelling must not (be left on the stove); such as deteriorate may. The rule is that all victuals which contain flour deteriorate by continuous warming.

R. Hyya b. Ahba was questioned: "If one forgot his pot and left it upon the stove, and the victuals were thus cooked on the Sabbath, may he eat them or not?" The master gave no answer. The next time he lectured: Victuals cooked on the Sabbath unintentionally may be eaten; intentionally not, but (as regards the pot that is forgotten on the stove) it makes no difference.

What does (the phrase) "it makes no difference" mean? Rabba and R. Joseph both say that the phrase implies that it may be eaten, for one who cooks acts intentionally; but when forgotten there was no act, and therefore he may eat it. But R. Na'hman b. Isaac says the above phrase of "it makes no difference" implies a prohibition. In the case of cooking there is no fear of craft; therefore if he has done it unintentionally, he is not fined; but in the case of forgetting (the pot in the fire) craft may be feared (it means that he may put it in intentionally saying that he forgot), and therefore even if he actually forgets he is not allowed to eat the victuals.

The schoolmen propounded a question: "What about one who had intentionally left (his victuals upon the stove)? Do the rabbis fine him or not?" Come and hear. Samuel b. Nathan in the name of R. Hanina said: "When R. Jose went to Ziporis, he found warm meats that had been left upon the stove, and he did not prohibit their use, but shrivelled eggs that had been left upon the stove he prohibited. Shall we not assume that he forbade their use even on that Sabbath as a fine? Nay, he forbade their use for the following Sabbath."

From this is to be inferred that shrivelled eggs improve by continuous heating. As R. Hama b. Hanina said: "Rabbi and I were once stopping at a certain place. We were treated with eggs shrivelled like wild pears, and we ate many of them."

"It may also be put back." R. Shesheth said: The Tana who holds that the pot may also be put back (upon the stove) allows this (to be done) even on the Sabbath. R. Oshia is also of the same opinion, for thus he said: "We were once standing

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before R. Hyya the Great; we served him with a bowl of warm (soup), which was brought from the lower floor (of the house), and we mixed a cup of wine for him, and (afterward) we returned it (the bowl) to its place, and he said nothing." And R. Hyya in the name of R. Johanan said: Even if (the warm pot taken off from the stove) was put upon the ground, it may (still be put back on the stove). Said Hyskiyah in the name of Abayi: "According to them who hold that if he puts it on the floor it may not be returned, it is said only when it was not his intention to return it. But if it was, he may. And from this it is to be inferred that if it was still in his hand, although his intention was not to place it again, he may do so on reconsideration."

MISHNA 2.: (Victuals) shall not be put either inside or on top of an oven that was heated with straw or with stubble; a firing-pot that was heated with straw or with stubble is (considered by the law) as a stone, but if it was heated with pressed poppy seed or with wood it is considered as an oven.

GEMARA: A Boraitha teaches: If an oven was heated with straw or with stubble, (a pot with victuals) shall not be put close to it (so that it touch the oven), the less so upon it, and still less so into it; so much the less shall (a pot) be put (alongside of an oven) that was heated with poppy-seed pulp or with wood. If a firing-pot was heated with straw or with stubble, (a pot) may be put close to it, but not upon it; with poppy-seed pulp or with wood it must not be put close to it. Said R. Aha b. Rabha to R. Ashi: "How shall the firing-pot be considered? If it is like a stove, even if heated with poppy-seed pulp or with wood (a pot shall be allowed to be put close to it); and if it is like an oven it should not, even if it is heated with stubble or straw?" Answered he: It contains more heat than a stove and less heat than an oven.

What is a firing-pot and what is a stove? Said R. Jose b. Hanina: "A firing-pot has an opening on the top upon which only one pot can be set; a stove has openings upon which two pots can be set at a time."

MISHNA 3.: An egg shall not be put close to a boiler to get it settled, nor must it be wrapped in a hot cloth. R. Jose permits it; also it must not be put into hot sand or in the (hot) dust of the road that it be roasted (by the heat of the sun). It once happened that the inhabitants of Tiberias had laid a pipe of cold water through the arm of their hot springs. But the sages explained to them that on the Sabbath this water is considered like any other warmed on the Sabbath, and must not be used either for washing or drinking; and should this be done on a feast day, it is like water heated by fire, which may be used for drinking only, but not for washing.

GEMARA: The schoolmen questioned: How is it if one has done so with an egg? Said R. Joseph: He is liable for a sin-offering. Said Mar b. Rabhina: This is to be understood also from the following Boraitha: Everything that was in hot water before the Sabbath may be soaked in hot water on the Sabbath; things that were not in hot water before the Sabbath may only be rinsed in it, excepting old herrings and Spanish (salted) fish, because with these, rinsing completes their preparation. (The same is the case with an egg; the settling completes.)

"Nor shall it be wrapped," etc. Now, the Mishna which states: "Cooked victuals may be put into a pit for preservation; drinking water into cold bad water to cool; cold victuals in the sun to warm." Shall we assume that it is in accordance with R. Jose and not with the sages? Said R. Na'hman: As to the heat of the sun, all agree that it is allowed; the outcome of heating by fire, all agree that it is prohibited. The point of their differing is the outcome of sun-heating. The one master holds that the use of such heat is prohibited for fear lest one use also the heat that is generated by fire; the other master does not impose such a precautionary measure.

"It happened that the inhabitants of Tiberias," etc. R. Hisda said: With the prohibition by the rabbis of the act of the Tiberians they have also abolished the permission to heat on Friday, even when it is yet day, in such places as increase heat. Said Ulla: "The Halakha prevails according to the Tiberians." Rejoined R. Na'hman: "The Tiberians themselves have already destroyed their pipes." "Washing with warm water," how is this to be understood? The whole body? Is this prohibited only with water that was warmed on Sabbath? Is it not the same even when it was warmed on the eve of Sabbath? As the following Boraitha states: "With water which was warmed on the eve of Sabbath, on the morrow one may wash his face, hands, and feet, but not the whole body. And if it means the face, etc., how is the latter part to be understood? If it was warmed on a feast day," etc.

Shall we then assume that our Mishna states in accordance with Beth Shamai, as they so state plainly elsewhere, to which the Beth Hillel opposed and permitted? Said R. Iyqa b. Hanina: Our Mishna treats of washing the entire body, and it is in accordance with the Tana of the following Boraitha: "One shall not rinse his entire body (on the Sabbath) either with warm or with cold water." So is the decree of R. Mair, but R. Simeon permits this. R. Hisda says their dispute concerns only (water that is) in the ground; but water contained in a vessel is strictly prohibited.

Rabba b. b. Hana in the name of R. Johanan said: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Jehudah." Said R. Joseph to him: "Didst thou hear this explicitly, or dost thou derive it by inference (from a similar teaching)?" "I have heard it explicitly," he answered.

It was taught: If water was warmed on Friday, Rabh said one may wash his entire body in it on the next day, every member separately (i.e., not plunge into it at once). Samuel, however, said: It was not allowed but of the face, hands, and feet. And the following Boraitha supports Samuel: "If water was warmed on Friday, one may wash his face, hands, and feet with it on the following day, but not his entire body, even member by member; and so much less with water warmed on a feast day."

Said R. Joseph to Abayi: "Did Rabba not act according to the decisions of Rabh?" "I know not," he answered.

The rabbis taught: A bath-house, the openings of which were stopped up on Friday (so that the heat should not escape), may be used for bathing immediately after the Sabbath is over. If its openings were stopped up on the eve of a feast day, one may, on the next day, enter it to have a sweat, but he must leave it and rinse his hands in an adjoining room. R. Jehudah said: It happened in a bath-house of the city of B'nai Beraq, that its openings were stopped up on the eve of a feast day. The next day R. Eliezer b. Azariah and R. Aqiba entered it and took a sweat; then they left it and rinsed their bodies in the adjoining room; but the warm water in it had been covered with boards. When the report of this reached the masters they said, even if the warm water had not been covered with boards, they were also allowed (to do so). However, since transgressing began to increase, they began to prohibit. In bath-houses of large cities one may walk about without fear of people's saying that he went to take a sweat.

What does the expression "transgressing" mean? As R. Simeon b. Pazi in the name of R. Joshua b. Levi, quoting bar Qapara, said: In former times the people were accustomed to bathe (on the Sabbath) in water that was warmed on Friday. The bath-keepers then began to warm the water on the Sabbath, and to tell the people that it had been warmed on Friday. Hereupon they prohibited bathing in warm water, but still they placed no restriction upon taking a sweating (in the bath-room). The people then would come and bathe, but pretend to merely take a sweating. Then sweating was also prohibited, but washing in the hot spring water of Tiberias was still allowed. The people, however, would come and wash themselves in water that was warmed by the fire and say that they washed in the hot spring water. Subsequently warm water was prohibited for bathing altogether, but bathing in cold water was allowed. Seeing that people could not stand the last prohibition, it was therefore revoked, and bathing in the hot spring water of Tiberias was allowed. The prohibition of the sweating bath, however, remained. The rabbis taught: One may warm himself by a hearth-fire and afterwards rinse himself with cold water, but not bathe first in cold water and then warm himself by a hearth-fire, because he warms the water that is on him.

The rabbis taught: One may warm a sponging-cloth and put it upon his bowels (on the Sabbath), but he must not do so with a boiling hot vessel, for this is dangerous even on week days.

The rabbis taught: One may put a pitcher of water before a blazing fire, not to warm it, but to temper the coldness of the water. R. Judah said: A woman may put an oil flask before a blazing fire, not to boil it, but merely to temper it. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel says: A woman may unhesitatingly put oil on her hand, warm it before the fire, and anoint her little son with it without any fear.

Said R. Judah in the name of Samuel: Whether it be oil or water, if the hand is spontaneously withdrawn from it (feeling the scald) it is prohibited, but not otherwise. And what extent of heat is meant by it? Said Rabba: If the belly of a child is scalded by it.

R. Itz'hak b. Abhdimi said: "I once followed Rabbi into the bath-house (on the Sabbath). I wanted to put a bottle of oil for him into the tank (that contained hot spring water). Said he unto me: "Take out some warm water from the tank and put it into another vessel (to warm the oil in). From this we have inferred three things--viz.: First, that oil improves by warming, and it is a prohibited act; second, that if anything is put into a second vessel (not directly into the boiling vessel) it is not considered cooking; third, that the mere tempering of oil is analogous to cooking it.

Said Rabhina: From this story it may be inferred that if one cooks in the hot spring water of Tiberias on the Sabbath he is culpable, for the case happened after the rabbis had imposed the precautionary measure, and yet Rabbi would not allow him (R. Itz'hak) to put the oil directly into the tank. Is that so? Did not R. Hisda say that he who has cooked in the hot spring water of Tiberias is not culpable? The culpability to be inferred (from the case of Rabbi) extends only as far as blows of correction 1 are concerned.

R. Zera said: "I have seen R. Abuhu swimming in a tank, and I know not whether he raised (his feet from the ground) or not. Is it not self-evident that he did not raise them, as there is a Boraitha: One shall not swim about in a pond, even if (that pond) is stationed in a yard. This presents no difficulty. In a pond it is prohibited, because it is similar to a river, while in a tank it is allowed, because it is similar to a vessel. 2

R. Zera once found R. Jehudah in the bath. He (R. Jehudah) ordered his servant (in the Hebrew Aramaic tongue): "Bring me the comb; hand me the soap; open your mouths, and exhale the warm air from within you; drink of the (warm) water of the bath." Said R. Zera: "If I had not come but to hear this, it were enough for me."

It is correct that he ordered things in the Hebrew language, as private affairs may be said in the same language. The same is with the second order, for Samuel said that heat (from without) drives out heat (from within). But what good is in the order, "Drink of the water of the bath"? It is also correct, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: "If one washed himself with warm water and did not drink of it, he is like an oven that was heated from without but not from within."

MISHNA 4.: The hot water contained in a "Muliar" (caldron), the live coals of which have been cleared away before the Sabbath set in, may be used on the Sabbath; but the hot water contained in an "Antikhi" (another kind of kettle), even if cleared of live coals, is not to be used on the Sabbath.

GEMARA: What is a Muliar? A Boraitha states: "It is a vessel provided with an attachment for live coals, used for keeping water"; as for an Antikhi, Rabba says it is a Bekiri (a vessel similar to a Muliar, but of heavier construction and continually in use). R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak says: It is a Bedude (a large kettle with an attachment underneath for live coals). There is a Boraitha in support of the opinion of R. Na'hman: "The hot water in an Antikhi, even if the coals thereof are cleared away or damped, is not permitted to be used, for the heavy bottom keeps the heat."

MISHNA 5.: Into a kettle, the hot water of which has been spilt out and which has been removed from the fire, cold water is not permitted to be poured, for the purpose of heating; but it is permitted to pour water into the kettle, or into a cup, for the purpose of making such water lukewarm.

GEMARA: How is this to be understood? Said Abayi: It means thus: "Into a kettle, the fire of which has been removed, which still contains hot water, a small quantity of cold water may not be poured, for the purpose of warming; but a large quantity, to make the hot water lukewarm is, however, permitted. Into a kettle, the hot water of which has been entirely removed, no cold water at all may be poured, because it tempers the vessel. And it is in accordance with R. Jehudah, who holds that an act which pleases one, if done even unintentionally, is prohibited.

Said Rabh: "Even the above-mentioned large quantity is allowed only to make the water lukewarm; but not such a quantity as will entirely neutralize the hot water and tend to temper the vessel." Samuel, however, permits any quantity.

Shall we assume that Samuel is in accordance with R. Simeon (who opposes the above theory of R. Jehudah), but did he not say that it is permitted to extinguish live dross on public ground (to prevent injury), but not charcoal? And if he agrees with R. Simeon, this also should be permitted? As regards labour tending to the accomplishment of a work (prohibited on the Sabbath), he holds with R. Simeon; but as to the performance of labour, not for its own sake, he sides with R. Jehudah. Said Rabina: "Since it is permitted to perform labour (prohibited by rabbinical law), in order to prevent injury, it is also permitted to remove thorns from public ground, little by little, in distances of less than four ells at a time (in order to prevent injury); but upon unclaimed ground it may be done in greater distances."

"But it is permitted," etc. The rabbis taught: One may pour hot water upon cold, but not cold upon hot water, so is the decree of Beth Shamai; Beth Hillel, however, allows both ways, provided a cup is used; but in a bathing-tub hot water upon cold is permitted, but cold water upon warm is not. But R. Simeon b. Menassiah forbids it. And Na'hman said that so the Halakha prevails. R. Joseph was about to say that a bucket is under the same ruling as a bathing-tub. Said Abayi to him: "So taught R. Hyya, that a bucket is not in this category."

Said R. Huna b. R. Joshua: "I observed that Rabha was not scrupulous with regard to the use of vessels, because R. Hyya taught, one may put a pitcher of water into a bucket of water; it makes no difference whether it be hot water into cold o r vice versa." Said R. Huna to R. Ashi: "Perhaps this was a different case altogether, it being that there was a vessel within a vessel!" But the latter retorted: "It says: 'To empty'; as it was taught: It is permitted to empty out a pitcher of water into a bucket of water, be it either warm water into cold or vice versa."

MISHNA 6.: In a saucepan or a pot that was removed from the fire, no spices shall be put after dusk (on Friday); but spices may be put into a plate or a bowl. R. Jehudah is of the opinion that spices may be put in all vessels or cooking utensils except in such as contain vinegar or fish brine.

GEMARA: The schoolmen propounded the following question: Does R. Jehudah refer to the first part of the Mishna, which is lenient, or does he refer to the latter part, which is

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rigorous? Come and hear. We have learned in a Boraitha that R. Jehudah says: "One may put (spices) into all saucepans and cooking-pots, except such as contain vinegar and fish brine."

R. Joseph was about to say that salt comes under the same ruling as spices, because in his opinion salt becomes cooked in a first vessel (i.e., the vessel used for cooking), but not in a second vessel. Said Abayi to him: R. Hyya distinctly taught that salt does not come under the ruling applicable to spices, because it does not become cooked, even in a first vessel. This is corroborated by R. Na'hman, who said: There is a saying that the dissolving of salt requires thorough boiling, the same as beef.

MISHNA 7.: It is not permitted to place a vessel under a lamp so that the oil of the lamp drip into it. If a vessel was placed under a lamp before the Sabbath set in, it may remain there; but the use of such oil on the same Sabbath is not permitted, as it was not previously prepared.

GEMARA: Said R. Hisda: "Although it was said that the placing of a vessel under a hen (laying on sloping ground) to receive the egg is forbidden, yet to cover the egg so as to prevent it from being crushed is permitted."

Said Rabba: The reason of R. Hisda is because he holds that hens being in the habit of laying eggs on level ground, in order to prevent the egg from being stepped upon, it is permitted to cover it with a vessel; but as liens are not in the habit of laying eggs on sloping ground, the placing of a vessel under the hen to receive the egg was not allowed.

Abayi objected to this, stating: "Were we not taught in the Mishna that it is permitted to place a vessel under a lamp in order to take up the (dropping) sparks?" (This seldom occurs and therefore it is permitted.) He was told that the dropping of sparks by a lamp is also of frequent occurrence.

R. Joseph, commenting on the statement of R. Hisda, gave another reason--viz.: That the vessel (placed under a hen to receive an egg) is made useless for that same Sabbath.

Abayi raised the same objection, (intending to) prove by it that the vessel placed under a lamp is also made useless on that same Sabbath, and R. Huna b. R. Joshua answered: "Sparks have nothing substantial about them (therefore the vessel containing them is not made useless on the same Sabbath)."

R. Itz'hak said: In the same manner as it is not permitted to place a vessel under a laying hen, so is it also not permitted to cover the egg laid; for the reason that a vessel must not be handled on the Sabbath except for the use of such things as are themselves permitted to be handled on the Sabbath.

All the objections of Abayi being raised against R. Itz'hak's statements, he answered: "In that case there was a lack of space." (If the space occupied by a vessel is needed, that vessel may be removed, and while being removed may be used for any purpose.)

Come and hear (another objection). An egg laid on the Sabbath or a festival, to prevent it from being (accidentally) cracked, may be covered with a vessel? Here the case is, also, when the space where the vessel is placed is needed.

Said R. Shesheth (to his disciples): Go ye and tell R. Itz'hak that the above doctrine has already been interpreted by R. Huna in Babylon as follows: It is permitted to make a partition on the Sabbath, to (isolate) a corpse for the sake of the living, but it is not permitted to make a partition for the sake of the corpse. How is the latter clause to be understood? R. Samuel b. Jehudah and also Shila Mari taught: In the case of a corpse lying in the sun (on the Sabbath), (to prevent the corpse from decomposing) two persons are brought to sit on the floor, each on one side (in order to bring about the making of a screen). When the ground underneath them becomes hot, each of them is to bring a cot bed to sit upon, and when the heat above them becomes excessive, they are to bring a sheet and spread it over their heads (leaving part of the sheet loose); both now raise their cots (which take up the loose part of the sheet) and move to their former positions; thus a screen (canopy) is formed of itself.

It was taught: "A corpse lying in the sun." R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel says: The same must be turned over from one bed into another, until it arrives at a shady place. R. Hinna b. Shalmi in the name of Rabh said: A loaf of bread or an infant should be put on the corpse and then the corpse may be moved. There is no difference of opinion as to the removal of a corpse (on the Sabbath), which is permitted when a loaf or an infant is put upon it; they differ only where there is none. One holds that indirect transportation must be considered transportation, and the other opines that indirect transportation is not transportation (and therefore permitted).

Shall we assume that on this point the following Tanaim differ? "It is not permitted to save a corpse from a fire." R. Jehudah b. Lakish, however, says: "I have heard that it may be done." How is the case if there was a loaf of bread or an infant? Why should the first Tana prohibit it? And if there was none, what is the reason of Lakish's decision? Do they not differ in the point of transportation stated above? Nay; all agree that such a transportation is considered; the reason, however, of Ben Lakish is that usually one is concerned about his dead, and if it would not be permitted to remove it, he will extinguish the fire. Said R. Jehudah b. Shilah in the name of R. Ashi, quoting R. Johanan: The Halakha prevails according to Ben Lakish concerning a corpse.

MISHNA 8.: A new lamp maybe handled on the Sabbath, but not an old one; R. Simeon, however, says all lamps are permitted to be handled except such as are still burning.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: A new lamp may be handled, but not an old one; such is the decree of R. Jehudah.

R. Mair, however, says that all lamps may be moved, except a lamp which was lit for the Sabbath (though the light is extinguished); but R. Simeon says, except a lamp which is still burning. If extinguished, it may be moved; but a goblet, bowl, or lantern (used as lamps, must not be removed from their respective places). R. Eliezer b. R. Simeon, says: It is permitted to make use of an extinguished lamp and of the oil dripping, from it, even while the lamp is burning.

Said Abayi: R. Eliezer b. Simeon holds in one case to the opinion of his father, but differs with him in the other. He holds with his father in disregarding Muktza (designation), 1 and differs with him in the other case, for his father is of the opinion that when a lamp is extinguished it may be moved, but not while it is burning; but he is of the opinion that even a burning lamp may be moved. "But a goblet, bowl, or lantern must not." Wherein do these things differ from the others? Said Mar Zutra: R. Simeon allows a small lamp (to be handled), because one will wait until it is extinguished (and then it may be used for another purpose); but these are large, and not apt to become extinguished for some time. R. Zera said: All the schoolmen agree on prohibiting the handling of a candelabrum which had been lit up on Sabbath, but the handling of the candelabrum which was not lit up on the Sabbath is unanimously permitted.

R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh said: "It is not permitted to handle a bed that has been designated as a place to put money in, if the money had already previously been placed upon it (on Friday during twilight even if on the Sabbath no money was on the bed). If the money, however, had not previously been deposited on the bed, the handling is permitted. If a bed was not designated for the keeping of money, but contained money, it must not be handled. If it contained no money, it may (providing no money was deposited on the bed during twilight of the preceding Friday). And Rabh says this because he holds with R. Jehudah concerning Muktza.

And it seems that so is the case, as Rabh said one may place a lamp upon a palm tree at any time while it is yet day on Friday, in order that it may burn on the Sabbath; but one may not put a lamp upon the same on a biblical feast day. (It is permitted to place a lamp on a palm tree on the Sabbath because there is no fear of the tree, which is Muktza [designated], being used; but on a biblical feast day it is prohibited for fear that one while depositing or removing the lamp will also use the palm tree; and that is prohibited.)

And this is correct only in accordance with the theory of R. Jehudah; but should Rabh hold with R. Simeon, why does he make a distinction between the Sabbath and a biblical feast day? The law of Muktza does not exist at all according to R. Simeon.

Is that so? Did not Rabh decide, when he was questioned whether one may remove an extinguished 'Hanukah light on the Sabbath for fear of the Magi (this has already been mentioned in a previous connection), that it may be done? The time of danger is different. 1 R. Kahana and R. Assi then questioned him: "Does the Halakha so prevail?" and he answered: "R. Simeon is worthy to be relied upon in times of danger."

Resh Lakish questioned R. Johanan: "May wheat that has been sown but that has not yet sprouted, or eggs that are still under the hen, be eaten on the Sabbath? Does he (R. Simeon) disregard the law of Muktza only in such cases where the objects were put aside with no intention of ever being used again, or does he disregard Muktza under all circumstances?" He (R. Johanan) replied: "There is no Muktza in his theory but the oil in a burning lamp, because if poured in a lamp for the purpose of keeping the Sabbath-light commandment it is designated for that express function, and as it is not permitted to extinguish that light, the intention not to use the oil for any other purpose is self-evident. But does not R. Simeon hold that the same is the case with other things which were designated for their religious purposes? Is it not a fact that the ornaments of the tabernacle on that festival must not be used, even in accordance with R. Simeon's theory? As R. Hyya b. R. Joseph taught in the presence of R. Johanan: "One must not remove wood from a booth on any biblical feast day, but he may remove it from any place near by? R. Simeon, however, permits this to be done. Still, they all agree that wood must not be removed from a booth built expressly for that feast, on all the seven feast days. However, if there was a stipulation it may be done accordingly" (because the wood is set aside for the ritual purpose). Hence even according to him the designation for ritual purposes must not be used. Why, then, is this different from the oil in question? The Boraitha is to be understood thus: All the ornaments of the booth in question are prohibited so far as all things bearing similitude to the oil in the burning lamp are concerned. And so also it was taught by R. Hyya b. Ahba in the name of R. Johanan, that there is no Muktza in the theory of R. Simeon, but in cases which are similar to the oil of the lamp while burning, being designated for the ritual purpose, they are also designated not to be used. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: "In the opinion of R. Simeon no law of Muktza exists except in the case of raisins and dates which were placed on the roof to be dried." (In such a case there certainly was no intention to use them on the same Sabbath.) Said Rabba b. b. Hana in the name of R. Johanan: "It was said the law remains in accordance with R. Simeon. When R. Itz'hak b. R. Joseph, however, came from Palestine, he said in the name of R. Johanan that the law (of Muktza) according to R. Jehudah prevails, and R. Jehoshua b. Levi said the law prevails with R. Simeon. Said R. Joseph: Now is understood what Rabba b. b. Hana said in name of R. Johanan, it was said that the Halakha. prevails according to R. Simeon, which means that R. Johanan himself did not agree with their decision. Said Abayi to R. Joseph: "Didst thou not know before this that R. Johanan holds with the opinion of R. Jehudah? Is it not a fact that when R. Abba and R. Assi met in the house of R. Abba of the city of Heifa, and a candelabrum fell upon the coat of R. Assi, he (R. Assi) did not remove it? Was it not because he was a disciple of R. Johanan and acted according to the opinion of his master?" Answered R. Joseph: "Thou art speaking of a candelabrum. A candelabrum is a different matter altogether, for R. Ahai b. Hanina in the name of R. Assi said: Resh Lakish has decided in Zidon, a candelabrum which can be removed with one hand may be handled, but if it has to be removed with both hands it may not; and R. Johanan said: We only hold with R. Simeon in the matter of a lamp; but as for a candelabrum, whether it can be removed with one or both hands, it is prohibited. And why so? Both Rabba and R. Joseph said: Because a separate place must be designated for it.

Said Abayi to R. Joseph: "Have we not observed the case of a baldaquin prepared for a bride and groom, for which a place must be designated? And yet Samuel said in the name of R. Hyya that such may be put up and taken apart on the Sabbath." Said Abayi: The prohibition to handle the candelabrum holds good only in a case where the same is made of several parts. If this be the case, what reason has R. Simeon b. Lakish for allowing this? Say: Not a candelabrum made of various parts, but if it looks like a candelabrum of various parts. Therefore a candelabrum made of several parts, be it large or small, must not be handled. The handling of a large candelabrum, even if not made of several parts, is also prohibited on account of its marked lines, for fear one may handle such as are made of several parts. And the point of their differing is: With a small candelabrum which looks as if made of several parts, one takes the precautionary measure lest one handle that which is really made of several parts, while the other does not care for such a precaution.

R. Malkia chanced to be in the house of R. Simlai and handled a candlestick, the light in which had been extinguished, and R. Simlai became angry on that account. R. Jose the Galilean happened to be in the town of R. Jose b. Hanina and did the same, whereupon R. Jose b. Hanina became angry. R. Abuhu, however, when he happened to be in the place of R. Jehoshua b. Levi, handled, but when he came to the place of R. Johanan he did not handle a candlestick in question out of respect to R. Johanan. R. Jehudah said: A lamp which has been filled with oil may be handled after the light has been extinguished (because it emits no bad odor), but one which contained naphtha may not be handled (on account of its bad odor). Both Rabba and R. Joseph also permit this.

R. Avia once came to the house of Rabha with muddy shoes and sat on the bed in the presence of the latter. This made Rabha angry, and he tried to disconcert R. Avia with questions. Said he (Rabha): "Can you tell me why Rabba and R. Joseph both said that a lamp filled with naphtha may be handled?" Answered R. Avia: "The reason of their decision is because the lamp is fit to cover a vessel with after being extinguished." And he rejoined: "If this is so, one may also handle shavings scattered in the yard, because they also can be used to cover a vessel with." Answered R. Avia: "A lamp, being a vessel itself, can be used to cover other things with, but shavings are not vessels in themselves and therefore cannot be used singly as covers" (and brought a Boraitha which states that nose jewels, rings, etc., are considered among the vessels which may be handled on Sabbath, and Ulla explained the reason why, because they are considered as vessels). Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: "Praised be the Lord that Rabha did not put R. Avia to shame."

Abayi pointed out to R. Joseph the following contradiction: "Did R. Simeon say that a light may be handled only when extinguished, but if burning it must not be handled? For what reason? Because there is a chance of extinguishing it while it is being handled?" Have we not learned that R. Simeon said: "An act which is committed unintentionally is permissible." Such is the decision of R. Simeon? (This presents no difficulty.) One must not take chances with an act which, if done intentionally, would cause a violation of a biblical ordinance; but if the violation would be only that of a rabbinical ordinance, chances may be taken.

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Objected Rabha: "We have learned: Dealers in clothing may sell clothes made of wool and cotton mixed. They are permitted to try on such clothes or to carry them (temporarily) on their shoulders, provided the intention to use them as a protection against the sun and rain does not exist. Now, the wearing of a mixture of wool and cotton is biblically prohibited, still R. Simeon permits it to be done temporarily. Therefore said Rabha: "Discard the case of the lamp, oil, and wick; there is another reason entirely--viz., because one becomes a basis of a thing the handling of which is in itself prohibited (i.e., the light in itself cannot be handled)."

Said R. Zera in the name of R. Assi, quoting R. Johanan, who said in the name of R. Hanina that he was told by R. Romnas: "Rabbi permitted me to handle a pan containing glowing ashes."

And R. Zera himself was deliberating: Did indeed R. Johanan say so? Have we not heard that Rabba b. b. Hana said in his (R. Johanan's) name, referring to our Mishna, which states that a man may handle a box containing a stone: "He may do so providing the box also contains fruit." "How, then, could R. Johanan permit a pan with glowing ashes to be handled?" R. Assi was astounded for some time, but finally answered: "The pan referred to still contained some grains of incense."

But Rabha said: While we were in R. Na'hman's house we handled a fire-pot on account of its ashes (the ashes were needed for some purpose, therefore the pot was allowed to be handled), although there were some broken sticks of wood upon it.

The schoolmen raised the following objection: R. Simeon and R. Jehudah agree that if there are broken pieces of wick in a lamp, it is prohibited to handle the lamp. Said Abayi: "This was taught in Galilea" (Galilea is a state where linen cloth is scarce, for which reason the broken pieces of wick are valuable, and the lamp, being the receptacle of prohibited valuables, is not permitted to be handled on the Sabbath).

Levi, the son of Samuel, met R. Abba and R. Huna the son of Hyya standing at the entrance of R. Huna's house; and Levi questioned: "Is it allowed to fold the beds of travelling coppersmiths on a Sabbath?" They answered: "Yea." In allowing this the two rabbis held with (the opinion of R. Simeon b. Gamaliel in a) following Boraitha: It is not permitted to put together a bed which has been taken apart; but if one did so, he is not culpable. One must not fasten the bed with pegs, but if he did so he only lays himself liable to bring a sin-offering. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, however, said: "If the bed was loose it may be fastened."

R. Hama had a folding-bed in his house. He put it together on a biblical feast day, and one of the young rabbis questioned Rabha: "What reason is to be found for this act? Is it because of indirect building; granted that there is no biblical prohibition to this effect, there surely is a rabbinical?" Answered Rabha: "I think that the reason is the decision of R. Simeon b. Gamaliel (with whom I agree) that it is permissible to put a bed together if the bed is loose."

MISHNA 9.: One may put a vessel underneath a lamp for the purpose of receiving the sparks falling from the lamp, but he shall not put water into the vessel, because thereby the sparks would become extinguished.

GEMARA: Would this act not render the vessel useless? Said R. Huna the son of R. Jehoshua: "The vessel is not made useless, because sparks do not amount to anything."

"He shall not put any water into it," etc. Shall we assume that this anonymous Mishna is in accordance with R. Jose, who said that it is prohibited even to cause light to be extinguished? How can you explain this in this way? R. Jose spoke of the Sabbath itself; have you heard him saying so about the eve of Sabbath? And should you say that here is also meant on Sabbath itself, there is a Boraitha which states plainly: A vessel may be put under the lamp to receive sparks on Sabbath, and so much the more on the eve of Sabbath; but water must not be put in, even on the eve of Sabbath, and much less on the Sabbath itself. Therefore said R. Ashi: "It may be said that it is in accordance even with the rabbis, who do not mind the causing of light to be extinguished through indirect means on the Sabbath. In this case, however, the sparks are extinguished (through direct means, i.e.) by placing water underneath the lamp."

CHAPTER 4.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING VICTUALS, WHERE THEY MAY OR MAY NOT BE DEPOSITED TO RETAIN THEIR HEAT FOR THE SABBATH.

MISHNA 1.: Wherein may hot vessels be deposited (to retain the heat) and wherein may they not? Depositing in Gepheth (olive waste), dung, salt, lime, and sand, either wet or dry, is not allowed. In straw, grape-skins, wool-flocks, or grass it is permitted, provided they are dry, but not when they are still wet.

GEMARA: A question was propounded: "Is the use of olive waste only prohibited, but the use of the oil-cakes allowed; or does the Mishna allude to oil-cakes and still more so to olive waste (for it produces more heat)?" For the purpose of depositing in, both kinds are not allowed; (but if the victuals have been deposited in a permissible thing and were subsequently placed on oil-cakes no wrong was done, because) oil-cake does not produce heat; olive waste produces heat.

Rabba and R. Zera once met at the Exilarch's house; they saw there a servant putting a can (with warm water) on top of a kettle (containing cold water), and Rabba rebuked him. Said R. Zera to him: "In what particular does this case differ from that of putting one pan on top of another?" Answered Rabba: "Here heat is produced, but there it is only preserved." Another time they saw (the servant) spreading a turban over a pitcher and putting a cup on top of it. Again Rabba rebuked him. R. Zera asked for the reason, and Rabba answered: "You will soon see him wringing 1 the turban," which he did. R. Zera again asked: "In what particular does this case differ from that of a spread cloth?" Answered Rabba: "Here he is particular (lest it become wet and he will wring it), while there he is not."

"In straw." R. Adda b. Masna questioned Abayi: "May wool-flocks, in which (victuals) were deposited, be handled on Sabbath?" Abayi answered: "Because of a lack of straw, would a man sacrifice a valuable lot of wool-flock?" (When placing victuals in straw no intention to make further use of the straw exists, and it becomes part of the pot itself; with wool-flocks the case is different, for they are intended for further use and therefore must not be handled on Sabbath.)

R. Hisda permitted the replacing of waste (fallen out) of a pillow on Sabbath.

R. Hanan b. Hisda objected to him from the following: "Untying the opening (for the neck) of a shirt is permitted on Sabbath, but cutting it is prohibited, and waste must not be placed into a pillow or bolster on a biblical feast day, much less on a Sabbath."

This presents no difficulty. Placing new waste in a pillowcase is not allowed, but replacing old waste is allowed. And so also we have learned plainly in a Boraitha, that when they fall out they may be replaced even on Sabbath, and much the more on a feast day.

R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh said: "Whosoever makes an opening (for the neck in an unfinished shirt) on Sabbath is liable to a sin-offering."

R. Kahana opposed, saying: What is the difference between an opening for the neck and a bunghead (in a barrel)? Rabha answered: A bunghead is not attached to the barrel (i.e., it forms no part of it), but an opening for the neck is made by an incision in the shirt, and hence is part and parcel of same. In Sura the following doctrine was taught in the name of R. Hisda, and in Pumbeditha the same was taught in the name of R. Kahana or Rabha: "Who was the Tana in whose name the sages taught that the part and parcel of a thing is on a par with the thing itself?" Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: "It is R. Meir (of the Mishna, Kelim, VIII.) who holds that the attachment built on a hearth is on a par with the hearth itself and becomes unclean when touched by an unclean thing."

"When wet." A question was propounded: Naturally or artificially wet? Come and hear. The Mishna says: "Not with straw, nor with grape-skins, nor with wool-flocks, nor with grass when wet." It is right only if we accept the theory that they became wet, but should we venture to think them naturally wet, how is this to be imagined? Can wool-flocks be naturally wet? The sweaty wool under the hips may be meant. Did not R. Oshia teach we may deposit in dry cloth and dry fruit, but not in wet cloth or wet fruit? How is naturally wet cloth to be imagined? This may also mean cloth made from the sweaty wool under the hips of the sheep.

MISHNA 2.: It may be deposited in cloth, fruit, pigeon feathers, shavings, and fine flaxen tow. R. Jehudah forbids the use of fine, but permits the use of coarse flaxen tow.

GEMARA: "Shavings." A question was propounded: Does R. Jehudah forbid the use of fine shavings or fine flaxen tow? Come and hear. We have learned in a Boraitha, R. Jehudah says: Fine flaxen tow is the same as dung, which increases heat; therefore the conclusion is that he means flaxen tow.

MISHNA 3.: It may be deposited (wrapped) in skins, and they may be handled; in shorn wool, and must not be handled. How can this be done? The lid is raised and it (the shorn wool) falls down. R. Elazar b. Azarya says: The vessel is bent sideways lest it be taken out and cannot be replaced, but the sages say it may be taken out and replaced.

GEMARA: A question was propounded by R. Jonathan b. Akhinayi, R. Jonathan b. Elazar, and R. Hanina b. Hama: Does the Mishna allude to skins belonging to private men only, hence skins belonging to an artisan, who is particular with them, may not be handled under any circumstances; or perhaps the Mishna allows even an artisan's skins? Answered R. Jonathan b. Elazar to them: It is reasonable to accept that it applies only to those belonging to private men but not to artisans, because they (the artisans) are particular. Said R. Hanina b. Hama to them: Thus said R. Ishmael b. Jossi: "My father was a tanner, and he said, 'Bring some skins here to sit on.'"

An objection was raised: Boards of private men may be handled, but not those of artisans (if, however, the intention is to serve a meal on them for guests both kinds may be handled)? With boards it is different. Even private men are particular with boards.

On this point the following Tanaim differ: Skins belonging to private men may be handled, but not those of artisans. R. Jossi says both kinds may be handled.

While they were sitting together another question was propounded by them: The forty less one principal acts of labour on Sabbath, where are they taken from? Said R. Hanina b. Hama: "From the acts of labour performed at the tabernacle." R. Jonathan b. Elazar, however, said: Thus said R. Simeon b. Jossi b. Laqunia: From the thirty-nine times the words "work," "his work," and "work of" are to be found in the Pentateuch. R. Joseph questioned Rabba: Is the term "his work" which is found in the passage "and Joseph came into the house to do his work" [Gen. xxxix. 12] also of the number or not? Abayi answered him: "Let us bring the book and count," and he rejoined: "I am in doubt whether the verse 'and the work was enough' [Ex. xxxvi. 7] is of the number, and the former verse is to be explained 'he came in to do his business,' or whether the former is of the number and the latter is to be explained 'the task was completed.'" (Both verses cannot be counted among the thirty-nine, because if they are there will be forty in all.) This question remains unanswered.

It is proven by a Boraitha that the adduction of the thirty-nine acts is made from the acts performed at the tabernacle, for we were taught: One is culpable only for the performance of such work as was done at the building of the tabernacle. They have sown, but ye must not sow; they have harvested, but ye must not; they have loaded the boards from the ground upon wagons, but ye must remove nothing from public into private ground; they have unloaded from the wagons to the ground, but ye must not remove from private into public ground; they have transferred from one wagon into another, but ye must transfer nothing from private into private ground. "From private into private ground." What wrong is committed by that? Both Abayi and Rabha, and according to others R. Adda b. Ahabha, said: "From private into private ground by way of public ground."

"In shorn wool and may not be handled." Rabha and Rabhin in the name of Rabbi (Jehudah Hanassi) said: "It is only taught, when not designated for the purpose of depositing in them, but if designated for that purpose they may be handled." Rabhina says that the teaching of the Mishna is applicable to shorn wool taken from stock (of a store).

The following Boraitha is in support of this: Shorn wool taken from stock is not to be handled, but if prepared by a private man for a purpose it may be handled.

Rabba b. b. Hana taught before Rabh: Palm branches, if cut off for use as fuel and finally intended for sitting purposes, must be tied together (before the Sabbath). R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said it needs not tying. He who taught this has himself declared that the Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Simeon b. Gamaliel.

It was taught: (In relation to sitting on palm branches cut off for use as fuel) Rabh said (it must be) tied. Samuel said: The intention on the eve of Sabbath suffices; and R. Assi said: Sitting (on them before the Sabbath), even if not tied nor previously intended for sitting purposes on the Sabbath, is sufficient. It is clear that Rabh holds with the first teacher and Samuel holds with R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, but whom does R. Assi's opinion agree with? He is in accordance with the Tana of the following Boraitha: It is permitted to go out (on Sabbath) with a flax or wool plaster (on a wound) when dipped in oil and tied with a string, but it is not permitted when the plaster is not dipped in oil or tied with a string; but if one went out with it only a little before the Sabbath, even if not dipped in oil and tied, it is permissible. Said R. Ashi: "We were also taught in a Mishna in support of this; but who is the teacher that does not agree with R. Simeon, b. Gamaliel?" It is R. Hanina b. Aqiba, for when R. Dimi came from Palestine he said in the name of Zera, quoting R. Hanina: R. Hanina b. Aqiba once went with his disciples to a place and found some palm branches tied together to be used as fuel; he said to his disciples: "Make up your minds to sit on them tomorrow." I do not know whether there was to be a wedding or a funeral that following day, but the inference from this narration is: Only in the case of a wedding or funeral, when people are busy (and could not tie them up), the intention is sufficient, but otherwise tying together is necessary.

R. Jehudah said: "One is permitted to carry in a box of sand on the Sabbath for the purpose (of covering up an unclean place) and use the remainder for any purpose whatever. Mar Zutra, in the name of Mar Zutra the Great, interpreted this--providing he singled out a corner for it. Said the rabbis before R. Papa: "Is this teaching (of the great Mar Zutra) in accord only with the opinion of R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, but not with that of the rabbis who require action rather than intention?" R. Papa answered: It may even be in accord with the rabbis, who require action only where it is possible, and this action (tying together or sitting on sand) is impossible (as reserving a corner for them is not considered an act, but an intention only).

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R. Jehudah permits the use of the dust of incense on the Sabbath. R. Joseph permits poppy-seed waste. Rabha permits pepper dust and R. Shesheth Barda, to wash the face with. What is Barda? Said R. Joseph: A powder of one-third aloe, one-third myrrh, and one-third violet. R. Nehemiah b. Joseph also permits Barda, provided it does not contain more than a third part of aloe.

R. Shesheth was asked if it was permitted to crush olives on Sabbath? He answered: "Is it permitted on week days?" He is of the opinion that the spoiling of food is not allowed.

Barda was brought to Ameimar, Mar Zutra, and R. Ashi. Ameimar and R. Ashi washed themselves with it, but Mar Zutra did not. They asked him: "Do you, Master, not hold with R. Shesheth, who permits the use of it?" Said R. Mordecai to them: Leave out the master in this question, for he does not even use Barda on week days. He holds with the following Boraitha: "One is permitted to scratch off crust of excrement and of wounds only for the purpose of relieving pain, but not for the purpose of beautifying the person." And the above-mentioned rabbis agree with the teaching of the following: One should wash his face, hands, and feet daily out of respect for his Creator, as it is written [Prov. xvi. 4]: "Every thing hath the Lord wrought for its destined end." 1

"The vessel is bent sideways," etc. Said R. Aba in the name of R. Hyya b. Ashi, quoting Rabh: If the cavity formed by the vessel got out of shape it is not permitted to replace (the vessel). There is an objection from our Mishna: "And the sages say it may be taken out and replaced." How shall this be understood? If the cavity remained intact the rabbis did well by telling us that the replacing of the vessel was allowed; but if the cavity got out of shape, is it not self-evident that replacing is not permitted? Nay; they still maintain that the cavity did not get out of shape, and the controversy (in the case) is as regards precaution. One maintains that this precaution is to be taken (lest we replace the vessel when the cavity is out of shape), while the others contend this is not necessary.

R. Huna said: "A fragrant plant used after meals in place of burnt spices, if it was taken out of and replaced in the flower-pot before Sabbath, it may be taken out, used, and replaced on Sabbath, but not otherwise. Samuel said that the same is the case with a knife that was preserved between the bricks. Mar Zutra, according to others R. Ashi, said that a knife may be preserved between the branches of the root. And R. Mordecai said to Rabha that R. Qatina has objected to the above rabbis, who said that if it were not replaced before Sabbath it must not be used, from a Mishna (Kilaim, I. 9), which states plainly that it may be taken out on Sabbath. This question remains.

MISHNA 4.: (A vessel) not covered during daylight must not be covered after dark. If, after having been covered, it became uncovered, it is permitted to cover it again. A pitcher may be filled with cold victuals and put under a pillow (to keep it cool).

GEMARA: R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said: "It is permitted to store cold victuals (to protect them from the sun)." Said R. Joseph: "What news came he to teach? Have we not learned this in the above Mishna?" Abayi answered: "A great deal! From the Mishna I would infer that only such things as are not usually stored are permissible (for in that case no precaution lest one put warm victuals under a pillow or bolster for the purpose of generating heat is necessary); he informs us, however, that even such things as are usually stored are permissible also." R. Huna in the name of Rabbi, however, says: "It is prohibited." Were we not taught that Rabbi has permitted this? This presents no difficulty. In the former instance he did so when he was not as yet aware of the following decision of R. Ishmael b. Jossi. Rabbi at one time decided that it is forbidden to store cold victuals. Said R. Ishmael b. Jossi to him: "My father permitted it," whereupon Rabbi said: "If this sage has once permitted it, so shall it be done." Said R. Papa: Come ye and note the mutual respect: Had R. Jossi been alive, he would have had to show respect to Rabbi; as R. Ishmael, who succeeded his father in every respect, also has acknowledged Rabbi's superiority. Still Rabbi accepted his decision.

R. Na'hman said to his slave Doru: "Store some cold victuals for me and bring me warm water from a Gentile cook-shop." R. Ami heard this and was angry. Said R. Joseph: "What was the reason of his anger? Did not R. Na'hman act in accordance with the teachings of the great masters, Rabh and Samuel?" R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said: It is permitted to store cold victuals, and R. Samuel b. R. Itz'hak said in the name of Rabh: Anything that may be consumed raw is not included in the prohibition relating to cooking by a Gentile; he (R. Ami), however, was of the opinion that, although it is allowed, a man of note should not practise it (because the layman seeing such things of the scholar he might allow himself still more).

The rabbis taught: "Although the sages said it is not allowed to deposit (warm victuals) after dark, even in such receptacles as do not increase the heat, still, if already deposited, it is permitted to add more cover. How can this be done? R. Simeon b. Gamaliel says: "In cold weather the covering sheet may be taken off and a blanket substituted; in warm weather the blanket may be taken off and a sheet substituted." Furthermore said the same: "The sages prohibited (to deposit warm victuals) only in the same pan in which they were cooked, but if emptied into another pan it is permitted; and there is no fear of one coming to cook (on the Sabbath); for (the act of) emptying (the victuals) from the cooking-pan (into another) proves (that there is no such intention).

If one deposited a pot (containing victuals) in material that may be handled on the Sabbath, and covered it with the same, or even deposited it in non-permissible material, but covered it with permissible, he may take out the pot and replace it; but if he deposited it in non-permissible material and. covered it with the same, or even deposited it in permissible, but covered it with non-permissible material, he may take out the pot, but can replace it only if the pot was but partly covered. Otherwise, he must not replace it at all.

It is permitted to put one cooking-pan upon another, and also one earthen pot upon another, but not an earthen pot upon a cooking-pan, or a cooking-pan upon an earthen pot. (Even on Sabbath) the cover of a pot may be fastened down with dough (kneaded on Friday before dusk). In the case of putting one pan or pot upon another, this may be done only to preserve the heat, but not for the purpose of heating the upper pot by means of the lower one.

The same as it is forbidden to store warm (victuals), so it is also forbidden to store cold (victuals) on the Sabbath; but Rabbi permitted the latter to be done. Even so is it prohibited to chop ice on Sabbath in order to obtain cold water, but ice may be put into a vessel or a pitcher without fear of the consequences.

CHAPTER 5.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING WHAT MAY AND MAY NOT BE WORN BY ANIMALS ON THE SABBATH.

MISHNA 1.: What gear may we let animals go about in and what not? 1 The male camel in a bridle; the female cannel with a nose-ring; Lybian asses in a halter, and a horse in a collar. All (animals) that are used to collars may go out in and may be led by the collar. Such gear (when it becomes defiled) can be sprinkled and submerged without being removed from its (proper) place (on the animal).

GEMARA: R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said: "Rabbi was asked, How is it when the reverse is the case? i.e., when the female camel is bridled and the male camel is invested with a nose-ring? May they be allowed to go about? There is no question as to a bridle on a female camel, for it is considered a burden; as to a nose-ring on a male camel, shall we assume that it is merely an additional safeguard, and thus becomes permissible, or is it an unnecessary safeguard and hence not allowed?" R. Ishmael b. Jossi answered: "Thus my father said: Four animals may go about with a bridle on--the horse, the mule, the camel, and the ass." A Boraitha states: Lydda asses and camels may go about with a bridle on. The following Tanaim, however, differ as to this point (whether a superfluous safeguard is a burden or not): one maintains that no animal may go about burdened with a chain; but Hananya says a chain or anything else that is intended as a safeguard is permitted.

Said R. Huna b. Hyya in the name of Samuel: "The Halakha prevails according to Hananya."

Levi b. R. Huna b. Hyya and Rabba b. R. Huna once travelled together; arriving at an entrance, the former's ass ran ahead of the latter's. Rabba b. R. Huna became dejected (at the lack of respect shown him, supposing it to have been done intentionally). Thought Levi to himself: "I will pacify him with the following question: Is it permitted to put a halter on an unmanageable ass like mine on the Sabbath?" Rejoined Rabba: "So said your father in the name of Samuel: 'The decision of Hananya prevails.'"

At the school of Menashyah it was taught: A goat with a bridle fastened to his horns is permitted to go about on Sabbath (but not if the bridle was simply tied to the horns, as it may slip off and a man may be forced to carry the bridle).

An objection was raised: "Were we not taught in a Mishna that it is not allowed to let a cow go about with a strap tied between her horns?"

Said R. Irmya b. Aba: On this point Rabh and Samuel differ; according to one it is prohibited at any rate, and according to the other, if for an ornament it is prohibited, but as a safeguard it is permitted. Said R. Joseph: "It seems that Samuel was the one who permitted it as a safeguard, as R. Huna said in his name the Halakha prevails according to Hananya." Said Abayi to R. Joseph: "On the contrary, it may be that Samuel is the one who forbids it at any rate, as R. Jehudah said above in his name: Rabbi was asked: How is it when the reverse is the case," etc. Does this not mean to exclude a nose-ring from a camel? But why should you prefer this latter saying to the former one? Because it was taught: "R. Hyya b. Ashi said in the name of Rabh that it is forbidden at any rate; and R. Hyya b. Abhin in the name of Samuel said: It is permitted as a safeguard."

An objection was raised from the following: If the owner tied the (red) heifer with a halter, she may nevertheless be used. Should you assume that this (halter) is a burden (how could she be used)? (Do not) the Scriptures say [Numbers, xix. 2]: "Upon which there was no yoke"? Answered Abayi: "(It is to be understood) when the owner leads her from one town to another, (the halter is a necessary safeguard, hence no burden)." Rabh said: "There is quite a difference in the case of the red heifer," as she is very valuable (and must be guarded). Rabhina said: "She must have a halter on account of her stubbornness."

"The horse with a collar." What is meant by "go about" or led? R. Huna said: "It makes no difference whether the strap hangs loose on the animal's neck or is used as a rein; but Samuel said they may go about if led (by the strap) but not (with the strap) hanging loose.

A Boraitha teaches: "They may go about with the halter tied round their necks in order that they may be led whenever necessary." Said R. Joseph: "I have seen the calves of R. Huna going out on a Sabbath with their halters round their necks." R. Samuel b. Jehudah, when coming from Palestine, said in the name of R. Hanina that Rabbi's mules also went out on a Sabbath with their halters tied around their necks.

"And are sprinkled," etc. Is this to say that they are subject to defilement? Does not a Mishna state [Kelim, XII. 8] that only rings worn by human beings are subject to defilement, but harness and all other rings are not? Said R. Itz'hak of Naph'ha 1: The collar-ring having at one time been used by men for personal purposes and become defiled, still retains its defiled character; R. Joseph, however, maintains it is not necessary to claim this. The fact that the collar-ring is used by man for the purpose of guiding the animal lays it open to becoming defiled, as we have learned in the Boraitha which taught us: A metal whip is subject to defilement, for the reason that man uses it to manage the animal with.

"And submerged without removing it from its place." Would this not constitute a case of "Chatzitzah" (intervention). 2 Said R. Ami: "(Intervention of the bridle between the neck and the water) is avoided by loosening the bridle." A Boraitha teaches: "Intervention is avoided by the size of the bridle."

MISHNA 2.: The ass may go out with a rug fastened around him; rams may go out with leather bandages tied around their privates; sheep may go out with their tails tied up or down and wrapped (to preserve the fine wool); she-goats may go out with their udders tied up. R. Jossi forbids all this except sheep wrapped up. R. Jehudah says: She-goats may go out with their udders tied up to stop the lactation, but not to save the milk.

GEMARA: Said Samuel: The Mishna means: "Only when the (rug) is fastened on Sabbath eve." Said R. Na'hman: It seems to be so from the following Mishna: "An ass may not go out with a rug unless fastened." How should this be understood? Shall we say that (the rug) is not fastened at all? Then it would be self-evident, lest it fall off and will have to be carried by a man. We must, therefore, assume that the Mishna's meaning of "not fastened" signifies "not fastened before the Sabbath." Hence Samuel's opinion has a good reason.

And it is also supported in the following Boraitha: "The ass may go out with a rug fastened before the Sabbath, but not with a saddle, even though fastened before." R. Simeon b. Gamaliel says: "Even with a saddle, if fastened before the Sabbath, provided, however, no stirrups are attached to the saddle and a crupper under the tail."

R. Assi b. Nathan questioned R. Hyya b. R. Ashi: "Is it permitted to put a rug on all ass on the Sabbath?" "It is," was the answer. And to the question: "What is the difference (in the Law) between these two?" He was silent. (Misinterpreting the silence,) R. Assi objected: "A Boraitha teaches: It is not allowed to remove the saddle from the ass directly, but one may move it to and fro until it falls off; if you say it is forbidden to handle the saddle, is there any question as to putting it oil?" Said R. Zera to him: "Leave him alone! He is of the opinion of his teacher (Rabh), in whose name R. Hyya b. R. Ashi related that he (Rabh) permitted putting a feed-bag on all animal on Sabbath." A feed-bag, which is nothing but an accommodation, is permitted; so much the more a rug, which is a relief! Samuel, however, permitted a rug, but prohibited a feed-bag. R. Hyya b. Joseph reported the opinion of Rabh to Samuel, whereupon the latter said: "If so said Abba, he knows nothing of the laws of Sabbath."

When R. Zera came (to Palestine), he heard R. Benjamin b. Japheth stating in the name of R. Johanan that it is permitted to put on a rug. He thanked him for it and, continuing, remarked: "Thus has the Arioch (King of Laws) in Babylon decided." Who is meant by the title (Arioch)? Samuel.

From the foregoing it is evident that all agree that it is permitted to cover an ass with a rug on Sabbath. But what is the point in which a saddle differs from the rug? It differs therein that a saddle may drop off (and involve the necessity of handling). R. Papa gave another reason: "To cover an ass with a rug is an act of relief, for it is said that an ass feels cold

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even in summer, but to remove a saddle from an ass's back in order to cool off the ass is not necessarily an act of relief."

An objection was raised. We have learned: "The horse shall not go out with a fox-tail (for a pompon) and calves with the feed-bags on public ground." Shall we not assume that (in the case of the calves) they may not go out on public ground, but they may on private ground, and it refers even to large calves (whose necks are long enough to reach the ground with their mouths easily); thus feed-bags are merely an accommodation? Nay; the permission to carry feed-bags applies only to small calves (whose necks are short and legs long, and to which reaching down to the ground with their mouths would entail a hardship) and must be considered as a necessary relief.

The master said: "She-goats must not go out with a bag attached to their udders." Is there not a Boraitha which teaches that they may? Said R. Jehudah: "This presents no difficulty. In the former case the bag is not tied fast, in the latter it is (and there is no reason for apprehension lest it drop off and will have to be carried)." Said R. Joseph: "Why, you have entirely done away with the teachers of our Mishna. There is a difference of opinion between the teachers in this very Mishna: 'She-goats may go out with a bag tied to their udders.'" R. Jossi forbids all except sheep with covers on to protect the wool. R. Jehudah says: "She-goats may go out with their udders tied up for the purpose of preventing lactation, but not for the purpose of saving the milk."

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jehudah related the case of she-goats which he saw in Antioch. Their udders were so large that bags had to be made for them in order to prevent their dragging on the ground and becoming mutilated. (These bags were worn also on the Sabbath.)

The rabbis taught: "It happened with one man whose wife died and left him a nursing child, he was so poor that he could not pay a wet-nurse. A miracle happened to him; his breasts opened and he nursed his child." Said R. Joseph: Come and see how great the man must have been that such a miracle was wrought for him. Said Abayi to him: On the contrary, Behold how bad the man must have been that the nature of mankind changed in him and nothing occurred to enable him to earn enough money to pay a nurse. Says R. Jehudah: Come and see how hard it is for heaven to change the fate of a man concerning his livelihood, that the nature of the world was changed, but not his fate. Said R. Na'hman: It is proven by this fact that a miracle occurred, but he was not provided with means for paying a wet-nurse.

The rabbis taught "It happened once that a man wedded a woman with a mutilated hand, and did not discover it until she died." Said Rabh: "Behold how chaste this woman must have been, for even her husband did not discover it." R. Hyya retorted: "This is nothing! It is natural with women to hide their defects, but note the modesty of the man, who did not discover it in his wife."

"Rams may go out with (leather) bands around their privates." What kind of bands? Said R. Huna: "Hobbles." Ulla said they were leather bands tied around their breasts to prevent them from the attack of wolves. Do wolves attack only the males and never the females? It is because the males always go ahead of the flocks. Do wolves attack only the advance of a flock and never the rear? It is because the males are usually fat. Are there no fat sheep among the females? Moreover, how can the wolves know which is which? It is because the males generally lift their heads and look around cautiously. R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak said they wore leather bands tied around their privates to prevent them from having coition with the females. Whence this inference? From the last clause of the Mishna, "The sheep may go out with their tails tied up," in order that the males may have coition with them; hence we infer that the first clause is for the purpose of preventing them.

"She-goats may go out with a bag tied around their udders." It was taught: Rabh said that the Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Jehudah; and Samuel held it to be in accordance with R. Jossi. Others taught: Rabh and Samuel did not directly cite the opinions of the Tanaim just mentioned, but they themselves decreed as follows: Rabh held that she-goats may go out with their udders tied up for the purpose of preventing lactation, but not to save the milk. Samuel, however, prohibited this in both cases. Others again say: R. Jehudah b. Bathyra long ago decided the same as Rabh, but added that on account of the impossibility of determining what purpose the tying up of the udders would serve, it is entirely prohibited. Thereupon Samuel decided that the Halakha prevails with him. Rabbin upon his arrival in Babylon said that R. Johanan said that the Halakha prevails in accordance with the first Tana.

MISHNA 3.: And what must (animals) not go about in? The camel with a crupper, nor with hobbles on both legs, nor with the front leg hobbled with the hind. This law is applied to all other animals. It is not allowed to tie camels together with a rope and then lead them; but one is permitted to hold in his hand the several ropes on the camels and lead them, provided the ropes are not twisted into one.

GEMARA: A Boraitha in addition to this Mishna states: "If the crupper is fastened to the hump as well as to the tail of the camel, it may go about." Rabba b. R. Huna says: A camel may go about with a pad under its tail (to prevent friction).

"One is not to tie camels." What is the reason? Said R. Ashi: Because it looks like leading them to market.

"But one is permitted to hold in his hand," etc. Said R. Ashi: This law was stated only concerning (Kilaim), and hence the teacher means to say, provided he does not tie or twist them. Samuel said: And provided the cords do not protrude from his hand as much as the length of a span. Was it not taught at the school of Samuel, two spans? Said Abayi: From the difference between Samuel himself and his school we infer that Samuel came to teach us how to practise. But did not a Boraitha state: Provided he lifts (the cords) from the ground one span (but there is no restriction as to the quantity protruding from his hands)? The non-restriction of the quantity of cord applies only to the amount of cord used for the distance between the animal and the man's hand. (In that case the quantity is unlimited. The quantity of cord, however, protruding from the man's hand must not exceed one span; so also the distance from the ground to the cords must be at least one span.)

MISHNA 4.: The ass is not to go out with a rug, unless fastened, neither with a bell that has been muffled, nor with a collar on his neck, nor with ankle-boots. The hens are not to go out with cords tied to them, nor with straps on their feet. Rams are not to go out with carts tied to their tails; nor sheep with sneezing-wood; the calf with the reed yoke, nor the cow with the skin of a hedgehog (tied to the udder), nor with a strap (between her horns). The cow of R. Elazar b. Azarya went out with a strap between the horns against the approval of the rabbis.

GEMARA: "Neither with a bell that has been muffed." For it looks like bringing it to market.

"Nor with a collar on his neck." Said R. Huna: With a collar underneath his jowls. What was the collar intended for? To prevent irritation of any wounds that may have been on the neck.

"Nor with ankle-boots." To prevent injury from kicking one foot against the other.

"The hens with cords." As a distinguishing mark.

"Nor with straps on their feet." To prevent damage arising from jumping.

"The rams with carts." To prevent the ends of their tails from damage through trailing on the ground.

"Nor sheep with sneezing-wood." (What is it?) Said R. Huna: "In seaports there is to be found a kind of tree called 'Hanun, which produces sneezing-wood, which when held under a sheep's nose produces sneezing, and while sneezing such vermin as may have lodged in the sheep's head are expelled. If such be the case, may rams not go out with it either? For rams sneezing-wood is not used at all. They butt with their heads, therefore vermin drops out of its own accord.

"Nor the cow with the skin of the hedgehog," etc. To prevent leeches from sticking to the udder.

"Nor with the strap between the horns." Why not? Either in accordance with Rabh, who forbids it at any rate, or in accordance with Samuel, who forbids it as an ornament.

"The cow of R. Elazar b. Azarya," etc. Had he only one cow? Did not Rabh, or R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh, say that R. Elazar b. Azarya gave yearly as tithes from his herds as many as twelve thousand calves? We have learned (in a Boraitha): The cow in question was not his, but a neighbouring woman's. It is only ascribed to him because he did not protest against it.

Rabh, R. Hanina, R. Jonathan, and R. Habiba [in the whole Section of Festivals, where the four names stand together, R. Jonathan must be read instead of R. Johanan] all said: He who has the power to protest against wrong in his house and does not do so, is responsible for (the transgressions of) every one in his house. In the city (where his protest would be recognised), he is responsible for the transgressions of every one of the inhabitants of the city; and if he is such a great man that his word would be respected in the whole world, he is punished for (transgressions of all) mankind. Said R. Papa: "And the Exilarchs are punished for the sins of all Israel." As R. Hanina said: It is written: "The Eternal will enter into judgement with the elders of his people and with the princes thereof" [Isaiah, iii. 14]. If the princes sinned, what have the elders to do with it? The intent is to say: Because the elders did not protest against the princes.

R. Jehudah sat before Samuel, when a woman came in complaining, and Samuel paid no attention to her. Said R. Jehudah to him: "Is Master unaware of the passage: Whosoever stops his ears at cry of the poor, he also shall cry himself and not be heard"? [Prov. xxi. 13]. Samuel retorted: "Ingenious scholar! Your head-master (meaning himself) is on safe ground, but our Chief is responsible," Mar Uqba, being at that time Chief of the judges (it was his affair), for it is written [Jerem. xxi. 12]: "O House of David! Thus hath said the Lord: Exercise justice on (every) morning, and deliver him that is robbed out of the hand of the oppressor, lest my fury go forth like fire, and burn so that none can quench it, because of the evil of your doings."

Said R. Zera to R. Simon: "Let Master reprove the Exilarch's retainers." He answered: "They care not for me." Rejoined R. Zera: Even if they do not care, reprove them anyhow; for R. Aha b. Hanina said: The Holy One, blessed be He, never issued a benevolent decree, which He subsequently reversed into malevolence, except in this sole instance, which is written [Ezekiel, ix. 41]: "And the Lord said unto him, Pass through the midst of the city, through the midst of Jerusalem, and inscribe a mark upon the foreheads," etc. Thus said the Holy One, blessed be He, to Gabriel: "Go and set the mark (the Hebrew letter Tabh) in ink upon the foreheads of the righteous, that the angels of destruction have no power over them; and the same mark in blood upon the foreheads of the wicked, that the angels of destruction may have power over them." The Party of Prosecution pleaded before Him in these terms: "Lord of the Universe, what is the difference between the two?" He answered: "Those are perfectly righteous and these completely wicked." Again the Party of Prosecution pleaded: "Lord of the Universe! It was in their power to protest (against wickedness), and they did not." And the Lord answered: "It is known to me that, had they protested, their protest would have been of no avail." But they pleaded once more: "Lord of the Universe! It is known to Thee; but was it known to them?" And thus it is written: "Slay utterly old and young, both maids, little children, and women, and at my sanctuary shall ye begin." Then they began with the old men who were before the house" [Ezek. ix. 6]. And R. Joseph taught: "Do not read 'my sanctuary,' but 'my sanctified,' which means the men who have performed all the laws prescribed in the Torah, which begins with all the letters of the alphabet. And it is also written [ibid., ibid. 2]: "And behold, six men came from the direction of the upper gate . . . . beside the copper altar." Was, then, the copper altar at that time? Was it not hidden already in the time of Solomon? It means that the Holy One, blessed be He, told them they shall begin from that place where they used to sing hymns before Him. And who are the six men (messengers)? Said R. Hisda: "Anger, wrath, rage, destruction, devastation, and ruin."

Why just the letter Tabh? Said R. Simeon b. Lakish: "The Tabh is the last letter on the seal of the Holy One, blessed be He; for R. Hanina said (the inscription on) the seal of the Holy One, blessed be He, is Emeth (truth) (and the last letter of the Hebrew word Emeth is a Tabh).

It being evident from the verse [Ezek. 9:2] that Zechuth Aboth 1 no longer existed, at what time shall we assume that it ceased?

Said Rabh. From the time of the prophet Hosea b. Beëri, as it is written [Hosea, ii. 12]: "And no man will deliver her out of my hand," meaning that even the righteousness of the ancestors will be of no avail.

Samuel said: From the time of the King Chazael of Syria, as it is written [II Kings, xiii. 23]: "And the Lord became gracious unto them, and had mercy on them, and turned his regard unto them, because of his covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and would not destroy them, and he cast them not off from his presence until now." Thus, He will remember his covenant only "until now," but not after that.

R. Jehoshua b. Levi said: From the time of Elijah the prophet, as it is written [I Kings, xviii. 36]: "Elijah the prophet came near and said, O Lord, God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Israel, this day let it be known that thou art God in Israel," etc., and means to infer that only "this day" the Lord will remember Zechuth Aboth, and not after this day.

R. Johanan says: From the time of Hezekiah the King, as it is written [Isaiah, ix. 6]: "To establish it and to support it through justice and righteousness, from henceforth and unto eternity: the zeal of the Lord of Hosts will do this," implying that after that the favours of the Lord will not be bestowed by virtue of Zecbuth Aboth, but through His zeal.

R. Ami said: Death is the result of sin, and affliction the result of transgression: death the result of sin, for it is written [Ezekiel, xviii. 20]: "The soul that sins, it shall die," etc.; affliction the result of transgression: for it is written [Psalms, lxxxix. 33]: "And I will visit their transgressions with a lash and their iniquity with stripes."

An objection was raised: One of the teachers said: The angels (once) said to the Holy One, blessed be He: "Lord of the Universe! Why didst Thou punish Adam with death?" The Lord answered: "Because I gave him a light commandment, and he failed to observe it." The angels again said unto Him: "Why did Moses and Aaron die.? Did they not observe all the laws of the Torah?" And He answered [Eccl. ix. 2]: "The same fate befalls the righteous as the wicked." Hence death is not the result of sin! He (R. Ami) is in accordance with the Tana of the following Boraitha: R. Simeon b. Elazar said: Even the death of Moses and Aaron was the result of their sins, for it is written [Numb. xx. 12]: "Because you had no faith in me"; (and the inference thereof is) if they had had faith, they would not have died.

Another objection was raised: (There is a tradition:) Only four men died in consequence of original sin. They are Benjamin ben Jacob, Amram, the father of Moses; Jesse, the father of David; and Kilab ben David. Whose opinion does this Boraitha agree with? The Tana who related the legend of the angels holds that Moses and Aaron also died in consequence of original sin. So must be then in accordance with R. Simeon b. Elazar, as said above. Thus we see that

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although Moses and Aaron died on account of their own sins, still death without sin and affliction without transgression are possible; hence R. Ami's theory is objected to.

R. Samuel b. Nahmeni in the name of R. Jonathan said: "Whoever says that Reuben (the patriarch Jacob's son) sinned with his father's wife is in error, because it is written [Genesis 35:22]: "Now the sons of Jacob were twelve." This proves to us that they were all equal (in righteousness); but what does the verse [ibid., ibid.] which states that he did lie with Bilha, etc., signify? That Reuben deranged his father's bed, and the Scripture considers this equal to his having sinned with her. There is another Boraitha: Simeon b. Elazar said: That righteous man (Reuben) is innocent of the crime. The act with his father's wife was never consummated; as, is it possible that a man whose descendants will stand on the Mount Ebol and proclaim: "Cursed be he who lies with his father's wife" [Deut. xxvii. 20], would commit such a crime? But what does the above-cited verse mean? He (Reuben) resented the injustice done his mother and said: "When my mother's sister lived and proved a vexation to my mother, it was bearable; but to have my mother's servant prove a vexation to her, this is unbearable!" Therefore he removed the bed of Bilba from his father's bedroom (which the verse holds tantamount to lying with her). R. Samuel b. Nahmeni in the name of R. Jonathan said: He who maintains that the sons of Eli have sinned is nothing but in error, as it is written [I Samuel, i. 3]: " . . . two sons . . . priests of the Lord." (And if they would have sinned, the verse would not elevate them with such an honour.) [He holds with Rabh's theory farther on; however, he differs from him concerning 'Haphni, for the reason that he is mentioned together with Pinhas in the verse cited.]

Rabh said. Pinhas did not sin, as it is written: "And Ahiya, the son of Ahitub, Ichabad's brother, the son of Pinhas, son of Eli, was priest of the Lord at Shilah" [I Samuel, xiv. 3]. Is it possible that the Scriptures would describe minutely the pedigree of a sinner? Is it not written: "The Lord will cut off, unto the man that doeth this, son and grandson," etc. [Mal. ii. 12]. That was explained to mean, if he be simply an Israelite he shall have here no master among the teachers and no scholar among disciples, and if he is a descendant of priests, he shall have no son who may bring the offering. From this we must conclude that Pinhas is innocent of guilt. Is it not written, however, "sons of Belial" (and thus Pinhas is included)? It was because he should have protested against it, and did not, the Scripture considers it as if he had also sinned.

The same said again: He who thinks the sons of Samuel sinned, is also in error. It is written: "And they did not walk in his ways" [I Sam. viii. 3]. True, they did not walk in His ways, but they sinned not. How, then, is the passage to be upheld: "And they but turned aside after lucre and took bribes"? [ibid., ibid.]. They did not act as their father; for Samuel the righteous travelled through all Israel and dispensed justice in every city, as it is written: "And he went from year to year in circuit to Beth-El and Gilgal and Mizpah, and judged Israel" [ibid. vii. 6]; but they did not act in this way. They dwelt in their respective places in order to increase the fees of their messengers and scribes.

On this point the following Tanaim differ. R. Meir says: They (who were Levites themselves) claimed their priestly allowance personally (and thereby deprived the poor priests and Levites of their shares, for being also judges they were never refused). R. Jehudah says: They had commercial relations with private people (and were sometimes compelled to pervert justice). R. Aqiba says: They took tithes (to a greater extent than they were allowed to do) by force. R. Jossi says: They took by force the (priests') portions (shoulder-blades, jowls, and stomachs of a slaughtered animal).

He said again: "The same error is made concerning David." Said Rabh: Rabbi, who is a descendant of the house of David, endeavored to interpret favourably the passage: "Wherefore hast thou despised the word of the Lord to do what is evil in his eyes?" [II Samuel, xii. 9]. He said: This evil deed is different (in words and language from other evil deeds whereof mention is made in the Scriptures). In all other instances it says, "and he has done," but here it says, "to do." This implies that he "wanted to do" (but did not do). "Uriah the Hittite thou hast slain with the sword" [ibid., ibid.]. (As a rebel) he should have had him tried by the Sanhedrin, which he did not. "And his wife thou hast taken to thee for a wife." He had a right to her, for R. Samuel b. Nahmeni in the name of R. Jonathan said: Whoever went to war with David divorced his wife previously. "Him thou hast slain with the sword (used) for the children of Amon." As he will not be punished on account of the children of Amon, so will he also not be punished for the death of Uriah. What is the reason? He (Uriah) was a rebel.

Said Rabh: "Note well the life of David, and you find nothing blamable save the affair of Uriah, as it is written [I Kings, xv. 5]: "Save only in the matter of Uriah the Hittite."

Abayi the elder has contradicted the above statement of Rabh from his own statement elsewhere that David accepted slander? This difficulty remains. What was it? That which is written [II Samuel, ix. 4]: "And the king said unto him, Where is he? And Ziba said unto the king, Behold, he is in the house of Machir, the son of 'Ammiël, in (b') Lo-debar"; farther on it is written [ibid. 5]: "And David the king sent, and had him taken out of the house of Machir, the son of 'Ammiël, from (m') Lo-debar." 1 Thus, when David found him "doing something (good)," whereas Ziba informed the King that he was "doing nothing (good)," hence David was convinced that Ziba was a liar; why, then, did David give heed to his slander afterwards, for it is written [ibid. xvi. 3]: "And the king said, And where is thy master's son? And Ziba said unto the king, Behold, he remaineth at Jerusalem; for he said, To-day will the house of Israel restore unto me the kingdom of my father." But whence the adduction that David accepted slander? From what is written further [ibid. 4]: "Then said the king to Ziba, Behold, thine shall be all that pertaineth to Mephibosheth. And Ziba said," etc.

Samuel said: David did not accept slander. He (himself) saw in Mephibosheth's conduct that which corroborated Ziba's calumny, as it is written [ibid. xix. 25]: "And Mephibosheth the (grand-)son of Saul came down to meet the king, and he had not dressed his feet, nor trimmed his beard, nor washed his clothes." (This was considered disrespect); further, it is written [ibid. 28]: "And he slandered thy servant unto my lord the king," etc. and further [ibid. 31]: "And Mephibosheth said unto the king, Yea, let him take the whole, since that my lord the king is come (back) in peace unto his own house." Now, this last verse (read between the lines) really means: "I have anticipated your safe arrival home with anxiety, and since you act toward me in such a manner, I have nothing to complain of to you but to Him who brought you safely back."

R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh said: "Had David not given heed to slander, the kingdom of the house of David would never have been divided, neither would Israel have worshipped idols, nor would we have been exiled from our land."

The same rabbi said: He who believes Solomon guilty of idolatry is in error. This theory agrees with R. Nathan, who points to a contradiction between the two following passages in the very same verse [I Kings, xi. 4]: "And it came to pass, at the time when Solomon was old, that his wives turned away his heart," etc.; and farther on [ibid., ibid.] it says: "Like the heart of David his father." While his heart was not as perfect as that of his father David, still he did not sin. Therefore it must be said that it means, his wives turned away his heart toward idolatry, but still he did not practise it. This is supported by the following Boraitha: R. Jossi said: It is written [II Kings, iii. 13]: "And the high places that were before Jerusalem, which were to the right of the mount of destruction, which Solomon the King of Israel had built for Ashthoreth, the abomination of the Zidonians," etc. Is it possible that neither Assa nor Jehosophath had cleared them out before Josiah? Did not Assa and Jehosophath abolish idolatry in Judæa? It follows, then, that as Josiah is given credit by the verse in the Scripture for having abolished the worship of Ashthoreth, the abomination of the Zidonians, although at his time it had been out of existence for a long time, this was done merely because he (Josiah) had abolished other later forms of idolatry; the same rule is followed in the case of Solomon; while he himself did not build the Ashthoreth of the Zidonians, the fact that he did not prevent his wives from doing so makes him responsible in the same measure as if he had committed the deed himself. But is it not written [I Kings, xi. 6]: "And Solomon did what is evil in the eyes of the Lord"? This is also written merely because it was in his power to prevent the actions of his wives, and he did not do so; hence the Scripture ascribes the deed to him, as if he himself had committed it.

Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: It would have been better for him (Solomon) to have been an actual hireling to idolatry than to be accused of doing what is evil in the eyes of the Lord.

Again R. Jehudah said in Samuel's name: At the time Solomon took in wedlock the daughter of Pharaoh, she brought to him about a thousand different musical instruments. Each of these was used for separate idols, which she named to him, and still he did not protest against it.

The same said again in the name of the same authority: At the time Solomon took in wedlock Pharaoh's daughter (the angel) Gabriel came down and planted a cane in the sea; on the sand that accumulated around the cane a great city was afterward built; but in a Boraitha we were taught that the miracle occurred on the day that Jeroboam introduced the two golden calves, one each in Beth-El and Dan, and that great city was Italia of Greece. 1

R. Samuel said: Whoever says Josiah sinned is also in error. It is written [II Kings, xxii. 2]: "And he did what was right in the eyes of the Lord and walked in the ways of David his father and turned not aside to the right or to the left." Is this not contradictory to the verse [II Kings, xxiii. 25], "that returned to the Lord with all his heart." How is the "returned" to be understood? He must have sinned in order to return? Nay; from this it must be inferred that after Josiah attained the age of eighteen, he refunded from his private purse all amounts paid by such as he had declared guilty (bound to pay) from the time be was eight years old (when he became king). This is the interpretation of "returned to the Lord."

However, this differs from Rabh's following statement: "None is greater among penitents than Josiah in his time and one in our own time. And who is he? Aba, the father of Jeremiah b. Aba. Others say Aha, the brother of Aba, father of Jeremiah b. Aba, for the aforesaid teacher said Aba and Aha were brothers. Said R. Joseph: There is yet another in our own time, and he is Ukban b. Ne'hemiah, the Exilarch. 2 "Once while studying," said R. Joseph, "I dozed off and saw in a dream an angel stretching out his hands and accepting his (Ukban's) repentance."

CHAPTER 6.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING WHAT GARMENTS (SERVING AS ORNAMENTS) WOMEN MAY GO OUT WITH ON THE SABBATH.

MISHNA 1.: In what (ornamental) apparel may a woman go out, and in what may she not go out? A woman is not allowed to go out (even in private ground) either with woollen or linen bands or with straps on her head to keep her hair in tresses (as a precaution lest she enter public ground and take off the bands to show to her friends, thereby becoming guilty of carrying movable property for a distance of four ells or more). Nor is she to bathe herself with the bands on unless loosened. Nor is she to go out with either Totaphoth or Sarbitin on, unless they are fastened; 1 nor with a hood in public ground, nor with gold ornaments, nor with nose-rings, nor with finger-rings that have no seal, nor with pins. But if she did go out with these things, she is not bound to bring a sin-offering (as they are ornaments and not burdens).

GEMARA: "Bathing." Where is bathing referred to (and what has it to do with the Sabbath)? Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak in the name of Rabba b. Abuhu: The Mishna means to say: What is the reason that a woman is not allowed to go out with either woollen or linen bands? Because the sages have decided that she is not to bathe herself with them on, even on week days, unless loosened; therefore she shall not (go out with them on) on the Sabbath at all, lest it happen that she become in duty bound to bathe herself, 2 and, while untying her hair, be forced to carry the bands in public ground for a distance of four ells or more.

R. Kahana questioned Rabh: "What about a hair-net?--Answered Rabh: "You mean to say a woven one? Everything woven has not been restricted." This was also taught in the name of R. Huna b. R. Joshua. According to others the same said: "I have seen that my sisters were not particular to take it off while bathing." And the difference between the two versions is when it was dirty; according to the first version, it does not matter, as everything woven was not restricted; and the second version, where particularity is the case, if they were dirty, they would certainly be particular to take them off.

An objection was raised from Mishna [Miqvaoth, IX. 8]: "When a person bathes, the following objects cause 'intervention' (Chatzitzah): Woollen and linen bands and headstraps (used by maidens)." R. Jehudah says woollen and hair bands do not cause "intervention," because water soaks through them. (Now we see that although woollen and linen bands are woven, yet they are an intervention.) Said R. Huna: "All this concerns only maidens." (And they are an intervention only because they are particular about it.)

R. Joseph in the name of R. Jehudah said that Samuel said that the Halakha prevails according to R. Jehudah in the case of hair bands only. Said Abayi: From the expression "the Halakha prevails" we must infer that there is a controversy between R. Jehudah and the Tana of the above Boraitha. (The Tana said nothing about hair bands.) Shall we assume that because R. Jehudah declares hair bands not to be objects of "intervention," he must have heard the previous Tana mention them? Even if such be the case, it is not probable that R. Jehudah heard that the Tana agrees with him on that point, and hence he says: "If he agrees with me on this point, why not in the other instances also?" Said R. Na'hman in the name of Samuel: Read, The sages agree with R. Jehudah with respect to hair bands.

This is supported by a Boraitha. Woollen bands cause intervention, but hair bands do not. R. Jehudah, however, said: "Neither of them causes intervention."

Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: It seems to be so from the expression of our Mishna: "A woman may go out with hair bands, be they her own or her friends'." Whose opinion does this Mishna represent? Can we say R. Jehudah's? He permits even woollen bands. We must say it is in accordance with the above rabbis; hence they do not differ as regards hair bands.

"Nor with Totaphoth." What are "Totaphoth"? Said R. Joseph: "A balm bandage for sanitary use (Humrate diqetiphta)." 1

Said Abayi to him: "Then let it be permitted as an amulet made by a reliable expert." (During Abayi's time this difficulty was not solved.) R. Jehudah, however, in the name of Abayi said: 2 "It is an Absayim"(a gold ornament). This is supported in the following Boraitha: "A woman may go out

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with a gilded hair-net, and Totaphoth or Sarbitin when fastened to the hair-net." What are Totaphoth and what Sarbitin? Said R. Abuhu: "The former are bands that reach from ear to ear, and the latter bands that reach from temple to temple." R. Huna said: "The poor make them of all kinds of coloured material, and the rich make them of gold or silver."

"Nor with a hood." Said R. Yanai: "I cannot understand what kind of a hood the Mishna means; is it a slave's hood that it prohibits and permits a woollen hood, or does it prohibit woollen hoods and so much more slaves' hoods? Said R. Abuhu: It seems that a woollen hood is meant. And so we have learned plainly in the following Boraitha: "A woman may go out with a hood and head ornament in her yard." R. Simeon b. Elazar says: With a hood even in a public ground. "It is a rule," said he, "that anything below the 'Shebha'ha' (hairnet) is permitted to be worn, but anything above it is not. Samuel, however, said the Mishna alludes to the slave's hood.

Did, indeed, Samuel say so? Did he not say the slave may go out with the mark (he wears) around his neck, but not with the mark on his clothes? This presents no difficulty. The former applies to the mark made for him by his master (in which case there is no fear of the slave removing and carrying it), while the latter applies to the mark made by himself. What meaning do you attach to Samuel's statement? If he permits the wearing of the mark on the slave's neck because the master made it and the slave will fear to remove it, could not the master also make the mark on the slave's clothes? Yea, but the slave might lose the mark, and for fear of his master he will fold up his coat and carry it on his shoulders (in public ground). And according to R. Itz'hak b. Joseph it is prohibited. This is also supported by a Boraitha, which teaches us distinctly that the slave may go out with the mark on his neck, but not on his clothes. In like manner Samuel once said to R. Hanina b. Shila: "None of the rabbis that call on the Exilarch should go out with their insignia on their clothes (on the Sabbath) save you. He would not be angry with you were you to go to him without them (hence, not being a necessary burden, you may wear them or not, as you choose)."

The master said: "Not with a bell," etc. Why not? Lest it break off and one may carry it. Then why should the same not be feared in regard to a bell attached to his clothes? Here a bell is treated of that was made by an expert and was woven right in with the cloth. This is also in accord with what R. Huna b. R. Joshua said: "Everything that is woven they did not restrict."

"Nor with a golden ornament." What was this golden ornament? Said Rabba b. b. Hana in the name of R. Johanan: "A golden (ornament with an engraving of the city of) Jerusalem on it," such as R. Aqiba made for his wife.

The rabbis taught: A woman shall not go out wearing a golden ornament; but if she did so, she becomes liable to bring a sin-offering. So is the decree of R. Meir, but the sages say: She must not go out wearing it; if she did, however, she is not culpable. But R. Eliezer said: A woman may go out wearing a golden ornament to commence with. Wherein do they differ? R. Meir holds it to be a burden, and the rabbis hold it to be an ornament; then why should she not wear it to commence with? Lest she take it off to show it to her friends and thus happen to carry it; but R. Eliezer reasons differently. Who generally go out with such valuable golden ornaments? Prominent women; and prominent women will not remove them for the purpose of exhibiting them to friends.

Rabh prohibits the wearing of a crown-shaped ornament, and Samuel permits it. Both agree that the wearing of a crown-shaped ornament is permissible, as there is no fear that the woman will remove it; where they do differ, however, is as to a golden and jewelled ornament. The former holds that there is fear of her removing it in order to exhibit it, and thus probably happen to carry it, while the latter contends that as only prominent women wear such costly ornaments no fear need be entertained on that score.

Said R. Samuel b. b. Hana to R. Joseph: You distinctly told us in the name of Rabh that an ornament in the shape of a crown may be worn. 1

Levi 2 lectured in Neherdai that a crown-shaped ornament may be worn; whereupon twenty-four women in Neherdai went out with crown-shaped ornaments on.

Rabba b. Abuhu lectured the same in Mehutza, and eighteen women went out of one alley wearing those ornaments.

R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said: "A belt may be worn." Some one said a leather belt (even if jewelled). Said R. Saphra: "Why! Even a golden belt jewelled, for is it not equal to a golden garment?" Said Rabhina to R. Ashi: "How is it with a belt worn over a sash?" Answered R. Ashi: "By this you mean two belts" (and this is prohibited). R. Ashi, however, said: "A sash may be worn only when it is securely fastened, but not otherwise."

"Nor with a nose-ring." What is a nose-ring? It is a nose-band.

"Nor with finger-rings," etc.; but if the ring have a seal it is prohibited, as it is not an ornament. Is this not contradicted from Kelim, XI. 8? The following ornaments of women are subject to defilement: Chains, nose-rings, rings, finger-rings either with or without a seal, and nose-bands. Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: "You quote a contradiction in the laws of defilement as against the laws of Sabbath. As for defilement, the Torah requires an utensil [Numbers, xxxi. 20], and such it is; but as for Sabbath, it refers to a burden; hence a ring without a seal is an ornament, with a seal it is a burden (for women)."

"Nor with a pin." For what purpose can a pin be used? R. Ada from Narsha explained it before R. Joseph: Women part their hair with it. Of what use is it on Sabbath? Said Rabha: On week days they wear a golden plate on their heads; the pin is used for parting the hair and holding down the plate; but on Sabbath the pin is put against the forehead.

MISHNA 2.: One is not to go out with iron-riveted sandals, nor with one (iron-riveted shoe) unless he has a sore on his foot, nor with phylacteries, nor yet with an amulet unless made by a reliable expert, nor with a shield, helmet, or armor for the legs; but if he has gone out (with either of these) he is not liable for a sin-offering.

GEMARA: "Iron-riveted sandal." What is the reason of its being prohibited? Said Samuel: "It happened toward the close of the persecutions (of the Jews) that a party of men hid themselves in a cave with the understanding that after once entering no one was to go out. Suddenly they heard a voice on the outside of the cave, and thinking the enemies were upon them, they began crowding each other into the farthest recesses of the cave. During the panic that ensued more men were trampled to death by the iron-riveted sandals worn by the party than the enemies would have killed. At that time it was enacted that a man must not go out (on Sabbath) with iron-riveted sandals." If this be the reason, let it also be prohibited on week days? Because it occurred on a Sabbath! Then let it be allowed on a festival; why then is it stated that on a festival it must not be sent (Betzah, 26, Mishna)? And furthermore, why is it forbidden on Sabbath? Because the people usually assemble on that day; and the same is the case with a festival. But do they not assemble on a congregational fast--why then should it not be prohibited also then? When the above-mentioned happened it was a prohibited assembly, but all these assemblies are permitted. And even according to R. Hanina b. Aqiba, who said concerning defilement that this prohibition is only in the Jordan in a boat, as the case happened, it is because the Jordan is different in width and depth from other rivers; but Sabbath and a festival are alike as regards labour.

Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: This (the prohibition of the sandals in question) is only with regard to such as are riveted for the sake of durability, but not with regard to such as are riveted for the sake of decoration. How many (rivets are considered to be for the latter purpose)? R. Johanan said five in each. R. Hanina said seven in each. Said R. Johanan to R. Samon b. Aba: "I will explain to you the difference between my opinion and that of R. Hanina. I mean two rivets on each side of the sandal and one in the centre, while he means three on each side and one in the centre. The Gemara declared that R. Hanina is in accordance with R. Nathan, who permits seven; and R. Johanan is in accordance with R. Nohorai, who permits only five. And Aipha said to Rabba b. b. Hana: "Ye who are the disciples of R. Johanan may act according to him; we, however, are acting in accordance with R. Hanina." R. Huna questioned R. Ashi: "How is the law if there were five?" And he said: "Even seven is permitted." "And how is it if there were nine?" And he rejoined: "Even eight is prohibited. A certain shoemaker asked of R. Ami: "How is it if the sandal is sewed from the inside?" He answered: "I have heard that it is permitted, but I can give you no reason." Said R. Ashi: "Does master not know the reason? Being sewed from the inside, it is no longer a sandal but a shoe; and the rabbis' precaution was against the riveted sandal, but not in regard to shoes."

There is a Boraitha: One must not go out with an iron-riveted sandal and shall not walk in them from one room to another, not even from one bed to another (in the same room); but it may be handled to cover vessels with or to support one of the bed-stands with. R. Elazar b. Simeon prohibits even this, unless the majority of rivets fell out and but four or five remain. Rabbi limits the permission to seven (rivets). If the soles are made of leather and the uppers are riveted, it is permitted. If the rivets are made like hooks, or are flat-headed, or pointed, or pierce through the sandal to protect the sole, it is permitted.

R. Massna, others say R. Ahadboy b. Massna in the name of R. Massna, said: "The Halakha does not prevail in accordance with Elazar b. Simeon." Is this not self-evident? When one individual opinion conflicts with a majority, the opinion of the majority prevails. Lest one suppose that, because R. Elazar b. Simeon gave a reason for his statement, should it be accepted, he comes to teach us that it is not so.

Said R. Hyya: "Were I not called a Babylonian, who permits what is prohibited, I would permit considerably more. How many? In Pumbeditha they say twenty-four, and in Sura they say twenty-two." Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: "It seems by your remark that on the road from Pumbeditha to Sura you lost two."

"Nor with one," etc. But if his foot is sore he may go out. On which foot may he wear the shoe? On the foot that is sore (for protection).

The rabbis taught: When one puts on his shoes he should commence with the right shoe; when he takes them off he should commence with the left. When one bathes he should wash the right side first; when he anoints himself he should anoint the right side first, and whoever anoints the whole body should commence with the head, for the head is the king of all the members (of the body).

"Nor with phylacteries;" but if he went out with them on, he is not liable for a sin-offering. Said R. Saphra: This is not only in accordance with him who holds Sabbath is a day for (wearing) phylacteries, but it is even in accordance with him who holds that it is not. What is the reason? Because phylacteries are put on in the same manner as a garment.

"And not with an amulet," etc. Said R. Papa: "Do not presume that both the maker and the amulet must be reliable; it is sufficient if the maker only is reliable." So it seems to be from the statement in the Mishna: "And not with an amulet that was not made by a reliable expert." It does not say with a reliable amulet.

The rabbis taught: Which are to be considered such? If they have cured three times, no matter whether they contained inscriptions (of mystic forms) or (certain) medicaments. If the amulet is for a sickness, be it serious or not, or if it is for one afflicted with epilepsy, or only serves as a preventive, one may fasten or unfasten it even in public ground, provided he does not fasten the amulet to a bracelet or a finger-ring, to go out with it in public ground, lest those who see it think that it is being worn as an ornament. Did not a Boraitha state that only such amulets as cured three different parties are reliable? This presents no difficulty. Here we are taught as to the reliability of the expert who made the amulet, while in the latter Boraitha we are taught as to the reliability of the amulet itself.

Said R. Papa: It is certain to me that where three different amulets were given to three different (human) sufferers at three different times (and a cure was effected), both the amulets and the expert who made them are reliable. Where three different amulets were given to three different sufferers only once, the expert is reliable, but not the amulets. Where one and the same amulet was given to three different sufferers, the amulet is reliable, but not the expert; but how is it with three different amulets given to one man for three different diseases? Certainly, the amulets are not reliable (for each cured only once), but how is it with the expert? Should he be considered reliable or not? If we say that the expert cured him, perhaps it was only the fate of the sufferer that he should be cured by a script? This question remains.

The schoolmen propounded a question: Is there any sanctity in an amulet or not? For what purpose are we to know this? In order to enter a privy; if there is any sanctity in the amulet this would not be allowed, otherwise it would.

Come and hear. We have learned in a Mishna: "Not with an amulet unless made by a reliable expert." From this we see that if made by a reliable expert one may go out with it. Now, if we say that there is sanctity in the amulet, how can we say that one may go out with it? Perhaps he shall be compelled to enter a privy, he will have to take it off, and thus be forced to carry it four ells or more in public ground.

MISHNA 3.: A woman shall not go out with an ornamental needle (with a hole in), nor with a ring that has a seal, nor with a Kulear, nor with a Kabeleth, nor with a perfume bottle. And if she does, she is liable for a sin-offering. Such is the opinion of R. Meir. The sages, however, freed her in the case of the two latter.

GEMARA: Said Ulla: "With men it is (concerning a finger-ring) just the reverse." That is to say, Ulla is of the opinion that what is right for women is not right for men, and what is right for men is not right for women. Said R. Joseph: "Ulla is of the opinion that women form a class of their own." Rabha, however, says it often happens that a man gives his wife a ring with a seal on, to put away in a box, and she puts it on her finger until she comes to the box; again, it happens that a wife gives her husband a ring without a seal for the purpose of having him give it to a jeweller to repair, and until he comes to the jeweller he puts it on his finger. Thus it happens that a woman may wear a man's ring and a man a woman's (temporarily).

What is Kabeleth? Cachous (for purifying the breath). The rabbis taught: A, woman must not go out with Kabeleth, and if she did so she is liable for a sin-offering. This is the opinion of R. Meir, but the sages say she should not go out with it, yet if she does she is not liable. R. Eliezer, however, says she may go out with it to commence with. Wherein do they differ? R. Meir holds that it is a burden, the sages that it is an ornament; and the reason that she should not go out with it is lest she take it off to show to her friends, and thus perchance carry it in her hand. R. Eliezer, however, permits it to be carried to commence with, because, said he, who generally carry such? Women whose breath emits a bad odor, and surely they will

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not take them off to show them, hence there is no apprehension that they will carry them four ells or more on public ground.

There is a Boraitha: "A woman must not go out with a key in her hand, nor with a box of cachous, nor with a perfume bottle; and if she goes out with them, she is liable for a sin-offering." So is the decree of R. Meir, but R. Eliezer freed her, provided the box contains cachous, and the bottle perfume; but if they are empty, she is liable (for then there is a burden). Said R. Ada b. Ahaba: "From this we may infer that one carrying less than the prescribed quantity of food in a vessel on public ground is culpable, as it states if there was no cachou or perfume, which is equal to a vessel containing less than the prescribed amount of food, she is liable. Hence it makes her liable even if less than the prescribed quantity. Said R. Ashi: Generally one may be freed, but here it is different; the box and the bottle themselves are considered a burden.

We read in the Scripture [Amos, 6:6]: "And anoint themselves with the costliest of ointments." Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: "This signifies perfumery."

R. Joseph objected: "R. Jehudah b. Baba said that after the destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem the sages prohibited even the use of perfumes, but the rabbis did not concur in the decree. If we say perfume used only for pleasure, why did not the rabbis concur?" Abayi answered: According to your mode of reasoning, even drinking wine from bowls (bocals) is prohibited, for it is written further [ibid., ibid.]: "Those that drink wine from bowls." R. Ami said, that certainly means bocals, but R. Assi claimed that it means they clinked glasses one with another. Still Rabba b. R. Huna once happened to be at the house of the Exilarch and drank wine out of a bocal, but was not rebuked. It is, therefore, thus to be understood: The rabbis restricted only such pleasures as were combined with rejoicing, but not pleasures unaccompanied with rejoicing.

Said R. Abuhu: Others say we were taught in a Boraitha: "Three things bring man to poverty: Urinating in front of one's bed when naked; carelessness in washing one's hands; and permitting one's wife to curse him in his presence." Said Rabha: "Urinating in front of one's bed should be understood to signify 'turning around so as to face the bed and then urinating,' but not turning in the opposite direction; and even when facing the bed it signifies only urinating on the floor in front of the bed and not in a urinal.' Carelessness in washing one's hand signifies "not washing one's hands at all," but not insufficient washing, for R. Hisda said: "I washed my hands well and plentifully and am plentifully rewarded." Permitting one's wife to curse him in his presence implies "for not bringing her jewelry," and then only when one is able to do so but does not.

Rahava said in the name of R. Jehudah: The trees of Jerusalem were cinnamon trees, and when used for fuel the odor extended over all the land of Israel; ever since the destruction of the second Temple the cinnamon trees disappeared; but a morsel as big as a barleycorn is still to be found in the treasury of the Kingdom of Zimzimai.

MISHNA 4.: One must not go out with a sword, nor with a bow, nor with a triangular shield, nor with a round one, nor with a spear; if he does so he is liable for a sin-offering. R. Eliezer says they are ornaments to him, but the sages say they are nothing but a stigma, for it is written [Isaiah, ii. 4]: "They shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-knives; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." Knee-buckles are clean and one may go out with them on the Sabbath. Stride chains are subject to defilement, and one must not go out with them on the Sabbath.

GEMARA: "R. Eliezer says they are ornaments." There is a Boraitha: The sages said unto R. Eliezer: If the weapons are ornaments to man, why will they cease to exist in the post-messianic period? He answered: "They will exist then also." This is in accordance with the opinion of Samuel, who said there will be no difference between the present time and the post-messianic period save the obedience to temporal potentates, for it is written [Deut. xv. 11]: "For the needy will not cease out of the land."

Said Abayi, according to others R. Joseph, to R. Dimi or to R. Ivia, and according to still others, Abayi said directly to R. Joseph: What is the reason of R. Eliezer's theory regarding weapons? It is written [Psalms, xlv. 4]: "Gird thy sword upon thy thighs, O Most Mighty, with thy glory and thy majesty."

Said R. Kahana to Mar, the son of R. Huna: Is not this passage applied to the study of the Law (Torah)? And he answered: "Anything may be inferred from a passage; at the same time, the passage must not be deprived of its common sense." Said R. Kahana: "I am fourscore years old and have studied the six sections of the Mishna with their explanations through, and did not know until now that a scriptural passage has first to be interpreted in its plainest form!" What information does he mean to convey to us by this assertion? That man has to study the Law through first, and then reason upon it.

R. Jeremiah in the name of R. Elazar said: Two scholars who debate in the Law (not for controversy's sake), the Holy One, blessed be He, causes them to prosper; moreover, they become exalted, for it is written [Psalms, xlv. 5], "be prosperous." But lest one say that this would be the case even if they (debate), not for the purpose (of studying the Law), therefore it says further [ibid., ibid.], "because of truth." Again, one might say that the same would be the case even if one became arrogant and conceited. Therefore it says further [ibid., ibid.], "and meekness and righteousness." And if they act humbly they will be rewarded with (the knowledge of) the Law, which was given with the right hand (of God), as it is further written [ibid.], "and thy right hand shall teach thee fearful things."

R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak says they will be rewarded with the knowledge of what is said of the right hand of the Law, for Rabha b. R. Shila, according to others R. Joseph b. Hama in the name of R. Shesheth, said: How is to be explained the passage [Proverbs, iii. 16]: "Length of days is in her right hand; and in her left riches and honour"? Shall one say that in the right hand is only length of days, but not riches and honour? Common sense does not dictate so; therefore it must be interpreted thus: For those who study the Torah in the right way there is long life, and so much the more riches and honour; but for those who study it not in the right way, riches and honour there may be, but not long life.

Said R. Jeremiah in the name of R. Simeon b. Lakish: Two scholars who quietly discourse on the Torah among themselves, the Holy One, blessed be He, hearkens unto them and listens to their desires, for it is written [Malachi, iii. 16]: "Then conversed they that fear the Lord one with the other," etc. Conversed means conversed quietly, as it is written [in Psalms, xlvii. 4]: "He will subdue (quiet) people under us." (Subdue and converse are expressed by the same terms in the two passages, hence the similitude. 1) What is meant by the words "that thought upon His name"? Said R. Ami: "Even when one intended to observe a commandment, but was accidentally prevented and could not accomplish it, it is credited to him as if he had actually observed it." Thus the passage "thought upon His name" is interpreted.

Said R. Hanina b. Ide: Whosoever observes a commandment as prescribed, will not be the recipient of bad tidings, for it is written [Eccl. viii. 5]: "Whoso keepeth the commandment will experience no evil thing." R. Assi, others say R. Hanina, said: "Even if the Holy One, blessed be He, has so decreed it (that he shall experience evil things) the decree is annulled through the prayers of this man, as it is written [ibid. 4]: "Because the word of a king is powerful, and who may say unto him, what doest thou?' and this immediately followed by the passage: 'Whoso keepeth the commandment will experience no evil thing.'"

R. Aba in the name of R. Simeon b. Lakish said: Two scholars who mutually instruct themselves in the Law, the Holy One, blessed be He, hearkens to their voices, for it is written [Song of Solomon, viii. 13]: "Thou that dwellest in the gardens, the companions listen for thy voice; oh, let me hear it"; but if they do not do so, they cause the Shekhina to move away from Israel, for further it is written [ibid. 14]: "Flee away, my beloved," etc.

The same in the name of the same authority said: The Holy One, blessed be He, loves two scholars who combine to study the Law, for it is written [Solomon's Song, ii. 4]: "And his banner over me was love." Said Rabha: "Provided they know something of Law, but have no instructor to teach them at the place where they reside."

The same said again: "The man who lends his money is more deserving than the charitable man, and the most deserving of all is he who gives charity surreptitiously or invests money in partnership (with the poor)." Furthermore he said: "If thy teacher is jealous (for thy welfare) and as spiteful as a serpent (if thou neglect thy studies), carry him on thy shoulders (because from him thou wilt learn), and if an ignoramus plays the pious, do not live in his neighbourhood."

R. Kahana, according to others R. Assi, and according to still others R. Abba in the name of R. Simeon b. Lakish, said: "Whoso raises a vicious dog in his house prevents charity to proceed therefrom (for the poor are afraid to go in as it is written [Job, vi. 14]: "As though I were one who refuseth kindness to a friend." ("As though I were one who refuseth" is expressed in Hebrew by one word, viz., lamos; in Greek λαιος; means dog, 1 and hence R. Simeon's inference.) Said R. Na'hman: "He even forsaketh the fear of the Lord," for it is written at the end of the verse [ibid., ibid.]: "And forsaketh the fear of the Lord."

Once a woman went into a certain house to bake, and a dog, through barking at her, caused her to have a miscarriage. Said the landlord of the house "Fear him not, I have deprived him of his teeth and claws"; but the woman answered: "Throw thy favours to the dogs, the child is already gone!"

Said R. Huna: It is written [Eccl. xi. 9]: "Rejoice, oh young man, in thy childhood, and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youthful vigor, and walk firmly in the ways of thy heart and in the direction in which thy eyes see; but know thou that concerning all these things God will bring thee into judgement." (Does not this passage contradict itself? Nay.) Up to the words "and know" are words of the misleader, and from there on are words of the good leader. Resh Lakish said up to "(and) know" the theoretical part of the law is meant, and from there on it speaks of good acts.

"Knee-buckles are clean," etc. Said R. Jehudah: This (birith) means arm-bandages. To this R. Joseph objected: "We have learned that a birith is (virtually) clean, and one may go out with it on the Sabbath. If it is an arm-band, how can that be? The latter is subject to defilement." It means that the birith is worn on the same part of the leg as the arm-bandage on the arm.

Rabbin and R. Huna sat before R. Jeremiah, who slumbered, and Rabbin said: "A birith is worn on one of the thighs and kebalim on both shins." But R. Huna said both are worn on both shins, but the chain attached to the birith on both shins is called kebalim, and the chain makes them a perfect vessel. At this point of the argument R. Jeremiah awoke and said: "I thank you. Even so I heard R. Johanan say. "When R. Dimi came to Neherdai, he sent to tell the sages: My former information in the name of R. Johanan that the Tzitz was a woven thing was an error, as so was said in his name. Whence the adduction that any ornament is subject to becoming defiled? From the Tzitz, the golden plate on the forehead of the High Priest. And whence the adduction that textile fabrics are also subject to becoming defiled? From the passage [Lev. xi. 32], "or" raiment, which includes any textile fabrics whatsoever.

The rabbis taught: "Any piece of textile fabric or any trifle of an ornament is subject to defilement." But how is it with an article which is half texture and half ornament? It is also subject to defilement. As for an ornament which is carried in a bag, the bag being of woven material becomes defiled and with it the ornament, but if the ornament was carried in a piece of cloth, the cloth remains undefiled. Is a piece of cloth not a textile fabric? Yea, but by that is meant that the bag, even if not made of textile fabric, becomes defiled, because it is attached to the garment. What is a bag used for? Said R. Johanan: Poor people use them for the purpose of putting some trifles in them and then hang them on the necks of their daughters.

It is written "And Moses was wroth with the officers of the host" [Numb. xxxi. 14]. Said R. Na'hman in the name of Rabba b. Abuhu: "Thus said Moses unto Israel: 'Have ye then returned to your first sin (that ye have let the females live)?'" They answered him [ibid. 49]: "Thy servants have taken the sum of the men of war who have been under our command, and there lacketh not one man of us" (implying that none had sinned). Said Moses again: "If such be the case, why need ye atonement?" They answered: "Though we have strengthened ourselves to keep aloof from sin, we could not put it out of our minds. We have therefore [ibid. 50] brought an oblation unto the Lord." On this the school of R. Ishmael taught: Why did the Israelites of that generation require forgiveness? Because they had feasted their eyes on strange women.

MISHNA 5.: A woman may go out with plaits of hair, be they made of her own hair or of another woman or of an animal; with Totaphoth or Sarbitin if fastened. 1 With a hood or with a wig in her yard (private ground); with cotton wadding in her ear or in her shoe; or with cotton wadding prepared for her menstruation; with a grain of pepper or of salt, or with whatever else she may be accustomed to keep in her mouth, provided she does not put it in her mouth on the Sabbath to commence with; if it fell out of her mouth she must not replace it. As for a metal or golden tooth, Rabbi permits a woman to go out with it, but the sages prohibit it.

GEMARA: It has been taught: "Provided a young woman does not go out with (plaits of hair belonging to) an old woman; nor an old woman with plaits of hair belonging to a young woman." So far as an old woman is concerned, it would be nothing but right, for the plaits of a young woman would be a source of pride to her (and there is fear of her taking them off to show to others); but why should a young woman be prohibited to go out with plaits belonging to an old woman? They are a disgrace to her (and surely she would not take them off for exhibition)! The teacher while treating on plaits with respect to an old woman also makes mention of the case of a young woman (for the sake of antithesis).

"With a hood or a wig in her yard." Said Rabh: "Everything prohibited by the sages to be worn on public ground must not be worn in the yard, save a hood and a wig." R. Anani b. Sasson in the name of R. Ishmael said: "Everything may be worn in the yard like a hood. But why does Rabh discriminate in favour of these objects?" Said Ulla: "In order that she may not become repulsive to her husband."

"And with cotton in her ears or in her shoes." Romi b. Ezekiel taught only when tied to her ears or her shoes.

"And cotton wadding prepared for her menstruation." "In this case," said Rabha, even if it is not tied it may be worn, because, being disgusting, it will not be handled." R. Jeremiah b. R. Abba questioned Rabha: "How is it if the same was prepared with a handle?" And he answered: "Then it is also allowed." And so also it was taught by R. Na'hman b. Oshia in the name of R. Johanan.

R. Johanan went to the college with cotton wadding in his ears on Sabbath, and his colleagues objected to it. R. Joni

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went into unclaimed ground with it against the opinion of all his contemporaries.

"With a grain of pepper or a grain of salt." The former to take away any bad odor of the breath and the latter as a remedy for toothache.

"Or with whatever else she is accustomed to keep in her mouth," meaning ginger or cinnamon.

"A metal or a gilt tooth," etc. Said R. Zera: They differ concerning a gold tooth only, for a silver tooth is unanimously permitted. And so we have learned plainly in a Boraitha. Said Abayi: Rabbi, R. Eliezer, and R. Simeon b. Elazar, all three agree to the opinion that anything provoking disgust (or ridicule) a woman will not wear for show: Rabbi, as just cited; R. Eliezer, as he freed a woman bearing a box of cachous or a perfume bottle; R. Simeon b. Elazar, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: "Anything below the hair-net is permitted to be worn outside."

MISHNA 6.: Women may go out with a coin fastened to a swelling on their feet; little girls may go out with laces on and even with screws in their ears. Arabians may go out in their long veils and Medians in their mantillas; so may even all women go out, but the sages spoke of existing customs. She may fold her mantilla around a stone, nut, or a coin (used as buttons), provided she does it not especially on the Sabbath.

GEMARA: "Little girls may go out with laces." The father of Samuel did not permit his daughters to go out with laces nor to sleep together; he made bathing-places for them during the month of Nissan, and curtains during the month of Tishri. "He did not permit them to go out with laces?" Were we not taught that girls may go out with laces? The daughters of Samuel's father wore coloured (fancy) laces and (lest they, take them off to show to others) he did not permit them to go out with them.

"Fold her mantilla around a stone," etc. But did not the first part (of the Mishna) say that she may fold it, etc.? Said Abayi, the last part of the Mishna has reference to a coin (which is not permitted). Abayi questioned: May a woman fold her mantilla on Sabbath shrewdly around a nut for the purpose of bringing it to her little son? And this question is according to both; to him who permits subtilty in case of fire, and also according to him who forbids it. According to him who permits it, it may be that only in case of fire he permits, as if it were not allowed, he would extinguish it; but this is not the case here. And according to him who prohibits it, it may be that he does so because the clothing seller usually so bears the clothes; but here, as it is not the custom to bear it so, it may be that it is permitted? The question remains.

MISHNA 7.: The cripple may go out with his wooden leg; such is the decree of R. Meir, but R. Jossi prohibits it. If the wooden leg has a receptacle for pads, it is subject to 55defilement. Crutches are subject to defilement by being sat or trodden upon; 1 but one may go out with them on Sabbath and enter the outer court (of the Temple). The chair and crutches of a paralytic are subject to defilement, and one must not go out with them on the Sabbath nor enter the outer court (of the Temple). Stilts are not subject to defilement, but nevertheless one must not go out with them on Sabbath.

GEMARA: Rabha said to R. Na'hman: How are we to accept the teaching of the Mishna? Did R. Meir permit the cripple to go out with a wooden leg on the Sabbath and R. Jossi prohibit his doing so, or vice versa? Answered R. Na'hman: "I know not." "And how shall the Halakha prevail?" Answered R. Na'hman again: "I know not." It was taught: Samuel and also R. Huna begin the Mishna: "A cripple shall not," etc. And R. Joseph said: "As both sages read the Mishna so, we shall do the same." Rabha b. Shira, however, opposed: "Was he not aware that when R. Hanon b. Rabha taught so to Hyya, the son of Rabh, the father showed him with the movement of his hands to change the names? In reality Samuel himself has also receded from the former teaching, and has corrected: "A cripple may go out," so is the decree of R. Meir. [Hamoth, 101a.]

"And must not enter the outer court," etc. A Tana taught before R. Johanan that one may go in with them in the outer court. Said R. Johanan to him: I teach that a woman may perform the "Chalitza" 2 with them (hence they are considered shoes), and you say he may go in with them to the outer court. Go and teach the contrary.

MISHNA 8.: Boys may go out with bands and princes with golden belts; so may every one else, but the sages adduce their instances from existing customs.

GEMARA: What kinds of bands? Said Ada Mari in the name of R. Na'hman b. Baruch, who said in the name of R. Ashi b. Abhin, quoting R. Jehudah: "Wreaths of Puah roots." Said Abayi: "My mother told me that three of such wreaths give relief (in sickness), five of them produce a complete cure, and seven of them are even proof against witchcraft."

Said R. Aha b. Jacob: "And this only if they (the wreaths) have never seen sun, moon, or rain; never heard a hammer fall or a cock crow or the fall of footsteps."

Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: "Thy bread is cast upon the deep" (meaning the remedy is an impossibility). 1

The rabbis taught: (Women) may go out with a Kutana stone (to prevent miscarriage) on the Sabbath. It was said in the name of R. Meir that they may even go out with the counterpoise of a Kutana stone, and not only such (women) as have already once miscarried, but even as a preventive to miscarriage, and not only when a woman is pregnant, but lest she become pregnant and miscarry. Said R. Jemar b. Shalmia in the name of Abayi: But the counterpoise must be an exact one and made in one piece.

MISHNA 9.: It is permitted to go out with eggs of grasshoppers or with the tooth of a fox or a nail from the gallows where a man was hanged, as medical remedies. Such is the decision of R. Meir, but the sages prohibit the using of these things even on week days, for fear of imitating the Amorites. 2

GEMARA: The eggs of grasshoppers as a remedy for toothache; the tooth of a fox as a remedy for sleep, viz., the tooth of a live fox to prevent sleep and of a dead one to cause sleep; the nail from the gallows where a man was hanged as a remedy for swelling.

"As medical remedies," such is the decision of R. Meir. Abayi and Rabha both said: "Anything (intended) for a medical remedy, there is no apprehension of imitating the Amorites; hence, if not intended as a remedy there is apprehension of imitating the Amorites? But were we not taught that a tree which throws off its fruit, it is permitted to paint it and lay stones around it? It is right only to lay stones around it in order to weaken its strength, but what remedy is painting it? Is it not imitating the Amorites? (Nay) it is only that people may see it and pray for mercy. We have learned in a Boraitha: It is written [Leviticus, xiii. 45]: "Unclean, unclean, shall he call out." (To what purpose?) That one must make his troubles known to his fellow-men, that they may pray for his relief.

Rabhina. said: The hanging up of a cluster of dates on a date tree (as a sign that the tree throws off its fruit) is in accordance with the above-mentioned teacher.

If one says: "Kill this cock, for he crowed at night; or kill this hen, for she crowed like a cock; or I will drink and leave a little over," because of superstition, there is apprehension that he imitate the Amorites; but one may put a splinter of "Tuth" 1 or a piece of glass in a pot, that it may boil the quicker. The sages, however, prohibited pieces of glass as being dangerous. The rabbis taught: One may throw a handful of salt in a lamp that it may burn the brighter, or loam and fragments of earthenware that it may burn more slowly. The saying "to your health" at wine-drinking is no imitation of the customs of the Amorites. It happened that R. Aqiba gave a banquet in honour of his son, and at every cup that he drank he said: "To the wine in the mouth and to the health of the sages and their disciples."

CHAPTER 7.

THE GENERAL RULE CONCERNING THE PRINCIPAL ACTS OF LABOUR ON SABBATH.

MISHNA 1.: A general rule was laid down respecting the Sabbath. One who has entirely forgotten the principle of (keeping) the Sabbath and performed many kinds of work on many Sabbath days, is liable to bring but one sin-offering. He, however, who was aware of the principle of Sabbath, but (forgetting the day) committed many acts of labour on Sabbath days, is liable to bring a separate sin-offering for each and every Sabbath day (which he has violated). One who knew that it was Sabbath and performed many kinds of work on different Sabbath days (not knowing that such work was prohibited), is liable to bring a separate sin-offering for every principal act of labour committed. One who committed many acts all emanating from one principal act is liable for but one sin-offering.

GEMARA: What is the reason that the Mishna uses the expression "a general rule"? Shall we assume that it means to teach us a subordinate rule in the succeeding Mishna, and the same is the case with the Mishna concerning the Sabbatical year, where at first a general rule is taught and the subsequent Mishnas teach a subordinate rule? Why does the Mishna relating to tithes teach one rule and the succeeding Mishna another, but does not call the first rule a "general rule"? Said R. Jose b. Abbin: Sabbath and the Sabbatical years, in both of which there are principals and derivatives, he expresses a general rule; tithes, however, in which there are no principals and derivatives, no general rule was laid down. But did not Bar Kapara teach us a general rule also in tithes? It must be therefore explained thus: The subject of Sabbath is greater than Sabbatical, as the first applies to attached and detached things, while the Sabbatical applies only to attached ones. The subject of the latter, however, is greater than tithes, as it applies to human and cattle food; while tithes applies only to human food. And Bar Kapara teaches a general rule in tithes also, because it is greater than peah (corner tithe), as the former applies also to figs and herbs, which is not the case with peah.

It was taught concerning the statement of the Mishna: He who forgot, etc., that Rabh and Samuel both said: Even a child that was captured by idolaters or a proselyte who remained among idolaters is regarded as one who was aware of the principle, but forgot it and is liable; and both R. Johanan and Resh Lakish said that the liability falls only upon him who was aware, but subsequently forgot; the child and the proselyte in question are considered as if they were never aware, and are free.

An objection was raised from the following: A general rule was laid down concerning the observation of the Sabbath. One who had entirely forgotten the principle of Sabbath, and had performed many kinds of work on many Sabbath days, is liable for but one sin-offering. How so? A child which was captured by idolaters and a proselyte remaining with idolaters, who had performed many acts of labour on different Sabbaths, are liable for but one sin-offering; and also for the blood or (prohibited) fats which he has consumed during the whole time, and even for worshipping idols during the whole time, he is liable for only one sin-offering. Munbaz, however, frees them entirely. And thus did he discuss before R. Aqiba: Since the intentional transgressor and the unintentional are both called sinners, I may say: As an intentional one cannot be called so unless he was aware that it is a sin, the same is the case with an unintentional, who cannot be called sinner unless he was at some time aware that this is a sin (it is true, then, the above must be considered as never having been aware of it). Said R. Aqiba to, him: "I will make an amendment to your decree, as the intentional transgressor cannot be considered as such unless he is cognizant of his guilt at the time of action, so also should not the unintentional transgressor be considered as such unless he is cognizant at the time of action." Answered Munbaz: "So it is, and the more so after your amendment." Thereupon R. Aqiba replied: "According to your reasoning, one could not be called an unintentional transgressor, but an intentional." Hence it is plainly stated: "How so? A child," etc. This is only in accordance with Rabh and Samuel, and it contradicts R. Johanan and R. Simeon b. Lakish. They may say: "Is there not a Tana Munbaz, who freed them? We hold with him and with his reason, namely: It is written [Numb. xv. 29]: "A law shall be for you, for him that acteth through ignorance," and the next verse says [ibid. 30], "but the person that doeth aught with a high hand." The verse compares then the ignorant to him who has acted intentionally; and as the latter cannot be guilty unless he was aware of his sin, the same is the case with the ignorant, who cannot be considered guilty unless he was at some time aware of the sin.

Another objection was raised from a Mishna farther on: "Forty less one are the principal acts of labour." And deliberating for what purpose the number is taught, said R. Johanan: For that, if one performed them all through forgetfulness, he is liable for each of them. How is such a thing (as utter forgetfulness) to be imagined? We must assume that although cognizant of the (day being) Sabbath, one forgot which acts of labour (were prohibited). And this is correct only in accordance with R. Johanan, who holds: "If one is ignorant of what acts of labour constitute (sin punishable with) Karath (being 'cut off'), and commits one of those acts even intentionally, he is bound to bring a sin-offering only." And such an instance can be found in case one knows that those acts of labour were prohibited, at the same time being ignorant of that punishment which is Karath. But according to R. Simeon b. Lakish, who holds that one must be totally ignorant of both the punishment of Karath and what acts are prohibited on Sabbath, how can the above case be found? He was aware that Sabbath must be kept. But what was he aware of in the observance of Sabbath? He only knew of the law governing the going outside of the boundaries of the city.

But who is the Tana of the following Boraitha? The scriptural passage, "Him that acteth through ignorance," refers to one who was ignorant both of the (principle of) Sabbath and the prohibition of the acts of labour. One who was cognizant of both is referred to by the Scriptures as "the person that doeth aught with a high hand." If one, however, was cognizant of the (principle of) Sabbath, but not of the prohibition of the acts of labour, or vice versa, or even if he knew that the acts of labour were prohibited, but did not know that they involved culpability requiring a sin-offering (while he is not the scriptural man "that acteth through ignorance"), still he is culpable of a transgression requiring a sin-offering? It is Munbaz mentioned above.

R. Huna said: One who has been travelling in a desert and does not know what day is Sabbath, must count six days from the day (on which he realises) that he has missed the Sabbath, and observe the seventh. Hyya b. Rabh said: He must observe that very day and then continue his counting from that day. And what is the point of their differing? The former holds that one must act in accordance with the creation (which commenced six days before the Sabbath), while the latter holds that one must be guided by Adam's creation (on the eve of Sabbath). An objection was made: "If a man while travelling in a desert forgot when the Sabbath arrives, he must count 'one day to six' and then observe the seventh. Does this not mean he must count six days and then observe the seventh?" Nay; it may be said that it means that very day, and continue his counting from that day. If this be the case, why are we taught "he must count one to six"? It should be taught

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(plainly) he must observe a day and continue counting from that day. Moreover, we were taught in a Boraitha: "If one while travelling in the desert forgot when the Sabbath arrives, he must count six days and observe the seventh." The objection to R. Hyya b. Rabh is sustained.

Rabha said (referring to the traveller who forgot the Sabbath): "On every day, except the one on which he realises that he has missed the Sabbath, he may perform enough labour to sustain himself." But one that should do nothing and die (of hunger)? Nay; only in case he provided himself with his necessaries on the preceding day. Perhaps the preceding day was Sabbath. Therefore read: he may labour even on that day to sustain himself. In what respects is that day, then, to be distinguished from other days? By means of Kiddush and Habhdalah. 1

Said Rabha again: "If he only recollects the number of days he has been travelling, he may labour all day on the eighth day of his journey, in any event" (for he surely did not start on his journey on a Sabbath). Is this not self-evident? Lest one say that one would not only not start out on the Sabbath, but also not on the day before Sabbath; hence, if he went out on the fifth day of the week, he is permitted to work on both the eighth and ninth days of his journey. Therefore he comes to teach us that only on the eighth day of his journey would he be permitted to work, for frequently one comes upon a caravan on Friday and starts out even on that day. "One who has entirely forgotten," etc. Whence is this deduced? Said R. Na'hman in the name of Rabba b. Abuhu: "There are two verses in the Scripture, viz. [Exod. xxxi. 16]: 'And the children of Israel shall keep the Sabbath,' and [Lev. xix. 3]: 'And my Sabbaths shall ye keep.' How is this to be explained?" The first means the observance of the commandment of Sabbath generally, and the second means one observance of the commandment for each Sabbath.

"One who knew (the principle of) Sabbath." What is the reason of a difference between the former and the latter part of the Mishna? Said R. Na'hman: For what transgression does the Scripture make one liable for a sin-offering? For what is done through ignorance? In the former part of the Mishna the case of one who was not aware that it was Sabbath is dealt with, and hence only one sin-offering is imposed, while in the latter the case dealt with is of one who was aware that it was Sabbath, but ignorant as to the acts of labour, hence a sin-offering for each act is prescribed.

"Liable for a sin-offering," etc. Whence do we deduce the distinction between acts of labour? Said Samuel: It is written [Exod. xxxi. 14]: "Every one that defileth it shall be surely put to death." We see, then, that the Scripture has provided many deaths 1 for defiling the Sabbath. But does not the verse refer to one who violates the Sabbath wantonly? As it cannot be applied to an intentional violator, for it is already written [Exod. xxxv. 2]: Whosoever doeth work thereon shall be put to death"; therefore apply it to an unintentional sinner. How, then, will you explain the words "put to death"? That is only the pecuniary equivalent (of being put to death) (viz., he shall bring a sin-offering which costs money). Why not advance the distinction between the acts of labour, as R. Nathan (does elsewhere)? Samuel is not of the opinion of R. Nathan, but of R. Jossi, who says that the additional commandment not to kindle a fire on the Sabbath was taught additionally for the special purpose of conveying to us that one who does kindle a fire is not to be punished either with Karath or stoning; for we have learned in a Boraitha: The additional commandment not to kindle a fire on the Sabbath was taught additionally for the special purpose of conveying to us that one who kindles a fire on the Sabbath is not to be punished either with Karath or stoning. Such is the opinion of R. Jossi. R. Nathan says it is written for the sake of separation (from other acts). Let then the separation of acts of labour be adduced whence R. Jossi adduces them--in the following Boraitha: It is written [Lev. iv. 2]: "And do (of) any (one) of them," as follows: Sometimes one is only bound to bring one sin-offering for all transgressions, and sometimes one is bound to bring a sin-offering for each and every transgression separately.

Said R. Jossi b. Hanina: "Why does R. Jossi explain that passage thus? The verse should read 'one of them' (Achath mehenoh), but in reality it reads 'of one of them' (Meachath mehenoh), or it should read 'of one them' (Meachath henoh), but it reads 'of one of them.' Therefore he explains that 'sometimes one is equal to many and sometimes many equal one.'" 1

Rabha questioned R. Na'hman: "How is it if one is ignorant of both (of the day being Sabbath and the prohibition of the acts of labour on that day)? Answered R. Na'hman: "Take one instance at a time. You say he was ignorant of the day being Sabbath; then he is bound to bring a sin-offering. How would it be if, on the contrary, I had said that he was ignorant of the prohibition of the acts of labour first? Would you say that he becomes liable to a sin-offering for each and every act performed?" Said R. Ashi: "Let us see from the man's actions. How would it be if one came to him and reminded him of its being Sabbath (without calling his attention to the fact that he was working)? If the man immediately stopped his work, it is clear that he had actually forgotten that it was Sabbath. If, however, the man was reminded by a third party that he was working (without having his attention called to the fact that it was Sabbath), and he immediately quit his work, it is evident that he was not cognizant of the prohibition of the acts of labour; hence he would become liable to bring a sin-offering for each and every act performed. Said Rabbina to R. Ashi: "What difference does it make? If one is reminded that it is Sabbath and he quits work, he becomes aware that it is Sabbath, and if he is reminded of his working he also becomes aware that the day is Sabbath; hence it makes no difference."

Rabha said (supposing the following case happened: "One reaped and ground the equivalent (in size) of a fig on a Sabbath, without knowing that it was Sabbath, and on another Sabbath did the same thing, knowing it was Sabbath, but not knowing that such acts of labour were prohibited; then remembered that he had committed a transgression on the Sabbath through ignorance of the day being Sabbath, and took a sheep and set it aside for a sin-offering. Suddenly he recollected that he had also committed a transgression on the other Sabbath, through his ignorance of the prohibition of the acts of labour. What would the law be in such a case? I can say that the sheep set aside for a sin-offering for the first transgression suffices also for the second, although in reality two sin-offerings were required to atone for the second transgression. The one sin-offering would suffice, because it is in truth not brought for forgetting the Sabbath, but for reaping and grinding; the reaping in the first instance carries with it the reaping in the second, as also the grinding in the first instance carries with it the grinding in the second, and one sin-offering atones for all.

Assuming, however, that in the second instance (when he forgot about the prohibition of the acts of labour) he (at some later time) recollected only having reaped (but forgot that he also ground), and having set aside the sin-offering he became liable for on account of his transgression in the first instance (when he forgot about the Sabbath), he atones for the reaping and grinding on the first Sabbath and for the reaping on the second Sabbath, but not for the grinding on the second Sabbath; hence (after also recollecting that he had ground) he must bring an additional sin-offering. Abayi, however, says: The one sin-offering atones for all, because the grinding, which he atones for in the first instance, also carries with it the grinding in the second instance. Why so? For the reason that in both instances the acts atoned for are analogous. (When a sin-offering was brought, a confession was made. In citing the sin committed in the first instance grinding was mentioned and applies also to the grinding in the second instance. Therefore no additional sin-offering is necessary.)

It was taught: If one has eaten tallow (which is prohibited) on two different occasions, and at both times the tallow was the equivalent (in size) of an olive (or larger); and afterward he was reminded of the first occasion, and later on of the second occasion also, what is the law in his case? R. Johanan says: He must bring two sin-offerings. Why so? Because he recollected the transgressions at different times. Resh Lakish, however, says: He need bring only one sin-offering. What is R. Johanan's reason? Because it is written [Lev. iv. 28]: "For his sin, which he hath committed," and he adduces therefrom that for every sin committed one must bring a separate sin-offering, and Resh Lakish holds according to the passage [ibid. 26], "Concerning his sin, and it shall be forgiven him," and claims that it being one and the same sin, only one sin-offering is sufficient. But what will Resh Lakish do with the verse, "For his sin which he hath committed"? That refers to the sin-offering which had already been brought, and therefore could not apply to a later sin. And what about R. Johanan and the passage, "Concerning his sin, and it shall be forgiven"? R. Johanan explains this as follows: If a man ate tallow equivalent (in size) to an olive and a half, and later ate another piece the size of half an olive. Afterward he recollected having eaten tallow, but thought that it was the size of one olive, might some not say that the remaining piece eaten in the first instance should be added to the piece eaten in the second instance, and thus constitute another piece the equivalent (in size) to an olive, and make him liable for another sin-offering? Therefore the passage which means: After once having obtained forgiveness for the transgression on the first occasion the second cannot be counted in with the first.

It was taught: If one intended to pick up a thing detached (for instance, a knife that had fallen in a row of vegetables), and while doing so (accidentally) cut off one of the growing vegetables, he is free. 1 If, however, he intended to cut something lying on (but not attached to) the ground, and instead cut off something growing out of (attached to) the ground, Rabha declares him free, because no intention to cut off the growing object existed in the mind of the man; but Abayi declares him culpable for the reason that, while the man did not intend to cut off what he really did, still the intention to cut was prevalent in the man's mind, and he really did cut; hence he is that the Scriptures refer to as "one who acteth unintentionally."

It was also taught: One who intended to throw (from private ground into public) only for a distance of two ells, but threw four, is freed by Rabha, for the reason that the original intention was to throw within a permissible distance (throwing for a distance of two ells only was permitted); but Abayi held him culpable, for the reason that the act originally intended was accomplished. If one threw in public ground mistaking it for private, Rabh holds him free (for the same reason as before), and Abayi holds him culpable (also for the same reason as he gave in the previous case). Both instances though analogous are necessary. In the first instance (of cutting), where Rabh holds the offender not culpable, the intention to cut off what was prohibited did not exist, but in the second instance (throwing four ells), it could not be accomplished without (carrying out the intention of) throwing for two ells, and passing the two ells (the object landing at a distance of four). Now, lest one might say that Rabha coincides with the opinion of Abayi, and from the latter instance it might be assumed that the offender intended to throw two, but threw four ells, hence Rabha holds him not culpable, for the intention to throw four ells did not exist; but if one threw four ells in what he thought was private ground, and which turned out to be public ground, the intention was carried out, for the object thrown reached its desired destination, and therefore lest one say that in this case Rabha coincides with Abayi, the two instances are illustrated, and we are informed that not even in this case does Rabha agree with Abayi.

MISHNA 2.: The principal acts of labour (prohibited on the Sabbath) are forty less one--viz.: Sowing, ploughing, reaping, binding into sheaves, threshing, winnowing, fruit-cleaning, grinding, sifting, kneading, baking, wool-shearing, bleaching, combing, dyeing, spinning, warping, making two spindle-trees, weaving two threads, separating two threads (in the warp), tying a knot, untying a knot, sewing on with two stitches, tearing in order to sew together with two stitches, hunting deer, slaughtering the same, skinning them, salting them, preparing the hide, scraping the hair off, cutting it, writing two (single) letters (characters), erasing in order to write two letters, building, demolishing (in order to rebuild), kindling, extinguishing (fire), hammering, transferring from one place into another. These are the principal acts of labour--forty less one.

GEMARA: For what purpose is the number (so distinctly) given? (They are enumerated.) Said R. Johanan: If one laboured through total ignorance of the (laws governing the) Sabbath, he must bring a sin-offering for every act of labour performed.

"Sowing, ploughing." Let us see: Ploughing being always done before sowing, let it be taught first, The Tana (who taught as in the Mishna) is a Palestinian, and in his country they sow first and then plough. Some one taught that sowing, pruning, planting, transplanting, and grafting are all one and the same kind of labour. What would he inform us thereby? That if one performs many acts of labour, all of the same class, he is liable for but one sin-offering.

Said R. Aha in the name of R. Hyya b. Ashi, quoting R. Ami: "One who prunes is guilty of planting, and one who plants, transplants, or grafts is guilty of sowing." Of sowing and not of planting? I mean to say of sowing also.

Said R. Kahana: One who prunes and uses the branches for fuel is liable for two sin-offerings, one for reaping and one for planting. Said R. Joseph: One who mows alfalfa (hay) is guilty of mowing and planting both. Said Abayi: One who mows clover hay (which sheds its seed when mowed) is liable (for a sin-offering) for mowing and sowing.

"Ploughing." There is a Boraitha: Ploughing, digging, furrowing, are one and the same kind of labour. R. Shesheth said: One who removes a knoll of earth in a house becomes liable for building, and if in a field he is liable for ploughing. Rabha said: Filling up a hole in the house makes one liable for building, and in the field for ploughing. R. Aba said: Digging (the same hole) on Sabbath for the purpose of making use of the earth alone is free even according to R. Jehudah, who said that the performance of an unnecessary act of labour makes one culpable. He refers to labour that improves an object and not to that which spoils it.

"Mowing." There is a Boraitha: Reaping, vintaging, selecting dates, olives, and figs are all one and the same kind of labour. "Binding into sheaves." Rabha said: One who gathers salt from salt works is guilty of the act of binding into sheaves. Abayi, however, said that binding into sheaves applies only to produce of the soil.

"Threshing." There is a Boraitha: Threshing, carding, and hackling belong to one and the same class of labour.

"Threshing, winnowing, fruit-cleaning," etc. Is not winnowing, fruit-cleaning, and sifting one and the same class of labour? Abayi and Rabha both said: "Acts of labour executed during the construction of the tabernacle are enumerated separately, though they are of an analogous nature." Let pounding then also be enumerated (as labour, inasmuch as the spices for incense had to be pounded). Said Abayi: (It is true! This is also one of the acts of labour performed at the construction of the tabernacle.) But as the poor people do not pound their grain, generally using it in its natural state, it is not included in the principal acts of labour.

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Rabha, however, said: "The Mishna should be understood in the sense Rabbi expounded it: The principal acts of labour are forty less one. Should pounding be included, there would be forty even." Let then one of the principal acts (enumerated in the Mishna) be stricken out and substituted by pounding. Hence it is best to accept Abayi's reason.

The rabbis taught: If there are several kinds of food before a man on the Sabbath, he may select such as he desires and even set it aside, but he must not separate the good from the spoilt. If he does this, he is liable for a sin-offering. How is this to be understood? R. Hamnuna explained it thus: "One may select the good from the spoilt for immediate or later consumption, but he must not pick out the spoilt, leaving the good for later consumption. If he does this, he is liable." Abayi opposed: "Is there anything mentioned (in the Mishna) about separating the good from the spoilt?" He therefore explained the Boraitha as follows: "Food may be selected for immediate consumption and setting aside, but not for later consumption. If this is done, it is considered the same as storing it, and involves the liability." This was reported to Rabha by the rabbis, and he said: Na'hmeni (Abayi) has explained it correctly.

When two kinds of food were before a man and he selected part of one kind and ate it, then selected part of the other kind and set it aside, R. Ashi learned in the Boraitha that the man is free, but R. Jeremiah of Diphti learned that he is culpable. Is there not a Boraitha which teaches that he is? This presents no difficulty. R. Ashi refers to food served in a basket or a bowl, but R. Jeremiah learned that the man sifted the food in a sieve.

When R. Dimi came to Babylon he related: It happened on a Sabbath, when R. Bibhi's turn came to entertain the disciples, that R. Ami and R. Assi arrived. R. Bibhi placed before them a basket filled with fruit (together with the leaves and sprigs), and I am not aware what his reason was. Was he of the opinion that it is forbidden to separate food from trash, or was it his liberality?

Hyzkiyah said: "One who shells pressed lupines (on the Sabbath) is culpable." Does this mean to say that it is forbidden to separate food from trash? Nay; there is quite a difference where pressed lupines are concerned; they must be scalded just seven times and immediately shelled, for if they are not immediately shelled they become putrid; therefore to shell them is equal to separating trash from good food.

"Grinding." Said R. Papa: To chop beets is the same as to grind. Splitting wood for kindling is the same as grinding. Said R. Ashi: Splitting leather is the same class of work as cutting by measure (if he is particular about it).

"Kneading, baking." R. Papa said: "The Tana of the Mishna omitted the cooking of spices that took place in the tabernacle and instead of that taught about baking." It is because the Tana follows the order of baking (first comes kneading, then baking, and cooking is included in the latter).

"Wool-shearing, bleaching." Rabba b. b. Hana in the name of R. Johanan said: Spinning wool from a live animal on the Sabbath makes one liable for three sin-offerings; one for shearing, one for carding, and one for spinning. R. Kahana, however, said: This is not the way shearing, carding, and spinning are done (hence he is not at all culpable).

If one plucked quills, cut off their tops, and singed them on both sides, the rabbis taught that he is liable for three sin-offerings.

"Tying, untying." What kind of tying and untying was done at the construction of the tabernacle? Rabha, others say R. Ilayi, said: This is the way of the (snail) fishers; to untie their nets from one load and tie them on another.

"Sewing on with two stitches." But two stitches do not hold (hence it cannot be called work)? Said Rabba b. b. Hana in the name of R. Johanan: Provided two knots are made, one at each end.

"Tearing in order to sew together with two stitches." Was there any tearing done at the tabernacle? Both Rabba and R. Zera said: When a curtain became moth-eaten, they tore out the moth-eaten part and sewed it together.

R. Zutra b. Tobiah in the name of Rabh said: "To rip a seam on the Sabbath makes one liable; to learn from a magician is a sin involving capital punishment; one who knows the science of astronomy and does not make use of it, is not worth being spoken of." What is a magician? Rabh says a "wizard." Samuel says a "blasphemer." R. Simeon b. Pazi in the name of R. Joshua b. Levi said: Whoever knows the science of astronomy, and does not occupy himself with it is the party alluded to [Isaiah, v. 12]: "But the deeds of the Lord they regard not and the works of his hands they behold not." Said Samuel b. Na'hmeni in the name of R. Jonathan: "Whence the adduction that we are bound to learn astronomy?" From the passage [Deut. iv. 6]: "Keep, therefore, and do them, for this is your wisdom and your understanding before the eyes of the nations." And what kind of wisdom is before the eyes of the nations? You must say that it is astronomy.

"Hunting deer." The rabbis taught: To catch a slug and squeeze it so that it bleed is a transgression involving only a sin-offering. R. Jehudah says, involving two sin-offerings, for R. Jehudah holds that squeezing comes in the class of threshing, but the rabbis told him that squeezing is not threshing. What reason do the rabbis give for their opinion? Said Rabha: Their reason is that threshing can only be applied to produce of the soil.

"Slaughtering." Under which category? Rabh said "dyeing," and Samuel said "taking life." Said Rabh: "I said something which may seem absurd, and so as to prevent future generations from deriding me I will give a reason for what I said: Butchers are in the habit of colouring the throat of the carcasses with blood, in order that people may see (that the meat is still fresh) and be induced to buy."

"Salting the hide," etc. Is not salting a hide preparing it? Both R. Johanan and Resh Lakish said: "Strike out one of them in the Mishna and substitute it with 'marking.'

"Scraping the hair off," etc. R. Aha b. Hanina said: To polish a floor on the Sabbath is a transgression of the same order as scraping off the hair of the hide. Said R. Hyya b. Abba: R. Ashi told me three things in the name of R. Joshua b. Levi: Sawing rafters on the Sabbath (that they may be equal in size and pointed) makes one liable the same as "cutting." Daubing a plaster on a piece of cloth makes one liable the same as "scraping hair off." Smoothing a stone makes one culpable of "hammering." R. Simeon b. Kisma in the name of R. Simeon b. Lakish, said: Painting pictures on vessels or blowing out glassware makes one culpable the same as hammering. R. Jehudah said: Removing a border from cloth also makes one as culpable as hammering; but only in case one is particular about having the border remain on his cloth.

"Writing two letters." The rabbis taught: "If one wrote one large letter instead of two small ones, he is not guilty of any transgression; but to erase a large letter, in the place of which two small letters can be written, makes one liable for a sin-offering (for the erasing is done with the intent to write, and two small letters are evidently needed). Said R. Mena'hem b. Jossi: "This is the only case where the law is more rigorous with erasing than with writing."

"Building, demolishing," etc. Both Rabba and R. Zera said: All work which is done in the last stages is considered the same as hammering (which is generally the finishing work).

"These are the principal acts of labour." "These," to exclude a derivation of the same kind as the principal when it is done with the principal together, and as to which R. Eliezer makes one liable for the derivation also.

"Less one," to exclude the extension of the warp or the woof, which R. Jehudah added to the principal acts; but the rabbis said: Extending the warp is included in warping and extending the woof is included in weaving.

MISHNA 3.: And there is also another rule which was laid down: Whosoever carries out on the Sabbath such things as are fit and proper to be stored and in such a quantity as is usually stored, is liable; but whatever is not fit and proper to be stored, nor in such a quantity as is generally stored, only he who would store this is liable (because the storing shows that for him it is valuable).

GEMARA: "Whatever is not fit and proper." Said R. Elazar: The latter part of the Mishna is not in accordance with R. Simeon b. Elazar, who said in the following Boraitha: "There is a rule that all which is not fit and proper to be stored nor in such a quantity as is generally stored, if held by one man fit and another man has carried it out, the latter becomes liable for the intention of the owner."

MISHNA 4.: It is forbidden to carry about chopped straw in quantities of a cow's mouthful, stalks in quantities of a camel's mouthful, stubble in quantities of a lamb's mouthful, herbs in quantities of a kid's mouthful, leek and onion leaves, if fresh, equal in size to a dried fig, and if dry in quantities of a kid's mouthful. The different kinds of fodder are, however, not to be counted together, as the prescribed quantities are not equal for all.

GEMARA: "Chopped straw." What kind? Said R. Jehudah: "Pease stalks." When Rabhin came to Babylon he said thus: There is no diversity of opinion concerning the carrying out of straw in quantities of a cow's mouthful for a camel, as all agree that in such a case one is liable; the point of their differing is concerning the carrying out of stalks (which is not fit food for a cow) in quantities of a cow's mouthful for a cow. R. Johanan frees him, as he holds that unfit food cannot be regarded as nutrition; and Resh Lakish makes him liable, as he holds that even such is considered nutrition.

"Stubble in quantities of a lamb's mouthful." But does not a Boraitha state "the size of a dried fig"? Both quantities are equal.

"Leek and onion leaves, if fresh," etc. Said R. Jossi b. Hanina: Inferior food is not to be counted in with superior (in order to make out the prescribed quantity). Superior food, however, may be counted with the inferior (in order to complete the prescribed quantity).

MISHNA 5.: The carrying out of an article of food the size of a dried fig makes one liable. And the different kinds of them are to be counted together, for the prescribed quantity is the same for all kinds, with the exception of husks, kernels, and stalks; likewise bran, both coarse and fine. R. Jehudah says that the husks of lentils are not excepted, because they are boiled with the lentils and are counted in the same (as food).

GEMARA: "Except bran," etc. Is not fine as well as coarse bran to be counted in (the same as food)? Is there not a Mishna concerning the separation of the first dough, that one is bound to separate the first dough made of flour mixed with its fine or coarse bran? Answered Abayi: "This is no contradiction. Poor people only generally use such mixed flour (when Sabbath is concerned something possessing real value is always spoken of)."

"The husks of lentils are not excepted," etc. Husks of lentils only, and not of beans? Did not a Boraitha state that R. Jehudah said, "husks of beans and lentils"? This presents no difficulty. The Mishna refers to husks of new lentils and the Boraitha refers to old lentils and beans. And why not old ones? Said R. Abuhu: Because they (the husks of lentils and beans) are black and when dished up look like flies in a bowl (they are not eaten with the food and therefore are not counted in).

CHAPTER 8.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE PRESCRIBED QUANTITIES OF VICTUALS AND BEVERAGES WHICH MUST NOT BE CARRIED ABOUT ON THE SABBATH.

MISHNA 1.: The prescribed quantities (of victuals and beverages) prohibited to be carried about on the Sabbath (are as follows): Sufficient wine in a goblet, which with the addition of a certain quantity of water would make a full goblet of wine (fit to drink); 1 milk to the quantity of a mouthful, honey sufficient to cover a wound with, oil sufficient to anoint a small limb with, and water in quantities sufficient for a medical bath for the eyes. For all other liquids and also of whatever can be poured out, the prescribed quantity is a quarter of a lug (about a quart). R. Simeon says: The prescribed quantities for the liquids enumerated in this Mishna are also a quarter of a lug, and the various prescribed quantities specified apply only to those who store such liquids.

GEMARA: A Boraitha, in addition to this Mishna, states: "The quantity which suffices for a good goblet of wine." What is to be understood by a good goblet? The goblet used in benediction 2 after meals.

R. Na'hman in the name of R. Abuhu said: "A goblet used at benediction after meals must contain no less than a fourth of a quarter lug (of pure wine), so that when mixed with water the prescribed quantity (a quarter lug) will be made." Said Rabha: We have learned this in our Mishna: "Sufficient wine in a goblet, which with addition of water would make a full goblet"--commented on by the Boraitha to mean "which would make a good goblet." From the close of the Mishna we learn: "For all other liquids the prescribed quantity is a quarter of a lug." [And] he is in accordance with his theory elsewhere, that wine which is not strong enough to be mixed with three parts of water is not considered wine at all. Said Abayi: "There are two objections to this: Firstly, there is a Mishna that wine fit to drink is such as has been mixed with two-thirds water, like the wine of Sharon; secondly, do you think that the water in the pitcher (intended for mixing with the wine) is counted in?" Rejoined Rabha: The first objection does not hold good, as Sharon wine is an exception, which although weak is nevertheless good; or it may be that there the particularity is the colour, which is not changed by an addition of two-thirds; but concerning taste, I say that only one which can bear three-fourths of water is considered. As to the second objection, concerning water in the pitcher, it is also nothing as concerning Sabbath. The quality and not the quantity is considered, and the wine in question is of that quality.

There is a Boraitha that the prescribed quantity for the extract of wine is the size of an olive. So said R. Nathan. And R. Joseph said that R. Jehudah agrees with him in a Mishna, Tract Nidah (which will be translated there).

The rabbis taught: The prescribed quantity for animal milk is the equivalent of a mouthful; for human milk and the white of an egg, as much as is used for the preparation of a salve for a sore eye; when mixed with water, the prescribed quantity is as much as is used to bathe both eyes with.

"Honey sufficient to cover a wound with." A Boraitha states: "Sufficient to cover the mouth of a wound with."

Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: The Holy One, blessed be He, has created nothing useless in the world. He created the snail as a remedy for a sore, the fly for the sting of a wasp, the mosquito for the bite of a serpent, the serpent for the mange, and the lizard for the bite of a scorpion.

The rabbis taught: There are five terrors through which the strong succumb to the weak. The Maphgia terrorizes the lion, 1 the mosquito the elephant, the lizard the scorpion, the swallow the eagle, and the kilbith (a small fish) the whale. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: Is any similarity to be found in the Scripture? [Amos, v. 9] That causeth wasting to prevail against the strong."

R. Zera once met R. Jehudah standing at the door of his (R. Jehudah's) father-in-law in a very cheerful mood, and disposed to answer a whole world full of questions. He asked him: "What is the reason that (in a flock) the she-goats generally go ahead of the sheep?" And he answered: "In

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accordance with the Creation: At first darkness, then light" (she-goats are generally dark and lambs [or sheep] white). "Why are she-goats not covered with a tail?" asked the former again. And he answered: "Those who cover us are (in turn) covered, and those that do not cover us are not covered." (Because sheep provide us with wool, they are also provided with cover.) "Why has a camel a short tail?" "Because it feeds on thorns (in order that the thorns may not catch in its tail)."

And "Why has an ox a long tail?" "Because he grazes in plains and must protect himself from the gnats." "Why are the feelers of a locust soft?" "Because the locusts swarm in fields; were their feelers hard, the locusts would be blinded by losing them in knocking against trees, for Samuel said, all that is necessary to blind a locust is to tear off his feelers." "What is the reason that the lower eyelids of a hen are turned up (and cover the upper eyelids)?" "Because a hen soars to her roost and (in a house full of smoke) she might be blinded by the smoke from below."

The rabbis taught the following: "Three creatures grow stronger as they grow older, viz.: Fishes, serpents, and swine."

"Oil sufficient to anoint a small limb with," i.e., a little finger. At the school of R. Janai it was thus explained: "It means the smallest limb of a one-day-old infant." And the same was said by R. Simeon b. Elazar.

"Water sufficient for a medical bath for the eyes." Said Abayi: Let us see! Of an article which is very often used for one purpose and seldom for another, the rabbis always leniently permitted the maximum quantity to be used, as the prescribed quantity, of the article much in use. Again, when an article is used alike for several purposes, the rabbis restrict the prescribed quantity to its minimum: (to be more explicit) wine is frequently used as a beverage and only at times as a medicament; hence the rabbis regard it solely as a beverage (and determine the maximum quantity); the same is the case with milk; honey, however, which is used to a greater extent as a medicine than for nutritive purposes, is regarded as a medicine and therefore restricted to the prescribed quantity for medicines (which is a smaller quantity than a beverage). What is the reason, then, that the rabbis restrict water, which is certainly more of a beverage than a medicament, to the minimum quantity? Rabha answered: They hold with the opinion of Samuel, who declared that all liquids used as medicine for the eyes inflame and blind, except water, which soothes and does not blind (and in this case the Mishna has reference to one who carried about water on the Sabbath as a medicament for the eyes).

"For all other liquids, the prescribed quantity is a quarter of a lug." The rabbis taught: For blood and all other liquids the prescribed quantity is a quarter of a lug. R. Simeon b. Elazar said the prescribed quantity for blood is as much as is used to apply to one eye; because that quantity is used when the eye is afflicted with a cataract.

All these prescribed quantities apply only to those who carry (the victuals or beverages) about. To those, however, who store them (the victuals or beverages) the carrying of even the least imaginable quantity is prohibited (because from his storing them we see that he considers them valuable); but R. Simeon says all these prescribed quantities apply to such as stored (victuals and beverages and hence considered them valuable); but as for persons who only carried them out, for all beverages (whether used also for medical purposes or not) if carried out in any quantities less than a quarter of a lug there is no culpability.

The former teacher said that "those prescribed quantities only refer to those who carry out," but to "those who store them the carrying of even the least imaginable quantity is prohibited." Is the one who stores not also a carrier (he is culpable for carrying and not for storing)?

Answered Abayi: The Boraitha treats of a case where a master ordered his retainer to clear off the table. If the retainer removed something of value to everybody from the table, it constituted a quantity which must not be carried about on the Sabbath. If the thing was of value only to the master and the retainer carried it out, he (the retainer) is culpable, in spite of the fact that the thing was of value to his master alone. (Hence he is called one who stores, and not a carrier) for it signifies that the thing is worth storing.

Again, the former teacher said: "And the sages agree with R. Simeon that the prescribed quantity of slops is a quarter of a lug." Of what use are slops? Said R. Jehudah: "To prepare mortar with." But were we not taught that the prescribed quantity for mortar is only as much as suffices to make the mouth of a bellows-pipe with? Aye, but for the purpose of preparing mortar, a man would not trouble himself to carry out so small a quantity as is sufficient to make a mouth of a bellows-pipe, hence a quarter of a lug would be the least that would be carried out to make mortar with.

MISHNA 2.: The prescribed quantity for rope is as much as suffices to make a handle for a basket; for reeds, as much as suffices to hang a fine or coarse sieve thereon: R. Jehudah says: As much as is sufficient to take the measure of a child's shoe; for paper, as much as suffices to write a toll-bill on--a toll-bill itself must not be carried out; the prescribed quantity for paper that has been erased is as much as will wrap the top of a perfume bottle. The prescribed quantity for vellum is as much as suffices for the covering of an amulet; for parchment, as much as suffices for the writing of the smallest portion of the phylacteries, which is "Hear, O Israel for ink, as much as is necessary for the writing of two letters (characters); for paint, as much as will paint one eye. The prescribed quantity for (bird) lime is as much as will suffice to put on a lime twig; for pitch or sulphur, as much as will cover a hole (in a quicksilver tube); for as much as will fill up a small leakage (in a utensil); for loam, as much as suffices to make all orifice for a pair of bellows used by goldsmiths; R. Jehudah says the prescribed quantity for loam is as much as will make a stand for a goldsmith's crucible; for clay, as much as will cover the mouth of a goldsmith's crucible; for lime, as much as will cover the little finger of a maiden; R. Jehudah says for lime the prescribed quantity is as much as will cover the temple of a maiden; R. Nehemiah says as much as will cover the back part of a maiden's temple.

GEMARA: "For paper, as muck as suffices to write a toll-bill on." There is a Boraitha: "The legal size of a toll-bill is a piece of paper large enough to contain two letters." Is this not contradictory to the Boraitha which says that the carrying out of a piece of blank paper large enough for two letters of ordinary size to be written on makes one liable? Answered R. Shesheth: "The two letters referred to by the Mishna are the letters used by the toll-master (usually extra large letters). Rabha, however, said that the piece of paper referred to is large enough for two letters and has a margin by which it can be held.

The rabbis taught: If one carry out on the Sabbath an unpaid promissory note he is liable, but not so for a paid one. But R. Jehudah said: The same is the case with a paid-up note, for its value lies therein, that the owner may show it to a prospective creditor in order to prove promptness of former payments. What is the point of their differing? Said R. Joseph: "They differ if it is allowed to preserve a paid note. According to the rabbis it is prohibited, and according to R. Jehudah it may be done. 1

"For vellum is as much as suffices to make a cover for an amulet." Rabha questioned R. Na'hman: "Of what size?" and the latter answered: "As we were taught in the Mishna, as much as will suffice to make a cover for an amulet." And what is the size in regard to tanning? The same quantity. And where do you take this from? From the Mishna farther on, that gives the same quantity for wool preparing to be woven and for already woven. The same is here as it is for tanning; the quantity is the same as if already tanned. (The further discussion is repeated in many places, and each is translated in its proper place.)

"Parchment as much as suffices to write thereon the smallest portion," etc. Is this not a contradiction to the Boraitha which teaches that the prescribed quantity for parchment and double parchment (δο-ξέστος) is as much as suffices to write a Mezuzah (inscription on the door-posts) on? The Mezuzah mentioned in the Boraitha refers to the Mezuzah contained in the phylacteries. Does the Boraitha call phylacteries Mezuzah? Yea, it does elsewhere. But since the latter part of the Boraitha teaches explicitly that the prescribed quantity for parchment is as much as is required for writing the smallest portion of the phylacteries, which is "Hear, O Israel," is it not to be assumed that in the former part of the Boraitha a Mezuzah proper is meant? Read: What is the prescribed quantity for parchment and double parchment? For the latter as much as is required for the writing of a Mezuzah; and the former, for the writing of the smallest portion of the phylacteries, which is "Hear, O Israel."

Rabh said: "Double parchment is the same as parchment. The same as we may write the portions of the phylacteries on parchment, so may we also write them on double parchment." Were we not taught "parchment sufficient," etc., which certainly does not mean double parchment? Nay, it is only a better observance to write on parchment than on double parchment.

"For ink," etc. A Boraitha adds: The prescribed quantity for dry ink is as much as will suffice for the writing of two letters; for prepared ink as much as a quill or stub will require to write the two letters with. Said Rabha: For carrying out sufficient ink for two letters and writing the two letters while carrying the ink, one is culpable; for the writing is equivalent to depositing a thing in a place. But for carrying out sufficient ink for one letter only, and writing that letter while carrying the ink, afterward carrying out another quantity of ink sufficient for one letter and writing the other letter while carrying the ink, one is not culpable; for by the time the second letter was written (the ink of the first letter dried out and) the prescribed quantity of ink was not visible. Again Rabha said: For carrying out food to the size of one-half of a dried fig, laying it down, and then carrying out another quantity of like size (one is not culpable), for it is considered as if the first quantity had been consumed by fire. But why should it be thus considered? Is it not lying there yet? He means to say: If one picked up the first before he laid down the second, the first is to be considered as if consumed by fire, and hence one is not culpable.

"For paint," etc. Is it not a fact that people never dye one eye only? Said R. Huna. Modest women veil one eye and only paint the other. To this explanation some one objected, viz.: For paint as a remedy the prescribed quantity is as much as will dye one eye, said R. Simeon b. Elazar, but as a means for beautifying the prescribed quantity is as much as will dye two eyes. Hillel, the son of R. Samuel b. Nahmeni, explained it by saying that R. Simeon b. Elazar referred to country damsels who dye both eyes.

"For bird lime as much as is sufficient to put on a lime twig." There is a Boraitha: As much as is sufficient to put on a twig for the purpose of catching birds.

"For pitch and sulphur," etc. A Boraitha states: Sufficient to fill up a hole in a quicksilver tube.

"For loam," etc. A Boraitha states: Sufficient to fill up the cracks in a small stove.

"For clay," etc. The rabbis taught: It is prohibited to carry out hair for the purpose of mixing it with clay used to cover a goldsmith's bellows-pipe with.

"For lime," etc. A Boraitha states: To cover the smallest finger of a damsel. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: Daughters of Israel, when they become of age, and they have not yet developed the signs of puberty, the poor smear their bodies with lime, the rich ones with fine meal, and princesses with myrrh oil. What is myrrh oil? στακτη. And R. Jeremiah b. Aba said: Olive oil from olives which were only one third ripe. There is a Boraitha: R. Jehudah said: It is called (in Menachoth) anphiknun (ομφανιον); and why do they anoint with this? Because it removes the hair and makes the complexion clear. R. Bibi had such a daughter and he anointed her with the same, each member of her body separately; and finally one of the prominent men paid him four hundred zuz and married her. He had a Gentile neighbour who also had such a daughter, and he anointed her whole body at one time, and she died; said he: "R. Bibi has murdered my daughter." Said R. Na'hman: "R. Bibi, who used to drink beer, his daughter needed the anointing, but our daughters do not need it, for we do not drink beer."

"As much as is sufficient to cover," etc. What is meant by Kalkub and Andiphi? Said Rabh: The temple, and the hair between it and the ear. Are we to understand from the Mishna that the prescribed quantity permitted by R. Jehudah is larger than that of the rabbis? Is it not a fact that the rabbis allow the larger prescribed quantity? Aye; R. Jehudah allows a larger quantity than R. Nehemiah, but still a smaller quantity than the rabbis. Or it is possible that an Andiphi means a forehead, from the following narration: "It happened that a Galilean once came to Babylon and was requested to lecture on metaphysics. The Galilean consented and began: I will interpret to you something in the style of R. Nehemiah. Meanwhile a wasp flew out of the wall, stung him on the Andiphi (forehead) and the Galilean died on the spot. It was said that he died a merited death." 1

MISHNA 3.: For sealing-wax the prescribed quantity is as much as is required for the sealing of a bale of goods, so is the decree of R. Aqiba; the sages, however, say for the sealing of a letter. For dung or fine sand as much as is required to fertilize (the soil around) a cabbage stalk, according to R. Aqiba, and to the sages as much as is required to fertilize (the soil around) a leek stalk. For coarse sand as much as is required to fill a trowel, for reed as much as is required to make a writing-pen from, or should it be thick or split, as much as is required to fry the softest beaten egg with, (which) mixed with oil, (lies) in a hot shell.

GEMARA: "Sufficient to fill a trowel." A Boraitha states: (For coarse sand the prescribed quantity is) as much as is required to fill the trowel of a plasterer. Who is the Tana that holds that sand is an improvement on plaster? Said R. Hisda: R. Jehudah of a Boraitha (Baba Bathra, 60b); Rabha, however, said it may be also in accordance with the rabbis, as they hold that the spoiling (of the whiteness) of the plaster (through the admixture of sand) is an improvement of its durability.

"For reed as much as is required to make a writing-pen." A Boraitha teaches: A pen that reaches the joints of the fingers.

"Or should it be thick." A Boraitha teaches: To fry a beaten egg mixed with oil. Said Mar b. Rabhina to his son: "Didst thou ever hear what is understood by the softest egg?" He answered that R. Shesheth said it was a hen's egg, Why does the Mishna call it a light (soft) egg? Because the sages found that no eggs are cooked as quickly as pullets' eggs. Why is it that all other prescribed quantities prohibited to be carried out on the Sabbath are of the size of a dried fig, and here the quantity is of the size of an egg? Answered R. Na'hman: "Even here is meant the quantity of a dried fig from an egg."

MISHNA 4.: The quantity of a bone is that large enough to be made into a spoon--R. Jehudah says large enough to be made into a key; glass of sufficient size to be used for scraping off the points of a weaver's spindles; a splinter or a stone large enough to throw at a bird--R. Elazar b. Jacob says to throw at an animal.

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GEMARA: Is it to be understood from the Mishna that the prescribed quantity allowed by R. Jehudah is larger than that allowed by the rabbis? Is it not a fact that the rabbis allow the larger? Said Ulla: (R. Jehudah refers to) the tooth of a key.

"Glass of sufficient size," etc. A Boraitha states: Sufficient glass to cut two threads at once.

"A splinter," etc. Said R. in the name of R. Johanan: "Provided it is large enough to hurt." But how large should it be? R. Elazar b. Jacob teaches in a Boraitha: The weight of ten zuz.

Zunin once entered the college and questioned the teachers. "What is the prescribed quantity for gravel used in privy for toilet purposes?" He was answered: "The equivalent in quantity to the size of an olive, a nut, or an egg." Said he: "It would then be necessary to carry along a scale." So they deliberated, and decided that the quantity should be a handful.

Rabba b. R. Shilla asked of R. Hisda: "Is it permitted to carry up gravel to the roof (for the purpose cited above, as it is extra trouble, which is prohibited on the Sabbath)?" He answered: "Precious is the honour of man. For honour's sake, even a direct scriptural commandment may be circumvened!"

Said R. Johanan: It is forbidden to use fragments of earthenware for toilet purposes (after doing one's necessities) on the Sabbath. What is the reason? Is it to say because it is dangerous, then it should be forbidden also on week days; or is it to say because of witchcraft, it would also be prohibited on week days? What then is the reason? Is it because it may remove the hair (from the posterior)? Would this not be an act performed without intention (and work done unintentionally, he is of the opinion is permissible)? R. Nathan b. Ashia answered: A great man made the assertion; we have to find, therefore, a reason for it. There is no doubt whatever that fragments of earthenware are prohibited to be used on week days, when some other things can easily be obtained; but on Sabbath, if nothing else happens to be on hand, nor may be bought, the fragments might be considered as utensils; and, lest one might be inclined to think that for this reason they would be permitted to be used, he informs us that they are not. Can witchcraft be exercised through the agency of fragments? Aye; for the following proves it:

R. Hisda and Rabba b. R. Hana once travelled in a ship, and a matron who wanted to go on the same ship asked their permission to sit down near them, which they refused. She pronounced a certain word and the ship stood still, but they in turn pronounced a certain word and the ship moved on. She then said: "It grieves me sorely that I cannot inflict some punishment on you, seeing that you use no fragments for toilet purposes, nor do you kill the vermin in garments, nor do you pull out vegetables from a bundle (but cut the bundle first)." (Hence it may be seen that fragments can be used as a means for the exercise of witchcraft.)

R. Huna said to his son Rabba: Why do you not go more frequently to R. Hisda, who expounds the law so pointedly? Answered the son: "Of what use would it be? He never taught me but mere worldly knowledge, such as, for instance: Not to sit down to excrementize with a jerk nor to force myself too much, lest the intestines come out and endanger life." R. Huna then rejoined: "Thou sayest 'mere worldly knowledge.' He is interested in the life of the people, and you call it mere worldly knowledge. So much the more should you go to him."

R. Hisda and Rabhina differ as to the consequences of one withholding to perform his necessities. One is of the opinion that foul breath is the result, while the other holds that the entire body assumes a bad odor. The opinion of the latter is supported by the following Boraitha: "He who takes nourishment while in need of performing his necessities is compared to a stove in which a fire was built without previously removing the ashes, which is invariably the cause of a bad smell. One who feels like performing his necessities, but cannot do so, R. Hisda advises that he keep on sitting down and getting up until able. R. Hanan from Neherdai advises him to look for another place, but the rabbis say the sole remedy is to think of nothing else."

The rabbis taught: One who is about to eat a hearty meal should walk ten times four ells or four times ten ells, then perform a (natural) necessity, and after that go in and sit down to the meal.

MISHNA 5.: The prescribed quantity of fragments (of earthenware) is the size of such as are placed between two boards, is the decree of R. Jehudah. R. Meir says, of a size sufficient to stir a fire with. R. Jossi, of a size to receive (hold) a quarter of a lug. Said R. Meir: Although no positive proof for my assertion can be found in the Scripture, still a vague reference can be deduced from the passage [Isaiah, xxx. 14]: "So that there cannot be found among their fragments a sherd to rake fire from a hearth." Said R. Jossi: "Therefrom you would adduce your proof? It says immediately after that [ibid., ibid.], 'and to draw water from a pit.'"

GEMARA: We must assume that the prescribed quantity allowed by R. Jossi is larger than that allowed by R. Meir; but the scriptural text shows that R. Meir allows the larger; because, is it possible that the prophet will curse them with a larger object after having cursed them with a smaller? Said Abayi: R. Meir also means a fragment used to stir a big fire with; hence his fragment is larger than R. Jossi's.

"Said R. Jossi," etc. Is not R. Jossi's answer correct? What could R. Meir rejoin? R. Meir might say that the prophet intends to convey that not only shall they not have anything of the least value left, but they shall not even have anything that is as valueless as a piece of fragment big enough to contain a drop of water.

CHAPTER 9.

RABBI AQIBA'S REGULATIONS ON DIFFERENT SUBJECTS.

MISHNA 1.: R. Aqiba said: Whence do we deduce that one who carries an idol is as unclean (ritually) as a woman suffering from menstruation? From the passage [Isaiah, xxx. 23]: "Thou wilt cast them away as a filthy thing. 1 'Get thee hence!', wilt thou say unto them." Thus, in the same manner as a woman suffering from menstruation causes (ritual) uncleanness, so does also an idol.

GEMARA: Rabba said: The passage mentioned in the Mishna should be interpreted thus: "Estrange 2 them from thyself as a stranger; Get thee hence, say unto him, but tell him not to come in!" Further Rabba said: It is unanimously conceded that the carrying of idols causes (ritual) uncleanness and hence it is compared to menstruation, but there is a dissenting opinion among the rabbis concerning a stone (used as a pedestal for an idol or upon which a woman suffering from menstruation chanced to sit) beneath which there were utensils. R. Aqiba holds that idols are regarded the same as menstruating women and the vessels beneath the stone become defiled (for the reason that the stone is the basis of the idol, and the former becomes part of the idol, and hence everything beneath it becomes defiled), but the rabbis regard an idol as a reptile, i.e., as a reptile lying upon a large stone (in which case any utensils chancing to be beneath the stone do not become defiled). This decree is unanimously conceded.

R. Ahadbou b. Ami asked: What about an idol smaller in size than an olive? R. Joseph objected to this question: What is the purpose of the query? Does it refer to the prohibition of idolatry? Even an idol the size of a fly, like the idol of the Ekronites, which was called Zebub 1 (fly) is also prohibited; for we are taught it is written in the passage [Judges, viii. 33]: "And they made themselves Baal-berith for a god"; by Baal-berith is meant the Zebub (fly) idol of Ekron, and every idolater (at that time) made an image of his idol in miniature in order to keep it constantly at hand and to be able at any time to take it out, embrace, and kiss it; hence there is no question as to size. Nay, the query of R. Ahadbou is in regard to causing defilement? Either it is regarded as a reptile and defiles, even if only of the size of a lentil, or it is considered as a corpse and causes defilement if it is the size of an olive. (A part of a corpse the size of an olive causes the person touching it to become defiled.) Answered R. Ivia, and according to others Rabba b. Ulla: "Come and hear the following Boraitha: 'No defilement is caused by idols smaller than olives, for it is written [II Kings, xxiii. 6]: "And cast its powder upon the graves of the children of the people."'" (The adduction is) that as a corpse cannot cause defilement by a part less than the size of ail olive, the same is the case with idols, which are regarded as corpses.

MISHNA 2.: (R. Aqiba says again:) Whence the adduction that a ship, though a wooden vessel, is not subject to defilement? From the passage [Prov. xxx. 19]: "The way of a ship is in the heart of the sea."

GEMARA: It is certain 2 that R. Aqiba intends to convey to us that the reason the passage cited in the above Mishna informs us of a fact known to all is because the sense is to be construed thus: In the same manlier as the sea is not subject to defilement, so also a ship call never become defiled.

There is a Boraitha: Hananyah said: We make the adduction from a sack (which is subject to defilement) that everything which can be carried after the manner of a sack, sometimes full and at other times empty, is subject to defilement, except a ship, which cannot be carried at all, full or empty. What are the points of difference in the two adductions (of R. Aqiba and Hananyah)? They are concerning a small (river) boat. One holds that all boats (ships) must be regarded as the sea itself (hence not subject to defilement), while the other is of the opinion that a small (river) boat must be regarded as a sack because it is carried to the place whence it is launched and hence is subject to defilement; as R. Hanina b. Aqa'bbia said: Why did the rabbis say that a small (river) boat is subject to defilement? Because it is usually loaded in the dry dock and then carried into the river.

Rabbi Johanan in the name of Rabbi said: "One should not absent himself from the college even for one hour. Behold, this teaching (concerning a river boat) has been taught in the schools for many years and no one knew the reason for it until R. Hanina b. Aqa'bbia came and explained it."

R. Jonathan said: One should never absent himself from the house of learning or abstain from learning the law, even when at the point of death, for it is written [Num. xix. 14]: "This is the law, when a man dieth in his tent"; (i.e.) even at the point of death man must occupy himself with the study of the law. Resh Lakish, however, adduces from the same verse that one does not retain (in memory) the law, unless he is ready to die for it.

MISHNA 3.: (R. Aqiba said:) Whence do we adduce that in a patch of ground six spans long by six spans wide five different kinds of seed may be planted--one kind each in each of the four corners and one in the centre of the patch? From the passage [Isaiah, lxi. 11]: "For as the earth bringeth forth her growth, and as a garden causeth what is sown therein to spring forth." (We see then) it is not written "as a garden causeth its seed to spring forth," but what is sown therein.

GEMARA: How is this to be understood from that passage? Said R. Jehudah: The passage cited in the above Mishna is to be thus explained: "The earth bringeth forth her growth." "Bringeth forth" (which is in the singular) can be counted for "one" (kind of seed). Her "growth" (also singular) can also be counted for "one." (Now we have two.) "What is grown therein" (evidently plural) can be counted for two more (making four), and "to spring forth" (in the singular again) can be counted as one, making five in all; and (as far as the six spans square are concerned) the rabbis are quite certain (through tradition) that five different kinds of seed in a patch six spans square do not interfere with one another. But whence do we know that the assurance of the rabbis can be depended upon? Answered R. Hyya b. Aba in the name of R. Johanan, from the passage [Deut. xix. 14]: "Thou shalt not remove the landmark of thy neighbour, which they of old time have set," which is to be explained: "Thou shalt not go beyond what is limited by those of old." But what have those of old limited? Answered R. Samuel bar Na'hmeni in the name of R. Jonathan: "It is written [Genesis 36:20]: "These are the sons of Seir the Chorite, who inhabited the land." Only they inhabited the land? Did the rest of mankind inhabit heaven? It simply means to state that they made the earth inhabitable by their knowledge of agriculture and their experience as to what ground is adapted for the planting of olive trees, vines, date trees, etc.

R. Assi said: "The teaching of R. Aqiba in the Mishna refers to a patch of ground six spans square, excluding the corners.

Rabh said: "The above Mishna has reference only to an isolated patch (or furrow) of ground, but in a furrow surrounded by others one can not sow five kinds of grain, (as it is necessary to have a space of three spans dividing one kind from the other). Are there not corners, however, (to the furrow)?" The school of Rabh explained, in the name of Rabh, that reference is made to furrows into the corners of which grain had been sown.

Samuel, however, said, even in a furrow surrounded by other furrows. But will not the seeds interfere one with another? Samuel refers to furrows which are planted alternately from north to east and from south to west. 1

MISHNA 4.: (R. Aqiba says again): Whence the adduction that a woman, from whom seed of copulation 2 escapes only on the third day (after lying with her husband), is unclean? From the passage [Exodus, 19:15]: "And he said unto the people, Be ready against the third day. Approach not unto a woman." Whence the adduction that a child may be bathed on the third day of its circumcision, even if that day fall on a Sabbath? From the passage [Genesis 34:25]: "And it came to pass on the third day, when they were sore." Whence the adduction that a string of crimson wool must be tied on the head of the goat that was to be sent away? 3 From the passage [Isaiah, 1:18]: "Though they should be red like crimson, they shall become (white) like wool." Whence do we adduce that anointing one's self on the Day of Atonement is equal to drinking? Although no positive proof is apparent, still a reference can be adduced from the passage [Psalms, cix. 18]: "And it cometh like water on his body and oil into his bones."

GEMARA: The first part of the Mishna (treating of a woman) is not in accordance with the opinion of R. Elazar b. Azaryah, who declares her (the woman) clean in that case; the second part of the Mishna, however, (treating of bathing on the third day after circumcision) is in direct accord with his own words (as will be seen in Chapter 19.). Therefore some rabbis claim that the first part of the Mishna reads clean instead of unclean, i.e., that the whole Mishna is according to the opinion of R. Elazar b. Azaryah, but other rabbis claim that the first part of the Mishna is according to the opinion of other Tanaim, who differ with Elazar b. Azaryah (and the word unclean is correct).

"And they shall be ready against the third day" [Ex. 19:11]. R. Ada b. Ahbha said: "Moses went up (to the Mount Sinai) at daybreak, and descended the following break of day." He went up at break of day, as it is written [Ex. 34:4]: "And Moses rose up early in the morning and went up unto Mount Sinai." He descended on the following daybreak, as it is written [ibid. 19:24]: "Go, get thee down, and then shalt thou come up, thou, and Aaron with thee." We see that the Scripture compares the descending to the ascending, and as the ascending was early in the morning, so was also the descending early in the morning.

The rabbis taught: The decalogue was given to Israel on the sixth day of the (third) month, but R. Jossi said on the seventh day.

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Said Rabba: All agree that on the first day of the (third) month the Israelites arrived at the wilderness of Sinai. It is adduced from the analogy of the word "this"; [Ex. xix. 1] "on this day they arrived at the wilderness of Sinai," and [Ex. 12:2] "this month to be to you the first of months." As in the latter instance the "this" referred to the first, so does it also in the former; furthermore (he said), all agree that the law was given to Israel on a Sabbath; this is to be adduced from the analogy of the word "remember" [Ex. 20:8]: "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy"; and [ibid. 3:3]: "Remember this day on which ye came out from Egypt." As in the latter instance the very day of their coming out of Egypt is referred to, so is it also in the former instance. Where the rabbis do differ is what day was the first of the month. R. Jossi holds that the first of the month was set on the first of the week, and on that day no commandments were given, because the children of Israel were tired from their long journey. On the second day (of the week) the Lord said to them: "Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests" [Ex. xix. 1]. On the third of the week he commanded them to keep away from the mountain. On the fourth to separate themselves from their wives. The rabbis, however, hold that the first of the month was set on the second of the week; that on that day nothing was commanded the Israelites, they being tired; on the third the cited passage [Ex. xix. 1] was said; on the fourth day they were to keep away from the mountain, and on the fifth to separate themselves from their wives.

An objection was raised: It is written [Ex. 19:10]: "Go unto the people, and sanctify them to-day and to-morrow." Is this not contradictory to the statement of R. Jossi (in whose opinion the sanctification lasted three days)? R. Jossi may explain this thus: "Moses added one day upon his own authority," as we have learned in a Boraitha: "Three things were done by Moses upon his own authority, and the Holy One, blessed be He, agreed thereto. They are: He added one day (to the period of sanctification), he separated himself from a woman, and he broke the tablets into pieces." "He added one day upon his own authority." What was his object? The Lord said unto him: "To-day and to-morrow," and he construed the words as follows: "To-day must be equal (in duration) to tomorrow; as to-morrow includes the might, so must to-day; the night, however, having already passed, another day must be added in order to make up for the lost night." Whence do we know that the Lord agreed to this? Because the Shekhina did not appear on Mount Sinai until the Sabbath morn. What was the object of Moses in separating himself from a woman? He applied the order given the Israelites (to separate themselves from their wives) to himself in a so much larger degree (i.e., the order having been issued to the Israelites for the reason that they would shortly hear the word of the Lord, it would be so much more proper for him, who frequently was spoken to by the Lord, to separate himself entirely from a woman). And whence do we know that the Lord agreed to this also? It is written [Deut. 5:27 and 28]: "Go, say to them, Return you unto your tents. But as for thee, remain thou here by me." And what was his object in breaking the tablets? He thought: "As concerning the Passover sacrifice, which is only one of the six hundred and thirteen commandments, it is written [Ex. 12:43]: 'No stranger shall eat thereof,' how can I give the tablets, which contain all the commandments, to the children of Israel, who are now all renegades?" And whence do we know that the Holy One, blessed be He, agreed even to this? It is written [Ex. 34:1]: "And the Lord said unto Moses, Hew thyself two tables of stone like unto the first; and I will write upon these tables the words which were on the first tables which thou didst break." Said Resh Lakish: "'Which thou didst break' really means, 'which thou didst break rightfully.'"

Another objection was raised: It is written [Ex. 19:11]: "And they shall be ready against the third day." According to R. Jossi it should be the fourth day. This is no objection! as it is said above that Moses added another day upon his own authority. Come and hear another objection: "The sixth means the sixth of the week and of the month." Is this not contradictory to the statement of the rabbis, who say: "The first of the month was the second day of the week?" Yea, (it may be that) this Boraitha holds to the opinion of R. Jossi.

Come and hear: On the fourteenth day of the month of Nissan, during which (month) the Israelites went out of Egypt, they killed the Passover sacrifice and on the fifteenth day they went out. On the night before that the first-born of the Egyptians were beaten. That day (the fifteenth) was the fifth of the week. Now, if the fifteenth of Nissan was the fifth of the week, we must certainly say that the first of the next month (Iar) was Sabbath and the first day of the following month (Sivan) was the first day of the week. Is this not contradictory to the statement of the rabbis, that the first day of the month was the second day of the week? The rabbis might have assumed that the month of Iar was an intercalary month.

Said R. Habibi of 'Huzunah to R. Ashi: Come and hear: It is written [Ex. 40:17]: "And it came to pass in the first month in the second year, on the first of the month, that the tabernacle was reared up," and a Boraitha teaches that this day was crowned tenfold, viz.: "That day was the first of the six days of the creation; the first of the days on which the first prince presented his offering before the altar; the first of the days on which the priests (Aaron and sons) did their work in the sanctuary; the first day on which the children of Israel brought their sacrifices into the tabernacle; the first of the days on which the heavenly fire descended upon the altar; the first of the days on which the priests were permitted to eat the sacrifices in the tabernacle; the first of the days on which the Shekhina appeared in the tabernacle; the first day on which Aaron the High Priest blessed the Israelites in the tabernacle; the first of the days on which sacrifices were no more permitted to be brought on the high places outside of the tabernacle, and the first day of the first of the months." Now, if the first day of this year was the first day of the week, we must say the first of Nissan of the preceding year fell on the fourth day of the week, because we have learned in another Boraitha: "Anonymous teachers say that there can be not more than four days' difference between one New Year's day and another." If a leap year intervened, then there may be a difference of five days. Is this not contradictory to the opinion of both the rabbis and R. Jossi? According to R. Jossi there were seven short months (of twenty-nine days) in that year, but according to the rabbis there were eight such months, (consequently the difference from the last year was only in two days,) as this year was an extraordinary one. (And the first day of the month Iar of the last year was on Friday.)

Another objection was raised: We have learned in the Tract Seder Aulim that on the fourteenth day of the month of Nissan, during which (month) the Israelites went out of Egypt, they killed the Passover sacrifice; on the fifteenth they went out, and that day was Friday. Now, if the first of the month of Nissan of that year was Friday, we must say that the first day of the following (Iar) month was on the first day of the week and the first of the succeeding month (Sivan) was on Monday. Is this not contradictory with R. Jossi? R. Jossi will then say that this Boraitha is in accordance with the opinion of the rabbis.

Come and hear another objection: R. Jossi says: "On the second day Moses went up on the Mount Sinai and came back. The same he did on the third day, but on the fourth day, when he came back, he remained." Came back and remained? Whence did he come back--it does not say that he went up at all? Say, then, on the fourth day he went up, came back, and remained. On the fifth he built an altar and offered a sacrifice. On the sixth he had no time. Shall we assume that he had no time because on that day the Israelites received the Torah? (If we say that the second refers to the second day of the week, it must be a fact that the Torah was given on Friday, and would this not be a contradiction to his [R. Jossi's] own opinion?) Nay; he had no time because the Sabbath was at hand.

A Galilean lectured in the presence of R. Hisda: Praised be the merciful God, who gave a triple law (the Pentateuch, Prophets, and Hagiographa) to a triple people (Kahanites, Levites, and Israelites) through a man who was the third child of his parents (Miriam, Aaron, and Moses), on the third day of sanctification and in the third month. We see from this that the Galilean held in accordance with the teachings of the rabbis.

It is written [Ex. 19:17]: "And they placed themselves at the foot of the mount." Said R. Abhdimi b. Hama b. Hassa: "It appears from this passage that the Holy One, blessed be He, inclined the mountain toward the children of Israel and gave them the choice of either accepting the Torah or being buried right under the mountain." Said R. Aha b. Jacob: "This would accord us the right to protest against any punishment inflicted upon us for violating the law. (For we were compelled to accept it.)" Said Rabha: Although (at that time they were compelled to accept it), at the time of Ahasuerus (King of Persia) they accepted it voluntarily. For it is written [Esther, 9:27]: "The Jews confirmed it as a duty, and took upon themselves and upon their seed." And it is to be explained: "They took upon themselves voluntarily what at one time they were compelled to accept." R. Simai lectured: "At that time, when Israel answered to the information of Moses, 'We will do and we will obey,' six hundred thousand angels had furnished to every one of Israel two crowns: one for the answer 'We will do,' and one for the answer 'We will obey.' Thereafter when Israel sinned (with the Golden Calf) twelve hundred thousand destroying angels descended and took them away; as it is written [Exodus, 33:6]: 'The children of Israel then stripped themselves of their ornaments (they wore) from (the time they were at) Mount Horeb.'" Said R. Hami b. R. Hanina: "For in the same passage it may be deduced that in the same place where they were furnished they were taken away from them." Said R. Johanan: All of them were given as a reward to Moses, as immediately after the verse cited it is written: "And Moses took the tent," etc. Said Resh Lakish: We hope, however, that the Holy One, blessed be He, will return them to us, as it is written [Isaiah, 35:10]: "And the ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come to Zion with song, with everlasting joy upon their head." The expression everlasting means that it was already upon their heads at the time of reception of the Torah.

R. Elazar said: At the time the Israelites said "We will do" and afterward "We will obey" a heavenly voice (Bath-kol) was heard, which said unto them: "Who unfolded unto my children this mystery known only to the angels?" For it is written [Psalms, 103:20]: "Bless the Lord, ye his angels, mighty in strength, that execute his word, hearkening unto the voice of his word," and from this we see that only angels can execute first and then obey.

A Sadducee once noticed Rabha studying and observed that he in his absent-mindedness held his (Rabha's) finger underneath his knee and pressed it so hard that blood spurted from the finger. Said the Sadducee 1to him: "Impetuous people, whose mouths precede your ears! Ye are still of the same vehemence! Ye must first hear the Torah before you accept it and not accept without knowing its prescriptions!" Answered Rabha: We who are upright men trusted Him, as it is said of us [Proverbs, 11:3]: "The integrity of the upright guideth them," but to those men who are continually fault-finding the latter part of the same verse [ibid., ibid.] can be applied, viz. "But the cunning of the treacherous destroyeth them."

R. Samuel b. Na'hmeni in the name of R. Jonathan said: It is written [Solomon's Song, iv. 9]: "Thou hast ravished my heart, O my sister, (my) bride! thou hast ravished my heart with one of thy eyes." This means: When thou didst but receive the Torah, it was with one of thy eyes. When thou wilt obey it, it will be with both of thy eyes.

R. Johanan said: It is written [Psalms, 68:12]: "The Lord gave (happy) tidings; they are published by female messengers, a numerous host." This implies that every word emanating from the mighty God was heralded in seventy languages. The school of R. Ishmael, however, (adduced the same from another passage): It is written [Jeremiah, 23:29]: "Is not thus my word like the fire? saith the Lord, and like a hammer that shivereth the rock?" As the hammer that strikes emits a multitude of sparks, so, is every word emanating from the Holy One, blessed be He, heralded in seventy different languages.

R. Hananel b. Papa said: It is written [Proverbs, 8:6]. "Hear! for of noble things will I speak." Why are the words of the Torah compared to a noble? To inform us that inasmuch as a noble has in his power the disposal over life and death, so have also the words of the Torah. This is similar to what Rabha said: To those who walk in the right ways of the law, it is an elixir of life, but to those who pursue not the right way, it is the poison of death.

R. Jehoshua b. Levi said: It is written [Solomon's Song, 1:12]: "A bundle of myrrh is my friend unto me, that resteth on my bosom." Said the Congregation of Israel: "Lord of the Universe! Although my friend chastiseth 1 me, still he resteth on my bosom!"

The same rabbi said: "It is written [Solomon's Song, 5:13]: "His cheeks are as a bed of spices, as turrets of sweet perfumes." Every word emanating from the Holy One, blessed be He, fills the whole world with the aroma of spices. If the world was filled with the aroma arising from the first word, where could the second word go? The Holy One, blessed be He, sent forth a wind from His store, which cleared off the aroma of each word, as it is written [ibid.]: "His lips like lilies, dropping with fluid myrrh." Do not read Shoshanim (lilies) but Sheshonim (learned men). The same said again that from each word which came from the Holy One, blessed be He, the soul of Israel was going out, as it is written [ibid., ibid. 6]: "My soul had failed me while he was speaking." But the Holy One, blessed be He, has let down the dew with which He will in the future make the resurrection and bring them to life; as it is written [Psalms, lxviii. 10]: "Rain of beneficence didst thou pour down, O God!"

He also said: When Moses ascended into Heaven, said the angels before the Holy One, blessed be He, "Lord of the Universe! What has one born of a woman to do among us?"

The Lord answered: "He came to receive the Torah." Said the angels again: "Wouldst Thou give a precious thing that Thou hast preserved since nine hundred and seventy-four generations before the creation of the world to a being of flesh and blood? (It is written [Psalms, viii. 5]): What is the mortal, that thou rememberest him? and the son of man, that thou thinkest of him?" Said the Holy One, blessed be He, unto Moses: "Give thou them an answer!" Answered Moses before the Lord: "Lord of the Universe! What is written in the law, which Thou gavest unto me?" [Ex. xx. 2]. "I am the Lord, thy God, who have brought thee out of the land of Egypt." Moses then said to the angels: Were ye in Egypt? Have ye served Pharaoh? Of what use can the Torah be unto you? Further, what is written in the Torah [ibid. 3]: "Thou shalt have no other gods before me." Are ye among the nations that worship idols? And furthermore, what is written in the Torah? [ibid. 8]: "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy." Do ye any labour on the week-days? [Ibid. 7]: "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain." Are ye merchants, that ye must swear? [Ibid. 13]: "Honour thy father and thy mother." Have ye fathers and mothers to honour? [Ibid. 12]: "Thou shalt not kill," etc. Is there any jealousy among you? Have ye any evil intent?

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Then the angels confessed and praised the Holy One, blessed be He, as it is written [Psalms, viii. 10]: "O Eternal One, our Lord, how excellent is thy name on all the earth!" but the ending of the verse [ibid. 2], "Thou who hast set thy majesty above the heavens," is not cited in this verse. Then every one of the angels befriended Moses and each of them disclosed some mystery to him, as it is written [Psalms, 68:19]: "Thou didst ascend on high, lead away captives, receive gifts among men," which means that because at first the angels called Moses one born of a woman (man), they at the close gave him gifts, and even the Angel of Death disclosed a mystery to him, as it is written [Num. 17:12 and 13]: "And he put on the incense, and made an atonement for the people. And he stood between the dead and the living." Now if the Angel of Death had not disclosed unto Moses this mystery, how could he have imparted it to Aaron?

Said R. Jehoshua b. Levi again: When Moses descended from Heaven, Satan came before the Holy One, blessed be He, and said: "Lord of the universe! Where is the Torah?" And the Lord answered: "I have given it to the earth." Satan descended to earth and said to it: "Where is the Torah?" And the earth answered [Job, xxviii. 23]: "God (alone) understandeth her way, and he knoweth her place." Satan then went to the sea, and the sea said: "She is not with me." He then went to the deep, and the deep answered: "Not in me is she," as it is written [ibid. 14]: "The deep saith, Not in me is she; and the sea saith, She is not with me." [Ibid. 22]: "Perdition and death say: With our ears have we heard a report of her." Satan then ascended before the Holy One, blessed be He, and said: "Lord of the Universe! I have looked for the Torah on the whole earth and could not find it." Then said the Lord unto him: "Go unto the son of Amram." And Satan went to Moses and said to him: "Where is the Torah which the Holy One, blessed be He, gave unto thee?" And Moses answered: "Who am I, that the Holy One, blessed be He, should give me the Torah?" Said the Lord unto Moses: "Moses, art thou a liar?" Said Moses before the Lord: "Lord of the Universe! Shall I claim that Thou hast given unto me a precious thing which Thou didst fondle every day?" Said the Holy One, blessed be He, unto Moses: "Because thou hast humbled thyself, the Torah shall bear thy name," as it is written [Malachi, 3:22]: "Remember ye the law of Moses my servant."

The same rabbi said again: When Moses ascended unto Heaven (and he was silent), the Lord said unto him: "Moses, is there no peace in thy city?" And Moses answered: "Is it then proper that a slave should salute his Master?" Said the Lord: "Still thou shouldst have wished me well." Then said Moses before the Lord [Numbers, 14:17]: "And now, I beseech thee, let the greatness of the power of the Lord be made manifest as thou hast spoken."

"A string of crimson wool," etc. Did not the passage say (Kashanim) 1 "like years" and not like crimson, for were it like crimson it would read Kashani? Said R. Itz'hak: "The passage is thus to be explained: The Lord said unto Israel: If your sins all lie before me as the years that have passed since the creation, they shall nevertheless become white as snow."

Rabha lectured: It is written [Isaiah, 1:18]: "Go now, 2 and let us reason together, said the Lord." It should not read "go now" but "come now," and not "saith the Lord" but "said the Lord." The passage should be explained: In the future the Lord will say unto Israel: Go to your ancestors and they shall rebuke you; and Israel will say before the Lord: Lord of the Universe, to whom shall we go? Shall we go to Abraham, to whom Thou hast said: "Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land which is not theirs, and they will make them serve," and he did not pray for us? Shall we go to Isaac, who, when blessing Esau, said [Gen. xxvii. 40]: "And it shall come to pass that when thou shalt have the dominion thou canst break his yoke from off thy neck," and he also did not pray for us? Shall we go to Jacob, to whom Thou didst say [Gen. 46:4]: "I will go down with thee into Egypt," and not even he prayed for us? To whom shall we go now? Then the Lord will say unto Israel: "Inasmuch as ye have attached yourselves to me, though your sins should be as scarlet, they shall become white as snow."

Said R. Samuel b. Na'hmeni in the name of R. Jonathan: It is written [Isaiah, 63:16]: "For Thou art our Father; for Abraham knoweth nothing of us, and Israel recogniseth us not; Thou, O Lord, art our Father, our Redeemer from everlasting is thy name." In the future the Holy One, blessed be He, will say to Abraham: "Thy children have sinned before me," and Abraham will answer: "Let them be wiped off (the face of the earth) for the sake of the holiness of Thy name." The Holy One, blessed be He, will then say: "I shall tell this to Jacob, who had trouble in rearing his own children; perhaps he will pay for the present generation." The Lord said to Jacob: "Thy children have sinned before me," and Jacob gave the same reply as Abraham. Then said the Lord: "Not with the aged can feeling be found, nor with the young wise counsel." The Lord then said to Isaac: "Thy children have sinned before me." Then said Isaac before the Lord: "Creator of the universe! Thou sayest my children, are they not Thine? When they answered before Thee, 'We will do,' and (then) 'obey,' Thou calledst them 'My son, my first-born,' and now they are my children and not Thine! And furthermore, how long a time have they sinned before Thee? Let us see; what is the duration of a man's life? Only seventy years. Take off the twenty years that Thou dost not punish for sin and only fifty remain. Take off the nights and only twenty-five full years remain. Deduct again twelve years and six months spent in praying, eating, and in the performance of other necessities, only twelve and one-half years remain. If Thou wilt bear the whole it is well, but if not let me bear half and Thou the other half. If Thou wilt say that I must bear the whole, did I not sacrifice myself for Thee?" Then Israel said (unto Isaac): "For thou (alone) art our father." Said Isaac unto them: "Instead of praising me, praise ye the Holy One, blessed be He," and he pointed them on high with his finger. "There is the Lord!" Then they lifted up their eyes unto Heaven and said: Thou, O Lord, art our Father, our Redeemer from everlasting is Thy name.

R. Hyya b. Aba said in the name of R. Johanan: "Jacob deserved to go down into Egypt in iron shackles (because that is the usual way of going into exile), but his merits precluded such a thing, as it is written: "With human cords I ever drew them forward, with leading-strings of love; and I was to them as those that lift off the yoke from their jaws, and I held out unto them food" [Hosea, 11:4].

MISHNA 5.: The prescribed quantity for wood is as much as suffices. to cook an (easily boiled) egg; for spices as much as would suffice to spice such an egg--and the different spices are counted together; nut-shells, pomegranate peel, isatis, and cochineal, as much as suffices to dye the edge of a small piece of cloth; alum, native carbonate of soda, Cimolia chalk, vegetable soap, as much as suffices to wash the edge of a small piece of cloth. R. Jehudah says as much as will suffice to remove a blood stain.

GEMARA: Have we not learned this already? Reeds, split, as much as will suffice to cook an egg? In that case we must assume that the reeds could not be used for any other purpose, but wood which can be put to a multitude of uses, as, for instance, to make the handle for a key, (should be limited to a smaller quantity). He comes to teach us that the same quantity also applies in this case.

"Nut-shells," etc. Is this not a contradiction to what we have learned elsewhere, that dyes may not be carried in quantities sufficient to exhibit a sample of the colour in the market? Said R. Na'hman in the name of Rabba b. Abuhu: "Because one will not take the trouble to make dye sufficient only for a sample."

"Native carbonate," etc. A Boraitha in addition to this states, that coming from Alexandria but not from Anphantrin.

"Vegetable soap" (Ashleg). Said Samuel: "I have inquired of a number of seafaring men and they have told me that the name for it is Ashalgoh; it is found in the shells of a pearl-oyster and it is extracted with iron needles."

MISHNA 6.: The prescribed quantity for (aromatic) pepper (pimento) is the least possible amount; for tar it is the same; for different kinds of spices and metals it is also the same; for the stone and the earth of the altar, torn pieces of the scroll of laws or its cover, it is also the same, because such things are generally preserved by men. R. Jehudah said: The same quantity applies to everything pertaining to the worship of idols, because it is written [Deut. 13:18]: "And there shall not cleave to thy hand aught of the devoted things."

GEMARA: To what use can such a small quantity of pepper be put? It may be used by one whose breath is foul.

"For tar." For what purpose can tar in so small a quantity be used? It may be used by one who has the sickness Tzilchathah (an illness where only one-half of the head aches).

"For different kinds of spices." The rabbis taught: The prescribed quantity both for aromatic spices as well as for ill-smelling oils is the same (least possible quantity); for purple dye also the same, and for roses only one rosebud.

"And metals." Of what use are they? We have learned, R. Simon b. Elazar said: They can be used to make a goad.

"The torn pieces of the scroll of laws." Said R. Jehudah: Book-worms, silk-worms, vine-worms, date-worms, and pomegranate-worms are all dangerous to human life. There was a disciple sitting before R. Johanan eating dates, and the disciple said to him: "Rabbi, there are thorns in the dates." Said the rabbi: "The date-worm (Pah) has killed this man."

MISHNA 7.: One who carries the chest of a spice dealer is liable for one sin-offering only, although there may be many spices in the chest. The prescribed quantity for garden seeds is the equivalent in size to a dried fig. R. Jehudah b. Bathyra said. Five different seeds. The prescribed quantity for cucumber seeds are two, for pumpkin seeds the same, for Egyptian beans the same; a living locust (which may be eaten), be it ever so small, must not be carried, but dead locusts may be carried in quantities less than a dried fig. The prescribed quantity for vineyard birds 1 living or dead is the smallest possible quantity, because they were preserved for medicinal purposes. R. Jehudah said: One must not carry out a living locust, (which must not be eaten), be it ever so small, because such locusts were kept as playthings for small children.

GEMARA: "Cucumber seeds." The rabbis taught: The prescribed quantity for seeds used for planting is two, but for seeds used for food it is the equivalent of a pig's mouthful. How much is a pig's mouthful? The seeds of one cucumber. For cucumber seeds used as fuel the prescribed quantity is as much as will suffice to cook an egg; for cucumber seeds used as counters (for figures) only two. Anonymous teachers say five.

The rabbis taught: One who carries two hairs from the tail of a horse or a cow is culpable, because the hairs are always preserved for making nets. The prescribed quantity for hog bristles is only one; for willows (used for wickerwork) two; for tree-bark 1 one strip.

"R. Jehudah says: A locust (which must not be eaten)," etc. Why did not the first Tana of the Mishna mention this? Because in his opinion it is forbidden to carry it even on week-days, lest one eat it. If such is the case, why should an eatable locust be allowed to be carried? Did not R. Kahana stand before Rabh and a small locust lighted on his lips: Rabh said to him. (R. Kahana), Take it away, lest people say that thou hast eaten it and thou hast violated the commandment [Leviticus, 11:43]: "Ye shall not make yourselves abominable with any creeping thing that creepeth"? Nay; there was no fear that the locust would be eaten alive, but they apprehended lest it die and then be eaten. (An eatable locust would not matter, but an uneatable locust would be a violation of the law.) If that is the case, why does R. Jehudah permit this? R. Jehudah holds that there is no fear of the locust being eaten when dead, as the child will mourn its death.

CHAPTER 10.

FURTHER REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE PRESCRIBED QUANTITY OF THINGS TO BE STORED.

MISHNA 1.: One who had stored anything for planting, sampling, or medicinal purposes (before the Sabbath) and carried some of it out (into public ground) on the Sabbath, be it ever so small a quantity, is liable for a sin-offering. Any one else, however, is culpable only then if (he carried out) the prescribed quantity. Even the one who had stored is culpable only for the prescribed quantity, if he brought the thing carried out by him back (to private ground).

GEMARA: For what purpose is it said in the Mishna, "One who stored anything"? Would it not be sufficient to say, "One who carried out things intended for planting, sampling, or medicinal purposes, be the quantity ever so small, is culpable"? Said Abayi: The Mishna treats of the case of a man who, after storing the thing, forgot for what purpose he had stored it, and then carried it out into the street for any purpose whatever. Lest one say that the original intention (to store it) is abolished, and now the thing carried out has for him only the same value as for others, and he would be culpable only for carrying out the regularly prescribed quantity, it comes to teach us that one who commits a deed executes his original intention.

R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel: R. Meir declares one who carried out only a single wheat grain, intended for sowing, culpable. Is this not self-evident? The Mishna taught: "Be it ever so small." One might presume that the term "be it ever so small" denotes something smaller than a dried fig but not smaller than an olive. R. Meir therefore informs us (that it refers even to one wheat grain). R. Itz'hak, the son of R. Jehudah, opposed this: "(We see that) the Mishna declares one culpable for an act originally intended to be performed, but now, supposing a man intended to carry out his entire household at once; is he then not culpable until he had accomplished the entire task, even if he had carried out part of it?" The answer was: If a man has an absurd intention it is abolished by the law, and he is culpable for carrying out the prescribed quantity.

"Any one else, however," etc. Our Mishna is not in accordance with that of R. Simeon b. Elazar (on page 145).

Rabha in the name of R. Na'hman said: "If one carried out a thing the size of a dried fig with the intention of eating it, but changed his mind in the meantime and then intended to sow it, or, on the contrary, first intended to sow it and then to eat it, he is culpable. Is this not self-evident? The prescribed quantity for both eating and sowing was carried. Lest one say that the removing and the depositing of a thing must be done with the very same intention in order to make one culpable, which is not so in this case, he comes to teach us that he is culpable.

"If he brought the thing," etc. Is this not self-evident? (for he did not sow it, we then see that his original intention is abolished). Said Abayi: "The Mishna speaks of a case where the man took the thing brought from his house, and threw it into the place where his full supply was kept, and the place where he threw it remained conspicuous. Lest one say, if the place is conspicuous, his original intention is not yet abolished, because he took the same thing again, it comes to teach us that the throwing of the thing among his other supplies annulled his original intention.

MISHNA 2.: If one intended to carry out victuals and deposited them on the doorstep, whether he afterward carried them out (into the street) himself, or this was done by some one else, he is not culpable, because he did not accomplish the

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deed at one time. If one deposited a basket of fruit on the outside doorstep, even if the bulk of the fruit was on the outside (in the street), he is not culpable, unless he carried out the entire basket (into the street).

GEMARA: What kind of a doorstep does the Mishna have reference to? Should we assume that the doorstep was public ground, how can the man be not culpable? He carried out from private into public ground. Should we assume that the doorstep was private ground, why does the Mishna teach that if he carried it out (into the street), or any one else, he is not culpable? It is again a case of carrying out from private into public ground? We must therefore assume that the doorstep was unclaimed ground, and it comes to teach us that only when the victuals were deposited on the unclaimed ground the man is not culpable, but if they had been carried out from private into public ground, even by way of unclaimed ground, he is culpable. And the Mishna does not agree with the opinion of Ben Azai, of the following Boraitha: "One who carries out from his store into the market by way of the alley is culpable, but Ben Azai says he is not."

"If one deposited a basket of fruit," etc. Said Hyzkiyah: The case in question treats only of a basket filled with cucumbers and beets, but if full of mustard seeds he is culpable. From this we see that Hyzkiyah considers a vessel no support 1 (i.e., the cucumbers are encircled by the basket and need no support), but the mustard seeds, which are heaped up, are outside of the basket proper and not supported by it; therefore, when the basket with mustard seeds is carried outside, part of the mustard seeds are already on the outside and the carrier is culpable. R. Johanan, however, says, even if the basket contained mustard seeds, he is also not culpable. Thence we see that R. Johanan does consider a vessel a support. Said R. Zera: "How is it with the Mishna? It is neither of the opinion of Hyzkiyah nor of R. Johanan." Hyzkiyah may explain it in accordance with his theory and R. Johanan with his own. Hyzkiyah explains the Mishna, which said "unless he carries out the entire basket." This is the case if the basket is filled with cucumbers and beets, but if filled with mustard seeds it is equal to putting out the entire basket into the street, and he is culpable, but R. Johanan explained the Mishna thus: Although the bulk of the fruit is on the outside, or even if all the fruit were on the outside, the man would not be culpable unless the entire basket was put on the outside. So also said Rabha: The Mishna treats only of a basket filled with cucumbers and beets, but if filled with mustard seeds the man is culpable. Whence we see that he does not consider a vessel a support. Abayi, however, said: Even if the basket contained mustard seeds, the man is also not culpable. Whence we see that he does consider a vessel a support. Shall we say that Abayi adopted the system of Rabha and Rabha of Abayi, or Abayi contradicts himself and Rabha does the same? As it was taught: One who carried out fruit into public ground, Abayi said, is culpable only if he carried it out with his hand (although the body remained in public ground), but if in a vessel he is not culpable. (Why? Because Abayi does not consider the body a support to the hand, in spite of the fact that the hand is attached to the body, but if he carried out the fruit in a vessel and part of the vessel still remained in private ground, he is not culpable.) And Rabha says, on the contrary: If he carried the fruit out in his hand he is not culpable (because he considers the body a support and the hand is part of the body), but if he carried it out in a vessel he is culpable (because, although the vessel is still in private ground, some of the fruit is in public ground). The answer is: Reverse the case. (Say Abayi's statement should be Rabha's and Rabha's Abayi's).

MISHNA 3.: One who carries out anything in the right or in the left hand or in his bosom or on his shoulder is culpable, as so was the manner in which the sons of Kehath carried (their burdens). 1 But one who carries out a thing on the back of his hand or with his foot, with his mouth, with his elbow, with his ear, with his hair, with his waist bag, the opening of which is at the bottom, or between his belt and his shirt, with the edge of his shirt, with his shoe or sandal, is not culpable, because he carries it in an unusual manner.

GEMARA: R. Elazar said: "One who carries out a burden ten spans above the ground [not on his shoulder, but in the air] is culpable, because in this manner the sons of Kehath carried their burdens." Whence do we know that the sons of Kehath carried their burdens in this way? It is written [Numb. iii. 26]: "Which is by the tabernacle and by the altar round about." Hence he compares the tabernacle to the altar. As the tabernacle was ten ells, so was also the altar ten ells; and whence do we know that the tabernacle itself was ten ells? Because it is written [Ex. xxvi. 16]: "Ten ells shall be the length of the boards." Or we may say that we know that the sons of Kehath carried their burdens in this manner from the ark, as the Master said: The ark was nine spans high, and with the cover, which was one span higher, it was ten. Experience is to the effect that when a burden was carried on the shoulders by means of poles, one-third of the burden was above the poles and two-thirds below; then as the ark was ten spans high and one-third of it was carried above the shoulders, it was certainly more than ten spans above the ground.

But let it be inferred from Moses himself, of whom it is said elsewhere that he was very tall. With Moses the case is different; as the Master said elsewhere that the Shekhina does not rest upon a man unless he is a scholar, a strong, rich, or tall man.

It was taught: One who carries a burden on his head is not culpable. And if one will say that the inhabitants of the city of Hutzal do so, we may assume that their deed is abolished by the rest of mankind, who do not carry burdens on their heads.

MISHNA 4.: One who intends to carry something in front, but the thing moved to his back, is not culpable, but if he intends to carry it on his back and it moves to the front he is. Of a truth it was said: A woman who wears a girdle, whether she carries something in the front or in the back of it, is culpable, because the girdle invariably turns around. R. Jehudah says the same rule applies to letter-carriers.

GEMARA: Where is the difference? The main object (here is the intention). And in either case his intention was not carried out; why is he not culpable if the thing, moved from the front to the back and culpable if it moved from the back to the front? Said R. Elazar: "Divide the Mishna into two parts. The second part was not taught by the same Tana as the first." Said R. Ashi: "This is no question at all. Perhaps the Mishna may be explained thus: Not only did the man intend to carry it on his back and did so, which would make him culpable, because his intention was carried out, but even if he intended to carry it on his back and it moved to the front, in which case his intention was not carried out, lest one say that then he is not culpable, it comes to teach us that when one intends to preserve the thing with little safety, and it occurs that he has done so with a proper safety, he is benefited by it; hence he is culpable."

"Of a truth it was said." There is a Boraitha: Wherever it is said "Of a truth it was said," it is to be considered that so the Halakha prevails.

"R. Jehudah says the same rule applies to letter-carriers." A Boraitha in addition to it states that so it is because the carriers of the government usually do so.

MISHNA 5.: One who carries out a large loaf of bread into public ground is culpable. If two persons do this together they are both innocent, provided it could be done by one of them; if, however, they did so because it could not be done by one, both are culpable. R. Simeon, however, declares them not culpable.

GEMARA: Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh, according to others Abayi said, and still others say that it was learned in a Boraitha: "If of both men who carried the loaf, either was able to carry it himself, R. Meir makes them both culpable, but R. Jehudah and R. Simeon declare them both innocent. If, of the two, neither was able (to do it himself), R. Jehudah and R. Meir declare them culpable and R. Simeon declares them free. If one of the two, however, was able, and the other unable, all agree that the able man is culpable." Whence is all this deduced? From what the rabbis taught: It is written [Lev. 4:2]: "If any person sin," etc., i.e., if he committed the whole deed but not a part of it. How so? If two persons held one pitchfork and threw grain with it, or a weaver's spindle and wove with it, or a quill and wrote with it, or a reed and carried it into public ground, one might say that they are culpable. It is written [ibid.]: "If any person sin," etc. But if two persons held a date-press, or a log, and carried them out into public ground, R. Jehudah says, if one of the two was not able to carry it himself and they both carried it, they are both culpable, but if either of them was able, both are not culpable. R. Simeon says, even if one alone is not able to carry it and they carried it out together, they are also free. For only referring to such an instance the Scriptures say: "If any person," etc., and it is plain that one is culpable if he performs work alone, but if two persons did one thing they are both free.

The master said: If one of the two was able to perform the work alone and the other unable, all agree that he is culpable. Which of them was culpable? R. Hisda said, the one who was able. As to the one who was unable, why should he be so? What did he? Said R. Hamnuna to R. Hisda: "Why not? Did he not assist the one who was able? Answered R. Hisda: Assisting is not of consequence (because if he alone is not able to perform the work himself, his assistance is of no value). Said R. Zbid in the name of Rabha: "We have also learned in a Boraitha in support of this argument: If one suffering from a venereal disease rides an animal, the feet of which are encased in four pieces of cloth, the pieces of cloth are not subject to defilement, for the reason that the animal is able to stand on three feet." Why are they not subject to defilement? Was not one foot a help to the other three? Hence we must assume that one of the feet must be regarded as a help to the other three; a mere help, however, not having any legal consequence cannot become defiled, and as it is impossible to determine which one of the three feet is to be regarded as a help, all four pieces of cloth encasing them are not subject to defilement.

Again the master said: If either of the two were able, R. Meir holds them both to be culpable. The schoolmen propounded a question: "Must the object carried out by them be of double the prescribed size, i.e., a prescribed size for each of them, in order to make them culpable, or does the prescribed size for one man suffice to make them both culpable? R. Hisda and R. Hamnuna (both answered): One of them held that one prescribed size suffices, and the other that it must be double in order to make them culpable, (and it is known which of them held to the former opinion and which to the latter). Said R. Ashi: "We have also learned in a Boraitha: 'Two men who carried out a reed used by a weaver (into the street) are both culpable.' Why so? Was not double the prescribed quantity necessary in order to make both culpable? Hence we must assume that the Boraitha holds one prescribed quantity to be sufficient." Said R. Aha, the son of Rabba, to R. Ashi: "What proof do you derive from this Boraitha? Perhaps it refers to a reed that was of sufficient size to cook an egg for one and another for the other?" R. Ashi answered: If such were the case, the Boraitha would say merely a "reed" and not a "reed used by a weaver." Said R. Aha again: "Perhaps the Boraitha refers to a reed of sufficient size to weave a napkin each for both of them? Therefore it were better to say that from this Boraitha we can derive no support either for one opinion or the other."

A certain scholar taught in the presence of R. Na'hman: "Two men who carried out a reed used by a weaver (into the street) are both not culpable." R. Simeon, however, declares them culpable. How can this be? (Is this not contrary to R. Simeon's usage?), Read then (on the contrary), the scholars said they are culpable and R. Simeon said they are not.

MISHNA 6.: If one carry victuals of less than the prescribed quantity in a vessel (out into the street) he is not culpable even of (carrying) the vessel, for the vessel is of no consequence to the victuals. If he carried a person on a litter he is not culpable even of (carrying) the litter, because the litter is of no consequence to the person. If he carried a corpse on a cot he is culpable. The same is the case if (he carries) a part of the corpse of the size of an olive or of a carcass the size of an olive and of a reptile the size of a lentil. R. Simeon declares all of them free.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: "If a man carry out victuals of the prescribed quantity in a vessel, he is culpable of carrying the victuals, but not of (carrying) the vessel, because the vessel is of no consequence to the victuals; but if the victuals are such that they cannot be carried otherwise than in a vessel, he is culpable of (carrying) the vessel also." Shall we assume from this teaching that if one ate two pieces of tallow each the size of an olive at different times through forgetfulness (and was not reminded of his sin between both times of eating), he is bound to bring two sin offerings? Said R. Ashi: In the case of the man who is culpable of (carrying) both the victuals and the vessel, it must be assumed that he carried them through forgetfulness and was subsequently reminded of having carried only one of them (but forgot about the other); later he was reminded of having carried the other also, and according to the opinion of the teacher of this Boraitha, he is culpable and bound to bring two sin-offerings, one for each time he was reminded. The same difference of opinion exists here as we have seen existed between R. Johanan and R. Simeon b. Lakish (in the chapter concerning the general rule of Sabbath).

"If he carried a person in a litter," etc. Shall we assume that the Mishna is in accordance with R. Nathan and not with the rabbis of the following Boraitha? "If one carried out an animal or a bird (into the street), whether alive or slaughtered, he is liable." R. Nathan, however, says: "For (carrying out) a slaughtered (animal or bird) he is culpable, but not for one that is alive, because a live creature carries itself." Said Rabha: "It may be said the Mishna is in accordance with the rabbis of the Boraitha cited, as they differ with R. Nathan only concerning animals or birds, which usually struggle to get loose and thus become a burden; but concerning a person, who is carried and agrees to being carried, and virtually carries himself, the rabbis yield to R. Nathan."

Said R. Ada b. Ahba to Rabha: How will, in your opinion, the statement in our Mishna be made plain: "Ben Bathyra permits the selling of a horse to a Gentile, and a Boraitha, in addition to this, states that the reason that Ben Bathyra permits this is because the Gentile will not perform any work with the horse on a Sabbath that would involve the liability of a sin-offering (for a horse is used for riding only, and when a person rides a horse the person virtually carries himself, and hence is no burden to the horse), and R. Johanan says that Ben Bathyra and R. Nathan said (practically) the same thing." Now, if in your opinion the rabbis differ with R. Nathan only in the matter of animals and birds, because when carried they struggle for freedom, but agree with him in the matter of a person, why does R. Johanan say that only Ben Bathyra and R. Nathan say the same thing? Did not the rabbis also admit this? (The answer was:) R. Johanan said that Ben Bathyra in permitting a horse to be sold to a Gentile referred to one which was used only for carrying falcons. Are there then such horses? Yea; they are to be found at the Zaidons'. 1

R. Johanan said: Even R. Nathan holds a man culpable if he carries a person, animal, or bird that is bound.

"If he carried a corpse," etc. Said Rabba b. b. Hana in the name of R. Johanan, and the same was said by R. Joseph in the

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name of R. Simeon b. Lakish: R. Simeon frees one, even if he carries out a corpse for burial. Said Rabha: "Even R. Simeon concedes that if one carry out a spade to dig a grave with, or a scroll to read from, he is culpable." Is this not self-evident? Should we then assume that according to R. Simeon's opinion even this kind of labour is not labour for its own sake, how can we find any labour for its own sake which in the opinion of R. Simeon would involve the liability of a sin-offering? Lest one say that R. Simeon does not hold a man culpable for carrying a thing unless the work done with the thing is both for the man's sake and also for the sake of the thing itself--for instance, if the spade was needed for digging and also had to be sharpened, or the scroll had to be examined and used for reading--hence he informs us that such is not the case.

There was a corpse in Drokra 2 and R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak permitted it to be carried out into unclaimed ground. Said R. Johanan, the brother of Mar, son of Rabhina, to R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: "According to which Tana's opinion do you act? According to R. Simeon? Did R. Simeon allow this? He only stated that the act does not involve the liability of a sin-offering, but he did not permit it to start with?" R. Na'hman answered: By the Lord! You yourself, and even R. Jehudah, would allow this to be done the same as I did; did I say that it was to be carried into public ground? I said unclaimed ground! Do not forget that this was also for the sake of the honour due a human being, of which it is said: "Precious is the honour of man, and for its sake even a direct commandment of the Scripture may be circumvened!"

MISHNA 7.: One who pares his finger-nails, either by means of his nails or by means of his teeth; also one who plucks hair from his head, beard, or lip,; also a woman who braids her hair, or paints her eyebrows, or parts her hair, is, according to R. Eliezer, culpable. The sages, however, declare this to be (prohibited only by rabbinical law) as a precautionary measure.

GEMARA: Said R. Elazar: "The difference of opinion exists only in the case of paring the finger-nails by means of the nails, but if taken off with an instrument (all agree) that he is culpable." Is this not self-evident? Is it not plainly written in the Mishna, if he pares his finger-nails, one by means of the others? One might think that the difference of opinion is also concerning an instrument, and the reason the Mishna does not mention an instrument is only to show the firmness of R. Eliezer in prohibiting the paring of finger-nails even with one's own nails. He informs us that the difference of opinion is concerning the nails only. R. Elazar said furthermore: "The difference of opinion is only concerning a man's paring his own finger-nails, but if he pared another's all agree that he is not culpable. (The reason for this is because when paring one's own finger-nails a man can make them look as if trimmed with an instrument, but when trimming another's this is not possible.)" Is this not self-evident? Did not the Mishna say plainly: "His own finger-nails"? Nay. One might think that according to the opinion of R. Eliezer the trimming of another's finger-nails also makes one culpable, but the Mishna, stating plainly "his own finger-nails," intends only to show the firmness of the rabbis in making not culpable even those who pare their own nails; therefore he informs that such is not the case.

"Also one who plucks hair from his head," etc. There is a Boraitha: "One who cuts off a scissorsful of hair from his bead on the Sabbath is culpable." How much is a scissorsful supposed to be? Two hairs. R. Eliezer says: "One." The rabbis agree with R. Eliezer that in case one gray hair is plucked from a number of black hairs a man is culpable even for one, and not only on Sabbath but even on week days it is also prohibited, as it is written [Deut. 22:5]: "And a man shall not put on a woman's garment."

We have learned in a Boraitha, R. Simeon b. Elazar said: "If a finger-nail become separated from the finger of its own accord, a man may remove the adhering part, providing the greater part of the nail was separated. He may do this with his fingers, but not with an instrument. If he did it, however, with an instrument, he is not liable for a sin-offering. If the smaller part only was separated, he may not remove it. If he did so, however, with his fingers, he is not culpable, but with an instrument he is. Said R. Jehudah: "The Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Simeon b. Elazar." Said Rabba b. b. Hana in the name of R. Johanan "Provided the nail was bent upward and was troublesome."

"Also a woman who braids her hair," etc. In what category can her work be counted? Said R. Abuhu: "It was explained to me by R. Jossi b. Hanina: 'Painting the eyebrows comes in the class of work enumerated as dyeing, braiding, and parting the hair in the class of building.'" Is this the manner of building? Yea; as R. Simeon b. Menassia taught: It is written [Gen. 2:22] "And the Lord God formed 1 the rib which he had taken from the man." From this maybe adduced that the Holy One, blessed be He, braided the hair of Eve and brought her to Adam. For in the seaports hair braiding and dressing is called building.

We have learned in a Boraitha, R. Simeon b. Elazar said: "Braiding the hair, painting the eyebrows, and parting the hair, if done for herself, does not make her culpable (because it cannot be properly termed building); but if done for another it does make her culpable." Furthermore, R. Simeon b. Elazar said in the name of R. Eliezer: "A woman shall not put red dye on her face, because that constitutes painting."

The rabbis taught: If one milked a cow and then made cheese of the milk to the size of a dried fig; if he swept a floor or dampened a floor (to lay the dust); or if he removed honeycombs from a beehive, his case is as follows: If he performed these acts unintentionally on Sabbath, he is bound to bring a sin-offering, and if he did all this intentionally on a biblical feast-day, he shall receive forty stripes. Such is the opinion of R. Eliezer, but the sages said: "All this is only prohibited by rabbinical law as a precautionary measure." (Says the Gemara:) Now the ordinance having prevailed according to the opinion of R. Simeon, all these acts are not prohibited at all.

MISHNA 8.: One who plucks something from a perforated flower-pot is culpable; from a flower-pot that is not perforated he is not culpable. R. Simeon held him not culpable in both cases.

Abayi put a contradictory question to Rabha, according to others R. Hyya b. Rabh to his father Rabh: "The Mishna states that R. Simeon holds one not culpable in either case. From this we see well that to R. Simeon a perforated or a solid flower-pot is one and the same thing. We have learned in another Boraitha: R. Simeon said that there is no difference between a perforated and a solid flower-pot except to make the seeds grown in the flower-pot subject to defilement (i.e., in a solid flower-pot the seeds are not accounted as seeds). Hence there is a difference between the pots in the opinion of R. Simeon." The answer was: In all cases except defilement R. Simeon regards seeds in either a perforated or a solid flower-pot as loose (i.e., detached from the ground). In the case of defilement, however, it is different, because the Scriptures themselves added a special provision regarding defilement of seeds, as it is written [Lev. xi. 37]: "And if any part of their carcass fall upon any sowing-seed which hath been sown, it shall be clean."

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THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD BOOK 2 (1)

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CHAPTER 11.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THROWING FROM ONE GROUND INTO ANOTHER.

MISHNA: One who throws a thing from private into public or from public into private ground is culpable. From private into private ground, by way of public ground, R. Aqiba holds him to be culpable, but the sages declare him free. How so? If two balconies face each other across a street, one who transfers or throws something from one into the other is free; if the two balconies, however, are in the same building, he who transfers a thing from one into the other is culpable, but he who throws is free; because the work of the Levites (in the tabernacle) was as follows: From two wagons facing each other in public ground boards were transferred, but not thrown from one into the other.

GEMARA: Let us see! Throwing is but the offspring of transferring. Where is transfer itself mentioned in the

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Scriptures? Said R. Johanan: "It is written [Ex. 36:6]: 'And Moses gave the command and they caused it to be proclaimed throughout the camp,' etc. Where was Moses sitting? In the quarters of the Levites. The quarters of the Levites was public ground (because all the people were received there by Moses). And Moses said unto Israel: 'Ye shall not transfer anything from your quarters (which was private ground) into these quarters.'" We have found, then, transfer from within, but where do we find transfer from without? It is a logical conclusion, that transfer from within is the same as transfer from without. Still he calls transfer from within the principal act and transfer from without but the offspring. Now, if transferring from within and transferring from without involve the same degree of culpability, why does he call the one a principal and the other all offspring? For the following reason: If one commit two principal acts of labour, or two offsprings of two different acts of labour, he becomes bound to bring two sin-offerings; but if he commits one principal act and one offspring of the same act of labour, he becomes bound to bring only one sin-offering.

Whence do we know that if one throw a thing four ells in public ground he is culpable? All that is said about four ells in public ground is traditional.

R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel: The wood-gatherer's sin [mentioned in Numbers 15:32-35] consisted in carrying four ells in public ground. We learned in a Boraitha, however, that he pulled out sticks growing in the ground. R. Aha b. R. Jacob said: He gathered the sticks and bound them into bundles. What difference is there in the acts? (Why this dissension?) The difference is, as we were taught in the name of Rabh, who says: "I found a mysterious paper in the possession of my uncle, R. Hyya, upon which was written: 'Aissi ben Jehudah said: The principal acts of labour are forty less one. One of them does not involve culpability. R. Jehudah holds, that carrying in public ground is not this one act and the Boraitha holds that pulling out of the ground is not that one, and R. Aha b. R. Jacob holds that binding into bundles is not the act which involves culpability.' Each one of these three was certain that if a man committed any of the acts mentioned by each he was undoubtedly culpable."

The rabbis taught: The name of the wood-gatherer was Zelophchad, and so it is written [Numb. 15:32]: "And while the children of Israel were in the wilderness they found a man," etc., and further on [ibid. 27:31 it is written: "Our father died in the wilderness," etc., etc., "but in his own sin he died," etc., an analogy of the word wilderness. As by "our father" is meant Zelophchad, so also the name of the wood-gatherer was Zelophchad. So said R. Aqiba. Said to him R. Jehudah b. Bathyra: "Aqiba! Whether your statement be true or false, you will have to answer for it at the time of the divine judgement; for if it be true, you disclosed the name of the man whom the Scriptures desired to shield, and thus you brought him into infamy, and if it be false you slandered a man who was upright." The same case occurred in the following: It is written [Numb. 12:9]: "And the anger of the Lord was kindled against them," etc. From this we learn that Aaron also became leprous. So said R. Aqiba. Said to him R. Jehudah b. Bathyra: "Aqiba! Whether your statement be true or false, you will have to answer for it at the divine judgement; for if it be true, you disclosed a thing the Scriptures desired to conceal, and thus you brought infamy upon Aaron, and if it be false, you slandered a man who was upright." But the Scriptures say: "And the anger of the Lord was kindled against them." This signifies only that Aaron was included among those against whom the anger of the Lord was kindled.

We have learned in a Boraitha according to the opinion of R. Aqiba: "Aaron also became leprous, as it is written: 'And Aaron turned toward Miriam, and behold she was leprous,' which implies that at the moment when he turned toward Miriam he was cured of his leprosy and perceived it in Miriam."

Said Resh Lakish: He who suspects an innocent man is punished in the flesh, as it is written [Ex. 4:1]: "But behold, they will not believe me," and it was known to the Holy One, blessed be He, that Israel will believe, and the Lord said unto Moses: "They are believers and they are children of believers, but thou, I know, wilt finally not believe." They are believers, as it is written [ibid. 4:3 1]: "And the people believed." They are children of believers, as it is written [Gen. 15:6]: "And he believed in the Lord." Thou wilt finally not believe, as it is written [Numb. 20:12]: "Moses and Aaron, because ye have not confided in me;" and whence do we know that he was punished in the flesh, as it is written [Ex. 4:6]: "And the Lord said furthermore unto him, Do put thy hand into thy bosom; and he put his hand into his bosom; and when he took it out, behold, his hand was leprous, white as snow."

Rabha said, according to others, R. Jose b. Hanina: Reward for merit, destined for a man, comes to him more quickly and in a greater degree than retribution for wickedness, for in the case of Moses we see it written [Exod. 4:6]: "And he put his hand into his bosom; and when he took it out, behold, his hand was leprous, white as snow." But the reward was, as it is written [ibid. 7], "And when he pulled it out of his bosom, behold, it was turned again as his other flesh." The reason that the verse repeats "pulled it out of his bosom," is to show, that the hand had become cured while in the bosom (and thus the reward was given more quickly and effectively). It is written [Ex. 7:12]: "Aaron's staff swallowed up their staves." Said R. Elazar: "This was a miracle within a miracle, for Aaron's staff did not swallow up the staves (of the Egyptian magicians), which had become serpents, while it was itself a serpent, but after it was become a staff again."

"From private ground into private ground," etc. Rabha propounded a question: "Shall we assume that the point of difference is in the opinion relating to whether the surrounding of a thing by the atmosphere of a certain place makes the thing equal to being deposited in that place or not?" And if this is the point of difference, it must follow that the Mishna treats of a case where the object thrown was at no time above ten spans from the ground (because above ten spans no public ground exists). Those who deem it a culpable act, do so, because they hold that the object, being surrounded by the air of the public ground, through which it passed, makes it equal to being deposited therein, while those who do not deem it a culpable act are not of this opinion; but if the object thrown was above ten spans from the ground, do both sides agree that the thrower is not culpable? Or shall we assume that both sides do not differ as to the object thrown being equal to being deposited in the place, the atmosphere of which surrounded it, agreeing that such is the case; but their point of difference is as to whether throwing is equal to transfer or not? He who holds that the thrower is culpable does so because he considers throwing equal to transfer by hand, and as transfer makes a man culpable, even if it was accomplished above ten spans from the ground, it also applies to throwing; but he who holds that the thrower is not culpable, does so because he does not consider throwing equal to transfer by hand. And the case treated of by the Mishna is one where the throwing was done above ten spans from the ground? Said R. Joseph: This question was also propounded by R. Hisda, and R. Hamnuna decided it from the following Boraitha: "From private into private ground, by way of public ground itself, R. Aqiba makes him culpable, but the sages declare him free." Now, if he says, "by way of public ground itself," it implies that it was below ten spans from the ground. Let us then see wherein was the difference of opinion. Shall we say that it was a case of transfer by hand and still the one who holds him culpable does so because it was below ten spans, but if it was above ten spans he would concede that he was not culpable? How can this be? Did not R. Elazar say: "He who transfers a burden above ten spans from the ground is culpable, because thus were burdens transferred by the sons of Kehath"? Therefore we must assume that the Boraitha treats of a case of throwing and not of transfer by hand, and hence one holds, that an object surrounded by the atmosphere of a certain place below ten spans from the ground is equal to an object deposited in that place, while the other holds that such is not the case. Conclude then from this that the Mishna treats of a case where the throwing was done below ten spans from the ground.

The above teaching, however, is not in accord with the opinion of R. Elazar, for he said: R. Aqiba makes the thrower culpable even when the throwing was done above ten spans from the ground; but for what purpose does the Boraitha state "public ground itself"? Merely to show the firmness of the rabbis in declaring one free, even when he transferred a thing by hand through public ground.

All that was said above is contrary to the opinion of R. Helkiah b. Tubhi, because he said: "If the throwing was below three spans from the ground, all agree that the thrower is culpable; if above ten spans, all agree that he is not culpable; but if the throwing was done between three and ten spans above the ground, then the difference of opinion between R. Aqiba and the sages arises." We have learned in a Boraitha in support of R. Helkiah: "Below three all agree that one is culpable; above ten all agree (that only a rabbinical prohibition exists) as a precautionary measure (because no Erubh was made). If the two premises belonged to the thrower, he may throw to start with. From three to ten spans is where the point of difference between R. Aqiba and the sages arises.

It is certain, that if it is one's intention to throw eight ells and he throws only four, one is culpable; because it is equivalent to the case where one intends to write the name Simeon and only writes Sim (for Sim alone is also a name, and four ells is the prescribed distance for throwing); but what is not certain is, If one intended to throw only four ells and threw eight, what is his case? Shall we assume that he threw the prescribed distance and is thus culpable, or, because the object did not reach the desired destination, he is not culpable? The answer was, that according to this question Rabhina asked R. Ashi, and the latter answered that no culpability can exist unless he intended that the object should remain wherever it happened to alight, i.e., if the man intended to throw eight ells and threw only four he is also not culpable, and the assertion that the last-named act is equivalent to writing Sim when the intention was to write Simeon, which according to the succeeding Mishna is an act involving culpability, does not hold good; for he cannot write Simeon without first writing Sim, but surely he can throw eight ells without previously throwing four ells.

The rabbis taught: If one threw from public into public ground and private ground was in between, and the four ells commenced and ended in the two public grounds, including the private ground, he is culpable; but if he threw less than four ells he is not culpable. What news does this convey to us? It is to inform us, that the different premises are counted together and that the culpability arises not from the fact that the atmosphere of the private ground, having surrounded the object thrown, makes that object equal to having been deposited in that private ground; because that ordinance does not hold good, and the culpability arises merely from throwing four ells in public ground.

R. Samuel b. Jehudah, quoting R. Abba, who quoted R. Huna in the name of Rabh, said: If one transferred an object for four ells in a roofed public ground, he is not culpable. Why so? Because this public ground is not equal to the public ground under the standards in the desert traversed by the Israelites. This is not so! We know that the wagons which carried the boards of the tabernacle were roofed, and Rabh said in the name of R. Hyya that the ground beneath the wagons, between them, or alongside of them, was all public. Rabh means to state that the wagons were not actually covered, but that the boards were placed crossways on them in layers, and between every layer there was uncovered space, and that space was, in the opinion of Rabh, public ground.

The rabbis taught: The boards used at the tabernacle were one ell thick and sloped gradually until they attained the thickness of one finger at one end, as it is written [Ex. 26:24]: "And they shall be closely joined together on top by means of one ring," and in another passage [Joshua 3:16] it is written, "failed, were cut off." 1 So said R. Jehuda. Hence it is evident that on top the boards were only one finger thick. R. Nehemiah says: "They were also one ell thick on top, as it is written [ibid. ibid.], 'joined together,' and the 'together' means that they were to be the same on top and on the bottom. But it says "joined" (Tamim)! The Tamim here signifies that they must be whole, unbroken.

The school of R. Ishmael taught: To what can the tabernacle be compared? To a woman going to market, whose dress hangs down and drags on the ground (i.e., the curtains were hanging down and dragging on the ground).

The rabbis taught: The boards of the tabernacle came to a point and the thresholds contained sockets on which the boards were fitted. The hooks and fillets of the curtains appeared like stars in the sky.

The rabbis taught: The lower curtains were of blue, purple, and scarlet yarn and of twisted linen thread, and the upper curtains were of goats' hair, and more skill was necessary to make the curtains of goats' hair than of the first-named materials, for concerning the lower curtains it is written: "And all the women that were wise-hearted spun with their hands, and they brought that which they had spun of the blue, and of the purple, and of the scarlet yarn, and of the linen thread"; but concerning the upper curtains it is written [ibid. 26]: "And all the women whose hearts stirred them up in wisdom spun the goats' hair." And we have learned in the name of R. Nehemiah, "The goats' hair was woven right from the goats' backs without being shorn."

"If the two balconies," etc. Said Rabh in the name of R. Hyya: "The space between the wagons, beneath the wagons, and alongside of them is public ground." Said Abayi: "The space between two wagons was the length of another wagon? What is the length of a wagon? Five ells. Rabha said the sides of the wagon (i.e., the width between the sides) was the width of a wagon. What is that width? Two and one-half ells. Now, we know that the width of a way in public ground is sixteen ells. Whence do we adduce this? If we adduce this from the case of the tabernacle, it should only be fifteen ells; (for the width of two wagons together with the space between them was fifteen ells). The answer is: There was another ell additional between the two wagons where the Levite walked in order that he might watch the wagons and adjust anything that might come out of place."

MISHNA: One who takes anything from, or places anything upon a sand-heap, dug out of a pit or a stone that is ten spans high and four spans wide, is culpable. If the sand-heap or the stone is below that height, he is free.

GEMARA: Why does the Mishna say a sand-heap, dug out of a pit, or a stone? Why not the pit or the stone itself? (Then we would know both the height and depth which must not be used for the placing of a thing.) This was said in support of the statement of R. Johanan, viz.: That the sand-heap dug out of a pit is counted in with the depth of the pit as to height to complete the ten spans. We have also learned thus in a Boraitha: One must not draw water from a pit in public ground which is ten spans deep and four spans wide, unless he has made a railing round the pit that is ten spans high. He must also not drink from the pit unless he put his head and the larger portion of his body into it. The pit and the sand-heap dug out of the pit are counted in with it to complete the ten spans.

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R. Mordecai asked of Rabha: What is the law regarding one who threw a thing on a post ten spans high and four spans wide, standing in public ground? Shall we assume that he is culpable because he removed the thing unlawfully and also deposited it unlawfully (i.e., from public ground into private), or that he is not culpable because the object which lighted on the post came from ground which is under no jurisdiction, being above ten spans from the ground? (If the man had the intention to throw the object on top of the post, he must have thrown it high up into the air, and before lighting on the post it passed through space above ten spans from the ground, and that space is regarded as ground under no jurisdiction, therefore he is not culpable?) Rabha answered: "This is explained in the Mishna." R. Mordecai then went to R. Joseph and asked the same question. He received the same answer: "It is explained in the Mishna." Thereupon he came to Abayi with the same question, and again received the same answer. Said R. Mordecai to Abayi: "Do ye all spit with the same spittle?" Answered Abayi: Dost not thou think that the Mishna explains it? Did not the Mishna say, "One who takes from or places upon"? Rejoined R. Mordecai: "Perhaps the Mishna treats of a needle which can be placed on a level with the ten spans height." Said Abayi: "A needle must also be lifted above the level." Said R. Mordecai again: "It can be placed without being lifted above the level, because every stone has some crevices that are lower than the surface of the stone and the needle can be placed in one of the crevices."

R. Johanan propounded a question: "What is the law regarding a man who throws a cake of earth (four spans square and one span deep) into a pit exactly ten spans deep and four spans square? Shall we say, that he is culpable because he threw the cake of earth into the pit, which was still ten spans deep and therefore private ground, or that he is not culpable because as soon as the cake reached the bottom of the pit it lessened the pit's height to nine spans, and thus made the pit unclaimed ground?" Let R. Johanan decide this question himself by what he said in the following Mishna: "If one throw a thing from a distance of four ells against the wall, and it strikes the wall at a height of over ten spans from the ground, he is free, but if below ten spans from the ground he is culpable, because one who throws a thing to the ground at a distance of four ells is culpable." We have investigated the case; how can he be culpable if the object thrown did not adhere to the wall? And R. Johanan answered: "The case was one of a soft date, which did adhere to the wall." Now, if the conclusion is that the cake of earth lessened the depth of the pit, the date which adhered to the wall also lessened the distance of four ells from where the date was thrown, and he says that the man is culpable? The answer was: In the case of the date the thrower did not intend that the date should adhere to the wall permanently, while in the case of the pit the cake of earth remained in the pit permanently, as intended by the thrower.

Abayi said: If a man throw a mat into a pit ten spans deep and eight spans wide in public ground he is culpable. If he, however, placed the mat into the pit so that the pit was divided into two equal parts, he is not culpable. (The latter decree informs us of two facts: Firstly, that although the mat was placed in the pit, while the pit was still of sufficient size to constitute it private ground and was only diminished at the time the mat was placed into it, the man is not culpable, and secondly, that the mat takes up sufficient space to make the two pits caused by division less than four spans wide each.) Now, if, according to Abayi, it is a certainty that the mat is sufficient to nullify the enclosures necessary for the designation of private ground, so much the more is this the case with the cake of earth previously mentioned, but according to R. Johanan, to whom it is even questionable whether the cake of earth can produce that effect, surely a mat cannot.

Abayi said again: If a man throw an object into a pit ten spans deep and four spans wide, filled with water and standing in public ground, he is culpable, but if the pit was filled with fruit, he is not culpable; because water does not annul the enclosures necessary for the designation of private ground, while fruit does (the reason is that an object thrown into a pit of water falls to the ground in spite of the water [viz.: a stone or iron], while in a pit filled with fruit it rests on top). We also learned the same in a Boraitha, in the name of R. Simeon: "Water does not annul the enclosures necessary for the designation of private ground."

MISHNA: If one throw a thing (a soft date) from a distance of four ells against the wall, and it strike the wall at a height of over ten spans from the ground, he is free; but if it strike the wall below ten spans from the ground, he is culpable; because one who throws a thing to the ground at a distance of four ells is culpable.

GEMARA: Said R. Jehudah, quoting Rabh in the name of R. Hyya: If one throw a thing at a distance of four ells against a wall, and the thing rested in a hole in the wall above ten spans from the ground, the law in his case is decided differently by R. Meir and the sages, viz.: R. Meir holds, that any object (like a hole) capable of being enlarged, must be looked upon as having been already enlarged, and therefore the man is culpable. The sages, however, hold that such is not the case; everything must be regarded in its actual condition.

R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: If a man throw a thing upon a sand-heap four ells wide and sloping up to a height of ten spans, he is culpable, provided the thing rested on the highest point of the heap, because the heap is regarded as being ten spans high in its entire length. The same we have learned in a Boraitha in the name of R. Hanina ben Gamaliel.

MISHNA: If one threw an object within four ells (in public ground) and the object rolled to a greater distance, he is free; if he threw a thing outside of four ells and it rolled back within four ells, he is culpable.

GEMARA: Why should a man be culpable in the latter clause of the Mishna; the object thrown did not rest outside of four ells if it rolled back within the prescribed limit? Said R. Johanan: The Mishna treats of a case where the object thrown came in contact with an obstacle by means of which it rolled back, and therefore it rested for a moment outside of four ells.

Rabha said: "In the opinion of the sages, who differ with R. Aqiba concerning his decree, that an object surrounded by the atmosphere of a certain place makes the object equal to having been deposited in that place, a man who threw a thing from private into private ground by way of public ground, even below three spans from the ground, is not culpable unless the thing thrown rested for a moment at least on the public ground." Mareimar sat and repeated the above decree. Said Rabhina: "Does not our Mishna say the same, through the declaration of R. Johanan, who decrees that the Mishna holds a man culpable only if the object thrown by the man rests at its destination for a moment?" Answered Mareimar: Thou speakest of a rolling thing (which is carried along by the wind and it is not known when it will stand still). Such a thing cannot be regarded as resting, although it is below three spans from the ground, but in our case it is different. The thing was thrown (and was not rolled by the wind); so we might assume that when it reached a distance of less than three spans from the ground, it must be considered as resting on the ground; he informs us (that such is not the case).

MISHNA: If one throw a distance of four ells on the sea, he is free; if there happen to be shallow water, through which a public thoroughfare leads, where he threw the four ells, he is culpable. What must be the maximum depth of such shallow water? Less than ten spans; for one who throws four ells in shallow water, through which only occasionally a public thoroughfare leads, is culpable.

GEMARA: Said one of the schoolmen to Rabha: "The Mishna mentioning a public thoroughfare twice is justified in doing so, because we might presume that a thoroughfare used only in cases of necessity cannot be regarded as a public thoroughfare, and hence the Mishna informs us that while in other cases use from necessity is not to be regarded as customary, in this case it is different. But why is shallow water mentioned twice?" Answered Abayi: We might presume that the shallow water was not four ells wide, in which case it would be used a thoroughfare; but if it was four ells, people would circumvene it, and thus it would not be considered a public thoroughfare; therefore it is repeated to inform us that there is no difference between shallow water less than four ells wide or more.

MISHNA: One who throws from the sea into land, from land into the sea, from the sea into a ship, from a ship into the sea, or from one ship into another, is free. If ships are bound together, one may transfer an object from one into the other; but if the ships are not bound together, even though they lie alongside of one another (and meet), one must not transfer a thing from one into the other.

GEMARA: We have learned: If one desires to draw water from the sea into the ship, he must make a small (board) attachment to the side of the ship, and then he can draw the water. So said R. Huna, because he holds that unclaimed ground commences from the bottom of the sea and ends with the surface. The atmosphere above the sea is considered as ground under no jurisdiction, and hence the making of the attachment was really not necessary; but it being Sabbath, this should be done to distinguish the Sabbath from week-days. R. Hisda and Rabba bar R. Huna said: "The attachment made should be four ells wide," because they hold that the unclaimed ground commences from the surface of the water, and the water itself is considered as ground, and if the attachment were not made, it would constitute carrying from unclaimed ground into private ground, and this is not allowed to commence with.

R. Huna said: "On the small boats, that are not four spans wide down their entire depth, a man must not carry anything only for four ells (because it cannot be considered private ground), unless at a distance of three spans from the ground the boat is four spans wide. If there be sticks or refuse at the bottom of the boat, the bottom of the boat commences from the top of such sticks or refuse, and if the boat be ten spans high, according to that calculation one may carry in it." R. Na'hman opposed this: "Why should a man not be permitted to carry in a boat the bottom of which is not strewn with sticks and refuse?" Have we not learned in a Boraitha that R. Jose b. R. Jehudah said: "If one placed in public ground a stick (ten spans high), on top of which was a trough, which was four spans wide, a person throwing anything on top of the trough is culpable, because, while the trough was not ten spans high itself, the height of the stick upon which it rests is considered as included in its own." Why should this not also refer to the case of the boat, and the place where it is four spans wide be considered as if it reached down to the bottom? R. Joseph opposed R. Na'hman as follows: "Did not R. Na'hman hear that R. Jehudah, in the name of Rabh, according to others, in the name of R. Hyya, said, that the sages did not agree with Jose b. R. Jehudah and exonerated the man?" Hence we see that the Boraitha, treating of the boat, holds with the opinion of the rabbis.

"If ships are bound together," etc. Is this not self-evident? Said Rabha: "The Mishna wishes to inform us, that one is permitted to carry from one ship into another, even if a small boat is between them, i.e., one may carry from one ship into the boat and thence into the other ship, even though the small boat is not tied to either ship." Said R. Saphra to him: "Moses! 1 How canst thou say such a thing? Does not the Mishna state explicitly that one may carry from one ship into another? No boat between them (was mentioned)." R. Saphra, however, explained the Mishna thus: The Mishna, by saying one may carry from one ship into another, means to say that an Erubh maybe made between the two ships, just as between two houses, and then things may be carried from one into the other, as we have learned in a Boraitha: An Erubh may be made between ships that are tied together and things may be carried from one into the other. If the rope by means of which the ships were lashed to each other became torn, carrying to and from one ship to the other is not allowed; but if the ships were lashed together again, either intentionally or unintentionally, through compulsion or through an error, the original permission again holds good.

The same is the case with mats of which tents were made, whereby the ground enclosed by the mats becomes private; and if many such tents were made, carrying from one tent into another is permitted, provided an Erubh is made. If the mats were rolled up, however, such carrying is not permitted. Were the mats rolled down again, intentionally or unintentionally, through compulsion or through error, the original permission again holds good.

It was reported in the name of Samuel: If the ships were tied together with a mere thread, permission to carry from one into the other holds good.

MISHNA: If one threw a thing, and after the thing had passed out of his hand, he recollected that it was Sabbath; if another person caught the thing thrown; if a dog caught it or if the things thrown was consumed by fire (before reaching its destination), the man is free. If one threw a thing for the purpose of injuring a man or a beast, and before such injury was inflicted recollected (that it was Sabbath), he is free. (For) this is the rule: Only such are culpable and, bound to bring a sin-offering as commit an act through error from beginning to end; if the act, however, was committed through error only at the start, and at the close was committed consciously, or vice versa, the perpetrator is free until the beginning as well as the end of the act is committed through error.

GEMARA: What would be the case, if the thing, after passing out of the thrower's hand, had rested (outside of four ells in public ground)? Would he be culpable? Why! Did he not recollect (that it was Sabbath) before the thing rested? And our Mishna (distinctly) states that one cannot be culpable unless an act were committed through error from beginning to end! Said Rabha: The 'Mishna teaches us two facts: Firstly, if one threw a thing, and after the thing had passed out of his hand he recollected (that it was Sabbath); or secondly, even if he did not recollect (that it was Sabbath), but another man, or a dog, caught the thing, or it was consumed by fire before it rested, he is not culpable.

"This is the rule." We have learned: If one threw a distance of six ells, two ells through error, the next two consciously, and the last again through error, Rabba declares him free. (How can that occur? As soon as the object had passed out of his hand and had not yet reached farther than two ells, he became conscious that it was Sabbath, and before it had passed the next two ells he forgot again that it was Sabbath.) Rabha, however, declares him culpable. Rabba declares him free, even according to the opinion of R. Gamaliel (in the last Mishna of Chapter XII.), who does not consider the consciousness during the time intervening between the perpetration of the two acts (each of which only executed one-half the prescribed deed) as being of any consequence (but considers the two unfinished acts as one prolonged act done unintentionally and making the perpetrator culpable). For what reason? Because in the case treated of in the cited Mishna nothing was done during the period of consciousness (of the Sabbath) intervening between the two unfinished acts to neutralize the erroneous character of the two unfinished acts, and thus they became one finished act and made the perpetrator culpable. In this case, however, Rabha assumes that during the time intervening between the passing of the first two ells and the last two ells, the man carried the thing, and did so fully conscious (of the Sabbath), and thus

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neutralized the erroneous character surrounding the throwing for the first two and last two ells. Rabha, however, declares him culpable, even according to the rabbis, who hold contrary to the opinion of R. Gamaliel (in the cited Mishna) and consider the consciousness (of Sabbath) during the period intervening between the two unfinished acts as a neutralization of the unintentional character of the unfinished acts, thus making the perpetrator not culpable. In this case, however, the man is culpable. (Why so?) Because in the case cited in the same Mishna the entire act could have been committed, but was not, for after the man became conscious (of its being Sabbath) he stopped; hence the unfinished act was not counted. Later he again forgot that it was Sabbath, but again recollected, before the entire act was committed; so the second unfinished act was not counted, and the man is free. In this case, however, the thing having been thrown could not be stopped when the man became conscious of its being Sabbath before it reached its destination! Thus the act was committed, and the fact that the thrower became conscious (of its being Sabbath) in the mean time is of no consequence. (Now, the conclusion is that there is really no difference between the rabbis and R. Gamaliel or between Rabba and Rabha, because all agree that if the thing was thrown the man is culpable, but if carried by hand he is not.)

Rabba said: If one threw a thing and it rested in the mouth of a dog or in the opening of an oven, he is culpable. Did we not learn in the Mishna that if a dog caught it, or if it was consumed by fire, he is not culpable? Yea; but the Mishna refers to a case where the intention was to throw it elsewhere and accidentally a dog caught it or it was consumed by fire; but Rabba means to say that a man is culpable if he intentionally throw it into the dog's mouth or into the oven. Said R. Bibhi b. Abayi: We have also learned elsewhere that the intention to have a thing rest in a place makes that place a fit one for the thing.

CHAPTER 12.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING BUILDING, PLOUGHING, ETC., ON THE SABBATH.

MISHNA: (Among the forty, less one, principal acts of labour, building was enumerated.) What is the least amount of building which will make a man culpable? The least possible amount. The same applies to stone-masonry, smoothing with a hammer (at the close of the work); as for planing, he who planes the least bit, and for drilling, he who drills ever so little, is culpable. For this is the rule: He who performs any act of labour which is of permanent value is culpable. R. Simeon ben Gamaliel said: He who during his work strikes the anvil with his sledge is culpable, because he virtually brings about labour.

GEMARA: Of what use is so small an amount of building? Said R. Aha bar Jacob: "So small an amount of building is usually done by a householder who discovers a hole in the wall of one of his rooms and fills it up (with wood or cement). And the instance of such work having been performed at the (construction of the) Tabernacle is: When one of the boards contained a hole produced by worms, a little molten lead was poured into it and it was thus filled."

Samuel said: "One who places a stone in the street for the purpose of paving the walk is culpable." An objection was made. We have learned elsewhere: If one furnish the stone for paving and another furnish the mortar, the latter is culpable? [Says the Gemara:] If you base your objection to Samuel's decree upon this Boraitha, why do you not also cite the latter decree of the Boraitha which reads: R. Jose says: "One who picks up a stone and places it upon a row of stones is also culpable"? Hence we see that there are three different kinds of building. Building at the base, in the centre, and on the top. Building at the base only requires a solid foundation in the earth. Building in the centre requires mortar. Building on top needs only proper placing without the use of mortar.

"Stone-masonry." In what category of labour can stone-masonry be placed, that its performance should make one culpable? Rabh said it comes under the category of building, and Samuel said under the category of smoothing with a hammer. The same difference of opinion exists between Rabh and Samuel in the case of one who bores a hole in a chicken-coop that was not previously perforated. The former holds this to be building, while the latter regards it the same as smoothing with a hammer. (It makes no difference to one who performs such labour unintentionally, for in either event he must bring a sin-offering, regardless of what class of labour he performed, if he does only one act; but when he performs two acts there is a difference. If they are both of one category, he is bound to bring only one sin-offering, but if they are of different categories, he must bring two; but in the case of one who performed such work with intention, even if he does only one act it does make a difference. The witnesses to his deed when warning him--of his wrong-doing--must inform him just what class of labour he is engaged in executing. Should they tell him incorrectly, he cannot be held guilty. This applies to all cases where the Gemara asks as to the category of labour performed.) The same difference of opinion also exists in the case of one who affixed a handle to a pickaxe, Rabh classing such work as building, and Samuel as smoothing with a hammer.

A question was propounded by R. Nathan bar Oshiya to R. Johanan: "Under what category of labour is stone-masonry to be placed?" R. Johanan answered him by making the sign of hammering with his hand.

"For this is the rule." What additional significance does the statement "for this is the rule" contain? It applies to the hollowing out of a block of wood capable of holding a Kabh (about four lugs), a cavity a good deal smaller.

"R. Simeon ben Gamaliel said," etc. What labour is performed by striking an anvil with a sledge? The Tosephta in this chapter explains it as follows: "Said R. Simeon ben Gamaliel: He who during his work strikes the anvil with the sledge is culpable; because at the construction of the Tabernacle those that covered the boards with metal-plate would strike the plates with their hammers."

MISHNA: One who ploughs, grubs, weeds, or prunes ever so little is culpable. One who gathers wood for the purpose of using the space occupied by the wood is culpable if he gathers ever so little; but if he gathers it for the purpose of lighting a fire with it, he is culpable only if he gathered as much as is required to cook (an easily boiled egg). If one gathered grass for the sake of the space occupied by it, he is culpable for gathering even ever so little; if for the purpose of feeding cattle, he does not become liable unless he gathered as much as a goat's mouthful.

GEMARA: Of what use is a place where a man ploughed ever so little? It may be used to plant one seed of a cucumber in. This was also done at the Tabernacle, where one root was all that was necessary (for dyeing) and was pulled out of the ground, thereby making a hole. (This is not contradictory to what we have learned previously, that the minimum prescribed quantity for cucumber seeds was two, because a man will not take one cucumber seed out for sowing; but when sowing a separate hole is made for each seed and thus the prescribed quantity in this case is limited to one.)

"One who ploughs, grubs, weeds, or prunes." The rabbis taught: One who tears out herbs (which when damp are good for human food) for the purpose of eating them is culpable if the quantity equals or exceeds the size of a dried fig. For cattle the prescribed quantity is that of a goat's mouthful. If for the purpose of using for fuel, the prescribed quantity is as much as is used to cook an easily boiled egg with; if for the purpose of cleaning (weeding) his place, he is culpable even for ever so little. Is all this kind of work not done for the sake of cleaning the place? 1 Said Rabba and R. Joseph: The Mishna treats of a case where even if the man was not standing in a garden belonging to an individual, but even if be did it in a public field (if his intention is to clean the place he is culpable). Abayi said: (The same is the case) even if he did it in a private field and had no intention to clean the place, as it did not belong to him but to some one else.

MISHNA: One who writes two letters, with the right or with the left hand, be they of one denomination or of different denominations, or be they written with different inks or be they letters of different languages (alphabets), is culpable. R. Jose said: The only reason that one is declared culpable for writing two letters, is because they can serve as marks; for thus the boards used at the Tabernacle were marked in order to be able to tell which fit together. Rabbi (Jehuda Hanassi) said: We also often find a short name which forms part of a long name, as Sam for Simeon and Samuel, Noah for Nahor, Dan for Daniel, Gad for Gadiel.

GEMARA: It would be right if the Mishna were to say that if one write with his right hand he is culpable, because writing with the right hand is the general way; but writing with the left is entirely out of the ordinary. Why should he be culpable? Said R. Jeremiah: "The Mishna also refers to a left-handed man." A left-handed man? His left is his right and his right his left hand. Let him then not be culpable if he use his right hand! Said Abayi: In the case of the Mishna a man is referred to who has equal strength in both hands; but R. Jacob, son of the daughter of Jacob, said: The Mishna stands according to the decree of R. Jose that the reason of a man's culpability is because of the letters standing for marks, and the making of marks with either the right or the left hand is prohibited. How can the first part of the Mishna be according to the opinion of R. Jose--it teaches further, "R. Jose said"? If the latter part is explicitly attributed to R. Jose, the first part cannot be in accord with him. Nay; the entire Mishna is in accord with R. Jose (say then because R. Jose said).

"Rabbi said: We also often find a short name," etc. What does Rabbi mean by this teaching? Shall we assume that one is culpable only if he wrote two letters representing two different names, but if the two were merely an abbreviation of one name he is not culpable? Did we not learn in a Boraitha: "It is written [Lev. 4:2]: And do (of) any (one) of them." One might assume from this verse that the man is not culpable unless he wrote the entire name, or wove the entire cloth, or he finished the whole length of the seam, therefore it is written "of any (one) of them." Now, if we take "of any (one) of them" literally, the writing of even one letter or the weaving of even one thread should make one culpable! Therefore it is written: "Of any (one) of them." How should this be understood? One is not culpable until he writes a short name which forms part of a long name, like Sam for Simeon or Samuel, Noah for Nahor, etc., etc. Rabbi (Jehudah) said: The two letters need not be part of a long name, but even if the two form a name (of a thing) in themselves like: Shesh, teth, red, gag, choch. (shesh--lion, teth--to give, red--go below, gag--roof, choch--nose band.) Said R. Jose: Is then the man culpable because of writing? It is only because of making a mark, for thus were the boards of the Tabernacle marked in order that one mil tell which fit together. Therefore if one made but one scratch on two boards or two scratches on one board, he is culpable. R. Simeon quotes the same verse: "And do (of) any (one) of them." One might assume that the man is not culpable unless he wrote the entire name, etc. How should this be understood? One is not culpable until he has performed labour which is permanently fixed. Now in the Boraitha we see that R. Jehudah said the two letters need not be part of a name, but even if the two form a name. (Does not R. Jehudah contradict himself?) This presents no difficulty. In the above Mishna he gives his own opinion, while in the Boraitha he cites his master's opinion, because we have learned in another Boraitha: R. Jehudah said in the name of R. Gamaliel: "Even if the two letters are not part of a long name, but form a name in themselves, he is culpable. For instance: shesh, teth, etc."

Did not R. Simeon say the very same thing as the first Tana? Perhaps one might say that R. Simeon refers to one who wrote two letters that have no meaning and are part of a long word. For instance, Aa from Aazreko (I assisted you). In such a case R. Simeon would be the stricter and the first Tana the more lenient. Is this not contrary to R. Simeon's wont, as we have learned in a Tosephta further on: "If one bore a hole with a drill, be the hole ever so small, he is culpable," etc.? R. Simeon however declares him free until the hole made was as large as it was originally intended to be. Answer and interpret R. Simeon's words thus: One might say that one is not culpable until he writes the whole verse; therefore it is written "of any one," signifying that one word is sufficient.

"Rabbi said: We also often find," etc. How can the name of Sam be equal to Simeon? The (letter) Mem in Sam is an end (closed) letter, while the Mem in Simeon is an open (middle) Mem. 1 Said R. Hisda: From this we may infer that if one write by mistake an open Mem instead of a closed Mem in the scroll of laws, the scroll may be used.

The rabbis said to R. Jehoshua ben Levi: There were some young men at the schoolhouse to-day, and they related such wonderful things as were never taught before even in the time of Joshua the son of Nun. These are they: Aleph, Beth means Oliph Bino (go and teach knowledge). Gimmel, Daled means Gmol (be bountiful) Dalim (to the poor), Why is the foot of the Gimmel pointed toward the Daled? Because so should be the feet of those who are bountiful--ever ready to seek beneficiaries. Why is the foot of the Daled pointed back toward the Gimmel? In order that the poor man may know that he must not conceal himself from his benefactor. Why does the Daled turn its face from the Gimmel? In order to teach us that the benefactor should give to the poor without ostentation and that the poor man be not abashed. Hey, Vav, Zayin, Cheth, Teth, Iod, Khaf, Lamad means: Hey Vav, which is the name of the Holy One, blessed be He; (Zayin) Zon--He will feed thee; (Cheth) Cheyn--will be gracious unto thee; (Teth) Tov--will be good to thee; (Iod) Ierushah--He will make thee inherit in the world to come; (Khaf) Khesser--He will give thee a crown; (Lamad) Leaulim haboh--in the world to come.

Mem open (middle) and Mem closed (end) means Meimar (sayings) Pathuach (open) [implying that there are such sayings of God as are open to every one]; but Meimar (sayings) Sathum (closed) [implying that there are sayings of God which are hidden to most men]. Noon curved (middle) and Noon straight (end) means Neamon (an upright man); Khaph (curved) [should be (curved) bowed down, modest in this life, and in the life hereafter he will become a Neamon] (an upright man) Pashut (straight). Samach means Smohch (assist). Ayin means aniim (the poor). Peh round (middle) and Peh straight (end) means Peh (a mouth) Pasuach (shall be open [to teach]); and Peh (mouth) Sasum (shall be closed [to slander]). Tzadi round (middle) and Tzadi straight (end) means Tzadik (a righteous man) should be modest and fearless (straight). Quph means Qodosh (holy), implying who does all, that has been mentioned, is holy. Resh means Roshoh (wicked), implying, who does the contrary is wicked. Why does the crown of the Quph look down upon the Resh? just as the Qodosh (Holy One, blessed be He) looks down upon the Roshoh (the wicked), saying: Turn from thy ways and I shall also give thee a crown. Why does the foot of the Quph hang unsupported? In order to admit of the wicked entering into the Qudoshim (holiness) if he turn from his ways. Shin means Sheqer (a lie) and Thaph means Emeth (truth). Why are the letters of Sheqer so near to one another (the order of sequence in the alphabet is Resh, Quph, Shin) and Emeth so far from one another (being the first, middle, and last letters of the alphabet)? Because lies are very frequent, while truth is very scarce. Why have the letters

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in Sheqer but one foot while those in Emeth have so many? Because lies will finally totter, while truth will stand supreme.

MISHNA: One who through forgetfulness at onetime wrote two letters is culpable. He may have written with ink, paint, dye, gum, or vitriol, or with anything making a permanent mark. Further, one who wrote on two walls forming a corner, or on two covers of an arithmetical book, so that the two letters can be read together, is culpable. One who writes on his own body is culpable. One who tattooes letters in his flesh R. Eliezer holds him culpable for a sin-offering, and R. Jehoshua holds him to be free. If one write with dark liquids, with fruit-juice, or in road-dust, in fine sand, or in anything that does not retain the writing, be is free. If one write with the back of his hand, with his feet, with his mouth, with his elbow; or if one write one letter to another letter (that had already been written), or writes over letters that had been written before; or when one's intention was to write a Cheth and wrote two Zayins; or if one write one letter on the ground and another on the wall, or on two separate walls, or on two separate pages of a book, when the two letters cannot be read together, he is free. If one wrote one abbreviated letter, R. Jehudah ben Bethyra holds him culpable and the sages hold him free.

GEMARA: "Or with anything making a permanent mark," etc. What other additional things does the Mishna mean to express by this? R. Hananyah taught: It means if one wrote with berry-juice or with gall-nuts, he is also culpable. R. Hyya taught: "If one wrote with graphite, soot, or black ink, he is culpable."

"One who tattooes two letters on his flesh," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: Said R. Eliezer to the sages: "Did not the son of Sattadai 1 bring witchcraft out of Egypt, through tattooing on his flesh?" Answered the sages: "He was a fool and we do not cite single instances of fools."

"If one write one letter to another letter," etc. According to which Tana's opinion is this? Said Rabba bar R. Huna: "This is not according to the opinion of R. Eliezer, for R. Eliezer said that if one add another thread to one already woven, he is culpable." We have learned in a Boraitha: "If one wrote one letter at the end of any scriptural book, thereby finishing that particular book, or if one added another thread to one already woven, he is culpable." According to which Tana's opinion is this? Said Rabba bar R. Huna: "This is in accordance with the opinion of R. Eliezer, who said that if one add another thread to one already woven he is culpable." R. Ashi said: We may assume that the opinion of the sages does not conflict with this opinion, because the case of finishing a book differs from that of adding another thread; hence, according to their opinion, one is also culpable (for finishing a book by adding one letter).

We have learned in a Boraitha: "If one corrected one letter in the Scroll of laws, he is culpable." How can this be? One is not held culpable for writing one letter; how can the Boraitha hold one culpable for merely correcting one letter? Said R. Shesheth: "Here a special case is treated of; i.e., if one take off the top bar of the Cheth and make two Zayins out of it." Rabha said: The same is the case if, for instance, one remove the square portion of a Daled and form a Resh therefrom.

"If one wrote one abbreviated letter," etc. R. Johanan said in the name of R. Jose ben Zimra: "Whence do we know that there are abbreviated letters in the Scriptures? As it is written [in Gen. 17:5]: Khi Ab Hamaun Goyim Nsathicha (For the father of a multitude of nations have I made thee). In the word Ab the Aleph is the abbreviation of Ab--father, and the Beth stands for bachur--selected; Hamaun stands for haviv--lovely, Melech--king, vathig--modest, neamon--upright. All this I have made thee among the nations." R. Johanan declares of his own accord: "The ten commandments commence with Anauchi when it could be Ani (meaning I am). The Anauchi is an abbreviation for Ano (I), Naphshi (my soul), Kthovith (I have written), Yehovith (and have given)."

MISHNA: If one, through forgetfulness at two different times, write two letters, say one in the morning and the other toward evening, R. Gamaliel holds him to be culpable and the sages declare him free.

GEMARA: On what point do R. Gamaliel and the sages differ? R. Gamaliel does not consider the consciousness (of its being Sabbath) during the time intervening between the perpetration of the two acts (each of which executed only half the prescribed deed) as being of any consequence (but considers the two unfinished acts as one prolonged act done unintentionally and making the perpetrator culpable). The sages, however, consider the consciousness (of Sabbath) during the period intervening between the two unfinished acts as a neutralization of the unintentional character of the unfinished acts and thus make the perpetrator not culpable.

CHAPTER 14.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE CATCHING OF REPTILES, ANIMALS AND BIRDS.

MISHNA: One who catches or wounds any one of the eight kinds of reptiles enumerated in the Scriptures (Lev. 11:29-30, viz.: the weasel, the mouse, the tortoise, the hedgehog, the chameleon, the lizard, the snail and the mole) is culpable; one who wounds worms or any other kind of reptiles (not enumerated above) is free. One who catches them for a purpose is culpable; he who does so without the intention (to use them) is free. He who catches such animals or birds as are within his domain is free, he who wounds them is culpable.

GEMARA: From the teaching of the Mishna that the reptiles (enumerated above) must not be wounded, it is evident that such reptiles must be possessed of a skin (which can be wounded). According to whose opinion is this? Said Samuel: "This is according to the opinion of R. Johanan ben Nuri; for he so stated (in Tract Chulin). Rabba bar R. Huna, however, in the name of Rabh said: It may also be assumed that the Mishna is in accord with the rabbis, who disagree with R. Johanan ben Nuri only where defilement is concerned, but who agree with him as to Sabbath. And as regards the Sabbath they (the rabbis) do not disagree with R. Johanan. Have we not learned in a Boraitha, that one who caught one of the eight kinds of reptiles enumerated in the Scriptures, or who wounds them, is culpable and that this applies only to such reptiles as have skins, and only such a wound is called incurable which has been produced by the blood clotting in the skin and remaining there, even when no blood came to the surface? R. Johanan ben Nuri, however, states, that all the eight reptiles enumerated in the Scriptures have skins (and therefore one who wounds any of them is culpable; we see that they, disagree even as regards the Sabbath). Said R. Ashi: The first Tana of the mentioned Boraitha, at variance with R. Johanan, is R. Jehudah, who stated, that there are among the eight such as have no skin; but the other rabbis, who differ with R. Johanan, where defilement is concerned, do not disagree with him in regard to Sabbath. Then why is it stated, that "R. Johanan ben Nuri, however, states, etc.," as if he opposed the rabbis? Read: "Thus states R. Johanan ben Nuri and his opponents."

"Or any other reptiles." How is it, if one kills them? Is he culpable? The Mishna must be understood that if one only wounds them he is not culpable, but if he kills them he is culpable? According to whose opinion is this? Said R. Jeremiah: "This is according to the opinion of R. Eliezer, as stated in the first chapter" (page 22). R. Joseph opposed this: "Thou sayest, according to the opinion of R. Eliezer? The rabbis only differ with R. Eliezer when such reptiles as are incapable of breeding are concerned (for then they are not considered as actual living beings); but as to reptiles that are capable of breeding, they also agree, that one who kills them (on the Sabbath) is culpable (because that would be taking life, and taking life is prohibited on the Sabbath).

"One who catches them for a purpose is culpable; he who does so without any intention (to use them) is free." According to whose opinion is this teaching? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: It is according to the opinion of R. Simeon, who states, that any work not committed for its own sake does not make one culpable.

Samuel said: "One who takes a live fish out of the water, is culpable as soon as a part of the fish as large as a Sela has become dry (because then the fish cannot live)." Said R. Jose bar Abhin: Samuel means to say, that he is not culpable unless a place as big as a Sela become dry under its fins, and not on its body.

Mar bar Hamduri in the name of Samuel said: "If one thrust his hand into the entrails of an animal and displaced a fœtus, that may have been there, he is culpable." Why so? Said Rabha: Mar bar Hamduri explained this to me as follows: Did not R. Shesheth say, that if a man tore out flax from among the thorns surrounding it, he is culpable, because he removed a thing whence it grew? So also in this case he is culpable because he displaced the fœtus whence it grew. Said Abayi: The same is the case with one who tore out a mushroom which grows near a vessel filled with water, because he removed an object whence it grew. R. Oshiyah objected: Did we not learn that one who tears out a thing from a flower-pot, which is not perforated, is not culpable, but from a perforated flower-pot he is culpable. Why should he be culpable in this case? Because a thing does not grow in a flower-pot which is not perforated, as a rule; but in this case it grows in its usual way.

"He who catches such animals or birds as are within his domain," etc. R. Huna said: "It is allowed to write Tephillin on the skin of a bird which is ritually clean." Said R. Joseph: "What would be inform us? That a bird has a skin? This is taught in the Mishna, for it says, he who wounds a bird is culpable." Said Abayi to R. Joseph: "He informs us of a very important matter. From the Mishna we would simply know that the bird, having a skin, must not be wounded, but we might think, that such a skin, being porous, must not be used for Tephillin. Hence he informs us, that it may also be used for Tephillin, as it was said in Palestine that pores which do not permit of ink soaking through cannot be considered as pores.

Mar the son of Rabhina asked of R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak: "Is it allowed to write Tephillin on the skin of a fish which is ritually clean?" R. Na'hman answered: "This can only be decided by Elijah; when he comes again, he will decide whether it is allowed or not."

Samuel and Qarna were sitting on the banks of Lake Malka. Samuel noticed that a ship was struggling with the rough waters and a man was suffering in consequence. Said Samuel to Qarna: "It seems to me, that a great man is coming from Palestine and that he is sick at the stomach. Go and see what ails him." He went and found Rabh on the ship, and asked him: "Whence do we know that Tephillin may be written only upon the skin of a ritually clean animal?" Rabh answered: "It is written [Exod. xiii. 9]: 'In order that the law of the Lord shall be in thy mouth,' which means, that the Law shall be written only on such a thing as thou mayest take into thy mouth." Qarna asked him again: "How do we know that blood is red?" Rabh answered again: "Because it is written [II Kings iii. 22]: 'The Moabites saw the water at a distance as red as blood.'" (In the meantime Rabh felt that Qarna was quizzing him.) He asked him, "What is thy name?" He answered: "Qarna." Said Rabh: "A Qarna (thorn) be in thy eyes!" Finally Samuel took Rabh to his own house, gave him barley-bread, small fishes, milk and such things as tend to produce looseness of the bowels, but did not show him the place to excrementize in. So Rabh cursed him and said: "May the one who wishes to make me suffer, not be able to rear his children." So it was.

The rabbis taught: It is allowed to write Tephillin on the skins of (ritually) clean animals and creatures, also upon the skins of such as died a natural death and were not slaughtered, and it is an ordinance (instituted) by Moses at Sinai, that the Tephillin are wound in the hairy hide of such animals, whence the skin may be taken, and are sewed with the veins of such animals; but it is not allowed to write Tephillin on the skins of (ritually) unclean animals and creatures, whether such animals were slaughtered or naturally expired. This question was asked by a Bathusee of R. Joshua of the city of Garsi. "Whence do we know that Tephillin must not be written on the skin of an unclean animal?" "From the passage [Lev. xiii. 9]: 'In order that the law of the Lord shall be in thy mouth,' which means, that the Law shall be written only on such a thing as a man may put into his mouth." "According to thy, argument," said the Bathusee, "Tephillin should not be written on the skin of a (ritually) clean animal, that died a natural death (because it must not be eaten also)." Answered R. Joshua: "I will give thee an instance of two men, who incurred the death penalty. One was duly executed, while the other died at the moment that he reached the gallows. Which is preferable? Certainly the natural death. In this case also, why should the skin of the animal that died a natural death not be used for writing the Tephillin thereon?" "According to that, then," said the Bathusee, "why should it not be eaten also?" Answered R. Joshua: "It is written [Deut. xiv. 21]: 'Ye shall not eat anything that dieth of itself,' and thou wouldst that it should be eaten." Answered the Bathusee: "Kalos" (Greek Κάλος = nice, well).

MISHNA: It is prohibited to prepare brine on Sabbath, but the making of salt water, in order to dip one's bread into it, or to use for seasoning other dishes is permitted. Said R. Jose: Is this not brine? (What is the difference?) be it more or less salted? Only the following kind of salt water may be made: If oil is first put into the water or into the salt.

GEMARA: How should the Mishna be understood? Said R. Jehudah. in the name of Samuel: "It is not permitted to make a great deal of salt water, but a little may be made."

"Said R. Jose: Is this not brine? Be it more or less salted." The schoolmen asked: "Does R. Jose, by making that statement, mean to say that both should be prohibited or that both be allowed?" Said R. Rabba and also R. Johanan: "R. Jose meant to say, that both should be prohibited." We have also learned this in a Boraitha: "One shall not make a great deal of salt water in order to put it into a Gistar (a large vessel) filled with things requiring a soaking; but he may make a little salt water to dip his bread into it or use it for seasoning other dishes. Said R. Jose: 'Because one is more and the other less salted the former should be prohibited and the latter should be permitted; then one might say that a greater act of labour should be prohibited and a smaller one permitted? Therefore, I say, both are not allowed, but it becomes permissible, if oil is put into the water or into the salt, the main thing is that one should not mix water and salt to commence with.'"

R. Judah bar Haviva taught: "One shall not make salt water very strong." What does he mean by "very strong"? Rabba and R. Joseph bar Aba both said: "If one put an egg into the water and the egg float it is strong salt water." How much salt must be used for such water? Said Abayi: "Two-thirds salt and one-third water." For what purpose can that be used? For fish-brine.

The same Judah b. Haviva taught: "One must not salt pieces of radishes and eggs on the Sabbath." R. Hizkyah in the name of Abayi said: "Salting radishes is not allowed, but salting eggs is."

The same Judah b. Haviva taught: "If citrons, radishes and eggs are eaten without the peel (in the case of an egg, the yolk without the white), they remain in the stomach."

Rabhin walked behind R. Jeremiah on the banks of the sea of Zidon. Rabhin asked R. Jeremiah: "Is it allowed to wash one's self in this water on Sabbath?" R. Jeremiah said: "Yes, it is." Asked Rabhin again: "How is it if a man who is bathing

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in this water, opens and closes his eyes, so that the water has access to the eyes?" Answered R. Jeremiah: "I never heard of just such a case, but of one similar to it. I heard R. Zera say at one time in the name of R. Mathne, another time in the name of Mar Uqba, both of whom said, that the father of Samuel differed with Levi and that one of them said, that pouring wine on the eyes as a remedy is allowed but pouring wine into the eyes is not allowed, while the other said that the saliva of a man who had not broken his fast is a remedy for the eyes and must not even be put on the eyes; but Mar Uqba in the name of Samuel said: A man may soak a medicament for the eyes on Friday in water and may then use the water on Sabbath with impunity."

Bar Levayi was standing before Mar Uqba, and saw the latter opening and closing his eyes, so that the medicinal water may have access to them. Said he to Mar Uqba: "So much Mar Samuel did certainly not permit!"

R. Yanai sent to Mar Uqba a request: "Let master send his the eye-salve prescribed by Samuel for sore eyes." Mar Uqba answered: "I send it to you, so that you do not think me parsimonious, but Samuel said, that bathing the eye in cold water in the morning and bathing the hands and feet in warm water at night is better than any medicine for the eye in the world." The same we have learned in a Boraitha: by R. Muna in the name of R. Jehudah.

The same R. Muna used to say: "As soon as a man rises and his hand touches his eye, nose, mouth, ear or a vein, it had better be chopped off. The same should be done with a hand that touches a pitcher used for beer, before it (the hand) is washed, because such a hand causes blindness, deafness and bad odors."

We have learned: R. Nathan said: "The eye is (like) a princess and it hurts her to be touched by a hand that has not been washed three times." R. Johanan says: "Puch (a precious stone or a certain kind of paint 1) applied to the eye, stills its wrath, dries its tears and causes its lashes to grow."

Mar Uqba said: "One who (accidentally) injured his hand or foot so that blood flowed (on the Sabbath) may steep them in wine in order to stop the flow, with impunity." The schoolmen asked: "May he do this, in vinegar also?" Said R. Hillel to R. Ashi: "When I attended the school of R. Kahana, it was said, that it is not allowed in vinegar." Said Rabha: "And the, men of the city of Me'hutza, who are very delicate, are generally cured by wine the same as other people are by vinegar."

It happened, that Rabhina came to the house of R. Ashi and saw the latter, having had his foot trodden upon by an ass, soaking it in vinegar. Said Rabhina to him: "Does not the Master coincide with R. Hillel, who said, that soaking in vinegar is not allowed?" R. Ashi answered: "With a wound on the instep of the foot and the back of the hand it is different, because R. Ada b. Mathne said in the name of Rabh, that a wound on the back of the hand and on the instep of the foot is equal to an internal wound and the Sabbath may be desecrated on its account."

The rabbis taught: "One may wash his body in the waters of Gror, Chamtan, Essia and Tiberias (all of which are salt waters), but it is not allowed to bathe one's self in the Great Sea and not in water used for soaking flax, also not in the sea of Sodom." Is this not contradictory to what we have learned in the Boraitha, viz. "One may bathe in the Tiberias and in the Great Sea, but not in water used for soaking flax and in the sea of Sodom." This presents a difficulty; for in the Boraitha bathing in the Great Sea is permitted, while the rabbis prohibit it. Said R. Johanan: There is no difficulty. One Boraitha is in accordance with the opinion of R. Meir, while the other is in accord with the opinion of R. Jehudah (who differ in Tract Mikva'ath, Chapter V., Mishna 6). R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak opposed this, and said: "They differ only as regards defilement, but have ye heard that they also differ concerning the Sabbath?" Hence R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak explained this otherwise. He said, that the Boraitha which does not permit bathing in the Great Sea refers to one who stays in the water some length of time (and it is obvious that this is done on account of his health). Now, if we say, that the one Boraitha refers to a man who stays in the water for some time, we must assume, that the other Boraitha refers to one who does not stay long, and if this is so, why should not the one (who does not stay long) be permitted to bathe even in the water used for soaking flax? Have we not learned in another Boraitha: "One may bathe in the Tiberias, in flax-water or in the sea of Sodom, even if his head be scrofulous, provided he does not stay long in the water"? Therefore we must explain, that the difficulty existing between the two former Boraithas concerning the Great Sea is: that the one prohibiting bathing in the Great Sea refers to bad water which is not usually used for bathing, while the other refers to the good water generally used by bathers and in both the case refers to one who stays in the water for some time.

MISHNA: It is not allowed to eat Greek hyssop (a remedy for worms) on the Sabbath, because it is not food for healthy people. It is allowed, however, to eat yoeser (wild rosemary) and to drink shepherd-blossom (tea, an antidote for poisonous beverages). It is permitted to partake of all usual eatables and beverages on the Sabbath as medicaments with the exception of tree-water (water of a certain spring) and root-tea (a compound of gum, herbs, and powdered roots), because the two latter serve only as a remedy for jaundice. At the same time it is permitted to drink tree-water to quench one's thirst, and one may anoint himself with root-oil but not as a remedy.

GEMARA: "It is allowed, however, to eat wild rosemary," etc. For what purpose is it eaten? To drive out worms in one's liver. What is it eaten with? With seven white dates. What does the illness (requiring this remedy) arise from? From the eating of meat broiled over live coals and the drinking of water immediately after the eating on an empty stomach or from eating fat meat, beef, nuts or Rapa-twigs when eaten on an empty stomach and immediately washed down with water.

The mother of R. A'hadboy b. Ami made a remedy for a man who had imbibed poison of an adder by cooking laurel leaves in a cupful of beer, giving it to the man to drink, then clearing out the coals from a burning hearth, placing a brick on the hearth and making him sit on that brick until the poison left the man in the shape of a green fern. R. Ivia said, that she did not cook the laurel leaves in beer but in a quarter lug of milk of a white goat.

One who swallowed a (small) snake should eat kostos (an Indian root of which a precious salve was made, called in the Bible onycha) in salt and should run three miles. R. Simeon b. Ashi once saw a man who had swallowed a snake, so he disguised himself as a Persian horseman, called to the man, compelled him to eat kostos with salt, then chased him for three miles. In consequence of fright the man then vomited the snake piece by piece.

One who was bitten by a snake should get a bearing (female) ass, tear her open, take out the fœtus, and apply it to the wound.

One who was encircled by a snake should run to the water, take a basket, place it over the snake's head, and as soon as the snake winds itself around the basket, throw it into the water and escape.

One who is pursued by a snake should, if he is in company of a friend, jump on the friend's back and have the friend carry him at least four ells so as to hide the scent of his footsteps, or, if alone, should jump over a stream or pond of water. At night he should place his bed on four empty casks, then tie four cats to the casks, and sleep in an unroofed space. He should also place a lot of twigs and dry branches in front of his bed, so that if the snake glide among them they will rustle, in which event the cats will hear the noise and devour the snake. If one is pursued by a snake, he should run to a sandy place, where it is hard for a snake to glide.

"It is permitted to partake of all usual eatables," etc. What does the Mishna mean to add by the word "all"? A milt, which is good for the teeth (although it is bad for a weak stomach), or bran, which is good for the stomach (but bad for the teeth). What does the Mishna mean to add by the word "all," referring to beverages? Water of Izlat (Kaffir-corn) boiled with vinegar.

"With the exception of tree-water." We have learned in a Boraitha: "With the exception of prickly water." One who teaches prickly water does so because the water pricks the gall, and one who teaches tree-water refers to water running out of two trees? What does he mean by this? Said Rabba bar Brona: "There are two date-trees in Palestine that are called Thalai, and between them is a spring of water; the first cup of this water produces a weak sensation in the stomach, the second cup purges and the third leaves the stomach as clear as when imbibed." Said Ula: "I drank the Babylonian beer with better effects than that tree-water, but it is only then effective if drunk for the first time in forty days. R. Joseph said: "The water called prickly water above is Egyptian beer, which is one third barley, one third wild saffron, and one third salt." R. Papa said: It is one third wheat, one third wild saffron, and one third salt, and it should be drunk between Passover and Pentecost, when it will relieve constipation and stop diarrhœa.

"And root-tea." What is root-tea? Said R. Johanan: It is made of Alexandrian gum, alum, and garden saffron, each the weight of one Zuz, and ground together. To one who suffers with too frequent menstruation, three cups of this tea should be given in wine, and she will not be barren. For jaundice two cups are to be administered, in beer, but the patient will be barren ever after. May this be done? Have we not learned in a Boraitha: Whence do we know that castrating a man is prohibited? From the passage [Lev. xxii. 24]: "And in your land shall ye not make the like." Which means, ye shall not do this on your own bodies. So said R. Hanina? This is said only in reference to one who has the intention of making one a eunuch, but not with reference to one who administers the remedy for jaundice, and incidentally makes one impotent; as R. Johanan said: "One who wishes to castrate a cock shall cut his comb, and thus the cock will become impotent." Did not R. Ashi say, that a cock whose comb is cut off is not rendered impotent thereby, but, being very proud, will have no more coition with hens on that account? Were he actually rendered impotent, it would not be allowed to remove his comb, for it is written [ibid.]: "And in your land shall ye not make the like." It is allowed to give a man two cups of root-tea for jaundice, providing he was already impotent. But even this is prohibited (in Menachoth 56)! Say rather it may be given to a woman who is not subject to the command of bearing children.

MISHNA: One who suffers with toothache must not gargle vinegar for it, but he may dip something in vinegar and apply it, and if the pain is relieved t hereby, he need have no fear of the consequences. One who has pains in his loins must not rub them with wine or vinegar, but may anoint them with oil; not with rose-oil, however. Children of princes may anoint their wounds even with rose-oil, because it is their wont even on week-days to anoint themselves with rose-oil. R. Simeon said: "All Israelites must be considered as children of princes."

GEMARA: R. Aha bar Papa asked R. Abuha concerning the following contradiction: "The Mishna teaches, that one who has a toothache must not gargle with vinegar, implying thereby, that vinegar is a remedy for toothache, and still we find in the passage [Proverbs x. 26]: 'As vinegar is to the teeth, and as smoke is to the eyes.'" This presents no difficulty. The Mishna refers to an injured tooth, whereas the passage refers, to sound teeth, which are put on edge by vinegar.

"Must not gargle vinegar." Have we not learned in a Boraitha, that it is not allowed to gargle vinegar and then spit it out, but if swallowed afterwards gargling is allowed? Said Abayi: Such is also the intent of the Mishna, meaning, if he spit out after gargling.

"One who has pains in his loins," etc. Said R. Aba b. Zabhda in the name of Rabh: The law according to the opinion of R. Simeon prevails. Shall we assume that Rabh holds with R. Simeon? Did not R. Simi bar Hyya say in the name of Rabh, that a bung-head tied around with a piece of cloth must not be hammered into a barrel on a festival (because the barrel being full of wine, the cloth will absorb some, and by being pressed into the hole the wine absorbed will run out, and wringing a thing is not allowed), although the wine runs out of its own accord, and not through the intention of the man; but according to R. Simeon this would be permitted? Where an act is concerned which will most certainly be consummated, even without the agency of man, as the head of a creature being removed, death must surely follow, R. Simeon also admits, that it is not allowed. We have learned elsewhere, however, explicitly, that Hyya bar Ashi said, that Rabh holds according to R. Jehudah, and Samuel according to R. Simeon? (How can it be said that Rabh holds with R. Simeon?) Said Rabba: I and the lion of our society (i.e., R. Hyya bar Abbin) explained this as follows: The ordinance prevails according to R. Simeon, that (rose-oil) is allowed, but not for the reason advanced by R. Simeon. R. Simeon says, that all Israelites are considered as princes, and therefore, even in such places where rose-oil is very costly, one may also anoint himself with it; but Rabh says it is allowed, because, where he (Rabh) resided, rose-oil was very cheap (but where it is costly it is not allowed).

CHAPTER 15.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE TYING AND UNTYING OF KNOTS ON THE SABBATH.

MISHNA: Following are the knots for the tying of which one becomes culpable. The knot of the camel-drivers (made on the guiding-ring) and the knot of the seamen (made on the bow of a ship); just as one becomes culpable for tying them, so also one becomes culpable for untying them. R. Meir said: "One does not become culpable for any knots that can be untied with one hand."

GEMARA: What is the meaning of a knot of the camel-drivers and a knot of seamen? Shall we assume, that by such a knot is meant the one that is tied in attaching the guiding-line suspended from the nose-ring of a camel to something else, and also the knot made in attaching the hawser of a ship to a capstan on the dock? (Such knots are not permanent, why should the tying of them be prohibited?) Nay; by that knot is meant the one made in attaching the guiding-line to the nose-ring and the hawser to the ship itself (both of which are permanent knots).

MISHNA: There are knots on account of which one does not become culpable, as in the case of a camel-driver's or seaman's knot. A woman may tie the slit of her chemise, the bands of her hood, the bands of her girdle, the straps of her shoes and sandals; also the bands of leather flasks (filled) with wine or oil, and of a pot of meat. R. Eliezer, the son of Jacob, says: "One may tie a rope in front of cattle, in order that they may not escape." One may tie a bucket (over the well) with his girdle, but not with a rope. R. Jehudah permits this to be done with a rope also. For a rule was laid down by R. Jehudah: One is not culpable for any knot which is not permanently fastened.

GEMARA: Is there not a difficulty in understanding the Mishna itself? The first part states, that there are knots on account of which one does not become culpable, etc., implying, therefore, that, while one who ties them does not become liable for a sin-offering, at the same time he must not do it to commence with. The latter part, however, says, that a woman may tie the slit of her chemise, etc., implying, then, that she may do it in the first place? The Mishna means: There are

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some knots for the tying of which one does not become culpable, as in the case of the knots of the camel-drivers, etc., and they are: The knots by means of which the guiding-line is attached to the nose-ring, and the knots by means of which the hawsers are attached to the ship itself. For tying such knots one does not become liable for a sin-offering, but he must not make them to commence with (because at times the knot is left on the nose-ring or on the ship for some time), and there are other knots which may be tied in the first place, such as the slit of a woman's chemise, etc.; what would he inform us? Is it not self-evident, that a woman must tie the slit in her chemise. The case treated of is where a chemise has two slits, an upper and a lower, and it can be put on (over the head) even if the lower one is tied. We might assume, then, that only the upper one of the slits would be permitted to be tied; he therefore informs us, that both the upper and the lower may be tied and untied.

"The bands of her hood." Is this not self-evident? The case is, that the bands of the hood are always tied, and the woman slips on the hood without untying or tying the bands, and we might assume that for this reason the knot is considered permanent; he therefore informs us, that if a hair become entangled in the hood, the woman may tie and untie the bands.

"The straps of her shoes and sandals," etc. R. Jehudah, the brother of R. Sala the Pious, had a pair of sandals, which were sometimes worn by him and sometimes by his child. He came to Abayi and asked him whether he might tie and untie them (on Sabbath). Said Abayi: "He who does this unintentionally becomes liable for a sin-offering." Said R. Jehudah to him: "If thou hadst said, that one is not culpable for doing this, but that it must not be done to commence with, it would seem strange to me; thou sayest now, that one is liable for a sin-offering." Asked Abayi: "Why so?" Answered R. Jehudah: "Because on week-days I sometimes also wear the sandals, and (if my child wishes to use them) I untie them and adjust them to the child's foot." Answered Abayi: "If such be the case, they may be tied or untied (on the Sabbath) to commence with."

R. Jeremiah was walking behind R. Abuha on unclaimed ground, and the band of his sandal having been torn off, he asked R. Abuha what to do. R. Abuha told him to take damp seaweeds, which an animal can eat (and which may therefore be handled on Sabbath), and tie his sandal.

Abayi stood before R. Joseph in private ground, and the band of one of his sandals becoming torn off, he asked R. Joseph what to do. Said R. Joseph: "Leave thy sandal here and walk without it." Asked Abayi: "Wherein does my case differ from that of R. Jeremiah?" Answered R. Joseph: "R. Jeremiah's sandal was torn off in unclaimed ground, where, had he left it, it would have been lost, but thine is in my yard and will be safe." Said Abayi: "But the sandal is a perfect vessel; for I can put it on my other foot and then it will not fall off. Why should I not be permitted to handle it?" R. Joseph answered: "Because we learned elsewhere in regard to Chalitzah that R. Johanan interpreted a Boraitha in accordance with R. Jehudah, who says, that if the band of a sandal was torn off, the sandal cannot be regarded as a vessel. We must assume, therefore, that the ordinance according to R. Jehudah prevails."

"Also the bands of leather flasks filled with oil or wine," etc. Is this not self-evident? The case treated of is where the flasks had two mouths, and lest we assume that only one of them may be tied and untied, he informs us that both may be tied.

"And of a pot of meat." Is this not self-evident? The Mishna means to state, that even if the pot have an opening at the bottom it might be assumed that the knot tied around the mouth of the pot is permanent and should not be untied. We are informed that it may be untied, nevertheless.

"R. Eliezer, the son of Jacob, said," etc. Is this not self-evident? The case treated of is where there were two ropes, one tied higher up and the other lower. We might assume, that because the lower one is tied permanently one may not untie it; therefore he informs us that both may be tied and untied. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Eliezer ben Jacob."

"One may tie a bucket with his girdle, but not with a rope," etc. What kind of a rope is not permitted? Is it an ordinary rope? Why does R. Jehudah permit it? It remains permanently tied? Shall we assume that it refers to the rope of a weaver? Why is it not permitted? It will surely be removed, because the weaver will need it? Or is it prohibited simply as a precautionary measure, lest some one tie the bucket with an ordinary rope, and R. Jehudah does not entertain this apprehension? Then it is contradictory to the following Boraitha: "A rope fastened to a bucket which became torn, should not be tied into a firm knot, but simply tied into a loop." R. Jehudah says: "It should be joined together with the owner's girdle, but it must not be tied into a loop." This would be a case of where both the rabbis and R. Jehudah contradict themselves. There is no contradiction at all. As for the rabbis, they hold, that an ordinary rope may be mistaken for the rope of a weaver, because both are called ropes, but a loop cannot be mistaken for a knot, because they have different names. As for R. Jehudah, he prohibits a loop to be made, not because he holds that a loop may be mistaken for a knot, but because the loop in this case is equal to a knot.

R. Aba in the name of R. Hyya b. Ashi, quoting Rabh, said: "One may bring a rope from his house and can tie it to the cow, and then fasten it to the crib."

R. Johanan asked of R. Jehudah bar Levayi: "May weaving utensils, either upper or lower, be handled on the Sabbath?" Answered R. Jehudah: "Nay; they may not." "Why so?" "Because on week-days they are also never used for any other purpose (being too heavy); hence they are always used for weaving alone (and therefore must not be handled on Sabbath)."

MISHNA: One may fold his clothes (just removed) even four or five times (on the Sabbath). On the eve of Sabbath one may prepare his beds for use on the Sabbath, but not at the close of Sabbath for use after the Sabbath is gone. R. Ishmael says: "One may arrange his clothes and prepare his beds on the Day of Atonement for the Sabbath; further, the sacrificial tallow left over from the Sabbath may be offered up on the Day of Atonement (if the two succeed one another, before the Jewish calendar was arranged); but not such as is left over from the Day of Atonement on the Sabbath." R. Aqiba said: "Neither that (tallow) left over from the Sabbath may be offered up on the Day of Atonement, nor that of the Day of Atonement on the Sabbath."

GEMARA: The school of R. Yanai said: The Mishna only permits the folding of clothes by one man, but not by two, and also only in case the clothes are new, but not if they are old (because old clothes are better preserved by folding). New clothes must only be folded if they are white clothes, but not if they are coloured. White clothes may be folded only if they constitute all the garments possessed by the man; but if he had others, he must not fold even those, as we have learned in a Tosephta: "The family of R. Gamaliel did not even fold white clothes, because they had others for a change."

R. Huna said: "If one have a change of clothes for the Sabbath, he should change them; if not, he should at least let them down." 1 R. Saphra opposed this: "If one let down his garments, he will be considered as a vain man." If he does this only on the Sabbath and not on week-days, he will not be considered vain but simply as one desirous of keeping the Sabbath with due respect, as it is written [Isaiah lviii. 13]: "And honour it by not doing thy usual pursuits." "Honour it" is meant to imply that, by wearing different clothes on the Sabbath, the Sabbath should be honoured, for R. Johanan calls clothes signs of honour, and through clothes a man is honoured. "By not doing thy usual pursuits" means that the walk on the Sabbath should not be as on week-days [ibid. ibid.]: "By not following thy own business," means to say, that only thy own business is not allowed, but heavenly business is. "And speaking (vain) words": the mode of speaking on Sabbath should not be like that on week-days. Speaking is not allowed, but thinking is. (All this is perfectly proper, not to dress as on week-days, nor to speak as on week-days); but what does a different walk on the Sabbath signify? It signifies, that one should not make long strides on the Sabbath, as Rabbi asked of R. Ishmael b. R. Jose: "May one make long strides on the Sabbath?" Answered he: "May one do so even on week-days? For I say, that a long stride deprives a man of a five hundredth part of the light of his eyes. A remedy for this is, however, the drinking of the wine over which the benediction is made on the eve before the Sabbath."

It is written [Ruth 3:3]: "Therefore bathe and anoint thyself, and put thy garments upon thee," by which, said R. Elazar, is meant the Sabbath garments.

It is written [Proverbs 9:9]: "Give to the wise (instruction), and he will become yet wiser." Said R. Elazar: By that is meant Ruth the Moabite and the Prophet Samuel of Ramah. Naomi said to Ruth: "Therefore bathe and anoint thyself, and put thy garments upon thee, and go down to the threshing-floor," but Ruth did as it is written further [ibid. 6]: "And she went down unto the threshing-floor, and did in accordance with all that her mother-in-law had commanded her," which means, that she first went down to the threshing-floor and then dressed herself, in order not to soil her clothes. As for Samuel, when Eli said unto him [I Samuel iii. 9]: "Go, lie down; and it shall be, if he call thee, that thou shalt say, Speak, Lord; for thy servant heareth," he did at the time as it is written [ibid. 10]: "And the Lord came, and placed himself, and called as at previous times, Samuel, Samuel. And Samuel said, Speak, for thy servant heareth, "but did not say, "Speak, Jehovah," as he was told to do by Eli (because, not knowing who was speaking, he did not want to speak the Lord's name in vain).

It is written [Ruth 2:3]: "And she went, and came, and gleaned in the field after the reapers." Said R. Elazar: She went and came to and fro until she found such men as were fit company for her. "Then said Boaz unto his young man that was appointed over the reapers, Whose maiden is this?" [ibid. 5]. Was it proper for Boaz to inquire whose maiden she was? We have learned in a Boraitha: He (Boaz) noticed that she was very modest, for when gleaning from the sheaves, she did so standing if the sheaves were also standing, and if the sheaves were on the ground, she did not stoop, lest she reveal some of her form, but sat down and gleaned in that position.

"But keep close company with my own maidens" [ibid. 8]. Was it proper for Boaz to say "my own maidens"? Was it his custom to mingle with the women? Said R. Elazar: "Because Boaz saw that 'Orpah kissed her mother-in-law; but Ruth cleaved unto her' [ibid. i. 14] he thought, that if she were such a woman it would be proper for him to associate with her."

"And Boaz said unto her, At mealtime come near hither (halom)" [ibid. 2:14]. Said R. Elazar: "By the word 'halom' (near hither) Boas hinted to her that from her would spring the kingdom of David, who used the expression 'halom,' as it is written in [II Samuel vii. 18]: 'Then went King David in and sat down before the Lord, and he said, Who am I, O Lord Eternal? and what is my house, that thou hast brought me as far as hitherward (halom)?

"And eat of the bread, and dip thy morsel in the vinegar" [Ruth 2:14]. "From this it can be inferred, that vinegar is good for (relieving excessive) heat," said R. Elazar. But R. Samuel ben Na'hmeni said: "This was also a hint to Ruth, that from her would spring forth a son, whose deeds would be sour as vinegar, and that was King Menasseh."

"And she seated herself beside the reapers" [ibid. ibid.]. Said R. Elazar: "Beside the reapers and not between them, was also a hint that the kingdom of David would eventually be divided."

"And he reached her parched corn, and she ate, and was satisfied, and had some left." Said R. Elazar: (This is a reference to the kingdom of David) "Ate at the time of David, was satisfied in the time of Solomon, and had some left in the time of King Chizkyah." Others say: "Ate during the days of David and Solomon, was satisfied during the days of Chizkyah, and had some left in the time of R. Jehudah Hanassi (a descendant of David), whose coachman even, according to the teaching of the Master, was said to be richer than the Shahur (king, shah) of Persia." In a Boraitha, however, we have learned: (This passage does not refer to the kingdom of David but to Israel in general). It means: "Israel ate in this life, will be satisfied in the times of the Messiah, and shall have some left in the world to come."

R. Hyya bar Aba said in the name of R. Johanan: "Whence do we know that a change of clothes is a biblical prescription?" Because it is written [Lev. vi. 4]: "And he shall take off his garments, and put on other garments, and carry forth the ashes to without the camp, unto a clean place." This was commented upon by the school of R. Ishmael to mean, that the clothes worn while cooking for one's master should not be worn when serving the master at table.

The same teacher said again: A scholar (Talmud-Chacham), upon whose clothes a stain can be found, deserves to be put to death, for it is written [Proverbs viii. 36]: "All those that hate me love death." Do not read, "those that hate me" (mesanai), but "those that cause others to hate me" (masnii) (implying that if a stain is noticed on a scholar's clothes, the whole law is held lightly). Rabhina said: "In the Boraitha was taught not 'upon whose clothes a stain can be found,' but 'upon whose clothes grease (Rebhad) 1 is found." They do not differ, however. The former refers to an over-garment, while the latter to an under-garment.

R. Johanan said: Who can be called a scholar trustworthy enough to be believed when claiming a lost article, without identification, but simply by seeing the article lost and claiming it as his own? A scholar who is so particular that, if he happen to put on his night-robe wrong side out, he will take the trouble to take it off again and adjust it properly.

R. Johanan said again: "Who is the scholar worthy of being made the president of a congregation?" The one who, when asked concerning an ordinance bearing on any subject, knows exactly what to answer, even such ordinances as are contained in the Tract Kalah (Kalah is a supplement to the Talmud, which is not generally read, and treats of a bride).

He said again: "Who is the scholar that is deserving of having his work performed by his fellow-citizens? The one who neglects his own affairs to attend to religious affairs." This refers, however, only to one who has lost his subsistence on account of his congregational duties.

Again, R. Johanan said: "Who can be called a scholar (Talmud-Chacham)? One who can give the interpretation of any ordinance in whichever chapter (or tract) that may be shown him." What difference does that make? The difference is this: If a man is familiar only with the ordinances of a certain tract, he may only be competent to be the presiding officer of one community, but if he understand them all, be may be made the chief of the house of learning in a whole district.

"R. Ishmael said: 'One may arrange his clothes,'" etc. The rabbis taught: It is written [Numb. 28:10]: "This is the burnt-offering of the Sabbath." From this we learn, that we may offer up the tallow left over from the Sabbath on the Day of Atonement; but one might say, that the fat left over on the Day of Atonement may be offered up on the Sabbath also; therefore the passage says [ibid. ibid.]: on every Sabbath." So says R. Ishmael, but R. Aqiba says, 'This is the burnt-offering of the Sabbath on every Sabbath,' implies, that the fat left

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over from the Sabbath may be sacrificed on a biblical feast-day; but one might say, that it may be done also on the day of Atonement; therefore the passage says 'on every Sabbath.'"

The point of difference between R. Ishmael and R. Aqiba is as follows: R. Ishmael contends that vow-offerings and voluntary offerings may be brought on feast-days, and therefore the term "every Sabbath" cannot refer to feast-days, but does refer to the Day of Atonement, whereas R. Aqiba contends that such offerings must not be brought on feast-days, and hence "every Sabbath" implies that the fat left over from the Sabbath may be offered up on a feast-day.

R. Zera or R. Aba said in the name of R. Huna: "If the Day of Atonement fall on a Sabbath, herbs for cooking must not be selected on that day." Said R. Mana: This we have learned in a Boraitha as follows: "Whence do we know that if the Day of Atonement fall on a Sabbath herbs must not be selected? Because it is written [Exod. xvi. 23]: 'A rest, a holy rest is unto the Lord to-morrow.'" Why is the word "rest" repeated? Shall we assume, that no other labour must be performed? This is ordained (in Chapter xx. 10): "Thou shalt not do any work." It must therefore refer to such work as is not really labour, as "selecting herbs" (and the passage must refer to a Sabbath on which the Day of Atonement happens to fall, because on ordinary Sabbaths no additional prescription is necessary; but it being the Day of Atonement, on which, were it not also Sabbath, such work would be permissible, on account of alleviating the sufferings caused by fasting, we might assume that it would be allowed also on a Day of Atonement, which occurs on a Sabbath; therefore the passage refers to a Sabbath upon which the Day of Atonement happens to fall). R. Hyya bar Aba, however, in the name of R. Johanan said: Selecting herbs on a Sabbath concurrent with the Day of Atonement is permissible, and the repetition of the word "rest" is on account of the prohibition of actual labour, and as for there being another ordinance to that effect, it is for the purpose of signifying that the transgressor of this commandment will be punished for the violation of both the positive and the negative commandments.

We have learned in a Boraitha in support of R. Johanan: Selecting herbs on a Day of Atonement concurrent with a Sabbath is permissible. Nuts may be cracked and pomegranates cleaned after the afternoon prayer, for the purpose of alleviating the suffering of the fasting. In the house of R. Jehudah, cabbage was prepared, and in Rabba's house, pumpkins were cleaned. Later on Rabba noticed that this was being done even before the afternoon prayer; so he told them that a message was received from R. Johanan of Palestine that this was prohibited.

CHAPTER 16.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING ARTICLES WHICH MAY BE SAVED FROM A CONFLAGRATION ON SABBATH.

MISHNA: All sacred scriptures may be saved from a conflagration (on the Sabbath); be such scriptures allowed or not allowed to be read on Sabbath. The Scriptures written in any language whatsoever must be considered sacred, and brought to a safe place, even on a week-day. Why are some (sacred scriptures) not allowed to be read (on Sabbath)? In order that one might not miss the sermons at the school-house. One may save the case of the book with the book, the case of the Tephillin with the Tephillin, even if money is contained therein. Where must such things be taken (for safety)? In a closed space surrounded by walks. Ben Bathyra says: "Even in a space that has one side open."

GEMARA: It was taught: If the Scriptures wore written in Aramaic (Targum), or in any other language, they need not be saved from a conflagration. So says R. Huna. But R. Hisda says: "They must be saved." According to the Tana who holds, that all of the scriptures may be read on Sabbath, there is no difference of opinion between R. Huna and R. Hisda, for the Scriptures must be saved. But, according to the Tana who holds, that some scriptures may and others may not be read on the Sabbath, R. Huna says, that the latter need not be saved, while R. Hisda says they must, in order not to disgrace the Scriptures. An objection was made: "Our Mishna says, that all scriptures, whether allowed to be read on the Sabbath or not, or even if written in whatever language, must be saved. We must assume, that the readable part of the Scriptures is the Prophets and the non-readable part is the Hagiographa, and if written in other languages, which are naturally non-readable, they must nevertheless be saved. How, then, can R. Huna say, that the non-readable need not be saved?" R. Huna might say: How can this explanation of the Mishna correspond with the further ordinance that they "should be brought to a safe place"? If it says that they must be saved from the conflagration, it is self-evident that they must be brought to a safe place? What is the correct interpretation of the Mishna? R. Huna interprets it according to his understanding thus: "The readable part of the Scriptures is the Prophets, the non-readable part is the Hagiographa, providing they are written in the holy language (Hebrew), but if written in other languages they need not be saved; but although they need not be saved on the Sabbath, if they lie in an unfit place even on week-days, they must be brought into a safe place." R. Hisda interprets the Mishna according to his understanding thus: "The readable part is the Prophets, the non-readable part is the Hagiographa, and although written in other languages they must also be saved, and the term 'should be brought to a safe place' refers even to torn pieces of such Scriptures although written in other languages."

Another objection was made: We have learned in a Boraitha: "If they (the Scriptures) are written in Aramaic or any other language, they must be saved from a conflagration? Is this not contradictory to R. Huna's opinion? Nay; R. Huna may say that the Tana of the Boraitha holds the Scriptures written in other languages to be readable. Come and hear: Scriptures written in Coptic, Median, old Hebrew, Elamite or Greek, although not permitted to be read, must be saved from a conflagration." This is surely a contradiction to R. Huna? R. Huna might say: There is a difference of opinion among the different Tanaim, as we have learned in the following Tosephta: If the Scriptures are written in Aramaic or in any other language, they must be saved from a conflagration, but R. Jose says, that they must not. Said R. Jose: It happened that Aba 'Halafta went to R. Gamaliel the Great in Tiberias, who sat at the table of Johanan the Nazuph (also called Ben Nazuph), and held in his hand the book of job in Aramaic, which he was reading. Said Aba 'Halafta to R. Gamaliel: "I remember having at one time come to thy grandfather R. Gamaliel, who stood on the steps of the corridor of the Temple when a Book of Job in Aramaic was brought to him. He told the mason to take the book and immure it underneath the stairway." Whereupon the later R. Gamaliel also ordered the book he was reading to be immured.

The rabbis taught: The benedictions, which are written in Hebrew, or amulets although containing letters of the Holy Name and many passages of the Scriptures, must not be saved from a conflagration, but may be burned up together with such letters and passages. From this it was said, that one who writes benedictions commits an act equal to burning up the Scriptures, as it happened in Zidon: One wrote benedictions, and it was told to R. Ishmael. R. Ishmael set forth to investigate the matter. As soon as the man saw R. Ishmael approach, he threw the writings into a bowl of water. Said R. Ishmael to him the following words: "The punishment thou wilt receive for this latter deed will be greater than that for writing the benedictions."

The Exilarch asked of Rabba bar R. Huna: If the Scriptures were written with paint or with dyes and in the holy language, may they be saved from a conflagration or not? I ask thee, taking in consideration the differences of opinion existing between the different Tanaim, for those who hold that Scriptures written in Aramaic or any other language must not be saved, what is their opinion regarding such as are written in the holy language and not with ink? Whereas those who hold that the Scriptures in any language must be saved, do they not refer to such as are written in ink only, but those written with paint or dye, even if written in Hebrew, should also not be saved? Answered Rabba bar R. Huna: "No, they must not be saved." Rejoined the Exilarch: "R. Hamnuna taught, in a Boraitha, that they may?--Answered Rabba: "If such was taught in a Boraitha, it must be so!"

The rabbis taught: Before the passage [Numb. 10:35]: "And it came to pass when the ark set forward, that Moses said, etc.," and at the close of the next verse, the Holy One, blessed be He, made signs (the inverted letter Nun, which must be inserted in the Scroll) in order to signify that this is not the proper place for the two passages; but Rabbi says, that this is out of the question, and that the two verses form a valuable book in themselves. We have heard from R. Samuel ben Na'hmeni in the name of R. Jonathan, that we have not a Pentateuch but a Septateuch 1 (i.e., we have not five books of Moses, but seven). Would this imply that R. Samuel holds with Rabbi and declares that there are seven (because the two verses, which form a book in themselves, divide Numbers into two books)? Who is the Tana, however, that differs with Rabbi? He is R. Simeon ben Gamaliel, for we have learned in a Boraitha: R. Simeon ben Gamaliel says, that these two passages will in the future be removed and put in their proper place. Why were they put here, then? In order to make a separation between the two scourges that befell the Israelites. Which was the second scourge? The one that follows immediately afterwards [Numb. xi. 1]: "And it came to pass, that, as the people complained in a manner displeasing to the Lord," etc., etc. And which was the first? The first was as it is written [ibid. x. 33]: "And they set forward from the mount of the Lord, which, according to R. Hama b. Hanina, means "and they departed from the ways of the Lord." Which is the proper place for the two passages? Said R. Ashi: In Numbers ii. (where it is decreed how every man should walk in the wilderness, and the end of the chapter stating that every, man did as he was commanded, should be followed by those two verses).

The schoolmen asked: May the blank pieces of the Scroll of Laws which had become detached from the Scroll be saved from a conflagration on Sabbath or not? Come and hear: The Gilyonim (blank pieces of the Scroll) and the Sadducean books need not be saved from the conflagration. They, together with the holy names contained in them. Does not the word Gilyonim have reference to the blank pieces of the Scroll? Nay; the blank pages of the Sadducean books. How can it mean the blank pages of the Sadducean books. Why, it is not even allowed to save the Sadducean books themselves? Perhaps the Boraitha means, that the Sadducean books are considered as blank pages, and hence must not be saved.

The text of the Boraitha says further: The Gilyonim and the Sadducean books must not be saved from a conflagration; R. Jose says, that on week-days the Holy Name must be torn out wherever it appears and preserved, and the remainder must be burned; but R. Tarphon says: May I bury my children, if I would not burn such books together with the Holy Name, whenever they reached my hands; for when a man is pursued by murderers or by a snake, it were better for him to seek refuge in the temple of an idol than to enter the houses of such people; for the idolaters serve their idols because they know not God, but the others know God and deny him; they (the latter) are referred to by the verse [Isaiah lvii. 8]: "And behind the doors and the doorposts hast thou placed thy remembrance" (implying that they remember the Lord very well, but nevertheless place their memory behind the doors and doorposts).

Said R. Ishmael: In the Scriptures it is even allowed to erase with bitter water the Holy Name of God, which was written in a holy cause in order to bring about peace between man and wife, a fortiori it should be allowed in the case of those people who cause discord and enmity between Israel and the Heavenly Father. To them David had reference [in Psalms cxxxix. 21, 22]: "Behold those that hate thee, I ever hate, O Lord! and for those that rise up against thee do I feel loathing. With the utmost hatred do I hate them: enemies are they become unto me." So, as they must not be saved from a conflagration, they must also not be saved from the waters, or anything that might destroy them.

Joseph bar Hanin asked of R. Abuha: "May the books of Be Abhidon be saved?" Answered R. Abuha: Yea, nay, I really cannot tell. Rabh never went to the Be Abhidon, and all the more not to the Be Nitzrephe. 1 Samuel, however, never went to the Be Nitzrephe, but did go to the Be Abhidon. Mar bar Joseph said: "I am of their society and do not fear them." Still it happened at one time that he was in danger on their account.

Ema Shalom, the wife of R. Eliezer, who was also a sister of R. Gamaliel the Second, encountered a philosopher in her neighbourhood who was a judge, and had the reputation of being inaccessible to bribery. R. Gamaliel and his sister wished to ridicule him and prove that he was accessible to bribery. Ema Shalom brought him a golden candle. He asked her what she wanted, so she answered: "My father is dead, and I wish to inherit some of his possessions." The judge said: "Go, I will order that you be given your share." Said she: "Thou canst not order it so, because our law decrees, that wherever there is a son a daughter cannot inherit." Answered the judge: "Since you Israelites are in exile, your law given you by Moses has been revoked, and a new law was given you by which daughters may inherit equally with sons." On the morrow came R. Gamaliel and brought him a Libyan ass, and told him that he did not wish to let his sister inherit. Said the judge: "After thy sister left I consulted the law again, and found that the new law said: 'I did not come to abolish the Mosaic law, neither to increase nor to diminish it.' Hence it must remain as in the old law, that where a son is left a sister must not inherit." Said Ema Shalom to the judge: "May God make thy light as bright as a candle." Said R. Gamaliel to her (in the presence of the judge): "An ass came along and extinguished thy candle."

"Why are some (sacred Scriptures) not allowed to be read (on the Sabbath)?" etc. Said Rabh: "It is not allowed to read such Scriptures only during the time of the sermons at the school-house, but at any other they may be read." Samuel, however, said, that even at any other time they must not be read, because he holds with R. Nehemiah as we have learned in the following Boraitha: "Although it was said that the Hagiographa should not be read, still they may be discussed and lectured upon, and when a quotation must be made, the book maybe referred to and the quotation read." Said R. Nehemiah: "Why was it prohibited to read the Hagiographa on the Sabbath? In order that it might be said: As it is forbidden to read the Hagiographa, it is all the more so forbidden to read ordinary papers."

"In a closed space surrounded by walls." What is to be understood by the term "closed space"? Said R. Hisda: "This refers to a lane surrounded on three sides by walls and having on the fourth side two beams. If the lane have three walls and two beams it is a closed space, if it have only one beam on the fourth side it is an open place, and the Tana of the Mishna as well as Ben Bathyra hold in accordance with the opinion of R. Eliezer, who decided to that effect elsewhere." Said Rabba to R. Hisda: "Dost thou call a space surrounded by three walls and one beam an open place? If this be so, according to the sages, why cannot victuals and beverages also be brought there, not alone Scriptures? In my opinion, two walls and two

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beams, one on each side, form a closed space, and two walls with only one beam constitute an open space. And the two Tanaim of the Mishna are not in accord with R. Eliezer, but with R. Jehudah, who opposes him (in Tract Erubin)."

Said Abayi to Rabba: "And why should not, according to thy explanation, victuals and beverages be brought there (for safety) in conformity with the opinion of the sages?" Said R. Ashi, however, "The two Tanaim of the Mishna are of the opinion of R. Eliezer, and a closed place is formed by three walls and one beam, while an open place is made by three walls without any beam at all; and even according to R. Eliezer, who requires two beams, it is only for the bringing thither of victuals; but for the safe keeping of the Scriptures, R. Eliezer holds even one beam to be sufficient."

MISHNA: One may save enough victuals to last for three meals (on the Sabbath in the event of a conflagration). Such food as is fit for human beings may be saved for the use of human beings, and such as is fit for cattle may be saved for cattle. How so? If a conflagration happen on the eve of Sabbath, one may save enough victuals for three meals. If it occur in the forenoon of Sabbath, one may save enough for two meals, and if it occur in the afternoon of Sabbath one may only save enough for one meal. R. Jose, however, says: "One may at all times save enough for three meals."

GEMARA: Let us see! Why should it only be allowed to save three meals, or two, or one? (It says, further on, that the victuals for the meals are to be brought into such a place as is covered by an Erub. In such a place things may be carried, and the things themselves may also be handled, then why should one not be allowed to save more than enough for three meals?) Said Rabha: Because a man is anxious for his possessions, he might, if allowed to save as much as possible, forget about the Sabbath and extinguish the fire altogether. Said Abayi to him: "We have learned previously, that a man upon whose roof a barrel filled with victuals becomes broken, may bring another vessel and put it underneath the barrel in order that the contents of the barrel fall into the vessel, but may not bring another barrel and transfer the contents of the broken one into the new, nor may he place a new barrel alongside of the other and remove the contents of the broken one into the new one by keeling over the former and letting its contents drop into the latter. Why should he not be allowed to do this? (He is on private ground, and the barrel with its contents may be handled?) If it is prohibited as a precautionary measure in the manner of the previous case, where does the precaution arise?" This latter case is also a precautionary measure; for were he allowed to remove the contents from one barrel into another, there is fear of his carrying it through public ground. The text of the Boraitha, how ever, teaches further, that if the man had guests in his house, he may remove the contents of the broken barrel into a new one, etc. But he may not first remove the contents and then call guests, but first call guests and then remove the things; nor may he pretend (to call guests), but must actually desire their company. In the name of R. Jose bar R. Jehudah it was said, that even calling guests as a pretext is also allowed.

The rabbis taught: If one had saved (from the fire) fine bread, he must not return and save coarse bread, but if he first saved the coarse he may return and save the fine. One may also save enough on the Day of Atonement in the event of a fire (when that day is succeeded by Sabbath) to last him through the Sabbath also, but on a Sabbath it is not permitted to save enough for the Day of Atonement (if the Sabbath falls on the day before), and all the more so is it not allowed if the Sabbath precedes a feast-day; nor is it allowed to save on one Sabbath for the following Sabbath.

The rabbis taught: If one forgets bread in an oven, and in the meantime the Sabbath sets in, it is allowed to save enough bread to last for three meals; and one may say to bystanders, "Come and take out as much as ye need"; and when taking out the bread it should not be done with a baker's shovel, hut with some other utensil. R. Hisda said: A man should see that everything should be prepared on Friday for the Sabbath as early as possible, as it is written [Exodus xvi. 5]: "And it shall come to pass, on the sixth day, when they prepare what they shall have brought in," etc., and this means, that as soon as the sixth day sets in, preparations for the Sabbath should be begun.

R. Aba said: "A man must pronounce the benediction over two loaves on the Sabbath," for it is written [ibid. xvi. 5]: "Double bread." Said R. Ashi: "I noticed the manner in which R. Kahana did this: He would hold two loaves, but would cut only one, because it is written [ibid. xvi. 18]: 'Every man according to his eating had he gathered.'" R. Zera used to cut off the loaf sufficient to last him for the entire meal. Asked Rabhina of R. Ashi: "Does this not seem gluttonous, to hold so large a piece in one's hand?" Answered R. Ashi: "Because on week-days such was not his wont, it does not appear gluttonous on Sabbath, and R. Zera did this only in honour of the day." R. Ami and R. Assi, if happening to have the same bread used in making an Erub, for use on Sabbath, would pronounce the benediction over the bread, for they said that because one religious duty had been fulfilled with that bread, it should be used to fulfil another religious duty."

"How so: If a conflagration," etc. The rabbis taught: How many meals should a man eat on the Sabbath? Three. R. 'Hidka said four. Said R. Johanan: Both the rabbis and R. Hidka adduced their opinions from the same passage, as follows [Exodus 16:25]: "And Moses said, Eat it to-day; for a Sabbath is this day unto the Lord: to-day ye will not find it in the field." R. 'Hidka holds that, day being mentioned three times, three meals should be eaten during the day and one at night, and the rabbis hold that the day includes the night and only three meals are required. Our Mishna, however, which decrees that only enough for three meals should be saved, does therefore not agree with R. 'Hidka. According to whose opinion, however, will the following Mishna be? (Tract Peah): "If a poor man have sufficient for two meals, he must not apply for another at the public kitchen (where food is distributed), but he may apply to the general charity fund. If he have, however, sufficient for fourteen meals (for the week) he must not even apply to the general charity fund!" If the Mishna were of the opinion of R. 'Hidka, he should have had sufficient for sixteen meals, so as to afford him four meals on the Sabbath, and, according to the rabbis, for fifteen meals in order to have three meals on the Sabbath? It is therefore neither in accord with R. 'Hidka nor with the rabbis. Nay; it is in accord with the rabbis, and the poor man should eat his Sabbath-night meal on the Sabbath day, so with his Friday-night meal it will make three meals on the Sabbath. It may also be said that the Mishna holds with R. 'Hidka, and that the poor man should leave his Friday meal for the Sabbath. Shall we make the poor man then fast on Friday? It would therefore be better to hold the Mishna's opinion to be in accord with R. Aqiba, who says, that the poor man should make Sabbath equal to a weekday in order not to be forced to rely upon charity. Thus fourteen meals are sufficient, and he may eat only two on Sabbath.

But according to whose opinion is the Mishna (Tract Peah): "If a wandering mendicant come to a town, he must be given a loaf which can be bought for a Pundian (one forty-eighth of a Sela) when the price of flour is one Sela for four Saahs (and the sages calculated that such a loaf is sufficient for two meals). If he remain over night he must be given lodging, and if he remain over Sabbath he must be given three meals for Sabbath." Shall we assume, that this Mishna holds with the rabbis and not with R. 'Hidka? It might also be in accord with R. 'Hidka if the mendicant happen to have one meal with him, he is told to eat the one he has and is given three more. Should the mendicant then depart empty-handed? Nay; he is also given a meal to take along on the way. What must he be given for lodging? Said R. Papa: Enough to hire a bed and a pillow.

The rabbis taught: The dishes used on the eve of Sabbath may be cleansed for the Sabbath-morning meal. The dishes used in the morning may be cleansed for the mid-day meal, and those of the mid-day meal for the afternoon; but those of the afternoon must not be cleansed until the Sabbath is over. All this is said concerning dishes; but glasses, cups, and all drinking utensils may be cleansed at any time, because there are no fixed times for drinking.

R. Simeon ben Pazi in the name of R. Jehoshua ben Levi, quoting Bar Qapara, said: One who keeps the commandment to eat three times on the Sabbath will be rid of three punishments, viz.: "The tribulations (at the time) of Messiah; the punishment of Gehenna, and the war of Gog and Magog." From the tribulations of Messiah, because the Sabbath is always mentioned as the day, and it is written [Malachi 3:23]: "Behold, I send unto you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the day of the Lord, the great and the dreadful." From the punishment of Gehenna, because it is written [Zephaniah 1:15]: "A day of wrath is that day," etc., meaning the Gehenna. From the war of Gog and Magog, because it is written [Ezekiel 38:18]: "On the day of Gog's coming."

R. Johanan said in the name of R. Jose: One who makes the Sabbath pleasant will be rewarded with a boundless inheritance, as it is written [in Isaiah 58:14]: "Then shalt thou find delight in the Lord; and I will cause thee to tread upon the high places of the earth, and I will cause thee to enjoy the inheritance of Jacob thy father; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it." Not the inheritance of Abraham, concerning whom it is written [Genesis 13:17]: "Arise, walk through the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it," etc., and not as in the case of Isaac, as it is written [ibid. 26:4]: "And I will give unto thy seed all these countries," but as it is written of Jacob [ibid. 28:14]: "And thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth, and thou shalt spread abroad to the west and to the east, and to the north and to the south."

R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak said: (The man who makes the Sabbath pleasant) will also be saved the pain of exile, because it is written [Isaiah 58:14]: "And I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth," and [Deut. 33:29]: "And thou shalt tread upon their high places." Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh, "He who makes the Sabbath pleasant is given everything his heart desires," because it is written [Psalms 37:4]: "And delight thyself in the Lord, and he will give thee the wishes of thy heart." What is meant by "delight"? From the passage [Isaiah 58:13]: "If thou call the Sabbath a delight," we can adduce that the delight means Sabbath.

Wherewith should the Sabbath be made pleasant? Said R. Jehudah, the son of R. Samuel bar Shilath, in the name of Rabh: "With a mess of beets, large fish, and garlic-heads." But R. Hyya bar Ashi said in the name of Rabh: "Even with any dish whatever prepared especially for the Sabbath." What does "any dish whatever" mean? Said R. Papa: "Even small fish fried in oil."

R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: "If the Israelites had kept the first Sabbath (after the commandments were given) properly, no nation or race on earth could have harmed them. For it is written [Exodus 16:27]: 'And it came to pass on the seventh day that there went out some of the people to gather; but they found nothing.' And not long afterwards Amalek attacked the Israelites."

R. Johanan said in the name of R. Simeon ben Jochai: "If the Israelites were to keep two Sabbaths in succession as they should, they would immediately be released from exile, for it is written [Isaiah 56:6]: 'Also the sons of the stranger, that join themselves unto the Lord, to serve him, and to love the name of the Lord, to be unto him as servants, every one that keepeth the Sabbath by not violating it, and those who take hold of my covenant,' and immediately afterwards it is written [ibid. ibid. 7]: 'Even these will I bring to my holy mountain.'

R. Jose said: "May my share in the world to come be with those who eat three meals on the Sabbath." Again he said: "May my share in the world to come be with those who recite Hallel 1 every day." This is not so. The Master says, that he who recites Hallel every day is a blasphemer. Nay; R. Jose does not mean Hallel, but Hallelujah.

R. Jose said again: "May my share in the world to come be with those who perform their morning devotion as soon as the sun begins to rise." Again said he: "May my share be with those who die of abdominal disease, for the Master said, that most of the righteous die of bowel troubles." He also said: "May my share be with those who die when about to fulfil a commandment; also with those who receive the Sabbath in Tiberias and see it out in Zipporias (Tiberias was in a valley and Zipporias on a hill); also with those who remain in the houses of learning, and not with those who attempt to draw scholars away from their studies; also with those who solicit alms but not with those who dispense alms; also with those who are suspected but are not guilty." Said R. Papa: "I have been suspected but was not guilty." Said R. Jose: "I have gone in unto my wife five times and have planted five cedars in Israel." Who are they? R. Ishmael, R. Eliezer, R. 'Halafta, R. Aftiles, and R. Mena'hem, all sons of R. Jose. But he also had a son called Vradimos? Nay; Vradimos is the same as R. Mena'hem, and the reason he was called Vradimos was because his face was as beautiful as a rose (Vrad is Aramaic for rose).

Said R. Jose again: "In all my days the ceiling of my house never saw the seam of my undershirt." Again said be: "I never acted contrary to the advice of my colleagues. I know well that I am not a descendant of priests, but when my colleagues asked me to pronounce a benediction usually said by priests, I did so." Again he said: "I never said a thing that I afterwards repented having said."

R. Na'hman said: "May it be accounted to me (for my reward), that I have observed the three meals (in honour of the) Sabbath." R. Jehudah said: "May it be accounted to me, that I have given my prayers preliminary consideration." R. Huna, the son of R. Jehoshua, said: "May it be accounted to me, that I have never walked four ells with uncovered head." R. Shesheth said: "May it be accounted to me, that I have observed the commandment of Tephillin," and R. Na'hman said again: "May it be accounted to me, that I have observed the commandment of Tzitzith (showthreads)."

Said R. Joseph to R. Joseph the son of Rabha: "Canst thou tell me which commandment thy father observed most punctually?" The answer was: "The commandment of Tzitzith. For it happened one day that my father was ascending the stairway, and a thread of his Tzitzith becoming torn off, he would not leave his place until a new thread had been brought to him and the Tzitzith were mended."

Said Abayi: "May it be accounted to me, that whenever I noticed a young scholar (of my college) had finished a Tract of the Talmud, I gave a feast to all the sages of the day." Said Rabha: "May it be accounted to me, that whenever a young scholar and another man came before me for judgement, I did not put my head on the pillow (rest) until I exhausted every to find the scholar's words prove the justice of his claim." Said Mar, the son of R. Ashi: "I am unfit to judge a young scholar because I love him as well as I do myself, and no man call see himself unjust."

R. Hanina used to wrap himself in a cloak on the eve of Sabbath and say: "Come with me, and let us go toward Sabbath the queen." R. Yanai used to clothe himself in his holiday clothes on the eve of Sabbath and say: "Come, bride; come, bride."

Rabba, the son of R. Huna, came as a guest to the house of Rabba the son of R. Na'hman. At the table three cakes steeped in the fat of the ram (which were only served on special occasions) were placed before him. Said he to his host: "Didst thou know that I would come to visit thee?" Answered the host: "Art thou then better than the Sabbath? (We prepare it

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usually for every Sabbath, as it is written: 'And thou shalt call the Sabbath a pleasure.')"

R. Aba used to buy on the eve of every Sabbath thirteen Isteris' (six and a half Dinars) worth of meat from thirteen different butchers, and would hand them the money immediately upon their entering his door 1 and delivering the meat, saying to them: "Make haste, make haste and deliver your orders to others." R. Abuha used to sit on an ivory stool and make fire in honour of the Sabbath. R. Anan used to don a black apron in order to show that this day (the eve of the Sabbath) was a day of preparation, and that work had to be performed for the Sabbath. R. Safra used to singe a cow's head himself for the Sabbath, and Rabha would salt fish himself. R. Huna would light candles himself. R. Papa would prepare the wicks for the lamps. R. Hisda would cut herbs himself. Rabba and R. Joseph would chop wood for Sabbath. R. Zera would light the kindling wood. R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak would shoulder all burdens to be carried in and out of the house himself on the eve of Sabbath, saying: "If R. Ami or R. Assi would come to visit me, would I not do the same for them?" Others say that R. Ami and Assi did this on the eve of every Sabbath, saying: "If it should happen that R. Johanan were to visit us, would we not do the same for him?"

Joseph, who honoured the Sabbath, had a rich Gentile for a neighbour. The astrologers told the Gentile that all his goods and possessions would eventually be eaten up by Joseph, his neighbour. He went and sold out all his goods, and with the proceeds bought a precious pearl. This pearl he had set in his turban. While crossing a lake one day, the wind blew off his turban and it fell into the water. A fish swallowed it. Subsequently the fish was caught by fishermen late on the eve of Sabbath. Said the fishermen: "Who will buy this so late in the evening?" They were told by some people to go to Joseph, who honoured the Sabbath, and that he usually bought such things. They carried it to Joseph, who bought it, and upon opening the fish he found the pearl, which he sold for thirteen 1 boxes of golden Dinars. A certain old man met this Joseph, and said to him: He who lends to the Sabbath is repaid by the Sabbath itself.

Rabbi (Jehudah Hanassi) asked of R. Ishmael the son of R. Jose: "By what acts did the rich men of Palestine, so wealthy, merit their wealth?"

He answered: "Because they gave tithes, as it is written [Deut. 14:22]: 'Thou shalt truly give tithes.'" "By what acts did the rich men of Babylon merit their wealth?" asked Rabbi again. "Because they keep the law honourably," was the reply. "And what about the rich men of other lands?" "Because they honour the Sabbath," as R. Hyya bar Aba related: "It happened that I was a guest in the house of a man in the city of Ludkai and a golden table was brought for me, which required sixteen men to carry, and sixteen silver chains were fastened to it, and bowls, pitchers, goblets, and glasses were hung on those chains, and on the table were all kinds of food and beverages and spices, and when the table was set down they said: 'Unto the Lord belongeth the earth, with what filleth it' [Psalms 24:1], and when the table was taken away, they said: 'The heavens are the heavens of the Lord; but the earth hath he given unto the children of men.' [Psalms 95:16.] I said to my host, 'My son, how didst thou merit all this?' Said he, 'I used to be a butcher, and whenever I came across a good animal, I would keep it for Sabbath.' Said I to him: 'Well is unto thee, that thou hast merited this, and praise be to God, who hath rewarded thee.'"

Said the Exilarch to R. Hamnuna: "It is written [Isaiah 58:13]: 'The holy day of the Lord, honourable.' What does this 'honourable' signify?" R. Hamnuna answered: "It means the Day of Atonement, on which day there is no eating and no drinking, and hence the Thora says, thou shalt honour it with clean clothes." Further, it says [ibid.]: "Thou shalt honour it" (this evidently does not refer to the Day of Atonement, which is called honourable, but must again refer to the Sabbath; how, then, should it be honoured?) Said Rabh: "Thou shalt make the usual time of thy meals earlier," and Samuel said, "Thou shalt postpone the ordinary meal-hour." The children of R. Papa bar Aba asked R. Papa: "How shall we, who have meat and wine every day, distinguish the Sabbath day?" He answered: "If ye usually have your meals at a late hour, have them earlier, and if at an early hour, have them later."

R. Shesheth (who was blind) in the summer used to seat his pupils, who came to hear him lecture on Sabbath, in a place where the sun shone earliest, in order that they might become warm and leave, and in the winter used to seat them where the sun could not reach them, that they might become cold and leave the sooner.

R. Zera, when seeing his pupils standing in pairs and discussing the Thora on the Sabbath, used to say to them: "I pray ye, go home, eat, drink, and be merry. Do not violate the Sabbath! (It is made for pleasure and not for learning.)"

Rabha, according to others R. Jehoshua ben Levi, said: "Even a man who prays singly on the Sabbath eve must recite the prayer commencing with 'Thus were finished,' etc. [Genesis ii. 1-3]; for R. Hamnuna said, that he who prays on the Sabbath eve and recites that prayer is considered by the verse as being a collabourator in the creation of the world."

R. Eliezer said: "Whence do we know that speaking is equal to acting, as it is written [Psalms xxxiii. 6]: 'By the word of the Lord were the heavens made.'"

R. Hisda in the name of Mar Uqba said: "He who on the Sabbath recites the prayer commencing with, 'Thus were finished,' etc., has the hands of the two angels who accompany each man laid on his head, and they say to him [Isaiah 6:7]: 'And thy iniquity is departed and thy sin is forgiven.'"

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jose bar Jehudah said: "Two angels accompany a man on the Sabbath eve on his way home from the house of prayer; one is a good angel and the other an evil one; and when the man comes home and finds the candles lit, the table set, and his bed made up, the good angel says: 'May it be the will of God that the next Sabbath shall be the same,' and the evil angel answers 'Amen' involuntarily. If, however, the man does not find everything in order, the evil angel says: 'Mayst thou find it so on the next Sabbath also,' and the good angel answers against his own will: 'Amen.'"

R. Elazar said: "A man should set his table on the Sabbath eve, although he may not be hungry and can eat not more than the size of an olive." R. Hanina said: "A man should set his table on the eve following the Sabbath, though he may not be hungry and can eat but the size of one olive. (This is also in honour of the. Sabbath and is like the accompanying of a king at his departure.) Warm water at the close of the Sabbath day is wholesome. Warm bread at that time is also wholesome."

R. Abuha used to have a calf which was the third calf of its mother (and hence the best) killed for him at the close of the Sabbath day, and he ate only one of the entrails of the calf. When his son Abhimi grew up, he (Abhimi) said, "Why kill a whole calf for the sake of one of its entrails? Let us leave one of the entrails of the calf killed for the Sabbath for father, that he may eat it at the close of the Sabbath." This was done, but a lion came and killed the calf that was spared.

R. Jehoshua ben Levi said: "He who answers 'Amen. The Name of the Eternal be blessed,' with all his heart, has any ill fate which has been predestined for him nullified in heaven, as it is written [Judges 5:2]: 'When depravity had broken out in Israel, then did the people offer themselves willingly; (therefore) praise ye the Lord.' Why had depravity broken out in Israel? Because they had not praised the Lord." R. Hyya bar Abba in the name of R. Johanan said: "Even if that man have amongst his sins aught of idolatry, he is also forgiven."

Said Resh Lakish: "He who answers 'Amen,' etc., with all his might has the gates of Paradise opened for him, as it is written [Isaiah 26:2]: 'Open ye the gates, that there may enter in the righteous nation that guardeth the truth.'" (The truth in Hebrew is called "Emunim," and Resh Lakish said, "Do not read Emunim but Amenim, the plural for Amen.") What is Amen? Said R. Hanina: "Amen is the abbreviation for El (God), Melech (king), Neamon (truth)." (Meaning that by saying Amen a man certifies that his Creator is the God and king of truth.)

R. Jehudah, the son of R. Samuel, in the name of Rabh said: "A fire seldom occurs in a place unless there is a violation of the Sabbath, as it is written [Jeremiah 17:27]: 'But if ye will not hearken unto me to hallow the Sabbath day, and not to bear a burden, and to enter in at the gates of Jerusalem on the Sabbath day; then will I kindle a fire in its gates, and it shall devour the palaces of Jerusalem, and it shall not be quenched.'" What does "it shall not be quenched" signify? Said R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak: "The fire shall occur at a time when men are not around, as a rule."

Abayi said: "Jerusalem was destroyed solely on account of the violation of the Sabbath, as it is written [Ezekiel xxii. 26]: 'And from (the violations of) my Sabbaths do they turn away their eyes, so that I am profaned among them.'" R. Abuha said: "Jerusalem was not destroyed until they had abolished the reading of the Shema in the morning and in the evening, as it is written [Isaiah 5:11-13]: 'Wo unto those that rise up early in the morning, that they may run after strong drink, that continue until late in the twilight, till wine inflame them! And there are harp and psaltery, tambourine and flute, and wine, at their drinking feasts; but the deeds of the Lord they regard not, and the works of his hands they behold not. Therefore are my people led into exile, for want of knowledge.'" R. Hamnuna said: "Jerusalem was not destroyed until the children were kept away from school, as it is written [Jeremiah 6:11]: '(I must) pour it out over the child in the street'; and it may be explained thus: Why must I pour it out? Because the child is in the street and not at school."

Ula said: "Jerusalem was destroyed because the people were devoid of shame, as it is written [ibid. 15]: 'They should have been ashamed because they committed an abomination; but they neither felt the least shame, nor did they know how to blush; therefore shall they fall among those that fall.'"

R. Itz'hak said: "Jerusalem was destroyed only because no distinction was made between great and small, as it is written [Isaiah 24:2, 3]: 'And it shall be the same with the people as with the priest, etc. Empty, emptied out shall be the land.'" R. Amram, the son of R. Simeon bar Aba, in the name of his father, quoting R. Hanina, said: "Jerusalem was destroyed only because the people did not admonish one another, as it is written (Lamentations 1:6): 'Her princes have become like harts that have found no pasture.' As the harts in a herd travel head to rump, so would the men of Jerusalem not dare face each other with admonitions, but followed from behind in silence."

R. Jehudah said: "Jerusalem was destroyed because they insulted men of learning, as it is written [2 Chronicles 37:16]: "But they mocked at the messengers of God, and despised his words, and scorned his prophets, until the fury of the Lord arose against his people, till there was no remedy." What does "till there was no remedy" signify? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: "He who insults a man of learning, can find no panacea for his affliction."

R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh said again: "It is written [1 Chronicles 16:22]: 'Touch not my anointed, and do my prophets no harm.'" By "touch not my anointed" is meant the children of the school (for children are usually anointed), and "do my prophets no harm" refers to the scholars. 1

Resh Lakish said in the name of R. Jehudah the Second: "The world is sustained solely through the exhalation of the children" (because they are pure and without sin). Said R. Papa to Abayi: "What about thy and my exhalation?" Answered Abayi: "The difference lies therein, that thou and I might have sinned, but children are incapable of committing sin." Resh Lakish said again in the name of the same authority: "The children should not be withheld from attending school, even while the new temple shall be in process of construction."

Said Resh Lakish to R. Jehudah the Second: "I have heard a tradition coming from thy parents which says, that the city which has no school for children shall be destroyed; but Rabhina says, the tradition is to the effect that the high court shall put the city under a ban (until a school is built for children)."

Rabha said: Jerusalem was destroyed solely because there were no more trustworthy men there, as it is written [Jeremiah 5:1]: "Roam about through the streets of Jerusalem, and see now, and notice, and search in its broad places, if ye can find one man, if there be one that executeth justice, that searcheth for truth: and I will pardon it." What is meant by trustworthy men? Such as can be trusted in business.

MISHNA: Further, one may save a basket full of loaves (of bread), be it even enough for a hundred meals, a fig-cake, and a cask of wine; and one may also call to others: "Come ye and save for yourselves!" If those who do so understand their advantage, they make a settlement with the owner after the Sabbath is over. Where may such articles be taken to (for safety)? To a court that is joined to the other (court of the house burning) by an Erub. Ben Bathyra says: "Even to one that is not joined by an Erub."

There all utensils (dishes) may be brought, that are used on the same day; one may (in the event of a conflagration on the Sabbath) put on as many clothes as possible, and may wrap himself in whatever is possible. R. Jose says: "One may only put on eighteen pieces of ordinary apparel, but he can come back as often as he chooses and put on the same quantity and carry them off." One may also call to others: "Come ye and save with me (whatever ye can)!"

GEMARA: Have we not learned, in the preceding Mishna, that only (enough victuals for) three meals may be saved (and in the above Mishna sufficient for a hundred meals is permitted)? Said R. Huna: "This presents no difficulty. Our Mishna refers to one who comes to save the food with only one basket (when he may fill it with any quantity, whereas the preceding Mishna refers to one who brings several baskets, and in such a case it is not permitted to put in each basket more than sufficient for three meals)." But R. Aba bar Zavda in the name of Rabh said: "Both Mishnas refer to one who comes even with several baskets, but still no difficulty arises. This Mishna speaks of one who does not carry the food beyond the same court, while the other refers to one who carries it into another court.

"A fig-cake," etc. Why does the Mishna say, that if those who save for themselves know their advantage they will make a settlement with the owner after having saved the things from the conflagration? Are they not entitled to it under any circumstances, by virtue of the owner having made it public property when saying, "Come ye and save for yourselves"? Said R. Hisda: "This refers to pious people who would not take advantage of a man who is compelled to sacrifice his property." Said Rabha: "Can they be called pious, who accept remuneration for their time on the Sabbath? Nay; the Mishna does not refer to pious men, but to God-fearing men, who, while they would not take anything not belonging to them, would not care to trouble themselves gratuitously. By stating, therefore, that those who know their advantage will settle accounts with the owner afterwards, the Mishna means to say that their prudence consists in their knowing that they will not receive any remuneration for their time on Sabbath, but will only receive their own property as their due."

"Come ye and save with me." Why does the first part of the Mishna permit the saying of "Come and save for yourselves," and in the last part the permission is given to say: "Come and save with me"? Because the first part of the Mishna refers to victuals, and a man cannot save more than sufficient for three meals, while the last part of the Mishna refers to clothing; and

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as a man can change his clothing as often as he pleases, he may call to others to come and help him save whatever is possible.

"One may put on as many clothes as possible." The rabbis taught: One may dress himself, go out and undress, come back and dress again, and so on as often as he chooses. So said R. Meir. R. Jose, however, said, that one may put on only eighteen pieces of ordinary apparel. These were: 1. and 2. Macturen and Unqly, a mantle with a head-hold; 3. Funda, pocket for money; 4. Kalbus, a dress without sleeves; 5. Chaluk, a kind of shirt; 6. Apiliute, cover or overcoat; 7. Maopareth; 8 and 9. Drawers and pantaloons and cap for the head; 10. and 11. Shoes; 12 and 13. Socks; 14 and 15. Pargud, striped suit; 16. Girdle; 17. Hat; 18. Neckties.

MISHNA: R. Simeon, the son of Nanas, says: "One may spread a goat-skin over a chest, a box, or a cupboard, which lips caught fire, so that they only become singed. One may also form a partition with any, utensil (or vessel), be it full of water or not, in order to keep the fire from spreading. R. Jose forbids the making of such a partition with new earthenware vessels filled with water, because such vessels cannot stand heat, but burst and extinguish the fire."

GEMARA: R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: "When one side of a garment has caught fire, the other side may be put in water, and if thereby the fire is extinguished it makes no difference." An objection was made: We have learned in a Tosephta, that if a garment has caught fire one may wrap it around him, and it makes no difference if the fire is thereby extinguished. One may also unroll the Sacred Scrolls, if the covering has caught fire on one side, and it does not matter if thus the fire is quenched. (This Tosephta then simply permits the unfolding or the folding of a garment that has caught fire, but says nothing about soaking the undamaged part in water.) Rabh holds with R. Simeon, the son of Nanas, in the above Mishna (who permits the prevention of the fire). R. Simeon, however, restricts his permission so that, while preventing the fire, it is not extinguished, but simply singes the objects (when the article, however, is soaked in water the fire will certainly be quenched, and did R. Simeon permit this also?) Yea, he did; for the last part of the Mishna relates, that R. Jose forbids the making of a partition with new pottery filled with water, because such vessels are liable to burst and extinguish the fire; and if R. Jose forbids this, surely R. Simeon (the first Tana) must have permitted it in the first part of the Mishna.

The rabbis taught: If a candle fall on the table, the table board may be raised and the candle dropped to the floor, and if it become extinguished, it matters not. Another Boraitha taught, that if a candle burn behind a door, the door may be opened and closed as usual, regardless of whether the candle is thus extinguished. Rabh scolded the one that thus decreed. Said Rabhina to R. A'ha the son of Rabha, according to others R. A'ha the son of Rabha to R. Ashi: "Why did Rabh scold the one who made that decree? Shall we say that it was because he holds with R. Jehudah (who says that an indirect act is also prohibited), and the Boraitha holds with R. Simeon, who permits the performance of an indirect act; is it possible that Rabh will scold every one who holds with R. Simeon?" he answered: "In this matter R. Simeon would also agree that this is prohibited, as it would be like decapitating a man without killing him."

R. Jehudah said: "One may open a door opposite a hearth-fire." Abayi scolded the one that decreed thus. Of what circumstances do we treat here? If the door is opened when there is an ordinary wind blowing, what reason had the one to prohibit it; and if there be an extraordinary wind blowing, why did the other permit it? The case here treated of is that of an ordinary wind, and the one prohibits the door being opened as a precautionary measure, lest this be done when a high wind is blowing, while the other does not regard a precautionary measure necessary.

"One may also form a partition," etc. Shall we say that the rabbis hold the indirect bringing about of an extinction to be permissible and R. Jose holds to the contrary? Have we not heard the case to be the reverse? We have learned in a Boraitha: One may make a partition with empty vessels, and with vessels filled with water that are not liable to burst, and such are iron vessels. R. Jose, however, says, that the vessels made of pottery in the villages of Shihin and Hananiah are also proof against bursting. Thus we see that R. Jose is even more lenient than the rabbis? This presents no difficulty, for the above Boraitha is altogether in accordance with R. Jose; but it is incomplete, and should read thus: "One may make a partition with empty vessels, and with such as are filled with water but are not liable to burst; and such vessels are iron vessels and vessels made of pottery in the villages of Shihin and Hananiah," as R. Jose says that the vessels made of pottery in these villages are proof against heat.

MISHNA: If a non-Israelite comes near to extinguish (the fire), one must neither say to him: "Extinguish (it)," nor "Do not extinguish it," and for the reason, that one is not obliged to make him rest (on Sabbath). If a minor, however, desires to extinguish the fire, one must not allow him to do so, because one is obliged to see that he (the minor) rests (on Sabbath).

GEMARA: R. Ami said: "During a conflagration one may proclaim: 'Whoever will come and extinguish the fire, will lose nothing by it.'"

The rabbis taught: It happened that a fire broke out in the court of Joseph ben Simai in the town of Shihin, and the men of the fortress of Sepphoris came to extinguish the fire, because Joseph was an official of the government; but he would not allow them to do so, in honour of the Sabbath. A miracle occurred, and it commenced to rain, and the fire was extinguished. That evening he sent to each man in the fortress two selah and to their officer fifty selah. When the sages heard this, they said: "It was not at all necessary to do this, because the Mishna says, that when a Gentile comes to extinguish a fire on Sabbath, one need not tell him to do it, or not to do it."

"If a minor, however, desires to extinguish the fire," etc. Could we conclude from this, that if a minor is detected eating forbidden food it is the duty of the court of justice to prevent his doing so (and we know such is not the case)? Said R. Johanan: "Yea; if the minor does this with his father's knowledge. We must say, then, that the same case applies to the Gentile, who does the work with the knowledge of the Israelite whose house is burning. Is this permitted? Yea, it is; for the Gentile does it of his own volition, and it makes no difference whether the Israelite knows it or not (because he, the Gentile, knows he will be rewarded)."

MISHNA-. One may cover the top of a lamp with a vessel in order that the ceiling may not catch fire, and also cover the ordure (of poultry 1) on account of the children (in the house). (One may also place a vessel) over a scorpion in order to prevent him from biting. R. Jehudah said: "A case of this kind happened once in the presence of R. Johanan ben Zakai in Arab, and he said, 'I am not certain whether (the man) is not culpable (and bound to bring a sin-offering).'"

GEMARA: R. Jehudah, R. Jeremiah b. Aba, and R. Hanon b. Ram happened to be the guests of Abin of Nishikia. The two former were furnished with beds, and the last one was not. At the same time, he noticed him teaching his son that the ordure of a child is to be covered, in order that the child should not touch it; and he said, "Abin the fool is teaching foolishness to his children. Is not the ordure of a child useful for dogs? What can you say? It was not prepared from yesterday. But this makes no difference; for we have learned in a Boraitha, that running rivers and springing wells are to be considered as the feet of every man." And Abin asked, "How, then, shall we teach?" And Hanon answered, "Over the ordure of poultry, that the child shall not touch it."

"Over a scorpion in order to prevent him from biting." R. Jehoshua ben Levi said: "All dangerous creatures may be killed on Sabbath." R. Joseph raised an objection: "We have learned in a Boraitha, that five creatures may be killed on Sabbath, and they are: the fly of Egypt, the wasp of Nineveh, and the serpent of Hadaiev, and the snake of Palestine, and a mad dog from any region." According to whose opinion is this Boraitha? It is not according to the opinion of R. Jehudah, who holds, that the performance of an act not in itself necessary makes one culpable? We must say, then, that the Boraitha agrees with R. Simeon. If this is so, is it allowed to kill only these five, and not others? Said R. Jeremiah: "Who can tell us that this Boraitha is a correct one? It may be erroneous." Said R. Joseph: "I have studied the Boraitha. The same objection was made before me, and I defended it by stating, that the Boraitha refers to the case where the creatures pursued the man in order to harm him, and under these circumstances even R. Jehudah permits the killing of these creatures."

A certain disciple related before Rabha, the son of R. Huna, quoting a Boraitha: "One who kills serpents and snakes on the Sabbath does not find favour in the eyes of the pious." Answered Rabha: "And these pious men do not find favour in the eyes of our sages." Thus he differs with R. Huna, for it happened that R. Huna, seeing a man killing a snake on Sabbath, said to him: Hast thou killed the last of them (if thou hast only killed one, of what use is it to violate the Sabbath? From this we see that R. Huna differs from the opinion of his son.)

The rabbis taught: If a man met snakes on the road and killed them, it was decreed above that he should kill them (thus, removing danger for others, because a good deed is performed through a righteous man); if, however, he did not kill them, it was decreed above that he should be killed by them (that is, he is a sinner and deserving of death), but through the mercy of the Lord a miracle was performed, and he was saved. Said Ula, according to others Rabba bar bar Hana, in the name of R. Johanan: "Only in case the snakes prepared to strike at the man, can it be said that it was decreed that the man should be killed."

R. Aba bar Kahana said: "It happened that a snake was found in the school-house, and a man of the city of Neiety killed it." Said Rabbi: "He met his equal." The schoolman asked: "Did Rabbi mean, that the man was right in his deed, or on the contrary?" Come and hear: R. Aba, the son of Hyya b. Aba, and R. Zera were sitting in the hut of R. Janai, and they resolved to ask R. Janai if one might kill snakes and serpents on the Sabbath. And he answered: "If a bee should annoy me, I would kill it; a fortiori, snakes and serpents."

Aba the son of Marta, who is Aba the son of Minyumi, was indebted in a sum of money to the Exilarch's house. He was brought there and was worried. While standing in the room, Aba spat on the floor. This happened on the Sabbath, and the Exilarch ordered his servants to bring a dish and cover up the spittle. Said Aba to him: "This is not necessary, for R. Jehudah says, that one may put his foot on spittle and thus clear it off." Thereupon the Exilarch remarked: "This proves to me that the man is a young scholar; let him go in peace."

Aba bar Kahana said in the name of R. Hanina: "The lamps of the house of Rabbi may be handled on the Sabbath." R. Zera asked him: "Which lamps do you refer to, the lamps that can be handled with one hand, or those that require both hands"? and he answered: "The same as can be found in your father's house (those were small lamps)." The same Aba said in the name of the same authority, that the carriages of the house of Rabbi might also be handled on the Sabbath. R. Zera asked him which he referred to, those that one man can pull, or those that require two men, and the answer was: "The same that your father possesses." Aba bar Kahana said again, that the same R. Hanina permitted the house of Rabbi to drink wine that was scaled with but one seal, in the markets of the heathens, and he states, that he does not know whether R. Hanina holds with R. Eliezer (who held that one seal only was necessary) or whether he permitted this out of respect to the house of the Nassi (for fear that if he prohibited this, they would become angry.).

MISHNA: If a non-Israelite lit a lamp on the Sabbath, the Israelite might make use of the light. If he (the non-Israelite) did so (especially) for the Israelite, the latter must not use it. If the non-Israelite filled up (a trough) with water, to water his (own) cattle, the Israelite may water his cattle after him; if he did so for the Israelite (especially), the latter must not water his cattle with it. If a non-Israelite made a stairway in order to descend upon it from a ship, the Israelite might descend after him; if he made it (especially) for the Israelite, the latter must not descend. Once R. Gamaliel and several elders arrived on a ship (on Sabbath) and a non-Israelite made a stairway upon which to descend (from the ship), whereupon R. Gamaliel and the elders also descended.

GEMARA: And it is necessary for the Mishna to mention the above cases separately, because if we were taught only concerning a lamp, we would say, that a lamp only may be used because a lamp will give light for a hundred men as well as for one; but as for water, we might say, that the water should not be used, in precaution lest the non-Israelite replenish the trough especially for the Israelite. For what purpose, however, is the stairway mentioned? That was only for the purpose of relating what happened to R. Gamaliel and the elders.

The rabbis taught: With grass which a Gentile mowed for his own cattle, an Israelite may feed his cattle, but if the grass was mowed especially for the Israelite, he may not. The same rule applies to water for watering the cattle. This applies only where the Gentile and the Israelite are not acquainted; but if they are, it is not allowed, under any circumstances. This is not so! For R. Huna said in the name of R. Hanina, that a man may allow his cattle to graze on the Sabbath, but must not feed them on grass which he designated previously for some other purpose (it matters not whether the grass is still uncut or cut). (Now, we see that things which have been designated for another purpose must not be fed to cattle on the Sabbath; how then is it allowed to feed one's cattle on the Gentile's grass which was cut on the Sabbath, and surely designated for some express purpose?) This presents no difficulty; for the permission to feed one's cattle on the Gentile's grass only holds good if the cattle feed themselves, and the man may stand by and prevent them from invading another pasture (but does not allow the man to feed them by hand).

It is said above: "This applies only where the Gentile and the Israelite are not acquainted," etc. Is this so? Did not R. Gamaliel descend on the stairway, although he and the Gentile were acquainted? Said Abayi: "The Gentile made the stairway when R. Gamaliel did not see him." But Rabha said: "It may be that the stairway was made in the presence of R. Gamaliel, but this case would be the same as that of a lamp. A lamp for one is a lamp for a hundred."

An objection was made to the teaching of Rabha: We have learned in a Tosephta: R. Gamaliel said to the elders: "As the Gentile made the stairway while we were not looking, we may descend on it." Answered Rabha: "Read simply, that R. Gamaliel said, 'because the Gentile had already made it, we may use it.'"

Samuel happened to arrive at the house of Abin in Touron on a Sabbath. A Gentile came and lit a candle. Samuel turned his face away from the light; but after seeing that the Gentile brought a paper and commenced to read by the light of that candle, he said: "I see now that the Gentile lit the candle for his own use," and he then made use of it himself.

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CHAPTER 17.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE HANDLING OF UTENSILS AND FURNITURE ON THE SABBATH.

MISHNA: All utensils (and furniture) which may be handled on the Sabbath, their doors (lids) may be handled with them, even when their lids had been removed; for such lids cannot be considered as house-doors, which are not intended to be removed. One may take a hammer on the Sabbath for the purpose of cracking nuts, an axe to chop fig-cake, a hand-saw to saw cheese, a shovel to gather up dried figs, a fan and a fork to place a thing (food) before a child, a spindle and a shuttle to pick fruit, a sewing-needle to remove a splinter (from the flesh), and a packing needle to open a door.

GEMARA: "All utensils which may be handled on the Sabbath, their doors (lids) may be handled with them, even when their lids had been removed." Removed when, on Sabbath? and if removed on a week-day they certainly may be handled? Why, on the contrary. On Sabbath the lids being attached to the utensils, they were intended for use with the utensils; but if removed on week-days, they did not form part of the utensils on the Sabbath, hence not intended for simultaneous use, and should not be handled! Said Abayi: The Mishna means to say, that the lids may be handled with the utensils on the Sabbath even if the lids had been removed on a week-day.

The rabbis taught: "The doors (lids) of a drawer, chest, or cage, may be taken down on the Sabbath, but not replaced. The (door of a chicken-coop (which is built in the ground) must not be removed nor replaced on the Sabbath." It may be right to prohibit the removing or replacing of the door of a chicken-coop (built in the ground), because removing it would constitute the act of tearing down, and replacing it would constitute building, but as for the doors of a drawer, chest, or cage, what is the opinion of the rabbis? Do they hold that the acts of building and tearing down apply also to utensils? If so, why do they permit the removing of the doors (lids); and if not, why do they prohibit replacing them? Said Rabha: "The act of building does not apply to utensils, but replacing is prohibited more as a precautionary measure, lest one drive the door in with a stick (and this would constitute the act of hammering)."

"One may take a hammer," etc. Said R. Jehudah: This refers to a hammer intended only for nut-cracking, and such a hammer may be used to crack nuts, but a smith's hammer must not be used for that purpose; [for R. Jehudah holds, that a thing which is intended only for an act prohibited on the Sabbath, must not be used even for a permissible act]. Rabba, however, says, that a smith's hammer may be used to crack nuts [for he holds that a thing which is intended only for a prohibited act, may be used for a permissible act].

It was taught: R. Hyya bar Aba in the name of R. Johanan said: "We have learned, that a hammer which is intended for hammering gold may also be used for cracking nuts." R. Shoman bar Aba said: "We have learned, that the hammer referred to is intended to be used for spices."

The one who teaches that a spice-hammer may be used certainly permits a gold-hammer; but the one permitting a gold-hammer to be used, does not allow a spice-hammer, because a spice-hammer must be kept perfectly clean, and is laid away for non-use during the Sabbath.

"A spindle and a shuttle to pick fruit," etc. The rabbis taught: A date which was not quite ripe, and was put in straw which was intended for use in clay-making, might be taken out. providing it was, not completely covered by, the straw, but enough to take hold of was left uncovered. The same applies to a cake which was taken out of the oven not quite done, and was put in glowing cinders to be cooked; but R. Eliezer ben Tadai said, that both the date and the cake might be taken out even when completely covered, providing this is done with a prong, and then the straw or the ashes respectively fall off of themselves. Said R. Na'hman: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Eliezer ben Tadai."

From this we see that R. Na'hman holds, that handling in an unusual manner is not considered handling at all; but did not R. Na'hman say, that if a radish is deposited in earth with its roots downwards and its head upwards and protruding from the earth, it may be taken out; but if deposited head downwards, it must not be taken out (and thus we see that R. Na'hman regards handling in an unusual manner the same as handling proper)? The answer is, that R. Na'hman afterward retracted his decision concerning the radish.

"A sewing-needle to remove a splinter." Rabha the son of Rabba sent a request to R. Joseph: "Let the master teach us the law regarding a needle, the eyelet or the point of which had been broken off." R. Joseph answered: "We have learned this in our Mishna: 'A sewing-needle to remove a splinter.' What difference would it make to the splinter whether the needle has an eyelet or not?" Rabha objected: "We have learned, that a needle, the eye or the point of which had been broken off, is not subject to defilement." Said Abayi: "Thou confusest Sabbath with defilement? As for defilement, a vessel must be complete in order to be subject to defilement; but for Sabbath use, anything which can be used is in itself sufficient, and with this needle I can remove a splinter."

R. Na'hman forbids the straightening of the limbs of a child at birth on the Sabbath, and R. Shesheth permits it.

MISHNA: The hollow olive-cane is subject to defilement if it has a knot; if not, it is not subject to defilement. In any event, it may be handled on the Sabbath.

R. Jose I saith: "Any utensil may be handled on the Sabbath, with the exception of the large wood-saw and the plough-share."

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: Previously only three utensils were permitted to be handled on the Sabbath, and they were: a knife to chop pressed dates, a skimmer, and a small table-knife. Subsequently more was allowed, and then still more, and then more again, until finally any utensil was allowed with the exception of the wood-saw and the ploughshare.

What is meant by "subsequently more was allowed, and then still more," etc.? Said Rabha: They allowed a thing which was intended for use in a permissible act, whether it was needed for another purpose, or whether the room it occupied was needed; then still more was allowed, namely: to shift a thing out of the sunshine to a shady place; then more again was allowed, namely: a thing that was intended for use in a prohibited act (e.g., a smith's hammer) was permitted to be used for another purpose or when its room was needed; but it was not permitted to be moved from the sunshine into the shade, and all this was allowed to be done by only one person, but not by two, until finally all utensils might be handled even by two persons.

Abayi raised an objection to this: "We have learned, that a mortar which contained garlic may be handled, but if it did not contain garlic it must not be handled." The answer was this: It is meant, to remove from the sunshine to the shade. R. Hanina said: This Mishna was taught in the times of R. Nehemiah ben Hahalyah, as it is written [Nehemiah xiii. 15]: "In those days I saw in Judah some treading wine-presses on the Sabbath, and bringing in sheaves, etc." (and because in those times there was great laxity in keeping the Sabbath, strict laws were made as a precaution, and even a mortar was not allowed to be handled unless it contained some eatables). Said R. Elazar: The Mishnas relating to the pieces of wood for the showbreads in Tract Menahoth, the sticks used by the priests for the Passover sacrifice in the Tract Pesachim, the bolts in the Tract Kelim, and the above Mishna relating to the mortar (all of which prohibit the handling of such things on Sabbath) were all taught before it was allowed to handle all vessels.

MISHNA: The utensils may also be handled with intent to use them or without such intent. R. Nehemiah saith: "They may be handled only if intended for use."

GEMARA: What is meant by "with intent to use them," etc.? Said Rabha: "'With intent to use them' means to use a thing which was intended for use in a permissible act, whether it was needed for its intended use, or whether the room it occupied was needed; and 'without such intent' means even to shift a thing from the sunshine into the shade, and a thing that was intended for use in a prohibited act was permitted to be used for its intended use or when its room was needed, but it was not permitted to move it from the sunshine into the shade. Now R. Nehemiah comes to say, that even if a thing was intended for a permissible act, it may be used only for its intended use and if the room occupied by it were needed, but it was not permitted to shift it from the sunshine into the shade.

R. Sapa, R. Aha b. Huna, and R. Huna bar Hanina were sitting together. The latter asked R. Sapa, according to Rabba, who explains Nehemiah's teaching (that even a permissible thing must not be removed for the purpose of occupying its place): "How can we remove dishes after eating?" Said R. Sapa: "It is equal to a dirty thing (standing on a clean place), which may be removed at any time."

R. Mari bar Rahel had several leather bolsters that lay in the sun (on a Sabbath). He came to Rabha and asked him if he might move them. Rabha told him it was allowed. Said R. Mari again: "I have other bolsters besides these." Answered Rabha: "This makes no difference. Thou mightst need those too if guests should call." Said R. Mari again: "I have sufficient for guests also." Said Rabha to him: "This proves to me, then, that thou art of the opinion of Rabba, who prohibits the moving of things from the sunshine into the shade on Sabbath. Hence everybody else may do this, but thou must not."

Said R. Aba in the name of R. Hyya bar Ashi, quoting Rabh: Whisks may be handled on the Sabbath to sweep the tables, but the brooms made of date-palms (which are only intended for floor-sweeping) must not be used for sweeping the tables. This was also stated by R. Elazar.

MISHNA: Of all utensils which may be handled on the Sabbath, fragments may also be handled, but it must be with a purpose, viz.: the pieces of a kneading-trough to cover the bunghole of a cask, the pieces of a glass to cover the mouth of a pitcher. R. Jehudah says: "They must be fit for the same use (as the whole utensil), viz.: the parts of a kneading-trough to hold a brew, and the pieces of a glass to hold oil."

GEMARA: Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: "The first Tana of the Mishna and R. Jehudah differ only as to fragments which were broken off on the Sabbath; for the former holds that the fragment is part and parcel of the utensil, and fit for the same use, while R. Jehudah holds, that the fragment is a newly created thing; but if the fragments were broken off before the Sabbath set in, all agree that they may be handled because they were prepared for use while it was yet (week) day."

We have learned, in one Boraitha, that fire maybe made with utensils, but not with fragments; and in another Boraitha we have learned, that as we may make fire with utensils, so we may also use fragments for the same purpose. In a third Boraitha, however, we were taught, that we must not make fire with either utensils or fragments. We must say, then, that the first Boraitha is in accordance with the opinion of R. Jehudah (who holds, to the theory of "Muktza" and Noled (a newly created thing), the second Boraitha is in accordance with the opinion of R. Simeon (who holds to neither of the two theories), and the third Boraitha is in accordance with R. Nehemiah (who holds that every utensil must be used for its particular purpose and not for other purposes).

R. Na'hman said: "Bricks left over from a building may be handled, because they can be used as seats; but if the bricks were piled up one on top of the other, they were evidently designated for building, and must not be handled." R. Na'hman said in the name of Samuel: A fragment of a piece of pottery may be handled in private ground, but not in unclaimed ground (because in private ground other vessels can generally be found and the fragment may be used as a lid or cover, but in unclaimed ground there are no other vessels and the fragment cannot be used in that manner); but R. Na'hman himself declares, that the fragment may be handled in unclaimed ground also (because in unclaimed ground there may also be. some things which can be covered), but not in public ground; and Rabha, however, says, it may be handled even in public ground (because having been once regarded as a utensil in private ground it remains such everywhere).

This theory of Rabha's is borne out by his action; for it happened that he was walking on the street Ritka in the city of Mehuzza on a Sabbath, when his shoe became soiled with dirt. His servant came and cleaned it off with a fragment of a piece of pottery. The rabbis who went behind him scolded his servant for this act, whereupon he (Rabha) remarked: "It is not enough that they have not learned (what is permissible and what is not), but they also want to teach others. If this fragment were in private ground, it would have been a useful article because a vessel could be covered with it, and here in public ground it is useful to me."

R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said: "The bung-head of a broken barrel may be handled on Sabbath." We have also learned this in the following Boraitha: "The bung-head and the pieces of a broken barrel may be handled on Sabbath, but it is not allowed to break off a piece of the fragments and cover a vessel with it or put it under the legs of a bedstead." If the bung-head and pieces, however, were thrown away among the garbage before the Sabbath, they must not be handled at all.

R. Hamdura said in the name of Samuel: "The waste of a mat may be used on the Sabbath." Why so? For what purpose can it be used? Said Rabha: "Bar Hamdura explained this to me as follows: What is a mat used for? To prevent the dust from settling upon an object, and the waste can also be used for covering up dirt." R. Zera said in the name of Rabh: "Remnants of silken togas must not be handled on the Sabbath." Said Abayi: "This is said of remnants that measure less than three fingers square and are of no value to either rich or poor."

The rabbis taught: Fragments of an old oven are equal to any other vessels that may be handled on Sabbath. So said R. Meir; but R. Jehudah said they may not be handled. R. Jose testified in the name of R. Eliezer ben. Jacob, that fragments of an oven may be handled on the Sabbath and the covers of in oven may be handled even if their handles are broken off. Said Rabhina: "According to whose opinion do we handle to-day the covers of the ovens used in the city of Mahassia, which have no handles? It must be according to the opinion of R. Eliezer ben Jacob."

MISHNA: One may dip water with a hollow pumpkin to which a stone is fastened, providing the stone will not fall off; otherwise, one must not dip water with it. One may dip water with a jug to which a vine branch is fastened.

"For a window-blind," says R. Eliezer, "a thing may only then be put up, if it be fastened and hang down; otherwise, it must not." The sages say it may be put up in any manner.

GEMARA: We have learned in another Mishna: "If a stone lie at the opening of a barrel, the barrel may be bent over, so that the stone fall down." Said Rabba in the name of R. Ami, quoting R. Johanan: "The case applies only when the stone lying at the opening of the barrel was left there unintentionally; but if placed there on purpose, the barrel

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becomes a base for a prohibited thing (and must not be moved)." R. Joseph in the name of R. Assi, quoting R. Johanan, said, on the contrary: "If the stone was left there unintentionally the barrel must be bent over, so that the stone fall down; but if placed there intentionally, it serves as a lid to the barrel, and may be removed." On what points do R. Ami and R. Assi differ? One holds, that an act must be accomplished in order to be an act, while the other holds the intention to be equivalent to the deed, and their respective theories are borne out by their opinions which follow:

For when R. Dimi, and according to others R. Zera, came from Palestine, he related in the name of R. Hanina: It happened that Rabbi once went to a certain place on a Friday, and finding a pile of stones said to his disciples: "Go and have it in your minds that we intend to sit on these tomorrow." Thus Rabbi did not order them to act, but merely to think. R. Johanan, however, said, that Rabbi ordered his disciples to act. And what, according to R. Johanan's opinion, were the disciples to do? R. Ami said, that Rabbi ordered them to place the stones in position for them to sit on, but R. Assi said, that Rabbi ordered them not only to place the stones in position, but also to clean them (because, in the latter's opinion, changing the position of an object does not constitute an actual deed).

It was taught: R. Jose b. Saul said it was not stones but a pile of building wood. R. Johanan b. Saul, however, said it was not building wood but poles with which the depth of the water is sounded.

"One may dip water with a hollow pumpkin to which a vine-branch is fastened." If it is fastened one may, and if not, one may not. Shall we assume that our Mishna is not in accordance with the opinion of R. Simeon ben Gamaliel? as we have learned in a Boraitha: Branches of a tree which were intended for kindling, if subsequently used for sitting purposes, must be tied together, but R. Simeon ben Gamaliel said, they need not be tied together. 1 Said R. Ashi: It may be said, that this Mishna is not at variance with the opinion of R. Simeon ben Gamaliel, but is merely a precautionary measure, for fear that a branch, being brittle, might be broken by the man if not tied together.

"For a window-blind," etc. Rabba bar bar Hana in the name of R. Johanan said: All agree that it is not permitted to put up even a temporary tent 2 to begin with on a biblical festival, and decidedly not on the Sabbath, but as for adding (that is, if part of the blind was already up) a blind to a temporary tent that had already been put up, R. Eliezer said, that it is not permissible on a festival and much less so on the Sabbath, and the sages declare, that it is permitted on the Sabbath and so much the more oil a festival.

"The sages say it may be up in any manner." What is meant by "in any manner"? Said R. Aba in the name of R. Kahana: "By that is meant, that it makes no difference whether the blind was fastened or not, providing it was prepared for its purpose since the day before." Said R. Jeremiah to him: "Why wouldst thou assume that the sages would be more lenient in this matter? Say rather that they meant to state, that it made no difference whether the blind hung down or not, providing it had been previously fastened." R. Aba answered: "Because I hold with the Tana of the following Tosephta: A stick, prepared by the master of a house for the opening and locking of a door, may be used on Sabbath, providing it was fastened and hung to the door; otherwise, it must not be used. R. Simeon ben Gamaliel, however, declared, that as long as it was prepared for that purpose, it was of no consequence whether it was fastened and hung to the door." (Thus it may be seen that R. Aba held with R. Simeon ben Gamaliel.)

R. Jehudah bar Silas in the name of R. Assi, quoting R. Johanan, said: "The Halakha according to R. Simeon ben Gamaliel prevails." Did R. Johanan say this in reality? Have we not learned in a Mishna, that all covers of vessels having handles attached may be handled on Sabbath? Referring to this, R. Jehudah b. Shila in the name of R. Assi, quoting R. Johanan, said, that such would be the case only if the covers could be made use of as independent vessels. (How, then, can R. Johanan hold with R. Simeon ben Gamaliel, who says, that the stick which was not fastened to the door may be used on Sabbath, surely it is not an independent vessel?) Shall we assume, that R. Johanan holds with R. Simeon ben Gamaliel only in the case where the stick could also be used for other purposes and thus could be called an independent vessel? Then how can it be said that R. Johanan holds with R. Simeon ben Gamaliel, for the latter does not require the stick to be an independent vessel, as we have learned above in the matter of the branches, where R. Simeon ben Gamaliel declares, that they need not be tied together? R. Johanan is in accordance with him only in the matter of the stick being prepared for its particular purpose without being fastened to the door, but disagrees with him as regards an independent vessel.

R. Itz'hak of Naph'ha 1 proclaimed at the door of the Exilarch's house, that the Halakha according to R. Eliezer prevailed. R. Amram raised an objection: "We have learned in the last Mishna of this Tract as follows: 'Thence we learn that it is permitted to put up a window-blind, to measure and to tie on the Sabbath.'" (How, then, could R. Itz'hak say, that the Halakha according to R. Eliezer prevailed?) Said Abayi to him: Upon what is thy objection concerning R. Itz'hak based? The Mishna just mentioned gives the opinion of the sages only, who are at variance with R. Eliezer in our Mishna, and thou mightst say, that because no contention is mentioned, the Halakha according to the sages prevails; then thou knowest of another Mishna (in Erubin), concerning the hinge of a cupboard door, no name is mentioned, and still the Mishna appears to be in accordance with the opinion of R. Eliezer only (thus R. Itz'hak can accept R. Eliezer's opinion). Saith the Gemara: (Although Abayi justified R. Itz'hak) an act of the sages (as is related in the last-mentioned Mishna) is sufficiently decisive to establish the Halakha.

MISHNA: All lids of utensils may be removed (on the Sabbath), provided they have handles. Said R. Jose: What does this apply to? To lids of vessels fastened in the ground, but lids of vessels in general may be removed at all events.

GEMARA: Said R. Jehudah bar Shila in the name of R. Assi, quoting R. Johanan: "The lids of utensils may be handled only if they can be made use of for other purposes as independent vessels." Saith the Gemara: "All agree, that covers of utensils (fixtures) fixed in the ground must be handled only if they have handles attached, and lids of other utensils not fixed in the ground may be handled even if they have no handles, but the point of the divergent opinions is as regards the covers of ovens, the one side contending, that ovens must be regarded as fixtures in the ground and the other side contending that they are ordinary utensils."

CHAPTER 18.

REGULATIONS REGARDING THE CLEARING OFF OF REQUIRED SPACE, THE ASSISTANCE TO BE GIVEN CATTLE WHEN GIVING BIRTH TO THEIR YOUNG AND TO WOMEN ABOUT TO BE CONFINED.

MISHNA: One may even clear off four or five chests of straw or grain, in order to provide room for guests, and to remove obstacles to instruction; but one must not clear out a whole barn. Further, one may clear off: heave-offerings, grain (of which it is not certain that the tithes have been set apart), first tithes of which the heave-offering has been taken off, second tithes and consecrated things which have been redeemed, and dried broad-beans, which serve the poor (others say, the goats) for food. But one must not clear off mixed grain (of which tithes have not yet been separated), nor first tithes. of which the heave-offering had not yet been taken off, nor second tithes nor consecrated things which had not yet been redeemed, nor arum (wake-robin) nor mustard. R. Simeon ben Gamaliel permits arum (wake-robin) to be cleared off, because it serves the (house) raven for food.

Bundles of straw, bundles of stalks, and bundles of reeds may be handled, provided they are designed for cattle-fodder, otherwise they must not be handled.

GEMARA: The Mishna says, "four or five chests." Why say four or five? If five may be cleared off, surely four may! Said Samuel: This is said only as a customary saying; but in reality it means to say that any number maybe cleared off; but by saying "one must not clear off a whole barn," the Mishna means to state, that all the straw should not be removed for fear lest pits be noticed in the ground, and the man might fill them up. Even if the whole barn be full and as yet untouched, one may commence to remove as much as is necessary, and the Mishna is in accordance with the opinion of R. Simeon, who disregards the law of Muktza.

The rabbis taught: One may not commence on a full barn, but one may remove enough, when entering, with his feet, to provide an entrance, and when going out to make a way of egress.

The rabbis taught: A sheaf of grain, if commenced prior to the Sabbath, may be used on the Sabbath; but if not, it must not be used on Sabbath, so saith R. A'ha, but R. Simeon permits this to be done. How large should the sheaf be? We have learned in a Boraitha that it should measure one Lethach. 1

The schoolmen propounded a question (not having heard Samuel's explanation): "How is the term 'four or five chests' to be understood? Should a man clear off only four or five chests, even if that be not room enough for his guests; or should he do so in proportion to the number of his guests? If according to the number of his guests, does it mean to say, that one man should clear off sufficient for all, or every man for himself?" Come and hear: Rabba told in the name of R. Hyya: It once happened that Rabbi went out on a Sabbath to a certain place, and saw that the place assigned to him for lecturing was too small; so he went out into the field, and found the whole field full of sheaves. He cleared off the field, and provided sufficient room." Thence we see that he did so in proportion to the number of his guests; but this narration decides only one part of the schoolmen's question, viz.: the one relating to the number of sheaves to be cleared off, but not the one relating to whether one man may clear off sufficient for all, or every man for himself. Come and hear: "Rabbi cleared off the field," etc. (that is, one man for all). And what think you, that Rabbi did this himself? he certainly must have ordered this to be done, so it is not known whether one man did it, or each man for himself.

"For guests," etc. R. Johanan said: "The reward for hospitality is equal to that for visiting the house of learning, for the Mishna saith for guests and for obstacles to instruction, thus putting the two causes on a par." Said R. Dimi: "Hospitality is even a greater virtue, for it is given the precedence over instruction."

R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: Hospitality is even a greater merit than receiving the Shekhina, as it is written [Genesis 18:3]: "And he said, My Lord, if now I have found favour in thy eyes, pass not away," etc. (showing that Abraham let the Lord wait while he went to receive his guests). Said R. Elazar: Come and see how the custom of the Holy One, blessed be He, is unlike that of human beings. An insignificant man cannot say to a great man: "Stay here until I come back again," whereas to the Holy One, blessed be He, Abraham said as mentioned above.

Said R. Jehudah bar Shila in the name of R. Assi, quoting R. Johanan: "There are six things, the interest on which a man consumes on earth, while the principal is given him in the world to come. They are: Hospitality, visiting the sick, contemplation before prayer, attending the house of learning, educating children in the Law, and charity in judging others." Is this so? Have we not learned in a Mishna: These are the things the interest of which a man consumes on earth and the principal of which is given him in the world to come? "Honouring father and mother, doing favours to neighbours, peace-making among men, and, above all, the study of the Law." Now, if the Mishna says "these are the things," it means no others! Nay; the six things previously mentioned are included in those subsequently enumerated (hospitality and visiting the sick are included in doing favours to neighbours; contemplation before prayer is a favour to one's self, as it is written [Proverbs 11:17]: "The man of kindness doth good to his own soul"; attending the house of learning and educating children in the Law is included in the study of the Law; charity in judging others is included in peacemaking among men, and R. Johanan does not dispute the Mishna, but merely expounds it).

The rabbis taught: One who exercises charity in judging others is charitably dealt with when judged above. It once happened that a man came from upper Galilee and hired out to a master in southern Palestine for three years. On the last eve of the Day of Atonement (when his term was up) he asked his master for his wages, so that he could return to his wife and children. The master replied that he had no money. Said the man: "Then give me my money's worth in grain." And the master answered: "I have it not." Said the man again: "Give me my money's worth in land," and again the master replied: "I have it not." "Then give me my money's worth in cattle." "I have it not," was the reply. "I will take my money's worth in bolsters or bed-clothes," Pleaded the man, but the answer was still the same. The poor man shouldered his bundle and sorrowfully went away. After the holidays the master took the hired man's wages and, besides, three asses; one laden with victuals, the second with beverages, and the third with spices, and went to his hired man's house in Galilee. After having partaken of a meal together, the master paid him his wages, and asked him: "When I told thee that I had not the money to pay thee thy wages, what didst thou suspect me of?" The man answered: "I thought that perhaps thou hadst come across a bargain and hadst paid out all thy ready money." "And when thou askedst me for cattle and I refused thee, what didst thou think then?" "I thought that thou hadst hired out thy cattle on some other farm, and thou couldst not give me any at the time." "And when thou askedst me for grain and I refused?" "I thought perhaps thou hadst not yet paid thy tithes and hence thou couldst not give me any." "And when I refused thee land?" "I thought perhaps thou hadst rented it out." "And when I refused thee bed-clothes?" "Then I thought that thou hadst devoted all thy possessions in honour of the Lord." "I swear to thee, then, that such was really the case. I had made a vow to give away all my possessions for charitable purposes, because my son Hurkenes did not want to study the Law. Afterwards, when I came to my comrades in the South they released me from my vow, and as thou didst judge me in kindness, so may God judge thee in kindness."

The rabbis taught: A pious man once ransomed a Jewish maiden from captivity. When they came to a lodging-place at night, he laid her down at his feet. On the morrow he bathed, and then went out to teach his disciples. During the lesson, he asked his disciples: "When I laid the damsel down at my feet last night, what did you suspect me of?" And they answered: "Perhaps there may be one among us who has not yet been tried and thou couldst not trust him, so thou laidst her near thee." "And when I went in the morning and bathed, what did you suspect?" "Perhaps, on account of the hardships on the way, thy seed of copulation ran out from thee and thou wert compelled to bathe." "By the Lord," said the master, "so it was; and as ye have judged me in kindness, so may the Lord judge you in kindness."

The rabbis taught: It happened that the sages had business with a Roman matron to whom all the great men of Rome

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came for advice, and they could not decide who should go to her. Finally R. Jehoshua volunteered to go, and so he and his disciples went to her. Four ells from the door of her house, R. Jehoshua removed his phylacteries and went in, locking the door behind him. When he came back he bathed, and then went back and taught his disciples. During the lesson he asked: "When I removed my phylacteries, what did ye suspect? "And they answered: "The phylacteries are holy, and thou didst not wish to bring them into a profane place." "And when I locked the door behind me, what did ye suspect?" "We thought perhaps thou hadst a secret political affair to transact and didst not wish us to enter." "And when I came out and bathed, what did you suspect?" And they replied: "We thought perhaps some of the matron's spittle had accidentally dropped on thy garments and thou hadst to bathe." "By the Lord," said R. Jehoshua, "so it happened; and as ye judged me in kindness, so may the Lord also judge you in kindness."

"Further, one may clear off heave-offerings," etc. Is this not self-evident? It might be assumed that the heave-offerings being in possession of a plebeian who is not allowed to partake of them, they must not be handled; but the Mishna comes to teach us, that because a priest is allowed to eat them, they may be handled by everybody. 1

"And dried broad-beans." The rabbis taught: Hatzav (a certain plant the roots of which grow deep into the ground but do not spread) may be handled on the Sabbath, because it is food for deer. Mustard may be handled, because it is food for doves. R. Simeon ben Gamaliel said that pieces of glass may be handled, because ostriches eat them. Said R. Nathan: "In this case twigs may be handled, because they serve elephants for food." What did R. Simeon answer R. Nathan? Ostriches are more frequently owned by men than elephants. Said Ameimar: "R. Simeon ben Gamaliel means to say, that only one who possesses ostriches may handle pieces of glass?" Said R. Ashi to Ameimar: "If this is so, what did R. Nathan question? If one possesses elephants, he may surely handle twigs. So R. Nathan means to say, that because twigs serve as food for elephants, anybody may handle them; and the same applies to pieces of glass, because they serve ostriches for food, everybody may handle them (on the Sabbath)."

"Bundles of straw," etc. The rabbis taught: "Bundles of straw, bundles of stalks, and bundles of reeds may be handled, provided they are designed for cattle-fodder; otherwise, they must not be handled." R. Simeon ben Gamaliel said: "If the bundles can be lifted with one hand they may be handled, but if not they must not be handled."

Bundles of satureia, abrotanum, and thyme, if prepared for fuel, must not be used on Sabbath, but if prepared for cattle-food may be used. Grain from an ear (of wheat, etc.) may be taken by hand only, but not with a vessel. One may even take a few grains from growing ears with his fingers, and eat them, but must not take them with a vessel, so saith R. Jehudah; but the sages say, that one may do this with his fingers, but not with both hands, as usually done on week-days. The same ordinance holds good for any other spices.

It was taught: Salt meat may be handled on Sabbath, but fresh meat must not be handled, according to R. Hisda; but R. Huna permits this.

The rabbis taught: Salt fish may be handled, but not stale unsalted fish, and meat may be handled, be it fresh or salt.

The rabbis taught: Bones may be handled, because dogs eat them; putrid meat may be handled, because beasts of prey eat it. Uncovered water 1 may be handled, because cats drink it. R. Simeon ben Gamaliel, however, said, that all these things should not be kept in the house even on week-days, because they are dangerous.

MISHNA: One may set a basket on end for chickens, in order that they may climb up or down upon it. A runaway hen may be chased until she goes back again. One may lead about calves or young asses to exercise them. A woman may lead her son about to give him exercise. R. Jehudah says: "When (may she do) this? If the child lifts one foot and sets down the other; but if it trails (its leg) behind, she must not."

GEMARA: Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: "If a cow fall into a lake, it is allowed to throw into the lake bolsters, bundles, vessels, etc., in order to give the cow a foothold and enable her to get out." An objection was made: We have learned in a Boraitha: "If a cow fall into a lake, food may be brought to her in order that she may not starve to death." So it refers only to food, but nothing is said in reference to bolsters, etc. This presents no difficulty. Where food can be brought it may be done, but when the cow cannot be reached, bolsters, etc., may be brought. But a vessel that is prepared for other purposes is thereby destroyed? That is simply a rabbinical ordinance, but pity for creatures is a Mosaic law and has precedence.

"A runaway hen may be chased," etc. The hen may be chased, but not led. This is a similar teaching to that of another Boraitha, wherein we have learned, that all animals and birds may be led about in private ground with the exception of a hen. Why not a hen. Said Abayi: "Because a hen, when led, will not walk, but will jump and fly, and the man leading her will be forced to carry her."

MISHNA: On a feast-day one must not deliver cattle, about to give birth, of their young, but may be of assistance to them in any other manner. One may give a woman (about to give birth to a child) all assistance possible, even call a midwife from a distance; one may violate the Sabbath on her account and tie the navel-string. R. Jose says: One may also cut the string. Lastly, one may accomplish anything necessary for the circumcision on the Sabbath.

GEMARA: What is meant by "being of assistance"? Said R. Jehudah: "To hold up the young, that it may not fall," and R. Na'hman said: "To pull out the young by pressing the sides." R. Jehudah's explanation is supported by the following Boraitha: "How is an animal assisted in giving birth to her young? By holding up the young, blowing air into its nostrils, and leading it to its mother's breast, so that it may suck."

R. Simeon ben Gamaliel said: "When a clean animal (one that may be eaten) gave birth to her young on a festival and would not take to it, we would coerce her into taking to her offspring." How would this be done? Said Abayi: "They would bring a handful of salt, lay it in the mother's womb, and the pain that would be caused thereby would remind the mother of her young, and she would immediately take to them, and they would pour the water discharged by the mother on the young, so that the mother would scent it and seek her young. This was done, however, only with a clean animal, but not with ail unclean animal. Wily so? Because usually an unclean animal will not cast off her young, and should she do so, she will never take to them again."

"One may give a woman (about to give birth to a child) all assistance possible." Let us see! The Mishna says, that one may call a midwife even from a distance, and then, that one may violate the Sabbath on her account. What is the object in particularizing what may be done? The Mishna means to tell us, what the rabbis taught, viz.: "If a woman lying in is in need of a light, another woman may light a candle for her; and if she needs oil, the waitress may bring her oil through public ground in her hands; should that not be sufficient she may bring it in her hair, and if that does not suffice she may bring it in a vessel."

The master said: "If a woman lying in is in need of a candle, another woman may light it for her." Is this not self-evident? He means to tell us, that even if the woman lying in be blind, and one might say, that being blind she needs no candle, hence it should not be lit; the candle should her at all events, for she may need a thing that others could not see without a light, while, by aid of the light, they would find it and hand it to her.

Further, it says, that a woman may bring her oil in her hair. This would be worse still, for the hair would have to be wrung, and that would make the woman (who brought the oil) guilty of wringing (on Sabbath). Rabba and R. Joseph both said, that wringing hair does not constitute wringing within the meaning of the law. R. Ashi said: "Even if wringing the hair would constitute wringing within the meaning of the law, the woman should bring the oil in a vessel which should be placed on the hair (head); for any work which must of a necessity be performed on a Sabbath, should be performed in as far different a manner from that done on a week-day as possible."

R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel: "As long as the womb of a woman lying in is still open, whether she says she must have it done or not, the Sabbath may be violated for her. As soon, however, as the womb is closed, the Sabbath may be violated only if she says she must have it done; otherwise, it must not be violated, so taught Mar Zutra." R. Ashi, however, taught in the name of the preceding authority, that as soon as the womb is closed, even if the woman says she must have it done, the Sabbath must not be violated on her account.

Said Rabhina to Mareimar: "Mar Zutra is more lenient in his teaching, and R. Ashi the stricter; according to whom does the Halakha prevail?" Answered Mareimar: "The Halakha according to Mar Zutra prevails, for it is the general rule, that wherever human lives are concerned, the more lenient teaching is always accepted as final."

At what time is the womb considered to be open? Abayi said: "From the time the woman commences to give birth." R. Huna the son of R. Jehoshua said: "From the time blood commences to flow", and others say, from the time that she becomes helpless and her attendants lay her on the bed.

How long is the womb considered to be open? Abayi said, for three days after birth, and Rabha in the name of R. Jehudah said, for seven days, and others say for thirty days. The scholars of Neherdai divide the time of a woman lying in into three periods of three, seven, and thirty days each. During the first period, whether the woman says she must have it done or whether she says it need not be done, the Sabbath may be violated for her. During the second period, if she says it must be done, the Sabbath may be violated; but if she says it need not be done, it must not be violated; and during the third period, even if she says she must have it done, the Sabbath must not be violated by Israelites, but it may be done by Gentiles. This is according to R. Ula the son of R. Ilai, who says, that everything which must be done for a sick person on the Sabbath should be done by Gentiles, and also according to R. Hamnuna, who said, that all things which are to be done for a person who is not dangerously ill, should be ordered done by a Gentile. As it happened with the daughter of R. Hisda (the wife of Rabba), who took a bath in her husband's absence, before the thirty days were up, and caught cold, and friends were compelled to bring her, still lying in bed, to Rabba in Pumbaditha.

Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: "A woman lying in should be given thirty days." For what law should she be given thirty days? The men of Neherdai said, for bathing (that is, she should not bathe for thirty days, in order that she may not catch cold). Said Rabha: This rule applies to women whose husbands are not at home, for when the husband is at home, he can take care of his wife and prevent any bad consequences.

R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said again: One may kindle a fire for a woman lying in, on the Sabbath, and not only for a woman lying in, but also for a sick person; not only in the winter but also in the summer-time, as R. Hyya bar Abhin said in the name of Samuel, that one, who was bled and caught cold, may have a fire made for him on Sabbath not only in the winter, but also in the summer-time. Samuel once was bled and caught cold, so a chair made of elm-wood was chopped up and a fire made for him (on Sabbath). The same thing happened to R. Jehudah; so a table of cedar-wood was chopped up and a fire made for him. Rabba had the same experience and a stool was used to make a fire, and when told by Abayi that he was, guilty of destroying a useful article said My personal welfare is dearer to me than the article."

Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: "A man should sell even the roof of his house and buy shoes for himself if in need of them; but if he had recently been bled and feels hungry, he should sell even these shoes and buy food with the proceeds." What kind of food should he purchase? Rabh said meat, and Samuel, wine. Rabh said meat, as being a substitute for flesh lost through bleeding, and Samuel said (red) wine, as a substitute for (red) blood.

When Samuel had himself bled, a dish made of milt was prepared for him, and R. Johanan would drink wine until it could be smelt through his ears. R. Na'hman would drink wine until his spleen would float in wine. R. Joseph would drink wine until his veins would swell so that the lancet would be forced out, and Rabha would drink only wine that was three years old.

Said R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak to his disciples: I beg of you, that on the day on which you have yourselves bled, you should go home and say that Na'hman will come to visit you. (In consequence a good meal and wine will be prepared, and you can partake of it.) Deceit is not permitted under any circumstances, but those mentioned as follows:

One who is bled, and has not the money to buy wine, should take a mutilated Zuz and go to seven wine-dealers. When asking for wine he will be given some to taste, and when offering his money, it will be rejected. He will then proceed to another dealer, and keep on until he will have drunk a quarter of a lug. One who cannot even do this, should eat at least seven black dates and should put oil on his temples, then lie down in the sun and go to sleep.

Abhlat (a Persian official) found Samuel sleeping in the sun and said to him: "Thou leader of Jews! Can a good thing emanate from a bad one?" Samuel answered: "This is my bleeding-day." In reality this was not so, but there are days when sleeping in the sun is healthful; for instance, on the day when the Tamuz (July) equinox falls, but Samuel, who was a physician, would not tell this to Abhlat.

Rabh and Samuel both said: "The man who eats a light meal on the day when he is bled, has light earnings decreed for him in heaven for the following year, because if he himself has no pity for his own body, he is not worthy of being pitied by the heavenly host." The same two authorities also said, that one who was bled should not sit where the wind blows; for it may be that the surgeon who bled him allowed too much blood to escape, and the wind might force still more blood from him, and thus become dangerous. Samuel was always bled in a house the walls of which were of seven bricks' thickness, and at one time it happened that he felt weak; he looked up, and noticed that a brick was missing from the wall.

Rabh and Samuel also said, that a man who was bled should not go out into the street without having partaken of something. If he does and meets a corpse, his face turns yellow, and if he should happen to meet a murderer he will die himself, and if he meets a pig he will become scabby. They also said, that after bleeding a man should not rise immediately, but should rest a while and then get up; for the master said, that five things are more conducive to death than to life. They are: Eating and arising immediately, drinking and arising, sleeping and arising, being bled and arising, and having sexual intercourse and arising immediately afterwards.

Samuel said: "A young man should be bled every thirty days until he is forty years of age. From fort), to sixty, he should be bled every two months, and after sixty he should be bled every three or four months."

Samuel said again: The fourth day of the week, if falling on the fourth, fourteenth, or twenty-fourth day of the month, or if it is a Wednesday after which there are less than four days to the end of the month, is a dangerous day for bleeding.

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Bleeding on the first and second of every month produces weakness, and on the third day it is dangerous. Bleeding on the eve of any biblical festival produces weakness, and on the eve of Pentecost it is dangerous, in consequence of which the rabbis instituted the precautionary measure, that no man should be bled on the eve of a festival, for fear that he might have it done on the eve of Pentecost.

Again Samuel said: "One who had eaten heartily of wheaten food is not wholly benefited by being bled, but is simply cased for the time being." This means to say, then, that one who has a heavy feeling can ease himself temporarily by being bled after a meal, but is not permanently benefited thereby. After being bled one may drink immediately, but should not eat until the time in which he could walk half a mile had elapsed.

(On a day when nothing profitable had been performed) Rabh used to proclaim (the following simile): If one bled a hundred persons, he earned a Zuz for each; if he cut the hair of a hundred persons, he earned a Zuz for each; but if he trimmed the mustaches of a hundred men, he laboured in vain. 1 (There was no charge made for trimming mustaches when done in conjunction with hair-cutting or bleeding.) Said R. Joseph: We learned at the college of R. Huna, that a day on which the disciples did not study was called a mustache-day, and I did not understand the meaning of the term; but now I can see the significance of the expression, for it means to say that the day was lost.

"And tie the navel-string." The rabbis taught: "One may tie the navel-string," and R. Jose said: "One may cut it also on the Sabbath and deposit the afterbirth, which is supposed to be a remedy to keep the child warm." R. Simeon ben Gamaliel said: "Daughters of kings would deposit the afterbirth in a bowl of oil and rich men's daughters would deposit it in carded wool. Poor people would deposit it in feathers." Said R. Na'hman in the name of Rabba bar Abuha, quoting Rabh: "The Halakha according to R. Jose prevails."

R. Na'hman said again, quoting the same authorities: "The rabbis agree with R. Jose, that when two children were born, both attached to one navel-string, the latter may be cut, because otherwise it would be dangerous." He also said again, in the name of the same authorities: All that is contained in the sermon of Ezekiel may be done for a woman lying in on Sabbath, as it is written [Ezekiel 16:4]: "And as for thy birth, on the day thou wast born thy navel was not cut, nor wast thou washed in water to be cleansed; and thou wast not rubbed with salt, nor wrapped in swaddling clothes." "And as for thy birth," from this we may infer, that one may assist in the birth of a child on Sabbath. "Thy navel was not cut," from this we infer, that the navel may be cut on Sabbath. "Nor wast thou washed in water to be cleansed." This teaches us that the child may be washed on Sabbath. "Thou wast not rubbed with salt." From this we know, that a child may be rubbed with salt on Sabbath. "Nor wrapped in swaddling clothes." This teaches us, that we may wrap a child in clothes on the Sabbath.

CHAPTER 19.

REGULATIONS ORDAINED BY R. ELIEZER CONCERNING CIRCUMCISION ON THE SABBATH.

MISHNA: R. Eliezer saith: If the knife used for circumcision was not brought on the day preceding the Sabbath, one is to bring it publicly on the Sabbath; in times of danger (during persecutions) one may conceal it (about the person) before witnesses. Further, R. Eliezer saith: One may even cut wood to be burnt into charcoal, in order to forge an iron instrument (knife for circumcision). The following rule was laid down by R., Aqiba: All work (necessary in aid of circumcision) which could have been performed on the day before (Sabbath) does not supersede (the observance of) the Sabbath, but such work as could not have been performed on the day before, does supersede (the observance of) the Sabbath.

GEMARA: A question was propounded by the schoolmen: "What does R. Eliezer mean by saying, 'one is to bring it publicly on the Sabbath'? Does she mean to say, that the man thereby demonstrates how dear a commandment (of the Lord) is to him, that he is ready to violate the Sabbath for its sake, or is it rather, because the man would be suspected of carrying a prohibited thing oil the Sabbath, if he did so surreptitiously?" What difference does it make what R. Eliezer meant? The difference is this: "If the man does it in order to allay suspicion, it would be sufficient to have two witnesses see him conceal the knife about his person and then carry it even in times of peace; but if the man does it in order to demonstrate his love of God's commandments, he must carry it publicly even if he have two witnesses." What is the conclusion? It was taught that R. Levi said: "R. Eliezer meant only for the man to demonstrate his veneration of God's commandments." This is supported by a Boraitha, which plainly states, that a man should carry it publicly, and not have it concealed, such are the words of R. Eliezer. Said R. Ashi: All this is unnecessary. Our Mishna plainly teaches us the same, for it says, that only in times of danger the knife should be concealed, and it is easily understood that only in times of danger is this to be done, but not under ordinary circumstances, and for what purpose? Only to show that a commandment should be venerated. It follows, therefrom, that the argument is accepted.

We have learned in another Boraitha: "One is to bring it publicly," and not have it concealed, such are the words of R. Eliezer; and R. Jehudah said in the name of R. Eliezer, that in times of danger the custom was to conceal it about the person before two witnesses.

"Further, saith R. Eliezer," etc. The rabbis taught: In the place where R. Eliezer resided, wood was cut and burnt into charcoal, in order to forge an instrument (knife for circumcision) on Sabbath. In the place where R. Jose of Galilee lived, fowls were eaten with milk. R. Itz'hak said: There was a city in Palestine where R. Eliezer's teaching was carried out, and there were no premature deaths in that city; and not only this, but at one time when the government prohibited circumcision in the entire land, that city was not included in the decree.

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Simeon ben Gamaliel said: "Every commandment of the Lord which was received by the children of Israel with joy, for instance circumcision, concerning which it is written [Psalms cxix. 162]: 'I am rejoiced over thy promise, 1 as one that findeth great spoil,' is even now observed with joy; but every commandment which was received with protest, for instance the law of incestuous marriages, concerning which it is written [Numbers xi. 10]: 'And Moses heard the people weep according to their families,' meaning the case (of intermarriage) among the families, is even now observed reluctantly, for there are no marriages celebrated without some discord among the families."

We have learned, that R. Simeon ben Elazar said: "Every commandment for the observance of which the Israelites were ready to lay down their lives, as for that prohibiting idolatry and commanding circumcision, is observed punctually even to this day; but such commandments as they would not sacrifice themselves for are even now lightly regarded, as is the case with the commandment concerning Tephillin." As R. Yanai said: "Tephillin require a clean body, such as Elisha the man of doves possessed." What is meant by a clean body? Abayi said: "A body that emits no odor when clothed with Tephillin," and Rabha said: "A body that will never become drowsy while wearing Tephillin." Why was Elisha called "the man of wings"? It once happened that the government promulgated a decree by which all Israelites who would use Tephillin (phylacteries) were to be decapitated. This Elisha donned his phylacteries and went out into the market. He was seen by a casdor (quæstor), and the latter pursued him. Seeing that he could not escape, Elisha took the phylacteries from his head and carried them in his hand. When questioned by the quæstor what he carried in his hand, he replied: "Wings of doves." When opening his hand, he really found doves' wings, 1 and was therefore called the man of wings ever afterwards.

R. Aba the son of R. Ada said in the name of R. Itz'hak: "It once happened, that having forgotten to bring the knife for circumcision on the day before Sabbath, a man brought it on Sabbath, by way of the roof and private ground, against the will of R. Eliezer." R. Joseph opposed this: "How canst thou say, that this occurred against the will of R. Eliezer? It was R. Eliezer himself who permitted bringing the knife on Sabbath? Thou wouldst infer, then, that bringing the knife by way of private ground, and not publicly, was against his will, because he insists that the knife should be brought publicly through public ground only. In accordance with whose will was it done? If thou wilt say, it was done in accordance with the decree of the rabbis, who prohibit bringing the knife through public ground, and permit it through private ground and roofs, did the rabbis indeed permit this? Have we not learned in a Boraitha, that in the same measure as it is not allowed to bring the knife through public ground, it must also not be brought through roofs and private ground?" Therefore R. Ashi supplemented the statement of R. Aba by adding, that the knife was brought against the will of R. Eliezer and his opponents; but in accordance with the decree of R. Simeon, who permits the carrying of everything through private ground and roofs, even if they were not combined by an Erub (in Tract Erubim).

R. Zera once found R. Assi sitting and saying: R. Simeon ben Lakish said in the name of R. Jehudah Hanassi as follows: It once happened that they forgot to bring a knife for circumcision on the eve of Sabbath, so they brought it on Sabbath. This angered the sages very much, for the reason, that the decree of the former sages had been set aside and that they had acted according to the decree of R. Eliezer. Firstly, because R. Eliezer was an adherent of the school of Shamai; and secondly, because where one man is opposed to a number the majority should prevail, and the majority was against R. Eliezer; and R. Osiah answered the sages, who were angered, that the case was not as it appeared to them. "For," said he, "I asked R. Jehudah the circumciser, and he told me, that the knife was brought through an alley which was not combined by an Erub, from one end to the other, but not through public ground."

R. Zera then said to R. Assi: "Does the master hold, that things may be removed in an alley which was not combined by an Erub?" R. Assi answered, that they might. Said R. Zera again: "Did I not ask thee once before and thou gavest me another answer? Was it because thou wast engaged in other matters and this Halakha escaped thee?" and the answer was: "Such was the case."

R. Hyya bar Aba said in the name of R. Johanan: "The rule laid down by R. Eliezer, that for everything pertaining to circumcision the Sabbath may be violated, does not apply also to other duties of the day which should happen to fall on the Sabbath; because, where the preparations necessary for the bringing of the two loaves on Pentecost are concerned, R. Eliezer permitted them to be made on Sabbath merely through deduction by analogy, although this was also a duty of the day based on a biblical ordinance." Which other duties of the day does R. Johanan intend to except from this rule? We know, that in preparing the booth, the palm-branch, and all their accessories (for the feast of Booths) the Sabbath may be violated. The same is the case with Lulab, with Matza, and with Shofar, as it is stated in other Boraithas. Such is the dictum of R. Eliezer. Said R. Ada bar Ahabha: "R. Johanan intended to except Tzitzith (show-threads) for a garment and a Mezuzah (door-post inscription) for a house (although both of these are duties of the day, for if a man wear a garment he must have Tzitzith, and if he enter a house he must have a Mezuzah.)" This we have also learned in a Boraitha: "They all agree (even R. Eliezer), that if one made a show-thread for his garment, or a Mezuzah for his door, on the Sabbath, he is liable for a sin-offering." Why so? Said R. Joseph: "Because no specified time is set for the accomplishment of these duties." Said Abayi to him: "On the contrary, just because no specified time was set for the accomplishment of that duty, every moment is the time for performing it (so, if he have the garment on Sabbath, or enter the house On that day, he should perform those duties, and hence it must be considered a duty of the day)." Therefore said R. Na'hman in the name of R. Itz'hak, and according to others R. Huna the son of R. Jehoshua The reason is, because one is enabled to abandon these things for the time being (and hence the duty does not devolve upon him for that day)."

From what we have learned above, we see, that for the circumcision itself and all its necessary accessories the Sabbath may be violated, according to the dictum of R. Eliezer. Whence does he deduce this? This is the reasoning of R. Eliezer: It is written [Leviticus xii. 3]: "And on the eighth day shall the flesh of his foreskin be circumcised." Thus, as it says distinctly the eighth day, it makes no difference what (Jay the eighth falls on, whether it be Sabbath or not. Let us see: The rabbis and R. Eliezer differ only as far as the preparations for circumcision on the Sabbath are concerned, but not as to the circumcision itself. If, then, they do not regard the text quoted as does R. Eliezer, they should not even permit the violation of the Sabbath on account of circumcision itself. What source do they base their permission on? Said Ula, and also R. Itz'hak: "This is traditional."

An objection was raised: We have learned that the Sabbath may be violated in order to save life. Whence do we know this? Said R. Elazar ben Azariah: "Why! if it be permitted when circumcision is concerned to violate the Sabbath, where but one of the many members of the body is concerned, it should certainly be permitted in so much greater a degree when the whole body is to be saved. If thou sayest, then, that the permission to perform circumcision on the Sabbath is only traditional, how is it possible that thou shouldst derive an a fortiori assumption from a traditional institution?" Therefore R. Johanan saith, that the permission to perform the rite of circumcision on Sabbath is not based upon tradition, but is derived from the word "day," as the verse quoted above reads: "And on the eighth day," etc.; whereas it could read simply, "And on the eighth"; for in the preceding verse we read "seven days," etc.

Said Resh Lakish to R. Johanan: "The word 'day,' however, is also necessary, that we may know that the rite must be performed during the day and not at night!" This can be inferred from another passage [Genesis 17:12], where it expressly says: "And at eight days old shall every man-child in your generations be circumcised," etc.

R. A'ha bar Jacob said: As far as the rite of circumcision itself is concerned, the rabbis also hold that the permission to perform it is based on the passage quoted, "and on the eighth day"; but as for the preparations necessary for circumcision, they claim to find no justification for violating the Sabbath on that account. But it is absolutely necessary that "the eighth" be mentioned, for otherwise how would we know that the rite should not be performed on the seventh? That is also definitely settled by the other passage, as stated above: "And at eight days old," etc. Still, both passages are necessary, in order to prove that the eighth day is the day for circumcision; because, if it did not state expressly "on the eighth day," it might be presumed that the seventh day would do, and if it did not state "at eight days old," it might be presumed that after the child is eight days old any other later day, e.g., the ninth, would do. Hence R. Johanan's explanation is the most acceptable; and we have learned in a Boraitha in support of R. Johanan's explanation, and not of that of R. A'ha bar Jacob,

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as follows: "On the eighth day shall he be circumcised, even though it be Sabbath." How, then, is it possible to keep the commandment in Exodus xxxi. 14? "And ye shall keep the Sabbath, for it is holy unto you: every one that defileth it shall surely be put to death." This refers to other labour, but not to that of circumcision. How, then, do we know that circumcision is not included in the prohibited labour, and that the eighth day does not refer to all other days except Sabbath? To this end it reads "the eighth day," and "day" means, even on Sabbath.

The rabbis taught: Although it is written [Deut. 24:8]: "Take heed in the plague of leprosy," which signifies, that the leprous spot must not be cut; but if the white spot (the symptom of leprosy) show itself on the member to be circumcised, it may be cut off, whether the member be circumcised at the prescribed time or afterwards.

A biblical festival must not be violated on account of circumcision, unless it happen to be the eighth day (precisely the prescribed time). Whence do we adduce these two ordinances? From the teaching of the rabbis, as follows: The first one is based on the verse [Leviticus xii. 3]: "And on the eighth day shall the flesh of his foreskin be circumcised." The order is imperative, regardless of whether the member be leprous or not. Whence do we know this? Perhaps it means to say, that only the healthy flesh of the foreskin be circumcised? Nay; it could say merely the foreskin, but it says expressly the flesh of the foreskin, meaning that even if the flesh be leprous it should also be circumcised. What need is there of a special verse for this purpose? During circumcision no intention to cut leprous flesh exists; hence, if it be done, it is done unintentionally, and an unintentional act does not involve culpability? Said Abayi: "The verse is used here to counteract the opinion of R. Jehudah, who holds, that an act committed unintentionally also involves culpability." Rabha said: "The verse must be used, even if the opinion of R. Simeon be adhered to, who holds, that an act committed unintentionally does not involve culpability. For in this case it is different; the act committed here is like the one where a man would behead another and still claim no intention to kill him (and when circumcising the flesh of the foreskin, if there be a leprous sore, one cannot help but cut it)This, even R. Simeon admits, would involve culpability, were it not for that exonerating verse." Does Rabha alone hold thus? Have we not learned elsewhere that Abayi and Rabha both agree, that R. Simeon declares even an unintentional act, which is, however, like the case of one beheading another without the intention to kill him, to be prohibited? After Abayi had heard Rabha's explanation, he accepted it.

The second ordinance mentioned is, according to Rabha, based upon the verse [Exodus xii. 16]: "No manner of work shall be done on them, save what is eaten by every man; that only may be prepared by you." "That" stands for circumcision only in its prescribed time, but not for the preparation for it and "only" stands as a prohibition not to perform the rite unless it be the prescribed time. R. Ashi, however, said: "No special verse is needed for this, for a festival is referred to [in Leviticus 23:32] as "a sabbath of rest shall it be unto you." Hence it is a positive commandment, and the verse stated (immediately before this) is a negative commandment; thus a festival is covered by both a positive and negative commandment, while circumcision is covered by a positive commandment only, and one positive commandment cannot supersede a joint positive and negative commandment.

"A rule was laid down by R. Aqiba." Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: "The Halakha according to R. Aqiba prevails." We have learned also in the matter of Passover sacrifices to the same effect, that every act of labour that can be performed on the day before Sabbath must not supersede the (due observance of) Sabbath, but the killing of the sacrifice, which cannot be done on the day before Sabbath, does supersede (the due observance of) Sabbath; and R. Jehudah declared also, in the name of Rabh, that the Halakha according to R. Aqiba prevails. It is necessary that he should so instruct us at both times, because, if he instructed only as concerns circumcision, we might assume that where sacrifices for the Passover are concerned, the preparations which could have been made on the day before Sabbath, but were not, would supersede the due observance of the Sabbath; because failure to bring that sacrifice would involve the punishment of Karath (being cut off), while failure in circumcision would not involve Karath, if not performed at the right time; and, on the other hand, had he instructed us only as concerns sacrifices for the Passover, we might assume that the Sabbath could be violated if the acts necessary for circumcision which could have been performed on the day before, were not; for the reason, that the covenant regarding circumcision is mentioned thirteen times in the Thora, and is in consequence regarded as a thirteenfold commandment, which must under all circumstances be observed. Hence the necessity for the twofold instruction.

MISHNA: One may perform everything necessary for circumcision on the Sabbath, as circumcising, tearing open, sucking out the blood, applying a plaster or caraway seed. If the latter had not been ground before the Sabbath, one may masticate it with the teeth and then apply it. If one had not mixed wine with oil before the Sabbath, he may apply each separately. One must not prepare an actual bandage (on the Sabbath), but may apply an old piece of linen; and if such had not been prepared before the Sabbath, the circumciser may bring it with him tied around his finger and even from another court (yard).

GEMARA: Let us see: The Mishna enumerates all the acts necessary for the performance of the rite of circumcision; why, then, does it commence by saying, "everything necessary" for circumcision, and then proceed to detail "everything"? What act is there that has not been enumerated? The Mishna means to include what was taught us by the rabbis, as follows: "The circumciser, while engaged in finishing the circumcision, if noticing that excrescences still remain on the gland, whether they are of a nature which make the circumcision invalid or such as do not make it invalid, may remove them. But if he had already finished (and put up his instruments), if excrescences which make the circumcision invalid remain, he may remove them; but if they do not make the circumcision invalid, he must not remove them." (Hence by stating "everything that is necessary," etc., the Mishna means to include, that it is permitted even to remove excrescences which do not make the circumcision invalid, provided the operator had not already finished and put up his instruments.) Who is the Tana who holds, that if the circumciser had already finished he must not return and remove the excrescences? Said Rabha bar bar Hana in the name of R. Johanan, it was R. Ishmael the son of R. Johanan ben Berokah, as we have learned in a Boraitha: "If the fourteenth of Nissan fall on a Sabbath, the animal used for the Passover sacrifice may be skinned only as far as the breast, so saith R. Ishmael the son of R. Johanan ben Berokah; but the sages say, that the whole animal may be skinned." (Now, we see that R. Ishmael holds, that after the work had been completed as far as was necessary no more may be done; hence he is the one who says, that the circumciser must not return to remove the excrescences.) This is not conclusive evidence! It may be that R. Ishmael in the case of the sacrifice holds, that because it is not necessary that the commandment be beautified. 1 But in the case of circumcision, where the beautifying of the commandment is necessary (as is taught in Tract Sakkah), we might say, that R. Ishmael is of a different opinion; therefore the sages of Neherdai say, that the Tanas who hold, that after having finished the circumcision the operator must not commence anew, are in reality the rabbis who differ with R. Jose in Tract Menachoth concerning the law of the showbreads. 2

The rabbis taught: "If excrescences remain on the gland after circumcision, and are such as make the circumcision invalid, they must be removed; and failure to do so involves the punishment of Karath." Who becomes liable to be punished by Karath? Said R. Kahana: "The circumciser." (If he performed the circumcision on Sabbath and did not finish it, he simply made a wound and did not perform a commandment; hence he becomes amenable to Karath. R. Papa opposed this: "The circumciser might say, 'I have performed one half of a commandment; come ye and complete the other half. Why should I be punished by Karath?' Therefore if the circumcision was performed on an adult who, excrescences which make it invalid having remained, will not permit them to be removed, he becomes amenable to Karath." This was opposed by R. Ashi: "As for an adult, what news does that impart to us? It is expressly stated [Genesis 17:14]: 'And any uncircumcised male, who circumciseth not the flesh of his foreskin, that soul shall be cut off from his people'? Therefore he says nay; it really refers to the circumciser, and only then if he came late on Sabbath, near twilight, and was told that it would be impossible to finish the operation before night, but persisted in performing it. If in consequence he left excrescences which make the circumcision invalid, he simply made a wound without performing a commandment, and thus he becomes amenable to Karath."

"Sucking out the blood." R. Papa said: "The circumciser who does not suck out the wound places the child in danger, and should be discharged from office." Is this not self-evident?

It certainly must be dangerous not to do this, or the Sabbath would not be violated in order to perform that duty! We might assume, that the blood having already come to the surface it would run out of itself, and hence by sucking it out the Sabbath is not violated; hence we are given to understand that this is not so: the blood is moved only by the suction, and the Sabbath is violated; but failure to do this would involve danger for the child and hence it is permitted, and is regarded the same as applying a plaster or caraway seeds (mentioned further on in the Mishna), the omission of which would also involve danger to the child.

"Applying a plaster or caraway seeds." Abayi said: "My mother told me, that the most effective plaster for all ills is made of seven different kinds of fat and one kind of wax; and Rabba said: "The best plaster for all ills is one made of wax and resin." Rabha stated this publicly in a lecture in the city of Mehuzza, and two brothers the sons of Minyumi, who were physicians, tore their clothes in anger; for they had known of it and made capital out of the secret, until Rabha came and revealed it. Said Rabha to them: "I will tell you of something that I shall not proclaim publicly, and that is, Samuel said, that one who washes his face and does not dry it thoroughly, becomes afflicted with scabs, and the remedy for such is the fluid extract of mangold."

"If the latter (caraway seeds) had not been ground before the Sabbath," etc. The rabbis taught: "In preparing for circumcision, such things as must not be done on Sabbath, may be done on a festival. One may grind the seeds and mix wine with oil." Asked Abayi of R. Joseph: Why may the caraway seeds be ground on a festival? because they may be utilized for cooking: then why should it not be permitted to mix wine with oil on Sabbath? It may be utilized for a sick person who is not dangerously ill. As we have learned in a Boraitha: "Wine and oil must not be mixed for a sick person on the Sabbath," but R. Simeon ben Elazar in the name of R. Meir said, that it may be. Said R. Simeon ben Elazar: It once happened, that R. Meir was sick with stomach trouble, and we wanted to mix wine with oil for him (on the Sabbath), but he would not permit us to do this. So we asked him whether he wished his own words to be made void during his lifetime, and he answered: "Nay; it is allowed to mix wine with oil on Sabbath, but I cannot bring it over me to act contrary to the decree of my colleagues."

Thus we see, that it is at all events allowed to mix wine with oil on the Sabbath. Why, then, does the Mishna say, that if this was not done on the day before the Sabbath, each should be applied separately? The difference lies therein, that when giving it to a sick person, it is merely mixed, but when used for a balm (at circumcision) it must be thoroughly stirred and requires a good deal of labour. Let it be given (applied) just mixed. That is just what the Mishna prescribes, each to be applied separately; i.e., it should not be stirred.

Abayi said: "My mother told me, that if a child appears red all over it is a sign that the circulation is imperfect, and hence circumcision should be postponed until the circulation is perfect. If a child has a greenish cast it is a sign that the blood is impoverished, and circumcision should then be postponed until the blood is richer." This we have also learned in a Boraitha, as follows: "R. Nathan said: 'I once went to a city by the sea, and there met a woman whose first and second child both died in consequence of circumcision. The third child she brought to me, and I noticed that it was quite red. I told her to wait until the blood had settled and then circumcise it. She did so and then circumcised it, and the child lived. The child was then named after me, Nathan the Babylonian. At another time I came to the country of Cappadocia, and a woman came to me telling me that she had had two children circumcised, both of whom had died in consequence of circumcision. The third she brought to me, and I noticed that it had a greenish cast. I also noticed, that if it were circumcised no blood would flow; so I told her to wait until the circulation of the blood was in order. She did so, and the child was circumcised, and lived. She named it also after me, and called it Nathan the Babylonian.'"

MISHNA: One may bathe the child both before the circumcision as well as after (on Sabbath), by sprinkling water over it with the hand, but not by pouring water over it from a vessel. R. Eliezer ben Azariah says: One may bathe a child on the third day (after the circumcision), even if it fall on a Sabbath; for it is written [Genesis xxxiv. 25]: "And it came to pass on the third day, when they were sore." On account of a doubtful child (a child about which there is a doubt whether it was born in the eighth month of its gestation, and is therefore not expected to live) or an hermaphrodite, the Sabbath (-rest) must not be desecrated. R. Jehudah permits this in the case of an hermaphrodite.

GEMARA: The Mishna commences by saying: "One may bathe the child," and then goes on to say that it may only be sprinkled by hand. That is not bathing! Said Rabha: "The Mishna means to state, that a child may be bathed as usual on the day of circumcision, either before or after the performance of the rite; but on the third day after circumcision, if that day should be a Sabbath, one may only sprinkle the child by hand, and not bathe it in a vessel." R. Elazar ben Azariah, however, said, that even if the third day fall on a Sabbath the child may be bathed as usual, as it is written [Gen. xxxiv. 15]: "And it came to pass on the third day, when they were sore."

When R. Dimi came from Palestine, he said in the name of R. Elazar, that the Halakha prevails according to R. Elazar ben Azariah. In the West the question was discussed whether R. Elazar ben Azariah meant that the whole body of the child might be bathed, or whether the part circumcised only might be bathed. Said one of the rabbis, whose name was R. Jacob: "It seems to me that the whole body is meant, because if the wound only was meant, wherein does the wound caused by circumcision differ from any other wound? Any wound may be bathed on the Sabbath in water and oil, according to Rabh's opinion." This was opposed by R. Joseph: "Is it immaterial whether the water was warmed on the Sabbath or before the Sabbath?" This was again opposed by R. Dimi: "Whence dost thou know that the Mishna refers to water that was warmed on Sabbath, perhaps they (the sages and R. Elazar) differ even as to water warmed before the Sabbath set

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in?" Said Abayi: "I was prepared to answer this question myself, but R. Joseph preceded me and said, that of a necessity the water must have been warmed on Sabbath, because the precariousness of the child demanded it."

We were also taught, that when Rabhin came from Palestine, he said in the name of R. Abuha quoting R. Elazar, and according to another version, in the name of R. Abuha quoting R. Johanan, that the Halakha prevails according to R. Elazar ben Azariah, whether it be with water that was warmed on the Sabbath or before the Sabbath, or whether the whole body or only the circumcised part is concerned, because it would be dangerous not to bathe the child on that day.

It was said above in the name of Rabh, that every wound may be bathed on the Sabbath with water or oil; but Samuel said that water may be poured to one side of the wound and it may run down into the wound. An objection was made: "We have learned, that oil or water must not be put on a piece of cotton to place on a wound?" This is prohibited on account of the necessity to wring the piece of cotton. We have been taught by a Boraitha in accordance with Samuel's opinion; viz.: "Water must not be placed directly on the wound, but near it, that it may run down into the wound."

The rabbis taught: "Dry cotton and dry sponge, but not dry papyrus or dry cloth, may be placed on a wound." This presents a contradiction. Is not dry cotton the same as dry cloth? This is no difficulty. By cloth is meant new cloth, which must not be used, whereas old cloth may be. Said Abayi: "From this we see, that pieces of cloth heal a wound."

"On account of a doubtful child or an hermaphrodite," etc. The rabbis taught: It is written [Leviticus xii. 3], "his foreskin"; so, on account of a foreskin which must be circumcised, the Sabbath may be violated, but on account of one which is doubtful the Sabbath must not be desecrated. Such also is the case with the circumcision of the foreskin of a true male, but not with that of an hermaphrodite. R. Jehudah, however, says, that the Sabbath may be violated on account of an hermaphrodite, and if the latter is not circumcised he becomes amenable to Karath. The Sabbath may also be violated on account of a child who was born at a certain time, but not on account of one who was born at twilight (and it is not known whether it was born on Sabbath or on the following day). It is not allowed to violate the Sabbath on account of a child who was born without a foreskin, because the school of Shamai (only) contends, that even if a child is born without a foreskin, some blood must be drawn in commemoration of the covenant. The school of Hillel, however, says, "That is not necessary." Said R. Simeon ben Elazar: "The school of Hillel and the school of Shamai did not differ as to a child born without a foreskin; both agree that blood must be drawn from it, because the foreskin is not wholly missing, but is merely ingrown. They differ only as regards a proselyte who was born without a foreskin. When seeking conversion, the school of Shamai contends that blood of the covenant must be drawn from his gland, whereas the school of Hillel does not require this to be done.

The Master said: "On account of a doubtful child, the Sabbath must not be desecrated." What does he mean by "doubtful"? He means to say, what we learned from the rabbis; viz.: A child born in the seventh month may have the Sabbath violated for it, but if born in the eighth it must not. If it is doubtful whether it was born in the seventh or in the eighth month, the Sabbath must not be violated on its account. Not only this, but a child born in the eighth month must not even be carried on the Sabbath, because it is like a stone (and cannot live). It is allowed, however, for the mother to stoop down and suckle the child, because it is dangerous for the mother to carry too much milk.

We were taught that Rabh said (referring to a child born without a foreskin): The Halakha prevails according to the unknown Tana, while Samuel said, the Halakha prevails according to R. Simeon ben Elazar. R. Ada bar Ahabha had a child that was born without a foreskin; so he carried him to thirteen circumcisers, until the child was maimed and made impotent. Said he: "I deserve this fate, because I did not follow the dictum of Rabh." Said R. Na'hman to him: "Thou hast not only disobeyed Rabh, but also Samuel, for Samuel said, that a child born without a foreskin should be bled only if it was born on a week-day, but not on a Sabbath; and thy child was born on a Sabbath." R. Ada bar Ahabha, however, held, that he had only disobeyed Rabh, because, he was certain that the foreskin of a child is never wholly missing, but is merely ingrown and should be lanced even on Sabbath, as we were taught: Rabba said, that there is fear lest it be an ingrown foreskin; but R. Joseph said, that we were certain that it is so. Said R. Joseph: "Whence do I know this? From the following Boraitha: R. Elazar Hakappar said, that the school of Shamai and Hillel do not differ as to a child that is born without a foreskin. Both agree that the blood of the covenant must be drawn from the gland. The school of Shamai, however, contends that this may be done on the Sabbath, while the other holds that the Sabbath must not be desecrated on that account. If, then, R. Eliezer Hakappar holds, that they differ only as to the desecration of the Sabbath, the first Tana must hold, that both schools agree that the Sabbath may be desecrated on that account, and in consequence must also hold, that the foreskin is not wholly missing but is merely ingrown (hence I am certain that it is so)."

Whence do we know that the first Tana holds, as above, and not that both schools agree to the contrary; viz.: that the Sabbath must not be desecrated? If such would be the case, for what reason would Hakappar tell us that Beth Shamai holds that the Sabbath should be violated? The Halakha would not prevail thus? Nay! Perhaps R. Eliezer means to tell us, principally, that both schools hold, that if a child is born without a foreskin on a week-day he must have his gland lanced (and incidentally mentions that if a difference existed, it was concerning the Sabbath).

R. Assi said: If a child be born of a woman who, after giving birth, must keep the law mentioned in Leviticus xii. 2, the child must be circumcised on the eighth day; but ill a case where the woman need not keep the law mentioned (for instance, if the child was taken out through the sides by means of instruments), or if the woman was a Gentile on the day of giving birth to the child and became a convert to Judaism on the day following (and hence need not observe that law), the child need not be circumcised just on the eighth day (but at any time), as it is written [ibid. ibid.]: "If a woman have conceived seed, and born a male child: then shall she be unclean seven days," etc., etc.; [ibid. 3]: "And on the eighth day shall the flesh of his foreskin be circumcised." Said Abayi to him: "What about the generations before the Law was given? The women knew nothing of the law of uncleanness, and still the children had to be circumcised on the eighth day?" Answered R. Assi: "Since the Law was given, a new Halakha has been in force." Nay; this is not so! Have we not learned, that if a child was taken through the side of a woman, or if it had two foreskins, R. Huna and R. Hyya bar Rabh entertained different opinions as to whether it should be circumcised on the Sabbath or not? one claimed that it should, and the other that it should not. Now we see that they differed only as to a desecration of the Sabbath, but nothing is said about the non-necessity of the child's being circumcised on the eighth day? One is dependent upon the other. (He who holds that the Sabbath should be violated, does so because he also holds that the child must be circumcised oil the eighth day; while he who holds that the Sabbath must not be violated, does so because he holds that such a child need not be circumcised on the eighth day.)

We have learned in a Boraitha: Rabbon Simeon ben Gamaliel said: Every human child that has lived for thirty days cannot be called a miscarriage, as is written [Numbers xviii. 16]: "And those that are to be redeemed from a month old shalt thou redeem"; and any young of an animal that has attained the age of eight days, cannot be called a miscarriage, as it is written [Leviticus xxii. 27]: "When a bullock, or a sheep, or a goat is brought forth, then shall it remain seven days by its mother; and from the eighth day and henceforth shall it be favourably received," etc. And how is it, if the child has not yet attained the age of thirty days, is it still a doubtful child? How then is it allowed to circumcise any child on the Sabbath? (perhaps it is a miscarriage, and in that event it would be wrongful to inflict a wound in vain). Said R. Ada bar Ahabha: "We may do so at all events. If it is a regularly born child, the commandment is fulfilled; and if not, no wound is inflicted, but merely a piece of flesh is cut."

Now, then, we have learned in the above Boraitha, that if it be doubtful whether the child was born in the eighth or in the seventh month the Sabbath must not be violated on its account. Why should this be so? Let it be circumcised at all events. If then it proves to be a regularly born child, it was right to circumcise it; and if not, no labour was performed, but merely an incision in the flesh was made. Said Mar the son of Rabhina: "I and R. Nehumi bar Zacharias have explained it thus: 'The child should be circumcised, but the injunction of the above Boraitha not to violate the Sabbath refers to the preparations which are necessary for circumcision, and this is in accordance with the decree of R. Eliezer.'"

The schoolmen propounded a question: Do the rabbis differ with R. Simeon ben Gamaliel, or do they not? If they do, does the Halakha remain according to R. Simeon, or not? Come and hear: R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel, that the Halakha prevails according to R. Simeon ben Gamaliel. Now if he says that the Halakha prevails according to R. Simeon, there must be some who differ with R. Simeon.

Abayi said: "If a child was killed by accident, either through falling off a roof or through being killed by a lion before it had lived thirty days, all agree, that it must be presumed that it was a regularly born child. A point of difference arises concerning a child that had lived less than thirty days and during its lifetime was very weak and merely breathing. Some say that it was a miscarriage and others that it was a regularly born child." What difference does it make? It makes a difference where the levirate marriage 1 is concerned. (If the child is presumed to be a regularly born child, it exempts a man from the levirate marriage; but if it is presumed to be a miscarriage, it does not exempt a man.)

Let us see! It is said above, that if the child die by accident, all agree, that it is a regularly born child; yet we know that it happened to R. Papa, and R. Huna the son of R. Jehoshua, who were the guests of R. Idi bar Abin, that the latter prepared for them a calf, which was the third in birth of its mother, in the seventh day of its life, and they said to him: "If ye had waited to kill this calf until evening we would eat of it (because it would then have been in its eighth day); but now we will not eat of it." Hence we see, that although this was a healthy calf and met its death violently, they regarded it as doubtful whether it was a miscarriage or not. Hence say, rather, that on the contrary, if the child was weak and barely breathing prior to its death, all agree, that it must be presumed to be a miscarriage; but they differ as to a child which had met its death by accident. Some say, that it must be regarded as a regularly born child, and others, that it was a miscarriage.

The son of R. Dimi bar Joseph had a child born to him which died inside of thirty days, so he went into mourning for it. Said his father to him: "What wouldst thou? Eat delicacies 1 (that thou sittest in mourning)?" And he answered: "I am positive that the child was a regularly born child."

"R. Jehudah permits this in the case of an hermaphrodite." Said R. Shezbi in the name of R. Hisda: "Not in every case does R. Jehudah hold an hermaphrodite to be a male; for if we would say that in all cases he considers him to be a male, the hermaphrodite would come under the law of estimations [Leviticus 27:2-15], and in the Tract Erachim (estimations) we may learn, that according to R. Jehudah he is exempt. Why is he considered a male as concerns circumcision? because it is written [Genesis 17:10]: "Every man child among you shall be circumcised" (and "every" includes also hermaphrodites).

MISHNA: If one have two children to be circumcised, one after the Sabbath and the other on the Sabbath, and through forgetfulness circumcised the former on the Sabbath, he is culpable. If one of the children, however, was to be circumcised on the day before Sabbath and the other on the Sabbath, and through forgetfulness one had the former circumcised on the Sabbath, R. Eliezer declares him liable for a sin-offering and R. Jehoshua declares him free.

GEMARA: R. Huna learns the Mishna literally; in the first case, "he is culpable." R. Jehudah, however, learns to the contrary, that "he is not culpable." R. Huna learns "he is culpable," from what we have learned in a Boraitha; viz.: Said R. Simeon ben Elazar: "R. Eliezer and R. Jehoshua do not differ as to the case where a man has two children to be circumcised, one after the Sabbath and the other on the Sabbath, who through forgetfulness circumcised the former on Sabbath. They both declare him culpable. Their point of difference is, if one of the children was to have been circumcised on the day before Sabbath and the other on the Sabbath, and through forgetfulness the former was circumcised on the Sabbath, the former declares him culpable and the latter free. Both of them derived their decrees from the law concerning idolatry (all sin-offerings are based upon the sin-offerings incidental to the laws of idolatry). R. Eliezer holds, that as in idolatry so also it is with the Sabbath. If the commandment is, "Thou shalt not do so," and the man did so, he is liable for a sin-offering; and R. Jehoshua says: "Here it is different. The intention was to fulfil a commandment, and if accidentally it was not done he should be free."

And R. Jehuda learns the Mishna "not culpable," deriving his support from the following Boraitha: R. Meir said: "R. Eliezer and R. Jehoshua do not differ as to the case where a man has two children to be circumcised, one before the Sabbath and the other on the Sabbath, and through forgetfulness circumcised the former on Sabbath. They both declare him not culpable. Their point of difference is, if one of the children was to be circumcised on the day after Sabbath and the other on Sabbath, and through forgetfulness the former was circumcised on the Sabbath, R. Eliezer declares him culpable and R. Jehoshua declares him free. Both of them derived their decrees from the law concerning idolatry, as is said above."

MISHNA: A child may be (legally) circumcised on the eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, or twelfth day (after its birth), but neither before nor after. How so? Usually (it may be circumcised) on the eighth; one born at (the evening) twilight, on the ninth; one born at (the evening) twilight before Sabbath, on the tenth; if a feast day follows that Sabbath (it may be circumcised) on the eleventh; if both New Year feast-days follow that Sabbath, on the twelfth. A sick child must not be circumcised until it is thoroughly recovered.

GEMARA: Said Samuel: "After the fever has left the child, seven days should be allowed to elapse until the child get well, before the circumcision is performed." The schoolmen propounded a question: Must every day be of twenty-four hours' duration, or may the last of the seven days be counted if only a few hours have passed? Come and hear: Luda taught, the last day of the child's convalescence is more important than the day of its birth; for a child may be circumcised on the eighth day after its birth, even if only one hour of that day be passed; but the seventh day of its convalescence after a sickness

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must be one of fully twenty-four hours, before circumcision is permitted.

MISHNA: The following principal excrescences (knobs) make the circumcision invalid: Flesh that covers the larger part of the gland (of the organ). A man so circumcised must not (if he be a priest) partake of Terumah (heave-offerings). If the child be very fleshy and (such imperfect circumcision) is caused thereby, the knobs must, for appearances' sake, be cut away. One who was circumcised without having had the skin torn open, is considered as uncircumcised.

GEMARA: R. Abbina in the name of R. Jeremiah bar Aba, quoting Rabh, said: "By stating 'flesh, that covers the larger part of the gland,' the Mishna means to say the 'upper part of the gland.'"

"If the child be very fleshy." We have learned in a Boraitha: "R. Simeon ben Gamaliel said: 'If the gland of the child be surrounded by a fleshy coating, and when erect the gland appears to be circumcised, the coating need not be cut away; but if it does not appear to be circumcised, the coating should be cut away.'

"One who was circumcised without having had the skin torn open," etc. The rabbis taught: The benediction to be pronounced by the circumciser (before performing the rite) should be as follows: "Praised art Thou, Lord, our God, King of the Universe, who hast sanctified us with Thy commandments and hast commanded us the circumcision." The father of the child should pronounce the following benediction (in the interval between the circumcision and the tearing open of the skin): "Who hast sanctified us with Thy commandments and hast commanded us to enter the child into the covenant of Abraham our father." The bystanders must respond: "As he hath been entered into the covenant, so may he also be entered into the Law, into the bridal canopy, and into good deeds." The man who makes the benediction (over the goblet of wine) should say as follows: "Blessed art Thou, etc., who hast sanctified Thy favoured one (meaning the patriarch Isaac, see Genesis xxii. 2) even in the womb (as it is written in Genesis xvii. 19: 'And I will establish my covenant with him'), who hath made a sign in his body, and hath scaled his children with the sign of the holy covenant. Therefore as a reward for this we pray Thee, Thou living God, to command that our children be saved from the grave because of the covenant that is scaled in our flesh. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who hast made the covenant." One who circumcises proselytes must say: "Blessed art Thou, etc., and hast commanded us the circumcision." The one who pronounces the benediction (over the goblet) must say: "Blessed art Thou, etc., and hast commanded us to circumcise the proselytes, and to draw from them blood of the covenant. For were it not for the blood of the covenant, heavens and earth would not exist, as it is written [Jeremiah xxxiii. 25]: 'If not my covenant by day and night, I would not have instituted the ordinances of heaven and earth.' Blessed be Thou, O Lord, who didst make the covenant." One who circumcises slaves pronounces the same prayer as is used for proselytes, inserting "slaves" where "proselytes" is used; and the one making the benediction does likewise.

CHAPTER 20.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING CERTAIN ACTS OF LABOUR WHICH MUST BE PERFORMED DIFFERENTLY ON A SABBATH AND ON A FESTIVAL.

MISHNA: R. Eliezer says: One may stretch a wine-filter (of cloth) over a vessel on a feast-day, and on the Sabbath one may pour wine into it, if it was already fastened (to the vessel). The sages say: One must not stretch it (over a vessel) on a feast-day, and on Sabbath one must not pour (wine) into it, but the latter act is allowed on a feast-day.

GEMARA: How is it possible that R. Eliezer should decide, that one may stretch a wine-filter, etc., on a festival, if he does not even allow a window-blind to be added to a temporary tent, as is explained by Rabba bar bar Hana in the name of R. Johanan [Chapter XVII., p. 272]. In that case he does not even allow the addition of a blind, and here he permits the stretching of a filter to commence with? R. Eliezer holds as R. Jehudah, as we have learned in a Boraitha: There is no difference between the Sabbath and the festival, except that the preparation of food is permitted on the latter. R. Jehudah, however, even permits the arrangements for the preparation of food. What arrangements for the preparation of food are we aware of, that R. Jehudah permits? Such as cannot be made at any time before the festival; but did we hear of his permitting the arrangements for the preparation of food that could be made before the festival, to be made on the feast-day? In this respect R. Eliezer is more lenient than R. Jehudah, for he permits all arrangements for the preparation of food to be made on the festival.

"The sages say: One must not stretch it," etc. The schoolmen propounded a question: What if a man did stretch the filter over a vessel on a festival? Is he culpable? Said Abayi: "This is only a rabbinical prohibition, that one should not do on a festival such things as one does on a week-day."

Abayi collected all the rabbinical prohibitions to be found in the Boraithas, and taught as follows. A leather bag, a wine-filter, a baldachin, and a folding-chair as used in the city of Galin, must not be spread; but it one does so, he is not culpable. Tents, however, which are permanent, must not be put up, and if a man does this he is culpable. One way, however, set up an ordinary bed, a chair, a tripod, and a stool with impunity.

"One must not pour wine into it," etc. The schoolmen asked: "What if a man did pour wine into it? Is he culpable?" Said R. Kahana: "Yea; he is liable to bring a sin-offering." R. Shesheth opposed this: "Have ye ever seen that R. Eliezer should permit a certain thing to be done to commence with, which the rabbis hold would make one liable for a sin-offering?" R. Joseph interposed: "Why not? Have we not learned (p. 114), in the case of a woman who went out with a golden ornament, that R. Meir held her liable for a sin-offering and R. Eliezer permitted her to go out with it to commence with?" Said Abayi to him: "Dost thou think that R. Eliezer opposes R. Meir in the above passage? Nay; he merely opposes the sages, who said that a woman must not go out wearing the ornament, but if she do so, she is not culpable; whereas he says, that she may do so to commence with."

How should a man be warned not to pour wine into the filter? (i.e., in what category of labour is that act to be classed, so that the man can be warned that he is performing a certain prohibited principal act of labour?). Rabba said: "He is to be warned against fruit-cleaning." R. Zera said: "Against sifting." Said Rabba: "It seems to me that my decision is more in conformity with reason, for as in fruit-cleaning the good fruit is separated from the bad, so it is also in this case: he separates the clean wine from the lees." Said R. Zera: "It seems to me that my decision is more in conformity with reason, because as in sifting the good falls to the bottom and the bad remains in the sieve, so it is also in this case: the good wine falls into the vessel, while the lees remain in the filter."

Rami the son of Ezekiel taught: "A folded garment should not be spread on poles to serve as a sun-shade; but if a man do. this, he is free. If, however, a string or a hanger was already attached to the garment with which it could be fastened to the poles, this may be done to commence with."

R. Kahana asked of Rabh: "What is the law regarding a baldachin?" and he answered: "Even a bed is not permitted." R. Kahana then inquired: "What is the law regarding a bed?" and Rabh answered: "Even a baldachin is allowed." "What is the law regarding a bed and a baldachin?" "A bed is allowed but a baldachin is not allowed." In spite of this, there is no difficulty. In not permitting even a bed, Rabh had reference to a folding-bed as used by the Karmanites, and where he said, "Even a baldachin is allowed," he had reference to a baldachin as described by Rami bar Ezekiel; i.e., one which had strings attached to it. In saying, "A bed is allowed and a baldachin is not allowed," he meant to say, that an ordinary bed, such as is generally used, may be set up, but a baldachin, that had no strings or hangers attached, must not be set up. Said R. Joseph: "I have seen the baldachins in the house of R. Huna; at night (on Sabbath eve) they were folded up and in the morning they were all set up."

Rami bar Ezekiel sent to R. Huna and asked him to impart to him some of the good sayings of Rabh, two concerning the Sabbath and one concerning the Law. So R. Huna sent him the following sayings: Concerning what we have learned in a Boraitha, that a leather-bag which had strings already attached may be spread on poles on Sabbath, Rabh said, that this may be done jointly by two men but not by one. 1 Said Abayi: "A baldachin which must not be set up must not even be set up by the joint efforts of ten men." What was the other good saying of Rabh concerning Sabbath? Concerning what we have learned in a Boraitha, that if an iron stove had one leg missing it may be handled, but if two legs were missing it must not be handled, Rabh said, that it must not be handled even if one leg was missing, as a precaution lest one might be tempted to fasten the missing leg, and that would constitute building, What was the good saying of Rabh concerning the Law? Rabh said: There will be a time when the Law will be forgotten by Israel, as it is written [Deut. 28:59]: "Then will the Lord render wonderful thy plagues," etc., and I could not understand what is meant by "wonderful plagues"; but it is written [Isaiah 29:14]: "Therefore, behold, I will do yet farther a marvellous work, doing wonder on wonder, so that the wisdom of their wise men shall be lost, and the understanding of their prudent men shall be hidden."

The rabbis taught: When our teachers went into the vineyard at Jamnia, they said that the Law would be forgotten by Israel, as it is written [Amos viii. 11]: "Behold, days are coming, saith the Lord Eternal, when I will send a famine in the land, not a famine for bread, nor a thirst for water, but to hear the words of the Lord"; and [ibid. 12]: "And they will wander about from sea to sea, and from the north even to the cast, they will roam about to seek the word of the Lord; but they shall not find it." By the word of the Lord is meant: Halakha, the end of exile (i.e., the coming of the Messiah), and also the prophecies. 1

In another Boraitha we have learned: R. Simeon ben Jo'hai said: "May God forbid that the Law be forgotten by Israel. It is written [Deut. 31:21]: 'For it shall not be forgotten out of the mouth of their seed.' How then can the previous passage, 'And they will roam about to seek the word of the Lord, but they shall not find it,' be verified? It means they shall not find a perfect Halakha (which shall be incontestable), nor a Mishna (which shall be beyond refutation) anywhere on earth."

We have learned in a Boraitha: If thou shouldst live in a generation in which there is much trouble (persecution), go and investigate amongst the judges of Israel; for most of the trouble that happens in this world happens only on account (of the corruption) of the judges, as it is written [Micah 3:9-11]: "Hear this, I pray you, ye heads of the house of Jacob and ye princes of the house of Israel, that abhor justice and make crooked all that is straight. They build up Zion with blood-guiltiness and Jerusalem with wrong; her heads judge for bribes, and her priests teach for reward, and her prophets divine for money, and yet will they lean upon the Lord," etc. They are all wicked, and yet they all lean upon the One who spoke and the world was created; and therefore the Lord will bring upon them three troubles for the three sins of which they were guilty as mentioned above (judging for bribes, teaching for reward, and divining for money), as it is written [ibid. 12]: "Therefore for your sake shall Zion be ploughed up as a field, and Jerusalem shall become ruinous heaps, and the mount of the house, forest-covered high-places"; and the Holy One, blessed be He, will not permit his Shekhina to rest again amongst Israel until the corrupt judges shall be removed and the guardians of the peace shall be abolished from Israel, as it is written [Isaiah 1:25 and 26]: "And I will turn my hand against thee, and purge away as with lye thy dross, and remove all thy tin. And (then) I will restore thy judges as at the first, and thy counsellors as at the beginning."

Ula said: "Jerusalem will not be redeemed except through charity (righteousness), as it is written [Isaiah 1:27]: 'Zion shall be redeemed through justice, and her converts through righteousness.'" R. Papa said: When the proud men will be destroyed, then also will the men who slander and cause us to be hated be destroyed, as it is written: "and purge away as with lye thy dross." And when the corrupt judges will be removed, the bailiffs will also become extinct, as it is written [Zephaniah 3:15]: "The Lord hath removed thy punishment; he hath cleared away thy enemy."

Melai in the name of R. Eliezer ben R. Simeon said: "It is written [Isaiah xiv. 5]: 'Broken hath the Lord the staff of the wicked, the sceptre of the rulers.' The staff of the wicked refers to the judges who made of themselves a staff upon which their servants (scribes) should lean (i.e., they gave them all the opportunities to extort money, of which they took a share). The sceptre of rulers refers to the judges who made their relatives rulers."

Mar Zutra said: "The above verse refers to the teachers who turn out ignorant men and allow them licenses to be judges (and through ignorance they were incapable of judging rightfully)."

R. Elazar ben Melai said in the name of Resh Lakish: "It is written [Isaiah lix. 3]: 'For your hands are defiled with blood, and your fingers with iniquity: your lips have spoken falsehood, your tongue uttereth deception.' 'Your hands are defiled with blood' refers to the judges, your fingers with iniquity' refers to the scribes of the judges, your lips have spoken falsehood refers to the lawyers, 'and your tongue uttereth deception' refers to the litigants themselves."

R. Melai said again in the name of R. Itz'hak of Magdala: "From the day that Joseph left his brethren, he tasted not wine, as it is written [Genesis xlix. 26]: 'These shall be on the head of Joseph, on the crown of the head of him that was separated 1 from his brothers.'" R. Jose bar Hanina said, that the brothers of Joseph also did not taste wine, because it is written [ibid. xliii. 34]: And they drank, and were merry with him" (because it says "with him," the inference is, that without him they did not drink).

R. Melai said again: "The reward due Aaron for what is written [Exod. iv. 14]: 'And when he seeth, he will be glad in his heart,' was given him in the breastplate of judgement" [see ibid. xxviii. 15].

The inhabitants of the city of Bashkar sent a query to Levi, as follows: "What is the law concerning a baldachin, what is the law concerning flax sown in a vineyard, does it come under the head of Kelaim or not, and what is the law concerning one who dies on a festival?" While the messenger was on his way, Levi died. Said Samuel to R. Menasseh: "If thou wouldst be wise, answer thou these queries." So R. Menasseh answered as follows: "As for a baldachin, we have investigated on all sides and found no permission (for setting it up). As for flax sown in a vineyard, it constitutes a case of Kelaim. As for a man that had died on a festival, the corpse should be kept until after the second day of the festival, and it should not be interred, neither by Israelites nor by Gentiles." This is not so! Rami bar Ezekiel found permission for a baldachin as previously said! R. Tarphon decided that flax sown in a vineyard does not constitute Kelaim, and Rabha decreed, that a corpse may be interred on the first day of a festival by Gentiles and on the second day even by Jews? However, because the men of Bashkar were ignorant, R.

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Menasseh gave them the stricter decrees, lest they take advantage of the more lenient.

R. Abin bar R. Huna said in the name of R. Hama bar Gurya: "A man can wrap himself in the canopy that has not been fastened to the poles, together with its fringes, and go out into public ground with impunity." In what respect does this decision differ from that of R. Huna, who said in the name of Rabh, that one who went out into public ground wearing a Talith (toga) without Tzitzith (show-threads) is culpable and liable for a sin-offering? In the case of a Talith, the showthreads, being the most important part of that garment, are valuable, and without them the Talith is simply a burden; whereas the fringes of a canopy are not an essential part of the canopy, and having used the latter for a garment it may be worn even with fringes.

Rabba bar R. Huna said: "A man may with cunning stretch a wine-filter over a vessel and say, that he intends to use it as a receptacle for pomegranates, but when it is already stretched he may filter wine through it." Said R. Ashi: "He may do this only if he had previously placed pomegranates in the filter." In what respect does this decision differ from the following Boraitha: During the intermediate days of a festival (either Passover or the Feast of Tabernacles) a man may brew Leer for consumption on those days but not for use on other days, be it beer made of dates or of barley; and although he have stale beer still on hand, he may with cunning brew new beer and drink it. (Should he have any left over he may keep it for other days; hence we see that it is not necessary to dissemble by doing something else before performing the act really intended.) In the latter case it is not known whether the man have any stale beer on hand or not, and hence it might be presumed that he has none and must brew more; but in the former case, when the wine-filter is stretched and wine is being immediately filtered through it, the presumption would be that it was stretched for that purpose only.

Said the disciples to R. Ashi: "We would call the attention of the master to this young scholar, R. Huna bar Hyvan or Heluvan by name, who takes the clove of garlic and stops up a hole in a wine-barrel with it, saying, that he intends merely to preserve the clove of garlic. He also goes and lies down on a ferry, presumably to sleep; in the meantime he is ferried across the river, and on the other side he watches his fields, saying, however, that he merely intended to sleep." Answered R. Ashi: "Ye speak of cunning (trickery). All the acts mentioned by you are prohibited by rabbinical laws only, and in the case of a scholar, there is no danger that he will commit them publicly (without resorting to cunning)."

MISHNA: One may pour water on yeast in order to thin the latter; and one may filter wine through a cloth or an Egyptian wine-basket. One may put a beaten egg in a sieve. One may also make honey-wine on Sabbath. R. Jehudah says: "On Sabbath this may be done only in a cup, on feast-days even in a lug, (pitcher), and on the intermediate days even in a barrel." R. Zadok says: "At all times it should be made according to the number of guests."

GEMARA: Zera said: "A man may pour clear wine or clear water into a filter with impunity." May clear wine only, and not dimmed wine, be poured into a filter? Have we not learned, that R. Simeon ben Gamaliel said: "A man may stir up a cask of wine, with the lees, on the Sabbath and pour it through a filter with impunity"? Zera explained the decree of R. Simeon ben Gamaliel to the effect, that the latter spoke of wine that was just being pressed, when it is customary to drink the wine with the lees (hence the wine is not improved, as it can be drunk without filtering).

"One may filter wine through a cloth." R. Simi b. Hyya said: "Providing the cloth is not turned into a funnel (that the cloth should not subsequently be wrung)."

"An Egyptian wine-basket." Said R. Hyya bar Ashi in the name of Rabh: "Providing the wine-basket is not lifted above the bottom of the vessel to the height of one span."

"One may put a beaten egg in a mustard sieve." R. Jacob Kar'hah explained this as follows: "Because the yolk is used only for colouring; the white of the egg is nevertheless as much an article of food as the yolk (hence no sifting takes place)."

It was taught: Mustard which had been prepared before Sabbath may be ground on the Sabbath, either by hand or with a vessel. Honey may also be placed in the mustard on Sabbath; it must not be thoroughly mixed, however, but merely stirred. Cresses which had been cut up before the Sabbath may be mixed with oil and vinegar on the Sabbath, and one may also add mint; it must not be thoroughly mixed, however, but merely stirred. Garlic which had been ground before the Sabbath may be mixed with broad-beans and peas, but must not be ground together; mint may also be added. Said Abayi: "We see, that mint is good for the spleen."

"One may make honey-wine on the Sabbath." The rabbis taught: "One may make honey-wine on the Sabbath, but not an oil-wine salve." The difference between honey-wine and oil-wine salve is that the former is made of honey, wine, and pepper, while the latter is made of old wine, clear water, and aromatic balsam to be used as a lotion after a bath.

Said R. Joseph: "Once I went with Mar Uqba to a bathhouse. When we came out, he gave me a cup of wine which, when drinking, I felt all over from the roots of my hair to the nails of my feet; and had he given me another, I am afraid that the reward due me in the world to come would have been lessened in proportion." Mar Uqba drank this wine every day? He was accustomed to it.

MISHNA: One must not put laserpitium in tepid water for the purpose of softening the former, but one may put it in vinegar. One must not soak bran nor grind it, but may put it in a sieve or in a basket. One must not sift feed-straw through a winnow, nor lay it in a high place so that the chaff fall out, but one may take it up in a winnow and then pour it into the crib.

GEMARA: The schoolmen asked: "What if one did put laserpitium in tepid water?" Said Abayi: "This is only a rabbinical prohibition, that it should not be done as on a weekday."

R. Johanan asked of R. Yanai: "Is it allowed to put laserpitium in cold water (on Sabbath)?" and he answered: "It is not." Said R. Johanan: "We have learned in the Mishna, that it is not allowed to put it in tepid water, but in cold water it should be allowed." Answered R. Yanai: (If thou askest me concerning a Mishna) what difference is there between me and thee? The Mishna is according to the opinion of one man, and the Halakha does not prevail according to his opinion, as we have learned in a Tosephta: Laserpitium must not be put in either cold or tepid water. R. Jose said: "It is not allowed to put it in tepid water, but it may be put in cold water." For what purpose is it used? For a heavy feeling in the chest.

R. Aha bar Joseph had a heavy feeling in the chest, so he came to Mar Uqba, and was told to drink laserpitium to the weight of three shekels in three days. He drank some on Thursday and Friday, and on Sabbath he came to the house of learning to inquire whether he might drink it. He was told, that the disciples of Ada, others say of Mar bar R. Ada, taught, that one may drink, even a Kabh or two Kabhs with impunity. He then said to them: "I am not asking whether I may drink it. That I know is allowed, but I should like to know whether I may put the laserpitium in water in order to drink it. How shall I do?" Said R. Hyya bar Abin to them: "The same thing happened to me, so I went to R. Ada bar Ahabha and asked him, but he did not know; so I asked R. Huna, who said, that Rabh decided that first it should be put in cold water and then it may be put in warm water."

R. A'ha bar Joseph leaned on the shoulders of his nephew, R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak, and went out into the street, and told him, when they came to the house of R. Safra, to lead him in. When they got there, they went in, and R. A'ha asked of R. Safra: "May a shirt that had been laundered too stiffly be rubbed and softened by hand on the Sabbath? Shall we assume, that it is only intended to soften the shirt and is therefore permissible, or that it is intended also to bleach it and is hence prohibited?" R. Safra answered, that it might be done, and asked him: "Why dost thou ask about a shirt, why not ask also about a turban?" "I have already asked concerning a turban of R. Huna, and he said, that it is not permitted." "Why, then, didst thou come to ask about a shirt? Thou couldst have inferred, from the turban, that the other was also not permitted?" Answered R. A'ha: "A turban is bleached by unfolding and rubbing, but a shirt is not."

R. Hisda said: "If a shirt had been hung up to dry by means of a stick drawn through the armholes, it should be taken down from the stick, but the stick should not be taken down alone (because the stick is not a vessel and hence must not be handled)." Said Rabha: "If the stick was one that may be used by a weaver, it may be taken down (because it is regarded as a vessel)."

R. Hisda said again: "A bundle of herbs, if suitable for cattle-food, may be handled on the Sabbath. If not, it must not be handled." Said R. Hyya bar Ashi in the name of Rabh: "Dried salt meat may be handled on Sabbath (because it can be eaten uncooked), but dried salt fish must not (because it cannot be eaten uncooked)."

R. Hisda said again: "A man who attends school, and has not sufficient bread, should not eat herbs, because it creates hunger. I myself have never eaten herbs, neither when I was poor nor when I was rich. When I was poor I did not want to stimulate my appetite, and when I was rich I rather ate meat and fish in place of herbs." Again he said: "A young pupil who lacks food should not eat a little at a time. He should wait until he can accumulate sufficient for a hearty meal, and then eat. When I was poor I never ate until I could put my hand in the basket and find sufficient to satisfy my hunger."

The same R. Hisda said to his daughters: "Be chaste in the eyes of your husbands. Do not go about eating in the presence of your husbands. Do not eat herbs at night (for fear of bad breath). Do not eat dates at night. Do not drink beer at night, and use not the same toilet that men do. When some one knocks at your door, do not ask 'Who is it?' in the masculine, but in the feminine."

"One must not sift feed-straw through a winnow." This Mishna is not in accordance with the opinion of the Tana of the following Boraitha: R. Eliezer ben Jacob said: "A winnow must not be touched at all."

MISHNA: One may clean out (the crib) for the (stalled) ox and throw (the superfluous fodder) over the side, so that it does, not become unclean, so says R. Dosa. The sages declare this to be prohibited. One may remove the fodder in front of one animal and place it before another, on the Sabbath.

GEMARA: The schoolmen propounded a question: Do the sages dissent from the first part of R. Dosa's decree, from the last part, or from both? Come and hear: "We have learned in a Boraitha: 'The sages said: "Neither one nor the other may be thrown over the side."'" Said R. Hisda: "The sages differ with R. Dosa only when the crib was a separate vessel, but if it was part of the stall and fixed to the ground, all agree that it is prohibited to clean it out."

"One may remove the fodder from in front of one animal," etc. In one Boraitha we learned, that one may remove the fodder from cattle with healthy snouts and place it before cattle with diseased snouts; and in another Boraitha we learned the contrary, that fodder may be removed from cattle with diseased snouts and placed before cattle with healthy snouts. Said Abayi: "According to both Boraithas, the fodder of an ass may be placed before an ox, but the fodder of an ox must not be placed before an ass. The first Boraitha refers to fodder placed before an ass who does not emit phlegm from the mouth, and which may be placed before a cow who does emit phlegm; and the other Boraitha, which permits the placing of fodder of animals with bad snouts, also refers to an ass, and calls the snout of an ass bad (diseased) because he feeds on all manner of things, like thistles, etc. The cow is referred to as having a healthy snout because she is very particular as to what she feeds on (hence the two Boraithas do not differ)."

MISHNA: Straw on a bed must not be shaken up with the hand, but it may be moved with the body. If it be designed for fodder, or a pillow or cloth lie over it, it may be shaken up by hand. A clothes-press which is kept in the house may be opened, but must not be used for pressing. The clothes-presses of the professional washers must not be touched. R. Jehudah says: "If the press was partly open before the Sabbath, it may be entirely opened and drawn out (others say, the clothes may be drawn out)."

GEMARA: R. Jehudah said: "It is permitted to triturate pepper seed with the handle of a knife one by one, but not two together (on Sabbath)." But Rabha said, that as a man usually triturates pepper in a mortar on a week-day, he may on Sabbath triturate as many together as he chooses with the handle of a knife.

R. Jehudah said again: "(On the Sabbath) a man who bathes should first dry himself standing in the water and then go out; otherwise he carries water into unclaimed ground for four ells." If that is so, what about the man going into the water? By entering he pushes the water forward four ells (into the lake or river) by mere motion? Motion has not been provided for in the prohibitions of unclaimed ground.

Said Abayi, according to another version R. Jehudah: "If a man stepped into loam, he should wipe his feet on the ground and not on a wall." But Rabha said: "Why should he not do that, because it might be presumed that he plasters the wall and is engaged in building,? Nay; this is not ordinary building (but more like field-work). On the contrary: If he wipe his feet on the ground he may perchance smoothen out an incavation, hence he should rather wipe his feet on the wall. For the same reason, he should not wipe his feet on the side of an incavation, lest he smoothen it out."

Rabha said again: "One should not cork a bottle with a piece of cotton or cloth, lest he wring it." R. Kahana said: "The dirt on a garment should be removed by rubbing the cloth on the inside and not on the outside, lest it seem like washing." R. Abuha in the name of R. Elazar, quoting R. Yanai, said: "One may scrape off dirt on an old shoe, but not a new one. With what should it be scraped off? With the back of a knife," said R. Abuha. Said a certain old man to him: "Withdraw thy teaching before that of R. Hyya: One must not scrape off dirt on an old nor on a new shoe. One must also not rub his foot with oil, while it is still in the shoe. He may, however, rub his foot with oil and then put on his shoe or his sandal. He may also anoint his whole body with oil and lie down on a skin, although the skin is benefited by the oil." Said R. Hisda: "Providing the oil dripping from the body on to the skin is only sufficient to polish the skin, but if there is enough to soften the skin one must not lie down on it."

The rabbis taught: A small man should not wear a large shoe (lest it fall off and he be forced to carry it on the Sabbath). He may, however, wear a large shirt (as there is no fear of his taking that off and carrying it). A woman should not go out with a torn shoe on the Sabbath (lest she be laughed at and carry the shoe). She also must not accept Chalitza in such a shoe; but if she did so, the Chalitza is valid. She also should not wear a new shoe, that she had not tried on before the Sabbath (lest it be too large and she take it off and carry it). Such is the explanation of Bar Qappara.

In one Boraitha we have learned, that one may remove the shoe of a statue, while in another we were taught that it must

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not be removed. This presents no difficulty. The one Boraitha is in accordance with the opinion of the rabbis, who differ with R. Eliezer, while the other is in accordance with the opinion of R. Eliezer; as we have learned in another Boraitha: R. Jehudah said in the name of R. Eliezer, that if the shoe was loose and easily removed it might be taken off.

CHAPTER 21.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE POURING OUT OF WINE FROM VESSELS COVERED WITH A STONE (WHICH MUST NOT BE LIFTED), AND THE CLEARING OFF OF CRUMBS, ETC., FROM THE TABLE.

MISHNA: One may lift up a (petted) child, that has a stone in its hand, also a basket in which there is a stone; one may also handle unclean Therumah (heave-offerings), together with clean and with ordinary grain. R. Jehudah saith: "One may also take out Therumah from mixed grain in proportion of one to the hundred."

GEMARA: Rabha said: "If a man carried out a child to whose neck a purse of money was fastened, he is culpable of carrying the purse; but if he carried out the corpse of a child which had a purse of money fastened to it, he is free." Why is the man culpable in the first instance, for the carrying of the purse and not for carrying the child? He holds with R. Nathan, who said, that a living thing carries itself. Why not say, that the purse is an accessory to the child? Have we not learned in a Mishna (p. 182), that if a man carried out a person on a litter he is not culpable of carrying even the litter, because it is of no consequence to the person? A litter is regarded as of no consequence to the person, but a purse is not held to be part of a child. Why, in the second instance, is the man not culpable for carrying the corpse of the child? Rabha holds, with R. Simeon, that every labour which is not performed for its own sake does not make a person culpable (and he is not culpable for carrying the purse, because in his sorrow he does not think of the purse that the child was wont to play with).

An objection was made (to Rabba's teaching by virtue of the above Mishna): One may lift up a child with a stone in its hand? The disciples of R. Yanai explained this as follows: "A child is referred to that yearns for its father, and if it were not carried it would become sick." The stone is no hindrance to its being carried. If that is the case, why is a stone mentioned? why not money? Did not Rabha say, that the child may be carried if it have a stone in its hand, but not money? That is simple. If the stone fall to the ground the father will not pick it up, but if money falls he will pick it up. We have been taught by a Boraitha in support of Rabha: If one carry his clothes, folded, on his back, or his sandals or his rings in his hand, he is culpable; if he wear them, however, he is free. If he carry out a man dressed in clothes, sandals, and rings, he is also free; but if he carried the clothes, sandals, or rings alone, he would be culpable.

"A basket in which there is a stone," etc. Why should a man not be culpable for carrying it? Is not the basket a basis for a prohibited thing? Said R. Hyya bar Ashi in the name of Rabha: "Here a basket is spoken of which is broken, and where the stone fills in the gap, making the basket whole."

"One may also handle unclean heave-offerings." Said R. Hisda: "When may unclean heave-offerings be handled? If the clean heave-offering be at the bottom and the unclean on top, the unclean may be removed; but if the clean be on top, it may be removed, and the unclean must remain untouched." If the unclean be on top, let it be thrown off until the clean is reached! Answered R. Ilai, Rabh said: "Here fruit is spoken of, that would be spoiled by being thrown off."

An objection was made: We have learned in a Boraitha: "Unclean heave-offerings may be handled with clean and with ordinary grain; it makes no difference where it lies: on the top or at the bottom." This is a refutation of R. Hisda? R. Hisda might say, that our Mishna treats of a heave-offering that is needed for food, while the Boraitha treats of a heave-offering when the space it occupies is needed. What impels R. Hisda to explain the Mishna in that manner? Said Rabha: "From the latter part of the Mishna it seems to be in the sense explained by him, for that part of the Mishna says, that if money lie on a bolster, the bolster may be turned so that the money shall fall down; and Rabba bar bar Hana in the name of R. Johanan explained, that such is the case only if the bolster itself be needed; but if the space occupied by the bolster is required, one may lift the bolster, with the money, and deposit it elsewhere. Now, if this part of the Mishna refers to the demand for the object itself, the first part does likewise."

"R. Jehudah saith: 'One may take Therumah from mixed grain in proportion of one to the hundred.'" How can this be done? In doing it, one would make a useless thing useful, and that is not permitted? R. Jehudah holds with R. Simeon ben Elazar, who declares, that one may look upon one side of a mixed-grain pile and consider it Therumah, and eat from the other. How can it be said, however, that R. Jehudah holds with R. Simeon ben Elazar, for have we not learned in a Boraitha, that they differ on this question, the former holding that one may take a measure of grain from the pile, of one to the hundred, set it aside as Therumah, and use the remainder, while the other says, that one should look upon one side of it and eat from the other? R. Jehudah is even more lenient; for he permits all of it to be used after a measure had been set aside, while R. Simeon permits only part of it to be used.

MISHNA: If a stone lie at the opening of a barrel, the barrel may be bent over, so that the stone fall down. If the barrel stand amongst other barrels, it may be lifted and then bent over, in order that the stone fall down. If money lie on a bolster, the bolster may be turned, so that the money fall down. If dirt be found on the bolster, it maybe cleaned off with a rag; and if the bolster be of leather, water maybe poured on it until the dirt is removed.

GEMARA: Said R. Huna in the name of Rabh: "The Mishna refers to a case where the stone lying at the opening of the barrel was left there by accident. If it was placed there purposely, the barrel becomes a basis to a prohibited thing and must not be handled."

"If the barrel stand amongst other barrels," etc. Who is the Tana who holds, that where there are both a permissible and a prohibited thing we must engage ourselves only with the permissible thing and not with the prohibited? Said Rabba bar bar Hana in the name of R. Johanan: "That is R. Simeon ben Gamaliel, who said in Tract Betza, that if the waste was in a larger quantity than the eatable portion, the eatable portion might be taken, but the waste must not be touched. In the case of the barrel, the useful portion is certainly in a larger quantity than the useless (why, then, should he not remove the stone?). If a man should wish to remove the wine, it would necessitate his lifting the barrel at all events; with the barrel the stone would also be lifted, and in that case the useless would surpass in quantity the useful."

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jose said: "If a barrel stood in a cellar amongst other barrels, or among glassware (and there is danger that if the barrel is lifted and bent over the stone covering it will fall upon another barrel, or upon some of the glassware and break it), it may be lifted, carried to another place, bent over so that the stone roll off, its contents removed to the quantity required, and returned to its former place."

"If money lie on a bolster," etc. Said R. Hyya bar Ashi in the name of Rabh: "The Mishna here refers to a case where the money was accidentally left on the bolster; but if it is laid there on purpose, the bolster becomes a basis to a prohibited thing and must not be handled."

Hyya the son of Rabh of Diphti taught the same as Rabba bar bar Hana in the name of R. Johanan, viz. that if the space occupied by the bolster is required, the bolster together with the money may be moved.

R. Oshea said: "If a purse of money was accidentally left in private ground, one may put a loaf of bread or a child on it and take it back to the house." R. Itz'hak said: "This rule applies not only to a purse of money, but also to a brick that is needed for any purpose."

Said R. Jehudah bar Shila in the name of R. Assi, that a box of money was once forgotten in the market and R. Johanan was asked what was to be done. He ordered them to place a loaf of bread or a child on it, and take it in. Said Mar Zutra: "All these rules are laid down in the case of where the things referred to were left by accident." But R. Ashi said, that such is not the case, and that a child or a loaf of bread can be used to move a corpse only.

When Abayi had to bring in stalks of grain, he would put on them some article of food (or some vessel) and bring it into the house; and when Rabha had to bring in (an uncooked) dove, he would put a knife on it and bring it into the house. When R. Joseph heard of this, he said: "How sagacious are the minds of these young scholars! When did the rabbis permit this to be done? When the things to be brought were forgotten on the outside; but they did not permit their being moved to commence with." Abayi answered: "(I have done right.) For were I not a trustworthy man, I would not have used those means to bring in the grain at all. Stalks of grain are a useful thing to sit on, and may be handled." And Rabha said: "(I have also done right.) For were I not a trustworthy man, I would not have placed a knife on the dove at all, as there are some people who eat it raw (hence it may be handled on the Sabbath)." Shall we say, that Rabha holds that the raw dove may be handled only because it is eaten (raw) by some people, and were it not so it could not be handled (on Sabbath), hence be holds as R. Jehudah in Tract Betza? Did not Rabha say to his servant on a festival: "Fry a duck for me and throw the entrails to the cat"; and we see thence that he permitted his servant to handle the entrails because they were food for a cat? The entrails would have spoiled if left over for the next day, and we must assume therefore that they were designed as food for the cat from the day preceding.

MISHNA: The school of Shamai teaches: "Bones and husks may be removed from the table." The school of Hillel, however, teaches: "One may only lift the whole table board (or cloth), and shake off what is left over." All crumbs smaller than an olive may be removed from the table; also the hulls of beans and lentils, because they may serve for fodder. It is allowed to use a sponge for wiping, providing it has a handle made of leather; otherwise, it is not allowed. At all events, one may handle a sponge on the Sabbath, and it is not subject to defilement.

GEMARA: Said R. Na'hman: We know that the school of Shamai holds to the opinion of R. Jehudah (who accepts the theory of Muktza), and that the school of Hillel holds to the opinion of R. Simeon (who disregards the law of Muktza). (Hence the order of the Mishna should be reversed.) The dictum of the school of Shamai should be credited to the school of Hillel, and vice versa.

"Hulls of beans," etc. The permission to remove the hulls of beans, etc., is certainly in accordance with R. Simeon, who disregards the law of Muktza; and the latter clause of the Mishna referring to a sponge, which must not be used for wiping off the table unless it have a handle (because without the handle it would be wrung and that is prohibited, although the intention to wring it did not exist), is in accordance with the opinion of R. Jehudah, who holds, that one must not perform an act even unintentionally. In this case R. Simeon also agrees with R. Jehudah, because it again presents a parallel case to the beheading of a creature where no intention to kill it exists.

The pits of dates (Armiassa) to which some of the meat adheres maybe handled, and those of Parsiassa 1 must not be handled. Samuel used to handle the latter with bread, holding to his opinion that anything at all may be done with bread (while others hold that bread should not be put to any uses except for food). Rabba would hold them with a pitcher of water. R. Shesheth would throw them out by means of his tongue, and R. Papa would throw them underneath the bed. It was told of R. Zacharias ben Abkulos, that he would turn his face towards the back of the bed and throw them out with his tongue.

CHAPTER 22.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING PREPARATION OF FOOD AND BEVERAGES.

MISHNA: Should a cask break open, sufficient may be saved for three meals. The owner may also call to others: "Come and save for yourselves (whatever you can)." No portion of the leakage, however, may be sponged up (soaked up with a sponge). One must not press fruit in order to extract the juice; and if it ooze out by itself, it must not be used. R. Jehudah said: "If the fruit is for eating, the juice which oozes out may be used; but if it is for beverage, it must not be used. If honeycombs be broken on the eve of Sabbath and the honey ooze out, the honey must not be used." R. Eliezer, however, permits this.

GEMARA: We have learned, that wine must not be soaked up with a sponge, and oil must not be dipped with a spoon, in the same manner as it is done on week-days (there must be a slight change).

The rabbis taught: If fruit becomes scattered in a courtyard (private ground) it may be gathered up and eaten, but this must not be done as on a week-day; i.e., gathered in a basket.

"One must not press fruit," etc. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: "R. Jehudah (of the Mishna) agrees with the sages in the case of olives and grapes." Why so? Because this class of fruit is intended only for pressing, and the juice which must of a necessity ooze out might be calculated upon by the owner for a beverage. Ula said, that R. Jehudah differed with the sages even in the case of olives and grapes. R. Johanan said, that the Halakha prevails according to R. Jehudah as far as other fruit is concerned, but not as regards olives and grapes.

Said R. Aba in the name of R. Jehudah, quoting Samuel: "R. Jehudah subsequently agreed with the sages as regards olives and grapes, and the sages also agreed with him later concerning other fruit." Said R. Jeremiah to R. Aba: "Wherein do they differ?" and R. Aba answered: "Go and seek, and thou wilt find it!" Said R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak: "It seems to me that they differ concerning berries and pomegranates, for we have learned in a Boraitha: The juice of olives or grapes, which after having been pressed and brought into the house had oozed out by itself, must not be used, whether the fruit had been brought in for eating or beverage. If a man squeezed out the juice of berries and pomegranates and brought the pressed fruit into the house to eat, if any more juice oozed out, he might drink it; but if he brought the fruit expressly for eating purposes or for beverage, or without any express design, he must not drink the juice that had oozed out, so said R. Jehudah. The sages, however, prohibit the use of the juice under any circumstances."

Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: "A man may squeeze out a bunch of grapes directly into a pot, but not into a bowl. (Why not? Because if he squeezed it into the pot it is proof positive that it will be used for food, but if squeezed into the bowl it might be used as a beverage.) Said R. Hisda: "From the decree of our master we can learn, that a man may milk a goat right into the pot, but not into a bowl." Thus we see that Samuel holds, that beverages when mixed with eatables are also regarded as eatables.

Said R. Zera in the name of R. Hyya bar Ashi, quoting Rabh: "A bunch of grapes must be squeezed directly into the pot, but not into a bowl, but the oil of fish may be pressed out even into a bowl." R. Dimi repeated this decree. Said Abayi to

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him: "Ye teach this in the name of Rabh, hence ye have no objection; but we learn this in the name of Samuel, hence we have the following objection: 'Can Samuel say that the oil of a fish may be squeezed out even in a bowl? Were we not taught, that if a man squeezed out herbs which were soaked in wine and vinegar, it is, according to Rabh, permitted to commence with, if the herbs were to be eaten; but if the juice only was to be used, the man would not be liable for a sin-offering, but he should not do it to start with? If the herbs, however, were cooked, whether the man wished to eat them or only use the juice, he might squeeze them out into a bowl. Samuel, however, decreed, that be the herbs cooked or raw, one may do this only if he intends to eat the herbs, but not if he only intends to use the juice; if he does, however, he is not liable for a sin-offering.'"

R. Dimi answered: "By the Lord! My eyes have seen it, and not as a stranger, that I heard this decree from R. Jeremiah, he from R. Zera, he again from R. Hyya bar Ashi, and the latter from Rabh's mouth."

In regard to the quoted Boraitha concerning the herbs that one had squeezed out (we have heard the opinion of Rabh and Samuel), R. Johanan said: "Be they cooked or raw herbs, he may do so to commence with, if he intends to eat the herbs; but if he only desires the juice he must not do so, and if he does he is liable for a sin-offering." All this however, is opposed by the following Boraitha: One may squeeze out herbs which were soaked in wine and vinegar on the Sabbath for use on the same day, but not for later use; but one must not press olives or grapes, and if he does, he is liable for a sin-offering." Now, this is in opposition to all three: Rabh, Samuel, and R. Johanan. Rabh could explain this in accordance with his teaching; viz.: The herbs may be pressed on the Sabbath, for use on that day and not later, providing he uses the herbs for eating; but if he wishes to use the juice he must not do so, but if he does he is not liable for a sin-offering; and cooked herbs he may squeeze out, whether he requires the herbs or the juice, olives and grapes he should not press: if he does, he is liable for a sin-offering. Samuel could explain it according to his own opinion: A man may squeeze out herbs on Sabbath for that same day, but not for later use; and the same law applies to cooked herbs, provided they are used for eating, but if the juice is wanted they must not be pressed, etc. R. Johanan could explain the Boraitha in accordance with his teaching, as follows: Be the herbs cooked or soaked, they may be squeezed out if intended for eating; but if the juice is required he must not, and if he did so it is equal to pressing olives or grapes, and he is liable for a sin-offering.

Said R. Hyya bar Ashi in the name of Rabh: "According to biblical law one cannot be culpable except for pressing olives and grapes. So have taught the disciples of Menasseh. Also according to biblical law, a witness that testifies from hearsay must not be accredited, with the exception of a case where he testifies to having heard that a woman's husband had died."

"If honeycombs be broken on the eve of Sabbath." When R. Hosea came from Neherdai he brought a new Boraitha; viz.: "If olives and grapes were crushed before the Sabbath, and the juice oozed out, it must not be drunk; but R. Eliezer and R. Simeon both permit it." Said R. Joseph: "He just tells us of another man in addition to R. Eliezer!" Said Abayi to him: "He taught us a great deal; for from our Mishna I would say, that honeycombs were eatables before being crushed and also afterwards; therefore R. Eliezer permits the use of the honey, but in the case of olives and grapes which were previously eatables and subsequently became beverages, it might be presumed that even R. Eliezer would not permit their use. Hence we were instructed by R. Hosea to the contrary."

MISHNA: Whatever has been dressed with hot water on the eve of Sabbath, may be soaked in hot water on the Sabbath; and whatever has not been dressed with hot water on the eve of Sabbath, must only be passed through hot water on the Sabbath: excepting only stale salt fish and Spanish kolias (a kind of fish which was generally cured to make it eatable), for passing these through hot water is all the dressing required for them.

GEMARA: What does the Mishna refer to? For instance, the hen of R. Aba! He would cook a hen, then soak it in water, and when it would fall to pieces he would eat it. Said R. Safra: "I was there at one time and R. Aba served me with some of that dish, and had he not given three-year-old wine immediately after it, I would have been forced to vomit."

R. Johanan would spit every time be was reminded of Babylonian Kutach (a dish made of small salt fish boiled in milk). Said R. Joseph: "Yea, and let us spit when we think of R. Aba's hen." And R. Gaza said: "I was in Palestine at one time, and made that same dish (kutach); so they begged me to give them some for all the sick in Palestine."

"And whatever has not been dressed with hot water," etc. What is the law concerning one who had passed kolias or stale salt fish through hot water? Said R. Joseph: "He is liable for a sin-offering." Said Mar the son of Rabhina: "We have understood it so from the Mishna, because the last clause is 'for passing these through hot water is all the dressing required for them,' and the finishing of a certain kind of labour is equivalent to hammering.

R. Hyya bar Aba and R. Assi once sat in the presence of R. Johanan, and R. Johanan dozed off. So R. Hyya bar Aba asked R. Assi why the fowls of Babylon were so fat. R. Assi answered: "Go to the desert of Aza in Palestine, and I will show thee fatter ones." "Why are the Babylonians so merry during the festivals?," asked R. Hyya again. "Because they are poor (and during the entire year they have no pleasures, so they take advantage of the festivals)," was the answer. "Why are the scholars of Babylon so well dressed?" queried R. Hyya. "Because they are ignorami" (and must wear good clothes in order to command respect), answered R. Assi. At that moment R. Johanan awoke, and said to them: "Youngsters! Did I not tell you, that it is written [Proverbs vii. 4]: 'Say unto wisdom, Thou art my sister,' which means: If a thing is as certain to thee as the fact that thou canst not marry thy own sister, then say it? Otherwise, thou shalt not say it. (Then why speak such foolishness?)" Then said they: "Let Master tell some things (which would benefit us)!" Said R. Johanan: "The fowls of Babylon are fat because they were never driven away from home, as it is written [Jeremiah 48:11]: 'Moab was ever at ease from his youth, and he was resting on his lees, and was not emptied from vessel to vessel, and had not gone into exile: therefore had his taste remained in him and his scent was not changed.' Whence do we know that the fowls of Palestine were driven from home? It is written [ibid. 9:9]: 'Both the fowls of the heavens and the beasts are fled; they are gone away.'--[R. Jacob said in the name of R. Johanan, that the fowls and the beasts and all else came back to Palestine with the exception of the Spanish kolias (the reason will be explained in Tract Bechorath.]--'Why are the Babylonians merry during the festivals?' Because they were not included in the curse of [Hosea 2:13]: 'And I will cause to cease all her mirth, her festival, her new moon, and her Sabbath, and all her appointed feasts.'"

Said R. Itz'hak: "(Indeed it was so.) There was not a single feast in Palestine, that the military did not come to Sephoris"; and R. Hanina said: "There was not a single feast in Palestine, that captains, guards, and supervisors did not come to Tiberias."--"Why are the scholars of Babylon so well dressed?" "Because they are all strangers. As the saying goes: In a city where a man is known, he may wear whatever he chooses; but where he is not sufficiently known he should dress well."

R. Joseph taught: It is written [Isaiah 27:6]: "In the future shall Jacob yet take root: Israel shall bud and blossom; and shall fill the face of the world with fruit." What is meant by "bud and blossom"? The scholars of Babylon, who wind blossoms and wreaths around the Thorah.

MISHNA: A man may break open a cask, to eat dry figs therefrom; provided, he does not intend using the cask afterwards as a vessel. He must not pierce the bunghole of a cask, such is the decree of R. Jehudah (or R. Jose); the sages permit this to be done. And one must not bore a hole in the side of it; but if it was already perforated, he must not fill it up with wax, because he would smoothen the wax thereby. Said R. Jehudah: "Such a case was brought before R. Johanan ben Sachai, at Arab, and he observed: 'I doubt whether that act does not involve liability to bring a sin-offering.'"

GEMARA: Said R. Oshea: "When may a man hold a dirk to open a cask of figs? If the figs are very tightly packed, for then he would have to use a knife or a dirk to get the figs out; but if they were packed loose he must not use a knife to open the cask."

An objection was raised: We have learned, that R. Simeon ben Gamaliel said: "A man may bring in a cask of wine, cut off the bung-head with a knife, and serve it to the guests with impunity." This Boraitha is in accordance with the opinion of the sages, while our Mishna is in accordance with the decree of R. Nehemiah (who holds that no vessel may be used for any other purpose but that for which it was originally intended). What impelled R. Oshea to make the entire Mishna conform with the dictum of R. Nehemiah? Let him say, that the cask may be opened with a knife even if the figs are loose, and thus be in accord with the sages? Answered Rabha: "The reason is, that R. Oshea could not quite comprehend why the Mishna specified figs: it could have said fruit, and on that account he reasoned as stated."

In one Boraitha we have learned: Palm-leaf baskets containing dried figs and dates may be untied, taken apart, or cut; and in another Boraitha we were taught, that they may be untied, but not taken apart or tied. This presents no difficulty; for one Boraitha is in accordance with the opinion of the sages, and the other is in accord with R. Nehemiah.

A question was asked of R. Shesheth: "May a cask be bored with an auger on the Sabbath? Shall we assume, that one intended to make an opening in the cask and hence it is prohibited, or that he intended merely to make a larger space for the flow of the wine and it is therefore permitted?" The answer was: "The intention was to make an opening, and it is prohibited." An objection based upon the teaching of R. Simeon ben Gamaliel previously mentioned was raised, and the answer was: "There the intention certainly was to make the space larger, while here it is obvious that the intention was to make an opening; otherwise, he would have broken open the cask with a knife."

"One must not pierce the bunghole of a cask." Said R. Huna: "They differ only in reference to the top of a bunghole of a cask; but as for the side, all agree that it is not allowed, and this is carried out by the later clause in the Mishna; viz.: 'And he must not bore a hole in the side of it.'" R. Hisda, however, said: "They differ only as far as boring a hole in the side of the bunghole is concerned, but as for the top, all agree that it is permitted; and the later clause of the Mishna means to state that one must not bore a hole in the side of the cask itself."

The rabbis taught: One must not bore a new hole on Sabbath, but if it was already made he may enlarge it; and others say, that he must not enlarge it; but all agree, that if the hole was merely stopped it may be reopened. The first Tana prohibits the boring of a new hole, because thereby an opening is made. Does not enlarging a hole improve the opening? Said Rabba: According to biblical law, an opening through which one cannot enter or go out is not considered a door, but the rabbis made this a precaution on account of chicken-coops, the holes of which are made for the purpose of admitting fresh air and emitting the foul. (Therefore making a hole in a coop is equivalent to making a whole coop, for without holes it is of no value.) Enlarging a hole, however, is permitted, because one would enlarge a hole in a chicken-coop, lest an ichneumon should enter and kill a chicken. Why do some say, then, that holes should not even be enlarged? Because it might be that one did not make the hole in a chicken-coop large enough, and would enlarge it. R. Na'hman taught in the name of R. Johanan, that the Halakha remains according to the last dictum.

All agree, that a hole which had been stopped up may be reopened. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: This was said only in the case of where a hole had been stopped to preserve the aroma of the wine. If, however, the hole was stopped up in order to strengthen the cask, it must not be reopened. What is meant by preserving the aroma and by strengthening the cask? Said R. Hisda: "If the hole was on top of the cask and was stopped up, it was for the purpose of preserving the aroma; but if at the bottom, it was for the purpose of strengthening the cask." Rabha said: "If it was at the bottom, it was also only for the purpose of preserving the aroma; and only if the hole was stopped up right underneath the lees of the wine, it was for the purpose of strengthening the cask."

Rabh prohibits the inserting of a faucet into a cask, and Samuel permits it. All agree, that cutting a hole in the cask for the purpose Of inserting a faucet is prohibited, and that replacing the faucet, if once removed, is permitted. They differ, however, only when a hole had already been made in the cask before the Sabbath, but it was not quite fit for the faucet. Those who say, that it is prohibited, do so as a precaution lest one cut a fresh hole, while those that permit this to be done say no precautionary measure is necessary.

This is like the following difference between Tanaim: We have learned that a screw must not be fitted on a festival, much less on a Sabbath; but if it fall out it may be replaced on Sabbath, and so much more on a festival; and R. Yashia makes the ordinance more lenient. What does R. Yashia make more lenient? Shall we assume, that he refers to the first part and permits a screw to be cut? In that event, he would be improving a vessel, and that is certainly not allowed! Shall we assume, on the other hand, that he refers to the second part; the first Tana alone permits this? We must say, therefore, that the screw was already cut, but did not quite fit, and he permits the fitting of it. (Hence the same difference exists here as between the previous Tanaim.) R. Shesheth the son of R. Idi in the name of R. Johanan said: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Yashia."

"But if it was already perforated," etc. To fill it up with oil is, according to Rabh, prohibited, as a precaution lest he fill it with wax; and according to Samuel it is permitted, as the latter does not deem a precautionary measure necessary. Said R. Samuel bar bar Hana to R. Joseph: "Thou hast said distinctly in the name of Rabh, that oil is permitted." Answered R. Joseph: "Thou hast caught me in a trap." 1

Said Samuel: "The leaf of myrtle must not be put in the bunghole of a cask, so that the wine flow over it." Why so? R. Yimar of Diphti said: "As a precaution lest a groove (channel) be made." R. Ashi said: "As a precaution lest the leaf be broken off (from its stem)." What difference is there? The difference is in the case of a leaf that had already been broken off (from its stem). (The precautionary measure of R. Yimar remains, while that of R. Ashi falls to the ground of itself.)

Is it permitted to wrap one's self in a bolster in public ground and bring it into private ground? Rabh prohibits this and Samuel permits it. If the bolster were soft and could be folded, they do not differ, all agreeing that it is permitted. If it were hard and could not be folded, all agree that it is prohibited. They differ only concerning a bolster that was neither soft nor hard, but a medium between the two. One says, that it appears like a burden and should not be carried, while the other holds that it is not a burden and may be carried; and the opinion just ascribed to Rabh was not stated

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by him expressly, but was merely inferred from the following incident: "Rabh came to a certain place and found that he lacked room; so he went out into a lane (unclaimed ground), and when a bolster was brought to him he would not sit down on it. Those who saw this inferred therefore that he did not hold it to be permissible." As a matter of fact, this was not so. Rabh had it proclaimed that a bolster was allowed to be used, but in honour of the masters who were with him he would not sit down on that bolster. Who were those masters? R. Kahana and R. Assi.

MISHNA: One may put cooked victuals into a cave (or cellar) for the purpose of preserving them; also put clean water (contained in a vessel) into water that is not drinkable, in order to keep it (the former) cool; likewise cold water (in a vessel) into hot water, in order to warm the former. One whose clothes have dropped into the water while on the road, may unhesitatingly go on with them. As soon as he arrives at the outmost court (of the city or village), he may spread his clothes in the sun to dry, but he must not do this publicly.

GEMARA: Is this not self-evident? One might say, that there should be a precaution against grading (smoothening) any incavations that might be in the cave; hence we are told that such is not the case.

"Clean water into water that is not drinkable," etc. Is this not self-evident? Yea; but this is taught on account of the later clause in the Mishna, i.e., putting cold water into hot. Is this also not self-evident? One might say, that this should be prohibited, as a precaution lest one also put a vessel containing cold water into glowing cinders to warm; so we are told, that such a precaution is not necessary.

"One whose clothes have dropped into the water," etc. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: "All things which were forbidden on account of causing suspicion among the people (that one is committing a wrongful act) should not be done, not only publicly, but even in the innermost recesses of one's rooms." Is this not contradictory to our Mishna, which says, that one may spread his clothes in the sun, but not publicly? This is a difference between Tanaim, for in reference to this Mishna we have learned in a Boraitha, that both R. Eliezer and R. Simeon hold, that it is prohibited even when not done publicly.

Said R. Huna: "He who dusts his clothes on a Sabbath is liable for a sin-offering. This refers only, however, to a new garment, but not to an old one, and the new garment only when it is black; but garments of other colours may be dusted. Referring to a black garment, it is only then prohibited to be dusted if its possessor is particular about it (to such a degree, that he never puts it on without dusting it)."

Ula once came to Pumbaditha and he saw the rabbis dusting their clothes on a Sabbath, so he said: "The rabbis are violating, the Sabbath!" So R. Jehudah said to his disciples: "Dust your clothes right before his eyes: we are not particular."

Abayi stood before R. Joseph. R. Joseph said to him: "Give me my hat." And seeing that the hat was very dusty, Abayi hesitated to give it to him. So R. Joseph said: "Take hold of it and dust it: we are not particular."

We have learned in a Boraitha: Those who deal in clothes, and carry them folded on their shoulders on Sabbath, are liable for a sin-offering: this refers not only to clothes-dealers, but also to others; clothes-dealers, however, are mentioned, because that is their usual custom. The same is the case with a merchant who carries out a bag of money. He is liable for a sin-offering; and not only a merchant, but also others; but merchants are mentioned because it is their wont to carry money in that manner.

Said R. Jehudah: "It once happened that Hyrcanos the son of R. Eliezer ben Hyrcanos went out on Sabbath with a kerchief folded on his shoulder and tied to one of his fingers with a piece of twine (in order that it might not fall down); and when the sages heard this, they said that the twine was unnecessary, for he could have carried the kerchief without it."

It happened that Ula came to the house of Assi bar Him, and he was asked whether it was allowed to make a groove of the clothes on Sabbath. (The Babylonians wore long garments, and by turning them up at the bottom a quasi-groove was made.) Ula answered: "So said R. Ilai: It is prohibited to make a groove on Sabbath." What is a groove? Said R. Zera: "A groove made of the clothes of the Babylonians." Said R. Papa: "Bear this rule in mind: If the clothes are turned up for the purpose of preventing their becoming soiled, it is prohibited; but if they are turned up to improve their appearance, it is allowed, as R. Shesha the son of R. Idi would always arrange his cloak (toga) tastefully (on a week-day, hence it is customary and may also be done on Sabbath)."

When R. Dimi came from Palestine, he related: It once happened that Rabbi went out into the field, and both ends of his toga hung on his shoulders. Said Jehoshua the son of Ziruz, the son of R. Meir's father-in-law before Rabbi: "Did not R. Meir say, that in a case of this kind one is liable for a sin-offering?" Said Rabbi: "Was R. Meir so particular, that he determined just how far down the ends of one's toga should reach?" Still he (Rabbi) let down his toga; and when Rabbin came from Palestine he said, that it was not Jehoshua ben Ziruz who made that remark, but Jehoshua ben Bepusai the son-in-law of R. Aqiba; and not that R. Meir said what has just been cited, but that R. Aqiba had said that. Also, that Rabbi had inquired whether R. Aqiba was so particular; and lastly, that Rabbi let down his toga. When R. Samuel ben R. Jehudah came from Palestine he said, that Rabbi was only asked concerning such a case (but not that he himself was the party referred to).

MISHNA: One who bathes in the water of a cavern or in the hot springs of Tiberias, though he wipe himself with ten towels, must not carry them off in his hand; but if ten persons wiped themselves, their faces, their hands, and their feet, with one towel, they might carry it off in their hands.

One may anoint and rub the stomach with the bands, but not so as to cause fatigue. One must not brush the body with a flesh-brush or descend into a kurdima. 1 One must not take an emetic, or stretch the limbs of an infant, or put back a rupture; one who has strained his hand or foot must not pour cold water on it, but he may wash it in the usual way: if he thereby becomes cured, it is Well.

GEMARA: The Mishna teaches, "the water of a cavern," in connection with the hot springs of Tiberias; hence it must be, that the water of a cavern is also hot. And again it says, "one who bathes," and not "one may bathe," from which we see, that to commence with, bathing in those waters is not allowed; but merely to rinse one's self is permitted, even to commence with. This is according to the opinion of R. Simeon.

"Though he wipe himself with ten towels," etc. The first part of this clause in the Mishna imparts something new and unexpected in that it teaches, that, although if one man wipe himself with ten towels, there will be very little water contained in the towels, still he might through thoughtlessness wring them; and the latter part of the clause also imparts something new and unexpected, stating, as it does, that if ten men wipe themselves with one towel, although the towel will contain a great deal of water, they will mutually remind each other that it must not be wrung.

The rabbis taught: "A man may wipe himself with a towel and leave it at the window of a house that is nearest to the wall of the bathhouse; but he must not give it to the bathhouse employees, because they are suspected of wringing it on the Sabbath." R. Simeon, however, says: "A man may wipe himself with one towel and carry it in his hand to his house." Said Abayi to R. Joseph: "How is the law?" and he answered: "Did not R. Hyya bar Aba in the name of R. Johanan say, that the law prevails according to R. Simeon?" Did R. Johanan say this indeed? Did he not say elsewhere, that the Halakha prevails according to the anonymous teachers in the Mishna, and the Mishna teaches, that even if one man wiped himself with ten towels he must not carry them off in his hand? R. Johanan teaches, that the Mishna concludes with, "So said the son of Hakhinai." (hence it is the teaching of one individual).

R. Hyya bar Aba in the name of R. Johanan said: "The bathhouse employees may carry the sheets with which the women wipe themselves in the bathhouse on the street by wrapping them around their bodies; provided they wrap them over their heads and the greater part of their body."

R. Hyya bar Aba said in the name of R. Johanan: "A large veil which is worn by women should have the two ends that hang down in the back tied." And he said again, that they should be tied underneath the shoulders.

Rabha said to the inhabitants of Mehuzza: "If ye must carry clothes for the military on Sabbath, wrap them around you underneath the shoulders."

"One may anoint and rub his stomach." The rabbis taught: The stomach may be rubbed and anointed on the Sabbath, provided it is not done the same as on week-days." How should it be done? R. Hama bar Hanina said: "He should first anoint it and then rub it"; but R. Johanan said, that he might do both at the same time.

"But so as not to cause fatigue," etc. Said R. Hyya bar Aba in the name of R. Johanan: "It is not allowed to stand on the bed of Lake Deumseth, because the loam at the bottom is saline and immersion in the lake causes fatigue." Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: "The days on which a cure in that lake (for bodily ills) may be effected are only twenty-one, and Pentecost occurs during those twenty-one days." The school-men asked: "Does Pentecost fall at the beginning of the twenty-one days or at the end?" Come and hear: Samuel said, that all waters taken for a cure are effective only from Passover to Pentecost. As for waters taken internally, Samuel may be right (because during cool weather one takes more exercise and thus the waters are effective), but for bathing it would seem that Pentecost should be the commencement.

Said R. Helbo: "The wine of the land of Purgaitha and the waters of the lake Deumseth robbed Israel of ten tribes (because indulgence in these pleasures are detrimental to spiritual welfare)." R. Elazar ben Aroch happened to be there, and indulged in those luxuries to such an extent that he forgot his learning, and afterwards the sages had to pray for his return unto the Law. This is as we have learned elsewhere (Aboth): R. Nehurai said: "Go into exile only in a place of learning and think not that the Law will follow thee, or that thy comrades will preserve it in thy hands, and do not depend upon thy acquired knowledge." This R. Nehurai is, according to some, the same Elazar ben Aroch, and he was called Nehurai, because this signifies (in Hebrew) "light of the eyes"; for he enlightened the eyes of many scholars with his interpretations.

"One must not brush the body," etc. The rabbis taught: One must not brush the body with a flesh-brush on Sabbath. R. Simeon ben Gamaliel said: "If one's feet were soiled, he might brush them the same as on week-days unhesitatingly." The mother of Samuel the son of Jehudah made her son a silver brush.

"Or descend into a kurdima." Why so? Because the bottom of a kurdima is slippery (and one might fall and wet his clothes, and thus be tempted to wring them).

"One must not take an emetic." Said Rabba bar bar Hana in the name of R. Johanan: "One must not take a medicament as an emetic, but may thrust his finger down his throat and thus cause vomiting."

"Or stretch the limbs of an infant." Said Rabba bar bar Hana in the name of R. Johanan: "To swathe a child on Sabbath is allowed."

"Or put back a rupture." Said R. Hana of Bagdad in the name of Samuel: "The Halakha prevails, that it may be done." (Samuel learns in the Mishna, instead of "it is not allowed," "it is allowed.")

Rabba bar bar Hana once came to Pumbaditha, but did not go into the college of R. Jehudah. So R. Jehudah sent for Ada, the officer of the college, and said to him: "Go and take a pledge of Rabba bar bar Hana." The officer went and did so. Afterwards Rabba bar bar Hana came to the college. When he came he heard R. Jehudah teach, that a rupture must not be put back on the Sabbath. Said he to him: "So said R. Hana of Bagdad in the name of Samuel, that the Halakha prevails permitting this to be done." Answered R. Jehudah: "It is our Hana and our Samuel. Yet we never heard of this before. Now thou canst see that I was right in demanding a pledge for thy appearance. Hadst thou not come, we would never have heard this."

"One who has strained his hand or foot," etc. R. Ivia sat in the presence of R. Joseph, and he dislocated his hand. Said he to R. Joseph, making a motion to replace it: "May I replace it thus?" "Nay," said R. Joseph. "And thus may I?" asked R. Ivia, making another motion. "Nay," was the answer again. Thus questioning, he finally succeeded in replacing his hand. Said R. Joseph to him: "What didst thou ask me for? It is expressly stated in our Mishna, that if one strained his hand or his foot, he must not pour cold water on it, but he may bathe it in the usual way. If he thereby becomes cured, it is well."

"Did we not learn in the same Mishna that a rupture must not be put back, and still Samuel permitted it to be done?" asked R. Ivia. Answered R. Joseph: "Canst thou weave everything into one garment? What we have learned, we may follow; but what we have not learned, we cannot."

CHAPTER 23.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING BORROWING, CASTING LOTS, WAITING FOR THE CLOSE OF THE SABBATH, AND ATTENDING TO A CORPSE.

MISHNA: A man may borrow of an acquaintance jugs of wine or oil (on Sabbath), provided he does not say to him: "Lend (them to) me." A woman may also borrow bread from her acquaintance. If the man is refused (by his acquaintance), he may leave his upper garment (as a pledge) with the lender, and settle his account after Sabbath. Thus, also, in Jerusalem, the custom was, if the eve of Passover fell on a Sabbath, a man might leave his upper garment with the vender, take his paschal lamb, and settle his account after the holiday.

GEMARA: Rabha bar R. Hanan said to Abayi: "What is the difference between saying: 'I want to borrow' and 'Lend me'?" Answered Abayi: "The difference is, if a man says, 'I want to borrow,' he usually returns what he has borrowed and the lender will not be compelled to write it down; but if he says, 'Lend (trust) me,' the lender generally writes down what he has lent." Said Rabba again: "During the week it makes no difference, the lender is not particular whether one says, 'I want to borrow,' or 'Lend me.' He writes it down just the same-, then why should a distinction be made on Sabbath?" And Abayi answered: "The saying of 'I want to borrow,' on Sabbath, is a reminder to the lender that the sages said, that one must not say 'lend me,' and thus prevents him from writing it down."

The same said again to Abayi: "Let us see! The sages said, that everything done on a festival which can be done in a different manner from that on a week-day should so be done. Now, why do we not see women, who go for water with jugs, perform that work differently from their manner on a week-day?" He answered: "Because that would be impossible! For how should they do? Shall we say, that one who carries a large jug should carry a small one? That would necessitate her going twice. Or that one who carries a small jug should carry a larger one? Then she would have a heavier burden to carry. Should she cover it with a cloth? Then she might wring it.

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Should she cover it with a lid? Then she might have to untie it. Hence it is impossible." 1

"A woman may also borrow bread from an acquaintance," etc. From the Mishna we see, that only on Sabbath a woman must not say, "Lend me," when borrowing bread, and on weekdays that would be permitted. Would this not be against the decree of Hillel, who prohibits this on account of possible usury (as explained in Tract Baba Metzia)? Nay; we can say that the Mishna is in accordance with Hillel's decree, but here it refers to such places where bread has a fixed value, while Hillel refers to places where bread has not a fixed value.

"If the man be refused," etc. It was taught: "A loan on a festival is, according to R. Joseph, uncollectable by law, and Rabba say it is collectable." R. Joseph says, that it is uncollectable, because otherwise the lender will write it down; and Rabba says, if we say that it is uncollectable, the lender will not trust the borrower and the latter will not have the means of celebrating the festival. Is this not a contradiction to our Mishna, which teaches, that if the man be refused trust, he may pledge his garment, etc.? If the loan be uncollectable, the pledging is quite right; but if it be collectable by law, why should the borrower pledge his garment? The lender can sue him by law? The lender might say, that he does not care to be troubled by lawsuits and judges. R. Ivia would take pledges, and Rabba bar Ula would trick the borrower (by in turn borrowing something from him after the holiday and holding that for a pledge).

MISHNA: A man may count the number of his guests and also of his extra dishes verbally, but not from a written list. He may let his children and household draw lots at table (as to who is to have one dish, and who is to have another), provided he does not intentionally stake a larger portion against a smaller one. They may also draw lots for the holy sacrifices on a festival (as to which priest is to have one sacrifice and which is to have another), but not for the eatable portions of the sacrifices (to whom one piece belongs, and to whom another piece belongs).

GEMARA: Why should a man not read from a written list Said R. Bibhi: "Lest he might strike out a guest's name or an extra dish from the list." Abayi said: "This is a precautionary measure against reading of business papers on Sabbath." What is the point of difference between them? If the list is engraved on the wall! In that case there is no fear of striking out a name, but the precaution against reading business papers still remains, and the Amoraim differ in this case with the Tanaim in the following Tosephta, as we have learned: "A man must not look into a mirror on Sabbath (lest he trim his hair with scissors), but R. Meir permits looking into a mirror which is attached to a wall." Now, why may a man look into a stationary mirror; because by the time he goes to fetch scissors, he will be reminded that it is Sabbath? Why not say, that the same is the case with another mirror, which he holds in his hand? By the time he lays down the mirror and goes for scissors, he will also be reminded that it is Sabbath? The mirror prohibited to be used by the first Tana of the Tosephta is one that is attached to an instrument which can be used to trim hair, and that is in accordance with the dictum of R. Na'hman as stated by Rabba bar Abuha in his name: "Why did the sages prohibit the use of an iron mirror? Because a man might use it to trim his superfluous hair."

The rabbis taught: An inscription at the foot of pictures of beasts or men must not be read on. the Sabbath; and gazing, on the picture of a man is prohibited even on week-days, because it is written [Leviticus xix. 4]: "Ye shall not turn unto the idols." With what tradition do you supplement this verse, that you may infer therefrom the prohibition to gaze at a picture? Said R. Hanin: "Ye shall not turn to the idols which your imagination alone hath created."

"He may let his children and household draw lots," etc. It says, "his children and household": we must assume, that strangers are not to be included; if not, why not? As R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel: A party of men eating on a festival, where the portions distributed to each are exactly alike in size and quantity, are guilty of the following prohibited acts; viz.: measuring, weighing, counting, borrowing and lending 1 (all of which acts are prohibited on a festival). According to Hillel's opinion, they are guilty of usury also. If that is so, why should it be allowed for his children and household? Here the reason is as related by R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh, who said: "It is allowed to borrow or lend from and to one's children and household and charge interest, in order to exemplify the evils of usury." If that is so, why is it not allowed, according to the Mishna, to stake a larger portion against a smaller? As a matter of fact, it is allowed; but the Mishna is defective and should read: "He may let his children and household draw lots at table, and even stake a larger portion against a smaller." Why so? As R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh above: He may let his children and household draw lots, but not strangers. Why so? As R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel above: A larger portion must not be staked against a smaller one even on week-days for strangers. Why so? On account of Kubeia. 1

"They may also draw lots for the holy sacrifices," etc. What is meant by "but not for the eatable portions"? (Why should that not be done? The eatable portions of the sacrifices must be eaten on a festival.) Said R. Jacob the son of the daughter of Jacob: "That prohibition is only applicable to the eatable portions of the sacrifices left over from the preceding day. Is this not self-evident? I would say, that because it is written [Hosea iv. 4]: 'And thy people are contentious equally with the priests,' that the priests are contentious, and hence they should be permitted to cast lots for the eatable portions of the sacrifices (for the sake of peace); therefore we are taught, that the sacrifices of the day may be drawn for, but not those of the preceding day."

The same R. Jacob said: "A man on whose account another man has been punished, either through divine or human judgement, is not admitted into the abode of the Holy One, blessed be He." Whence is this adduced? Shall we assume that it is -from the verses [I Kings xxii. 20-22]: "And the Lord said, Who will persuade Achab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-gil'ad? And one said, In this manner, and another said, In that manner. And there came forth a spirit, and placed himself before the Lord and said, I will persuade him. And the Lord said unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And He said, Thou wilt persuade him, and also prevail: go forth and do so." And it was asked who the spirit was, and R. Johanan said, it was the spirit of Naboth; and Rabh said that by saying, "Go forth," the Lord meant to expel the spirit from within His abode. Perhaps the reason for expelling the spirit was because it is written [Psalms ci. 7]: "He that speaketh falsehoods shall not succeed before my eyes." Therefore we must say that the basis for R. Jacob is the following. It is written [Proverbs xvii. 26]: "To punish the just with a fine even is not good." (This is explained to signify, that even punishment through a just man is not good.) What is not good is certainly evil, and it is written [Psalms v. 5]: "For thou art not a God that hath pleasure in wickedness: evil cannot abide with thee"; and this means, that "because Thou, God, art righteous, evil cannot remain in Thy abode."

"They may draw lots," etc. How do we know that the word "Choloshim" 1 means lots? It is written [Isaiah xiv. 12]: "How art thou fallen from heaven, O morning-star, son of the dawn! how art thou hewn down to the ground, crusher of nations!" ("Crusher" is expressed by the word "Cholesh," and the inference is made from the supposition that lots were cast which nation was to be crushed first.)

It is written [Daniel 4:33]: "And additional greatness was added unto me." What was that additional greatness? Said R. Jehudah in the name of R. Jeremiah bar Aba: "From this we can infer, that he (Nebuchadnezzar) rode a male lion and twisted a snake round the lion's head, to verify what is written [Jeremiah xxvii. 6]: 'And also the beasts of the field have I given him to serve him.'

MISHNA: One must not hire labourers on the Sabbath, nor may he commission another man to hire them for him. One must not stand at the extreme limit of the "techoom" 2 and wait for dusk (the end of Sabbath), in order to hire labourers (beyond the techoom), or gather fruit beyond it; but if watching fruit beyond the techoom, he may await the dusk at its extreme limit, and in that case bring the fruit back with him. Abba Saul laid down the rule: "Whatever I am permitted to prepare for the day following the Sabbath, on the Sabbath, I may get ready for at dusk."

GEMARA: What is the difference between a man and his neighbour? The Mishna teaches he should not hire labourers on Sabbath nor commission another man to hire them for him? Is this not self-evident? His neighbour is also a Jew. Said R. Papa: "That refers to a Gentile neighbour." R. Ashi opposed this, and said: "The prohibition to commission a Gentile to do something on a Sabbath is merely rabbinical, for the sake of the Sabbath rest (Shbhuth), 1 and to hire labourers on the Sabbath is also prohibited only by rabbinical law. How then can one rabbinical law be supplemented by another of the same character? Hence I may say, that the Mishna refers to a Jewish neighbour and should be explained thus: A man must not commission him to hire labourers on Sabbath, but he may say to him, 'Come to me after dusk and we will do something together.' The Mishna is in accordance with the opinion of R. Jehoshua ben Kar'ha, as we have learned elsewhere: A man must not say to his neighbour, 'I would like to see thee after dusk for the purpose of talking business,' and R. Jehoshua ben Kar'ha says he may do so, and Rabba bar bar Hana in the name of R. Johanan taught, that the Halakha prevails according to R. Jeshoshua ben Kar'ha."

Rabba bar bar Hana in the name of R. Johanan said again: "What reason did R. Jehoshua ben Kar'ha have for saying so? Because it is written [Isaiah lviii. 13]: 'By not following thy own business, and speaking vain words.' It is not allowed to speak, but surely thinking is permitted!"

R. A'ha bar R. Huna asked Rabha concerning the following contradiction: "How can we say, R. Johanan states, that though it is not allowed to speak it is allowed to think; did not Rabba bar bar Hana say in the name of R. Johanan, that everywhere it is allowed to think, excepting in a bathhouse and a toilet-room, for where it is not allowed to speak of the Law it is also not allowed to think of it?" "In that case it is different, for it is written [Deuteronomy xxiii. 15]: 'Therefore shall thy camp be holy,' and a bathhouse and a toilet-room cannot be holy; hence thinking of the Law in those places is not allowed." Speaking of other things except the Law is not permitted (on Sabbath). Did not R. Hisda and R. Hamnuna both say, that it is allowed to count up charitable disbursements on Sabbath; and R. Elazar say, that one may figure out amounts to be distributed among the poor (on Sabbath); and R. Jacob bar Idi say in the name of R. Johanan, that all things pertaining to the saving of human beings or the affairs of the community maybe discussed on Sabbath, and that it is allowed to go to the schoolhouses and call meetings for deliberation upon the community's business; and R. Samuel bar Nahmeni say in the name of R. Johanan, that even halls may be visited for the purpose of calling business meetings together; and the disciples of Menasseh say, that betrothal of daughters may be discussed and the advisability of choosing a profession for a child may be deliberated upon, on the Sabbath? The passage cited in the Law states, that "following thy business" is prohibited, but affairs sanctioned by Heaven may be discussed (and all the above affairs are pleasing to the Lord).

R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel: "Accounts concerning which advice is requested by others and which have no bearing upon one's own business may be figured on the Sabbath." The following Boraitha is cited in support of this: "Accounts of disbursements in the past and of future expenditures must not be calculated on the Sabbath; but such as are of no importance, and concerning which advice was asked, may be calculated. Is the following Boraitha not contradictory to the one cited? Accounts which are of no importance at all may be calculated on Sabbath, but not such as are of importance." How so? A man may say to his neighbour, "I have hired so much labour to cultivate a certain field," or "I have expended so many Dinars on such a dwelling," but be must not say, "I have expended so much and must expend so much more." (The contradiction arises from the fact that in the previous Boraitha it is prohibited to calculate disbursements made in the past, while in the last Boraitha it is permitted.) But according to your opinion, why not cite the contradiction occurring in the previous Boraitha itself; viz.: Firstly, it is said that disbursements of the past must not be calculated, and then, that accounts of no value may be figured? This presents no contradiction at all (neither in the previous Boraitha itself, nor from one to the other). If the disbursements of the past have already been made and nothing is owing, then the accounts of same are of no value and may be spoken of on the Sabbath; but if any amount of such expenditures is still due, then it becomes an important account and must not be discussed.

"One must not stand at the extreme limit of the 'techoom,'" etc. The rabbis taught: It once happened that the fence of the field belonging to a pious man was broken, and noticing it on a Sabbath, he was about to mend it, when he recollected that it was Sabbath; so he left it. A miracle occurred, and kaffir-corn began to sprout in the place of the broken fence and furnished him and his family with their sustenance. R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel: "A man may say to his neighbour, 'Tomorrow I intend to go to a certain town.' Why may he say this? Because, if there are huts on the road to that town at distances of seventy ells apart, he may even go on Sabbath; hence, though there be no huts on the road, he may say that he intends going on the morrow."

An objection was made, based upon our Mishna; viz.: "One must not stand at the extreme limit of the techoom and wait for dusk in order to hire labourers or gather fruit." It would be quite right, if the hiring of labourers only was concerned; for a thing which must not be done on Sabbath must not be waited for at the techoom; but as for gathering fruit, if there were walls around the town, that would be permitted? Why, then, should it be prohibited to wait at the techoom until dusk? This may refer to fruit which was still attached to the ground (and could not be gathered on Sabbath even if the town had walls). How can this be said? Have we not learned that R. Oshea taught: "One must not wait at the techoom to bring straw and chaff." It would be correct concerning straw which is still attached to the ground; but how can this apply to chaff? This may refer to chaff which is used to mix with loam, and hence was designated for building purposes.

Another objection was made! Come and hear: We have learned in the succeeding Mishna, that nightfall may be awaited at the techoom in the case of a bride and corpse; hence for other purposes one must not await nightfall at the techoom. It would be quite right if it said, in the case of things pertaining to a bride, for instance to cut off a myrtle-branch; but what things can be done pertaining to a corpse? Only the bringing of the coffin and the shroud? Why, then, should a man not be allowed to bring things which are the equivalent of the necessaries pertaining to a corpse? for if there were walls surrounding the town, he would be allowed to bring them. Why, then, should he not be permitted to wait at the techoom for the purpose of bringing them? Because the case may be, that things (as shrouds) pertaining to the corpse were not already prepared, but must be cut.

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"But if watching fruit beyond the techoom, he may await the dusk," etc. May he do this even if he had not yet recited the Habhdalah prayer? Why! R. Elazar ben Antignous said in the name of R. Elazar ben Jacob, that a man must not transact his business at the close of Sabbath, before reciting the Habhdalah prayer. And if it be that he said the Habhdalah prayer while reciting the evening prayer, did not R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel say, that even if a man included the Habhdalah prayer in the evening prayer, he must say it again over the goblet of wine? Should it then be said, that he said the prayer over the goblet also; how could he have done that in a field? This case refers to the time of wine-pressing (when it is possible to obtain a goblet of wine even in the field); such is the explanation of R. Nathan bar Ami to Rabh. Said R. Aba to R. Ashi: "In the West (Palestine) we simply say the benediction, 'Blessed be he, etc., who distinguishes between holy and ordinary days,' and go right to work." And R. Ashi said: "When we were in the house of R. Kahana, he would pronounce the same benediction, and we would go and chop wood."

"Abba Saul laid down the rule," etc. Concerning what clause of the Mishna does Abba Saul lay down this rule? Shall we assume that he refers to the first clause of the Mishna, which decrees, that one must not stand at the extreme limit of the techoom and wait for dusk, and thus applies his rule? Then, instead of saying, "Whatever I am permitted to prepare," etc., he should have said in the negative, "Whatever I am not permitted to say to another man he should do for me, I must not wait at the techoom to do myself." If we assume, however, that the rule refers to the latter clause of the Mishna, namely, "but if watching fruit, he may await the dusk," etc., then Abba should have applied his rule to the contrary; viz.: "Whatever I am permitted to wait for at the techoom, I may tell another man to do for me." Abba Saul applies his rule to the latter clause of the Mishna, and he refers to the following dictum of R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel, viz.: "A man may say, to his neighbour: 'Watch my fruit which is in your vicinity, and I will watch such of yours as is in my vicinity.'" This is commented upon by Abba Saul, addressing the first Tana as follows: "You certainly admit that a man may say to his neighbour, 'Watch my fruit in thy vicinity and I will watch thine in my vicinity.' Now, say, 'Whatever I am permitted to tell my neighbour to do, I am also permitted to wait for at the techoom to do it myself.'" What does Abba Saul intend to supplement by laying down a rule? He means to add what was taught by the rabbis, as follows:

One must not wait at the techoom to bring home a stray animal; but if it is seen from the limits of the techoom, it may be called, so that it will come to within the techoom by itself. To this Abba Saul applied the rule, that if one may call to the animal, he may also wait at the techoom limits until dusk and bring it in himself. A man may also wait at the techoom limits to forward what is necessary for a bride; and also what is necessary for a corpse, to bring a coffin and shrouds for him; and we may say to him: "Go to a certain place and take it; and if thou dost not find it in that place, go to another place; and if thou canst not buy it for one hundred Zuz buy it for two hundred." R. Jose the son of R. Jehudah said: "One must not specify the amount the necessaries are to be bought for, but merely say, 'If thou canst not get it for little money, get it for more.'"

MISHNA: One may await the dusk at the limits of the techoom, to furnish what is necessary for a bride and for a corpse, and to bring a coffin and shrouds for the latter. If a Gentile brought mourning fifes on the Sabbath, an Israelite must not play (mourn) on them, unless they be brought from the vicinity. If a coffin had been made and a grave dug for him (on the Sabbath), an Israelite may be buried therein; but if it was done on purpose for an Israelite, he must not at any time be buried therein.

GEMARA: What does the Mishna mean by saying, "unless they be brought from the vicinity"? Rabh said: "By that is meant a place within sight, where one is positive that it was within the limits of the techoom." Samuel said: "Even if it is not positively known that they came from within the limits of the techoom, but where it is presumed that such is the case, the fifes may be used." Our Mishna seems to be in accord with Samuel's explanation, because it says in the next clause, "If a coffin had been made and a grave dug for him, an Israelite may be buried therein," and it does not say positively that the two things were done for a Gentile; hence we see, that where an object is doubtful, we may presume that it is allowed. Thus in the case of the fifes, if there is a doubt as to whence they were brought, they may nevertheless be used by an Israelite. We have learned in a Boraitha, however, a support to Rabh's opinion; viz.: A city which contains both Israelites and Gentiles, and there is a bathhouse there which is heated on the Sabbath, if the majority of the inhabitants are Gentiles an Israelite may go there immediately after sunset on the Sabbath. If there are more Israelites than Gentiles there, the Israelite must wait the length of time required to heat water afresh before going to the bathhouse; and the same is the case in a city where there is an equal number of Jews and Gentiles. (This is a support to Rabh, because, though it is doubtful whether the bath was heated for a Jew or a Gentile, still, the Israelite must wait.) R. Jehudah. said: "If the capacity of the bath be limited (so that water be heated quickly) and a notable man be present, the Israelite need not wait." What is meant by a notable man? Said R. Jehudah in the name of R. Itz'hak the son of R. Jehudah: "If there was a man present who had ten servants, who could heat ten jars of water at the same time, an Israelite might go and bathe himself." 1

"If a coffin had been made and a grave dug for him," etc. Why should we not wait until the length of time in which a new grave can be dug elapses? Said Ula: "This refers to a paved way, where a grave is seldom dug for an Israelite (hence it must have been dug for a Gentile)." What can be said in reference to the coffin? Said R. Abuha: "If the coffin lie on the same grave."

MISHNA: One may do all that is necessary for a corpse (on Sabbath), anoint and wash it, provided he does not dislocate its limbs. The pillow may be moved from under its head; the corpse may be put on sand, in order to keep it (from putrefying) the longer; its jaws may be tied, not for the sake of bringing them together more closely, but to prevent them from dropping lower. In like manner, a beam that had been broken may be upheld by a stool or bedstead, not in order to make it erect again, but to keep it from breaking still more.

GEMARA: Did not R. Jehudah. in the name of Samuel say, that it once happened that a disciple of R. Meir, while entering behind his master into the bathhouse, wished to rinse off a place for his master to sit down, and his master would not permit it; so he wanted to grease the steps with oil, but the master said that the floor must not be oiled? Hence we see, that a thing which must not be handled must not be anointed or washed. How then is it permitted to wash and anoint a corpse? If the floor of a bathhouse be allowed to be washed, there is fear lest another floor will be washed also (and thus smoothen any holes which may be in the floor); but a corpse and a floor cannot be confounded, and it is allowed to wash and anoint a corpse out of respect to the dead.

What is meant to be supplemented by "all that is necessary for a corpse"? They meant to add what was taught by the rabbis; viz.: One may bring vessels for cooling the corpse, or iron vessels may be put on the belly of the corpse to keep it from swelling, and one may stop up any holes in the corpse to keep the air from entering."

MISHNA: One must not close the eyes of the dead on the Sabbath, nor (even) on the week-day, while he is expiring. Whoever closes the eyes of a dying person the instant he expires, is equal to the man who sheds blood ('like a murderer).

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: Who closes the eyes of a dying man is like a murderer, for it is the same as a candle which is about to go out. If a man lays a finger on the flame, it immediately becomes extinguished, but if left alone would still burn for a little time. The same can be applied to the case of an expiring man; if his eyes were not closed, he would live a little longer, and hence it is like murder.

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Simeon ben Gamaliel said: "One who wishes that the eyes of a corpse should close, should inject wine into the nostrils of the corpse and anoint the eyelids with a little oil, and then pull the big toes of the feet, when the eyelids will close of themselves."

We have learned in another Boraitha: "One should violate the Sabbath even for a child of one day, if it still have life; but for a corpse, even be it that of David, King of Israel, the Sabbath must not be violated." The reason for this is: For a child of even one day, the Sabbath should be violated, saith the Thorah, in order that it may keep many Sabbaths in the future; but David, King of Israel, when dead, can keep no more commandments. This is in accord with the saying of R. Johanan; viz. It is written [Psalms lxxxviii. 6]: "Free among the dead," etc. which means, that when a man is dead, he is free from keeping any commandments.

We have also learned in a Boraitha: R. Simeon ben Elazar said: A child of a day need not be guarded from the attacks of cats and dogs, but even when Og the King of Bashan is dead he must be guarded, as it is written [Genesis ix. 2]: "And the fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth," etc. Hence, as long as a man lives, the beasts are in dread of him; but as soon as he is dead, the fear is destroyed.

We have learned in another Boraitha: R. Simeon ben Elazar said: As long as thou canst, practise charity: as long as thou hast the opportunity and as long as it is in thy hands. For Solomon said in his wisdom [Ecclesiastes 12:1]: "But remember also thy Creator in the days of thy youthful vigor, while the evil days (meaning old age) are not yet come, nor those years draw nigh of which thou wilt say, I have no pleasure in them." By that is meant, the days of the Messiah, because at that time there will be neither rich nor poor: all will be rich (and no opportunity for charity will present itself). This differs with the teaching of Samuel, who says, that there is no difference between the present time and the days of Messiah, only that one is subject to the government at the present time, while then it will not be so, as it is written [Deut. 15:11]: "For the needy will not cease out of the land."

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Elazar Hakappar said: A man should always pray for deliverance from poverty, although if he himself will not eventually come to poverty, his children or his grandchildren will, as it is written [Deut. 15:11]: "For the needy will not cease out of the land, therefore do I command thee," etc. (The Hebrew term for "therefore" is "Biglal," and the school of Ishmael taught that Biglal is the equivalent of Galgal, meaning a "wheel," thus inferring, from that word, that poverty is like a wheel, always turning from one to the other.)

R. Joseph said: "There is a tradition extant, that a diligent young scholar will never become poor." But we see that he sometimes does become poor? Still, we have never seen one so poor that he had to beg his bread from house to house.

Said R. Hyya to his wife: "If thou seest a man about to beg bread from thee, hasten to give it to him, that he might at some other time do likewise for thy children." Said she to him: "Art thou cursing thy children?" "Nay; I am simply quoting the verse above, as interpreted by the school of Ishmael, that poverty is a wheel continually turning."

We have learned in a Boraitha: Rabbon Gamaliel the Great said thus: "It is written [Deut. xvii. 18]: "And grant thee mercy and have mercy upon thee, and multiply thee," etc. This means to say, that one who hath mercy upon creatures will be granted mercy from above, but one who hath not mercy upon other creatures will not be granted mercy from above.

It is written [Ecclesiastes 12:2]: "While the sun, and the light, and the moon, and the stars are not yet darkened." The sun and the light are compared to the brow and the nose, the moon to the soul, the stars to the cheeks; and further, the verse reads: "And the clouds return not again after the rain," which means, that after weeping the eyes become dim. (The entire verse is, according to this interpretation, not applicable to the end of the world but to a human life.)

Samuel said: "Up to forty years of age, the eyes of a man which have become dim through tears may yet be restored by different remedies, but beyond that age there is no remedy for them"; and R. Na'hman said: "The dye used for the eyes makes them brighter until a man is forty years of age; after that age, however, it may preserve the eyes, but does not help them, even if the eyes are filled with dye." What are we given to understand by this statement? We are told that, the larger the brush used for applying the dye to the eye, the better it is for the eyes.

One of R. Hanina's daughters died, and he did not weep over her death. Said his wife to him: "Was a hen carried out of thy house?" "Is it not sufficient that our child died; wouldst thou have me lose my eyes through weeping?" replied R. Hanina; and he is of the opinion of R. Johanan, who said in the name of R. Jose ben Katzartha: "There are six kinds of tears in the eyes, three of which are good for the eyes and three bad. Tears generated by smoke, weeping, or disorder of the bowels are bad for the eyes; but those that are caused through laughing, acrid fruits (such as mustard), and medicaments which are applied to produce tears, are good for the eyes."

It is written [Ecclesiastes 12:3]: "On the day when the watchmen of the house will tremble": this refers to the bowels and the sides which protect the bowels; "the men of might will bend themselves," meaning the legs of the man; "and those be darkened that look through the windows," refers to the eyes.

Caesar asked of R. Jehoshua ben Hananiah: "Why didst thou not come to the debating rooms?" and he answered: "The mountain is covered with snow" (meaning his head was grey),"the surrounding paths are icy" (meaning his beard was gray),"the dogs do not bark any more" (meaning his voice was inaudible)," and the millstones grind no more" (meaning his teeth were decayed).

The school of Rabh would say of an old man: "He hath lost nothing and is constantly seeking" (meaning that he was always bowed down).

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jose bar Kisma said: "Two are better than three" (referring to two legs, instead of two legs and a stick). "Woe is to the One who goeth away and doth not return," so said he. What does he mean by it? Said R. Hisda: "Youth."

When R. Dimi came from Palestine, he said: "Youth is a crown of roses, and old age a crown of thorns."

We have learned in the name of R. Meir: Be heedful of thy teeth and thou wilt show it in thy step, as it is written [Jeremiah 94:17]: "When we had plenty of food and fared well and saw no evil." Said Samuel to his disciple R. Jehudah: "Thou sagacious man! When thou goest to eat, untie thy stomacher and bring in thy bread! Before the age of forty, eating is more wholesome; but after that, drinking is better."

A eunuch (who was a Sadducee) said to R. Jehoshua, was bald-headed, with the intent to tease him: How far is it from here to Bald city?" and he answered: "Just as far as from here to Castrate city." The eunuch said again: "I noticed that a bald goat only cost four Zuz"; and R. Jehoshua said: "Yea! and I noticed that the privates which were cut away from a he-goat cost eight Zuz." The eunuch noticed that R. Jehoshua did not wear shoes, and said: "He who rides a horse is a king, he who rides an ass is a nobleman, he who wears shoes is at least a man, but he who does not even wear shoes is worse off than a corpse in his grave." Said R. Jehoshua: "Thou eunuch! Thou hast told me three things, and three things thou shalt

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presently hear from me: The beauty of the face is a beard, the joy of the heart is a wife, and God's inheritance is children. Blessed be the place that has kept thee from all these joys." The eunuch retorted: "Thou bald-head! Wouldst thou quarrel with me!" and R. Jehoshua replied: Thou eunuch! Thou earnest to tease me."

Rabbi said to R. Simeon the son of Halaphta: "Why did we not have the pleasure of thy company on the festivals, as our parents had the pleasure of thy parents' company?" and he answered: "The hills have become mountains, those who were near have become distant, two have become three, and the peacemaker of the house is gone" (meaning, "I have become old, can make but short steps, must have a cane to lean on, and my teeth are gone").

It is written [Ecclesiastes 12:4]: "And when the two doors on the streets will be locked, while the sound of the mill becometh dull, and man riseth up at the voice of the bird"; and means, that in old age a man's stomach refuses to digest and he cannot excrementize, and he becomes so weak that the least sound, such as piping of a bird, will awaken him from his slumbers. Even so said Barzillai the Gileadite to King David [2 Samuel 19:36]: "I am eighty years old this day; can I discern between good and evil?" which proves to us that the mind of an old man changes; and further, it says: "Or can thy servant taste what I eat or what I drink?" From this we see that an old man's sense of taste is lost; and further, again: "Or can I listen yet to the voice of singing men and singing women?" which proves to us that old men become hard of hearing. Said Rabh: "Barzillai the Gileadite was a liar; for the servant who was in the house of Rabbi was ninety-two years old, and she would taste all the dishes that were being cooked." Said Rabha: "Barzillai was a lascivious man, and a man of that kind ages very rapidly and loses all his senses."

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Ishmael bar R. Jose said: "The older scholars become, the more wisdom comes to them, as it is written [Job 12:12]: 'So is with the ancients wisdom, and with those of length of days understanding.' With ignorant men, however, it is different. The older they become, the more ignorant they are, as it is written [ibid. 20]: 'He removeth the speech from trusty speakers and taketh away the intelligence of the aged.'"

It is written [Ecclesiastes 12:5]: "Also when men will be afraid of every elevation." To an aged man, even a little hillock appears as a high mountain; "and are terrified on every way," and they are afraid of everything on their way; "and the almond-tree will refuse (its blossom)," meaning that the joints of the limbs will refuse to do their duty; "and the locust will drag itself slowly along, and the desire will gainsay compliance," means that the desires of old men wane.

Said R. Kahana: "What is written [Psalms 33:9]: 'For he spoke, and it came into being,' refers to a woman; and 'he commanded, and it stood fast,' refers to children."

It is written [Ecclesiastes 12:5]: "Because man goeth to his eternal home." Said R. Itz'hak: "This proves that every righteous man is given a dwelling in the world to come according to his merit, and this is like a king with his slaves entering a city. They all enter through one gate, but when night comes every man is given a berth in accordance with his rank."

R. Itz'hak said again: "It is written [Ecclesiastes 11:10]: 'For childhood and the time when the head is black 1 are vanity,' and means to say, that the deeds committed in youth blacken the reputation in old age."

R. Itz'hak said again: The worms are as disagreeable to a corpse as pricks of needles are to a man, even if an excrescence only is pricked, as it is written [Job 14:22]: "But his body on him feeleth pain, and his soul will mourn for him." R. Hisda said: "The soul of a man mourns for him the first seven days after his death, and that is based upon an analogy of expression; viz.: It is written [Genesis 1:10]: 'And he made for his father a mourning of seven days'; and the verse in Job previously quoted also contains the word 'mourn,' hence the analogy."

R. Jehudah said: "If a corpse has left none to mourn him, ten men should go to the place where he died and mourn his death." A stranger, who had none to mourn him, died in the neighbourhood of R. Jehudah; so every day R. Jehudah took ten men, went to the place where the stranger died, and mourned for him. After seven days, the spirit of the stranger appeared to R. Jehudah in a dream, and said to him: "May thy heart be as light as thou hast made mine."

Said R. Abuha: "All that is said in the presence of a corpse is known to the latter, until he is buried and the earth is thrown on top of him." R. Hyya and R. Simeon bar Rabbi differ concerning this: One says, until the corpse is buried, and the other, until the flesh is decomposed. He who says until the flesh is decomposed, bases his assertion on the previously cited verse: "But his body on him feeleth pain, and his soul will mourn him." The other, who says "only until he is buried," bases his assertion upon the verse [Ecclesiastes 12:7]: "When the dust will return to the earth as it was, and the spirit will return unto God who gave it."

The rabbis taught: "Return the soul to the Lord as clean as He gave it to thee." This is illustrated by a parable of a king who once gave to his attendants suits of clothes. The wise among them took care of them, kept them clean and folded, and used them on special occasions only. The fools put them on and performed their work in them. Naturally, the clothes became dirty. All at once, the king demanded the clothes back again. The wise men returned them clean and whole, but the fools returned them in a dirty and dilapidated condition. The king was well pleased with the wise men, and told them to depart in peace, and had their clothes stored; but the clothes of the fools he ordered to be sent to the washers, and the fools were sent to prison. So does also the Holy One, blessed be He. Concerning the bodies of the righteous men, He saith [Isaiah 57:2]: "He shall come in peace: they shall repose in their resting-place"; and concerning the souls he saith [1 Samuel 25:29]: "Yet will the soul of my lord be bound in the bond of life with the Lord thy God." Concerning the bodies of the wicked, He saith [Isaiah 68:22]: "There is no peace, saith the Lord, unto the wicked"; and concerning the souls of the wicked, He saith [1 Samuel 25:29]: "And the soul of thy enemies will he hurl away, as out of the middle of the sling."

We have learned: R. Eliezer said: "The souls of righteous men are deposited underneath the throne of honour, as it is written: 'Yet will the soul of my lord be bound in the bond of life'; and the souls of the wicked are crowded together until they are crushed, as it is written: 'The souls of thy enemies will he hurl away.'" "How is it with the souls of men who are neither righteous nor wicked?" asked Rabba of R. Na'hman. He answered: "If I were dead, ye would not know it." Samuel said: The souls of the righteous, of the ordinary men, and of the wicked are given over to the angel whose name is Domah, who has charge of all souls. The souls of the righteous are given their resting-place soon; the others are not given rest until they come before the divine judgement.

Said R. Mari: "The bodies of righteous men also decompose, as it is written: 'When the dust will return to the earth, as it was.'"

Diggers were digging some earth belonging to R. Na'hman. They came to the grave where R. Achai bar Yashia was buried, and the corpse scolded them. The diggers came to R. Na'hman, and told him that a man who was buried on his ground had scolded them. So R. Na'hman went himself to the grave, and asked: "Who art thou, Master?" and the man in the grave answered: "I am called Achai bar Yashia." Said R. Na'hman to him: "Did not R. Mari say, that the bodies of the righteous shall turn to dust?" and the corpse replied: "Who is this Mari? I know him not." But R. Na'hman persisted: "It is written: 'When the dust shall return to the earth, as it was.'" And the corpse retorted: "He who taught thee Ecclesiastes, did not teach thee Proverbs, where it is written [Ch. 14:30]: 'Jealousy is the rottenness of the bones'; and if thy teacher had explained this to thee, thou wouldst have known, that he who hath jealousy in his heart, his bones shall rot after death, but he who hath no jealousy in his heart, his bones shall not rot." Thereupon R. Na'hman felt the dead man's bones, and truly they were sound. So he said to him: "Let the Master arise and go home with me for a while." And the dead man answered: "By this remark thou hast proven to me that thou hast not even studied the prophets, for it is written [Ezekiel 37:13]: 'And ye shall know that I am the Lord, when I open your graves, and when I cause you to come up out of your graves' (for this would tell thee, that only the Lord can make me arise, and still thou askest me to go with thee)." "Yea," quoth R. Na'hman; "but there is another passage [Genesis 319]: 'For dust thou art, and to dust thou shalt return.'" "This will, however, be only one hour before the final resurrection," answered the corpse.

A certain Sadducee said to R. Abuha: "Ye say that the souls of the righteous are deposited underneath the throne of honour. How, then, could the woman of the familiar spirit whom King Saul consulted, 1 bring up the soul of Samuel?" R. Abuha answered: "That happened during the first twelvemonth after the death of Samuel, as we have learned in a Boraitha, that during the first twelvemonth the souls of the deceased come up and down; but after that period the soul ascends to heaven and does not return."

Said R. Jehudah, the son of R. Samuel bar Shila, in the name of Rabh: "From the funeral sermon held over the remains of the deceased, it may be observed whether they will enter the kingdom of Heaven or not." (If the funeral sermon is in the form of a eulogy and the deceased was much beloved, it can be presumed that he will have a happy time in the beyond.) This is not so! For did not Rabh say to R. Samuel bar Shila: "See that thou makest my funeral oration exceeding touching, for I shall be there." R. Jehudah meant to say, that when the sermon is touching, and elicits a responsive chord in the breasts of the audience; for some orations may be made ever so touching but if the deceased was not deserving, it will produce no effect whatever. Said Abayi to Rabba: "Thou, Master, who hast not a single friend in Pumbaditha, who will mourn thy death?" "Thou and Rabba bar R. Hana will suffice," answered Rabba.

R. A'ha asked Rabh: "Who is the man that will live in the world to come?" He answered by quoting the verse [Isaiah 30:21]: "And thy ears shall hear the word behind thee, saying, This is the way; walk ye in it, when ye turn to the right hand and when ye turn to the left." 1 R. Hanina said: "The man who gives satisfaction to our masters."

It is written [Ecclesiastes 12:5]: "And the mourners go about the streets." The Galileans said: "Do such things as will be spoken of to thy credit in thy funeral sermon"; and the Judæans said: "Do such things as will be spoken of after thy burial." There is no difference in the two statements, for in Galilee the funeral sermon was held before burial, and in Judæa after burial.

We have learned (in the Mishna Abhoth): "One day before thy death, thou shalt repent of thy sins," said R. Eliezer; and his disciples asked him, "Can a man know on which day he will die?" and he answered: "For just that reason, he should repent to-day, lest he die to-morrow. Thus all his days will be spent in repentance. So also hath Solomon said in his wisdom [Ecclesiastes 9:8]: 'At all times let thy garments be white, and let not oil be wanting on thy head.'" Commenting upon this, R. Johanan ben Zakkai said: "This is illustrated by a parable about a king who invited his retainers to a banquet, but did not state the time; the wise among them dressed and were ready, standing in front of the palace, for they said: 'In a king's house nothing is wanting. Perhaps the banquet takes place to-day.' The fools, however, went about their business, saying: 'Can a banquet be given without preparation?' Suddenly the king called in his retainers to the banquet. The wise went in becomingly attired, while the fools went in in their working clothes. The king was well pleased with the wise, and angry with the fools, and said: 'Those that are prepared and attired for the banquet shall sit down, eat, drink, and be merry; but those that are not, shall stand and look on, but shall receive nothing.'" Said the son-in-law of R. Meir, in the latter's name: Then it would appear as if those standing were waiting upon those who were sitting (and they would not be ashamed). They were also to sit down, but while the others ate they would be hungry, and while the others drank they would remain thirsty, as it is written [Isaiah 65:13 and 14]: "Therefore, thus hath said the Lord Eternal, Behold, my servants shall eat, but ye shall be hungry; behold, my servants shall drink, but ye shall be thirsty; behold, my servants shall rejoice, but ye shall be made ashamed; behold, my servants shall sing for joy of heart, but ye shall cry out from pain of heart, and from a broken spirit shall ye howl"; and on this account it is written: "At all times let thy garments be white," etc.

CHAPTER 24.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING A MAN WHO IS OVERTAKEN BY DUSK ON THE EVE OF SABBATH WHILE TRAVELLING, AND CONCERNING FEEDING OF CATTLE.

MISHNA: One who (on the eve of Sabbath) is overtaken by the dusk on the road must give his purse to a Gentile (while it is yet day). If there is no Gentile with him, he must put it on the ass. As soon as he arrives at the outmost court (dwelling of the first town or village he reaches), he must take off all such things as may be handled on the Sabbath; and as for the things which must not be handled he must loosen the cords, so that they fall off themselves.

GEMARA: Why was it allowed for a man to give his purse to the Gentile accompanying him [he (the Gentile) acts for him]? Because it was known to the rabbis that a man is anxious about his money, and if it were not allowed, he might carry it himself in public ground. Said Rabha: "He may do this with his own purse; but if he found something, he must not have it carried for him." Is this not self-evident? Did we not learn in the Mishna, "his purse"? We might assume that the same would apply to something found, and the Mishna says only "his purse," because that is the usual occurrence; hence Rabha teaches us as mentioned. Even in the case of something which was found, the prohibition applies only if the man had not yet had it in his hand; but if he had, it is regarded the same as his purse.

"If there is no Gentile with him," etc. If there is a Gentile with him, he must give his purse to the Gentile. Why not put it on the ass in the first place? Because concerning the ass there is a commandment to let it rest, but no such commandment exists for a Gentile. How is the case if the man had accompanying him an ass, a deaf-mute, 1 an idiot, and a minor? To whom must he give his purse in that event? He must put it on the ass. Why so? Because the deaf-mute and the minor are human beings, and he might by accident give it to an Israelite who was not a deaf-mute or a minor. "How is it if he had with him a deaf-mute and an idiot only? He must give it to the idiot (because a deaf-mute has more sense than an idiot). How is it with an idiot and a minor? He must give it to the idiot. All this has been finally decided, but the question that presented itself to the schoolmen was, to whom the purse must be given if the man had with him a deaf-mute and a minor. Some say he should give it to the deaf-mute, and others, to the minor.

How is it if the man have nobody along, no Gentile, no ass, no deaf-mute, no idiot, and no minor? What should he do then? Said R. Itz'hak: "There was another mode of procedure,

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which the sages would not reveal." What was that? He should carry it less than four ells at a time (i.e., carry it a little less than four ells and stop, then start and carry it on again for less than four ells, and so on). Why would the sages not reveal this? Because it is written [Proverbs 25:2]: "It is the honour of God to conceal a thing; but the honour of kings is to search out a matter." Where is the honour of God concerned in this matter? Perhaps the man will not stop, but go on and carry, it over four ells.

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Eliezer said: "On the day when the eighteen precautionary measures were instituted in the attic of Hananiah ben Hizkyah ben Garon (this measure concerning the purse of the traveller was also instituted, viz., that he should not carry it but give it to the Gentile), and the measure of laws was made heaping full." R. Jehoshua, however, says, that the measure was smoothened in too great a degree, 1 and we have learned that R. Eliezer meant to say what his simile illustrates; viz.: There was a basket filled with cucumbers and beets to the brim; and if a man put in mustard-seed, there is an addition, without, however, forcing out anything else. Thus the measure was full, but not overflowing. R. Jehoshua, however, compares it as follows: There was a tub filled with honey, and nuts were thrown into it, in consequence of which the honey overflowed and some was spilled. (This means, that by the institution of those precautionary measures the Mosaic laws were undermined.)

The Master said: "If there was no Gentile with him, he should put it on the ass?" How is it that he may do this? If he put it on the ass, he will be compelled to drive the ass, and surely this is also labour, which is prohibited on the Sabbath, as it is written [Exod. xx. 10]: "On it thou shalt not do any work." Said R. Ada bar Abha: The man must put the purse on the ass, while the latter is walking along; in that case, no transfer from one fixed point takes place (because while both are walking it cannot be said that the purse is resting in one particular place). It is, however, impossible that the ass should not rest at some place for a little while? When the ass rests, the man removes the purse; and when it commences to walk again, he puts it back. If that is so, it would be the same if he would transfer his purse to a fellow-Israelite while walking, and he would never be guilty of the act of transferring from one (fixed) place and depositing in another? Said R. Papa: An act which, if committed by one man unassisted, would make him liable for a sin-offering (e.g., if he, while running or walking, should pick up something off the ground even without stopping, he would become liable for a sin-offering), he must not commit with the assistance of a companion; but if he did so, he is not liable for a sin-offering (e.g., if he picked up a thing and placed it on his companion while the latter was walking, in that event neither is culpable, for the one did not deposit it in a fixed place, and the other did not remove it from a fixed place). Such acts, however, as must not be committed with the aid of a companion may be done with the assistance of an ass in the first place.

R. Ada bar Abha said again: "If a man has a bundle on his shoulders before dusk on the Sabbath while on the road, he may run with the burden until he reaches home, but he must not walk his usual gait." Why so? Because, if he walks in the usual manner, he might stop (and by stopping carry out the prohibited transfer from one fixed point and depositing in another). When he reaches home, however, he must stop for some time, and thus he would bring a thing from public ground into private ground? The remedy for this is, to throw the bundle from his shoulders backwards, and not in the usual manner.

Rabha the brother of R. Mari bar Rachel taught the following decree in the name of R. Johanan: "One who drives cattle on the Sabbath (even if they are burdened) is free." Why so? If he did so unintentionally, he cannot be liable for a sin-offering, because Sabbath laws are identical with those of idolatry. In like manner, as a man cannot be guilty of idolatry unless he worship with his own body, so it is with the Sabbatical law. If he perform labour through the medium of his cattle, without doing any himself, he cannot be guilty. Even if he did it intentionally, he is also not guilty. Why so? Because we have learned in a Mishna (Tract Sanhedrin): "Among those who are subject to capital punishment (by stoning) is he who violates the Sabbath by an act which, if done intentionally, carries with it such punishment (stoning), and which, if done unintentionally, makes one liable for a sin-offering." Hence, if the unintentional performance of such an act does not carry with it liability to bring a sin-offering, its intentional performance cannot carry with it the punishment of stoning, nor the punishment of stripes; because, where the penalty for the violation of a negative commandment is death, stripes cannot be inflicted; and even according to the Tana who holds that stripes can be inflicted for such violation, in this case it could not be done, because, were the verse to be read, "Thou shalt not do any labour, nor thy cattle," it would be right; but the verse distinctly says, "Thou shalt not do any labour, neither thou, etc., nor thy cattle." Hence, when the work was not done jointly by the man and his cattle, he cannot be punished in any manner for a violation of the Sabbath.

"As soon as he arrives at the outmost court," etc. Said R. Huna: "If the ass was laden with glassware, he may bring cushions and place them on the ground, so that when he loosens the cords the glassware may fall on the cushions and escape being broken." We have learned, however, that such vessels as may be handled on the Sabbath may be removed from the ass; and why may not the glassware be handled? R. Huna refers to glassware which belongs to a surgeon, and being dirty (bloody) is unfit for use in a household. In that case, then, the man would render the cushions which he places on the ground to receive the falling glassware unfit for their proper use, and this is prohibited on the Sabbath? The cushions are only to be used in order to break the fall of the glassware, and after the glassware rolls off on to the ground, the cushions can be used as before.

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Simeon ben Jochai said: "If a sheaf of grain (the tithes of which had not yet been separated) is on the back of the ass, the man may push it off with his head, so that it fall to the ground." The ass of R. Gamaliel was once laden with honey, and, the Sabbath having set in, R. Gamaliel would not allow the ass to be unloaded until the Sabbath was over. This proved too much for the animal and it dropped dead.

We have learned in the Mishna, that such things as may be handled on Sabbath may be removed from the animal; why was not the honey removed? The honey had become spoiled. If the honey was spoiled, why was it brought? It was intended to be used for the bruises on camels. Then the cords should have been loosened and the honey allowed to fall off? The honey, was in (inflated) skins, and would have burst if allowed to fall. Then cushions should have been placed on the ground to receive them? The cushions would have become soiled, and thus rendered unfit for use. Pity should have been taken on the animal, and it should not have been allowed to stand laden all day? Pity for animals is only a rabbinical institution according to R. Gamaliel, and thus he could not observe it lest he violate the Sabbath.

Abayi once saw Rabba playing with his little son, and setting him on the back of an ass, so he said to him: "Why! Does Master use an animal on Sabbath!" and Rabba answered: "This cannot be called using an animal in the regular manner, but just incidental use, and that was not prohibited by the rabbis."

Abayi objected: "Have we not learned that if two walls of a booth (to be used on the Feast of Tabernacles) were made by hand, and the third wall was already made by a tree, the booth might be used for ritual purposes; but it is not allowed to ascend to the roof of the booth on a festival, because the tree serves as a support to the roof, and by ascending the roof the tree would be used, which is prohibited? Hence we see that, although that would be incidental and not direct use, still it is prohibited?" Rabba answered: "In the case cited by thee, a tree is referred to, the branches of which were also part of the roof." The Mishna seems to have this meaning attributed to it by Rabba, for in a later clause it is stated, that should the tree (which partly supports the booth) be removed, and the booth can stand by itself, one may ascend it; hence the tree is regarded as an independent wall.

MISHNA: One may untie bundles of straw for cattle, also strew stalks for them, but one must not undo tied bundles of Zirin. 1 Herbs used as fodder, and carob-pods, must not be cut up for cattle, large or small. R. Jehudah permits the cutting up of carob-pods for small cattle.

GEMARA: Said R. Huna: "There is no difference between bundles of straw and stalks, except that the former are tied twice while the latter are trebly tied, and by Zirin is meant the young branches of a cedar-tree (which when young are still tender and are eaten by cattle); and the Mishna should be explained thus: One may untie bundles of straw for cattle, and also strew them, and the same may be done with stalks, but not with Zirin; the latter must neither be untied nor strewn." Said R. Hisda: "What reason has R. Huna for explaining the Mishna in this manner? He means to say, that on account of such things as are already proper fodder for cattle one may trouble himself on Sabbath, but on account of such as must first be prepared as fodder, one should not trouble himself." R. Jehudah, however, says, that bundles of straw and Zirin are identical, except that the former were tied twice and the latter trebly, but stalks signify cedar boughs; and he explains the Mishna thus: We may untie bundles of straw for cattle, but not strew them; stalks may also be strewn; the Zirin, however, may be untied, but not strewn." Said Rabha: "What is the reason for R. Jehudah's explanation? He holds, that we may prepare things for the use of cattle, but we must not trouble ourselves on account of such things as are already fit fodder for cattle."

An objection was made to the foregoing (based on the latter clause of the Mishna): "Herbs used for fodder and carob-pods must not be cut up for cattle." As herbs are mentioned in conjunction with carob-pods, we must assume, that as the herbs were soft, so were also the carob-pods; and, it being prohibited to cut them up, we see that with such things as are already proper fodder we must not trouble ourselves, and this is contrary to the dictum of R. Huna? R. Huna might say to the contrary, that as the carob-pods are hard, so also are the herbs. Where do we find that herbs should be cut up for cattle, they generally eat them as they are? This refers to young calves and mule-colts.

(Another objection was raised.) Come and bear: One may cut up pumpkins for cattle and carrion for dogs. Then we may say, that as carrion is soft, so also are the pumpkins; and hence we see, that we may trouble ourselves even with such articles as are already fit fodder for cattle, and this is contradictory to R. Jehudah's opinion? R. Jehudah might say to the contrary, that as the pumpkins were hard, so was also the carrion. How can that be? Supposing it was the carcass of an elephant, or the dogs were young and could not eat carrion without having it cut up for them.

MISHNA: A camel must not be crammed (to fatten it), nor may it be forced to eat: but the food may be put into its mouth. Calves must not be crammed, but the food may be put into their mouths. Poultry may be fed and crammed; water may be poured on bran, but the bran must not be kneaded. One must not put water before bees, or before doves in a dove-cot; but one may put it before geese, before poultry, and before house-pigeons.

GEMARA: What is meant by "must not be crammed"? Said R. Jehudah. "By that is meant, that the stomach of the camel should not be turned into a feed-bag." Can such a thing be done? Said R. Jeremiah of Diphti: "Yea; I saw with my own eyes, that an itinerant merchant fed his camel a measure of grain, and when it had consumed that, he forced another measure down its throat."

"Calves must not be crammed, but the food may be put into their mouths," etc. What is the difference between cramming and putting food into the calf's mouth? R. Jehudah said, that cramming is accomplished when the food is stuffed down into the calf's mouth so that it cannot eject it, and putting food into its mouth is merely as is implied by the term; and R. Hisda said, that in both cases the food is forced down so far that the calf cannot eject it; but in cramming, some instrument is used, and the other is done by hand.

R. Joseph objected: We have learned in a Boraitha, that poultry may be crammed, and so much the more food may be given to the poultry a little at a time. The contrary is the case with doves. Food must not be given them even a little at a time, and much less may they be crammed. Now what is the difference between cramming and forcing them to eat a little at a time? Shall we assume that by cramming is meant, forcing the food down by hand, and by giving them food a little at a time is meant, throwing it to them? If so, why should doves not be fed in that manner? Is it then prohibited to throw them food? We must therefore say, that in both cases the food is given by hand, but in cramming the food is forced down so that it cannot be ejected, while in the other case it can be ejected. If this applies to poultry, then we must certainly assume that, as for calves, cramming is done by forcing the food down with an instrument, and this would be contradictory to R. Jehudah? R. Jehudah might say, that by feeding poultry is meant, throwing food to them; and the reason that one must not feed doves is because they do not belong to him, whereas poultry belongs to him and must be fed by him, as we have learned in a Boraitha, that one may give food to a dog but not to a pig; and the reason is, that a man is in duty bound to feed his dog, but a pig that he does not own he need not feed. Said R. Ashi: "This we also learn from our Mishna: 'One must not put it before bees, or before doves in a dove-cot; but we may put it before geese, poultry, and house-pigeons.'" We must assume the reason of the Mishna to be because one is not obliged to take care of the bees and doves, but must take care of those which he owns. According to this, then, why is water only spoken of, why not wheat or barley? We must say, that water is easily obtainable, and hence there is no necessity to trouble one's self on that account.

R. Jonah taught at the door of Nassi: It is written [Proverbs 29:7]: "The righteous considereth the cause of the indigent." The righteous, synonymous with the Holy One, blessed be He, knoweth that a dog hath not much food, and hath thus ordained, that the food in his stomach remains undigested for three days, as we have learned in a Mishna: How long must the food (carrion) remain in the stomach, that it may still be considered unclean? In the stomach of a dog three days, but in the stomach of a bird or a fish only as long as it would take it to burn up if thrown into the fire.

Said R. Hamnuna: "From what was said above, it may be implied that one may throw food before a dog." How much? Said R. Mari: "A small piece, and the dog should immediately be driven off." This refers to a dog in the field, but within the city a strange dog should not be fed at all, lest he run after the man; however, a dog belonging to him may be fed.

Said R. Papa: "There is nothing poorer than a dog, and nothing richer than a pig (meaning that a dog is very fastidious about food, while a pig will eat anything)."

We have learned in a Boraitha, in support of the dictum of R. Jehudah: What is the difference between cramming and putting food into the mouth of a calf? Cramming is accomplished by laying the calf down, forcing open its mouth,

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and stuffing it with soaked grain; and putting food into its mouth is merely feeding and watering it separately, while the calf is standing.

"Poultry may be fed and crammed," etc. Said Abayi: "I asked my master, with whose opinion was the Mishna in conformity, and he told me with that of R. Jose bar Jehudah, as we have learned: Water must not be poured on bran, said Rabbi, but R. Jose bar Jehudah said that it may be done."

The rabbis taught: "When water is poured on parched corn the corn must not be kneaded on Sabbath, but others say that it may be kneaded." Who is meant by "others"? Said R. Hisda: "R. Jose bar Jehudah." Such is the case, however, only when it is done differently than on a week-day. How can it be done differently? By kneading a little at a time and not in a lump. All agree, however, that Shthitha 1 may be kneaded on the Sabbath, and that Egyptian beer may be drunk. Was it not said, that kneading was not allowed on Sabbath? This presents no difficulty. Fine corn may be kneaded, but coarse must not; and even then it must be kneaded differently than on a week-day. How can this be done? On week-days the vinegar is first put in and then the Shthitha, and on Sabbath the latter should be put in first.

Levi the son of R. Huna bar Hyya once found the herder of his father's cattle pouring water on bran and giving it to the cattle. He scolded him. Afterwards R. Huna met his son, and said to him: Thus said the father of thy mother in the name of Rabh (meaning R. Jeremiah bar Aba): "It is allowed to pour water on bran but not to put the mixed bran into the mouth of the cattle (but young cattle, that cannot eat themselves, may be fed by hand)." And this may be done, providing it is done differently than on a week-day. How should that be done? The bran should only be stirred once lengthwise and once crosswise. It will not mix well, however, in this manner. Said R. Jehudah: "Then it should be poured into another vessel."

We found in the diary of Zera: "I asked of my Master R. Hyya, whether kneading was permitted on the Sabbath, and he said, 'No.' I asked him whether transferring from one vessel to another was permitted, and he said it was." Said R. Menasseh: "It is allowed to give one animal a measure of grain, and two measures for two animals, but one must not give three measures for two animals." R. Joseph, however, said that a whole Kabh, or even two Kabhs, may be given for one or two or three animals, and Ula said that even a Kur or more may be given.

It was written in the diary of Levi: "I related in the presence of my master, who was Rabbi the Holy (Jehudah Hanassi), that in Babylon they were kneading Shthitha on Sabbath and Rabbi protested against it; but no one paid attention to it, and he had no power to prohibit it, because R. Jose bar Jehudah once permitted it (as mentioned previously)."

It was written in the diary of R. Jehoshua ben Levi: "One who is born on the first day of the week will be a man, and not one thing will be in him." What does that mean? That there will not be any one good thing in him? Did not R. Assi say that he was born on the first day of the week? Shall we say, that not one bad thing will be in him? R. Assi said: "I and Dimi bar Kakusta were both born on the first day of the week, and, behold! I am a prince and he is a leader of robbers!" What, then, is meant by "not one thing will be in him"? This means, that he will be either wholly bad or wholly good. "A man who was born on the second day of the week will be a man of violent passion." Why so? Because on the second day the water was separated. "A man born on the third day will be rich and lascivious." Why so? Because grass was created on the third day. "A man born on the fourth day will be wise and have a good memory." Why so? Because on the fourth clay the lights were created. "A man born on the Fifth day will be a charitable man." Why so? Because on that day the fishes and fowls were created. "A man born on the sixth clay will be a very devout man." [R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak said: "He will be zealous in the fulfilment of commandments."] "A man born on the Sabbath will also die on the Sabbath, because on his account the great day of Sabbath was violated." Said Rabba bar R. Shila: "He will, however, be called a great and pious man."

Said R. Hanina to the men who related what was written in the diary above: "Go and tell the son of Levi, that the fortune of a man does not depend upon the day, but upon the hour he was born in. One who is born in the hour of sunrise will be a bright man; he will eat and drink of his own, but he will not be able to keep secrets and will not be successful in stealing. One who is born under Venus will be a rich man, but will be lascivious, because fire is generated under Venus. One who is born under Mercury will be bright and wise, because that star is the scribe of the Sun. One who is born under the Moon will be sickly or troubled. He will build and demolish, will not eat and drink his own, but will keep secrets, and will be successful m stealing. One who is born under Saturn will have all his thoughts and aims come to naught; and others say, to the contrary, all aims against him will come to naught. One who is born under Jupiter will be a righteous man, and R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak said he will be very devout. One who is born under Mars will be a man who will shed blood. He will either be a surgeon or a robber, a butcher or a circumciser, said R. Ashi. Rabba said that he was born under Mars. Said Abayi to him: "Thou, Master, reprovest men, and whom thou reprovest, he dieth; hence thou, also, sheddest blood."

It was taught: R. Hanina said: "One who is born under a lucky star may be either rich or wise, and the same thing applies to Israelites also." R. Johanan said: "An Israelite does not come under this fate"; and R. Johanan says this in accordance with his dictum elsewhere; viz.: Whence do we know that the Israelites are not subject to fate? Because it is written [Jeremiah x. 2]: "Thus hath said the Lord, Do not habituate yourselves in the way of the nations, and at the of the heavens be ye not dismayed, although the nations should be dismayed at them." So the nations may be dismayed at the signs of the heavens, but not the Israelites; and Rabh holds likewise, that the Israelites are not subject to fate. R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: Whence do we know that the Israelites are not subject to fate? Because it is written [Genesis xv. 5]: "And he brought him forth abroad." Abraham said before the Holy One, blessed be He: "Creator of the Universe, lo, one born in my house will be my heir"; and the Lord answered: "He that shall come forth out of thy own bowels shall be thy heir" [Gen. xv. 4]. And Abraham said again: "Creator of the Universe! I have consulted my horoscope, and have found that I am not capable of having a son"; so the Lord said to him: "Away with thy horoscope! An Israelite hath no fate!"

Of Samuel it is also known, that he thought the Israelites had no destiny, for Samuel and Ablat were once sitting together, and some men went past a meadow. Ablat (who was an astrologer) said to Samuel, pointing to one of the men: "That man will not return. A snake will bite him, and he will die." Said Samuel: "If he is an Israelite, he will come back." While they were talking, the man came back; so Ablat arose and examined him, and he found a snake cut in on the man's clothes.

Said Samuel to the man: "What didst thou do to-day, that thou hast escaped death?" The man answered: "It is our custom, when going out with a party of men, that we all contribute our share of victuals, and then have our meal in common. I knew that one of our party had no (bread) victuals, and not wishing to make him ashamed, I secured the basket to gather the food; and when coining up to him I pretended to put in his share, but in reality put in mine, and thus he was not ashamed." "Then thou hast committed an act of charity," said Samuel; and when he went out he preached that charity maybe the cause of saving a man's life, and not only from a violent death, but also from death which otherwise would have overtaken a man naturally.

Of R. Aqiba it is also known, that he did not believe the Israelites to be subject to fate, for R. Aqiba had a daughter, and the soothsayers predicted that on the day on which she should enter the garden a snake would bite her and she would die. He was very much troubled on that account. One day his daughter took off her headdress in the garden, and the needle protruding from it stuck on the side of the fence where a snake happened to be, and piercing the eye of the snake, the latter was killed. When R. Aqiba's daughter went back to the house the snake dragged after her. Asked R. Aqiba: "What didst thou do today, to escape death?" and she answered: "At dawn a man came to the door begging bread. Everybody, however, was at the table, and no one heard him but myself. I took my own meal, that thou gavest me, and gave it to him." Said R. Aqiba: "Thou didst an act of charity, and this saved thee from death." He then went forth and preached, that charity may be the cause of saving a man's life, and not only from a violent death, but also from one that was to have come naturally.

R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak is also known to discountenance the theory of the Israelites being subject to fate; for the mother of R. Na'hman was told by astrologers that her son would turn out to be a thief, so she would not let him go out bare-headed, saying: "Always keep thy head covered, that thou mayest fear the Lord, and pray to Him for mercy"; and he did not know why she always told him this. One day he sat underneath a tree studying, when his head-wear fell off, and looking up, he saw the tree filled with delicious dates. He was very much tempted to take some of the fruit, although the tree did not belong to him, and accordingly climbed the tree, and bit off a branch with his teeth.

MISHNA: Pumpkins may be cut up for cattle, and carrion for dogs. R. Jehudah saith: "If the carrion was not yet carrion (if the beast had not yet died) before the Sabbath, it must not be cut up; because, in that case, it is not part of what had been provided (for consumption on Sabbath)."

GEMARA: It was taught: Ula said, the Halakha prevails according to R. Jehudah, and of Rabh it is also known that he agrees with R. Jehudah, as may be seen from his decree concerning covers of a vessel (on page 29). Levi also admits. that the Halakha prevails according to R. Jehudah; for when a carcass was brought to him for decision as to its fitness for use, or unfitness, on a festival, he would not inspect it unless it had lain in the dirt; because, should he hold it to be fit, it would forthwith become carrion and not even be fit for dogs, by reason of its turning into carrion on the festival (and thus not having been provided on the day before for consumption on the festival).

Samuel, however, said, that the Halakha prevails according to R. Simeon, as also does Zera, because a Mishna elsewhere, which teaches, that if an animal died (on Sabbath or on a festival) it must not be removed, was explained by Zera to refer only to such an animal as was designated for a sacrifice and which must not be made use of at all; but any ordinary carcass may be removed. R. Johanan also said, that the Halakha according to R. Simeon prevails.

Is it possible that R. Johanan said this? Have we not learned that R. Johanan always holds Halakhas to be in accordance with the abstract decrees of the Mishna, and in another Mishna we have learned that the wood of a beam that had been broken on a festival must not be used on the festival? R. Johanan claims, that the Mishna above was taught in the name of R. Jose bar Jehudah.

Come and hear (another objection): "It is permitted to commence taking from a heap of straw on a festival for use as fuel, but not from wood designated for another purpose." This is also taught abstractly (and is certainly contrary to the opinion of R. Simeon). This above teaching refers to cedar beams intended for building purposes, and being very expensive should not be used as fuel, even according to R. Simeon.

Come and hear (another objection based upon another abstract Mishna): "It is not permitted to water or to slaughter animals living in their wild natural state, but it is allowed as regards domestic animals." (This is also contrary to R. Simeon?) R. Johanan, however, found an abstract Mishna that was in accord with R. Simeon; viz.: That Mishna concerning bones and husks which may be removed from the table (page 326), and R. Johanan holds as R. Na'hman (did later), that all decisions rendered by the school of Shamai are in accordance with the opinion of R. Jehudah, while those rendered by the school of Hillel agree with those of R. Simeon.

It is related of R. A'ha and Rabhina, that one said that all laws pertaining to Sabbath remain as decreed by R. Simeon, with the exception of one thing, that had been set aside on account of causing disgust, namely, an old candlestick that had become soiled with the dripping tallow; and the other said, that even in this instance the Halakha prevails according to R. Simeon, but the one thing that does not remain as decreed by R. Simeon is the case of a candlestick which had been used on the same Sabbath. (Both admit, however,) that as for the theory of designation where expensive articles are concerned, R. Simeon accepts it in that case, and declares, that they may not be used on Sabbath, as we have learned in a Mishna (page 268) concerning the large wood-saw and the ploughshare, which, according to R. Simeon, also must not be handled, because they are expensive (and being used only by mechanics should not be handled by others).

MISHNA: A man may annul vows (of his wife or daughter) 1 on the Sabbath, and consult (a sage) as to vows (relating to objects) required for the Sabbath. Window-light may be shut out by blinds; a piece of stuff may be measured, and also a Mikvah (plunge-bath), to ascertain whether it be of legal size. It happened in the days of R. Zadock's father, and in the days of Abba Saul ben Botnith, that they closed a window with an earthen jar, and then tied another vessel to a pole with papyrus, in order to ascertain whether, in a covered vessel, there was an opening one span high or not. From them we learn, that (in certain cases) it may be permitted to close, to measure, and to tie on the Sabbath.

GEMARA: The schoolmen propounded a question: Does the term, "required for the Sabbath," in connection with vows, apply to both clauses of that sentence; and if it does not, neither may be done on the Sabbath, whence we shall learn, that the time in which a man may annul the vow of his wife or daughter does not expire with the day, but continues for twenty-four hours; because, if the vows do not relate to the Sabbath and neither of the above two clauses may be executed, the man can annul the vow at night after the Sabbath; or shall we say that the term, "required for the Sabbath," applies only to the latter clause, that of consulting as to vows, and not to the first clause, that of annulling the vow, which would establish the fact that the time for annulment expires with the day and does not continue for twenty-four hours? Come and hear: R. Zoti, one of the disciples of R. Papi, taught, that only such vows as relate to the Sabbath may be annulled on the Sabbath; thence we may learn, that the time for annulment of vows does not expire for twenty-four hours? Said R. Ashi: "Did we not learn (in a Mishna of Tract Nedarim), that the time for annulment of vows continues for one day only?" Concerning this, there is a difference of opinion among the Tanaim (as will be explained in Tract Nedarim).

"And consult as to vows," etc. The schoolmen propounded a question: "Does this mean to say, that the man had not time before Sabbath (i.e., that he made the vow on the Sabbath), or even if he had time before Sabbath, but wishes to be released from his vow at once?" Come and hear: The rabbis complied with the wish of R. Zutra the son of R. Zera, and

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released him from his vow on a Sabbath, although he had plenty of time to have this done before Sabbath. 1

R. Jose wished to state, that, as to vows, a man may consult on Sabbath only a man who is a competent authority (Chacham), but he must not consult three ordinary men, because that would appear as a judgement on business affairs. Abayi said to him: "Whereas three men may be consulted standing, or even if they are of kin, or even at night, it will not appear as an ordinary judgement."

When a man wishes to annul the vow of his wife on the Sabbath, he must not say to her, as on a week-day: "Thy vow is annulled," or, "I release thee from thy vow"; but merely: "Go and eat," or, "Go and drink," and this releases her from her vow. Said R. Johanan: "The man must, however, think at the time that he is annulling her vow."

We have learned in a Boraitha: The school of Shamai said: "On Sabbath a man must annul the vow in his mind only, but on a week-day he must proclaim it by word of mouth." The school of Hillel said, however, that be it Sabbath or a week-day, it is sufficient if the man annul the vow in his mind without proclaiming it.

"They closed a window with an earthen jar," etc. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: "There was a small bridge between two houses, and underneath the bridge lay a part of a corpse, and a cracked tub stood on top of the two houses; but it was not known whether the crack in the tub was large enough to admit of the penetration of the uncleanness arising from the corpse. So, first of all, all holes which were in the walls of the two houses were stopped up with towels; then another vessel (a small jar) was tied with papyrus to a pole and laid on the tub, in order to see whether the crack was one span deep or not." 1

"From them we learn that (in certain cases) one may close, measure," etc. Ula once came into the house of the Exilarch on Sabbath, and saw Rabba bar R. Huna sitting in a tub of water and measuring it. Said Ula to him: "The rabbis only permitted the measuring of a plunge-bath for ritual purposes; but did they permit it to be done for no purpose?" Rabba bar R. Huna answered: "I am doing this merely to while away the time (I have nothing else to do, and must not think of the Law while bathing, so it makes no difference)."

END OF TRACT SABBATH.

THE PRAYER AT THE CONCLUSION OF A TRACT.

"Abayi said: "May it be reckoned to me (for my reward in the world to come), that whenever I noticed a young scholar (of my college) had finished a tract of the Talmud, I gave a feast to all the sages of the day." (Pages 250 and 251 of this tract.)

[Bearing the above motto in mind and as a matter of peculiar interest, we shall translate below the laudatory prayer published in every edition of the ancient Talmud at the conclusion of each tract, and in justification of this our digression from the actual text would state the following:

With all pious Israelites who were exclusively engaged in the study of the Talmud, and even with those who made it an incidental feature of their lives, it has since time immemorial been the custom to celebrate as a happy event the completion of the study of each tract. So marked was the degree of gratification at this frequent occurrence, that it became customary for the first-born sons in Israel, who in commemoration of one of the plagues sent by the Lord upon the Egyptians were in the habit of fasting on the eve of Passover, to complete the study of a tract of the Talmud on that day, and, thanks to the feast given in honour of the occasion, escape the rather onerous duty of fasting; and even in the nine days of penance occurring before the Fast of the Ninth of Abh, when the Temple was destroyed, when meat was not to be eaten and wine was not to be drunk, the same subterfuge would be resorted to, in order that a feast might be given and thus break the fast of the nine days. Apart from this, the prayer is rich in sentiment, and deserves to be rendered at the end of this volume once for all.]

We shall return to thee, Tract Sabbath, 1 and mayest thou return to us! We shall bear thee in mind, Tract Sabbath, and mayest thou bear us in mind! May we not be forgotten by thee, Tract Sabbath! and thou shalt not be forgotten by us on this earth nor in the world to come!

[This is to be repeated three times, when the following is to be recited:]

May it be Thy will, O Lord, our God and God of our fathers, that Thy Law may be our pursuit in this world and in the world to come! May there be together with us, in the world to come, Haninah bar Papa, Rami bar Papa, Na'hman bar Papa, Ahayi bar Papa, Abba Mari bar Papa, Raphram bar Papa, Rakhesh bar Papa, Sur'hab bar Papa, Ada bar Papa, and Doro bar Papa.

Make sweet, O Lord, our God, the words of Thy Law in our mouths, and in the mouth of Thy people the house of Israel; and may we, our children, and the children of Thy people the house of Israel, all know Thy Name and learn Thy Law.

Wiser than my enemy doth Thy commandment make me; for it is perpetually with me. Let my heart be entire in the statutes, that I may not be put to shame. Never will I forget Thy precepts; for with them Thou hast kept me alive. Blessed art Thou, O Lord! teach me Thy statutes. Amen, Amen, Amen. Selah, Vaed (Forever)!

We thank Thee, O Lord, our God and God of our fathers, that thou hast cast our lot amongst those that dwell in the houses of learning, and not amongst the occupants of the markets. For we arise early, and they arise early. We arise to the words of Law, and they arise to words of vanity. We strive, and they strive. We strive and receive our reward, while they strive in vain. We run, and they run. We run towards everlasting life, and they run towards death, as it is written: "But Thou, O God! Thou wilt bring them down into the pit of destruction; let not the men of blood and deceit live out half their days; but I will indeed trust in Thee!"

May it be Thy will, O Lord my God, that as Thou hast assisted me in the conclusion of Tract Sabbath, so mayest Thou assist me in the commencement of other tracts and books of Law, and in their conclusion: that I may live to learn and teach, to observe and to do and to keep all the words of the teachings of Thy Law with affection. And may the merits of all the Tanaim and Amoraim and other scholars uphold me and my children, in order that the Law may not escape from my mouth, from the mouths of my children and children's children forever, and may it be verified in me (all that is written): "When thou walkest, it shall lead thee; when thou liest down, it shall watch over thee; and when thou art awake, it shall converse with thee. For through me shall thy days be multiplied and the years of thy life shall be increased unto thee. Length of days are in her right hand, in her left are riches and honour. The Lord shall give strength unto His people; the Lord will bless His people with peace."

[Revised July 22, 1896, and found all correct.--ISAAC M. WISE.]

APPENDIX.

PAGE 24 of Volume I. of this tract contains a Mishna commencing with the statement: "And these are some of the regulations enacted in the attic of Hananiah ben Hizkyah ben Garon," and concluding, "they enforced eighteen regulations on that day." At the same time, the Mishna fails to enumerate in the place mentioned, or elsewhere, these eighteen regulations. The Gemara, however, conjectures upon their character and cites them in a scattered and incoherent manner. As a matter of course, this is not done without the adduction of numerous and varied opinions; but the conclusion is, that the eighteen regulations are those which we shall enumerate farther on.

In another section of the Gemara it is related, that three hundred jars of wine and a like number of jars of oil were taken up into that attic in order to afford the sages no opportunity to leave their places until their deliberations concerning the regulations were finally concluded.

Among these regulations there are, however, only two or three concerning Sabbath, the rest being dispersed throughout the Talmud in their proper departments and merely mentioned as regulations enacted during that session, but they are not enumerated in regular order either of sequence or time of enactment. Hence we, in consistency with our method of translation--viz., to place everything in its proper department--have omitted in this tract the enumeration of these regulations, together with the diverse opinions concerning the reasons for their institution, which reasons as cited by the Gemara are very abstruse and for the most part untenable.

In the last chapter of this tract, however, mention is again made of the eighteen regulations, and it is declared, that their measure was made "heaping full," while elsewhere in the Gemara the assertion is made, that the day on which they were enacted was as grave in its consequences for Israel as the day on which the golden calf was made. It is these two statements that have impelled us at the last moment to embody these eighteen regulations in an appendix at the end of this volume, and state as best we can, after careful study and consideration of the subject, the most potent reasons for their enactment.

With this purpose in view, we shall divide the eighteen regulations into five classes, as follows: Those pertaining to Therumah (heave-offerings), Tumah (uncleanness), Chithon (mingling with other nations), Mikvah (legal bath), and Sabbath.

Therumah is rendered useless when brought into contact with any one of the following ten subjects: First: With a man who eats a thing that had been contaminated by a parent of uncleanness 1 and had thus become unclean in the first degree. Second: With a man who had eaten a thing unclean in the second degree (i.e., had been touched by a thing unclean in the first degree). Third: With a man who had drunk unclean beverages. Fourth: With a man who had bathed his head and the larger portion of his body in water that had been pumped up (drawn or scooped), and not in a legal bath. Fifth: With a clean person (i.e., one who had already taken a legal bath, but was subsequently drenched with three lugs of drawn water). Sixth: With the sacred scrolls of the Holy Writ, either in part or in its entire form. 2 Seventh: With hands of which one was not quite certain that they had been kept clean the whole day. Eighth: With one who had taken a legal bath, if the Therumah was touched before sunset. Ninth: With eatables and utensils which had become unclean through beverages (as will be explained in Tract Yodaim). When brought in contact with any one of these nine subjects, Therumah is rendered useless. Tenth: The crop raised from Therumah (seed) is of the same character as the seed; if the latter was clean when planted the crop is clean, but if the seed was unclean the crop is the same. Nevertheless, it is still considered Therumah, and subject to the laws of Therumah. Thus we have ten regulations concerning Therumah.

Concerning uncleanness, there were four regulations enacted: First: All movable things bring uncleanness on a man by means of a tent, not larger even than a span, covering a corpse, even if the space between the corpse and the tent was but an awl's width. (For explanation, see Tract Ahaloth.) Second: The daughters of the Samaritans are considered unclean (as women suffering from their menstruation) from the day of their birth. Third: A child of a heathen is considered unclean, because it is considered as one afflicted with venereal disease. Fourth: One who presses grapes or olives renders the vessels used to receive the must or the oil susceptible to uncleanness. (This is explained in detail in Tract Kelim.)

Concerning Chithon, but one regulation was enacted, covering four subjects: It was prohibited to partake of the bread, oil, or wine of other nations in order to prevent intermarriage with their daughters.

Concerning Mikvah, one regulation only was enacted; viz. If the water running out of a rain-gutter flow directly into a Mikvah, the Mikvah is not invalidated; but if the water was intercepted by a vessel from which it flowed into the Mikvah, the latter becomes invalid; or even if three lugs of drawn water were poured into the Mikvah, they render it useless (see Tract Mikvaoth).

Concerning Sabbath, two regulations were enacted: First: One shall not search for vermin or read before lamplight (on Friday night). 1 Second: One who was overtaken by dusk on the Sabbath eve while on the road must give his purse to a Gentile.

The learned reader who is not familiar with the intricate teachings of the Talmud, and even the student of the Talmud who has delved in its labyrinths of lore for the sake of probing into the ordinances and discussions contained in its volumes, will be quite amazed at the seeming unimportance and triviality of the above regulations, unless thoroughly comprehensive of the spirit of the Talmud and the object of the sages in their day.

At the time when these regulations were enacted and enforced, there appeared no reasonable grounds for their enactment; and even the reasons advanced by the Gemara itself in a faltering, groping manner are in many instances quite absurd. Entirely contrary to their usual custom, the sages themselves did not base these regulations upon any inference, analogy, passage, or ordinance contained in the Holy Writ, a very remarkable occurrence indeed. Furthermore, at a casual glance, the student will not find in any one of the regulations a motive based even on common sense.

Strange to say, it has also occurred that our excellent Hebrew poet L. Gordon, in a poem pungent with deepest sarcasm and pointed ridicule, commented upon these eighteen regulations, saying, amongst other things: "Not for political purposes, not for the improvement of the government moral or material, did our sages seclude themselves in their attic, but merely to prohibit matters as trivial and absurd as that of reading by lamplight on the eve of Sabbath," etc.

Had the poet, however, devoted deeper study and closer research to the environments, influences, and conditions prevailing in the days of these sages, he would readily have discovered that the greatest political import, the gravest questions of government both moral and material, actuated the institution of these apparently ridiculous regulations, all culminating and leaning towards the accomplishment of one great object; viz., that of keeping the small nation of Jews intact and guarding it from the dangers menacing it not only from the exterior world but from its interior vampires and oppressors.

It should not be overlooked that when the deliberations anent these regulations were about to be commenced, the hall used for the session was closely guarded by men armed with keen-edged swords, under instructions to permit all who desired to enter to do so, but to instantly thrust their swords through any one endeavoring to retreat; and what was the discussion commenced with? Merely an argument determining the uncleanness of certain vessels, which the priests could not approach (as will be seen farther on). Still, Hillel the Prince, the mighty sage, sat before his old-time opponent Shamai, and listened to him with the most profound attention and reverence, just as if he were the least among his disciples.

This historical fact was but another item in inducing us to digress from our established method and insert the eighteen regulations, together with the explanation of their importance; for had we not done so, it is highly probable that

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we would have called down the criticism of many scholars who could not overlook such an omission.

At no period in the history of the Jewish race do we find so much deliberation, profundity of thought, and depth of calculation in evidence as at the time when the sages secluded themselves in the attic of Hananiah ben Hizkyah. There it was, that means were devised to keep the nation of the Jews--whose friends were always in the minority, and whose enemies, not only abroad but in their very midst, were as the sands of the sea--intact and proof against annihilation.

All of the literature current among the masses was carefully scanned and revised. The ethical code was reënforced, and wherever necessary purged of objectionable matter. This censorship was carried to such an extent that it was attempted to reject even Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Ezekiel as undesirable; and it was only with great difficulty that those in authority were prevailed upon to let them remain. The records of ancestry, however, tracing the descent of every existing family, which were the pride of the people, as well as all works treating of medical science and the art of healing, were buried and hidden beyond recovery. Even the Apocrypha were eliminated from the Holy Writ and declared ordinary literature, and many other writings unknown to us even in this day, as well as all secret scripts, were thoroughly revised and made adaptable to the existing times and circumstances. All this, and more, was done with the sole purpose of preserving the integrity of the Jewish race and preventing its absorption by other nations.

Thus it was commenced to accustom the Jew to study and thought, and as an outcome of this period of virtual renaissance the eighteen regulations were enacted with two prime objects in view, as follows:

Firstly, to diminish as far as possible the constantly growing domination of the priests; for the high-priestdom, with which the supreme governing power was identical, could be purchased with money, and more especially because the number of priests in the last century prior to the destruction of the Temple had grown to such a vast proportion that those in actual service alone numbered little short of twenty thousand. Apart from these were those who did not perform actual service, while enjoying all the immunities and privileges of their rank as priests, and they were: Priests who had the least blemish on their bodies; those whose descent or even whose wives' descent left the least room for doubt; and the wealthy and influential priests who would not perform the menial duties of priests, but left them to the less fortunate and more insignificant of their number. (See "Die Priester und der Cultus," by Dr. Adolf Büchler, Vienna, 1895.)

Of such men was the party in power composed, and they made but too free a rise of their authority. As a matter of course, restrictions had to be provided wherewith to relieve the oppressed.

Secondly, the object was to prevent the amalgamation of the Jews with the other nations with whom they were in daily and constant association.

Now for the manner in which the first object was about to be accomplished.

Quite some time previous to the time of which we are treating, the laymen had, after a hard struggle, succeeded in divesting the priests of their spiritual power (i.e., the right to decide all questions pertaining to religious and ritual matters, whether a thing was allowed or forbidden, clean or unclean, etc.), by proving that the priests were far too ignorant to be competent judges. This struggle had been going on since the days of Nehemiah, for prior to his day the priests were the sole judges both in spiritual and in temporal affairs, claiming their privilege in accordance with the passage [Deut. 21:5]: "And after their (the priests') decision shall be done at every controversy and every injury." Having wrested the spiritual power from the priests, the supervision of all religious and ritual matters was conferred upon the Pharisees, who henceforth were the recognised authorities in the interpretation of the Law. This accomplished, the next step decided upon was to limit as much as possible the temporal power of the priests: it was decided not to do this in too precipitate a manner, but cautiously and unostentatiously, using as a medium regulations seemingly unimportant, but the hidden motives of which were far-reaching in their consequences.

The time of Hananiah ben Hizkyah was the more opportune for such a coup d'état, as by that time the Pharisees had obtained the upper hand of all other existing sects, notably the Sadducees.

Now, inasmuch as it proved to be an easy matter to enact laws by means of which the Jews would be prevented from amalgamating with other nations, such as the prohibition of partaking the bread, oil, etc., of Gentiles, the proclamation declaring the children of heathens unclean (to prevent the children of Jews from joining them at play and thus forming attachments), and the women of the Samaritans, the deadliest enemies of the Jews, unclean (in order to prevent their employment as servants by Jews), it was but little more difficult to devise laws which would forever break the oppressive domination of the priests in a mild but nevertheless effective manner.

The first step necessary for the accomplishment of this desirable end was to completely destroy the system of espionage practised by the priests, and which was carried on to such an extent that spies were constantly prying into actions and even utterances in the houses of the laymen. This was, however, by no means an easy task, from the very fact that the priests were virtual shareholders in all the possessions of the laymen. One fiftieth of all grain raised by the peasants was their share as Therumah; one tenth of such grain comprised the tithe, and one tenth of the tithe belonged to the priests individually; the first of the dough, the first of shorn wool, the parts of slaughtered cattle, the firstlings of cattle, the firstfruits of trees and produce, all belonged to the priests; and it was but natural that they were to be found in the houses of the laymen at all times, whither they would come not to humbly ask for their donations, but to demand it as the rightful possessors and shareholders. Nor were they at all backward about taking a hand in the management of all other affairs of the layman, under the plea of guarding their own interests; and thus at times willingly, sometimes unwillingly, they were the spies of the higher authorities of the government.

The question then arose how to find a place where the deliberations for the suppression of this constantly growing evil could be held without the presence of the spying priests; and to meet the exigencies of the case, an old decree that had been promulgated in the early days of the existence of the Temple was again called into being and made effective. The decree was the one enacted in the time of Jose ben Joezer Ish Izreda and Jose ben Johanan the Jerusalemite, and read: "All the lands outside of Judæa are unclean" (i.e., all eatables and beverages containing any degree of sanctity whatever are rendered unclean by coming in contact with the soil of those lands outside of Judæa, but aside from such eatables and beverages nothing was rendered unclean). Now, the only eatables and beverages containing any sanctity whatever, which could be found outside of Jerusalem, where the sacrifices and other sanctified articles were brought, were the gifts and the Therumah set aside for the priests. Thus we see that the declaration of uncleanness, ostensibly directed against all eatables containing any degree of sanctity, was in reality directed against the Therumah of the priests, while the priests themselves were flattered by the elevation of the Therumah to the degree of highest sanctity, and its object will be apparent from the following argument:

The Therumah is invested with sanctity only when it is separated from the bulk, but while still a part of the entire crop it is regarded as ordinary grain. If the Therumah were separated from the bulk in any land outside of Judæa, the moment it comes in contact with the soil it becomes unclean and unfit for use. This fact made it necessary to separate the Therumah in Judæa. The transportation of the entire crop to Judæa for such a purpose involving too much labour and expense, part of the crop was set aside in the field, and from that part a sufficient quantity was separated and sent to the holy land. There the quantity of the Therumah (which according to biblical ordinance could have been only one grain, but according to established custom amounted to one fiftieth of the entire crop) was separated from the quantity sent. The consequence of this mode of procedure was, that the presence of the priest at the place where the crop was harvested was no longer required, as he could not demand his share outside of Judæa. Thus it was rendered possible to hold a convocation where the presence of the priest was no longer to be dreaded. 1 It seems that up to the time of Hananiah ben Hizkyah this decree had been evidently disregarded or not sufficiently effective, 2 for we see that eighty years prior to the destruction of the Temple it was again promulgated, and this time reënforced with the declaration that even the atmosphere of all lands outside of Judæa was unclean and all articles containing any degree of sanctity were rendered unclean by contact with such atmosphere.

The eighty years before the destruction of the Temple correspond with the time of Hananiah ben Hizkyah, and it is quite possible that the sages called by the Talmud "the sages of the eighty years" were the same that took part in the deliberations in the attic, and that, in order to secure at least one place where they could hold a convocation undisturbed by the priests, they declared even the atmosphere of the lands outside of Judæa unclean.

The Talmud relates, also, that in the city of Usha the decree was reënforced for the third time with the declaration that all articles rendered unclean by the atmosphere of such lands were not only to be rendered useless, but were to be immediately burned, as a precaution lest a priest might accidentally make use of them.

Still, the decree was not as effective as it should have been, as long as the priest could come and announce that he would use his share of the Therumah for seed or dispose of it as seed, and to meet this exigency the sages of the attic first of all decreed that the crops raised from clean or unclean Therumah, used as seed, were clean or unclean respectively.

Again, means had to be devised to rid the laymen residing in Judæa proper from the obnoxious presence of the priests at all times; for at harvest-time, or when the grain was brought from the lands outside of Judæa, the ever-watchful priest was on band. To this end the subsequent regulations concerning Therumah were enacted and gradually reënforced. Thus at first a man who had eaten a thing unclean in the first degree rendered Therumah useless; then a man who had eaten a thing of the second degree of uncleanness, until finally even a sacred scroll, or even a hand that had come in contact with a sacred scroll, and last of all a hand that was not known to be positively clean, rendered Therumah useless. All this was done with the sole object of keeping the priests out of the houses of the laymen, and rather bring the Therumah to them than have them come to demand it. Should they come in spite of this, it was not difficult to find a pretext for calling the Therumah unclean. In order, however, not to make the purpose of these regulations too apparent, and thus give offence to the priests, other regulations were enacted in conjunction with these, which, while of no value whatever in themselves, acted as screens for the actual intentions.

It is now not difficult to explain the historical sensation caused by the deference shown by Hillel to Shamai at the commencement of these deliberations, and the reasons which prompted the posting of an armed guard at the entrance of the hall. Hillel, in his capacity as a prince of Israel, was somewhat too timid to proceed against the priests in too harsh a manner; but the masses were so much incensed against their oppressors, and so deeply conscious of their grievances, that he could not stem the popular tide against them. In this emergency it was Shamai, under ordinary circumstances of lesser consequence than Hillel, that proved to be the champion of the popular cause; and in order to insure for him a telling majority when the question came up for a final vote, the doors of the hall were guarded so that none could leave, while all were allowed to enter. Seeing the patriotism and popularity of Shamai, the prince could not help bowing to popular sentiment and showing respect to the favourite of the hour.

It would require a volume of many, many pages to demonstrate how each one of the regulations instituted was directed against the priests, how deeply it injured them, and in what measure it curtailed their previous unlimited sphere of action; also, especially, how the dispute between Hillel and Shamai concerning the susceptibility to uncleanness of vessels used at grape and olive pressing concerned the priests. Even then, a person not thoroughly imbued with the spirit of those times could scarcely understand it; but we would request that the eighteen regulations be again carefully perused, and it will readily be observed by even the casual reader, from the hints given, that the ten ordinances 1 relating to Therumah were directed entirely against the priests, and the four concerning uncleanness were in part against the priests and in part against mingling with other nations; as for the regulation against mingling, that goes without saying, while the regulations concerning the Mikvah and Sabbath were but incidental and trivial matters intended as a screen for the grave importance of those mentioned.

THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD BOOK 3 (formerly 2)
(Vols. 3 and 4)

VOLUME 3

Tract Erubin
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What is the law if a man used a tree, which grew right at the wall, for a ladder? If two courts are separated by a ditch, ten spans deep and four wide. "Thou wouldst prove a contradiction from a law pertaining to uncleanness to a Sabbath-law?" If there be between two courts a straw-rick, ten spans high. If a house which was filled with straw stand between two courts?

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TRACT ERUBIN.

CHAPTER 1.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE WIDTH AND HEIGHT OF AN ERUB CONSTRUCTED IN STREETS INHABITED SOLELY BY ISRAELITES, AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN ERUB BY A CARAVAN.

MISHNA: If an entry 1 be higher than twenty ells, it should be lowered. R. Jehudah said: "This is not necessary." If it be wider than ten ells, it should be made narrower, but if it have the appearance of a door, even though it be wider than ten ells, it need not be made narrower.

GEMARA: We have learned in a Mishna [Sukkah, 1. a] that a booth which is higher than twenty ells is unfit for use, and R. Jehudah said, that it maybe used. Why does the Mishna in the case of an entry decree, that it should be remedied by lowering, while in the case of a booth it declares it unfit for use? Because in the case of a booth a number of other defects are mentioned in connection with the excessive height and each of those would require a special explanation as to how they were to be remedied, whereas in the case of an entry only two things are to be corrected, and the remedy for them is taught.

R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: The difference of opinion between the sages and R. Jehudah is based upon the door and the porch of pillars in the temple. We have learned in a Mishna, that the door of the Temple was twenty ells in height and ten ells in width and that the porch was forty ells in height and twenty ells in width. The sages compare the entry with the door and R. Jehudah compares it with the porch of the Temple, which was also more or less a door; and why does R. Jehudah say, that the porch is also a door, because it is written [Ezekiel 15:48], "the porch of the house," and that is equivalent to the door of a house. Why do not the sages hold the porch to be a door? Because, were it written, "the door of the porch," the porch might also be considered a door; but as it is written, "the porch of the house," it means the porch which opens towards the house, but not a door to the house.

How can it be that R. Jehudah bases his dictum on the porch of the house? The porch was twenty ells in width, and when the Mishna decrees that if the entry be wider than ten ells it must be made narrower, he does not dissent? (Why did he not say, that it was not necessary to lessen its width?) Said Abayi: In the following Boraitha he does dissent as we have learned: "If the width of the entry exceed ten ells it should be made narrower, but R. Jehudah says, it is not necessary." Why is this omitted in the Mishna? He disputes with the sages concerning the height, hence it is evident that he also disputes as to the width.

Again: How can it be that R. Jehudah bases his dictum upon the porch of the house? Have we not learned in a Boraitha, that if an entry exceed twenty ells in height, it must be lowered? R. Jehudah, however, says, that it may be made even forty or fifty ells in height, and Bar Kappara taught, that it may be even one hundred ells high. As for Bar Kappara, it is assumed to be an exaggeration; but as for R. Jehudah it cannot be considered merely an exaggeration, because he bases his dictum upon the porch of the house, and that was only forty ells in height. Why does he say "or fifty"? Whence his basis for such an assertion? Said R. Hisda: Rabh erred on account of the following Boraitha: "We have learned, an entry which is higher than twenty ells, thus exceeding the height of the door of the Temple, should be lowered." Now Rabh assumed, that if the sages base their teaching upon the door of the Temple, R. Jehudah bases his dictum upon the porch of the Temple, but this is not so! R. Jehudah does not consider the Temple at all, but uses as a basis the palaces of kings, the doors of which attain excessive heights.

What is the law concerning an entry, the cross-beam of which was partly above twenty ells in height and partly below, and also concerning the covering of a booth, part of which was over twenty ells in height and the other part lower than twenty? Said Rabba: "An entry is made invalid by it but a booth is not affected." Why does he say that a booth is not affected by it? Because we assume that part of the covering of a booth, which is above twenty ells, to be so frail that it does not matter. Cannot the same thing be said concerning the cross-beam of an entry? If this were said with reference to a cross-beam, then it will seem as if there is no foundation for the cross-beam, and it is suspended in mid-air. Is this not the same with a booth? If it be said, that that part of the covering of the booth is so frail that it amounts to nothing, it cannot serve as protection against the sun and there will be more sunshine than shade, and this would make the booth invalid? But, as such is not the case and the frailty of the covering is as a matter of fact only imaginary, it does cause more shade than sunshine, and the booth is not made invalid, why should it not also be the same with the cross-beam, the frailty of which is also only imaginary while in reality it is as firm as if fastened with nails? Said Rabha of Parzekaia: "If such a defect occur in a booth, which is intended for the personal use (of a man), it will be remedied through the thoughtfulness of the man (who is bound to keep the commandment properly), but a cross-beam of an entry which is intended for public use will be neglected, because one man will rely upon another to remedy the defect, as the proverb goes, that a pot used in common is never warm nor cold" (one relies upon another to keep it in its proper condition). Rabhina said: The booth being a fulfilment of a biblical commandment needs no further safeguard, for it will be kept under any circumstances; but the entry being a purely rabbinical institution must not leave any loopholes, by which the entire law may eventually be circumvened.

What is the law, finally? Rabba bar R. Ula said, "Both are invalid," and Rabha said, "Both are valid," why? Because the twenty ells refer to the space between the ground and the crossbeam or covering, respectively, and even if part of either be above twenty ells, the space is not changed in volume. Said R. Papa to Rabha: I know of a Boraitha confirming this statement: "An entry which is more than twenty ells high and thus is higher than the door of the Temple should be lowered, and the space between the ground and the ceiling in the Temple itself was twenty ells high." R. Shimi bar R. Ashi objected to this: "We have learned further on, how should we remedy the defect in the entry? The cross-beam should be laid below the limit of the twenty ells!" Do not learn in the Boraitha, "below" but "above" the limit of the twenty ells. The Boraitha, however, distinctly teaches "below"? This "below" refers to a booth which was less than ten spans high and which must be made higher so that the space between the ground and the ceiling should be no less than ten spans, in the same manner as it must not be higher than twenty ells.

Abayi said in the name of R. Na'hman: "The ell used at a booth and at an entry measures five spans, but the ell used at Kilaim is six spans." For what legal purpose does R. Na'hman relate this? This is taught for the purpose of determining the height of an entry and for measuring a breach in the wall of an entry. (If the breach be over ten ells wide, the entry is invalid, and the ell used for measurement is the one of five spans only.) Why is the width of a breach and the height of the entry only mentioned? There is also width to be considered in an entry, for did not R. Na'hman state, that an entry must not be less than four ells wide? What ells are these? If they are four ells of the lesser standard, R. Na'hman makes the ordinance more lenient? The ells in an entry, as a rule, are those of the lesser standard, but as for the width, those of the greater standard are used. Further, R. Na'hman said, that the ell used at a booth also measures five spans. For what purpose did he state this? For the measurement of the height of the booth and the crooked walls 1 of the booth. There is also the width of the booth to be considered, however, and that should be four ells? Will not the ordinance regarding the width be made more lenient thereby of twenty spans only? The ells of a booth generally are of five spans, but as for width the ells measuring six spans are used. What does R. Na'hman intend to specify, by stating that the ells used at Kilaim measure six spans? He refers to seeds planted in the superficies of a vineyard and to a barren spot in a vineyard (as explained in Tract Kilaim). But there is a vineyard in which the vines are planted at less intervals than four ells and the opinions of the sages differ as to whether such a vineyard is called a vineyard in a legal sense (and if the ells be measured according to the statement of Na'hman it is made more lenient? Because if the four ells be of the lesser standard the commandment of Kilaim is not applied.) The statement of R. Na'hman is made for a rule but did not include the above vineyard. The ells of a vineyard are generally used of six spans, but not for the width. But Rabha said in the name of R. Na'hman: All ells measure six spans, but in Kilaim are measured with long spans and in entry and booth with short spans to make it more rigorously.

R. Hyya bar Ashi in the name of Rabh said: The several prescribed quantities (as mentioned in Tract Sabbath), the Chatzitzah (intervention of articles at bathing), and the ordinance concerning the walls of an entry and of a booth are ordinances given by Moses at the Mount Sinai. How can it be said, that these are Sinaic laws, they are biblical laws? For it is written [Deutr. viii. 8]: "A land of wheat and barley, and of the vine, and the fig-tree and the pomegranate; a land of the oil-olive and of honey." And R. Hanan said, that the whole verse refers to prescribed quantities: "By wheat is meant, what we have learned elsewhere in a Mishna [Negaim 13:9]: If a man clad in garments and shoes entered a house where leprosy was prevalent, he immediately becomes unclean, but his garments, shoes, etc., do not become unclean, until he remains there a length of time sufficient for the consumption of bread of the quantity of two eggs, wheaten bread but not barley-bread, and when eaten in a reclining position with some other

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dish. By barley is meant, what we have learned elsewhere [Ohaloth 2:3]: If a bone of a corpse is the size of a (grain of) barley, it makes a body unclean, when touched or carried, but it does not make unclean the contents of a tent, if found therein. By vine is meant: If a Nazarite drink a quarter of a lug of wine he ceases to be a Nazarite and must bring a sin-offering. By fig-tree is meant, that one is guilty of carrying on the Sabbath, if he carries anything of the size or quantity of a dried fig. By pomegranate is meant, what we have learned elsewhere [Khelim 17:1]: Any vessel belonging to a household, if it have a hole as large as a pomegranate, is not subject to defilement any more. By a land of the oil-olive is meant a land where all prescribed quantities are of the size of an olive. [All prescribed quantities? What about those just mentioned? Say, a land where the majority of the prescribed quantities are of the size of an olive.] By honey is meant, that if a man ate anything the size of a fresh date on the Day of Atonement, he is guilty."

How can the passage be understood in this manner? No prescribed quantities are mentioned in the passage? We must say, therefore, that those laws are Sinaic, but the passage is merely a mnemotechnical basis for them. And Chatzitzah, is that not also biblical law? It (as) is written [Leviticus 15:16]: "Then shall he bathe all his flesh in water." By all his flesh is meant, that nothing should intervene between his flesh and the water? The Sinaic law was necessary in order to stipulate, that there should even be no intervention between the hair and the water (not only between the flesh and the water). As was said by Rabba bar R. Huna: "If there was a knot in a single hair, there was certainly an intervention; but if three hairs were tied in a knot, there was certainly no intervention; but if two were tied together, the matter is doubtful to me." But even the ordinance concerning the hair is also biblical? For we have learned in a Boraitha, that by "all his flesh" is meant all attached to the flesh, and that includes the hair. The Sinaic law was necessary in order to stipulate the ordinances concerning the greater and lesser part of the hair, one who is particular with his hair and one who is not, as was said by the dictum of R. Itz'hak: "According to biblical law Chatzitzah is constituted only if the greater part of his hair was encrusted with loam or blood, etc., and the man is particular about his hair, but if he is not, it does not constitute intervention." The rabbinical laws, however, ordained as a precautionary measure, that if the larger part of his hair be encrusted even though he be not particular, it would constitute Chatzitzah, lest one who is particular would not consider it so, and they also ordained, that if the smaller part of his hair was encrusted and he is particular about his hair, it would constitute Chatzitzah, as a precautionary measure, for the sake of the one who has the larger part of his hair encrusted and is also particular about his hair.

The ordinances concerning the walls of a booth and an entry are also biblical? For the master said: "It is written, that the ark was nine spans high and the cover was one span thick, so the ark and cover combined were ten spans high, and this serves as a prescribed height for all walls." The Sinaic laws are necessary for the stipulation of the ordinances concerning Gud, 1 Lavud, 2 and crooked walls.

If the entry was higher than twenty ells and is to be lowered, how much lower should it be made? How much lower? As much as is necessary. The question here is, how much of the space below the cross-beam must be diminished in order to make the space only twenty ells high. R. Joseph said: "One span underneath the cross-beam is sufficient"; but Abayi said, four spans, and they differ merely as to the precautionary measure involved; the latter claiming, that one span may be impaired through stepping upon it, while the former holds that there is no danger of such a thing happening.

How is it if the entry was less than ten spans high and sufficient ground had to be excavated in order to make it the prescribed height? How much ground should be excavated? How much? As much as is necessary? The question, therefore, is not as to how much must be excavated in height, but in the width of the entry. R. Joseph said: "For the width of four spans," and Abayi said, "For four ells." (The reason R. Joseph says four spans in this case, while only requiring one span in the above case, is because in the first instance a wall for the entry already existed, and merely the space had to be diminished, but in this instance, if the wall is less than ten spans high, it cannot be considered a wall and by excavating the ground the wall will be made; hence four spans at least must be excavated in order to constitute such a wall, the wall of an entry. Abayi, however, holds that in this case four spans would be insufficient, and at least four ells are necessary, because an entry is not considered such, unless it is four ells wide.)

Said Abayi: "Whence do I know that four ells are required? From the statement of Rami bar Hama in the name of R. Huna, that if a beam protrude from one of the walls of the entry for a distance of less than four ells, it may serve as the side-beam of such entry and be valid, although it was not intended to serve for that purpose. If such a beam protrude for a distance of four ells or more, it is considered as part of the wall and cannot serve as a side-beam, but a new side-beam must be made in order to make the entry valid." (If a beam protrude from a wall of an entry and was even not intended to serve as a side-beam, it may be ever so small, it is considered as a side-beam for the entry and is valid. If it protrude, however, for a distance of four ells or more, and was not originally intended for a side-beam, it cannot serve the purpose, because the entire width of the entry is only supposed to be four ells and for that reason the protruding beam is considered part of the wall. Hence in order to make the entry valid, another side-beam must be constructed. From this it may be seen, that Abayi bases his opinion concerning the width of the entry upon the dictum of Rami bar Hama, that an entry must be four ells wide.) R. Joseph, however, declares, that the decree of Rami bar Hama does not conflict with his own decision; for it is true that a beam, if it be four ells wide is not considered a side-beam, because it has not the appearance of a side-beam; still the reason for this is not because the width of the entry itself should be four ells, but because the side-beam is too large, and, as for the entry itself, it is sufficient, if it be only four spans wide.

Again, Rami bar Hama said, that if the beam be four ells wide, another side-beam is necessary. Where should the latter be put? Should he add the side-beam to the original beam, the size will be increased (and it will not look anything like a side-beam)? Said R. Papa.: "It can be put on the other side of the entry." R. Huna bar R. Jehoshua, however, said, that the side-beam may be added to the original beam, but it should be made either higher or lower than the original beam (in order that it may appear as if it were added). The same R. Huna said also: "All this is said in a case of where the entry was eight ells in width (so that the protruding beam and the entry arc of equal width), but if the entry was only seven ells wide and thus the width of the entry is less than the protruding beam, even according to Rami bar Hama, the entry is valid without the addition of another beam, because the entry being narrower than the beam is considered the same as a door." This ordinance is made lenient from an inference of a rigorous ordinance, 1 viz.: the ordinance concerning a court: If in a court one of the walls is entirely destroyed, nothing! may be carried therein on the Sabbath, and neither a cross-beam nor a side-beam placed at the remaining walls alters its character. However, if the wall destroyed was only partially ruined and the remaining portion is larger than the breach, things may be carried therein. Hence in the case of an entry where a side or cross beam suffices for the entire wall, if the wall is wider than the space of the entry proper, in so much greater a degree is the entry valid for all purposes. R. Ashi, however, says, that even if the entry was eight ells wide, no additional side-beam is necessary, no matter in which way the case is assumed: If it be assumed that the closed part of the entry is wider than the entry itself (through some inaccuracy in construction), then the entry is valid because of that fact, and if it be assumed that the space of the entry is wider, then the closed part which is constituted by the beam may be regarded as a legal side-beam and then the entry is certainly valid; but it might be assumed, that both the closed part and the space were exactly equal; in that event it would constitute a doubtful case based on a rabbinical law, and such a case is always decided with leniency.

Said R. Hanin bar Rabha in the name of Rabh: "If the wall of an entry was broken for a distance of less than ten ells at the side the entry is valid; but if the front of the wall was broken for four ells (assuming that the entry was originally twenty ells wide and in order to make it valid, ten ells had been closed up, and of the ten ells of the new wall, four had been broken) the entry is not valid." Why is the entry valid if the wall was broken for a distance of ten ells on the side, because the breach can be regarded as a door? Why should not the same case apply to the breach in the front? Say that can also be regarded as a door? Said R. Huna bar R. Jehoshua: "In this case the breach is supposed to be in the corner, and a door is not generally made in the corner." R. Huna, however, said, that the same distance applies to both the side and the front of wall. In either case if the breach exceeds four ells, the entry is not valid. And thus said R. Huna to R. Hanan bar Rabha. "Do not dispute with me, for it happened that Rabh came to the city of Damharia and he acted there in accordance with my decree." R. Hanan bar Rabha answered: "This is not sufficient evidence for me, because in that case Rabh acted in a manner that precluded the possibility of doing wrong (i.e., the people there were ignorant and had he given them a liberal interpretation of the ordinance, they would have taken advantage of it and disregarded the law in the future)."

Said R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak: "It seems to me that R. Huna was correct in his opinion from the following: It was taught: An entry made in the form of a right angle should, according to Rabh, be considered as an ordinary entry which is open on both sides and requires an apparent door on one side and a cross or side beam on the other side, but according to Samuel it must be considered as a closed entry (and at both sides needs only a side-beam). Now, let us see! Shall we assume, that even if the entry was wider than ten ells, Samuel still regards it as a closed entry, and only requires a side-beam at each side; (and this being impossible, therefore we must rather assume, that the entry was only ten ells wide, and still Rabh regards it as an open entry and declares, that it requires an apparent door; hence we see that the breach on the side of the wall must also not exceed four ells in order that it may be regarded as a door. (According to Rabh then, not even ten ells in front can be regarded as a door until an apparent door is added. How can it be said that if a breach measure ten ells at the side it is regarded as a door?) What rejoinder will R. Hanan bar Rabha make? R. Hanan will claim, that an entry made in the form of a right angle is used so much, that it appears like public ground (hence an apparent door must be made, but as for a court, which is not used as a thoroughfare, even ten ells may appear like a door).

The Rabbis taught: How are entries facing public ground combined by an Erub,? On one side an apparent door should be made and on the other a cross and side beam should be put up. Said Hananiah: The school of Shamai said, that doors should be made at both entries where they face the street, and when going out or entering, the man should close the door. The school of Hillel, however, said, that at one side a side and a cross beam should be made and at the other a door should be made. Commenting upon this, Rabh said, that the Halakha prevails according to the first Tana, and Samuel said, that it prevails according to Hananiah.

The schoolmen propounded a question: "Is a man, according to the opinion of Hananiah, quoting the school of Hillel, obliged to close the door or not?" Come and hear. R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel, that he is not obliged to close the door. R. Mathna added: I was placed in that position at one time and Samuel said to me, that it must not be closed. There was an entry (as shown in the illustration) at the city of Neherdai, to which the rigorous ordinances of both Samuel and Rabh were applied and doors were ordered to be made. The rigorous ordinance of Rabh is the one pertaining to an entry which was made in the form of a right angle, and was declared by him to be regarded as an open entry and in this case there were two openings towards the street. [Did not Rabh say above that the Halakha prevails as the first Tana? In this case the rigorous ordinance of Samuel was applied, who said, that the Halakha prevails according to Hananiah. But did not Samuel say, that an entry made in the form of a right angle is to be considered as a closed entry, and requires only side-beams? In this instance again the rigorous ordinance of Rabh was applied and it was regarded as an open entry, and at an open entry, according to Hananiah, quoting the school of Hillel, doors are also required.]

May, then, the rigorous ordinances of two Tanaim be applied to one case? Have we not learned in a Boraitha, that at all times the Halakha prevails according to the school of Hillel, but he who wishes to act in accordance with the school of Shamai, may follow that school exclusively both in the lenient and the rigorous ordinances, and he who wishes to act in accordance with the school of Hillel may follow that school exclusively in both lenient and rigorous ordinances. He who only follows the more lenient ordinances of both schools is a sinner, and he who follows only the more rigorous ordinances of both schools is referred to by the passage [Ecclesiastes ii. 14] as "the fool walketh in darkness."

Said R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak: The entry made in Neherdai was made in accordance with the decision of Rabh solely, but did not Rabh say, that the Halakha prevails according to the first Tana? R. Huna said in the name of Rabh, that the Halakha in theory remains according to the first Tana, but it should not be carried out in practice. But according to R. Ada bar Ahabha, who said in the name of Rabh, that the Halakha prevails according to the first Tana and should be carried out accordingly, was not the entry in Neherdai made according to the more rigorous decisions of both schools of Shamai and Hillel? Said R. Shezbi: It is not allowed to act in accordance with too rigorous ordinances of two schools only when they conflict with one another (e.g., the ordinances concerning the back and the head as will be explained in Chulin). Wherever they do not conflict, however, they may be applied in one and the same case.

R. Joseph was sitting in the presence of R. Huna, and said: "R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh, that the first Tana and R. Hananiah differed only when the entry faced a market on both sides; but if on one side there was public ground and on the other was a valley which was considered unclaimed ground, all agree that an apparent door should be made on one side and a cross or side beam on the other side." R. Joseph then continued in the name of R. Jehudah alone and stated, that if the entry opened on one side into a vacant yard which in turn opened into public ground, nothing need be made at either end of the entry.

Said Abayi to R. Joseph: What R. Jehudah is supposed to have said himself was in reality a decree of Samuel, because were it a decree of Rabh, he would contradict himself in either of two instances; for R. Jeremiah bar Abba said in the name of Rabh: "If the wall of an entry opening into a courtyard be entirely destroyed, and the wall between the courtyard and the street was broken only for a distance of less than ten ells, the courtyard is not invalidated but the entry is." Why! Say rather that the entry in this case is equal to one that faces a vacant yard, and, according to R. Jehudah, needs nothing at

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either end. (Where the contradiction in either of the two instances occurs is as follows: If R. Jehudah means to state, that the entry needs nothing at either end because it is an open entry, that would contradict Rabh in one instance, as R. Jeremiah bar Abba relates, that the entry is invalidated because it is made an open entry. If we assume, however, that R. Jehudah holds an entry, opening into a vacant place, to be valid even if nothing is made at either end, because the place was vacant and there were no inhabitants who could invalidate the entry by refusing to combine in an Erub, but, if there were inhabitants in that place, the entry would have been invalid unless provided with the necessary appliances. Here, however, Rabh, according to R. Jeremiah bar Abba, invalidates the entry because it is an open entry and not because of the inhabitants, and hence there would be contradiction in the other instance.)

Said R. Joseph to Abayi: "I know not whose decree R. Jehudah cited, but it happened in the village of a shepherd, that there was an entry which opened into a vacant yard and R. Jehudah was asked whether it was necessary to provide the entry with an apparent door or beams, and R. Jehudah answered that it was not. If this is contradictory to the opinion of Rabh, then let it be attributed not to him but to Samuel, and there will be no contradiction." Now what R. Shesheth said to R. Samuel bar Abba or, according to another version, to R. Joseph bar Abba, namely: I will explain to you, that the decree of Rabh is not permanent. There are times when Rabh himself holds that the entry is valid, and this occurs, if the inhabitants of the courtyard and the entry made a joint Erub (common cause); but when such was not the case, he holds the entry to be invalidated, which proves to us, that the decree of R. Jehudah concerning the entry in the village of the shepherd may have also been in conformity with the opinion of Rabh, because the vacant yard had no inhabitants with whom the inhabitants of the entry could have made an Erub; for the decree of R. Jeremiah bar Abba in the name of Rabh does not invalidate the entry because it is made an open entry, but because there were no inhabitants in the vacant place with whom the inhabitants of the entry could combine in an Erub.

R. Joseph said: "When R. Jehudah declared, that an entry which opens into a vacant yard is valid even when nothing had been made at either end, he intended to state, that such was the case if the entry opened into the centre of the vacant yard, but if it opened into one side of the yard it is not valid." Said Rabba: "Even if the entry opened into the centre of the vacant yard, it is only then valid, provided it is not exactly opposite the opening of the yard into the street; if it is directly opposite, however, the entry is invalid. Said R. Mesharshia: "Even if the entry is not opposite the opening of the vacant place into the street, it is valid only if the vacant place was public property, but, if belonging to an individual (who might build on it and rent it to others), it will become equal to an entry which faces the sides of a vacant place and is not valid. Whence do you know, that there is a difference between public property and individual property? This is known from the narrative of Rabhin bar Ada concerning an entry which faced the sea (see Chapter 10., Mishna 4).

There was another entry made in the form of a right angle and a mat was placed at the angle. R. Hisda said in reference to this: "This is neither in accordance with Rabh nor with Samuel. According to Rabh, who considers an entry of this kind as an open entry, an apparent door would be necessary, and according to Samuel, who considers it as an entry closed at one end, a side-beam would be necessary; and this mat is neither one nor the other, because it might be blown away by the wind and would leave nothing behind." If, however, the mat was fastened with a nail so that it could not be blown away, it is sufficient.

It was taught: An entry made in the form of a centipede (i.e., an entry containing a number of smaller entries which on one side faced a street and the principal entry also faced a street) should, according to Abayi, be provided with an apparent door, and the smaller ones should be provided with a side and cross beam where they face the street. Said Rabha to Abayi: "According to whose opinion is this? According to Samuel's, who holds, that such an entry is to be regarded as a closed entry; then why is an apparent door necessary? Secondly, we know that in the case of the entry made in the form of a right angle at Neherdai, the decision of Rabh was also respected." Therefore the decree of Rabha is, that apparent doors should be made at the smaller entries where they face the large entry, and the sides facing the street only need a side or cross beam. 1

Said R. Kahana bar Tachlipha in the name of R. Kahana bar Minyumi in the name of R. Kahana bar Malchiyu, quoting R. Kahana the master of Rabh [according to others, R. Kahana bar Malchiyu himself was the master of Rabh]: "An entry, one side of which was wide and the other narrow, should, if the wider side be less than four ells, be provided with a cross-beam laid obliquely, but if it measured fully four ells, the cross-beam should be laid on the narrow side." Rabha, however, said, that in either case, the cross-beam should be placed on the narrow side. "And," he continues, "I will state the reason for my opinion, and the reason for the previous opinion: In my opinion a cross-beam is necessary merely to serve as a sign, and if laid obliquely it cannot be seen and thus would not be a sign. According to the opinion of the previous teachers, the crossbeam serves as a wall, and if such is the case, a wall can be a wall even if placed obliquely." Said R. Kahana: "This being a decree by Kahanim, being myself a Kahan I will also venture to say something: The cross-beam must be placed obliquely if the oblique part does not measure more than ten ells." If it was more than ten ells, however, all agree that it must be placed on the narrow side only.

The schoolmen propounded a question: "May the space underneath the cross-beam be used?" Rabh, R. Hyya, and R. Johanan said, that it may be used. Samuel, R. Simeon ben Rabbi, and Resh Lakish said, that it must not be used. Said R. Hisda: All agree that if a side-beam is used, the space opposite 1 the side-beam must on no account be used.

Rami bar Hama asked R. Hisda: "If one drove two posts on the outside of an entry and placed a cross-beam on top of them, how is the law concerning the entry?" He answered: According to those who hold that the space underneath the cross-beam may be used, the entry is invalid, but according to those who hold, that the space underneath the cross-beam must not be used, the entry is valid (i.e., those who hold that the space underneath the cross-beam must not be used regard the inside edge of the cross-beam as if it made a solid wall to the entry; hence the entry is valid because it is considered a closed entry, and if the posts and cross-beams are on the outside, the entry is nevertheless closed and valid; but those who hold that the space underneath the cross-beam must not be used, regard the outside edge of the cross-beam as the closing wall of the entry; hence there will be an open space between the entry and the outside posts and cross-beam, and the entry is made invalid). Rabha, however, said that even according to the opinion of those who hold that the space underneath the crossbeam must not be used, the entry is invalid because the crossbeam must be recumbent upon the entry proper and not upon the outside.

R. Zakai taught in the presence of R. Johanan: The space underneath the cross-beams and alongside of the side-beams is considered unclaimed ground (i.e., that one must not carry things in that space on Sabbath). Said R. Johanan to him: "Go and teach such things outside of the college." Said Abayi: "It seems to me. that R. Johanan's opposition to R. Zakai was only as far as the space underneath the cross-beam is concerned, but alongside of the side-beams it is prohibited to carry." Rabha, however, said: Even alongside of the side. beams it is also allowed to carry.

Said R. Huna bar R. Jehoshua to Rabha: "Thou dost not think, that it is prohibited to carry things alongside of the side-beams?" Did not Rabba bar bar Hana say in the name of R. Johanan, that an entry which was provided with a number of side-beams the space between each of which did not measure four spans, causes a difference of opinion between R. Simeon ben Gamaliel and the sages. According to R. Simeon, an object becomes "lavud" (attached) to another object even when the distance between them is four spans, but according to the sages, the distance must not exceed three spans. Hence in the case just mentioned (see illustration) according to R. Simeon all the beams are regarded as one by virtue of their being "lavud" to each other, and a man must not carry anything beyond the space alongside of the inside edge of the beam farthest from the opening of the entry, while, according to the sages, who regard only the beam nearest the opening of the entry essential and the others unnecessary, a man may carry things as far as the space alongside of the inside edge of the beam nearest the opening of the entry. In the space between the side-beams all agree that it is prohibited to carry. Now, if R. Johanan permitted the carrying of things alongside of the side-beams, how could he state the difference of opinion between R. Simeon and the sages in this case? For whether all the beams were considered as one or each separately, what difference would it make as long as things may be carried in the space between them? Hence we must say, that R. Johanan does not permit the carrying of things alongside of the beams? In this instance, Rabha might declare, that the entry is presumed to be one that opens into unclaimed ground. How would the case be if the entry opened into public ground? Would it be allowed according to R. Johanan to carry things between the side-beams? Shall the native remain on earth and the stranger be lifted up to the highest heaven? 1 Yea; objects of like character assimilate, i.e., the space between the side-beams being unclaimed ground and the entry opening into unclaimed ground, the two are virtually combined, and as carrying in unclaimed ground is not allowed to commence with, it is also not allowed in the space between the beams.

R. Ashi said, however: The case referred to, viz., the entry containing many side-beams, is assumed to be one where the side-beams were erected for a distance of four ells and were less than four spans apart. If, according to R. Simeon, the beams are all "lavud" to each other, they would constitute a separate entry ill the principal entry, and in order to carry things in the space between the beams another side-beam would have to be erected for the newly made entry; but according to the sages, who do not consider the beams "lavud" to each other, another side-beam is not necessary. (This means to say: R. Johanan holds, that under any circumstances the space between the side-beams may be utilized (for carrying) and the difference caused by such an entry between R. Simeon ben Gamaliel and the sages is not as to whether things may be carried in the space between the beams or not, as stated before, but whether another side-beam is required in addition to those already erected or not.)

It was taught: If a side-beam was made to an entry which on the inside of the entry could be plainly seen but on the outside seemed to be on a par with the wall and hence not recognisable, it is regarded as a proper side-beam, but if it could be plainly seen on the outside, but on the inside it seemed to be part of the wall and could not be distinguished from the wall, it gives rise to a difference of opinion between R. Hyya and R. Simeon the son of Rabbi. One holds, that it may be regarded as a proper side-beam, and the other, that it cannot be so regarded. It is correctly ascertained that R. Hyya is the one who holds that it may be regarded as a proper side-beam, from his decision as follows: "If one of the walls of an entry was partially removed (see illustration a), so that the lacking portion could be perceived from the inside of the entry but not from the outside of same, or if part of the wall was missing (see illustration b), so that it could be readily perceived on the outside of the entry but not on the inside, in either case the impaired wall is regarded as a side-beam."

Rabba bar R. Huna taught the same: "If a side-beam was recognised on the outside of an entry but could not be distinguished on the inside it is nevertheless regarded as a side-beam." Said R. Joseph to him: "I never heard such an ordinance proclaimed by thy father." Said Abayi to R. Joseph: "Didst thou not thyself teach this ordinance when we learned the following: Rami bar Abba said in the name of R. Huna, that a side-beam, which was affixed to the end of a wall so that it could be seen from the outside but seemed to be a continuation of the wall from the inside, is regarded as a side-beam, if measuring less than four ells and the entry may be used from the inside edge of such beam, but if the side-beam measured four ells, it is regarded as a separate entry, and thus the entry proper, not having any side-beam, is made invalid. Thou didst comment upon this and say, that from this teaching we may adduce three things. Firstly, that the space alongside of a side-beam must not be used; secondly, that four ells is the minimum measure of an entry; and, thirdly, that if a side-beam can be recognised on the outside but not on the inside of the entry, it is a proper side-beam." Finally, the Halakha concerning a side-beam recognisable from without but not within the entry prevails: that the side-beam is valid because such was the decision of R. Hyya, as is mentioned above.

"Should it be wider than ten ells, it must be made narrower." Said Abayi: We have learned in a Boraitha concerning this teaching, that R. Jehudah regarded this as unnecessary. How much narrower should it be made? R. A'ha wished to state, in the presence of R. Joseph, that if the entry measured twenty ells, it should be reduced to thirteen and a third ells. He wished to infer this lenient measure from the more rigorous in the case of a well. The wells were built as illustrated, and the distance between the two enclosures on the same side was thirteen and a third ells; i.e., large enough to permit of the entrance and exit at the same time of two teams of oxen and was larger than the space occupied by the enclosures on the same side. Now, if in that case it was permitted to have the space larger than the space occupied by the enclosures, and thirteen and a third ells only were allotted to such space, an entry where the space must not be more than the enclosure should certainly not be over thirteen and a third ells wide? How can the two be compared? Perhaps the reason, that no more than thirteen and a third ells were allowed for the space of the wells was because a concession had already been made in permitting the space to be larger than the walled part and no further leniency was expedient. In the case of the entry, however, where no concession had as yet been made, let it be allowed to increase the width of the space beyond thirteen and a third ells (because it serves the purpose of a door)? Or on the contrary! A concession having been made in the case of the well, but no concession having been made concerning an entry, lot the law of the entry be enforced without any concession and make the prescribed width ten ells only. (Thus the question remains undecided.)

Levi taught a Boraitha as follows: "In an entry which is twenty ells wide it is sufficient if a stick be placed in the centre of such entry." He himself however decreed, that the Halakha does not prevail according to the Boraitha. What then should be done? Samuel said in the name of Levi: "A pole should be erected in the centre of the entry ten spans high and four ells wide, and a cross-beam placed on top of it parallel with the walls of the entry, which would then serve as a partition in the centre." Or it should be done as R. Jehudah declared: In an entry fifteen ells wide a pole should be erected two ells from one of the walls and a cross-beam extending three ells into the centre of the entry should be placed on top of the pole. (Thus the width will be lessened five ells, the two between the wall

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and the pole being regarded as a closed door. In the case of an entry twenty ells wide this may be done on both sides of the entry, or the pole maybe erected four ells from the wall and the cross-beam extended six ells.) If the people who make use of the entry, however, should use the space of two ells between the wall and the pole in preference to the wider opening of the entry, will not the principal entry be invalidated by the lack of a side-beam? Said R. Ada bar Mattue: It is an established fact that people will not use the smaller entrance in preference to the larger. Why is this case different from the one taught by R. Ami and R. Assi, for we have learned in a Boraitha: If there was a breach in the side of a wall close to the entry, it was taught in the name of R. Ami and R. Assi (page 5a in the original text), that if the strip of wall left was four ells wide, it matters not if the breach was ten ells; but if the strip is less than four ells, the breach must not exceed three ells, otherwise the entry is invalid. (Now if the strip is four ells, and the breach ten, the breach is regarded as a door, and it might be used in preference to the main entrance. In the former case, only such as will be nearer the side entrance will use it, but in this case, the main entrance will be used exclusively, because one will not unnecessarily go in a roundabout way.)

"But if it have the appearance of a door, even though it be wider than ten ells it need not be made narrower."

Now we see that an apparent door may be used where the entry is too wide and a cross-beam if it be too high, what would be the law if the reverse were made? Come and hear: We have learned: "If an entry be higher than twenty ells, it should be reduced, but if it have the appearance of a door, this is not necessary." What is the law concerning a cross-beam when the width of the entry was excessive? Come and hear: We have learned: "If an entry be higher than twenty ells it should be lowered and if it be wider than ten ells it should be reduced, but if it have an appearance of a door it is not necessary and if it have a cross-beam it is also not necessary." Could we not assume, that the cross-beam refers to the latter clause of that teaching (the excessive width of the entry)? Nay; it refers to the first clause of the teaching (the height).

R. Jehudah taught Hyya the son of Rabh in the presence of Rabh: "It is not necessary to reduce (the width of an entry if it have a cross-beam)." Said Rabh to R. Jehudah: "Teach him, that it should be reduced." Said R. Joseph: From this teaching of our Master we can learn, that a courtyard, of which the greater part of the walls consists of doors and windows and one of the walls contained a breach of over ten ells, the appearance of a door would not make it valid (i.e., things could not be carried in the courtyard on Sabbath). Why so? Because we see, that width exceeding ten ells makes an entry invalid, and space in excess of that occupied by the walls makes a courtyard invalid; now, we compare an entry which is wider than ten ells and is held by our Master to be invalid even if it have the appearance of a door, to a court which has a breach exceeding ten ells, and is also not made valid by an apparent door.

R. Johanan also holds in accordance with the teaching of Rabh, for Rabhin bar R. Ada in the name of R. Itz'hak said: It happened that a man of the valley of Beth Hurtan placed four piles in the four corners of his field and connected the four piles with branches at the top for the purpose of circumvening the law of Kilaim. When this was told to the sages, they allowed him to do so for the purpose intimated (i.e., the field was regarded as if surrounded by a wall, and he could sow other seeds on the outside of the seeming wall), and Resh Lakish said: "In the same manner as the sages permitted the man to do this for the purpose of circumvening the law of Kilaim, so also did they allow him to do it for the purpose of the Sabbath law. R. Johanan, however, said, that this was allowed only for Kilaim purposes but not for Sabbath." (Whence we see that R. Johanan holds with Rabh that an entry over ten ells in width is not remedied by a seeming door.)

R. Hisda said: "If a man made a seeming door in the side of a wall, it counts for nothing." And he said again: "A seeming door must be firm enough to be able to contain an actual door, even though it be only a door of straw."

Resh Lakish said in the name of R. Janai, that an apparent door must have a place fit for the attachment of hinges. What is meant by a place fit for the attachment of hinges? Said R. Ivia: A receptacle for same.

R. A'ha the son of R. Ivia found once the disciples of R. Ashi, and he asked them: "Did the master say anything about apparent doors?" and they answered him: "Nay; he said nothing."

A Boraitha stated: "By an apparent door is meant simply two poles set up perpendicularly one on each side and a pole across the top of the two." Must the pole above be attached to the two perpendicular poles, or is it sufficient if it is suspended above them? R. Na'hman said, they need not be attached, but R. Shesheth said they must be. R. Na'hman did in accordance with his own decision at the house of the Exilarch (R. Na'hman was a son-in-law of the Exilarch). Said R. Shesheth to his servant, R. Gada: "Go, take it down and put it away." He went, took it down, and put it away. The servants of the Exilarch found him doing so and arrested him for it. Then R. Shesheth went and stood on the outside of the prison and called out: "Gada, come out!" Gada came out and went with R. Shesheth.

R. Shesheth met Rabba the son of Samuel on the street; and he asked him: "Did the master teach anything concerning an apparent door?" Rabba answered: "Yea! We have learned concerning an arch, R. Meir decreed, that a Mezuzah (sign on the door-post) must be fastened to it, but the sages say, that it is not necessary." (The reason the sages say, that a Mezuzah is not necessary is because the zenith of the arch is not four spans wide, and no door is properly a door that is not at least four spans wide.) All agree, however, that if the arch is ten spans wide at its base (i.e., before the curve commences, then it is certain that for at least ten spans upwards the arch has a width of four spans), a Mezuzah is necessary, and Abayi said: "All agree, that if the arch is ten spans high and the base is less than three spans wide, or if the base is three spans wide but the arch is less than ten spans high, no Mezuzah is necessary (because a door cannot be less than ten spans high), but wherein do they differ? In a case where the base of the arch was less than four spans wide, and the arch itself ten spans high, but at the top of the arch the width could, by hollowing. out the wall, be increased to four spans' width, R. Meir holds that a Mezuzah is necessary, because the possibility of increasing its width renders it equivalent to having been increased, but the sages hold that a Mezuzah is not necessary, because it had not yet been increased in width." (Thence we see that R. Meir holds that the possibility of accomplishing an act renders it equivalent to having been performed, and, in consequence, he holds that if a pole was merely suspended above two poles it is the same as if it were placed on top of the poles.) Said R. Shesheth to him: "If thou shouldst meet the members of the house of the Exilarch, tell them nothing of the Boraitha concerning the arch."

MISHNA: To legalise (the carrying within) an entry, Beth Shammai hold that a side and cross beam are required, but Beth Hillel hold, that either a post or a beam is sufficient. R. Eliezer said, "Two side-beams are necessary." In the name of R. Ishmael, a disciple stated before R. Aqiba: "Beth Shammai and Beth Hillel do not differ as to an entry less than four ells in width, for both agree, that such an entry becomes legalised either through a cross-beam or a side-beam." Wherein do they differ? Concerning entries of more than four and up to ten ells in width. Regarding these, Beth Shammai hold, that both a side and cross beam are necessary, and Beth Hillel hold, that either a side or a cross beam is sufficient. R. Aqiba, however, said: "They (the two schools) differ in both instances."

GEMARA: According to whose opinion is the Mishna? It is neither according to the opinion of the first Tana nor to that of Hananiah (see page 10). Said R. Jehudah: The Mishna means to state the following: "To legalise a closed entry (one enclosed on three sides) Beth Shammai hold that a side and cross beam are necessary, while Beth Hillel hold, that either one is sufficient." Shall we assume that in order to constitute a private ground from a biblical point of view, according to Beth Shammai, four walls are necessary (because the entry by the addition of a side and cross beam would be turned into a seeming wall)? Nay; throwing to or from public ground in ground enclosed by three walls, makes one culpable from a biblical point of view, but carrying is permitted only in ground enclosed by four walls by the rabbinical law, according to Beth Shammai. Shall we assume that Beth Hillel hold, that three walls, according to biblical law, are necessary? Nay; from a biblical point of view, throwing to or from public ground in ground enclosed by two walls makes one culpable, but carrying is not permitted in ground unless enclosed by three walls by rabbinical law, according to Beth Hillel.

"R. Eliezer said, 'Two side-beams are necessary.'" The schoolmen propounded a question: "Did R. Eliezer mean to state, that two side-beams and a cross-beam are necessary or two side-beams alone?" Come and hear: It happened that R. Eliezer was going to R. Jose ben Preida, his disciple, in the city of Ublin, and he found him sitting in an entry provided with only one side-beam. Said R. Eliezer to him: 'My son, erect another side-beam.' Said his disciple to him: 'Must I then close the entry?' and he answered: 'Close it; what matters it if it be closed?' Now, from the words of the disciple, "Must I then close it?" we can infer, that it was already provided with a cross-beam, and, therefore, the disciple asked what more he must do, close it entirely? Then, if we assume that there was only a side-beam, why should the disciple have said, "Must I close it entirely?" Nay; the disciple may have simply meant to ask, must he close it up entirely with side-beams; and it may be, that there was no cross-beam there at all.

(In the same Tosephta) we are taught so: R. Simeon ben Gamaliel said: "Beth Shammai and Beth Hillel do not differ as to an entry that was less than four ells in width." According to both schools, for such an entry nothing at all need be provided. Wherein they do differ is an entry that is more than four ells wide and up to ten; Beth Shammai hold, that a side and cross beam both are necessary, and Beth Hillel hold, that either is sufficient. Did not our Mishna state that a disciple in the name of R. Ishmael stated before R. Aqiba: "Beth Shammai and Beth Hillel do not differ as to an entry less than four ells in width, for both agree, that such an entry becomes legalised either through a cross-beam or a side-beam"? Said R. Ashi: "R. Simeon ben Gamaliel means to state, that a side and cross beam are not necessary according to the opinion of Beth Shammai, nor two side-beams according to the opinion of R. Eliezer, but one of the two, either a side or cross beam according to the opinion of Beth Hillel" (i.e., by saying that for such an entry nothing need be, provided, R. Simeon ben Gamaliel means to state, that nothing added by Beth Shammai or R. Eliezer need be provided). An entry of how much less than four ells in width? Said R. A'hlai, according to another version R. Ye'hiel: "An entry of less than four spans need have nothing (and from four spans up to four ells, the side or cross beam is necessary)."

Said R. Assi in the name of R. Johanan: "A courtyard must have two enclosures." Said R. Zera to R. Assi: "Did R. Johanan indeed say so. Didst thou not thyself state in the name of R. Johanan, that the enclosures of a courtyard must measure at least four ells? And if thou wouldst explain R. Johanan's dictum to signify, that the enclosures would have to be four ells on each side of the angle, did not R. Ada bar Abhimi state before R. Hanina or before R. Hanina bar Papa, that a small courtyard need only have enclosures to the extent of ten ells all around and a large courtyard to the extent of eleven ells." (Now, if eleven ells are divided by four, that would make each of the four enclosures only two and three-quarter ells?) When R. Zera came from his sea-voyage he explained this in the following manner: If an enclosure was made straight on one side it must be four ells wide, but if made at an angle in the corner it is sufficient if ever so small a part be on each side. As for Ada's bar Abhimi statement above, it is in accordance with the decree of Rabbi (and not R. Johanan), who holds in accordance with R. Jose (that every side-beam must be three spans wide), as will be seen further on.

R. Joseph said in the name of R. Jehudah, quoting Samuel: "A courtyard need have but one enclosure." Said Abayi to him: "Did Samuel indeed say this? We know that Samuel said to R. Hananiah bar Shila: 'Thou shalt not perform any work in a courtyard that has not the larger part of a wall or two enclosures!'" Said R. Joseph: "I do not know whether Samuel said so or not, but I do know, that it happened in the village of the shepherds, that an arm of the sea flowed into a courtyard, and when R. Jehudah was asked what the law was concerning that courtyard, he replied: 'Only one enclosure is necessary.' 'Then Abayi rejoined: "Thou speakest of an arm of the sea; that is altogether different! The sages were very lenient with all things pertaining to water, as R. Tabla asked Rabh: 'What is the law concerning a ruin that had one suspended partition? May things be carried within it on Sabbath or not?' and Rabh answered: 'A hanging partition legalises a place only where water reaches, because the sages were very lenient with all things pertaining to water.'"

In any event this would be a contradiction to R. Jehudah's statement in the name of Samuel, and to Samuel's statement to Hananiah. When R. Papa and R. Huna the son of R. Jehoshua carne from college, they explained Samuel's decree thus: "On one side the enclosure must be at least four ells, but when made on a corner, ever so small a part of the enclosures on each side of the angle is sufficient." (Thus both statements may be correct. R. Jehudah's one enclosure refers to a straight enclosure and Samuel's two refer to an enclosure at each corner.)

The Rabbis taught: From an arm of the sea, which enters a courtyard, water must not be taken on Sabbath unless a partition has been made at the entrance at least ten spans in height. This is the case if the breach in the wall (where the sea entered) is more than ten ells in width, but if it was only ten ells, no partition is necessary.

Thus, you say, that water must not be taken from the arm of the sea, but things may be carried within the courtyard? Did not the breach in the wall open into ground that would invalidate the courtyard (i.e., unclaimed ground)? In this case fragments of the wall were left beyond the breach and they were inundated by the sea (but were originally ten spans high).

It was taught: R. Jehudah said: "An open entry which is not suitable for the purpose of combining in an Erub, if it was provided with a side-beam, anyone throwing a thing into it from public ground is culpable, but if the entry was provided at one end with a cross-beam, one who throws a thing into it from public ground is not culpable." (R. Jehudah holds, that from a biblical point of view three partitions are necessary to enclose a private ground, and a side-beam at the end of an entry is equivalent to a partition.) Hence R. Jehudah holds, that a side-beam is equivalent to a partition, and a cross-beam is only put up for appearance's sake. So is also the opinion of Rabba; but Rabha said that both are erected only for appearance's sake.

R. Jacob bar Abba made an objection to Rabha based on the following Boraitha: "If one throw a thing into an entry he is culpable, if the entry is provided with a side-beam, but if it is not provided with a side-beam, he is not culpable." This is explained thus: If the entry (was a closed one and) needs only a side-beam (for appearance's sake) one is culpable if he throws a thing into it; but if a side-beam alone would not legalise the

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entry, and something more is necessary, the thrower is not culpable.

Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: "An entry that was equal in length and width cannot be legalised by a side-beam of small proportions," and R. Hyya bar Ashi in the name of Rabh said, that an entry as wide as it is long cannot be legalised with a cross-beam measuring only one span. Said R. Zera: "How well the decisions of the old sages agree! The reason for the above decision is, that an entry of equal length and breadth is not regarded as an entry at all, but is in reality a courtyard, and a courtyard cannot be legalised by a side or cross beam but must have a partition of at least four ells." Said R. Zera again: "If there is a difficulty in this decision the following would be the difficulty: Why do they not consider a side-beam a partition of some extent, and thus make it a medium of legalisation?" It evidently slipped the memory of R. Zera, that R. Assi said in the name of R. Johanan: "The enclosures of a court must not be less than four ells."

Said R. Na'hman.. "There is a tradition to the following effect: Which is the entry that can be legalised by a side or cross beam? One, the length of which exceeds its width, and houses and courts open into it. Which is the court that cannot be legalised with a side or cross beam, but must have an enclosure which is not less than four ells? One that is square." Only if it be square, but if round is it not a court? He means to state this: If the length exceeded the width, although it be a court, it should not be considered such but must be regarded as an entry, and as such may be legalised with a side or cross beam. If the length, however, did not exceed the width? Then, no matter what its appearance was, it must be considered as a court. By how much must the length exceed the width? Samuel intended to state, that the length should be double the width. Said Rabh to him: "So said my uncle, 'Even if the length exceeded the width by a trifle.'"

R. Aqiba said: "They differ in both."

What does R. Aqiba teach us hereby? Is it not the same as the teaching of the first Tana? The difference between them is as stated by R. A'hli, according to another version R. Yekhiel, viz.: An entry of less than four spans need have nothing. But they did not specify who was of R. A'hli's opinion and who was not.

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Aqiba said: "R. Ishmael never made such a statement, but the disciple said this upon his own authority and the Halakha prevails according to the disciple."

Is this not a contradictory assertion? First, he says, that R. Ishmael could not have made such a statement, i.e., that the Halakha is not so, and then that the Halakha prevails according to the disciple? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: "R. Aqiba said this only in order to encourage his disciples, that they may pronounce decrees upon their own authority." R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak said: "R. Aqiba really said that R. Ishmael made no such statement, but the decree of the disciple was correct and should stand."

It was taught: R. Jehoshua ben Levi said: "In every case, where it is stated that a disciple said in the name of R. Ishmael before R. Aqiba, that disciple is R. Meir, who was a disciple of both R. Ishmael and R. Aqiba."

R. A'ha bar Hanina said: It is known to Him, Who said one word and the world was created, that in the generation of R. Meir there was not one who was his equal; but why do not the Halakhas prevail according to his decisions? Because his colleagues could never arrive at the conclusion of his decrees. If he decided that a thing which was unclean was clean, he proved it to them by a reason, and vice versa. We have learned in a Boraitha, that his name was not Meir but Neherai. Why was he called Meir? Because he enlightened 1 the eyes of his colleagues in Halakhas. Where the name R. Neherai is mentioned, it refers to R. Nehemiah or to R. Eliezer ben Arach. Why do they call them Neherai? Because they clarified the vision of their colleagues in the Law.

Rabbi (according to some it was Rabh) said: Why am I more sagacious than my colleagues? Because I once saw the back of R. Meir, and if I could look upon his face I would be more sagacious still, as it is written [Isaiah xxx. 20]: "But thy eyes shall see thy teachers."

Said R. Abbahu in the name of R. Johanan: "R. Meir had one disciple, and his name was Symniachos, who could give forty-eight reasons for the uncleanness of unclean things and the same number of reasons for the cleanness of clean things."

Said R. Abba in the name of Samuel: Three years the school of Shammai and the school of Hillel disputed. One school said that the Halakhas prevail according to their opinion, and the other claimed that their decrees should stand. Finally a heavenly voice was heard to the effect that both schools disputed as to the words of the living God, but the Halakhas prevail according to the school of Hillel.

Now if it be true that both schools dispute as to the words of the living God, why should the school of Hillel be thus favoured? Because the members of the school of Hillel were modest and patient, and would always repeat the words of the school of Shammai. Not alone this; but they also always gave the school of Shammai precedence when citing their teachings, as we have learned (in Tract Sukkah): Said Beth Hillel to Beth Shammai: "Did it not happen, that the eldest of the school of Shammai and of the school of Hillel went together to visit R. Johanan the son of Hachoranis, etc. (whence we see that the eldest of the school of Shammai were given precedence over those of the school of Hillel)." Thence thou canst learn, that everyone who maketh himself humble is raised up by the Holy One, blessed be He, and one who is arrogant is humbled by the Holy One, blessed be He. He who pursueth greatness, the greatness escapeth him, and he who avoideth greatness is sought by greatness. He who forceth time (i.e., he who perforce would become rich though fortune be against him), time oppresseth him, while he, who awaiteth his time, is assisted by time.

The Rabbis taught: Two years and a half Beth Shammai and Beth Hillel disputed amongst themselves. One school declared, it were better that man had not been created as he was, while the other declared it was better that man had been created as he was, than not to be created at all. Finally they came to the conclusion, that it were better had man not been created, but since that had happened, a man should always examine his actions, and according to another version, a man should always consider the deeds he is about to perform.

MISHNA: The cross-beam in question must be wide enough to hold a half of a brick, three spans in length and in width. It is, however, sufficient, if the cross-beam be only one span wide, so as to hold the half of a brick lengthwise. The crossbeam must be wide enough to hold a half of a brick and sound enough to bear it. R. Jehudah saith: It must be wide enough, even if it be not sound enough.

If the cross-beam be of straw or reed, it is (legally) regarded as if it were of metal; if it be crooked, it is (legally) regarded as straight; if it be cylindrical, it is (legally) regarded as square.

Anything (measuring) three spans in circumference, is one hand width.

GEMARA: Why does the Mishna say, that it is sufficient if the cross-beam be only one span wide; it should be one and a half, which is the width of a half brick? Because if the crossbeam be one span wide the other half span which it should measure, can be added by the addition of a little loam on each side.

Said Rabba bar R. Huna: The cross-beam alone must be sound enough to bear a half brick, but the supports upon which it rests need not be sound enough to bear both the cross-beam and the half brick (i.e., if the cross-beam was put up on sticks, the sticks need not be sound enough to support both the crossbeam and a half brick; for the cross-beam being the sign of the entry, it is only essential that it be sound enough to support a half brick, although in reality it never serves the purpose, while the sticks are not part of the sign and need not be put to such a test). R. Hisda, however, states, that the cross-beam must be sound enough to bear half a brick, and its supports must be sound enough to bear both the cross-beam and the half brick.

R. Shesheth said: If one put up a cross-beam over an entry, and hung a mat upon it, and this mat was distant from the ground three spans or more, it is considered, that there is neither a cross-beam nor a partition at the entry; no cross-beam, because it is covered up, and no partition, because goats can go through it.

The Rabbis taught: If a cross-beam was put up over an entry, but did not reach the opposite wall, or if two cross-beams were put opposite each other, but did not meet, should the distance between the cross-beam and the wall in the first instance, or between the two cross-beams in the second instance, be three spans or over, another cross-beam must be erected. If it be less than three spans no other cross-beam is necessary. R. Simeon ben Gamaliel, however, said, "If the distance be less than four spans, another cross-beam is not necessary, but if it be four spans or more, another cross-beam must be erected."

The same is the case with two cross-beams that were laid parallel, neither one of which was sound enough to bear a half brick: If both together measured one span in width, which is sufficient to bear a half brick, another cross-beam is not necessary, but if the two together measured less, another cross-beam must be erected. R. Simeon ben Gamaliel, however, said, that if the two cross-beams were sound enough for the length of three spans to bear a half brick, another cross-beam is not necessary; otherwise, it is necessary.

"If two cross-beams were put up across an entry, one of which was higher than the other, they are regarded as being on a level, provided the higher beam is not over twenty ells above ground and the lower one not less than ten spans above ground." Thus said R. Jose bar R. Jehudah. Said Abayi: "R. Jose bar R. Jehudah holds with his father in one instance only, that the two beams are regarded as being on a level, but he differs with him in the other, namely: that the higher beam must not be over twenty ells above the ground; for R. Jehudah declared in a previous Mishna, that even if it were over twenty ells in height, the entry is valid."

"R. Jehudah saith: It must be wide enough, even if it be not sound enough." R. Jehudah taught Hyya bar Rabh in the presence of Rabh: "It is sufficient, if the cross-beam be wide enough even if it be not sound enough." Said Rabh to him: "Teach him: 'It should be wide and strong enough.'" Did not, however, R. Ilai say in the name of Rabh: "It is sufficient, if it was four spans wide, even if it be not sound enough"? Four spans' width makes a difference.

"If the cross-beam be of straw or reed," etc. What does the Mishna mean to teach us by this decree? That we regard certain things in a different light? This has already been taught us previously. In the former teachings, however, one certain kind of cross-beams was dealt with, namely, of wood; hence we might assume, that with straw or reed it might be different. For this reason we are given to understand that straw or reed may be regarded as metal.

"If it be crooked, it is regarded as straight." Is this not self-evident? The Mishna wishes to impart to us the teaching of R. Zera as follows: "If the cross-beam was crooked only outside of the entry across which it was laid, or was crooked above twenty ells from the ground; or again, if the cross-beam was ten spans above the ground and the crooked part of it below the ten spans, the validity of the entry depends upon whether, if the crooked part of the cross-beam were removed, the straight part left would be distant three spans from the wall. If the distance is less than three spans the entry is valid, but if it be over three spans another cross-beam must be erected." Is this teaching also not self-evident? Nay; it is necessary that we be instructed to this effect, lest we presume that the crooked part on the outside of the entry carry with it the straight part on the inside and thus the entry is invalidated; hence we are given to understand, that such is not the case.

"If it be cylindrical, it is regarded as square." For what purpose was it necessary to add this? This was taught us on account of the last clause in the Mishna, which states, that anything, measuring three spans in circumference is one hand in width.

MISHNA: The side-beams in question must be ten spans high, be their breadth and thickness whatever they may. R. Jose saith: "They must be three spans wide."

GEMARA: Shall we assume that the Mishna, which is rendered anonymously, is in accordance with the opinion of R. Eliezer, who holds that two side-beams are necessary? Nay; the side-beams in question refer to side-beams necessary for all entries. If this be the case, why did not the previous Mishna state cross-beams instead of "the cross-beam"? The above Mishna means to state, that the side-beams concerning which there is a difference of opinion between the sages and R. Eliezer should be ten spans high, be their breadth and thickness whatever it may. How much is meant by "whatever it may"? R. Hyya taught: Even the breadth and thickness of a thread of a Saraball." 1

A Boraitha states: "If one made a side-beam in one half of an entry, he has only a half of an entry." Is this not self-evident? We might presume that because one must not use the whole entry, hence the half must also not be used, and we are taught, that the half may be used.

Rabha said: "If one made a side-beam for an entry and it was three spans distant from the ground or three spans away from the wall, it does not count; and even according to R. Simeon ben Gamaliel who holds an object to be 'lavud' (attached) although four spans distant, the side-beam is of no use, because R. Simeon ben Gamaliel's opinion applies to an object which is four spans distant at the top; but at the bottom, where goats can pass through, a trifle less than three spans is the maximum distance."

"R. Jose saith: 'They must be three spans wide.'" Said R. Jehudah the son of R. Samuel bar Shila in the name of Rabh: "The Halakha does not prevail according to R. Jose either where brine is concerned 2 or where a side-beam is in question."

Said the schoolmen to him: "Dost thou confidently assert this?" and R. Jehudah answered: "Nay." Said Rabha: "By the Lord! He said this of a certainty, and we accepted it from him." Why then did he say "nay"? Because, we have learned elsewhere, that wherever R. Jose made an assertion, he always had good reason for it (and R. Jehudah did not wish to dispute with R. Jose).

Said Rabha bar R. Hana to Abayi: "According to whom, however, does the Halakha prevail concerning the side-beams?" He answered: "Go and observe the custom of the people" (which is as much as saying, that the breadth and thickness of a side-beam can be whatever it may).

It was taught: A side-beam, that was standing of itself, i.e., that had not been especially erected, is, according to Abayi, valid, and, according to Rabha, not valid. If the side-beam was not depended upon to serve the purpose on the preceding day (before Sabbath), all agree, that it is not valid; but if it was depended upon for that purpose, Abayi declares, that it may be utilized, because it was depended upon on the preceding day, while Rabha holds that not having been erected for that purpose it must not be used. As for a partition, standing of itself, there is no difference of opinion, and all agree that even if it was not intended to serve as a partition, it may be used, and the reason they differ in the case of a side-beam is because each holds to his own theory: Abayi regards a side-beam as a partition, and a partition may be utilized

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under any circumstances, while Rabha regards a side-beam merely as a sign, and as such it must be especially prepared for the purpose before it may be used.

An objection was made: "Come and hear: If stones protruded from the fence around an entry and they were less than three spans apart, another side-beam for the entry is not necessary; but if they were three spans apart, another side-beam must be erected." Here the case is also, if the stones were so arranged purposely to commence with. If such be the case, is this not self-evident? We might assume that the stones were arranged in that manner with the intention of adding more to them, hence we are given to understand that this may be done.

Another objection was made: Come and hear: Rabh was sitting in a certain entry and R. Huna was sitting before him. Said Rabh to his servant: "Go and bring me a pitcher of water." Before his servant returned, the side-beam at the entry fell, and Rabh motioned to his servant to remain where he was.

Said R. Huna to him: "Did not Master hold, that the tree standing in the entry may be regarded as a side-beam?" and Rabh answered: "That scholar is as a man who never understood a Halakha. Did we depend upon that tree to serve as a side-beam yesterday?" Now, we see, that according to Rabh, had the tree been depended upon on the preceding day to serve as a side-beam, it would have been valid. Shall we assume, that Abayi and Rabha differ concerning a side-beam standing of itself even if it was not depended upon on the preceding day, but if depended upon, both agree that it may be used. Nay; we cannot say this; because there was a pillar in the house of Bar Habo concerning which Abayi and Rabha differed all of their lives. (This is one of the six Halakhas that prevail according to Abayi, for generally Rabha is given precedence, as will be seen in the maxims of the Talmud.)

MISHNA: Side-beams may be made out of anything, even of such as are possessed of life. The latter, however, is prohibited by R. Meir. A living animal tied to the mouth of a grave in order to close it up communicates uncleanness (even after it has been removed). R. Meir, however, declares the animal clean. A letter of divorce for a woman may be written on a living animal, but R. Jose, the Galilean, pronounces the letter of divorce null and void (not legal). 1

If a caravan encamp in a valley and a fence be made around the camp out of the cattle's gear, it is permitted to carry things inside of the fence (on Sabbath), providing the fence be ten spans high and the open spaces therein do not exceed in extent the fence proper. Every open space which is ten spans wide is permitted (to be used as an entry), for it is considered as a door, but such open spaces as are more than ten spans wide must not be used.

GEMARA: It was taught: If the open spaces of the fence equalled in extent the fence proper, R. Papa said: "The fence is valid." R. Huna bar R. Jehoshua however said, "It is not valid." R. Papa held it to be valid because so was Moses taught by the Merciful One: "The larger part (of a partition) must not be broken." R. Huna bar R. Jehoshua held it not to be valid because the Merciful One taught Moses thus: "The larger part must be fenced in."

An objection was made: Our Mishna states that "the open spaces must not exceed in extent the fence proper" but if the space was equal in extent to the fence it should be valid. This question remains.

Another objection was made. Come and hear: "If a caravan encamped in a valley and a fence was made with camels, with saddles, with the baggage, or with sticks, or with bundles of herbs, things may be carried inside the fence, providing the space between each camel does not exceed the size of another camel or the space between each saddle does not exceed the size of another saddle, etc." (Whence we see that if the space equals in extent the actual fence, the fence is not valid.) Here the case is, that the space between two camels should be large enough for a camel to go in and out, but not the exact size of a camel.

Another objection was made: "Walls of which the greater part consists of windows and doors are valid, providing the wall proper is larger in extent than the space." If, however, the space and walls are equal, the walls are not valid; this would be contradictory to R. Papa's opinion. It is contradictory, but the Halakha remains according to R. Papa. How can it be, that there should be a contradiction and still the Halakha should prevail according to R. Papa? It is possible, because our Mishna states, that the open space should not exceed the fence proper, hence if space and fence are equal, the fence is valid. Consequently the Halakha prevails according to R. Papa.

MISHNA: A fence may also be constructed with three ropes, one above the other; providing the space between each rope be less than three spans, and the measure (width or thickness) of the three ropes together exceed one span, so that the entire (fence) attain (the height of) ten spans.

A fence may also be made of cane-laths, providing the space between the canes be less than three spans. All these regulations apply to a caravan only. So saith R. Jehudah, but the sages maintain, that the caravan (in the preceding Mishna) is particularly spoken of in order to adduce therefrom that which is generally done. Any partition which is not constructed on the principle of warp and shoot is not a (lawful) partition. Such is the dictum of R. Jose bar Jehudah; but the sages hold, that constructing it according to either one of the two principles is sufficient.

GEMARA: Said R. Hamnuna in the name of Rabh: "It was said, that the solid part of the partition must exceed the space of the partition when constructed on the principle of the shoot in order to make it valid; the question, however, arises by me concerning a partition constructed on the principle of the warp. What is the law?" Said Abayi to him: "Come and hear: Our Mishna states, that the width or thickness of the three ropes together must exceed one span in order to make the entire fence ten spans. If it were the same with a fence constructed on the principle of the warp as with one constructed on the order of the shoot, why does the Mishna specify one which, including all the ropes, will bring the total up to ten spans." How can such an assertion be made? Where should the space of four spans be placed? Should it be placed at the bottom, i.e., between the ground and the first rope, then the space will be large enough to permit of goats passing through and the fence will be of no use. Should it be placed at the top, i.e., between the second and third rope, then the space between the two ropes, together with the space above the third rope, will nullify the third rope entirely, because the third rope will have no connection whatever with the two lower. Should it be placed in the centre, i.e., between the first and second rope, then there will be only a quasi-solid partition at the bottom and the same at the top, but between the two there will be virtually an empty space of four spans; should it be assumed that such a partition can also be accounted lawful where the solid parts are disconnected, and an empty space exists between them? (This question is not decided.)

"Cane-laths." How can R. Jehudah say, that all these regulations apply to a caravan only, and not to individuals? Have we not learned elsewhere, that R. Jehudah said: "It is not allowed for an individual to construct a partition for the Sabbath around a piece of ground, wherein more than two saahs of grain could be planted." Hence if the piece of ground is only so large that two saahs of grain can be planted therein, he may make the partition. (How then can he say in the Mishna, that these regulations apply only to a caravan?) This can be explained in the same manner as R. Na'hman, and according to others R. Bibhi bar Abayi, explained the last clause of our Mishna, viz.: "Any partition, which is not constructed on the principle of warp and shoot, is not a (lawful) partition. Such is the dictum of R. Jose bar Jehudah." The question was made, whether such could be the dictum of R. Jose bar Jehudah.

Did we not learn in a Boraitha, that "no difference is made as far as a fence constructed with ropes is concerned between a caravan and an individual except that the space enclosed by the fence must not for one man or even for two exceed that in which two saahs of grain could be planted. For three men, however, who are regarded as a caravan, a space in which six saahs of grain can be planted is allowed. So said R. Jose bar Jehudah; but the sages maintain, that there is absolutely no difference made between a caravan and an individual, and that they may enclose all the space they require, providing they do not enclose superfluous ground to the extent that two saahs of grain could be planted in such an empty space." How can R. Jose bar Jehudah state that a fence must be constructed according to the principles of warp and shoot; does he not allow a fence made with ropes, which is only on the principle of the warp? And R. Na'hman, according to others R. Bibhi bar Abayi, answered and said, that R. Jose bar Jehudah requires a partition to be constructed on both principles only in order to allow even an individual all the space necessary. Now, the same can be said in answer to the question made concerning the contradictory statements of R. Jehudah.

R. Na'hman related in the name of our master Samuel: "An individual or even two men are allowed to enclose as much space as would permit of the planting of two saahs of grain therein, but three men, who are regarded as a caravan, may have all the space necessary." How is this? The first part of this teaching is in accordance with R. Jose bar R. Jehudah, and the last according to the sages? Yea; Abbahu is also of the same opinion.

R. Gidel in the name of Rabh said: "There are instances when three men must not occupy space so large that five saahs of grain can be planted therein, and again, there are instances when they may occupy space in which even seven saahs of grain maybe planted." (The instances were not quoted, however.) "Is it possible that Rabh should have said this?" queried the sages, and R. Gidel answered: "I swear by the Law of Moses and by the prophets, and by the Hagiographa, that Rabh said this." Said R. Ashi: "What difficulty is there in this? Let us suppose, that the three men needed a space of six saahs' capacity, and enclosed one so large, that seven saahs could be accommodated. (Then only a space is empty where one saah of grain could be planted.) Hence they may use the entire space. But supposing, that they needed only a space large enough to accommodate but five saahs of grain, and enclosed one large enough for seven, (then a space large enough for the planting of two saahs is vacant) and they must not use even the space large enough for five saahs." Did not the same Boraitha teach us, however, that a space large enough for the planting of two saahs must not be vacant, and thereby meant to state, that each man should be allowed a space large enough for two saahs, and then if a space for two saahs is vacant the entire space must not be used; hence, when there are three men, they should not be allowed the use of a space large enough for the planting of eight saahs, but one accommodating only seven should be allowed them? Nay; the Boraitha meant to state, that the space allowed to the men should be only as much as they need for the accommodation of all their belongings.

"But the sages hold that constructing it according to either one of the two principles is sufficient." Is this not a repetition of what the first Tana stated in opposition to R. Jose's bar R. Jehudah dictum? There is a difference of opinion concerning an individual between the first and second sages as regards an inhabited place (and not the desert).. According to the first sages who maintain that the regulations apply not only to a caravan but to all individuals in general, this refers to individuals who are on the road, but when in inhabited places the regulations do not apply to them, while the second sages who oppose R. Jose bar Jehudah hold, that it makes absolutely no difference, be it caravan or an individual, in an inhabited place or in the desert.

MISHNA: Four privileges have been granted to warriors in camp: They may bring wood from any place (without respecting the rights of ownership); they need not wash their hands before meals; they may eat of Damai (grain of which it is not certain that the legal dues, tithes, etc., have been set aside); and they are exempt from the obligation of making an Erub.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: If an ordinary war 1 is in progress, it is permitted for the warriors to appropriate dry wood without respecting the rights of ownership. R. Jehudah ben Thima said: "They may also encamp wherever they choose, and wherever one is killed there may he also be buried, although the ground does not belong to him."

"They are permitted to appropriate dry wood." This has also been ordained even by Joshua! Joshua ordained, that wood may be cut and appropriated by the warriors, but later even cut and dry wood was allowed to be taken.

"Where one is killed, there may he also be buried." Is this not self-evident? The killed were strangers and had no one to secure a burying ground for them. The law also states, that whenever a man dies without leaving sufficient means for the acquirement of a place of burial, he may be interred in the place where he dies. This case refers to warriors who even left sufficient means to secure a burying ground.

"They need not wash their hands before meals." Said Abayi: "This refers only to washing the hands before meals, but after meals it is even then necessary, because R. Hyya bar Ashi said: 'Why did the sages ordain the washing of hands after meals? Because among the salt used at the table there may be salt of Sodom, and when a hand which had touched salt of Sodom comes in contact with the eyes it blinds them.' There is only one grain of salt of Sodom in a whole kur of ordinary salt," said Abayi.

Said R. A'ha the son of Rabba to R. Ashi: "How is the law, concerning one who had measured salt?" and he answered: "So much the more must he wash his hands."

"They may eat of Damai." As we have learned in another Mishna: "Beth Hillel said, that a poor man and a warrior may partake of Damai."

"They are exempt from the obligation of making an Erub." The disciples of R. Janai said: They are exempt from the obligation of making an Erub as far as courts and entries are concerned, but not where the limit of the distance of two thousand ells (techoom) is concerned, because R. Hyya taught: "One who is guilty of transgressing the law of techoom should be punished with stripes as for any other biblical negative commandment." R. Jonathan opposed this: "Can a man be punished with stripes for a negative commandment which commences with the word Al?" 1 This was again opposed by R. A'ha bar Jacob: "According to thy theory then the man who transgresses the commandment in [Leviticus xix. 31], 'Turn not unto them that have familiar spirits and unto wizards' (which also commences with 'Al'), should also not be punished with stripes?" R. Jonathan puts his question in the following sense: The violation of a commandment which involves the death penalty when committed intentionally cannot be punished with stripes at all, and the violation of the Sabbath is certainly a capital offence (how then can R. Hyya hold that it can be punished with stripes?). Answered R. Ashi: It is written [Exod. xvi. 29], "Let no man go out of his place on the seventh day," but it does not state, that a man should not carry things on that day. (Consequently the transgressing of the law of techoom is not a capital offence, and is on a par with all other negative commandments.)

CHAPTER 2.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE USE OF A WELL AND A GARDEN ON THE SABBATH.

MISHNA: Enclosures (partitions) must be made around wells. They must be made of four boards, placed at an angle

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(of forty-five degrees) at the corners of the well, so that the four boards appear like eight (see illustration). Such is the dictum of R. Jehudah; but R. Meir saith: Eight boards must be used which will appear as twelve, namely, four boards placed at an angle at the corners which appear as eight, and four boards placed between the corner boards. The height of the boards must be ten spans, the width six spans, and the thickness whatever it may be. The space between the two corner boards on the same side must not be wider than to permit of the passing through of two teams of cattle, each team of three animals abreast. Such is the decree of R. Meir. R. Jehudah, however, maintains, that each team may be of four animals abreast, meaning of cattle yoked together in a team, but not walking unyoked, so that one enters as the other passes out. It is permitted to bring the enclosure quite close to the well, providing, that the head and greater part of the body of the animal be within the enclosure while it drinks. It may also be placed at some distance from the well, providing that more boards be used.

R. Jehudah said: The maximum distance from the well at which the enclosure may be placed is a space large enough for the planting of two saah of grain, but the sages said to him: "This size (sufficient for the planting of two saah of grain) is only applicable to a garden or a wood-shed, but as regards a cattle-pen, a fold, a bleaching-ground (behind the house), or a courtyard (in front of the house), even though it be large enough to permit of the planting of five kur of grain therein, yea, or even of ten kur, it is lawful (to carry things therein on the Sabbath)." It is also permitted to place the enclosure at any convenient distance from the well, provided more boards be used.

GEMARA: Shall we assume, that our Mishna is not according to Hananiah, as we have learned in a Boraitha, viz.: "Boards may be put up at a well and ropes for a fence of a caravan, but Hananiah said, that ropes for a well are permitted but not boards"? Nay; we may say, that our Mishna agrees with Hananiah; but a well containing rain-water is one thing and one containing spring-water is another. Our Mishna treats of spring-water and Hananiah refers to rain-water. To make an enclosure around a well of rain-water is permitted only during the time of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

"R. Jehudah said: The maximum distance," etc. We have learned in a Mishna (Damai i. I): R. Jehudah also said: "All bad (inferior) dates are not suspected of being Damai, with the exception of the fruit known as double-fruit (δι-ωπορα)." Said Ula: The tree bearing this fruit bears twice a year (and the ignorant people might object to acquit the legal dues thereof).

R. Jeremiah ben Elazar said: Adam the first (man) had a dual face, as it is written [Psalms cxxxix. 5]: "Behind and before hast thou hedged me in, and thou placest upon me thy hand."

It is written [Genesis 2:22]: "And the Lord God formed the rib which he had taken from the man into a woman." Rabh and Samuel both comment upon this. One declares, that the Lord simply divided Adam, who had a dual head, while the other holds, that Adam had a tail and the Lord made the woman out of that tail. So according to the one the passage "Behind and before," etc., is correct, but, according to the other, how should it be explained? It may be explained as R. Ami said: "By 'behind' is meant that last of (behind) all was man created, and by 'before,' that before (first of) all others did he receive his punishment." The first part of this explanation is correct because man was created last of all on the eve of Sabbath, but the second part is not true; for was not the serpent cursed before Eve, and Eve before Adam? The punishment refers to the flood, concerning which it is written [Genesis vii. 23]: "And it swept off every living substance which was upon the face of the ground, both man, and cattle, etc.," and man is mentioned before all else. Further, it is written, that the Lord brought Eve to Adam, i.e., that the Lord was sponsor to them. Whence we learn, that a man, be he ever so great, should not refuse to be sponsor to a lesser man.

R. Meir said: Adam the First was very pious, for when he saw, that on his account the human race was made mortal, he fasted one hundred and thirty years, separated himself from woman, and wore leaves of a fig-tree on his body for the same length of time.

R. Jeremiah ben Elazar said: If a man is to be praised to his face only a small part of the praise due him should be given him, but his entire share may be bestowed upon him in his absence, as it is written [Genesis 7:1]: "For thee I have seen righteous before me in this generation," and [ibid. 6:9]: "Noah was a just, perfect man in his generations." Thus we see that to his face the Lord merely called Noah righteous, whereas in his absence the verse called him "a just, perfect man."

The same said again: A house, where the words of the Law are also heard at night, shall never more be destroyed, as it is written [Job 35:10]: "But man saith not, 'Where is God my maker, who bestoweth joyful songs even in the night,'" and the verse is explained thus: If man would have sung joyful songs even in the night, he would not have been compelled to ask: "Where is God my maker?"

The same said again: Since the destruction of the temple it is sufficient for man to use only two letters in place of the four forming the name of the Lord (i.e., Yod and Heh instead of Yod, Heh, Vav, and Heh), as it is written [Psalms 101:6]: "Let everything that hath breath praise Jah (the Lord). Hallelujah."

He said again: When Babylon was cursed, it was a curse to the neighbours also; but when Samaria was cursed, the neighbours rejoiced. Speaking of Babylon, it is written [Isaiah 14:23]: "I will also make it a possession for the hedgehog and pools of water," and speaking of Samaria, it is written [Micah 1:6]: "Therefore will I change Samaria into stone-heaps on the field, into vineyard plantations."

He said again: Come and see how the custom of the Holy One, blessed be He, differs from that of mortal man: When a man is about to be executed, a gag is placed in his mouth in order that he may not curse the king; but if a man transgresses against the Lord, the man is silenced, as it is written [Psalms 65:2]: "For thee praise is waiting, O God, in Zion." Not only is the man who transgresses against the Lord silent (waiting) but he also praises him, and the punishment given man for the transgression is regarded by him as a sacrifice unto the Lord, as it is written, "and unto thee shall vows be paid" [ibid.].

This is similar to the saying of R. Jehoshua ben Levi as follows: It is written [Psalms lxxxiv. 7]: "Passing through the valley of weeping, they will change it into a spring; also the early rain covereth it with blessings." "Passing" refers to the man who has trespassed against the will of the Holy One, blessed be He, "the valley" refers to hell which is made deeper, "weeping" signifies that they are weeping and shedding tears equal to the spring of Shitin, and "the early rain covereth it with blessings" denotes that the trespassers themselves bless the Lord, saying: "Creator of the Universe, Thou hast judged rightly, finding the righteous just and the wicked full of iniquity, (and blessed be Thou) that Thou hast ordained hell for the wicked and paradise for the righteous."

Is this statement not contradictory to the saying of Resh Lakish to the effect that the fires of hell cannot gain access to the bodies of the sinners in Israel, which is derived from the a fortiori conclusion that inasmuch as the gold which was only of the thickness of one golden dinar covering the ark of the covenant, was not touched by the perpetual light, although but one commandment was being fulfilled, so much more will the sinner in Israel who has fufilled as many commandments as a pomegranate has seeds escape the fires of hell (as it is written [Solomon's Song vi]: "Like the half of the pomegranate is the upper part of thy cheek," etc. And Resh Lakish said: Do not read "the upper part of thy cheek," but read "thy vain, wicked men" 1). Nay; even Resh Lakish admits that the sinners descend into hell; but our father Abraham, seeing that they are circumcised, rescues them.

R. Jeremiah ben Elazar said again. "Hell has three gates: One in the desert, one in the sea, and one in Jerusalem." "In the desert," as it is written [Numbers xvi. 33]: "And they went down, they, and all they that appertained to them, alive into the pit (Sheol-Gehenna)." "In the sea," as it is written [Jonah ii. 3]: "Out of the depth of the grave have I cried, and thou hast heard my voice." "And one in Jerusalem," as it is written [Isaiah xxxi. 9]: "Who hath a fire in Zion, and a furnace in Jerusalem." And the disciples of R. Ishmael taught, that by a fire in Zion is meant Gehenna, and by the furnace in Jerusalem is meant the gate of Gehenna.

R. Jehoshua, ben Levi said, that hell has seven names, viz.: Sheol, Abadon, Baar Shachath, Bor Sheon, Tit Hayavon, Tzalmoveth, and Eretz Hathachthith. 1

Where is the gate of Paradise? Said Resh Lakish: "If the gate of Paradise is in the land of Israel it is in the city of Beth Sheon. If it is in Araby it is in the city of Beth Gerem, and if it is between the rivers it is in Damaskanun."

In Babylon, Abayi would praise the fruit growing on the other side of the Euphrates and Rabha would praise the fruit of the city of Harphania (so it may be that the gate of Paradise is situated in one of these two places).

"Cattle yoked together in a team, but not walking unyoked." Why does the Mishna say "yoked together but not unyoked"? It is self-evident, that if they must be yoked they cannot be unyoked? We might assume, that if it said only "yoked together" we might think that apparently yoked would be sufficient, so it is repeated in order to make it more emphatic.

"So that one enters as the other passes out." That means, that one team can enter while another passes out. This was taught in a Boraitha.

The Rabbis taught: How much (in size) must the larger part of a cow be reckoned? Two ells. What is the breadth of a cow? One and two-thirds of an ell. Thus six cows abreast will measure about ten ells. So said R. Meir, but R. Jehudah said: "About thirteen or fourteen ells." Why does R. Meir say "about ten ells"? It is exactly ten ells? Because he must teach later "about thirteen ells," so he also approximates it in this case, and says "about ten ells." Now, why does R. Jehudah say "about thirteen ells"? According to his opinion it should be more? Because he wishes to say "about fourteen" he generalizes it and says "about thirteen or fourteen." How can he say about fourteen? It is less than fourteen? Said R. Papa: "He means to say more than thirteen and less than fourteen" (i.e., the measure of two teams of four cows each abreast is more than thirteen and less than fourteen ells),

R. Papa said: For a well that measures not more than eight ells in circumference, all agree, that no centre-boards are necessary. For a well of twelve ells in circumference, all agree that they are necessary. Where they differ is concerning a well that is between eight and twelve ells in circumference. According to R. Meir centre-boards are necessary, and according to R. Jehudah they are not. What would R. Papa inform us? We have learned this in our Mishna; for R. Jehudah says two teams of four animals each and R. Meir two teams of three each, so the difference is the size of two animals but not the size of one. R. Papa did not know of the Boraitha stating the size of a cow, so he came to teach us the measure.

Abayi asked Rabba: "What is the law if a man make the enclosures wider; must, according to R. Meir, centre-boards be put up nevertheless or not?" and Rabba answered: "This was taught us in the Mishna, 'providing that more boards be used.' Can we not assume that centre-boards are necessary?" Rejoined Abayi: "Nay! it may mean that the corner-boards should be increased in length." It seems to us that the opinion of the latter is the intention of the Mishna. This decides the argument.

Abayi asked Rabba again: "What is the law according to R. Jehudah if the space between the corner-boards on the same side exceeded thirteen and one-third ells? What should a man do then? Should he increase the length of the corner-boards or put up centre-boards?" Answered Rabba: This was taught us in a Boraitha as follows: What is meant by "they are near each other"? If they are only apart a space as large as the greater part of a cow. What would be called "they are far away from each other"? If the space between them is so large that a kur or even two kurs of grain can be planted therein. R. Jehudah, however, said, that only a space large enough to permit of the planting of two saahs of grain is permitted, but no more. The sages said to R. Jehudah: "Dost thou not admit that a cattle-pen or a fold, a bleaching-ground or a courtyard, even though they be large enough to accommodate five or even ten kurs of grain, are permitted?" R. Jehudah answered: "Here the case is different; for here we have partitions, while in the case of a well we have only enclosures." Now, if the length of the corner-boards should be increased, then R. Jehudah would say that the boards around a well also constitute a partition. Rejoined Abayi: Around a cattle-pen or a fold, a bleaching-ground or a courtyard, according to R. Jehudah, the law of a partition is applied and that must not contain a space larger than ten ells, and it matters not whether that space have a capacity large enough to permit of planting one or five kur of grain; but the space between the corner-boards was fixed at thirteen and one-third ells because the law of enclosures is applied, hence it should not have a capacity larger than would permit of the planting of two saahs of grain, even if the length of the boards be increased.

Abayi asked Rabba again: "Can a sandheap four ells wide and sloping up to a height of ten spans take the place of the corner-boards at a well?" Answered Rabba: "This is taught in a Tosephta: 'R. Simeon ben Elazar said: If there was a square rock standing at the corner of a well, which if divided would form an angle, each side of which would be one ell, it may take the place of corner-boards, otherwise it cannot.'" R. Ishmael the son of R. Johanan ben Berokah said: "Even if the rock was round and when made square and divided would form an angle each side of which would be one ell, it may also take the place of the corner-boards." On what point do they differ? According to the former Tana there is only one supposition allowed regarding the rock, whereas according to the latter, even two suppositions concerning the rock are permitted.

He asked him again: "May a bush take the place of corner-boards?" and Rabba answered: "We have learned this in a Boraitha: If there was a fence, a tree, or a number of cane-laths on the spot, they may serve as corner-boards." What is meant by cane-laths? In all probability a bush. Nay; we might assume, that they were really cane-laths and less than three spans apart? Then, by application of the law of "lavud" it would be a fence, and the Boraitha mentions a fence in the first place; why should the repetition be made? If it is a bush, it is the same as a tree; why the repetition in this instance? It might be said, then, that two kinds of a tree are mentioned; why should not two kinds of fences be mentioned?

Abayi asked him again: May things be carried from a courtyard opening into the enclosure around a well and vice versa? Rabba answered: "They may." "How is it if there were two adjoining courtyards opening into the enclosure?" "Then one must not carry from the courtyards into the enclosure." Said R. Huna: "If there were two courtyards, even an Erub will not make it lawful to carry things from the courtyards into the enclosure as a precaution, lest it be said, that the law of Erub applies also to enclosures." Rabha, however, said: "If an Erub was made, it is lawful." Said Abayi: "I know of a Boraitha, which supporteth thy opinion, viz.: If a courtyard

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opened into an enclosure around a well, things may be carried to and from the courtyard and the enclosure, but if two courtyards opened into the enclosure, this is not allowed, provided an Erub was not made. If an Erub was made, it is lawful."

Abayi asked Rabba again: "What is the law concerning the enclosures of a well which had gone dry on Sabbath?" and he answered: "Were not the enclosures made merely for the sake of the water? If the water gave out, the enclosures are void." Now asked Rabin of Abayi: "What is the law if the well went dry on the Sabbath and was filled again on the same day?" Answered Abayi: Concerning the law of a well that had gone dry I asked Master and he told me that the enclosures were void; hence if the well filled up again on the same day the enclosure must be regarded as one constructed on the Sabbath and it was decided that [in Tract Sabbath, page 200] a partition constructed on the Sabbath is valid.

R. Elazar said: "If one throw something (from public ground) within the enclosures around a well, he is culpable." Is this not self-evident? If the enclosures were not regarded as a partition, how would it be allowed to draw water from the well on Sabbath? R. Elazar means to tell us, that if such enclosures were erected in public ground without having a well, it also makes one culpable to throw a thing within the enclosures. Is this not self-evident? If such enclosures were not regarded as a partition elsewhere, how could they be thus considered when erected around a well? He lets us know, that even if the space surrounded by the enclosures is used as a public thoroughfare, it is nevertheless regarded as private ground. Then he means to tell us, that the public who pass through the enclosures do not nullify the validity of the enclosures? This we have also been taught [in Tract Sabbath, page 10]. The ordinance there is derived from his dictum above.

"It is permitted to place the enclosures quite close to the well." We have learned in a Mishna [Sabbath, xi.]: A man must not, standing in private ground, drink in public ground, nor, standing in public ground, drink in private ground, unless he place his head and the greater part of his body within the place in which he drinks. Such is likewise the law regarding a vine-press. Shall we assume, that it is sufficient for a man to have his head and

the greater part of his body in the place in which he drinks, but does this also apply to cattle or not? If the man hold the vessel from which the cattle drink and holds also the cattle (so that they cannot turn around), there is no question but that it is sufficient if they have their heads and the larger part of their bodies within the enclosures; but if the man hold the vessel only, and not the cattle, what is the law? Replied one of the schoolmen to the questioner: We have learned this in our Mishna, viz. "Providing the head and the greater part of the body of the animal be within the enclosure while it drinks." Must we not assume, that in this case the man holds only the vessel and not the animal? Nay; he holds both the vessel and the animal and the law seems to apply to the latter instances; for had he not held the animal also, how could this be allowed? Did we not learn in a Boraitha: A man must not fill a vessel with water to give to his cattle, but he may fill up the vessel and let his cattle drink of their own accord. (This was taught concerning the enclosures around the well.) Now, then, if we should say, that this Boraitha applies to a man who holds both the vessel and the cattle, why should he not water the cattle out of the vessel? We must therefore assume, that he did not hold the cattle, and consequently it is obvious that one must hold both the vessel and the cattle.

Have we not learned, that Abayi explains the mentioned Boraitha as follows: The case was, where a crib, ten spans high and four spans wide (forming in itself a private ground), and opening into the enclosures surrounding the well, stood in public ground and the animal stood in private ground? The Boraitha ordains, that the man should not fill a vessel with water and carry it to the animal, but pour it into the crib, i.e., he should not lift the vessel with water over the crib and carry it through public ground to the animal, lest he notice that the crib is broken and he will carry the crib into the place where the animal stands to mend it, thus carrying a thing from public into private ground?

Even if he did so, can the man be held culpable? Did not R. Saphra say, in the name of R. Ami, quoting R. Johanan: "If one moved a certain thing from one corner into another in private ground and then carried it into public ground, he is not culpable, because his original intention was not to carry it into public ground?" Abayi means to state, that the man might mend the crib where it was standing and then carry it into private ground.

Come and hear (another objection): "A camel, whose head and greater part of the body was within the enclosures around a well, may be crammed." Now, in such a case, the man certainly holds the animal and the vessel, and still it is necessary that the head and larger part of the body of the animal be within the enclosures? Said R. A'ha bar R. Huna in the name of R. Shesheth: "With a camel it is different; the neck of a camel being very long, if the camel turned its head around it would be in public ground."

We have learned also in a Boraitha, that R. Eliezer also prohibits this to be done with a camel, because its neck is very long.

R. Itz'hak bar Ada said: "The enclosures around wells are not permitted to be used by any but the pilgrims while going to Jerusalem for the festivals." Did we not learn in a Boraitha that the enclosures are allowed only for cattle? By cattle is meant the cattle of the pilgrims, but what should a man who wishes to drink do? He should hold on to the walls of the well and drink there. [This is not so! Did not R. Itz'hak in the name of R. Jehudah quoting Samuel say, that the enclosures are permitted to be made only around wells containing spring-water but not rain-water? If the wells were only allowed for cattle, why should this distinction be made? The water must be fit for human use also (because the enclosures are erected for the sake of the water, the latter should be good water).] If the walls of the well were very wide and a man could not climb over them, he may draw water from the well and drink it.

R. Jeremiah bar Abba said in the name of Rabh: The laws of a road that had huts built on it at seventy ells apart and of enclosures around wells do not hold good in Babylon or anywhere outside of Palestine. The first law does not apply to Babylon on account of the frequent floods and to other lands on account of thieves who would steal the huts, and the second law does not apply to Babylon because of the abundance of water and to other lands because there are no colleges of learning.

Said R. Hisda to Mari the son of R. Huna the son of Jeremiah bar Abba: "I have heard, that ye, men of Barnash, go to the synagogue of Daniel on the Sabbath, a distance of three miles. Upon what grounds do ye do this? Do ye depend upon the law of huts? Was it not said by thy grandfather in the name of Rabh, that this law does not apply to Babylon?" R. Hisda was shown by Mari demolished buildings scattered over the entire road, at about seventy ells apart, which at one time formed part of the city itself.

Said R. Hisda: Mari bar Mar related: It is written [Jeremiah 24:1]: "The Lord caused me to see, and, behold, there were two baskets of figs placed before the temple of the Lord," etc., and [ibid. 2]: "The one basket had very good figs, like the figs that are first ripe; and the other basket had very bad figs, which could not be eaten, from being so bad." The good figs represent the strictly righteous and the bad figs the grossly wicked, but if you mean to say, that for the grossly wicked there is no more hope, therefore it is written [Solomon's Song vii. 14]:

The mandrakes 1 give forth their smell."

Rabha preached: "By the passage 'The mandrakes give forth their smell' is meant the young men of Israel who have not yet tasted of the fruit of sin, and by 'at our doors are all manners of precious fruits' is meant the virgins of Israel who are modest before their marriage, and by the passage 'new and also old, O my friend! these have I laid up for thee' is meant what the congregation of Israel said to the Holy One, blessed be He, namely: 'Creator of the Universe! Even more than thou hast ordained for us, have we ordained for ourselves and have faithfully observed.'"

Said R. Hisda to one of the scholars who read legendary matter before him: "Hast thou not heard what is meant by new and also old' (in the passage quoted)?" He answered: "'The old' refers to biblical ordinances and the 'new' to rabbinical."

Rabha preached: "It is written [Ecclesiastes 12:12]: 'But more than all these, my son, take warning for thyself: the making of many books would have no end; and much preaching is a weariness of the flesh.' This means: 'My son, be careful in the observance of the rabbinical commandments (even more than in the biblical); for while the biblical commandments are for the most part positive and negative (i.e., not always involving the death-penalty if violated), the rabbinical commandments, if infracted, would involve capital punishment. Lest one might say, that if such be the case, why were not the rabbinical commandments written down, the answer is provided, 'The making of many books would have no end.' The end of the passage 'Much preaching is a weariness of the flesh,' signifies, that one who devotes much thought and reflection to the rabbinical commandments, acquires a taste as if he had eaten an excess of meat."

The Rabbis taught: It happened that when R. Aqiba was in prison R. Jehoshua of Garsi served him every day. Water was given R. Aqiba in a measure. One day the warden of the prison said to R. Jehoshua: "To-day thy measure of water is too large. Perhaps it is thy intention to undermine the prison." So he poured out half the water and returned the remainder. When R. Jehoshua came to R. Aqiba the latter said to him: "Dost thou not know, that I am an old man and that my life is dependent upon thee?" R. Jehoshua then related what had happened. Said R. Aqiba: "Give me the water and I will wash my hands prior to eating," and he answered: "There is hardly enough water to drink, and thou wouldst use it to wash thy hands?" Rejoined R. Aqiba: "What can I do? I must follow the rabbinical commandment, which if violated would involve capital punishment. It were better for me that I die of hunger, than to act contrary to the opinion of my colleagues." And it was said that R. Aqiba would not taste anything until water was brought to him to wash his hands. When the sages heard of this, they said: If he was so careful in his old age how was he in his youth, and if he was so particular in prison how was he when at liberty!

R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel: In the time that Solomon the king ordained the law of Erubin and that of washing the hands (before meals) a heavenly voice was heard, which said [Proverbs xxiii. 15]: "My son, if thy heart be wise, my heart shall rejoice, even mine," and [ibid. xxvii. ii]: "Become wise, my son, and cause my heart to rejoice, that I may give an answer to him that reproacheth me."

Rabha preached again: It is written [Solomon's Song 7:12-13]: "Come, my friend! let us go forth into the field; let us spend the night in the villages; let us get up early to the vineyards; let us see if the vine have blossomed, whether the young grape have opened to the view, whether the pomegranates have budded: there will I give my caresses unto thee." "Come, my friend! let us go into the field." Thus said the community of Israel before the Holy One, blessed be He: "Creator of the Universe! judge us not by the inhabitants of the large cities; for there is robbery, rapine, false-swearing, and swearing in vain among them. Come into the field and we will show Thee many scholars who study the Law although they are in poor circumstances." "Let us spend the night in the villages." 1 This means: Come with us and we will show Thee so many, to whom Thou hast shown so much mercy and still they deny Thee. "Let us go up early into the vineyards," refers to the synagogues and the houses of learning. "Let us see if the vine have blossomed," refers to those who study the Holy Writ. "Whether the young grape have opened to the view," refers to those who study the Mishna. "Whether the pomegranates have budded," refers to those who study the Gemara. "There will I give my caresses unto thee," signifies: We will show Thee our children who honour and revere us by studying the Law and walking in Thy ways.

Said R. Hamnuna: It is written [1 Kings 5:12]: "And he spoke three thousand proverbs and his songs were a thousand and five." From this it is inferred, that Solomon said three thousand proverbs for every one of the biblical commandments and gave one thousand and five reasons for each of the rabbinical commandments.

Rabha preached: It is written [Ecclesiastes 12:9]: "And in addition to this that Koheleth was wise, he continually also taught the people knowledge, and he probed, and searched out, and composed many proverbs." "He continually also taught the people knowledge" signifies, that he supplied the Holy Writ with the Massoretic text and explained the different passages with parables and proverbs. "And composed many proverbs." Ula said in the name of R. Eliezer, that prior to the time of Solomon the Scriptures were like a basket without handles, that could not be grasped, and when Solomon came, he provided the Holy Writ with all the precautionary measures necessary for its preservation.

R. Hisda said in the name of Mar Uqba: "It is written: 'His head is bright as the finest gold, his locks are like waving foliage, and black as a raven.'" (Locks are expressed by the Hebrew word "Taltalim," also meaning heaps.) The inference can be made from this passage, that upon every letter contained in the Scriptures a heap of ordinances can be based, and further, that the one wishing to find all the beauties contained in the Holy Writ must devote himself to its study until he becomes black as a raven." Rabha said not "until he becomes black as a raven," but until he becomes as hard-hearted towards his family as a raven is towards its young.

As it happened that R. Ada bar Mattna wished to go and seclude himself in the house of learning and his wife said to him: "What shall I do with thy little ones?" and he answered: "There are still herbs in the field."

It is written [Deuteronomy 7:10]: "And repayeth those that hate him to their face, to destroy them. He will not delay, to him that hateth him he will repay him to his face." Said R. Jehoshua ben Levi: "Were it not for this passage, it would be impossible to make such an assertion; for this is like a mortal who would rid himself of a burden which had become too heavy to carry." 1 The last part of the passage implies, that while punishment is not delayed to the wicked, the reward to the strictly righteous is delayed. So said R. Aila and it is similar to the dictum of R. Jehoshua ben Levi: "It is written [ibid. ii.]: 'The ordinances which I command thee this day, to do them,'" and signifies, that the commandments are to be fulfilled this day, but the reward for so doing is put off for a future day, i.e., will be given in the world to come."

"R. Jehudah said: 'The maximum distance,'" etc. The schoolmen propounded a question: Does R. Jehudah mean to exclude the space occupied by the well in the maximum distance or does it refer to the enclosures plus the space between the enclosures and the well? Come and hear: We have learned: What is meant by "the enclosure may be quite close to the well"? That the head and greater part of the body of the animal be within the enclosures, and what is meant by "it may be placed at some distance from the well"? That the space between the well and the enclosure may be of sufficient size to

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permit of the planting of one or even two kurs of grain therein. R. Jehudah, however, says, that it may be only of two saahs' capacity, but not more. The sages said to him: Wilt thou not grant us that as regards a cattle-pen, fold, bleaching-ground, or a courtyard, a capacity of five or even ten kur is permissible? He answered them: "Yea; but in the latter cases we have a partition whereas in the case of a well there are only enclosures." R. Simeon ben Elazar, however, said, that in the case of a well, the square of a space sufficient for the planting of two saahs of grain is allowed, and by "it (the enclosure) may be placed at some distance from the well" is meant such a square plus the two ells necessary for the accommodation of the head and larger part of the body of the animal. Now, then, if R. Simeon ben Elazar means to permit the two ells in addition to the square space permitted, it is evident, that R. Jehudah, who differs with him, means to include them in that space.

Nay; this is not so, after all! R. Jehudah also means to allow the two ells in addition to the permitted space, but he differs with R. Simeon ben Elazar in the measurement of the space. The latter holds, that the space should be square, i.e., if it be one hundred ells long it must be one hundred ells wide, whereas according to R. Jehudah it may be one hundred ells long and only fifty ells wide (for such was the measure of the court of the tabernacle). [The end of the Boraitha is.] A rule was laid down by R. Simeon ben Elazar: Every space used for a dwelling of any description, e.g.., a pen, a fold, a bleaching-ground, or a courtyard, may be of a size large enough to permit even of the planting of ten kurs of grain therein; but a roofed dwelling such as the huts in a field must not exceed two saahs' capacity.

MISHNA: R. Jehudah said: If a public thoroughfare passes through the enclosure, it must be closed up with boards at the sides facing the thoroughfare; but the sages hold, that it is not necessary.

GEMARA: Said R. Itz'hak bar Joseph in the name of R. Johanan: "There is no such a thing as public ground in Palestine. " 1 R. Dimi sitting in his college repeated this Halakha. Said Abayi to him: "What is the reason of this assertion? Shall I assume, that it is because the rocks of the mount Tyre surround Palestine on one side and a canal on another side? Does not the river Euphrates on the one side and the river Diglat on the other side surround Babylon and in like manner the ocean surrounds the world, then there should be no public ground at all. Perhaps R. Johanan meant to say, that the path ascending the mountain and the other descending from the mountain is not public ground?" Answered R. Dimi: I see thou hast a wise head, and it seems to me as if thou wert among the pillars of R . Johanan's college, when he pronounced this Halakha.

When Rabhin came from Palestine, he said in the name of R. Johanan, and according to another version in the name of R. Abbahu quoting R. Johanan: The paths by which the mountains in Palestine are ascended and descended do not come under the head of public ground, because they were not encountered on the journey through the wilderness (the pillar of cloud removing all hills and mountains from the path of the children of Israel).

MISHNA: Be it a public cistern, a public well, or a private well, such an enclosure of boards must be made for it; to a private cistern, however, a partition ten hands high must be made. Such is the dictum of R. Aqiba; but R. Jehudah. ben Babah said: An enclosure of boards must be made only for a public well; for all others it is sufficient to make a rope fence ten hands high.

GEMARA: Said R. Joseph in the name of R. Jehudah quoting Samuel: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Jehudah ben Babah." And he said again in the name of the same authority: "It is allowed only to make an enclosure around a well containing spring-water." The reason this latter saying of R. Jehudah ben Babah is quoted is, because in the Mishna he states, that an enclosure must be made only for a public well and we might assume that even if the well contained rain-water, providing it be only a public well, an enclosure may be made around it: therefore we are taught, that even though it be a public well it must contain spring-water.

MISHNA: Furthermore, R. Jehudah. ben Babah said: "In a garden or wood-shed over seventy ells square and encompassed by a wall ten hands high, it is lawful to carry things, provided there is a watch-box or dwelling of some kind (within the garden or shed), or they are close to town." R. Jehudah, however, said: Even though there be nothing else within them than a cistern, a reservoir, or a cave, it is lawful to carry things (in the garden or shed). R. Aqiba said: Even if the garden or wood-shed contain none of these objects mentioned, one may carry things within them (on Sabbath), provided they do not measure much over seventy ells square. R. Eliezer said: "If the length of such a garden or wood-shed exceed its width by even one ell, it is not permitted to carry things therein." R. Jose, however, said: Even if its length be twice its width, it is lawful to carry things therein.

R. Ilai said: I heard from R. Eliezer, that even though the garden or wood-shed be large enough to permit of a whole kur of grain being planted within it, it is permitted to carry things therein on Sabbath. I also heard from him, that if one of the householders of a court had forgotten and not combined in the erub, he must not carry anything out of or into his house, but the other inmates of the court may do so. Furthermore, I heard from him, that a man can fully acquit himself of the duty (of eating bitter herbs) on the Passover by using hart's-tongue (scolopendrium). I inquired among all his disciples seeking a colleague who had also heard him pronounce these opinions, but I could not find one.

GEMARA: "R. Aqiba said: Even if the garden," etc. Is this not the same as was said by the first Tana? There is a difference in a trifling matter between the two, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: "There is a trifle over the seventy ells and something, which the sages failed to specify, and that is the difference between the space of two saahs' capacity (which is 100 by So ells) and the square of seventy ells and something (two saahs' capacity is equal to 100 by 50 ells, or 5,000 square ells, and 7 2/3 by 70 2/3 ells is equal to 4,994 2/3 square ells, hence the difference, 5 7/9 square ells). Whence do we adduce this? Said R. Jehudah: "It is written [Exodus xxvii. 18]: 'The length of the court shall be one hundred cubits and the breadth fifty-by fifty.' This means to say, that the fifty cubits of length exceeding the breadth should be apportioned to the breadth, so as to make the whole seventy cubits and four spans square." 1 What is the correct interpretation of the passage? How can one hundred ells in length by fifty by fifty in breadth be understood? Said Abayi: "The passage implies that the tabernacle must be placed immediately beyond where the court is fifty ells in length, and being itself thirty ells long and ten wide, it will have a frontage of fifty ells and twenty ells on each remaining side."

"R. Eliezer said: 'If the length,'" etc. Did we not learn in a Boraitha: R. Eliezer said: "If the length exceeded double the width of the garden or wood-shed by one ell, things must not be carried in them"? Said R. Bibhi bar Abayi: Our Mishna must also be read not "if the length exceed the width," but "if the length exceed double the width." If such be the case, then is this not the same as said by R. Jose? The difference between them is the one square ell which R. Eliezer adds as a proviso but which R. Jose does not incorporate in his dictum, for the former says (according to the above Boraitha): "Even if the length exceed double the width by one ell," while the latter says, "even if the length be double the width (exactly)."

"R. Jose, however, said," etc. It was taught: R. Joseph in the name of R. Jehudah, quoting Samuel, said: The Halakha prevails according to R. Jose's dictum in that a square is not essential. R. Bibhi, also, in the name of R. Jehudah, quoting Samuel, said: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Aqiba, who says, that the garden or wood-shed need not contain any of those objects." Samuel found it necessary to make both statements in order to make the ordinance more lenient, i.e., that neither was it essential that the garden or wood-shed be square nor that it contain a watch-box, dwelling, etc.

If a wood-shed of more than two saahs' capacity was fenced in for a dwelling, and the larger part of it was used to sow grain therein, it is like a garden and things must not be moved therein, because the fact that it was used for the purpose of sowing grain nullifies the original intention to use it for a dwelling. If, however, trees were planted in the greater part of it, things may be carried therein, because it is considered as a yard or court adjacent to a house. What is the law, however, if only in the smaller part of such a wood-shed grain was sown? Said R. Huna the son of R. Jehoshua: If the wood-shed was of two saahs' capacity, it is allowed to carry things therein under those circumstances, but if it was of a larger capacity, it is not allowed (to carry things therein). This will be in accordance with R. Simeon, whose opinion will be cited later (Chapter IX., Mishna i.). If trees were planted in the wood-shed: according to R. Jehudah in the name of Abhimi, things may be carried only if benches were made between the trees, but according to R. Na'hman, this is not necessary, and R. Huna the son of Jehudah is of the same opinion as R. Na'hman.

Said R. Na'hman in the name of Samuel: A wood-shed of over two saahs' capacity, which was not fenced in for a dwelling, stood near a house which was subsequently built adjoining it. What is to be done in order to make it lawful for the occupants of the house to carry things to and from the wood-shed and the house on the Sabbath? First, a breach of more than ten ells should be made in the wall of the wood-shed (thereby rendering the walls useless); then the breach should be filled up so as to make it ten ells only. This will be regarded as a door, and will make it lawful to carry things between the house and the' wood-shed.

The schoolmen asked: "How is it, if the man tore down and rebuilt the walls of the wood-shed piecemeal, i.e., ell by ell until more than ten ells were torn down and then by rebuilding just ten ells of the breach were left. (Must over ten ells be demolished at once in order to render the wall useless or does it suffice if eventually such a breach was made even if it was done ell by ell)"? The answer was: Is this not the same as we have learned in a Mishna (in Tract Kelim), that the vessels of householders which contain a hole larger than a pomegranate are not subject to defilement; and Hezkyah asked, what the law was if a hole the size of an olive was made in the vessel and stopped up and this was repeated until the hole became the size of a pomegranate. R. Johanan answered him and related that Rabbi taught this in another Mishna concerning a sandal, one ear of which had become torn and was mended when the other became tom and was also mended, the sandal after the second mending is not subject to defilement. Rabbi was asked why he had ordained thus, for after the second mending, the same condition existed in the sandal as after the first. He answered: Nay; when the other ear was broken off the sandal was virtually destroyed and after it had been mended it assumed a different appearance. This statement can also be applied to the wall, which with each successive breach of one ell assumed a different appearance. The answer was: Such explanations are superhuman (and can only be made by an angel). According to another version, the answer was: "This is a man (who has knowledge)." 1

Said R. Kahana: "In a bleaching-ground (behind a house) things must not be carried except for a distance of four ells." Said R. Na'hman: "If a door was erected in the bleaching-ground, things may be carried over its entire extent; because the door renders this lawful."

If a wood-shed of over two saahs' capacity which had been intended for a dwelling was filled with water it is considered as if planted with trees, and things may be carried over its entire extent. Said Ameimar: Provided the water was fit to drink; but if not fit for drinking purposes, things must not be carried within the wood-shed.

There was a bleaching-ground in the city of Pumnahara, one side of which opened into the city and the other side into a path leading to a vineyard, which in turn opened into the banks of a lake. Said Rabha: A side-beam should be erected on the side of the bleaching-ground facing the city, and if this is of use as an entry to the city, it will also be a valid entry for the bleaching-ground. This makes it lawful to carry things both in the entry and in the bleaching-ground; but as for carrying from the entry into the bleaching-ground or vice versa, there is a difference of opinion between R. Aha and Rabhina. One permits this because the bleaching-ground is uninhabited. The other prohibits this, lest the bleaching-ground become at some time inhabited and things will be carried to and fro nevertheless.

A wood-shed of over two saahs' capacity which was not fenced in for a dwelling and was made smaller by planting trees therein, is not considered diminished in size. If, however, a pillar was erected within it, ten spans high and four wide, it is considered diminished. If the pillar was less than three spans wide, all agree, that it is of no account; but if it be over three spans and less than four, Rabha said, that the wood-shed is thereby diminished because a thing which is over three spans wide does not come within the law of "lavud" (attachment), and is hence considered an independent subject; Rabha, however, maintains that it is not diminished, for a subject which is less than four spans is of no account.

If a partition was made in the wood-shed four spans distant from the wall, things may be carried over the entire wood-shed. If the partition was less than three spans from the wall, all agree that this would be unlawful. If over three and less than four, Rabba said it is lawful, and Rabha said it is not. R. Shimi, however, taught this ordinance in a more lenient form, namely: If the partition was over three and less than four spans from the wall, all agree, that it is lawful; but if it was less than three then there is a difference of opinion.

Rabba bar bar Hana propounded a question: "If the bottom part of a partition was swallowed up by the earth and the top part remained, can it be accounted a lawful partition or not?" What was the object of this question? If it refers to a partition which was erected on the estate of a deceased proselyte, then this question is identical with that of Jeremiah of Bira, which is decided in Tract Baba Bathra; and if it refers to the Sabbath-law, i.e., if a partition was made on Sabbath, then the question has already been decided previously (page 47).

Concerning a wood-shed of three saahs' capacity which was provided with a roof of only one saah capacity Rabha said: The atmosphere of the unroofed portion of the wood-shed nullifies the roof which has been erected and things must not be carries within it. R. Zera, however, said: The atmosphere of the unroofed portion does not interfere with the roof which is considered as attached to the part of one saah's capacity and things may be carried within the roofed part with impunity. I admit, however, that if a wall of the wood-shed facing a courtyard was entirely demolished, the atmosphere of the adjoining courtyard renders the remaining walls void and makes the woodshed one of over two saahs' capacity.

There was a garden on the estate of the Exilarch containing a pavilion. On a Friday R. Huna bar Hinana was told to go out there and make the pavilion suitable so that things could be carried and meals taken within it on the morrow. He went and placed some sticks of less than three spans in height in the ground around the pavilion. Rabha then went out and tore down the sticks. R. Papa and R. Huna the son of R. Jehoshua even went and hid the sticks so that R. Huna bar Hinana could not obtain them again (because all three held, that the sticks would have been of no account whatever). So the

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Exilarch applied to them the verse [Jeremiah iv. 22]: "Wise are they to do evil, but how to do good they do not know."

"R. Ilai said: I have heard from R. Eliezer, that even though a garden or wood-shed be large enough to permit of the planting of a whole kur," etc. This Mishna is not in accordance with the opinion of Hananiah, who said, that even if they have a capacity of forty saahs, as a parade ground for soldiers in front of the king's palace, things may be carried within them, so it was taught in a Boraitha. Said R. Johanan: Both R. Eliezer and Hananiah adduced their opinions from the same passage, viz. [II Kings xx. 4]: "And it came to pass, before Isaiah was gone out into the middle court," etc., while subsequently city is mentioned and hence the inference that a parade ground be it even as large as a medium-sized town is still called a court provided it be in front of the king's palace. Their point of difference is, that one holds a medium-sized town to have a capacity of one kur while the other holds that it has a capacity of forty saahs.

"I also heard from him," etc. Did we not learn in another Mishna, that neither the householder himself nor the other inmates of the court (yard) may carry anything to and from his house? Said R. Huna the son of R. Jehoshua in the name of R. Shesheth: This presents no difficulty. The Mishna is in accordance with R. Eliezer, who holds, that if one had resigned his right to the use of the court he also resigned his privilege of the use of his house, but according to the opinion of the rabbis it may be said that, if he had resigned his right to the court, he did not thereby resign his privilege of the use of his house. Is this not self-evident? (Why should we say, it may be said?) They cannot differ on any other point. Said Rahabha (Rabha): I and R. Huna bar Hinana have explained this as follows: The case was, where there were five inmates of one court, and one of them forgot to combine in the erub; according to R. Eliezer, at the time that he resigns his right to the use of the court in favour of all the other inmates he need not do so to each one individually also, and he at the same time resigns the privilege of using his house to the other inmates, while according to the Rabbis, he must do so to each one of the inmates individually and must also bear in mind to resign his privilege of using his house.

CHAPTER 3.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING WHEREWITH AND WHERE AN ERUB MAY BE MADE. WHEREBY AN ERUB BECOMES INVALID. THE ERUB OF LIMITS, WITH ITS CONDITIONS. WHEN A FESTIVAL OR NEW YEAR PRECEDES THE SABBATH.

MISHNA: The Erub may be effected with all kinds of victuals excepting water and salt. All kinds of victuals may be bought with the proceeds of the second tithe except water and salt. One who has vowed to abstain from food, may partake of water and salt. The Erub maybe made for a Nazarite with wine and for an ordinary Israelite with heave-offering. Symmachus said: Unconsecrated things only may be used for the Erub of an ordinary Israelite. The Erub of a priest may be placed on a spot which had formerly been used as a cemetery. R. Jehudah said: It may even be placed in an actual burying-ground, since the priest may make a partition between himself and the burying-ground and then eat the Erub.

GEMARA: R. Johanan said: "We must not accept all the Mishnaoth that commence with a general rule as final, even such as are supplemented with an exception." Said Rabhina, according to another version R. Na'hman: We can infer this from our Mishna above. It is stated therein, that with all kinds of victuals an Erub may be effected, excepting water and salt, and there are certain mushrooms with which an Erub cannot be effected also. Consequently we may assume from this Mishna, that all those commencing with a general rule, even such as are supplemented with exceptions, need not be accepted as final.

"All kinds of victuals," etc. One of the two sages, R. Eliezer or R. Jose bar R. Hanina, taught as follows: The Mishna means to state, that an Erub must not be made with either water or salt, but with the two together it is allowed," and one of them taught the same with reference to second tithes, viz.: With the proceeds of the second tithes salt or water must not be bought; but the two together maybe bought. The one who applies this opinion to second tithes does so even to a greater degree in the case of the Erub; but the one who applies this to an Erub does not do so in the case of the second tithes; because some fruit must be bought therewith. When R. Itz'hak came from Palestine, he taught this to apply to second tithes also.

An objection was made: R. Jehudah ben Gadish testified in the presence of R. Eliezer, that his father's house used to buy fish-brine with the proceeds of the second tithes. Said R. Eliezer to him: "Perhaps thou didst not observe, that there were pieces of fish in the brine." Now, R. Jehudah ben Gadish himself testifies that fish-brine was bought and that is at least an article of food; but he certainly would not permit salt and water.

Said R. Joseph: "R. Itz'hak in permitting water and salt to be bought with the proceeds of second tithes refers to a case where the water also contained some oil." Said Abayi: "If such be the case, why does he say water and salt, it would be virtually buying the oil?" The answer is: "If the money was paid for the oil and incidentally also for the water and salt." Is it allowed to buy it indirectly? Yea; it is allowed, as we have learned: Ben Bagbag said: It is written [Deut. xiv. 26]: "And thou shalt lay out that money for whatsoever thy soul longeth after, for oxen, or for sheep, or for wine, or for strong drink, or for whatsoever thy soul asketh of thee." "For oxen" signifies for oxen together with the hide, "for sheep" with the wool, for wine "together with the barrel," or for strong drink even if it turned sour.

R. Johanan said. "The man who will explain to me the dictum of Ben Bagbag concerning the oxen, I will carry his clothes after him to the bath-house." Why is this so? Wherein does he find a difference between the oxen and the sheep? Because if we infer from the verse, that the sheep may be bought together with their wool, which can be shorn, it is self-evident that an ox must be bought with the hide, for how can it be bought otherwise? Hence the inference taken by Ben Bagbag from the oxen is superfluous.

Wherein do R. Jehudah ben Gadish, R. Eliezer, and the following Tanaim differ? R. Jehudah ben Gadish and R. Eliezer interpret an extension and a limitation thus: "Thou shalt lay out that money for whatsoever thy soul longeth" is an extension then; "or oxen, or for sheep, for wine or for strong drink" is a limitation; "or for whatever thy soul asketh of thee" is again an extension. Thus we have an extension, a limitation and another extension. What is the extension? "For everything." But what is the limitation? According to R. Eliezer, it is fish-brine, and according to R. Jehudah ben Gadish it is water and salt, and the other Tanaim do not refer to extension and limitation but to the effect of general and particular terms, as we have learned in a Boraitha: "Thou shalt lay out that money for whatsoever thy soul desireth" is a general term, "for oxen, for sheep, etc.," is a particular term, and again "or for whatsoever thy soul asketh of thee" is a general term; hence we have a general term, a particular term and another general term, and wherever there is a particular term in the midst of two general terms the particular term determines the rule. Thus the particular thing to be bought with the proceeds of second tithes is fruit of fruit (i.e., a calf born of a cow or oil of olives) and everything generated above the ground; but salt and water or fish-brine is not included.

In another Boraitha however we were taught, that as the particular term refers to something born on or growing out of the ground, so does also the general term refer to subjects of this kind. What is the point of difference between the two Boraithas? Said Abayi: "Concerning fish." According to the Boraitha which holds, that the particular term refers to fruit of fruit and everything generated above the ground, fish is also included as it derives its sustenance from the earth; but according to the Boraitha which holds, that only something born on or growing out of the ground is meant, fish is excluded because it is generated in the waters.

Said R. Jehudah in the name of R. Samuel bar Shilas quoting Rabh: "An Erub may be made with lettuce, Halaglugoth (a certain edible plant) and clover but not with green rye-stalks and bad figs." How can he say that clover may be used? Have we not learned, that clover maybe eaten only by those who have many children but not by such as have none? Have we not learned that for a Nazarite an Erub may be made with wine and for an ordinary Israelite with heave-offering? Although neither of these two are allowed to partake of those things, there are others who may do so and the same case can be applied to clover, while there are some who are not allowed to eat it, there are others who may; hence all may use it for the purpose of making an Erub.

With green rye-stalks it is not allowed? Did not R. Jehudah say in the name of Rabh, that hops and green rye-stalks may be used to make an Erub and the benediction to be pronounced over these is "Blessed be He, etc., who hath created the fruits of the earth"? This presents no difficulty; for Rabh said, that rye-stalks were not permitted to be used, before he came to Babylon, not knowing that it was used for food, but when he learned that such was the case, he allowed its use.

With bad figs it is not allowed? Have we not learned, that palm-tops may be bought with the proceeds of second tithes and that they are not subject to defilement incidental to eatables, and bad figs may also be bought with the proceeds of second tithes but they are subject to the defilement? R. Jehudah, however, said that palm-tops were considered the same as trees under all circumstances with the exception that they may be bought with the proceeds of second tithes and that bad figs are considered the same as other fruit except that they are not subject to tithing? Thou sayest, they are subject to defilement? That is a different matter. The reason of that is, as R. Johanan stated in another case, that they can be made good through cooking over a fire and therefore they are subject to defilement, but they must not be used for making an Erub.

The text states, that hops and green rye-stalks may be used for making an Erub, etc. What quantity of hops should be used? As R. Yechiel said elsewhere, that a handful is sufficient, so it is also in this case; a handful will suffice for two meals. What quantity of green rye-stalks must be used? Said Rabba bar Tuvia bar Itz'hak in the name of Rabh: A bundle of the same size as that made by the peasants.

R. Helkyah bar Tuvia said: An Erub may be made with a Kalia (a certain root as hard as a piece of dry wood). How is that possible? Can it be eaten? He means to say when the root is young and tender. What quantity should be used? Said R. Yechiel: "A handful."

R. Jeremiah went out into the villages and was asked whether an Erub may be made with bean-pods. He did not know what to answer. When he came back to the college, he was told, that R. Janai said, "It was allowed," and as to the quantity R. Yechiel said, "A handful."

R. Hamnuna said: "An Erub must not be made with raw mangold. Because R. Hisda said that raw mangold can kill a man." But we see, that some people do eat it and it does not harm them? Yea; but they eat marigold which is partially cooked and is not quite raw.

R. Hisda said: "Cooked mangold is good for the heart, for the eyes and above all for the stomach." Said Abayi: Such is the case if the mangold was cooked over the centre of a big fire so long that it sizzled.

Rabha said at one time: I feel, that I am at present in the same condition as Ben Azai was in the markets of Tiberias. [Ben Azai used to lecture in the markets of Tiberias and in his time was the most sagacious among all the sages, so that he once said: All the sages of Israel are as the peel of garlic compared to me except the bald-head (meaning R. Aqiba).] So one of the scholars came to Rabha and asked him, how many apples it would take to make an Erub? He answered: "Art thou then certain that an Erub may be made with apples?" With apples it is not allowed? Have we not learned in a Mishna, that a quantity of mixed eatables equal to two eggs is sufficient to make the body of a man incapable of touching heave-offerings? 1 If there is sufficient of those mixed eatables for two meals they maybe used for making an Erub. If there is a quantity of those mixed eatables equal to one egg, they arc subject to the defilement incidental to eatables. Why this question? 'Tis true that the Mishna mentions all eatables, but have we not learned, that wherever a general rule is laid down, even when supplemented with exceptions, it need not be accepted as final? Consequently apples may be excluded? This question is not based upon the statement that all eatables may be used, but upon the fact that a quantity of mixed eatables equal to two eggs may be used for an Erub, and if equal to one egg it is subject to defilement incidental to eatables. And if apples are subject to defilement, why should they not be used for an Erub? What should be the quantity of apples used? Said R. Na'hman: "A Kabh."

An objection was raised: R. Simeon b. Elazar said: A measure of spices, a litter of herbs, ten nuts, five persicum (apricots), two pomegranates, one citron. (This was a prescribed quantity for giving charity by the owner of a vineyard.) And Ghurseck bar Dori in the name of R. Menashiah bar Shegublick quoting Rabh said: The same quantity is sufficient for an Erub. Now why shall not apples also be equal to apricots and only five should be sufficient for an Erub? The persicums are more valuable, hence five are sufficient, but apples not being so valuable, therefore a Kabh is required.

Said R. Joseph: May the Lord forgive R. Menashiah bar Shegublick. I said this to him in reference to the following Mishna and he said this in reference to the above Boraitha. This is the Mishna (mentioned above). Nothing less than a half a Kabh of wheat and a Kabh of barley should be given to a poor man by the owner of a barn. R. Meir, however, says a half a Kabh of barley and one Kabh and a half of Kusmin, 1 a Kabh of three or the weight of a maneh 2 of pressed figs; R. Aqiba said a half of a maneh; and a half a lug of wine; R. Aqiba said a quarter of a lug; and a quarter of a lug of oil; R. Aqiba said an eighth of a lug. Concerning other fruits, however, said Abba Saul: A measure of fruit, the sale of which would realise sufficient for the purchase of two meals; and to this Mishna I added in the name of Rabh that the same quantities are needed for an Erub.

The text said: If there is sufficient of mixed eatables for two meals they may be used for an Erub. R. Joseph meant to say: "If there is enough of each kind for one meal." Said Rabba to him: "Nay; it is sufficient if there was enough of each kind for a half, a third or even a quarter of a meal."

Rabh said: "One may make an Erub with wine of the quantity of two quarters of a lug." Must we have so much? Did we not learn that R. Simon ben Elazar said: "With sufficient wine necessary for the eating of two meals," and by that he means boiled wine in which bread sufficient for two meals is soaked.

Rabh said again: "One may make an Erub with vinegar sufficient for the soaking of food for two meals." R. Gidel said in the name of Rabh: "By that is meant enough vinegar to soak herbs sufficient for two meals"; and according to others R. Gidel said in the name of Rabh (not two meals of herbs only but) sufficient wine to soak the herbs which are usually eaten in two meals.

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R. Zera said in the name Of Samuel: "It is allowed to make an Erub with beer, but if three lugs of it be poured into a Mikvah, the Mikvah becomes invalid." How much beer is necessary for an Erub? R. Ahu the son of R. Joseph wished to state in the presence of his father, that two lugs were necessary, i.e., one lug for each meal. Said R. Joseph: This is not so. There are men who drink only one goblet-full in the morning and another in the evening (a goblet-full is supposed to be a quarter of a lug); hence two goblets-full are sufficient for an Erub.

What is the quantity of dates sufficient for an Erub? Said R. Joseph: "One Kabh." What is the quantity of Sheshitha (a dish made of parched corn and honey)? Said R. A'ha bar Pinhas: Two spoons-full. What is the quantity of roasted ears (of corn)? Said Abaja: Two bunis (measures used in the city of Pumbaditha).

Abayi said again: "My mother told me, that roasted ears are good for the heart and drive away care." He said again: My mother told me, that one who has heart-disease should take the meat from the right shoulder of a ram, bring some willow branches, burn them, and roast the meat on the coals. Then he should eat the meat and drink wine thinned with water.

Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: "Of all things that are eaten with bread it is sufficient to use a quantity eaten with bread at two meals; but of such things as are eaten by themselves sufficient for two meals must be used for an Erub. Of raw meat sufficient for two meals if eaten by itself must be used, but of cooked meat Rabba said it is sufficient to use as much as is eaten with bread at two meals, and R. Joseph said as much as is eaten at two meals by itself should be used, and he said: "Whence do I adduce this? Because I saw that the Persians eat roasted meat without bread." Rejoined Abayi: Are the Persians the majority of the whole world?

R. Hyya bar Ashi said in the name of Rabh: "An Erub may be made with raw meat." R. Simi bar Hyya said: "An Erub may be made with raw eggs." And how many should be used? Said R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak: "Sinai 1 said, two eggs should be used."

R. Huna in the name of Rabh said: If one vowed, that he would not eat this loaf of bread, an Erub may nevertheless be made for him with that loaf; because though he must not eat it, others may. If he says, however, that this loaf is on him, i.e., he devotes this loaf of bread (in honour of the Lord), it must not be used for an Erub.

An objection was made: If one vowed concerning a certain loaf of bread, an Erub may nevertheless be made with it. Shall we not assume that he said: "This loaf of bread is on me"? (i.e., he devoted that loaf of bread in honour of the Lord). Nay; be said: "I vow not to eat this loaf of bread," and such seems to be the case; because the latter part of the Boraitha states distinctly, that he said: "I vow not to taste any part of this loaf." What is the law, however, if the man said that the loaf is on him? It must not be used for an Erub? If that is so, why was it taught in the latter part of the Boraitha: "If he said the loaf is consecrated, an Erub must not be made with it, because it is not allowed to make an Erub with consecrated things." Why should this whole argument be repeated? Could it not be simply stated, that if the man vows not to eat the loaf an Erub may be made with it; but if he declares the loaf to be on him, an Erub must not be made with it? But as it does not say, that the loaf is on him in the first part of the Boraitha, there is a contradiction to R. Huna? R. Huna said the same thing as R. Eliezer said elsewhere. Did R. Eliezer indeed say so? Did we not learn, that R. Eliezer said: "If a man said: 'This loaf of bread is on me,' an Erub may be made with it, but if he said, 'This loaf is consecrated,' it must not be used for an Erub, because an Erub must not be made with consecrated things"? There are two Tanaim who report the dictum of R. Eliezer in different ways.

"An Erub may be made for a Nazarite with wine." This Mishna is not in accordance with the opinion of Beth Shammai, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: An Erub must not be made for a Nazarite with wine, nor for an ordinary Israelite with heave-offering. So said Beth Shammai; Beth Hillel, however, said: "This may be done." Said Beth Hillel to Beth Shammai: "Will ye not admit, that an Erub may be made for a man who is obliged to fast on the Day of Atonement, although he must not eat it?" They answered: "Yea." "Then," rejoined Beth Hillel, "as we are permitted to make an Erub for a man fasting on the Day of Atonement, so may we also make an Erub for a Nazarite with wine, and for an ordinary Israelite with heave-offering." What reason have Beth Shammai for prohibiting this? They give as their reason the fact, that a man may eat the Erub while it is yet day (before the eve of the Day of Atonement); but a Nazarite must not at any time drink wine nor an ordinary Israelite eat heave-offering.

This whole Boraitha is not in accordance with the teachings of Hananiah, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: "Beth Shammai do not recognise an Erub unless a man carries out his bed and all the utensils he intends to use to the place where he proposes to make the Erub, so taught Hananiah."

According to whose opinion is the Boraitha which states, that a man who deposits his Erub while wearing a black garment must not go out on the morrow dressed in a white garment, and vice versa? Said R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak: This is in accordance with the opinion of Beth Shammai as interpreted by Hananiah.

"Symmachus said: 'Unconsecrated things only may be used,'" etc. Consequently Symmachus does not dissent as regards making an Erub for a Nazarite with wine, but does dissent as regards heave-offering for the Erub of an ordinary Israelite. Why is this so? Because a Nazarite may go to a sage and be declared free from his vows as a Nazarite. As regards heave-offering for the Erub of an ordinary Israelite, he holds with the Rabbis, who decreed, that all things which are prohibited by rabbinical law on account of the Sabbath-rest are also prohibited for the time of twilight, and as regards heave-offering, an ordinary Israelite must not handle it on Sabbath on account of Sabbath-rest.

According to whose opinion is the following Mishna? There are sages who hold, that the prescribed quantities, which are dependent upon the size of a man, should be measured accordingly. And the two meals which must be constituted by the Erub, should be two meals sufficient for the man who deposits the Erub? Said R. Zera: "This is according to Symmachus, who holds, that an Erub must be according to the requirements of the man for whom it is made."

"The Erub of a priest may be placed on a spot which had formerly been used as a cemetery." R. Jehudah bar Ami said in the name of R. Jehudah, that a spot which had formerly been used as a cemetery becomes clean of itself if trodden down by people.

"R. Jehudah said: 'It may be placed in an actual burying-ground.'" It was taught: Because the priest can go there in a wagon; for R. Jehudah holds, that a temporary tent is sufficient to intervene between a man and uncleanness. Furthermore we have learned that for a ritually clean priest, clean heave-offering may be placed as an Erub even in a grave and for the same reason as above, in spite of the fact that the heave-offering becomes unclean and the priest is at no time allowed to eat it.

MISHNA: For the Erub doubtful grain (Damai) (of which it is not known whether the legal dues like tithes, etc., have been acquitted) may be used; first tithes, from which the heave-offerings have been taken; and second tithes and consecrated things that have been redeemed. For priests, the first of the dough and heave-offerings may be used. It is not lawful however to use unseparated grain (from which it is certain that the legal dues have not been separated), or first tithes from which the heave-offering had not been taken, or second tithes and consecrated things which had not been redeemed.

GEMARA: [The reasons for the above Mishna and the discussions appear several times throughout the Talmud. We shall render them, however, but once and that in Tract Berachoth (benedictions), which contains the complete and identical version.]

MISHNA: Should a man send his Erub by the hand of a deaf and dumb person, an idiot, a minor or one who does not acknowledge the legal necessity of an Erub, it is not a valid Erub; if, however, he had commissioned another proper person to receive it from his messenger, it is a valid Erub.

If a man puts the Erub in a tree higher than ten spans above ground, it is not valid; but if he puts it lower than ten spans, it is. If he had put it into a pit, even though it be a hundred ells deep, the Erub is valid.

GEMARA: By the hand of a minor it would not be a valid Erub? Did not R. Huna say, that a minor may collect the Erub? This presents no difficulty. R. Huna's dictum refers to an Erub of courts (where only the meal is to be gathered in order to make common cause), but our Mishna refers to an Erub of limits (where a man must go and declare his intention of making that his resting-place for the Sabbath).

"One who does not acknowledge the legal necessity of an Erub." Who is meant thereby? Said R. Hisda, a Samaritan.

"If, however, he had commissioned another person," etc. Why! Perhaps the above messenger will not deliver it! As R. Hisda said elsewhere, that he should stand and see the messenger depart, so must he also do in this case. Still there is fear that the person commissioned to receive it from the messenger will not receive it? As R. Yechiel said elsewhere, that it is an established rule, that if a messenger has been intrusted with an errand, it is presumed that he will perform the errand and this must also be assumed in the case under consideration. Where did R. Hisda and R. Yechiel make these statements? Concerning the following Boraitha, which teaches, that if a man sent his Erub through a trained elephant or a trained monkey and they deposited the Erub, ii is not valid, but if he had commissioned a person to receive it from them and deposit it, it is valid. The same question arose here which led to the statements of R. Hisda and R. Yechiel as stated above.

R. Na'hman said: The established rule, that a messenger will perform his errand, holds good where rabbinical laws are concerned, but not where biblical commandments are to be executed.

R. Shesheth, however, said: There is no difference. This rule holds good even where biblical commandments are concerned.

"If a man put his Erub in a tree," etc. R. Hyya bar Abba, R. Assi and Rabha bar Nathan sat together, and R. Na'hman sat near them. They were deliberating upon the question of where the tree spoken of in the Mishna was situated. Should we assume that it was standing in private ground, what difference does it make whether the Erub was put lower or higher; for private ground reaches even to the sky? Should we assume, that the tree was in public ground, where was the man's intention to rest on this tree; if on the top, why was the Erub which was placed above ten spans not valid? The man and the Erub would be in one place? We must say, that the man's intention was to rest at the foot of the tree (and if the Erub was placed above ten spans from the ground it is not valid, because at that height the tree becomes private ground by virtue of its being over four spans wide, while the foot of the tree is still public ground and consequently, the man would have to carry his food from private into public ground on Sabbath and that is prohibited). Still, will he not make use of a tree on the Sabbath and that is also prohibited? We must therefore assume, that the Mishna means that the tree was standing in public ground and it is according to Rabbi, who holds, that all rabbinical ordinances enacted on account of the Sabbath-rest (Shvuth) have no significance during twilight (before or after the Sabbath). Said R. Na'hman: "I thank ye, for so also did Samuel say." And they rejoined: "Was it so difficult for you to understand the Mishna, that you thank us for our opinion. [Did they not themselves argue and discuss the matter? Nay; they spoke thus to R. Na'hman.] Would you insert our opinion in the Gemara explaining this Mishna?" He answered: "Yea."

Rabha maid: All this refers to a tree, which was standing outside of the addition (of 70 2/3 ells square) to a town; but if the tree was standing inside of the addition to the town, it makes no difference where the Erub was placed on it, even at a height of over ten spans, because the atmosphere of a town pervades all the trees and it makes no difference where the man takes his rest.

Where is the opinion of Rabbi and the sages to be found concerning the twilight as mentioned above? In the following Boraitha.. If a man placed his Erub on a tree ten spans above the ground, the Erub is not valid. If placed lower than ten spans it is valid, but must not be taken down; if it was placed within three spans from the ground it is valid and may also be taken down. If the Erub, however, was placed in a basket and then hung on the tree even at a height of over ten spans it is valid; such is the dictum of Rabbi; the sages however say, that where an Erub must not be taken down, it is also not valid. (Hence the difference of opinion between Rabbi and the sages.) Concerning what part do they differ? Shall we say, that they differ concerning the last part (i.e., where the Erub was placed in a basket and hung up on a tree at a height of over ten spans, and the sages say therefore, that such an Erub is invalid because the tree will have to be used on Sabbath and that is prohibited), can we say, that incidental use of the tree is also prohibited? (We know that is not so.) Shall we say, that they differ concerning the first part (i.e., where the Erub was placed at a height of over ten spans and must not be taken down), we must first see what kind of a tree is under consideration. If it be a tree of less than four spans' width, it is a free place (not subject to jurisdiction), then why should the Erub not be taken down? If it be a tree that was four spans wide, it is regarded as private ground, then of what benefit is the basket which contains the Erub (it must also be taken down from private into public ground); said R. Jeremiah: "With a basket it is different. It need not be taken down at all, but can be bent over and the Erub may be removed." (Although the tree is private ground, when the basket is bent over so that it is below ten spans it is no longer in private ground.)

R. Papa sat in the college and repeated the above Halakha. Rabh bar Shva raised an objection: "We have learned in a following Mishna: "But how must this be done? One carries out the Erub, where he means to deposit it on the eve of the first day of rest and remains with it until dusk, when he carries it back with him." If thou sayest then, that it is sufficient if he hangs up a basket on the tree, because he can bend over the basket and bring it lower than ten spans, why should the Mishna quoted order, that the man must carry out the Erub, etc., and remain with it until dusk; it may just as well say, that as he can remain until dusk and carry it back, that it is sufficient, if he deposits it and carries it back with him at once.

Said R. Zera: This is only a precautionary measure for a case where a festival follows a Sabbath. (If it were said, that the man need not go out and deposit his Erub, wait until dusk and carry it back, then go out again on the next day and wait until dusk and eat the Erub, but that he may leave it there because he could have done as the Mishna states and the capability of performing an act is equivalent to its performance,--it would be wrong; for the day being Sabbath he would not have been permitted to carry it out again. Hence

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the precautionary measure was made to apply to all similar cases.)

"If he had put it into a pit," etc. Where is the pit supposed to be situated? If in private ground it is self-evident? For in the same manner as private ground has no limit as to height it also has none as to depth. If in public ground, the question arises, where the man intended to take his Sabbath-rest? If he intended to take it outside of the pit, he would be in one place and his Erub in another, and if he intended to take his rest inside of the pit, it is self-evident that he may deposit his Erub therein. We must say then, that the pit was situated in unclaimed ground (in a valley) where he intended to rest. The pit however being over ten spans deep is private ground, and as for carrying from private into unclaimed ground the opinion of Rabbi again prevails, that such acts as are prohibited on the Sabbath are not prohibited for twilight on account of the Sabbath-rest.

MISHNA: If the man should put the Erub on top of a cane or pole, that does not actually grow out of the ground, but is merely stuck in the ground, even though it be a hundred ells high, it is a valid Erub.

If one put it into a cupboard which he locked and then lost the key, the Erub is nevertheless valid. R. Eliezer said: If he does not know where the key is, the Erub is not valid.

GEMARA: R. Ada bar Massne propounded a contradictory question to Rabha: If the man should put his Erub on top of a cane, that does not actually grow out of the ground, it is valid; but if the cane were a growing one, the Erub would not be valid, because the tree would be handled thereby and that is not permitted; then this would be in accordance with the opinion of the sages; while the previous Mishnaoth were according to Rabbi's opinion? This was already asked by Rami bar Hama of R. Hisda and the latter answered, that the previous two Mishnaoth were in accordance with Rabbi's opinion, while this Mishna is in accordance with the opinion of the sages.

Rabhina, however, said, that this Mishna is also in accordance with Rabbi's opinion, but here the precautionary measure is enacted, lest the man might break down the cane if it grew out of the ground, while a tree is too stout to be broken down, and in this case Rabbi concurs with the sages.

One Friday, a military garrison came to Neherdai and occupied the city, so that there was no room for the college of R. Na'hman. Said R. Na'hman to his disciples: "Go out into the field and incline the growing bushes towards each other, so that we have room enough to study in to-morrow." So Rami bar Hama, according to another version, Uqba bar Ada objected: "Did we not learn in this Mishna, that an Erub must not be put on growing stalks or cane?" Answered R. Na'hman: The Mishna refers to brittle (withered) cane, but as for healthy (moist) bushes it is not prohibited.

"If one put it into a cupboard, etc., and lost the key." Why should the Erub be valid? The man is in one place and the Erub in another? He cannot even obtain it without a key. Rabh and Samuel both said, that the Erub is valid only when the cupboard is not firmly immured but is loosely built, so that the bricks maybe removed and the Erub taken out, and that the Mishna is according to R. Meir's opinion, who holds, that this may be done on a festival to commence with and that the Mishna refers to a festival only, and not on a Sabbath. If this be so, how will the following clause of the Mishna be explained: "R. Eliezer said: If the key be lost in the city, the Erub is valid, but if lost in the field, it is not valid." If the Mishna refers to a festival, what difference does it make where the key was lost. Carrying is not prohibited on a festival? The Mishna is not complete and should read thus: If one put it into a cupboard, which he locked and then lost the key, the Erub is nevertheless valid, providing it was a festival. On Sabbath, however, it is not valid. If the key was subsequently found, whether in the city or in the field, the Erub is nevertheless not valid. R. Eliezer, however, said: If it was found in the city, the Erub is valid, because he holds to R. Simeon's opinion, who said, that all the courts and wood-sheds in the city are as one ground and the key could be brought through them; but if found in the field it could not be carried.

Rabba and R. Joseph both said: "Our Mishna treats of a wooden cupboard and the Tana who holds that if the key was lost, the Erub was valid, considers the cupboard the same as a vessel which may be taken apart on the Sabbath and the Erub taken out, while R. Eliezer considers the cupboard the same as a tent which must not be taken apart on the Sabbath." How can they differ as to its being a vessel or a tent? If it was large all agree, that it is a tent, and if it was small all agree, that it is a vessel? Therefore Abayi and Rabha both say, that the Mishna treats of a case where the key was tied to the lock by a string, which could not be undone by hand. The first Tana holds according to R. Jose, that all vessels may be handled on the Sabbath for any purposes whatever (hence a knife used for cutting bread may be used to cut the string), whereas R. Eliezer holds according to the opinion of R. Nehemiah, who decrees, that all vessels may be handled on Sabbath only for the purposes for which they are intended.

MISHNA: Should the Erub roll (or be moved) out of the limit of the Sabbath distance, should a heap of mould fall on it, or should it be burned, or if the heave-offering (used for the Erub) became unclean, and any or all of this take place while it is yet day (i.e., before the Sabbath set in) the Erub is not valid. If it take place, however, after dusk (when it is already Sabbath) the Erub is valid. If the time when it took place is doubtful, R. Meir and R. Jehudah both say: This is (like driving) an ass and (leading) a camel (meaning, that a man is hemmed in on all sides). R. Jose and R. Simeon say: A doubtful Erub is valid? R. Jose further said: Abtolymus attested upon the authority of five elders, that a doubtful Erub is valid.

GEMARA: Said Rabha: (If the Erub rolled outside of the limit of the Sabbath distance) for a distance of over four ells it is not valid; but if it rolled for less than four ells, the man who deposited the Erub is allowed four ells to move in, outside of the limits, consequently the Erub is valid.

"Should a heap of mould fall on it," etc. At a casual glance it was assumed, that the Erub could have been extracted from under the heap of mould by hand, and accordingly the Mishna was in conformity with the opinion of Rabbi, that at twilight such acts as are prohibited by rabbinical law on account of the Sabbath-rest may be performed; subsequently, however, the conclusion was arrived at, that the Mishna is in accordance with Rabbi's opinion, and that the Erub in this instance could not be extracted by hand but by means of a hoe.

It was necessary to insert both clauses (concerning the rolling of the Erub and its being buried beneath a heap of mould) in the Mishna and for the reason; that, were the first clause only inserted, one might say: "If the Erub rolled out beyond the limits, it was no more in its place and hence it is invalid; but if it was simply buried beneath a heap of mould it is still in its proper place and why should it not be valid?" If the latter clause only had been inserted, one might say: "In this case the Erub was buried and could not be seen, hence it is invalid, but if it merely rolled out and can be seen, the same wind might bring it back, why should it not be valid?" For this reason it was necessary to mention both cases.

"Or should it be burned, or if the heave-offering (used as an Erub) became unclean," etc. The ordinance referring to an Erub which was burned up is taught in order to show the firmness of R. Jose, who declares, that (if a doubt existed whether the Erub was burned before or after dusk) although the Erub is no longer in existence, it is still valid, and the ordinance referring to heave-offering which became unclean was taught to show the firmness of R. Meir, who maintains that although the heave-offering was still there and only a doubt existed as to whether it became unclean before or after dusk, the Erub is nevertheless invalid. Is it possible, that R. Meir holds a doubtful case based upon rabbinical law to necessitate the more rigorous decision? R. Meir holds, that the law pertaining to Sabbath-limits is biblical. Does R. Meir indeed hold thus? Have we not learned in a Mishna further on (Chapter V., Mishna 3), that R. Meir maintains, when measurements are made to determine the Sabbath-limit and mountains are encountered that it is permitted to cut straight through the mountains (in an imaginary sense or figuratively speaking), and such subterfuges are certainly not allowed where biblical laws are concerned?

The latter opinion while credited to R. Meir is not in reality his own, but the opinion of his teacher, while the former is his own conviction and the proof is, that the Mishna quoted states distinctly: R. Dostai ben Janai said: I have upon the authority of R. Meir, etc.

We have learned in a Boraitha: How should the dictum of R. Jose to the effect, that "a doubtful Erub is valid" be explained? Thus: If an Erub was made with heave-offering concerning which there was a doubt whether it became unclean while it was yet day, or after dusk, or with fruit concerning which there was a doubt whether the tithes had been acquitted while it was yet day or after dusk, it constitutes a doubtful Erub, which is nevertheless valid; if, however, the Erub was effected with heave-offering concerning which there was a doubt whether it was clean or unclean to commence with, or with fruit concerning which there was a doubt whether tithes had been acquitted at all, it does not constitute a doubtful Erub, which is valid.

Let us see! Why is it said, that heave-offering, concerning which there was a doubt whether it became unclean before or after dusk, would constitute a doubtful Erub which was nevertheless valid, because the heave-offering is presumed to be in its original condition and that was certainly clean, why should not the same case apply to the fruit concerning which there was a doubt, whether tithes had been acquitted thereof or not, let the fruit also be presumed to be in its original condition and that is unseparated (of which tithes had not been acquitted)? Do not say, therefore, that the fruit was doubtful as to its having been separated but say: there was a doubt whether it had not subsequently been mixed with other (unseparated) fruit before or after dusk.

R. Samuel bar R. Itz'hak asked of R. Huna: If there were two loaves of bread before a man, one of which was clean and the other unclean and he said: "Make an Erub for me with the clean loaf wherever it may be"; but did not know which was which. [If both loaves which were heave-offerings, were used in making the Erub; for if they were ordinary and even (ritually) unclean they may be eaten by an ordinary Israelite], what is the law according to the diverse opinions? According to R. Meir, who pronounced a doubtful Erub invalid in a case where the entire Erub would have been unclean, it may be said, that in this case, where one of the loaves was positively clean, he may hold the Erub to be valid; or according to R. Jose, who pronounces a doubtful Erub valid in a case where if it is clean, he can distinguish it, it may be said, that in this case the Erub, would in his opinion be invalid because although part of it is clean, he cannot distinguish it from the unclean?

R. Huna answered: According to both R. Meir and R. Jose, when the Erub is deposited (while it is yet day) it must be fit to eat and in this case it could not be eaten to commence with, because, the clean could not be distinguished from the unclean, how then could an Erub be made therewith?

Rabha asked of R. Na'hman: If a man say: "This loaf of bread is to-day ordinary but to-morrow it shall be consecrated. Nevertheless make me an Erub therewith." What is the law? (Does it become consecrated at twilight and, as it is not permitted to make an Erub with consecrated things, it is not valid as an Erub, or does it become consecrated after twilight?) "The Erub is valid," was the answer. What is the law, however, if the man say: "To-day this loaf is consecrated, but tomorrow it shall be ordinary (i.e., it shall be redeemed by a sum of money representing its value); nevertheless make me an Erub therewith?" "The Erub is not valid," was the answer. What is the difference between the two cases? Said R. Na'hman to Rabha: "If thou wilt measure a whole Kur of salt and present me with it, I I shall tell thee the answer: If the loaf of bread was ordinary when it was deposited as an Erub, the fact, that at twilight it becomes doubtful, whether it is consecrated or not, does not destroy its validity as a legal Erub, but if the loaf of bread was deposited while yet consecrated, the doubt existing at twilight whether it had already become ordinary does not nullify its sanctity as a consecrated object, and as a consecrated object cannot be deposited as an Erub, the validity of the Erub, is impaired."

MISHNA: A man may make his Erub, conditional and say: If foes come from the east, my Erub shall be valid for the west; should they come from the west, my Erub shall be good for the east; should they come from both sides, I am at liberty to go in what direction I please; should they not come from either side, I am like the rest of my townsmen. Should a sage come from the east, my Erub shall be valid for the east; should one come from the west, my Erub shall be valid for the west; should one come from each side, I am at liberty to go in which direction I please; should none come from either side, I am like the rest of my townsmen. R. Jehudah. said: If one of the two sages (should they come at the same time) had been the man's teacher, he must go to meet his teacher; if both had been his teachers, he may go in which direction he pleases.

GEMARA: "R. Jehudah said: 'If one of the two sages,'" etc. What is the reason of the dissension of the sages from R. Jehudah's opinion? Because it frequently happens, that a man has a greater fondness for his colleague than for his teacher.

Rabh said: This part of the Mishna (wherein R. Jehudah states, that "if both sages had been the man's teachers, he may go in whichever direction he pleases") does not hold good, because Ayo taught: R. Jehudah said: "A man cannot make an object conditional upon two contingencies and in this case of the Erub he may make it conditional upon the arrival of a sage from either the west or the east, but not upon sages arriving from opposite directions." Why can he not make it conditional upon the arrival of sages from opposite directions? Because R. Jehudah does not admit of the theory of premeditated choice (i.e., he does not consent to a man deciding upon a certain thing on one day and declaring that it had been his intention to decide in that manner since the day before), hence if two sages come from opposite directions, the man cannot say, that he had intended to meet the sage towards whom he went at the time he deposited the Erub, i.e., on the day before.

If R. Jehudah does not hold to the theory of premeditated choice why does he consent to a man making an Erub and saying: "If the sage come from the east, my Erub shall be good for the east, and if from the west, for the west." His choice is certainly dependent upon two conditions; first the condition, that the sage will come from either one of two directions, and second, that he may not come at all, in which case his Erub is of no account. If the sage arrived on the morrow, and the man will go forward to meet him, he (the man) will be compelled to claim a premeditated choice saying, that he had intended when depositing his Erub to go in that direction and that would be incorrect; for it may be, that at the time the Erub was made, the sage himself did not know from which direction he would come.

Said R. Johanan: The statement of Ayo in the name of R. Jehudah, that a man may make his Erub conditional upon the arrival of a sage from the east or west holds good, only if the sage had already started on his way and was no more than four thousand ells away from the man [i.e., if he or his Erub

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was at the time when the man deposited his Erub already within the legal limit established through the deposition of his (the sage's) own Erub]. Hence it was not a premeditated choice on the part of the man dependent upon the two conditions cited, for the sage was already on his way and his coming from a certain direction was an accomplished fact.

Why does Rabh say, that the Mishna does not hold good because of Ayo's statement? Let him say on the contrary, that Ayo's statement does not hold good, because the Mishna opposes it? Nay; it would not be proper; for we have learned elsewhere, that R. Jehudah does not hold to the theory of premeditated choice. Ula, however, declares, that Ayo's statement should be discountenanced on account of the Mishna (and as for the report, that R. Jehudah discards the theory of premeditated choice, Ula declares, that on the contrary, he holds it to be good).

Said Rabha to R. Na'hman: Who is the Tana, who holds, that the sages also discountenance the theory of premeditated choice? For we have learned as follows: If one man said to five others: "I will make an Erub for any one of you whom I may choose, and if I desire, he shall be permitted to go within its limits, and if not, he must not do so." If he made his decision, while it was yet day (before the Sabbath set in) his Erub is valid; but if he made his decision after dark, his Erub is not valid, (because it was not known at twilight which man he had chosen). R. Na'hman was silent and did not answer.

Should he have said, that this was according to the school of Ayo? He had not heard of Ayo's decree. Said R. Joseph: Wouldst thou ignore the other Tanaim? There are other Tanaim who dispute the above decision, as we have learned: If a man said: "I will make an Erub for all the Sabbaths of the ensuing year. If I then choose to go, I shall do so, and if not, I shall not." If he made his decision while it was yet day on the day preceding Sabbath, he may go, but if he made his decision after dusk, R. Simeon says, his Erub is still valid, and the sages say, it is not. (Hence there are sages who do not hold to the theory of premeditated choice.)

Have we not heard elsewhere, that R. Simeon does not hold to the theory of premeditated choice? This would be a contradiction made by R. Simeon to himself? Therefore learn to the contrary: (R. Simeon says, the Erub is not valid, and the sages say it is.) Why this question? Can it not be, that R. Simeon does not hold the theory of premeditated choice to be good where biblical laws are concerned but does hold the theory good for rabbinical laws? R. Joseph maintains, that one who admits of the theory of premeditated choice does so for both biblical and rabbinical laws, and one who discountenances the theory does so for both kinds of laws.

MISHNA: R. Eliezer said: When a festival precedes or succeeds a Sabbath (by one day), a man should prepare two Erubin and say: My first Erub is to be valid for the east and my second for the west; or my first for the west and the second for the east. My Erub is valid for the first day and the second day I am like the rest of my townsmen, or my Erub is good for the second day and the first day I am like my townsmen. The sages however hold, that one may prepare his Erub for one direction only; otherwise it is not valid at all; also that he must prepare his Erub for both days, or it is not valid at all. But how must this be done? One carries out the Erub to the place, where he means to deposit it on the eve of the first day of rest and remains with it until dusk, when he carries it back with him. He then brings the Erub out again on the second day, remains with it till dark and then cats it and goes away. It is obvious, that in this manner he gains his walk beyond the Sabbatical limit and he gains by eating his Erub. Should his Erub have been eaten on the first day, it is a legal Erub for the first day only; but not for the second day. R. Eliezer said to them: "Thus ye acknowledge to me that they are two distinct holidays (i.e., that the sanctification of one day is not equal to that of the other)."

GEMARA: What do the sages mean to tell us: If a man prepares his Erub for one direction, it is good for both days and if he prepares it for both days it is good for one direction? What need is there of this repetition, is it not one and the same thing? Nay; the sages mean to say to R. Eliezer: "Wilt thou not acknowledge, that it is not permitted to make two Erubin for one day, one of which shall be good for the South for one half of the day and the other be good for the North for the other half of the day?" and he answered: "Yea." "Then," rejoined the sages, "in the same manner as this is not permitted, it is also not allowed to make Erubin good for both days, which should in addition be also good on one day for the east and on the other for the west." [What answer could R. Eliezer make to this? He might say, that in the case of the two Erubin for one day, the sanctification of that one day continues throughout the entire time of the validity of the Erub, whereas in the case of the Erubin for both days, the sanctification of the one day (Sabbath) is not the same as that of the other day (the festival); therefore a separate Erub may be made for each sanctification in a different direction.] Said R. Eliezer to the sages again: "Let us suppose now, that a man did not make an Erub, but on the eve of the first day went to the place, where he should have made it, personally and declared that he would take his Sabbath-rest there. Would this hold good also for the second day? Nay, he would have to return on the following day and again declare his intention of resting there the next day, and then it would be lawful? The same theory applies to an Erub. If he deposited it on the eve of the first day, and it had been eaten when deposited, he would have to make another Erub for the second day?" and they answered, "Yea." "Now will ye not acknowledge that the two days have each a separate degree of sanctification?"

[What reply can the sages make to this? They may declare that the fact of there being a distinct degree of sanctification for each day is rather doubtful to them and for that reason they desire to enforce the more rigorous interpretation of the ordinance both ways, namely, that an Erub must not be made for each of the two directions, lest there be but one degree of sanctification for both days and that one Erub cannot serve for both days, lest there be a different degree of sanctification for each day.]

Again the sages said to R. Eliezer: "How is it, if no Erub at all was made on the eve of the first day? Thou wilt acknowledge that a man cannot go and make an Erub on the eve of the second day?" and he answered, "Yea." "Then," rejoined the sages, "thou thereby dost admit, that there is but one degree of sanctification for both days." [What will R. Eliezer say to this? He will say, on the contrary, that there are two degrees of sanctification and just for that reason one must not make the Erub on the eve of the second day, because one must not prepare for a festival on the Sabbath or vice versa.]

The Rabbis taught: "If one made an Erub on the eve of the first day by means of his feet (i.e., by standing at the place where he intends to rest) he must do so again on the eve of the second day. If he made an Erub (of victuals) on the eve of the first day and the Erub was consumed, it does not hold good for the second day. Such is the dictum of Rabbi. R. Jehudah, however, said. "This is like driving an ass and leading a camel" (i.e., R. Jehudah means to say this: If the two days have but one degree of sanctification and the Erub was made for both days, the maker loses the two thousand ells in the opposite direction from that towards which his Erub was made, and merely gains two thousand ells in the one direction towards which his Erub was made. If the two days have different degrees of sanctification and hence the Erub is valid only for one day, the maker of the Erub should on the second day be on a par with the rest of his townsmen, but in reality he only has two thousand ells on the way back to the town and no more). R. Simeon ben Gamaliel and R. Ishmael the son of R. Johanan ben Berokah, however, both say, that if a man made an Erub with his feet on the eve of the first day it suffices for the second day and if he made an Erub (of victuals) on the eve of the first day and it was consumed, he is exempt from making it on the eve of the second day. Said Rabh: "The Halakha prevails according to the opinion of the four old sages and in conformity with R. Eliezer, who says, that the two days have different degrees of sanctification; and the four old sages are: R. Simeon ben Gamaliel, R. Ishmael the son of R. Johanan ben Berokah, R. Elazar ben R. Simeon and R. Jose ben R. Jehudah. The last of these is generally quoted by Rabbi anonymously wherever his opinion seems to be justifiable and according to another version, one of the four sages is R. Elazar ben Samua instead of R. Jose ben R. Jehudah. Rabh's information on this point was derived from a tradition, which was to the effect, that those four sages held in accordance with R. Eliezer concerning the two degrees of sanctification for both days.

R. Jehudah said: If one made an Erub on the eve of the first day with his feet, he must do likewise on the eve of the second day, and if he made an Erub on the eve of the first day with bread, he must make it in like manner on the eve of the second day. If he made an Erub on the eve of the first day with bread which was lost, he may make it on the eve of the second day with his feet, but if he made it with his feet in the first instance he must not make it with bread in the second instance, because making an Erub with bread to commence with on Sabbath or on a festival would be an infraction of the law prohibiting the preparing on a Sabbath for a festival or vice versa. If a man made an Erub with bread on the eve of the first day, he must make it with bread on the eve of the second day also and, according to Samuel, he should use the same bread in both cases (for if he uses new bread in the second instance it will be a case of preparing on a Sabbath for a festival). Said R. Ashi: We can adduce this also from our Mishna, which teaches: "But how must this be done? One carries out the Erub to the place, where he means to deposit it on the eve of the first day of rest and remains with it until dusk, when he carries it back with him; he then brings the Erub out again on the second day, remains with it until dusk, then eats it and goes away." (The fact that it says, "he carries it back with him and then brings it out again," is proof that it must be the same Erub.) The sages that differ with Samuel and assert that new bread may be used on the eve of the second day maintain, that the Mishna merely administers good advice and tells us, that we need not trouble ourselves to make a new Erub in case the first one is lost.

MISHNA: R. Jehudah said: "If a man apprehend that the new year will be celebrated two days, he must prepare two Erubin." He then says: My Erub of the first day shall be valid for the east and of the second day for the west; or of the first day for the west and of the second day for the east. My Erub shall be valid for the first day, and on the second I am like my townsmen; or my Erub shall be valid for the second day and on the first I am like my townsmen. The sages however did not coincide with him.

R. Jehudah further said: "A man may conditionally separate (the heave-offering from) a basket of fruit on the first day of the new year and eat it on the second day; likewise an egg which is laid on the first day of the festival may be eaten on the second. The sages however do not coincide with him.

R. Dosa ben Harchinas said: He who stands before the pulpit to pray on the first day of the new year must say: Strengthen us, O Lord our God, on this day of the new moon, whether to-day or to-morrow (be the true day). And on the morrow he says the same prayer with the variation "whether this day or yesterday be the true one." The sages, however, do not agree with him.

GEMARA: Who are the sages, that do not coincide with R, Jehudah? Said Rabh: That is R. Jose, as we have learned in a Boraitha: The sages agree with R. Eliezer that "if a man apprehend that the new year will be celebrated two days, he should prepare two Erubin. He then says: My Erub of the first day shall be valid for the east and of the second day for the west; or of the first day for the west and of the second day for the east. My Erub shall be valid for the first day and on the second I am like my townsmen; or my Erub shall be valid for the second day and on the first I am like my townsmen." R. Jose, however, does not consent to this. (He holds that if the witnesses come before the high court in the afternoon of the first day that had been kept holy and declare that the next day is New Year, both days are nevertheless holy and are of one degree of sanctification.)

We have learned in a Boraitha: How does R. Jehudah explain his dictum, that "a man may conditionally separate (the heave-offering from) a basket of fruit on the first day of the New Year and eat it on the second?" Thus: If there were two baskets of unseparated fruit before a man on the first day of the New Year he may say: "If to-day is the ordinary day and to-morrow is the holy day, let the heave-offering separated from this basket of fruit also serve for the other, and if to-day is the holy day and to-morrow the ordinary, then I have said nothing." He then designates the fruit which he calls heave-offering and lets it remain. On the morrow again he may say: If to-day is an ordinary day, let the heave-offering of this basket also serve for the other, but if to-day be a holy day I have said nothing. He may then designate part of the fruit in the one basket and call it heave-offering and eat the remainder in both baskets. R. Jose however prohibits this not only for the two days of the new year but for the two days of every other festival, which is celebrated in exile.

It happened that a stag was caught on the first day of a holiday (in exile) at the house of the Exilarch and on the second day it was slaughtered. R. Na'hman and R. Hisda partook of the stag, but R. Shesheth would not do so. Said R. Na'hman: "What shall we do with R. Shesheth who does not eat venison?" Rejoined R. Shesheth: "How can I eat this venison; for did not Issi teach in a Boraitha [or a Boraitha taught, that Issi said], that R. Jose would not permit this to be done even during the two days of a holiday in exile?"

Once R. Shesheth met Rabba bar Samuel and asked him: "Did master teach anything regarding the sanctification of the holidays?" Answered Rabba: "Yea, I taught in a Boraitha, that R. Jose coincides with the sages, as far as the two days of a holiday in exile are concerned." Rejoined R. Shesheth: "If thou shouldst meet any of the Exilarch's household, say nothing to them about this Boraitha."

It once happened that herbs were brought to the city of Mehuzza on a festival. Rabha went out and noticed, that the herbs were somewhat withered. He permitted the herbs to be bought, saying: "It is obvious, that these herbs were not gathered on this day, and the only objection that might be made to their being purchased can be, that they were brought from beyond the techoom (legal limits)." The law, however, ordains, that if things are brought for one Israelite from without the techoom, another Israelite may use them, and in this case, where the herbs were brought even for the Gentile inhabitants they can in so much greater a degree be used by Israelites. Subsequently, however, he observed, that herbs were brought in large quantities, so he prohibited the purchase of them on a festival.

The men whose occupation was to prepare baldachins for marriages once cut off branches of myrtle on the second day of a holiday in exile. The moment it became dark, Rabhina permitted the people to smell the myrtle. Said Rabha bar Tachlipha to Rabhina: Master should have prohibited this, for these people are ignorant (and if thou wilt permit this, they may ignore the second day of the festival entirely). R. Shmaya opposed this: "Thou sayest, because they are ignorant, and even were they intelligent men, would it be allowed? Is it not necessary to allow sufficient time after the Sabbath to expire until the branches can be cut off afresh?" They finally went and asked Rabha and he decided that it was necessary to

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allow sufficient time to expire until the branches could be cut anew.

"R. Dosa ben Harchinas said," etc. Said Rabba: When we were in the college of R. Huna, a question was propounded by us as follows: "Must the reference to the day of the new moon be added to the prayers recited on the day of the New Year?" Shall we assume, that because there are separate additional sacrifices for each, that the reference to the day of the new moon shall be added to the prayers of the New Year, or because the New Year is mentioned in the prayer as the "day of Remembrance" such mention will suffice for both occasions? R. Huna answered us by quoting the Mishna: R. Dosa ben Harchinas said: He who stands before the pulpit to pray on the first day of the New Year must say: "Strengthen us, O Lord our God, on this day of the new moon, etc." Does not R. Dosa state this in order to demonstrate that the day of the new moon must be explicitly mentioned? Nay, he simply means to make the prayer conditional but not because special mention must be made of the day of the new moon. It seems to us, that such is truly the case, because further on the Boraitha states, that so did R. Dosa act on all the days of the new moon throughout the year; but the sages did not coincide with him.

Now, if it be said, that the prayer was made conditional it is correct, (because there was a doubt concerning the exact day at each recurring new moon) but if it be said, that the new moon must be mentioned in the prayer especially, why should the sages not agree with him?

An objection was made: When New Year falls on a Sabbath, Beth Shammai say, ten benedictions are to be recited during the prayer and Beth Hillel say "only nine." [The first three are benedictions of praise, the last three benedictions of thanks; the Sabbath benediction, and the three pertaining to New Year, viz., the one in which God is proclaimed King (Malkhioth), the one referring to God's remembrance of his creatures (Zikhronoth) and the one referring to the sounding of the cornet (Shophroth), but according to Beth Hillel the Sabbath benediction is included in those pertaining to the New Year, hence there are only nine.] Now if we say, that the benediction for the new moon must be especially mentioned in the Musaph (additional prayer) then according to Beth Shammai, there should be eleven benedictions in all.

Said R. Zera: "With the benediction of the new moon it is different; because if the new moon fall on a Sabbath no separate benediction is made, but it is included in the Sabbath benediction at the morning and evening prayer; the benediction of the, new moon is also mentioned in the Musaph-prayer in conjunction with the new year benediction." Do Beth Shammai indeed maintain, that if the new moon fall on a Sabbath the benediction pertaining to it is included in that of Sabbath? Have we not learned, that if the new moon fall on Sabbath, Beth Shammai hold, that eight benedictions must be recited in the prayer and Beth Hillel only seven? This question is not decided.

Rabba said: "When I was at the college of R. Huna the question arose, whether the benediction of the time 1 should be recited in the New Year and Day of Atonement prayers. Shall we say, that because these holy days only come from time to time, the benediction of time should be made, or, because the Bible does not classify them as festivals, no such benediction need be made? R. Huna could not answer the question but when I subsequently came to R. Jehudah's college, the latter said he made such a benediction even over a new pumpkin. I then said to him, that I did not question the right to pronounce this benediction over anything whatever, but I wished to know whether it was compulsory to do this on the New Year and the Day of Atonement. He then answered: Rabh and Samuel both said, that the benediction of time must be recited only for each of the three festivals."

An objection was made: It is written [Ecclesiastes 11:2]: "Give a portion to seven, and also to eight." R. Eliezer said that by "seven" is meant the seven days of the creation and by "eight" is meant the eight days of the circumcision. R. Jehoshua said: "By 'seven' is meant the seven days of Passover, by 'eight' is meant the eight days of the feast of Tabernacles and by 'also' is meant Pentecost, New Year and the Day of Atonement." May we not assume, that by this is meant, that the benediction of time must be pronounced on all these festivals? Nay; this simply means to state, that benedictions should be recited but no special benedictions are specified. It seems to us, that this is the correct explanation; for the benediction of time is certainly not recited on every one of the days of the festivals but only the first day. This is not the question, because the benediction of time must be recited in the course of the festival; if not on the first day, on the second and so on. At any event this benediction must be made over a goblet (of wine)? Shall we assume, however, that the above is in support of the dictum of R. Na'hman, who holds that the benediction of time may be recited even in the market and without a goblet? This is not the question either; for if a man does not recite this benediction on one day, he may do so on the next when he might come across a goblet. This would be feasible where the three (main) festivals and New Year are concerned, but how would it be with the Day of Atonement? What should the man do? Should he pronounce the benediction over the goblet on the day preceding the Day of Atonement before dusk, he would then and there usher in the Day of Atonement, and as is well known, he must not eat or drink on that day. Should he pronounce the benediction and let the goblet stand until after the Day of Atonement? Have we not learned that one must drink the contents of the goblet immediately after pronouncing the benediction; otherwise he must not make the benediction at all? Should he pronounce the benediction and then give the goblet to a child? In that case, there would be fear, lest the child be accustomed to drinking on that day, and will continue to do so when grown and therefore the Halakha according to R. A'ha does not prevail. How, then, does the Halakha concerning the benediction of time on the New Year and the Day of Atonement prevail? The Rabbis sent the elder R. Yeimar to R. Hisda with instructions to observe how the latter proceeded on the eve of the New Year, and then to return and report what he had seen. When R. Hisda saw R. Yeimar (and upon questioning him as to his mission was told that he just called to see him) he said: If a wet piece of wood is lifted, it is obvious, that either the wood or its space is needed. (If thou camest thou certainly didst so with an object.) At about that time a goblet of wine was brought to R. Hisda and he pronounced the benediction of the day and also that of the time over it.

The Halakha prevails, that the benediction of time must be recited on the New Year and on the Day of Atonement and the Halakha also prevails that if a man forgot to recite it and was reminded of his negligence even in the market, he may recite it then and there.

Rabba said again: "When I was at the college of R. Huna, the question arose whether a young scholar, who fasted on the day preceding Sabbath must fast until night or in honour of the Sabbath break his fast earlier. R. Huna could not answer the question. I went to R. Jehudah and he could not answer this either." Said Rabha: "Let us see if we cannot decide this question ourselves from what we have learned in the following Boraitha: If the fast-day of the ninth of Abh fall on a Friday, bread may be brought to a man just before twilight of the size of an egg, and he should eat it, in order that he may not enter upon the observance of the Sabbath while still in pain."

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jehudah said: It once happened that we were sitting before R. Aqiba on the fast of the ninth of Abh, which fell on a Friday, and just before dusk a soft-boiled egg was brought to him which he swallowed without even salting it, and not because he desired to eat it in that manner; but because he wished to show his disciples how the Halakha was carried out. R. Jose, however, said, that a man must fast through the entire day until dusk.

R. Jose said to the sages: "Will ye not admit, that if the ninth of Abh fall on the day after Sabbath, a man must stop eating while it is yet day on Sabbath?" and they answered "Yea." "What difference is there then between entering in upon the observance of the Sabbath while still in pain and finishing the Sabbath under the same conditions?" asked R. Jose. They answered: "In the first instance he fasted all day; but in this instance he had been eating and drinking all day and was surely not in pain." Finally, however, Ula said that the Halakha prevailed according to R. Jose.

Do we then act according to the opinion of R. Jose? Have we not learned, (concerning the Boraitha in Tract Taanith which teaches) that Rabbon Gamaliel said: "On a Friday the fast need not be completed," that upon the death of Rabbon Gamaliel, R. Jehoshua came and sought to nullify his decree and R. Johanan ben Nouri arose and declared: "We see that the body always follows the head. As long as Rabbon Gamaliel lived, we abided by his decisions. Now that he is dead, thou wouldst abolish them. Jehoshua! We will not listen to thee. The Halakha prevailed according to R. Gamaliel and so must it remain," and there was none to contradict R. Johanan ben Nouri. (Thus we see, that the decree of R. Gamaliel was accepted and not that of R. Jose.) (This is no question!) In the generation of R. Gamaliel his decree was followed and in the generation of R. Jose, R. Jose's opinion prevailed.

And did they really act in accordance with R. Gamaliel's opinion during his generation? Have we not learned that R. Elazar ben Zadoc (who was certainly of R. Gamaliel's day) said: I am a descendant of Sanab of the tribe of Benjamin and it once happened that the ninth of Abh fell on a Sabbath, so we postponed it until the following day and we did not complete the fast because it was our holiday. Thus we see, that the fast was not completed because the tenth of Abh was a holiday and besides the fast-day was a postponed one. Had the ninth of Abh however fallen on a week-day, which for them would have been the eve of a festival, they would have completed the fast nevertheless and this is not in conformity with the decree of R. Gamaliel? Said Rabhina: How can ye compare that festival to our festivals. Their festival was not biblical and on a festival which is not biblical one may fast for three or four hours if he chooses. On a biblical festival, however, it is not allowed to complete the fast.

R. Joseph said: "I did not hear of this Halakha." Said Abayi: Thou didst relate this to us thyself, in reference to the Boraitha, that a fast-day must not be ordered on the days of the first of the month. (The occasion when R. Joseph related this is mentioned in Tract Taanith.) Mar Zutra related in the name of R. Huna: The Halakha prevails, that one may complete the fast until dusk.

CHAPTER 4.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE OVERSTEPPING OF THE LEGAL LIMITS ON THE SABBATH, AND MEASUREMENTS OF THE SABBATH-DISTANCE.

MISHNA: If foes, or an evil spirit (a fit of insanity?), caused one to go beyond the Sabbath limit, he after recovering his freedom must not move further than four ells; if the foes or the fit have carried him back within the limit, it is as if he had not gone beyond it. If they have carried him into another town, or into a pen or a fold for cattle, he according to Rabbon Gamaliel and R. Eliezer ben Azariah, may go about throughout the entire extent (of the town, pen or fold). R. Joshua and R. Aqiba maintain, that he must not move further than four ells. It once happened that these four sages came together from Parendisim (Brundusium, or Brindisi) and their vessel was still at sea on the Sabbath. Rabbon Gamaliel and R. Eliezer ben Azariah walked about throughout the whole vessel; but R. Joshua and R. Aqiba did not move beyond four ells, as they wished to take upon themselves the rigid observance. Once these four sages were on board a vessel and did not enter the harbour until after dark (on the eve of Sabbath); so they inquired of Rabbon Gamaliel: "What are we to do as to descending from the vessel?" He answered them: Ye may descend; for I observed, that we had already entered the limits of the Sabbath-distance before dusk.

GEMARA: The Rabbis taught: "There are three things, which cause a man to commit deeds against his own will and against the will of his Creator, viz.: Idolatry, and evil spirits and stress of poverty." [For what purpose do the Rabbis tell us this? In order, that we may pray God to deliver us from those evils.]

Three persons will never come to Gehenna: He who suffers from extreme poverty, he who suffers with a diseased stomach and one who is oppressed by the government, and others add also the man who is afflicted with a bad wife. [Why was the latter not mentioned in the first place? Because if one has a bad wife he should divorce her. Those however who declare that one who has a bad wife will not see Gehenna refer to those, who cannot afford to make a settlement upon their wives, or to those, who have children and cannot divorce their wives. For what purpose did the Rabbis tell us this? In order, that a man, who is subject to these misfortunes, should accept them with resignation.]

Three classes of human beings die in the possession of their power of speech, viz.: "A man who is suffering from a diseased stomach, a woman lying in and a man suffering with dropsy." [For what purpose are we taught to this effect? In order that shrouds may be prepared for such people.]

R. Na'hman said in the name of Samuel: If one went out beyond the Sabbath-limit and foes or an evil spirit brought him back within the limit, he must not move more than four ells from where he stands. Have we not learned this in our Mishna, which says, if foes or evil spirits carried him out and then brought him back it is as if he had never gone out at all; now is it not self-evident that if he went out of his own accord, he has only four ells of space in which to move? We might assume that the Mishna teaches us, if foes or evil spirits carried him out and he returned of his own accord, he has no more than four ells of space, but if he went out of his own accord and foes or evil spirits brought him back it would be as if he never went out at all, hence this teaching of Samuel.

Rabba was asked: "How is the law regarding one, who only had four ells to move in and was compelled to go out to obey nature's call?" and he answered: "Great is the honour of man, which supersedes even a biblical negative commandment."

The men of Neherdai said: If the man in question is prudent, he will enter the legal limits, perform his necessities and then go on.

Said R. Papa: "If fruit was carried beyond the legal limits and then even purposely brought back, the right to move it within the limits is not forfeited, because the fruit certainly did not go out beyond the limits of their own accord." R. Joseph bar Shmaya objected to this statement: "R. Nehemiah and R. Eliezer ben Jacob both said: The fruit which was carried out must not be handled when brought back unless this was done unintentionally, but if intentionally, they must not be handled?" Concerning this, there is a difference of opinion between Tanaim in a Boraitha elsewhere (and R. Papa holds with the Tana, who permits it).

Said R. Na'hman in the name of Samuel: "If one went out and did not know the legal distance he could traverse, he may walk on for a distance of two thousand medium steps. This will constitute the lawful limit of the Sabbath." He said again quoting the same authority: If one took his Sabbath-rest in a valley, and Gentiles made an enclosure around the valley on the Sabbath, he may go two thousand ells, but he may throw things over the entire extent of the valley." R. Huna said: "He may go two thousand ells, but may carry only for a distance of

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four ells." The reason R. Huna prohibits throwing is in precaution, lest the man throw a thing outside of his two thousand ells and go after it.

Hyya bar Rabh, however, said: He may go two thousand ells and may carry things inside of that limit.

Said R. Na'hman to R. Huna: "Do not refute the dictum of Samuel; for we have learned in a Boraitha in support of Samuel."

R. Huna said: "If one measured the legal distance on a Sabbath and his measurement came to an end in one half of a court, he may avail himself of that half of the court only." Is this not self-evident? If he ended his measurement in one half of a court, why should he not avail himself of that half? We might assume, that if the one half is permitted he might be tempted to use the other half also, so we are told that this precaution is not necessary.

R. Na'hman said: "Huna agrees with me, that if in measuring the Sabbath-distance, the measurement end in the edge of a house, one may throw things into the house although he must not go into it himself, for the edge of the house is a fixed sign for him and will remind him, that he must not enter the house." Said R. Huna the son of R. Nathan: "The necessity for a precautionary measure to prevent the man from entering the house forms the subject of a discussion between Tanaim as follows: If foes or an evil spirit have carried the man into another town, or into a pen or a fold for cattle, he may, according to Rabbon Gamaliel and R. Elazar ben Azariah, go about throughout the entire extent (of such a place); R. Joshua and R. Aqiba, however, maintain, that he must not move further than four ells." Now, we must assume that those who permit the traversing of the entire extent of such places do so because they do not fear that the man will traverse the whole valley where those places are situated, and those who only allow four ells, do so, because they regard this precautionary measure necessary. The same argument applies also to throwing, viz.: Those who have no fear that the man will traverse the entire valley, permit throwing throughout the pen or fold where the man Is ensconced and those who allow him only four ells hold the same precautionary measure necessary where throwing and going after it is concerned.

Rabh said: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Gamaliel. where a pen, fold or ship is concerned," but Samuel said: "Only as far as a ship is concerned, but not as regards a pen or a fold." Thus we see that, as to a ship, all agree the Halakha prevails according to R. Gamaliel. What is the reason therefor? Said Rabba: "Because already before the Sabbath set in, the man is within the confines of the ship and although the ship was involuntarily carried out beyond the legal limits, the man had prepared his Sabbath-rest there." R. Zera said, however: "The reason is: that the man on board of the ship did not have four ells to move in, for the ship moves more than four ells every time it lurches foward, consequently he does not come under the law of four ells and may go throughout the entire extent of the ship." Rabba rejoined: "Thou referrest to a man who entered the ship while in motion. Concerning this, there is no difference between any of the Tanaim; even R. Aqiba permits the traversing of the entire ship, but they differ concerning a man who entered the ship while it was anchored."

Said R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak: From the Mishna itself we may infer, that there was no difference concerning a ship while in motion, because it states, that R. Joshua and R. Aqiba did not move beyond four ells, as they wished to take upon themselves the rigid observance. Were it not permitted at all, why should it say, that they wished to take upon themselves the rigid observance, they would have to obey the law?

Said R. A'ha the son of Rabha to R. Ashi: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Gamaliel where a ship is concerned." Then, there must be some who maintain that the Halakha does not prevail according to R. Gamaliel. Yea, there are, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: Hananiah the son of R. Jehoshua's brother said: "The whole day that R. Gamaliel and R. Aqiba were on board the ship they disputed concerning this Halakha, and yesterday my uncle affirmed the Halakha to the effect, that as regards a ship at anchor it prevails according to R. Gamaliel and as for a pen or a fold it prevails according to R. Aqiba."

R. Hananiah propounded a question: Is there such a thing as a legal limit above ten spans from the ground or not? Concerning a pillar ten spans high and four spans wide one side of which was outside of the legal limit there is no question; for it is equal to the ground itself, but concerning a pillar, that was ten spans high and less than four spans wide or a man who went on board of a ship, does the law of legal limits apply or not? R. Hosea answered: "Come and hear! It once happened that four sages came together from Parendisim, etc. (see Mishna). If we say, that the law of legal limits applies to objects higher than ten spans, then it can be understood why R. Joshua and R. Aqiba took upon themselves the rigid observance (for concerning a ship in motion they do not disagree with the other sages), viz.: on account of the law of legal limits, but if this law does not apply to a ship, what rigid observance could they have taken upon themselves?" Rejoined R. Hananiah: "It may be that their ship was passing through shallow water, as related elsewhere by Rabha, and was not over ten spans from the ground."

Come and hear! The seven Halakhas related on a Sabbath morn in the presence of R. Hisda at Sura were related on the same evening in the presence of Rabha at Pumbaditha. Who could have decreed them? No one, but Elijah? Hence we see, that there is no such thing as legal limits above ten spans from the ground? Nay. It may be that those Halakhas were transmitted from one school to the other by Joseph the evil One, who did not observe the Sabbath.

Come and hear! If one say: I wish to be a Nazarite at the coming of the Messiah, he may drink wine on a Sabbath or on a festival but must not do so during the week-days. (For Messiah is liable to come at any time.) The Boraitha would be correct if we assume, that there is a legal limit above ten spans from the ground, because Messiah will then not come on the Sabbath or on a festival, but if there is no legal limit above ten spans, the man should not drink wine even on those days, because the Messiah might come. In that case it is different: for it is written [Malachi iii. 23]: "Behold, I send unto you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the day of the Lord, the great and the dreadful." Hence, if Elijah did not come on the day preceding Sabbath, he may drink on the Sabbath. If this is so, then he may drink on a week-day also providing Elijah did not come on the preceding day. It might be assumed, however, that Elijah had already come and appeared before the high court and for that reason the man should not drink on any day, lest Elijah had already come, then this would apply also to the Sabbath? There is a tradition among Israelites that it is an assured fact, that Elijah will not come on the eve of a Sabbath or a festival. If that is so, why should the man not be permitted to drink wine on the eve of Sabbath? Because although Elijah will not come, the Messiah himself might come.

Thus it must be assumed, that if there is a legal limit above ten spans, a man who wishes to be a Nazarite on the day of the coming of the Messiah should be permitted to drink wine not only on Sabbath and the festivals but also on the day following Sabbath, because Elijah cannot come on the Sabbath? The sages who prohibited a man of that kind to drink wine on a weekday were themselves in doubt as to the validity of a legal limit above ten spans and only made it more rigid for the man on general principles.

"And did not enter the harbour until after dark," etc. It was taught in a Boraitha, that R. Gamaliel had a telescope, through which he could see for a distance of two thousand ells on land and on sea. If a man wishes to measure the depth of a valley, he should use one of those telescopes and if he should wish to measure a tree, he should observe his shadow, measure himself and his shadow and the shadow of the tree and calculate the proportion.

Nehemiah the son of R. Hanilayi was engrossed in thinking about a Halakha and inadvertently stepped out beyond the legal limits. Said R. Hisda to R. Na'hman: "Thy disciple Nehemiah is in trouble," and R. Na'hman answered: "Make him a partition with men and let him come back."

R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak sat behind Rabha who sat in the presence of R. Na'hman. Said R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak to Rabha: "How was the case when R. Hisda asked R. Na'hman concerning Nehemiah who had overstepped the legal limits? Shall we say, that there were sufficient men on hand who had made an Erub at the limits and could therefore go out to Nehemiah then the question was merely whether the Halakha prevailed according to R. Gamaliel, who said, that where there is a partition, even if a man had not declared his intention to rest there on the Sabbath, he may avail himself of it and traverse its entire extent, or that there were not sufficient men who had made an Erub who could reach Nehemiah and the question presented itself, whether the Halakha prevailed according to R. Eliezer, that if a man went out two ells beyond the limits he may return, and Nehemiah did not go out further than that." Is this not self-evident? For if there were sufficient men to reach Nehemiah, why did R. Hisda ask R. Na'hman? Rabh had already decided that the Halakha mentioned prevailed according to R. Gamaliel and for R. Hisda Rabh was the final authority? The question was merely then, whether R. Hisda could make a partition with men who had not made an Erub, at the end of two ells beyond the limit, which according to R. Eliezer was free to everybody, so that Nehemiah who had gone further than two ells beyond the limit could avail himself of that partition and return.

R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak objected to the above, addressing Rabha: "Have we not learned in a Boraitha: 'If the wall of a booth fell in on a festival, one must not use a man, or an animal or vessels or put up a bed and cover it with a sheet in order to fill in the gap, because a temporary tent must not be erected on a festival to commence with and so much less on a Sabbath?'" Answered Rabha: Thou quotest this Boraitha but I can quote another which states: "A man can make a wall of his comrade, that he may be able to eat a meal or drink or sleep in a booth (the wall of which had fallen in); he may also put up a bed and cover it with a sheet to keep the sun off from a corpse or from food."

These two Boraithas are contradictory to each other? This .presents no difficulty. One of them is according to the opinion of R. Eliezer and the other according to the opinion of the sages.

It happened once, that some baldachin-makers brought in water through a partition formed by men. Samuel punished them, saying: "This was done in an emergency where a man had overstepped the legal limits accidentally but ye do this 'purposely.'"

It once happened that flasks of wine were thrown out of Rabha's house on the road in the city of Mehuzza. When Rabha came from his college, a number of men followed him as usual, and thus relying upon the partition formed by them, someone carried the flasks back into the house. Next Sabbath, the same thing happened, but Rabha would not permit the flasks to be carried back to the house, saying, that this time it might seem as if it were done on purpose. In like manner straw was brought into the house of Levi, hay to the house of Zera, and water into the house of R. Shimi bar Hyya.

MISHNA: One who is authorized to go beyond the prescribed limit on important business pertaining to public or private safety and is told, that "it is already done," is at liberty to go two thousand ells in any direction. If he was still within the prescribed limit, it is as if he had not gone out at all, for all those who go forth on an errand of safety, are permitted to return to their homes on Sabbath.

GEMARA: What is meant by "if he was still within the prescribed limit"? Said Rabha: "This means to impart to us, that if he had not gone out beyond the limit, it was as if he had not left his house. Is this not self-evident? I would say, that if he had gone out of his house he forfeits his right to go two thousand ells in any direction he chooses, and we are told, that such is not the case." R. Shimi bar Hyya however said: "This means to state, that if the man had already gone beyond the usual limit but had not yet gone out of the additional limit allowed him by the sages for the errand, it is regarded as if he had not overstepped his own ordinary limit." Upon what point do they differ? Upon the permissibility of one end of a limit including another established limited distance adjoining it. The latter holds, that this point may be depended upon, while the former holds that it cannot.

"For all those who go forth on an errand of safety, "etc. Even such as go beyond four thousand ells? In the first part of the Mishna it is stated that they only have two thousand ells in each direction? What question is this? This is a case of where a man goes forth on an errand of safety, and on such an errand it may be permitted to go beyond four thousand ells. If there is a question it can be made upon the following Mishna: "Those who go to assist others in case of conflagration, or of an attack of robbers, or of flood, or of rescuing people from the ruins of a falling building are considered for the time being as inhabitants of that place, and may go thence on the Sabbath, two thousand ells in every direction." Thus here it is stated, that they may go only two thousand ells and our Mishna does not limit the distance? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: Our Mishna means to imply, that they may even return to their homes with all their implements of war, as we have learned in a Boraitha: In former times, they used to deposit their arms in a house nearest to the fortifications of the city. Once it happened, however, that the enemy was informed of the fact, that the Israelites had stored their arms, so they pursued them and in endeavoring to enter the house to gain possession of their arms, the Israelites trampled more of their own to death than were killed by the enemy. Since that time it was ordered to carry their arms back to their homes.

R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak however said: This presents no difficulty: If the Israelites are victorious, they have only two thousand ells in which they may go in every direction, but if they are defeated, they may escape as far as possible.

R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: If enemies besieged cities inhabited by Israelites, the latter must not go outside of the cities with their arms and must not violate the Sabbath, providing the enemies were there on account of money-matters; but if they were there for the purpose of slaughter, the Sabbath may be violated and arms be carried on Sabbath. If a city near the boundary of the country is besieged even on account of a trivial business matter such as straw or hay, arms may be carried and the Sabbath may be violated. Said R. Joseph bar Minyumi in the name of R. Na'hman: "Babylon is considered as a city near the boundary," and this dictum was explained to mean the city of Neherdai (which was surrounded on one side by Gentile neighbours and on the other side by Israelites).

MISHNA: If a man sit down by the road-side (towards dark on the eve of Sabbath), then gets up and observes, that he is near a town, he must not enter the town; for it had not been his intention to do this. Such is the dictum of R. Meir; but R. Jehudah permits him to enter. R. Jehudah said: "It once happened that R. Tarphon entered a town although it was not his intention to do so."

One who falls asleep on the eve of Sabbath while on the road and thus knows not that night has set in, is permitted (upon awaking) to go two thousand ells in any direction. Such is the decree of R. Johanan ben Nouri; but the sages hold, that he

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has only the right to move four ells. R. Eliezer said: "And he himself forms the centre of the four ells." R. Jehudah however said: He can go four ells in whichever direction he pleases. Still R. Jehudah admitted, that if the man had made his choice (which direction to take) he must not afterwards (change his mind and) go in another direction. Should there be two persons so situated (i.e., form the centre of the four ells they are allowed to move in), and part of the four ells permitted to one is within the limits of the other, they may meet and take their meals together in the centre of their joint space, provided that neither exceed his own limits by going into those of his neighbour. If there are three persons so situated and part of the four ells occupied by the middle one forms part of the space belonging to each of the other two, the one situated in the middle is at liberty to meet each of the others, or each of the others may meet him; but the two on each side of him must not meet each other. Said R. Simeon: What can this be compared to? Three courts opening into each other and also opening into public ground. If the two outer courts have combined in an Erub with the middle one, one is at liberty to carry things between the middle court and each of the outer ones, but between the two outer courts one must not carry or convey anything.

GEMARA: We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jehudah said: It once happened that R. Tarphon while on the road was overtaken by dusk on the eve of Sabbath and stayed outside of the town over night. In the morning the cattle-herders met him and said: "Rabbi, the town is not far distant. Enter." So he entered the town, went into the college and lectured all day. Said R. Aqiba to R. Jehudah: Wouldst thou cite this as an example? Perhaps it had been the intention of R. Tarphon to enter the town previously (i.e., he was within two thousand ells of it) or the college was included with the legal limits allowed R. Tarphon.

"Such is the decree of R. Johanan ben Nouri." Rabba propounded a question: What is the intent of R. Johanan's decree? Does he hold that things having no particular owner, if situated at a certain place on the Sabbath, acquire the right to their resting-place (i.e., may be carried for a distance of two thousand ells in any direction)? And the Mishna should have commenced by citing an instance of this kind. Why does it give the instance of a man who had fallen asleep, whom the sages consider the same as a thing having no particular owner? In order to show the firmness of the sages, who, though agreeing that the man when awake, is entitled to two thousand ells in each direction, whence we might assume that he is entitled to the same privilege when asleep, we are told that such is not the case; or, in order to show that R. Johanan ben Nouri does not hold, that a thing having no particular owner acquires the right to be carried for a distance of two thousand ells in every direction, but that a man when asleep is entitled to this privilege, merely because he is entitled to it when awake.

Said R. Joseph: "Come and hear: We have learned that if rain had fallen on the eve of a festival, the rain-water acquires the right of (being carried) two thousand ells in every direction; but if rain had fallen on a biblical festival, the rain-water has the same right (of being carried for the same distance) as the inhabitants of the place where it had fallen (have the right of walking)." Now, if we say, that R. Johanan holds, that a thing having no particular owner, if situated at a certain place on Sabbath, acquires the right of (being carried) two thousand ells in every direction, then the Boraitha is in conformity with his opinion; but if we say, that he does not hold to that effect, according to whose opinion is the Boraitha, certainly not according to that of the sages?

Said R. Jacob bar Idi in the name of R. Jehoshua ben Levi: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Johanan ben Nouri." Said R. Zera to R. Jacob: "Didst thou hear R. Jehoshua himself declare this, or dost thou merely infer this from another ruling made by him?" And he answered: "I heard him declare it." What ruling could R. Zera have referred to, which R. Jehoshua ben Levi had made? The ruling made by R. Jehoshua ben Levi elsewhere, that the Halakha always prevails according to the Tana, who makes the laws regarding Erubin more lenient. Why was it necessary for R. Jehoshua to make both statements? Said R. Zera: It was necessary; for had he said merely, that the Halakha prevails according to R. Johanan ben Nouri, we might assume that it always prevails thus, whether it be more lenient or more rigorous than another; hence we are told, that the Halakha prevails according to the one who is the more lenient regarding the laws of Erubin.

Let him say then, that the Halakha prevails according to the one who is the more lenient with the laws of Erubin, and that will cover the case of R. Johanan who is more lenient. Nay; it was also necessary to make the statement regarding R. Johanan exclusively; because it might be assumed that the Halakha prevails according to the more lenient interpretation where one opinion is opposed by the opinion of another individual, or where the opinion of a number (of sages) is opposed by the opinion of another number (of sages), but if the opinion of one is opposed by that of a number, the latter opinion prevails whether it be lenient or rigorous; hence we are told that the opinion of R. Johanan ben Nouri prevailed although opposed by a number of sages, and from this the rule is adduced that as far as the laws of Erubin are concerned the more lenient Halakha prevails even if the opinion of one is opposed by a number (of sages).

R. Papa, however, said: "Both statements made by R. Jehoshua ben Levi are necessary, because, had he simply stated, that the Halakha of the more lenient Tana only prevails, we might have assumed that he referred only to Erubin of courts and not to Erubin of legal limits; therefore he also stated the case of R. Johanan ben Nouri in order to demonstrate that he referred also to Erubin of legal limits."

R. Ashi said: "Both statements made by R. Jehoshua ben Levi are necessary because, had he only made the statement concerning the Halakha of the more lenient Tana, it might have been assumed that he referred to an Erub that had been made for a number of Sabbaths and had gradually dwindled, but not to such Erubin as had been made afresh; hence he also made the statement concerning R. Johanan ben Nouri in order to emphasize the fact that the more lenient Halakhoth prevail even in the instances of newly made Erubin." 1

R. Jacob and R. Zreiqa both said: "In all instances where R. Aqiba differs with an individual the Halakha prevails according to R. Aqiba. In all instances where R. Jose differs even with a number of sages the Halakha prevails according to R. Jose, and in all instances where Rabbi differs with an individual, the Halakha prevails according to Rabbi." For what purpose is this statement made? Shall we act accordingly or is this merely a vague statement? R. Assi said: "Yea; we must act accordingly. Where R. Aqiba differs with an individual we must act in accordance with R. Aqiba's opinion; where R. Jose differs with a number of sages we must act in conformity with R. Jose's opinion." R. Hyya bar Abba, however, said: R. Jacob and R. Zreiqa, did not mean to establish the rule, that the Halakha prevails according to the opinions of R. Aqiba, R. Jose and Rabbi, but that they should be given preference wherever possible over their opponents (i.e., if, for instance, a man asks concerning a decree of R. Jose, it may be declared valid, but it should not be taught as a rule in the colleges that when a number of sages decide against R. Jose the Halakha nevertheless prevails according to his opinion). R. Jose bar R. Hanina, however, said: (Not even this should be done.) R. Jacob and R. Zreiqa, merely assert, that it seems to them that the Halakhas should prevail as stated, but not that this should be maintained as a general rule (and if one inclined to their opinion, he cannot be accounted wrong).

In the same manner as there is a divergence of opinions concerning the statement of R. Jacob and R. Zreiqa, so is there also a dispute concerning the following statement of R. Jacob bar Idi in the name of R. Johanan: In all instances where R. Meir and R. Jehudah differ, the Halakha prevails according to R. Jehudah, wherever R. Jehudah and R. Jose differ the Halakha prevails according to R. Jose, and so much more when R. Meir and R. Jose differ the Halakha prevails according to R. Jose, for if R. Jehudah is given preference over R. Meir, and R. Jose over R. Jehudah, then certainly R. Jose has preference over R. Meir.

Said R. Assi: "From this I can infer, that where R. Jose and R. Simeon differ, the Halakha prevails according to R. Jose, for R. Abba said in the name of R. Johanan, that wherever R. Simeon and R. Jehudah differ, the opinion of R. Jehudah prevails." As a matter of course if R. Jehudah is given preference over R. Simeon, R. Jose is certainly more competent authority than R. Simeon.

The schoolmen propounded a question: "How is it, when R. Meir and R. Simeon differ?" This question is not decided. 1

R. Mesharshia said: All these rules are of no account (i.e., decisions should be made according to the dictates of one's own understanding); for Rabh never acted according to such rules. R. Jehudah. said in the name of Samuel: "Things belonging to non-Israelites, if situated at a certain place on the Sabbath, do not acquire the right to their resting-place." According to whose opinion is this statement? Shall we say, according to the opinion of the sages? This is self-evident; for they hold, that even things having no particular owner do not acquire the right to their resting-place, and so much more things belonging to a Gentile, which accordingly possess an owner. Hence we must say, that this is even in accordance with the opinion of R. Johanan ben Nouri, who says, that things having no particular owner do acquire the right to their resting-place (but those, which have an owner, unless he be an Israelite, do not).

An objection was made: R. Simeon ben Elazar said: "Vessels which an Israelite borrows from a Gentile on a festival, or which he has lent to a Gentile and receives in return on a festival, also vessels and treasures which were within the legal limits on the eve of Sabbath, may be carried two thousand ells in every direction; but if a Gentile brought fruit on a Sabbath from beyond the legal limits, it must not be moved from its place." Now if it be said, that R. Johanan ben Nouri holds, that things belonging to a Gentile acquire a right to their resting-place, then R. Simeon ben Elazar's statement is in accordance with the opinion of this R. Johanan; but if the latter holds, that things belonging to a Gentile do not acquire a right to their resting-place, according to whose opinion is the statement of R. Simeon; not according to that of R. Johanan nor to that of the sages? Nay; R. Johanan may hold, that things belonging to a Gentile do acquire the right to their resting-place and still Samuel quoted the opinion of the sages; but as for this being self-evident, it is not so, for it might be assumed that a precautionary measure should be made in the case of a Gentile owner in order to put them on a par with vessels of an Israelite owner; therefore we are told that such a precautionary measure is not necessary. R. Hyya bar Abhin, however, said in the name of R. Johanan, that things belonging to Gentiles do acquire the right to their resting-place, as a precautionary measure for things belonging to Israelites.

It once happened that rams were brought into the city of Mabrakhta on a festival. Rabha allowed the inhabitants of the city of Mehuzza (which adjoined the other city) to buy them and take them home. Said Rabhina to Rabha: "Why didst thou permit this; because thou holdest to the opinion of Samuel, that things belonging to Gentiles do not acquire the right to their resting-place, but the rule is, that where Samuel and R. Johanan differ, the opinion of R. Johanan prevails and R. Johanan holds, that things belonging to Gentiles do acquire the right to their resting-place on Sabbath?"

Thereupon Rabha said: "Let the rams be sold to the inhabitants of Mabrakhta; for that city is to the rams as four ells (being equal to the case of where a man was brought into a pen or a fold against his will and may in consequence traverse the entire extent of the pen or fold, as if they were only four ells)."

R. Hyya taught: "If the legal limits of two cities terminated in the water and a partition was made to denote the place where they met, by means of a fishing-net, it is not sufficient; for an iron partition is necessary in order that the water of both limits should not mingle." R. Jose bar Hanina laughed at this teaching. Why did he laugh at it? Because Rabh decreed, that the sages were very lenient with all things pertaining to water (see page 24).

"But the sages hold, that he has only the right to move four ells." Is R. Jehudah not of the same opinion as the first Tana? Said Rabha: Nay; they differ to the extent of eight square ells. The sages hold that he may go four ells in every direction, that is, in all, eight square ells; but R. Jehudah says, that he may go only four ells in one direction. We have also learned to this effect in a Boraitha: "He may move in eight square ells, so saith R. Meir." Said Rabha: "They differ as to the extent that the man may traverse, but as for carrying things all agree, that he may do so only for a distance of four ells."

The questions seem to be centred in four ells. Whence do we derive these four ells? As we have learned in a Boraitha: From the passage [Exodus xvi. 29]: "Remain ye, every man in his place," etc. By "his place" is meant the size of his body. What is the size? Three ells, and one ell additional in case he wishes to stretch his limbs. So said R. Meir. R. Jehudah, however, said: "Three ells are allowed for the size of the body and an additional ell in case he wishes to take a thing at his feet and place it underneath his head." What is the point of variance between the two? According to one, the four ells must be exactly measured, and according to the other, an approximate distance only is necessary.

R. Mesharshia said to his son: "When thou goest to see R. Papa, ask him whether the four ells are measured proportionately to the size of the man concerned or whether they are the holy ells (i.e., ells measuring six spans). If he should tell thee, that the holy ells are meant, what should a man do who is as tall as Og, King of Bashan, and if he should tell thee, that the proportionate ells are meant, why were the four ells not included in the Boraitha, which teaches, that all things should be reckoned according to the proportionate ells."

When the son of R. Mesharshia came to R. Papa he was told: "If we were to learn the Talmud in this manner (i.e., if we were so particular as to details) we would never be able to learn anything. Certainly proportionate ells are meant, and the reason the Boraitha does not mention them, is because it was not quite certain, and there may chance to be a dwarf, whose legal four ells the Boraitha did not feel justified in diminishing."

"But between the two outer courts one must not carry anything." Why should this not be permitted? If both of the outer courts and the middle one have combined in one Erub, they are regarded as one court? Said R. Jehudah: "In this instance a case is referred to, where the middle court deposited an Erub in each of the outer courts; hence the two outer courts have no connection with each other." R. Shesheth, however, said: "Even if the two outer courts had deposited their Erubin in the middle court but had each done so in a separate house, they have no connection with each other. Had they deposited their Erubin in the same house, they would have been regarded as one court." According to whose opinion would this be? Shall we assume, that it was according to the Beth Shammai as we have learned in the following Boraitha: "If five persons conjoined their Erubin and

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deposited them in two vessels the school of Shammai hold them to be of no value, but the school of Hillel say they are of value." Nay; this latter opinion is even in conformity with the school of Hillel who, while maintaining, that if the Erubin had been deposited in separate vessels the connection would be consummated, may hold, that if this was done in separate houses the connection is not valid.

R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: "All the foregoing is according to the dictum of R. Simeon; the sages, however, hold, that from the two outer courts things may be carried into the middle court, but from the middle court, things must not be carried into the outer courts; provided no Erub had been made, for one court may serve for two others, but two must not be utilized by one." And R. Jehudah goes on to state: "When I made this statement before Samuel, he said: 'Even this is in accordance with the dictum of R. Simeon; but the sages hold, that neither of the three courts may be made use of.'"

The following Boraitha is in support of the dictum of Samuel as quoted by R. Jehudah: R. Simeon said, "What can this be compared to? Three courts opening into each other and also opening into public ground. If the two outer courts had combined in an Erub with the middle one, a man is at liberty to carry victuals from either of the outer courts into the middle court and eat them, then remove the remainder (but a man of the middle court must not carry things into the outer courts);" the sages however said: "No connection is permitted between the three courts."

Samuel in making this statement holds to his theory advanced elsewhere: If there is a court between two entries, and an Erub was made by the court with both entries, connection between the court and both entries is nevertheless prohibited (but in each entry separately things may be carried); if, however, no Erub was made by the court with either of the two entries, the court acts as a bar so that carrying in either entry is prohibited even by the inhabitants of the entries. If the court, however, made more frequent use of one entry to the neglect of the other, it acts as a bar only to the one frequently used, but the inhabitants of the neglected entry may carry therein.

Said Rabba bar R. Huna: If the court made an Erub with the entry used only on rare occasions (it is evident, that henceforth, the court intends to make more frequent use of this entry and to abandon the other entry) then the other entry becomes separated and the inhabitants thereof may carry therein.

Rabba bar R. Huna said again in the name of Samuel: If the entry more frequently used by the court made an Erub for its own use, and the court itself as well as the neglected entry did not make any Erubin for their own use, the court is relegated to the neglected entry, but cannot prove a bar to the entry having an Erub, because that were otherwise as the manner of the Sodomites, i.e., if an act is perpetrated which is neither beneficial nor injurious to the perpetrator but solely in order to injure another, the perpetrator is compelled to desist. (The comparison is made to the case in question as follows: Neither the inhabitants of the court itself nor of the entry may carry within their precincts nor even within the entry provided with an Erub, and hence it would not be just, if, because they were not permitted to carry, they should prove a bar to those who by virtue of their Erub are allowed to do so.)

R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel: "The Erub of a man who is particular about it that his fellow (with whom he had joined in the Erub) should not eat it, is of no account. Why so? Because the word Erub signifies commixture, i.e., those who make the Erub can individually do with it as they see fit, and if one man is particular about it, its intent is abolished." R. Hanina however said: The Erub is valid; but a man of that kind is like the men of Vardina (who were notoriously penurious).

R. Jehudah said again in the name of Samuel: "An Erub which is divided by a man in two parts or deposited by him in two separate vessels is of no account." Then Samuel's dictum is in accordance with Beth Shammai, as stated in the Boraitha (page 108): We may assume that Samuel's teaching may be also according to Beth Hillel; for the latter hold, that the Erub is valid only then, if one vessel was filled with it and the remainder had to be put into another vessel, but if it was originally divided and then deposited, it is not valid.

Samuel said: "The virtual intent of the Erub is, that by mutual interchange of articles, the right to the ground is bought and sold." Why then are eatables necessary; could it not have been permitted to make an Erub with money? Because, as a usual thing on the eve of Sabbath money is scarce. (If that is so, then why should an Erub that had been made with money not be valid? This is merely a precautionary measure, lest it should be said that the main principle of an Erub is money, and in the case of a lack of money, eatables will not be used in its stead, and thus the law of Erubin will sink into oblivion.) Rabba, however, said, that the Erub signifies, that wherever the victuals have been deposited, there the man resides, i.e., wherever a man's bread is, there is also his domicile. What is the point of difference between Samuel and Rabba? The points of difference are as follows: A vessel of any value, victuals worth less than a Prutah (a coin of minimum value) and a minor. (According to Samuel a vessel having a market value may be used, but according to Rabba it does not follow that if it is deposited in a certain place the owner resides there, hence it must not be used. Victuals worth less than a Prutah, according to Samuel, not having a market value, must not be used, but according to Rabba, being eatables, may be deposited. A minor, according to Samuel, cannot be commissioned to act because no money consideration can be intrusted to him, and according to Rabba where he only gathers the material for the Erub, he may be commissioned to act.)

Said Rabba in the name of R. Hama bar Guria, quoting Rabh: The Halakha prevails according to R. Simeon.

MISHNA: Should a man, when overtaken by dusk on the road (on the eve of Sabbath), single out a tree or a hedge and say: "I will take my Sabbath-rest underneath it," (legally) he has said nothing, but if he says: "I will take my Sabbath-rest at its base," he may go from the spot on which he stands to the base of the tree or hedge two thousand ells and thence to his domicile two thousand ells more; thus it may be seen, that a man may go four thousand ells after dark (on Sabbath). If he cannot single out a tree or a hedge or is not conversant with the Halakha (covering his case) and says: "I will take my Sabbath-rest on the place where I stand," the spot upon which he stands (virtually) gives him two thousand ells in any direction; in a circle, according to the dictum of R. Hanina ben Antignous; but the sages hold, that he has two thousand ells in a square, so as to enable him to take advantage of the angles. This rule is explanatory to the saying (of the sages): "The poor prepare their Erubs with their feet." R. Meir said: "This rule is applied only to the poor," but R. Jehudah replied: It applies to poor and rich both; inasmuch as the Erub to be made with bread was only decreed in order to render its observance easier for the wealthy, so that they should not be compelled to go out and prepare the Erub with their own feet.

GEMARA: What is meant by "legally he has said nothing"? Said Rabh: "It means literally that he has said nothing and must not move from his place; (because where he stands, he did not acquire the right to rest on Sabbath, his intention having been to rest underneath the tree. Underneath the tree he acquired no right, not having specified the spot where he would rest, and although the space underneath the tree is within two thousand ells from his position at the time, as long as he did not specify the exact spot he must not go there)." Samuel, however, said: It means, that he said nothing concerning the distance from the tree to his domicile but he may traverse the distance from where he stands to the tree (because the entire space underneath the tree is within two thousand ells of his position at the time, and the distance from his domicile is only two thousand ells to the base of the tree, but to the entire space underneath the tree it is more than two thousand ells); hence this entire space is like driving an ass and leading a camel, for it is not known from which side the distance to his domicile is two thousand ells. If it be measured from the north, chances are that it should be measured from the south, and vice versa.

Said Rabba: (Samuel's opinion is feasible, for he says, that the man acquired the right to two thousand ells from where he stands; but not having determined the exact spot underneath the tree, he loses the further two thousand ells to his domicile) but what grounds has Rabh for his opinion? Rabh holds, that if two intentions, one consequent upon the other, are expressed in one assertion, the inability to carry out one intention destroys the other also (and in this case as the man cannot proceed from the tree to the domicile it invalidates his right to go from his place to the tree). What is the difference between the two opinions? The difference is if one says, "I will take my rest in the four ells of the eight ells underneath the tree," according to those who hold that the place of rest must be exactly determined, it is of no value, but he who holds that if two intentions, one consequent upon the other, are expressed in one assertion, the inability to carry out one intention destroys the other also, in this case when he determines four ells it may be called the exact spot, and is valid.

Said R. Huna the son of R. Jehoshua: The case in the Mishna mentioned "he legally said nothing" applies only if the space underneath the tree is eight ells or more; but if it measures only seven ells the man may proceed to the tree and from the tree to his domicile (because he is entitled at any rate to four ells and no matter from which side the distance to his domicile is measured, part of his domicile will be within two, thousand ells).

We have learned one Boraitha in support of Rabh and another supporting Samuel: The one upholding Rabh is as follows: If one, while on the road, was overtaken by dusk, and, singling out a tree, said: "I will take my Sabbath-rest underneath it," he has said nothing. If he said, however, that he would rest in a certain place, he can proceed to that place and, arriving there, may traverse the entire extent of that place and two thousand ells outside of it. When may he do so? If he designated a particular place, i.e., if he designated a sand-heap ten spans high, or a valley ten spans deep, and from four ells to two saahs' capacity wide; but if he did not previously designate the place or there was no such place in existence, he may only move four ells from where he is situated at the time. If there were two men, one of whom could designate the place and the other could not, the latter may invest the former with the right to select the place for him and he (the former) may act accordingly. This is the case only if the man designates the four ells where he desires to rest, but if he does not, he must not move from his place.

The Boraitha upholding Samuel is as follows: If a man made an error and deposited his Erub in two directions, or if a man thought that it was allowed to make two Erubin and go in one direction in the morning and in another in the afternoon, or if a man said to his servants: "Make an Erub for me," without specifying the place for it, and one of them made the Erub in the north and the other in the south, the man may go south for a distance of two thousand ells minus the distance from his house to the Erub on the north or may go north for a distance of two thousand ells minus the distance from his house to the Erub on the south. If the house was midway between the two Erubin, however, i.e., the two Erubin were placed equidistant from the house two thousand ells, he must not move beyond his house.

"If he says, 'I will take my Sabbath-rest at its base,'" etc. Said Rabha: "Being overtaken by dusk" signifies, that if the man walked slowly he could not reach the tree before dusk, but if he ran speedily he could reach the base of the tree.

Rabba and R. Joseph were on the road: Said Rabba to R. Joseph: "We will rest underneath the tree that tolerates good fellowship." And according to another version he said: "We will rest underneath the tree, that honourably acquits itself of its dues (i.e., that bears quantities of fruit and thus pays its dues)." Said R. Joseph: "I know not of such a tree." Answered Rabha: Depend upon me, as a Boraitha stated, R. Jose said: If there be two men, one of whom could designate the place and the other could not, the latter may invest the former with the right to select the place for him and he (the former) may say: "There shall we rest." In truth this is not so. R. Jose never said this; but Rabba asserted this in the name of R. Jose so that R. Joseph should listen to him; for it was known that R. Jose was final authority and that the Halakhas prevailed according to his opinion.

"If he cannot single out a tree or is not conversant with the Halakha." From what biblical passage is all this talk about two thousand ells adduced? We have learned in a Boraitha: It is written [Exod. xvi. 29]: "Remain ye every man in his spot, let no man go out of his place on the seventh day." "On his spot" means four ells, and "out of his place" refers to two thousand ells. Whence does the Boraitha adduce this assertion? Said R. Hisda: "Because it is written [Numbers xxxv. 5]: 'And ye shall measure from without the city on the east side two thousand ells,' etc. (Thus from the verse it is seen, that the city was in the centre and they measured two thousand ells on every side and from this the legal limits were derived.)

"Two thousand ells in any direction in a circle," etc. What grounds has R. Hanina ben Antignous for the statement? If he agrees to the interpretation of the passage quoted, he should have said in a square, for so the passage determines, and if he does not hold to the passage at all, whence does he adduce two thousand ells in general? He holds to the interpretation of the passage quoted, but the end of the same verse reads, "This shall be to them the open spaces of cities," and he declares, that for the purpose of the verse it should be in a square, but for Sabbath it should not be in a square. Whence do the sages adduce that the two thousand ells should be in a square? The sages hold with Hananiah, who taught, that "this shall be to them," should read "as this," and as this should be all the legal limits of the Sabbath.

Said R. A'ha bar Jacob. One who carries four ells in public ground is not culpable unless he carries in a diagonal of four ells. 1

Said R. Papa: "Rabha wished to examine us and asked the following question: 'Is it necessary that a pillar ten spans high and four wide standing in public ground, should contain a square so that a diagonal can be drawn?' We answered: Is this not the same as the teaching of R. Hananiah which states 'as this should be all the legal limits of Sabbath.'

"R. Meir said: 'This rule is applied only to the poor,'" etc. Said R. Na'hman: "The point of difference between R. Meir and R. Jehudah is where a man says: 'I will rest in my place' (where I am standing). R. Meir holds, that the principal thing to be used for an Erub is bread; and for the poor man, who has no bread with him, it is made easier; the rich man, however, has no right to do so; but R. Jehudah holds, that the principal way to make an Erub is to make it with one's feet, whether the man be poor or rich, but concerning the designation of a tree or a certain place for a Sabbath-rest while travelling, all agree, that it is allowed for a poor man but not for a rich man." The statement in the Mishna "This rule is explanatory to the saying," means to say that the saying is that of R. Meir, and what does it refer to? To the previous clause in the Mishna, "If he cannot single out a tree or is not conversant with the Halakha." The teaching "for the

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poor man who has no bread with him, it is made easier," is that of R. Jehudah.

R. Hisda, however, said: On the contrary. R. Meir and R. Jehudah differ only as to the designation of a certain place for the Sabbath-rest, the former holding, that for a poor man this is allowed, but not for a rich man, and the latter holding that it is permitted for both; but all agree that as for resting in one's place where he stands it is allowed to both rich and poor, because the principal way of effecting an Erub is with one's feet. The statement of the Mishna, "This rule is explanatory to the saying," refers to a man who was overtaken by dusk, while the teaching "for the poor man who has no bread, it is made easier," is according to the opinion of all.

We have learned a Boraitha in support of R. Na'hman: Be it a poor man or a rich man an Erub should be effected with bread. A rich man should not go out to the legal limits and say: "Here will I take my Sabbath-rest" because this is allowed only to one who was overtaken by dusk on the road, so saith R. Meir. R. Jehudah, however, said: Be it a poor man or a rich man the Erub should be effected with the feet and a rich man may go out to the legal limits and take his Sabbath-rest there, because the principal manner of effecting an Erub is with the feet. To the householder, however, the sages allowed to send a servant, a son, or any other messenger, to make the Erub in his stead, in order to make it easier for him, and R. Jehudah said again: It happened to the men of the house of Mamel and of the house of Gurion in the city of Aruma who would distribute figs and raisins during years of famine, that the poor of the villages of Shihin and Hananiah would come on the eve of Sabbath to the legal limits, remain there over night, and on the morrow would enter the city of Aruma and receive their share.

R. Hyya bar Ashi taught Hyya the son of Rabh in the presence of Rabh: "Be he a rich man or a poor man." Said Rabh to him: "Add to this teaching, that the Halakha prevails according to R. Jehudah."

Rabba bar R. Hanan generally went on the Sabbath from Artibna to Pumbaditha. Once, while on the way he said: "I will take my Sabbath-rest in Tzintha (a small hamlet between the two towns)." Said Abayi to him: Why dost thou say this, because thou knowest, that where R. Meir differs with R. Jehudah the Halakha prevails according to R. Jehudah and besides, thou art of the opinion of R. Hisda, who holds, that they differ only concerning the designation of a certain place for the Sabbath-rest; but did not R. Na'hman explain to the contrary and have we not a Boraitha in support of R. Na'hman?

Answered Rabba bar R. Hanan, "Henceforth I shall not do this again."

Rami bar Hama asked: "It was said, that one who made an Erub by means of his feet, has four ells for himself besides the two thousand allowed him. What is the law concerning one who had sent bread to make the Erub? Has he the extra four ells or not?" Said Rabha: "Come and hear: The Mishna states that the Erub was to be made with bread only to make it easier for the wealthy. If we should say, that he has not the four ells, it will not be made easier for the wealthy, but on the contrary stricter?" It will not be stricter? For he would rather lose the four ells and be enabled to send a messenger in his stead than to go himself.

MISHNA: If a man (on the eve of Sabbath) had been despatched by his townsmen to combine by an Erub a town (or village in the vicinity) and was subsequently induced by a neighbour to go back (before completing his errand) he is permitted to go to the place in question (nevertheless); all his townsmen, however, are forbidden (to go thither). Such is the dictum of R. Jehudah; but R. Meir said: One who can prepare an Erub and does not prepare it, is (like one driving) an ass and (leading) a camel (at the same time).

GEMARA: What difference is there between the man and his townsmen? Said R. Huna: "This is a case of where a man possessed two houses which had two legal limits between them, i.e., they were four thousand ells apart and the man went out on the road without taking bread along. He is then considered as a poor man; (and in consequence made his Erub wherever he was with his feet) but his townsmen who sent him to make the Erub are regarded as wealthy and their Erub not having been effected are not allowed to go out."

We learned a Boraitha supporting this teaching: "One who has two houses between which there are two legal limits makes the Erub valid as soon as he starts out on the way from one to the other, such is the dictum of R. Jehudah. Moreover, said R. Jose the son of R. Jehudah, even if his comrades meet him and tell him to stay over night where he is, because it is too hot or too cold, he may arise in the morning and continue on his way (for his intention was originally to make his Erub at the end of his journey)."

Said Rabba: "All agree that a man may continue his journey after remaining at a certain place over night, if he had been persuaded to interrupt his journey by another, but if he did so of his own accord, he must not continue on his way, because he may have changed his original intention. Wherein they differ is, if the man was persuaded to remain at a certain place before commencing his journey. According to one, his Erub is invalid as long as he had not yet started, and according to the other, it is valid because the intention originally existed."

R. Joseph, however, said: "All agree that one must start on the journey, otherwise his Erub is not valid; but they differ in a case of a man having been persuaded to stop over at a certain place or doing so of his own accord. One holds, that if he stopped over of his own accord, he may have changed his original intention and hence his Erub is not valid, while the other maintains, that as long as he had started, it does not matter."

R. Jehudah bar Isht'tha brought a basket of fruit to R. Nathan bar Oshiya on the eve of Sabbath (and the distance from his house to that of R. Nathan was four thousand ells). He started to return and R. Nathan let him go as far as the first step and then said to him: "Remain here over night." On the morrow, he arose and returned to his home.

"But R. Meir said: 'One who can prepare an Erub,'" etc. Have we not learned already in a Mishna (of the third chapter) that R. Meir and R. Jehudah both said: "If (an Erub) is doubtful, this is (like driving) an ass (and leading a) camel." Said R. Shesheth: It might be assumed that the reason of R. Meir's opinion is that only in the case of a doubtful Erub, it is a case of an ass and a camel, but if it is known to a certainty that no Erub was made, such is not the case (but it is positively forbidden); hence we are given to understand that even where it is certain that the Erub was not made it is also a case of an ass and a camel; because the Mishna cites a case where it is certain that no Erub was made.

MISHNA: If one went beyond the legal limit even a single ell, he must not go back the entire distance. R. Eliezer said: If he went two ells beyond the limit he may go back; but if three ells, he must not.

GEMARA: Said R. Hanina: "If a man had one foot within the limit and the other foot outside he may enter, because it is written [Isaiah lviii. 13]: 'If thou restrain thy feet for the sake of the Sabbath' and we read 'thy feet' and as one foot was still within the limit, it cannot be said, that he had restrained his feet." We have learned, however, in another Boraitha, that he must not enter? R. Hanina holds according to the opinion of the anonymous teachers, who maintain in still another Boraitha, that wherever the greater part of the body of a man is situated, there is his place.

"R. Eliezer said: 'If he went two ells,'" etc. Did we not learn in a Boraitha, that R. Eliezer said: If he went one ell beyond the limit he may go back; but if he went two ells, he must not? This presents no difficulty; our Mishna refers to a case where he had overstepped one ell and remained exactly two ells beyond, while the Boraitha refers to one who had overstepped two ells and was already in the third. Did we not learn in another Boraitha, that R. Eliezer said: "Even if he had stepped out one ell, he must not reënter?" This Boraitha refers to the one who measured the legal distance (as is stated in the last Mishna of the next chapter, which will be explained then and there).

MISHNA: One who was overtaken by dusk one ell outside, of the legal limit must not reënter the town; R. Simeon, however, said: Even if one was fifteen ells beyond the limit, he may go back, as the land-surveyors who establish the limits, are not very exact in their measurements and allowance is made for those who might err.

GEMARA: We have learned in a Boraitha: "It sometimes happens that the land-surveyors forget their mark and go beyond the distance."

CHAPTER 5.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE BOUNDARIES OF A TOWN AND THE MEASUREMENTS OF THE LEGAL LIMITS.

MISHNA: How can the boundaries of a town be extended? If one house recede from the city wall and another project, or if a ruin recede or project, or if fragments of a wall ten spans high lie beyond the walls, or if there be any bridges or cemeteries, with dwelling-houses thereon, the measurement of a town is commenced on a level with them; and the whole is formed into a (quasi) square, in order to gain the angles.

GEMARA: R. Johanan said: For eighteen days I lived with Oshiya the Great and did not learn but one thing concerning this Mishna, namely: The Mishna should not read "How can the boundaries of a town be extended, but how can they be districted." 1 This is not so! Did not R. Johanan once assert, that during his stay with Oshiya the Great for eighteen days he learned to know the heart and wisdom of each one of Oshiya's twelve disciples? He says only that he learned but one thing concerning this Mishna, but aside from that, he learned many other things.

R. Johanan said again: "When we were studying the Law at Oshiya's we sate four men to one ell." Rabbi said: "When we studied at R. Elazar ben Shamua's college we sate six men to one ell."

R. Johanan said once more: As R. Meir was in his generation so was R. Oshiya the Great in his day. As with R. Meir, the colleagues of his day, could never arrive at his final decisions, so was it also with Oshiya. His colleagues could also never fathom his ultimate conclusions.

R. Johanan said again: The hearts of the first sages were as broad as the porch of the Temple and those of the later sages were as broad as the gates of the Temple, but our hearts are as narrow as the eye of a sewing-needle. Whom does he refer to as the first sages? R. Aqiba. Whom as the later sages? R. Elazar bar Shamua, and according to another version he refers to R. Elazar ben Shamua and Oshiya the Great respectively.

Said Abayi: We are as a nail driven in a hard wall as far as explanations are concerned (i.e., we understand but little of what we hear, and that with difficulty). Said Rabha: We are also like a finger pushed into a cake of wax (meaning we are so dull of comprehension where comparisons are concerned, that but as little remains with us as with the finger that has been pulled out from the wax). Said R. Ashi: "And we may say, that it is as easy for us to forget what we have learned as it is to put our finger in the hole of a well."

R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: The children of Judæa who paid strict attention to the words of their masters and propounded many questions retained all they learned. The Galileans, however, who did not pay strict attention to the language of their masters, and did not question them, did not retain anything. The Judæans learned from one master, hence they remembered what they learned; but the Galileans had many teachers and in consequence they did not retain anything.

Rabhina said: The Judæans taught every tract they had themselves mastered to others; hence they retained their knowledge; because teaching others improves one's own learning; the Galileans, however, did not do this and in consequence their knowledge forsook them. Of David who taught others it is said [Psalms cxix. 74]: "Those that fear thee will see me and be rejoiced," but of Saul, who did not teach others, it is said [I Samuel xiv. 471: "And whithersoever he turned himself, he caused terror."

Said R. Johanan: "Whence do I know, that the Lord forgave Saul for the sin of massacring the priests of the city of Nev?" Because Samuel's spirit said unto him: "On the morrow, thou and thy children shall be with me." What is meant by "with me"? (That means in the same place as Samuel and as Samuel was a righteous man and certainly in Paradise, so Saul must have been forgiven in order to share Samuel's abode.)

R. Jehoshua ben Hananiah said: "I was never disconcerted in my life except by a woman, a boy, and a little girl. The instance of the woman occurred in this wise: I at one time resided at the house of a widow. At table she set before me a plate of beans and I ate it up leaving nothing. On the second day she gave me the same dish which I also consumed entirely. on the third day she made the dish too salt and after tasting it I naturally stopped and left it alone. Said she to me: 'Rabbi, why dost thou not eat?' and I answered, that I had already eaten during the day; she then rejoined: 'Thou shouldst have eaten less bread,' and continued: 'Perhaps because thou didst not leave any Peah 1 on the first two days, thou dost leave it now to serve for all three; for have not our sages decreed, that no Peah need be left in the cooking pot, but some should be left in the plate on which the dish is served?'"

The instance of the little girl happened as follows: Once I was travelling on a road and seeing a beaten path leading across a meadow I took that path. Said a little girl to me: "Rabbi! is this not a meadow that thou art crossing?" and I answered: "Is this not a beaten path?" and she answered: "Yea; such robbers as thou art have made it a beaten path." As for the affair with the little boy it happened thus: Once while on the road I noticed a child sitting at a cross-road. I asked him, which road led to the city, and he answered: "This road is the shorter but at the same time the longer, and this one is long but nevertheless short." I took the shorter road that was at the same time the longer. When I came to the city I saw the entrance to the city at that point was surrounded by gardens and vineyards, so that I had to retrace my steps. Said I to the child at the cross-road: "Didst thou not say that this was the short route?" and he answered: "Did I not also tell thee that it was a long route?" I then kissed him on the forehead and remarked: "Well is thee, Israel, that all thy children are wise, both great and small."

R. Jose the Galilean was travelling on the road. He met Brurih (the wife of R. Meir) and asked her: "Which way must we take to the city of Lud?" She answered: "Thou Galilean fool! Did not our sages say, that thou shouldst not converse much with a woman? Thou shouldst have asked, which way to Lud?"

The same Brurih once found a young scholar learning quietly to himself. She scolded him and said: "It is written [II Samuel xxiii. 5]: 'Firm in all and sure,' which signifies, that if the Law is firmly imbedded in all the two hundred and forty-eight members of the body it can remain with the man, otherwise it can not." We have learned that there was a disciple of R. Eliezer, who learned quietly to himself and in the course of three years he forgot all he had learned.

Said Samuel to R. Jehudah: Thou sagacious one. Open thy mouth, when thou readest and also when thou learnest and then may it come to pass, that thou shalt live long, as it is written [Proverbs iv. 22]: "For they are life unto every one of

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those that find them, and to all his body a healing." Do not read "that find them," but "that make them a find for others," that is by pronouncing them with the mouth others will hear them and be benefited.

Samuel said again to R. Jehudah: Thou sagacious one! As long as thou hast any money, eat and drink; for the world which we leave behind is like a wedding-feast, it is soon over (and in the next world, thou wilt not be able to do this).

Rabh said to R. Hamnana: My son! If thou hast the wherewith to do thyself good, do so, for in the grave there is no pleasure and there is no fixed time for death, and if thou shouldst wish to say: "I will leave my children sufficient to live on when I am in my grave," who can assure thee, that they will keep it; for men are like grass in the field--some spring up and have everything prepared for them while others fade and have nothing.

R. Jehoshua ben Levi said: One who travels on the road and has no companion, should study the Law, as it is written [Proverbs i. 9]: "For a wreath of grace are they unto thy head, and chains for thy throat." If a man have a headache, he should study the Law for it is "a wreath of grace" unto his head. If his throat be sore, he should study the Law for it is "a chain" for his throat. If thy stomach hurt thee, do likewise, for it is written [ibid. iii. 8]: "It will be healing to thy travel" (body), and also if thy bones ache, for it says further [ibid.], "and marrow to thy bones." Likewise one who has pains in any part of his body should study the Law, for it is written [ibid. iv. 22]: "And to all his body a healing."

Said R. Jehudah ben R. Hyya: Come and observe how the custom of the Lord differs from that of man! If a man pre scribes a remedy, it may benefit one and injure another, but the Holy One, blessed be He, gave the Law to all Israel as a remedy for all and for the whole body as it is written: "And to all his body a healing." R. Ama said: It is written [Proverbs xxii. 19]: "For it is a pleasant thing if thou keep them within thy bosom, if they be altogether firmly seated upon thy lips." Which signifies: "When are the words of the Law a pleasant thing? If thou canst keep them within thy bosom, and when canst thou keep them in thy bosom? If thou canst pronounce them well with thy lips."

R. Zera said: It is written [ibid. 15:23]: "A man hath joy by the answer of his mouth; and a word spoken at the proper time, how good is it." Which signifies: When hath a man joy by the answer of his mouth, if at any time that he is asked concerning the Law, he can make proper reply.

R. Itz'hak said: It is written [Deut. 30:14]: "But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it." When is the word nigh unto thee? If it is in thy mouth, and in thy heart thou meanest to do it.

Rabha said: It is written [Psalms 21:3]: "The longing of his heart hast thou given him, and the request of his lips hast thou not withholden. Selah." Which means: When was the longing of his heart given him? If the request of his lips was in accordance with the Law.

Rabha inferred a contradiction from the verse just quoted: It says, "The longing of his heart hast thou given him," and immediately afterwards, "and the request of his lips hast thou not withholden." If the longing of his heart was given him, what need was there of the request of his lips? And explained this seeming contradiction thus: If the man had merited it, the longing of his heart was granted him without request, but if he did not, he first had to make a request for it, before it was granted.

The disciples of R. Eliezer ben Jacob taught: In every instance, where the words "Netzach," "Selah," or "Voëd" form the conclusion of the passage it signifies, that it will be forever without interruption. As for the word "Netzach" it is written [Isaiah lvii. 16]: "For not to eternity will I contend, neither will I be forever wroth"; "forever" is here expressed by "Netzach." As for the word "Selah" it is written [Psalms xlviii. 9]: "As we have heard, so have we seen it in the city of the Lord of Hosts, in the city of our God: God will establish it forever. Selah." Concerning "Voëd" it is written [Exod. xv. 18]: "The Lord will reign for ever and ever" and the expression used is "Voëd."

R. Elazar said: The term quoted in the verse [Proverbs 1:9]: "Chains for thy throat" means to signify, that as a chain is loose around the neck and is not seen when a man bows his head, so it is with a scholar. If he is not seen constantly in the markets, or oppresses not his neighbour, but sits quietly and studies the Law, he retains his knowledge; otherwise he does not.

R. Elazar said again: The verse [Solomon's Song 5:13]: "His cheeks are as a bed of spices" means "If a man makes himself as a bed (of plants) upon which everyone treads (i.e., is extremely modest) and also conducts himself as a man who held spices in his hand, which even after leaving the hands, still make them fragrant, he retains the knowledge he has acquired, otherwise he does not."

He said again: It is written [Exod. 31:18]: "Tables of stone" (tables are in this verse expressed by the Hebrew term "Luchoth" and Lechi also means cheek). This refers to a man who hardens his cheeks until they are like stone and when trodden upon are not defaced, meaning a man who constantly studies and in the same manner as the stone is not impaired by wear, the constant study does not injure the man: such a man retains knowledge, otherwise he does not.

Again R. Elazar said: It is written [Exod. 32:16]: "Engraved upon the tables," which means, that if the tables had not been broken the first time, the Law would never have been forgotten by Israel, for a thing that is engraved cannot be obliterated, and R. Aha bar Jacob added, "that no nation on earth could have got them in their power," because: do not read "Charuth" (engraved) but "Cheiruth" (liberty).

R. Mathna said: It is written [Numbers 21:18]: "And from the wilderness to Mattanah," 1 which signifies, that if the man makes himself as a wilderness, upon which everybody treads, and does not mind it, the knowledge he gains remains with him as a present.

R. Huna said: It is written [Psalms 68:11] Thy assembly dwelt therein: thou didst prepare it with thy goodness for the afflicted people, O God! ("Thy assembly" is expressed in the Hebrew by "Chaiothcha" and Chaiah means a wild beast.) If a scholar is in the manner of learning as a wild beast which devours its prey immediately after killing it, i.e., as soon as he learns a thing he repeats it again and again until he knows it thoroughly, he retains his knowledge, otherwise he does not. If he does this, however, the Holy One, blessed be He, Himself, prepares a meal for him, as may be seen from the end of the passage quoted.

R. Hyya bar Abba said in the name of R. Johanan: It is written [Proverbs xxvii. 18]: "Whoso guardeth the fig-tree will eat its fruit." Why are the words of the Law compared to a fig-tree? As a fig-tree yields its fruit whenever it is shaken, so does the Law always yield new teachings whenever it is repeated.

R. Samuel ben Na'hmeni said: It is written [Proverbs 5:19]: "Let her bosom satisfy thee abundantly at all times." Why is the Law compared to a bosom? Because as at all times when the child desires to suck, the bosom yields its milk, so does the Law yield its teachings every time it is perused. Further, it is written [ibid.]: "With her love be thou ravished 1 continually." This means to imply as was said of R. Elazar ben P'dath, that when he was studying the Law in the lower market of Sepphoris, his clothes were frequently found in the upper market; so engrossed was he in his studies, that he did not even miss his clothes. Said R. Itz'hak ben Eliezer: "Once a man attempted to steal the clothes of this R. Eliezer and found an adder lying on top of them."

The disciples of R. Anan taught: It is written [judges 5:10]: "Ye that ride on white asses, ye that sit in judgement, and ye who walk on the way, utter praise!" "That ride on white asses" refers to scholars who go from town to town and from country to country to teach the Law and who make it clear as daylight. "That sit in judgement" refers to those who give a just verdict which is truly just. "Who walk" refers to those who study the Bible, "on the way" refers to the students of the Mishna, and "utter praise" refers to the students of the Talmud, whose every utterance is concerning the Law.

R. Shezbi said in the name of R. Elazar ben Azariah: It is written [Proverbs xii. 27]: "The indolent roasteth not that which he hath caught in hunting." This signifies, that one who studies the Law superficially merely to delude people but does not study it thoroughly and repeat it often, will not retain the knowledge nor will he live long. R. Shesheth, however, said: "A man of that kind is not wicked, but merely foolish; on the other hand a prudent man, who studies many things and makes marks, so that he will not forget what he had learned, retains his knowledge and will have long life."

When R. Dimi came from Palestine he said: The verse quoted is a simile to a man who catches birds. If he pinions the wings of those he catches, he can proceed and catch more, otherwise they will escape. The same applies to a man who studies the Law. If he reviews his learning constantly, he retains it and can proceed; if he does not, however, he cannot retain it.

Rabha in the name of Sechorah quoting R. Huna said: "It is written [Proverbs xiii. 11]: "Wealth gotten by vain deeds will be diminished; but he that gathereth by close labour will increase it." Which means: If a man groups the ordinances he has learned, he cannot retain them; but if he gathers them slowly and deliberately, he will constantly increase them." And Rabha said: "The Rabbis know of this and yet they pay no attention to it." Said R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak: "I have acted accordingly and in consequence I have retained my knowledge."

The Rabbis taught: "How was the method of teaching the Law in the days of Moses?" Moses learned the Law from the might of God. Then Aaron entered and Moses taught him a chapter. When Aaron had finished he sat down to the left of Moses and his children came in, when Moses would teach them the chapter again. When they had finished, Elazar would sit down to the right of Moses and Ithamar to the left of Aaron. R. Jehudah, however, said, that Aaron would always sit to the right of Moses after his children had finished. Following the sons of Aaron would come the elders of Israel and Moses would repeat the chapter to them. After the elders had finished, the rest of the Israelites who wished to learn would enter and would learn the same chapter. Thus we see, that Aaron heard the same chapter four times, his sons three times, the elders twice, and the rest of the people once. After the last reading Moses would depart and Aaron would again repeat the chapter to the others; then he would depart and his children would teach the chapter; after them the elders would do so, so that no one heard it less than four times. From this R. Eliezer deduced, that every teacher should recite his teaching to his disciples four times, holding that as Aaron who learned from Moses, who in turn learned from the might of God, had to learn one thing four times so much more ought an ordinary man to do so when learning from another. R. Aqiba, however, said: Whence do we adduce, that a teacher should teach his disciple until the latter knows the lesson thoroughly? From the verse [Deut. xxxi. 19]: "Now therefore write ye for yourselves this song, and teach it the children of Israel," and whence do we infer, that a disciple must be taught until he can impart the teaching to others? From what is written further [ibid.]: "put it in their mouth," and whence do we know, that if the reasons for the teaching can be given, this must be done? From the verse [Exod. xxi. 1]: "And these are the laws of justice which thou shalt set before them," and by setting before them is meant that they must be thoroughly explained.

Why did not all learn directly from Moses? In order to show honour to Aaron, his children and the elders. If that be so, let Aaron learn it from Moses, Aaron's children from Aaron, and the elders from the children, then the people from the elders? Because Moses learned from the might of God, all wished to hear it from him.

R. Preida had a disciple, whom he would teach a thing four hundred times and then the disciple would understand it. One day R. Preida was invited to attend the celebration of a circumcision and as he was just teaching his disciple, he finished the teaching for the four hundredth time but still the disciple did not understand. So he asked him: "What is the difficulty?" and the disciple replied, that from the moment the master was invited to the celebration, he could not pay proper attention, thinking that every moment he would be going away. So R. Preida said: "Pay proper attention and I will teach thee again," and he accordingly repeated the teaching another four hundred times. A heavenly voice was heard at that time which said: "What wouldst thou rather, that thou live another four hundred years, or that thou and the entire generation in which thou livest should be given a share in the world to come." R. Preida answered: "I would rather accept the latter proposition." Said the Holy One, blessed be He: "Give him both."

R. Hisda said: The law cannot be retained except through signs, as it is written (as quoted previously): "Put it in their mouth." Read: "Put it with signs in their mouth." R. Tachlipha of Palestine heard this and on his arrival home repeated it in the presence of R. Abbahu. Said R. Abbahu: Ye learn this from that verse, but we derive the same from the verse [Jeremiah xxxi. 21]: "Set thyself up way-marks," meaning, set up way-marks to the Law; this is in accordance with the dictum of Abhdimi bar Hama bar Dosa, viz.: It is written [Deut. xxx. 12], "It is not in heaven," meaning if it were even in heaven, one would have to get it from there, and [ibid. 13], "Neither is it beyond the sea" implies that even were it beyond the sea, one would have to go after it there. Rabha, however, said: "It is not in heaven" means, that knowledge cannot be found in a man who holds himself as high as heaven; and "Neither is it beyond the sea" means, that knowledge cannot be found in a man who considers his opinions as vast as the sea. R. Johanan said the first statement refers to those who are great in their own estimation, and the last statement to those who ply the seas and are constantly engaged in traffic.

The Rabbis taught: How are the boundaries of a town extended? A town that is oblong remains as it is. A town in the form of a circle is provided with corners. One that is in the form of a square need not be made equiangular. If it was narrow on one side and wide on another it must be made even all around (through the formation of a parallelogram). If a house or row of buildings protruded from one of the walls of the town, a straight line is drawn from the extreme end of such protruding buildings parallel to the wall and thence two thousand ells are measured. If the town was in the form of an arch. or a right angle it should be considered as if the entire space enclosed by the arch or right angle were filled with houses and two thousand ells should be measured from the extreme ends.

R. Huna said: If a town was in the form of an arch and the distance between the two ends of the arch was less than four thousand ells, the enclosed space is considered as filled with houses and two thousand ells may be measured from the extreme ends. If the distance was more than four thousand ells, the two thousand ells must be measured from the centre of the arch. What distance should a man have from his house to the end whence the two thousand ells are measured. Rabba bar R. Huna said: "Two thousand ells" and Rabha the son of Rabba bar R. Huna said: "Even more than two thousand ells." Said Abayi: "It seems to me that the latter opinion is correct,

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because, if the man chose, he could go through all the houses in the arch to that end, then why should he not be permitted to cross over the space between his house and the end of the arch?"

Or if fragments of a wall ten spans high, etc. What is meant by this? R. Jehudah said: "This means, if there were three partitions without a roof." A question was propounded: How was it if there were two partitions with a roof? Come and hear: These are the things that are counted in together with the town: A monument covering four square ells, a bridge, a mausoleum, a synagogue that has a dwelling for an attendant, a church with a vestry, stables, and barns that have a dwelling attached for the keeper, huts in the field and houses built on islands of a lake, which are not more than seventy and two-thirds ells away from the town. All these are counted in together with the town, and following are the things that must not be counted in with the town: A monument partly demolished on both sides, a bridge, a burying ground without a dwelling on it, a synagogue or church that has no dwelling for the sextons, a stable or barn that has no dwelling for the keeper, a pit, a cavern, a fence, a dove-cot, and a boathouse; all these are not counted in with the town." We see then, that a monument which had been partially destroyed on both sides, must not be counted in with the town? Must we not assume that it still retained its roof? Nay, this refers to a monument that did not retain its roof. Of what use is a house built on an island? Said R. Papa. "Those houses are used to unload the utensils of a ship." It is said "a cavern is not to be counted in with the town"? Did not R. Hyya teach that it should? Said Abayi: "R. Hyya refers to a cavern, that has a building above it." If that is the case, why mention the cavern? The building itself must be counted in? Here the meaning is, if a building was above the cavern, no matter how far the cavern extended, it is regarded as a foundation for the house and should be counted in.

R. Huna said: Those who live in huts made of twigs may measure the limit only from their doors (even if there are a number of those that extend for over one hundred ells). Said Hinana the son of R. Kahana in the name of R. Ashi: If in the street where the huts stood there were three courts each containing two ordinary buildings, the huts are given the privileges of a town.

R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: Those who dwell in huts and those who travel in the deserts do not enjoy life and their wives and children are not their own. We have also learned the same in a Boraitha: Eliezer the man of Biria said: Those who live in huts are the same as those in a grave and concerning their daughters it is said [Deut. xxvii. 21]: "Cursed be he that lieth with any manner of beast." Why is this so? Said Ula: Because they have no bathhouses (and when the men go away to some distant bathhouse no one is left to take care of the women). R. Johanan said: "Because, when the women go to take their ritual bath, they are afraid to go alone so long a distance; hence they go in company with other women and arc followed by evil men who lead them astray." What is the point of difference between Ula and R. Johanan? If there is a lake in the vicinity, the statement of R. Johanan falls to the ground, but according to Ula even then, the women, if left alone by their husbands, are led to sin.

R. Huna said: "In a town where there are no herbs, a scholar should not live (because herbs are cheap and good food and a scholar can thus live economically)." Shall we assume, that herbs are such a good thing? Have we not learned in a Boraitha, that three things cause much waste, cause a man's body to stoop, and deprive a man of one five-hundredth of his eyesight? Those three things are: coarse bread, newly brewed beer, and herbs? This presents no difficulty: R. Huna refers to onions, garlic, and fine herbs, which are necessary, while the Boraitha refers to bad herbs.

R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: In a town that is hilly and where there arc many steps to ascend and descend, both man and beast become prematurely aged. Said R. Huna bar R. Jehoshua: "The towns of Bebiri and Benaresh, two adjoining cities, that had may hills between them caused their inhabitants to become prematurely aged."

The Rabbis taught: "If one comes to make a town square, he must make it as the square of the earth, i.e., the north must be towards the north of the earth, the south towards the south, and his signs shall be: the zodiac of the capricorn in the north and that of the scorpion in the south." Said R. Jose: If he does not understand how to make it as the square of the earth, he should be guided by the equinox. How so? Where the sun rises during the long days and sets during the long days, it is north of the equator, and during the short days, where it rises and sets it is south of the equator, but during the Nissan and the Tishri equinox, it rises half (i.e., directly) east and sets half (i.e., directly) west, as it is written [Ecclesiastes i. 7]: "Going toward the south" during the day, "and turning around toward the north" during the night "the wind moveth round about continually," meaning east and west; at times it goes through them and at other times it passes them. Said R. Mesharshia: All these rules are of no account, for we have learned in a Boraitha that the sun never rose in the northeast nor set in the northwest and the sun never rose in the southeast nor set in the southwest.

Samuel said: The equinox of Nissan can only take place during one of the four quarters of a day, either at sunrise, sunset, noon, or midnight, and the equinox of Tamuz cannot take place except at one and one-half hours after sunrise or sunset or seven and one-half hours after either. The equinox of Tishri takes place only at three or at nine hours after either sunrise or sunset, and the equinox of Tebeth takes place only four and one-half hours or ten and one-half hours after either sunrise or sunset. There is not more than ninety-one days seven and one-half hours between each equinox, and they occur in the first and second half of the same hour respectively. 1

The Rabbis taught: One who comes to measure the city should first make it square in the form of a board. Afterwards he makes another square of the legal distance of two thousand ells also in the form of a board. When he comes to measure the legal limits from the town, he should not commence at the centre of a side because then he would lose the corner, for, if the diagonal distance from one corner to another is two thousand ells the distance from the one side to the opposite will be 1,428 ells. Hence he should make the square two thousand ells from one opposite side to the other, and in that event he will gain four hundred ells on each side. Then the two legal limits together will gain eight hundred ells on each side, and, in consequence, the town together with the limits will gain twelve hundred ells on each side. Said Abayi: "This can be proven by calculating on a city exactly two thousands ells square."

MISHNA: An allowance of seventy and two-thirds ells of space must be made to the town. Such is the dictum of R. Meir; but the sages hold, that such an allowance is to be made only if two towns be so close to each other, that each only requires seventy and two-thirds ells to bring them within the legal limits; in that case an allowance is made to both, so that they become as one. Thus also, if three villages form a triangle, and the two outer ones require 141 1/3 ells, a double allowance to bring them within legal distance of each other, the middle one between the two makes all one, so that the three villages, become as one.

GEMARA: Whence do we adduce, that an allowance should be made to the town? Said Rabha: Because it is written, [Numbers xxxv. 4]: "From the wall of the city and outward," which implies, first leave a part outward and then commence to measure.

"But the sages hold," etc. It was taught: R. Huna said: An allowance should be made to each of the two cities, and R. Hyya bar Rabh said: "Only one allowance is made for both." We have learned in the Mishna, however, that the sages hold, such an allowance is to be made only, etc., whence we see that only one allowance is spoken of and this would be contradictory to R. Huna? R. Huna may say, that by the allowance is meant the law of the allowance, and if the law of allowance is given at all, it should be given to each of the two cities. It seems to us, that the explanation of R. Huna is correct, because further on the Mishna states, that each only requires seventy and two-thirds, i.e., one town requires seventy and two-thirds ells and the other requires seventy and two-thirds ells, hence the law of allowance applies to each of the two.

An objection was made based upon the last clause of the Mishna: If three villages form a triangle and the two outer ones require 141 1/3 ells, the middle one between the two makes all one; thus if there were no middle one the allowance for the two outer ones would not hold good, and this would be contradictory to R. Huna, who says, that the law of the allowance should be applied? R. Huna might reply: It was taught, however, that Rabba in the name of R. Idi quoting R. Hanina said: The Mishna does not mean to state that there must absolutely be three villages in a triangle, but even if the third is some distance off and between the two there is sufficient space which would permit of the third village being placed there, and the distance from that third village to one of the outer ones be 141 1/3 ells, i.e., the quantity of two allowances of seventy and two-thirds ells each, this third village makes the other two as one. Then Rabha asked of Abayi: "How far must the third village be from the other two, that it may be counted in with them?" and he answered: "Two thousand ells." Said Rabha to Abayi: "Didst thou not say previously, that thou art of the opinion of Rabha bar R. Huna, who said that it may be even more than two thousand ells distant?" Rejoined Abayi: "How canst thou compare the two? In the former instance there were inhabited houses, while here there is only empty space."

Rabha asked Abayi again: "What must the distance between the two outer villages be?" and he answered: "What is the difference? Thou hast heard, that if the village standing at a distance is placed between the two there would be a distance of 141 1/3 ells to each of the outer ones." "According to that," rejoined Rabha, "it would not matter if there were four thousand ells between the two outer ones?" "Yea," answered Abayi, "so it is."

MISHNA: One must not measure the legal distance except with a line exactly fifty ells long, no more and no less; and one must not measure in any manner except from the breast. If during the measurement a deep dale (cleft) or heap of stones is encountered, the line is passed over it and the measurement resumed; if a hillock is encountered, the line is passed over it (also) and the measurement resumed, provided the legal limit is not overstepped while this is being done. If the line cannot be passed over the hillock on account of its height, R. Dostai bar Janai said: I have heard on the authority of R. Meir, that those who make the measurement cut straight through the mountain (in an imaginary sense).

GEMARA: Whence do we adduce that the line must be exactly fifty ells long? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: It is written [Exod. xxvii. 18]: "The length of the court shall be one hundred ells, and the breadth fifty by fifty," and thus the verse means to say, that the line should be fifty ells. Is this verse not necessary in order to teach us that the excess of fifty ells of length over the breadth should be apportioned so as to make the court seventy ells and four spans square? (See page 73.) If such were the case, the verse could read "fifty and fifty," but from the fact that it reads "fifty by fifty" we assume that both teachings may be adduced.

"No more and no less." It was taught in a Boraitha: "No less," because when the line is taken up (by the surveyor) it may be stretched a trifle (and it, should be only fifty); and "no more," for should it be longer, it might become entangled and be shortened accordingly.

Said R. Assi (according to another version R. Ami): "The line must be made only of Apaskima." What is an Apaskima? Said R. Abba: "A Nargila," and what is a Nargila? Said R. Jacob: "The fibre of walnut-trees."

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jehoshua ben Hananiah said: There is nothing better to measure with than an iron chain; but what can be done, when it is written [Zechariah ii. 5]: "There was a man with a measure-cord in his hand." It is written, however [Ezekiel xl. 3]: "There was a man, etc., and a measuring rod." The verse quoted refers to the measurement of the gates of the Temple.

R. Joseph taught: "There are three kinds of cord: One made of rushes, one made of willows, and one made of flax. The first kind of cord was used to tie the red heifer (because it was not subject to defilement and all things used in connection with the red heifer had to be not subject to defilement) as we have learned (in Tract Parah): "She was tied with cord made of rushes and was laid on the spot where she was to be burned." The second kind was used for tying a woman who was to stand the bitter water test as we have learned in a Mishna (Tract Sotah): Then an Egyptian rope was tied above her breast (an Egyptian rope was made of willows). The third kind was used for measuring.

"If during the measurement a deep dale, etc., was encountered," etc. From the statement of the Mishna that after passing over it the measurement is resumed, we must assume, that if the surveyor cannot pass over it with a line fifty ells long, he must go to a place where it is possible for him to do so, and after passing over it, should resume the measurement at the original place as nearly as possible on a level with the place where he had left off at the other location.

This is identical with the teaching of the Rabbis as follows: "If during the measurement the surveyor come to a cleft, and can pass over it with a line fifty ells long, he should do so. If, however, he cannot do this, he should go to another place where this would be possible and resume his measurement at the original place as nearly as possible on a level with the place where he had left off at the other location. Should, however, the cleft be sloping so that he can cross over it without difficulty he should measure it by drawing an imaginary line straight across the cleft and do this successively both up hill and down. If he come to a wall, he must not cut through the wall but must estimate its thickness, and after allowing sufficient distance for it, he should resume his measurement." We have learned, however, that he should cut through it (in an imaginary sense), why do they say that he should estimate its thickness? In the former instance the case referred to is where the wall was impassable, while in this instance the surveyor can circumvene it.

Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: "Under what circumstances are these rules concerning passing over (a cleft) or cutting straight through to be applied? If the line with a weight attached to one end, will not, when dropped, reach bottom. If, however, the line will reach bottom, the actual measurement of the cleft must be counted." What must the depth of the cleft be in order that it may be passed over? Said R. Joseph: "Even if it be more than two thousand ells deep." According to whose opinion is this teaching of R. Joseph? Have we not learned in a Boraitha, that if the cleft is one hundred ells deep and fifty wide it may be passed over but not if it be more? while the anonymous teachers hold, even if it be two thousand ells deep. Then R. Joseph's teaching coincides neither with that of the first Tana nor with that of the anonymous teachers? The Boraitha refers to a case where the depth of the cleft cannot be sounded with the sounding line, while R. Joseph refers to a case where the sounding line can be

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dropped straight down. If the sounding line cannot be used, what distance may he go to find another location for measuring? Said Abimi and also Rami bar Ezekiel: "Four ells."

"If a hillock is encountered," etc. Said Rabha: "This refer to a hillock with a base of five ells and a peak of ten spans; but a hillock with a base of four ells and a peak of ten spans should be merely estimated and the measurement resumed."

"Providing the legal limit is not overstepped," etc. What is the reason therefor? Said R. Kahana: In order that it may not be said, that the legal limit commences at the spot where the hillock had already been passed over (i.e., if the hillock was too wide to be passed over in the line of the legal limit and another place had to be selected for passage, it serves as a precautionary measure, in order not to appear as if the legal limit commenced at the point on the other side of the hillock, which, by virtue of its accessibility, had been selected for passage).

"If the line cannot be passed over the hillock," etc. The Rabbis taught: "What is meant by cutting straight through the mountain?" The man at the foot of the mountain should hold the line to his breast and the man at the summit should hold it to his feet. Said Abayi: There is a tradition to the effect, that the mountain must not be cut through (measured) except with a line measuring four ells.

Said R. Na'hman in the name of Rabba bar Abbahu: "The law of cutting through the mountains does not apply in the case of the heifer, which must have its neck broken (see Deut. xxi. 1-9), and not to the cities of refuge (see Deut. xix. 2-10; and Numbers xxxv. 6).

MISHNA: The measurement must be undertaken only by one who is an expert (in measuring land). If the legal limit was carried farther to one place than to another, the farther limit is held to. If one surveyor carried the limit farther than another, the farther measurement is abided by. Even a bond-man or bond-woman must be credited if testifying, that "Until here is the Sabbath-limit"; for the sages do not intend to enforce a more rigorous observance (of the law) but to make it more lenient.

GEMARA: What is meant by, "the farther limit is held to"? What about the shorter limit? Is that not within the limit? The Mishna must be read: Even the farther limit is also held to.

"If one surveyor carried the limit farther than another," etc. Said Abayi: "Provided the difference in the distance does not exceed the diagonal measurement of the town."

MISHNA: If a town (originally the property) of a single individual, becomes (property) of the public, all the householders residing therein may combine in preparing the Erub. If the town originally was public property and becomes the property of an individual, all the householders must not join in the Erub, unless a number of dwellings outside of the city was not included in the Erub made by the town proper, which number was equal to the new town in Judæa; i.e., containing fifty dwellings. Such is the dictum of R. Jehudah; R. Simeon, however, holds, that it is sufficient if three courts each containing two houses were not included.

GEMARA: The Rabbis taught: What is meant by originally the property of a single individual, and become property of the public? Said R. Jehudah: "For instance, the district of the Exilarch." Rejoined R. Na'hman: "Why dost thou mention the district of the Exilarch, because many people come there and it thus becomes like public ground; but the seat of government being there, it will serve as a reminder, that there is a law against carrying on the Sabbath? Still even in a place where many Israelites congregate on the Sabbath, even if the seat of government is not there, they will remind each other of the law? Therefore," continued R. Na'hman, "(it is not necessary that the district be the property of the Exilarch) it may be like the district of Nathazai, who owned a whole town."

The Rabbis taught: In a town, originally the property of an individual, which had become public property, containing a wide street, how should an Erub be made? Either a side-beam or a cross-beam must be erected at each end of the street (providing the town was not surrounded by walls) and it is permitted to carry throughout the street. It is not permitted, however, for one half of the town to combine in an Erub (because the city, having at one time been the property of an individual, the other half will prove a bar to those who have combined in the Erub). Either the whole town must combine an Erub, or each entry must make an Erub for itself. If, however, the entire town was at all times public property, and have but one exit, an Erub may be combined for the whole town.

Who is the Tana who holds, that even for the wide street an Erub may be effected? Said R. Huna the son of R. Jehoshua: This is according to R. Jehudah, as we have learned in a Boraitha: "Moreover, R. Jehudah said: 'A man having two houses, one at each end of a wide street, may make a cross or a side beam at each end of the street and is allowed to carry throughout the street,' and the sages rejoined: 'Such an Erub is not sufficient for a wide street.'"

The Master said: "It is not permitted for one half the town to combine an Erub." Said R. Papa: This prohibition refers to an Erub made lengthwise in half the town but in the breadth of half the town (which contained one of the two exits of the whole town) it is allowed.

The Master said: "Either the whole town must combine an Erub or each entry must make an Erub for itself." Why should an Erub not be effected in one half of the town, because the other half might prove a bar? Why should one entry then not prove a bar to another? Each entry may erect a door for itself, which will signify that there is no connection with the others. This is identical with the statement of R. Idi bar Abin in the name of R. Hisda, viz.: If one of the inhabitants of an entry made a door to his court, he demonstrates thereby that he has no connection with the other inhabitants and consequently does not make the Erub of the others invalid.

"If the town was originally public property and became the property of an individual," etc. R. Zera made an Erub in the city where lived R. Hyya, that included the whole city and did not leave out any part thereof. Asked Abayi: "Why did Master do this? Why did he not leave out a part of it?" Answered R. Zera: "The elders of the city told me, that R. Hyya bar Assi once combined an Erub for the entire city, so I thought that at one time the city was individual property and then became the property of the public." Rejoined Abayi: "The same elders told me, that at one time a pile of dirt blocked one of the entrances so that only one remained; hence R. Hyya bar Ashi made the Erub for the entire city. Now, however, the dirt has been removed and the city never was individual property"; and R. Zera answered: I did not know this.

R. Ami bar Ada of Harphan asked Rabba: "What is the law concerning a town that had one entrance by means of a door and another by means of a ladder?" He answered: "Rabh said, that a ladder is in law accounted the same as a door." Said R. Na'hman to them: "Do not heed him; for thus said R. Ada in the name of Rabh: 'A ladder combines within itself the two uses, that of a door and that of a partition.' The latter if it is on the outside of the city and is hence not accounted as a door and when it stands between two courts it can be accounted as a partition, thus enabling the courts to make separate Erubin, or it can be accounted as a door and both courts may combine in effecting one Erub."

R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said: "If an entire wall was made of ladders even though it be wider than ten ells, it is nevertheless a lawful partition." R. Brona contradicted R. Jehudah, standing at the wine-cellar of R. Hanina's house: How canst thou say, that Samuel held the ladders to constitute a partition, did not R. Na'hman say in the name of Samuel: "If the people living in attics of courts, which contain balconies, and who are obliged to descend by means of ladders to the court, had forgotten to combine an Erub with the people below, they do not render the Erub of the people below invalid, providing their ladders have apertures at least four spans high?" This is the case if the balconies were not over ten spans high. If the balconies were not over ten spans of what use are the apertures? If the balconies were provided with railing and ten ells were left vacant and a small door was erected in that vacant space, it signifies, that there is no connection between the inhabitants of the attics and those of the court; hence they do not prove a bar to each other.

The inhabitants of Kakunai came before R. Joseph and asked him to give them a man to effect an Erub for them in their city. He accordingly said to Abayi: "Go and make an Erub for them, but see that it provoke no comment from the college." He went and saw that some houses of the city faced a lake and had no other entrance. "I will make an Erub, but will exclude these houses," said he. Subsequently it occurred to him, that an Erub must not be made for the entire city, at the same time it was possible to do this; with these houses, however (that faced the lake), it was an impossibility. Consequently he desired that apertures be made in those houses facing the streets, thereby making it possible for them to make an Erub and then to exclude them, in which event the Erub for the entire city would be valid. Then he concluded that even those apertures were unnecessary, because Rabba bar Abbahu made an Erub for the entire city of Mehuzza, which was composed of several rows of entries and between each row there was a ditch used for the storing of kernels of dates to be used as fodder. He made an Erub for each row and permitted the carrying of things in each entry and from one entry into another without erecting either cross or side beams. He did this on account of the ditches between the rows, which ditches prevented crossing over from one row to the other and the town having been originally public property and subsequently having become the property of an individual, in which case part of the town must be excluded from participation in the Erub, he held that by virtue of the inaccessibility of one row to the other on account of the intervening ditches, one row became the excluded part to the other, and vice versa.

Suddenly it occurred to him again, that the rows of entries might have had protruding roofs, which would make communication with each other possible, hence they were enabled to make an Erub; but in the case of those houses that could not make an independent Erub, he again concluded that apertures were necessary. Finally, however, he recollected, that Mar the son of Pipidatha of Pumbaditha made an Erub for the entire city of Pumbaditha and merely excluded his straw-shed underneath the city. Hence he again concluded, that no apertures for the houses were necessary. In conclusion he said: "I see now, after all this trouble, why my master cautioned me against provoking the comment of the colleges."

"R. Simeon, however, holds, that it is sufficient, if three courts," etc. Said R. Hama bar Guria in the name of Rabh: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Simeon." R. Itz'hak, however, said, that one house in one court is sufficient.

Asked Abayi of R. Joseph: "Whence does R. Itz'hak adduce his statement? From a tradition or an opinion?" Answered R. Joseph: What is the difference? (The Halakha prevails according to R. Simeon?) Rejoined Abayi: Shall we learn the Gemara as we do a song?

MISHNA: Should a man (on the eve of Sabbath) be at the east of his domicile and say to his son: "Place my Erub towards the west," or being at the west of his domicile say to his son: "Place my Erub towards the east": if the distance from the place where he stands to his domicile be within two thousand ells and to his Erub farther than that, he must take his Sabbath-rest at his domicile, but must not take it where his Erub is deposited; if the distance to his Erub, however, be within two thousand ells, and to his domicile farther than that, he must take his Sabbath-rest where his Erub is placed and not at his domicile. If a man has deposited his Erub within the limits (allowance of seventy and two-thirds ells) of a town, he has (legally) accomplished nothing and it counts for nothing; if he, however, deposited the Erub outside of the legal limit, be it but a single ell, whatever ground he gains in one direction, he loses in the opposite direction. GEMARA: What is meant by "towards the east"? "Towards the east of his son" said R. Itz'hak, "and towards the west also of his son." Rabba bar R. Shila, however, says, that both "towards the east" and "towards the west" refer to the house, but the question will arise how will it be possible for the house to be farther than the Erub, because if he told his son to make an Erub there, the son must have stood between the house and the Erub? In this case, the house was diagonally opposite the place where the son stood while the Erub was directly opposite (as shown in illustration).

"If he, however, deposited the Erub outside of the legal limit, etc. Is it possible to assume, that he really overstepped the legal limit? Read: "If he placed the Erub outside of the seventy and two-thirds ells allowed the town."

"Whatever ground he gains in one direction, he loses in the opposite." He loses only what he gains, no more? Have we not learned in a Boraitha: "If he placed his Erub within the allowance (of seventy and two-thirds ells) of the city, he has accomplished nothing and it counts for naught; if, however, he placed his Erub outside of such allowance even one ell, he loses (his right to) the whole city, because the measure of the city will be counted to him in the legal limit effected by the Erub"?

This presents no difficulty. According to the Boraitha, he loses the whole city only when the two thousand ells of his limit terminate in the centre of the city; but if they terminate at the end of the city, which is the case in our Mishna, he loses nothing, as R. Idi said in the name of R. Jehoshua ben Levi: If he measured the limit and it terminated in the centre of a town, he has only half the town; but if it terminated at the end of the town, the whole town becomes as four ells and he may complete his entire limit of two thousand ells outside of the town." R. Idi said, however: "This is merely a prophetic assertion! For what is the difference whether it terminate in the centre of the city or at the end!" Said Rabha: "This is by no means a prophetic assertion. Thou wilt learn this in the succeeding Mishna."

R. Joseph said in the name of Rami bar Abba quoting R. Huna: "If a town was standing on the steep banks of a lake and there was a partition made on the brink of the banks four ells high, the measurement of the legal limits may be commenced from that partition. If there was no partition, however, the measurement must be commenced from the entrance of the house (nearest the lake)." Said Abayi: "Why dost thou require in this case a partition four ells high? Generally four spans are sufficient!" Because usually, no fear is entertained as to the use of the place, while in this case there is constant fear of falling over the banks (hence that place cannot be taken into consideration and the measurement must be made from the houses).

Said R. Joseph: Whence do I adduce this teaching? From the following Boraitha: "Rabbi permitted the inhabitants of Gadar to descend to Hamtan but forbade the people of Hamtan to ascend to Gadar." Why did Rabbi decree thus? We must assume, because the inhabitants of Gadar (who lived above the people of Hamtan on the slope of a mountain) made a partition at the foot of their city while the inhabitants of the city of Hamtan did not make a partition at the foot of their city; hence Gadar which had a partition was safe from falling, and the legal limit, which was measured from any part of the city included Hamtan, but the people of Hamtan, which had no partition and was consequently not safe, could measure their legal limits only from their houses and thus it did not

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include the city of Gadar. When R. Dimi came from Palestine, however, he assigned a different reason for the above Boraitha, saying: "Rabbi decreed thus, because the Gadarites would maltreat the Hamtanites; hence he prohibited the latter to ascend to Gadar on a Sabbath." Why on Sabbath, why not also on a week-day! Because on Sabbath there is more drunkenness (and in consequence more brutality). Why did he then permit the Gadarites to descend to Hamtan? Cannot they maltreat the Hamtanites even there? Because a dog that has no home will not bark even in seven years (meaning that in their own homes the Hamtanites could better protect themselves). Is there not danger, however, that the Hamtanites will maltreat the Gadarites? The Hamtanites would not dare do this (because they were in the minority).

R. Safra said: There is a different reason for the Boraitha, viz.: The city of Gadar was built in the form of an arch and the two ends of the arch were more than four thousand ells apart. We have learned in connection with this that the legal limits must be measured from the houses of the individuals; hence when the inhabitants of Gadar measured their limit, it included the city of Hamtan, but when the people of Hamtan, who were opposite the space of the arch, measured their limit, it terminated in the empty space between the two sides of the arch, and that space being over four thousand ells, could not be counted as part of the city.

R. Dimi bar Hinana said: (There is another reason for the Boraitha.) The city of Gadar was a large city whereas Hamtan was a small town and the laws concerning this will be explained in the following Mishna.

MISHNA: The inhabitants of a large town may traverse the whole of a small town (within or adjoining their legal limits); but the inhabitants of the small town must (not) traverse the whole extent of the large town. How then? If an inhabitant of the large town place his Erub in the small town, or an inhabitant of the small town place his Erub in the large town, each may traverse either town and proceed two thousand ells beyond its boundaries. R. Aqiba said: "One has only the right to proceed two thousand ells from the place where he deposited his Erub." Said R. Aqiba to the sages: "Will ye not admit, that in the case of one who deposits his Erub in a cavern, that he has not the right to proceed further than two thousand ells from the place where he has deposited his Erub?" They replied: "True; but when is this the case? If there are no dwellings in the cavern; but if there are dwellings within it, he may not only traverse the whole extent of the cavern, but also proceed two thousand ells outside of it." (Hence, it may be seen) that the ordinance is less rigid as to the interior of a cavern, than to the space above it.

Concerning one who measures (previously mentioned) he is only allowed to carry the legal limits two thousand ells from the place whence he started, even though the end of his measurement terminate in a cavern.

GEMARA: Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: If one took his Sabbath-rest in an abandoned city, he may traverse the entire extent of the city and two thousand ells besides; but if he deposited his Erub in that city, he only has two thousand ells from that Erub. R. Elazar, however, said, whether he merely took his rest there or deposited his Erub, he may traverse the entire extent of the city and two thousand ells outside of it.

An objection was made based upon the statement of R. Aqiba addressed to the sages: "Will ye not admit, that in the case of one who deposits his Erub in a cavern, that he has not the right to proceed further than two thousand ells from the place where he has deposited his Erub?" and their reply: "True; but when is this the case? If there are no dwellings in the cavern." Thus we see, that if there arc no dwellings within it, the sages agree with R. Aqiba? (How then can R. Elazar say, I that one may traverse the whole extent of the city and two thousand ells beyond?) By the statement "if there are no dwellings in the cavern" the sages mean to say, if there is no room for dwellings in the cavern.

Mar Jehudah observed that the inhabitants of Mabrachta placed their Erub in the synagogue of the city of Agubar, so he said to them: "Why do ye not place the Erub a little further? Ye will have more space to the two thousand ells?" Said Rabha to him: Thou quarreller! (Thou disputest the opinion of the sages!) Concerning the law of Erubin no attention is paid to R. Aqiba (because it had been decided long ago, that the more lenient decrees concerning Erubin prevail).

CHAPTER 6.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE ERUBIN OF COURTS AND PARTNERSHIPS.

MISHNA: To one who dwells in the same court with a Gentile, or with one who does not acknowledge the laws of Erub, the latter prove a bar (to his carrying in the court). R. Eliezer ben Jacob, however, said: "At no time can such a prohibition be caused, unless there be two Israelites, who prevent each other."

R. Gamaliel related: "It happened that a Sadducee dwelt with us in one alley (entry) in Jerusalem, and my father said to us (on the eve of Sabbath): 'Make haste and bring all the vessels into the alley, lest the Sadducee bring out his, and thus make it unlawful for you to carry out yours.'" R. Jehudah related the same circumstance with a variation in the language, viz.: "Make haste and do what you require done in the alley, lest he come out and make it unlawful for you to do so."

GEMARA: Abayi and R. Hinana, both sons of Abin, were sitting along with Abayi. The two brothers said: "The Mishna would be correct according to the opinion of R. Meir, who holds that the dwelling of a Gentile as far as the laws of Erubin are concerned is regarded as a dwelling; but what about R. Eliezer ben Jacob? If he regards the dwelling of a Gentile as a dwelling, then it should prove a bar even to one Israelite, and if he holds that it is not regarded as a dwelling, then it should not interfere even with two Israelites." Said Abayi to them: "Does then R. Meir hold, that the dwelling of a Gentile is regarded as a dwelling where the laws of Erubin are concerned? Have we not learned in a Boraitha, that R. Meir holds the dwelling of a Gentile to be like a vacant house, where things may be moved at will? Therefore I say, All agree that the dwelling of a Gentile is not considered as a dwelling as far as Erubin are concerned and that the intent of the Mishna is simply to prevent the Israelite from falling into the ways of the Gentile and disregard the Sabbath entirely, and to this end R. Meir holds, that a Gentile proves a bar even to one Israelite, but R. Eliezer ben Jacob maintains, that it is so rare an occurrence for one Israelite and one Gentile to live in one court, that such a precaution is in that case superfluous."

The text of the above Boraitha is as follows: "The dwelling of a Gentile is, as far as the laws of Erubin are concerned, to be regarded as a vacant house and things may be moved and carried to and from his house and the court; but if an Israelite also dwelt in the same court, the Gentile proves a bar to the Israelite." Such is the dictum of R. Meir; R. Eliezer ben Jacob, however, said, that the Gentile does not interfere, unless there are two Israelites who prevent each other."--Have we not learned in our Mishna that if one dwells in the same court with a Gentile, the Gentile proves a bar? This presents no difficulty: The Mishna refers to the Gentile who is on the spot, while R. Eliezer ben Jacob refers to one who is not at home.

What does R. Eliezer mean to express? Does he hold, that a dwelling without the occupant is also a dwelling, then he should state, that even one Israelite is prevented by it; if he holds, that a dwelling without its occupant is not considered a dwelling, then why does he mention a Gentile, he could say, if there be two Israelites and one is absent from home, he does not prove a bar to the other? Nay; a dwelling without its occupant is not considered a dwelling; but in the case of the Israelite who was absent, if he had proved a bar when at home, the precaution is also enforced when he is not at home, but in the case of a Gentile, no such precaution is necessary for the reason, that he himself does not prove a bar to the Israelite and his interference is merely due to the fact that the Israelite might fall into his ways and disregard the Sabbath. When the Gentile is absent, however, such apprehension does not exist.

If the Gentile is absent he does not prevent the Israelite? Have we not learned in a Mishna, that "if a person quits his house, and he goes to take his Sabbath-rest in another town, whether he be a Gentile or an Israelite, he proves a bar to the other inmates of the court, such is the decree of R. Meir"? This refers to a case of where there is fear that the person will return on the same day.

R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Eliezer ben Jacob." R. Huna, however, said: "It is customary to hold to the opinion of R. Eliezer, i.e., it is not taught in the colleges that the Halakha prevails according to R. Eliezer ben Jacob, but when a man asks concerning this law, he may be told to follow that dictum." R. Johanan however said: "The people act in accordance with R. Eliezer's decree, but it should not be decided so when the question arises."

Abayi asked R. Joseph: "It is known to us, that all the Mishnaoth taught by R. Eliezer ben Jacob are clean and thorough. Here also R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel, that the Halakha prevails according to R. Eliezer ben Jacob. Now then, if a disciple of a certain master live in the same town as his master and is asked concerning a Halakha established by R. Eliezer ben Jacob (which is therefore correct) may he decide it himself or must he as usual refer the case to his master?" R. Joseph answered: "R. Hisda (who was a disciple of R. Huna) would not even decide the question whether eggs may be eaten with kutach (a dish made principally of milk) as long as R. Huna was living."

R. Jacob bar Abba asked Abayi: "May a disciple decide in the place where his master resides a Halakha, contained in the scrolls of Fast-days?" Abayi replied: R. Joseph decided this question as stated above.

R. Hisda did decide legal questions, during the lifetime of R. Huna, in Khafri. 1

R. Hamnuna 2 decided questions in the city of Hartha, which belonged to Argaz in the days when R. Hisda lived. (Hartha was not far from Pumbaditha, the residence of R. Hisda.)

Rabhina would examine the slaughtering-knives in Babylon during the lifetime of R. Ashi (who was the head of the college). R. Ashi asked him: "Why does Master do this?" Rabhina answered: "Did not R. Hamnuna decide questions in Hartha during the lifetime of R. Hisda?" Said R. Ashi to him: "On the contrary! We have learned, that R. Hamnuna did not do this." Rejoined Rabhina: "We have learned both, that he did and that he did not, and the case seems to be thus: As long as R. Huna the master of R. Hisda lived, R. Hamnuna did not decide any questions, but upon the death of R. Huna when R. Hisda became the head of the college, R. Hamnuna began to decide questions also, because he was virtually a disciple (and) comrade of R. Hisda and I am also a disciple comrade of Master."

Rabha said: "If a slaughtering-knife is brought to a young scholar for examination, he may examine it, providing he intends to use some of the meat himself."

Rabhina 1 came to the city of Mehuzza (and stopped at an inn). The inn-keeper brought a slaughtering-knife to him for examination, and Rabhina told him to take it to Rabha. Said the inn-keeper: "Dost thou not hold with Rabha, that a young scholar may examine a slaughtering-knife if he intends to use the meat himself?" Rejoined Rabhina: "Yea; but the meat is thine and I merely buy the meat of thee as others do."

R. Elazar of the city of Hagronia and R. Abba bar Tachlipha (R. Aha) were the guests of R. Aha the son of R. Iqua in the city presided over by R. Aha bar Jacob. A calf, which was the third of its mother, was to be prepared and the slaughtering-knife was brought to them for inspection. Said R. Aha bar Tachlipha: "Must we not respect the elder (meaning R. Aha bar Jacob)?" Said R. Elazar to him: "Thus decided Rabha: A young scholar may examine the slaughtering-knife if he intends to use the meat himself." Accordingly R. Elazar examined the knife but was afterwards punished for it.

Why was R. Elazar punished for it? Rabba had really allowed it? Because R. Aha bar Jacob was an exceptionally wise and extremely old sage.

Rabha said: A disciple has no right to decide questions of law. If, however, he sees a person committing a prohibited act, he may even in the presence of his master correct such a person.

Rabhina while in the presence of R. Ashi (his master) observed a man tying an ass to a tree on Sabbath. He admonished him and told him that it was not allowed; but the man paid no attention to him, whereupon Rabhina said to him: "Thou art under a ban for this." Then he (Rabhina) said to R. Ashi: "Can this action of mine be construed as disrespectful to thee because it was done in thy presence?" R. Ashi answered: "It is written [Proverbs xxi. 30]: 'There is no wisdom nor understanding nor counsel against the Lord,' and that means, where the honour of the Lord is concerned, the respect due a teacher is not to be considered."

Rabha said: "If a disciple decide a point of law in the presence of his master, it is considered as a capital offence; but if he does this in the absence of his master while the master is still in the same city, it is not a capital offence, but is nevertheless prohibited." Zera said in the name of R. Hanina: It is not a capital offence, but he is nevertheless called a sinner, as it is written [Psalms 119:2]: "In my heart have I treasured up thy saying, in order that I may not sin against thee." (This signifies that if one did not treasure up his knowledge but uttered it in the presence of his master, he commits sin.)

R. Hamnuna propounded a contradictory question to the above verse, viz.: It is written [Psalms 40:10]: "I announce thy righteousness in the great assembly," and himself explained it by saying: "The former verse was proclaimed by David when Ira the Yairite, who was his master, was still living and the latter when Ira was dead."

R. Abba bar Zabhda said: "He who sends his gifts to one particular priest to the exclusion of all others brings famine into the world, as it is written [2 Samuel 20:26]: "And Ira the Yairite was a priest unto David." Why a priest unto David? Was he not also a priest to the rest of Israel? The inference then is, that David presented him with all his gifts and immediately following this verse, it is written [ibid. 21:1]: "And there was a famine in the days of David three years."

R. Elazar said: A disciple who decides a point of law in the place of his master, if intrusted with a position of importance, is eventually deposed, as it is written [Numbers 31:21-24] that Elazar the priest quoted a law and although he quoted it in the name of Moses, still he was deposed from office on that account; for although Joshua was ordered to stand before Elazar [Numbers 27:21], we do not find one instance where Joshua ever availed himself of Elazar's services.

R. Levi said: He who decides a point of law in the presence of his master will die childless, for it is written [Numbers 11:28], that Joshua, the son of Nun said, "My lord Moses, forbid them," and [Chronicles 7:27] it merely states, "Now his son, Jehoshua his son," whence we see that Joshua had no children.

There was an entry in which a man by the name of Lachman bar Risthak resided. He was asked to rent his right to the ground occupied by him to the other inmates; but he would not do this. So the matter was brought to Abayi for decision and he told them as follows: "All of you, resign your rights to your grounds to one man in the entry and thus it will

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constitute a case of where one Israelite and one Gentile occupy the same entry; when one Gentile occupies the same grounds with one Israelite he does not interfere with the Israelite." How can this remedy us? Why was it decreed, that one Gentile does not interfere with an Israelite, because it is of rare occurrence, that they should occupy the same court, but in our case it is different. We all live there? Said Abayi: "In your case there is also an unusual occurrence; for it seldom happens, that all the inmates of one entry should resign their rights to one man."

Subsequently R. Huna the son of R. Jehoshua related this statement of Abayi to Rabha. Said Rabha: "If so, then the entire law of Erubin was made void in that entry." Nay; they mad can E rub between themselves also. Rejoined Rabba: "This is still worse. In that case it will be said that an Erub may be made where a Gentile lives." Answered R. Huna: "It will be proclaimed, that the carrying is not done on account of the Erub, but because every inmate has resigned his right to the ground to one man and hence it is private ground." "To whom will ye proclaim this? To the children?" continued Rabha. "I have a better plan. Let one man go and ask Lachman bar Risthak to permit him to deposit something in his (Lachman's) yard, which will then be considered as rented for an entire year, and R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel, that if ground had been rented by an Israelite from a Gentile or vice versa for one year or even for one season when the crops are harvested, in fact if any dealings at all have been had on this order with the Gentile, an Erub may be placed in the entry where he lives with impunity."

Abayi asked of R. Joseph: "How is it, if there are several who had rented apartments from a Gentile and one of them forgot to make an Erub. Would he prove a bar to the others or not?" Answered R. Joseph: "The statement of R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel was made in order to make the law more lenient and not to make it more rigid."

When R. Na'hman heard the dictum of R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel quoted above, he said: "How fine is this Halakha!" Then he heard another dictum of R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel stating, that one who had imbibed a quarter of a lug of wine, must not decide any legal questions. Said R. Na'hman: "This Halakha is preposterous! I know that my head is not quite clear until I drink a quarter of a lug of wine." Said Rabha to him: "Why should master say this? Has he not heard the dictum of R. A'ha bar Hanina, viz.: it is written [Proverbs xxix. 3]: 'He that keepeth company with harlots wasteth his wealth,' and this means, that one who declares one Halakha to be fine and another to be bad loses the beauty (wealth) of the Thorah." Answered R. Na'hman: "Thou art right. I shall do this no more."

Rabba bar R. Huna said: One who is tipsy should not pray; but if he had done so his prayer is nevertheless acceptable. One who is intoxicated, however, and prayed, his prayer is considered as a blasphemy. What is meant by tipsy? If a man were compelled to speak to the king and had still sense enough to do so, he is merely tipsy; but one who would not be able to do this is considered intoxicated.

Said Rami bar Abba: "One who after drinking had walked a mile or slept a little is again considered sober." Said R. Na'hman in the name of Rabba bar Abbahu: This is the case if he had drunk only a quarter of a lug of wine; but if he drank more, then the walk tires him still more, and the interrupted doze inebriates him still more.

Will a walk of one mile then neutralize the effects of the wine? Have we not learned, that Rabbon Gamaliel while travelling at one time rode upon an ass from the city Akhu to Khazib and was followed by R. Ilayi. R. Gamaliel noticed some loaves lying on the road, so he said to Ilayi: "Take the loaves up," and meeting a Gentile later said to him: "Mabgai, take the loaves away from Ilayi." Ilayi then asked the Gentile: "Whence art thou?" and he answered: "From the cities of Burganin." "What is thy name?" asked Ilayi again. "I am called Mabgai," was the answer. "Dost thou know R. Gamaliel?" was the next question, "or does R. Gamaliel know thee?" "Nay," answered the Gentile. Thus it is obvious, that R. Gamaliel knew the name of the Gentile by inspiration [and three things may be deduced from his actions, viz.: "Firstly, that bread must not be passed by (but should be gathered up); secondly, that we must be guided by the majority of wayfarers (i.e., on account of the majority of wayfarers being Gentiles, the bread is presumed to belong to them and hence R. Ilayi was told to give it to the Gentile); and thirdly, that leavened bread

belonging to a Gentile, even if remaining over from the Passover, may be made use of by Israelites after the Passover."]

Upon his arrival at Khazib, R. Gamaliel was asked by a man to nullify a vow. Said R. Gamaliel to his companions: "Have we drunk a quarter of a lug of Italian wine?" and they answered: "Yea, we did." "Then," quoth R. Gamaliel, "let us walk on, the man following us until the effects of the wine wear off," and they walked on for three miles. When they came to the steps leading up to the city of Tyre, R. Gamaliel dismounted, wrapped himself in a robe, sat down and nullified the man's vow, and from these actions we have learned many things; namely: "A quarter of a lug of Italian wine inebriates a man; when a man is inebriated, he must not decide any legal questions; a walk neutralizes the effects of wine; and a vow must not be nullified while riding, standing, or walking, but in a sitting position."

Thus we see, that a three miles' walk is required to destroy the effects of wine, how can it be said, that one mile is sufficient? In a case of inebriation through Italian wine it is different, because that wine is very strong, but for ordinary wine a walk of one mile is all that is necessary.

The master said: "One must not pass by bread." Said R. Johanan in the name of R. Simeon ben Jochai: This was said in the earlier generations when the daughters of Israel had not yet resorted to witchcraft, but in the latter generations when they began to practise it, bread may be passed by, lest it be bewitched.

We have learned in a Boraitha: Whole loaves of bread may be passed by, because they may be bewitched, but pieces of bread should not, as there is no fear of their being bewitched.

R. Shesheth said in the name of R. Elazar ben Azariah: "I could exempt the entire world from divine judgement since the destruction of the Temple to the present day; for it is written [Isaiah 51:21]: "Therefore, hear now this, O thou afflicted, and drunken, but not with wine." (Hence if all the world is drunken, they should not be judged.)

An objection was made: "We have learned, that a drunken man's purchase is a valid purchase, his sale is a valid sale; if he has committed a capital offence, he should be executed; if he committed a crime involving the punishment of stripes, he must be given the stripes. The rule is, that he is in all respects considered as a sober man with the exception that he is absolved from prayer." R. Shesheth means to say by stating that he can absolve the entire world from divine judgement, that he can exempt the world from the judgement concerning their prayers. Said R. Hanina: All this is said concerning a man whose drunkenness does not equal that of Lot's, but if it is of the degree of Lot's drunkenness, he is exempt from all judgement.

R. Hyya bar Ashi said in the name of Rabh: "One whose mind is not thoroughly at ease must not pray, as it is written: "In his affliction shall he not judge." 1

It was the custom of R. Hanina to omit saying his prayers on a day when he was in a bad humor, and Mar Uqba would not take his seat on the judge's bench on a day when a hot south wind would blow, saying, that it was too hot to judge with a clear mind. R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak said: When a Halakha is to be decided by a man, his head should be as clear as it is on a day when a north wind which drives away all dark clouds is blowing and the sky is clear and the weather fine.

Abayi said: "When my mother would tell me to hand her some kutach, it so confused me, that I could not study that whole day." Rabha said: "If a flea bit me, I could no longer learn."

The mother of Mar, the son of Rabhina, made her son seven suits of clothes, one for each day of the week.

R. Jehudah said: "The night was made only for sleep." R. Simeon ben Lakish, however, said: "The moon was made only in order to facilitate study at night."

R. Zera was told that all his conclusions were very sagacious, and he replied, that they were all studied during the day.

The daughter of R. Hisda said to her father: "Why does Master not sleep a while?" and he answered: "Very long days will yet come, when study will be impossible" (meaning the days in the grave).

R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak said: "We are all day-labourers." R. A'ha bar Jacob would borrow hours from the day and repay them at night.

R. Eliezer said: One who travelled on the road should, upon his return, not recite his prayers for three days, as it is written [Ezra 8:15]: "And I gathered them together to the river that runneth into the Ahava, and we encamped there three days: and I looked about among the people." (Which signifies, that one should deliberate for three days and then pray.)

The father of Samuel when on the road would not pray for three days. Samuel himself would not pray in a room where there was any beer, saying, that the odor of the beer confused him. R. Papa would not pray in a house where there was Harsena (a dish made of fish and vinegar) saying, that the odor disturbed him.

R. Hanina said: A man who is angry with another and when under the influence of liquor can be persuaded to a reconciliation possesses one of the qualities of his Creator, as it is written [Genesis 8:21]: "And the Lord smelled the sweet savor," etc.

R. Hyya said: "One who drinks wine and is not excited thereby, has some of the qualities of the seventy sages in the days of Moses." The inference of R. Hyya is based upon the word Yaïn (wine), which according to the Hebrew method of counting, namely, Yod = 10 and another Yod = 10 and Nun = 50, altogether 70; and also upon the word Sod (secret) Samach = 60, Vav = 6 and Daled = 4, altogether 70; hence when the wine enters, the secrets escape and the man who does not become excited through wine and can retain his secrets, possesses the wisdom of the seventy sages.

R. Hanan said: "Wine was created only to comfort the mourners and to pay the wicked their reward for any good they may have done, on this earth, as it is written [Proverbs xxxi. 6]: "Give strong drink unto him that is ready to perish, and wine unto those who have an embittered soul." (By "one that is ready to perish," is meant the wicked and by "those who have an embittered soul," are meant the mourners.)

R. Hanin bar Papa said: A house where wine does not flow like water cannot be classed among those that are blessed, as it is written [Exod. 23:25]: "And he will bless thy bread and thy water." The bread referred to is that which can be bought with the proceeds of the second tithes and the water which cannot be bought with such money really means wine. If, then, wine is so plentiful in the house, that it flows like water, the house is counted among the blessed.

R. Ilayi said: By means of three things a man's character may be ascertained: "By his wine-cup, by his purse, and by his anger," and others say also by his play (for money).

R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: There was a case, where an Israelite and a Gentile occupied an inner court and another Israelite occupied the outer court and it was referred to Rabbi for decision. He decided that the outer court must not be used to carry therein. It was then referred to R. Hyya and he decided likewise.

Rabba and R. Joseph both sat in the presence of R. Shesheth, when he finished his lecture, and R. Shesheth concluded by saying, that Rabh decided the above Halakha in accordance with the opinion of R. Meir. Rabba shook his head. Said R. Joseph: Is it possible, that two such great men (as R. Shesheth and Rabba) should be mistaken? If Rabh's dictum were according to R. Meir, why was it necessary to state, that the outer court was occupied by an Israelite? (R. Meir holds, that even one Gentile and one Israelite are sufficient to make it unlawful to carry in one court.) If we assume, that Rabh merely related the circumstance as it occurred, without making a decision, is it not a fact that when Rabh was asked whether, if the Gentile was at his home, the Israelite may carry from the inner court to the outer, he answered that he may, hence we see that the Gentile does not prevent the Israelite occupying the same court from carrying therein; but that the two Israelites prevent each other. Shall we then assume, that Rabh held in accordance with R. Eliezer ben Jacob? Why should it be prohibited for the Israelite to carry from one court to the other? Further on we shall learn, that, according to R. Aqiba, a foot (meaning a man) which is allowed to carry in its place cannot interfere with the right of another place (and in this case each Israelite may carry in his own court, for one of them has the court to himself and the other has but one Gentile in his court, who, according to R. Eliezer ben Jacob, does not interfere with his right to carry), why then should it be prohibited for them to carry between the courts? It might be then, that Rabh holds with R. Aqiba, who says, that a foot which is allowed to carry in its own place nevertheless interferes with the right of another place, then why should the Gentile be mentioned? Each Israelite will prevent the other?

Said R. Huna, the son of R. Jehoshua: It may be assumed that Rabh agrees either with R. Eliezer ben Jacob or with R. Aqiba; but in this case the two Israelites combined in an Erub, and on account of the interference of the Gentile, he prohibited both.

Resh Lakish and the disciples of R. Hanina met in an inn where lived two Israelites and a Gentile, who rented his place from another Gentile. The tenant was not at home but the owner was. The question then arose whether the place of the tenant could be rented from the owner for the Sabbath. Where the tenant had a perfect lease and could not be dispossessed for that day, it is entirely out of the question. If, however, the tenant's lease was conditional, i.e., if the owner could at any time dispossess him, the question arises whether, because of the fact, that he had not yet been dispossessed the tenant retains his right to the place and it cannot be rented, or from the fact, that it is optional with the owner to dispossess the tenant at any time, the place may be rented.

Resh Lakish said: In the meantime, let us rent the place, and afterwards, when we come to our sages in the South, we will ask their opinion. Subsequently, when they came to R. Ephes and asked him, he told them that they had done rightly.

R. Hanina bar Joseph, R. Hyya bar Abba, and R. Assi met at an inn, the proprietor of which was a Gentile and who arrived on the Sabbath. The question then arose, whether his place could be rented from him for the Sabbath or not. If renting a place is equal to making an Erub, then, of course, it would not be permitted on Sabbath, but if renting a place was merely the resigning of it by one man to another, then it may be done, because that is allowed on Sabbath. R. Hanina advised renting it but R. Assi objected. Said R. Hyya bar Abba to them: Let us depend upon this elder (meaning R. Hanina) and rent it and then we will ask R. Johanan. When they asked R. Johanan he told them, they had done what was right.

The men of Neherdai when hearing of this were surprised, saying: "Did not R. Johanan say at another time, that 'renting a place for the Sabbath was equivalent to making an

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Erub,' hence, as the Erub must be effected on the preceding day, the renting must be done likewise." Nay; R. Johanan means to state that as an Erub may be effected with anything, no matter how little in value, a place may also be rented for any amount, be it ever so small; and as one man may combine an Erub for five others occupying the same court, so may one rent also for others.

Samuel said: "There is no such thing as resigning the right of one court to another court, nor resigning the right to the space of a ruin. (This signifies, that if two courts opened into an entry or into the street and besides had a door between them, there is no necessity for them to combine an Erub, and, in consequence, they are not benefited if the right of one court is resigned to the other.) And as for a ruin, it means, that if there were two houses opening into a ruin between them, neither can use the ruin, unless they combine an Erub; but the space enjoyed by each cannot be resigned by one to the other. R. Johanan, however, said that both in the case of the court and of the ruin the right to the space may be resigned by one to the other.

It was necessary for us to be told of both instances wherein they differ; for if we had been told, that Samuel only prohibited the resigning of the space by one court to the other, we might have assumed, that he did so because each court had a right in itself without combining a joint Erub, but as for a ruin, he might have held, that as an Erub must be effected by the two houses on each side, if the use of the ruin is desired, the resigning of the space was permitted. If the difference concerning the ruin only were related, it might be said, that R. Johanan permits the resigning of the space of the ruin only; because an Erub must be effected by the houses desiring its use, whereas in the case of the court, he agrees with Samuel. Hence both instances are quoted.

Abayi said: The prohibition of Samuel regarding the resigning of the space by one court to another refers only to two courts that had a door between them. If, however, one court was contained within the other and did not have a separate entrance to the street, they may mutually resign their space, because they are bound to combine an Erub. Rabha said: In such a case, they at certain times may do so and at other times they must not (and this will be explained at the end of this chapter).

When R. Hisda met R. Shesheth his lips would tremble; for knowing that R. Shesheth was so well versed in Mishnaoth and Boraithoth, he was afraid to render a decision lest R. Shesheth would contradict him with another Mishna or Boraitha. On the other hand R. Shesheth's whole body would tremble when he met R. Hisda, for knowing that the latter was very shrewd, he was afraid of R. Hisda's sagacity.

R. Hisda propounded the following question to R. Shesheth: "If there were two houses on each side of a wide street (public ground) and some Gentiles made a partition around the street on the Sabbath, what is the law? According to those who maintain, that it is not allowed for one court to resign its space to another, there is no question; because if the two courts had desired to make an Erub on the preceding day they could have done so and still they are not allowed to resign their spaces to each other; so much the more in our case, where the two houses could not have combined an Erub on the preceding day on account of the intervening public ground which had not yet had a partition, they are not allowed to resign their space to each other. I am asking, however, considering the Tana who maintains, that the two courts may resign their space to each other. Shall I assume, that it is permitted in the case of the two courts because they could have made an Erub on the preceding day, but in the case of our two houses which could not have made an Erub on the preceding day, it is not permitted or, as there is a partition around the intervening public ground, they may do so?"

R. Shesheth answered: "Nay, it is not permitted." R. Hisda queried again: "How is it, if two Israelites living in the same court with a Gentile and not having made an Erub or rented the place of the Gentile, the latter died on the Sabbath? May they mutually resign their space to each other? According to the Tana who holds, that one may rent a place on the Sabbath, there is no question, because if they did not make an Erub they may rent the place from the Gentile and then resign their places to each other; thus if two things may be done on the Sabbath, one certainly may be done. I ask thee according to the Tana who prohibits renting on the Sabbath. May the two Israelites in this case where the Gentile is dead and they need not rent his place resign their places to each other or not?" Rejoined R. Shesheth: "I say that they may; because if they had chosen to rent the place yesterday and then effect an Erub they could have done so, but Hamnuna does not allow them to do this."

R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel: "If a Gentile have in his court a door, four spans wide and four ells high, opening into a valley, even should he lead cattle, camels, and wagons through the entry to the court all day long, he does not interfere with the Israelites inhabiting the court, because his door is of more use to him than the common entry, and serves to separate him from the others." The schoolmen asked: "How is the law, if the door of the Gentile opened into a woodshed?" R. Na'hman bar Ami said in the name of some learned men: "Even if the door of the Gentile open into a woodshed and the common entry into the street, he also does not interfere with the Israelites inhabiting the court." Rabba and R. Joseph both say: "If the woodshed was not more than of two saahs' capacity, the Gentile does interfere with the Israelites, because he cannot derive as much comfort from the woodshed as he can from the street, but if the woodshed was larger than that the Gentile does not interfere. With Israelites it is the reverse: if the woodshed, into which the separate door opens, be no more than of two saahs' capacity and the Israelite had not combined in the Erub with the others, he does not interfere with them, because a woodshed of that size may be used by him on the Sabbath; but if the woodshed be larger, he does interfere with the other Israelites."

Rabha bar Haklayi asked of R. Huna: "How is the law if a Gentile have a door opening into a woodshed?" and R. Huna answered: "The sages have already decided this. If the woodshed be of two saahs' capacity, he interferes with the Israelites, but if of more than two saahs' capacity he does not."

It happened that some warm water was spilled and more was needed for a child on the Sabbath. So Rabba said: "Let some warm water be brought from my house." Said Abayi to him: "Why! no Erub has been made!" Rejoined Rabba: "Let us depend upon the combine made in the entry (of this court)," but Abayi persisted: "We have no part even in the entry. "Finally Rabba said: "Let a Gentile be told to bring it." Subsequently Abayi said: "I had a mind to dispute even this last order of my master, but R. Joseph would not permit me to do this; for R. Joseph said in the name of R. Kahana: 'Where a biblical ordinance is in question the case should be discussed before the act is committed, but in the matter of rabbinical ordinances the deed may be accomplished and then the decision may be asked for.'"

Then R. Joseph asked Abayi: "Upon what grounds dost thou desire to dispute this last order of the master?" and he answered: Upon the teaching we have learned in a Boraitha, viz.: While the sprinkling of an unclean man (with the ashes of the red heifer) by a clean man is only a rabbinical ordinance, the Sabbath should not be violated by the performance of this rite even if it be necessary for the fulfilment of a commandment, and in the same manner requesting a Gentile to per. form an act on the Sabbath being also against the rabbinical ordinance, it should not be done on the Sabbath. Rejoined R. Joseph: "Canst thou discriminate between the performance of an act which is against the rabbinical ordinance and a case where no act at all was committed? The Gentile was not told by Rabba to warm the water but merely to bring it from his house through the entry, and this is certainly not prohibited."

Said Rabba bar R. Hanan to Abayi: "How is it possible, that in a court where two such great men as Rabba and thou reside, no Erub was made either in the court or in the entry?" Answered Abayi: "How can I help it? The master does not usually pay attention to such trifles; I am engaged all the week long in study, while the inmates of the court do not trouble themselves about it. Should I make up my mind to present them with the bread in my basket, it would be merely a sham, for if they were to demand it, I could not in reality part with it as I cannot spare it; hence even if I should have this in mind, it would be useless; for we have learned in a Boraitha, that if one of the inhabitants of the entry demanded wine or oil and was refused, the combine is made invalid." Rejoined Rabba bar R. Hanan: "Then thou couldst have in mind to give them a quarter of a lug of vinegar from the cask thou hast in the house, and thou surely wouldst not use up that on the Sabbath." Abayi replied: "We have learned in another Boraitha, that it is not allowed to combine an Erub with material which is in bulk because it might be, that the very part which was intended for the Erub may be used." "But," insisted Rabba bar R. Hanan, "we have learned in another Boraitha that this may be done." Said R. Oshiya: "Concerning this, there is a difference of opinion between Beth Shammai and Beth Hillel." It happened again that some warm water needed for a child was spilled. Said Rabha: "Let the mother be asked whether she is in need of warm water, and, if so, a Gentile may be told to warm it and bring it to her and it will serve for the child also." R. Mesharshia remarked: "The mother has been eating dry dates for some time (then she certainly does not need any warm water)." Rejoined Rabba: "She is not quite herself and knows not what she eats."

Another case of this kind happened with a child. So Rabba said: Let the belongings of the men be taken from the men's room into the women's apartment; I shall then resign my place for the benefit of others and the warm water may be brought from my house.

Said Rabhina to Rabba: "Did not Samuel say, that it is not allowed to resign the space of one court to another?" and Rabba answered: "I hold with R. Johanan who permits this to be done." Rejoined Rabhina: "If thou dost not hold with Samuel, why then didst thou order the belongings of the men to be transferred to the women's apartments? Thou shouldst have resigned thy place to them and they their place to thee, then all of you will be enabled to carry, which according to Rabh is also permissible." Rabba replied: "In this respect I hold with Samuel in order that it should not appear as a farce if I resign my place to the others and they their place to me."

The text states, that Rabh permits the mutual resigning of places and Samuel prohibits it. Said R. Ashi: Rabh and Samuel differ in the same point as R. Eliezer and the sages (in Chapter II., last Mishna, where R. Eliezer forbids the inmate of a court who had forgotten to join in the Erub to carry and permits the other inmates to do so).

"R. Gamaliel related: It happened that a Sadducee," etc. Whence this reference to a Sadducee? The Mishna is not complete and should read thus: A Sadducee is considered the same as a Gentile, and R. Gamaliel said: "He is not considered as a Gentile," and then relates the incident: "It happened, that a Sadducee dwelt with us in one alley in Jerusalem, and my father said to us: 'Make haste and bring out all your vessels into the alley, before the Sadducee can do this and thus prevent you from doing so.'" We have also learned to this effect in a Boraitha, viz.: "An Israelite who lives in the same court with a Gentile, a Sadducee, or a Bathusee, is prevented by, them (from carrying therein). R. Gamaliel, however, said this does not apply to a Sadducee or a Bathusee, and it happened that a Sadducee lived in the same alley with him in Jerusalem, so he said to his children: "Make haste and carry out all your vessels into the alley, before that unworthy one can come out and prevent you from doing so; for so far he has resigned his place to you (but later he may change his mind)." So said R. Meir. R. Jehudah, however, gave another version of the affair, viz.: Make haste and do what is necessary for you in the alley, before it becomes dark; for after dark the Sadducee will prevent you from doing so (meaning that the Sadducee, like a Gentile, cannot resign his place to the Israelites). Shall we assume then, therefrom, that if the Israelites do a thing before the Sadducee that he cannot prevent them later? Have we not learned in a Mishna?" One who, after resigning his place, carries out intentionally or inadvertently into the court, prevents the others from doing so. So said R. Meir?" Said R. Joseph: "Say, that he does not prevent the others." Abayi says: There is no difficulty. The Mishna by stating that he prevents the others means to say, if he had previously carried out things (before the others did so) as we have learned in a Boraitha: If after resigning his place, a man carried out things into the court, either intentionally or inadvertently, he prevents the others from doing so, so said R. Meir. R. Jehudah said "only if he did so intentionally." All agree, however, that such is only the case, if the other inmates of the court had not carried out things before he did, but if they had done so, he does not prevent them at all, whether he had carried out things intentionally or unintentionally.

The master said: "R. Jehudah, however, gave another version of the affair. Then R. Jehudah holds, that the Sadducee is considered as a Gentile, and in the Mishna we have learned, that R. Gamaliel said: "Lest the Sadducee bring out his vessels," etc. This presents no difficulty. There are two kinds of Sadducees. One who publicly violates the Sabbath is considered as a Gentile, and one who does so secretly, is not considered as a Gentile. According to whose opinion will the following Boraitha be: "One who publicly violates the Sabbath, cannot resign his place?" According to the opinion of R. Jehudah.

Once a man went out on the Sabbath with a bundle of spices in his hand, and seeing the approach of R. Jehudah the Third, he concealed it. Said R. Jehudah the Third: According to R. Jehudah a man of this kind may resign his place, as we have learned in another Boraitha: An apostate who does not violate the Sabbath in the markets may resign his place, but one who does violate the Sabbath in the markets cannot do so; for it was said, that only an Israelite may resign his place or accept ground resigned to him by another, but from a Gentile the place must be rented. How may a place be resigned by Israelites? One says to the other: My place is sold to thee or my place is resigned to thee, and no token of acceptance is necessary.

MISHNA: Should one of the householders of a court forget, and not join in the Erub, neither be nor the other inmates of the court are allowed to carry anything into or out of his house, but he and they may carry into or out of their houses. If the other inmates have resigned to him their common right to the court, he is permitted to carry therein, but they must not do so. Should there be two persons who have neglected to combine in an Erub, they mutually prevent each other; for one individual can resign his right to the court or can acquire that right; but two persons, though permitted to jointly resign their right, cannot jointly acquire the right to the exclusive use of the court.

From what time is the right to be conferred? Beth Shammai hold, "While it is yet daylight," but Beth Hillel maintains "even from dusk (on the eve of Sabbath)." Whoever resigns his right (to the court) and afterwards either intentionally or inadvertently carries within it, prevents (renders it unlawful for) the others from doing so. Such is the dictum of R. Meir. R. Jehudah, however, said: If he carries (within the court)

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intentionally, he prevents them, but if inadvertently, he does not.

GEMARA: Is it unlawful only to carry into and out of his house, but carrying into and out of the court it is lawful? How was the case? If he resigned his right to the house why should it be unlawful (to carry into) the house; if he did not resign his right to the house, why should they all have a right to the court? In this case, the man had resigned his right to the court alone but not to his house, and the sages maintain, that by resigning his right to the court he did not also resign his right to his house, and there are men who live in houses that have no court. Why then is it lawful for him to carry in and out of their houses? Because he is considered as a guest.

"If the other inmates have resigned to him," etc. Will they then be considered as his guests? One man can be the guest of five, but five men cannot be considered the guests of one. Can we adduce from this clause in the Mishna that this resigning of the right (to a place) can be repeated mutually several times? The Mishna may mean to state that the other inmates had already previously resigned their rights to the one man, in which case it becomes lawful for him, but not for them.

"Should there be two persons," etc. Is this not self-evident? The case is, if after having forgotten to join in the Erub, one of the two persons resigned his right to his house and also the right to the part of the court renounced to him by the others. We might assume that this could be lawfully done. We are therefore told that the other inmates having resigned their rights to the two persons jointly, one of them individually cannot resign his right, because he had not an individual right at that time.

"For one individual can resign his right," etc. This was just stated in the Mishna, what need is there of the repetition? We have learned both concerning resigning and acquiring a right? The latter part of the clause, which teaches that two persons may resign their right, but must not acquire it, is essential. This, however, is also self-evident? We might assume, that a precautionary measure is necessary prohibiting two to resign their right, lest one resign his to two; therefore we are told, that such a precaution is not necessary.

"Two persons cannot jointly acquire the right." Why this repetition again? Here we are told, that two persons must not acquire the right even when presented with the ground in question outright, so that they have the privilege of transferring it to others.

Abayi asked of Rabba: "If five men inhabited one court and one of them had forgotten to join in the Erub, must he resign his right to each of the others individually or can he do so collectively?" Rabba answered: "He must do so to each individually." Rejoined Abayi: "We have learned, that one who had not joined in an Erub, may resign his right to another that had, and two persons who had joined in an Erub may resign their right to one who had not; two who had not joined in an Erub may also resign their right to two others who had not, but one who had not joined in an Erub must not resign his right to another in the same condition nor may two who had not joined in an Erub resign their right to two others, who were similarly situated. It says, then, that one who had not joined in an Erub, may resign his right to one who had. The one who had, certainly must have had another person to combine an Erub with him, then it seems to be sufficient if he (who had not joined) resigned his right to the one man only and not to the other also?" Rabba replied: "Yea, he certainly had a companion in the Erub, but it may be the case, that the companion died and he was left alone."

Rabha asked R. Na'hman: "May an heir (whose father died on the Sabbath) resign his right or not? Shall I say, that because he could not prepare the Erub, on the preceding day, not having his own property, he cannot resign his right on the Sabbath; or that he, being a descendant of his father, has also inherited his father's right?" Answered R. Na'hman: "I hold, that he may, but the disciples of Samuel maintain, that he must not." Rabha objected: We have learned: This is the rule: A thing that had been permissible on part of the Sabbath is permissible for the entire Sabbath, and that which was prohibited for part of the Sabbath was also prohibited for the entire Sabbath. What is meant by "had been permissible on part of the Sabbath?" e.g., a door which was used for making the Erub and had become closed up during the Sabbath, and "by prohibited for part of the Sabbath" is meant, e.g., two houses, each one of which stood on the opposite sides of a wide street and a partition was made by Gentiles on the Sabbath. The exception is as regards one who resigned his right, i.e., although a man had forgotten to join in an Erub before the Sabbath, he was not permitted to carry on part of Sabbath, still he may on the Sabbath resign his right to the place and carry. It says, however, that only the man may carry but not his heir? Replied R. Na'hman: "Learn: instead of 'the exception is as regards one who resigns his right,' the exception is the law pertaining to the resigning of a right."

Rabha raised another objection: We have learned: "If one of the householders of a court died and left his right to the ground to one living in the market, if the death took place while it was yet day before the Sabbath, the man living in the market impedes the inmates of the court; but if the death took place after dusk, he does not. If a man, however, living in the market, was possessed of a house and having died left his right to his place to one of the inmates of the court, then the reverse is the case, i.e., if he died before Sabbath set in, the inmate of the court does not impede the others, (because he could have joined in an Erub); but if the man died on the Sabbath, he does impede the others." Now if thou sayest, that the heir may resign the right, let him do so, why should he impede the others? Answered R. Na'hman: "This means, that he impedes the others only until he resigns his right."

R. Johanan said: The above Boraitha is according to Beth Shammai, who hold, that it is not allowed to resign a right on Sabbath as we have learned in our Mishna: From what time may the right be resigned? Beth Shammai hold "while it is yet daylight," and Beth Hillel maintain: "From dusk."

Said Ula: Why do Beth Hillel hold, that it may be done on Sabbath? The reason of Beth Hillel is based upon an instance where a man was about to separate heave-offerings for another without being told to do so. In the meantime this other man came along and saw that the heave-offerings were being separated for him, whereupon he said to the man: "Separate it from the finer grain." In that case the heave-offering is valid. Why? Because by the statement "separate it from the finer grain" he demonstrated his approval of the man's action and his intention to have done this at all events. The same is the case with a man who resigns his right on the Sabbath; for he demonstrates that his intention had been to join in the Erub on the preceding day, but he had forgotten.

Said Abayi to him: If this be the reason of Beth Hillel, what about the case of a Gentile who lived in the same court with two Israelites and happened to die on the Sabbath? The Israelites are permitted in that event to resign their rights to each other, but can it be said that their intention dated from the preceding day? Hence the reason of Beth Hillel is simply this: While Beth Shammai prohibit the resigning of the right to a place because they hold, that it is equal to selling the place and selling or buying is prohibited on the Sabbath, Beth Hillel however hold, that resigning the right to a place is simply abandoning the place, and that is permissible on the Sabbath.

MISHNA: Should a householder be in partnership in wine with two of his neighbours (residing in the same alley), they do not require an Erub; if he be in partnership with one in wine and with another in oil, they do require an Erub. R. Simeon said: Neither in one case nor in the other do they require an Erub.

GEMARA: Said Rabh: "Such is the case if the wine was contained in one vessel." And Rabha said: "This may be inferred from the Mishna itself; for the latter clause of the Mishna states, that if the householder be in partnership with one in wine and with another in oil, they require an Erub. It would therefore be correct if in the first clause the wine is contained in one vessel and in the second clause there are two separate vessels; but were there two vessels in the first clause also, what difference would it make whether one vessel was filled with oil and the other with wine, or both with wine?" Rejoined Abayi: This is no argument. Wine can be mixed with wine (hence, even if it be in two vessels it can be mixed and an Erub made with it is valid), but oil and wine cannot be mixed, and even though there are two separate vessels the Erub cannot be made therewith. R. Simeon said: "Neither in one case nor in the other do they require an Erub." Is it possible that R. Simeon holds, that even where one vessel contains wine and the other oil, no further Erub is necessary? Said Rabba: "The case referred to applies to a court between two entries (alleys) and R. Simeon holds to his theory, as we have learned in the case of the three courts opening into each other and also into the street, that communication between the middle court and the two outer or between the two outer ones and the middle one is permissible; thus in this case R. Simeon means to imply, that the court made an Erub with one of the entries by means of wine and with the other by means of oil, hence no additional Erub is necessary, and communication between the court and both entries is permissible."

Abayi objected: "How canst thou compare the two instances? In the case of the three courts communication between the two outer is prohibited, whereas here it is said that no additional Erub whatever is necessary?" Learn also here, that no additional Erub is necessary to allow of communication between the court and the entries, but if the inmates of either of the entries desire to carry in the other they must make an additional Erub.

R. Joseph, however, said: "R. Simeon and the sages differ in the same point as R. Johanan ben Nouri and the sages in another Mishna as follows: 'If oil floated on wine and a man who had bathed before sunset (and hence was not yet ritually clean) touched the oil, the sages hold, that the oil becomes unclean, but the wine is not affected. R. Johanan ben Nouri, however, maintains, that the wine and the oil are attached to each other and therefore both become unclean.'" In our Mishna, the sages hold with the sages of the Mishna quoted, and R. Simeon holds with R. Johanan ben Nouri.

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Elazar ben Tadai said: "In either case they require an additional Erub." Even if both vessels contain wine an additional Erub is necessary? Answered Rabba: The case is thus: If two men each bring a jug of wine and pour the wine together, there is no question but what that constitutes a legal Erub, but in this instance R. Elazar ben Tadai means to state that if two men bought a cask of wine jointly and had not yet separated their shares, the Erub is not valid because it cannot be made with anything owned in partnership, and he holds thus for the reason that he does not accept the theory of premeditated choice. The sages, however, permit this mode of procedure, because they accept the theory of premeditated choice.

R. Joseph said: "R. Elazar ben Tadai and the sages differ on another point, namely: The question whether the inmates of the court can depend upon the combine made in the entries." All agree that carrying in the entries is permissible if the Erub has been made there, but R. Elazar ben Tadai holds, that this is not permitted in the court because the combine made in the entries cannot be depended upon, while the sages hold that it may be depended upon.

R. Joseph continued: "Whence do I know, that this is the point of difference? From the statement of R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh, to the effect that the Halakha prevails according to R. Meir, and the subsequent statement of R. Brona in the name of Rabh, that the Halakha prevails according to R. Elazar ben Tadai. Therefore, we must assume, that R. Meir and R. Elazar have one and the same reason." Said Abayi: "This may be so; but why did Rabh say at one time that the Halakha prevails according to R. Meir and at another time according to R. Elazar ben Tadai? Would it not be sufficient to state, that the Halakha prevails according to one of the two?" (And R. Joseph answered:) "Rabh desires to inform us that wherever the laws of Erub are concerned and two Tanaim differ as to the details, but agree as to the main issue of the Halakha, and we say that the Halakha prevails according to both, we need not abide by the more rigorous decisions of each but, on the contrary, should accept the more lenient decrees of both."

Which R. Meir is referred to by Rabh? The one figuring in the following Boraitha: In courts an Erub must be made with bread, but it is not allowed to do so with wine. In the entries a combine must be effected with wine, but if the inmates desired to do so with bread, it is permissible. An Erub must be made in the courts and a combine in the entries in order that the growing children should not forget the laws of Erub and say, "Our parents did not make an Erub." Such is the decree of R. Meir; the sages, however, say: Either an Erub or a combine must be effected (i.e., if one was omitted the other can be depended upon). 1

R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh said: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Meir." R. Huna said: "The custom prevails according to R. Meir," and R. Johanan said: "The masses only act in accordance with the dictum of R. Meir." 1

MISHNA: Should five different companies take their Sabbath-rest in one hall (triclinium), Beth Shammai hold, that each company requires a separate Erub, but Beth Hillel hold, that one Erub suffices for all of them. The latter school admit, however, that if any of these companies occupy distinct chambers or attics, each company requires a separate Erub.

GEMARA: Said R. Na'hman: "The two schools differ only as regards a low centre-partition, but if there was a partition ten spans high between each of the companies, all agree that each company requires a separate Erub." According to another version, R. Na'hman is supposed to have said: "They differ not only as regards a low centre-partition, but also concerning partitions between each company."

R. Jehudah the Sagacious said: The schools of Shammai and Hillel do not differ where partitions that reach to the ceiling of the hall are concerned, they agree that in that event each company requires a separate Erub. Wherein they do differ, however, is if the partitions do not reach the ceiling. Said R. Na'hman in the name of Rabh: The Halakha prevails according to R. Jehudah the Sagacious.

R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak said: We can infer this from the Mishna itself. The latter clause of the Mishna states, that Beth Hillel also agree with Beth Shammai if the companies each dwell in distinct chambers or attics. What is meant by distinct chambers and attics? Shall we say, that they are really chambers and attics? Then it would be self-evident. We must say, then, that they are similar to chambers and attics, i.e., that the reference is to partitions which reach to the ceiling. Hence the deduction that the decree of R. Jehudah the Sagacious is correct.

We have learned in a Boraitha: The difference of opinion between the two schools centres in the question whether the companies deposited their Erubin elsewhere. But if the Erub is deposited in the hall occupied by them, all agree that one Erub is sufficient for all. According to whose opinion will be the statement of the following Boraitha, that if five men combined an Erub, one Erub is sufficient for all of them? This is in accordance with the opinion of Beth Hillel.

MISHNA: Brothers (or associates) who take their meals at their father's (or at one) table, but sleep each in his separate house (in the same court), must each one prepare a separate Erub. Therefore if one of them had forgotten and not

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prepared an Erub, he must resign his right (to the common court). When is this the case? When the Erub had been deposited in some other place; but if the Erub has been placed with them, or if there are no other inhabitants in the court, they need not prepare any Erub whatsoever."

GEMARA: From this Mishna it may be adduced, that an Erub should be made in the place where a man sleeps and not where he takes his meals (and further, we will observe, that Rabh holds, that an Erub must be made where the man takes his meals). Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: The Mishna means to say, that the brothers did not actually eat at their father's table but merely received from their father the means with which to obtain their meals.

The Rabbis taught: One who had a vestibule, a gallery, or a balcony in the court of another, and did not join in an Erub with the other inmates of the court does not impede the other inmates. If he had a hay-loft, a cattle-pen, a woodshed, or a granary in the court of another and did not join in an Erub, he does impede the others. R. Jehudah, however, said: "Nothing except a dwelling-house can prove an interference," and he continued: "It happened that an inhabitant of Naph'ha, 1 who had five courts in Usha, did not join in an Erub with the inmates of those courts and the question was laid before the sages whether this was an impediment to their carrying within the courts and the sages replied: 'Nothing but an actual dwelling-house can prove an impediment.'"

What is meant by a dwelling-house? A house occupied as a dwelling. What is to be understood by "occupied as a dwelling"? Rabh said: "The house where a man takes his meals," and Samuel said: "The house wherein a man sleeps."

An objection was made: The shepherds, those that guard the fig-trees, the inhabitants of huts in the country and the guards of the fields, when passing the night in a town have the same rights as the townsmen, but when passing the night at their posts, they have only the right to two thousand ells from the place where they are situated. (From this we can see, that the place where one passes the night is considered as his abode?)

This is no proof! For we can testify, that those men would be much better satisfied if their meals were brought to them at their posts (hence their posts are not only their places of abode but also their eating-places, and as for those who pass the night in the town, they evidently also take their meals in the town for the time being).

The Rabbis taught: Concerning five women who receive from their husbands the means for securing their food and five slaves who receive the means from their masters to procure their sustenance and who live in separate houses in the court, R. Jehudah ben Bathyra permits the women to carry within the court and prohibits the slaves to do so; but R. Jehudah ben Babba on the contrary allows the slaves to carry but prohibits the women to do so.

Said Rabh: "What reason has R. Jehudah ben Babba for his decree? Because it is written [Daniel ii. 49]: 'Daniel remained in the gate of the king,' the inference is, that in the same manner as Daniel did not always remain in the gate of the king, but his office being such that his place was there, so it is also with slaves who, while in the service of their master, are considered as being always at their master's side." It is self-evident that if a son eat and dwell with his father, he need not make an Erub as stated previously. As for a woman who has a husband and a slave who belongs to a master there is a difference of opinion between R. Jehudah ben Bathyra and R. Jehudah ben Babba. How about a disciple, however, who dwells in the same court with his master and derives his sustenance from his master?

Come and hear: When Rabh still dwelt with R. Hyya he said: "We need not join in an Erub because we depend upon the table of R. Hyya," and when R. Hyya still dwelt with Rabbi he also said: "We need not make an Erub because we derive our sustenance from Rabbi."

R. Hyya bar Abhin asked of R. Shesheth: "What about the disciples of the college, who eat in the inns of the valley and pass the night at the college? When the legal limit of two thousand ells is measured where must the starting point be? The college or the inn where they take their meals?" R. Shesheth answered: "The college."

Rami bar Hama asked of R. Hisda: If a father and son, or a master and his disciple, lived in two courts, one inside of the other, and the outer court opened into an entry, what is the law concerning them? Are they to be considered as if they were two distinct individuals who cannot mutually impede each other because each one of them has a right to carry in his own court and a man who is permitted to do so in his own court cannot interfere with a man in another place; hence both father and son, or master and disciple, may carry each in their respective courts; or, shall we consider them collectively because the son or the disciple who lives in a separate court but eats at his father's table has a certain right to his father's court. Thus the father or the master is not in sole possession, but shares it with another. The consequence is that the father or the master is in duty bound to make an Erub in his own court and, on account of this, he becomes one who can interfere with the right of another, and prevents his son from carrying in his own (the son's) court? Then again if they are considered as distinct individuals, are they in duty bound to combine an Erub covering the two courts? Finally if the two courts had separate openings into the entry, are they considered as separate courts and thus the entry becomes valid by the addition thereto of a cross and side beam, or they are considered as one court, and if one court only opens into an entry, the entry cannot be made valid by the addition of a cross and side beam?

Answered R. Hisda: We have learned this in a Boraitha: A father and his son or a teacher and his disciple, providing there are no other inmates in the court occupied by them, are considered as individuals, and need not make an Erub at any place. Nevertheless the entry into which their court opens becomes valid by the addition thereto of a cross or side beam.

MISHNA: If (the householders dwelling in) five courts that open into each other and also open into one common alley (entry) have joined in an Erub for the courts, but have not combined the alley, they are permitted to carry (things) in the courts, but must not do so in the alley; if they did combine the alley, however, they are permitted to carry both in the courts and in the alley. If they had combined both the courts and the alley, but one of the householders forgot and did not join in the Erub, they arc nevertheless permitted to carry both in the courts and in the alley. Should one of the householders (dwelling) in the alley have forgotten to join in the Erub, it is permitted to carry (things) in the court but not in the alley, inasmuch as the alley (bears the same relation) to the courts as the court (does) to the houses within it.

TRACT ERUBIN.

GEMARA: According to whose opinion is our Mishna? We must say that it is in accordance with R. Meir, who holds that an Erub is needed in the court, and a combination in the alley. How, then, could that part of the Mishna be explained, which states that if a combination in the alley is made it is allowed to carry both (in the courts and in the alley); and this is certainly according to the opinion of the Rabbis, who hold that one of the two is sufficient (i.e., either an Erub in the courts or a combination in the alley)? Are then the two parts of the Mishna based on different opinions? This presents no difficulty. The latter part of the Mishna refers to a case where a combination had already been made in the alley; hence it is according to R. Meir's opinion. Now, then, what is the reason of R. Meir in stating that if one of the householders in the court forgot and did not join in the Erub, it is nevertheless permitted to carry both in the courts and in the alley? R. Meir may hold as follows: The most essential feature of this case is to make an Erub in the courts and a combine should also be made in the alley for the benefit of the growing children in order that they may not forget the laws of Erubin. Hence if the combination has been made both in the courts and in the alley, in which the majority participated, there is no fear of the children forgetting the laws.

R. Jehudah said: "Rabh does not learn in the Mishna that the five courts opened into each other but merely that they all opened into one common alley." This was corroborated by R. Kahana. What reason did Rabh have to learn thus? He holds, that if several courts open into one common alley, a cross and side beam suffice to make that alley valid. If, however, only one court open into the alley, a cross and side beam do not suffice. Samuel, however, said: "Even if only one court or one house open into an alley, a cross and side beam suffice for the alley." R. Johanan said: Even if a ruin open into an alley, a cross and side beam suffice.

Abayi asked of R. Joseph: "Does R. Johanan hold, that even if the path leading to a vineyard open into an alley, a cross and side beam suffice for the alley?" R. Joseph replied: "Nay; R. Johanan meant to say a ruin which (in an emergency) could be inhabited; but a path which could not under any circumstances be inhabited, is out of the question."

Said R. Huna bar Hinana: R. Johanan's statement concerning a ruin is but in accordance with his theory expressed in his decision regarding the Mishna (Chapter IX., Mishna I, of this tract)where R. Simeon says that roofs as well as courts and woodsheds constitute the same kind of premises for the carrying of all utensils contained therein when the Sabbath-rest began," etc. This was commented by Rabh as follows: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Simeon provided no Erub was combined by the inmates of each separate court," meaning, thereby that if no Erub was combined, the inmates will not carry out any vessels from their houses into the court. Samuel and R. Johanan, however, declare that the Halakha prevails according to R. Simeon, even if an Erub was combined, as there is no apprehension that the inmates will carry out any vessels from their houses into the court, and as in this case there is no apprehension that the vessels will be carried out of the houses, so also in the case of a ruin, R. Johanan holds, that there is no fear of the inmates carrying vessels from the court into the ruin by way of the alley.

R. Brona sate and repeated the Halakha decreed by Samuel (to the effect that even if one court or one house opened into an alley, a cross and side beam was sufficient for the alley). Said R. Eliezer, one of the schoolmen, to R. Brona: "Did Samuel indeed say this?" and R. Brona answered: "Yea." R. Eliezer then asked to be shown where Samuel resided, and R. Brona showed him. R. Eliezer then came before Samuel and said: "Did master decree thus?" and the answer was "Yea." Rejoined the schoolman: "Didst thou not state previously that where the laws of Erubin are concerned, we must hold strictly to the literal text of the Mishna and the Mishna distinctly teaches: 'The alley bears the same relation to the courts as the court (does) to the houses within it.'" Samuel remained silent.

Does the silence of Samuel signify, that he accepted R. Eliezer's view or that he did not care to reply? Come and hear: A certain Aibuth bar Ihi dwelt in an alley and erected a side-beam therein. Samuel told him that this complied with the legal requirements. After the death of Samuel, R. Anan came and destroyed the side-beam. Said Aibuth: "In an alley where I live by the direct permission of our master Samuel, a mere disciple like R. Anan dares to come and destroy my side-beam." Hence we see, that Samuel did not accept the opinion of R. Eliezer! This is not conclusive evidence! The case of the alley could be explained as follows: The sexton of the synagogue took his meals with this Aibuth bar Ihi, but lodged in the synagogue.

Aibuth was of the opinion that the residence is determined by the place where he takes his meals, hence the sexton and he were the occupants of one house; (and Samuel declared his alley to be valid in conformity with his original decision, that if one court or one house opened into an alley a cross and side beam is sufficient for the alley) but Samuel, who held that the residence of a man is determined by his lodging-place, may have accepted the opinion of R. Eliezer, and taking into consideration that there were two dwellings in the alley, that of Aibuth and that of the sexton, he made the alley valid by the addition of a side-beam.

MISHNA: If two courts be one within the other, should the inmates of the inner court prepare an Erub and those of the outer court fail to do so, the inmates of the inner court may carry within it, but those of the outer court must not carry within their (own) court. If the inmates of the outer court prepare an Erub, but those of the inner court fail to do so, neither are allowed to carry within their respective courts. If each have prepared a separate Erub, they are permitted to carry within their own limits. R. Aqiba holds, however, that the inmates of the outer court are prohibited to carry within it and that the right of thoroughfare possessed by the inner court renders the outer court prohibited; but the sages hold, that the right of thoroughfare does not render it so.

Should one of the inmates of the outer court forget to join in the Erub, it is permitted to carry within the inner court, but carrying within the outer court is prohibited. If one of the inmates of the inner court forget to join in the Erub, carrying in either court is prohibited. If the inmates of both courts deposit their Erub in one place, and one of the inmates of either the outer or inner court forgot and did not join in the Erub, carrying, in either court is also prohibited. Should each court be the property of an individual (or inhabited by only one household), neither require an Erub.

GEMARA: When R. Dimi came from Palestine, he said in the name of R. Janai: The latter clause of the Mishna stating, that if one of the inner court forget to join in the Erub, carrying in either court is prohibited, is merely a continuation of the dictum of R. Aqiba, who holds, that a foot (i.e., a man) which is allowed to carry in its own place nevertheless interferes with the right of another place. The sages, however, hold, that as a foot which is allowed to carry in its own place does not interfere with the right of another place, so also a foot which is not allowed to carry within its own place does not interfere with the right of another place and thus the inmates of both courts may carry within their own limits.

An objection was made based upon a previous clause in the Mishna, which states that if the inmates of the outer court prepare an Erub, but those of the inner court fail to do so, neither are allowed to carry within their respective courts, and this is certainly not in accordance with the opinion of R. Aqiba, because even had the inmates of the inner court made an Erub he would still prohibit the outer court to carry within their own court. (Hence we must assume, that this is in accordance with the opinion of the sages, who hold that a foot which is allowed to carry within its own place does not interfere with the right of another place, but one which is not allowed does interfere.) Therefore we must rather accept the statement of Rabhin in the name of R. Janai: There are three different opinions concerning this subject, viz.: The first Tana of our Mishna holds that a foot which is allowed to carry within its own place does not interfere with the right of another place, but a foot which is prohibited does interfere with the right of another place. R. Aqiba holds that even a foot which is allowed, also interferes with the right of another place; but the last sages of our Mishna maintain, that as a foot which is allowed does not interfere with the right of another place, so also a foot which is prohibited does also not interfere.

"If the inmates of both courts deposit their Erubin in one place," etc. What is meant by "one place"? Said R. Jehudah in

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the name of Rabh: This refers to the outer court and is called "one place," because it is designated for the use of both courts (as the inmates of the inner court must pass through the outer).

We have also learned in a Boraitha (in support to R. Jehudah): "If the Erub was placed in the outer court, but one of the inmates either of the outer or inner court forgot to join in the Erub, carrying in either of the courts is prohibited. If the Erub was deposited in the inner court, but one of the inmates of that court forgot to join in the Erub, carrying in either court is also prohibited. If one of the inmates of the outer court forgot to join in the Erub, carrying in either court is prohibited. Such is the dictum of R. Aqiba; the sages, however, maintain that in the last instance carrying is permitted within the inner court, but prohibited within the outer court." Rabba bar Hanan asked Abayi: "Why do the sages permit carrying within the inner court, because they can close their door and say all the inmates of our court have joined in the Erub? Why should R. Aqiba not take the same view, let him also say, that they can close their door and assert their right to carry within their own court?" Abayi answered: "The Erub deposited in the outer court accustoms the inmates of the inner court to make use of the outer." Said Rabba bar Hanan again: "And the sages, do they not hold that the Erub of the outer court accustoms the inmates of the inner court to walk in the outer?" The sages may maintain, that the inmates who have deposited their Erub can say to the one who forgot to join: We have included thee in our combination for thy convenience, but not to our detriment. Why can they not do this according to R. Aqiba also? According to R. Aqiba, the inmates who have joined in the Erub may say to the one who had forgotten: "We will resign our right to the place in thy favour." Why can this not be said according to the sages? Because the sages do not admit of the resigning of one's right to a place in one court in favour of one who resides in another court.

"Should each court be the property of an individual," etc. Said R. Joseph: "Rabbi taught, that if there was a third court between the two also belonging to an individual, it is not permitted to carry in either of the three." Said R. Bibhi (to the schoolmen): "Do not listen to R. Joseph! Rabbi did not teach this; for I myself said it in the name of R. Ada bar Ahabha and gave as a reason that the outer court will be traversed by (the inmates of) three (courts); therefore I also prohibited carrying within the middle court, lest a mistake be made and things be carried in the outer court also." R. Joseph then exclaimed: "Lord of Abraham! I confounded the word 'Rabbim' (many) with Rabbi; for before I was ill I heard from R. Bibhi that the outer court will become a court for many (three) and when recovered from my illness I quoted the Boraitha in the name of Rabbi." Samuel, however, said: "It is always allowed to carry within courts for many (even if there be four or five) provided there is only one household in each court, but if there be two in one court it is not permitted."

Said R. Elazar: According to Samuel, if a Gentile live in one of the courts he is considered as many others and he impedes the outer courts.

R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said: "If there were ten houses one within the other and the house on the outside opened into the court it is not necessary for the inmate of each house to combine in an Erub with the other inmates of the court, but it is sufficient if the inmate of the innermost house, who must pass through all the others, do so," but R. Johanan says that, each inmate must combine; even the one living in the house opening directly into the street. Even the one living in the uttermost court? Is not the uttermost court to be regarded as a vestibule? By uttermost he means to say the one next to the uttermost.

Upon which point do Samuel and R. Johanan differ? Their point of difference is regarding the definition of a vestibule. Samuel holds, that all the houses leading to the innermost are considered as vestibules hence they require no Erub, while R. Johanan maintains that only the uttermost house, through which all the other inmates must pass, can be considered a vestibule, but even the one next to the uttermost through which the eight other inmates must pass is also not a vestibule.

R. Na'hman in the name of Rabba bar Abahu quoting Rabh said: There were two courts between which stood three houses opening into each other and the two houses on each side of the middle house opened into their respective courts. If the inmates of the courts desired to place their Erub in the middle house, they used the houses opening into the courts as thoroughfares to the middle house. Thus the house at one court becomes as a vestibule to the inmates of that court and the house at the other court becomes a vestibule to the inmates of the other court, while the house in the centre being used to deposit the Erub therein, it need not be combined in the Erub itself. Consequently none of the three need combine in the Erub of the courts.

CHAPTER 7.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE PREPARATION OF ERUBIN FOR COURTS SEPARATED BY APERTURES, WALLS, DITCHES, AND STRAW-RICKS. COMBINATION OF ERUBIN IN ALLEYS.

MISHNA: If there be an aperture, four spans square, and less than ten spans high (from the ground), between two courts, the inmates of each court may prepare two separate Erubin; or if they prefer it, may combine in one Erub. If the aperture be less than four spans square or over ten spans from the ground, they are each obliged to prepare a separate Erub, and must not combine in one.

GEMARA: Shall we say that this anonymous Mishna, is in accordance with R. Simeon ben Gamaliel, who holds that the law of "lavud" (attached) applies for a distance of less than four spans and not for a distance of less than three spans as maintained by the sages? Nay; this Mishna may be even in accordance with the opinion of the sages, for the question of "lavud" does not arise here. It is merely a case of an aperture which is less than four spans square, hence it is not considered a door and this is admitted by the sages also, who hold that if an aperture is four spans square or more, it is considered a door, but if less than four spans square it is not.

"If the aperture be less than four spans square," etc. Why this repetition? Is this not self-evident? The first clause of the Mishna states, that if there be an aperture four spans square and less than ten spans high from the ground, the inmates of the courts may either prepare separate Erubin or combine in one. Hence if the aperture be less than four spans square and more than ten spans high, it is obvious that they cannot have their choice? The Mishna means to teach us, that if the aperture was partly less than ten spans high from the ground and partly more than ten spans high the inmates of the court still have their choice of either making separate Erubin or combining in one, and only if the entire aperture was over ten spans high from the ground, they are obliged to make each a separate Erub.

This explanation of the Mishna has reference to the following teaching of the Rabbis, viz.: If the entire aperture, with the exception of a small part, was higher than ten spans from the ground (e.g., if the aperture was twelve spans square and was eight spans high from the ground, thus two spans of the aperture were within ten spans from the ground and ten spans were over ten spans from the ground), or if the entire aperture with the exception of a small part was less than ten spans from the ground (e.g., if it was twelve spans square and only two spans were over ten spans from the ground), the inmates of the courts may either each make a separate Erub or combine in one. If the entire aperture with the exception of a small part was higher than ten spans from the ground the inmates have their choice; why is it necessary to state, that if the entire aperture with the exception of a small part was within ten spans from the ground, the inmates have their choice, is this not self-evident? After having stated the law in the former case, it applies the more to the latter.

R. Na'hman said: "The case of where the aperture is less than four spans square or over ten spans from the ground, applies only to courts, but as for houses, the aperture may be at any distance from the ground, even over ten spans, and, nevertheless, the inmates are permitted to join in an Erub." Why so? Because a house is considered solid, and every portion is regarded as occupied.

R. Abba asked of R. Na'hman: "If in the attic of a house there was a hole for the purpose of fastening a ladder therein, may the inmate of the attic join in the Erub regardless of whether there was a ladder fastened in the hole of the attic or not, i.e., should the house be considered solid and occupied and no ladder is necessary, or is the house only considered solid as far as the walls are concerned but not the interior, and a ladder is essential?" and he answered: "A ladder is not necessary." R. Abba understood R. Na'hman to say, that a permanent ladder was not necessary, but for the time that the Erub was to be combined it was necessary. It was taught, however, by R. Joseph bar Minyumi in the name of R. Na'hman that neither a permanent nor a temporary ladder was necessary.

MISHNA: If there be a wall ten spans high and four spans wide between two courts, the inmates of each must prepare separate Erubin and must not join in one. If fruit happen to lie on the wall, they may ascend from their respective sides and partake thereof, provided they do not bring any of it down with them. Should there be a breach in the wall, not wider than ten ells, they may prepare separate Erubin or if they prefer it join in one, because the breach is considered as a door. Should the breach, however, be wider than ten ells they must both join in one Erub but must not prepare two separate Erubin.

GEMARA: How is it, if the wall did not measure four spans in width? Said Rabh: "In that case, the atmosphere of two separate premises predominates at the wall and one must not handle anything even the size of a hair lying on the wall." R. Johanan, however, says to the contrary: "In that case the inmates of both courts may lay down fruit on the wall (or even take it down from the wall because it is regarded as ground under no jurisdiction)." R. Johanan will therefore explain the Mishna thus: "If the wall was four spans wide it is permitted to ascend on either side and partake of fruit lying on the wall, but it is not permitted to bring up any. If, however, the wall was less than four spans wide, one may carry fruit up on the wall and eat it there." This statement of R. Johanan is but in accordance with his own theory, as related by R. Dimi upon his arrival from Palestine in the name of R. Johanan, viz.: "An object less than four spans square, standing between public and private ground, may be used by both the occupants of the public and private ground as an aid on which to shoulder a burden on the Sabbath, but they should be careful not to confound the burdens placed on the object so that a burden placed by an occupant of public ground be taken up by an occupant of private ground and vice versa."

Can Rabh dispute this assertion of R. Dimi? Is it not identical with the Boraitha concerning a man standing on the doorstep and passing things to a mendicant in the street or to the master of a house (see Tract Sabbath, p. 8)? Rabh does not dispute the Boraitha in that instance, because it concerns a biblical law, but in this case where rabbinical law is dealt with, the Rabbis assume the privilege of reënforcing ordinances so as to preclude the possibility of transgression.

Rabba bar R. Huna in the name of R. Na'hman said: If between two courts there was a wall, which was ten spans high from the ground of one court, but on a level with the ground of the other, l the wall is ceded to the latter court and considered part of its ground, but to the former court it is an ordinary wall ten spans high. Why so? Because the use of the wall is more convenient for the latter than for the former, and where an object is more convenient for one than for another it is generally ceded to the former.

Said R. Shezbi: "R. Na'hman rendered the same decision concerning a ditch that was situated between two courts and was on a level with the ground on one side."

If a man comes to diminish the size of the wall referred to in the Mishna (either by heaping up earth at the bottom or by erecting posts or benches at its side; such was the original definition of the manner by which the size of the wall was diminished) and this was done to the extent of four spans, or more, he may make use of the entire wall, but if less than four spans he can use only as much of the wall as has been diminished. What do you mean to say? In either case there is an objection. If by diminishing the wall to the extent of less than four spans the wall is actually diminished, why should it not be allowed to use the entire wall, and if this does not constitute a diminution at all, why should it be allowed to use that part (where the earth was heaped up or the posts erected to the extent of less than four spans)?

Said Rabhina: In this case the Mishna does not mean to say, that the wall was diminished by heaping up earth or erecting posts but simply that a part of the wall was removed at the top. If the breach made in this manner exceeded four spans it is considered as a door, and the entire wall may be used, and if it was not quite four spans the entire wall must not be used, but that part of the wall containing the breach may, because its height is lessened.

R. Yechiel said: "If a basin was set down (bottom side up) at the bottom of the wall, the wall is diminished thereby. How can a basin serve to diminish the wall? A basin may be handled on the Sabbath, and is it not a fact that any vessel which may be handled on Sabbath cannot serve to diminish a wall because it can be removed? R. Yechiel means to say, if the basin was fastened to the ground. And if it is fastened to the ground may it not be removed nevertheless? By the statement "it was fastened to the ground," is meant if it was fastened so that a hoe or a pick-axe was required to remove it.

An Egyptian ladder does not diminish a wall but a ladder of Tyre does. What is meant by an Egyptian ladder? One that has not four rungs. So said the school of R. Janai.

Said R. A'ha the son of Rabha to R. Ashi: "Dost thou know why an Egyptian ladder does not diminish a wall?" and R. Ashi answered: "Didst thou not hear the statement of R. A'ha bar Ada in the name of R. Hamnuna, quoting Rabh, to the effect that it was an article which may be handled on the Sabbath and any article which may be handled on the Sabbath cannot serve to diminish a wall?" If such be the case, why can a ladder of Tyre serve to diminish a wall, may it not also be handled on Sabbath? A ladder of Tyre can serve because it is so heavy that it would require the efforts of several men to remove it.

Abayi said: If a wall ten spans high was between two courts and a ladder four spans wide was placed at each side of the wall: if the ladders were placed so that they are three spans apart, i.e., the ladder placed on the other side was three spans further up or down alongside of the wall than the other ladder, the wall is not diminished; but if they are not three spans apart the wall is diminished. If the wall, however, was four spans deep so that a man can walk on it, it makes no difference how far apart the ladders are.

R. Bibhi bar Abayi said: "If one erected two benches one above the other at the foot of a wall, and the lower one was four spans wide while the upper was less, the wall is thereby diminished. If the lower bench however was less than four spans wide and the upper four, or more, the wall is also diminished thereby, providing the two benches were less than three spans apart." R. Na'hman said in the name of Rabba bar

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Abahu, that the same rule applies to a ladder where there is empty space between the rungs (i.e., where one side of the ladder is not closed with boards).

R. Na'hman said again in the name of Rabba bar Abahu: If a cornice four spans square protrude from a wall and a ladder, no matter how narrow, has been placed against the cornice, the size of the wall is thereby diminished, provided the ladder was placed directly against the cornice, but if placed underneath the cornice against the wall, the cornice was merely enlarged but the wall was not diminished. R. Na'hman says again in the name of the same authority: a wall which is nineteen spans high must have an additional cornice (a ladder which should be placed in the centre of the wall so that the space should not attain ten spans at the top or at the bottom). If the walls, however, measure twenty spans two cornices are needed to make them valid. (One cornice a trifle less than ten spans from the ground and another above that also a trifle less than ten spans from the lower.)

Said R. Hisda: "Providing the cornices are not exactly opposite each other (to prevent a ladder being placed on the bottom cornice)." R. Huna said: "If a peg be placed on a pillar in public ground ten spans high and four spans wide (which is legally private ground) the pillar is diminished." Said R. Adha bar Ahaba: "Providing the peg is three spans high." Abayi and Rabba both said: "Even if it is not as high as three spans." Why so? Because the peg makes the pillar useless. R. Ashi, however, said: "Even if the peg be three spans high it does not diminish the pillar and does not make it private ground because a peg of that kind can be used as a hanger."

R. A'ha the son of Rabha asked R. Ashi, "What is the law if several pegs be placed on the pillar in question?" and he answered: "Did you not hear what R. Johanan said concerning a well, that its enclosures of earth are counted in with the ten spans (makes it a legal private ground), why then should they be counted, are they not useless?" We must assume that, because one can place an object upon the enclosures and thus use them. The same is the case with the peg, one might also place something upon it also.

R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel: "If a wall be ten spans high it requires, in order to become a valid wall, a ladder fourteen spans in height, because the ladder must be placed against the wall at an angle and the distance from the foot of the ladder to the wall being four spans, the ladder loses that much before it reaches the top of the wall." R. Joseph said: "Even if the ladder be a trifle over thirteen spans high it may be used (because should it lack one span of reaching the top of the wall the deficiency is not taken into consideration)." Abayi, however, said: It matters not if the ladder be even a trifle over eleven spans high (because should it lack three spans of reaching the top of the wall, it is considered as being at the top, for the law of "lavud" is applied in all cases where there is a deficiency of three spans or less). R. Huna the son of R. Jehoshua, however, said: The ladder may be only a trifle over seven spans in height (because it is not compulsory to place the ladder at an angle, and if placed straight at the wall, together with the three spans allowed by the law of "lavud," it reaches the top. Should the ladder even be placed at an angle it may be considered as straight at the wall and the same rule applies).

Rabh said: "I have a tradition, that a ladder standing straight against a wall also diminishes its size, but I know no reason for it." Said Samuel to him: "Does Abba not know the reason for this? Why should a ladder be worse than two benches placed one above the other? Surely it is more difficult to scale a wall by means of benches than by means of a ladder."

Rabha in the name of R. Hyya said: "Trunks of Babylonian fig-trees when placed against a wall need not be fastened, because their weight is so great, that it is very difficult to remove them, although they may be handled on Sabbath." R. Joseph in the name of R. Oshiya said: "The same applies to Babylonian ladders, which are so heavy, that there is no fear of their being removed."

R. Joseph asked Rabba: "If a man had a ladder which he desired to place against a wall and the ladder being too narrow, i.e., less than four spans wide, be hewed out in the wall itself, steps on each side of the ladder, how far up should those steps be hewn out?" Rabba answered: "For a distance of ten spans." Asked R. Joseph again: "How is it if a man hews out steps four spans wide in the wall itself? How far up must he do this?" and the answer was: "The entire height of the wall." "What is the difference between the case of the ladder where steps had to be hewn out additionally and this case where the steps were all hewn out of the wall?" "In the first instance the ascent of the wall is so much easier because the ladder can be placed against the wall at an angle, while in this instance the ascent is much more difficult; hence the steps should reach the entire height of the wall."

R. Joseph asked Rabba again What is the law if a man used a tree, which grew right at the wall, for a ladder? I ask thee, taking into consideration the difference of opinion between Rabbi and the sages. According to Rabbi, who holds, that rabbinical ordinances were not surrounded with precautionary measures for the sake of twilight, it may be said, that in this case, where the tree will be used during the whole Sabbath day, even Rabbi might decide that it would not be allowed to make use of the tree; and on the other hand, even according to the sages, who disagree with Rabbi as regards the precautionary measures for the sake of twilight, it may be said, that the tree might be considered as a door; which, however, cannot be used because it is regarded as if a lion lie across it; nevertheless, it is a door, and being such, the wall may be used. Now, shouldst thou decide, that the wall may be used if a tree grow at its side, how would it be if a grove such as is used in idolatrous Worship, grow alongside of the wall? I ask thee in this instance taking into consideration the difference of opinion between R. Jehudah and the sages. We are aware that R. Jehudah permits the depositing of an Erub even in a grave, notwithstanding the fact that no benefit must be derived from a grave, but for the reason that after the Erub has been deposited for the moment of twilight the grave is of no further use as the Erub need not be watched. In this case, however, R. Jehudah might prohibit the use of a grove, because it serves a distinct purpose, namely, that of a walk to the wall, and it is a law that no benefit must be derived from a grove used for idolatrous worship. On the other hand, even according to the sages, who prohibit the use of a grave for the depositing of an Erub, it might be permitted to use the grove because it is virtually a door to the wall and is merely regarded as if a lion were lying across it, which temporarily makes it unfit for use."

Rabba answered: "A tree may be used but a grove must not." R. Hisda opposed this: "On the contrary," said he, "the lion lying across the tree which renders it unfit for use temporarily is the rabbinical ordinance concerning the Sabbath-rest, i.e., the tree must not be used on account of the Sabbath, while the grove must not be used for another reason altogether hence it should be permitted to use the grove and the use of the tree should be prohibited."

It was also taught, that when Rabhin came from Palestine, he said in the name of R. Elazar, according to another version R. Abahu said in the name of R. Johanan: (This is the rule:) Whenever the prohibition is based upon the Sabbath-rest laws, such prohibition must stand, but whenever the prohibition is based in some other law, it need not hold good. A R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak taught: "Concerning a tree the same divergence of opinion as exists between Rabbi and the sages remains, and concerning a grove the same difference of opinion as exists between R. Jehudah and the sages remains."

MISHNA: If two courts be separated by a ditch, ten spans deep and four wide, the inmates of each court should prepare separate Erubin and must not join in one, even though the ditch be filled with stubble or with straw. Should it however be filled with earth or pebbles, the inmates must join in one Erub and not prepare two separate ones. If a board four spans wide had been put across the ditch, and likewise, if two projecting balconies, one opposite the other, have been connected by means of such a board, or plank, the inmates of the courts may prepare separate Erubin, or if they prefer it, they may join in one; if the board, however, was less (than four spans) wide, they must each prepare a separate Erub, and not join in one.

GEMARA: The Mishna states, that if the ditch was filled with stubble or straw, the inmates of each court must make a separate Erub, because the straw is not considered firm enough to afford a safe passage over the ditch, i.e., it does not constitute a solid filling for the ditch, but in the succeeding Mishna we learn, that if there be between two courts a straw-rick, the inmates of each court must prepare a separate Erub, thereby demonstrating that straw can form a solid partition? Answered Abayi: As for a partition all agree that a straw-rick can form a partition, but as for straw serving as a filling for a ditch it depends upon whether the owner has devoted it entirely for that purpose. If he did and will not remove it, it may constitute a solid filling for the ditch, but if he did not and intends to subsequently remove it, it cannot be considered such.

"Should it however be filled with earth or pebbles." Even if the man who did this, does not declare that he has devoted the earth or the pebbles for that purpose entirely? Have we not learned in a Mishna, that if a man filled a room (which had contained a corpse) with straw or pebbles and declared that he does not intend to make any further use of either the straw or the pebbles, the room is regarded as filled up and is not considered a tent, but if no such declaration was made, the room is still considered a tent. Thus we see, that one must declare the straw and pebbles to be devoted for such purpose only, and our Mishna does not state anything in regard to this? Said R. Assi: This Mishna treating of Erubin is in accordance with the opinion of R. Jose in a Tosephta (in Tract Oholoth) who holds, that in the case of straw no express declaration is necessary.

R. Huna, the son of R. Jehoshua, however, said: Thou wouldst prove a contradiction from a law pertaining to uncleanness to a Sabbath-law? Leave out the prohibition of Sabbath; for a thing which must not be handled on Sabbath is at all events sacrificed even if it be a purse of money; because it must not be handled on Sabbath. (With straw it is different, because that is food for animals, and hence may be handled on Sabbath.)

R. Ashi, however, said: Thou wouldst base a contradiction on an ordinance concerning a room to that concerning a ditch. A ditch was made to be filled up, but is then a room also made to be filled up?

"If a board four spans wide had been put across the ditch." Said Rabha: "When must the board be four spans wide? If it was laid crosswise across the ditch, but if it was laid lengthwise across the ditch it makes no difference how wide the board is, because the width of the ditch was decreased to less than four spans.

"If two projecting balconies, one opposite the other," etc. Said Rabha: The statement in the Mishna, "one opposite the other," might be construed to signify, that if they were not directly opposite each other, no connection could be made; such is the case, however, only if they are three spans or more distant one from the other. Should they be less apart than three spans, it matters not whether they are directly opposite, diagonally so, or even one above the other, a connection may be made and it is simply considered a crooked balcony, but a balcony nevertheless.

MISHNA: If there be between two courts a straw-rick, ten spans high, the inmates of both courts must prepare separate Erubin, and must not join in one. Cattle maybe fed from each side of the rick (and no fear need be entertained, that it will become less than ten spans high). Should the rick become less than ten spans high, the inmates must join in one Erub and not prepare two.

GEMARA: Said R. Huna: "(Cattle may be fed from each side of the rick), providing the straw is not removed by a man and placed in the crib of the cattle (because the straw was designated as a partition since the preceding day, hence it must not be handled)." Did we not learn in a Boraitha: "If a house which was filled with straw stand between two courts, the inmates of each court must make a separate Erub, but must not join in one, and may remove the straw from the house to their respective courts and place it in the crib for the cattle?" Thus we see, that it is allowed for the inmates of each court to remove the straw to their respective courts and place it in the crib; why does R. Huna prohibit this? I will tell thee: In a house, on account of the roof, it will become noticeable if the heap of straw becomes lower than ten spans, but a straw-rick standing in the open air might be overlooked as to its height.

(The above Boraitha continues as follows:) "If the heap of straw contained in the house became less than ten spans high, neither of the inmates of either court are permitted to carry unless the inmates of one court resign their right to the place in favour of the inmates of the other." Thus, if the heap of straw was ten spans high, it still serves the purpose of a partition, even though it does not reach the ceiling. We may adduce therefrom, that any partition if it be only ten spans high, though it should not reach the ceiling, is valid. From the statement in the Boraitha, that neither of the inmates of either court are permitted to carry we can also infer, that any dwellings which may have been added on the Sabbath are included in the prohibition? This is not conclusive evidence! It may be that the Boraitha refers to a case where the heap of straw was diminished to less than ten spans' height before the Sabbath set in.

The Boraitha continues further: "The one wishing to make use of his court should lock up the house and resign his right to the ground." What, do both? Lock the house and resign his right to the ground? Yea; both are necessary, for the man is accustomed to use the house on Sabbath, 1 and he might perchance, if he leave it unlocked, come and use it.

Continuing, the Boraitha states: "If he did so, he must not carry, but his neighbour may." Is this not self-evident? We might assume that the man's neighbour must also do as he did, hence we are told, that the Tana holds repeated resignation of the ground to be prohibited.

MISHNA: How are alleys (entries) to be combined? A man places a cask of wine (in the alley) and says: "This shall be for all the inmates of the alley," and he may transfer the right of possession (which he has in the cask) to them either through his adult son or daughter, or through his Hebrew man-servant or maid-servant, or through his wife; but he cannot transfer his right of possession through his minor son or daughter, or through his Canaanitish bond-man or bond-woman, because their hand is virtually the same as his.

GEMARA: Said R. Jehudah: The person that accepts the transfer of ownership should lift the cask of wine at least one span from the ground at the time of acceptance (saying, I have accepted this for the other inmates). Said Rabha: These two things were said by the old sages of Pumbaditha, namely: This statement of R. Jehudah just quoted and the other one is: When a man pronounces the benediction over a goblet of wine, if he tastes a whole mouthful he has acquitted himself of the duty properly, otherwise he does not.

An objection was raised: We have learned in a Boraitha: How are alleys to be combined? A cask of wine, oil, dates, or figs, or any other fruit, is brought, and if belonging to the one who brought it, he should transfer his right of possession

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to the other inmates; but if the others have a share in it to commence with, he need only inform them (that he has combined the Erub for them). While transferring the right of possession, the cask should be lifted off the ground a trifle? By a trifle the Boraitha also means a span.

It was taught: At the combining of alleys, the right of possession need not be transferred. So said Rabh; but Samuel maintains, that this must be done. At the combining of the legal limits, however, Samuel declares that the right of possession must be transferred, while Rabh holds, that it is not necessary.

Samuel may be right in his opinion, because he holds in accordance with our Mishna, which teaches, that at the combining of alleys, the right of ownership must be transferred, and at the combining of legal limits nothing is said about transfer, but upon what does Rabh base his opinion? There is a difference of opinion among Tanaim concerning this ordinance as R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: "It happened that the daughter-in-law of R. Oshiya went to the bath-house, and not returning before dusk, her mother-in-law made an Erub for her. When this was told to R. Hyya, he declared it unlawful. Said R. Ishmael bar R. Jose to him: Thou Babylonian! So strict art thou with Erubin. Then said my father: Whatever can be made more lenient with regard to Erubin, should so be made."

Said R. Zera to R. Jacob, the son of the daughter of Jacob:

When thou goest to Palestine, go out of thy way and pass through Tyre and ask of R. Jacob bar Idi how the case was: Did the mother-in-law make an Erub with her own material, and on account of not transferring her ownership to her daughter-in-law, R. Hyya held it to be unlawful, or did she make it with material belonging to her daughter-in-law and R. Hyya held it to be unlawful because the daughter-in-law was not informed?" R. Jacob bar Idi answered, that it was on account of the ownership not having been transferred.

R. Na'hman said: "We are in possession of a tradition which teaches us, that whether Erubin of legal limits or Erubin of courts or combinations of entries are concerned, a transfer of ownership must be effected. Now the question arises as to Erubin of cooked articles, 1 whether a transfer of ownership is necessary or not." Said R. Jose: "What question is this? Did R. Na'hman not hear the dictum of R. Na'hman bar R. Ada in the name of Samuel, that in the case of Erubin of cooked articles a transfer of ownership must also be effected?" Replied Abayi: "Assuredly he did not hear this dictum or he would not have asked." Rejoined R. Jose: "Did not Samuel say that in the case of Erubin of courts a transfer of ownership is not necessary and still R. Na'hman maintains that it is?" Abayi then said: "How can this be compared? In the case of Erubin of courts and legal limits there is a difference of opinion between Rabh and Samuel, while R. Na'hman accepts the more rigorous decrees of each, but in this instance how could R. Na'hman override the absolute decree of Samuel alone?"

There was a guard of the arsenal living in the neighbourhood of R. Zera. His neighbours asked him to rent them his place for the Sabbath, but he refused. So R. Zera was asked whether the place may be rented from the man's wife, who was willing to do so. He answered them: "Thus said Resh Lakish in the name of a great man, i.e., R. Hanina: A man's wife may effect an Erub without the man's knowledge (or against his will)."

The same case occurred in the neighbourhood of R. Jehudah bar Oshiya, and when asked concerning the law in the matter, he did not know. R. Mathna could not solve the problem either. When R. Jehudah, however, asked, he answered in the name of Samuel the dictum attributed above to R. Hanina.

An objection was raised: We have learned in a Boraitha: "If women made an Erub or combined in an alley without the knowledge of their husbands, the Erub and the combination are both unlawful." This presents no difficulty. The Boraitha refers to a case, where the husbands distinctly forbid their wives to do so, whereas Samuel refers to a case, where the husbands did not forbid them. Such seems to be the case, for were it not so Samuel would contradict himself as he said elsewhere: If one of the inmates of the alley who, as a rule, combined with the others, refused to do so at one time, the other inmates may enter his house and take his share against his will. Thus we see, that only if the man, as a rule, combined but (out of spite) refused in one instance, then and then only the other inmates may take his share by force; but if he was not in the habit of combining, this would not be allowed. Hence this bears it out.

Can we assume that the following Boraitha is in support of the decree of Samuel? (It teaches:) "It is permitted to compel a man to take a share in the erection of a side and cross beam to an entry, if he refuses to do so voluntarily." In the case of an entry it is different, because there were no partitions (hence it was difficult to watch the entry). According to another interpretation, Where an act is committed out of spite, with the intention to injure another, it is different (i.e., a man may be compelled to desist as explained in Chapter IV., page 109).

it was taught: R. Hyya bar Ashi said: "A side-beam may be made of a grove." R. Simeon ben Lakish said: "A crossbeam may be made of a grove." One who says, that a crossbeam may be made of a grove certainly permits a side-beam also to be made of a grove; but he who says, that a side-beam may be made thus, does not permit a cross-beam. Why so? Because a cross-beam must be sound enough to hold a brick one span thick, and as a grove (being used for idolatry) must be burned, it is considered as if it were already burned, hence not sound enough to hold a brick of the prescribed thickness.

MISHNA: If the quantity of food (required for the combination) become diminished, one may (himself) add thereto and transfer his right of possession without notifying the other inmates (to that effect). If, however, new inhabitants have (since) arrived in the alley, he adds sufficient to make up the required legal quantity, transfers his right of possession to them and notifies them to that effect. How much is this legal quantity (of food required for the combination of alleys)? If those who join therein are numerous, it must be sufficient for two meals for all of them; but if they be few, the size of a dried fig for each is sufficient.

R. Jose said: "To what does this regulation apply? To the original (first) preparation of the Erub; but to extend the Erub (for later use) any quantity, however small, is sufficient. Nor did the sages direct that (where the combinations of an alley had been effected) an Erub should be prepared for the several courts (contained in the alley) except that the children might not forget about the law of Erub.

GEMARA: What food does the Mishna refer to as having become diminished? Shall we assume, that it was but one kind of food, then even had it been totally destroyed, it was not necessary to notify the other inmates; if on the other hand there were two kinds of food, then, even, if it became diminished, the man was in duty bound to notify the other inmates, as we have learned in a Boraitha: "If the food was all of one kind and was totally destroyed, one need not notify the other inmates; but if the food was of two different kinds, one must notify the other inmates." (It was assumed that the same law applied to food that had merely become diminished, but the Gemara answered:) "The Boraitha refers to food that had been totally destroyed, but with food that had become diminished, it is different."

"How much is this legal quantity?" etc. What does the Mishna mean to say by "numerous"? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: "Eighteen persons." Eighteen and not more? Say, from eighteen on and upwards. Then why state eighteen in the first place? Said R. Itz'hak the son of R. Jehudah: My father explained this to me thus: If the food were divided equally amongst all and the share of each for two meals would not amount to the size of a dried fig, then those who took part were "numerous," and it is sufficient if the share of each did not amount to the size of a dried fig; but if the share of each amounted to more than the size of a dried fig, those who took part are considered few, and even if each received but the size of one dried fig, it is sufficient. (Thus both are the more lenient constructions of the law.) Incidentally we are told by R. Jehudah that eighteen dried figs are sufficient for two meals.

MISHNA: The Erub (of courts) or combination (of alleys) maybe effected with all kinds of nutriment except water and salt. Such is the dictum of R. Eliezer. R. Jehoshua, however, said: Only a whole loaf of bread is a lawful Erub. Should even a whole saah of flour be baked into one loaf, and that be broken, it must not be used for an Erub, while a small loaf of the value of an Eesar (a small coin; probably the Roman "as") if it be whole, may be used for an Erub.

GEMARA: Have we not already learned the first clause of this Mishna (in Chapter III., Mishna i), that the Erub or combination may be effected with all kinds of nutriment except water and salt? Said Rabba bar bar Hana: This Mishna repeats the ordinance solely on account of R. Jehoshua, who maintains, that only a whole loaf is a lawful Erub, but not a broken loaf. Hence we are taught that with all kinds of nutriment it may be effected, including a broken loaf.

What reason has R. Jehoshua for his assertion? Said R. Jose ben Saul in the name of Rabbi: "In order to prevent enmity (lest one say he deposited a whole loaf and another a broken loaf, etc.)." Said R. A'ha the son of Rabba to R. Ashi: "How is it if all deposited broken loaves?" and R. Ashi answered: "There is fear that the next time the Erubin are deposited there will be the same strife. One will deposit a whole loaf and another a broken one, etc."

R. Johanan ben Saul said: "If from a whole loaf of bread the legal first dough (offering) has been removed or from a whole loaf of bread made of Therumah and ordinary flour the legal one-hundredth part had been removed, the loaf is still considered whole, and an Erub may be effected therewith." Did we not learn in a Boraitha, that the loaf remains whole, and may be used for an Erub if the legal one-hundredth part had been removed, but if the quantity of the legal first dough had been removed it does not remain whole and must not be used for an Erub? This presents no difficulty. R. Johanan refers to the loaf of a baker who must remove only a small piece for the first dough, while the Boraitha refers to a loaf of a householder as we have learned in a Mishna (Tract Chalah): "The prescribed quantity for the first dough is one twenty-fourth. One who prepares the dough for his own use or for the wedding (feast) of his son must also give one twenty-fourth; but a baker, or even a woman who prepares the dough for sale in the market, need only give one forty-eighth as the legal first dough."

R. Hisda said: "If a man made a loaf whole again by joining the broken pieces with a stick of wood, so that it appeared like an unbroken loaf, he may use it for an Erub."

Said R. Zera in the name of Samuel: "It is permitted to make an Erub with bread made of rice or millet." Said Mar Uqba: "Samuel the Master explained to me that rice-bread may be used for an Erub but not millet-bread." R. Hyya bar Abbin in the name of Rabh said: It is also permitted to make an Erub with lentil-bread.

MISHNA: A man may give money to the wine-seller or baker in order to acquire the right to join in the Erub. Such is the dictum of R. Eliezer; but the sages hold, that money cannot acquire the right for a person to join in the Erub. They admit, however, that if a man give money to another person (with the commission to effect the Erub for him) it will acquire for him the right to join in the Erub, since no Erub can be effected for a man without his knowledge. Said R. Jehudah: To what do these (preceding) regulations apply? To the Erubin of limits; in the Erubin of courts, however, a man may be included with or without his knowledge; for advantages may be conferred on a person, even though he be not present, whereas, he must not be deprived of his right in his absence.

GEMARA: What reason has R. Eliezer for his dictum? The person giving the money to the wine-seller or the baker did not draw his purchase toward him, hence no sale or purchase was effected.

Answered R. Na'hman in the name of Rabba bar Abahu: "R. Eliezer makes this case analogous with the case mentioned in the Mishna (Tract Cholin, Chapter V., Mishna 4) concerning a man who purchases one dinar's worth meat and the butcher is compelled to slaughter for him an ox worth one thousand dinars. The question there is propounded by the Gemara: 'How can the sale be effective? No drawing towards himself was accomplished by the purchaser?' and the answer was that the Meshi'kha (drawing) was dispensed with for the sake of the advantage which was to be conferred on the purchaser on the four days or periods enumerated. In this case of our Mishna the Meshi'kha is also dispensed with and for the same reason, or according to the reason of another sage in the mentioned Tract (Cholin) who said that according to biblical law a sale is effective when the money for the purchase is paid."

"They admit, however, that if a man give money to another," etc. What is meant by "another person"? Said Rabh: "A householder," and Samuel agrees with him, meaning, that this other person must be a householder and not a baker (or a wine-seller). Samuel added, that only if the man gave money to the baker he cannot acquire the right to join in the Erub, but if he gave him a vessel he does acquire the right. Also if when giving him the money, he does not say to him: "With this money thou shalt give me bread sufficient to make an Erub," but says: "For this money thou shalt go and effect an Erub for me," then it is as if he merely commissioned him to effect his Erub and he acquires the right to join in the Erub.

"Said R. Jehudah: To what do these ordinances apply?" etc. R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Jehudah, not only in this case, but in all instances where R. Jehudah decrees concerning Erubin, the Halakha prevails in accordance with his dictum." Said R. Hana of Bagdad to him: "Does Samuel hold, that even in the case where R. Jehudah declares an entry, from which the side and cross beams had been removed, valid, the Halakha prevails accordingly?" Answered R. Jehudah: "Did I not state particularly concerning Erubin, but not concerning partitions?"

Said R. A'ha the son of Rabha to R. Ashi: "If it is said, that the Halakha prevails according to R. Jehudah, then there must be some who disagree with him?" Did not R. Jehoshua ben Levi say, that whenever we find in a Mishna the statement: "Said R. Jehudah. 'When is this the case?' or 'When do these regulations apply?'" it is not to be accepted as a refutation of previous decrees, but merely as a further explanation of the decree of the sages? [How can it be said, that it is not to be accepted as a refutation? Did we not learn in a previous Mishna, that if additional inhabitants came into the alley, the right of possession must be transferred to them and they must be notified, whereas R. Jehudah states, that no notification is necessary? The previous Mishna refers to a court between two alleys when the inhabitants newly arrived must be notified that the Erub was effected in one of the alleys (and R. Jehudah would agree to this also). Did not R. Shezbi say in the name of R. Hisda, that the previous Mishna distinctly states, that the colleagues of R. Jehudah differ with his dictum in this last Mishna?] Answered R. Ashi (the previous question of R. A'ha): Wouldst thou make a contradiction from one man to another? Samuel may hold one thing and R. Jehoshua ben Levi another.

Referring again to the statement of R. Jehoshua ben Levi, R. Johanan said, that whenever R. Jehudah says: "When is this the case?" he means to explain the previous teachings, but

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whenever he says, "When do these regulations apply?" he means to differ from the foregoing opinions.

CHAPTER 8.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE ERUBIN OF LIMITS. THE QUANTITY OF FOOD REQUIRED FOR SUCH ERUBIN, AND FURTHER REGULATIONS CONCERNING ERUBIN OF COURTS.

MISHNA: How are the (legal) limits to be combined? A man places a cask (of wine) and says: "This is for all my townsmen or for all who go to the house of mourning, and for all who go to the house of feasting." Whosoever joins in the combination while it is yet day (on the eve of Sabbath) is permitted to do so; after dusk, however, it is prohibited, because an Erub must not be deposited after dark.

GEMARA: Said R. Joseph: "Legal limits should not be combined except for religious duties." Is this not expressed in the Mishna? It says for all who go to the house of mourning or the house of feasting? R. Joseph teaches that the limits should not be combined except for religious duties, lest it might':, be assumed, that the Mishna merely makes this a general assertion; because people are wont to go to such places on the Sabbath.

The Mishna states "while it is yet day." Shall we adduce, therefrom that the Mishna holds, there is no such thing as, the theory of premeditated choice? 'For were it said, that the Mishna accepts the theory, the fact that the man would make, use of the legal limits on the Sabbath would demonstrate that he had the intention to do so on the previous day. Said R. Ashi: By "while it is yet day" is meant if the man was notified, of the combination while it was yet day, even though he did not' agree to it until after dusk; but if he was not notified while it was yet day, he could have no intention to do so previously, and hence he cannot join in the combination.

R. Assi said: "A child that is only six years old may go out in the legal limits which have been combined by its mother." An objection was made based upon a Boraitha stating: "A child still dependent upon its mother may go out in the limits combined by its mother; but if it is no longer dependent upon its mother it must not." Said R. Jehoshua the son of R. Idi: "R. Assi means to say still more, that even if the father had combined him in his Erub towards the north and his mother combined an Erub for herself towards the south, a child even six years old prefers to go with its mother."

Another objection was made: We have learned in another Boraitha: A child which is dependent upon its mother may go out with her in the limits which she has combined until it reaches the age of six years. (Hence when it is six years old it must not?) R. Assi might say that until six years includes six years.

We have learned in a Boraitha: A man should not combine an Erub for his adult son or daughter or for his Hebrew man or maid servant, or for his wife, unless he notifies them to that effect. He may however combine an Erub for his Canaanitish bond-man or bond-woman or for his minor son or daughter even without their consent because their hand is virtually the same as his. If, however, all those mentioned in the Boraitha have combined an Erub for themselves in one direction, and the master combined an Erub for them in another, they must all make use of the one which the master combined, excepting only his wife, because she can object.

Why should the wife only be excepted? Cannot the other persons mentioned in the first clause of the Mishna also object? Said Rabba: "The wife and those equal to her (mentioned with her) are meant to be excepted, and by 'all those mentioned in the Boraitha' is meant the persons enumerated in the latter clause of the Boraitha."

The master said: "Excepting only his wife, because she can object." Shall we say, that only if she objects she may use her own limits, but if she does not, she may go out in the limits combined by her husband? Does not the Boraitha mean to state that he must notify them and obtain their consent? (Then why must she object if she previously did not give her consent?) Nay; the Boraitha means to state that he must merely notify them, and if they make no answer it is the same as if they agreed to it.

The Boraitha states again, however, that if they made an Erub for themselves and the master made another one for them they must utilize that of the master; this must have been the case where they did not object when notified that the master would combine the Erub for them. "Excepting only the wife who can object?" How is this consistent? Said Rabba: "Is the fact of their making a separate Erub not sufficient objection?"

MISHNA: How much is the legal quantity (of food required to effect the combination of limits)? Sufficient food for two meals for everyone who joins therein; for work-day meals but not for Sabbath-meals. Such is the dictum of R. Meir; but R. Jehudah said: For Sabbath-meals, but not for work-day meals. Both (sages), however, intend to render the observance of this regulation more lenient. R. Johanan ben Berokah said: It is sufficient to effect the combination if the loaf used therefor be worth a Pundian, when the price of flour is one selah for four saah. R. Simeon said: Two-thirds of a loaf (is sufficient), such as go three to one kabh of flour. (The time it takes to eat) half (of such a loaf, is the prescribed time for remaining) in the house of a leper, 1 and the half of a half of such a loaf (which were it unclean) would make the body unclean. 2

GEMARA: How much food constitutes food for two meals? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: "Two loaves as used by the peasants in the field." R. Ada bar Ahabha said: "Two loaves as baked by the inhabitants of N'har Pepitha (Papa)."

R. Joseph said to R. Joseph the son of Rabha: "In accordance with whose opinion does thy father hold concerning the two meals. Doubtless with that of R. Meir? I also hold with R. Meir; for if the opinion of R. Jehudah were accepted, why do people say, that the stomach always has room for sweet things?"

"R. Johanan ben Berokah said," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha, that there is not much difference between the quantity prescribed by R. Johanan and that prescribed by R. Simeon. How can this be said? According to R. Johanan one kabh will provide four meals, and according to R. Simeon one kabh will produce nine meals? Said R. Hisda: "Deduct one-third as the profit of the dealer." Then according to R. Johanan one kabh will provide six meals and according to R. Simeon nine. Say in accordance with the dictum of R. Hisda at another time, that one half should be deducted as the profit of the dealer. Then according to one a kabh contains sufficient for eight meals and according to the other, nine. 1 Hence we have already heard that there was not much difference between R. Simeon and R. Johanan.

Now there is a contradiction in two of R. Hisda's statements? This presents no difficulty. One of his statements referred to a case where the wood for the baking was furnished while the other refers to a case where the purchaser had to furnish it himself.

The Rabbis taught: It is written [Numbers XV. 20]: "As the fruit of your doughs shall ye set aside a cake for a heave-offering," which signifies, that the first of the doughs that were prepared at that time should be set aside. How much was the dough prepared in the desert? It is written [Exodus xvi. 36]: "But the omer is a tenth of an ephah." They usually prepared an omer for each person (and an ephah is three saahs), whence they adduced that three saahs being equal to seventy-two lugs, an omer is equal to seven and one-fifth lugs, and when dough measures that quantity it is subject to the first dough offering. These seven and one-fifth lugs, according to Babylonian measure, are only six lugs in Jerusalem, and five in Sepphoris. From this it was also adduced that one who eats that much in a day is healthy and blessed. One who eats more than this is a glutton and one who eats less than that has a weak stomach.

MISHNA: If the inhabitants of a court and the inhabitants of a balcony should have forgotten to combine an Erub, whatever is above ten spans from the ground is considered as belonging to the balcony, and whatever is less than ten spans high from the ground is considered as belonging to the court. If the earth dug out of a ditch, or a stone, be ten spans high, they belong to the balcony; but if less than ten spans high they belong to the court. When is this the case? If the earth (heap) or the stone be close to the balcony, but if some distance away from the balcony, even though they be ten spans high, they belong to the court. What is considered close? Whatever is less than four spans distance.

GEMARA: If the object standing between the court and the balcony is easily accessible to both the same as a door, it is considered as if it were an aperture between two courts. If it is not easily accessible but both the inmates of the courts and of the balcony can throw things on it with equal facility it is equal to a wall between two courts. If both the inmates of the court and the balcony can with equal ease deposit things upon that object it is considered as a ditch between two courts; but if the object be easily accessible to one but was not as easily reached by the other, it is the same as the ditch mentioned by R. Shezbi in the name of R. Na'hman, which was level with the ground of one court. If the object was easily accessible to one but could only be reached by throwing by the other, it is the same as the wall mentioned by Rabba bar R. Huna in the name of R. Na'hman, which was level with the ground of one court. The question, however, is concerning an object which by the inmates of the court could only be reached by throwing and by the inmates of the balcony could only be reached by letting down an article upon it. Rabh said: "It must not be used by either"; but Samuel said: "It is given to those who can reach it by letting down something upon it because that is the easier way of reaching it; and it is a rule that whoever can reach an object the more easily is entitled to it."

An objection was made: Come and hear: If the inhabitants of a court and the inhabitants of an attic had forgotten to combine in an Erub, the inhabitants of the court may utilize the lower ten spans and the inhabitants of the attic may use the upper ten spans. How so? If a cornice project from the wall at a distance of less than ten spans from the ground it may be used by the inhabitants of the court, but if it project at a distance of less than ten spans below the attic, it may be used by the inmates of the attic. If, however, the cornice was just between the ten spans above the ground and the ten spans below the attic it appears that neither can make use of it, and this would be in accordance with the opinion of Rabh and an objection to Samuel. Said R. Na'hman: "The case treated of by the above Boraitha is where the entire wall was only nineteen spans high and if the cornice was less than ten spans high from the ground it was easily accessible to the court-inhabitants the same as a door would be, but not so easily reached by the inhabitants of the attic (hence the court is entitled to it). If the cornice was above ten spans from the ground it was easily accessible to the inmates of the attic but not so to the court-inhabitants, who would have to throw in order to reach it (hence the attic is entitled to it)."

R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said: "If between two courts there was a small alley, into which the doors of the courts did not open, but which contained a well four spans distant from the wall of each court, the inhabitants of each court may put up a projecting board no matter how small on top of the wall, and draw water from the well through their windows. (In reality this was unnecessary, because the alley was not used as a thoroughfare, but as the two courts had not joined in an Erub and used the well in common the boards were erected as a sign)." R. Jehudah himself continued: "A projecting board is not necessary, for even any small stick is sufficient."

Said Abayi to R. Joseph: "The statement of R. Jehudah on his own account was also made in conformity with the opinion of Samuel, for according to Rabh, where a place is not used as a thoroughfare it cannot prove an impediment to the adjoining grounds."

Said R. Na'hman in the name of Rabba bar Abahu, quoting Rabh: If there were three ruins between two houses, each house may use the adjoining ruin by throwing therein, but the middle ruin must not be used by either of the two houses. R. Brona was sitting and proclaiming this Halakha. Said R. Eliezer, one of the schoolmen, to him: "Did Rabh indeed say this?" and he answered: "Yea; he did." So R. Eliezer requested that he be shown where Rabh resided. This was done, and coming before Rabh he inquired: "Did Master indeed say this?" and he answered, "Yea." Said R. Eliezer: "Did Master not say, that if an object is not easily accessible to both, it must not be used by either?" Answered Rabh: "Dost thou then think, that I had reference to three ruins, that stood one after the other between two houses? I was speaking of ruins that stood two on one side and one of the size of both on the other (as shown in accompanying illustration). Now as regards the ruins into which the windows open, from the fact that access is gained by means of windows, or in other words through the atmosphere, they are permitted to be used in accordance with the opinion previously rendered that a place where there is no thoroughfare does not prove an impediment to adjoining ground. Even in this case, where the ruins being naturally broken it might be said that the atmosphere of one mingling with the other renders both unlawful for use, I have already decided, that atmosphere cannot produce such a condition. As for the other ruin, which both can reach by means of the small opening at the bottom it is not as if they were reached through the atmosphere but by actual contact. Hence the ruin being directly between the two houses cannot be used unless an Erub had been combined."

MISHNA: If a man deposit his Erub (for the combination of courts) in a vestibule, gallery, or balcony, it is not a lawful Erub. Should a man reside in any such place, who has not joined in the Erub, he cannot prevent the other inmates of the court (from carrying therein). If a man deposit his Erub in a hay-loft, or in a stable, or in a woodshed, or in a granary, it is a legal Erub, and one who dwells there (if he had not joined in the Erub) impedes the other inmates of the court. R. Jehudah said: If the householder has reserved the right of access thereto (to such a loft, stable, shed, or granary), he who dwells there does not impede the other inmates of the court.

GEMARA: Said R. Jehudah the son of R. Samuel bar Silas 1: In all cases where the sages decree that if a man reside in a certain place (and had forgotten to join in the Erub) he does not impede the others, an Erub which he might deposit in such a place is not legal, excepting only in the case of a vestibule belonging to an individual, and in all cases where the sages decree that an Erub must not be deposited in a certain place, it is permitted to effect the combination of alleys in such a place, excepting only the atmosphere of an entry (that is, in the air above the ground of the entry).

R. Jehudah again said in the name of Samuel: "If a company was seated at table on the eve of Sabbath and the Sabbath set in, the bread lying on the table may be depended upon to serve as an Erub and according to another version it may serve as the combination of the alley." Said Rabba: "They do not differ. Those who say that the bread serves for an Erub (of the court) refer to a case where the table was situated in the house, and those who say that it may serve as a combination of alleys refer to a case where the table was in the court." Said Abayi to him: I know of a Boraitha, which will bear out thy opinion, viz. 'Erubin of courts must be made in the courts, combinations of alleys must be effected in the alleys.' After deliberating upon this Boraitha we decided that it could not be so, for we have learned in our Mishna that if a man deposit

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his Erub (of courts) in a vestibule, gallery, or balcony, it is not a lawful Erub, and the conclusion was that the statement of the Boraitha to the effect that the Erubin must be made in the courts in reality means, that they should be made in the houses contained in the courts, and the combination of alley should be made not in the alleys proper but in the courts opening into the alleys."

"R. Jehudah said: If the householder has reserved the right of access," etc. What is meant by the right of access? The privilege as held by Bunayis ben Bunayis (according to the Aruch Ben Nanas), who was a very wealthy man and would loan his houses for the use of the other inhabitants, but would reserve the right to store his utensils in such houses. At one time he came before Rabbi; said Rabbi: "Make room for a man who has a hundred golden minas." 1 Later another man came along and (thinking that he was the wealthier) Rabbi said: "Make room for a man who has two hundred golden minas." Said R. Ishmael the son of R. Jose to Rabbi: "Rabbi, the father of this (first) man (Bunayis) hath a thousand ships in the sea and a thousand cities on land." Said Rabbi to him: "When thou shouldst see his father, tell him, not to send his son to Rabbi dressed so poorly, because it is Rabbi's wont to honour rich men."

R. Aqiba would also honour rich men, as Rabha bar Mari preached: "It is written [Psalms lxi. 8]: 'May he abide forever before God: ordain that kindness and truth may guard him,' which signifies: When can he abide forever before God? If rich men guard him with kindness and truth so that he know not want."

Rabba bar bar Hana said: "What is meant by the right of access? If a man have in the house (any utensil) even a ploughshare." Said R. Na'hman: "The disciples of Samuel said on the contrary: Only an utensil which may not be handled on the Sabbath gives a man the right of access to a house, but an utensil which may be handled on Sabbath does not, because he might come and remove it." The same was also taught in a Boraitha.

MISHNA: If a man leave his house and goes to take his Sabbath-rest in another town (without previously joining in the Erub), be he a Gentile or an Israelite, he thereby prevents the other inmates of his court from carrying within it. Such is the dictum of R. Meir. R. Jehudah saith: "He does not prevent the others." R. Jose saith: "A Gentile prevents the others, but an Israelite does not, as it is not usual for an Israelite to return on the day of rest." R. Simeon saith: Even if the man left his house and had gone to take his Sabbath-rest with his daughter, in the same town, he does not prevent the other inmates, since he has in thought renounced his abode for the time being.

GEMARA: Said Rabh: The Halakha prevails according to R. Simeon, but only if the man went to take his Sabbath-rest with his daughter; if, however, he went to take his Sabbath-rest with his son he does not renounce his own abode for the time being; for people say: "If thou hearest a dog bark in a house thou canst enter without fear; but if thou shouldst hear little pups squeal and their mother bark at thee, do not enter" (meaning that a father is not apt to quarrel with his daughter and return to his abode, but he may do so with his daughter-in-law and be compelled to return to his own home).

MISHNA: If there be a well between two courts it is not lawful to draw water therefrom (on Sabbath), unless a partition be made ten hands high either below (within the water) or at the edge of the well. R. Simeon ben Gamaliel said: "Beth Shammai hold, that the partition must be made below; but Beth Hillel maintain that it must be made above." Said R. Jehudah: The partition is not more effective than the wall which is between the two courts.

GEMARA: Said R. Huna: "By saying that the partition must be made below, Beth Shammai mean, that it should be within the well but not so as to touch the water, and Beth Hillel by maintaining that it should be made above, mean, that it should be erected over the well. Both agree, however, that the partition must not be outside of the well proper, but within its enclosures." Beth Hillel's reason for the decree is that wherever water is concerned the ordinances are to be construed in as lenient a manner as possible, as we have learned from R. Tabla's question and Rabh's answer (see page 24).

"Said R. Jehudah: The partition is no more effective," etc. Said Rabba: R. Jehudah and R. Hananiah ben Aqabia said virtually the same thing. R. Jehudah said what we have learned in the Mishna and R. Hananiah ben Aqabia as we have learned in the Boraitha, viz.: "In a balcony four ells square a hole four spans square may be cut out and water may be drawn through that hole (and although there were no partitions surrounding the balcony, it is considered as if it reached the ground by the application of the law of Gud Achith 1). So said R. Hananiah ben Aqabia." (This is virtually the same as the opinion of R. Jehudah in our Mishna.) Said Abayi to Rabba: "Perhaps this is not so! R. Jehudah, who says, that no separate partition is necessary, does so because he holds, that the wall between the two courts suffices as a partition for the well also; consequently he considers the wall as reaching down as far as the well; but, in the case of the balcony, where there is no partition at all to commence with, the balcony must first be inclined into a standing position and then be considered as reaching down as far as the well. Now while R. Jehudah may hold that the wall may be considered as if it reached down to the well, it does not follow that he also permits of a previous imaginary inclination of the balcony in addition to the supposition that it reaches down to the well and thus forms a valid partition. On the other hand, R. Hananiah ben Aqabia, who permits of both the imaginary inclination of the balcony and the supposition that it reaches down as far as the water, may have applied this only to a balcony which was erected above the sea of Tiberias, which is surrounded by cities, banks, and woodsheds, but in the case of a balcony erected above any other waters he might not have permitted even as much as R. Jehudah."

Said R. Huna the son of R. Jehoshua: If the well stood in a corner between two courts, the partition to be erected on the other side of the well (which is not between the two walls) should be ten spans high and a span and a trifle wide on each side (and when applying the law of Lavud to the partition on both sides a partition will be effected on every side of the well, providing the well was only four spans square).

MISHNA: If a canal runs through a court, it is not lawful to draw water therefrom (on Sabbath), unless there be a partition ten spans high where the canal flows into the court and another where it flows out again. R. Jehudah said: "The wall above is to be considered a partition." R. Jehudah further, said: "It happened, that water was drawn from the canal around, the walls of a town (the moat) on the Sabbath with the sanction of the elders," but the sages replied: "That was done, because, the canal was not of the legal size (of four spans width)."

GEMARA: The Rabbis taught: If a partition was made where the canal flowed into the court but not where it flowed out of the court, or if it was made where the canal flowed out: but not where it flowed in, it is not lawful to draw water therefrom on the Sabbath unless there was a partition both where the canal flowed into and out of the court. R. Jehudah, however, said: "The wall above the canal may serve as the partition.

Said R. Jehudah: "It happened that water was drawn from "the canal flowing into the city of Sepphoris from the walls, around it 1 (the canal flowing from the moat) with the sanction of the elders," but the sages said to him: "Wouldst thou place this in evidence? In that case the canal was not ten spans deep nor four spans wide."

We have learned in another Boraitha: "A canal which flows between two walls which contained apertures, if it was less than three spans wide, a bucket may be let down from the apertures and water drawn from the canal; but if it was over three spans wide this must not be done (on Sabbath). R. Simeon ben Gamaliel, however, says, that if the canal was less than four spans wide, water may be drawn therefrom, but if over four spans, this must not be done." In which class of legal ground can such a canal be placed? Shall we say: in the class of unclaimed ground? Then the statement of R. Dimi in the name, of R. Johanan to the effect that there is no unclaimed ground less than four spans will not be in accordance with the opinion of all the sages but merely with that of part of them; for according to the sages of the above Boraitha, even three spans may constitute unclaimed ground? Zera said: "The sages of the Boraitha do differ with R. Simeon ben Gamaliel concerning this point whether unclaimed ground maybe three spans or four, and the statement of R. Dimi is merely in accordance with the opinion of part of the Tanaim."

Why should a canal between two walls containing apertures not be considered as the holes in unclaimed ground; for prior to its entering the space between the two walls it was undoubtedly over four spans wide, and hence unclaimed ground (as holes in public or private ground are considered as part of public or private ground respectively, see Tract Sabbath, p. 11)? Abayi bar Abhin and R. Hanina bar Abhin both declare, that this theory (of holes being equal to the ground) does not exist where unclaimed ground is concerned.

R. Ashi, however, said: Even if the theory does apply to unclaimed ground it applies only then, if the ground is near to the hole (in a wall of the ground), but if it is a distance off as it must be in the case of this canal, the theory can under no circumstances be applied. Rabhina, however, said: The three, respectively four spans discussed in the Boraitha do not apply to the canal, but to partitions which were erected at the entrance and outlet of the canal at each end of the alley, and both parties to the dispute merely adhere to their respective theories concerning Lavud, one side maintaining that three spans constitute "Lavud," and the other that even four spans accomplish this object.

MISHNA: If there be a balcony above the water, it is not lawful to draw water therein on the Sabbath, unless a partition be made ten hands high, either above or below the balcony. Thus, also, if there be two balconies, one above the other: Should a partition have been made for the upper and not for the lower, it is unlawful to draw water through either, unless they have been combined by an Erub.

GEMARA: Our Mishna is not in accordance with the opinion of Hananiah ben Aqabia, who holds, that in a balcony four ells square, a hole may be cut out four spans square, etc., as, related previously (page 207), but R. Johanan in the name of R. Jose ben Zimra said: "Hananiah ben Aqabia permitted this to be done only in the case of a balcony erected above the waters of the sea of Tiberias for the reason as stated previously, but not above other waters."

The Rabbis taught: Three things were allowed by R. Hananiah ben Aqabia to the inhabitants of Tiberias, viz.: To draw water through a balcony on Sabbath; to deposit fruit in pea-stalks (although, while in the field, dew had settled on the fruit it is not considered as being wet, and hence not subject to defilement); and to wipe themselves with a towel when emerging from the bath (as there is no fear of their wringing the towel).

Rabba bar R. Huna said: "Do not say, that the imaginary hanging partition of the balcony makes it lawful, only to draw water through the balcony but not to pour out water through it, for it is also permitted to pour out superfluous water through. that balcony." Said R. Shezbi: "Is this not self-evident? For is this not identical with a sewer mentioned in the next Mishna?" From the succeeding Mishna, where the sewer is supposed to absorb the water, it is allowed to pour water into it even if it be full and run over into the street because the intention was to have the sewer absorb the water, but in this case, where the waters are not stationary, we might assume that it is not allowed to pour out more water to commence with; hence we are told by Rabba bar R. Huna that this may be done.

"Thus, also, if there be two balconies, one above the other," etc. Said R. Huna in the name of Rabh: (The Mishna states, that if a partition had been made for the upper and not for the lower, it is unlawful to draw water through either.) When is this the case? If the balconies were not quite four spans apart, but if they were four spans apart it is allowed to draw water through the upper. This is merely in accordance with the mentioned theory of Rabh, that one man cannot impede (the actions of) another through atmosphere.

Rabba said in the name of R. Hyya and R. Joseph made the statement in the name of R. Oshiya, as follows: The law concerning robbery is applicable also on Sabbath. What is meant thereby? If there was a ruin belonging to a man and another man made use of it during the week, it might be assumed that he had acquired the right to it for the Sabbath and may carry therein (for under ordinary circumstances, if a man robbed another of an article and such article is in his possession it is considered as belonging to him until the victim of the robbery reclaims his right to it by law); but we are given to understand that in this case as soon as the Sabbath sets in the property reverts to its rightful owner (without his recovering same by law).

Said Rabba: "This above statement (that the law of robbery is applicable also on Sabbath) would be contradictory to our Mishna, which says that if there were two balconies one above the other, and a partition was made for the upper, it is prohibited to draw water through either, etc., and for this reason: During the week the upper balcony undoubtedly makes use of the lower and thereby acquires a temporary right to it. If, then, by using the lower balcony during the week the upper balcony does so wrongfully, and on Sabbath the lower balcony reverts to its rightful owners, to the exclusion of the inmates of the upper balcony, how can the upper balcony prove an impediment to the lower, which it cannot use?" 1 Said R. Shesheth: "The Mishna refers to a case, where the partition made for the upper balcony was joint property of both upper and lower." If the partition was made jointly, of what benefit would a partition made to the lower be to the upper; as long as a share in the partition of the upper balcony is owned by the lower, the upper cannot be used until both combine an Erub? As soon as the lower balcony erects a partition for itself, it exposes its intention to sever all connection with the upper and thus either balcony may draw water through their respective grounds.

MISHNA: If a court be less than four ells square, it is not permitted to pour water therein on Sabbath, unless a sewer is made, which has a capacity of two saahs exclusive of the walls, either outside or within the court. If the sewer has been made outside it must be covered up (with boards), while on the inside it need not be covered up. R. Eliezer ben Jacob said: "Into a gutter, which is covered up to the extent of four ells in public ground, it is permitted to pour water on the Sabbath"; the sages, however, hold, that even though the court or roof be one hundred ells long, it is not permitted to pour water down the gutter (direct); but the water may be poured out on the roof, so as to drop down into the gutter. (In computing the four ells) mentioned in the first clause of this Mishna, the hall may be added. Thus, also, if there be two habitations facing each other (in one court) and the inmates of one have made a sewer, but were not joined in making it by the inmates of the other habitation, those who made the sewer are permitted to throw water into it, but those that did not make it, are not permitted to do so.

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GEMARA: What is the reason that water must not be poured into a court less than four ells square? Said Rabba: "A man generally consumes two saahs of water every day. If his court be four ells square or more he pours out the water in order to lay the dust; but if it be less than four ells square, he merely would throw out the water in order to have it run out into the street (and that is prohibited as a precaution, lest he should pour out the water into the street direct)."

R. Zera said: "A court of four ells square absorbs two saahs of water, hence, even should part of it run out into the street, it was not the intention of the man who poured it out that it should, but if the court is less than four ells square it does not absorb that quantity of water and part of it must needs run out into the street, hence it is prohibited to pour it out." Wherein lies the difference between Rabba and R. Zera? Said Abayi: "If the court was oblong, say eight ells by two. It absorbs the water undoubtedly, but as for laying the dust in a court of that size a man would not trouble himself to pour out water for that purpose." An objection was made based upon our Mishna, which states in computing the four ells square of the court the hall may be added. Would this not prove that the reason is according to R. Zera? "According to Rabba," explained R Zera, "the Mishna might refer to a hall which, surrounding the court, made it in the form of a square, e.g., if the court was four ells long by two wide, and the hall added two ells to the width."

"R. Eliezer ben Jacob said: 'Into a gutter,'" etc. Our Mishna is not in accordance with the opinion of Hananiah, for we have learned in a Boraitha: "Hananiah said: 'Even if the roof be one hundred ells long, it is not permitted to pour water on it, as it is not made for the purpose of absorbing the water, but for the purpose of throwing it off into the street.'"

It was taught in a Boraitha: "All these regulations concerning the pouring of water apply only to summer but during the rainy period one may pour as much water as he chooses into the court." Why is this so? Said Rabha: "Because it is the intention of the man to have the court absorb the water." Said Abayi to him: "Unclean water is certainly intended to be absorbed by the ground, still it is not permitted to pour it down the gutter." Rejoined Rabha: "Why should this not be permitted during the rainy season? Can it be the intention of the man that the water should run out into the street in order that his court should not become muddy? It is already muddy. Then the reason might possibly be in the manner of a precaution, lest the man pour the water into the street direct or others seeing water running out of a court, might assume that it is allowed to pour out such water into the court even during the dry season? The precaution is unnecessary. Those who see water running out of the court will naturally conclude that it is rain-water, because of the rainy season of the year, and there is no fear of the man pouring out the water into the street, because his court being already muddy, he will not mind pouring more water into it." Said Abayi: "According to thy explanation, then, during the rainy season the quantity of water is immaterial, even if it be a kur or two it may be poured out nevertheless."

"If there be two habitations facing each other," etc. It was taught: Rabba said: "They must not pour water into the sewer, provided they did not combine an Erub, but if they did combine an Erub, they may pour water into the sewer." And if they did not combine an Erub, why should it not be allowed? They merely throw the water down the sewer! Said R. Ashi: "This is merely a precautionary measure, lest they fill some vessels with water and then carry them to the sewer."

CHAPTER 9.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE COMBINING OF ROOFS ON SABBATH.

MISHNA: All the roofs of a town are considered one private ground (although the houses underneath are occupied by several), provided there be not one roof ten hands higher or ten hands lower than the rest. Such is the dictum of R. Meir; the sages, however, hold, that each roof constitutes a separate private, ground. R. Simeon said: Roofs, as well as courts and wood-stores, constitute one private ground, for the carrying of all such utensils as were actually situated there when the Sabbath set in, but not for the carrying of such utensils as were still in the house, when the Sabbath set in.

GEMARA: Abayi bar Abhin and R. Hanina bar Abhin were sitting alongside of Abayi, and were conversing between themselves: "It is right according to the sages, who hold, that, in the same manner as the houses are separated below, so are also the roofs above; thus, unless an Erub is made between the houses, it is not permitted to carry from one roof to the other; but what is the opinion of R. Meir? Does he hold, that as the houses are separated so are also the roofs, why does he state, that all the roofs constitute one private ground; or if he holds that above ten spans there is nothing but private ground, what difference does it make to him, whether a roof be ten spans higher or lower than the rest?" Said Abayi to the two brothers: "Have ye not heard the dictum of R. Itz'hak bar Abhdimi to the effect, that R. Meir said thus: 'Where there are two distinct premises both of which, however, are legally private ground, e.g., a pillar, ten spans high and four spans wide standing in private ground, and which must not be used to shoulder burdens thereon on the Sabbath, lest a heap of the same size standing in public ground be used for the same purpose,' so it is also in this case, where a roof is ten spans lower or higher than the rest the same precautionary measure applies."

The two brothers hearing this from Abayi thought, that according to R. Meir the same case applied to a mortar or kettle, ten spans high; said Abayi to them: "My master told me, that R. Meir said, this precaution applied only to a pillar and a millstone because for these two objects special places are designated, but as for other utensils, even if they be ten spans high, the precaution is unnecessary."

"The sages, however, hold, that each roof constitutes a separate private ground." It was taught: Rabh said: "On every roof things must not be handled except within a limit of four ells," but Samuel said: "They may be handled in the whole extent of the roof." If the roofs are separated and the separation is apparent, all agree, that carrying things on those roofs is permissible (because in this case the walls underneath are considered as if they reached up to the tops of the roofs) but they differ concerning roofs that are separated, where the separation is not apparent. Rabh holds that things must not be carried on those roofs (where the separation is not apparent) except for a distance of four ells, because he does not admit, in this case, the theory of Gud Assik (possibility of the walls reaching up to the tops of the roofs), while Samuel, who does admit the theory, holds, that carrying is permitted in the entire extent of the roofs (because he admits of the possibility of the walls reaching the tops of the roofs).

An objection was made based upon our Mishna: The sages hold, that each roof constitutes a separate private ground. This is in accordance with Samuel's opinion but is contradictory to the opinion of Rabh. The disciples of Rabh said in his name, that the statement, "things must not be handled except within a limit of four ells," meant to signify, "two ells in each adjoining roof" (but in the one roof things may be handled throughout its entire extent).

Abayi said: "If a man erected an attic on top of his house and provided it with a small door four spans wide, he may carry things in all the roofs." (The reason for this statement is, that the fact of the man having made an attic and provided it with a door is proof, that the other inmates had resigned their right to the use of the roof in his favour.) Said Rabha: "It may happen, that the small door with which the attic was provided may prevent the man from using the other roofs" (even according to R. Meir). How so? If the door in the attic faced a garden below and the partition made by the attic separated his roof from the others, it might be said, that he made that door merely so as to be able to watch his garden and renounced his right to the use of the roofs. (It was taught:) Roofs, level one to the other in which, according to R. Meir, it is permitted to carry things, and a single roof which may be used according to the sages, may according to Rabh be used throughout their whole extent, while according to Samuel, it is only allowed to use them for an extent of four ells. Would not this be a contradiction by Rabh to his previous statement and by Samuel to his own former dictum? This can be explained thus: Rabh's previous statement referred to a case, where the separation between the roofs was not apparent while in this case the separation is apparent and Samuel's former dictum referred to a roof that had less than two saahs' capacity, while in this case it refers to a roof that has a capacity of more than two saah. Why should a roof of that size not be allowed to be used? The possibility of the walls reaching the tops of the roofs is not admitted, for the reason that partitions which enclose dwellings are made downwards and are not supposed to extend upwards, and of a space which is not enclosed by partitions of dwellings and has a capacity of over two saah, only four ells may be used.

It was taught: Concerning a ship, Rabh said, one may carry things throughout the whole extent of the ship, because the space of a ship is enclosed with partitions, and Samuel said, one may carry only to the extent of four ells. Why so? Because the partitions were not made for the purpose of making the space inhabitable but merely to keep out the water. Said R. Hyya bar Joseph to Samuel: "According to whose opinion does the Halakha prevail? According to thy opinion or according to Rabh's," and Samuel answered, "The Halakha prevails according to Rabh."

R. Giddel in the name of R. Hyya bar Joseph said: "Rabh agrees with Samuel's opinion, concerning a ship that was in dry dock and turned over, that it was only permitted to carry things for a distance of four ells." For what purpose was the ship turned over? If people lived within it, why should it not be allowed to carry things throughout its whole extent? Is the bottom of the ship not equal to a roof, when the ship was turned over? Nay; the ship was turned over for a coating of tar.

R. Jehudah said: When we shall arrive at the final conclusions of R. Meir we shall find that all roofs are considered as one private ground in their own right, i.e., that carrying from one roof to the other is permissible; also that all courts are considered as one private ground and likewise all woodsheds, but from the final conclusions of the sages we shall learn, that roofs and courts constitute one private ground, i.e., that it is permitted to carry things from the roof to the court and vice versa, which, according to R. Meir is not allowed. The woodsheds, however, are considered according to the sages a separate private ground, i.e., things may be carried from one woodshed to another but not from a woodshed into a court. The final conclusions of R. Simeon denote, that all roofs, courts, and woodsheds are considered as one private ground.

We have learned one Boraitha in support of Rabh and another in support of R. Jehudah. The one supporting Rabh reads as follows: "All roofs of the town are considered as one private ground; but it is prohibited to carry things from the roofs to the courts, and vice versa." Vessels which were situated in the court before the Sabbath set in, may be carried in all the courts, and those situated in the roofs before the Sabbath set in may be handled in all the roofs, provided there is not a roof ten spans higher or lower than the rest. Such is the dictum of R. Meir; but the sages said: Every roof constitutes a separate ground and things must not be carried in it for a distance of over four ells. This bears out the statement of Rabh in which he says that when the separation between the roofs is not apparent one must not carry except in a limit of four ells.

In support of R. Jehudah we have learned the following Boraitha: Rabbi said: "When we learned the Law at R. Simeon's in the city of Thequa, we would carry towels and oil from one roof to another, from that to the court, and from that to another, and from the other court to a woodshed, and from that to another, until we would come to the springs where we would bathe."

Said R. Jehudah: "It happened in a time of danger, that we brought up the sacred scrolls from a court to a roof, from the roof to another court, and from that to a woodshed in order to read therein." The sages answered: "Acts committed during a time of danger do not serve as evidence."

"R. Simeon said: 'Roofs as well as courts and woodsheds,'" etc. Said Rabh: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Simeon, providing no Erub was made, but if an Erub was effected, it is not so, because there is fear, lest the utensils from the houses be carried out on the Sabbath and are then carried about in all the courts." (R. Simeon himself admits, that they form one private ground for the carrying of such utensils as were actually within the courts or roofs when the Sabbath set in but nor for such utensils as were within the house.) Samuel, however, as well as R. Johanan, said: "There is no difference whether an Erub was made or not."

R. Hisda opposed this: According to Samuel and R. Johanan there will be two kinds of vessels in the court, one kind, which had already been situated in the court when the Sabbath set in, and the other, which was brought out from the house during; Sabbath. Is then not the precautionary measure decreed by Rabh really necessary? Simeon holds to his theory that precautionary measures are not necessary.

Come and hear: "Five courts which opened into each other. and also opened into one alley, the inmates of which had all forgotten and not combined an Erub, (the inmates) are prohibited to carry in or carry out from the court into the alley, or from the, alley into the court. The utensils which were situated in the courts when the Sabbath set in may be carried in the courts, but the utensils which were situated in the alley must not be carried even in the alley. R. Simeon, however, permits this to be done (even to carry the utensils of the court into the alley) because he used to say: as long as many people lived there and had forgotten to combine an Erub, the roof, the court, the balcony, the gallery, the woodshed, and the alley are all considered the same legal premises." Thus we see that R. Simeon makes this decree only if no Erub was made, but if an Erub was made he would not do so; hence he contradicts Samuel and R. Johanan? Nay; R. Simeon states this merely to supplement the statement of the sages and says to them: "As far as I am concerned it makes no difference whether an Erub was made or not, but according to your opinion, grant me, that when no Erub was made the courts, the roofs, etc. all constitute the same legal premises." The sages, however, answered: "Nay; according to our opinion, each constitutes separate premises."

Said Rabhina to R. Ashi: "Is it possible that R. Johanan said this? Did not R. Johanan say, that the Halakha prevails according to an anonymous Mishna, and we have learned previously (Chapter VII., Mishna 2) concerning a wall between two courts, if there was fruit on the wall, the inmates of both courts may partake of the fruit providing they do not carry any of it down with them? Hence we see that it is not permitted, according to that Mishna, to carry things from one court into another even if an Erub was made by each court!" (R. Ashi answered:) By carrying it down is meant carrying it down into the houses, but carrying it down into the courts is permitted.

Asked Rabhina again: "Did not R. Hyya teach (in addition to the quoted Mishna), 'providing the inmates of each court do riot take it down into their respective courts and eat it'?"

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Said R. Ashi: "If Rabbi did not teach this in the Mishna, whence does R. Hyya adduce that explanation (I think that my interpretation of the Mishna is correct)?"

It was taught: "If there were two courts, which had a ruin between them and the inmates of one court combined an Erub, while the inmates of the other did not, R. Huna said that the court that had not the Erub is entitled to the ruin (i.e., the vessels situated in their court may be transferred to the ruin) but the court that had combined the Erub is not entitled to the ruin for fear that they might carry out vessels, which were situated in their houses on the Sabbath, into the court, and thence into the ruin."

Hyya, the son of Rabh, however, said: (I heard from my father) that even the court that had an Erub combined may be entitled to the ruin and I explain my father's dictum to signify, that the utensils contained in either court may be transferred to the ruin. If thou shouldst explain my father's dictum to signify, that neither of the courts may make use of the ruin, because he understood R. Simeon's decree to mean "if they had made an Erub they became separate premises," hence, in this case, one of the courts having combined an Erub interferes with others also, I will answer it by saying, that such would be the case if there were an occupied court between them, in which event there might be vessels which were situated in the court when the Sabbath set in and also vessels which had been carried out of the houses, so that it would be impossible to distinguish which could and which could not be carried throughout all the courts. When, however, as is the case here, a ruin is between the two courts where there are no vessels which are actually situated there, the danger of confusion is removed and hence my explanation is, that it is permitted for both courts to transfer their vessels to the ruin.

MISHNA: If a large roof adjoin a small one, the owners of the large roof are permitted to carry things thither from the house, but the owners of the small roof are prohibited to do this. If a large court opens into a small one, through a breach in the wall, the inmates of the large court are permitted to carry things through the breach, but the inmates of the small court are prohibited to do so, because the smaller court is considered as an entry to the larger.

GEMARA: Why does the Mishna teach both cases, concerning a roof and a court? According to Rabh, the object is to demonstrate that in the same manner as courts are divided by partitions so should the partitions between roofs be apparent. According to Samuel, the object is to show, that a roof is on a par with a court, i.e., as the latter is used by many, so also is the former.

Rabba, R. Zera, and Rabba bar R. Hanan were sitting together and Abayi sate close by. They said: "From this Mishna we may adduce, that the inmates of the larger court control the actions of the smaller, whereas the inmates of the smaller court exert no influence over those of the larger. How so? (For instance:) If vines were planted in the larger, other seed must not be planted in the smaller; but if the vines were planted in the smaller, any other seed may be planted in the larger. If a woman who was to be divorced stood in the smaller court and the bill of divorce was thrown to her from the larger court, she is thereby legally divorced, but if she stood in the larger and the bill was thrown to her from the smaller court, she is not legally divorced. If the congregation assembled for prayer stood in the larger and the reader who was to recite the prayer for them was in the smaller, they have acquitted themselves of their duty; if they were in the smaller court, however, and the reader was in the larger, they have not. If there were nine men in the larger court and one man in the smaller, that one man is counted in with the nine and it constitutes a legal assembly for prayer or for the commission of religious acts, but if there were nine men in the smaller and one in the larger that one man cannot be counted in. If there was a filthy thing in the smaller court (on account of which the Shema prayer could not be recited) the larger court may nevertheless recite the prayer; but if the filthy thing was in the larger court the inmates of the smaller are not allowed to do so."

Said Abayi to them: "According to this then, a partition, which under ordinary circumstances should facilitate the observance of laws, would prove a detriment; for were there no partition between the larger and smaller court and vines were planted anywhere within the two courts, a man would simply be obliged to measure off four ells whence the vines grew and could then plant whatever he chose."

Rabha, through R. Shmaiah ben Zera, sent the following query to Abayi: "Do we not find as a matter of fact that a partition at times proves a detriment? Did we not learn in a Boraitha, that concerning the partitions of a vineyard there are instances where they make the observance of laws more lenient and on the other hand there are instances where they make it more rigorous." How so? If the vines are planted hard by the partition, one may on the other side of the partition plant whatever he chooses. If there were no partition, however, he would have to measure off four ells whence the vines grew and then plant whatever he chose. This is an instance of leniency caused by the partition. When does it make the law more rigorous? If the vines were planted to within eleven ells of the partition, it is not allowed to plant other seed anywhere within those eleven ells; but if there were no partition, four ells would suffice between the vineyard and the place where other seed was to be planted. Rejoined Abayi: "Why base thy query upon a Boraitha, if in thy opinion the partition is the main issue? Why not cite the following Mishna? (Kilaim, Chapter IV., Mishna 2:) 'If the space between the vineyard and the fence which surrounds it be less than twelve square ells, no other seed may be sown therein; but if it measure that superficies, a vacant space must be allowed for the cultivation of the vines growing near it, and the rest of the ground may be used for saving (other seed).'" We must say, that because in the Mishna the partition is not the issue, but it is a question of the space between the four ells allowed for the cultivation of the vineyard and the four ells allowed to the hedge or fence, and if such space is four ells wide (i.e., if the whole is twelve) other seed may be sown therein, but if less than four, it is abandoned. Hence we might say, that the same issue is treated of in the Boraitha? R. Jehudah said: "If there are three woodsheds opening into each other, of which the two outer are enclosed while the middle one is not, and there is a man in each of the wood sheds, the men are considered as a caravan and are entitled to as much room as they desire. If the middle one, however, was enclosed, but the two outer ones were not, and there was a man in each of the three woodsheds, they are entitled to a space of six saahs' capacity, i.e., two saahs to each man. (For the reason, that in the first instance the middle woodshed is smaller than either of the two outer ones and is virtually absorbed by them, while in the latter case, the middle woodshed is the larger, but cannot absorb the two outer ones, hence the men cannot be considered as a caravan.)"

The schoolmen propounded a question: "How is it if (in the latter instance of the woodsheds, illustration B) there were two men in the middle woodshed and one each in the outer sheds? Shall we assume that the two men of the middle shed, having a right to either shed, are considered as being in either one of the two outer sheds, and three persons being in one place, thereby form a caravan, or shall we say, that as there are two men in the middle woodshed, each one of them can occupy either court, in which event there would be two people each in the outer courts and no caravan is formed--consequently they are entitled only to a space of two saahs' capacity for each man? If the latter instance should apply, how would it be if there were two men in each of the outer sheds and one man in the middle shed? Whichever court he might occupy, there would be three men, and thus a caravan would be formed, or, because there is doubt which he would occupy, having a right to either, it would not be considered as a caravan?" The answer was: "All ordinances pertaining to Erubin should be construed in their most lenient form."

Said R. Hisda: "If a court was five spans higher at the edges than in the centre and a partition of five spans height was added to the edges, it does not constitute a valid partition; for either the edges must be ten spans high to commence with or the partition must be made ten spans high." Mareimar, however, maintained, that the two may be counted together and constitute a legal partition.

Rabhina met R. A'ha the son of Rabha and asked him: "Does the master teach anything pertaining to partitions?" and he answered: "Nay." The Halakha prevails, that the edges of the court and the partitions are counted together and constitute a legal partition.

R. Oshiya propounded a question: "How is it if new habitations are added to a court on the Sabbath (i.e., if a wall between two courts had become broken and thus new dwellings were added); do they impede the inmates of that court or not?" Said R. Hisda: Come and hear: (We have learned this in our Mishna:) "If a large court opens into a small one, through a breach in the wall, the inmates of the large court are permitted to carry things through the breach, but the inmates of the small court are prohibited to do so." Rejoined Rabba: "Perhaps the Mishna refers to a breach that was made before the Sabbath set in." Said Abayi: "The Master should not say 'perhaps'; it is certain, that the breach was caused on the eve of Sabbath; because didst not thou, Master, say thyself at one time, that thou didst ask of R. Huna and of R. Jehudah concerning an Erub which was made through an aperture or a door which had accidentally become closed up on the Sabbath and they told thee, that if that happened after the Sabbath set in, the Erub is valid for the whole Sabbath, having been valid at the beginning (and they certainly would not contradict a Mishna)!"

It was taught: If a wall between two courts was destroyed on the Sabbath, Rabh said, that it is not permitted to carry things in either of the courts for a distance of over four ells, but Samuel maintains, that the inmates of each court may carry as far as the ruins of the wall. The statement herein attributed to Rabh was not made by him outright, but was inferred from the occurrence as follows. Rabh and Samuel were both sitting in one court on Sabbath and suddenly the wall of the court caved in. Said Samuel to the other inmates of the court: "Take a garment and hang it up in place of the wall." Rabh turned away his face from Samuel. Said Samuel: "If Abba (Rabh) is angry let him take his girdle and fasten the garment with it to the wall." If according to Samuel it is allowed to carry as far as the ruins of the wall, why did he order that a garment should be fastened as a partition? Samuel did not order this to be done in order to make a partition but merely to prevent outsiders from peering into the court. And Rabh! if he holds that it is not allowed to carry he should have said so? It was Samuel's domain, and he could not contradict him at that time. Why then did he turn away his face? (Surely he is not responsible for Samuel's actions.) In order to show that he did not agree with Samuel's opinion but still adhered to his own.

MISHNA: If a court (through an incavation of its walls) is laid open to public ground, whosoever brings anything from private ground into such a court, or from the court into private ground, is culpable. Such is the dictum of R. Eliezer, The sages hold, however: Whoever brings anything from the court into public ground, or from public ground into the court. is absolved; since the court (through the incavation of its walls and consequent opening) has become like unclaimed ground.

GEMARA: Does R. Eliezer hold, that if a court by reason of the incavation of its walls is laid open to public ground, it becomes public ground? Yea! He holds to his theory as expressed elsewhere (Baba Bathra), that if the public had taken a certain path through a meadow (although there was no path) and used it constantly, it remains a path (and the same is the case with this court; if it was laid open into public ground it becomes the same as public ground). This is not so! Did not R. Giddel say in the name of Rabh, that R. Eliezer (in the passage quoted) referred to a case where the original path had been lost and could not be found, and if we would assume that in the case of the court he holds, that only the space which had been lost to the public, i.e., where it is not apparent that the wall had been standing, becomes as public ground, but the whole court is certainly not to be considered such; did not R. Hanina say, that the sages and R. Eliezer differ as to the entire space up to where the wall was standing? Hence we must say, that R. Eliezer holds the entire court to have become as public ground! The statement of R. Hanina should be modified to the effect, that they differ only as to the space that had been occupied by the wall and not up to the wall; thus R. Eliezer does not consider the entire court as public ground. If you wish, I may say, that (the place where the wall stood is still apparent, and) the sages differ with R. Eliezer merely as to the adjoining places to public ground. R. Eliezer holds them to be the same as public ground, while the sages say that, as there had at one time been a court there, it is now not public ground.

MISHNA: In a court (the corner walls of which had fallen in on Sabbath so) that (it) has been laid open to public ground on two sides; also in a house (which by a similar accident) was laid open on two sides; or in an entry the cross and side beam of which had been removed, it is permitted to carry things on that same Sabbath; but it is not permitted to do so on the succeeding Sabbaths. Such is the dictum of R. Jehudah; but R. Jose said: If it were permitted for that particular Sabbath, it would also be permitted for the future; but since it is prohibited for the future, it is also prohibited on that same Sabbath.

GEMARA: How is the case with the-walls treated of in the Mishna? If the breach caused by the incavation does not exceed ten ells, (it is regarded as a door) so what difference does it make upon how many sides the court has been laid open? If the breach, however, exceeded ten ells, then it would be the same even if one side only were laid open. Said Rabh: The breach does not exceed ten ells but in a corner it is not customary to make a door.

"A house which was laid open on both sides," etc. How would it be if the house were laid open only on one side? We would say, that the edge of the roof is supposed to reach down to the bottom and thus serve as a substitute for the wall by application of the law of "Gud Achith." Cannot the same rule apply to two sides of a house? Let the edge of the roof on both sides be supposed to reach down to the bottom? Said the disciples of Rabh in the name of their master: "The Mishna refers to a house where the corner walls had fallen in and where the roof was not flat but slanting, so that with the walls it also fell."

Samuel said: "In the case of a court the Mishna does refer to an instance where the breach exceeded ten ells, but it also states that the walls had caved in on both sides because further, when treating of a house, it must specify two sides, hence it does so also when courts are in question." Why must two sides be mentioned in the instance of a house? Cannot the edge of the roof be supposed to reach down to the bottom of both walls? Then again does Samuel hold to the supposition, that the edge of the roof reaches to the bottom of the wall? Was it not taught that concerning a gallery in a valley, Rabh said, it is permitted to carry throughout the whole extent of the valley, because the edges of the gallery are supposed to reach down to the ground and thus form a partition for the entire valley, whereas Samuel maintained that this supposition

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cannot be considered and hence it is only permitted to carry for a distance of four ells? This would not present a difficulty, for in that case Samuel maintains, that the edges of the gallery must not be supposed to reach down to the ground because there must be four distinct partitions, but where only three are necessary he would admit the feasibility of such a supposition. The difficulty concerning the two sides of the house where the breach measured over ten ells still remains! In the same manner as the disciples of Rabh referred to a house where the corner walls had fallen in together with their slanting roof, Samuel may refer to a house, the corner walls of which had sustained a breach four ells in width on each corner, or eight ells in all, and five ells in length on one side, and five ells and a trifle on the other side, or slightly over ten ells in all. Hence it would be necessary to suppose that the edges of the roof reach down on four sides of the breach two in width and two in length and that would be contrary to the theory of Samuel!

Why does Samuel not hold with Rabh? Because the Mishna does not mention a slanting roof and Rabh does not hold with Samuel because he (Rabh, as we have seen in the instance of the gallery in the valley) permits of the supposition, that the edges of a gallery or a roof can reach down on four sides.

"R. Jose said: If it were permitted for that particular Sabbath," etc. The schoolmen propounded a question: "How is R. Jose's dictum to be construed? Does he mean to permit it entirely or to prohibit it entirely?" R. Shesheth as well as R. Johanan said: "He means to prohibit it entirely." We also learned to this effect in a Boraitha, viz.: R. Jose said: As they are not permitted to carry on subsequent Sabbaths, so are they also prohibited to do so on that particular Sabbath.

It was taught: R. Hyya bar Joseph said, the Halakha prevails according to R. Jose, and Samuel said: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Jehudah. Did Samuel indeed say so?" Did not R. Jehudah reply to R. Hana of Bagdad that Samuel decreed: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Jehudah in all cases pertaining to Erubin, but not where partitions are concerned?" Said R. Anan: "Samuel himself explained to me that if the courts were laid open towards unclaimed ground the Halakha prevails according to R. Jehudah but if they were laid open towards public ground the Halakha prevails according to R. Jose."

MISHNA: If an attic be built over two houses, also if bridges are open at both ends, it is lawful to carry things underneath on the Sabbath. Such is the dictum of R. Jehudah; but the sages prohibit it. Moreover, R. Jehudah further said: It is lawful to combine, by means of an Erub, an alley that is open at both ends, but the sages prohibit it.

GEMARA: Said Rabba: Do not say that the reason of R. Jehudah is because a private ground requires according to biblical law only two partitions, but because he holds (Gud Achith) that the ends of the roofs (in this case of the attic or the bridge) are supposed to reach down to the bottom.

CHAPTER 10.

SUNDRY REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE SABBATH.

MISHNA: If a man (on Sabbath) find tephilin (on the road), he should match them and bring them (into the nearest town or village) in single pairs (i.e., one for the head and one for the arm). Rabbon Gamaliel said: "He may bring in two pair at a time." To what does this rule apply? To old tephilin (phylacteries), but if they be new, he need not bring them in (at all). If he find them tied up in pairs, or all tied together, be should remain with them till dark and then bring them in. In times of danger (religious persecutions), however, he covers them up and passes on. R. Simeon said: He should hand them to his companion (i.e., the man standing next to him), who in turn hands them to his companion, and so on from hand to hand until the outmost court is reached. So, likewise, his child, he should hand it to his companion, who in turn hands it to his companion and so on from hand to hand, even (if it have passed through the hands of) an hundred (men), R. Jehudah said: "In like manner, a man may pass a cask of wine (which he has found on the road on the Sabbath) to his companion, and he in turn to his companion (and so on from hand to hand) even beyond the legal limits; the sages, however, objected: "The cask cannot be conveyed further than its owners have the right to walk."

GEMARA: He may only carry them in single pairs? Shall we assume that this anonymous Mishna is not in accordance with R. Meir, who decrees (Tract Sabbath, page 257) that a man may clothe himself in as many garments as he chooses? Said Rabba: In both instances the decree of R. Meir is based upon the custom of the week-days (when a man may also put on as many clothes as he chooses), and as the above-mentioned Mishna treats of "saving from fire" the Rabbis permit a man to wear as much clothing as he chooses. In this instance, however, where there is no danger, (and as a man only wears one pair of tephilin on a week-day, hence he may wear only one pair on a Sabbath). Thus this Mishna can also be in accordance with the decree of R. Meir.

"Rabbon Gamaliel said: He may bring in two pair." What is the reason of R. Gamaliel's dictum? Does he hold, that on Sabbath also tephilin should be worn? Then he should only have permitted one pair to be brought in? If, however, he holds that on Sabbath tephilin should not be worn and it is merely to save the tephilin that it was permitted for a man to wear them on his head and arm, why does he only permit two pair at a time; he could have permitted more? Said R. Samuel bar R. Itz'hak: "On the head there is only room for two." On the hand, however, there is room for but one? As there is room for two on the head, according to R. Samuel, there is room for two also on the arm.

Shall we say that the first Tana of the Mishna differs with Rabbon Gamaliel upon the point advanced by R. Samuel bar R. Itz'hak maintaining that there is only room for one on the head or arm while R. Gamaliel holds there is room for two? Nay; all agree that there is room for two, but they differ as to the legality of wearing tephilin on the Sabbath. The first Tana holds that they should be worn on Sabbath, while Rabbon Gamaliel holds that they must not.

Who of the Tanaim ever held, that on Sabbath tephilin must be worn (in order that it might be said the first Tana of the Mishna is in accordance with his opinion)? That was R. Aqiba; as we have learned: It is written [Exod. xiii. 10]: "And thou shalt keep this ordinance in its season from year to year." And elsewhere [Tract Menachoth] where there is a dispute between R. Jose the Galilean and R. Aqiba, it concludes with the statement that R. Aqiba holds the wearing of tephilin on Sabbath to be legal. Does R. Aqiba indeed hold that Sabbath is (also) a proper time for the wearing of tephilin? Have we not learned in another Boraitha as follows: R. Aqiba said: "Lest we should assume that it is required to wear tephilin on Sabbath or on festivals, it is written [ibid. 9]: 'And it shall be unto thee for a sign upon thy hand,' which means, that tephilin should be worn, when a sign is required, but Sabbath and festivals being signs in themselves, it is not necessary to have another. "Therefore we must say, that the first Tana of our Mishna does not hold according to R. Aqiba but in accordance with the Tana of the following Boraitha: "He who stays awake at night may either wear tephilin or not, so said R. Nathan; Jonathan Qitoni, however, said: 'It is not allowed to wear tephilin at night.'" If R. Nathan, then, holds that tephilin may be worn at night, he also holds, that they may be worn on Sabbath. This is no evidence! It may be that he holds that they may be worn at night, but not on Sabbath; for have we not learned that R. Aqiba held the night to be a proper time for wearing tephilin, but not so the Sabbath?

We must say, therefore, that the first Tana of our Mishna is in accord with the opinion of the Tana of the following Boraitha: "Michal the daughter of Qushai used to wear tephilin, and the sages did not object to it; the wife of Jonah would go to Jerusalem for the festivals and the sages did not object to that" [whence we see that the duty of wearing tephilin is a (positive) commandment which is not dependent upon the time, i.e., if it said, that they must not be worn at night or on Sabbath, the law would be dependent upon the time, and that duty which is dependent upon time need not be performed by women. If such were the case then the sages would have prevented Michal from wearing tephilin because of the commandment: "Thou shalt not add to the law"]. Hence we see that tephilin may be worn on Sabbath, according to the sages.

It may be, however, that the sages hold to the opinion of R. Jose, who said, that while the laying of hands upon sacrificial offerings is only obligatory for men, still, women, when bringing their offerings, may, if they choose, perform that duty, and the proof that the sages hold thus is that when the wife of Jonah would go to Jerusalem for the festivals, a duty which no one disputes is entirely dependent upon the time, the sages had no objection. Therefore we must say that the first Tana of our Mishna is in accord with the opinion of another Tana, viz.: the Tana of the following Tosephta: "One who finds tephilin on the Sabbath should bring them in single pairs, whether the finder be a man or a woman, whether the tephilin be old or new. Such is the dictum of R. Meir. R. Jehudah, however, prohibits new tephilin to be brought in but permits old." Now we see that they differ only as regards new and old tephilin, but not as to whether a man or woman may bring them in, whence we see that the duty of tephilin is not dependent upon the time. Then the question again arises, "does not this Tana hold in accordance with the opinion of R. Jose?" This would not be consistent; for neither R. Meir nor R. Jehudah are in accord with R. Jose. R. Meir is not in accordance with R. Jose as we have learned in a Mishna (Tract Rosh Hashana): "One must not prevent children from blowing the cornet." From this we see that only children are not to be prevented, but women are, and as the above Mishna is anonymous and it is traditional that all anonymous Mishnaoth are in accordance with R. Meir, we see that he (R. Meir) is not in accordance with R. Jose, and that R. Jehudah is not in accordance with R. Jose is to be seen in the following Boraitha in Siphra: It is written [Levit. i. 4]: "And he shall lay his hand upon the head of the burnt-offering," this is a law which applies to a man but not to a woman. For the reason that this dictum is by anonymous teachers we, in accordance with what we have learned elsewhere, ascribe it to R. Jehudah.

R. Elazar said: If a man found whole strands of wool dyed purple-blue, the same as is used for show-threads (vide Numbers xv. 38) in the market and it is not known whether they were intended for the preparation of show-threads, they are not suitable for such purpose, but if he found threads of that kind of wool they are suitable for that purpose. Why should the strands not be suitable, because it is possible that they were intended for other purposes, e.g., for garments? Why not assume the same to be the case with threads? The threads are referred to as being already twisted into the form required for show-threads. Even so, it might be that they were intended for fringes on a garment? Nay; the threads mentioned were already cut to a size suitable for show-threads and a man would not go to the trouble of preparing them so carefully if they were to be used for any other purpose.

Said Rabha: And what about tephilin? The Mishna distinctly states, that only old tephilin may be brought in, because of the certainty that they are actually tephilin, but as for new ones, even though they be made exactly like tephilin, they must not be brought in for fear that they be only ordinary amulets. Hence we see that they apprehended lest a man take the trouble to prepare amulets exactly like tephilin (why should he not do so with the blue thread for show-threads)? Said R. Zera to his son Ahabha: "Go and tell them, that I have found another Boraitha which explicitly teaches that if the threads were found cut off to the required size of the show-threads, they are suitable for that purpose, for a man will not go to the trouble of cutting off the threads for any other purpose." Rejoined Rabha: "And if Ahabha taught that Boraitha, did he then encircle it with jewels? Our Mishna states explicitly, that only old tephilin, but not new, may be brought, which is proof that there is fear, lest a man go to the trouble of making amulets exactly like tephilin." "Therefore," he continued, "whether a man would take the trouble (to cut off the threads) or not is merely a difference of opinion between Tanaim as we have already learned in the Boraitha above: 'R. Meir permitted the bringing in of both new and old tephilin, while R. Jehudah permitted only old tephilin to be brought,' for the latter held that a man would take the trouble to make amulets exactly like tephilin while the former held that he would not."

Now, if the father of Samuel and the son of R. Itz'hak explained the terms in the Mishna "old tephilin" to signify that the straps of the tephilin had already been attached and the legal knot made therein, and "new tephilin" to signify that the straps had already been attached but the legal knot had not yet been made, the question whether a man would take the trouble to imitate the genuine tephilin falls to the ground, and the issue is merely: One holds, that if the tephilin were already fit to be worn they may be brought in, while the other holds, that even if they were not quite prepared they may also be brought in.

R. Hisda said in the name of Rabh: "If one buys tephilin of a man who is not an expert, he must examine two tephilin used for the arm and one used for the head or two of the head and one of the arm (and if he finds them suitable, he may purchase more). "Now, then, let us see! If he purchases the tephilin of one man, what reason is there in examining two used for the arm and one used for the head; why not examine three for the arm or three for the head? And if he purchases the tephilin of several men, he should examine three of each man!

R. Hisda refers to a man who buys tephilin from one expert, but he must examine the tephilin for both head and arm in order to see that both kinds are properly inscribed and it matters not whether he examine two for the head and one for the arm or one for the head and two for the arm.

Did R. Kahana, however, not teach, that he should examine only one each for the head and arm? This is in accordance with the opinion of Rabbi, who holds, that in order to firmly establish (the fact) that the man is an expert or where any other proof must be brought, two only are necessary. If this is according to Rabbi, how shall we explain the final clause of the Boraitha stating, that so shall the second bunch of tephilin be examined and likewise the third? According to Rabbi why is a third required? When bunches of tephilin are concerned, Rabbi also admits that they should all be examined, because the expert probably receives the bunches from different makers and for that reason two of each bunch, one for the head and one for the arm, should be examined. Then why only three? Four or five should be examined? Such is really. the case, any amount should be examined but three only are mentioned as a rule, that in this instance the theory of Hazakah 1 does not apply.

"He should remain with them till dark and then bring them in." Why not bring them in in single pairs? Said R. Itz'hak the son of R. Jehudah: "My father explained the Mishna thus: If the man can bring them all in, pair by pair, before darkness sets in, he may do so, but if he cannot, i.e., if some would still remain, by the time it gets dark, he should rather remain with them until it becomes dark and then bring them all in at once."

"In times of danger, however, he covers them up," etc. Have we not learned that in times of danger he should carry them less than four ells at a time? Said Rabh: "This presents no

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difficulty. Our Mishna treats of times of danger arising from religious persecutions by the Gentiles while in the Boraitha the danger is supposed to be that arising from robbers." Said Abayi 2 to him: "Thou sayest that our Mishna treats of danger arising from religious persecutions, how then will the latter clause of the Mishna correspond with this? R. Simeon said: 'He should hand them to his companion,' etc. Would this not involve still greater danger?" Answered Rabh: "The Mishna is not complete and should read thus: 'In times of danger, however, he covers them up and passes on.' When is this the case? When the danger arises from religious persecutions, but if it be dangerous on account of robbers he should carry them for a distance of four ells at a time." R. Simeon, however, said: "(In the latter case), he should hand them to his companion," etc.

Upon what point do R. Simeon and the first Tana differ? The first Tana holds that the method adopted by R. Simeon would be too ostentatious and would seem like a violation of the Sabbath, whereas carrying for a distance of less than four ells is by no means objectionable. R. Simeon, however, holds, that when a man is obliged to carry things for a distance of less than four ells at a time, he might forget and carry for a distance of four ells or more, whereas handing the things from one man to another is perfectly safe.

"So, likewise, his child," etc. How came his child on the field or on the road? The disciples of Menasseh taught: "This refers to a child that was born on the road (or in the field)." What does R. Simeon mean to say by "even if it pass through (the hand of) an hundred?" He means to tell us, that although passing it through many hands is not good for the child, still it is preferable to carrying it for less than four ells at a time.

"R. Jehudah said: In like manner a man may pass a cask," etc. Does not R. Jehudah hold in accordance with the Mishna elsewhere [Tract Beitza] that an animal may be led or vessels may be carried only as far as the owner thereof is entitled to walk? Said Rabha: R. Jehudah in the Mishna refers to a cask which had acquired the right to its Sabbath-rest at the place where it was situated, but the contents of which had not acquired such right, and the cask becomes of no consequence to the contents.

R. Joseph objected: We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jehudah said: "When a caravan was encamped a man may hand a cask to his companion, he in turn to his companion, and so on." Thus we see, that this is said only of a caravan but not under ordinary circumstances? Hence R. Joseph explained, that the dictum of R. Jehudah in the Mishna also applies to a caravan only.

MISHNA: If a man reads in a scroll (of sacred scriptures) on the threshold of the house, and the scroll slips out of his hand, he may draw it back again. If a man reads in a scroll of the scriptures on the roof of his house and the scroll slips out of his hand, he may, if it has not rolled down for a distance of ten spans (from public ground), draw it up again; 1 but if it reached down to a distance of ten spans (from public ground) he should turn the written side over (downwards to the wall), and leave it there till nightfall. R. Jehudah said: "If the scroll be but the breadth of a needle from the ground, the man may roll it back again to himself." R. Simeon said: Even though it be completely on the ground, the man may roll it back to himself, for no ordinance regarding the Sabbath-rest supersedes the veneration due to sacred scriptures.

G E MARA: What was the threshold? Shall we say that the threshold was private ground and the space before it public ground, and no precautionary measure is ordained which would forestall his picking up the entire scroll if it fell into that public ground? Hence we must assume, that this is in accordance with the opinion of R. Simeon, who holds that no ordinance regarding the Sabbath-rest supersedes the veneration due to sacred scriptures. If, then, the first clause of the Mishna is according to R. Simeon, then comes the dictum of R. Jehudah, then again the dictum of R. Simeon, it is obvious, that the first and last clauses of the Mishna are in accordance with the opinion of R. Simeon, while the intervening clauses are R. Jehudah's? Said R. Jehudah: "Yea, so it is." Abayi, however, said: "The threshold referred to, was not private ground but unclaimed ground, and the space before it was public ground. If the scroll had rolled out into that public ground entirely but for a distance of four ells only, the man would not be culpable even if he picked it up and brought it back to the threshold, hence in this case it was allowed him to bring it back to commence with; but if it fell for a distance of more than four ells, he would, should he bring it back, be culpable, because he would have carried more than four ells in public ground; hence it was not allowed under those circumstances to bring it back in the first place."

"If a man reads, etc., on the roof." The Mishna teaches, that he should turn the written side of the scriptures over! Is this then allowed? Have we not learned in a Boraitha, that the scribes who write scriptures, tephilin, or Mezuzoth were not permitted to turn over the vellum in order to prevent it from becoming dirty, but must cover it up with a cloth? Where this can be done it should be done, but where it is impossible, rather than desecrate the sacred scriptures, they should be turned over.

If it fell from the roof and remained hanging alongside of the wall, it did not rest in any place because the wall is perpendicular, and it is necessary that it should actually rest on some object? The Mishna is in accordance with the opinion of R. Jehudah and is not complete but should read thus: He should turn the written side over. When is this to be done? If the wall was a slanting wall; but if it was straight, he may draw it back even if it be less than three spans from the ground, because R. Jehudah said: "If the scroll be but the breadth of a needle from the ground, the man may roll it back again to himself." Why so? Because it is necessary, that it should rest on some object.

MISHNA: On a ledge outside a window it is permitted to place vessels and to remove them therefrom on the Sabbath.

GEMARA: Where does the ledge project? Shall we assume, that it projects into public ground? Then there is fear, lest they fall to the ground and the man might bring them back into the house. Or shall we say that it projects into public ground, then it is self-evident, that it is permitted. Said Abayi: The ledge is supposed to project into public ground, but the vessels which may be placed are brittle, and hence, should they fall, they will be broken and there is no fear that they will be brought back into the house.

We have also learned to this effect in a Boraitha.. On a ledge outside a window, which projects into public ground, may be placed bowls, goblets, jugs, and glasses, and the whole wall down to within ten spans from the ground may be used, and if there be another ledge underneath (but over ten spans from the ground) the wall underneath the lower ledge may be used entirely, but the upper ledge must only be used to the extent that it faces the window.

MISHNA: A man may stand in private ground and move things that are in public ground; or he may stand in public ground and move things that are in private ground, provided, that he does not move them beyond four ells. A man must not, standing in private ground, make water in public ground on (Sabbath), nor may he standing in public ground make water in private ground. In like manner he must not, standing in one (kind of) ground spit into another. R. Jehudah said: He who (when coughing) has brought up phlegm into his mouth, must not go four ells before expectorating.

GEMARA: Said R. Joseph: If he did so (meaning if he expectorated, etc.) he is culpable and liable for a sin-offering. But is it not necessary in the first place, that there be a transfer from a certain fixed place and that the article transferred rest in another fixed place of four ells square? Yea, the intention of the man, however, brings about that condition. For if this were not so, how could Rabha have said elsewhere, that if a man threw a thing and it fell into the mouth of a dog or into a furnace, he is culpable? Is it not necessary that it rest in a space of four ells? Therefore we must say, that the intention of the man is equal to the deed and such is also the case in this instance.

"R. Jehudah said.: He who has brought up phlegm," etc. Said Resh Lakish: If a man expectorated in the presence of his master, he deserves to be killed, for it is written [Proverbs viii. 36]: "All those that hate me, love death." Do not read "All those that hate me" but "All those who make me hateful" (see Sabbath, page 236).

MISHNA: A man must not, standing in private ground drink in public ground, nor may he, standing in public ground, drink in private ground, unless he places his head and the greater part of his body, within the place in which he drinks. Such is also the law regarding a wine-press.

GEMARA: Is the first part of the Mishna preceding our Mishna in accordance with the opinion of the sages, and our Mishna in accordance with R. Meir? Said R. Joseph: The preceding Mishna refers to objects which are not of absolute importance while this Mishna refers to objects which are a necessity to the man; hence the precautionary measure forestalling the probability of the man's carrying them into the other ground is instituted.

The schoolmen propounded a question: "What is the law regarding unclaimed ground, i.e., if the man stood in private or public ground and drinks out of unclaimed ground and vice versa?" Said Abayi: "The same law applies to unclaimed ground." Rejoined Rabha: This ordinance is merely a precautionary measure! Shall we then institute one precautionary measure as a safeguard to another?" Answered Abayi: "I deduce this from the further teaching of the Mishna stating, 'Such is also the law regarding a wine-press'; for the winepress must needs be considered unclaimed ground, as in the event of its being private ground, why should the repetition be made?" and Rabha replied: "The law regarding a wine-press is not for the sake of the observance of the Sabbath; but it means to imply, that a man may drink the wine made at the press without waiting for the tithes to be acquitted thereof." Thus also said R. Shesheth, as we have learned in a Mishna: A man may drink from a wine-press, whether he mix the must with warm or cold water, and need not first acquit the tithes thereof. Such is the dictum of R. Meir; but R. Elazar ben Zadok prohibits this, if the man mixes the must with water, because by that act he turns it into a beverage. The sages, however, hold that if he mix it with warm water he turns it into a beverage and is culpable, but if he mix it with cold water he is not culpable as it is not considered a beverage, for he can, after quenching his thirst, pour it back into the press.

MISHNA: A man may catch water dropping from a spout on the roof, within ten hands from the ground; but from a projecting spout he may drink in any manner (he chooses).

GEMARA: He may catch it with his hands but with the mouth it is not allowed! Why so? Said R. Na'hman: This is the case if the spout was less than three spans from the roof, in which it is considered as the roof itself, and consequently it is private ground. If he should catch the water with his mouth it is like carrying things from private into public ground.

We have also learned to this effect in a Boraitha: A man may stand in private ground, raise his hand upwards of ten spans to the spout which is less than three spans from the roof and drink the water out of his hand; but he must not place a cask or his mouth underneath the spout.

"But from a projecting spout, he may drink in any manner." We have learned in a Boraitha, that if such spout was four spans square he must not do this; for it is regarded as carrying from one (kind of) ground into another.

MISHNA: Should a well standing in public ground have an enclosure ten spans high, it is lawful to draw water therefrom (on the Sabbath) through an aperture (window) that is above it. On a dunghill, ten spans high, standing in public ground, it is lawful to pour water through any aperture above it.

GEMARA: Where is the well supposed to be situated? Is it near the wall, why are ten-span-high enclosures necessary? Said R. Huna: "A well is referred to that is more than four spans distant from the wall, in which case a ten-span-high enclosure is necessary, otherwise the water would be carried from private into private ground byway of public ground."' R. Johanan, however, said: The well might have been even near the wall, but the Mishna intends to teach us, that the well with its enclosures together are accounted to be ten spans (and hence a partition which legalises the private ground).

"On a dunghill, ten spans high," etc. Is there no apprehension that the dunghill will be decreased (by removing part of it, in which case it will be less than ten spans and still they will continue to pour water on it)? Did not Rabhin bar R. Ada say in the name of R. Itz'hak: "It happened that concerning an entry which opened into the sea and into a dunghill Rabbi would neither declare the entry lawful nor unlawful. He would not declare it lawful, because it might occur, that the sea should recede and leave the land dry and also that the dunghill might be removed; yet he would not declare it unlawful because the sea and the dunghill were still partitions for the time being"? This presents no difficulty. In the case quoted by Rabhin the dunghill was the property of an individual and he could have removed it, but in the case treated of in the Mishna the dunghill is public property and there is no fear of its being removed. Mareimar erected partitions for all the entries in Sura facing the sea out of fish-nets, saying: There is danger lest the sea recede and leave the land in front of the entries dry. 1

MISHNA: Beneath a tree, the branches of which droop and cover the ground so that the tips of its twigs be within three spans from the ground, it is lawful to carry things (on the Sabbath). Should the roots of the tree project three spans high out of the ground it is not permitted to sit upon them.

GEMARA: R. Huna the son of R. Jehoshua said: "If the space occupied by the tree is of more than two saahs' capacity, it is not permitted to carry things therein." Why so? Because an abode beneath a tree is not considered an actual abode but is merely used by such as wish to avail themselves of the fresh air, and wherever such is the case it is not permitted to carry within a space of more than two saahs' capacity.

"Should its roots project three spans," etc. It was taught: If the roots of a tree projected more than three spans and sloped to a lesser height, Rabba permits their being used because the ends of the roots are less than three spans from the ground and hence equal to the ground itself, whereas R. Shesheth prohibits their use because he claims, that the beginning of the roots being over three spans from the ground cannot be used and the ends being part and parcel of the beginning are still subject to the same prohibition."

If the roots, however, grew in the shape of a rolling sea, those protruding highest are according to the opinion of all prohibited to be used. Those growing lowest are in everybody's opinion allowed to be used; but concerning the roots that grew between the two there is a difference of opinion between Rabba and R. Shesheth. The same note applies to a tree growing out of a water-ditch and to a tree growing in a corner between the two walls of a court.

The Rabbis taught: Roots of a tree projecting out of the ground three spans or between which there was a space of three spans must not be used, though one side of them be level with the ground, because it is not allowed to climb, hang on to, or lean upon a tree (on Sabbath). One must not climb a tree on the eve of Sabbath and remain there during the entire Sabbath. The same rule applies to animals, i.e., one must not climb upon the back of an animal on the eve of Sabbath and remain there the following day. One may, however, ascend to

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(respectively) descend into a pit, well, cavern, or fence by scaling or holding to the walls thereof even though they be an hundred ells long. (The reason for the prohibition regarding a tree is because there is fear, lest a man might tear off a twig on Sabbath, while in the case of a pit, well, etc., there is no possibility of such a thing.)

We have learned in one Boraitha, that if a man climbed up a tree (inadvertently) on Sabbath he must not descend, while in another, we have learned, that he may! This presents no difficulty. One Boraitha holds, that it should not be allowed to descend for the sake of a precaution, lest the climbing had been done with intention, while the other Boraitha maintains, that as long as it had been done unintentionally the man is permitted to descend.

In one Boraitha we were taught, that be the tree green or dried, it is not permitted to be used, while in another it is said, that only if it is green it is prohibited, if it be dry, however, it may be used. This presents no difficulty. The Boraitha that permits the tree to be used refers to one which during the summer had lost all its fruit and leaves, while it prohibits a tree to be used in the rainy season when it is full of fruit and leaves.

Rami bar Abba said in the name of R. Assi: A man must not walk on the grass on the Sabbath, for it is written [Proverbs 19:2]: "He that hasteneth with his feet is a sinner."

One Boraitha teaches, that a man is not allowed to walk on grass on the Sabbath and another teaches that he may! This presents no difficulty. One Boraitha refers to wet grass which is easily torn, while the other refers to dry grass. At this time, however, when we hold in accordance with the opinion of Simeon, that an act one has no intention of performing does not make one culpable, it is permitted to walk on any kind of grass.

MISHNA: The shutters of a bleaching ground or thorn bushes (as are used) to fill up breaches in a wall or reed mats must not be used to close up avenues unless they be placed a trifle above the ground.

GEMARA: The following presents a contradiction to the Mishna: We have learned: Portable shutters, reed mats, and plough-handles, if already hanging in their places, may be used to close up (avenues) on Sabbath and so much more on festivals? Said Abayi: "Providing they have hinges," and Rabha said: "Even if they have no hinges at the time but at one time did have, they may be used."

An objection was made: "We have learned: Portable shutters, reed-mats, and plough-handles if already banging in their places and but one hair's breadth removed from the ground, may be used to close up avenues?" Abayi explains this, in accordance with his former dictum, as follows: "Providing they either have hinges or are removed from the ground even one hair's breadth," while Rabha explains this, according to his former statement, namely: "Providing they at one time had hinges or were one hair's breadth distant from the ground."

The Rabbis taught: Thorn bushes, or bundles of thorns, which were prepared for filling up a breach in a wall, may, if they were tied together and already hung up, be used to close up avenues on the Sabbath and so much more on a festival.

R. Hyya taught: "A movable widow-door may not be used to close up avenues on the Sabbath." What is meant by a widow-door? Some say if it had only one board (which appears to be as a part of the wall) while others say that it may be even a two-board door but had no joints.

R. Jehudah said: Bonfires may be made on a festival provided they are ignited from the top, but they must not be ignited from the bottom, (because the flames would envelop the fuel and make it appear like a tent of fit, The same rule applies to eggs, pots, folding-beds used in the field, and casks (i.e., they must not be piled up in the form of tents and in the case of eggs they must not be cooked over a fire which has the appearance of a tent).

A Sadducee said to R. Jehoshua ben Hananiah: "Ye, (all Israelites) are compared to thorns, because it is written concerning you [Micah vii. 4]: 'The best of them is like a brier.'" Replied R. Jehoshua: "Look further into the verse, thou fool, where it is written [ibid.]: 'The most upright is sharper than a thorn hedge,' which signifies, that as a thorn-hedge is used to fill up a breach in a wall, so do the upright among us shield us from all evil."

MISHNA: A man must not, standing in private ground, unlock with a key something in public ground, nor may he, standing in the public ground, unlock with a key something in private ground, unless he had previously made a partition ten hands high (round the spot on which he stands). Such is the dictum of R. Meir; but the sages said to him: "It was the custom in the poultry-dealers' 1 market, at Jerusalem, to lock up the shops, and place the key in the window (aperture) above the door." R. Jose said: "This was done in the wool-market."

GEMARA: The sages object to the dictum of R. Meir. who speaks of public ground, by citing an instance in Jerusalem which is unclaimed ground. Did not Rabba bar bar Hana say in the name of R. Johanan that Jerusalem, if the gates were not closed at night, would be considered public ground as far as Sabbath is concerned?

Said R. Papa: Our Mishna treats of Jerusalem after its fortifications had been razed to the ground when it became public ground, but Rabha said: The sages did not object to the dictum of R. Meir as quoted in the Mishna, but to another statement of his referring to gates of gardens, and the Mishna should read thus: "Nor may he, standing in private ground, open with a key something in unclaimed ground, or vice versa, unless he had made a partition ten spans high." Such is the dictum of R. Meir; but the sages objected: "It was the custom in the poultry-dealers' market, etc., etc."

The Rabbis taught: The doors of the gates of gardens if leading into a porter's lodge on the inside may be locked from the inside. If the porter's lodge was outside of the door, the doors may be locked on the outside, and if there were lodges on both sides of the doors they may be locked on either side, but if there were no lodges at all, the doors must not be locked at all, because they are situated in private ground and the key must necessarily be brought from public ground. The same rule applies to shops that opened into public ground. If the lock of, the door was less than ton spans from the ground, the key should be brought on the eve of Sabbath and deposited on top of the door, and on Sabbath he may take it down, lock the door, and put the key back in its place. If there was an aperture above the door, he can place the key in that aperture providing the aperture was not four spans square, for if it be four spans square it constitutes a separate ground in itself, and the man would carry from one (kind of) ground into another.

MISHNA: A loose bolt with a knob to it, is prohibited to use on Sabbath. Such is the dictum of R. Eliezer; but R. Jose permits its use. R. Eliezer said: In the synagogue of Tiberias it was customary to use such a bolt, until Rabbon Gamaliel and the elders came and prohibited it. But R. Jose replied: On the contrary, they refrained from using it as unlawful, until Rabbon Gamaliel and the elders came and permitted it.

GEMARA: If the bolt was fastened to a cord (rope) and when holding the cord the bolt was also held, all agree, that it may be used, but they differ as to a bolt that was not fastened to a cord. One master holds that if it had a knob on top it is regarded as a vessel and may be used, while the other master said: "As it cannot be held with the cord it cannot be considered a vessel and must not be used."

MISHNA: A loose bolt, that is fastened to a rope (and hangs down towards the ground) may be used to fasten with in the Temple only, but not in the country; but a bolt that is fixed to the building itself must not be used in either place. R. Jehudah said: A fixed bolt may be used in the Temple and a loose bolt in the country.

GEMARA: The Rabbis taught: What is called a loose bolt, which may be used to fasten with in the Temple and not in the country? If it be fastened to a rope, hangs down, and one end reaches the ground. R. Jehudah, however, says, that a bolt of that kind may even be used in the country, but a bolt which must not be used except in the Temple, is one that is not fastened to a rope and hangs down, but which is fixed to the building itself and when taken out is placed in a corner.

R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Jehudah concerning a loose bolt in the country but as for a fixed bolt which is not the outcome of a rabbinical law but against an actual biblical law, namely: that prohibiting building, it is not allowed to be used even in the Temple." Said Rabha: "A loose bolt is prohibited even in the country unless it be fastened by a rope to the door." This is not so! Do we not know, that it happened when R. Tabhla came to Mehuzza and saw a bolt fastened by a rope but not attached to the door, he did not object to its use? In that case it was a rope that was amply firm to hold the bolt without being attached to the door.

R. Ivia came to Neherdai and saw a man fastening a bolt with papyrus, whereupon he said, that a bolt fastened in that manner must not be used.

R. Nahumi bar Zachariah asked Abayi: "How is it if a man made a handle to the bolt?" and he answered: "Thou askest then concerning a pestle and it was taught in the name of R. Nahumi bar Ada that if he made a handle to a bolt and it looked like a pestle, it may be used."

Rami bar Ezekiel sent a request to R. Amram: "Let master tell us some of the good sayings, which he at one time related in the name of R. Assi concerning the canopies of boats." And R. Amram replied: "R. Assi said thus: If the poles upon which the canopies were put up be one span thick, or if they be less than one span thick, but are less than three spans apart, one may, on the Sabbath, bring a mat and form a tent out of such poles, because they were already at one time tents, and for the time being were also temporary tents, and it is permitted to add to a temporary tent in order to make it useful."

R. Huna had some rams which at night required fresh air and in daytime required a shady place, so he came to Rabh and asked him what to do on the Sabbath. Rabh answered: On the eve of Sabbath, when thou removest the covering of the stalls which the rams occupied during the day, do not quite remove all the covering, but leave about a span closed. Thus on Sabbath thou wilt have a temporary tent, and thou mayest then cover up the stalls entirely; for it is permitted to add to a temporary tent on the Sabbath.

Rabh in the name of R. Hyya said: One may unfold and fold up a curtain on the Sabbath.

R. Shesha the son of R. Idi said: "It is permitted to wear a black, broad-brimmed hat on Sabbath." Did we not learn in a Boraitha that it is not permitted to wear such a hat on Sabbath? This presents no difficulty. The Boraitha refers to a hat, the brim of which was one span in width. If that be the case, then it would not be allowed to let down any garment more than a span? Therefore we must say, that the Boraitha prohibits the wearing of such a hat only if it is not tied to the head and not because of its similarity to a tent, but for fear that the wind might blow it off and one would be forced to carry it more than four ells in public ground, while R. Shesheth refers to a hat that is tied to the head and there is no fear of its being blown off.

MISHNA: In the Temple the lower hinge of a cupboard-door may be refitted into its place (on the Sabbath), but this must not be done in the country. The upper hinge must not be refitted either in the Temple or in the country. R. Jehudah said: The upper hinge may be refitted in the Temple and the lower one in the country.

GEMARA: The Rabbis taught: The lower hinges of a door of a cupboard or a chest or a tower may be refitted into their places in the Temple, but in the country they may only be temporarily replaced, but not refitted. If the upper hinges had become unfastened it is not allowed to even temporarily replace them as a precaution lest they be refitted with tools, for should this be done the act involves liability to bring a sin-offering. The doors of cellars, vaults, or gables must not be refitted, and if this was done, the man is liable for a sin-offering.

MISHNA: They (priests who minister) may replace a plaster on a wound (which plaster had been taken off to perform the service) in the Temple; but this must not be done in the country. To put the first plaster on a wound on Sabbath is prohibited in either place.

GEMARA: The Rabbis taught: "If a plaster became removed from a wound it may be replaced on Sabbath." R. Jehudah said: "If it was moved up it may be moved down and if it was moved down it may be moved up, and it is permitted to remove part of the plaster and cleanse the exposed portion of the wound, then replace the plaster, remove another part, cleanse the exposed wound and again replace the plaster, but it is not permitted to cleanse the plaster because by so doing one would rub the plaster and if this was done it involves liability for a sin-offering."

Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Jehudah."

R. Hisda said: The statement of the first Tana to the effect that a plaster may be replaced applies only to a plaster that had fallen on a vessel but a plaster that had fallen to the ground must not be replaced.

Mar the son of R. Assi said: "It happened once that I was standing before my father and a plaster which he had on a wound fell on a cushion and he replaced the plaster. Said I to him: 'Does master not hold in accordance with the opinion of R. Hisda, who said that the first Tana and R. Jehudah differ only as to a plaster that had fallen on a vessel, and Samuel said that the Halakha prevails according to R. Jehudah. How then could master have replaced it?' and my father answered that he did not agree with R. Hisda."

MISHNA: They (the Levites performing on musical instruments) may tie a string (of an instrument which had burst, on Sabbath) in the Temple; but this must not be done in the country. To put a new string on the instrument (on Sabbath) is in either place prohibited.

GEMARA: There is a contradiction! Have we not learned that if a string of an instrument had burst, they only made a loop but did not tie it into a knot? This presents no difficulty. This latter is the opinion of R. Simeon, while the Mishna is in accordance with the opinion of the Rabbis, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: If a Levite had burst the string of an instrument he may tie it; R. Simeon, however, said: He may only make a loop in the string. Said R. Simeon ben Elazar: If he merely makes a loop, the sound will be affected; hence he should loosen the string at the top and draw it down to the bottom or loosen it at the bottom and draw it taut to the top.

MISHNA: They (the priests who minister) may remove a wart from an animal on Sabbath in the Temple, but this must not be done in the country; by means of an instrument it is prohibited to do so in either place.

GEMARA: There is a contradiction. We have learned: Concerning the paschal lamb, which must be carried on the shoulders or brought from without the legal limits and the blemish of which must be removed, these acts must not supersede the due observance of the Sabbath.

R. Elazar and R. Jose bar Hinana differ: One holds, that the Mishna and the Boraitha both treat of a case where the wart is removed merely by hand and not with an instrument, but the Mishna, which permits such removal, refers to a wart which had dried and is easily crumbled, while the Boraitha treats of

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a suppurating wart which involves a deal of trouble to remove. The other, however, maintains, that the Boraitha refers to the removal of the wart with an instrument.

R. Joseph said: Both the Mishna and the Boraitha treat of a case where the wart was capable of being removed by hand, and they do not differ. The Mishna maintains, that any rabbinical prohibition which applies to the service of the Temple may be disregarded in the Temple, while the Boraitha holds, that any act pertaining to the service of the Temple which is generally prohibited must not be performed in the country (outside of the Temple).

Abayi was sitting and repeating the Halakha decreed by his master R. Joseph, and R. Saphra objected, saying: "Have we not learned in a Mishna [Tract Sabbath, p. 30]: that the Passover sacrifice may be turned around in the oven (on Friday) when it is getting dark, and the Passover sacrifice was not roasted in the Temple itself; hence we see, that the rabbinical prohibition was disregarded even outside of the Temple?" Abayi was silent. Subsequently he came to R. Joseph and told him R. Saphra's objection. Said R. Joseph to him: "Why didst thou not answer, that in that case the Passover sacrifice was prepared by an aggregation of men and an aggregation of men is generally very cautious?" [Why did Abayi not answer R. Saphra to that effect? Because he heard only, that the priests were very cautious, but never heard anything about an aggregation of men.]

Rabha, however, said: Our Mishna is in accordance with the opinion of R. Eliezer, who holds, that any preparation for the fulfilment of a commandment supersedes the observance of the Sabbath (but the reason that the Mishna prohibits the use of an instrument for removing the wart, is because even R. Eliezer admits, that whatever it is possible to do on Sabbath in a manner different from a week-day, should so be done). Whence do we adduce that R. Eliezer admits this? From the following Boraitha: "If a priest should suddenly discover a wart on his person on the Sabbath, his companion should remove it by means of his teeth." Hence we see that the wart must be removed by means of the teeth and not by instruments, and again that the priest himself must not do it but it must be done by his companion. According to whose opinion is this? Shall we say, that it is according to the opinion of the sages and it occurred in the Temple, why should his companion be obliged to do it? He could, according to the opinion of the sages, do it himself, because a rabbinical prohibition may be disregarded in the Temple; therefore we must say, that it is in accordance with the opinion of R. Eliezer, who holds, that if an ordinary Israelite did this, he would be liable for a sin-offering, but because this is an act pertaining to the fulfilment of a commandment it may be done, but if it is possible to accomplish it in a manner different from that on a week day it should so be done.

MISHNA: A priest (ministering) who hurts his finger, may bind it up with reeds in the Temple (on the Sabbath), but this must not be done in the country. Squeezing out the blood is, in either place, prohibited. It is permitted to strew salt on the stairs of the altar (on Sabbath), in order to prevent the ministering priests from slipping. It is also permitted to draw water from the well Gola and from the large well by means of the rolling wheel on the Sabbath and from the cold well (on festivals).

GEMARA: R. Ika of Pashrunia propounded a contradictory question to Rabha: In our Mishna it is stated, that it is allowed to strew salt on the stairs, whence we see, that this may be done in the Temple only but not in the country; but have we not learned that if a court had become deluged by rain it is permitted to strew straw on the ground (so as to make it passable)? Answered Rabha: "With straw it is different! For he can eventually remove the straw and use it for another purpose.

Rabha related: "If a court had become deluged by rain, one may bring straw and spread it out on the ground (of the court)." Said R. Papa to him: "Have we not learned, however, that he should not spread the straw in the same manner as he does on a week day, i.e., through a basket, or crate, but through the sides of a broken basket." Whereupon Rabha procured an interpreter (crier) and proclaimed: What I told you previously was a mistake! Thus was it taught in the name of R. Eliezer: When he comes to spread out the straw on the ground he should not do it by means of a basket or a crate but through the sides of a broken basket.

"It is also permitted to draw water from the well Gola," etc. Ula was a guest in the home of R. Menasseh. A man happened to come along and knocked at the door. So Ula asked: "Who is it that is violating the Sabbath?" Said Rabba to him: "It was prohibited only to produce a sound by means of an instrument, but not to knock on the door." Abayi objected: "We have learned that it is permitted to draw wine by means of a siphon or drip it through a colander for a sick person on the Sabbath (and it is known that both produce a sound)." So we see, that this is only permitted for a sick person but not for a. healthy person. What purpose would it serve in the case of a sick person? To arouse him from slumber? Hence it is not: permitted to produce a sound for a healthy person? Nay; dripping wine through a colander is supposed to produce a sound similar to that of a cymbal and it is done in order to induce sleep in the case of a sick person who had dozed off in slumber.

Is not, however, the prohibition to draw water form the well Gola or from the large well instituted on account of the sound produced by the rolling wheel? Nay; it is prohibited as a precaution, lest a man take water from such a well and sprinkle his garden or his ruins (to lay the dust).

Ameimar permitted water to be drawn from the wells in Mehuzza by means of a rolling wheel, saying: "The sages prohibited it as a precaution, lest a man sprinkle his garden or his ruin with that water, but here in this city there are no gardens and no ruins." Afterwards he observed that the people used that water for the purpose of soaking flax during the week, so he prohibited the drawing of that water on Sabbath.

"And from the cold well (on festivals)." What is meant by the cold well? Said R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak: "That well was filled with spring-water." Whence does R. Na'hman adduce this? From the passage [Jeremiah vi. 7]: "As a well sendeth forth its waters." 1

We have learned in a Boraitha: It was not permitted to draw water from all cold wells but only from the one mentioned; because when the Israelites returned from exile they together with their prophets who lived in that day drank therefrom and made it lawful to draw water from that well on Sabbath forever. The prophets would not have done this either, if it t for the fact that they knew it to be an ancient custom of their ancestors.

MISHNA: Should (the carcass of) a dead reptile be found in the Temple on the Sabbath, the priest shall move it out with his belt, as an unclean thing must not remain within the Temple. Such is the dictum of R. Johanan ben Berokah; but R. Jehudah said: It should be removed with wooden pincers, in order that the uncleanness spread not further. From which (parts of the Temple) should it be removed? From the inner Temple, from the hall, and from the interspace between the hall and the altar. Such is the dictum of R. Simeon ben Nanos; but R. Aqiba said: It should be removed from every place (in the Temple) which, if entered by an unclean person intentionally, lays him liable to the punishment of Kareth (being cut off), and if entered inadvertently, makes him liable for a sin-offering. In all other parts of the Temple, the carcass of the reptile should be covered with a (copper) cooling-vessel (ψυχτήρ) till the Sabbath is over and then be removed. R. Simeon said: Whatsoever the sages permit thee to do is (not an infraction of biblical law, but) a right which is thine own; inasmuch as whatever they permit could at all events become unlawful only on account of their own enactments for the sake of the Sabbath-rest.

GEMARA: R. Tabhi bar Kisna said in the name of Samuel: "One who brings a thing, which had become unclean through a reptile into the Temple (if he does it intentionally), he becomes amenable to the punishment of Kareth (being cut off) 1 and (if he does it inadvertently) is liable for a sin-offering; but one who brings in the carcass of a reptile itself, is not culpable." Why so? Because it is written [Numbers v. 3]: "Both male and female shall ye send out," and this refers to such as have become unclean, but by taking a legal bath (Mikvah) can become clean. The reptile itself can never be clean, however, hence one is not culpable, if he brings it into the Temple.

Shall we assume that the point of variance between R. Johanan ben Berokah and R. Jehudah in our Mishna is based upon the above Halakha of Samuel, i.e., R. Johanan, when stating, that an unclean thing must not remain in the Temple means to say, that if a man brought in a reptile, he is culpable, while R. Jehudah, who states that the reptile should be removed on account of the possibility of its spreading uncleanness, means to signify that a man who brings in a reptile is not culpable, and the reptile itself is merely a means of spreading uncleanness? Nay; both agree that a man is culpable, but R. Johanan means to assert, that the remaining of an unclean thing in the Temple is a far more grievous condition than the possibility of its spreading uncleanness, while R. Jehudah claims, that the spreading is of more consequence, hence he advises that wooden pincers be used but not the belt of the priest.

Thus we see, that whether a man is culpable or not is not the point of variance between the two teachers of the first clause in the Mishna but between the Tanaim of the second clause commencing: From which parts (of the Temple) should it be removed? He who says, that it should be removed only from the inner Temple, from the hall, etc., holds, that if a man brought in a reptile into the Temple, he is not culpable, but R. Aqiba, who says that it should be removed from every place, etc., holds that the man who brings in the reptile is culpable.

R. Johanan said: Both Tanaim, R. Simeon ben Nanos and R. Aqiba, adduced their teaching from one and the same passage, viz., II Chronicles xxix. 16: "And the priests went into the inner part of the house of the Lord to cleanse it; and they brought out everything unclean which they found in the temple of the Lord into the court of the house of the Lord; and the Levites received it, to carry it out abroad unto the brook Kidron." R. Simeon ben Nanos means to say, that because the Levites received the unclean things from the priests for further conveyance, it is evident, that only as far as the place where the transfer was made to the Levites, it is important that no uncleanness be found, and a rabbinical ordinance may be violated in order to remove such uncleanness, but from that place and further it is not of sufficient consequence to permit of the infraction of an ordinance instituted for the sake of the Sabbath-rest. R. Aqiba, however, means to say, that the finding of uncleanness in any part of the Temple is of sufficient importance to permit of the infraction of a rabbinical ordinance, and the reason that the priest transferred the unclean things to the Levites was because where Levites could carry it, the priests are exempt, but up to the place of transfer, although the priests were not permitted under ordinary circumstances to traverse the space except for ministerial duties, in that case the matter was of such importance that they were allowed to disregard that regulation.

The Rabbis taught: It is permitted for anyone to enter the Temple for the purpose of building, repairing, and also for the purpose of removing an unclean thing. It is a better fulfilment of that religious duty if a priest does so, and in lieu of a priest a Levite; but if there is no Levite on hand, an ordinary Israelite may go. All of them, however, must be (ritually) clean (notwithstanding the fact that they are about to become unclean).

"R. Simeon said: Whatsoever the sages permit," etc. What does R. Simeon refer to with this dictum? He has reference to, or in fact supplements his dictum in the fourth chapter of this tract (last Mishna) to the effect that "if a man was even fifteen ells beyond the legal limits he may nevertheless go back," and referring to this he states, that this is merely the man's own right, as the land surveyors are liable to err in the measurement.

"As whatever they permit could at all events become unlawful," etc. What would R. Simeon refer to with this part of his statement? This latter part of his dictum refers to his statement in the Boraitha concerning a new string for an instrument (previously mentioned) when he decrees, that if the string is broken the Levite may tie it into a loop, and here he supplements it by saying, that whatever the sages permitted was only such an act as could not involve liability for a sin-offering; but any act which could involve liability for a sin-offering was not permitted by the sages to be performed.

END OF VOLUME 3.

THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD BOOK 3 (2)

VOLUME 4

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SYNOPSIS OF SUBJECTS OF VOLUME 4.--TRACT SHEKALIM. 1

CHAPTER 1.

MISHNA a treats of: What were the duties of the Beth Din in the month of Adar in the time of the second Temple. When the Megillah (Book of Esther) was to be read in the fortified cities. For what purpose messengers were sent out, and what were the things to be heralded.

MISHNA b treats of: What was the punishment for not obeying the commandments of Kelayim in the former times and later.

MISHNA c deals with: When the money-changers, with their tables, began their work in the countries of Judea and in Jerusalem. The time for pledges which were taken for not paying the Shekalim. From what persons the pledges were to be taken. If a father might pay the Shekalim for his children.

MISHNA d treats of: What ordinance Ben Buchri proclaimed in Jamnia in behalf of the priests, and what R. Johanan b. Zakkai rejoined. The defence of the priests, with their interpretation of biblical passages, which was accepted only for the sake of peace. MISHNA e treats of: The voluntary

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payment of Shekalim from women, slaves, and minors being accepted, but not from the heathens or Samaritans. Bird-offerings not accepted from persons affected with venereal diseases or from women after confinement. Sin and vow offerings, however, were accepted from the Samaritans. The vow-offerings were also accepted from heathens. The general rule concerning this.

MISHNA f deals with: The premium one had to pay in addition to the half-shekel. Who was obliged to do so? The different opinions of the sages and R. Meir. How much one had to pay if given one Selah and taking a shekel in exchange,

MISHNA g treats of: The law concerning one who pays for a poor man, for a neighbour, and for a countryman. Law concerning brothers and partners paying together; also, law regarding cattle-tithe. How much was the premium.

CHAPTER 2.

MISHNA a. One may put together the Shekalim and exchange them for a gold coin called Darkon. Concerning the chests which were given to the collectors in the country and at Jerusalem. What is the law if money were stolen or lost by the messengers of a city, when a portion of the Shekalim was already expended; what is the law if not expended.

MISHNA b. Concerning the law when one gives his shekels to another to pay his head-taxes for him; if he pays his shekels from the money of the second tithes or from the money of the fruit of the Sabbatical year. Concerning how he shall replace it and use it for the same purpose.

MISHNA c. The law concerning one who gathered single coins little by little and said: "With this money I shall pay my shekels." The different opinions of the schools of Hillel and Shamai in this matter. Concerning the same case when one gathers money for sin-offerings. What shall be done with the eventual remains of such money.

MISHNA d. Concerning the explanation of R. Simeon of the teachings of the school of Hillel. The discussion of the former with R. Jehudah. The claims of the latter that the coins of the Shekalim were also changed in times and places. The rejoinder of R. Simeon to this.

MISHNA e. The law concerning the remainder of money intended for Shekalim when considered to be ordinary. Regarding the remainder of the tenth part of an ephah, bird-offerings, and guilt-offerings: what shall be done with it. A rule concerning this matter. Also, regulations concerning the remainder of Passover sacrifices, Nazarite offerings, the remainder of moneys for the poor in general and individuals, of money for prisoners, for burial of the dead, and R, Meir and R. Nathan's opinions regarding this matter.

CHAPTER 3.

MISHNA a. Regarding the appointed periods of the year when the money was drawn from the treasury. The different opinions, concerning this matter, of R. Aqiba b. Asai, R. Eliezer, and R. Simeon. The same time appointed for cattle-tithes.

MISHNA b. Concerning the ceremony of drawing the money at all periods of the year. The law regarding measures of the boxes in which the coins of the Shekalim were filled, and the numbers of the chests in which the money was drawn from the boxes for the expenses of the Temple. Which box must be opened first, and which last. What garments the person drawing the money must wear. How a man must stand unblemished before his fellow-man and before his God.

MISHNA c. Concerning the custom of the house of Rabban Gamaliel, when the members of the house had paid their Shekalim. The law regarding one who drew money did not commence until he had said to the bystanders, "I will now draw," and they answered, "Draw, draw, draw," three times.

MISHNA d. Concerning the covering of the boxes after drawing the money. For which countries the drawings were performed in the first period, the second, and the third.

CHAPTER 4.

MISHNA a. What was done with the money drawn? Concerning the watchmen that were sent out to guard the after-growth of the Sabbatical year, of which the Omer and two loaves were taken for sacrifice. The opinion of R. Jose in this matter, and what the rabbis answered.

MISHNA b. Concerning the red heifer, the goat that was to be sent away, the strip of scarlet, the bridge for the cow, the bridge for the goat, the canal, the city wall, the towers, and other necessities of the city: all were paid for out of the Shekalim money. What Abba Saul said.

MISHNA c. What was done with the balance of the money left over in the treasury. The discussion of R. Ishmael and R. Aqiba in this matter. Some of the many things which are enumerated in the Palestinian Talmud and which were done with this money. Among them was the hiring of teachers for priests to teach them the laws of the sacrifices.

MISHNA d. What was done with the remainder of the moneys of the chest. The different opinions of R. Ishmael, R. Aqiba, and R. Hanina, the assistant chief of the priests, concerning profit: if it might be raised from the remaining money or not, and of what money the gold plates for the decorations of the Holy of Holies were made. Also, concerning the benefit of the altar.

MISHNA e. What was done with the remainder of the incense (as the incense of the New Year must be bought with the new Shekalim money). The sanctification of the incense on hand then transferred to that money, and then redeemed with the money of the new revenue.

MISHNA f. Concerning the law when one devoted his entire possessions in honour of the Lord: what should be done with them. The discussions of R. Aqiba and Ben Asai regarding this matter.

MISHNA g. Concerning the law when one devoted his possessions, and among them were cattle, male and female, fit for the altar. The discussions of this matter between R. Eliezer and R. Jehoshua. R. Aqiba is inclined to the opinion of R. Eliezer, which seems to him to be more proper, but adds that he had heard that both opinions were right according to circumstances.

MISHNA h. If one devote his possessions, and among them are things fit for the altar, such as wines, oils, and birds, what should be done with them. R. Eliezer decreed it, and no one opposed him.

MISHNA i. Contractors, for the delivery of all things for the altar and the improvements of the Temple, were appointed every month; but if the

prices changed during the thirty days, the Sanctuary must not suffer any injury. Such was the agreement made between them. The illustration of this.

CHAPTER 5.

MISHNA a. Concerning some names of the offices and the heads of them in the Sanctuary during the entire period when the second Temple was in existence. What were the officers' duties, and how they officiated.

MISHNA b. Concerning the order of the head officers; namely, the king, the high priest, his assistant, two catholicoses, and seven chamberlains, not less than two officers being put in charge of public moneys.

MISHNA c. Regarding the seals that were in the Sanctuary, serving for the beverages and meat-offerings which must be brought, according to the Bible, with every sacrifice. Concerning the inscription on the seals and their usage. Ben Azai added one seal for the poor sinner. The names of the officers, of the seal-keeper and the officer who sells the above offerings.

MISHNA d. The date must be put on every seal. The law regarding surplus money being found in the treasury of the seal-keeper: to whom it belongs; and if a deficit, who must supply it.

MISHNA e. The law concerning one who lost his seal; what must be done.

MISHNA f. Concerning the two chambers in the Sanctuary, of which one was called "Chamber of Silence" and the other "Chamber of Utensils." What was done there, during what time they were investigated, and what was done with the presented utensils which were useless for the Temple.

CHAPTER 6.

MISHNA a. Concerning the thirteen covered chests and thirteen tables which were in the Sanctuary. How many prostrations took place in the Sanctuary. How R. Gamaliel and R. Hanina, assistant chief of the high priest, added one in the place where the ark was hidden.

MISHNA b. Relates how a blemished priest who was engaged in selecting and peeling wood had noticed the place where the ark was hidden, but before he had time to tell it to the others he expired.

MISHNA c. Concerning the directions where the prostrations were made. How many gates were in the Temple: their names, and why they were so named; also, different opinions of the sages concerning this. There were two gates which were nameless.

MISHNA d. Of what material the thirteen tables were made, where they stood, for what purpose they were used. Concerning the golden table in the Temple itself, upon which the showbreads were constantly lying.

MISHNA e. Concerning the inscriptions on the thirteen covered chests in the Sanctuary, and what was done with them. The different opinions of R. Jehudah and the sages as to using certain money put in some chests.

MISHNA f. Concerning the amount of articles to be furnished in payment of a vow one made, who did not explain how much he intended to give; for instance, wood, incense, gold coins, etc. A rule that was made concerning this. The hides of all sacrifices belong to the priest.

CHAPTER 7.

MISHNA a. If money was found in between the differently marked chests, to which chest the money belonged. Concerning this the rule was: One must be guided by the proximity, even in the case of the less important, etc.

MISHNA b. Concerning money found in Jerusalem, in the court of the Temple, in the times of the Festivals and in the ordinary times'.

MISHNA c. Concerning meat found in the court of the Temple, in the city, and any place where Israelites resided and where Gentiles and Israelites together resided.

MISHNA d. Concerning cattle found between Jerusalem and Migdal Eder, and in the vicinity of the city in all directions: what the law prescribes. The different opinions of some sages.

MISHNA e. Relates how, in former days, the finder of such cattle was pledged to bring drink-offerings, and how afterwards the high court decreed to furnish them from the public moneys.

MISHNAS f and g. R. Simeon named seven decrees which were promulgated by the high court, and the above decree was one of them. R. Jehudah, however, does not agree on some points with him. R. Jose has also something to say about this.

CHAPTER 8.

MISHNA a. Concerning streets in which people must walk during the time of the Festival in Jerusalem, for, the sake of cleanness. The different opinions, in this matter, of R. Meir and the sages.

MISHNA b. Regarding utensils found on the way towards the plunge-baths: if they are clean or not, and the different opinions of R. Meir and R. Jose.

MISHNA c. Regarding the butcher-knife, if it was found in the street on the 4th of Nissan; and what is the case if the 14th falls on a Sabbath.

MISHNA d. Concerning where the curtain of the Sanctuary must be submerged if it become defiled. The first time it was submerged it was spread out for the people to admire the beauty of the work.

MISHNA e. What Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel had to tell in the name of Simeon, the son of the assistant high priest. How the curtain was made: the great amount of the cost and how many hundred priests were required to submerge it.

MISHNA f. If meat of the Holy of Holies became defiled, where it must be burned. The different opinions of the schools of Shamai and Hillel on this point.

MISHNA g. The different opinions of R. Eliezer and R. Aqiba concerning anything that had become defiled through a principal uncleanness.

MISHNA h. The joints of the daily sacrifices, where they were laid down; the sacrifices of the new moon, where they were placed, The payment of Shekalim, if it was obligatory after the destruction of the Temple. The same law regarding cattle-tithe, tithes of grain, and deliverance of the firstlings. The law if one sanctified Shekalim or firstlings after the destruction of the Temple.

TRACT SHEKALIM.

UNDER this heading the payment of a head-tax is treated of, which amounted to one-half of a shekel (in the Mishna always referred to as a shekel) and which had to be paid by every Israelite (see Exodus xxx. 12) upon the completion of his twentieth year. In the times of the existence of the Temple, the proceeds of this tax were applied for communal sacrifices and for the needs of the capital. The manner of collection, investment, and application of this money forms the subject of this treatise. It contains, in addition, many other historical regulations, most of which, however, only held good during the existence of the second Temple.

CHAPTER 1.

MISHNA: (a) On the first day of the month of Adar, warnings are heralded (from Jerusalem) concerning Shekalim and Kelayim (the prohibition concerning the use, for ploughing together, of an ox with an ass, and the sowing together of different kinds of seeds). On the fifteenth day of that month the Megillah Esther is read in the fortified cities; and the same day the improvement of country roads, market-places, and legal plunge-baths is proceeded with. Public affairs are again taken up; at the same time, graves are marked with lime, and messengers are sent out on account of possible Kelayim. (b) R. Jehudah says: At one time the messengers used to pull out the Kelayim (illegally mixed seeds) and throw them at the feet of the owners! The number of the transgressors, however, being constantly on the increase, the Kelayim were pulled out and thrown into the roads. Finally, it was determined that the entire fields of such law-breakers were to be confiscated.

(c) On the fifteenth of this month (Adar) the money-changers outside of Jerusalem seated themselves at their tables. In the city of Jerusalem, however, they did not do this until the twenty-fifth of the month. As soon as the money-changers seated themselves also in the city, the taking of pledges from the tardy ones commenced. But from whom were pledges taken? From Levites, Israelites, proselytes, and freedmen; but not from women, slaves, and minors. If a father, however, commenced to give a pledge for a minor, he was not allowed to stop. From priests no pledges were taken, for the sake of peace (and the dignity of the priests themselves).

(d) Said R. Jehudah: Ben Buchri proclaimed the following ordinance in Yavne (Jamnia): "Any priest paying his shekel commits no wrong." R. Johanan ben Zakai, however, rejoined:

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"Not so! (The ordinance should read:) 'Any priest not paying his shekel, commits a sin.'" But the priests used to interpret the following passage to their advantage: It is written [Leviticus vi. 16]: "And every meat-offering of a priest shall be wholly burnt, it shall not be eaten." (They said therefore:) Were we obliged to contribute (our shekels) how could we eat our Omer (first sheaves harvested) and the two loaves and the showbread (which were procured with the shekels of the head-tax)?

(e) Although it was ordained that no pledges were to be taken from women, slaves, and minors, if they offered to contribute, their money was accepted. From heathens and Samaritans it was not accepted. Nor were bird-offerings, for men or women afflicted with venereal disease and for women who had recently been confined, accepted; nor sin and guilt offerings. Vowed and voluntary offerings, however, were accepted. The following is the rule: Everything which was vowed as an offering and all voluntary offerings were accepted. Anything not vowed for offering or given voluntarily was not accepted from them (heathens and Samaritans). So it is explicitly declared in Ezra, for it is written [Ezra iv. 3]: "It is not for you and us (both) to build a house unto our God."

(f) The following are obliged to pay a premium (in addition to the half-shekel): Levites, Israelites, proselytes, and freed. men; but not (priests,) women, slaves, and minors. If one pay (the half-shekel) for a priest, woman, slave, or a minor, he is exempt (from paying the premium); if he pay for himself and another, however, he must pay a premium for one. R. Meir says: "(He must pay) two premiums. One who pays a Sela (whole Bible shekel) and receives in return a half (Bible) shekel must pay two premiums."

(g) If one pay for a poor man, for a neighbour, or for a countryman, he is exempt from a premium (because it is charity); if he only advances them the money, he is not exempt. Brothers who (after dividing their inheritance) have their business in common, or partners, when they become obliged to pay a premium, are exempt from cattle-tithe. As long, however, as they must pay cattle-tithe, they are exempt from a premium. How much does the premium amount to? According to R. Meir, to one silver Meah (one twenty-fourth of a shekel); but the sages say, to one-half of a Meah.

CHAPTER 2.

MISHNA: (a) One may put together the Shekalim and exchange them for Darkons (Greek coins of permanent value), in order to be able to carry them more readily. just as the money-chests were on the order of horns in the city of Jerusalem, so were they also in the country. If the inhabitants of a town sent their Shekalim (to the city of Jerusalem) by messengers, and the money was stolen from them or was lost by accident, if the treasurers had already drawn their share (from the communal Shekalim), the messengers of the city must swear to the fact before the treasurers. If the share had not yet been drawn, they (the messengers) must swear to the facts before the inhabitants of the town, and the latter must make the amount good. If the money was recovered or returned by the thieves, both amounts are considered as Shekalim, and nothing is credited to next year's account. (b) If one give his shekel to another to pay (his head-tax) for him, and the man appropriates it to pay his own tax, he (the latter) commits embezzlement if the share had already been drawn; the same is the case with one who pays his shekel with sanctified money, after his share had been drawn and an animal was sacrificed for it. If he took the money from the second tithes or from the Sabbatical year fruit, he must eat the full value of same in the city of Jerusalem. (c) If one gather together single coins and say: "These shall serve for my Shekalim," the eventual remainder is, according to the school of Shamai, a voluntary gift; according to the school of Hillel, it is not sanctified. If the man say, however: "Out of these I shall pay my Shekalim," the eventual remainder is, according to both schools, not sanctified. If he say: "These shall serve me for a sin-offering," the eventual remainder is, according to both schools, a voluntary offering. If he say: "Out of these will I bring a sin-offering," the eventual remainder is, according to both schools, not sanctified. (d) R. Simeon says: "What difference is there here between the Shekalim and the sin-offerings? Shekalim have their fixed value, but sin-offerings have not." R. Jehudah says: "Even Shekalim have no fixed value; for when Israel returned from captivity, (half-) Darkons were paid; later (half-) Selas were paid; again, Tabas (half-shekels) were current (but not accepted), and finally people would only pay with Dinars." d2 Rejoined R. Simeon: "Nevertheless, the Shekalim were all of like value at one and the same time, while as for sin-offerings, one brings one Sela's worth, another two, and a third three Selas' worth." (e) The remainder of moneys intended for Shekalim is not sanctified. The remainder of moneys intended for the offering of the tenth part of an ephah [Lev. v. xi.] (sin-offering of the poor), for bird-offerings of men or women afflicted with venereal disease and of women that had been recently confined, and for sin and guilt offerings, are considered voluntary offerings. Following is the rule: The remainder of everything designated for sin and guilt offerings is considered as a voluntary offering. The remainder of whole-offerings is applied to whole-offerings, of food-offerings to food-offerings, of peace-offerings to peace-offerings; that of the Passover- offerings to peace-offerings, and that of Nazarite-offerings to Nazarite-offerings. The remainder of such (offering) as is designated for a certain Nazarite is a voluntary offering. The remainder of moneys for the poor in general, belongs to the poor; of money collected for a certain poor man belongs to that same poor man. The remainder of ransom moneys for prisoners is applied to (the ransom of) other prisoners; of moneys collected for a certain prisoner belongs to that prisoner. The remainder of burial moneys is applied to (the burial of) other dead; of money collected for a particular dead (man) belongs to tile legal heirs. R. Meir says: "The remainder remains intact until Elijah comes again" (as the herald of the resurrection). R. Nathan says: "It should be applied to the building of a gravestone for the departed."

CHAPTER 3.

MISHNA: (a) At three periods of the year money is drawn from the treasury (of the Shekalim); viz.: Half a month before Passover, half a month before Pentecost, and half a month before the Feast of Booths. The same dates are also the terms for the obligation of cattle-tithing, so says R. Aqiba. Ben Azai says: "The dates for the latter terms are the twenty-ninth of Adar, the first of Sivan, and the twenty-ninth of Abh." R. Eliezer and R. Simeon both say: "The first of Nissan, the first of Sivan, and the twenty-ninth of Elul." But why do they say the twenty-ninth of Elul why not the first of Tishri? Because that is a feast-day, and it is not allowed to tithe on a feast-day; therefore they ordained it for the preceding day, the twenty-ninth of Elul. (b) The money drawn from the treasury was brought in three chests, each of three Saahs' capacity. On these chests was written: Aleph, Beth, Gimmel. R. Ishmael says: "They were marked in Greek: Alpha, Beta, Gamma."--The one that drew the money was not allowed to enter (the treasury) with a turned-up garment, nor with shoes nor sandals, nor with Tephillin, nor with an amulet, in order that, in the event of his becoming impoverished, it should not be said that he was thus punished on account of transgression against the treasury; or if he became rich, that he enriched himself by means of money drawn from the treasury. For a man must stand as unblemished before his fellowman as before his God, as it is written [Numbers 32:22]: "And ye be thus guiltless before the Lord and before Israel"; and [Proverbs 3:4]: "So shalt thou find grace and good favour in the eyes of God and man." (c) The members of the family of R. Gamaliel used to enter, each one with his shekel between his fingers, and throw it before the one who drew the money from the treasury, and the latter immediately placed it into the chest (which he took out).--The one who came in to draw the money did not proceed before he had said to the bystanders: "I will now proceed to draw," and they had answered: "Draw, draw, draw," three times. (d) After the man had completed the first drawing, he covered the balance with a cover (of fur); the same was done after the second drawing; after the third drawing the balance remained uncovered; for (the covering in the first two instances) was done only in order not to draw by mistake again what had already been drawn from. The first drawing was performed in the name of the whole land of Israel, the second in the name of the cities near the boundaries, and the third in the name of the inhabitants of Babylon, Media, and all distant lands in general.

CHAPTER 4.

MISHNA. (a) What was done with this money drawn? The daily sacrifices, the additional sacrifices, and the drink-offerings belonging to them were bought therewith; also the Omers (sheaves), the two loaves, the showbreads, and communal sacrifices in general. The watchmen who had to guard the after-growth on the Sabbatical year were paid out of this money. R. Jose says: "One who so desired could undertake the guarding (of the after-growth on Sabbatical years) without pay." The sages answered him: "Thou wilt admit thyself, that the sacrifices (from the after-growth on Sabbatical years) must be brought only from communal property." (b) The red heifer, the goat that was to be sent away (on the Day of Atonement), the strip of scarlet, were paid for out of this money. The bridge for the cow, the bridge for the goat that was to be sent away, and the scarlet strip tied between the latter's horns, the canal (at the Temple), the city wall, the towers and other necessities of the city, are paid for out of the remainder of the treasury-money. Abba Saul says: "The costs of the building of the bridge for the red heifer were defrayed by the high priests themselves." (c) What was done with the balance left over in the treasury (after all the things in the preceding Mishna had been procured)? Wines, oils, and fine meal were bought with it to the profit of the sanctuary (for the purpose of selling it again to those who brought sacrifices). So said R. Ishmael. R. Aqiba, however, says: "Sanctified moneys or contributions for the poor are not dealt with for profit." (d) What was done with the remainder of the money (taken from the chests)? It is used for gold plate for the decoration of the Holy of Holies. R. Ishmael says: "The mentioned fruit (profit of the wines, oils, and fine meal sold in the Temple) was for the benefit of the altar, and the remainder of the money drawn was for service-utensils." R. Aqiba says: "The remainder of the money drawn was for the benefit of the altar and that of the drink-offerings was for service-utensils." R. Hanina, the assistant chief of priests, says: "The remainder of the drink-offerings was for the benefit of the altar and that of the money drawn was for service-utensils." The two latter would not admit of the alleged gain from fruit (profit). (e) What was done with the remainder of the incense? At first the remuneration of the preparers of the incense was set aside from the treasury; the sanctification of the incense on hand was then transferred to that money, and the former was then given to the preparers in lieu of compensation; it is then bought back from them with the money of the new revenue: providing the new revenue was on hand in time, it was bought back with such money; otherwise, the old revenue was used for that purpose. (f) If one devote his entire possessions in honour of the Lord, and among them are things which are fit for communal sacrifices (e.g., incense), the preparers of the incense should be paid therewith. So teaches R. Aqiba. Ben Azai answered him: "Such is not the right mode of procedure. The compensation of the preparers must first be separated from such possessions, then the sanctification of those possessions transferred to money; then give the separated things to the preparers for compensation; and, finally, buy them back from them with money of the new revenue." (g) If one devote his possessions, and there are among them cattle fit for the altar, male or female, the male, according to R. Eliezer, shall be sold for whole-offerings and the female for peace-offerings to such as are in need of them; and the proceeds of such sale, together with the other possessions, shall be devoted to the treasury for the maintenance of the Temple. R. Jehoshua says: "The male are sacrificed as whole-offerings, the female are sold to such as are in need of peace-offerings, and the proceeds used for the sacrifice of whole-offerings. The balance of the possessions is devoted to the maintenance of the Temple." Said R. Aqiba: "The opinion of R. Eliezer seems to me to be more proper than that of R. Jehoshua; for R. Eliezer has an even procedure, whereas R. Jehoshua divides it." R. Papeos says: "I have heard that it is done according to both teachers; viz.: According to R. Eliezer if the owner who devotes his possessions explicitly mentions his cattle, and according to R. Jehoshua if he silently includes his cattle in his possessions." (h) If one devote his possessions, and there are among them things fit for the altar, such as wines, oils, and birds, says R. Eliezer, the latter things should be sold to such as need offerings of these kinds, and the proceeds used for the sacrificing of whole-offerings; the balance of the possessions goes toward the maintenance of the Temple. (i) Every thirty days the prices paid by the treasury are determined. If one contract to furnish flour at the rate of four Saah (for one Sela), and the price is raised to three, he must nevertheless furnish the same at four Saah (for one Sela). If he contract at the rate of three and the price fall to four, he must in that case furnish four, for the Sanctuary always has that prerogative. If the flour become wormy, it is the loss of the contractor; and if the wine become sour it is also his loss, and he does not receive the money for his wares until the purchased wares have been favourably accepted as sacrifices at the altar.

CHAPTER 5.

MISHNA: (a) The following were the heads of offices in the Sanctuary: Johanan, son of Pinchas, keeper of the seals; A'hia, (superintendent) of drink-offerings; Mathia, son of Samuel, (superintendent) of the casting of lots; Petha'hia, (superintendent) of bird-offerings. Petha'hia is Mordecai, but why do they call him Petha'hia? Because he used to expound and interpret scriptures, and was master of seventy languages. Ben A'hia was (superintendent) of the cures of priests suffering with abdominal diseases. Ne'huniah was master of the well. Gebini was herald. Ben Gabhar was turnkey of the gates. Ben Bebai was master of the temple-guard. Ben Arzah was master of the kettledrums (which were beaten as a signal for the Levites to commence their chant). Higros, son of Levi, was (leader) of the singing. The family of Garmo (superintended) the making of the showbreads. The family of Abtinos (superintended) the preparing of the incense. Elazar (superintended) the making of the curtains. Pinchas superintended the vestments. (b) No less than three treasurers and seven chamberlains must be appointed, and no less than two officers were put in charge of public moneys. Exceptions were made in the cases of Ben A'hia, superintendent of the cures of the sick, and Elazar, superintendent of the preparation of curtains, because they were unanimously elected by the community. (c) There were four seals in the Sanctuary, inscribed with the words Egel (calf), Sachar (ram), Gdi (kid), and 'Houte (sinner, meaning here one covered with sores). Ben Azai says, that there were five (seals), and the inscriptions were in Aramaic, meaning: calf, ram, kid, poor sinner (one afflicted with sores), and rich sinner (one afflicted with sores). The one inscribed with "calf" was used for drink-offerings brought with offerings of the herds, large or small, male or female; the one inscribed with "kid" was used for

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drink-offerings brought with offerings of the flocks, large or small, male or female, with the exception of rams; the one inscribed with "ram" served for drink-offerings brought only with rams; the seal inscribed with "sinner" served for drink-offerings brought with the three cattle-offerings of those afflicted with sores. (d) One who desired to bring drink-offerings, for instance, went to Johanan, who was keeper of the seals, paid his money, and received a seal; he then went to A'hia, who had charge of the drink-offerings, gave him the seal, and received the drink-offering. In the evening the two officers came together, when A'hia turned over the seal and received instead the money. If there was too much money, it belonged to the Sanctuary; if too little, Johanan had to supply the deficit: for the sanctuary had that prerogative. (e) One who lost his seal had to wait until evening. If there was a surplus sufficient to cover the seal, he was given the drink-offering for that amount; otherwise, he did not receive it. The date of the day was on the seal to prevent fraud. (f) There were two chambers in the sanctuary. One was called chamber of the silent, the other chamber of utensils. In the former, devout men secretly gave charitable gifts, and the poor of good family received there secretly their sustenance. In the other chamber, every one who desired to offer a utensil voluntarily, laid it down. Every thirty days the treasurers opened the chamber, and every utensil found to be fit for the maintenance of the Temple was preserved, while the others were sold and the proceeds went to the treasury for the maintenance of the Temple.

CHAPTER 6.

MISHNA: (a) There were thirteen curved chests and thirteen tables in the Sanctuary, and thirteen prostrations took place in the Sanctuary. The family of R. Gamaliel and of R. Hananiah, chief of the priests, made fourteen prostrations; this extra prostration was made towards the wood-chamber, because, according to an ancestral tradition, the ark was hidden there.

(b) Once a priest was engaged there, and he noticed that one of the paving-stones on one place appeared different from the others. He went out to tell others of it; but he had not yet finished speaking, when he gave up the ghost; thereby it was known to a certainty that the ark of the covenant was hidden there.

(c) In what direction were the prostrations made? Four towards the north, four towards the south, three towards the east, and two towards the occident; i.e., towards the thirteen gates. The southern gates were near a corner of the western. These were: The upper gate, the fire gate, the firstling gate, and the water gate. Why is it called water gate? Because a glass of water was carried through it for the sprinkling of the altar on the Feast of Booths. R. Eliezer son of Jacob says: At that gate the waters (flowing from the Holy of Holies) commence to flow rapidly downwards, until they again flow out under the threshold of the Temple. Opposite there were the northern gates, near the other corner of the western. These were: The door of Jekhaniah, the gate of sacrifice, the women's gate, and the music-gate; and why is the first one called the gate of Jekhaniah? Because Jekhaniah went through it, when he went into exile. In the east was the gate Nikanur, which also had two small doors, one to the right and the other to the left; lastly, there were two in the west, which were nameless.

(d) Thirteen tables were in the Sanctuary: Eight marble ones in the slaughter-house, on which the entrails were washed. Two to the west of the altar-sheep, one marble and one silver: on the marble one the sacrificial pieces were placed, and on the silver table the utensils were placed. Two in the corridor on the inside of the Temple entrance, a marble table and a golden one: on the marble one the showbreads were placed at the time they were brought in, and on the golden one when they were taken out; because the principle is, that the veneration of the sacred must be heightened and not lessened. Lastly, there was one golden table in the Temple itself, upon which the showbreads were constantly lying.

(e) Thirteen curved chests were in the Sanctuary. On them was written: Old shekalim, new shekalim, bird-offerings, doves for whole-offerings, wood, incense, gold for the cover of the Holy of Holies. Six were for donations in general. The term new shekalim is used for those paid annually. Old shekalim were those which were paid by men who had failed to pay them in the year when they were due, and paid them in the following year. "In those marked 'bird-offerings,' the money for turtle-doves was deposited; in those marked 'doves,' money for young doves was deposited: but they were all whole-offerings." So says R. Jehudah. The sages say: "In the former, money for both sin-offerings and whole-offerings was placed, and in the latter only for whole-offerings." (f) If one vow, "I will furnish wood for the altar," he must not furnish less than two cords. If one vow (to furnish) incense, he must not furnish less than a handful. If one vow (to furnish) gold coin, he must not furnish less than a Dinar. f1 Six (chests) were for voluntary offerings. What was done with these? Whole-offerings were bought for these, the meat of which was sacrificed to God, but the hides belonged to the priests. The following explanation was made by Jehoiada the high priest, of the expression [Lev. 5:19]: "It is a trespass-offering; be hath, in trespassing, trespassed against the Lord": The rule is: With everything coming in under the name of sin or guilt offering, whole-offerings arc bought, the meat of which is offered up to God and the hides of which belong to the priests; hence the two expressions: A guilt-offering for God and a guilt-offering for the priests, as it is written [2 Kings 12:16]: "The money for trespass-offerings and the money for sin-offerings was not brought into the house of the Lord: it belonged to the priests."

CHAPTER 7.

MISHNA: (a) If money is found between the chest marked "Shekalim" and that marked "voluntary offerings," it belongs to the chest marked "Shekalim" if it lies nearer to the same, and to the one marked "voluntary offerings" if it be nearer that. So also does it belong to the voluntary offerings if it be found midway between the two chests. Money found lying between the chests marked "wood" and "incense" belongs, if it be nearer the former, to the former; if nearer the latter to the latter, and also to the latter if found midway between the two. Money found lying between the chest marked "bird-offerings" and the one marked "doves" for whole-offerings belongs to the former if it be nearer the former; and if nearer the latter to the latter, and also to the latter if midway between the two. Money found between ordinary moneys and the moneys of the second tithes belongs, if nearer the former to the former; if nearer the latter to the latter, and also to the latter if found midway between the two. The rule is: One must be guided by the proximity, even in the case of the less important; but in the event of equidistance, (one must be guided) by the greater importance (of the moneys).

(b) Money found (in Jerusalem) on the place of the cattle-dealers is regarded as second tithe. Money found on the Temple-mount is ordinary. Other money found in Jerusalem generally, during the festivals, is regarded as second tithe; at other times of the year as ordinary. (c) Meat found in the outer court (of the Temple) is considered whole-offering if in complete joints; if cut in pieces it is sin-offering. Meat found in the city is considered peace-offering. All such meat must be laid aside for putrefaction, and then be burned in the crematory. Meat found anywhere else in the land is prohibited (to be used) as carrion, if found in whole joints; if found cut in pieces, it may be eaten; and during the festivals, when a great deal of meat is on hand, even whole joints may be eaten. (d) Cattle found all the way from Jerusalem to Migdal Eder, and in the same vicinity in all directions, are considered, if male, as whole-offerings, and if female as peace-offerings. R. Jehudah says: "If they are fit for Passover-offerings they may be used for such purpose, providing Passover is not more than thirty days off." (e) In former days, the finder of such cattle was pledged until he brought the drink-offerings belonging to such sacrifices; every finder, however, letting such cattle stand and going on his way, the high court decreed, that the costs of the drink-offerings belonging thereto be defrayed out of the public money. (f) R. Simeon says: Seven decrees were promulgated by that court, and the latter was one of them. Further: If a non-Israelite send whole-offerings with the necessary drink-offerings from over the sea, they are offered up; but if sent without the necessary drink-offerings, the costs of the latter are defrayed from public money. If, again, a proselyte died and left offerings, the drink-offerings, if also left by him, are offered up with the others; if not left, the costs of same are defrayed out of public money. It was also a decree of the court, that in the event of a high priest dying, the necessary meat-offering [Leviticus 6:13] should be paid for out of the public treasury. R. Jehudah, however, declared, that this should be done at the expense of the heirs. In both cases a tenth of an ephah should be offered. (g) Further, that the priests may (at the sacrificial meals) make use of the salt and the wood (from the sanctuary); that the priests do not commit a breach of trust when misusing the ashes of the red heifer; lastly, that the public treasury reimburse for paid bird-offerings that had become unfit. R. Jose, however, says: "He who contracts for the furnishing of the bird-offerings must reimburse for the spoilt."

CHAPTER 8.

MISHNA: (a) All spittle to be found in Jerusalem is considered clean, except such as is found at the upper market (for this place was secluded and those afflicted with venereal diseases were in the habit of going there). Such is the teaching of R. Meir. The sages say: In the middle of the street it is at ordinary times unclean, and at the sides of the streets, clean. During the festivals, spittle found in the middle of the street is clean; at the sides it is unclean, because such as are unclean on account of their minority usually walk at the sides of the street.

(b) All utensils found on the way towards the plunge-bath, in Jerusalem, are unclean; those found on the way from the plunge-bath are clean: for they were not carried down to the plunge-bath the same way that these were carried up from the plunge-bath. So teaches R. Meir. R. Jose says: "All are clean, with the exception of such baskets, spades, and pickaxes as are used for the bones of the dead." (c) If a butchering-knife be found on the fourteenth day of Nissan, a Passover-offering may be slaughtered with it forthwith. If it be found on the thirteenth, it must be again submerged. A severing-knife must be submerged both if found on the thirteenth or fourteenth. If the fourteenth, however, fall on a Sabbath, it may be used for slaughtering forthwith; so also if it be found on the fifteenth: if it be found together with a butchering-knife, it is treated just like the latter. (d) If a curtain in the Sanctuary become defiled through some minor uncleanness, it is submerged on the inside of the outer court, and may be put back in its place; if it become defiled through a principal uncleanness, it must be submerged on the outside and then stretched on the rampart, because sunset must be awaited. At the time it is submerged for the first time (when new), it should be spread out on the roof of the gallery, in order that the people may see the beauty of the work. (e) R. Simeon, son of Gamaliel, says in the name of R. Simeon, son of the assistant high priest, that the curtain was one span thick, woven on seventy-two warp-cords, each cord twisted out of twenty threads; it was forty ells long and twenty ells wide, and made (worth) of eighty-two myriads (Dinars). Two such curtains were made yearly: three hundred priests were required to submerge it. (f) If meat of the Holy of Holies became defiled, be it through a minor or a principal uncleanness, in the corridor or on the outside, according to the school of Shamai it must all be burnt in the court (in a place appointed for that purpose), except such as had been defiled by a principal uncleanness on the outside (of the court); according to the school of Hillel, everything is burnt on the outside except such as had been defiled by a minor uncleanness on the inside. (g) R. Eliezer says: "Anything that has become defiled through a principal uncleanness, on the outside or on the inside, is burnt on the outside; anything that has become defiled through a minor uncleanness, either on the inside or the outside, must be burnt on the inside." R. Aqiba says: "In the place where a thing became defiled, there must it also be burnt." (h) The joints of the daily sacrifice were laid down underneath the half of the altar-stairs on the westerly (according to others on the easterly) side; those of the additional offerings on the easterly (others say oil the westerly) side. The sacrifices of the new moon were placed above the railing (others say beneath) on the altar. The payment of Shekalim was only obligatory during the time that the Temple stood; the tithes from grain, cattle, and the deliverance of the firstlings were in force during the existence of the Temple and even after the Temple. --If one sanctify Shekalim or firstlings, they are considered sanctified. R. Simeon says: "If one say, firstlings shall be holy, they are not sanctified (because no Temple exists)."

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 6., MISHNA a.

FROM the teaching of this Mishna, we may conclude that the number system of Pythagoras was known and prevailed in the times of the Sages of the Mishna, and accordingly the number 13 was deemed inauspicious even in the earliest days. Therefore many religious ceremonies were established with the express view of convincing the people of the absurdity of their belief. It also seems probable that the Sages themselves entertained the superstition, and that they adopted the number 13 in the religious ceremonies as a cure for the mischief believed to have, been produced by the inauspicious number.

SYNOPSIS OF SUBJECTS OF TRACT ROSH HASHANA 1

CHAPTER 1.

MISHNA 1. The first Mishna ordains New Year's Days, viz.: For kings, for the cattle-tithe, for ordinary years, and for the planting of trees. A king who ascends the throne on the 29th of Adar must be considered to have reigned one year as soon as the first of Nissan comes. The Exodus from Egypt is reckoned from Nissan. When Aaron died Sihon was still living. He heard that Aaron was dead and that the clouds of glory had departed. The rule about Nissan only concerned the kings of Israel; but for the kings of other nations, they reckoned from Tishri. Cyrus was a most upright king, and the Hebrews reckoned his years as they did those of the kings of Israel. One is guilty of procrastination. Charity, tithes, the gleanings of the field, that which is forgotten to be gathered in the field, the produce of corners of the field.

One is culpable if he does not give forthwith that which he has vowed for charity. In the case of charity it must be given immediately, for the poor are always to be found. The Feast of Weeks falls on the fifth, sixth, or seventh of Sivan.

How the law against delay affects a woman. In which month is grain in the early stage of ripening? Only in the month of Nissan. It is also the New Year for leap-year and forgiving the half-shekels. Congregational sacrifices brought on the first of Nissan should be purchased with the shekels raised for the New Year. He who lets a house to another for a year must count (the year) as twelve months from day to day; but if the lessee says (I rent this house) "for this year," even if the transaction takes place on the first of Adar, as soon as the first

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of Nissan arrives the year (of rental) has expired. The first of Tishri is the New Year for divine judgement. At the beginning of tile year it is determined what shall be at the end of the year. The Supreme Court in Heaven does not enter into judgement until the Beth Din on earth proclaims the new moon. Israel enters for judgement first. If a king and a congregation have a lawsuit, the king enters first. From New Year's Day until the Day of Atonement, slaves used not to return to their (own) homes; neither did they serve their masters, but they ate and drank and rejoiced, with the crown of freedom on their heads. R. Eliezer says, that the world was created in Tishri. R. Joshua says, that the world was created in Nissan. Says R. Joshua, God grants the righteous the fulfilment of the years of their life to the very month and day. Sarah, Rachel, and Hannah were visited on New Year's Day. Joseph was released from prison on New Year's Day. On New Year's Day the bondage of our fathers in Egypt ceased. The Jewish sages fix the time of the flood according to R. Eliezer, and the solstices according to R. Joshua; but the sages of other nations fix the time of the flood also as R. Joshua does. Whoso vows to derive no benefit from his neighbour for a year must reckon (for the year) twelve months, from day to day; but if he said "for this year," if he made the vow even on the twenty-ninth of Elul, as soon as the first of Tishri comes that year is complete. The New Year for giving tithes is for a tree from the time the fruits form; for grain and olives, when they are one-third ripe; and for herbs, when they are gathered. R. Aqiba picked the fruit of a citron-tree on the first of Shebhat and gave two tithes of them, 1-20

MISHNA 2. At four periods in each year the world is judged. All are judged on New Year's Day and the sentence is fixed on the Day of Atonement. R. Nathan holds man is judged at all times. God said: "Offer before Me the first sheaf of produce on Passover, so that the standing grain may be blessed unto you. Recite before Me on New Year's Day the Malkhioth, that you proclaim Me King; the Zikhronoth, that your remembrance may come before Me, for good, and how (shall this be done)?" By the sounding of the cornet. Three circumstances cause a man to remember his sins. Four things avert the evil decree passed (by God) on man; viz., charity, prayer, change of name, and improvement, Some add to these four a fifth--change of location. Three books are opened on New Year's Day: one for the entirely wicked, one for the wholly good, and one for the average class of people. The school of Hillel says: The most compassionate inclines (the scale of justice) to the side of mercy. Who are those who inspire their fellowmen with dread of them? A leader of a community who causes the people to fear him over-much, without furthering thereby a high purpose. The legend how R. Joshua fell sick and R. Papa went to visit him. The Holy One, blessed be He, wrapped Himself, as does one who recites the prayers for a congregation, and pointing out to Moses the regular order of prayer, said to him: "Whenever Israel sins, let him pray to Me after this order, and I shall pardon him." Prayer is helpful for man before or after the decree has been pronounced. The legend of a certain family in Jerusalem whose members died at eighteen years of age. They came and informed R. Johanan ben Zakkai. The Creator sees all their hearts (at a glance) and (at once) understands all their works, 20-28

MISHNA 3. Messengers were sent out in the following six months: in Nissan, Abb, Elul, Tishri, Kislev, and in Adar. The legend of the king (of Syria who had earlier) issued a decree forbidding the study of the Torah among the Israelites, or to circumcise their sons, and compelling them to desecrate their Sabbath. Judah b. Shamua and his friends cried aloud: "O heavens! Are we not all brethren? Are we not all the children of one Father?" etc. Samuel said: "I can arrange the calendar for the whole captivity." Rabha used to fast two days for the Day of Atonement. Once it happened that he was right, 29-34

MISHNAS 4. to 7. For the sake of (the new moon), of the two months Nissan and Tishri, witnesses may profane the Sabbath. Formerly they profaned the Sabbath for all (new moons), but since the destruction of the Temple they instituted that (witnesses) might profane the Sabbath only on account of Nissan and Tishri. It once happened that more than forty pair (of witnesses) were on the highway (to Jerusalem) on the Sabbath. Shagbar, the superintendent of Gader, detained them, and (when) R. Gamaliel (heard of it, he) sent and dismissed him. It once happened, that Tobias the physician, his son, and his freed slave saw the new moon in Jerusalem. The explanation of the passage Exodus 12:1, by R. Simeon and the rabbis. Who are incompetent witnesses? Gamblers with dice, etc., 34-36

CHAPTER 2.

MISHNAS 1. to 4. If the Beth Din did not know (the witness), another was sent with him to testify in his behalf. It once happened that R. Nehorai went to Usha on the Sabbath to testify (to the character) of one witness. The legend how the Boëthusians appointed false witnesses. Formerly bonfires were lighted (to announce the appearance of the new moon); but when the Cutheans practised their deceit it was ordained that messengers should be sent out. There are four kinds of cedars. The whole country looked like a blazing fire. Each Israelite took a torch in his hand and ascended to the roof of his house. Great feasts were made for (the witnesses) in order to induce them to come frequently. How were the witnesses examined? The sun never faces the concave of the crescent or the, concave of a rain bow. (If the witnesses say) "We have seen the reflection (of the moon) in the water, or through a metal mirror, or in the clouds," "their testimony is not to be accepted." The chief of the Beth Din says: "It (the new moon) is consecrated," and all the people repeated after Him: "It is consecrated, it is consecrated." Pelimo teaches: "When the new moon appeared at its proper time, they used not to consecrate it," 37-42

MISHNAS 5. and 6. R. Gamaliel had on a tablet, and on the wall of his upper room, illustrations of the various phases of the moon. Is this permitted? Yea, he had them made to teach by means of them. It happened once, that two witnesses came and said: "We saw the moon in the eastern part in the morning and in the western part in the evening." R. Johanan b. Nuri declared them to be false witnesses. Two other witnesses came and said: "We saw the moon on its proper day, but could not see it on the next evening." R. Gamaliel received them; but R. Dosa b. Harkhinas said: "They are false witnesses." R. Joshua approved his opinion. Upon this, Gamaliel ordered the former to appear before him on the Day of Atonement, according to his computation, with his staff and with money. What R. Joshua did, and what R. Aqiba and R. Dosa b. Harkhinas said about it. What R. Hiyya said when he saw the old moon yet on the morning of the twenty-ninth day. Rabbi said to R. Hiyya: "Go to Entob and consecrate the month, and send back to me as a password, 'David the King of Israel still lives.'" The consecration of the moon cannot take place at a period less than twenty-nine and a half days, two-thirds and .0052 (i.e., seventy-three Halaqim) of an hour. Even if the commonest of the common is appointed leader by a community, he must be considered as the noblest of the nobility. A judge is to be held, "in his days," equal in authority with the greatest of his antecedents. Gamaliel said to R. Joshua: "Happy is the generation in which the leaders listen to their followers, and through this the followers consider it so much the more their duty (to heed the teachings of the leaders)," 42-44

CHAPTER 3.

MISHNA 1. If the Beth Din and all Israel saw (the moon on the night of the thirtieth day), but there was no time to proclaim, "It is consecrated," before it has become dark, the month is intercalary. When three who formed a Beth Din saw it, two should stand up as witnesses and substitute two of their learned friends with the remaining one (to form a Beth Din). No greater authority than Moses, our master, yet God said to him that Aaron should act with him. No witness of a crime may act as judge, but in civil cases he may, 45-46

MISHNAS 2. to 4. Concerning what kind of cornets may be used on New Year's and jubilee days. Some words in the Scripture which the rabbis could not explain, until they heard the people speak among themselves. The cornet used on the New Year was a straight horn of a wild goat, the mouthpiece covered with gold. The jubilee and the New Year's Day were alike in respect to the sounding (of the cornet) and the benedictions, but R. Jehudah's opinion was different. R. Jehudah holds that on New Year's Day the more bent in spirit a man is, and on the Day of Atonement the more upright he is (in his confessions), the better; but R. Levi holds the contrary. "On the fast days two crooked ram's-horns were used, their mouthpieces being covered with silver." According to whom do we nowadays pray: "This day celebrates the beginning of thy work, a memorial of the first day"? It is unlawful to use a cornet that has been split and afterwards joined together. If one should happen to pass by a synagogue, or live close by it and should hear the cornet, he will have complied with the requirements of the law. If one covered a cornet on the inside with gold it might not be used. If one heard a part of (the required number of) the sounds of the cornet in the pit, and the rest at the pit's mouth, he has done his duty. If one blew the first sound (Teqia), and prolonged the second (Teqia) as long as two, it is only reckoned as one. If one who listened (to the sounds of the cornet) paid the proper attention, but he that blew the cornet did not, or vice versa, they have not done their duty until both blower and listener pay proper attention. If special attention in fulfil ling a commandment or doing a transgression is necessary or not. As long as Israel looked to Heaven for aid, and directed their hearts devoutly to their Father in Heaven, they prevailed; but when they ceased to do so, they failed. All are obliged to hear the sounding of the cornet, priests, Levites, and Israelites, proselytes, freed slaves, a monstrosity, a hermaphrodite, and one who is half-slave and half-free. One may not say the benediction over bread for guests unless he eats with them, but he may for the members of the family, to initiate them into their religious duties, 46-52

CHAPTER 4.

MISHNAS 1. to 4. Regarding if the New Year fall on Sabbath. Where the shofer (cornet) should be blown after the Temple was destroyed. What was the difference between Jamnia and Jerusalem? Once it happened that New Year's Day fell on the Sabbath, and all the cities gathered together. Said R. Johanan b. Zakkai to the Benai Betherah: "Let us sound (the cornet)!" "First," said they, "let us discuss!" R. Johanan b. Zakkai ordained that the palm-branch should everywhere be taken seven days, in commemoration of the Temple. Since the destruction of the Temple, R. Johanan b. Zakkai ordained that it should be prohibited (to eat of the new produce) the whole of the day of waving (the sheaf-offering). Once the witnesses were delayed in coming, and they disturbed the song of the Levites. They then ordained that evidence should only be received until (the time of) the afternoon service. Concerning what songs the Levites had to sing every day from the Psalms. What did the Levites sing when the additional sacrifices were being offered on the Sabbath? What did they sing at the Sabbath afternoon service? According to tradition, a corresponding number of times was the Sanhedrin exiled. The witnesses need only go to the meeting place (of the Beth Din). Priests may not ascend the platform in sandals, to bless the people; and this is one of the nine ordinances instituted by R. Johanan b. Zakkai, 53-57

MISHNA 5. Regarding the order of the benedictions on New Year's Day at the morning prayer, additional prayers, and at what time the cornet must be blown, etc. What passages from the Scriptures are selected for additional prayers on New Year's Day. To what do the ten scriptural passages used for the Malkhioth correspond? How many passages must be recited from Pentateuch, Prophets, and Hagiographa? We must not mention the remembrance of the individual (in the Zikhronoth), even if the passage speaks of pleasant things. What are the passages which must be said in the benediction of Malkhioth, Zikhronoth, and the Shophroth? R. Elazar b. R. Jose says: "The Vathiqin used to conclude with a passage from the Pentateuch." "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is our Lord," may be used in the Malkhioth. The second of those who act as ministers of the congregation on the Feast of New Year shall cause another to sound the cornet on days when the Hallel (Service of Praise, Ps. cxiii.-cxviii.) is read. We are permitted to occupy ourselves with teaching (children) until they learn (to sound the cornet), even on the Sabbath. The order, and how many times it must be blown; also, the different sounds and the names of them. How all this is deduced from the Bible, and the difference of opinions between the sages. Generally the soundings of the cornet do not interfere with each other, nor do the benedictions, but on New Year's Day and the Day of Atonement they do. R. Papa b. Samuel rose to recite his prayers. Said he to his attendant, "When I nod to you, sound (the cornet) for me." Rabha said to him, that this may only be done in the congregation. A man should always first prepare himself for prayer, and then pray. R. Jehudah prayed only once in thirty days, 57-66

"NEW YEAR."

CHAPTER 1.

THE ORDINANCES ABOUT THE NEW YEARS OF THE JEWISH CALENDAR--THE MESSENGERS THAT WERE SENT OUT FROM JERUSALEM--AND AT WHICH PERIOD OF THE YEAR THE WORLD IS DIVINELY JUDGED.

MISHNA I.: There are four New Year days, viz.: The first of Nissan is New Year for (the ascension of) Kings and for (the regular rotation of) festivals; 1 the first of Elul is New Year for the cattle-tithe, 2 but according to R. Eliezer and R. Simeon, it is on the first of Tishri. The first of Tishri is New Year's day, for ordinary years, and for sabbatic years 3 and jubilees; and also for the planting of trees 4 and for herbs. 5 On the first day of Shebhat is the New Year for trees, 6 according to the school of Shammai; but the school of Hillel says it is on the fifteenth of the same month. 7

GEMARA: "For kings." Why is it necessary to appoint such a day? (Let every king count the day of his ascension to the throne as the beginning of his year.) Said R. Hisda: "On account of documents." So that in the case of mortgages, one may know which is the first and which is the second by means of the year of the king's reign mentioned in the documents. The rabbis taught: A king who ascends the throne on the 29th of Adar must be considered to have reigned one year as soon as the first of Nissan comes, but if he ascends the throne on the first of Nissan he is not considered to have reigned one year until the first of Nissan of the following year. From this we infer, that only Nissan is the commencement of years for kings (or the civil New Year); that even a fraction of a year is considered a year; and that if a king ascends the throne on the first of Nissan, he is not considered to have reigned one year until the next first of Nissan, although he may have been elected in Adar. The Boraitha teaches this lest one say that the year should be reckoned from the day of election, and therefore the king would begin his second year (on the first of Nissan following).

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The rabbis taught: If a king die in Adar, and his successor ascend the throne in Adar, (documents may be dated either) the (last) year of the (dead) king or the (first) year of the new king. If a king die in Nissan, and his successor ascend the throne in Nissan, the same is the case. But if a king die in Adar, and his successor does not ascend the throne until Nissan, then the year ending with Adar should be referred to as the year of the dead king, and from Nissan it should be referred to as that of his successor. 1 Is this not self-evident? The case here mentioned refers to an instance where the new king was a son of the deceased, and, while ascending the throne in Nissan, had been elected in the month of Adar, and being the king's son, it might be assumed that he was king immediately after his election, and thus the following first of Nissan would inaugurate the second year of his reign. He comes to teach us that such is not the case.

R. Johanan says: Whence do we deduce that we reckon the commencement of years (for the reign) of kings, only from Nissan? Because it is written [I Kings, vi. 1]: "And it came to pass in the four hundred and eightieth year after the going forth of the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt, in the fourth year of the month Ziv, which is the second month of the reign of Solomon over Israel." Thus the Scriptures establish an analogy between "the reign of Solomon" and "the Exodus from Egypt." As the Exodus from Egypt is reckoned from Nissan, so also is the reign of Solomon reckoned from Nissan. But how do we know that the Exodus even should be reckoned from Nissan? Perhaps we should reckon it from Tishri. This would be improper, for it is written [Numb. xxxiii. 38]: "And Aaron, the Priest, went up into Mount Hor at the commandment of the Lord, and died there, in the fortieth year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt, on the first day of the fifth month." And it is written [Deut. i. 3]: "And it came to pass in the fortieth year, in the eleventh month, on the first day of the month, Moses spake," etc. Since he mentions the fifth month, which is certainly Abh, and he speaks of (Aaron's death as happening in) the fortieth year (and not the forty-first year), it is clear that Tishri is not the beginning of years (for kings). This argument would be correct as far as the former (Aaron's) case is concerned, for the text specifically mentions (forty years after) the Exodus; but in the latter (Moses') case, how can we tell that (the fortieth year) means from the Exodus? Perhaps it means (the fortieth year) from the raising of the Tabernacle in the wilderness. From the fact that R. Papa stated further on, that the twentieth year is mentioned twice for the sake of a comparison by analogy, we must assume that the analogy of expression "the fortieth year" (mentioned in connection with both Aaron and Moses) signifies also; 1 as in the former case it means forty years from the time of the Exodus, so also in the latter case. But whence do we know that the incident that took place in Abh (the death of Aaron) happened before (the speech of Moses) which is related as happening in Shebhat? Perhaps the Shebhat incident happened first. It is not reasonable to suppose this, for it is written [Deut. i. 4]: "After he had slain Sihon the king of the Amorites," and when Aaron died Sihon was still living. Thus it is written [Numb. xxi. 1]: "And the Canaanite, the king of Arad, heard." What did he hear? He heard that Aaron was dead, and that the clouds of glory had departed (and he thought that a sign that permission was given from heaven to fight against Israel). 2 How can we make any such comparison? In the one place it speaks of the Canaanite, and in the other of Sihon. We have learned in a Buraitha that Sihon, Arad, and the Canaanite are identical. This opinion of R. Johanan is quite correct, for we find that a Boraitha quotes all the verses that he quotes here, and arrives at the same conclusion.

R. Hisda says: The rule of the Mishna--that the year of the kings begins with Nissan--refers to the kings of Israel only, but for the kings of other nations it commences from Tishri. As it is said [Neh. 1:1]: "The words of Nehemiah, the son of Hakhaliah. And it came to pass in the month of Kislev, in the twentieth year," etc. And it is written [ibid. ii. 1]: "And it came to pass in the month Nissan, in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes the king," etc. Since Hanani stood before Nehemiah in Kislev, and the Bible speaks of it as the twentieth year, and since Nehemiah stood before the king in Nissan, and the Text calls it also the twentieth year, it is clear that the New Year (for the non-Jewish king, Artaxerxes) is not Nissan (or in the latter case he would have spoken of the twenty-first year). This would be correct as far as the latter quotation is concerned, for it specifically mentions Artaxerxes, but in the former verse how do we know that it refers to Artaxerxes? Perhaps it refers to another event altogether. Says R. Papa: Since in the first passage we read "the twentieth year" and in the second we read "the twentieth year," we may deduce by analogy that as in the one case Artaxerxes is meant, so is he meant also in the other. But how do we know that the event, recorded as having occurred in Kislev, and not the Nissan incident, happened first? This we know from a Boraitha, where it reads: The same words which Hanani said to Nehemiah in Kislev, the latter repeated to the king in Nissan, as it is said [Neh. 1: 1, 2]: "The words of Nehemiah, son of Hakhaliah. And it came to pass in the month of Kislev, in the twentieth year, as I was in Shushan the capital, that Hanani, one of my brethren came, and certain men of Judah . . . and the gates thereof are burned with fire." And it also said [Neh. 2:1-6]: "And it came to pass in the month of Nissan, in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes the king, that wine was before him . . . so it pleased the king to send me; and I set him a time."

R. Joseph raised an objection. It is written [Haggai, 2:10]: "In the twenty-fourth day of the sixth month, in the second year of Darius." And it is also written [ibid. I]: "In the second year, in the seventh month, in the one-and-twentieth day of the month." 1 If the rule is that Tishri (the seventh month) is the beginning of years for non-Jewish kings, should not the Text read "in the third year of Darius" instead of the second year? R. Abbahu answered: Cyrus was a most upright king, and the Hebrews reckoned his years as they did those of the kings of Israel (beginning with Nissan). R. Joseph opposed this. First: If that were so, there are texts that would contradict each other, for it is written [Ezra, 6:15]: "And this house was finished on the third day of the month Adar, which was in the sixth year of the reign of Darius the King." And we have learned in a Boraitha: At the same time in the following year Ezra and the children of the captivity went up from Babylon, and the Bible says about this [Ezra, 7:8]: "And he came to Jerusalem in the fifth month in the seventh year of the king." But if the rule is (that for Cyrus the year began with Nissan and not Tishri) should not the Text say "the eighth year" (since the first day of Nissan, the beginning of another year, intervenes between the third of Adar and the month of Abh)? Secondly: How can these texts be compared? In the one place it speaks of Cyrus, and in the other of Darius. We have learned in a Boraitha that Darius, Cyrus, and Artaxerxes are all one and the same person.

"And for festivals." Do then the festivals commence on the first of Nissan? Do they not begin on the fifteenth of that month? R. Hisda answered: (The Mishna means that Nissan is) the month that contains that festival which is called the New Year for festivals (viz., Passover).

What difference does it make (in practice)? It makes a difference to one who has made a vow, because through this festival he becomes culpable of breaking the law, "Thou shalt not slack to pay." 2 And this is according to the opinion of R. Simeon, who says: That (before one is guilty of delay) the three festivals must have passed by in their regular order, with Passover as the first (of the three). Thus was also the dictum of R. Simeon ben Jochai, who stated that the law against procrastination may be violated at times only when five festivals had passed by in their regular order; at other times when four, and again when three festivals had passed; i.e., if the vow was made before the feast of Pentecost he becomes guilty of procrastination only when Pentecost, Tabernacles, Passover, and again Pentecost and Tabernacles had passed by; if the vow was made before Tabernacles then he becomes guilty.

The rabbis taught: As soon as three festivals have passed by and the following duties (or vows) have not been fulfilled one is guilty of procrastination; and these are: The vow of one who says, "I will give the worth of myself (to the sanctuary);" or, "I will give what I am estimated to be worth (in accordance with Lev. xxvii.);" or the vow concerning objects, the use of which one has forsworn, or which one has consecrated (to the sanctuary), or sin-offerings, guilt-offerings, burnt-offerings, peace-offerings, charity, tithes, the firstlings, the paschal offerings, the gleanings of the field, that which is forgotten to be gathered in the field, the produce of the corner of the field. 1 R. Simeon says: The festivals must pass by in their regular order, with Passover as the first. And R. Meir says: As soon as even one festival has elapsed and the vow has not been kept the law is infringed. R. Eliezer ben Jacob says: As soon as two festivals have elapsed the law is infringed, but R. Elazar ben Simeon says: Only the passing of the Feast of Tabernacles causes the infringement of the law (whether or not any other festivals have passed by between the making and the fulfilling of the vow). What is the reason of the first Tana? Since in [Deut. xvi.] the Text has been speaking of the three festivals, why does it repeat, "On the Feast of Unleavened Bread, on the Feast of Weeks, and on the Feast of Tabernacles?" This signifies that when Tabernacles, Passover, Pentecost, and again Tabernacles had passed, but if the vow was made before Passover, then the man becomes guilty if he allows the three festivals to pass by in their regular order. Infer from this that the festivals must pass in the order just mentioned before one is guilty of procrastination. R. Simeon says: It was not necessary to repeat "on the Feast of Tabernacles," because the Text was speaking of that festival (when it mentioned the names of the three festivals). Why, then, does it repeat it? To teach us that Tabernacles shall be the last of the three festivals. R. Meir arrives at his opinion because it is mentioned of each festival "Thou shalt come there (to Jerusalem), and ye shall bring there" (your vows; and this being said of each festival, if one elapses and the vow is not brought, then the law against delay is infringed. The reason of R. Eliezer ben Jacob is, that the passage [Numb. xxix. 39] runs: "These shall ye offer to the Lord on your appointed feasts," and the minimum of the plural word "feasts" is two. On what does R. Elazar b. Simeon base his opinion? We have learned in the following Boraitha: "The Feast of Tabernacles" should not have been mentioned in [Deut. xvi. 16], since the preceding passages (of that chapter) were treating of that feast. Why, then, was it mentioned? To indicate that that particular feast (Tabernacles) is the one that causes the infringement of the law.

What do R. Meir and R. Eliezer ben Jacob deduce from the superfluous passage "on the Feast of Unleavened Bread, on the Feast of Weeks, and on the Feast of Tabernacles"? They use this verse, according to R. Elazar, who says in the name of R. Oshiya, who said: Whence do we know that the law of compensation 1 applies to the Feast of Weeks (although the feast is only one day)? For this very reason the Bible repeats the three festivals, and he institutes a comparison between Pentecost and Passover; and as the law of compensation applies to Passover for seven days, so also does it apply to Pentecost for seven days. Why, then, do the Scriptures find it necessary to repeat the words, "In the Feast of Tabernacles"? To compare it with the Feast of Passover, as during Passover it was obligatory to stay over night (in Jerusalem), so was it also necessary during the Feast of Tabernacles. But how do we know that it was obligatory during the Feast of Unleavened Bread? It is written [Deut. 16:7]: "Thou shalt turn in the morning (after staying over night), and go unto thy tents." Whence do we deduce this? The rabbis taught: It is written [Deut. 23:22]: "When thou shalt vow a vow unto the Lord thy God, thou shalt not delay to pay it." Perhaps these words only apply to a vow. How do we know that they may also be applied to a voluntary offering? In the passage just quoted we read "vow," and in another place [Lev. 7:16] we find "but if the sacrifice of his offering be a vow or a voluntary offering"; as in the latter instance the "voluntary offering" is included, so is also the former; "unto the Lord thy God," i.e., offerings expressed by "I will give the value of myself," etc., and other objects mentioned above; "thou shalt not slack to pay it"; i.e., the object promised must be given and not anything in exchange for it; 1 "for he will surely require it," i.e., the sin, guilt, burnt, and peace-offerings; "the Lord thy God," these words refer to offerings of charity, tithes, and firstlings; "of thee," this refers to the gleanings, that which is forgotten in the field and the produce of the corner of the field; "and it would be sin in thee," i.e., in thee and not in thy sacrifice (which is not thereby invalidated).

The rabbis taught: It is written [Deut. 23:24]: "What is gone out of thy lips," this refers to the positive commandments (of the Law); "thou shalt keep," refers to the negative commandments; "and perform," is a warning to the Beth Din (that they should enforce the laws); "according as thou hast vowed," refers to vows; "to the Lord thy God," refers to sin, guilt, burnt, and peace-offerings; "voluntarily," means just what it is; "which thou hast spoken," refers to the sanctified objects devoted to the Temple for repairs, etc.; "with thy mouth," refers to charity. Says Rabha: One is culpable if he does not give forthwith that which he has vowed for charity. Why so? Because there are always poor people (needing immediate help). Is this not self-evident? One might suppose that, since the law prohibiting delay is found in connection with the duty of giving charity and also of bringing the various voluntary offerings, it would apply to both, and it would not be infringed until the three festivals had elapsed, he comes to teach us (that charity and sacrifices are different); in the latter case the infringement of the law depends on the festivals, but in the case of charity it must be given immediately, for the poor are always to be found. And Rabha said again: As soon as three festivals have passed (and one has not brought his offering), he daily transgresses the law against delay. An objection was raised. As soon as a year, containing three festivals or not, has passed (he that does not bring his offering), be it a firstling or any of the holy offerings, transgresses daily the law against delay. It is quite possible that the three festivals may elapse and yet a year may not go by (i.e., from Passover till Tabernacles is only seven months), but how can it happen that a year may pass and the three festivals should not occur (in that time)? It may happen according to those who say (that the three festivals must elapse) in their regular order, but according to those who do not say (that the three festivals must go by) in their regular order, how can such a case occur? This would be correct according to Rabbi (who holds that the intercalary month 1 is not a part of the year), and it occurs in a leap year, when one consecrates anything (to the Temple) after the Feast of Passover; for when the end of the second Adar has arrived, a year (of twelve months) has elapsed, yet the three festivals have not passed by in their regular order. But how can such a case occur according to the rabbis? It can happen as R. Shemaiah teaches: Pentecost falls on the fifth, sixth, or seventh of Sivan. How is this possible? In a year when the months of Nissan and Iyar have thirty days each, Pentecost falls on the fifth of Sivan; when they each have twenty-nine days, Pentecost falls on the seventh of Sivan; but when the one has twenty-nine days and the other has thirty days, Pentecost falls on the sixth of Sivan.

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R. Zera asked: How does the law against delay affect an heir? Shall we argue that the Law says [Deut. 23: 22]: "When thou shalt vow" (i.e., the testator has vowed), but the heir has not vowed (consequently the law does not apply to him), or shall we infer from the passage [Deut. 12:5, 6]: "And thither shalt thou come . . . and ye shall bring," that the heir (who is obliged to come) is also in duty bound to bring with him (the objects vowed by the testator)? Come and hear. R. Hyya taught: It is written in this connection [Deut. 23: 22]: "Of thee" (i.e., from the one who vowed) and this excludes the heir. But did we not say above that these words refer to the gleanings, etc.? The Text uses the word Me'immokh ("of thee"), which we can explain to mean both the successor and the gleanings, etc. (i.e., all that comes "of thee").

R. Zera also asked: How does the law against delay affect a woman? Shall I say that since she is not obligated to appear (in Jerusalem) the law does not apply to her? or perhaps it is her duty to go there because she is included in the law "to rejoice"? "Certainly," answered Abayi, "she is bound by this law because it is her duty to rejoice." The schoolmen asked: From when do we count the beginning of the year for a firstling? Answered Abayi: From the moment it is born; but R. Aha b. Jacob said: From the moment it is acceptable as an offering (i.e., when it is eight days old, Lev. 22:27). They do not differ, for the former Rabbi refers to an unblemished animal and the latter to one with a blemish. May, then, a blemished animal be eaten (on the day of its birth)? Yes, if we are sure it was born after the full period of gestation.

The rabbis taught: The first of Nissan is the new year for (arranging the) months, for (appointing) leap years, for giving the half shekels, and, some say, also for the rental of houses. Whence do we know (that it is the new year) for months? From the passage [Ex. 12:2] where it is written: "This month shall be unto you the beginning of months; it shall be the first month of the year to you." It is also written [Deut. 16:1]: "Observe the month of Abib" (early stage of ripening). In which month is grain in the early stage of ripening? I can say only Nissan, and the Law calls it the first. Could I not say Adar (when the grain begins to shoot up)? Nay, for the grain must be ripening during the major portion of the month (and in Adar it is not). Is it then written that the grain must be ripening the major portion of the month? Therefore, says Rabhina, the sages do not find (the rule of calling Nissan the first month) in the Pentateuch, but in the Book of Esther, where it is clearly stated [Esther, 3:7], "In the first month, that is, the month Nissan."

"For leap years." Do we, then, count leap years from Nissan? Does not a Boraitha teach us that Adar only is the intercalary month? Answered R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: The words "FOR LEAP YEARS" mean here the termination of leap years, 1 and our Tana speaks of the beginning of the leap year and not the end.

"For giving the half shekels." Whence do we deduce this? Said R. Yoshiah: In Numb. 28:14: "This is the burnt-offering of the new moon throughout the months of the year." The Scriptures say "proclaim it a new month," and also bring a sacrifice from the new products. We make a comparison between the words "year" used in this passage and in Ex. 12:2, "it shall be the first month of the year to you," and deduce that they both refer to Nissan.

R. Jehudah says in the name of Samuel: It is required that the congregational sacrifices 1 brought on the first of Nissan should be purchased with the shekels collected for the new year; but if the sacrifice was bought with the funds obtained from the former year's funds, it is acceptable, yet the law was but imperfectly complied with. We have also learned the same in a Boraitha with the addition that, if an individual offers from his own property (proper objects for the congregational sacrifices), they are acceptable, but he must first present them to the congregation. Is this not self-evident? Nay, it may be feared that one will not give them to the congregation with a free will, and this, he teaches us, is not worthy of consideration. And the reason that our Tana does not mention that Nissan is a new year for the giving of shekels also, is because it is said above that if one has brought an offering (from the old funds) he has done his duty, therefore he could not make Nissan absolutely binding as a new year for the sacrifices.

It is said above: "And some say also for the rental of houses." The rabbis taught: He who lets a house to another for a year, should count (the year) as twelve months from day to day; but if the lessee says (I rent this house) "for this year," even if the transaction takes place on the first of Adar, as soon as the first of Nissan arrives, the year (of rental) has expired. Can you not say Tishri (is the beginning of the year for such transactions)? Nay, it is generally understood that if a man rents a house in the autumn he rents it for the whole of the rainy season (winter). And the Tana of the first part of the above Boraitha (who does not fix Nissan as the month for rentals), and also our Tana both are of the opinion that in Nissan, too, bad weather sometimes prevails (and therefore Nissan and Tishri are alike in this respect).

"On the first of Elul is the new year for the cattle-tithes." According to whose opinion is this? Says R. Joseph: It is according to Rabbi's own opinion which he formed in accordance with the opinions of different Tanaïm. With regard to the festivals he holds with R. Simeon and with regard to the cattle-tithe he holds to the opinion of R. Meir. If that is so, are there not five beginnings of years instead of four? Rabha answered that the Mishna mentioned only the four, which are not disputed by any one. According to R. Meir there are four, if that "for the festivals" be excluded, and according to R. Simeon there are four, if that "for the cattle-tithes" be excluded. R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak, however, says: (No such explanation is needed); the Mishna means that there are four (months) in which there are (or may be) many beginnings of years.

"According to R. Eliezer and R. Simeon it is on the first of Tishri." R. Johanan says: Both of them deduce their opinion by (various interpretations of) the same scriptural passage. It is written [Psalms, lxv. 14]: "The meadows are clothed with flocks; the valleys also are covered with corn; men shout for joy, they also sing." R. Meir thinks (this is the interpretation) of these words: When are the meadows clothed with flocks? At the season when the valleys are covered with corn. And when are the valleys covered with corn? About (the time of) Adar. The flocks conceive in Adar and produce their young in Abh; consequently the beginning of the year (for the cattle-tithe) is Elul. R. Eliezer and R. Simeon, however, say: When are the meadows clothed with flocks? At the season when they shout and sing. When do the ears of corn (seem to) send up a hymn of praise? In Nissan. Now, the sheep conceive in Nissan and produce in Elul, consequently the beginning of the year (for their tithe) is Tishri. But Rabha says: All agree that only Adar is the time when the meadows are clothed with flocks, and the valleys are covered with corn. But they differ about this passage [Deut. 14:22]: "Thou shalt truly tithe" (literally, "Thou shalt tithe in tithing"), and we see that the text here speaks of two tithes-viz., of cattle and of grain. R. Meir thinks that the following comparison may be instituted between the two: just as the tithe of grain must be given in the month nearest to the time it is reaped, so that of cattle must be given in the month nearest to the one in which they are born (Elul). R. Eliezer and R. Simeon, however, are of the opinion that another comparison may be instituted between these tithes--viz., just as the beginning of the year for giving the tithe of grain is Tishri, so also is Tishri for that of cattle.

"The first of Tishri is the New Year's Day for ordinary years." For what purpose is this rule? Answers R. Zera, to determine the equinoxes (and solstices); and this agrees with the opinion of R. Eliezer, who says that the world was created in Tishri; but R. Na'hman says (it is the new year) for divine judgement, as it is written [Deut. 11:12]: "From the beginning of the year till the end of the year," i.e., at the beginning of the year it is determined what shall be at the end of the year. But whence do we know that this means Tishri? It is written [Psalms, lxxxi. 3]: "Blow on the new moon the cornet at the time when it (the new moon) is hidden 1 on our solemn feast day." What feast is it on which the moon is hidden? We can only say Rosh Hashana (New Year's Day), and of this day it is written [ibid. v. 4]: "For it is a statute unto Israel, a judgement (day) for the God of Jacob."

The rabbis taught: "It is a statute unto Israel," whence we infer that the Heavenly Court of judgement does not enter into judgement until the Beth Din on earth proclaims the new moon. Another Boraitha states: It is written: "It is a statute unto Israel." From this it appears that (New Year's Day is a day of judgement) only for Israel. Whence do we know it is so also for other nations? Therefore it is written: "It is the day of judgement of the God of Jacob" (the Universal God). Why, then, is "Israel" mentioned? To inform us that Israel comes in for judgement first. This is in accordance with the saying of R. Hisda: If a king and a congregation have a law suit, the king enters first, as it is said [1 Kings, 8:59]: "The cause of his servant (King Solomon) and the cause of his people." Why so? Because it is not customary to let a king wait outside.

"For the computation of sabbatic years." On what scriptural passage is this based? On Lev. xxv. 4, which reads: "But in the seventh year there shall be a sabbath of rest unto the land," and he deduces (that it means Tishri) by analogy from the word "year" in this passage and in the following: "From the beginning of the year" [Deut. 11:12], which surely refers to Tishri.

"And jubilees." Do, then, jubilees begin on the first of Tishri? Do they not begin on the tenth, as it is written [Lev. 25:9]: "On the Day of Atonement shall ye make the cornet sound throughout all your land"? Our Mishna is in accordance with R. Ishmael the son of R. Johanan ben Berokah of the following Boraitha: It is written [Lev. 25:10]: "Ye shall sanctify the year, the fiftieth year." Why was it necessary to repeat the word "year"? Because in the same connection it is said [ibid. 9]: "On the Day of Atonement shall ye make the cornet sound," and one might suppose that the jubilee is sanctified only from the Day of Atonement (and not before). Therefore the word "year" is repeated to teach us that by the words "ye shall sanctify the fiftieth year" is meant, that from the very beginning of the year the jubilee commences to be consecrated. From this R. Ishmael the son of R. Johanan b. Berokah says: From New Year's Day until the Day of Atonement slaves were not wont to return to their (own) homes, neither did they serve their masters, but they ate and drank and rejoiced with the crown of freedom on their heads. As soon as the Day of Atonement arrived the Beth Din ordered the cornet to be blown and the slaves returned to their own homes, and estates reverted to their (original) owners.

We have learned in another Boraitha: "It is a jubilee" (Jobhel hi). What is meant by (these superfluous words)? Since it is said [Lev. 25:10]: "And ye shall sanctify the fiftieth year," one might think that, as at the beginning of the year the jubilee commences to be sanctified, the sanctification should be extended to the (Day of Atonement) after the end of the year; and be not surprised at such a teaching, since it is customary to add from the non-sanctified to the sanctified. Hence the necessity of the words in the passage (next to that quoted above) [Lev. 25:11]: "A jubilee shall that fiftieth year be unto you"; i.e., the fiftieth year shall be hallowed, and not the fifty-first, But the rabbis, whence do they derive the regulation that the fifty-first year is not sanctified? Because it is plainly written the fiftieth year and not the fifty-first. This excludes the opinion of R. Jehudah who holds that the jubilee year is added at the beginning and end. 1 The rabbis taught "Jobhel hi (it is a jubilee)," even if the people have not relinquished (their debts), even if the cornet is not sounded; shall we also say even if slaves are not released? Hence the word "hi" is used (to indicate that only when the slaves are released it is a jubilee), so says R. Jehudah. R. Jose says: "It is a jubilee," even if debts are not relinquished and slaves are not released; shall we also say even if the cornet is not sounded? Hence the word "hi" is used (and means the sounding of the cornet). Since one passage includes (all that is prescribed) and the other passage exempts (certain regulations), why should we say it is a jubilee even if they have not released slaves, but that it is not a jubilee if they failed to sound the cornet? Because it is possible that sometimes (a jubilee may occur) and yet there are no (Hebrew) slaves to release, but a jubilee can never occur without the sounding of the cornet (for a cornet can always be found). Another explanation is, that (the sounding of the cornet) is the duty of the Beth Din (and it will never fail to perform it), while (the releasing of slaves) is the duty of the individual, and we cannot be sure that he will perform it. (Is not the first explanation satisfactory) that he gives this additional explanation? (It may not be satisfactory to some who might say) that it is impossible that not one (Hebrew) slave should be found somewhere to be released. Therefore (the Boraitha adds) that the blowing of the cornet is the duty of the Beth Din (and they will not fail to perform it).

R. Hyya b. Abba, however, said in the name of R. Johanan: The foregoing are the words of R. Jehudah and R. Jose; but the masters hold that all three conditions may prevent the fulfilment (of the law), because they hold that the word "hi" [Lev. 25:10] should be explained as to the subjects mentioned in the passage in which it occurs, and in the preceding and the following passages also, (and in the passage immediately following the "hi" is said, "fields reverted to their original owners." This, then, also constitutes one of the three conditions). But is it not written, "a jubilee," which certainly means to add something not mentioned previously? This additional word refers to the lands outside of Palestine, where the jubilee must also be enforced. If so, what then is the intent of the words "throughout the land"? (They lead us to infer) that at the time when (under a Jewish government) liberty is proclaimed throughout the land (Palestine) it should be proclaimed outside the land; but if it is not proclaimed in the land, it need not be proclaimed outside the land.

"And also for the planting of trees." Whence do we deduce this? From Lev. 19:23, where it is written: "Three years shall it be as uncircumcised," and also [ibid. 24]: "But in the fourth year." We compare the term "year" used here with that of Deut. 11:12, "from the beginning of the 'year,'" and deduce by analogy that they both mean Tishri.

The rabbis taught: For one who plants, slips or grafts (trees) in the sixth year (the year before the sabbatic year), thirty days before the New Year's day (as soon as the first of Tishri arrives), a year is considered to have passed, and he is permitted to use, during the sabbatic year (the fruits they may produce), but less than thirty days are not to be considered a year, and the fruits may not be used, but are prohibited until the fifteenth of Shebhat, whether it be because they come under the category of "uncircumcised" or under the category of "fourth year planting" [Lev. 19:23, 24]. Whence do we deduce this? R. Hyya bar Abba said in the name of R. Johanan or R. Janai: The verse says [Lev. 19:24, 25]: "And in the fourth year. . . . And in the fifth year," i.e., it may happen that in the fourth year (from the planting, the fruit) is prohibited because it is still "uncircumcised," and in the fifth year (from the planting) because it is still the product of the fourth year.

We have learned R. Eliezer says: In Tishri the world was created, the patriarchs Abraham and Jacob were born and died; Isaac was born on the Passover; on New Year's Day

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Sarah, Rachel, and Hannah were visited with the blessing of children, Joseph was released from prison, and the bondage of our fathers in Egypt ceased; in Nissan our ancestors were redeemed from Egypt, and in Tishri we shall again be redeemed. R. Jehoshua, says: In Nissan the world was created, and in the same month the patriarchs were born, and in Nissan they also died; Isaac was born on the Passover; on New Year's Day Sarah, Rachel, and Hannah were visited, Joseph was released from prison, and the bondage of our fathers in Egypt ceased. In Nissan our ancestors were redeemed from Egypt, and in the same month we shall again be redeemed.

We have learned in a Boraitha R. Eliezer says: Whence do we know that the world was created in Tishri? From the scriptural verse, in which it is written [Gen. 1:11]: "And God said, 'Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree,'" etc. In what month does the earth bring forth grass, and at the same time the trees are full of fruit? Let us say Tishri, and that time of the year (mentioned in Genesis) was the autumn; the rain descended and the fruits flourished, as it is written [Gen. 2:6]: "But there went up a mist from the earth," etc. R. Jehoshua says: Whence do we know that the world was created in Nissan? From the scriptural verse, in which it is written [Gen. i. 12]: "And the earth brought forth grass, and herb yielding seed, and the tree yielding fruit," etc. In which month is the earth covered with grass (and at the same time) the trees bring forth fruit? Let us say Nissan, and at that time animals, domestic and wild, and birds mate, as it is said [Psalms, lxv. 14]: "The meadows are clothed with flocks," etc. Further says R. Eliezer: Whence do we know that the patriarchs were born in Tishri? From the passage [I Kings, 8:2]: "And all the men of Israel assembled themselves unto King Solomon at the feast, in the month Ethanim" (strong), which is the seventh month; i.e., the month in which Ethanim, the strong ones of the earth (the patriarchs), were born. How do we know that the expression ethan means strength? It is written [Numb. 24:21] ethan moshabhekha, "strong is thy dwelling-place," and it is also written [Micah, 6:2]: "Hear ye, O mountains, the Lord's controversy, and (ve-haëthanim) ye strong foundations," etc.

R. Jehoshua, however, says: Whence do we know that the patriarchs were born in Nissan? From I Kings vi. 1, where it says: "In the fourth year, in the month Ziv (glory), which is the second month," etc., which means in that month in which the "glorious ones" of the earth (the patriarchs) were already born. Whether the patriarchs were born in Nissan or Tishri, the day of their death occurred in the same month as that in which they were born; as it is written [Deut. 31:2]: Moses said, 'I am one hundred and twenty years old to-day.' The word "to-day" implies "just this day my days and years are complete," for the Holy One, blessed be He, grants the righteous the fulfilment of the years of their life to the very month and day, as it is said: "The number of thy days will I make full" [Ex. 23:26].

Isaac was born in Nissan. Whence do we know this? It is written [Gen. 18:14]: "At the next festival I will return to thee, and Sarah will have a son." What festival was it when he said this? Shall I say it was Passover, and he referred to Pentecost? That cannot be, for what woman bears children after fifty days' gestation? If I say it was Pentecost, and he referred to Tishri, a similar objection might be raised, for who bears children after five months' gestation? If I say it was Tabernacles, and he referred to Passover, a similar objection may be made, for who bears children in the sixth month of gestation? This last objection could be answered according to the following Boraitha: We have learnt that that year was a leap year, and Mar Zutra says that although a child born after nine months' gestation is never born during the month (but only at the end of the required time), still a seven months' child can be born before the seventh month is complete, as it is said [1 Sam. 1:20]: "And it came to pass, li-tequphath ha-yamim (when the time was come about)"; the minimum of tequphoth 1 is two and of yamim is also two (i.e., after six months and two days' gestation, childbirth is possible).

Whence do we know that Sarah, Rachel, and Hannah were visited on New Year's Day? Says R. Elazar: By comparing the expression "visit" that occurs in one passage with the word "visit" that occurs in another passage, and also by treating the expression "remember" in the same way. It is written concerning Rachel [Gen. 30:32]: "And God remembered Rachel," and of Hannah it is written [1 Sam. 1:19]: "And God remembered her." He institutes an analogy between the word "remember" used in these passages and in connection with New Year's Day, which is called [Lev. 23:24] "a Sabbath, a memorial (literally, a remembrance) of blowing of cornets." It is also written concerning Hannah [1 Sam. 2:21]: "And the Lord visited Hannah," and of Sarah it is written [Gen. 21:1]: "And the Lord visited Sarah," and by analogy all these events took place on the same day (New Year's Day).

Whence do we know that Joseph was released from prison on New Year's Day? From Psalm lxxxi., in verses 4, 5, it is written: "Blow on the new moon the cornet at the appointed time on the day of our feast, for this is a statute for Israel." In verse 5 of the same Psalm it is written: "As a testimony in Joseph did he ordain it, when he went out over the land of Egypt." On New Year's Day the bondage of our fathers in Egypt ceased. (Whence do we know this?) It is written [Ex. 6:6]: "I will bring you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians," and it is written in Psalms, lxxxi. 6: "I removed his shoulder from the burden" (i.e., I relieved Israel from the burden of Egypt on the day spoken of in the Psalm; viz., New Year's Day). In Nissan they were redeemed, as previously proven. In Tishri we shall again be redeemed. This he deduces by analogy from the word "cornet" found in the following passages. In Psalm 81:4, it is stated: "Blow the cornet on the new moon (i.e., on New Year's Day), and in Isa. 27:13, it is written: And on that day the great cornet shall be blown" (and as it means New Year's Day in the one place, so does it also in the other). R. Jehoshua says: "In Nissan they were redeemed, and in that month we shall be redeemed again." Whence do we know this? From Ex. 12:42, which says: "It is a night of special observance;" i.e., a night specially appointed since the earliest times for the final redemption of Israel.

The rabbis taught: The Jewish sages calculate the time of the flood according to R. Eliezer, and the solstices according to R. Jehoshua, but the sages of other nations calculate the time of the flood also as R. Jehoshua does.

"And for herbs." To this a Boraitha adds "tithes and vows." Let us see. What does he mean by "herbs"? The tithe of herbs. But are not these included with other "tithes"? (Nay, for the tithe of herbs) is a rabbinical institution, while the others are biblical. If so, should he not teach the biblical commandment first? (This is no question), because it was pleasing to him (to have discovered that, although the tithe of herbs is only a rabbinical institution, yet it should have a special New Year to prevent the confusion of tithes from year to year) he, therefore, gives it precedence. And the Tana of our Mishna teaches us the rabbinical institution (viz., the New Year for herbs), leaving us to infer that if that must be observed, so much the more must the biblical law be followed.

The rabbis taught: If one gathers herbs on the eve of New Year's Day before sunset, and gathers others after sunset, he must not give the heave-offering or the tithe from the one for the other, for it is prohibited to give the heave-offering or tithe from the product of the past year for that of the present, of vice versa. If the second year from the last sabbatic year was just ending and the third year was just beginning, then for the second year he must give the first and second tithes, 1 and for the third year he must give the first and the poor tithes. Whence do we deduce that (in the third year no second tithe was to be given)? R. Jehoshua ben Levi says: In Deut. 26:12, it is written: "When thou hast made an end of the tithe of produce in the third year, which is the year of the tithing," i.e., the year in which only one tithe is to be given." What is to be understood (by one tithe)? The first and poor tithes, and the second tithe shall be omitted. But perhaps it is not so (that the first and poor tithe are one tithe), but that the first tithe shall be also omitted. This cannot be so, for we read [Numb. xviii. 26]: "The tithe which I have given you from them, for your inheritance," etc. (From this we see that) the Scripture compares this tithe to an inheritance, and as an inheritance is the perpetual property of the heir, so also is the first tithe an uninterrupted gift for the Levite.

"And for vows." The rabbis taught: Whoso vows to derive no benefit from his neighbour for a year, must reckon (for the year) twelve months, from day to day; but if he said "for this year," if he made the vow even on the 29th of Elul, as soon as the first of Tishri comes, that year is complete, for he vowed to afflict himself and that purpose (even in so brief a period) has been fulfilled. But perhaps we should say Nissan (should be regarded as the new year in such a case)? Nay, in the matter of vows we follow the common practice among men (who generally regard Tishri as the New Year).

We have learned (Maasroth 1., 3): We reckon the year for giving the tithe: "for carob as soon as it begins to grow; for grain and olives as soon as they are one-third ripe." What is meant by "as soon as it begins to grow"? When it blossoms. Whence do we know that we reckon the tithe on grain and olives when they are one-third ripe? Said R. Assi in the name of R. Johanan, and the same was said in the name of R. Jose of Galilee: It is written [Deut. 31:10]: "At the end of every seven years, in the solemnity of the year of release, in the Feast of Tabernacles." What has the year of release to do with Tabernacles; it is already the eighth year (because the Bible says "at the end of every seven years")? It is only to tell us that all grain which was one-third ripe before New Year's Day must be regarded even in the eighth year as the product of the sabbatic year. And for this we find support in the following Boraitha: R. Jonathan b. Joseph says: It is written [Lev. 25:21]: "And it shall bring forth fruit for three (lishlosh) years." Do not read lishlosh "for three," but in this case read lishlish "for a third" (i.e., it is considered produce when it is a third ripe). But this verse is required for its own particular purpose. There is another verse [ibid. ibid. 22]: "And when ye sow in the eighth year, then shall ye eat of the old harvest; until the ninth year, until its harvest come in, shall ye eat of the old store."

We have learned in a Mishna (Shebeith, 2., 7): Rice, millet, poppies, and lentils which have taken root before New Year's Day come under the category of tithes for the past year, and therefore one is permitted to use them during the sabbatic year; but if they have not (taken root), one is forbidden to use them during the sabbatic year, and they come under the category of tithes of the following year. Says Rabha: Let us see. The rabbis say that the year (for giving tithes) begins as follows: "For a tree from the time they blossom, for grain and olives when they are one-third ripe, and for herbs when they are gathered." Now under which head are the above (rice, etc.) classed? After consideration Rabha remarked: Since these do not all ripen simultaneously, but are gathered little by little, the rabbis are right when they say they are tithable from the time they take root.

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jose of Galilee says: It is written [Deut. xvi. 13]: "When thou hast gathered in thy corn and thy wine." We infer that as corn and wine, now being gathered, grow by means of the past year's rains, and are tithed as last year's (before New Year's Day) products, so every fruit that grows by the rain of last year is tithable as the last year's produce; but herbs do not come under this category, for they grow by means of the rains of the new year, and they are tithable in the coming year. R. Aqiba, however, says that the words "when thou hast gathered in thy corn and thy wine" lead us to infer that as corn and grapes grow chiefly by means of rain, and are tithed as last year's products, so all things that grow chiefly by rain are tithed as belonging to the past year; but as herbs grow even by watering, they are tithed as the next year's products. In what case is this difference of opinion applicable? Said R. Abbuha: In the cases of onions and Egyptian beans; for a Mishna says: Onions and Egyptian beans which have not been watered for thirty days before New Year's Day are tithed as last year's products, and are allowed to be used during the sabbatic year, but if they have been watered, then they are prohibited during the sabbatic year and are tithed as next year's products.

"On the first of Shebhat is the New Year for trees." Why so? Said R. Elazar, in the name of R. Oshyia, because at that date the greater part of the early rains have fallen, although the greater part of the Tequpha is yet to come. The rabbis taught: It once happened that R. Aqiba picked the fruit of a citron tree on the first of Shebhat, and gave two tithes of them, one according to the school of Shammai and one in accordance with the school of Hillel. Says R. Jose b. Jehudah: Nay, Aqiba did not do this because of the school of Shammai or the school of Hillel, but because R. Gamaliel 1 and R. Eliezer were accustomed to do so. Did he not follow the practice of Beth Shammai because it was the first of Shebhat? Said R. Hanina, and some say R. Hanania: The case here cited was one of a citron tree, the fruit of which was formed before the fifteenth of last Shebhat, and he should have given the tithe of it even before the present first of Shebhat, but the case happened to be as cited. But Rabhina said: Put the foregoing together and read the (words of R. Jose) as follows: It did not happen on the first of Shebhat, but on the fifteenth, and he did not follow the regulations of the school of Hillel or the school of Shammai, but the custom of R. Gamaliel and R. Eliezer. Rabba bar Huna said: Although R. Gamaliel holds that a citron tree is tithable from the time it is picked, as is the case with "herbs," nevertheless the new year for tithing it is in Shebhat. R. Johanan asked R. Janai: "When is the beginning of a year for (the tithe on) citrons?" And he said, "Shebhat." "Dost thou mean," said he, "the month Shebhat as fixed by the lunar year or by the solar year (from the winter solstice)?" "By the lunar year," he replied. Rabha asked R. Na'hman, according to another version R. Johanan asked R. Janai: "How is it in leap years (when there are thirteen lunar months)?" And he said: "Shebhat, as in the majority of years." It was taught: R. Johanan and Resh Lakish both say that a citron that has grown in the sixth year and is unpicked at the entrance of the sabbatic year is always considered the product of the sixth year. When Rabhin came (from Palestine) he said, in the name of R. Johanan: A citron that was as small as an olive in the sixth year, but grew to the size of a (small) loaf of bread during the sabbatic year, if one used it without separating the tithe he is culpable because of Tebhel. The rabbis taught: A tree whose fruits formed before the fifteenth of Shebhat must be tithed as the product of the past year, but if they formed after that, they are tithed during the coming year. Said R. Nehemiah: This applies to a tree that looks as if it bore two crops; i.e., whose fruits do not ripen all at once, but at two times. But in the case of a tree that produces but one crop, as, for example, the palm, olive, or carob, although their fruits may have formed before the fifteenth of Shebhat, they are tithed as the products of the coming year. R. Johanan remarked that in the case of the carob people follow the opinion of R. Nehemiah. Resh Lakish objected to R. Johanan: Since white figs take three years to grow fully ripe, must not the second year after the sabbatic year be regarded as the sabbatic year for them? R. Johanan was silent. R. Abba the priest said to R. Jose the priest: I am surprised that R. Johanan should have accepted this query of Resh Lakish without comment.

MISHNA: At four periods in each year the world is judged: on Passover, in respect to the growth of grain; on Pentecost,

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in respect to the fruit of trees; on New Year's Day all human beings pass before Him (God) as sheep before a shepherd, as it is written [Psalms, xxx. 9]: "He who hath fashioned all their hearts understandeth all their works"; 1 and on Tabernacles judgement is given in regard to water (rain).

GEMARA: What grain (does the divine judgement affect on the Passover)? Does it mean the grain now standing in the field (about to be reaped)? At what time, then, were all the accidents that have happened to it until that time destined (by divine will)? It does not mean standing grain, but that just sown. Shall we say that only one judgement is passed upon it? Have we learned in a Boraitha: If an accident or injury befall grain before Passover it was decreed on the last Passover, but if it happen (to the same grain) after Passover, it was decreed on the immediately preceding Passover; if an accident or misfortune befall a man before the Day of Atonement, it was decreed on the previous Day of Atonement, but if it happened after the Day of Atonement it was decreed on the preceding Day of Atonement? Answered Rabha: Learn from this that judgement is passed twice (in one year, before the sowing and before the reaping). Therefore said Abayi: When a man sees that the grain which ripens slowly is thriving, he should as soon as possible sow such grain as ripens quickly, in order that before the time of the next judgement it may already have begun to grow.

With whose opinion does our Mishna agree? Not with that of R. Meir, nor with that of R. Jehudah, nor with that of R. Jose, nor with that of R. Nathann, nor with the teaching of the following Boraitha: All are judged on New Year's Day, and the sentence is fixed on the Day of Atonement. So says R. Meir. R. Jehudah says all are judged on New Year's Day, but the sentence of each is confirmed each at its special time--at Passover for grain, at Pentecost for the fruit of trees, at Tabernacles for rain, and man is judged on New Year's Day, and his sentence is confirmed on the Day of Atonement. R. Jose says man is judged every day, as it is written [Job, 7:18]: "Thou rememberest him every morning"; and R. Nathan holds man is judged at all times, as it is written [ibid.]: "Thou triest him every moment." And if you should say that the Mishna agrees with the opinion of R. Jehudah, and that by the expression "judgement" it means the "confirmation of the decree," then there would be a difficulty about man. Said Rabha: The Tana of our Mishna is in accordance with the school of R. Ishmael of the following Boraitha: At four periods is the world judged: at Passover, in respect to grain; on Pentecost, in regard to the fruit of trees; on Tabernacles, in respect to rain, and on New Year's Day man is judged, but the sentence passed upon him is confirmed on the Day of Atonement, and our Mishna speaks of the opening of judgement only (and not the final verdict).

R. Hisda asked: "Why does not R. Jose quote the same passage as R. Nathan in support of his opinion?" Because "trying" is not judging. But does not "remembering" also convey the same idea? Therefore said R. Hisda: R. Jose bases his opinion on another passage; viz. [1 Kings 8:59]: "That God may maintain the cause of His servant and the cause of His people Israel every day. Said R. Joseph: According to whom do we pray nowadays for the sick and for faint (scholars) every day? According to R. Jose (who maintains that man is judged every day).

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jehudah taught in the name of R. Aqiba. Why does the Torah command [Lev. 23:10] a sheaf of the first fruits to be brought on the Passover? Because Passover is the period of judgement in respect to grain, and the Holy One, blessed be He, said: "Offer before Me the first sheaf of produce on Passover, so that the standing grain may be blessed unto you." And why the two loaves [Lev. 23:17] on the Pentecost? Because that is the time when judgement is passed on the fruit of trees, and the Holy One, blessed be He, said: "Bring before Me two loaves on the Pentecost, so that I may bless the fruits of the tree." Why was the ceremony of "the outpouring of water" (on the altar) performed on the Feast of Tabernacles? Because He said: "Perform the rite of 'the outpouring of waters,' that the rains shall fall in due season." And He also said: "Recite before Me on New Year's Day the Malkhioth, Zikhronoth, and Shophroth; 1 the Malkhioth, that you proclaim Me King; the Zikhronoth, that your remembrance for good may come before Me." And how (shall this be done)? By the sounding of the cornet.

R. Abbahu said: "Why is the cornet made a ram's horn?" The Holy One, blessed be He, said: "Sound before Me on a cornet made of a ram's horn, that I may remember, for your sake, the offering of Isaac, the son of Abraham [vide Gen. 22:13], and I shall consider even you as worthy, as if ye had shown an equal readiness to sacrifice yourselves to Me."

R. Itz'hak said: A man is judged only according to his deeds at the time of sentence, as it is written [Gen. 21:17]: "God heard the voice of the lad, as he then was," and the same rabbi also remarked: Three circumstances cause a man to remember his sins; viz., when he passes by an insecure wall, when he thinks deeply of the significance of his prayer, and when he invokes divine judgement on his neighbour, for R. Abhin says: Whoso calls down divine judgement on his neighbour is punished first, as we find in the case of Sarah, who said [Gen. xvi. 5] to Abraham: "I suffer wrong through thee, may the Lord judge between me and thee." And shortly after we read (that she died): "And Abraham came to mourn for Sarah and to weep for her" [Gen. 23:2]. (Naturally this only applies to cases where appeal could have been made to a civil court, and the invocation of divine judgement was not necessary.) R. Itz'hak preached: Four things avert the evil decree passed (by God) on man--viz.: charity, prayer, change of name, and improvement.

Charity," as it is written [Prov. 10:2]: "Charity delivereth from death. Prayer," in accordance with [Psalms, 107:19]: "They cry unto the Lord when they are in distress, and He saveth them out of their afflictions." "Change of name," as it is written [Gen. 17:15]: "As for Sarai, thy wife, thou shalt not call her name Sarai, but Sarah shall her name be," and the text continues by saying [ibid. 16]: "Then will I bless her, and give thee a son also of her." "Improvement," we deduce from Jonah, iii. 10: "And God saw their works that they had turned from their evil ways," and immediately adds: "And God bethought Himself of the evil He had said He would do unto them, and He did it not." Some add to these four a fifth, change of location, as it is written [Gen. 12:1 and 2]: "And God said to Abraham, get thee out from thy land" (and afterwards), "I will make of thee a great nation."

R. Kruspedai said in the name of R. Johanan: Three books are opened on New Year's Day: one for the utterly wicked, one for the wholly good, and one for the average class of people. The wholly righteous are at once inscribed, and life is decreed for them; the entirely wicked are at once inscribed, and destruction destined for them; the average class are held in the balance from New Year's Day till the Day of Atonement; if they prove themselves worthy they are inscribed for life, if not they are inscribed for destruction. Said R. Abhin: Whence this teaching? From the passage [Psalms, 69:29]: "Let them be blotted out of the book of the living, and they shall not be written down with the righteous."

We have learned in a Boraitha: The school of Shammai said: There are three divisions of mankind at the Resurrection: the wholly righteous, the utterly wicked, and the average class. The wholly righteous are at once inscribed, and life is decreed for them; the utterly wicked are at once inscribed, and destined for Gehenna, as we read [Dan. 12:2]: "And many of them that sleep in the dust shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt." The third class, the men between the former two, descend to Gehenna, but they weep and come up again, in accordance with the passage [Zech. 13:9]: "And I will bring the third part through the fire, and I will refine them as silver is refined, and will try them as gold is tried; and he shall call on My name, and I will answer him." Concerning this last class of men Hannah says [1 Sam. 2:6]: "The Lord causeth to die and maketh alive, He bringeth down to the grave and bringeth up again." The school of Hillel says: The Merciful One inclines (the scale of justice) to the side of mercy, and of this third class of men David says [Psalms, 116:1]: "It is lovely to me that the Lord heareth my voice"; in fact, David applies to them the Psalm mentioned down to the words, "Thou hast delivered my soul from death" [ibid. 8].

Transgressors of Jewish birth and also of non-Jewish birth, who sin with their body descend to Gehenna, and are judged there for twelve months; after that time their bodies are destroyed and burnt, and the winds scatter their ashes under the soles of the feet of the righteous, as we read [Mal. 3. 23]: "And ye shall tread down the wicked, for they shall be as ashes under the soles of your feet"; but as for Minim, informers and disbelievers, who deny the Torah, or Resurrection, or separate themselves from the congregation, or who inspire their fellowmen with dread of them, or who sin and cause others to sin, as did Jeroboam the son of Nebat and his followers, they all descend to Gehenna, and are judged there from generation to generation, as it is said [Isa. 66:24]: "And they shall go forth and look upon the carcases of the men who have transgressed against Me; for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched." Even when Gehenna will be destroyed, they will not be consumed, as it is written [Psalms, 49:15]: "And their forms wasteth away in the nether world," which the sages comment upon to mean that their forms shall endure even when the grave is no more. Concerning them Hannah says [1 Sam. 2:10]: "The adversaries of the Lord shall be broken to pieces." R. Itz'hac b. Abhin says: "Their faces are black like the sides of a caldron"; while Rabha remarked: "Those who are now the handsomest of the people of Me'huzza will yet be called the children of Gehenna."

What is meant by Jews who transgress with their body? Says Rabh: The Qarqaphtha (frontal bone) on which the phylacteries are not placed. 1 And who are meant by non-Jews who transgress with the body? Those guilty of the sin (of adultery). Who are those who inspire their fellowmen with dread of them? A leader of a community who causes the people to fear him overmuch without furthering thereby a high purpose. R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: No such leader will ever have a learned son, as it is said [Job, 37:24]: "Men do therefore fear him: he will never see (in his family) any wise of heart."

The school of Hillel said above: He who is full of compassion will incline the scale of justice to the side of mercy. How does He do it? Answered R. Eliezer: He presses on (the side containing our virtues), as it is said [Micah, 7:19]: "He will turn again, he will have compassion upon us, he will suppress our iniquities." R. Jose says: He lifts off (the sins), as it is said [ibid. 18]: "He pardoneth iniquity and forgiveth transgression." And it was taught in the school of R. Ishmael that this means that He removes each first sin (so that there is no second), and this is the correct interpretation. "But," Rabha remarked, "the sin itself is not blotted out, so that if one be found in later times with more sins (than virtues), the sin not blotted out will be added to the later ones; whoso treats with indulgence one who has wronged him (forms an exception to this rule), for he will have all his sins forgiven, as it is said [Micah, 7:18]: "He pardoneth iniquity and forgiveth transgression." From whom does He remove iniquity? From him who forgiveth transgression (committed against him by his neighbour).

R. Huna ben R. Jehoshua fell sick, and R. Papa went to visit him. The latter saw that the end was near, and said to those present: "Make ready his provisions (shrouds)." Finally he recovered, and R. Papa was ashamed to see him. "Why did you think him so sick?" said they. "He was so, indeed," he replied, "but the Holy One, blessed be He, said that since he was always indulgent (with every one), he shall be forgiven," as it is written: "He pardoneth iniquity and forgiveth transgression." From whom docs He remove iniquity? From him who forgiveth transgression.

R. A'h the son of Hanina said: The phrase "of the remnant of his inheritance" [Micah, 7:18] is like unto a fat tail (of an Arabian sheep) with a thorn through it (that will stick those that lay hold of it); (for He forgives) the remnant of His inheritance, and not all His inheritance. What is meant by remnant? Only those who deport themselves like a remnant (i.e., modestly). R. Huna points out a contradiction in these passages. It is written [Psalms, cxlv. 171: "The Lord is just in all his ways," and in the same passage, "and pious in all his works." It means, in the beginning He is only just, but in the end He is pious (when He finds that strict justice is too severe on mankind He tempers justice with piety or mercy). R. Elazar also points out a contradiction. It is written [Psalms, 62:12]: "Unto thee, O Lord, belongeth mercy;" and again, "thou renderest to every man according to his work." This can be explained as the above: In the beginning He rewards every man according to his works, but in the end He is merciful. Ilphi or Ilpha points out a similar contradiction in [Ex. xxxiv. 6], where it is written "abundant in goodness and truth," and gives a similar explanation.

It is written [Ex. 34:6]: "And the Lord passed by before him and proclaimed." R. Johanan said: Had this Passage not been written, it would have been impossible to have said it, for it teaches us that the Holy One, blessed be He, wrapped Himself, as does a minister who recites the prayers for a congregation, and pointing out to Moses the regular order of prayer, said to him: Whenever Israel sins, let him pray to Me, after this manner, and I shall pardon him.

"The Lord, the Lord," (these words mean) I am the same God before a man sins as I am after he sins and does repentance. "God, merciful and gracious." R. Jehudah said (concerning these words): The covenant made through the thirteen attributes [Ex. 34.] will never be made void, as it is said [ibid. 10]: "Behold I make a covenant."

R. Johanan said: Great is repentance, for it averts the (evil) decreed against a man, as it is written [Isa. 6:10]: "Obdurate will remain the heart of this people. . . . nor hear with their ears, nor understand with their hearts, so that they repent and be healed." R. Papa asked Abayi: Do not these last words, perhaps, mean before the (evil) decree has been pronounced? It is written, he replied, "be healed." What is that which requires healing? I can only say that against which judgement has been pronounced. An objection was raised from the following Boraitha: He who repents between (New Year's Day and the Day of Atonement) is forgiven, but if he does not repent, even though he offered the choicest sacrifice, he is not pardoned. This presents no difficulty; in the one case it refers to (the sins of) an individual, and in the other to (those of) a community. Another objection was raised. Come and hear. It is written [Psalms, 107:23-28]: "They that go down to the sea in ships, that do business in great waters; these see the works of the Lord . . . for he commandeth, and raiseth the stormy wind, which lifteth up the waves thereof, they reel to and fro, and stagger like a drunken man, . . . then they cry unto the Lord in their trouble, and he bringeth them out of their afflictions; oh, that men would praise the Lord for his goodness," etc. Signs are given, such as the words "but" and "only" in the Scriptures (which intimate limiting qualifications), to indicate that if they cried before the decree was pronounced, only then would they be answered; but if after, they are not answered. (Would not this be a contradiction to the words "to those of a community"?) Nay,

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for those on a ship are not a community (but are considered as individuals).

Come and hear. The proselyte Beluria (a woman) asked R. Gamaliel (concerning the following apparent contradiction): It is written in your Law [Deut. 17]: "The Lord who regardeth not persons" (literally, who lifteth not up countenances); and it is also written [Numb. 6:26]: "May the Lord lift up his countenance." R. Jose, the priest, joined her, and said to her: "I will tell thee a parable. To what may this be compared? To one who lent money to his neighbour, and set a time for its repayment before the king, and (the borrower) swore by the king's life (to repay it on time). The time arrived, and he did not pay, and he came to appease the king. Said the king to him, 'I can forgive you only your offence against me, but I cannot forgive you your offence against your neighbour; go and ask him to forgive you.'" So also here; in the one place it means sins committed by a man against Himself (the Lord), but in the other it means sins committed by one man against another. As to the decree pronounced against an individual, the Tanaim differ, however, as we may see from the following Boraitha: R. Meir used to say, of two who fall sick with the same sickness, and of two who enter a tribunal (for judgement) on similar charges, one may recover and one not, one may be acquitted and one condemned. Why should one recover and one not, and one be acquitted and one condemned? Because the one prayed and was answered, and one prayed and was not answered. Why should one be answered and the other not? The one prayed devoutly and was answered, the other did not pray devoutly and therefore was not answered; but R. Elazar said it was not because of prayer, but because the one prayed before, and the other after the decree was pronounced. R. Itz'hak said: Prayer is helpful for man before or after the decree has been pronounced. Is it then so that the (evil) decree pronounced against a congregation is averted (through the influence of prayer)? Does not one scriptural verse [Jer. 4:14] say: "Wash thine heart from wickedness," and another states [ibid. 2:22]: "For though thou wash thee with nitre, and take thee much soap, yet would the stain of thine iniquity remain before me." Shall we not say in the one case it means before, and in the other after the sentence has been pronounced? Nay, both refer (to a time) after the decree has been pronounced and there is no contradiction, for in one case it refers to a decree issued with an oath, and in the other to a decree pronounced without an oath, as R. Samuel b. Ami said in the name of R. Jonathan: Whence do we know that a decree, pronounced with an oath, cannot be averted? From the passage [1 Sam. 3:14]: "Therefore I have sworn unto the house of Eli, that the iniquity of Eli's house shall not be purged with sacrifice nor meat-offering forever." Rabha, however, said: Even in such a case it is only through sacrifices that sin cannot be purged, but by (the study of) the Law it may be; and Abayi said: With sacrifice and offering it cannot be purged, but by (the study of) the Law, and by active benevolence it can. (Abayi based this opinion on his own experience, for) he and (his master) Rabba were both descendants of the house of Eli; Rabba, who only studied the Law, lived forty years, but Abayi, who both studied the Torah and performed acts of benevolence, lived sixty years. The rabbis tell us also: There was a certain family in Jerusalem whose members died at eighteen years of age. They came and informed R. Johanan ben Zakkai of their trouble. Said he: "Perhaps you are descendants of Eli, of whom it is said, 'all the increase of thy house shall die in the flower of their age'" [1 Sam. 2:33]; "Go, then, study the Law, and live." They went and studied, and they lived, and they called that family R. Johanan's after his name. R. Samuel ben Inya says in the name of Rabh: Whence do we know that if the decree against a community is even confirmed, it may nevertheless be averted? From [Deut. 4:7] where it is written: "As the Lord, our God, in all things that we call upon him for;" (but how can you harmonize that with the passage) [Isa. 55:6]: "Seek ye the Lord while he may be found"? The latter passage refers to an individual, the former to a community. When is that time that He will be found even by an individual? Answered Rabba bar Abbahu: "During the ten days, from New Year's Day till the Day of Atonement."

"On New Year's Day all the inhabitants of the world pass before him, Kibhne Maron (like sheep)." What does the Mishna mean by these last two words? "Like sheep," as they are translated in Aramaic, but Resh Lakish says they mean "as the steps of the Temple" (i.e., narrow, so that people ascended them one by one). R. Jehudah, however, said in the name of Samuel: (They mean) "like the armies of the house of David" (which were numbered one by one). Said Rabba bar Bar Hana in the name of R. Johanan: "Under any circumstances they are mustered at a glance. And R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak said: Thus also we understand the words of our Mishna: "He that fashioned all their hearts alike" [Psalms, 33:15], i.e., the Creator, sees all their hearts (at a glance) and (at once) understands all their works.

MISHNA: Messengers were sent out 1 for the following six months: for Nissan, on account of the Passover; for Abh, on account of the fast; for Elul, on account of the New Year; for Tishri, on account of appointing the order of the (remaining) festivals; 2 for Kislev, on account of the Feast of Dedication; for Adar, on account of the Feast of Passover; also for Iyar, when the Temple was in existence, on account of the minor (or second) Passover. 3

GEMARA: Why were they not, also sent out for Tamuz and Tebheth (in which months there are also fasts)? Did not R. Hana bar Bizna say in the name of R. Sin-peon the pious: What is the meaning of the passage [Zach. 8:19]: "Thus saith the Lord of hosts; the fast of the fourth, and the fast of the fifth, and the fast of the seventh, and the fast of the tenth shall become in the house of Judah joy and gladness," etc., that they are called fasts, and also days of joy and gladness? Are we not to understand that only in the time of peace (cessation of persecution) they shall be for joy and gladness, but in the time when there was not peace they shall be fasts? Said R. Papa: It means this: When there was peace, these days should be for joy and gladness; in the time of persecution they shall be fasts; in times when there are neither persecution nor peace people may fast or not, as they see fit. If that is so, why then (should messengers have been sent out) on account of the fast of Abh? Said R. Papa: The fast (ninth day) of Abh is different, since many misfortunes occurred on that day, as the master said: "On the ninth of Abh, the first and second Temples were destroyed, Bether was captured, and the city of Jerusalem was razed to the ground."

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Simeon said: There are four matters that R. Aqiba expounded, but which I interpret differently; "the fast of the fourth" means the ninth of Tamuz, on which the city was broken in, as it is written [Jer. 52:6, 7]: "In the fourth, in the ninth day of the month . . . the city was broken in." What does he mean by fourth? The fourth of the months. "The fast of the fifth," means the ninth of Abh, on which the Temple of our Lord was burnt; and what does he mean by calling it fifth? The fifth of the months. "The fast of the seventh" means the third of Tishri, the day on which Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam, was slain (and we fast), because the death of the righteous is equal to the loss of the house of our Lord. And what does he mean by calling it the seventh? The seventh of the months. "The fast of the tenth," means the tenth of Tebheth, the day on which the king of Babylon set himself against Jerusalem, as it is written [Ezek. 24:1, 2]: "Again in the ninth year, in the tenth month, in the tenth day of the month the word of the Lord came unto me saying, Son of man, write thee the name of the day, even of this same day; the king of Babylon set himself against Jerusalem." And what does he mean by calling it the tenth? The tenth of the months, and actually this last event should have been placed first (since it occurred first). And why is it placed here last in order? To mention the months in their regular order. Said R. Simeon: I, however, do not think so, but thus: "The fast of the tenth" means the fifth of Tebheth, on which day the news came to the exiles that the city was smitten, as it is written [Ezek. 33:21]: "And it came to pass in the twelfth year of our captivity, in the tenth (month), in the fifth day of the month, that one that bad escaped out of Jerusalem came to me, saying, The city is smitten," and they held the day on which they received the news equal to the day (on which the Temple) was burnt. And it seems to me that my opinion is more satisfactory, for I speak of the first, first, and of the last, last; while he speaks of the last, first, and of the first, last; he mentions them in the order of the months, while I mention them in the order in which the calamities occurred.

It was taught: Rabh and R. Hanina say: The Rolls of Fasts (which contained the names of minor holidays on which it was prohibited to fast) is annulled, but R. Johanan and R. Jehoshua ben Levi say: "It is not." When Rabh and R. Hanina say that it is annulled they mean: In the time of peace the (fast) days are days of joy and gladness, but in the time of persecution they are fast days, and so also with other (days mentioned in the Rolls of Fasts); and when R. Johanan and R. Jehoshua ben Levi say it is not annulled (they mean) that those (four fasts mentioned in Zachariah) the Bible makes dependent on the rebuilding of the Temple; but those (mentioned in the Rolls of Fasts) remain as they are appointed.

R. Tobi b. Matana objected: In the Rolls of Fasts it is said that on the twenty-eighth of (Adar), the good news came to the Jews that they need no longer abstain from studying the Law, for the king (of Syria had earlier) issued a decree, forbidding them to study the Law, or to circumcise their sons, and compelling them to desecrate their Sabbath. What did Jehudah b. Shamua and his friends do? They went and took counsel of a certain matron, whose house the celebrated people of the city frequented. Said she to them, "Go and cry aloud at night." They did as she advised and cried aloud, "Oh, heavens! Are we not all brethren? Are we not all the children of one Father? Are we not All the children of one mother? Why should we be treated differently from other nations, and from all people who speak other languages inasmuch as ye issue such cruel edicts against us?" The decrees were annulled, and the day (on which this happened) they appointed a holiday. Now if it be true that the Rolls of Fasts has been annulled (i.e., the former [feasts] have been all abrogated), may then new ones be added? There is a difference of opinion among Tanaim on this question, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: The days recorded in the Rolls of Fasts, whether during or after the existence of the Temple. are not permitted (to be kept as fasts), so said R. Meir; R. Jose, however, said, so long as the Temple stood it was not permissible (to fast on them) because they were days of joy, but since the Temple fell it is allowed because they are days of mourning. One rule says that they are abrogated, but another rule says they are not abrogated. There is a question here caused by one rule contradicting the other. In the latter case it refers to the Feasts of Dedication and Esther (which are never to be abrogated), and in the former case to all other (minor feast) days.

"For Elul on account of New Year's Day, and for Tishri on account of appointing the order of the (remaining) festivals." Since (the messengers) were sent out on account of Elul, why need they go again on account of Tishri? Shall we say because (the Beth Din) desired to proclaim Elul an intercalary month? (That cannot be) for did not R. Hanina bar Kahana say in the name of Rabh: Since the time of Ezra we have not discovered that Elul was an intercalary month? We have not discovered it, because it was not necessary (to make it so). But if it should be necessary, shall we make it an intercalary month? This would disturb the position of New Year's Day. It is better that the position of New Year's Day alone should be disturbed than that all the holidays should be disarranged. And it seems to be so, for the Mishna says that the messengers were sent for Tishri on account of appointing the order of the festivals.

"And for Kislev on account of Hanuka, and for Adar on account of the Feast of Esther." But the Mishna does not say if it be a leap year, that the messengers were sent out in the second Adar on account of Purim. From this we learn that the Mishna is not in accordance with Rabbi of the following Boraitha: Rabbi says: "In a leap year messengers are sent out also in the second Adar on account of the Feast of Esther."

When Ula came (from Palestine) he said: They have made Elul an intercalary month, and he also said: "Do my Babylonian comrades know the benefit we have gained through it?" Because of what is this a benefit?" Because of herbs," 1 said Ula. R. A'ha bar Hanina, however, said: "Because of dead bodies." 2 What difference is there between them? They differ concerning a holiday that falls immediately before or after the Sabbath (on the sixth or first day of the week). According to the one who says "because of herbs" we may add an intercalary day, but (it is not necessary) according to him who says "because of dead bodies," for we can employ non-Jews (to bury the dead for us on the holidays). If this is the case, why is this a benefit only for us (in Babylon); is it not also to the advantage of them (in Palestine)? Our climate is very hot, but theirs is not.

Is this really so? Did not Rabba bar Samuel teach: One might suppose that as we intercalate the year when necessary, so we intercalate the month when necessary? Therefore it is written [Ex. 12:2]: "This month shall be unto you the first of the months," which means as soon as you see (the new moon) as on this occasion, you must consecrate the month (whether or not it is necessary to intercalate it). (How, then, could they intercalate Elul, which had always only twenty-nine days?) To intercalate it (when necessary) was permitted, but to consecrate it was not permitted, and Rabba's words should read: One might suppose that as it is permitted to intercalate the year and the month when necessary, so we may consecrate the month when necessary. Therefore it is written [Ex. 12:2]: "This month shall be unto you," etc., which means only when the moon is seen as on this occasion, may you consecrate it.

Samuel said: "I can arrange the calendar for the whole captivity." Abba, the father of R. Simlai, said to him: "Does the master know that which a certain Boraitha teaches concerning the secret of the intercalary day; viz., whether the new moon appears before or after midday?" Answered he, "No." "Then, master," said he, "if thou dost not know this, there may be other things which thou dost not know." When R. Zera went (to Palestine) he sent back word to his comrade (saying): The evening and the morning (following) must both belong to the month (i.e., when the old moon has still been seen after dark on the twenty-ninth day of the month, the thirtieth evening and following day belong to the closing month). And this is what Abba, the father of R. Simlai, meant: We calculate only the beginning of the new moon; if it began before midday, it is certain that it was seen close upon the setting of the sun, but if it did not begin before midday, it is certain that it did not appear close upon the setting of the sun. What difference does it make (in practice)? Answered R. Ashi, "to refute witnesses." R. Zera said in the name of R. Na'hman, in every case of doubt (about the holidays), we post-date, but never ante-date. 1 Does this mean to say that (in a case of doubt concerning the exact day on which Tabernacles begins) we observe the fifteenth and sixteenth, but not the fourteenth. Let us keep the fourteenth also. Perhaps Abh and Elul have each only twenty-nine days? Nay, if two consecutive months should each have twenty-nine days, this would be announced.

Levi went to Babylon on the eleventh of Tishri. Said he: "Sweet is the food of Babylon on the great Day (of Atonement now being held) in Palestine." They said to him, "Go and

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testify." Answered he, "I have not heard from the Beth Din the words, 'It is consecrated' (and therefore I cannot testify)."

R. Johanan proclaimed: In every place that the messengers sent in Nissan reached, but that the messengers sent in Tishri cannot reach, they must observe two days for the holidays; and they make this restriction for Nissan lest people would do in Tishri as in Nissan. 2 Rabha used to fast two days for the Day of Atonement. 3 Once it happened that he was right (because the Day of Atonement fell one day later in Palestine than in Babylon). R. Na'hman was once fasting on the Day of Atonement, and in the evening a certain man came and said to him, "To-morrow will be the Day of Atonement in Palestine." He angrily quoted, "Swift were our persecutors" [Lam. 4:19].

R. Na'hman said to certain sailors, "Ye who do not know the calendar take notice that when the moon still shines at dawn (it is full moon, and if it happens to be Nissan) destroy your leaven bread (for it is then the fourteenth day)."

MISHNA: For the sake of (the new moon) of the two months, Nissan and Tishri, witnesses may profane 1 the Sabbath, because in these months the messengers went to Syria, and the order of the festivals was arranged; when, however, the Temple 2 was in existence, they might profane the Sabbath in any month, in order to offer the (new moon) sacrifice in its proper time.

GEMARA: For the sake of these two months and not more? This would be a contradiction to the Mishna above, which states: "For the sake of six months messengers were sent out"? Said Abayi: "This is to be explained thus: For all new moons the messengers were sent out while it was still evening, but for Nissan and Tishri they were not sent out until they heard from the lips of the Beth Din the words, 'It (the new moon or month) is consecrated.'"

The rabbis taught: Whence do we know that for them we may profane the Sabbath? From [Lev. xxiii. 4], which reads: "These are the feasts of the Lord, which ye shall proclaim in their seasons." Might not one suppose that as (witnesses) were permitted to profane the Sabbath until the new moons had been consecrated, so were messengers permitted to profane the Sabbath until (the festivals) were introduced? This the Law says: Therefore it is written: "Which ye shall proclaim," i.e., you may profane the Sabbath in order to proclaim them, but not to introduce them.

"When, however, the Temple was in existence," etc. The rabbis taught: Formerly they profaned the Sabbath for all (new moons), but after the destruction of the Temple, R. Johanan b. Zakkai said to them: "Have we any (new moon) sacrifice to offer? They then instituted that (witnesses) might profane the Sabbath only on account of Nissan and Tishri.

MISHNA: Whether the new moon had appeared clear to all or not (the witnesses) were permitted to profane the Sabbath on its account. R. Jose says: If it appeared clear to every, one, 3 the Sabbath should not be profaned (by witnesses). it once happened that more than forty pair (of witnesses) were on the highway (to the Beth Din) on the Sabbath, when R. Aqiba detained them at Lydda. R. Gamaliel then sent word saying, "If thou thus detainest the people, thou wilt be the cause of their erring in the future" (i.e., they may refuse to come and testify).

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: It is written [Eccles. 12:10]: Koheleth sought to find out acceptable words," which signifies that Koheleth sought to enforce decrees without the aid of witnesses or warning. A heavenly voice was heard saying [Eccles. 12:10]: "And that which was written uprightly, even words of truth" (which meant that) as it is written [Deut. 20:15]: "Upon the evidence of two witnesses, etc., must a case be established," so should words of truth also be established by two witnesses.

"It once happened that more than forty pair (of witnesses) were on the highway (to Jerusalem) and R. Aqiba detained them," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jehudah said: It would be a sin to say that R. Aqiba should have detained them. It was Shazpar, the superintendent of Gadar, who detained them, and (and when) R. Gamaliel (heard of it, he) sent and dismissed him.

MISHNA: When a father and son have seen the new moon, they must both go to the Beth Din, not that they may act together as witnesses, but in order that, should the evidence of either of them be invalidated, the other may join to give evidence with another witness. R. Simeon says: Father and son, and relatives in any degree may be accepted as competent witnesses to give evidence as to the appearance of the new moon. R. Jose says: It once happened that Tobias, the physician, his son, and his freed slave saw the new moon in Jerusalem (and when they tendered their evidence), the priests accepted his evidence and that of his son, but invalidated that of his freed slave; but when they appeared before the (Beth Din) they received his evidence, and that of his freed slave, but invalidated that of his son.

GEMARA: Said R. Levi: What is the reason for R. Simeon's decree? It is written [Ex. 12:1]: "And the Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron saying, This month shall be unto you," which means, this evidence shall be acceptable from you (although you are brothers). And how do the rabbis interpret it? They explain it as follows: This testimony shall be placed at your disposal (i.e., the Beth Din's). Says Mar Uqba in the name of Samuel, the Halakha prevails according to R. Simeon.

MISHNA: The following are considered incompetent to be witnesses: gamblers with dice, usurers, pigeon breeders, 1 those who deal with the produce of the sabbatic year, and slaves. This is the rule: All evidence that cannot be received from a woman cannot be received from any of the above. One who has seen the new moon, but is unable to go (to give evidence), must be brought (if unable to walk) mounted on an ass, or even in a bed. 2 Persons afraid of an attack by robbers may take sticks with them; 2 and if they have a long way to go, it will be lawful for them to provide themselves with and carry their food. 2 Whenever (witnesses) must be on the road a day and a night, it will be lawful to violate the Sabbath to travel thereon, to give their evidence as to the appearance of the moon. For thus it is written [Lev. 23:4]: "These are the feasts of the Lord, the holy convocations, which ye shall proclaim in their appointed seasons.

CHAPTER 2.

ORDINANCES ABOUT THE WITNESSES CONCERNING THE NEW MOON, THE HOISTING OF THE FLAGS AND HOW IT WAS CONSECRATED BY THE BETH DIN.

MISHNA: If the witness was unknown another was sent with him to testify to his character. In former times they would receive evidence (about the appearance of the moon) from any one; but when the Boëthusians commenced to corrupt the witnesses the rule was made, that evidence would only be received from those who were known (to be reputable).

GEMARA: What is meant by "another" (in the above Mishna)? Another pair (of witnesses). It seems also to be so from the statement of the Mishna. "If the witness was unknown? Shall we assume that it means one (witness)? Surely the evidence of one was not received, for this transaction was called "judgement" [Psalms, 81.] (and two witnesses are necessary)? What, then, does "the witness" mean? That pair; so also here, "another" means another pair. Is, then, the evidence of one not accepted? Have we not learned in a Boraitha: It once happened that R. Neherai went to Usha on the Sabbath to testify (to the character) of one witness? He knew that there was one witness in Usha, and he went to add his evidence (and thus make two witnesses). If that is so, what does it tell us? One might suppose that, as there was a doubt (that he might not meet the other witness), he ought not to have profaned the Sabbath (by travelling to Usha as a single witness); therefore he comes to teach us (that even in such a case of doubt the Sabbath might be violated).

When Ula came (to Babylon, from Palestine), he said: They have already consecrated the new moon in Palestine. Said R. Kahana: (In such a case) not only Ula, who is a great man, is to be believed, but even an ordinary man. Why so? Because men will not lie about a matter that will become known to every one.

"In former times they would receive evidence from any one, etc." The rabbis taught: How did the Boëthusians corrupt the witnesses? They once sought to deceive the sages, and they bribed, with four hundred zuz (silver coins), two men, one belonging to their party and one to ours. The former gave his evidence and went out, to the latter they (the Beth Din) said, "Tell us what was the appearance of the moon?" "I went up," replied he, "to Maale Adumim, 1 and I saw it crouching between two rocks. Its head was like a calf, its cars like a goat, its horns like a stag, and its tail was lying across its thigh. I gazed upon it and shuddered, and fell backwards; and if you do not believe me, behold, here I have two hundred zuz bound up in my cloth." "Who induced you to do this?" they asked. "I heard," he replied, "that the Boëthusians wished to deceive the sages; so I said to myself, I will go and inform them, lest some unworthy person may (accept their bribe), and come and deceive the sages." Then said the sages: "The two hundred zuz may be retained by you as a reward, and he who bribed you shall be taken to the whipping-post (and be punished)." Then and there they ordained that testimony should be received only from those who were known (to be of good character).

MISHNA: Formerly bonfires were lighted (to announce the appearance of the new moon); but when the Cutheans 2 practised their deceit, it was ordained that messengers should be sent out. How were these bonfires lighted? They brought long staves of cedar wood, canes, and branches of the olive tree, and bundles of tow which were tied on top of them with twine; with these they went to the top of a mountain, and lighted them, and kept waving them to and fro, upward and downward, till they could perceive the same repeated by another person on the next mountain, and thus, on the third mountain, etc. Whence did these bonfires commence? From the Mount of Olives to Sartabha, from Sartabha to Grophinah, from Grophinah to Hoveran, from Hoveran to Beth Baltin; they did not cease waving the burning torches at Beth Baltin, to and fro, upward and downward, until the whole country of the captivity appeared like a blazing fire.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: Bonfires were only lighted to announce the new moon that appeared and was consecrated at the proper time (after twenty-nine days). And when were they lighted? On the evening of the thirtieth day. Does this mean to say that for a month of twenty-nine days the bonfires were lighted, but not for a month of thirty days? It should have been done for a month of thirty days, and not at all for a month of twenty-nine days. Said Abayi: That would cause the people a loss of work for two days (because they would wait to see if the bonfires would be lit or not and thus lose a second day).

"How were these bonfires lighted? They brought long staves of cedar wood," etc. R. Jehudah says: There are four kinds of cedars: the common cedar, the Qetros, the olive tree, and the cypress. Qetros says Rabh is (in Aramaic) Adara or a species of cedar. Every cedar, said R. Johanan, that was carried away from Jerusalem, God will in future times restore, as it is written [Isa. xli. 19]: "I will plant in the wilderness the cedar tree," and by "wilderness" He means Jerusalem, as it is written [Isa. 64:19]: "Zion is (become) a wilderness." R. Johanan says again: Who studies the law, and teaches it in a place where there is no other scholar, is equal to a myrtle in the desert, which is very dear. The same says again: "Woe to the Romans, for whom there will be no substitution," as it is written [Isa. 60:17]: "Instead of the copper, I will bring gold, and for iron I will bring silver, and for wood, copper, and for stones, iron." But what can He bring for R Aqiba and his comrades (who were destroyed by Rome)? Of them it is written [Joel, 4:21]: "I will avenge (but for) their (Aqiba's and his comrades') blood I have not yet avenged."

"And whence did these bonfires commence?" From Beth Baltin. What is Beth Baltin? "Biram," answered Rabh. What (does the Mishna) mean by the captivity? Said R. Joseph, "Pumbeditha." And how was it that the whole country looked like a blazing fire? We learn that each Israelite took a torch in his hand and ascended to the roof of his house.

MISHNA: There was a large court in Jerusalem called Beth Ya'azeq, where all the witnesses met, and where they were examined by the Beth Din. Great feasts were made there for (the witnesses) in order to induce them to come frequently. At first they did not stir from there all day (on the Sabbath), till R. Gamaliel, the elder, ordained that they might go two thousand ells on every side; and not only these (witnesses) but also a midwife, going to perform her professional duties, and those who go to assist others in case of conflagration, or against an attack of robbers, or in case of flood, or (of rescuing people) from the ruins (of a fallen building) are considered (for the time being) as inhabitants of that place, and may go (thence on the Sabbath) two thousand ells on every side. How were the witnesses examined? The first pair were examined first. The elder was introduced first, and they said to him: Tell us in what form thou sawest the moon; was it before or behind the sun? Was it to the north or the south (of the sun)? What was its elevation on the horizon? Towards which side was its inclination? What was the width of its disk? If he answered before the sun, his evidence was worthless. After this they introduced the younger (witness) and he was examined; if their testimony was found to agree, it was accepted as valid; the remaining pairs (of witnesses) were asked leading questions, not because their testimony was necessary, but only to prevent them departing, disappointed, and to induce them to come again often,

GEMARA: Do not the questions (asked by the Mishna), "was it before or behind the sun?" and "was it to the north or to the south?" mean the same thing? Answered Abayi: (The Mishna asks) whether the concave of the crescent was before or behind the sun, and if (the witness said) it was before the sun, his evidence was worthless, for R. Johanan says: What is the meaning of the passage [Job, 25:2]: "Dominion and fear are with him; he maketh peace in his high places?" It means that the sun never faces the concave of the crescent or the concave of a rainbow.

"What was its elevation on the horizon? Towards which side was its inclination?" In one Boraitha we have learned: If (the witness) said "towards the north," his evidence was valid, but if he said, "towards the south," it was worthless; in another Boraitha we have learned the reverse. It presents no difficulty; in the latter case it speaks of the summer, while in the former it refers to the winter.

The rabbis taught: If one (witness) said its elevation appeared about as high as two ox-goads and another said about as high as three, their testimony was invalid, but either might be taken in conjunction with a subsequent witness (who offered similar testimony). The rabbis taught (If the witnesses say): "We have seen the reflection (of the moon) in the water, or through a metal mirror, or in the clouds," their testimony is not to be accepted; or (if they say we have seen) "half of it in the water, and half of it in the heavens, or half of it in the clouds," their evidence carries no weight. Must they then see the new moon again (before their testimony can be accepted)? Said Abayi: "By this is meant that if the witnesses testify that they saw the moon accidentally, and they then returned purposely and looked for it, but they saw it not, their evidence is worthless." Why so? Because one might say they saw a patch of white clouds (and they thought it was the moon).

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MISHNA: The chief of the Beth Din then said: "It (the new moon) is consecrated," and all the people repeated after him: "It is consecrated; it is consecrated." Whether the new moon was seen at its proper time (after twenty-nine days) or not, they used to consecrate it. R. Elazar b. Zadok said: If it had not been seen at its proper time it was not consecrated, because it had already been consecrated in heaven (i.e., of itself).

GEMARA: Whence do we deduce this? Said R. Hyya b. Gamda quoting Rabbi, in the name of R. Jose b. Saul: It is written [Lev. 23:44]: "Moses declared unto the children of Israel the feasts of the Lord," from which we deduce that (as Moses, who was the chief in Israel, declared the feasts to Israel, so also) the chief of the Beth Din should announce the words, "It is consecrated."

"All the people repeated after him: It is consecrated; it is consecrated." Whence do we deduce this? Said R. Papa: It is written [Lev. xxiii. 2]: "Shall proclaim." "Othom" (them). Do not read "Othom," but Athem (ye)--i.e., which ye, all the people, shall proclaim. R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak, however, said: We know it from the words [ibid.]: "These are my feasts," i.e., (these people) shall announce my feasts. Why are the words "It is consecrated" repeated? Because in the scriptural verse just quoted we find it written "holy convocations" (literally, announcements, and the minimum of the plural expression is two).

"R. Elazar b. Zadok said: If it had not been seen at its proper time it was not consecrated," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha, Pelimo 1 said: If the new moon appear at its proper time it was not customary to consecrate it, but if it appeared out of its proper time they used to consecrate it. R. Eliezer, however, said: In neither case would they consecrate it, for it is written [Lev. xxv. 10]: "And ye shall consecrate the fiftieth year;" years should be consecrated, but not months. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: "The halakha prevails according to R. Elazer b. Zadok. Said Abayi: There can be a support to this from the following Mishna, viz.: "If the Beth Din and all Israel saw the new moon (on the thirtieth day) and if the examination of the witnesses bad already taken place, and it had become dark before they had time to announce 'It is consecrated,' the month (just passing) is intercalary." That (the month) is intercalary is mentioned (by the Mishna), but not that they said "It is consecrated." It is not clear that this is a support for Abayi's argument, for it was necessary to say that it was intercalary, or we would not have known that the next day was the intercalary day. One might have thought that, since the Beth Din and all Israel saw the new moon, it was apparent to all, and that the month does not become intercalary; therefore he teaches us that (nevertheless the month becomes intercalary).

MISHNA: R. Gamaliel had on a tablet, and on a wall of his upper room, illustrations of the various phases of the moon, which he used to show to the common people, saying: "Did you see the moon like this figure or like this?"

GEMARA: Is this permitted? Have we not learned in a Boraitha that the words "Ye shall not make anything with me" [Ex. 20:20] mean, ye shall not make pictures of my ministers that minister before me, such as the sun, moon, stars or planets? It was different with R. Gamaliel, for others made it for him. But others made one for R. Jehudah, yet Samuel said to him: "Thou, sagacious one, destroy that figure!" 2 In the latter case the figure was embossed, and he was afraid that one might suspect the owner (of using it as an idol). Need one be afraid of such suspicion? Did not that synagogue in Shephithibh of Neherdai have a statue (of the king), yet Rabh, Samuel and Samuel's father and Levi went there to pray and were not afraid of being suspected (of idolatry)? It is a different case where there are many. Yet R. Gamaliel was only one. Yea, but he was a prince, and there were always many with him; And if you wish you may say that he had them made for the purpose of instruction, and that which is written [Deut. 18:9], "thou shalt not learn to do," means but thou mayest learn, in order to understand and to teach.

MISHNA: It happened once that two witnesses came and said: We saw the moon in the eastern part of the heavens in the morning, and in the western part in the evening. R. Jo'hanan b. Nouri declared them to be false witnesses; but when they came to Yamnia, Rabbon Gamaliel received their evidence as valid. (On another occasion) two other witnesses came and said: We saw the moon on its proper day, but could not see it on the next evening of the intercalary day. R. Gamaliel accepted their testimony, but R. Dosa b. Harkhenas said: They are false witnesses; for how can they testify of a woman being delivered (on a certain day) when on the next day she appears to be pregnant? Then R. Jehoshua said unto him: I approve your opinion. Upon this R. Gamaliel sent him (R. Jehoshua) word, saying: "I order thee to appear before me on the Day of Atonement, according to your computation, with your staff and with money." R. Aqiba went to him (R. Jehoshua) and found him grieving. He then said to him: I can prove that all which R. Gamaliel has done is proper, for it is said: "These are the feasts of the Lord, holy convocations which ye shall proclaim," either at their proper time, or not at their proper time, only their convocations are to be considered as holy festivals. When he (R. Jehoshua) came to R. Dosa b. Harkhinas, the latter told him: "If we are to reinvestigate the decisions of the Beth Din of R. Gamaliel, we must also reinvestigate the decisions of all the tribunals of justice which have existed from the time of Moses till the present day; for it is said [Ex. 24:9] Moses, Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, and seventy elders went up (to the Mount)." Why were not the names of the elders also specified? To teach us that every three men in Israel that form a Beth Din are to be respected in an equal degree with the Beth Din of Moses. Then did R. Jehoshua take his staff and money in his hand, and went to Yamnia, to R. Gamaliel, on the very day on which the Day of Atonement would have been according to his computation, when R. Gamaliel arose and kissed him on the forehead, saying: "Enter in peace, my master and disciple! My master--in knowledge; my disciple--since thou didst obey my injunction."

GEMARA: We have learned in a Boraitha that R. Gamaliel said to the sages: "Thus it has been handed down to me from the house of my grandfather (Zamalill the elder) that sometimes the new moon appears elongated and sometimes diminished. R. Hyya saw the old moon yet on the morning of the twenty-ninth day, and threw clods of earth at it, saying: 'We should consecrate thee in the evening, and thou art seen now? Go, hide thyself!'"

Said Rabbi to R. Hyya: "Go to Entob and consecrate the month and send back to me as a password 1 'David, the King of Israel, still lives.'"

The rabbis taught: Once it happened that the heavens were thick with clouds and the form of the moon was seen on the twenty-ninth of the month (of Elul), so that the people thought that New Year's Day should be then proclaimed, and they (the Beth Din) were about to consecrate it. Said R. Gamaliel to them: Thus it has been handed down to me by tradition, from the house of my grandfather, the consecration of the moon cannot take place at a period less than twenty-nine and a half days, two-thirds and .0052 (i.e., seventy-three 'Halaqim),of an hour. On that self-same day the mother of Ben Zaza died and R. Gamaliel delivered a great funeral oration, 2 not because she specially deserved it, but in order that the people might know that the new moon had not yet been consecrated by the Beth Din.

"R. Aqiba went to him, and found him grieving." The schoolmen propounded a question: "Who found whom grieving?" Come and hear. We have learned in a Boraitha: "R. Aqiba went to R. Jehoshua and found him grieving, so he asked him: 'Rabbi, why art thou grieving?' And he answered: 'Aqiba, I would rather lie sick for twelve months than to have this order issued for my appearance.' Rejoined R. Aqiba: 'Rabbi, permit me to say one thing in thy presence which thou thyself hast taught me.' R. Jehoshua granted him permission, and R. Aqiba proceeded: 'It is written [Lev. 23:2, 4 and 37]: Three times 'shall proclaim Othom (them), which should, however, not be read Othom (them), but Athem (ye), which would make the verse read, "Ye shall proclaim." Now the threefold "ye" signifies that even if ye were deceived by false pretences and changed the day of the festivals, or even if ye did it purposely, or even if ye were held to be in error by others--once the dates had been established they must so remain.' With the following words R. Jehoshua answered R. Aqiba: Aqiba, thou hast comforted me; Aqiba, thou hast comforted me.'"

"When he (Rabbi Jehoshua) came to R. Dosa b. Harkhenas," etc. The rabbis taught: The reason that the names of those elders are not mentioned, is, in order that one should not say: Is So-and-so like Moses and Aaron? Is So-and-so like Nadabh and Abihu? Is So-and-so like Eldad and Medad? (And how do we know that one should not ask thus?) Because, it is written [i Sam. xii. 6]: "And Samuel said unto the people the Lord that appointed Moses and Aaron "and in the same connection it is written [ibid. 11]: "And the Lord sent Jerubaal and Bedan and Jephtha and Samuel." [Jerubaal is Gideon; and why is he named Jerubaal? Because he strove against Baal. Bedan is Sampson; and why is he named Bedan? Because he came from Dan. Jephtha means just what it is (i.e., he had no surname or attribute).] And it is also written [Ps. 99:6]: "Moses and Aaron among his priests, and Samuel among those who called upon his name." The sacred text regards the three common people equal with the three noblest, to teach us that Jerubaal was in his generation like Moses in his; Bedan in his generation was like Aaron in his; Jephtha in his generation was like Samuel in his generation. From all this one must learn that if even the commonest of the commoners is appointed leader by a community, he must be considered as the noblest of the nobility, for it is said [Deut. 17:9]: "And thou shalt come unto the priests, the Levites, and unto the judge that shall be in his days." (Why does the passage say "in those days"?) Can you imagine that one could go to a judge who was not in his days? (Surely not! But by these words Scripture teaches us that a judge is to be held "in his days" equal in authority with the greatest of his predecessors.) We find a similar teaching in Eccles. vii. 10: "Say not thou that the former days were better than these! "He took his staff," etc. The rabbis taught: (R. Gamaliel said to R. Jehoshua): Happy is the generation in which the leaders listen to their followers, and through this the followers consider it so much the more their duty (to heed the teachings of the leaders).

CHAPTER 3.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE INTERCALATING OF THE MONTH--THE CORNET, AND OF WHAT IT IS TO BE MADE--AND THE PRAYERS OF THE NEW YEAR'S DAY.

MISHNA: If the Beth Din and all Israel saw (the moon on the night of the thirtieth day), or if the witness had been examined, but there was no time to proclaim "It is consecrated" before it had become dark, the month is intercalary. If the Beth Din alone saw it, two of its members should stand up and give testimony before the others, who shall then say "It is consecrated; it is consecrated." When three who formed a Beth Din saw it, two should stand up and conjoining some of their learned friends with the remaining one, give their testimony before these, who are then to proclaim "It is consecrated; it is consecrated," for one (member of a Beth Din) has not this right by himself alone.

GEMARA: "If the Beth Din alone saw it," etc. Why so? Surely hearsay evidence is not better than the testimony of an eye-witness! Said R. Zera: "It refers to a case where they saw it at night (and on the next day they could not consecrate the new moon until they had heard the evidence of two witnesses)."

"When three who formed a Beth Din, saw it, two should stand up and conjoining some of their learned friends with the remaining one," etc. Why so? Here also we may say, surely hearsay evidence is not better than the testimony of an eye-witness! And if you would say that this also means where they saw it at night, is this not, then, the same case? The case is the same, but the above statement is required because of the concluding words, "one (member of a Beth Din) has not the right by himself alone;" for it might be assumed, since in civil cases three (are required to constitute a Beth Din), but where he is well known (as a learned authority) one judge may act alone, so here we may consecrate (the new moon) on the authority of one judge; therefore, he teaches us (that three are required). Perhaps I should, nevertheless, say here (that one learned authority is sufficient)? Nay, for there is no greater authority than Moses, our master, yet God said to him that Aaron should act with him, as it is written [Ex. 12:1, 2]: "And the Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron, in the land of Egypt, saying: This month shall be unto you the beginning of months."

Does this mean to say that a witness may act as judge? And shall we assume that the above Mishna is not according to R. Aqiba, as on following Boraitha: If the members of the Sanhedrin saw a man commit murder, part of them may act as witnesses and part as judges, according to R. Tarphon; but according to R. Aqiba all of them are witnesses, and no witness (of a crime) may act as judge. It may be said that the Mishna is even according to R. Aqiba. In the latter instance R. Aqiba only refers to capital cases, for it is written [Numb. xxxv. 24, 25]: "Then the congregation shall judge . . . and the congregation shall deliver," and since they saw him commit murder, they will not be able to urge any plea in his favour; but here (concerning the new moon) even R. Aqiba assents (that a witness may act as judge).

MISHNA: Every kind of cornet may be used (on New Year's Day) except those made of cow-horn, because they are called "horn" (qeren), and not "cornet" (shophar). R. Jose said: Are not all cornets called "horn?" for it is said [josh. 6:5]: "And it came to pass that when they made a long blast with the horn of the Jobhel."

GEMARA: How comes it that the word Jobhel means ram? A Boraitha teaches: R. Aqiba says: When I went to Arabia I found they called a ram "Yubla."

The rabbis did not know the meaning of the word Salseleho in the passage [Prov. iv. 8]: "Salseleho and she shall exalt thee." One day they heard Rabbi's maidservant say to a certain man who was (conceitedly) playing with his hair, "How long wilt thou mesalsel (hold up) thy hair?" The rabbis did not know the meaning of the word yehabhekha in the passage [Ps. 4:23]: "Cast yehabhekha (thy burden) upon the Lord." Said Rabba bar Bar Hana: "One day I went with a certain Arabian caravan merchant, and I was carrying a burden. Said he to me: 'Take down yehabhekha (thy burden) and put it on my camel.'"

MISHNA: The cornet used on the New Year was a straight horn of a wild goat; the mouth-piece was covered with gold. The two trumpets were stationed one on each side. The sound of the cornet was prolonged, while that of the trumpet was short, because the special duty of the day was the sounding of the cornet. On the fast days two crooked ram's horns were used, their mouth-pieces being covered with silver, and the two trumpets were stationed in the middle between them. The sound of the cornet was shortened, while that of the trumpet was prolonged, because the special duty of the day was the sounding of the trumpets. The jubilee and New Year's Day were alike in respect to the sounding (of the cornet) and the

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benedictions, but R. Jehudah says: "On the New Year we blow (a cornet) made of ram's horn, and on the jubilee one made of the horn of a wild goat."

GEMARA: R. Levi said: It is a duty on New Year's Day and the Day of Atonement to use a bent cornet, but during the rest of the year a straight one. But have we not learned that the cornet used on the New Year must be the "straight horn of a wild goat?" He (R. Levi) said as R. Jehudah of the following Boraitha: On New Year's Day they used to blow (a cornet) made of a straight ram's horn, and on the Jubilees one made of wild goat's horn. What is their point of variance? R. Jehudah holds that on New Year's the more bent in spirit a man is, and on the Day of Atonement the more upright he is (in his confessions) the better; but R. Levi holds the more upright a man is on New Year's Day and the more bowed in spirit on the Fast Days, the better.

"The mouth-piece was covered with gold." Does not a Boraitha teach, however, that if one covers the place to which the mouth was put the cornet may not be used; but if (he covers) another place it may be used? Answered Abayi: "Our Mishna also means a place to which the mouth was not put."

"The two trumpets were stationed one on each side." Could the two sounds be easily distinguished? Nay; and therefore the sound of the cornet was prolonged, to indicate that the special duty of the day was the sounding of the cornet.

"On the Fast-Days two crooked ram's horns were used, their mouth-pieces being covered with silver." Why was the cornet used in the one case covered with gold and in the other with silver? All (signals for) assemblies were blown on horns made with silver, as it is written [Numb. X. 2]: "Make unto thee two trumpets of silver . . . that thou mayest use them for the calling of the assembly," etc. R. Papa bar Samuel was about to follow the practice prescribed by the Mishna. Said Rabha to him: "That was only customary so long as the Temple was in existence." A Boraitha also teaches that this applies only to the Temple; but in the country (outside of Jerusalem) in a place where they use the trumpet, they do not use the cornet, and vice versa. Such was the wont of R. Halaphta in Sepphoris and also of R. Hanina b. Teradion in Si'hni. When the matter was brought to the attention of the sages they said: "That was the custom only at the eastern gates or the Temple Mount." Rabha, according to others R. Jehoshua ben Levi, asked: "From which passage is this deduced?" From the passage [Psalms xcviii. 6]: "With trumpets and sound of cornet, make a joyful noise before the Lord, the King;" i.e., before the Lord, the King (in the Temple) we need both the trumpets and the cornet, but not elsewhere.

"The Jubilee, and the New Year were alike in respect to the sounding (of the cornet), and the benediction." R. Samuel bar Itz'hak said: According to whom do we nowadays pray: "This day celebrates the beginning of thy work, a memorial of the first day?" According to R. Eliezer, who says: The world was created at Tishri. R. Ina objected. Did we not learn in our Mishna that the Jubilee and New Year are alike in respect to the sounding (of the cornet), and the benedictions, and now how can that be so if we say "This day celebrates the beginning of thy work, a memorial of the first day," which is said on New Year, but not on the Jubilee? (That which we have learned in our Mishna that they are alike means) in every other respect but this.

MISHNA: It is unlawful to use a cornet that has been split and afterwards joined together; or one made of several pieces joined together. If a cornet had a hole that had been stopped up, and prevented (the production) of the proper sound, it must not be used; but if it does not affect the proper sound it may be used. If one should blow the cornet inside a pit, a cistern or a vat, and the sound of the cornet was (plainly) heard (by one listening to it) he will have done his duty (to hear the cornet on the New Year), but not if he heard only an indistinct sound. Thus also, if one should happen to pass by a synagogue, or live close by it, and should hear the cornet (on the New Year) or the reading of the Book of Esther (on the Feast of Esther), he will have complied with the requirements of the law, if he listened with proper attention, but not otherwise; and although the one heard it as well as the other, yet the difference (on which everything depends) is that the one listened with proper attention and the other did not.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: If a cornet was long and was shortened, it is valid; if one scraped it and reduced it to its due size it is valid; if one covered it on the inside with gold it is invalid; if on the outside and it changed the tone from what it originally was, it is invalid, but if not it is. If a cornet had a hole in it and it was closed up, and thereby prevented (the production) of the proper sound, it is invalid, but if not it is valid; if one placed one cornet inside another and the sound heard (by a listener) was produced from the inner one, he has fulfilled his duty, but if from the outer one, he has not.

"Or one made of several pieces joined together." The rabbis taught "If one added to a cornet ever so small a piece, whether it be of the same kind of horn or not, it is invalid. If a cornet had a hole, whether one stopped it up with a piece of the same kind (of horn) or not, it is invalid. R. Nathan, however, said (only when repaired with material) not of the same kind it is invalid, but otherwise if of the same kind it is valid. (To which) R. Jehudah added: "That is, if the greater part of a cornet was broken." From this we can infer that if repaired with material of the same kind, although the greater part was broken, it is, nevertheless, valid.

"If one covered a cornet on the inside with gold it is invalid; if on the outside, and it changed the tone from what it originally was, it is not valid, but if not it is." If a cornet had been split lengthwise it is invalid, but if crosswise, yet enough remained with which to produce the sound, it is valid, but if not it is invalid. (And how much is that? R . Simeon b. Gamaliel explains it to be as much as we may hold in our closed hand, and yet on either side a portion is visible). I If its tone was thin, or heavy, or harsh, it is valid, for all tones were considered proper in a cornet. The schoolmen sent a message to the father of Samuel: ("One has fulfilled his duty if he bored a hole in a horn and blew it. That is self-evident! for in every cornet a hole must surely be bored." Said R. Ashi: "If one bored a hole through the bony substance inside the horn (which ought to be removed), are we to suppose that one substance causes an interposition with another of the same nature (and that therefore it must not be used)?" Therefore they sent to say that this is no objection.

"If one should blow the cornet inside a pit or a cistern," etc. R. Huna said: They taught this only in the case of those who stood at the pit's mouth, but those who were in the pit itself fulfill their duty. If one heard a part of (the required number of) the sounds of the cornet in the pit, and the rest at the pit's mouth, he has done his duty; but if he heard a part before the dawn of day, and the rest after the dawn, he has not. Said Abayi to him: Why in the latter case (should he not have done his duty, because he did not hear the whole of the sounds at the time when the duty should be performed), yet in the former case (he is considered to have done his duty) under similar circumstances? How can these cases be compared? In the latter case, the night is not the time of performing the obligation at all, while in the former case, a pit is a place where the duty may be performed for those who are in it! Shall we say that Rabba held: If one heard the end of the sounding (of the cornet) without having heard the beginning he did his duty, and from these words we must understand that if he heard the beginning without the end he has also done his duty? Come and hear. If one blew the first sound (Tekia) and prolonged the second (Tekia) as long as two, it is only reckoned as one; and (if Rabba's opinion is correct) why should he reckon it as two? (This is no question)! If he heard half the sounds he has done his duty, but when one blows one sound on the cornet we cannot consider it two halves.

Rabba says: One who vows to receive no benefit from his neighbour may nevertheless blow for him the obligatory sounds (of the cornet); one who vows refusal of any benefit from a cornet may blow on it the obligatory sounds. Furthermore, said Rabha: "One who vows to refuse any benefit from his neighbour may sprinkle on him the waters of a sin-offering in the winter, but not in the summer. One who vows to receive no benefit from a spring may take in it a legal bath in the winter, but not in the summer.

The schoolmen sent a message to the father of Samuel: "If one had been compelled to eat unleavened bread (on the first night of Passover, i.e., he had not done so of his own accord) he has also done his duty." Who compelled him? Said R. Ashi: "Persians." Rabha remarked: From this statement we can prove that if one plays a song on a cornet he does his duty. Is this not self-evident? The cases are similar. One might suppose that in the former case the law commanded him to eat (unleavened bread) and he ate it, but in the latter case the Torah speaks of "a remembrance of blowing the cornet" [Lev. 23:241, and (when he plays a song he does not remember his duty for) he is engaged in a worldly occupation. Therefore he teaches us that even under such circumstances he does his duty.

To this an objection was raised. We have learned: If one who listened (to the sounds of the cornet) paid the proper attention, but he that blew the cornet did not, or vice versa, they have not done their duty until both blower and listener pay proper attention. This would be correct in the case where the blower, but not the listener, pays the proper attention, for it is possible that the listener imagines he hears the noise of an animal; but how can it happen that the listener should pay due attention, and the one who blows (the cornet) should not, except he was only playing a song (by which he does not do his duty)? (It is possible) if he only produced a dull sound (i.e., and not, for example, a Tekia).

Said Abayi to him: "But now, according to thy conclusion (that a duty performed without due attention is the same as if performed with due attention) wilt thou say that he who sleeps in a tabernacle on the eighth day of the Feast of the Tabernacles shall receive stripes (because he had no right to observe the law for more than seven days)?" Answered Rabha: "I say that one cannot infringe a command except at the time when it should be performed." R. Shamen b. Abba raised an objection: Whence do we know that a priest who ascended the platform (to pronounce the priestly benediction) must not say: Since the Torah has given me the right to bless Israel, I will supplement (the benedictions, Numb. vi. 24-26) by one of my own, as, for example [Deut. i. ii]: "May the Lord God of your fathers make you a thousand times so many more as ye are?" From the Torah which says [Deut. 4:2]: "Ye shall not add unto the word." And in this case as soon as he has finished the benedictions the time for performing that duty has gone by; still if he add a blessing of his own he is guilty of infringing the law, which says, "Ye shall not add." This refers to a case of where the priest had not yet finished the scriptural benediction. We have learned, however, that he had finished the scriptural benediction. The Boraitha means to say that he had finished only one of the (three) benedictions. We have learned in another Boraitha, however, that even if he had completed all three benedictions, and then supplemented one of his own, he is also guilty of a transgression. In this case it is different, for it might be that the priest would come to another assembly where prayer was held and be called upon to again pronounce the benedictions. Hence it must be assumed that there is no specified time for the priest to pronounce his benedictions, but all day can be considered as the proper time, and thus the priest, by supplementing a benediction of his own, becomes guilty.

R. Shamen bar Abha, however, does not admit that the whole day is the proper time, because the priest is not in duty bound to pronounce the benediction in another assembly. Nevertheless he is guilty if he should supplement an additional benediction of his own; whence we see that even if the proper time has passed, guilt is nevertheless incurred, and this is contradictory to Rabha's dictum. Therefore, said Rabha: (I mean), To fulfill the requirements of the law one need not pay attention; to transgress the law against supplementing, at the time prescribed for performing it, also does not require one's special attention; but to transgress the law against supplementing, at the time not prescribed for performance, needs one's special attention. Hence the priest, after completing the scriptural benediction, who says: "Because the law gives me authority I shall supplement a benediction of my own, demonstrates thereby that he does this with special attention, and consequently incurs guilt, even if the prescribed time had passed.

R. Zera said to his attendant: "Pay attention, and sound (the cornet) for me. Do we not thus see that he holds that to fulfill the requirements of the law the act is not enough, and one must pay attention? This is a disputed question among the Tanaïm, for we have learned in a Boraitha: One who hears (the blowing of the cornet) must himself listen in order to perform his duty, and he who blows (the cornet) blows after his usual manner. R. Jose said: "These words are said only in the case of the minister for a congregation; but an individual does not do his duty unless both he that hears and he that blows pay proper attention."

MISHNA: (It is written in Ex. 17:11 that) "When Moses held up his hand, Israel prevailed," etc. Could then the hands of Moses cause war to be waged or to cease? (Nay); but it means that as long as Israel looked to heaven for aid, and directed their hearts devoutly to their Father in heaven, they prevailed; but when they ceased to do so they failed. We find a similar instance also in [Numb. xxi. 8]: "Make unto thee a fiery serpent and set it on a pole, and every one that is bitten, when he looketh upon it shall live." Could, then, the serpent kill or bring to life? (Surely not.) But it means when the Israelites looked (upward) to heaven for aid and subjected their will to that of their Father in heaven they were healed, but when they did not they perished. A deaf mute, an idiot, or a child cannot act in behalf of the assembled congregation. This is the general rule: "Whosoever is not obliged to perform a duty cannot act in behalf of the assembled congregation" (for that duty).

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: All are obliged to hear the sounding of the cornet, priests, Levites and Israelites, proselytes, freed slaves, a hermaphrodite, and one who is half slave and half free. A sexless person cannot act in behalf of those like or unlike itself, but a hermaphrodite can act in behalf of those of the same class, but not of any other.

The Master said: It is said, All are obliged to hear the sounding of the cornet, priests, Levites and Israelites. This is self-evident, for if these are not obliged, who are? It was necessary to mention priests here, for one might have supposed that since we have learnt "the jubilee and New Year's Day are alike with regard to the sounding of the cornet and the benedictions," that only those who are included under the rule of jubilee are included in the duties of New Year's Day; and as the priests are not included in the rule of jubilee (for they have no lands to lie fallow, etc.), might we not, therefore, say that they are not bound by the duties of New Year's Day? Therefore he comes to teach us (that they must hear the sounding of the cornet).

A'hbha, the son of R. Zera, teaches: "With regard to all the benedictions, although one has already done his duty he may nevertheless act for others, with the exception of the blessings over bread and wine; concerning which, if he has not yet done his duty, he may act for others, but if he has done his duty he must not act for others."

Rabha asked: What is the rule in the case of the benediction of the unleavened bread, and the wine used at the

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sanctification of a festival? Since these are special duties, may one act for others, or perhaps the (duty is only the eating of the unleavened bread and the drinking of the sanctification wine); but the benediction is not a duty, and therefore he cannot act for others? Come 'and hear. R. Ashi says: When we were at the home of R. Papa, he said the blessing of sanctification for us, and when his field labourer came from work later he said the blessing for him also.

The rabbis taught: One must not say the benediction over bread for guests, unless he eats with them, but he may do so for the members of the family, to initiate them into their religious duties. With regard to the Service of Praise [Hallel Ps. 113.-118.] and the reading of the Book of Esther, although one had already done his duty, he may, nevertheless, act for others.

CHAPTER 4.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE NEW YEAR'S DAY WHEN IT FALLS ON SABBATH, AND THE PRAYERS THEREON--THE ORDINANCES OF THE BENEDICTIONS, ETC.

MISHNA: When the feast of New Year happened to fall on the Sabbath, they used to sound (the cornet) in the Temple, but not outside of it. After the destruction of the Temple R. Jo'hanan b. Zakkai ordained that they should sound (the cornet) in every place in which there was a Beth Din. R. Elazar says that R. Jo'hanan b. Zakkai instituted that for Yamnia alone; but they (the sages) say the rule applied both to Yamnia. and every place in which there was a Beth Din. And in this respect also was Jerusalem privileged more than Yamnia, that every city from which Jerusalem could be seen, or the sounding (of the cornet) could be heard, which was near enough, and to which it was allowed to go on the Sabbath, might sound the (cornet) on the Sabbath; but in Yamnia they sounded (the cornet) before the Beth Din only.

GEMARA: Whence do we deduce all this? Said Rabha: The rabbis took a precautionary measure concerning them, as said: Although the duty of sounding (the cornet) is obligatory upon all, yet all are not skilled in sounding (it); therefore they feared lest one might take (the cornet) in his hand, and go to an expert and carry it more than four ells in public ground. The same rule applies to the palm branch (Iulabh) and also to the scroll (on which is written the) Book of Esther.

"After the destruction of the. Temple, R. Jo'hanan b. Zakkai ordained," etc. The rabbis taught: Once it happened that New Year's Day fell on the Sabbath, and all the cities gathered together. Said R. Jo'hanan b. Zakkai to the Bne Bathera: 1 "Let us sound (the cornet)." "First," said they, "let us discuss." "Let us sound it," replied he, "and then we will discuss." After they had sounded (the cornet) they said to him: "Now let us discuss." He answered: "The cornet has now been heard in Yamnia, and we cannot retract after the act has been performed."

"But they (the sages) say the rule applied both to Yamnia and everyplace in which there is a Beth Din." Said R. Huna: That means in the presence of the Beth Din. Does this preclude people from sounding (the cornet) out of the presence of the Beth Din? And, when R. Itzhak bar Joseph came (from Yamnia) did he not say: When the officiant ministers appointed by the congregation in Yamnia had finished sounding (the cornet) one could not hear his own voice on account of the sounds (of the cornets) used by individuals? (Even individuals) used to sound (the cornet) in the presence of the Beth Din. It was also taught: Rabbi said, "We may only sound (the cornet) during the time that the Beth Din is accustomed to sit."

"Jerusalem was privileged more than Yamnia," etc. (When the Mishna speaks of) "Every city from which Jerusalem could be seen," it means with the exception of a city located in the valley (from which it could be seen only by ascending to an elevated spot); by "the sounding (of the cornet) could be heard," it means to except a city located on the top of a mountain; by "which was near enough," it means to exclude a city outside the prescribed limit (of a Sabbath journey); and by "and to which it was allowed to go," it means to exclude a city (even near by) but divided (from Jerusalem) by a river.

MISHNA: Formerly the palm branch (lulabh) was taken to the Temple seven days, but in cities outside (of Jerusalem) it was taken (to the synagogue) one day. Since the destruction of the Temple, R. Jo'hanan b. Zakkai ordained that the palm branch should everywhere be taken seven days, in commemoration of the Temple, and also it should be prohibited (to eat the new produce) the whole day of waving (the sheaf-offering; vide Lev. 23: 11-15).

GEMARA: Whence do we know that we do things in commemoration of the Temple? It is written [Jer. 30:17]: "For I will restore health unto thee, and I will heal thee of thy wounds, saith the Lord, because they called thee an outcast, saying, This is Zion whom no man seeketh after." By implication (we see) that it (Zion or the Temple) needs being sought after (or commemorated).

"And that it should be prohibited to eat . . . on the whole day of waving (the sheaf-offering)," etc. R. Na'hman b. Itzhak remarked: R. Jo'hanan b. Zakkai says this according to the system of R. Jehudah, for it is written [Lev. 23:14]: "And ye shall eat neither parched corn . . . until the self-same day," i.e., until the very day itself, and he holds that whenever the expression "until" (ad) occurs it is inclusive. How can you say the above according to (R. Jehudah); surely he differs from R. Johanan ber Zakkai? As we have learnt in a Mishna: Since the destruction of the Temple R. Johanan b. Zakkai ordained that it should be prohibited (to eat of the new produce) the whole of the day of waving (the sheaf-offering). Said R. Jehudah: Is this not prohibited by the passage which says: "Until the self-same day"? R. Jehudah was mistaken; he thought that R. Johanan b. Zakkai taught that (the prohibition) was rabbinical, and it was not so, for R. Johanan also said it was biblical. But does the Mishna not say "he ordained"? Yes; but what does it mean by "he ordained"? (It means) he explained the ordinance.

MISHNA: Formerly they received evidence as to the appearance of the new moon the whole (of the thirtieth) day. Once the witnesses were delayed in coming, and they disturbed the songs of the Levites. They then ordained that evidence should only be received until (the time of) the afternoon service, and if witnesses came after that time both that and the following day were consecrated. After the destruction of the Temple, R. Johanan b. Zakkai ordained that evidence (as to the appearance) of the new moon should be received all day.

GEMARA: What disturbance did they cause to the songs of the Levites? Said R. Zera to A'hbha, his son: Go and teach to them (the Mishna) thus: "They ordained that evidence as to the appearance of the new moon should not be received, only that there might be time during the day to offer the continual and the additional sacrifices and their drink offerings, and to chant the (daily) song without disturbing the order."

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jehudah said in the name of R. Aqiba, What (song) did (the Levites) chant on the first day of the week? "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof" [Ps. xxiv.], because He is the Creator, the Providence and the Ruler of the Universe. What did they sing on the second day? "Great is the Lord and greatly to be praised" [Ps. xlviii.], because He distributed His works and reigned over them. On the third day they sang, "God standeth in the congregation of the mighty" [Ps. 82.], because He, in His wisdom, made the earth appear and prepared the world for its occupants. On the fourth day they sang, "O Lord, to whom retribution belongeth" [Ps. 94.], because (on that day) He created the sun and moon, and (determined) to punish in the future those who would worship them. On the fifth day they sang, "Sing aloud unto God our strength" [Ps. 81.], because (on that day) He created birds and fish to praise Him. On the sixth day they sang, "The Lord reigneth, He is clothed with majesty" [Ps. 93.], because (on that day) He finished His works and reigned over them. On the seventh day they sang, "A Psalm or Song for the Sabbath Day" [Ps. 92.], for the day that is a perfect rest.

Said R. Nehemiah: "Why did the sages make a distinction between these sections (for the last refers to a future event, while all the others refer to the past)? It should have been said that they sang that Psalm on the Sabbath day because He rested!"

What did the Levites sing when the additional sacrifices were being offered on the Sabbath? R. Hanan bar Rabha said in the name of Rabh: Six sections of Deut. xxxii. 1 R. Hanan bar Rabha also said in the name of Rabh: "As these sections were divided (by the Levites), so they are divided for the reading of the law (on the Sabbath on which they are read)." What did they sing at the Sabbath afternoon service? Said R. Jo'hanan: A portion of the Song of Moses [Ex. xv. 1-10]; the conclusion of that song [ibid. 11-19], and the Song of Israel [Numb. 21:17].

The schoolmen asked: Did they sing all these on one Sabbath, or did they, perhaps, sing one section on each Sabbath? Come and hear! A Boraitha teaches: During the time that the first choir of (Levites who sang at the time of the additional sacrifice) sang their sections once, the second choir (that sang at that time of the afternoon sacrifice) had sung theirs twice; from this we may deduce that they sang but one section on each Sabbath.

R. Jehudah b. Idi said in the name of R. Jo'hanan: According to the rabbinical explanation of certain scriptural passages the Shekhinah made ten journeys, and according to tradition a corresponding number of times was the Sanhedrin exiled, viz.: from the cell of Gazith (in the Temple) to the market-place, from the market-place to Jerusalem, from Jerusalem to Yamnia from Yamnia to Usha, from Usha (back again) to Yamnia, from Yamnia (back again) to Usha, from Usha to Shapram, from Shapram to Beth Shearim, from Beth Shearim to Sepphoris, from Sepphoris to Tiberias, and Tiberias was the saddest of them all, as it is written [Is. xxix.]: "And thou shalt be low, and shalt speak out of the earth."

R. Elazar says they were exiled six times, as it is written [Is. 26:5]: "For he bringeth down them that dwell on high; the lofty city he layeth low; he layeth it low even to the ground; he bringeth it even to the dust." Says R. Jo'hanan: And thence (from the dust) they will in future be redeemed, as it is written [Is. 52:2]: "Shake thyself from the dust; arise, and sit down," etc.

MISHNA: R. Joshua b. Kar'ha said: This also did R. Jo'hanan b. Zakkai ordain: That it mattered not where the chief of the Beth Din might be, the witnesses need only go to the meeting-place (of the Beth Din).

GEMARA: A certain woman was summoned for judgement before Ameimar in Neherdai. Ameimar went away to Me'huzza, but she did not follow him, and he wrote a letter to put her in the ban. Said R. Ashi to Ameimar: "Have we not learned that it mattered not where the chief of the Beth Din might be, the witnesses need only go to the meeting place (of the Beth Din)?" Answered Ameimar: "That is true in respect to evidence for the new moon; but with regard to my action, in which case she has been summoned for debt, 'The borrower is servant to the lender,' and she must come to the place where the chief court is" [Prov. 22:7].

The rabbis taught: Priests may not ascend the platform in sandals to bless the people; and this is one of the nine ordinances instituted by R. Jo'hanan b. Zakkai; six are to be found in this chapter, one in the first chapter; another one is, if one become a proselyte nowadays, he must pay a quarter of a shekel for a sacrifice of a bird (so that if the Temple should be rebuilt the authorities would have a contribution from him towards the daily sacrifices). R. Simon b. Elazar, however, said that R. Jo'hanan had already withdrawn this regulation and annulled it, because it easily led to the sin (of using the money for different purposes). And what is the ninth (ordinance of R. Jo'hanan)? R. Papa and R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak dispute about this. R. Papa says it was with regard to a vineyard of the fourth year's crop; but R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak says it was with regard to the crimson-coloured strap (displayed on the Day of Atonement (on the scapegoat).

MISHNA: The order of the benedictions (to be said on New Year is as follows): The blessings referring to the patriarchs (Abhoth), to the mighty power of God (Gebhuroth), and the sanctification of the Holy name; to these he adds the selection in which God is proclaimed King (Malkhioth), after which he does not sound the cornet; then the blessing referring to the sanctification of the day, after which the cornet is sounded; then the biblical selections referring to God's remembrance of His creatures (Zikhronoth), after which the cornet is again sounded; then the biblical selections referring to the sounding of the cornet (Shophroth), after which the cornet is again sounded; he then recites the blessings referring to the restoration of the Temple, the adoration of God, and the benediction of the priests. So is the decree of R. Johanan b. Nouri. Said R. Aqiba to him: If the cornet is not to be sounded after the Malkhioth, why are they mentioned? But the proper order is the following: The blessings referring to the patriarchs (Abhoth), to the mighty power of God (Gebhuroth), and the sanctification of the Holy name; to this last the biblical selections referring to the proclamation of God as King (Malkhioth) are joined, and then he sounds the cornet; then the biblical selections referring to God's remembrance of His creatures (Zikhronoth), and he then sounds the cornet; then the biblical selections referring to the sounding of the cornet (Shophroth), and he again sounds the cornet; then he says the blessings referring to the restoration of the Temple, the adoration of God, and the priestly benedictions.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: Whence do we know that we should recite the Malkhioth, Zikhronoth, and Shophroth? Said R. Eliezer: From the passage [Lev. 23:24] in which it is written: "Ye shall have a Sabbathon, a memorial of blowing cornets, a holy convocation," the word "Sabbathon" refers to the consecration of the day; "a memorial" refers to the Zikhronoth; "blowing of cornets" refers to the Shophroth; "a holy convocation" means the hallowing of the day in order to prohibit servile work. Said R. Aqiba to him: Why is not the word "Sabbathon" construed to mean the prohibition of servile work, since the passage (quoted above) begins with that? Therefore, let the passage be interpreted thus: "Sabbathon" means the hallowing of the day and the prohibition of servile work; "memorial" refers to the Zikhronoth; "blowing of the cornets" refers to the Shophroth "a holy convocation" means the consecration of the day.

Whence do we know that we should recite the Malkhioth? From the following Boraitha: Rabbi said: The words, "I am the Lord your God"; and "in the seven month" (stand together) [Lev. 23:22, 24], which may be interpreted to refer to the proclamation of God as King. R. Jose b. R. Jehudah says it is not necessary to cite this passage; for it is written [Numb. 10:10] "that they may be to you for a memorial before your God: I am the Lord your God." These concluding words "I am the Lord your God" are entirely superfluous, but since they are used, of what import are they? They form a general rule, that in every selection in which (God's) remembrance of His creatures is mentioned there should also be found the thought that He is the King of the Universe.

MISHNA: Not less than ten scriptural passages should be used for the Malkhioth, ten for the Zikhronoth, and ten for the Shophroth. R. Jo'hanan b. Nouri says: If by three of each class, one will have done his duty.

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GEMARA: To what do the ten scriptural passages used for the Malkhioth correspond? Answered Rabbi: To the ten expressions of praise used by David in the Psalms. But there are more expressions of praise found? Only those are meant, in conjunction with which it is written "praise him with the sound of the cornet" [Psalm 101:3]. R. Joseph says: "They correspond to the ten commandments that were proclaimed to Moses on Sinai." R. Jo'hanan said, they correspond to the ten words with which the universe was created.

"By three of each class, one will have done his duty." The schoolmen asked: "Does he mean three from the Pentateuch, three from the Prophets, and three from the Hagiographa, which would make nine, and they differ about one (passage)? or perhaps one from the Pentateuch and one from the Prophets and one from the Hagiographa, which would make three, and they differ about many passages?" Come and hear! We have learned in a Boraitha: Not less than ten scriptural passages should be used for the Malkhioth, ten for the Zikhronoth, and ten for the Shophroth; but if seven of them all were recited, corresponding to the seven heavens, the duty has been fulfilled. R. Johanan ben Nouri remarked: He that recites less (than ten of each) should not, however, recite less than seven; but if he recited but three, corresponding to the Pentateuch, Prophets, and Hagiographa, according to others corresponding to the Priests, Levites, and Israelites, it is sufficient. Said R. Huna in the name of Samuel: The Halakha prevails according to R. Jo'hanan b. Nouri.

MISHNA: We do not cite scriptural passages for the above three series that contain predictions of punishment. The passages from the Pentateuch are to be recited first, and those from the Prophets last. R. Jose, however, says "if the concluding passage is from the Pentateuch one has also done his duty."

GEMARA: Passages, proclaiming the kingdom of God that should not be used (because of the above), are such as the following [Ezekiel, 20:33]: "As I live, saith the Lord God, surely with a mighty hand, and with a stretched out arm, and with fury poured out, I will rule over you," and although as R. Na'hman says (of this passage): Let Him be angry with us, but let Him take us out of captivity, still, since it refers to anger, we should not mention "anger" at the beginning of the year. An example of the same idea being found in conjunction with the Zikhronoth is to be read in [Ps. 78:39], "For he remembered they were but flesh;" in conjunction with the Shophroth an example is found in Hosea, 5. 8: "Blow ye the cornet in Gibeah," etc.

We must not mention the remembrance of the individual (in the Zikhronoth) even if the passage speaks of pleasant things, as, for example [Ps. 106:4], "Remember me, O Lord, with the favour that thou bearest unto thy people." However, passages that contain the expression of "visiting" may be used in the Zikhronoth, e.g., "And the Lord visited Sarah" [Gen. xxi. 1] or "I have surely visited you" [Ex. 3:16], so says R. Jose; but R. Jehudah says, they may not. But even if we agree to what R. Jose says (shall we say that) the passage "and the Lord visited Sarah" speaks of an individual (and therefore it should not be used)? Nay; since many descended from her, she is regarded as many and therefore that passage, though speaking of one only, is regarded as though it spoke of many.

(In the Malkhioth, they used Ps. 24:7-10, which is divided into two parts.) The first part can be used as two of the required passages, and the second as three, so said R. Jose; but R. Jehudah said: The first part can be used only for one, and the second for two. So too [Ps. 47:7, 9], "Sing praises to God, sing praises, sing praises to our king, sing praises; for God is the King of all the earth." R. Jose said: This may be used for two of the Malkhioth; but R. Jehudah said: "It is to be reckoned as one only." (He rejects one, because the words "our king," referring to one people only, was not a sufficiently broad expression of praise for Him who is the King of the universe.) Both, however, agree that the next verse of the same Psalm, "God is King over the nations; God sitteth upon the throne of his holiness," is to be used for one only. A passage containing a reference to God's remembrance of His creatures and also to the cornet. as for instance [Lev. 23:24], "Ye shall have a Sabbath, a memorial of blowing of cornets," may be used in the Zikhronoth and the Shophroth; so said R. Jose; but R. Jehudah said: It can only be used in the Zikhronoth. A passage in which God is proclaimed King, containing also a reference to the cornet, as for instance [Numb. 23:2 1], "The Lord his God is with him, and the shout (Teruath) of a king is among them," may be used in the Malkhioth and in the Shophroth, said R. Jose; but R. Jehudah said: It may only be used in the Malkhioth. A passage containing a reference to the cornet, and nothing else, as for instance [Numb. 29:1], "It is a day of blowing the cornet," may be used for the Shophroth, so said R. Jose; R. Jehudah, however, said: Must not be used at all.

"The Passages from the Pentateuch are to be recited first and those from the Prophets last." R. Jose said: "We should conclude with a passage from the Pentateuch, but if one concluded with a passage from the Prophets, one has done his duty." We have also learned: R. Elazar bar R. Jose says: "The Vathiqin 1 used to conclude with a passage from the Pentateuch. It is correct as far as Zikhronoth and Shophroth are concerned, for there are many such passages; but as for the Malkhioth there are but three in the Pentateuch, viz.: "The Lord his God is with him, and the shout of a King is among them" [Numb. 23:21]; "And he was king in Yeshurun" [Deut. 33:5]; and "The Lord shall reign forever" [Ex. 15:18], but we require ten and there are not so many? Said R. Huna: We have learned that, according to R. Jose, the passage, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one" [Deut. vi. 4], may be considered as Malkhioth, but R. Jehudah said, it may not; so also they differ with regard to the passages, "Know, therefore, this day, and consider it in thine heart, that the Lord, he is God; there is none else" [Deut. iv. 39], and "Unto thee it was shewed, that thou mightest know that the Lord, he is God; there is none else beside him" [Deut. 4:35]. According to the one they are considered Malkhioth, but according to the other not.

MISHNA: The second of those who act as ministers of the congregation on the feast of New Year shall cause another to sound the cornet; on days when the HALLEL (Service of Praise, Ps. cxiii.-cxviii.) is read, the first (minister) must read it. In order to sound the cornet on New Year's Day it is not permitted to go beyond the Sabbath limit, to remove a heap of stones, to ascend a tree, to ride on an animal, to swim over the waters, nor to cut it (the cornet) with anything prohibited either by the (Rabbinical) laws against servile work or by a Biblical negative commandment; but if one wishes to put water or wine in a cornet (to cleanse it) he is allowed to. Children must not be prevented from sounding the cornet, but on the contrary we are permitted to occupy ourselves with teaching them until they learn to sound it; but one who thus teaches, as also others who listen to sounds thus produced, do not thereby fulfil their duty.

GEMARA: What is the reason of the above prohibitions? Because the sounding of the cornet is a positive commandment; now, the observance of a festival involves both positive and negative commandments, and the one positive cannot supersede two (negative and positive.)

"Children must not be prevented from sounding the cornet," etc. But women are to be prevented? Have we not learned in a Boraitha: Neither women nor children may be prevented from sounding the cornet on the New Year's Day? Said Abayi: "It presents no difficulty, the one is according to R. Jehudah and the other is according to R. Jose and R. Simeon, who say that as women are permitted (in the case of sacrifices) to lay their hands on the animals, so here, if they desire to sound the cornet, they may.

"Until they learn." Said R. Elazar: Even on the Sabbath; so also we have learned in the following Boraitha: We are permitted to occupy ourselves with teaching (children) until they learn (to sound the cornet) even on the Sabbath: (and if we do not prevent them doing this on the Sabbath) how much less do we, on the feast (of New Year). Our Mishna says, "We do not prevent them" (from this we may infer that we do not start to tell to a child: Go and sound the cornet)? It presents no difficulty: a child already initiated in the performance of religious may be told also: Go and sound! but not a child not yet initiated; however, we do not prevent him.

MISHNA: The order of sounding the cornet is three times three. The length of a TEQIA is equal to that of three TERUOTH, and that of each Terua as three moans (YABABHOTH). If a person sounded a Teqia and prolonged it equal to two, it is only reckoned as one Teqia. 1 He who has just finished reading the benedictions (in the additional service for the New Year) and only at that time obtained a cornet, should then blow on the cornet the three sounds three times. As the Reader of the congregation is in duty bound (to sound the cornet) so too is each individual; R. Gamaliel, however, said the Reader can act for the congregation.

GEMARA: But have we learned in a Boraitha, that the length of a Teqia is the same as that of a Terua? Said Abayi: The Tana of our Mishna speaks of the three series, and means that the length of all the Teqioth is the same as that of all the Teruoth. But the Tana of the Boraitha speaks of only one series and says that one Teqia is equal to one Terua (which is the same thing).

"Each Terua is (as long, as) three moans." But we have learned in a Boraitha, a Terua is as long as three broken (staccato) tones (SHEBARIM). Said Abayi: About this they do indeed differ, for it is written [Numb. 29:1], "It is a day of blowing the cornet," which in the (Aramaic) translation of the Pentateuch is, "It is a day of sounding the alarm (YABABA). Now it is written concerning the mother of Sisera [Judg. 5:28], "The mother of Sisera . . . . moaned" (VAT'YABEB); this word, one explains to mean a protracted groan, and another to mean a short wail.

The Rabbis taught: Whence do we know (that one must sound) with a cornet? From the passage [Lev. 25:9], "Thou shalt cause the cornet . . . . to sound, etc." Whence do we know that (after the Terua) there should be one Teqia? Therefore it is said (later in the same verse), "Ye shall make the cornet sound." 2 But perhaps this only refers to the jubilee? Whence do we know that it refers also to New Year's Day? Therefore it is written (in the same verse) "in the seventh month." These words are superfluous; for what purpose then does the Torah use them? To teach us that all the sounds of the cornet during the seventh month should be like each other. Whence do we know that the sounds are to be three times three? From the three passages, "Thou shalt cause the cornet . . . to sound" [Lev. 25:9]; "A Sabbath a memorial of blowing of cornets" [Lev. 23:24]; "It is a day of blowing the cornet" [Numb. 29:1]. But the Tana of the following Boraitha deduces it by analogy of expression from (the rules given in) the wilderness [Numb. 10:1-10]. As we have learned, the words "When ye sound an alarm" [Numb. 10:5] mean one Teqia and one Terua. Whence do we know that they shall be separated, perhaps it means that both together should be sounded? Since it is written [ibid. 7]: "But when the congregation is to be gathered together, ye shall blow but ye shall not sound an alarm," we may infer that they must be separated, a Teqia by itself, and a Terua by itself. But whence do we know that there should be one Teqia before the Terua? From the words [ibid. 5]: "When ye sound an alarm" (i.e., first a "sound," or Teqia, and then an "alarm," or Terua). And whence do we know that there should be one after the Terua? From the words [ibid. 6]: "An alarm shall they sound!" R. Ishmael, the son of R. Jo'hanan bar Berokah, however, says: It is not necessary, as it is written: "When ye sound an alarm the second time" [ibid. 6]. The words "a second time" are unnecessary, and to what purpose are they used? To form a general rule that on every occasion on which "alarm" (Terua) is mentioned, a sound (Teqia) must be used with it as a second (or following) tone. Possibly all this only refers to the practices followed in the wilderness, but how do we know that they refer to New Year's Day also? Therefore it is written: Terua twice to make us infer by an analogy of expression, and as concerning the New Year Terua is written thrice in the three passages, [Lev. xxiii. 24]: "A sabbath, a memorial of cornets"; [Numb. 29:1]: "It is a day of blowing of cornets"; and [Lev. 25:9]: "Thou shalt cause the cornet . . . to sound"; and for each Terua there are two Teqioth, we therefore learn that on New Year's Day must be sounded three Teruoth and six Tekioth.

R. Abbahu enacted in Caesarea that the order should be first a Teqia 1 then three single staccato sounds, or Shebharim, then a Terua and then again a Teqia. At all events it is not right: If by Terua is meant "a protracted groan" then he should have instituted the order to be a Teqia, a Terua, and then a Teqia; and if it means "a short wail," then he should have instituted the order to be, a Teqia, then Shebharim (three single broken sounds), and then again a Teqia? He was in doubt whether it meant one or the other (and therefore he enacted that both should be sounded).

"If a person sounded a teqia and prolonged it equal to two," etc. R. Jo'hanan says: If one heard the nine sounds at nine different hours during the day, he has fulfilled his duty. The same we have learned in the following Boraitha: "If one heard the nine sounds at nine different hours of the day it is sufficient, and if he heard from nine men at one time, a Teqia from one and a Terua from another, etc., he has also done his duty, even if he heard them intermittently, and even during the whole day or any part of the day." The rabbis taught: (Generally) the soundings of the cornet do not prevent each other (if one can blow a Teqia, but not a Terua, or pronounce one benediction and not another, it might be said he should not blow or pronounce any benediction at all. We are taught that the one does not prevent the other on the fasts of the congregation and other occasions when these are needed), nor do the benedictions; but on New Year's Day and the Day of Atonement they do.

"He who has just finished reading (the additional service) and only at that lime obtained a cornet shall sound on the cornet the three sounds three times." This means, only when he did not have a cornet at the beginning (of the service): but if he had one at the beginning of the service when the sounds of the cornet are heard, they must be heard in the order of the benedictions of the day.

R. Papa bar Samuel rose to recite his prayers. Said he to his attendant, When I nod to you sound (the cornet) for me. Rabha said to him: "This may only be one in the congregation." We have learned in a Boraitha in support of this: "When one hears these sounds, he should hear them both in their order and in the order of the benedictions (in the additional service of the New Year)." This only applies to a congregation, but one should hear them in the order of the benedictions only, if he is not in a congregation; and a private individual who has not sounded the cornet (or heard it sounded) can have a friend sound it for him; but a private individual who has not recited the benedictions cannot have a friend say them for him; and the duty to hear the cornet sounded is greater than that of reciting the blessings. How so? If there be two cities (to which a person may go) and in one city they are about to sound the cornet and in the other to recite the benedictions, he should go to the city in which they are about to sound the cornet; and not to that in which they are about to recite the benedictions. Is this not self-evident, because the sounding is Biblical and the benedictions are only Rabbinical? The case is when the reciting of the benedictions

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in one city was certain; sounding the cornet in the other city was doubtful. He must nevertheless go to the city where they are about to sound the cornet.

"Just as the reader of the congregation is in duty bound (to sound the cornet) so too is each individual." We have learned in a Boraitha: The schoolmen said to R. Gamaliel, Why according to thy opinion should the congregation pray? Answered he: In order to enable the Reader of the congregation to arrange his prayer. Said R. Gamaliel to them: "But why, according to your opinion, should the Reader act for the congregation?" Answered they: "In order to enable those who are not expert to fulfil their duty." And he rejoined: "Just as he enables the illiterate, so too he causes the literate to fulfil their duty." Rabba bar bar 'Hana said in the name of R. Johanan: The sages later accepted the opinion of R. Gamaliel; but Rabh said there is still a difference between them; could (the same) R. Jo'hanan say this? Did not R. 'Hana of Sepphoris say in the name of R. Jo'hanan: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Gamaliel; "from these words ("the Halakha prevails according to R. Gamaliel") we see that there must have been some that differed from him! Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: "By the words, "the sages accept the opinion of R. Gamaliel," R. Meir is meant, and the rule arrived at through those who differed from him (was arrived at) through other rabbis; for we have learned in the following Boraitha: R. Meir holds that with regard to the benedictions of New Year's Day and the Day of Atonement, the Reader can act for the congregation; but the sages say: "Just as the Reader is in duty bound, so too is each individual." Why only for these benedictions (and no other)? Shall we assume it is because of the many Biblical selections used? Does not R. 'Hananel say in the name of Rabh: As soon as one has said (the passages beginning with) the words, "And in thy law it is written," he need say no more? It is because there are many (more and longer) benedictions (than usual).

It was taught, R. Jehoshua ben Levi said: Both the private individual and the congregation as soon as they say (the passages beginning) with the words, "And in thy law it is written," need say no more.

R. Elazar says: A man should always first prepare himself for prayer and then pray. R. Abba said: "The remarks of R. Elazar seem to apply to the benedictions of New Year's Day and the Day of Atonement, and to the various holidays, but not to the whole year." It is not so; for did not R. Jehudah prepare himself (even on a week day) before his prayers and then offer them? R. Jehudah was an exception, for since he prayed only once in thirty days, it was like a Holiday. When Rabbin came (from Palestine) he said in the name of R. Jacob bar Idi quoting R. Simeon the Pious: R. Gamaliel did not excuse from public service any but field-labourers! What is the difference (between them and others)? They would be forced to lose their work (if they went to a synagogue), but people in a city must go (to the House of Prayer).

END OF BOOK 3 (2)

THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD BOOK 4 (formerly 3):
(Volumes 5. and 6.)

VOLUME 5

Tract Pesachim (Passover)

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were partaking a meal on the eve of Sabbath in the city of Achu. Once Rabba b. R. Huna came to the house of the Exilarch. Whether one who has heard the Kiddush in the synagogue must repeat it at home. If Sabbath had set during the course of a meal at which a company were sitting. Concerning the order of the benedictions. Concerning the holiday prayers, what must be said. What should be the conclusion of the Habdalah. How R. Itz'hak sent his son to Ula, and his answer. Whether the honour of the Sabbath is more important than that of the eve preceding it. The eight things about the Habdalah prayer. How R. Ashi recited the great Kiddush when he came to Mehuzza. If one had thoughtlessly eaten before Kiddush or Habdalah, may he say these prayers? May the Kiddush be made over beer? What is meant by the time of Min'hah, and when King Agrippa usually took his meal. Whether women must also drink the four cups. What taste and colour must the wine have. It is the duty of every man to cause his household and his children to rejoice on a festival. About the even numbers (see note, p. 229). The seven things R. Aqiba commanded his son R. Jehoshua. The five things R. Aqiba, while in prison, commanded R. Simeon b. Jochai. The four things our holy Rabbi commanded his children. The three things R. Jose b. R. Jehudah commanded Rabbi. Why a man should not go out alone at night. What Rabbi said to Aibo, his son. The three things R. Jehoshua b. Levi said in the name of the great men of Jerusalem. Three kinds of men shall inherit the world to come. How R. Hanina and R. Oshiya made shoes for the prostitutes. The three kinds of men whom the Holy One, blessed be He, loves. The three kinds of men who do not live a life worth living. The three species who hate others of their own kind. The three kinds of beings who love others of their kind. Five things which Canaan commanded his children. Six things said of a horse.

MISHNAS 2., 3., 4., 5. When the first cup is poured out. Herbs and vegetables are to be brought. The benediction of the bitter herbs. Why the bitter herbs should not be placed between unleavened cakes. If a man swallowed unleavened bread. When the table on which the food is served should be removed. What serves as a remembrance of the apple-trees. A second cup of wine is poured out. What Rabbon Gamaliel used to say, "Hallelujah." How far is the Hallel to be said? Why a blind man is exempt from the recital of the Haggada. With ten different expressions of praise the entire Book of Psalms was composed. Who said the Hallel? What the Karaites add to these verses, Is Hallelujah the beginning or the end of the chapters? What Rabba discovered that the sages of Pumbaditha once proclaimed.

MISHNAS 6., 7., 8. A third cup of wine is poured out. Why is this called the great Hallel? The labouriousness of a man's earning his daily bread. Why the small Hallel must be recited at the Passover-meal. What occurred when Nebuchadnezzar threw Hananiah, Mishaël, and Azariah into the furnace. Who said: "The truth of the Lord endureth for ever"? What R. Ishmael sent to Rabbi in the name of his father. Who will get the cup of benediction. Is it unlawful to conclude the eating of the paschal sacrifice with a dessert? Is it obligatory to eat Matzoth during all the seven days? If any of the company fall asleep during the meal. About the blessing of the paschal and festal offerings. R. Simlai at the redemption of a first-born son.

APPENDIX A. Explanatory of the first Mishna. APPENDIX B. Supplementary to the second note, p. 66, l 250-264

TRACT PESACHIM (PASSOVER).

CHAPTER 1.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE REMOVAL OF LEAVEN FROM THE HOUSE ON THE EVE OF PASSOVER AND THE EXACT TIME WHEN THIS MUST BE ACCOMPLISHED.

MISHNA "Or" (by light) on the fourteenth (of Nissan), search should be made for leavened bread by the light of a candle, but it is not necessary to search all places in which it is not usual to put leaven. [Why then was it ordered, that two rows (of barrels) should be searched? Because a warehouse or wine cellar is treated of, into which leavened bread is sometimes carried.] Beth Shammai decide "that search must be made between two rows of barrels over the whole surface of the warehouse"; but Beth Hillel decree: It is sufficient to search between the two uppermost rows, as they are also the highest.

GEMARA: What is meant by "Or"? Said R. Huna: "The dawn of day," and R. Jehudah said: "Night." At the first glance it was presumed that the word "Or" was actually explained by R. Huna to mean "the break of day," and by R. Jehudah to mean "night."

An objection was made, however, based upon the passage [Genesis xliv. 3]: "As soon as the morning was light ('Or') the men were sent away," etc. Thus we see that "Or" means "day"? Does then the passage say in the light of the morning? it says distinctly "when the morning was light," which means when the morning was already light, the men were sent away.

Another objection was made: It is written [2 Samuel 23:4]: "And as in the light of morning the sun riseth," whence we see that by light is meant "day." Does it then read in the passage "Or Boker" (light is morning)? It reads "Uchor Boker," which means "as the light of the morning," and this should be understood thus: "As the light of the morning on this earth; so will the sun shine for the righteous in the world to come."

Another objection was made: "It is written [Gen. 1:5]: 'And God called the Or (light) Day,' whence we see, that light (Or) is day?" The passage means to say, that just as soon as it dawned the Lord called it "day."

Another objection was made: "It is written [Psalms 148:3]: 'Praise him, all ye stars of light (Or).' Whence we see that Or means night?" The passage means to say, "Ye stars that light."

Another objection was made: "It is written [Job 24:14]: 'With the earliest light (Le-Or) riseth the murderer, he slayeth the poor and needy, and in the night he becometh like the thief.' Now, if the latter part of the passage states 'in the night he becometh like the thief,' then the first part must certainly mean to state, that at break of day the murderer slayeth those that pass by, while at night be robbeth houses like the thief. Whence we see that 'Or' means day?" The passage means to say the following: If it is as clear as day to thee that the murderer cometh to slay thee, thou mayest slay him in self-defence; but if it is doubtful to thee whether he comes to slay thee or not, thou shouldst treat him as an ordinary thief and try not to slay him."

Another objection was made: "It is written [Job 3:9]: 'Let the stars of its twilight be darkened; let it hope for light, and there be none.' Thence we see that by light (Or) is meant day?" The passage means to infer, that job when cursing his fate, said also, that the man who announced his birth should hope for light and not be able to find it.

Another objection was made: "It is written [Psalms 139:11]: 'Surely darkness shall enshroud me, and into night be turned the Or (light) about me.' Whence we see, that by light (Or) is meant day?" In this passage David means to express the following: I thought, that in the world to come, which is equal to daylight, darkness will enshroud me, and now I find that even on this earth (which compared to the world to come is as night) it has also become light for me.

Yet another objection was made: "We learn further on in the Mishna: R. Jehudah said: 'Leaven should be searched for "Or" on the fourteenth, and in the morning of the fourteenth and at the time when the leaven is about to be burned.' If then R. Jehudah says, that on the morning of the fourteenth leaven should be searched for, and preceding that he says 'Or' on the fourteenth, 'Or' must certainly mean 'night'?" Therefore we must say, that it is not as was presumed at the first glance to be the case, that R. Huna differed with R. Jehudah concerning the time of searching for leaven, but that both agreed upon twilight as being the proper time for that purpose, and by "Or" is meant "night," but the case was simply this: At the place where R. Jehudah resided twilight was called night, while in R. Huna's place of abode twilight was still called (day)light.

If this is so, why did the Tana of our Mishna commence with the word "Or"? Could he not have said plainly "on the eve"? He wished to commence the Mishna with a pleasing word and not with one suggesting darkness, and this is as R. Jehoshua ben Levi said elsewhere: At no time should a man allow an ill-sounding word to escape from his mouth; for the following verse used eight superfluous letters in order to circumvene the use of one ill-sounding word, as it is written [Gen. vii.]: "Of the clean beasts, and of the beasts that are not clean." Thus instead of using the word unclean (Hatmeah), it is written "that are not clean," which makes a difference of eight letters. 1

Now if the question concerning the word "Or" has been finally decided and "Or" is supposed to mean "twilight," let us see why leaven must be searched for at night. Both according to R. Jehudah and R. Meir (as will be seen further on) it is prohibited to eat leavened bread from the sixth hour, and further, of the fourteenth of Nissan, let the time for searching commence at that hour. If the claim be made, that pious men seek to fulfil a religious duty even before the specified time, let them commence to search for leavened bread at sunrise on the fourteenth; but why at night? Said R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak: "This was ordained, because at twilight the men are generally in the house and the light of a candle at that time is the best means by which to search for leavened bread."

Said Abayi: Therefore a young scholar should not commence his study at twilight on the thirteenth of Nissan, as he might become engrossed in the ordinances and forget to search for leaven.

The master said: "A man should not allow an improper word to escape his lips."

Two disciples sat before Rabh: One of them said to him: "To-day's study of the ordinances made me as tired as a hog." The other one said: "To-day's study made me as tired as a tired goat." From that day on Rabh did not speak to the first of these disciples.

Two disciples (also) sate before Hillel, and one of them was R. Johanan ben Zakai. According to another version: Two disciples sate before Rabbi and one of them was R. Johanan. One of them asked: "Why must wine be pressed with clean utensils and olives do not require clean utensils?" The other disciple at some other time inquired: "Why must wine be pressed with clean utensils whereas for oil unclean utensils may be used?" Whereupon the master remarked: "I am certain that the one who put the former query to me will very shortly be empowered to decide legal questions in Israel." As a matter of fact, it was not long after when this came to pass.

There were three priests. One of them said: "My share (of the showbreads) was about the size of a bean." The other said: "My share was about the size of an olive." And the third one said: "My share was about the size of a lizard's tail." When the language of the last was heard, an investigation was made, and it was found that he was not a genuine priest.

There was a certain Aramæan who was wont to come to Jerusalem every Passover and, representing himself to be an Israelite, would partake of the paschal lamb. When he came back home in the city of Nisibis, he said to R. Jehudah ben Bathyra: "In your Law it is written [Exod. xii. 48]: 'But no uncircumcised person shall eat thereof.' Yet I go to Jerusalem every year and eat of the best of the paschal lamb." Said R. Jehudah ben Bathyra to him: "Did they then give thee some of the fat of the tail?" and he answered: "Nay." So R. Jehudah advised him when he should go there again to ask for it. When the Aramæan came to Jerusalem the following year, he asked that he be given some of the fat of the tail. Said they to him: "Who told thee that thou couldst have it? Is not the fat of the tail sacrificed on the altar?" and he answered them: "R. Jehudah ben Bathyra told me." Said they: "What does this mean?" (Surely R. Jehudah knoweth that this cannot be.) Accordingly an investigation was made and it was found out that the man was an Aramæan, and not an Israelite, and he was punished for the deception. To R. Jehudah ben Bathyra, however, they sent the following message: Peace be with thee, R. Jehudah ben Bathyra, who sittest in Nisibis and castest thy net in Jerusalem.

R. Kahana became ill. So the sages sent R. Jehoshua the son of R. Idi to find out what ailed R. Kahana. He came and found that R. Kahana's soul had already passed to its rest. R. Jehoshua accordingly made a rent in his garment, but made it so that it could not be perceived, and came back weeping. The sages asked him: "Is the soul of R. Kahana gone to its rest?" and he answered: "Yea, it is; but I did not care to tell of it; for it is written [Proverbs x. 18]: 'He that spreadeth abroad an evil report is a fool.'"

Johanan of Hakukah (according to Rashi and Tosphath, but according to Rabbenu Hananel Johanan the Scribe) went out into the villages. Upon his return he was asked whether the wheat-crop was a success. He answered: "Barley is plentiful." They rejoined: "Go and report that to the horses and asses, as it is written [I Kings v. 8]: 'The barley and the straw also for the horses,'" etc. What then should Johanan have said? He ought to have said: Last year's crop was good or lentils are plentiful (i.e., spoken of something fit for human beings to eat).

There was a man who used to go about and at every opportunity would say "Dono Dini" (Judge ye my judgement). Whence it was inferred that the man was one of the tribe of Dan, concerning whom it is written [Gen. xlix. 16]: "Dan shall judge his people, as one of the tribes of Israel."

There was another man who continually used to say: "On the edge of the sea will I build my palaces." It was said, that the man was probably of the tribe of Zebulon, concerning whom it was written [ibid. 13]: "Zebulon shall dwell at the edge of the seas."

A question was propounded to R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak: "If a man let a house to another on the fourteenth (of Nissan), who of the two men must search for leavened bread? Shall we say, the one who let the house, because whatever leavened bread there may be in the house is his, or that the renter must search for it, because it will be found in his domicile?" Answered R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak: "This was taught in a Boraitha, viz.: If a man let a house to another and have not yet delivered the keys before the fourteenth of Nissan, he must search for leavened bread; but if the keys were delivered on the fourteenth, the renter must search for it."

Another question was propounded to the same R. Na'hman: "How is it, if a house was rented on the fourteenth (of Nissan) (and it is not known whether the leavened bread had been searched for or not), shall we assume, that if the house was rented from an Israelite, there is no question, but that the leavened bread had been searched for on the preceding night, or shall we not assume such to be the case?" ["What question was this: Let the man who let the house be asked." "In case the man who let the house could not be found] must the renter be troubled to go and search for leavened bread under those circumstances or not?" and R. Na'hman replied: "We have learned this in a Boraitha: 'All persons are credited if they assert, that the leavened bread was removed, even women, slaves, and minors.'" Why are they credited? Because the probability is that such was the case; and the entire law

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concerning the search for leavened bread is merely a rabbinical institution, the biblical law holding it to be sufficient, if the use of the leavened bread was renounced in thought only; hence where a rabbinical regulation was concerned, anyone testifying that it had been complied with, was credited by the Rabbis.

The schoolmen propounded a question: "If a man let a house to another and told him, that he had already searched for leavened bread; but it was subsequently proven, that he had not, what is the law governing this case? Shall we say, that the renter may on that ground withdraw from his agreement (and not rent the house), or that the agreement is nevertheless binding?" Come and hear: Abayi said: "Not only in such places where the search for leavened bread is not paid for is the agreement binding, because it is more satisfactory to a man to perform a religious duty himself; but even in such places, where men are hired and paid to make search for leavened bread, the agreement is binding, because it is more pleasing to a man to accomplish a religious duty with his own money."

Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: "One who finds leavened bread in his house on the festival (of Easter) should cover it with a vessel (because it must not be handled)." Said Rabha: If the leavened bread was not his property but was consecrated, he need not even cover it with a vessel (because the article being consecrated there is no fear of its being eaten, and people as a rule keep away from consecrated things).

The same said again in the name of the same authority: "If there was leavened bread belonging to a Gentile in the house of a man, he should make a partition ten spans high as a sign that it should not be touched, but if the leavened bread was consecrated he need not make that partition (because the bread being consecrated there is no fear of it being eaten)."

He said again in the name of Rabh: "One who leaves his house to go to sea or to go with a caravan prior to thirty days before the Passover, he need not search for leavened bread; but if he goes away within the thirty days preceding the Passover, he must burn the unleavened bread in his house." Said Abayi: "A man who leaves his house within the thirty days preceding Passover must burn the unleavened bread if his intention is to return on the Passover, but if such is not his intention, he need not do this," and Rabha rejoined: "If a man leave his house and intend to return on the Passover, he must burn the unleavened bread even on the New Year day. Why only if he leave within the thirty days before Passover? Therefore," explained Rabha, "the rule that one need not search for the unleavened bread if he leaves prior to thirty days before Passover applies to one who does not intend to return on Passover, but if his intention is to return on Passover, he must do this even if he leaves on New Year day." And Rabha decrees thus in accordance with his theory elsewhere, namely: If one turned his house into a warehouse prior to thirty days before Passover and there was leavened bread in that house, he need not search for it (because, when the Passover arrives, the leavened bread will lie underneath the grain stored in that warehouse); but if he did this within thirty days preceding Passover, he must search for leavened bread (notwithstanding the fact that it will lie underneath the grain; for during these thirty days the duty to search for leavened bread is already incumbent upon him, whereas prior to that time he was not even supposed to think of removing the leavened bread). Concerning the statement, that one need not search for the leavened bread if he turned his house into a warehouse prior to thirty days before Passover, it holds good only if he did not intend to do this before Passover; but if he did intend to turn his house into a warehouse before Passover, he must search for the leavened bread even then.

Why are thirty days particularly specified? It is as we have learned in a Boraitha, viz.: "One may inquire and preach concerning the laws of Passover thirty days previous to that festival."

R. Simeon ben Gamaliel said: "Two weeks before." (Why does the first Tana prescribe thirty days?) Because Moses at the time of the first Passover already made the regulations concerning the second Passover (which was celebrated thirty days later), as it is written [Numbers ix. 2]: "That the children of Israel shall prepare the Passover lamb at its appointed season," and [ibid. 10 and 11]: "Speak unto the children of Israel," etc . . . . .. In the second month, on the fourteenth day," etc. Why, then, does R. Simeon ben Gamaliel not agree with the first Tana? Because he holds, that Moses only enacted those regulations because it was Passover (yet this should not be made a general rule; hence two weeks are sufficient).

R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: "He who searches for the leavened bread must at the same time renounce its use in his mind." Why so? On account of the crumbs? Those are of no value! Said Rabha: The reason is, lest he find a useful piece of bread and will not care to burn it (in which case should he even hold it for one second he will transgress the law of "There shall be no leavened bread in thy house," etc.). Can he not renounce its use as soon as he perceives it? It may be, however, that he will not find it until it is too late to renounce its use, for R. Elazar said: "Two things are without the province of man; but the Law made him responsible for them nevertheless, as if they were his property, and they are: A pit in public ground (concerning which a man is responsible if another falls into it as explained in Tract Babah Kamma) and leavened bread after the sixth hour (on the fourteenth of Nissan); although the bread is no more in his possession, still he is responsible for it."

Let the man then renounce the use of the bread in the fourth or fifth hour? As that is not the time either for searching or for burning, there is fear lest a man forget to do this at that time. Let him renounce its use then in the sixth hour, when he is about to burn it. (This being according to a rabbinical enactment illegal, makes it the equivalent of a biblical prohibition?) (As R. Giddel said in the name of Rabh. Vide Chap. II., page 31.)

It is said, that after the prohibition to use bread had already gone into effect, it is not allowed to renounce its use, have we not learned in a Boraitha: "If a man sate in the house of learning and was suddenly reminded that he had not removed the leavened bread from his house, he may renounce its use in thought, whether this happened on a Sabbath or on a festival?" This would be correct if the eve of Passover fell on a Sabbath; but how can this be done on the festival itself (for it is already Passover and the leavened bread is no longer the property of the man, how then can he renounce its use)?

Said R. A'ha bar Jacob: The case referred to is that of a scholar who sits before his master (and cannot leave without his consent) and having been reminded that there is some dough still in his house, which would shortly become leaven, he may renounce its use before it becomes leaven. This can be inferred from the Boraitha itself, which distinctly states "if a man sate in the house of learning" (and if he had leavened bread in the house, what difference would it otherwise make, whether he sat in the house of learning or elsewhere)? Hence the inference.

Rabba bar R. Huna said in the name of Rabh: "If musty bread was found in a chest used for unleavened bread and for leavened bread, and the chest was used more for unleavened bread than for leavened, the musty bread may be used." How was the case? If it was known that this bread was leavened, it would not be of any consequence that the chest was used more for unleavened bread; but if it was not known whether that bread was leavened or not, why say, that the chest was used more for unleavened bread? The question at issue would then be for what purpose it was used last--for leavened or unleavened bread. The use it was put to last is the main issue, as we have learned elsewhere (Tract Shekalim, Ch. VII., Mishna 2) concerning money found in Jerusalem: "If found during the festivals, it is regarded as second tithes, and if at other times of the year, it is ordinary money"; and R. Shemaya bar Zera said: "If money was found on the day following the festivals, why should it not be considered second tithes, because the markets of Jerusalem were as a rule swept daily?" whence we see, that the last contingency is the one to be considered, why not apply this to the case of the musty bread? In the case of musty bread it is different. The very fact of its having become musty is sufficient evidence that it was not of recent use. Of what benefit then would it be to ascertain that the chest had been used more for unleavened bread than for leavened? If the bread is musty it is no doubt leavened bread? Said Rabba: Do not say, that Rabh meant to state, "if the chest was used more for unleavened than for leavened bread, but the days on which unleavened bread was used outnumbered those on which leavened bread had been previously used." If so, the case would be self-evident. Why does Rabh come to tell us this? Rabh means to state, that because the bread was very musty it might be assumed that it had been left over from the leavened bread, and he would tell us that this is not so, but that it may have been an instance of where unleavened bread had been baked on the first day of Passover and a piece was thrown into that chest, thus becoming musty.

R. Jehudah said: "He who searches for leavened bread must pronounce a benediction." How should he pronounce the benediction? R. Papi said in the name of Rabha: "Blessed be He, etc., who commanded us to remove the leavened bread," and R. Papa said in the name of Rabha: "Blessed be He, etc., who hath commanded the removal of leavened bread." Concerning the benediction which reads "commanded us to remove," etc., all agree that the words "to remove," signify an act which may be performed later; but as for the benediction "commanded the removal," R. Papi holds that "the removal" signifies an act already accomplished, while R. Papa maintains that it may refer to an act about to be accomplished. The Halakha prevails, that the benediction must be pronounced upon the removal" (in the same manner as the benediction upon "circumcision").

All agree, however, that the benediction must precede the act. Whence do we adduce this? Because R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel: "Benedictions must be pronounced prior to the performance of every religious duty." And the disciple of Rabh (R. Hisda) said: "In all cases with the exception of (legal) bathing, in this instance the benediction should be pronounced after the act." So have we also learned in a Boraitha: "When a man had bathed and is ready to depart, he should say: 'Blessed be He, etc., who has ordained for us (the law of) bathing.'"

"By the light of a candle." The Rabbis taught: Search for leavened bread must not be made by the light of the sun, of the moon, or of a flame of fire, but only by the light of a candle; because the light of a candle is efficient for search, and although we have no actual foundation for this regulation, still we are given a hint to that effect in the passage [Exod. xii. 19]: "Seven days no leaven shall be found in your houses," and it is written [Genesis xliv. 12]: "And he searched, at the eldest he began," while [in Zephaniah i. 12] it is written: "And it shall come to pass at that time that I will search Jerusalem through with lights (candles)"; [Proverbs xx. 27] it is also written: "A lamp of the Lord is the soul of man, searching all the inner chambers of the body." (Hence as it is written in the first quotation "it shall not be found," and in the latter quotations searching is mentioned in connection with lights (candles), the hint is derived from those passages.)

Under what circumstances shall search not be made by the light of the sun? Shall we say in the case of a court? Did not Rabha say, that in a court no search need be made, because the crows consume what leavened bread may be found there? In the case of a balcony? Did not Rabha say, that on a balcony one may search by the light of the balcony itself? The injunction against using the light of the sun is applied to a window of a room, namely: At the window proper search may be made by the light entering through the window, but at the sides this cannot be relied on and a candle must be procured in order to conduct a proper search.

Not even a flame of fire may be used? Did not Rabha say, referring to the passage [Habakkuk iii. 4]: "And (his) brightness was like the sunlight; rays streamed forth out of his hand unto them: and there was the hiding of his power." "The righteous as compared with the Shekhina appear as the light of a candle to a bright flame; and concerning the benediction to be made at the close of the Sabbath-day which is pronounced over a light, he said, that a bright flame is more conducive to the efficient fulfilment of that duty?" (Why then should a flame not be permitted for the search?) Said R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak: "A candle may be applied to a hole or a crack in the wall, whereas a flame cannot be moved to such a place."

"It is not necessary to search all places in which it is not usual to put leaven," etc. What would the Mishna mean to add by stating "all places"? The Mishna means to add what was taught by the Rabbis: "The uppermost or nethermost holes in a house, the roof of an attic, the roof of a tower, a stable of oxen, a chicken-coop, a straw-shed, and the cellars where wine or oil is kept need not be searched." R. Simeon ben Gamaliel said: "A bed, which is placed in a room so that it divides the room into two parts and is so high that the space underneath it is used, must be searched."

A contradiction was interposed, based upon the following Boraitha: We have learned: A hole through a wall standing between two houses must be searched by the householders of each house as far as they can reach from their respective sides, and the space which they cannot reach, they must renounce in their minds. R. Simeon ben Gamaliel said: "A bed dividing a room into two parts, and having underneath it stones and wood though there still be space left between the stones and the bed, need not be searched."

Thus there is a contradiction both regarding the hole in the wall as well as the bed? This presents no difficulty: As for the hole, one that should be searched is a hole in the centre of the wall, while the Boraitha refers to an uppermost and a nethermost hole, and as for a bed, one that is very high and has a great deal of space underneath it should be searched, while one that has but little room underneath need not be searched.

Wine cellars need not be searched? Have we not learned in a Boraitha that cellars where oil is kept need not be searched, but those containing wine must be searched? In this case wine cellars are spoken of, that are used during meals, while in the other instance wine cellars that are only used. for storage are referred to. If those that are used only, must be searched, why should cellars where oil is kept be exempt? Because there are fixed times for meals and oil is used only during meals, while wine is constantly in use and the cellars are therefore frequently entered.

R. Hisda said: The place where salt fish are kept need not be searched. Did a Boraitha say that it need be searched? This presents no difficulty. The Boraitha refers to the places where small fishes are kept (i.e., it usually happens that during a meal one goes to bring more fish while having bread in his hands. R. Hisda, however, refers to a place where large fishes are kept, because usually one knows the quantity of fish he requires for the whole meal, and there is no need of getting up during the meal to bring more fish.) Rabba the son of R. Huna said: The places where salt and wax candles were kept must be searched (because it often happened that during a meal salt and candles were needed). R. Papa said: The places where wood and dates were kept needed also to be searched (because it happened that during a meal one might go for wood and by the end of a meal, go for dates). A Boraitha

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taught: That a man was not compelled to put his hand in a hole to search for leaven as it might be dangerous.

R. Hyya taught: "The beer 1 cellars of Babylon were put on a par with the wine cellars of Palestine if they were frequently used." ["Why then was it ordered, that two rolls of barrels should be searched?" Where is a cellar mentioned in the Mishna, that barrels should be discussed? The Mishna means to state as follows: "In all places, where it is not usual to put leaven, it is not necessary to search for leavened bread, and cellars of wine or of oil need not be searched." Why then were two rows of barrels ordered to be searched? If leavened bread was brought into such cellars and used there.]

"Beth Shammai decide that search must be made between each two rows," etc. R. Jehudah said: "The two rows mentioned are those from the ground to the ceiling, i.e., the first two rows facing the door of the cellar," and R. Johanan said: The two rows mentioned are one from the ground to the ceiling and one on the top of the pile in the form of a (Greek Gamma) Γ.

We have learned a Boraitha supporting R. Jehudah, viz.: "Beth Shammai said: 'Between two rows over the whole surface of the cellar' and those two rows are from the ground to the ceiling."

We have learned another Boraitha supporting R. Johanan, viz.: "The two rows are over the whole surface of the cellar. One row faces the door and the upper row faces the ceiling. The remaining rows behind the one facing the door and those underneath the row facing the ceiling need not be searched."

"Beth Hillel decree: 'It is sufficient to search between the two uppermost rows,'" etc. Said Rabh: "Beth Hillel mean only one row not over the whole surface of the cellar, but one that faces the ceiling and the door, and another row beneath it facing the door only." But Samuel said: "Beth Hillel mean one row over the entire surface of the cellar and another row beneath it." Why do they differ? Because Rabh lays stress upon the word "uppermost" in the Mishna, which he explains as previously mentioned. [It says also "as they are also the highest," so there should be two highest. The Mishna calls them highest in order to contrast those beneath them, which are the lower], whereas Samuel lays stress upon the word "highest." [It also says "uppermost." These are called "uppermost" to distinguish them from those beneath them which also face the door] hence he explains the Mishna as above. R. Hyya taught in accordance with Rabh's opinion and all the other sages taught in accordance with Samuel's opinion. The Halakha prevails according to Samuel.

MISHNA: (And) it need not be suspected, that a weasel have dragged any leavened bread from (one corner that had not been searched to one that had); from one house to another or from one place to another; for if so, the same suspicion might apply to a (possible) removal from one court to another, or even one city to another, and thus make the search an endless task.

GEMARA: This applies to a case where it was not observed that the weasel had dragged the bread; but if it was observed, the search must be made over again? Why should this be so? Let it be presumed, that the weasel consumed the bread.

Have we not learned in a Mishna (Tract Ohaloth): The dwellings of the heathens must be considered unclean (because it was supposed, that they buried their miscarriages in their dwellings), and how long must the heathen have dwelt in such a dwelling in order to render it unclean? Forty days, even if he had no wife; if, however, when the dwelling was vacated, it was left open so that cats and swine entered it, its uncleanness need not be even investigated. (It is certainly clean, because even should there have been such a thing as a fœtus contained therein, the cats or the swine had no doubt already devoured it. Whence we see, that the supposition of the cats having devoured the unclean object renders the investigation unnecessary, why then should in our case the fact that the weasel had carried off the bread not eliminate the necessity of another search?) Said R. Zera: "This presents no difficulty; in the case of the heathen's dwelling, the uncleanness was caused by flesh, and it is not probable that any of it was left over, but where bread is concerned, it may be that some of it was left."

Said Rabha: "What question is this? In the case of the heathen's dwelling there is a twofold supposition. Firstly, the question is whether a fœtus was buried in the dwelling. Secondly, assuming such to be the case, the supposition that it was devoured enters, while in our case, if the weasel was observed carrying out the bread, so much is certain, and there is merely the supposition that it was devoured and a supposition cannot emanate from an established fact."

Our Mishna states: "It need not be suspected," etc. Why then does the succeeding Mishna enjoin, that "whatever remains must be well guarded"? Said Rabha: "By 'whatever remains must be well guarded,' the Mishna means to provide against a weasel coming and dragging it away before our eyes, in which event another search will have to be instituted."

We have learned in a Boraitha in support of Rabha's dictum: "Whosoever wishes to eat Chometz (leavened bread) after the search, should take what he has left over after the search and keep it in a well-guarded place lest a weasel come and carry it off before our eyes, in which case another search will be necessary."

R. Mari said: There is apprehension, if a man have ten pieces of bread left over and finds subsequently only nine, that another search will have to be instituted. (Therefore what remains should be kept in a well-guarded place.)

If there were nine heaps of Matzoth (unleavened bread) and one heap of Chometz and a mouse came along and took a piece of one of the heaps, but it is not known whether it was of a heap of Matzoth or Chometz, the same law applies to this as to the case where there were nine shops dealing in (ritually) slaughtered cattle and one shop dealing in carrion, and a man having bought some of the meat could not tell in which place he had bought it; in that case the meat must not be eaten (notwithstanding the fact that the majority of shops dealt in slaughtered cattle). If, however, meat was found near the shops, it is presumed to be of slaughtered cattle (because the probability is that one of the majority lost it). (The same is the case in the instance of the above-mentioned nine heaps of Matzoth.)

If there were only two heaps, one of which was Matzoth and the other Chometz, and two mice came along and taking a piece each of the two heaps ran into two different houses, in one of which search had already been made, while in the other it had not yet been made. If it was not noticed which mouse ran into the searched house, the one carrying Chometz or the other carrying Matzoth: It must be presumed, that the mouse carrying Chometz entered the house that had not yet been searched; because we have been taught in a Boraitha referring to such a case as follows: If there were two heaps of grain, one being heave-offering and the other ordinary, and opposite there were two measures, one containing heave-offering and the other ordinary grain, and the heaps had fallen into the measures, but it was not known which had fallen into which, we must presume that the heave-offering had fallen into the measure containing heave-offering and the ordinary had fallen into the measure containing ordinary. [It might be said, however, that in these days heave-offering is merely the offspring of rabbinical law while Chometz is based upon biblical law (hence should be surrounded with more caution)! Nay; is then searching for Chometz biblical? According to biblical law renouncing the use of Chometz is sufficient.]

How is it, however, if there was but one heap and that was Chometz, while there were two houses both of which had been searched and a mouse had carried some of that Chometz into one of the houses; but it was not known into which? This presents an analogous case to two roads, one of which was clean and the other unclean and two men went on those roads but did not know which had taken the clean road and which the unclean. "If they both consecrated grain," said R. Jehudah, "and each one separately comes to inquire concerning the law in his case, they are both considered clean; but if both come together, both are held to be unclean; (for one of them is surely so)." R. Jose, however, said: "In any event both are unclean." Commenting upon Rabha, according to another version, R. Johanan said: "If both come together, all agree that they are held to be unclean; if they come each separately, all agree that both are considered clean; their point of variance, however, is: if one comes and inquires concerning the other also. According to R. Jehudah, it is the same as if each had come separately, while according to R. Jose, it is the same as if both had come together. (The same rule applies to the two houses under consideration.)

How is it, if it was not known whether the mouse that carried off some of the Chometz had entered either of the houses at all? This presents an analogous case to a valley in which an uncleanness was lost, and remains a point of variance between R. Eliezer and the sages. (Tract Teharoth, Chap. VI., Mishna 5.)

If the mouse had entered, however, and the man instituted another search but could not find the Chometz, must he go further and search the next house also? This will present a point of variance between R. Meir and the sages and is analogous to a case where the uncleanness of a place was at issue where the object causing the uncleanness could not be found. (Bechoroth xxv. b).

If the mouse had entered the house and the man when instituting another search had actually found the piece of Chometz but did not know whether it is the same, that the mouse had carried in or not, it presents a similar case to the one concerning which Rabbi and R. Simeon ben Gamaliel differ, viz.: if a grave was lost and subsequently a grave was found but it was not known whether it was the same grave or not [ibid. ibid.].

If a man had left over nine pieces of bread and found ten, it again presents an analogous case to the point of variance between Rabbi and the sages concerning a case where a man had deposited one hundred coins and found two hundred. According to one opinion it is all ordinary money and according to another it is ordinary and second-tithe money combined.

If a man had left over ten pieces and only found nine, it again presents a point of variance between Rabbi and the sages similar to the case where a man had deposited two hundred coins as second-tithe and subsequently only found one hundred. According to one opinion the remainder is still second-tithe, while according to the other, the remainder is ordinary money; for it is considered as if the two hundred coins had been stolen and another hundred of ordinary money had been left in place thereof.

If the man had left the remainder of the Chometz in one corner and found it in another, according to the sages another search is necessary while according to R. Simeon ben Gamaliel it is not, and it is a similar case to the one in which they differ concerning uncleanness.

Rabha said: "If a mouse entered a house with some Chometz in its mouth and the man going in after it poured crumbs on the floor, he must make another search; because as a usual thing a mouse leaves no crumbs behind; but if a child entered and he finds crumbs when entering after the child, he need not make another, for usually a child leaves crumbs behind it."

Rabha propounded a question: "If a mouse entered a house and another came out of the same house and both had pieces of Chometz in their mouths, shall we presume that it was the same mouse in both cases or not? If it should be said, that it is the same, how is it if the mouse entering was black and the other was white, shall we assume that one took the piece of bread away from the other or that there were two separate pieces of bread? If you will say that one mouse would not take anything away from another, how would it be if a mouse entered with the piece of bread and a cat came out with a piece of bread? If we presume that the piece of bread is the same, would the cat not have held the mouse in its mouth also? If then, you say, that the piece of bread was a different piece, how would it be if the cat came out with the mouse and the piece of bread in its mouth? Shall we say that it is the same piece of bread and, the mouse having dropped it through fright, the cat picked it up, or that were it the same piece of bread the mouse would have had it in its mouth?" This question is not decided.

MISHNA: R. Jehudah said: "Search (for Chometz) should be made on the evening ('Or') before the 14th (of Nissan), early on the morning of that day and at the time (when all Chometz must be removed);" but the sages said: "If search had not been made on the evening preceding the 14th (of Nissan), it may be made on that day; if neglected on that day, it may be made on the festival, 1 and if omitted even then, it must be done after the festival, 2 and whatever Chometz is left over, must be kept in a well-guarded place, in order that no further search may become necessary.

GEMARA: What reason has R. Jehudah for his assertion?, R. Hisda and Rabba bar R. Huna both say: "He bases his assertion upon the fact that the search or the removal of Chometz is mentioned three times in the Scriptures" [Exod. xii. 15, ibid. 19, and ibid. xiii. 7].

R. Joseph objected: We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jehudah said, "If he did not make the search at any of these three times, he need not make any search at all. Hence we see that R. Jehudah does not differ with the sages only concerning the necessity of searching after the three stated times had passed. R. Jehudah in reality only means to state that search should be made but once and that at one of the times mentioned, but if the three appointed times had passed he must not make search on the festival, lest he find some leavened bread and eat it; while the sages hold, that he may do so even on the festival and there is no fear of his eating any of the Chometz which he might find.

MISHNA: R. Meir says: "It is lawful to eat (Chometz on the 14th of Nissan) the whole of the first five hours and what remains must be burned at the commencement of the sixth hour," but R. Jehudah says: "It is only permitted to eat (Chometz) the first four hours; during the whole of the fifth hour this must be abstained from and it must be burned at the commencement of the sixth hour."

R. Jehudah also taught: Formerly (during the existence of the Temple) two cakes of thanksgiving- offering which had become desecrated were exposed on a bench (of the Temple). As long as the two cakes remained there, all the people still ate leavened bread; when one of them was removed, they abstained from eating it but did not yet burn it; when both were removed, all the people commenced burning (the Chometz). Rabbon Gamaliel says: Ordinary (Chometz) may be eaten during the first four hours; but heave-offering may still be eaten during the fifth hour; both, however, must be burned at the commencement of the sixth hour.

GEMARA: We see thus, that at the commencement of the sixth hour, all agree, Chometz must be burned. 1 Whence do we adduce this? Said Abayi: From two passages, viz. [Exod. xii. 19]: "Seven days no leaven shall be found in your houses," and [ibid. 15]: "But on the first day ye shall have put away leaven out of your houses." According to this, then, on the first day there would still be leaven in the house and this would be contrary to the ordinance of the first passage? Hence we must say, that by "the first day" is meant the day preceding the festival. Then why say the sixth hour? Say that already early in the morning of the day preceding the festival (leaven should be burned). The word "but" with which the passage commences divides the day into two parts, so that in the

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morning leavened bread may be eaten while in the afternoon it must not.

The disciples of R. Ishmael taught: The reason that Chometz must be removed on the 14th (of Nissan) (the eve of Passover) is because that day is referred to as the first day (of the festival) in the passage [Exod. xii. 18]: "In the first, on the fourteenth day of the month, at evening shall ye eat unleavened bread," etc.

Rabha said: "The reason may be inferred from the passage [Exod. xxxiv. 25]: 'Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven; neither shall be left unto the morning the sacrifice of the feast of the passover,' which signifies, that the Passover sacrifice must not be offered up as long as there is yet leaven." If that be the case, then it might be said that the leaven should be burned by each man immediately before offering his passover sacrifice; why designate the sixth hour? The passage means to state, that when the time for the Passover sacrifice arrives, there must no longer be any leaven on hand.

We have learned in a Boraitha in support of Rabha: It is written: "But on the first day ye shall have put away leaven out of your houses," and by the first day is meant the day preceding the festival. Whence do we know this? Perhaps the first day of the festival is meant? Nay; for there is another passage stating: "Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven," which signifies, that the Passover sacrifice must not be offered up while there is yet leaven on hand. So said R. Ishmael. R. Aqiba, however, said: "The second passage quoted is not necessary, for it is written, 'But on the first day ye shall have put away leaven out of your houses,' and again [Exod. xii. 16]: 'No manner of work shall be done on them'; thus we see that the leaven could not be burned on that day, for is not burning one of the principal acts of labour."

R. Jose, however, said: R. Aqiba's additional passage is not necessary either; for it says "But," and that "but" signifying that the day must be divided, if the first day were the first day of the festival, how could it be divided? No leaven must be eaten at any time during the festival proper. (If it should be said), that eating leaven only is prohibited but removing or burning it is permitted even on the first day, it would not be correct; for removing leaven is mentioned at the same time as the prohibition to eat leaven bread and at the same time also it is ordered that unleavened bread be eaten, whence we see, that at the time when Matzoth should be eaten no leaven must be on hand. Matzoth must be eaten on the evening of the 14th, hence no leavened bread must be on hand at the time. In consequence the "but" signifies the division of the day preceding the festival.

Rabba said: "Three things may be inferred from the words of R. Aqiba, and they are: Firstly, that R. Aqiba holds according to the opinion of R. Jehudah, that Chometz can be removed only by burning it; secondly that he holds with the opinion of R. Nathan, that the additional commandment not to kindle a fire: on a Sabbath was taught for the sake of separation (of other acts) 1; and thirdly, that he does not hold that, because a fire may be made for the purpose of cooking on a festival, it may be also made for any other purpose."

The Rabbis taught: For what purpose is the passage "Seven days no leaven shall be found in your houses" written; it is stated once already [Exod. xiii. 7]: "And there shall not be seen with thee any leavened bread, neither shall there be seen with thee any leaven in all thy boundaries"? Because from the latter passage it might be assumed that only such leaven as belongs to the man must not be seen; but leaven belonging to others or such as is consecrated may be seen, and it might also be assumed, that one may hide leaven or may keep for a Gentile leaven intrusted to his care and for that reason the other passage says: "no leaven shall be found." Then again it may be presumed, that it is not permitted to receive any leaven from a Gentile living in a different place or one who is not under thy control, but how do we know that it is also not permitted to receive leaven from one who lives in the same house or is under thy control? To that end the passage reads "no leaven shall be found in your houses." Thus we know that it must not be found in the houses, but whence do we adduce that it may not be stored in caves or cellars? From the passage which reads: "Neither shall there be seen with thee any leaven in all thy boundaries."

Then again it might be said that if any leaven was found in the houses, one is culpable for transgressing the ordinance relating to "it shall not be seen" nor "found" nor "be hidden" nor "be received from Gentiles," while concerning the boundaries, it might be assumed that one's own leaven must not be seen but that belonging to others or consecrated leaven may be seen; but whence do we know that the ordinances relating to the houses apply also to the boundaries and vice versa? To that end the word leaven is repeated. Leaven is mentioned in connection with the houses and also in connection with the boundaries; thus if leaven be found in the house of a man, he is culpable of transgressing the ordinances "it shall not be seen" nor "found" nor "hidden" nor "received from a Gentile"; so is it also in the case of boundaries, and as in the boundaries a man's own leaven must not be seen but that belonging to others may; so is it also in the case of houses, a man's own leaven must not be seen, but that belonging to others and consecrated leaven may be seen.

The master said: "It is not permitted to receive any leaven from a Gentile living in a different place or from one who is not under thy control, but whence do we know that it is also not permitted to receive leaven from one who lives in the same house or is under thy control?" How is this to be understood? The question should be to the contrary? Said Abayi: "Read the question in the opposite sense" (i.e., it may be presumed that only from a Gentile living in the same or under thy control leaven must not be accepted, but whence do we know that from one living elsewhere or not under thy control it must not be accepted?) Rabha, however, said: The question need not be inverted, because it refers to the first part of the teaching of the Rabbis, which says, that a man's own leaven must not be seen but that of others, or consecrated leaven, may; hence it is said, "that leaven belonging to a Gentile living elsewhere or not under thy control must not be seen, but whence do we know that leaven of a Gentile under thy control maybe seen?" Rabha concludes that the leaven of a Gentile under thy control may be seen and does this from the passage which distinctly states that it must not? He does this because the passage contains the words "with thee" twice. The master said: "It might be assumed, that one may keep for a Gentile leaven intrusted to his care, and for that reason the passage says, 'it shall not be found.'" Was it not just said, that leaven belonging to others and such as was consecrated may be seen? This presents no difficulty. Such as a man is not responsible for may be seen, but such as is intrusted to his care is considered as his own and must not be seen, as was said by Rabha to the inhabitants of Mehuzza: "Ye shall remove the Chometz belonging to the government from your houses, because ye are responsible for it and should it be stolen ye must make compensation, hence it is regarded as your own and must not be found in your houses."

This would be correct according to the Tana who holds, that an object which entails a possible pecuniary indemnity is not considered as the property of the one responsible for it; hence a separate passage is required to ordain, that this must not be kept; but according to the Tana who holds such an object to be the property of the one responsible for it (as if he had indemnified its original owner for its loss), why is a separate passage necessary? Because we might assume, that the object not yet being subject to an indemnity it is still the property of another and hence may be seen, we are told that such is not the case, The Rabbis taught: If a Gentile came into the court of an Israelite (on Passover) with a piece of leaven in his hand, the Israelite is not obliged to insist upon its removal. If the Gentile, however, had given it to the Israelite for safe-keeping, it must be removed. If a special place, however, was provided for such leaven, it need not be removed, because the passage only states, that "leaven must not be found in your houses." Where a special place had been provided, that place is considered as belonging to the Gentile.

"R. Jehudah says: "Rabha said: "R. Jehudah's reason for his statement is the fact that he holds that the only manner in which Chometz may be removed is by burning, hence he allows us the fifth hour in order to prepare the wood for the fire." Rabhina objected to this statement: "Have we not learned, that R. Jehudah said removal by burning is only to be effected if the appointed time for the removal had not yet arrived; but if it had, the leaven may be removed by any means whatever?" Therefore Rabha said: "R. Jehudah's reason for his statement was the fact that the exact hour could not be ascertained on account of a cloudy day: and hence a man might mistake the sixth hour for the fifth." If that be so, then it should not be allowed to eat leaven even in the fourth hour? The fourth hour is a general time for eating, 1 hence no mistake can be made.

R. Na'hman in the name of Rabh said: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Jehudah." Said Rabha to him: "Why does not the master say that the Halakha prevails according to R. Meir; for have we not a Mishna by anonymous teachers (the first Mishna in Chapter II.) which bears out R. Meir?" "That Mishna is not in accordance with R. Meir, because it is opposed by others." "Then," rejoined Rabha, "why does master not say, that the Halakha prevails according to R. Gamaliel, who in this instance is the mediator between R. Jehudah and R. Meir?" Answered R. Na'hman: R. Gamaliel is not the mediator in this case, but merely asserts his own opinion, and if it is thy wish, I would tell thee, that Rabh holds with the Tana in the following Boraitha: If the 14th (of Nissan) fall on a Sabbath, all leaven must be removed before the Sabbath. Unclean or doubtful heave-offering must be burned and from clean heave-offering, which, however, cannot be used on the Passover, sufficient for two meals only must be left over for consumption before the fourth hour. So said R. Elazar ben Jehudah the man of Barthutha in the name of R. Jehoshua. He was asked why the clean heave-offering should be burned, perhaps there may be found such as can eat it, and he answered: "Such men were sought but could not be found," but the Rabbis persisted: "Perhaps there were priests who passed the night beyond the town and might come in on the morrow and eat it?" R. Elazar replied: "According to your argument, the doubtful heave-offering should not be burned either lest Elijah come on the morrow and declare it clean!" and they rejoined: "It is known that Elijah will not come on the eve of Sabbath." In conclusion the Boraitha relates, that the sages carrying on the discussion did not move from their places until it was finally declared that the Halakha should remain according to the dictum of the mentioned R. Elazar ben Jehudah in the name of R. Jehoshua.

Then, if the Halakha prevails according to R. Elazar ben Jehudah it may be assumed, that concerning eating on the day preceding Passover nothing must be eaten after the fourth hour. Said R. Papa in the name of Rabha: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Elazar only concerning the removal of leaven but not concerning the hour of eating."

Rabbi also holds in accordance with the opinion of R. Na'hman; for Rabhin bar R. Ada related: "There was a man who stored a basket full of Chometz with Johanan Hakuka, and mice having gnawed holes in the basket, the Chometz commenced spreading. In the first hour of the eve of Passover Johanan came to Rabbi and asked him what to do. Rabbi told him to wait. In the second hour he still told him to wait, and so also in the third and fourth hour (perhaps the man might come to remove the basket). In the fifth hour he told him to take out the basket and offer it for sale in the market." We must assume, that he advised him to sell it in the market to Gentiles because Israelites could not use it at that hour and hence held with R. Na'hman that the Halakha prevails according to R. Jehudah.

Said R. Joseph: "Nay; he advised to sell it in the market and even to Israelites, thus holding to the opinion of R. Meir." Rejoined Abayi: "What need was there of his selling it in the market (to an Israelite), he could have used it himself under those circumstances?" And R. Joseph replied: "He could not do this on account of a possible suspicion that he would not pay the man a fair price." Said R. Ada bar Matthna to R. Joseph: "Thou thyself at one time told us distinctly that Rabbi advised him explicitly to sell it to Gentiles, because he was of the opinion of R. Jehudah."

"R. Jehudah also taught," etc. One Tana taught in the presence of R. Jehudah, that the two thanksgiving-offering cakes were laid on the benches. Said R. Jehudah: "Was it then the intention to hide the cakes, that they should be put on the benches? Say, rather, they were placed on the roof surmounting the benches, where they could be seen."

Rahba said in the name of R. Jehudah: "On the mount of the Temple there was a double arched seat. We have also learned to this effect in a Boraitha, and R. Jehudah said: It was called Istavanith (columns) because a roof surmounted the seat, and the seat was composed of two arches one within the other."

"Which had become desecrated." Why had they become desecrated? Said R. Hanina: Because the cakes were such as had been brought with thanksgiving-offerings and there being so many of them they could not be consumed within the statutory time; hence they became desecrated by being left over night, as we have learned in a Boraitha: "It is not permitted to bring thanksgiving-offerings on Passover, because cakes of unleavened bread must be brought with them." Is this not self-evident? Said R. Ada bar Ahabha: "The Boraitha refers not to the Passover but to the day preceding it; and we are told, that no thanksgiving-offerings should be brought on that day, because there will not be sufficient for the consumption of the leavened cakes before the morrow. Therefore such offerings were brought on the thirteenth; but as there were still more leavened cakes than could be consumed, the remaining ones became desecrated over night (and of these two were placed on the benches)."

We have learned in a Boraitha upon the authority of R. Elazar, that the cakes were not desecrated; that when both were still on the benches all the people still ate leavened bread, when one was removed eating was abstained from and when both were removed it was commenced to burn the leaven.

In another Boraitha we have learned: Abba Saul said: There was another sign, viz.: Two cows were drawing a plough on the Mount of Olives. While both cows were seen, all the people still ate leavened bread; when one of them was taken away, the people abstained from eating and as soon as the other was also taken away, it was commenced to burn the leaven.

MISHNA: R. Hanina, the Sagan of the priests, said: The priests never objected to burn flesh which had become unclean through a child of uncleanness 1 (i.e., had become an uncleanness of the second degree) together with such as had become unclean with a parent of uncleanness (i.e., had become an uncleanness of the first degree), although the (legal) uncleanness of the first mentioned had become correspondingly increased. R. Aqiba added to this and said: "The priests never objected to burn the oil of heave-offering, which had become unclean by being poured by an unclean person, who, however, had bathed on that day, into (a metal) lamp which had come in contact with an uncleanness produced by a dead body, notwithstanding the fact, that a

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higher degree of impurity had thus been added to its former impurity."

Said R. Meir: We learn from their words, that it is permissible, on account of the Passover, to burn clean heave-offering (of leaven) with that which has become unclean; but R. Jose rejoined: "This is not a (correct) inference." R. Eliezer and R. Jehoshua agree, however, that it is necessary to burn each separately. Wherein do they differ? Concerning things whose uncleanness is doubtful, and things which are positively unclean; for R. Eliezer says: "Each of them must be burned separately"; but R. Jehoshua says: "They may be burned together."

GEMARA: Let us see! If flesh had become unclean through a child of uncleanness, it became an uncleanness of the second degree; the flesh which had become unclean through a parent of uncleanness, became an uncleanness of the first degree; now, if the first mentioned flesh came in contact with the last mentioned, it also only attains a second degree of uncleanness, how can it be said that its degree of uncleanness had been increased? Said R. Jehudah: "The first named flesh had not been contaminated by a child of uncleanness, but by a second (degree) of uncleanness, in which it had become a third of uncleanness. Thus when brought into contact with flesh which was a first degree of uncleanness, it becomes unclean in the second degree, and R. Hanina holds, that a third degree of uncleanness may be made unclean in the second degree."

It is known, however, that eatables cannot become unclean by contact with other eatables? Here a case is referred to, where the flesh was soaked with a beverage, when it can become unclean on account of the beverage. If so, why does the Mishna state flesh only? It should have been mentioned in connection with beverages. Therefore we must say, that although, according to biblical law, eatables cannot become unclean by contact with other eatables, yet according to rabbinical law, eatables may become unclean in that manner.

"R. Aqiba added to this and said." Let us see! What does R. Aqiba add to the above? The oil which had been touched by the unclean person became primarily a third of uncleanness, and, when poured into the lamp which was a first of uncleanness by reason of its contact with a parent of uncleanness, it became a second of uncleanness. (Hence where is the difference between R. Aqiba's statement and that above?)

Said R. Jehudah: In this instance the lamp was of metal and the Merciful One said [Numbers xix. 16]: "And whosoever toucheth in the open field one that hath been slain with a sword," which signifies, that the sword (which is of metal) becomes equally unclean with the object which it touches. Thus the lamp having come in contact with a parent of uncleanness also becomes a parent of uncleanness and the oil consequently becomes through contact with the lamp a first degree of uncleanness. This constitutes the addition made by R. Aqiba, viz.: A third of uncleanness may be turned into a first of uncleanness.

"Said R. Meir: 'We learn from their words,'" etc. From whose words do we learn? Said Resh Lakish in the name of Bar Kappara: The Mishna in citing a parent or a child of uncleanness refers to such according to the biblical institution, and R. Meir's statement: "We learn from their words," which refers to rabbinical enactments, has no bearing upon our Mishna but concerns the difference between R. Eliezer and R. Jehoshua elsewhere (Tract Terumoth, Chap. VIII., Mishnas 8 and 9), and signifies as follows: "From the dispute between R. Eliezer and R. Jehoshua we learn, that clean heave-offering (of leaven) with that which has become unclean may be burned, etc."

This may be inferred also from our Mishna itself; for further it is stated, that "R. Eliezer and R. Jehoshua agree," etc., and had they not been referred to in the first place, how could they be quoted as agreeing upon the point involved? So also said R. Na'hman in the name of Rabha b. Abuhu.

R. Assi said in the name of R. Johanan: "R. Jose and R. Meir differ only concerning the sixth hour but after that time R. Jose also admits, that the clean heave-offering may be burned with the unclean." Said R. Zera to R. Assi: According to thy statement, then, R. Johanan holds, that R. Hanina the Sagan treats of the parent of uncleanness from a biblical point of view and of the child (first) of uncleanness from a rabbinical point of view; R. Meir, therefore, in his statement refers to the words of R. Hanina. (For the reason, that R. Meir speaks of the sixth hour, when, according to biblical law, even eating is permissible.) R. Assi rejoined: "Yea; so it is." The very same statement was taught also in the name of R. Johanan: And R. Meir holds according to his theory elsewhere while R. Jose holds in accordance with his own theory. R. Meir's theory is, that contact with beverages which are unclean causes uncleanness only according to rabbinical law, while according to biblical law this cannot take place (hence if R. Hanina the Sagan says, that flesh which has become unclean in the second degree was burned with flesh unclean in the first degree, the first named was only unclean according to rabbinical law while according to biblical it was clean and it was burned together with a biblical parent of uncleanness). R. Jose, however, holds, that contact with unclean beverages can cause uncleanness even according to biblical law; hence the first named flesh was made a child of uncleanness biblically, in which case it cannot be equal to clean heave-offering in the sixth hour, at which time according to biblical law leaven may still be eaten. This we learn from the following Boraitha:

"If there were doubtful beverages (i.e., it was not known whether they had come in contact with an unclean person or not) they are themselves unclean, but cannot impart uncleanness to others. Such is the dictum of R. Meir. So also said R. Elazar. R. Jehudah, however, said, that they can even impart uncleanness to others. R. Jose and R. Simeon both said: They can impart uncleanness to eatables only but not to vessels."

The master said: "R. Jehudah, however, said, that they can even impart uncleanness to others." Shall we assume, that R. Jehudah. holds the capability of doubtful beverages to impart uncleanness to vessels also in accordance with biblical law? Have we not learned in a Mishna [Tract Kelim xxv. 1]. "all vessels having an inner side and an outer side, f.i., bolsters, pillows, sacks and bags, if becoming unclean on the inner side, the outer side is also unclean; but if the outer side only had become unclean, the inner side remains clean. Said R. Jehudah:, Such is the case if they had become unclean through contact with beverages, but if through contact with reptiles, it makes no difference which side had become unclean: both sides are unclean?" If we would say then, that uncleanness through contact with beverages is based on biblical law, why is there a distinction made (the same should be the case as with reptiles)?

Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: "R. Jehudah (of the Mishna) retracted this statement."

The schoolmen propounded a question: "Did R. Jehudah retract his statement concerning vessels only but as for eatables he holds as R. Jose and R. Simeon, or did his retraction also apply to eatables and he is of the same opinion as R. Meir?" Said R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak: "Come and hear: The flesh of a cow, which had drunk the waters wherein were contained the ashes of the (sacrificial) red heifer and was slaughtered immediately afterwards, is unclean. R. Jehudah, however, said, that the flesh is not unclean, as the water was annihilated in the entrails of the cow." If, then, R. Jehudah's retraction only referred to vessels, but as for eatables he holds with R. Jose and R. Simeon, why does he say that the flesh is not unclean? Granting that the water was not quite effective in the entrails of the cow, the uncleanness caused thereby is not severe but it certainly constitutes a mild uncleanness? R. Jehudah really means to state that the flesh was not severely unclean but was mildly so. R. Ashi, however, said, that the water was actually annihilated and R. Jehudah holds such to be the case not because of his retraction, but because the water mentioned is foul and can. not be considered a beverage.

CHAPTER 2.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE TIME FOR EATING LEAVENED BREAD ON THE EVE OF PASSOVER--MATERIAL USED FOR MAKING UNLEAVENED BREAD AND BITTER HERBS.

MISHNA: As long as it is lawful to eat leavened bread, one may also give it to his domestic or wild animals or to fowls; he may also sell it to strangers or derive benefit therefrom in any other way; when that time is passed, however, it is unlawful to derive any benefit from it whatever, not even use it for fuel or to light therewith an oven or a stove. R. Jehudah said: "The removal of leaven cannot be effected except by burning"; but the sages maintain, "It can also be effected by crumbling it into small particles, casting it to the wind or throwing it into the sea."

GEMARA: According to the Mishna, at the time when one is no longer allowed to eat leaven himself, he must not give it to others either? With which Tana does the Mishna accord?

Said Rabba bar Ula: The Mishna above is according to the opinion of Rabbon Gamaliel, who says, that ordinary eatables may be eaten only during the first four hours, but heave-offerings may be eaten even during the fifth hour and should be explained thus: As long as the priest may still eat heave-offering an ordinary Israelite may give ordinary leaven to others, etc.

Why does the Mishna enumerate domestic and wild animals and fowls? Would it not suffice to simply mention animals? Were domestic animals only mentioned, it might be assumed that they may be given that leaven, because should they leave any it will be seen and can be guarded against, whereas wild beasts generally hide what they leave uneaten and may thus cause the man to be guilty of having leaven in his house on the Passover. On the other hand, were wild animals only mentioned, it might be presumed that wild animals only are mentioned, because whatever they leave uneaten they hide and a man will not be able to see it, while if domestic animals should leave any of it, it will be within sight of all and will not be heeded by him, when he will become guilty of having leaven in his house within the view of all. Hence the enumeration is made. Why are fowls specially mentioned? Because animals are specified, fowls are also added.

"He may also sell it to strangers." Is this not self-evident? (If it may be eaten, why should it not be allowed to sell it to a Gentile?) We are told this in order not to presume that the Halakha prevails according to the Tana of the following Boraitha: "Beth Shammai say: Leaven should not be sold to a Gentile unless it is positively known that he will consume it before the Passover. Beth Hillel, however, hold, that if it may be eaten, it may also be sold. R. Jehudah ben Bathyra said: 'Kuthach (a dish made with leavened bread) and any other dishes made with Kuthach must not be sold thirty days before Passover.'"

"Or derive benefit therefrom," etc. Is this not self-evident? This refers to corn which had been parched during the first four hours and which may under those circumstances he used even after the appointed time, and the Mishna is in accordance with the opinion of Rabha, who decreed that.

"When that time is passed, however," etc. Is this not self-evident? The Mishna means to state that even from the sixth hour up to the time when the Passover sets in, no, benefit may be derived from any remaining leaven notwithstanding the fact that eating during the time mentioned is rendered unlawful by rabbinical enactments only; for R. Giddel said in the name of R. Hyya bar Joseph, quoting R. Johanan: "If a man betroth a woman on the eve of Passover after the sixth hour even with hard wheat, 1 it is not considered a valid betrothal."

"Nor even use it for fuel." Is this not self-evident? The Mishna means to state, that even according to R. Jehudah, who holds that removal of leaven cannot be effected except by burning, we might assume, that while it is being burned it may also be used as fuel, hence we are told that this must not be done.

Hezkyah said: Whence do we know that no benefit may be derived from leaven on Passover? Because it is written [Exod. xiii. 3]: "And no leavened bread shall be eaten," and "it shall not be eaten," signifies, that no benefit may be derived from it in the same manner as it must not be eaten. How would it be, however, if the verse read "ye shall not eat"? Then leaven could be used for everything else except eating? Hence we must say, that Hezkyah differs with R. Abbahu, who said: Wherever it is written "one shall not eat," or "it shall not be eaten," or "ye must not eat," it implies, that no use whatever must be made of such thing unless it be explicitly stated that while it should not be eaten, one may otherwise derive benefit therefrom, as it is written [Deut. xiv. 21]: "Ye shall not eat anything that dieth of itself, unto the stranger, etc., canst thou give it or thou mayest sell it," etc.

Concerning reptiles it is written [Levit. 11:41]: "And every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth is an abomination, it shall not be eaten," and still we have learned in a Mishna, that those who catch beasts, fowls or fish and among them there should be any unclean species, they may nevertheless sell them to Gentiles? In that case it is different, for previously it is written [ibid. 23]: "Shall be an abomination unto you," which signifies, that it is theirs and they ma y derive what benefit they can thereof. Then why does the Mishna state, "if there should be among them any unclean species, he may sell them," why should it not be allowed to sell such to commence with? Be cause it is written "shall be unto you an abomination" and that implies, that they should always be an abomination, but if incidentally they should come within the possession of a man, he may use them at will.

According to Hezkyah, who says, that wherever it is written "it shall not be eaten" it is unlawful to derive any benefit from the object mentioned, why should it not be written instead "ye shall not eat," in which event the additional passage "shall be an abomination unto you" will become unnecessary? Hezkyah could reply: That is just the ground upon which I base my assertion (for, because it is written "ye shall not eat," the additional passage quoted legalises the use of such objects; hence wherever it is written "it shall not be eaten" without such additional passage, it is obvious that no benefit may be derived from the object mentioned).

As for leavened bread again, concerning which it is written "it shall not be eaten," and we have learned in a Boraitha that R. Jose the Galilean nevertheless states, that it is surprising why it is ordained that no benefit may be derived from it for all the seven days of Passover? R. Jose may explain his statement by citing the other passage, which reads "shall not be seen with thee," and the words "with thee" signify, that the leaven belongs to the man and he may make use of it. What explanation will the sages bring forth? The sages hold that the words "with thee" merely suggest, that thy leaven must not be seen, which belongs to thee, but that of others and consecrated leaven may be seen. Whence does R. Jose infer this suggestion? The words "with thee" are written twice. What do the sages infer from the fact that "with thee" is written twice? They hold, that one refers to a Gentile under the control of the man, and the other to one, that is not under his control. Whence does R. Jose adduce this? Because "with thee" is written a third time in another passage [Deut. 16:4]. How will the sages explain the third citation of "with thee"? They claim that separate passages were necessary in order to make a distinction between leaven and leavened bread. Were leaven alone mentioned it might be presumed that leavened

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bread was allowed or vice versa, hence both passages were necessary.

Shall we assume that the difference of opinion between Hezkyah and R. Abbahu is similar to the difference of opinion between the following Tanaim: It is written [Levit. vii. 24]: "And the fat of a beast that dieth of itself, and the fat of that which is torn by beasts may be used for any manner of work, but ye shall in no wise eat of it." Why is it written "for any manner of work"? Because it might be presumed that the fat should be used for work pertaining to divine service, but not to ordinary work, hence we are told that it may be used "for any manner of work." So said R. Jose the Galilean. R. Aqiba, however, said: "On the contrary! it might be presumed that the fat could be used for ordinary work but for that pertaining to divine service it should not, hence we are told that this may also be done."

Shall we assume that R. Jose the Galilean and R. Aqiba differ concerning the intent of the passage "Ye shall not eat," R. Jose holding, that wherever the passage occurs, it signifies also, that no use may be made of the object in question and the verse quoted above [Lev. vii. 24] is required in order to permit of the use of such an object as must not be eaten, while R. Aqiba holds, that such things as are forbidden to be eaten may nevertheless be made use of and the verse quoted merely signifies the relation to cleanness or uncleanness?

Nay; it may be that both R. Jose and R. Aqiba agree, that wherever it is written "Ye shall not eat" the object in question must not even be used, and their point of variance concerns another matter. One holds, that the permission to make use of carrion does not include the fat of the carrion; hence an additional passage is necessary in order to make the use of the fat lawful; while the latter holds, that fat is included in the permission to use the carrion; hence the additional passage concerns only the relative cleanness or uncleanness.

Let us see! Notwithstanding the citation of so many Passages, and the allegation of diverse opinions existing between Hezkyah and R. Abbahu, we do not find a single instance of where the two sages actually differ concerning the main issue involved, viz.: the permissibility or non-permissibility of using such objects as are forbidden to be eaten. Upon what point then do they disagree? They differ concerning leaven on Passover, according to the sages, who prohibit its use, and concerning the ox, which must be stoned for goring a man, 1 and the flesh of which all agree must not be used. According to Hezkyah, it must not be used on account of the passage which states "his flesh shall not be eaten," while R. Abbahu declares, that no passage to that effect is necessary, as by being stoned the ox becomes carrion and must for that very reason not be used.

Even in this case there is no palpable difference of opinion between the two sages? According to both the flesh of the ox must not be used? They differ concerning an ordinary (non-consecrated) animal which had been slaughtered in the court of the Temple, where only consecrated animals could be slaughtered; if an ordinary animal, however, had been slaughtered at that place (it is considered as if it were torn by beasts in the field and its flesh must not be used), Hezkyah says, that it must not be used, because the passage [Exod. xxii. 30] reads: "Flesh that is torn of beasts in the field shall ye not eat; to the dogs shall ye cast it." The word "it," in his opinion, refers only to the flesh that is torn of beasts, which, though it must not be eaten, may be used as food for dogs, etc., but not to flesh of an animal slaughtered in the court of the Temple. According to R. Abbahu, however, such flesh may, from a biblical point of view, be used.

One of the scholars sate before Samuel bar Na'hmeni and said in the name of R. Jehoshua ben Levi: Whence do we know that all things, which are according to biblical law forbidden to be eaten are also forbidden to be made use of; f.i., leaven on Passover and the ox which is stoned? Because it is written [Levit. Vi. 23]: "And every sin-offering whereof any of the blood is brought into the tabernacle, etc., shall not be eaten; it shall be burned in fire." Why is the additional injunction to burn it with fire made? The words "it shall be burned in fire" are superfluous in the passage [Lev. vi. 23] quoted, because further on [ibid. x. 16] it is written "Behold it was burnt," hence they should be applied to all other prohibitions of the Law; and if they cannot be applied in connection with such prohibitions as distinctly forbid the eating of the objects mentioned, they should be applied to the use of such objects (i.e., whatever is prohibited to be eaten should also not be used).

Accordingly it might be said, that all such things which must not be used should be burnt? Therefore it is written [ibid. vi. 21]: "And every sin-offering whereof any of the blood is brought into the tabernacle of the congregation to make atonement therewith in the holy place, shall not be eaten; it shall be burnt in fire." Whence we infer, that only such things as are brought into the holy place must be burnt but not other things the use of which is prohibited by the Scriptures should be burned.

Replied Samuel bar Na'hmeni: "From the verse just quoted R. Simeon decrees in another Boraitha that all things of sanctity which become desecrated, f.i., flesh of sacrifices which had been left over, must be burned."

The scholar rejoined: Thy teacher R. Jonathan inferred the above from the following passage [Exod. xxix. 34]: "And if aught of the flesh of the consecration sacrifice, or of the bread, remain unto the morning, then shalt thou burn the remainder with fire; it shall not be eaten." Is not the sentence it shall not be eaten "superfluous? It is already written, thou shalt burn the remainder with fire." Hence it should be applied to the other prohibitions of the Law; and wherever it is already written "it shall not be eaten," apply it in the sense that it shall not be used. And lest it might be assumed, that whatever must not be used should be burned, therefore the verse distinctly states "then shalt thou burn the remainder with fire." Thus the remainder only should be burned but not other things which are not to be used.

R. Abbahu said in the name of R. Johanan: "All the prohibitions of the Law 'it shall not be eaten' or 'it shall not be used' cannot, if disregarded, make one amenable to the punishment of stripes unless the acts were committed in the manner incidental to their customary execution." What would he intend to exclude thereby? Said R. Schimi bar Ashi: He means to exclude the act of putting fat from the stoned ox On a wound; notwithstanding the fact that, contrary to the law, benefit was derived from the fat, the act does not make a man amenable to the punishment of stripes, and so much the more would he exclude the act of eating raw fat (tallow).

It was also taught by R. A'ha bar Ivia in the name of R. Assi quoting R. Johanan: "If a man put fat from the stoned ox on his wounds, he is not culpable; because all the prohibited acts of the Law cannot if committed make a man amenable to the punishment of stripes unless they were executed in the customary manner." Said R. Zera: "We have learned a similar ordinance in another Boraitha (in Tract Cholin)."

Abayi said: All agree, that concerning Kilaim in a vineyard, there is an exception and even if not carried out in the customary manner, the man becomes amenable to the punishment of stripes, because in that instance eating is not mentioned at all (as it is written [Deut. xxii. 9]: "Thou shalt not sow thy vineyard with divers seeds: that the ripe fruit of thy seed which thou hast sown and the fruit of thy vineyard shall not be defiled"), but the injunction is against defilement in any manner whatever.

R. Jacob said in the name of R. Johanan: "It is permitted for a man to cure himself by means of any of the prohibited things mentioned in the Scriptures with the exception of wood taken from the groves used for idolatry." How is this to be understood? If there is danger attending the illness, then even the wood from that grove may be used, and if the illness be not serious then no prohibited things whatever must be used? A dangerous illness is referred to, and nevertheless the wood from a grove used for idolatry must not be used as we have learned in a Boraitha: "R. Eliezer said: 'It is written [Deut. vi. 5], "Thou shalt love the Lord, etc., with all thy soul," therefore, even if thou shouldst be forced to give up thy soul thou shalt not do any things pertaining to idolatry.'"

When Rabhin came from Palestine, he said in the name of R. Johanan: "With all things it is permitted to cure one's self except by means of idolatry, adultery, and shedding of blood." Not by means of idolatry as we have learned above, and "not by means of adultery and shedding of blood" as we have learned in the following Boraitha: Rabha said: "It is written [Deut. xxii. 26]: For as when a man riseth against his neighbour, and striketh him dead, even so is this matter," hence the ravishment of a betrothed damsel is considered equal to murder, and as concerning murder it is said, that if a man be told to slay another or else he would be slain, he must rather permit himself to be slain than slay another, so it is also concerning a betrothed damsel, who should rather permit herself to be slain, than to be ravished by a man."

Whence do we know, that a man must rather permit himself to be slain than to slay another? This is a matter of common sense, as it happened with Rabha: A man came to Rabha and told him, that the governor of the city had ordered that he (the man) slay a certain man or himself suffer death, and Rabha said to him: "Rather than slay another, thou must permit thyself to be slain; for how dost thou know that thy blood is better than his, perchance his blood is better than thine?"

It was taught: The benefit of a thing which is forced upon a man against his will, may, according to Abayi, be enjoyed (f.i., if a man was carried into a house where fragrant incense was offered up to idols he may enjoy the odor of such incense). Rabha, however, maintains, that he must struggle against it. If he can avoid enjoying it and has no intention to derive any benefit therefrom, it is a case similar to the point of variance between R. Simeon and R. Jehudah concerning an act committed unintentionally. R. Simeon holds, that an act committed unintentionally does not make one culpable, while R. Jehudah holds, that it does. If one cannot avoid enjoying it, but had no original intention to derive any benefit therefrom, all agree, that he must not struggle against it. They differ, however, concerning a case where a man cannot avoid enjoying it, but also had the intention to derive pleasure therefrom. According to R. Simeon he is culpable, and according to R. Jehudah as long as the enjoyment cannot be avoided, the man is not culpable. Hence Abayi holds in accordance with the opinion of R. Jehudah. Rabha can also declare, that he is in accord with R. Jehudah; for R. Jehudah holds an intentional act and an unintentional act to be on a par only when a more vigorous ordinance is concerned (f. i., in the case of an unintentional act committed on the Sabbath), but was it ever known, that R. Jehudah should be of the same opinion where a more lenient ordinance is concerned?

Said Abayi: When do I adduce my statement? From the following Boraitha: "It was told of R. Johanan ben Zakai, that he sate in the shade of the Temple and lectured all day. (The Temple being sanctified must not be put to (profane) use, and R. Johanan, on account of the heat of the sun, sought the shade caused by the height of the Temple)." In this case it was a matter of necessity for R. Johanan to use an open space because he could not find a room sufficiently large to accommodate his audience, and when seeking the shade of the Temple he did so with the intention to avail himself of the benefit of the shade, whence I may infer, that such an act, even though it be intentional, is permissible.

Rejoined Rabha: "With the Temple it is different. It was constructed for use on the inside and not on account of its shade."

"Or to light therewith an oven or a stove," etc. The rabbis taught: An oven which was fed with the peel of fruit from newly planted trees 1 or with the straw of Kilaim (divers seeds) of a vineyard (if the oven was new and by such burning had become fit), must be demolished. If the oven, however, was an old one, it must only be allowed to cool off and may subsequently be used. If bread was baked with the heat caused by such fuel, Rabbi said, "the bread must not be used," while the sages permit its use. If food was cooked over the coals of such fuel, all agree, that such food may be consumed.

Have we not learned in another Boraitha, that be the oven old or new it need only be cooled off and subsequently it may be used? This presents no difficulty. The latter Boraitha is in accord with the sages, who hold, that bread baked in an oven fed with such fuel may be used, thus discountenancing the assumption that the heat of such fuel invalidates the bread; consequently they hold that the oven must simply be allowed to cool off but need not be demolished.

Said R. Joseph in the name of R. Jehudah quoting Samuel: "An oven fed with the peel of fruit from newly planted trees or with straw of Kilaim of a vineyard (if the oven was new) must be demolished. If it was an old one, however, it must only be allowed to cool off and may subsequently be used. If bread was baked with the heat produced by such fuel, Rabbi said 'the bread maybe used,' while the sages prohibit it." Did we not learn to the contrary, however, viz.: that Rabbi prohibited the use of such bread while the sages permitted it?

Samuel generally adheres to the rule, that wherever Rabbi differs with an individual, the Halakha prevails according to Rabbi, but when differing with the sages, the Halakha prevails according to the sages. In this instance, however, Samuel holds, that the Halakha prevails according to Rabbi in the former Boraitha; but knowing that the people hold to the rule that wherever Rabbi and the sages differ, the Halakha prevails according to the sages, he purposely inverts the Boraitha and makes it appear as if the sages originally prohibited the use of the bread in question.

The Boraitha also stated: "If food was cooked over the coals of such fuel, all agree, that such food may be consumed." R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel and R. Hyya bar Ashi in the name of R. Johanan differed concerning this ordinance. One holds, that the ordinance is effective only if the coals were already extinguished; but if still live, the food must not be used. The other, however, holds, that even if the coals were still live, it is also permitted to use the food.

According to the former opinion, Rabbi correctly states, that bread baked in the heat caused by such fuel is not to be used, because he holds, that the use of the fuel is indirectly transmitted to the bread or, in the case of the live coals, to the food; but according to the one who permits the use of food cooked over the live coals of such fuel, how can Rabbi prohibit the use of the bread baked in the heat produced by such fuel? Said R. Papa: Rabbi may refer to bread which is baked directly by the flame of such fuel. In that case, do the sages also permit the use of such bread? Under what circumstances then does the fuel render the use of things unlawful? When a man sits opposite the flame, said R. Ami bar Hama, caused by such fuel in order to warm himself and thus derives direct benefit from such fuel it is not permitted (but bread, being baked only when the flame is about to die out and heat remains, may be used).

"R. Jehudah said: 'The removal of leaven cannot be effected except by burning.'" We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jehudah said: "Leaven must be removed only by burning and so should the law be; for if the remainder of the flesh of the sacrifices, concerning which there are no commandments directing that it must neither be seen nor found, must be burnt, so much the more should leaven be burned"; but the sages replied: "Every regulation which is intended to be made

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more rigorous but by force of circumstances eventually becomes even more lenient, cannot be considered a proper regulation; for in this case thou sayest 'leaven must be removed only by burning,' but how would it be if a man could not find any wood at the time? Should he do nothing towards removing it? But the law distinctly orders the leaven to be removed, as it is written [Exod xii. 15]: 'But on the first day ye shall have put away leaven out of your houses,' which signifies, that it must be removed by any means whatever."

R. Jehudah, however, advanced another argument: "The remainder of the flesh of the sacrifices must not be eaten and leaven must not be eaten; hence as the former must be burnt so must the latter"; but the sages again replied: "Take the instance of carrion. Carrion must not be eaten, yet it need not be burned," and R. Jehudah replied: "There is a difference between the two. The remainder of the flesh must not be eaten nor may any benefit be derived therefrom, which same law applies also to leaven." "Then take the instance of the stoned ox," said the sages again, "that must not be eaten nor even used and still it need not be burnt." "There is still a difference," rejoined R. Jehudah, "the remainder of the flesh must neither be eaten nor used, and if it is the culprit becomes amenable to the punishment of Kareth (being 'cut off'); the same law applies to leaven; hence the latter should also be burned." "Then what about the fat of the stoned ox," queried the sages, "that must not be eaten, and if this be done, it constitutes a transgression punishable with Kareth; still it need not be burned?" R Jehudah then advanced another argument: "Concerning the remainder the law prescribes, that it shall not be left until morning, and concerning leaven it is also prescribed, that none should remain, then why should not burning apply to both?" and the sages replied: "Take the instance, then, of a trespass-offering brought for a doubtful transgression or a sin-offering fowl brought for a doubtful case, which we ourselves declare should be burned, still thou maintainest, that it must not be put on the altar but should be buried." This rejoinder silenced R. Jehudah. Commenting upon this R. Joseph said: "This can be compared to the general saying, that a wood-carver carved a spoon and with that spoon he carried mustard to his mouth and burned his tongue. Abayi, however, said: "It can be compared to a man making stocks, which are subsequently shackled to his own feet," and Rabha said: "It can be compared to a man making arrows, one of which finally reaches his own heart."

"But the sages maintain, it can also be effected by crumbling," etc. The schoolmen propounded a question: "What does the Mishna mean, that it should be crumbled in order to be thrown forth to the wind but that it may be thrown into the sea whole or that it must also be crumbled before being thrown into the sea? We have learned in a Boraitha: If the man is in a desert, he should crumble the leaven and throw it forth to the wind; but if he is at sea, he may throw it into the water whole."

MISHNA: Leaven belonging to a Gentile, which during the Passover was in possession of that Gentile, may be used after that festival, but not when it belonged to an Israelite, for it is written [Exod. xiii. 7]: "Neither shall there be seen with thee any leaven in all thy boundaries."

GEMARA: According to whose opinion is this Mishna? Not according to R. Jehudah, nor R. Simeon nor R. Jose the Galilean? What is their opinion? We have learned in the following Boraitha: One who ate Chometz (leavened bread) before or after the appointed time (which is the time between noon and sunset on the eve of Passover) transgressed a negative commandment. If he ate it during the appointed time he transgressed a negative commandment and is amenable to Kareth (being cut off). From the time when it is prohibited to eat Chometz and further, no benefit whatever maybe derived therefrom. Such is the dictum of R. Jehudah. R. Simeon, however, said: "Before and after the appointed time, eating Chometz does not constitute a transgression," but at the appointed time he agrees with R. Jehudah, and R. Jose the Galilean said: "It is surprising to know, that no benefit maybe derived from Chometz during all of the seven days." Whence do we know that a man who eats Chometz during the six hours preceding the time when Passover sets in, transgresses a negative commandment? Because it is written [Deut. xv. 31: "Thou shalt not eat therewith any leavened bread." Such is the dictum of R. Jehudah. Said R. Simeon to him: "How canst thou say such a thing? It is also written [ibid.]: 'Seven days shalt thou eat therewith unleavened bread' (if thou shouldst say that 'therewith' refers to the Passover-sacrifice, did then the Passover-sacrifice continue for seven days?). Thus 'therewith' refers to the moment when the eating of unleavened bread be comes compulsory; but before such time the negative commandment, 'Thou shalt not eat leaven,' is not effective."

Upon what grounds, then, does R. Jehudah base his dictum, that even during the six hours preceding the arrival of Passover, Chometz must not be eaten? Because there are three passages referring to leaven [Exod. xii. 20, ibid. xiii. 3, and Deut. xvi. 3], one of which has reference to the six hours preceding the appointed time, the second to the appointed time, and the third for the Chometz which was not removed before the Passover, and was left over until after Passover.

How does R. Simeon account for the three passages? He applies one to the appointed time, another [Exod. xii. 20] to such things as had become leavened by contact with leaven, and the third refers to the time when the Israelites went out of Egypt, when the eating of Chometz was prohibited for one day only, as stated by R. Jose the Galilean, who bases his assertion to that effect on the passages [Exod. xiii. 3 and 4]: "No leavened bread shall be eaten. This day go ye out, in the month of Abib." Thus only on this day no leavened bread should be eaten.

Now, then, according to whose opinion is the Mishna? Shall we assume that it is according to R. Jehudah? Does he not hold all Chometz to be unlawful after Passover, if in existence during the Passover, regardless of whether it belong to a Gentile or an Israelite? According to R. Simeon, even that belonging to an Israelite may be used after the Passover? And according to R. Jose the Galilean, even during Passover benefit may be derived from Chometz belonging to an Israelite also?

R. A'ha bar Jacob replied: "The Mishna is according to the opinion of R. Jehudah, and the question how, according to R. Jehudah, leaven belonging to a Gentile may be used after the Passover can be answered by stating, that R. Jehudah infers a comparison by analogy from the fact that leaven, being mentioned in connection with eating and also with seeing, in the same manner as only leaven belonging to the person concerned must not be seen, but that belonging to others may be seen, so it is also with respect to eating. A man must not eat his own leaven, but that of another he may eat. Accordingly our Mishna should have taught that eating is also permissible; but in consequence of the necessity of mentioning that no benefit may be derived from bread belonging to an Israelite, the same term is used in connection with bread belonging to a Gentile. In the same manner, our Mishna should have taught, that bread belonging to a Gentile maybe eaten even during the appointed time; but from the necessity of mentioning that bread belonging to an Israelite must not be used after the appointed time, the same is also taught concerning a Gentile."

Rabha, however, said: "The Mishna may also be in accordance with R. Simeon, and the question, Why should no benefit be derived from bread belonging to an Israelite after the Passover? may be answered by stating, that it was merely a punishment for the transgression of the two commandments, 'it shall not be seen' and 'it shall not be found,' which the Israelite committed by leaving the leaven over from before the Passover."

The Mishna concludes by quoting the passage: "Neither shall there be seen," etc. Thus Rabha's statement is borne out; but according to R. A'ha bar Jacob, it should conclude with the passage: "No leaven shall be eaten." Thou assumest that the conclusion of the Mishna refers to the prohibition of using bread belonging to the Israelite! This is not so! It refers to the first clause of the Mishna; namely, the bread belonging to a Gentile may be used, because it is written, "Neither shall there be seen with thee," but that belonging to a Gentile may not only be seen but also used, as stated above.

Both of these sages (Rabha and R. A'ha bar Jacob) hold to their individual theories, as it was taught: "If a man had eaten leaven belonging to Gentiles on the Passover, according to R. Jehudah, said Rabha, he should be punished with stripes; but according to R. A'ha bar Jacob, he need not be punished in that manner." Why does Rabha decree thus? Because he holds, that R. Jehudah does not put the eating of leaven on a level with the sight thereof; but R. A'ha bar Jacob holds, that R. Jehudah does put eating on a level with the sight of leaven, hence the punishment of stripes is not to be inflicted.

Rabh said: "Chometz, whether it became mixed with its own kind (which was unleavened) or with another kind during the appointed time (the seven days) is prohibited to be used. If it became mixed at any other but the appointed time, it is prohibited to be used only if it became mixed with its own kind; but if with a different kind it may be used."

[How is the case? Does Rabh mean to state, that the Chometz which had become mixed with the unleavened can be tasted? Why then does he permit its use at any other but the appointed time and if mixed with a different? The Chometz can be detected by means of the taste? It might be said, however, that the Chometz was of so trifling a quantity that it could not be detected; then why, if it became mixed during the appointed time and not with its own kind, should it be prohibited?

Rabh intended that his decree serve as a precautionary measure, and prohibits even a trifling quantity of Chometz during the appointed time, which had become mixed with a kind not its own, lest it be used if it became mixed with its own kind.]

Samuel, however, said: "During the appointed time only Chometz which had become mixed with its own kind is prohibited but not such as had become mixed with another kind, while at any other but the appointed time it may be used even if mixed with its own kind." (Thus Samuel does not hold the precautionary measure of Rabh to be necessary.)

R. Johanan, however, said: "Chometz even during the appointed time and when mixed with its own kind is only then prohibited if it can be tasted (with the unleavened). In all other cases it may be used." (Because he holds with R. Simeon, who permits the use of Chometz after the appointed time in any manner.)

Said Rabha: The Halakha prevails, that Chometz during the appointed time is prohibited to be used, if mixed with its own kind or with another kind even in trifling quantities, as Rabh decreed; and at any other but the appointed time it may be used in any manner, as R. Simeon decreed. Rabha holds to his individual theory and says: When we were at the school of R. Na'hman, he told us after the Passover to go and buy leavened bread from the soldiers of the government.

Rabh said: "Earthenware pots which had been used during the year must be destroyed before Passover." For what reason? Let them be left over until after the Passover and then used for other kinds of food than formerly? This is a precautionary measure, in order to prevent the possibility of their being used for the same kinds of food as formerly.

Samuel, however, said: "They need not be destroyed, but kept until after Passover, and then they may be again used for any purpose whatever." Samuel holds to his individual theory, for he said to the vendors of earthenware pots for the Passover: Lessen the prices of your pots for the Passover, otherwise I shall decree that the, law prevails according to R. Simeon (and the old pots will be valid after the Passover)." Why did he not proclaim this in reality? He is of the opinion of R. Simeon? The place where he was at the time was within the jurisdiction of Rabh; hence he could only threaten them.

An oven was greased with fat immediately after it had been heated. Rabha bar Ahilayi prohibited the eating of the bread baked therein even with salt, lest it be eaten with Kutach (a dish made with milk), and prohibited the use of the oven for all time to come. An objection was made: We have learned: "Dough must not be kneaded with milk, and if this was done the bread therefrom must not be eaten, in order to avoid the possibility of committing a transgression (i.e., eating such bread with meat). Likewise, an oven must not be greased with the fat of a ram's tail, and if this was done, the bread must not be eaten and the oven must again be heated and other bread baked."

Thus we see, that the oven may be reheated and other bread baked therein; why does Rabha bar Ahilayi prohibit the use of the oven permanently? Rabha bar Ahilayi can make no answer to this question.

Said Rabhina to R. Ashi: "Now, if Rabha bar Ahilayi's statement was effectually refuted by the Boraitha, why should Rabh decree, that the pots which were used during the year must be destroyed before the Passover, 1 why could they not be burnt out and then used again?" and R. Ashi answered: "With an oven it is different. That is heated on the inside; hence as soon as it is heated again no traces of the fat will be left and it becomes the same as it was before; while pots are always exposed to the fire from the outside, and for that reason their condition will remain unchanged; and if thou shouldst ask why the inside of the pots should not be exposed to the fire also, the answer is, that there is fear of their bursting should this be done. Hence I say, that a pot which could withstand a fire must not be used on Passover, unless it was filled with live coals and burnt out."

Rabhina asked of R. Ashi: "What should be done on Passover with knives?" and he answered: "I buy new knives for the Passover." And Rabhina rejoined: "In Master's case it is proper; for thou art rich and canst afford it; but what should a poor man do?" "I do not mean exactly new knives," replied,, R. Ashi, "but renovated knives," i.e., knives the blades of which are covered with clay and placed in the fire, and after being thoroughly burnt are taken out, and together with the hilts are soaked in boiling water, when they become equal to new ones. The Halakha prevails, however, that the whole knife need only be soaked in boiling water which had not been removed from the fire.

Said R. Huna the son of R. Jehoshua: "A wooden ladle should be placed in boiling water which had not been removed from the fire," for he holds, that in the same manner that the ladle absorbs the leaven contained in the pots, in the same manner can it be purified.

Ameimar was asked: What is the law concerning glazed pottery? If the colour of the coating was green, there is no question but that they must not be used; but we refer to such as were glazed in black or in white. If the coating was cracked, there is also no question but that they must not be used; but we refer to such as were perfectly smooth. Ameimar replied: I noticed that the fat cooked in such pots oozes out on the other side, and hence it is obvious that they absorb it; and the Scriptures attested that an earthen pot never yields forth what it has once absorbed." 1

Said Rabba bar Abba in the name of R. Hyya bar Ashi, quoting Samuel: "All vessels in which leavened food had been kept while cold may be used for unleavened food, with the exception of such vessels as contained actual leaven, for that is very pungent. Said R. Ashi: "Such vessels in which leavened bread and vinegar were generally mixed must also not be used,

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because that is equal to leaven." And Rabha said: "The large basins which are frequently used in the city of Mehuzza for kneading dough must also not be used, because they are considered the same as kneading-troughs." Is this not self-evident? Because basins are open on all sides we might assume that the air surrounding it destroys the effects of the leaven, hence we are told that such is not the case.

MISHNA: If a Gentile lent money to an Israelite, taking as security leavened articles, such articles may be used after the Passover; but if an Israelite had lent money to a Gentile on leavened articles they must not be made use of after the Passover.

GEMARA: It was taught: If one man owed another money and pledged his property as security for the debt, and the debt becoming due had not been paid, Abayi said the articles pledged must be considered the property of the creditor from the time the loan was made, while Rabha said, "Only from the moment the debt became due." If the debtor sold or consecrated his property before the debt fell due, all agree that the creditor can recover such property, or (if consecrated) redeem it (for a trifle), in order that it may not be said that consecrated articles can be recovered gratuitously. Wherein they do differ is, if the creditor had, prior to the time the debt fell due, transferred his eventual right to the property to another or consecrated it. Abayi holds, that such transfer is valid in the event of consecration; it holds good because, as we see that the debt was not paid when it became due, the pledged articles are considered the property of the lender from the time the money was loaned. Rabha, however, maintains, that on account of his having no right to the property until it was forfeited, the transfer or consecration, whichever the case may be, is of no account, because if the debtor would have had the money he would have redeemed his pledge, consequently the pledge belongs to him until the time has expired.

An objection was made based upon our Mishna: "If a Gentile lent money to an Israelite upon leavened articles, they may be used after the Passover." Thus, according to Abayi, who holds that the right of possession is vested in the creditor from the moment the loan is made, it would be correct, because during the Passover the leavened articles were the property of the Gentile; but according to Rabha, who holds that the right of possession is not the creditor's until the property is forfeited, the leavened articles were the property of the Israelite during the Passover, how can they then be lawfully used? In this case the Mishna refers to an instance where the pledged articles were deposited with the creditor, as we have learned in a Boraitha: "If a Gentile pledged a large loaf (used as a wedding-cake) with an Israelite on Passover, the Israelite does not transgress the law prohibiting leaven to be seen or found with him. If the Gentile, however, told him that thenceforth that loaf should be his, the Israelite by accepting it would commit such a transgression"; hence Rabha's opinion is borne out.

The rabbis taught: If there was a store of wine and bread belonging to an Israelite, and Gentile and Israelitish labourers worked there, the Chometz found therein after the Passover must not be used, much less eaten. If it was a store belonging to a Gentile and Israelitish labourers worked there, the Chometz found there after the Passover may be eaten, and so much the more be used.

MISHNA: Leaven that had been covered by fallen ruins must be considered as annihilated and removed. Rabbon Simeon ben Gamaliel says: "Only then, if it is covered to such an extent that a dog cannot drag it out."

GEMARA: Said R. Hisda: Nevertheless, the man should in mind renounce the leaven.

The Mishna states: "If it be buried to such an extent that a dog cannot drag it out." We have learned in a Boraitha: How much is that? Three spans."

R. A'ha the son of R. Joseph asked R. Ashi: "Samuel said: There is no better way of hiding money than by burying it in the ground. Should it be buried to a depth of three spans also?" and he answered: "In the case of the leaven it is essential that the dog should not scent it, hence three spans are necessary; but when burying money it is only required to hide it from view and a lesser depth is sufficient." What should the depth be, however? Said Raphram bar Papa of Sikhra: "One span."

MISHNA: If any person should eat leavened heave-offering during the Passover by mistake, he must pay the principal and a fifth part 1 in addition; but if he ate it wilfully, he is exempt from the obligation of making restitution and also from payment of its value as wood (fuel) in case of the heave-offering being unclean.

GEMARA: The schoolmen propounded a question: "In what manner must the person make restitution, according to the quantity consumed or according to the value thereof? We do not ask concerning a case where the value of the article consumed had been greater and had subsequently depreciated; f.i., if it had originally been worth four zuz and later only one. In that case he must certainly refund its original value, for there is no difference between his case and that of a robber, concerning whom we have learned in a Mishna, that when a robber makes restitution for a pillaged article he must do so in accordance with the value of such article at the time it was purloined. We ask, however, concerning an instance of where the article consumed had enhanced in value; f.i., it had been worth one zuz and subsequently rose to the value of four zuz. Should he restore the article according to the quantity or according to the value, i.e., if he had only eaten the worth of one zuz, should he restore the equivalent of that amount?"

Said R. Joseph: "Come and hear: 'If he ate dried figs and repaid with dates, may he be blessed'; thus we have learned in a Boraitha. If he paid in accordance with the quantity, i.e., he ate a measure of dried figs which is only of the value of one zuz and made restitution with a like measure of dates which was worth four zuz, it is obvious why he should be blessed; but if he restored only the value of the dried figs with dates of equal value, why the blessing? "

Rejoined Abayi: "He may have only refunded the value of the figs by an equal value in dates, but nevertheless he may be blessed on account of making restitution for a less salable article with one that is more easily marketable."

An objection was made based upon our Mishna: "Our Mishna states, that 'he must pay,' etc. If he must restore the leavened heave-offering in equal measure it would be correct, but if be must refund the pecuniary equivalent therefor, how can this be done? Leavened articles have no pecuniary value on Passover?" Our Mishna is in accordance with R. Jose the Galilean, who holds that benefit may be derived from leavened articles on the Passover. How then will the latter clause of the Mishna correspond? Why should he be exempt from repayment if he had eaten the leavened heave-offering wilfully? According to R. Jose, benefit may be derived therefrom on Passover? He holds with R. Nehunia ben Hakana of the following Boraitha: R. Nehunia ben Hakana says that the Day of Atonement is put on a par with the Sabbath in the event of a violation of the law concerning either of the two days. (I.e., if a man violate the Sabbath and by such violation cause damage to another, he need make no restitution for the damage inflicted from the fact that he has committed an offence punishable with death by stoning; should he have done likewise on the Day of Atonement, the fact that he incurs the punishment of Kareth (being cut off) also exempts him from making restitution. 1 Thus in this case, where by eating leavened heave-offering the man incurs the punishment of Kareth, he need not make restitution for the article consumed.)

This case presents a difference of opinion between Tanaim, as we have learned: If a person had eaten leavened heave-offering on Passover, he is exempt from the obligation of making restitution and also from payment of its value as wood (fuel). Such is the decree of R. Aqiba. R. Johanan ben Nouri, however, holds him liable. Said R. Aqiba to the latter: "What benefit does a man derive from eating leaven on Passover?" and he answered: "What benefit can a man derive from eating unclean heave-offering at any time of the year, and still he is obliged to refund its value?" and R. Aqiba rejoined: "While a man must not eat unclean heave-offering he may otherwise make use thereof, as fuel; how canst thou compare this to leaven on Passover, which must not be used in any manner? The only comparison which can be made between the two can be made by comparing grapes or berries which had become unclean heave-offering and cannot even be used as fuel and leaven on Passover. If such grapes or berries had been eaten, I say, no restitution need be made." This difference of opinion refers only to such heave-offering as had been set aside and become leavened before the Passover; but if a person had set aside leavened articles as heave-offering on Passover it cannot be accounted heave-offering at all, for it does not accept of the sanctification of heave-offering.

We have learned in another Boraitha: It is written [Leviticus xxii. 14]. "And he shall make good unto the priest the holy thing." This signifies that he must make good the thing eaten with another that can become holy, but if a man eat leavened heave-offering on Passover, he need not make restitution even for its value as wood (fuel). Such is the dictum of R. Eliezer ben Jacob. R. Eliezer Hasma, however, holds him liable for restitution. Said R. Eliezer ben Jacob to the latter: "What benefit does a man derive from eating leaven on Passover?" (and he answered in the same manner as R. Johanan answered R. Aqiba. Whereupon R. Eliezer ben Jacob made the same rejoinder as R. Aqiba to R. Johanan ben Nouri, and the conclusion was, that) R. Eliezer Hasma said: "The priest can make use of such leavened heave-offering as food for his dog or as fuel for his stove."

Abayi said: "R. Eliezer ben Jacob, R. Aqiba, and R. Johanan ben Nouri all agree, that no benefit may be derived from leaven on Passover, and R. Aqiba differs with R. Johanan ben Nouri only as follows: R. Aqiba holds, that restitution for holy things must be made in accordance with the value of the article consumed, while R. Johanan ben Nouri maintains, that restitution must be made in accordance with the quantity thereof." Is this not self-evident? We might assume, that their point of variance does not concern the value or the quantity of the article consumed, but whether any benefit may be derived from leaven on the Passover or not; hence we are told by Abayi that such is not the case. Whence does Abayi adduce that such is not the case? Because otherwise R. Johanan ben Nouri would have answered R. Aqiba as R. Eliezer Hasma answered R. Eliezer ben Jacob.

The master said: "If leaven was set aside as heave-offering on Passover, all agree that it cannot be accounted heave-offering." Whence do we adduce this? Said R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak. "From the passage [Deut. xviii. 4]: 'And the first shearing of thy sheep shalt thou give him.'" Thus we see that it is written "give him," but not for fuel.

R. Huna the son of R. Jehoshua objected: "We have learned, that heave-offering must not be set aside from unclean (grain) to serve for clean (grain), but if this was done unintentionally, the heave-offering is valid." Thus the heave-offering is nevertheless unclean and must not be eaten; still the priest may use it for fuel (and it is nevertheless valid?). This presents no difficulty: In this latter instance the heave-offering at some time could have been eaten by the priest (when it was still clean), while in the case of leaven on Passover the priest never had an opportunity to use it for himself, but it could at any time only have been used as fuel. How should this be understood? For instance, if the article whereof the heave-offering was to be set aside had become leavened while still growing.

How is it, however, if the article had become leavened after it had been reaped? Can it be accounted heave-offering? R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak answered: "Yea; 'This is the interpretation of the angels and this is the resolve of the Most High [Daniel iv. 21], and it is also decided in the colleges as I have said."

Subsequently, when R. Huna the son of R. Jehoshua came from Palestine, he gave as a reason why leaven set aside as heave-offering on Passover is not accounted heave-offering the following: "It is written [Deut. xviii. 4]: 'The first fruit of thy corn,' etc., which means that the first of fruit should be given to the priest and the remainder should be used by the donor; but when the remainder cannot be used, as was the case with leaven on Passover, the first cannot be given as heave-offering to the priest."

MISHNA: A person acquits himself of the duty (of eating unleavened bread) on Passover with the following articles: With cakes made of wheat, barley, spelt, rye, and oats; also with Demai (grain of which it is doubtful whether the legal dues had been separated), with first tithes of which the heave-offering had been taken, with the second tithes, and with consecrated things which have been redeemed. Priests (acquit themselves of the duty) with the first of the dough, with heave-offering, but not with (grain) which is still mixed (untithed), nor with the first tithes of which heave-offering has not yet been taken, nor with unredeemed second tithe and consecrated things not redeemed Neither with cakes of thanksgiving-offering nor the thin cakes of the Nazarite's offering, if they had prepared them for their own use; but if prepared for public sale, they may acquit themselves of the duty (of eating unleavened bread on Passover) therewith.

GEMARA: We have leaned in a Boraitha: Spelt is considered grain, and rye and oats are considered cereals.

With the articles enumerated in the Mishna a person acquits himself of the duty, but not with rice or millet? Whence do we know this? R. Simeon ben Lakish and also the disciples of R. Ishmael said; and likewise the disciples of R. Eliezer ben Jacob taught: "It is written [Deut. xvi. 3]: 'Thou shalt not eat therewith any leavened bread. Seven days shalt thou eat therewith unleavened bread,' which signifies, that only such things should be used for unleavened bread which can become leavened; but rice and millet can never become leavened, only putrid." Our Mishna is not in accordance with the opinion of R. Johanan ben Nouri, who said, that rice and millet are also grain, that they may become leavened, and that one may acquit himself of his duty therewith. Rabba bar bar Hana said in the name of Resh Lakish: "Dough which was kneaded with wine, oil, or honey, and becomes leavened, does not make the owner amenable to Kareth, if he had eaten it."

R. Papa and R. Huna the son of R. Jehoshua sate before R. Idi bar Abhin, and the latter was slumbering. Said R. Huna the son of R. Jehoshua to R. Papa: "What reason did Resh Lakish have for his dictum?" and he answered: "Because the above passage [Deut. xvi. 3] implies, that only such things as can become leavened may be used for unleavened bread on Passover he holds that the dough in question being rich, and poor dough only being permissible for unleavened bread, it is not an offence punishable by Kareth to eat such (rich) dough." In the meantime R. Idi awoke and said to them: "Youngsters! Thus was the reason of Resh Lakish: 'The dough was made with juice of fruit and not with water, and juice of fruit cannot make dough leavened.'"

"Also with Demai." (The discussions concerning this citation of the Mishna occur many times in the Talmud and have been left in the Tract Berachoth (Benedictions), where they will appear once for all. See Tract Erubin, page 71.)

"Priests--with the first of the dough." Is this not self-evident? We might assume that the unleavened bread for Passover must be valid for all alike, and as the first of the dough, etc., cannot be eaten except by priests only, they should not be used to discharge the obligation (mentioned);

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hence we are told by the Mishna that they may, because the verse reads Matzoth (the plural of Matzoh), implying that all kinds of Matzoth may be used.

The rabbis taught: "We might assume that a man may acquit himself of the duty of eating unleavened bread with grain of which all the legal dues had not yet been separated, f.i., grain of which heave-offering had been separated but not the heave-offering of the first tithes or of which first tithes only had been taken, but not second tithes or even such of which only the tithes for the poor had not been taken; therefore the passage quoted states, that 'thou shalt not eat therewith any leavened bread: seven days shalt thou eat therewith unleavened bread'; and this implies, that only such things should be eaten as would make one culpable if eaten in a leavened state only; but not such as would make a man culpable for other reasons." What has become of the prohibition regarding the eating of leaven in that event? The rabbis are in accord with R. Simeon, who holds that a twofold prohibition cannot apply to one and the same thing, as we have learned in a Boraitha: "R. Simeon said: One who eats carrion on the Day of Atonement is free of the sin of violating that day."

The rabbis taught: Shall we assume that a man may acquit himself of the duty of eating unleavened bread with the second tithes, which he had brought to Jerusalem? Therefore it is written [Deut. xvi. 31, "The bread of affliction," which signifies, that only bread which can be eaten during affliction may be used; but second tithes, which must be eaten with joy (according to the passage [Deut. xxvi. 14], "I have not eaten thereof in mourning"), cannot be used. So said R. Jose the Galilean. R. Aqiba, however, said: "Because it is written Matzoth (the plural of Matzoh) and it is repeated several times, even second tithes are included." Why, then, is it called bread of affliction? This implies, that the dough should not be kneaded with wine, oil, or honey. [What could R. Aqiba, however, say to the claim of R. Jose, that second tithes cannot be eaten as "bread of affliction"? R. Aqiba can say: Is it then written "bread of affliction"? it is written "poor bread." 1]

Does R. Aqiba, then, hold that one cannot acquit himself of the duty with dough kneaded with wine, oil, or honey? Have we not learned in a Boraitha: It is not lawful to knead dough in Passover with wine, oil, or honey, and if this was done, Rabbon Gamaliel decrees that it should be immediately burned; the sages, however, say, that it may be eaten. R. Aqiba, commenting thereon, said: "At one time I took my Sabbath-rest in the house of R. Eliezer, and R. Jehoshua and I kneaded them dough with wine, oil, and honey, and they did not object?" [Although (according to Rabbon Gamaliel) this must not be done, if it was done, cold water may be poured on on the festival, in order to keep it from becoming leavened, and the sages said: "Such dough as may be kneaded may also be kept from becoming leavened by pouring water thereon on a festival; but such as must not be kneaded must also not be kept from becoming leavened in the manner described. All agree, however, that on Passover dough must not be kneaded with tepid water?"] This presents no difficulty. On the first day of the Passover one cannot acquit himself of the duty of eating unleavened bread with dough kneaded with wine, oil, or honey; but on the remaining days such dough may be used, as was told by R Jehoshua to his children: "On the first day (of Passover) ye shall not knead the dough for the unleavened bread with milk; but on the remaining days ye may do so." (It is allowed to knead dough with milk, according to the opinion of Rabhina, providing it is made so that it can be distinguished from the other.)

The rabbis taught: Shall we assume that a man may acquit himself of the duty of eating unleavened bread with firstfruits 1 (brought as a meat-offering on Pentecost)? To that end it is written [Exod. xii. 20]: "In all your habitations shall ye eat unleavened bread," which signifies, that only such things as may be eaten in all your habitations may be used for the acquittal of the duty of eating unleavened bread, but such things as can be eaten only in Jerusalem, as is the case with the firstfruits, cannot serve for that purpose. Such is the dictum of R. Jose the Galilean. R. Aqiba, however, says, that the reason firstfruits cannot serve the purpose is because as the unleavened bread is put on a par with the bitter herbs which cannot be taken from the firstfruits (as no firstfruits were taken from herbs); hence the unleavened bread also cannot be taken from the firstfruits. Lest it might be said, on the other hand, that as the bitter herbs are prepared from articles of which kind no firstfruits can be brought, leavened bread which would serve for the acquittal of the obligation should be made only from material of a kind of which no firstfruits can be brought; but wheat and barley, of which firstfruits are brought, should be deemed unfit for such purpose; hence the passage repeats Matzoth (plural for Matzoh), which includes all kinds. If that term includes all kinds, why not also firstfruits? R. Aqiba retracted his statement concerning the comparison between bitter herbs and unleavened bread, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: Shall we assume that a man may acquit himself of the duty of eating unleavened bread with firstfruits? To that end it is written [Exod. xii. 20]: "In all your habitations shall ye eat unleavened bread," which signifies, that only such things as may be eaten in all your habitations may be used for the acquittal of the duty of eating unleavened bread, but such things as are eaten only in Jerusalem, as is the case with firstfruits, cannot serve the purpose. Accordingly, it might also be presumed that unleavened bread should not be made with second tithes, which should also be eaten in Jerusalem: therefore Matzoth is repeated several times in the passage and made to include even second tithes. If this be so, why are firstfruits excluded, while second tithes are included? We include second tithes because they may be eaten under certain circumstances in any place, as R. Elazar stated: "When second tithe becomes unclean even in Jerusalem, it may be redeemed, and with the ransom-money things may be bought which can be eaten in any place whatever, and firstfruits which cannot be eaten outside of Jerusalem under any circumstances are excluded." Who holds, then, that unleavened bread may be made with second tithes? R. Aqiba, and he excludes firstfruits by reason of the passage quoted [Exod. xii. 20], and not through comparison with bitter herbs. Thus we see that he retracts his former statement, as mentioned above.

The rabbis taught: "It is written 'bread of affliction'; hence pancakes (made of flour, boiling water, and oil) and large loaves cannot serve for the acquittal of the duty of eating unleavened bread." Shall we assume, then, that only coarse (barley) bread can serve that purpose? Therefore Matzoth is repeated in order to add that any kind may be used, even such as were as fine as those used in the time of King Solomon. For what purpose, then, is it written "bread of affliction"? In order to exclude the two kinds mentioned; and whence do we know that large loaves (called in Hebrew "Ashishah") are considered articles of value which cannot be called "bread of affliction"? From the passage [II Samuel vi. 19]: "And he dealt out to all the people, to the whole multitude of Israel, to both men and women, to every person one cake of bread, and an Ashpar (good piece of flesh), and one Ashishah." Said R. Hanan bar Abba, by an Ashpar is meant the sixth part of a young bullock and by an Ashishah is meant a loaf which was made of flour to the quantity of a sixth of an Ephah (a half-saah), and this is at variance with the opinion of Samuel, who maintains that an Ashishah is a flagon of wine; as it is written [Hosea iii. i]: "Who turn themselves after other gods, and love Ashishai (flagons of wine)."

The rabbis taught: "Thick loaves must not be baked on the Passover. Such is the decree of the school of Shammai, but the school of Hillel permit this to be done." How thick should they be? Said R. Huna: "One span, because the thickness of the showbreads was one span." R. Joseph opposed this: How can Beth Hillel permit the loaves on Passover to be one span thick, for what have the showbreads in common with Passover loaves? In the case of showbreads there were priests who were thoroughly competent for their work; but the Passover loaves are prepared by ordinary people. The showbreads were prepared with the utmost skill, and how can they be compared to ordinary loaves? For the former dry wood only was used, while for the latter even damp wood is used? The former were baked in a hot oven, while the latter are often baked in a cooler oven; for the baking of showbreads an iron stove was used, while for the Passover loaves an earthen oven was considered sufficient. Said R. Jeremiah bar Abba: I especially asked our Rabbi (meaning Rabh), and according to another version R. Jeremiah bar Abba said in the name of Rabh, who asked his (Rabh's) master (who was R. Jehudah the Holy) concerning this question, and he answered: By "thick loaves" is meant in reality a large quantity of dough, and the reason that this should not be baked on Passover is in order to prevent the preparation of bread on the festival for the coming week-days. Why does the Tana teach this with especial reference to Passover? It applies to every other festival? Because he was at the time teaching concerning the Passover. In another Boraitha we were distinctly taught, instead of "on the Passover," on a festival.

The rabbis taught: "One may acquit himself of the duty of eating unleavened bread on the Passover with coarse or fine bread, and even with cakes adorned with figures, although the sages said that it is not allowed to bake cakes adorned with figures on Passover."

Said R. Jehudah: "This question was propounded by Baithus ben Zunin to the sages: 'Why is it not allowed to prepare figured cakes on Passover?' and they answered: 'Because the woman in preparing them tarries over her work, and in the meantime the dough becomes leavened.' Rejoined Baithus: 'Could she not impress the figures on the cakes with a press and thus facilitate the work?' and the sages replied: 'In that event it would be said, that all figured cakes are prohibited, with the exception of those made by Baithus.'"

Said R. Elazar bar Zadock: "I once went with my father to the house of Rabbon Gamaliel, and he was served with figured cakes on Passover. Afterwards I asked my father whether it was not a fact that the sages had prohibited the use of figured cakes on Passover, and he replied: 'My son, only such as are made by ordinary people are prohibited, but not such as are prepared by bakers.'"

R. Jose said: "If such cakes are made, they should be made as thin as wafers, but not as thick as loaves, because in the latter event they might become leavened."

R. Assi said: "Dough of second tithe, according to R. Meir (who holds second tithe to be consecrated) is exempt from the obligation of first dough (due the priests); but according to the sages it is not. Unleavened bread baked from such dough cannot, according to R. Meir, serve for the acquittal of the obligation of eating unleavened bread on the Passover, while according to the sages it may. According to R. Meir the citron, which must be used on the first day of the Feast of Tabernacles, 1 must not be bought with the proceeds of second tithes, while according to the sages it may."

"Neither with cakes of thanksgiving-offering nor the thin cakes of the Nazarite's offering," etc. Whence do we adduce this? Said Rabba: "From the passage [Exod. xii. 17]: 'And ye shall observe the unleavened bread,' which signifies, that only dough which is observed for unleavened bread may be used, but not such as is observed for any other purpose, as is the case with that of the thanksgiving-offering and the Nazarite's offering.

R. Joseph, however, said: "This may be inferred from this passage: 'Seven days shall ye eat unleavened bread,' which signifies, that only such bread should be eaten as can be used for the entire seven days, but the thanksgiving and Nazarite offering can only be eaten on one day and night."

There are two Boraithas, one of which bears out the dictum of Rabba, while the other bears out that of R. Joseph.

Why are passages needed upon which to base the decree of the Mishna? Is it not sufficient that the cakes of both offerings mentioned are made of rich dough (i.e., with oil)? Said Samuel bar Itz'hak: The quantity of oil mixed with the dough is so insignificant that it is not counted; for a quarter of a lug of oil is used for a great many cakes. Then let it be said that the reason why those cakes cannot be used is because they cannot be eaten anywhere except in Jerusalem? Said Resh Lakish: "From the Mishna itself, we can infer that these two offerings were eaten not alone in Jerusalem, but also in Nob and in Gib'an."

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Ilayi said: I asked R. Elazar whether the two kinds of cakes mentioned could serve for the acquittal of the duty on Passover, and he answered that he had not heard whether they could or not. So I went out and asked R. Jehoshua, and he answered: "It was decided, long ago, that such as were made for personal use could not, but those prepared for public sale could be used." When I came back to R. Elazar and told him what R. Jehoshua had said, he replied: "Is this (the result of) a covenant? Was it so decreed to Moses on Sinai, that no reason should be given for the enactment?"

What is truly the reason for this ordinance? Said Rabba: "An article prepared for public sale is of a necessity made conditional; for the intention is, if the article is not sold, the maker will use it for himself."

MISHNA: The duty of eating bitter herbs on the Passover may be acquitted with the following herbs: with lettuce, wild endive and garden endive, 1 with Harhabinah, 2 with bitter coriander, 3 and bitter herbs (horseradish), either fresh or in a dried state, but not if pickled, boiled, or cooked in any way; they may also be combined to the size of an olive, and the obligation is discharged if the stalks of them only had been used; also with Demai (when it is doubtful if they had been tithed), or such as are of the first tithe of which the heave-offering had been taken, or of the second tithe, or of redeemed consecrated things.

GEMARA: The disciples of R. Samuel taught: "The duty of eating bitter herbs may be acquitted with the following herbs: with lettuce, wild endive and garden endive, with Harhabinah and bitter coriander, with oleander 4 and Harginin and Hardafni (kinds of herbs having a bitter taste)." R. Jehudah said: "Also with lettuce of Julin and of Galin."

Likewise said R. Ilayi: "I heard from R. Eliezer that (Akarbanin) hart's tongue (scolopendrium) may be used, and I inquired among all his disciples, seeking one to corroborate his statement, but could not find one; and when I came to R. Eliezer ben Jacob, be admitted that R. Eliezer had made that statement."

R. Jehudah said: "All herbs which when cut emit white juice may serve for the acquittal of the duty of eating bitter herbs on Passover," and R. Johanan ben Berokah, that such as when cut should become a shade paler. Anonymous teachers, however, say that all bitter herbs emit white juice, and become a shade paler when cut. Said R. Johanan: "From these teachings we can infer, that all the bitter herbs enumerated so far are juicy and when cut become a shade paler." Said R. Huna: "The Halakha prevails according to the decree of the anonymous teachers."

Rabhina noticed that R. Aha the son of Rabha always endeavored to have a certain kind of bitter herbs (horseradish) on Passover. Said he to R. Aha: "It is thy opinion that this kind of herbs is to be desired because it is more bitter; but have we not learned in the Mishna, and also from the disciples of R. Samuel, that lettuce stands first, and R. Oshiya also said that lettuce was more preferable. Even Rabha said that lettuce

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is called Hassa (in Arabic), which signifies, 'God has mercy on us,' and R. Samuel ben Nahmeni said in the name of R. Jonathan: 'Why are the Egyptians compared to bitter herbs? Because, as the bitter herbs are first soft and then hard, so were also the Egyptians: at first they treated the Israelites with kindness and afterwards with harshness?'" Answered R. Aha the son of Rabha: "I shall not do so any more."

R. Rehumi said to Abayi: "Whence do we know that bitter herbs must be used? The passage says 'Maror' (bitterness)? Can this not refer to the gall of a Khuphia (a certain kind of fish)?" and he replied: "We adduce this from the Matzoth. As Matzoth should be made of the fruit of the earth, so should also the bitterness be derived from the fruit of the earth." "Cannot this also refer to oleander (which is poisonous)?" queried R. Rehumi, and Abayi replied: "Fruit of the earth is required, and not fruit of trees." "Cannot this also refer to Harzapha? 1" Answered Abayi: "It must be equal to Matzoth in that it may be bought with the proceeds of second tithes, and Harzapha cannot be bought therewith, as it is not an edible article."

Said Rabba bar R. Hanin to Abayi: "As it is written 'Maror' (bitterness), (one kind), why should the bitterest of all kind of herbs be used? and Abayi replied: "In one place it is also written 'Merarim' [Numb. ix. ii], which signifies more than one." "Perhaps it means but two kinds?" Said Abayi: "As Matzoth maybe of several different kinds, so the bitter herbs should be of several different kinds."

"Either fresh or in a dried state," etc. Said R. Hisda: "This refers only to stalks of the herbs, but if leaves of the herbs are used they may only be fresh but not dried." If the latter clause of the Mishna, however, refers to stalks, then should it not be assumed that the first clause refers to the leaves? Nay; the Mishna merely explains that the stalks only may be used, fresh or dried.

The rabbis taught: If the leaves are withered the duty of eating cannot be discharged therewith; but upon the authority of R. Eliezer ben Zadock it was said, that even herbs with withered leaves may be used.

MISHNA: It is prohibited to soak bran on the Passover to feed fowls therewith; but it is permitted to pour boiling water on bran. A woman must not soak the bran which she takes with her to the bath, but must use it in a dry state for the purpose of rubbing her body therewith. A person must not masticate grains of wheat to put it (as a poultice) on his wound, because they will become leavened.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: The following things can never become leavened: "Baked, cooked, and scalded articles." Cooked articles do not become leavened; but can they not become leavened while being cooked? Said R. Papa: "By cooked articles is meant, articles which had previously been baked and then cooked."

We have learned in a Boraitha: "If water drip on flour even all day long, the flour cannot become leavened." Said R. Papa: "This is the case only if the water drip drop by drop."

The disciples of R. Shila said: "Vathka (a dish made of salt, meal, and oil) may be used on Passover." Have we not learned that Vathka must not be used? This presents no difficulty. Such as was made with water and salt must not be used, but Vathka made with oil and salt is permitted. Mar Zutra said: "The bottom of a cooking-pot must not be strewn with dry flour, lest it be not thoroughly cooked and become leavened." R. Joseph said: "A man should not pour boiling water on two grains of wheat together, lest one become attached to the other and the water will not reach every particle of the grain, in which case it may become leavened."

The rabbis taught: "It is not allowed to soak barley on Passover, but if it was soaked it is not to be used, only if the barley fall asunder, whereas if it remained whole it may be used." Said R. Jose: "Even if it be observed that they are about to fall asunder, it is permitted to pour vinegar on them, which will prevent their becoming leavened." Said Samuel: The Halakha does not prevail according to R. Jose."

R. Hisda said in the name of Mar Uqba: "The Boraitha which states that if the barley fell asunder it must not be used means to say, that even if they had not yet fallen asunder, but would when taken out, they must also not be used," and Samuel said: "Nay; it distinctly means to say, only if they had already fallen asunder," and so Samuel acted on one occasion in the village of Bar Hashu.

Rabba said: "A man who wishes to guard his soul (i.e., a very pious man) should not soak grain on Passover." Why only a man who wishes to guard his soul? Does not the Boraitha prohibit this to all alike? Rabba means to say, that one who wishes to be pious should not even soak wheat, which is less liable to become leavened than barley. Said R. Na'hman: "One who would obey the dictates of Abba (Rabba) will be compelled to eat mouldy bread; for at R. Huna's house wheat was soaked, and also at the house of Rabha bar Abin," and Rabha said: It is a duty to soak wheat, for it is written, "Ye should observe the unleavened bread," and if it be not soaked, what would there be observed? Shall we say, the kneading should be observed; did not R. Huna say, that even with unleavened dough of a Gentile the obligation of eating Matzoth may be discharged, providing a piece of unleavened bread of the size of an olive is eaten afterwards? Thus we see that the piece of unleavened bread must be eaten afterwards and not first, because the Gentile's dough was not originally intended to serve for Matzoth. If, therefore, the baking alone should be observed, the dough could be baked for the express purpose of using it as Matzoth; the same applies to kneading the dough; hence the observing of the unleavened bread must take place before the dough is kneaded, i.e., from the time the wheat is soaked.

Whence do we know that the unleavened bread must be observed before being kneaded? Did not R. Huna say that the dough of a Gentile may be used, and a piece of unleavened bread must be eaten afterwards only because the dough was not originally intended to serve as Matzoth, but if the dough was made by the Gentile especially for that purpose, would it not be sufficient to discharge the obligation of eating Matzoth therewith?

Notwithstanding the fact that Rabha's assertion was thus refuted, he did not retract; for he said to the sheave-binders in the field: "When ye bind the sheaves, bear in mind that they are intended for the preparation of Matzoth"; whence we see that he holds that the unleavened bread must be observed from beginning to end.

The mother of Mar, the son of Rabhina, would buy her wheat for the Passover directly from the field.

It happened that a ship with a cargo of wheat was sunk in the river of Hishta. So Rabha advised that the (recovered) wheat should be sold in small lots to Israelites, in order that they could consume it before the Passover set in.

The rabbis taught: A cooking-pot must not be strewn with flour on Passover, and one who would do this should first strew the flour and then pour vinegar thereon, while according to others, the vinegar may be poured on first. Who is meant by the others? Said R. Hisda: "R. Jehudah, who holds (in Tract Sabbath), that on Sabbath spices may be put in all vessels or cooking utensils, except in such as contain vinegar, because vinegar facilitates cooking." Ula, however, said that this must not be done under any circumstances, for concerning a Nazarite it is said: "Go away! go away! Do not draw nigh unto the boundaries of the vineyard (meaning: One should avoid even such things as might appear as prohibited, lest the prohibition itself be disregarded)."

R. Papa permitted the bakers in the house of the Exilarch to strew a pot with dry flour, and Rabha would even strew his own Pot', with dry flour.

MISHNA: It is unlawful to put flour in Harosoth (sauce) or in mustard, but if this be done, it should be immediately eaten. R. Meir, however, prohibits it. The Passover sacrifice must not be boiled in any liquid or in juice of fruit; but it is permitted to moisten it (after it has been roasted), or to dip it (in a liquid when eaten). Water used by a baker (to cool his hands while kneading the dough for Matzoth) must immediately be thrown away, because it becomes leaven.

GEMARA: R. Kahana said: They differ only concerning mustard; but as for Harosoth (sauce), all agree that (if flour had been put into it) it must be burned. We have also learned to this effect in a Boraitha, viz.: "Flour must not be put into Harosoth, and if this be done the same must be immediately burned; and if it be put in mustard, R. Meir holds that it must be immediately burned, while the sages bold that it should be immediately eaten." Said R. Huna the son of R. Jehudah in the name of R. Na'hman, quoting Samuel: "The Halakha prevails according to the opinion of the sages."

Said R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak to him: "Concerning what does master hold, that the Halakha prevails according to the opinion of the sages, Harosoth or only mustard?" and he answered: "What is the difference?" Said R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak: "What about the statement of R. Kahana (just quoted)?" and he answered: "I have not heard his statement nor does it concern me."

"The Passover sacrifice must not be boiled." The rabbis taught: It is written [Exod. xii. 9]: "Ye shall not eat of it raw (rare), nor in any wise sodden with water." Hence we see that it must not be boiled in water; but whence do we know that it must not be boiled in any other liquid? Say, that it is an a fortiori conclusion, for, whereas it must not be boiled in water, which does not interfere with its taste, it should not so much the more be boiled in any other liquid which might affect its taste.

Rabbi, however, said: "We infer this from the fact that it is written, 'nor in any wise sodden with water,' which signifies, that it must not be boiled in any liquid." Wherein do Rabbi and the rabbis differ? In a case of where the sacrifice is cooked in a pot without water. According to the rabbis it may be cooked in that manner, because no water is used nor is its taste affected, while Rabbi holds that it must not be cooked in any wise."

What definition do the rabbis attribute to the passage "in any wise"? They explain according to the following Boraitha: "If a person boiled (the Passover sacrifice) and then roasted it, or first roasted and then boiled it, he is culpable." In the former case it is correct to hold the man culpable; but in the latter, if he had already roasted, what difference does it make if it was subsequently boiled? This is not allowed, because it is written, "nor in any wise sodden with water."

The rabbis taught: Shall we assume, that a man would be culpable if he had boiled the sacrifice even after it had been thoroughly roasted? Therefore it is written: "Ye shall not eat of it raw (rare), nor in any wise sodden with water." If it was rare and then sodden in water it makes a man culpable; but if it was thoroughly roasted, it does not. What is meant by thoroughly roasted? Said R. Ashi: "If it was roasted brown."

The rabbis taught: We might assume, that if a man ate a raw piece of the Passover sacrifice of the size of an olive, he is culpable; therefore it is written: "raw, nor in any wise sodden with water;" but if not sodden with water, it does not make a man culpable. Shall we assume, then, that it may be eaten raw to commence with? To that end it is written [ibid., ibid.]: "but roasted by the fire." What is meant by raw (rare) P Said Rabh: "That is what the Persians call 'Abarnim' (rare)."

R. Hisda said: "If a thing is cooked on the Sabbath in the hot waters of Tiberias it does not constitute a culpable act; but it is a culpable act to cook the Passover-sacrifice therein." What is meant by the word "culpable" in this connection? Said R. Hyya bar R. Nathan: R. Hisda plainly said: Not culpable (for stripes) but guilty of transgressing the ordinance concerning "roasted by the fire."

Abayi said: "If a man eats the Passover-sacrifice raw (rare) he is amenable to a double punishment by stripes, the same as if he eats it cooked, and if he eats it cooked and raw he is amenable to a triple punishment by stripes, because he transgresses two distinct commandments, viz.: 'Ye shall not eat it raw' and 'but roasted by the fire.'" Rabha, however, said: "For the violation of a negative commandment, which is derived from a positive regulation, no stripes should be inflicted."

The rabbis taught: If a man had eaten part of the sacrifice of the size of an olive, raw, while it was yet day on the eve of Passover, be is not culpable, but if it had already become dark, he is guilty. If he had eaten a part of the sacrifice of the size of an olive, roasted, while it was yet day, he did not exclude himself from the company with whom he had combined for the sacrifice. If he had eaten the same, however, when it had become dark, he did exclude himself from the others.

The rabbis taught: "If he had eaten a roasted piece of the sacrifice while it was yet day on the eve of Passover, and a piece the size of an olive, raw, when it was already become dusk, he is culpable for both acts; because the roasted is held to be equal to the raw (i.e., as he may eat the roasted only at night, he must not eat it during the day)." It is right, the act of eating a raw piece of the sacrifice is a culpable one, for the reason that it is expressly written: "Ye shall not eat it raw"; but as for the roasted sacrifice, it is written: "Ye shall eat it only at night," and from this it may be inferred that it should not be eaten during the day; hence it is a negative commandment derived from a positive, and it is known that the violation of such a commandment is only equal to the violation of a positive commandment? Said R. Hisda: "This is in accordance with the opinion of R. Jehudah, who maintains that even for the violation of such a commandment, punishment may be inflicted. 1

"Water used by a baker must immediately be thrown away," etc. In one Boraitha we have learned, that the water must be thrown where it will run down, but not in a pit, where it will accumulate; while in another Boraitha we have learned, that it may even be poured into a pit. This presents no difficulty. The former Boraitha treats of a case where there is a large quantity of water, while the latter treats of a small quantity which is absorbed by the soil of the pit.

R. Jehudah said: A woman should not knead dough (on Passover) except with water "Shelanu." R. Mathna repeated the same words in Papunia. On the morrow, all of the inhabitants came to him with jugs in their hands and begged him for water (thinking that the word "Shelanu" meant "our" and that he had the necessary water), whereupon he answered them: "I meant with water that had remained over night (debithu)."

Rabh preached: "A woman should not knead her dough in the glare of the sun, nor with water that had been heated by the sun. Also not with water that had been left over in a Muliar (teakettle), and should not remove her hands in general from the oven, until her bread is baked. She also requires two vessels filled with water. One to cool off her hands when kneading and the other to moisten her dough before putting it into the oven."

The schoolmen propounded a question: "What is the law if a woman did knead her dough with such water (as thou hast prohibited)?" Said Mar Zutra: "The bread will be lawful," while R. Ashi maintained that "it will not be fit for use." Said Mar Zutra: "Whence do I adduce my opinion? From the previous Boraitha, which teaches that, while it is not allowed to soak grain in water, if this was done, it does not make a man culpable unless the grain fell asunder," and R. Ashi replied: "Are all threads woven in the same (woof)? Where this was explicitly taught, it remains so, but where it was not taught, it is not so."

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CHAPTER 3.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING ARTICLES WHICH CAUSE TRANSGRESSION OF THE LAW PROHIBITING LEAVEN TO BE SEEN OR FOUND IN THE HOUSE OF AN ISRAELITE.

MISHNA: The law (prohibiting leaven to be seen or found in the house) on Passover is transgressed by the following articles: Babylonian Kuthach, 1 Median beer (made of wheat or barley), Edomite vinegar (made by the fermentation of barley and wine), Egyptian zeethum, 2 the dough of bran used by dyers, the dough used by cooks, 3 and the paste used by scribes (to paste the sheets of paper together). R. Eliezer says, also the ornaments used by women. This is the general rule: What is composed of any kind of grain can cause a transgression of the law of Passover, and they that become guilty of such a transgression incur the penalty attached to the transgression of a negative commandment 4 (i.e., a commandment commencing with "thou shalt not"); but not the penalty of Kareth (being cut off).

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: "Three things were said in reference to Babylonian Kuthach: It depresses the heart, blinds the eyes, and makes the body lean. It depresses the heart on account of the whey contained therein, it blinds the eyes on account of the salt, and makes the body lean on account of the mould (on the bread)."

They also taught the three things which cause much waste (in Tract Erubin, page 171).

They also taught: "Three things lessen waste, make the body erect, and increase the light of the eyes, and they are: Bread made of fine meal, fat flesh of a virgin she-goat, and three-year-old wine. As a general thing, all things that are good for the eyes affect the heart and other parts of the body, while those that are good for the heart affect the eyes, excepting moist ginger 1 and pepper-pods and the three things mentioned above."

Median beer and Edomite vinegar are prohibited, because they are both made of barley.

What is Egyptian zeethum? R. Joseph taught: "A mixture of equal parts of barley, salt, and wild saffron," but R. Papa substitutes wheat for barley. The ingredients of this mixture are soaked, then parched over the fire, and afterwards ground. (When the liquid is fermented) it is usually drunk from Passover to Pentecost. One who is constipated is relieved thereby, and diarrhœa is stopped. For a sick person or a pregnant woman it is a dangerous beverage.

"The dough of bran used by dyers," etc. This was explained to mean water of bran used to remove spots on the chest. (This is according to the explanation of Rashi in Tract Chulin and of Maimonides.)

"The dough used by cooks," etc. This is explained to mean dough made of grain which had only been one-third mature, and when kneaded into dough and placed over a boiling pot of victuals would attract all the impurities in the pot.

"Paste used by scribes." This was explained to mean glue; but R. Shimi of Huzana said, that this is a cosmetic used by the daughters of rich men for the hair, and the reason it is called "paste used by scribes" is, because the rich women would leave it for the use of the daughters of the poor scribes, and he does not concur in the opinion that it means glue, because it would in that event be called "paste used by shoemakers." Said R. Oshiya: "It is glue, and the reason it is called 'paste used by scribes' is because scribes also paste their sheets together therewith."

"R. Eliezer says also ornaments of women." What connection have ornaments with the Passover? Read instead of ornaments, paste used by women to adorn themselves, as R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: The daughters of Israel who have not yet attained the age of puberty, but have all the signs thereof, are ashamed in consequence, and the poor conceal those signs with chalk, the rich with fine meal, and daughters of princes with oil of myrrh, as is written in Esther ii. 12.

"This is the general rule," etc. Said R. Jehoshua: If the general rule was made that all things which are composed of any kind of grain cause a transgression of the law of Passover, what need was there of enumerating all the articles mentioned in the Mishna? This was done in order to acquaint the people with the names of those articles in order that they might not commit an error, as it happened that a Palestinian came to Babylon, and having some meat in his possession asked for something to eat with the meat. He heard his host order that he be given Kuthach, and having heard the name Kuthach he refused to accept it.

They that become guilty, etc., incur the penalty attached to the transgression of a negative commandment. Who is the Tana who holds that suitable leaven combined with other ingredients, and unfit leaven by itself, also comes under the prohibition of the negative commandment? R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: "That is R. Meir," and R. Na'hman said: "It is R. Eliezer," as we have learned in a Boraitha: "For the transgression of the law with leaven of suitable grain the penalty is Kareth; but if combined with other ingredients the penalty is that attached to the transgression of a negative commandment. Such is the decree of R. Eliezer; the sages, however, maintain that with leaven proper the penalty is Kareth; but if combined with other ingredients no penalty whatever is incurred." Now, if R. Eliezer holds that the penalty for using leaven combined with other ingredients is the same as that attached to the transgression of a negative commandment, so much the more would the use of leaven itself, even if it be unfit, make one incur the same penalty.

We have learned a Boraitha in accordance with R. Jehudah: It is written [Exod. 12:20]: "Nothing that is leavened shall ye eat," which means to include Babylonian Kuthach, Median beer, Egyptian zeethum, and Edomite vinegar. Shall we assume that these articles, if used, would make a man incur the penalty of Kareth? To that end it is written [ibid. 15]: "Whosoever eateth leavened bread, that soul shall be cut off," whence we infer, that only one who cats leavened bread made of suitable grain incurs the penalty of Kareth; but one who eats such as is combined with other ingredients only incurs the penalty attached to the transgression of a negative commandment. Now, then, who is the Tana who holds that the use of leaven combined with other ingredients make one incur the penalty attached to the transgression of a negative commandment? R. Eliezer; but we do not learn that he classes unfit leaven in the same category as that of mixed leaven, and for the simple reason that he does not consider the use of unfit leaven a violation of the law. (Hence the Tana who also holds the use of unfit leaven to constitute a transgression of the law is R. Meir.)

Whence does R. Eliezer adduce that the use of leaven combined with the other ingredients constitutes a transgression of the law? From the passage, "Nothing that is leavened shall ye eat," and he means to say that "nothing" includes also leaven combined with the ingredients. How will he explain the "whosoever" 1 in the other passage [Exod. xii. 15]? That includes women, who must also not eat leavened bread on Passover.

Did not R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh say, that women are held to be equal to men as far as all prohibitory laws are concerned, on account of the passage [Numbers v. 6]: "If any man or woman commit any sin"? In this case a special passage prohibiting the eating of leavened bread by women is essential, for the following reason: The negative commandment prohibiting the eating of leavened bread and the positive ordaining the eating of unleavened bread [Deut. xvi. 3] being written together, we might assume that only those who are obliged to eat Matzoth must not eat Chometz; and as the women are not obliged to eat Matzoth, because the positive commandment ordaining the eating of Matzoth is dependent upon the time, 2 we might assume that women may eat Chometz; hence we are told by the passage, "Whosoever eateth leavened bread, etc., shall be cut off."

Now, if we have arrived at the conclusion that women must not eat Chometz, we may add, that they are also obliged to eat Matzoth, and this is in accordance with the opinion of R. Eliezer, who said, that women are biblically obliged to eat Matzoth; because the negative and positive commandments are consequent one upon the other, I say, that as they must observe the negative commandant prohibiting the eating of Chometz, so must they also observe the positive commandment ordaining the eating of Matzoth.

Why is it adduced that the "all" (Kol) in the passage means to include women and to exclude leaven combined with other ingredients? Say, that the "all" also means to include leaven combined with other ingredients. Common sense precludes this supposition; because the passage refers to those who had eaten; hence if anything should be included, it must be that which is also capable of being eaten, but not things that are eaten, as leaven combined with other ingredients.

MISHNA: Should there be any dough in the (holes or) crevices of a kneading-trough, and there is as much as the size of an olive in any one place, it must be removed immediately; but if there be less than that quantity in any one place, it may be considered as not in existence, being so inconsiderable. Thus it is also with respect to defilement: If the owner, however, be particular about the dough, it constitutes an intervention (between the trough and possible defilement, and the trough is not rendered defiled); but if it is desired to leave the dough in the trough, it should be considered as an integral part of the trough.

GEMARA: "If there be less than that quantity," etc. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: "This applies to a case,: where the dough was placed in the crevice of the trough in order to strengthen the trough; but if it is not there for that purpose it must be forthwith removed." Whence we infer, that even if there was a piece of the size of an olive in the crevice of a trough for the purpose of strengthening it, it must also be removed. We have learned to this effect in a Boraitha:

Dough which was placed in the crevices of a kneading-trough for the purpose of strengthening it does not constitute an intervention to defilement nor a transgression of the law of Passover; but if it be found in places where it was not necessary, in order to make the trough firmer, it does constitute an intervention and does cause a transgression of the law. All this is said of dough which was less than the size of an olive; but if it was of that size, even if it was used to make the trough firmer, it must forthwith be removed.

Said R. Na'hman in the name of Samuel: "If there were two pieces of dough each the size of half an olive in the trough, and happened to be connected with a thread, they are considered as a whole olive, provided when the thread is lifted both pieces are carried with it, otherwise they are not and may remain in the trough." Said Ula: "This applies to dough situated in the trough; but if the two pieces were not in a trough but in the house, and being connected by a thread would not be carried with the thread, if lifted, they must nevertheless forthwith be removed, lest they in some manner become joined and there will be leaven in the house to the size of an olive."

The rabbis taught: If bread had become mouldy and while unfit for a human being could be eaten by a dog, it is subject to defilement as long as it is of the size of an egg, and may be burned together with unclean things on Passover, even though it be itself clean (heave-offering). Upon the authority of R. Nathan it was said, however, that not being fit for a human being it cannot be subject to defilement.

The rabbis taught: If in a trough of the tanners flour had been put within the three days preceding the Passover, it should be removed; but if it had been placed prior to that time, it need not be removed. This is said of a case where no skins had been placed in the trough by the tanner; but if this had been done, even flour placed in the trough during the three days need not be removed. Said Rabha: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Nathan, and even if the flour was put in one day, yea, even one hour before Passover, it need not be removed."

"If the owner, however, be particular about the dough," etc. How can defilement be compared to the laws of Passover. Concerning the latter it depends entirely upon the size, while as for the former, it depends upon whether the owner is particular about it or not? Said R. Papa: The Mishna should be explained thus: "So it is also with respect to defilement on Passover, if it be of the size prescribed on that festival; and 'if the owner be particular,' etc., refers to any other time of the year." How should this be understood? In this wise: If a reptile contaminated such dough on the Passover, and the dough, being of the size of an olive, is for the time being a prohibited thing; hence it serves as an intervention between the uncleanness (of the reptile) and the trough; but at any other time it depends whether the owner is particular about it or not. If he is, it proves an intervention; but if he intends to leave it in the trough, it does not.

MISHNA: Dull dough (which does not exhibit any signs of having risen) must not be used, if another dough which had been kneaded at the same time and was of equal size and quality had already become leavened.

GEMARA: How is it if there is no other dough on hand (with which to compare the dull dough)? Said R. Abuhai in the name of Resh Lakish: "If it had lain the length of time it is required to walk from the tower of Nunia to Tiberias," which is a mile.

MISHNA: How can the first of the dough (due the priest) be separated on the Passover when it had become unclean? R. Eliezer says: "It should only be named after it had been baked." Ben Bathyra says, however, "It should be put in cold water." Said R. Jehudah to him: "This is not the leaven concerning which it is written, 'It shall not be seen nor found in thy house.' Therefore it may be separated, and left lying until evening, regardless of whether it become leavened or not."

GEMARA: It was taught: He who bakes on a festival for the coming week-days, R. Hisda says, incurs the penalty of stripes; but Rabba says, that he does not. R. Hisda says, that he incurs that penalty because he does not admit of the supposition that, had the man called guests, he could have consumed the entire quantity baked, while Rabba holds, that because this could have been done (whether it was done or not) the man is not culpable.

Said Rabba to R. Hisda: "If thou dost not admit of this supposition, how then can it be allowed to cook on a festival for the Sabbath?" and R. Hisda answered: "By means of the Erub of cooked things." 1 "May, then, a biblical prohibition be disregarded even by means of such an Erub?" queried Rabba, and R. Hisda replied: "Cooking on a festival for the Sabbath is, according to biblical law, permissible, and the sages only prohibited it as a precautionary measure, lest some people would cook on a festival for week-days. Hence an Erub of cooked things is a sign that this must not be done."

Rabba objected: "We have learned: 'An animal which is supposed to be in danger of dying must not be slaughtered on a festival, unless there will be sufficient time after the slaughtering to roast and eat a piece of the size of an olive.' Thus we see, that there must be sufficient time to roast and eat a piece of that size, even if the man have no desire to eat it. According to my opinion, from the fact that I admit of the supposition that he could eat it, the man is allowed to slaughter the animal; but according to thy opinion, if thou dost not admit of such a supposition, how can the man be allowed to slaughter the dying animal?" R. Hisda replied: "In

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this case, where a pecuniary injury would have resulted, the prohibition was removed," and Rabba rejoined: "Will, then, a biblical prohibition be disregarded on account of a pecuniary injury?" "Yea," answered R. Hisda; "on account of such pecuniary injury the man would make up his mind to eat a piece of that animal of the size of an olive, and as he cannot do this unless the animal is ritually slaughtered, it is permitted to slaughter it."

Said Rami bar Hama: "The same point of difference as was quoted between R. Hisda and Rabba exists between R. Eliezer and R. Jehoshua. R. Eliezer admits of the supposition (that a certain act was done whether it was done or not); therefore he decrees, that the dough should first be baked and then named; because he holds that while the man is baking for himself he can bake for another also. R. Jehoshua does not admit of such a supposition and hence decrees, that the first of the dough should be separated before baking."

Rejoined R. Papa: "(How canst thou say of a certainty that R. Eliezer and R. Jehoshua differ concerning this supposition?) Perhaps R. Eliezer only admits of the supposition in a case of where a man, when baking each loaf of bread, may do so for himself alone (and afterwards separate a piece of a loaf as the legal first dough for all, which would not involve much labour); but as for the instance cited in the controversy between R. Hisda and Rabba, where it was an impossibility to consume the bread baked on a festival for the week-days without calling guests, and the supposition is, that guests were called, it may be that R. Eliezer in that case does not admit of such a supposition." Said R. Shesha the son of R. Idi: "Perhaps the argument may be reversed, namely: 'In the case of loaves subject to the legal first of the dough, where it is a certainty that one of the loaves must not be used by the owner nor by anybody else, R. Jehoshua does not admit of the supposition, whereas in the point of controversy between R. Hisda and Rabba, where all the loaves baked may be eaten, if not by the man himself by guests, R. Jehoshua may admit of the supposition (that guests were called).'"

The sages related the above to R. Jeremiah and R. Zera. R. Jeremiah accepted (the view of Rami bar Hama); but R. Zera would not. Said R. Jeremiah to the latter: "Should the decision of a question which for such a length of time remained unanswered and was finally decided by so great a man as Rami bar Hama, not be accepted by us?" and he answered: How can I accept it? Have we not learned in a Boraitha that R. Jehoshua said to R. Eliezer: "According to thy decree permitting the baking of the dough and the subsequent naming thereof, would the man not be culpable of transgressing the law contained in the passage [Exod. xii. 16], 'No manner of work shall be done on them (the festival-days),' and R. Eliezer did not reply. Should be not have said: 'My reason is based upon "supposition"?" Rejoined R. Jeremiah: "And according to thy opinion, does the teaching in another Boraitha, that R. Eliezer said to R. Jehoshua: Will not, according to thy decree, a man be culpable for the transgression of the law, 'It shall not be seen nor found in thy house,' and the failure of R. Jehoshua to answer, prove that he could make no reply to the query? Is it not answered in the Mishna by 'this is not the leaven referred to by that passage"? Hence the former Boraitha brings only the question, but not the answer, and the answer may be found elsewhere."

We have learned in a Boraitha: Rabbi said: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Eliezer," and R. Itz'hak said: "The Halakha prevails according to Ben Bathyra."

How much must the quantity of the dough under discussion be? Said R. Ishmael the son of R. Johanan ben Berokah: "If made of wheat it must be two Kabh, but if made of barley three Kabh." Did we not learn in another Boraitha that the same R. Ishmael said: "If made of wheat, three Kabh, and if made of barley four?" This presents no difficulty. One Boraitha treats of good grain and the other of poor grain.

Rabh said: "The measure of dough to be prepared on Passover is a Kabh as used in Lugan, and the same measure applies to a dough of which legal first must be acquitted (to the priests)."

Have we not learned in a Mishna, however, that a trifle over five quarters of meal (equal to five lugs as used in Sepphoris and to seven lugs and a trifle over as used in the desert, which in turn equalled an Omer) are subject to the first of the dough? A Kabh of Lugan contains about the same quantity.

Said R. Joseph: "Our wives bake bread in small quantities on the Passover, not over three lugs of meal at a time," and Abayi remarked: "Thou wouldst suppose that they do this in order to observe the more rigorous interpretation of the Passover law? However, a more lenient ordinance is thereby observed, namely: They thus become exempt from the duty of acquitting the first of the dough," and R. Joseph replied: "Nay; they do this in accordance with the opinion of R. Eliezer, who said in a Mishna elsewhere, that the basket wherein the loaves are deposited combine the quantities, and they acquit themselves of the duty of the first of the dough from the combined quantity of loaves, and R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel, that the Halakha prevails according to R. Eliezer."

MISHNA: Rabbon Gamaliel says: "Three women may knead dough on the Passover at the same time and bake it in the same oven, one after the other"; but the sages say: "Three women may occupy themselves with their dough, but in the following manner: one should knead the dough, another form it, and the third bake it." R. Aqiba said: "Not all women, nor all wood, nor all ovens are alike." This is the rule: as soon as the dough rises, let the woman plunge her hand in cold water (in order to moisten the dough).

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: The same woman who kneads should also moisten the dough, and the one next to her should then take up the kneading; while the former is baking the latter should moisten the dough, and the third woman should take up kneading. Thus the first woman will commence kneading while the last is moistening the dough, and so on in rotation. The principle thereof is, that so long as the dough is being handled it does not become leavened.

"R. Aqiba says," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: "R. Aqiba said: I argued thus before Rabbon Gamaliel: 'Let our Master teach us whether skilled or inexperienced women are meant; whether dry or damp wood is spoken of; whether a heated or a cooled stove is under consideration,' and he answered: 'We need only follow the teachings of the sages (and not concern ourselves as to details), but this bear in mind as the rule: As soon as the dough rises, let the woman moisten the dough.'"

MISHNA: Dough which commences to become leavened must be burned; but the person who had eaten it does not incur the penalty of Kareth (being cut off). Dough which becomes riven must be burned, and whosoever eats it incurs the penalty of Kareth. When is a dough considered as about to become leavened? When small rents can be observed, standing apart in different directions like the feelers of locusts. When is a dough to be considered riven? When the rents cross each other; such is the dictum of R. Jehudah, but the sages say: Whoever eats either kind of dough incurs the penalty of Kareth. When is a dough considered about to become leavened? When (no rents are visible, but) its surface becomes pale like the face of a person whose hair stands on end (through fright).

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: What is called dough about to become leavened? If its surface becomes pale as the face of a man whose hair stands on end. What is called riven dough? If there are rents visible, standing apart like the feelers of a locust. Such is the dictum of R. Meir; the sages, however, maintain: When the rents standing apart like the feelers of a locust are visible, the dough is considered about to become leavened, and when the rents cross each other, the dough is considered riven. Whosoever eats either kind incurs the penalty of Kareth. Have we not learned in our Mishna that dough about to become leavened must be burned, but one who eats it does not incur that penalty and that such is the decree of R. Jehudah? The Mishna should be supplemented with the statement: According to R. Meir, whosoever eats either kind incurs the penalty of Kareth.

Said Rabha: "What reason has R. Meir for his decree?" According to R. Meir, there can be no rents on the surface, even if they stand apart like the feelers of locusts, that have not many rents underneath which may even cross each other.

MISHNA: If the fourteenth (of Nissan) fall on the Sabbath, all leaven must be removed before the Sabbath commences. Such is the dictum of R. Meir; but the sages say that it should be done at the proper time. R. Elazer 1 ben Zadok says: "The heave-offering must be removed before the Sabbath, and non-consecrated things at the proper time."

GEMARA: We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Elazer ben Zadok said: "Once my father spent the Sabbath in Yemen (Yamnia), and that Sabbath being the fourteenth (of Nissan), Zunin, the supervisor of R. Gamaliel's household, came and said: 'It is time to remove the leaven.' So I went with my father, and we removed the leaven."

MISHNA: If a man (on the 14th of Nissan) went to slaughter his Passover sacrifice, or to circumcise his son, or to eat the betrothal-meal at the house of his father-in-law, and on the road recollects that he has left leaven in his house: if he can return home, remove it, and then go back and accomplish any of the acts mentioned, he should do so and remove the leaven; but if he cannot, he should in his mind renounce (the use of the leaven). If his object in leaving home was to aid persons to escape from armed foes, from inundation, robbers, or fire, or to rescue persons from beneath the ruins of fallen buildings, he should in his mind renounce the leaven; but if his object in leaving home was to secure his sabbatical resting-place for his private purposes (in order to obtain his right to the legal limits), he must immediately return and remove the leaven. Likewise, if a person on leaving Jerusalem remembers having in his possession consecrated flesh: if he had gone beyond (the hill) Zophim, he may burn it wherever he may be; but if he had not gone beyond it, he must return and burn it before the sanctuary, with wood of the altar. What is the quantity (of consecrated flesh or leaven) which makes it obligatory for a man to return? R. Meir says: "Either must be of the size of an egg." R. Jehudah says: "Of the size of an olive"; but the sages say: "Consecrated flesh if of the size of an olive and leaven if of the size of an egg."

GEMARA: There is a contradiction: (We have learned): "One who goes to eat the betrothal-meal at the house of his father-in-law or to secure his sabbatical resting-place for his private purposes, should, if he remembered having leaven in his house, return immediately and remove it." Said R. Hisda: "The point of difference between this teaching and the Mishna is only concerning the second meal (after the betrothal); but as for the first, all agree, that it is a religious duty and the man need not return."

We have learned in a Boraitha: "R. Jehudah said: 'I only heard concerning the actual betrothal-meal, but not concerning the meal at which the bridal gifts are bestowed.' Said R. Jose to him: 'I heard concerning both.'"

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Simeon said: "A meal which is not served on account of some religious duty should not be enjoyed by a Talmud-chacham (scholar)." What kind of a meal is referred to as not being served on account of a religious duty? Said R. Johanan: "The betrothal-meal served when an ordinary Israelite weds the daughter of a priest, or when a common person weds the daughter of a Talmud-chacham (scholar)"; for R. Johanan would always maintain, that such alliances do not end well. This is not so! Did not R. Johanan say elsewhere, that he who would become rich should ally himself to the descendants of Aaron, when the union of prestige and learning will make him rich? This presents no difficulty. For a scholar it is beneficial to wed a priest's daughter, but not for one of the common people.

R. Jehoshua wedded the daughter of a priest. Subsequently he became ill, and said: "Is then Aaron not contented to have his descendants receive me as a son-in-law?

R. Idi bar Abhin also wedded a priest's daughter, and they brought forth two sons, both of whom were admitted to fellowship (i.e., were entitled to be ranked as rabbis). They were R. Shesheth and R. Jehoshua.

R. Papa said: "If I had not wedded a priest's daughter I should never have become rich;" but R. Kahana said: "If I had not married a priest's daughter I should never have gone into exile"; 1 and he was asked: "What hast thou suffered thereby; didst thou not flee to a place of learning?" and he answered: "I did not go into exile voluntarily (to improve my learning or to better my condition), but was compelled to flee from the persecution of the government."

R. Itz'hak said: "One who enjoys a meal which is not served for the sake of a religious duty finally incurs the penalty of exile, as it is written [Amos vi. 4]: 'That eat lambs out of the flock, and calves out of the midst of the stall,' and further, it is said [ibid. 7]: 'Therefore now shall they go into exile.'

The rabbis taught: "A scholar who indulges in too many meals destroys his home, makes his wife a widow, his children orphans, his knowledge vanishes; he becomes involved in strife, his words are disregarded, he profanes the name of Heaven, puts to shame the name of his teacher and the name of his father, and leaves behind him an ill-repute for himself, and his children unto the end of his generations."

The rabbis taught: "A man should sell all his possessions and wed the daughter of a scholar; for should he die or be forced to go into exile be will be assured that his sons will be scholars, and he should not wed a daughter of the common people; for should he die or be forced to go into exile, his children will be common persons.

The rabbis taught: "A man should sell all his possessions in order to secure a scholar as a husband for his daughter. This can be compared to grapes which are planted among other grapes in a vineyard, where they are readily assimilated and present a good appearance. If, however, a common person is secured as a husband, it is like planting grapes among thorns, where they cannot thrive."

The rabbis taught: "A man should sell all his possessions and secure the daughter of a scholar for a wife, and if he cannot secure the daughter of a scholar he should try to obtain a daughter of one of the most prominent men of the age. If he cannot succeed in that, he should endeavor to obtain a daughter of the most prominent men in his community; and failing in that, should seek the daughter of a man known to be charitable; and if he cannot succeed even in this, he should try and obtain the daughter of a teacher of children; only should he avoid wedding the daughter of a common person."

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Aqiba said: When I was still a common (ignorant) man, I used to say: "If I could lay my hands on a scholar I would bite him like an ass," and his disciples said to him: Rabbi, say 'like a dog,' an ass does not bite," and he replied: When an ass bites he generally breaks the bones of his victim, while a dog only bites the flesh."

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Meir said: "One who gives his daughter to a common person virtually casts her to a lion; for as a lion tears and devours his victim without shame, so does a common person beat his wife, then they come together again and he is not ashamed."

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Eliezer said: "If the common people did not require us for their own welfare, they would slay us."

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R. Hyya taught: "A man who occupies himself with the study of the Law in the presence of a common person evokes as much hatred from that person as if he had stolen his bride. As it is written [Deut. xxxiii. 4]: "The law which Moses commanded us is the inheritance of the congregation of Jacob." Do not read מורשה (inheritance), but מאורסה (betrothed). For the enmity of a common person toward a scholar is even more intense than that of the heathens towards Israelites, and that of their wives even greater than their own. A Boraitha stated: That whosoever was at first a scholar and then resigned his studies, and became a common man, is even worse than if he were entirely ignorant.

"If a person on leaving Jerusalem," etc.: We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Nathan said: "The quantity for either (the consecrated flesh or leaven) must be the size of two eggs but the sages did not coincide with him.

It is written [Zechariah 14:6]: "And it shall come to pass on that day, that there shall be no light, but fleeting light and thick darkness." What is meant by "fleeting light and thick darkness"? He means to point out, that what is considered a strong light in this world is nothing but fleeting light in the world to come. So said R. Elazar; but R. Jehoshua ben Levi said: "The passage means to state, that those men who are considered enlightened in this world are enveloped in darkness in the world to come," as it happened that R. Jose the son of R. Jehoshua ben Levi once fell in a trance, and upon awakening was asked by his father what he had seen while in his apparently lifeless state, and he answered: "I saw a reversed world: Those who are at the head in this world were at the bottom there, and those who are at the bottom here were at the head there." And his father said to him: "My child, thou hast seen the right world! But how do we scholars appear there?" and R. Jose replied: "We are on the same footing there as we are here. I also heard it said there: Well is to the man who hath brought his learning with him, and further, it was said: The place of those who had suffered death (had been martyrs) for the glory of God cannot be entered by any other man." Does this refer to R. Aqiba and his companions? Were they accorded that place merely because they were martyrs; did they then possess no other merits? Therefore this must refer to the two brothers who sacrificed themselves at Lud (Lydda). 1

It is written [Zechariah 14:9]: "And the Lord will be king over all the earth; on that day shall the Lord be (acknowledged) one, and His name be one." What is meant by "on that day"? Is He not one even to-day? Said R. A'ha bar Hanina: This world is not like the world to come. In this world, when good tidings are received, a man says: 'Blessed be He who is good and doth good to others,' and the recipient of bad tidings says: 'Blessed be He who judgeth in truth'; but in the world to come the first benediction only will be pronounced, for there shall be no more bad tidings." Why is it said: "His name shall be one," is His name not one even to-day? Said R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak: "Not as this world is the world to come. In this world the Name is written Yahveh and pronounced Adonai, while in the world to come it will be pronounced as it is written."

Rabha wished to preach concerning the name of Yahveh from the pulpit; so a certain elder said to him: "In the passage [Exod. 3:15] where it is written: 'This is my name forever,' the word Olam, which when written Ayin, Vav, Lamed, Mem, means 'forever,' is written in that passage Ayin, Lamed, Mem, which also signifies 'concealed.' Hence the name of the Lord should be concealed and not openly discussed."

R. Abbini propounded a contradictory question about the same passage: In the first part it says: "This is my name Leolam (concealed)," and in the last part it says, "This is my memorial unto all generations"? And he answered: So said the Holy One, blessed be He: Not as I (my name) am written shall I also be pronounced. I am written Yahveh and am pronounced Adonai.

CHAPTER 4.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING WORK WHICH MAY AND SUCH AS MUST NOT BE PERFORMED ON THE DAY PRECEDING THE FESTIVAL OF PASSOVER.

MISHNA: In places where it is customary to work till noon on the day preceding the Passover, work may be done; but not in places where it is not customary to work on that day. If a person should go from a place where the said custom prevails to another place where it does not, or the reverse, he is subject to the rigor of the custom, either of the place he came from or of that to which he went. Thus it is always proper not to act differently from the established customs of a place, on account of the disputes to which such conduct may lead.

Likewise, when a person brings fruit of the sabbatical year from a place where it is no longer to be found in the fields (and in consequence must not even be kept in the house), to another place where it is still to be found in the field (and may be kept in the house), or the reverse, he is obliged to remove the same. R. Jehudah, however, says: "Such a person may be told to go and fetch for himself similar fruit, and eat."

GEMARA: Why does the Mishna particularly mention the day preceding the Passover? is it not a fact that no work may be performed after the Minchah prayer on the day preceding Sabbath or any other festival? for have we not learned in a Boraitha, that "whoever performs any work after the Minchah prayer on the day preceding a Sabbath or a festival shall find no blessing for his work"? The Boraitha only states that he shall find no blessing for his work, but not that he should be put under a ban; while a man who performs work after the Minchah prayer on the day preceding the Passover (in places where it is not customary to do so) may be put under a ban.

The text of the Boraitha states further: "One who performs work after the Minchah prayer on the day preceding a Sabbath or a festival, or on the night when the Sabbath or a festival has drawn to a close, or on the night following the Day of Atonement, or at any time when there can be the faintest suggestion of a transgression, as for instance on a day which had been designated as a fast-day for the sake of (praying for) rain, shall find no blessing for his work."

Rabha propounded a contradictory question: "It is written [Psalms 57:11]: 'For great, even unto the heavens, is thy kindness,' and further, it is said [ibid. cviii. 5]: 'Be thou exalted above the heavens, O God.' How can the two passages correspond?" The inference is, that the first passage refers to one who fulfils a religious commandment, because it is customary to do so and his parents before him did so, while to one who fulfils such a commandment for the honour of the Lord, the kindness of God is manifested even higher than the heavens, and this is in accordance with R. Jehudah's opinion, who said in the name of Rabh: "A man should always occupy himself with the Law and with religious duties, even if he bear not in mind always that he does so for the honour of God; for thereby he becomes accustomed to doing thus, and it will eventually be for the honour of the Lord."

The rabbis taught: "He who depends upon the earnings of his wife or upon the proceeds of a hand-mill will never perceive the sign of a blessing." What is meant by the earnings of his wife? If his wife go about with scales, relying upon others to use them and pay for their use. The same applies to the proceeds of a hand-mill: if he rely upon others to use it and pay for its use. If, however, he use the hand-mill himself for the obtainment of his sustenance, or if his wife is actually engaged in traffic, he may even be proud of her, for it is written [Proverbs xxxi. 24]: "Fine tunics she maketh, and selleth them."

The rabbis taught: "From the proceeds of four professions one can never perceive a sign of blessing, and they are: the professions of the scribes, the criers, those who earn their money from orphans, and the men who carry on their traffic at sea" The reason the criers perceive no blessing for their work is because their work (of repeating the words of the rabbis) is generally done on the Sabbath, and those who earn their money from orphans perceive no blessing because they cannot be forgiven if they take the least advantage of orphans; the reason the men who carry on their traffic at sea see no blessing for their work is because a miracle does not occur every day (that a ship should reach port in perfect safety); but why should this also apply to scribes? Said R. Jehoshua ben Levi: "Twenty-four days the members of the Great Assembly fasted and prayed that the scribes of Scrolls, Tephilin, and Mezuzoth should not become wealthy; for if they did, they would not write any more.

The rabbis taught: The scribes, who write Scrolls, Tephilin, and Mezuzoth; those that deal in them, and those that sell them to the people, and all those who occupy themselves with religious works, even those who sell the blue wool for the show threads, do not perceive any blessing for their work. If, however, they occupy themselves with such work in honour of the Lord (not for gain) they will perceive the blessing.

It was the custom of the inhabitants of Baishan never to go from Tyre to Zidon on the day preceding Sabbath. Their descendants came to R. Johanan and said: "Our fathers could afford to dispense with that journey, because traffic was better in their days; but we cannot. What shall we do?" and he answered: "From the fact that your ancestors already took it upon themselves not to do this, ye cannot act differently, as it is written [Proverbs vi. 20]: 'Keep, O my son, the commandment of thy father, and reject not the teaching of thy mother.'"

The inhabitants of Huzai were wont to separate the legal first dough (due to priests) from rice. This was told to R. Joseph, and he said: "Let an ordinary Israelite take that separated first dough and eat it before their very eyes." Abayi objected: "We have learned: Such acts as are permissible but were regarded as prohibited by some people must not be committed in the presence of such people," and R. Joseph replied: "Was it not reported that R. Chisda said that this refers only to Samaritans?" Why must this not be done in the presence of Samaritans? Because they would take advantage of it and commit acts that are truly prohibited. Is this not also the case with the inhabitants of Huzai, who are also ignorant and might construe the action to imply that they need not separate the first dough even from grain?" Therefore," said R. Ashi, "let us see how the inhabitants of the city of Huzai do? If the majority of them eat only rice, then the first dough thereof which they have separated should not be eaten by an ordinary Israelite in their presence, lest they forget about the law of first of dough entirely; but if the majority of them eat grain, then an ordinary Israelite should eat the first dough which they have separated from the rice in order to demonstrate to them that they need not do this, and warn them that if they separate the first of the dough from rice to serve also for grain, they will commit a transgression of the law."

When Rabba bar bar Hana came from Palestine to Babylon, he ate the fat around the stomach of an ox; this fat is, however, not eaten in Babylon. While he was eating this, R. Abhira the elder and Rabba the son of R. Huna entered the room. As soon as he perceived them, he covered up the fat. When they came out Abayi said to them: "He treated you like Samaritans."

Does not Rabba bar bar Hana hold that a man is subject to the rigor of the place whence he came and to which he went? How could he allow himself to eat that fat? Abayi replied: "This rule applies to such persons as go from one city in Babylon to another, or from one city in Palestine to another, or even from Babylon to Palestine; but not to such as go from Palestine to Babylon; for we are under their protection and should do as they do." R. Ashi, however, said: "Even were the rule to apply to one who comes from Palestine to Babylon, Rabba bar bar Hana would still have been permitted to follow the custom in Palestine, for he did not intend to remain in Babylon, but to return to Palestine; hence the customs of Babylon need not concern him."

Rabba bar bar Hana said to his son: "The fat which thou seest that I eat, thou shalt not eat, neither in my presence nor in my absence. I allow myself to eat it, because I saw R. Johanan do so, and he is worthy that I should depend upon him even in his absence; but thou must not depend upon me; hence thou shouldst not eat it in my presence nor in my absence." By this statement, however, he contradicts himself, for he said: R. Johanan bar Elazar related: "I was going with R. Simeon ben R. Jose ben Lakunia in a garden in a sabbatical year (after the crops were removed from the field), and he picked up an aftergrowth of a cabbage, ate part himself, and gave me some, saying: 'My son, in my presence thou mayest eat it, but not in my absence; for I saw R. Simeon ben Jochai do this, and he is worthy that I should depend upon him either in his presence or in his absence; but I am not worthy of being depended upon in my absence.'"

"If a person should go from a place," etc. It would be correct to say, that a man who comes from a place where the custom to work on the forenoon of the day preceding the Passover prevails to a place where the custom does not prevail should hold to the more rigorous custom of the place in which he arrived, to prevent any possible strife; but if he come from a place where the custom does not prevail to a place where it does, what is meant by saying that he should act so as to prevent strife? That he should work on the forenoon the same as the others? Then how can the rigor of the custom peculiar to the place whence he came be applied to him? Said Abayi: "The injunction to prevent disputes applies only to the first instance, i.e., if he comes to a place where it is not customary to work during that time." Rabha, however, said: "Nay; it applies even to the instance, and the injunction of the Mishna to prevent disputes implies, that no disputes will arise from the fact of the man not working, as his idleness will not be considered as the carrying out of a religious duty, but will be attributed to his want of employment, there being many who have no occupation."

Said R. Saphra to R. Abba: "May we, who are well versed in the calendar, perform work on the second day of a festival (in exile)? I do not ask concerning a place where it is not customary to do so, in order to cause any dispute; but I refer to the desert, where there are no other inhabitants?" and he answered: "So said R. Ami: "In the cities it is prohibited, but in the desert it is allowed."

R. Nathan bar Assia went from his college to Pumbaditha on the second day of Pentecost. R. Joseph punished him for it. Said Abayi to R. Joseph: "Why doth not the Master put him under a ban; for did not Rabh and Samuel both say, that the violation of any of the festivals (in exile) is punishable in that manner?" R. Joseph answered: "This is the case where the offence is committed by a man of the common people, but a young scholar should be dealt with as leniently as possible. In Palestine it is the custom to cast votes for the punishment of a young scholar, but no votes were cast to put him under a ban."

"Likewise, when a person brings fruit of the sabbatical year," etc. Does not R. Jehudah hold, that the man is subject to the rigor of the custom both of the place whence he came and of that where he arrived? Said R. Shesha the son of R. Idi: In this case another matter is concerned: R. Jehudah teaches as follows: If a man came from a place where the fruit was not yet removed from the field, into a place where the same condition existed; but in the meantime had been advised that in the place whence he came the fruit had been removed, he should under ordinary circumstances be in duty bound to act likewise. Such is the opinion of the first Tana. Whereupon R. Jehudah said to this first Tana: "The man may be told to go to a place

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where the fruit is not yet removed and fetch his fruit, for at the time when he left his home the fruit had not yet been removed."

The rabbis taught: Fruit of the sabbatical year which has been brought from within the boundaries of Palestine to a place without may be destroyed wherever found; but R. Simeon ben Elazar said: "Nay; it must be destroyed in Palestine proper, even if it has to be brought back, for it is written, 'In thy lands.'

R. Saphra journeyed from Palestine to a place without the boundaries and had with him a measure of wine made of fruit of the sabbatical year. R. Huna the son of R. Ikha and R. Kahana accompanied him, and he said to them: "Has one of you heard whether the Halakha prevails according to R. Simeon ben Elazar or not?" R. Kahana replied: "R. Abbahu declared that the Halakha prevails according to R. Simeon ben Elazar"; but R. Huna the son of R. Ikha rejoined: "Thus said R. Abbahu: 'The Halakha does not prevail according to R. Simeon ben Elazar.'" Said R. Saphra: "Under all circumstances the decision of R. Huna must be abided by, because he was very exact in his decrees, which he learned from his master Rahabha of Pumbaditha."

R. Ilayi pruned green dates on the sabbatical year. How was it possible that he should have done this? Is it not written, that for eating purposes they may be gathered, but they must not be removed wantonly? Lest, however, it might be assumed that such is only the case with ripe, edible fruit, but not with such as are unfit--did not R. Na'hman say in the name of Rabba bar Abbahu, that the peel surrounding the dates of uncircumcised trees must also not be used, notwithstanding the fact that it only serves to preserve the dates and cannot be considered fruit itself? Thus we see that, although the peel surrounds dates only when the latter are not yet ripe, still he calls such dates fruit, and in consequence it cannot be said that R. Ilayi pruned dates which were not to be considered fruit?

R. Na'hman holds with R. Jose, who maintains that green fruit is prohibited (during the sabbatical year), because it is considered fruit; but the sages differ with him.

The rabbis taught: "On the sabbatical year grapes may be eaten until the bunches of grapes are all plucked from the vines, and should there be vines that still contain bunches, grapes may be eaten until even the latter are plucked. Olives may be eaten until the last of them fall off the trees in the city of Thequa. R. Eliezer said: 'Until the last of them fall off the trees in the city of Gush-Halob.' This means to say, that if a poor man goes to seek olives he cannot find any, neither on the branches nor at the roots of the tree. Figs may be eaten until the last fall off the trees in Beth-Hini."

Dates may be eaten until the last fall off the trees in Tzoar. R. Simeon ben Gamaliel said: "They may be eaten when some are to be found among the unripe dates, but not if some are found among the bad dates which have fallen off the trees."

MISHNA: In places where it is customary to sell small cattle (sheep, goats, etc.) to Gentiles, it is lawful to do so, but not in places where this is not customary. Large cattle must not be sold to Gentiles at all, 1 nor calves nor foals of asses, either sound or broken-legged. R. Jehudah permits the sale of the latter and Ben Bathyra permits the sale of a horse.

In places where it is customary to eat roasted meat on the night of the Passover, it may be eaten, but not in places where this custom is not observed. In places where it is usual to burn a light on the night of the Day of Atonement, it may be done; but not in places where this custom does not exist. The synagogues and colleges, however, may be lighted, as may also dark alleys and (rooms) occupied by sick people.

GEMARA: R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: "A man must not say: 'This animal shall serve for the Passover meal,' because, by thus specifying the purpose for which he intends to use it, he virtually consecrates the animal, and consecrated things must not be eaten outside of the Temple." Said R. Papa: "This refers only to flesh, but wheat may be designated for use on the Passover; (because by being thus designated it will not become consecrated, but it will simply be preserved)."

An objection was raised: Flesh must not be designated? Have we not learned that R. Jose said: "Thodos of Rome instituted the custom among his co-religionists in Rome, that they should eat roasted goat-meat on Passover, and the sages sent him the following message: 'Wert thou not Thodos, thou wouldst have been put under a ban for thy action, since thou inducest Israelites to eat consecrated things outside of Jerusalem'? How can they say consecrated things? Say rather, similar to consecrated things." Hence we see, that only roasted flesh may be considered as consecrated; but how can this refer to raw flesh? When roasted flesh is eaten it appears of itself as if it were consecrated, without being designated expressly for use on the Passover, whereas raw flesh is considered so only when it is expressly specified.

The schoolmen propounded a question: "Was Thodos really a great (learned) man or was he simply a very influential citizen, and hence the sages were afraid to put him under a ban?" Come and hear: "Furthermore related Thodos, the man of Rome: 'What justified Hananiah, Mishaël, and Azariah to permit themselves to be thrown into the fiery furnace? They derived their justification from the following a fortiori conclusion: As the frogs [mentioned Exod. vii. 28], which were in no wise obliged to honour the name of the Lord, did not hesitate to enter the ovens which, as they still contained the dough, were hot, so much the more should a man who is in duty bound to honour the name of the Lord not hesitate to throw himself into a fiery furnace.'"

R. Jose bar Abhin said: "Thodos of Rome would give wares to the scholars in order to enable them to procure a livelihood by traffic, and R. Johanan said, that he who gives wares to scholars, so that they are enabled to gain a livelihood and study in peace, will merit the privilege of sitting in the colleges of learning in the world to come, as it is written [Ecclesiastes vii. 12]: 'For under the shadow of wisdom (a man is equally well as) under the shadow of money.'"

"In places where it is usual to burn a light," etc. Said R. Jehoshua: Rabha lectured: It is written [Isaiah IX. 21]: "And thy people, they all will be righteous, forever shall they possess the land." From this may be inferred, that all the people were righteous; and those that burned a light on the night of the Day of Atonement as well as those that did not, all had the same purpose in view, namely, to prevent a man from having intercourse with his wife on that night (some believing that when there was a light this would be avoided, while others thought that the light would rather stimulate the desire).

Ula rode on an ass. R. Abba walked to the right of him and Rabba bar bar Hana to the left. Said R. Abba to Ula: "Is it true that both of you, thou and Rabba bar bar Hana, said in the name of R. Johanan, that a benediction is not pronounced over fire except at the close of the Sabbath-day, for at that time was fire created?" Ula glared at Rabba bar bar Hana and said to R. Abba: I did not quote R. Johanan in this connection, but in the following instance: A certain Tana taught in the presence of R. Johanan: "R. Simeon ben Elazar said: 'When the Day of Atonement falls on a Sabbath, even in such places where it is not customary to burn a light on the night of the Day of Atonement, this should be done in honour of the Sabbath.'" R. Johanan, however, replied that the sages prohibit this.

Rabba bar bar Hana assented, and said: "Yea; such was the statement made by R. Johanan." Commenting upon this, R. Joseph applied to these two sages the passage [Proverbs xx. 5]: "Like deep water is counsel in the heart of man; but the man of understanding will draw it out." "Like deep water," R. Joseph compares to Ula, who, though not knowing what Rabba bar bar Hana might have said, did not reprove him, but merely glared at him; and "the man of understanding will draw it out" is applied to Rabba bar bar Hana, who immediately understood what was passing in Ula's mind and at once assented to his statement.

If, then, R. Johanan did not make the statement attributed to him by R. Abba, whence do the people adduce that a benediction must be pronounced over a light at the close of Sabbath? From the statement of R. Benjamin ben Japheth, who said in the name of R. Johanan: "A benediction must be made over a light both at the close of Sabbath and on the night of the Day of Atonement." And such is the general custom.

An objection was made: Have we not learned, that a benediction over a light should be made only at the close of Sabbath, because at that time fire was created, and as soon as fire is perceived the benediction must be pronounced? R. Jehudah, however, said, that at the time the benediction which is made over the goblet (of wine) the one over the light should also be made, and R. Johanan declared the Halakha prevails according to R. Jehudah?

This presents no difficulty: On the night of the Day of Atonement, according to R. Johanan, a benediction should be pronounced over a light that had been burning all day, but not over one that had just then been made.

We have learned in one Boraitha that over fire arising from wood or stone a benediction should be pronounced, while in another Boraitha we are taught to the contrary, that no benediction must be pronounced. This also presents no difficulty: The former Boraitha refers to the close of the Sabbath, while the latter refers to the night of the Day of Atonement.

Rabbi would as a rule scatter his benedictions at the close of the Sabbath, pronouncing them as the occasion demanded; i.e., if he perceived fire first, he would pronounce the benediction pertaining to fire, and then accordingly over spices, the goblet, etc. R. Hyya, however, would wait until the goblet was brought to him, when he would pronounce all the necessary benedictions together. Said R. Itz'hak bar Abdimi: "Although Rabbi would scatter his benedictions, he nevertheless repeated that over the goblet, for the purpose of fulfilling the duty of the family."

Is it a fact that fire was created at the close of the Sabbath? Have we not learned in Abhoth, where it is stated that ten things were created at twilight on the day preceding the Sabbath, that R. Nehemiah added fire and the mule to the ten things? This presents no difficulty. The fire which we use was created at the close of Sabbath, while the fire of Gehenna was created at twilight on the eve of Sabbath.

Was the fire of Gehenna then created on the eve of Sabbath? Have we not learned in Tract Nedarim that seven things were created even before the world was created, and among the seven was also the Gehenna? The atmosphere of the Gehenna was created before the world, but the fire of Gehenna was created at twilight on the eve of Sabbath.

Still, was the fire of Gehenna really created on the eve of Sabbath? Did not R. Banaha the son of R. Ula say, that the reason it is not written, in the passages referring to the things created on the second day, that "the Lord saw that it was good," is because on that day the fire of Gehenna was created? Therefore we say, that the atmosphere of Gehenna was created before the world, the fire of Gehenna was created on the second day of the week, and the fire which we use was to be created on the eve of Sabbath, but the creation was postponed; as we have learned in a Boraitha, R. Jose said: "Two things were postponed to be created on the eve of Sabbath, but they were not created until the close of Sabbath: they are fire and the mule"; and at the close of the Sabbath the Lord put into Adam's mind to produce fire by striking two stones against one another and to pair two different animals (the ass and the horse) and thus produce the mule.

The rabbis taught: Seven things are concealed from man: The time of his death, the time of his contentment, the depth of judgement (according to another version, the depth of divine judgement), the thoughts of others, the source of profit, the time of the reëstablishment of the kingdom of David, and the time of the downfall of the kingdom of Rome.

The rabbis taught: Three things were intended to be instituted, and if they were not intended to be instituted, it would be well if such were still the case. They are: that a corpse should putrefy, that the dead should be forgotten after a certain period, and that grain should rot (by exposure). Others add a fourth thing, namely, that coins should be minted, for without them traffic would be impossible.

MISHNA: In such places as it is customary to work on the 9th of Abh, work may be performed; but not where such is not the custom. The scholars, however, must in every place avoid working on that day. Rabbon Simeon ben Gamaliel said: "Every man should in this respect consider himself a scholar (Talmud-chacham)." The sages, however, said: It was customary in Judæa to work until noon on the day preceding Passover; but in Galilee no work was performed on that day. As for the night preceding that day, the school of Shammai prohibit work to be done thereon, while the school of Hillel permit it until sunrise (of the day following). Said R. Meir: Every occupation which had been commenced prior to the 14th (of Nissan) may be finished on that day; but no new work may be commenced, even if it can be finished on that same day. The sages, however, are of the opinion, that the three following crafts may pursue their usual calling until noon on that day, namely: tailors, barbers, and clothes-washers. R. Jose ben Jehudah says that shoemakers may also do so.

GEMARA: Samuel said: "There is no fast-day, imposed by the community upon its members in Babylon, except the ninth day of Abh." 1 Shall we say that Samuel by this statement means to assert, that eating at twilight on the eve of that day is also prohibited? Have we not heard that Samuel held to the contrary? Shall we assume, that at twilight on the eve of any fast-day imposed by the community eating is permitted? Have we not learned in Tract Taanith, that on the day preceding congregational fast-days eating is permitted only while it is yet day; and thence we may adduce that as soon as dusk sets in it is prohibited? Nay; the statement that eating is only permitted while it is yet day signifies, that when night sets in eating is prohibited, but as for dusk (twilight), the prohibition does not apply.

We have learned in a Boraitha: "There is no difference between the ninth of Abh and the Day of Atonement as fast-days, except that in the doubtful time of the latter eating is prohibited, while in that of the former eating is permitted." Shall we assume, that by doubtful time the Boraitha refers to the twilight, when it is not known whether it is yet day or not, and thus would be a support to the opinion of Samuel, who permits eating at twilight on the eve of the ninth of Abh? Nay; by "doubtful time" the Boraitha refers, as R. Shesha the son of R. Idi said elsewhere, to the doubt existing whether the day was really the proper day according to the calendar.

Rabha preached: "Pregnant and nursing women must fast on the entire day of the ninth of Abh in the same manner as if it were the Day of Atonement; also, that at twilight on the eve of that day eating is prohibited." This decree was also attributed to R. Johanan. How could R. Johanan have said this? Did he not say elsewhere, that the ninth of Abh is not equal to a congregational fast-day? Must it not be assumed that he holds eating on the eve of the ninth of Abh to be permitted? Nay; R. Johanan means to state, that the ninth of Abh differs from a congregational fast-day only as concerns the number of benedictions to be recited. On a congregational fast-day the number is twenty-four, while on that day it is not so.

An objection was raised: The difference between a congregational fast-day and the fast of the ninth of Abh is

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merely that on the former no manner of work may be performed, while on the latter, in those places where it is customary to work on that day, this may be done. Hence are they not alike in all other respects? Said R. Papa: "All the Boraithoth quoted only cite the more lenient observance of the ninth of Abh as compared with congregational fast-days and the Day of Atonement, but do not mention the more rigorous observance."

"Every man should in this respect consider himself a scholar." Here we see that R. Simeon ben Gamaliel has no objection to a man vainly assuming that he is a scholar, whereas (in Tract Berachoth) concerning the reading of the Shema (prayer) he says, that not every man who so chooses may assume to be (or act like) a scholar. Said R. Johanan: "Transpose the names in the Mishna, so that the statement attributed to the sages should be that of R. Simeon ben Gamaliel and the dictum of R. Simeon ben Gamaliel should be that of the sages." R. Shesha the son of R. Idi, however, said: This is not necessary. There is no difficulty either as to the sages or as regards R. Simeon ben Gamaliel. According to the sages, a man who would not work when all others do, would leave the false impression that he is a scholar, although he is not, while in the instance quoted, concerning the reading of the Shema, a man who is a bridegroom may (on his wedding-day) read the Shema, because all others do likewise, and he cannot be accused of being presumptuous. According to R. Simeon ben Gamaliel, however, premeditation being necessary for a man who is to read the Shema, and it being a known fact that a bridegroom on his wedding-day cannot have the necessary premeditation--if he nevertheless persists in reading that prayer, he does so merely to gratify his vanity and to demonstrate that he is a scholar; hence it should not be permitted. In the case treated of in the Mishna, however, it is different. The fact of his not working will not give others the impression that he wishes to pose as a scholar; for are there not a number of men who lack employment and are idling in the markets?

"The school of Shammai prohibit work to be done," etc. So far the Mishna has been dealing with the customary usages, and suddenly prohibitions are cited? Said R. Johanan: This presents no difficulty. The decisions pertaining to customary usage are all rendered upon the authority of R. Meir, but R. Jehudah actually prohibits work to be performed in those places where it is not usually done, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: R. Jehudah said: "In Judæa work was done on the day preceding the Passover until noon, while in Galilee no work at all was performed on that day." Said R. Meir to him: "To what purpose dost thou cite the customs of Judæa and Galilee? Is it not a rule that, wherever it is customary to perform work on that day, it may be done, and wherever it is not customary it should not?" Thus, if R. Meir's reply to R. Jehudah dealt with customary usage, it is obvious that R. Jehudah must have directly prohibited work in places where it was not usually done.

The schoolmen propounded a question: Does that part of the Mishna, which states that every occupation which was commenced prior to the 14th of Nissan may be finished on that day refer only to such occupation as was necessary for the due observance of the festival, but if it is not necessary for that purpose, it must not even be completed on that day, or does it refer to such occupation as was not necessary for the festival; but if it was, it is even allowed to commence and finish it on that day? Or, on the other hand, does it refer to occupation which is even necessary for the festival and still it may only be finished but not commenced on the day preceding the festival?

Come and hear: R. Meir said: "Every occupation necessary for the due observance of the festival may be completed on the day preceding the festival, but if it was not necessary for that purpose it must not be finished. Wherever it is customary, work may be done on the day preceding the festival until noon." Thus we see, that only wherever it is customary work may be done until noon of the day preceding the festival but otherwise it must not, and only when the work is needed for the festival may it be completed on that day but otherwise it must not.

"The sages, however, are of the opinion, that the three following crafts," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: Tailors may pursue their occupation, because any man may, if necessary, mend his garments on the days intervening between the first and last days of the festival. Barbers and clothes-washers may pursue their calling, because those that arrive from a sea-voyage or those that are released from imprisonment may trim their hair and wash their clothes on the days intervening between the first and last days of the festival.

R. Jose ben Jehudah says, that shoemakers may pursue their calling, because the pilgrims who journey to Jerusalem for the festivals mend their shoes on the intervening days. Upon what point do R. Jose and the former Tanaim differ? The former Tanaim hold, that permission to commence a certain act of labour cannot be derived from the fact that it may be completed; i.e., while shoes may be mended, it does not follow that it is permitted to make new shoes, while R. Jose maintains that it makes no difference, and as shoes maybe mended, new ones may be made also.

MISHNA: Fowls may on the day preceding the Passover be placed in hatching-coops; a brooding hen which had run away (from her eggs) may be replaced on them, and if the hen had died another may be put on the eggs in her place. It is permitted to remove the stable-dung on the 14th (of Nissan) from between the feet of cattle; but it may only be removed to one side during the middle days (the days intervening between the first and last days of the festival). It is also permitted to carry, to and from the houses of mechanics, vessels and other articles, even though they be not needed for use during the festival.

GEMARA: If a fowl may be placed in a hatching-coop on the day preceding the festival, why should it be necessary to state that she may be replaced on the eggs which she had abandoned? (Is this not obvious?) Said Abayi: "The clause permitting the replacing of the hen does not refer to the 14th (of Nissan) but to the middle days." R. Huna said: "When is it allowed to replace a hen on the eggs which she had abandoned? If she had already been hatching the eggs for three days prior to her escape and three days had not elapsed since she had escaped; i.e., if the eggs had already become spoiled and at the same time retained warmth, so that when the hen is replaced she can still complete the hatching with success. If, however, the hen had not yet been hatching the eggs for three days and they had not become spoiled, or if three days had elapsed after she had abandoned them, so that it would be impossible to hatch them with success, the hen must not be replaced." R. Ami, however, said: "Even if the hen had not been hatching the eggs for three days and they had not yet become spoiled, she may nevertheless be replaced."

In which point do R. Huna and R. Ami differ? The former holds, that on account of serious damage only may work be done on the middle days, while the latter maintains that even on account of slight damage this may be done.

"It is permitted to remove stable-dung," etc. The rabbis taught: The dung contained in the yard must be removed to one side, and that contained in the stable and in the yard may be entirely removed. How can this latter part be understood? What is meant by dung contained in the stable and in the yard? Said Rabha: "This signifies, that if the yard became like a stable, filled with dung, the dung may be entirely removed."

"It is also permitted, etc., to carry vessels," etc. R. Papa said: Rabha wished to examine us and said: "In our Mishna it is stated, that on the 14th (of Nissan) vessels may be carried to and from the houses of mechanics, etc., even though they be not needed for the festival, and this is contradicted by a Boraitha, which decrees that vessels must not be carried from the house of the mechanic; and if there is danger of their being stolen, they may be deposited in another court?" We replied: This presents no difficulty, as the Boraitha refers to the middle days, while our Mishna has reference to the 14th (of Nissan). We can also give another reason, namely: Both the Boraitha and the Mishna may refer to the middle days, and it merely depends upon whether the mechanic has sufficient confidence in his master to leave his tools with him; for if he has not, he may remove them.

MISHNA: The inhabitants of Jericho were wont to do six things; three of these were done contrary to the wishes (of the sages) and three were done with the sanction (of the sages). The following were done with the sanction of the sages: They would graft palm-trees the whole day of the 14th (of Nissan), they would read the Shema (prayer) with an additional verse (or without interruption), and they would heap up new corn (into sheaves) before acquitting the "omer" (first-offering) thereof. All these things were done with the sanction of the sages; but the following were contrary to their wishes, namely: They would make use of plants (buds) growing on or near consecrated trees; they would eat fruit on Sabbath which had dropped off the trees on that day, and they allowed herbs to remain in the field as Peah. 1st All these things were contrary to the wishes of the sages. Six things were done by King Hezekiah, 2nd three of which met with approval and three with disapproval: He caused the bones of his father to be transported on a litter of ropes, 3rd and this was approved of; he caused the brazen serpent to be broken to pieces, and this was approved of; be secreted the book of medicine, and it was also approved. The following, however, are the three things done by him which were not approved of: He cut off (the gold) from the gates of the Temple, and sent it to the King of Assyria; he stopped up the upper mouth of the waters of Gihon, and made the month of Nissan intercalary--all of which were not approved of.

GEMARA: "They would graft palm-trees," etc. How would they do this? Said R. Jehudah: "They would take a damp myrtle-branch, bayberries of which they made an extract, and barley meal, and would boil them in a vessel which had not been made more than forty days before. This brew they would pour into the core of the tree. Any tree which stood within four ells of a tree which was thus treated would, unless receiving the same treatment, wither and die immediately." R. A'ha the son of Rabha, however, said: "They would graft a twig of a male tree on a female tree."

"They would read the Shema," etc. How did they do this? Said R. Jehudah: "They would recite the passage: 'Hear, O Israel,' etc., and without any interruption would continue: 'And thou shalt love,'" etc.; but Rabha said: "They would transpose the stress in the following passage thus: Instead of saying: 'And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be in thy heart,' they would say: 'And these words which I command thee--this day shall they be in thy heart,' so that one who heard them might have thought that the intent of the passage was to signify: 'This day shall they (the words which I command thee) be in thy heart, but not to-morrow.'"

The rabbis taught: How would they read the Shema? They would recite the passage: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our God; the Eternal is One," and then would continue without interruption to say: "And thou shalt love the Lord thy God," etc. (i.e., they would not stop to lay stress on the words, "The Eternal is One," sufficiently long to meditate on the power of God in the heavens and on earth in all directions). Such is the dictum of R. Meir; but R. Jehudah said: They would make that interruption, but what they did not say was the verse: "Blessed be the name of the honour of His kingdom for ever and ever," which should be inserted between the end of the first verse: "Hear, O Israel," etc., and the one commencing: "And thou shalt love," etc.

Why do we recite this additional verse? It is not written in the Scriptures? In accordance with what was related by R. Simeon ben Lakish: It is written [Gen. xlix. 1]: "And Jacob called unto his sons and said, 'Gather yourselves together, that I may tell you that which shall befall you in the last days,'" which signifies that he wished to disclose to them when the end of the days should occur. As he was about to accomplish this, the Shekhina left him, and he commenced to fear lest there were among his children an unworthy person like Ishmael the son of Abraham and Esau the son of Isaac. So his children spoke to him and said: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our God; the Eternal is One." They said to him: "Father, as in thy heart there is but one God, so is there in our hearts but one God." As soon as Jacob our father heard this, he opened his mouth and said: "Blessed be the name of the honour of His kingdom for ever and ever."

The sages then began to deliberate whether to say this also or not. To say it would not be in accordance with the words of Moses, who did not use the verse; not to say it would be to disregard Jacob. So they finally concluded to say it in a still manner (not audibly).

Said R. Itz'hak: "The disciples of R. Ami compared this to the following parable: A king's daughter, smelling the odor of savory spices, which were being cooked in the kitchen, craved for some. To order her servants to bring a dish of those spices would be to expose herself to ridicule; not to do so would be to suffer: so her servants brought her what she desired surreptitiously, in order that nobody should perceive it."

Said R. Abbahu: "In Usha, where there was a sect of Minim, 1 it was ordained that the additional verse should be proclaimed in a loud voice, in order that the adherents of that sect should not say that the verse which was said in a still manner was one praising their own Deity; but in Neherdai, 2 where there were no Minim, even unto this day the verse is said in a still manner."

The rabbis taught: The inhabitants of Jericho were wont to do six things; three of these were done contrary to the wishes of the sages and three were done with the sanction of the sages. The following were done with the sanction of the sages: They Would graft palm-trees the whole day of the 14th (of Nissan), they would read the Shema without interruption, and they would cut off new corn before acquitting the "omer" (first-offering) thereof, The following, however, were done contrary to the wishes of the sages, namely: They would heap up the new corn before acquitting the "omer" (first-offering) thereof; they would make breaches in the fences of their gardens and vineyards during times of famine, in order that the poor might enter and eat the fruit which had dropped off the trees on Sabbath and on festivals; and they would make use of the plants (buds) growing on or near consecrated trees, carob-trees, and sycamore. Such is the dictum of R. Meir. Said R. Jehudah to him: "If thou sayest, that the first three things were done with the sanction of the sages, then it will be assumed that all men may do so and that the sages allow them; say rather, that the sages did not Prevent their doing the first three things, but not that they sanctioned them. Shouldst thou, however, retort, that cutting off the new corn before acquitting the 'omer' thereof is certainly permitted (because it thus taught in a Mishna), then, say I, substitute for 'cutting off,' 'heaping up into sheaves,' and in the last three things substitute for 'they would heap up the new corn before acquitting the "omer thereof,' 'they allowed herbs to remain in the field as Peah.'

Why did the inhabitants of Jericho make use of plants growing on or near consecrated trees? They said: "Our ancestors only consecrated the wood of the trees, and if other plants subsequently grew on those trees, why should we prevent the poor people from making use of them? It does not constitute a trespass to partake of plants which subsequently grew on consecrated trees!" The sages, however, said: "A

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trespass-offering need not be brought if this was done, but it is a trespass nevertheless."

R. Simeon ben Lakish was quoted by Ula to have said: The inhabitants of Jericho and the sages differed only concerning such plants as grew on the tops of trees, and the sages prohibited their use on the Sabbath or on-a festival, lest they be torn off by the poor on those days, while the inhabitants of Jericho did not hold this precautionary measure to be necessary. As for unripe fruit at the foot of the trees, all agree that it may be gathered.

When Rabhin, however, came from Palestine, he said in the name of R. Simeon ben Lakish to the contrary: That they differ only concerning the unripe fruit, the sages holding that what is prepared for the fowls of the air (crows) cannot be called prepared for men, while the inhabitants of Jericho maintained that it may be considered prepared for man also. As for the shoots on the tops of the trees, however, even the latter admit that they must not be used, for they hold to the precautionary measure instituted by the sages above.

"And they allowed herbs to remain in the field as Peah." The rabbis taught: "Formerly Peah was left from turnips and cabbage, and R. Jose said: "Also from leek." In another Boraitha we have learned: "Formerly Peah was left from turnips and leek," and R. Simeon said: "Also from cabbage."

The rabbis taught: "Ben Buhaïn allowed herbs to remain in the field as Peah. When his father arrived he saw some poor men already standing with the bundles of herbs at the entrance of the garden, and he said to them: 'Children, throw down your bundles of herbs and I will restore twice their value to you after I shall have acquitted the tithes thereof; and I do not say this because I would grudge you the herbs, but because the sages did not permit the herbs to be left as Peah.'"

The rabbis taught: "Formerly the hides of the sacrificed animals were left in the chamber of Parvah. 1 At night the priests ministering during that week would divide those hides among themselves. The more powerful among the priests, however, would appropriate more than their share. So it was ordered that the division should be made every eve of Sabbath in the presence of all the men comprising the twenty-four watches (shifts) of the Temple. Still the more powerful priests would appropriate more than was due them. In consequence, the persons bringing the sacrifices decided to consecrate the hides for the use of the Temple. It was said that it did not take very long before it was possible to cover the entire Temple with disks of gold one ell square and of the thickness of a golden Dinar. At the time of the festivals these disks were placed on the mount of the Temple, in order that the pilgrims to Jerusalem might see them; for they were beautifully worked and were not counterfeited."

We have learned in a Boraitha: Abba Saul said: "There were sycamore-trees in Jericho which the priests forcibly appropriated for their own use, in consequence of which the owners consecrated them for the use of the Temple. "Concerning such outrages and such priests, Abba Saul ben Batnith in the name of Abba Joseph ben Hanin said: "Woe is me on account of the house of Baithos, woe is me on account of their rods! Woe is me through the house of Hanin and through their calumnies! Woe is me through the house of Kathros and through their pens! Woe is me on account of the house of Ishmael ben Piakhi and of their fists! for they were all high-priests, their sons were the treasurers, their sons-in-law were the chamberlains, and their servants would beat us with rods. 1

The rabbis taught: Four shouts were sent up by (the people in) the court of the Temple. The first shout was: "Go away from the Temple, ye children of Eli, who have defiled God's house" (I Samuel 11.). The second shout was: "Leave the Temple, Issachar, man of the village of Barkai," who by his arrogance desecrated the sanctity of Heaven. He would envelop his hands in silk while performing his services as a priest. The third shout was: "Raise your heads, O ye gates, and let Ishmael ben Piakhi the disciple of Pinhas enter and assume the office of the High Priest." The fourth shout was: "Raise your heads, O ye gates, and let Johanan ben Narbayi enter and fill his bowels with the holy sacrifices." Of Johanan ben Narbayi it was said that he (and his family, which was very large) would consume 300 calves, 300 jugs of wine, and 40 saah of young doves as dessert after his meals. It was also said that during his administration as high-priest there never was any remainder left over of the sacrifices from one day to the next.

What was the end of Issachar, the man of the village of Barkai? It was said that at one time the king and the queen were disputing. as to the relative merits of a kid or lamb as food. The question then arose who was to decide the dispute. So it was suggested that the decision be left to the high-priest, who at that time was Issachar, the man of the village of Barkai, who certainly ought to know which was the better, as he used to bring sacrifices daily. He was called, and coming into the presence of the king, jokingly waved his hand and said: "If a kid were the better it would be used for the daily sacrifice, and we know that a lamb only must be used." Said the king: "Because he showed no respect to the throne and waved his hand, let his right hand be cut off." Issachar, however, bribed the executioner, and his left hand was cut off instead. When the king heard of this, he ordered that the right hand should also be cut off. Said R. Joseph: "Blessed be the Merciful One, who punished Issachar in this world, and thus enabled him to enjoy the world to come." Said R. Ashi: "Issachar never learnt the Mishna, for had he done so he would have learned the following: R. Sideon said: For sacrifices lambs are always preferable to kids; but shall we assume that this is because they are really more toothsome? Therefore it is written [Lev. iv. 32]: 'And if he bring a sheep for a sin-offering,' and as it is previously written that he should bring a goat, it may be inferred therefrom that both are equal."

Rabhina, however, said: "Issachar did not even read the Scriptures, for it is written [Lev. iii. 7 and 12]: 'If he offer a sheep for his offering,' etc., and 'If a goat be his offering,' etc., thus showing that both are equal."

CHAPTER 5.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE SACRIFICE OF THE PASCHAL LAMB.

MISHNA: The continual (daily) offering 1 was slaughtered half an hour 2 after the eighth hour, and sacrificed half an hour after the ninth hour; but on the day before Passover, whether that day happened to be a week-day or a Sabbath, it was slaughtered half an hour after the seventh hour, and sacrificed half an hour after the eighth hour. When the day before the Passover happened to be a Friday, it was slaughtered half an hour after the sixth hour, sacrificed half an hour after the seventh hour, and the Passover sacrifice celebrated (immediately) afterwards.

GEMARA: Whence do we know all this? Said Rabha: Because it is written [Numbers xxviii. 4], "toward evening," we know that this religious duty must be discharged when the sun commences to move towards the west (evening). Then again, on all ordinary days, in respect to vow and voluntary offerings, as it is written [Lev. vi. 5]: "And he shall burn thereon the fat of the peace-offering." And the master said that this signifies that all the other offerings must be sacrificed before the daily offering. Hence this latter was slaughtered half an hour after the eighth hour (two and one half hours after noon); but on the day before Passover, when the paschal lamb had to be slaughtered after the daily offering, the latter was slaughtered an hour sooner. If the eve of Passover, however. fell on Friday, when the paschal lamb must be roasted before the Sabbath set in, the literal text of the passage in the Scriptures is abided by, and the daily offering is slaughtered as soon as the sun commences setting towards the west, i.e., half an hour after noon.

The rabbis taught: "In the same manner as the daily offering was proceeded with on a week-day, it was also treated on Sabbath." Such is the decision of R. Ishmael. R. Aqiba, however, said: "In the same manner as it is proceeded with on the eve of Passover, so should it be treated on Sabbath."

What does R. Aqiba mean by this statement? Said Rabba bar Ula: The Mishna teaches us as follows: The usual manner of treating the daily offering on week-days is carried out also on Sabbath, notwithstanding the fact that no vow or voluntary offerings are sacrificed on the Sabbath. Such is the decree of R. Ishmael; but R. Aqiba said: "Nay, on Sabbath the daily offering should be treated the same as on the day before Passover; i.e., it should be sacrificed an hour sooner, and for the very reason that there are no vow or voluntary offerings to be sacrificed on that day." The statement in the Mishna, that "on the day before Passover, whether that day happened to be a week-day or a Sabbath, it was slaughtered half an hour after the seventh hour," refers to the paschal lamb, and this is in accordance with the opinions of both R. Ishmael and R. Aqiba. Wherein do they differ? R. Ishmael holds that the time should not be changed on the Sabbath, lest this be done also on the week-days, and thus sufficient time will not be allowed for the vow and voluntary offerings, while R. Aqiba maintains that this precautionary measure is not necessary. If the precautionary measure is not necessary, why should the sacrifice be brought on Sabbath half an hour after the seventh hour? why not a half hour after the sixth hour? R. Aqiba holds, that first the additional Sabbath-sacrifice must be brought in the sixth hour, then the frankincense is burned at the seventh hour, and finally the daily sacrifice half an hour after the seventh hour.

The rabbis taught: Whence do we know that nothing must be offered prior to the daily morning sacrifice? Because it is written [Lev. vi. 5]: "And the priest shall burn wood on it every morning, and he shall lay in order upon it the burnt-offering," which signifies that the (daily) burnt-offering shall be the first to be sacrificed. Is this then conclusive evidence? Said Rabha: "Yea, because it says explicitly the burnt-offering, and that means that the daily morning sacrifice should be the first."

Whence do we know that nothing must be sacrificed after the daily evening sacrifice? Because it is written [ibid.]: "And he shall burn thereon the fat of the peace-offerings." How does this signify that nothing shall be sacrificed after the evening sacrifice? Said Rabha: "Because it says the peace offerings, 1 and that means that the peace-offerings shall be the last.

The rabbis taught: "The daily (evening) offering precedes the Passover-sacrifice, and the Passover-sacrifice precedes the burning of the incense, and the incense precedes the lighting of the candles." Why should the Passover-sacrifice follow the daily offering? Because an act concerning which it is written [Deut. xvi. 6]: "There shalt thou slay the Passover (lamb) at evening, at the going down of the sun," and [Exod. xii. 6]: "They shall kill it toward evening," must be accomplished later than an act concerning which it is only written [Numb. xxviii. 4]: "Thou shalt prepare it toward evening."

The rabbis taught: "There is nothing which may be offered up before the daily (morning) sacrifice except incense, which is burnt before the daily sacrifice." (Why is that so?) Because it is written concerning incense [Exod. xxx. 7]: "Every morning when he dresseth the lamps shall he burn it," while concerning the daily sacrifice it is only written plainly "in the morning." After the daily evening sacrifice nothing may be offered up except the paschal lamb, and the incense and the lighting of the candles may be accomplished. Also if there happen to be a man who had not yet had the atonement made for him by the priest before taking the legal bath, the offering necessary for the atonement may be sacrificed even after the daily (evening) sacrifice; then the man may go and bathe himself and partake of the paschal lamb.

R. Saphra propounded a contradictory question to Rabha: "It is written [Exod. xxxiv. 25]: 'Neither shall be left unto the morning the sacrifice of the feast of the Passover '; hence the supposition is that, while it must not be left unto the morning, it may be left over the entire night and should be burned at the approach of morning, which is already the festival day, although the sacrifice was offered before the festival; but we find it written further [Numb. xxviii. 10]: 'This is the burnt-offering of Sabbath on every Sabbath,' and does this not signify that only the burnt-offering of the Sabbath may be burned on that day?" Rabha answered: "This question was already propounded to R. Abbahu by R. Abba bar Hyya, and R. Abbahu replied: "The passage quoted [Numb. xxviii. 10] refers to an eve of Passover which fell on a Sabbath, and a sacrifice which was offered up on the Sabbath may be burned on a festival." Rejoined R. Saphra: "Because a Sabbath-sacrifice may be burnt on a festival, does that carry with it, that the passage must be construed to refer to a Sabbath which happened to be an eve of Passover?" Rabha replied: "Let the passage be. It is difficult enough to understand at all events, and it will eventually prove to be in accordance with the explanation rendered."

MISHNA: If the Passover-sacrifice had not been slaughtered for the purpose of sacrificing it as a Passover-sacrifice, 1 or its blood had not been received for that purpose, or the blood had not been brought to the altar and sprinkled for that purpose, or if one act had been accomplished with it in order to make it a Passover-sacrifice and another not for that purpose, or if the reverse had taken place-it is not valid. How is it to be understood that "one act had been accomplished with it as a Passover-sacrifice and another not for that purpose"? This signifies, that one act had been accomplished with it in order to make it a Passover-sacrifice, and subsequently another act had been accomplished with it ill order to make it a peace-offering; and by "if the reverse had taken place" is meant, if at first an act had been accomplished with it in order to make it a peace-offering and another act had subsequently been accomplished with it for the purpose of making it a Passover-offering.

GEMARA: R. Papa propounded a question: "Does the Mishna mean to state that the sacrifice is not valid if the dual intention was carried out even in one act only (i.e., if f.i. when slaughtering the lamb the original intention was to have it serve as a paschal sacrifice and subsequently the intention was changed and it was slaughtered for a peace-offering), and thus it is in accordance with the opinion of R. Jose, who maintains that a later intention annuls a previous one; or, does the Mishna mean to state that it is not valid only if the dual intention was divided between two acts (i.e., if f.i. the lamb was slaughtered with the intention of making it a paschal sacrifice and its blood was sprinkled for the purpose of making it a peace-offering), and thus it can be even in accordance with R. Meir, who holds that the original intention holds good and cannot be made void by a subsequent intention? Now the question is, does R. Meir hold that an original intention holds good only for one act where the intention had subsequently been changed, and maintains that, even if two acts were accomplished with two different intentions, the one accomplished with the original intention supersedes the one committed with the subsequent intention; or does he admit that where two acts are accomplished with different intentions the later annuls the former?"

Now let us see! There can be no question that the Mishna does not consider the case of where an act had been accomplished originally with the intention of having it serve for a peace-offering and then the intention was changed so as to bring the Passover-sacrifice; for in that event, according to both R. Jose and R. Meir, the sacrifice could not be valid as a

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Passover-sacrifice (it must be borne in mind that R. Jose does not state that a later intention supersedes a former, but that it merely annuls it, and R. Meir holds that the former intention supersedes the later). Thus the question again presents itself whether, if the act had been accomplished first so as to serve as a Passover-offering and was subsequently intended to serve as a peace-offering, does the Mishna refer to a single act embodying both intentions, or is a case referred to where two acts were committed each with a separate intention?

Come and hear: If the blood of the paschal lamb had been sprinkled with the intention to have the lamb serve for those that were to partake thereof and also for those that were not to partake thereof, the sacrifice is valid. Let us see! How was the case? Was the dual intention embodied in two acts, i.e., while the lamb was slaughtered for those who were to partake thereof, the intention was to sprinkle the blood even for those who were not to partake thereof, and sprinkling only is mentioned because that act alone, even if accomplished for another purpose, would not invalidate the sacrifice; if, however, the dual intention was embodied in one act only, say that of slaughtering, i.e., the lamb was slaughtered both for those who were to partake thereof and for others who were not, would that render the sacrifice invalid? This is not so? We know that such a proceeding would not render it invalid? Hence we must say that, as the later (succeeding) Mishna treats only of one act embodying a dual intention, such is also the case with our Mishna above.

This is not conclusive evidence! One (Mishna) may treat of one case and the other of another case. The succeeding Mishna may deal with one act, while our Mishna may deal either with one or with two acts!

The schoolmen propounded a question: "What is the law concerning a sacrifice which had been offered up at any time during the year (not on the eve of Passover) with the dual intention 'of having it serve both as the paschal sacrifice and as a peace-offering? Shall we assume, that the latter intention supersedes the former and the sacrifice is valid or not?" When R. Dimi came from Palestine he said: I desired to decide this question before R. Jeremiah in the following manner: "Let us see! As a paschal lamb which was offered up for its proper purpose is thereby made valid for its proper season, and if not offered up for its proper purpose it is made valid when not in its proper season, then, if offered up for its proper purpose, although offered for its proper season, the intention to have it serve not for its proper purpose supersedes the original intention, and the sacrifice is not valid, and consequently the intention to offer it up not for its proper purpose, although it is valid not for its proper season, does not supersede the original intention to have it serve for its proper purpose, and the paschal lamb is not valid." R. Jeremiah, however, answered: "Nay; how canst thou compare the paschal lamb to other sacrifices? (Is it not a fact that, if any ordinary sacrifice is offered up not for its originally intended purpose, the sacrifice itself is nevertheless valid, and the man who brings it must only offer up another to carry out his original purpose, while a paschal lamb, if brought for any other but its actual purpose, becomes absolutely useless and cannot be sacrificed at all.) If the paschal lamb was brought for its proper purpose in its proper time (as is the case in the first instance), a subsequent intention to have it serve another purpose would have rendered it absolutely useless; in the next instance, however, when a sacrifice for a certain purpose was brought at any time of the year, a subsequent intention would not render it useless: then if the sacrifice had been brought with the original intention of having it serve as a peace-offering and subsequently the intention was added to have it serve also as a paschal offering, the sacrifice would nevertheless not become useless; and even if the original intention was to have the sacrifice serve as a paschal offering, from the fact that it was not the proper season it cannot render the sacrifice invalid. Thus the subsequent intention entirely supersedes the original."

Which is, however, the final law? Said Rabha: "A sacrifice which had been offered up at any other time of the year (not on the eve of Passover) with the dual intention of having it serve both as a paschal sacrifice and as a peace-offering is valid. Why so? For, let us see how it would be if the paschal lamb were brought at any time other than on the eve of Passover? It would certainly be invalid. If, however, the intention to bring as a Passover-sacrifice were changed to that of bringing it as a peace-offering, it would be valid; thus we must assume that the subsequent intention superseded the original. Therefore if the original intention was to offer it up as a paschal sacrifice. and the intention was added to have it serve as a peace-offering, we must say that in this case the subsequent intention supersedes the original intention, and the sacrifice is valid."

Rejoined R. Ada bar Ahabha: "Perhaps the difference exists, whether the man who brought the sacrifice stated explicitly the purpose for which he brought it, or whether he was silent; for let us see! If he offered up the sacrifice both to serve for those who should partake thereof as well as for those who should not, it is valid; but if he offered it up expressly for those who should not, it is not valid. Why should this be so? Had he offered it up without stating any intention it would certainly be valid, because it would be considered as serving for those who should partake thereof, and consequently we see that there a difference is caused by silence, or the expression of an intention."

Rabha replied: "What comparison is there between the two? If a man brought the paschal lamb without comment, it is until the time of its slaughter considered the Passover-sacrifice. If the man slaughtered it in silence, its condition remains unchanged; but can it be said that those who were to partake thereof were the same at the time of the slaughter as they were previously; for is it not the law that, until the time of slaughtering the lamb, those that were to partake thereof might change their mind and others take their place?"

The schoolmen propounded a question: "What is the law concerning a paschal lamb which had been offered up for its actual purpose at any time during the year but on the eve of Passover, but with a change in the name of the person for whom it was originally intended? Shall we assume that this would be equal to a change in the purpose of the sacrifice only and it would remain valid; or that, having been brought as a paschal offering not in its proper time, it is useless?" Said Rabha: "A sacrifice which had changed owners must be considered as being ownerless during the time when it should be offered up and is thus rendered invalid."

MISHNA: If the paschal lamb were slaughtered for those who will not partake thereof, or for any that do not belong to the persons numbered to eat it, or for the uncircumcised, or for the unclean, it will not be valid; but if it were slaughtered for those who may partake thereof and (at the same time) for those that will not, or for those that are numbered to eat it and also for those that are not, or for the circumcised and also for the uncircumcised, or for the unclean and the clean, it will be valid. If the paschal lamb be slaughtered before noon, it is not valid, because it is written [Exod. 12:6]: "Toward the evening." If it were slaughtered before the continual (evening) offering is brought, it is valid, provided someone had been stirring the blood until that of the continual daily offering was sprinkled; but if the blood (of the paschal lamb) had already been sprinkled (before that of the daily offering) it is nevertheless valid.

GEMARA. The rabbis taught: "What is meant by 'those who will not partake thereof'? A sick or an aged person. What is meant by 'those that were numbered to eat it and those that were not'? A family for whom the lamb had been slaughtered and another for whom it had not."

Whence do we adduce this? From the following teaching of the rabbis: It is written [Exod. xii. 4]: "According to the number of the souls," whence we infer that the paschal lamb must not be slaughtered except for those who were numbered to eat it. Shall we assume, that one who slaughtered the lamb for those who were not numbered to eat it only fulfilled a religious duty negligently, but the sacrifice is nevertheless valid? To that end the passage reiterates [ibid., ibid.]: "Shall ye make a count," which signifies, that otherwise it would be invalid. Rabbi said: Instead of "make a count" read "slaughter it," because the term "make a count" is expressed with "Thachoso" and the Syriac term for "slaughter" is "chos," and thus the passage appears as if one said to the other: "Slaughter it for me." Thus we have found the sources whence arises the prohibition to slaughter the lamb for those not numbered to eat it; but whence do we adduce that the lamb must not be slaughtered for those who will not partake thereof? In the same passage it is written: "Every man according to what he eateth, shall ye make a count for the lamb"; hence those that partake thereof are accounted the same as those who are numbered to eat it.

If a man slaughtered the lamb for the circumcised only, but intended that the atonement which is made through sprinkling the blood should serve also for the uncircumcised, R. Hisda. holds that the sacrifice is not valid, because an intention to serve the uncircumcised invalidates the sprinkling, while Rabba holds that such is not the case.

Said R. Ashi: R. Hisda and Rabba differ concerning the following passage [Lev. i. 4]: "And it shall be accepted for him to make atonement for him." Wherever it is written "for him," it refers to that person only and not also to his companion, and Rabba holds that such is the case only if his companion be in all respects his equal and among those for whom atonement is made; but the uncircumcised, not being in that class, cannot prove an impediment, for he was never thought of. R. Hisda, however, said: "The uncircumcised can be included in that class for whom atonement is made, because should he submit to circumcision he becomes in every respect the man's equal, and the passage which says 'for him' would necessarily exclude him. Thus the supposition that he can be circumcised renders him equal to being so."

Does then R. Hisda hold that the supposition that a thing can be accomplished renders it equal to having been accomplished? Have we not learned (page 74) that he does not admit of that theory? Let us say, then, that he does not hold to the theory of that supposition only in the case of a lenient ordinance, but in the case of one that is rigorous he assents to the same.

R. Huna the son of R. Jehoshua objected: "We have learned: If the paschal lamb, which was over the age of one year and was slaughtered at the proper time and for its proper purpose, and also if a man had slaughtered other animals for the purpose of serving as the paschal offering, at the proper time, R. Eliezer said, the sacrifices are absolutely useless, but R.: Jehoshua declares, that the sacrifices are nevertheless valid sacrifices. Now, then, R. Eliezer holds the sacrifices to be useless if they were brought as paschal offerings at the proper time, but if they had not been brought at the proper time he would also admit that they were valid; why does he not hold to the (theory of) supposition that the sacrifice had been brought at the proper time, and consequently hold it to be useless at all times?" Said R. Papa: "In the case of the Passover-sacrifice it is different; for it is written [Exod. xii. 27]: 'It is the sacrifice of the Passover unto the Lord,' and this signifies, that it should ever remain thus, i.e., it cannot be sacrificed for other purposes, nor can other things be sacrificed in its stead."

Thus, as the Passover-sacrifice if brought in its proper time for other purposes is rendered utterly useless, so other sacrifices if brought in its stead at the proper time are also rendered useless; but, as the Passover-sacrifice if brought for other purposes not in its proper time remains a sacrifice nevertheless, so should other sacrifices if brought in its stead not at the proper time also be permitted to remain valid.

R. Simlai came to R. Johanan and said to him, "Let Master teach me the contents of the book of ancestry," and R. Johanan asked him: "Whence art thou?" He replied: "From Lydda," "And where dost thou reside?" asked R. Johanan. "In Neherdai," was the reply. R. Johanan then remarked: "The contents of the book of ancestry must not be taught to inhabitants of Lydda or Neherdai, and so much the more thou, who art born in Lydda and residest in Neherdai, shouldst certainly not be taught." R. Simlai, however, was persistent, and persuaded R. Johanan to grant his request, whereupon R. Simlai remarked: "Thou canst teach me the contents of that book in three months." So R. Johanan picked up a clod of soil and threw it at R. Simlai, saying: "If Brurah, the wife of R. Meir, who was also the daughter of R. Hanina ben Tharadion, and who could learn three hundred Halakhas from three hundred great men in one day, could still not master the contents of the book of ancestry in three years, wouldst thou then learn it in three months?"

As R. Johanan was about to leave, R. Simlai said to him: "Rabbi, tell me the meaning of the clause in the Mishna stating, 'if a man slaughtered the Passover-sacrifice for its actual purpose or not for its actual purpose, for those who will partake of it or for those who will not partake of it.' What is the difference, and why is the one sacrifice valid and the other not?" and R. Johanan replied: "Taking into consideration that thou art a young scholar, I will answer thee: If the Passover-sacrifice was offered for its actual purpose or for another purpose the validity of the sacrifice itself is questioned, whereas if it were slaughtered for those who will partake thereof or these that will not, it does not concern the sacrifice itself. In the first case no distinction can be made as to which part is intended for the one purpose and which for the other, while in the latter instance one may divide the sacrifice and say, 'This part shall serve for those who will partake thereof while the other shall serve for the sick and aged, or the other part will not be given to the sick and aged,' and thus the subsequent intention will be ignored, while in the first instance such would be impossible. The first instance can apply either to an individual or to a congregation, while the latter instance can only apply to a family but not to an individual. Again, the first instance can apply to all the four acts necessary to make it a sacrifice, namely, to the slaughtering, receiving its blood, bringing it to the altar, and sprinkling the blood; but the latter instance cannot apply to all four acts, because we have already learned that in the sprinkling of the blood the partakers of the sacrifice are not considered." (Commenting upon the answer of R. Johanan) R. Ashi said: 'The first two reasons cited by R. Johanan are virtually one and the same thing; for why is 'the validity of the sacrifice itself questioned,' because 'no distinction can be made'?"

Rami bar Judah in the name of Rabh said: "Ever since the book of ancestry was concealed, the power of our sages was on the wane and their eyes were stricken with blindness."

Said Mar Zutra: "The section of Chronicles between the passage concerning, Azel and his six sons in the eighth chapter and the same passage in the ninth chapter (see Chronicles viii. 38 and ibid. ix. 44) required so much space in the book of ancestry that the material whereon it was written had to be transported by four hundred camels." 1

We have learned in a Boraitha: Anonymous teachers say: "If, when slaughtering the Passover-sacrifice, the intention originally was that it serve for the uncircumcised and subsequently for the circumcised, it is valid. If the reverse was the case, it is not valid."

MISHNA: If a man offer the Passover-sacrifice while still having leaven in his possession, he thereby transgresses a negative commandment. R. Jehudah says: "The same rule

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applies to the continual daily offering (of that evening)." R. Simeon says: "If the paschal sacrifice was slaughtered for its proper purpose on the eve of Passover with leaven, the mentioned transgression was committed; but if offered for any other purpose no guilt was incurred. As for other sacrifices, whether they were brought for their proper purposes or not (under their proper denominations or not), no guilt is incurred. If offered as a Passover-sacrifice on that festival, no guilt is incurred; but if offered under any other denomination (not for its proper use) guilt is incurred. As for other sacrifices (offered under the same circumstances during the Passover), a transgression is committed whether they were offered under their proper denominations or not, excepting in the case of the sin-offering, slaughtered not for its actual purpose (because concerning the sin-offering it is expressly written, 'a sin-offering is it'; hence if not brought for its actual purpose it cannot be considered a sacrifice at all)."

GEMARA: Said R. Simeon ben Lakish: "No guilt is incurred unless the man slaughtering the lamb, or the one sprinkling the blood, or the one of those who are to partake thereof, have leaven in his possession, and that only if he have it with him in the Temple." R. Johanan, however, said: "Even if he did not have it with him in the Temple." Their point of variance is based upon the word "with" (Hebrew על "al"). R. Simeon ben Lakish holds that with signifies "near by," while R. Johanan maintains that "with" may also mean, if the man have it in his possession wherever it may be. (The "with" under discussion is that to be found in the passage [Exod. 34:25]: "Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven.")

They have already disputed concerning the word "with" elsewhere? Why should their discussion be repeated? For this reason: If they disputed only concerning leaven on the Passover, R. Johanan might say, that leaven being a prohibited thing on that festival, it matters not where it is found, but concerning the cakes of the thanksgiving-offerings, which only become sanctified upon being brought into the Temple, R. Johanan might admit that the thanksgiving-offering would become invalid unless the cakes were brought with it into the Temple; hence it was necessary that R. Johanan should express his opinion to the effect that even in that case "with" signified, if they were in possession of the man bringing the thanksgiving-offering.

If the instance of the cakes only were mentioned, it might be assumed that Resh Lakish only holds that the cakes must be brought with the thanksgiving-offering into the Temple, because they only become sanctified in the Temple, while in the case of the leaven, which is a prohibited article on the Passover, be might also admit that, no matter where it was situated, if it was only in possession of the man it would render the sacrifice invalid; hence his opinion in this case had to be cited.

R. Oshiya propounded a question to R. Ami: "If the man slaughtering the lamb had not leaven in his possession, but one of the congregation which was to partake thereof had, what is, the law?" Said R. Ami: "What question is this? Does the passage then read, 'Thou shalt not sacrifice it with thy leaven'; it states explicitly, 'with leaven'?" Rejoined R. Oshiya: "According to thy opinion, then, even if any person had leaven in his possession, even if he were not connected with the sacrifice, is the man sacrificing culpable?" and R. Ami replied: "The passage reads: 'Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven; neither shall be left unto the morning the sacrifice of the feast of Passover,' and it signifies that one who can be culpable for leaving that sacrifice until morning is culpable for slaughtering with leaven." Said R. Papa: "Thus if the priest who burns the fat of that sacrifice have leaven in his possession, he is culpable, because the priest is subject to the negative commandment not to leave the fat until morning."

We have learned a Boraitha in support of R. Papa: "If a man slaughter the paschal lamb with leaven, he thereby transgresses a negative commandment provided he himself, or the one who sprinkles the blood, or one of the congregation which is to partake of the lamb have leaven in possession. If any other person, however, have leaven in his possession, it matters not. Thus only the slaughterer, the sprinkler, and the one who burns the fat of the sacrifice are guilty if having leaven in their possession, but not one who on the 14th day (of Nissan) pinches off the head of the fowl, brought as a sacrifice, by the back of its neck." 1

"R. Jehudah says: This rule applies to the continual daily offering," etc. What is the reason for R. Jehudah's statement? Because it is written [Exod. xxiii. 18]: "Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread," and "my" signifies the sacrifice designated especially for the Lord; and which is that? The continual offering (of the evening). "R. Simeon says," etc. What reason has R. Simeon for his statement? From the fact that in the same passage "my" is mentioned twice, one refers to the paschal offering and the other to the other sacrifices. Why, then, did the passage not generalize the sacrifices and use the plural? In order to convey that at the time guilt was incurred on account of the paschal offering through leaven, no guilt was incurred on account of other sacrifices through the same means; but when no guilt was incurred on account of the mentioned sacrifice, it was incurred on account of the others.

"If offered as a Passover sacrifice on that festival," etc. Thus guilt was incurred if the sacrifice was offered expressly for other than the Passover purpose, but if offered in silence no guilt was incurred? Why should this be so? Do we not know that if that sacrifice were brought at any other time of the year in silence it would be considered a peace-offering, and a peace-offering brought on the Passover with leaven would certainly make one culpable? Thus, we infer from R. Simeon's teaching to the effect that he is not culpable; that if a paschal lamb is brought without comment, it remains just what it is, and if it is intended for a peace-offering, it must be distinctly stated.

Said R. Hyya bar Garuda: "It was decided by the entire assembly that the Mishna should be explained thus: The case treated of is where the congregation were all rendered unclean through a corpse, in which case the Passover was postponed for one month and was called the Second Passover; then if the paschal offering was brought in silence, it was certainly brought as a Passover-sacrifice."

MISHNA: The Passover-sacrifice was slaughtered for three successive divisions of men, because it is written [Exod. xii. 6]: "The whole assembly of the congregation of Israel shall slaughter it (thus three divisions were necessary, according to the expressions) "assembly," "congregation," and "Israel." The first division entered until the court of the Temple was filled, when the doors of the court were closed, and the cornet (horn) sounded Tekiah (one blast), Teruah (a succession of quick blasts), and Tekiah (another blast). The priests then placed themselves in double rows (file), each priest holding either a bowl of silver or a bowl of gold in his hand, but one row of priests had to hold all silver bowls and the other all gold--they were not allowed to be mixed. These bowls had no stands underneath, so that the priests might not put them down and allow the blood to become coagulated.

The Israelite slaughtered and the priest received the blood and gave it to another priest, who in turn passed it to another, and each receiving a full bowl, at the same time returning an empty one; the priest nearest the altar squirted out the blood in one (continuous) stream at the base of the altar. (This done) the first division went out and the second entered; when that went out, the third entered; in the same manner as the first, so did also the second and third divisions proceed.

The Hallel (prayer of praise) was read (by each division): if they had finished (before completing their duties), they commenced it over again, and might even say it for the third time, although it never happened that there was occasion to say it thrice. R. Jehudah says: "It never happened that the third division read as far as the chapter commencing, 'It is lovely to me, that the Lord heareth my voice' (Psalms cxvi.), 1 because they were few in number."

The same things that were done on week-days were also done on the Sabbath, excepting that the priests would on that day wash the court, contrary to the wishes of the sages. R.. Jehudah says: "A cup was filled with the mixed blood (of all the sacrifices) and was squirted out in one (continuous) stream on the altar"; but the sages would not admit that such was the case.

In what manner was the paschal sacrifice suspended and its skin removed? Iron hooks were affixed to the walls and pillars, on which the sacrifice was suspended and its skin removed.

Those who could not find a place to do it, in that manner used thin, smooth sticks of wood provided there for that purpose, on which they suspended the paschal sacrifice (and resting the sticks) between the shoulders of two persons, to remove the skin. R. Eliezer says: "If the 14th (of Nissan) occurred on a Sabbath, one person would place his left hand on the right shoulder of another, the latter would place his right hand on the left shoulder of the former, and thus suspending the sacrifice on the arms would remove the skin with their right hands."

When the sacrifice had been opened, the pieces which were to be sacrificed on the altar were removed, placed on a large dish, and offered up with incense on the altar. When the first division had gone out (on the Sabbath), they would remain on the mount of the Temple; the second would remain in the open space between the ramparts of the Temple, and the third division remained in its place. As soon as it became dark, they all went out to roast their sacrifices.

GEMARA: R. Itz'hak said: "The paschal sacrifice was not slaughtered unless there were three divisions of thirty men each; why so? Because it is written: 'The whole assembly of the congregation of Israel--thus 'assembly' means ten men, 'congregation' ten men, and 'Israel' also ten men." It was doubtful, however, whether the thirty men had to be together, or whether only ten men at a time had to be present. So it was ordered that thirty men should enter, and as soon as ten were ready they went out, and ten others took their place; the next ten then left, and another ten entered; finally, the last thirty men went out together--thus each division numbered fifty men, or all three divisions one hundred and fifty men.

"The first division entered," etc. It was taught: Abayi said, "that as soon as the first division entered the doors closed of themselves," while Rabha states, "that the doors were closed (by men), according to the teaching of the Mishna." What is the difference? According to Abayi, who states that the Mishna teaches that the doors closed of themselves, a miracle could be depended upon to gauge the number who were permitted to enter, while Rabha maintains that no miracle was depended upon, but that men appointed for that purpose would see when the court was filled and would then close the doors.

The rabbis taught: It never happened that a man was crushed to death by the vast throng except once during the time of Hillel, when an old man was killed in the crowd. On that account that Passover was called the "crushed Passover."

The rabbis taught: "Agrippa the king once wanted to know how many male Israelites there were. So he told the high-priest to keep account of the paschal lambs. The high-priest then ordered, that one kidney of each paschal lamb be preserved, and it was found that six hundred thousand pairs of kidneys were preserved; and this was twice the number of the Israelites who went out of Egypt. Naturally, this was exclusive of all Israelites who were unclean and could not offer the sacrifice, and all those who lived at a great distance from Jerusalem and were not in duty bound to be present., There was not a single paschal lamb that did not represent at least more than ten persons. That Passover was ever afterwards known as the 'large Passover.'"

How could the kidneys be preserved? Was it not imperative that they should be offered up on the altar? The kidneys were merely deposited by one priest until another came along and substituted something else in their place.

"The priests then placed themselves in double rows," etc. Why was this done? Shall we assume that, if this were not done, a priest might empty the blood contained in a golden bowl into a silver bowl, and thus degrade the sanctity of the blood of the sacrifice; then might not a priest also empty the contents of a bowl worth two hundred (dinars) into one worth only a hundred, and thus bring about the same condition? Hence we must say, that it was not on that account, but merely for the sake of better appearance.

"These bowls had no stands underneath," etc. The rabbis taught: There were no bowls on the Temple that had any stands except those used to contain the incense which was placed near the showbreads, for had those bowls no stands it was feared that they might fall over on the sides of the showbreads and crush them.

"The Israelite slaughtered." This is related by the Mishna in order to demonstrate that an ordinary Israelite may slaughter.

"The priest removed the blood," etc. This is related in order to inform us that all subsequent acts necessary for the sacrifice were performed by the priests.

"Gave it to another priest," etc. The Mishna teaches us thereby that [Proverbs xiv. 28]: "In the multitude of people is the King's glory."

"Receiving a full bowl, at the same time returning an empty one." This bears out the statement of R. Simeon ben Lakish to the effect that a religious duty must not be passed by; i.e., it must first be accomplished and then transferred to another; but not the reverse.

"The priest nearest the altar," etc. Who is the Tana who holds that the blood of the Passover-sacrifice must be squirted at the base of the altar? Said R. Hisda: "That is R. Jose the Galilean, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: R. Jose the Galilean said: It is written [Numbers xviii. 17]: 'Their blood shalt thou sprinkle upon the altar, and their fat shalt thou burn as a fire-offering,' and as it does not say 'its blood' or 'its fat,' but in the plural, 'their blood' and 'their fat,' it signifies that the blood of the firstlings and of the first tithes and of the Passover-sacrifice must be sprinkled, and the pieces which must be offered should be offered up on the altar."

Whence do we know, however, that the blood must be squirted at the base of the altar? Said R. Elazar: "By means of a comparison by analogy with the case of a burnt-offering, concerning which it is written [Levit. i. 11]: "And the sons of Aaron, the priests, shall sprinkle its blood upon the altar round about." Thus as in the passage quoted above [Numb. xviii. 7] "sprinkling" is also mentioned, the inference is that in both cases the sprinkling must be done at the base of the altar. Whence do we know that the blood of a burnt-offering must be sprinkled at the base of the altar? From the passage [ibid. iv. 18]: "And all the blood shall he pour out at the base of the altar of burnt-offering."

"The first division went out," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha that the third division was called the "tardy division." Why should this be so? One division had to be the last? Everyone had to strive to be first, as we have learned in a Boraitha: "R. Jose said: The world cannot exist without an apothecary and without a tanner, yet well is to him who follows the profession of an apothecary and woe is to him who follows the calling of a tanner. The world cannot exist without males and females; yet well is to him who hath sons and woe is to him who hath daughters."

"The priests, etc., would wash the courts, contrary to the wishes of the sages." Who were the sages who were opposed to this? Said R. Hisda: "That was only R. Eliezer, for the other

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sages all held that a rabbinical prohibition was never effective in the Temple." (See Tract Sabbath, page 187.)

"R. Jehudah says, 'A cup was filled,'" etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jehudah said: "A cup was filled with the mixed blood lest the blood of one of the bowls held by the priests be spilled in transit, and thus the sacrifice whence the blood came became invalid." R. Jehudah was asked, however: "Supposing the mixed blood was taken from that which was spilled on the ground and not from that which had been received in the bowls, would this not be unlawful?" and he replied: "I refer only to such as had been received in the bowls."

How could this distinction be made in the midst of such a vast multitude? The priests were very dexterous. If so, why was there fear that the blood of one of the bowls might be spilled? just because they were so dexterous, there is all the more reason to assume that in the handling of the bowls some of the blood might be spilt.

Was it not certain, however, that in that mixed blood there was the last (life) blood of the sacrifice (which must not be offered up on the altar)? R. Jehudah holds to his individual theory, that one kind of blood does not interfere with another, and if the proper blood was sprinkled it was sufficient.

"The pieces, etc., were placed on a large dish and offered up." Did the same person offer it up on the altar? Read in the Mishna: He would place it on a large dish until a priest would come and offer it up.

We have learned in a Boraitha: As soon as a man had finished preparing his sacrifice, he would wrap up in the skin and carry it off. Said R. Elish: This is after the manner of the Ishmaelitish meat-dealers.

CHAPTER 6.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING ACTS WHICH SUPERSEDE THE DUE OBSERVANCE OF THE SABBATH--THE SACRIFICE OF THE PASCHAL OFFERING--WHAT IS TO BE DONE IF ONE SACRIFICE IS CONFOUNDED WITH ANOTHER.

MISHNA: The following acts necessary for the sacrifice of the paschal offering supersede the due observance of the Sabbath, namely: The slaughtering thereof, the sprinkling of its blood, the removal of its entrails, and the burning of the fat with incense; but the roasting of the sacrifice, as well as the washing of its entrails, does not supersede the due observance of the Sabbath. To carry and bring it beyond the sabbatical legal limits, or to remove a wen (or spreading sore) thereon, is an act which does not supersede the due observance of the Sabbath. R. Eliezer, however, says they do supersede it. "For," said R. Eliezer, "this is surely a logical sequence; if slaughtering an animal, which is prohibited on the Sabbath as being a principal act of labour, is allowed in this instance (of the Passover) and even supersedes the Sabbath, does it not follow that these two acts, which are only prohibited by rabbinical law, should also in this instance supersede the Sabbath?" R. Jehoshua answered and said: "The laws concerning the festival will prove the contrary; for many things prohibited on the Sabbath as being principal acts of labour are nevertheless permitted on the festival, 1 while other things which are prohibited by rabbinical law are yet prohibited on the festival." 2 R. Eliezer replied: "What is the matter with thee, Jehoshua? How canst thou adduce proof from purely voluntary acts (such as cooking) to such as are distinctly prohibited by biblical law?" R. Aqiba then answered: "The act of sprinkling (a person who had become unclean) will prove it; for that is a distinct biblical commandment and is only prohibited on the Sabbath by rabbinical law, still it does not supersede the due observance of the Sabbath; 1 do not therefore wonder that these acts, which are also religious duties, and are only prohibited on the Sabbath by rabbinical law, should still not be allowed to supersede the Sabbath." R. Eliezer replied, however: "I also adduce my inference from the act of sprinkling, and maintain that if slaughtering, which is prohibited to be done on the Sabbath as a principal act of labour, is in this instance allowed to supersede the due observance of the Sabbath, does it not follow that the sprinkling of a person who had become unclean, and which is only prohibited to be done on Sabbath by rabbinical law, should in so much greater a degree supersede the Sabbath?" But R. Aqiba said: "Rather conclude the reverse: for if the sprinkling, which is only prohibited by rabbinical law, nevertheless does not supersede the Sabbath, does it not follow that slaughtering, which is prohibited as a principal act of labour, should a fortiori not supersede the Sabbath?" R. Eliezer then said to him: "Aqiba! wouldst thou then annul what is written in the Scriptures [Numb. ix. 3]: 'Toward evening shall ye prepare it, at its appointed season,' (and which signifies) whether it be a week or a Sabbath day?" Rejoined R. Aqiba: "Rabbi, pray adduce a text that prescribes a particular (and appointed) time for the performance of these acts (mentioned in the first part of this Mishna), even as there is one concerning the slaughtering of the paschal sacrifice." The following rule therefore did R. Aqiba lay down: Every act necessary for the paschal sacrifice, which can be accomplished previous to the advent of the Sabbath, does not supersede the due observance of the Sabbath; but as the slaughtering of the paschal lamb cannot be done before the Sabbath, it supersedes the Sabbath.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: The Halakha in the Mishna was not known to the children of Bathyra; for it once happened that the 14th (of Nissan) occurred on a Sabbath, and they did not know whether the Passover sacrifices superseded the due observance of the Sabbath or not. They therefore commenced to look around for a man who knew the Halakha, and they were told that there was a man who had recently come from Babylon, called Hillel of Babylon, and who had learned under the two greatest men of that generation, namely, Shemaiah and Abtalion; he would probably be able to aid them in their dilemma. They sent for him and asked him: "Dost thou know whether the Passover-sacrifice supersedes the Sabbath?" and he answered: "Have we only one Passover-sacrifice that supersedes the Sabbath? are there not over two hundred sacrifices that supersede the Sabbath?" (i.e., the continual daily offerings which are offered twice on the Sabbath and the additional two sacrifices which are brought especially on the Sabbath). But they insisted upon his basing his assertion upon some actual text, and he said: "As it is written concerning the continual daily sacrifice [Numb. xxviii. 2]: 'My offering, etc., shall ye observe to offer unto me in its due season,' and the same term, 'at its appointed season,' is mentioned in connection with the Passover-sacrifice [Numb. ix. 2], therefore both may supersede the Sabbath. Aside from this analogous deduction, there is also an a fortiori conclusion; for if on account of the continual daily sacrifice, for the neglect of which the penalty of Kareth is not incurred, the Sabbath may be violated, so much the more is this allowed on account of the Passover-sacrifice, for the omission of which the penalty of Kareth is incurred." When they heard this, they immediately placed him at their head and made him a prince. Thereupon he sat all day and preached upon the Halakhoth of the Passover.

Subsequently Hillel began to reproach them, and said: "What induced you to set me up as a prince among you? Only your own idleness in not taking advantage of the learning of the two great men of your generation, Shemaiah and Abtalion."

The following question was propounded to Hillel: "What is the law if a man had forgotten to bring the slaughtering knife on the day preceding the Sabbath?" He answered: "I have heard the Halakha but have forgotten it. Leave this, however, to the Israelites themselves, for though they are not prophets they are descendants of prophets, and they will know what to do." On the morrow he noticed that those who brought sheep as a sacrifice had the knife thrust in the wool of the sheep and those that brought goats as a sacrifice had the knife stuck between the horns, whereupon he remembered the Halakha covering the case and exclaimed: "Thus is the tradition which I have received from my masters Shemaiah and Abtalion."

The Master said: It is written, "in its due season," etc. Whence is it adduced, however, that the continual daily sacrifice supersedes the due observance of the Sabbath? From the passage "in its due season"? Is not the same passage to be found in connection with the paschal offering? Why, then, was the question put concerning the latter, while concerning the former it seemed to be an established fact that the Sabbath might be violated on its account? Certainly such is the case! For it is explicitly stated [Numb. xxviii. 10]: "This is the burnt-offering of the Sabbath on every Sabbath, besides the continual burnt-offering and its drink-offerings."

The Master said: "On the morrow those who brought a sheep as their sacrifice had the knife thrust in the wool." Would this not constitute the performance of work with a consecrated thing (which is prohibited)? This is in accordance with the custom of Hillel, concerning whom it is said, that in his time not a single transgression was committed with the consecrated animals, because he instituted the custom that they be brought to the court of the Temple in a non-consecrated state, and consecrated in the court of the Temple.

How can the Passover-sacrifice, however, be brought as an ordinary animal in the Temple on the Sabbath? It is not allowed to consecrate things on the Sabbath? This applies only to ordinary articles which were to be consecrated, but not to such as it was a duty to consecrate; for R. Johanan said, that Passover sacrifices may be consecrated on a Sabbath and a festival sacrifice on a festival.

When bringing the sheep with the knife in its wool, did not that constitute an indirect performance of work on the Sabbath, which, although it was not prohibited by biblical law, was nevertheless prohibited by rabbinical law? This was the question propounded to Hillel, whether an act prohibited only by rabbinical law but not by biblical might be performed on the Sabbath in order to discharge a religious duty, and in answer to which he said that he had forgotten the Halakha, but which he afterwards remembered and decided in the affirmative.

Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: "He who is arrogant, if he be one of the sages his wisdom leaveth him, and if he be a prophet his power of prophecy forsaketh him. If he be a sage his wisdom leaveth him, is aptly illustrated by the case of Hillel, who, as soon as he reproached the people and vaunted his own greatness, when asked concerning a certain Halakha admitted that he had forgotten it; and if he be a prophet his power of prophecy forsaketh him, may be inferred from the case of Deborah the prophetess, as it is written [Judges v. 7]: 'Desolate were the open towns in Israel, they were desolate until that I arose, Deborah, that I arose a mother in Israel,' while further on it is written [ibid. 12]: 'Awake, awake, Deborah,' whence the conclusion that her power left her, for otherwise the admonition to awake would be unnecessary."

Resh Lakish said: A man who becomes angry, if he be a sage his wisdom leaveth him, and if he be a prophet his power of prophecy forsaketh him. The first instance is illustrated by the case of Moses, as it is written [Numb. xxxi. 14]: "And Moses was wroth with the officers of the host," and further it says [ibid. 21]: "And Elazar the priest said unto the men of the army who had gone to the battle, This is the ordinance of the law which the Lord hath commanded Moses," whence the inference that Elazar said this because Moses must have forgotten it. The second instance is illustrated by the case of Elisha the prophet, as it is written [II Kings iii. 14]: "And Elisha said, As the Lord of hosts liveth, before whom I have stood, surely, were it not that I regard the presence of Jehoshaphat the king of Judah, I would not look toward thee, nor see thee," while in the following passage it is said: "But now bring me a musician. And it came to pass, when the musician played, that the inspiration of the Lord came upon him," whence the conclusion that his power forsook him and could be restored only by the aid of a musician. R. Mani bar Patish said: If a man becomes angry, even if greatness had been predestined for him, it is not granted him, and whence do I adduce this? From the case of Eliab, as it is written [I Samuel xvii. 28]: "And Eliab's anger was kindled against David, and he said, Why didst thou come down hither? and with whom hast thou left those few sheep in the wilderness? I know thy presumption, and the wickedness of thy heart; for in order to see the battle art thou come down," and it is also written, that when Samuel went to anoint one of the sons of Jesse as a king, and the other sons of Jesse were brought before him, he said: "This one also hath the Lord not chosen" [ibid. xvi. 8, 9], while concerning Eliab it is written [ibid. 7]: "But the Lord said unto Samuel, Regard not his appearance, nor the height of his stature; because I have rejected him," whence the conclusion that the Lord had previously intended to have him anointed, but on account of Eliab's anger He had subsequently rejected him.

From what we have learned so far, we know that the continual daily offering and the Passover-sacrifice supersede the Sabbath, but whence do we know that they also supersede the law of uncleanness? I will tell you! In the same manner as we have deduced (by analogy) from the continual daily offering the law of the Passover-sacrifice, so we deduce from the Passover-sacrifice, which supersedes uncleanness, that the continual daily sacrifice also supersedes uncleanness. Whence do we know that the Passover-sacrifice itself supersedes the law of uncleanness? Said R. Johanan: "Because it is written [Numbers ix. 10]: 'If any man whatever should be unclean by reason of a dead body,' etc., we infer from the term, 'any man whatever,' that only individuals must defer the Passover-sacrifice until the second Passover; but if there is a congregation they should prepare the paschal lamb, notwithstanding the fact that they are unclean."

"The washing of its entrails." What is meant by washing the entrails? Said R. Huna: "The entrails are pricked with a knife and then washed," and R. Hyya bar Rabh says: "They are merely pressed with a knife, and in that manner the filth is removed."

It is written [Isaiah 5:17]: "Then shall the sheep feed according to their wont, and the ruins of the fat ones shall sojourners eat." Said Menasseh bar Jeremiah in the name of Rabh: The term "according to their wont" being expressed by (the Hebrew word) Kedabram, and "Debur" meaning "speaking," the expression Kedabram should be explained to mean, "as they were spoken of." The word "sheep" refers to the Israelites, and thus the passage signifies: "Then shall the Israelites feed as they were spoken of." What was spoken of concerning them? Said Abayi: "By the latter part of that verse and by the 'sojourners' are meant the righteous who at that time were strangers, but in the future they would be the inhabitants and feed on the ruins of the fat ones." Said Rabha to him: This interpretation would be correct if there were not the word "and" between the two passages, but that word gives the latter passage a distinct significance; therefore, said he, the passage will have the meaning given it by R. Hananel in the name of Rabh, who said that in the future the righteous would have the power to arouse the dead; because in this passage quoted it is said: "Then shall the sheep feed according to their wont," and in another passage [Micah 7:14]." Let them feed in Bashan and Gilead, as in the days of old." By Bashan is meant Elisha, the man of Bashan, as it is written [I Chronicles v. 12]: "Yanai and Shaphat in Bashan," and [2 Kings 3:11]. "Elisha the son of Shaphat" (hence Elisha, being the son of Shaphat, was from Bashan). By Gilead is meant Elijah, as it is written [1 Kings 17:1]: "Elijah the Tishbite,

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who was of the inhabitants of Gilead" (and both of these prophets Elijah and Elisha roused the dead). Thus the original passage quoted [Isaiah v. 17] should be interpreted as follows: As in the days of old Elijah and Elisha aroused the dead, so will in the future other righteous men also have that power. 1

R. Samuel ben Na'hmeni in the name of R. Jonathan deduces the above conclusion from the passage [Zechariah viii. 4]: "Thus hath said the Lord of Hosts, Again shall there sit old men and women in the streets of Jerusalem, and every one with staff in hand because of their multitude of years"; and as it is written [II Kings iv. 29]: "Lay my staff upon the face of the lad," the inference that the righteous will have the power to arouse the dead is deduced from the analogy of the two passages, the latter of which deals with the arousing of the dead.

"The burning of the fat with incense." We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Simeon said: "Come and observe how pleasing the fulfilment of a religious duty at its proper time was to them! We well know that the burning of the fat and of certain pieces could be accomplished at any time during the night; still they did not postpone it, but accomplished it immediately."

"To carry and bring it beyond the sabbatical legal limits." (This passage of the Mishna is explained in Tract Erubin, pages 245-246.)

"For, said R. Eliezer, if slaughtering an animal," etc. (What could R. Jehoshua reply to this?) R. Jehoshua holds to his individual theory, that the enjoyment of a festival by feasting and drinking is also a religious duty (as explained in a Boraitha on Tract Betza). 2

"R. Aqiba then answered: The act of sprinkling," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Eliezer said to him: "Aqiba, thou hast refuted my assertion with (the instance of) slaughtering; by slaughter shalt thou suffer death!" Said R. Aqiba: "Rabbi, the time when thou judgest me, do not deny what thou thyself taughtest me! The tradition I quote comes from thee, that sprinkling (an unclean person) is a rabbinical law and does not supersede the due observance of the Sabbath."

If R. Eliezer actually taught R. Aqiba to this effect, why was he angry with him? R. Eliezer had forgotten that teaching, and R. Aqiba reminded him through his answer. Why did R. Aqiba not say at the time that he had learned it from R. Eliezer? Because it is not seemly that a teacher be told that he had forgotten.

Why should sprinkling not supersede the due observance of the Sabbath; it is only a matter of holding a little water, and if necessary to enable a man to partake of the paschal lamb, why should it not be permitted on the Sabbath? Said Rabha: "The prohibition is merely a precautionary measure, lest a man carry the water four ells in public ground."

According to R. Eliezer, however, who maintains (in Tract Sabbath) that the preparation for the accomplishment of a religious duty supersedes the Sabbath, what matters it if the water was carried four ells in public ground? I will tell you! R. Eliezer in that instance refers to a religious duty which the man is already obliged to discharge, but in this case the man, being still unclean, is not subject to the performance of that duty, but by being sprinkled is merely rendered so, and in such a case R. Eliezer does not apply his decision.

Rabha said: "According to the opinion of R. Eliezer just quoted, it is permitted to heat water on Sabbath for a child who is healthy, in order to strengthen it, and then circumcise it, because the child is already subject to the performance of that duty; but if the child is not well, heating water is not permitted, because in such a condition the child is not subject to that duty." Replied Rabha: "If the child is healthy, what need is there of heating water for it? Therefore," said he, "with respect to circumcision, all children are considered as being unwell until they are bathed, and are not subject to the duty of circumcision prior to being bathed. Hence no water should be heated for a child who is healthy, according to R. Eliezer, on the Sabbath, but on the preceding day."

"The following. rule therefore did R. Aqiba lay down," etc. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Aqiba." Concerning circumcision R. Aqiba laid down the same rule, and R. Jehudah also said in the name of Rabh, that the Halakha prevails according to R. Aqiba. (At the proper place in Tract Sabbath the reason why R. Aqiba made the rule in both instances is explained, page 295.)

MISHNA: Under what circumstances is it allowed to bring a festal offering in addition to the paschal sacrifice? When the paschal sacrifice is sacrificed on a week-day, when those offering it are legally (ritually) clean, and if it is insufficient for the number appointed to partake thereof. But if it is sacrificed on a Sabbath, if it is sufficient for those appointed to eat it, or when those are legally unclean, no festal offering may be brought in addition to the paschal sacrifice. The festal offering may be brought of the flock, of cattle, lambs or goats, and may be either male or female (animals); the time during which it is a duty to consume it is two days and a night.

GEMARA: The Tana who holds that a festal offering must not be brought on the Sabbath is also the same who maintains that bringing or carrying the paschal sacrifice from beyond the sabbatical legal limits does not supersede the due observance of the Sabbath. Thus the statement in our Mishna is merely supplementary to that of the previous Mishna, and signifies that a festal offering may be brought only on a week-day, but it does not supersede the Sabbath.

For what purpose is a festal offering brought generally in addition to the paschal sacrifice? As we have learned in the following Boraitha: "The festal offering which is brought in addition to the paschal offering should be eaten prior to the latter, in order that the paschal offering may be the last to satiate the appetite of those who partake thereof."

"Two days and a night," etc. Our Mishna is not in accordance with the opinion of Ben Thamah. We have learned in a Boraitha: Ben Thamah said: "The festal offering brought in addition to the paschal sacrifice is in all respects equal to the paschal sacrifice itself, and should be eaten only in the course of one day and night. The festal offering, however, brought on the 15th (the festival proper) should be consumed during the course of two days and one night. The festal offering brought on the 14th with the paschal sacrifice only fulfils the duty of enjoying the festival, but the injunction not to come empty-handed into the Temple is not satisfied thereby. The festal offering brought in addition to the paschal sacrifice must be brought of sheep only, but not of oxen; it must be male and not a female, and not over one year old. It should be consumed in the course of one day and night, and must not be eaten except it be roasted, and not by any except those appointed to eat the paschal sacrifice."

What is Ben Thamah's reason for this statement? He bases it upon the teaching of Rabh to Hyya the son of Rabh, as follows: It is written [Exod. xxxiv. 25]: "Neither shall be left unto morning the sacrifice of the feast of the Passover." From the fact that the passage states "the feast of the Passover," while it could have merely said "the Passover," it must be assumed that the festal offering brought in addition to the paschal sacrifice is meant, and the verse distinctly states that it must not be left until morning.

We have learned in a Boraitha: Jehudah ben Durthai and his son Durthai severed themselves from the company of the other sages and settled in the South (on account of the decree of the sages to the effect that the festal offering does not supersede the Sabbath). He said to them: "When Elijah will come and ask you why ye did not offer a festal offering on the Sabbath, what will ye answer?" and, moreover, he said: "I am astonished at the two great men of this generation, Shemaiah and Abtalion, who were so wise and such excellent preachers, that they did not teach in Israel that the festal offering supersedes the due observance of the Sabbath."

Said Rabh: What was the basis of Ben Durthai's statement? It is written [Deut. xvi. 2]: "And thou shalt sacrifice the Passover-offering unto the Lord thy God, of sheep and oxen," and this surely cannot refer to the paschal sacrifice alone, which must be brought only of sheep and goats. Hence by "sheep" is meant the paschal sacrifice and by "oxen" the festal offering, and as it says "thou shalt sacrifice," it certainly refers to the Sabbath also. Said R. Ashi: Shall we rack our brains to find justifications for men who had severed themselves from the company of our sages? Therefore say, rather, that the passage just quoted refers to the statement of R. Na'hman, who said in the name of Rabba bar Abbahu: Whence do we know that such sheep as had been left over from those which had been separated as paschal sacrifices may be brought as peace-offerings? Because it is written: "Thou shalt sacrifice the Passover-offering unto the Lord thy God, of sheep and oxen," and this surely cannot refer to the paschal sacrifice alone, which must be brought only of sheep or goats. Hence we must say that whatever remains over from the paschal sacrifice may be used for such sacrifices as can be brought either from sheep or oxen. Why does the festal offering in reality not supersede the Sabbath, according to the decree of the sages? Is it not a congregational sacrifice, and as such privileged to supersede the observance of the Sabbath? Said R. Ilayi in the name of R. Jehudah ben Saphra: It is written [Levit. xxiii. 41]: "And ye shall keep it as a feast unto the Lord seven days in the year." The Feast of Tabernacles (to which this passage refers) is, however, to be observed eight days? Hence we must assume that the festal offering does not supersede the observance of the Sabbath, and (leaving out the Sabbath in consequence) there are only seven days left.

When Rabhin came from Palestine he said: "I once said in the presence of my masters that the Feast of Tabernacles may sometimes last only six days. If, f.i., the first day occurs on Sabbath, the last day would also be Sabbath, and as it is not allowed to bring festive offerings on those days, the festival lasts only six days." 1

Said Abayi: "This statement could not have been made by Rabhin (R. Abhin), but rather by Abhin Thekla (Thekla means one who is childless or has lost his children), because it cannot stand; for eight feast days can never occur in succession, as one must be a Sabbath; seven feast days are the rule, whereas it seldom happens that there should be only six." 2

Ula said in the name of R. Elazar: A peace-offering brought on the eve of Passover cannot serve for the fulfilment of the duty of rejoicing on the festival nor for the festal offering to be brought with the paschal sacrifice. The first duty is not discharged, because it is written [Deut. xxvii. 7]: "And thou shalt slay peace-offerings, and eat them there, and thou shalt rejoice before the Lord thy God." Hence the peace-offering must be slain when the time for rejoicing had already arrived, i.e., on the festival; but on the eve of Passover it had not yet arrived. The second duty is not acquitted, because a festive offering must be brought of ordinary animals and not of consecrated, and an animal brought as a peace-offering is already consecrated.

When Rabhin came from Palestine, he said, however, in the name of R. Elazar: "A peace-offering brought on the eve of Passover fulfils the duty of rejoicing on the festival, as it need not be brought at the time when rejoicing is already a duty but may be brought previously; but it does not fulfil the duty of bringing the festal offering, because it is consecrated, and the festal offering must be brought of non-consecrated (ordinary) animals."

An objection was made: It is written [Deut. xvi. 15]: "And thou shalt only rejoice," and this is an additional behest to rejoice also on the night of the last day of the festival. Perhaps this additional behest refers to the first night? The word "only" in the passage makes the distinction, and confirms the view that it means the last night. Hence we must assume that on the first night rejoicing is not possible, because there was nothing to rejoice with; i.e., the peace-offering was not yet permitted to be slaughtered and the flesh (with which it is necessary to celebrate the festival) could not yet be bad. (Is this not contradictory to Rabhin's decree?)

Nay; the reason the first night is not included in the additional behest is as is taught in the following Boraitha: Why is the last night of the festival included in the additional behest and the first night excluded? The last night was preceded by rejoicing and is for that reason included, while the first night was preceded by ordinary days and is for that reason excluded.

R. Kahana said: "Whence do we know that the pieces of the festal offering which was sacrificed on the 15th day (i.e., the festival proper) are invalid if allowed to remain until morning? Because it is written [Exod. xxiii. 18]: 'Neither shall the fat of my festive sacrifice remain until morning,' and immediately following this it is written: 'The first,' etc., whence we adduce that the morning must be the first and not the second morning."

R. Joseph opposed this: "So it is only because the subsequent verse commences with ' the first' that the pieces of the festal offering may remain only until the first morning, but if the verse did not commence with 'the first' it would be allowed to leave them even until the second morning? Can it be that the pieces of a sacrifice the flesh of which becomes useless in the night of the day it was offered may remain even until the second morning?" Rejoined Abayi: "Why not? Do we not find in the case of the paschal offering, according to the opinion of R. Elazar ben Azariah, that while the flesh thereof becomes invalid in the middle of the night, the pieces to be offered up become invalid only in the morning?"

Rabha answered: "R. Joseph means to ask, 'Where do we find an instance of where the Tana dispenses with a passage referring to the flesh, whereas R. Kahana brings a passage regarding the pieces of the sacrifice.'"

MISHNA: If a person brought a paschal sacrifice on the Sabbath, not for its proper purpose, he is obliged to bring a sin-offering in expiation. If he slaughtered other sacrifices to serve as a paschal offering, if they were such that they could not be suitable for the paschal sacrifice, he is guilty; but if they were suitable for that purpose, R. Eliezer declares him culpable, but R. Jehoshua declares him free. For thus argues R. Eliezer: If a person is held to be culpable for changing the name (denomination) of the paschal sacrifice, which he is allowed to slaughter on Sabbath, does it not follow that if he brought sacrifices which were in themselves prohibited to be brought on the Sabbath, under another denomination, that he must in so much greater a degree be considered culpable? To this R. Jehoshua replied: "Nay; we cannot apply the decree concerning a sacrifice which was changed to what was prohibited to offer on the Sabbath, to other sacrifices which had been changed to that which was permitted to be brought on the Sabbath." R. Eliezer replied: "The offerings brought for the whole congregation of Israel shall prove my assertion, for it is lawful to offer them on the Sabbath for their proper purpose; yet whoever brings other sacrifices under their denomination is held to be guilty." Then R. Jehoshua rejoined: "Nay; we cannot apply the decree concerning the offerings of the whole congregation, which have a determinate number, to the paschal sacrifices, which have no determinate number." R. Meir said: One who also offers on the Sabbath other offerings under the denomination of those of the congregation is absolved.

If a. person slaughtered the paschal sacrifice for those who will not partake thereof, or for persons who are not appointed to partake thereof, and for uncircumcised and unclean persons, he is culpable; but if he had slaughtered it for those who will and also for those who will not partake thereof,

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for those appointed, to eat it and for those who are not, for circumcised as well as for uncircumcised, or for clean and also for unclean persons, he is absolved.

If one slaughtered (the paschal lamb) and a blemish was found thereon, he is culpable; but if, after being slaughtered, it was found to be Trephah (prohibited to be eaten) on account of inward blemishes, he is not culpable. If after slaughtering (the lamb) the man was advised that the participants had withdrawn themselves from it, or had died, or become defiled, he is absolved, because when he slaughtered it, it was under lawful circumstances.

GEMARA: How is the case to be considered concerning the man who brought a paschal sacrifice not for its proper purpose? Shall we assume that he made a mistake (and thought that he was slaughtering another sacrifice), and still he is held culpable? Whence the inference that the denomination of a thing may also be annulled through error; but this is not so. Therefore it must be assumed that there was no error, but that the man intentionally sacrificed the paschal offering for another purpose (f.i., for a peace-offering); if so, how will the latter clause, to the effect that if he slaughtered other sacrifices to serve for a paschal offering and they were suitable for a paschal offering, R.; Jehoshua declares him free, be consistent; for if he did so intentionally, what difference does it make whether the sacrifices were suitable or not, the fact that he sacrificed them on the Sabbath remains--how then could R. Jehoshua declare him free? Hence it must be assumed that this latter clause refers to one who did so through error, and in such an event the first clause of the Mishna will treat of an intentional case while the next clause will refer to an act committed through error? Said R. Abin: "Such is indeed the case."

R. Itz'hak bar Joseph found R. Abbahu standing amongst a crowd of men in a room and asked him how this Mishna should be understood, and he answered: "The first clause deals with an intentional case and the next clause with an erroneous com mission of an act." R. Itz'hak learned this from R. Abbahu! forty times, and he then retained it forever."

An objection was made, based upon the Mishna where R. Eliezer said to R. Jehoshua: "If a person is held to be culpable for changing the denomination of the paschal sacrifice," etc. If, however, the first clause treats of an intentional case and the next clause of a case of error, would not R. Eliezer's argument be sufficiently answered by R. Jehoshua simply claiming that the man is free because he committed the deed through error? R. Jehoshua meant to state: According to my opinion, thy argument does not hold good, from the very fact that I hold a man to be free if he committed the deed by mistake; but even according to thy opinion, that a man is also culpable when committing an act through error, thy argument is not effective, for in the first instance the sacrifice was changed to an offering which is prohibited to be brought on Sabbath, while in the second instance the sacrifice was changed to one which might be brought on Sabbath.

R. Eliezer replied: "The offerings brought for the whole congregation of Israel shall prove my assertion, for it is lawful to offer them on the Sabbath for their proper purpose; yet whoever brings other sacrifices under their denomination is held to be guilty." Then R. Jehoshua rejoined: "We cannot apply the decree concerning the offerings of the whole congregation, which have a determinate number, to the paschal sacrifices, which have no determinate number." Shall we then assume, that where there is a determinate number R. Jehoshua holds a man to be culpable; have we not learned in the case of where two children were to be circumcised, one on the eve of Sabbath and the other on the Sabbath, and by mistake the father had the one to be circumcised on the eve of Sabbath circumcised on the Sabbath, R. Jehoshua declared him free, although there was just one (i.e., a determinate number) to be circumcised on Sabbath? Said R. Ami: "The case of the two children to be circumcised was as follows: One of them was to be circumcised on the Sabbath and the other on the eve of Sabbath. When the Sabbath had arrived neither one was yet circumcised, and the father by mistake had the one who was to have been circumcised on the preceding day circumcised on the Sabbath. In doing this he was confused in the performance of a religious duty, however, and for that reason R. Jehoshua declares him free, while in the case of the offerings for the congregation the actual offerings to be brought had already been sacrificed and the man who brought other offerings under their denomination did so when the religious duty had already been fulfilled, and for that reason he is held to be culpable."

What about R. Meir? Does he declare a man free who had offered other sacrifices under the denomination of those of the congregation, even if the actual congregational offerings had already been sacrificed? From R. Meir's explanation 1 (Sabbath, page 306), according to the teaching of R. Hyya of the city of Abel Arab, however, of the dispute between R. Eliezer and R. Jehoshua, do we not see that such is not the case? Said the disciples of R. Janai: In the case of the circumcision R. Meir means to state that the child to be circumcised on the Sabbath had already been circumcised on the eve of Sabbath, and thus no child was left to make it obligatory to violate the Sabbath on its account, hence R. Jehoshua declares the man culpable; but in this case, where the Sabbath would be violated for a congregational sacrifice, R. Meir holds that any other sacrifices brought under that denomination are brought with the intention of fulfilling a religious duty, and for that reason they do not make a man culpable.

Said R. Ashi to R. Kahana: "Why should this latter case differ from the former; if a Sabbath may be violated for other congregational sacrifices, it may surely be violated also for other children who are to be circumcised on that day?" R. Kahana replied: "In that particular instance the Sabbath could not be violated by the father of the children, because he had no child for whom this would have been necessary, while the instance of the congregational sacrifice embodies a multitude of men and applies to all alike."

"If a person slaughtered the paschal lamb for those who will not partake thereof," etc. Is this not self-evident? We well know that if a man slaughtered on an ordinary Passover-day a sacrifice for those who will not partake thereof the sacrifice is invalid; surely, then, if he did so on a Sabbath which was also Passover, he is culpable! Because the latter clause, concerning one who slaughters a sacrifice for those who will and those who will not partake thereof, teaches that the man is not culpable, it also cites the instance of where he is culpable. Is this latter case not self-evident? If the sacrifice was offered on an ordinary Passover-day under the same circumstances, we know that it is valid; surely, then, a man is not culpable if he offers it on Sabbath! Hence we must assume that because the Mishna commences with an instance of where the sacrifice was brought not for its proper purpose, it also mentions the case of where it was brought for those who will not partake of it. For what purpose was the original clause in the Mishna cited? In order to quote the dispute between R. Eliezer and R. Jehoshua.

"If after slaughtering the man was advised that the participants had withdrawn," etc. R. Huna said in. the name of Rabh: "A trespass-offering which became ownerless (when it must be allowed to feed until it receive a blemish) and was slaughtered without its being stated for what purpose, is valid as a burnt- offering." Thus we see that it is not absolutely necessary to annul its original denomination in order to make it valid for another, but it may be offered up without comment.--Why, then, should it be necessary to allow it to feed until it receives a blemish, would it not be valid if, for instance, the owner had offered up something in its place and immediately offered it up without comment? This is merely a precautionary measure, to prevent a man from offering up a trespass-offering which was not yet substituted by another offering.

R. Hisda objected to R. Huna, and based his objection upon our Mishna, which says: If after slaughtering (the lamb) the man was advised that the participants had withdrawn themselves from it, he is absolved, because when he slaughtered it, it was under lawful circumstances; and a Boraitha teaches, that if a case like this happen on an ordinary Passover-day and not on a Sabbath, the sacrifice must be immediately burned. This would be perfectly proper if the original denomination of the sacrifice had to be plainly annulled, because, as long as its denomination is not annulled, a paschal offering remains what it is, and if it have no owner it must be immediately burned, because it becomes of itself invalid; but if the denomination need not be plainly annulled and if sacrificed without comment it is of itself changed into a peace-offering, then it becomes invalid, not because the invalidity is contained in itself, but because it was offered after the continual daily offering (of the evening), and we well know that in such an event the offering must not immediately be burned, but must be left until morning and then burned. Why, then, does the Boraitha decree that it must be immediately burned?

R. Joseph the son of R. Sala the Pious explained before R. Papa that the Boraitha is in accord with the opinion of Joseph ben Hunai, as we have learned in a Mishna: Joseph ben Hunai said: All sacrifices offered under the denomination of a paschal offering or a sin-offering are invalid. Whence we see that the invalidity is contained in itself and does not arise on account of other circumstances. For that reason the Boraitha decrees that it must be immediately burned. So far as the commission of an act through error is concerned, Joseph ben Hunai holds with R. Jehoshua, and absolves the culprit.

CHAPTER 7.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE ROASTING OF THE PASCHAL LAMB--THE MANNER OF PROCEDURE IF THE PASCHAL LAMB BECOME DEFILED--WHICH PARTS OF THE LAMB ARE EATEN.

MISHNA: How should the paschal lamb be roasted? A spit made of the wood of the pomegranate-tree should be taken, put in at the mouth (of the lamb or kid), and brought out again at the vent thereof. Its legs and entrails should be placed inside, according to R. Jose the Galilean; but R. Aqiba said: This would be a kind of boiling, and for that reason they ought to be suspended on the outside (of the lamb). The paschal sacrifice must not be roasted on an iron roasting spit, nor on a gridiron. Zadok related that Rabbon Gamaliel once said to his bondsman Tabbi: "Go and roast for us the paschal sacrifice on a gridiron."

GEMARA: Why should the spit be made of wood? Let it be an iron spit. Nay; when part of an iron spit is heated the entire spit becomes hot, and in consequence the flesh nearest the spit will be cooked by the heat thereof; but the Scriptures distinctly ordain that the lamb must be roasted over a fire, and not otherwise.

Why not use the wood of a date-tree? On account of the bark, which contains water, and when heated the water thereof will be the means of cooking part of the lamb, and this must not take place. Our Mishna is not in conformity with the opinion of R. Jehudah, who said that, as a wooden spit is not burnt while the lamb is being roasted, so also an iron spit will not become sufficiently heated to cook the flesh adjoining it. He was told, however, that while a wooden spit only becomes heated locally, an iron spit when partially heated becomes so throughout.

"The legs and entrails are placed inside," etc. We have .learned in a Boraitha that R. Ishmael calls a lamb roasted in that wise a sizzling roast and R. Tarphon calls it a whole roast. The rabbis taught: What is called a roasted goat which must not be eaten nowadays on the first night of Passover (outside of the Temple)? One that has been roasted whole; but if one of the members was detached or boiled and the remaining part roasted, it may be eaten, because then it is not considered a roasted goat. R. Shesheth said: "Even if a member was cooked (boiled) while still attached to the body of the goat and the remainder was roasted, it may also be eaten, and is not called a roasted goat."

Said Rabba: "If the lamb was stuffed with flour it may be eaten, even if it was not salted prior to being roasted." Rejoined Abayi: "Will not the filling absorb the blood in that event?" And Rabba replied: "Yea; but as soon as the roasting commences the blood recedes from the flour and is consumed by the fire."

Rabhin the Elder stuffed a dove with flour for Rabh, and the latter said: "If it is toothsome, give me a piece and I shall eat it."

We know, however, that, when Rabha was served with a stuffed duck at the house of Exilarch, he said: "If I did not see that the filling is as white as white glass I should not eat it." Now if it is a fact, as Rabba maintained, that during the roasting the blood recedes from the filling, why should Rabha have made that assertion--what difference does it make whether the filling was white or not? In this case the filling was made of coarser meal, which after absorbing the blood is not so easily purged thereof; hence it was necessary for Rabha to see whether the filling was white or not.

The Halakha in this case prevails as follows: "Where fine meal is used it makes no difference whether it had remained white or become red. If coarse meal was used it may be eaten only if it remained as white as white glass, while if any other kind of meal was used it may be eaten if it remains white, but not if it become red (or discoloured). Even if a lamb (or goat) was roasted upside down (so that the blood could not escape through its mouth), it may also be eaten; but concerning half-roasted meat, the testicles of a ram, and the muscles of the neck of a lamb there is a difference of opinion between R. A'ha and Rabhina. [In all cases of law, where R. A'ha and Rabhina dispute, R. A'ha upholds the more rigorous decrees and Rabhina the more lenient, and the Halakha prevails according to Rabhina; but in the above three instances R. A'ha inclines towards the more lenient ordinance and Rabhina to the more rigorous, and the Halakha prevails according to R. A'ha.] If half-roasted meat, which was dripping with blood, was subsequently salted it may even be boiled. If it was roasted on a spit it is also fit, but if it was roasted on live coals there is again a difference of opinion between R. A'ha and Rabhina. One maintains that it must not be used, because the blood remains in the meat, while the other holds that the blood escapes, and the meat is therefore fit to eat. The Halakha prevails according to the latter opinion.

The same case applies to the testicles of a ram. If they were cut up and salted, they may be cooked in a pot; and if they were roasted on a spit without being cut up and salted, they are still fit to eat, because the blood has been consumed by the fire; but if they were cooked over live coals, then is again the same difference of opinion between R. A'ha and Rabhina, and the Halakha prevails that they may be eaten.

Said Mar the son of Ameimar to R. Ashi: "My father would drink the juice of such meat." According to another version, R. Ashi himself would do this, and Mar the son of Ameiniar said to him: "My father used to say that vinegar in which meat had been steeped once, must not be used for the same purpose again, because it is diluted." What about diluted vinegar itself, why may that be used? Vinegar, even if it be weak, still retains its original acidity, and stops the flow of blood in the meat, but vinegar which has been diluted by steeping meat therein has lost its acidity and cannot therefore be used.

"The paschal sacrifice must not be roasted, etc., on a gridiron," etc. Does R. Zadok relate this instance (in the

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Mishna) of Rabbon Gamaliel as a contradiction to the Mishna? The Mishna is not complete, and should read: "If the gridiron, however, is perforated, it may be used for that purpose, as R. Zadok related that Rabbon Gamaliel," etc. (vide Mishna).

The rabbis taught: If the paschal lamb was cut up and placed over coals. Said Rabbi: "I say, that this is equal to roasting it over a fire." Rabha contradicted this saying: How can it be said that Rabbi calls coals "fire"; have we not learned that the passage [Lev. xvi. 12]: "And he shall take a censer full of burning coals of fire," means, that coals which have already become dim must not be used, because it says "coals of fire," and that a flame of fire should not be used, because of the term "coals of fire"? And R. Shesheth explained: Thus we see that live coals are meant, and that a distinction is made between fire and live coals." How then can Rabbi hold that even live coals are equal to fire? Said Rabha: Therefore, the statement of the rabbis must be explained thus: It is written "coals," and lest we assume that dim coals be meant, it is written "coals of fire." We might, however, assume that half coals and the other half fire should be brought, and by the time they are brought they will become coals entirely, hence it is said [ibid.] "coals of fire from off the altar," which signifies that when taken from the altar they should be coals already.

MISHNA: If any part of the roasted lamb had touched the earthenware oven on which it was roasted, that part must be pared off. If the fat dripping from the lamb had fallen on the oven and then had again fallen on the lamb, the part of the lamb touched must be cut out. If the dripping, however, fell on fine flour, a handful of that flour must be taken (and burned). If the paschal sacrifice had been anointed (basted) with consecrated oil of heave-offering and the company appointed to partake thereof consist of priests, they are allowed to eat it; but if the company consist of Israelites, they must wash it off the lamb if yet raw. Should the lamb have been already roasted, they must pare off the outward skin. If it had been anointed with oil of second tithe, its value must not be charged to the company in money, because it is not lawful to redeem and sell it in Jerusalem. 1

GEMARA: It was taught: All agree, that if warm (meat) fall into warm (milk) both are rendered prohibited (for use). Cold (meat) in cold (milk), all agree, is not rendered prohibited; but if warm (meat) fell into cold (milk) or cold (milk) fell on warm (meat), Rabh said that the thing falling on top supersedes that on the bottom, and hence both may be used or are prohibited as the case may be; but Samuel said, on the contrary, that the thing on the bottom virtually absorbs that on top. An objection was made, based upon the Mishna: "If the fat dripping from the lamb had fallen on the oven, etc., the part of the lamb touched must be cut out." At the first glance, it might be assumed that the oven in question was cold. This would be correct according to Rabh, who holds that the thing falling on top supersedes that originally at the bottom; and thus the oven, becoming in turn hot, causes the fat to boil. When the fat again falls on the lamb, the latter becomes roasted by the heat of the oven; and as the passage states that it should be roasted by fire only, the part of the lamb touched must therefore be cut out. But according to Samuel, who holds that a thing originally on bottom absorbs that falling on top, when the fat touches the oven, the fat becomes cold; consequently, when it again falls on the lamb, the lamb is not affected. Therefore, why should the part touched be cut out? Nay; the Mishna refers to a hot oven. (The same objection was made also to the latter part of the Mishna, which refers to the fat dripping on the flour, and the answer is similar.)

We have learned in a Boraitha in support of Samuel's contention, viz.: Warm falling on warm renders both prohibited. Cold falling on warm does likewise. Warm (meat) falling into cold (milk), it is only necessary to pare off the outer skin of the meat and it may be used. If cold (meat) had fallen into cold (milk), it need only be rinsed.

We have learned in another Boraitha: (Smoking) hot meat falling into (boiling) hot milk renders both prohibited. Cold (meat) in hot milk does likewise. If hot (meat) fall into cold milk, its outer skin must be pared off. Cold (meat) falling into cold (milk) need only be rinsed.

Rabh said: "(Ritually) slaughtered fat meat, if roasted together with lean meat of carrion, must not be eaten, because one draws the juice of the other." Levi, however, said: "Even slaughtered lean meat roasted together with fat meat of carrion may be eaten, because it only draws the odor of the fat meat, and that does not interfere with it."

Levi acted in accordance with his decision in the house of the Exilarch, where a goat and a sucking pig were roasted together.

An objection was made: We have learned that two paschal offerings must not be roasted together, lest they become mixed. Must we not assume that the reason is, that the taste of one will be affected by the other, and thus contradict Levi's opinion? Nay; the reason is, that there is fear of the offerings themselves becoming mixed so that their respective owners will not be able to distinguish them. This view seems to be the correct one, because it is taught further that even a lamb and a goat must not be roasted together (if they were paschal offerings). and if the reason therefor is that there is fear. lest the offerings become mixed, the teaching is correct and is merely a precaution against roasting two lambs or two goats together. If, however, the reason were to prevent the taste of either being affected by the other, what difference would it make whether a lamb and a goat, or two of either species, be roasted together?

Shall we say, that this is also a contradiction to Rabh's opinion? Said R. Jeremiah: "The case concerning the two paschal offerings which were roasted together refers to an instance of where they were roasted apparently in separate vessels, i.e., over two fires which were separated by a heap of coals, and we should learn thus: Two paschal offerings must not be roasted together on account of one affecting the taste of the other; nor should they be roasted together even when separated as mentioned, for fear of mixing them so that their owners will not be able to distinguish them, even if the two offerings consisted of a lamb and a goat."

R. Kahana the son of R. Hinana the Elder taught: "If bread was baked and meat was roasted in one oven, the bread must not be eaten with Kutach."

It happened that fish was broiled together with meat, and Rabha of the city of Parziqaia prohibited it to be eaten with Kutach. Mar the son of R. Ashi, however, said: "It should not even be eaten with salt, because it produces a bad odor and is the cause of sores."

MISHNA: Five kinds of sacrifices may be brought, even if those who offer them should be in a state of ritual uncleanness; but they should not be eaten by those who offer them while in that condition. They are: The "Omer" (sheaf-offering), the two loaves (of Pentecost), the showbreads (of the Sabbath), the peace-offerings of the congregation, and the he-goats offered on the Feast of the New Moon; the paschal offerings, however, which were sacrificed by men in a state of ritual uncleanness, might also be eaten by them, though they (the men) still be in that condition, because the main object of the commandment concerning the paschal offering was that it should be eaten.

GEMARA: The Mishna mentions five sacrifices; which does it intend to exclude? It means to exclude the festal offering brought on the festival itself (15th of Nissan); for it might be assumed that this offering being a congregational sacrifice and also being one which was appointed for a certain time, it should also be eaten even by a man in a (ritually) unclean state; hence we are taught that, as the festival may be extended over seven days, and in consequence does not supersede the due observance of the Sabbath, it does not also supersede the law of uncleanness.

Why does the Mishna not enumerate also the he-goat brought as a sin-offering on every festival? It does enumerate it, by including it in the peace-offerings of the congregation. Why, then, is the he-goat offered on the Feast of the New Moon enumerated separately? Let that also be included in the congregational offerings! Special mention must be made of the latter, because it might be assumed that the Feast of the New Moon is not a festival, and as a consequence the offering of that day does not supersede the law of uncleanness. Hence we are taught, that the Feast of the New Moon is also a festival and the he-goat sacrifice does supersede the laws of uncleanness.

Whence do we adduce the several teachings of the Mishna? From the following: The rabbis taught: It is written [Levit. xxiii. 44]: "And Moses declared the feasts of the Lord unto the children of Israel." For what purpose is this written? Because the entire chapter [ibid. xxiii.] deals with the paschal offering and the continual daily offerings, concerning which it states "at their appointed seasons," signifying, that they supersede both the observance of the Sabbath and the laws of uncleanness; but whence do we know that the same rule applies to other congregational sacrifices? To that end, it is written [Numb. xxix. 39]: "These shall ye prepare unto the Lord on your appointed festivals." Whence do we adduce, however, that the Omer (sheaf-offering) and the showbreads, together with their adjuncts, are also included in the rule? The above passage: "Moses declared the feast of the Lord," etc., implies, that Moses appointed a fixed time for all festivals and made them all equal.

From the above adductions the schoolmen reasoned, that all agree upon the fact that the law of uncleanness had only been temporarily set aside for congregational purposes, but not that it had been abrogated entirely, and also that the plate worn by the high-priest (through which he atoned for the sins of the community) 1 was brought in requisition to atone for the transgression of the law regarding uncleanness; for there cannot be found one Tana who holds that the said law was abrogated entirely, with the exception of R. Jehudah. They also assumed, that the plate of the high-priest atoned for the sacrifice of an unclean thing, but not for the transgression committed by eating an unclean thing; for there cannot be found one Tana who holds that the plate can atone for sins committed through eating, excepting R. Eliezer.

Shall we assume, therefore, that our Mishna is not in accordance with R. Jehoshua, as we have learned in a Boraitha: It is written [Deut. xii. 27]: "And thou shalt offer thy burnt offerings, the flesh and the blood," etc. Said R. Jehoshua: "If there is no flesh there is no blood, and if there is no blood there is no flesh"(meaning, if one or the other had become unclean or was lost, the remaining thing is useless). Thus, if it be true that the plate of the high-priest does not atone for sins committed through eating, will it not be evident that even the paschal sacrifice must not be brought in a state of uncleanness, because it must not be eaten? The Mishna may be even in accordance with R. Jehoshua, who maintains further on that, though there be only sacrificial fat of the size of an olive left on the altar, the blood of that sacrifice may be sprinkled, and also that the plate of the high-priest atones for the offerings, parts of which are brought on the altar and which were offered in an unclean state. This would only apply, however, to those offerings of which certain parts were brought on the altar; how will it be in the case of the Omer and the showbreads, no parts of which are ever brought on the altar? Therefore we must assume the following: The Mishna is in accordance with R. Jehoshua, but his prohibitory decision applies only to the performance of acts to commence with. If, however, the deed was accomplished, R. Jehoshua also admits that the act is valid. Whence do we adduce that R. Jehoshua holds to the distinction between the performance of an act to commence with and one already accomplished? From the following Boraitha: "If flesh had become unclean or it became unfit for use by virtue of its having come in contact with a man who had bathed, but upon whom the sun had not yet set, or it had become unfit for use by protruding from its proper receptacle, R. Eliezer holds that the blood thereof may be sprinkled, but R. Jehoshua maintains that it must not. The latter admits, however, that if the sprinkling had already been accomplished it is atoned for."

Our Mishna, however, deals with the performance of acts to commence with, because it distinctly states: "Five kinds of sacrifices may be brought"? Therefore we must render another explanation; namely, R. Jehoshua applies his decision only to the cases of individuals, but where congregational purposes are concerned, he interposes no impediment.

Shall we assume that the Mishna is not in accordance with the opinion of R. Jose of the following Boraitha? "R. Eliezer maintains that the plate of the high-priest atones also for sins committed through eating, but R. Jose holds that it does not." If R. Jose does not admit of this supposition, at a casual glance we might think that he is in accord with R. Jehoshua, who declares, that both the flesh and blood are required, and if R. Jose positively asserts that the sins committed through eating are not atoned for, we must presume that the Mishna is not in conformity with his opinion! Nay; in this respect R. Jose agrees with R. Eliezer, that blood may be sprinkled even if the flesh be not there.

R. Mari opposed this: If we admit that R. Jose agrees with R. Eliezer, it would be perfectly proper in the case of the sacrifices, for the blood thereof is offered up on the altar in the case of the Omer because a handful is taken therefrom in the case of the showbreads because the incense brought with it is offered up; but what about the two loaves (of Pentecost), of which nothing at all is taken off? If you say that the two loaves themselves are not meant, but the sacrifices brought with them, then there will be only four kinds, and the Mishna states that there are five? Hence the most reasonable supposition is, that the Mishna is not in accordance with R. Jose.

MISHNA: If the flesh of the paschal sacrifice has become (ritually) defiled and the fat thereof remains undefiled, its blood must not be sprinkled on the altar; but if the fat has become defiled and the flesh remains undefiled, the blood may be sprinkled; but such is not the case with respect to other consecrated sacrifices (under similar circumstances); for even if the flesh of such has become defiled but the fat has remained undefiled, their blood may be sprinkled.

GEMARA: R. Giddel said in the name of Rabh: What is the case if the blood has been sprinkled? In that event the duty has nevertheless been fulfilled. Is it not obligatory, however, to eat the paschal sacrifice, and in this case it must not be eaten? Rabh holds with R. Nathan, who states that the fact of its not having been eaten proves no impediment to the lawful accomplishment of the duty to sacrifice the paschal offering, as we have learned in a Boraitha, viz.: If one company had been appointed to eat the paschal sacrifice and subsequently another company had been added thereto, if there was sufficient for the first company, so that each member thereof ate as his share the size of an olive, this company has fulfilled the duty and need not celebrate a second Passover. If there was not sufficient remaining, so that the members of the second company could each eat a piece the size of an olive, they must celebrate a second Passover. R. Nathan, however, said: "Even the second company need not make a second Passover, because the blood of the sacrifice had already been sprinkled." Perhaps the reason for R. Nathan's dictum is, that had the first company withdrawn there would have been sufficient for the second each to eat a piece the size of an olive; hence the supposition that such was the case renders the sacrifice valid for both, but not because the fact of its not being eaten proves no impediment? If the former reason were

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the acceptable one, the Boraitha should have stated the supposition, but the fact that it says, "because the blood of the sacrifice had already been sprinkled," is conclusive proof that the sprinkling of the blood is the main object of the commandment.

What impels Rabh to construct the Mishna according to R. Nathan, and expound it in the sense that the blood must not be sprinkled to commence with, but that, if this was done, the act does not invalidate the sacrifice? Let him explain it according to the sages, who hold that the blood must not be sprinkled, and that if this was done it invalidates the sacrifice!

Rabh could not understand the Mishna, and he argued: Why should the Mishna state that the blood must not be sprinkled? because while this should not be done to commence with, if it was done it is a valid act; for otherwise the Mishna could have plainly said, "the sacrifice is not valid."

According to which Tana is the following teaching of the rabbis: "If a man who was appointed to eat of the paschal offering was ill at the time the sacrifice was about to be slaughtered and had recovered when the blood was about to be sprinkled, or was well when it was about to be slaughtered and became ill when the blood was about to be sprinkled, the sacrifice must not be slaughtered nor the blood sprinkled unless that man was well from the time of slaughter until the sprinkling of the blood"? Shall we say, that this is in accordance with the sages and not with R. Nathan? Nay; it may be even in accordance with R. Nathan; for while maintaining that not eating the sacrifice proves no impediment, he nevertheless admits that at the time when the sacrifice is slaughtered and the blood sprinkled the man must be in a condition to partake thereof.

According to which Tana is the following teaching of the rabbis: "If at the time the sacrifice was slaughtered the participants thereof were still undefiled and subsequently became defiled, the blood may be sprinkled as if for undefiled participants but the sacrifice must not be eaten." Said R. Elazar: "This teaching is in accordance with the disputants and appears to be according to R. Nathan." R. Johanan, however, said: The teaching may be in accord with the sages, but in that event it treats of the whole community and not of an individual, and we have learned that a community may sacrifice the paschal offering even if all the members thereof were defiled. Then why is the sacrifice not allowed to be eaten? As a precautionary measure, lest at the next Passover they become unclean after the sprinkling and nevertheless claim that they are allowed to partake of the sacrifice because they were also unclean on the last Passover, forgetting, however, that they were already defiled before the sprinkling but did not become so afterwards.

If you wish, I can tell you that Rabh holds with R. Jehoshua, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: R. Jehoshua said: "All the sacrifices mentioned in the Scriptures, whether the flesh had become defiled and the fat remained clean, or the reverse was the case, the blood thereof must nevertheless be sprinkled. But of Nazarite offerings or the paschal sacrifice, if the fat became defiled and the flesh remained clean, the blood may be sprinkled; but if the reverse was the case, the blood may not be sprinkled. If this was done, however, the duty is accomplished. If the owners of the sacrifice, however, have become polluted through a corpse, even if the blood had already been sprinkled, the sacrifice is not valid."

"Such is not the case with respect to other consecrated sacrifices," etc. This clause of the Mishna will be in accordance with the opinion of R. Jehoshua, as taught in the following Boraitha: R. Jehoshua said: Of all sacrifices mentioned in the Scriptures, if a piece the size of an olive had remained, the blood may be sprinkled; but if a piece the size of half an olive had been left over, the blood may not be sprinkled, except in the case of a burnt- (whole) offering, where, should even a piece the size of half an olive be left over, the blood may also be sprinkled, because the whole sacrifice is offered up on the altar. In the case of a meat-offering which was still intact, if it had become defiled the blood must not be sprinkled. What has a meat-offering to do with the sprinkling of the blood? Said R. Papa: By this is meant the meat-offering brought with every sacrifice, and lest we assume that even if but a piece thereof the size of an olive remain, the blood of the sacrifice may be sprinkled, we are taught that even if it had remained intact it does not legalise the sprinkling of the blood.

MISHNA: If the whole or the greater part of the congregation had become defiled, or the priests were in a state of defilement but the congregation was undefiled, the sacrifice may be brought in this state of defilement; but if the minority only of the congregation had become defiled, the majority that are clean shall sacrifice the paschal offering at its proper time and the unclean (minority) shall sacrifice a second paschal offering, on the 14th of the following month.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: If the congregation was defiled but the priests and the utensils necessary for the service were clean, or the reverse was the case; or, moreover, if the congregation and the priests were clean and the utensils alone were unclean, the sacrifice must nevertheless be brought in that state of defilement. Why so? Because a congregational sacrifice must not be divided; i.e., even if there were some men among the congregation who happened to be undefiled, they must also participate in the sacrifice.

It was taught: If the congregation was equally divided--one half being unclean and the other half clean--Rabh said that a half is equal to a majority, and one half should bring the sacrifice in its state of defilement, while the other half should bring it in its proper condition. R. Kahana, however, said that a half does not constitute a majority, and hence the half which is clean should bring the sacrifice at the customary time, while the other half should bring it at the second Passover (one month later). According to another version, R. Kahana is supposed to have said: "The half does not constitute a majority, therefore the undefiled half should bring the sacrifice at its usual time; but the unclean half should not bring it at all; because, in the first! place they were defiled, and on the second occasion they, not being a majority, cannot observe a second Passover."

We have learned one Boraitha in support of Rabh's opinion: "If the congregation was equally divided, one half being unclean, and the other clean, each half should bring a separate paschal offering." We have also learned a Boraitha supporting the first. version of R. Kahana's dictum, as follows: "If a congregation was equally divided between unclean and clean members, the latter should bring their sacrifice at its usual time and the former at the second Passover"; and also a Boraitha supporting the second version of R. Kahana's opinion: "If a congregation was equally divided between clean and unclean members, the former bring their sacrifice at the usual time and the latter need not bring it at all."

The text of the Boraitha states: "If the congregation was equally divided, one half being clean and the other unclean, each half should bring a separate paschal offering," and continues: "if there was one majority in the unclean half, the sacrifice must be brought in the state of pollution, because a congregational sacrifice cannot be divided." R. Elazar ben Mathia, however, says, that a single person cannot determine the uncleanness of an entire community, because it is written [Deut. xvi. 5]: "Thou mayest not slay the Passover within any of thy gates" (which signifies, that a single person cannot influence a congregation). R. Simeon, however, said: "Even if one tribe was unclean and the remaining eleven tribes (of Israel) were clean, the one unclean tribe must bring a separate sacrifice." The reason why R. Simeon maintains this, is because he considers each tribe a separate congregation; but R. Jehudah said: "Even if only one tribe was unclean, all the remaining tribes must bring their sacrifices in a state of defilement." Why so? Because he also holds that each tribe constitutes a congregation, and so the entire community is thus equally divided between unclean and clean; and as a communal sacrifice must not be divided, they must all join in bringing it in a state of defilement.

It was taught: "If the congregation was equally divided, one half being clean and the other unclean, Rabh says that one member of the clean half should be defiled by contact with a dead reptile, and thus the entire congregation can bring the sacrifice in a state of defilement." Why should this be done? Did not Rabh state previously that they should each bring separate sacrifices? In this case there was already a majority of one in the unclean half. If that is so, then there was already a majority; why make another man unclean? Rabh holds with R. Elazar ben Mathia, that one person cannot determine the uncleanness of a congregation. If Rabh holds with R. Elazar, then the same question arises, why should not each half bring a separate sacrifice? Rabh means to say as follows: If there is a Tana who holds with the first Tana of the Boraitha, to the effect that each half must bring a separate sacrifice, and at the same time holds with R. Jehudah, namely, that a communal sacrifice must not be divided and in consequence is in doubt how to proceed, he should make another man unclean and thus constitute an unquestionable majority.

Ula, however, said: "A member of the clean half should first be sent on a long journey, and then be defiled by contact with a dead reptile," because he holds that a man who had become unclean through a reptile may nevertheless have the sacrifice brought for him; but if he was away on a journey and there becomes unclean, the sacrifice cannot be brought for him. 1 Why not defile the man by means of a corpse? If this is done, he will be robbed of his right to bring even his festival offering. And, on the other hand, is he not deprived of his right to bring the paschal offering? Yea; but he has the privilege of bringing the Passover sacrifice on the second Passover. Then, if defiled by a corpse, he will be enabled to bring his festal offering on the seventh day of Passover, which will be the eighth since his becoming defiled! Ula holds that the extension of the festal offering throughout the seven days applies only to one who was capable of bringing it on the first day, but not if he was legally incapacitated to do so on the first day.

Said R. Na'hman: "Go to Ula and say to him: Is it reasonable that a man should be asked to strike his tent and leave everything behind him in disorder in order to undertake a long journey on the eve of Passover? Therefore, I say that Rabh's proposition to defile him with a dead reptile is sufficient."

MISHNA: If, after the blood of the paschal sacrifice had been sprinkled on the altar, it became known that it (the blood or the flesh thereof) was unclean, the plate of gold (of the high-priest) atones for the sin; but if the body (of the owner) of the sacrifice had been defiled, the plate of the high-priest does not atone for the sin; for it is a rule that the plate atones for (the sin of sacrificing) the paschal offering and that of the Nazarite, if the blood of these had become defiled; but not if the body (of the owner) of such sacrifice had become unclean. It does, on the other hand, atone for the defilement caused by an abyss or by the ground. 2

GEMARA: From the Mishna we learn, that the plate atones for the sin if it had become known that the blood or flesh was unclean, after the sprinkling; hence we must assume that if this was known before the sprinkling and the blood had been sprinkled nevertheless, the plate does not atone for the sin, and would this not be contradictory to the following Boraitha: "For what things does the plate atone? For blood, flesh, and fat which was rendered unclean either intentionally or inadvertently, whether this was brought about by accident or voluntarily, whether the sacrifice be that of an individual or of a congregation

Said Rabhina: "If the sacrifice was rendered unclean either intentionally or inadvertently, the plate atones for the sin (of sacrificing in such a state); but as for sprinkling, it atones only for unintentional sprinkling (i.e., if the man had forgotten that the sacrifice was unclean) but not for intentional sprinkling." R. Shila, however, said: "(On the contrary!) As for sprinkling, whether done intentionally or unintentionally, the plate atones for the sin; but if the sacrifice became unclean, if it was rendered so inadvertently the plate atones for the sin, but if rendered so intentionally it does not, and thus should the Boraitha also be explained; but as regards the statement in the Mishna that, if the fact of the sacrifice being unclean had become known, after the sprinkling of the blood, the plate atones for it, thus showing that if the sprinkling was done knowingly the plate does not atone for it, it is not correct, for the plate atones for the sprinkling even if done knowingly, and the reason the statement is made is because in the latter clause of the Mishna it must be taught that even if the blood had been sprinkled without the knowledge of the fact that the owners of the sacrifice were unclean, still the plate does not atone for the sin; therefore an analogous teaching is made also in the first clause."

"It does on the other hand atone for the defilement caused by an abyss," etc. Rama bar Hama propounded a question: "Does the plate atone also for a priest who had contracted (doubtful) uncleanness through an abyss, or does this only apply to the owner of the sacrifice? Shall we assume, that the tradition to the effect that the plate atones for such doubtful uncleanness applies only to the owners of the sacrifice, or that it applies to the sacrifice itself and hence also to either owner or priest?

Said Rabha: "Come and hear! R. Hyya taught: 'The law regarding doubtful uncleanness caused by an abyss treats only of uncleanness by means of a corpse.' What does he mean to exclude by using the word "only"? Doubtless a reptile. Now let us see who can be affected by contact with a reptile: If we should say the owner of the sacrifice, which owner does he refer; to? Shall we assume that the owner was a Nazarite? then uncleanness through contact with a reptile does not change the, legal status of a Nazarite, as it is written [Numb. vi. 9]: "And if some one die very suddenly" (but not a reptile). Then we must assume that the owner of a paschal offering is referred to. This would be correct, according to the Tana who maintains that for an owner defiled through a reptile a paschal offering may neither be slaughtered nor the blood thereof sprinkled; but according to the other Tana, who holds that such a condition of' the owner does not interfere with the slaughtering of the paschal offering or the sprinkling of its blood, what would R. Hyya come to teach us?--If the slaughtering and sprinkling are permitted for an owner unquestionably defiled through contact with a reptile, it is certainly permitted for one whose defilement through an abyss was not of a doubtful nature. Hence we must assume that even a priest is referred to, and thus the plate of the high-priest atones also for a priest who was supposed to have become unclean, by passing over an abyss probably harbouring a corpse.

R. Joseph propounded a question: "If there was doubt concerning the undefiled state of a priest who had passed over an abyss probably harbouring a corpse, and was engaged in bringing the continual daily offering, does the plate atone for him also, or not? If you should even say that he was atoned for, when bringing other sacrifices, f.i., as just mentioned in the case of a priest who sacrificed the paschal offering the question concerning one engaged on the continual daily offering still remains; for while we have a tradition to the effect that the plate of the high-priest atones for a priest in the mentioned condition who had sacrificed a paschal offering, we have none affecting the case of a priest bringing the continual daily offering while in a state of doubtful. defilement; or, on the other hand, from the fact that we have no tradition to that

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effect, should we draw the inference from the instance of the paschal offering?

Said Rabba: "(This is not only an inference); it is an a fortiori conclusion! If in the case of other sacrifices, as the Nazarite offerings, the paschal offerings, etc., where positive uncleanness; would interfere with the validity of the sacrifice, a doubtful case was not held to prove an impediment, then certainly in the case of the continual daily offering, which must be brought even if all concerned are in a positive state of defilement, it should so much the more be valid in a case of doubtful defilement." Is it possible, then, to draw an a fortiori conclusion from a tradition? Did we not learn in a Boraitha: "Said to him R. Eliezer: Aqiba! That a bone of a corpse of the size of a barley-corn, when brought in contact with a man, defiles him, is a tradition, and thou wouldst draw therefrom the a fortiori conclusion that a quarter of a lug of blood would so much the more be a means of defilement. An a fortiori conclusion must not be derived from a tradition!"

"Therefore," said Rabh, "the case of the continual daily offering is not derived from the paschal offering by means of an a fortiori conclusion, but by means of a comparison by analogy, namely: As concerning both sacrifices it is written, 'at their appointed seasons,' the same rules apply to both."

Where do we find it written in general concerning the doubtful state of defilement caused by passing over an abyss probably harbouring a corpse? It has already been stated that this is merely a tradition, and is not particularly specified at any place.

It was taught: Mar bar R. Ashi said: Do not learn in the Mishna, "only if it became known after the sprinkling that the blood was defiled the plate of the high-priest atones for the sin committed, if previously known, however, it does not"; but even if it was also known previously, the plate atones for it."

MISHNA: If the whole or the greater part of the paschal offering had become defiled, it should be burned before the sanctuary with wood used for the altar; if the lesser part thereof had become unclean, or if some part thereof had remained over until the next morning (on the 15th), the owners may burn it in their own courts, or on their roofs, with their own wood. Avaricious persons, however, would burn it before the sanctuary, in order to get the benefit of the wood used for the altar.

GEMARA: Why was the burning done in so public a manner? Said R. Jose bar R. Hanina: In order to put to shame the owners of the sacrifice for their negligence in permitting the paschal offering to become defiled.

"If the lesser part thereof," etc. Is this not contradictory to what we have learned in a previous Mishna, namely: "If a person on leaving Jerusalem remembers having consecrated flesh with him (even if it be only the size of an olive) he must return and burn it before the sanctuary with wood of the altar"? Said R. Hama bar Uqba: "This presents no difficulty: The Mishna mentioned treats of a visitor to Jerusalem, who had no wood of his own, while our Mishna treats of a permanent resident of Jerusalem."

The rabbis taught: "If the people came to burn (the unclean offering or the remainder) before the sanctuary with their own wood or desired to burn it in their own homes with wood of the altar, they must be prevented from accomplishing such an act." It is perfectly proper to prevent their burning it in their own homes with wood of the altar, lest some of the wood be left over and they use it for profane purposes; but why should they not be permitted to burn it before the sanctuary with their own wood? Said R. Joseph: "In order not to disgrace those who have no wood of their own," and Rabha said: "In order not to cast suspicion upon them; for if they have some of their own wood left over and carry it back with them they might be suspected of appropriating the wood of the altar." Wherein do these two sages differ? In a case where the wood brought was not like that used for the altar; for instance, the bark of date-trees or small sticks. (According to R. Joseph, not even such wood may be brought, while according to Rabha this would be permissible.)

MISHNA: If a slaughtered Passover-sacrifice had been carried beyond the walls of Jerusalem or had become defiled, it must be immediately burned (on the eve of Passover). If the owners thereof had become defiled or had died, it must be left until its condition is changed (i.e., it must be left over until the next morning), and should be burned on the 16th of Nissan 1). R. Johanan ben Broka said: (In the latter event) it should also be immediately burned, because there are none to eat it.

GEMARA: If the Passover-sacrifice had become defiled it is perfectly proper to burn it, because it is expressly written [Levit. vii. 19]: "And the flesh that toucheth any unclean thing shall not be eaten, with fire shall it be burnt"; but whence do we know that if it had been carried beyond the walls of Jerusalem it must also be burned? Because it is written [ibid. x. 18]: "Behold, its blood was not brought within the holy place"; and thence we infer that, as it was not brought within the holy place, it must be burnt. Still, concerning a defiled paschal offering, it would be right to burn it, because the passage states that ordinary holy sacrifices which had become unclean must be burnt, but concerning the offering carried beyond the walls of Jerusalem the passage quoted [ibid. x. 18] refers only to most holy sacrifices, and whence do we know that it applies also to ordinary holy offerings? Aside from this, we have learned in a Boraitha: "If the blood of the sacrifice had become spilled, or the flesh had remained within, but the blood had escaped beyond the walls of Jerusalem, the sacrifice must be burnt." Whence do we learn this? The law concerning everything which becomes subject to burning with fire, whether it be ordinarily holy or most holy, is derived from a tradition, and as for the passage mentioning the sin-offering of Aaron, it is merely quoted because such happened to be the case. Now then, if the entire law ordaining that, whether the sacrifices be ordinarily holy or most holy, they must in the event of their becoming unclean be burnt with fire, is derived merely from a tradition, for what purpose is it written [Levit. vi. 23]: "It shall be burnt with fire"? That passage is necessary, in order to impart to us the information that it must be burnt in the holy place; for from the tradition alone we might presume that this could be done elsewhere, and hence the necessity for the passage. In that event, to what end is it written [ibid. vii. 19]: "And the flesh that toucheth any unclean thing shall not be eaten, with fire shall it be burnt"? That passage is needed for its own particular purpose; for we might presume that the tradition making it obligatory to burn the invalid sacrifices applies only to those in respect to which, were they ordinary (non-consecrated) articles, the exigency could not possibly arise. For instance, if the blood had remained over night, or the blood had been spilled, or had escaped beyond the walls (of Jerusalem), or if the sacrifice had been slaughtered at night (which is not permissible); but if the sacrifice had become unclean, which state can also prevail in the case of ordinary articles, it might be assumed that it is not necessary to burn it, but that it may even be buried; therefore we find it written as above [Levit. vii. 19].

"If the owners thereof had become defiled or had died," etc. Said R. Joseph: Wherein do they (the sages and R. Johanan ben Broka) differ? Only if the owners had become defiled prior to the sprinkling of the blood; because, as the flesh was not yet (legally) suitable for the duty of eating thereof at the time, the uncleanness is considered to be in the sacrifice itself; but if the owners had become defiled after the sprinkling, in which event the flesh was already suitable for eating, all agree that the invalidity was not occasioned by the sacrifice itself but by some outside means, and for that reason it should be left until its condition is changed (i.e., it should be left over night). R. Johanan, however, said, that even after the sprinkling the same is the case, and this he states in accordance with his individual theory; for both R. Johanan ben Broka and R. Nehemiah said one and the same thing (namely, that when the owners became defiled, the sacrifice should be immediately burned). Rabba added to this, that R. Jose the Galilean made the same statement.

MISHNA: The bones, sinews, and other remaining parts must be burned on the 16th; and should that day fall on a Sabbath, they must be burned on the 17th, because the burning of these does not supersede the laws of the Sabbath or those of the festival.

GEMARA: R. Mari bar Abbahu in the name of R. Itz'hak said: The bones, still retaining marrow, of consecrated sacrifices, if left over as remainder, defile the hands touching them. Why so? Because they are a basis to a prohibited article (i.e., the marrow which was left over and should be burned).

An objection was raised: (We have learned:) The bones left over from consecrated sacrifices are not subject to being burned, excepting only the bones of the paschal offering; (because they must not be broken but left in their original condition and) it might happen that some of the flesh should cling to them. Now, let us see what kind of bones are meant! Shall we assume such as have not retained the marrow? Who would hold that such should be burned? Hence such as still retain the marrow must be meant. In that event, if the bones are considered a basis to a prohibited article, i.e., they serve the marrow as receptacles, why should they not be burnt?

Said R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak: "Bones which had been found broken and the marrow extracted are referred to; thus the bones of other sacrifices, which may be broken, may have been broken and the marrow extracted from them before they had had an opportunity of becoming a remainder of a sacrifice; hence they need not be burnt. The bones of a paschal offering, however, which must remain whole, could have been broken and had the marrow extracted from them only after becoming a remainder, and for that reason they must be burnt."

R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: "All sinews are considered of flesh except the sinews of the neck (i.e., if one ate only the nerves of the flesh of the paschal offering, it is the same as if he had eaten the flesh itself)."

An objection was made based upon our Mishna, which teaches "that bones, nerves, and other remaining parts must be burned on the 16th." Now, let us see what sinews are referred to? If the sinews of the body in general are meant, why not eat them; and if it is claimed that they were left over, why mention them separately-are they not the same as the other remaining parts? Therefore we must say, that the sinews of the neck are meant. If that be the case and, according to Rabh, they are not considered as flesh, why should they be burned? Said R. Hisda: "By the sinews which must be burned, is meant the sinew of the thigh (which is not eaten), and, according to R. Jehudah's opinion that only the sinew of one of the thighs is prohibited to be eaten, the sinew of the other is a legal remainder and should be burned." R. Ashi said: "The Boraitha means to state, that not the sinew proper, but only the fat thereof on account of which the sinew is burned with it, is referred to, as we have learned in another Boraitha, that the fat of the sinew of the thigh may be eaten but it is not customary to do so (as will be explained in Tract Cholin)," and Rabhina said: "The sinew which must be burned is the one on the outside, which, while it is permitted to eat it, is not generally eaten by Israelites (as will also be explained in Tract Cholin)."

"If that day (the 16th) should fall on a Sabbath," etc. Why should this be so? Why should not the positive commandment (to burn the remainder) supersede the negative commandment (not to violate the Sabbath)? Said Hezkiyah, and so also the disciples of Hezkiyah: It is written [Exod. xii. x]: "And ye shall not let anything of it remain until morning; and that which remaineth of it until morning ye shall burn with fire." Why is "until morning" mentioned a second time? In order to afford a man a second morning on which to burn the remainder (i.e., if the 16th fell on a Sabbath, to give the man until the 17th).

Abayi, however, said: (It may be inferred from another passage.) It is written [Num. 28:10]: "This is the burnt-offering of the Sabbath on every 'Sabbath,'" i.e., that only an offering of Sabbath may be burned on Sabbath, but not an offering of a week-day should be burnt on a Sabbath or on a festival day.

Rabha said: (It may be inferred from the following passage) [Exod. 12:16]: "Save what is eaten by every man, that only may be prepared by you"; that only, and not a circumcision, which is not in proper time, and which is learned from an a fortiori conclusion.

R. Ashi said: "The rest concerning a festival which is mentioned [Lev. 23:24] makes it a positive commandment, which states that no labour shall be done on a festival, so a festival has two commandments, a positive and a negative one; and to burn the remainder is only one commandment, which does not supersede the above two commandments."

MISHNA: Every part usually eaten of a full-grown ox may be eaten of the paschal kid or lamb, such as the cartilage and tendons over the joints.

GEMARA: Rabba found a contradiction in this Mishna, namely: "It is stated that every part usually eaten of a full-grown ox may be eaten of the paschal kid or lamb, and then exemplifies the statement by mentioning the cartilage and tendons over the joints, and is it not a fact that these latter parts of an ox are not eaten?" Said Rabha: "The Mishna means to imply that all parts of an ox eaten boiled may be eaten of the paschal kid or lamb roasted, and what are those parts referred to? the cartilage and tendons over the joints." We have also learned the same teaching as Rabha's in a Boraitha, with the addition, "that the small sinews of the body are also included."

It was taught: "Sinews, which are at first soft and later on become hard," said R. Johanan, "may be selected by one of the men appointed to eat of the paschal sacrifice for his share, because at the time of selection they were soft and eatable"; but Resh Lakish said, "that they must not be selected, because they eventually become hard and are thus at no time edible."

Resh Lakish made an objection to the statement of R. Johanan, based upon our Mishna, which states that the cartilage and tendons only may be eaten: "Hence the small sinews are not to be included." R. Johanan replied: Learn, that the parts mentioned and also the small sinews may 'be eaten; from the fact that they are eaten in a boiled state of the ox, the same cause applies also to the kid or lamb.

R. Jeremiah said to R. Abin: "When thou wilt come to R. Abbahu, propound the following contradictory question to him: Can, then, R. Johanan assert, that the small sinews may be selected as a share of the paschal sacrifice? Did not Resh Lakish ask R. Johanan whether the skin of a young calf's head is subject to defilement, and the latter answered that (on account of such a skin eventually becoming hard) it is not subject to defilement (as is the case with hide); (hence should we not assume that R. Johanan did so because he took into consideration its final condition--then why should he not also consider the future condition of the sinews, which eventually become hard and inedible)?" (R. Abbahu replied): "The man who evolved this contradictory question did not watch the meal he had ground (i.e., he did not consider the correctness of his deductions); for we have learned that at the same time when Resh Lakish showed R. Johanan a Mishna which refuted the answer rendered, R. Johanan replied: 'Anger me not! The Mishna thou citest I attribute to an individual opinion, that I myself do not uphold' (whence we see that he retracted his assertion to the effect that the future condition need not be considered)."

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MISHNA: Whosoever breaks any bones of the clean paschal lamb incurs the penalty of forty stripes; but the person who should leave a part of the paschal lamb over night, or who breaks a bone of an unclean paschal sacrifice, does not incur that penalty.

GEMARA: It is perfectly proper that a man who leaves part of the paschal lamb over night should not incur the penalty of stripes, because the negative commandment [Exod. xii. 10]: "Ye shall not let anything of it remain until morning," does not involve the execution of an act, and the violation of a negative commandment of such a character does not carry with it the penalty of stripes; but whence do we adduce that a person who breaks a bone of an unclean paschal sacrifice should not incur that penalty? Because it is written [ibid. xii. 46]:"No bone shall ye break in it," and the term "in it" signifies, that only in a clean paschal sacrifice it is not allowed, but not in an unclean.

The rabbis taught: It is written: "No bone shall ye break in it," and this signifies that this must be done in a valid sacrifice but not in an invalid. Rabbi, however, said: "I do not derive this rule from this passage alone, but from the fact that in the same verse [Exod. xii. 46] we find: 'In one house shall it be eaten, etc., and no bone shall ye break in it,' and hence we must say, that only if a bone was broken in a lamb which may be eaten is the penalty of stripes incurred, but not in a lamb which must not be eaten." Wherein do these two statements differ? Said Abayi: "The difference arises in a case where a bone was broken in the lamb on the day preceding Passover. According to the one statement, which makes a man punishable with stripes if he break a bone in a valid paschal sacrifice, as the paschal lamb is already valid, the man incurs that penalty; but according to the other statement, the fact that the lamb could not at that time be eaten absolves the culprit from the penalty."

An objection was made: Rabbi said, that if a man select only the brains of the paschal sacrifice as his share he may be included in the number appointed to eat it; but he must not be included if he selects as his share the marrow of the thigh-bone. Why should a man be allowed to select as his share the brains of the lamb? Because, in order to extract them it is not necessary to break one of the bones (as they may be extracted through the nostrils). On the other hand, the marrow of the thigh-bone should not be selected because it would necessitate the breaking of that bone. If, however, it is allowed to break the bone during the day, why may not the bone be broken at that time, and thus the marrow, being accessible, be allowed to serve as the share of one of the number appointed to eat the paschal lamb? If the breaking of the bone be the only impediment, then Abayi may reply, there is no need of doing this during the day; for even in the evening the bone may be placed over live coals and burned until the marrow is easily extractable, and thus render it capable of serving as the share of one of the number; for we have learned in a Boraitha, that the burning of the bones or cutting of the sinews cannot be considered a violation of the law against breaking the bones.

Hence we must say, that the reason the bones must not be burned, according to Abayi, is for fear lest they split while burning, which will be considered as breaking the bones, and, according to Rabha, for fear lest the marrow, which is a consecrated thing, be burnt (and the law is that consecrated things must not be burned to commence with); therefore it may be claimed that this should not be done during the day, as a precaution against a person doing it at night.

R. Papa, however, said: Breaking the bone during the day is, according to the opinion of all, prohibited, even though the sacrifice may not yet be eaten at that time, because at night it will be suitable for that purpose and is therefore considered suitable even during the day. They differ, however, concerning a part of a member which had protruded beyond the wall and which must not on that account be eaten. According to the one who maintains that a person who is guilty of breaking a bone in a valid sacrifice incurs the penalty of stripes, if a man had broken a bone in that member which is valid, he incurs the penalty of stripes; but according to the one who maintains that breaking a bone of such a sacrifice as may be eaten only involves punishment with stripes, he does not incur the penalty, because the member must not be eaten, as we have learned in a Boraitha; R. Ishmael the son of R. Johanan ben Broka said: "A man who had broken a bone in a member of the sacrifice which had protruded beyond the wall does not incur the penalty of stripes." R. Shesheth the son of R. Idi, however, said, that concerning such a member all agree that one who breaks a bone thereof does not incur the penalty, because it is invalid and must not be eaten. They differ, however, concerning one who had broken a bone in a paschal lamb that was yet raw. The one who claims that it is valid, maintains that the man incurs the penalty, but the other says that he does not, because the lamb cannot yet be eaten.

R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak said: "This is not the point of variance, because all agree, that one who breaks a bone in a paschal lamb which was still raw incurs the penalty, as the lamb may be roasted and then be eaten. They do differ, however, concerning a man who breaks the tail of the lamb, which must not be eaten, but offered up on the altar. Those who hold that the sacrifice is a valid one hold him to the penalty, while the others claim that, as the tail must not be eaten, the man is exempt."

R. Ashi, however, said: "Not even on this point can they differ; for all agree, that as the tail must not be eaten, the breaking thereof does not carry with it the penalty of stripes. Wherein they do differ is concerning a member of a paschal lamb that does not contain flesh to the size of an olive. According to one, the member being valid, breaking thereof incurs the penalty, while according to the other, the fact that there is not sufficient flesh thereon to be eaten exempts a man who broke it."

Rabhina, however, said: "Neither on this point do they differ, because as there is not sufficient flesh on that member to be eaten, all agree, that breaking it does not involve the penalty; but they do differ concerning a member which a person had broken in a place where there was not sufficient flesh to be eaten, while the same member contained in another place sufficient flesh. Accordingly, some hold that as a member which was valid was broken, the penalty was incurred, while others maintain that, as the part which could not be eaten was broken, the penalty is not incurred thereby."

We have learned in a Boraitha a support to four of the preceding sages: Rabbi said: "It is written [Exod. xii. 46]: 'In one house shall it be eaten, etc., and no bone shall ye break in it,' which signifies that one is culpable only if he break the bone in a valid sacrifice, but not in one that was invalid. If at one time the paschal sacrifice was valid, and subsequently became invalid while being eaten, the law against breaking its bones does not apply. If the bone broken had the prescribed quantity of flesh thereon, the law against breaking its bones does apply thereto; but if it had not, the law does not apply. Such parts as are to be brought on the altar are not affected by the law. During the time when the paschal lamb is eaten, the law mentioned applies; but at any other time, when it is not eaten, the law does riot apply."

R. Ami said: "One who carries out flesh of the paschal sacrifice from one company to another does not become culpable until he deposits it in a certain place, because it is written [Exod. xii. 46]: 'Thou shalt not carry forth aught of the flesh abroad out of the house,' and the same rule applies to this as to carrying on the Sabbath, namely: There must be a removal from a certain fixed place and a deposit in another fixed place."

R. Abba bar Mamal made an objection: "We have learned elsewhere, that if four persons carried it on rods and the first pair stepped outside of the wall of the Temple while the other pair remained on the inside, the clothes of the first pair become unclean but not those of the second pair. There was, however, no deposit of the sacrifice in a certain place; why should they become unclean?" The questioner himself answered this by saying: "This was a case where the sacrifice was not carried, but dragged on the ground (hence there was a deposit in a certain place)."

MISHNA: If part of a member (of the paschal sacrifice) protrude beyond (the Temple), it must be cut until the knife reaches the bone, then the flesh should be removed on the inside (of the Temple) until the joint is reached, when it may be cut off (and the bone must be cast away). With regard to other sacrifices (the bones of which it is permitted to break), the protruding part must be cut off with a slaughtering knife; if it extend from the door-wing (or lobby), it must be considered as inward; if it protrude farther than this, it is to be considered as outward (and should be cut off). The apertures in a wall and the thickness of a wall may be considered as the inside.

GEMARA: Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: "The same rule applies to an assembly for prayer" (if nine men were on the inside and one on the outside, the assembly is not complete), and he differs with R. Jehoshua ben Levi, who declares, that even an iron wall does not intervene between Israelites and their Heavenly Father.

There is a difficulty in the Mishna itself; in one clause it states, that if the part of the member extend from the door-wing it is considered on the inside, hence the door-wing is itself considered on the outside; while in the next clause we find, if it extend farther than this it is on the outside, hence the door-wing itself is considered on the inside?

This presents no difficulty; the former clause refers to the door of the Temple, while the latter clause refers to the door of the walls surrounding Jerusalem, as R. Samuel bar R. Itz'hak said: "Why were not the gates of Jerusalem sanctified (as if they were inside of Jerusalem)? because those afflicted with sores seek shelter beneath them from the sun and rain," and further, he said: "Why was not the gate of Nikmor sanctified? Because those afflicted with sores who brought their sacrifices would thrust their forefingers through the holes in the gate in order to have them smeared with the blood of their sacrifices."

"The apertures in a wall and the thickness of a wall," etc. Rabh said: "The roof and the attics of the Temple were not sanctified." This is not so! Did not Rabh say in the name of R. Hyya, that the companies partaking of the paschal sacrifices were so great that when they would shout the Hallel-prayer the roof would nearly burst through the sound of their voices? Hence must it not be assumed, that the paschal sacrifices were eaten also on the roof? Nay, they ate the sacrifices below, but went up on the roof to recite that prayer.

Come and hear! Abba Saul said: The attic of the holy of holies was even more holy than the holy of holies itself, for while the latter was entered once every year, the former was entered only once in seven years; according to others twice in seven years, and according to others only once in fifty years, and then only to see whether any repairs were necessary (whence we see, that the attic was also sanctified?). Said R. Joseph: How can a comparison drawn between the Temple and the city of Jerusalem? Concerning the Temple it is written [I Chronicles xxviii. 11]: "Then gave David to Solomon his son, the pattern of the porch, and of its apartments, and of its treasuries, and of its upper chambers, and of its inner chambers, and of the place of the cover of the ark"; and further, it is written [ibid. 19]: "All this, said David, was put in writing from the hand of the Lord, who gave me instruction respecting all the works of the pattern."

MISHNA: When two companies eat their paschal sacrifice in the same house (room), each turning their faces in a different direction while eating thereof, and the warming pot or kettle (containing the water to be mixed with the wine) is in the centre between the two companies, the waiter or servant must close his mouth (i.e., not eat), (in order not to be suspected of eating with both companies), while he waits on the other company to pour out wine for them; then he must turn his face towards the company he eats with, and he must not eat till he rejoins his own company. It is, however, permitted to a bride to avert her face from the company while eating the paschal sacrifice.

GEMARA: This Mishna is in accordance with the opinion of R. Jehudah, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: It is written [Exod. xii. 7]: "In the houses, wherein they shall eat it," whence we may infer, that two companies are allowed to eat in one house. Should we assume that one may also eat it in two places of one house, therefore it is also written [ibid. 46]: "In one house shall it be eaten," which signifies that it may be eaten only in one place. Thence the sages declared, that if the servant who roasted the lamb (or the kid) had forgotten, and eaten a piece the size of an olive while he was engaged in roasting it, he should, if he knows his advantage, eat his fill right then and there, for he will not be allowed to eat any more thereof elsewhere; and if his company wish to show him favour, they can come and sit by him, and thus enable him to eat his fill if he had not already done so. Such is the dictum of R. Jehudah.

R. Simeon, however, said, that the passage "In the houses wherein they shall eat it," signifies, that a man may eat his paschal sacrifice in two different places; but lest a man should also assume that he may eat with two companies, the other passage, "In one house shall it be eaten," is added.

If one company was sitting and suddenly a partition was created between them (by the falling of a curtain), those who say that it is permitted to eat the paschal sacrifice in two companies allow them to eat, but those who say that it is not allowed to eat in two companies do not permit them to do so. If the contrary was the case, i.e., if a partition which had been between them was suddenly removed, those who say that the paschal sacrifice must not be eaten in two places do not allow them to eat it, while those who say it may be eaten in two places permit them to eat it.

R. Kahana was sitting and proclaiming this as a positive rule. Said R. Ashi to him: "This is not a positive rule. The question arises whether the partition which was formed or which was removed produced two companies and two places or not, and this question is undecided."

"It is, however, permitted to a bride to avert her face," etc. Why so? Said R. Hyya bar Abba in the name of R. Johanan: Because she is bashful."

R. Huna the son of R. Nathan happened to be a guest of R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak. The latter asked him his name, and he replied: "Rabh Huna." Said R. Na'hman to him: "Let Master sit on a bed," and he did so. A goblet of wine was handed him, and he at once accepted it and drained it in two draughts; but did not avert his face. He was finally asked why, when his name was inquired for, he called himself "Rabh Huna," and he answered: "Such has been my name since my youth." "Why, then, didst thou immediately take thy scat on the bed when requested to do so?" was the question put to him, and he replied: "Because such is the rule, that whatever the master of the house requests his guest to do, the guest should comply." "Why didst thou at once accept the goblet of wine?" he was asked again, and the answer was: "Because when a man superior to thyself offers thee anything, thou shouldst at once accept it, while only one that is inferior to thee should be allowed to insist upon thy acceptance." "Why didst thou drain it in two draughts?" "Because a Boraitha teaches: 'One who drains his cup at one draught is a glutton. One who drains it in two draughts shows the proper respect, while one who drains it in three is a conceited man.'" "Why didst thou not at least avert thy face?" "Because it was expressly taught, that only a bride averts her face."

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R. Ishmael bar R. Jose happened to be a guest of R. Simeon ben R. Jose ben Lakunia, and was given a goblet of wine, which he at once accepted and drained at a draught. The people present said to him: "Does not the Master hold, that one who drains his cup at one draught is a glutton?" and he answered: "This was certainly not said of a goblet so small as this, especially if containing wine so sweet and intended for a stomach of the capacity of mine."

R. Huna said: "A company which was appointed to eat the paschal sacrifice--if three had arrived and the rest were still absent--may commence to eat it. If the entire company had been there and gone away without eating the sacrifice, but one had remained, that one may eat it himself." Said Rabha: "This only applies if the three who entered had sent the servant to look for the others and they could not be found." Rabhina said: The three who did eat the paschal sacrifice should also be made to pay for it themselves, and the one man who had remained should also pay for more than his share. The Halakha, however, does not prevail according to Rabhina.

CHAPTER 8.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THOSE OBLIGATED TO EAT THE PASCHAL SACRIFICE--WHERE IT MAY BE EATEN--COMPANIES APPOINTED TO EAT IT, AND THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE FIRST AND SECOND PASSOVER.

MISHNA: If a paschal sacrifice had been slaughtered for a woman living in her husband's house, by her husband, and another lamb had been slaughtered by her father (also counting her in), she must eat that of her husband. If she came to pass the first festival after her marriage at her father's house and her father and husband have each slaughtered a paschal sacrifice for her, she may eat it at whichever place she prefers. If several guardians of an orphan have slaughtered paschal sacrifices for him, the orphan may go and eat it at the house he prefers. A slave belonging to two masters must not eat of the sacrifice of both masters. One who is partly a slave and partly free must not eat of the paschal sacrifice of his master.

GEMARA: Does the teaching of this Mishna then mean to signify, that there is such a thing as premeditated choice, i.e., if the woman chose to eat at the house of either her husband or her father her intention to that effect was already existing at the time of the slaughtering of the lamb? Nay; by the statement "if she prefer it," it is not meant that she prefers to do it at the time when she is about to eat, but at the time when the sacrifice is to be slaughtered.

The following presents a contradiction: We have learned in a Boraitha: The first festival after a woman's marriage, she eats at the house of her father, but from that time on and further she may eat wherever she prefers to do so. This presents no difficulty. The Mishna refers to a case where the woman is not anxious to go to her father's house, in which event she may eat at her husband's house, while the Boraitha refers to a case of where the woman would rather eat at her father's house, as it is written [Solomon's Song viii. 10]: "Then was in his eyes as one that found favour," and R. Johanan held the passage to refer to a daughter-in-law who was anxious to go to her father's house and relate how she had found favour in the eyes of her husband's family.

It is written [Hosea 2:18]: "And it shall happen at that day, saith the Lord, that thou shalt call me Ishi (my husband), and shalt not call me any more Ba'ali (my master)." Said R. Johanan: This signifies that (Israel will be as near to the Lord) as a woman who is in the household of her husband is to her husband, and not as one who is still in her father's house.

It is written [Solomon's Song 8:8]: "We have a little sister, and she hath yet no breasts." Said R. Johanan: This refers to the province of Elam, which was destined to learn only and not to teach (because there lived Daniel, who had no disciples, while Babylonia had Ezra, who left disciples).

It is written [ibid. 8:10]: "I am a wall and my breasts are like towers." Said R. Johanan: "'I am a wall' refers to the Law, and 'my breasts are like towers' refers to the scholars who study it; "but Rabha said: "'I am a wall' refers to the congregation of Israel, and 'my breasts are like towers' refers to the synagogues and colleges."

R. Zutra bar Tobiah said in the name of Rabh: It is written [Psalms 144:12]: "So that our sons may be like plants, grown up in their youth; our daughters, like corner-pillars, sculptured on the model of a palace." By "our sons may be like plants" are meant the youths of Israel who had not yet tasted of the flavour of sin, and by "our daughters like corner-pillars" are meant the maidens of Israel who lock their doors to men, as it is written in the next verse [ibid. 13]: "May our garners be full, furnishing all manner of store." By the passage "sculptured in the model of a palace" is meant, that both the youths and the maidens who have not sinned are worthy to have the Temple built in their days.

It is written [Hosea 1:1]: "The word of the Lord that came unto Hosea the son of Beëri, in the days of Uzziyah, Jotham, Achaz, and Hezekiah, the kings of Judah." At the same time four prophets prophesied, and the greatest among them was Hosea, as it is written further [ibid. 2]: "The beginning of the word of the Lord by Hosea was," which was explained by R. Johanan to mean the first of the four prophets that prophesied in that day, and they are: Hosea, Isaiah, Amos, and Micah. The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Hosea thus: "Thy children have sinned," and Hosea should have answered: "They are Thy children, the children of thy favourites Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and Thou shouldst extend towards them Thy mercy"; and not alone did he not make this reply, but even said: "Creator of the Universe! The whole world is thine. Why not exchange them for another nation?" Whereupon the Lord said: "What shall I do with this old man? I shall tell him to take unto himself a wife of prostitution and have children of prostitution [ibid. 2], and then I shall tell him to send her away; and if he will then be able to do so, I shall also cast off Israel, as it is written further [ibid. 3]: So he went and took Gomer the daughter of Diblayim. ["Gomer" (which means conclusion), said R. Jehudah, "was so called because at that time the money of the Israelites was about to be abolished," and R. Johanan said: "It was already abolished, for the Israelites were robbed of all possessions, as it is written [2 Kings 13:7]: 'For the king of Syria had destroyed them and had made them like the dust at threshing.'"] It is further written: "And she conceived and bore him a son" [Hosea 1:4]. "And the Lord said unto him, Call his name Yizre'ël (God will scatter, etc.)." [Ibid. 6:] "And she conceived again and bore a daughter; and He said unto him, Call her name Loruchamah (not finding mercy); for I will not further have any more mercy upon the house of Israel; but I will give them their full recompense, etc." [Ibid. 8:] "Now when she had weaned Loruchamah, she conceived, and bore a son." [Ibid. 9:] "Then said He, Call his name Lo'ammi (not my people); for ye are not my people, and I will indeed not be unto you (a God)." So after Hosea had born unto him two sons and a daughter, the Lord said unto him: "Shouldst thou not have learned from the example of Moses, who, immediately after I began to speak to him, separated himself from his wife? Then as he did, so also shalt thou do." Hosea answered: "Lord of the Universe! I have children with her, and cannot cast her off nor send the children away." So the Lord replied: "If then thou, who hast a wife of prostitution and whose children thou knowest not even whether they be thine, canst not separate thyself from her, how then can I cast off my children (Israel), whose fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob I have tried--Israel, which is one of the four acquisitions which I have acquired in my world [see Aboth, Chap. 6., and Exod. 15:16], and thou wouldst tell me to exchange them for another nation!"

As soon as Hosea realised that he had sinned, he commenced to pray for mercy for himself, and the Lord said unto him: "Instead of praying for mercy for thyself, pray rather for mercy for Israel, for through thee I pronounced those three invectives [mentioned above] against them." So he followed the behest of the Lord, and after praying for Israel, the three invectives were retracted and annulled. Finally, when this came to pass, Hosea commenced to bless the people, as it is written [chap. 2:1-3]: "Yet shall the number of the children of Israel (once) be like the sand of the sea, which cannot be measured nor numbered; and it shall come to pass that, instead that people say of them, Ye are not my people (Lo'ammi), shall they call them the sons of the living God. Then shall the children of Judah and the children of Israel be gathered together, and they will appoint for themselves one head, and they shall go up out of the land; for great shall be the day Yizre'ël. Call ye your brothers Ammi (my people); and your sister, Ruchamah (that hath obtained mercy)."

R. Johanan said: Woe is to a dominion that overwhelms its own master, for we find that there was not one prophet who did not outlive four kings, as it is written [Isaiah 1:1]: "The vision of Isaiah the son of Amoz, which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem in the days of Uzziyahn, Jotham, Achaz, and Hezekiah, the kings of Judah," and this also with the other prophets.

R. Johanan said again: Why was it destined for Jeroboam, king of Israel, to be counted with the kings of the house of David? (Vide Hosea 1:1.) Because he did not listen to calumny brought against Amos, as it is written [Amos vii. 10]: "Then sent Amazyah the priest of Beth-el, to Jeroboam the king of Israel, saying, Amos hath conspired against thee in the midst of the house of Israel," etc.; and further, it is written [ibid. 11]: "For this hath Amos said: By the sword shall Jeroboam die," etc., and Jeroboam answered: "God forbid that the righteous man (Amos) should have said this; but if he did, what can I do concerning him? Surely the Shekhina put the words in his mouth!"

R. Elazar said: Even when the Lord is angered, he also remembers His mercy, as it is written [Hosea 1:6]: "I will not farther have any more mercy upon the house of Israel; but I will give them their full recompense," reads: "I will not (go) farther; I will have mercy upon them," 1 etc. R. Jose bar Hanina said: "The latter part of the verse can be construed to mean that 'their sins will be obliterated.'"

R. Elazar said again: "The Holy One, blessed be He, sent the children of Israel into exile among the heathens only for the purpose of acquiring more converts, as it is written [Hosea 2:25]: 'And I will sow her for me in the land,' and as a matter of course sowing is done in order to reap a harvest."

R. Johanan infers it from the next passage [ibid. ibid.]:"I will have mercy upon 'Her that had not obtained mercy,'" refers to the heathens who were not yet converted and upon whom mercy will be had by scattering among them the Israelites as fruitful seed.

R. Johanan said in the name of R. Simeon ben Jochai: It is written [Proverbs xxx. 10]: "Do not calumniate a servant unto his master: lest he curse thee, and thou incur guilt," and further, it is written [ibid. 11]:"There is a generation that curseth its father, and doth not bless its mother," which signifies that even in a generation that curseth its father, etc., a man should not slander the slave to his master. Whence do we know this? From the instance of Hosea (who spoke in a derogatory manner of Israel and thereby incurred the wrath of the Lord).

R. Oshiya said: It is written [Judges 5:11]:"'Tzidkath Pirzono Be-Israel" (the benefits towards the open towns in Israel). Read instead: "Tzidkath Pizrono Be-Israel" (the benefits conferred on Israel by scattering them among the nations). This is in accord with the statement of a Roman official to R. Hanina; viz., "We are better men than ye are; for concerning you it is written [2 Kings 11:16]: 'For six months did Joab remain there with all Israel, until he had cut off every male in Edom.' Yet we, who have dominated over you so long a time, have not destroyed you." Said R. Hanina to him: "Wouldst thou permit, that one of my disciples should argue the matter with thee?" (The official acquiesced.) R. Oshiya then came up and said to him: "The only reason why ye have not destroyed Israel, is because ye know not how to proceed. Should you desire to destroy all the Jews, it would be impossible, for there are numbers who are beyond your dominions; should you only destroy those that dwell among you, you would be called a curtailed dominion (because there would be a nation missing)." The official then answered: "I swear by the ruler of Rome that, when deliberating upon this matter, we begin and end with that argument." R. Hyya taught: It is written [Job 28:23]: "God alone understandeth her way, and he knoweth her place," which signifies, that God knew that the children of Israel could not bear the tyrannical behests of the Edomites (or Romans), and for that reason He sent them into exile to Babylon or Persia, where they were not compelled to suffer so much.

R. Elazar said: Why was Israel exiled to Babylon? because Babylon is as low as the grave, and it is written [Hosea 13:14]: "From the power of the grave would I ransom them, from death would I redeem them." R. Hanina said: "They were exiled to Babylon because the language there is similar to the vernacular of the Law." R. Johanan said: They were exiled there because that was their native country (for Abraham came from Babylon); and this may serve as an example of a man who becomes angry with his wife and sends her back to her mother, and this is according to R. Alexandre's opinion, who said: "Three things returned whence they originated; namely, "Israel, the money carried out of Egypt by the Israelites, and the script of the tablets of the Law": Israel, as just mentioned; the money carried out of Egypt, as it is written [1 Kings 14:25]: "And it came to pass in the fifth year of King Rehoboam, that Shishak the King of Egypt came up against Jerusalem [ibid. 26], and he took away the treasures of the house of the Lord and the treasures of the king's house, etc."; "the tablets," as it is written [Deutr. 9:17]: "And I broke them before your eyes," and we have learned in a Boraitha that the tablets were broken and that the letters inscribed thereon vanished.

Ula, however, said: "Israel was exiled to Babylon because the necessities of life were cheap there, and the men would thus be enabled to live cheaply and at the same time study the Law." Ula once came to Pumbaditha, and a basket of dates was brought to him; so he asked how many baskets like that could be bought for one zuz, and he was told that three could be bought for one zuz. Said he to himself: "A big basket of honey for one zuz, and still the Babylonians do not study the Law sufficiently!" He ate too many dates, and it proved injurious to him. Said he to himself this time: "A whole basket of poison for one zuz, and still the Babylonians study."

R. Elazar said again: It is written [Isaiah 2:3]: "And many people shall go and say, Come ye and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob." Of the God of Jacob. and not Abraham and Isaac? (Not that the God of Jacob is not also the God of Abraham and Isaac,) but the house of God is not the mount concerning which it is written [Genesis 22:14]: "On the mount of the Lord shall it be seen," nor yet the field of Isaac where he went out to perform his devotions [Gen. 24:63], but the house of the God of Jacob, as it is written [Gen. 28:19]: "And he called the name of the place Beth-el (house of God)."

R. Johanan said: The day on which all the children of Israel will be recalled from exile will be as great as the day on which the world was created, because it is written [Hosea 2:2]: "Then shall the children of Judah and the children of Israel be gathered together, and they will appoint for themselves one bead, and they shall go up out of the land; for great shall be

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the day of Yizreël"; and as it is written [Genesis 1:5]: "It was evening and it was morning, the first day," and hence the comparison.

"If several guardians of an orphan have slaughtered," etc. Infer from this, then, that there is such a thing as premeditated choice! Said R. Zera: It is written [Exod. 12:3]: "A lamb for every house," and that signifies, that the head of the house can slaughter a lamb for the entire family without consulting them.

The rabbis taught: "It says: 'A lamb for every house.' Whence we may infer that a man may slaughter the lamb for his minor sons and daughters, for his Canaanitish bond-men or bondwomen, whether he have their consent or not; but he must not slaughter it for his adult sons and daughters, for his Israelitish bond-men or bond-women, or for his wife, without their consent."

"A slave belonging to two masters," etc. R. Aina the Elder propounded a contradictory question to R. Na'hman: "We have learned in our Mishna that a slave belonging to two masters must not eat the paschal lamb at the houses of both, and in another Boraitha we have learned that if he chooses he can eat it at either one or the other," and R. Na'hman answered: "Old Aina! This is a case analogous to you and myself. (If we are on good terms we can partake of a joint meal, and) thus also the Mishna treats of masters who are not on good terms with each other, while the Boraitha treats of masters to whom it makes no difference where the slaves eat."

MISHNA: If a person order his slave to go and slaughter for him the paschal sacrifice, and the slave go and slaughter kid or a lamb, he may eat it; if he slaughter a kid and a lamb, he may only eat that which he slaughtered first. How is he to act when he has forgotten the exact words of the order of his master? He should kill a lamb and a kid, and say (at the time of the killing and sprinkling of the blood), "If my master said 'a kid,' then may the kid be for him and the lamb for me, but if he said 'a lamb,' then be the kid for me and the lamb for him." If the master also had forgotten the precise terms of the order he gave, both animals must be burned, and neither master nor slave is bound to bring a second paschal sacrifice.

GEMARA: It is self-evident that if the slave slaughtered a lamb, although he generally slaughtered a kid, he may partake of the lamb, and if he slaughtered a kid, contrary to his usual custom of killing a lamb, he may eat of the kid; but is not the further statement in the Mishna, to the effect that if he slaughtered both he should only eat of that which he slaughtered first, contrary to the teaching of the Boraitha "that one man should not be appointed to eat of two paschal sacrifices" (how then may he eat of the offering slaughtered first)? The Mishna treats of the case of a king and a queen, as we have learned in a Boraitha, viz.: "One man must not be appointed to eat of two paschal sacrifices"; but it happened that a king and a queen ordered their slaves to slaughter the paschal sacrifice for them, and the slaves went and slaughtered two--a kid and a lamb. Afterwards they came to the king and asked him (which of the two he would eat), and he told them to ask the queen. When they asked the queen, she ordered them ask Rabbon Gamaliel, and when they came to R. Gamaliel he said: "In the case of the king and the queen, who are not particular whether they eat a kid or a lamb, they should eat of the first one slaughtered; but if this occurred to a man in our condition of life, he would not be allowed to partake of either."

At another time it happened that a reptile was found in the slaughter-house of the king, and it was thought that the reptile was dead, thus causing the entire meal prepared for the king and queen to become unclean. The servants came to the king and asked him concerning the matter, and he referred them to the queen, who in turn ordered them to inquire of Rabbon Gamaliel. When they came to R. Gamaliel, he asked them where the reptile had been found--among hot (food) or cold. They answered that it was found among hot; so he told them to get a cup of cold water and pour it on the reptile. This was done, and the reptile moved. Accordingly R. Gamaliel held all the meal to be undefiled (for only the dead body of a reptile causes defilement, but not a live one). From this we can see, that the king depended upon the queen and the queen upon R. Gamaliel, and thus the entire meal of the king depended upon the decree of Rabbon Gamaliel.

"If the master also had forgotten the precise terms of the order," etc. Said Abayi: "Such is the case only if he had forgotten after the blood of the sacrifice had been sprinkled, for at that time the sacrifice was already fit to eat, and therefore no second Passover-sacrifice is necessary; but if he had forgotten prior to the time when the blood was sprinkled, in which case the sacrifice was not yet suitable to be eaten, he must bring a second Passover-offering."

According to others, Abayi did not make the above statement with reference to the Mishna but with respect to the Boraitha which follows: "If five skins of five different sacrifices were mixed and a blemish was found on the skin of one, all five sacrifices must be burned, but still neither one of the five owners need bring a second Passover-sacrifice." Commenting on this, Abayi said: "They need not bring a second sacrifice if the skins had become mixed after the sprinkling of the blood; for when the blood was sprinkled there were four of the sacrifices fit to be eaten. But if they had become mixed prior to the sprinkling, in which case none of the five were yet fit to be eaten, the owners are in duty bound to bring second Passover-offerings."

Those who hold that Abayi refers the statement mentioned to the Mishna, hold so much the more that he makes it with respect to the Boraitha also; but those who hold that he refers it to the Boraitha, maintain that in all probability he does not make the statement with reference to the Mishna: because in the case of the Boraitha one of the sacrifices was beyond doubt invalid through the blemish on the skin, and therefore a second Passover-offering should be brought; but in the Mishna the sacrifices were at all events valid, and the owner had merely forgotten what he had ordered. Still to the Lord his intention was known, and for that reason a second Passover-offering is not necessary.

The Master said (in the Boraitha): "Neither of the five owners need bring a second Passover-sacrifice." Why not? One of them had surely not acquitted himself of his duty! Because it is impossible to remedy the case. Should each of the five bring a second Passover-offering, the four whose sacrifices were valid will be guilty of bringing ordinary animals into the Temple for paschal sacrifices, and that is prohibited. Should all five bring but one, then it will be eaten by persons not appointed for that purpose. Hence all five are exempted.

MISHNA: If a man say to his sons: "I slaughter the paschal sacrifice for whichever one of you shall arrive first in Jerusalem; then the first of them, whose head and greater part of the body first appears (in the city gate), thereby acquires a right to his own share and acquires the same for his brothers.

GEMARA: Infer therefrom that there is such a thing as premeditated choice (for originally the man did not know which one of his sons would arrive first, and when one did arrive, it must be assumed that that son was the one for whom the man intended to slaughter the sacrifice at the time of slaughtering). Said R. Johanan: "The man actually intended the sacrifice for all of his sons, but he merely mentioned the one who arrived first in order to cause his sons to hasten to fulfil their duty." This can be inferred from the Mishna itself, which teaches that the one son can also acquire the right to their shares for his brothers. This would be proper if the man intended the sacrifice for all his sons to commence with; but if we should say, that he did not intend it for all of them at the time of the slaughter, how can a right be acquired for them after the slaughtering had been done? for we have learned in a Mishna: "They may be numbered for the sacrifice, and can withdraw from it only until the time of slaughtering." Such, then, is the conclusion.

We also learned in support of this in a Boraitha: It once happened that the daughters of a man made their appearance before the sons did, and the daughters were consequently held to be alert while the sons were tardy.

MISHNA: As many people may partake of a paschal sacrifice as can obtain therefrom the quantity of flesh of the size of an olive. Those that were appointed to eat it may withdraw (from the company) before the paschal sacrifice is slaughtered. R. Simeon said: "They may do so until the blood thereof is sprinkled."

GEMARA: What would (this Mishna) teach us? It would inform us that, even if one company had already been numbered to eat the sacrifice, another company may nevertheless be appointed, provided always that there will be a quantity of flesh of the size of an olive for each member of the second company. "Those that were appointed to eat may withdraw," etc. Said Abayi: The point of difference between the sages and R. Simeon is only as regards the withdrawal. The sages hold that the passage [Exod. xii. 4]: "And if the household be too small for a lamb," refers to a lamb which is still alive, while R. Simeon holds that it refers to a lamb which is still on hand (in a slaughtered state); but as for the appointment of the company, all agree, that this can be done only until the time of slaughtering, because it is written [ibid. ibid.]: "According to the number of souls," and immediately following it says, "shall ye make a count for the lamb."

We have learned in a Boraitha in accordance with the above: Those appointed to eat of the sacrifice may withdraw until the time of the slaughter; but R. Simeon says: "The appointment may be made until the time of the slaughter; but withdrawal therefrom may be effected until the sprinkling of the blood."

MISHNA: If a person had appointed others to partake with him of his share of the paschal sacrifice, his company are at liberty to give him his share so that he may eat it apart from them with his guests, and they may eat their own share (apart from him and his guests).

GEMARA: The schoolmen propounded a question: If a member of a company have a larger capacity than the other members, may the rest of the company offer him his share to eat separately, or can he insist upon his right to partake of the sacrifice jointly with them? And can they, on the other hand, maintain that they received him as a member only in order to prevent a remainder being left over from the (consecrated) sacrifice, but that they did not calculate upon his appropriating more thereof than the other members of the company?

Come and hear! If a member of a company had a larger capacity than the other members, the rest may say to him: "Take thy share and go!" and not only this; but even if five persons had formed a partnership for the entire year and one of them appropriated more than his due, the others might say to him: "Take thy share and go!" Hence the conclusion.

What additional information would the statement, "not only this, but even if," etc., impart to us? We are told by this statement, that not only can a man be ousted from a company appointed to eat the paschal sacrifice on the ground that he was taken in only to avoid having a remainder left over, but even in an ordinary case of partnership, where such a claim cannot be brought forward, a man maybe ousted if appropriating more than his just share.

According to another version, this was not the subject at issue, but the question was merely whether a company which had gone into partnership (for any purpose whatever) might be divided or not. Come and hear: If a member of a company had a larger capacity than the other members, he might be told to "take his part and go"; whence we may infer that this may be done only if he had a larger capacity than the others, (because he was taken in only to avoid a remainder being left over,) but where such a claim cannot be put forth he cannot under any circumstances be ousted. Such is the conclusion.

R. Papa and R. Huna the son of R. Jehoshua agreed to take a meal in common. In the time it took R. Huna to eat one (date) R. Papa would consume four. Said R. Huna to him: "Give me my share (and let me go)!" and R. Papa answered: "We are in company! (Eat also as quickly as I do.)" Whereupon R. Huna propounded to him the previous questions (concerning divisions of partnership mentioned above), and was answered accordingly. He then asked him concerning the Boraitha, bringing the instance of an ordinary partnership (cited above), whereupon R. Papa gave him his share.

R. Huna then left and made common cause with Rabhina. In the time R. Huna bar R. Jehoshua would eat one (date) Rabhina would consume eight. So R. Huna said: "Rather an hundred Papas than one Rabhina."

The rabbis taught: If one man invite several others to go with him and partake of his paschal or festal offering, the money in his possession obtained from the guests he invites is non-consecrated, (notwithstanding the fact that money was given with the intention of applying it to a consecrated purpose). One who sold his burnt-offering or his peace-offering is not considered to have done anything, and the money obtained, whatever it be, should be applied to a voluntary offering. If the man is not considered to have done anything, why should the money obtained be applied to a voluntary offering? Said Rabha: This is virtually a punishment for the purchaser (in order to prevent him from buying burnt and peace offerings from another); (for not the mouse is the thief but the hole, i.e., the thief is not as guilty as the receiver of stolen property who aids him). What is the meaning of "whatever it be"? This means to imply, that even if the amount paid was in excess of the value of the sacrifice, f.i., it was worth four, and five (zuz) were paid, even the one zuz in excess of the value is assessed as a punishment, and not, as might be assumed, allowed the purchaser.

MISHNA: If a person, having a running issue, had observed such issue twice on the same day, and the seventh day after (his malady had subsided) fall on the 14th day (of Nissan), (when he is no longer defiled), he may have the paschal sacrifice slaughtered for him on that day; but if he had observed the issue three times in one day, it may be slaughtered for him only if the eighth day (when he again becomes clean) should fall on the 14th (of Nissan). For a woman whose menstruation continued for a day beyond her regular period, the paschal sacrifice may be slaughtered if the second day (after her menstruation had subsided) fall on the 14th (of Nissan); if it continued two days beyond her regular period, the sacrifice may be slaughtered for her if the 14th (of Nissan fall) on the third day after the menstruation had subsided; but for a woman whose flow of menses continued three days beyond her regular period, the sacrifice maybe slaughtered only if the 14th (of Nissan) fall on the eighth day after the flow had stopped.

GEMARA: R.. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: "For a person who had a running issue the paschal sacrifice may be slaughtered on the day on which he takes his legal bath even before the sun had set on him (if that day be the 14th of Nissan). The same law applies to one who had already bathed, but had not yet received forgiveness from the altar (i.e., had not yet brought the legal sacrifice); but for one who had contracted uncleanness through contact with a dead reptile the sacrifice must not be slaughtered nor the blood sprinkled, even though be may legally take his bath on that day." Ula, however, said, that for the latter also the sacrifice may be slaughtered and the blood sprinkled.

According to Rabh, why may the sacrifice be slaughtered for one who had a running issue and had taken his legal bath? because he will at night be allowed to partake thereof. Why,

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then, should he not accord the same permission in the case of one who had become defiled through a dead reptile? For the reason that the latter had not yet taken his legal bath. But even for the one who had bathed, is not sunset lacking? The sunset must eventually take place, while one may neglect to take a bath. What about the one who still lacks forgiveness? Surely that may be delayed? The case of a man is spoken of, who already has the necessary sacrifice in his possession. If that be the case, then the one who had not yet taken his bath can claim that the bath is ready for him? Still, there is fear that he might not take advantage of it. Can this not also be the case with the one who lacks forgiveness, even if he have the sacrifice in his possession? "In his possession" signifies, that the sacrifice had already been delivered to the tribunal of the priests, and this is in accordance with R. Shamaiah's opinion, which reads: "We are certain that the tribunal of the priests does not adjourn until all the money contained in the chests and set apart for the sacrifices of the day is properly disposed of."

Let us see! Rabh, who does not permit the sacrifice to be slaughtered for one who had become defiled through a reptile and had not yet bathed, does so, because he claims that there is fear lest the man should not take his legal bath, which is merely a rabbinical precautionary measure, while according to biblical law the precaution is dispensed with and the sacrifice may be slaughtered for him. How, then, can Rabh prescribe that if a congregation is equally divided between clean and unclean members, one of the clean should be defiled by being brought in contact with a reptile? Therefore we must say, that, according to Rabh, one who had become defiled through contact with a reptile cannot even according to biblical law have the sacrifice slaughtered for him; for it is written [Numbers ix. 10]: "If any man whatever should be unclean by reason of a dead body," and we know that even if the seventh day of such a man's uncleanness fall on the eve of Passover, still the Law prescribes that he should bring his sacrifice on the second Passover, and the seventh day is the equivalent of a day on which a man had become defiled through a dead reptile.

Whence do we know, that the seventh day fell on the eve of Passover, perhaps it is not the seventh day (but the fifth or sixth)? Because we know that Rabh holds with R. Itz'hak, who states as follows: "It is written [ibid. ix. 6]: "But there were certain men who had been defiled by the dead body of a man, and they could not prepare the Passover-lamb on that day." Whence we adduce, that they were defiled by a corpse for which no burying-ground had been provided, and the seventh after their defilement happened on the eve of Passover, because it is distinctly written, "on that day," which signifies, that though they could not prepare the sacrifice "on that day" they could do so on the morrow, and still the Law prescribed that they should bring their sacrifice on the second Passover.

MISHNA: For a mourner who has lost a relative, for whom he is obliged to mourn, on the 14th (of Nissan); for a person employed in digging out of a heap of fallen ruins persons buried among them; for a prisoner who has the assurance of a release (in time to eat the paschal sacrifice); and for aged and sick persons, it is lawful to slaughter the paschal sacrifice while they are able to partake thereof a quantity at least the size of an olive. For none of these, however, may it be slaughtered on their account alone, because they may cause the paschal offering to become desecrated and useless; therefore, if any one of the persons enumerated becomes disqualified to partake of the paschal sacrifice, he need not bring a second, with the exception of a person who had dug out a dead body from beneath the ruins, since such a person is unclean to commence with.

GEMARA: Said Rabba bar Huna in the name of R. Johanan: A prisoner on whose account alone the paschal sacrifice should not be slaughtered is one who is imprisoned in the prison of the heathens; but one who is in a prison of the Israelites, if his release for that day was promised him, may have the paschal sacrifice slaughtered for him, because the promise will surely be fulfilled, as it is written [Zephaniah iii. 13]: "The remnant of Israel shall not do injustice, nor speak lies." R. Hisda said: "In treating of the prisons of the heathens, only such are meant is are outside of the walls of Beth Paagi; but if a prisoner is confined in a prison of the heathens inside of the walls of that place, he may have the paschal sacrifice slaughtered for him even if he be not released on the eve of Passover, as it may be brought to him while in confinement and he is allowed to partake thereof."

"Therefore, if anyone of the persons enumerated becomes disqualified," etc. Said Rabba bar bar Hana in the name of R. Johanan: "Thus we have also learned in a Boraitha in the name of R. Simeon the son of R. Johanan ben Broka, viz.: If a man dig out of a heap of fallen ruins (persons buried among them), he is sometimes exempt from the duty of bringing a second Passover-offering and at other times he is obliged to do so. How so? If the heap was round and when commencing to dig he virtually formed a tent over the corpse which he was attempting to dig out, and at the time the paschal offering was being slaughtered, he was already unclean and should therefore bring a second Passover-offering; but if the heap was oblong and the digging was commenced at the side, it is doubtful whether by the time the corpse was reached, (making the man unclean,) the sacrifice had already been slaughtered, and wherever there is a doubt a second Passover-offering need not be brought."

MISHNA: The paschal sacrifice must not be slaughtered for a single individual. Such is the dictum of R. Jehudah. R. Jose, however, permits this to be done. It must not be slaughtered even for a company of a hundred persons, if each one of them cannot eat as his share at least a piece the size of an olive. Neither may a company for the purpose of eating the paschal sacrifice be formed of women, with slaves and minors.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: Whence do we know the paschal sacrifice must not be slaughtered for a single individual? because it is written [Deut. xvi. 5]: "Thou mayest not slay the passover within any one," etc., and this signifies, that it must not be slaughtered for one (person). Such is the dictum of R. Jehudah. R. Jose, however, said: "If one can eat the entire sacrifice it may be slaughtered for him; but if ten cannot eat it up entirely, then it must not even be slaughtered for the ten." How then will R. Jose explain the term "any one" in the passage quoted? He will apply it to the dictum of R. Simeon as follows: We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Simeon said: "Whence do we know that one who slaughtered a paschal sacrifice on an altar of his own (not in the Temple) is guilty of transgressing a negative commandment? This is demonstrated by the passage: "Thou mayest not slay the passover in any one of thy gates." Shall we assume, that even in the interim between the destruction of the first Temple and the erection of the second, when it was allowed to slaughter the paschal sacrifice outside of the Temple, one would also be culpable if he slaughtered it on his own altar? (Nay; for) to that end it is written, "in any one of thy gates," which signifies that only when there was a common gate for all the Israelites this would constitute a transgression; but when there was not, no guilt was incurred.

R. Uqba bar Hinana of the city of Prishna propounded a contradictory question to Rabha: "How can R. Jehudah say, that the paschal sacrifice must not be slaughtered for a single individual--have we not learned in a Boraitha: For a woman the first paschal sacrifice maybe slaughtered individually; but in the case of the second sacrifice she must be counted in with a company; such is the decree of R. Jehudah?

Rabha answered: Do not read, 'may be slaughtered for her individually,' but 'for them separately,' which means that there were several women together." Rejoined R. Uqba: "But have we not learned in our Mishna that a company must not be formed of women, slaves, or minors, i.e., of any of the three?" and Rabha replied: "Nay; it means that a company must not be formed of the three together. It must not be formed of women and slaves, in order to prevent sin; not of slaves and minors, in order not to spoil the manners of the children."

R. Jacob said in the name of R. Johanan: A company should not be formed entirely of proselytes, because they are over-scrupulous and may cause the sacrifice to become invalid.

The rabbis taught: The paschal sacrifice, the eating of unleavened bread and of bitter herbs, are only obligatory on the first day of the Passover, but after that it is optional, and a man may or may not perform either. R. Simeon, however, said: "These duties are obligatory for men during the entire festival, but for women they are obligatory only on the first day?"

To what does R. Simeon refer? Shall we say to the paschal sacrifice--that may only be brought on the eve of the first day? Hence we must assume that he refers to the eating of unleavened bread and bitter herbs? Does not R. Simeon hold with the dictum of R. Eliezer to the effect that women are in duty bound to eat unleavened bread by biblical law; because it is written [Deut. xvi. 3]: "Thou shalt not eat therewith any leavened bread; seven days shalt thou eat therewith unleavened bread," etc., from which R. Eliezer infers that, as it is prohibited to eat leavened bread, it is obligatory to eat unleavened bread, and this rule applies to women also? Therefore say, that the paschal sacrifice and eating of unleavened bread and bitter herbs are obligatory on the first day only, and optional thereafter; and R. Simeon said, that the paschal sacrifice on the first day is obligatory for men only, and women are exempt (because it is a positive commandment dependent upon its season)-

MISHNA: A mourner (who is obliged to mourn for a near relative who is not yet interred) may eat of the paschal sacrifice at eve after having taken his legal bath, but must not eat of other holy sacrifices. One, however, who has only received information of the decease of a near relative, or who has the bones of a deceased person exhumed (and removed) for him, may eat even of other holy sacrifices after having bathed. A Gentile proselyte, who was circumcised on the day before the Passover festival may, according to Beth Shammai, bathe himself, and eat in the evening of the paschal sacrifice. Beth Hillel, however, say: "One who has parted from the uncircumcised must be considered as one who has just parted from the grave." 1

GEMARA: Why may a mourner eat of the paschal sacrifice? Because, while on the day of the decease of the relative the mourner is, according to biblical law, exempted from the performance of all religious duties, on the night of that day the Tana (of the Mishna) holds that he is exempt only by rabbinical law, and on account of rabbinical law they would not assume the responsibility of avoiding a commandment the non-observance of which is punishable with Kareth (being cut off). As for other holy (sacrifices) which do not involve such punishment, if not partaken of they held the rabbinical law to be effective.

"Who has the bones of a deceased person exhumed," etc. Must not a man who exhumes the bones of a deceased person undergo the period of uncleanness for seven days and be sprinkled on the third and the seventh. Read in the Mishna, that a man is referred to who has the bones exhumed for him, and thus is only bound to mourn.

"A Gentile proselyte, who was circumcised," etc:. Said Rabba bar bar Hana in the name of R. Johanan: They differ only concerning a Gentile proselyte, for Beth Hillel hold that it might happen on the next year that the Gentile should be unclean, and say: "I will bathe and eat of the paschal sacrifice," thinking that having done so the preceding year he is allowed to do it also then, and not realizing that in the preceding year he had not yet been an Israelite and therefore not subject to uncleanness, while this year he is now an Israelite and is subject to the law of uncleanness. Beth Shammai, however, maintain that such a precautionary measure is not necessary. As for an Israelite, however, who had been circumcised on the day before the Passover, all agree that he may after bathing partake of the sacrifice and that the precautionary measure is in his case superfluous. The same we have learned in a Boraitha in the name of R. Simeon ben Elazar.

CHAPTER 9

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE SECOND PASSOVER--THE PASSOVER AT THE EXODUS FROM EGYPT--CONCERNING CASES WHERE THE PASCHAL SACRIFICE HAD BECOME MIXED.

MISHNA: Persons who, in consequence of being (ritually) unclean or on a distant journey, did not observe the first Passover, must observe the second. Also such as have, either through error or compulsion, been prevented from observing the first, must observe the second Passover. Why, then, the verse [Numb. 9:10]: "If any man whatever be unclean by reason of a dead body, or be on a distant journey"? In order to teach us, that in case of the neglect of the observance of the second Passover by them, they do not incur the penalty of Kareth (excision), but others do incur it.

GEMARA: It was taught: If a man was on a distant journey and the paschal sacrifice was slaughtered and the blood sprinkled for him also, R. Na'hman said that the offering is accepted for him, and he need not observe the second Passover; because the Merciful One had pity on him: but if he offered up a second Passover-sacrifice nevertheless, an additional blessing is bestowed upon him. R. Shesheth, however, said: "The offering is not accepted for him, even from the fact that the keeping of a second Passover has been provided for by the Law, as if he were unclean; hence the offering brought for the man is not even considered as brought at its proper time, and hence is of no account."

Said R. Na'hman: "I adduce my teaching from the Mishna itself; for it states, 'that persons who, in consequence of being unclean or on a distant journey, did not observe the first Passover,' implying thereby, that had they chosen to do so they could have observed the first Passover." Said R. Shesheth: "Then how can we account for the latter clause of the Mishna, which states, that such as have, either through error or compulsion, been prevented from observing the first; shall we assume that they could in this case also, had they chosen to do so, observe the first Passover, were they not prevented by compulsion? Therefore we must say, that the latter case includes even one who intentionally neglected the observance of the first Passover, and he should observe the second. Thus also the first case, by stating, 'did not observe the first Passover,' includes mourners (who mourn for a dead relative that was not yet interred)."

The rabbis taught: "The following persons are obliged to observe a second Passover: Men and women afflicted with a running issue, men and women afflicted with sores, women suffering from their menstruation and such as had sexual intercourse with them during that time, women lying in, those that neglected the observance of the first Passover either through error or compulsion, those that neglected it intentionally, those that were unclean, and those who were on a distant journey. If all these are included, why does the verse mention only those that were unclean and on a distant journey? In order to exclude these from the penalty of Kareth."

This teaching of the rabbis coincides with the opinion of R. Na'hman to the effect that if a paschal sacrifice had been slaughtered for one who was on a distant journey it is favourably accepted.

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Is a woman, then, obliged to bring a second Passover-offering? Have we not learned in a Boraitha: We might assume that the duty of offering the second Passover-sacrifice was only incumbent upon those who were unclean (through contact with a dead body) and upon those who were on a distant journey; whence do we know that men having a running issue, men afflicted with sores, and one who had sexual intercourse with a woman suffering from her menstruation are also included? To that end it is written [Numbers ix. 10]: "any man whatever." Thus we see that "man" is mentioned, but not woman? This presents no difficulty. According to R. Jose women are also bound to bring the second Passover-sacrifice, while according to R. Jehudah and R. Simeon women need not.

The rabbis taught: "Kareth is the penalty for the non-observance of the first Passover as well as of the second." Such is the dictum of Rabbi. R. Nathan, however, said that punishment is incurred only for the non-observance of the first, but not of the second Passover. R. Hananiah bar Aqabia said: "Even for the non-observance of the first Passover the penalty is not incurred unless the second Passover is also not observed."

The opinions of all three are in accordance with their individual theories, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: If a proselyte had become converted (to the Judaic faith) in the interim between the two Passovers, or if a minor had attained his majority during that time, Rabbi holds that they should observe the second Passover. R. Nathan, however, says that only one who was obliged to observe the first Passover should observe the second; but not one who was not in duty bound to observe the first. Wherein do these two sages differ? Rabbi holds that the two Passovers are separate festivals, while R. Nathan maintains that the second is only supplementary to the first but not a substitute therefor; i.e., the observance of the second Passover does not absolve a man from the punishment incurred for the neglect of the first; but R. Hananiah bar Aqabia states that the second Passover is merely a substitute for the first, and its observance exempts a man from the penalty incurred through non-observance of the first. All three sages adduced their teachings from the one passage, viz. [Numb. 9:13]: "But the man that is clean, and is not on a journey." Rabbi holds that the following words, "and forbeareth to prepare the Passover-lamb, even that same shall be cut off from his people," refer to the first Passover, and the sentence," because the offering of the Lord hath he not brought at its appointed season, his sin shall that man bear," refers to the observance of the second Passover, and instead of "because" (Hebrew Kee 1) it should read "or." R. Nathan, however, holds to the literal text of the verse, and says that it should read, "because the offering," etc. R. Hananiah bar Aqabia says that instead of "because" it should read "if," and then the sentence will read, "if he hath not brought," etc.

Thus the conclusion is as follows: If a man had intentionally neglected the first and second Passover, all agree, that he incurs the penalty of Kareth. If he had inadvertently neglected both, all agree, that he is not culpable. If he had neglected the first intentionally and the second unintentionally, he is, according to Rabbi and R. Nathan, culpable, and according to R. Hananiah absolved. If he had neglected the first unintentionally and the second intentionally, he is, according to Rabbi, culpable, but according to R. Nathan and R. Hananiah bar Aqabia he is absolved.

MISHNA: What must be considered a "distant" journey? According to R. Aqiba, it is from Moodayim and beyond, and from all places around Jerusalem, situated at the same distance R. Eliezer said: "Any distance beyond the outside of the threshold of the Temple-court should be considered as coming in under that term." Said R. Jose to him: "It was to confirm this (Rabbi's statement) that it is (even to this day) directed that a dot must be placed over the Heh in the word Rahuqa'h (meaning 'distant'), to indicate that it is not necessary that a person should actually be on a distant road, but that he is considered distant so long as he has not passed beyond the threshold of the court of the Temple."

GEMARA: Said Ula: "From Moodayim 1 to Jerusalem is a distance of fifteen miles," and he is in accordance with the opinion of Rabba bar bar Hana, who said in the name of R. Johanan: "What is the distance that a man can traverse in one day? Ten Parsaoth. 2 From the time the morning star appears until sunrise five miles, from sunset until the stars appear five miles, and from sunrise until noon fifteen miles, and from noon until sunset fifteen miles."

Ula's reason for calling fifteen miles a distant journey is because he holds, that if a man were in Moodayim after sunrise he could not reach the court of the Temple in time to witness the slaughtering of the paschal offering.

The Master said: "From the time the morning star appears until sunrise a man can traverse five miles." Whence does he adduce this? From the passage [Gen. 19:15]: "And as the morning dawn arose, the angels urged Lot," etc. and further, it is written [ibid. 23]: "The sun rose over the earth, when Lot entered into Zoar"; and R. Hanina said: "I saw the distance between Sodom and Zoar, and found it to be five miles."

Thus it is said that Ula calls a journey distant if the court of the Temple cannot be reached in time for the slaughtering on the same day, and R. Jehudah says that the journey is distant if the court of the Temple cannot be reached in time for the eating of the paschal lamb on the same day. Said Rabba to Ula: "According to both thine and R. Jehudah's opinion there is a question. According to thy own opinion, for one who had become unclean through a reptile the paschal offering may be slaughtered and the blood sprinkled notwithstanding the fact that he will not become clean until evening and hence cannot enter the Temple, and still thou sayest that if a man cannot reach the court of the Temple in time for the slaughtering, the paschal sacrifice should not be slaughtered for him. Now, according to R. Jehudah, who states that if a man can reach the court of the Temple in time for eating, the paschal sacrifice may be slaughtered for him, why does he hold that the paschal offering must not be slaughtered for one who became unclean through a reptile? A man in such a condition becomes clean and may enter the Temple after sunset, and at that time the pashal lamb is eaten."

Replied Ula: "There is no difficulty, neither according to my opinion nor according to R. Jehudah's, According to my opinion there is no difficulty, for the law concerning a man on a distant journey applies only to a (ritually) clean man but not to one that is unclean; and according to R. Jehudah's opinion there is also no difficulty, for one that had become unclean through contact with a dead reptile was excluded by the Law itself, as it is written [Numbers ix. 10]: 'If any man whatever should become unclean by reason of a dead body,' etc., and we will know that a man in such a condition, even if his seventh day of uncleanness fall on the eve of Passover, must postpone his Passover-sacrifice until the second sacrifice; and is this not equivalent to a man who had become unclean through a reptile on the eve of Passover?"

The rabbis taught: If a man was situated on the further side of Moodayim, and while he could not reach the court of the Temple on foot could reach it by means of a mule (or conveyance), we might assume that if he did not come to Jerusalem to offer his sacrifice he is guilty; hence the passage says that only such as are not on a distant journey are culpable if they neglect the Passover, but the man under discussion was on a distant journey. How is it, however, if the man was this side of Moodayim, towards Jerusalem, and could reach it under ordinary circumstances, but was prevented by the obstruction caused by camels and conveyances? We might assume that such a man does not incur punishment; hence it is written, "But the man that is not on a distant journey," and such a man cannot truly be considered on a distant journey.

Rabha said: "The entire world measures six thousand Parsaoth (24,000 miles), and the depth of the sky is one thousand Parsaoth." One of these assertions is based upon tradition and the other is a reasonable conclusion, and Rabha is in accord with Rabba bar bar Hana, who said in the name of R. Johanan that the average man can walk ten Parsaoth in one day; hence if the sun traverses 6,000 Parsaoth in one day and a man can traverse 1 1/4 Parsaoth between dawn and sunrise, which is a sixth of the distance he can traverse from sunrise to sunset, the sun takes one-sixth of the time to pierce the sky that it takes to traverse during the day, which is 1,000 Parsaoth, hence the sky must be 1,000 Parsaoth deep.

An objection was made: The disciples of Elijah taught: R. Nathan said: "The whole earth stands under one star, and proof is, that wherever a man is situated he sees the same star; and there being so many stars, the sky must necessarily be more than 1,000 Parsaoth deep." This objection was not answered.

The rabbis taught: "The sages of the Israelites assert, that the ring (wheel) in which the different constellations 1 are situated is fixed, and every month one of the constellations appears and then recedes, making room for another, while the Gentile sages declare that the wheel is constantly turning and every month brings forth a different constellation, which is, however, fixed in its place in the wheel." Said Rabbi (in order to contradict the Gentile sages): "We have never found the Bull in the south nor the Scorpion in the north, and were it as the Gentile sages declare, the position of the constellations would constantly change.

The sages of the Israelites said: "During the day the sun moves underneath the sky and at night recedes beyond the sky," while the Gentile sages say: "During the day the sun moves underneath the sky and at night it recedes beneath the earth."

Said Rabbi: "The assertion of the Gentile sages seems to be the more reasonable, for during the day the springs are all cold and at night they are all warm."

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Nathan said: "In the summer time the sun moves in the zenith of the sky, hence all the earth is warm and the springs are cool; but in the winter the sun moves in the base of the skies, hence all the earth is cold and the springs are warm."

The rabbis taught: The sun moves in four different paths. During the months of Nissan, Iyar, and Sivan it moves over the top of the mountains, in order to melt the snow. During Tamuz, Ab, and Elul it moves in the cultivated portions of the earth, in order to ripen the fruit. In Tishri, Mar-Cheshvan, and Kislev it moves over the seas, in order to dry up the lakes; and in Tebeth, Shebat, and Adar it moves in the desert, in order not to parch the seed sown.

"R. Eliezer said, 'Any distance,'" etc. Even if the man can enter, is be not told to do so, or given the alternative of incurring the penalty of Kareth? Have we not learned in a Boraitha, that an uncircumcised Israelite, if he does not partake of the paschal sacrifice, incurs the penalty of excision; for he is told to be circumcised, and then partake of the sacrifice? Such is the dictum of R. Eliezer. Rejoined Abayi: "A ritually clean man is exempt by law if he is on a distant journey, and outside of the Temple is considered a distant journey; but in the case of an unclean person this privilege is not granted; and he is equal to an unclean person." Rabha, however, said: Concerning this there is a diversity of opinion among different Tanaim, as we have learned in a Boraitha: R. Eliezer said: The Scriptures mention a distant journey in the case of the paschal sacrifice and in the case of second tithes, and as in the latter instance if a man is outside of the Holy Land he is considered as being on a distant journey, so in the former case if a man is outside of the place where he is allowed to eat the paschal offering, i.e., beyond the walls of Jerusalem, he is considered as being on a distant journey. R. Jose the son of R. Jehudah, however, said in the name of R. Eliezer, that a man is not considered as being on a distant journey if he is outside of the place where he is allowed to eat the paschal sacrifice, but only if he is outside of the place where he should prepare it, and that is beyond the walls of the Temple.

According to whose opinion is the statement of R. Itz'hak the son of R. Joseph to the effect that the paschal sacrifice must be brought in accordance with the condition of the majority of the people inside of the Temple; i.e., if the majority of the men on the inside of the Temple-court were in a state of defilement although the majority of the entire community standing outside of the Temple were undefiled, the paschal sacrifice must nevertheless be brought in a state of defilement (because those standing on the outside are considered as being on a distant journey)? This is in accordance with the opinion of R. Jose bar Jehudah, quoting R. Eliezer.

"R. Jose said: 'It was to confirm this,'" etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jose the Galilean said: The term "distant journey," as mentioned in the Scriptures, would lead us to presume that at least a three or four days' journey is meant; but as it is written further [Numb. 9:13], "if he was not on a distant journey," we may conclude that as soon as a man is outside of the threshold of the court he is considered as being on a distant journey.

MISHNA: What is the difference between the first and second Passover? They differ, that during the (seven days of the) first Passover no leaven of any kind may be seen or even found in the house, while in the second both leavened and unleavened articles may be used in the house. At the eating of the paschal offering on the first Passover, the "Hallel" prayer must be recited but not at the eating on the second Passover. During the time, however, that the offering is sacrificed, either on the first or on the second Passover, the "Hallel" must be recited; the sacrifices on both Passovers must be roasted and eaten with unleavened cakes and bitter herbs, and the sacrifice of both supersedes the due observance of the Sabbath.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: It is written [Numb. 9:12]: "According to the whole ordinance of the Passover-lamb shall they prepare it." Thus this passage refers to the Passover-lamb itself; but whence do we know that its accessories are to be observed in the same manner? To that end it is written [ibid. 11]: "With unleavened bread and bitter herbs shall they eat it." Shall we assume, that all other ordinances that are not directly accessory to the sacrifice should also be observed? For that purpose it is also written [ibid. 12]: "No bone shall they break on it"; and as this behest concerns only the sacrifice when it has been slaughtered, so should all other commands be observed only in so far as they concern the paschal lamb itself.

Issi ben Jehudah said: "(All these explanations are unnecessary, as) the words, 'shall they prepare it,' signify that the behest concerns only that which belongs to the preparation of the sacrifice" (when it was slaughtered).

The rabbis taught: From the passage, "According to the whole ordinance of the Passover-lamb shall they prepare it," we might infer that the laws ordaining against leaven being seen or found in the house should also be effective on the second Passover; to that end the single ordinance providing for its being eaten with unleavened cakes and bitter herbs is quoted, thus demonstrating that it is only in this respect that the second Passover should be observed in conformity with the first. Thus we see that so far the "whole ordinance" of the Passover-lamb was made up of the positive commandment, but whence do we derive a negative commandment on the "whole ordinance"? For that purpose it is written [Numb. 9:12]: "They shall leave none of it until morning." Still, this negative commandment is virtually contained in the positive commandment, "they shall eat it," or "they shall burn what is

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left over." Whence do we derive, however, an independent negative commandment? The behest, "No bone shall they break on it," furnishes that negative commandment. From the particularisation of this whole ordinance of the Passover we find that concerning the Passover-lamb both the first and second have in common a positive commandment, a negative dependent on or contained in the positive, and an independent negative, and thus the rule may be derived that only such behests are to be carried out on the second Passover as are covered by the three kinds of commandments on both Passovers.

What other positive commandment may be added which is analogous to the one ordaining that the paschal lamb should be eaten with unleavened cakes and bitter herbs? The one ordering that it should be roasted with fire. Which commandments, however, are excluded by the particularization? The removal of the leaven. Perhaps the contrary should be done, i.e., the removal of leaven should be added to the positive and the roasting with fire should be excluded? Nay; a commandment pertaining to the sacrifice itself should be given preference. What other negative commandment contained in a positive should be added to the one, "They shall leave none of it until morning"? The negative commandment, "They shall not carry aught of the meat outside." Which negative commandment, dependent on a positive, is excluded? The one ordaining, "It shall not be seen nor found." Perhaps the contrary should be done? i.e., "they shall leave none of it" should be excluded, and "it shall not be seen nor found" included? Nay; a commandment pertaining to the sacrifice itself should be given preference. Which independent negative commandment should be added to the one, "No bone shall they break on it"? The negative commandment, "Ye shall not eat of it raw." And which should be excluded? The one stating, "Ye shall not offer up with leaven the blood of my sacrifice" [Exod. xxxiv. 35]. Perhaps the contrary should be done? Nay; a commandment bearing upon the sacrifice itself is given preference.

"At the eating of the first paschal offering, 'Hallel' should be recited, but not at the eating of the second," etc. Whence do we adduce this? Said R. Johanan in the name of R. Simeon ben Jehu Zadok: From the passage [Isaiah xxx. 29]: "Then shall ye have a song, as in the night when a festival is ushered in." Hence on the night which ushers in a festival "Hallel should be recited," but on the night of the second Passover, when no festival follows, the recital of "Hallel" is not necessary.

"During the time the offering is sacrificed on both Passovers 'Hallel' should be recited." Why should this be done? Reason teaches us that; for will then the Israelites sacrifice the paschal lamb, hold the palm-branches in their hand, and not recite the "Hallel"?

"The sacrifice of both supersedes the Sabbath." Whence we, see that they supersede the Sabbath, but not uncleanness. We must say, therefore, that the Mishna is not in accordance with the opinion of R. Jehudah of the following Boraitha: "The second Passover supersedes the Sabbath, but not uncleanness. R. Jehudah, however, maintains, that it supersedes even uncleanness." What reason has the first Tana for his statement? He maintains, that if uncleanness was the cause of the postponement of the first Passover, should uncleanness on the second Passover be entirely disregarded? What is R. Jehudah's reason for his (own) opinion? He claims, that while the law requires a man to bring the paschal offering in a state of cleanness, still, if the man did not succeed to be undefiled, he may, bring it in a state of defilement.

The rabbis taught: "Both the first and second Passover supersede the Sabbath. Both the first and second Passover supersede uncleanness. Both the first and second Passover require that the man who offers up the paschal lamb should remain in Jerusalem over night."

Thus we see, that concerning uncleanness the teaching of the rabbis coincides with the opinion of R. Jehudah. Shall we say, that concerning the obligation of remaining over night the teaching of the rabbis also coincides with the opinion of R. Jehudah? Have we not learned in the following Boraitha: "R. Jehudah said: 'Whence do we know that the man bringing the second Passover is not required to remain over night in Jerusalem? From the passage [Deutr. xvi. 71: "And thou shalt turn in the morning and go unto thy tents," while in the next verse it is written [ibid. 8]: "Six days shalt thou eat unleavened bread." Thus where unleavened bread is eaten for six days it is required that a man should remain over night, but where such is not the case it is not necessary.'" This constitutes a diversity of opinion between two Tanaim. One says that R. Jehudah requires the man to stay over night in Jerusalem when bringing the second paschal offering, while the other maintains that R. Jehudah does not.

MISHNA: When the paschal sacrifice was brought in a state of defilement, it must not be eaten by men or women having a running issue, by women in their ordinary period of menstruation, nor by lying-in women; if they have eaten thereof, however, they do not thereby incur the penalty of Kareth (excision). R. Eliezer considers these as also not subject to such punishment, if they have entered the sanctuary while in that condition.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught. Shall we assume, that if men or women having a running issue, or women in their ordinary menstrual period, or lying-in women partake of a paschal sacrifice brought in a state of defilement, they thereby incur the penalty of Kareth? To that end it is written [Levit. vii. 19]: "And as for the flesh, every one that is clean may eat thereof," and further, it is written [ibid. 20]: "But the person that eateth of the flesh of the sacrifice of peace-offering, that pertaineth to the Lord, having his uncleanness upon him, even that person shall be cut off from his people"; whence we infer, that if an unclean person eat of flesh which may be eaten only by clean persons, he incurs the penalty of Kareth, but if he ate flesh which was not fit for a clean person, i.e., unclean flesh, he is not guilty. R. Eliezer said: "We might assume, that if persons having a running issue had intruded into the sanctuary while the sacrifice was being offered in a state of defilement, they thereby incur the penalty of Kareth; to that end it is written [Numb. 5:2]: 'Command the children of Israel, that they send out of the camp every leper, and every one that hath a running issue, and whosoever is defiled by the dead,' whence we may infer, that only at the time when those defiled by the dead are sent out the lepers and those afflicted with a running issue should be sent out; but when those defiled by the dead are not sent out, as is the case during the offering of the paschal sacrifice, the lepers and those having a running issue are also allowed to remain."

R. Joseph propounded a question: "If those that have become defiled by means of a dead body had intruded into the sanctuary when the paschal sacrifice was brought in a state of defilement, shall we say that, as the court of the Temple was allowed them for the purpose of bringing the sacrifice, the sanctuary itself is also allowed them; or is only that which was explicitly allowed them rendered lawful for them to enter, but that which was not, must not be entered?"

Said Rabha: "The verse following the one quoted [Numb. 5:2] states again [ibid. 3]: 'To without the camp shall ye send them,' which means also outside of the court also; hence those who have been excluded from the court are guilty if they enter the Temple itself, but those who cannot be excluded from the court cannot be guilty if they enter the Temple itself."

R. Joseph propounded another question: "If those who have become defiled by means of a dead body have eaten of the pieces which are to be offered up on the altar, of a paschal sacrifice brought in a state of defilement, what is the law governing their case? Shall we say, that as the flesh was rendered lawful to be eaten, the pieces also became lawful, or was only that which was expressly allowed lawful, but that which was not expressly allowed, was not?"

Answered Rabha: "Let us see! Whence do we know that one can become guilty of eating unclean pieces in general? From the passage [Levit. 7:20]: 'But the person that eateth of the flesh of the sacrifice of peace-offering, that pertaineth into the Lord,' which means the pieces to be offered up on the altar. Now, then, if the uncleanness of the flesh itself is no longer considered, why should that of the pieces remain?"

MISHNA. What is the difference between the Passover as celebrated (by the Israelites while) in Egypt, and that observed by later generations? The Egyptian Passover-sacrifice was specially ordered to be purchased on the 10th (of Nissan), and it was required that its blood should be sprinkled with a bunch of hyssop on the lintel and on the two sideposts of the door; also that it should be eaten with unleavened bread on the first night of Passover in a hasty manner; while in later generations the law of the Passover applies for the entire seven days of the festival.

GEMARA: Whence do we know all this? From what is written [Exod. 12:3]: "Speak ye unto all the congregation of Israel, saying, On the tenth day of this month they shall take to themselves," etc., whence we infer that only on the tenth of this month, but not of the other months, in later generations shall this be done, and the same rule applies to all other laws concerning the Passover.

It is written, however [Exod. 13:5]: "That thou shalt perform this service in this month!" We adduce therefrom that in later generations each recurring month should be in all respects alike?

What significance has the passage [ibid. 12:6]: "And ye shall keep it until the fourteenth day of this month"? This verse implies that the second Passover (which is similar to the Egyptian in being kept only one day) does not require four days of preliminary investigation the same as the other sacrifices.

We find another passage, however, stating [ibid. 12:8]: "And they shall eat the flesh in that night," and we surely cannot say that only in that night should flesh be eaten but not in the recurring nights of other generations! This passage is required for the comparison by analogy brought by R. Elazar ben Azariah and R. Aqiba in Tract Berachoth (Benedictions).

If the main argument is centred upon the term "in this," why should not the same argument be applied to the passage [ibid. 12:48]: "No uncircumcised person shall eat thereof"? He may not eat thereof, but why not of others? This cannot be; for the Passover laws must be observed, as we have learned, in every recurring month alike. By "thereof" in the quoted passage is merely meant the paschal lamb, but even an uncircumcised person may partake of unleavened bread and bitter herbs.

We find it written again, however [ibid. 43]: "No stranger shall eat thereof." We could not say, that only on that particular Passover was he not allowed to eat it but later be was, on account of the teaching previously mentioned. The term "thereof" signifies in this case that an apostate is prevented from eating the Passover-sacrifice only through his apostasy, but a priest who had become an apostate is not prevented thereby from eating the heave-offering. Both cases, that of the uncircumcised and that of the stranger, require illustration in the Scriptures; for if the case of the uncircumcised only were mentioned, we might have assumed, that it would merely have been a disgraceful act for an Israelite who was uncircumcised to eat of the paschal lamb but that a stranger was allowed to partake thereof. If the stranger only were mentioned, we might say, that a stranger who would not eat the Passover-sacrifice as a religious duty, not having been commanded to do so, should be prohibited, but an uncircumcised Israelite whose duty it is to eat thereof should be permitted to do so. For that reason both cases are mentioned.

"In a hasty manner," etc. Whence do we know this? From the passage [Exod. 12:11]: "Ye shall eat it in haste," and "it" signifies the paschal sacrifice, but not anything else.

"In later generations the law of Passover applies to the entire seven days," etc. What is meant by the law applies to the entire seven days? Surely not the paschal sacrifice! It must be then the law concerning leaven, and shall we infer therefrom, that at the Egyptian Passover it was only prohibited to eat leaven on that one night but during the day it was permitted? Have we not learned in a Boraitha: R. Jose the Galilean said: Whence do we know that on the Egyptian Passover they were not allowed to eat leaven but on one day? Because it is written [Exod. xiii. 3 and 4]: "No leavened bread shall be eaten. This. day go ye out in the month of Abib," which conjoined would read: "No leavened bread shall be eaten this day." Thus the Mishna means to say, that the paschal lamb was offered up on the first night only of the Egyptian Passover and should only be brought on the first night of the Passover of later generations, but leaven which was not eaten but on the first day of the Egyptian Passover should not be eaten for the seven days of the Passover of later generations.

MISHNA: R. Jehoshua said: "I once heard (of my teachers), that an animal which was substituted for another animal intended for the paschal sacrifice may be offered up; and I have also heard, that it must not be offered; and I am unable to explain this." Said R. Aqiba: "I will explain it; if a paschal offering had been lost and subsequently found, before the animal intended to replace it had been slaughtered, it must be left to, graze until it contracts a legal blemish, when it must be sold and peace-offerings purchased with the proceeds of the sale; so also must it be done with the animal substituted for it (and which had become lost): if it was found after the other animal had already been slaughtered, it may be sacrificed as a peace-offering, and this applies also to any animal substituted for it."

GEMARA: Why does R. Jehoshua say, "I have heard that an animal which was substituted," etc.? Why does he not apply his statement to the paschal sacrifice direct, and say, that it may be offered up and it may not? He intends to impart to us the information, that it may even happen with a substitute for a paschal sacrifice that it may not be offered up.

The entire case presents a diversity of opinion among Tanaim, as we have learned. If a paschal sacrifice had been lost, and found before the animal intended to replace it had been slaughtered, it must be left to graze; but if the substitute had already been slaughtered, the original may be offered up as a peace-offering. R. Eliezer, however, said (that it does not depend upon the slaughter itself but upon the time of the slaughtering): If the paschal sacrifice was lost, and was found in the forenoon, it must be allowed to graze, but if found in the afternoon, even before the paschal sacrifice was slaughtered, it may then and there be offered up as a peace-offering.

"So also must it be done with the animal substituted for," etc. Said Rabha: When is this case? If the original was found before the sacrifice had been slaughtered and had been exchanged for another animal at the same time; but if it was found before and was exchanged after that, the substitute may be offered up as a peace-offering. Why is this so? Because the slaughtering sanctifies the animal which is substituted at the time when it may still be killed; but an animal which is exchanged after the slaughter, not being suitable for a paschal sacrifice, cannot be slaughtered.

Abayi objected: We have learned in a Boraitha, that the reason it is written, "if he offer a sheep or a goat," is to give us the additional information that, if a substitute of a paschal sacrifice had been found after the Passover, it may forthwith

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be offered up as a peace-offering. Shall we assume, that the same is the case if it was found before the Passover? To that end it says "he," which refers to the sacrifice alone, but not to the substitute. What is meant by "if the substitute was found before the Passover"? Shall we assume, that the paschal sacrifice itself was found before the substitute was slaughtered and it was exchanged for another before the substitute was slaughtered? This is self-evident. Then for what purpose is the verse needed? Therefore we must assume, that it was found before the substitute was slaughtered and exchanged afterwards, and still it may not be offered up as a peace-offering! The objection to Rabha is not replied to.

MISHNA: If a person had set apart or selected as a paschal offering a she-goat or a ewe-lamb, or a male two years old, they must be left to graze until they contract a legal blemish; they must then be sold, 1 and the proceeds turned over to the fund of voluntary burnt-offerings. If a person who had selected his paschal offering die (in the interim before it is sacrificed), his son cannot bring it as a paschal offering, but must bring it as a peace-offering.

GEMARA: R. Huna the son of R. Jehoshua said: From this Mishna we can infer three things: Firstly, that although a (living) thing is not suitable for consecration, the moment it is set apart for a consecrated purpose it is rejected for any other use; secondly, that it is not absolutely necessary that a thing must be suitable for a consecrated purpose in order eventually to become rejected, but that it may become rejected even if it was at no time suitable for consecration; thirdly, that even the proceeds of the sale of a thing not suitable for a paschal offering is also rejected as a paschal sacrifice (because the Mishna itself states, that the proceeds derived from the sale of the animal which was left to graze until it contracted a blemish must be used for a peace-offering and not for a paschal sacrifice).

"If a person had set apart," etc. The rabbis taught: "If a person had set apart a paschal offering and had died, his son may, provided he was one of the number appointed to eat it, bring it in his stead; but if he was not among the number appointed, he must not offer it as a paschal sacrifice but as a peace-offering on the 16th day of Nissan." On the 16th day and not on the 15th? Why so? Because vow and voluntary offerings must not be sacrificed on a festival. Such is the opinion of the Tana of the preceding teaching.

Now let us see! When did the father die? If he died on the forenoon of the day preceding the Passover, how can the son offer it in his stead? Is he not a mourner whose dead is not yet interred? Then he must have died on the afternoon of that day, If that was the case, then, as soon as the noon had passed, the sacrifice was made a paschal offering in itself; how then may the son, if he was not among the number appointed to eat it, bring it as a peace-offering? Said Rabhina: "The sacrifice was set apart and the father died on the afternoon of that day. If the son was among the number appointed to eat it, the duty to sacrifice the offering superseded that of mourning for the deceased, hence he may offer it up as a paschal sacrifice. If he was not among the number, however, he may sacrifice it as a peace-offering, because at noon of that day the sacrifice was not yet a paschal offering."

MISHNA: If a paschal sacrifice had become mixed with other animals intended as sacrifices, they must all be left to graze until they contract a legal blemish; they are then to be sold, and the owner must bring, with the price obtained for the finest animal among them, another sacrifice of each kind of offering (with which it was mixed), and the eventual loss must be defrayed from the private means of the owner. A paschal offering which had become mixed with first-born (of animals) may, according to R. Simeon, be eaten by an assembly of priests.

GEMARA: According to R. Simeon, who holds that a paschal offering may be eaten by an assembly of priests if it had become mixed with first-born (of animals), the following complication might arise: A paschal offering must be eaten only on one night and the remainder burned in the morning; the sacrifices of the first-born may, however, be eaten on two nights and one day; now, if the priests should mistake first-born sacrifices for paschal offerings, they will eat of them only one night and burn the remainder in the morning, thus wantonly spoiling a consecrated thing to commence with.

R. Simeon holds in accordance with his individual theory (in Tract Zebahim), that this may be done. And according to the sages, what should be done with a paschal offering that became mixed with first-born (of animals)? Said Rabba: They must all be left to graze until they contract a legal blemish, then the owner of the paschal offering must bring a fat cow and should say: "Wherever the paschal sacrifice may be, let it be exchanged for this, and then sacrifice it as a peace-offering." The priests may then eat all the first-born animals which have a blemish as usual.

MISHNA: If a company have lost their paschal sacrifice and say to some person: "Go, seek and slaughter it for us," and he went, found, and slaughtered it, while the company had also slaughtered one--if the man had slaughtered his sacrifice first, he shall eat of it and the others shall join with him in eating; but if they had slaughtered their sacrifice first, they shall eat of theirs and he of his; if it is uncertain which had been slaughtered first or if both had been slaughtered at the same time, then shall he eat of his paschal offering, of which the others are not permitted to partake, and theirs must be burned: they are not obliged, however, to observe a second Passover.

If he had said to them: "Should I stay away long, go ye and slaughter a paschal sacrifice for me," and he went, found, and slaughtered the lost paschal sacrifice while the others had also slaughtered one--if theirs had been slaughtered first, they shall eat it and he may eat it with them; but if his had been slaughtered first, he shall eat of his and they shall eat of theirs; if it be uncertain which had been slaughtered first or if both had been slaughtered at the same time, then they may eat theirs, and he is not permitted to eat with them; and his sacrifice must be burned, but he is not obliged to observe a second Passover.

If the man said to them: "Slaughter a paschal offering for me," and they had said to him: "Seek and slaughter for us our lost sacrifice," they should all eat of that which had been slaughtered first; if it is uncertain which had been slaughtered first, then both must be burned; but if there was no express agreement between all the parties, they are not to be considered as at all connected with each other (and each should eat the sacrifice separately).

When the paschal sacrifices of two companies had become mixed, each company should take one of the animals and a member of each company should go to the other, and each company should address the member of the other thus: "If this paschal offering be ours, we withdraw from thy company, and be thou numbered with us; but if it belong to thy company, we withdraw from ours and will be numbered with thee." Thus shall five companies of five members each, or ten companies of ten members each, act; namely, one member of each company shall join with him one of another company, and shall thus address him.

When a paschal offering of two individuals has become mixed, each shall take one of the animals to himself and invite a person from the street (a stranger) to eat it with him; then they should go to each other and thus address each other's guest: "If this sacrifice is mine, withdraw from this and be numbered with me; but if it is thine, then I withdraw from mine and will be numbered with thee."

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: If there was an express mutual agreement between the company and the man, they should all eat of that which was slaughtered first; but if neither said anything to the other, they are not considered as at all connected with each other. Whence the sages adduced that silence is beneficial to the wise, and so much the more to the foolish, as it is written [Proverbs xvii. 28]: "Even a fool, when he keepeth silence, is counted wise."

CHAPTER 10.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE MEAL ON THE EVE OF PASSOVER AND THE FOUR CUPS OF WINE TO BE DRUNK WITH THE MEAL.

MISHNA: On the eve of any Passover it is not lawful for a person to eat anything from the time of Min'hah (afternoon prayer) until after dusk. Even the meanest in Israel shall not eat until they have arranged themselves in proper order at ease round the able; nor shall a person have less than four cups of wine, even if they must be given him from the funds devoted to the charitable support of the very poor.

GEMARA: Does the law (in the first clause of the Mishna) apply only to the eve of Passover? is it not unlawful to eat aught on the eve of the Sabbath or any other festival from the time of Min'hah until after dark, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: A person must not eat aught on the eve of Sabbath or of a festival from the time of Min'hah on, in order that the entry of the Sabbath or the festival may find him in condition to relish a meal? Such is the decree of R. Jehudah; R. Jose, however, said: "One may eat continually until it becomes dark."

Said R. Huna, "Our Mishna is even in accordance with the opinion of R. Jose, who says that one may only eat continually, on the eve of Sabbath or of any other festival until dark, but on the eve of Passover, when, as soon as the night of the Passover commences, unleavened bread must be eaten, he also admits that nothing should be eaten from the time of Min'hah until dark."

We have learned in a Boraitha: If a meal was in progress on the eve of Sabbath, and before it was finished the Sabbath was ushered in, the table must be cleared off and then reset, the Sabbath benediction made, and then the meal may be continued, in order to demonstrate that the Sabbath had set in. Such is the decree of R. Jehudah; but R. Jose states that this is not necessary.

"It once happened that R. Simeon ben Gamaliel, R. Jehudah, and R. Jose were sitting on the eve of Sabbath and partaking of a meal in the city of Achu, and when the Sabbath was about to set in, R. Simeon ben Gamaliel said to R. Jose the Great: "Wouldst thou desire that we clear off the table, and act in conformity with the opinion of our colleague, R. Jehudah?" Replied R. Jose: "Ordinarily thou wouldst favour my decrees in preference to those of R. Jehudah, and now thou favourest, in his presence, his decree in preference to mine. 'Will he even do violence to the queen before me in the house?'" [Esther vii. 8]. Rejoined R. Simeon ben Gamaliel: "True! Let us rather not interrupt the meal, for if the disciples should observe this, they might establish the ordinance for future generations." It was said that they did not leave their places until it was decided that the Halakha should prevail according to R. Jose's opinion.

R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel: "The Halakha does not prevail either according to R. Jehudah or R. Jose; for if a meal was in progress on the eve of Sabbath, when Sabbath set in they should change the table-cloth as a sign and then recite the Kiddush (Sabbath benediction)." But this is not so! For did not R. Ta'hlipha bar Ab. Dimi say in the name of Samuel, that in the same manner as a meal must be interrupted on account of the Kiddush, so must it also be interrupted on account of the Habdalah (the benediction recited at the close of the Sabbath). Must we not assume that by interruption is meant clearing away of the table entirely? Nay; by interruption is meant, that the table-cloth should be changed.

It once happened that Rabba bar R. Huna came to the house of the Exilarch, and a small table was set before him; so he covered the table with a cloth and recited the Kiddush. We also learned in a Boraitha: "A table must not be brought for each guest separately unless the Kiddush had already been recited (by the head of the household); but if a table had been set before him before the Kiddush had been recited, then the guest should cover the table set before him with a cloth and himself pronounce that benediction."

"Those that heard the Kiddush pronounced in the synagogue," said Rabh, "need not recite it at their homes, but should merely pronounce the customary benediction over wine"; but Samuel said: "They have not acquitted themselves of the duty of reciting the Kiddush."

According to Rabh, then, why should a man recite the Kiddush at home? In order to give the household an opportunity to hear it, and according to Samuel, for what purpose should the Kiddush be recited in the synagogue? In order to afford the guests who eat, drink, and sleep in the synagogues an opportunity to hear it. Samuel thus holds to his theory, that the duty of hearing the Kiddush recited can be acquitted only in the place where the person takes his meals. We might suppose, therefore, that Samuel's opinion refers only to different. houses; i.e., if a person hears the Kiddush recited in one house he should not eat in another, but that it makes no difference as to rooms in one house, whereupon R. Anan bar Ta'hlipha said to the schoolmen: "I was several times in the presence of Samuel when he was in the attic of his house, and I observed that he did not recite the Kiddush until he went below."

R. Huna also opines, that the Kiddush must be recited only in the place where the meal is taken; for it once happened that after R. Huna had recited the Kiddush, the light went out in the room, and he ordered that the vessels containing the food should be taken into the wedding-room of his son Rabba, where the lights were still burning, and after again reciting the Kiddush he sat down to his meal.

Rabba also holds that the Kiddush. must be recited only in the place where the meal is taken; for Abayi said: "When I was at Master's house, while he recited the Kiddush (prayer) he would say to the guests: 'Partake of something before ye go to your houses, for should ye come home and find the lights gone out ye will not be able to recite the Kiddush in your homes, and thus ye will not acquit yourselves of the duty unless ye eat something where the Kiddush was recited.'"

R. Johanan, however, said: "One who heard the Kiddush in the synagogue has not only discharged the duty of the Kiddush but need not even pronounce a benediction over the wine which he might drink at home."

R. Johanan holds to his own theory; for R. Hanan bar Abayi said in the name of R. Padath, quoting R. Johanan: "Whether the wine was changed or whether the places were changed, it is not necessary that another benediction be made."

An objection was made: "We have learned in a Boraitha, that if the places were changed another benediction is necessary; but if the wine was changed it is not!" The objection is not answered. R. Idi bar Abin sat in the presence of R. Hisda, and the latter said in the name of R. Huna: "The teaching, that when places are changed another benediction must be made, refers to a case of where one went from one house to another; but if he only went from one room to another in the same house, another benediction is not necessary." Said R. Idi to him: "We have learned in a Boraitha, from the disciples of R. Hinaq, a teaching identical with thine." [Would then R. Huna say in his own name that which is taught in a Boraitha? R. Huna had not heard of that Boraitha.]

R. Hisda sat, and said upon his own authority: "The teaching. that if places were changed another benediction must be made, refers to such objects as require a benediction only before consumption; but if the objects were such as require also a benediction after consumption, even if one went

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from one house to another, he need. not make another benediction, because it is considered as a continuous meal." R. Shesheth, however, said: "In either case another benediction is necessary."

We have learned in a Boraitha in support of R. Hisda: "If a company was sitting and drinking wine, then left their places and returned, they need not make another benediction."

The rabbis taught: "If a company were sitting at a meal, and during the course of the meal Sabbath had set in, a cup of wine is brought to one of the company, who recites the Kiddush, and another one pronounces the final benediction at the close of the meal over that cup, thus interrupting the meal. Su h is the decree of R. Jehudah. R. Jose, however, said: They may continue to eat until they finish, or until it becomes dark, and then the first cup of wine brought is used for the benediction at the conclusion of the meal. The next cup is then used for the recital of the Kiddush."

Why are two cups of wine required? Cannot the two benedictions be pronounced over the one cup? Said R. Huna in the. name of, R. Shesheth: "Two benedictions must not be made over one cup." Why so? Said R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak: "Religious duties are not to be bunched." Must this indeed not be done? Have we not learned in a Boraitha, that when one enters his house at the close of Sabbath, he pronounces a benediction over wine, light, spices, and then the benediction of the 'Habdalah over one cup, and if he has not another cup of wine in his house he may leave that cup until after he has had his evening meal, and then recite the benediction after the meal over the same cup of wine? Where a man has not another cup of wine, it is different.

If a festival follow a Sabbath, a man has doubtless more wine in his house, and still Rabh says, that one must, over one cup of wine, pronounce the benediction over wine, recite the Kiddush, pronounce the benediction over light, and the Habdalah? Because Rabh mentions all these benedictions but omits that of the season (which must be said at the commencement of each festival), it must be presumed that he refers to the seventh day of Passover as the festival (because on that day the benediction of the season is not said), and at that time it is possible that a man has only one cup of wine left.

How is this possible? On the first day of a festival, when a man surely has more wine, still Abayi said, that over one cup the benediction of wine, Kiddush, of the season, of light, and the Habdalah should be pronounced, and Rabba said, of wine, Kiddush, light, Habdalah, and finally of the season (and both agree that all this may be done over one cup of wine); hence we must say, that all these benedictions, like Kiddush, Habdalah, etc., are classed as one, because the duty of such benedictions devolves upon a man as soon as the Sabbath draws to a close, and hence may be made over one cup; but the benediction before the meal, and that after, are two separate kinds of benedictions and should not be said over one and the same cup of wine.

The statement previously quoted. "If a festival follow a Sabbath, Rabh says, one must pronounce the benediction of wine, recite the Kiddush, say the benediction of light and the Habdalah," is supplemented by "Samuel says, he must pronounce the benediction of wine, light, Habdalah, and then recite the Kiddush; Rabba says, of wine, Habdalah, light, and then Kiddush; Levi says, Kiddush, light, wine, and Habdalah; other sages say, Kiddush, wine, light, and Habdalah; Mar the son of Rabhina says, light, Kiddush, wine, and Habdalah; and Martha says in the name of R. Jehoshua, light, wine, Habdalah, and Kiddush."

The father of Samuel sent to Rabbi the request: "Let Master teach us the order in which the benediction of Habdalah should be made over the cup of wine," and Rabbi sent the reply: "So said R. Ishmael the son of R. Jose in the name of his father, who in turn said in the name of R. Jehoshua ben Hananiah: 'Light, Habdalah, wine, and Kiddush.'" Said R. Hanina: This can be compared to the exit of a king from, and to the entrance of a high official into, a city. First the king is escorted out of the city, and then the high official is ushered in. (Likewise the Sabbath, being the holier, is first escorted out with Habdalah, and then the festival is ushered in with the Kiddush.) How does, finally, the Halakha prevail? Abayi said: Wine, Kiddush, season, light, and Habdalah," and Rabba said: "Wine, Kiddush, light, Habdalah, and season." The Halakha prevails according to Rabba. R. Jacob bar Abba once happened to be in the house of Rabha, and he noticed that Rabha said the benediction, "Who hath created the fruit of the vine," over the first cup, and after the meal was over, before the benediction at the conclusion of the meal was pronounced, he again made the same benediction over the wine and then drank it. So R. Jacob asked: "Why dost thou say so many benedictions? Thou hast already made one over the wine, why dost thou make another?" Rabha replied: "When I was at the house of the Exilarch we would do likewise," and R. Jacob replied: "At the house of the Exilarch this was proper, because it was not known whether more wine would be given, hence a benediction was said at the commencement, and then if more wine was given another was said; but here, when we have the wine before our eyes, surely this is not necessary!" Said Rabha: "I act as the disciples of Rabh; for R. Brona and R. Hananel the disciples of Rabh were sitting at a meal, and were waited on by Yeba the Elder. In the meantime they said: 'Give us a cup of wine and we will say the benediction (at the conclusion of a meal).' Subsequently they reconsidered it, and asked for more wine to drink. Said R. Yeba to them: Thus said Rabh, 'As soon as ye have said, give us a cup and we will make the benediction, ye have given up the intention of eating any more, hence ye must not drink until ye have pronounced the benediction at the conclusion of the meal' (whence we see that the concluding benediction disconnects all previous benedictions, and if anything else is eaten afterwards another benediction thereon must be made)."

[Ameimar, Mar Zutra, and R. Ashi sat at one meal, and R. Aha the son of Rabha waited on them. Ameimar made a benediction over each separate cup of wine. Mar Zutra made a benediction over the first, and then over the last cup. R. Ashi only made one over the first cup, and no more.] (Referring to R. Jacob's visit to Rabha again:) When the time for the Habdalah prayer arrived, the servant of Rabha lit several candles and joined them into one flame. Said R. Jacob to him: Why dost thou need so many candles?" and Rabha replied: The servant did this of his own accord," and R. Jacob rejoined: "If the servant did not know that such is thy wont, he would not have done this; therefore thou probably doest this always, and I ask thee again, Why so many candles?" He then answered: "Doth not my master hold, that the flame used at the Habdalah prayer is a religious duty of the highest degree?"

When Rabha commenced to recite the Habdalah prayer he said thus: "Who hath made a distinction between sanctified and ordinary days, between light and darkness, between Israel and other nations, and between the seventh day and the six working days." Said R. Jacob to him: "Why dost thou recite such a voluminous prayer? Did not R. Jehudah say in the name of Rabh, that R. Jehudah Hanassi's mode of reciting the Habdalah was merely, 'Who hath made a distinction between sanctified and ordinary days'?" and Rabha replied: "I hold with the following Tana, R. Eliezer in the name of R. Oshiya said: 'One who desires to embody few distinctions in the Habdalah prayer should not recite less than three, and he who would multiply them should not recite more than seven.'" Then R. Jacob remarked: "Yea, but thou, Master, hast not recited either three or seven, for there were four." Answered Rabha: "The last one was merely an adjunct to the conclusion of the prayer, for R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel that one who recites the Habdalah prayer must make the words immediately preceding the conclusion of the prayer similar to the conclusion itself." The sages of Pumbaditha, however, said: "The conclusion of that prayer must be identical with the commencement." Wherein do they differ? Both the commencement and the conclusion read, "Who hath made the distinction between sanctified and ordinary days." They differ in a case of a Sabbath followed by a festival, when the initial and concluding benedictions read: "Who hath made a distinction between sanctification and sanctification." According to those who say that the words immediately preceding the conclusion must be similar to the conclusion itself, the additional sentence, "Who distinguisheth between the sanctification of the Sabbath and that of the festival," must be included; while according to those who say that only the conclusion and the commencement must be identical, the additional sentence is not necessary.

An objection was made: We have learned in a Boraitha: That one who is accustomed to incorporate many benedictions in the Habdalah prayer may embody as many as he chooses, while one who is not, may only recite one? This constitutes a diversity of opinion among Tanaim, as R. Johanan said: "The son of the Holy says, that only one benediction should be recited in the Habdalah, but the people generally pronounce three. [Who is called the son of the Holy? R. Mena'hem bar Sinai, and the reason he was called "son of the Holy" was because he never saw the likeness of a zuz.]

Said R. Jehoshua ben Levi: "One who recites the Habdalah prayer must recite it similarly to the Habdalah in the Scriptures."

An objection was made: How is the order of the Habdalah to be observed? As follows: "Who hath made a distinction between sanctified and ordinary, between light and darkness, between Israel and other nations, between the seventh day and working days, between unclean and clean, between the sea and dry land, between the waters above and beneath, between priests, Levites, and Israelites," and must conclude with, "Blessed be He who hath arranged in order the creation," and others say, "who hath created all things."

R. Jose bar R. Jehudah said: "He must conclude with 'who hath sanctified Israel.'" How then can it be said that the scriptural order should be observed? It does not mention sea and dry land? This should be eliminated. If that should be so, and taking into consideration that the distinction between the seventh day and working days is merely an adjunct to the conclusion, then seven benedictions will not remain? I will tell thee: Between the priests, Levites, and Israelites are virtually two separate distinctions, because it is written [Deut. x. 8]: "At that time did the Lord separate the tribe of Levi," and between the priests and Levites, as it is written [I Chronicles xxiii. 13]: "The sons of Amram: Aaron and Moses; and Aaron was set apart, to sanctify him as most holy."

What is the conclusion of the benediction? Said Rabh: "It concludes with 'who hath sanctified Israel,'" and Samuel said: "It concludes with 'who maketh a distinction between sanctified and ordinary.'" Abayi, according to another version R. Joseph, denounced Rabh's decree.

We have learned in a Boraitha upon the authority of R. Jehoshua ben Hananiah, that one who concludes the benediction with both passages, viz., "who hath sanctified Israel" and "who maketh a distinction between sanctified and ordinary," his years and days are prolonged for him; but the Halakha does not prevail accordingly.

Ula once came to Pumbaditha. So R. Jehudah said to his son, R. Itz'hak: "Go and carry a basket of fruit to Ula, and incidentally observe how he recites the Habdalah." R. Itz'hak would not go himself, but sent Abayi in his stead. When Abayi returned, he related that Ula merely said, "who distinguisheth between sanctified and ordinary (days)," and nothing more. R. Itz'hak then went to his father and told him that he did not go himself, but had sent Abayi, who related that Ula merely said, "who distinguisheth between sanctified and ordinary days," and R. Jehudah replied: "Thy arrogance and disobedience will be the cause of thy not being able to cite a Halakha in Ula's name, but thou wilt have to cite it in Abayi's name."

R. Hananiah bar Shlamia and the disciples of Rabh sat together at a meal, and R. Hamnuna the Elder waited on them, and they said to him: "Go and see if the Sabbath, has already set in. If it has, we will stop and make the meal for Sabbath." He replied: "Ye need not do this; for Rabh said, that the Sabbath asserts itself without other aid, and it is not necessary to make a special distinction for it. 'For,' said Rabh, 'as on the Sabbath the law of giving tithes must be particularly observed, even when a light meal is taken, because the Sabbath renders it an honourable duty, so in the case of the Kiddush (prayer)--even if a meal is in the course of being served, one may arise and recite that prayer without first clearing off the table.'"

The disciples of Rabh desired to infer therefrom, that as the Sabbath makes it a duty to recite the Kiddush even when in the midst of a meal, the Habdalah should also be said, even though a meal have to be interrupted on that account. Said R. Amram to them: "Thus said Rabh: 'For Kiddush this is imperative but not for Habdalah, and as for interrupting a meal, it need not be done for the sake of Habdalah; at the same time, it is not lawful to commence eating at the time appointed for the Habdalah, without first reciting that prayer. No interruption need be made when solid food is taken; but when drinking, the Habdalah should be said over the same cup, i.e., an interruption should be made and the Habdalah recited. Again, the interruption must be made only when wine or beer is drunk, but when water is the beverage that is not necessary.'"

Rabhina asked R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak: "If a man did not recite the Kiddush on the eve of Sabbath, is it lawful for him to do so during the Sabbath day?" and he answered: "The children of Hyya having stated, that one who had not recited the Habdalah at the close of Sabbath may do so at any time during the week following, we must assume, that one who had not recited the Kiddush on the eve of Sabbath may do so during all the Sabbath day."

Rabhina objected: "The eve of a Sabbath or of a festival brings with it the duty of saying the Kiddush over a cup (of wine) and also the duty of including the remembrance in the benediction at the conclusion of meals, but the Sabbath or the festival days only carry with them the duty of including remembrance in the benedictions after meals? Now, if it were allowed to recite the Kiddush on the Sabbath or festival day, because they have the duty of the benediction in common with the eve of the Sabbath or the festival, could not a man wilfully postpone the recital of the Kiddush until the morrow?" Replied R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak: "The case of a man who does not act in accordance with the proper law is not considered."

Rabhina again objected: "The honour of the Sabbath day is more important than that of the eve preceding it, so that if a man have but one cup of wine for both the Kiddush on the eve of Sabbath and for the purpose of honouring therewith the Sabbath day, he should rather use it for the Kiddush; whence we can see, that it should not be postponed until the next day; for were this allowed, the owner could leave the cup until the following day and then use it for both purposes." Answered R. Na'hman: "The fulfilment of a religious duty at its proper time is the more preferable." Rabhina, however, rejoined: "Is this indeed the case? Have we not learned in a Boraitha, that if a man enter his house at the close of the Sabbath, he pronounces a benediction over wine, light, and spices in the order named, and then recites the Habdalah over the cup? Now if a man have only one cup of wine, he may leave it until after the meal and then pronounce all the benedictions over it at once. Is this not proof positive that the fulfilment of a religious duty at its proper time is not preferable?" Then R.

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Na'hman replied: "I am not one of those sages who would proclaim a decree upon my own authority; neither am I a prophet nor do 1 quote an authority without corroboration. The traditional ordinance I quoted I did riot learn from my teachers as referring to Kiddush alone, but I merely took it upon myself to arrange the order of the benedictions in the Kiddush and Habdalah, and I did so because I was convinced that my order was correct; 1 for thus it is also taught in the colleges, and the reason of all this is, that there is a great difference between the entrance of a sanctified day and its close. At the entrance of such a day, the sooner we observe its sanctification the better, for we thereby demonstrate that we consider the duty a pleasure; but at its close, the further we can postpone its termination the better, for thereby we demonstrate that it is not a burden to us. (Hence if a meal is in progress at the time when the Sabbath is about to set in, we should attempt the repast and say the Kiddush in order to usher in the Sabbath that much sooner; but if we only have one cup of wine at the close of Sabbath with which to say the Habdalah, we should first finish our repast and pronounce the other benedictions, and then recite the Habdalah over that cup in order to postpone the termination of the holy day that much longer.)"

From the preceding Boraitha we may infer eight things: First: One who included the Habdalah in his evening prayer must nevertheless recite it again over a cup (this is inferred from the sentence "if a man enter his house at the close of the Sabbath," which signifies, that he came from the house of worship, where he had already recited the Habdalah). Second: The benediction after a meal must be made over a cup (of wine). Third: The cup used at the benediction must be of a prescribed capacity (i.e., a quarter of a lug; for were this not so, it could be divided and part used for the Habdalah and another part for the other benediction). Fourth: One who pronounces the benediction over the cup of wine must taste some (for otherwise the benediction could be made and the wine left over for the next benediction). Fifth: As soon as part of the wine is tasted after a benediction, the cup of wine is rendered unfit for any other benedictions. Sixth: Even if a full meal is eaten at the close of Sabbath and the sanctification of the day had passed, it is still a duty to recite the Habdalah. Seventh: Two degrees of sanctification may be bestowed upon one cup of wine. Lastly: The entire Boraitha is in accordance with the school of Shammai and with the interpretation of R. Jehudah (i.e., that the benedictions over light must be pronounced prior to that over spices, and not vice versa).

R. Ashi said: "The inference that the cup of wine must be of a prescribed quantity, and the one that by tasting the wine the cup becomes unfit for other benedictions, are virtually one and the same thing, and the eight inferences are completed thus: Why does tasting of the cup of wine render it unfit? Because the prescribed quantity is thereby lessened."

R. Jacob bar Idi was so particular, that if the jug containing the wine was ever so slightly damaged he would not use the wine for Kiddush or Habdalah, and R. Idi bar Shesha was only particular about the condition of the goblet; Mar the son of R. Ashi was particular even about the condition of the barrel containing the wine, and if it was at all damaged he would not use the wine for the Kiddush or the Habdalah.

The rabbis taught: "It is written [Exod. xx. 8]: 'Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy.' The remembrance should be effected over wine. This, however, refers to the Sabbath day; whence do we know that the night is also meant? To that end it is written, 'to keep it holy,' which refers also to the night."

"Whence do we know that the night is also meant," is the question? Is not the night the principal time of the Sabbath, when the Kiddush must be said? Then, again, how can the passage refer to the night, when it distinctly states the day? The following is meant: "Remember the day" implies that it should be remembered over wine, when the Sabbath sets in. This therefore refers to the night, and that the day also is meant is clearly proven by the words, "the Sabbath day."

What benediction is made during the day of Sabbath? Said R. Jehudah: "Only the usual benediction over the wine, viz., 'who hath created the fruit of the vine.'"

R. Ashi came to the city of Mehuzza, and the people said to him: "Let Master recite for us the great Kiddush," and not knowing what they meant by the great Kiddush, he thought: "Let us see! The first benediction to be made is the usual one over wine." Accordingly, he pronounced the benediction, "who hath created the fruit of the vine," in a rather prolonged manner. He thereupon observed an old man bending over and sipping the wine (whence he concluded that the one benediction constituted the great Kiddush). He then applied to himself the passage [Ecclesiastes 2:14]: "The wise man hath his eyes in his head." We have previously learned that the children of R. Hyya said: "If a man did not say the Habdalah at the close of the Sabbath, he may say it at any time during the following week." Until what day of the week? Said R. Zera: "Until the fourth day of the week (for after that the days belong to the next week)."

R. Brona said in the name of Rabh: "If a man had washed his hands for a meal, he should not make the Kiddush, because that will cause an interruption (and he will be obliged to wash his hands again)." Said R. Itz'hak bar Samuel bar Martha: "Rabh is not yet dead, and still we have already forgotten all his Halakhoth. I myself stood before Rabh several times and noticed that whenever he preferred bread he would make the Kiddush over bread, and whenever he preferred wine he would make the Kiddush over wine."

Said R. Huna in the name of Rabh: "If a man had eaten anything prior to making the Kiddush, he need not make the Kiddush." R. Hana the son of Hinana asked R. Huna: "If a man had eaten prior to reciting the Habdalah, what is the law?" and he answered: "I say, that he must nevertheless recite the Habdalah, but R. Assi said, that he need not do so."

R. Jeremiah bar Abba was at one time in the house of R. Assi, and through forgetfulness ate something before saying the Habdalah. Afterwards he was given a cup of wine and he then said the Habdalah. Said R. Assi's wife to her husband: "Master does not do this?" and he replied: "Let him be; he acts according to the teaching of his masters."

R. Joseph in the name of Samuel said: "If a man had thoughtlessly eaten either before Kiddush or before Habdalah, he need not recite those prayers," but Rabba in the name of R. Na'hman quoted Samuel to the contrary, namely, that he may do so. Said Rabha: The Halakha prevails that one who had eaten before Kiddush or Habdalah may nevertheless recite those prayers; if one had not made the Kiddush on the eve of Sabbath, he may do so during the Sabbath day; and if he did not say the Habdalah at the close of Sabbath, he may say it on the following day.

Mar the Younger and Mar the Elder, sons of R. Hisda, related to R. Ashi the following: It once happened, that Ameimar was a guest in our house, and not having any wine, beer was brought for the Habdalah; but he would not use it for that purpose, and went to sleep without supper. On the morrow, after a good deal of trouble we succeeded in procuring some wine; and he said the Habdalah and ate. A year afterwards he was again our guest, and once more we did not have any wine, so we brought beer for the Habdalah. He then remarked: "If wine is so scarce with you and your usual beverage is beer, then the beer may be considered as wine of your land." Accordingly he said the Habdalah over it and ate his meal.

From this narrative we can infer three things: First, that a man who heard the Habdalah in the house of worship, must nevertheless recite it in his house; second, that nothing should be eaten prior to the Habdalah; and third, that if a man did not say the Habdalah at the close of Sabbath, he may say it during the following week.

R. Huna asked of R. Hisda: "May the Kiddush be made over beer?" and he answered: "If as to unfermented barley-beer, fig-beer, and senna-beer, concerning which Rabh was asked, who in turn asked of R. Hyya, who then asked Rabbi, it could not be decided whether they may be used or not, how then can I decide about ordinary beer?"

It was thought, however, that while Kiddush could not be made, it was surely allowed to make Habdalah with beer. Said R. Hisda to them: "So said Rabh: 'As the Kiddush cannot be made over beer, so also must Habdalah not be made over it.'" It was also taught, that R. Ta'hlipha bar R. Abimi said the same thing in the name of Samuel.

Levi sent Rabbi beer made of a thirteen-fold extract of dates, and it was very sweet in taste; and Rabbi said: "With this kind of beer the Kiddush may be made, and all hymns and songs in praise of the Lord may be sung over it." At night he felt some bad effects on account of that beer; so he said: "Should a thing which produces a bad effect be used for the Kiddush?"

R. Joseph said: "I will register a vow before a multitude of people that I will never again drink beer," and Rabha said: "I would rather drink water in which flax was soaked than beer," and continued he: "He who makes the Kiddush over beer, should never have anything else to drink (i.e., in a place where wine is to be had)."

R. Huna once found Rabh making Kiddush over beer. So he said: "It seems to me, that Abba will soon commence to deal in beer, if it is so dear to him."

The rabbis taught: "Neither Kiddush nor any other benediction should be made with anything except wine." Is there then no benediction made over beer and water, namely: "Through whose word everything came into being"? Said Abayi: "The teaching of the rabbis relative to any other benediction means, that the cup given for the benediction after meals should only be of wine."

The rabbis taught: "Kiddush is not made with beer." It was said upon the authority of R. Eliezer bar R. Simeon, that Kiddush may be made with beer.

The statement previously made, that the wine must be tasted when Kiddush is made, means that even ever so little may be tasted, and R. Jose bar R. Jehudah says, that a mouthful must be tasted.

R. Huna said in the name of Rabh, and likewise R. Giddel of Narash taught: "If a man made Kiddush and tasted a mouthful of the beverage, he has fulfilled his duty; but if he had not tasted that much, he has not acquitted himself of the duty."

"From the time of Min'hah," etc. The schoolmen asked: Does this refer to the long Min'hah (the time for which commences in the half of the eighth hour, i.e., at half-past one in the afternoon) or to the short Min'hah (the time for which commences on the half of the tenth hour, i.e., at half-past three in the afternoon in our time)? Is it not lawful to eat from the time of the long Min'hah, because thereby the time in which the paschal offering must be brought will be taken up, or is it not lawful to eat from the time of the short Min'hah, because in that event a man would become satiated, and not be able to do justice to the Passover-meal of unleavened bread?

Said Rabhina: Come and hear: We have learned: Even King Agrippa, whose wont it was to eat at the ninth hour of the day (3 P.M.), should on the eve of Passover not eat until it becomes dark. Now if the short Min'hah is the time meant, after which it is not lawful to eat, then the case of King Agrippa is worthy of note; but if the long Min'hah is meant, what proof does this case exhibit then that it was only because the meal would interfere with the paschal offering, and why is Agrippa's case specially mentioned? Hence we may infer therefrom that the short Min'hah is meant. Still, wherein is the case of Agrippa so noteworthy? If he commence his meal as usual in the ninth hour, the time when it is already unlawful to eat will arrive while he is still at his meal? We might assume, that the ninth hour of Agrippa is the equivalent of our fourth hour. Hence we are told that such is not the case.

R. Jose said: "While eating is not permitted after the time stated in the Mishna, it is allowed to partake of a light repast of fruit, delicacies, etc." R. Itz'hak would partake of herbs. Rabha would drink wine during all the eve of Passover, in order to arouse his appetite for unleavened bread at night. R. Shesheth would fast all through the eve of Passover, because, being in delicate health, had he eaten anything during the day he would not have been able to eat at night.

"Even the meanest in Israel," etc. It was taught: When eating unleavened bread on the Passover-night it is required that one should recline in an easy position, but this is not required when the bitter herbs are eaten. When wine is drunk it was taught in the name of R. Na'hman that a reclining position should be taken, and also that it need not be taken. Still, this apparent contradiction presents no difficulty. The statement quoted of R. Na'hman that a reclining position is necessary when drinking wine refers to the first two cups, and the statement that it is not necessary refers to the last two cups. Some explain the apparent contradiction in the manner quoted because the first two cups symbolize the commencement of liberty for the previously enslaved Jews, while the last two cups have no such significance. Others, however, say on the contrary! The first two cups are a remembrance of the days of bondage, and should therefore not be drunk in a reclining position, while the last two cups are a remembrance of the dawn of freedom, and hence should be drunk in an easy reclining position.

Leaning backwards is not considered reclining, nor is leaning over on the right side considered reclining in an easy position, and another reason why this should not be done is for fear lest the food enter the trachea instead of the gullet, and thus cause danger.

The woman who sits with her husband need not recline when eating, but if she is a woman of prominence she should do so. A son sitting with his father must recline, and the schoolmen raised the question whether a disciple sitting with his master should also recline or not? Come and hear: Abayi said: When we were at the house of our master (Rabba) we disciples would recline each on the other's knee; but when we afterwards came to R. Joseph, be told us that we need not do this, for it is said in Aboth: "The fear of thy master should be as the fear of the Lord." The schoolmen then inquired whether the servant in the house of his master must recline or not. Come and hear: R. Jehoshua ben Levi said: "If the servant ate unleavened bread to the size of an olive in a reclining position, he has fulfilled his duty." Whence we may infer that the servant must also recline (for he says "in a reclining position," but if not in a reclining position the servant would not have discharged the duty).

R. Jehoshua ben Levi said again: "Women must also drink the four cups, because they were also included in the miracles which delivered us all from Egypt."

R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel: "Each cup must contain wine which, when mixed with three parts of water, will be good wine. If unmixed wine was drunk, the duty has nevertheless been fulfilled. If all the four cups were poured into one and drunk, the duty has also been fulfilled. If the household was allowed to drink part of the four cups, the duty has also been fulfilled." Rabha, however, said: "If the wine was drunk unmixed the duty of drinking the wine has been acquitted, but the symbolical feature thereof has not been carried out," and in the case of where the four cups were poured into one, Rabh said: "The duty of drinking wine has been accomplished, but the duty of the four cups has not." If the household was allowed to drink part of the four cups, R. Na'hman said: "The master of the house has fulfilled the duty of drinking the four cups, provided he drunk the larger part thereof."

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We have learned in a Boraitha, R. Jehudah said: "The cup must contain the taste and the colour of red wine." Said Rabha: "What is the reason of R. Jehudah's statement? Because it is written [Proverbs 23:31]: 'Do not look on the wine when it is red' (whence we adduce, that wine must be red)."

The rabbis taught: "The duty of drinking the four cups devolves upon all alike--men, women, and even children." R. Jehudah, however, said: "What benefit would children derive from wine? They should rather be given nuts, parched corn, etc., on the eve of Passover, so as to keep them awake at night, and that may make them inquire into the reason of the festivity."

It was said of R. Aqiba, that he would deal out nuts and parched corn on the eve of Passover to the children, in order to keep them awake and have them ask for reasons.

We have learned in a Boraitha, R. Eliezer said: On the night of the Passover the unleavened bread is snatched out of the children's hand in order to keep them awake and have them ask for the reason.

A Boraitha states that it was told of R. Aqiba, that he never proposed adjourning the session at the college excepting on the eve of Passover for the children's sake, that they should not fall asleep, and on the eve of the Day of Atonement, in order to see that the children be given their meals at the proper time.

The rabbis taught: It is the duty of every man to cause his household and his children to rejoice on a festival, as it is written [Deut. xvi. 14]: "And thou shalt rejoice on thy feast." Wherewith should a man cause his household to rejoice? With wine. R. Jehudah, however, said: "The men with the thing they like best and the women with what is most pleasing to them." The thing men like best is, of course, wine; but what is most pleasing to women? R. Joseph taught: "In Babylonia multicoloured dresses and in Judæa pressed linen garments."

We have learned in a Boraitha, R. Jehudah ben Bathyra said: "When the Temple was still in existence, there was no better mode of rejoicing, than with (the eating of) flesh, as it is written [Deut. xxvii. 7]: 'And thou shalt slay peace-offerings, and eat them there; and thou shalt rejoice before the Lord thy God'; but now, when there is no Temple, wine is the principal means of rejoicing, as it is written [Psalms civ. 15]: 'And wine that maketh joyful the heart of man.'"

"Nor shall a person have less than four cups of wine." How can the rabbis order a thing which might involve danger? 2 Have we not learned in a Boraitha, that a man should not eat two dishes, nor drink two cups, nor do anything by twos? Said R. Na'hman: "It is written [Exod. xii. 42]: 'A night to be observed was this unto the Lord,' which signifies that on that night one is exempt from danger." Rabha said: "The cup of benediction (after meals) is only counted in for good purposes but never for evil, because its very name implies that it is for good, and thus only three cups are virtually drunk." Rabhina, however, said: "At all events, the four cups cannot be conjoined, for each one represents a different duty." 3

In Palestine no attention was paid to even or odd numbers, but R. Dimi of Neherdai was even particular about the signs on his barrels; and it once happened that he paid no attention to the signs, so one of the barrels burst. Whence the rule may be adduced, that one who is particular about things lays himself liable to accidents, but one who is not is not affected by superstition; still, it might happen that an accident should occur to him.

When R. Dimi came from Palestine, he said: Two eggs, two nuts, two cucumbers, and two of some other thing which I cannot remember, prove injurious to a man, is a Sinaic law; and because the rabbis could not find out what that other thing was, they included two of everything among the injurious as a precautionary measure. The statement elsewhere, that ten, eight, six, and four are excluded from the even numbers which are injurious only refers to acts caused by evil spirits; but where witchcraft is concerned, even those and more numbers may prove injurious, as it happened that a man once divorced his wife and she then became the wife of a wine-dealer. The first husband would generally go to that wine-dealer for his wine, and they tried to bewitch him, but without success; for he was always careful to avoid the even numbers. One day he imbibed too freely, and after drinking his sixteenth cup he became confused, and did not know how many he had drunk. So they saw to it that he drank an even number, and then succeeded in bewitching him. When he went out into the street he was met by a certain merchant, who said: "I see a murdered man walking before me." Not being able to proceed farther, the drunken man embraced a tree for support, when the tree emitted a groan and dried up, and the man was killed.

R. Avira said: Bowls and loaves of bread are not affected by even numbers. The rule is, that all things produced artificially are not subject to the evil arising from even numbers; but natural productions, such as fruit and edible things, are. Shops are not affected by even numbers (if one eat in two shops). If one ate one of a certain thing and then considered it, and ate another, the rule of even numbers does not apply. Guests are not affected by even numbers; i.e., if one cup of wine was given a guest and then another, as he had not known in advance how many he would be given, he is not affected.

A woman is not affected by even numbers, but a prominent woman should nevertheless be careful. Said R. Hinana the son of R. Jehoshua. "Asparagus is always counted in with things tending to good but not to evil." R. Joseph said: Two cups of wine and one cup of beer are not counted together; but two cups of beer and one of wine are counted together. Proof of this can be adduced from a Mishna in Tract Kelim, to the effect that where uncleanness is concerned, the less valuable things are defiled by more valuable, but valuable things are not defiled by things of lesser value.

R. Na'hman said in the name of Rabh: "If two cups are drunk before going to the table, and one while at table, they are counted together, but one drunk before going to the table and two drunk at the table are not counted together." R. Mesharshia opposed this statement. Do we then concern ourselves with the table? It is the man who is affected, and if he drank three cups, it is well. Therefore only if a man drank two cups at the table, pronounced the benediction after the meal, and subsequently drank another, the three cups are not counted together. 1

"Even if they must be given him from the funds devoted to charitable support." Is this not self-evident? (Is not the poor man equal to all others?) This statement in the Mishna is made for the purpose of counteracting the decree of R. Aqiba, to the effect that a man should even make his Sabbath-day as any other, in order not to depend upon charity. When the observance of the Passover, however, is concerned, and the miracles performed for our ancestors are to be proclaimed, even R. Aqiba admits that a man may avail himself of charity so that he may be enabled fitly to celebrate the event.

The disciples of Elijah taught: Although R. Aqiba taught that a man should even make his Sabbath-day as any other, in order not to depend upon charity, still some slight distinction should be made in honour of the Sabbath [What is meant by some slight distinction? Said R. Papa: "Small fishes should be eaten"], as it is taught in a Mishna (Aboth): R. Jehudah ben Thaima said: Thou shalt be bold as a leopard, light as an eagle; swift as a deer, and strong as a lion to do the will of thy Heavenly Father (which signifies, that a man should go even beyond his means in order to honour the Sabbath).

The rabbis taught,. Seven things R. Aqiba commanded his son R. Jehoshua, viz.: "My child, sit not in the midst of a city, when thou desirest to study; do not live in a city the officials of which are scholars, for they do not attend to the wants of the city; do not enter thy house without warning, and so much the less into thy neighbour's house; never go bare-footed; always arise early, and immediately eat in summer on account of the heat and in winter on account of the cold; and rather make thy Sabbath-day as any other in order not to depend upon charity; and, finally, have transactions only with such men as have no ill-fortune." Said R. Papa: "This last injunction does not refer to buying of or selling to a man in good fortune, but merely to entering into partnership."

Now that we have heard from R. Samuel bar Itz'hak that the passage [Job i. 10]: "The work of his hands hast thou blessed" signifies, that whoever only received a coin from the hands of job was fortunate in all his undertakings, we can infer, that with a man who is fortunate it is not only beneficial to be associated as a partner, but it is even to one's interest to buy from or sell to such a person.

Five things R. Aqiba while in prison commanded to R. Simeon ben Jochai: When R. Simeon ben Jochai said to him: "Master, teach me the Law," and R. Aqiba replied, "I do not wish to do this," the former said: "If thou wilt not, I shall complain to my father Jochai, and he will denounce thee to the government." R. Aqiba then remarked: "My son, more than the calf desireth to suck is the cow anxious to yield her milk," and R. Simeon replied: "In this case, however, the calf is in greater danger" (because R. Aqiba had been in prison already for this offence, while R. Simeon ben Jochai (the calf) stood yet in danger of being detected). Whereupon R. Aqiba told him the five things, viz.: If thou wouldst hang thyself, select at least a stout tree (meaning, that if thou wouldst have thy words listened to, quote them in the name of some great authority). If thou wouldst teach thy child, teach it from books free of errors. [What is meant thereby? Said Rabha, and according to others R. Mesharshia: "If a child is taught incorrectly to commence with, it is next to impossible to correct it subsequently."] Do not cook in the same pot that thy neighbour once used. [What is meant thereby? A divorced woman whose husband is still living; because the Master said, that if a divorced man marry a divorced woman there are four different minds in one bed, and others say, that R. Aqiba even referred to a widow.] If thou wouldst do an act of charity or perform a religious duty, and incidentally derive material benefit therefrom, thou shouldst lend thy money to the husbandman and eat of the fruit of his land, in which case thou wilt do an act of charity and also derive material benefit. If thou wouldst perform a religious duty and keep thy body clean, thou shouldst take a wife and have children.

Four things our holy Rabbi commanded his children, viz.: Do not live in the city of Shakantzib (because the inhabitants are scorners). Do not sit on the bed of a Syrian woman. [What is meant thereby? Some say, that one should not lie down to sleep without reciting the Shema prayer; and others say, that one should not marry a proselyte; while still others say, that the literal meaning is to be accepted on account of what happened to R. Papa. 1] Do not try to avoid taxation (for aside from the fact that it is a duty to pay taxes, should it be known that ye desire to avoid them, your property is in danger of being confiscated). Lastly, do not stand in front of an ox just emerging from the swamps, for at that time he is so wild that it seems as if Satan were moving between his horns. R. Samuel said: "This refers only to a black ox in the month of Nissan."

R. Oshiya taught: An ox that had attempted to gore a person once should not be approached for a distance of fifty ells, and one that had done so three times should be avoided as long as he is in sight. It was taught in the name of R. Meir: If thou hast perceived an ox so vicious, even if he still have his head in his crib, climb up an elevation and draw thy ladder after thee immediately.

Three things R. Ishmael bar R. Jose commanded Rabbi, viz.: Thou shalt not cause a blemish on thyself [i.e., thou shalt not deal with three men, one of whom will sue thee in a court of law and the other two will serve as witnesses against thee; for then thou wilt surely lose thy case]. Thou shalt not haggle over the price of a thing if thou hast not the wherewithal to purchase it with thee; and on the night when thy wife has returned from the bath thou shalt have nothing to do with her. Said Rabh: "This refers to a woman who had been ritually unclean according to biblical law but not to one who had been unclean according to rabbinical law; for in the former case, having been unclean only seven days, there is danger of a recurrence of her uncleanness, while in the latter, where she had been unclean fourteen days, there is no such danger."

Three things R. Jose bar R. Jehudah also commanded Rabbi, viz.: Thou shalt not go out at night alone. Thou shalt not stand naked before a light; and thou shalt not enter a new bathhouse, lest it be imperfectly constructed and breakdown. [How long is a bath-house considered new? Said R. Jehoshua ben Levi: "For twelve months." Why should not a man stand naked before a light? Because we have learned in a Boraitha: "One who stands naked before a light is liable to be seized with epilepsy, and one who has sexual intercourse before a light may produce epileptic children."]

The rabbis taught: "One who has intercourse with his wife in a bed where a child sleeps may cause the child to be epileptic, but this is the case only if the child is less than six years old. If it is over six years old, or even if it be less than six years old but sleeps at the foot or at the head of the bed, it does not matter. If the man, however, put his hand on the child, no matter where it sleeps, there will be no evil consequences."

Why should not a man go out alone at night? For we have learned in a Boraitha: "A man should not go out alone on the night following the fourth day or on the night following the Sabbath, because an evil spirit called Agrath, the daughter of Ma'hlath, together with one hundred and eighty thousand other evil spirits, go forth into the world and have the right to injure anyone they should chance to meet."

In former times this spirit would go forth every day. Once she met with R. Hanina ben Dosa and said to him: "If I had not heard it proclaimed in the heavens, 'Hanina and his knowledge must be respected,' I would inflict some injury upon thee," and he answered: "If I am esteemed in the heavens above, I command thee never to appear where men dwell," and she pleaded: "I must obey thy command, but leave me some freedom," whereupon be allowed the night following the fourth day and the night following the Sabbath. At another time this same evil spirit met Abayi, and she also said to him: "Had I not heard it proclaimed above, 'Respect Na'hmeni (another name for Abayi) and his knowledge,' I would do thee harm"; and he answered: "If I am respected above, I command thee never to appear where men dwell."

Rabh said to R. Assi: "Do not live in a city where thou canst not hear a horse neigh or a dog bark, and do not live in a city whose (executive) head is a physician. Do not take unto thee two wives, because they might conspire against thee to do thee wrong. If thou, however, already hast two wives, take a third (and should two conspire against thee the third will betray them to thee)."

Rabh said to R. Kahana: "It were better that thou shouldst occupy thyself with carrion (for a livelihood) than that thou shouldst break thy word (promise). Rather skin carrion in the market for pay than say that thou art a priest or an important person and above such work; for all honest labour is preferable to accepting charity. When thou goest on a journey, no matter how short, always take some food with thee. Even when a hundred cucumbers may be had for one zuz, do not say that thou wilt buy thy food on the way, but carry it along with thee, for thou never canst know what might happen on the way."

Rabh said to his son Hyya: "Do not make a habit of taking medicine. Do not make long strides. Avoid as much as

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possible having a tooth extracted. Never try to tease a snake, and do not make sport of a Persian."

The rabbis taught: Never tease a little (young) Gentile, a small snake, or a young pupil; because their kingdom is behind their ears (i.e., when they become older they seek revenge).

Rabh said to Aibo his son: "I have tried to teach thee the holy Law, but I cannot succeed; come and I will teach thee worldly things. When the sand is still on thy feet (i.e., if thou hast returned from a purchasing trip), shouldst thou meet with a buyer sell out at once. Sell everything, even though thou mightst subsequently regret it, especially wine, which thou wilt never regret selling, for it might become spoiled. Make fast thy purse and open thy sack (i.e., when selling, obtain the money first, secure it well, and then deliver the merchandise). If thou hast an opportunity to gain a kabh of land in thy immediate vicinity, it is better than a kur of land far away. If thy basket is filled with dates, run to the brewer and have him brew the beer; for the dates might be eaten up, and then thou wilt have naught." [What quantity of dates should a man have before he goes to the brewer? Said Rabha: "Three saahs." Said R. Papa: "If I had not brewed beer, I should never have been rich," and so also said R. Hisda.

Said R. Papa: "All debts requiring promissory notes are doubtful, and those where the signatures must be verified are even more so; and even should they be paid, the money will not be good (i.e., will come little by little)."]

Three things R. Johanan said in the name of the great men of Jerusalem: When thou goest to war, and canst persuade others to join thee, stay as long as possible in order to see that the men that thou hast recruited all go, and then go thyself last of all. Then upon the return thy reward shall be that thou shalt be first. Rather make thy Sabbath-day as any other, and avoid depending on charity. Associate thyself with one upon whom fortune smiles.

R. Jehoshua ben Levi also said three things in the name of the great men of Jerusalem, viz.: Do not commit private acts in public (on account of the evil consequences which have ensued by reason thereof). If thy daughter is of marriageable age, free thy slave and give her to him in marriage (rather than allow her to remain single), and watch thy wife with her first son-in-law. [Why so? Said R. Hisda: "On account of love," and R. Kahana said: "On account of money matters." As a matter of fact, both things should be looked after.]

R. Johanan said: The following three kinds of men shall inherit the world to come: Those that live in the Holy Land, those that send their children to houses of learning, and those that make Habdalah over wine (i.e., those that have but little and leave some of the wine from the Kiddush for Habdalah, refraining from drinking it on the Sabbath).

R. Johanan said again: The Holy One, blessed be He, himself proclaims the virtue of the three following men: Of a bachelor who lives in a large city and sins not; of a poor man who finds a valuable thing and returns it to its owner; and of a rich man who gives a tenth of his profits to charity unbeknown to others.

R. Saphra was a bachelor, and lived in a large city. A certain Tana repeated the statement of R. Johanan, just quoted, in the presence of Rabha and R. Saphra. R. Saphra's face beamed with delight. Said Rabha to him: "A bachelor such as thou art is not meant, but such men as R. Hanina and R. Oshiya, who were shoemakers in the land of Israel and whose shops were in the markets of the prostitutes. They would make shoes for those women and carry the shoes to the houses where the prostitutes lived, and even fit them there. Still, though the women would look at them, they never lifted their eyes to look at the prostitutes. Thus when oaths were taken, they would swear by the lives of these holy rabbis of the land of Israel."

The Holy One, blessed be He, loves three kinds of men, viz.: Those that never become angry, those that never become intoxicated, and those who do not insist upon asserting themselves. The following three the Lord hates: The one who speaks with his mouth and thinks otherwise in his heart; the one who can testify in a man 1 s favour and does not do so; and the one who alone saw another man doing wrong and testifies against him in public, although knowing that the testimony of one man is not sufficient to convict, as it once happened that a certain man by the name of Tubia sinned. A certain Zigud came to R. Papa and testified against this Tubia. R. Papa ordered this Zigud chastised, and the latter said: "Tubia has sinned, and Zigud should be punished?" and R. Papa answered: "Yea; for it is written [Deutr. xix. 15]: 'There shall not rise up one single witness against a man,' and thou art the single witness against Tubia; hence thy testimony is of no value and merely slanders a man."

The rabbis taught: The following three kinds of men do not live a life worth living, viz.: Those who have too much pity with importunates, those who are very excitable, and those who are too fastidious. Said R. Joseph: "I combine in myself all those three defects."

The rabbis taught: The following three species hate others of their own kind, viz.: a dog, a cock, and a Persian Gueber (fire-worshipper); and others say, one prostitute hates another; and still others say, one scholar hates another.

The rabbis taught: The three following love others of their own kind, viz.: Proselytes, slaves, and ravens. The following four are unbearable to the sound sense of a man, viz.: A poor man who is vain, a rich man who constantly tells lies, an old man who is lascivious, and a president of a congregation who considers himself superior to all others without cause. Others say, also one who divorces his wife once, remarries, then divorces her again and again marries her. Five things Canaan the son of Ham the son of Noah commanded his children; viz.: "Love ye one another, love robbery, love lasciviousness, hate your masters, and never tell the truth."

Six things were said of a horse, viz.: He is very passionate, he loves war, he is very proud, he hates to sleep, he eats much and casts off little; and according to others, he loves to kill his owner in a battle.

Rabba bar bar Hana said in the name of R. Samuel bar Martha, quoting Rabh upon the authority of R. Jose the man of Hutzal: Whence do we know that an Israelite must not consult astrologers? Because it is written [Deutr. xviii. 13]: "Perfect shalt thou be with the Lord thy God" (which signifies that perfect confidence must be reposed in the Lord). Whence do we know that if a man is convinced of the superiority of his neighbour to himself, even in one instance only, he should respect him? From the passage [Daniel vi. 4]: "Because a superior spirit was in him: and the king sought to appoint him over the whole kingdom." When a woman continues in the blood of her purification, 1 although she is not defiled, she should not halve any connection with her husband.

We have learned in a Boraitha: Joseph the man of Hutzal is Joseph the Babylonian or Issi ben Gur Ariah or Issi ben Jehudah or Issi ben Gamaliel or Issi ben Mahalalal, and what is (really) his name? Issi ben Aqabia.

R. Itz'hak ben Tabla is R. Itz'hak ben Haqla and the same as R. Itz'hak ben Elazar (Ela'a), and where R. Itz'hak is mentioned in Halakha it refers to R. Itz'hak ben A'ha, while where R. Itz'hak is mentioned in Haggada it refers to R. Itz'hak ben Pin'has.

Rabba bar bar Hana said in the name of R. Johanan, quoting R. Jehudah bar Ilayi: Rather eat onions and sit in peace in thy house than geese and chickens, which thou wilt acquire a taste for and perhaps be unable to gratify it. Reduce the quality of thy meals, if need be, in order to improve the quality of thy abode. When Ula came from Palestine, he said: "There is a saying in Palestine to this effect: He who always eats the fat of a ram's tail must hide himself from his creditors in an altar, but he who satisfies himself with herbs, can sit in the centre of, the market in full view of all."

MISHNA: When the first cup is poured out, the blessing pertaining to the festival should be said, and then the benediction over the wine must be pronounced. Such is the dictum of Beth Shammai; but according to Beth Hillel, the benediction over the wine should be said first, and then the blessing of the festival may be pronounced.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: The following presents one of the instances wherein Beth Shammai and Beth Hillel continually differ as regards meals, namely: Beth Shammai hold, first, that the blessing of the festival should precede that over the wine, because the festival is the direct cause of drinking the wine; and, second, the festival was already at hand while the wine was just brought. The school of Hillel, however, maintain, first, that the blessing over the wine has the preference, because, were it not for the wine or bread, no Kiddush could be said; secondly, the wine is usual and drank every day, while the festival only comes once in a certain period, and the rule is, that between a thing which occurs frequently and one which occurs only at intervals, the latter is to be given preference. The Halakha prevails according to Beth Hillel.

MISHNA: Herbs and vegetables are then to be brought; the lettuce is then to be immersed, part thereof eaten, and the remainder left until after the meal arranged for the night is eaten; then unleavened cakes are to be placed before him as well as the lettuce, sauce (Charoseth), and two kinds of cooked food, although it is not strictly obligatory to use the same; R. Elazar ben Zadok, however, said, that it is obligatory. During the existence of the Holy Temple, the paschal sacrifice was then placed before him.

GEMARA: Why are two immersions necessary, the one when lettuce is immersed and the other when the bitter herbs are immersed? In order to excite the curiosity of the children, and have them inquire into the reason therefor. Which kinds of the above-mentioned cooked food are meant? Said R. Huna: "Mangold and rice," and Rabh would see to it that there was only mangold and rice in place of the cooked victuals, because he wished to carry out the literal sense of R. Huna's teaching.

Hezkyah said: "Fish, together with an egg, may also serve for the two kinds of cooked food," and R. Joseph said: "Nay; there must be two kinds of meat (one roasted and the other boiled), one to serve as a remembrance of the paschal offering and the other as a remembrance of the festal offering." Rabhina said: "A bone and some boiled meat suffice." It is self-evident that if a man have other vegetables besides lettuce he can say the blessing required for the vegetables, namely, "who hath created the fruit of the earth," and eat them, and then, when coming to the bitter herbs, he may say the blessing required, namely, "who hath commanded us to eat bitter herbs," and then eat them; but if a man have no other vegetables besides lettuce, how shall he pronounce the benedictions? Said R. Huna: "He should first say the ordinary benedictions for vegetables, eat a piece of the lettuce, then say the blessing over bitter herbs, and proceed to eat."

R. Hisda opposed this: "How can the man say another blessing after he had already eaten of the thing? Therefore he should say the two benedictions together, eat part of the lettuce, and when the time arrives to eat the remainder he can eat it without saying a blessing."

In Suria they acted in accordance with R. Huna's opinion, and R. Shesheth the son of R. Jehoshua would act in accordance with R. Hisda's decree. The Halakha prevails according to R. Hisda's decree. R. A'ha the son of Rabha took care to have other vegetables besides lettuce, in order to avoid the difference of opinion between the two sages.

Rabhina said: R. Mesharshia the son of R. Nathan told me, that so said Hillel, quoting a tradition: A man should not place the bitter herbs between unleavened cakes and eat them in that manner. Why not? Because the eating of unleavened cakes is a biblical commandment, while the eating of bitter herbs in this day is only a rabbinical ordinance. Now if the two be eaten together, the bitter herbs might destroy the taste of the cakes, and thus a rabbinical ordinance would supersede a biblical commandment; and even according to those who hold that one commandment cannot nullify another when both are fulfilled at the same time, such is only the case where both are biblical or both are rabbinical; but when one is a biblical and the other a rabbinical commandment, the rabbinical nullifies the other, and hence their joint fulfilment is not allowed.

Who is the Tana from whom we have heard that the fulfilment of one commandment does not nullify that of another? That Tana is Hillel, as we have learned in a Boraitha: It was said of Hillel, that he would take a piece of the paschal offering, an unleavened cake, and some bitter herbs, and eat them together, as it is written [Numb. ix. 11]: "With unleavened bread and bitter herbs shall ye eat it."

R. Johanan said: "Hillel's colleagues did not agree with him, as we have learned in a Boraitha: Lest we assume that the paschal offering, the unleavened bread, and the bitter herbs must be eaten together, therefore it is written, 'With unleavened bread and bitter herbs shall ye eat it,' which signifies, that each may even be eaten separately." R. Ashi opposed this: "If this Boraitha is supposed to be in opposition to Hillel, why does it state that each may even be eaten separately? (If they may be eaten even separately, then surely they may be eaten together.) Therefore the Boraitha means to state, that even if the three things were eaten separately the duty was acquitted, though they should rather be eaten together."

Now in this day, when it is not known whether the Halakha prevails according to the opinion of Hillel or of the opposing sages, the mode of procedure should be thus: A blessing should be said over the unleavened bread and a piece thereof eaten; then another blessing should be said over the bitter herbs and a piece tasted, and finally the unleavened bread and the bitter herbs should be put together and eaten at the same time, saying: "This is in remembrance of Hillel's actions when the Temple was still in existence."

R. Elazar said in the name of R. Oshiya: "When anything is dipped in sauce, the hands should be perfectly clean"; i.e., previously washed. Said R. Papa: "Thence we may infer that the lettuce must be entirely immersed in the Charoseth (sauce), for otherwise what need would there be of washing the hands, they would not touch the sauce?" Nay; perhaps this is not so: the odor of the sauce might neutralize any poison which might be lurking in the lettuce, and thus the lettuce need not be entirely immersed, and as for washing the hands, that is merely a precaution lest they accidentally touch the sauce.

R. Papa said again: "The bitter herbs should not be allowed to stay any length of time in the sauce, lest the spices draw out the bitterness, and thus make the bitter herbs tasteless."

R. Hisda led Rabbana Ubqa by the arms and the latter preached: "If a man washed his hands prior to dipping the lettuce the first time, he should nevertheless wash his hands again when dipping a second time." The rabbis told this to R. Papa, and remarked that the statement did not refer to the Passover-meal alone, but that it was a general rule; for if it referred to the Passover-meal alone, why should a man wash his hands the second time, he had already performed that duty? Rejoined R. Papa: "On the contrary! The statement refers to the Passover-meal alone; for where do we find that a second dipping is required, and should it be claimed that the duty had already been performed, hence a second washing of the hands were unnecessary, it should be taken into consideration, that between the first and second washing of the hands the recital of the Haggada and the Hallel prayer was

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accomplished, and thus the first washing of the hands might have been lost sight of?"

Rabha said: "If a man swallowed unleavened bread (without masticating it), even if he did not taste it, he has acquitted himself of the duty of eating unleavened bread; but if he swallowed the bitter herbs without getting a taste of the bitterness, he has not discharged the duty pertaining to eating bitter herbs If he swallowed unleavened bread together with bitter herbs, he has acquitted himself of the duty pertaining to unleavened bread, but not of that pertaining to bitter herbs. If he had, however, wrapped the unleavened bread together with the bitter herbs in a leaf (or peel of a fruit) and swallowed it, so that neither the unleavened bread nor the bitter herbs touched the palate, he did not even discharge the duty pertaining to unleavened bread."

R. Shimi bar Ashi said: "Unleavened bread, bitter herbs, and Charoseth must be dealt out to each man separately, but immediately before the Haggada is read, the tables on which the food is served 1 should not be removed at once, but only from the man who is about to recite." R. Huna, however, said: "The things mentioned were only served to the man who was to recite the Haggada, and he would then deal them out to the others," and the Halakha prevails according to the decree of R. Huna.

For what purpose were the tables removed? Said the disciples of R. Janai: "In order to excite the curiosity of the children present, and induce them to inquire into the reasons."

Abayi while still a child sat at a table in the presence of Rabba, and observed that the table of Rabba was removed. Said Abayi: "We have not yet eaten our meal, why are the tables being removed?" and Rabba replied: "By thy question we are absolved from commencing with the passage: 'Wherefore is this night distinguished from all nights?' and we can immediately proceed with the answer: 'Because we were slaves,'" etc.

Samuel said: It is written [Deut. 16:3]: "Bread of affliction" (Le'hem Oni), and as "Oni" can also stand for "proclaiming," the bread may be called "bread of proclamation," i.e., "bread over which proclamations should be made," and thus we have also learned in a Boraitha (with the following supplementary statement): Or "Oni" may still be called "poor," and for the reason that the benediction pertaining to the eating of the unleavened bread should be made over a broken piece after the manner of the poor.

"Although it is not obligatory to use Charoseth," etc. If it is not obligatory, why is it used? For the purpose of neutralizing any poison that might be contained in the bitter herbs, said R. Ami.

"R. Elazar ben Zadok, however, said: It is obligatory," etc. What religious purpose can it serve? Said R. Levi: "It serves as a remembrance of the apple-trees." R. Johanan, however, said: "It serves as a remembrance of the loam which the Israelites were compelled to prepare when in bondage in Egypt." Said Abayi: Therefore the Charoseth should be made to have an acid taste in memory of the apple-trees, and also thick, in memory of the loam.

We have learned in a Boraitha in support of R. Johanan, viz.: "The spices used in the preparation of the Charoseth were in memory of the straw used in the preparation of the loam, and the Charoseth was in memory of the loam itself." R. Elazar ben Zadok said: "The vendors of spices in Jerusalem would shout on the streets, 'Come and buy spices for the religious purpose'!"

MISHNA: A second cup of wine is poured out; and the son should then inquire of his father (the reasons for the ceremony). If the son is mentally incapacitated to do this, the father is bound to instruct him as follows: Wherefore is this night distinguished from all other nights? That on all other nights we may eat either leavened or unleavened bread, but on this it must be all unleavened; on all other nights we may eat all kinds of herbs, but on this we may only eat bitter herbs; on all other nights we may eat meat, roasted, boiled, or cooked in different ways, but on this night we may only eat it roasted; on all other nights we immerse what we eat once, but on this night twice. And according to the powers of comprehension of the child, thus should his father teach him: first, he should inform him of the disgrace (of our ancestors), and then conclude with the recital of the favourable and laudatory passages; he should expound the passage [Deutr. 26:5]: "A Syrian, wandering about, was my father," etc., until the end of the passage [ibid. 9].

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: One who has an intelligent son should be asked by his son; if the son is not sufficiently intelligent, the wife should inquire, and if the wife is not capable, he himself should ask those questions; and even if two scholars who are well versed in the laws of the Passover should sit together at the Passover-meal, one should ask the other the above questions.

The Mishna states, "on all other nights we immerse what we eat once." "Is, then, this done because it is a duty?" asked Rabha. "Therefore," said he, "it should state this: On all other nights we are not even bound to immerse what we eat once, but on this night we must do so twice.'"

R. Saphra opposed this: "Shall we tell children of the duty: what do children know of duty? Therefore let the Mishna rather state: 'On all other nights we do not immerse what we eat at all, but on this night we do so twice.'"

MISHNA: Rabbon Gamaliel used to say: Whosoever does not mention the following three things on the Passover has not fulfilled his duty. They are: The paschal sacrifice, the unleavened cakes, and the bitter herbs. The paschal sacrifice is offered because the Lord passed over the houses of our ancestors in Egypt, as it is written [Exod. 12:27]: "That ye shall say, It is the sacrifice of the Passover unto the Lord, who passed over the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt," etc.; the unleavened bread is eaten because our ancestors were redeemed from Egypt (before they had time to leaven their dough), as it is written [ibid. 34]: "And the people took up their dough before it was leavened," etc.; and bitter herbs are eaten because the Egyptians embittered the lives of our ancestors in Egypt, as it is written [ibid. 1-14]: "And they made their lives bitter," etc. It is therefore incumbent on every person, in all ages, that he should consider it as though he had personally gone forth from Egypt, as it is written [ibid. 13:8]: "And thou shalt tell thy son on that day, saying, This is done for the sake of that which the Lord did unto me when I came forth out of Egypt." We are therefore in duty bound to thank, praise, adore, glorify, extol, honour, bless, exalt, and reverence Him who wrought all these miracles for our ancestors and for us; for He brought us forth from bondage to freedom, He changed our sorrow into joy, our mourning into a feast, He led us from darkness into a great light, and from servitude into redemption: let us therefore say in His presence, "Hallelujah" (sing the Hallel prayer).

How far is the Hallel then to be said? According to Beth Shammai, till [Psalms 113:9]: "He causeth the barren woman to dwell," etc.; but according to Beth Hillel, till [ibid. 114:8]: "Who changeth the rock into a pool of water," etc., and they are to close with a blessing for the redemption. R. Tarphon says: This is the form: "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, Sovereign of the universe, who hast redeemed us and our ancestors from Egypt," without any further concluding blessing. R. Aqiba, however, says: "(The preceding should be continued as follows.) Thus mayest thou, O Lord our God, and the God of our ancestors, bring us to the peaceable enjoyment of other solemn feasts and sacred seasons which are nigh unto us, that we may rejoice in the rebuilding of thy city and exult in thy service, that we may there eat of the paschal and other sacrifices," etc., until "Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hast redeemed Israel."

GEMARA: Rabha said: One must say, the Lord hath redeemed us from Egypt, and he said again. The unleavened bread and the bitter herbs must be lifted up when about to be eaten, but the meat need not be lifted up; and, moreover, if the meat were lifted up, it would appear as if consecrated things were eaten outside (of the Temple).

R. A'ha bar Jacob said: "A blind man is exempt from the recital of the Haggada, and this is adduced from the comparison by analogy of the two passages [Exod. 13:8]: 'This is done,' etc., and [Deut. xxi. 20]: 'This our son is stubborn,' etc.; and as concerning the latter verse it is taught elsewhere that, if the parents of the son be blind, and hence unable to point him out, the son shall not be stoned, so concerning the former verse it is taught, that a blind man is exempt from the duty of the recital."

Is this indeed the case? Did not Mareimar say that he asked the teachers of the disciples of R. Joseph who recited the Haggada in the house of R. Joseph, and that they answered. "R. Joseph," and who recited the Haggada in the house of R. Shesheth, and they answered: "R. Shesheth" (R. Joseph and R. Shesheth were both blind)? (The answer is,) both R. Joseph and R. Shesheth hold, that the entire ceremony pertaining to unleavened bread is in these days only a rabbinical institution (and therefore its observance is optional).

"It is therefore incumbent on every person," etc. Said R. Jehoshua ben Levi: "With ten different expressions of praise the entire Book of Psalms was composed, namely: With Nitzua'ch, Nigon, Maskil, Mizmor, Shir, Ashrai, Thehiloh, Thephilalh, Hodaah, and Hallelujah. 1 The most important of all the expressions is that of Hallelujah, because it contains within itself both praise and the Name."

Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: "The song in the Scriptures [Exod. xv.] was sung by Moses with Israel when coming up out of the sea, and who recited the Hallel? The prophets among them ordained, that at all times when they are delivered out of affliction, they should say it on account of their redemption."

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Meir said: All the praises uttered in the Book of Psalms were uttered by David, as it is written [Psalms lxxii. 20]: "Here are ended the prayers of David the son of Jesse." Do not read "Kolu" (are ended), but "Kol Elu" (all these are).

Who said Hallel? Said R. Jose: "My son Elazar says, that Moses together with Israel said it, when coming up out of the sea, but his colleagues differ with him, maintaining that David said it; but to me my son's opinion seems the more reasonable, for how can it be that the Israelites should slaughter their paschal offerings and take their palm-branches, and not sing a song of praise?"

The rabbis taught: All the songs and hymns in the Book of Psalms were, according to the dictum of R. Elazar, sung by David for his own sake; but R. Jehoshua says, that he did so for the congregation at large, and the sages say, that some were uttered by him for the congregation at large while others were only for his own sake, namely, those which he uttered in the singular were for his own sake and those uttered in the plural were for the community at large. The Psalms containing the terms Nitzua'ch and Nigon were intended for the future; those containing the term Maskil were proclaimed through an interpreter; where the psalm commences "Le-David Mizmor" the Shekhina first rested upon David and then he sang the psalm, but where it commences "Mizmor Le-David" he first sang the psalm and then the Shekhina rested upon him, whence it may be inferred that the Shekhina does not rest upon one who is in a state of idleness, or sorrow, or laughter, or thoughtlessness, or upon him who indulges in vain words, but only upon one who rejoices in the fulfilment of a duty, as it is written [2 Kings 3:15]: "But now bring me a musician. And it came to pass when the musician played, that the inspiration of the Lord came upon him."

Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: "The same applies to the study of Halakhaoth," and R. Na'hman said: "The same also applies to a good dream."

Is this indeed the case? Did not R. Giddel say in the name of Rabh, that every scholar who sits in the presence of his Master in other than a serious mood cannot retain anything he has learned, so as to be able to repeat it with his lips? as it is written [Solomon's Song v. 13]: "His lips, like roses, dripping with fluid myrrh." (The Hebrew term for roses is "Shoshanim," and for learning the term is "Shanah." The expression for "myrrh" is "mar," which also signifies bitterness. Thus the passage may be interpreted as follows:) "The lips that learn, drip with bitterness (seriousness)." Thus we see that seriousness is necessary when learning, and not rejoicing? This presents no difficulty. Rejoicing is necessary for the teacher, i.e., be should be in an agreeable mood; but the disciple who is learning must be serious, and if you wish, I will tell you that both apply to the teacher, but the former applies before the teacher commenced his lecture and the latter when he had already commenced, as Rabba was wont to do, namely: He would preface his lecture with a joke and bring his disciples into a good humor; then he would proceed in all seriousness and teach the Halakha.

The rabbis taught: Who said the Hallel? R. Elazar said: Moses and Israel said it when standing by the sea. They said what is written [Psalms cxv. i]: "Not for our sake, O Lord, not for our sake, but unto thy name give glory," and the Holy Spirit replied (Isaiah xlviii. 11]: "For my own sake, for my own sake, will I do it"; and R. Jehudah said: Joshua and Israel said it when they did battle with the kings of the Canaanites. Israel said: "Not for our sake," etc., and the Holy Spirit said: "For my own sake," etc. R. Elazar of Modai said: Deborah and Barak said it when Sissera waged war upon them. They said: "Not for our sake," and the Holy Spirit replied: "For my own sake," etc. R. Elazar ben Azariah said: King Hezekiah and his companions said it when Sennacherib waged war upon them. They said: "Not for our sake," etc., and the Holy Spirit replied: "For my sake," etc. R. Aqiba said: Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah said it when Nebuchadnezzar was about to throw them into the fiery furnace. They said: "Not for our sake," etc., and the Holy Spirit replied: "For my sake," etc. R. Jose the Galilean said: Mordechai and Esther said it when Haman the wicked rose up against them. They said: "Not for our sake," etc., and the Holy Spirit replied: "For my sake," etc.; but the sages said, that the prophets among the Israelites arranged so that whenever affliction overtook the Israelites, they said it in the hour of their redemption.

Said R. Hisda: "Each Hallelujah denotes the conclusion of a chapter in Psalms," but Rabba bar R. Huna said: It denotes the commencement of a chapter." Said R. Hisda: I saw the Book of Psalms in the hands of R. Hanan bar Rabh, and observed that a Hallelujah stood in the midst of a chapter, whence I infer that there must have been a doubt whether it belonged at the beginning of the chapter or at the end, and for that reason it was placed in the centre." Said R. Hanin the son of Rabha: All agree, that after the verse [Psalms cxlv. 21]: "The praise of the Lord shall my mouth speak: and let all flesh bless His holy name for ever and ever," the Hallelujah is the commencement of the chapter; and after the verse [ibid. cxii. 10]: "The wicked shall see it and be vexed; he will gnash with his teeth and melt away; the longing of the wicked shall perish," the Hallelujah is also the commencement of a chapter; and after the verse [ibid. cxxxv. 2]: "Ye that stand in the house of the Lord, in the courts of the house of our God," the Hallelujah is also the beginning of a chapter. The Karaites 1 add to these verses, ibid. cx. 7 and ibid. cxi. 10, after both of which the Hallelujah is the beginning of a chapter. Shall we assume, that the Tanaim also differ concerning the Hallelujah in the above Mishna? We have learned: How far is the Hallel to be said? According to Beth Shammai, till [Psalms cxiii. 9] "the joyful mother of children," etc., but according to Beth

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Hillel, till [ibid. cxiv. 5] "who changeth the rock into a pool of water"; and we have learned in another Boraitha, according to Beth Shammai, till [ibid. cxiv. 1] "when Israel went forth out of Egypt," and according to Beth Hillel, till [ibid. cxv. 1] "not for our sake, O Lord," etc. Shall we then assume, that those who say till "the joyful mother of children," hold that the Hallelujah which succeeds the verse is the beginning of a chapter, while those who say that the Hallel should be said till "when Israel went forth out of Egypt," hold the Hallelujah to be the end of a chapter? Nay; R. Hisda may answer this according to his own theory, that all agree upon Hallelujah as being the end of a chapter, and that those who in accordance with Beth Shammai say the Hallel till "when Israel went forth out of Egypt," are perfectly correct, as they already include the Hallelujah, but those who according to Beth Shammai in the first Boraitha say the Hallel as far as "the joyful mother of children," mean to include that verse also with the Hallelujah.

Rabba bar R. Huna, however, may answer this according to his theory, that all agree upon Hallelujah as being the beginning of a chapter, and that those who according to Beth Shammai say the Hallel as far as "the joyful mother of children," are correct, while those who say it till "when Israel went forth out of Egypt," mean to exclude that verse with the Hallelujah.

"They are to close with a blessing for the redemption." Rabha said: In the reading of the Shema and the Hallel the redemption of Israel should be referred to in the past tense, namely: "Who hast redeemed," etc., while in the prayer embracing the eighteen benedictions it should be referred to in the future tense, namely: "Who wilt redeem," etc., for a prayer should be made to apply to the future and not to the past.

R. Zera said: When the Kiddush is said, the benediction contained therein must read: "Who hast sanctified us with his commandments," etc., but in prayer the sentence should read: "Sanctify us with thy commandments," etc., because such is the prayer for Mercy.

R. Aha bar Jacob said: In the benediction contained in the Kiddush, the exodus from Egypt must be referred to, and this is derived from a comparison by analogy in the verses [Deutr. xvi. 3]: "That thou mayest remember the day of thy going forth out of Egypt," etc., and [Exod. xx. 8]: "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy," whence the inference, that the exodus from Egypt must be remembered in the Kiddush.

Rabba bar Shela said: In the prayer for redemption, the sentence, "He causeth to sprout the foundation of help," should be said, and the benediction pronounced after the recital of the Haphtorah 1 should be concluded, after the blessing for the redemption, with "the shield of David." As it is written [II Sam. vii. 9]: "I have made thee a great name, like the name of the great," etc., and R. Joseph taught that it signifies the conclusion with "the shield of David."

R. Simeon ben Lakish said: It is written [Gen. 12:2]: "And I will make of thee a great nation," and this is explanatory to the term "the God of Abraham" used in prayer. "I will bless thee" [ibid.] refers to "the God of Isaac," and "make thy name great" [ibid.] refers to "the God of Jacob"; and lest we assume that the conclusion of the benedictions should also be made to embrace all three terms, therefore the passage [ibid.] ends with "and thou shalt be a blessing," signifying that only one (and that is Abraham) should form the concluding blessing.

Rabba said: I discovered that the sages of Pumbaditha once sat and proclaimed the following: "On Sabbath, both in the recital of the Kiddush and in prayer, the concluding blessing must be 'who hath sanctified the Sabbath,' and on a festival also, both in prayer and in the Kiddush, the concluding benediction must be 'who hath sanctified Israel and the time of the festivals.'" Said I to the sages: "On the contrary! On Sabbath and on festivals the concluding blessing of the prayer should be 'who hath sanctified Israel,' but the concluding benediction of the Kiddush on the Sabbath should be 'who hath sanctified the Sabbath,' while on a festival it should be 'who hath sanctified Israel and the time of the festivals,' and I will tell you the reason both for your assertion and my own. Your reason is, that Sabbath is not an institution of the Israelites themselves, but one ordained for them from the beginning; hence it should be said 'who hath sanctified the Sabbath,' but on the festivals, which are instituted by the Israelites themselves, by making months intercalary or ordinary, it should be said, 'who hath sanctified Israel and the time of the festivals.'

"My reason is, however, that as prayer is generally offered up by an assembly, it should therefore conclude with 'who hath sanctified Israel'; but Kiddush, which is recited by an individual, should conclude with 'who hath sanctified the Sabbath,' and, on festivals only, with 'who hath sanctified Israel and the time of the festivals.'" [This is, however, no argument; for prayer may be offered up by an individual, and Kiddush can be said in an assembly.]

Ula, the son of Rabh, in the presence of Rabha, prayed in accordance with the dictum of the sages of Pumbaditha, and Rabha did not object; whence we may infer that he retracted his former statement and finally agreed with those sages.

R. Nathan the father of R. Huna ben Nathan also prayed in the presence of R. Papa in accordance with the dictum of the elders of Pumbaditha, and R. Papa commended him for doing so.

Rabhina said: "I once came to Sura and prayed in the synagogue in the presence of Mareimar, and the reader prayed in accordance with the dictum of the sages of Pumbaditha. The congregation, however, desired to silence him, when Mareimar said to them: 'Let him proceed; for the Halakha prevails according to the sages of Pumbaditha.'"

MISHNA: A third cup of wine is then poured out, and the benediction after meals is said. After pouring out the fourth cup, the Hallel should be concluded over it and the blessings on the songs of praise be said. A person may drink as much as he chooses between the second and third cups, but not between the third and fourth.

GEMARA: Said R. Hanan to Rabha: "Infer from this Mishna, that for the benediction after meals a cup (of wine) is required," and Rabha replied: "Nay; these four cups serve as a symbol of our freedom, and incidentally they were divided for the accomplishment of several religious duties, but no inference should be made that the benediction after meals requires a cup of wine."

"And the blessings on the songs of praise (should) be said." What are these blessings? R. Jehudah said: The prayer following the Hallel, namely: "All thy works, O Lord, shall praise thee," etc., and R. Johanan said: The prayer commencing: "The breath of all living," etc.

The rabbis taught: On the fourth cup the Hallel is concluded, and the great Hallel should also be recited thereon. Such is the decree of R. Tarphon, and according to another version, R. Tarphon decreed that the chapter [Psalms 23.], "The Lord is my shepherd," etc., should also be said. Whence does the great Hallel commence? Said R. Jehudah: From [Psalms cxxxvi.] "Give thanks unto the Lord," etc., until [ibid. cxxxvii.] "by the rivers of Babylon," etc. R. Johanan, however, said: From [ibid. cxx.] "A song of the degrees," etc., until [ibid. cxxxvii.] "by the rivers of Babylon," etc. R. Aha bar Jacob, however, said: From [ibid. cxxxv. 4] "For Jacob hath the Lord chosen," etc., until [ibid. cxxxvii.] "by the rivers of Babylon," etc.

Why is this called the great Hallel? Said R. Johanan "Because the Holy One, blessed be He, sits in the uppermost height of the world and thence deals out food for all his creatures (as it is written [Psalms 136:25, 26]: "Who giveth food unto all flesh; for to eternity endureth his kindness. O give thanks unto the God of the heavens," etc.).

R. Jehoshua ben Levi said: "The twenty-six verses of the chapter [cxxxvi.] apply to the twenty-six generations existing before the Law was given, and who were nourished only by His grace."

R. Hisda said: The passage [ibid. 136:1], "O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good," signifies that the Lord punishes man for evil deeds only by diminishing his (the man's) possessions (goods); f.i., a rich man is punished by the loss of an ox, a poor man by the loss of a sheep, an orphan by the loss of an egg, and a widow by the loss of her hen, etc.

R. Johanan said: The earning of a man's daily bread is twice as labourious to him as the bearing of a child is to a woman, for concerning a woman lying-in it is written [Gen. iii. 16]: "In pain (Be'etzeb) shalt thou bring forth children," while concerning man it is written [ibid. 17]: "In pain (Be'itzabon) shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life," which implies a greater degree of pain.

R. Johanan said again: The earning of a man's daily bread is beset with more difficulty than the redemption; for concerning the redemption it is written [Gen. xlviii. 16]: "The angel who redeemed me from all evil," while concerning a man's daily bread it is written [ibid. 15]: "The God who fed me from my first being unto this day," whence we see that for redemption it only required an angel, while for the sustenance of a man it required God's providence.

R. Jehoshua ben Levi said: When the Lord said to Adam [Gen. 3:18]: "And thorns and thistles shall it (the earth) bring forth to thee," tears ran from Adam's eyes, and he said: "Creator of the Universe! Shall then I and my ass eat of the same crib?" but when he heard the Lord say [ibid. 19]: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread," he felt relieved. Said R. Simeon ben Lakish: "It were better for us had we been left in our original condition, when we were doomed to eat the herbs of the field; then we would not have been obliged to work so hard for our bread." 1 Said Abayi: "We have not yet been released from that doom, for there are quite a number of herbs which we can eat directly from the field."

R. Shezbi said in the name of R. Elazar ben Azariah: "The earning of a man's daily bread is as difficult of accomplishment as was the dividing of the Red Sea for the Israelites when going out of Egypt."

If it is necessary to recite the great Hallel, why must the small Hallel be recited at the Passover-meal? Because the small Hallel contains the following five things: "The exodus from Egypt, the dividing of the Red Sea, the giving of the Law to the Israelites, the resurrection of the dead, and the sufferings in the time of the Messiah." The exodus from Egypt, as it is written [Psalms 114:1]: "When Israel went forth out of Egypt"; the dividing of the Red Sea, as it is said [ibid. 3]: "The sea beheld it, and fled"; the giving of the Law, as it is said [ibid. 6]: "Ye mountains, that ye skip like wethers," referring to the time when the Law was given to Israel; the resurrection of the dead, as it is said [ibid. cxvi. 9]: "I will walk before the Lord in the lands of life"; and the sufferings in the time of the Messiah, as it is written [ibid. cxv. i]: "Not for our sake, O Lord," etc., commenting upon which, R. Johanan said that it refers to the time of the war of Gog and Magog (which will occur just before the coming of the Messiah and will be the worst period for the Israelites to pass through).

R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak said: The small Hallel is recited for another reason, namely, because it contains the transposition of the souls of the righteous from Gehenna to Heaven, as it is written [Psalms 116:4]: "I beseech thee, O Lord! release my soul" (from Gehenna).

Hez'kyah said: There is still another reason why the small Hallel should be recited, namely, because it is mentioned that Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah were thrown into the fiery furnace and came out alive: for the passage, "Not for our sake, O Lord," was said by Hananiah; "but unto thy name give glory," was said by Mishael, and "for the sake of thy kindness, for the sake of thy truth," was said by Azariah; and the next passage, "Wherefore should the nations say, Where now is their God?" they all three said together. This happened when they were thrown into the fiery furnace, and when they came out Hananiah said the passage [Psalms cxvii.], "Praise the Lord, all ye nations"; Mishael said: "Praise him, all ye people." "For mighty is his kindness over us," was said by Azariah, and "And the truth of the Lord endureth forever, Hallelujah!" all three said in unison. According to another version, this last sentence, "The truth of the Lord endureth forever," was said by the angel Gabriel, because it was said that when Nimrod the wicked threw Abraham our father into the fiery furnace, the angel Gabriel said to the Lord: "Permit me to go and make the furnace cold, that it may do no harm to Abraham," and the Holy One, blessed be He, replied: "Abraham is now the only one who has forsaken idolatry and believes in God, and I am the only One in the world, hence it would be but fair that the only One should rescue the other exception," and as the Holy One, blessed be He, would not deprive any one creature of the reward due, He said to Gabriel: "Thou shalt have an opportunity to rescue three of his children from the fiery furnace, while I Myself shall rescue him." (Whereupon Gabriel is supposed to have said: "The truth of the Lord endureth forever.")

R. Simeon of Shiloni preached: When Nebuchadnezzar the wicked threw Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah into the fiery furnace, the angel Jurqami, master of the waters, came before the Lord and said: "Permit me to go and cool the furnace, so that I might rescue the righteous from death." Said Gabriel to him: "This would not prove the power of the Lord, for it is well known that water can extinguish fire, and thou art the master of waters; hence it would be but commonplace if through thy means the furnace were cooled. Rather should I, who am the master of fire, be permitted to go, and I shall remove the fire on the inside and make it so much more fierce on the outside, which will be a miracle within a miracle; for a master of fire will make the fire cool in one place and so much hotter in another." Whereupon the Lord said: "Go thou, Gabriel, and do so," and Gabriel said: "The truth of the Lord endureth forever."

R. Nathan said: The truth of the Lord endureth forever, was said by the fish of the sea, and this is in accordance with the dictum of R. Huna, who said: When the Israelites were brought forth out of Egypt, they were still sceptics, and when taken through the Red Sea, they said: "Surely the Egyptians have passed through the sea at another point, and will overtake and slay us." So the Lord said to the master of the sea: "Throw out all the bodies of the Egyptians in the sea on dry land, so that the Israelites may see them," and the master of the sea replied: "Creator of the Universe! Is there then a slave who was given a gift by his master, and was then deprived of it again?" So the Lord replied: "I shall return to thee half as many again as thou shalt throw out," and the master of the sea said again: "Creator of the Universe! Is there then a slave who should demand restitution of his master?" and the Lord answered again: "The stream of Kishon shall be thy pledge." Whereupon all the bodies of the Egyptians were thrown up on the dry land, and Israel saw them, as it is written [Exod. xiv. 30]: "And Israel saw the Egyptians dead upon the shore of the sea." Whence do we know that the Lord promised half as many again in return for the bodies of the Egyptians? Because concerning the Egyptians it is said [ibid. 14:7]: "And he took six hundred chariots," while concerning Sissera it is said [Judges 4:3]: "For he had nine hundred chariots of iron."

When Sissera came to wage war upon the Israelites, he came with iron spears; but the Lord changed the position of the stars, as it is written [Judges 5:20]: "From heaven they fought: the stars in their courses fought against Sissera." As soon as the stars moved, the spears of Sissera's army became heated, so the men went to cool them in the stream of Kishon, and then

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the Lord said to the stream of Kishon: "Thou wast pledged, Go now, and redeem thy pledge." Whereupon the stream threw them all into the sea, as it is written [ibid. 21]: "The stream of Kishon swept them away, that ancient stream, the stream of Kishon." Why is it called the ancient stream? It is so called, because it was given as a pledge in ancient time. Then, when all those men were swept into the sea, the fishes, which were thus provided with so much food, said: "The truth of the Lord endureth forever."

Rabha preached: It is written [Psalms 116.]: "It is lovely to me, that the Lord heareth my voice." The congregation of Israel (Kneseth Israel) said to the Holy One, blessed be He: "Lord of the Universe! When do I know that I have found favour in thine eyes, when thou hearest my prayer?" Further, it is written [ibid. 6]: "I was in misery, and He helped me." The congregation of Israel said to the Lord: "Lord of the Universe! Although I am deficient in the fulfilment of religious duties, I am nevertheless thine; hence it would be seemly that thou shouldest help me."

R. Kahana said: When R. Ishmael bar R. Jose became ill, Rabbi sent to him the following request: "Tell us two or three things which thou wert wont to say in the name of thy father," and R. Ishmael replied: So said my father: The passage [Psalms 117:1], "Praise the Lord, all ye nations," signifies that all the nations should praise Him, on account of the power and the miracles with which He has helped the nations, and so much the more should we Israelites praise him; for concerning us it is written [ibid. 2]: "For mighty is his kindness over us." My father also said: In the future, Egypt will bring a gift to our Messiah, and he will hesitate whether to accept it or not, when the Lord will say unto him: "Accept it, for they were hospitable to my children in their land," and it is written [Psalms 68:32]: "Nobles will come out of Egypt" (with gifts). Seeing this, Ethiopia will say: "If the gifts of Egypt, which held the Israelites in bondage, were accepted, surely gifts from us, who never did them any injury, will be so much the more accepted." So the Lord will say to the Messiah: "Accept their gifts also," and it is written [ibid.]: "Ethiopia will stretch forth her hands eagerly unto God." When Rome shall see this, they will say: "Surely if the gifts of the Ethiopians, who are nowise near to the Israelites, were accepted, gifts from us, who are their brethren, 1 will be accepted." And the Lord said to the angel Gabriel: "Rebuke the wild beasts" [Psalms 68:31], and R. Hyya bar Abba in the name of R. Johanan explains this to mean: "Rebuke the wild beasts, whose quills, are used solely to write decrees to the detriment of the Israelites," and the further passage [ibid.], "the troop of steers among the calves of nations," signifies that they (the Romans) were like a troop who slew the greatest among the Israelites like calves who had no owners. "That hasten along with presents of silver," signifies that they stretch forth their hands to receive bribes from the Israelites, promising them permission to carry out the ordinances of their law; but when in receipt of the bribe violate their promises and prevent the Israelites from performing their religious duties. "He scattereth the nations that are eager for the fight," signifies the following: "What was the cause of the scattering of Israel among the nations? Their own eagerness for strife."

Finally, R. Ishmael sent to them the following saying of his father: "There will be a city containing 365 market-places; each market will have 365 stalls; each stall will have 365 steps; and each step will contain merchandise sufficient for the entire world." So R. Simeon the son of Rabbi asked his father, according to others he asked R. Ishmael ben Jose: "To whom will such a city belong?" and the answer was: "To thee, to thy colleagues, and to the friends of thy colleagues (i.e., to all righteous men), as it is written [Isaiah :2318]: "And her gain and her hire shall be holy to the Lord; it shall not be treasured nor laid up; but for those that dwell before the Lord shall her gain be, to eat to fulness, and for magnificent clothing.'"

[Said R. Samuel ben Na'hmeni in the name of R. Jonathan: The passage [Psalms 118:21], "I will thank thee, for thou hast answered me," was said by David. The next passage [ibid. 22], "The stone which the builders rejected is become the chief corner-stone," was said by Jesse (when David was chosen king). The following passage [ibid. 23], "From the Lord is this come to pass," was said by David's brothers, and the next passage [ibid. 24], "This is the day which the Lord hath made," was said by Samuel. "We beseech thee, O Lord! save us now" [ibid. 25], was said by the brothers of David. "We beseech thee, O Lord! Send us now prosperity" [ibid. ibid.], was said by David himself. "Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord" [ibid. 26], was said by Jesse, and "We bless you out of the house of the Lord" [ibid. ibid.], was said by Samuel. "God is the Lord, and he giveth us light" [ibid. 27], was said by all. "Bind the festive sacrifice with cords" [ibid. ibid.], was said by Samuel. "Thou art my God, and I will thank thee" [ibid. 28], was said by David, and "My God, I will exalt thee" [ibid.], was said by all.] R. Avira preached at one time, saying it in the name of R. Ami, and at another time quoting it in the name of R. Assi: It is written [Gen. 21:8]: "And the child grew and was weaned," which signifies that the Lord will prepare a meal for the children of Isaac on the day when he will receive them into his favour. After the meal and the beverages will have been consumed, the Lord will hand the cup used for the benediction after meals to Abraham, and Abraham will say: "I am not worthy; for from me issued forth Ishmael." Isaac will then be asked to pronounce the benediction, but he will refuse on the ground that from him issued forth Esau. Jacob will then be offered the cup, but he will refuse on the ground that he married two sisters, which was afterwards prohibited by Law. Moses will then be requested to say the benediction, but he also will refuse, on the ground that he was not destined to enter the promised land, neither before nor after his death. Joshua will then be asked to accept the cup, and he also will refuse, saying: "I am not worthy, for I died childless." David will finally be offered the cup, and he will accept it, saying: "I am indeed worthy and shall recite the benediction," as it is written [Psalms 116:13]: "The cup of salvation will I lift up, and on the name of the Lord will I call."

MISHNA: It is unlawful to conclude the eating of the paschal sacrifice with a dessert.

GEMARA: What is meant by a dessert? Said Rabh: "After the paschal sacrifice had been eaten in one company, one should not go and eat aught in another company," and Samuel said: "The literal meaning should be taken, as, for instance, I am used to eating mushrooms for dessert, and Abba (Rabh) eats doves for dessert."

R. Hinana bar Shila and R. Johanan both say: "It means, that no dates, parched corn, or nuts should be eaten afterwards," and so we have also learned in a Boraitha.

R. Joseph said in the name of R. Jehudah, quoting Samuel: "After the unleavened bread, dessert may be eaten." Shall we assume that the Mishna supports this statement by teaching that after the paschal sacrifice no dessert should be eaten, but after the unleavened bread it may? Nay; on the contrary, after unleavened bread, which has a hardly perceptible taste, dessert must certainly not be eaten, but lest we assume that after the paschal sacrifice, which is fat and has a pungent savor, we may do so, hence we are taught that it is unlawful.

And objection was made: "We have learned that sponge-cake, honey-cake, and sugar-cake may be eaten to satiety, providing a piece of unleavened bread to the size of an olive be eaten afterwards," whence we see that those sweetmeats may be eaten before but not afterwards. Nay; this is merely to teach us, that not only does a man fulfil by eating unleavened bread when he is hungry, but even if he does so when satiated, he also acquits himself of the duty.

Rabha said: In the present day, the law pertaining to unleavened bread is biblical, but that pertaining to bitter herbs is rabbinical. Why is the law pertaining to bitter herbs rabbinical? Because the biblical law is, that it should be eaten with the paschal sacrifice; but where the latter does not exist, the bitter herbs need not be eaten? Would this not apply also to the unleavened bread? Concerning unleavened bread there is a separate and distinct commandment, namely [Exod. 12:18]: "In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month, at evening, shall ye eat unleavened bread." R. A'ha bar Jacob, however, said, that the law pertaining to unleavened bread is also rabbinical, and the passage just quoted refers to such as were incapacitated to eat of the paschal sacrifice, and who might assume that they were exempt from eating unleavened bread also, hence that passage imposes upon them the duty.

The following Boraitha supports the statement of Rabha: The passage [Deut. xvi. 8], "Six days shalt thou eat unleavened bread, and on the seventh day shall be a solemn assembly to the Lord thy God," implying that on the seventh day eating of unleavened bread is not obligatory: the same is the case with the other six days. Why so? Because the seventh day was excluded from the rule governing the whole seven days, and as there is a tradition that an exception holds good for the entire rule, so the exception of the seventh day holds good for the entire six; i.e., if it is not obligatory to eat unleavened bread on the seventh day, it is also not obligatory on the other six days. Shall we assume, then, that it is also not obligatory on the first night? for that reason it is expressly written: "At evening shall ye eat unleavened bread," which makes it obligatory for that evening.

Shall we say that as the paschal sacrifice was a duty only when the Temple was in existence, so it is with the unleavened bread, that after the destruction of the Temple it is not obligatory; therefore the passage says: "In the evening ye shall eat Matzoth," consequently the passage made this obligatory forever.

MISHNA: If any of the company fall asleep during the meal, they may eat of the paschal sacrifice afterwards; but if the whole company have fallen asleep, they must not again eat thereof (upon awakening). R. Jose said: "If they are only drowsy, they may eat it, but if they fall fast asleep, they must not eat of it afterwards."

The paschal offering does, after the hour of midnight, render the hands unclean. Sacrifices which are rejected or that have remained beyond their prescribed time, also render the hands unclean.

GEMARA: Abayi was sitting before Rabba. The former said that the Master was asleep, and he said to him: "Are you asleep, Master?" and he answered: "I am only drowsy"; and we have learned in a Mishna that if they are drowsy they may eat, but if they are fast asleep they must not eat of it afterwards.

Who is the Tana who holds that after midnight on the Passover eve the remaining portion of the sacrifice is called a remainder within the meaning of the law? Said R. Joseph: R. Elazar ben Azariah."

Said Rabha: According to R. Elazar ben Azariah, if a man ate unleavened bread after midnight on the Passover eve, he has not accomplished his duty. Is this not self-evident? If the unleavened bread is put on a par with the paschal sacrifice, then surely after midnight the time during which it must be eaten has elapsed. We might assume that, because the passage finally separates the unleavened bread from the paschal sacrifice, it cannot be classed with the latter, therefore we are taught that it remains on a par with the paschal sacrifice, as stated in the passage, Exod. xii. 8.

MISHNA: Whosoever has said the blessing on the paschal offering is not bound to say that on the festal offering, but one who has said the blessing on the festal offering is bound to say it on the paschal offering also. Such is the dictum of R. Ishmael; but R. Aqiba said: "Neither of these absolves from the obligation of saying the other blessing."

GEMARA: R. Simlai once happened to be at a celebration of the redemption of a first-born son, and he was asked the following: "It is self-evident that the benediction, 'who hath sanctified us with his commandments and has commanded us the redemption of our son,' should be said by the father, but the other benediction, namely, 'who hath permitted us to live to this time,' who is to say this--the priest, because he derives material benefit therefrom, or also the father, because he fulfils the religious duty?" R. Simlai did not know; so he went to the college and inquired, when he was told that the father of the son must pronounce both benedictions, and so the Halakha prevails.

APPENDIX A.

(EXPLANATORY OF THE FIRST MISHNA--PAGE 1.)

THIS Mishna we have explained in a different manner from that employed by the Amoraim, in our monthly periodical Barqai (in the note on p. 17); and as this explanation has been approved by many eminent scholars, we translate it here for the English public. The explanation quoted was in reply to the attempt of the learned Mr. Buhock of Cherson to interpret this Mishna, in an article printed in the same publication.

After a short preface reviewing the statement of Buhock, the note in question reads:

But before we endeavor to explain this Mishna according to its literal meaning, we will preface that on two points we cannot agree with the learned writer of this article, while on a third we can do so only partially:

(1) That the word "Or," which the Tanaim have used in many Mishnas and Boraithas, signifies "twilight," when there is still some light lingering. Aside from the fact that reason does not admit of this interpretation, we have against it R. Eliezer b. Jacob, who fixes the time from "Or" as that when work is prohibited, and that is only dawn, or sunrise, as the sages of the Gemara also admit; and we must say that he used in his decision a word the meaning of which was known to the whole world, as his colleague designates the "time after sunrise" by a term so well known that it is not subject to doubts. Then, as we see that all the sages understood "Or" to mean daybreak, we need not go out of our way to give to it another meaning. And inasmuch as we are aware that the Tana desired to fix the time so that all should know it, why should he, in such a case, have used an obscure expression, the meaning of which would be subsequently a matter of dispute?

(2) That when our Mishna used the expression "the Chometz," instead of "Chometz," it refers to the Chometz mentioned in Scripture. But concerning the Sukka, the Tana has not made it known beforehand that it is obligatory to sit in a Sukka on certain days; and similarly of the Lulab and the citron. And notwithstanding this, he begins, "A Sukka which is high," etc., and not "the Sukka," doubtless resting upon the presumption that the scriptural law is known. Therefore we must find another leaven which was known at that time, distinct from the leaven of the Bible, and which was searched for; for of biblical leaven this Tana says further: "The place where leaven is not brought," not "the leaven."

(3) Concerning Mr. Buhock's statement, that when the Tana speaks of the usage in his time to search for leaven, he also fixed the time and quoted the Halakha ordaining that it be accomplished by the light of a candle, we can only agree with the first half of the statement, viz., that the Tana speaks of the usage. But we deny that it was his purpose to fix the time and quote Halakhas in question; for in that case he would also have specified the time until when the search should be made, in the beginning of the Mishna, as he did in specifying the time of reading Shema, of which he says in the very beginning, "from this time to this time." And if we should say that he wished to fix the time of search immediately

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after a man's coming from the field or from work, so that the duty should not be forgotten, in that case he had also to specify the time of ending it, similar to his treatment of Shema, which was also fixed when one comes from the field, in order that it should not be forgotten, as it is said in Berachoth: "That he should not say, 'I will eat first, will drink first,' etc., and is then found sleeping the whole night." Nevertheless, they fixed times, one till the end of the first watch, one till midnight, and one till dawn, in the very same place where the time of the beginning is specified. But here, at the end of the Mishna even, he does not fix any time for stopping, as will be explained further on. Therefore we must seek another manner of explaining this Mishna, and in the same connection express our opinion about all the Mishnayoth which begin with diverse Halakhas before stating the source and obligatoriness of these Halakhas. We will proceed to do this after one other prefatory remark, viz., that our sages have long ago permitted us to interpret the Mishna in a manner different from the sages of the Gemara; that is to say, not to be at variance with the Halakhas which are decided in the Gemara, but only in the interpretation of the meaning of the Mishna, which the Babylonians did not always understand, owing to their remoteness in place and time. (See A. H. Weiss, Vol. 3., p. 17, etc., and "He'halutz," V., p. 33; and also Tosphath Yom Tob, Tract Nazir, V., 5.) And sometimes even when they understood it, seeing that it would not agree with the Halakha which was customary, or even with the saying of a certain great Amora with whom they could not differ, they strained the Mishna, discovered it in different readings, and made strange comment, to make it correspond with the customary Halakha or the opinion of the Amora. Therefore they made deductions and additions at their pleasure. And now, without touching on the Halakhas concerning the search of leaven, we will investigate the origin of this usage in the times of the Mishna.

The custom was in the East in former days, as well as at the present time, to eat fresh bread every day; and in every household bread was baked daily (for bread of bakers was rare, and the populace scarcely used it). And on the day before Passover, when the first meal, i.e., of leavened bread, had to be taken in the morning not later than the fourth hour (i.e., 10 A.M.), they baked their bread in good time, before daybreak, and after this they searched for any leaven that might have been left, gathered it to one place, and cleared the house of it; and as dawn had not yet illuminated the house, they used a candle to make search in all those places where they were liable to carry leaven. The Tana of our Mishna, who everywhere used as a support the custom well known in his time, without beginning to relate the law anew (of which the best proof is the mention of the Lulab, as be begins the Halakha, "A purloined Lulab is invalid," before he has stated that the palm-boughs mentioned in the Bible are equivalent to the Lulab; and if he did not make reference to the custom known to all in his time, be should have declared what the palm-branches meant), stated, here also, this custom as follows: "'Or' (at daybreak) on the fourteenth, search is made (by the women) for the leaven (which they are at the time using), by candle-light (that it may be transferred to other places before the sun illuminates the house)." And he approves the custom by saying: "A place where leaven is not carried does not require searching"; that is to say, this custom is proof that leaven need not be searched for in other places, and at other times.

"Beth Shammai say, 'also two rows (of barrels) ranging across the whole cellar' (the women searched for leaven in, because they were accustomed to go there with hands fresh from kneading leavened dough to fetch the yeast obtained from the wine for baking); but Beth Hillel say, 'only the upper row of the two outer rows' (they made search in, because only from those rows did they fetch the yeast, but not from all barrels of the cellar). (And) it is not apprehended that a weasel had transferred it from one spot to another, and from one house to another; for if so, then it will be feared, from court to court, etc. R. Jehudah says: Search was made at daybreak on the 14th, and on the morning, and at the time of clearing (i.e., when the bread is baked, when it is eaten, and when it is burned), and the sages say: If search has not been made at daybreak on the 14th, it is made on the 14th (i.e., in the morning); if not on the 14th, it is done on the intermediate days; if not on these days, it may be done after the festival (that is to say, the men are under no particular obligation, and have no particular time prescribed for them, to make search for the leaven, and it is not feared lest they forget, for even if that occur, they lose nothing)."

This was the form of the Mishna which the arranger of the Mishnas had before him, or had heard orally,, and he was not anxious to explain its meaning, as in his time also the custom had not yet undergone any change. But some copyist, who did not understand the relevancy of the cellar to the leaven, added at the margin: "Why were the two rows of barrels in a cellar mentioned? That is a place whither leaven is carried." Later this marginal note was inserted into the text of the Mishna. The sages of the Gemara, truly, were not satisfied with this remark, and put the question: "Who spoke here of a cellar?" For they thought that this Mishna stated the Halakha, and therefore were anxious to ascertain the meaning of the word "Or." R. Huna explained it to mean "Nog'hi" ("light," in Aramaic), i.e., the beginning of the day; and R. Jehudah "before daybreak," as in the language of his part of the country it designated the time before daybreak, when it is yet night. The other also reasoned, and said: "At the first glance, it seems 'Nog'hi' means 'light,'" etc.; and as it was perplexing to their minds why candle-light was needed for the search, they sought for reasons in Scripture, and used passages thereof in support off their opinions, arguments from analogies of expression, etc.. etc., which did not enter the Tana's mind at all.

And it is manifest that in all the Boraithoth in which the word "Or" was used, it means "dawn," which was the latest time for all duties to be performed in the night. Even in the Boraitha in Yoma, stating: "'Or' on the Day of Atonement the prayer should be so and so," etc., the word is also used to designate the whole night till the break of day, during which the prayer is yet called "prayer of the evening but that after daybreak is called "morning prayer."

APPENDIX B.

(SUPPLEMENTARY TO SECOND NOTE, PAGE 66.)

IT seems to us necessary, in explanation of this curious passage, to make the following extract from our "History of Amulets":

It is no wonder that the change of one letter in a word resulted in the writing of volumes upon volumes and the adoption of hundreds of restrictions.

The following instance will illustrate this: R. Jehudah being once in a company of friends advised the housekeeper not to use for bread-making any other water than that kept in the house, and he expressed it in six words: "A woman should not knead with other than our water". The reason was that other water might have been poisoned by snakes, which are abundant in those countries. R. Jehudah said this in reference to the dispute in the Boraitha (Terumath VI.) where one maintained that bread made with water kept in an uncovered vessel outside the house should be burnt, even if it were bread of Terumah. R. Nehemiah was of the opinion that the snake poison loses its power when brought into contact with fire, and therefore that the bread might be used. To avoid this, R. Jehudah advised the use of domestic water, which he expressed by the word (שלנו "our."

R. Mathna, who lived sixty years after R. Jehudah, happened to be in the city of "Papuni" and on a certain occasion (probably having some objection to the use of the water of that city) lectured in public about using the water which collects in the public streets, and he quoted R. Jehudah's original words: "A woman should not knead with other than our water." The people present understood R. Mathna to have brought some water along with him because of his using the word "our." They therefore came to him the next day with vessels to get some of this water. Then R. Mathna explained in the Talmudic language that he meant domestic water, using the word d'baitha, having the meaning "domestic." In course of time the word d'baitha was incorrectly copied and the Aleph (א) at the end was changed to Vav (ו), which would make it mean "which has remained over night." The Rabanim concluded that it related to the Matzoth (unleavened bread) used at the Passover and therefore maintained that the water used in making Matzoth must remain over night in the house before it is used. Neither R. Jehudah nor R. Mathna mentioned this, but it was assumed simply because these words of R. Jehudah are found in that tract of the Talmud which treats of the Passover feast. The later Rabanim wrote volume after volume upon this subject (see our journal Ha-Kol, Nos. 286, 287, 290, etc.). Still they could not give the least explanation of why they referred this to the Matzoth, and they did not care to investigate where R. Jehudah got it from nor how Matzoth were kneaded before his time.

END OF TRACT PESACHIM.

THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD BOOK 4 (3):
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TRACT YOMAH (DAY OF ATONEMENT).

CHAPTER 1.

CONCERNING THE HIGH-PRIEST'S PREPARATIONS FOR THE SERVICE OF THE DAY OF ATONEMENT (WHEN THE TEMPLE WAS IN EXISTENCE).

MISHNA: Seven days before the Day of Atonement the high-priest is to be removed from his house to the Palhedrin Chamber (παρεδρων), and another high-priest is appointed to substitute him in case he become unfit for the service by becoming unclean. R. Jedudah says another wife is to be appointed for him also, in case his own wife dies, whereas it is said [Lev. xvii. 11], "and shall make atonement for himself and for his house"; "his house"--that is, his wife. But it was objected that in this manner there will be no end to the matter. (The other wife may die too.)

GEMARA: We have learned in a Mishna (Tract Parah, III., 1): "Seven days before the red cow 1 was to be burned, the priest who had to perform this ceremony was removed from his house to the northeastern chamber of the Temple," etc. "Whence do we deduce this?" said R. Miniumi bar Helviah in the name of Mahassia b. Iddi, quoting R. Johanan: "It is written [Lev. viii. 34]: 'As they have done this day, so hath the Lord commanded to do farther, to make an atonement for you.' 'To do farther' signifies the red cow; 'to make an atonement for you', signifies the Day of Atonement." But perhaps it signifies the atonement of sacrifices generally? Could we know, in this case, which priest is going to perform the rite? How, then, could he be removed from his home? But perhaps other festivals are meant? We infer the removal seven days before one day from the removal, seven days (before) for the service of one day, 1 but not seven days (before) for a service of seven days [of the festivals of Passover and of Tabernacles]. Perhaps Pentecost, which also is only one day, is meant? Said R. Abba: "We infer a day of one bull and one ram (when one such is sacrificed) [as on the days of consecration], from a day of one bull and one ram, which is the offering for the Day of Atonement; but for Pentecost two rams are prescribed." Perhaps New Year's Day is meant (which is also only one day)? Said R. Abahu: "We may infer a day of the bull and the ram at the priest's own cost from a day when the priest must act likewise, and that is the Day of Atonement. But on the days of Pentecost and of New Year the bull and ram are at the public cost." R. Ashi, however, said: "We may infer a day on which the bull is a sin-offering, and the ram a burnt-offering (as on the day of consecration and on the Day of Atonement), but on New Year's Day and Pentecost both are burnt-offerings."

Rabbina said: "We may infer from a day on which the service is allowed only to the high-priest a day on which the same is the case, but on the other festivals [than the Day of Atonement] the service is permitted to other priests.

R. Johanan taught: "Both phrases, 'to do farther' and 'to make an atonement,' refer only to one day, and that is the Day of Atonement." Resh Lakish, however, infers from the same two phrases--from "to do," the red cow, and "to make an atonement," the Day of Atonement (as stated previously). But how can R. Johanan infer only one of these, since we have learned that for the red cow the priest was also removed? That was not biblical, but optional. [To contradict the Sadducces, the priest was purposely made unclean, and therefore he was recompensed by honours, one of them that of being removed seven days before.]

When Rabbin came from Palestine, however, he said in the name of R. Johanan, quoting R. Ishmael: "By 'do farther' the red cow is meant, and by 'to make atonement' the Day of Atonement." Said Resh Lakish to him: "Whence do you deduce this? From the days of consecration! As on those days everything mentioned is obligatory, so on these occasions it should be. Perhaps you will say, it is so. But have we not learned that a substitute is prepared? and it is not written that the substitute must also be removed. If you will say, the substitute was likewise removed, then why does the Mishna say, the high-priest was removed, and a substitute was prepared? Let one expression be used concerning both."

Rejoined R. Johanan: "Whence do you, Master, deduce this?" He answered: "I deduce it from what occurred on Mount Sinai. As it is written [Ex. xxiv. 16]: 'And the glory of the Lord abode upon Mount Sinai, and the cloud covered it six days, and he called unto Moses on the seventh day.' Let us see. He called him on the seventh day; to what purpose were the six days? To make a rule for every man who must enter the abode of the Shekhina, that he must be separated six days." But did we not learn "seven days"? Six days are sufficient; but our Mishna is in accordance with R. Jehudah b. Bathyra, who says that seven days are requisite (as will be further explained).

Rejoined R. Johanan again to Resh Lakish: "It is, according to me, who deduce it from the days of consecration, that the following Boraitha should say, that on the priests on both occasions they sprinkled during all the seven days of preparation, from all the ashes of the red cows which were to be found there, because on the days of consecration there was also sprinkling. But according to you, who deduce it from Mount Sinai, where do you find sprinkling on Mount Sinai?" Resh Lakish answered: "Even according to your theory, are they equal? In the days of consecration the sprinkling was of blood, and here water Rejoined R. Johanan. "It presents no difficulty; because R. Hiya taught the water was later substituted for the blood. But according to your theory, on Mount Sinai there was no sprinkling at all?" Resh Lakish answered: "The sprinkling was an optional improvement."

We have learned of one Boraitha which is in accordance with R. Johanan, and of another which is according to Resh Lakish. The one according to R. Johanan is as follows: It is written [Lev. xvi. 3]: "With this shall Aaron come into the holy place." The phrase "with this" means all that is said concerning the days of consecration. Namely, Aaron was separated seven days, and served but one; during the seven days Moses instructed him, to make him acquainted with the service. So it should be in later generations; the high-priest should be separated for seven days, and serve one day, and two scholars of the disciples of Moses, excepting Sadducees, were placed in his society during the seven days to make him be practised in the service. Therefore it has been said, seven days before the Day of Atonement the high-priest must be removed from his house to the chamber of Palhedrin. And as the high-priest was separated, so the priest who was to burn the red cow was to be removed to the chamber in the northeast of the Temple. Both priests used to be sprinkled during all the seven days from the ashes of the red cow. And if you will say, on this occasion water of the ashes was sprinkled, and on the days of consecration it was blood that was sprinkled, it can be replied, that that water was a substitute for the blood, as it is written: "As they have done this day, so the Lord commanded to do farther, to make atonement for you" [Lev. viii. 34]. "To do farther" means the red cow; "to make atonement," the Day of Atonement.

The Boraitha according to Resh Lakish is as follows: Moses ascended in the cloud, was covered by the cloud, and was sanctified in the cloud, in order that he should have been able to receive the Torah for Israel in a state of sanctitude, as it is written [Ex. xxiv. 16]: "And the glory of the Lord abode upon the Mount Sinai." This occurred after the day in which the ten commandments were given, which was the first of the next forty days. So said R. Jose the Galilean. R. Aqiba, however, said: "'The Lord's glory abode,' that was the first day of the month (Sivan); 'the cloud covered it,' the mountain, not Moses (for during the six days the latter went from God to Israel and from Israel to God); 'and he called,' he called Moses

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himself. Although Moses and all Israel stood, yet to do honour to Moses, he called him alone." R. Nathan said: "To what purpose was Moses covered by the cloud six days? That the victuals in his bowels should be digested, so that he should be pure as the angels." R. Matthiah b. Heresh, however, said: "The entire separation was for the purpose of overawing him, that the Torah should be received with awe, shivering, and trembling, as it is written [Ps. ii. 11]: 'Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling.'" What is meant by "rejoice with trembling"? Said R. Adda bar Matna in the name of Rabh: "Where there is joy, there should be awe."

On what point do R. Jose the Galilean and R. Aqiba differ? They differ like the Tanaim of the following Boraitha: "On the sixth day of Sivan the Torah has been given to Israel; R. Jose, however, says, on the seventh." According to him who says that the Torah was given on the sixth day, Moses ascended on the seventh; according to him who says, on the seventh, he received the Torah and ascended on the seventh day, as it is written [Ex. xxix. 16]: "And he called unto Moses on the seventh day." R. Jose the Galilean holds with the first Tana, who maintains that the Torah was given on the sixth of the month; arid therefore, he says, "the glory of the Lord abode" after the day on which the commandments had been given. The cloud covered Moses six days, and on the seventh he called him to receive the rest of the Law. But R. Aqiba holds, according to R. Jose, that the commandments were given on the seventh day, and that Moses ascended on the same day.

"And the Lord called unto Moses, and spoke unto him" [Lev. i. 1]. Why was it need to call first, and then to speak? The Torah teaches good manners, that a man should not communicate to another anything before he tells him that he wishes to speak to him. And this is in support of R. Hanina, who has said the same.

Said R. Menasseh the Great: How is it known, when one person communicates something to another, that one has no right to tell it to a third without permission? It is written [ibid.], "spoke unto him out of the tabernacle of the congregation, saying" (in Hebrew "Lemor," which is considered here as equivalent to "Lo Emor," not to speak). From the above saying of Resh Lakish to R. Johanan, that if you infer all this from the days of consecration, etc., we must assume that both agree that whatever is written concerning the days of consecration is obligatory. Now from what has been taught, that about the days of consecration R. Johanan and R. Hanina differed, one says, all that is written is obligatory, and the other, that only which is obligatory for later generations, but what is not obligatory for later generations was not obligatory even then. Infer that R. Johanan is the one who says that all that is written there is obligatory. For were the case otherwise, R. Johanan would have replied to Resh Lakish that it is not so.

In what consists the difference? Said R. Papa, in the separation for the seven days. According to him who says that all that is written there is obligatory, the removal of the high-priest for the seven days is obligatory (and if it was not done, his service is invalid); according to the other opinion, this is not obligatory. But how is it known that in the second case this is not, obligatory? Because it is written in the Mishna: "A substitute is prepared," and not "removed." What is the reason of him who says that all which is written is obligatory? Said R. Itz'hak bar Bisna: It is written [Ex. xxix. 35]: "And thou shalt do unto Aaron and to his sons, thus." Thus signifies that it is obligatory. This would be right in regard to all the things written in the chapter about the days of consecration; but whence is it known that other things not written in this chapter are also obligatory (e.g., the breastplate and Ephod, not mentioned in that chapter, yet known to be obligatory)? Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: We infer it from an analogy of expression; in that chapter the "door of the tabernacle of the congregation" is mentioned [Lev. viii. 4], and in the chapter about the breast. plate, etc. [Ex. xxix. 4] the same expression recurs. (As in the case of practice it is obligatory, so in the case of the commandment.) R. Mesharshia says: It is inferred from "keep the charge of the Lord" [Lev. viii. 35] (an analogy of expression is not necessary, it is plainly said "keep," hence it is obligatory). R. Ashi says, from "for so I have been commanded" [ibid.]; hence it is obligatory.

How did Moses attire Aaron and his sons on the days of consecration? [That is, to understand the verses of the Bible; we wish to know it, although it does not concern us.] The sons of R. Hiya and R. Johanan differ. One party says he attired Aaron first, and the sons next; and the other, Aaron and his sons at the same time. Said Abayi: About the coats and the mitres they do not differ--namely, that Aaron was attired in them first, and the sons later; for both in speaking of the commandments and the practice Aaron is mentioned first [Ex. xxix. 56; Lev. viii, 7]. What they differ about is the girdle. The party who says, "Aaron, and his sons later," does so because it is written, "and girded him with the girdle" [Lev. viii. 7] and later, "girded them with girdles" [ibid. 131. The party who says they were attired at the same time, do so because it is written, "Thou shalt gird them with girdles, Aaron and his children" [Ex. xxix. 9]. But how can it be said that he attired them at the same time (it is written plainly that first he attired Aaron, and then his sons)? There is a difference between a girdle of the high-priest and that of an ordinary priest. That means, when it is written he girdled Aaron first. it is meant, with the girdle of the high-priest; but with the ordinary girdles he attired them all at once.

"The high-priest is removed," etc. For what purpose was he removed? "For what purpose?" Has it not been said above, R. Johanan gave one reason, Resh Lakish another? We mean to ask, why had he to be removed from his home (he could practise at home)? Because it was learned in a Boraitha that R. Jehudah b. Bathyra said, it is apprehended lest he have intercourse with his wife, when there is doubt that she is in her sickness (then he would become unclean for the next seven days, and be unable to serve in the temple).

It was taught: The uncleanness contracted from a dead body is not considered in the case of an entire congregation, according to R. Na'hman. R. Shesheth, however, says, it is only postponed in that case. If there are individuals in the family of priests thus defiled, there is no difference of opinion that those individuals may not serve; but if the whole family was thus defiled, there is a difference of opinion between R. Na'hman and R. Shesheth. According to R. Na'hman, clean individuals of another family need not be sought because, where there is a congregation, the defilement is not considered at all. And according to R. Shesheth, who says it is only postponed, individuals of another family may be looked for. According to others, R. Na'hman says: Even the unclean individual also served, as in case of a congregation defilement is not taken into consideration. Said R. Shesheth: The authority for my decree is the following Boraitha: "If one stand sacrificing the Omer, and it become unclean in his hand, he shall so notify, and the congregation shall bring another in its stead. But if there is no other, he is told to have sense and to keep silent." Now we see that in the beginning it is said, another one should be brought in its stead; hence it is not permitted, but only postponed. Said R. Na'hman: I grant that, in a case in which the remains of the sacrifice must be eaten, when undefiled can be obtained, it is better.

On this point the Tanaim of the following Boraitha differed: The golden plate [Ex. xxviii. 36] which is made for the high-priest, whether it is on his brow or not, it atones for all defilements of the offerings." So said R. Simeon; but R. Jehudah said, when it is on his brow it atones, but not otherwise. Said R. Simeon to him: The high-priest who serves on the Day of Atonement has not the plate on his brow, and nevertheless atones for all sins; hence we see that it atones even when not on his brow. Answered R. Jehudah: Leave the high-priest on the Day of Atonement alone, for defilement is allowed to him when the whole congregation is defiled. Now, from R. Jehudah's answer that the defilement is allowed, we must conclude that R. Simeon holds that the defilement is only postponed, but not allowed.

Said Abayi: When the plate had been broken, all agree that, it does not atone. They differ only when it is suspended on a peg. R. Jehudah says, because it is written [Ex. xxviii. 38], "it shall be upon Aaron's forehead, and Aaron shall atone," etc., (therefore) it only atones when it is on the brow. But R. Simeon's opinion is: Because it is said, "always they may be received in favour before the Lord" [ibid., ibid.]; and it cannot be said that it is meant that it should always be on his forehead, because he must satisfy human needs and sleep; hence we must say, it means that it always receives the Lord's favour. But what will R. Jehudah say to this "always"? He explains that it is meant, it should never be absent from his mind.

Shall we assume that the former Tanaim differ as the Tanaim of the following Boraitha: Both the high-priest and the priest that was to burn the red cow were sprinkled upon during the seven days with all the ashes that were there. So said R. Meir., R. Jose, however, said: He was sprinkled only on the third and on the seventh day. R. Hanina the Segan of the priests said: "The priest that was to burn the red cow used to be sprinkled on during all the seven days, but the high-priest was sprinkled only the third and seventh." Now, shall we assume that the point of difference is, because R. Meir says the defilement is only postponed in case of the congregation, and therefore he has to be sprinkled upon during the seven days, and R. Jose holds the defilement is not considered at all? (How can you say this? If R. Jose holds that the defilement is not considered, why the sprinkling at all on the third and the seventh?) Therefore we must say that all the Tanaim of this Boraitha hold that the defilement is only postponed, and not allowed, and the point on which they are at variance is this: R. Meir holds we compare the sprinkling to the bathing; as the bathing at the proper times is a religious duty, so also is the sprinkling. And R. Jose holds, we do not compare (the sprinkling to the bathing). Now, then, what is the opinion of R. Hanina the Segan? If we compare it to bathing, the high-priest has to be sprinkled also every day; and if not, why is the other priest of the red cow sprinkled every day? He does not compare; only in case of the priest of the red cow it is an optional improvement. R. Jose b. R. Hanina opposes this: Why is he sprinkled on the fourth day? (The law is that one unclean must be sprinkled on the third day and on the seventh [Num. xix. 12]. The first three days it was apprehended lest each be the third or seventh (after his unintentional defilement), but the fourth after the removal from his house call neither be the third nor the seventh. Even without this, could he be sprinkled all the seven days? One of them must have been on Sabbath, and sprinkling does not supersede Sabbath? Therefore we must say that what is said of the seven days, is meant with the exception of Sabbath. The same is the case with the fourth; it is meant, all the seven days, except the fourth. Said Rabba: Therefore the high-priest must be removed seven days before the Day of Atonement, whose date is not dependent on us; but on the third day of the month, 1 he must be removed seven days before that day, no matter when the fourth day falls. But the priest of the red cow, the date of whose removal depends on us, should be removed on such a day that the fourth shall fall on Sabbath.

"To the Palhedrin Chamber." We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jehudah said: Was it called the Palhedrin Chamber, it was called the Chamber of the Lords? He answers: Formerly it was called the Chamber of the Lords, but after the high-priests began to be appointed for money, and changed as government officers (Palhedrin, changed once in twelve months), it began to be called the Hall of the Palhedrin. What is meant by Palhedrin? Officers.

Rabba bar bar Hana in the name of R. Johanan said: It is written [in Proverbs x. 27]: "The fear of the Lord increases man's days, but the years of the wicked will be shortened." "The fear of the Lord increases the days"; that refers to the first Temple, during whose existence of four hundred and ten years there were only eighteen high-priests. "The years of the wicked will be shortened," refers to the second Temple, which existed four hundred and twenty years, and more than three hundred high-priests succeeded each other during that period. Subtract the forty years during which Simeon the Righteous ministered, eighty years of Johanan the high-priest's ministry, and ten years of Ishmael b. Favi--according to others, eleven years of R. Eleazer b. Harsum--and compute, you will see that not even one high-priest completed his year.

R. Johanan b. Turtha said: Why had Shiloh fallen? Two sins were committed there: adultery and sacrilege. Adultery, as it is written [1 Sam. 2:22]: "Now Eli was very old, and heard all that his sons were in the habit of doing unto all Israel; and how they would lie with the women that assembled at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation." And sacrilege, as it is written [ibid. 17]: "And the sin of the young men was very great before the Lord; for the men despised the offering of the Lord."

Why has the first Temple fallen? Because there were three things: idolatry, adultery, and bloodshed. Idolatry, as it is written [Jerem. 28:20]: "For the bed shall be too short for a man to stretch himself out on it; and the covering too narrow to wrap himself in." And R. Johanan said: The bed is too narrow that there should be two, God and the idols. [Said R. Samuel b. Nahmoni: When R. Jonathan used to come to this verse, he used to cry, saying: That the Lord, of whom it is said [Ps. 33:7], "He gathereth together like heaps the waters of the sea," should feel too little space because of an idol.] Adultery, as it is written [Is. 3:16]: "Forasmuch as the daughters of Zion are fraud, and walk with stretched forth necks and casting about their eyes, walking and mincing as they go, and making a tinkling with their feet." R. Itz'hak said to this: What is meant by tinkling? They used to fill the shoes with spices, and when a young man was by, they pressed the spices with the feet, to attract his attention.

Bloodshed, as it is written [2 Kings 21:16]: "And also innocent blood did Manasseh shed in very great abundance."

But the second Temple, where the occupations were study of the Law, religious duties, and charity--why fell it? Because there was groundless enmity. 1 From this we can infer that unfounded hatred is equal to all the three sins together: idolatry, adultery, and bloodshed. In the time of the first Temple, although they were wicked, yet because they put their trust in the Holy One, blessed be He, as it is written [Micah 3:11]: "Her heads judge for bribes, her priests teach for reward, and her prophets divine for money: and yet they will lean upon the Lord, and say, Is not the Lord among us? evil cannot come over us." For this, the Holy One, blessed be He, brought on them three chastisements, for their three sins; as it is written [ibid. 14]: "Therefore for your sake shall Zion be ploughed up as a field, and Jerusalem shall become ruinous heaps, and the mount of the house, forest-covered high places."

R. Johanan and R. Elazar both said: In the time of the first Temple, as their sin was laid bare, therefore the date of the end of their suffering has likewise been revealed; but in the time of the second Temple, when their sin was not stated clearly in writing, therefore the date of the end (of their suffering) was not revealed either.

R. Johanan said again: The nail of those of the time of the first Temple was preferable to the belly (whole body) of those of the time of the second Temple. Said Resh Lakish to him: On the contrary, the last were better. Although they were subject

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to a foreign government, nevertheless they studied and observed the Law. Rejoined R. Johanan: The fact of the Temple can prove it. The first obtained the Temple once more, and the last have it not yet. R. Elazar was asked Who were greater, the first or the second? He replied: Take the Temple as a sign.

Resh Lakish was bathing in the Jordan: Rabba bar bar Hana came to him, and shook hands with him. Resh Lakish said to him: God detests you Babylonians, as it is written [Solomon's Song viii. 9]: "If she be a wall, we will build upon her a palace of silver; and if she be a door, we will enclose her with the boards of cedar." That signifies thus If you were all strong as a wall, and went all with Ezra, you would have been like silver, which can never rot; but as you did not, you were like wooden doors, which are subject to decay.

It is possible that Resh Lakish spoke with Rabba bar bar Hana? If with R. Elazar, who was the principal man in Palestine, Resh Lakish did not speak; because it was a rule that, with whomsoever Resh Lakish spoke in the street, money could be given to him without witnesses. Should Resh Lakish then have spoken with Rabba bar bar Hana (who was an inferior man)? Says R. Papa: Substitute another person. Either it was Resh Lakish and Z'eri, or R. Elazar and Rabba bar bar Hana. When the last came to R. Johanan and related to him what Resh Lakish had told him, he said: This is not the reason. If all had come with Ezra, even then the Shekhina would not have dwelt in the second Temple, since it is written [Gen. 9:27]: "May God enlarge the boundaries of Japheth, and may he dwell in the tents of Shem"; that signifies, that although God enlarges the boundaries of Japheth, his Shekhina can only dwell in the tents of Shem (i.e., because the second Temple was under the rule Of the Persians, who are of Japheth, the Shekhina could not dwell there, but only in Solomon's Temple, which was Shem's). And how is it known that the Persians are descendants of Japheth? Because it is written [Gen. X. 2]: "The sons of Japheth: Gomer, and Magog, and Madai, and Jabon, and Tubal, and Meshech, and Thirass"; and R. Joseph has taught, that Thirass is Persia.

R. Joshua b. Levi said in the name of Rabbi: A time will come, when those who have destroyed the second Temple will fall into the hands of the Persians. As it is written [Jerem. xlix. 20]: "Therefore hear the counsel of the Lord, that he hath resolved against Edom; and his purposes, that he hath devised against the inhabitants of Theman. Surely the least of the flocks shall drag them away: surely he will devastate their habitation." Rabba b. Ula opposed: How is it known that by the least of the flocks Persia is meant? Because it is written [Dan. viii. 20]: "The ram that thou hast seen, him with the two horns, signifies the kings of Media and Persia?" Perhaps Javan (the Greeks) are meant? As it is written [ibid. 21]: "And the shaggy he-goat is the king of Javan (Greece)." When R. Habiba b. Surmika went up to Palestine, he told to a scholar the objection of Rabba b. Ula. He said to him: A man who cannot explain the verses of the Bible should dare oppose Rabbi? What is meant by "the least of the flock"? the youngest of the brothers (that is, Thirass), and R. Joseph has said, Thirass is Persia.

Rabba bar bar Hana in the name of R. Johanan, quoting R. Jehudah b. Ilai, said: Those who have destroyed the second Temple will fall into the power of Persia. And this is an a fortiori reasoning: If the children of Shem, who built the first Temple, and the Chaldeans, who destroyed it, fell into the hands of the Persians, how much more the destroyers of the second Temple, which the Persians themselves have built, must fall into the power of the Persians. Rabh, however, said: On the contrary, it will come that Persia will succumb under those who have destroyed the Temple. Said R. Kahana and R. Assi to Rabh: Is it right that those who had built the Temple should fall under the dominion of those who have destroyed it? He answered: Yea, such is the decree of the King. R. Jehudah also said in the name of Rabh: The Messiah, descended from David, will not arrive until Rome shall have dominated over the entire world nine months. As it is written [Micah v. 2]: "Therefore he will give them up until the time that she who travaileth hath brought forth"; and the end of the verse is, "then shall the remnant of his brethren return with the children of Israel."

The rabbis taught: All the chambers of the Temple had no Mezuzahs, 1 except the Chamber of Palhedrin, which was a dwelling of the high-priest. Said R. Jehudah: Were there not many chambers in the Temple which were dwellings, and nevertheless were without Mezuzahs? Therefore we must say that the Mezuzah in the Palhedrin Chamber was only as a precautionary measure (lest it be said of the high-priest that he was in prison, which requires no Mezuzah). What is the reason of R. Jehudah's opinion that no Mezuzahs need be in the chambers of the Temple, even those which are dwellings? Said Rabba: R. Jehudah holds that a house not made both for summer and winter is not considered a house requiring a Mezuzah. Abayi objected: Is it not written [Amos 3:15]: "And I will smite the winter house together with the summer house" (hence each is called a house)? He answered: It is called "winter house" or "summer house," but not house alone. Abayi objected again: We have learned in Maasroth, III., 7: "In regard to the booths made for the Feast of Tabernacles, during that feast things are made obligatory by R. Jehudah, but not by the sages." And concerning this Mishna we have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jehudah makes obligatory in regard to them Erub, Mezuzah, and Tithes (hence we see even a booth is considered a house). But perhaps it will be said, this is only rabbinical, but not biblical? This would be right of Erub and Mezuzah, but about Tithes it cannot be said that R. Jehudah makes them obligatory only on rabbinical grounds, lest he will thus tithe grain which is to be tithed rabbinically for that which is to be tithed biblically, and this is forbidden.

Therefore said Rabha: During the whole year nobody differs from the opinion that the booth is exempt from these duties; they only disagree about the seven days of the feast. And the reason for the Sukka is one, and that for the chamber of the Temple is another. The reason for the Sukka is, because R. Jehudah is consistent with his theory that a Sukka must be a permanent dwelling; and a permanent dwelling requires a Mezuzah. The rabbis are in accordance with their theory that a Sukka need be only a temporary dwelling, which requires no Mezuzah. And the reason for the chambers of the Temple is: The sages hold, a dwelling in which a person abides by compulsion is considered a dwelling-house; and R. Jehudah's opinion is, it is not considered so. Therefore biblically it is exempt from a Mezuzah; but the rabbis have ordered a Mezuzah to be made, lest it be said the high-priest is imprisoned.

Who is the Tana of the following Boraitha which the rabbis taught: "All gates which were in the Temple had no Mezuzahs, except the gate of Nicanor, next to (before) which was the Palhedrin Chamber." Shall we assume that this is only according to the rabbis, and not according to R. Jehudah? For, if it were according to R. Jehudah, who thinks the Mezuzah in the chamber itself was only a precautionary measure, how could a Mezuzah be made on the gate; that would be a precautionary measure against a precautionary measure? Nay, that is all one precautionary measure.

The rabbis taught: What is written [Deut. vi. 9] "upon thy gates" applies to the gates of houses, courtyards, cities, and countries; all these are under the obligation of this religious duty towards God, as it is written: "And thou shalt write upon the door-posts of thy house, and upon thy gates." Said Abayi to R. Saphra: Why was no Mezuzah made on the city gate of Mechuzah (the majority of whose population were Jews)? Abayi replied: It was not made, because it would have been dangerous. (The government in its ignorance would say it was a charm. 1)

As we have learned in the following Boraitha: A Mezuzah of an individual must be examined twice in a Sabbatical period (seven years, whether it is valid); and one of a congregation, twice in a jubilee (fifty years). And R. Jehudah said: It once happened a repairer examined a Mezuzah in the upper market of Ziporeth, and a quæstor surprised him doing this, and fined him a thousand Zuz. But did not R. Elazar say, that harm cannot befall a delegate for religious duties? In cases where harm is usually to be expected, it is different. As it is written [1 Sam. xvi. 2]: "And Samuel said: How shall I go? If Saul should hear it, he would kill me"; and the Lord said: "Take a heifer with thee; and say, To sacrifice unto the Lord am I come." (It is therefore evident that in cases of certain danger, even a delegate for a religious duty has to fear.) R. Kahna taught before R. Jehudah: A house where straw, cattle, wood, or grain is kept, is exempt from a Mezuzah, because women wash themselves there. Said R. Jehudah to him: Is that the reason why these houses are exempt? And otherwise, it were not so? Have we not learned in a Boraitha, a stable is exempt from a Mezuzah in any event? What is meant is, that in spite of the fact that women make their toilet there, and they may be considered as dwellings, yet they are exempt from Mezuzahs. Rejoined R. Kahna: Is that so? We have learned in another Boraitha, a stable is exempt from a Mezuzah; but if the women make their toilet there, then a Mezuzah is obligatory? What canst thou answer, except that it is one of several different opinions of the Tanaim? So I can say, that what I have said about the reason of the women's washing themselves, is also one opinion of the Tanaim. R. Jehudah, however, holds that when it is not known that the women make their toilet there, all agree they are exempt.

R. Samuel b. R. Itz'hak taught in the presence of Rabba: Six kinds of gates are exempt from a Mezuzah: those of places where straw is kept, or cattle, wood, grain, or a Median (vaulted) gate, or a roofless gate, or one less than ten spans high. Thou hast said six, and hast enumerated seven? He answered: About the Median gate the opinions of the Tanaim are different.

The rabbis taught: "A prayer-house, a house belonging to a woman, and one belonging to two partners, must have a Mezuzah." Is not this self-evident? One might think, because it is written "in thy house," but not "in her house" or "in their house," such are exempt, he comes to teach us that it is not so. But whence do we deduce that it is not so? It is written [Deut. xi. 21]:"In order that your days may be multiplied, and the days of your children" (a Mezuzah is then useful to longevity; does not a woman wish to live long?). Why, then, is it written "thy house" (Bethcha)? It is according to Rabha, who said, it is equivalent to Biathcha (thy entering); as one enters the house with the right foot usually foremost, therefore the Mezuzah should be on the right side of the entrance.

"Another high-priest is appointed," etc. It is certain that when the high-priest became unfit by some accident before the daily morning offering (on the Day of Atonement itself), the substitute was exercised in the service of the daily morning offering (and made to be recognisable as the high-priest). But if the accident happened after the daily morning offering, how was it? (All the services were done in the four articles of dress of an ordinary priest, not in the garments of a high-priest). Said R. Ada bar Ahba: He was exercised in the girdle. (So that he was recognised to be the high-priest.) It is right, according to the Tana who says that the girdle of the high-priest did not differ from that of an ordinary priest; and on the Day of Atonement, as the high-priest's girdle was of byssus, he was identified as the high-priest, but according to him who says that the high-priest's girdle was different (and to girdle him with the high-priest's girdle, except during service, is forbidden), how then was he identified? Said Abayi: He attired himself in the eight articles of dress, and went with the basin, and turned over the sacrifice on the altar that it burn better. (This is considered a service, and he was thus exercised and recognised.) And that is according to R. Huna, who said: A layman who turns over the sacrifice is liable to capital punishment, because it is a service. R. Papa, however, said: His service is his exercise (no preparatory ones are necessary). Because, did not a Boraitha state that all the vessels Moses had made, were consecrated by their anointment? Who consecrated the vessels made later than the time of Moses? Their use for service consecrates them. So also here, his service is his exercise.

When Rabbin came from Palestine, he said: The girdle of the high-priest on the Day of Atonement was of byssus, according to all; during the whole year all agree it was of Kilaim (mixed of wool and linen). What they differ about is, whether a girdle of a common priest, during the whole year and on the Day of Atonement, was of Kilaim, as Rabbi says, or of byssus, as R. Eliezer b. R. Simeon says. Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: We have also learned so in a Boraitha: It is written [Lev. vi. 3], "upon his flesh." Why is "put upon" necessary? This is to add, that when he removes the ashes he must have on the mitre and girdle also. Such is the decree of R. Jehudah. R. Dosa said: This is to add that the four garments of a high-priest on the Day of Atonement may be worn by a common priest. Said Rabbi: There are two objections to this. The first objection is, the girdle of a high-priest on the Day of Atonement is not the same as that of a common priest; and, secondly, how can it be said that the garments employed for a more important (?) holiness, may be used later for any less important. What else is the phrase "put upon" to add? That he may use his old garments (and needs not new ones). R. Dosa, who prohibits old garments, except to common priests, decrees according to his theory in the following Boraitha: It is written [Lev. xvi. 23], "And he shall leave them there"; that signifies they must be hidden. R. Dosa, however, said: He may not use them himself the next year (on the Day of Atonement, but a common priest can use them).

The rabbis taught: When the high-priest happened to become unfit for service, and his substitute performed it, then after the Day of Atonement the high-priest resumes his service, and all the laws regarding the high-priesthood apply to the substitute (he can no longer be like a common priest). Such is the decree of R. Meir. R. Jose, however, says: The high-priest resumes his service, the substitute does not become like a high-priest, nor continues to be as a common priest. And R. Jose added: It happened to Joseph b. Alem of Ziporeth, that he was a substitute for the high-priest, who performed the service instead of the high-priest, to whom an accident had happened. Later the sages said, the high-priest should resume his service, and that Joseph b. Alem is fit no longer to be either a high-priest or a common priest. A high-priest, to prevent enmity; and a common priest, because there is a rule, in holiness one may increase but not decrease. Said Rabba bar bar Hana in the name of R. Johanan: The Halakha prevails according to R. Jose. R. Jose grants, that if the substitute has performed service in the Temple, this service is valid.

R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh also: The Halakha prevails according to R. Jose, and R. Jose grants that when it happens the high-priest dies, he may become high-priest. This is self-evident? One might say, since he was his rival in life, he might not become a high-priest after his death. He comes to teach us it is not so.

"R. Jehudah says, another wife," etc. The sages apprehend lest an accident happen to the high-priest himself, and prepare a substitute. Why not prepare another wife also? The rabbis can answer: An accident of defilement can happen, but death (which is rare) is not apprehended.

"There will be no end," etc. The sages have given a good answer to R. Jehudah? R. Jehudah. can reply: That one may die, is apprehended; that both should die, is not.

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The rabbis taught: The high-priest may sacrifice when he is an Onen (one of his relatives had died, and not been interred yet), but he may not eat (of the sacrifices). R. Jehudah says, the whole day. What is meant? Said Rabh: If he is in his home, he must be brought to the Temple to perform the service. Said Abayi to him: How canst thou say this? We know that, according to R. Jehudah, he is told to stop, even when he is performing the service, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: "When he stands sacrificing on the altar," and it is reported to him that one of his relatives is dead, he must interrupt the service, and go. So is the decree of R. Jehudah. R. Jose says: He must conclude the service, and then go. And thou sayest he is brought from his home. Therefore says Rahha: What is meant by "the whole day"? The whole day he is not obliged to perform the service, when he is an Onen lest he eat of the sacrifices (but in the evening he may). Said R. Adda b. Ahba to Rabha: Does R. Jehudah take such a precautionary measure against his eating? Did we not learn in our Mishna, R. Jehudah said, another wife was prepared for him, lest his own wife die? If his wife die, he is expected to perform the service, and R. Jehudah does not take the precautionary measure lest he partake of the sacrifice? Rabha answered: What comparison is this? This is the Day of Atonement, when nobody eats; it is not feared that he shall eat. But on a common day it is apprehended.

MISHNA: During all the seven days he sprinkles the blood [of the daily offerings, to become practised], fumes the incense, trims the lamps, and offers the head and the leg. During all the other days, he sacrifices, if he chooses, since the high-priest offers the first portion as he prefers, and takes for his own use a portion of the first offering.

GEMARA: Who is the Tana who holds so? Said R. Hisda: That is not in accordance with R. Aqiba. For R. Aqiba holds that when a clean man is sprinkled upon, he thereby becomes defiled. And since the high-priest was sprinkled upon all the seven days, how could he perform the service? As we have learned in the following Boraitha: It is written [Num. xix. 19]: "And the clean person shall sprinkle upon the unclean." Infer from this (since unclean is written, not him), that only an unclean person becomes clean; but if a clean person is sprinkled on, he becomes unclean. So is the decree of R. Aqiba. But the sages said: This only applies to things subject to defilement. Abayi, however, said: It may be said, the Mishna can be even in accordance with R. Aqiba; and the case is, the whole day he can perform the service, in the evening he bathes, and when the sun has set, he becomes clean.

"Fumes the incense, and trims the lamps." From this we see that the rite of the incense is performed first, and after that, of the lamps. There is a contradiction? We have learned in Tamid, III., 6: "Who has got the privilege to clear the inner altar of the ashes, to trim the lamps and offer the incense" (hence we see, the lamps precede the incense). Said R. Johanan: The Tana who has taught the order of the rites on the Day of Atonement is R. Simeon, the man of Mitzpah, who differed from the sages of the Mishna in Tract Tamid.

And there is a contradiction even in this tract in the order of the rites, as we learn in a Mishna farther on. The second lot is to determine who should slaughter, who should sprinkle, who should clear the inner altar, who shall trim the lamps, and who shall carry up the members on the staircase. The third lot is drawn by nine priests, to determine who should offer the incense. (Hence the lamps here precede the incense also.) Said Abayi: It presents no difficulty. In the one case the two lamps are meant, in the other case the five lamps. (Shall we assume that between the trimming of the two lamps and the five lamps incense was offered?) Did not Abayi, who ordered the rites according to a tradition, say that between the trimming of the two and five lamps the blood of the daily sacrifice was sprinkled? We can say, it presents no difficulty. This is according to R. Abbu Saul, and according to the sages of the following Boraitha: One shall not trim the lamps, and then offer the incense; but he must first offer the incense, and then trim the lamps. Abbu Saul, however, said: He must first trim the lamps, and then offer the incense. What is the reason of Abbu Saul's decree? It is written [Ex. xxx. 7]: "Every morning, when he dresseth the lamps," (and later) "shall he burn it." What will the sages say to this? The sages say, at the same time both should be done, not that the lamps should be before the incense. For if you should not say so, how will the next verse be explained: "And when Aaron lighteth the lamps toward evening, shall he burn it" [ibid. 8]? He should first light, and then offer the incense later? And if you would say that so it is, did we not learn in a Boraitha, it is written, "from the evening to the morning" [Ex. xxvii. 21]? There is no service which is valid from the evening till the morning except this. (Hence we see the lamps were the last.) (We must therefore say that) the Torah means, that at the same time the lamps are lighted, the incense is to be offered. So also is it with the cleaning of the lamps; when they are cleaned, the morning incense is offered. R. Papa said: The self-contradiction of this tract presents no difficulty, because one decree is according to the rabbis, and one according to Abbu Saul. What did R. Papa mean to say: He wants to ascribe our Mishna to the rabbis, and that speaking of the lots to Abbu Saul. Let us see how the end of that Mishna in Chap. III., namely, "went in to fume the morning incense, and to trim the lamps," will correspond. This is certainly according to the rabbis. Then the first part and the conclusion of the Mishna will be according to the rabbis, and the middle part according to Abbu Saul? R. Papa can say, that this is the case.

In the Mishna in Tamid we have learned: When he comes to the northeastern corners of the altar, he places the blood there, and when he comes to the southwestern corners, he places the blood there. And in addition to this, we have learned in a Boraitha: "That R. Simeon, the man of Mitzpah, makes a. difference in the daily offering; namely, when he comes to the northeastern corners, he places the blood on both corners at once, but at the southwestern he first places it on the western corner, then on the southern." What is the reason of R. Simeon? Said R. Johanan in the name of one disciple of the school of R. Janai: Because it is written [Num. xxviii. 15]: "One he-goat for a sin-offering unto the Lord, besides the continual burnt-offering, shall it be prepared with its drink-offering." What is the sin-offering mentioned for, in connection with the burnt-offering? To teach us that though it is a burnt-offering, in one respect it must be sacrificed as a sin-offering; namely, at two of the four corners he places the blood on both corners at once as a burnt-offering, and at the southwestern he puts the blood on the western first, and on the southern thereafter.

We have learned in another Mishna (Tamid, III, 3): "The superintendent said to them, Go and bring a lamb from the chamber of the lambs." The chamber of the lambs was in the northwestern corner (of the house of heating. Such an apartment existed in the temple, to render the marble pavement of the temple warm, on which the priest had to walk barefooted).

There were four chambers: one that of the lambs, one that of the seals, one that of the heating house, and one chamber where the showbread was made. There is a contradiction to the Mishna in Midoth (I., 7): "Four chambers were in the heating house, like small rooms opening into a great hall: two belonged to the sanctuary, and two were profane; and small wickets parted the sacred ones from the profane ones. And what was their use? The southwestern was for the lambs for the sacrifices. The southeastern was that in which the showbread was made. In the northeastern the Maccabees (Hasmoneans) had hidden the stones of the altar profaned by the Greeks. The northwestern was used as a passage to the bath-house." (There is, then, a contradiction between the two about the names and use of the chambers and situation of the chamber of lambs?) Said R. Huna: The Tana according to whom is the Mishna in Tract Midoth is R. Eliezer b. Jacob, as we have learned (ibid. IL, 5): The chamber at the northeast was the place where wood was kept, and the blemished priests examined the wood there, as mouldy wood was unfit for the altar. The northwestern chamber was the place of the cured lepers (who came to the Temple to be sprinkled to sacrifice). The southwestern? Says R. Eliezer b. Jacob: I forget what its use was. Abbu Saul says: Wine and oil for the offerings were kept there, and it was called the chamber of oil. Hence we see the Mishna in Midoth must be in accordance with R. Eliezer b. Jacob. And so it also seems from another Mishna in Midoth (IV.). R. Addi b. Abba said: Our Mishna is in accordance with R. Jehudah of the following Boraitha: R. Jehudah said: The altar stood in the middle of the court, and was in size thirty-two ells, ten ells opposite to the door of the Temple (wide twenty ells), eleven ells toward the north, and eleven ells to the south: so that the altar was opposite to the Temple and to its walls. Now, if you would say that the Mishna in Midoth is according to R. Jehudah, how can it be that the altar should be in the middle of the court? R. Addi the son of R. Itz'hak said: The chamber of the lambs was at the western side, and extended toward both the north and southwestern corners; and to him who came from the southern side it seemed to be the north, while to one who came from the north it seemed in the southern corner (but in reality it was in the southwestern).

"The high-priest offers the first portion," etc. The rabbis taught: What is meant by his offering a portion the first? He may say what burnt-offering or meal-offering he wants to offer (and no other priest may touch it). And what is meant by his taking a portion the first? He may say of which sin-offering or trespass-offering he desires to partake. And he can take one of the two loaves. He can also take four or five of the loaves of the showbread. Rabbi said: He always took five loaves, because it is written [Lev. xxiv. 9]: "And it shall belong to Aaron and to his sons." We interpret it thus: Half should belong to Aaron (or the high-priest) and half to the children of Aaron (priests). Does not this Boraitha contradict itself? First it is said, he takes one of the two loaves--that means, the half--and this is according to Rabbi, who maintains that the high-priest always takes the half. Now the middle part, which says that he takes four or five, must be according to the rabbis, who say he does not take the exact half; and in the conclusion it is said, Rabbi says he always takes five. It seems, then, that the first part and conclusion are according to Rabbi, and the middle part according to the sages? Said Abayi: The first part and the middle part are according to the rabbis, but they admit that out of two loaves the high-priest could not but receive one, as it was not becoming to give him half a loaf.

MISHNA: He is attended by some elders of the Beth Din, who read to him [out of Lev. xvi.] concerning the ceremonial of the day (of Atonement), and say to him: My lord the high-priest, say it aloud, lest thou hast forgotten, or not studied this. On the morning of the day preceding the Day of Atonement, he is placed at the eastern gate, and bulls, rams, and sheep are passed before him, that he should get a knowledge of the service.

During all the seven days he is free to eat and drink, but on the eve of the Day of Atonement, at dusk, he is not permitted to eat much, as it would induce drowsiness.

GEMARA: It is right that they should say to him, Perhaps thou hast forgotten. But that they should say to him, Perhaps thou hast not studied, is an ignorant man made a high-priest? Have we not learned in a Boraitha: It is written [Lev. xxi. 10]: "And the priest that is highest of his brethren." That signifies, that he must be highest among his brethren in physical strength, in personal beauty, in wisdom, and in wealth.

An anonymous teacher said: Whence do we know that, if he is not rich, his brethren the priests must make him rich? Because it is written: "That is highest of his brethren," that signifies, his brethren must contribute to make him highest.

Said R. Joseph: It presents no difficulty. That was the case during the time of the first Temple, and this in the time of the second Temple. As R. Assi said: A whole measure of dinars, Martha daughter of Bithas gave to the king Janai, that he should make Joshua b. Gamla high-priest.

"On the morning of the day preceding the Day of Atonement." We have learned a Boraitha: The he-goats were also passed before him. But why does not our Mishna mention it? Because (it holds that they were not passed), as the he-goats are only for the atonement of sin, he would have become dejected. If so, why were the bullocks passed, they are also for sins? Because the bulls were to atone for his sins and those of the priests, his brethren; he would not have become dispirited, because if they had sinned, he would have been told, and he would have induced them to repent. But the he-goats were to atone for the sins of all Israel: so he could not know who had sinned. Said Rabhina: This is what people say. Even if your sister's son is a (publican), you should not pass him in the street, for, since he knows your affairs, he will take from you more than from others.

"During all the seven days," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jehudah b. Naqusa said: They gave to him to eat bread of the best flour, and eggs that it should be digested more easily (that he should not find himself compelled to interrupt his service on the Day of Atonement for a human necessity). The sages said to him: This heats yet more. We have learned in a Boraitha: Symmachos said: They gave him as food no citron, no eggs, no old wine. According to others, he received no citron, no eggs, no fat meat, no old wine. Still others say: Even white wine he did not receive, because white wine brings a man to uncleanness.

MISHNA: The Elders of the Beth Din left him to the attendance of the Elders of the priesthood, who took him up to the house of Abtinas, made him swear, took farewell, and went away. They said: My lord the high-priest, we are delegates of the Beth Din, and thou art our delegate and the delegate of the Beth Din; we conjure thee by Him who has made His abode in this house, that thou shalt not alter one thing about which we have spoken to thee. He took farewell weeping, and they parted weeping.

If he was a teacher, he lectured; otherwise, the scholars lectured before him. If he was practised in reading, he reads; if not, they read to him. From which books of the Scriptures? From Job, Ezra, and Chronicles. Zechariah b. Kabutal says: Many times I read to him out of Daniel.

GEMARA: We have learned in a Boraitha: Teaching him the service consisted in teaching him to take a handful of incense (which had neither to be spilled nor any left on the top of the hand). R. Papa said: The high-priest had two chambers, one that of Palhedrin, to sleep in, the other that of Abtinas, to learn the service. One was in the north, one in the south. One in the north, as we have learned in Midoth (V., 3): Six chambers were in the court: three in the north, three in the south. Those of the south were the chambers of salt, of Parva, and that where the entrails were washed. The chamber of the salt was where the salt was kept for the sacrifices; that of Parva, where the skins of the sacrifices of the sanctuary were salted, and on its roof was a bath-house for the high-priest on the Day of Atonement. The washing chamber was where the entrails of the sacrifices of the sanctuary were washed. Thence a stone staircase led to the roof of the chamber of Parva. The three in the north were: a chamber for wood, the chamber of Exile, and the chamber of Gazith (hewn marble stones).

About that of wood, said R. Eliezer b. Jacob, I forget for what purpose it was used. Abbu Saul says, the chamber of the high-priest was behind the first two of the above-mentioned ones; the roofs of them all were on the same level. In the chamber of Exile there was a well, which those returned from the Exile had dug; over it was a wheel, whereby water was

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drawn, to supply the whole Temple. In the chamber of Gazith the Sanhedrin of Israel held session, and examined there the priests. Whatever priest was found to be legally unfit for service, used to dress himself in black clothes, enveloped himself in black, and went away. If he was found fit, he would dress himself in white, envelope himself in white, and enter the Temple to serve with his brethren. One other chamber was in the south, as we have learned in the following Mishna (Midoth V., 4): Seven gates were in the court: three at the north, three at the south, and one at the east. The south one was the Gate of Illumination, the other the Gate of the Sacrifices, the third the Gate of Water. At the east was the Gate of Nicanor; to this gate were adjoined two chambers, one at the right and one at the left. One was the chamber of Pin'has, the superintendent of the priests' wardrobe; the other was where barrels were manufactured. At the north was the Gate of Nitzutz. There was a balcony and an attic over it, where priests were watching (the Temple) above, and the Levites beneath. Inside was the Choyl (a round walled and roofed place, in the Temple). The other was the Gate of Sacrifices. The third was the Gate of the Heating House, and we have learned in another Boraitha that on that day the high-priest took five legal bathings, and ten times sanctified his hands and feet from the laver. [See Ex. xxx. 18.] Both the bathing and the sanctifications he performed on the roof of the chamber of Parva, in the sanctuary, except the first one, which he did not take in the sanctuary, but near the Gate of Water. The bath-house was on one side of his chamber, only I don't know whether the Chamber of Palhedrin was in the north and that of Abtinas in the south, or vice versa.

"Thou art our delegate." Shall we assume that in this Mishna is found an objection to R. Huna b. R. Joshua, who said that the priests are delegates of the Merciful One (not of Beth Din)? If they were our delegates, then are there things which we ourselves may not do, and our delegates may (as in the case with the priests)? They did not say to the high-priest that he is their delegate, but that they conjured him to act according to their opinion and to that of Beth Din.

"He wept, and they wept." He wept for being suspected of being a Sadducee, and they wept because they probably suspected an innocent man, as R. Joshua b. Levi said: "He who suspects an upright man is smitten by God in his body." (See Sabbath, p. 191.) Why had he to be conjured? It was feared lest he prepare the incense on the censer outside of the Holy of Holies, and then enter with the censer, as did the Sadducees. The rabbis taught: It happened to one Sadducee, who prepared outside, and entered the Holy of Holies with it, when he came out, he was rejoicing greatly. When his father met him, he said to him: My son, though we are Sadducees, yet we must fear the Pharisees. He replied: All my years I was anxious to fulfil the verse [Lev. xvi. 2], "For in the cloud will I appear upon the mercy seat," and I said to myself, When will come the day when I might do it? And to-day, when I have had opportunity, should I not have done it? It was said, it did not take long before he died, and lay amidst rubbish, and worms crept out of his nose.

"Zechariah b. Kabutal," etc. R. Hanan b. Rabha taught to Hiya the son of Rabh in the presence of Rabh: Said R. Zechariah b. Kavutal: Rabh made to him a sign with the hand that he should say Kabutal. Why did he not say it to him? Rabh read Sh'ma' at that time. Is it permitted to make signs when Sh'ma' is read? Did not R. Itz'hak b. Samuel b. Martha say: He who reads Sh'ma' must not wink his eyes, whistle with his lips, nor make signs with his fingers? And in a Boraitha we have also learned: R. Eliezer Hasma has said: He who reads Sh'ma', and winks, or whistles, or makes signs with his fingers, of him the verse says [Isaiah xliii. 22]: "On me hast thou not called, Jacob." It presents no difficulty; in the first part of the Sh'ma' one may not do so, but during the recital of the second one may.

MISHNA: If he began to slumber, the young priests snapped with their fingers Tzreda, addressing him: My lord the high-priest, rise, and cool thyself once on the [marble] floor. He was kept occupied until the time for slaughtering the daily offering.

GEMARA: What is meant by the word Tzreda? Said R. Jehudah, the thumb. R. Huna showed this performance, and the sound went to all ends of the college.

"Cool thyself once on the floor." Said R. Itz'hak: They said to him, show to us Kidah (supported only on his thumbs and great toes, to kiss the floor).

"Until the time for slaughtering." We have learned in a Boraitha: He was not occupied by a violin or harp, but by voices: they sang to him. What? From Psalm cxxvii.: "Unless the Lord do build a house, in vain labour they that build it." The respectable men of Jerusalem forbore to sleep the whole night, and talked among themselves, that the high-priest might hear the sound of voices, and not fall asleep. We have learned in a Boraitha: Abbu Saul says: Even in the countries where the temple was hot, they did it, in honour of the temple, but they came to sin on these occasions. Said Abayi, according to others, R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: By what Abbu Saul said of the other countries, he meant Nahardea. Elijah said to R. Jehudah, the brother of R. Sala the Pious: You think to yourselves why Messiah does not come. To-day is the Day of Atonement, and many virgins have been lain with to-day in the City of Nahardea. Said to him R. Jehudah; What says the Holy One, blessed be He, to this? Elijah replied: He said in reference to this the verse in Genesis [4:7]: "Sin lieth at the door." He asked: What says Satan to this? Elijah answered: On the Day of Atonement he has no right to bring forward accusations.

MISHNA: Every day the altar is cleared of the ashes at the time of the crowing of the Geber (cock), a little while before or after it; but on the Day of Atonement it is done soon after midnight, and on the other holidays after the first watch of the night. And before the cock's crowing the fore court used to be filled with Israelites.

GEMARA: What is meant by Geber? Said Rabh, a man (Geber signifies "man" also). But the disciples of R. Shila say, a cock. It happened once, that Rabh was at the place where R. Shila was the chief of the college. R. Shila had no interpreter (as he lectured). Rabh assumed the function of his interpreter. When they came to this Mishna, "the cock's crowing," Rabh interpreted, "man's heralding." Said to him R. Shila: Let the Master say, "the cock's crowing." Rabh answered: A song good for educated men is not good for tanners. I have interpreted it thus for R. Hiya; he did not censure me, and you it does not please. Said R. Shila. Is the Master Rabh? Then, leave off. It is not fit that you should be my interpreter (sit on my chair, and I will interpret for you)? Rabh replied: The world says, If one has hired himself to a man, even if he tells him to brush wool (a work only for women) he should do it. According to others, he answered to him: In matters of holiness one increases, but does not decrease.

We have learned in one Boraitha according to Rabh, and in another according to R. Shila. We have learned according to Rabh: Gabini the Herald used to herald: Rise, priests, to your service; and Levites, to your chanting; and Israel, to your standing. 1 And his voice was heard at the distance of three parsaoth. It happened once that Agrippa the king being on the road, he heard Gabini's voice at the distance of three parsaoth. When he returned home, he sent him presents. Nevertheless, the voice of the high-priest surpassed in strength that of Gabini the Herald. Because the Master said, when he used to say on the Day of Atonement, "I pray Thee, O Lord," his voice was heard at Jericho, and Rabba bar bar Hana said in the name of R. Johanan: Between Jericho and Jerusalem is the distance of ten parsaoth, and although on the Day of Atonement one is weak from fasting, and though his voice was heard by day, whereas Gabini heralded only by night.

And we have learned in a Boraitha according to R. Shila: "He who walks on the road before the "Kriath Hageber" (cock's crowing), his blood is on his head. R. Joshiah says: Before the second cock's crowing. And according to others, before he crows the third time. Of what sort of cock is this said? Of a moderate cock (not a hasty or tardy one). R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh said: "When Israel used to come on the three pilgrimages, they stood crowded. But when they prostrated themselves, they had much space, and stationed themselves eleven ells behind the mercy-seat." What does he mean? Although they were eleven ells behind the mercy-seat, and were crowded, yet when they prostrated themselves they had much room, and this was one of the ten miracles that occurred in the Temple. (See Aboth, V., 2.)

Were there only ten miracles? Did not R. Ushia say that when Solomon built the Temple, he planted there all kinds of golden fruit-trees, and they bore fruits at the proper times, and when the wind blew on them, they fell down and were ripe? As it is written in Psalm lxxii. 16: "Its fruits shall shake like the trees of Lebanon." And when the Gentiles had entered the Temple, the fruit-trees became withered (blighted), as it is writ. ten [Nahum i. 4]: "The flowers of Lebanon wither," and the Holy One, blessed be He, will restore them. As it is written [Is. xxxi. 2]: "It shall blossom abundantly and rejoice; yea, with joy and singing, the glory of the Lebanon shall be given unto it." (So we see there were miracles besides the ten?) In the Mishna are counted only the perpetual miracles, but those happening on certain times only have not been reckoned.

The Master says elsewhere that in Jerusalem were two perpetual miracles: the rain never extinguished the fire on the outer altar, and the smoke was always straight in spite of the winds, in whichever directions they might blow. But we have learned in a Boraitha: Five things have been said of the fire on the altar: It had the form of a lion, it was clear as the sun, it was palpable, it consumed moist things as dry ones, and never emitted any smoke. (There is, then, a contradiction, since there was no smoke at all?) The smoke was that of the fire kindled by men. As we have learned in a Boraitha: It is written [Lev. i. 7]: "And the sons of Aaron the priest shall put fire upon the altar." Infer from this, that although the fire descended from heaven, it was a merit to kindle an earthly fire also. (There is another contradiction?) You say it had the form of a lion. We have learned in a Boraitha, R. Hanina the Segan of the priests said. I have seen it, and it had the form of a dog? It presents no difficulty: in the time of the first Temple it was like a lion, and of the second, like a dog.

But in the second Temple there was no heavenly fire at all, as R. Samuel b. Inia said: It is written [Haggai i. 8]: "That I may take pleasure in it, and be glorified"; it is written "Veikabed," and it is read "Veikabdah." Why is the "h" missing? This is to hint that five (the numeral value of "h") things were missing in the second Temple. What are they? The ark, the mercy-seat, the cherubim, the heavenly fire, the Shekhina, the Holy Spirit, and the Urim and Tumim. So we see there was no heavenly fire in the second Temple at all? We may say, it was there, only it did not assist in consuming.

It is said above, that no wind could divert the smoke. But this is not so? Did not R. Itz'hak b. Abdimi say: At the expiration of the Feast of Tabernacles, all looked on the smoke of the altar: when it was inclined to the north, the poor rejoiced, and the wealthier were dejected, for it showed there would be too much rain, and the fruit would rot: but when it was inclined to the south, the poor were out of spirits, and the rich were glad, for this was a sign there would be little rain, and the fruit would remain well-preserved, and fetch a high price. When it was bent eastward, all rejoiced, and westward, all were deploring it (thus we see that the smoke was swayed by the wind?). It was made by the wind oblique, but not crooked.

CHAPTER 2.

CONCERNING THE LOTS THE PRIESTS DREW, WHAT PRIESTS SHOULD GO TO THE ALTAR, AND HOW MANY PRIESTS WERE NEEDED FOR EACH SACRIFICE.

MISHNA: Formerly, whoever desired to clear the altar of the ashes did so. When there were many of them (priests), they ran on the staircase (leading to the top of altar). Whoever first came within four ells, merited it. When two were on a par, the superintendent said to them (all priests): Put forth your fingers. Which did they put forth? One or two, but not the thumb in the Temple (which were counted instead of the persons they belonged to, and the service was given to the last).

Once an accident happened: one of two who were running up the staircase pushed his companion, so that he fell, and broke his foot. Seeing that it is attended by accidents, the Beth Din made the reform, that the altar should be cleared by lot. There were four lots: this is the first lot.

GEMARA: Why had not lots been used formerly? Previously it was thought that since it is done by night and not considered an important service by the priests, they would not come in considerable number, but when it was seen that the case was otherwise, this reform was made.

Was this reform only for this purpose? We know that he who cleared the ashes also arranged the pieces of wood on the altar, and brought the two measures of wood, and that was considered an important service? Said R. Ashi: Two reforms were made: at first, when it had been thought they would not come in considerable numbers, no lot was used at all; then, when it was observed that they came and accidents happened, the use of the lot was introduced. Then the priests ceased to come, since they were not sure of drawing the lot at all. It was then reformed, that he who clears the ashes should arrange the pieces of wood and bring the two measures also, that the priests might come to draw the lot, since it would be for important services.

"Put forth your fingers." We have learned in a Boraitha: "He said to them thus. Put out your fingers, that they be counted." Why did he not count the persons themselves? This can be a support to what R. Itz'hak has said: "Israel must not be counted, even for religious duties." As it is written [1 Sam. xv. 4]: "And Saul ordered the people to assemble, and he numbered them by means of lambs." 1 Said R. Elazar: Whoever numbers Israel, trespasses a negative commandment, because it is written [Hosea ii. 1]: "Yet shall the number of the children of Israel be like the sand of the sea, which may not be numbered." R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak says: He trespasses two commandments, as it is written, which cannot be measured nor numbered. R. Samuel b. Na'hman, in the name of R. Jonathan, found a contradiction in the same passage: It is written that the number of Israel will be like that of the sand (then a definite number is given), and then it is said, it cannot be counted--that is, has no number. It presents no difficulty: When Israel shall do the will of God, they will be without number; but when they do not do God's will, they will be of a definite number. Rabbi in the name of Abbi Joseph b. Dustai says: There is no contradiction in it. Men cannot count the sand, but in Heaven they can count it.

R. Huna. said: How secure and careless should the man feet that knows that the Lord helps him: Saul committed only one sin; he lost his royalty: David committed two sins, and yet retained it. Saul's sin was, that he spared Agag. But he massacred the priests of Nob? That which is written [1 Sam. xv. 11], "I repent that I have set up Saul as king," was said already an the occasion of the sin of Agag [which was the first, chronologically]. What are David's two sins? That of Uriah and his numbering of Israel. But there is a third one? That of Bath-Sheba? For that of Bath-Sheba he was punished, as it is written [2 Sam. xii. 6]: "For the ewe he shall pay fourfold."

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What were the four punishments? The death of Bath-Sheba's child, the death of Amnon, the misfortune of Tamar, and Absalom. But for numbering Israel he was also chastised? As it is written [2 Sam. xxiv. 15]: "And the Lord sent a pestilence in Israel from the morning even to the time appointed." In that case all Israel was chastised, but not he himself. But in those instances it was also his children on whom the wrath was visited) not on himself? Nay, he was personally punished, too. As R. Jehudah says in the name of Rabh: For six months David became leprous, and the Sanhedrin separated themselves from him, and the Shekhina. As it is written [Ps. cxix. 79]: "Let those that fear thee return unto me, and those that know thy testimonies." And it is written [ibid. li. 14]: "Restore unto me the gladness of thy salvation." (The first refers to the Sanhedrin, and the second to the Shekhina.) But did not David also believe calumnies? (of Ziba). For this he was also punished, for R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh, when David said to Mephibosheth [2 Sam. xix. 30], "I have said, Thou and Ziba shall divide the field," a heavenly voice was heard, proclaiming that Rehoboam and Jeroboam should divide the kingdom.

It is written [1 Sam. 12:1]: "One year old was Saul in his reign." 1 Said R. Huna: That means, he was innocent of sin as a child of one year. R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel: Why did not Saul's dynasty last long? Because there was no stain on his whole family. And R. Johanan in the name of R. Simeon b. Jehozadak said: A man must not be made the head of a congregation unless he has a whole heap of reptiles (family disgraces) at his back, in order that, if he should become haughty, people should be able to say to him: Look around, behind your back. R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh said: Why was Saul punished? Because he was willing to dispense with honours. As it is written [1 Sam. 10:27]: "But the worthless men said, in what can this one help us? And they despised him, and brought him no presents. But he acted as though he were deaf." And soon after this is written: "Then came up Nachash the Ammonite," etc.

R. Johanan in the name of R. Simeon b. Jehozadak said again: A scholar who is not revengeful and remembers not injuries as a serpent, cannot be called "Talmud Hakham" (a teacher). But it is written [Lev. xix. 18]: "Thou shalt not avenge nor bear any grudge"? There precautionary matters are spoken of (but in regard to bodily pain or honour it is different). As we have learned in the following Boraitha: "What is called revenge, and what is called bearing a grudge? Revenge is such a case: When one comes to the other, and asks him to lend a sickle to him, he says: Nay. On the morrow, the second comes to the first, and wants to borrow an axe. He answers: I do not wish to lend to you, as you have not lent to me. This is called revenge. What is bearing a grudge? When one comes to another, and asks him to loan him an axe, and does not get it. On the morrow the second comes to the first, and wants to borrow a shirt. He answers: I lend it to you, because I am not like you, who did not want to lend me yesterday. This is called bearing a grudge." But in case of bodily pain, has not the Torah forbidden vengeance? Have we not learned in the following Boraitha: "Those who are wronged and not wronging, bear their shame and do not reply, do good deeds out of love, and rejoice not at afflictions, of them says the verse [Judges v. 31]: 'Those that love him are as the rising sun in his might.'"

Reply they should not bear a grudge in their hearts they may (and if another party avenges them, they need not interfere). Is that so? Did not Rabha say: He who leaves his injuries unavenged, will have his sins forgiven in Heaven? That means, if the offender comes to propitiate him, he should pardon.

"Which? One, or two?" If two, why is it said at all, one (or two)? This applies to those who have a disease, that they cannot stretch forth one finger, without stretching out the other also. We have learned in the following Boraitha: They used to put out one finger when healthy, but when diseased, they could stretch out two.

"Once an accident," etc. The rabbis taught: It once happened two priests were running, and were on a par. When they came to the top, one outstripped the other by four ells; he took a knife and stuck it into the other one's breast. R. Zadok stood on the staircase of the porch, and said: Brethren of Israel, hear! It is written [Deut. xxi. i]: "If there be found a slain person in the land . . . shall take a heifer." For whom shall we bring the heifer? For the city, or for the Temple? The whole people began to weep. Then the father of the young man arrived, and found him yet agonizing. He said: "May he (the dead) be an atonement for your sins; and as he shows yet signs of life, the knife has not become unclean (since he still lived)." We may infer from this, that the defilement of the knife was considered by them as a yet greater misfortune than bloodshed.

The rabbis taught: It is written [Lev. 6:4] . "He shall put off his garments, and put on other garments, and carry forth the ashes." We might think that, as on the Day of Atonement, he should strip himself of his holy garments and put on profane garments, for removing the ashes. Therefore it is written in both cases "garments," that from the analogy of expression we should understand that both are holy garments. And by "other," older ones are meant. R. Eliezer, however, said: From the expression "other garments, and carry forth," we can infer that even a blemished priest may carry forth the ashes. Said Resh Lakish: As R. Eliezer and the first Tana differ about the carrying forth of ashes, so do they differ about the lifting up of the ashes from the altar. R. Johanan, however, said: They differ only about the carrying forth of the ashes, but about the lifting up all agree that it is a respectable service, which only an unblemished priest may perform. What is the reason of Resh Lakish, who says they differ on this point too? The reason of Resh Lakish is: If it were a real service, could it be performed only in two garments [ibid. 3]? And what will R. Johanan say to this? He says: The Torah only specifies these two, but all four are meant.

Rabh said: For performing the following four services a lay. man deserves capital punishment: namely, sprinkling, offering of incense officiating at the water-offering and the wine-offering. And so also Levi taught in his Boraitha; also as to the lifting of the ashes. What is the reason of Rabh's decree? Because it is written [Num. xviii. 7]: "And thou and thy sons with thee shall keep your priesthood concerning every matter of the altar, and for that within the vail, where ye shall serve; as a service of gift do I give you your priesthood; and the stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death." Service of gift, but not of removing. Levi says: It is written, "Every matter of the altar," which includes all things. Rabha pro. pounded a question: How about a service of removing from an altar in the Temple (inner)? Is this considered by Rabh like a service of gift, or like a service of removal? Rabha decided later, it is written [ibid.], "and for that within the vail"; but it is written, "and within the vail": that makes the service like to a service of removing. We have learned in one Boraitha according to Rabh, and in another according to Levi. According to Rabh we have learned as follows: "The services for which the layman is guilty of death are: Sprinkling of blood, inside or in the Holy of Holies (on the Day of Atonement); sprinkling the blood of a sin-offering of a bird; wringing-out of a bird's blood which is a burnt-offering [Lev. i. 15]; and officiating at the offering of three lugs of water or three lugs of wine." We have learned according to Levi as follows: "The services for which a layman is guilty of capital punishment are: Removing the ashes; performing the seven sprinklings within, and on a leper; and offering on the altar something either fit or unfit."

Wherefore was the drawing of lots repeated? Said R. Johanan: To cause more excitement in the Temple, as it is written [Ps. 15:15]: "So that we took sweet secret counsel together, and walked unto the house of God in a great company."

In what garments were the lots drawn? R. Na'hman says, in ordinary garments; R. Shesheth says, in holy ones. R. Na'hman says, in ordinary clothes, because some of the priests being strong men, they could snatch the lot by force, and go to perform the service, if they had the holy garments on. R. Shesheth says, in holy garments, because, if they had the ordinary ones on, they might by absence of mind perform the service in them, since they were very eager to perform the service.

MISHNA: The second lot (determined) who should slaughter, who sprinkle, who should clear of ashes the inner altar and who care for the lamp, who should take up members to the staircase of the altar: the head, the leg, the two forelegs, the tail (tip of tail), the (left) leg (hind), the chest, the windpipe, the two flanks, the entrails, the fine flour, the things made in pans [1 Chron. 9:31], and the wine.

Thirteen priests are privileged to do all this. Ben Azai, however, said, in the presence of R. Aqiba, in the name of R. Joshua: It (the animal) was offered as it had walked. (See Gemara.)

GEMARA: The schoolmen propounded a question: Were the lots drawn for each service separately, or at once for all services? Come and hear: R. Hiya taught, the lots were not drawn for each service separately; but the priest who had drawn the lot of the daily offering, obtained the service for the other twelve following him.

"The second lot," etc. The schoolmen propounded a question: Who received the blood into the basin, the priest that slaughtered or the priest that sprinkled? Come and hear! We have learned that Ben Katin made twelve cocks for the laver, that twelve priests might sanctify their hands at once. If the priest that slaughtered received the blood, then thirteen cocks would have been needed. Hence infer that the sprinkler did it.

"Ben Azai said," etc. The rabbis taught: What is meant by "it had walked"? In the following order: The head and the leg, the chest, the stomach, the windpipe, the two forelegs, the two flanks, the tip of the tail, and the other hind leg. R. Jose says: As it has been stripped, so it was offered. How had it been stripped? The head, the leg, the tail, the other leg, the two flanks, the two forelegs, the chest, the windpipe.

R. Aqiba says: As it has been cut to pieces. How had it then, been cut to pieces? The head, the leg, the two forelegs, the chest, the windpipe, the two flanks, the tail, and the other leg. R. Joseph the Galilean says: According to the excellence of the members. How is that? The head, the leg, the chest, the windpipe, the two flanks, the tail, the other leg, and the two forelegs. Said Rabba: Our Tana and R. Jose both agree that the members are to be offered in the order of their excellence. One, however, says, according to the size of the members; the other, according to the fatness. Why the head and leg together, according to all? Because the head contains too many bones, the leg, which contains more flesh, is added.

MISHNA: The third lot was drawn by new (priests) who had not yet fumed incense; the fourth, by new and old ones, (to determine) who should take up the members (parts) from the staircase to the altar.

GEMARA: We have learned in a Boraitha: No man has repeatedly offered incense. What is the reason? Said R. Hanina: Because the offering of incense renders rich. Said R. Papa to Abayi: Whence do we deduce this? Shall we assume this, because it is written [Deut. xxxiii. 10], "They shall put incense before thee," and in the next verse, "Bless, O Lord, his substance"? Then it should not be due to incense alone, since at the end of the tenth verse it is also written, "and whole burnt sacrifice upon thy altar." He answered him: A burnt-offering is frequent (besides being a daily sacrifice, it was offered by many individuals, and all could not get rich), but incense is not frequent.

Rabba said: You will not find a young scholar who decides questions in Law, who should not be of the tribe of Levi or Issachar. Levi, as it is written [ibid.]: "They (the tribe of Levi) shall teach thy ordinances unto Jacob; and Issachar, because it is written [1 Chron. xii. 32]: "And of the children of Issachar, those who had understanding of the times." But why not also Jehudah? As it is written [Ps. Ix. 9]: "Judah is my lawgiver." I mean, to deduce the traditional sayings from the written Law (this can only do those of Levi and Issachar).

R. Johanan said: For the evening daily offering, lots were never drawn; he who had drawn the lot for that of the morning performed this service also.

MISHNA: [The parts of] the daily sacrifice are offered [according to circumstances] by nine, ten, eleven, twelve--no less and no more. How so? Itself by nine. During the Feast [of Booths] one carries a pitcher of water; thus it is ten. Toward evening by eleven, itself by nine, and two carrying two measures 1 of wood. On Sabbath by eleven, itself by nine, and two having in their hands two spoonfuls of frankincense for the showbread. On the Sabbath which occurs in the middle of the Feast [of Booths], one carrying a pitcher of water [added to the eleven].

GEMARA: Said R. Abba, according to others Rami b. Hama or R. Johanan: Water must be offered during the Feast of Tabernacles only with the morning daily offering, but not with that of evening. This we deduce from the Mishna which states: When the Sabbath occurs during the festival, one is added for carrying water. If water had to be offered with the evening offering also, then it would occur on another day of the festival than a Sabbath, as two carry measures of wood, and a third would be needed for carrying the water (and twelve were needed).

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Simeon b. Jochai said: Whence do we deduce that the daily evening offering requires two measures of wood, carried by two priests? Since it is written [Lev. i. 7], "And (they shall) lay the wood in order," and as this cannot occur in case of the morning daily offering, as it is written [ibid. vi. 5], "The priest shall burn wood upon it every morning, and he shall lay in order upon it the burnt-offering," we must suppose, then, that what has been said before, applies to the daily evening offering.

R. Hiya taught: The lots amounted sometimes to thirteen, sometimes to fourteen, or fifteen, or sixteen (fourteen on the Feast of Tabernacles, for the pitcher of water; fifteen on the Sabbath; sixteen for the Sabbath during the Feast of Tabernacles). But did we not learn, seventeen? That Boraitha is not according to R. Eliezer b. Jacob, but according to R. Jehudah.

MISHNA: A ram was offered by eleven: the flesh by five; the entrails, fine flour, and wine by two, respectively. A bull is offered by twenty-four: the head by one, the hind leg by two, the tail by two, and the [left] hind leg by two; the chest by one, the windpipe by three, the two forelegs by two, the two flanks by two; the entrails, fine flour, and wine by three, respectively. This refers to public sacrifices. A private sacrifice could be offered, if one chose, by one. In respect of skinning and cutting to pieces, both [sacrifices] are equal [private or public, both may be skinned, etc., by a stranger].

GEMARA: We have learned in a Boraitha: The flaying and cutting into pieces may be performed by a layman. Said Hezkiah: Whence do we deduce this? Because it is written [Lev. i. 7]: "And the sons of Aaron the priest shall put fire upon the altar." Hence only the fire must be put by priests, but the flaying may be done by others. But this verse is needful for its own sake, how can it be deduced from it? Said R. Simeon b. Ashi: I once heard how Abayi explained it to his son as follows: It is written [ibid. 5]: "He shall kill." A layman is meant. How is this known? Because it is written [Num. xviii. 7], "And thou and thy sons with thee shall keep your priesthood," one might

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say, that the slaughtering is also meant. Therefore it is written: "And he shall kill the young steer before the Lord and the sons of Aaron the priest shall bring near the blood." From this we see that all that precedes the bringing near of the blood may be done by a layman. And it is also written [Lev. iii. 2]: "And he shall lay his hand . . . and kill it." From this it can be deduced that the layman who has laid his hand upon it may kill it.

[Rashi explains, that all this is stated in a Mishna elsewhere, and Abayi explained to his son that what Hezkiah had said is in accordance with that Mishna.] Now let us see: We have concluded that from the sprinkling of the blood onwards all must be performed by priests; and the fire is put upon the altar later. Why is it then necessary to say that Aaron's sons should do it? This is to exclude the flaying and cutting into pieces, which, though they come after the sprinkling of the blood, may be done by a layman.

It was taught: R. Assi in the name of R. Johanan said: If a layman has put the two measures of wood on the altar, he is liable to capital punishment, as it is a service belonging to the following day (and not the final service of the night). Rabba opposed: According to this supposition (that it is a service of the day), a lot had to be drawn? Rabba has forgotten what we have learned above, that he who drew the lot to lift the ashes, also obtained the privilege to arrange the measures of wood. Said Mar Zutra, according to others R. Ashi: How can it be said it is a service of the next day? Did we not learn further in the Mishna: "Go and see whether it is time to slaughter"? If the arranging of the wood was also a service of the next day, why was not this mentioned likewise (for if it were done when it was yet night it would be invalid)? This is no difficulty.

If the animal was slaughtered before the time, it was invalid, but if the wood was put on before the time, it could be removed and replaced by a priest after daybreak. 1

CHAPTER 3.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE TIME OF SLAUGHTERING THE DAILY OFFERING, THE ENTERING OF A LAYMAN INTO THE COURT OF THE TEMPLE, AND THE ORDER OF THE HIGH-PRIEST'S SERVICE ON THE DAY OF ATONEMENT.

MISHNA: The Superintendent used to say to them: Go out and see whether the time for slaughtering has come. If it had come, the one who saw it said: "(Barqai) It becomes light." Matthew b. Samuel says: He used to ask: "Is the whole east bright, as far as Hebron?" and he answered: "Yea."

[Why was all this necessary? Because on one occasion the moonlight was bright, and they mistook it for dawn. They slaughtered the daily sacrifice, and removed it to the place of burning (finding it unfit).] The high-priest used to be then taken down to the bath. This was the rule in the temple: After necessary human needs a bath had to be taken, and after making water one had to wash his hands and feet.

GEMARA: We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Ishmael said: He said: "Baraq barqai." And R. Aqiba said: "Ala' barqai (The light has risen)." Ne'huma b. Aphaqshyon said: He said: "It has become light even at Hebron. But R. Jehudah b. Bathyra said: He said: "The whole east is bright, as far as Hebron." Then each went to do his work. When each went to his work, it was full day. Did they wait so long? It is meant, those who needed labourers went to look for them. Said R. Sophra: The Mincha prayer of Abraham was when the walls begin to be blackened by shadow. Said R. Joseph: Have we to imitate Abraham? Said Rabha: The Tana learns from Abraham, why shall we not? As we have learned in the following Boraitha: It is written [Lev. xii. 3]: On the eighth day shall the flesh of his foreskin be circumcised." But those who are devout do this religious duty early in the morning. As it is written [Gen. xxii. 3]: "And Abraham rose up early in the morning." Therefore says Rabha: How can we learn of Abraham? He was an older man, who taught the public, 1 and his actions are not to be applied to common men.

"Matthew b. Samuel says," etc. Who used to say, "Yea"? if you wish, I will say, he who stood on the roof used to say: "The east is bright," and as the one who stood beneath asked him: "As far as Hebron?" he would reply: "Yea." And if you wish, I can say: He who stood beneath used to say: "Is the east bright?" The one on the roof would then say: "As far as Hebron?" He would reply: "Yea." (Rashi explains: It is written elsewhere: Why Hebron? To remind of the merit of the patriarchs.)

"Why was all this necessary?" How could they have made this mistake? Did we not learn in a Boraitha: Rabbi said: The beams of the moon are not like to those of the sun. For those of the moon rise straight like sticks, whereas those of the sun diverge in all directions. The disciples of R. Ishmael taught: That time it was a cloudy day, and the moon's rays were multiplied in all directions as those of the sun.

R. Na'hman said: The heat during a clouded day is worse than the solar heat itself. A similar instance I can show: A barrel of vinegar smells more strongly when one hole is made in it than when it is wholly opened. A mixed light (of the sun and fire) is more unendurable (by the eye) than the solar light itself. A similar case: It is more difficult to stand under a shower, than to enter wholly into water. The thoughts about women are more exhausting than the sin itself. A similar case: The smell of wasted meat is more irritating than the meat itself. The heat of the end of summer is worse than that of the summer itself (because it is easier to catch a cold, because the body has been inured to heat during the summer). A similar case is: When an oven is heated four or five times a day, then even a couple of pieces of wood render it hot. Fever is much worse in the winter than in the summer. A like case is: In a cold oven much wood is necessary to heat it; hence if one has a high temperature in the winter, the fever must be great. To study old subjects is much more difficult than a wholly new subject. A like case: It is easier to make clay of new sand than of sand which had once been part of a building. R. Abahu said: What is the reason that Rabbi says that the solar rays are in all directions? Because it is written [Ps. xxii. 1]: "To the chief musician upon the hind of dawn." As a hind has her horns diverging, so are the sun's rays.

R. Elazar said: Why are the prayers of the upright compared to a hind? As the horns of a hind diverge as long as they grow, so the more prayers they will offer, the more they are heard.

"They slaughtered the daily sacrifice." To what does this refer? If all the year (they mistook the passage beginning with "The high-priest" to be connected with the foregoing), why was the high-priest taken to the bath? During the whole year he does not sacrifice? If it refers to the Day of Atonement, then there is no moon in the middle of the night (as it is the tenth day in the month). The answer is, the two passages have no connection. When it was bright, they took him to the bath.

"This is the rule," etc. The feet he had to wash, since it was possible they had been defiled while performing the function; but the hands? Said R. Abba: Hence it can be inferred, that it is a merit to clean with one's hand the feet in such a case. And this is in support of what R. Ammi had said: A man may not go out into the street when his feet have been thus defiled, lest it be said that he is suffering from a certain infirmity [Deut. xxiii. 2, end]--lest it be said his children are bastards.

MISHNA: No one may enter the forecourt [even of Israelites, not priests] to do service, even when he is clean, before he has bathed. On this day the high-priest bathes five times, and washes his hands and feet ten times. All these ablutions are taken within the sanctuary, over Beth Haparva, except the first. A screen of linen [byssus] was placed between him and the people.

GEMARA: B. Zorna was asked: What was the bathing needed for? He said: If one passes from one holy place to another, and from a place which it is Karath to enter, to a similar place, still one must take a bath; how much more when one, passes from the forecourt, which is not a holy place, and which it is not Karath to enter, to the sanctuary. R. Jehudah says: The bathing is not obligatory. It is only used as a reminder. If he was once unclean, and forgot to bathe, he will now remember it, and will wait after bathing till sunset. On what point do they differ? In case he entered without having bathed, according to R. Zorna, he has committed a sin, and rendered the service invalid; according to R. Jehudah, he has not.

Abayi asked R. Joseph: Ought there to be nothing between his body and the water in this bathing, as in other bathing? Or if it is only as according to R. Jehudah, that does not matter? He answered: All that the rabbis have ordered must be done as if it were biblical. He asked him again: If only a part of his body (as head, foot, hand) is introduced into the sanctuary, is a bathing also necessary? He replied: The thumbs and great toes of a leper, which must be besprinkled by the priest with blood [Lev. xiv. 14], he yet introduced into the sanctuary, while standing in the gate of Nicanor, as we have learned in a Boraitha. We see, then, that this was not considered entering, as he could not enter himself.

"Bathes five times." The rabbis taught: Five times the high-priest bathed, and washed his hands and feet ten times, all this in the sanctuary over the Beth Haparva, except the first, which was not in the sanctuary, but over the Gate of Water, and near the high-priest's chamber.

"A screen of byssus," etc. Why one of byssus? That is according to R. Kahna, as he says further, to remind him that the service of this day is in the linen clothes (not golden). So we say it is meant in this case.

MISHNA: He undressed, went down, and dived. After he had come out again, and wiped himself (dried himself with a sponge?), the garments of cloth of gold were brought to him, which he put on, and then washed his hands and feet. They brought to him the daily sacrifice; he made an incision, and another completed the slaughtering in his presence. He took up the blood, and sprinkled it, went in to fume the morning, (matinal) incense, and to trim the lamps, as well as to offer the head, the members, the things made in pans, and the wine.

The morning incense was offered between the blood and the members; that of evening, between the members and drink-offerings. If he was an aged or delicate high-priest, the cold water of the bath was mixed with water warmed previously.

GEMARA: Our Mishna, which says that after bathing he put on the garments of cloth of gold without having washed his hands and feet previously, is not in accordance with R. Meir, who maintains that the hands and feet must be washed twice at each time of his putting on the garments. As we have learned in the following Boraitha: A screen of linen was placed between him and the people. He undressed himself, went down, dived, came out, wiped himself. They brought him the garments of cloth of gold, he put them on, then washed his hands and his feet. R. Meir, however, said: He undressed himself, washed his hands and feet, and then went down, and dived. He came up, dried himself. They brought him the garments of cloth of gold, he put them on, then washed his hands and his feet. It is right, according to R. Meir, who says that for each diving two washings of the hands and feet are needed; that ten times he should wash his hands and feet, as in the Mishna. But according to the rabbis, who say only once, there will be but nine? The rabbis can reply, that the last time he washed his hands and feet, was when he stripped himself of the holy garments and had to put on his week-day clothes, after the whole service.

We have learned in a Boraitha: Rabbi Jehudah said: How is it known that the high-priest has to dive five times, and wash his hands and feet ten times? Because it is written [Lev. xvi. 23]: "And Aaron shall then go into the tabernacle of the congregation, and he shall take off the linen garments, which he had put on when he went into the holy place, and he shall leave them there. And he shall wash his flesh with water in a holy place, and put on his garments, and come then forth, and offer," etc. From this we infer that between one service and the other he had to dive. So also said Rabha, with the addition: Because it is written [ibid. 4], "These are holy garments," that proves that all holy clothes are equal. This day there were five services: The daily morning offering, in garments of cloth of gold; the service of the day, in linen clothes; his ram and the people's ram, in garments of cloth of gold; the spoon and the censer, in linen clothes; the daily evening offering, in garments of cloth of gold. (For the five services, were five divings.) How is it known that for each diving two times have the hands and feet to be washed? Because it is written [ibid.]: "He shall take off his garments . . . and shall wash, . . . put on . . ." The phrase "shall wash" applies to the taking off and the putting on of the garments. From this we see only that when he takes off the linen garment, and puts on cloth of gold, he must wash himself. How do we know that when he takes off the garments of cloth of gold, and puts on the linen ones, he must wash himself? The disciples of R. Ishmael have taught: This can be inferred by a reasoning a fortiori. If when he puts off the linen clothes, whose atonement is not great, still he must have a bathing, how much more when he puts off the cloth of gold, whose atonement is great?

But it may he asked, Is the atonement of the linen clothes not great? Did not the high-priest enter in them the Holy of Holies? It is written [ibid. 4]: "These are holy garments, therefore shall he wash his flesh in water (and both the cloth of gold and linen garments are holy.) "

"He made an incision." How much? Says Ulla: The greater part of the windpipe and the gullet. So also have said R. Johanan and Resh Lakish. Abayi ordered the services according to a tradition he had, and it agrees with that of Abbu Saul. The (first) great arrangement of wood preceded the second arrangement of wood on the southwestern comer of the altar (as will be explained in Tamid). This preceded the two measures of wood, and they preceded the removal of the ashes from the inner altar, and this preceded the trimming of the five lamps. This preceded the sprinkling of the blood of the morning daily offering, and this preceded the trimming of the two lamps; and this preceded the offering of the incense, which came before the offering of the members; this was before the meal-offering, and this was before the things baked in pans. This preceded the drink-offering, and this preceded the additional offerings (for Sabbath or festival), and these were before the spoonfuls of frankincense, that preceded the daily evening offering, as it is written [Lev. vi. 5]: "He shall burn thereon the fat of the peace-offerings." From the word Hashlamim (peace-offerings) can be inferred that they should complete the service of the day (this word means, also, completion).

The Master says: "The first great arrangement of wood preceded. The second," etc. How is it known? Because it is written [Lev. vi. 2]: "It is the burnt-offering which shall be burning upon the altar all night. And after that it is written: "And the fire of the altar shall be burning upon it." By this the other arrangement of wood is meant. How is it known that this precedes the two measures of wood? Because it is written [ibid. 5]: "The priest shall burn wood on it every morning." On it, and not on the other fire. From this we infer there is another fire. Which? That of the two measures of wood. How is it known the two measures of wood precede the clearing of the inner altar? Although in both places it is written, "every morning," yet we understand that preparation for service precedes the mere removal of ashes. Whence do we deduce that this precedes the trimming of the five lamps? Says Abayi: I have it so by tradition, but I know no reason. Rabba says: I know it is according to Resh Lakish,

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who says when one meets an opportunity to perform a meritorious act, one should not pass by it. When the priest enters, he meets first the altar, then the lamps. And what is the reason that this precedes the blood of the daily morning offering? And this precedes the two lamps? Says Abayi: Since it is written of the measures of wood "every morning" twice, (in Hebrew) superfluously, let it apply to the five lamps and to the two lamps, the one to precede the blood of the morning sacrifice, the other to follow it. How do we know that these two lamps precede the incense? Because it is written [Exod. xxx. 7]: "When he dresseth the lamps, (then) shall he burn it." How is it known that the incense comes before the members? Of the incense [ibid.] it is said "every morning," but of the daily sacrifice only "morning." [The first precedes the second.] Why do the members come before the meal-offering? Because we have learned in a Boraitha as follows: Whence do we deduce, that before the daily morning offering has been sacrificed nothing else shall be offered? Because it is written [Lev. vi. 5]: "He shall lay in order upon it the burnt-offering." In addition to this Boraitha, said Rabba: By the word the burnt-offering is meant the first burnt-offering; that is, the daily offering. How is it known that the meal-offering precedes the things made in pans? Because they are mentioned [Lev. xxiii. 37] in this order. How is it known the things made in pans precede the drink-offering? Because they are also a meal-offering, and added to the daily sacrifice [Num. xxviii. 5]. And why do these precede the additional sacrifice? Because in that verse [Lev. xxiii. 371 they are mentioned in this order. And why do these precede the spoonfuls of frankincense? Did we not learn in a Boraitha that they succeed the frankincense? About this, Tanaim differ. (Pesachim, p 107.) Said Abayi: It seems to me the Halakha prevails, that the additional sacrifices ought to precede the frankincense. Because we have seen that of which it is said "every morning" precedes that of which it is said "morning." [See Lev. xxiv. 7 and 8.] Here of the additional sacrifice is said "every and each day," hence--not morning.

"The morning incense was offered between the blood and members." According to whom is this? If according to the rabbis, it should have been between the blood and lamps; and if according to Abbu Saul, it should have been between the lamps and the members? The whole Mishna is according to the rabbis, but about the order the arranger of the Mishna has not been particular.

"That of evening, between the members and drink-offerings." How do we know this? Because it is written [Num. xxviii. 8]: "As the meat-offering of the morning, and the drink-offering thereof, shalt thou prepare it." As in the case of the meat-offering the incense precedes the drink-offering, so in the evening the incense shall precede the drink-offering.

The rabbis taught: It is written [ibid. 7]: "The drink-offering thereof shall be the fourth part of a hin." "Thereof," of the evening sacrifice [ibid. 4]. We deduce concerning the morning sacrifice from the evening sacrifice. Rabbi, however, said: On the contrary, we deduce concerning the evening offering from the morning offering. It is right, according to the rabbis, since that of the evening is mentioned last. But what is Rabbi's reason? Said Rabba b. Ulla: Because it is written [ibid. 7], "for the one sheep," and [ibid. 4] "the one sheep," hence in both cases the same morning offering is meant.

"If he was an aged or delicate high-priest." We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jehudah said: Iron plates were heated on the eve of the Day of Atonement, and were on the Day of Atonement plunged into the cold water, to warm it for the high-priest. But the iron gets tempered thereby (which is forbidden as a work)? R. Bibi answers: The iron had not been heated so much as to become tempered. Abayi, however, says: It does not matter, since it is not intentional, and therefore not forbidden.

MISHNA: They brought him to Beth-Haparva, which was in the sanctuary; a linen screen was spread out between him and the people; he washed his hands and feet and stripped himself. R. Meir says: He undressed, and washed his hands and feet. He went down and dived, came up and dried himself, white garments were brought to him, which he put on, and he washed his hands and feet.

In the morning, he put on linen of Pelusium, costing twelve Minas. In the evening, Hindoo linen, of 800 Zuz [8 Minas]. This is according to R. Meir. The sages say, in the morning he put on garments worth 18 Minas, in the evening of 12 Minas--together amounting to 30 Minas. This from public money [another version, taken from the holy funds?]; but if he chooses, he can have them more costly out of his private means.

GEMARA: Why is it called Parva? Said R. Joseph: Because it was built by one Parva, one of the magi.

"In the morning he put on linen of Pelusium." Wherefore does he tell us the price? He comes to teach us that linen less costly were invalid. Let us see: All agree that what he put on in the morning was more costly than that in the evening. Whence is this deduced? Said R. Huna, the son of R. Ilai: Because [Lev. xvi. 4] linen is mentioned four times in that verse; in reference to the morning garments, they are to be of the best linen.

R.' Huna b. Jehudah, according to others R. Samuel b. Jehudah, taught: After the service of the congregation was finished, if the high-priest possessed a linen coat made by his mother at her own cost, he might put it on, and perform the services appertaining to an individual (not congregation: carry out the spoons from the Holy of Holies, and the censer; the first had been used for frankincense, the second for incense), provided that when he puts it on, he shall bestow it on the congregation. It was said of R. Ishmael b. Phabi: His mother had made him a linen coat worth 100 Minas; he used to put it on, perform the services of an individual, and bestow it (in his mind) on the congregation. Of R. Eliezer b. Harsum it was said: His mother had made him a linen coat worth 20,000 Minas. His brethren the priests did not permit him to put it on, as in it he seemed to be naked (so delicate was its texture). How could this be, if it is said to have been thick, the threads six times twisted? Said Abayi: As wine is seen through a glass, however thick it be.

The rabbis taught: In the world to come, when a poor man, a rich man, and a wicked man come before the judgement, when the poor is asked, "Why hast thou not studied the Law?" if he answers: "I have been poor, I had to earn my bread, and had no time," they answer him: "Wast thou poorer than Hillel the Elder?" Of Hillel the Elder it was said: Every day he went to work, and earned a Tarpeik (a Stater coin of 4 Dinars). Half he gave away to the porter of the college, to let him in, and on the other half he and his family lived. Once it happened he did not earn anything, the porter did not let him in. He ascended the roof where there was an opening, and listened to the words of the living God, from the mouth of Shemaia and Abtalian. It was said: That day was a Friday, and in the season of Tebeth (winter), and he was besnowed. When it dawned, Shemaia said to Abtalian: "Every day it becomes light at this time, and now it is dark. Is it such a cloudy day?" They raised their eyes, and saw the figure of a man. When they went up, they found on him a layer of snow three ells thick. They took him down, washed him, dressed him with oil, placed him before a fire, and they said: "Such a man deserves that Sabbath should be violated for his sake (by the making of fire)."

When the rich man is asked: "Why hast thou not studied the Law?" if he answers: "Because I was a rich man, and had many estates, and had no time to study," they answer him: "Wast thou richer than R. Elazar b. Harsum?" Of him it was said: His father had bequeathed to him a thousand towns on land, and a thousand ships on the sea, and he himself used to take a bag of flour on his shoulder, and wander from town to town and land to land to study the Law. Once his own slaves found him, and put him to hard labour. He said to them: "I pray you, let me go to study the Torah." They replied: "We swear, by R. Elazar b. Harsum's life, we will not let you go before you work." Thus, as long as he lived, he did not attend to his affairs, but studied all day and all night the Law.

When the wicked man is asked: "Why hast thou not studied the Law?" if he replies: "I was handsome, and was absorbed by my sins," they answer him: "Wast thou more handsome than Joseph?" It was said of Joseph the Righteous, that every day Potiphar's wife used to try to seduce him by her talk. The clothes she used to put on in the morning (to attract his attention) she did not put on in the evening, and vice versa, and her refrain was always: "Listen to me; do what I ask of you." He answered: "No." She said: "I will imprison you." He replied [Ps. cxlvi. 7]: "The Lord looseneth the prisoners." She then said: "I will bend your loftiness." His reply was [ibid.]: "The Lord raiseth up those who are bowed down." She said to him: "I will blind you." He answered [ibid. 8]: "The Lord causeth the blind to see." She gave him a thousand talents of silver. He was averse to her, or "to lie with her, or to be with her" [Gen. 39:10]. "To lie with her" in this world, "to be with her" in the world to come. From this we see that Hillel makes the poor man guilty, R. Eliezer b. Harsum the rich, and Joseph the wicked.

MISHNA: He went to his bullock, which stood between the porch and the altar, his head due south, but his face due west. The high-priest stood on the east, his face due west. He put his two hands on him and confessed himself in the following terms: I beseech thee, Jehovah, I have committed iniquities, have transgressed, and have sinned before thee, I and my house.

I beseech thee, Jehovah, forgive, pray, the iniquities, the transgressions, and the sins, which I have committed, transgressed, and sinned before thee, I and my house, as it is written in the Torah of Moses thy servant, "For on that day shall he make an atonement for you," etc. [Lev. xvi. 30]. They respond after him: "Blessed be the name of His kingdom's glory for ever!"

GEMARA: "His head due south, but his face due west." If his head was turned to the south, how could his face be turned to the west? Said Rabh: His head was turned aside. Why? Says Abayi: It was apprehended, lest he should excrete. The rabbis taught: How were the hands imposed on his head? The sacrifice stood in the north, his face turned westward; he who imposed his hand stood in the east, his face westward; he placed both his hands between the two horns, provided that there was nothing between his hands and the head of the sacrifice; then he confessed himself. On the sin-offering he confessed the sins for which a sin-offering has to be brought; on a trespass-offering, the sins corresponding to it; and on a burnt-offering, sins of preventing the poor to gather, not forgetting for the poor, and not leaving corners [Lev. xix. 9]. So said R. Joel the Galilean.

The rabbis taught: How did the high-priest confess? He said: "I have committed iniquities, transgressed, and sinned." So he confessed over the goat [Lev. xvi. 21]: "And confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions, in all their sins." (The order of the terms is the same.) So also by Moses is it written [Ex. xxxiv. 7], "Forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin." So says R. Meir. The sages, however, say: By iniquities are meant intentional transgressions, for it is written [Num. xv. 31]: "That person shall be cut off, his iniquity is upon him." By transgressions are meant rebellion. As it is written [2 Kings iii. 7]: "The King of Moab hath rebelled." (The term in Hebrew is the same.) By sin is meant unintentional wrong, as is written [Lev. iv. 2]: "If any person sin through ignorance." Now, is it possible that after he has confessed the intentional and rebellious sins, he will confess the errors? Therefore we must say that he used to say differently: "I have sinned, committed iniquities, and transgressed, I and my house." And so it is written by David [Ps. cvi. 6]: "We have sinned together with our fathers, we have committed iniquity, we have done wickedly. . . ." And so also Solomon says [1 Kings 8:47]: "We have sinned, we have committed iniquity, we have acted wickedly." So also Daniel [Dan. ix. 5]: "We have sinned, and have committed iniquity, and have done wickedly, and have rebelled." Why, then, is it said by Moses: "Forgiving iniquity, and transgression, and sin." Moses said to the Holy One, blessed be He: "Lord of the Universe, when the children of Israel will sin before thee, and then repent, mayest thou consider their intentional sins as sins done through ignorance." Said Rabbi b. Samuel in the name of Rabh: The Halakha prevails according to the sages. Is not this self-evident? R. Meir is an individual, the sages are a majority, and we know that the decree of an individual is prevailed over by that of the majority? Lest one say, In this case the Halakha ought to prevail according to R. Meir, as he takes in his support what Moses said. He comes to teach us that here also the Halakha is according to the majority.

One of the scholars prayed for the people in the presence of Rabba, and followed R. Meir's decree. Said Rabba to him: Thou departest from the rabbis, and doest as R. Meir says. He replied: I hold with R. Meir, for it is written in the Bible that Moses said so.

"They respond after him." We have learned in a Boraitha: Rabbi said: It is written [Deut. xxxii. 3]: "When I call on the name of the Lord, ascribe ye greatness unto our God." So said Moses to Israel: "When I mention the name of the Holy One, blessed be He, ye shall add greatness to it." Hananiah the son of R. Joshua's brother said: From the following verse [Prov. x. 7]: "The memory of the just is blessed." That means, the prophet says to Israel: "When I mention the just One of the Worlds, ye shall add a blessing."

MISHNA: He came to the eastern part of the forecourt, to the north of the altar, the Segan of the high-priest on his right, and the head of the family ministering during the week [Rosh-Beth-Ab] on his left. There were two he-goats; and a box was there wherein were two lots. Of box-tree they were. [The high-priest] Ben Gamla made them of gold, for which his memory was praised.

[The high-priest] Ben Katin made twelve cocks to the laver, which had had only two. He, also made a machine to the laver [to take it down into a well at will], that its water should not become unfit by being kept over night [in free air]. The king Monobaz made all the handles of the utensils used on the Day of Atonement--of gold. Helen, his mother, made a golden candelabrum over the temple-gate. She likewise made a tablet of gold, whereon was inscribed the section about a woman who goes aside [Num. v. 12]. Miracles happened to the gates which Nicanor brought. Therefore all these persons' memory was praised.

GEMARA: "The Segan on his right." R. Jehudah said: One who goes on the right of his Master is a boor. An objection was raised from this Mishna: It is written that the Segan was on his right. And we have learned in a Boraitha, that when three walk, the Master ought to be in the middle, the greater of two on his right, and the other on his left. And so we find that of. the three angels that came to Abraham, Michael was in the middle, Gabriel on his right, and Raphael on his left. (How, then, is he a boor?)

R. Samuel b. Papa explained before R. Adda, that it is meant, he should walk on his right, but a little behind, and not side by side. Did we not learn in a Boraitha that he who precedes the Master is rude, and he who walks behind his Master is too ostentatiously humble? He should fall a little back--not precede, and not follow.

"And a box was there," etc. The rabbis taught: It is written [Lev. xxi. 8]: "And Aaron shall put lots upon the two goats." Hence, lots of any kind. Should we assume, that he must place

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two on each goat? Therefore it is written: "One lot for the Lord, one lot for Azazel." Therefore one ought to be for the Lord, and one for Azazel. Should we assume that he should place both lots on one goat, and then draw them and then place them on the other goat, and draw again? Therefore it is written, "one lot." What, then, means the word "lots"? This signifies that they should be equal: one should not be made of gold, the other of silver; one large, the other small. It is said in the Boraitha, lots of all kinds. This is self-evident? It must teach us this because of another Boraitha: Because the plate on the high-priest's brow, on which the name of the Lord was written, was of gold, one might think this lot must also be so. Therefore it is written, "one lot," twice, to teach that they may be of many kinds, of olive-tree wood, of nut-tree wood, of box-tree wood.

"Ben Katin made twelve cocks," etc. We have so learned in a Boraitha, to the end that the twelve priests engaged in the service of the morning daily offering might wash their hands and feet at the same time. We have learned again in a Boraitha: In the morning, when the laver was full, the high-priest washed his hands from the upper cock; but in the evening when he departed, when it was not full, he did it from the lower cock.

"He also made a machine." What machine? Says Abayi: He made a sort of wheel, which brought it down into the well.

"Helen his mother," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: When the sun rose, from the golden candelabrum emanated rays, and all knew it was time to read Shema.

"Miracles happened to the gates," etc. The rabbis taught: What miracles have happened to his gates? It was said, when Nicanor had gone to Alexandria, and was returning with the gates, the waves of the sea threatened to drown him; they took one of the gates and cast it into the sea. The sea was not appeased. They desired to cast the second gate overboard also. He took it on his body, and said: "Fling me together with it." Thereupon the sea became quiet. He grieved for the other gate. When he came to the coast at Accho, the gate appeared by the ship. According to others, some beast of the sea had swallowed the gate, and afterward spit it out. Therefore all gates of the Temple were gilt, except Nicanor's, because miracles had happened to them, and they were therefore left as they were. Others say, because their bronze was brilliant. R. Eliezer b. Jacob says: It was polished bronze, and glittered like gold.

MISHNA: And the memories of the following were mentioned with blame; those of the house of Garmo, they were unwilling to teach the art of making the showbread; those of the house of Abtinas, who did not want to teach the art of preparing the incense; Hogros b. Levi, who knew something in music which he was unwilling to instruct others in; Ben Kamtsar did not want to teach the art of writing. Of the first it is said: "The memory of the just is blessed" [Prov. x. 7]; but of the rest is said: "But the name of the wicked shall rot."

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: "The house of Garmo were skilled in making the showbread, and did not want to teach it to others. The sages sent for workers from Alexandria, and they could bake as well, but could not take it out from the oven [it got broken]. They heated the oven from outside, and baked it there, and took it from there, while the house of Garmo heated it inside and baked it inside (and removed it from there). Also the showbread of the Alexandrian bakers used to become mouldy, and that of the former never became so. When the sages heard this, they said: All which the Lord hath created, He created only for His glory. As it is written [Is. xliii. 7]: "Every one that is called by my name, I have created for my glory." So the Beth Garmo had to be invited again to resume their post. The sages sent for them, they did not come: so their wages had to be doubled. They used to receive 12 Minas daily, and henceforth 24. R. Jehudah says: They had received 24, and thenceforth 48. Then the sages inquired of them: "Why are you unwilling to instruct others?" They replied: "Our family knows by tradition that this Temple will one day fall, and then, if we will have taught it to an improper person, he may go and serve thereby other idols." And for this thing their memory, was praised: their children were never seen to use bread of pure flour, that it should not be suspected they took it from the flour for the showbread. They did it, to fulfil what is written [Num. 32:22]: "And ye be thus guiltless before the Lord, and before Israel."

"Those of the house of Abtinas," etc. The rabbis taught: The house of Abtinas were skilled in the preparing of incense, and were unwilling to teach it. The sages sent for workers from Alexandria. These could prepare the incense, but could not make it so that the smoke should not bend. The smoke of the incense prepared by the house of Abtinas rose straight, like a rod, and the smoke of the others' incense bent hither and thither. When the sages heard of this, they said, etc. [the same as previously; the reason they gave for not teaching was also the same]. For the following thing they were mentioned with praise: Never a bride of their house went out perfumed, and even when one of their house married a woman of another family, it was on the, condition that she should not be perfumed, that it be not said: "They take it from the incense." To fulfil what is written, etc. [as before].

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Ishmael said: I once was, in the road, and met one of their grandchildren. I said to him: Your ancestors wished to increase their own glory, and diminish that of the Lord; now the Lord's glory persists, and yours has ended in nothing. R. Aqiba said: R. Ishmael b. Luga has related to me: I and one of their grandchildren once went out into, the field to gather grass. I observed that he wept and rejoiced. I inquired of him: Why weepest thou? He replied: I recall the honour my ancestors once had enjoyed, and weep. And why did, he rejoice? "Because I feel sure that the Holy One, blessed be He, will restore it to us." He asked him: Why hast thou been reminded of it just at present? He said: Because I see the grass we used to put in to make the smoke straight. He said to him: Point it out to me. He replied: We are under an oath not to show it to anyone. Said R. Johanan b. Nuri: It happened once I met an old man, who had a scroll on which was a list of the names of the spices composing the incense. I asked him: Whence art thou? He replied: I am descended of the house of Abtinas. "And what do you hold in your hand?" He said: The scrolls of the spices. I said to him: Show it to me. He said: As long as our family was in life, they did not show it to any man. But now, when they have all died, and the Temple itself no longer exists, I can give it to thee, but be cautious with it. When I related all this to R. Aqiba, he said: From this time one need not blame them any longer. To this said Ben Azai: "By thy name thou shalt be called and to thy position thou shalt be restored, and thine thou wilt always receive, as so it is recorded Above." It is a rule, one man cannot touch what is destined for another [as they were recalled and paid double wages].

"Hogros b. Levi," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: When he had to render his voice melodious, he placed his thumb in his mouth, and the index in his mustache. When all his fellow-priests heard his voice, they bent to the ground (from ecstasy).

The rabbis taught: Ben Kamtsar did not want to teach the art of writing. It was said of him: He used to take four quills between his four fingers, and when he had to write a word of four letters, he wrote it at once. (Jehovah's name is of four letters.) When they inquired of him: Why dost thou not teach it to others? he found no answer. Therefore of the first it is said "he memory of the just is blessed"; and of Ben Kamtsar and his tribe it is said: "The name of the wicked shall rot." What is meant by "rot"? How can a name "rot"? Said R. Elazar: Their name shall contract such a rottenness that children shall not be named after them.

Rabbina said to one of the scholars who arranged for him the Agada: How do we know that the rabbis have said: "The name of the just is blessed"? He replied: Why rabbis--it is in the Bible, in the Proverbs? He said: Nay. How is it known from the Pentateuch? It is known from the following verse [Gen. xviii. 17]: "Shall I hide from Abraham what I am about to do?" And the next verse is: "Abraham shall surely become a great nation." And how is it known from the Pentateuch that the name of the wicked shall rot? Because it is written [ibid. xiii. 12]: "And pitched his tents close to Sodom." And the next: "The men of Sodom were wicked and sinners." R. Elazar said: From the blessings awarded to the righteous, one can infer what curses are bestowed on the wicked; as it is written [ibid. xviii. 19]: "For I know him, that he will command," etc. And the next verse is: "The Lord said, Because the cry against Sodom and Gomorrah is great." And from the curses given to the wicked the blessings reserved for the righteous can be inferred, as it is written [ibid. 13:13]: "The men of Sodom were wicked and sinners." And the next verse says: "And the Lord said unto Abram, Lift up now thy eyes and look," etc.

R. Elazar says again: Even for one just man is a whole world created. As it is written [Gen. i. 4]: "And God saw the light, that it was good." And good is only a just man, since it is written [Is. iii. 10]: "Say to the just, that he is good." 1 R. Elazar says again: Whoever forgets something of his study, causes exile to his children, as is written [Hosea iv. 6]: "As thou hast forgotten the law of thy God, so will I myself also forget thy children." R. Abahu says: He is degraded from his high station, as it is written [ibid.]: "Because thou hast rejected knowledge, so will I also reject thee from officiating before me."

R. Hiya b. Abba said in the name of R. Johanan: A righteous man does not depart from the world, till another righteous man like him has been created, as it is written [Eccles. i. 5]: "The sun rises, the sun goes down." Before the sun of Eli had been extinguished, the sun of Samuel of Ramah already shone. The same said again: The Holy One, blessed be He, perceived that righteous men are few: He planted them in every generation, as it is written [1 Sam. ii. 8]: "For the Lord's are the pillars of the earth, on which He hath set the world." And the same said once more, on the same authority: Even when there is only one just man in the world, the world can exist through his merit, as it is written [Prov. x. 25]: "The righteous is the foundation of the world." R. Hiya says, on his own authority, as it is written in a different verse [1 Sam. ii. 9]: "He ever guardeth the feet of his pious ones." But they are spoken of in the plural? Says R. Na'hman, it is read in the plural, but it is written in the singular. R. Hiya b. Abba says again, in the name of R. Johanan: When a man has lived the greatest part of his life without having sinned, he will sin no more, for they will guard him Above, and this he infers from the above passage. The disciples of R. Shila have said: When a man has had occasion to commit a sin once and twice, and he escapes committing it, he will be guarded Above from sinning. They infer it from the same verse. Resh Lakish said: It is written [Prov. iii. 34]: "The mockers He will mock, but to the modest He will give grace." From this we can infer: If one wishes to defile himself (to sin) the door is opened to him; but he who comes to purify himself, he is assisted. The disciples of R. Ishmael have told a parable in reference to this: When one sells both naphtha and perfumes, when one arrives to buy naphtha, he saith to him: "Measure the quantity you need"; but if one arrives to buy perfumes, he says: "Wait, we will both measure it, and contract the odor." The same disciples taught: A sin stops up a man's heart, as it is written [Lev. 11:43]: "And ye shall not make yourselves unclean with them, that ye should be defiled thereby." Do not read ונטמאתם but ונטמטם (stop up).

The rabbis taught: This verse signifies that when a man defiles himself a little here below, Above he is defiled much; and if he defiles himself in this world, he is defiled in the world to come. And it is written [ibid. 44]: "Ye shall sanctify yourselves, and be holy." When a man sanctifies himself a little here below, he is sanctified much Above, and when he sanctifies himself in this world, he is sanctified in the world to come.

CHAPTER 4.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE TWO GOATS OF THE DAY OF ATONEMENT: HOW THEY WERE SLAUGHTERED, SENT AWAY, ETC.

MISHNA: He shook the box, and took out two lots. On one is written, "to Jehovah"; on the other is written, "to Azazel." The Segan is at his right, and the head of the family [see above] on his left. If that of Jehovah was taken up by his right hand, the Segan says to him, "My lord the high-priest, raise thy right hand." If that of Jehovah was taken up by his left hand, the head of the family addresses him: "My lord the high-priest, raise thy left hand." He placed them [the lots] on the two he-goats, and uttered: "To Jehovah a sin-offering." R. Ishmael says: It was not necessary for him to say "sin-offering," but "to Jehovah" sufficed. They responded: "Blessed be the name of His kingdom's glory for ever."

GEMARA: Why had he to shake the box? That he should not have intentionally taken that for Jehovah in his right hand (as it was a good omen if he took it up by chance). Rabh said: The box was of wood, and was not sacred, and could contain only the two palms of the hand. Rabbina opposed: It is right that it had only capacity for the two palms, that he might not intentionally take the lot for the Lord; but if it was profane, he should have sanctified it? The answer is: If he had sanctified it, it would have been a wooden sacred vessel, and in the Temple wooden sacred vessels were not used. Let them have made it of silver or gold? Because the Torah wished to spare the wealth of Israel. The Mishna is at variance with the Tana of the following Boraitha: R. Jehudah says in the name of R. Eliezer: The Segan and the high-priest both placed their hands in the box. When that for Jehovah was picked up by the high-priest, the Segan said to him: "My lord the high-priest, raise thy right hand." But if it was picked up by the Segan, the chief of the family said to him: "Speak thy words." Why not the Segan himself? The lot came into the hand of the Segan, and not of the high-priest; therefore the spirits of the latter would have been depressed. On what point do they differ? One thinks, the right hand of the Segan is better than the left hand of the high-priest, and therefore both should put into the box their right hand; whereas the other thinks that the left hand of the high-priest is as good as the right hand of the Segan, and therefore he ought to place both his hands in the box. And who is the Tana who differs from R. Jehudah? That is R. Hanina, the Segan of the priests. As we have learned in the following Boraitha: R. Hanina the Segan of the priests said: Why did the Segan ever walk on the right of the high-priest? In case the high-priest became unfit for service, the Segan should enter at once to do the service.

The rabbis taught: In the time of the forty years during which Simeon the Upright was high-priest, the lot for Jehovah always came into the high-priest's right hand, but thereafter it sometimes fell into his right, sometimes into his left hand. And the tongue of crimson wool, during the time of Simeon the Upright, always became white. But after Simeon the Upright, sometimes it became white, sometimes it remained red. In Simeon the Upright's time the western light ever burned, but after him it sometimes burned and sometimes went out. The fire of the altar ever waxed in strength, and except the two measures of wood prescribed they had not to add any wood, in Simeon the Upright's time; but after him, sometimes the fire persisted and sometimes wood had to be added. In his time a blessing was sent into the Omer, the two loaves of bread, and the showbread, and every priest who

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received only the size of an olive became satiated, and some was left over; but after him, these things were cursed, and every priest got only the size of a bean. And the delicate priests refused to take it altogether, but the voracious ones accepted and consumed. It once happened, one took his own share and his fellow's: he was nicknamed "robber" till his death.

The rabbis taught: The year when Simeon the Upright had to die, he told the sages: "Children, know ye that this year I am going to die." They asked him: "How dost thou know?" He said: "Every year when I entered and left the Holy of Holies, I was accompanied by one old man, dressed in white and enveloped in white; but this year it was an old man attired in black and in a black turban, and he entered with me but did not go out with me." And after the festivals, he got sick, and died. And thenceforth priests ceased to bless Israel with the name of Jehovah, but used "Adonai" (the Lord).

The rabbis taught: Forty years before the Temple was destroyed, the lot never came into the right hand, the red wool did not become white, the western light did not burn, and the gates of the Temple opened of themselves, till the time that R. Johanan b. Zakkai rebuked them, saying: "Temple, Temple, why alarmest thou us? We know that thou art destined to be destroyed. For of thee hath prophesied Zechariah ben Iddo [Zech. xi. 1]: 'Open thy doors, O Lebanon, and the fire shall eat thy cedars.'"

"He placed them on the two he-goats." The rabbis taught: Six times the high-priest pronounced God's name, as it is written (Jehovah), during the Day of Atonement: three times in the first confession and three times in the second confession, and the seventh time when he had drawn the lot. It happened, when the high-priest said, "I beseech thee, Jehovah," his voice was heard in Jericho, ten Parsas distant from Jerusalem, according to Rabba bar bar Hana. And the sound of opening the Temple gates was heard at the distance of eight legal limits of Sabbath (16,000 ells). The goats that were in Jericho used to sneeze at the incense offered at Jerusalem. A bride in Jerusalem had never to perfume herself, as the odor of the incense imbued them all with aromatic smells. R. Joel b. Diglai said: My father had goats on the mountains of Michmar. They sneezed at the incense. R. Hiya b. Abbin said in the name of R. Joshua b. Kar'ha: A certain old man has related to me, that since the time when he was walking in Shiloh, he still felt the smell of its formerly offered incense.

R. Janai said: To take out the lots from the box was obligatory, but to place them on the goats was not so. R. Johanan says: Even taking them out was not obligatory. An objection was made from the following Boraitha: The disciples asked R. Aqiba, If the lot came into his left hand, might he not put it into his right hand? He replied: Do not give the Sadducees opportunity to rebel (by declaring it unbiblical). Now here the reason is only that the Sadducees should not rebel; but otherwise, we would say, he may transfer it from one hand to the other. How, then, can R. Janai say that it was obligatory? Then the lots would not be changeable. Said Rabba: They mean to say, not that he may transfer the lot in his left hand to his right hand, but that when the lot has been placed on the goat for Azazel, whether he may transfer him to his right, and design him for the Lord? The answer to this was: Although one may use a thing appointed to a less holy purpose for a more holy, yet the Sadducees will rebel.

MISHNA: He tied a tongue of crimson wool to the head of the goat that was to be sent away [the scapegoat], and placed him opposite to the gate through which he was to be transferred; and the one to be slaughtered, opposite to the place of its slaughtering. He went to his bull a second time, putting his hands on him, and confessing in these terms: "I beseech thee, Jehovah, I have committed iniquities, transgressed, and sinned before Thee, I and my house, and the sons of Aaron, Thy holy people: I beseech Thee, Jehovah, forgive the iniquities, transgressions, and sins which I have committed, transgressed, and sinned, I and my house, and the sons of Aaron, Thy holy people, as it is written in the Torah of Moses Thy servant: 'For on that day shall he make atonement for you, to cleanse you from all your sins, that ye may be pure before Jehovah.'" They respond after him: "Blessed is the name of His kingdom's glory forever."

GEMARA: The schoolmen propounded a question: The Mishna states: He was placed opposite to the gate, and the one to be slaughtered opposite to the slaughtering-place. Were they to be tied in their places, or only placed there? Come and hear! R. Joseph taught: He tied a tongue of crimson wool to the head of the goat that was to be sent away, and placed him opposite to the gate, and the one to be slaughtered opposite to the slaughtering-place, for the purpose that they should not be confounded with one another, as with other goats. Now, if the Mishna means they were tied there, it is right; but if only placed, this can only prevent their being confounded with each other, as the one has the tongue of red wool tied to it, but with other goats the other may be confounded? It is meant, then, that they should be tied in their places.

R. Itz'hak said: I have heard a Halakha about two tongues of wool, one for the red cow and the other for the scapegoat, that one must be of a prescribed quantity and the other need not, and I do not know which it is. Said R. Joseph: Let us see. The wool for the goat which was sent away must be divided into two parts: one part tied to its horns, and one to the rack; therefore it seems that it must be of a prescribed quantity. But the wool for the red cow, which need not be divided, need be of no prescribed quantity. Rami b. Hama opposed: Even that for the red cow must have a certain weight (as will be explained). Rabha answered him: Concerning the weight, the opinions of the Tanaim are different; consequently, no prescribed quantity is needed. When R. Dimi came from Palestine, he said in the name of R. Johanan: I have heard of three tongues of wool: one for the red cow, one for the scapegoat, and one for lepers. I have heard, one must be of the weight of 10 Zuz, one must have the weight of 2 Selas, and one of 1 Shekel, but I cannot explain which. When Rabbin came from Palestine, he explained this in the words of R. Jonathan: That for the red cow must weigh 10 Zuz, for the scapegoat 2 Selas, and for lepers 1 Shekel. (For the red cow, which must have a certain weight, it is 10 Zuz; that of the goat, which must be divided, 2 Selas; and the leper's, which need be neither, it is a Shekel.)

R. Itz'hak said: I have heard about the two slaughterings, of the red cow and of the high-priest's bull, one, if done by a layman, is valid, and the other is, in such a case, invalid; but I cannot explain which it is. It was taught: Concerning the slaughtering of the red cow and the high-priest's bull, Rabh and Samuel differed. One said, if the red cow was slaughtered by a layman, it is valid, and the bull, invalid; and the other says the reverse.

It may be ascertained that Rabh is the one who says that the red cow slaughtered by a layman is invalid, because (when Rabh heard) R. Zerah said that the red cow slaughtered by a layman is invalid, Rabh said: The reason is, that in connection with the red cow is mentioned Elazar (a priest) and "statute."

It was taught: Concerning the slaughtering of the red cow by a layman, R. Ammi said: It is valid; R. Itz'hak of Naph'ha said: It is invalid; Ulla said: It is valid; and others say: It is invalid. R. Joshua b. Abba objected to the statement that it is valid, and wanted to support Rabh from the following Boraitha: It is certain to us that the sprinkling of the water of the red cow is invalid, if a woman has done it instead of a man, or when it was not sprinkled in the daytime. But whence do we deduce further that the slaughtering of it, and receiving of the blood, and sprinkling of the blood, and burning it, and the putting in of the cedar-wood, hyssop, scarlet string, is invalid in such cases? Therefore it is written, "The law."

Shall we assume that to them shall be added the gathering of the ashes, and the drawing of the water, and the sanctification? Therefore it is written: "This" is the statute [Num. 19:2].

But what is the reason of including those, and excluding these? Because we find here an extension and a limitation, we will say that we may deduce all the ceremonies from the sprinkling of the water. As the sprinkling of the water must be done by a male, not by a female, and is valid only in the daytime, we may add to it the slaughtering, the receiving and sprinkling of the blood, the burning, putting in of cedar-wood, hyssop, a scarlet string; as it is certain to us that all these things are invalid when done by a female, so we conclude it is valid only in the daytime; and we will exclude the gathering of the ashes, the drawing of the water, and the sanctification, as they may be done by a female, so we will conclude they may be done also in the night-time. What is the objection? If you will say: "Because it is prohibited to a female, it is also prohibited to a layman," you can infer from the sprinkling of the water, which is invalid when done by a female, but nevertheless is valid when done by a layman. Said Abayi: The objection is this, What is the reason that a female may not sprinkle it? Because it is written "Elazar," and we say Elazar, but not a woman. In the same manner, we say Elazar (i.e., a priest), but not a layman. Said Ulla: If you will read carefully the whole section about the red cow, you will see that one case cannot be compared with the other. Some apparently analogous inferences are yet in reality contradictory. And there are apparently analogous inferences which are really analogous. (Therefore care must be taken in making inferences.) Said R. Assi: (It is so), for when R. Johanan and Resh Lakish learned the section of the red cow, they carried away in their heads no more than a fox does earth when it runs across a ploughed field, for some apparently analogous inferences are really so, and some not.

One Tana taught in the presence of R. Johanan: All slaughterings may be done by a layman, except that of the red cow. Said R. Johanan to him: "Go and teach it outside of the college; for we find no single kind of slaughtering invalid when done by a layman." And R. Johanan not only disregarded this Tana's teaching, but even his own Master's; for R. Johanan said in the name of R. Simeon b. Jehozadak: "The slaughtering of a red cow by a layman is invalid." But I say it is valid, because we do not find any kind of slaughtering invalid when done by a layman.

"He went to his bull." Why did he not say in the first confession, "The sons of Aaron, Thy holy people," but does so in the second? The disciples of R. Ishmael taught: So is it right according to the law, for it is better that one guiltless should atone for the sinners than that one not yet purified from sins himself should atone for other sinners. (Before the first confession, he was not atoned for himself.)

MISHNA: He slaughtered it [the bull], and received in a basin its blood, giving (presenting) it to him who stirred (mixed) it, on the fourth row of marble stones in the Temple, that it should not become congealed. He took the censer, mounted the top of the altar, and cleared the coals on either hand: taking a censerful of the inner glowing coals, then he came down again, and placed it [the censer] on the fourth row of stones in the forecourt.

Every day he scooped up with a silver censer, and emptied into a golden vessel. On this day he filled a golden censer, and also carried it in. Every day he used to scoop [the coals] up in one measuring 4 Kabs, and poured them into one Of 3 Kabs; but on this day he filled one Of 3 Kabs, and also carried them in it. R. Jose says: Every day he filled one of a Seah [6 Kabs], and emptied it into one Of 3 Kabs; but on this day he filled one Of 3 Kabs, and carried them in it. 1 On all days it was a heavy (massive) one, but on this day he took a light one. Every day its handle was short, on this day long; all days its gold was yellow, but on that day red. This is according to R. Mena'hem. On all days he used to offer half a Mina [50 Dinars in weight] of incense in the morning, and one half in the evening; but on this day added a handful more. Every day it was pounded finely, but on this day it was the finest [Lev. xvi. 12]. On all days priests went up on the eastern staircase [of the altar], and descended on the western. On this day the high-priest went up on the middle one, and came down on the same. R. Jehudah says: The high-priest ever mounts and descends on the middle one. All days the high-priest washed his hands from the laver, and on this day from the golden pitcher [cyathus]. R. Jehudah says: The high-priest ever washes his hands and feet from a golden pitcher. All days there were four fires [on the altar]; on that day five: this is according to R. Meir. R. Jose says: Every day three, and on this day four. R. Jehudah says: Every day two, on this day three.

GEMARA: The Mishna states: He gave it to one who stirred it, on the fourth row of the marble stones. Is it not written [Lev. xvi. 17]: "And there shall not be any man in the tabernacle"? Said R. Jehudah: Read not "of the Temple, but "from the Temple"--the fourth row of stones away from the Temple.

The rabbis taught: It is written: "There shall not be any man in the tabernacle." Shall we assume, that one may not be in the corridors either? Therefore it is written, "in the tabernacle" (but outside one may). All this has been said of the tabernacle in Shiloh. How is it known that it applied also to the Temple in Jerusalem? Therefore it is written [ibid.], "in the holy place." All this is said of the time when he offers the incense. How is it known that when he sprinkles the blood no man should be in the holy place either? Therefore it is written, "when he goeth in." But how is it known that no man is to be found there till he comes out? Because it is written, "until he come out." After that it is written, "shall he make an atonement for himself, and for his household, and for the whole congregation of Israel"; from this is seen that first he must atone for himself, then for his household, then for the priests, and then for Israel.

The Master says: It only applies to the time when he offers the incense. Whence is this inferred? Said Rabba, and so said also R. Itz'hak b. R. Dimi, and also R. Elazar: It is written: "He shall make an atonement for himself, for his household, and for the whole congregation of Israel." What atones for all these at once? Only the incense. But how is it known that incense atones at all? Yea, for R. Hanania has taught: How is it known that incense atones? Because it is written [Num. xvii. 12]: "And he put on the incense, and made an atonement for the people." And the disciples of R. Ishmael have taught: For what does the incense atone? Slander. Why? Slander is (quietly) done, so incense is (quietly) offered.

"Every day he scooped up with a silver censer," etc. What is the reason (why not a golden one)? Because the Torah has been sparing of Israel's wealth.

"On this day he filled a golden censer," etc. Why did he not do on this day as on all days? Because of the high-priest's weakness (from fasting). "One measuring four Kabs," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: If one Kab of coals was spilled on the ground, he swept them into the trench. In one Boraitha we have learned one Kab, and in another, two Kabs? It is right, one. This is according to the rabbis, who say he emptied one of four Kabs into one of three; but this is neither according to the rabbis nor R. Jose (according to whom three Kabs were left over). Said R. Hisda: The Boraitha is according to R. Ishmael the son of R. Johanan b. Beroqa of the following Boraitha, who says that he carried them into the Holy of Holies only in a censer of two Kabs. R. Ashi says this Boraitha can be according to R. Jose, and can be explained thus: Every day he used one of a Seah of the desert, which is one-sixth less than a Seah of Jerusalem, and emptied it into one of three Jerusalem Seahs.

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"It was a massive one," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: On all days its sides were thick, but on that day thin. Every day the handle was short, and this day long? That the high-priest should not need to make such an effort to hold it.

In another Boraitha we have learned: Every day the censer was without a bell, and on this day with a bell ("His sounds shall be heard when he goeth in into the holy place" [Exod. xxviii. 38], since he carried it in in his white garments devoid of bells), so said the son of the Segan.

"The gold was yellow," etc. Said R. Hisda: Seven kinds of gold there are: Gold, and good gold, gold of Ophir, best gold [Muphaz], beaten gold [Sha'hut], pure gold [Sagur], and gold of Parvaim. Gold and good gold, as it is written [Gen. ii. 12]: "And the gold of that land is good"; gold of Ophir, which comes from Ophir; best gold, which is scintillating [1 Kings x. 18]; beaten gold, which is ductile like wire; pure gold-when this gold is exhibited all other wares are locked up; that of Parvaim is like blood of bulls in redness. R. Ashi says: There were only five, only there was gold of each kind of good and bad quality; hence "gold" and "good gold" are deducted. We have learned also in a Boraitha: All days the gold was yellow; this day it was of Parvaim, which is red like the blood of a cow.

"Finely pounded, but this day finest." The rabbis taught (whence do we deduce this?): Because it is already written [Ex. xxx. 36]: "Thou shalt pound some of it fine." Why has it to be repeated, "finely pounded"? That means, on this day it must be finest. "Washed his hands from the laver, on this day from the golden pitcher." Why so? For the honour of the high-priest.

"All days there were four fires," etc. The rabbis taught: All days were two, this day three; namely, one, the ordinary large fire, the second for the incense, one for this special day (for the extra incense of the Holy of Holies). So says R. Jehudah. R. Jose says: All days were three, this day four; namely, those enumerated by R. Jehudah, and one to keep the fire perpetual, as it is written: "A perpetual fire shall be burning upon the altar, it shall not go out" [Lev. vi. 6], and one specially for this day. Rabbi says: "On all days four, this day five." The four above mentioned, and one for the unconsumed sacrifices which had not yet been burned in the evening.

Now, we see that all agree that this day a special fire was made. Whence do they deduce this? From the expression, "and the fire" [ibid. 5]. And even he who does not deduce it from the "and," deduces it from "and the." What? As we have learned in the following Boraitha: It is written, "a perpetual fire, it shall not go out." This is to teach that the second fire shall be on the outer altar. But how do we know there had to be fires for the censer and lamps? Therefore it is written, "perpetual fire shall be burning on the altar, it shall not be extinguished." This signifies, the perpetual fire of the lamps which, I have taught you, shall be taken only from the outer altar. From this we know that on the altar must be kept fire for the lamps, but whence do we deduce that fire for the incense must be kept also? Therefore it is written [Lev. xvi. 12]: "He shall take a censer full of burning coals of fire from off the altar, from before the Lord." When do we find an altar which was partly before the Lord, and partly away from the Lord? We must say that was the outer altar, which was in part outside in the forecourt.

R. Elazar said in the name of Bar Qapara: R. Meir said, if members of the burnt-offering were left from the day before, he made a separate fire, and had them consumed, even on Sabbath. What does he come to teach us? We have learned in the Mishna that there were four fires? Said R. Abhin: He informs us, that even the members of a burnt-offering which had become invalid, were burnt by a separate fire, provided that they had been already attacked by the fire of the day before, but not those not touched by the fire. This we have also learned in the Mishna; namely, this day five? Says R. A'ha b. Jacob: He had to teach this to us. We might think all this applies to a Day of Atonement which falls on a Sunday, as we had learned somewhere else, that the fat left over from Sabbath should be burnt on the Day of Atonement next to it; but we might think, if it fell on other days of the week he had not to do so. Therefore he tells us.

Says Rabba: Who is this man, that hears not what he speaks? In the Mishna it is said: "Every day." So it is all days of the week. The objection remains.

It was taught: If one extinguishes the fire of the censer, and of the lamps, Abayi says he is culpable. Rabba says: He is guiltless. If he has taken it from the altar to light it and has dropped it on the ground, and it is extinguished, all agree, he is not culpable; but if he took it from off the altar, and extinguished it there, Abayi says he is culpable, since it is the fire of the altar, of which it is written, "It shall not go out." Rabba says he is guiltless: the moment he has removed it from the altar, the fire is not regarded any more as that of the altar. Now, what R. Na'hman has said in the name of Rabba b. Abahu, that he who has taken a coal from the altar, and extinguished it, is culpable, will be neither according to Abayi nor to Rabba? What comparison is there? In that case he took it for a religious purpose, to light the lamp, or so, and it was extinguished, but in this case he removed a coal and extinguished it wantonly.

CHAPTER 5.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE REMAINING SERVICES OF THE HIGH-PRIEST ON THIS DAY IN THE TIMES OF THE FIRST AND SECOND TEMPLES.

MISHNA: They brought to him a [golden] spoon and censer: he took two handfuls [of incense] and filled the spoon with it. If he had a large hand, it was much; otherwise, it was a little: he used the hand as the measure. He took the censer in his right hand, and the spoon in his left hand.

GEMARA: In a Boraitha we have learned: They brought him an empty spoon from the chamber of the utensils, and a censer full of incense from the chamber of Beth Abtinas.

"He took two handfuls." What was the spoon needed for on the Day of Atonement? It is written [Lev. 16:12] merely, "both his hands full of incense, and bring it within the rail"? He could not dispense with a spoon. If he had carried in the censer first, and thereafter the incense, he would carry in twice, and it is written "bring in" only once? If he should take the incense in both his hands, and put the censer upon them, and carry them in at once, what should he do then? Take off the censer with his teeth, and put it down? If it would be unbecoming to do so in presence of a human king, how much more in presence of the King of Kings, the Holy One, blessed be He? Therefore it is impossible, and he is to do as the princes [Num. 7:14], "One spoon . . . full of incense."

"He took the censer in his right hand," etc. Shall the citizen be seated on the ground, and the stranger on the heaven of heavens? ("The spoon of incense in his left hand," etc.) The spoon is small, and more easily carried in the left hand, while the large censer is borne in the right hand. And if they should be equally heavy, as occurred to R. Ishmael b. Qim'hith, who is said to have taken two handfuls of four Kabs of incense, even he had to take the censer in his right hand, as the censer was hot (and he had to be more careful).

It was said of R. Ishmael, the son of Qim'hith: It once happened on the Day of Atonement he spoke in a public place with an Arab, whose saliva was sprinkled on the high-priest's clothes. He became unclean (as the Arab might be so). Then his brother Jeshohab entered and took his place, so his mother saw two high-priests of her sons the same day. Another day it happened that he spoke with a Gentile nobleman, and the same happened. Then Joseph his brother took his place. And the rabbis taught: Seven sons had Qim'hith, their mother, and all officiated as high-priests. When the sages asked her: How hast thou deserved it? She replied: The ceiling of my house never looked on my hair. The sages answered: Many did so, and it did not profit them.

The rabbis taught: It is written [Lev. 6:8]: "He shall lift up from it his handful." We might think, his hand might be overfilled; it is therefore written, "his hand full," not more. We might think, he may take some with the tips of his fingers. Therefore it is written, "hand full." He should bend his three middle fingers on his palm, and remove with the extreme finger and thumb the incense found outside of the three. This was one of the difficult services in the Temple.

R. Johanan said: R. Joshua b. Uza'ah propounded a question, What is the matter with the incense between the middle fingers? Is it considered as belonging to the handful, or the overflow? He himself, said R. Johanan, decided later that it is doubtful. What, then, shall he do therewith? Says R. Hanina: First he should offer the handful, and then this; for if he offered this first, perhaps it is superfluous: and elsewhere we have learned that if the remains of a meal-offering have been lost before the handful was offered, the handful must not be brought.

R. Papa propounded a question: These handfuls, were they exactly measured according to the hand, or too full? Said R. Abbi to R. Ashi: Come and hear the following Boraitha: The handfuls were not exactly according to the measure of the hand, nor overfull, but middling.

R. Papa propounded another question: When the incense happened to be spilled by him, how is the law? Shall it be said, his hand is like the neck of an animal, and the incense is invalid (if the blood has been received from the throat, it is valid, but not if spilled on the ground), or shall we say his hand is like other utensils of the Temple, and if it had been spilled, it may yet be offered? This question is not decided.

The schoolmen asked R. Shesheth: If he had taken the blood with his left hand, and placed it on the altar, is it valid, or invalid? He answered: We have learned it in our Mishna, that he took the spoon in his left hand (and yet it was offered). An objection was raised: We have learned in a Boraitha: "A layman, a mourner on the first day, a drunkard, and one who has a blemish, if one of these has received the blood, or carried it to the altar, or sprinkled it, he makes it invalid. The same is the case if he did it sitting, or with his left hand." This objection remains.

R. Papa propounded a question: If his companion took two handfuls, and emptied them into the priest's hands, how is the law? Shall we say, he has two handfuls, and it is valid, or shall we say, since it is written, "he shall take, and bring," it is invalid? This question is not decided. R. Joshua b. Levi propounded a question: When he had filled his hands with incense, and suddenly died, how then? Can another take it out from his hands and bring it in, or is other incense required? R. Hanina said: Come and see what kind of questions our predecessors have asked. Was R. Joshua b. Levi older than R. Hanina? Did not R. Joshua b. Levi say that R. Hanina had given me the permission to drink a beverage of cress on Sabbath? (See Sabbath, Mishna, p. 226.) He means, R. Hanina asked a profound question like to those asked by the ancestors. How is the law? Come and hear: "That was the measure." From this we must infer, that as the measure was outside, so it must be inside (that priest has a different hand, hence other incense is to be taken).

Perhaps the Mishna means to say that he may use his hand as a measure, or that he may not add to it or take away from what he has grasped? Come and hear: How did he do it (empty the frankincense from the spoon into his hands, both of which were occupied)? He took the handle of the spoon with his fingertips--others say, in his teeth--and moved his thumbs up the handle (being thus able not to spill the frankincense) till the handle fell, near his armpits, and the head of the spoon was above his palms. He then overturned the spoon, thus emptying the frankincense thence into his hands, and heaped the frankincense on the censer, that the smoke might be retarded; some say, he spread it out that it should smoke more rapidly.

This was one of the most difficult services of the difficult services that were in the Temple. Hence we see, he took of the frankincense once two handfuls, and then once more.

The schoolmen propounded a question: If he died while slaughtering, might the blood be sprinkled? Shall we say, that since it is written "with a bullock," it is meant, the blood of the bullock alone, or the whole bull (so that the substitute cannot use him)? R. Hanina says, the entire bullock; Resh Lakish says, the blood alone. Said R. Papa: The hide and the flesh and the dung, all agree, are only parts of the bull; about the blood they differ. One says, the blood is not the bull; the other thinks the blood only is the bull. Says R. Ashi: It seems to me, the one who says that the blood is considered as one with the bull is in the right. Because it is written [Lev. xvi. 3], "With this shall Aaron come into the holy place: with a young bullock," is it meant that he should lead him by the horns? and not simply that he should bring the blood; hence the blood is considered as one with the bullock. And what can the other reply to this? His answer is: It is written, "for a sin-offering"; the word "come" refers, not to the bullock, but to the sin-offering. Let him who says that the blood is one with the bull, give the reason that a sin-offering whose owner has died cannot be used for any purpose, and is only put to death.

Said Rabbin b. R. Adda to Rabba: Thy disciples have said in the name of R. Amram that this bullock is considered a sin-offering for the congregation (who are considered its owners, because he comes to atone for himself and for his fellow-priests), and such is not put to death.

MISHNA: He walked through the Temple till he reached the place between the two vails which separated the sanctuary from the Holy of Holies--one ell wide. R. Jose says: There was but one vail, as it is said [Ex. xxxi. 33]: "And the vail shall divide unto you between the holy place and the most holy."

GEMARA: Did not R. Jose say very correctly to the rabbis? The rabbis may say: This was only the case in the tabernacle, but as in the second Temple there was no ell for the entrance at all (because a partition only an ell thick could not support itself, for the walls of the Temple were a hundred ells high) and only in the first, it was doubted whether this ell of the entrance belonged to the Holy of Holies or the sanctuary. Therefore they made two vails.

The rabbis taught: He walked between the altar and the lamps, so said R. Jehudah. R. Meir says, between the table and the altar. Others say, he walked between the table and the walls. Who are the others? That is R. Jose, who says the door of the Temple was in the north. R. Jehudah says the door was in the south.

R. Jose says that he walked between the table and wall, which is a public entrance, because the Israelites are a people beloved by God, and need no delegate to pray for them (as it is written [1 Kings viii. 38]: "When they shall be conscious every man of the plague of his own heart, and he shall then spread forth his hands"), therefore their delegate to God needed no private entrance, but could do it in sight of the public.

R. Nathan said: The ell of the entrance was a matter of doubt to the sages, whether it was holy as the Holy of Holies or the sanctuary, and that is what R. Johanan has said: Joseph the man of Hutzal has propounded a question: It is written [1 Kings vi. 19]: "And the Debir in the house within did he prepare, to set therein the ark of the covenant of the Lord." They did not know what is meant: whether the place inside of the Debir was prepared for the ark, or that the Debir was itself inside.

MISHNA: The outer one was raised and looked to the southern [wall] and the inner one to the northern. He walked between them, till he reached the northern [wall]: having

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arrived thither, he turned his face to the south, he walked back with his left hand to the curtain, reaching the ark [which was on his right in the Holy of Holies, reaching the place where the inner curtain was]. Coming there, he placed the censer between the staves, heaped the incense on the top of the coals, so that the whole house was filled with smoke. He departed in the same manner as he had come [facing the Holy of Holies, walking backward], and said a short prayer in the outer sanctuary, but not making it a long one, so as not to alarm the Israelites [about his absence, lest he had been killed by God].

GEMARA: Of which Temple is it spoken? In the first Temple there was a partition, not a curtain, before the ark; if the second, there was no ark in it? As we have learned in the following Boraitha: Since the ark was concealed, with it were hidden the flask of manna [Ex. xvi. 33] and the flask of anointing oil, Aaron's staff, its almonds and buds, and the box the Philistines sent as a gift to the God of Israel with the golden vessels. And who concealed them? King Joshiah. Why? Because it is written [Deut. xxviii. 36]: "The Lord will drive thee and thy king whom thou wilt set over thee," he concealed it; as it is written [2 Chron. xxxv. 3]: "And he said unto the Levites that instructed all Israel, who were holy men unto the Lord: Set the holy ark in the house which Solomon the son of David the King of Israel did build; ye have not to carry it any more upon your shoulders: now serve the Lord your God, and His people Israel." And R. Eliezer said to this: From the analogy of expression--namely, that of the ark--it is said "there" [Ex. xxx.], and of the flask of marina also "there" [ibid. xvii.]; and there are also mentioned "generations" and "for preservation." R. Eliezer infers that Joshiah concealed them. There was then no ark? The second Temple is meant; and not the ark, but the place where it had to stand, is meant. But it is said, "between the two staves." The place they would occupy is meant.

"Heaped the incense on the top of the coals." Our Mishna will agree with him who has said in a Boraitha: Heap it, that the issue of the smoke be retarded (made slow). In one Boraitha we have learned: He heaps it inside, away from him. In another Boraitha: He heaps it outside, toward himself. How will they agree? Says Abayi: There is a difference of opinion between two Tanaim; one says one way, the other, otherwise. Abayi says again: It seems to me the Halakha is according to him who says that he must heap it inside, away from himself; because, as we have further learned in a Mishna, they teach him not to heap near his face, lest he burn himself.

The rabbis taught: It is written [Lev. xvi. 13]: "He shall put the incense upon the fire, before the Lord." "Before the Lord": he must not prepare it outside, but inside, in the Holy of Holies. This is to contradict the Sadducecs, who said that he must prepare outside. Why? Because, they say, it is written [ibid. 2]: "For in the cloud will I appear upon the mercy-seat." Cloud is interpreted, the cloud of the incense. When he prepares outside, he enters with a cloud of incense. The sages said to the Sadducees: Is it not written: "He shall put the incense upon the fire before the Lord"? So it has to be prepared inside. They rejoined: What will you make of the "cloud"? The rabbis say: From this we deduce that he must put in the herb which straightens the smoke. How is it known that that herb has to be put in? Because it is written [ibid. 13]: "That the cloud of the incense may envelop." Without that herb, how will the mercy-seat be enveloped? If he has omitted to put in this herb or any ingredient, he is liable to capital punishment. Why give this reason, when, if he come in without the incense being entirely prepared, he enters the Holy of Holies gratuitously, which involves capital punishment? Says R. Shesheth: The case is, he had omitted one ingredient intentionally, but entered unintentionally. R. Ashi says: Even if he did both things intentionally, but entered with two kinds of incense, one kind prepared as is lawful and the other not, for entering he is not culpable, but for having prepared incense lacking some ingredient he deserves capital punishment.

"He departed in the same manner as he had come." Whence do we deduce this? Said R. Shama b. Na'hmain in the name of R. Jonathan: It is written [2 Chron. i. 13]: "Then came Solomon from the high place that was at Gibeon to Jerusalem" (literally, at). How comes Gibeon to be in Jerusalem? His return from Gibeon to Jerusalem is compared to his entering Gibeon from Jerusalem. As when he entered Gibeon from Jerusalem his face was turned to the high place, so when he left it, his face was still turned to the high place. So did also the priests after service, the Levites after their song, and the Israelites after they had been standing. When they left, their countenances were turned to the Temple. So also a disciple, leaving his Master, should do. So R. Elazar, when he used to part from Johanan. When R. Johanan desired to leave first, he bent himself in his place till Johanan was out of his sight; when R. Elazar was to leave first, he walked backwards till he could see him no longer. Rabba, leaving R. Joseph (who was blind), used to walk backwards till his feet struck against the threshold, so as to cause them to bleed. When this was related to R. Joseph, he said to Rabba: May God's will be that you shall raise your head above the whole city. R. Alexandri said in the name of R. Joshuah b. Levi: Who prays, should make three steps backwards, and then say, "Maketh peace," etc. Said R. Mordecai to him: If he has made three steps backwards, he must stop there a while. It is like a disciple who has taken farewell of his Master, and then returns to him on the instant, which is like a dog returning to his vomit. If he has failed in doing so, he would better not have prayed at all. In the name of Shemaia it has been said: When he says these words, he should first bow to the right, then to the left; as it is written [Deut. xxx. 2]: "From his right hand a fiery law." Rabha saw Abayi, who said "He maketh peace" first on the right, and then on his left. He said to him: Thinkest thou, thou must say this to the right side of thyself? nay, of the Holy One, blessed be He, who is opposite to thee and whose right side thus corresponds to thy left side. R. Hiya the son of R. Huna said: I saw Abayi and Rabha making the three steps backwards with one bow.

"And said a short prayer." What was the prayer? Rabba and Rabbin the sons of R. Adda both said in the name of Rabh: May it be Thy will, Lord our God, that if this year will be a hot one, Thou mayest give plenty of rain. R. A'ha the son of Rabha said in the name of R. Jehudah that the high-priest used to conclude the prayer as follows: May no ruler cease from the house of Judah, and may Thy people Israel not depend for livelihood on each other (not be paupers), and mayest Thou not heed the prayers of travellers who ask for the cessation of rain.

R. Hanina Dasa happened to be on the road. It began to rain. He said: Lord of the Universe, the whole world enjoys, but Hanina is afflicted. The rain ceased. When he reached home, he said: The whole world is in anxiety because no rain comes, only Hanina is contented (having no fields). Rain began to come again. Says R. Joseph: What availed the prayer of the high-priest against the prayer of R. Hanina Dasa?

The rabbis taught: It happened that one high-priest made his prayer very long. When the priests became alarmed, they went to see whether he had died, and met him returning. They inquired of him why he had made his prayer so long. He said: Is this displeasing to you, when I prayed the Lord that the Temple might not be destroyed? They said to him: Do not thou repeat it, as we have learned in the Mishna, He should not make the prayer long, lest he alarm the congregation."

MISHNA: When the ark had been taken away, there was a stone from the time of the first prophets, "Shethia" [foundation] it was called, three-finger high above the ground. Thereupon he placed [the censer]. He took the blood from the one who stirred it, went to the place whither he had gone, and stopped where he had stopped [in the Holy of Holies], and sprinkled from his position once upward and seven times downward [Lev. 16:14], without being intent on sprinkling it either upward or downward, but holding the palm open, either turned outward or toward himself [meaning doubtful]. Thus he was counting: one [upward], one and one [downward], one and two, one and three, one and four, one and five, one and six, one and seven. He departed, and placed it [the basin] on the golden stand in the Temple. They brought to him the he-goat, he slaughtered it, and received in a basin its blood. He went to the former place, stopping where he had stopped, and sprinkled thereof once upward, and seven times downward, without taking care to sprinkle upward or downward, but holding his palm open, turned in or out, and counting thus: one, one and one, one and two, etc. He came out, and placed it on the second stand that was in the Temple. R. Jehudah saith: There was but one stand there. He took up the bull's blood, and put down the he-goat's blood. He sprinkled thereof at the curtain which was opposite to the ark outside, once upward, and seven times down, without taking care, etc., and thus counting, etc. He lifted the blood [-filled basin] of the he-goat, and put down that of the bull's blood; he sprinkled of it on the curtain opposite to the ark outside, once upward, seven times down, etc. He emptied the bull's blood into the he-goat's blood, and transferred (the contents of) the filled basin into the empty one.

GEMARA: The Mishna says, "When the ark was taken away," not concealed; it holds, therefore, that it was removed to Babylon. As we have learned in a Boraitha, R. Eliezer said: The ark was taken into exile in Babylonia. As it is written [2 Chron. 36:10]: "And with the expiration of the year did King Nebuchadnezzar send, and had him brought to Babylon, with the precious vessels of the house of the Lord" (precious; that is, the ark). R. Simeon b. Jochai infers this from another passage [Is. 39:6]: "No thing shall be left": no word (for "king," "word," and "commandment" the same Hebrew word is here used) will be left, none of the ten commandments (or the ark which contained them). R. Jehudah, however, says: The ark was concealed in its place (Temple), as it is written [1 Kings viii. 8]: "And they had made the staves so long, that the ends of the staves were seen out in the holy place in the front of the Debir, but they were not seen without; and they have remained there until this day." And he who says that R. Simeon b. Jochai thinks that the ark was taken into exile, differs from Ulla, who says as follows: R. Mathia b. Heresh had asked R. Simeon b. Jochai in Rome: We see that R. Eliezer infers from two verses that the ark was taken into exile. One verse is quoted above; the other is [Lam. 1:6]: "There is gone forth from the daughter of Zion all her splendor." Thereby the ark is meant. What hast thou to say thereto? He replied: I say, the ark was concealed on the spot, and the proof is the verse quoted above. Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: We have also learned it in a Mishna in Shekalim [6., b]: "Once a priest was engaged there, and he noticed that one of the paving stones on one place appeared different from the others. He went out to tell others of it; but he had not yet finished speaking, when he gave up the ghost. Thereby it was known to a certainty that the ark of the covenant was hidden there." What was he engaged in? Says R. Helbo: He was busy sporting with his axe. The disciples of R. Ishmael have taught: There were two blemished priests who picked out the wood, which was not mouldy. The axe of one fell down on the place where the ark was concealed; a fire issued, which consumed him.

"A stone, Shethia." We have learned in a Boraitha: The word Shethia means, that the universe has been created from it, as Shethia means foundation. This is according to him who says, that from Zion the world began to be created, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: R. Eliezer said: The world was created from the very middle, as it is written [Job 38:38]: "When the dust is poured out as molten metal, and the clods are made to cleave fast together" (first the central piece was made, then the other parts adhered to it). R. Joshua says: The world was created beginning with the extremities, as it is written [ibid. 37:6]: "For to the snow he saith, Be thou earth. Likewise to the pouring rain, and to the pouring rains of his strength." Four times the word "rain" is repeated here (in Hebrew, but "rain" means in Talmudic dialect "matter"). There were then four pieces of matter, and of them was composed the world. R. Itz'hak says: The Holy One, blessed be He, threw a stone into the sea, and therefrom a world was made. As it is written [ibid. 38:6]: "Upon what are her foundation-pillars placed at rest? or who threw her corner-stone"? The sages, however, said: The world was created beginning with Zion. As it is written [Ps. l. 1, 2]: "The God of Gods, the Lord Speaketh," etc. "Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty." That signifies, from Zion began to be the beauty of the whole world. In another Boraitha we have learned: R. Eliezer the Great said, It is written [Gen. 2:4]: "These are the generations of the heavens and the earth when they were created, on the day, that the Lord God made earth and heaven." The luminous stars, etc., were created from the heavens, and all earthly things from the earth. But the sages say: Everything was created from Zion. As it is written [Ps. 1:1]: "A Psalm of Assaph. The God of gods," etc. "The perfection of beauty," i.e., the beauty of the whole world.

Holding the palm open." What is meant by this? Said R. Jehudah: As one uses a lash first from the right to the left, and then downward. "He took the blood from the one who stirred it," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: When he sprinkled, he did not sprinkle on the top of the mercy-seat, but opposite; and not that the blood should fall on it, but on the ground. When he sprinkled on the top of the mercy-seat, he bent the palm downward, that it should not fall on the mercy-seat, and when he sprinkled beneath it, he held his palm bent upward, that it should not fall on the mercy-seat, but on the ground. Whence do we deduce this? Because it is written [Lev. 16:15]: "He shall sprinkle it above the mercy-seat, and before the mercy-seat." This had not to be written, as it has already been written in the case of the bullock [ibid. 14]. It is meant to make the "before" and "above" equal; as by "before" the mercy-seat, it is meant that it should not be sprinkled at it, but opposite to it; so also by "above" is meant, not upon it, but opposite to it.

The rabbis taught: It is written: "And he shall sprinkle it above the mercy-seat." From this we know only once above (it, in case of the goat). How many times had he to sprinkle downward? This we have to infer from the bullock: as it is written of him seven times, so we infer in regard to the he-goat. We know that it is equal in case of the bullock and goat, downward; but we do not know how many times he is to sprinkle downward in case of the bullock? We apply to the bullock the law in reference to the goat: as in the case of the goat, so in the case of the bullock--once downward, seven times upward.

"One, one and one," etc. The rabbis taught: He counted one, one and one, one and two, etc., up to seven. So said R. Meir. R. Jehudah says: One, one and one, two and one, three and one, four and one, five and one, six and one, seven and one. They do not differ. Each said according to the custom in his part of the country (in the one place they said, e.g., twenty-one, in the other one and twenty). Now we see that all agree that the first time of sprinkling had to be counted along with each of the other seven? What is the reason? Said R. Elazar: He should make no mistake in the number of countings. R. Johanan says: Because it is written again [ibid. 14]: "Shall he sprinkle," superfluously, it is to teach us that the first he ought to count with all the others, What is the point of their difference? R. Elazar says: If he has failed to do it, but made no mistake, it is valid; but according to R. Johanan, it is not.

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"He departed, and placed it on the golden stand." One of the scholars read the prayer in the presence of Rabha, and read, "He departed, and placed it on the second stand"; and after this he read, "He took the he-goat's blood, and put down the bullock's blood." Said Rabha to him: The first thing thou readest according to the rabbis (who say there were two stands), and the second according to R. Jehudah (who says there was but one stand, and therefore he took down the bullock's blood when he came with the goat's blood), you thus contradict yourself. You should say: He put down the goat's blood (on the second stand), and took up the bullock's blood (from the first, stand).

The rabbis taught: It is written [ibid. 16]: "So shall he do for the tabernacle," etc. Wherefore had this to be written? It comes to teach us, that as in the Holy of Holies he had to sprinkle once and seven times, both from the bullock's blood and the goat's, so he had to do in the sanctuary.

"That abideth among them in the midst of their uncleanness." This signifies, even when they were unclean, the Shekhina continued to be among them. A certain Sadducee said to R. Hanina: At the present time, when the Temple is destroyed, ye are certainly unclean, as it is written [Lam. 1:9]: "Her uncleanness on her skirts." He replied to him: Come and see. It is written: "That abideth among them in the midst of their uncleanness."

We have learned in a Boraitha: When he sprinkled on the vail, he sprinkled not upon it, but opposite to it (that the blood fell on the ground). R. Eliezer b. R. Jose, however, said: I have seen on the vail in Rome the marks of the drops of blood of the bullock and goat of the Day of Atonement.

What is the law, when the bloods of the bullock and goat got mingled? What shall he do therewith? Says Rabha: He sprinkled thereof once upward, and seven times downward, and this sufficed for both. This Halakha has been communicated to Jeremiah in Palestine: He said: Ye Babylonians are stupid. Because ye live in a dark land, ye say dark Halakhas. In this manner, he will sprinkle the he-goat's blood before the bullock's, and it is written [Lev. 16:20]: "When he hath made an end of atoning for the holy place." "The end"--hence everything must be in its proper turn. What, then, shall he do? Says R. Jeremiah: Once he sprinkles it as the bullock's, and then a second time as the he-goat's blood.

How if the bloods got mixed, when he has already sprinkled the bullock's blood upward? Said Rabha: He should sprinkle it seven times downward as the bullock's, and then upward and downward as the he-goat's, blood. How if he has confounded the basins? What shall he do then? He should sprinkle three times, once for the bullock, then for the he-goat, and the third time for the he-goat (lest the he-goat's blood had preceded the bullock's when he sprinkled the first time).

"He emptied the bull's blood into the he-goat's." Our Mishna will be according to him who maintains that the bloods must be mixed, for the purpose of putting it on the corners of the altar. Because it was taught: R. Joshiah and R. Jonathan said, one of them that they had to be mingled, and the other that they ought not to be mingled, but put separately on the corners of the altar. It seems that R. Joshiah was the one who said they had to be mingled, as we have heard elsewhere, though it is not written "together" [Lev. xvi. 18]; yet since it is written "and," it is as good as though it had been written "together."

We have learned in another Boraitha: It is written: "He shall take from the blood of the bullock and the blood of the he-goat." That signifies, they should be mixed together. But whence do ye know that it means that they should be sprinkled together, not separately? Therefore it is written [Ex. xxx. 10]: "And Aaron shall make an atonement upon its horns once in a year": once, not repeatedly. We see that the anonymous Boraitha is according to R. Joshiah.

"He transferred (the contents of) the filled one into the empty one." Rami b. Hama propounded a question of R. Hisda: If he had placed one basin in the other, and therein received the blood, how is it? Should we say, as they are of one kind, that forms no invalidation? or that though of one kind, it is an invalidation? R. Hisda answered him: We have learned it in our Mishna: He has transferred the filled one into the empty one. Shall we not assume that it means, he placed the full basin in the empty one? Nay. It means, he poured the contents of the full basin into the empty one. But this is already mentioned in the beginning of the sentence? He transfers the mixed blood again into an empty vessel, to mix the two kinds of blood the better.

MISHNA: He then went out to the altar which is before the Lord, which is the golden altar, and began to cleanse it, downward. Whence does he begin? From the northeastern corner [horn] to the northwestern, southwestern, southeastern. Where he begins to cleanse the outer altar, at that spot he finishes cleansing the inner. R. Eliezer says he remains where he stands, and thence cleanses [the altar being one ell square]. Everywhere he sprinkled from below upward, except at the spot where he stood, whereat he sprinkled from above downward.

He, sprinkled on the clean place of the altar [where the gold was to be seen] seven times, and what remained of the blood he poured at the western base of the outer altar, and what remained of the blood of the outer altar he poured at the southern base. Both kinds of blood mingled in the trench, and flowed out into the brook Kidron. And it was sold to gardeners as manure, but one offends by [using without paying for] them.

GEMARA: We have learned in a Boraitha: Why is it necessary to repeat here, "before the Lord"? Said R. Nehemiah: Because we find that when he held the bloods of the bullock and he-goat he stood inside of the altar, and sprinkled the blood on the vail, we might think that at the same time he should sprinkle on the golden altar: therefore it is written [Lev. 4:7], "the altar of the incense of spice, before the Lord," to let us know that the altar was before the Lord, but not the priest. What, then, should he do? He had to come out to the outside of the altar, and thence sprinkle.

"Began to cleanse it, downward." The rabbis taught: He began to cleanse from above downward. And whence did he begin? From the southeastern to the southwestern, northwestern, northeastern. So is the decree of R. Aqiba. R. Jose the Galilean said: From the northeastern to the northwestern, southwestern, southeastern. So that at the place where, according to R. Jose, he begins, according to R. Aqiba he finishes, and vice versa. Now we see that, according to all, he does not begin with the corner he meets first, but some definite corner. What is the reason? Said Samuel: Because it is written, "He went out to the altar," till he has come out from the place inside of the altar, and comes outside. (What is the point of difference between the two Tanaim?) The following: R. Aqiba thinks he has to walk round the altar, and R. Jose that he ought only to cleanse the altar at all corners, making its round with the hand. We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Ishmael said: Two high-priests remained of the first Temple. One said, he had passed round the altar with his hand; and the other, he had walked round it with his feet. And both gave their reasons. The one said: As it is written, "round." The inner altar was like the outer, which was large, and had to be walked around; while the other said: It was small, and with his hand one could reach all corners, as it was only in size like one corner of the outer altar: hence it was not necessary to walk round it.

"He sprinkled at the clean place of the altar." What is meant by the clean place? Said Rabba b. R. Shila: Where the altar was not covered, as it is written [Ex. 24:10]: "Like the colour of heaven in clearness." We have learned in a Boraitha: Hanania says, he sprinkled on the northern side, and, R. Jose says, southern. On what point do they differ? The one says the door of the sanctuary was at the north, the other says, at the south; but all agree, that where he finished to put the blood on the corners, at that side he sprinkled on the top. What is the reason? Because it is written [Lev. 16:19]: "He shall cleanse it and hallow it." That signifies where he had hallowed it, there he shall cleanse it.

"What remained of the blood," etc. This is because it is written [ibid. 4:7]: "All the (remaining) blood of the bullock shall he pour out," and when he comes out, he meets the western base of the outer altar first.

"Of the outer altar, he poured at the southern base." The rabbis taught: By the base of the altar, the southern base is meant.

And another Boraitha states that, according to R. Ishmael, it was the western. The disciples of R. Ishmael, however, taught in the name of R. Ishmael, as the disciples of R. Simeon b. Jochai, that it was the southern (that is, R. Ishmael revoked what he said).

"One may offend," etc. The rabbis taught: One becomes guilty, when he uses the blood for his benefit. So is the decree of R. Meir and R. Simeon. The sages, however, said: The blood may be used. They are at variance only as to whether it is rabbinically an offence or not; but all agree that, biblically, one cannot offend (for if they thought it was biblical, they would not sell it to gardeners. Tosphath.) Whence do we deduce this? Says Ulla: It is written [Lev. 17:11]: "I have appointed it for you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls": for you, it should belong to you. The disciples of R. Simeon taught: To make an atonement, but not an offence. R. Johanan says: In the same verse it is written, "For the blood it is that maketh an atonement for the soul." It is (after the atonement) as it had been before the atonement.

MISHNA: It holds true of all the rites on the Day of Atonement, whose order is prescribed by the Bible (and stated in the above Mishnas), that if they are performed in a wrong order, one has done nothing. Had he used the blood of the he-goat previously to that of the bull, he should sprinkle once more some of that he-goat's blood after that bull's blood, and if while he had not completed the offering of the gifts in the inner part [Holy of Holies], the blood was spilled, it is incumbent upon him to fetch other blood, and once more sprinkle it inside, and the same is the case in the Temple, and also of the golden altar, because all [rites] are separate atonements. R. Elazar and R. Simeon say, however: From where he had been mistaken, he should begin anew.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: It holds true of all ceremonies of the Day of Atonement whose order is stated in the Mishna, if one of them has been performed earlier than that which should precede it, it is as nothing. R. Jehudah, however, said: This is only true of the rites performed in the white garments in the Holy of Holies, but of the ceremonies performed in the white garments outside (e.g., the lots, emptying the remaining blood, or confessions), it is true that if he has done them out of the right order, they are still valid. R. Nehemiah said: The case is simply, all ceremonies performed not in the right order in the white garments, whether in the Holy of Holies or outside, are invalid; but the rites performed in the golden garments outside must not be done again. Said R. Johanan: Both have deduced it from the same verse. It is written [Lev. xvi. 34]: "And this shall be unto you as a statute for everlasting, to make an atonement for the children of Israel for all their sins once a year." R. Jehudah holds, what is meant by "once a year"? Where the atonements are made once a year, and that is in the Holy of Holies. R. Nehemiah holds, that not the place where once a year the rites are performed is meant, but the rites done for atoning once a year, and that is inside and outside.

How can R. Jehudah say, the place is meant? It is only written "once a year." We must say, the reason of R. Jehudah is this: It is written, "and this shall be," and then "once a year." Hence two limitations, one excluding what is performed in the white garments outside of the Holy of Holies, the other excluding what is done in the golden garments. And R. Nehemiah says: The one expression excludes what is performed in the golden clothes, and the other the remainders of the blood, which, if not emptied at all, involves no transgression.

R. Hanina said: If he has taken the handfuls of frankincense before the bullock has been slaughtered, he has done nothing. This cannot be according to R. Jehudah, for according to R. Jehudah it is only the rites performed in the Holy of Holies, but this is done outside? Nay; even according to R. Jehudah it would have been invalid. Why? Because it is a preparatory service for a service performed in the Holy of Holies (it is equal to such a service).

Ulla said: If he has slaughtered the goat before the bullock's blood had been sprinkled, he has done nothing. An objection was raised: It is said in our Mishna, if he has sprinkled the he-goat's blood before the bullock's, he should sprinkle once more. If it were as Ulla says, it should have been said: he should slaughter a second time. Ulla explained the Mishna: That is the case with the offerings in the sanctuary, but in the Holy of Holies the bullock's blood must be sprinkled first, then the he-goat must be slaughtered. And so has also R. Ephes explained.

"The same is the case in the Temple," etc. The rabbis taught: It is written [Lev. xvi. 33]: "He shall make an atonement for the sanctuary of holiness, and for the tabernacle of the congregation and for the altar shall he make an atonement; and also for the priests and for all the people of the congregation shall he make an atonement." The sanctuary of holiness--that is, the Holy of Holies; by the tabernacle the Temple is meant--the altar, literally; "shall he make an atonement"--by this is meant the court where the priests might walk; "the priests," literally, "the people of the congregation," Israel; "make an atonement" once more--that means the Levites.

All are then equal in their atonement; that is, all are atoned for by the scapegoat for all sins except uncleanness. So said R. Jehudah. R. Simeon, however, said: As the blood of the he-goat, sprinkled inside, atones for Israel only the uncleannesses of the Temple and all sacred things, so the blood of the bullock atones for the priests only the sins of uncleanness. And as the confession over the scapegoat atoned for Israel's other sins, so also the confession over the bullock atoned for the other sins of the priests. In a Boraitha we have learned: Rabbi has said: My Master, R. Jacob, has taught me this difference of opinion of R. Elazar and R. Simeon in our Mishna is only in relation to the logs offered by lepers.

R. Johanan said: The trespass-offering of a leper, if slaughtered for a wrong purpose, is where the same difference of opinion of our Mishna exists. According to R. Meir, who says that if he has made a mistake, he must begin anew, he must in this case also bring another trespass-offering. But according to R. Elazar and R. Simeon, who say that he must begin where he had made the mistake, there is no mending of this mistake; for it has been slaughtered already (and if he should slaughter another, he will offer two, while it is written one). The following Boraitha is according to R. Johanan: If a leper's trespass-offering has been slaughtered for another purpose, or some of its blood was not put on the thumbs and great toes of the leper, it may be offered on the altar, and requires a drink-offering; but another trespass-offering has to be offered.

The rabbis taught: All things mentioned in our Mishna--bullocks, he-goats--that have become invalid, defile the garments of him who burns them, and they must be burned in the place where the real sacrifices are burned. [See Lev. xvi. 27, 28.] So is the decree of R. Eliezer and R. Simeon. The sages, however, say: They are not to be burned, because only those which have been used the last, because used for the atonement,

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must be burned there. Rabha asked R. Na'hman: (If the he-goats have become invalid, two others are required) how many shall he despatch as scapegoats? R. Na'hman answered him: Shall he send a whole flock? R. Papi says in the name of Rabha: He sends the first. R. Simi says in the name of the same: The last. It is right according to R. Simi, because the other of the couple has been used for the atonement; but what is the reason of Rabha, according to R. Papi's saying? He holds as R. Jose of the following Boraitha: If one separates his Paschal lamb and the same be lost, and after he purchases another one in its stead the first one is found, he may offer either one of them. So is the decree of the sages. R. Jose, however, says: There is a merit to offer the first one, unless the second was a better one.

CHAPTER 6.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE HE-GOATS OF THE DAY OF ATONEMENT AND THE SENDING TO THE DESERT, AND THE CONFESSION THEREAT.

MISHNA: It is a merit that the two he-goats for the Day of Atonement should be equal in colour, stature, and price, and both (bought) at the same time; but if they are not equal, they may still be used. If one was bought to-day, and the other on the morrow, they are valid. If one of them died, then if this occurs before the lots are drawn, another is purchased to make up the pair; but if later, then a new pair should be acquired. Lots should be drawn again, and this should be said: If the Lord's he-goat has died, "The one on which the lot has fallen for the Lord may substitute him"; and if that of Azazel has died, "The one on which the lot has fallen for Azazel may substitute him." And the remaining one of the previous pair should be allowed to feed (graze) till it chance to get a blemish, when it is sold, and the money goes as a gift-offering, since an animal designed to atone for the congregation is not put to death. R. Jehudah says, it is (put to death). Also said R. Jehudah: If the blood [of the Lord's he-goat, when slaughtered] had already been spilled, the scapegoat should be put to death; if the scapegoat had died, the other one's blood should be poured out [and a new pair purchased].

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: It is written [Lev. 16:5]: "He shall take two goats." Why is it mentioned, two? If it were in the plural, we would know, not less than two. It is meant, then, the two should be equals. How, then, do we know that when they were unlike they were still valid? Because it is written twice "goats" [ibid. 9, 10], That shows, that if they were not alike they were still valid. But if "goat" were not repeated twice, they would have been, according to you, invalid? Whence would you deduce this? At the first glance, we would say, because it is written thrice "two" [ibid. 5, 7, 8]; but if the repetition of "goat" makes it valid, wherefore is this 87 repeated thrice? Infer from this, it is a merit that they be, first, equal in colour; secondly, in stature; thirdly, in price. We have also learned thus in a Boraitha of sheep offered by lepers: It is written "two sheep." Sheep would suffice? From this it is also inferred they should be like each other, as stated above. But how do we know that if they are unlike each other they are valid? Because it is written "one sheep." The same Boraitha states in relation to the burnt-offering of a leper; there it is also written "two birds." The two could be dispensed with; and from the word two it is inferred that they should be alike. If it is so, why should we not say the same of the daily offerings, about which it is also written "two sheep"? This two is needed for what is stated in the following Boraitha: It is written [Num. xxviii. 3]: "Two on every day." From this we infer that it must be before the day's arrival (daybreak). (This is explained in Tract Tamid.)

The rabbis taught: Should the two he-goats of the Day of Atonement have been slaughtered outside of the Temple, if this was done before the drawing of the lots, he is culpable for both; but if later, he is culpable only for that designed for the Lord (not that for Azazel. Why should he be culpable?) Before the lots have been drawn, what are as yet these simple. he-goats fit for? Said R. Hisda: Because they are fit for the additional sacrifices of the Day of Atonement, which are sacrificed outside of the Temple. (But how is this to be understood?) Why are they not fit to be sacrificed inside? Because the lots have not been drawn. The same is the case with the additional sacrifices; since all the services preceding these have not yet been performed they are not fit for additional sacrifices either?

R. Hisda holds: The inappropriate time is not to be compared with the unfitness of the goat itself (before the lots are drawn).

"If the Lord's he-goat dies." Said Rabh: The second of the first pair must be sacrificed, but the second of the second pair must be left to graze. R. Johanan says conversely. On what point do they differ? Rabh says: A living thing is not postponed. (The second goat of the first pair, being fit, should not be postponed in favour of another goat to be sought out), and R. Johanan says, that such are postponed. What is Rabh's reason? Because he deduces it from the too early time; as he was unfit only as long as he had no fellow, he is fit henceforth. What comparison is this? In that case the he-goat was not yet fit for anything, but here he has been already postponed. Why not continue to be postponed? Therefore we must say: Rabh deduces it from a temporary blemish. After the blemish has passed away, he is fit; so here, his unfitness is considered temporary.

According to Rabh's theory (that a living thing is not postponed), why only the second of the first pair and not as well of the second pair, say, then, he can choose which he likes? Said Rabha: Rabh holds as R. Jose that it is a merit to use the first (as mentioned at the end of the preceding chapter). Rabha said: It seems to us, that our Mishna is in accordance with Rabh, and a Boraitha is in accordance with R. Johanan. In our Mishna, it is stated: If the Lord's he-goat dies, the one on which the lot has fallen for the Lord shall substitute him; from this we infer that the other one continues to be as it has been. A Boraitha is according to R. Johanan, as we have learned: It is said in the Mishna 1: The second should be allowed to graze. We do not know whether the second of the first or second pair. As it is written [Lev. xvi. 10]: "Shall be placed alive." Placed alive, not the one whose fellow is dead. How can that be inferred? "Shall be placed alive," signifies that it shall be placed alive now. But the one whose fellow had died has been left alive already. An objection was raised from the following sentence in our Mishna: "R. Jehudah said also: If the blood of the Lord's he-goat had been spilled, the scapegoat should be put to death; if the scapegoat had died, the other one's blood should be poured out." It is right according to Rabh, who says that, according to the first Tana, living things are not postponed, and the second of the second pair is to be left to graze; and what R. Jehudah says of its being put to death refers to the second of the first pair. It is right according to Rabh, who says that according to the first Tana a living thing is not postponed, as it is said in the Mishna, "also said R. Jehudah." That is to say, he differs on two points: first, whether a sin-offering for the congregation is put to death (he says, it shall be put to death), and whether a living thing is postponed. R. Jehudah says, it is postponed, and shall be put to death, and the second of the first pair shall be put to death. But according to R. Johanan, who explains that the first Tana means to say the second of the second pair (shall be sacrificed), but of the first shall be put to death, because a living thing can be postponed, consequently R. Jehudah differs from the first Tana only on one point, on the congregational offering. Why does the Mishna say, "and also"? This difficulty remains. (From this we see, the Mishna is according to Rabh, not R. Johanan.)

"If the blood has been spilled, the scapegoat should be put to death." It is right that if the blood has been spilled, the scapegoat should be put to death, because the duty with the blood has not been fulfilled yet; but if the scapegoat has died, why should the blood be poured out? The duty (of drawing the lots, and of slaughtering the first) has been fulfilled already. Why need the blood be poured out? Said the disciples of R. Janai: Because it is written [ibid.]: "Shall be placed alive before the Lord, to make an atonement for him." That means he (the scapegoat) shall be alive till the atonement with the blood (of the other goat) has been made (and when he has died before, the blood must be poured out).

We have learned in a Boraitha about the Mishna in Shekalim, 2., a. "If the inhabitants of a town sent their Shekalim," etc., as far as, "and nothing is credited to next year's account" (pp. 7, 8). R. Jehudah, however, said, they may be credited to next year's account. What is the reason of R. Jehudah? Said Rabba: R. Jehudah holds, the duties to be paid this year may be paid the next year. Abayi objected: From the following Tosephtha: The bullock and the he-goat of the Day of Atonement, if lost, and the he-goats offered for idolatry, if lost, and substituted by others and then recovered, then all should be put to death. So says R. Jehudah. If the duties of this year can be paid the next year, they could be left for the next year? Rabh answered: You want to compare the he-goats for idolatry to congregational sacrifices. The latter are quite different. This is as R. Tebi said in the name of R. Joshiah: It is written [Num. xxviii. 14]: "This is the burnt-offering of the new moon for every month throughout the months of the year." The Torah says: Proclaim it a new month, and also bring a sacrifice from the new products (Rosh Hashana, p. 9). This would be right in case of the he-goat, for it comes from the congregational funds; but the bullock, which is from the high-priest's, what can be said to it? And, secondly, what R. Tebi said in the name of R. Joshiah is only a merit, but not a duty, as R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel [ibid., ibid.], that if it was done it is acceptable?

Therefore says R. Zerah: The reason is, that the lot cannot determine during this year for the next year. Let him draw lots the next year? It is a precautionary measure, lest it be said that the lot does determine during one year for the next year. All this is right of the he-goat? But why should the bullock, for which no lots are drawn, be put to death? It is a precautionary measure, lest one should deal with the he-goat as one would with the bullock.

Shall he then be put to death for a precautionary measure against what itself is a precautionary measure? Therefore, says Rabha: It is a precautionary measure, lest there should be a mistake. What mistake can be made? That of sacrificing them (if left to graze). Then this apprehension ought to exist in all cases where animals are left to graze (till they get a blemish and are sold)? If that of shearing their wool, or using them for work, the same fear ought to exist in all cases where invalid sacrifices are left to graze? The mistake of sacrificing them is meant, but for others there is no intention to sacrifice them at any time, as they are left to graze until they get a blemish; therefore a mistake cannot come to pass. But here, as the he-goat must be kept until the Day of Atonement of the next year, and it may be sacrificed by mistake before (the owner will take care it should not get a blemish). And whether a precautionary measure is taken against a mistake or not, the Tanaim of the two following Boraithas differ: one states, that a paschal sacrifice that has not been sacrificed during Passover may be sacrificed during the second Passover (the succeeding month, when those unclean before, celebrate it); and when not during the second Passover, it may be reserved for the Passover of the next year. And in another Boraitha we have learned: It may not be sacrificed at all. They differ, then, about the apprehension of a mistake; the Tana of the last Boraitha fears a mistake, and that of the first does not.

MISHNA: He comes to the scapegoat, and puts both hands on him, and confesses, using the following expression: I beseech Thee, Jehovah, they have committed iniquities, transgressed, sinned before Thee, Thy people the House of Israel. I beseech Thee, for the sake of Jehovah, forgive the iniquities, transgressions, and sins that they have committed, transgressed, and sinned before Thee, Thy people the House of Israel, as it is written in the Torah of Moses Thy servant, thus: "For on that day shall he make an atonement for you, to cleanse you, that ye may be clean from all your sins before Jehovah." And the priests and people who stood in the forecourt, hearing the expressed name [of God, i.e., Jehovah] issuing from the mouth of the high-priest, used to kneel, prostrate themselves, and fall on their faces, and say: "Blessed be the name of His kingdom's glory for ever." They delivered him [the scapegoat] to the man who was his conductor. All were fit to perform this function. Only the high-priests fixed a usage, that Israelites should not be permitted to do it. Said R. Jose: It happened the conductor was Arsala of Tsipore, who was an Israelite [not a priest]. An elevated walk had been constructed for him [the he-goat], on account of the Babylonians [Babylonian Jews; according to the Gemara, Alexandrian Jews], who used to pull him [the he-goat] by the hair, saying: "Take [the sins] and go, take and go."

GEMARA: We see that in this confession the children of Aaron are not mentioned. According to whom is it? Said R. Jeremiah: This is not in accordance with R. Jehudah; as he said, the priests are also atoned for by the scapegoat. Abayi, however, said: This may be according to R. Jehudah. Are not the priests included in the general phrase, "Thy people Israel"?

"They delivered him to his conductor." The rabbis taught: It is written [Lev. xvi. 21]: "A man appointed thereto." From the word "man," it is inferred a layman is also fit. "Appointed" means, appointed from the day before, even when the Day of Atonement falls on a Sabbath, and even if he is unclean. Wherefore does he tell us, even a Sabbath? If the he-goat has become sick, and cannot walk, he may take him on his shoulder, and carry him. Said Raphram: From this it is inferred, that the law of Erub and carrying applies to Sabbath only, but not to the Day of Atonement (else what difference between a Day of Atonement falling on a week-day and a Sabbath?) l

Why is it mentioned, even when unclean? What case of uncleanness can be here? Said R. Shesheth: Even if the conductor became unclean, he may enter the Temple and take the he-goat.

R. Eliezer was asked: When the he-goat had become sick, might he be taken on the shoulders? He replied: The he-goat was so healthy that it could bear away you and me together. They asked him again: When the conductor had become sick, may another be appointed? He replied: Let us be healthy; do not ask us about a case of sickness. They asked him again: If after having been pushed down he did not die, shall he go down and kill him? He gave them as answer the verse in Judges v. 31: "Thus may perish all Thy enemies, O Lord." The sages, however, said: If he had become sick, he must be taken on the shoulders; if the conductor is sick, another should be appointed; if he had been pushed and has not died, he should go down and put him to death.

R. Eliezer was asked whether a certain man would enjoy the world to come. He replied: You inquire of me concerning that man (he named a different man). 1 They asked of him again: May a shepherd rescue a sheep carried away by a lion? He replied: Do you ask me of a sheep? They asked him again: May the shepherd be rescued from the lion's mouth? He answered again: You ask me only of the shepherd. They asked him again: May a bastard be heir of his father? He asked them: May he espouse his dead and childless brother's wife? They asked him: If he possesses a house, must a memorial of the Temple's destruction be left, when his house is whitewashed (an ell is left bare)? He answered: I think you ask me whether his sepulchre is to be whitewashed? He answered thus, not

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because he wanted to repel them, but he never decided what he had not heard from his Master.

A wise woman asked R. Eliezer. What was done with the golden calf being equally forbidden, why were the penalties different, some being slaughtered with the sword, some dying by water, or by a plague? He answered: The wisdom of a woman relates only to the spindle, as it is written [Ex. xxxv. 25]: "All the wise women spun with their hands." It was taught: Rabh and Levi said--the one, that he who slaughtered to the golden calf and offered incense was slain by the sword; he who embraced and kissed it, died by the plague; and he who rejoiced in his heart thereat, died from dropsy. And the other says: They who did it in spite of warning by witnesses, were slain; they who were not warned but only witnessed, by the pest; and those whom witnesses had not seen, died by dropsy.

R. Jehudah said: The tribe of Levi was not idolatrous (in relation to the golden calf), as it is written [ibid. xxxii. 26]: Whoever is on the Lord's side let him come unto me. And there assembled themselves unto him all the sons of Levi." Rabhina was sitting and repeating this saying. The children of R. Papa b. Abba objected to him: It is written [Deut. xxxiii. 9]: "Who said of his father and his mother, I have not seen him." 1 By this is meant, those who slew for worshipping the calf, inflicted penalty on their relatives. Whence we see some of the Levites were guilty. Rabhina replied: By father is meant the maternal grandfather, who was of Israel, by brother a half-brother of the mother, and by children, the daughter's children, whose father was an Israelite.

"An elevated walk had been constructed," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jehudah says: They were not Babylonian, but Alexandrian (Jews). Said R. Jose to him: May thy mind be appeased, as thou hast appeased mine (for he was a Babylonian himself).

"Take and go." We have learned in a Boraitha: They used to say: Wherefore are they detaining the goat, the sins being so great?

MISHNA: Some of the prominent men of Jerusalem used to accompany him [the goat] as far as the first booth [of the ten, supplied with provisions for the conductor]. There were ten booths between Jerusalem and Tsuk [the rock of its destination], a distance of 90 Ris [7½ Ris are equal to one mile]. At each booth they said to him [to the conductor]: "Here is food, and here is water." And they [persons of the booth] accompanied him from booth to booth, excepting the last of them, for the rock was not reached by them; but they stood at some distance looking on what he [the conductor] did [to the scapegoat]. What did he do? He divided the tongue of crimson wool: the half of it he tied to the rock, and the second half between his [the scapegoat's] horns; he pushed him down backward. He went rolling and falling down; he did not reach halfway of the mountain before he became separated limb from limb. He [the conductor] returned to sit down under the last booth, till dark. And since when became his clothes unclean? After he had issued from the walls of Jerusalem. R. Simeon says: After he had pushed it down from the rock.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: There were ten booths, and twelve miles: so says R. Meir. R. Jebudah says: There were nine booths, and ten miles. R. Jose says: Five booths, and ten miles. All were combined by an Erub. Said R. Jose: Elazar my son told me, if there were an Erub, two booths at ten miles would have been sufficient. Who is the Tana according to whom is what we have learned in our Mishna, that the last stood at a distance and looked? This is according to R. Meir, who says there were ten booths, and twelve miles.

"At each booth they said to him," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: They never made use of it, but they were cheered by the consciousness that they could have it?

"The half of it he tied to the rock," etc. Why not the whole of it? Because he had not yet fulfilled the duty of pushing down the goat, and as soon as he had tied it to the rock, it might have become white: he would have rejoiced so much at the thought of the sins having been pardoned, that he might not have attended to the pushing him down. Why did he not tie it wholly to the horns? Because it might happen that the goat bent his head, so as to make him unable to perceive whether it had become white or not.

The rabbis taught: Formerly the tongue of crimson wool used to be tied to the door of the porch, outside (that all should see). When it became white, all were rejoiced; when not, all became out of spirits and ashamed. Therefore it has been reformed that it should be tied to the door of the porch inside. However, they used to take a look at it even then. It was then reformed that half should be tied to the rock, another half to the horns.

"Before he attained half way of the mountain," etc. The rabbis taught: It is written [Lev. xviii. 4]: "My ordinances shall ye do." This signifies, such things as, even were they not written, it would be wrong to do, as idolatry, adultery, bloodshed, robbery, and blasphemy. "And my statutes shall ye keep" [ibid.]. There are things that Satan laughs at, as abstaining from pork, from wearing mixed stuffs [Deut. xxii. 11], the taking off of the shoe of the husband's brother, purification of a leper, and the despatching of the he-goat. Lest it be said, they are nonsense, it is therefore written [Lev. xviii. "I am the Lord your God." I have commanded it; you have no right to question.

"Since when became his clothes unclean," etc. The rabbis taught: The conductor defiles his clothes, but not the person that sends him (the conductor). Shall we assume that as soon as be comes out from the walls of the Temple court he becomes unclean? Therefore it is written [Lev. xvi. 26]: "He that takes away the goat to Azazel shall wash his clothes." What is meant by taking away? He who pushes him head downward, and he defiles his clothes.

MISHNA: He [the high-priest] went to the bull and to the he-goat destined to be burned. He ripped them, and tore out the parts to be burned upon the altar. He placed them on a charger (Magis), and kindled (for kindling) them upon the altar. He intermingled the limbs of the two animals, and they were removed to the place for burning. Since when are the clothes [of the porters] made unclean? When they came out behind the wall of the forecourt. R. Simeon says: When the fire is consuming most parts [of the animals].

GEMARA: He intermingled. Said R. Johanan, a sort of mingling. What is meant? We have learned in a Boraitha: He did not cut them as all burnt-offerings, in which the hide is flayed; but the bullock and he-goat, he cut the hide and flesh together. Whence do we deduce this? Because it is further written [Lev. iv. 11]: "His inwards, and his dung." How is it to be inferred from this? Said R. Papa: As the dung was in the inwards, so the flesh in the hide.

"Since when are the clothes made unclean?" The rabbis taught: It is written [ibid. xvi. 28]: "He that burneth them shall wash his clothes." He that burns, but not he who kindles, or he who lays the wood for the fire. Who is considered as the one that burns? He who assists at the burning, his clothes become unclean. Shall we say, that when it has been burned to ashes they still defile the clothes? Therefore it is written "them": he who burns them, but not the ashes. R. Eliezer b. R. Simeon says: When the flesh is still called flesh, it defiles; but when it has been dissolved, it no longer defiles. What is the difference between them? According to R. Eliezer, singed flesh ceases to be flesh, and does not defile; but according to the first Tana it is, and does.

MISHNA: The high-priest was told: "The goat has reached the desert." How was the fact known? Watches were stationed on high towers [meaning doubtful], who lifted up flags [to give signals]. Said R. Jehudah: They could have excellent evidence [by calculating the time]. From Jerusalem to Beth Hadudo was three miles. The prominent men had walked one mile, went back one mile, and had tarried as long as a mile is gone over. Thus they could calculate that the he-goat had reached the desert.

R. Ishmael says: Why, they had another sign. A tongue of crimson wool used to be tied to the gate of the Temple, and as the he-goat had reached the desert, the wool used to become [by miracle] white; as it is said: "Though your sins be scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red as crimson, they shall become like wool" [Isaiah i. 18].

GEMARA: Said Abayi: From this we see that the Beth Hadudo was in the desert.

CHAPTER 7.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE PASSAGES READ BY THE HIGH-PRIEST AND WHAT GARMENTS HE MINISTERED IN AFTER, AND WHAT GARMENTS OTHER PRIESTS WORE.

MISHNA: The high-priest came to read. If he desired to read dressed in linen [white, byssus] garments, he did so; otherwise, he was reading in a white stole of his own. The Hazzan [servant, attendant] of the congregation takes the scrolls of the Torah, and presents them to the president of the congregation, the president presents them to the Segan, and the latter gives them to the high-priest. The high-priest rises, receives them, and reads standing. He reads the section, "After the death," etc. [i.e., Lev. xvi.], and the section, "Also on the tenth," etc. [i. e., Lev. xxiii. 26-32]. Then he rolls the scrolls together, and keeps them on his knees, and says: "More than what I have read to you, is written here." The section, "On the tenth," etc. [in the book of Numbers, xxix. 17], he reads by heart, and pronounces over it eight benedictions; namely, over the Torah, over the service, over the thanksgiving, the atonement of iniquity, the Temple by itself, and Israel by itself (and Jerusalem by itself, in some versions), the priests by themselves, and the rest of the prayer. He who sees the high-priest reading, does not witness the burning of the bull and the he-goat; he who witnesses the burning of the bull and the he-goat, does not see the high-priest reading: not because he is not allowed, but because there was a great distance, and both were done at the same time.

GEMARA: (Let us see:) If he might read in a white stole of his own, then we must assume that this is not a service for which the sacred garments are required; but at the same time, we see that he could read in the white garments. Hence we see they could be used even at other times than that of service. Infer from this, that the priestly garments he could use for his own benefit. Perhaps reading is different: though not itself a service, it is a preparation for service. Then the schoolmen propounded a question: May the priestly garments be used for personal purposes or not? Come and hear: The priest's garments, in the country, may not be used; but in the Temple, whether during service or not, they may be used, because it is allowed to derive a benefit from the priestly garments. Infer from this, that he may. You say, in the country it may not be used? Have we not learned in the following Boraitha: On the twenty-fifth of Tebeth is called the day of Mount Gerizzim, and no mourning is allowed on it. Why? Because on that day the Samaritans petitioned Alexander of Macedon to have our Temple destroyed, and he permitted them. When Simeon the Upright (the high-priest) was notified of it, he put on the priestly garments, and accompanied by the respectable men of Jerusalem, they all went with torches the whole night till dawn, both parties approaching each other. When it dawned, Alexander of Macedon perceived from a distance the Jews. He asked, Who are these men? And the Samaritans told him: They are the Jews, who have rebelled against thee. As they reached the town Antipatris, the sun had risen, and they faced each other. As Alexander saw R. Simeon the Upright, he descended from his chariot, and bowed to him. They said to him: Will such a great king as you bow to that Jew? He replied: His image I saw shining before me, whenever I gained a victory. He asked the Jews: Wherefore are you come? They said: The Temple wherein we pray for thee, and for thy empire, that it should not be destroyed, is it possible that thou shouldst be misled by the idolaters to bid its destruction? He asked: Who are those idolaters? They replied: These Samaritans who stand near thee. He said to them: I deliver them into your hands. Treat them as you please. They were soon fastened to the tails of their horses, and thus dragged as far as Mount Gerizzim, which was ploughed, and sowed, as they had intended to do with our Temple. This day was made a festival. (We see that Simeon the Upright went out even into the country in his priestly clothes.) If you wish, I will say, not the priestly clothes were meant, but clothes similar; and if you wish, I will say, this was in a case of urgency, and it is written [Ps. cxix. 126]: "It is time to act for the Lord: they have broken Thy law."

"The Hazzan takes the scrolls," etc. Infer from this that honour is given to the disciple even in presence of the Master. Said Abayi: All this was only to honour the high-priest (that he might get it through many subordinate great officers). "The high-priest rises." It seems then implied that hitherto he was sitting. Have we not learned in a Mishna (in Sotah) that nobody might sit in the Temple, except kings who are descendants of David? Said R. Hisda: He was then in the women's court, and there all could sit. It is written: [Nehem. viii. 6]: "And Ezra blessed the Lord, the great God." Why is the epithet "great" employed here? Said R. Joseph in the name of Rabh: He then magnified him by calling him expressly "Jehovah." R. Gidel said: By saying as it is written [1 Chron. 16:36]: "Blessed be the Lord the God of Israel from everlasting even unto everlasting." Said Abayi to R. Dimi: Why not as R. Jose said in Rabh's name? R. Dimi answered: Because "Jehovah" must not be pronounced outside of the Temple.

Is that so? Is it not written [Nehem. 8:4]: "Ezra the expounder stood upon an elevated stand of wood," and R. Gidel has said, he then pronounced the name "Jehovah"? This was only because on that occasion Ezra allowed himself to use it, as he deemed it necessary. It is written [ibid. ix. 4]: "They cried with a loud voice unto the Lord." What did they say? They cried: "Woe! Woe! The tempter to idolatry has destroyed the Temple, has killed all the just men, and exiled Israel from their land, and we see him yet among us. Why hast thou created the tempter? To reward us more for overcoming him. We wish neither him nor the greater rewards." Then fell down a billet from Heaven, whereon was written: "Emeth" (Truth). [Says R. Hanina: Infer from this that the seal of the Holy One, blessed be He, is "Truth."] They fasted three days and three nights. Then he (the evil spirit) was delivered into their hands. So they saw how a lion-cub of fire went out from the Holy of Holies. Then the prophet said to them: "Here is the evil spirit of idolatry." As it is written [Zechariah 5:8]: "This is the wickedness." They caught him. When a hair was torn out from his mane, he issued a cry which was heard at the distance of four hundred parsas. They said: If he cries so loud, what can we do to him? Lest he be pitied in Heaven, what shall we do that his voice be not heard? They were then advised to throw him into a leaden pot, as lead muffles the voice. They put him into a leaden pot, and covered it with a leaden lid, as it is written [ibid.]: "And he said, this is the wickedness. And he cast it into the midst of the ephah, and he cast the weighty lead cover upon the mouth thereof." (And since then idolatry ceased among Israel.) They said: Since it is a time of favour(from Heaven), they would pray that the tempter to fornication be delivered to them too. They prayed, and he was delivered to them. It was said to them: "Take heed. If ye kill this spirit, the world will perish." They kept him imprisoned three days. They sought in all Palestine an egg laid on that day. They could not find. They said among themselves: What shall we do? If we will kill him, the world

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will perish. Shall we pray for the half (that desire should exist only in legal cases)? We have a tradition that a half is not given from Heaven; so they put out his eyes, and left him. The good result was, that since then he does not excite desire toward relatives.

In Palestine they learned it thus: R. Gidel says: "Great," because he pronounced the express name of God. R. Mathna says: What is written "the great," means that he said [Nehem. ix. 32]: "Our God the great, the mighty, and the terrible." But what R. Mathna had said, will be according to R. Joshuah b. Levi, who said: Why was it called the Great Assembly? Because they restored the old crown. What is it? Moses had said [Deut. 10:17]: "The God, the great, the mighty, and the terrible." Then rose Jeremiah and said: The idolaters are destroying His Temple. Where is His terribleness? So he said only "the great, the mighty," omitting "terrible." Then came Daniel, and said: The idolaters keep as slaves His children. Where is His might? So he omitted "mighty." Then came the men of the Great Assembly, and said: On the contrary, this is His might, that He is patient toward the wicked. And this is His terribleness, that if men had not felt His terror, how could such a small people (as Israel) keep itself among so many peoples of idolaters? Therefore they introduced again the phrase, "the God, the great, the terrible, the mighty." And the rabbis (Jeremiah and Daniel), how did they dare to modify what Moses had established? Says R. Elazar: Because they knew the Holy One, blessed be He, loves truth. So they did not wish to lie to Him, to tell Him what they did not think.

"More than what I have read to you," etc. To what purpose did he say so? That the scrolls he used should not be said maliciously to contain only that which he read (and be invalid).

"He reads by heart." Why? Let him have found the place in the scrolls? In honour of a congregation, it is not made to wait till the scrolls should have been unrolled for that purpose. Let him have used other scrolls? This they did not, because if they brought other scrolls, it might be said, the first scrolls were invalid. So says R. Huna b. Jehudah. But Resh Lakish says: In that case, a second benediction would have had to be pronounced (over the new scrolls). Do we fear lest it be said that the scrolls are invalid? Did not R. Itz'hak of Naph'ha, say: That when the first day of the month Tebeth falls on Sabbath, three scrolls have to be taken out: one for the section of that week, one for Hannkah, the third for the first day of the month? When three persons read in these scrolls, it is not feared; but when one man reads in two, it may be said he does not read in the first because the first is invalid.

"Pronounces over it eight benedictions." The rabbis taught: Over the scrolls as in the synagogue, over the service, over the thanksgiving, the atonement of iniquity as it has been ordered in the prayer of the Day of Atonement, over the Temple by itself, over the priests by themselves, over Israel by itself, and over the rest of the prayer. The rabbis taught: What is meant by the rest of the prayer? Songs, prayers: "We supplicate before (to) Thee for Thy people Israel, who need help," and concluding, "Blessed be he who heareth prayer." After this, every one brought a scroll of the Torah from home and read it for himself. Why did they bring them? To show to the whole world that they had scrolls (and loved religion).

"He who sees the high-priest reading," etc. Is this not self-evident? We might think, lest one assume one may not pass from place to place in search of religious duties, he comes to teach us that it is not so. And what merit is there? Because it is written [Prov. xiv. 28]: "In the multitude of people is the king's glory."

MISHNA: If he read in linen garments, he washed his hands and feet, stripped himself, and went down to bathe, came out and dried himself with a sponge. Garments of cloth of gold were brought to him, he put them on, washed his hands and his feet, he went out and performed the rites on his ram, and the ram of the people, and the seven unblemished sheep, of one year--according to R. Eliezer. R. Aqiba says: They were offered with the daily sacrifice of the morning; and the bull for the burnt-offering and the he-goat used outside, were offered with the daily sacrifice of the evening. He washed his hands and feet, undressed, went down to bathe, came up and dried himself. White clothes were brought to him, he put them on, washed his hands and feet, he went in to fetch the spoon and the censer. He washed his hands and his feet again, stripped himself, went down, bathed, came out and dried himself. Garments of cloth of gold were brought to him, he put them on, washed his hands and feet, and went in to offer the incense of the evening, and to trim the lamps. He then washed his hands and feet, stripped himself, put on his own clothes--which had been brought to him--and was accompanied to his own house. He then used to keep the day as a holiday with his friends, when he had come away from the Holy of Holies unhurt.

GEMARA: The disciples of Samuel taught: R. Eliezer said: He went out, and performed the rites on his ram, and the ram of the people, and the members of the sin-offering. But the bullock of the burnt-offering, and the seven sheep, and the he-goat that was used outside, were offered together with the daily evening offering. In a Tosephtha it was taught: R. Aqiba said: The bullock of the burnt-offering and the seven sheep were offered with the daily morning offering, as it is written [Num. 28:23]: "Besides the burnt-offering of the morning, which is for a continual burnt-offering." And then he made the offerings of this day, and then the he-goat used outside, as it is written [Num. 28:11]: "One he-goat for a sin-offering, besides the sin-offering of the atonement "; and then he offered his ram, and the people's ram, the members of the sin-offering, and then the daily evening offering.

We see that all agree, that there was but one ram for the people; and this would be according to Rabbi of the following Boraitha: Rabbi said, the one ram mentioned here [Lev. 16:5] is the same as is mentioned in Num. xxix. 8. And R. Elazar b. R. Simeon says: Two were needed: one mentioned in Leviticus, the other in Numbers. What is the reason of Rabbi's saying? Because it is written "one." What will R. Elazar b. R. Simeon say to this? That signifies, the only one (best) in his flock. Rabbi, however, says: There is no need to state it, as it has already been mentioned [Deut. 12:11]: "Your choice vows." According to R. Elazar b. R. Simeon, both statements are needed, because there it is only spoken of voluntary offerings.

"He washed his hands and feet." The rabbis taught: It is written [16:23]: "And Aaron shall then go into the tabernacle of the congregation." Wherefore? To take out the spoon and the censer. Why? Because the whole section follows the order of his rites, except this verse. What is the reason of saying that this verse applies to the taking out of the spoon and censer? Said R. Hisda: It is known to us traditionally, that five bathings and ten times of washing the high-priest performed that day. If thou wilt say, that this verse is not in a wrong place-namely, that no service done outside in the garments of cloth of gold would intervene between the day service (done in white) and the carrying out of the spoon and censer--then you would not find five and ten, but three and six. R. Zera opposed: Perhaps it was intervened by the he-goat used outside. Said Abayi: Because it is written [ibid. 24]: "And come then forth and offer his burnt-offering," we infer that after the first coming forth he offered the burnt-offering (that goat). Then we must say that the spoon and censer he had not yet carried out, else it would be his second coming forth.

When the conductor of the scapegoat returned, if he met the high-priest still in the street, he said to him: "My lord the high-priest, we have done thy commission"; but if he came to his house (on the morrow), he used to say to him: "We have done the commission of Him who giveth life to all living." Rabba said: In Pumbaditha, when the rabbis took leave, they said: "He who giveth life to all the living should give thee long good, and orderly life."

It is written [Ps. 116:9]: "I will walk before the Lord in the lands of the living." (What is meant by the lands of the living?) Said R. Jehudah: The market-places (where food is purchased). Rashi explains this, as to a "long life." This is mentioned, and as for the markets, David persecuted by Saul prayed to be able to go to the markets to buy food.

It is written [Prov. 3:2]: "For length of days, and years of life, and peace, will they increase unto thee." What means "years of life"? Are there any years not of life? Said R. Elazar: Those are the years of man when his circumstances change from evil to good. Said R. Brachia: It is written further [ibid. 8:4]: "Unto you, O men, 1 I call." By this scholars are meant, who are weak like women, and perform feats as men. R. Brachia said again: He who wishes to bring a drink-offering on the altar should let scholars drink wine (which will be just as good). The same says again: When a man sees that learning has forsaken his sons, he should marry a scholar's daughter. As it is written [Job 14:8, 9]: "If even its root become old in the earth, and its stock die in the dust: yet through the scent of water will it flourish again, and produce boughs as though it were newly planted."

"He then used to keep the day as a holiday." The rabbis taught: It happened to one high-priest going out from the Temple, and the whole world accompanying him, that they perceived Shemaia and Abtalian: the people then left the high-priest alone, and accompanied Shemaia and Abtalian. Later, Shemaia and Abtalian came to take leave of him. He answered them: May the children of the Gentiles (they were proselytes' descendants) go in peace. They replied to him: The children of the Gentiles may go in peace, because they do what Aaron the high-priest did; but the children of Aaron may not have peace, who do not what Aaron did (love not peace).

MISHNA: The high-priest ministers in eight articles of dress; a common priest in four: in a robe and breeches, a mitre and a girdle. To the high-priest's are added: a breastplate and an ephod, and a coat and a tsits [plate on the forehead, [Ex. 28:36]. The Urim and Tumim were inquired of only when he was thus attired; but inquiries were not made for a common man: only for the king, the chief of the Beth Din, and for a person of whom the public had need.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: The stuff, which should be made according to the prescription of the Bible, of linen, should be six times twisted. Where twisted linen is prescribed, it should be eightfold twisted. The material of the robe of the high-priest was twelve times twisted; that of the vail, twenty-four; and that of the breastplate and ephod, twenty-eight. How do we know that an ordinary thread is six times twisted? Because it is written [Ex. 39:27, 28]: "And they made the coats of linen . . . the mitre of linen, and the goodly bonnets of linen, and linen breeches of twisted linen thread." Five times "linen" is mentioned: once, to know that it is linen; the second time, that it be twisted six times; once, that it should be twisted; and once, that even the articles of dress of which it is not said "linen" should be of linen; the fifth time, to prohibit (those not of linen). 1

How do we know that "Shesh" means "linen"? Because it is written "bad" (in some places, as equivalent to "Shesh") which signifies "only," and flax grows single from the reed in the middle, not in branches. Perhaps wool found between the tree and bark is meant? That can be separated into threads, but flax can not. But flax can also be separated? Flax can be separated when it is beaten, but that material can be so spontaneously. Rabhina says: Because it is written [Ezek. xliv. 18], "flaxen bonnets," and "flaxen breeches." Said R. Ashi to him: If thou adduce the proof from Ezekiel, how did they know it before Ezekiel? They had a tradition. Ezekiel wrote a verse. How do we know that "twisted linen" is eight times twisted? Because it is written [Ex. 39:24]: "They made upon the lower hem of the robe pomegranates of blue, and purple, and scarlet yarn, twisted." Hence we deduce from an analogy of expression in another place (of the vail), by "twisted" twenty-four times is meant, so here, the thread of each kind being eight times twisted. How do we know that that of the robe should be of threads twelve times twisted? Because it is written [ibid. xxviii. 31]: "And thou shalt make the robe of the ephod altogether of blue woollen yarn." Here it is also inferred from an analogy of expression, as "blue" is mentioned speaking of the value also, as there every thread was six times twisted (since four kinds were twenty-four), so here, since it is written "altogether," it should be two times six. How do we know that the vail was of a material of threads twenty-four times twisted? Because it was of four kinds, and that each should not be less than six times twisted, it is unnecessary to deliberate upon. How do we know that that of the breastplate and ephod was of threads twenty-eight times twisted? Because it is written [Ex. 28:15]: "And thou shalt make the breastplate of judgement of weavers' work; after the work of the ephod thou shalt make it: of gold, of blue, of purple, and scarlet yarn, and twisted linen, shalt thou make it." Four kinds, each six-fold, is twenty-four; and the gold four times, this makes twenty-eight. How is it known that the gold is four times? Perhaps also six times? Said R. Ashi: Because it is written [ibid. 39:3]: "To work it in the blue and in the purple." Therefore it must be at least thinner than those threads.

Re'haba said in the name of R. Jehudah; He who tears the priestly garments, receives stripes, as it is written [ibid. 28:32]: "That it be not rent."

R. Eliezer said: He who takes off the breastplate from the ephod, or the staves from the ark, receives stripes, as it is written [ibid. xxviii. 28]: "That it be not loosed," and [ibid. 25:15]: "They shall not be removed therefrom." We have learned also in a Boraitha: It is written [ibid.]: "In the rings of the ark shall the staves be." We might think they must be always there, and may not be moved. Therefore it is written [ibid. 14]: "Thou shalt place the staves into the rings." From the expression, "place the staves into the rings," we might think that as they are placed there, they may be removed thence also. Therefore it is written, "In the rings of the ark shall the staves be." How is it then? They may be drawn out, but not wholly taken out (as their heads were too thick). R. Huma b. R. Hanina said: It is written [ibid. 26:15]: "The boards for the tabernacle of Shittim wood, standing up." What means standing up? They shall be standing up as they grow. Re'haba said in the name of R. Jehudah: Bezaleel made three arks: the middle one was wooden, nine spans high, the one inside was of gold, and eight spans high; that outside was also of gold, and ten spans and odd high--nine, like the middle one, and a span and a trifle over, to screen it. We have learned in another Boraitha that it was eleven and a trifle? It presents no difficulty. This is according to one who says, the gold on the top was a span thick; and he who says it was ten, says it was not a span thick. Why was the fraction needed? That it should seem like a small crown on the top of the ark under the mercy-seat.

R. Johanan said: There were three crowns: one of the altar, one of the ark, and one of the table. Of the altar, called "the Crown of Priesthood," Aaron was privileged to receive; of the table, that of royalty, David received; that of the ark, called "the Crown of Learning," is yet to be bestowed. Shouldst thou say it is not valuable? therefore it is written [Prov. 8:15]; Through me do kings reign."

It is written [Ex. 25:11]: "Within and without shalt thou overlay it" (the ark). Says Rabba: It can be inferred from this, That a scholar whose inside is not like his outside is no scholar. Abayi, according to others Rabba b. Ulla, says: Not only is he no scholar, he is even called "corrupt," as it is written [Job 15:16]: "How much more abominable and corrupt the man who drinketh like water wrong-doing." R. Samuel b. Na'hmain in the name of R. Jonathan said: It is written [Prov.

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17:16]: "Wherefore is the purchase-money in the hand of a fool to acquire wisdom, seeing he hath no heart." Woe to the scholars who stud), the Law, and have no fear of Heaven! Said Rabba to his disciples: I pray you, that ye may not inherit two hells (he who studies and is yet wicked, has a hell on earth, and yet will have hell after his death). R. Joshua b. Levi said: It is written [Deut. iv. 44]: "This is the law which Moses set." If he has merited, it becomes to him a medicine of life; if not, it becomes to him a poison. And this is the same which Rabba has said above (about the two hells). R. Samuel b. Na'hmain in the name of R. Jonathan finds a contradiction of the following two passages: It is written [Ps. 19:9]: "The precepts of the Lord are upright, rejoicing the heart," and [ibid. 18:31]: "The word of the Lord is tried." There is, then, a contradiction. Here it is said, it rejoices, and there, it is trying? If he has merited, it rejoices him; otherwise, it is a trial to him. Said Resh Lakish: This we may infer from the same passages "He is a shield to all those that trust in him." If he merits, it tries him, to enable him the better to live; if he does not merit, his trials kill him. It is written further [ibid. xix. 10]: "The fear of the Lord is pure, enduring forever." Said R. Hanina: That signifies, a man who studies the Law when he is pure. What is meant by pure? When he has first married a wife, and then studies. It is written [ibid. 8]: "The testimony of the Lord is sure." Said R. Hiya b. Abba: The Torah is itself a trusted witness against the students (about the manner in which they had studied it).

"The Urim and Tumim were inquired of," etc. When R. Dimi came from Palestine, he said: The clothes which the high-priest wore, the priest anointed for war could also wear. Whence is it deduced? Because it is written [Ex. xxix. 29]: "And the holy garments belonging to Aaron shall be for his sons after him." What is meant by "after him"? Next to him in office, and that was the one anointed for war.

R. Adda b. A'hba, according to others K'di objected: We have learned in a Boraitha: Shall we assume that the son of the priest anointed for war shall succeed to the office of his father, as the high-priest's son does? Therefore it is written [Ex. xxix. 30]: Seven days shall that one of his sons put them on who is to be priest in his place, who is to go into the tabernacle of the congregation. That means, he who is fit to enter the tabernacle of the congregation on the Day of Atonement, which is the high-priest. (If it be according to R. Dimi, that the eight garments of the high-priest may be used by the priest anointed for war during the whole year, and that hence he is also fit to enter the tabernacle of the congregation, why should the Boraitha say it is only the high-priest?) Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: This is meant. "Who is to go into the tabernacle of the congregation" means, him who has been anointed for this, whereas that one has been anointed for war.

An objection was raised: We have learned: The priest I anointed for war may neither put on the four garments, like a common priest, nor the eight, like the high-priest. Said Abayi to R. Na'hman: Do you want to make of him a layman? The Boraitha means this: Like a high-priest he is not attired, to pre vent rivalry; and not like a common priest, because of the rule: In holiness one increases, but does not decrease. As while anointed for war he had eight garments on, he cannot be degraded to the level of a common priest. R. Abahu was sitting, and said the Halakha of R. Dimi in the name of R. Johanan: R. Ami and R. Ashi turned away their faces from him (to indicate that R. Johanan had not said it). When Rabbin came from Palestine, he said; It has not been said that the priest anointed for war may put on the garments, but only when he goes to consult the Urim and Tumim. We have also learned the same in the following Boraitha: The garments in which the high-priest performs the service may be used by the priest anointed for war when he consults the Urim and Tumim.

The rabbis taught: How was the ceremony of inquiring of the Urim and Tumim? The inquirer turned his face toward the priest (who inquires), but the priest's face is turned toward the Shekhina. The inquirer asks, as e.g. in 1 Samuel xxx. 8: "Shall I pursue after this troop?" And the priest answers him: "So has said the Lord. Go, and thou wilt succeed." R. Jehudah, however, said: He need not say: "So has said God." He has only to say: "Go, and thou wilt succeed."

One must not ask in a loud voice, as it is written [Num. 27:21]: "And he shall ask of him"; no one else need hear. He should not have the question merely in his mind either, because it is written: "He shall ask of him before the Lord." (How shall he speak?) He shall ask as Hanna prayed [1 Sam. 1:13].

Two inquiries should not be made at once; and if he has made two inquiries, only one is answered, and the first. As it is written [ibid. 23:11, 12]: "Will the men of Ke'ilah surrender me into his hand? Will Saul come down?" etc. And the Lord said: "He will come down." But you have said, Only the first question is answered? David asked them in a wrong order, and he was answered in the right order. Then, when David perceived this, he asked the second question: "Will the men of Ke'ilah surrender me and my men?" And he was answered: "They will surrender." When, however, two questions must be asked at once, else it cannot be clearly understood, then the two questions are both answered. As it is written [ibid. xxx. 8]: "Shall I pursue after this troop? shall I overtake them?" And the reply is: "Pursue, for thou wilt surely overtake them, and certainly recover." And although the decision of a prophet can be revoked, the decision of the Urim and Tumim cannot be changed, as it is written [Num. 27:21]: "The judgement of the Urim."

Why were they called Urim and Tumim? Urim, because they illuminate their words; Tumim, because they give a complete answer. It will be asked, Why were the Israelites beaten by the Benjamites of Gib'ah, though bidden to go to the battle by the Urim and Tumim? Because those people did not think to ask whether they would be victorious or defeated. They were answered, "Go," and they were beaten; but later, when they understood how to inquire, they received a right reply, as it is written [Judges xx. 28]: "And Phinehas the son of El'azar, the son of Aaron, stood before it in those days, saying: Shall I yet continue to go out to battle with the children of Benjamin my brother, or shall I forbear? And the Lord said: "Go up, for to-morrow will I deliver him into thy hand."

How did the priest receive the reply? R. Johanan says: The letters constituting the reply became more prominent. Resh Lakish says: Nay, the letters composing the words came near each other. In the Urim and Tumim were only the names of the tribes, hence there was not the letter Tsadhe. Said R. Samuel b. R. Itz'hak: The names of "Abraham," "Itz'hak," and "Jacob" were also written there. But there was not the letter Teth? There were likewise the words "Shibtei Jeshurun" ("The Tribes of Israel": hence there was a t). An objection was raised: We have learned that a priest on whom the Shekhina does not rest, and is not inspired by the Holy Spirit, need not be inquired through. (How, then, is it said, the letters projected, or arranged themselves together?) Why? We see that when Zadok inquired he was answered, and Ebiathar received no reply, as it is written [2 Sam. xv. 24]: "And Ebiathar went up, until all the people had finished passing out of the city." "Went up." He resigned. The Holy Spirit enabled him to perceive the letters that projected, which he could not do otherwise.

"Inquiries are not made except for a king." Whence do we deduce this? Said R. Abahu: As it is written [Num. xxvii. 21]: "Before Elazar the priest shall he stand, and he shall ask of him, after the judgement of the Urim before the Lord . . . he and all the children of Israel with him." "He" means the king, and all Israel "with him" means, the priest anointed for war and all the congregation means, the Sanhedrin.

CHAPTER 8.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE FASTING ON THE DAY OF ATONEMENT, WHAT MAY BE DONE THEREON, AND WHAT MAY NOT BE DONE.

MISHNA: On the Day of Atonement it is forbidden to eat and to drink, to wash, to anoint, to lace on shoes, and to hold sexual intercourse. A king and a bride may wash their faces; and a lying-in woman may lace on shoes. Such is the decree of R. Eleazar. But the sages forbid it. Whosoever eats food to the size of a large date--that is, the date with the kernel--or drinks a mouthful, is guilty. All kinds of food are reckoned together to the size of the date, and all liquids to the mouthful; but food and beverages are not reckoned together.

GEMARA: In the Torah it is written, Karoth is the penalty; and you say, merely, it is forbidden? [Lev. 23:29]. Said R. Ila, according to others R. Jeremiah: What is said in the Mishna, "forbidden," applies to half of the prescribed quantity. This would be right according to him who says that half of the prescribed quantity is biblically forbidden, but of him who says that it is biblically allowed, what can you say? Then it was taught: A half of the prescribed quantity, R. Johanan says, is prohibited biblically; and Resh Lakish says: It is allowed biblically. Then the Mishna would be according to R. Johanan. But of Resh Lakish what can be said? Resh Lakish avows, that rabbinically it is prohibited. When it is said in the Mishna "forbidden," it is meant, forbidden rabbinically.

When Karoth is the penalty, is not the term "prohibited" employed? We have learned in the following Boraitha: Although the sages have said that it is prohibited in all regards, Karoth is due only for eating, drinking, and work. We see, then, that even when Karoth is the penalty, the term "prohibited" is employed? The Boraitha meant to say as follows: When the Mishna says "prohibited," it is meant for the half of the prescribed quantity; but if he has eaten the prescribed quantity, Karoth is due for eating and drinking, and work; but not for the other actions. If you wish, I can say, when it is stated in the Mishna "prohibited," the other actions only are meant (hence Karoth is not due). Rabba and R. Joseph taught from the books of the Pentateuch other than Leviticus, as follows: Whence do we deduce that on the Day of Atonement one must not wash, anoint, lace on the shoes, and have sexual intercourse? Because it is written [Lev. 16:31]: "A Sabbath of rest, and ye shall afflict yourselves." What is meant by rest? Desisting from washing, anointing, etc. The text above states: Half of the prescribed quantity is biblically forbidden, according to R. Johanan? Why? Because if he will eat twice the other half, he will have eaten the whole. Resh Lakish says: The Merciful One has said "eat," and this is not called "eating."

The rabbis taught: It is written [ibid. 29]: "Ye shall afflict yourselves." Shall we assume that he should go and sit in the sunshine or in the cold, to cause himself suffering? Therefore it is written: "No work shall ye do." As about the work the prohibition is negative, so the affliction is meant to be only negative; i.e., abstinence. But perhaps it is meant thereby, if he sits in sunshine or in shade, and feels too hot or too cold, they should not say to him: "Remove from this place," that he might suffer? The affliction is compared to the work: as in case of the work it matters not in which place it is, so in case of the affliction.

The disciples of R. Ishmael have taught: It is written here, "affliction," and it is written further, "affliction" [Deut. 8:3]: ("He afflicted thee and suffered thee to hunger"). As there by affliction hunger is meant, so here. If he deduces it from an analogy of expression, let him deduce it from the expression [Gen. 31:50]: "If thou shouldst afflict my daughters." It is deduced from an affliction suffered spontaneously (as hunger), but not from affliction inflicted by men.

It is written [Deut. 8:16]: "Who hath fed thee in the wilderness with manna, which thy fathers knew not, in order to afflict thee." What was the affliction? R. Ami and R. Assi said the one, that not to have bread ready in one's basket is an affliction, whereas the manna had to be hoped for every day; and the other says, not to see what one eats (the manna) is an affliction. (The manna had all flavours at will, but not the appearance of all foods whose flavours it had.) Said R. Joseph Infer from this, that the blind are never satiated. Says Abayi He who has to eat, therefore, should eat only by day, and not by night. Said R. Zera: How can it be inferred from Scripture? From Ecc. vi. 9: "Better is what one seeth with the eyes than the wandering of desire." It is written [Prov. 23:31]: "When he glances into the cup, it goes down smoothly." R. Ami and R. Assi said--the one, that then (when he is drunk) all blood-relations are forgotten by him; and the other says, that the whole world seems to him alike (he does not distinguish between his own and others' property). It is written [Prov. xii. 26]: "If there is care in the heart of a man, he shall suppress it." Said R. Ami and R. Assi-the one, he should suppress it, by driving it out of his thoughts; and the other, by relating about it to another person.

It is written [Is. 65:25]: "The serpent dust shall be his food." R. Ami and R. Assi said--the one, that whatever he eats, he tastes the flavour of earth; and the other, that whatsoever he should eat, he is not filled, unless he eats earth after it.

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jose said: Come and see. The visage of the Holy One, blessed be He, is not like that of a human being. When a human being incenses another, the latter tries to embitter his life; the Lord, when He cursed the serpent to eat earth, the serpent finds his food wheresoever he goes. He cursed Canaan, that it should be subjected: so it eats what its master eats, and drinks what its master drinks. He has cursed woman, and all run after her. He has cursed the earth, and the world is nourished by it.

It is written [Num. 11:3]: "We remember the fish which we ate in Egypt." Said Rabh and Samuel--one, that simply fish is meant; and the other, licentiousness (since forbidden by the commandments). He who says "fish," says it is plainly mentioned "ate"; and the other, who says licentiousness is meant, proves it from Proverbs xxx. 20: "She eateth, and wipeth her mouth."

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jose said: As the prophet told the Israelites all that passed in their dwellings, and the very nooks, so the manna betrayed all their secrets. How so? For instance, two came to Moses, and one said: "He has stolen my slave," and the other said: "You sold him to me." Moses said: "In the morning we will decide it." On the morrow, if the Omer of manna for the slave was found for the one, it was a sign that the slave had been stolen but if for the other, it was evident that he had bought him. If one came and impeached his wife of adultery, and she charged him with that crime, then the Omer decided. If her Omer was found for her husband, it was evident that she had sinned; if for her father, it was plain that he had sinned.

Three verses are written [Num. 15:9]: "When the dew fell upon the camp in the night the manna fell upon it"; and [Ex. xvi. 4]: "The people shall go out, and gather"; and [Num. xi. 8]: "The people went about, and gathered it." How shall the three verses be reconciled? This is meant: For the upright, the manna came down at the door of their tents; for the general, they went out and found it; the wicked had to seek it, till they found it.

In Exodus it is written, "bread from heaven "; and [Num. 11:4], "made cakes of it "; and [ibid.] "ground it." How shall these be reconciled? For the righteous, there was bread ready; as for the general, they made cakes of the flour; and the wicked had to grind it. It is written [Num. 11:8]: "Its taste was as the taste of cakes mixed with oil." Said R. Abahu: As the milk of its mother has various flavours for the infant, so the manna, so long as the Israelites ate it, had for them all flavours.

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It is written [Ex. 16:8]: "Flesh to eat, and bread in the morning to the full." It was taught in the name of R. Joshua b. Kar'ha: Because meat they asked for in an unbecoming manner, they did not receive it as was fitting, but bread which they had asked for properly, they had given to them properly. From this verse we can learn that the usage of the world ought to be that meat is to be eaten only by night. But Abayi has said above: He who has to eat a meal, should eat it only by day? He meant, when there is yet light. Said R. A'ha b. Jacob: At first the Israelites were like chickens, which eat out of the rubbish, till Moses came and fixed for them the times for the meals.

It is written "bread," "oil," "honey." What does this signify? For the young it was bread, for the old it was oil, and for the children it was honey.

The rabbis taught: It is written [Ps. lxviii. 25]: "The bread of Abirim did man eat." Said R. Aqiba: That means, the bread that angels eat. It was told to R. Ishmael. He said to them: Go and tell to Aqiba: Thou hast been in error. Do angels eat bread? It is written [Deut. ix. 9]: "Bread did I not eat, and water did I not drink." What, then, means "Abirim"? It is like "Ebrim" (members); it is absorbed by all the two hundred and forty-eight members, and no refuse is left. But it is written [Deut. 23:14]: "And a spade shalt thou have." Wherefore did they need it? That is because they purchased from the Gentiles other foods also. R. Eliezer b. Parta, however, said: Even what they bought from the Gentiles, the manna dissolved. The above verse applies to the time after they had sinned.

"Forbidden to eat." To what do these five modes of affliction correspond? Said R. Hishda: To the five kinds of affliction found in the Torah: namely [Num. xxix.], "and on the tenth [Lev. xxiii.] "but on the tenth"; [ibid.] "a Sabbath of rest"; and [ibid. xvi.] "and a Sabbath of rest;" and [ibid.] "may it be to you." Here are only five, but in the Mishna we have learned six? Drinking is included in eating, as it is written [Deut. 14:23]: "And thou shalt eat thy corn, of thy wine, and of thy oil," etc.

The disciples of R. Simeon b. Johai questioned him: Wherefore did not the manna descend for the Israelites once a year? He answered: I will explain it to you by a parable. There was a king who ordered that the rations of his son shall be issued but once a year; the son, then, came to see his father but once a year, [at which the king became angry, and] ordered again that the rations should be issued daily, so that the son was compelled to see his father every day. So it was with the Israelites. Whoever had four or five children, worried, and said: Perhaps no manna will descend to-morrow, and all will starve. Consequently they prayed to Heaven every day. According to others, the reason is: So they should have it fresh every day; and still others say: So they should not have to carry it on the road.

It happened long ago that R. Tarphon and R. Ishmael and the elders (of the college) were discussing the subject of manna, and R. Eliezer the Modeite, who was among them, arose and said: The manna in the desert was sixty ells high. Said R. Tarphon to him: Modeite, how much longer wilt thou gather nonsensical words, and lay them before us? He rejoined: Rabbi, I take my theory from the following passages [Gen. 7:20]: "Fifteen cubits above them did the water prevail, and the mountains were (thus) covered." (Now let us see how it was.) Was it fifteen ells above the valleys and fifteen ells above the mountains? Did, then, the water stand like pillars? And, besides, how could the ark ascend the mountains? We must, therefore, say that when all the fountains were broken up,

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etc. [ibid. 11], the water covered the earth, until it reached the top of the mountains, and over that the water was fifteen ells high. As we have a tradition, that the kindness of Heaven is much more than its affliction, and as at the affliction it is said [ibid., ibid. 11]: "And the windows of heaven were opened," and at the kindness it is written [Ps. 78:23]: "Then he ordained the skies from above, and the doors of heaven he opened"; and as we know from another tradition, that a heavenly door is equal in size to four of its windows, consequently there are eight windows in two doors (doors and windows, both plural, not less than two), and as at the affliction from two windows came water fifteen ells above the earth--therefore the manna which came from eight windows cannot be less than sixty ells high.

We have learned in a Boraitha: Issi b. Jehudah says: The manna has increased itself in height till all the kings of east and west saw it, as it is written [ibid. xxiii. 5]: "Thou preparest before me a table in the presence of my assailants."

How is it known that abstaining from washing and anointing is an affliction? Because it is written [Dan. 10:3]: "Costly food did I not eat, and flesh and wine came not in my mouth, nor did I anoint myself" What is meant by "costly food" I have not eaten? Says R. Jehudah the son of R. Samuel b. Shilath: Even bread of pure wheat he did not eat. How do we know it is thought an affliction? Because it is written further [ibid. 12]: "From the first day that thou didst set thy heart to . . . afflict thyself," etc. We have found that abstaining from anointing is an affliction, but how do we know that abstaining from washing is one? Said R. Zutra b. Tubiah: It is written [Ps. 109:18]: "And it cometh like water within him, and like oil into his bones." But perhaps drinking is meant? It is like oil; as the oil here spoken of is used externally, so the water. If you wish, I will say, that we can infer abstaining from washing, as Itz'hak has said, from this verse [Prov. 25:25]: "As cold water is to a fainting soul." Here drinking is perhaps meant? That would be, if it were written "in a faint soul"; but here it is written (in Hebrew), "on a fainting soul." How do we know that the privation of shoes is an affliction? Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: From the following passage [Jer. 2:25]: "Prevent thy foot from being unshod, and thy throat from being thirsty," which means: Prevent thyself from sin, that thy foot be not unshod, and prevent thy tongue from speaking vain words, that thy throat be not thirsty. How is it known that abstinence from sexual intercourse is called an affliction? Because it is written [Gen. 31:50]: "If thou shouldst afflict my daughters." This means, deprive them of sexual intercourse.

The rabbis taught: It is not prohibited to wash an inconsiderable part of one's body, as the whole body. If one is soiled by clay, or any such thing, he may wash himself without apprehension. One may not anoint a part of the body any more than the whole body. But if one is sick, or has an itch, he may anoint without apprehension. The disciples of Manasseh taught: A woman may wash her hand in water, and present bread to the children, without apprehension. It was said of Shamai the Elder: He was averse to give bread to his children, even with one hand, that he should not wash it; so they decreed that he should feed them with both his hands.

The rabbis taught: When a man goes to receive his father, master, or any superior, he may walk up to his neck in water, without apprehension. The schoolmen propounded a question: How if the Master goes to receive the disciple? Come and hear; R. Itz'hak bar bar Hana said: I have seen Z'eri go in water to R. Hiya b. R. Ashi, his disciple. R. Ashi, however, said: On the contrary, R. Hiya b. Ashi went to meet Z'eri, his Master. Rabha permitted the inhabitants across the river to go through the water to watch their fruit. Abayi said to Rabha: I have a Boraitha in support of what you say. Those who keep fruit, may walk through the water, up to their necks, without fear. R. Joseph permitted the inhabitants of Be Tarbu to walk through water to come to listen to the lecture, and return through the same element. Ahayi said to him: It is right that they should come to the lecture, but why return? He said: If they were not to be allowed to return, they would not come at all. R. Jehudah and R. Samuel b. R. Jehudah stood on the bank of the River Euphrates at the passage to 'Hatzdad. Rami b. Papa stood on the other side. He cried to them: How is the law? may I cross over to you? I have to ask of you a Halakha. R. Jehudah answered: Rabha and Samuel both say one way, but one may not draw away one's hands from the skirts of one's robe (not tuck it up on his back, like a burden). R. Pinchas said in the name of R. Huna of Tziporith: The spring that issued from the Holy of Holies was at first like the antennæ of a grasshopper; by the door of the sanctuary it was like a thread of the warp; at the porch it was thick as a thread of the woof; at the door of the forecourt it was as broad as the mouth of a small pitcher. [This is what we have learned in a Mishna (Midoth, ii. 4): "R. Eliezer b. Jacob said: Water will issue in the times to come from under the sill of the Temple."] Thenceforth, it waxed in strength, and when it reached the door of David's house, it was like a streaming river, and these people bathed, as it is written [Zech. 13:1]: "On that day shall there be a fountain opened to the house of David . . . for cleansing from sins and for purification." Z'irah b. 'Hama was the entertainer of R. Ami, R. Assi, R. Joshua b. Levi and all rabbis of Caesarea. R. Joseph the son of R. Joshua b. Levi said to him: Young scholar, come, I will tell thee of the good deeds thy father used to do. He had a kerchief which he used to soak in water on the eve of the Day of Atonement, and then used it on the morrow to wipe his face, hands, and feet. On the eve of the Ninth of Ab, he soaked it in water likewise, and on the morrow cleaned his eyes with it. When Rabba b. Mora came from Palestine, he related that on the eve of the Ninth of Ab, he himself was used to soak a kerchief in water, and take it out, putting it under his pillow; on the morrow he used it for wiping his face, hands, and feet. On the eve of the Day of Atonement he did the same thing, wrung it, and on the morrow wiped his eyes with it. Said R. Jacob to R. Jeremiah b. Ta'hlipha: Thou hast related it in the reverse order that on the Day of Atonement the whole face. etc., was wiped. We have objected: On that day it is prohibited to wring it out.

R. Mnashia b. Ta'hlipha said in the name of R. Amram, quoting Rabha bar bar Hana, R. Eleazar was asked, an Elder, who sat in the college, has he to receive permission from the Nassi to declare the firstlings which have got blemishes fit for slaughtering for personal use, or not? [What was the point of the question the schoolmen have propounded? (Why is the question only about the firstlings? If he has license to decide Halakhas, those about firstlings are included?) The point of the question was this: R. Idda b. Abbin said elsewhere: The matter of firstlings was left to the Nassi, to honour them. But in this case, when he is an elderly man, and one of the first in the college, must he also receive permission, or not?]

Then R. Zadok b. 'Haluqah arose, and said: I have seen R. Jose b. Zimra, who was an old man and prominent in the college, and he was even a degree higher than the grandfather of our Nassi, and nevertheless he received permission to decide about the firstlings. Said R. Abba to him: The case was not so: R. Jose b. Zimra was himself a priest, and the question that was propounded was this: Shall we assume that the Halakha prevails according to R. Meir, who says, "Who is suspect in a matter, must not decide upon it, nor bear testimony about it," or according to Rabhan Simeon b. Gamaliel, who says, "He is believed in reference to his colleague, but not in reference to himself"? And it was decided then that the Halakha pre. vails according to R. Simeon b. Gamaliel.

The same propounded another question to R. Elazar: Whether one might put on a shoe made of cork on the Day of Atonement, and R. Itz'hak b. Na'hman rose, and said: I have seen myself R. Joshuah b. Levi wearing such shoes on the Day of Atonement, and I (Rabha bar bar Hana) asked him: How is it, to put on these shoes on a congregational fast for rain? He answered: There is no difference.

The rabbis taught: Children may do all these things, except putting on shoes. Why? Because it will be said: The adults have laced them on their feet. But the same is the case with the other actions? The other are necessary and usual, but a child is usually barefooted; and if it has shoes, the adults put them on its feet. As Abayi said: My mother told me that warm water and oil, for a child, is good for its growth, and also eggs and Kutah (see Pesachim, p. 68, foot-note), and also objects to break, as Rabha used to buy cracked clay vessels, and gave them to his infants, that they might break them.

"A king and a bride may wash their faces." Our Mishna is in accordance with R. Hanania b. Thradian of the following Boraitha: A king and a bride may not wash their faces. R. Hanania b. Thradian says in the name of R. Elizer: They may. A lying-in woman may not put on shoes. R. Hanania b. Thradian says she may. Why may a king? Because it is written [Is. 33:17]: "The king in his beauty shall thy eyes behold." And why a bride? Because she will otherwise displease her husband. Rabh asked R. Hiya: How long is she called a "bride"? He replied: This is as we have learned in the following Boraitha: A bride may not be forbidden to put on even her ornaments, when she is a mourner, the first thirty days after her marriage. And why may a lying-in woman put on shoes? Because otherwise she will catch cold. Said R. Samuel: Where there is a danger of snakes, or scorpions, all may put on shoes.

"Whosoever eats food to the size of a large date," etc. Said R. Jehudah: The size of a large date exceeds that of an egg, and it was certain to the rabbis that with such a quantity of food one might appease his hunger, but not with less. An objection was raised: We have learned in a Boraitha: What is the prescribed quantity of the food of a man who may join the three men necessary to say the blessing after a meal? The size of an olive. So is the decree of R. Meir. R. Jehudah says: The size of an egg. Because it is written [Deut. 8:12]: "Thou hast eaten, and art satisfied"; and by food less than the size of an egg we cannot appease hunger. We see, then, that R. Jehudah says: One can be satisfied by food the size of an egg. Why does he say, above, of a large date? Therefore we must say, R. Jehudah must have said a large date is somewhat smaller than an egg. With food the size of an egg, one may be satisfied; but in this case one can still appease hunger with food to the size of a large date.

We have learned in a Boraitha: Rabbi said: All prescribed quantities are only of the size of an olive, except in case of defilement of eatables, about which Scripture has deviated from its rule. Therefore the sages have also altered this prescribed quantity, and a proof of this is the Day of Atonement. How has Scripture deviated in regard to them? It has said [Lev. xxiii. 29]: "Every soul that will not afflict itself." The sages have altered in this case the prescribed quantity by making it as a large date. Why could he say, the Day of Atonement is a proof? (We see, as will be written further, that Scripture has deviated in case of defilement also. Why, then, could he say, the Day of Atonement is proof?) The deviation in regard to defilement we might have thought to be the usual language of Scripture. But here, when it is said 'I shall not afflict itself, it is a deviation, because it might have been said: "The soul that had eaten." (What is it? It was taught:) What is the reason that an eatable subject to defilement must be of the size of an egg? Because it is written [ibid. 11:34]: "Of all eatables which may be eaten." What is that? What is an eatable which comes from an eatable? An egg of a hen (which can be eaten itself, as well as the hen),

"Or drinks a mouthful." Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: Not a whole mouthful is meant, but so much as would make the check bulge out. But we have learned, a mouthful? Nay, it is meant, as a mouthful. The disciples of Zera opposed: Why do they say, about food "the size of a date" (equal for all), and about beverages, "a mouthful" (differing in every person)? Abayi answered: It was certain to the rabbis that food of the size of a date appeases hunger, but only that one's own mouthful of water will quench thirst, not necessarily another's mouthful.

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"All kinds of food are reckoned together to the size of the date." Says R. Papa: When one has eaten meat and salt, both are reckoned. And although salt is no food, yet as salt is used with meat, it is also reckoned. Resh Lakish said: The sauce which is upon herbs is reckoned with them. Is this not self-evident? One may say, the sauce is a beverage, and not counted; hence he came to teach, that since it is only made to flavour the herbs, it is reckoned part of the dish. Resh Lakish said again: When one commits an excess in eating on the Day of Atonement, he is not culpable. What is the reason? Because it is written, "They should afflict themselves," and this afflicts him. Said R. Jeremiah in the name of Resh Lakish: A layman who has eaten to excess of the heave-offering must only pay the costs, but not one-fifth more; because it is written [ibid. 22:14]: "If a man eat." But eating to excess, to one's hurt, is not called eating.

"Food and beverage are not reckoned together." Who is the Tana who says so? Said R. Hisda, and also Resh Lakish: In this differ the Tanaim, in Tract M'ilah, and our Mishna is according to R. Joshua. R. Johanan says: It may be even according to the rabbis, but there they differ from R. Joshua on the point of defilement, but not from our Mishna, where the question is about appeasing hunger or thirst, for which purposes foods and beverages are not to be reckoned together.

MISHNA: If one has eaten and drunk through forgetfulness, he must bring only one sin-offering. If he has eaten and also done work, he must bring two. If he has eaten food not fit for eating, or drunk liquids not fit for drinking, as brine or fish-lye, he is not guilty.

GEMARA: Resh Lakish said: Why is there no positive command to afflict one's self? It is only said: "Every soul that not afflict itself, will be cut off." It could not be otherwise: If it were written, "shall not eat," instead of "will not afflict itself," then we might think, eating food of the size of an olive was also a sin. Then, should it have been written: "Beware lest you should not afflict yourselves," we might think, beware not to afflict ourselves, but go and eat!--The disciples of R. Ishmael have taught. (It is an analogy of expression.) Here it is written, "affliction," and [Deut. 22:24], "because he has afflicted (done violence to; in Hebrew it is the same term) the wife of his neighbour." As the penalty is preceded by a warning previously, so here the penalty (of being cut off) must have been preceded by a warning. R. A'ha b. Jacob says: (There is another analogy of expression.) Here it is written, "A Sabbath of rest," so it is like all Sabbaths; and as in cases of Sabbath there is a warning, so there must have been a warning (positive prohibition) here. R. Papa says: The Day of Atonement itself is considered as a Sabbath, as it is written [Lev. 23:32]: "Your Sabbath." [It is right if R. Papa says differently from R. A'ha b. Jacob, because he does not deduce it, but finds it expressed in the same passage. But why does R. A'ha b. Jacob not say as R. Papa? R. A'ha b. Jacob requires that verse for what we have learned in the following Boraitha: It is written [ibid., ibid.]: "Ye shall afflict your souls on the ninth day of the month." Shall we assume that we should begin to fast on the ninth? Therefore it is written, "at evening," We might think, when it became entirely dark? Hence it is written, "the ninth." How then? One shall begin to fast while it is yet day. From this we infer that something from the profane must be added to the holy. This is when the Day of Atonement arrives, but how do we know that is so when it departs? Therefore it is written, "from evening to evening." This we know about the Day of Atonement, but about other Sabbaths? Therefore it is written further, "shall ye rest" (Tishb'thu). How do we know about other holidays? Because it is written, "your Sabbaths." From this we deduce that whenever "rest" is enjoined, some portions of the profane day must be super-added to the holy days. But that Tana who infers all these things from the following verse [ibid. 29], "No manner of work shall ye do on this same day," that the penalty is due for violating the day itself, but not the additions made thereto, and this above implies that there are additions, what will he make of these verses? He needs these verses for what R. Hiya b. Rabh of Diphthi has taught, as follows: It is written: "ye shall fast on the ninth." Do we fast on the ninth? We fast on the tenth. This comes to teach, that he who eats and drinks on the ninth, the verse makes him equal (in merit) to him who would fast the ninth and the tenth.]

"If he has eaten food not fit for eating." Rabha said: If he has chewed pepper or ginger during the Day of Atonement, he is not culpable. The rabbis taught: If he has eaten leaves of reeds he is guiltless; but twigs of vines, he is guilty, What is meant by twigs of vines? Said R. Itz'hak of Magdala: Those that flourish between the first day of the year and the Day of Atonement. R. Kahna says: All the thirty days. We have learned in a Boraitha, as R. Itz'hak of Magdala has said: If he has eaten leaves of reeds he is guiltless; of twigs of vines, he is guilty. What are twigs of vines? Such as flourish between the beginning of the year and the Day of Atonement.

"If he has drunk . . . brine as fish-lye." How if he has drunk vinegar? He is guilty? We must say our Mishna is according to Rabbi in a Boraitha which says vinegar refreshes a man.

R. Gidel b. Menasseh of Biri d'Narash once lectured: The Halakha does not prevail according to Rabbi: when the Day of Atonement arrived, the whole world mixed vinegar with water, and drank. R. Gidel heard of this; he became indignant. He said: I have said, when it has been drunk already, one is not culpable, but have not recommended it. I meant a little, but did not mean much. I spoke of vinegar, but not of mixed vinegar.

MISHNA: Children are not made to fast on the Day of Atonement, but when one or two years old they are accustomed to do it, so that they become habituated to obey the religious commandments.

GEMARA: If it is stated "two years," one is understood? Said R. Hisda: It presents no difficulty. The one applies to a healthy child; the other, to a weakly child. R. Huna said: When the child is eight or nine years old, it may be accustomed to fast some hours. When it becomes ten or eleven years old, it may be made to fast rabbinically the whole day. A girl must fast biblically at the age of twelve. R. Na'hman, however, said: When nine or ten years old--some hours; at eleven or twelve--rabbinically the whole day; at thirteen--biblically, a boy. R. Johanan says: So long as it is rabbinical, they need not fast the entire day. Only at ten or eleven they must be habituated to fast for hours, and at twelve they must fast the whole day biblically.

MISHNA: A pregnant woman, who longs for food which she smells, should be fed until relieved. An invalid is fed by the direction of persons possessing medical knowledge; if there be none such, he is to be fed at his own desire, till he says, Enough."

The rabbis taught: If a pregnant woman has smelled sacred meat, or pork, something should be dipped in the sauce thereof, and presented to her mouth. If she is relieved thereby, it is good; otherwise, the sauce must be given to her. If this has not satisfied her either, the meat itself must be given to her. Because nothing is prohibited which is needed to save a life, except idolatry, adultery, and bloodshed.

It happened to a pregnant woman that she smelled food. They came to ask Rabbi. He said: Go, tell her in her car, Today is the Day of Atonement. They did thus, and she became composed. Rabbi said of this child the verse in Jeremiah [i. 5]: "Before yet I had formed thee in thy mother's body I knew thee." That child became R. Johanan. The same accident happened to another woman. They came to ask R. Hanina. He said the same; but it availed not. He said of him the verse [Ps. lviii. 4]: "The wicked are estranged from the womb"; and this child became Sabbathai, who used to buy fruits to sell in time of dearth (and this is forbidden in Palestine).

"An invalid is fed," etc. Said R. Janai: When the invalid says, "I must eat," and the physician says he need not, the patient is obeyed. Why? Because it is written [Prov. xiv. 10]: "The heart knoweth its own bitterness." Is this not self-evident? We might think the physician has a better comprehension of the patient's needs. He chooses to teach us; it is not so. How, if the case is reversed? Then the physician is obeyed, because the patient only fancies he does not need to eat.

An objection has been made to our Mishna: If no medical persons are there, he is fed at his own desire. Hence, when there are such, he is not to be fed at his own desire? The Mishna means: When the patient says he does not need to eat, then he is not fed at the recommendation of medical persons; but if he says he does need to eat, no one is to be consulted.

MISHNA: If a man is seized with bulimy, he may be fed even with unclean food, till his eyes become clear. One who is bitten by a mad dog may not have the dog's midriff above the liver given to him. R. Mathia b. Harash allows it. Moreover, R. Mathia b. Harash also said: "If a person has a sore throat, it is permitted to put drugs into his throat on Sabbath, because the disease may endanger his life, and whatsoever threatens to endanger life supersedes Sabbath."

If a building tumble down, and it is doubtful whether anyone is buried beneath the ruins or not; if it is doubtful whether he be dead or alive, it is permitted to remove the ruins from above him on the Sabbath. If he be found alive, the ruins are to be entirely removed; but should he be dead, he is to be left there.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: Till his eyes become clear. How is it known when his eyes are clear? When he regains his reason to distinguish between good and evil. Said Abayi: Good and evil in taste is meant.

The rabbis taught: He who has been seized by bulimy must be fed with less strictly prohibited foods. For instance, if there is grain from which the heave-offering has not yet been separated, and carrion, he must be given the carrion (as for eating the first the penalty is death from Heaven). When there is such grain and grain of a Sabbatical year, he must be given the latter. When there is that grain, and the heave-offering itself, then there is a difference of opinion between the Tanaim of the following Boraitha: They may give him the grain from which the heave-offering has not been separated, but not the heave-offering itself. R. Thema said: The heave-offering, but not that grain. (The heave-offering is less strictly prohibited because a priest may eat thereof, but of other kind even a priest may not eat.)

The rabbis taught: He who is seized by bulimy must be fed on honey, and other sweet things, as these things make the eyes clear. And although there is no support thereto in the Bible, yet it is written in proof of it [1 Sam. xiv. 29]: "My eyes have become clear because I have tasted a little of this honey." Why is this no support? Because Jonathan had not been seized by bulimy. Said Abayi: This must be given after his repast, but if it be given to him before he has received the food, it will only increase his hunger. As it is written [ibid. xxx. 11, 12]: "And they found an Egyptian man in the field, and took him to David, and gave him bread and he did eat; and they made him drink water; and they gave him a piece of a cake of fig, and two clusters of raisins, and he ate, and then his spirit returned to him, for he had not eaten any bread, nor drunk any water, three days and three nights."

R. Na'hman said in the name of Samuel: He who has been seized by bulimy should be given the fat of a sheep's tail in honey,. R. Huna the son of R. Joshua said: Fine flour with honey is also good. R. Papa says, even barley flour with honey.

R. Johanan said: Bulimy once seized me. I ran to the eastern side of a date palm, and ate the dates. I fulfilled in my own person one verse [Eccl. vii. 12]: "Wisdom giveth life to him who possesseth it." [As R. Joseph has taught: He who desires to feel the real taste of dates, should take them from the eastern side of the palm, as it is written [Deut. xxxiii. 14]: "And through precious fruit, brought forth by the sun" (east).]

R. Jehudah and R. Jose were on the road. R. Jehudah was seized by bulimy. He overpowered a shepherd, and robbed him of his bread. Said to him R. Jose: Thou hast robbed the shepherd! When they came to the city, R. Jose was seized by bulimy. He was overladen with food and sweet things. R. Jehudah said to him: I have only robbed the shepherd, but thou--the whole city. It happened again that R. Meir, R. Jehudah, and R. Jose were on the road. R. Meir was particular about the names of his innkeepers, but the other two were not. When they arrived at an inn, they asked the host: What is thy name? He answered: "Kidor." R. Meir thought: He must be a wicked man, because it is written [Deut. xxxii. 20]: "Ki dor tah puchoth hema"--"for a perverse generation are they." R. Jehudah and R. Jose intrusted him with their purses for safekeeping over Sabbath, and R. Meir did not, but hid it in Kidor's father's sepulchre. Then his father appeared in a dream to Kidor, and told him: "Go and take away the purse that is over my head." Kidor rose in the morning, and told everybody of his dream. They said to him: A dream dreamed on the eve of Sabbath has no significance. Nevertheless, R. Meir kept watch over his money the whole day, and by night removed it. On the morrow R. Jehudah and R. Jose required of Kidor their purses. He said to them: You have never given them to me! R. Meir then said to them: Why were you not particular about names? They said to him: Why has the Master not told us about it? He replied: I say, such men ought only to be suspect, but I could not have said with certainty. Finally, they took him to a store. They perceived he had lentils on his mustache. They went to his wife, and told her that her husband had eaten that day lentils, and she should give them their money. She returned their purses to them, and they went away. He (Kidor) then went and murdered his wife. And this is what a Boraitha states: the failure to wash his hands before the meal caused a man to eat pork (as he was taken for this reason in the inn for a Gentile); and after the meal, caused a murder.

"One bitten by a mad dog." The rabbis taught: Five things have been mentioned as symptoms of a dog's madness: his mouth is opened, his saliva flows, his ears are lowered, and the tail is held between his thighs, and he ever takes the bypaths; and others say, he barks spasmodically. We have learned in a Boraitha: He must be killed by an arrow, or other projectile, for whoever touches him becomes dangerously sick, and who is bitten, dies. What are the remedies? He whose clothes have been touched by the dog, should cast them off, and run away.

R. Huna the son of R. Joshua happened to be rubbed against by a rabid dog; he stripped himself, and ran away, and said: I have fulfilled in my own person the verse: "Wisdom giveth life to him who possesseth it." What is the remedy for a bite? Says Abayi: He should fetch the hide of a hyena, and inscribe on it: "I, So-and-So, son of the woman So-and-So, have inscribed on the hide of a male hyena, I have inscribed on it thus: Kanti Kanti Qlirus"; others say: "Kandi Kandi Qlirus; Yo, Yo, Yehavah Tsebaoth. Amen, Amen. Selah." Then he should strip himself of his clothes, and inter them for twelve months; then he should take them out, burn them in an oven, and spread the ashes on the roads. During these twelve months he should drink water only out of copper vessels, that he should not see the image of the dog, as from this he may become dangerously sick. In the case of Abba b. Martha, who is Abba b. Minyumi, to whom this happened, his mother made for him a golden pitcher to drink out of it.

"R. Mathiah b. Heresh said also," etc. R. Johanan had the scurvy. He went to a matron of Rome. She did something to relieve him on a Thursday and the eve of Sabbath. He asked

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her, What shall I do on Sabbath? She said: You will not need to do anything. He said: But if, notwithstanding, I should be obliged to do something? She said: Swear to me that you will not tell of it to anyone, so I shall tell you. [After this, when she had told him, he went and lectured about it to everybody. But he had sworn not to tell? He had sworn, "To the God of Israel I will not reveal"; but to the people of Israel he could. But this deception was a profanation of God's name? He had told her immediately thereupon: I had sworn not to say it to God, but to Israel I would. What was it that she told him? Said R. A'ha the son of R. Ammi: Water of leavened dough, olive oil, and salt. R. Yemar says: Not the water, but leavened dough itself, olive oil, and salt. R. Ashi says: Fat of the wing of a goose. Said Abayi: I have used all these things, and was not cured until an Arab merchant said: The stones of olives, one-third grown, should be taken and burned in a new Mar, and be applied to the rows of the teeth. This I have done, and have been cured. What causes such a sickness? Eating of hot wheat bread, or the remains of a dish of Haisana (fish fried in oil) from the previous evening. What are its symptoms? When something is put on the teeth they begin to bleed.] R. Johanan did it on the Sabbath and was cured. How did R. Johanan do this? His life was not threatened? R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak said: Scurvy begins in the mouth and ends in the entrails. Said R. Hiya b. Abha to R. Johanan: Do you hold, then, as R. Mathiah b. Heresh, who says: If one has a sore mouth, it is permitted? He said: Yea, for I say, to put drugs into his mouth. In regard to this sickness the sages agree with him, but about other diseases they do not. Come and hear in support of this: Rabba b. Samuel taught: A pregnant woman, who smells food, should be fed till relieved. One bitten by a mad dog should be fed on the midriff of its liver; and he who has a sore mouth may have medicines put into it or, Sabbath. So has said R. Eliezer b. Jose in the name of R. Mathiah b. Heresh. And the sages say: In this case, but not other cases. Which case? Should we say, that of the pregnant woman, there are none differing about it; if of the mad dog, they are at variance about it. Hence the putting in of medicines is meant. Said R. Ashi: From our Mishna we can perceive it; for all the things about which the sages and R. Mathiah are at a variance are mentioned before, and then it is said: "R. Mathiah b. Heresh said also," and the rabbis do not differ with him. Now, if it were something from which the rabbis differed, it would be mentioned above, among the other things.

"Whatsoever threatens to endanger life supersedes Sabbath." Why has this to be mentioned again? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: Not only when it is doubtful whether his life is threatened this Sabbath, but even the next, it is allowed. How can this happen? E.g., when it has been estimated on a Sabbath that the patient must take the remedy the next eight days, lest it be said: The evening will be waited for; so that only the next Sabbath will have to be violated, it comes to teach us it is not so. We have learned thus in a Boraitha: Warm water has to be heated for a patient, whether for drinking or to wash him, even when the consequences of these measures will be felt the next Sabbath. It should not be said: It will be delayed, perhaps these remedies will not be needful; but immediately he must get them, because the danger to life supersedes Sabbath, not only if the danger is this Sabbath, but will be the next Sabbath. But these things must not be done through Gentiles as Samaritans, but the greatest Israelites. But such things must not be done when neither the physician nor the patient says this is necessary, but only women as Samaritans. But their opinion is added to give weight to others' opinions.

The rabbis taught: The Sabbath is superseded when life is threatened; and with more alacrity this is done, the greater the praise. Permission from Beth Din need not be taken for it. How so? When a child is seen to have fallen into the sea, it should be fished for immediately; and the sooner one does this, the more praiseworthy one is; and no permission from Beth Din is to be taken for it, even when he will take up in the net at the same time game fish. If one has seen a child fall into a pit, he may remove a piece of earth to save it the sooner. The more quickly he does it, the more praiseworthy he is, and though he forms by this means a staircase, he need not take license from Beth Din. If he saw a child enter, behind which the door got locked, he should break open the door immediately, and the sooner the better; and he need not take permission from Beth Din, even when by this means he breaks it for kindling. If he has perceived a fire kindled on Sabbath, he should extinguish it immediately; and the sooner the better, and even when the coals he saves from consumption will be used by him later for roasting meat.

"If a building tumble down." How is it to be understood? It is meant to say, that not only when it is doubtful whether one is there, and lives, or is not there; but even when the uncertainty is whether being there, he lives, or is dead, nevertheless the ruins are to be removed. If he is found alive, the ruins are entirely cleared. Is this not self-evident? The Mishna means to say, when it is known that he is dying, still the ruins are to be removed. If he is dead, he is to be left. Is not this also self-evident? This is to teach us that it is not according to R. Jehudah b. Lakish of the following Boraitha: Sabbath is not superseded to save a corpse from fire. R. Jehudah b. Lakish, however, said: I have heard, a corpse may be saved from fire, even on Sabbath. But even according to R. Jehudah b. Lakish, a corpse is to be saved only from fire; because otherwise he to whom the corpse is dear will extinguish the fire. But in this case, even when the dead body is dear to him, what can he do (to violate the Sabbath)?

The rabbis taught: When the body under the ruins seems dead, what members are to be brought to light and examined? As far as the nose. Others say, as far as the heart. When it does not beat, he is taken to be dead. But if one has commenced with examining the head and heart, and found them defunct, one should nevertheless bring to light the other parts, and examine them. As it happened, that the upper parts were dead, and yet the lower had still some life, said R. Papa: The sages differ when one has commenced the examination from below upwards; but from above downwards, that is, when the nose has been found to have ceased breathing, no further examination is needed, as it is written [Gen. vii. 22]: "All in whose nostrils was the breath of life." It happened long ago that R. Ishmael, R. Aqiba, and R. Eliezer b. Azariah were on the road; and Levi, the Sadar, or Sarad, 1 and R. Ishmael the son of R. Eliezer b. Azariah followed them. They were asked the following question: How is it known that, when life is in danger, Sabbath may be violated? R. Ishmael answered: It is written [Ex. xxii. 2]: "If a thief be found while breaking in and be smitten so that he die, there shall no blood be shed for him." We can deduce, a fortiori, from this: If in this case, when it is doubtful whether he had come to steal only, or to murder, yet taking his life is permitted, although bloodshed defiles the land and causes the Shekhina to remove from Israel, how much more is violation of the Sabbath (less important than bloodshed) permitted to save a human life.

R. Jonathan b. Joseph says: From the following verse: Of Sabbath it is written [Ex. xxxi. 14]: "For it is holy unto you." Unto you: The Sabbath is for you, but not you for the Sabbath. R. Simeon b. Menasseh says: It is written [ibid. 16]: "And the children of Israel shall keep the Sabbath." The Torah enjoins thus: Violate one Sabbath, that ye may keep many Sabbaths. R. Jehudah said: Samuel has said: If I had been there, I would have said a thing better than this; namely, it is written [Lev. 18:5]: "Ye shall keep my statutes . . . which, if a man do, he shall live by them." He shall live by them, but not die. Said Rabba: All the verses from which they have deduced it may be questioned, but to Samuel's nothing can be objected. Rabbina, and according to others R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak, has said of this: One grain of pungent pepper is better than a whole basket of cucumbers.

MISHNA: Sin-offerings and trespass-offerings atone. Death and the Day of Atonement, if one is penitent, atone. Penitence atones for slight breaches of positive or negative commandments; for grave sins, it effects a suspension, till the Day of Atonement completes the atonement. To him who says: "I will sin, repent, sin again, and repent again," is not given the opportunity to repent. For him who thinks, "I will sin; the Day of Atonement will atone for my sins," the Day of Atonement does not atone. A sin towards God, the Day of Atonement atones for; but a sin towards his fellowman is not atoned for by the Day of Atonement so long as the wronged fellowman is not righted. R. Eliezer b. Azariah lectured: It is written [Lev. 16:30]: "From all your sins before the Lord shall ye be clean." (This is our tradition.) The sin towards God, the Day of Atonement atones for; but sins toward man, the Day of Atonement cannot atone for till the neighbour has been appeased.

Said R. Aqiba: Happy are ye, O Israel. Before whom do ye cleanse yourselves, and who cleanses you? Your Father who is in Heaven. For it is written [Ezek. 36:25]: "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean "; and it is also written: "The Migveh (hope, or legal bath) of Israel is the Lord." As a legal diving-bath purifies the unclean, so does the Holy One, blessed be He, cleanse Israel.

GEMARA: "Death and the Day of Atonement," etc. Only when one is penitent, but otherwise they do not atone? Shall we assume that the Mishna is not in accordance with Rabbi, in the following Boraitha: "Rabbi says: All sins mentioned in the Bible, whether one is penitent or not, are atoned by the Day of Atonement, except throwing off the yoke (of God), expounding the Torah falsely, and abolition of circumcision (and mocking a fellowman). These sins are atoned for by the Day of Atonement, if one is penitent, but not otherwise." It may be said even that the Mishna is in accordance with Rabbi: Penitence is supplemented by the Day of Atonement or Death, but the Day of Atonement does atone alone.

"Penitence atones for slight breaches, if positive or negative," etc. Why has it to be told, positive? If negative, so much the more positive? Said R. Jehudah: The Mishna meant to say, a positive commandment, or a negative commandment inferred from a positive. But a real negative commandment is not atoned? There is a contradiction from the following Boraitha: What are called slight sins? A breach of a positive and negative commandment, except the negative commandment [Ex. 20:7]: "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain"; and all things equal to this: since this, which is a real negative commandment, is excepted, the other negative commandments are atoned for? Come and hear another contradiction: It is written [Ex. 34:7]: "And he will clear of sins." We might think, from this sin, the breach of the negative commandment, "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord," etc., he will also clear. Therefore it is further written, "by no means." Shall we assume, that from the breaches of all negative commandments he will not clear? Therefore it is written [Ex. 20:7]: "For the Lord will not hold him guiltless (the Hebrew term is the same) that taketh His name in vain." Infer from this, that breaches of other negative commandments he does atone for? (How, then, does Jehudah say that the breaches of real negative commandments are not atoned for?) There is a difference of opinion among the Tanaim, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: "What does penitence atone for? For breaches of positive, and negative inferred from positive, commandments. And for which does penitence only gain a suspension, and the Day of Atonement atones? The sins for which the penalties are Karoth, death by Beth Din, and real negative commandments."

The Master has said: Because it is written [Ex. 34:7]: "He will clear of sins," how is it to be understood? That is as we have learned in the following Boraitha: R. Elazar said: We cannot say it means, He clears of sins, because it is written further, "by no means" does He clear. We cannot say, He does not, because it is written "clear of sins." 1 We must therefore explain the verse: He clears of sins those who do penance; and does not, those who are not penitent.

R. Mathiah b. Heresh asked R. Elazar b. Azariah at Rome: Have you heard of the four differences made in atonements, about which R. Ishmael lectured? He replied to him: There are only three, and penitence is combined with each. When one has transgressed a positive commandment, and done penance, he is atoned for before he goes away from his place. As it is written [Jerem. 3:14]: "Return, O backsliding children." If he has transgressed a negative commandment, penitence suspends (the sentence), and the Day of Atonement atones. As it is written [Lev. 16:30]: "For on that day shall he make atonement for you, to cleanse you from all your sins." If he has committed sins for which the penalties are Karoth, or death by Beth Din, then penitence and the Day of Atonement suspend (the sentence in Heaven) and afflictions wipe it out. As it is written [Ps. 89:33]: "Then will I visit with the rod their transgressions, and with plagues their iniquity." But he who has on his conscience the defamation (profaning) of God, neither penitence can suspend, nor the Day of Atonement atone for, nor sufferings wipe out. But all the three only suspend, and death wipes out, as it is written [Is. 22:14]: "And it was revealed in my ears by the Lord of hosts: Surely this iniquity shall not be forgiven unto you, until ye die."

What is called defamation of God? Says Rabh: For instance, if I take meat from the butcher, and do not immediately pay, I profane God (by its being said, a great and religious man robs). Says Abayi: This is when it is the custom to pay cash, but not where it is the usage to pay later. R. Johanan says: For instance, when I should walk four ells without Torah (in my mind), I profane God. R. Janai's disciples have said: When a man's companions are ashamed of his reputation, it profanes God. Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: (What is meant by reputation?) When people say of a man: "O God, pardon him for his deeds." And Abayi says, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: It is written [Deut. 6:5]: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God." That means, God's name should be loved through thee; that is to say, a man must read and study the Torah, and attend on (serve) scholars, and his dealings with the world should be mild. What do people then say of him? Well with his father, who taught him Torah; well with his teacher, who has instructed him in Torah, and woe to those people who have not learned the Law! Behold, the one who has learned Torah, how beautiful are his ways, how just his deeds! Of him says the verse [Is. 49:3]: "And he said unto me, My servant art thou, O Israel, thou on whom I will be glorified." But if one has learned Torah and served the scholars, but is in his dealings not honest and speaks with people not gently, then what do people say about him? Behold, him who has learned Torah, woe to his father, that has taught him Torah; woe to his teacher, who has instructed him in Torah! See the one who has learned Torah, how evil are his ways, how evil his deeds! Of him says the verse [Ezek. xxxvi. 20]: "They profane my holy name, because they said of them, these are the people of the Lord, and out of his land are they gone forth."

R. Hania b. Hanina said: Penitence is great, and brings healing to the world, as it is written [Hosea xiv. 5]: "I will heal their backsliding, I will love them freely." The same has found a contradiction: It is written [Jerem. 3:14]: "Return, O backsliding children"; by which seems to be implied a former backsliding. And here it is written: "I will heal thy backsliding," where it seems to be implied that it will remain, only be healed. It presents no difficulty. When one does penance out of love towards God, he is as he had not been; but if he does penance only out of fear, his previous sins remain, only they are healed.

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R. Jehudah finds a contradiction: In these verses it is written, "backsliding children," and elsewhere [Jerem. 3:14]: "For I am become your husband and will take you." It presents no difficulty. Children they are called, when they do penance out of love or fear; and otherwise, when they do it through suffering. 1

R. Levi said. Penitence is great. It reaches the throne of His glory, as it is written [Hosea xiv. 2]: "Return, O Israel, even unto the Lord thy God." R. Johanan said: Penitence is great, so that it supersedes a negative commandment in the Torah. As it is written [Jerem. iii. 3]: "One could say, Behold, if a man send away his wife, and she go from him, and become another man's, can he return unto her again? Would not that land be greatly polluted? and thou hast played the harlot with many companions, and wilt yet return to me, saith the Lord." (So penitence is greater than the commandment not to take back one's wife, married to another.)

R. Jonathan said: Penitence is great, so that it brings the redemption, as it is written [Is. lix. 20]: "But unto Zion shall come the redeemer, and unto those who return from transgression in Jacob," which means, Why is the redeemer come? Because Jacob has returned from transgressions. Resh Lakish says: Penitence is great: even the sins that have been done intentionally are considered as if they had been done unintentionally. As it is written [Hosea 14:2]: "For thou hast stumbled in thy iniquity." Iniquity is intentional, and yet it is called "stumbling." This is not so? Did not Resh Lakish himself say: Penitence is great, so that intentional sins come to be considered as merits, as it is written [Ezek. xxxiii. 19]: "And when the wicked returneth from his wickedness, and executeth justice and righteousness, he shall surely live for them"? It presents no difficulty. One is from love, and the other from fear. R. Samuel b. Na'hmani in the name of R. Jonathan says: Penitence is great. It causes man to live long, as it is written: [ibid., ibid.]: "He shall surely live." R. Itz'hak said: In Palestine, they say in the name of Rabha b. Mari as follows: Come and see. The ways of the Holy One, blessed be He, are not like the ways of a man. When a man had incensed another man by his speech, it is doubtful whether he has really appeased him or not; but the Holy One, blessed be He, even if a man commits a sin in secret, allows himself to be appeased, as it is written [Hosea 19:3]: "Take with you words, and return to the Lord." And not this alone, but He takes it as a favour, as it is written [ibid., ibid.]: "Accept good"; and not this only, but the verse makes him equal to one who has sacrificed bullocks, as it is written at the end of the verse: "Let us repay the steers with our lips." Perhaps it will be thought like steers as sin offerings. Therefore it is written [ibid. 5]: "I will heal their backsliding, I will love them voluntarily."

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Meir used to say: Repentance is great: when an individual repents, the whole world is pardoned, as it is written: "I will heal their backsliding, I will love them freely; for my anger is turned away from them." 1 It is not said from them, but from us, from all of us.

What is a penitent man? Said R. Jehudah: When he had an opportunity to do a sin once, and a second time he did not do it. The same explains: That is meant, the same woman, the same place, the same time. R. Jehudah said again: Rabh found a contradiction in the following passages: It is written [Ps. 32:1]: "Happy is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered," and [Prov. 28:13]: "He that concealeth his transgressions will not prosper." It presents no difficulty: This refers to a sin publicly known: he ought to confess, and repent; but that refers to one not yet known; he ought to repent before it has become known. R. Zutra b. Tubia said in the name of R. Na'hman: The one refers to a sin toward a man: he must make it public, and appease the man; but a sin toward God, one need not make public, but repent.

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jose b. R. Jehudah said: When a man sins the first time he is pardoned; the second time, he is pardoned; the third time, he is pardoned; the fourth time, he is not pardoned, as it is written [Amos 2:6]: "Thus hath said the Lord, For three transgressions of Israel, and for four, will I not turn away their punishment." And it is written [Job 33:29]: "Lo, all these things doth God two or three times with man." [What is the second passage required for? From the first we might think it is only the case with a congregation; but the second shows to us that it is true in case of an individual also.]

The rabbis taught: The sins one has confessed on one Day of Atonement, he need not confess on the next Day of Atonement. This is the case, if he has not repeated the sin; but in that case, he should repeat the confession. If, without having sinned again, he confessed again, then to him applies the verse [Prov. 26:11]: "As a dog returneth to his vomit, so doth a fool repeat his folly." R. Eliezer b. Jacob, however, said: So much the more may he be praised, as it is written [Ps. li. 5]: "For of my transgressions I have full knowledge, and my sin is before me continually."

When he confesses, he must specify his sin, as it is written [Ex. 32:31]: "This people hath sinned a great sin, and they have made themselves a god of gold." So said R. Jehudah b. Babha. R. Aqiba, however, said: "Happy is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered." [Why, then, has Moses specified the sin? It is, according to R. Janai: Moses said to the Holy One, blessed be He: "Lord of the universe, thou hast given so much gold that they said, 'Enough.' This has caused that they made a golden god."]

Two good leaders Israel had: Moses and David. Moses said: May my sins be inscribed, as it is written [Num. 22:12]: "Because ye have not confided in me, to sanctify me." And David said: May my sins not be inscribed; namely, "Happy is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered."

Moses and David may be compared to two women punished in court: one, because she has really sinned, and the other, because she has eaten fruit of the Sabbatical year. The second said: Pray, proclaim what my transgression is, that it should not be thought I am punished for the same sin as the other woman. They took the fruit, and suspended it on her neck, and proclaimed: Be it known, she has been chastised for eating fruit of the Sabbatical year.

The evil deeds of hypocrites should be made public, that the name of the Lord may not be profaned. As it is written [Ezek. 3:20]: "When a righteous man doth turn from his righteousness and doeth what is wrong, then will I lay a stumbling-block before him."

When a confirmed sinner repents, the execution of the punished is not carried out, even after the decree has been sealed.

The mirth of the wicked ends in sin; and the possession of power (dominion) buries him who wields it. Naked he enters, and naked he comes out. Were he but as clean when he goes out as when he came in! He who is given to philanthropic activity, him sin reaches not; and he who induces the public to sin, to him is not given from Heaven the opportunity to repent. The first is not allowed (from Above) to sin, that he may not be in Gehenna while his disciples are in Paradise, as it is written [Ps. 16:10]: For Thou wilt not abandon my soul to the grave, Thou wilt not suffer Thy pious to see corruption; and the second is not permitted to repent, that he should not be in Paradise while his disciples will be in Gehenna, as it is written [Prov. 28:17]: "A man oppressed by the load of having shed human blood will flee even to the pit: they shall not support him."

"I will sin, the Day of Atonement will atone." Shall we assume that our Mishna is not in accordance with Rabbi, who said in the following Boraitha: All the sins mentioned in the Bible, whether one has repented or not, are forgiven on the Day of Atonement? The Mishna may be according to Rabbi; but if he sins, relying on the Day of Atonement to atone for his sins, then Rabbi also agrees that he is not pardoned.

"Transgressions towards God." R. Joseph b. Habu pointed to a contradiction to R. Abahu: Here it is said: The sins against men the Day of Atonement does not atone for. But is it not written [2 Sam. 2:25]: "If one man sin against another, God will forgive him when be will pray"? Not God is meant [Elohim, God or Judge], but the Judge; and by "Upil'lo," not "will forgive for prayer" is meant, but "shall punish." If it is so, what means what is written further, "If against the Lord a man should sin, who shall judge him?" (Cannot God himself judge him?) This is meant: If one sins against a man, and appeases him, God forgives; but if he sins against God, who can pray for him (not judge)? Repentance and good deeds.

R. Itz'hak said: He who has provoked his neighbour, even by words, must appease him, as it is written [Prov. 6:1, etc.]: "My son, if thou hast become surety for thy friend," etc., "go hasten to him and urge thy friend," which means, if thou hast his money, open thy palm, and restore it to him; if not, request some persons to pray him to forgive thee. Said R. Hisda: He must try to appease him three times, and among three circles of persons, as it is written [Job 33:27]: "He then should assemble men around, and say, I have sinned, and perverted what is right, yet have I not received a like return" (three verbs: "sinned," etc.).

R. Jose b. Hanina said: When one tries to appease another, he need not try more than three times, as it is written [Gen. 1:17]: Oh, I pray Thee, forgive, I pray Thee, the trespass of thy brothers, and their sin, for evil have they done unto Thee, and now we pray Thee, forgive ("pray Thee" repeated three times). And if the offended person is dead, he should bring ten persons to his grave and say: I have sinned against God and him who lies here.

R. Jeremiah had been not on quite good terms with R. Abha: he went to appease him. He sat down on the threshold. The servant-maid came out to empty dirty water, and bespattered him. He said: I was made like unto mud, and applied unto himself the verse [1 Sam. ii. 8]: "From the dunghill he lifteth up the needy." When R. Abha heard about this, he came out and said: Now I have to ask forgiveness of you, as it is written: "Go hasten to him, and urge thy friend."

When R. Zara was on bad terms with any person, he passed him repeatedly, that the other might recollect and appease him. Rabh once had a quarrel with a butcher. When the eve of the Day of Atonement arrived, the butcher did not come to ask his forgiveness. Rabh said: If he does not come to me I will go to him to ask his forgiveness. On the road, R. Huna met him, and inquired of him: Whither goes the Master? He said: I go to appease that man. Then R. Huna said to himself: Abha (i.e., Rabh) is going to kill a man. Meanwhile Rabh came to the butcher, who was cleaving heads of cattle. When the latter raised his eyes and perceived Rabh, he said: Abha, is that thou? Go away, I don't want to have any dealings with thee. When he resumed the cleaving of the heads, a bone flew out, and stuck in his throat, so that he died.

Rabh read a section from the Prophets before Rabbi. In the meantime R. Hiya entered. Rabh began again from the beginning. Then entered Bar Kapara. He began from the beginning again. Later came R. Simeon the son of Rabbi. He read from the beginning once more. Then came R. Hanina b. Hama. He said.. Shall I begin again from the beginning, after so many times? and he did not do it. R. Hanina was provoked by this. Rabh went to him thirteen eves of the Day of Atonement, and yet that man did not permit himself to be appeased. How did he do it? Did not R. Joseph b. Hanina say: More than three times one need not try? Rabh is different. He treated himself more rigorously. How did R. Hanina do so? R. Hanina saw in a dream that Rabh was hanged on a tree, and there is a tradition, if one dreams of a man that is hanged, he will become a head. He said: If I will not permit myself to be appeased, he will go to Babylon, and become a head (of a college) there, and I will become one here."

The rabbis taught: The duty of confession is on the eve of the Day of Atonement, when it grows dark. Still, the rabbis said, one should confess previously to the meal; for if something happen to him at his meal, he will have remained without a confession. But although one has confessed before the meal, he should confess again in the evening, and once more the next morning, and in the additional prayer, Minchab prayer, and the concluding prayer (N'ilah).

At what place in the prayer should he confess? An individual, at the end of the prayer; and the reader for the congregation, in the middle of the prayer. What shall he say? Rabh says: He shall begin: "Thou knowest the secrets of the world"; R. Samuel says, he should begin: "From the depths of the heart"; and Levi says, he shall begin: "In thy Torah it is written thus." R. Johanan says: He should begin: "Lord of the Universe (not for our merits we pray of Thee mercy," etc.); and R. Jehudah says: He shall begin: "Our transgressions are too numerous to be counted, and our sins too mighty to be told of." R. Hamnuna says: He shall begin: "My God, before I was created I had not been worthy to be created; and now when created, I am the same as previously. I am earth during my life, and so much the more when I will be dead. I am entirely before Thee as a vessel full of disgrace and shame. May it be Thy will that I may not sin more; and my sins hitherto mayest Thou in Thy great mercy wipe off, but not by means of suffering." And this was the confession of Rabha the whole year, and that of R. Hamnuna the Younger on the Day of Atonement. Said Mar Zutra: All this has to be said, if he has not said previously, "It is true we have sinned." If, however, he has pronounced this, he need add nothing to it. As Bar Hamduri related, when he stood once before Samuel on the Day of Atonement, he perceived that as soon as the reader came to this sentence, "It is true we have sinned," all rose. Hence he understands that this is the principal part. Ulla b. Rabh was a reader in the presence of Rabha: He began the concluding prayer with: "Thou hast chosen us," etc., and concluded with, "What are we and what is our life?" etc.; and Rabha praised him. R. Huna the son of R. Nathan, however, said: When an individual reads the concluding prayer, he should say, "What are we and what is our life," etc., after it.

Rabh said: The prayer of N'ilah substitutes the evening prayer also. Rabh is in accordance with his theory elsewhere, that it is an additional prayer, and if it has been read, no other prayer is needed for the evening. Did Rabh say so? Did he not say elsewhere that the evening prayer is in general voluntary, not a duty? He means, even according to him who would say it is a duty, the "concluding prayer" substitutes it. An objection was made: We have learned in a Boraitha: In the beginning of the evening before the Day of Atonement, one shall read as prayers the seven benedictions, and confess. The same one does in the morning, and also in the additional prayer, the seven benedictions, and confessions; the same in the "concluding prayer": but in the evening one shall say as prayers seven of the eighteen week-day benedictions. 1 R. Hanina b. Gamaliel said in the name of his ancestors: He shall say all the eighteen week-day benedictions, because he must include the Habdalah in the benediction of Wisdom (Honen Hadaath). The opinions of the Tanaim differ about it.

The disciples of R. Ishmael taught: He who sees Qeri on the Day of Atonement, he shall pray the whole year; but if he has survived this year, he shall be sure of entering the world to come. R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak said: The proof is when the whole world is hungry, he was full. When R. Dimi came from Palestine, he said: He will live long, he will see children and grandchildren, as it is written [Is. iii. 10]: "Shall see seed, live many days."

END OF TRACT YOMAH.

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APPENDIX.

WE think it will please our readers to have placed before them the following letter, written by a Gentile who had witnessed the services at the Second Temple on the Day of Atonement. We give the entire extract as it is translated in "Shevet Jehudah" by Solomon Aben Virga, who translated it from a letter written by Versovius to King Alfonso the Pious, although it began with the Feast of Passover, part of which is already mentioned in Tract Pesachim, as it will be of much interest to the historian to know some details of the Jewish services at the Temple.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER WRITTEN BY VERSOVIUS TO KING ALFONSO THE PIOUS, WHO COPIED IT FROM A WRITTEN REPORT SENT BY MARCUS, CONSUL OF JERUSALEM, TO ROME.

. . . Tenth.--Concerning the service at the Temple, these Jews were reluctant to inform me about it, as they declared it was against their law to inform a Gentile about the manner of their serving God. They have enlightened me upon two subjects only, part of which I saw with my own eyes, and was greatly rejoiced thereat. One was the sacrifice which they brought on the feast that they call Pessach, and is considered to be the greatest of all their feasts; and the second is the entrance of the high-priest, whom we call sacerdote mayor, into the Temple on the day which to them, in regard of holiness, purity, and strengthening of the soul, is the most important of all the days in the year. The Pessach sacrifice, which I have partly witnessed, as also, as I was told, the entire ceremony, takes place in the following manner. When the beginning of the month which they call Nissan approached, by the command of the king and the judges, swift messengers visited every one in the vicinity of Jerusalem who owned flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, and ordered him to hasten to Jerusalem with them, in order that the pilgrims should have sufficient animals for sacrifices and food; for the people were then very numerous, and whoever did not present himself at the appointed time, his possessions were confiscated for the benefit of the Temple. Consequently all owners of flocks and droves came hastily on, and brought them to a creek near Jerusalem, and washed and cleaned them of all dirt. They believed that in regard of that Solomon said [Solomon's Song iv. 2]: "A flock of well-selected sheep, which are come up from the washing." When they arrived at the mountains which surround Jerusalem, the multitude was so great that the grass was not seen any longer, as everything was turned white, by reason of the white colour of the wool. When the tenth day approached--as on the fourteenth day of the month the sacrifice was brought--every one went out to buy his paschal lamb. And the Jews made an ordinance, that when going forth on that mission, nobody should say to his neighbour, "Step aside," or "Let me pass," even if the one behind was King Solomon or David. When I remarked to the priests that this was not seemly nor polite, they made answer that it was so ordered, to show that there is no rank before the eyes of God, not even at the time of preparing to serve Him, more especially at the service itself; at that time all were equal in receiving His goodness. When the fourteenth day of the month arrived, they went to the highest tower of the Temple, which the Hebrews called Lul, and whose stairway was made like those in our church towers, and held three silver trumpets in their hands, with which they blew. After the blowing, they proclaimed the following: "People of the Lord, listen! The time for slaughtering the paschal lamb has arrived. In the name of Him who rests in the great and holy house!" As the people heard the proclamation, they donned their holiday attire; for since midday it was holiday for the Jews, being the time for sacrifice. At the entrance of the great hall stood twelve Levites on the outside, with silver staves in their hands; and twelve within, with gold staves in their hands. The duties of those on the outside were to direct and to warn the incoming people not to injure one another in their great haste, and not to press forward in the crowd, to prevent quarrels; as it previously happened on one of the feasts of Pessach, that an old man, together with his sacrifice, was crushed, in consequence of the great rush. Those on the inside had to preserve order among the outgoing people, that they should not crush each other. They were also to close the gates of the hall when they saw that it was already full to its capacity. When they reached the slaughtering place, rows of priests stood with gold and silver bowls in their hands: one row had all gold bowls and another row had all silver bowls. This was done to display the glory and splendor of the place. Every priest who stood at the head of the row received a bowl full of the sprinkling blood. He passed it to his neighbour, and he to his, until the altar was reached; and the priest who stood next to the altar returned the bowl empty, and it went back in the same manner, so that every priest received a full bowl and returned an empty one. And there occurred no manner of disturbance, as they were so used to the service that the bowls seemed to fly back and forth, as the arrows in the hand of a hero. For thirty days previous they practised that service, and, therefore, found out the place where there was the possibility that a mistake or a mishap might occur. There were also two tall pillars, on which stood two priests with silver trumpets in their hands, who blew when each division began the sacrifice [the paschal lamb was slaughtered in three divisions--see Pesachim], in order to give warning to the priests who stood on their eminence to begin Hallel amid jubilee and thanksgiving, and accompanied by all their musical instruments; on that day, namely, they brought forward all the instruments. The sacrificer also prayed the Hallel. If the sacrifice was not ended, Hallel was repeated. After the sacrifice, they went into the halls, where the walls were full of iron hooks and forks; the sacrifices were hung upon them and skinned. There were also many bundles of sticks; for when there were no more empty hooks, they put a stick upon the shoulders of two of their number, hung the sacrifice upon it, skinned it, and put the particular portion upon the altar, and went away rejoicing, as one who went to the war and returned victorious. The one who did not bring the paschal lamb at the appointed time, was eternally disgraced. During the service the priests were dressed in scarlet, that the blood which might accidentally be spilled on them should not be noticed. The garment was short, reaching only to the ankle. The priests stood barefoot, and the sleeves reached only the arms, so they should not be disturbed during the service. On their heads they had a cap, around which was tied a three-ell-long band; but the high-priest, as they told me, had a band which he could tie around his cap forty times. His was white. The ovens in which they roasted the paschal lambs were before their doors, in order, as they told me, to publish their religious ceremonies, also on account of the festival joys. After the roast, they ate amid jubilee songs and thanksgiving, so that their voices were heard from afar. No gate of Jerusalem was closed during Passover night, because of those who were constantly coming and going, who were considerable in number. The Jews also told me that on the Feast of Pessach the number of those, present was double of that which went out of Egypt, for they wished to acquaint the king with their number.

The second service was the entrance of the high-priest in the sanctuary. Of the service itself they did not tell me, but of the procession to and from the Temple. Some of it I have also seen with my own eyes, and it surprised me so greatly that I exclaimed: "Blessed be He who imparts His glory to His nation!" Seven days before that day which they call Atonement Day, and which is the most important in the entire year, they prepared at the house of the high-priest a place and chairs for the chief of the courts, the Nassi, the high-priest, his substitute, and for the king; and besides these, also seventy silver chairs for the seventy members of the Sanhedrin. The oldest of the priests got up and delivered an oration before the high-priest, full of earnest entreaty. He said: "Bethink thyself before whom thou enterest, and know that if thou wilt loose the devotion of thy mind, thou wilt at once drop down dead, and the forgiveness of the Israelites will come to naught. Behold! the eyes of all Israelites are turned upon thee. Investigate thy deeds. Perchance thou hast committed some slight sin; for there are sins which equal in weight many good deeds, and only the Almighty God knows the weight thereof. Investigate also the deeds of the priests, thy brothers in office, and have them repent. Take it to heart, that thou art going to appear before the King of all kings, who sits upon the throne of judgement, who sees everything. How darest thou to appear, when thou hast the enemy within thee!" The high-priest then makes answer that he has already investigated himself, and has repented all that which seemed to him sinful; that he has also already assembled all the priests, his brother officers, in the Temple, and by Him who rests His name there conjured them that each one should confess the transgressions of his brother officers, as well as his own, and that he prescribed for each transgression a corresponding repentance. The king also spoke to him kindly, and promised to shower upon him honours, when he should safely come out of the sanctuary. After that it was publicly proclaimed that the high-priest was about to take possession of his room in the Temple. Whereupon the people made ready to accompany him, and marched before him in the following order, which I witnessed myself: First went those who traced their ancestry to the kings of Israel, then those who were nearer in the priesthood; then followed those who were of the kingly house of David, and, indeed, in the most perfect order, one after the other, and before them was exclaimed: "Give honour to the family of David!" Then followed the Levites, before whom it was exclaimed: "Give honour to the family of Levi!" Their number amounted to 36,000. At this time the substitute Levites donned blue silk garments; but the priests, 24,000 strong, donned white silk garments. Then followed the singers, the musicians, the trumpeters; then the closers of the gates, the preparers of the incense, the preparers of the holy curtains, the watchers, the masters of the treasury; and then a corps which was called chartophylax; then all who were employed at the Temple, then the seventy members of the Sanhedrin, then a hundred priests with silver staves in their hands to make room, then the high-priest, and behind him the older priests in pairs. At the corner of every street stood the heads of the colleges, who spoke to him thus: "High-priest, enter in peace. Pray to our Creator for our preservation, so that we may occupy ourselves with the study of His Law." When the procession reached the mount of the Temple they halted and prayed for the preservation of the kings of the house of David, then for the priests and the Temple, whereat the Amen exclamation, because of the great crowd, was so loud that the birds overhead fell to the ground. After that the high-priest bowed before the entire people very respectfully, and, weeping, separated himself from them all, and two substitute priests led him into his room, where he took leave of all the priests, his brothers in office. All that took place at the procession to the Temple; but at the procession from the Temple his honour was double, for the entire population of Jerusalem marched before him, and most of them with burning candles of white wax, and all attired in white; all windows were draped with varicoloured kerchiefs and were lighted dazzlingly, and, as the priests told me, the high-priest, during many years, because of the great crowds and rush, could not reach his house before midnight; for although all fasted, nevertheless they did not go home before they convinced themselves whether they could kiss the hand of the high-priest. On the following day he prepared a great feast, to which he invited his friends and relatives, and made that day a holiday, because of his safe return from the sanctuary. After that he caused a goldsmith to make a gold tablet with the following inscription engraved upon it: "I, so and so the high priest, son of so and so the high-priest, have performed the service of the high-priest in the great and holy Temple, in the service of Him who rests His name there, in the year of creation so and so. May He who favoured me with the performance of that service, favour also my son after me, to perform the service before the Lord."

SYNOPSIS OF SUBJECTS OF TRACT HAGIGA (Holocaust).

CHAPTER 1.

MISHNA 1. The law concerning the Holocaust, and who are exempt from it, What is the law in the case of one who is half a bondman and hall free? Johanan b. Broka and R. Elazar b. Hasma have related to their master the wonderful lecture of R. Joshua, and what he rejoined. What is called a fool? The law about the lame, blind, and sick. An entire series of passages from Scripture which the different rabbis wept over when they met them in their studies, and the reason of it. What is meant by "evils and troubles," written in Deut. xxxi. 21? What will become of us with the Minim? For three things the Holy One, blessed be He, weeps every day. What happened to Rabbi and R. Hyya while on the road with the blind scholar, and his beautiful blessings. The law as to minority, and at what age a child is exempt from this condition, 1-13

MISHNAS 2. to 5. The law regarding the offerings which may or may not be brought from the money of the second-tithe. Peace-offerings and burnt-offerings of the pilgrims are divided according to their circumstances. The different opinions of the rabbis regarding the passage: "What is crooked cannot be made straight." The explanation of Elijah to Ben Hei Hei regarding the passage cf. Is. xlviii. 10. About a scholar who has separated himself from the Law. The laws about the dissolving of vows hang in the air, and which laws are suspended by a hair, and which of them are the essential parts of the Law, 13-20

CHAPTER 2.

MISHNA 1. Concerning the discussion of illegal unions, the creation, and the divine chariot. By ten things the world was created: by wisdom, by knowledge, etc. Which was first created, the earth or the heavens? What is meant by the term "heavens"? Woe to the creatures which see and know not what they see, which stand and know not upon what they stand. The names of the seven heavens, and what is contained therein. What answer did the heavenly voice make to that wicked man when he said: "I will ascend above the heights of the clouds," etc.? To whom the secrets of the Law may be imparted. The king among living creatures is a lion, among domestic beasts an ox, among birds an eagle, after which comes man, but the Lord takes His place proudly above them all. The thousands of troops who minister unto him. The stream of fire which is issued . . . comes from before him. Where it comes from. About the nine hundred and seventy-four generations which were held back from being created. What are the eighteen curses of Isaiah. Even at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem there did not cease from them faithful men. About the four who entered in the heavenly garden (Pardes), The legends of A'her concerning R. Meir his disciple when he was alive and after his death, and also what R. Johanan said and did. About what Rabba bar Shila questioned Elijah, and his answer. What R. Jehudah questioned Samuel about the world to come, and what the latter rejoined. Nimus of Gardi and R. Meir (see note). The six things regarding the demons. Every one who gazes upon three things, his eyes grow weak, 21-38

MISHNAS 2. to 4. The difference of opinions concerning the princes and the chiefs of courts. About the law of laying the hand on the offers on a festival, Which is the feast in which thou makest proclamation and reapest? About the garments

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of a common person which are defiled by pressure for Pharisees, 38-43

CHAPTER III.

MISHNAS 1. to 9 All of them treat about the details of the rigorous rules of heave-offerings, and vice versa, The conditions in Judah and in Galilee as to which of the inhabitants are trusted and which are not. About the salamander and the fire of Gehenna, and that the fire of Gehenna will not affect the sinners of Israel, who are full of merit as a pomegranate is full of seed, 44-54

TRACT HAGIGA (HOLOCAUST).

CHAPTER 1.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE HOLOCAUST, AND THE APPOINTED TIME FOR THE PEACE-OFFERING.

MISHNA: All are bound in the case of a holocaust 1 except a deaf man, a fool, a minor, and one of doubtful sex (ατμητος) and one of double sex (androginos), and women and bondsmen, the lame, the blind, the sick, the old, and he who is not able to go upon his feet. What is a minor? Every one who is unable to ride on his father's shoulders, and to go up from Jerusalem to the mountain of the Temple. So is the decree of the School of Shammai. But the School of Hillel say: Every one who is unable to take hold of his father's hand, and to go up from Jerusalem to the mountain of the Temple, as it is said [Ex. xxiii. 14], "Three times," 2 etc. The School of Shammai say: The holocaust involves two silver coins (one-third of a gold dinar), and the feast-offering one meah (one-sixth of a dinar). But the School of Hillel say the contrary.

GEMARA: What is meant to be added by the word "all"? It means to add a man who is half a slave (he was a slave to two men, and one gave him liberty). But according to Rabhina, who says that such a man is absolved from holocaust, what did the Mishna mean to add? One who was lame on the first day, but on the second day he became well. This would be correct according to him who says that on every day of the succeeding six days the obligation of the holocaust exists, but according to those who say that all the six days are only a completion of the first day, and as he was not obliged the first day, although he was fit for it later, he is free from it. What did the Mishna mean to add by the expression "all"? Therefore we must say that it is as stated above (one who is a half-slave), and Rabhina's statement is in accordance with the later Mishna, which states as follows: For the sake of the world, it was ordained that the master of the slave shall be compelled to set him free for the purpose that he should be able to marry a free man, and the slave shall give him a note for it for the half of his value. And the School of Hillel retracted their decision and decided as the School of Shammai; consequently if he is yet half a slave, he is obliged, because he will be free, and the Mishna adds by "all" such a case.

"A deaf man, a fool, and a minor," etc. The Mishna mentions the deaf man together with fool, to teach us that as the fool has no intelligence, so also the deaf man is absolved when he has no intelligence, i.e., when he is both deaf and dumb; but if he speaks but cannot hear, or vice versa, he is obliged. But did we not learn in a Boraitha: Both when he can bear but not speak, or speak and not hear, in either case he is free? Said Rabhina: The Boraitha is not completed, and must read thus: All are obliged in case of a holocaust, and to enjoy the festival, except a deaf man who hears but speaks not, or vice versa, then he is free from holocaust, but not from rejoicing. But he who neither hears nor speaks is free from rejoicing also, because he is exempt from all commandments contained in the Law. And so we also learned in a Boraitha plainly.

But why is a man who hears but speaks not, or vice versa, exempt from holocaust? Because about holocaust he deduces from an analogy of expression as follows: It is written [Deut. 12]: "Assemble the people together, the men and the women, and the children," and [ibid. 2]: "When all Israel came to appear before the Lord thy God." But whence do we deduce that he who hears not but speaks, etc., is exempt from pilgrimage? Because it is written [ibid. 12]: "That they may hear, etc., that they may learn." And a Boraitha taught: "May hear" to exclude one who can talk but cannot hear, and "may learn" to exclude those who can hear but cannot speak. Is that so, that he who cannot speak cannot learn? We know there were two dumb men in the neighbourhood of Rabbi, who were sons of the daughter of R. Johanan b. Gudguda (and others say, sons of his sister), who, when Rabbi entered the house of learning, went in also, shook their heads, and muttered with their lips; and Rabbi prayed mercy for them and they were healed; and it was found that they were well versed on Halakha, and on the whole six sections of the Mishna? Said Mar Zutra: Read in the Bible: They may teach 1 (not "learn"), and who cannot speak cannot teach. Said R. Ashi. Assuredly, it must be so, because if learning is meant it could be deduced from the words, "and they may hear," and he who cannot hear cannot learn.

R. Tan'hum said: He who is deaf in one ear is free from holocaust, because in the verse stated above [ibid. 2] it is written: "In their ears" (in the plural). R. Tan'hum said again: He who is lame in one foot, is also exempt, because it is written: "Three times" [Regalim (times), which means also feet (plural)].

Rabha lectured: "It is written (Song of Songs, 7:2): "How beautiful are thy steps in sandals, O prince's daughter." This refers to the pilgrims on the festivals (see Succah, chap. 4.). R. Kahana said: R. Nathan b. Minyumi lectured in the name of R. Tan'hum: It is written [Gen. 37:24]: "And the pit was empty, there was no water in it." If it was empty, is it not self-evident that there was no water in it? Infer from this that it was empty from water, but not from snakes and scorpions.

The rabbis taught: It happened that R. Johanan b. Broka and R. Elazar b. Hasma went to visit R. Jehoshua in the city of Pekiin, and he asked them: What news is to-day in the house of learning? They answered him . We are your disciples, and we drink only your waters. He rejoined: Nevertheless, it cannot be there should not be something new in the college; tell me whose Sabbath was it for lecturing? And they said: R. Elazar b. Azariah's. And on what verse did he lecture? (asked he again). On the portion of the Assembly. And what did R. Elazar preach? He lectured thus: It is written [Deut. 31:12]: "Assemble the people together, the men and the women and the children." It is right, the men came to learn, the women came to hear; for what purpose were the children brought? Only that those who brought them should be rewarded. And he rejoined: You have had a good pearl in your hand and you wanted to deprive me of it.

He also lectured on the verse Deut. 26:17. (See Berachoth.) The same lectured again: It is written [Eccl. 12:2]: "The words of the wise are like goads, and like nails planted 1 are the words of the men of the assemblies which are given by one shepherd." As the goad keeps the animal which ploughs (to make it straight) furrows, so as to produce sustenance for the world, so also the words of the Law (keep those who study them) away from the ways of death for the ways of life. But if you would say, that as the goad is movable so also the words of Law. Therefore it is written: "Nails." But if you will say, as the nail (makes a hole in the wall and) diminishes (and does not add to it), so also the words of the Law diminish and do not add. Therefore it is written: "Planted"; as a plant is fruitful and multiplies, so also the words of the Law. "The men of assemblies," which means the scholars who sit in assembly, studying the Law and discussing-these make clean, the others make unclean, these prohibit and those allow, these make valid, those make invalid. But if one may say: If it is so, how can I learn the Torah? Therefore it is written: "Given by one shepherd." One God gave them, and one Master (Moses) said it from the mount of the Lord of all creatures, blessed be He, As it is written [Ex. 20:1]: "And God spoke all these words." And therefore you must make your ears as an επιχυσις; (a kind of strainer which receives but lets not out), and gain an understanding heart to comprehend the reason why these make unclean, those clean, etc. Then R. Jehoshua rejoined: I tell you, it is not an orphan generation in the midst of which R. Elazar b. Azariah lives. Why did they not tell him at once the news in the house of learning? Because of the occurrence stated in the following Boraitha:

It happened once that R. Jose, the son of a Damascene woman, went to visit R. Eliezer in the city of Luda, and R. Elazar asked him: What news was there in the house of learning to-day? And he answered: It was voted, and the decision was that in the lands of Amman and Moab the tithe to the poor is to be given on the Sabbatical year (this is explained in Tract Maasroth), and he told him: Jose, stretch out your hand, and take out your eyes. And he did so. Then R. Elazar wept and said: It is written [Ps. 25:14]: "The sacred counsel of the Lord is for those that fear him, and his covenant to make it known to them." And he said to R. Jose: Go and tell them, you should not doubt about your conclusion to-day, because I have a tradition from R. Johanan b. Zakkai, who heard it from his master, and his master from his master, etc., up to Moses on Sinai, that the land of Amman and Moab may give the tithe to the poor on the Sabbatical year. [The reason is because those who went out of Egypt subjugated many fortified cities, but those who went out from Babylon did not, and the first sanctification had sanctified the land only for that time, but not for the future. And those who went out from Babylon left these lands for the poor; they should be supported on them on the Sabbatical year. In another Boraitha it was taught: After R. Elazar became calm he prayed that it should be the will of God that Jose's eyes be cured, and they were cured.]

The rabbis taught: What is called a fool? He who goes out alone in the night, and who sleeps in a cemetery, and who tears the clothes he wears. It was taught: R. Huna said: It is only when he does all these things together. How is the case? If because he is a fool, then any of these is sufficient, and if he does it not through folly, what is the proof of all these? It is meant he does it through folly; but when he does all these things, he is like an ox goring another ox, a camel, and an ass, after which he is considered vicious as to all creatures, so he is considered a fool in all respects. Said R. Papa: If R. Huna had heard the following Boraitha, which states, Who is a fool? When he destroys all things that are given to him, he would have retracted his decree.

"One of doubtful sex," etc. The rabbis taught: It could be written [Deut. xvi. 16]: "The males," which would exclude only the women, but it is written "Thy males," which means to exclude also those of doubtful as of double sex. But why is needed a verse to exclude the women? Is not this a commandment which is dependent upon the time? and it is known that of all commandments which are dependent upon the time the women are exempt. This verse is needed, for at the first glance one might say that it shall be drawn from an analogy of expression, "the assembly"; as to the assembly women are also bound, so would be the case here, therefore, it comes to teach us. The master said: "All thy males to include the minors. But did not we learn in our Mishna, Except a deaf man, a fool, and a minor?" Said Abayi: It presents no difficulty: There is the case of a minor who has not arrived at the age of education yet, and here is the case when he has arrived at such age. When a minor who has arrived at such age, his duty is only rabbinical. Why then is needed a verse? Yea, it is only rabbinical, and the verse is only a support. But to what else does the verse apply? To that of the following Boraitha: Anonymous teachers said: Those whose work imparts to them a bad odor which accompanies them wherever they go, are exempt from the holocaust, because it is written, "All thy males," i.e., all that can go together with others, but not such as cannot be in others' company.

"Women and bondsmen." This is correct as to women, as it was said above, but whence do we deduce about bondsmen? Said R. Huna: Because it is written there [ibid. ibid.]: "Before the Lord thy God," which means one who has only one Lord, but not such as has another lord. Let us see: To what purpose is needed a separate verse? It is known that all the commandments which are obligatory to a woman are so also to a bondsman and all the commandments from which a woman is exempt a bondsman is also exempt, and this is inferred from an analogy of expressions [Deut. 24:1]: "Write her," and [Lev. 19:20] "Her freedom given her," hence a woman and bondsman are equal in duties. Said Rabhina: The verse is needed for one who is half a slave and half free, and it seems to be so because the Mishna taught: Women and bondsmen who were not freed. To what purpose is stated "not freed"? If it is meant that they were not freed at all, "bondsmen" alone is enough. We must say, therefore, that the Mishna meant those who were not wholly free. And what can that be? One who is half a slave and half free.

"The lame, blind, sick," etc. The rabbis taught: It is written "Regalim" to exclude the lame, sick, blind, and old men who cannot go with their feet. What is meant to be added by "who cannot go with their feet"? Said Rabha: Such delicate persons as cannot walk without shoes (and in the Temple it was not permitted to go in shoes), as it is written [Is. 1:12]: "When you come to appear in my presence, who had required this at your hand to tread down my courts?"

We have learned in a Boraitha: If one is uncircumcised, or unclean, he is exempt from the holocaust. It is right of one unclean, because it is written [Dent. xii. 5, 6]: "And thither shalt thou come, and ye shall bring thither." From this we infer, that he who can come in ought to bring, but he who cannot, should not; (and he who is unclean cannot come into the Temple).

But of an uncircumcised, wherefrom is it deduced? This is in accordance with R. Aqiba, who makes an uncircumcised equal to an unclean one, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: R. Aqiba said: It is written [Lev. 22:4]: "Any man whatsoever of the seed of Aaron." "Any man"--it could be written "a man." Why "any man," to include that "the uncircumcised shall be equal to the unclean ones"?

The rabbis taught: R. Johanan b. Dahabai said in the name of R. Jehudah: A man blind in one eye is exempt from the holocaust, because it is written [Deut. 16:16]: "Shall appear," 1 as if one comes to see, it is with both eyes; so if he appears, he must be with both eyes. R. Huna, when he came to the verse above cited, used to weep and say: That a slave whose master exhorts him to come to see him should be debarred from seeing him, as it is written [Is. 1:12]: "When you come to appear in my presence, who had required this at your hands to tread my courts?" Also when he came to the following verse [Deut. 27:7]: "And thou shalt slay peace-offerings, and eat there." A slave who is invited to eat from his master's table, shall be debarred from seeing him, as it is written [Is. 1:1]: "Or what serveth me the multitude of your sacrifices?" R. Elazar, when he came to this verse [Gen. 45:3]: "And his brothers could not answer him, because they were terrified at his presence," he wept and said: If one is thus terrified when a human being has recognised his guilt, how much the more will it be before the Holy One, blessed be He.

Also when he came to the verse [1 Sam. 28:15]: "And Samuel said to Saul: Why hast thou disquieted me, to bring me up?" If Samuel, the upright, was afraid of the judgement, so much the more must we be afraid of it. How shall this be understood? It is written [ibid. 12]: "And the woman said unto Saul: Divine beings have I seen ascending (Olim) out of the earth." Olim is plural. (Who were they?) It was Samuel

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and Moses, because Samuel was afraid. Perhaps he was asked to the judgement, and he had gone to Moses and asked him to testify, that he (Samuel) had done all that was written in his Law. R. Ammi, when he came to the following verse, used to cry [Lam. 3:29]: "That he put his mouth in the dust, perhaps there still is hope." He said: After so much had been done nevertheless it is said "perhaps." Also when he came to the following verse [Zeph. 2:3]: "Seek righteousness, seek meekness, perhaps ye will been protected," he said: After so much will have been done, still it will be "perhaps." R. Asi, when he came to the following passage, used to cry [Amos 5:15]: "Hate the evil and love the good, and establish justice firmly in the gate: perhaps the Lord, the God of hosts." He said: After so much will have been done, it will still be "perhaps."

R. Joseph, when he came to the verse [Prov. 13:23]: "But there are many who are taken away without justice," 1 cried. R. Johanan, when he came to the following passage [Job ii. 3]: "And thou hast incited him against me to destroy him without cause," he cried. He said: If a slave persuades his master, and the master is persuaded, what cure can there be? Also, when he came to the following passage [ibid. 15:15]: "In his holy one he putteth no trust," he cried and said: If he puts no trust in his holy one, whom will he believe? Once when on the road he saw a man pick figs from a tree. He left the ripe ones and picked the unripe ones. R. Johanan asked him: Are not the ripe ones better? He answered: These which are unripe I need for the route, because the ripe ones will be spoilt, but not these. Then said R. Johanan: This is as what is written: He putteth no trust in his holy ones (i.e., they are gathered in before they are tempted to sin).

R. Johanan, when he came to the following verse [Mal. 3:5] he wept: "And I will come near unto you to hold judgement, and I will be a swift witness against the sorcerers, and against the adulterers, and against those that swear falsely, and against those that withhold the wages of the hired labourer, fear me not, saith the Lord of hosts."

R. Johanan b. Zakkai said: Woe is to us, the verse makes equal for us light sins as well as grave sins." (Rashi explains it that the light sin is that of those who withhold the wages of the hired labourer, who is here equal to sorcerers, etc.) R. Hanina bar Papa said: When a man commits a sin and soon repents of it, he is forgiven immediately, because it is written [ibid.]: "And fear me not, saith the Lord of hosts." When he fears and asks for forgiveness, he is pardoned. R. Johanan, when he came to the verse [Eccl. 12:14]: "For every deed will God bring into the judgement, concerning everything that had been hidden," he cried. He said: If there is a slave whose master reckons his unintentional sins as his intentional sins, what cure can there be? What is meant by "everything that hath been hidden"? Said Rabh: When one kills a louse in another man's presence, and makes himself disagreeable thereby to him. And Samuel says: Even if he spits in the presence of his neighbour, and makes himself disagreeable.

What is meant [ibid.], "Whether it be good, or whether it be bad"? The disciples of R. Janai said: That applies to a man who gives charity to a poor man publicly. As R. Janai saw a man give a Zuz to a poor man publicly, he said to him: It would be better if you gave him not at all than as you did now, and put him to shame. The disciples of R. Shila said: It means a man who gives charity to a woman secretly, which brings on him suspicion.

It is written [Deut. 31:21]: "And it shall come to pass when many evils and troubles." What is meant by "evils and troubles"? Said Rabh: Evils that trouble one another; for instance, a man who was bitten by a bee and by a scorpion--for the bee's sting warm water is needed, and for a scorpion's bite cold water is needed, hence the use of either will harm the other wound. Samuel said: What is written before, "whether good or bad," means one who (whether he is in good or bad circumstances) gives money to the poor only when the latter is in extreme poverty. Said Rabha: This is what people say: A Zuz for pleasure is not to be obtained, but a Zuz for trouble must be found (at any time).

It is written [Deut. 31:17]: "And my anger shall be kindled against them on that day, and I will forsake them, and I will hide my face from them, and they shall be given to be devoured." Said R. Bardala bar Tebiumi in the name of Rabh: A man from whom God hides not his face is not an Israelite, and he who is not given to be devoured is not an Israelite, either. Said the rabbis to Rabha: It seems to us that you are neither included in the "hiding of the face" nor in the "devouring." And he rejoined: Can you know how much I must spend secretly on the government? Nevertheless the rabbis looked at him with an evil eye, and finally they came from the government and robbed him of everything. Said he: This is what R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said: Whatever the sages looked at with their eyes, either death or poverty followed. It is written [ibid.]: "And I will hide my face from them." Said Rabha: The Holy One, blessed be He, said: "Although I have hidden my face from them, nevertheless I will talk to them in the dream." R. Joseph said: Still His hand is inclined to us, as it is written [Is. 51:16]: "With the shadow of my hand have I covered thee."

R. Joshua b. Hanania was before the Emperor (Caesar). A Min who stood by showed him with his hand a people from whom God had turned away His face. R. Joshua b. Hanania showed him with his hand that "His hand is still over us." Asked the Emperor of R. Joshua: Do you know what the Min has shown you with his hand? He replied: Yes, he showed me a people from whom God had turned away His face. He asked him: What have you shown him with your hand? He answered: I showed him that God's hand is still inclined over us. The Emperor then asked the Min: What have you shown to R. Joshua b. Hanania? He said the same. And he asked him: What did he show you? He replied: I do not know. Then the Emperor said: A man that does not know what is shown to him by a sign, should he dare to raise his hand in the presence of an emperor? He ordered, and the Min was killed.

When R. Joshua b. Hanania was dying, the rabbis asked him: What will become of us with the Minim? He rejoined: It is written [Jer. 49:7]: "Is counsel vanished from the sons, is their wisdom become corrupt?" And this must be interpreted: When the children of God love their adviser the wisdom of their adversaries becomes corrupt. [And if you wish, we can infer it from the following passage (Gen. 33:12): 11 Let us depart and move farther, and I will travel near 1 thee," which means we will be always equal to those against us.]

R. Ula, when ascending the steps of the house of Rabba bar Shila, heard a child read the following passage [Amos 4:13]: "He that formeth the mountains, and createth the wind and declareth unto man what is his thought." And he said: If there is a slave whose master can declare him what his secret thought is, what cure can there be? What is meant by "He declareth"? Said Rabh: Even a superfluous conversation between a man and his own wife is mentioned to him at the time of his death.

It is written [Jer. 13:17]: "My eye shall weep sorely and run down with tears, because the flock of the Lord is driven away captive." Said R. Elazar: What signify the three tears? 1 One over the first, one over the second Temple, and one over the exile of Israel from their land.

The rabbis taught: For the following three things the Holy One, blessed be He, weeps every day: For him who has the power to study the Law every day and does not; for him whose circumstances do not allow him to study, but who nevertheless does, and for a chief of the congregation who is haughty toward his congregation. Rabbi held the book of Lamentations and read. When he came to the verse [Lam. 2:2]: "He had cast down from heaven unto the earth," the book dropped out of his hand. He said: It fell from the highest attic to the lowest pit.

Rabbi and R. Hyya were on the road. When they came to a city they said: If here is a scholar we will go to pay him a visit. They were told: There is here a young scholar, but he is blind. Said R. Hyya to Rabbi: You, as a Nasi, stay here, not to degrade your dignity, and I will go to sec him. Rabbi did not listen, but perforce accompanied him. The blind man said to them when they were departing: You have come to see a countenance that can be seen, but cannot see; therefore ye should deserve to see that countenance which sees all, but which no one sees. Said Rabbi (to R. Hyya): If I had listened to you, and refrained to accompany you, I could not have received this blessing. They then asked the blind man: From whom have you heard this beautiful saying? (That to visit a scholar is so great a merit.) He replied: I heard it at the lecture of R. Jacob of the village of Hitaya, who used to visit his master every day. When he became old, his master said to him: Do not take this trouble now, for you are too aged to walk every day. He answered: Is this slight in your estimation what is written about scholars [Ps. 49:10]: "Should he still live forever, and not see the pit, for he must see that wise men die"? Now, if he who sees the wise die lives forever, much more so he who comes to see them when alive.

R. Idi, the father of R. Jacob bar Idi, had the custom to be three months on the road, and one day in college. The students of the college called him "the single-day student." So he became discouraged, and said in application to himself the verse [Job 12:4]: "I am as one laughed at by his friends." Said R. Johanan to him "I pray thee, do not cause the rabbis to be punished (by Heaven for their wrong to him), and he himself went and lectured thus: It is written [Is. 58:2]: "Yet me do they ever seek day by day, and to know my ways do they always desire," and said: Do they seek only by day, and not in the night? This comes to teach us that he who studies the Law even one day in the year, the verse makes him equal to one who studied the whole year.

"Every one unable to ride on his father's shoulders," etc. R. Zera was opposed to this teaching, and asked: "And who brought him as far as Jerusalem?" Abayi answered: As his mother is bound to rejoice, she brought him, and there if he can go up to the Temple mountain with his father, he is no longer a minor. To defend the teaching of the School of Hillel, Rabbi replied thus: It is written in 1 Sam. 1:22: Hannah said: "So soon as the child shall be weaned, I will bring him." Why did she let him wait till he would be weaned, since the father could have carried him? Said Abayi 1 to him: According to your question, why did Hannah herself fail to go, since she was bound to rejoice? It must be said, that because of the too delicate condition of the child (which his mother noticed in him) she did not want to go.

"Beth Shammai say two silver coins," etc. The rabbis taught: Beth Shammai say two silver coins for holocaust, because the sacrifice is a burnt-offering and must be more valuable, but for the feast-offering, which is only a peace-offering, one meah suffices. And we find also in case of Pentecost, about which the Law commands the burnt-offering should cost more than the peace-offering. And the Beth Hillel say: For the holocaust only one silver coin is sufficient. But the feast-offering had existed before the Law was given to Moses, as it is written [Ex. 24:5]: "And they offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings." (Although in the Bible it is written after the Law was given, this occurred before.) And we also find when the princes of Israel offered sacrifices, the cost of the peace-offerings was greater than the burnt-offerings.

Abayi said: Beth Shammai (R. Elazar and R. Ishmael) all hold that the sacrifice the Israelites offered in the desert was a holocaust-offering, and the Beth Hillel (R. Aqiba and R. Jose the Galilean) all hold that it was the daily offering, but not that of holocaust. We have learned in Tract Peah, Chap. I., the following things have no biblical prescribed quantity: Peah (the corner); the first-fruit [Deut. xxvi.], and the holocaust-offering, and the conferring of kindness and the studying of the Law. R. Johanan taught to say: They have no prescribed maximum, but they have a prescribed minimum, until R. Oshia the Great came and taught: The holocaust has no prescribed quantity, even a minimum. But the sages said: The holocaust-offering should not be of less worth than a silver coin, and the feast-offering not less than two.

The expression in the above-cited Mishna for the holocaust is "the seeing" (Haraion). Now the question arises what is meant by "the seeing"? R. Johanan said: He can come to the court as many times as he likes to see it; the sacrifice, however, is only once in each festival. Resh Lakish, however, said: Every time he comes to visit the court he must offer a sacrifice. And they differ only during the whole year, not in the festivals. According to R. Johanan he may visit it without a sacrifice, but according to Resh Lakish he must bring a sacrifice, but both agree, in the festivals, he must come with a sacrifice, and one is sufficient for all days of the feast. And Resh Lakish agrees also that when one comes to visit in the middle of the year without a sacrifice, he may nevertheless enter the court and the Temple, but they differ when he came in the middle of the year and brought a sacrifice with him. According to R. Johanan it must not be accepted from him as an offering of the holocaust, because it is not prescribed how many times he should visit, but is prescribed that only one sacrifice in each festival. And according to Resh Lakish it may be accepted, because there is no prescribed quantity for sacrifices also, and he can sacrifice as much as he likes.

We have learned in a Boraitha: It is written [Prov. 25:17]: "Make thy foot scarce to the house of thy friend." From this we may infer: Thou shalt forbear to bring too many sin-offerings. Whence do we deduce this? Perhaps it means too many burnt-offerings or peace-offerings? It cannot be, for it is written [Ps. 66:13]: "I will enter thy house with burnt-offerings; I will pay unto thee my vows (peace-offerings)." Now we see that burnt-offerings and peace-offerings he can offer when he likes. What, then, does the verse mean? Sin-offerings.

MISHNA: Burnt-offerings on the intermediate days come from ordinary things, but the peace-offerings from second-tithe. On the first day of Passover the School of Shammai say that they come from ordinary things, but the School of Hillel say that they come from the second-tithe. Israelites generally fulfil their duty with vows and voluntary offerings, and with cattle-tithe, and the priests by the eating of sin-offering and of the trespass-offering, and by the first-born, and by the breast which hath been waved, and the shoulder which hath been lifted up, but not by eating of birds or of meal-offerings.

GEMARA: According to this Mishna, burnt-offerings are only to be sacrificed on the intermediate days, but not on the festival itself, and this would not be according to the School of Hillel concerning the Mishna in the next chapter? The Mishna is not completed, but must read thus: Burnt, vow, and voluntary offerings can be brought only on the intermediate days, not on the festival itself. The holocaust-offering, however, may be brought even on the festival. And when it is brought it must be only from ordinary things, but the peace-offerings of enjoying may be brought also from the second-tithe; the feast-offering, however, on the first day of Passover, the School of Shammai say, from ordinary. things, and the School of Hillel say, from second-tithe. And so it was taught plainly in a Boraitha. Why is the feast-offering on the first day of the Passover different? Said R. Ashi: The Mishna comes to teach us only the feast-offering of the fifteenth of Nisan may be brought on the festival, but not of the fourteenth (which is brought together with the Paschal lamb). [From this we see that R. Ashi holds that the feast-offering of the fourteenth is not biblical.]

The Mishna says. The School of Hillel say: It may be brought from the second-tithe. Why? Is this not a duty-

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offering, and all that is a duty-offering must come from ordinary things? Said Ula: They meant to say, when he added the money of the second-tithe to the ordinary money. Hezkyah, however, said: An animal from second-tithe can be added to an ordinary animal, but with money it cannot be done so. R. Johanan, however, said: That, on the contrary, money to money can be added, but an animal to an animal cannot be added.

We have learned in one Boraitha in accordance with Hezkyah, another in accordance with R. Johanan.

"Israelites fulfil their duty," etc. The rabbis taught: It is written [Deut. 14:14]: "Thou shalt rejoice on thy feast," that is to add, all the moneys you have for rejoicing you can add to the money for this rejoicing. (It is said in, another place that there is no rejoicing without meat, and as he has money for the second-tithe as for other rejoicing, he can use it to eat the meat of the peace-offerings.) From this the sages infer that the Israelites can fulfil their duty with vow and voluntary offerings and with cattle-tithe; and the priest with sin and trespass-offerings, with the firstlings, and wave (breast) and heave (shoulder), lest one say, also with birds or meal-offerings. It is therefore written: "Thou shalt rejoice thy feast," and from this we may infer that all the things of which a feast-offering may be brought can be used for enjoying, excluding the above, of which a feast-offering cannot be brought. And R. Ashi said: From the expression only "Thou shalt rejoice" it can be inferred, because meal and fowls are not used for rejoicing.

MISHNA: He who has many to eat with him and few possessions brings more peace-offerings and fewer burnt-offerings. He who has more possessions than persons to eat with him brings more burnt-offerings and fewer peace-offerings. If one has little of both, to this case applies the saying about the meah of silver and the two pieces of silver. If he have enough of both, to this case applies the words: "Every man shall give as he is able, according to the blessing of the Lord thy God, which he hath given you" [Deut. 16:17].

GEMARA.. More peace-offerings? Where should he take them? Said R. Hisda: He should add money, and shall bring a large bull. Ula said in the name of Resh Lakish: If one have separated ten animals for his feast-offerings, if he have offered five on the first festival, he may offer the other five on the second day of the festival. R. Johanan, however, said: As soon as he stopped offering, he shall not do it more. Said R. Abba: They do not differ, however. R. Johanan says he must do so, when he stopped, without any condition, but Resh Lakish meant the case when he said, when he stopped, that he would offer more. So It was taught also, that R. Shaman bar Abba said in the name of R. Johanan: The case where he cannot continue his offerings is only when he has no time to continue this day, and did not do so, but when he had time he may continue on the morrow.

MISHNA: If one has not offered the feast-offering on the first day of the festival, he may do it on any of the seven intermediate days, and even on the last day of the festival; but if the feast is over and he has not done it, he is not responsible for this. Of such a person is said [Eccl. 1:15]: "That what is crooked cannot be made straight, and what is defective cannot be numbered." R. Simeon b. Manassea, however, said: Who is this that is crooked that cannot be made straight? That is he who forms an illegitimate connection and begets therefrom a bastard child. If you should say: Nay, it has to do with theft and plunder, then he could make restitution of it and be made straight? R. Simeon b. Jo'hai said: Nothing is called crooked that was not straight at the beginning and has become crooked. And what is this? A scholar that separates himself from the Law.

GEMARA: Whence do we deduce this? Said R. Johanan in the name of R. Ishmael: It is written of the seven days of Passover: "Assembly," and it is also written of the eighth day of the Feast of Tabernacles: "Assembly." As the eighth day of the Feast of Tabernacles is a completion, so also is the seventh day of Passover, and this expression is "empty" (seemingly superfluous), because if it would not be superfluous it could be objected to that the seventh day of Passover is not separated in anything from the former days, but the eighth day of the Feast of Tabernacles is separated from the former days in the offerings and in many things (as is stated in Succah). And in reality this expression "assembly" is superfluous: for let us see: What is meant by "assembly to the Lord thy God"? They shall assemble not to do any labour, and this is already written above [Deut. 16:8]: "You shall not do any labour." Why "assembly" again? Infer from this to make it "empty" for the analogy stated above. But the Tana of the Boraitha infers this from the following passage: It is written [Lev. xxiii. 41]: "Ye shall celebrate it as a feast unto the Lord seven days in the year." Might we assume he shall celebrate the holidays all the seven-days? Therefore it is written "it"--it but not all the seven days. And for what purpose then is it written "seven days"? You must say, they are only for a completion. But whence do you know that if he has not offered the feast-offering on the first day, he may do so on all the succeeding six days of the festivals? Therefore it is written [ibid.]: "In the seventh month shall ye celebrate." If the seventh month, one might assume that he shall celebrate the whole month? Therefore it is written "it" (on the festival), but ye cannot do so outside of the festival.

"If the feast is over," etc. Said Ben Hei Hei to Hillel: If it is so, why is it written, "Cannot be numbered"? It should be written, "Fulfilled"? We must therefore say that this verse means, that if a man was numbered among his colleagues for a religious duty, and he did not want to be numbered--of him is said the verse. So also we have learned plainly in a Boraitha (Berachoth). Ben Hei Hei again asked Hillel: It is written [Mal. 3:18] "And ye shall return and see the difference between the righteous and the wicked, between him that serveth God and him that has not served him." What is the difference between the righteous and the servant of God, or the wicked and him who serves not God? Is it not the same? And he answered: Both he who serves God and serves not are really upright men, but when one repeats his chapter of the Law one hundred times he is not equal to him who does it one hundred and one times. Said Ben Hei Hei again: Can the man be called upright who serves not God, because he did not repeat the one hundredth and first time? And he said: Yea, go and learn from the marketplace, where asses are hired: when one hires an ass for ten parsa, he pays one Zuz, but if for eleven, he must pay two.

Elijah said to Ben Hei Hei, according to others to R. Elazar: It is written [Is. 48:10]: "Behold, I have refined thee, though not into silver: I have approved thee in the crucible of affliction." 1 Infer from this when the Holy One, blessed be He, looked for merits given to Israel, he found only poverty. Said Samuel, and according to others R. Joseph: This is what people say: Poverty becomes Israel as a red leather trapping a white horse.

"R. Simeon b. Menassea," etc. If born, yea, but if not, nay? Did we not learn in a Boraitha: Simeon b. Manassea said: If one has stolen something, he can return it and repair his sin; if one has robbed, he can return, and make all good, but he who has had a connection with his neighbour's wife, and disqualified her for his neighbour, this man is destroyed from the world, and is lost? R. Simeon b. Jo'hai said: We do not say, one shall examine a camel, or one shall examine a pig (because they are unfit, and there is nothing to examine). But what is to be examined? A sheep (which is fit for an offering). Perhaps it has received a blemish which makes it unfit--that is, a scholar who has departed from the Law. R. Jehudah b. Lakish said: Of a scholar who separated himself from the Law the verse [Prov. 26:8] said: "As a bird that wandereth away from her nest so is a man that wandereth away from his place." Of him is also written [Jer. 2:5]: "What fault did your fathers find in me, that they went away from me?" (Now we see, however, that he who has a connection with his neighbour's wife, although he has no bastard born, is also destroyed from the world? It presents no difficulty: If he forced her, she may continue with her husband and he may repent and make it good, but if a bastard was born, she cannot live with her husband, and he is lost; but if he did it with her will, even when there is no bastard, he is lost). And if you wish I will say: In both cases it is when he used force. If he had a connection with the wife of a priest (who cannot live with her husband in any case), he is lost even when no bastard was born; and when it is stated that he is lost only when a bastard is born, the wife of a common man is meant.

It is written [Zech. 8:10]: "And for him that went out or came in there was no peace." Said Rabh: That means, if a man goes out from the study of the Mishna to read the verses of the Bible, this man can have no more peace (because nothing can be decided from the verses without the commentary of the Mishna). Samuel, however, said: Even the man who separates himself from the Talmud to learn the Mishna (because nothing can be decided from the Mishna without the explanation of the Talmud). R. Johanan said: Even he who separates himself from the Palestinian Talmud, and goes to the Babylonian Talmud (because nothing is to be decided from the Babylonian Talmud, as it is said in Sanhedrin: "In dark places that he set me to dwell," etc. [Lam. 3:6], which means, the Babylonian Talmud); and so explains Rashi; but Tosphath says, it can be explained vice versa, i.e., one who goes from the Babylonian Talmud before understanding it thoroughly to the Palestinian Talmud, who will surely not understand it.

MISHNA: The laws about the dissolving of vows hang in the air, and have no basis (in the Bible). The Halakhath concerning Sabbath, feast-offerings, and trespasses are as mountains suspended by a hair, because the verses of the Bible concerning this are very few, and the Halakhath are very many. The jurisprudence, the Temple services, and the purification, and uncleanness, and the cases of illegal unions, have a basis in the Bible, and they are the essential parts of the Law.

GEMARA: We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Elazar, however, said: They have a basis in the Bible, as it is written: [Lev. 26:2]: "If a man make a particular vow," and [Num. 6:2] it is written again: "Pronounce an especial vow." Why twice? It is to signify--one is to make the vow, the other is to dissolve it. R. Joshua said also: They have a basis, as it is written: [Ps. 95:11]: "So that I swore in my wrath." From this we infer, what I have sworn in my wrath, which later I recalled (and from this we infer, who swears, or vows when he is excited, or so, may later ask to have it dissolved). R. Itz'hak said: There is a basis from the following [Ex. 35:5]: "Whosoever is of a willing heart." From this we may infer, he can make a vow with a willing heart, but otherwise he can ask for its being dissolved. Hananiah the son of R. Jehoshuah's brother said: Their basis is the following verse [Ps. 119:106]: "I have sworn and I will perform it, to observe thy righteous ordinances," and when he says, "I will perform it," he may sometimes not do it, although he has sworn, because he will ask it to be dissolved. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: If I would be there I would say to them: The following verse would be better than yours, viz. [Num. 30:3]: "He shall not profane his word." He shall not profane, but others can make him profane it. Said Rabha: To all said above I can object, but what Samuel said could not be objected to.

"The Halakhath concerning Sabbath." Are not written many verses about Sabbath? Why do they say, they are as mountains suspended by a hair? It is prohibited only to labour with an intention, but what is and what is not labour with an intention is not written at all; but the Talmud concludes that it is such that was done in the Tabernacle, because the commandment of Sabbath immediately precedes the building of the Tabernacle [Ex. 25.].

"The offering of peace." Why, it is written? (It is said above, "Ye shall celebrate"? Yea, it is written, "Ye shall celebrate it," but where is it written an offering shall, be brought?) This may be inferred from an analogy of expressions. It is written [Ex. 5:1]: "That they may hold a feast unto me in the wilderness," and it is written [Amos 5:25]: "Have ye offered unto me sacrifices and meat-offerings in the wilderness?" Hence as there is plainly stated "offerings," so also "hold a feast" means to bring offerings. Why, then, is it said, they are as mountains hanging by a hair? Because between the words of the law of the Pentateuch and the words of the Prophets we do not draw any analogies.

"Trespass." Is that not written? Said Rabha: It means as a case of the following Boraitha: If the owner has remembered, but his messenger did not remember, the messenger has trespassed. Now, what has the poor messenger done to trespass? That is, these laws are as mountains hanging by a hair.

"In the Bible are very few," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: That about plagues, tents for a dead body, the verses are few, and the Halakhath are many. Is that so? Of plagues there are very many verses? Said R. Papa: The Boraitha meant to say thus: About plagues there are many verses, but few Halakhath; but about tents there are few verses, but many Halakhath. And what is the difference? That is, if one is doubtful in a Halakha concerning plagues, he should look up the Bible, but if he is doubtful concerning tents, he must look up the Mishnas.

"Jurisprudence." (The Mishna says, it has only a basis. Is it only that?) Is it not written all about it? It is meant a case as in the following Boraitha: Rabbi said: What is written [Ex. 21:23]: "Life for life" means money. But whence do we deduce this? Perhaps it means life in the reality? Therefore here it is written: "Thou shalt give," and in the preceding verse it is written: "He shall give by the decision of thee judges." As there it is to pay money only, so it is here.

"The Temple services." Is this not written? It means to say about the bringing of the blood to the altar, as we have learned in a Boraitha. The passage [Lev. iv.] "shall bring" means "receiving" the blood, as it is a service that must be done by the priest with the observation of all the regulations of the Law.

"Clean and unclean." Is this not written? The Mishna means, the prescribed quantity for a legal bath, which is not, written at all. But about unclean things, is it not written? It means to say, the size of a lentil from a reptile defiles, which is not written.

"Illegal unions." Is it not written about this plainly? It was necessary to meet the case of the daughter of a woman whom he has forced, which is not written about in the Bible and that is only drawn from an analogy of expression.

"And they are the essentials of the Law." Are only these the essential parts? and the former not? Say, they are also.

CHAPTER 2.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING PUBLIC LECTURES WHICH ARE AND WHICH ARE NOT ALLOWED.

MISHNA: One should not discuss illegal unions unless there were three besides him, nor the creation unless there were two besides him, nor the divine chariot with one individual, unless he was a wise man and had much knowledge of his own. Every one who tries to know the following four things, it were better for him if he had never come into the world, viz.: What is above and what is beneath, what was before creation, and what will be after all will be destroyed. And every one who does not revere the glory of his Creator, it were better for him he had not come into the world.

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GEMARA: In the first part it is said: "The divine chariot with an individual" (because he may deviate from the tradition and add out of his own mind, and there will be nobody to remind him), and afterwards it is said: "Unless he is a wise man and will understand by himself?" (from this we infer, that no tradition is necessary). The Mishna meant to say thus: One must not lecture about illegal unions even to three, nor about the creation even to two, and not about the divine chariot even to one, unless the lecturer was a wise man and will understand himself to answer, if they will question him about something. Why so? Said R. Ashi: One must not lecture about illegal unions not mentioned in the Bible (e.g., his daughter of a forced woman, or the mother of his father-in-law, which is drawn only from an analogy of expression?) And why not to three? This is common sense. If there are only two, the Master speaks to one, and the other listens to him. But if there are three, one listens, and the other two discuss it between them, and can err and come to a wrong conclusion to permit an unlawful thing. If it is so, why only about unlawful unions, the case should be the same with the whole Law? In case of unlawful unions it is different, because the Master says: Robbing and vice a man desires. If so, why only in case of illegal unions, let him not lecture about robbery also to three? Robbery one desires when the thing to be robbed is in his presence, but this is desired in the party's absence also.

"And not about creation to two." Whence do we deduce this? As stated in the following Boraitha: It is written [Deut. 4:32]: "For do but ask of former days" (this is in the singular). From this we may infer, that one may ask, not two. Lest one assume that a man can ask, What was before the creation? therefore it is written [ibid.]: "Since the day that God created man from the earth"; but lest one assume, a man must not ask even what was done in the six days of creation? therefore it is written [ibid.]: "Which were before thee" [i.e., the six days before]; lest one ask, What is above and what is beneath, what was before creation and what will be after it? therefore it is written [ibid.]: "From one end of the heavens unto the other end of the heavens," "but not what is beyond." [If we infer this from what is written: "From one end of the heavens unto the other end," why is needed the verse further: "Since the day that God created man upon the earth"? This is according to R. Elazar, who said that Adam was tall from the earth up to heaven, and after he had transgressed, the Holy One, blessed be He, laid His hand upon him, and made him lower, as it is written (Ps. 139:5): "Behind and before hast thou hedged me in, and thou placest upon me thy hand."]

R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh said: Ten things were created on the first day, and they are: heaven and earth; chaos and desolation; light and darkness; wind and waters; the measures of the day and those of the night--heaven and earth, for it is written [Gen. 1:1]: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth"; chaos and desolation, for it is written [ibid. 1:2]: "And the earth was without form and void (chaos)"; light and darkness--darkness, for it is written [ibid., ibid.]: "And darkness was upon the face of the deep"; light, for it is written [ibid. i. 3]: "And God said, Let there be light"; wind and water, for it is written [ibid. 1:2]: "And the spirit (wind) of God was waving over the face of the waters"; the measures of the day and those of the night, for it is written [ibid. 1:5]: "And it was evening; and it was morning, the first day."

We have learned in a Boraitha: Chaos is a green line compassing all the world, and from it darkness springs, as it is written [Ps. 18:12]: "He made darkness his hiding place, round about him." Desolation--this means the stones covered with mud, which are sunk in the deep, from which waters come forth, as it is written [Is. 34:11]: "And he shall stretch out over it the line of destination and the weights of desolation."

Was light created on the first day? Is it not written [Gen. 1:17]: "And God set them in the expansion of the heaven," and also [ibid. 1:19]: "And it was evening and it was morning the fourth day"? This is as R. Elazar said: The light which the Holy One created on the first day, Adam saw by its means from one end of the world to the other. When the Holy One considered the generation of the flood and the generation of the dispersion, and that their works were vain, He took it from them and concealed it for the upright in the world to come. In this, however, the following Tanaim differ, as we have learned in a Boraitha: The light which the Holy One, blessed be He, created on the first day, Adam observed and saw by its means from one end of the world' to the other. So said R. Jacob. But the sages said. These are the luminaries which were created on the first day, but were not hung up until the fourth day.

R. Zutra bar Tobiah in the name of Rabh said: By ten things the world was created: by wisdom and by understanding; by knowledge and by strength; by rebuke and by might; by righteousness and by judgement; by mercy and by compassion. 1 R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh said: At the time that the Holy One, blessed be He, created the world it went spreading on like two clews of shoot and warp, until the Holy One, blessed be He, rebuked it and brought it to a standstill, as it is written [Job xxvi. 11]: "The pillars of heaven tremble greatly, and are astounded at his rebuke." And this is what Resh Lakish also said: What is meant by [Gen. 17:1]: "I am the Almighty God"? It means: I am He Who said to the world, "Enough" Resh Lakish said again: At the time the Holy One, blessed be He, created the sea, it went spreading on, until the Holy One, blessed be He, rebuked it and made it dry, for it is written [Nah. 1:4]: "He rebuketh the sea and maketh it dry; and all the rivers he dried up."

The rabbis taught: The School of Shammai say: The heavens were created in the beginning, and afterwards the earth was created, for it is written [Gen. 1:1]: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." But the School of Hillel say: The earth was created in the beginning, and afterwards the heavens, for it is written [Gen. 2:4]: "On the day that the Lord God made earth and heaven." Said the School of Hillel to the School of Shammai: According to your words, a man builds an upper story, and afterwards builds a house; and the heavens are the upper story, as it is written [Amos 9:6]: "That buildeth in the heavens his steps, and hath founded his vault over the earth." Said the School of Shammai to the School of Hillel: According to you, a man makes a footstool, and afterwards makes a throne, as it is written [Is. 66:1]: "Thus saith the Lord, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool." The sages say: Both were created together, as it is written [ibid. 48:13]: "My hand also hath laid the foundation of the earth, and my right hand hath spanned out the heavens. I call unto them, they stand forward together."

What is meant by "heavens"? Said R. Jose bar Hanina: It means, the place where there is water. In a Boraitha it is explained as equivalent to fire and water, thus teaching that the Holy One, blessed be He, brought them and mingled them one with the other, and made from them the firmament. R. Ishmael questioned R. Aqiba when they were on the road: Thou art one who hast served for twenty-two years Na'hum, the man of "Gimzu," the man who expounded the meaning of all the particles "eth" (the) which are in the Law. What was his exposition of "Eth-ha-shamayim v'eth haaretz"? R. Aqiba answered: If the words had been simply: First created God heaven and earth, I should have said, "Heaven" is another name of God. But as it is now, all know that heaven and earth are to be taken in the literal meaning. And why do I find the expression "v'eth haaretz"? To show that heaven preceded the earth.

There is a Boraitha of R. Jose which says: Woe to the creatures which see and know not what they see, which stand and know not upon what they stand. Upon what does the earth stand? Upon the pillars. The pillars stand upon the waters; the waters upon the mountains; the mountains upon the wind; the wind upon the storm; 1 the storm is suspended upon the strength of the Holy One, blessed be He, as it is written [Deut. 33:27]: "And here beneath, the everlasting arms." The sages say: It stands upon twelve pillars, as it is written [Deut. 23:8]: "He set the bounds of the tribes according to the number of the sons of Israel." According to others, seven pillars, as it is written [Prov. 9:1]: "She had hewn out her seven pillars." R. Elazar b. Shamua said: Upon one pillar, and its name is Zaddik (The Righteous), as it is written [Prov. 10:25]: "But the righteous is an everlasting foundation." R. Jehudah said: There are two firmaments, as it is written [Deut. 10:14]: "Behold, to the Lord thy God belong the heavens and the heavens of the heavens." Resh Lakish said, they are seven, viz.: Vilon, Rakia, Shchakim, Zbul, Maon, Makhon, Araboth. Vilon serves no purpose whatever save this, that it enters in the morning, and goes forth in the evening, and renews every day the work of creation. Rakia is that in which are set sun and moon, stars and constellations. Shchakim is that in which the millstones stand and grind manna for the righteous. Zbul is that in which is the heavenly Jerusalem and the Temple, and the altar is built there, and Michael the great prince stands and offers upon it an offering. Maon is that in which are companies of ministering angels, who utter His song in the night and are silent in the day for the sake of the glory of Israel. Resh Lakish said: Every one who studied in the Law in this world, which is like the night, the Holy One, blessed be He, stretches over him the thread of grace for the future world, which is like the day, as it is written: "By the day the Lord gives his merciful command, and by night his song is with me." Makhon is that in which are the treasures of hail, and the high dwelling-place of harmful dews and the high dwelling-place of the round drops, and the chamber of the whirlwind and of the storm, and the retreat of noisome vapour; and their doors are made of fire. Araboth is that in which are righteousness and judgement and grace, the treasures of life and the treasures of peace and the treasures of blessing, and the souls of the righteous and the spirits and souls which are about to be created, and the dew with which the Holy One, blessed be He, is about to quicken mortals. There also are celestials and seraphs and holy beings and ministering angels and the throne of glory, and the King, the Living God, high and lifted up, sitting over them among the clouds, and darkness and cloud and thick darkness surround Him. How is there darkness in the presence of the Lord? Is it not written [Dan. 2:22]: "He is that revealeth what is deep and secret: he knoweth what is in the darkness, and the light dwelleth with him"? This presents no difficulty. The one refers to that which is within, the other to that which is without. R. A'ha bar Jacob said: There is again a firmament above the heads of the living creatures, for it is written [Ezek. 1:22]: "And the likeness of a vault was over the head of the living creatures, shining like the glitter of the purest crystal." So far thou hast permission to speak. Thenceforward thou hast not permission to speak. For thus it is written in the book of Ben Sira: Seek not out the things that are too hard for thee, and into the things that are hidden from thee inquire thou not. In what is permitted to thee instruct thyself thou must not discuss secret things.

We have learned in a Boraitha: Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai said: What answer did the heavenly voice make to that wicked man at the time when he said [Is. 14:14], "I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be equal to the Most High"? The heavenly voice said to him: Thou wicked man, son of a wicked man, grandson of Nimrod the Wicked, who led all the world to rebel against Him in his kingdom, how many are the years of a man? Seventy years, as it is said [Ps. 90:10]: "The days of our years in this life are seventy years, and if by uncommon vigor they be eighty . . ." And is not from the earth to the firmament a journey of five hundred years, and so too the interspace of the firmaments? Above there are the holy living creatures. The feet of the living creatures are of corresponding measure to all the things mentioned above, the ankles of the living creatures are of corresponding measure, the legs of the living creatures are of corresponding measure, the knees of the living creatures are of corresponding measure, the thighs of the living creatures are of corresponding measure, the bodies of the living creatures are of corresponding measure, the necks of the living creatures are of corresponding measure, the heads of the living creatures are of corresponding measure, the horns of the living creatures are of corresponding measure. Above them is the throne of glory. The feet of the throne of glory are of corresponding measure. The throne of glory is of corresponding measure. The King, the Living and Eternal God, high and lifted up, sitteth upon them. And thou didst say: "I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be equal to the Most High"? Yet thou, shalt be brought down to bell, to the uttermost parts of the pit.

"Nor the divine chariot with one." R. Hyya taught: But you may impart to him the quintessence of the chapters. Said R. Zera: Even that may only be imparted to a chief of the Beth Din, and only then when his heart yearns for knowledge.

R. Ami said: The secrets of the Law may be imparted only to the one who has the five prescribed things, viz. [Is. 3:3]: "The captain of fifty, and the honourable man, and the counsellor, and the skilful artificer, and the eloquent orator." R. Johanan said to R. Elazar: Come, I will fully instruct thee in the subject of the divine chariot. He said to him: I am not old enough. When he was old enough, R. Johanan's soul had passed away. R. Asi said to him: Come, I will fully instruct thee in the subject of the divine chariot. He said to him: If I had been worthy, I should have received full instruction from R. Johanan, thy teacher. R. Joseph was giving full instruction in the subject of the divine chariot. The sages of Pumbeditha were teaching the subject of creation. They said to him: Would the master instruct us fully in the subject of the divine chariot? He answered them: Instruct me in the subject of creation. After they had instructed him, they said to him: Would the master instruct us in the subject of the divine chariot? He answered: In reference to this we have learned in a Boraitha: It is written [Song of Songs 4:11]: "Honey and milk are under thy tongue." That means, let words sweeter than honey and milk be under thy tongue. R. Abuhu infers the same thing from the following passage [Prov. 27:26]: "The sheep are for thy clothing." That means, things that are the secrets of the world shall be under thy clothes. They said to him: We have worked in them as far as the words [Ezek. 2:1]: "And he said unto me, Son of man." And he said to them: But this is the real subject of the divine chariot.

The rabbis taught: It happened once that a certain child, who was reading in his teacher's house in the Book of Ezekiel, was pondering over 'Hashmal, and there came out fire from 'Hashmal and burnt him, and they sought in consequence to conceal the Book of Ezekiel. Said Hananiah b. Hezkyah to them: If he was wise, are then all wise?

It is written [Ezek. 1:4]: "And I saw, and behold, a storm wind came out of the north, a great cloud, and a flaming fire, and a brightness was on it round about; and out of the midst of it was like the glitter of amber, out of the midst of the fire." Whither did it go?, Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: It went forth to subdue the whole world under the wicked Nebuchadnezzar. And this was done that the nations might not say: The Holy One, blessed be He, delivered His children into the hands of a low nation. The Holy One, blessed be He, said: What forced Me to minister to worshippers of carved images? The iniquities of Israel, they forced me. It is written [ibid. 1:15]: "And I looked on the living creatures, and behold, there was one wheel upon the earth close by the living creatures." Said R. Elazar: It means a certain angel who stands upon the earth, and his head reaches to the level of the

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living creatures. In a Tosephtha we are taught that his name is Sandalphon, who is higher than his fellows by the space of a journey of five hundred years, and he stands behind the divine chariot and binds crowns for his Creator. This is not so, as it is written [Ezek. 3:12]: "Blessed be the glory of the Lord from his place." From this we may infer that His place is impossible to know? He utters one of the holy names of the Lord over the wreath, and thereupon he goes and rests by His head. Rabha said: All which Ezekiel saw Isaiah saw, but Ezekiel was like a villager who saw the king for the first time (and therefore he said all that he has seen); Isaiah, however, was like a townsman who has often seen the king (and therefore he said little).

Resh Lakish said: What is the meaning of the passage [Ex. 15:1]: "I will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously"? It means a song to Him who takes His place proudly above the high, as the Master said: The king among living creatures is a lion; the king among domestic beasts is an ox; the king among birds is an eagle, but man takes his place proudly above them, and the Holy One, blessed be He, takes His place proudly above them all, and above the whole world in its entirety. We have learned in a Boraitha: Rabbi said in the name of Abba Jose b. Dosai: It is written [Dan. 7:10]: "Thousand times thousands ministered unto him." This is the number of one troop, but all his troops cannot be numbered. R. Jeremiah bar Abba, however, said: This passage refers to the fiery stream, as it is written [ibid., ibid.]: "A stream of fire issued and came forth from before him; thousand times thousands ministered unto him; and myriad times myriads stood before him." Whence does it come forth? From the perspiration of the living creatures. And upon what is it poured? Said R. Zutra bar Tobiah in the name of Rabh: Upon the heads of the wicked men in Gehenna, as it is written [Jer. xxiii. 19]: "Behold, the storm wind of the Lord is gone forth in fury; yea, a whirling storm upon the head of the wicked shall it fall grievously." R. A'ha bar Jacob said: Upon those who were held back, as it is writ. ten [Job xxii. 16]: "Who were shrivelled up before their time, whose foundation was flooded away like a river?" There is a Boraitha to the effect that R. Simeon the Pious said: There are nine hundred and seventy-four generations which were held back from being created. The Holy One, blessed be He, scattered them through all the successive generations, and these are the impudent who are in a generation. R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak, however, said: On the contrary, this passage refers to those who are wrinkled for blessing, as it is written: As for these scholars who have become wrinkled over the words of the Law in this world, the Holy One, blessed be He, discloses to them the secrets of the world to come, as it is written [Job 22:16]: "Whose foundation was flooded away like a river."

Samuel said to Hyya bar Rabh: Thou son of a scholar, come and I will tell thee something of those noble words which thy father used to say: Every several day ministering angels are created from the fiery stream, and they utter a song and perish, as it. is written [Lam. 3:23]: "They are new every morning; great is thy faithfulness."

When R. Dimi came he said: Eighteen curses did Isaiah pronounce upon Israel, and he was not satisfied, until he had spoken against them this passage [Is. iii. 5]: "The boy shall demean himself proudly against the ancient, and the base against the honourable."

What are the eighteen curses? The following [Is. 3:1-4]: For, behold, the Lord, the Eternal of hosts, doth remove from Jerusalem and from Judah stay and staff, every stay of bread, and every stay of water. The hero and the men of war," etc., etc. "Stay"--these are the learned in the Law. "Staff"--these are the learned in the Mishna; e.g., R. Jehudah b. Tema and his fellows. [R. Papa and the rabbis differ in respect to this: One says, there were six hundred sections of Mishna, and another says, there were seven hundred sections.] "Every stay of bread"--these are the learned in Talmud, as it is written [Prov. 9:5): "Come, eat of my bread, and drink of the wine which I have mingled." "And every stay of water"--these are the learned in Agada, who draw a man's heart like water by means of Agada." "The hero"--this is the man versed, in oral tradition. "And the man of war"--this is he who knows how to handle matters in the battle of the Law. "The judge"--this is a magistrate who gives decisions faithfully, "And the prophet"--this is in its literal meaning. "The prudent"--this is a king, as it is written [Prov. xvi. 10] "There should be a wise sentence on the lips of the king." "And the ancient"--this is he who is worthy to sit as a teacher presiding over an academy. "The captain of fifty"--this is in accordance with R. Abuhu, who saith: From this we may infer, that an interpreter who is less than fifty years old is not appointed over the congregation. "And the honourable man"--this is he for whose merits his generation is forgiven; by Heaven (e.g., R. Hanina b. Dosa); in this world (e.g., R. Abuhu in the house of Caesar). "And the counsellor"--one who knows how to intercalate years and to fix months. "And the skilful"--this is the disciple who, by his keenness, sharpens the minds of his teachers. "Artificer"--at the time he is unfolding the words of the Law all are made like deaf men. 1 "And the eloquent"--this is he who, having knowledge of one thing, can derive therefrom knowledge of another thing. 2 "Orator"--this is he to whom it is fitting to impart the words of the Law, which is given in a whisper (e.g., the subject of the divine chariot. See page 21). "And I will set up boys as their princes"--that is, as R. Elazar said: These are men who are deprived of good works. 3 "And children shall rule over them"--as R. A'ha bar Jacob said: These are foxes and sons of foxes. 4 And he was not satisfied until he had said to them: "The boy shall demean himself proudly against the ancient," etc. [ibid., ibid.]--these are the men who are deprived of good works. They shall demean themselves proudly against the one who is filled with good works as a pomegranate. "And the base against the honourable"--i.e., that one to whom heavy sins are like light ones will demean himself proudly against the one to whom light sins are like heavy ones.

R. Kattina said: Even at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem there did not cease from them faithful men. Is that so? Did we not learn: Rabha said: Jerusalem was not laid waste till there ceased from it faithful men, as it is written [Jer. 5:1]: "Roam about through the streets of Jerusalem, and see now, and notice, and search in its broad places, if ye can find one man, if there be one who executeth justice, that searcheth for truth: and I will pardon it"? This presents no difficulty. The former means, faithful in the study of the Law, and the latter means, honesty in common business.

The rabbis taught: It happened with Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai that he was riding upon his ass and was travelling on the road, and R. Elazar b. Arakh was behind him, as driver. Said the latter to him: Rabbi, teach me a chapter on the subject of the divine chariot. And he answered him: Have I not taught you: Nor the chariot with one individual, unless he was a wise man and had much knowledge of his own? Then he said to him: Rabbi, allow me to say before thee one thing which thou hast taught me. He allowed him. Immediately R. Johanan b. Zakkai dismounted from the ass, and wrapped himself up and seated himself upon the stone under the olive tree. R. Elazar asked him: Rabbi, wherefore didst thou dismount from the ass? He answered him: Is it right that thou shouldest investigate the subject of the divine chariot, and the Shekhina is with us and ministering angels accompany us, and that I should ride. upon the ass? Then R. Elazar b. Arakh entered upon the subject of the divine chariot and lectured: And there descended fire from heaven and encircled all the terebinth trees of the field, which uttered a song. [What was the song which they uttered? [Ps. 148:7, 9, 14]: "Praise the Lord from the earth, ye sea monsters, and all deeps . . . fruitful trees and all cedars . . . Hallelujah."] An angel answered from the fire: This is the real subject of the divine chariot. R. Johanan arose and kissed him upon his head, and said: Blessed be the Lord God of Israel who hath given to our father Abraham. a son who is able to understand and lecture on this subject. There is one who lectures well, but doth not perform well. There is one who performeth well, but does not expound well. Thou dost expound well and dost perform well. Blessed art thou, Abraham our father, from whose loins bath come forth Elazar b. Arakh.

And when these things were told to R. Joshua, he and R. Jose the priest were travelling on the road. They said: Let us also expound on the same subject. R. Joshua opened his mouth and lectured: And it was the day of the summer solstice. The heavens were wrapped in clouds, and there appeared the form of a bow in the cloud, and the angels were assembling and coming to hearken, as the men assemble and come to look at the festivities of bridegroom and bride. R. Jose the priest went forward and related the whole occurrence to Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai, who said: Blessed are ye, and blessed is she that bare you. Blessed are mine eyes, that they have thus seen. And also in my dream I and ye were resting upon Mount Sinai, and a heavenly voice was heard, which said: Come up hither, come up hither. Large banqueting chambers are prepared and fair coverlets are spread for you, you and your disciples and your disciples' disciples, as fitted to attain to the third degree of blessedness.

Is it so? Have we not learned in a Boraitha: R. Jose in the name of R. Jehudah said: There were three consecutive expositions. R. Joshua explained things before R. Johanan b. Zakkai; R. Aqiba explained things before R. Joshua; Hananiah b. Hachinai explained before R. Aqiba. Hence we see that R. Elazar b. Arakh was not mentioned. (This presents no difficulty:) He who teaches and before whom others teach is mentioned, while he who teaches and before whom others do not teach is not mentioned. But was not Hananiah b. Hachinai one who taught and before whom others did not teach? And still he was mentioned? Yea, for he taught at least in the presence of one who taught others.

The rabbis taught: Four men went up into the heavenly garden, 1 and they were: Ben Azzai and Ben Zoma, A'her and R. Aqiba. Ben Azzai gazed and died; 2 to him the scriptural passage may be applied [Ps. 116:15]: "Grievous in the eyes of the Lord is the death of his pious ones." Ben Zoma gazed and went mad; to him the scriptural passage may be applied [Prov. 25:16] Hast thou found honey? eat so much as is sufficient for thee, lest thou consume too much of it, and have to vomit it forth." A'her cut the plants. 3 R. Aqiba departed in peace. 1 A'her cut the plants; it is to him that the scriptural passage may be applied [Eccl. v. 6]: "Suffer not thy mouth to cause thy body to sin." There came out a heavenly voice and said [Jer. 3:14]: "Return, O backsliding children" (except A'her). When he learned it he said: Inasmuch as that man is excluded from yonder world, let him go and enjoy himself in this world. A'her went forth into evil courses. A'her asked this question of R. Meir, after he had gone forth into evil courses: What is the meaning of the passage [Eccl. 7:14]: "Also this hath God made in equal measure with the other"? He answered him: Everything which the Holy One, blessed be He, created, He created with its counterpart. He created mountains; He created hills: He created seas; He created rivers. He said to him: R. Aqiba thy teacher did not say so, but he explained it as meaning that He created righteous; He created sinners. He created the Garden of Eden; He created Gehenna. To every individual belongs two shares, one in the Garden of Eden and one in Gehenna. If one is meritorious and righteous, he receives his own portion and also the portion of his neighbour in the Garden of Eden. If he has incurred guilt, he receives his own portion and also the portion of his neighbour in Gehenna. [R. Mesharshia said: What is the Scripture proof? As regards the righteous it is written [Is. 61:7]: "Therefore in their hand shall they possess a twofold (portion)"; as regards the wicked it is said [Jer. 17:18]: "And strike them with a double breach."]

A'her asked again of R. Meir: What is the meaning of the passage [Job 28:17]: "She cannot be estimated after gold and glass; and not in exchange for her (can) vessels of refined gold (be taken)"? He answered him: These are the words of the Law, which are difficult to buy, as vessels of gold and of pure gold, and are easily lost, as vessels of glass. He said to him: R. Aqiba thy teacher did not say so, but he explained it as meaning that as vessels of gold and vessels of glass, although they are broken, may be mended, so a disciple of the sages, although he have sinned, may be mended. He said to him: Return thyself also. He answered him I have already heard from behind the curtain [Jer. 3:14]: "Return, O backsliding children" (except A'her). [Also, what happened to Ben Zoma with R. Jehoshua b. Hananiah, as it seems to us the version of the Palestinian Talmud is correct. See note above.]

The rabbis taught: It happened that A'her was riding upon his horse on the Sabbath, and R. Meir was walking behind him to learn the Law from his mouth. He said to him: Meir, turn thee backwards, for I have already measured by means of my horse's hoofs up to this point the legal limit of the Sabbath. He answered him: Return thyself also. He said to him: And have I not already answered thee what I have heard from behind the curtain? He forced him to enter a place of lecturing. He said to a child: Repeat for me thy verse. He said to him [Is. 48:22]: "There is no peace, saith the Lord, unto the wicked." He brought him to another synagogue, until he had brought him into thirteen synagogues. They all repeated to him the same way. In the last one he said to him: Repeat for me thy verse. He said to him [Ps. 1:16]: "But unto the wicked God saith: What hast thou to do to relate my statutes, and why bearest thou my covenant upon thy mouth?" That child was a stammerer. It sounded as if he had said: "And to Elisha said God," etc. 1 And he said: If there had been a knife in my hand I would have cut him in pieces.

When A'her died it was said: Let him not be brought into judgement (because he has studied the Law), but let him not be admitted to the world to come (because he sinned). R. Meir said: It would have been better if he would have been brought to judgement and punished, and then admitted to the world to come. I wish I would die, in order that smoke should go up from his grave (i.e., that he should be brought to judgement). When R. Meir died it was so: smoke went up from the grave of A'her. Said R. Johanan: A mighty deed it was to consign his teacher to the flames. There was one among us, and we should not find a way to save him? If I take him by the hand, who will snatch him away from me? Would that I might die and extinguish the smoke from his grave. And it was so. When R. Johanan died the smoke ceased from the grave of A'her. The public mourner then uttered this expression over him: Even the keeper of the door of Gehenna stood not his ground before thee, O our teacher!

The daughter of A'her came to Rabbi and asked him for food. He said to her: Whose daughter art thou? She answered: I am the daughter of A'her. And he said to her: Is there still of his seed in the world? Is it not written [Job 18:19]: "He will have neither son nor grandson among his people, nor any that escapeth in the places of his sojourning"? She said to him: Remember his studiousness, and not his deeds. Immediately there came down fire, and consumed the seat of Rabbi. Rabbi wept and said: And if those who disgrace themselves through it, are honoured thus, how much more those who obtain praise through their use of it.

How did R. Meir study the Law from the mouth of A'her? Have we not learned (see Tract Moed Katan) that if it is not certain that the rabbi is equal to an angel, no instruction must be received from him? Said Resh Lakish: R. Meir interpreted the following passage thus [Prov. 22:17]: "Incline thine ear, and hear the words of the wise, and apply thy heart unto my

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knowledge." It is not written, "Unto their knowledge," but "unto My knowledge." R. Hanina said the following passage [Ps. 45:11]: "Hearken, O daughter, and look and incline thy ear, and forget thy own people, and thy father's houses," etc. But do not these passages contradict each other? Nay, the one is the case of an adult, the other of a young person (who cannot distinguish between good and evil).

When R. Dimi came he said: They say in the West: R. Meir, while eating the date, he threw away the stone (i.e., he picked out the good and threw away the bad teachings).

Rabha expounded the meaning of the passage [Song of Songs 6:11]: "Into the nut-garden was I gone down, to look about among the plants of the valley," etc. Why are scholars likened to a nut? It means to say that, as a nut, although soiled, what is within it is clean: so also, although a scholar has sinned, his study of the law is not rejected.

Rabba bar Shila met Elijah and said to him: What is the Holy One, blessed be He, doing? He answered him: He had uttered doctrine in the name of all other rabbis, but in the name of R. Meir He had not uttered. He said to him: Why? Because he learned doctrine from the mouth of A'her. He said to him again: Why? R. Meir found a pomegranate. He ate its inside and cast away its husk. He answered him: He is at this moment saying: Meir my son is speaking and says: At the time that men were afflicted, the Shekhina used the following language: My head and my arm are heavy on me (i.e., I am sorry that the men I have created have to die for their sins). If the Holy One, blessed be he, is thus grieved when the blood of wicked men is poured out, how much more when the blood of the righteous man is poured out.

Samuel found R. Jehudah when the latter was swinging upon the bolt of a door and weeping. He said to him: Is it a small thing that is written concerning the rabbis [Is. 33:18]: "Where is he who wrote down? where is he that weighed? where is he that counted the towers"? "Where is he that counted?" for they counted all the letters that are in the Books of the Law. "Where is he that weighed?" for they weighed the light and the heavy things which are in the Law. "Where is he that counted the towers?" for they taught three hundred doctrines concerning the tower which flies in the air. And R. Ami said: Three hundred questions were treated by Doeg and Ahithophel concerning the tower which flies in the air. And we learned, however, in a Mishna (Tract Sanhedrin, chap. 11:1): Three kings and four private persons have no position in the world to come, and we--what will there be for us? He said to him: Oh, clever one, there was uncleanness in their hearts.

It was said about A'her: Greek melody ceased not from his mouth, as it was said of him (A'her), that at the time when he stood up to go out of the college many books of the Minim used to fall from his lap.

Nimus of Gardi 1 asked R. Meir: Does all wool which goes down to the dyeing-vat come up with the right colour? He answered him: All which was clean on its mother's (sheep's) back does so come up; all which was not clean on its mother's back does not so come up.

It is said above: R. Aqiba went into the heavenly garden in peace and came down from it in peace. And it is to him that the scriptural passage may be applied [Song of Songs 1:4]: "Oh, draw me! after thee will we run." Nevertheless R. Aqiba was also in danger of being thrust away by the angels, but the Holy One, blessed be He, said to them: Leave this elder, for he is worthy to avail himself of My glory.

What kept R. Aqiba from being misled, as was A'her? The passage [1 Kings 19:11, 12]: "But not in the wind was the Lord; and after the wind was an earthquake, but not in the earthquake was the Lord; and after the earthquake was a fire, but not in the fire was the Lord; and after the fire was the sound of a soft whisper. And, behold, the Lord passed by" (i.e., from the whisper he understood that there was the Shekhina).

The rabbis taught: Six things are said with regard to demons, three in which they are like the angels: they have wings, they float from one end of the world to the other, and they know what is about to be; and three in which they are like men: they eat and drink, they are fruitful and multiply, and they are mortal.

Six things are said with regard to men, three in which they are like angels: they have knowledge like the angels, they go with stature erect, and they speak in the holy language; and three like the beasts: they eat and drink like beasts, and they are fruitful and multiply, and they relieve nature.

"Every one who does not respect the glory," etc. What is meant by this? Said R. Joseph: This is the man who commits a transgression secretly. This is in accordance with R. Itz'hak, who said: Every one who committeth a transgression secretly is as though he jarred the feet of the Shekhina, as it is written [Is. lxvi. i]: "Thus hath said the Lord, The heaven is my throne and the earth is my foot-stool." But this is not so, for R. Alea the Elder said (in Tract Moed Katan), that in such a case he may go to a place where he is not known? (as it will be explained in Moed Katan). This presents no difficulty. The former is the case of a man who has found a means of checking his evil nature; the other, of one who is not able to do so.

R. Jehudah in the name of R. Na'hmani, the interpreter of Resh Lakish, lectured: Every one who gazes upon three things, his eyes grow weak, viz.: upon the bow, and the prince, and the priests. Upon the bow, for it is written [Ezek. 1:28]: "Like the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud on the day of rain . . . this was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the Lord." Upon the prince, for it is written [Num. 27:20]: "And thou shalt put some of thy greatness upon him." 1 He that gazeth upon the priests--this has to do with the time that the Temple was in existence, when they stood upon their platform and blessed Israel in the ineffable name.

The same lectured again in the name of the same authority: It is written [Mic. 7:5]: "Trust ye not in a friend, put ye not confidence in a confidant." It means, if the evil imagination say to thee, Do thou sin and the Lord will forgive, be not persuaded, as it is written: "Trust ye not in an evil one"; 1 and "an evil one" is nothing but the evil imagination, as it is written [Gen. 8:21]: "The imagination of a man's heart is evil"; and there is no "guide" but the Lord, as it is written [Jer. 3:4]: "My father, the guide of my youth art thou." Perhaps one might say, Who witnesseth against me? The stones of a man's house and the timbers of his house, these witness against him, as it is written [Hab. 11:11]: "For the stone will cry out of the wall, and the beam out of the wood (work) will answer it." The sages say: The soul of a man witnesseth against him, as it is written [Mic. 7:5]: "From her that lieth in thy bosom guard the doors of thy mouth." What is this that lieth in a man's bosom? Say, it is the soul. R. Zerika said: The two angels which lead him, these witness against him, as it is written [Ps. 91:11]: "For his angels will he give charge concerning thee, to guard thee on all thy ways." Others say: The limbs of one's body testify against him, as it is written [Is. 43:12]: "And ye are my witness, saith the Lord, and I am God."

MISHNA: Jose b. Joezer says that one must not lay on his hand (on a sacrifice on a biblical festival), but Joseph b. Johanan says that one may. Joshua b. P'ra'hia says that one must not lay it, but Mathai the Arbelite says that one may. Jebudah b. Tabbai says that one must not, but Simeon b. Sheta'h says he should. Sh'maia says he must, but Abtalian says he must not. Hillel and Mena'hem. did not differ. Mena'hem went out (left the Sanhedrin); Shammai entered it. Shammai says one must not; Hillel says one may. The first of the several pairs were princes, the second to them were chiefs of the court.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: In the three former pairs, which say that a man is not to lay, and in the two latter pairs, which say that a man is to lay, the first were princes and the second chiefs of the court. So said R. Meir. But the sages say: Jehudah b. Tabbai was a chief of the court and Simeon b. Sheta'h was a prince.

"Mena'hem went out," etc. Whither did he go out? Said Rabha: He went out from the service of the king. We have learned in a Boraitha: Mena'hem went out from the service of the king, and there went out with him eighty pairs of disciples clothed in Syrian robes. Said R. Shaman bar Abba in the name of R. Johanan: Let a rabbinical decree concerning the Sabbath not be a light thing in thine eyes, for the laying on of the hand is only a rabbinical prohibition, and the greatest men of the different generations were divided upon this matter. Is this not self-evident? He comes to teach us that even a rabbinical prohibition which is seemingly contrary to a positive command of the Bible must also not be light in thine eyes. But this is also self-evident from the teachings of our Mishna? This is needed to object to those who say that they differ not as to the rabbinical prohibition, but as to the laying on of the hand itself, because they maintain that the laying on of the hand is necessary only in case of a voluntary peace-offering, but not in that of an obligatory peace-offering. 1

Said Rami bar Hama: Infer from this that the laying on of the hands must be with all one's strength, because if we would imagine that all the strength is not necessary, what labour is it or what is he doing to the animal that the rabbis prohibited it on the festival?

An objection was raised: We have learned elsewhere It is written [Lev. 1:2-4]: "Speak unto the children of Israel . . . and he shall lay his hand." He--the males, but not the females of Israel. R. Jose and R. Simeon, however, said that the females of Israel, if they wish, they may lay on their hands (although it is not obligatory for them); and R. Jose added to this: My father Elazar told me that it happened once that we had a calf of peace-offering, and we brought it to the department of the women, and the latter laid their hands on it. It was not because the laying on of the hands belongs to women, but so as to gratify them. Now, if you think that the laying on of the hand must be with all one's strength, would it be right, in order to gratify the women, to allow them to do labour with the holy things? Infer, therefore, from this that it is not necessary to use all the strength. Nay, maybe it is necessary, but in that case it was told to the women to lay on their hands lightly. If so, why does R. Jose say: Not because the laying on of the hands belongs to women, etc. Let him say, because it was not considered laying on at all? Said R. Ami: he meant both, firstly, because it was not considered laying on the hands at all; and, secondly, in order to gratify the women.

MISHNA: The House of Shammai say: A peace-offering may be brought without laying the hands on them, but not burnt-offerings. But the House of Hillel say: Both peace-offerings and burnt-offerings may be brought, and also lay the hands on them.

In the case of Pentecost, which falls upon the eve of a Sabbath, the House of Shammai say: The day for sacrificing is after the Sabbath. But the House of Hillel say: There is no day for sacrificing after the Sabbath. Both, however, admit that if it fall upon a Sabbath the day for sacrificing is the day after the Sabbath. And on that day (which is called the day of sacrificing) a high-priest is not to clothe himself in his costly garments, unless in case of a mourning or of a fast. The prohibition was in order not to confirm the words of those who say, Pentecost is after the Sabbath (only).

GEMARA: (The Gemara begins with the saying of R. Elazar in the name of R. Oshiyah, that the Pentecost-offering is transferable to all the six succeeding days, and repeats here all the statement contained in Tract Rosh Hashana, p. 6, lines 15-29.)

"In the case of Pentecost which falls on the eve of a Sabbath," etc. Does that not mean that there is no day at all for sacrificing? Nay, it means that a substituted day is necessary for this. But what does it come to teach us--that it shall be sacrificed on the very day of the festival? Was this not discussed already in the beginning of our Mishna? It is needed. For if the statement would be in the latter paragraph only, one might say that the School of Shammai hold so because it can be done on the morrow, but if it fall on the eve of a Sabbath, when it cannot be done on the morrow, they agree with the School of Hillel; and if the statement would be in the first paragraph only, one might say that the School of Hillel allow it to be sacrificed on the very day of the festival because it cannot be done on the morrow, but when the Pentecost falls on the Sabbath day, they agree with the House of Shammai; therefore both statements are needed. (An objection was raised:) Come and hear: He who has not kept the feast for the seven days of the Passover, and the eight days of the Feast of Tabernacles, and the first day of Pentecost, he cannot afterwards keep the feast. Did this not include also the day of Pentecost, that it has no compensation? (i.e., if not sacrificed on the very festival, it cannot be done soon any other day). Nay, it means the last day of compensation.

The disciples of R. Eliezer b. Jacob taught It is written [Lev. 23:21, 22]: "And ye shall proclaim." "And when ye reap." What is the feast in which thou makest proclamation and reapest? Thou must say, it is the Feast of Pentecost. Now, let us see. When is it? If I am to say on the holiday itself, how is reaping lawful on a holiday? We must then say, it means the completion days. Resh Lakish, however, said: It is inferred from the following passage [Ex. 23:16]: "And the feast of the harvest." What is the feast on which thou feastest and reapest? Thou must say, it is the Pentecost. When is it? If I am to say, on the holiday itself, how is reaping lawful on a holiday? We must then say, it means the completion days. Said R. Johanan: According to thee, the Feast of Ingathering. What is the feast in which there is an ingathering? Thou must then say, it is the Feast of Tabernacles. When is it? Shall I say, on the holiday itself? How is work lawful on a holiday? And if you will say, that it means on one of the middle days? But even then is work allowed on those days? Therefore we must say, that it means the feast that falls during the time of the gathering in. Say, also, this is the case here.

We see from this that both are of the opinion that on the middle days the doing of work is forbidden. Whence do we deduce this? From the following Boraitha: It is written [Lev. 23:8]: "No servile work shall ye do." That means, that on the middle days the doing of work is forbidden. So said R. Jose the Galilean. R. Aqiba says: It was not necessary, because it is written [ibid. 4]: "These are the feasts of the Lord," etc. With reference to what is the Scripture speaking? If to the first day, it has been already called a Sabbath day; if to the seventh day, it has also been already called a Sabbath day. We must therefore say, it refers to the middle days, to teach that doing of work is forbidden thereon.

There is another Boraitha: It is written [Deut. 16:8]: "Six days shalt thou eat unleavened bread, and on the seventh day shall be a solemn assembly to the Lord thy God: thou shalt do no work." As on the seventh day work is prohibited, so also on the six days. But one might say, as on the seventh day no work at all is to be done, so also on the six days; therefore it is written [ibid.]: "And on the seventh day shall be a solemn assembly . . . thou shalt not work," thus indicating that on the seventh day no work at all shall be done, but on the six days there is not a prohibition from all work. Consequently, the Scripture has communicated only to the sages that they can decree on which days work is and on which work is not allowed, and what labour may and what labour may not be done, etc.

"But it is allowed in case of a mourning or of a fast after the Sabbath." But have we not learned in a Boraitha: It happened that Alexis died in Luda, and all Israel assembled to mourn

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him, and R. Tarphon had not allowed them because it was the festival? Now, if it was the festival itself, how did they come to assemble at all? We must therefore say, it was on the day of sacrificing, and hence we see even on those days it is not allowed to mourn? The Mishna refers to a case when the Pentecost falls on a Sabbath. And the case of Alexis was when it fell on the first day of the week.

MISHNA: One may wash his hands for common food and for second-tithes and for heave-offerings, but for hallowed things they must be bathed legally. For the sin-offering, if one's hands be defiled, his whole body is defiled.

If he have dipped for common food, he has credit as clean for common food, but is forbidden tithe; if for tithe, he has credit for tithe, but not for heave-offering; if for heave-offering, he has credit for heave-offering, but not sacred things; if for sacred things, he has credit for sacred things, but not sin-offering. If for a weightier thing (more rigorous), he is free for a lighter thing (lenient). If he have dipped without any intention for cleanness, it is as though he had not dipped.

The garments of a common person are defiled by pressure (i.e., are looked upon as affected by uncleanness arising from pressure) for Pharisees; the garments of Pharisees are defiled by pressure for those that eat heave-offering; the garments of those that eat heave-offering are defiled by pressure for those that partake of sacred things; the garments of those that partake of sacred things are defiled by pressure for those that partake of sin-offering. Jose b. Joezer was the most pious among the priests, and yet his apron was defiled by pressure for those that partake of sacred things. Johanan b. Gudgodah was one who ate his ordinary food all his days with observance of the laws of purification which belong to sacred things, and yet his apron was defiled by pressure for those that partake of sin-offering.

GEMARA: Is, then, for common food and tithes, washing of hands needed? (Have we not learned elsewhere that it is not needed?) This presents no difficulty: The one has to do with bread, the other with fruit. For R. Na'hman said: Every one who washes his hands for fruit is overscrupulous and affected.

"He that dips for common food and has credit for common food," etc. According to whom is our Mishna? Shall we say it is according to the rabbis, for they make a distinction between common food and tithes? According to whom, then, would be the latter part of the Mishna: The garments of a common person are defiled by pressure for Pharisees; the garments of Pharisees are defiled by pressure for those that eat heave-offering? which is certainly in accordance with R. Meir, who says, common food and tithes are exactly the same? Then this conclusion would be that the former part is according to the rabbis, and the latter part according to R. Meir? Yea, it is so. R. A'ha bar Ada, however, teaches in the latter part five orders, and establishes it all according to the rabbis.

CHAPTER 3.

REGULATIONS REGARDING IN WHAT CASES SACRED THINGS ARE MORE RIGOROUS THAN HEAVE-OFFERINGS, AND VICE VERSA.

MISHNA: More rigorous rules hold in sacred things than in a heave-offering, for we may dip vessels in the midst of vessels for a heave-offering, but not for sacred things. The outside and the inside and the place for laying hold are reckoned as distinct in the heave-offering, but not in the sacred things. One who takes up that which has been made unclean by pressure, may offer the heave-offering, but not the sacred things. The garments of those that eat the heave-offering are unclean through pressure in regard to sacred things. The manner of the heave-offering is not as the manner of the sacred things. For in the case of sacred things, one loosens a knot and wipes and dips and afterwards ties up again, but in the case of a heave-offering he ties up and afterwards dips.

Vessels finished in purity need dipping for sacred things, but not for a heave-offering. The vessel includes what is within it for sacred things, but not for heave-offering.

The unclean in the fourth degree in the case for sacred things is disqualified, but in the third degree in the case of heave-offering.

Though one of his hands be unclean in the case of heave offering, its fellow is clean; in the case of sacred things, how ever, both are dipped, for the hand makes its fellow unclean in the case of hallowed things, but not in the case of heave-offering. One may eat dry food with ordinary (not ceremonially clean) hands in the case of heave-offering, but not in the case of sacred things.

A mourner, before the burial of the dead (who has not defiled himself yet on the dead), and one who lacks atonement, need dipping in a legal bath for sacred things, but not for heave-offering.

GEMARA: "In sacred things." Why are sacred things more rigorous? Said R. Aila: Because the weight of the inside vessel intervenes. Shall we assume, that as the reason for the statement in the latter part of the Mishna is because of intervention, the first part has another reason? (For if both have one and the same reason, why state both? One would suffice.) Nay, both the earlier and the later cases are because of intervention, and still it was necessary that they should be separately mentioned, for if he had taught us the first only, one should say, this is the reason for the rigorousness of sacred things, viz.: because of the vessel's weight, which actually exists. But in the latter case, where the vessel's weight is not an element, one should say, in regard to sacred things, that it is not considered an intervention; and if he had taught us the latter only, one should say, the reason why it is not allowed for sacred things is because a knot in water is drawn tighter, while in the former case the water makes the vessel to swim, and so the intervention is not considered. Thus it was necessary that they should be separately mentioned. R. Aila is in accordance with his theory elsewhere, who said in the name of R. Hanina bar Papa: Ten degrees of superior excellence are taught here. The first five refer alike to sacred things, and to ordinary things which are treated with the observance of the law of purification. belonging to sacred things; the latter refer to sacred things only. Why so? Because the former five could constitute a biblical defilement (when he dips one vessel in another vessel, and an intervention would be discovered). The rabbis have ordained that they apply to both. The later one, however, in which there can be no biblical defilement, the rabbis did not care to ordain.

Rabha, however, said: Since the later portion of the Mishna is on account of intervention, the former is not on that account, but because it is a precautionary measure, in order that needles and pipes should not be dipped in a vessel, the mouth of which is not of the size of the pipe of a wine-skin bottle. (This will be explained in Mikwooth, VI., P And Rabha holds in this case, as R. Na'hman said elsewhere in the name of Rabba bar Abuhu, viz.: Eleven features of superior excellence are taught here. The first six refer alike to sacred things and to ordinary things which are treated with the observance of the laws of purification belonging to sacred things. The latter ones refer to sacred things only. What real difference is there between Rabba and R. Aila? It is this: In the case of a basket and a wine-strainer which are filled with vessels and dipped. According to the one who says, the prohibition is because of intervention, there is an intervention; but according to the one who says, that it is a precautionary measure, lest haply needles and pipes should be dipped in a vessel, the mouth of which is not of the size of the pipe of a wine-skin bottle, there is no such thing in a basket and a wine-strainer.

"The outsides and the insides," etc. What is meant by this? As we have learned in a Mishna [Kelim, 25:6]: In the case of a vessel the outside of which is defiled by beverages, its outside is defiled, but its inside, its rim, and its short handles, and its long handles are clean; but if its inside is defiled, it is all defiled.

"And the place for laying hold," etc. What is meant by Beth Hazibtah? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: The part by which he reaches it, as it is written [Ruth 2:14]: "And he reached her parched corn" (Vaitzboth). R. Asi in the name of R. Johanan said: It means that part of the dish of which fastidious persons lay hold.

"One that takes up that which has been made unclean," etc. Why not sacred things? Because of the following occurrence: R. Jehudah in the name of R. Samuel said: It happened to a certain man, who was carrying a cask of wine from one place to another, and the thong of his sandal came off, and he took it up and placed it on the mouth of the cask, and it fell into the inside of the cask, and it was made unclean. And thereupon it was ordained: One that taketh up that which has been made unclean by pressure may offer the heave-offering, but not the sacred things. If so, why not also the heave-offering? This is in accordance with R. Hananiah b. Aqabia, who said: This restriction was made only as regards Jordan or a ship, and in accordance with the matter that occurred. What was that? It was that which R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: It happened with a man who was carrying the sprinkling water and the ashes of the red cow over Jordan in a ship, and a piece of a dead body as large as an olive was found fixed in the bottom of the ship; thereupon it was ordained that such a thing should not happen again.

"Vessels finished in purity," etc. Finished by whom? If a learned man has finished them, why should they be dipped? If a learned man has finished them, how is it that the Mishna calls them "finished in purity"? Said Rabba bar Shila in the name of R. Mothnah quoting Samuel: The case is, that a learned man has finished, yet because of a drop of spittle of a common man which may have fallen upon it, it is treated as unclean. "May have fallen upon it" when? Should we assume, before it is completed, then it is not yet a vessel; if after, then he takes good care of it? The case may be, before it is completed, yet perhaps at the moment it was made, it was still liquid (and it may be defiled).

"The vessel includes what is within," etc. Whence do we know that? Said R. Hanin: It is written [Num. vii. 14, etc]: "One spoon of ten shekels of gold, full of incense." The Scripture makes everything that is in the spoon one. R. Kahana objected: We have learned, that R. Aqiba added to the teaching, which immediately follows, the flour and the incense, and the frankincense and the coals, for if the person, in the course of purification, touch the extremity of it, he disqualifies the whole. Now, this addition of R. Aqiba is certainly rabbinical, as the first part of the Mishna states (Edeoth, 8:1): R. Simeon b. Bathyra bore testimony with reference to the ashes of the red cow, that if an unclean person touch the extremity of them, he makes all of them unclean; and immediately he says, that R. Aqiba added this? (And R. Hanin says, it is rabbinical.) Said Resh Lakish in the name of Bar Kapara: The addition was only necessary for the rest of the meat-offering, For, biblically, what stands in need of a vessel, the vessel includes it; what does not stand in need of a vessel, the vessel does not include it; but the rabbis went further and ordained that, although a thing does not necessarily belong to a vessel, the vessel, nevertheless, includes it.

"The unclean in the fourth degree," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jose said: Whence do we deduce the case of the unclean in the fourth degree, that in the matter of sacred things he is disqualified? By an a fortiori argument. For he who has entered on the last stage of his atonement, while he is free as regards heave-offering, he is disqualified as regards sacred things, so much the more when one is unclean in the third degree who defiles heave-offering that he should become disqualified as regards sacred things if unclean in the fourth degree. We have learned, however, that he who is unclean in the third degree is disqualified as regards sacred things, biblically, and that he who is in the fourth degree--by an a fortiori argument, namely: It is written [Lev. 7:9]: "And the flesh that toucheth any unclean thing shall not be eaten." Are we not here treating of the touching of a thing of secondary uncleanness? And nevertheless the Scripture says, it shall not be eaten? That which is unclean in the fourth degree is proved to be disqualified by the a fortiori argument stated above.

"And though one of his hands be unclean." R. Shezbi said: It is only in the case of contact, but not otherwise. Abayi objected: We have learned: A wiped hand renders its fellow unclean so far as to make unclean for sacred things, but not for heave-offering. Such is the dictum of Rabbi. R. Jose b. R. Jehudah says: This is the case so far as to disqualify, but not to render unclean. It is correct if the Mishna treats of a case where it did not come in contact, and therefore the importance of "wiped" hand? But if the case is only when there is contact, but not otherwise, where is the importance of "wiped" hand? It was taught also that Resh Lakish said the Mishna refers only to his own hand, but not to the hand of his companion (R. Johanan, however, says both his own hand and his companion I s hand), with the same hand he may only disqualify, but not render unclean. Whence did he learn this? From the fact that it has been taught in the latter portion of the Mishna. For the hand makes its fellow unclean in the case of sacred things, but not in the case of heave-offering. Why the repetition? Was it not taught in the preceding clauses of the same Mishna? We must therefore say, it comes to teach us that the hand of the companion is included. And Resh Lakish himself retracted his decision, as R. Jonah said in the name of R. Ami that Resh Lakish said, whether it be his own hand, or the hand of his companion, with that same hand he may disqualify, but not render unclean.

"We may eat dry food", etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Hanina b. Antigonus said: Does such a question as to whether a thing be dry or wet exist as regards sacred things? Does not love for the sacred things make men cautious in regard to defilement? The Mishna treats of a case, that a man's companion put a piece of the sacred things into his mouth, or he put it into his own mouth with a spindle or with a skewer, or attempted to eat along with these an onion or garlic taken from unconsecrated things. As to sacred things the rabbis ordained so, but as to heave-offering they did not.

"The mourner and he who lacks atonement." Why so? Because they were under restriction, the sages ordained that they shall dip.

MISHNA: More rigorous rules, on the other hand, hold in a heave-offering, for in Judea people are believed with regard to, purity of wine and oil all the days of the year, but at the time of the vintage and the oil-pressing, with regard to heave-offering also.

When the vintage and the oil-pressing are over, and a cask of wine for heave-offering was brought, it must not be received, but it may be left for the next vintage. But if he say to him, I have separated and put into the midst of it a fourth part of something consecrated for sacred things, he is believed. In the case of jugs of wine and jugs of oil which are mixed, men are believed with regard to them at the time of vintage and oil-pressing and for seventy days before the vintage.

GEMARA: In Judea, yes; but in Galilea, no? Why so? Said Resh Lakish: Because there is a strip of the Gentiles making a separation between them. But let him bring it in a box, a chest, or in a balloon? This is in accordance with Rabbi, who said: A tent projected is not a real tent. But let one bring it in an earthenware vessel tied round with a line of thread? Said R. Eliezer: We have learned in a Boraitha: Sacred things are not preserved from uncleanness by a line of thread.

"But at the time of vintage," etc. There is a contradiction from the following Boraitha: He who finishes his olives shall

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leave aside one box and place it before the eyes of the priest (in order that he shall examine it as to whether they are not ripe yet, and the priest shall place them in cleanness when they become ripe. Hence we see that even at that time they were not believed?) Said R. Nahman: This presents no difficulty. The one is the case of those early in season, the other of those late in season. Said R. Ada bar Ahba to him: For instance, things like those belonging to the house of thy father. R. Joseph, however, said, the Mishna (in Taaroth) refers to Galilea.

"When the vintage and the oil-pressing are over," etc. The schoolmen questioned of R. Shesheth: Suppose that it is over, and yet he receives it, what about the law that he shall leave it for the next vintage? He answered them: This we have already learned in the following Mishna (Dmai, 6:1): A learned man and a common person who are their father's joint heirs. The common person may say to him: Take thou the wheat that is in such a place, and I will take the wheat that is in such a place; take thou the wine that is in such a place, and I will take the wine that is in such a place. But he may not say to him: Take thou the liquid and I will take the dry; take thou the wheat and I will take the barley. And in regard to this we have learned: That same learned man burns the liquid and leaves the dry. Why? Let him leave it for the next vintage? It may be one of the things that have no vintage. But let him leave it for one of the feasts? It may be one of the things which will not keep till the feast.

"But if he say, I have separated for sacred things, he is believed." We have learned in a Mishna (Choloth, 18:4): Both the School of Shammai and the School of Hillel agree that we are to investigate a field in which a person is buried for those who are to bring the paschal lamb, but not for those who desire to eat heave-offering. What is the meaning of investigate? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: A man blows upon the unclean land as he walks along. 1 And R. Hyya bar Abha in the name of Ula said: An unclean place of this sort that is trodden is clean for those who bring their paschal lambs; as it is a case of Kareth, they did not insist upon their decisions, but for those who desired to eat heave-offering, they did insist on their decisions, as it is a case of death penalty (by Heaven).

"In the case of vessels of wine," etc. There is a Boraitha: They are not believed, either about the cans or about the heave-offering. Cans belonging to what? If they belong to sacred things, then if he is believed about the sacred things, he is believed also about their cans? If the cans belonging to heave-offerings are meant, then it is self-evident. About heave-offering he is not believed--shall he be believed about cans that belong to it? It is a case of sacred cans which are empty, and it is during the remaining days of the year. And the same is the case of those full of heave-offering, and at the time of the vintage they are believed. (And although no precautionary measure was ordained as to their heave-offering, in order not to cause any loss to the priests, still they were not believed as to the cans, and the priests receive from them the heave-offering with the cans, but place the heave-offering in other cans of their own.)

"For seventy days before the vintage." Abayi said: Infer from this that the law is, that the farmer shall go up to dip the casks seventy days before the time of the presses.

MISHNA: From Modiim and inwards men are believed with regard to earthenware vessels; from Modiim and outwards they are not believed. How so? The potter who is selling the pots goes inwards from Modiim. That is the potter, and those are the pots, and those are the buyers. He is believed. If he goes out he is not believed.

GEMARA: We have learned in a Boraitha: The place of Modiim itself is sometimes considered within and sometimes without. How so? When the potter goes out, and the merchant goes in, it is considered within. Both go in, or both go out, it is considered without. Said Abayi: We have learned the same in our Mishna, viz.: The potter who sells the pots and goes inwards from Modiim. What about Modiim itself? Is it not believed? Then how is the latter part: When he goes out he is not believed? From this we may infer that Modiim. itself is believed. Hence the case is as stated in the Boraitha. Infer therefrom.

MISHNA: The tax collectors who have gone into the midst of a house, and so too the thieves that have restored the vessels, are believed when they say: We have not touched. And in Jerusalem they are believed as regards sacred things, and at the time of a feast as regards heave-offering also.

GEMARA. There is a contradiction from the following Boraitha: In the case of the tax collectors who have gone into the midst of the house, the whole house is unclean? There is no difficulty. The one is when there is a Gentile with them; the other is when there is not a Gentile with them. For there is another Mishna: If there is a Gentile with them, they are believed when they say, We did not enter; but they are not believed when they say, We entered, but we did not touch. And if there is a Gentile with them, what of it? R. Johanan and R. Elazar: One says that they fear that the Gentile should not punish them, and the other says that they fear that the stranger should not give them away to the government. What is the difference between them? A Gentile who is not of importance.

"And so too the thieves," etc. There is a contradiction from the following Boraitha: In the case of the thieves who have gone into the midst of the house, only the place where the thieves' feet trod is unclean. Said R. Pinhas in the name of Rabh: They are to be believed only in the case they have repented. It seems that our Mishna intended the same thing, for the statement is: Who have restored the vessels. Infer from this.

"And in Jerusalem they are believed," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: They are believed as regards large earthen vessels for sacrifice. And the reason is, because they do not make ovens in Jerusalem.

"And at the time of the feast," etc. Whence is this deduced? Said R. Joshua b. Levi: Because it is written [Judg. xx. 11]: "So all the men of Israel were gathered against the city, associated together as one man." The Scripture makes them all equal.

MISHNA: One that opens his cask, and one that commences his dough at the time of a festival, R. Jehudah says: He shall finish it, but the sages say he shall not.

GEMARA: R. Ami and R. Itz'hak of Naph'ha sat at the portico of the latter. One began and said: According to the sages, may he keep it for another festival? He answered: Every one's hand has been handling it, and dost thou say, he shall keep it for another festival? He said to him: But hitherto as well, has not every one's hand been handling it? He rejoined: What comparison is that? Hitherto the uncleanness of a common person in a festival, the Law makes him clean, but now it is a case of uncleanness.

MISHNA: As soon as the festival is over, they make them pass on to the cleansing of the court. But if the festival is over on a Friday, they do not make them pass on, on account of the honour of the Sabbath. R. Jehudah said: Also not on Thursday, for the priests are not at leisure.

GEMARA: And the Boraitha adds: That the priests are not at leisure because of the removing of the fat.

MISHNA: How is that made out, that they make them pass on to the cleaning of the court? They dip the vessels which were in the Temple, and say to them: Be ye clean that ye touch not the table. All the vessels that were in the Temple had second and third sets, so that if the first became unclean they might bring the second instead of them. All the vessels which were in the Temple were subject to dipping, except the altar of gold and the altar of bronze, because they were like the floor. Such is the dictum of R. Eliezer. But the sages say, because they were overlaid.

GEMARA: We have learned in a Boraitha: Be ye clean lest ye touch the table or the candelabrum. Why did our Mishna not mention the candelabrum? Because the table is called in the Scripture perpetual; the candelabrum is not perpetual. Resh Lakish said: It is written [Lev. xxiv. 6]: "Upon the pure table." From this it may be inferred that it may be defiled. Why? Is it not a vessel of wood made to rest, and as such is not subject to defilement? Infer from this that the table was raised up and exhibited the shewbread on it to the pilgrims, and they were told: See how beloved you are before the Lord, that the shewbreads are as warm now as they were when placed on the table. For R. Joshua b. Levi said: A great miracle was wrought in the shewbread. As its placing was miraculous so was its end, for it is written [1 Sam. 21:7]: "So as to put down hot bread on the day when it was taken away." It is written [Ezek. 41:22]: "The latter was of wood, three cubits high, and its length was two cubits, and its corners and its top-piece and its walls were of wood, and he spoke unto me: This is the table that is before the Lord." He began with "altar" and he ended with "table." R. Johanan and Resh Lakish both say: At the time that the Temple was set up an altar made atonement for a man; now a man's table makes atonement for him.

"All the vessels that were in the Temple had second and third sets," etc. The altar of bronze, because it is written [Ex. 20:21]: "An altar of earth shalt thou make unto me." The altar of gold, because it is written [Num. 3:31]: "The candlestick and the altars." The altars are placed in comparison one with the other.

"Because they are overlaid." On the contrary, since they are overlaid they may become unclean. Said the rabbis to R. Eliezer: Why do you think them capable of defilement, because they are covered over? Their covering is of no avail in respect of them.

R. Abuhu in the name of R. Eliezer said: As to the scholars, the flame of Gehenna has no power over them. For this is shown by an a fortiori argument drawn from the salamander. As only the creature of fire, and still he that anoints himself with its blood, flame has no power over him, how much more then that the flames have no power over the scholars, whose whole body is fire, as it is written [Jer. 23:29]: "Is not thus my word like fire? saith the Lord." Resh Lakish said the flame of Gehenna has no power over the transgressors of Israel, as is shown by an a fortiori argument from the altar of gold. For the altar of gold, upon which is only about the thickness of a denarius of gold, it lasted so many years and was not affected by fire; how much less can flame have power over the transgressors of Israel, who are full of the commandments as a pomegranate is full of seeds, as it is written [Song of Songs 4:3]: "Like the half of a pomegranate is the upper part of thy cheek," etc. Read not "the upper part of thy cheek," but "the vain fellows that are in thee."

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TRACT BETZAH (YOM TOB).

CHAPTER 1.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING EATABLES AND BEVERAGES: PREPARATIONS FROM THE FIRST DAY OF FESTIVALS TO THE SECOND, FROM THE FESTIVALS TO THE SABBATH, AND VICE VERSA.

MISHNA: An egg laid on a festival may be eaten on the same day. So say the school of Shammai; the school of Hillel, however, say it must not. The school of Shammai say that leaven the size of an olive and leavened bread the size of a date (are to be removed before Passover), but the school of Hillel say that both must be removed when of the size of an olive only. If wild game or fowl is to be slaughtered on a festival, the school of Shammai say one should dig up (the earth) with a spade and cover the blood, but the school of Hillel forbid the killing unless loose earth had been prepared for that purpose the day before. Both schools, however, agree that if the killing had been done, one may loosen some earth and cover the blood with it, for ashes are always ready in the hearth.

GEMARA: To what kind of hen does the Mishna refer? If to a hen designed for eating, why then does the school of Hillel prohibit the eating of the egg? Is it not a part of the eatables which were prepared (for the festival)? If to a hen kept for laying eggs only, what is the reason of the school of Shammai, who permit to eat it? Is this not Muktzah (designation 1)? Should we suppose that the school of Shammai do not hold the theory of Muktzah, even then the eating of it could not be permitted, as it is a new-born thing, and even one who denies the theory of Muktzah should hold to the theory of Nolad (new-born thing). Nay, R. Na'hman has declared that one who denies the theory of Muktzah denies also the theory of Nolad.

If so, then the school of Shammai will be in accordance with R. Simeon (who denies the theory of Muktzah), and the school of Hillel will be in accordance with R. Jehudah (who holds it); but this would not be the case, because did not R. Na'hman state (in Tract Sabbath) that the school of Hillel are always in accordance with R. Simeon and the school of Shammai with R. Jehudah? R. Na'hman may say: Because we found an anonymous Mishna (in Tract Sabbath, p. 375) which is in accordance with R. Simeon, therefore he declares that concerning the Sabbath the school of Hillel hold with R. Simeon, and concerning the festivals we found an anonymous Mishna (Sabbath, p. 375) in accordance with R. Jehudah, therefore he declares that the school of Hillel are in accordance with R. Jehudah, who is more rigorous.

Let us see: Who makes the Mishna anonymous? Rabbi (its editor). Why does he make it anonymous in regard to Sabbath in accordance with R. Simeon, and in regard to festivals (makes it anonymous) according to R. Jehudah? This is no question. Relating to Sabbath, which is so rigorous that it has a capital punishment and there is no fear that anyone will dare to disregard its rules, therefore Rabbi made an anonymous Mishna in accordance with the more lenient R. Simeon; but relating to festivals, which have no capital punishment at all, and the rules are lenient, for fear that otherwise they may be disregarded, Rabbi made an anonymous Mishna in accordance with R. Jehudah.

Now, then, if the Mishna means a hen which is kept for laying eggs, and the reason that the school of Hillel prohibit it, is because the egg is Muktzah, why do they not differ about the hen itself? (whether it is permitted to eat it or not). Therefore said Rabba: The Mishna refers to a hen kept for eating, and to a festival which falls after Sabbath; and the teaching of the school of Hillel is not for the reason of Muktzah, but of preparation; i.e., an egg which is laid to-day Rabba is certain that it was ripe the preceding day, and it is in accordance with his theory, thus: It is written [Ex. 16:5]: "And it shall come to pass on the sixth day, when they prepare what they shall have brought in"; i.e., only on a week-day shall anything be prepared for the Sabbath or for festivals, but nothing should be prepared on a festival for the Sabbath, and vice versa.

Said Abayi to Rabba: Let it then be permitted on a festival which does not come after Sabbath, and he answered: It is as a precautionary measure for the festival which falls after Sabbath. Said Abayi again: Let it then be permitted on a Sabbath, and he rejoined again: It is a precautionary measure for the Sabbath which falls after a festival. Said Abayi again: Do we take such precautionary measures? Have we not learned in a Boraitha: If one kills a hen on a festival and finds in it ripe eggs, he is permitted to eat them? Now, if such precautionary measures are taken, why should not the same precautionary measure be taken for the above eggs, for fear lest one eat new-laid eggs? Rabba again rejoined: Ripe eggs in the entrails of a hen are not a usual occurrence, and for an unusual occurrence no precautionary measures are taken.

R. Joseph, however, said that (the prohibition of eating an egg from a hen kept for eating) is as a precautionary measure lest one may eat fruit which has fallen from a tree on Sabbath. R. Itz'hak said that the precautionary measure is taken lest one drink the beverages which flow from a tree on Sabbath. From the following teaching we learn that R. Johanan agrees with R. Joseph's opinion, viz.: R. Johanan found R. Jehudah contradicting himself, namely: We have learned in a Mishna in Sabbath, one may not press fruit to derive beverage from it; and even if the beverage flowed of itself, it is prohibited. R. Jehudah, however, said: If the fruit was for the purpose of eating, the beverage which flows from it is permitted, and if the fruit was for beverage, the latter is not permitted. From this we see that although the beverage which flows from the fruit was not prepared on the preceding day, its use is nevertheless permitted; and in another place we find that the same R. Jehudah said, "that an egg which was laid on one festival day may be eaten on the second festival day"--on the second, but not on the first. This contradicts his first dictum, that the beverage may be used on the same day. And R. Johanan answered about this contradiction thus: Say, that it is on the contrary, that not R. Jehudah permits to drink the beverage, but the first Tana in the above Mishna. Now, when R. Johanan contradicted the teaching concerning the beverage and the egg, we must say that the prohibition of both is for one and the same reason.

Rabbina the son of R. Ula said: It is not so. R. Jehudah, who says that the egg must be eaten on the second day, and not on the first, refers to a case where the hen was kept for laying eggs only, and this is according to his theory of Muktzah.

An objection was raised from the following Boraitha: An egg which was laid on Sabbath or on a festival day must not be handled to cover a vessel with it, or to support the foot of a bed, with it. It is permitted, however, to cover it with a vessel to prevent it from breaking. If it is doubtful whether the egg was laid on that day or not, it is also disallowed to use it. Should it become mixed in even with a thousand eggs, all the eggs are prohibited to be used on that day. It is right according to Rabba's teaching, who says that when the egg is prohibited for the reason of preparation, which is biblical, therefore a doubtful egg must not be used because it is doubtful according to a biblical law, and all doubts about biblical ordinances must be decided more rigorously; but according to R. Joseph and R. Itz'hak, who say that it is prohibited only as a precautionary measure, why then is it not allowed to use the doubtful egg that is so only according to a rabbinical ordinance, and all doubts concerning rabbinical ordinances must be decided more leniently? The latter part of the Boraitha means that it was doubtful whether it was laid by a hen biblically forbidden to be eaten (e.g., sick or crippled), If it is so, how will the latter part of this Boraitha, "if it were mixed in even with a thousand eggs, all are prohibited," be explained? It would be right if there were a doubt whether it was laid on a week-day or on a festival, where the prohibition is temporary (because on the morrow all may be eaten); and there is a rule when anything is temporarily prohibited, if it is mixed in with a thousand, the prohibition remains, but if the egg was doubtful to be from a biblically forbidden hen (in which case the prohibition remains in force always), then if it is mixed in with other eggs, why should they all be invalid? Let it be ignored as against the majority? (that one egg be removed, and the remaining should be used). The assumption that an egg is a thing of value, and therefore must not be ignored, would apply only to those who say that all things usually counted must not be ignored; but what can be said to those who say that only things which are always sure to be counted may be ignored? (This objection remains.)

R. Ashi said: The meaning of "doubtfulness" in the Boraitha is, whether it is a week or festival day, it is nevertheless prohibited to use it, although according to R. Joseph and R. Itz'hak it is only a rabbinical doubt, because the prohibition is only temporary, and in case of a temporary prohibition even a rabbinical one must wait till the prohibition is over.

We have learned in a Boraitha: Anonymous teachers in the name of R. Eliezer said that the egg in question may be eaten together with the hen that laid it. To what case does the Boraitha refer? If the hen is kept for eating, then it is self-evident; if it is a hen kept for laying eggs, then both are not allowed to be used. Said R. Zera: The Boraitha means to say that the egg can only then be eaten when the hen which laid it was also eaten. Flow shall it be explained? Said Abayi: In case the hen was bought not for any definite purpose, if it was slaughtered and prepared, then it is clear that it was bought for the festivals, and the egg may also be used; but if the hen is kept alive, then it is clear that it was bought with the intention to keep it for laying eggs, and then it must not be used. R. Mari, however, said that the Boraitha meant to say nothing, but merely exaggerated (i.e., the egg may be eaten in any manner), as we have learned in the following Tosephta: A new-laid egg may be eaten with the hen that laid it, and a new-born pullet with its shell. As the shell cannot be used and is only an exaggeration, so is it also meant with the egg and the hen which laid it.

It was taught: If Sabbath fell after a festival, or vice versa, anything born on one of these days must not be used on the other. So said Rabh. R. Johanan, however, allowed it to be used on the morrow.

Shall we assume that Rabh holds that both are of one and the same sanctitude? Did not Rabh say that the Halakha prevails according to the four old sages 1 who are in accordance with R. Eliezer, who said that Sabbath and the festivals are of different sanctitudes? Nay, here they do not differ concerning the sanctitudes, but as to the law of preparation mentioned above in the name of Rabba. Rabh is in accordance with this theory and R. Johanan is not.

The Tanaim of the following Tosephta differ on the same point: If an egg was laid on the Sabbath, it may be eaten on the festival, and vice versa. R. Jehudah in the name of R. Eliezer, however, said, that there is still a difference of opinion among the schools of Shammai and Hillel. According to the former it may, and according to the latter it may not be eaten.

The householder of R. Adda b. Ahabah had eggs which were laid on a festival preceding the Sabbath; he came to him and inquired whether it is permitted to roast them that day, to be eaten on the morrow. He answered: What is thy question ? Because thou thinkest that when Rabh and R. Johanan differ the Halakha prevails according to the latter; yet even R. Johanan permits only to sip the egg when raw on the morrow, but he never permitted to handle it on the same day.

The householder where R. Papa lived, according to others another man, had eggs which were laid on a Sabbath preceding a festival, and he asked R. Papa if they could be eaten on the morrow, and R. Papa answered him: Leave it until to-morrow and come again, because Rabh did not use an interpreter on a festival day after meals to decide questions belonging to the next day, for fear, perhaps, that he had drunk more than a quarter of a lug of wine. When he came on the next day R. Papa said to him: If I had decided the question yesterday, when I was a little lightheaded, I would have erred, and would have decided according to R. Johanan, as the rule is where Rabh and R. Johanan differ, the Halakha prevails always according to R. Johanan, and this would not be right, because Rabha said that the case in question is one of the three 1 where the Halakha prevails according to Rabh, both when he is lenient as well as rigorous.

R. Johanan said: Wood which falls from a tree on Sabbath must not be used on the following festival day; and if it would be asked what is the difference between the wood and the egg, it can be said that the egg can be used while raw just after it

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has been laid, and if left until the next day, because it must not be used on the same day; but if the wood will be used just after Sabbath is over, one might say that the use of the wood was allowed on the same day, and that it was not used because it was prohibited to make a fire on Sabbath.

R. Mathna said: If wood had fallen down from a tree directly into an oven on a festival day, one may add wood which had been prepared on the preceding day and burn it; but is not this handling a prohibited thing? To this the answer is, because the bulk of the wood may be handled, the rest is ignored. But did he not ignore the prohibited wood intentionally? and a Mishna teaches that a prohibited thing must not be ignored on purpose. This, however, is only true of a biblical prohibition, but not of a rabbinical. But according to R. Ashi, who said that a thing which is prohibited only temporarily, cannot be ignored by any means, what can be said? This is when the prohibited thing is preserved; but here, when the wood is to be destroyed by fire, it is different. It was taught about the two festival days in exile: Rabh said if anything was born on the first day, it may be eaten on the morrow, but R. Assi says it must not. Said R. Zera: It seems to me that R. Assi is correct in his opinion, because in our time the time of the calendar is known to us, and nevertheless we hold in exile two days of festival (consequently we must hold all the ordinances which were ordained in that time). Abayi, however, said: It seems to me that Rabh is correct in his opinion, and our keeping of two days of festival in exile is merely because a message was sent to us from the West: Take heed of the customs of your ancestors, as it can happen that the government might forbid the keeping of festivals, and the exact date might be forgotten (after the government should retract the command).

It was taught: Rabh and Samuel both said of the two festival days of New Year: Something born on the first day must not be used on the other.

Rabha said: From the day of the ordinance of Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai, 1 an egg which is laid on the first day of the New Year festival may be eaten on the next day. Said Abayi to him: Did not Rabh and Samuel both say that it is not allowed? Rejoined Rabha: I say to you that of Johanan b. Zakkai, and you mention Rabh and Samuel to me [says; the Gemara: Do really Rabh and Samuel contradict a Mishna P Nay, it presents no difficulty: The ordinance of Johanan b. Zakkai was only for Palestine, but Rabh and Samuel speak for the exile].

R. Joseph, however, said even after the ordinance of Johanan b. Zakkai the prohibition of the egg remains in force, because the prohibition has been ordained by the vote of a majority of sages, and everything that has been ordained by a majority some time ago, must again be voted by a majority. Said Abayi to him: Did the sages in Johanan b. Zakkai's time discuss about an egg? They discussed only about the witnesses of the new moon. When it was ordained that the witnesses should not be received on the 30th day (consequently two days were kept festival), the egg was prohibited, but after that, when it was again allowed to receive the witnesses the entire 30th day, in consequence holiday was kept only one day, and the egg could not be any longer prohibited.

R. Ada and R. Shalman [both from the city of Khaluchith] said: The reason why the egg is prohibited even after the ordinance of R. Johanan b. Zakkai, is because the Temple will soon be rebuilt, and then one may say the last year, have we not eaten the second day of the festival the egg that was laid on the first day? We will do the same now, and they will not know that the last year had two separate sanctitudes; and now, when the Temple is built, the two days are as one long day of one and the same sacredness.

If it is so, let the witnesses who come to testify about the new moon, also not be received? because soon will the Temple be rebuilt, and they will say: Did we not receive the last year the whole 30th day? The same will we do now? What comparison is there? Only the court (Beth Din) can receive the testimony of the witnesses, but eating an egg appertains to the common people. Rabha, however, said: That even after the ordinances of R. Johanan b. Zakkai the egg is prohibited for this reason: Would not R. Johanan b. Zakkai himself agree that if the witnesses were coming after the Min'ha prayer (in the afternoon), both the 30th day and the morrow would be kept sacred? (Therefore we who are at a great distance from Palestine, and do not know when the witnesses appeared, must keep both days holy, and as of one kind of sacredness; in consequence an egg laid cannot be eaten on what is considered as the same day.)

Rabha said again: The Halakha prevails according to Rabh in these three ordinances, both when he is lenient and rigorous (namely: 1. An egg laid on a Sabbath preceding festival day or on a festival day preceding a Sabbath may be eaten on the morrow. 2. The same is the case with the two festival days in exile. 3. But if it m, as laid on the first day of the two New Year's days, it must not be eaten).

Rabha said: The preparing for the burial of a dead body on the first day of the exile festival must be done by Gentiles; but on the second day Israelites may do it, even if it is New Year. With a new-born thing, however, in the two days of New Year it is different (because these two days are considered as of one sacredness). The sages of Nehardai, however, said the case is the same with a new-born thing also. Said Mar Zutra: The law concerning burial on holidays refers to a case when the corpse had been lying some time and there is fear of corruption; but if it had just died it may lie until after the holidays and then be interred. R. Ashi, however, said: Even if it has just died it can be buried on the same day, as the sages considered the second day of a festival a week-day in relation to a dead body, and it is allowed even to cut myrtle for it and prepare (a nice cloak for him besides) the shrouds.

Rabbina was sitting in the presence of R. Ashi on the first day of New Year, and noticed that he was downcast. He asked him: Why is the Master downcast? R. Ashi answered: Because I have not made a combining of cookery (Erub Tabshilin; ix., the third day of the new year was a Sabbath, and it was necessary to prepare on the second day of New Year for the Sabbath by making a "combining of cookery"). Said Rabbina to him: Let Master make it to-day. Did not Rabha say that whoever forgot to make a combining on the eve of a festival, is permitted to make it on the first day? And R. Ashi rejoined: Rabha allowed it only on the exile festival day, but not on the two days of New Year. Said Rabbina again: Did not the sages of Neherdai decide that the same is the case with New Year's day? R. Mordecai answered to Rabbina: I have heard Master plainly declare that he did not agree with the sages of Neherdai (Master means R. Ashi). Therefore do not molest him with this question.

The rabbis taught: A pullet which was born on a festival must not be eaten on the same day. R. Eliezer ben Jacob said even on a week-day it is not allowed to eat it on the same day, because its eyes are not yet open. We also learn in the following Boraitha: It is written [Lev. 11:22]: "All flying insects that walk upon four legs shall be an abomination to you." By "all" it is meant to add the pullet whose eyes are not as yet open.

R. Huna said in the name of Rabh: An egg becomes ripe as soon as it is laid, What does Rabh mean to teach us by this statement? Shall we assume that he meant to say that it becomes ripe enough to be eaten with milk, which would not be the case if the egg were found in the entrails of a hen? Did not a Boraitha say: He who kills a hen and finds in it ripe eggs may eat them with milk? Shall we assume that Rabh means to teach us that when it is laid on a festival it may be eaten on that same day; but how if it were found in the entrails of a hen, would it not be allowed to eat it on a festival? Did not a Boraitha say that if ripe eggs are found in the hen on a festival day, they may be eaten? If it be said that Rabh means to teach us what the Boraitha has added to the Mishna (this cannot be said either, because) we have learned in the Mishna, an egg laid on a festival the school of Shammai permit to be eaten, etc. We see therefore that the above schools differed only about an egg laid already, but not about an egg found in the entrails of a hen and it cannot be said of the school of Hillel that they prohibited this, for then the above Boraitha which allows this would not be in accordance with any of the schools.

Rabh comes to teach us that only an egg which is laid is ripe to be put under a hen for hatching; but an egg which is found in the entrails of a hen, even if it were ripe, cannot be used for hatching, as it cannot breed pullets.

And the difference is in matters of buying and selling (i.e., if one buy eggs for hatching and he was given eggs which were found in the entrails of a lien, the seller must return the money to him). As it happened once, one came to the market and asked for new-laid eggs and he was given eggs which were found in a killed hen. When the case was brought before R. Amai he decided that the sale was null and void and the seller must return the money. Is that not self-evident? One may say that when the buyer asked for new-laid eggs he meant eggs for eating, and he who sold him the eggs which were found in the killed hen has only to return to the buyer the difference between the value of a new-laid egg and one found in a killed hen. Therefore he comes to teach us that it is not so, but that the whole sale is null and void and the seller must return the money.

It happened, also, that one came to the market and asked for eggs of a hen which had paired with a cock, and he was given eggs of a hen which laid them by warming herself by scratching the earth; and when this case was also brought before R. Amai, he made the sale null and void for the same reason.

And if you wish, we will explain (the above saying of R. Huna in the name of Rabh), that an egg is ripe as soon as it is laid, means, that as soon as the greater part of it is out of the body of the hen, it is considered ripe; and this will be in accordance with R. Johanan, who said that an egg, of which the greater part was out on the eve of a festival, and it slipped back, and came out on the festival, it might be eaten the same day. And still others say, that Rabh means to teach that when the egg is wholly out then it is ripe, 'but not otherwise, the reverse of the opinion of R. Johanan.

The text says: When one has killed a hen and found ripe eggs in it, they may be eaten with milk. R. Jacob, however, said: When the egg is as yet covered with veins, it must not be eaten with milk.

The rabbis taught: All the females which have communication with their males in the day-time only, give also birth in the day-time only; and those which have communication in the night-time only, give also birth in the night-time only. Those, however, which have communication at all times, give birth also at all times. Those that have communication in the day-time only: e.g., a hen; and in the night only, e.g., a bat; and at all times, e.g., man and all animals similar to him.

To what purpose did the Master say all this? This is necessary to the following Halakha: R. Mari the son of R. Cahana says: One who has searched a chicken-coop on the eve of a festival at twilight, and does not find any eggs, and on the morrow before sunrise does find one, it may be eaten the same day (as it could not have been laid during the night). But did he not search the day before? Say, then, he did not search thoroughly; and even if he did search thoroughly, it is possible that at that time the greater part of the egg came out and slipped back again; and this is in accordance with what is stated above in the name of R. Johanan.

This is not so? For did not R. Jose b. Saul say in the name of Rabh: If one has searched a chicken-coop on the eve of a festival at twilight, and does not find any eggs in it, and on the morrow he finds one, it must not be used? He has reference to a hen which bears by scratching the earth (and such a hen may lay even at night). If it is so, say in the case of R. Mari also that the egg which was found in the morning was laid by such a hen.

There is the case where a male was in the coop. Even then, can it not happen that a hen may scratch the earth? Said Rabina: It is certain that when there is a male, no hen scratches the earth for the purpose of bearing. And at what distance in the neighbourhood must the cock be? Said R. Gamda in the name of Rabh: As far as she can hear his voice in the day-time.

R. Mari, according to his decision, has decided a case (in which it was searched on the eve of a festival and nothing found in it, but an egg was found on the morrow, and there was no cock at) a distance of sixty houses.

When there is a stream between, the hen does not cross it, but she crosses a bridge; neither does she cross over a plank. It happened once that a hen crossed over a plank.

"The school of Shammai say that leaven the size of an olive," etc. What is the reason of their teaching? They maintain if the same size would be for leaven and leavened bread, why did the Torah need mention leaven at all? Let it have been written "leavened bread," and it would be known from an a fortiori conclusion that leaven the size of an olive is prohibited (i.e., as leavened bread, which is not as sour as leaven itself, one is culpable if he eats the size of an olive, so much the more, leaven itself the same size). Now, when the law mentioned leaven and leavened bread separately it is only to teach us that their sizes are different (leaven the size of an olive and leavened bread the size of a date). The school of Hillel, however, maintain that both are needed, because if leaven only were mentioned, one might say that because leaven is very sour, it must not be used, but leavened bread, which is not so sour, one may eat; if leavened bread only were mentioned, one could say that leavened bread which is fit to be eaten is prohibited, but leaven itself which is not fit for eating one is not culpable if he eats; therefore leaven is also mentioned.

We have learned also in a Boraitha: It is written [Ex. 13:7]: "And there shall not be seen with thee any unleavened bread, neither shall there be seen with thee any leaven in all thy boundaries." This is the point of difference between the school of Shammai and the school of Hillel: The first says, leaven the size of an olive and leavened bread the size of a date, and according to the latter, both are of the size of an olive.

"When a person has killed," etc. If one has killed already, but may he not commence it? Said Rabha: The Mishna meant to say that if a person wishes to slaughter an animal at a festival and comes to ask how he shall do it, the school of Shammai say he must be told that he may slaughter first, dig to get loose earth, and then cover; but the school of Hillel say he must be forbidden to slaughter unless he has loose earth prepared from the preceding day. R. Joseph, however, said, that according to the school of Shammai he must be told to dig first, slaughter, and then cover. Said Abayi to R. Joseph: Shall we assume that the Master and Rabha differ about what R. Zera said in the name of Rabh, as follows: Whoever slaughters a wild animal or fowl, must have loose earth beneath, to soak the blood, and some on the top, to cover with, as it is written [Lev. 17:13]: "Then shall he pour out the blood thereof, and cover it up with (or in) earth"? 1 It is not said "to place earth on it," but to it "cover it in earth." From this we infer that there must be earth underneath and earth on the top. Now, the Master agrees with R. Zera (and therefore he must be told to dig first), but Rabha does not agree with R. Zera (therefore in his opinion he must be told to slaughter first and dig after). Rejoined R. Joseph: We both agree with the dictum of R. Zera, and we differ on another point, namely,

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Rabha holds if there is already earth underneath, he may slaughter, but he must not dig first, for it may happen that he should afterwards reconsider the matter and not slaughter at all (then he will have dug for nothing), but I hold it is better to permit him to dig first, else it may be that he would not slaughter at all, and not enjoy the festival as becomes it.

"Both colleges agree," etc. R. Zriqa said in the name of R. Jehudah: The case is when one had a spade sticking in the ground from the preceding day. But he pounds the earth? (reduces the earth to powder). Said R. Hyya bar Ashi in the name of Rabh: It is meant that the spade was already in powdered earth.

"As the ashes from the hearth," etc. Where are the ashes mentioned? Said Rabha: The Mishna means to say, that the ashes from the hearth may be considered as always prepared. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: The case is when the hearth had been heated on the preceding day, but when the fire was made on the festival, it is not so. When the ashes, however, are hot enough for roasting an egg, they are considered as prepared. We have learned the same in a Boraitha, with the addition, that if one has brought loose earth for his garden or for a ruin, he may cover the blood with it.

R. Jehudah said again: One may bring a basketful of earth, and do with it all that he needs. Lectured Mar Zutra in the name of Mar Zutra the great: The case is when he has separated a corner for it.

An objection was raised: We have learned elsewhere: A kui 1 must not be slaughtered on a festival, and when it is, its blood must not be covered. Now, if it be so, let him cover it as R. Jehudah said above? What question is it--he could also cover it with the ashes of the hearth, or with a spade in powdered earth? We must say, then, that they were not available; and it is the same with the basketful of earth mentioned above, that he has not any. If such is the case, why a kui, of which it is doubtful whether his blood must be covered or not? Even an animal of which it is certain that his blood must be covered, the same is the case? The Mishna means to say, that not only an animal of which it is certain that his blood must be covered must not be slaughtered, unless he has prepared a covering; but even an animal which is doubtful, lest one say that because of the enjoyment of the festival it shall be slaughtered without covering, it comes to teach us that he must not. But did not the latter part of the Mishna state, that if it was slaughtered the blood must not be covered, from which we must infer that the first part of the Mishna means, even when he has a prepared covering for it?

Therefore said Rabha: The ashes of the hearth are only considered to be prepared when the animal is of a species whose blood must be certainly covered; but when the animal is of a kind about the covering of whose blood there is a doubt, it is not so (i.e., the ashes must not be handled for this purpose, as they are Muktzah). And this is in accordance with his theory elsewhere, that if one has brought earth to cover with it dung, he may cover with it the blood of a fowl, but not vice versa. The sages of Neharbelai, however, said that even if he has brought the earth for the purpose of covering with it the blood of a fowl, he may cover with it dung also. In the West R. Joseph bar Hama, and according to others Rabha the son of R. Joseph bar Hama, and R. Zera differed on this point. According to one a kui (about which it is doubted whether it is a wild or domestic animal) is regarded as dung, and according to the other it is not so (but who entertained either of these two opinions it was not known). Now, from the above teaching of Rabha, who said that earth prepared for a fowl must not be used for dung, we infer that Rabha is the one in whose opinion a kui is regarded as dung.

Rami the son of R. Jebha, however, said that the reason that we do not cover a kui on a festival is as a precautionary measure, lest one think the use of its tallow permissible. If so, let it not be covered even on a week-day? Nay, on a week-day one (who sees the blood covered) may think it is done for the purpose of cleaning the yard. But what shall be the reply to him who comes to ask (whether he should cover the blood)? Therefore we must say, that the reason is this: On a week-day, when it is doubtful, the sages decree that nevertheless he should trouble himself to cover it, but on a festival day the sages do not wish to put him to perhaps unnecessary work.

R. Zera taught: Not the blood of a kui only is it prohibited to cover on a festival day, but even when a slaughtered domestic animal's and fowl's blood were mixed together, it must not be covered either. Said R. Jose bar Jasiniah: The case is when one cannot cover the whole blood with one (shovelful) stroke of the spade, but if he can, he must cover it. Is this not self-evident? One might say that we should prohibit this as a precautionary measure to prevent him from making two strokes. Therefore he comes to teach us that such precautionary measures are not necessary. Rabha said: If one has slaughtered a fowl on the eve of a festival, the blood must not be covered on the festival; but if he kneaded dough on the eve of a festival, he must separate the "first dough" on the festival. The father of Samuel, however, said that even this is prohibited.

MISHNA: Beth Shammai say: It is prohibited to remove a ladder from one dove-cote to another; it may, however, be inclined from one opening to another (of the same dove-cote). But Beth Hillel allow both.

GEMARA: R. Hanan bar Ammi said: Both schools differ only when it is done in public ground: According to Beth Shammai one who will see him carrying a ladder may think he is going to repair his roof; but Beth Hillel do not care for that, for they say the dove-cote will show the man's purpose of carrying the ladder. But if this is done in private ground (where there is no person to see his act), all agree that this is permissible. But is it so? Did not R. Jehudah say in the name of Rabh, that all which is prohibited on account of its liability to be seen (and misjudged) remains so even in the greatest privacy? In this the Tanaim differ (Sabbath, pp. 336, 337).

Our Mishna does not accord with the Tana of the following Boraitha: R. Simeon b. Elazar said both schools agree that the ladder may be carried from one dove-cote to another; the point on which they differ is whether the ladder may be carried back. The school of Shammai prohibit it, and the school of Hillel allow even this. Said R. Jehudah: The Mishna refers only to a ladder used for a dove-cote, but a ladder to an attic all agree is prohibited. R. Dosa said he may incline it from one window to another. Anonymous teachers say in the name of R. Dosa, that he may also trail the ladder (making it change its position by turning it about).

The children of R. Hyya were going out into the villages. When they came back their father asked them, was no question asked of you, which you have decided? and they answered that they were asked whether a ladder of an attic may be inclined on a festival, and they allowed it. And he said to them: Go, prohibit what you have permitted. (Said the Gemara): "The children of R. Hyya thought that R. Dosa had allowed what R. Jehudah prohibited, and it was not so; he only allowed what the first Tana did not prohibit; i.e., a ladder to a dove-cote, allowed by the first Tana even to be carried, R. Dosa permits only to incline.

"It may, however, be inclined from one opening," etc. We learn also in another Mishna farther on: The shutters (of shops) must not be removed on a festival, so is the decree of Beth Shammai; but according to Beth Hillel they may be even returned to their places. From this we see that concerning the enjoyment of the festival, the school of Shammai are rigorous, and the school of Hillel are lenient. Is not this in contradiction to the first Mishna of this chapter, where we see the opposite? It would be (intelligible) if we explain the first Mishna's meaning that it speaks of a spade stuck in the ground before (then Beth Shammai would not be more rigorous). But what can be said of the self-contradiction of Beth Hillel? Said R. Johanan: Change the names of the authorities (assume the prohibitions to be made by Beth Shammai and the permissions by Beth Hillel). Says the Gemara: Perhaps it is not so, because we can explain the lenience of Beth Hillel in the case of the shutters by the fact that the law of building cannot be applied to vessels (according to their theory); but in the first Mishna, where such a reason cannot be found, they did not permit.

MISHNA: Beth Shammai say: It is unlawful to remove the birds from their places, unless they have been handled before the festival; but Beth Hillel say: It is unnecessary to do more than stand on the eve of the festival before the dove-cote and say: "This and this bird will I take for the festival."

GEMARA: Said R. Hanan bar Ammi: They differ only about the first brood of pigeons. Beth Shammai hold that if one will not handle it before the festival, he may change his mind (and spare it when he comes to take it on the festival, and will take others instead of them, but if he has handled it on the previous day, we are sure that he will not change his mind). Beth Hillel, however, do not entertain this fear. But as for the second brood, all agree that it is enough if he says before the festival: "I will take this and this."

According to Beth Hillel, why is it needed one should mention the individual bird? Would it not suffice to refer to the whole dove-cote (and say, "from this dove-cote I will take more")? Should we assume that the school of Hillel do not hold the theory of premeditated choice (see Vol. III., p. 80)? But this would not be right, as from the Mishna (Oholath, VII., 3), we know that the school of Hillel hold this theory. Said Rabha: It is needed for the reason that if he will not point out the individual, he may handle the next day all birds of the dove-cote except the one he chooses (if any) unnecessarily. But did not Beth Hillel say it is enough if he says: "I will take this and this bird," and yet he may reject it when he comes to take it for slaughtering? Nay, this is on the eve of a festival, if he has chosen some of them, be they lean or fat, he will not exchange them for others; but if he did not so on the eve, and he comes to choose them on the festival itself, it may be that he will be compelled to handle many until he finds one that is fit, or it may happen he finds none fit, and he will handle them for no purpose, and he will be deprived of the enjoyment of the festival.

MISHNA: If a person who had prepared for a festival black pigeons finds white ones, or having prepared white pigeons, should find black ones; or two birds, and he find three, they must not be used. If three birds had been prepared and two only are found, they may be used; but if they had been prepared within the nest, and are found before the nest, they must not be used unless there were no other birds but these in the dove-cote.

GEMARA: Is not this self-evident? Said Rabba: The Mishna refers to a case when one had prepared both white and black, and on the morrow, when he comes to take them, he finds they have changed places. One might say that the pigeons are all the same, but they have changed places, hence the Mishna comes to teach us that it is not customary for the birds to change places, and therefore we must say that all the old ones are gone, and those which are found are other pigeons. Shall we suppose that this Mishna is in support of the decree of R. Hanina, who said that when one has to decide according to the majority of cases similar to one at hand, or according to the intrinsic probability, one should decide according to the former? (As our Mishna decided that they are other pigeons, and that is because in the majority of cases pigeons do not change places, we see that the Mishna decides according to majority and not probability.) Nay, the case of the Mishna can be explained as Abayi says farther on, that it means not in the nest itself, but on the board before the nest, where strange pigeons also come and roost (and so decides not according to majority, but probability).

"Or two birds, and he finds three," etc. Why is it so? For all reasons: Either all are strange pigeons, or at least one.

"If three birds," etc. Why so? Because two are the same, though one is gone. Shall we assume our Mishna is only according to Rabbi, and not the sages of the following Boraitha? If one had left at a certain place one hundred zuz of second tithe, and he found afterwards two hundred zuz, the ordinary and the second tithe money are mixed together. Such is the decree of Rabbi. But the sages said that the whole is considered as ordinary money (considering the first hundred as having been stolen, and this to be other money). But if he left two hundred zuz, and found only one hundred, it is considered that one hundred has been stolen, and the other hundred remains. So is the decree of Rabbi. But the sages said that the remainder becomes ordinary. Hence we see that the case of the doves in our Mishna is according to Rabbi? Nay, the Mishna can be explained even in accordance with the sages, for it was taught in addition to this Boraitha, that R. Johanan and R. Elazar both said that in the case of pigeons the law is different because pigeons have the habit of leaving their nest for short whiles.

"But if they had been prepared in the nest," etc. Shall we say this part of the Mishna is in support of the above decree of R. Hanina? Here it can also be explained as the former according to Abayi (that the board before the nest is meant where strange pigeons come to roost). Rabha, however, said: The Mishna refers to a case where there were two nests, one on the top of the other; and not only is one prohibited to use pigeons found before the lower nest, when he had prepared same in the lower, and found both nests empty, because it is considered that from only the lower nest they are gone, and those from the upper nest have come down; but if he had prepared them in the upper one, and found them in front of it, while both nests are empty, the case is the same; though usually pigeons do not go up, it is considered that the upper pigeons are gone, and those of the lower nest came up in front of the upper nest.

"Unless there were no other birds," etc. How was the case? Shall we say flying pigeons are meant? Then it maybe assumed that those that had been in the nest had flown away, and these are strangers. And if pigeons too young for flying are meant, then if there is a nest within fifty ells, we may say that those that were here bounded away, and these are strangers; but if no strange nest is near, is it not self-evident that they are the same and may be used, as Mar Uqba bar Hamma said: A pigeon that cannot fly yet is not able to bound away more than fifty ells? Nay, it can be explained thus: There is a nest within fifty ells, but it is situated in a corner so that the pigeons could not see it. They are in their own nest, and the Mishna comes to teach us, that the fear of their bounding away is only when there is another nest within fifty ells, which is visible to them when they are in their own nest; but if not visible, they do not bound away at all.

MISHNA: Beth Shammai say: The (large wooden) pestle may not be moved for the purpose of using it as a block to cut meat upon; but Beth Hillel allow it. Beth Shammai teach: It is unlawful to lay down a skin to be trodden on (as a preparation for its being tanned) or to raise it from the ground unless the (minimum) quantity of meat of the size of an olive be thereon; Beth Hillel, however, allow it.

GEMARA: We have learned in a Boraitha (an addition to this Mishna) that all agree that if one has already cut meat on this pestle, it may not be handled more (because the occasion on which it was necessary for the festival is over).

Said Abayi: Even if the pestle mentioned in the Mishna was a new one, made only for breaking bones, the case is the same; (and Abayi found this necessary to explain) lest one say, that because it is a new one, it shall be feared that he will change his mind and will not use it for this purpose, and so it will be

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handled unnecessarily, and therefore the Mishna comes to teach us that this fear is not entertained. From this we see that Beth Shammai have not such fear. But did we not learn in a Boraitha: Beth Shammai said the slaughterer and the knife must not be brought to the animal, nor, vice versa, it to them (for fear of his changing his mind, and not slaughtering at all, and being troubled for nothing)? And the same is the case with spices and the pestle, which must not be carried to the mortar, nor vice versa. But Beth Hillel allow both (hence we see that the school of Shammai fear his changing his mind). What comparison is it? He can reject on second consideration an animal because he wants a fatter one, or spices because he resolves to have a dish without spices, but in this case the animal is already slaughtered and the meat is for cooking; hence he must cut it and prepare it for eating.

"Beth Shammai teach it is unlawful to lay down a skin," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: Both schools agree that meat for roasting may be salted on the skin. Said Abayi: Only for roasting is it permitted to salt meat on it, but not for boiling (because for roasting much salt is not necessary, but for boiling more is needed). Is not this self-evident? It is plainly stated, "for roasting." Abayi comes to teach us that even for roasting, if more salt is needed than ordinarily, it is not permitted.

The rabbis taught: Tallow must not be salted and must not be turned over. In the name of R. Joshuah, however, it was said that one may spread it out upon nails for being aired. Said R. Mathna: The Halakha does not prevail according to R. Joshuah; but wherein differs this case from the case of the skin in our Mishna? (The cases are not identical.) When one sees him spreading out the skin, he may think because it is fit for sitting on, it is spread out for such purposes; but when one will be allowed to salt the tallow, he may say: For what purpose have the sages allowed it? Only that it shall not become spoiled. Then what is the difference between spreading and salting, and he will also salt it?

R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said: One may salt several pieces of meat at one time, though only one of them is needed. R. Adda bar A'hbah had recourse to ingenuity, and used to salt meat for a festival meal (salting one piece with the pretext that he will use it, and then rejecting it, and choosing another, and so on).

MISHNA: The shutters of stalls must not be removed on a festival according to Beth Shammai; but Beth Hillel allow even to replace them.

GEMARA: What kind of shutters is meant? Said Ula: The shutters of movable stalls. He said again: There are three things of which the finishing was allowed (though not essential for the festival), for the reason of the beginning (which was necessary; i.e., if it would not have been allowed to finish them, they would not have been begun). They are: The skin for the tanner, the shutters of the shops, 1 and the replacing of a plaster (on the priest's hand 2) in the Temple. And Rhaba said in the name of Rabh Jehudah the Babylonian Amora: 1 The same is the case when one opens a barrel or begins to knead dough on the festival (he may stop up the barrel, or finish the kneading, because he would not begin if he were not permitted to finish, and his enjoyment of the festival would not be complete), and this is according to Rabbi Jehudah the Tana, who said (in Hagigah, p. 52), he shall finish it.

Our Mishna is not in accordance with the Tana of the following Boraitha: R. Simeon b. Elazar said: The schools both of Shammai and Hillel agree that the shutters may be removed on the festival; they differ only about the replacing of them. Beth Shammai do not permit this, and Beth Hillel allow even this. But this is in case there are hinges, but if there is none all agree it is permitted. But have we not learned in another Boraitha the contrary of this? Said Abayi: It can be explained so: If the hinges are at the sides of the shutters, all agree it is prohibited; 2 if there are no hinges at all, all agree it is permissible. They differ only on this point when the hinges are in the middle: Beth Shammai prohibit it as a precautionary measure, lest one think it permissible also even when they are at the sides, and Beth Hillel think such a precautionary measure is not to be taken.

MISHNA: A child, a Lulab (a branch of a date-tree), holy scrolls, must not be carried in public ground according to Beth Shammai; but Beth Hillel allow it.

GEMARA: In the presence of R. Itz'hak bar Abdimi one Tana taught as follows: If one slaughters a voluntary offering on a festival, he is liable to the penalty of stripes. Said R. Itz'hak to him: According to whom is your teaching? That is only according to Beth Shammai, who do not hold the theory that because it is permitted to carry things for the purposes of the festival, it is permissible to carry other things, even when they are not necessary for the purposes of the festival; but according to Beth Hillel, who hold this theory, we can say, because slaughtering for the festival is permitted, slaughtering for other purposes is also permitted, consequently he is not liable to stripes. R. Johanan's opinion is also that Beth Shammai and Beth Hillel differ about the acceptation of the above theory.

Because a disciple has taught in the presence of R. Johanan thus: If one cooks the sinew which shrank [Gen. 32:33] in milk on a festival, and eats it, he is liable to five times stripes: once for cooking the sinew, once for eating it, once for cooking meat in milk, once for eating meat with milk, and once for kindling a fire on the festival. And R. Johanan said to him: Go with thy teaching out of the college, because for kindling a fire and cooking on the festival he is not liable for stripes, according to the teaching of the Mishna; and even if you would find a Mishna which is in accordance with your teaching, it could be only according to the school of Shammai, who deny the theory that, because it is permitted to kindle a fire and to cook for the purposes of the festival, it is permissible also for other purposes; then, according to the school of Hillel, who agree with this theory, no Mishna could teach so. Now then, when kindling and cooking are permitted on the festival, you must remove the stripes for cooking and kindling out of the whole case.

MISHNA: It is unlawful, according to Beth Shammai, to carry to the priest on a festival the first dough (Halah) or other gifts, whether they had been set apart for that purpose on that day or on the preceding day. Beth Hillel, however, allow this. Said Beth Shammai: Let us say to them: Is there not an analogy of expression in both? First dough and other priestly dues are called gifts to the priest (Matanoth); and heave-offering (Terumah) is also called gifts to the priest. Now, as the last is prohibited, the same must be the case with the first? Rejoined Beth Hillel: Nay, how can the gifts be compared to heave-offering? The last one is not allowed to be set apart on the festival, whereas other gifts may.

GEMARA: At the first glance, the teaching of the Mishna, "whether it had been set apart on the same day," would seem to mean that it was slaughtered and set apart on the same day, and the expression, "the preceding day," would seem to mean that it was slaughtered also on that day. If it is so, however, according to whose opinion would the Mishna be? Not according to R. Jose, not according to R. Jehudah, but according to the anonymous teachers. As we have learned in the following Boraitha: R. Jehudah said: Beth Shammai and Beth Hillel do not differ about the gifts that were set apart on the eve of a festival, whether they might be brought together with the gifts set apart and slaughtered on the festival. What they differ in is only whether those set apart on the eve of the festival might be brought to the priest separately. Beth Shammai do not allow this, and Beth Hillel permit it. R. Jose, however, said that the above schools do not differ about gifts at all, but only about the heave-offering; but an anonymous teacher said that they never differ about the heave-offering, which is prohibited according to all, but only about other gifts. Hence our Mishna is in accordance with the anonymous teachers. Said Rabha: Did the Mishna teach that they were set apart and slaughtered on the same day? They were set apart on that day, but may have been slaughtered on the previous day. Then the Mishna will be according to R. Jehudah only, but not according to the anonymous teachers? Nay, we may say it is in accordance with the anonymous teachers also, but the point on which they differ would be the gift that had been slaughtered on a preceding day. If it is so, the anonymous teachers would say the same as R. Jehudah? Nay, there is a difference about the adding of the gifts set apart on the preceding day to those set apart on the festival itself (according to R. Jehudah it may be done, and according to the anonymous teachers it may not). Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: The Halakha prevails according to R. Jose.

R. Tubbi the son of R. Nehemiah possessed one pitcher of wine of heave-offering on a festival, and he came to R. Joseph and asked him: Can I give it away to the priest to-day? And the answer was, that R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel declared the Halakha prevails according to R. Jose (who permits).

The host of an inn where Rabha bar R. Hanan was staying, possessed bundles of mustard stalks, and he asked his guest: May I thrash it and eat it on a festival? And he did not know the law. And he came before Rabha, who told him: We have learned in a Tosephta, one may pluck ears or crush pea-pods to get out the grains or peas on a festival. Abayi objects: We have learned in a Boraitha: Whoso has plucked ears on the eve of Sabbath, he may blow away chaff on the Sabbath from one hand into another, and eat, but not sieve. If he has done it on the eve of a festival, he may sieve it on the next day in a small but not a large sieve (that it may not be thought he does it for the next day). Hence it seems from this that to do it on the festival itself is not allowed. Rabha answered: The same would be the case on the festival itself. But as in the first part it is said: On the eve of Sabbath, so in the last part he speaks of the eve of the festival. (Said Abayi again:) If it is so, then we find a case in which it is allowed to set apart heave-offering on a festival (as it is usually taken from a quantity of grains, not ears); and here, when he thrashes the ears for the purpose of eating the grain, you allow him to separate the heave-offering of it, for otherwise he is not allowed to eat, and in our Mishna it is plainly stated that the heave-offering is not allowed to be set apart on the festival. Rabha answered: It presents no difficulty. Elsewhere it is said, according to Rabbi's opinion heave-offering may be separated on the festival, and only R. Jose bar Jehudah opposed him, and our Mishna is in accordance with the latter.

How shall one pluck (a change from the ordinary week-day manner there must be)? Abayi in the name of R. Jose said: He shall pluck it with the thumb and the index-finger. But R. Ivya upon the same authority said: The thumb and the two fingers next to it. Rabha, however, said: As soon as he does it in a peculiar manner, the number of fingers he employs is a matter of no great consequence.

How shall one blow? R. Adda bar A'hba said in the name of Rabh: He shall blow only off his fingers (but not the palms). But in Palestine they ridiculed this, saying that, provided he does it in a peculiar manner, he may employ his palms also. Therefore R. Elazar said: He may blow it off one hand with his whole might (but must not use the other).

MISHNA: Spices may be pounded on a festival with a wooden pestle only, and salt with an earthenware jug, or with a large wooden spoon, according to Beth Shammai. But Beth Hillel say: Spices may be, as usual, pounded with a stone pestle, and salt with a wooden spoon.

GEMARA: From this we see that all agree that salt must be pounded in a different manner. Why? R. Huna and R. Hisda: One said, because all the dishes must have salt, but not all the dishes must have spices; and the other said, all the spices lose their fragrance, but not salt. What is the difference between the two? If one knows on the eve of a festival what dish he will prepare on the morrow? According to the former it needs a peculiarity (because he could have prepared it on the eve); and according to the latter it needs not, because had he prepared it on the eve the spices would lose their fragrance.

R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel, however, said: All that is pounded may be pounded on a festival as on week-days, even salt. Did we not say above, that salt must be pounded differently? He holds with the Tana of the following Boraitha: R. Meir said: Both schools of Shammai and Hillel never differ about the point that all things may be pounded on a festival as on week-days, and salt when it is among them: what they differ about is, whether it may be done so when it is separate. According to Beth Shammai it must be pounded with an earthenware jug or a large wooden spoon; and only in a quantity needed for roasting, but not for stewing into a pot; but Beth Hillel allow any quantity.

R. A'ha Bardla said to his son: If it shall happen that you will have to pound something on a festival, you should incline your mortar, and then pound (i.e., he shall make some change in the manner of pounding). R. Shesheth heard on a festival the sound of pounding in a mortar, and he said: It is surely not in my house. Why was he sure? Perhaps the mortar was inclined? Because he could infer from the sound that this was not so. Perhaps they were pounding spices? Then the sound would have been different.

The rabbis taught: Ptisana 1 must not be made on a festival, for nothing may be pounded. But a small quantity may be pounded in a small mortar.

It once happened that R. Papa was the guest of Mar Samuel, and Ptisana was offered him, but he did not partake of it. Why? Perhaps it had been done in a small mortar? He did not choose to trust his host's servants, because they were disobedient.

MISHNA: When one picks pulse on a festival, he may, according to Beth Shammai, only pick out the eatable part and eat it; but according to Beth Hillel he may pick it as usual in his lap, in a basket with holes, or in a large dish, but not on a large table, or through a small or large sieve. Rabban Gamaliel says: It is also lawful to pour water thereon, and remove the part not fit to eat, by hand.

GEMARA: We learn in a Boraitha: Said R. Gamaliel: The Mishna refers to a case when there was more of the eatable part than of the part unfit for eating; but if the opposite was the case, then all agree that he may take out only the eatable part and leave the rest. Is there any one who is allowed to do as usually even when the unfit part was larger than the rest? R. Gamaliel meant to say, that even when the quantity of the unfit part was small, but to pick it out would be more trouble than to pick out the eatable part, all agree that he shall do what gives less trouble,

"Rabban Gamaliel said," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Elazar bar Zadok said: Such was the custom in the house of Rabban Gamaliel: They usually brought a pail full of lentils and poured water on it, and the eatable part settled down, while the unfit part remained floating; but another Boraitha states the contrary (that the unfit part settles down, etc.)? It presents no difficulty: the straw floats above, but if there is any dust or other such matter, it sinks.

MISHNA: It is unlawful for one to send to another as a present on the festival anything but eatables, according to Beth Shammai. Beth Hillel, however, permit to send even cattle, game, and poultry, either slaughtered or alive; also presents of wine, oil, fine flour, and pulse, but not grain. R. Simeon allows also to send grain.

GEMARA: R. Je'hiel taught: This is permissible only when he sends it by a few persons, but not by a whole line of men. A

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Boraitha taught that a line is not constituted by less than three men.

"R. Simeon," etc. A Boraitha taught: R. Simeon permits to send grain; e.g., wheat, to make of it a dish which the inhabitants of Lydia used to make (by grinding the grains of wheat); barley, to give it to cattle; and lentils, to make of them a dish.

MISHNA: It is also permitted to send clothes, sewed or not, even of "Kelayim," in case they can be used on the festival, but not sandals with iron nails or unfinished shoes. R. Jehudah says: White shoes may not be sent either, because an artificer is required to make them fit for use. This is the general rule: Whatever can be used on the festival, may be sent as a present thereon.

GEMARA: It is right that sewed clothes should be permitted on a festival, because they can be used, and clothes not sewed may also be used for covering; but how can Kelayim be used? The Mishna meant to say rough clothes which can be used for sitting upon, and this is according to R. Huna the son of R. Joshuah, who said that felt of the city of Narash (which was rough) might be worn even if in it is Kelayim (linen and wool mixed together),

"But not sandals," etc. What is the reason? Because once an accident occurred. 1 Said Abayi: Sandals with iron nails must not be worn, because an accident happened on account of them, but they may be handled; and this we infer from our Mishna, which says that they shall not be sent, and if it were disallowed to handle them, it would be self-evident that they could not be sent.

"Or unfinished shoes." Is it not self-evident? The Mishna means to say that even if there were nails in them already (so that they could be put on), yet being unfinished, they might not be sent.

"R. Jehudah says," etc. We have learned, in a Boraitha: R. Jehudah permits to send black shoes, but not white, because lime is needed to make them white; and R. Jose prohibits black shoes, because they must be polished. They do not disagree, however. Both speak of the customs in their respective places. In the place of one Master the skin of the shoes had the inner side turned out, and therefore it had to be made white; while in the other the opposite was the case, and polishing was needed.

"This is the general rule," etc. R. Shesheth permitted to his disciples to send phylacteries on a festival. Said Abayi to him: Did not we learn in our Mishna, only a thing which can be used on the festival may be sent (and phylacteries are not used then)? And he answered: The Mishna meant to say things fit to be used on a week-day may be sent on a festival. Said Abayi: When the phylacteries are spoken of we would like to say something: If one was on the road on the eve of Sabbath or of a festival, and the Tefilin were on his head and the sun set, he may lay his hand on the Tefilin and thus come to his home. The same is the case when he was sitting in the house of learning and the Tefilin were on his head, he may lay his hand on them until he comes home.

CHAPTER 2.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE COMBINING OF COOKERY ON A FESTIVAL PRECEDING A SABBATH.

MISHNA: When the festival falls on Friday, it is unlawful to prepare thereon, on purpose, any food for the Sabbath, but for the festival alone, and whatever remains may be used for the Sabbath; and one may prepare on the eve of the festival one dish for the Sabbath especially, and then he may continue cooking on the festival for the Sabbath. Beth Shammai, however, say: Two dishes are necessary; Beth Hillel say: One is sufficient. Both, however, agree that fish and egg upon it may be considered as two dishes. If the dish thus prepared has been eaten or lost, nothing more may be cooked in addition to it; but if any small portion whatever is left, it suffices.

GEMARA: Whence is this deduced? Said Samuel: It is written [Ex. 20:8]: "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy"; from which we infer that we should remember it when we are liable to forget it (i.e., when it is holiday already, one can forget it). Our Tana, however, infers this from the following passage [ibid. 16:23]: "What ye shall bake, bake to-day and what ye shall seethe, seethe to-day." From this R. Elazar inferred that it shall not be baked unless same is baked already, and it shall not be cooked unless same is cooked already. And this is used by the sages as a biblical support to the law of the combining of cookery.

The rabbis taught: It once happened that R. Eliezer was sitting and lectured a whole day (of the festival) about the laws relating to festivals. The first part of his audience arose and went out, and R. Eliezer said: These people must have great barrels of wine, and they are in a hurry to drink them. The second portion of the audience went away, and he said: These people must have smaller barrels. Of the third part he remarked: They must have cans. Of the fourth he said: They must have lugs. When the fifth part left him, he said: They must have only goblets. When the sixth part began to depart, he said: They are worthy to be scolded (because the college began to be empty). At the same time he looked upon his disciples and saw the colour of their faces was changed, and he said to them: My children, I did not mean you. I spoke only about those people who leave eternal life for temporary affairs. When his disciples were going away, he said to them [Nehem. 8:10]: "Go your way, eat fat things, drink sweet drinks, and send portions unto him for whom nothing is prepared; for this day is holy unto our Lord: and do not grieve yourselves; but let the joy of the Lord be your stronghold."

The Master says: "Because they leave eternal life for temporary affairs." Is not the enjoying of the festival a religious duty? R. Eliezer said this in accordance with his theory that the enjoying of a festival is not obligatory, as we learned in the following Boraitha: R. Eliezer said: A man has nothing to do on a festival but either to eat and drink the whole day, or to sit and study; but R. Joshuah said: He must divide the day--one-half of it for eating and drinking, and one-half of it for religious purposes. Said R. Johanan: The above both sages deduce from the following verse [Deut. 16:8]: "On the seventh day shall be a solemn assembly unto the Lord thy God"; another verse [Num. 29:35]: "An assembly shall be to you." How can the contradiction between these two verses be explained? R. Eliezer explains it thus. The whole day shall be either for you or for the Lord; but R. Joshuah explains it thus: Divide the day--one-half for the Lord and one-half for you. Said R. Elazar: 1 All agree that on Pentecost the day must be partly devoted to one's self also. Why so? Because on this day the law was given to Israel, and we must enjoy it. Said Rabha: All agree also that on a Sabbath the day must be devoted to one's self also. Why? Because it is written [Is. 58:13]: "Thou shalt call the Sabbath a delight." And R. Joseph said: All agree that on the festival of Purim the day must also be devoted to one's self, as it is written [Esther, 9:22]: "To make them days of entertainment and joy." Mar the son of Rabina was fasting the whole year except on Pentecost, Purim, and the eve of the Day of Atonement: Pentecost, because the law was given; Purim, because they are days of joy and entertainment; and the eve of the Day of Atonement, for a reason that is explained in Tract Yomah, p. 129. R. Joseph on the days of Pentecost used to say to his domestics: Prepare for me a calf which is the third-born (of the third birth), saying: If not this day be the reason, how many Josephs are there abroad! (and but for the law, he would not be distinguished among them).

R. Shesheth used to repeat his studies every thirty days, and, supporting himself against the wall of the college, said: Rejoice, my soul! Rejoice, my soul! For thy sake I have read, for thy sake I have studied.

What is meant, in the above verse of Nehemiah, by "send portions to those for whom nothing is prepared"? Said R. Hisda: It refers to those men who have not made an Erub Tabshilin (combining of cookery). What is meant by "let the joy of the Lord be your stronghold"? Said R. Johanan in the name of R. Elazar bar Simeon: The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Israel: My children, borrow money for my sake, and rejoice on the holy day, and trust to me, I shall pay it.

R. Tachlipha brother of Rabanai Huzaah taught: All the necessaries of a man are appointed for him in the Heavenly Court in the ten days between New Year and the Day of Atonement, except the expenses for Sabbath, the festivals, and the studies of his children: the amount for these purposes appointed for him in Heaven is the same as that which he spends (and varies with it).

We have learned in a Boraitha: It was said that Shammai the Elder used to eat all days for the honour of Sabbath. When he found a good animal, he used to say: This shall be for Sabbath. But when he found a better one, he ate the former, and left the better one for Sabbath; but Hillel the Elder had another habit: Because all his deeds were for the sake of Heaven, as it is written [Ps. lxviii. 20]: "Blessed be the Lord! day by day he loadeth us with benefits" (trusting in God to provide for Sabbath at the proper time). 1

"One may prepare on the eve of the festival one dish," etc. Said Abayi: Only a dish is good for the purpose, but bread alone is not. Why so? Shall we assume it is required to have an article of food which is not often eaten, and bread is always eaten, then a dish of disa (mush), which is rarely eaten, is nevertheless disallowed by R. Nehuma bar Zachariah in the name of Abayi? The reason is this: One must have a thing which can be eaten with bread, and disa cannot be eaten with bread. As it happened that R. Zera saw people eating disa with bread, he said: The Babylonians are fools, they eat bread with bread!

R. Hiya taught: Lentils which are on the bottom of a pot may be used as an Erub Tabshilin, if the quantity is of the size of an olive. R. Itz'hak the son of R. Jehudah said that the fat of a fowl, if it is of the size of an olive, may be similarly used. And R. Abha said in the name of Rabh: The prescribed quantity for an Erub is the size of an olive, and it is sufficient for one or for one hundred persons. Said R. Huna in the name of Rabh: The combining of cookery must be done intentionally. It is certain that the person who makes the Erub must have the intention, but how is it with the person for whom the Erub is made? Is his intention also needed, or is it not? Come and hear: The father of Samuel made an Erub for all the inhabitants of Nehardai, and R. Ammi and R. Assi made an Erub for the whole population of Tiberia (hence the intention of those for whom the Erub is made is not necessary).

R. Jacob bar Idi proclaimed: Everybody who has not made an Erub Tabshilin shall rely on my Erub Tabshilin (and shall do the preparing for Sabbath). And at what distance? Said R. Nehuma bar Zachariah. in the name of Abayi: As far as the legal limit of Sabbath (2,000 ells).

There was a blind man who had classified Mishnaioth before Mar Samuel; and Mar Samuel saw he was downcast. And he asked him: Why are you downcast? And he answered: Because I have not made an Erub Tabshilin. Said Mar Samuel to him: Rely upon mine. The next year he saw him again sad, and got the s me answer, and Mar Samuel rejoined: If it is so, you are a transgressor (you have not made one intentionally). All can rely upon my Erub Tabshilin, but not you.

The rabbis taught: On a festival which happens to be on Friday, the Erub of legal limit and the Erubin of courts are not to be made. Rabbi, however, said: The Erub of legal limit is not to be made, but the Erubin of courts may, because you can prohibit one to do a thing for to-morrow which he may not do to-day; but you cannot forbid a man to do a thing for to-morrow which he may do to-day (Erubin of courts are needed only for Sabbath, but not on festivals). It was taught: Rabh said the Halakha prevails according to the first Tana, but Samuel said the Halakha prevails according to Rabbi.

The rabbis taught: On a festival following on Sabbath one shall say eight benedictions; that is to say, the Sabbath benediction separately. Beth Hillel, however, said: One shall pronounce seven benedictions, and he shall begin and close, with Sabbath, and shall include the holiness of the day. Rabbi said: He shall close with the benediction: "Blessed be He who sanctifies the Sabbath, Israel, and the festivals." A disciple taught in the presence of Rabina: "Who sanctified Israel, the Sabbath, and the festivals," and Rabina rejoined: Does Israel then sanctify the Sabbath? The Sabbath is itself holy: Say then: "Who sanctified the Sabbath, Israel, and the festivals." Said R. Jose: The Halakha prevails according to Rabbi as interpreted by Rabina.

The rabbis taught: On a Sabbath following on the first day of the month, or any day of the intermitting days, one shall pronounce in the three prayers of evening, morning, and Min'ha seven benedictions; and concerning the festival he shall include the prayer about the return of the Temple-service, and if he has omitted it he must begin all again. But in the Additional Prayer he shall begin and close with the benediction of Sabbath, and t c holiness of the day shall be included.

Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel and R. Ishmael the son of R. Johanan b. Broka say that whenever there are seven benedictions, he shall begin and close with Sabbath, and the benediction of the day shall be included. Said R. Huna: The Halakha does not prevail in accordance with last pair.

R. Hyya bar Ashi in the name of Rabh said: One may lay an Erub of legal limit on the first day of a festival (in exile, where two days are kept) with a condition, if the right day of the festival is to-day, then the Erub is null and void, because one can go to-morrow without any Erub at all; and if the right day of the festival is the next day, this Erub shall be for that day. Said Rabha: The same is the case with the Erub for cookery.

The rabbis taught: It shall not be baked from one festival day for another. It was truly said that a woman may fill a whole pot with meat though she do not need more than one piece (for that day). The same is the case with a baker, who may fill a whole barrel with water, though he need only one can (for the day); but it is not allowed to bake except as much as is needed for the day. R. Simeon b. Elazar, however, said, that a woman (not a baker) may fill a whole oven with bread, because it is better baked when the whole oven is full. Said Rabha: The Halakha prevails according to the latter.

The schoolmen propound a question: If one has not made an Erub Tabshilin, is he only prohibited to do anything for Sabbath, but not his flour? Or is his flour also forbidden? What is the difference? To transfer his flour to others, if you say the flour is not prohibited, then another one can take his flour and prepare for him; but if you say his flour is prohibited, then he must transfer it. Come and hear: One who has not made an Erub Tabshilin must not bake nor cook nor save either for himself or for others, nor may others do it for him; but what shall he do (to eat something on Sabbath)? He shall transfer his flour to others, and then they may bake and cook for him. From this we infer that both he and his flour are prohibited.

The schoolmen propounded a question: How is it if one has transgressed and baked without an Erub? Come and hear: If one has not made an Erub Tabshilin, etc. (as mentioned above). Now, if it would be allowed to eat, why does not the Boraitha state that if one has transgressed and has baked, it is allowed to eat? Said R. Adda b. Mathna: From this nothing can be inferred. The Tana advises only how to dispose for a man, he shall be able to prepare something in accordance with the Law; but when one has acted against the Law, this Tana does not speak of it at all. Come and hear another Boraitha: If one has made an Erub Tabshilin, he may bake, cook, and save,

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and if he wants the Erub, it is allowed; but if he has eaten the Erub before he has baked or saved, then he is not allowed to bake, cook, or save either for himself or for others, neither are others allowed to do so for him. He may, however, cook for the festival and use what is left on the Sabbath, provided he does not do it cunningly (i.e., he shall not add so much that he shall have sufficient for the whole Sabbath), and when he does it cunningly he must not use it for the Sabbath. (Hence we see, that if he acted against the Law, it is prohibited.) Said R. Ashi: The case of cunning is different, because the rabbis were very rigorous with such. R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak said: The Boraitha which said that cunning is prohibited is not at all in accordance with the decision of the rabbis, but of an individual, Hananiah, who taught it in accordance with the decision of Beth Shammai, as it is to be understood from the following: Hananiah said: Beth Shammai declare: One shall not bake unless he has made an Erub with bread; one shall not cook unless he has made it with something cooked; and one shall not save, unless he has already saved warm water for the Sabbath. Beth Hillel, however, said: One may make an Erub with something cooked, and through it he may prepare everything.

"Beth Shammai say two dishes," etc. Our Mishna is not in accordance with the Tana of the following Boraitha: R. Simeon b. Elazar said: Both schools agree that two dishes are needed. In what they differ is about a fish and egg which is upon it. According to Beth Shammai it is considered as two dishes, but according to the school of Hillel it is considered only as one dish. Both agree, however, that if one put in a cooked egg in the fish or χεφαλιδος in the cooked fish, it is considered as two dishes. Said Rabha: The Halakha prevails as our Tana and according to Beth Hillel.

"If it has been eaten or lost," etc. Said Abayi: We have a tradition that he who has begun to knead dough and heard mean. while that the Erub was lost, may finish his work nevertheless.

MISHNA: When the festival falls after a Sabbath, Beth Shammai say: Everything requiring purification must be immersed before the Sabbath. But Beth Hillel say: Vessels must be immersed before the Sabbath, and human beings on the Sabbath. Both schools agree that water which has become polluted may be purified by pouring it into an earthenware vessel, but not on earth itself. It is lawful, however, to dip vessels whose original appropriation has been altered, and men may bathe when they have changed from one company to another (to eat the Paschal lamb). 1

GEMARA: We see from this Mishna that, according to all, a vessel must not be dipped on Sabbath. Why so? Said R. Bibbi: It is a precautionary measure, lest one leave the vessels unclean on the week-days for purification on Sabbath. We have learned in a Boraitha in support to R. Bibbi: A vessel which has become unclean on the eve of the festival must not be dipped on the festival; and this is a precautionary measure, as the one above mentioned. Rabha, however, said: The reason why one must not immerse on Sabbath is that it would seem as if one repaired the vessel. If it is so, why may a man bathe on Sabbath (and a man cannot eat Terumah, etc., when he has not bathed). A man is different, as it can be said that he is doing so to cool himself. That would be right, if he bathed in pure water; but if he immerses himself in turbid water? Said R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak: It happens that a man becomes heated, and then he bathes even in water in which flax has been steeped, to cool himself. This would be right in summer-time, but what can be said if he does it in winter-time? Said R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak: It may happen a man becomes dirty and soiled, and then considers not the quality of the water. All this is right on a Sabbath, but what would be the law on a Day of Atonement? Said Rabha: Do you find something allowed to be done on Sabbath that is not allowed on the Day of Atonement? (Therefore, because it is permitted on Sabbath, it is permitted also on the Day of Atonement.)

"But not on earth itself." What is meant by this? Said Samuel: He may bring it in contact with water of a legal bath, but not in an unclean vessel.

According to whom is our Mishna? As it is not according to Rabbi, nor according to the sages of the following Boraitha: One must not immerse the vessel with the water therein to purify it, nor bring it in contact with water in a stone vessel to purify the water therein: so is the decree of Rabbi. The sages, however, permitted both. (Hence according to whom is the Mishna?) We may say that it is according to the sages' opinion, and the Mishna refers not to purification on a week-day but on Sabbath.

"Whose original appropriation has been altered," etc. The rabbis taught: If one wishes to immerse his vessels for the purpose of filling them with the oil of newly crushed olives, and afterwards changes his mind and resolves to crush the olives in them, or vice versa, he may do so. If one was engaged to eat the Paschal lamb with one company, and thereafter he changed his mind to eat with another company, he might do so.

MISHNA: One may bring peace-offerings on the festival, but not lay his hands on them; 1 and burnt-offerings may not be brought at all--according to Beth Shammai. Beth Hillel, however, allow all this.

GEMARA: Said Ula: The point on which both schools differ is the laying of the hands on the peace-offerings of the feast and whether burnt-offerings of the pilgrimage may be sacrificed at all. Beth Shammai hold: It is written [Ex. xii. 14]: "Ye shall celebrate it as a feast unto the Lord"; it, i.e., the peace-offering, but not the burnt-offering. But Beth Hillel say: "unto the Lord that signifies, all that is unto the Lord is allowed. But vows and voluntary offerings, all agree, are not. Such also is the opinion of R. Adda bar A'hba. An objection was raised: We have learned elsewhere (in addition to this Mishna): R. Simeon b. Elazar said: Both schools do not differ concerning a burnt-offering which does not belong to the festival, that it must not be offered, and also that peace-offerings which belong to the festival may be offered. In what they differ is, when the burnt-offering belongs to this festival and concerning the peace-offerings which do not belong to this festival. According to Beth Shammai they must not be offered, and according to Beth Hillel they may. (Hence we see that according to both, vow and voluntary offerings are to be offered on the festival?) Answer this objection that the saying of R. Simeon b. Elazar must read thus: He said, Both schools do not differ when the burnt and peace-offerings do not belong to this festival, that they must not be offered, and the peace-offering which belongs to this festival, that it may; they differ only about a burnt-offering which belongs to this festival, that according to Beth Shammai it must not, and according to Beth Hillel it may. Said R. Joseph: Is it necessary to make out the Boraitha as erroneous because of the saying of Ula? Are there not other Tanaim who differ on this point, and Ula's saying can be according to them? As we, have found in the following Boraitha: Peace-offerings which belong to this festival, when they are to be offered on it, Beth Shammai said: He may lay his hands upon it on the eve of the festival, and it shall be slaughtered on the festival; Beth Hillel, however, said: Both may be done on the festival; but vow and voluntary offerings must not be offered on the festival.

And the Tanaim of the following Boraitha differ on the same point: One must not bring thanksgiving-offerings on all days of Passover, because they contain unleavened bread; nor on Pentecost, because it is a festival; but he may bring them on the Feast of Tabernacles (on the intermitting days). R. Simeon, however, said: It is written [Deut. 16:16]: "On Passover, on Pentecost, and on the Feast of Booths." From this we may infer that all that may be brought on Passover and Pentecost, may be brought also during the Feast of Tabernacles; but what must not be brought on the first two, one may not on the third. R. Eliezer b. R. Simeon, however, said: One may bring thanksgiving-offerings during the Feast of Tabernacles, and by this will be fulfilled the duty of enjoying the holiday, but not the duty of bringing a feast-offering. Is not this self-evident? Are not the feast-offerings a duty, and it is certain that a duty must be brought of a profane (ordinary) quality? He mean s to teach us, that even if one has explicitly said that be intends the thanksgiving-offering also for a feast-offering, nevertheless the duty of the feast-offering is not fulfilled. As R. Simeon b. Lakish asked of R. Johanan: If one say, "I will bring a thanksgiving-offering, and with this I will fulfil the duty of a feast-offering"; or, "I will be a Nazarite, but when I shall bring the offering after shaving, I I will take it from the second tithe money," what is the law? And R. Johanan answered him: He must bring a thanksgiving-offering, but the duty of the feast-offering is not fulfilled; he is a Nazarite, but cannot bring the shaving-offering from the second tithe money.

It once happened a man said: Give four hundred Zuz to a certain man, and he shall marry my daughter. Said R. Papa: The four hundred Zuz must be given to him, and the daughter, if he likes her, he can marry, but not otherwise. The reason is, because he has said first, "give him the money"; [but if he had mentioned the daughter first he would get the money only if he married]. If he had said: He shall marry and take the money, then he must marry her first. Meremar was sitting and declaring the Halakha in his own name. Said Rabbina to him: You teach this as if it were a Boraitha; we, however, learn it as the question of Resh Lakish from R. Johanan, mentioned above, and the decision is R. Johanan's.

The rabbis taught: It happened to Hillel the Elder that he brought his burnt-offering to the Temple-court for laying hands on it on the festival. The disciples of Shammai the Elder, however, surrounded him, and asked him: What is the matter with this animal? And he answered: It is a female, and I have brought it for a peace-offering. And he shook the animal's tail, and they went away. And on that day the school of Shammai took the upper hand over Beth Hillel, and the people wanted to decide the Halakha according to them; but one old man was there among the disciples of Shammai the Elder, Baba ben Butta by name, who was certain that the Halakha prevailed according to Beth Hillel. And he sent and brought of the best sheep of Jerusalem, and placed them in the Temple-court, and said: Everybody who wants to lay his hands upon them shall come and do so. And on that day Beth Hillel took the upper hand, and the Halakha was decided according to them, and no objection was made by anybody.

Again, it happened once that a disciple of Beth Hillel brought his burnt-offering into the Temple-court for the purpose of laying his hands upon it, and a disciple of the school of Shammai met him and said: Why the handling? And he replied: Why are you not silent? So he silenced him with a rebuke, so that he went away. Said Abayi: From this we may infer that if a young scholar says to another a few words, the answer shall not be more lengthy than the remark which was addressed, as we have seen in the case of the two disciples, when he asked him: "Why the laying of the hands?" he answered him: "Why not be silent?"

We have learned in a Boraitha: The disciples of Hillel said to the disciples of Shammai: (Is not this an a fortiori?) If on Sabbath, when all things to be done for a human being are prohibited, nevertheless in honour of the Lord all is permitted; on a festival, when all things necessary for a human being may be done, so much the more everything may be done for the Lord (i.e., and why, then, shall a burnt-offering of the pilgrimage not be sacrificed?). And they answered: You can infer this from voluntary and vow offerings, that are permissible for a human being, and nevertheless even you own that they must not be sacrificed on a festival. Said Beth Hillel again: There is no comparison here because voluntary and vow offerings have no appointed times. The burnt-offerings, however, have stated times. Rejoined Beth Shammai: Nay, even these have no appointed time, as we have learned in a Mishna: One who has not brought his feast-offering on the first day of a festival may do it during the whole festival and even on its last day. Rejoined Beth Hillel again: Is this not a fixed time? As we have learned in another Mishna, if one has not brought a feast-offering during the whole festival, he is no longer responsible to do it (consequently there is a stated time for it, and if we will prohibit him from bringing it on the first day of the festival, he may not bring it any more at all). Said Beth Shammai again: Has it not been said in the verse, "an assembly shall be unto you," which may signify for your sake and not for the Lord's sake? And they answered: Does not another verse say: "An assembly shall be unto the Lord"? Whence we may infer that all which is in honour of the Lord shall be done. And from the expression "unto you" we may infer "for your sake but not for the sake of strangers."

R. Iviah the Elder asked R. Huna: An animal which is half a Gentile's and half an Israelite's, how is the law of slaughtering it on a festival? And he answered: One may do it. And he asked him again: What is the difference between this and voluntary vow-offerings? And he replied: A raven flew away. When R. Iviah was gone, said Rabba, R. Huna's son, to his father: Was this not R. Iviah the Elder, whom you praised to me as a great man? And he answered: What could I have done with him? I am to-day weak, I have lectured, and need what is written in Song of Songs, ii. 5, to "strengthen me with flagons of wine, refresh me with apples"; and he asked me a thing of which the reason must be explained (at length). [And in reality, what is the reason? This: An animal which is half a Gentile's and half an Israelite's may be slaughtered on a festival, because if one wants to eat meat even the size of an olive, he cannot take it .from the animal when it is still alive, but it must be slaughtered; and as this animal belonged half to an Israelite, he can certainly slaughter it. But vow and voluntary offerings, they are considered all for Heaven, and although the priests eat some of their meat, this is only because of their reward from Heaven, and not from the one who brings the offerings.]

Dough, however, which is half an Israelite's and half a Gentile's, is not to be baked on the festival, because it can be divided when it is yet dough. R. Hana bar Hanilai objects: We have learned of dough made for dogs, if the shepherd can eat of it, one is liable to take of it first dough, and may make an Erub with it, and may use it for the combining of the entrance; and the benediction of eating may be said over it, and if three or more men had eaten of it, they may pronounce the benediction of the meal, and it may be baked on the festival, and the man who eats it (when it is not leavened) on the first evening of Passover has done his duty of eating Matzah. Now, if it is possible to divide it when it is dough, why should it be baked on a festival (let him set apart the portion for the dogs, and bake for himself)? The dough for the dogs is different; because one can give a carcass to the dogs, instead of the dough. But does R. Hisda hold the supposition of because? Was it not taught (Vol. V., p. 74) that R. Hisda is against this supposition? Say, the case is when the shepherd has a carcass and intends to do so.

R. Huna was asked: May the inhabitants of Baga, who had the duty to give bread to the military, bake it on the festival?

And he answered: Let us see. If the soldiers are not particular when one takes a piece of the bread and gives it to a child, then of every loaf we can say: "This is fit for a child," and it may be baked. But if they are particular, it may not be so done. But have we not learned in a Boraitha as follows: It once happened to Simeon of Teman that he did not visit the house of learning on a festival day. On the morrow Jehudah b. Baba asked him: Why wast thou not yesterday in the house of

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learning? And he answered: Military were coming yesterday into the city, and wanted to rob the whole city; and we slaughtered for them calves, and made them eat, and they went away in peace. Rejoined R. Jehudah b. Baba: I wonder whether your loss vas not greater than your benefit, for the Torah teaches "unto you," but not unto Gentiles. (They should not have done work for the soldiers.) Now, why? Were not the calves fit for Israelites also? Said R. Joseph: The calves were Terepha. 1

But was it not fit for dogs when the owners are obliged to feed them? The Tanaim of the following Boraitha differ about this law: It is written [Ex. xii. 16]: "Save what is eaten by every soul, that only may be prepared for you." From the expression "every soul," we may infer, even a soul of an animal, as we find [in Leviticus xxiv.], "he that taketh the soul of an animal shall pay for it." Therefore the verse says plainly, "for you," and not for dogs. So said R. Jose the Galilean. R. Aqiba, however, said: For all souls, even souls of animals, are included. But for what purpose is it written "for you"? To indicate only animals for whose support you are responsible, but not for strangers, for whose support you are not responsible. Rabha accompanied Mar Samuel to the pulpit and the latter lectured: One may invite a Gentile on Sabbath, but not on a festival day, because on a festival day he may increase the Israelite's work in his behalf. When a Gentile guest came to Maremar or to Mar Zutra on a festival day, they said to him: If you are satisfied with what we have already done for ourselves, then you are welcome; and if not, you must excuse us, because we must not do any work for you.

MISHNA: It is prohibited to boil water on the festival for the purpose of washing the feet, unless the water is also fit to drink, according to Beth Shammai. But Beth Hillel allow it. (All agree, however,) that a fire is to be made for the sole purpose of warming himself by it. In three things Rabban Gamaliel decides like the school of Shammai more rigorously, namely: They prohibit to commence to preserve the heat of pots for Sabbath on its eve, when it happens to be a festival; to put together the pieces of a candelabrum; and to bake large loaves, but only thin cakes. Rabban Gamaliel said: They never used to bake in my father's house large loaves on the festival, but only thin cakes. The sages, however, said to him: What does this usage of your father's family prove, who though strict in this respect nevertheless allowed all Israel to bake on the festival large loaves and thick cakes?

GEMARA: How is the case? If an Erub Tabshilin was made, why do Beth Shammai prohibit it? And if none was made, why do Beth Hillel permit it? Said R. Huna: It may be explained, when the case is that an Erub Tabshilin was not made, but nevertheless what is necessary for one's life, the sages permit. And this is according to his theory elsewhere, where he said: If one has not made an Erub Tabshilin, one loaf and one pot may be baked, and cooked for him, and also light may be kindled for him. In the name of R. Itz'hak it was said: They may roast for him also a small fish. The same we have learned in a Boraitha, with the addition that one pitcher of water may be heated for him. Rabha, however, said: The Mishna can be explained also thus: that an Erub Tabshilin was made, and nevertheless Beth Shammai prohibit it, because the preserving of the heat everybody can see is done only for Sabbath.

"To put together pieces of a candelabrum." What labour is in it? Said R. Hin'na bar Bisna: This refers to a candelabrum whose parts have to be screwed together, and is regarded like an act of building (construction) (see Tract Sabbath, p. 266).

It happened once that Ula came to R. Jehudah; his servant inclined the lamp so that the wick should sooner be extinguished (by the oil being out of its reach). R. Jehudah objected: Did we not learn that whoso puts oil into the lamp is culpable of kindling fire? and whoso removes the oil therefrom is culpable of extinguishing? Answered Ula: The servant did it without my knowledge.

Rabh said: To snuff a lamp on a festival is permitted. Abayi asked Rabba: How is the law to extinguish a conflagration on a festival? When there is danger of loss of life, I do not ask, for it is allowed even on a Sabboth; what I ask is, when there is a pecuniary loss only? He answered: It is not permitted. Abayi objected to him: Did we not learn: A chip of wood must not be extinguished in order to save it. However, for preventing the house or the pot from being filled with smoke, it is permitted? He rejoined: This is in accordance with R. Jehudah, but my decision is in accordance with the majority of the rabbis.

R. Ashi asked Amemar: How is the law to paint the eyes (for a medical purpose) on a festival? When there is danger, e.g., when they prick, or are bloodshot, or drip, or drop tears continually, or are in fever at the first stages, it is not doubtful to me, as this is allowed even on a Sabbath. Where I am uncertain is, when they are almost cured, and the painting is done only for improving the sight? He decided that it is not allowed. R. Ashi objected to him with the same Boraitha which Abayi objected to Rabba as stated above, and Amemar's answer was the same.

Amemar himself, however, used to dye his eyes through a Gentile on the Sabbath. Said R. Ashi to him: What is your opinion in doing it? Because Ula the son of R. Ilai said: All that is necessary for a sick man may be done through a Gentile on Sabbath. And also R. Hamnuna said: All things which are not dangerous, it may be said to a Gentile that he should do them. But when is this the case? When the Gentile does it himself without assistance from the Israelite. But you, Master, assist him in his dyeing by your opening and closing the eyes. And he answered: There is R. Zbid, who has also asked the same question, and I answered him that assistance is not considered a labour at all. The same Amemar allowed that one should dye his eyes on the second day of New Year. Said R. Ashi to him: Did not Rabha say that in the two days of New Year the case is different with an egg? And he answered: My opinion is as that of the sages of Nehardai, who say there is no difference.

"To bake large loaves," etc. The rabbis taught: The school of Shammai said: Thick loaves must not be baked on the Passover. Beth Hillel permit it. What are called thick loaves? Said R. Huna: If it is a span in thickness, for the showbread was thus. R. Joseph opposed: What comparison is this? There it is related of the specialists, who knew their work and were careful; there a great deal of labour was necessary (as stated in Menahoth, that the flour of the showbread required three hundred oscillations and five hundred beatings of the fist); there it was baked with dry wood (as stated in Taanith, that on the fifteenth of Ab they had ceased to cut wood for the Temple); there was a hot oven which was constantly fired, and it was of iron. Should it be compared to common people, to common bread, to wet wood, and a brick oven which may not be heated as required?

Said R. Jeremiah bar Abha in the name of Rabh: I have asked especially our Master, our holy rabbi, what is meant by thick loaves? And he said: A great quantity; i.e., not the loaves are thick, but the quantity of the dough is great. But why does he call them thick loaves? Because it is thick when kneaded. If so, why is it prohibited only on Passover, why not on other festivals also? It means also other festivals, but the Tana was teaching them the laws of Passover, and therefore mentioned that festival. Another Boraitha says plainly: Much bread shall not be baked on a festival, according to Beth Shammai; but Beth Hillel allow it.

MISHNA: He (Rabban Gamaliel) decided the law leniently in respect to the following three things: He allowed to sweep on the festival between the couches (or sofas on which the ancients used to eat), to put spices on live coals (after meals), and to prepare a complete roasted kid on the nights of Passover (as a memorial to the Paschal lamb). But the sages prohibit all these.

GEMARA: Said R. Assi: They differ only about the enjoyment of the odor of the spices, when they are already there; but to put the spices on the live coals, all prohibit. The schoolmen propounded a question: How is the law to put fruit in the smoke of spices to flavour them on the festival (as the custom was to do)? R. Jeremiah bar Abha in the name of Rabh said: It is prohibited, but Samuel permitted it. R. Huna said: It is prohibited, because one extinguishes the live coals. Said to him R. Na'hman: Let the Master say, because one kindles the spices? And he answered: In the beginning, when he pours out the spices on the coals, he extinguishes the coals, and afterwards they kindle. R. Jehudah, however, said: That is prohibited only on live coals, but in a heated oven it is permitted. Rabba, however, said: This is also prohibited, because he produces a new odor in the oven. [Rabba and R. Joseph both said: It is unlawful to cover a silk garment with a goblet of spices on a festival in order to impart an odor to it. Why so? Because the garment produces a new odor. But why is this different from grinding or cutting spices for smelling, which is allowed? There the odor is in it when grinding or cutting them, the odor is only increased, but here he produces a new odor altogether.]

Rabha, however, said: Even on live coals it is also permitted, because is it not allowed to put meat on live coals for eating on a festival? R. Gbiha of Be-Kthil at the door of the exilarch lectured: Fuming is allowed. Said Amemar to him: What is meant by fuming? Does it mean to perfume the sleeves of a woman's dress? This must be done by a specialist, and this is certainly prohibited. And if it means to fume to produce good odors, the producing of a new odor is not permitted also? Said R. Ashi: I have declared this law to him and in the name of a great man, that it may be even to produce a new odor, and it is nevertheless permissible, because it is equal to meat on live coals, which is permitted.

MISHNA: Rabbi Elazar ben Azariah permitted three things which the other sages prohibit: His cow was going out on a Sabbath with a strap attached to her horns; he permitted also to curry cattle on the festival, and to grind pepper in a pepper-mill. R. Jehudah says: It is not permitted with an iron currycomb, because a wound may be inflicted; but with a wooden comb it is. The sages, however, prohibit both.

GEMARA: Did R. Elazar ben Azariah possess but one cow? Did not Rabh, or according to others R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh, say that thirteen thousand calves used R. Elazar ben Azariah to give as tithes from his cattle yearly? We have learned in a Boraitha that the cow mentioned in our Mishna was not his, but his neighbour's, and because he did not protest, it was considered as if it was his own.

"He also permitted to curry cattle," etc. The rabbis taught that an iron comb with small teeth produces a wound. And that a wooden comb with large teeth produces no wound. And three Tanaim differ about this law. R. Jehudah holds that if a thing was done even unintentionally, it is prohibited; but we do not take a precautionary measure to a wooden comb, lest one do it with one iron one. The sages are of the same opinion as R. Jehudah, but they say that such a precautionary measure may be taken. R. Elazar b. Azariah, however, holds with R. Simeon, who said that a thing done unintentionally is not prohibited at all, and therefore he permits both. Said R. Na'hman: The Halakha prevails according to R. Simeon, because R. Elazar ben Azariah agrees with him. Said Rabha to R. Na'hman: Why does not the Master say that the Halakha prevails according to R. Jehudah because the sages agree with him? And he answered: I hold with R. Simeon, and confirm my opinion because R. Elazar ben Azariah agrees with him.

MISHNA: A pepper hand-mill is subject to defilement in all the three separate vessels whereof it is composed: the upper, because it is of metal; the middle one, because it is a kind of a sieve (which allows only the finely ground particles to pass through); and the lower one, because it is a vessel of capacity (where the ground pepper is collected).

A child's cart is subject to defilement through pressure (as will be explained in Tract Taharoth), and may be moved on Sabbath from one place to another, provided it is dragged over cloths or carpets. R. Jehudah said: It is not allowed to drag any piece of furniture except such a cart, because it makes but a slight impression on the ground (and does not remove the soil so as to make a furrow).

GEMARA: The cart is subject to defilement. through pressure, because the child is in the habit of sitting on it. It may be handled on Sabbath, because it is a vessel; and may be dragged only on pieces of cloth, but not over the ground itself, because it would make a furrow, and the whole Mishna is in accordance with R. Jehudah, who holds that a thing which is made unintentionally, is also prohibited; but according to R. Simeon, who holds that it is not, it may be dragged on the ground also, no matter if it makes a furrow.

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R. Zutra bar Tubiah said in the name of Rabh: If an eye has rebelled (bulges out), it may be painted even on Sabbath. The hearers thought, that is if the paint was already prepared; but to prepare and bring it through public ground on the Sabbath, it may not. Said one of the scholars, whose name was Jacob, to them: It was explained to me by R. Jehudah that even all this may be done. R. Jehudah permitted to paint an eye on Sabbath. Said R. Samuel bar Jehudah: Who will follow Jehudah, who permits to violate the Sabbath? Finally himself had sore eyes, and be sent to R. Jehudah to inquire whether it was permitted (to paint the eyes) or not, and the answer was: It is permitted to all, but not to you (because you have rejected my decision). And in reality, was it then my decision? It was Mar Samuel's. When his servant had fever in her eyes on a Sabbath, she cried, but none attended her (because of Sabbath). Finally the eye burst. On the morrow Mar Samuel lectured in public that if an eye has bulged out it may be painted on Sabbath, because the veins of the eye are connected with the cells of the heart.

R. Joshua b. Levi said: Unkli may be cured on Sabbath, What is "Unkli"? Said R. Abba; Asthma.--From Abodah Zarah, pp. 28a-29b.}

CHAPTER 3.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING FISHING AND HUNTING ON FESTIVALS.

MISHNA: It is not allowed to catch fish from aquaria on festivals, nor to give them food; but one may hunt beasts or birds in parks, and feed them. Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel says: Not all aquaria and parks are regarded in the same light. This is the general rule. In case the animals have to be hunted it is prohibited; but when no hunting is required, it is not.

GEMARA: There is a contradiction. We have learned in a Tosephta that in parks beasts and fowls must not be caught on the festival, and must not be fed. The contradiction between the Tosephta and Mishna concerning the beasts could be explained that the Tosephta is in accordance with R. Jehudah, who prohibits this (Sabbath, p. 216); but the contradiction about fowls, how can it be explained? And if it be said, that here also there is no difficulty, because the Tosephta meant an unroofed park, while the Mishna spoke of a roofed park, did not the Mishna in Tract Sabbath state that according to all a fowl must not be caught in a house, and a house is certainly meant a roofed one? Said Rabha bar R. Huna: The Tosephta meant a bird called Durur in Arabic, which it is very difficult to catch, and which never becomes domesticated. As the disciples of R. Ishmael taught: Why is this fowl named Durur? Because to it the house and the field are the same. Now, when we know this, the contradiction about beasts can also be explained, that the Mishna speaks of a small park, and the Tosephta of a great one, where it is difficult to catch. What is

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called a small park, or a great park? Said R. Ashi: If the shadows of the two walls on the ground touch, then it is small, but otherwise it is great.

"R. Simeon b. Gamaliel says," etc. Said R. Joseph in the name of R. Jehudah quoting Samuel: The Halakha prevails according to R. Simeon b. Gamaliel. Said Abayi to him: Is there any one that differs from him, that it is necessary for you to declare that the Halakha prevails according to R. Simeon b. Gamaliel? Said the former: And what difference is it to you? Rejoined Abayi: Shall the Gemara be like a song, to learn it without knowing any reason for each decision?

"This is the general rule," etc. What is meant by "have to be hunted"? The same authority says in the name of the same authority: If one must say, bring a net to catch it. Said Abayi to R. Joseph: Of geese and chickens it is usually said, bring a net, we will catch them. Nevertheless we have learned in a Boraitha that whoso catches geese and chickens is not culpable? Said Rabba bar R. Huna in the name of Samuel: The latter come to their places in the evening, and the owner is responsible for their feeding (therefore whoso catches them is not culpable), but animals of a park do not do so, and the owner is not obliged to feed them.

MISHNA: If nets have been spread for fish or wild game on the eve of a festival, it is not allowed to take from them, on the festival, unless it is known that they have been caught before its commencement. It once happened that a Gentile brought on the festival a present of fish to Rabban Gamaliel, when he said: It is allowed to use them, but I do not wish to accept presents from that man.

GEMARA: Is the deed of R. Gamaliel not in contradiction with the teaching of the Mishna? The Mishna is not completed. It must be read thus: If it is doubtful whether a thing was prepared from the day before, it is prohibited; but R. Gamaliel permits it; and it once happened also that a Gentile brought fish on a festival, in the morning, as a present to R. Gamaliel, and he said: They are permitted, etc. R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said: The Halakha does not prevail according to R. Gamaliel. According to others, R. Jehudah declared his decision about the following Boraitha: Beasts from parks may be slaughtered, but not from nets (because it is not known on what day they were found there, on the festival or before it). R. Simeon b. Elazar said: If one found the nets disturbed on the eve of a festival, it is certain that they had been caught before the festival, and they are permitted; but if he came on the festival, and saw them disturbed, it is certain they were caught during the festival, and they are not allowed. Is this saying not contradictory in itself? It says: If he found it disturbed on the eve of a festival, it is certain that they were caught before the festival, and they are allowed, from which it is to be understood, that if it was doubtful, it is not allowed; and in the latter part it says: If he found it disturbed on the festival, etc., it is certain that they were caught during the festival, and they are not allowed, from which it is to be inferred that when there is a doubt it is permissible? It means to say thus: If he found it disturbed on the eve, it is certain that they were already caught, and are permissible; but if it was doubtful, it is to be considered that they were caught on the festival, and are not permissible. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: The Halakha prevails according to R. Simeon b. Elazar.

"When he said, it is allowed," etc. Allowed what? Rabh said: They are permitted to be received, but Levi said, they are permitted to be eaten.

Said Rabh: A man should never absent himself from the house of learning, even for one hour, because I and Levi both were in the college when Rabbi declared this Halakha. In the evening he said: They are permitted to be eaten; but in the morning he said: They are permitted to be received. I, who was in the college in the morning and heard his second decision, gave up the first; but Levi, who was not, did not.

R. Papa said: The Halakha is as follows: If a Gentile brought a present to an Israelite on a festival, if the same kind of productions are found yet on the trees or ground, it is prohibited; and even in the evening, one must wait till the time when such a thing may be gathered and brought. But if that kind of production is no longer found on trees or on the field, then, if the present has been carried from within the legal limit, it may be accepted, but if from beyond the legal limit it may not. And if it has been brought for one Israelite, another may use it.

Rabba bar R. Huna said in the name of Rabh: When one has choked a pond, on the eve of a festival, and on the morrow he found there fish, they are permitted. Said R. Hisda: From the teaching of our Master we can infer that a beast which was overnight in the garden need not have been prepared on the preceding day (may be used). Said R. Na'hman: My colleague has attempted to decide the quarrel of great men. In the case of the fish, the man does nothing; but in this case, he must catch it. But how could R. Hisda decide that it has not to be prepared, did we not learn in a Boraitha, that a beast that was overnight in a garden must have been prepared, and a bird must have had its wings bound that it should not be exchanged for another? And this law is one of those which it has been testified, that they were said by Shemaia and Abtalian? This objection remains.

MISHNA: It is not allowed to kill on a festival an animal suffering from a mortal disease, unless there is time to eat thereof, on that day, at least the size of an olive, roasted. Rabbi Aqiba allows it, if there be only time to eat thereof the size of an olive, raw, even in the very place where it is slaughtered. If it has been killed in the field, the entire carcass may not be carried home on poles or sticks, but only piecemeal, by hand.

GEMARA: Said Rami bar Abba: The taking off the skin, and the cutting of a burnt-offering (which could be burnt without this) is only to teach the latter generations, that one shall not eat meat of a slaughtered animal before the skin is taken off, and was not cut in the usual pieces. Is this also a necessary teaching? Yea, as we have learned in a Boraitha, a man shall not commence eating garlic or onions from the roots, but from the leaves; otherwise his taste is coarse. Likewise, a man should not empty his goblet at a draught, otherwise he resembles a drunkard. 1

A Boraitha states in the name of R. Meir: Why was the Law given to Israel? Because they are bold (difficult to be vanquished). The disciples of R. Ishmael taught: It is written [Deut. xxxiii. 2]: "From his right hand he gave a fiery law unto them." The Holy One, blessed be He, said: The Israelites are so bold that a fiery law must be given to them. According to others, the law of this people is like fire, because if such a law had not been given to them, no nation and tongue could stand before them. And this is as R. Simeon b. Lakish said: The boldest nation of all nations is Israel. 2

"The entire carcass may not be brought on poles." The rabbis taught: A blind man should not walk with his stick on a festival, nor a shepherd with his bag (pouch); also, a man must not be carried in a chair. It matters not whether it is a man or a woman. This is not so? Did not R. Jacob bar Iddi send a message that an old man was in his neighbourhood and he was carried in a litter (Lectica), and they went to R. Joshuah b. Levi and asked him whether it was lawful, and his answer was, that if he was needed by many people, he could do so. And our Masters use as a sup. port to this opinion words of Ahi Shakia, who said: I have carried R. Huna in a chair on the festival from Hini to Shilli, and back. And R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak told: I have carried Mar Samuel from the shadow into sunshine, and back. The reason is stated, because if many people needed him it was allowed.

Says R. Na'hman to Hama bar Adda, the messenger of Zion: When you go to Palestine, turn down from your road and ascend the "Ladder of Tzur" and visit R. Jacob bar Iddi and ask him: How is their custom with a litter? When he arrived there, R. Jacob bar Iddi was dead, and he found R. Zrika, and asked him: How is your custom in regard to litters? And he answered: So said R. Ammi: One may be carried in them, provided he shall not put his hands on the shoulders of the bearers. What is meant by this? Said R. Joseph the son of Rabha: He shall not be carried in a palanquin (a kind of litter which required that he who is carried should hold by the shoulders of the bearers). Is that so? Did not R. Na'hman allow his wife Yalta to be carried in a palanquin? The case with Yalta was different; she was timid.

Amemar and Mar Zutra were carried on the Sabbath before the festivals on a palanquin, because there was a great crowd and it was feared they would be injured. According to others: Because it was so crowded by the people who came to hear, that they could not pass through.

MISHNA: If a first-born animal fall into a pit on the festival (and it is not known whether it was injured), R. Jehudah says: An expert may descend and see whether it had already an in. curable and permanent blemish, in which case it may be drawn up and killed, but not otherwise. R. Simeon, however, said: If a blemish in a first-born animal was not recognised on the eve of the festival, this is not considered prepared, and must not be killed on the holiday.

GEMARA: On what point do they differ? Shall we assume that the point is, if it is allowed to examine blemishes on the festival, that according to R. Jehudah it is allowed, and according to R. Simeon it is not, then let him say so plainly. Why do they differ here when it fell in a pit? This case was necessary, lest one say that, because here is pity for the living thing which falls in the pit, it shall be allowed to be taken out for the purpose of slaughtering it, if it has a blemish, as R. Joshua said further on (Chap. V., p. 75). Therefore it comes to teach us that even in this case there is yet a difference of opinion.

If it is so, then the Mishna should say, he shall bring it up and slaughter it? And the difference on this point is only whether it should be slaughtered or not? The case is, when he has already brought it up, lest one say that when it is brought up it may be slaughtered. Slaughtered! is it not a first-born without a blemish? That means, if it got a blemish. But if it has the blemish now, is it not yet Muktzah? The case is when it has a blemish which has to be examined on the eve of the festival, and now through its fall it has got a permanent blemish, and it can be slaughtered without any examination, lest one say that because a blemish was from yesterday, the owner had it in his mind, and might be slaughtered to-day, the Mishna comes to teach us that it is not so.

The rabbis taught: Of a first-born animal which was without blemish (if it fall into a pit on a festival), R. Jehudah the Nassi said: An expert shall descend and see whether it had a blemish, and then it may be drawn up and slaughtered; and if not, it shall not be slaughtered. Said R. Simeon b. Menasia to him: Did not the sages say that blemishes must not be examined on a festival? How so? If it got a blemish on the preceding day it must not be examined on the festival; but if it got the blemish on the festival, R. Simeon said that it could not be killed, because it was not prepared from the day before. They all agree, however, that if it was born on a festival with a blemish, it is considered as prepared. Rabba bar R. Huna lectured: If the animal was born with a blemish, the examination may be commenced on the festival. Said R. Na'hman to him: Abba, 1 we have learned if he has transgressed and had already examined, the examination can be useful, and thou sayest that they may commence the examination? Said Abayi: It seems to me that Rabba bar Huna is right, because the Boraitha teaches three cases. If it got a blemish on the eve it must not be examined on the festival. From this we may infer that it must not be examined, but that if it has already been examined, it may be used. (The second case is) if the blemish was got on the festival, R. Simeon said that it is not prepared. From this we see that, even if it has been examined and a real blemish found, it must also not be used. (And the third case is) all agree that if it was born with a blemish on a festival, it is considered prepared. Consequently, the examination may be commenced.

(Is that so?) We know that when R. Oshija came from Palestine he brought a Boraitha. Either when he got a blemish on the eve of the festival, or on the festival, according to the sages it is not to be considered prepared (and the Boraitha must be in accordance with R. Simeon, who says that it must not be examined on the festival; and nevertheless the Boraitha teaches that even if the blemish was from the eve of the festival, it is also not to be considered as prepared, we can say, then, that if it was born with a blemish, it is permissible only when it was examined, but it is not allowed to commence the examination, as R. Na'hman said above?) Yea, it can be said so, but the following Boraitha is yet a contradiction to him (why, then, should you prefer the Boraitha which R. Oshiya brought to the former?) Because the former Boraitha came from the sources of Adda bar Ukhmi, 1 who was known to be erratic in the Boraithas which he taught. Said R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak: It seems from our Mishna also that it is in accordance with the Boraitha of R. Oshiya, because it states: R. Simeon said: If the blemish was not recognised on the eve, etc., it is not considered prepared. Now let us see what is meant by "recognised"? Shall we assume that it was not visible at all? This would be self-evident. We must then say that it was not examined whether it was a permanent blemish or a temporary one; nevertheless it states that it is not considered prepared, even when one slaughtered it. (Consequently the latter part of the Mishna, which states that "all agree," etc., "it is prepared," must be explained as R. Na'hman corrected.)

Hillel asked of Rabha: Does the law of Muktzah exist for a half of Sabbath (i.e., whether a thing is fit for one half of Sabbath, but not for the other half)? How can such a case be? If it was fit in twilight, then it was fit for the whole Sabbath; and if it was not fit at twilight, then it was not fit for the whole Sabbath?

He meant to say it was fit at twilight, but afterwards it got wet from rain, and dried again, as it was in the beginning, and not fit during one part of Sabbath., and then fit again. How is it? The answer was: There is no law of Muktzah for a half of Sabbath. Shall we assume that the above Boraitha, which declares that if it was born with a blemish it shall be considered as prepared, is a support to Rabha's decree? Because the first-born, when it was yet in the womb of its mother, was fit along with its mother (because it was not reckoned a firstling before its birth); and as soon as it is born, it is not fit; and after its being examined by an expert and found blemished it becomes again fit (from this we see that the law of Muktzah does not exist for a half of Sabbath, as it was fit before its birth, became unfit at birth, and became fit again after examination).

Nay, said Abayi in the name of R. Saphra: It may be that the case was, the expert was by when it was born, and saw it was fit from its birth.

R. Jehudah the second possessed a firstling, and sent it to R. Ammi on a festival for examination. At first he thought he would not examine it. Said R. Zrika, or according to others R. Jeremiah, to him: If R. Simeon and R. Jehudah differ, the Halakha prevails according to R. Jehudah.

At another time he sent it to R. Itz'hak of Naph'ha, and the same happened again. Said R. Abba to R. Zrika: Why did not you let people do a thing in accordance with R. Simeon? And he answered him: Have you heard any decision that the Halakha is according to R. Simeon? And he said: Yea, so I have heard from R. Zera. Said some one of the disciples present: If I will be worthy to go to Palestine, I would like to

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learn the Halakha from the mouth of R. Zera. Later when he came to Palestine, he asked R. Zera: Did the Master say that the Halakha prevails according to R. Simeon? And he answered: I did not say it is so, but I said: It seems so to me, because the Mishna relates, R. Simeon said: If the blemish was not recognised while it was yet day, it is not prepared, and the Boraitha teaches the same in the name of the sages (in plural). And I thought the Boraitha did so because the Halakha prevails accordingly. How is it in reality? Said R. Joseph: Come and hear. I will base my decision on the words of great men, that R. Simeon ben Pazzi in the name of R. Joshuah b. Levi, quoting R. Jose b. Saul in the name of Rabbi, upon the authority of the Holy Assembly of Jerusalem, said that R. Simeon (b. Menasseh) and his colleagues decide the above Halakha according to R. Meir. How can they have decided it according to R. Meir? They lived (the Holy Assembly of Jerusalem) in an earlier age than he. Say, they decided it in accordance with the system of R. Meir (this will be explained in Tract B'choroth).

Ammi of Vardinaa was the examiner of the firstlings of the Nasi; and he did not examine on festivals. When this was told to R. Ammi, he said, he does right. Is it so? Did not R. Ammi himself examine the blemishes of the firstlings? Nay, he used to see them the preceding day, but he kept his decision until the morrow, when he asked the owner how the animal had come by the blemish. As it happened when a man brought a firstling before Rabha on the eve of a festival, after noon, and at that time Rabha was washing his head. He raised his eyes, and looked on the blemish, and told the man: Go away to-day, and come to-morrow. The next day he asked him what was the cause of the blemish, and he answered: I have given it barley on one side of thorns, and it was on the other side; when it wanted to eat, it put forth its head between the thorns and thus tore its lip. And Rabha asked him: Perhaps you did it intentionally? And he said: No.

MISHNA: An animal which dies on the festival may not be removed thereon. It happened once, when Rabbi Tarphon was questioned on the subject, and also concerning a separate piece of dough, which had become polluted, he went to the college and inquired. They told him: They may not be removed from the spot.

GEMARA: Shall we say that this anonymous Mishna is not in accordance with R. Simeon (see Sabbath, p. 375)? Nay, the Mishna can be explained in accordance with him, but he owns that animals that died on Sabbath are prohibited. This would be right according to Mar bar Amemar, who said in the name of Rabh that R. Simeon owns it; but according to Mar b. R. Joseph, who declares in the name of Rabha that R. Simeon differs, even when the animals died on Sabbath, and said that they may be used? (What can be said to that?) Zera explained this Mishna, that it refers to an animal that was consecrated for sacrifice. And it seems Zera is right in his explanation, because the Mishna speaks further on about Hala that became unclean; and as the Hala was a consecrated thing, so must be also the animal in question.

MISHNA: An association for the purpose of jointly purchasing an animal may not be formed on the festival; but if this was arranged before the festival, the animal so purchased may be slaughtered and shared on the festival.

GEMARA: What is meant by "may not be formed"? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: The price of the animal must not be fixed on the festival; but how shall it be done? Said Rabh: Two animals shall be brought, and placed side by side, and it shall be said: The value of this animal shall be as the value of that. We have learned also in a Boraitha: One shall not say to his neighbour: I will be a partner with you in this animal for one Sela or more; but he may say: I would be a partner with you for one half, third, or quarter of it.

MISHNA: R. Jehudah said: (A butcher who sells meat on a festival) may weigh it against a vessel or hatchet; but according to the sages he may not even look on the scales at all.

GEMARA: What is meant by "at all"? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: Even to preserve the meat from mice, he must not put it on the scales. Said R. Iddi bar Abbin: That is, when the scales hang on the lever. R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel says again: A butcher who is a specialist must not weigh the meat on his hand. He says again: The same must not weigh the meat in water. R. Hyya bar Ashi said: It is not permitted to make a hole in the meat, to use it as a handle. Said Rabina: But if he made it with his hand, not with a tool, it is allowed. R. Huna said: One may make a sign upon the meat, as Rabba bar R. Huna would cut the meat in the shape of a triangle for a sign. R. Hyya and R. Simeon the Great used to weigh one piece against the other, and they did it according to R. Joshua, as we learn in the following Boraitha: R. Joshua said: One may weigh one piece against the other. And R. Joseph said: The Halakha prevails according to R. Joshua, because there is a Mishna in Tract B'choroth in accordance with his decision.

MISHNA: Knives may not be ground or set on the festival; but it is permitted to sharpen one knife with the other.

GEMARA: Said R. Huna: It is only on a whetstone, but on wood one may. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: Even on a whetstone it is only prohibited to sharpen, but to remove the fat from it one may. We may infer from this, that on wood it is allowed even to sharpen.

Who is the Tana who holds that on a whetstone it is not permitted? Said R. Hisda: It is at any rate not according to R. Jehudah, as we have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jehudah allows to make on a festival even the arrangements for the preparation of food (Sabbath, p. 309).

Said Rabha to R. Hisda: Shall we lecture in thy name that the Halakha prevails according to R. Jehudah? And R. Hisda answered: It may be the will of the Lord that all good things like this shall ye lecture in my name.

R. Nehemiah b. R. Joseph said: Once I was standing before Rabha, and saw that he took the knife and made passes with it over a basket. And I said to him: Does Master intend to sharpen it, or to remove the fat? And he said: To remove the fat. But I saw that he intended to sharpen it. From this it is understood that the Halakha prevails thus, but is not to be proclaimed to the people. Abayi told that the same thing happened to him and his Master, Rabba.

The schoolmen propound a question: May one give the slaughtering-knife to the wise for examination on the festival? R. Mari the son of R. Bizna allowed this, but the rabbis prohibited. R. Joseph, however, said: A scholar (Talmud Hakham) may examine the knife for his own use, and then lend it to others. R. Joseph said again: A knife that becomes blunt may be sharpened by pressure, provided that the knife becomes only blunt, but not injured.

R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said: A spit that became crooked must not be repaired on a festival. Is not this self-evident? He meant to say, that even with the hand, without the aid of tools, it is not allowed. The same says again: After the meat has been roasted on the spit, it may not be handled more (because the blood defiling it makes it unfit for use until cleaned). Said R. Adda bar Ah'bah in the name of R. Malkiya: He may, nevertheless, take it to put into a corner, the same as it is permitted to do with a thorn that is seen in public ground. (Sabbath, p. 75.)

MISHNA: One must not say to a butcher: Give me meat for a Denar; but the butcher may slaughter the animal, and divide it among the customers.

One may say to another (on the festival), fill me this vessel, but it must not be a vessel appropriated to measure with. R. Jehudah says: If a measure is used it must not be quite filled. Abba Saul b. Batnit used to fill his measures on the day before the festival, and delivered them to the customers on the festival. The same Saul said: One may do so even on the intermediate days, on account of the froth in the measure. The sages, however, say: One may do so also on week-days in order to let out the entire contents of his measure into the vessels of his customers.

GEMARA: What is meant by "vessel appropriated to measure with"? Said Rabha: That is, he shall not mention the kind of measure, but if the vessel is a measure he may do so. And R. Jehudah comes to teach that even this must not be done. From this we see that, about the enjoyment of the festival, R. Jehudah is more rigorous, and the sages are more lenient; but did we not learn in the Mishna about the scales (p. 55), that R. Jehudah is more lenient and the sages are more rigorous? And this would be a contradiction to that teaching? It presents no difficulty. The above Mishna referred to a thing which was not a weight, but this speaks of a vessel that is a measure. This reconciles the contradiction between one teaching of R. Jehudah. and the other. And as regards what sages teach about the scales? They merely say that a man shall not do as is usually done on week-days, but here he does not do as on week-days, because it is not usual that a man should give wine to his guest to drink from a measure.

"Abba Saul b. Batnit," etc. A Boraitha taught: One may do it in the intermediate days to prevent interruption in the house of learning (if he will busy himself with the measuring, he will fail to go to the college).

The rabbis taught: Abba Saul collected three hundred pitchers of wine barely from the froth of the measures; 1 and his colleagues collected the same amount from what remained in the measures after emptying them for the customers. Both brought this wine to the treasurers of charity at Jerusalem. The treasurers said to them: It is not necessary for you to do so (because it is your own). But they replied: We do not wish to use (because we do not consider it ours). And the treasurers rejoined: If you are so rigorous towards yourselves, go and dispose of it for the benefit of the people.

R. Hisda accompanied Rabbana Uqba, and the latter lectured: One must not measure barley to give it to cattle; but one may nevertheless take a Kab full, or two Kabs, and give it to the cattle without fear. But the baker (cook) may measure the quantity of spices for putting into the pots, lest he spoil the flavours.

R. Jeremiah bar Abba in the name of Rabh said: A woman may measure the flour on a festival for her dough, for the purpose of separating a due share of the first dough. Samuel, however, prohibited to do so. But did not the disciples of Samuel teach in his name that it is allowed? Said Abayi: Now, when the disciples declared in his name that it is permitted, and from himself it was beard that it is not, we may assume that he retracted his decision in order to teach us how to act.

The rabbis taught: One must not resieve flour on the festival; but R. Papias and R. Jehudah b. Bthera both permit it. All agree, however, that if some dust or a chip fell into the flour, that may be done. One disciple taught in the presence of Rabina that if a chip has fallen into it, he shall remove it with the hand. And Rabina rejoined that this is by an a fortiori argument, not allowed, because it looks as though he sifts it.

Rabha bar R. Huna the Minor lectured at the gate of Nehardai: One may resieve flour on the festival. Said R. Na'hman to the people of Nehardai: Go and tell Abba, Take thy favour and put it on the thorns (i.e., he did not any good with his lecture). Go and see how many sieves are used in Nehardai on the festival (even before his lecture).

The wife of R. Joseph has sifted flour on the back of a sieve, and he said to her: See, I want to have good bread (it means, you should not make any change). The wife of R. Ashi sifted the flour on the back of the table (to show a change from the week-days). Said R. Ashi: My wife is the daughter of Rami bar Hama, who was very particular in his deeds, and if she had not seen it done in the house of her father, she would not do it.

MISHNA: One may go to a shopkeeper with whom one is used to deal, and say to him: "Give me so many eggs or nuts," because the master of a house is used to count similar articles by numbers.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: One may go to his shepherd who is an acquaintance, and ask him for one goat or one sheep; to his butcher, to ask him for a shoulder or leg; to the birdseller, and ask him for one old or young pigeon, to his baker, and ask him for a loaf or roll; and to his grocer, and ask him for twenty eggs or fifty nuts or ten peaches or five pomegranates or one lemon--provided one does not mention any numbers of measures. R. Simeon b. Elazar said: Provided one does not mention the prices.

CHAPTER 4.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE CARRYING AND HANDLING OF THINGS ON THE FESTIVAL.

MISHNA: If one has to transport jars of wine from one place to another (on a festival) he must not carry them in a basket or a case, but on the shoulder, or in his hand in front of his person. The same is the case when he has to carry straw; he must not put the bundle on the shoulder behind, but must carry it in his hand. One may commence to take a heap of straw (for fuel), but not of stacks of wood in an unused yard behind the house.

GEMARA: A Boraitha taught: If it is impossible to change the manner usual on week-days, it may be done as ordinarily.

Rabha has ordered in Mehuzah as follows: "A heavy burden which a man carries on a week-day with great trouble, if he has to bear it on a festival, he may carry it with the help of a Rigla (a long, crooked pole for bearing burdens), and though it is also heavy and a trouble, it is a change of the manner, on weekdays. And what one man carries on week-days with the help of a Rigla, two men shall carry. The burden which two men carry on a pole on their shoulders, they shall carry on a festival with the hand, and what is carried with the hand, shall on the festival be carried with a cloth." All this shall be done, if possible; but if it is impossible, it shall be carried as usually, because the Master said: If it is impossible to change the manner it is allowed.

Rabha bar R. Hanin said to Abayi: A Mishna teaches: It is prohibited to clap with the hands, strike on the hips, and to dance on a festival. And in our time we see people do so, and we do not say to them anything. And he answered: And according to your theory, come and see the women who take their cans and go and stand at the gates of the entry, which is also prohibited, and we say nothing to them (Would you also blame us for this?). This is not so (because it is a rule). Let Israel do things unintentionally rather than intentionally (i.e., they were sure that if it was told to them, they would not listen, and to preserve them from conscious transgression, they keep silence). And there is no difference in such a case between a biblical and a rabbinical prohibition. Because the adding from the eve of the Day of Atonement to the Day of Atonement (about half an hour) is biblical, nevertheless we see women eating and drinking till dark, and we say nothing.

"But not of stacks of wood," etc. R. Kahana said: From this it may be inferred that we must not commence to take of a whole store (stock storehouse), because it is "designated." Then it would be according to R. Jehudah, who holds the theory of Muktzah. How then would be explained the beginning of the Mishna, that one may begin to take of a heap of straw, that would be according to R. Simeon, who does not hold the theory of Muktzah? The Mishna refers to spoiled straw (which is no longer fit for food of animals). But it may yet be used for bricks? It refers to a case when there were thistles (or thorns) in the straw.

MISHNA: Wood may not be taken from a booth, but the pieces lying by may be used.

GEMARA: R. Hyya bar Joseph taught before R. Johanan the following Boraitha: Wood must not be taken from a booth, but only the pieces lying near it. R. Simeon, however,

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permits it. But all agree that from a booth made for the Festival of Tabernacles it must not be taken then. If the booth was made conditionally, all must be done according to the condition.

It has been said: R. Simeon permits it. But did he not demolish a tent? Said R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak: The case is when the tent is already demolished, or so weak as to fall down soon, so that even on the preceding day he had the intention to take wood of it.

The Boraitha states: If the booth was made conditionally, etc. Can then a condition affect it? Did we not learn in Succah (p. 10), that R. Shesheth said in the name of R. Aqiba: that the wood of the Succah is prohibited in all the seven days at all events? This part of the Boraitha means an ordinary booth, not a tabernacle.

MISHNA: One may bring wood from the field when it is a stack, and from a wood-shed, even of the dispersed pieces of wood. What is called a wood-shed? If it is near the city. So is the decree of R. Jehudah. R. Jose, however, said, If there is a door which can be locked, even if it is within the legal limit.

GEMARA: R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel: Wood may be brought only from the stacks that are in the wood-shed, but not dispersed pieces. Did not our Mishna teach that from a wood-shed may be taken even dispersed pieces? The Mishna is only according to an individual Tana, but the other sages differ from it. Rabha said: Leaves of a vineyard or of branches, although they are gathered and lie together, because by a wind they may be dispersed, are to be considered as dispersed already, and may not be used. But if one had put a heavy thing on them the preceding day, they may be used.

"What is called a wood-shed," etc. The schoolmen propound a question: Did the Mishna mean both? Did it mean that it is near the city and has a door, and R. Jose comes to teach if it has a door it is enough, if it is not near the city, but within the legal limit, or when it has no door, even near to a city, also not? Come and hear: Because R. Jose teaches that if it can be entered through a door, and the door can be locked, it is allowed even within the legal limit, we may infer that R. Jose decides in both cases leniently. Said R. Sala in the name of R. Jeremiah: The Halakha prevails according to R. Jose, leniently.

MISHNA: It is not permitted to cut wood from new beams, even from an old beam that was broken on the festival; neither may wood be cleft with an axe, or saw, or bite-hook, but with a chopping-knife only.

GEMARA: Has not the first part of the Mishna said that we must not cut wood at all? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: The Mishna is not completed, and must be read thus: It is not allowed to cut from a pile of logs, neither from a beam that was broken on the festival; but from a beam that was broken the preceding day. And when they cut it, they shall not do it with an axe, etc. The same we have learned in the following Boraitha: One may not cut wood from a pile of beams, nor from a beam broken on the festival, because they are not considered prepared while it is yet day.

"But with a chopping-knife only." Said R. Hinna bar Salmia in the name of Rabh: It is only with the side of the blade used for chopping wood, but with the broad side wherewith one can cleave beams, it is not allowed.

MISHNA: A house filled with fruits, if a hole was made, it is allowed to take fruit through this hole. R. Meir, however, said one may make a hole in the house, to commence with, for the purpose of taking the fruit.

GEMARA: Why so? Is he not demolishing a tent? Said R. Nehuma bar Adda in the name of Samuel: The Mishna refers to a house of bricks without mortar. R. Zera said: R. Meir allowed this only on a festival, but not on Sabbath. The same we have learned plainly in a Boraitha. Samuel said: If the doors of the cellars are tied with ropes, one may untie; but he may not untwist the ropes themselves, nor cut them off. When, however, with such ropes vessels were tied, he may untwist them and cut them off, and there is no difference between Sabbath and a festival in this case.

An objection was raised from the following Boraitha: If the doors of the cellars are tied with ropes, on Sabbath, one may untie, but he may not untwist the ropes themselves, nor cut them off. On a festival, however, all this is allowed? The Boraitha is according to R. Meir, who allows this on a festival to commence with, but I say according to the rabbis. But did the rabbis differ with R. Meir that if the doors of the cellars, etc.? Have we not learned in another Boraitha, that the sages agree with R. Meir concerning this case? Samuel holds with another Boraitha which stated differently.

MISHNA: It is not permitted to make a cavity in a lump of potter's clay for the purpose of using it as a lamp, because a utensil is thereby formed; neither may charcoal be made on a festival, nor the wick of a lamp be cut in two. R. Jehudah says: With fire it may be done.

GEMARA: Who is the Tana who holds that when a hole is made in such a lump it is called a utensil? Said R. Joseph: That is R. Meir (who states so in Tract Kelim).

The rabbis taught: One must not make a hole in a lump of clay to use it as a lamp, nor plates used by rustics (who are not particular about fine china, but use them as soon as made, before they have been hollowed out and baked in fire). 1 R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, however, allows it.

"Neither may charcoal be made," etc. Is this not self-evident? What use can one make on that day of charcoal? Taught R. Hyya: The Mishna refers to those who need the charcoal for an olearius on this day (i.e., a machine to heat oil to be fit for the body and clothes). Is it allowed then to take a bath on this day? As Rabha had explained in another place that it was allowed to go to sweat before it was prohibited, so also can this Mishna be explained to mean sweating, before the prohibition was made (see Sabbath).

"Nor the wick of a lamp," etc. Why is it not allowed to do it with a knife? Because he makes of it a utensil (i.e., he makes two out of one). Is not the same with fire? Taught R. Hyya: R. Jehudah meant to say that the ends shall be placed in two lamps, and shall be separated by burning the middle part, (and he only kindles the lamps).

R. Nathan bar Abba said in the name of Rabh: One may snuff a wick on the festival. Bar Qappara taught: Six things were said about a wick: three rigorously and three leniently. Rigorously: One must not commence to braid the wick, nor singe, nor cut it in two; and leniently: One may twist it with the hand, soak in oil, and make two wicks by burning the middle part. R. Nat an bar Abba in the name of Rabh said again: The rich men of the Babylonians are among those who descend to Gehenna; as it once happened Sabathai bar Merenus came to Babylon and asked them to support him in some business, and they did not; and he asked that they should feed him at least, and they also refused. Then he said: They are descendants of the "mixed multitude," as it is written [Deut. 13:18]: "And grant thee mercy, and have mercy upon thee." From this we infer that whosoever has mercy for creatures, he is surely of the children of Abraham our father, but whosoever has not mercy for creatures, it is certain he is not. The same says again in the name of the same authority: Whosoever is dependent upon the table of his neighbour, the whole world is dark for him. As it is written [Job 15:23]: "He wandereth abroad for bread, (saying), Where is it? he knoweth that there is ready at his hand the day of darkness." R. Hisda said: His life is no life at all.

The rabbis taught: There are three men whose lives are not counted as lives at all: He who is dependent on the table of his neighbour; he whose wife dominates over him; and he who has bodily suffering. According to others, he who has no more than one shirt.

MISHNA: One may not break pieces of earthenware, nor cut paper for the purpose of roasting salted fish on it. Ashes from the oven or hearth may not be removed, but they may be moved to one side. Two barrels must not be brought near each other, to place a pot on them over the fire, nor may a piece of wood be used to support a pot, nor a door. Cattle may not be driven on the festival with a stick; but R. Eliezer b. Simeon permits it.

GEMARA: Why so? Because he produces thereby utensils.

"Ashes of the oven," etc. R. Hyya b. Joseph taught in the presence of R. Na'hman that if it is not possible to bake in the oven unless one removes the ashes, one may do so. It happened to the wife of R. Hyya that half a brick from the wall of the oven fell down into the oven on a festival. Said R. Hyya to her: See to its removal, because I like to have good bread. Rabha said to his servant: Roast for me a duck, and see that it shall not be singed. Said Rabina to R. Ashi: We were told by R. Aha of Hutzl that the Master's servants, when the oven is closed, smear it with clay on the festival. And he answered: We live near the River Euphrates, where clay is ready at hand. The case is, when he makes a sign on the clay on the previous day. Said Rabina: To knead ashes, it is permitted (because they cannot keep for a long period).

"Nor may a piece of wood," etc. The rabbis taught: A pot must not be supported with a piece of wood nor a door, because wood is prepared only for fuel. R. Simeon, however, allows this. Cattle must not be driven with a stick, but R. Eliezer the son of R. Simeon permits it. Shall we assume that R. Eliezer holds with his father, that no theory of Muktzah exists? Nay, he is more lenient than his father; for his father would assent that they must not be driven with a stick, because it seems as if they are taken to the market.

Hizra (Abhazar in Arabic), R. Na'hman prohibited to use for the purpose of roasting on it meat; but R. Shesheth permits it. If it was dry, all agree it is permitted; they differ only when it is wet yet. Whosoever prohibits it, does it because it is not fit for fuel, and whosoever permits it, does it because in a great fire this also can be used. The Halakha, however, prevails thus: That a dry one is allowed, but not a wet one.

Rabha lectured: A woman shall not enter a wood-shed to take a crooked piece of wood for a poker; and if a poker was broken on the festival, it must not be burned, because fire may be made with vessels, but not broken vessels (Sabbath, p. 270). Shall we assume that Rabha holds with R. Jehudah regarding the theory of Muktzah? Did not Rabha say to his servant: Roast me a duck, and throw the entrails to the cat? With the entrails it is different; because, as they become putrified he made up his mind the day before that they must be given to the cat.

MISHNA: Rabbi Eliezer says: One may take a splinter from the wood lying near him to clean his teeth with, and gather in the yard small pieces of wood, and burn them, because whatever is in the yard may be considered as prepared for the festival. But the sages allow one to pick up only those pieces that lie near him, and only to burn them. Fire may not be produced on the festival from wood, stones, dust or earth, or from water; nor may one heat tiles to broil food on them.

GEMARA: R. Jehudah said: To food fit for cattle the law of making a utensil does not apply (e.g., to take straw or other fodder of cattle, and break it for cleaning the teeth, or so, is permitted; because, being fit for cattle, it may be handled, etc.).

R. Kahana objected him: We have learned that branches of spice-trees may be handled to enjoy the odor, and to fan with them a sick man. One may grind, also, to produce an agreeable odor; but one must not break them for the purpose of enhancing the odor. If he did so, he is not liable to a sin-offering; but if he broke them for the purpose of cleaning the teeth with them, he is liable. And he answered: If the Boraitha had said that one may not break them for the purpose of cleaning the teeth, it would be a great difficulty to me; much more, when it says he is liable to a sin-offering for it. The Boraitha must be incomplete and must be stated thus: He may grind with his hand for the purpose of odor; he may break them for this purpose, but the case is only when they are yet soft. But when they are already hard, he shall not break them. If he did so, however, he is not culpable, although it is prohibited; but if he broke for the purpose of cleaning the teeth, he is liable to a sin-offering.

In one Boraitha we have learned, he may break it in order to smell it, and in another one--that he must not break it for this purpose? Said R. Zera in the name of R. Hisda: It presents no difficulty. The Boraitha which allows it means when they are soft, and the other one, when they are dry. R. A'ha bar Jacob opposed: Why shall dry ones not be allowed? Did not a Mishna (Sabbath, p. 332) state: One may break open a cask to cut dry figs therefrom, etc.? Furthermore: Rabha and Rabbin, the sons of R. Adda, both say: When we were at the house of R. Jehudah, he used to break twigs off a spice-tree, and give us sticks of the same, although the sticks were so large that they could be used for an axe or a spade handle. Therefore we must say that of the two Boraithas (mentioned above) one is according to R. Eliezer and one according to the rabbis of the following Boraitha: "R. Eliezer said: One may take a splinter from the wood lying near him to clean his teeth with; but the sages say: He can take it only from a manger. All agree that he shall not break it off, and if he did so, to clean the teeth or to open the door with it, if unintentionally on a Sabbath, he is liable to a sin-offering, and if intentionally on a festival, he is liable to the punishment of stripes. So is the decree of R. Eliezer. The sages, however, say: In both cases he is free, because this is only a Shbuth (Sabbath-rest, rabbinically)." Now, the Boraitha which states that he must not break it off is in accordance with R. Eliezer, who says there that he is liable to a sin-offering; and the Boraitha which states that he may do so is in accordance with the rabbis, who say there that he is free, even if he broke it off for the purpose of cleaning his teeth. Here, however, when it is for the purpose of smelling, it is allowed to commence with. But does not R. Eliezer hold what is stated in the above Mishna, that one may break open a cask, etc.? Said R. Ashi: According to R. Eliezer, the Mishna must be explained that the cask was cemented with resin, and it is impossible to use it afterwards as a vessel.

"And gather in the yard." The rabbis taught: He may gather in the yard and burn, because all things that are in the yard are considered as prepared, provided he does not make of them heaps. R. Simeon, however, permits even this. On what point do they differ? One holds that if he makes heaps, it seems as if he prepared them for the day subsequent to the festival; but the other holds that his pot proves that it is for to-day.

"Fire may not be produced," etc. Why so? Because to produce a new thing is not lawful.

"One may not heat tiles," etc. What labour is that? Said Rabba bar bar Hana in the name of Rabbi Johanan: The Mishna refers to new tiles, that must be examined as to whether they can stand fire. According to others, it is a labour because they must be heated long, until they become hard.

The rabbis taught: New ovens or hearths are considered as ordinary vessels that may be handled in the yard; but they must not be anointed with oil, nor cleaned with a wet cloth, nor cooled in cold water to harden it. But if all this should be done only for the purpose of baking on that day, it is allowed.

The rabbis taught: The head and the feet of an animal may be scalded, also singed. The hair may be removed by fire, but not with lime, clay, or earth; nor must it be cut off with scissors. Herbs must not be cut out with the same scissors with which they are usually detached from the ground. But one may prepare χιναρα (artichoke) and thistle and bake in a large oven, and water may be formed in an "antikhi" (a kind of kettle: see Sabbath, p. 74). A new large oven, however, must not be heated on the festival, because it may burst.

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The rabbis taught: One must not blow bellows, but one may blow through a pipe. A spit must not be sharpened and fixed (for the purpose of roasting).

The rabbis taught: A cane must not be splintered for the purpose of roasting salted fish. A nut, however, may be cracked through a piece of cloth, without fear lest that the latter be torn.

MISHNA: R. Eliezer said again: In a Sabbatical year a man may place himself on the eve of Sabbath at the place where figs or raisins are kept, and say: From there I will take to-morrow. But, according to the sages, he must point out the exact spot, and say: I will take from this point to that point.

GEMARA: In a Mishna (Maasroth, Chap. 4:2) it is stated: If children had saved dates from the eve of Sabbath and forgot to separate the tithe, when the Sabbath is over they must not eat them until the tithe is separated. Also in another Mishna (ibid. 3:1): If one passed dates through his yard to dry them, his household may eat of them moderately. Now, Rabba asked R. Na'hman: Does the Sabbath fix the time for separating tithe even from things the labours belonging to which are not finished yet? Shall we assume that because it is written [in Is. 58]: "Thou shalt call the Sabbath a delight," it fixes the time of tithing even for things the labours belonging to which are not finished yet, or it fixes the time only for things the labours on which are finished and not otherwise? And he answered: Sabbath fixes the time in any event. The former said again: Why shall not Sabbath be equal to a yard which does not fix the time for things on which the labour is not finished yet? Let the law of Sabbath be the same? And he answered: We have an explicit teaching that the Sabbath fixes the time for the thing in any event. Said Mar Sutra the son of R. Na'hman: Our Mishna which states that only on Sabbatical years it may be done so, and not in an ordinary year, must also be explained, that because the Sabbatical year is exempt from tithe, he may do so; but in an ordinary year it must not be done so, because the Sabbath fixes it for tithe. When Rabbin came from Palestine he said, however, in the name of R. Johanan, that Sabbath, Heave-offering, a Yard, and Price all do not fix for tithe, only in things on which all the labour belonging to them is already done.

Sabbath--to state that the law is not after Hillel in the following Boraitha: If one transferred fruit from one place to another to cut it, and Sabbath overtook him, R. Jehudah said that only Hillel prohibited to eat it before separating tithe, but all his colleagues differ from him.

A Yard--to state that the law is not after R. Jacob in the following Mishna, which says that whoso passes dates through the yard, his household may eat of them moderately, and they are free from tithe. And a Boraitha, in addition to this Mishna, states that R. Jacob says tithe must be separated, and R. Jose b. Jehudah frees it from tithe.

Heave-offering--to state that the law is not after R. Eliezer in the following Mishna: Fruit of which the heave-offering was separated before all the labours belonging to it were finished, R. Eliezer prohibits to eat from moderately, but the sages allow this.

And Price--as we learned in the following Boraitha: Whose, bought dates from a man of the common people in a place where the majority of gardeners press the dates, he may eat of them moderately; and when he comes to give tithe of them, he may separate tithe from it (but it is not necessary to separate heave-offering). And from this Boraitha we have learned three things: Firstly, that the price which is made does not fix for tithe until all the labour is done; secondly, that the majority of the common people do separate tithes; and thirdly, that if one comes to separate tithes from fruits bought from one of the common people, from a doubt lest the seller had not yet separated the tithe, he may separate it even from things the labours belonging to which are not yet finished.

CHAPTER 5.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING LABOURS PERMITTED AND NOT PERMITTED ON BIBLICAL FESTIVALS.

MISHNA: It is allowed to throw down fruit (kept on the roof for drying) by a trap-door (into the yard) on the festival, but not on Sabbath. It is also allowed to cover fruit, or jars of wine or oil, with vessels to protect them from rain. One may also place a vessel to receive rain on Sabbath.

GEMARA: Of which quantity does the Mishna speak? Said R. Zera in the name of R. Assi, according to others R. Assi in the name of R. Johanan: The same quantity which we have learned in the Mishna (in Sabbath, p. 276). One may even clear off four or five chests of straw or grain in order to remove obstacles to instruction, etc. But perhaps there it is different, because there are obstacles to instruction; but here, where it is not the case, it may be a less quantity? Or, on the contrary, there the Mishna speaks of Sabbath, which is rigorous, therefore a slight quantity is allowed. But here it is a festival, perhaps a greater quantity is allowed? It can be interpreted even in another way: There, where there are no damages of money, a quantity from four to five is allowed; but here, where there can be damages of money, even more is also allowed? And another question: There the Mishna teaches that one must not clear out a whole barn, and Samuel explained this that the Mishna meant he shall not clear out the whole barn for fear he will notice pits and would like to fill them up (ibid. 276). How is the law in our case? Shall we assume that because Sabbath is rigorous, the precautionary measure must be taken; but in the case of the festival, which is lenient, it need not be taken? Or, on the contrary, there, where although the reason is the fear of interruption in the house of learning, yet it is not allowed to clear the whole barn, how much the more here, where such a reason does not exist? And another question: Here the Mishna teaches that fruit must be thrown through a trap-door, and R. Na'hman said in addition to this, that it is allowed only from that roof; but to throw it from this roof to another, it is not allowed. And so it was also taught in a Boraitha, that the fruit must not be carried from one roof to another, although the roofs are of equal altitude. Shall we assume that only in the case of the festival which is lenient this is prohibited as a precautionary measure, lest one shall come to hold cheap the holiday, and will do other things, but on Sabbath which is rigorous and no such fear exists, perhaps this is allowed? Or, on the contrary, as here, where the fruit can be damaged, we do not allow this; there, where no such a fear exists, so much the more it is not allowed. And another question: A Boraitha in addition to this Mishna teaches he shall not let it down by ropes and also not by ladders. Shall we say that only here, where the fear of the interruption in the house of learning does not exist, it is prohibited; but there, where such a fear does exist, it is allowed? Or, on the contrary, here, although there is fear of damages, it is not allowed, so much the more there? All these questions are not decided.

"And fruits may be covered." Said Ula: Even piled-up bricks not mortared may be covered. R. Itz'hak, however, said only fruit fit for consumption may be covered with vessels, but no other things.

"One may place vessels to receive rain." A Boraitha taught: When the vessel was full, he might empty it, and put it in its former place again; and so repeatedly. The handmill of Abayi was exposed to the rain (and he had not enough vessels to protect it). He came to Rabba his Master, and asked; and he answered: Go and place your bed in that room (where the handmill was), and then the handmill will be considered as a night chamber, which may be removed from a bedroom (and then he can remove the bed again). Abayi himself considered the law and said to himself: May one turn a clean thing into an objectionable thing intentionally? While he sat and thought thus, the handmill cracked. Said he: I deserve this punishment because I was disobeying my Master.

Samuel said: A chamber-pot and similar vessels may be removed, and voided on the garbage; and then washed, and returned. The schoolmen who heard this thought that the dirt may be removed only together with another vessel, but not without another vessel? Come and hear: Once a dead mouse was found in the place where R. Ashi's spices were kept, and he said: Take it by its tail, and throw it out.

MISHNA: All transgressions of the precept of Shbuth, 1 whether by any optional actions, or actions for religious purposes, are also such on the festival. The following actions are forbidden on account of Shbuth: To climb trees, mount an animal, swim in water, clap with the hands, strike on the hips, or dance. The following are prohibited as optional actions: To administer justice, to acquire a woman as a wife (by giving a ring, money, etc.), to take off the shoes of one refusing to marry the deceased brother's widow (Halitzah), or to marry such a brother's widow. The following actions are prohibited as though they are actions for religious purposes: To consecrate anything, to value sacred things, to pronounce anything as devoted (to the service of the Temple), to separate heave-offerings and tithes. All these have been decided to be prohibited on the festival, and a fortiori on Sabbath. (This is the rule): There is no difference between the Sabbath and the festival, except that the preparation of food is permitted on the latter.

GEMARA: To climb trees--lest one tear off something; mount an animal--lest one should cut off a twig (to drive it therewith); to swim--lest one make a swimming bladder; to clap the hands, strike on the hips, dance--all lest one fix musical instruments.

"The following are prohibited as optional." To administer justice: is this not a religious act? The case is, when there is a better man than he who can perform it. To acquire a wife: is this not a religious act? The case is, when he has already a wife and children. The ceremony of Halitzah and Jibum: are these not religious duties? The case is, when there is an elder brother than he, and the duty falls on the elder brother. And the reason why all these are prohibited is as a precautionary measure, lest he come to write. And these are prohibited, though religious acts: as a precautionary measure, lest he will come to buy and sell. To separate heave-offerings, etc.: is not this self-evident? Taught R. Joseph: The case is, when he, wants to give it to the priest on the same day. But the law applies only to things wherefrom it is fit to separate the day before; but if he kneads dough on the festival, the first dough maybe separated and given to the priest. All these on the festival, etc.: there is a contradiction to this (in the first Mishna of the chapter): "One may throw fruit on the festival, but not on Sabbath"? Said R. Joseph: There is no difficulty: Our Mishna is in accordance with Eliezer: that the precautionary measures taken for Sabbath are to be taken also for festivals; and the other Mishna is according to Joshua, who says: When mother and son fall in a pit, the first maybe taken out for slaughtering, and then by connivance the other. R. Papa, however, said that the above Mishna is in accordance with Beth Shammai, and the first Mishna is in accordance with Beth Hillel. But perhaps it is not so? The statement of Beth Shammai refers only to carrying out, but not to handling it? Nay, is then handling not necessary in carrying out?

MISHNA: Cattle and utensils may be brought as far only as their owners may go, and when a person commits his cattle to his son or shepherd, they may not be brought or driven farther than the owner may go. Utensils that are appropriated to the exclusive use of one among brothers living together in the same house may be brought as far as that brother may go; but if they are not thus exclusively appropriated to one only, they may be brought to the places where all may go.

A utensil that had been borrowed since the eve of the festival may be carried as far as the borrower may go; but if on the festival, as far as the lender may go. And when one woman has borrowed of another spice, water, or salt, to make dough, they may be carried as far as both may go. R. Jehudah excepts water, because its substance does not remain visible.

GEMARA: Our Mishna seems to be not in accordance with R. Dosa of the following Boraitha: R. Dosa, according to others Abba Saul, said: Whoso had bought an animal from his neighbour on the eve of a festival, although he did not receive it until the festival, the animal may be driven as far as the buyer may go. The same is the case with him who gives an animal to the shepherd. If the arrangement was made before the festival, but he delivered it on it, it must be considered as the shepherd's? Nay, the Mishna can be explained also in accordance with R. Dosa, and it presents no difficulty. Our Mishna refers to a case where there are two shepherds in the town (when it was not known to which of them he would give); therefore it is considered as the owner's. But R. Dosa speaks of a case where there is but one shepherd. This explanation seems to be right, because our Mishna teaches, "to his son or shepherd." And as there may be more than one son, so is it about shepherds.

Said Rabba bar bar Hana in the name of R. Johanan: The Halakha prevails according to R. Dosa.

The rabbis taught: If two men had borrowed one garment, one should go in it to the House of Prayer in the morning, the other to the Dancing-house in the evening. Thus one will make an Erub to the north and the other to the south. Whoso has made an Erub to the north may go in this garment only as far as he who has made an Erub to the south may go in it to the north; and vice versa. But if either has made an Erub at his legal limit, so that by giving the right to move two thousand ells more in one direction, he loses the right to walk in the opposite direction even one step, then the garment belonging to both may not be moved from the town by either.

It was taught: If two men bought a barrel and an animal in partnership on the eve of a festival, the barrel may be moved by either to places where he goes; but the animal is not allowed to be driven except to places where both are allowed to go. So is the decree of Rabh. But according to Samuel, the case is the same with the barrel as with the animal. (Let us see:) What is the reason of Rabh's theory? If Rabh holds the theory of premeditated choice, then why shall the animal not be allowed? And if he does not, why shall the barrel be allowed? We may say that in reality he holds this theory (and therefore the barrel is allowed); but the animal is different, because it was alive at the twilight before the festival, and the blood changing its place from one member to the other on the festival, neither half can be chosen by either man (and as the partners have to go in different directions, neither may move the animal). Said p. Kahana and R. Ashi to Rabh: Even according to your theory, if the animal would be slaughtered, both partners would be allowed to eat of it, although the blood was circulating from one half designated for one man to the other half of the other man. Consequently the circulation of the blood is not feared in case of the law of Muktzah. Why, then, shall it affect the law of legal limit? Rabh was silent. What is in reality the law? R. Hoshia said: There is the theory of choice, and R. Johanan says: There is not. Mar Zutra lectured that the Halakha prevails according to R. Hoshia.

Samuel said: An ox from the dealer may be moved by every buyer to the places where he goes; but an ox belonging to the herdsman may be driven only where the people of the town have a right to go.

"A utensil borrowed since the eve of," etc. Is not this self-evident? The case is, when one actually received it on the festival, we would assume that as at twilight it was yet in the lender's house, it should not yet be considered as the borrower's, he comes to teach us that the arrangement suffices to make it considered as the borrower's. And this is in support of R. Johanan's decree, who said: One who had arranged to

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borrow a utensil from his neighbour on the eve, and took it on the festival, is considered as the borrower's.

"But if on the festival," etc. Is this not self-evident? The case is, when it was the custom of this man to borrow of that man often, and we would assume that the lender had the intention to give it to him from the eve, and therefore it should be regarded as the borrower's, he comes to teach us this is not the case; because it may happen that meanwhile another man may come and borrow it.

"And when a woman borrowed," etc. When R. Abba intended to go to Palestine, he prayed that it should be the will of the Lord he should say a thing which should be accepted (by those sages). When he arrived there, he found R. Johanan, R. Hanina bar Papi, and R. Zera; according to others, R. Abahu, R. Simeon b. Pazzi, and R. Itz'hak of Naphha, who were sitting interpreting our Mishna, saying: Why, let the water and the salt be ignored in the dough? Said R. Abba to them: Would it be right, when one threw in one Kab of wheat into ten Kabs of his neighbour's, shall the owner of the nine Kabs take the one Kab as his own and enjoy it? (The same shall be the case here. Because water and salt are of little value, shall they be ignored?) They were laughing at him. Said R. Abahu to them: Why do you laugh? Have I taken your garments? They laughed again. In reality. what is the reason of the Mishna's teaching? Said Abayi: That is a precautionary measure, lest they will make the whole dough in partnership. Rabha said: The reason is because spices give a flavour, and everything that gives a flavour cannot be ignored. R. Ashi said: The reason is, this prohibition is only temporary, and anything temporarily prohibited cannot be ignored, even when it is among a thousand.

"R. Jehudah excepts water." Did R. Jehudah except water, and not salt? Have we not learned in a Boraitha: R. Jehudah said that water and salt both are ignored, either in dough or in a pot? It presents no difficulty: Our Mishna speaks of Astrakhan salt, which is coarse, and must not be ignored, while the Boraitha means salt of Sodom, which is fine and is ignored. But we found another Boraitha, which says that according to R. Jehudah water and salt are ignored only in dough, but not in a pot, because of its wetness (and it imparts a taste to every part). It presents no difficulty: One Boraitha applies to a pot where something thick is cooked, while the other means a pot of soup.

MISHNA: Burning coals may be carried as far as the owners may go, but a flame may be carried everywhere. If a coal of consecrated fire has been applied to profane use, the sin of desecration has been committed; but though no profane use must be made of a flame of sacred fire, yet a person who applies it thus has not incurred the penalty, and thus, if anybody carries (on Sabbath) a burning coal into a public place, he is guilty, but does not incur the penalty for a flame. The water of a well belonging to an individual may be carried as far as that man may go; but if it belongs to a town, as far as the inhabitants thereof may go. The water of a well made for the use of travellers (such as those) who come from Babylon, may be carried as far as he who draws it may go.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: Five things have been taught about the burning coals: They may be carried as far as the owners may go; but a flame, everywhere. The sin of desecration applies only to a coal, but not to a flame; it must not, however, be used. A coal of idolatry is prohibited to be used, but the flame is permitted. Whoso carries a coal into public ground on Sabbath is culpable, and a flame is innocent; and whoso has made a vow not to receive any benefit from his neighbour must not use his coal, but may use his flame. Why may a consecrated flame not be used, but a flame of idolatry may be? In regard to idolatry, which is repulsive, and men avoid it in any event, no precautionary measure was taken; but to a consecrated thing which is not so, it was taken.

"A well belonging to an individual," etc. Rabha suggested the following contradiction before R. Na'hman: Our Mishna teaches that the water of an individual may be carried only as far as he may go, and in another Boraitha we have learned: Running rivers and springing wells are to be considered as the feet of every man (see Sabbath). Said Rabba: The Mishna refers to a well where water is not springing, but collected, and the same was taught in the name of Samuel by R. Hyya bar Abbin.

"Babylonian travellers": as the feet of him who draws it. It was taught: If one draw it and give it to another man, R. Na'hman said it may be considered as the feet of him for whom it is drawn; but R. Shesheth says, as his who draws. In what point do they differ? One holds that the well may be considered as ownerless (and if the water was drawn for any one he becomes the owner), and the other holds that they are partners.

MISHNA: If one has fruit in another town of which the inhabitants only made an Erub (but not the owner), they must not bring his fruit to him; but if he has made the Erub, the fruit may be carried to any place he is allowed to go.

When one has invited guests, they must not carry home with them anything from the table, unless he had granted it to them the day before the festival.

GEMARA: It was taught: If one has deposited fruit at his neighbour's house, Rabh said the fruit is to be considered the property of the keeper; but Samuel said it is still regarded as the property of the depositor. An objection was made, based upon our Mishna: If he made also an Erub, the fruit may be brought to him. Now if, according to Rabh, it is considered the property of the keeper, what is the use of his making an Erub? Said R. Huna: The disciples of Rabh explain our Mishna that it refers to a case when they assigned a corner for his fruit (so that it is as if under his supervision). Come and hear (another objection): "They must not carry home," etc., "unless he had granted it," etc. Now, if it is considered the keeper's, what is the use of granting on the day before? The answer is, that granting is equal to assigning a separate place, as explained above, and if you wish it can be said that the case when granting is different.

R. Hana bar Hanilai suspended meat on the bar of the door, and went away. After when he wished to use it he came before R. Huna and asked him whether he can use it or not (because the meat was brought to him by a butcher out of town, and he feared perhaps he brought it from over the legal limit), and R. Huna answered: If yourself have suspended it, you may use it, but if the butcher suspended it, you may not.

MISHNA: One must not give drink to, or slaughter, animals living wild, but one may do it to domestic animals. And what are called domestic animals? When they are at night in the town or the suburbs; and those which are in the open field are called wild.

GEMARA: To what purpose are both drinking and slaughtering stated? It is a thing by the way: it comes to teach us that before slaughtering it is good the animal shall drink, because it is then easier to take off the skin.

The rabbis taught: Wild beasts are called those which depart about the time of Passover, and feed in the marshes in the summer, and return in the fall; and domestic are called those which go out every day beyond the legal limit, but return every night, Rabbi, however, said: Both kinds mentioned are called domestic; but which are called wild beasts? Those that never come to inhabited places. Does, then, Rabbi hold the theory of Muktzah (prohibiting to slaughter even a wild beast)? Did not his son, R. Simeon, ask him: Dates which become not ripe on the tree, but are put in boxes of palm-branches and remain there till they ripen, what is the law about eating them on Sabbath according to R. Simeon? And he answered: The theory of Muktzah, according to R. Simeon, does not exist at all? (And as we know that Rabbi's opinion was according to R. Simeon, consequently he does not hold the theory of Muktzah at all?) Rabbi said to the sages as follows: According to my opinion, no theory of Muktzah exists. But even in your opinion, would you not own to me that the animals which return in the fall must be called domestic? And the sages answered: No; in our opinion they are still called wild beasts.

END OF TRACT BETZAH (YOM TOB).

SYNOPSIS OF SUBJECTS OF VOLUME VII.--TRACT SUCCAH.

CHAPTER 1.

MISHNA 1. About the legal height and width of the booth which is to be used during the seven days of Tabernacles. What was to be done when it was higher or lower than the prescribed size? If one has placed four poles and roofed them, how is the law? The different opinions of R. Jacob and the sages on this point. Whence is deduced from biblical passages the size prescribed by the sages? Did the Shekhina descend from heaven to earth; and also Moses and Elijah, did they ascend to heaven, or not? And in the latter case, how are to be explained the passages which state that they did? The ells which are mentioned in the Scriptures, how many spans did they contain? When there is a difference in the biblical passages between the Massorah (i.e., how they are written) and the reading of it, what must be considered for practice? How shall the Succah be considered--as a temporary or permanent dwelling? The booths of potters or watchmen, can they be used for a legal Succah? 1-10

MISHNAS 2. to 8. How about an old Succah? What is called an old Succah? How about a Succah under a tree, or if a cloth was spread over the roof of the Succah? If one Succah was over another? What kind of material must be used for the roof of the Succah? How to beautify the religious duties for the sake of the Lord, and from what passage of the Scriptures this is deduced. If bundles of straw, wood, or twigs may be used for the roof of the Succah. The two things which R. Jacob heard from R. Johanan and the three things which Rabha bar bar Hana has heard in the name of the same, and they could not imagine the real meaning of then and how the latter Amoraim tried to find it out. What Hana bar Abba, and R. Hisda in the name of Rabina bar Shila, and Meremar said and lectured about the roofing of the Succah. How it is when one wants to cover the Succah with boards, the size of same, and how they are to be laid. What is to be done if small rafters, over which is no ceiling, are to be used for a booth. The difference of opinion between the schools of Shammai and Hillel, and R. Jehudah and R. Meir, 10-19

MISHNAS 9. to 13, If one likes to roof his booth with iron spits. If one likes to suspend textile walls from the roof downwards. If the roof was three spans distant from the walls. How is the case with a court surrounded by balconies? The law of a crooked wall. If one likes to make a Succah in the form of a cone. About a reed mat made for sleeping on, whether a Succah can be covered with it; the size of it. A mat made of bark or papyrus, if large, may be used for a cover, 19-25

CHAPTER 2.

MISHNAS 1. to 7. How is it when one sleeps under a bed in the booth? About Tabbi, the slave of Rabban Gamaliel, who was a scholar. If one likes to support the Succah with a bedstead. If a Succah is covered thinly, what must be more-the sunshine or the shadow? If one constructs a Succah on top of a wagon, or on board of a vessel. What happened to Rabban Gamaliel and R. Aqiba when they were on board of a vessel, and the latter made there a Succah. Whether a Succah can be made on the back of a camel. Can a living animal be used as a wall to the Succah? How is it with an elephant-a living or dead one? How is the law about a partition not made by human hands, if it can be considered legally as a wall to the Succah? If one makes a Succah between trees which form side-walls. How is it about the delegates for religious purposes--are they obliged to or exempted from the duty of the Succah? How is it with a mourner, with a bridegroom and his attendants, concerning the duty of the Succah? How is it with those who are on the road in the day-time, and those who are on the road in the night-time only. How is it with the watchman of a tower, or the gardens? How is it with the sick? How is it about those who are afflicted? What Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai did when two dates were brought to him to taste out of the Succah, and Rabban Gamaliel when ajar of water was brought to him when he was out of the Succah; and what R. Zadok did when food less than the size of an egg was brought to him out of the Succah, 26-33

MISHNAS 8. to 10. How many meals must be eaten in the Succah during the seven days? The difference of opinion between R. Eliezer and the sages on that point. How they both deduce it from the passages of the Scriptures. If one makes amends with extra dishes in the Succah, has he done his duty? The manager of the house of Agrippa the king asked R. Eliezer about his two Succahs and his two wives, which he had in two different cities in Palestine, and what the latter answered. If it is allowed to build a Succah in the intermediate days, and what is to be done when a Succah becomes ruined during the seven days. Can one fulfil his duties in his neighbour's Succah, or must each one have his own Succah? What R. Eliezer said to R. Ilai when he came to visit him in the city of Lud. What happened to R. Eliezer when he took his rest in the booth of R. Johanan bar Ilai in the city of Kisri. There was not one tribe in Israel from which a judge did not descend. What happened to the same when he took his rest in Upper Galilea, and was asked thirty Halakhas about the law of the Succah. What was said of Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai the Master of R. Eliezer, of all his habits and customs, and that R. Eliezer his disciple conducted himself similarly. About the eighty disciples of Hillel the Elder. Who was the greatest of all, and who the least, and what was said about the latter. What the Elders of the schools of Shammai and Hillel said when they visited R. Johanan b. Hahoronith, and found him sitting with his head and the greater part of his body in the booth, and the table was in the house. How is it with women, slaves, and minors-are they exempt from the Succah? What shall be the age of a minor to be considered so? What Shammai the Elder did when his daughter-in-law gave birth to a son during the Feast of Tabernacles. How the Succah shall be used during the seven days of the festival as a regular domicile, and the house as an occasional abode. How is it when it rains? Where the finest vessels and utensils must be kept during the time of Tabernacles, and which of the inferior of them are allowed to be kept in the Succah. What R. Joseph did when a wind blew the chips of the covering into the dish, when he was sitting in the Succah, and what Abayi asked him. What an eclipse of the sun means to the whole world. When the sun and the moon are eclipsed, it is an ill omen to the enemies of Israel, so maintains R. Meir. On account of four things the sun is eclipsed. For four things the property of householders becomes annihilated, 33-41

CHAPTER 3.

MISHNAS 1. to 3. The law about the palm branch, the size of it, if it was acquired by test or dried, or if it was from a grove. What R. Huna. said to the sellers of myrtles--what they shall do when they buy myrtles of Gentiles. How is the law if a public street is roofed for the purpose of a Succah. What R. Na'hman said to the sages when an old woman complained that the exilarch and all the sages of the house of the exilarch are sitting in a robbed Succah. If a citron cannot be found, can it be replaced by a lemon or not? If the point of the citron was broken off. If the leaves of the palm branch were torn off.

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How the law is if the "twins" of the Lulab are divided. The prescribed size of a Lulab and a myrtle. How many boughs of myrtle? How the law is if a bough of a myrtle has more berries than leaves. If it was a Tzaphtzapha. If a greater number of leaves have dropped off. If the tip has been broken off. If a Lulab must be tied up, and how it shall be tied together with the myrtle and the willow. Of what places must a willow be taken. The difference of opinion between R. Ishmael, R. Tarphon, and R. Aqiba about the prescribed sizes of the Lulab, myrtle, willow, and citron. What Samuel said to the sellers of myrtles, 42-50

MISHNAS 4. to 7. How is it with a citron which was taken off a tree less than three years old? What, if it was of Demai? What is the minimum size of a small citron and the maximum of a large one? How is the law if a citron has been peeled and gets the colour of a red date? If it has a hole. How is an unripe citron? What makes a citron unbeautiful? The Lulab which must be tied with its own kind only, according to R. Jehudah, what is to be called its own kind? The objection of R. Meir, who relates that the inhabitants of Jerusalem tied a Lulab with gold lace, and what the sages answered to this. What Rabba said to the men who tied the Hoshanoth for the exilarch. How to prevent an intervention between the Lulab and the other things which are to be tied with it. The myrtle bough used for religious duties--may it be smelled, or not? And how is it with the citron? With what hands the Lulab and the citron must be handled. Why do we pronounce the benediction on the Lulab only? When must the Lulab be shaken? How is it to be shaken? What is the law if one is on the road and has no Lulab? When is Hallel to be read? Who must read it? From what chapters of the Psalms the Hallel is said. What the reader shall say, and what the congregation shall answer in the saying of Hallel. What verses are to be repeated in Hallel, 50-56

MISHNAS 8. to 11. What is the law when one buys a Lulab from a common man in the Sabbatical year. Is a citron equal to a tree in all respects? Does the fruit of the Sabbatical year become exchanged, if it is done in the manner of buying and selling? The Sabbatical year holds the money exchanged for its fruits. May both the fruit of Sabbatical year and of second tithe be exchanged for wild game, cattle, and fowl, when they are alive or slaughtered? How the Lulab was used in the second Temple, and in the country at that time, and what R. Johanan b. Zakkai has ordained after its destruction. When the first day of Tabernacles falls on a Sabbath. What happened to Rabban Gamaliel, R. Elazar b. Azariah, and R. Aqiba when the former bought a citron for a thousand Zuz, and what he did with it. What R. Elazar b. Zadok relates how the custom of the men of Jerusalem was. When the Lulab may be put in water, when water may be added, and when it must be changed. At what age a minor has to shake the Lulab, to perform the duties of Tzitzith, Tefilin, and his father to teach him the Torah, and to read with him the Shema, 56-61

CHAPTER 4.

MISHNA 1. The Lulab and willow to surround the altar were sometimes used on six days, and sometimes on seven days of the festival. The Hallel and the eating of peace-offerings took place on eight days, and the pipes were played on sometimes five, sometimes six days, In which case was the Lulab used seven days? Whence do we deduce this from the Scriptures? Why do we use the Lulab seven days in memory of the Temple, and not the willow? Do the Lulab and the willow violate the Sabbath or not? Can one fulfil the ceremony of the willow with that which is tied to the Lulab? May a man go more than ten Parsaoth on the eve of Sabbath? 62-66

MISHNAS 2. to 4. How was the commandment to take the willow fulfilled in Jerusalem? What was said when they went around the altar with the willow? The saying of R. Simeon b. Jochai, that he could exempt the whole world from the day of judgement, since he was born till that time, etc. Must the benediction on the Lulab be pronounced all the seven days, or on the first day only? Shall the benediction of the time be pronounced with the Lulab and the Succah, and when? Come and see: The usages of the Holy One, blessed be He, are not as the usages of human beings. Can the citron be eaten during the seven days, or on the eighth day only? The difference of opinion between the Tanaim and Amoraim, if the ceremony of the willow is based upon a tradition of the prophets, or it is only a custom of theirs. Must the benediction of the time be pronounced on the eighth day of the Tabernacles, which is a separate holiday? The Hallel and the enjoying of the peace-offerings were for eight days. How so? How was the pouring out of the water? Why the people called out to him who poured out the water "Raise thy hand." Why were the holes of the two silver basins of which the wine and water were poured out not equal in size? The saying of R. Elazar, that the doing of charity is greater than all the sacrifices. Charity is rewarded only in accordance with the kindness with which it is done. in three things is the bestowing of favours greater than charity, 66-75

CHAPTER 5.

MISHNAS 1. and 2. The difference of opinion about the music of the sacrifices, if it was instrumental or vocal. How pious and distinguished men danced before the people with lighted flambeaux in their hands, and what they said. After reaching the gate they turned westward; what they said about their ancestors and themselves. The beauty of the Temple which was rebuilt by Herod the Great, and the advice which the sages gave to him. The beauty of the diuplustin (double portico) of Alexandria in Egypt, all that it contained, the seventy-one golden chairs for the Sanhedrin, and how all this was destroyed by Alexander of Macedonia. The separate places for males and females in the Temple, and how they were changed in order to prevent levity. About the lamentation of the death of Messiah ben Joseph, and the death of the evil angel. The tradition of the two Messiahs, ben Joseph and ben David, and the different explanations of the verse Zechariah, vii. 10, according to the believers of the old tradition and the believers of the Messiahship of Christ. About the evil angel--how he appears in the beginning and how he grows in the nature of human beings. What the Messiah ben David will ask of the Lord. The seven names of the evil angel. The evil angel is hidden in man's heart. How he tempts scholars more than any one else. How Abayi watched a man and a woman who went on the road. What one shall do when the hideousness has attacked him. The three verses of the Scriptures which clear Israel on the judgement day. Who are meant by the four carpenters mentioned in Zechariah, 2:3? Who are the seven shepherds and the eight anointed men mentioned in Micah, 5:4? The four lads who held jars of oil containing 120 lugs. Was it in all 120 lugs, or did each jar contain so much? Who said: Well be to our youth which does not disgrace our age? and who said vice versa? What Hillel the Elder said when he was engaged in the enjoyment of the pouring of the water. For what purpose the fifteen songs of degrees were said by David. What is the meaning of "we belong to God" and "we raise our eyes to God"?

MISHNAS 3. to 6. How many times was the trumpet blown in the Temple every day, and how many on the festivals? The different opinions of the Tanaim about this point. When was the maximum of forty-eight times blown? For what purpose were the seventy bullocks offered on the seven days of the Feast of Tabernacles? And for what purpose was the one bullock offered [Numb. 29:36]? Three times in the year all the twenty-four orders of priests were alike entitled to share the pieces of offerings of the festival, and in the shewbread, for what purpose? Whence do we deduce that all the orders of priests had equal shares in the offerings; that were said to be sacrificed on the festivals? If a festival falls before or after a Sabbath, all the twenty-four orders share alike in the shewbread. What is meant by before or after? About the order of Bilgah, when Miriam his daughter becomes an apostate, and what she said when the enemy entered the sanctuary, and what was done to the whole order, 85-92

TRACT SUCCAH.

CHAPTER 1.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE BUILDING OF A LEGAL BOOTH FOR THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES, ITS WALLS, AND ROOFING.

MISHNA: A booth which is higher than twenty ells is not valid. R. Jehudah, however, says it is. One which is not ten spans high, one which has not three walls, or which has more sun than shade, is not valid.

GEMARA: Whence do we deduce this? Said Rabha: It is written [Lev. 23:43]: "In order that your generations may know that I caused the children of Israel to dwell in booths." Up to twenty ells a man knows that he is living in a booth, but higher than twenty ells he does not know, because his eyes do not frequently perceive the roof. R. Zera said: From the following passage [Isa. iv. 6]: "And a tabernacle shall it be for a shade in the daytime from the heat." Up to twenty ells a man sits in the shade of the roof, but if it is higher than twenty ells a man sits in the shade of the walls (but not of the roof). Said Abayi to him: According to your theory, if one has made a booth between two hills, it is also not legal (because there is no shadow from the roof at all)? And he answered: What comparison is this? if the hills were removed, he would sit in the shadow of the roof; but here, if the walls would be taken away, there would be no shade at all. Rabha said: From the following passage [Lev. xxiii. 42]: "In booths shall ye dwell seven days." The Law commands that for seven days one shall remove from his permanent dwelling into a temporary dwelling. Up to twenty ells, ordinarily a man makes a temporary dwelling; but higher than this it is not usual to make a temporary dwelling. Said Abayi to him: According to you, if one has made iron walls, and covered them with a legal roof, would it also be unlawful for a booth? Rabha answered: I mean to say this: Up to twenty ells, which is an ordinary height for a temporary dwelling, even if one makes it a permanent dwelling, he can fulfil his duty; but over twenty ells, which is the ordinary height only of a permanent dwelling, even if one has made it a temporary dwelling, it is also unlawful? According to whom is the following saying of R. Joshia in the name of Rabh: The sages and R. Jehudah differ only when the walls do not reach the roof; but if the walls do reach the roof, all agree that the booth is valid though the walls be higher than twenty ells? It is in accordance with Rabha, who says that the sages make it invalid because the eye cannot reach the roof; but when the walls are attached to the roof, the eye is able to do so.

According to whom would the following saying of R. Hannan in the name of Rabh be: that they differ only about a booth less than four ells square, but when it is four ells square all agree that it is valid? This is in accordance with R. Zera, who says: The rabbis make it unlawful because of the lack of shadow, and in a booth four ells square there is a shadow. And according to whom is the following saying of R. Harman b. Rabha in the name of Rabha: They (the sages and R. Jehudah) differ when the booth is only of a size to accommodate a man's head and greater part of body, and his table; but if it is of a larger size, then if it is higher than twenty ells, is it also valid? It is not, according to any one. An objection was raised: We have learned in a Boraitha: A booth which is higher than twenty ells is not valid. R. Jehudah, however, makes it valid, even if its height is forty or fifty ells; and he said: It happened that the Queen Helen, in the city of Lud, was sitting in a booth which was higher than twenty ells, and the older sages were entering and going out of it, and they did not object. And the sages answered him: This is not proof. She was a woman, and it is not obligatory for a woman to sit in a booth at all. And he rejoined: Everybody knows that she had seven male children; and besides this, all her acts were only in accordance with the will of the sages.

Now, it is right according to him who said that they differ in a case where the walls of the booth do not reach the roof, because usually a queen is sitting in a booth whereof the walls reach not the roof, that air may come in; but according to him who said that even in case of a small booth they differ, is it customary that a queen should sit in a small booth? Said Rabba bar R. Adda: The case was of a booth separated into chambers. But is it customary that a queen should sit in a booth separated into chambers? Said R. Ashi: Yea, the case was that of a large booth with chambers, and the sages differ about the chambers. They hold that she sat in a separate chamber, but her children were sitting in a lawful booth, and therefore the elders did not object; but R. Jehudah said, her children sat with her, and nevertheless they did not object.

R. Samuel bar Itz'hak said: The Halakha prevails that the booth must be large enough to accommodate the head, the greater part of the body, and a table. Said R. Abha to him: According to whose opinion is this? And he answered: It is according to Beth Shammai, and nevertheless one shall not deviate from this law. R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak opposed this: Where do you find that Beth Shammai and Beth Hillel differ about a small booth? Perhaps they differ about a large booth, and the case was that the man was sitting at the entrance of the booth, and the table was in the house. Beth Shammai prohibit this as a precautionary measure, lest he incline himself toward the table, and then he will not be sitting in the Succah at all, and Beth Hillel does not call for such a precautionary measure. And a support to this I can bring from the following Boraitha: If one whose head and greater part of body was in the booth, and his table was in the house, Beth Shammai say it is not lawful, and according to Beth Hillel it is. Now, if they differed about the size of the booth, it should be said: if one sat in a booth which cannot contain more than the head and greater part of the body. And another Boraitha stated that Rabbi says if a booth does not contain four ells square it is invalid; but the sages say, if it contains the space for the head and the greater part of the body it is valid? Nay, they differ in both cases, and the Boraitha is not complete, and must be read thus: if one was sitting with his head and greater part of his body in the booth, and the table was in the house, he did not fulfil his duty, according to Beth Shammai; but Beth Hillel say he did, and a booth which cannot contain more than the greater part of the body and the head is unlawful, according to Beth Shammai; but Beth Hillel say it is.

Who is the Tana of the following teaching of the rabbis: In a house which is not four ells square, it is not obligatory to have a Mezuzah (a battlement), 1 and it is not subject to being defiled by plagues, and it is retained at the jubilee year in a fortified town [Lev. xxv. 29], and a man possessing such a new house must not be kept from going to war, and an Erub must not be made in it, and it is not counted as a house to combine with the houses of the alley, and an Erub (from the courts) must not be deposited in it, and it must not be regarded as a house on the border between two towns, and brothers and partners do not divide it? Shall we assume it is according to Rabbi, not the sages? Nay, we can say that it is in accordance even with the sages. Do the sages allow a dwelling of less than this size? Only when it is a Succah which is temporary; but a house which is a permanent dwelling even the sages agree must be at least four ells square. Then men can live in it; but if less, it is not called a house at all.

If the booth was higher than twenty ells, and one put in pillows and feather-beds, it is not considered as made lower

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thereby; even when he renounces their use for any other purposes, because we ignore his resolve, as people in general do not do it. But if one puts there straw, and renounces it, it is considered as made lower; and so much the more, loose earth. But if one puts there straw which he does not renounce, although he does not purpose to remove it, and also sand, which he does not renounce--in that case Jose and the sages differ (Tract Ahaloth, Chap. 15. 6). If the booth was higher than twenty ells, and from the roofing hung down small twigs, then if they are so numerous that there is more shadow than sunshine, they are considered to make it lower; but if less than that, they do not make it lower. If it was high only ten spans, and small twigs hung down from the roof, Abayi thought that if there was more sun than shadow between the twigs, it m-as valid. Said Rabha to him: It is an unendurable dwelling, and nobody would live in it. (Therefore it is not valid.)

If it was higher than twenty ells, and one constructed in it a bench along the whole middle wall, if the bench is as large as the legal size of a booth (seven spans and a trifle), then the booth is valid (the whole booth because of a crooked wall); but if he constructed a bench along a side-wall, if from the edge of the bench to the opposite wall it is four ells, it is not valid; but if less than this, it is valid (because the bench legalises two walls, the third being without the legal limit). If he constructed a bench in the midst of the booth, if from the edge of the bench to each of the walls it is four ells, it is not valid; but if less, it is valid, because of a crooked wall on all sides. If, however, he put the bench on one side, then if it is less than four ells of the wall, it is valid (because of a crooked wall on one side); but if it is four ells, it is not. If the booth was less than ten spans in height, and he dug in it a pit to make it ten spans high, if from the edge of this pit to the wall is three spans, it is invalid; but less than that, it is valid. Why, then, in the case when it is twenty ells high, are less than four ells needed to make it valid, while here, when it is ten spans high, less than three spans are needed? Because there a wall is in existence, and to make it invalid one must have four ells; but in the case of ten spans, the wall is not considered a wall at all, and to make it a wall less than three spans are wanted (because then it is Lavud, i.e., considered as attached to the ground of the pit when it would be ten spans high).

The rabbis taught: If one has placed four poles and roofed them, according to R. Jacob, it is valid in cases when the poles admit of partition, as will be explained further, for a booth, but according to the sages it is invalid. Said R. Huna: They differ only about the edge of the roof. R. Jacob holds the theory of Gud Assik applies here, and the sages hold that it does not. But about the middle of the roof they all agree it is invalid. R. Na'hman, however, said: They differ even about the middle of the roof. The schoolmen propounded a question: Does R. Na'hman mean to say they differ about the middle, but about the sides all agree that it is valid? Or does he mean to say, they differ even about the middle? This question is not decided.

The rabbis taught: If one drove into the ground four poles and roofed them, R. Jacob said, it should be seen whether each of the poles is so thick that if it would be divided it would reach a span on each side (see illustration of enclosures, Erubin, p. 18), then they must be considered as enclosures and the booth is valid; but if they have not such a thickness, it is not valid. And this is according to his theory elsewhere, that the enclosures of a booth must be not less than a span at each side. But the sages said, the booth is not valid unless there are two walls as usually; and the third wall is sufficient, even if it is one span.

"If less than ten spans." Whence is this deduced? It was taught: Rabh and Mar Hanina, R. Johanan and R. Habiba, taught

[in the whole section of Moed, whenever these names are mentioned, they put R. Jonathan in the place of R. Johanan], the ark was nine spans, and the cover to it one span, together it is ten. As it is written [Ex. 25:22]: "And I will meet with thee there, and I will speak with thee from above the cover." And we have learned in another Boraitha: R. Jose said that the Shekhina never descended, and Moses and Elijah never ascended the heaven. As it is written [Psalms, 115:16]: "The heavens are the heavens of the Lord, but the earth hath he given to the children of man"; but is it not written [Ex. 19:20]: "And the Lord came down upon Mount Sinai"? And the answer is, that He did not come down lower than ten spans 1 from the ground. (Now, when He says, "I will speak to thee from above the cover," that means ten spans higher. From this we see that ten spans are counted as separate premises; hence ten spans is the minimum height of a dwelling.)

It is true, the ark is nine spans, because it is written [Ex. 25:10]: "And they shall make an ark of shittim wood: two ells and a half shall be its length, and one ell and a half its breadth, and an ell and a half its height" (and as an ell is six spans, the height of one and a half is nine spans). But where do we find that the cover is one span? From the teaching of R. Hanina as follows: Of all the utensils that Moses made, the Law had prescribed before the length, the breadth, and the height. In case of the cover, however, the length and the breadth are written, but not the height; and we must go and draw this lesson from the meanest of the utensils, as it is written [ibid., ibid. 25]: "And thou shalt make unto it a rim of a hand's breadth round about." As the height of the rim is a span, we infer that the height of the cover is also a span. But why from the meanest of the utensils--why not from the utensils themselves? Because there is a rule, when much is grasped at, nothing is grasped; but when little is grasped, it is retained. R. Huna said: We infer it from this passage [Lev. 16:14]: "On the face of the cover, eastward"; if less than a span, it would not be called face. But where do we find that the distance between the roof and ground should be ten spans? Perhaps the roof itself should be included? Therefore we say this theory they draw from the Temple; as it is written [in I Kings, 6:2]: "And the house which King Solomon built unto the Lord was sixty ells in length, and twenty in breadth, and thirty ells in height"; and [ibid., ibid. 26]: "The height of the one cherub was ten cubits, and so was the other"; and a Boraitha states, as we have found in the Temple, that the cherubim were a third of the height of the house, so also in the tabernacle in the desert they were one-third. Now, the height of the tabernacle was ten ells, as it is written [Ex. 26:16]: "Ten ells shall be the length of each board." How many spans are in ten ells? Sixty. A third thereof is twenty: take off ten, which was the height of the ark with the cover, ten is left. And it is written [ibid. 25:20]: "And the cherubim shall spread forth their wings on high, overshadowing the cover." Hence we see that the Torah calls "overshadowing" when above ten spans. Therefore we infer that the roofing overshadowing the booth must be above the ten spans.

This would be right according to R. Meir, who said that all the ells mentioned in the Torah measure six spans; but according to R. Jehudah, who says that the ells of a building measured six spans, but other ells only five spans, what can be said? If so, the ark with its cover would be only eight and a half: then remain for the cherubim eleven and a half. Shall we say that the booth must be high at least eleven and a half? According to R. Jehudah the size of a booth is (Sinaic). (As it is said in Tract Erubin)

"One which has not three walls." The rabbis taught: Two walls must be as usually, but the third one may be even one span. R. Simeon, however, said: Three must be as usually, and the fourth one may be a span. In what point do they differ? The rabbis hold, the bases are the Massorah (i.e., if we came to draw something from Scripture the basis must be the Massorah) and as [in Lev. 23.] "in booths" is mentioned three times. According to R. Simeon the basis must be the biblical words as they read; and as all three read in the plural, we infer the necessity of six walls: take off one term as a general commandment, we have left four; hence three must be as usually, and the fourth tradition reduces to one span. And if you wish, we will say: that all agree that the basis must be the Massorah, but the point whereon they differ is, one holds that the first verse, where the commandment is written, we also take into consideration to infer the necessity of a wall--consequently it is four walls; and one holds that the first must not be taken into consideration, and it is only three. R. Mathua said: R. Simeon infers his theory from the following passage [Isa. 4:6]: "And a tabernacle shall it be for a shadow in the daytime from the heat, and for a refuge, for a covert from tempest and from rain" (i.e., if it is not three walls, it cannot be a protection from wind, etc.).

Where shall be placed the wall which is one span wide? Said Rabh: One may place it where one wall ends, no matter which; it was taught that the same was said by Samuel in the name of Levi, and so also it was decided in the college. R. Simon, and according to others R. Joshuah b. Levi, said: The wall which is a span shall be wide as a span made by the palm when extended, and one shall place it at a distance of less than three spans from another wall, so that the theory of Lavud should apply.

R. Jehudah said: A booth that was made as an entry is valid (the two walls need not be adjacent, but may be opposite, while the wall of one span can be placed at any side one likes). R. Simeon, and according to others R. Joshuah b. Levi, said: Such a booth is lawful only when one places an enclosure four spans and a trifle wide, and at a distance of less than three spans from the wall, so that the theory of Lavud can apply: then it will be counted together seven spans and a trifle, which is the lawful width for a booth. Why is it said there that it is sufficient when it is wide as an extended span, and here that an enclosure of four spans is needed? There, where there were two walls, as usually, a span is enough; but here, in which case they are opposite, an enclosure of at least four spans is required. Said Rabha: And to it must be added an appearance of a door (on the other side). R. Ashi found R. Kahna, who made a third wall extended a span wide, and on the other side an appearance of a door; and he said to him: Does not the Master hold with Rabha, who said that an appearance of a door is sufficient for a third wall? And he answered: I hold with the saying of Rabha, as it is interpreted above, that an appearance of a door must be added too.

Again: "Two walls as usually," etc. Said Rabha: This booth is considered private ground in reference to a Sabbath falling in the Feast of Tabernacles, so that things may be carried from another private ground into this booth, and vice versa (although for a legal private ground three walls are needed), because as the two walls are considered a Succah, it is considered also private ground for this Sabbath. Rabha said again: If one has made a roof above an entry which has a side-beam, it is valid for a booth. 1 And the same said again: If one has roofed the enclosure of a w ell (see illustration in Erubin, p. 18), it may be used as a booth.

"If there is more sun than shadow, it is not valid." The rabbis taught: If there is more sunshine than shadow from the roof, but not from the walls. R. Joshiah, however, said: Even if it is more sunshine from the walls, it is also invalid. Said R. Yemar bar Shlomiah in the name of Abayi: What is the reason of R. Joshiah's decree? Because it is written [Ex. 40:3]: "Thou shalt cover the ark with a vail"; now the vail was a partition, and the Torah says: "Thou shalt cover with it"; we may infer from this, the partition shall be equal in law to the cover (or roof). And what will the rabbis say to the query of R. Joshiah? The rabbis explained the expression, "Thou shalt cover it," that it means he shall fold the vail a little towards the ark, so that it shall seem as a cover.

Abayi said: Rabbi, R. Joshiah, R. Jehudah, R. Simeon, and Rabban Gamaliel, the school of Shammai, R. Eliezer, and the anonymous teachers all hold that a booth must be considered not as a temporary but as a permanent dwelling. (Rashi explains that it means that it should be possible to turn it into a permanent dwelling.) Rabbi, as we have learned above, that a Succah that was not four ells square is invalid; R. Joshiah, from the statement just mentioned; R. Jehudah, as he declares valid a booth which is higher than twenty ells; R. Simeon, as he requires four walls (three as usually, and one, one span wide); Rabban Gamaliel, as he declares invalid (farther on) a booth constructed on board a vessel or on a wagon; Beth Shammai, as they declare in a Mishna, farther on, that it is invalid if it can contain a man's head and greater part of body, while his table is in a house; R. Eliezer, as he declared a Succah constructed in the shape of a pyramid is invalid; and the anonymous teachers, who declare invalid a circular Succah.

R. Johanan said: A booth which is made like a lime-kiln (i.e., round), if its circumference is large enough that twenty-four persons may sit at the walls, it is valid; but if not, it is; invalid. 1 And this teaching is according to Rabbi, who said that a booth which is not four ells square is not considered a booth at all.

R. Levi in the name of R. Meir said: Of two booths of potters which are one within the other, the innermost is not valid-for a legal booth, and is liable to have a Mezuzah, but the outermost may be used as a legal booth, and needs not a Mezuzah. Why so? Let the outer one be considered as a passage to the innermost, and a passage is not exempt from a Mezuzah? Because of both booths the outer one is only temporary, and it is exempt from a Mezuzah.

The rabbis taught: The booths of strangers, made only for the summer, booths for women (to make the toilet), booths made for animals, or booths made by Samaritans for the feast, and everything whatever called a booth is valid as a religious tabernacle, provided that it is roofed according to the Law. What is meant, "according to the Law"? Said R. Hisda: If it was roofed for this end, what is meant by the saying: "Anything whatever that is called a booth is valid"? To include the booths of shepherds, of those who watch dried figs, watchmen outside of the towns, and of those who watch fruit (all these are booths if they are roofed according to the Law, and are valid for religious purposes).

MISHNA: An old Succah, Beth Shammai hold, is not valid, but Beth Hillel hold it is valid. What is called an old. Succah? One which was constructed thirty days before the festival; but if it has been constructed on purpose for the festival, even though it be one year old, it is valid.

GEMARA: What is the reason of Beth Shammai's opinion? It is written [Lev. xxiii. 34]: "The feast of the booths shall be seven days unto the Lord." From this we infer that the booths must be made for the purpose of the feast. And what would Beth Hillel say to this passage? They infer from it another theory in accordance with R. Shesheth, who says in the name of R. Aqiba: Whence do we know that the wood that was used for the booths, must not be used for another purpose all the seven days? Because it is written: "The feast of the booths shall be seven days unto the Lord." And we have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jehudah b. Bethyra said: In the same manner that the name of the Lord rests on the feast-offering (and this prohibits the eating of the feast-offering till the pieces are offered on the altar), so does the name of the Lord rest on the booth, to prohibit the use of the material of which it is constructed during the seven days. But did not Beth Shammai also infer this prohibition from the same passage? Yea, we must therefore say that the reason of Beth Shammai is another passage [Deut. 16:13]: "A feast of tabernacle . . . seven days." Infer from this that the booth must be made for this purpose. And what do Beth Hillel infer from the above passage? They infer from it that a Succah may be made during the intermediate days also, while Beth Shammai do not allow it.

MISHNA: If one constructs his Succah under a tree, it is the same as if he made it in his house (under the roof). Should he

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construct one Succah above another, the upper one is valid, but the lower one is not. R. Jehudah says: Should the upper one not be inhabited, the lower one is valid.

GEMARA: Rabha said: The Mishna refers only to a tree under which there is more shadow than sunshine; but if the sunshine is more than the shadow, it is valid. And I infer this, because the Mishna teaches that a booth which was made under a tree is as if made in a house, why does it express it thus? Let it say, it is invalid? We must therefore assume that it means: As in a roofed house there is more shadow than sunshine, so is it also under a tree, under which the same is the case. But if there is more sunshine than shadow, what is the use, since the branches of the tree, which are invalid, will combine with the roofing of the: booth to shut out the sunshine, and thus make the Succah invalid? Said R. Papa: The case is when one has cut off the branches. If they have been cut off, is it not self-evident that the booth is valid? One might say, we shall take a precautionary measure (lest any make it under a tree which has its branches) and he comes to teach us that such precautionary measures are not to be taken.

"One Succah. above another," etc. The rabbis taught: It is written [Lev. 23:22]: "Ye shall sit in booths." We may infer, in booths, but not in a booth which is under a booth, or under a tree, or in a house. On the contrary, it is written in the "booths" in the plural (that can mean, in this and in that)? Said R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak: It reads plural, but it is written in the singular.

What distance must be between the upper and the lower Succah, that the second should be invalid? Said R. Huna: One span, as we find this measure in the law of defilement (Ahaloth, Chap. III. 7): R. Hisda and Rabba bar R. Huna both said: Four spans. The reason is, that we do not find any distance considered to be of any significance if it is less than four spans. Samuel, however, said:-Ten; and his reason is, that as to make it valid it must be no less than ten spans, so as make it invalid there must be ten spans. When R. Dimi came from Palestine, he said that in the west they so interpret: If the roof of the lower one could not bear the pillows and feather-beds of the upper one, then the lower is valid. From this we may infer that the first Tana holds that, although the lower one cannot bear the pillows in the upper one, it is nevertheless invalid? We may say that the difference between the first Tana and the sages is in a case in which the roof of the lower one could bear it, but not easily (according to him it is invalid, according to them it is valid).

MISHNA: If a cloth be spread over the (roof of the Succah as a screen) against the sun, or below (the roof, inside) to catch the falling leaves, or if one spread a cloth over a (four-post) bed-tester, the Succah is not valid, but one may spread a cloth over two bed-posts.

GEMARA: Said R. Hisda: The case is if one spread a cloth to catch leaves; but if he did it only for ornament, it is allowed. Is not this self-evident? Did not the Mishna say plainly "to catch leaves"? One might say the same is the case when it is an ornament also, but the Mishna mentioned a thing, it is usually so done; he comes to teach it is not so. It was taught: That such ornaments do not make it lower (if it was more than twenty ells high, it is not lowered thereby, or if it was ten spans they do not make it invalid). Said R. Ashi: But if the cloth was hung before a side-wall, it makes it smaller. It happened once that the shirt of Menymin, the servant of R. Ashi, was soaked in water, and he spread it on the roof of the booth to dry. Said R. Ashi to him: Take it off, for one might say, we cover the roof with a thing which is subject to defilement. But everybody will see that it is wet? I mean to say, that when it will be dry, you shall take it off.

It was taught: If the ornaments of the Succah are four spans under the roof, R. Na'hman said the Succah is valid, but R. Hisda and Rabha bar R. Huna both say it is invalid. But sages were once the guests of the exilarch, and R. Na'hman made them sleep in a booth where the ornaments were four spans beneath the roof; and they kept silent, and said nothing. Then he asked them: Did the Masters retract their decision? And they answered: We are delegates for a religious purpose, and therefore we are free from the duty of a Succah.

R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said: One may sleep in a nuptial bed, because its canopy is not considered as a roof (being slanting) even when it is ten spans high. An objection was raised: We have learned, who sleeps under a canopy in a booth does not fulfil his duty? There is the case when the canopy is not of a nuptial bed, but different, like a roof. Rabha bar R. Huna lectured: One may sleep under a canopy, although it is like the roof, and high ten spans; and it is according to R. Jehudah, who said that a temporary tent cannot make a permanent one be ignored, as we have learned in a Mishna. R. Jehudah said: Our custom was to sleep in the booth under the bed in the presence of the elders. But let him say: The Halakha prevails according to R. Jehudah? If he would say so, one might say it is only the case with a bed because it is made to be slept on, but not underneath it (and therefore cannot make the permanent tent ignored); but in the case of a bed with a canopy, which was made for sleeping in, it may be thought different. Therefore he teaches us there is no difference.

MISHNA: If one has trained a vine, or gourd, or ivy over the booth, and covered it, it is not valid; but should the covering be the greater part of the roof (and they the smaller part), or if they had been cut off, it is valid. This is the rule: Everything subject to defilement, and not growing from the ground, must not be used as a roof to the booth; but everything not subject to defilement, and growing from the ground, may be used.

GEMARA: R. Joseph was sitting in the presence of R. Huna, and said: To the Mishna which says, if they are cut off, the Succah is valid. Said Rabh: They (the remainder of the roof) must nevertheless be shaken (after having been cut off). Said R. Huna to him: This said Samuel. R. Joseph turned away his face from him and said: Did I say to you Samuel did not say it? I told You Rabh said, and Samuel may have said it also. Rejoined R. Huna: But I tell you that only Samuel said it, and not Rabh, because, according to the latter, it is valid without shaking, as it happened once that R. Amram the Pious made fringes [Num. xv. 38] on the garment of his wife, but he did not cut asunder the heads of the thread; and later, when he came to ask about it, R. Hiya b. Ashi said to him: So said Rabh: The cutting asunder of the thread, this makes the fringes lawful. From this we see that according to Rabh the cutting off makes it valid, though nothing but this was done. And the same is the case here also. Cutting off makes valid. Shall we assume that the point of difference between the Tanaim of the following Boraitha is the same as that of Rabh and Samuel? Namely, we have learned in an addition to the Mishna: If a myrtle bough has more berries than leaves, it is invalid till the latter are made fewer; but it is not allowed to do so on a festival (Succah, Chap. III.). If, however, one transgressed, and cut off the berries on a festival, the myrtle bough is invalid according to R. Simeon b. R. Jehozodok, but is valid according to the sages. Now, the schoolmen thought the point on which R. Simeon and the sages differ is whether the cutting is a final preparation, for they thought all agree that the Lulab should be tied together n the beginning with the other branches, drawing a lesson from the Succah, about which it is said: "Ye shall make," i.e., you shall commence to make, but not use what is made already. And R. Simeon says it is invalid, because he does not regard the cutting as a final preparation, and the Lulab, being tied with an invalid myrtle, is invalid; but the sages hold the cutting is a final preparation, and therefore the Lulab is valid. Hence the point whereon they differ is the same as that whereon Rabh and Samuel differ: whether the cutting off is a final preparation (and then shaking is not needed) or not. Nay, all agree that the cutting off is not considered a final preparation, but R. Simeon and the sages differ whether the Lulab has to be tied together at all, or not; R. Simeon maintains that it must, and the sages say, it must not; as we find in a Boraitha that the sages make no difference whether it was tied or not, and only R. Jehudah maintained that if untied it is invalid. But according to whom would be the following teaching: There is a merit in tying the Lulab; it is, however, valid if it is untied? This is in accordance with the rabbis, and the merit is because it is nicer when tied, as it is explained elsewhere that the word [Ex. xv. 2] ואנוהו means, "beautify your religious performances for the Lord's sake."

"This is the rule: everything subject to defilement," etc. Whence is all this deduced? Said Resh Lakish: It is written [Gen. ii. 6]: "But there went up a mist from the earth." As a mist is not subject to defilement, and ascends from the earth, so also must the Succah be a thing not subject to defilement, and growing from the earth. This would be right according to those who said that the booths in the desert were of clouds of glory; but according to those who say that they were ordinary booths, what can be said? Namely, as we learn in the following Boraitha: It is written [Lev. 33:43]: "I caused the children of Israel to dwell in booths": these were clouds of glory, R. Eliezer said. But R. Aqiba said: They were ordinary booths. Said R. Ashi: It is written [Deut. 21:13]: "Of thy threshing-floor and wine-press." Of thy threshing-floor, but not the threshing-floor itself; from thy wine-press, but not the wine-press itself. R. Hisda said: From the following passage [Nehem. 8:15]: "Go forth unto the mountain and fetch olive leaves, and oleaster leaves, and myrtle leaves, and palm leaves, and leaves of the three-leaved myrtle, to make booths, as it is written." Are not the leaves of the myrtle and those of the three-leaved myrtle the same? Said R. Hisda: The myrtle leaves for the Succah, and the three-leaved myrtle for a Lulab.

MISHNA: Bundles of straw, of wood, and of twigs must not be used to cover the Succah; all of these are become valid, however, if the bundles are loosed. As side-walls, however, all of these may be used.

GEMARA: R. Jacob said: I have heard from R. Johanan two things which he explained to me, namely: the above Mishna, and the Mishna farther on, "Should one hollow out a space in a stack (of sheaves) to use it as a Succah, it is not considered such." Of one of them he says the reason is that it is only a precautionary measure, lest one make his storehouse for a Succah, which biblically is allowed; and of the other he said the reason is, because it is written: "Ye shall make," from which we infer, it must not be ready-made (and this is biblical). But I don't know for which Mishna the reasons are respectively given. Said R. Jeremiah: Let us see. R. Hiya bar Abba said in the name of R. Johanan: Why is it prohibited to cover with bundles of straw, wood, or twigs? Because it may happen a man comes from the field in the evening with his bundle on the shoulder and puts it on the roof for the purpose of drying, and later he resolves to leave it there as a roof to the booth, and it is said, "Ye shall make it," but not have ready-made. Now, as we see that the reason for this is biblical, that for our Mishna must be a precautionary measure, Then why was R. Jacob doubtful? Because he had not heard the saying of R. Hiya in R. Johanan's name. Said R. Ashi: What is the difference? Does, then, the law, "shall make," apply only to our Mishna, and not to the other Mishna farther on, or does the precautionary measure apply only to the other Mishna, and not to ours? Both are alike (and why, then, does he make a difference between them?). R. Johanan can say that his teaching is correct, because our Mishna states, they must not cover it; that means, to commence it, and it is a precautionary measure, but if he has covered, it is valid. But there it is said, It is not a Succah, even after it has been covered; it is even biblically not a Succah.

Said Rabha bar bar Hana: I have heard in the name of R. Johanan three things: If he has roofed it with bundles of flax it is invalid, but if with unsoaked flax, it is valid; and as for Hushne [meaning uncertain] flax, I am in doubt about it. Rabha bar bar Hana added to this: What he meant by Hushne flax, I don't understand. Does he mean, flax soaked and dried, but not brushed; or brushed already, but not made into bundles?

R. Hanan bar Abba said: With thorns and weeds a Succah may be covered. Abayi, however, said, if they have no leaves, one may; but if they have leaves, one must not. Why so? Because, when the leaves fall down, this will trouble him, and he will leave the booth and go out. R. Gidl said in the name of Rabh: The roots of a tree may be used to cover with, although they are intertwined, because a bundle made by nature is not called a bundle. And even if he tied together the extremities, he may nevertheless use them, because as at the base they intertwine naturally, the bundle at the top is not considered such.

R. Hisda in the name of Rabbina b. Shila said: Branches (stalks) of διχρα may be used for covering, though they are intertwined, because a bundle made by nature is not considered as a bundle. And although one ties them together himself, he may nevertheless use them, because as at the base they intertwine naturally, the bundle at the top is not considered such. So also we have learned in a Boraitha: The stalks of διχρα may be used as covering.

Maremar lectured: The bundles they sell out in the market in Syria may be used to cover, although they are tied together, because they tied them only to know the number. Huts of reeds, used by fowlers, if they are untied at the top, may be used as a covering for a booth although they are yet tied together below? Said R. Papa: One loosens them at the bottom also. R. Huna the son of R. Joshuah, however, said: Even if they were not untied at the base, they also may be used, because a bundle that cannot hold together is not called a bundle.

R. Abba said in the name of Samuel: If of herbs by which the sages said a man can fulfil his duty to eat bitter herbs on Passover was made a tent, they bring defilement, when a corpse or part of a corpse was in it, to all vessels that are in the tent; but if a partition was made of them they do not prevent the defilement to spread further, and if they are used to cover a Succah, they make it invalid, because when they become dry they crumble and fall. Therefore, even if they are wet, they are considered not to exist at all, and in place of a roof an empty piece of space.

MISHNA: One may cover with thin boards, according to R. Jehudah, but R. Meir prohibits it. If one has put a deal board four spans wide over the booth, it is valid, provided that one sleep not under it (the board).

GEMARA: Said Rabh: They differ only about boards that are four spans wide. R. Meir prohibits it as a precautionary measure, lest he come to make a ceiling, and R. Jehudah does not take this measure; but if they were less than four spans, all agree that it may be used. Samuel, however, says, on the contrary: They differ only if it is less than four spans; but if more, all agree it is prohibited. If it is less than four spans and even less than three (they differ), how can it be? Is it not considered a stick? Said R. Papa: Samuel meant to say thus: If it is four spans, all agree it is not valid; less than three, all agree it is valid. They differ only from three to four; one holds because it is not of the prescribed size (four spans), it is valid, because they are considered as sticks; and another holds, as it is more than three, to which the theory of Lavud cannot apply, we take the precautionary measure. Come and hear: Two sheets, if put in the middle of the roof, each of which is less than four, but whose combined width is four spans or more, make the booth invalid; but two boards of the same sizes do not combine to make it invalid. R. Meir, however, said: The same is the case with both. It would be right according to Samuel, who said that they differ when it is less than four

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spans; but if it is four spans, all agree it is invalid, because then it would be explained that the combined width makes the Succah invalid if it is on the side of the roof (attached to a wall), and their combined width is four ells, not four spans (for otherwise, if the roof is by the wall, it is valid up to four ells because it is considered as a crooked wall continued). But according to Rabh's opinion, this can be only according to R. Meir;. but according to R. Jehudah, what can be meant by the expression "combined width," since according to him, if they are less than four spans, they are considered sticks? R. Jehudah does not mean combined width, but only uses the same expression as R. Meir (without a particular meaning).

We have learned in a Boraitha according to Rabh, and in another Boraitha according to Samuel: according to Rabh, if one has covered the Succah with boards of cedar that are less than four spans wide, all agree they are valid; but if they are four spans, R. Meir makes it invalid, and R. Jehudah makes it valid. Said R. Jehudah: It happened once, in a time of danger, we brought boards four spans wide, and roofed a balcony and used it as a Succah, and the sages answered him: A dangerous time does not prove. According to Samuel: If one has roofed the booth with cedar boards four spans wide, all agree it is invalid; if less, according to R. Meir, it is invalid; according to R. Jehudah, valid. R. Meir agrees, however, that if there was between one board and the other the width of a board, one may lay between anything fit, and the Succah is valid. And R. Jehudah agrees, that if one board was wide four spans, it is valid, but one must not sleep under it, and who does so does not fulfil the duty of a Succah.

It was taught: If one placed the boards on their edges on the Succah, R. Huna said the booth is invalid, but R. Hisda and Rabba bar R. Huna both said it is valid. It happened once R. Na'hman came to Sura: R. Hisda and Rabba bar R. Huna visited him and asked him the law about the boards in question, and he said: They are considered as iron spits, and certainly invalid. Said R. Huna to them: Did I not tell you that R. Na'hman agrees with me? And they answered him: Did the Master explain to us the reason of this, and we did not accept it? Rejoined R. Huna: Did you ask me for the reason, and I did not tell it to you?

MISHNA: If small rafters, over which is no ceiling, are to be used for a booth, R. Jehudah says: Beth Shammai hold, the rafters must be loosened, and the middle one out of every three removed. But Beth Hillel hold: One must either loosen them, or else remove one of every three. R. Meir says: One must remove one out of three, but one need not loosen.

GEMARA: It is right according to Beth Hillel, as their reason is because it is written: "Ye shall make," and not have ready-made. Hence either of the two is sufficient. But what is the reason of Beth Shammai? If the reason is the same, why must he do both? Is not one sufficient? It is as a precautionary measure, and Beth Shammai meant to say thus: Although one has loosened, it is not valid until he removes one of every three. If it is so, then Beth Shammai said the same as R. Meir. R. Meir meant to say, Beth Shammai and Beth Hillel did not differ, if one has removed same, though they were not loosened.

MISHNA: If one roofs his booth with iron spits, or with boards of a bedstead, if there is as wide a space between them (covered with anything fit) as one of them, it is valid. If one should hollow out a space in a stack (of sheaves) to use it as a Succah (although of the prescribed size), it is not considered as a Succah at all.

GEMARA: Shall we assume that the decision of R. Huna the son of R. Joshuah, who says, that if the open spaces of a fence equal the fence proper it is not valid, contradicts this Mishna? R. Huna can explain the Mishna, that it means an interspace a trifle wider than the spit or board itself, so as to allow it to be taken out and replaced without difficulty. But can it not be made precisely to fit? (Rashi explains this question thus: At the first glance the answer of R. Huna is that, whenever the thing is mentioned to be of the same width, it is meant to be a trifle less wide, so as to be removed without difficulty: and to this comes the question, why should it be so made? can it not be made to fit precisely? And to this question the answer of R. Ammi will be farther on. But Tospheth oppose to this another explanation, which is still more complicated, and we have therefore translated the text literally.) Said R. Ammi: Yea, but this Mishna means, it is only valid then, when it is a trifle more. Rabba, however, said: The Mishna can be explained even if it was precisely; but if it was laid lengthwise, it should be placed crosswise, and vice versa (and above them the lawful roofing, so that the fit must be more than the unfit roofing, and thus the fit portion above neutralizes the unfit portion below).

"With boards of a bedstead." Shall we assume that this is a support to R. Ammi bar Tibiumi, who said that if one covered the Succah with broken utensils it is invalid? Nay, the Mishna can be explained as R. Hanan said in the name of Rabbi. If the side-board of the bedstead was laid with two short boards, or two short boards with the side-board, which is subject to defilement (as will be explained, Kelim, Chap. 19:9). What is meant by broken utensils? Said Abayi: Remnants of silken togas, that measure less than three fingers square, and are of no value to either rich or poor. We have learned in a Boraitha in accordance with R. Ammi bar Tibiumi: The remainders of a mat of bark or reeds, although they are less than of the prescribed size to be subject to defilement, must not be used to cover a Succah. A mat of sticks, if it is large, may be used to cover it (because a large one is only made for a covering, and is not a utensil subject to defilement); but if small, it may not. R. Eliezer, however, said, that even a large one is subject to defilement, and may not be used.

"If one should hollow," etc. R. Huna said: The case is, when there is no hole of the size of one span in length by seven in width; but if there was, it is a Succah. 1 We have learned so also in a Boraitha: If one hollows out a space in a stack to use it as a Succah, it is a Succah. And this Boraitha must be explained as the decree of R. Huna to prevent the contradiction to our Mishna.

MISHNA: If one suspends textile walls from the roof downwards, if they do not reach the ground within three spans, it is invalid. If they stand on the ground and are high ten spans, it is valid. R. Jose, however, said: Even when the walls do not reach the ground by more than three spans the law of ten spans applies to both cases (and in either case it is valid).

GEMARA: On what point do they differ? One holds that a hanging partition makes the Succah valid, and the other that it does not. We have learned in the Mishna in Erubin, concerning a wall that was between two courts and a partition was made, and R. Jehudah said there: The partition is not more effectual than the wall which is between them. Said Rabba bar bar Hana, in the name of R. Johanan: R. Jehudah's decree there is of the same system as R. Jose's in our Mishna, who says that a hanging partition makes valid. In reality, however, it is not so. R. Jehudah does not agree with R. Jose, and vice versa. Because R. Jehudah, who allows it there, does so because Erubin of the courts are rabbinical; but here, in the case of the Succah, which is biblical, he would not allow it. And, on the contrary, R. Jose, who allows it here, does it because the Succah is only a positive commandment; but concerning Sabbath, where there is a capital punishment, he would not allow it. And if it be asked, What happened in Ziporeth (which will be related farther on), according to whose opinion was it? Not according to R. Jose, nor in accordance with R. Jehudah, but according to R. Ishmael bar Jose. Namely: When R. Dimi came from Palestine, he told that it happened once (in Ziporeth) that they had forgotten to bring the holy scrolls on the eve of Sabbath, and on the morrow they put sheets on the pillars and brought the holy scrolls, and read them (and these hanging partitions were made at the command of R. Ishmael).

R. Hisda in the name of Abimi said: A mat which is large four spans and a trifle can be used as a side-wall to the Succah. How shall it be placed? It shall be hung in the middle, less than three spans from the ground, and less than three spans from the roof, because we apply the law of Lavud to both places. Is not this self-evident? One may say that two Lavuds in one case do not apply, he comes to teach us that we may.

MISHNA: If the roof is three spans distant from the walls, the Succah is invalid. If the roof of a house was broken, and it was covered, then if there are four ells between the wall and the covering, it is invalid; but if less it is valid. The same is the case with a court surrounded by balconies. If the top of a large Succah was covered with something unfit, if it is distant four ells it is not valid.

GEMARA: Rabha said: I once found the rabbis of the college sitting and declaring: Air makes the Succah invalid with three spans, but unfit covering makes it invalid only with no less than four ells; and I said to them: Where do you find that air makes invalid with three spans? In our Mishna, which teaches if the roof was at a distance of three spans it is invalid? Then, learn also from it that unfit covering should not make the Succah invalid if it is less than four ells? as it teaches farther on, that a house whose roof was broken, and it was covered in the middle, if there is from the covering to the wall four ells, then it is invalid? And they answered: Leave alone this teaching, because Rabh and Samuel both said that this teaching is only because we consider it as a crooked wall. And I rejoined: If it is so, what would be according to your opinion? If there would be air less than three spans, and unfit covering less than four ells., in the same place, it certainly would be valid; but if one covered the vacant space with iron spits, it would make it invalid. Now, the air, which is so rigorous that it makes invalid by three spans, will not be equal to an invalid covering which is so lenient that it makes invalid only by four ells? And they said to me: And according to your theory, that unfit covering makes invalid only when it is four ells, how would the case be if empty air less than three spans were added to it? Would it not be valid? But if one puts iron spits over the empty place, would it not make it invalid? Now, then, does not the same question apply to your theory also? And I rejoined again: What comparison is this? In my opinion, unfit covering makes invalid with four ells, because that is the prescribed quantity, and the same is with air; and as both quantities are not equal, they do not combine together to make the Succah invalid. But according to your opinion, that the reason is not because it is a prescribed quantity, but because the roof is separated from the wall, then the question is, what is the difference whether it be separated from the wall by air less than three spans and unfit covering, or by iron spits and unfit covering? Said Abayi to him: And even according to the Master's opinion, that because the quantities are not equal they do not combine, this can be said only of a large Succah, where unfit covering makes not invalid unless it is four ells; but in a small Succah, where unfit covering makes it invalid with three spans, are not the quantities then equal? Consequently they must combine, even in a large Succah. Answered Rabha: In a small Succah it is not because the prescribed quantities are equal, but because the prescribed size for a Succah does not remain.

Abayi said: If there was air three spans wide in a large Succah, and one diminished it by sticks or iron spits, it is considered as diminished; but if it was a small Succah, if with sticks it is lawful, but with iron spits it is not. But this is the case only when it is near the wall. If in the middle of the roof, however, R. A'ha and Rabina differed: According to one, the law of Lavud applies also in the middle, and according to the other it can only be applied when they are at the side.

R. Jehudah bar Ilai lectured: If the roof of a house was broken, and one covered it with fit covering, it is valid for a Succah. Said R. Ishmael bar Jose to him: Rabbi, explain your decision, because my father had explained thus: If it is less than four ells from the wall, then it is valid; but if four or more, it is invalid. Again lectured the same: An abruma (a small fish not distinguishable from prohibited reptiles) is permitted. Said R. Ishmael to him: Rabbi, explain the decision, for so said my father: From one place it is permitted, from another it is not. Accordingly, Abayi said: The small fish called Tza'hntha (smelt), of the river Bab, are permitted (and from another not).

It was taught: If one has covered a balcony which has small pillars (less than three spans one from the other), it is valid for a Succah: but if it has no pillars, Abayi said it is valid, because the edge of the roof downward may be considered as making (forming) a wall; but Rabha said it is invalid, because he does not hold this theory. Said Rabha to Abayi: According to thee, who holdest this theory, even if the middle wall of the Succah was broken, let it also be valid, as the edge of the roof is considered to descend and make a wall. Said Abayi: I yield to thee in this point, because it looks like an open entry. An objection was raised from our Mishna: If a court is surrounded by balconies, etc., why? Let it also be considered that the edge of the roof makes it a wall? Rabha explained, in accordance with Abayi's opinion, that the case is that the edge projected not over the wall, but was even with it.

R. Ashi found R. Kahna, who had roofed a balcony that had no small pillars, and he asked him: Does not the Master hold what Rabha said, that when there are no pillars the Succah is invalid? And he took him outside and showed him that there were pillars not visible inside, but only outside; and it was taught in Erubin, if it was seen from outside, and not from inside, it is regarded as a side-beam, and a side-beam is the same as a small pillar.

A Boraitha taught: A vestibule, outside of the booth, is considered as the booth itself. What is meant by this? Said Ullah: A vestibule formed by sticks projecting beyond the Succah. Are not three walls needed? When there are. But is it not needed that there be more shadow than sunshine? If there was. But is not a prescribed size needed? If it was. If so, what comes he to teach us? Lest one say, that because the Succah was made for sitting inside, shall the outside not be considered a Succah at all, he comes to teach us it is not.

MISHNA: If one makes a Succah in the form of a cone, or leans the roof against a wall, R. Eliezer says it is not valid, because it has no roof; but the sages declare it is valid.

GEMARA: A Boraitha taught: R. Eliezer admits, if one placed it one span over the ground, or separated it one span from the wall, the Succah is valid. What is the reason of the sages?

. . . . for the theory of Lavud applies to them, and they are regarded as upright. They hold that the slanting parts of a tent are considered as the tent itself. Abayi found R. Joseph sleeping in a nuptial bed in a Succah. Said Abayi to him: According to whom do you do so? According to R. Eliezer? Then you left the majority of rabbis, and followed an individual. Answered he: The Boraitha teaches the contrary: That R. Eliezer makes it valid, but the sages say it is invalid. Rejoined Abayi: Then you leave a Mishna, and act according to a Boraitha. And he answered: The Mishna is written according to an individual's opinion, as we have learned in a Boraitha: if one makes a booth in the form of a cave, or leans the roof on a wall, R. Nathan said that R. Eliezer makes it invalid, because it has no roof, but the sages permit this.

MISHNA: A large reed mat made for sleeping on is subject to defilement, and a Succah must not be covered with it; but if it was made to cover a booth, it may be used, and is not subject to defilement. R. Eleazar said: There is no difference whether it is large or small, but only the use for which it was made is considered; if for sleeping, then it is subject to

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defilement, and must not be used; but in the other case, if for covering, it is not subject to defilement, and may be used.

GEMARA: Did not the Mishna contradict itself? In the first part it says, if it was made for sleeping, then it is subject to defilement, etc., but if the purpose for which it was made was not expressed, it must be considered as for a covering. And the second part says, "If it was made for a cover"; from this we may infer, if the purpose was not expressed we consider it for sleeping? Said R. Papa: In case of a small one, if the purpose was not expressed, all agree it may be considered as for sleeping; but in case of a large one, the first Tana holds that where no purpose was expressed it is considered to have been made for covering. But R. Eliezer holds, that even a large one is also usually made for sleeping, and the expression in the Mishna, "if it was made for sleeping," is to be explained so: if it was made, say it is for the purpose of sleeping, unless he expressed another purpose.

The rabbis taught: A mat made of bark or papyrus, if large, may be used for a cover; but if small, it may not. If it is of reeds, or hilath, a large one may be used for covering; but if they are woven together, it may not. R. Ishmael bar Jose said in the name of his father: Both may be used to cover, and the same said R. Dosa.

We have learned (Edioth, III. 4): "All hutzlahs 1 are liable to become unclean from a corpse, so is the decree of R. Dosa; but the sages said: They are liable to become unclean only by pressing." What are hutzlahs? Said R. Simeon bar Lakish: It means ordinary mats, and the same is according to his theory elsewhere, where he said: I would sacrifice myself to bring back to life R. Hiya and his children, because in the ancient time, when the Torah was forgotten by Israel, Ezra came from Babylon, and reëstablished it again; when afterwards it was again forgotten, Hillel the Babylonian came up from Babylon and restored it again; and when it was again forgotten, came R. Hiya and his children and restored it again. And they said to this: That R. Dosa and the sages did not differ about the mats of the city of Usha, that they are subject to defilement, and that the mats of Tiberia are not; what they do differ about is the mats of other places: one holds that because nobody sits on them, they are equal to those of Tiberia; and the others hold that because it can happen that somebody should sit upon them, they are equal to the mats of Usha.

We learned in a Boraitha: R. Hananiah said: When I came into the exile, I found an old man who said to me that to cover a Succah with a mat is lawful; afterwards, when I came to R. Joshuah my father's brother, he admitted this theory. Said R. Hisda: This is only when it is not seamed. Said Ullah: The mats from the city of Mehuzah, but for their scams, would be lawful to be used for covering. So also we have learned in a Boraitha: Mats may be used for covering, provided they have no seams.

CHAPTER 2.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE SITUATIONS IN WHICH A BOOTH MAY BE PLACED, WHAT MUST BE DONE IN IT, ETC.

MISHNA: He who sleeps under a bed in the booth has not fulfilled his duty (of sleeping there). Said R. Jehudah: We were in the habit of sleeping under a bed in the presence of the elders, and they never said anything to us. Said R. Simeon: It happened that Tabbi, the slave of R. Gamaliel, used to sleep under a bed. But R. Gamaliel said to the elders: Do you see my slave Tabbi? He is a scholar (Talmud Hakham), and knows that slaves are exempt from the duty of Succah. Therefore he sleeps under a bedstead. From this we infer that he who sleeps under a bed has not fulfilled his duty.

GEMARA: Why? The bed is usually not ten spans high? Samuel explained this, that the case is when the bed is high ten spans. (But if so,) what is the reason of R. Jehudah's decree? This is according to his theory elsewhere, that the Succah must be a permanent dwelling, and the bed is only a temporary dwelling, and a temporary dwelling cannot make ignored a permanent one. But did not R. Simeon held the same theory, that a Succah must be a permanent dwelling (because his decree is that it must have four walls), and nevertheless he does not allow to sleep under the bed? This is the point of their difference: according to R. Simeon a temporary dwelling makes ignored, and according to R. Jehudah it does not.

"It happened once that Tabbi the slave," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Simeon said: From R. Gamaliel's remarks we have learned two things: That slaves are free from the duty of a Succah, and that one who sleeps under a bed has not fulfilled the duty of Succah. Let him say, "from R. Gamaliel's decree," he comes to teach us by the way that R. A'ha bar Adda, according to others the same in the name of R. Hamnuna, quoting Rabh, said: Whence do we know that even a remark of a scholar must be studied? Because it is written [Ps. i.] "And the leaf does not wither," even a slight thing as a leaf is not valueless.

MISHNA: If one supports his Succah with a bedstead, it is valid. R. Jehudah said: A Succah that cannot stand by itself is invalid.

GEMARA: What is the reason of R. Jehudah's decree? R. Zera and R. Abba bar Mamel differed: One says: Because so it is not made a permanent dwelling; and one says: Because he supports it with a thing subject to defilement. What is the difference? If one put iron spits and covered it, according to them who say because it is not permanent, the iron spits are permanent; but according to those who say because he supports with a thing subject to defilement, the iron spits are subject to defilement, and are invalid. Said Abayi: They differ only if he supports the booth with the bedstead; but if he has roofed the bed itself, all agree it is valid. Why so? Because to them who say, because it is not permanent, it can be said the bed is permanent; and to them who say because he supports with a thing subject to defilement, it can be said the roof is not subject to defilement.

MISHNA: A Succah covered thinly, if there is more shadow than sun, is valid; if the covering is close, like the roof of a house, though the stars are not visible through it, it is nevertheless valid.

GEMARA: What is meant by thin covering? Said Rabh: Scanty covering (too much empty space between one stick and the other). And Samuel said: Irregular covering--one twig down, one twig up, that is. Rabh interpreted that the Mishna teaches only one case, a poor Succah, in which there is more shadow than sun, is valid; and according to Samuel, the Mishna teaches two things: first, that a Succah with an irregular covering is valid; and secondly, that all Succahs where the shadow is more than the sunshine are valid. Said Abayi: The Mishna refers to a case where there is not three spans distance from one twig to the other; but if there is, it is invalid. Rabha, however, said: Even if there were three spans between, provided the twig was not wide at the top a span, it is invalid; but if it was, it is valid, because we say: Havit rami, 1 and it is valid.

"If there is more shadow than sun." From this we may infer, that if they were equal, it is not valid; but in the first chapter the Mishna teaches, if the sunshine was more than the shadow it is invalid, from which we may infer that if they were equal it is valid? It presents no difficulty. If on the top the empty place was equal to the covering, because on the ground the sunshine would appear larger; but if on the ground the sunshine and the shadow are equal, it is valid, because then on the top there must be more covering than empty space. Said R. Papa: This is according to what people say: If on the top it is of the size of a Zuz, it appears on the ground the size of a Sela. 1

"If close like the roof of a house." The rabbis taught: If it was close as a roof of a house, although the stars cannot be seen through it, it is valid; but if the rays of the sun do not penetrate, Beth Shammai hold it is not valid, and Beth Hillel hold it is.

MISHNA: If one constructs a Succah on the top of a wagon, or on board a vessel, it is valid, and he may ascend thereto on the festival. If he has constructed the Succah on the top of a tree, or on the back of a camel, it is valid; but he must not ascend thereto on the festival days. If two walls are formed by a tree, and one by human hands, or two by human hands and one by a tree, the Succah is valid, but one must not ascend thereto on the festival. This is the rule: Whenever the Succah can stand by itself, even should the tree be removed, the Succah is valid, and it is lawful to ascend thereto on the festival.

GEMARA: This Mishna is in accordance with R. Aqiba only, as we have learned in a Boraitha: If a Succah was made on a ship, Rabban Gamaliel makes it invalid, and R. Aqiba makes it valid. It happened once that Rabban Gamaliel and R. Aqiba were on a ship, and R. Aqiba constructed a Succah on the ship. On the morrow a wind blew it off, and Rabban Gamaliel said to him: Aqiba, where is thy Succah? Said Abayi: If the Succah cannot withstand an ordinary wind from land, all agree that it is not a Succah at all; if it can hold out a storm on land, all agree it must be regarded as a Succah; but if it can hold out an ordinary wind from land, but not an ordinary wind from the sea, there is the point of their difference: R. Gamaliel holds it must be a permanent dwelling, and as it cannot withstand an ordinary wind from the sea, it is not considered as anything; but R. Aqiba holds that only a temporary dwelling is needed, and so soon as it is proof against an ordinary wind from land, it is called a temporary dwelling.

"Or on the back of a camel." The Mishna is in accordance with R. Meir. as we learn in the following Boraitha: If one has made his Succah on the back of an animal, it is valid, according to R. Meir; but not according to R. Jehudah. What is the reason of R. Jehudah? Because it is written [Deut. xvi. 13]: "The feast of tabernacles shalt thou hold seven days." From this we infer that a booth fit for all seven days may be called a Succah, but not otherwise (and as the sages prohibited to mount an animal on the festival, it is not fit for the first day of the festival). But what would R. Meir answer to this? Biblically it is fit, but only the rabbis prohibited as a precautionary measure to mount an animal (and if biblically fit, it is called a Succah).

If the animal was used as a wall to the Succah? R. Meir makes it invalid, and R. Jehudah makes it valid. Because R. Meir used to say: All things which have life must not be made a wall to the Succah, nor a side-beam to an entry, nor an enclosure to a well, nor a covering of a grave; and in the name of R. Jose the Galilean it was said: Also, a letter of divorce must not be written on it. What is the reason of R. Meir? Abayi said: Because it may die. R. Zera said: Because it can run away. If an elephant were tied to a wall and used as a wall, all agree it is valid, because, even if it should die, its carcass measures more than ten spans. In what they differ is, when the elephant is not tied: according to them who fear its death, it is valid; but according to those who fear its flight, it is not valid. But did Abayi say that R. Meir feared its death, and R. Jehudah did not? Have we not heard the contrary from him in Gittin, that R. Meir feared it, and R. Jehudah did not? Read these conversely: Abayi said R. Meir feared its death, and R. Jehudah did not. But did we not learn in Tract Yomah, R. Jehudah declares: To the high-priest another wife must be prepared for the Day of Atonement, lest his wife die? (So he apprehends death.) Is it not taught, in addition to the same Mishna: R. Huna the son of R. Joshua said, that for forgiving the sins an exceptional rule was made?

Let us see: According to both sages--who apprehend death or flight--biblically it is valid as a wall; and only as a rabbinical precautionary measure is it forbidden. Why is it not subject to defilement when it covers a grave, according to R. Meir? Said R. A'ha bar Jacob: R. Meir holds that all partitions not made by human hands are not called partitions at all.

MISHNA: If one makes a booth between trees which form side-walls, it is valid.

GEMARA: A'ha bar Jacob said: All partitions that are not proof against an ordinary wind are not partitions at all. An objection was raised from our Mishna, which teaches that if the trees were used as walls, it is valid; but did not the trees shake by an ordinary wind? The case is, when they are old trees. But even if old trees, are there not branches? If one weaves the branches into the walls. If it is so, what does he come to teach us? Is it not self-evident? One might say that perhaps it shall be prohibited as a precautionary measure, lest on the festival he climb the tree, he comes to teach us that such a measure is not taken.

MISHNA: Delegates for a religious purpose are free from the duty of Succah; also sick persons, and those who nurse them. One may occasionally eat or drink something outside of the booth.

GEMARA: Whence do we deduce this? From what the rabbis taught: It is written [Deut. 6:7]: "When thou sittest in thy house": that means, except when thou art occupied by a religious observance; [ibid.] "When thou walkest by the way" means, except when thou goest to marry. From this is said, that he who marries a virgin is exempt, but he who marries a: widow is not. But how can this be inferred? Said R. Huna: From the expression "on the way," as one goes on the way, means as a voluntary act, and this is to exclude one occupied by a religious duty. R. Abba bar Zabda said in the name of Rabh: A mourner is not exempt from the duty of the Succah. Is not this self-evident? One might say, because the same authority says elsewhere that one who is afflicted by something is exempt from the duty of Succah, and a mourner is certainly afflicted, one might say that he is exempt, he comes to teach us that it is when the affliction is caused by the Succah; but here, when he afflicts himself, he must divert his attention, and fulfil the duty of Succah. The same says again in the name of Rabh: A bridegroom and his attendants and all who belong to the wedding-party are exempt from the Succah all the seven days. Why so? Because they must enjoy themselves. But let them enjoy themselves in the Succah? No enjoyment can be had outside of the house where the wedding is. But let them eat in the Succah and enjoy themselves in the house. There is no enjoyment except where the banquet is. But let the house where the wedding takes place be made in the Succah? Abayi said, it cannot be made, because the bride must not be left with strangers; and Rabha said, because the bridegroom will find it inconvenient. What is the difference? when even in the house, where men come in and go out, they are not in privacy, but it is inconvenient. According to Abayi, it may be made in the Succah, and according to Rabha it may not. R. Zera said: When I was a bridegroom, I ate in the Succah, and enjoyed myself in the bride's house, and I enjoyed myself the more because I fulfilled two religious duties.

The rabbis taught: A bridegroom and his attendants and all the wedding-party are exempt from prayers, from phylacteries, but they must read Shema. In the name of R. Shila it was said: Only the bridegroom is exempt, but all the others are not. A Boraitha states, R. Hanania b. Akabia said: Writers of the holy scrolls, or tefilin, or mezuzoth, they and the wholesale sellers and the retail sellers, and all men engaged in work for Heaven, including also the sellers of blue threads for tzitzith, are exempt from the reading of Shema, from praying, from tefilin, and all the religious duties commanded in the Torah. He said so to confirm the words of R. Jose the Galilean, who said: Who is engaged in one religious work, is free from another one.

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The rabbis taught: Those who are on the road in the day are exempt from the duty of Succah during the day, but not during the night; and if they travel by night, it is conversely. If they travel during both, they are exempt wholly. But who goes on a religious mission, is exempt from the duty of Succah both by day and by night. As it happened, R. Hisda and Rabha bar R. Huna coming on a Sabbath falling on one of the intermediate days, to the exilarch to hear his lecture, they slept on the bank of a river of Sura. They said, we are delegates for a religious purpose, and exempt from the duty of Succah.

The rabbis taught: The watchmen of a tower who watch by day are exempt from the Succah by day, but not by night; and those who watch by night are exempt for the night, and those who watch during both are entirely exempt. Those who watch gardens and vineyards are exempt from the Succah by day and by night. But let them make the booths there, and sit in them? Said Abayi: It is written: "Ye shall dwell in booths." It must be where the dwellings are. And Rabha said: The hole brings the thief (i.e., he will not be able to watch carefully). What is the difference? When the whole of the fruit would be visible from his position in the Succah (he should sit in one).

"Sick persons and their nurses." The rabbis taught: Not only those who are dangerously sick, but if there is no danger, if one has sore eyes or a headache, he is also exempt. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel told: It once happened I had sore eyes when I was in Caesarea (Kisrin), and R. Jose the Great allowed me and my servants to sleep outside of the Succah. Rabh, however, allowed R. A'ha of Bardla to sleep under a canopy in a booth (though ten spans high), to prevent mosquitoes. Rabha allowed R. A'ha bar Ada to sleep outside of the Succah, because it was freshly whitewashed. And Rabha acted according to his theory elsewhere, that whoever suffers is exempt. But have we not learned in our Mishna that only sick persons are exempt, and we may infer, not those who are in sorrow? Nay, in case of a sick person, he and his nurses are exempt, but he who is in sorrow may only himself stay out, not his servants.

"Men may occasionally eat," etc. What is meant by something? Said R. Joseph: Two or three eggs. Said Abayi to him: But many times a man finds three eggs sufficient for a meal? Therefore said Abayi: As much as a young scholar partakes before he goes to hear the lecture.

The rabbis taught: One may eat a hasty meal outside of the Succah, but one must not take a nap outside. Why so? Said R. Ashi: As a precautionary measure, lest he fall profoundly asleep for the whole night. Said Abayi to him: If it is so, why does a Boraitha allow a man to take a nap with his tefilin on, but not to sleep long? Let it be apprehended lest he fall asleep? Said R. Joseph bar Ilai: This is the case when he has engaged a man to wake him up. Rabha, however, said: There is no appointed time for sleeping; concerning the tefilin, it is for a different reason (as will be explained in Tract Benedictions). Rabh said: One must not sleep by day longer than a horse sleeps. How long is it? So as to be able to make sixty respirations. Said Abayi: My Master used to sleep by day as long as Rabh, and Rabh as Rabbi, and Rabbi as King David, and David slept as long as a horse. And how long is the sleep of a horse? Sixty respirations. Abayi himself sleeps as long as it would take to walk from Pompeditha to Be Kubi. Exclaimed R. Joseph about him the verse in Proverbs [vi. 9]: "How long, O sluggard, wilt thou lie down? When wilt thou arise out of thy sleep?"

MISHNA: It happened that a dish was brought to R. Johanan b. Zakai to taste, and two dates and a jar of water to Rabban Gamaliel. Each of them said: Bring it to the booth. But when food less than an egg was brought to R. Zadok, he took it in the napkin, and ate it outside of the booth, but did not pronounce the benediction after meals for it.

GEMARA: Is it customary to adduce an act as a contradiction to the former teaching of the Mishna above (which says a hasty meal may be eaten outside of the Succah)? The above Mishna is not completed, and must read so: If one wants to make it more rigorous for himself, he may do so, without it being said he is vain; and it also happened with R. Johanan b. Zakai and Rabban Gamaliel that a dish and dates were brought to them, and they said they should be carried to the Succah.

"And when food less than the size of an egg," etc. But if the size of a whole egg? Then the Succah is needed? Shall we assume that this will be an objection to the teaching of R. Joseph and Abayi (which states above, three eggs, or as much as a young scholar, which is at any rate not less than an egg)? Nay, it may be explained that if it would be of the size of an egg, the legal washing of hands before and benediction after the meal would be needed (but Succah would not be needed).

MISHNA: Fourteen meals must be eaten in the Succah, one in the morning and one at night (of each day of the festival), according to R. Eleazar; but the sages say it is not fixed by law, except that one must eat in the Succah on the first night. R. Eleazar said again: He who has not eaten on the first night can make amends for it by eating in the booth on the last night of the festival; but according to the sages no amends can be made, and they apply it to the verse [Eccl. 1:15]: "What is crooked cannot be made straight, and that which is defective cannot be numbered."

GEMARA: What is the reason of R. Eleazar? Because it is written: "Ye shall dwell." And as in a dwelling it is usually eaten in the morning and in the evening, so must it be done also in the Succah; but according to the sages, it is as a dwelling, where one eats or not, at his pleasure. If it is so, why is he bound to eat the first evening of the festival? Said R. Johanan in the name of R. Simeon b. Jehozodok: It is written here in the fifteenth, and about the Passover the word fifteen is written: there is an analogy of expression, as on Passover the first night must Matzah be eaten, and later it is optional, so on the first night of the Feast of Tabernacles it must be eaten in the Succah, and henceforth it is optional. But whence is it known that on Passover it is obligatory? Because it is written [Ex. 12:18]: "At evening shall ye eat unleavened bread." This verse makes it obligatory.

"R. Eliezer said again," etc. But did not R. Eliezer say that it is obligatory to eat fourteen meals in the Succah: every day one meal in the morning and in the evening? Said Bira in the name of R. Ami: R. Eliezer retracted what he had said. But with what shall he make amends? Shall he eat another meal? A man cannot eat more than he needs. With extra dishes for dessert. We have also learned in a Boraitha, if one makes amends with extra dishes, he has done his duty. The manager of the house of Agrippa the king asked R. Eliezer: I, for instance, who eat only one meal in twenty-four hours, may I do so in the Succah--eat one meal and fulfil my duty? And he answered him: Did you not make every day many dishes of delicacies for the sake of yourself, and can you not add one dish for the sake of your Creator? He asked him again: I, for example, who have two wives, one in Tiberia and one in Ziporeth, and have also two booths, one in Tiberia and one in Ziporeth, may I go from one Succah to the other, and my duty shall be fulfilled? And he answered: Nay, because I say who goes from one booth to another abolishes the religious duty he has done in the first.

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Eliezer said: One must not go out from one Succah to another (to eat in one and sleep in another), and a Succah must not be made in the intermediate days. The sages, however, say: Both may be done. All agree that if the Succah has fallen, he may rebuild it on the intermediate days. What is the reason of R. Eliezer? Because it is written [Deut. 16:13]: "Seven days shall ye hold the feast of tabernacles." From this we infer the Succah shall be made to be fit for seven days. The rabbis, however, explained this passage so: On the Feast of the Tabernacles ye shall make a booth (during the whole feast). They all agree that if the Succah falls, it may be rebuilt. Is not this self-evident? We might assume that the second Succah cannot be made for seven days, and therefore shall not be made at all. He comes to teach us that it is not so.

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Eliezer said: As a man cannot fulful his duty with a Lulab belonging to his neighbour on the first day, as it is written [Lev. 23:40]: "And ye shall take unto yourselves on the first day the fruit of the tree hadar, branches of palm trees," etc.--"unto yourselves," that means, your own, but not those belonging to your neighbour; so also a man cannot fulfil his duty in a Succah belonging to his neighbour, because it is written: "Seven days shalt thou make unto thee the feast of the tabernacles," and we infer from "for thee" it shall be thy own. The sages, however, said: Although it was said that a man cannot fulfil his duty with the Lulab of his neighbour, he may nevertheless do his duty of Succah in the neighbour's Succah, because it is written [ibid.]: "All that are Israelites born shall dwell in booths." From this we learn that all Israelites may sit in one Succah. But how will the sages account for the expression "unto thee"? They say it is to exclude a robbed Succah, but a borrowed Succah may be used.

The rabbis taught: It happened once to R. Ilai that he came to see R. Eliezer his Master in the city of Lud on the festival; and the latter said to him: Ilai, thou art not of those who rest on the festival, because R. Eliezer used to say: I praise the sluggards, who do not go out on the festival from the house, because it is written [Deut. 14:26]: "Thou shalt rejoice, thou and thy household." This is not so: did not R. Itz'hak say: Whence do we know that a man must visit his teacher on the festival? Because it is written [2 Kings, 4:23]: "Wherefore art thou going to him to-day? It is neither new moon nor Sabbath?" From this we may infer that on a new moon and a Sabbath it is obligatory to visit one's Master? It presents no difficulty: If one's Master is in the same city, where one can go and return the same day, he must; but not otherwise.

The rabbis taught: It happened once that R. Eliezer took his rest in the booth of Johanan bar Ilai in the city of Kisri, of Upper Galilea, according to others in Kisrion, and the sun reached the Succah. And the host asked R. Eliezer: Shall I spread a sheet on it? And he answered: There was not one tribe of Israel from which a judge did not descend. The sun reached the middle of the Succah, and he asked again: How if I should spread a sheet on it? And he answered: There was not one tribe of Israel from which prophets have not descended, and the tribes of Judah and Benjamin chose kings at the command of the prophets. Finally the sun reached R. Eliezer's feet, and Johanan took a sheet and spread it over the Succah; and R. Eliezer took his garments and shouldered them, and left the booth. This was not because he did not want to teach him the law, but because R. Eliezer never decided a thing which he had not heard from his Master. But how could R. Eliezer do this? Did he not himself declare that a man must not go out from one Succah to another? They answered: That was not on the Feast of Tabernacles at all; it was another festival, and they sat in the Succah only for fresh air. But did not R. Eliezer declare: I praise the sluggards who do not leave on a festival their houses? It was not on a festival; it was an ordinary Sabbath.

The rabbis taught: It happened with R. Eliezer that he took rest in Upper Galilea, and he was asked thirty Halakhoth about the law of Succah. To twelve he answered: So I have heard; and to eighteen he answered: I did not hear them. R. Jose b. R. Jehudah says: On the contrary, to eighteen he answered: I have heard; and to twelve: I have not heard. And they asked him: Are all your decisions only from what you have heard? He answered: You compelled me to tell you one thing which I had not heard from my Masters. That is, never in my life came a man to the house of learning before me and I never slept in the house of learning a long or a short time; I never left a man in the house of learning when I went away, and I never talk about worldly affairs, and I never decided a thing which I had not heard from my Masters.

It was said of R. Johanan b. Zakai: Never in his life did he talk of worldly affairs; he never walked four ells without studying the Law and without tefilin; he was never anticipated by another in turning to the house of learning, and did not sleep in the house of learning even a short time; he did not teach about the Law in dirty alleys; he did not leave a man in the house of learning when he went away; he was never to be found silent, but always studying aloud, and never anybody opened the door for his disciples but himself; he never decided a thing he had not heard from his Master, and he never said it was time to go out of the house of learning except on the eves of Passover and on the eves of the Days of Atonement. And R. Eliezer his disciple conducted himself similarly.

The rabbis taught: Hillel the Elder had eighty disciples: thirty of them were worthy that the Shekhina should rest on them as on Moses our Master; thirty of them were worthy the sun should be stopped for their sake, as it did before Joshua the son of Nun, and twenty were mediocre. The greatest of all the disciples was Jonathan b. Uziel, the least of all was R. Johanan b. Zakai. It was said of the latter, that he did not leave out the Bible, the Mishna, the Gemara, Halakhoth, and Agadoth (legends), the observations of the Bible, observations of the Scribes, lenient ones and vigorous ones, the analogies of expression, equinoxes, geometries, the language of the angels and the language of the evil spirits and the language of the trees, the fables, the great things, the heavenly chariots and small things, the discussions of Abayi and Rabha, to confirm what is written [Prov. 8:21]: "That I may cause those that love me to inherit a lasting possession and their treasures will I fill." And when the least of all was so, how much the more was the greatest of all. It was said of Jonathan b. Uziel, that when he studied the Law every bird that flew over him was burned.

MISHNA: If the head and greater part of a man's body is in the booth, and his table in the house, Beth Shammai say he has not fulfilled the duty of Succah, but Beth Hillel say he has. Said Beth Hillel to Beth Shammai: Did it not happen that the elders of Beth Shammai and those of Beth Hillel visited R. Johanan b. Hahoronith, and found him sitting with his head and greater part of his body in the booth, and his table was in the house? and they said to him nothing. Beth Shammai replied: Do you adduce this as a proof? They said to him: If such has always been your custom, you have never in your life properly fulfilled the duty of Succah.

Women, slaves, and minors are exempt from the Succah. A boy that needs no longer the nursing of his mother must obey the command of Succah. It happened that the daughter-in-law of Shammai the Elder gave birth to a son on the festival, so he caused the roof to be taken off, and covered it as a Succah for the sake of the infant.

GEMARA: Whence is all this deduced? From what the rabbis taught: The verse could say Ezrah ("an Israelite born"). That would include the women. But it is written Ha'ezrah, "the Israelites born," which means the certain Israelites, and to exclude women. And by the word "all" it is meant to include minors. Shall we assume that the expression "Israelites born" includes women also? Did not we learn in a Boraitha (concerning the Day of Atonement), where it is written, "the Israelite born," which means to include women, for whom it is as obligatory to fast as for males? From this we see that when it is written, "Israelites born," only males are meant? Said Rabha: That is not deduced from the passages, but it is all Sinaic, and the passages were taken as a support. But which passage, and which Sinaic law? And, again, to what purpose was a verse or a Sinaic law needed at all? Is not the Succah a commandment dependent on a certain season, and from all

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commands depending on certain seasons women are free? This is concerning Succah; and concerning the Day of Atonement this is deduced from what R. Jehudah says in the name of Rabh; and so also taught the disciples of R. Ishmael. It is written [Num. v. 6]: "If any man or woman commit a sin." From this we see that the verse made the man and the woman equal in all penalties of the Torah. Said Abayi: That a woman is exempt from the Succah is a Sinaic law, and nevertheless this support of a verse was needed, because one might say it is written, "Ye shall dwell"; and as in a dwelling are usually a man and wife, we might think that in the Succah there should also be a man and wife, it comes to teach us that it is not so. Rabha said: It is needed lest one say, by an analogy of expression, it is written about Passover on the fifteenth, and here, as on Passover, it is obligatory for women, so it is also on the Feast of Tabernacles, it comes to teach us that it is not so. Now, when you say there is a Sinaic law, why is the passage needed? It comes to include the proselytes; one might say the Israelites born, but not a proselyte, we are taught that they also are included. But the Day of Atonement, that is inferred from the above saying of R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh. Why is the Sinaic law here needed? This is needed for the addition to the Day of Atonement from the preceding day, which is biblical, but has no capital punishment. One might say that because the addition has no punishment, the women are exempt; the Sinaic law comes to say it is not so.

The Master says: All, to include the minors. But have we not learned in our Mishna, that women, slaves, minors, are free from Succah? This presents no difficulty: The Mishna means a case in which the minor is not yet old enough to be trained in a religious duty, and the Boraitha means a case of a minor old enough for that. But in case of a minor who has reached such an age, the duty is only rabbinical? Yea, the passage is taken only as a support.

"A minor that needs not the nursing of his mother." What is meant by this? A minor who can obey the call of nature without the aid of his mother. So said the disciples of R. Yanai. But Resh Lakish said: A child that on awakening does not cry: Mother! mother!

"It happened that the daughter-in-law of Shammai," etc. Is not this act a contradiction to the former teaching? The Mishna is not completed. It must be read so: "And Shammai the Elder is more rigorous, and it happened also that his daughter-in-law gave birth to a son, so he caused the roof to be removed, and covered it as a Succah for the sake of the infant."

MISHNA: During the seven days of the festival one must use the booth as the regular domicile, and the house only as an occasional abode. If it rains, when is he permitted to remove from the Succah? When a mess of porridge has been spoiled. The elders illustrate this by a comparison: What does such a circumstance resemble? As if a servant presented a goblet to his master, who throws a bowl full in his face.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: All the seven days one must use the booth as one's regular domicile. How so? If he has fine utensils, he shall place them in the Succah; if he has fine bedding, he should transfer it to the Succah; and he should eat, and drink, and walk only in the Succah. Whence is this deduced? From what the rabbis taught: It is written: "Ye shall dwell"; it means, it shall be as a regular dwelling, and from this was deduced that all the seven days one shall make the Succah his regular dwelling, and his house a temporary one. He shall eat, drink, and study in the Succah. Is it so? Did not Rabha say that only to read the Bible and to learn a Mishna one may in the Succah, but study one may not? This presents no difficulty. The Boraitha means to repeat what he had studied already, and Rabha--to study something new, as Rabha and Rami, while studying under R. Hisda, used to repeat his lecture among themselves first, and afterwards tried to find out the reasons of it. Rabha said: The vessels for drinking shall be kept in the Succah; but the vessels for eating, outside. A pitcher of clay, outside of the Succah, a candlestick of clay in the Succah, and according to others, outside, and they do not differ; it means, in a large Succah it may; in a small one, it may not, because it is dangerous.

"If it rains." We have learned in a Boraitha: When a mess of gris is spoiled (which is spoiled easily).

Abayi was sitting in the presence of R. Joseph in the Succah, and a wind blew the chips from the covering into the dish, and R. Joseph said: Take off the dishes, and we will go out. Said Abayi to him: Have we not learned in the Mishna: Till the porridge is spoiled? And he answered: As I am delicate, the chips do me as great harm.

The rabbis taught: If one ate in the Succah and rain fell, and he went away and took his meal in the house, when it clears again we do not trouble him to interrupt his meal, and to go back to the Succah. If he was sleeping in the Succah and it rained, and he went away to sleep in the house, he is not aroused when it clears again, till the next morning.

"What does such a circumstance resemble?" The schoolmen asked: What is meant by this? Come and hear. We have learned in a Boraitha: As if the master threw the pitcher into the servant's face, and said to him: I do not want your service more.

The rabbis taught: An eclipse of the sun is an ill omen to the whole world. What does this resemble? A human king making a banquet for his servants, and placing a great lantern before them, when he gets angry he says to his servant: Take away the light, let them sit in the dark.

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Meir said: When the sun and the moon are eclipsed, it is a bad sign to the enemies of the Israelites (meaning, the Israelites themselves), because they are used to troubles: it is equal to the teacher's coming to the school with his whip in his hand. Who is more afraid? The child used to being beaten. This is the case when Israel do not do the will of the Creator; but when they do, they need not fear anything, as it is written [Jeremiah, 10:82]: "Thus hath said the Lord: Do not habituate yourselves in the way of the nations, and at the signs of the heavens be ye not dismayed; although the nations should be dismayed at them."

The rabbis taught: On account of the following four things the sun becomes eclipsed: When a chief judge dies, and is not lamented becomingly; when a betrothed virgin calls for help in the town, and is not aided; unnatural vice; when two brothers are killed on the same day; and on account of the following four things both the sun and the moon are eclipsed: Forgery, false witness, when fruit-bearing trees are cut out, and when sheep and goats are kept in Palestine. On account of four things the property of householders is transferred (confiscated) to the government: When paid notes are kept; usury; and when men had the power to prevent, but would not; and when charity was promised to the people, and was not given. Rabh said: For four things the property of householders becomes annihilated: When they keep workers, and do not pay them in time; for robbing them; when the strangers free themselves from the yokes on their necks and put them on their neighbours' necks; and for arrogance. And arrogance is the worst of all. But of those who are modest is written [Ps. xxxvii. 11]: "But the meek shall inherit the land, and shall delight themselves because of the abundance of peace."

CHAPTER 3.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING PALM BRANCHES, MYRTLES, WILLOWS, AND CITRONS USED ON THE FIRST DAY OF THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES.

MISHNA: A palm branch 1 which has been acquired by theft, or which is dried, is not valid. One which comes from a grove (devoted to idolatry) or from a rejected town 2 is not valid; if the point has been broken off, or the leaves torn off, it is not valid; if they are only dissevered, it is valid. R. Jehudah says: It must be tied together at the top. A palm branch from the Iron Mount 3 is valid. A palm branch that is three spans long, sufficient to shake it by, is valid.

GEMARA: The Mishna does not mention on which day it is valid, and on which not; and from this we can infer that it is invalid even for the second day. This would be right only in case of a dried one, because it is written hadar, which means "beauty," which a dried one has not; but a robbed one--that is prohibited only because it must be his own, as stated above (p. 34)--but on the second day, which is wholly rabbinical, why should it be invalid? Said R. Johanan in the name of R. Simeon b. Jochi: Because it is a religious duty that is performed by a sin. R. Johanan said again in the name of the same authority: It is written [Is. lxi. 8]: "For I, the Lord, love justice: I hate robbery with burnt-offering." It resembles a human king who passed the custom-house and said to his servants: "Pay the duty to the officers"; and the servants said to him: "Why shall we give duties? All the duties are thine"; and he said: "All passengers shall learn it from me, and shall not shirk to pay their duty." So the Holy One, blessed be He, said: "I, the Lord, hate robbery with a burnt-offering of me shall my children learn, and avoid robbery."

It was taught also in the name of R. Ami: A withered one is invalid, because it has no beauty; and a robbed one is invalid, because it is a religious duty done by a sin.

R. Huna said to the sellers of the myrtles: If you buy myrtles from the heathen, do not cut them off yourselves, but let themselves cut off, and give them to you. Why so? Because most heathen have robbed the ground from the Israelites, and the robber is not considered the owner of the ground, even when the original owner has despaired of it (but the law is different about movable property). And therefore, if you will cut off yourselves, that will be as taking a robbed thing; but when they cut off, and as the original owners have despaired, the cut-off myrtle boughs become theirs, and you may buy them.

The rabbis taught: A robbed Succah or a roof made in a public street, R. Eliezer makes invalid, but the sages make it valid. Said R. Na'hman: They differ only when the ground on which the Succah is built belongs to his neighbour, and he put out the neighbour and took the Succah to himself. This is according to R. Eliezer's theory, who said that one cannot fulfil his duty in his neighbour's Succah. It is invalid in any case. According to those who say that the robber of ground is considered the owner of it, after the original owner has despaired, it is a robbed Succah; and even according to those who say that he can never become the owner of the ground, it is nevertheless a borrowed Succah (because it is not a robbed one). But the sages hold to their theory that one can fulfil his duty in a borrowed Succah, and also that ground cannot be robbed; therefore it is valid, because it is considered as a borrowed Succah. But if one has robbed wood, and made a roof, according to all, the owner of the wood has only to claim his money, but the wood becomes the property of the robber, and the Succah is valid. And he infers this from the expression of the Mishna, "a robbed Succah or a roof made in public ground," as in the latter case the ground was certainly not his, so also the robbed Succah means, that the ground was also not his and he has robbed it.

It happened once that an old woman came to R. Na'hman and said: The exilarch, and all the sages of the house of the exilarch, are sitting in a robbed Succah. She complained, but he did not answer her. Said she again: A woman whose father had three hundred and eighteen slaves complains before you, and you do not pay attention. R. Na'hman said to the sages: The woman is only a prattler: she has to claim only the money for the wood that has been taken for the use of the Succah.

Rabhina said: If a beam of the roof of a Succah has been robbed, the sages have arranged that only money for it should be returned to the owner, and not the beam itself. Is this not self-evident? What is the difference between a beam and wood, as just mentioned above? One might say wood can be found in any place, and one can buy it for the money; but a beam, which is not so common, should be returned. They come to teach us that during the seven days of the festival, one can lay claim only to money, but after the festival it must be returned, provided one has not attached it with clay; but if one has, even after the seven days only the money shall be given.

We have learned in a Boraitha: A withered palm branch is invalid, but R. Jehudah makes it valid. Said Rabha: They differ only about a Lulab that is rabbinical. The sages hold that we compare a Lulab to a citron: as the citron must be beautiful, because it is written hadar (beauty), so the Lulab must be beautiful; and R. Jehudah does not hold this theory, and says that a Lulab need not be beautiful, but a withered citron, according to all, is invalid. Does R. Jehudah require that a citron shall be beautiful? Did we not learn in a Boraitha: The four kinds that are with the Lulab, as there must not be less, so nothing shall be added to them? If one did not find a citron, he cannot replace it with a lemon or a pomegranate, or anything else; and if they are withered they are valid, but if dried, then invalid. R. Jehudah, however, said: Even when dry, they are valid. And he says again: The inhabitants of great cities used to transmit their Lulabs to their grandchildren. And they answered him: This cannot prove, because the places where such things are rarities do not prove. Hence we see that R. Jehudah said that even dry ones are valid, and this includes also citrons? Nay, R. Jehudah meant only the Lulab when he said dry ones are valid.

The text says: "If he cannot find a citron, he shall not replace it with a lemon," etc. Is not this self-evident? One might say, he shall replace it with something, lest the command. of a citron should be forgotten: it comes to teach us that if it would be done so, the later generations might use such things forever. Come and hear: An old citron is invalid, but R. Jehudah says it is valid. Is this not a contradiction to the saying of Rabha 1 above, that R. Jehudah meant only the Lulab, and not a citron? Yea, it is a contradiction. But how can R. Jehudah say that an old one is valid? is it not written hadar (beautiful)? R. Jehudah explains the word hadar 1 not to mean "beauty," but "dwelling"; that means, a fruit which dwells on its tree the whole year.

"If the point was broken off." Said R. Huna: If it is broken off; but if it is only split, it is valid. But have we not learned in a Boraitha: A bristly Lulab or one crooked like a scythe, a split one, a hardened one, is invalid. But if it seems hardened, and in reality is not, it is valid. Hence we see that a split one is also invalid? Said R. Papa: By "split" is here meant one growing as a fork, into two different directions. "Crooked like a scythe," said Rabha; "that is only if it is bent forward, but if backward it is natural, and it is valid." Said R. Na'hman: If bent sideways, it is as if forward. According to others, R. Na'hman says it is as if bent backward. Rabha said again: A Lulab that has all the leaves on one side, and on the other side none at all, is blemished and is invalid.

"If the leaves were torn off." Said R. Papa: By torn off is meant that it is made like a broom. What is meant by dissevered? When the leaves grow as branches of a tree, in different directions.

R. Papa put a question: If the "twins" of the Lulab are divided, how is the law (the double leaves on a palm branch are called "twins")? Come and hear: R. Mathun in the name of R. Joshuah b. Levi said: If the "twins" are divided, it is as if the leaves were torn off, and it is invalid.

"R. Jehudah says," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jehudah said in the name of R. Tarphon: The expression "branches of palm trees" is Kapoth Tmarim. As the word kapoth signifies in Aramaic "bound," "tied," if the Lulab was separated, it must be tied together. Said Rabhina to R. Ashi: How is it known that by Kapoth Tmarim is meant a young Lulab that has been the first year on the tree? Perhaps the

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branches are meant when they are two or three years old, when the leaves spread on all sides? We require that they shall be tied together, and in that case they cannot be tied at all.

"A Lulab from the Iron Mount." Said Abayi The case is only when the top of one reaches the lower part of the one that grows over it; but if not, they are invalid.

"A Lulab three spans long." Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: The prescribed size for a myrtle bough and willow is three spans, and of the Lulab four, so that the Lulab shall be one span higher than the myrtle bough and willow when they are tied, R. Parnach in the name of R. Johanan said: (Not the leaves, but) the back of the Lulab, should be one span higher. Come and hear: The prescribed size of a myrtle bough and willow is three spans, of a Lulab four spans: is it not meant with the leaves? Nay, it is meant, besides the leaves. The Boraitha says farther on: R. Tarphon says: It shall be measured with an ell of five spans. Said Rabha: May the Lord forgive R. Tarphon for such teaching: A myrtle bough of three spans is not to be found, and he calls for a myrtle bough of the length of five spans. When Rabbin came from Palestine, he said that R. Tarphon meant to say so: An ell which was five spans, consider it as if it was six spans, and three spans of this take off for the myrtle bough, and the remainder, which is about two and a half, for the Lulab. If it is so, then it is a contradiction to Samuel, for according to R. Tarphon the myrtle bough would be only two and a half spans, and Samuel said it must be three spans? Samuel was not particular in his decision, and said more rigorously, three. But, nevertheless, R. Huna says in his name that the Halakha prevails according to R. Tarphon.

MISHNA: A myrtle bough which has been acquired by theft, or which is dry, is not valid. One which comes from a grove or from a rejected town is invalid. If the tip has been broken off, or the leaves torn off, or if one has on it more berries than leaves, it is invalid; if the berries are diminished in number it becomes valid, but this must not be done on the festival. A willow of the brook, which has been acquired by theft, or which is dry, is invalid. One which comes from a grove, or a rejected town, is not valid. If the point has been broken off, or the leaves torn off, or if it be a Tzaphtzapha, 1 it is invalid. One which is faded, or from which some leaves have dropped off, or which has grown on dry ground (not near a bank), is valid.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: It is written: "Boughs of the myrtle tree"; that is, a tree whose branches cover the whole tree, and this is only a myrtle tree. Rabha said: We take a myrtle bough because it is written [Zechariah, viii. 19]: "Only love ye the truth and peace" (as a myrtle is an emblem of peace and love, therefore we take it on the festival). 1

The rabbis taught: A branch that is twined like a chain, that is the myrtle. R. Eliezer b. Jacob says: It is written: "The branch of a twined tree." That means, a tree whose trunk and fruit have the same taste, and that is a myrtle. In a Boraitha we have learned: A branch that is twined, is valid; if not, it is invalid. What is meant by twined? Said R. Jehudah: On each stem are three leaves. R. Kahna however, says: Even if on one stem are two, and on the other one, it is also reckoned three. R. A'ha the son of Rabha was looking for a myrtle bough which had two and one and two and one because this has been announced by R. Kahna. Said Mar bar Amemar to R. Ashi: My father calls such a myrtle a wild myrtle.

The rabbis taught: If the greater number of leaves have dropped, and on three stems they remained, it is valid. The rabbis taught: If the greater part of the leaves on the bough have dried up and only three twigs, each containing three leaves, remained, it is valid. Said R. Hisda, provided that the remainder are on the top of each.

"If the tip has been broken off." Ulla bar Hinna taught: If the tip has been broken off, and in its place is a green fruit like a date (Rashi explains this, that on the top of a myrtle there happen to be green fruits, with which women paint their vails), it is valid. R. Jeremiah put a question: If the tip had been broken off on the eve of the festival, and this green fruit grew up on the festival, how is the law? Shall it be said that, because it was not fit on the eve, it has been rejected, and cannot be used any more; or, the law of rejecting does not apply to religious duties? This question is not decided. Shall we assume that this is a point of difference between the following Tanaim: We have learned: If one has transgressed, and cut off the berries on the festival, it is invalid, according to R. Elazer b. R. Zodok; but according to the sages it is valid? Must we not assume that he who says it is invalid does it because he holds the law of rejecting applies to religious duties, and as this branch with the berries was rejected on the eve of the festival, it was rejected for the whole festival, and he who says it is valid does so because he holds that the law of rejecting does not apply to religious duties? Nay, all agree that the law of rejecting applies to the positive commandments of religious duties, but in this case they differ whether a Lulab must be tied or not, as on this point differ the Tanaim of the following Boraitha: A Lulab, whether tied or not, is valid. R. Jehudah, however, said: A tied one is valid; if not, it is invalid. What is the reason of R. Jehudah? He infers it from an analogy of expression. It is written here [Lev. 23:40]: "Ye shall take unto yourselves on the first day," and [in Ex. 12:22] "and ye shall take a bunch of hyssop"; as there it is plainly written a bunch, so also here it must be tied as a bunch, and the sages do not take into consideration this analogy of expression. 1

"If one has more berries on it than leaves." R. Hisda said: The following thing said our great rabbi (i.e., Rabh), and the Lord come to his help: The case is only if it was in one place, but if the berries were in two or three places, then it is valid. Said Rabha to him: If it was in two or three places, it seems spotted, and it is invalid? Therefore if such a thing was taught, it was taught thus, said R. Hisda: The following thing our great rabbi said, and may God come to his help: The case is only when the berries were black; but if they were green, they are the same as the myrtle bough, and it is valid.

"If they have been diminished in number," etc. They have been diminished in number when? If before it was tied, it is self-evident, and if after it was tied, then it was rejected for the festival, and how made good? Infer from this that the law of rejecting does not apply to religious duties! Nay, we can say that the case is even after it had been tied, but the Tana of the Mishna holds that the tying is not considered a construction, but only a preparation, and does not therefore count it.

The rabbis taught: They must not be diminished in number on the festival. In the name of R. Eliezer bar Simeon, however, it was said: It maybe done. But is not this like repairing a utensil on the festival? Said R. Ashi: R. Eliezer means to say, that if he took off the berries for the purpose of eating, and he holds as his father, that a thing which was done unintentionally is allowed.

The rabbis taught: If the binding of the Lulab was loosened on the festival, one shall tie it as he usually ties a bundle of herbs. Why? Let him tie it into a loop (not a knot). That is according to R. Jehudah, who said in Sabbath, that tying into a loop is like a knot, for either is culpable. But according to R. Jehudah the Lulab must be tied not as a bundle of herbs, but in a good knot? This Tana holds as R. Jehudah in one thing, and differs from him in the other.

"A willow of the brook," etc. The rabbis taught: It is written "A willow of the brook." That means, they usually grow near every brook. According to others, the willow of the brook means that it has leaves smooth as a brook. In another Boraitha we have learned: The willows of the brook! Whence do we deduce that willows from dry ground and mountains are valid? It is written "willows," in the plural: all are included. Abba Shaul, however, said: The plural signifies that two are needed: one for the Lulab and one for the Temple. And whence do the rabbis deduce that One for the Temple? They hold it is Sinaic (as will be explained farther on).

The rabbis taught: Willows of the brook, that grow only at brooks; but the Tzaphtzapha, which grows only between mountains, is excepted.

The rabbis taught: How can we recognise what is a willow and what is a Tzaphtzapha? The willow's stem is red, with the leaves elongated and their edges smooth. But a Tzaphtzapha has the stem white, and the leaves round, and their edges like a scythe. But have we not learned, if it is like a scythe, it is valid, and when like a saw it is invalid? Said Abayi: This we learned of the willows of Hilpha Gila: they are valid. Abayi said again: We may infer from this that the same willows may be used for the seventh day when Hosha'noth are used. Is not this self-evident? One would say that because the willows of Hilpha Gila have an additional name, they are not valid, he comes to teach that it is not so. But perhaps it is so? Because it is written in the plural, all are included.

MISHNA: R. Ishmael says: Three myrtle boughs, two willows, one palm branch, and one citron are needed. If two out of the three myrtle boughs had the tips broken off, they may be used. R. Tarphon says: Even if all three should have the tips broken off. R. Aqiba says-: As one Lulab and one citron are needed, so are only one myrtle bough and one willow needed.

GEMARA: We have learned in a Boraitha,: It is written: The fruit of the tree hadar," in the singular. one fruit; "a branch of a palm tree," in the singular, 1 one branch; "boughs of the myrtle tree, "in the plural, three; and "willows of the brook," also in the plural, two. And even if two had the tips broken off, it is valid. R. Tarphon, however, said: Three are needed; and if all the tips are broken off, it does not matter. R. Aqiba said: As the Lulab and the citron are only one, so of the myrtle boughs and the willows is needed only one. Said R. Eliezer to him: According to thee, the citron must be tied together with the Lulab? And he answered: Did the verse say: "The fruit of the tree hadar and a branch of a palm tree"? It mentions them separately. If so, whence do we know that one depends upon the other? Because it is written: "Ye shall take." That means, you shall take all things that are enumerated, and not one without the other. How shall we imagine the case, according to R. Ishmael? If all kinds have to be entire, why are the myrtle boughs allowed if they are broken? And if it is not required that they should be entire, let even the other kinds, if broken, be used? Said Birah in the name of R. Ammi: R. Ishmael retracted this decision. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: The Halakha prevails according to R. Tarphon, and Samuel said this according to his theory, because he said to the sellers of the myrtles: Make the price lower, and if you will not do so, I will lecture that the Halakha prevails according to R. Tarphon. Let him then lecture according to R. Aqiba, who is more lenient, and says only one is needed? Three with the tips broken are more easily procurable than one uninjured.

MISHNA: A citron which has been robbed, or is withered, is invalid. One coming from a grove or a rejected town is invalid. One taken off a tree less than three years old 1 is not valid. Nor one taken from heave-offering that is unclean. From clean heave-offering a man is not to take a citron; but if he has taken, he has fulfilled his duty. One taken from Demai (fruit from which it is doubtful whether the legal dues have been paid) Beth Shammai hold invalid, but Beth Hillel hold it valid. A man is not to take a citron from second tithe in Jerusalem; but if he has taken one, he has done his duty. If a stain spread over the greater portion of the citron, if it has lost its crown, or the fine rind has been peeled off, or if it is split, or perforated, if ever so little thereof is wanting, it is not valid. If, however, the stain is spread over the smaller portion of the citron, if it has lost its stalk, or if that be perforated (but the citron itself is entire) so that no part, however small, be wanting, it is valid. A dark-coloured one is invalid, a leek-green one R. Meir pronounces valid, but R. Jehudah invalid.

The minimum size of a small citron, R. Meir says, is like a nut; R. Jehudah says, like an egg; and of a large citron, that one can hold two in one hand. So is the decree of R. Jehudah; but R. Jose says, even one must be taken with both hands.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: The fruit of the tree hadar; that is, a tree whose wood and fruit have the same taste, and that is a citron. Perhaps it is pepper, as we learn in the following Boraitha: R. Meir used to say: Because it is written [Lev. 19:23]: "Plant any kind of tree, bearing edible fruit." Why was it needed to say, a tree bearing edible fruit? Is it not self-evident that if it is bearing fruit it is edible? From this we infer that to pepper, whose wood and fruit have the same taste, the law of Arlah applies. And in the land of Israel nothing is lacking (even pepper), as it is written [Deut. 8:9]: "A land . . . wherein thou shalt not lack anything"? Because it is impossible: how shall we do? Shall we take one pepper-grain, that will not be noticed at all, many of them; the law says one, not two or three; and therefore it cannot be. R. Abahu says: Do not read hadar, but ha-dar; that is, a thing that dwells on its tree the whole year. Ben Azzai said: Do not read hadar, but adur, because in Greek they call water ὕδωρ, and that means a tree which can grow in all waters, and that is only a citron.

"One that comes from a grove," etc. Because it must be burned, and therefore it is considered to have no size.

"From a tree less than three years," etc. Why so? R. Hiya bar Abbin and R. Assi differed: one says, because it is not allowed to eat it, it must not be used either; and one says, because at that time it is worth nothing (because it must not be used for any purpose).

R. Assi said: With a citron of second tithe, according to R. Meir, a man cannot fulfil his duty; but according to the sages, he can. The same is the case with Matzah of second tithe. And dough of second tithe, according to R. Meir, is exempt from Halah, and according to the sages, is not.

"From unclean heave-offering." Because it is not allowed to eat it. And from clean heave-offering? "One shall not take," etc. R. Ami and R. Assi differ: one says, because he makes it subject to defilement, and one says, because he spoils it (because, when he holds it in the hand, it gets black, and is spoiled).

"But if he has taken, it is valid." According to those who say that it must not be taken, because it is not allowed to be eaten, this law is according to all; and according to those who say because it has no value, this Mishna is only in accordance with the rabbis.

"From Demai." What is the reason of Beth Hillel? Because if one wishes, he can relinquish his estates, and then he would be poor, and he would be allowed to eat it; therefore now also we consider it proper.

"If a stain," etc. Said R. Hisda: The following thing our great rabbi said, may the Lord come to his help: The case is only when it is in one place (of the citron), but if it is in two or more places, it is like a spotted one, and is invalid. Said Rabha: On its top, even if it is but trifling, it is invalid.

"Its crown," etc. R. Itz'hak b. Elazar taught: The crown, but not the stalk at the bottom.

"Peeled off," etc. Said Rabha: If a citron has been peeled, and gets the colour of a red date, it is valid. But did we not learn in our Mishna that if peeled, it is invalid? It presents no difficulty. If it was in part peeled off, it is like a spotted one, and invalid; but if entirely peeled, it is valid.

"Split or perforated," etc. Ulla bar Hanina taught: When it is perforated through and through, even if it is trifling, it is invalid; but otherwise, then if the hole is of the size of an Isar (a coin), it is also invalid, but if less it is valid.

A citron that is swollen, ill-smelling, soaked, boiled, black or white, or spotted, is invalid. A citron round as a sphere (not elliptical) is invalid. According to some, twins (two

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growing together) are also invalid. An unripe citron R. Aqiba makes invalid, and the sages do not. If it was made to grow in a mould, and it came out of an irregular shape, it is invalid.

It was taught: "A citron that mice have perforated," said Rabh, "cannot be called beautiful."

"And of a large citron," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jose said it once happened to R. Aqiba that he came to a prayer-house with his citron, and it was so large that he brought it on his shoulder. Said R. Jehudah to him: It proves nothing, because the sages told him then: This cannot be considered beautiful,

MISHNA: The Lulab must only be tied with its own kind (threads of palm branches). So says R. Jehudah. But R. Meir says: It may be tied even with twine. R. Meir also said: It happened that the inhabitants of Jerusalem tied a Lulab with gold lace. But the sages answered: Yes, they did so, but beneath the gold lace they tied it with its own kind.

GEMARA: Said Rabha: With the bark or the root of the same tree it may be tied. And he says again: What is, the reason of R. Jehudah's decree? Because according to him the Lulab must not be used unless it is tied, and if it be tied with another kind, it should be five kinds, and not four. He says again: Whence do I deduce that the bark and the root of the palm tree are considered of the same kind as the Lulab itself? From the following Boraitha: It is written: "Ye shall dwell in booths." That signifies, a booth of any materials: so is the decree of R. Meir. R. Jehudah, however, said: A booth must be made only of the four kinds used for the Lulab. And it seems to me that such is right, because if a Lulab which is used only in the day, and not in the night, must have the four kinds only, for a Succah which is used both by day and by night, so much the more are the four kinds needed. Replied the sages to him: Every law which is at the beginning more rigorous, and is finally more lenient, is no law at all. And our case, according to your opinion, if one did not find the four kinds, he should sit in his house, doing nothing; and the Torah says: "Seven days ye shall dwell in booths." Therefore we say a Succah should be made of any materials. And so it is written in Nehemiah, viii. 15: "Go forth unto the mountain and fetch olive leaves, and oleaster leaves, and myrtle leaves, and palm leaves, and leaves of the three-leaved myrtle to make booths." R. Jehudah, however, explains this verse thus: That olive leaves and oleaster leaves are for the walls of the Succah, and myrtle leaves, etc., are for the covering. And we have learned in a previous Mishna: It may be roofed with boards, so is the decree of R. Jehudah. Hence we see that, although R. Jehudah requires only the four kinds for the covering, nevertheless, if one has covered it with boards, it is valid, because the boards of the bark and of the roots of the same tree are considered by him of the same kind. But have we not learned in a Boraitha that if one has covered it with boards of cedar, it is valid according to R. Jehudah? By cedar is also Meant myrtle, as Rabha bar R. Huna says elsewhere: There are ten kinds of cedar, and the myrtle is among them, as it is written [Is. xli. 19]: "I will place in the wilderness the cedar, the acacia, the myrtle."

Said Rabba to the men who tied the Hosha'noth for the exilarch When you tie them, leave the breadth of a hand at the bottom there shall be no intervention between the hand and the Hosha'na. 1 Said Rabha: All that was made to beautify it, does not intervene. Rabba says again: A man shall not hold the Hosha'na through a cloth, because it is written: "Ye shall take," with your own hands. Rabha, however, said: Even if one takes it through another thing, it is still called taking. Rabba says again: After the Hosha'na and the myrtle bough have been tied, one shall not insert the Lulab, lest some leaves be torn off from them, and they will be an intervention between the Lulab and them. Rabba, however, said: A thing of the same kind makes no intervention.

Rabba says again: A myrtle bough used for the religious purpose may not be smelled, but a citron may. Why so? Because the myrtle is only used because of its odor, and as it has been designated for a religious purpose, it must not be smelled; but a citron, which is made for eating, has been designated only for eating, and may be smelled. The same authority says again: A myrtle attached to the ground may be smelled on the festival, but a citron must not. Why so? Because a myrtle, which is used only for smelling, if one will be allowed to smell it, when yet attached to the ground, he will not cut off; but a citron, which is for eating, if he will be allowed to smell, he will cut off, and eat. He says again: The Lulab must be held in the right hand, and the citron in the left hand. Why so? Because by the Lulab three duties are performed, and by the citron only one.

Said R. Jeremiah to R.. Zrika: Why do we pronounce the benediction over the Lulab only? Because it is higher than the other kinds. But let one raise the citron, and pronounce the benediction over it? And he answered: Because by nature it grows higher than the other kinds..

MISHNA: When must the Lulab be shaken? At the verse: "Praise ye the Lord" (in the prayer), at the beginning and ending (of that part of the prayer), and at the verse: "O Lord, we beseech thee, save us": so is the decree of Beth Hillel. But Beth Shammai hold, also at the verse: "O Lord, we beseech thee, prosper us." R. Aqiba said: I watched Rabban Gamaliel and R. Joshuah (in the time of prayer), and I saw while all men shook the Lulabs at both the above-mentioned verses, they shook theirs only at: "O Lord," etc., "save us."

GEMARA: Where is it mentioned that it should be shaken? In the first Mishna of this chapter: it teaches, a Lulab which is three spans long "sufficient to shake it by"; and now it is asked, When shall it be shaken? Said R. Johanan: The shaking shall be towards all four sides--to the Creator, that all the sides are His; and it shall be raised and lowered to Him to whom the heaven and the earth belong. In the West they taught so: R. Hama bar Uqba in the name of R. Jose bar Hanina said: He shall shake towards all sides, to prevent bad winds; and up and down, to prevent bad dews.

MISHNA: If one is on the road, and has no Lulab, he must, when he gets home, shake it before his meal. If he has not done it in the morning, he must do it toward evening, as the duty may be done during the whole day.

If a slave, woman, or minor reads hallel (see Pesachim, Chap. 10.) to a man, he should repeat after them word for word, but it is a disgrace to him (not to have learned to read). If a grown man reads to him, he only responds "Hallelujah." At the places where certain verses are said twice, he is to do so. Where they are recited once, he must do so. Where a benediction is said after the Lulab, he must say it. In every case he must do as is the custom of the country.

GEMARA: Rabha said: Great Halakhoth can be inferred from the custom of saying Hallel: From the custom of our time, when almost all men can read the Hallel themselves, nevertheless they repeat the beginnings of the chapters after the reader, we may infer what are the essential portions of Hallel, and how it was done in the ancient times, when the people could not read themselves, and a man was wanted to read it, for them to repeat after him. The Mishna says: He responds "Hallelujah." From this we see that Hallelujah is of the essential portions which must be responded. We see also in our time, when the reader begins: "Praise, O ye servants of the Lord," and the people respond, "Hallelujah," we may infer that if a grown man is the reader of the Hallel, it is sufficient for the hearer to respond "Hallelujah," and not to repeat the whole chapter (part of the prayer). From what we see, that when the reader says, "Praise ye the Lord," they also repeat, "Praise ye the Lord," we infer that it is a merit to repeat the first verses of the chapter.

[It was also taught: R. Hanan bar Rabha said: It is a merit to repeat the first verses of the chapter.] When the reader says: "O Lord, save us," they should repeat it. If the reader is a minor, however, one must repeat after him word for word. When he says: "O Lord, prosper us," they repeat it, and from this we see that if one wishes to say it twice, he may do so. When he says, "Blessed be he that cometh," they respond, "in the name of the Lord." From this we see that he who listens to the prayer is equal to him who himself repeats it.

R. Hiya bar Abba was asked: If one has listened to the prayer, and not responded, how is the law? And he answered: The sages, the scribes, the heads of the people, the preachers, all have decided that he who has listened, and not answered, has fulfilled his duty.

"At the places where verses are said twice," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: Rabbi used to say twice in the Hallel same parts. R. Elazar b. Parta has added parts to the same prayer. What is meant by "added"? Said Abayi: He added the manner of saying twice every verse from the 21st verse of Psalm cxviii. to the end of that psalm.

"When it is the custom to say a benediction," etc. Said Abayi, that is only at the end of the Hallel; but before, it is not a custom, but obligatory. As R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel: All the religious duties must have a benediction pronounced before they are performed.

MISHNA: If one buys a Lulab from a man of the common people in a Sabbatical year, he shall ask of him that the citron shall be given to him as a gift, because it is not allowed to buy a citron in the Sabbatical year.

GEMARA: But how is the law if the seller does not want to give him this as a gift? Said R. Huna: He shall include the price of the citron in the price for the Lulab. Why? Let him give it to him publicly? Because one must not give money for fruits forbidden to be sold on the Sabbatical year to a man of the common people. As we have learned in a Boraitha: One must not give money for fruit on the Sabbatical year to a man of the common people more than is sufficient for three meals; and if one has done it, he shall say: This money that I give to this man shall be exchanged for the fruit which I have in my house, and after that he uses the fruit which he has had in the house only for purposes for which fruit of the Sabbatical year may be used. When is that the case? When he saw that the man sold to him fruit from a field left to the public, which had no owner; but if he sold it from his own field, one must not buy even for half an isar. If it is so, why only the citron? What is the case with the palm branch? The Lulab cannot be of the Sabbatical year, because it had been ripe on the sixth year. But the same is the case with the citron? In case of a citron, it is not counted from the time of its ripeness, but its removal from the tree (as is explained in Tract Rosh Hashana, p. 19). But we know that according to both R. Gamaliel and R. Eliezer, in reference to the Sabbatical year, in case of the citron it is counted from the time of its budding. As we have learned in the following Mishna: The citron is equal to a tree in three respects, and to herbs in one respect--to a tree in three respects, to wit: Of arla (the first three years), rebai (the fourth year) [Lev. 19:22-24], and of the Sabbatical year, in reference to which it is counted from the time of its budding; and to a herb in one respect, that it must be tithed when it is gathered (i.e., the tithe must be used for the purpose of that year). So is the decree of Rabban Gamaliel. R. Eliezer, however, said: A citron is equal to a tree in all respects (hence we see that all agree that in reference to the Sabbatical year it is counted in case of the citron from the time of its ripeness, not of its budding). The Tana of our Mishna holds as the Tana of the following Boraitha: R. Jose said: Abtulmus testified in the name of five elders, thus: The citron must be counted from the time when it is gathered for tithe. Our Masters, however, have voted and decided in the city of Usha that in reference both to tithe and Sabbatical year it is to be counted from the time of its gathering. But where is here mentioned the Sabbatical year? The Boraitha is not completed, and must read thus: The citron is counted when gathered in reference to tithe, and from budding in reference to the Sabbatical Year. Our Masters in Usha, however, have decided that in both cases it is counted from the time of the gathering.

R. Elazar said: The fruit of the Sabbatical year does not become exchanged, unless it is done in the manner of buying and selling. R. Johanan, however, said: It becomes exchanged even through exchanging. What is the reason of R. Elazar? Because it is written [Lev. xxv. 13]: "In this year of the jubilee," and the next verse says, "shall he sell," from this we infer, only through buying and selling. What is the reason of R. Johanan? Because it is written [ibid., ibid. 12]: "For it is the jubilee, holy shall it be unto you"; and as in case of all holiness there is no difference between selling and exchanging, the same is the case with the fruit of the Sabbatical year. We have learned in one Boraitha in accordance with R. Elazar, and in another Boraitha we have learned in accordance with R. Johanan.

A Boraitha according to R. Elazar: The Sabbatical year holds the money exchanged for its fruit, because it is written: "It is a jubilee year and shall be holy." As the holy things hold the money exchanged for it, and makes it holy, so also do the fruit of the Sabbatical year. But should we assume, as the holy things become ordinary, when exchanged, the same shall be with the Sabbatical year, therefore it is written: "It shall be"--which means, so shall it stay. How so? I.e., if one bought for its fruit meat, both must be destroyed; if, however, he bought fish for the meat, the fish becomes its substitute, and the meat is free; the fish, again, exchanged for wine, the latter becomes the substitute. The same is the case when the latter is exchanged for wine: the very last always becomes the substitute of the preceding one, except the original fruit, which remains as it was. Now, then, when the Boraitha mentions at every exchange the word "lokah," which means bought, we may infer from it that it was done only by purchase, but not by exchange (hence R. Elazar's opinion).

A Boraitha according to R. Johanan: Both the fruit of the Sabbatical year and of the second tithe may be exchanged for wild game, cattle, and fowl when they are either alive or slaughtered. So is the decree of R. Meir. But the sages say that only for slaughtered ones, but when alive they must not be taken in exchange, lest he shall raise a herd from them. Said Rabba: They differ only as to males, but females, all agree that only slaughtered ones may be exchanged, but not living ones, for the precautionary measure stated above.

Said R. Ashi: They differ only about the fruit exchanged already for the Sabbatical fruit, but about the Sabbatical fruit itself all agree, only through selling and not through exchanging. But have we not learned in a Boraitha: The fruit of the Sabbatical year and second tithe may be exchanged for animals, wild beasts, and fowls? By this is meant, not the fruit but the money obtained for it. And this must be so, because it is mentioned together with second tithe, and by second tithe could not be meant the fruit itself, because it is written [Deut. 14:25]: "Bind up the money in thy hand."

MISHNA: Formerly the Lulab was used in the Temple all the seven days of the festival; in the country, however, only one day. When the Temple was destroyed, R. Johanan b. Zakkai ordained: In the country it shall also be used all the seven days, in memory of the Temple. He ordained also at the same time that on the sixteenth day of Nissan, called the day of Noph (the day of waving the omer: Lev. 23:11), it should not be allowed to eat new grain.

GEMARA: Whence do we infer that it must be done in memory of the Temple? Said R. Johanan: Because it is written [Jeremiah, 30:17]: "This is Zion, whom no one seeketh after." From this we infer that it must be sought after.

"The day of Noph," etc. What is the reason? Said R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak: R. Johanan b. Zakkai said this in accordance with the system of R. Jehudah, who said that it is biblically prohibited to eat the whole day, because it is written [Lev. 23:14], "until the self-same day"; and the self-

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same day means this day shall be included. Does R. Johanan b. Zakkai indeed hold with R. Jehudah, did he not differ from him? As we learn in the following Mishna: When the Temple was destroyed, R. Johanan b. Zakkai ordained that the whole day of Noph it shall be prohibited. And R. Jehudah said to him: Why such an ordinance? Is it not biblically prohibited, as it is written, "on the self-same day," which means to include the whole day? R. Jehudah erred, because he thought R. Johanan b. Zakkai intended to make his ordinance rabbinical, and it was not so; R. Johanan b. Zakkai ordained this biblically. If biblically, what is meant by the expression "ordained"? Read: He lectured that this is biblical and so ordained.

MISHNA: If the first day of the festival falls on a Sabbath, the people bring their Lulabs to the synagogue on the eve of Sabbath and leave them there, and on the next morning they come early to synagogue, and each seeks out his own Lulab, and performs with it his duty, because the sages bold that the duty cannot be fulfilled on the first day by means of a Lulab belonging to his neighbour; but it can be fulfilled on the subsequent days of the festival.

R. Jose says: If the first day of the festival falls on the Sabbath, and one carries out the Lulab into public ground through forgetfulness, he is not culpable, because he carried it out with the intention to do a religious duty.

GEMARA: Whence is this deduced? From what the rabbis taught: It is written [Lev. 23:40]: "Ye shall take," that means, it shall be taken with the hand; "unto yourselves," it shall be your own, but not a borrowed one or robbed one; and from this the sages said that one cannot fulfil his duty with the Lulab of his neighbour on the first day, unless he has made of it a present to him. And it happened to Rabban Gamaliel, R. Joshuah, R. Elazar b. Azariah, and R. Aqiba, when they were on board a ship, that they had but one Lulab, which was the property of Rabban Gamaliel, who had bought it for a thousand Zuz; and R. Gamaliel performed with it his duty, and then made of it a present to R. Joshuah; R. Joshuah did the same, and gave it away to R. Elazar, who did the same, and gave it as a present to R. Aqiba; and R. Aqiba, after having fulfilled his duty, returned it to Rabban Gamaliel. To what purpose do they tell us that R. Aqiba returned it to Rabban Gamaliel? It is to teach us by the way, that a present with the condition that it shall be returned after, is called a present. As Rabha said elsewhere: "If one say: I present to you this citron to fulfil your duty with it, and afterwards you shall return it to me," if the man returned it afterwards, he had fulfilled his duty, but if he failed to return it, it is not counted as anything. And to what purpose do they tell us that he bought it for a thousand Zuz? To let us know how dear to them were religious duties. Said Mar bar Amemar to R. Ashi: My father used to pray, holding the Lulab in his hand. We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Elazar 1 bar Zadok says: So was the custom of the men of Jerusalem: when one was going out of his house, the Lulab was in his hand; when he went to the house of prayer, the Lulab was in his hand; when he read the Shema and prayed, the Lulab was in his hand; when he read in the Torah and raised his hands (when a priest) to bless Israel, he laid it away, on the floor, and afterwards took it up. If he went to visit the sick, or console mourners, the Lulab was in his hand. When he went, however, to the house of learning, he sent it away through his son, or servant, or messenger. To what purpose is all this told? To let us know how mindful they were of religious duties.

"R. Jose said," etc. Said Abayi: He is not culpable so long as he has not fulfilled his duty with it; but if he has, he is. But has not the duty been performed as soon as he has taken it into his hand and raised it? Said Abayi: It means, if he carried it out inverted (because the duty is not fulfilled so long as he does not hold it as it grows). Rabha said: Even if he has not inverted it, but carried it out in a vessel. But did not Rabha himself say that taking through any other thing is called taking? That is, if he took it thus to honour it; but if in a vessel not appropriate to a Lulab, it is not called taking.

MISHNA: A woman may receive a Lulab out of the hand of her son or of her husband, and put it back into water on the Sabbath. R. Jehudah says: On the Sabbath it may be put back, on the festival they may add fresh water, and on the intermediate days they may change the water. A minor who understands how to shake the Lulab is bound to perform that duty.

GEMARA: Is this not self-evident? Lest one say, that because the Lulab is not obligatory for a woman, she must not handle it, it comes to teach us that she may.

"A minor," etc. The rabbis taught: A minor who knows how to shake the Lulab is bound to perform this duty. If he knows how to wrap himself in a cloth, he is bound to perform the duty of Tzitzith; if he is able to take care of Tefilin, his father may buy for him Tefilin. As soon as he can talk, his father shall teach him the Torah, and to read Shema. [What is meant by Torah? Said R. Hamnuna: The verse of Deuteronomy, 33:4: "The law which Moses commanded us is the inheritance of the congregation of Jacob." What is meant by Shema? The first verse.] (The Boraitha says farther on): If he knows how to slaughter animals, it may be eaten of his slaughtering. Said R. Huna: Only if an adult was standing by. If he is capable to eat bread the size of an olive, one must remove from him to the distance of four ells (if one has to pray or to study), on certain occasions. Says R. Hisda: This is only if he can eat the piece of bread in the same length of time that a grown person can eat bread of the size of three eggs, or more. Said R. Hiya the son of R. Yeba: In the case of a grown man who is sick and unable to eat as much, in the above-mentioned length of time, one must nevertheless remove four ells. Because it is written [Eccl. 1:18]: "Where there is much wisdom, there is much vexation." If the minor is able to eat roasted meat of the size of an olive, the Paschal offering may be slaughtered for him, as it is written [Ex. 12:4]: "Every man according to what he eateth." R. Jehudah, however, said: It must not be given to him until he is able to distinguish. How? If he is given a chip, he drops it; but a nut, he accepts it.

CHAPTER 4.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE FOUR KINDS TIED WITH THE LULAB, CONCERNING HALLEL, POURING THE WATER ON THE ALTAR.

MISHNA: The Lulab and willow to surround the altar were sometimes used on six days, and sometimes on seven days of the festival. The Hallel and the eating of peace-offerings took place on eight days. The dwelling in the Succah and the pouring out of water lasted seven days, and the pipes were played on sometimes five, sometimes six days. In which case was the Lulab used seven days? When the first holy day of the festival fell on a Sabbath, the Lulab was used on seven days; but when the first day of the festival fell on any other day of the week, the Lulab was only used six days. In which case was the willow used on seven days? When the seventh day of the willow happened to fall on a Sabbath, the willow was used seven days; but when the seventh day fell on any other day of the week, the willow was only used six days. How was the command to take the Lulab fulfilled when the first holy day of the festival fell on a Sabbath? It was the custom that every man brought his Lulab to the Temple mount, where it was received by inspectors, who deposited it in a gallery. The elders placed theirs in a separate chamber, and the people were taught to say: Whoever gets hold of my Lulab, be it his as a gift. On the next morning the people came early; the inspectors threw all the Lulabs down before them; every man seized on one, and it often happened that they hurt each other. When the Beth Din saw that the people were thus exposed to danger, they ordained that every man was to use his Lulab in his own house.

GEMARA: Why? It is only handling it, and as the commandment of this is biblical, that it shall be taken in the Temple all the seven days, why shall it not be preferred to Sabbath? Said Rabba: As a precautionary measure, lest one take it into his hand to go with it to an expert to learn the performance, and at the same time one will carry it four ells in public ground. And the same reason is with the cornet, and the same reason is with the Book of Esther, when Purim falls on Sabbath. If it is so, let it be forbidden even on the first day of the festival? On the first day of the festival, was it not ordained that it shall be used in the house, as mentioned above? Yea, that was after it was ordained; but what was the case before it was ordained? Therefore we must say, that the reason is because for the first day, which is biblical even in the country, the rabbis did not take the precautionary measure; but the other days, which for the country is only rabbinical, the rabbis took it. If it is so, why shall we not take it now on the first day, when it falls on Sabbath? If one may say, because we do not know exactly the calendar, why do the Palestinians, who know exactly the calendar, not carry it on Sabbath? Yea, they did so, even after the Temple was destroyed, as we have learned in the Mishna above that the people brought their Lulabs to the Temple mount; and another Mishna said, they brought it to the prayer-house, from which we may infer that in the time of the Temple they took it to the Temple mount, and after its destruction they took it into the house of prayer. But whence do we deduce that in the country it is biblically obligatory on the first day? From the following Boraitha: It is written: "Ye shall take." That signifies, it shall be taken with the hand. "Unto yourselves," it shall be your own, excluding a borrowed or a robbed one; "on the day," even on Sabbath; "the first," even in the country. "The first," from this we infer that only when the first day falls on Sabbath it must be taken, but not on the other days. The text says, "the day," to include Sabbath. Let us see. This is only handling. Do we need a biblical verse to allow handling? Said Rabba: It is meant to allow the preparing of the Lulab, and this is in accordance with the Tana of the following Boraitha: The Lulab and all its preparations violate the Sabbath. So is the decree of R. Eliezer. And the reason of R. Eliezer is, because it is written, "the day," it is meant the Sabbath.

The rabbis taught: It is written: "In booths shall Ye dwell seven days." "Days" signifies the nights also; but perhaps only the days are meant, and not the nights? And it would be an analogy of expression: it is written here "the days," and about the Lulab "the days"; as of the Lulab only days are meant, and not the nights, so also it may be with the Succah? Or take another way, the analogy of expression of "the seven days of Aaron's consecration" [Lev. ix.]; as there the nights are included, so shall here also the nights be included. Now let us see what it resembles more: We may draw a lesson about a thing the duty of which is the whole day, from another thing of which the duty is also the whole day, and not draw the same from a thing the duty of which is only one hour. Or in another way: We shall draw a lesson about a thing of which the duty is forever from a thing of which the duty is also forever, and not about a thing of which the duty is forever from Aaron's consecration, of which the duty was only for that time. Therefore another analogy of expression is found: It is written here: "Ye shall dwell," and about the seven days of Aaron's consecration it is also written [Lev. 8:35]: "ye shall dwell"; as there it is plainly written days and nights, so is here also meant days and nights.

"In which case is the willow used seven days?" Why shall the willow violate the Sabbath? Said R. Johanan: To let the public know that the willow is biblical. If it is so, let the Lulab also violate the Sabbath, to make it public that the Lulab is biblical? The precautionary measure, which Rabbi mentioned above, is taken in reference to the Lulab. But why not in reference to the willow? Because usually the messengers of the Beth Din were sent to take the willow for the performance, but the Lulab was taken by private persons. Said Rabha to R. Itz'hak the son of Rabba bar bar Hana: Son of a scholar, come and I will tell you a good thing that your father said: What we learn in a Mishna farther on, that every day they went round the altar once, and on that day seven times, said your father in the name of R. Elazar: That is meant with the Lulab (not with the willow). R. Itz'hak objected: We have learned in a Tosephta: The Lulab violates the Sabbath in the beginning of its duty, and the willow in the end of its duty. It happened once that the seventh day of the willow fell on Sabbath and the branches of the willow were brought on the eve, and were laid in the court of the Temple; and when the Baithusees got wind of it, they took the branches of the willows, and hid them under the stones of the court. On the morrow the common people pulled them out from beneath the stones, and the priests erected them around the altar, because the Baithusees do not agree that the performance of the duty of willows violates the Sabbath. Hence we see that they performed the religious ceremony with the willows, and not with the Lulab? The question remains: But why did they bring them on the eve of Sabbath, why not on Sabbath (let the bringing of the willows violate the Sabbath as the handling while the duty is performed)? Because as we, who are in exile and are not certain of the calendar, do not violate the Sabbath for the willow, they in Palestine also do not violate the Sabbath for the bringing. But we see that on the first day we do not violate the Sabbath for the Lulab, and they do? It was told, that now they also do not violate even with the Lulab.

Abayi said to Rabha: Why do we use the Lulab all the seven days in memory of the Temple, and not the willow? Rabha answered: We use the willow tied with the Lulab together all the seven days. Rejoined Abayi: But we use it not for the sake of the willow, but for the sake of the Lulab; and if you would say that we raise it again for the sake of the willow, we see proofs every day that we do not do so. Said R. Zbhid in the name of Rabha: The Lulab, which is biblical, we use in memory of the Temple all the seven days, but the willow, which is rabbinical, we do not use so.

It was taught: R. Johanan and R. Joshuah b. Levi differ: One says that the basis of the willow is a tradition from the prophets, and one says that the willow is only a custom of the prophets. From the following saying of R. Abahu we may assume that R. Johanan is the one who said that the basis is a tradition of the prophets, because he said in his name that so said R. Johanan. Said R. Zera to R. Abahu: Did R. Johanan say so? Did he not say in the name of R. Nehumia, the man of the valley of Beth Hursa, that the ten plants concerning Kilaim, the willow, and the pouring of water are Sinaic laws? He was astounded for a little while, and said: They were forgotten once, and then reëstablished. But how could R. Johanan say so? Did he not say to the sages of Palestine: Do not say that the ordinances derived from the Torah are yours: they are the Babylonians', because we have received all our learning from them. (R. Johanan said this when he saw R. Kahna, one of the disciples of Rabh, come to Palestine and explain many questions which R. Johanan could not decide.) Hence we see that R. Johanan did not think that in Babylon the Torah was forgotten, and how can it be said it was forgotten? It presents no difficulty: In the Temple it was Sinaic, but in the country it had for a basis the tradition of the prophets.

R. Ami said: The willow has to be of the prescribed size, and must be taken separately, and a man does not fulfil his duty with the willow which is tied with the Lulab. R. Hisda in the name of R. Itz'hak, however, said that a man can fulfil his duty with the willow which is tied with the Lulab. What is the prescribed size? Said R. Na'hman: Three moist twigs with leaves. R. Shesheth, however, said: Even if there was one leaf on one twig. Said Aibu: I was standing in the presence of R. Elazar bar Zadok, and a man brought a willow before him;

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and he took the willow into his hand, and knocked off the leaves, but without any benediction, because he held that the willow was only a custom of the prophets. Aibu and Hezekiah, the grandsons of Rabh by his daughter, brought a willow to Rabh, and he also took it and knocked it, without benediction, because he also held it was only a custom of the prophets.

Aibu said again: I was standing before R. Elazar bar R. Zadok, and a man came to him and said: I possess some villages, and the inhabitants of the villages weeded the orchards in the Sabbatical year, and for their labour they ate the olives: did they right, or not? R. Elazar answered: It is not right. And the man went away. Said R. Elazar: I am living in this country forty years, and I have not seen a man walk in the right path as this man. Afterwards the man came again, and asked R. Elazar what he should do in this matter, and R. Elazar told him he should abandon the olives to the poor, and the labourers he should pay from his purse.

Aibu says again in the name of R. Elazar: A man must not walk on the eve of Sabbath more than three Parsaoth. Said R. Kahna: The case is when he goes home, and his family does not know that he will come, and do not prepare anything for him for Sabbath; but if he is going to an inn, he may walk more, because he has prepared everything that is necessary for Sabbath. According to others, R. Kahna said that even to his house he shall not go, so much the less to an inn. And he added to this: It once happened to me that I was coming home late on the eve of Sabbath, and my family did not expect me: I did not find even small fish prepared for Sabbath.

"How was the commandment to take the Lulab fulfilled?" One Tana taught in the presence of R. Na'hman: He deposited it on the roof of the gallery. And R. Na'hman said to him: Why on the roof, did he intend to dry it? Read, "on the galleries."

MISHNA: How was the command to take the willow fulfilled? There was a place below Jerusalem called Motza. Thither the people descended, and gathered drooping willow branches. These they brought and erected at the side of the altar, the tips inclining over it. While this was doing, a blast, a long note, and again a blast were blown. Every day they made one circuit round the altar, and recited the verse: "O Lord, help us; O Lord, prosper us." R. Jehudah said the words: "I and he, help us," were also said. On the particular day for using the willows (the seventh of the festival) they made seven circuits round the altar. When they withdrew, what did they say? "Beauty is thine, O altar! Beauty is thine, O altar!" R. Elazar said, they also said: "To God and to thee, O altar! To God and to thee, O altar!" As they did on week-days, so did they likewise on the Sabbath; excepting only that they gathered the willow branches on the Sabbath-eve and put them into golden casks (filled with water), that they might not fade. R. Johanan b, Beroka said: They fetched branches of palms and threshed them to pieces on the sides of the altar. Thence the day was called "the branch-threshing day." Directly afterwards the children threw down their Lulabs and ate the citrons.

GEMARA: In a Boraitha it was taught: that the place where they were taken was free from taxes, and one Tana of the Mishna calls it Motza, because this word signifies exempt from taxes.

"They brought and erected at the side of the altar." In a Boraitha was taught: They were soft and eleven ells high, so that they could cover the altar one ell. Said R. Abahu: From what biblical passage is this inferred? From Psalm 118:27: "Bind the festive sacrifice with cords," etc. He said again in the name of R. Elazar: One who takes the Lulab with its binding, and the myrtle bough with its braiding, the verse makes him equal to one who would build an altar and offer a sacrifice on it, and he infers it from the end of the passage just quoted. Hezekiah said in the name of R. Jeremiah, quoting R. Simeon b. Jochai, and R. Johanan in the name of R. Simeon the Mehuzi, quoting R. Johanan the Mekuthi: One who added a day to the festival for eating and drinking, the verse makes him equal to one who built an altar and offered a sacrifice on it, as it is written: "Bind the festive sacrifice with cords (leading it) up to the horns of the altar."

Hezekiah said again in the name of R. Jeremiah, quoting R. Simeon b. Jochai: All the prescribed plants for religious duties must be taken as they grow, as it is written [Ex. 26:15]: "Shittim wood, standing up." Hezekiah said again in the name of the same authority: I could exempt the whole world from the Day of Judgement since I was born till now; and if Eliezer my son would be with me, I could do it for all men since the world was created till now. And if King Jotham ben Uzziah would be with us, we could do it for all men from the creation of the world till its end. The same says again in the name of the same: I see the greatest men in the world are very few. If they are a thousand, I and my son are included; if they are a hundred, I and my son are included, and if they are only two, they are I and my son. Said Abayi: There are no less than thirty-six upright men in the world who receive appearance of the Shekhina every day, as it is written [Is. 30:18]: "Happy are all those that wait for him," and him is expressed by לו, which counts thirty-six.

"To God and to thee." How did they do so? Did they not combine the name of the Lord with another thing, and we have learned in a Boraitha: Who combines the name of the Lord with another thing, will be destroyed from the world? As it is written [Ex. 22:19]: "Save unto the Lord only." The Mishna meant it was said so: "To God we bow, and Thee we praise."

R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said: The benediction over the Lulab must be pronounced all the seven days, but in the Succah the benediction must be made only the first day. Why so? Because the nights intervene between the days, and every day it is a separate commandment; but in case of the Succah, which is a duty during the nights also, all the seven days are considered as one long day, and one benediction is enough. Rabba bar bar Hana in the name of R. Johanan, however, said: The benediction over the Succah must be pronounced all the seven days, but over the Lulab only the first day. Why so? Because the Succah is biblical, the benediction is to be made every time; but the Lulab being rabbinical, it is sufficient on the first day. When Rabbin came from Palestine, he said in the name of R. Johanan, that over both it is to be pronounced every day all the seven days. Said R. Joseph: Keep what Rabba bar bar Hana said in your mind, because all the Amoraim hold with him concerning Succah. Other Tanaim, however, differ also on the same point. As we have learned in the following Boraitha: Over the Tefilin, every time one lays them, one must pronounce a benediction. So is the decree of Rabbi. The sages, however, said: In the morning only. And it was taught Abayi said the Halakha prevails according to Rabbi, and Rabba said the Halakha prevails according to the sages. Said R. Mari the son of the daughter of Samuel: I have seen Rabba did not follow his own decision, and we also all are doing according to Rabbi, and pronounce the benediction on every one of the seven days.

R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said: The commandment of the Lulab is all the seven days; but R. Joshuah b. Levi said: The biblical commandment is only for the first day, and from this day further on it is the commandment of the Elders; and so said also R. Itz'hak. Rabh, however, holds that the commandment is for all seven days, and R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak taught plainly that Rabh said so.

The rabbis taught: If one made a Succah for himself, he must pronounce the benediction of the time. When he comes to dwell in it, he must pronounce the benediction: "Blessed be He, etc., who has commanded us to dwell in a Succah"; but if the Succah had been prepared, if he is able to fix there something new, he may pronounce the benediction of the time; if not, when he comes to dwell in it, he should pronounce both benedictions. Said R. Ashi: I have seen R. Kahna, who used to pronounce all the benedictions over the goblet, together with the benediction of the day.

The rabbis taught: If one have before himself many religious duties, he can say: "Blessed be He who has sanctified us with His commandments, and commanded to us many duties." R. Jehudah, however, said: He must pronounce the benediction before each one separately. Said R. Zera, according to others R. Hanina bar Papa: The Halakha prevails according to R. Jehudah. And he (either of the two mentioned) says again: What is the reason of R. Jehudah? Because it is written [Ps. 68:20]: "Blessed be the Lord, day by day." Do we only bless Him by day, and not by night? We may learn from this that every day we should bless Him for the duties of that day (if Sabbath, we must bless Him for the Sabbath; if a festival, for the duties belonging to each festival). The same authority says again: Come and see. The usages of the Holy One, blessed be He, are not as the usages of human beings: A human being can put only something into an empty vessel, but if the vessel is full, he can put in nothing; but the Holy One, blessed be He, can add to a full vessel, but can put nothing into an empty one, as it is written [Deut. xxviii. 1]: "If thou wilt hearken diligently"; 1 i.e., if you have heard diligently, you can receive more knowledge, but if not diligently, you can hear nothing. Another interpretation for this verse is this: If you have given your attention to what you have learned before, you can learn from it new things; but if you have turned away your heart from the old teaching, you cannot learn anything new.

"The children threw down," etc. Said R. Johanan: The citron on the seventh day is prohibited to be eaten, but on the eighth day it is allowed; but the wood of the Succah, even on the eighth day, is not allowed to be used. Resh Lakish, however, said: Even on the seventh day the citron is allowed. R. Johanan made an objection to Resh Lakish from our Mishna: The children throw down their Lulabs and eat their citrons. From this we may infer that only the children may do so, but not adults. Answered Resh Lakish: Nay, adults may also do so, but the Mishna mentions children because it was usually done so. R. Papa asked Abayi: What is the reason that R. Johanan makes a difference between the Succah and the citron? And he answered: The Succah is fit for twilight, so that if one had to eat at twilight, he must sit in the Succah and eat there; and because it was designated for twilight, it is designated for the whole eighth day; but the citron, which is not to be used at twilight, and was not designated for the twilight, is not designated for the whole eighth day. Levi, however, said: The citron is prohibited even on the eighth day. And the father of Samuel said: On the seventh day it is not allowed, but on the eighth day it is allowed. The father of Samuel afterwards retracted his teaching, and remained in accordance with the system of Levi. R. Zera, however, remains in accordance with the old teaching of the father of Samuel, and taught in the house of learning that a citron which becomes invalid must not be eaten all the seven days. R. Zera said again: One must not give as a present to a child a Lulab on the first day of the festival. Why so? Because a child may receive a present, but cannot make a present to another; and afterwards if the man uses the Lulab for the religious purpose, he has used a thing which is not his (by which he cannot fulfil his duty). He says again: A man shall not promise a child something, and afterwards not keep his word, for the child can learn from it to tell a lie.

We in exile, who keep two days of the festival, how shall we do? Said Abayi: On the eighth day, which it is doubtful perhaps it is the seventh, it is prohibited; but the ninth day, which it is doubtful perhaps it is the eighth, it is allowed. Meremar, however, said: Even on the eighth day, which it is doubtful perhaps it is the seventh, it is also allowed. In Sura they acted according to Meremar; but R. Shesheth the son of R. Iddi acted according to Abayi, and the Halakha prevails according to Abayi.

R. Jehudah the son of Samuel bar Shilath said in the name of Rabh: The eighth day, which it is doubtful whether it is not the seventh, may be considered as the seventh day in reference to the Succah, but is considered the eighth day in reference to the benediction. R. Johanan, however, said: It may be considered the eighth day for both purposes. (The Gemara explains it so): In reference to the benediction, all agree that the benediction may not be said. What they differ about is only the citron. According to Rabh, on the eighth day one must sit in the Succah, and according to R. Johanan, even sitting is not necessary either. Said R. Joseph: Keep in your mind what R. Johanan said, because the Master of this Halakha, R. Jehudah bar Samuel, who declared it in the name of Rabh, did not act according to his teaching, and we have seen him on the eighth day sitting outside of the Succah. The Halakha prevails: That we do sit in the Succah, but do not pronounce the benediction over it.

R. Johanan said: The benediction of the time must be pronounced on the eighth day of the Feast of Tabernacles, but not on the seventh day of Passover. Said R. Levi bar Hama, according to others R. Hama bar Hanina: This may be approved, because the eighth day of the Feast of Tabernacles is different in three things from the preceding days: It needs not Succah, it needs not Lulab, nor the pouring of water. If it is so, the seventh day of Passover is also different, because it is not a duty to eat Matzah thereon, as the Master said (p. 33) that only the first night it is a duty to eat Matzah? What comparison is this? There it is different only from the first night, but not from the first day; but here it is different from the day also. Rabhina said: The eighth day of the Feast of Tabernacles is different from the preceding day; but the seventh day of Passover differs only from the first day, but not from the one preceding it. How shall we act? Said R. Na'hman: The benediction of the time maybe said on the eighth day, and R. Shesheth said it must not, and the Halakha prevails that it may be said. We have learned in a Boraitha in support to R. Na'hman: The eighth day is a holy day by itself, has lots cast for itself (which priest should perform the service of the sacrifice, as is explained in Shekalim), the benediction of time for itself, offerings for itself, a separate song for itself (all seven days one song was sung by the Levites at the sacrifice), and also a blessing for itself ("the eighth day of assembly" was pronounced in the benediction).

MISHNA: The Hallel and the enjoying of peace-offerings were eight days. How so? We infer from this, that a man is bound to recite the Hallel and enjoy the peace-offerings the last day of the festival the same as the preceding days.

GEMARA: Where is this deduced from? The rabbis taught: It is written [Deut. 16:15]: "Thou shalt only rejoice"; it comes to add the night of the last day of the festival, and to exclude the night of the first day. But perhaps it is meant only for the first day? The word (ach) "only" separates it. But why do you include the last day, and exclude the first day? I include the last night, before which there was enjoyment; but I exclude the first night, before which was no enjoyment.

MISHNA: The Succah is dwelt in seven days. How so? When a man has taken his last meal therein, he is not directly to pull down his Succah; but, after noon, he may move the furniture back into the house, in honour of the last day of the festival.

How was the pouring out of the water? A golden pitcher that held three lugs was filled with water from the brook Siloah. When they came with it to the water-gate, they blew a blast, a long note, and again a blast. The priest then ascended the stair of the altar, and turned to the left. Two silver basins stood there. R. Jehudah says: They were of gypsum, but had a dark appearance from the wine. Each was perforated with a small hole, like a nostril (at the bottom), the one for the wine somewhat wider, the other for the water narrower, that both

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might get empty at once. The one, to the west, was used for water; the other, to the east, for the wine. But if the water was poured into the wine basin, or the wine into the water basin, one's duty was reckoned to be fulfilled. R. Jehudah says: They poured out one lug on each of the eight days. To him who poured out the water the people called: "Raise thy hand"; for once it happened that one priest charged with this duty poured the water over his feet, and all the people pelted him with their citrons, As they did on the week-days, so they did likewise on the Sabbath, except that they fetched the water from the Siloah on the Sabbath eve in a golden cask that had not been consecrated, and placed it in a chamber; if it was upset or uncovered, they filled again from the laver. For it was not lawful to bring on the altar water or wine which had been uncovered.

GEMARA: Whence is it deduced? Said R. Eina: It is written [Is. 12:3]: "Ye shall draw water with gladness."

"Ascended the stair," etc. The rabbis taught: All who ascended the altar ascended on the right, went round, and descended on the left; except that those who ascended for the following three purposes (duties) ascended on the left, and went back on the same side: to pour water, to pour wine, and to offer a burnt-offering of a fowl when it was too much on the east side of the altar. 1

"Each was perforated," etc. Shall we assume that the Mishna is according to R. Jehudah and not according to the sages, as it teaches farther on: "R. Jehudah said with a lug," etc.; because if the Mishna would be according to the sages, the quantity of the wine and water was equal? (And why was one wider, and the other narrower?) Nay, we may say the Mishna is according to the sages; but wine is thick, and water is thinner, and this is the reason for the unequal sizes of the holes. It seems to us it is so, for according to R. Jehudah one must be wide and the other narrow, as we learn in the following Boraitha: R. Jehudah said: Two urns were there, one for water and one for wine: that for wine had its mouth wide, and that for water narrow, that they should be emptied at the same time.

Rabha lectured: It is written [Song of Songs, 7:2]: "How beautiful are thy steps in sandals, O prince's daughter! How beautiful were the steps of Israel, when they pilgrimaged for the festival! "Prince's daughter" means, daughter of Abraham our father, who was called prince; as it is written [Ps. 47:10]: "The nobles of the people are gathered together, the people of the God of Abraham." The God of Abraham, and not the God of Isaac and Jacob? It means, the God of Abraham, who was the first of the proselytes.

The disciples of R. Anan taught: It is written [Song of Songs, ibid.]: "The roundings of thy thighs." As the thighs are in a hidden place, so the words of the Law must all be hidden, and this is similar to what R. Elazar said, as follows: It is written [Micah, 6:8]: "He hath told thee, O man, what is good, and what the Lord doth require of thee: nothing but to do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with thy God." To do justice, i.e., judgement; to love kindness, i.e., the bestowing of favours; and to walk humbly with thy God, that means, to bear a dead body, and to conduct a bride under the canopy. Is this not an a fortiori conclusion? If things usually done publicly are to be done surreptitiously, so much the more things usually done privately?

R. Elazar said: The doing of charity is greater than all the sacrifices; as it is written [Prov. 21:3]: "To exercise righteousness and justice is more acceptable to the Lord than sacrifice." The same says again: The bestowing of favours is greater than charity; as it is written [Hosea, 10:12]: "Sow then for yourselves righteousness, that you may reap the fruit of kindness." If a man sows, it is doubtful whether he will eat from his sowing, or not; but if a man reaps, he is sure to eat of it (and so it is with charity, sometimes it is useful, sometimes not, but kindness is always so).

R. Elazar says again: Charity is rewarded only according to the kindness with which it is done; as it is written: "Sow for yourselves righteousness, that you may reap kindness."

The rabbis taught: In three things is the bestowing of favours greater than charity: Charity is only with money, but the bestowing of favours is either with one's money or with one's person; charity is only to poor men, but the bestowing of favours is to poor and rich; charity is only for the living, but the bestowing of favours is both for the living and the dead. The same says again: One who does charity and judgement is as if he filled the whole world with kindness; as it is written [Ps. 33:5]: "He loveth righteousness and justice; the earth is full of the kindness of the Lord." But if you mean that every one who wants to do charity is given the opportunity to do real charity, it is therefore written [ibid. xxxvi. 8]: "How precious is thy kindness! "It is different, however, with a man fearing Heaven; as it is written [ibid. 103:17]: "But the kindness of the Lord is from everlasting to everlasting over those that fear him." R. Hama bar Papa said: A man who finds favour everywhere, it is certain that he fears God; as it is written: "The kindness of the Lord is from everlasting to everlasting over those that fear him."

He says again: It is written [Prov. 31:26] She openeth her mouth with wisdom, and the law of kindness is on her tongue." Are there two laws, one of kindness, and one not of kindness? That means, if one studies the law in honour of the Lord, it is a law of kindness; but if one studies the law for his own interest, it is a law not of kindness. According to others, if he studies the law to teach it, it is a law of kindness; but if he studies it for himself, it is not.

"If it was upset or uncovered," etc. Why so? He can strain the water? Shall we assume that our Mishna is not according to R. Nehemiah from the following Boraitha: Even if the water was strained, the law of uncovered water does still apply to it. R. Nehemiah, however, said: This is only when the lower vessel was uncovered, but when the lower vessel was covered, though the upper one was uncovered, the law of uncovered water does not apply to it, because the venom of a snake, like a sponge, rises to the top. The Mishna can apply also to R. Nehemiah, but he spoke of preparing for an ordinary man, but in honour of the Lord could he say so? Did not R. Nehemiah consider the verse in Malachi [1:8]: "Do but present it unto thy governor, will he be pleased with thee, or receive thee with favour? says the Lord of hosts."

CHAPTER 5.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE ENJOYMENTS AND THE SONGS IN THE TEMPLE DURING THE TIME OF THE SACRIFICES, AND THEIR ORDER.

MISHNA: The pipes were played sometimes on five days, and sometimes six. This means, the pipes played on during the time of water-drawing, which does not supersede either the Sabbath or the festival.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: The playing of pipes supersedes the Sabbath, so is the decree of R. Jose bar Jehudah; but the sages said, even the festival it does not supersede. Said R. Joseph: They differ only about the music of the sacrifices. R. Jose holds that the music of the sacrifices is instrumental, consequently it is a service, and supersedes the Sabbath; but the sages hold it is vocal, and therefore not a service, and does not supersede the Sabbath; but the music of the drawing of the water all agree is only an enjoyment, and does not supersede the Sabbath. But R. Jeremiah bar Abba said: They differ only about the music of the drawing of water. R. Jose bar R. Jehudah holds that this enjoyment also supersedes the Sabbath, and the sages hold it does not; but about the music of the sacrifice all agree it is a service, and does supersede the Sabbath.

What is the reason of those who say that the main music must be instrumental? Because it is written [2 Chron. 29:27]: "And Hezekiah ordered to offer the burnt-offering on the altar. And when the burnt-offering began, the song of the Lord began with the trumpets, and with the instruments of David the King of Israel." And what is the reason of those who said the main music is vocal? Because it is written [ibid. 5:13]: "And it came thus to pass, as the trumpeters and singers were as one, to make one sound." But what will they do with the former passage? Hezekiah meant, the voices accompanied the instruments. And those who hold it was only instrumental, what will they say to the last-quoted passage? They explain it thus: The singers were as the trumpeters, i.e., used instruments also.

MISHNA: He who has not witnessed the rejoicings at the water-drawing has, throughout the whole of his life, witnessed no real rejoicing. At the expiration of the first holiday of the festival they descended into the women's court, where a great transformation was made. Golden candelabra were placed there, with four golden basins at the top of each; and four ladders were put to each candelabrum, on which stood four lads from the rising youth of the priesthood, holding jars of oil containing 120 jugs, with which they replenished each basin.

The cast-off breeches and belts of the priests were torn into shreds for wicks, which they lighted. There was not a court in Jerusalem that was not illuminated by the lights of the water-drawing. Pious and distinguished men danced before the people with lighted flambeaux in their hands, and sang hymns and lauds before them; and the Levites accompanied them with harps, psalteries, cymbals, and numberless musical instruments. On the fifteen steps which led into the women's court, corresponding with the fifteen songs of degrees, stood the Levites, with their musical instruments, and sang. At the upper gate which leads down from the court of the Israelites to the court of the women stood two priests, with trumpets in their hands. When the cock first crowed they blew a blast, a long note, and a blast. This they repeated when they reached the tenth step, and again (the third time) when they got into the court. They went on, blowing their trumpets as they went, until they reached the gate that leads out to the east. When they reached that gate they turned westward, with their faces towards the Temple, and said: Our ancestors, who were in this place, turned their backs on the Temple of the Lord, and their faces towards the east; for they worshipped the sun towards the east; but we lift our eyes to God. R. Jehudah says: They repeated again and again: "We belong to God, and raise our eyes to God."

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: Who has not seen the rejoicing at the drawing of water, has not seen a real rejoicing in his life. He who has not seen Jerusalem in its beauty, has not seen a beautiful great city in his whole life; and who has not seen the building of the Second Temple, has not seen a handsome building in his life. What is meant by this? Said Abayi, according to others R. Hisda: It means the building of Herod. Of what materials was it built? Said Rabba: Of black and white marble; and according to others, of other colours also. He made one tier of stones projecting outward, and one tier of stones remaining inside. He wished to overlay it with gold, but the sages said to him: Leave it so, because it is more beautiful, having the appearance of waves of the sea.

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jehudah said: Who has not seen the διπλο στοα (diuplustin, double portico) of Alexandria in Egypt, has not seen the glory of Israel. It was said it was a great palace with colonnades, and the palace could contain twice the number of men who went out from Egypt (the Israelites), and there were seventy-one golden cathedras (armchairs with footstools) for the seventy-one sages of the Great Sanhedrin, and each cathedra was no less than twenty-one myriads of talents of gold; and a wooden pulpit was in the middle of the palace, where the sexton of the congregation stood, with a flag in his hand, and when the time came in the prayer to respond "Amen," he raised the flag, and the whole people said "Amen." And they did not sit promiscuously, but separately; the golden chairs were separate, the silver chairs were separate, smiths sat separately, carpenters separately, and all of the different trades sat separately, and when a poor man went in, he recognised who his fellow-tradesmen were, and went to them, and thus got there work for the support of himself and his family. Said Abayi: And all these were killed by Alexander of Macedon. Why were they so punished? Because they had transgressed the passage [Deut. 17:16]: "The Lord had said unto you, Ye shall henceforth not return on that way any more." And they returned, and resided in Egypt. When Alexander came, he found them reading the passage [ibid. 28:9]: "The Lord will bring up against thee a nation from afar," etc., and he said: "I had to go ten days on board the ship, and the winds blew and brought me here in five days (certainly I was meant by the quoted passage)"; and he killed them.

"At the expiration of the first holy day," etc. What was the transformation? Said R. Eleazar: Similar to what we have learned in the following Boraitha: The court of the women was formerly without a balcony, but they surrounded it with a balcony, and ordained that the women should sit above and the men below.

The rabbis taught: Formerly the women sat in inward chambers and the men in outer ones; but thereby was produced some levity, and therefore it was ordained the men should sit inwardly and the women outwardly; but still levity arose, and therefore it was ordained that the women sit above and the men below. How could they do so? Does not the passage say [in I Chron. xxviii. 19]: "All was put in writing from the hand of the Lord, who gave me instruction respecting all the works of the pattern"? Said Rabh: They found another passage and lectured about it, namely [Zech., 12:12]: "And the land will mourn, every family apart by itself, the family of the house of David apart, and their wives apart." And they said: Is this not an a fortiori conclusion? At the time of mourning, when the passions are powerless, it is said the women and the men should be separate; so much the more in the Temple, where they were occupied in rejoicing, and the passions can have power over them.

What was the mourning for? R. Dosa and the rabbis differ: One holds that it was for the Messiah the son of Joseph, who was killed; 1 and one holds that it was for the evil angel, who was killed. 2 It would be right according to one who holds that it was for the Messiah the son of Joseph, because he explains as supporting him the passage [Zech. 12:10]: "And they will look up toward me (for every one) whom they have thrust through, and they will lament for him, as one lamenteth for an only son, and weep bitterly for him, as one weepeth bitterly for the firstborn"; but according to one who says that it was for the death of the evil angel, why mourning? must it not be, on the contrary, an enjoyment? Why then weeping? This can be explained as R. Jehudah lectured: In the future the Holy One, blessed be He, will bring the evil angel and slaughter him in the presence of both the upright and the wicked. To the former he will look like a high mountain, and to the latter he will look like a thin hair. Both, however, will cry. The upright will cry, saying: How could we overpower such a high mountain? and the wicked will cry, saying: How could we not subdue such a thin hair? And also the Holy One, blessed be He, will join them in wondering, as it is written [Zech. viii. 6]: "Thus hath said the Lord of hosts: If it should be marvellous in the eyes of the remnant of this people in those days, should it also be marvellous in my eyes. 1

R. Assi said: In the beginning the evil angel appears as insignificant and thin as a cobweb, 2 and finally he becomes as thick as a wagon-rope, as it is written [Is. 5:18]: "Wo unto those that draw iniquity with the cords of falsehood, and as with a wagon-rope, sinfulness.

The rabbis taught: The Messiah b. David, who (as we hope) will appear in the near future, the Holy One, blessed be He,

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will say to him: Ask something of me and I will give it to thee, as it is written [Ps. 2:7-8]: "I will announce the decree . . . Ask it of me, and I will give," etc. But as the Messiah b. David will have seen that the Messiah b. Joseph who preceded him was killed, he will say before the Lord: Lord of the Universe, I will ask nothing of Thee but life. And the Lord will answer: This was prophesied already for thee by thy father David [Ps. 21:5]: "Life hath he asked of thee, thou gavest it to him."

R. Awira, according to others R. Joshuah b. Levi, lectured: There are seven names for the evil angel (tempting man). The Holy One, blessed be He, names him "evil," as it is written [Gen. 8:21]: "The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth"; Moses calls him "obduracy," as it is written [Deut. 10:16]: "Remove the obduracy of your heart"; David calls him "unclean," as it is written [Ps. 51:12]: "Create unto me a clean heart"; and when he says "a clean heart," it must be an unclean one. Solomon calls him "enemy," as it is written [Prov. 25:21]: "If thy enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat, and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink; for though thou gatherest coals of fire upon his head, yet will the Lord repay it unto thee." Do not read it as "repay it", but as "he will make him peaceful toward thee". Isaiah calls him "stumbling-block," as it is written [Is. 57:14]: "And he will say, Cast ye up, cast ye up, clear out of the way, lift up every stumbling-block out of the way of my people." Ezekiel names him "stone," as it is written [Ezek. 36:26]: "I will remove the heart of stone out of your body." Joel calls him "host of the north," as it is written [Joel, 2:20]: "And the host of the north will I remove." (The expression in Hebrew is Tzephoni, which also signifies the "hidden one," and they interpret it as the evil spirit which is hidden in the heart of man.)

The rabbis taught: And I will drive it into a land barren and desolate: the evil angel hidden in a man's heart I will drive into the desert, i.e., where men do not live, that he might tempt them; "with its advance towards the eastern sea," i.e., he set his eyes on the First Temple, and destroyed it, and killed the scholars that were there; "and its rearward toward the western sea," i.e., he set his eyes on the Second Temple, and destroyed it, and killed the scholars that were there; "and its stench shall ascend, and its ill savour shall come up, because he hath done great things," i.e., he leaves out the other nation, and comes to tempt only the Israelites.

"He hath done great things." Said Abayi: Scholars he tempts more than any one else. As it once happened, Abayi heard a man say to a woman: "Let us rise early, and we will go on the road"; and Abayi thought: "I will follow them, and prevent them from a sin." He went after them about three miles through reeds, and he heard them saying: "Our conversation has been very agreeable, and now we must take separate roads." Said Abayi: "My enemy (meaning himself) would not have contained himself thus." He leaned against the bolt of the door, and was very sorry that he would have been worse than a common man. And an old man came to him and taught him: "The greater a man is, the more is he tempted by the evil angel." R. Itz'hak said: The evil passions of man try to get the better of him all the day long, as it is written [Gen. 6:5]: "Was only evil all day long." R. Simeon b. Lakish said: They try to get the better of him, and to slay him, as it is written [Ps. 37:32]: "The wicked looketh out for the righteous, and seeketh to slay him"; and were not the Holy One, blessed be He, to aid him, man could not resist, as it is written further: "The Lord will not leave him in his hand, and will not condemn him when he is judged."

The disciples of R. Ishmael taught: If this hideousness has attacked thee, take it to the house of learning; if it is a stone it will be ground to powder, and if it is iron it will be split to pieces. "If a stone, it will be ground," as it is written [Is. 55:1]: "Ho, every one of ye that thirsteth, come ye to the water" (i.e., the Law); and it is written [Job, 14:19]: "The water weareth out stones." "And of iron, it will be split into pieces," as it is written [Jeremiah, 22:29] Is not thus my word like the fire? saith the Lord, and like a hammer that shivereth the rock?" Said R. Samuel bar Na'hmani in the name of Jehonathan: The evil angel tempts man in this world, and bears testimony in the world to come, as it is written [Prov. 29:21]: "If one rear his slave delicately from his youth, then will he at length become Manon"; and in the Alpha Betha of R. Hiya, which was called Atbach, a witness was called Manon.

Rabh Huna pointed out a contradiction: It is written [Hosea, 4:12]: "For the spirit of lewdness has caused them to err," and [ibid. 5:4]: "The spirit of lewdness is in their bosom." At first it causes to err, and afterwards it remains in the bosom. Rabha said: In the beginning he is called "traveller," and then "guest," and then "man," as it is written [2 Sam. 12:4]: "And there came a traveller unto the rich man; and he felt compunction to take from his own flocks and from his own herds to dress for the guest that was come to him; but he took the ewe of the poor man, and dressed it for the man that was come to him" (Rabha assumes the whole verse to refer to the evil angel).

R. Johanan said: If it were not for the following three passages, the enemies of Israel (meaning Israel) could not withstand: First [Micah, 4:6]: "And her to whom I have done evil"; and the second [Jeremiah, 18:6]: "As the clay is in the potter's hand, so are ye in my hand, O house of Israel"; and the third is [Ezek. 36:26]: "I will remove the heart of stone out of your body, and I will give you a heart of flesh." R. Papa says: Also from the following verse [ibid., ibid. 27]: "And my spirit I will put within you."

It is written [Zech. 2:3]: "And the Lord showed me four carpenters." Who are the four carpenters? Said R. Hanah bar Bizna in the name of R. Simeon the Pious: Messiah b. David, and Messiah b. Joseph, Elijah, and Cohen Zedek.

It is written [Micah, 5:4]: "And in this (manner) shall there be peace: If Asshur should come into our land; and if he should tread in our palaces, then will we raise up against him seven shepherds, and eight anointed men. Who are the seven shepherds? David in the centre; Adam, Sheth, Methushelach, at his right; Abraham, Jacob, and Moses at his left. And who are the eight anointed men? Jesse, Saul, Samuel, Amos, Zephaniah, Zedekiah, Messiah, and Elijah. 1

"And four ladders," etc. It was taught in a Boraitha, that the height of every candelabrum was fifty ells.

"And four lads," etc. The schoolmen propounded a question: Is it meant that each of them held a pitcher that contained 120 lugs, or the 120 lugs was the joint capacity of all the four? Come and hear: And in their hands were pitchers of oil containing each 30 lugs, which altogether amounted to 120. And a Boraitha states that they were praised more than the son of Martha the daughter of Baithus. It was said of the latter that he used to take two legs from the large ox which was bought for a thousand Zuz, in his hands, and went with them slowly, step by step. And his fellow-priests did not let him do so, because it is written [Prov. 14:28]: "In the multitude of the people is the king's glory" (i.e., if more men carried, God's glory were greater). What is meant by, "They were praised more than the son of," etc.? Shall we assume the 30 lugs were heavy--the legs were heavier? Yea, but there was only one step, and it was square; but here was a ladder, and standing upright (and it was more difficult for children to carry the burden).

"There was not a court in Jerusalem that was not illuminated." A Boraitha taught: A woman could pick wheat by this light.

"Pious and distinguished men," etc. The rabbis taught: Among were such as said thus: "Well be to our youth which does not disgrace our age." They were pious and distinguished men, and there were among them people who said: "Well be to our age that has atoned for our youth." And these are the penitents. Both used to say: "Well be to those who have not sinned at all; but who has sinned shall repent, and he will be forgiven." We have learned in a Boraitha: It was said of Hillel the Elder (the Prince): When he rejoiced at the drawing of the water, he used to say thus: If I am here, all are here; but if I am not here, who is here? He used also to say: To the places which I am fond of, my feet bring me; if thou wilt visit my house, I will visit thy house; but if thou wilt not visit my house, I shall never visit thine. As it is written [Ex. 20:21]: "In every place where I shall permit my name to be mentioned, I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee." 1 R. Johanan said: The feet of the man are securities for him: where he is needed, they bring him thither. Two Ethiopians were in the service of King Solomon, named Elihoreph and Achiyah the son of Shisha, and were his scribes. One day Solomon saw the Angel of Death was sad, and he asked him for the reason, and he said: Because the two men are required from me. And Solomon took the two men and gave them away to devils, who should carry them away to the city of Luz, which the Angel of Death cannot enter. On the morrow he saw the Angel of Death was very cheerful, and when he asked him the reason, he told him: To the place where I was commanded to take the lives of these two men, thou hast sent them, for they died at the gate of Luz. Then said Solomon: The feet of a man are his securities; where he is needed, to that place they bring him.

We have learned in a Boraitha: It was said that Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel, when he rejoiced at the drawing of water, would take eight flambeaux in his hands, and throw them into the air, and catch, and one would not touch another. When he used to prostrate himself, he fixed his thumbs on the ground, and bowed, and kissed the floor, and then raised himself, and no creature can do so. And this is what is called Qidah. Levi tried to make such a Qidah in the presence of Rabhi, and became lame on one leg. Levi also tried in the presence of Rabhi to throw and catch eight knives. Samuel tried to do so in the presence of Sha'bur the king with eight goblets full of wine; and Abayi in the presence of Rabha with eight eggs, according to others with four eggs. We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Joshua b. R. Hananiah said: When we were engaged in rejoicing at the drawing of water, our eyes saw no sleep. How so? The first hour for the morning daily sacrifice; afterwards for praying, and from that to the additional sacrifice; after that the additional prayer; afterwards we went to the house of learning; from there we went to eat and drink at home, and afterwards the Min'ha prayer; and from the Min'ha prayer to the daily evening sacrifices, and from that time we rejoiced at the drawing of the water till the morning. But this is not so? Did not R. Johanan say: If one says: I swear I will not sleep three days, he shall get stripes for a false oath, and shall go to sleep immediately? He meant to say: We have not tasted any sleep, for we slept each on the other's shoulders.

"Fifteen songs of degrees," etc. Said R. Hisda to one of the rabbis who read the Agada (legends) before him: Have you heard of the fifteen songs of the degrees, for what purpose David composed them? He answered: So said R. Johanan: When David was mining under the altar to get water, water burst out ready to overflow the world; there he composed the fifteen songs of degrees, and therewith checked it.

"We belong to God and we raise our eyes to God." This is not so? Did not R. Zera say: One who said twice, "Shema, Shema," is the same as if he had said, "Modim, Modim," 1 of which a Mishna says, that he must be silenced? The Mishna meant thus: Our ancestors bowed toward the east to the sun, but only to God we bow, and our eyes we raise in hope to God.

MISHNA: In the Temple they never blew the trumpet less than twenty-one times a day, nor oftener than forty-eight times. They daily blew the trumpet twenty-one times: thrice at opening the gates, nine times at the daily morning offering, and nine times at the daily evening offering. When additional offerings were brought, they blew nine times more. On the eve of the Sabbath, they blew six times more: thrice to interdict the people from doing work, and thrice to separate the holy day from the work day. But on the eve of the Sabbath, during the festival (of Tabernacles) they blew forty-eight times: thrice at the opening of the gates, thrice at the upper gate, thrice at the lower gate, thrice at the drawing of water, thrice over the altar, nine times at the daily morning offering, nine times at the daily evening offering, nine times at the additional offerings, thrice to interdict the people from doing work, and thrice to separate the holy day from the work day.

GEMARA: Our Mishna is not in accordance with R. Jehudah of the following Boraitha: According to those who say they were few, they were not less than seven; and according to those who say that they were many, they were not more than sixteen.

What is the point on which they differ? R. Jehudah holds that blowing and alarming are one and the same thing, while the sages hold that they are two separate things. But what is the reason of R. Jehudah? Because it is written [Num. 10:5]: "And when ye blow an alarm." The rabbis, however, maintain that the passage means to say, that before and after the alarming a common blowing must be used. What is the reason of the rabbis' decree? Because it is written [ibid. 7]: "But at the assembling of the assembly, ye shall blow, but he shall not sound an alarm"; hence blowing and alarming are two separate things, for if they were not, how could the Merciful One command to do only half of the merit.

According to whom would be the saying of R. Kahana that there is no difference between a Tekiah (a blowing) and a Teruah (an alarming) whatever? This is certainly in accordance with R. Jehudah.

"But on the eve of Sabbath, during the festival." The Mishna does not count the times that they blew when they ascended the tenth step, and therefore we must assume the Mishna is in accordance with R. Eliezer b. Jacob from the following Boraitha: Three times they blew, when they ascended the tenth step. R. Eliezer b. Jacob, however, said: These three times they blew over the altar. From this we see that those who said it was blown over the altar, do not hold it was blown on the tenth step; and he who says it was blown on the tenth step, does not mean to say it was blown over the altar. What is the reason of Eliezer b. Jacob? He meant, when it was blown at the opening of the gates, it was not necessary to blow again on the tenth step. And what is the reason of the rabbis? They hold that when it was blown at the drawing of the water, it was unnecessary to blow over the altar. And therefore they gave preference to the ascending of the tenth step. When R. A'ha bar Hanina came from the South, he brought a Boraitha with him, thus: It is written [Num. 10:8]: "And the sons of Aaron the priest shall blow with the trumpets." This verse is superfluous, because there it is already written [ibid. 10]: "Shall ye blow with the trumpets over your burnt-offerings, and over the sacrifices of your peace-offerings." And why is the first-cited verse needed? To signify that they have to blow when there are additional sacrifices. He taught the Boraitha, and he explained it that it meant to say, that it was a duty to blow at every additional sacrifice.

An objection was raised based upon our Mishna: But on the eve of Sabbath during the festival they blew forty-eight times. Now, if it was so (to blow at each additional sacrifice) let the Mishna state that if the Sabbath falls during the festival there were fifty-one (because there was one additional sacrifice)? Said R. Zera: Because they did not blow at the opening of the gates on Sabbath. Said Rabha: Who is that who is not careful in his statements? The saying of R. Zera cannot hold good at all events. First, the Mishna states that there was blowing every day, which certainly includes Sabbath, and, secondly, even if the Sabbath, falling during the festival, were equal to the eve of Sabbath (in regard to blowing), the Mishna would not mention the eve of Sabbath, instead of the Sabbath itself, of which we could learn two things: that of R. Eliezer b. Jacob,

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that the blowing was not on the tenth step, but over the altar, and, secondly, what R. A'ha b. Hanina stated above, that they blew at each additional sacrifice.

Therefore said Rabha that the reason (for not mentioning Sabbath in our Mishna) is because they did not draw water on Sabbath, but on the eve of Sabbath, as stated supra; and then there were many blowings less (namely, the blowing when they reached the upper and the lower gate, the water-gate, and over the altar).

But let the Mishna state, when New Year falls on a Sabbath, when there are three additional sacrifices, namely, the New Year, the new moon, and the Sabbath sacrifice. The Mishna, in reality, left this out, as well as it left out the case when the eve of Passover falls on a Sabbath, when there were many additional blowings at the slaughtering of the Paschal lamb.

"Nor oftener than forty-eight times." Is that so? Did they not blow, when the eve of Passover fell on Sabbath, according to R. Jehudah fifty-one, and according to the rabbis fifty-seven, times? When the Passover offering was brought, it is explained in Tract Pesachim (Chap. V., Mishna 5) that it was blown many times during the time when the three divisions brought their offerings. This, which was done every year, is counted in the Mishna; but the eve of a Passover that fell on Sabbath, which Is not every year, but only seldom, is not reckoned. But does the eve of Sabbath fall every year on the festival; it may happen that the first day of the festival falls on Friday, and then there is no eve of Sabbath during the whole festival? If this happens, then we prolong the festival for another day, because if the first day of the Feast of Tabernacles would be on Friday, the Day of Atonement would fall on Sunday, and no Day of Atonement must fall on Friday or on Sunday. An objection was raised: We have learned that if the first day of the month falls on Sabbath, the song of the first of the month supersedes the song of the Sabbath. Now, if it would be as R. A'ha interpreted the Boraitha before, that they blew at every additional sacrifice, why does it supersede? Let the song of the first of the month be sung, and that of Sabbath also? Said R. Saphra: The Boraitha which says "supersedes the Sabbath" means, it is said before the song of the Sabbath. Why so? Is there not a rule as to that which is frequent and that which is rare, that the frequent has the preference? Said R. Johanan: This was an exception to the rule, that the people should know that this month is consecrated by Beth Din in its time.

Another objection was raised: Rabha bar Samuel taught: One may say, as we must blow every Sabbath separately, and every first month separately, so shall we blow at every additional sacrifice? Therefore it is written [Num. x. 10]: "On the beginnings of your months" (on the beginnings of the months only, but not at additional sacrifices). This objection to R. A'ha's teaching remains. How is it inferred from this passage? Said Abayi: Because it is written, "on the beginnings of the months," in the plural, all the months shall be equal (and if a first day of the month falls on Sabbath, and it would be blown for every additional sacrifice, the months would not be equal). R. Ashi says: We may infer it from the following: It is written "your months," and the "beginnings," in the plural. Which month can happen to have two beginnings? That is New Year, which is the beginning of the year and of the month, and it is nevertheless written, "your months." From this we infer, all the first days of the months must be equal. We have learned in another Boraitha: On the intermediate days the songs were as follows: On the first day they used to say from Psalm xxix.: "Ascribe unto the Lord, O ye sons of the mighty"; on the second, from Ps. 1. 16; on the third, Ps. xciv. 16; on the fourth, ibid. 8; on the fifth day, Ps. 81:7. On the sixth day they used to say 82:5: "All the foundations of the earth are moved"; and if Sabbath fall on one of these days, "All the foundations of the earth are moved" should be superseded. (Now, from what is said, that when Sabbath falls it is superseded, we see that it was not blown for additional offerings.) The objection of R. A'ha remains. But did not R. A'ha bar Hanina cite both a verse and a Boraitha? Said Rabbina: The Boraitha which says it was blown at additional offerings, meant to say it was blown a little longer, but not a greater number of times. The rabbis of Caesarea in the name of R. A'ha said: It was added to the number of trumpets.

And we in exile, who keep two days of festival, how shall we say in the additional prayer the passages [Num. 29:17-32] about the sacrifices? Amemar ordained in Nehardai: The second day we should leave out verse 17, but on the third day we should say (17-20) "both on the second and third"; on the fourth day (20-23) "the third and the fourth," etc., because in exile it was doubtful when the first of the month was consecrated.

MISHNA: On the first holy day of the festival there were thirteen bullocks, two rams, and one goat to be offered. There then remained fourteen lambs for eight orders of priests. On the first day of the festival six of these orders offered two lambs each, and the other two orders one lamb each. On the second day five of the orders offered two lambs each, and the remaining four orders one lamb each. On the third day four orders offered two lambs each, and the remaining six orders one lamb each. On the fourth day three orders offered two lambs each, and the remaining eight orders one lamb each. On the fifth day two orders offered two lambs each, and the remaining ten orders one lamb each. On the sixth day one order offered two lambs, and the remaining twelve orders one lamb each. On the seventh day they were all equal. On the eighth day they cast lots, as on other festivals. It was so regulated that the order which offered bullocks one day were not permitted to offer bullocks the next day, but it went in rotation.

GEMARA: These seventy bullocks, for what purpose were they offered? Said R. Elazar: For the sake of the seventy nations which existed then. And to what purpose was offered the one bullock [Num. 29:36]? For the sake of the single nation (Israel). It can be compared to a human king who says to his slaves: Make for me a great meal for several days. On the last day he says to his friend: You make for me a little meal, that I should have a benefit from yourself only. Said R. Johanan: Woe be to the nations, they have lost, and they do not know even what they have lost! When the Temple was in existence, the altar atoned for their sins, but now who shall atone for their sins?

MISHNA: Three times in the year all the twenty-four orders of priests were alike entitled to share the pieces of offerings of the festival, and in the shewbread; and on the Feast of Pentecost the distributors say to each priest: "Here is leavened bread for thee, and here is unleavened bread for thee." The order of priests whose regular time of service occurs in the festivals offer the continual daily offerings, vows, and voluntary offerings, and all congregational offerings, and every sacrifice.

GEMARA: The pieces of the offerings? They were brought to the altar? Said R. Hisda: Do not read "pieces 1 of the offering," but "the offerings that were said to be sacrificed on the festivals." The rabbis taught: Whence do we deduce that all the orders of the priests had equal shares of the offerings of the festival? Because it is written [Deut. xviii. 6]: "And come with all the longing of his soul . . . he shall minister." Lest one say, on any day of the year it should be also so, therefore it is written, "from any one of thy gates," to signify, this is only when all Israel comes through one gate.

"And in the shewbread." The rabbis taught: Whence do we deduce that all the orders of the priests have equal shares of the shewbread? From what is written [Deut. 18:8]: "They shall have like portions to eat." That means, according to his share in the service shall be his share in eating. But what is meant by eating? Shall we assume, that means to eat his share of the sacrifice? This is already deduced from Leviticus, 7:9: "Shall belong to the priest that offereth it alone." Hence it means only the eating of the shewbread. But lest one say, they shall have a share also in the duty-offerings which are not dependent on the festival, therefore it is written [Deut. 18:8]: "Beside that which cometh of the sale of his patrimony." What is meant by selling the patrimony? That they have divided the weeks: I and my children shall take this week, and you shall have the other week.

"And on Pentecost," etc. It was taught: (If one has to pronounce two benedictions, of the Succah and the time,) Rabh said, he shall pronounce first the benediction of the Succah, and after this that of the time; and Rabha bar bar Hana said, that of the time first. The reason of Rabh is because the duty of the day must be given preference; and Rabha bar bar Hana's, the frequent thing has the preference over the rarer thing (and the benediction of the time is said many times in the year, and that of the Succah only once a year). An objection was raised from our Mishna: On Pentecost it is said: "Here is leavened bread, and here is unleavened bread." Now, on the Pentecost, the duty of the day is with leavened bread, and nevertheless it mentions unleavened bread first, and this would be an objection to Rabh, who says that the duty of the day must be given preference? Rabh might say . On this differ the Tanaim, as we learn in the following Boraitha: Here is unleavened bread, here is leavened bread. R. Saul, however, said: Here is leavened bread, here is unleavened bread. R. Na'hman b. R. Hisda lectured: It shall be done not according to Rabh to pronounce the benediction of Succah before that of time, but that of time should be said before that of Succah. R. Shesheth the son of R. Idi says: The Succah before the time. And so the Halakha prevails.

"The order of priests, whose regular time," etc. What is meant by "all congregational sacrifices"? It means to add the bullock, which the congregation has to offer for ignorance [Lev. 4:13, 14] and the goat for idolatry.

"And every sacrifice." What is meant by every sacrifice? It means, to supply the deficit on the altar. (See Tract Shekalim, Chap. 4., Mishna D.)

MISHNA: If a festival falls before or after a Sabbath, all the twenty-four orders share alike in the shewbread. But if a day intervenes between the Sabbath and the festival, the order whose regular turn it was, received ten of the shewbread, and the loiterers received two shewbread. At other times of the year the order which entered on their duty received six, and that which went off duty received also six. R. Jehudah says: That order which enters on duty received seven, and that which goes off receives five. Those who entered shared them on the north side, and those who went out, on the south side (of the Temple court). The order Bilgah always divided their share on the south side; their slaughter ring was fastened down, and the window of their chamber blocked up.

GEMARA: What is meant by "before or after"? Shall we assume that "before" means the first day of the festival, and after a Sabbath? The last day of the festival, is it not the same as a Sabbath during the festival? Therefore we must say that "before" means, the last day was before a Sabbath, and "after" means, the first day was after Sabbath. Why, then, shall the shares be equal? The Sabbath does not belong to the festival at all? Because those who have to work on the succeeding week must come before the Sabbath, and those whose duty was out could not go away on the festival, and they all stayed in the Temple. Therefore the sages ordained they should have an equal share.

"If a day intervene," etc. And according to R. Jehudah, what is the reason that those who enter received two more? Said R. Itz'hak: That was the reward for opening the gates. But why did they not say, let it be equal for ever, for in the other week those who take seven this week will have five the next? Said Abayi: It is better to take a ripe small orange than to wait for an unripe large melon.

"Those who entered shared them on the north," etc. The rabbis taught: Those that entered took their shares on the north side, that it should be seen they were entering; and those who took them on the south side did it that everybody should see they were going out.

"The order Bilgah," etc. The rabbis taught: It happened to Miriam the daughter of Bilgah that she became an apostate, and was married to an officer of the Greek kingdom. When the Greeks entered the Temple, she took her sandal and knocked on the altar, and said: Lucus, Lucus, how long will you destroy the money of Israel, if you cannot help them in their trouble? When the sages heard this, they fastened down their ring and blocked up the window. But according to others, the order of Bilgah was always late to come, and the order of Jeshebab his brother substituted them; and although always the neighbours of the wicked are not benefited, the neighbours of Bilgah have benefited, because they took their share always in the south, and those of Jeshebab his brother always in the north. It is right according to those who say that the whole order was late, therefore it was punished; but according to those who say that only Miriam, Bilgah's daughter, became apostate, can it be that the Bilgah should be punished for his daughter? Said Abayi: Yea, because people say, what a child speaks in the street, it has heard either from its father or from its mother. But must the whole order be punished for the sin of her father and mother? Said Abayi: Woe be to the wicked, and woe be to his neighbour; well be to the righteous, and well be to his neighbour, as it is written [Is. iii. 10]: "Say ye to the righteous, that he hath done well; for the fruit of their doings shall they eat."

END OF TRACT SUCCAH.

SYNOPSIS OF SUBJECTS OF VOLUME 7.--TRACT MOED KATAN.

CHAPTER 1.

MISHNAS 1. to 3. How dry and low-land may be irrigated from newly sprung fountain and rain water, on the middle days. Is grubbing up olive trees permitted during the Sabbatical year? Is one court permitted to overrule the decision of another? Where is it deduced from the Scriptures that tombs must be marked? Messengers on account of Kilaim, when and for what reason they were sent. The irrigating of plants and yard. gardens. How to stop a gap in a fence, in the middle days and the Sabbatical year, 1-9

MISHNAS 4. to 9. How the priests had to make the inspection of plagues. If it is allowed to gather the bones of parents in the minor festivals. If a funeral oration maybe held thirty days before the festival. About digging and preparing graves in the minor festivals. If one may espouse a wife in those days. The explanation of I Kings viii. 66, and the legend of Solomon and the gates. The allegorical blessings of Jonathan and Jehudah the disciples of Ben Jo'hi to his son, and their interpretation by his father. How Rabh interpreted the advice of Ben Halafta to his own son as a blessing from the Scripture. The especial labours which may and may not be done on the middle days, and also the difference between a layman and a specialist on this subject, 9-18

CHAPTER 2.

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TRACT MOED KATAN (MINOR FESTIVALS).

CHAPTER 2.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING LABOUR AND MARRIAGE IN THE INTERMEDIATE DAYS.

MISHNA: Beth Hashal'hin (Dry Land) may be irrigated during the middle days, and also during the Sabbatical year, as well from a fountain that is newly sprung forth as from one that is not newly sprung forth; but one must not irrigate it with rainwater, nor with water (drawn) from a deep well; nor may one make trenches (to hold water) round vines.

R. Elazar ben Azariah said: "One must not make (dig) a fresh trench (conduit, or water course) during the middle days, or during the Sabbatical year." The sages, however, hold, that a fresh trench (water course) may be dug during the Sabbatical year, and that those (conduits) which are choked up may be repaired during the middle days. One may likewise repair water reservoirs (which are) on the public ground, and cleanse them. One may also repair the roads (streets), the market (public) places, and the spring-baths. In short, it is allowed to do whatever the exigencies of the public (service) require. Tombs may be marked, and messengers are to be sent out on account of possible Kilaim. 1

GEMARA: As the Mishna permits irrigation from a newly sprung fountain, although its sides are likely to cave in, it is self-understood then that it is the more so allowed from a fountain not newly sprung, the sides of which are not likely to cave in? For what purpose then did the Mishna state expressly that irrigation is also allowed from a fountain not newly sprung? If not for this statement we might assume that from a newly sprung fountain whose sides are likely to cave in, dry land may and lowland may not be irrigated, but from a spring not newly sprung even Beth Habal (lowland not requiring frequent irrigation) may also be irrigated, it therefore comes to teach us that there is no difference.

But whence do we deduce that "Beth Hashal'hin" means dry land. From the passage [Deut. xxv. 18]: "When thou wast 'faint' and weary"; the translation of Onkeles of which is: "When thou wast 'Mshalhi' and weary." (The letter "h" is changeable for "'h"; and "mshalhi" is equivalent to "mshal'hi.") And whence do we deduce that "Beth Habal" means "husband fields"? From the passage [Isaiah, 62:5]: "For as a young man 'espouseth' a virgin," etc., the translation of Jonathan whereof being "as a young man 'husbands' a virgin," etc.

Who is the Tana who holds that irrigation is permitted only far the purpose of preventing loss but not for the purpose of deriving gain; and even in case of loss no troublesome work is permitted? Said R. Huna: "It is R. Eliezer ben Jacob, as we have learned in the following Mishna: R. Eliezer ben Jacob said: Water may be conveyed from one tree to another, provided the whole orchard be not irrigated." (This is in the case of lowland and because it is only for gain; R. Eliezer said it must not.) From this statement it may only be deduced that R. Eliezer holds so in case of gain, but no deduction can be made therefrom as to where loss is involved? Therefore said R. Papa: It is in accordance with R. Jehudah of the following Boraitha: From a newly sprung fountain even lowland may be irrigated, this is the dictum of R. Meir. R. Jehudah holds that only dry land which became ruined may be irrigated. R. Elazar b. Azariah, however, agrees with neither of them. R. Jehudah went further than that and said: "One may not direct a water channel to irrigate his garden and ruined land, during the middle days."

What is meant by "ruined"? Does it mean actual ruin? why then irrigating it? Said Abayi: "It means, land one spring of which was ruined but another one sprung forth." R. Elazar b. Azariah, however, does not allow even in this case. But why all this argument? Perhaps R. Jehudah did not allow the irrigation of lowland only from a new spring, for the reason stated above; but from an old spring, the sides of which are not likely to cave in, it is permitted? If this be so, then according to whom would be the statement in our Mishna? We, therefore, must say, that according to R. Jehudah from both newly sprung and not newly sprung fountains dry land may and lowland may not be irrigated; and the statement in the Boraitha: "From a newly sprung fountain," etc., is for the purpose of indicating the extent of R. Meir's permission, viz., that dry land may be irrigated, and even from a newly sprung fountain. It was taught: "One who weeds or waters plants on Sabbath, against what principal labour must he be warned?" Said Rabba: "Ploughing, as, these are derivative from it." R. Joseph, however, said: "Sowing, as these are derivative from it."

This would be correct as for the intermitting days, during which work is permitted in case of loss; but as for the Sabbatical year, during which both ploughing and sowing are prohibited, how can it be allowed? Said Abayi: "The Mishna treats of the Sabbatical year subsequent to the destruction of the Temple, and Rabbi said elsewhere that this is only rabbinical." Rabha, however, said: "The Mishna maybe explained even according to the rabbis, who hold that it is biblical, but the Scripture prohibits only principal labours but not derivative; as it is written [Lev. xxv. 4]: "But in the seventh year there shall be a sabbath of rest unto the land, a sabbath of the Lord; thy field shalt thou not sow, and thy vineyard shalt thou not. prune," etc. Let us see: Is not sowing the principal of pruning, and is not reaping the principal of gathering? For what purpose then did the Scripture expressly state pruning and gathering? We must say that it is to point out the derivatives for which one is liable.

But is one not liable even for other derivatives? Did we not learn in a Boraitha: It is written [Lev. xxv. 4]: "Thy field shalt thou not sow, and thy vineyard shalt thou not prune"? Whence do we deduce that weeding, grubbing up vines, cutting, plucking, sawing (off branches, when they are too numerous), and supporting (trees), manuring, removing rubbish from the roots, or covering the roots with earth, or smoking (for the purpose of killing the insects on the tree) are also not permitted to be done during the Sabbatical year? From the arrangements of the words in the passage: It is not written: "Thou shalt not sow thy field, and thou shalt not prune thy vineyard," but, "Thy field shalt thou not sow," etc., which indicates that all work pertaining to the field and all work pertaining to the vineyard shall not be done. But this generalization does not include grubbing up olive-trees, or vines, or filling water conduits, or digging trenches round vines. Whence do we deduce these exceptions? From the statement, "Thy field thou shalt not sow." Was not sowing included in the general commandment, "A year of rest shall it be unto the land"? Why the repetition of sowing? For the purpose of comparison: As "sowing" includes both the field and the vineyard, so other labour similar to it is prohibited. (Hence we see that for other derivatives one is also liable?) Nay, all those enumerated in the Boraitha are only rabbinical prohibitions, and the biblical passage is only a slight reference.

Is grubbing up olive-trees permitted during the Sabbatical year? Is it not written [Exod. 22:11]: "But the seventh year shalt thou let it rest and lie still," etc., and it was construed to mean, "let it rest from being grubbed, and lie still from being cleaned from stones"? Said R. Uqba bar Hama: "Grubbing is done for two different purposes, viz., to promote the growth of, and to fill the cracks in the tree; the latter is permitted, the former is not."

We have learned in a Mishna (Shekalim I., 1): "Up to what time is it permitted to dig in an orchard during the year immediately preceding the Sabbatical year? The school of Shammai hold, during all the time the fruit may benefit thereby. The school of Hillel, however, decree, up to the feast of Pentecost." Both these limits are almost identical. And up to what time is it permitted to plough corn-fields during the year preceding the Sabbatical year? Until the ground ceases to be damp, and during all the time people till the soil to plant melons and cucumbers. Said R. Simeon: "If this be so, then the Law permitted every individual to fix his own time?" Therefore, the time is fixed as follows: Corn-fields may be tilled up to the Passover and orchards up to Pentecost. (The school of Hillel fix the time at the Passover.) And R. Simeon ben Pazzi in the name of R. Joshua ben Levi, quoting Bar Qappara, said: "Rabban Gamaliel and his tribunal have abolished those two limits." Said R. Zera to R. Abbahu (and according to others, Resh Lakish to R. Johanan): "How could Rabban Gamaliel and his court abolish a regulation established by the schools of Shammai and Hillel? Did we not learn in a Mishna: No one court is permitted to overrule the decision of another court, unless they exceed the other in number and wisdom? He was astound for one hour [Daniel, iv. 16], and then answered: Say, so was the condition of the first court, that those who differ with them may overrule them. R. Ashi, however, said: Rabban Gamaliel and his court are in accordance with R. Ishmael, who holds that this was oral law, and as such it was binding only during the existence of the Temple, similar to that of "pouring water on the altar," but not after.

The rabbis taught "It is not permitted to irrigate from the water basins, or trenches, which were filled with rain-water on the eve of the feast, unless there is a water-channel passing between them." Said R. Papa: "Even this is permitted only where the greater part of the land is irrigated therefrom." R. Ashi, however, said: "It is permitted even if this is not the case, for when water is likely to flow in (into the channel) one is not likely to do any troublesome work, and is rather likely to think to himself, 'if it cannot be irrigated in one day it will be so in two or three days.'"

The rabbis taught: "It is permitted to irrigate dry land from a water basin which receives its water supply from the dry land situated above it" (the upper land being irrigated from a well and some water is dripping down into the basin). But is it not likely to cease (and some troublesome work may be done in bringing water from another place)? Said R. Jeremiah: "The case is when it is still dripping." Abayi adds: "This case holds good only when the original spring has not ceased."

"One must not make a fresh trench," etc. This would be correct in reference to the middle days, because it is considered work, but what is the reason for the Sabbatical year? R. Zera and R. Abba bar Mamel: One holds, the reason is because it resembles delving; and the other says, because it is considered a preparation of the adjacent ground for sowing.

"And those conduits that are choked up may be cleansed." What is meant by "choked up"? Said R. Abba: "If it was only one span deep, it may be restored to its original depth of six spans."

Abayi allowed the inhabitants of Hamdoch to cut off the branches of the trees growing in the river (during the middle days). R. Jeremiah allowed the inhabitants of Sekutha to cleanse a choked well of the river. R. Ashi permitted the inhabitants of Matha M'hasiah to deepen the river Burniz; and the reason assigned by him for this permission was, that because many persons used its water it was to be considered as a public necessity, and our Mishna states that all work for public service is permitted.

"One may repair water reservoirs located on public ground." Is cleansing only, and no digging, permitted? Said R. Jacob in the name of R. Johanan.: The Mishna refers to a case in which the public do not need it, but otherwise even digging is permitted. Is that so? Have we not learned in a Boraitha: "Basins, pits, and cavities may be cleansed, if they belong to private persons, and so much the more if they are public. But it is not allowed to dig even when they are public, and so much the more when they are private." Should we not assume, that it is not permitted even when needed by the public? Nay, the case is when the public do not need it. Then how would it be in case of the private ones? Shall we assume that it is even when one does not need it? Then why should cleansing be permitted? Explain thus: Private basins may be cleansed when needed by him, and so much the more public basins if required by the public; but it is not permitted to do so even when they are public in case they are not needed by the public, and so much the more private ones if not needed by the owners, for if not needed by the owners -even cleansing is not permitted. Said R. Ashi: "The explanation of our Mishna seems to mean the same, as it states all that is necessary," etc., and this word "all" adds also digging. But the expression "all" may include the works enumerated in the following Boraitha: Messengers may be sent out (on the middle days) to remove prickles from the roads and to repair the markets and thoroughfares, and to ascertain the contents of the legal baths; and if they do not contain the prescribed measure they must be regulated. And whence do we deduce that if the messengers were not sent out and in consequence thereof an accident happened, that those guilty of such neglect are personally charged with having caused that accident? Therefore it is written [Deut. xix. 10]: "And bloodguiltiness be brought upon thee"? Are all these not expressly stated in our Mishna? "The roads," etc., "may be repaired?" why then repeat, "all" what is required by the public, etc.? We must then assume that it adds digging. Infer herefrom.

"And tombs may be marked," etc. R. Simeon b. Pazzi said: Where is it hinted at in the Scripture that tombs must be marked? It is written [Ezek. 39:15]: "When any one seeth a man's bone, there shall be set up a sign by it." Said Rabina to R. Ashi: Were not tombs marked prior to Ezekiel? Therefore we must say, that it was traditional and the passage in Ezekiel only refers to it. Rabina, however, said: We may find a reference to this in the following passage [Psalms, 1:23]: "And to him that ordered his course aright will I show the salvation of God." (From this passage it may be inferred that the tombs were marked in order not to pass over them.) As R. Joshua b. Levi said: One who weighs his ways will be rewarded in seeing the salvation of the Holy One, blessed be He. As the Hebrew term of the above passage is "Vessom derech," do not read "vessom," but "veshom." A pupil of R. Janai who was wont to ask questions of the latter whenever he was lecturing, refrained from doing so on the Sabbath preceding a holiday, when a multitude of people used to gather (for fear that R. Janai might not be able to answer him and get confused), and R. Janai referred to him the passage just quoted (as explained by R. Joshua b. Levi).

The rabbis taught: Those things which cannot communicate uncleanliness when in a tent need not be marked; but the

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following parts of a dead person must be marked: the spinal cord; the head; the major part of the structure of the skeleton, and the major number of parts of the skeleton. Those places which are known to be unclean need not be marked, but those which are doubtful need be. The following are considered doubtful places: Those having trees with spread out branches, places near fences the stones of which are projecting forward, and Beth Haperes (Perch): and no signs should be put up on the very spot of the uncleanliness (but a short distance away), in order not to injure those who are clean (because if one inadvertently approaches the sign he becomes unclean); neither shall a sign be put too far away from the unclean spot, in order not to injure the land of Israel (i.e., not to mark too much clean space as unclean). R. Jehudah said: "No marking should be done unless there is the Elder (of the congregation) or a scholar, for not every one is experienced in such things." Said Abayi: "From this we may infer, that if there is a young scholar in the city, all the business of the congregation must be attended to by him" (if there is no one else to do it).

"And messengers are to be sent out on account of Kilaim." Were messengers sent out on the middle days? Have we not learned in a Mishna (Shekalim, I., a) that they were sent out on the first day of Adar? R. Elazar and R. Jose bar 'Hanina: One explains the contradiction thus: "Our Mishna relates to those plants which are late in season and the other to those early in season." The other explains that our Mishna refers to vegetables and the other to herbs. Said R. Assi in the name of R. Johanan: This is the case only when the plants have not sprung up, but when they have (and Kilaim were noticed) messengers are sent out even before. Why are messengers sent out on the middle days? Said R. Jacob in the name of R. Johanan: Because on those days labour is cheap. How much of the mixed seeds must there be in order to constitute Kilaim? Said R. Samuel bar Itz'hak: As we have learned (in Kilaim, II., i): "Every Sah that contains one-fourth of seed of another species must be lessened." But did we not learn in a Boraitha: "It was determined that the whole field be confiscated (made ownerless)"? This presents no difficulty. The former was said before and the latter after the determination was made, as we have learned in a Boraitha: Formerly the messengers used to pull out the Kilaim and throw them to the cattle, and the owners used to be doubly pleased, first because their fields were weeded, and secondly because their cattle were fed; so it was determined that it be pulled out and thrown on the roads, but the owners were still very pleased because of the weeding of their fields, and it was finally determined that the whole field should be given to the free use of the people.

MISHNA: R. Elazar ben Jacob said: "One may lead water from one tree to another, provided always the whole orchard be not irrigated; plants which have not imbibed (water) before the middle days, must not be irrigated during the middle days. The, sages, however, permit both."

GEMARA: R. Jehudah said: "If it was damp land it may be done." So also we have learned in the following Boraitha: The prohibition to irrigate during the middle days applies only to plants that have not imbibed prior to the feast, but those that have may be irrigated during the middle days. And if it was damp land it may. Withered land, however, must not. But the sages permit both. Rabina said: From this it is to be inferred that a yard-garden may be besprinkled during the middle days, for what is the reason for withered land? because by irrigation it is changed from one late in season unto one early in season? The same is the case with a yard-garden.

MISHNA: One may catch Ishuth (moles) and field mice in orchards and fields in the usual manner, both during the middle days and the Sabbatical year. The sages, however, said, that in an orchard (the vermin may be caught) in the usual manner, but that in a corn-field it must not be caught in the usual manner. During the middle days one may pile (loose stone) to stop a gap in a fence; on the Sabbatical year, however, it may be repaired in the ordinary way.

GEMARA: What is "Ishuth"? Said R. Jehudah: It is an eyeless insect. Said Rabha bar Ishmael, and according to others R. Yemar bar Shlamia: Where is it mentioned in the Scripture that Ishuth is an eyeless insect? It is written [Psalms, lviii. 9]: "As a snail which melted, let him pass away, like the untimely birth of a woman: (Ehsheth) 1 which hath not seen the sun."

"But that in a cornfield it must not be caught in the usual manner." We have learned in a Boraitha: "R. Simeon ben Elazar (or ben Jacob) said: This refers only to those corn-fields that are adjacent to a town, but in case of those adjacent to an orchard it may be done even in the usual manner, for the reason that they might overstep the boundary and injure the trees."

"During the middle days one may pile loose stones to stop a gap in a fence." With what is it stopped? Said R. Joseph: With the twigs of shrubbery and the bay-tree. In a Boraitha we have learned: "The stones maybe piled up but no mortar must be used." Said R. Hisda: "This applies only to garden fences, but in case of court walls it may be rebuilt in the usual manner." Said R. Ashi: This may be inferred from our own Mishna. It states: "And during the Sabbatical year it may be rebuilt in the usual manner." This statement cannot relate to a court wall, because there is no reason why it should not be permitted; it must then relate to garden fences, and although it looks as if done for the purpose of protecting the fruit, infer herefrom that it is permitted.

MISHNA: R. Meir said: Priests make the first inspection of the plague (of leprosy) in order to relieve (the patient) but not to restrict him. The sages, however, decide, neither to relieve nor to restrict.

GEMARA: We have learned in a Boraitha: "R. Jose holds, neither to relieve nor to restrict, for the reason that if an inspection is made, if you cannot relieve him you must restrict him." Said Rabbi: "R. Meir's decision seems to be more proper in the case of one who is still subject to the examination; and R. Jose's decision seems to be the more proper one in the case of one who was decidedly afflicted with the disease." Said Rabha: They all agree that no examination is made (during the middle days) of a clean person; they also all agree that an inspection may be made during the first seclusion; 1 in what they differ is: in the case of the second seclusion. One holds that it is discretionary with the priest. If he finds him clean, he informs him; but if he finds him unclean, he keeps silent. And the other holds that, as it is written [Lev. xiii. 59]: "To pronounce him clean or unclean," he must in either case pronounce it. The Master said: "Said Rabbi: R. Jose's decision seems to be more proper," etc. But have we not learned in a Boraitha, vice versa? There is a difference of opinions between the Tanaim in regard to Rabbi's statement. One holds that one (who is afflicted with the plague) prefers association with the public; and the other holds, that he appreciates more the society of his wife.

MISHNA: R. Meir further said: One may gather the bones of his father or mother (during the middle days to inter them), because it is a joy to him (it relieves his mind). But R. Jose said: "It is a grief to him" (afflicts his mind). One must not grumble over his dead, nor hold a funeral oration for thirty days before the festival.

GEMARA: There is a contradiction: We have learned in a Boraitha (Ebel Rabbatti, XII.): 2 "One who gathers the bones of his dead father or mother shall mourn over them the whole day, but not in the evening. Said R. Hisda: This is applicable even if they are wrapped up in his mantle (and are not readily seen by him?) Said Abayi: Read in the Mishna: R. Meir said, etc., for the enjoyment of the festival will prevent him from mourning."

"One must not grumble over his dead." What is meant by "grumble"? Said Rabh: The funeral orators in Palestine use the following expression in their funeral orations "Let all the perturbed join him in mourning." (The Mishna means, then, that he should not excite others to mourn.)

"Thirty days before the festival." Why thirty? Said R, Kahana, according to others Rabh: "It happened once that a funeral orator came around to the house of one who had saved up some money for the prescribed pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and he so pleased the wife of the latter with his orations that she handed him all her savings, and her husband was prevented from going to Jerusalem. And therefore it was then determined that no exciting oration be held within thirty days preceding a festival." Samuel, however, said: The reason is, because no one departed is forgotten by his mourners during the first thirty days. In what respect does it make a difference, whether the one or the other is the reason? In case one volunteers to do it without compensation. (According to Rabh it may, and according to Samuel it may not take place.)

MISHNA: One must not dig graves or burial vaults on the middle days; but one may prepare graves (previously dug); and also make a washing pit, and a coffin in the same court where the corpse lies. This, however, R. Jehudah prohibits, unless the boards have been (previously) provided.

GEMARA. What part is called "grave," and what part "vault"? Said R. Jehudah: Grave is the excavation, and vault is that part which is built in the grave. So also we have learned in a Boraitha.

"But one may prepare graves." What is meant by "preparation"? Said R. Jehudah: "If it was too long it may be shortened." In a Boraitha we have learned that it may be made both longer and wider.

"And a coffin in the same court where the corpse lies." What we read in this Mishna has reference to what the rabbis taught: "All that is necessary to be done for the dead may be done: his hair may be cut, his wrapper washed; and his coffin may be prepared from boards cut before the festival," R. Simeon ben Gamaliel said: "Timber may be also brought and boards cut therefrom, privately in the house."

MISHNA: One must not espouse a wife on the middle days--neither virgins nor widows; nor must one marry the childless widow of his deceased brother, 1 as that (the espousal) is a cause of joy to him (individually), but one may receive back his own divorced wife. A woman may prepare her ornaments on the middle days. R. Jehudah said: "She must not apply lime (chalk as a cosmetic), because it may disfigure her. A layman may sew (make stitches) in the regular way; but the tailor must do it zigzag. One may twine (the ropes in the sacking) of bedsteads." R. Jose, however, said: "They may only be tightened."

GEMARA: And if it is a cause of joy to him, why not? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel, and so also said R. Elazar in the name of R. Oshiya or Hanina: "For the reason that two different joys must not be comingled." Rabba bar Huna said: "For the reason that the enjoyment of the festival is neglected on account of the enjoyment over his wife." Said Abayi to R. Joseph: The statement of Rabba bar Huna was originally made by Rabh, as R. Daniel bar Ktina said in the name of Rabh: Whence do we deduce that it is not permitted to espouse wives on the middle days? For it is written [Deut. xvi. 14]: "And thou shalt rejoice on thy feast." Over thy feast thou shalt rejoice, but not over thy wife. Ula said: "The reason is: Because there would be too much trouble." R. Itz'hak of Naf'ha said: "The reason is, in order not to restrict reproduction (for every one will postpone his marriage until the festival)."

An objection was made: We have learned elsewhere: "All those said to be prohibited from espousing wives on the middle days, may do so on the eve of the feast." This seems to contradict all those reasons assigned? This presents no difficulty: According to the one who said, because of the enjoyment--the main enjoyment over his bride is on the first day only; according to the one who said, it is the trouble--the main trouble is also on the first day only; and according to the one who said, in order not to restrict reproduction-for one single day no one will postpone it.

But whence do we deduce that two different joys may not be comingled? It is written [I Kings, viii. 65]: "And Solomon held at the time the feast," etc., "seven days and seven days, even fourteen days." Now then, if comingling of two different joys were permitted, why did Solomon not postpone it until the feast and the seven days of the feast would have served for both? R. Parnach in the name of R. Johanan said: On that year the Israelites had not observed the Day of Atonement and they were perturbed and thought they were sinful, and a Heavenly voice was heard announcing: "All of you are prepared for the world to come."

It is written [1 Kings, 8:66]: "On the eighth day he dismissed the people, and they blessed the king and they went unto their tents," etc.

"And they went unto their tents," meaning, they found their wives clean. "Joyful "--they were delighted with the brightness of the Shekhina. "Glad of heart"--the wife of every one became pregnant with a male child. "Because of the good," etc.--for the announcement of the Heavenly voice, as stated above. "For David his servant and Israel his people"--this would be correct so far as Israel is concerned, for they were forgiven their neglect to observe the Day of Atonement; but what is hinted at by the statement, "For David his servant"? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: When Solomon desired to place the ark in the Temple, the gates became fastened to each other and they could not be opened. Solomon then pronounced twenty-four prayer-songs and was not answered. He then commenced to pray [Psalm, 24:7]: "Raise your heads, O ye gates," etc., and still he was not answered; but when he finally said [II Chron. 6:42]: "O Lord God, turn not away the face of thy anointed, remember the pious deeds of David thy servant," he was at once answered. At that moment the enemies of David became as black as the bottom of a pot, and then it was known to all that the Holy One, blessed be He, had forgiven David that sin (of Bath-Sheba).

R. Jonathan ben Esmai and R. Jehudah b. Gerim had been studying the chapter treating of Vows before R. Simeon b. Jo'hi. In the evening they took leave of him and departed. On the following morning they returned and asked leave again. R. Simeon b. Jo'hi questioned them: "Did you not take leave of me last night?" They answered him: "Did not our Master teach us, that a disciple who takes leave of his instructor and remains in the same place over night must take leave again?" As it is written [1 Kings, 7:66]: "On the eighth day he dismissed the people, and they blessed the king"; and it is again written [2 Chron. 7:10]: "And on the twenty-third day of the seventh month he dismissed the people." Infer from. this, that a disciple who after taking leave of his Master remains over night in the same place must take leave again. Then be (R. Simeon b. Jo'hi) said to his son: "These men are of nice countenance (scholarly). Go and receive their blessing." He went, and found them discussing the contradiction of the following passages: It is written [Prov. 4:26]: "Balance well the track of thy foot, and let all thy ways be firmly right"; and ibid. v. 6 reads: "So that (she) cannot balance the path of life"? This presents no difficulty. The first passage refers to a commandment that can be performed by others, and the other passage has reference to such as cannot be performed by others. They again propounded a question: It is written [Prov. iii. 15]: "She is more precious than pearls, and all the things thou valuest are not equal unto her." From this it seems that Heavenly things are equal. And it is written [ibid. 8:2]: "And all the things that men wish for are not equal to her"; from which it seems that Heavenly things are also included? And the above answer was applied also to answer this contradiction.

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They then turned to him and asked him what his wishes were, and he answered: "Father sent me here to receive your blessing." They then pronounced: "Let it be the Will that thou shalt sow but not reap, thou shalt bring in but not give forth, thou shalt give forth but not bring in; thy house shall be ruined and thy temporary dwelling shall remain; thy table shall be confused; and thou shalt not see a new year." When he returned to his father he said: "Not only did they not bless me, but, on the contrary, they cursed me!" and he recited the above. His father replied: All those are blessings; viz.: "Thou shalt sow and not reap" means, allegorically, "Thou shalt bear children and they shall not die." "Thou shalt bring in and not give forth" "Thou shalt bring in thy house wives for thy sons, and thy male children shall not die, so their wives will not need to leave thy house." "Thou shalt give forth and not bring in"--"Thou shalt have daughters and their husbands shall not die, so that they shall not be compelled to return to thy house." "Thy house shall be ruined and thy temporary dwelling shall remain"--for this world is only a temporary dwelling and the world to come is the real house, as it is written [Psalms, 49:12]: "Their inward thought (Kirbom) is, that their houses are to be forever." Do not read "kirbom," but "kivrom" (their graves). "Thy table shall be confused"--by thy many children. "And thou shalt not see a new year"--"Thy wife shall not die, so that thou shalt not be compelled to marry another."

R. Simeon b. Halafta took leave of Rabh, and the latter said to his son: "Go to him and receive his blessing." R. Simeon pronounced the following: "Let it be the Will that thou shalt not shame others and others shall not shame thee." When he returned to his father he said: "He did not bless me, but only advised me." And his father rejoined: "Nay, it is a blessing; and it is the same, the Holy One, blessed be He, pronounced over Israel, as it is written [Joel, 2:26]: "And ye shall eat in plenty," etc., "and my people shall not be ashamed unto eternity"; and repeated in the next passage: "And ye shall know that I am in the midst of Israel," etc., "and my people shall not be made ashamed unto eternity." The repetition herein means, both that they shall not shame others and others shall not shame them.

"A woman may prepare her ornaments," etc. The wife of R. Hisda was once ornamenting herself in the presence of her daughter-in-law. R. Huna bar Dinna, who was present at the time, said: "It seems to me that only a young woman is allowed to prepare her ornaments, but not an old one?" And R. Hisda rejoined: "By the Lord! even your mother and your grandmother, and even the woman who is on the brink of her grave; as the proverb goes: 'A woman of sixty is as enthusiastic over the music of a cymbal as a girl of six.'"

"R. Jehudah said: She must not apply lime," etc. R. Bibi's daughter applied gradually cosmetics to every part of her body, and she improved so much that she received a dowry of four hundred Zuz. The daughter of a stranger who resided in the neighbourhood (of R. Bibi), learning of that, applied a cosmetic at once to all parts of her body, and in consequence thereof died. The stranger then said: "Bibi killed my daughter." R. Na'hman said: "In R. Bibi's house, where beer was used, his daughters had to use cosmetics, but in our houses, where beer is not used, our daughters need not apply cosmetics."

"The layman may sew in the regular way," etc. Who is considered a layman? The school of R. Janai explained, one who is not experienced in gathering on the needle; R. Jose bar Hanina said: "One who cannot properly place the foundation in the border of a garment."

"They may twine the ropes," etc. What is the difference between "twining" and "tightening"? When R. Dimi came from Palestine he said: "R. Hyya bar Abba and R. Assi, both in the name of Hezekiah and R. Johanan, differ: One says "twining" means both the shoot thread and the warp, and "tightening" means the shoot only; and the other holds that "twining" means the warp and not the shoot thread, and "tightening" means "if they were not tight they might be tightened." When Rabin, however, came from Palestine, he declared that as to "twining," all agree that it means the shoot thread and the warp; they differ only as to "tightening": one holds it means the shoot only, and the other holds that if they were not tight they might be tightened.

MISHNA: One may erect an oven or a hearth, or a mill, on the middle days. R. Jehudah says: "New millstones must not be chipped."

GEMARA: What is the meaning of "chipping"? Said R. Jehudah: It means notching. R. Je'hiel said: "It means the boring of the centre-hole in the millstone." R. Hama lectured: "Millstones may be cleaned during the middle days." In the name of R. Meir he said: Even the hoofs of the horse and ass may be pared, provided they are used for riding; but not the hoofs of an ass employed in a treadmill. R. Jehudah permitted to pare the hoofs of an ass employed in a treadmill, to place the millstones in proper position, and to build a new mill; to erect a foundation for the millstones, and also to erect a stall. Rabha permitted to comb a mare, to erect a stand and a colonnade. Rabha also permitted to let blood to a domestic animal during the middle days. Said Abayi to Rabha: "We found a Boraitha in your support: 'Blood may be let to a domestic animal; and no restriction is made to the administration of medicines to domestic animals during the middle days.'" Rabha permitted to press garments. Why so? For the reason that it can be done by any unskilled person. Rabha said again: "Trading even in the most moderate degree is not permitted." Said R. Jose bar Abin: "But in case of perishable articles it is." Rabina was to complete a transaction in which he would have earned six thousand Zuz, and by postponing it till after the middle days he earned twelve thousand. Rabina had to collect some money from the inhabitants of the fortress of Shnuatha, and he consulted R. Ashi whether to go there or not. R. Ashi told him: "If you think you can find them now and not on other days, it is as if it were perishable articles and you may do it." We have learned in a Boraitha similar to that just stated, in regard to dealings with idolaters: "It is permitted to attend markets of idolaters and to purchase domestic animals, male and female slaves, land and vineyards, and to write out the deeds and record the same, for it is considered as if rescued from their hands." Rabh permitted Hyya bar Ashi to construct a fisher's net on the middle days. R. Jehudah permitted Ami, the oven-builder, to erect an oven, and to Rabba bar Eshbi he permitted to mesh a sieve.

MISHNA: A railing (balustrade) may be made round a roof, or gallery, in the way a layman does it, but not in the way it is done by a mechanic. Rents (in the roofs) may also be closed, and (then) smoothed with a roller, or with hand and foot, but not with a trowel. Should the hinges of the door-frame, or the beam, or the lock (of the door), or the key (thereto) have been broken they may be repaired on the middle days, provided always one does not intentionally put off the repairs till the middle days. All (kinds of) pickled food of which one can eat during the middle days may be pickled.

GEMARA: What is meant "in the way of a layman"? Said R. Joseph: "With twigs or wire." A Boraitha states: When the railing was not smeared with clay.

"Rents may be closed," etc. If they may be smoothed with a roller, it is self-understood then that it may be done so with the hand and foot? This should be understood thus: "Rents may be closed and smoothed with hand and foot as if done with a roller, but not with a trowel."

"Should the hinges of the door," etc., "they may be repaired," etc. Is there not a contradiction from what we have learned, that "up to his days (of R. Jo'hanan, the high-priest) the sound of the hammer (falling on the anvil) used to be heard in Jerusalem," etc., from which we see, only up to his days, but not afterwards? Nay, this presents no difficulty. The statement just quoted has reference to a blacksmith's hammer, and that mentioned in our Mishna relates to that of a carpenter.

"All pickled food of which," etc. The river Bditha of Libai had an abundance of fish, and any one who wanted to fish them could do so. Rabha permitted to go there, bring fish and salt them. Said Abayi to him: "Does not our Mishna state, only those foods that can be eaten on the middle days?" Rabha replied: These can also be eaten by washing them first, as it happened once with Samuel, who was served with (pickled) fish, and he ate them after washing them sixty times. Rabha happened once to be in the house of the Exilarch (on the middle days), and he was served with pickled fish which were washed sixty times, and he partook of them. Rabh was once the guest of R. Shapir and fish was served, one-third of which was cooked, another third pickled, and the rest fried. Rabh related: "Ada the fisher once told me that fish taste best some time after they are caught." Rabh further stated: "The same told me: 'Fish should be fried with their brother (salt--for both are found in water); after they are fried they should be placed with their father (water--which produces fish), and they should be eaten with their offspring (their juice); and after eating them, drink their father (water).'" Rabh said again: "Ada the fisher told me: 'One who eats fish, dates, or milk should not go to sleep right after, unless he takes first a long walk.'" Rabh said again: "Ada the fisher told me: 'After eating fish, dates, or milk, water is to be preferred as a drink to beer, and beer should have preference over wine.'"

CHAPTER 2.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING LABOUR. MOURNING AND BUYING AND DOING BUSINESS IN THAT TIME, AND ALSO IN THE INTERMEDIATE DAYS.

MISHNA: One who has turned his olives, and a death occurred in his family; and one who is prevented from at once putting them to press, or has been disappointed by his labourers, may put the first press-block on, and leave it until after the feast. Such is the dictum of R. Jehudah. R. Jose, however, said: "He may put the olives into the oil-press and finish pressing them, and bung up the casks in the usual manner."

GEMARA: It begins with mourning and ends with the middle days (without stating the law relating to the former)? Said R. Shesha, son of R. Idi: "Infer from this, that things permitted on the middle days are, nevertheless, prohibited during mourning." R. Ashi says to the contrary: "Not only in the mourning time, which is only rabbinical, are these things allowed, but even on the middle days, during which work is prohibited biblically, in the case of loss the rabbis permitted it."

The following Boraitha is in support of the assertion of R. Shesha, son of R. Idi: The following things are done by others for one who is in mourning: If his olives are turned, the press-block may be put on, the cask bunged, his flax removed from the buck, his wool taken out of the boiler, and his land watered when his turn comes on. R. Jehudah said: "Even his ploughed land may be sown and the flax-field planted." The sages, however, maintain, that if not sown early in the season it can be done so late in the season; and if not flax, other plants can be raised. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, however, said that if he is the only specialist in the place, of all those things mentioned above, they may be done by himself privately. And even more than that the same Rabban allowed: If he were the only mechanic in the place employed by the public, or a barber, or a bather, and the feast was approaching, he might perform his functions. Contractors of all kinds must have others to do their work (during their mourning).

Those who hire out asses, camels, or ships to others, must not do their work. But if at the time (their mourning commences) they were already hired out, they might continue. A day labourer, although in a place where he is not known, must not work. If he were to work for others in his own house, whether under contract to do it for a definite time or not, he must not do it. If others were working for him in his own house, they must postpone their work; but in a house other than his own, they might continue. Marian, son of Rabhin, and Mar, son of A'ha son of Rabha, had a team of oxen in copartnership. One day a death occurred in the family of Mar b. A'ha and he kept in his ox. Said R. Ashi: Why should a great man like Mar do such a thing? If he does not consider his own loss, he must consider that of another. As stated above: "If they were hired out at the time, they might proceed with their work." He (Mar), however, was of the opinion that the case is different when a prominent person is concerned. Samuel said: "Those who do their work under contract for a definite period of time, if within the legal limits, may not; if outside those limits, they may do it." R. Papa, however, said: Even where it is outside the legal limits, the case is only when there is no town adjacent. R. Mesharshia, however, said that even where there is no town adjacent the case is so only in reference to Sabbath days and festivals, for on those days people are few; but as regards the middle days, during which people are numerous, it is not permitted. Mar Zutra, son of R. Na'hman, had a house built under contract outside of the legal limits. R. Saphra and R. Huna bar Hinna happened to be in the neighbourhood of that house and declined to enter it; and according to others, R. Zutra himself also declined to enter it. But has not Samuel said that if it was outside of the legal limits it is permitted? R. Zutra himself assisted them in placing the straw during the progress of the work. R. Hama permitted the Abunagars (waiters) of the Exilarch to do their work on the middle days; for, he said, they receive no salary, and work only for their board. (It is therefore not considered labour, and does not matter.)

The rabbis taught: Work may be taken under contract during the middle days to be done after the feast. But on the middle days it is not permitted. The rule is: All that one himself may do, he may have a Gentile do it for him, but not what he may not. We have learned in another Boraitha: "Work may be taken under contract on the middle days to be performed after the feast, provided always he does not measure, weigh, or count in the usual manner."

The rabbis taught: "No animals should be copulated on the middle days; the same applies to the firstborn and also to the desecrated ones at any time."

The rabbis taught: Cattle must not be brought into the field for the purpose of manuring, either on Sabbath days, feast days, or middle days. But if they come there of themselves it is permitted. And no assistance may be afforded to those in charge, neither a watchman assigned them to watch their sheep. But the case is different if they are hired by the week, month, year, or for a period of seven years. Rabbi, however, says: "On Sabbath days it may be done without compensation; on feasts days, for food only; and on the middle days, even for compensation." Said R. Joseph: "The Halakha prevails as Rabbi decreed."

MISHNA: The same is the case when one whose wine is in the press-pit and a death occurred in his family or another accident happened; or if he had been disappointed, he may pour the wine into casks, cooper, and bung them up in the usual manner. Such is the dictum of R. Jose. But R. Jehudah said: "He must only cover the pit with boards, so that the wine may not grow sour.

GEMARA: Said R. Itz'hak bar Abba: "The Tana who holds that on the middle days it must not be done in the usual manner, does not accord with R. Jose." Said R. Joseph: "The Halakha, however, prevails as decreed by R. Jose." A question was propounded to Na'hman bar Itz'hak: "Is it permitted to bung up a beer barrel on the middle days?" He answered: "Sinai (R. Joseph) had already stated that the Halakha

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prevails as decreed by R. Jose." But R. Jose's statement relates only to wine, but not to beer? What was the reason for wine--because there is a great loss? The same is the case with beer. R. Hama bar Guriah said in the name of Rabh: The laws regarding the middle days are distinct from each other and cannot be compared for the purpose of inference. As Samuel said: "A jug may, but a barrel may not be covered with tar." R. Dimi of Nehardea holds the reverse. The one considers the loss involved; the other, the trouble with which it is accompanied.

The rabbis taught: Grinding is permitted on the middle days for use on those days only, but not otherwise; but if some of the flour remain till after the festival, it may be used. Such is also the case with wood-cutting and beer-brewing, but one must not go too far. R. Hananel said in the name of Rabh: "One may fell a tree, even if he needs only the splinters." Abayi, however, censured that. R. Ashi owned a forest in the neighbourhood of Shalnayi, and he went there once during the middle days to chop wood. Said R. Shela of Shalnayi to R. Ashi: "You do this, relying on the statement of R. Hananel in the name of Rabh? But has not Abayi censured it?" And he replied: "I do not care for that." When he commenced to chop, his axe slipped off the handle and almost injured his shoulder. He thereupon left the forest (for he took it as a punishment for his statement in reference to Abayi). R. Jehudah permitted to pluck flax, hops, and poppy. Said Abayi to R. Joseph: "This would be correct as regards flax and hops, for the one may be used for covering (figs, etc.), and the other in beer-brewing; but what use can be made of poppy? Its seed can be used. R. Janai owned an orchard the fruit of which got ripe on the middle days, and he gathered in the fruit; on the following year every one postponed the gathering in of his fruit until the middle days. R. Janai (as a punishment to himself for having caused others to postpone their work until the middle days) gave away on the very same year that orchard to the free use of the public.

MISHNA: One may house his fruit from (dread of) thieves, and take flax out of the buck, that it be not spoiled, provided he does not intentionally defer doing it till the middle days; but should he have so deferred, then in all these cases he forfeits the articles in question.

GEMARA: A Boraitha states: "Provided he does it privately." R. Joseph had removed beams to his house in the daytime. Said Abayi to him: "Have we not learned that it should be done privately?" He answered: "In this case it may be considered more privately in the day-time than in the night-time; for in the night-time it must be done by light, and it requires therefore more men."

"And take the flax out of the buck," etc. R. Jeremiah propounded the question to R. Zera: "One who deferred intentionally doing it until the middle days and soon afterwards died, shall we impose the fine on his sons? Shall we assume that the rabbis intended to punish him personally, and, therefore, his sons are released? or shalt we assume that the fine was directed against his property, and, therefore, his sons must pay it?" And he answered: "This we have learned in the following Mishna: A field which has been cleaned from prickles during the Sabbatical year may be sown immediately thereafter; but this is not the case if it was manured either by man's labour or by animals." Said R. Jose bar Hanina: "There is a tradition that if one had manured his field (on the Sabbatical year) and soon afterwards died, his son might sow it." Hence we see that the fine was directed against him, and not against his son. The same is the case with working on the middle days, stated above.

MISHNA: One must not purchase houses, slaves, or cattle, excepting for the use of the whole festival, or for the use of the vendor, who otherwise might have nothing to eat.

GEMARA: Rabha asked R. Na'hman: "What is the law if a labourer has nothing to eat?" And he answered him: "This we have learned in our own Mishna, 'or for the use of the vendor,' which intends to include the case of the labourer." (For the case of the vendor is included in the statement, "for the use of the whole festival," which includes the middle days.) Rejoined Rabha: Perhaps the Mishna explains only what is meant by the expression "use of the vendor."

MISHNA: One must not remove things from one house to another, but this may be done from the house of another court to his court. Things must not be brought home from the mechanic's house, but if he fears (that they might be lost) he may remove them to another court.

GEMARA: Did not the Mishna begin with the statement that it must not be removed at all? Said Abayi: The last clause of the Mishna means to say, that it may be removed from the court-house to the court (but not to another house).

MISHNA: Dried figs may be covered with straw. R. Jehudah says: "They may, likewise, be put in layers. Dealers in fruit, garments, or utensils may privately sell what is required for use on the middle days. Huntsmen (fishers) and manufacturers of peeled barley and grits may carry on their occupations in private, as the exigencies of the festival may require it." R. Jose said: "They have of their own accord adopted the more rigorous observance and do not carry on their occupations (on the middle days)."

GEMARA: R. Hyya bar Abba and R. Assi, both in the name of Hezekiah and R. Johanan, differ. One holds that "covering," mentioned in the Mishna, means "thinly covering," and "put in layers" means "thickly covering"; and the other one holds that "covering" means both thinly and thickly covering, and "put in layers" means "heaping up." So also we have learned in a Boraitha: "Putting in layers--placing in a heap. Such is the dictum of R. Jehudah."

"The dealers in fruit," etc. The schoolmen propounded a question: "Does it mean that they adopted a rigorous, etc., not to do any work at all, or only not in public?" Come and hear: The dealers in fruit, garments, and utensils may sell in private, for use on the middle days. R. Jose said: "The dealers of Tiberias adopted of their own accord a more rigorous observance and did not sell at all." (The Boraitha states further on that R. Jose said that the same was the case with the hunters and fishers of Achu and the manufacturers of grits of Sepphoris.) Abayi said: "It is called grits, if it (the kernel) is crushed into two; pearl grits, if into three; and meal, if crushed into four parts." When R. Dimi came he said: "It (grits) means spelt." R. Huna permitted the dealers in spices to trade in their usual way. R. Kahana objected: We have learned elsewhere: A store opening into a gallery may be locked and unlocked in the usual way, but if it opens into a public street he must open one door and lock the other; and on the eve of the last day of Tabernacles one may decorate his stores with fruit in honour of the last day of the festival. But not otherwise? This presents no difficulty: the one is the case regarding fruit; the other, regarding spices (which may be done in the usual way).

CHAPTER 3.

REGULATIONS REGARDING MOURNING ON FESTIVALS, REGARDING THOSE WHO ARE UNDER THE BAN, AND WASHING.

MISHNA: The following may shave (trim their hair) on the middle days: One who arrives from the sea countries, or returns from captivity, or has been discharged from prison; or one who was absolved by the sages from the ban, or from his vow (not to cut his hair for a certain period of time); also a Nazarite and the leper who is restored to cleanness. The following may wash their garments on the middle days: One who arrives from the sea countries, or returns from captivity, or has been discharged from prison; and one whom the sages have absolved from the ban, or from his vow. Towels, barbers' napkins, and bathing towels (may be washed). Men and women who have had a running issue, women after their courses or lying-in, and all persons who from uncleanness are restored to cleanness, are permitted to wash their garments; but all other persons are forbidden.

GEMARA: What is the reason for not permitting other persons? As we have learned in the following Mishna (Taanith). "The priests of the weekly watch and the standing Israelites are prohibited from shaving their beards and washing their clothes; but on Thursday they are allowed to do so in honour of the Sabbath." And Rabba bar bar Hana in the name of R. Elazar said: "The reason why they are prohibited to do so the whole week is in order that they shall not enter upon the fulfilment of their duties when they are filthy (if they would be allowed to do so during the days of their duty)." The same reason applies to the festival (if they will be allowed to do so in the middle days they will not shave themselves before the festival).

"Who arrive from the sea countries." Our Mishna is not in accordance with R. Jehudah of the following Boraitha: R. Jehudah said: "One who returns from the sea countries may not shave, for he went to sea of his own accord." Said Rabha: "If he went to sea for adventurous purposes, all agree that he may not; if to earn his bread, all agree that he may. They only differ in case he went to sea to accumulate profits (i.e., one who was well provided with an income, but went to sea to increase his riches). One equals it to the case of adventurous purpose; and the other, to that for the purpose of earning his bread. Samuel said: "A minor (child) may be shaved on the middle days, and it makes no difference whether he was born on or before the middle days." Said R. Pin'has: "We also have a Mishna to the same effect: All those who were permitted to shave on the middle days may also do so during their mourning." From this we must assume that those prohibited to shave on the middle days are also prohibited from doing so during their mourning? Now, if a minor would be prohibited, then mourning would be customary to a minor also, but the following Boraitha states: "The garments of a minor mourner are rent for the purpose of moving others to mourn?" Hence we see that to a minor himself mourning is not customary? Said R. Ashi: Does, then, the Mishna state "those who are prohibited"? (It only states "those who are allowed") and possibly some are prohibited who are not mentioned in the Mishna.

A mourner must not observe mourning on festivals, for it is written [Deut. xvi. 14]: "And thou shalt rejoice on thy feast." Then, if the mourning commences before the festival the positive commandment of the rejoicing of the feast which relates to the whole public is relieving from the positive commandment of mourning of an individual; and in case it began on the festival, the commandment of mourning to an individual cannot relieve from the commandment (of rejoicing) to the public. What is the law of one who is under the ban as regards the festival? Said R. Joseph: Come and hear: "Cases involving capital punishment or stripes, or civil cases, may be tried (on the middle days), and if one (of the parties) is in contempt he may be put under the ban." Now then, if you should think that if one who was already under the ban the festival comes and postpones it, how could we put one under the ban originally on the festival? Said Abayi to him: "Perhaps the Boraitha meant, by 'tried,' the examination only (but not the result)?" Therefore said Abayi: This can be decided from our Mishna, which states: "One whom the sages absolved from the ban." And if the festival would postpone it, why then the absolving by the sages?

Said Rabha: Does, then, the Mishna state: The sages have absolved the ban? It states: "Who was absolved by the sages from the ban," which means that he has previously arrived at an understanding with his opponent and then come to ask the rabbis that they should absolve him. (Hence the question remains undecided.)

Is the law of leprosy customary on the festival? Said Rabha: "Come and hear: It is written [Lev. xiii. 45]: "And the leper." That means to include even if it was the high-priest. Now, it is certain that as to the high-priest all the week-days are considered feast-days, as we have learned in a Mishna (Sebo'him): "The high-priest may sacrifice in his mourning before the interment of the corpse, but not to eat of it." Infer from this that the law of leprosy is customary on festivals. 1

Rabha said: Whence do we know that the court has power to summon one to appear before them; to appoint a time for the trial before the chief of the court; and to fix a time for the appearance of both parties? It is written [Num. 16:12-16]: "And Moses sent to call Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab," etc. "And Moses said unto Korah, thou and thy company be ye before the Lord," etc. "Thou and they and Aaron to-morrow." And whence do we know that the court has power to postpone the trial to another day? It is written [Jerem. 46:17]: "They called out there," etc., "he hath let the time appointed pass by." And whence do we know that the report of the court messenger, that the summons is disobeyed, is not considered slander? From the report of the messengers to Moses [Num. 16:114]. And whence do we know that a great man has the power to put one under the ban? From [Judges, 5:23]: "Curse ye Meroz, said the messenger of the Lord." [It means that he was a great man.] And whence do we know that the court has power to excommunicate him and to prohibit to eat or drink in his company, or to stand near him within a distance of four ells? From the passage [ibid., ibid.]: "Curse ye bitterly, curse its inhabitants." And whence, that his disobedience is made public? From [ibid., ibid.]: "Because they came not to the help of the Lord." And whence, that his property may be confiscated (made ownerless)? From [Ezra, 10:8]: "And that whosoever should not come within three days," etc., "all his substance should be forfeited 2 and himself separated from the congregation of the exiles." Whence, that he may be cursed, beaten, his hair plucked, and made to swear? From [Nehem. 13:25]: "And I contended with them, and cursed them, and smote certain of them, and plucked out their hair, and made them swear," etc. Whence, that his hands and feet may be bound, and he may be tied to the whipping post, and prosecuted? From [Ezra, 7:26] Whether it be unto death, or to banishment, or to a fine on goods, or to imprisonment." What is meant by "banishment"? Said Ada Mari in the name of Ne'hemiah bar Baruch in the name of R. Hyya bar Abin, quoting R. Jehudah: "It means, prosecution." What kind of prosecution? Said R. Jehudah, son of R. Samuel bar Shilath, in the name of Rabh: "It means that he is put under the ban at once, and if he does not repent within thirty days the ban is continued; and if he still continues to be disobedient, he is excommunicated after the lapse of sixty days." Said R. Huna bar Hinna to him: "But has not R. Hisda stated: He is first warned on a Monday, Thursday, and the following Monday"? This relates only to cases involving money; but if he is accused of having denounced the authorities, he is at once put under the ban. A certain butcher was disobedient to R. Tubi bar Mathna, and be was put under the ban by the concurrence of Abayi and Rabha. Subsequently he came to an understanding with his opponent. Said Abayi: "What shall be done in such a case? Shall we absolve him? Thirty days have not passed yet? Shall we not? The rabbis need him?" And he turned to R. Idi bar Abin and asked him: "Do you know anything about such a case?" And the latter answered him: "R. Ta'hlipha bar Abimi said in the name of Samuel: 'The horn that announced that he was placed under the ban, may announce that he was absolved.'" And Abayi rejoined: "This is only in cases involving money; but in the case of denouncing the authorities, the ban must continue for thirty days." Ameimar said: "The Halakha prevails, that if scholars declare the ban over a person, he may be absolved therefrom by three other scholars." Said R. Ashi to Ameimar: Have we not learned in a Boraitha: R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said: If one of the scholars who declared the ban over a person died, his part cannot be

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absolved from? Shall we not assume that it cannot be absolved from at all? Nay; that means, only until other three absolve him.

The rabbis taught: The ban is declared for not less than thirty days; rebuke, however, is only for seven days; and although there is no explicit proof for that, there is a hint [Num. 12:14]: "If her father had spit in her face, would she not be ashamed seven days?" R. Hisda said: "Our (Babylonian) ban equals in point of time their (Palestinian) rebuke; and their rebuke is only for seven days." Is that so? Has it not happened that R. Simeon bar Rabbi and Bar Qappara have been studying together, and they came across a difficult question? Said R. Simeon to Bar Qappara: "This question must be solved by Rabbi (my father)." And Bar Qappara answered him: "What could Rabbi say to this?" 1 R. Simeon reported this statement to his father, and he became angry. Subsequently Bar Qappara came to visit him, and Rabbi said to him: "Bar Qappara, I have never known thee." Bar Qappara understood this reproach, and he reprimanded himself for thirty days? It also happened that Rabbi ordered not to teach disciples in the public streets. R. Hyya disregarded the order, and did teach his two nephews, Rabh and Rabba bar bar Hana, in a public street. When Rabbi heard of it, he was angry. Subsequently R. Hyya came to visit him, and Rabbi said to him: "Eyya, you are wanted in the street." R. Hyya understood what was hinted at, and he reprimanded himself for thirty days.

[On the thirtieth day Rabbi sent a message to him to come; and a short while after he sent him another message not to come. Subsequently R. Hyya came. Said Rabbi to him: "Why didst thou come?" He answered: "Because the Master sent for me to come." Said Rabbi: "But did I not subsequently send thee not to come?" And he replied: "The first message I received, the second one I did not." And Rabbi applied to him the following passage [Proverbs, 16:7]: "When the Lord receiveth in favour a man's ways, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him."] Hence we see from this that the rebuke of the Palestinians is for thirty days? The rebuke of a prince is different.

For how long, however, is our rebuke? For one day only, as seen from the following: Samuel and Mar Uqba, studying together, the latter used to sit (out of respect to Samuel) four ells distant from the former; but when sitting as a court, the reverse used to be the case, and Mar Uqba used to sit on a low platform (near the candelabrum 2) in order that his voice might be heard well. Mar Uqba was in the habit of accompanying Samuel every day to his residence. One day he was so engrossed in a case that he forgot to do it, and the latter, instead, followed him to his house. When they reached the house, Samuel said to him: "Is this sufficient for thee? May I now return?" And Mar Uqba understood that Samuel was angry, and he reprimanded himself for one day. There was a woman who was sitting in a pathway, and was in the habit of stretching out her foot to pick up the barley. A young scholar happened to pass by and she paid no attention to him, and he remarked: "How insolent this woman is!" The woman came before R. Na'hman and he asked her: "Did he utter the ban?" And she answered: "Nay." He then ordered her to be reprimanded for one day. Zutra bar Tubiah was once arranging biblical passages before R. Jehudah. When he came upon the passage [II Sam. 23:1]: "And these are the last words of David," he said to him: "If these were the last, what were the first words of David?" R. Jehudah remained silent. But when he (Mar Zutra) repeated the question, R. Jehudah said: "Art thou of, the opinion that if one cannot explain this he is no more a great man?" And Mar Zutra understood that R. Jehudah was angry, and he reprimanded himself for one day. How is this passage, however, to be explained? It plainly reads "the last"; then there must be the first words? [Ibid. xxi. 1]: "And David spoke unto the Lord the words of this song, on the day that the Lord had delivered him out of the hand of all his enemies, and out of the hand of Saul." This passage was expounded thus: The Holy One, blessed be He, said unto David: "David, thou singest songs over the downfall of Saul; if thou wert Saul and he were David, I would annihilate many a David for his sake." And this is meant by [Psalms, 7:1]: "A Shiggayon of David 1 which he sang unto the Lord, concerning the affairs of Cush (the Ethiopian) the Benjamite." Was then his name Cush? It was Saul, but as an Ethiopian is distinguished from others by the colour of his skin, so was Saul distinguished from others by his good deeds. Likewise [Num. 12:1]: "On account of the Ethiopian woman which he had married." Was then her name Ethiopian? Was it then not Ziporah? But it is to state, that as an Ethiopian is distinguished by the colour of his skin, so was she distinguished by her kind deeds. Likewise [Jerem. 38:7]: "Now when the slave of the king, the Ethiopian," etc. Was then his name Ethiopian? 1 Was it then not Zedekiah? But as it is stated above. Likewise [Amos, 9:7]: "Are ye not like the children of the Ethiopians, O children of Israel?" Was then their name Ethiopians? Was it then not "Israel"? But as the Ethiopians differ from others in the colour of their skin, so does Israel differ from all idolaters by their good deeds.

R. Tan'hum said in the name of R. Huna, and according to others R. Huna himself said it: A disciple who put one under the ban for disobedience to himself, the ban is valid, as we have learned in a Boraitha: "One who is put under the ban by the Master is considered so also towards the disciple; but if put by a disciple, is not so towards the Master." Hence towards the Master he is not so, but as towards the general public he is so. Now, then, let us see: To what case is this applicable? Shall we assume that it applies to Heavenly things? Is it not written [Psalms, 21:30]: "There is no wisdom nor understanding nor counsel against the Lord"? Hence it must be assumed, even for the disobedience to himself. R. Joseph said: "Even a young scholar, if only he is certain that his demand against another is just, may render judgement in his own favour." There was one young scholar concerning whom evil rumours were current. Said R. Jehudah: "What shall be done in this case? Shall we put him under the ban? The rabbis need him. Shall we not? The name of Heaven will be profaned." And he asked Rabba bar bar Hana: "Do you know anything about such a case?" He answered him: So said R. Johanan: "It is written [Malachi, ii. 7]: 'The priest's lips are ever to keep knowledge, and the law are they to seek from his mouth, for he is the messenger 2 of the Lord of hosts.' That means: If the Master is equal to an angel, law may be sought from his mouth, but not otherwise." Thereupon R. Jehudah put him under the ban. Subsequently, R. Jehudah was taken ill and the rabbis made him a sick-call, among whom was also that young scholar. When R. Jehudah beheld him, he smiled. Said he to R. Jehudah: "Is it not enough that you put me under the ban, that you still laugh at me?" R. Jehudah answered him: "I do not laugh at you, but in the world to come I will be proud to say that I was not biased even towards so great a man as you."

When R. Jehudah died the young scholar came to the college and asked to be absolved from the ban, and the rabbis answered him: "There is not here a man equal in esteem to R. Jehudah to absolve you. Go to R. Jehudah the Second, and he may absolve you." He went to him. Said the Nasi to R. Ami: "Go and examine his case, and if found favourable, absolve him." R. Ami did so, and was about to absolve him when R. Samuel bar Na'hmeni arose and said: "Even when the maid-servant of the house of Rabbi declared one under the ban the sages did respect it for three years, and so much the more we must respect Jehudah our colleague." Said R. Zera: "How did it happen that this old man came to-day to college after an absence of several years? It is a token that the young scholar is not to be absolved." He left weeping, and on the way he was stung by a bee and he died. He was brought to the vaults of the Pious, and was not accepted; he was then removed to those of the Judges, and was accepted. Why so? For he acted as R. Ilai of the following Boraitha: "If one cannot withstand the temptation, he shall go to a place where he is not known, and shall dress in black and wrap himself in black and do as he pleases, but shall not profane the name of Heaven openly."

What was the occurrence with the maid-servant of the house of Rabbi? The maid-servant of the house of Rabbi saw once one beating his grown-up son, and she said: "Let that man be under the ban, for he has transgressed the commandment [Lev. 19:14]: 'Thou shalt not put a stumbling-block before the blind.'" And the following Boraitha states that this passage relates to one who beats his grown-up son. Resh Lakish was watching an orchard, and there came a certain man and ate of the figs. Resh Lakish shouted to him not to do it, but he paid no attention to him. Resh Lakish then said: "Let this man be under the ban." And the man answered him: "On the contrary, let that man be under the ban; for if I am responsible to thee in damages, am I then liable to be put under the ban?" When Resh Lakish came to the college, he was told: "His placing you under the ban is valid, but not yours." "How can it be corrected?" "Go and ask his pardon." "But I do not know where to find him?" And he was told: "You have to go to the Nasi in order to be absolved, as we have learned in a Boraitha: 'One who was put under the ban and he does not know the person, he must go to a Nasi in order to be absolved.'"

R. Huna said: It was enacted in Osha that if the chief of tile court should be delinquent, if for the first time he should not be put under the ban, but should only be told: "Be dignified and stay at home." But if for the second time, he should be put under the ban, lest the name of Heaven be profaned. This is not in accordance with the following statement of Resh Lakish: A scholar who is delinquent is not put under the ban publicly, for it is written [Hosea, ii. 5]: "Therefore shalt thou stumble in the day-time, and the prophet also shall stumble with thee in the night," which means: See that he is devoid of publicity, as the night is devoid of daylight.

Mar Zutra the Pious, when a young scholar was delinquent and deserving to be reprimanded, first reprimanded himself and then the young scholar. When he entered his residence, he first absolved himself and then the young scholar. R. Giddel said in the name of Rabh: "A scholar may first put himself under the ban (for a certain period of time) and afterward absolve himself therefrom." Said R. Papa: "I may be rewarded; for, as a matter of fact, I have never put a young scholar under the ban."

"And the Nazarite and the leper," etc. R. Jeremiah questioned R. Zera: "Does it mean in the case when they had no opportunity to do so before, or even when they had?" And he answered him: "We have learned this in the following Boraitha: All those who were said to be permitted to shave on the middle days, may do so only when they had no opportunity to do it before, but not otherwise. A Nazarite, however, may do so, although he had the opportunity to do so before, in order that his sacrifice be not delayed.

The rabbis taught: "All those who were said to be permitted to shave on the middle days, may also do so in their mourning." But have we not learned in another Boraitha that they may not? Said R. Hisda ill the name of R. Shila: "The first Boraitha relates to a case where the mournings succeeded one another." If this is the case, why only "those who were said," etc.? Why not every one? As we have learned in a Boraitha: "When one mourning succeeds the other, and so on for a long time, and his hair has become heavy, it may be made light by a razor, and he may wash his clothes in water?" Yea, but as to this, it was taught that R. Hisda said: The Boraitha means by a razor only, but not by scissors; in water, but not with Spanish chalk (which was used then instead of soap) or lye. Said R. Hisda: "From this it may be inferred that a mourner must not wash his clothes."

The rabbis taught: "As it is not allowed to shave on the middle days, so also is it not allowed to trim the nails. Such is the dictum of R. Jehudah. R. Jose, however, permits it." And the same is the case in regard to mourning. Said Ula: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Jehudah in regard to mourning, and according to R. Jose in regard to the middle days." Samuel, however, said: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Jose in regard to both mourning and the middle days." As Samuel said elsewhere: The Halakha prevails according to the one who is lenient, in regard to mourning. R. Shaman bar Aba said: I was present once on the middle days in the college of R. Johanan, and saw him trimming his nails with his teeth and throwing the parings away. And from the above occurrence three things were inferred: that the nails may be trimmed on the middle days; that there is no aversion to trimming them with the teeth; and that the parings may be thrown away. 1 R. Itz'hak bar Jacob bar Geurah in the name of R. Johanan sent the following message: "Flaxen garments may be washed on the middle days."

MISHNA: The following documents may be written on the middle days: contracts of betrothing, bills of divorce, and receipts in discharge of debts; also wills or codicils; deeds of gift; premonitions; and deeds of maintenance, certificates of Halitza, and certificates of refusal; arbitration bonds; decrees of the Beth Din; and powers of attorney.

GEMARA: Samuel said: "One is permitted to become betrothed to a woman on the middle days, for fear that he may be preceded by another one." Rabh said in the name of R. Reuben b. Atztrubli: It appears from the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa that the union of a woman to her husband comes from God himself. The Law [Gen. xxiv. 50]: "Then Laban and Bethuel answered and said: The thing hath proceeded from the Lord," etc.; the Prophets [Judges, xiv. 4]: "But his father and his mother knew not that it was from the Lord"; the Hagiographa [Prov. xix. 14]: "Houses and wealth are an inheritance from fathers; but from the Lord cometh an intelligent wife." 2 Rabh further said in the name of the same authority; and according to others this was learned in a Boraitha: "R. Reuben b. Atztrubli said: 'No one is suspected of having done something (wrong), unless he has really done it; and if he has not done it all, he has done part of it; and if not even that much, he at least had in mind to do it; and if not even that much, he probably approved of it when it was done by others.'" An objection was made: Come and hear [Psalm cvi. 16]: "Moreover, they envied Moses in the camp and Aaron the holy one of the Lord." And R. Samuel bar Itz'hak said: "From this it is inferred that every one suspected his own wife of having relations with Moses?" (Hence we see that one may be suspected although there is no particle of foundation for it?) In that case it was different, for it was done out of hatred. Another objection was made: Come and hear: R. Jose said: "May my share in the world to come be with those who were groundlessly suspected." And R. Papa said: "I was once suspected without any ground whatever?" This presents no difficulty. The one is the case when the suspicion has ceased; the other is, when it has not. What is meant by not having ceased? Said Abayi: My mother told me: 'A town rumour is for a day and a half.' The case is only if it has not ceased at intervals, but if it has it does not matter; and if, however, it has ceased out of fear, it is not taken into consideration; and even if it was not out of fear, the case is when it was not circulated again more vigorously. All this, however, is the case when the person suspected has no enemies; but if he has, the latter circulated it.

MISHNA: Bonds of debts must not be written on the middle days; but if the lender does not otherwise want to trust the borrower, or the latter has nothing to eat, they may be written. Holy Scrolls, Phylacteries, or Mezuzoth must not be written on the middle days, and not a single letter may be corrected--even in the Book of Ezra. R. Jehudah, however,

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says: "One may write Phylacteries and Mezuzoth for his own use, and he may also spin sky-blue wool for show-threads in his garment."

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: One may write Phylacteries and Mezuzoth for his own use and may spin sky-blue wool for show-threads in his garment; but for others he may do it as a favour only (without compensation). Such is the dictum of R. Meir. R. Jehudah, however, said: "One may connive and sell his own, and then write another one for his own use." But R. Jose said: "He may write and sell in the usual way as much as necessary for his living expenses." Rabh, and according to others Rabba bar bar Hana, rendered his decision to R. Hananel: "The Halakha prevails, that one may write and sell in the usual way as much as necessary for his living expenses."

MISHNA: One who buried his dead three days before the commencement of the festival is freed from the observance of the seven (days of deep mourning); if eight days before the festival, he is freed from the observance of the thirty days; for the sages hold: "The Sabbath enters into the computation, but does not supersede the mourning, whereas the festivals supersede the mourning, but do not enter into the computation." R. Elazar said: "Since the destruction of the Temple, Pentecost is to be considered (in respect to mourning) like the Sabbath." R. Gamaliel said: "The New Year and the Day of Atonement are to be considered like festivals; the sages, however, say that it is neither as the one nor as the other, but hold that there is no distinction between the Pentecost and any other festival, but the New Year and the Day of Atonement are like the Sabbath."

GEMARA: Rabh said: "Only the observance of the thirty days is dispensed with, but not the days themselves." So also said R. Huna. R. Shesheth, however, said: "Even the days are dispensed with." In what case may it happen that the days shall still not be dispensed with? If (the observance of the thirty days being dispensed with) one had not shaved himself on the eve of the festival, he may not do so after the festival (during all the thirty days). We have so also learned in a Boraitha: One who buries his dead three days before the festival is freed from the observance of the seven days; if eight days, he is freed from the observance of the thirty days, and he may shave himself on the eve of the festival; if he, however, failed to do so on the eve of the festival, he must not do so after the festival. Abba Saul, however, said: "He may do so, for as the observance of the three days frees from the observance of the seven days, so also does the observance of the seven days free from the observance of the thirty days. "Seven days? Have we not learned eight? Abba Saul is of the opinion that a portion of a day counts for a whole day, and the seventh day enters into the computation of both. Said R. Hisda in the name of Rabina bar Shila: "The Halakha prevails according to Abba Saul, and even the sages concede to Abba Saul that in case the eighth day falls on a Sabbath which is incidentally the eve of a festival, he may shave on the eve of Sabbath." According to whom is the statement of R. Amram in the name of Rabh: "A mourner, as soon as his condolers have left him, is permitted to wash himself"? It is according to Abba Saul. Said Abayi: The Halakha prevails according to Abba Saul in regard to the seventh day; and the sages concede, in regard to the thirtieth day, that a portion of a day counts for a whole day. Rabha said: The Halakha prevails according to Abba Saul regarding the thirtieth day, but not regarding the seventh day. But the sages of Nehardea maintained that the Halakha prevails according to Abba Saul in both cases, as Samuel said: "The Halakha prevails according to the one who is lenient in regard to mourning." Abayi inquired of Rabba: "If one buried his dead on the festival, does, or does not, the festival enter into the computation of the thirty days? Certain it is to me that it does not enter in regard to the seven days, for the observance of the seven is not customary on the festival; but my question is in regard to the thirty days, because the observance of the thirty days is customary on the festival?" And he answered him: "It does not enter." Abayi raised an objection based on the following Boraitha: The festival enters into the computation of the thirty days. How so? If the burial took place in the beginning of the festival, the observance of the seven days begins after the festival, and his work may be done by others, and his male and female servants may do their work privately, and the public need not condole with him during the seven days, for they have already done so on the festival; and the festival enters into the computation of the thirty days? This objection remains unanswered. When Rabbin came from Palestine he said in the name of R. Johanan: "Even if he was buried on the festival" (the festival enters into computation). So also has R. Elazar decided to his son R. Padath.

The rabbis taught: If one has observed the lowering of the couch for three days prior to the festival, he need not observe it any more after the festival. Such is the dictum of R. Eliezer. The sages, however, hold: "Even one day, and even one hour." Said R. Elazar b. R. Simeon: These are, respectively, the decrees of the school of Shammai and the school of Hillel. For the school of Shammai decrees: "Three days"; and the school of Hillel decrees: "Even one day." Said R. Huna in the name of R. Hyya bar Abba, quoting R. Johanan, and according to others R. Johanan said to R. Hyya bar Abba and R. Huna: "Even one day, and even one hour." Rabha said: "The Halakha prevails according to our Tana (of the Boraitha), who holds three days."

Rabina happened to be in Sura of Euphrates. Said R. Habibha to him: "What is the Halakha?" And he answered him: "Even one day, and even one hour." R. Jose bar Abin said: "One who receives information which is recent on the festival, but becomes remote after the festival, the latter counts, and mourning is observed only one day." Rabbi Ada of Kisri taught before R. Johanan: "One who receives information which is recent on the Sabbath but becomes remote thereafter, must mourn one day only." Must he rend (his garments) or not? R. Mani said: "He may not." R. Hanina, however, said: "He may." Said R. Mani to R. Hanina: "As to my statement, it is correct, because rending is customary only together with the observance of the seven days; but as to your statement, is then there a case in which one must rend although there is no mourning of the seven days?" Is there not such a case? But has not R. Isi the father of R. Zera, and according to others the brother of R. Zera, taught before R. Zera: "One who has no garment to rend and he becomes a mourner, if within the seven days, he must rend; if after the seven days, he may not"? And R.I Zera rejoined: "This is the case only in the five cases of relatives whom one is bound to bury, but over his father and mother he must rend notwithstanding (the lapse of the seven days?). In this case it is only out of respect to his father and mother."

"Because the sages held that Sabbath enters into computation," etc. The inhabitants of Judea and the inhabitants of Galilea: Those hold that the law of mourning applies on Sabbath (to things done privately), because the Mishna states: "It enters into computation"; and these hold that it does not apply, because the Mishna states: "But it does not supersede."

But does not the Mishna state that it enters into computation? It is only because it has to state in the latter part, that it does not enter, he uses also in the first past "enter." But did not the Mishna state plainly "it does not supersede"? This is for the same reason, as it has to state in the latter part "it does supersede" it uses the same term in the first part also.

Raphram bar Papa said: "We have learned in Tract 'Great Mourning': 'A mourner is prohibited to have sexual intercourse during his mourning. It happened once that one did have sexual intercourse with his wife during his mourning, and his corpse was dragged about by hogs.'" Samuel said: "To remove the wrapping from the head, the rent from the front to the back, and to put the couch in proper condition (on the Sabbath) is obligatory; but to wear shoes, to have sexual intercourse, and to bathe the hands and feet in warm water on Friday evening is optional." Rabh, however, said that even removing the wrapping is also only optional.

Abayi found R. Joseph during his mourning walking around in the house with his mantle wrapped around his head (on the Sabbath), and he said to him: "Does not the Master hold that mourning is not customary on the Sabbath?" And he answered him: "So said R. Johanan: 'Things of a private nature are permitted.'"

"R. Elazar said: Since the destruction of the Temple," etc. R. Giddel bar Menasiah said in the name of Samuel: "The Halakha prevails according to Rabban Gamaliel (Berachoth), who said that a mourner on the Sabbath is bound to observe all the commandments."

R. Anni bar Shashan lectured in front of the house of the Nasi: "If (the mourning is) observed one day before Pentecost and on Pentecost, it is considered to have been observed fourteen days." (For Pentecost counts for seven days, and so also does the day preceding it, as stated above.) When R. Ami heard of this he was angry, and said: "Is this then his own? This was stated long ago by R. Elazar in the name of R. Oshiya." The same thing was stated in a lecture by R. Itz'hak of Naph'ha in Babylon at the cottage of the Exilarch, and R. Shesheth became angry because R. Elazar in the name of R. Oshiya, the author of this statement (Hagiga, 40), was not. mentioned. R. Papa, accompanying R. Avia the elder, lectured: "One day (of observance of mourning) before the New Year and the day of New Year count for fourteen days." Said Rabina: "Therefore, one day before the Tabernacles, the Tabernacles, and the eighth day (which counts for a separate festival) count (regarding mourning) twenty-one days." Rabina happened to be in Sura of Euphrates. Said R. Habibha of same place to him: "Do you, Master, hold: 'If observed one day before the New Year and on the New Year it counts fourteen days'?" And he answered him: "I have only stated that it seems to me that the Halakha prevails according to R. Gamaliel."

MISHNA: The garments are not rent, nor the shoulders laid bare, nor the funeral meal eaten (on the middle days), unless by the near relatives of the deceased. The funeral meal is not to be taken except on a couch standing up properly.

GEMARA: Does this apply to a scholar also? Have we not learned in a Boraitha: "When a scholar dies, all must rend their garments, bare their shoulders, and partake of the funeral meal served in the public thoroughfare, for all are considered as his relatives"? Nay, this Mishna refers to one who is not a scholar, but an upright man over whom also rending is obligatory, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: "Why do little children die? Because their parents failed to weep (mourn) over the death of an upright man; to one who does so, all his sins are forgiven, for the honour he has done to the deceased." In the case of the death of an ordinary person, however, rending is obligatory only on the one who is present at the time of the death, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: "R. Simeon b. Elazar said: 'One who is present at the time when the death occurs is bound to rend his garments, for it is similar to the case of one who is present at the time the Holy Scrolls are burned, in which case he is bound to rend his garments.'" When R. Saphra's soul passed unto rest, the rabbis intended not to rend their garments, for they said: "We received no teachings from him." Said Abayi to them: "Does, then, the Boraitha treat of a rabbi? It treats of a scholar, and still more so in the present case, when his Halakhas are always on our lips in the college?" Still they were inclined not to rend, for they said: "The time for doing so has already passed." Said Abayi to them: "We have learned: In the case of a scholar, so long as the funeral orations are still going on, one is bound to rend." They then wanted to rend at once (without holding funeral orations). Said Abayi to them: "There is a Boraitha that states that the honour paid to the remains of a scholar lies in the funeral oration." When R. Huna departed, it was intended to place the Holy Scrolls on his bier. Said R. Hisda to them: "Shall we now act against his will? Has not R. Ta'hlipha said: 'I was once present when R. Huna wanted to sit down on a cot on which the Holy Scrolls were lying, and he first removed the latter and then sat down'? Hence we see that he was of the opinion that one must not sit on a cot on which the Holy Scrolls are placed?" When the cot was to be removed from the house, it was found out that it could not pass through the door; and it was about to be removed through the roof opening, when R. Hisda remarked: "We have a tradition from him that the honour to a deceased scholar demands that he be removed through the door opening." They then wanted to place him on a cot of smaller dimensions, but R. Hisda again remarked: "We have a tradition from him that the respect to a deceased scholar demands that he be removed in the cot he died on." Then they broke away the door-posts, and passed him out. Then R. Abba began the following eulogy: "Our rabbi was worthy that the Shekhina should rest upon him, but Babylon prevented it." When his corpse arrived in Palestine, R. Ami and R. Assi were informed that "R. Huna had arrived." And they said (under the impression that he was alive): "When we were in Babylon we could not raise our heads on account of him (for his great learning), and now he has followed us here." And they were then told: "His coffin has arrived." R. Ami and R. Assi went out (to pay their respects). R. Aila and R. Hanina remained in the house. Others, however, said that only R. Hanina remained. What was the reason of those who went out? The following Boraitha: "When a coffin is being removed from one place to another, those present must stand in a row and must pronounce the mourning benediction and the words of consolation." The reason, however, of those who did not go out is the follow me, Boraitha: "When a coffin is being removed from one place to another, those present need not stand in a row," etc. But do not these Boraithas contradict each other? Nay, the one relates to a case where the skeleton is still in good condition; the other where it is not. But R. Huna's skeleton was still in good condition? They were not aware of that. They then began to deliberate where to place his remains, and concluded to place them alongside of those of R. Hyya. For they said: "R. Huna diffused the Torah among Israel as much as did R. Hyya." The question then came up as to who should do the placing. Said R. Haga to them: "I will do it, for I was his disciple since the age of eighteen. I never had a wet-dream, and I have served him since then and knew his ways: once it happened that one of his phylactery fillets turned over, and he fasted forty days." When R. Haga brought in the coffin into the arch, he noticed that Jehudah was sleeping at the right of his father and Hezekiah at his left. He heard Jehudah say to his brother: "Rise, for it would not be correct not to pay respect to R. Huna." When he arose, a pillar of fire arose with him. R. Haga became frightened and, lifting up the coffin of R. Huna, left the arch.

When R. Hisda died they wanted to place the Holy Scrolls on his bier. Said R. Itz'hak: "A thing which was not approved by his Master (R. Huna), we must not do to him." They also intended to leave their rent garments unmended, when R. Itz'hak bar Ami said to them: "In case of a scholar, the rent may be sewed together as soon as those who follow the coffin turn away their faces from the latter." When Rabba bar Huna and R. Hamnuna had died in Babylon, their bodies were brought on camels to Palestine. Arrived at a narrow bridge, where the two camels could not pass at once, both remained standing. An Ishmaelitish merchant present, surprised. at the interruption of the journey, asked for the reason, and was told that each of the deceased wished to give the other the

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preference of the way. "If I were to give my view of the matter," the Arab said, "I should decide in favour of Rabba bar Huna (as he was known to me as a venerable man)." The Arab had hardly concluded his remarks, when the camel bearing Rabba passed the bridge. (As a punishment for not paying proper respect to R. Hamnuna), the molars and front teeth of the Arab fell out. A disciple declaimed the following elegy:

A learned scion of an ancient race
Upward to Sacred Palestina draws,
And bears into illimitable space
The code of battles, the great book of laws.
The cormorant and the hedgehog nightly gloat
Upon destruction spreading far and wide;
For God His wrath upon the earth has hurled,
Our pious sage His voice has called away;
And God is glad that from this sinful world
His dearest servant has come home to stay.

When Rabina died, the funeral orator held the following oration:

Bend, ye majestic palms, in grief sincere
O'er one who like a palm had flourished here
Nor cease your mourning when the moon's soft ray
Changes to shadowy night the brilliant day.
For moon's broad glare had oft to midnight waned
Ere slumber o'er his studious eyelids reigned.

R. Ashi said to Bar Kipuk (the funeral orator): "What oration will you make on that day (of my death)?" And he answered him: "The following.

How can the lowly hyssop still survive,
When with devouring flames the cedars strive?
With huge Leviathan the angler's prey,
What have the fishes of the pond to say?
If the dry torrents shame the fisher's hook,
How fares it with the waters of the brook?

Said Bar Abhin to him: "Heaven forbid that 'net' and 'flame' be used in orations over the righteous." "What, then, would you say?" "I would say: 'Weep for the losers but not for the lost (deceased), for he passed into rest but we into grief.'" R. Ashi felt discouraged (for one orator used the words "net" and "flame," and the other the word "lost"), and their (of the orators) feet upturned. When he died, neither of the orators came to hold orations. And this was meant by R. Ashi when he said: "Neither Bar Kipuk nor Bar Abhin would be bound to perform the ceremony of Halitza." (Vide Yebamoth, 103a, where it is stated that those who have deformed feet are not bound to perform Halitza.)

When Rabha came to Hiddekel, he said to Bar Abhin: "Pronounce an (appropriate) prayer," and the latter began: The major part of Israel went through water; remember, and have mercy. We went astray from Thee as a woman goeth astray from her husband; do not cast us off, for it may have the same indication as that of the bitter-water." [Vide Num. v. 11-28.]

R. Hanin, the son-in-law of the Nasi, had been for a long time childless; he prayed and was answered. On the day of the birth of the child he died. The funeral orator on this occasion declaimed the following elegy:

Parental joy was changed to hopeless pain
Where bliss had entered, grief was doomed to reign
For in the moment of his hope fulfilled,
The joyful beating of that heart was stilled.

The child was named Hanin after his father. When R. Johanan died, R. Itz'hak b. Elazar began the eulogy as follows: "This day is as momentous to Israel as the day of which the prophet spoke [Amos, 8:9] 'And it shall come to pass in that day that I will cause the sun to go down at noon,'" which R. Johanan explained to have reference to the day of the death of the King Josiah. When R. Johanan departed, R. Ami observed both the seven and the thirty days (of mourning). Said R. Abba the son of R. Hyya bar Abba: "R. Ami stands alone in his action, for so said my father in the name of R. Johanan: 'Even over an instructor in science one need not mourn more than one day.'" When R. Zera departed, the funeral orator delivered the following oration:

In Babylon this noble sage was born,
In Palestine he was admired and cherished;
"Woe unto me!" doth Reketh 1 sadly mourn,
"For my most precious jewel now has perished."

When R. Abuhu died, the pillars of Kisri shed tears; when R. Jose died, the gutters of Sepphoris were overrun with blood; when R. Jacob died, the stars were seen in the day-time; when R. Assi, all the trees were rooted out; when R. Hyya, fire-balls fell from heaven; when R. Mena'ham (ben R. Simai), all the images became obliterated and as smooth as if passed upon with a roller; when R. Tan'hum bar Hyya died, all the impressions upon the images were effaced; when R. Eliashib, seventy burglaries were committed in Nehardea; when R. Hamnuna, hailstones fell from heaven; when Rabba and R. Joseph died, the bridge-arches of Euphrates collapsed; when Abayi and Rabha, the bridge-arches of Hiddekel collapsed; when R. Mesharshia died, the trees were laden with thorns (instead of fruit). 2

MISHNA: The food for the funeral meal is not placed before the mourners on a table, nor in a silver tureen, nor in a dish, but in wicker baskets. The mourning prayers must not be pronounced on the middle days, but the rows are formed and the consolation is pronounced and the people assembled are at once dismissed. The bier must not be set down in any public place, that the mourning may not spread (in the middle days). The bier of women must at no time be there set down, on account of respect (to the sex of the deceased). 3

"The bier must not be set down in any public street." Said R. Papa "No middle days are considered in regard to a scholar (Talmid-Hakham), and so much the more so the half-feast of Hanuka or Purim. This, however, is the case only in the presence of the corpse." This is not so? Has not R. Kahana lamented over the death of R. Zbhid of Nehardea on the banks of the river (and surely the corpse was not there)? Said R. Papa: "That was on the very day he received the information, which is equivalent to the presence of the corpse."

MISHNA: The mourning women may wail during the middle days, but not clap (their palms together). R. Ishmael said: The nearest to the bier may clap. On the days of the New Moon, on the half-festivals of Hanuka and Purim, they may wail and clap, but must not sing lamentations; but when the corpse is interred, they must neither wail aloud nor clap.

What is meant by wailing? When all of them join in one chorus. What is meant by lamentation? When one recites and the others respond, as it is written [Jer. 9:20]: "Teach your daughters wailing and every one her neighbour lamentation." But of the age that is to come it is written [Isa. 25:8]: "He will destroy death to eternity; and the Lord Eternal will wipe away the tear from off all faces."

GEMARA: R. Levi bar Hitha said: One who takes leave of the dead shall not say, "Go in peace," but "Go with peace," as it is written [Gen. 15:15]: "But thou shalt come to thy fathers with peace" (Besholom); but the contrary must be said when taking leave of the living. When David said to Absalom: "Go with peace "[2 Sam. 15:9], the latter hanged himself; while, when Jethro said to Moses [Exod. 4:18]: "Go in peace" (Lesholom), Moses went and was successful. R. Levi further said: One who goes from the college to the prayer-house, and vice versa, is rewarded by receiving the appearance of the Shekhina, as it is written [Psalms, 84:8]: "They go from strength (college) to strength (the prayer-house); each of them appeared before God in Zion." R. Hyya bar Ashi said in the name of Rabh: "Scholars (Talmide-Hakhamim) have no rest even in the world to come, as it is written [ibid.]: 'They go from strength to strength; each of them appeareth before God in Zion.'"

END OF TRACT MOED KATAN (MINOR FESTIVALS).

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TRACT TAANITH (FASTING).

CHAPTER 1.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE TIME WHEN MENTION IS MADE OF RAIN IN THE DAILY PRAYER, WHEN RAIN IS TO BE PRAYED FOR, WHEN FAST-DAYS ARE ORDERED ON WHICH TO PRAY ESPECIALLY FOR RAIN, AND THE CHARACTER OF SUCH DAYS OF MOURNING.

MISHNA: From what time should the power manifested in the descent of rain be commenced to be mentioned (in the daily prayer)? R. Eliezer said: "From the first day of the Feast of Tabernacles." R. Jehoshua, however, said: "From the last day of that festival." "For," said he to R. Eliezer, "since rain on the Feast of Tabernacles is considered unpropitious, why should it be mentioned in the prayers?" And R. Eliezer answered: "I do not mean to say that rain should be prayed for, but only that it should be mentioned with the words, 'He causeth the wind to blow, and the rain to descend in its proper

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time.'" "If so," rejoined R. Jehoshua, "such mention might be made at all seasons of the year."

Prayers for rain should not be said sooner than shortly before the commencement of the rainy season. R. Jehudah said: "The last of the ministers of the congregation who on the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles officiates at the reading-desk should mention the rain, but not he who officiates first. On the first day of Passover, the minister who officiates first (at the morning prayer) should still mention it, but not he who officiates last (at the Additional Service)."

GEMARA: Whence does the Tana of this Mishna adduce that the rain must be mentioned or prayed for at all (in the daily prayer), that he commences by saying: "From what time should it be mentioned"? He adduces this from the Mishna in Tract Rosh-Hashana (New Year) where he has learned that on the Feast of Tabernacles judgement is passed concerning rain, and having learned this, he proceeds to inform us when rain must be mentioned and prayed for. If so, let him teach us concerning the rain--why does he mention "the power manifested in the descent of rain"? Said R. Johanan: "Because rain descends with the power of God, as it is written [Job, 5:10]: 'Who giveth rain upon the surface of the earth, and sendeth out waters over the face of the fields'; and further it is written [ibid. 9:10]: 'Who doeth great things which are quite unsearchable, and wonders which are quite without number (and rain is also included among these "great things").

Whence do we know, however, that mention must be made of rain in the eighteen benedictions of the daily prayer? Because we have learned in a Boraitha thus: It is written [Deut. 11:13]: "To love the Lord your God, and to serve him with all your heart and with all your soul." And what service can be performed with the heart? The service of prayer, and immediately following the passage quoted it is said [ibid. 14]: "I will send rain for your land in its due season, the first rain and the latter rain," etc.

R. Johanan said: Three keys are in the hands of the Holy One, blessed be He, which are not intrusted to any messenger, and they are: The key of rain, the key for a woman lying-in, and the key for the resurrection of the dead. The key of rain, as it is written [Deut. 28:12]: "The Lord will open unto thee his good treasure, the heaven, to give the rain of thy land in its season"; the key for a woman lying-in, as it is written [Genesis, 30:22]: "And God remembered Rachel, and God hearkened to her, and opened her womb"; and the key for the resurrection of the dead, as it is written [Ezekiel, 37:13]: "And ye shall know that I am the Lord, when I open your graves and when I cause you to come up out of your graves, O my people." The sages of the West say, that also the key to a man's earnings are in the hands of God alone, as it is written [Psalms, 146:16]: "Thou openest thy hand and satisfiest the desire of every living thing."

Why did not R. Johanan mention this also? Because R. Johanan may claim that rain itself is the means of earning a livelihood.

"R. Eliezer said: 'From the first day of the Feast of Tabernacles.'" The schoolmen propounded a question: Whence does R. Eliezer derive his teaching? Does he derive it from the palm-branch which is brought along for use at the morning service only, or from the pouring of water, which is brought also in the evening, as the Master says: "It is written [Numb. xxix. 24.]: 'Their meat-offerings and their drink-offerings' (in plural), that is to say, that they may be brought even in the evening, and therefore R. Eliezer holds that mention of the rain should be made even on the eve of the Feast of Tabernacles?"

Come and hear: R. Abbahu said: "R. Eliezer derived his teaching from the palm-branch." Some say, that R. Abbahu had a tradition to that effect, while others hold that he takes it from the following Boraitha: From what time is mention made of rain in the daily prayer? R. Eliezer said: "From the time the palm-branch is taken" (i.e., from the time the morning-prayer is said). R. Jehoshua, however, said: "From the time when the palm-branch is laid aside" (i.e., from the time of the Additional Prayer, when the palm-branch is not used). Said R. Eliezer: "Because the four articles 1 of the Feast of Tabernacles are used only for the purpose of favourably inclining the judgement concerning rain; and as those four articles cannot grow without water, neither can the world exist without water, therefore mention of rain must be made even in the morning." And R. Jehoshua replied: "But rain during the festival of Tabernacles is considered an unpropitious event!" (because it prevents the sitting in the booth). Whereupon R. Eliezer rejoined: "I do not mean to say that rain should be prayed for but merely that it should be mentioned, and it is the same as the mention of the resurrection of the dead, which though this can take place only at the appointed time, it us nevertheless mentioned all the year round. Therefore if a man desires to mention rain in the prayer the whole year, he may do so."

Rabbi, however, said: "I say, that when a man ceases to pray for rain, he should also cease mentioning it." And R. Jehudah ben Bathyra said: "Mention of the rain should begin to be made on the second day of the Feast of Tabernacles." R. Aqiba said: "Even on the sixth day." R. Jehudah in the name of R. Jehoshua said: "The last of the ministers of the congregation who on the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles officiates at the reading-desk should mention the rain; but not he who officiates first. On the first day of the Passover, the minister who officiates first should still mention it, but not he who officiates last."

We have learned in a Boraitha: Our sages did not impose the duty on a man to make mention of the dew and wind in the prayer; but if he desires to do so, he may. Why so? Said R Hanina: Because dew and wind are never withheld. Whence do I know this? Because it is written [I Kings, xvii. 1]: "Then said Elijah the Tishbite, who was of the inhabitants of Gilead, unto Achab, 'As the Lord the God of Israel liveth, before whom I have stood, there shall not be in these years dew or rain, except according to my word'"; and further, it is written [ibid. xviii. 1]: "Go, show thyself unto Achab; and I will give rain upon the face of the earth," but in the latter passage dew is not mentioned, because it was never withheld. It might be asked, however, why Elijah swore that it would not fall? He meant to say merely that no dew which would benefit the soil Would fall, for all the dew which should fall would not be productive of any good.

Whence do we know that the wind will not be withheld? Said R. Jehoshua ben Levi: "Because it is written [Zech. 2:10]: 'For as the four winds of heaven have I spread you abroad,' which signifies, that as the world cannot exist without winds, so it cannot also exist without Israel."

R. Hanina said: From what we have learned so far, we see that if a man said in his prayer during the dry season, "He causeth the wind to blow," he is not obliged to say his prayer over again; but if he said "He causeth the rain to descend," he is bound to say the prayer again. During the rainy season if he omitted in his prayer the words, "He causeth the wind to blow," he need not be made to say the prayer over again, but if he omitted the words, "He causeth the rain to descend," he should be made to say the prayer again. And not only this, but if the man said in his prayer the words, "He causeth the wind to cease and the dew to vanish," he need not repeat the prayer, because those words are of no consequence.

We have learned in another Boraitha: The sages did not impose the duty of mentioning clouds and winds in the prayer; but if a man chooses to do so he may, because they are not withheld.

R. Jehudah said: The wind which comes after the rain does as much good as the rain itself; the sun which comes after the rain does as much good as two rains.

Rabha said: Snow to the mountains is as beneficial as five rains are to the ground, as it is written [Job, 36: 6]: "For to the snow he saith, 'Be thou on the earth'; likewise to the pouring rain, and to the pouring rains of his strength." l

Rabha said again: "Snow is good for the mountains; a light rain is good for the trees; a heavy rain is good for the budding fruit, and a shower is even beneficial to the seed lying dormant in the ground."

Again Rabha said: "A young scholar is like a seed, lying in the ground, which, once sprouting, will continue to grow." And he said also: "When a young scholar appears excited, it should be known that it is his knowledge that is excited within him, as it is written [Jeremiah, 23:29]: 'Is not thus my word like the fire? saith the Lord.'" And R. Ashi said that a scholar who is not as firm as iron cannot be considered a scholar, because the end of that passage reads: "And like a hammer that shivereth the rock." Said Rabhina: "Still, a man should train himself to speak calmly without anger, as it is written [Ecclesiastes, 11:10]: 'And remove anger from thy heart.'"

R. Samuel ben Na'hmeni in the name of R. Jonathan said: Three men prayed to God for things that were not suitable (for prayer). Two were answered in a proper manner, but one was answered accordingly. They are: Eliezer the slave of Abraham, Saul the son of Kish, and Jephthah of Gilead. Concerning Eliezer it is written [Genesis, 24:14]: "Be (she) the one thou hast appointed for thy servant Isaac." Now, the maiden may have been blind or maimed, but still the Lord ordained it so that Rebekah was the one. Concerning Saul the King it is written [I Samuel, 17:25]: "And it shall be that the man who killeth him, him will the king enrich and his daughter will he give him," etc. It might have happened that a slave or an illegitimate son might have accomplished the feat, but still the Lord destined it to be David. Concerning Jephthah it is written [Judges, 11:31]: "Then shall it be, that whatsoever cometh forth out of the doors of my house . . . I will burn it up for a burnt-offering." The prayer was improper, because an unclean thing (such as a swine or a dog) might have come forth which would not be a proper sacrifice, and the answer was also not proper, for his own daughter came forth to meet him. This causes the wrathful query of Jeremiah the prophet, as it is written [Jeremiah, 8:22]: "Is there no more balm in Gilead? or is no physician there?" (meaning was there not Pin'has the high-priest in Gilead, who could have released Jephthah of his vow?). 1 And further, it is written [ibid. 19:5]: "Which I had not commanded, nor spoken, and which had not come into my mind," which implies, "I had not commanded" refers to the sacrificing of the son of Mesha the King of Moab by his father [2 Kings, 3:27]: "now spoken," refers to the daughter of Jephthah; and "which had not come into my mind," refers to Isaac, whom his father Abraham was willing to sacrifice.

Said R. Berachiah: The congregation of Israel also prayed for an improper thing, but the Holy One, blessed be He, answered it in a proper manner, as it is written [Hosea, vi. 3]: "And let us feel it, that we may strive to know the Lord; bright as the morning dawn is his rising; and may He come as the rain unto us, as the latter rain that maketh fruitful the earth." And the Holy One, blessed be He, said: My daughter, thou askest a thing which at times is necessary and at other times is superfluous, but I will be to thee as a thing which is at all times needed, as it is written [Hosea, 14:6]: "I will be as the dew unto Israel." Once again the congregation of Israel prayed improperly, saying: I, Sovereign of the universe! Set me as a seal upon thy heart, as a seal upon thy arm" [Solomon's Song, 8:6], and the Lord said: Thou askest me to do a thing which at times can be seen and at other times cannot, for sometimes the heart is closed and the arms are covered; but I will set thee as a seal in a place that is always exposed; as it is written [Isaiah, 49:16]: "Behold, upon the palms of my hands have I engraved thee."

"Shortly before the commencement o the rainy season." The schoolmen thought that mentioning rain in the prayer and praying for it was one and the same thing, therefore they said that this Mishna is in accordance with the opinion of R. Jehoshua, who said previously that rain must be mentioned from the time that the palm-branch is laid aside. Said Rabha to them: "Nay; this Mishna may even be in accordance with R. Eliezer's opinion, for mentioning rain and praying for it are two different things."

"R. Jehudah said: 'The last of the ministers,'" etc. Is this not a contradiction to what we learn in the next Mishna, namely: Until when is rain to be prayed for? R. Jehudah said: "Until after the Passover," etc. Said R. Hisda: "This presents no difficulty. Our Mishna refers to the mention of the rain, while the Mishna quoted refers to praying for rain, and rain may be prayed for during the entire Passover." Said Ula: "This statement of R. Hisda is as vinegar to the teeth and smoke to the eyes. If a man may mention rain even when he should not pray for it, why should he not when praying for it also be allowed to mention it?" Therefore, says Ula, this contradiction can be explained from the fact that two Tanaim differ as to the opinion of R. Jehudah.

R. Assi in the name of R. Johanan said: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Jehudah."

How shall we do, however, who have two days as the last days of the festival? (Shall we apply the Halakha to the first of those two days or to the last?) Said Rabh: "The rain should be first mentioned in the Additional Prayer on the first of the two last days, then it should be omitted in all prayers until the Additional Prayer on the second of those days, when it should again be mentioned." Said Samuel to those who repeated Rabh's statement: "Go ye and tell Abba. this: 'Is it proper that after thou hast sanctified the day thou shouldst make it ordinary again? For in the afternoon prayer of that day thou hast omitted the mention of the rain.' Therefore I say that mention should be made first at the Additional Prayer on the first of the two last days, also in the afternoon prayer, then it may be omitted at night and in the morning of the following day; but it should be again mentioned in the Additional Prayer of the last day." Rabha, however, said: "As he once began to mention it, it should not be stopped again." And so also said R. Shesheth, and even Rabh retracted his former statement, for R. Hananel said in his name that twenty-one days should be counted from the New Year day the same as the ten days preceding the Day of Atonement are counted, and on the twenty-first day he should commence to make mention of the rain and should then not omit it in any of the prayers. So the Halakha prevails.

MISHNA: Till what time is the rain to be prayed for? R. Jehudah says until after the Passover; R. Meir says till the month of Nissan is passed, because it is said [Joel, 2:23]: "And he hath caused to come down for you the rain, the first rain, and the latter rain in the first month."

GEMARA: Said R. Na'hman to R. Itz'hak: "Does the first rain then descend in the month of Nissan, does it not descend in Mar-Cheshvan? As we have learned in a Boraitha, namely: 'The first rains fall in Mar-Cheshvan and the latter rains in Nissan.'" And R. Itz'hak answered: R. Johanan said thus: The passage quoted in the Mishna, which states that both the first and the latter rains come down in the first month, refers to the time of Joel the son of Pethuel, when, it is written [Joel, 1:4]: "What the caterpillar left, hath the locust eaten," etc. In that year the month of Adar had already passed, and the first rain descended in the month of Nissan. Said the prophet to Israel: "Go and sow your seed." And they replied: "Should one who has a patch of barley or wheat eat it and live, or sow it and die (until the new grain becomes ripe)?" And he said to them: "Still, see that ye sow as much as ye can." Thereupon a miracle occurred, and the grain which had been hidden in the walls and in the subterranean passages of the ants was discovered. They then went and sowed their grain on the second, third,

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and fourth days of Nissan. On the fifth of Nissan the second rain fell, and on the sixteenth of that month they already offered up the new grain which had ripened. Thus the grain which should have taken six months to ripen, matured in eleven days; and the offerings which were usually brought of grain that had been growing six months, were that time brought of such as had only been growing eleven days, and concerning this generation it is written [Psalms, 126:5]: "Those that sow in tears shall reap in joyful song."

R. Na'hman said again to R. Itz'hak: "It is written [2 Kings, 8:1]: 'For the Lord hath called for a famine, and it is also coming on the land for seven years.' What was eaten during these seven years?" And he answered: "So said R. Johanan: In the first year they ate the reserve store that they had in their houses; in the second year they ate the reserve store they had in the fields; in the third they ate the flesh of ritually clean animals; on the fourth, the flesh of ritually unclean animals; in the fifth year they ate reptiles; in the sixth year the famine was so severe that people had to eat their own children; and in the seventh it reached a stage where some had to eat the flesh from off their own arms; and the saying [Isaiah, 9:19]: 'They shall eat every man the flesh of his own arm,' was verified thereby."

Again, R. Na'hman asked R. Itz'hak: It is written [Hosea, 11:9]: "The Holy One in the midst of thee, and I will not come into the city." How is this to be understood? Because the inhabitants did so much good in the city that they were called holy, and the Holy One did not wish to enter? And R. Itz'hak answered: "Thus said R. Johanan: The Holy One, blessed be He, said that He would not enter the Jerusalem of the heavens until he could enter the Jerusalem below." "Is there then a Jerusalem above?" asked R. Na'hman. "Yea," was the answer, for it is written [Psalms, 122:3]: 'Jerusalem! which art built as a city wherein all associate together (i.e., Jerusalem is built as that Jerusalem which is connected (associated) with it. Hence there is another Jerusalem, and that is above in the heavens).

R. Na'hman again asked R. Itz'hak: 'How is the passage [Jeremiah, x. 8]: 'But at once shall they be shown to be brutish and foolish: it is a doctrine of vanities, it concerneth but wood,' to be understood?" And he replied: "Thus said R. Johanan: One thing will cause men to burn in Gehenna, and that is idolatry; for it is said above, a doctrine of vanities, it concerneth but wood,' and further, we find it written [ibid. 15]: 'They, are vanity, the work of deception; in the time of their punishment shall they vanish.'"

R. Na'hman asked R. Itz'hak again: "What does the passage [Jeremiah, 2:13], 'For two evils have my people committed,' mean? Are there only two, and the twenty-four which are subsequently enumerated 1 (in the same chapter) were forgiven them?" And R. Itz'hak answered: Thus said R. Johanan: One evil which is considered as two--namely, idolatry--as it is written further [ibid.]: "Me have they forsaken, the source of living waters, to hew out for themselves cisterns, broken cisterns, that cannot hold water"; and it is also written [ibid. 10 and 11]: "For pass over to the isles of the Kittites, and see; and unto Kedar send, and consider well: and see if anything like this hath happened. Hath a nation exchanged its gods, which are yet no gods? and still my people hath exchanged its glory for that which cannot profit." In a Boraitha we have learned as follows: The Kittites worship fire and the inhabitants of Kedar worship water, and though knowing that water extinguishes fire, they nevertheless did not exchange their god, while my people exchanged their god for "that which cannot profit."

R. Na'hman and R. Itz'hak sat together at a meal, and R. Na'hman said to the latter: "Let Master relate something!" And R. Itz'hak said: "So said R. Johanan: 'While eating one should not talk, lest the food enter the windpipe (trachea) before the gullet and inflict an injury.'" After having finished their meal, he said: "So said R. Johanan: 'Jacob our father never died.'" And R. Na'hman rejoined: "Then was it in vain that he was mourned and embalmed?" And R. Itz'hak replied: "I make this assertion from the following passage [Jeremiah, 30:10]: 'And thou, do not fear, O my servant Jacob, saith the Lord, and be not dismayed, O Israel; for, behold, I will save thee from afar, and thy seed from the land of their captivity; and Jacob shall return, and shall be at rest, and be secure, with none to terrify him.' And Jacob is compared to his children; as the latter are still living so is he also." 1

When R. Na'hman and R. Itz'hak were about to part, the former said to R. Itz'hak: "Bless me." And he answered: "I shall tell thee a parable to which this can be compared: A man once went into the desert, and when hungry, thirsty, and tired came to a tree bearing luscious fruit and affording plenty of shade, and underneath which there was a spring of water. He ate of the fruit, drank of the water, and rested beneath the shade. When about to leave he turned to the tree and said: 'Tree, tree, wherewith can I bless thee? That thy fruit may be sweet--it is already sweet; that thou shouldst afford plenty of shade--that also thou dost; that a spring may be near thee--even that thou hast. The one thing left me which I can wish for thee is, that all trees planted from thy seed may be as fruitful as thou art.' So it is with thee. Should I bless thee with knowledge--that thou hast; should I bless thee with riches--that thou also hast; should I bless thee with children--even children thou lackest not; hence all I can wish thee is that thy seed be as prosperous as thou art."

The rabbis taught: Why is the first rain called Yorah? 2 Because it teaches the people to paint their roofs, take in the fruit, and otherwise prepare for the winter; and also because it satiates the earth and penetrates into the very depths, as it is written [Psalms, lxv. 11]: "Watering her furrows abundantly; smoothing down her ridges, thou softenest her with showers; thou blessest her growth." Another thing that is meant by "Yorah" is "a rain that comes without storm"; and as the first rain is intended for a blessing, so also is the latter rain. And whence do we know that the first rain is intended for a blessing? From the passage [Joel, 2:23]: "And ye children of Zion, be glad, and rejoice in the Lord your God; for he hath given you the first rain in beneficence, and he hath caused to come down for),on the rain, the first rain and the latter rain in the first month."

The rabbis taught: The first rain falls in the month of Mar-Cheshvan and the latter rain in Nissan. Whence do we know that the first rain should fall in the month of Mar-Cheshvan, perhaps it would do if it fell in the month of Kislev? Because the first and latter rains are mentioned together and by the latter rain is meant that falling in Nissan; for otherwise it would be of no benefit. Hence by the first rain is meant that falling in Mar-Cheshvan. In another Boraitha it is added that such is the dictum of R. Meir; but the sages say: "The first rain falls in Kislev." Who are those sages? Said R. Hisda: That is R. Jose, who says, in another Boraitha, that the time for the first rain is the third day of Mar-Cheshvan; ordinarily it falls on the 7th of that month, and if it is delayed it falls on the 17th. Such is the dictum of R. Meir. But R. Jehudah says the three dates are the 7th, 17th, and 23d, and R. Jose says they are the 17th, the 23d, and the 1st of Kislev; and he added that fasting for rain is not necessary until the 1st of Kislev has passed without rain having fallen. Said R. Hisda: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Jose."

Ameimar taught the same as R. Hisda with reference to another Boraitha: We have learned: As early as the 3d of Mar-Cheshvan, rain should be prayed for. R. Gamaliel said: "On the 7th of that month is the time when the delayed rain should be prayed for." Said R. Hisda: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Gamaliel."

According to whom will the following Boraitha be? We have learned: R. Simeon ben Gamaliel said: "If there was rain for seven consecutive days it must not be considered as too much rain, but merely that there was a threefold fructification of the earth by the rain." (This will be according to R. Jose, who said that seven days elapse between each fructification, and R. Hisda said the Halakha prevails according to R. Jose.) Said R. Abbahu: "Why is it called fructification? Because it fructifies the earth; for R. Jehudah said that the rain is the husband of the earth, as it is written [Isaiah, 55:10]: 'For as the rain and the snow come down from heaven, and return not thither, but water the earth, and render it fruitful, and cause it to bring forth plants.'" R. Abbahu said again: "The first fructification takes place if the rain penetrates one span into the ground, and the second fructification is accomplished when the soil is so pliable that it can be used to stop up a barrel without the addition of other water."

R. Hisda said: "If at the first fructification the soil becomes so pliable that it can be used to stop up a barrel, it cannot be considered as if the heavens were closed (and no rain had fallen)." He said again: "If it rained in some cities, but was dry in others, it cannot be said that the heavens are closed." This is not so! For is it not written [Amos, 4:7]: "And I also had indeed withholden from you the rain, when it was yet three months to the harvest; and I caused it to rain upon one city, and upon another city I caused it not to rain; one piece of land was rained upon, and another piece whereupon it rained not became dried up." And R. Jehudah said, in the name of Rabh, that the entire verse was in the form of a curse? This presents no difficulty. For the verse signifies that in one city it will rain too much and in another it will not rain at all, which is a curse; but if it rain ordinarily in one city and not at all in another (one city can draw its supply from the other). Said R. Ashi: "This very thing may be inferred from the passage itself; for it says 'one piece of land was rained upon,' and that implies that in that piece of land there will be too much rain." 1

R. Abbahu said: "The day of rain is of more importance than the day of resurrection; for on the latter day only the righteous will arise from the dead, but rain falls for all alike, righteous and wicked." And R. Abbahu differs with R. Jose, who declares that the day of rain is just as important as the day of resurrection, and for that reason is mentioned in the prayer at the benediction regarding the resurrection of the dead.

R. Jehudah said: "The day of rain is as important as the day on which the Law was given, because it is written [Deut. 32:2]: 'My doctrine shall drop as the rain,' and by doctrine is meant the Law; for it is written [Proverbs, 4:2]: 'For good doctrine do I give you: my law must ye not forsake.'" And Rabha said: "The day of rain is even more important than the day on which the Law was given; for it says: 'My doctrine shall drop as the rain,' and surely the thing upon which another is dependent, or to which another is compared, is more important than that other."

The same interpreters cite the following contradiction: It is written [Deut. xxxii. 2]: "My doctrine shall drop as the rain, my speech shall distil as the dew." In the first he says "rain," and in the other "dew." (It is said above that dew is always good, but with rain the case is different?) From this it is to be signified that if the scholar is a conscientious man, consider him as dew, which is always useful; but if he is not, turn your neck to him 1 as we do to rain.

We have learned: R. Banaha said: "He who studies the Law for the honour of God, his knowledge becomes to him the elixir of life, as it is written [Proverbs, 3:18]: 'A tree of life is she to those that lay hold on her'; and it is also written [ibid. 8]: 'It will be healing to thy body'; while, further, it is said [ibid. 8:35]: 'For he who findeth me, findeth life'; but he who studies the Law, not for the honour of God (but in order to injure others or for other purpose), his knowledge becomes to him a deadly poison." As it is written in the passage just quoted, the term Yaaroph is to be interpreted as the term Vearphu [Deut. 21:4]: "And they shall break there the neck of the heifer in the valley."

R. Jeremiah said to R. Zera: 'Let Master go and teach." And he answered: "My heart is weak, and I cannot." "Then let Master relate some trifling thing from the Haggada," said R. Jeremiah. And R. Zera spoke: "Thus said R. Johanan: 'It is written [Deut. 20:19]: "The man is a tree of the field."' Is then a man a tree of the field? The passage says previously: 'For of them mayest thou eat, and thou shalt not cut them down'; and further, it says [ibid. 20]: 'Only those trees of which thou knowest that they are not fruit-trees, thou mayest destroy and cut down.' And this implies that the man is compared to a tree, and that if thou knowest a man to be a scholar and a good man, thou shouldst enjoy his company and derive benefit from him; but if he be a scholar but an evil man, thou shouldst avoid him and cut off thy intercourse with him."

R. Hama bar Hanina said: "It is written [Proverbs, 27:17]: 'Iron is sharpened by iron,' and this applies to two scholars who study together, when one sharpens the intellect of the other."

Rabba bar bar Hana said: Why were the words of the Law compared to fire, as it is written [Jeremiah, xxiii. 29]: "Is not this my word like the fire? saith the Lord." As fire cannot burn without having hold of an object, so the words of the Law cannot remain with one who is alone.

R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak said: Why are the words of the Law compared to a tree, as it is written [Proverbs, 3:18]: "A tree of life is she to those that lay hold on her." As a small piece of wood kindles a larger, so a lesser scholar brightens the wits of the greater by his queries, and this is as R. Hanina has said: "I have learned much from my teachers, more from my colleagues, and most of all from my disciples."

R. Hanina bar Papa cited a contradiction: "It is written [Isaiah, 21:14]: 'Toward him that is thirsty they bring water'; and further, it is written [ibid. 55:1]: 'Every one of ye that thirsteth, come ye to the water'?" (Th is presents no difficulty.) If a man is a diligent disciple and cannot come to the master, the master should go to him; but if he is not a diligent disciple, the master need not go to him, but if he comes to the master he should be taught.

R. Hanina bar Hama cited another contradiction: It is written [Proverbs, 5:16]: "So will thy springs overflow abroad"; and further, it is said [ibid. 17]: "They will be thy own only"? This means to say, that if a man is a thorough scholar his teachings should be allowed to spread abroad; but if not, they should be for him alone.

R. Hanina bar Idi said: Why are the words of the Law compared to water, as it is written [Isaiah, 21:14]: "Toward him that is thirsty they bring water"? Because as water leaves a higher place for a lower, so the words of the Law cannot be retained by one who does not deport himself in a lowly (humble) manner.

R. Oshiya said: Why are the words of the Law compared to the following three beverages--water, wine, and milk? "To water," as it's written in the verse just quoted; to "wine and milk," as it is written [Isaiah, 55:1]: "Yea, come, buy without money and without price wine and milk." In order to teach us, that as those three beverages can best be kept in common utensils such as wooden or earthen vessels, so the Law can only be retained by those who are humble in their manner. As the daughter of the Caesar once said to R. Jehoshua b. Hananiah: "Alas for such handsome wisdom, which is in an ugly vessel" (it means that the rabbi was very homely). And he said to her: "In what does your father keep his best wine?" And she answered: "In earthen vessels." And he rejoined: "Then what is the difference between your father and a commoner?" And she asked: "In what, then, shall it be kept?" And he said: "You, who are wealthy and mighty, ought to keep it in golden and silver vessels!" She then told her father, and he commanded that his wine should be kept in vessels of gold and silver. And it became sour. When the Caesar was informed of this, he asked his daughter: "Who told you that we should keep our wine in golden vessels?" And she named

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the above rabbi. He was sent for, and questioned as to the reason of his advice. And he rejoined: "This was only an answer to the question of the princess." "But are there not," the Caesar said, "men who are handsome and nevertheless are very scholarly?" "Believe me," said the rabbi, "that if they would be homely, their wisdom would be greater still."

R. Hama bar Hanina said: The day of rain is of equal importance with the day on which heaven and earth were created, as it is written [Isaiah, 45:8]: "Drop down, ye heavens, from above and let the skies distil blessing; let the earth open, and let them all be fruitful of prosperity, and let righteousness spring up likewise: I the Lord have created it." And as it is said "created it" and not "created them," it proves that rain is referred to; (and hence the day of rain is equally as important as the day of the creation of the heavens and earth).

R. Oshiya said: The day of rain is so great that, even if a man be blessed with prosperity, the prosperity becomes more fruitful, as it is said in the verse quoted: "Let the earth open, and let them all be fruitful of prosperity."

R. Tanhum bar Hanilai said: "Rain does not descend unless the sins of Israel are forgiven, as it is written [Psalm 85:2-3]: 'Thou hast been favourable, O Lord, unto thy land; thou hast brought back the captivity of Jacob. Thou hast forgiven the iniquity of thy people; thou hast covered over all their sin. Selah.'" Said Zeiri of Dehabath to Rabina: "Ye learn this from the above passage. We, however, apply to this the following: [1 Kings, 8:34]: 'Then hear thou in heaven, and forgive the sin,'" etc. R. Tanhurn the son of R. Hyya of the village Acco said: "Rain is not withheld unless the enemies of Israel (meaning Israel itself) deserve to be destroyed, as it is written [Job, 24:19]: 'Drought and heat speedily consume the snow-waters: so doth the grave those who have sinned.'" Said Zeiri of Dehabath to Rabina: "Ye learn this from the above passage. We, however, apply to this the following [Deut. 11:17]: 'And he will shut up the heavens . . . and ye shall perish quickly.'"

R. Simeon ben Pazi said: "Rain is not withholden except from such as slander each other, as it is written [Proverbs, 25:23]: 'The north wind bringeth forth rain; so doth secret talking, angry countenances.'"

R. Sala said in the name of R. Hamnuna: "Rain is withholden only on account of the impudent, as it is written [Jerem. 3:3]: 'And though the early showers were withholden, and the latter rain came not: yet hadst thou a forehead of an adulterous wife, thou refusedst to feel shame.'"

R. Sala said again in the name of R. Hamnuna: "The man who is impudent will finally stumble into idolatry." And he derives it from the passage just quoted, "Yet hadst thou a forehead of an adulterous wife." And R. Na'hman said: "An impudent man must be considered as having already stumbled into idolatry; for the passage does not say, 'thou wilt have a forehead,' etc., but I thou hadst.'"

Rabba bar Huna said: "An impudent man may be classed with the wicked, as it is written [Proverbs, 21:29]: 'A wicked man showeth impudence in his face.'" And R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak said: "He may even be hated, as it is written [Eccles. 8:1]: 'And the boldness of his face Yesuna (will be lessened)' Do not read 'Yesuna' (will be lessened) but 'Yisonei' (may be hated)."

R. Joseph said: Rain is witholden only for abolishing the Law, as it is written [Job, 37:21]: "Yet men see not the light which is bright in the skies, when the wind hath passed along and purified them." By light is meant the Law, as it is written [Prov. 6:23]: "For the commandment is a lamp, and the law is light"; and bright, the disciples of R. Ishmael interpret thus: "Even when the sky was spotted with clouds, the wind of the law clears them away."

R. Ami said: Rain is withholden solely on account of the sin of robbery, as it is written [Job, 36:32]: "His hands he covereth with light." By "his hands" is meant the hands of robbery, as it is written [Jonah, iii. 8]: "And from the violence which is in their hands"; and by "light" is meant rain, as it is written [Job, 37:11]: "He scattereth the cloud of his lightning." R. Ami said again: It is written [Eccles. 10:10]: "If the iron be blunt and man do not whet the edge, then must he exert more strength; but the advantage of making it properly sharp is wisdom," which signifies, that if the heavens became closed as the "iron is blunt," it was because of the persistent wickedness of the men who "did not whet the edge" (of righteousness). What is the remedy for the evil? Praying for mercy, as it is said: "Then must he exert more strength"; and so much the more, will they be granted mercy if at the beginning their deeds were those of wisdom.

Resh Lakish said: If thou shouldst see a scholar whose mind is blunt as iron, because of unsystematic study, the remedy for him is, that he should devote more time to systematic study in the colleges, as it is said, "Then must he exert more strength." And a better remedy yet is, if he arrange all he had hitherto learned in order, as Resh Lakish would arrange his studies forty times before entering into the presence of R. Johanan [deriving it from the forty days which Moses occupied in receiving the Law on Mount Sinai]. R. Ada bar A'hbah would arrange his studies twenty-four times before entering into the presence of Rabha [deriving it from the twenty-four books of the Scriptures.]

Rabha said: "If thou shouldst see a disciple whose mind is as blunt as iron because his teacher does not thoughtfully explain the teachings to him, the remedy for him is, to request his friends to intercede for him with the teacher in order that the explanations may be more lucid and especially if the disciple's behavior is proper towards the teacher and others." 1

R. Ami said again: It is written [Eccles. 10:11]: "If the serpent do bite because no one uttered a charm, then hath the man that can use his tongue (in charming) no preference," which signifies that if thou shouldst see a generation in whose time the heavens became firm as copper and would not give forth dew and rain, because there was no one to utter a silent prayer for rain, the remedy is to obtain someone who can pray silently for the removal of the curse. And if the one who is able will not pray, what benefit will he derive from it? hence it is more than probable that he will do so. If, however, he persist in refusing, the most pious of that generation should be appealed to. And if he did pray and was answered, and because of that he becomes too proud, he brings down wrath upon the world.

Rabha said: Two scholars who reside in one town and are not agreeable to each other in Halakha, they cause wrath and bring the same down as it is written [Job, xxxv. 33].

Resh Lakish said: It is written [Eccl. 10:11]: "If the serpent do bite because no one uttered a charm, then hath the man that can use his tongue (in charming) no preference." In the future all the wild beasts will come to the serpent and question him thus: A lion presses and eats, the wolf tears and eats; but thou, what benefit dost thou derive from killing the creatures? And his answer will be: Do, then, the evil tongues derive any benefit?

Again R. Ami said: The prayer of a man is not answered unless he put his whole soul into it, as it is written [Lamentations, iii. 41]: "Let us lift up our heart with our hands unto God in the heaven." This is not so! For did not Samuel through an interpreter preach as follows: It is written [Psalms, 78:36 and 37]: "Nevertheless they prayed insincerely to him with their mouth, and with their tongue they lied unto him. For their heart was not firm with him, and with their tongue they lied unto him"; and further, it says [ibid. 38]: "Still he, being merciful, forgave the iniquity." This presents no difficulty. If a man prays alone, he must put his whole soul into it; but if a congregation is engaged in prayer and one of the members does not happen to be as devout as he should, the prayer is nevertheless heard.

R. Ami said again: "Rain falls only for the sake of those who are truthful, as it is written [Psalms, 85:12]: 'Truth will grow up out of the earth and righteousness will look down from heaven.'" And he said again: "Come and see how great are the men who have faith, and I know this from the story of the cat and the well; for if a man have faith in a cat and a well so much the firmer should his faith be in God."

R. Johanan said: "He who justifies all his actions here below, is closely scrutinized by the Power above, as it is written [Psalms, 85:12]: 'Truth will grow up out of the earth and righteousness will look down from heaven.'" R. Hyya bar Abin in the name of R. Huna adduces the same teaching from another passage [Psalms, 90:11]: "Which is like the fear of thee," implying that as a man endeavers to prove his fear of the Lord here below, so is he scrutinized as to his sincerity from above. Resh Lakish adduces this same teaching from the passage [Isaiah, lxiv. 4]: "Thou acceptest him that rejoiceth and worketh righteousness, those that remember thee in thy ways: behold, thou wast wroth, for we had sinned on them continually; and can we thus be saved?" which implies that when we accept one who wishes to appear righteous before us, his sins are looked into from above and he is closely observed.

R. Jehoshua ben Levi said: "One who rejoiceth in his affliction brings prosperity to the whole world, because the last two words of the above-cited verse are 'Aulom Venosha,' which should be interpreted, 'the world will be helped.'"

Resh Lakish said: It is written [Deut. 11:17]: "And he will shut up the heaven." When the heaven is shut up from giving rain, it is compared to a woman lying-in, who has all the pain of travail but cannot bear the child; and this is what Resh Lakish said in the name of Bar Qappara: The expression "shut up" is said about rain, as quoted above, and the same expression is used of a woman [Gen. 20:17]: "For the Lord had fast closed up 1 every womb." It is said "birth" of a woman [ibid. 30:23]: "And she conceived, and bore a son"; and the same expression is used for rain [Isaiah, Iv. 10]: "And render it fruitful," 2 etc. It is said "visiting" of a woman [Gen. 21:1]: "And the Lord visited Sarah"; and the same expression is used for rain [Psalms, 65:10]: "Thou hast visited 3 the earth and waterest her abundantly; thou greatly enrichest her; the brook of God is full of water."

In the days of R. Samuel ben Na'hmeni there were two evils in the land--famine and pestilence--and the sages said: What shall we pray for? We must not pray for two things, and we do not know which to pray for--the cessation of famine or of pestilence. Let us pray, then, for the abatement of the pestilence and we shall suffer with the famine. Said R. Samuel ben Na'hmeni to them: "Nay, let us pray for relief of the famine; for if the Merciful One will give bread he will give it to the living, surely not to the dead, and thus the pestilence will cease of itself, as it is written [Psalms, 145:16]: 'Thou openest thy hand and satisfiest the desire of every living thing.'" Whence do we know that two things must not be prayed for? From the passage [Ezra, 8:23]: "So we fasted and besought our God for this." Whence we see that if they besought God for this, there must have been something else besides, and only one thing was prayed for.

In the days of R. Zera the government issued proclamations detrimental to the interests of the Jews, and remarked that no fast-days were to be kept. Said R. Zera to the people: "Let us take a fast-day upon ourselves now, and when the government shall have rescinded its decree, we will then fast." And they asked him: "Whence dost thou know that this would be beneficial?" And he answered: "I know it, because it is written [Daniel, 10:12]: 'And he said unto me: Fear not, Daniel! for from the first day that thou didst set thy heart to obtain understanding, and to fast before thy God, were thy words heard: and I am come in consequence of thy words.'"

R. Itz'hak said: "Even if the years be years of drought, as were the days of Elijah, and rain fall on the eve of Sabbaths, it cannot be considered as a sign of blessing." Again, R. Itz'hak said: "The day of rain is such a blessed day, that even the coin in one's pocket is blessed; for it is written [Deut. 28:12]: 'To give the rain of thy land in its season, and to bless all the work of thy hand.'" 1

R. Johanan said: "Rain is not withholden only on account of such men as promise publicly to give charity and then do not carry out their promise, as it is written [Proverbs, xxv. 14]: 'Like clouds and wind without rain, so is a man that vaunteth falsely of a gift.'"

R. Johanan said again: "The passage 'thou shalt truly tithe' signifies that a man should give tithes in order that he may himself become rich. R. Johanan met a child of Resh Lakish (after the latter's demise) and he asked him: "How far along art thou in thy studies?" And the child answered: "I am at the passage [Deut. 14: 22]: 'Thou shalt truly tithe,'" and then asked, "What does that passage mean?" R. Johanan replied: "It means: Give tithe in order that thou mayest become rich." The child then said: "Whence dost thou know this?" And he replied: "Go and try it, and see if it is not so." But the child rejoined: "But is it then allowed to try God--is it not written [Deut. 6:16]: 'Ye shall not tempt the Lord your God.'" And R. Johanan said: "Thus said R. Hosea: 'In all things except tithes, for it is said [Malachi, 3:10]: "Bring ye all the tithes into the storehouse, that there may be provision in my house, and prove me but herewith, saith the Lord of hosts, if I will not open for you the windows of heaven, and pour out for you a blessing, until it be more than enough."'" Replied the child: "If I had already come to that verse (in my studies) I would not have needed thee nor Hosea thy rabbi."

Once more R. Johanan met the child of Resh Lakish, learning the passage [Proverbs, 19:3]: "The folly of man perverteth his way and against the Lord will his heart rage." R. Johanan sat and pondered, saving: "Is there then anything written in the Hagiographa, of which there should not even be a hint in the Pentateuch?" Said the child of Resh Lakish to him: "Is there not a hint of this in the Pentateuch? Is it not written, [Genesis, xlii. 28]: 'And their heart failed them and they were afraid, saying one unto another, What is this that God hath done unto us'?" (and was it not their own folly in selling their brother, that brought the sons of Jacob into their position)? R. Johanan (who had very large eyebrows--so large, in fact, that he had to lift them with silver pincers before he could see well) raised his eyes and wished to gaze at the child, when the mother of the child immediately took him away, saying: "Go away from him, or he may do unto thee what he did unto thy father." (What R. Johanan did to Resh Lakish is explained in Tract Baba Metziya.)

R. Johanan said: Rain may descend even for the sake of the merits of one man, but general prosperity comes only for the sake of the public, as it is written [Deut. 28:12]: "The Lord will open unto thee his good treasure, the heaven, to give rain," etc.; and it is written [Exod. 16:4]: "I will rain for you bread from heaven."

An objection was raised: R. Jose the son of R. Jehudah said: Three good leaders were given to Israel, and they are: Moses, Aaron, and Miriam; and three good gifts were given through them, namely: the well of water which the Israelites had along with them in the desert was given them for the sake of Miriam; the 'pillar of cloud which led them by day was given them on account of Aaron, and the Manna was given them for Moses' sake. When Miriam died, the well vanished, as it is written [Numbers, 21:1]: "Miriam died there, and was buried there"; and immediately afterwards it says: "And there was no water for the congregation." Still, the well was again given to the children of Israel through the prayers of Moses and Aaron.

When Aaron died, the pillar of cloud left. 1 Still, both the well and the pillar of cloud were returned for the sake of Moses; but when Moses died, everything vanished, as it is written [Zechariah, xi. 8]: "And I removed the three shepherds

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in one month." Did then Moses, Aaron, and Miriam die in the same month? Did not Moses die in Adar, Aaron in Abh, and Miriam in Nissan? Therefore infer from that passage that the three gifts which were given to Israel vanished in the same month that Moses died. Does all this not prove that the Manna was given solely on Moses' account? Nay; Moses prayed for the whole congregation, and thus he was equal to the whole congregation.

R. Huna bar Manoah, R. Samuel bar Idi, and R. Hyya of Vastania were disciples of Rabha. When Rabha died, they came to R. Papa. When R. Papa would say something that was not quite pleasing to them, they would wink at one another; and he became downhearted. At one time in a dream the passage just quoted: "And I removed the three shepherds in one month," was read to him. On the morrow before they left him he blessed the three disciples, saying: "The rabbis may go in peace" (not wishing that any harm might befall them).

R. Shimi bar Ashi was also a visitor at the college of R. Papa, and would put so many questions to him that it happened at times that R. Papa could not answer them. One day R. Shimi noticed R. Papa, who was reciting the prayer at which the face was generally hidden in the arm, and overheard him pray: "May the Merciful One save me from the disgrace which I suffer at the hands of that Shimi." So at that time he resolved to be silent and not trouble R. Papa any more with questions.

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Eliezer said: The whole world drinks of the water of the ocean, as it is written [Gen. 2:6]: "But there went up a mist from the earth and watered the whole face of the ground." Said R. Jehoshua to him: "How can that be? Are not the waters of the ocean salty?" And he replied: "They become sweet in the mist (when evapourating)." R. Jehoshua, however, says: The whole world drinks of the waters above, as it is written [Deut. xi. 11]: "From the rain of heaven doth it drink water." Thus the significance of the first-quoted verse is, that the mists rise unto heaven, open their mouths like bags, and drink in the water, as it is written [Job, 36:27.]: "For he taketh away drops of water, which are purified into rain in the mist"; and the mist is porous like a sieve, through which the rain descends to the earth, as it is written [2 Samuel, 22:12]: "Heavy masses of water, thick clouds of the skies," and the space from one drop to another is only the width of a hair. All this teaches us that the day of rain is as great as the day of the creation of heaven and earth.

The rabbis taught: The land of Israel was created first of all and the rest of the world afterwards, as it is written [Proverbs, 8:26]: "While as yet he had not made the land and open fields," and the land of Israel was already made. The land of Israel is watered by the Lord himself, while the rest of the world is watered by a messenger, as it is written [Job, v. 10]: "Who giveth rain upon the surface of the earth, and sendeth out waters over the face of the fields."

The land of Israel is watered by rain, while the rest of the world is watered by the residue remaining in the clouds, and this is inferred from the same passage [Job, v. 10], which also implies that the land of Israel is watered before the rest of the world.

R. Jehoshua ben Levi, however, said that the whole world is watered with the residue remaining after the garden of Eden had been watered, as it is written [Gen. ii. 10]: "And a river went out of Eden to water the garden"; and in a Boraitha we have learned that with the residue of water left over from a quantity necessary to water a Kur of land, a Tharqabh (one-sixtieth of a Kur) of land can be watered.

The rabbis taught: Egypt measures four hundred square Parsah, and that is only one-sixtieth of Mesopotamia; Mesopotamia is a sixtieth of the whole earth; the earth is one-sixtieth of the garden of Eden; the garden is one-sixtieth of Eden, and Eden is in turn only one-sixtieth of Gehenna. Thus it follows that the whole world is but a lid to the pot. Others say again that Gehenna is immeasurable, while still others maintain that Eden is immeasurable.

R. Oshiya said: "It is written [Jeremiah, 51:13]: 'O thou that dwellest upon many waters, great in treasures,' etc., which implies that the reason, why Babylon is great in treasures is because it dwelleth upon many waters." Rabh said: "Rich indeed is Babylon, that reapeth her grain without rain." Abayi said: "I know of a tradition which tells me that swampy ground is better than dry." 1

MISHNA: On the third of Mar-Cheshvan prayers for rain should be said; but according to Rabban Gamaliel, on the seventh of the same month--namely, fifteen days after the Feast of Tabernacles--in order to give the last of the Israelites (returning to their homes from the city of Jerusalem, where they had been during the festivals) an opportunity to reach the River Euphrates (the northern boundary line of Palestine).

GEMARA: Said R. Elazar: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Gamaliel." We have learned in a Boraitha: Hananiah said: In exile, prayers for rain should be said sixty days after the equinox of Tishri"; and Huna bar Hyya said in the name of Samuel that the Halakha prevails according to Hananiah.

The schoolmen propounded a question: "What about the sixtieth day after the equinox? Is it included in the sixty days, or is it counted as one of the days on which the prayers are already to be recited?" Said R. Papa: "The Halakha prevails: The sixtieth is considered as the day after the sixty days."

MISHNA: If the seventeenth of Mar-Cheshvan have passed without the rain having yet descended, private individuals commence to keep three fast-days. As soon as it becomes dark on the fast-days, however, it is allowed to eat and to drink; and on the fast-days themselves it is permitted to work, to bathe, to anoint the body, to wear shoes, and to perform the duty of cohabitation.

If the new moon of Kislev has arrived without rain having yet descended, the supreme court shall order three public and general fast-days. As soon as it becomes dark on those fast-days, however, it is lawful to eat and drink; and on the fast-days themselves it is permissible to work, to bathe, to anoint the body, to wear shoes, and to perform the duty of cohabitation.

GEMARA: Who are meant by private individuals (in this Mishna)? Said R. Huna: "The rabbis." We have learned in a Boraitha that if private individuals commenced to keep the fast-days, they should fast on Monday, Thursday, and the following Monday; and they may interrupt their fast-days if a Monday or a Thursday fall on the day of the new moon or on such days as are mentioned in the Roll of Fasts.

The rabbis taught: "A man should not say: 'I am too young a scholar to be counted in among the rabbis, and thus be included in the meaning of the term "private individuals," hence I need not keep the fast-days'; but every young scholar should consider himself a rabbi for that purpose."

Who is called a private individual? One who is worthy of being elected Parnass (president) of the congregation. And who is called a young scholar? One who is asked concerning passages in his studies even in Tract Kalah and can make satisfactory answer.

The rabbis taught: Not every one who would count himself among the private individuals may do so, and not every one who would count himself among the young scholars may do so. Such is the dictum of R. Simeon ben Elazar. Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel, however, said: "This only applies to those who do so for the glory thereof, but not to such as only incur an inconvenience by so doing; and the latter, when counting themselves among such persons, should be favourably remembered therefor."

The rabbis taught: One who fasted on account of some trouble, or for the recovery of a sick person, even though the trouble had passed away during the day of his fasting, or the sick person had recovered during that day, should nevertheless continue to fast until nightfall. One who came from a place where there was no fast-day to a place where there was a fast-day must keep that fast-day; but if a man came from a place where there was fasting to a place where there was none, he must nevertheless quietly end his fast. If he forgot that the day was a fast-day, and ate and drank, he should not at least make it apparent to others, and should also not participate in any pleasures on that day, as it is written [Gen. 42:1]: "Why do ye look at one another?" which signifies, that Jacob said to his sons: Why do ye make it appear that ye are satisfied when the other races of Esau and Ishmael around you are starving?

R. Jehudah said in the name of R. Hyya: One who travels on the road should not eat much--no more, in fact, than is eaten in a year of famine. Why so? Here in Babylon they say: "In order that the stomach be not filled and thus make walking difficult"; but in Palestine they say: "In order that the supply of food which is carried along be not too quickly exhausted." The difference in the two opinions is therefore concerning a man on board of a ship. There is fear of the supply of food being exhausted, but not that walking will be hindered. On the other hand, the difference of opinion also concerns a man travelling from village to village. There is no fear of the supply of food becoming exhausted, but there is fear of overloading the stomach and thus impeding further progress.

R. Papa when travelling would eat a small loaf after traversing a Parsah, because he thought that eating too much would be injurious to the stomach.

R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: A man who has plenty in years of famine and still eats sparingly because others have but a small supply will be saved from sudden death, as it is written [Job, 5:20]: "In famine he redeemeth thee from death." Why is it said "in famine," it should say "from famine he redeemeth thee"? Therefore the passage means to imply that because one ate sparingly in times of famine, he will be redeemed from sudden death.

Resh Lakish said: "A man should not cohabit with his wife in years of famine, as it is written [Gen. xli. 50]: 'And unto Joseph were born two sons before the years of famine came.'" A Boraitha, however, teaches that a man who is childless may do so even in times of famine.

The rabbis taught: When Israelites are in trouble and one of them leaves them for the purpose of avoiding the trouble, the two angels who accompany each man lay their hands upon his head and say: "The man who secludes himself from the community which is in distress shall not see the prosperity of the community." Therefore a man should share the common distress of the community, as we see in the case of Moses, who always shared the troubles of the congregation, as it is written [Exod. 17:12]: "But when the hands of Moses became heavy, they took a stone, and put it under him, and he sat thereon." Did not Moses possess a pillow or bolster upon which he could have sate down? Yea; but Moses said thus: "Because the community is in distress I shall not use a pillow, but sit on a stone and share their woes." Thus everyone who shares the misery of the community shall also see the prosperity, and lest a man say: "Who will testify that I took no part in the woe of the community?" he should know that the stones and beams of his house will bear testimony to the fact, as it is written [Habakkuk, 2:11]: "For the stone will cry out of the wall, and the beam out of the woodwork will answer it." The disciples of R. Shila say, that the two angels who accompany a man will testify against him, as it is written [Psalms, 91:11]: "For his angels will be given charge concerning thee." R. 'Hidka said: "The soul of man will testify against him," as it is written [Micah, 7:4]: "From her that lieth in thy bosom guard the doors of thy mouth." Others say that the members of a man's body will testify against him, as it is written [Isaiah, 43:10]: "Ye are my witnesses, saith the Lord."

It is written [Deut. 32:4]: "The God of truth, and without iniquity." By the "God of truth" is meant, that as retribution is meted out above to the wicked for every transgression which they commit, so are the righteous also held to account in this world for every transgression committed; and as the righteous are rewarded in the world to come for every little good act, so are the wicked rewarded in this world for every fulfilment of a religious duty, be it ever so insignificant. It says further [ibid.]: "just and upright is He." Infer therefrom that when a man comes into the world beyond, all his deeds are laid before him in detail, and he is told where and on what day he committed them. The man then answers: "Yea, I did so"; and he is told to subscribe his name, which he does, as it is written [Job, xxxvii. 7]: "He sealeth it on the hand of every man." And not alone this, but the man also exclaims: "I have been justly judged," as it is said [Psalms, li. 6]: "In order that thou mightest be righteous when thou speakest, be justified when thou judgest."

Samuel said: "A man who fasteth is called a sinner." R. Shesheth said: "If a young scholar sitteth and fasteth, may a dog eat his meal." Said R. Jeremiah bar Abba: "In the community in Babylon there is no fast-day except the 9th of Abh"; and in the name of Resh Lakish he said: "It is not lawful for a scholar to fast, because by fasting he diminishes the work in the heavenly cause."

"As soon as it becomes dark," etc. R. Zera said in the name of R. Huna: "If an individual took it upon himself to fast the next day, even if he had eaten and drunk the entire night, he may on the morrow recite the fasting-prayer in the Min'hah (afternoon prayer). If a man, however, fasted a day and a night, he must not on the following morning recite the fasting-prayer." Asked R. Joseph: "What does R. Huna hold? That fasting at night is not considered and for that reason the fasting-prayer must not be recited on the following morning, or that fasting at night is considered the same as fasting for a few hours, but for fasting of the latter kind no prayer should be said?" Abayi answered: "R. Huna holds, that fasting at night is considered as fasting for a few hours, and for such a fast the prayer may be said; but the reason that he disallows the fasting-prayer on the morning following the night is because the man originally intended to fast only during the day and did not take upon himself previously to fast the night through also."

Said R. Hisda: "A fast of hours is considered only if the man had not tasted food until night." Said Abayi: "This would not be a fast of hours! it would be a regular fast-day?" R. Hisda means to say that if a man had not eaten before noon through lack of time, and then resolved to fast the remaining half of the day so as to have a fast-day to his credit--although he had only taken it upon himself to fast a half of a day, still it is considered as a regular fast-day.

R. Hisda said again: "A fast-day which was not kept until sunset cannot be called a fast-day." An objection was made: We have learned in a Mishna: "The priests who had the weekly watch of the Temple fasted, but not the whole day." (This presents no difficulty.) In that case the men of the watch did not intend to fast, but merely to share the trouble of the rest of the community.

Samuel said: "A man who had fasted without having previously taken it upon himself to do so is not considered to have fasted at all." But what if a man did fast without having previously resolved to do so? Said Rabba bar Shila: "That is considered the same as inflating a bag with air." When must a man resolve to fast? Said Rabh: "On the preceding day during the time of the afternoon-prayer." And Samuel said: "On the preceding day at the afternoon-prayer."

Said R. Joseph: "It seems to me that the opinion of Samuel is correct."

The rabbis taught: "Until what time may a man eat on the night preceding a fast-day?" "Until the advent of the morning

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star." Such is the dictum of Rabbi; but R. Eliezer bar R. Simeon said: "Until the cock crows." Said Rabha: "This applies to one who had not slept; but if he had once retired and slept, he must not eat at all."

Abayi objected: "Did we not learn that if the man slept and arose again, he may eat?" That teaching does not mean if the man had slept, but had only slumbered.

R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: "A man, after taking it upon himself to fast on a certain day, may postpone that day and fast on another day; and," continued R. Jehudah, "when I told this to Samuel, he said: 'This is self-evident, for cannot a man vow to do a certain thing and postpone it to some other time?'"

R. Jehoshua the son of R. Idi was a guest of R. Assi; and a calf, the third of its mother, was prepared for him. And they said to him "Let Master partake of something." Whereupon he replied: I am fasting this day." And they rejoined: "Why not postpone this fast-day? Does not Master hold with R. Jehudah's decree in the name of Rabh, that a fast-day may be postponed?" And he said: "This is a fast-day to me on account of a dream, and Rabba bar Mahassia in the name of R. Hama bar Guria, quoting Rabh, said: 'A fast-day is to a bad dream what fire is to flax'; and R. Hisda said that the fast-day should be kept only on the same day, and R. Joseph said that even on Sabbath such a fast should be kept, and for the violation of the Sabbath caused thereby he should keep an additional fast-day later on."

MISHNA: If these (three fast-days) have passed without their prayers having been favourably answered, the supreme court shall decree three more public and general fasts; on the nights preceding these it is not permitted to eat or drink, and on the fast-days it is prohibited to work, to bathe, to anoint the body, to wear shoes or to perform the duty of cohabitation, and the public bathing places are to be closed. Should even these fast-days have passed without their prayers having been favourably answered, then shall the Beth Din decree seven more fast-days, which altogether will make thirteen public and general fasts. These last seven fast-days differ from the preceding six, in that on them the alarm is sounded; the shops remain closed, excepting that on Mondays, towards evening, the shop-shutters (of the dealers in articles of food) may be loosely fastened (i.e., not entirely closed, but in a slanting position), and on Thursday they may be taken off entirely in honour of the Sabbath.

Should even these seven fast-days have passed without a favourable answer to the prayers, the people are to avoid and withdraw from engaging in any joyous occupation, and also to diminish their business; from the erection of buildings and from the planting of pleasure-gardens; from betrothals, weddings, and mutual greetings, like men who are rebuked by the Omnipotent; (pious) private individuals recommence fasting till the end of the month of Nissan. If Nissan had passed and then rain descended, it must be considered a curse, for it is written [I Samuel, 12:17]: "Is it not wheat harvest to-day?" etc.

GEMARA: It would be right to prohibit bathing, anointing the body, etc., on the fast-day, because those things are luxuries; but why should working be prohibited? Surely working cannot be considered a luxury! Said R. Hisda in the name of R. Jeremiah bar Abba: It is written [Joel, i. 14]: "Sanctify ye a fast, proclaim a solemn assembly, gather the elders," etc. Thus we see that it says, "Proclaim a solemn assembly"; and as certain festivals on which no work may be done are also called "assembly" (Atzereth), it follows that no work may be done on a fast-day also. We might assume then that, as on those other festivals no work may be done from the time of dusk on the preceding eve, such should also be the case with these fast-days. Said R. Zera: It was explained by R. Jeremiah bar Abba that as it is written, "Gather the elders," this might be compared to them, and as the elders assemble only during the day, so work should not be done only during the day. If that be so, then let it be prohibited to work only from midday on; for the elders generally assemble about midday. Said R. Shesha the son of R. Idi: This bears out the opinion of R. Huna, who said that in olden times the assemblies of elders would take place from the morning on.

What would the elders do when they assembled in the morning? Said Abayi: From morn until midday they would occupy themselves with municipal affairs; and the first part of the afternoon would be consumed in the reading of the scrolls and of the Haphthorah, while the other part would be devoted to the recital of prayers, as it is written [Nehemiah, ix. 3]: "And they stood up in their standing-place, and read in the book of the law of the Lord their God the fourth part of the day; and another fourth part they made confession, and prostrated themselves before the Lord their God." Perhaps the contrary was the case; i.e., they read the Law and prayed in the forenoon and occupied themselves with the municipal affairs in the afternoon? This would not be consistent; for it is written [Ezra, 9:4]: "And then assembled themselves unto me every one that trembled at the words of the God of Israel, because of the trespass of the exiles: and I sat astounded until the evening sacrifice; [ibid. 5] And at the evening sacrifice I rose up from my fasting, and while rending my garment and my mantle, I knelt down upon my knees, and spread out my hands unto the Lord my God."

Raphram bar Papa said in the name of R. Hisda: "On days when one is fasting on account of a mournful occurrence, as the 9th of Abh, or when is mourning the loss of a near relative, bathing in either cold or warm water is prohibited; but where bathing is not allowed as a luxury, as on ordinary communal fast-days, warm water must not be used but cold water may be." Said R. Idi bar Abin: "This we have learned also in our Mishna, for it says 'that the bathing places are closed,' which signifies that bathing in warm water is prohibited." Said Abayi to him: "What proof is that? If then cold water was prohibited, would the Mishna say that all rivers and lakes should be drained or stopped up?" And R. Shesha the son of R. Idi replied: "My father meant to say that the following was the difficulty in the Mishna: It says that bathing is not allowed, why then should it add that the bathing places were closed? Therefore the Mishna evidently meant to imply that the bathing places were closed in order to prevent the use of warm-water, but cold water may be used."

Where should the fasting-prayer be mentioned? R. Jehudah led his son R. Itz'hak to the desk, and the latter proclaimed: "If an individual takes it upon himself to fast, he must recite the fasting-prayer and insert it among the eighteen benedictions, between the benediction of redemption and healing."

R. Itz'hak (of a later generation) opposed this: May, then, an individual say an additional benediction? Therefore, according to his opinion, he should say it in the prayer commencing: "Hear our voice, O Lord," etc. And so also said R. Shesheth. What is the final decision? Said R. Samuel bar Sassartai, and so also said R. Hyya bar Ashi in the name of Rabh: "It should be said between the benedictions of redemption and healing." R. Ashi, however, said in the name of R. Janai the son of Ishmael: "In the prayer commencing, 'Hear our voice,'" etc. And thus the Halakha prevails.

We have learned in one Boraitha that pregnant women and those suckling infants should fast only during the first fast-days ordained by the community, but not during the subsequent fast-days. In another Boraitha we have learned that they should fast in the last fast-days, but not in the first; and in a third Boraitha we have learned that they should fast neither in the first nor in the last. Said R. Ashi: Hold firm to the middle Boraitha and the others will be readily explained (i.e., the first Boraitha means to say that they should fast on the three days between the first three days and the last seven, but not on the last seven days; the second Boraitha calls the three middle days the last because they, were preceded by three others, hence it says that they should fast only on the last three days, i.e., the three days mentioned above; and the last Boraitha means to say that they need not fast on the first three days or on the last seven, but only on the three middle--thus all three Boraithoth mean one and the same thing).

"The alarm is sounded." Wherewith was the alarm sounded? Said R. Jehudah: "With the cornets." And R. Jehudah the son of R. Samuel bar Shilas, quoting Rabh, said: "With the shout, 'Answer us, O Lord!'" All agree that where cornets are used it is referred to as "sounding an alarm," but they differ concerning the prayer, "Answer us, O Lord!" One says that that is also called sounding the alarm, while the other says that it is not. He who says that the alarm was sounded by reciting the prayer mentioned, also admits that the cornets were used; but the one who says that the cornets were blown, does not hold that the prayer was also said.

Did we not learn in a Boraitha that on account of other kinds of plagues, such as the itch, locusts, flies, wasps and gnats, and snakes the alarm, was not sounded, but the prayers were merely shouted; and as shouting signifies that the prayer, "Answer us," was merely said, it must be assumed that where it says that the alarm was sounded it means that the alarm was sounded with cornets? This constitutes a difference of opinion among Tanaim, as we learn in a subsequent Mishna (Chap. 3. of this Tract), which says: "For the following calamities an alarm is to be sounded even on Sabbath," etc.; and as on the Sabbath it is not permitted to sound an alarm with cornets, we must assume that the prayer, "Answer us," etc., is also called an alarm. Such is the conclusion.

In the days of R. Jehudah the Third there was a calamity. He ordained thirteen fast-days, but no favourable answer was received. He accordingly desired to ordain more fast-days; but R. Ami said to him: "It was said that the community must not be troubled to too great an extent." Said R. Abba, the son of R. Hyya bar Abba: "R. Ami said that from a selfish motive (i.e., he did not care to fast any more), for my father said in the name of R. Johanan that only when rain is withholden thirteen fast-days should be kept, and no more; but on account of other calamities the people should fast until their prayers are answered, and thus we have also learned in a Boraitha.

The inhabitants of Nineveh sent a query to Rabbi: "Should we, whose soil is unusually dry and in need of rain already in the month of Tamuz (June-July) be considered as a community and when praying for rain insert the prayer in the benediction of years, or should we be regarded as individuals and insert the prayer in that commencing, 'Hear us, O Lord!'" He answered them: "Ye are regarded as individuals and must insert the prayer for rain in that commencing, 'Hear us, O Lord.'"

An objection was raised from the following Boraitha. R. Jehudah said: "All this applied to the time when the Israelites were in their own land and Palestine was the principal place, but in the present time the prayers are said according to the place, time, and year?" And he answered him: Thou askest concerning a contradiction of Rabbi to a Boraitha? Rabbi is a Tana, and consequently may, have his own opinion and differ with the teaching of a Boraitha. How does the Halakha prevail.

. . . . . however? R. Na'hman said: "The prayer for rain must be inserted in the benediction of the years," and R. Shesheth said: "It must be inserted in 'hear our voice,'" etc. And the Halakha prevails according to R. Shesheth.

"But on Thursday they may be taken off entirely," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: On Monday towards evening, the shop-shutters were only partly closed; on the Thursday they were entirely opened in honour of the Sabbath; but if there were two doors to the shop, one of them could be opened even on Monday; and if there was a bench against the door, it was allowed to open the door on Monday as usual.

"From the erection of buildings and from the planting of pleasure-gardens," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: What is called a building of pleasure? A house which was built especially for a son about to be married;, and what is meant by a pleasure-garden? A bower for princes.

"And mutual greetings." The rabbis taught: The scholars would not greet each other at all; but the common people when greeting the scholars would be answered very feebly and with a faint nod. Amongst themselves the scholars would sit wrapped in their cloaks, silent and morose, the same as mourners and as men who were rebuked by the Omnipotent, until the Lord would have mercy upon them.

R. Elazar said: "A prominent man must not clothe himself in sackcloth unless he knows positively that his prayers will be answered, as was the case with King Jehoram the son of Achab, concerning whom it is written [2 Kings, 6:30]: "And it came to pass when the king heard the words of the woman, that he rent his clothes, as he was passing along upon the wall; and the people looked, and behold he had sackcloth beneath upon his flesh," etc.

R. Elazar said again: "Not everyone has a right to rend his clothes, nor is it proper for everyone to fall upon his face (in prayer). Moses and Aaron fell upon their faces [Numbers, xiv. 5], and Joshua and Caleb rent their garments" [ibid., ibid.].

R. Zera, and according to others R. Samuel ben Na'hmeni, opposed this: "If it said, 'Joshua and Caleb rent their garments,' the statement of R. Elazar would be correct, but as it says 'And Joshua and Caleb rent,' etc., it signifies that they did both--fell upon their faces and rent their garments."

R. Elazar said again: Not to everyone is it allowed to praise God by rising or by bowing. Kings may do so by rising, as it is written [Isaiah, 49:7]: "Thus hath said the Lord, the Redeemer of Israel, his Holy One, to him who is despised by men, to him who is abhorred by nations, to the servant of rulers, kings shall sec it and rise up." Princes may do so by prostrating themselves, as it is written [ibid.] Princes, and they shall prostrate themselves."

R. Zera, others say R. Samuel ben Na'hmeni, opposed this: "If the verse read, 'and princes shall prostrate themselves,' it would imply that they would not rise and prostrate themselves; but as it reads 'princes, and they shall prostrate,' etc., it implies that they did both."

Said R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak: "I would also remark that not everyone is worthy of obtaining light, and not everyone is worthy to have joy. The righteous are deserving of light and the upright of joy, as it is written [Psalms, xcvii. 11]: 'Light is sown for the righteous, and joy for the upright in heart.'"

CHAPTER 2.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE ORDER OF PROCEDURE ON THE LAST SEVEN FAST-DAYS, AND THE PRAYERS TO BE RECITED ON THOSE DAYS.

MISHNA: What is the order of procedure on the fast-days? The ark containing the Holy Scrolls is to be brought into an open place in the city, ashes of burnt substances are to be strewed on that ark, on the head of the Nassi (prince), on the head of the chief of the Beth Din (court of justice); and other persons shall also themselves strew ashes on their heads. The eldest among them shall then address them in heart-moving terms, as follows: "My brethren! Consider that it is not written, anent the (repentance of the) Ninevites, that God regarded their having wrapped themselves in sackcloth and considered their fast-days, but that 'God saw their works, that they had turned from their evil way' [Jonah, 3:10], and the tradition of the prophets is (as it is written): 'Rend your hearts, and not your garments'" [Joel, 2:131.

After standing up to pray, the people shall place at the praying-desk, to minister, an old experienced person who has children and whose larder is empty, so that his mind may be entirely devoted to his prayer. This person shall say twenty-

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four benedictions; namely, the eighteen benedictions of the daily prayer, with the addition of six more, which are as follows: The texts of Zikhronoth (remembrance of His creatures) and of Shophroth (sounding of the cornet); the chapters [Psalms, cxx.] "Unto the Lord, when I was in distress, did I call, and he hath answered me"; [ibid. 121.] "I lift up my eyes unto the mountains," etc.; [ibid. cxxx.] "Out of the depths have I called to thee, O Lord; and [ibid. 102.] "A prayer of the afflicted, when he is overwhelmed." R. Jehudah said: It was not necessary to mention the Zikhronoth and Shophroth, but the following passages are to be read instead, namely: [1 Kings, 8:37]: "If there be famine in the land, if there be pestilence," etc.; and [Jeremiah, 14.] "The word of the Lord that came to Jeremiah concerning the drought"; and the concluding is then added to each.

To the first he (the reader) shall say additionally: "May He who answered Abraham on Mount Moriah answer you, and listen to your (prayer and) cry on this day. Blessed art thou, O Lord, Redeemer of Israel!" To the second he shall say: "May He who answered our ancestors on the Red Sea answer you, and listen favourably unto your cry this day. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who rememberest all things forgotten (by man)!" To the third he shall say: "May He who answered Joshua in Gilgal answer you, and listen to your cry this day. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who deignest to listen to the sound of the cornet!" To the fourth he shall say: "May He who answered Samuel in Mizpah answer you, and listen this day to your cry. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hearkenest to (our) cry!" To the fifth he shall say: "May he who answered Elijah on Mount Carmel answer you, and listen favourably to your cry on this day. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hearkenest to prayer!" To the sixth he shall say: "May He who answered Jonah in the bowels of the fish answer you, and listen unto your cry this day. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who answerest in the time of distress!" To the seventh he says: "May he who answered David and his son Solomon in Jerusalem answer you, and listen unto your cry on this day. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hast compassion on the earth!"

It happened in the days of R. Halaphta and R. Hanina the son of Teradion, that a minister advanced to the praying-desk and completed the entire benediction without any (of the congregation) answering thereto "Amen." (The sexton then proclaimed): "Sound, priests! Sound!" (The minister who said the prayers then continued): "May He who answered our father Abraham on Mount Moriah answer you, and listen favourably to your prayer this day." (The sexton then called): "Sound an alarm, sons of Aaron! Sound an alarm!" (The previous minister continued): "May He who answered our ancestors on the Red Sea answer you, and listen favourably to your cry this day." When the sages were informed of this, they said: "This was not our custom, except at the eastern door (of the Temple) and on the Temple mount."

On the first three fasts, the priests who had the weekly watch of the Temple fasted, but only part of the day, and the ministering priests did not fast at all. On the second three fast-days, the priests on the weekly watch fasted the whole day, but the ministering priests only fasted part of the day; but on the last seven fast-days both classes of priests fasted the whole day. So said R. Jehoshua. But the sages say: "The first three fasts were not kept by either of the two classes; on the second three fasts the priests on weekly watch would fast part of the day, but the officiating priests would not fast at all. On the last seven, however, the priests on the weekly watch would fast the whole day; but the officiating priests would fast only part of the day."

The priests having the weekly watch may drink wine at night, but not during the day, 1 but the officiating priests may drink it neither by day nor by night. The priests of the weekly watch and the standing men (commoners attending the public sacrifices as the representatives of the congregation at large) are not allowed to shave their beards or to wash their clothes; but on Thursday they are permitted to do so, in honour of the approaching Sabbath. (Moed Katan, p. 25.)

Wherever it is mentioned in the "Roll of Fasts" that "no lamentation and mourning is to be made" on certain days, it is also prohibited to do so on the day preceding, but permitted on the day following. R. Jose, however, says: "It is prohibited to do so on both the day preceding and the day following." Where it is said, however, "No fasts are to be kept thereon," it is allowed to fast on the day preceding and following days. R. Jose, however, says: "It is prohibited on the preceding, but allowed on the following day."

Public fasts must not be ordered to commence on a Thursday, in order not to raise the price of victuals in the markets; 2 but the first three fasts must be kept on Monday, Thursday, and the following Monday. But the second three fasts may follow on Thursday, Monday, and the following Thursday. R. Jose says: "Even as the first fasts are not to be commenced on Thursday, so also are the second and last fasts not to commence on that day."

Public fasts are not to be ordered to take place on the feast of the New Moon, on that of Dedication (Hanukah), nor on that of Lots (Purim); but if the fast had already been commenced on one of those feasts, it need not be broken. Such is the decree of Rabban Gamaliel. R. Meir, however, says, that although Rabban Gamaliel said that the fast need not be broken, he admits that on those days people are not to fast the entire day. Such is also the case with the fast of the ninth of Abh, if it happen to fall on a Friday.

GEMARA: "What is the order of procedure on the fast-days?" Does this apply also to the first three fast-days? Then it would be a contradiction to the following Boraitha: The first and the second three fast-days they enter into the praying-house and pray as usual; but in the last seven the ark is to be brought into an open place, etc. Said R. Papa: "Nay; our Mishna also refers to the last seven."

"On the head of the Nassi (prince)"; and further, the Mishna teaches that "other persons shall also strew ashes on their heads." This should not be so! For did not Rabbi teach in a Boraitha that where an act of honour is to be accomplished the most prominent persons are commenced with, while when an act of humiliation is to be performed the lowest in rank are first considered? The strewing of ashes on the heads of the prince and of the chief of the Beth Din first is also an act of honour; for they are told that they are more worthy of praying for mercy for us and for all the world.

"Other persons shall also strew ashes on their heads." Why must the prince and the chief of the Beth Din have someone else to strew ashes on their heads? Can they not do so themselves? Said R. Abba (or Ada) of Kisri: "The humiliation of disgracing one's self by one's own hands is not equal to that of being disgraced by the hands of others (where prominent persons are concerned, but as for common people it does not matter)." On what part of the head are the ashes put? Said R. Itz'hak: 'On the place where the phylacteries are generally worn, as it is written [Isaiah, 61:3]: 'To give unto them ornament in the place of ashes,' implying that where ornaments (phylacteries) were worn ashes were put."

Why do they congregate in an open place? Said R. Hyya bar Abba: "In order that they might say: 'We have prayed privately and were not answered, hence we shall humiliate ourselves by praying in public." And Resh Lakish said: "In order that they might say: 'We have been driven from our abodes, and may our banishment be the means of our forgiveness.'" Why is the ark brought into an open place? Said R. Jehoshua ben Levi: "In order that they might say: 'We had a hidden treasure, but through our transgressions that also has become profaned.'" Why do they clothe themselves in sackcloth? Said R. Hyya bar Abba: "In order that they might say: 'We are now like the beasts of the field.'" Why are ashes strewn on the ark? Said R. Jehudah ben Pazi: "In order to say that this is an allusion to what is written [Psalms, 91:15]: 'With him I am in distress,' meaning that the Shekhina shares the distress of the people." Resh Lakish said: "In order to say that this is an allusion to the passage: 'In their affliction he was afflicted.'" Said R. Zera: "When I saw the rabbis strew ashes on the ark, my whole body trembled."

Why are ashes strewn on the heads of all? Concerning this, R. Levi bar Hama and R. Hanina differ. One says that this is equal to saying: "We are now before thee, O Lord, as ashes"; and the other says: "It is for the purpose of begging the Lord to remember the ashes of Isaac." For what purpose did they go out to the cemeteries? 1 Concerning this, R. Levi bar Hama and R. Hanina also differ. One says, in order that they might say they were now equal to the dead; while the other says that it was for the purpose of having the souls of the departed pray for them.

Why was the Mount called Mount Moriah [2 Chronicles, 3:1]? Concerning this there is again a difference between R. Levi bar Hama and R. Hanina. One says that Moriah is the equivalent of Horaah (i.e., enactment), while the other says that Moriah is the equivalent of Mora (fear); for when the Temple was built, other nations were awed.

"In heart-moving terms." The rabbis taught: If the eldest among them was also a scholar he would address them; otherwise a scholar, even if he was younger, would address them, and if there was no scholar among them a prominent man would do it. And he would say to them: "Brethren! It is not written, anent the repentance of the Ninevites, that God regarded their having wrapped themselves in sackcloth and considered their fast-days, but that 'God saw their works, that they had turned from their evil way'" [Jonah, 3:10].

Concerning the Ninevites it is written [Jonah, 3:8]: "But let man and beast be covered with sackcloth." How was it done? They separated the suckling animals from their mothers and said: "Sovereign of the Universe! If Thou wilt not have mercy upon us, we will not have mercy upon them." And further on: "Let men call unto God with might." What is meant by "with might"? That means to say that they said: "Lord of the Universe! Who of the two should give way unto the other? The oppressed and the one who cannot be oppressed, the righteous and the wicked?" (Now, as we are the oppressed and Thou canst not be oppressed, shouldst Thou not overlook our iniquity?) Further, it is written [ibid.]: "And let them turn every one from his evil way, and from the violence which is in their hands." What is meant by "the violence which is in their hands"? Said Samuel: "If a man had wrongfully appropriated a beam which he had used in building a house, he would tear down the house and restore the beam to its rightful owner."

R. Ada bar Ahabha said: "If a man confesses to a wrong committed, and repents it without making proper restitution therefor, he is equal to a man holding a dead reptile in his hands and bathing himself in order to become clean; for, as a man who has a dead reptile in his hands, even should he bathe in all the legal baths in the world, would not become clean until he had rid himself of the reptile--but if he threw away that unclean thing a bath measuring forty Saahs would cleanse him--so it is with a man who had committed a wrong: unless he made proper restitution all confession and repentance is in vain, as it is written [Proverbs, 28:13]: 'He that concealeth his transgressions will not prosper; but whoso confesseth and forsaketh them will obtain mercy'; and as it is written [Lamentations, 3:41]: 'Let us lift up our heart and our hands unto God in the heavens.'"

"After standing up to pray." The rabbis taught: At prayer, though there be the eldest and a scholar present, neither should be placed at the reading-desk unless they were experienced in prayer; but only one who has had thorough experience. R. Jehudah said: "The minister should be a man who has children and cannot provide for them, who works hard in the field but has empty storehouses, who has good manners, who is modest, who is popular, who has an attractive, sweet voice, who can read the entire Holy Writ, and is competent to learn Midrash, Halakhoth, and Haggadoth, and is conversant with all the benedictions." The rabbis looked among themselves and cast their eyes upon R. Itz'hak bar Ami, who had all those qualities.

(R. Jehudah said:) "'Who has children and cannot provide for them and who has empty (store) houses.' Is that not one and the same thing?" Said R. Hisda: "By an empty house is meant one free from sin." What is meant by "good manners"? One who never had a bad reputation since his earliest youth.

"With the addition of six more." Are there not seven additional benedictions? as the Mishna states further on: "To the seventh he says," etc. Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: By the seventh is meant the seventh to the long benediction, as we have learned in a Boraitha: He says twenty-four benedictions, namely: the eighteen benedictions of the daily prayer, with the addition of six more, and those six are said between the benediction of redemption and healing, and the benediction of the redemption is made longer. After each benediction the congregation answers "Amen." Such was the custom, however, only outside of the Temple, but in the Temple the reader would say: "Blessed be the Lord the God of Israel, from the beginning to the end of the world"; and they would conclude by saying: "Blessed be the Redeemer of Israel." But no "Amen" was answered; and why not? Because in the Temple it was not allowed to answer "Amen." Whence do we deduce this? Because it is written [Nehemiah, ix. 5]: "Arise, bless ye the Lord your God from eternity to eternity. And let men bless thy glorious name, which is exalted above all blessing and praise." This signifies, that after each blessing the Lord's name should be praised (but not that "Amen" should be said).

The rabbis taught: To the first benedictions the reader would say: "Blessed be the Lord the God of Israel, from the beginning unto the end of the world. Blessed be the Redeemer of Israel!" and the people answered after him: "Praised be the name of the glory of His kingdom for ever and ever." The Chazan (sexton) of the congregation then says: "Sound, priests, sound!" The reader then continues: "May He who answered Abraham on Mount Moriah answer you, and listen to your cry on this day." The priests then sound, make an alarm, and sound again. To the second, the reader says at the conclusion: "Blessed be the Lord, who remembereth all things forgotten (by man)"; and the people answer: "Praised be the name of the glory of His kingdom for ever and ever." The Chazan then says: "Sound an alarm, children of Aaron, sound an alarm!" The reader then says: "May He who answered our ancestors on the Red Sea answer you, and listen favourably unto your cry this day." The priests then make an alarm, sound, and then make another alarm; and such is the manner of procedure with everyone of the benedictions. The Chazan says alternately, "Sound!" and "Sound an alarm!" until all the benedictions are said.

Thus did R. Halaphta proceed in Sepphoris and R. Hanina ben Teradon in the city of Sikhni; and when the sages were informed of this, they said: "This was not customary except at the eastern door of the Temple, and at the Temple Mount."

"R. Jehudah said: 'It was not necessary to mention the Zikhronoth,'" etc. Said R. Ada of Jaffa: "The reason of R. Jehudah's dictum is, that the Zikhronoth and Shophroth are only mentioned on the New Year day, on the day of the jubilee, and during times of war."

"To the sixth . . . to the seventh he shall say," etc. Let us see! Jonah lived after the time of David and Solomon, why is he mentioned first? Because he must conclude the benediction to the seventh with, "Blessed be thou, O Lord, who hast compassion on the earth," therefore he must mention Jonah first. We have learned in a Boraitha: It was said upon the authority of Symmachos that instead of the benediction, "who

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hast compassion on the earth," the benediction, "who makest humble those that are arrogant," is said.

"On the first three fasts, the priests," etc. The rabbis taught: Why was it said that the priests on the weekly watch were allowed to drink wine at night and not during the day? Lest the officiating priests be overwhelmed with work and those on the weekly watch would be required to assist them. And why was it said that the officiating priests must not drink either during the day or at night? Because they were compelled to work day and night.

"The priests of the weekly watch and the standing men," etc. What was the reason that they were not allowed to shave their beards? "In order that they may not enter upon their duties while they are ugly to look upon," said Rabba bar bar Hana in the name of R. Johanan. 1

"Wherever it is mentioned in the, Roll of Fasts," etc. The rabbis taught: It says in the "Roll of Fasts": These are the days on which fasting is not permitted, and on some of them it is not even allowed to mourn. From the first of Nissan on, until and including the eighth, on which days it was resolved that the strife carried on between the Pharisees and the Bathusees concerning the continual daily offering 1 should be amicably concluded by adopting the decree of the Pharisees, it was enacted that no mourning or lamenting should be permitted; and from the eighth day of Nissan until after the Passover festival it was established when the feast of Pentecost should be celebrated, 2 and for that reason on those days no mourning or lamenting is allowed.

The Master said: "From the first day of Nissan," etc. Why does he say from the first? That is the day of the New Moon, and in itself a feast-day when one must not mourn--why does he not say from the second day of Nissan? Said Rabh: "He said 'from the first day of Nissan' so as to provide that even on the day preceding that, one must not mourn." But the first day of Nissan being a feast of the New Moon, it is self-understood that on the preceding day one must not mourn; for such is the law concerning all days preceding a feast-day! Nay; but the feast of the New Moon is a biblical feast-day, and no additional measure need be enacted to provide for its faithful observance; and mourning on a day preceding a feast-day is only prohibited as a precautionary measure, lest the mourning be continued on the feast-day itself. If the feast-day, however, is a biblical one, such a measure is not necessary and is only enacted for rabbinical feast-days.

The Master said: "From the eighth day until after the festival," etc. Why does he say "until after the festival"? Why not until the festival? Surely one must not mourn on the festival itself! Said R. Papa: "In the same manner as Rabh said, that the first day of Nissan is mentioned in order to provide for the day preceding it as a day on which one must not mourn, so in this case it says 'until after the festival' in order to include the day following the festival among the days on which it is not allowed to mourn; and this will be in accordance with the dictum of R. Jose, who says in this Mishna 'that it is prohibited to mourn on both the day preceding and following.'"

It was taught: R. Hyya bar Assi said in the name of Rabh that the Halakha prevails according to R. Jose, and Samuel said that the Halakha prevails according to R. Meir.

R. Na'hman ordained a fast-day on the thirteenth day of Nissan, and he was reminded by the sages that that was the day of Torainos; but he replied that the day of Torainos was abolished, for on that day Shmaia and Ahia his brother were slain. Why was R. Na'hman reminded that the day was that of Torainos, he could have been apprised of the fact that it was the day before the feast of Nikanor? Said R. Ashi: "If the day was abolished as the feast-day of Torainos, should it be kept as a precautionary day for the observance of the day of Nikanor?"

What is Nikanor and what is Torainos? We have learned in a Boraitha: Nikanor was one of the Greek viceroys, and every day he would lift up his hand and vow that if ever Judea and Jerusalem came into his hands he would crush them. After the Maccabees conquered him in battle, his thumbs and big toes were cut off and hung up in the gates of Jerusalem, and it was said that the mouth which had vowed against Jerusalem and the hands which had been lifted up against it should be made to suffer.

What is Torainos? It was said: When Torainos desired to slay Lolainos and his brother Papos in Ludkia (Lydda), he said to them: "If ye be of the same nation as Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, let your God come and save you from my hands as He did them from the hands of Nebuchadnezzar." They answered: "Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah were truly righteous men and Nebuchadnezzar was a just king, deserving of being the means through which a miracle was to be performed. But we have incurred the death penalty before Heaven in any event, and if thou shouldst not slay us, God has other agents who will accomplish this--for instance, lions, bears, and other wild beasts who could kill us; and thou art a wicked man, who art not worthy of having a miracle occur through thee, and God hath given us into thy hands in order to hold thee to account for our blood which thou wilt have shed." Still, he had them executed, and it was said that he did not leave his place before two envoys arrived from Rome, and his skull was split into pieces.

"Public fasts are not to be ordered," etc. What is meant by "but if the fast had already been commenced"? Said R. Aha: "If three fast-days had already been kept"; and R. Assi said: "Even if one had been kept."

R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: All (of) this (clause of the Mishna) is in accordance with the dictum of R. Meir in the name of Rabban Gamaliel; but the sages said that one must complete his fast. Mar Zutra went and preached in the name of R. Huna, that the Halakha prevails that one must fast under those circumstances and, moreover, complete the fast.

CHAPTER 3.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING OCCURRENCES ON ACCOUNT OF WHICH FAST-DAYS ARE ORDERED, OR ALARMS ARE SOUNDED. WHEN FASTING ON ACCOUNT OF RAIN IS STOPPED.

MISHNA: The order of procedure on fast-days, as mentioned (in the preceding Mishna) above, applies only when the first fructifying rains do not descend; but when the sprouts commence to degenerate, they shall immediately commence to sound an alarm. It should also be immediately sounded if there be an interval of forty days between each rain; for that is a general plague on the land, causing dearth.

If sufficient rain for the growth of sprouts and herbs had fallen, but not for the growth of trees; or sufficient for the growth of trees, but not enough for the growth of herbs; or sufficient for both, but not enough to fill the wells, cisterns, and caves (creeks), an alarm is immediately to be sounded.

Thus, also, if no rain should have fallen over some particular city, similar to that which is written [Amos, iv. 7]: "I caused it to rain upon one city, and upon another city I caused it not to rain; one piece of land was rained upon," etc.--the inhabitants of such a city must fast and sound an alarm, and those of the circumjacent places shall fast, but not sound. R. Aqiba, however, says, "They are to sound, but not to fast."

Thus, also, when pestilence is raging in a city, or when the walls fall down, the inhabitants of such a city must fast, and those of the adjacent places should fast, but not sound. R. Aqiba, however, says: "They should sound the alarm, but not fast." What is considered a pestilence? If in a city capable of furnishing five hundred able-bodied men three persons die in three consecutive days, it is a pestilence; less than this is not a pestilence.

An alarm should be sounded in all places for the following plagues: For a corn-blast, mildew, locusts, crickets, attacks of wild beasts, and hosts of armed men; for all these an alarm should be sounded, because they are spreading evils.

It once happened that some elders going from Jerusalem, each to his own place, decreed a fast, because a corn-blast, the grainless stalks of which were sufficient to heat an oven, had been seen near Ascalon.

They also decreed a fast on account of two children having been devoured by wolves on the other side of Jordan. R. Jose says: "It was not ordered because of the wolves having devoured the children, but because of their presence (in the towns prowling for food)."

On account of the following calamities an alarm should be sounded even on the Sabbath: For a city surrounded by enemies, for a flood threatening to inundate the country, and for a ship in imminent danger of being wrecked at sea. R. Jose says: "This sounding is intended to obtain assistance from men, and not as an imploring cry to God." Simeon the Temanite says: "They shall also sound on the Sabbath in case of pestilence"; but the sages did not coincide with him.

On account of every plague--with which may the community never be visited!--an alarm should be sounded except on account of an excess of rain.

It once happened that Honi Hama'gel (the circle-drawer) was asked by the people to pray for them, that rain might descend. Said he to them: "Go and bring in the Passover ovens, 1 that they may not be spoiled by the rain." He prayed, but the rain did not descend. What did he then? He drew (marked out) a circle around him, and placing himself within it, prayed as follows: "Creator of the Universe! Thy children have always looked up to me as being like a son of Thy house before Thee. I swear, therefore, by Thy Great Name, that I will not move from this place until Thou wilt have compassion on Thy children." Whereupon the rain commenced to drop down gently. Said he: "It was not for this I prayed, but for rain sufficient to fill the wells, cisterns, and caves." The rain then fell in torrents, and he said: "Not for such rain have I prayed, but for mild, felicitous, and liberal showers." The rain then descended in the usual manner, until the Israelites of Jerusalem were obliged to seek refuge from the city to the Temple Mount, on account of the rain. They came and said to Honi: "Even as thou didst pray that the rain might descend, so pray now that it may cease." And he replied: "Go and see whether the stone To'yim 1 is covered by the waters." Simeon b. Sheta'h sent him word, saying: "If thou wert not Honi, I would order that thou be anathematized. But what shall I do with thee, since thou art petulant towards God, and yet He forgiveth and indulgeth thee like a petted child who is petulant towards his father and is nevertheless forgiven and indulged? To thee may be applied the passage [Prov. xxiii. 25]: 'Let thy father and thy mother rejoice, and let her that hath born thee be glad.'"

If, while the people are fasting, rain should fall before sunrise, they shall not continue to fast the whole day; but they must do so if the rain fall after sunrise. R. Eliezer says: "If it rains before noon, they need not continue to fast the whole day; but they must do so if the rain commenced after noon is passed." It once happened that a fast was ordered in Lydda and it rained before noon, whereupon R. Tarphon said unto the people: "Go, eat and drink, and make a feast." They went, ate and drank, and made a feast; but in the evening they returned and sang the great Hallel.

GEMARA: "When the first fructifying rains do not descend." A contradiction was made: "We have learned in a Boraitha: 'If the first and second fructifying rains did not descend, prayers for rain must be commenced, and only if the third fructifying rain was withheld fasting is resorted to'?" Said R. Juhudah: "The Mishna means to say this: If the time for the first, second, and third fructification had passed without rain having descended, then the order of fasting goes into effect; but if the first fructification has taken place, yet the seed had not sprouted, or the sprouts had degenerated, then the alarm must be sounded." Said R. Na'hman: "Only if the sprouts had degenerated the alarm is sounded, but not if they had withered (for in the latter event there is still hope that they might revive). Is this not self-evident? It says, distinctly, 'if the sprouts had degenerated'?" R. Na'hman means to say that, even if the sprouts had already reached the stage of stalks and had then withered, it might be assumed that there was no hope of their ever again reviving-hence we are told that all hope is not yet lost.

"For that is a general plague on the land, causing dearth." What is considered a "plague causing dearth"? Said R. Jehudah: "That is a plague which eventually results in a famine." Said R. Na'hman: "If a town had no grain, but could procure a supply from another town by means of ships, it cannot be said to be suffering from an actual famine, but merely from temporary want; but if the entire land has no grain and it can procure a supply only from another country, and not by means of ships but by means of asses, then a state of famine can be said to exist."

R. Hanina said: "Even if the price of grain has reached the sum of one Sela for one Saah, but at that price it is obtainable, this would merely constitute a case of want; if, however, the price of grain remained one Sela for four Saah, but it was not obtainable at all, then a state of famine actually exists." Said R. Johanan: "All this applies when grain is dear but money is plentiful; if, however, grain is not dear but money is scarce, an alarm must immediately be sounded; for I recollect it happened at one time in Tiberias that although four Saah of grain were to be had for one Sela, still many people were starving to death, because they did not have the necessary coin with which to purchase their grain."

"If sufficient rain for the growth of sprouts . . . had fallen," etc. It may well be that sufficient rain can descend for the growth of sprouts that would not be beneficial to the growth of trees--for instance, a heavy rain; or that the rain be sufficient for trees but inadequate for the growth of sprouts--for instance, a light rain. It might also be that sufficient rain should descend for both the trees and the sprouts, which would, however, be inadequate to fill the wells, cisterns, and caves; but how can that take place, after what we have learned in a Boraitha, namely: "that sufficient rain descended to fill the wells, cisterns, and caves, which was, however, inadequate for the trees and sprouts"? That (Boraitha) refers to a rain which fell in torrents and filled up the wells, etc., but did no good to the trees and sprouts.

The rabbis taught: In the midst of Passover, if sufficient rain had not yet fallen for the trees, the alarm is already to be sounded; and if there was not sufficient rain by the time the middle (day) of the Feast of Tabernacles was reached, the alarm must immediately be sounded; and at all times where there is not sufficient drinking-water on hand, the alarm should at once be sounded, What is meant by "at once"? The Monday, Thursday, and Monday following; and the sounding must be effected in the capital of the province concerned.

On account of croup (quinsy or whooping-cough), if fatalities arise therefrom, the alarm must be sounded; but if all affected become cured an alarm is not necessary. On account of locusts (Gobai), 1 as soon as they make their appearance the alarm is to be sounded. R. Simeon ben Elazar said: "Also on account of grasshoppers" (Chagabim). 2

The rabbis taught: An alarm may be sounded on account of the trees (when they have not succeeded) in ordinary years; but when there is a want of rain for the wells, cisterns, and caves, this may be done even in the Sabbatical years. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, however, said: "It may so be done in Sabbatical years even on account of the trees, as they constitute the means of livelihood of the poor." The same we have learned in another Boraitha, with the addition that even on account of the . . . it may be done, as they are the means of livelihood of the poor.

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The rabbis taught: It once happened that the Israelites came to Jerusalem for the festivals, and there was not sufficient water for drinking purposes. So Nakdimon ben Gurion went to a certain master (a heathen), and requested him to lend him twelve wells of water for the pilgrims, promising to return either the twelve wells of water or in lieu thereof twelve talents of silver, at a certain time. When the time arrived, the master sent to Nakdimon in the morning demanding either the wells of water or the silver, and Nakdimon replied: "I have still the whole day's time." At noon the same demand was made, and the same answer given. Late in the afternoon the master sent the same demand, and received a reply that the day had not yet passed. So the master laughed at the idea, saying that if a whole year had elapsed without it having rained, was it possible that it should still rain on that day? and went to his bath rejoicing over the prospect of soon possessing the money due him. At the same time that he entered his bathroom, Nakdimon went into the Temple, wrapped himself in his cloak, and commenced to pray, saying: "Creator of the Universe! It is known to Thee, that not for the sake of glory for me nor for my father's house, but for the glory of Thy name, that the pilgrims in Jerusalem might have water, did I borrow those wells." Immediately upon this the sky became clouded, rain began to fall, and the twelve wells became filled up to overflowing.

When the master stepped out of his bath-house, Nakdimon went out of the Temple, and they met. Said Nakdimon to him: "Refund to me the amount for the water in excess of that which I borrowed from thee." And he replied: "I know well that the Holy One, blessed be He, caused the world to storm only on thy account, yet I can still claim the amount due me, for the sun has already set and the rain descended after the stated time had expired." Nakdimon then reëntered the Temple, again wrapped himself in his cloak and commenced to pray, saying: "Creator of the Universe! Announce to the world that Thou hast favourites here on earth!" Whereupon the clouds immediately scattered, and the sun again commenced to shine. The master seeing Nakdimon, said to him: "Had the sun not reappeared, I should have had a valid claim for the amount of money due me." We have learned in a Boraitha: His name was not Nakdimon, but Boni, and he was called Nakdimon because on his account the sun hastened. 1

The rabbis taught: "For the sake of each of three men alone the sun shone, and they are Moses, Joshua, and Nakdimon ben Gurion." This is correct in the case of Nakdimon ben Gurion, from the above-mentioned tradition. In the case of Joshua it is also correct, because so is it written [Joshua, 10:13]: "And the sun stood still in the midst of the heavens." But whence do they adduce that the sun shone for Moses alone? Said R. Elazar: This may be inferred from the analogous term: "I will commence." It is written [Deut. 2:25]: "This day will I commence to put the dread of thee," and [Joshua, 3:7]: "This day will I commence to make thee great," etc. R. Johanan said: "(No analogous comparison is necessary, for) it may be adduced from the passage itself [Deut. 2:25]: 'Whoever will hear of thee shall tremble and shall quake because of thee.' Why will they do this? Because on Moses' account alone the sun shone."

The rabbis taught: A man should always be soft (i.e., pliable, yielding) as a reed, and not hard as a cedar-tree. It once happened that R. Elazar ben R. Simeon (should rather be R. Simeon ben Elazar) went from the tower of Gador, where resided his Master, riding on an ass. He rode leisurely on the banks of the river, being greatly rejoiced and feeling very proud on account of the wealth of knowledge he had accumulated from his Master. On the way he met a man who was terribly ugly (of face). 1 That man greeted R. Elazar respectfully, and said to him: "Peace be with thee, Rabbi!" The rabbi did not, however, return the greeting, and, moreover, said: "Vain man, how terribly ugly art thou! Are all thy townsmen as ugly as thou art?" And the man replied: "That I know not; but it would be seemly if thou wert to go to the Creator who formed me and say to Him: 'How ungainly is the creature Thou hast made!'" Realizing that he had offended against the man, R. Elazar dismounted and, making an obeisance, said: "I have sinned against thee--forgive me, I pray!" But the man refused, saying: "Nay, I shall not forgive thee until thou shalt go to the Creator and say to Him: 'How ungainly is the creature Thou hast made!'" R. Elazar, however, would not leave the man, and followed him on foot until they reached the city where R. Elazar dwelt. As soon as the townsmen perceived him they thronged towards him with greetings. "Peace be with thee, Rabbi, Rabbi! Master, Master!" The ugly man who preceded R. Elazar asked them whom they were addressing with "Rabbi" and "Master," and they answered: "The man who is following thee." Said he: "If he be a rabbi, may there not be many like him in Israel." And they asked: "Why not?" So he replied that thus and so had he been served by him. They then pleaded with him: "Still forgive him, for he is a great man in the study of the Law." And he said: "For your sakes I will forgive him, but upon the condition that he shall not do likewise again." Immediately following this, R. Elazar went forth and preached: "A man should be soft as a reed and not hard as a cedar."

On account of having been compared with man, it was destined for a reed that the Scrolls, Phylacteries, and Mezuzoth should be written with it.

"When walls fall down." The rabbis taught: "By 'walls' are meant sound walls; i.e., such as were not expected to fall, but not such as were tottering." What is meant by "such as are tottering"? Walls that stand on the banks of a stream. As it once happened in Neherdai there was a wall resting on a weak foundation; and although it had been standing for thirteen years, Rabh and Samuel would never pass by beneath it. One day R. Ada bar Ahabha came to Neherdai, and together with Rabh and Samuel set out to go somewhere. Said Samuel to Rabh:, Let the Master go with me in a roundabout way, so as to avoid the wall." But Rabh replied: "To-day this is not necessary. For R. Ada is with us, and his merits are such that a wall would not fall where he is about to walk; hence I have no fear."

R. Huna had wine in a room which was in an unsafe condition, and the walls of which were momentarily expected to fall. He wished to remove the wine, but was afraid to enter the room. So he got R. Ada bar Ahabha to enter the room with him, engaged him in a discussion concerning a Halakha, and while they were arguing R. Huna's men removed the wine. After they left, the walls of the room fell in. When R. Ada realised how he had been used, he became angry.

(What R. Ada did to be so eminently favoured will be related in Tract Megilla.)

Rabha asked Raphram bar Papa: "Canst thou not relate to me the good things which R. Huna did?" And he replied: "I do not remember anything of his youth; but when he was of mature age, I know that whenever there was a storm in the city where he lived, which caused any damage to the buildings, he would have himself carried about in a golden palanquin and examine the city, and wherever he noticed an unsafe wall, would order its demolition. Wherever the owner of that building could not afford to have it rebuilt, R. Huna would have it done at his own expense. On every eve of Sabbath he would send his servants to the markets with instructions to purchase all the vegetables, which the marketers had left on their hands, and throw them into the stream, in order that they might not be put on sale again the following week in an unwholesome condition." [Why did he not rather distribute them among the poor than throw them into the stream? Because the poor would depend upon receiving them free the second time, and would not buy any at all. Then why did he not use them as food for the animals? Because R. Huna held that articles which a man can use as food should not be purchased as fodder for cattle to commence with.] "Whenever the sickness of Shaibatha 1 occurred in his city, he would examine it and give the sufferers relief; outside of his house he placed a jar of water for the use of all who desired him to relieve them. When sitting down to a meal, he would order a servant to throw open the doors and call out: Whoever desires to eat, let him come in and do so."

Said Rabha: "I could accomplish all that R. Huna did, with the exception of throwing open my doors and inviting everybody to eat; for there are a great many poor people in Mehuzza, and I could not feed them all." (According to another version, he said that he could not do this on account of the many soldiers and Persians stationed in Mehuzza, who would take advantage of such an invitation and eat him out of house and home.)

Ilpha and R. Johanan studied the Law together. They were in very poor circumstances and were in want of food. So they said: "We will lay aside our studies and engage in some remunerative occupation, thereby carrying out what is written [Deut. 15:4]: 'Indeed, there should be no needy man among thee.'" In the meantime they sat down to eat beneath an unsafe wall. So two angels appeared, and R. Johanan heard one of them say to the other: "Let us throw this wall down upon them, for they are about to leave the pursuit of the future life in order to obtain a worldly livelihood." But the other angel replied: "Let them be; for there is one of them whom the time will succor and who will shortly become great." R. Johanan heard this, but Ilpha did not, and the former asked "Did Master hear anything?" And Ilpha replied: "Nay; I heard nothing." So R. Johanan thought: "Because I heard it and Ilpha did not, in all probability I am the one who is referred to as shortly to become great." And he said to Ilpha: "I have reconsidered it and will return to the study of the Law, thus fulfilling what is written in another passage [ibid. 11]: 'For the needy will not cease out of the land.'" Thus R. Johanan returned to his studies and Ilpha engaged in business. By the time Ilpha returned, R. Johanan became the chief of the college. The schoolmen afterwards said to Ilpha: If thou hadst stayed here with us, we would have made thee the chief of the college. 1

It was said of Nahum the man of Gim-Zu--who was blind in both eyes, crippled in both hands, both of whose legs were crushed and whose whole body was covered with sores, and who was lying on a bed the feet of which stood in buckets of water so as to prevent worms from reaching his body, and his bed stood in a house which was in a tottering condition--that his disciples at one time wished to remove his bed from that house and then remove all the other vessels contained therein. So he said to them: "My children! First take out everything contained in this house and then remove my bed; for ye can rest assured that as long as I am in this house it will not fall." They did so, and after removing his bed the house fell in. Said the disciples to him: "As we can perceive, Master, thou art a truly upright man. Why, then, art thou so terribly afflicted?" And he replied: "My children! I myself am the cause of it. I was at one time on my way to the house of my father-in-law and had with me three asses, one laden with food, another with drink, and the third with delicacies. In the course of my journey a poor man came to me and said: 'Master, give me some food,' and I answered: 'Wait until I can unload my asses.' But before I had done so, the poor man expired. So I fell on his face and said: 'My eyes, which had no compassion on thy eyes, may they become blind! My hands, which had no mercy upon thy hands, may they become crippled! My feet, which had not pity with thy feet, may they be crushed!' And I could not assuage my grief until I had said May my whole body become covered with sores.'" Said the disciples to him: "Woe is unto us that we must see thee in this condition." And he replied: "Woe would be unto me if ye did not see me in this condition."

Why was he called Nahum the man of Gim-Zu? 2 Because whenever something happened to him he would say: "Gam Zu Le-Toboh" (This also is for good).

It once happened that the Israelites had to send a present to the imperial house, and Nahum was selected to carry out the mission, because it was quite usual for miracles to be performed on his account. They intrusted to him a casket containing precious stones and pearls. When he arrived at his quarters for the night, thieves became aware of his treasure, and they removed the valuables contained in the casket, substituting therefor dry earth. When he arrived at the imperial palace, the casket was opened, and it being observed that it contained nothing but earth, the emperor became very wroth and determined to destroy all the Jews, thinking that they had merely mocked him. Nahum, however, said to himself: "Even this will lead to good." When a conference was held as to the manner in which the Jews were to be destroyed, Elijah appeared disguised as one of the councillors, and after the conference said: "Perhaps this earth is of the greatest value, as it may be the same earth which Abraham their father had within his domain, and which possessed the merit of turning into swords which would cut down the enemy when thrown at a hostile army. The coarser pieces would turn into arrows when thrown at the enemy, as it is written [Isaiah, 41:2]: He rendered as earth his sword, as driven stubble his bow.'" 1

His advice was taken, and they said: "There is one land which we cannot conquer, let us try this earth and test its powers." This was done, and the land was conquered. The earth was thereupon deposited in the treasury, and the casket filled with precious stones and pearls. Nahum (who had been kept a prisoner in the meantime) was sent away with an escort and laden with great honours. On the return, it happened that Nahum and his escort had to pass the night in the same quarters where the precious stones had previously been stolen. When it was observed with what honours Nahum returned, he was asked what gifts he had brought the emperor, to be thus honoured. He replied: "I brought the same casket there that I took away with me from this place." The men then, thinking that their earth was so valuable, tore down their houses, gathered up the earth, and sent it to the emperor, saying: "The earth which Nahum brought thee was our earth and not that of the Jews, for we took out the precious stones contained in his casket when he spent the night here and substituted this earth." The earth was examined and found to be unlike the other, so the senders were all put to death.

"What is considered a pestilence? If in a city capable of furnishing five hundred able-bodied men," etc. The rabbis taught: A town that can furnish fifteen hundred able-bodied men--as, e.g., the village of Ako--and nine deaths occurred in three days, i.e., three deaths each on three consecutive days, is said to be afflicted with pestilence. If, however, all the nine died in one day or in four days, it is not considered a pestilence. A town that has not more than five hundred able-bodied persons--e.g., the village of Amigo--and three deaths occurred in three days, i.e., one on each consecutive day, can be said to be afflicted with a pestilence. If, however, all three died in one day or in four days, no pestilence can be said to exist (for it is considered as only an accident).

In the town of Darograth, which had five hundred able-bodied persons, three deaths occurred in one day, and R. Na'hman the son of R. Hisda ordered a fast-day. Said R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak', to him: "Thou art presumably of the opinion of R. Meir, who regards a bull as vicious if he had gored three men in one day (as explained in Tract Baba Kamma)."

R. Na'hman bar Hisda requested R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak to remove to his (the former's) city (so that they could study together). Said the latter: We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jose said: Not the place where he lives makes the man distinguished, but the man makes the place distinguished. And so we find with respect to Mount Sinai, that so long as

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the Shekhina rested there, cattle were not allowed to graze even near the mountain, as it is written [Exod. 34:3]: "Neither let, flocks or herds feed near the mount," and after the Shekhina, had withdrawn from the mount, it is written [Exod. 19:13]: "They may come up to the mount." A similar instance can be found with respect to the Tabernacle, near which the leprous could not come (as well be explained in Tract Menachoth).

Said R. Na'hman bar Hisda to him: "If this be so, then will I go to the place where thou, Master, dwellest." And he answered: "Nay, that would not be right; for thou art a rabbi and a son of a rabbi, while I am the son of one who was not among the scholars; therefore it would be more fitting that I should come to thee."

It happened that pestilence raged in Sura, but in the neighbourhood where Rabh resided the pestilence was not prevalent. The townsmen concluded that this was due to the especial merits of Rabh; but in a dream they were told that this would be but a small object wherewith to demonstrate Rabh's merits, and that this was so in consideration of the merits of a man who lends his hoe and other digging-tools used for burials, without compensation.

In Darograth there was a great conflagration, but in the neighbourhood where R. Huna lived the fire did not reach, and it was thought that it was on account of the merits of R. Huna that it was spared; but they were also told in a dream that this would be but a small recognition of R. Huna's merits, and that it was merely in consideration of a certain woman who would heat her oven and then place it at the disposal of such as desired to bake their bread, without remuneration.

R. Jehudah was apprised of the fact that locusts had made their appearance, and he ordered a fast-day. Subsequently he was told that the locusts were not doing any damage, and he replied: "Did the locusts then bring their food with them?"

R. Jehudah was also advised that a pest had broken out among, the swine, and he ordered a fast-day. Does then R. Jehudah hold that if a pest break out among one kind of animals it affects all others? Nay; but with swine it is different, for the entrails of a swine are similar to those of a human being (and the pest may prove contagious).

Samuel was told that a pest had broken out in Huzai, so he ordered a fast-day. He was reminded, however, that the place was a great distance off, and he replied "Is there then a partition between here and there that would prevent the entrance of the pest in this place?

R. Na'hman was told that a pest had broken out in Palestine, so he ordered a fast-day, saying: "If the princess is stricken, surely the slaves are affected." Is it only when a princess is stricken that a slave is affected? What about slave and slave? Did not Samuel order a fast-day in Neherdai when Huzai was stricken? From Huzai to Neherdai there was a regular caravan traffic, and Samuel apprehended lest one of the caravans should carry the pest. from Huzai into Neherdai.

Abba the (expert) bleeder received greetings every day from the heavenly college; Abayi received such a greeting only once every eve of Sabbath; and Rabha would receive such a greeting only once every eve of the Day, of Atonement. Abayi was grieved because of the greater distinction conferred upon Abba, and he was told: "The thing.; that Abba does, thou canst not do." [What did Abba do that was so inimitable? First of all, he had a separate place for bleeding men and a separate place for women. Then he had a certain garment for women with which he would clothe them, and which was split so that he could insert the lancet at any place without looking at the woman. Then he had a certain place where his fee for bleeding was deposited, and which was so arranged that as soon as it was touched a ring was heard; but he never looked at the amount deposited, and, those that had not the necessary amount would merely touch the place and depart. If a young scholar came to him to be bled, he would not alone refuse to accept money, but would give him money, saying: "Take this and become well, for after bleeding a good meal should be eaten."]

One day Abayi sent two of his disciples to Abba to examine into his actions. Abba entertained them with meat and drink, and even made for them couches of fine wool to use as beds. On the morrow the disciples folded up their woollen couches and carried them into the market in order to sell them. They there encountered Abba. Said they to him: "Let Master estimate the worth of these." And he said: "So much." And they rejoined: "Perhaps they are worth more." And he answered: "For so much money I can purchase them," Said they to him: "These couches are thine; we took them from thee." And they continued: "What didst thou suspect us of?" And he replied: "I thought that perhaps some prisoners had to be ransomed, and ye did not wish to tell me what amount that would require last night. So ye took the couches, and probably thought to tell me this day." They then said: "Then take them back; they are thine." But he answered: "Nay; I have already made up my mind to devote them to charitable purposes, and hence I cannot take them back."

Rabha was grieved over the greater distinction conferred upon Abayi, who was greeted on the eve of every Sabbath, while he only received the heavenly greeting on the eve of every Day of Atonement; so he was told that it was sufficient for him that the entire town where he lived profited by his merits,

To R. Beroka of Huzaah, Elijah would frequently appear, when he (R. Beroka) would be standing in the market of Be-Lepht. One day he asked Elijah whether there was any one in the market who would have a share in the world to come, and Elijah answered: "Nay." Suddenly Elijah perceived a man wearing black shoes, and the garments of that man had no show-threads. So he pointed him out to R. Beroka, and said: "That man will have a share in the world to come." R. Beroka ran up to the man and asked him his occupation, and the man answered: "I have not time to-day. Come on the morrow." On the morrow R. Beroka again approached him and asked to know his occupation. The man replied: "I am a warden of a prison; I keep the men and women prisoners in separate compartments, and my own bed stands between the two compartments. There I sleep alone, and take care that no evil acts are perpetrated. If there is a daughter of Israel upon whom evil eyes have been cast (by the higher officials), I do my utmost, even at a personal sacrifice, to save her. One day it happened that a betrothed girl, upon whom the higher officials had cast an eye, was brought to my prison; so I took lees of wine, spread them over her couch, and said to the officials that she was suffering from her menstruation and could not be approached."

R. Beroka then asked the warden why he wore black shoes and garments without show-threads, and he replied: "In order that I should not be recognised as a Jew; for thus, if I hear of any plots that are formed against the welfare of my co-religionists, I can immediately advise the rabbis that they may pray to God to avert the impending calamity. And yesterday, when thou didst approach me, I told thee to come on the morrow, because I had heard a discussion pertaining to action to be taken against the Jews and I hastened to learn the true facts of the case."

Again it happened that two brothers were passing by, and Elijah said to R. Beroka: "These two brothers shall also have a share in the world to come." R. Beroka approached them and asked to know their occupations, and they replied: "Our occupation is to cheer and comfort all those who are downcast, and when we see two men quarrelling, to make peace between them."

"An alarm should be sounded in all places for the following plagues," etc. The rabbis taught: For a corn-blast, mildew, locusts, crickets, and attacks of wild beasts an alarm must be sounded wherever they make their appearance. And R. Aqiba said: "For the first two, as soon as they make their appearance ever so slightly in any place, an alarm must be sounded; but for locusts, as soon as the wing of one single locust is perceived in Palestine, an alarm must be immediately sounded."

"Attacks of wild beasts." The rabbis taught: "For attacks of wild beasts an alarm should be sounded only if it is obvious that the attacks are in the nature of a curse, but otherwise no alarm need be sounded. How can the distinction be made? If the wild beasts are seen in a city, then it is to be considered in the nature of a curse; but if they are seen in the field, it is nothing unusual. If seen in the day it is a curse, at night it is not. If the wild beast saw and pursued two men together, then it is a curse; but if it slank away and sought to hide, it is not. If the wild beast killed two men and only devoured one, it is to be considered a curse; but if it devoured both (then it was simply hungry, and) it is not considered a curse. If the beast climbed up on a roof and snatched a child from the cradle, it is most assuredly a curse.

"Hosts of armed men." The rabbis taught: Even if hosts of armed men are seen, who have no intention of attacking the place, but merely desire to pass through to make war upon others, an alarm must nevertheless be sounded; for there can be no more friendly intentions in a host of armed men than in that which was sent by Necho, King of Egypt, to Josiah, King of Judah, and still Josiah lost his life on their account, as it is written [2 Chron. 35:21]: "But he (Necho, King of Egypt) sent ambassadors to him (Josiah), saying: What have I to do with thee, thou King of Judah? I come not against thee this day, but against the house wherewith I have war, and God hath commanded me to make haste: forbear thee from meddling with God who is with me, that He may not destroy thee." What is meant by "God who is with me"? What God could Necho have had with him? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: "It was an idol, and for the reason that Necho had confidence in the idol, Josiah thought that he could surely vanquish him in battle."

Further it says [ibid. 23]: "And the archers shot at King Josiah; and the king said to his servants: Carry me away; for I am sorely wounded." What is meant by "sorely wounded"? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: "From that it may be inferred that his whole body was perforated by the arrows like a sieve." Before Josiah died, Jeremiah the prophet noticed that his lips were moving, and thinking that, God forbid, he was saying something blasphemous on account of the terrible pain he was suffering, Jeremiah stooped down and heard Josiah justifying the judgement which had befallen him, saying the passage f, [Lament. i. 18]: "Righteous is the Lord; for against his orders have I rebelled." Whereupon Jeremiah lamented his death with the words [ibid. 4:20]: "The breath of our nostrils, the anointed of our Lord, was caught in their pits."

"Should be sounded even on Sabbath." The rabbis taught. On account of a city surrounded by foes, a ship that was wrecked at sea, or even on account of an individual pursued by foes, robbers, or evil spirits, a man may keep a fast-day himself (without waiting for the order instituting it). R. Jose, however, said: "A man is not allowed to do this by himself, lest he become weak through fasting and unable to work, when he would become dependent upon others who might have no pity for him, because he himself was the one responsible for his condition." Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: "What reason has R. Jose for this assertion? Because it is written [Genesis, 2:7]: 'And the man became a living being,' which implies, that man should let the living soul, given him by the Creator, live and not wilfully kill it."

"Simeon the Temanite says," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: For a pest an alarm should be sounded on a Sabbath, and so much the more on a week-day; but R. Hanan bar Pitom, the disciple of R. Aqiba, said in the name of his Master that for a pest no alarm need be sounded even on a week-day.

"On account of every plague," etc. The rabbis taught: On account of every plague--with which may the community never be visited--an alarm should be sounded, except on account of an excess of rain. What is the reason? Said R. Johanan: "Because it is not permitted to pray for the cessation of too much good." Said Rami bar R. Jod: "In the land of exile (Babylon) an alarm should be sounded for an excess of rain." We have also learned in a Boraitha that in a year when there is an excess of rain the priests of the weekly watch would send word to the standing men: "Take care of your brethren in exile, that their houses may not become their graves."

The rabbis taught: It is written [Lev. 26:4]: "Then will I give you rains in their due season," which means, that the earth s all not become too full of water nor that it shall be thirsty, but have just sufficient; for if there is too much rain, the earth becomes too sodden and fruit cannot grow. Another explanation of the term "in their due season" is, that the rains will fall on the night of the fourth day of the week and on the night of Sabbath, when men do not go out; for so do we find, that in the days of Simeon ben Sheta'h rain fell only on those nights, and grain prospered so that wheat-grains became as testicles, barleycorns as the kernels of olives, and lentils as golden Dinars; and part of these fruits of the earth were preserved to show to future generations, in order to demonstrate to them that the only reason why crops were not as prosperous as they formerly were was because of the transgression-; of the people, as it is written [Jeremiah, 5:25]: "Your iniquities have turned away these things, and your sins have withholden what is good from you."

So it was also at the time when Herod built the new Temple. It would rain only at night, and in the morning the wind would disperse the clouds, the sun would commence to shine, and the people would go to their work in peace, so that all men knew that they were engaged in a heavenly undertaking.

"It once happened that Honi Hama'gel," etc. The rabbis taught: It once happened the greater part of the month of Adar had passed, and no rain had yet fallen. Honi Hama'gel was thereupon requested to pray for rain. He prayed, but no rain descended. So he marked out a circle around him, the same as Habakkuk did, as it is written [Habakkuk, ii. 1]: "Upon my watch will I stand, and place myself upon the tower," placed himself in the midst of it, and said: "Creator of the universe! Thy children have always looked up towards me as being like a son of Thy house before Thee. I swear therefore, by Thy great Name, that I shall not move from this place until Thou shalt have compassion upon Thy children." Whereupon the rain commenced to drop down gently. Said the disciples to him: "May it be that we may see thee and not die; for we think that the rain is merely dropping in order to release thee from thy vow." And he replied: "It was not for this I prayed, but for rain sufficient to fill the wells, cisterns, and caves." The rain then fell in torrents, each drop being as large as the mouth of a barrel, and the sages opined that each drop contained no less than a lug of water. The disciples again said to him: "Rabbi, may we see thee and not die! We believe that the rain is falling in order to destroy the world." He again said: "Not for such rains have I prayed; but for mild, felicitous, and liberal showers." The rain then descended in the usual manner, until the Israelites of Jerusalem were obliged to seek refuge from the city to the Temple mount on account of the rain. They then came to him and said: "Rabbi, even as thou didst pray that the rain might descend, thus pray now that it may cease." And he replied: "I have a tradition that it is not permitted to pray for a cessation of too much good. Still, bring me a praise-offering." It was accordingly brought to him, and putting both hands upon it, he said: "Creator of the universe! Thy people which Thou hast brought out of Egypt cannot be sustained either with too much evil or too much good. When Thou becamest angry

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with them, they could no longer bear it; and now that Thou hast showered too much good (rain) upon them, they cannot bear it either. Let it be Thy will that the rains may cease and the world become happy." Thereupon a wind came up, dispersed the clouds, the sun commenced to shine, and the people went out into the fields and brought back mushrooms.

Simeon ben Sheta'h then sent him word, saying: If thou wert not Honi, I would order that thou be anathematized; for were these years as those when Elijah said that no rain should fall and when he had the key to the rain, thou wouldst have merely desecrated the Holy Name; but what shall I do with thee, since thou art petulant towards God, and yet He forgiveth and indulgeth thee like a petted child who is petulant towards its father, and says: "Father, bathe me in hot water, bathe me in cold water, give me nuts, almonds, apricots, and pomegranates," and is nevertheless forgiven and indulged? To thee maybe applied the passage [Prov. 23:25]: "Let thy father and thy mother rejoice, and let her that hath born thee be glad."

The rabbis taught: What was the word which the Sanhedrin sitting in the chamber of marble sent to Honi Hama'gel after the occurrence? They cited the passage [Job, 22:28]: "And if thou decree a thing, it will be fulfilled unto thee; and upon thy ways the light will shine," and said: "Thou hast decreed below, and the Holy One, blessed be He, ratified it above, and the generation which was in darkness thou hast enlightened with thy prayer.

R. Johanan said: All the days of this righteous man (Honi), he troubled himself concerning the meaning of the passage [Psalms, 126:1]: "When the Lord bringeth back again the captivity of Zion, then shall we be like dreamers." Honi would constantly say: "How can a man sleep or be like a dreamer for seventy years?" Once he was travelling on the road, and he noticed a man planting a carob-tree. He asked him how many years it would take before the tree would bear fruit, and the man answered: "Seventy years." Honi then asked: "Art thou, then, sure that thou wilt live seventy years?" And the man replied: "I found carob-trees in existence when I came into the world, consequently my ancestors must have planted them. Why should I not also plant them for my children?" About that time Honi became hungry, and sat down to eat near the newly planted tree. After the meal he fell asleep, and a bay l formed about him so that he could not be noticed, and thus he slept for seventy years. When he awoke, he observed a man gathering the fruit from the carob-tree; and he asked the man: "Didst thou plant this tree?" The man replied: "Nay; I am the grandson of the man that planted it." Honi then realised that he must have slept for seventy years, and when he looked around for his ass, he noticed that there were many smaller asses. He then went to his home, and inquired whether the son of Honi Hama'gel was still alive. He was told that the son was no longer living, but that a son of the son was alive. He then said: "I am Honi Hama'gel"; but they would not believe him. He went to the house of learning and heard them say: "To-day the Halakhoth are as clear as in the days of Honi Hama'gel, who would immediately render a clear decision when any questions whatever were put to him by the rabbis." He went in and said to them: "I am that Honi"; but they would not believe him, nor would they accord him due respect. This caused him to become downcast and despondent, and he prayed to God that he might die, and so he died. Said Rabha: "This illustrates the saying: 'Give me the glory due me, or give me death.'"

Abba Helkyah was a grandson of Honi Hama'gel. When the country was in need of rain the rabbis would send to him, and he would pray for rain, which thereupon commenced to fall. One day the country was in need of rain, and the rabbis sent a committee of two younger rabbis to him, with the request that he pray for rain. They came to his house, but did not find him. They went to his field, and found him weeding it. They greeted him, but he made no reply. On his way back to his home, he placed some wood and the hoe on one shoulder and a garment on the other shoulder. The entire way he did not wear shoes, but whenever he came to water which he had to ford he would put them on. When he came to a thorny path, he would raise his garments. When he came to the city, his wife met him dressed in fine apparel. When he reached his house, his wife entered first, then he, and finally the two young rabbis entered. He sat down to his meal, but extended no invitation to the rabbis to join him. When dealing out bread to his children, he gave the elder one loaf and the younger two. Afterwards he said to his wife in a low voice: "I know that these rabbis came on account of rain. Come, let us go up into the attic and pray for rain, and should the Lord have mercy on His children and cause it to rain, it will not appear as if it came about through us." They went up into the attic, and he stood in one corner, while she stood in another. The rain-cloud appeared in the direction where the wife was standing.

When he went down again, he said to the rabbis: "What hath brought the rabbis here?" And they replied: "The rabbis have sent us to Master that he may pray for rain." And he answered: "Blessed be the Lord, that ye no longer need Abba Helkyah's favour." Said they to him: "We well know that this rain is come only on account of Master, still we should like to know the reason for several actions on his part which appear to us surprising. Why, when we greeted the Master, did he not turn his face towards us?" He replied: "I hired myself out for the day and my time was not my own, hence I did not wish to waste any." "Why did the Master carry the wood on one shoulder and the garment on the other?" "Because the garment was borrowed by me to wear, but not to use as a pad for wood." "Why did the Master go barefooted all the way, and put on his shoes when coming to water?" "Because the entire way I could see what I was stepping on, but in water I could not." "Why did the Master raise his dress when walking in a thorny path?" "Because if my flesh should receive a scratch, it will heal; but if the garment should become torn it cannot be mended." "Why, when the Master came to the city, did his wife come forth to meet him, dressed in her best apparel?" "In order that I may not look at any other woman." "Why did she enter first, then the Master, and then we?" "Because I know nothing about you." "Why, when the Master sat down to eat, did he not invite us to partake also?" "Because there was not sufficient bread for all, and I did not wish to invite you merely to receive your thanks in vain." "Why did the Master give the elder child one loaf and the younger two?" "Because the elder was at home all day and probably helped himself previously, but the younger was at school all day and more hungry." Why did the rain-cloud appear first in thy wife's corner?" "Because my wife is always at home, and when a poor man begs for a meal she always gives it to him readily, while I can but give him a Zuz and he must first go and purchase food for it. Thus her charity is more effective than mine."

Hanan the Hidden was a son of the daughter of Honi Hama'gel. When the country was in need of rain, the rabbis would send the school-children to him, who would surround him, take hold of his garments, and cry: "Father, father, give us rain!" And he would say to the Holy One, blessed be He: "Creator of the universe! Cause rain to descend, for the sake of those who cannot distinguish between a father capable of giving rain and one who is not." Why was he called Hanan the Hidden? Because whenever he would do some good, he would hide himself so as not to be observed.

Said R. Z'reiqa to R. Saphra: "Come and see the difference between the pious of Babylon and the righteous of Palestine. The pious of Babylon--e.g., R. Huna and R. Hisda--when the country was in need of rain, would say: "Let us combine and pray to God, perhaps we shall find favour in His eyes, and He will give us rain"; and the righteous of Palestine--e.g., R. Jonah the father of R. Mani--when the country was needing rain, would go to his house, ask for a sack, and say: "I will go to the market and buy a Zuz' worth of grain." When going out he would seek a deep place, as it is written [Psalms, 130:1]: "Out of the depths have I called to thee, O Lord," and he would station himself in a hidden place, cover himself with the sack, and offer up a prayer for rain to the Lord, and forthwith rain would descend. When returning home, he would be asked: "Didst thou buy the grain for a Zuz?" And he would reply: "I noticed that it commenced to rain, and hence thought it unnecessary to go to the market for it, as it can be had now anywhere."

Again it happened that R. Mani the son of Jonah was sorely troubled by the members of the house of the Nassi (prince); so he went and threw himself on his father's grave, exclaiming: "Father, father, the men of the house of the Nassi are troubling me." One day the retainers of the Nassi were riding by the burial ground where Jonah was interred, and their horses Could not proceed until they vowed not to trouble R. Mani any more.

R. Mani would frequently come to the house of R. Itz'hak ben Aliashib, and he once told R. Itz'hak that the members of his father-in-law's family were giving him much trouble. Said R. Itz'hak: "May they become poor!" and they really did become poor. R. Mani then came again, and complained that now his relatives were poor they were compelling him to support them. Said R. Itz'hak: "May they then become rich again!" and accordingly they became rich.

At another time R. Mani complained to R. Itz'hak that his wife was too ill-favoured. Said R. Itz'hak: "What is her name?" And R. Mani replied: "Hannah." Said R. Itz'hak: "May Hannah become handsome!" and accordingly she became handsome. Subsequently R. Mani came again, and complained that now his wife had become handsome she made life a burden to him by her vanity, and R. Itz'hak said: "May I Hannah again become ugly!" and Hannah again became ugly.

Some time later, two disciples of R. Itz'hak ben Aliashib begged him to pray to the Lord for them, that they might become wiser and more capable for study. Said he to them: "I used to do that at one time and would succeed; but I have stopped that practice and shall not do it again."

Elazar the man of Birtha would be shunned by the men who were sent out to collect money for charitable purposes, because he would give away everything he had. One day he went out into the market to buy the articles necessary for the proper celebration of his daughter's marriage. The collectors of alms perceived him, and hid themselves. He, however, pursued and overtook them, and said: "I adjure you, tell me for what purpose ye are sent out now and what ye need." And they answered: "We are collecting money for two orphans who are about to be married." Said he: "I vow they have precedence over my daughter." And he gave them everything he had, with the exception of one Zuz, for which he bought some wheat and deposited it in his storehouse. The mother (Elazar's wife) said to the daughter: "What did your father bring?" And the daughter replied: "All that he brought he deposited in the storehouse." She then went to the storehouse, but could not open the door, as the wheat was piled up so high and the storehouse was so full that the wheat forced its way through the cracks in the walls. Thereupon she betook herself to the house of learning, where Elazar her husband was studying, and calling him out, said: "Come and see what thy friend did for thee." Arriving at the storehouse, Elazar said "I vow that all this wheat is devoted to the poor, and thou hast but a share in it equal to the other poor."

R. Jehudah Hanassi (the Second) once ordered a fast-day and prayed for rain, but without success. Said he: "What a difference there is between Samuel the prophet and Jehudah the son of Gamaliel! Woe is to the generation that has retrograded to such an extent and woe to the Nassi (prince) who hath witnessed it." He became very despondent, and forthwith rain began to fall.

A fast-day was ordered from the house of the Nassi, and no previous notice thereof was given to R. Johanan and Resh Lakish. Said R. Johanan to Resh Lakish: "What shall we do? We did not take it upon ourselves to fast to-day or yesterday? Replied Resh Lakish: "We are dependent upon the Nassi; hence it is not necessary for us to take it upon ourselves a day in advance."

Again it happened that the house of the Nassi ordered a fast. day; but no rain descended. So Oshiya, the youngest of the colleagues, taught: It is written [Numb. 15:24]: "Then shall it be, if through inadvertence of the congregation it was committed by ignorance," which is a simile to a bride in the house of her father--if she have beautiful eyes, there is no need of examining her body, but if her eyes be bad her entire body should be examined (i.e., if the prince of the congregation be a righteous man, the congregation need not be tried, but if he be wicked the congregation itself must be examined). So the servants of the Nassi came to Oshiya, threw a cloth over his neck, and tortured him. Said the townsfolk to the servants: "Let him be, for though he often offends us with his sayings, still, as we see that he means well and does so for our good, we let him have his own way."

Rabbi once ordered a fast-day, but no rain descended. So Ilpha, others say R. Ilphi, went up to the reading-desk to pray. As soon as he came to the sentence, "He causeth the wind to blow," a wind sprang up; and when he said, "He causeth the rain to descend," rain began to fall. So Rabbi asked Ilpha: "What are thy merits?" And he answered: "I live in a very small town, where it is almost impossible to obtain any wine for the Kiddush and the Habdalah on the Sabbath; but I go to great trouble to procure it and distribute among my townsmen, and when reciting the Kiddush prayer I also include my townsmen in the prayer."

Rabh came to a certain place and ordered a fast-day, but no rain descended. The minister of the congregation went up to the reading-desk and commenced to pray. Arriving at the sentence, "He causeth the wind to blow," a wind sprang up; and as soon as he said, "He causeth the rain to descend," rain began to fall. Said Rabh to him: "What are thy merits?" And he answered: "I teach little children, and treat the children of the poor like the children of the rich. Those that cannot afford to pay, I teach without remuneration; and being also a fisherman, I persuade those who do not wish to come and learn, to do so by giving them fish to take home with them."

R. Na'hman ordered a communal fast. He prayed for rain, which, however, did not come. And he said to the people: "Take ye Na'hman and throw him from the roof to the ground." He became downcast, and rain commenced to fall. Rabba ordered a fast, he prayed, and no rain came. And they said to him: "But when R. Jehudah orders a fast, then rain comes." He replied: "What can I do? In point of learning we are better than they; for in the years of R. Jehudah all their studies were confined to the Section of Damages, while we study now all the six sections. And when R. Jehudah came to the Section of Taharath (Purification), Tract Uqtsin, and the Halakha, 'When a woman put herbs in a pot,' or, according to others, to the Halakha, 'If olives were soaked with their leaves, they are clean,' R. Jehudah used to say: 'I find it as deep as would befit the times of Rabh and Samuel.' But we have thirteen colleges which are studying the Tract Uqtsin, and nevertheless when R. Jehudah would put off one shoe, the rain would come; and we are crying the whole day, and there is nobody to look at us. And if one might say, R. Jehudah was better than we by his deeds, then if there is any one here that knows we have not acted rightly, let him say so; but the true reason is, what can the leaders of the generation do, when the generation itself is not good?"

R. Jehudah saw once two men throwing bread at each other, and he said: "I see from this that there is plenty in the world."

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He cast an evil eye, and a famine began. Said the rabbis to R. Kahna the son of R. Nahuniah: "We have heard that the Master frequents the house of R. Jehudah: cause him to go into the market (he should become aware that a famine reigns)." He did so, and took him out into the market. He saw a crowd of men. He asked: "What is the matter?" He was answered: "There is a measure of dates for sale, and each is eager to obtain it." Said he: "I perceive from this that there is famine in the world." He said to his servant: "Take off my shoes." He had taken off but one of his shoes, when it began to rain.

R. Mari the son of the daughter of Samuel said: "At that time, when R. Jehudah had his shoes taken off, I stood on the bank of the River Papa. I saw angels clad like sailors, who took sand, filled the ships therewith, and it was turned to fine flour, and the whole world came to buy it. I said to the persons of my household: 'Do not buy of it, for it is only through a miracle, and I wish to derive no benefit from miracles.' I waited till the morrow, when ships laden with wheat actually arrived from Parzina."

It happened once that Rabha came to the city of Hagrunia, and he ordered a fast, but no rain came. Said he to the people: "Fast over night." On the morrow morning he said to them: "If any one saw something in a dream, he should come to tell what he saw in the dream." R. Elazar of the same city related that he had been told in a dream the following words: "Good peace to the good master who received his knowledge from a good master, and who with his goodness is doing good to his people." Said Rabha: "I infer from this that it is a favourable time." He prayed again, and rain came.

It happened once that a man had committed a crime for which he had to receive stripes in a court where Rabha was the chief judge. Rabha had the penalty inflicted on him. He could not endure it, and died. When the government of Sabbor the king heard of this, they wanted to cause trouble to Rabha. Said Iphra Harmyz, the king Sabbor's mother, to her son: "I advise you to have nothing to do with the Jews, for all that they request of their God, He grants to them." Said he: "What, for example?" Said she: "Whenever they pray to God for rain, it rains." Said he to them: "That is only because they pray in the season when it has to rain. Now, when it is Tamuz [July], when it ought not to rain, let them pray for rain, and you shall see that it will not come." So she sent for Rabha, and said to him: "Fix your mind on it, and pray to God to send rain." He prayed, and no rain came. Said he: "Before the Lord of the universe [Ps. 44:2] God, with our ears have we heard, our fathers have told us . . . in times of old, but we with our eyes do not see it." Then it rained so much that all the canals of Me'huza overflowed and the water spread in the streets into the River Tigris. His father appeared to him in a dream and told him: "Is there any other man who gives so many pains to Heaven? Go and change the place of your couch." On the morrow he found marks of a knife with which his bed had been slashed.

R. Papa also ordered a fast: no rain came. Meanwhile he felt too weak from fasting. He took a spoonful of daitha [a kind of dish], and went on praying. Still, however, no rain came. R. Na'hman, his fellow-lodger in the inn, 1 said to him: "If the Master would partake of another spoon of daitha, then rain would surely come" (ironically). He felt shame, he became downcast, and rain came.

Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: "Every day a heavenly Voice goes forth and says: 'The whole world is nourished merely by the merits of Hanina my son, and for Hanina alone one Kabh of carobs is sufficient from one Sabbath-eve to the other.'"

The wife of Hanina would make a fire in her oven on the eve of every Sabbath in order not to be ashamed before her neighbours. She had, however, one bad neighbour who said: "I know that Hanina and his wife have nothing to cook for the Sabbath, why does she make fire in her oven? I shall go and see." She went and knocked at the threshold, and Hanina's wife became ashamed and went into another room. In the meantime a miracle happened, and the oven became filled with bread. The neighbour, noticing the bread in the oven, called to Hanina's wife: "Bring the bread-shovel, or the bread will be burned!" And she replied: "I just went in for that purpose." We have learned in a Boraitha: Hanina's wife really did go into the next room for a shovel, because she was accustomed to have miracles happen to her.

One day the wife of R. Hanina said to him: "How long shall we yet be troubled with the want of our daily bread?" And he replied: "What can I do?" Said she: "Pray to God that He should give thee something." He accordingly went and prayed. A hand came forth and gave him a leg of a golden table. Subsequently his wife saw in a dream that all the righteous in heaven ate on golden tables having three legs, while her table only had two. Said she to Hanina: "Wouldst thou then like it, that all should eat at a table having three legs, while we should eat at one only having two? Pray to God that the golden leg may be taken back." He prayed, and the leg was taken back. We have learned in a Boraitha that this latter miracle was even greater than the former; for we have a tradition, that it is usual for heaven to bestow but not to take back.

One eve of Sabbath Hanina noticed his daughter in a despondent mood. Upon asking her what the trouble was, she replied: "I got the two vessels containing oil and vinegar mixed, and poured the latter into the Sabbath lamp and lit it." Said he: "My daughter! why should that trouble thee? He who hath ordained that oil should burn can also ordain that vinegar should burn." We have learned in a Boraitha that the vinegar in that lamp burned all night and all day, till some of it was used for the Habdalah prayer.

R. Hanina ben Dosa had a few goats, and he was told that his goats caused damage to others. Said he: "If my goats do damage, may wolves devour them; but if they do not, may they each bring a bear impaled upon their horns." That same evening, each goat really brought in a bear mounted on its horns.

How did Hanina happen to have goats? Was he not a poor man? Said R. Pinchas: "It once happened that a man left a few chickens at the house of Hanina, and the latter said to his wife: 'Do not use the eggs, for the chickens do not belong to us.'" Accordingly the eggs were left untouched, and in the course of time quite a number of chickens were produced, so that they became too troublesome, and Hanina sold them and with the proceeds purchased goats. Subsequently the man who left the chickens returned to claim them. He was asked for a description of his property, which he gave correctly, whereupon Hanina turned over the goats to him, and these are the goats that brought bears upon their horns. 1

The same Hanina had a neighbour who was building a house, and the beams were too short. So she came to him, and said: "I have built my house, but my beams do not reach far enough." And he asked her her name. And she answered: "Aikho." He then said: "Aikho, may thy beams become longer." We have learned in a Boraitha that they really became so long that they protruded an ell on each side, while others say that pieces were conjoined with the beams so that they attained the required length. We have learned in another Boraitha: "Plimo said: 'I saw that house and noticed that the beams protruded an ell on each side. And I was told that the house was the one for which Hanina prayed to have the beams become longer.'"

R. Hama bar Hanina ordered a fast-day, but no rain descended, and he was told: "Why, R. Jehoshua ben Levi would order a fast-day, and rain would commence to fall!" Said he: "That was the son of Levi, and not I!" And they said: "We meant to say, that we should again congregate, and perhaps, if we prove contrite of heart, the rain will descend." They did so, and still no rain descended. Said he to them: "Think ye that ye deserve rain to descend for you?" And they answered: "Yea." Said he to the sky: "Cover thy countenance." No results, however, were produced, and he exclaimed: "How impudent are the skies!" Whereupon they became covered, and rain commenced to fall.

Levi ordered a fast-day, but no rain descended. Said he: "Creator of the universe! Thou didst ascend to the heavens, and didst sit down, but hast no compassion upon thy children." Whereupon rain descended, but Levi fell and became lame.

R. Hyya bar Lolaini heard one cloud say to another: "Come, let us go and deposit our waters in the lands of Ammon and Moab." Said R. Hyya: "Creator of the universe! when thou gavest Thy Law to Israel, Thou hadst gone to other nations, offering it to them, and they would not accept it; and now Thou wouldst allow the clouds to pour forth their waters on their lands!" and turning to the clouds, he exclaimed: "Pour forth your waters on this spot," and they did so.

The same R. Hyya preached: "It is written [Psalms, 92:13]: 'The righteous shall spring up like the palm-tree; like a cedar in Lebanon shall he grow high.' Why are both the palm-tree and the cedar mentioned? If the palm-tree only were mentioned, I would say that as a branch of the palm-tree which is broken off does not grow out again, so it will be with the righteous--if he dies, he will leave no one in his stead; therefore a cedar is also mentioned, for with a cedar it is not so. And if a cedar only were mentioned, I might say that as the cedar does not bear fruit, so will it also be with the righteous (which may God forbid). Hence the palm-tree is also mentioned."

The rabbis taught: It once happened that R. Eliezer ordered thirteen fast-days, but no rain descended. When the congregation dispersed after the thirteenth fast-day, he asked them if they had already ordered their graves, and they commenced to weep aloud, whereupon rain commenced to fall.

Another time it happened that R. Eliezer recited the twenty-four benedictions at prayer, but he was not answered. R. Aqiba followed him at the reading-desk, and said: "Father and King! we have no other king but Thee. Only for Thy sake have mercy upon us!" And his prayer was answered. The people then began to murmur (and say that R. Aqiba was a greater man than R. Eliezer). A heavenly Voice went forth and said: Not because R. Aqiba is a greater man than R. Eliezer was his prayer answered, but because he always gives in to another, while R. Eliezer never did that."

The rabbis taught: How much rain should fall in order that the congregation may stop fasting? When the rain fills up a furrow made with a plough. So said R. Meir, but the sages say: If the water is a span deep on dry land, two spans on moist earth, and three spans on ploughed soil.

"If while the people are fasting rain should fall before sunrise." The rabbis taught: "If while the people are fasting rain should fall before sunrise they may stop fasting, but if after sunrise they must not. Such is the dictum of R. Meir. But R. Jehudah said: If it fell before noon they may stop fasting, but if after noon they should not. R. Jose, however, said: They may stop if rain fell before the end of the ninth hour (3 P. M.), but not if it fell after that hour. And so we find in the case of Achab, King of Israel, who fasted from the ninth hour on, and further, as it is written [I Kings, 22:29]: "Hast thou seen how Achab hath humbled himself before me?" (It is explained, elsewhere that king used to eat their meal at the ninth hour.)

R. Jehudah Nesseah (the Second) ordered a fast-day, and rain commenced to fall after sunrise. He thereupon desired to stop fasting, but R. Ami said to him: "We have learned that if rain falls before noon or after noon there is a difference of opinion, but after sunrise all agree that fasting may be stopped."

Samuel the Little ordered a fast-day, and rain descended before sunrise. The people wanted to infer therefrom that it was in praise of the congregation; for as soon as a fast was ordered, rain commenced to fall. Said Samuel to them: "This can be compared to a case of where a slave begs for something of his master, and the master says Give it to him! I do not care even to hear his voice."

Again it happened that the same Samuel ordered a fast-day, and rain fell after sunset. Then said the people: "Surely this is in praise of the congregation that after fasting and praying rain came." Said he to them again: "Nay, this is not to be considered; for it can be compared to a slave begging of his master, who says: 'Let him pray and trouble himself for some time before I will give it to him.'" What, then, does Samuel consider as praise for the congregation? If when the sentence is read, "He causeth the wind to blow," a wind springs up, and when the sentence, "He causeth the rain to descend," is read, rain commences to fall.

"In the evening they returned and sang the great Hallel." Why should they return in the evening and say the Hallel? Let them say it beforehand? Abayi and Rabha both say: "Hallel is not sung except with a satisfied soul and a well-filled stomach." This is not so! For did it not happen that R. Papa ordered a fast-day in the synagogue of Abi Gober, and rain descended before noon, when they sang the Hallel, and then ate and drank? With the inhabitants of Me'huza it is different, for they are generally drunkards.

CHAPTER 4.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE PRIESTS' BLESSING OF THE PEOPLE, THE INSTITUTION OF THE STANDING MEN--THEIR FASTS AND PRAYERS. THE FAST OF THE SEVENTEENTH DAY OF TAMUZ AND THE NINTH OF ABH, AND THE CELEBRATION OF THE FIFTEENTH DAY OF ABH.

MISHNA: At three periods of the year the priests shall raise their hands (to bless the people) at each prayer, (, i.e.) four times on each day; viz., during the morning, additional, afternoon, and closing prayer. (The three periods mentioned are:) On the fast-days, on the fast of the standing men, and on the Day of Atonement.

(The reason for the institution of) these standing men is because it is written [Numb. 28:2]: "Command the children of Israel, and say unto them: My offering, my bread for my sacrifices . . . shall ye observe," etc. How can an offering be brought for a person without his being present (at the time when it is sacrificed)? Therefore did the elder prophets institute twenty-four watches (divisions): each watch always had a section of standing men, composed of priests, Levites, and Israelites, stationed at Jerusalem. When the turn of each watch came around to go up (from their cities to the Temple), the priests and Levites went up to Jerusalem, and the Israelites who belonged to that watch assembled in (the synagogues of) their cities to read the history of the creation (i.e., the first chapter of Genesis).

The standing men used to fast four times in the week; viz., from Monday until Thursday (inclusive), but they did not fast on Friday, on account of the honour due the Sabbath, nor on Sunday, that they might not (too suddenly) pass over from rest and pleasure to weariness and fasting--for that might endanger their lives. On Sunday the standing men read (the sections commencing): "In the beginning," etc. [Genesis, 1:1 to 5], and, "Let there be an expansion," etc. [ibid. 6, etc.]; on Monday they read: "Let there be an expansion," and, "Let the waters," etc. [ibid. 9, etc.]; on Tuesday: "Let the waters," and, "Let there be lights," etc. [ibid. 14, etc.]; on Wednesday: "Let there be lights," and, "Let the waters bring forth," etc. [ibid. 20, etc.]; on Thursday "Let the waters bring forth," and, "Let the earth bring forth," etc. [ibid. 24, etc.]; on Friday: "Let the earth bring forth," and, "Thus were finished," etc. [ibid. ii. 1 to 4]. The long section of the day was read by two persons

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and the short by one; this was done, however, during the morning and additional prayers; but at the afternoon prayers they entered (the Synagogue) and recited the sections mentioned by heart, even as the Shema' is recited. On Friday afternoon they did not go to the synagogue at all, in honour of the Sabbath.

On the days on which the Hallel was sung, the standing men would not attend during the morning prayer (in Jerusalem). When there was an additional offering, they did not assemble at the time of the closing prayer. When a wood-offering was brought, they did not assemble during the afternoon prayer. Such is the dictum of R. Aqiba; but Ben Azai said to him: "R. Jehoshua taught as follows: 'When there was an additional offering, the standing men did not assemble during the afternoon prayer; and when a wood-offering was brought, they did not assemble at the time of the closing prayer.'" Thereupon R. Aqiba changed (his opinion) and taught like Ben Azai.

The times when the delivery of wood (for the altar) was made by priests and people were on nine appointed days: viz., on the 1st day of Nissan, the family of Arah ben Jehudah (made the delivery); on the 20th of Tamuz, the family of David ben Jehudah; on the 5th of Abh, the family of Par'os ben Jehudah; on the 7th of that month, the family of Jonadab ben Rekhab; on the 10th of the same month, the family of Sinaha ben Benjamin; on the 15th of that month, the family of Zathoo ben Jehudah, and with them priests and Levites, and all those who did not know from which tribe they were descended--also the family of Gonebe Eli and the family of Kotze'li Ketzi'oth; and on the 20th, the family of Pa'hath Moab ben Jehudah; on the 20th of Elul, the family of Adin ben Jehudah; and on the 1st of Tebeth, the family of Par'os for the second time.

There was no meeting of the standing men on the 1st of Tebeth; because Hallel was sung and additional sacrifice and wood-offering were brought on that day.

Five calamities happened to our ancestors on the 17th of Tamuz, and five on the 9th of Abh: viz., on the 17th of Tamuz the tables of the Holy Law were broken; on that day the continual daily offerings ceased, and the city of Jerusalem was stormed; on the same date Apostamos burned the Holy Scrolls and placed an idol in the Temple;--on the 9th of Abh it was decreed that our ancestors should not enter the Holy Land; on that day the first and second Temples were destroyed, the city of Bethar was taken, and the site (of Jerusalem) was ploughed up (like a field). From the 1st of Abh it is incumbent upon a person to lessen his participation in joyful events (until after the 9th of that month).

During the week in which the 9th of Abh occurs, it is prohibited to a person to shave himself, or to wash (his clothes), but on Thursday this is allowed in honour of the Sabbath. On the day before the 9th of Abh a person should not partake of two different kinds of dishes of meat, nor may he drink any wine. Rabbon Simeon ben Gamaliel says: "He should change" (his ordinary mode of living). R. Jehudah considers it obligatory for a person to turn over the bed places, 1 but the sages do not coincide with him.

Rabbon Simeon ben Gamaliel said: Never were there any more joyous festivals in Israel than the 15th of Abh and the Day of Atonement, for on them the maidens of Jerusalem used to go out dressed in white garments-borrowed ones, however, in order not to cause shame to those who had none of their own. These clothes were also to be previously immersed, and thus the maidens went out and danced in the vineyards, saying: Young men, look and observe well whom you are about to choose (as a spouse); regard not beauty alone, but rather look to a virtuous family, for "false is grace, and vain is beauty: a woman only that feareth the Lord shall indeed be praised" [Proverbs, xxxi. 30]; and it is also said [ibid. 31]: "Give her of the fruit of her hands, and let her own works praise her in her gates." Thus also is it written (alluding to that custom): "Go forth and look, O ye daughters of Zion, on King Solomon, with the crown wherewith his mother bath crowned him on the day of his espousals, and on the day of the joy of his heart" [Solomon's Song, 3:11]. "The day of the espousals" refers to the day on which the Law was given, and "the day of the joy of his heart" was that when the building of the Temple was completed. May it soon be rebuilt in our days!

GEMARA: "At three periods of the year," etc. Is there then an additional prayer on fast-days and for the standing men? The Mishna is not complete, and should read thus: "At three periods of the year the priests shall raise their hands (to bless the people) at each prayer, and among such periods there are days when this is done four times during the day: viz., during the morning, the additional, the afternoon, and the closing prayers; and the three periods of the year are on fast-days, on the fast of the standing men, and on the Day of Atonement . Said R. Na'hman in the name of Rabba bar Abbahu: "Such is the dictum of R. Meir. But the sages maintain that during the morning and additional prayers the priests raise their hands; but not during the afternoon and closing prayers." Whose opinion is that attributed to the sages? That is the opinion of R. Jehudah, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: "In all the four prayers mentioned above, the priests are to raise their hands. This is the dictum of R. Meir, but R. Jehudah said that this is not done in the afternoon and closing prayers, while R. Jose maintains that it is not done in the afternoon prayer, but it is done in the closing prayer." Said R. Na'hman: "The Halakha prevails according to the opinion of R. Jose." And so it remains.

Why is it, then, the custom at present that the priests raise their hands in the afternoon prayer of a fast-day? Because the afternoon prayer is said very near to the time of sunset, it is regarded the same as the closing prayer.

"These standing men," etc. How is the Mishna to be understood? The Mishna means to say: "These are the standing men, and the reason of their institution is because it is written," etc.

The rabbis taught: "There are twenty-four watches in the Land of Israel, and of these there are twelve in Jericho. When the watches were to go up to the Temple, half went up from all parts of the Land of Israel to Jerusalem, and the other half from Jericho." Why were half of them in Jericho? Because they had to prepare food and drink for their brethren in Jerusalem.

R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel: Priests, Levites, and Israelites that compose the division of the standing men prevent, in the event of their absence, the offering of the sacrifices. In a Boraitha we have learned: R. Simeon ben Elazar said: "The priests, Levites, and the musical instruments prevent, by their absence, the offering of the sacrifices," because he holds that the chanting at the offering of the sacrifices must be accomplished mainly through the musical instruments, and not vocally.

R. Hama bar Guria said in the name of Rabh: Moses established for the Israelites only eight watches; viz., four for the descendants of Elazar the priest and four for those of Ithamar. Subsequently Samuel the prophet increased the number to sixteen, and finally David further increased them to twenty-four, as it is written [2 Chronicles, 6:26]: "In the fortieth year of David were they inquired into, and there were found among them mighty men of valor at Ya'zer and Gil'ad."

The rabbis taught: "Four watches went up out of exile, and they are: Yida'yah, Harim, Pash'hor, and Imar. And the prophets who went with them increased them to twenty-four." How was this done? They threw lots into an urn, and Yida'yah came and drew lots for himself and companions to the number of six. Then came Harim, and drew lots for himself and for his companions to the number of six. Likewise did Pash'hor, and thus also Imar; and the prophets also enacted that, even should Jehoyoreb, the chief of the watches, come up out of exile, he should not displace Yid'ayah, but Yid'ayah should be first, and Jehoyoreb act merely as an additional (to Yid'ayah).

The rabbis taught: The men of the watch would pray that the sacrifices of their brethren should be favourably accepted; and the standing men would congregate in the synagogues and fast four fast-days; viz., from Monday until Thursday, inclusive. On the first fast-day they would fast for those who plied the seas; on the second, for those who traverse the desert; the third, that the children might be saved from the disease of croup; and the last day, for pregnant women and for those suckling their babes--that the former might be happily delivered and the latter retain their strength. On the day preceding the Sabbath they would not fast, in honour of the Sabbath, and most assuredly not on the Sabbath itself. Why did they not fast on Sunday? Said R. Samuel ben Na'hmeni: "Because that is the third day (after man was created)"; and Resh Lakish said: "Because of the second soul that is given to man on the Sabbath, and which leaves him at the close of the Sabbath day" (hence he would be too weak to fast on the following day).

"On Sunday the standing men read, 'In the beginning,'" etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: The first section, i.e., from the passage commencing, "In the beginning," until that commencing, "Let there be an expansion, was read by two men, while the second section, commencing, Let there be an expansion," until, "Let the waters," etc., was read by one man only.

"The long section of the day was read by two persons," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: During the morning and additional prayers they would enter into the synagogues and read the sections from the Scrolls as usual; but during the afternoon prayer one man would recite the section by heart. Said R. Jose: "May, then, an individual recite a section of the Scriptures by heart in the presence of the entire congregation?" "Therefore," said he, "the entire congregation went in and recited the section by heart, just as they do the Shema' prayer."

"On the days on which the Hallel was sung, the standing men would not attend," etc. What is the difference? (i.e., why, when a wood-offering was brought, was the closing prayer omitted and the afternoon prayer retained?). Because the closing prayer was a rabbinical institution, while the afternoon prayer was a biblical ordinance.

"The times when the delivery of wood was made by priests and people." The rabbis taught: Why did the Mishna have to mention both the times when the priests and when the people made the delivery of wood? Because it was said that when the children of Israel returned from exile they found no wood in the wood-chamber, and the priests contributed the wood of their own accord. In consideration of this fact, the prophets at that time made the enactment that even when the wood-chamber was filled with wood, the priests be allowed to furnish wood of their own accord (and from their own means), as it is written [Nehemiah, x. 35]: "And we--the priests, the Levites, and the people--cast lots concerning the procuring of the wood, to bring it into the house of our God, unto the house of our fathers, at fixed times, year by year, to burn upon the altar of the Lord our God, as it is written in the Law."

"And with them priests and Levites," etc. The rabbis taught: Who were those Gonebe Eli and Kotze Ketzi'oth? It was said that at one time the government decreed that the Israelites should not bring any wood for the altar, nor the firstfruit-offerings to Jerusalem, and guards were appointed to watch the wagons in the same manner as Jeroboam ben Nebat appointed guards to prevent the Israelites from going to Jerusalem for the festivals. What did the pious and those who were afraid of transgressing do? They would place a basket containing the firstfruits at the bottom of the wagon, and cover it with dried fruits. In addition to that they would carry a pestle, and when stopped by the guards would tell them that they were on their way to a place where they desired to pound the fruit; and after having safely passed the guards, they would ornament the basket containing the firstfruits and bring it into the Temple. And we have learned in a Boraitha, in addition to this, that the Gonebe Eli and the Kotze Ketzi'oth are the same who are called elsewhere the family of Salmai Hanthophathai. Who were the Salmai Hanthophathai? The rabbis taught that when it was decreed that no wood should be brought for the altar they would construct ladders, which they would carry past the guards appointed to watch for any men who would violate the decree, and when stopped would claim that they were about to take down some doves from their dovecots. Having safely eluded the guards and arrived at the Temple, they would take the ladders apart and carry in the wood for the altar. 1 To these men and those emulating their example the passage may be applied [Proverbs, 10:7]: "The memory of the just is to be blessed."

"On the 20th, the family Pa'hath Moab ben Jehudah," etc. In a Boraitha we have learned: By "the family Pa'hath Moab ben Jehudah" is meant the family of David ben Jehudah (meaning David the King of the tribe of Judah). Such is the opinion of R. Meir; but R. Jose said that they were of the children of Joab ben Tzeruyah.

"On the 20th of Elul, the family of Adin ben Jehudah," etc. The rabbis taught: By "the family of Adin ben Jehudah" is meant the family of David ben Jehudah. Such is the opinion of R. Jehudah; but R. Jose said that they were of the children of Joab ben Tzeruyah.

"There was no meeting of the standing men on the 1st of Tebeth." Said Rabha: The Hallel which is sung on the feast of new moon is not based upon a biblical ordinance, because R. Johanan said in the name of R. Simeon ben Jehozadok: "Eighteen times during the year an individual may recite the whole Hallel, and they are: On the eight days of the Feast of Tabernacles, on the eight days of the Feast of Dedication (Hanukah), on the first day of the Passover, and on the day of Pentecost. While in exile, however, one may recite it twenty-one times during the year, namely: On the nine days of the festival of Tabernacles, on the eight days of Hanukah, on the first two days of Passover, and on the two days of Pentecost."

Rabh happened to be in Babylon (i.e., before he removed there permanently) and he saw the people reading the Hallel on the first day of the month. He first intended to interrupt them, but seeing that they read only portions of it, he said: I understand they follow the customs of their ancestors, and it does not matter. In a Boraitha we have learned that an individual shall not start, but if he had already started he may conclude it.

"Five calamities happened to our ancestors," etc. Whence do we know that on the 17th day of Tamuz the tables of the Holy Law were broken? Because we have learned in a Boraitha as follows: On the sixth day of Sivan the ten commandments were given, and on the seventh day Moses ascended unto heaven. R. Jose says: "On the seventh day the ten commandments were given." All agree, however, that on the seventh day of Sivan Moses ascended unto heaven, because it is written [Exodus, 24:16]: "And he called unto Moses on the seventh day out of the midst of the cloud"; and further, it is said [ibid. 18]: "And Moses went into the midst of the cloud, and ascended the mount; and Moses was on the mount forty days and forty nights." Thus Moses was there twenty-four days in Sivan and sixteen days in Tamuz, and on the 17th he descended and broke the tables, as it is written [ibid. 32:19]: "And it came to pass, when he (Moses) came nigh unto the camp, and he saw the calf and the dancing, that the anger of Moses waxed hot, and he cast from his hands the tables, and broke them at the foot of the mount."

That the continual daily offerings ceased on the 17th of Tamuz is traditional; and the statement that the city was stormed on that day refers to the second destruction. That the other two calamities occurred on that day is also traditional.

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"On the 9th of Abh it was decreed," etc. Whence do we know that? From the following Boraitha: We have learned that on the twenty-ninth day of Sivan Moses sent out the spies, as it is written [Numb. 13:25]: "And they returned from spying out the land at the end of forty days," and those forty days (included the day of their return, that is) were in reality forty less one, and Abayi said that in that year the month of Tamuz was a full month of thirty days, as it is written [Lam. 1:15]: "He hath called an assembly against me to crush my young men." 1

Further, it is written [Numb. 14:1]: "And all the congregation lifted up their voice, and cried aloud, and the people wept that night." Said Rabba in the name of R. Johanan: "That night was the eve preceding the ninth of Abh, and the Holy One, blessed be He, said: 'Ye have cried on this night in vain, and I shall ordain it that your generations shall lament on this day forever.'"

"On that day the first and second Temples were destroyed." It is written [2 Kings, 25:8]: "And in the fifth month, on the seventh day of the month," etc., and [Jeremiah, 52:12]: "And in the fifth month, on the tenth day of the month." It cannot be said that on the seventh day the calamity occurred, because it is also written "on the tenth." Neither can it be said that it happened "on the tenth," because it says "on the seventh"--hence it must be assumed that entrance to the Temple was gained by the enemy on the seventh, and they ate and did damage therein on the seventh, on the eighth, and on the ninth. Toward the evening of the ninth they set it on fire, and it continued to burn all day on the tenth, as it is written [ibid. vi. 4]: "Wo unto us! for the day waneth, for the shadows of the evening are stretched out." And this bears out the statement of R. Johanan, who said as follows: "Were I living in those days, I would have ordained the fast for the 10th of Abh; for on that day the greater part of the temple was burned." The sages of that day, however, held that the day when the calamity began should be observed as a fast-day.

Whence do we know that the second Temple was also destroyed on the 9th of Abh? We have learned in a Boraitha: "A happy event is credited to the day on which another happy event happened, while a calamity is ascribed to the day when another calamity occurred; and it was said that when the first Temple was destroyed it was on the eve preceding the 9th of Abh, which was also the night at the close of the Sabbath and also the close of the Sabbatical year. The watch at the time was that of Jehoyoreb, and the Levites were chanting in their proper places, at that moment reciting the passage [Psalms, 94:23]: "And he will bring back upon them their own injustice, and in their own wickedness will he destroy them"; and they did not have time to end the passage, which concludes, "yea, he will destroy them--the Lord our God," before the enemy entered and took possession of the Temple. This happened also at the destruction of the second Temple.

That the city of Bethar was taken on the 9th of Abh is traditional.

"And the site was ploughed up like afield." We have learned in a Boraitha: When Torosnopos the Wicked destroyed the Temple, a decree was promulgated that Rabbon Gamaliel (the First) should be executed. A certain master came into the house of learning, and said that the man of the nose 1 was being looked for (i.e., the most prominent member of the community). R. Gamaliel understood that he was meant thereby, and hid himself. The same master surreptitiously came to the place where R. Gamaliel was concealed and asked him if, should he (the master) be instrumental in saving his (R. Gamaliel's) life, he would assure him a share in the world to come, and R. Gamaliel answered that he would. The master then demanded that he swear to it, and R. Gamaliel swore. Thereupon the master ascended to an attic, threw himself down, and died. The tradition goes on to say that if one of the signers of a death-warrant or any other unfavourable decree died, the decree became null and void. Thus was Rabbon Gamaliel saved. A heavenly Voice then came forth, and declared that the master would have a share in the world to come.

The rabbis taught: When the first Temple was destroyed, groups of young priests, who had the keys of the Temple, went up to the roof and said: "Creator of the Universe! it being that we were not destined to live and be trustworthy keepers of thy treasure, we herewith return the keys." With that they threw the keys up into the air, and something like a hand was seen to come forth and grasp them, whereupon the priests immediately threw themselves down into the fire beneath. They were mourned by Isaiah the prophet in the verses [Isaiah, xxii. 1 and 2]: "The doom of the valley of vision. What aileth thee now, that thou art wholly gone up to the roofs? O noiseful, tumultuous city, joyous town! thy slain ones are not slain with the sword, and not those that die in battle."

"From the 1st of Abh it is incumbent upon a person to lessen his participation in joyful events." Said R. Jehudah, the son of R. Samuel bar Shilath, in the name of Rabh: "As from the 1st of Abh participation in joyful events must be lessened, so, as soon as the month of Adar enters, joyous festivities should be increased."

"During the week in which the 9th of Abh occurs," etc. Said R. Na'hman: "The washing of clothes is prohibited only when they are washed for the purpose of immediate wear, but it is allowed to wash clothes and put them away for future wear." R. Shesheth, however, said that even washing for future wear is also not allowed, and the proof is that the laundresses of Rabh would stop work on that entire week. It was taught also that R. Benjamin said in the name of R. Elazar: "Washing for immediate wear is prohibited during that week, but for future wear it is permitted."

An objection was raised: We have learned: "It is not allowed to wash clothes before the 9th of Abh, even if they be intended for use after the 9th. In those days the washing of the clothes was similar to our laundrying, and as for linen garments the prohibition is not effective (only for silk garments)?" The objection remains.

R. Itz'hak bar Giuri in the name of R. Johanan sent word, saying: "Although the prohibition against washing does not apply to linen garments, still it is not allowed to put on such garments during the week in which the 9th of Abh occurs." Said Rabh: "This applies only to the days preceding the 9th of Abh, but not to those succeeding it," while Samuel said that even on the days following the 9th of Abh it is also not allowed.

This constitutes a difference of opinion among Tanaim, as we learn in the following Boraitha: "If the ninth day of Abh falls on a Sabbath, or even if the eighth falls on a Sabbath, one may eat and drink whatever he chooses, and may place on his table even such viands as were eaten by Solomon while he was yet king. He must not shave or wash (his clothes) from the day of the new moon until after the fast of the 9th of Abh. Such is the dictum of R. Meir. R. Jehudah, however, says that it is not allowed to do this the entire month of Abh; but R. Simeon ben Gamaliel maintains that the prohibition applies only to the week in which the 9th of Abh occurs."

In another Boraitha we have learned: "A man should be in a state of mourning from the first day of Abh until after the fast-day. Such is the dictum of R. Meir. R. Jehudah, however, says that during the entire month one is not allowed to do things prohibited for a mourner; but R. Simeon ben Gamaliel maintains that one must be in such a state only during the week in which the 9th of Abh occurs." (Hence the difference of opinion between Rabh and Samuel arises from the fact that Rabh holds with R. Meir, while Samuel holds with the other Tanaim.)

Said R. Johanan: "All the three Tanaim of the Boraitha quoted derived their teachings from the following passage [Hosea, 2:13]: 'And I will cause to cease all her mirth, her festival, her new moon, and her Sabbath,' etc. The Tana who teaches that one should be in a state of mourning from the 1st of Abh on, derives his teaching from the word 'festival' in the passage, because the 1st, being New Moon, is a festival. The Tana who applies his teaching to the whole month derives it from the words 'new moon,' and infers that it means the entire month; and the Tana who applies his teaching only to the week in which the 9th of Abh occurs, derives it from the word 'Sabbath,' and infers that it means the week of that Sabbath."

Said Rabha: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Meir," and on another occasion he said: "It prevails according to R. Simeon ben Gamaliel"; and by both statements he meant to render the more lenient construction of the ordinance. Thus it was necessary to make both statements. For had he said that the Halakha prevails only according to R. Meir, the state of mourning would extend for the nine days from the 1st to the 9th of Abh inclusive; and had he said that the Halakha prevails only according to R. Simeon ben Gamaliel, the state of mourning would extend over the days following the 9th of Abh in the same week. By citing both decrees, however, the ordinance is made more lenient, in that the state of mourning commences only with the first day of the week in which the 9th occurs and ends with the 9th itself.

"On the day before the 9th of Abh a person should not partake of two dishes." Said R. Jehudah: "This applies only to the time from the sixth hour on (12 P.M.). but previous to that time it may be done." And again he said: This applies only to the concluding meal, but during the other meals he may eat what he chooses, and both statements are intended for the more lenient construction of the ordinance (i.e., if one eats his last meal before noon, or if he eats a meal after noon but intends to eat again before the fast commences, he may in either case eat as many dishes as he chooses). We have learned in a Boraitha: On the eve of the 9th of Abh one must not eat two dishes, nor eat meat nor drink wine. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, however, said: "He shall make a change." Said R. Jehudah: "What is meant by making a change? E.g., if he usually eats two dishes, he shall now eat one; if he usually eats in the company of ten men, he shall now eat in the company of five; if his custom is to drink ten cups of wine, he shall now drink five. But all this applies to the time from the sixth hour on; but previously to the sixth hour, everything is permitted." In another Boraitha we have learned: On the eve of the 9th of Abh one should not eat two dishes, nor eat meat, nor drink wine. So is the decree of R. Meir. The sages, however, said: "He shall make a change, and shall use less meat and wine. How so? If his custom had been to eat a littre of meat, he shall now eat one-half of it; if his custom had been to drink a lug of wine, he shall now drink one-half of a lug; but if his custom had been to drink no wine at all, he must not drink it at all--even a drop." R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said: "If his custom had been to eat radishes or something salt, after his meal, he may continue to do it." In yet another Boraitha we have learned: "In case of the concluding meal before the 9th of Abh he must not eat meat, neither drink wine, nor wash himself; but if this meal is' not the concluding meal, he may eat meat and drink wine, but must not 'wash." R. Ishmael, the son of R. Jose, however, said in the name of his father: "As long as it is allowed to eat meat, it is allowed to wash one's self also."

The rabbis taught: All ordinances applicable to a mourner are effective for all (Israelites) on the 9th of Abh; viz., one must not eat, drink, anoint himself, wear shoes, or have sexual intercourse. The Pentateuch, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa must not be read. The Mishna, Gemara, and Midrash must not be studied, nor Halakhoth or Haggadoth discussed; but something which one has not previously read he may read, and may study something which he had never before studied. The school-children must not learn on that day, because it is written [Psalms, 19:9]: "The precepts of the Lord are upright, rejoicing the heart." R. Jehudah, however, says that one must not even read something new to him nor study anything which is new to him; but all agree that one may read Job, Lamentations, and the evil prophecies of Jeremiah, and the school-children must be idle on that day.

"Nor drink any wine." We have learned in a Boraitha: One may eat salt meat and drink wine still in a state of fermentation (on the day before the 9th). How long must the meat lie in salt in order to be classed as salt meat which may be eaten? Said R. Hinana bar Kahana in the name of Samuel: As long as the time during which a peace-offering may be eaten; i.e., if meat lie in salt two days and one night it is not yet salt meat, but if it lie longer it may be eaten on that day. The prohibition concerning drinking wine that has been standing uncovered does not apply to wine in a state of fermentation, and how long is wine in such a state? Three days.

R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: "Such was the custom of R. Jehudah bar R. Ilayi: On the night preceding the 9th of Abh, dry bread with salt and a jug of water were brought to him; he would sit behind the oven and eat the bread and drink the water, and his manner was the same as if the dead body of a near relative were lying before him." In a Boraitha we have learned: To him who eats meat and drinks wine on the 9th of Abh is applied the passage [Ezekiel, 32:27]: "And their iniquities were upon their bones."

"But the sages do not coincide with him." Said Rabha: "The Halakha prevails according to the sages."

"On the 15th of Abh and on the Day of Atonement," etc. It is right that the Day of Atonement should be a day of rejoicing, because that is a day of forgiveness, and on that day the second tables of the Law were given to Moses; but why should the 15th of Abh be a day of rejoicing? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: "On that day it was permitted to the members of the different tribes to intermarry." Whence is this deduced? Because it is written [Numb. xxxvi. 6]: "This is the thing which the Lord hath commanded concerning the daughters of Zelophehad," etc., they claim that "this is the thing" implies that only for that generation was it decreed, but for later generations the decree does not apply.

R. Joseph in the name of R. Na'hman said: On that day the members of the tribe of Benjamin were permitted to intermarry with the other tribes, as it is written [Judges, 21:1]: "Now the men of Israel had sworn in Mizpah, saying: Not any one of us shall give his daughter unto Benjamin for wife." Whence was it deduced that subsequently permission might be given to intermarry with the tribe of Benjamin? Because the quoted passage says "Any one of us," and Rabh said that their descendants were not included in the vow.

Rabba bar bar Hana said in the name of R. Johanan: On that day the last of those who were destined to die in the desert died, and the destiny was thus fulfilled; for the Master said that so long as the destiny was still unfulfilled, the Lord did not speak to Moses for his particular sake, as it is written [Deut. 2:16 and 17]: "So it came to pass, when all the men of war were spent by dying from the midst of the people, that the Lord spoke unto me, saying"; and "unto me" signifies that the Lord spoke unto Moses in particular.

Ula said: "On that day the guards appointed by Jeroboam to prevent the Israelites from coming to Jerusalem were abolished by Hoshea the son of Elah, and he said: 'Let them go wherever they choose.'"

R. Mathnah said: "On that day permission was given to bury the dead who were killed in battle at the city of Bethar." And R. Mathnah said again: "On that day, when it was permitted to bury those killed at Bethar, the assembly at Yamnia ordained the benediction reading: 'Blessed art thou, God the good, that doth good.' What is meant thereby? By 'good' is meant that the bodies were not left to putrefy, and by 'doth good' that burial was permitted."

Rabba and R., Joseph both said: On that day they ceased to cut wood for the altar, as we have learned in a Boraitha: R.

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Eliezer the Great said: "From the fifteenth day of Abh the heat of the sun was lessened and the timber was no longer dry, so they ceased to cut wood for the altar." [Said R. Menasseh: "That day was called the day on which the saws were broken"], and from that day on, he who adds the night to his time for study may have years and days added to his life.

"In white garments--borrowed ones," etc. The rabbis taught: The king's daughter borrowed from the daughter of the high-priest; the daughter of the latter would borrow from the daughter of the Segan (assistant); the Segan's daughter would borrow from the daughter of the priest who was anointed for the war [see Deut. 20:2]; and she in turn would borrow from the daughter of an ordinary priest. The daughters of the ordinary Israelites would borrow one from the other, in order not to put to shame those who had none of their own.

"These clothes were also to be immersed. " Said R. Eliezer: "Even if the clothes were folded and laid in a chest, they must also be immersed."

"The maidens went out and danced," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: Those that had no wives would go there to procure a spouse.

"Saying: 'Young men, look and observe,'" etc. The rabbis taught: The pretty ones among the maidens would say: "Regard but beauty alone, because a woman is made only for beauty." Those among them who were of good family would say: "Rather look to a good family," for women are but made to bear children (and those of good family produce good children). The ill-favoured ones among them would say: "Make your selections only for the glory of Heaven, but provide liberally for us."

Said Ula Biraah in the name of R. Elazar: "In the future the Holy One, blessed be He, will make a ring of the righteous, and He will sit among them in the garden of Eden, and they everyone will point to Him with their fingers, as it is written [Isaiah, xxv. 9]: 'And men will say on that day, Lo, this is our God, for whom we have waited that He would help us: this is the Lord, for whom we have waited; we will be glad and we will rejoice in His salvation.'"

END OF TRACT TAANITH.

SYNOPSIS OF SUBJECTS OF VOLUME 8.--TRACT MEGILLA.

CHAPTER 1.

MISHNAS 1. and 2. The Megilla is to be read from the eleventh till the fifteenth of Adar. How so? Which cities are considered walled since the time of Joshua b. Nun. By whom was made the Targum on the Pentateuch and by whom that of the Prophets. What the Heavenly voice said then and how the ground of Palestine trembled. Who were the men who were with Daniel [Daniel, x. 7]? Who are obliged to hear the reading of the Megilla? Which has the preference, the study of the Law or the reading of the Megilla? Are women obliged to hear the Megilla read? What must be considered a large town? What Rabbi used to do on Purim, the seventeenth of Tamuz, and how he has abolished the fast on the ninth of Ab. The explanation of the passage Zechar. ix. 7, and also the explanation of the passage Ps. 111:9. Also what is to be inferred from Habakkuk, 1:13, 1-14

MISHNA 3. When the Megilla was read in the first Adar and after wards the year was declared intercalary. The request that Esther sent to the sages. The Book of Esther was dictated by the Holy Spirit. Whence is this deduced? The obligation of sending portions to friends and to give charity to the poor, In what characters and language the Megilla must be written? When is the festival meal on Purim to be eaten? 14-17

MISHNAS 4. and 5. Enumerate the difference of a number of things between one another, among them the difference of the Greek language and others, and why it has preference over all others except Hebrew. The tradition of the men of the Great Assembly about the passages beginning with the word "Vahi" (and it came to pass). What a bride who is chaste in the house of her husband's parents deserves. The enumeration of the passages with which the different Amoraim began their lectures on the Book of Esther. The analysis of the name "Ahasuerus," and what the different sages had to say about it. He was a self-made king. Is it to his credit or to his discredit? The three kings that reigned over the whole world. Why was Cyrus called the anointed of God? Why does the Bible sometimes name Persia before Media and sometimes vice versa? By what sins did the Israelites incur the decree of Haman in that age? Who was Memuchan? Why was Mordecai called Benjamite and Judean? The interpretation of the names mentioned in the Chronicles without any explanation. Why did Esther not reveal her nationality? The reward for the modesty of Rachel, of Saul, and of Esther. How the Lord makes wroth the masters of their servants and the servants of their masters in order to do good to the upright. The explanation of the calamities of Haman. The parable of Ahasuerus and Haman. The explanation of the passage, "There is not any rock like our God." The seven prophetesses in Israel. Pride does not become women. Who was Hathach? Why did Esther invite Haman to the feast, and what Elijah, the prophet, said about this to Abahu? Why Israel resembles earth and why stars? All the lecturing in detail about the conversation which Esther had with Ahasuerus before the hanging of Haman. Why is Mordecai mentioned in Ezra, 2:2, the fifth, and in Nehemiah, 7:7, the sixth? 17-44

CHAPTER 2.

MISHNAS 1. and 2. Whence do we deduce that anyone that reads the Megilla, in an irregular manner does not fulfil his duty, that the Patriarchs must be mentioned in the prayer, that the Megilla must not be read by heart, and that the name of the Lord must not be blessed any more after the pronunciation of the eighteen benedictions? How is it known that God called Jacob "El"? Regulations concerning the reading from Assyrian characters, from writing in ink, and not to make long pauses. If the inhabitants of an open town had gone to a walled town. If one reads the Megilla which is bound together with other books. How the schoolmen, repudiated the statement of an Halakha in the name of Johanan, 45-54

MISHNAS 3. to 5. Who is qualified to read the Megilla? Which acts may not be done before sunrise on the day on which they are obligatory, and which may be done during the whole of the day on which they are obligatory, 54-56

CHAPTER 3.

MISHNAS 1. to 6. Is the Megilla to be read sitting or standing? What benediction must be pronounced before and after the reading? Regulations concerning the men to be called to read the Holy Scrolls in the prayer houses on the prescribed days, and their number on each day. What is to be done when men come into the synagogue after the prayer is finished? What is the benediction for mourners? The number of men that must be present when the name of God is mentioned in a benediction. How many verses must each read who is called to read in the Holy Scrolls? Who is allowed to act as minister? May a priest whose hands are deformed raise his hands to bless the congregation? If one say he will not minister at reading desk in coloured clothes. If one say in his prayer, "The good shall bless Thee" Which portions of the Torah must be read and explained, and which are to be read without explanation? 57-69

CHAPTER 4.

MISHNAS 1. to 3, Regulations concerning investment of the proceeds of a sale of sacred public property. May one prayer house be exchanged for another? Which articles used in a religious duty may be cast away, and which must be hidden? What disposition of the Holy Scrolls when rotten? May old Holy Scrolls be sold? When are Holy Scrolls allowed to be sold? Rules of contribution to charity by a visitor of a town. May sacred public property be sold to private individuals? The replies of many sages when they were questioned for the reason of their longevity. What is forbidden to be done in a prayer house, and may a man go in there for the purpose of protecting himself against rain or sunshine? What is meant by the saying of the Mishna: "Who uses the crown is lost"? Come and see how the Israelites are beloved before the Holy One, etc. The Heavenly voice about the Mount Sinai, 70-81

MISHNAS 4. and 5. Treat about the portions of the Bible which are to be read on the Sabbaths beginning two weeks before Purim up to Passover. on each day of the Passover, and on each day of the other festivals, and the different opinions about this, 81-90

TRACT MEGILLA.

CHAPTER 1.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE TIME WHEN THE BOOK OF ESTHER MUST BE READ ON THE RABBINICAL FEAST OF PURIM IN OPEN TOWNS AND WALLED CITIES, ETC.

MISHNA: The Megilla is read sometimes on the 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, or on the 15th of the month Adar, neither earlier nor later. Cities which, from the time of Joshua the son of Nun, were surrounded with walls, read it on the 15th. Villages and large open towns should read it on the 14th, and inhabitants of villages may read it in advance on the day of assembly. 1 How is this to be understood? When the 14th fell on Monday, inhabitants of villages and of large open towns used to read it on that day, and those of walled cities on the day following. When it fell on Tuesday or Wednesday, the inhabitants of villages used to read it in advance (the preceding Monday) on the day of assembly, those of large open towns on that day (the 14th), and those of walled towns on the morrow. When it fell on Thursday, inhabitants of villages and large open towns used to read it on that day, and of walled towns on the following day. If it fell on the eve of Sabbath, inhabitants of villages read it in advance on the preceding or day of assembly, and those of large open towns and of walled towns on that day (14th). When it fell on Sabbath, inhabitants of villages and large open towns read it in advance on the preceding Thursday, the day of assembly; and of walled towns on the morrow (the Sunday). When it fell on Sunday, in villages they read it on the preceding day of assembly (Thursday), and in large open towns on that day (14th), and in walled cities on the morrow.

GEMARA: The Megilla was read on the 11th day. Whence do we deduce this? Whence do we deduce this! (Is this, then, a biblical commandment, which you want to deduce from the passages of the Bible? This is only rabbinical), and as it will be explained further on, the sages made it easier for the inhabitants of villages, who usually came to the towns on Mondays and Thursdays, that they should read then the Book of Esther, and should have time to provide their brethren of the towns with water and with food? We meant to say so: let us see. The reading of the Megilla, the men of the Great Assembly have ordained. Now, at the first glance, if the men of the Great Assembly had ordained it should be on the 14th and 15th, have then the sages the power to abolish the ordinances of the Great Assembly? Have we not learned in a Mishna that a Beth Din is not able to abolish the ordinances of its colleagues unless they are greater than they in wisdom and in members? Therefore we must say that all the mentioned days were ordained by the Great Assembly. Where, then, is the hint in the Bible for it? Said R. Shamen bar Abba in the name of R. Johanan: It is written [Esther, 9:31]: "To confirm these days of Purim in their times." In their times: this signifies that many times are to be ordained. But if so, say even the 16th and 17th? Nay, it is written [ibid. 27]: "So that no one should trespass it." That means, it must never be after the appointed time. R. Samuel bar Na'hmani, however, said: It is written [ibid. 22]: "like those days whereon the Jews had rest from their enemies." And those "days" are plural, meaning two; "like the days" means to add also the 11th and the 12th. But perhaps it is the 12th and the 13th? Said R. Samuel 'bar Itz'hak: The 13th day was the time when all Israel in all places were assembled to take revenge on their enemies, and it is certain that such a day must not be added from the verse, because this day was the day of the main miracle; and therefore if you add something, it can be only the 11th and the 12th. But again, perhaps it is the 16th and 17th? That is already explained by the verse: "He shall not trespass." Said Rabba bar bar Hanah in the name of R. Johanan: This is only according to R. Aqiba, according to whom are many anonymous Mishnas; but the sages say that in our time, (when the messengers are no longer sent) and the people look to the reading of the Megilla as to a sign of the coming feast-day (of Passover), therefore it must be read only in its main time (14th). And so we have learned also in a Boraitha: R. Jehudah said: The old ordinance was only when the years were fixed (by the court in Palestine), and Israel dwelt on its own land; but in our time, when they look to make the feast only when the Megilla. is read, it must be read only in its time. Did R. Jehudah say so? Did not we learn in another Boraitha that R. Jehudah said that the ordinance was only in those places where the people from the villages came to the towns on Mondays and Thursdays; but in the places where they do not come, it must be read only in its main time? From this we see that where they come, even in our time, they can read it not in its appointed time, and this contradicts his teaching above. This contradiction was made by R. Ashi, and he answered it: That one Boraitha is not according to R. Jehudah, but according to R. Jose his son.

"Cities which, from the time of Joshua b. Nun," etc. How do we deduce this from the Book of Esther? Said Rabba: It is written [ibid. 9:19]: "Therefore do the Jews of the villages that dwell in the unwalled towns," etc. Now, when the inhabitants of the unwalled towns read on the 14th, it is self-evident that the inhabitants of the walled towns read on the 15th. But perhaps the inhabitants of unwalled towns read on the 14th, but of walled towns do not read at all? Do not read at all! Are they not Israelites? And furthermore, it is written [ibid. 30]: "And he sent letters unto all the Jews, to the hundred and twenty-seven provinces of the kingdom of Ahasuerus," 1 and that means all Israel? But perhaps it means the inhabitants of open towns should read on the 14th only, and those of walled towns should read on both the 14th and I 5th, as it is written [ibid. 21]: "To take it on themselves as a duty that they should celebrate the fourteenth day of the month Adar, and the fifteenth day of the same, in each and every year." If it would read, "the fourteenth and the fifteenth," it would be right as you said; but when it is written, "the fourteenth day," separately, and "the fifteenth," separately, that means that the inhabitants of open towns should celebrate on the fourteenth, and those of walled towns on the fifteenth. But this is only about the celebration, which means the eating and the drinking; but the reading of the Megilla, which is only a memorial, whence do we deduce that this is also different? It is written [ibid. 28]: "And these days are remembered and celebrated." And we compare the celebration to the remembering; as the celebration is different, so is the remembering.

But what is the reason of the Tana of our Mishna, who says "walled towns from the time of Joshua b. Nun"? He makes an analogy of expression: it is written here, "therefore the Jews of the unwalled towns"; and it is written [Deut. 3:5], "besides the unwalled towns." As thereby unwalled towns are meant those from the time of Joshua, so also is it meant here.

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Our Mishna will not be in accordance with R. Joshua b. Kor'ha of the following Boraitha: R. Joshua b. Kor'ha said: The inhabitants of towns surrounded with walls from the times of Ahasuerus should read on the 15th. What is his reason? It shall be as in Shushan? As in Shushan they read on the 15th, so all towns surrounded with a wall shall read on the 15th. But the inhabitants of Shushan itself act according to whom? It is certainly not in accordance with the sages, because it was not surrounded with a wall in the time of Joshua b. Nun? Said Rabba, and according to others Kdi: The case with Shushan is different, for there was the miracle, and they feasted on the 15th. R. Joshua b. Levi said: A large city, and its neighbourhood, and all the places around that can be seen with it, must be considered like the large city itself. But how much distance is meant? Said R. Jeremiah, according to others R. Hyya bar Abba, as the distance from Hamtn to Tiberia, which was a mile. The same says again: The double letters in the Hebrew alphabet--Mem, Nun, Zadik, Pe, Kaph--the prophets have added. Is this possible? Is it not written [Lev. 27:34]: "These are the commandments"; from which we infer these are the commandments, and no prophet has the power to make new ones from that time? And furthermore, did not R. Hisda say that the Mem (when it is the last letter of the word) and Samekh (which is round), which were chased through the tables of Moses, were held in only by a miracle? This is so, but it was not before known which letter must be in the middle of the word and which at the end; and the prophets ordained that the open one should be at the middle and the closed one final. But even that much had they then the right to do? Therefore we must say that it was forgotten and the prophets only restored them. The same authority says again: The Targum (translation) of the Pentateuch was made by Unkelas the Proselyte under the supervision of R. Eliezer and R. Joshua; the Targum of the Prophets--by Jonathan b. Uziel under the supervision of the three prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, Then the ground of Palestine trembled (as if shaken by an earthquake) four hundred Parsaoth square, and a heavenly voice was heard: Who are these who have revealed My Mystery to man? Then Jonathan b. Uziel arose and said: "I am the one who hath revealed Thy Mystery to man, but it is known unto Thee that not to my honour, nor in honour of the house of my father I did this, but for Thy glory, to prevent controversies in Israel." He intended to do the same with the Hagiographa, when a heavenly voice was heard: "Refrain from doing this." Why, so? Because in the Hagiographa the time of Messiah's arrival would be known if it should be translated (and this must be hidden).

Why at the translation of the Pentateuch did not the ground tremble, and at the translation of the Prophets it trembled? Because the Pentateuch is almost all explained; but in the Prophets there are many things not explained at all. As it is written [Zechariah, 12:11]: "On that day will the lamentation be great in Jerusalem, like the lamentation at Hadad-rimman in the valley of Megiddon." And R. Joseph said, but for the translation of this verse, I would not know at all what it means. The translation is: "On this day will the mourning in Jerusalem be as it was over Ahab b. Amri, that was killed by Hadad-rimman b. Tabrimon in the city of Ramoth Gilead, and as they mourned over Joshia b. Aman, who was killed by Pharaoh Necho (the lame one) in the valley of Megiddon."

It is written [Dan. 10:7]: "And I, Daniel, saw alone this appearance, but the men that were with me did not see the appearance; nevertheless a great terror fell upon them, so that they fled to hide themselves." Who were these men? Said R. Jeremiah, according to others R. Hyya b. Abba: They were Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. They were better than he, because they were prophets, and be, Daniel, was not a prophet. And he was better than they because be saw it, and they, did not see it. But if they did not see, why fell a terror upon them? Although they did not see literally, they saw it clairvoyantly. Said Rabbina: From this we may infer that whoso is terrified, although he does not himself see, he sees clairvoyantly.

We have learned in a Boraitha: The priests during their service, Levites from their balcony, and the Israelites standing around, all must leave their places to go and hear the reading of the Book of Esther. And so also said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh. This the houses of learning took as their support when they stopped the learning of the Law, and went to hear the reading of the Megilla. They draw an à fortiori conclusion from the Temple service: as the Temple service, which was very vigorous, they stopped for the sake of the Megilla, the learning of the Law so much the more. But did not R. Samuel bar Unia say that the learning of the Law is greater than the daily sacrifices? It presents no difficulty; the learning of an individual is not greater than Temple service, but the learning of a congregation together is greater.

Rabha said: It is certain to me that of the Temple service and the reading of the Megilla the latter has the preference, as it is said above. Between the studying of the Law and the reading of the Megilla the latter has the preference, as did the houses of learning. Between the studying of the Law and the burying of a dead man who has no friends the latter has the preference. Between the Temple service and the burying of a dead man the latter has the preference. But what is doubtful to me is, if a man has to read the Megilla and to bury a man who has no friends, which has the preference? Shall we assume the Megilla has the preference, because it proclaims the miracle; or the burying has preference, for the honour of man? After he had considered, he himself decided that the burying has preference, as the Master said (Sabbath, p. 85): Great is the honour of man, which supersedes even a negative commandment of the Torah. The text says: R. Joshua b. Levi said that "a large city and its neighbourhood," etc., are considered as the city itself. We have learned in a Boraitha, in addition to this: If it is in the neighbourhood, even if it cannot be seen from a distance together with the city; and when it can be seen with the city, although it is not near the city. (This is explained, when the city is in a valley or on a mountain.)

R. Joshua b. Levi says again: A city where the inhabitants had resided before, and later it was surrounded with a wall, must be considered as a village. Why so? Because it is written [Lev. 25:29]: "And if a man sell a dwelling-house in a walled city." Whence we may infer that the city was walled before he dwelt in it, but not if he had dwelt in it and afterward it was walled. He says again: A city where there are not ten unemployed men 1 who devote all their time to the study of the Law must be considered as a village. What does he come to teach us? Did we not learn this in the following Mishna: What is called a great city? If there are ten unemployed men and less than this it is a village? His teaching is needed to tell us that, even if it was a great city and men came thither from the whole world, if there are fewer than ten men unemployed there, it is considered as a village. The same says again: A large city that was destroyed, and afterward was rebuilt, must be considered as a large city. What is meant by destroying? Shall we assume it is meant that the walls were destroyed? Then if they were only rebuilt it is considered a large city, and not otherwise? Did we not learn in a Boraitha, R. Eliezer b. R. Jose said: It is written [ibid. 30]: "The house in the city which has a wall," from which we infer, which has had a wall previously, even though it has not now? Nay, what is meant by the expression "destroyed" is, that it has not now ten unemployed men (who learn the Law). R. Joshua b. Levi says again: It is obligatory for women to hear the reading of the Megilla, because they benefited also by the same miracle. He says again: If the Feast of Purim falls on Sabbath, it may be lectured about the duties of this day (Purim). Why only the Feast of Esther? Is this not a rule for all festivals? Did we not learn in a Boraitha: Moses ordained that the Israelites should lecture on the duties of each day: the Halakhoth of Passover on Passover, those of Pentecost on Pentecost, and those of Tabernacles on the Feast of Tabernacles? One might say, we shall take a precautionary measure not to lecture about the Megilla, lest one carry it four ells in public ground. As Rabha explains further on, he comes to teach us that such a precautionary measure is not taken about lecturing. The same says again: So also said R. Helbu in the name of Ulla: One is obliged to read the Megilla in the evening, and to repeat it in the daytime, as it is written [Ps. 30:13]: "To the end that my glorious soul may sing praise to thee, and never be silent. O Lord my God! forever will I give thanks unto thee." (As this psalm in the Pesiqtha is interpreted; to refer to Mordecai and Esther, he explains "may sing praise to thee" means to read the Megilla in the night, and "never be silent" means to read it in the day.)

"Inhabitants of villages shall read," etc. R. Hanina said: The sages made it easier for the inhabitants of villages to read on the days of assembly, because they usually supply with water and food the inhabitants of towns on those days.

"How is to be understood? 'If it falls on Monday,'" etc. Why, in the first part of the Mishna, does it begin with the order of the days of the month and when it comes to explain it, it begins with the order of the days of the week? (It does not say "read on the 15th," but "on the morrow.") Because confusion between the numbers of the days in the month and in the week would have arisen, therefore it begins with the dates of the month alone.

"If it fell on the eve of Sabbath," etc. According to whom is this Mishna? According to Rabbi, or according to R. Jose? Which Rabbi and R. Jose? Of the following Boraitha: If it falls on the eve of Sabbath, villages and large open cities used to read it on the day of assembly, and inhabitants of walled towns read it on that same day. Said Rabbi: I say that the large open towns must not have the appointed time postponed, and must be equal to walled towns, and both read the same day. And which R. Jose? From the following Tosephtha: If it falls on the eve of Sabbath, the inhabitants of walled towns and villages read on the day of assembly, and the large open cities read on the appointed day. R. Jose, however, said: The inhabitants of walled towns do not read in advance of those of the large cities, but both read on the appointed day. But does Rabbi hold that for the inhabitants of large cities we do not change for the day of assembly? Did we not learn in another Boraitha: If the Feast of Purim falls on Sabbath, the inhabitants of villages read in advance on the previous assembly day, and the inhabitants of large open cities read on the eve of Sabbath, and those of walled towns on the day following? As the appointed day has already been changed for the inhabitants of large cities for the previous day, (I say) it shall be fixed on a day before, which is the assembly day? What comparison is this? In case of the above Boraitha the right-time was on Sabbath, and as they had it changed it was set two days before; but in the previous Boraitha the right-time was the eve of Sabbath, why should it be changed? According to whom is what R. Helbu said in the name of R. Huna, as follows: If the Feast of Purim fall on Sabbath all is postponed for the day of assembly (Thursday). [What is meant by "all"? Is it possible, "all"? Do not the inhabitants of a walled town read it on the Sabbath itself? It means, for those for whom it has to be postponed, it shall be set on the assembly day.] This will be according to Rabbi.

We see, however, that all agree that the Megilla must not be read on the Sabbath. Why so? Said Rabha: All are obliged to read the Megilla, but not all are able to read it; and this is a precautionary measure, lest one take the Megilla in his hand and go with it to an expert to learn to read it, and at the same time he will carry four ells in public ground. (Therefore it must not be read on Sabbath at all.) And the same is the reason why we do not blow the cornet on the New Year's day when it falls on Sabbath, and do not use the Lulab on the first day of the Feast of Tabernacles when it falls on Sabbath. R. Jose said: Here is another reason: It is because the poor hope only for the day when the Megilla is read to receive gifts, a thing which cannot be done on Sabbath. We have learned the same also in the following Boraitha: Because it was said that the inhabitants of villages read in advance on the day of assembly, the charity that must be given on that feast shall be collected and distributed on the same day, because the poor hope only for the day when the Megilla is read. The enjoyment of eating and drinking, however, must be only on the appointed time.

Rabh said: If the Megilla is read in the right-time, it may be read even by an individual; but if not on the right-time, then only when ten men are together. R. Assi, however, said: In both instances it must be read only when ten men are together. It happened once that Rabh had not ten men: he took the trouble to assemble ten men because of R. Assi's decision.

MISHNA: What must be considered as a large town? Any town in which there are ten Batlonim. Should there be less than that number, it is legally considered a village. It was said with respect to these, that "it may be done sooner, but not later"; but the day of the delivery of wood for the priests, the fast on the 9th of Abh, the festive sacrifices, and the day of assembly (to fast and pray for rain) are to be postponed to a later day, but must not be kept before their proper time.

Although it was said in respect to the reading of the Megilla that it may be done earlier but not later, it is yet permitted on these days to pronounce funeral orations and to fast, also to give the gifts to the poor. Said R. Jehudah: When is it allowed to read the Megilla before its proper time? In places where it is customary for the country people to assemble in the towns on Mondays and Thursdays; but where that does not take place, the Megilla may only be read on its proper day.

GEMARA: We have learned in a Boraitha: By the ten Batlonim are meant those who are always in the house of prayer (and must be supported by the congregation, so that at the prayer should never be less than ten men, as is explained in Tract Berachoth).

"It may be done sooner, but not later." Why so? Said Samuel: Because in the Book of Esther it was said, "shall not trespass."

"Delivery of wood for the priests, the 9th of Abh," etc. The 9th of Abh shall not be made sooner, because calamities are not lamented in advance; and concerning the festive sacrifice and the assembly, it cannot be done earlier, because that duty has not arrived yet. And a Boraitha taught: "The festive sacrifice, and all the time appointed for it (if it was not brought in its right time), can be postponed, but not made earlier." It is right, the festive sacrifice itself; if the festival falls on Sabbath, we postpone it till after Sabbath. But what is meant by "its time shall be postponed"? Said R. Ushia: The Boraitha meant to say thus: The feast-offering, when the festival falls on Sabbath, and the burnt-offering which must be brought when the pilgrims visit Jerusalem [see Deut. 16:16, 171, even when the festival did not fall on Sabbath, the offering had to be postponed for the time during the seven days after it. And this is according only to Beth Shammai (Betzah, Chap. 2, Mishna 3). Rabha, however, said: What is meant by "the time of the feast-offering may be postponed"? Only for the seven days it can be postponed, not later.

R. Eleazar said in the name of R. Hanina: Rabbi used to set out a plant on Purim, and washed himself in the market of Ziporith (publicly) on the 17th day of Tamuz (which is a fast-day), and intended to abolish the fast of the 9th of Abh. But the sages did not agree with him. Said to him R. Abba bar Zabda: Rabbi, this was not so, for it once happened when the 9th of Abh fell on Sabbath, and it was postponed to Sunday, and Rabbi declared: When it has been postponed, it shall not be kept at all. And the sages did not agree with him. And the former then read the verse [in Ecc. iv. 9]: "Two are better than

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one." (Rashi explains this, that he means to say the second statement was better than the first; but it seems to us the explanation is different. He means to say that if so, both happened twice, and Rabbi did not intend to abolish the 9th of Abh, but did abolish.)

Hezekiah used to read the Megilla in Tiberia both days--the 14th and the 15th--because it was doubtful to him whether Tiberia had been surrounded with a wall from the time of Joshua b. Nun. But how can this be doubtful? Is it not written [Josh. 19:35]: "And the fortified cities Ziddim, Zer and Chammath, Rakkath and Kinereth"? And we have a tradition that Rakkath is Tiberia. It was doubtful to him, because on one side the sea was its wall. If so, why is it doubtful? The sea is not a wall, and we have learned in a Boraitha that what is written [Lev. 25:30], "the city that has a wall," means a wall, but not if the houses are built around like a wall--and that excludes Tiberia where the sea is the wall? He was not doubtful in respect to the law about houses in a walled town, but in respect to the Megilla, because the expression in the Megilla is "open towns," and he doubted whether the city, having the sea as a wall, is called open or not.

R. Asi used to read the Megilla in the city of Hutzl also on both days, because he doubted whether it was surrounded in the time of Joshua with a wall or not. According to others, R. Asi said: This Hutzl, which was in the tribe of Benjamin, I am certain was walled in the time of Joshua b. Nun.

R. Johanan said: When I was a child I said a thing, and afterward the elders were asked, and it was found that I was right; namely, Hammath, that is, Tiberia. And why is it called in the Bible Hammath? Because of the hot springs that are in Tiberia. 1 Rakkath is Ziporith, but why is it called in the Bible Rakkath? Because it is situated on the summit of a mountain, as the banks of a river are more elevated than the river. Kinereth, that is, Genoser; but why is it called Kinereth? Because the fruit of this city is agreeable as the sound of a violin. 3 Said Rabha: Is it possible a man exists who says that Rakkath is not Tiberia? It is known to us that if a great man dies here in Babylon, they in Tiberia, in the funeral oration, say thus: The man was great in Sheshakh (Babylon,--Rashi explains this because Sheshah is, by the alphabet of Athbash, Babel) and his name has reached Rakkath. And if the coffin is brought thither, they say in the funeral oration so: Ye lovers of Israel, inhabitants of Rakkath, go and receive the man who was killed in the valley of Babylon. And when R. Zera died, in the lamentation was mentioned Rakkath (see Moed Katan, p. 44.) Therefore said Rabha: Hammath means Hammei-Grar, Rakkath is Tiberia, Kinereth is Genoser. And why is it called Rakkath? Because even the common men there are full of religious merits as a pomegranate. 1

R. Jose bar Hanina said: It is written [Zechariah, 9:7]: "And I will remove their blood out of their mouth, and their abominations from between their teeth; and their land also shall be left for our God." I will remove their blood out of their mouth,--that means, their Beth Bamia; 2 "and their abominations from between their teeth"--that is, their Beth Galia; 2 "and the land also will be left to our God" means, the houses of prayer and of learning which are in Edom (meaning Rome); "and it shall be as a prince's dwelling in Judah, and Ekron shall be like Jebusi"--that means the theatres and circuses which were in Edom, but in the future the princes of Judah will teach the Torah publicly in them. R. Itz'hak said: Leshem is Pamias, Ekron is Cesaria--why is it called the daughter of Edom? Because it was the metropolis of kings. Same said because there kings were reared, and according to others because from the inhabitants of that city were made kings. Of Cesaria and Jerusalem--if one will say to thee, Both are destroyed, thou shalt not believe; if one will say, Both are in their splendor, do not believe; but if one will say, Cesaria was destroyed and Jerusalem is in its glory, or vice versa, you may believe, as it is written [in Ezek. 26:2]: "I shall be made full, now she is in ruins"--that means, if one is full the other is destroyed, and if one is destroyed the other is full. R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak says, we infer it from the following passage [Gen. 25:23]: "one people shall be stronger than the other" (Israel and Edom, i.e., Rome). And R. Itz'hak said: It is written [Is. 26:10]: "If favour be shown to the wicked, he will not learn righteousness." Isaac our father said before the Holy One, blessed be He: Creator of the Universe! let Esau be favoured. And He said: "He is wicked." Said Isaac again: "It is because he has not learned righteousness." And the Lord said again: "(It is known before me that even) in the land of uprightness he will deal unjustly." Rejoined Isaac: "If it is so, (then) he shall not regard the majesty of the Lord." R. Itz'hak says again: It is written [Ps. 111:9]: "Grant not, O Lord, the longings of the wicked: suffer not his wicked device to succeed: lest they exalt themselves. Selah." Said Jacob before the Holy One, blessed be He: Creator of the Universe! do not grant to Esau the wicked longing of his heart; "his wicked device to succeed," meaning Germamia of Edom, for if they would go out they would destroy the whole world. He says again: If one will say to you: I have exerted myself, and not found, do not believe him; if one will say, I have not exerted myself, and have found, do not believe him. But if he will say, I have exerted myself, and have found, then believe him. This is all in the studying of the Law, but in business it is a matter of fortune sent from Heaven. And even in studying the Law you must not believe in his sagacity; but if he says what he has learned he has retained without much trouble, you may believe him, because this can be a help from Heaven. He says again: If you have seen a wicked man on whom fortune smiles, do not provoke him, as it is written [Ps. 37:7]: "Do not fret thyself because of the evil-doers"; so much the more when in his ways he is successful, as it is written [ibid. 10:5]: "Prosperous are his ways at all times." And not only this, but he always wins in a lawsuit, as it is written [ibid., ibid.]: "Far in the height remain thy punishments from him;" and not this only, but he sees vengeance on his enemies, as it is written [ibid.]: "All his assailants, he puffeth at them." This is not so? Did not R. Johanan say in the name of R. Simeon b. Yochi, that one may provoke the wicked in this world? As it is written [Prov. 28:4]: "They that forsake the law praise the wicked; but such as observe the law contend with them." And we have learned also in a Boraitha: R. Dusthai bar Mathun said: A man may provoke the wicked in this world? [And lest one say: "Do not fret thyself because of the evil-doers, neither be thou envious against the workers of iniquity," this can be said only about him whose heart trembles. But the interpretation of this passage is thus: "Do not strive to be like the wicked, neither be thou envious to be like the workers of iniquity," as it is written [Prov. 23:17]: "Let not thy heart be envious against sinners."] (Hence we see that the wicked may be provoked?) It presents no difficulty, for if it is in his own interest he shall not do so; but if in heavenly things, he may. And if you like, I can say: Both are in his own interest; yet when he is a really upright man he may do so, but when he is not really upright he shall not do so. As R. Huna said: It is written [Habakkuk, i. 13]: "Wherefore wilt thou look upon those that deal treacherously; and be silent when the wicked swalloweth up him that is more righteous than he?" From this we may infer that the wicked swallows him who is more righteous than he, but him who is really upright he cannot swallow. And if you wish, I can say: with him whom fortune favours it is different.

MISHNA: If the Megilla had been read in the first Adar, and the year declared (by the Sanhedrin) to be intercalary, it must be again read in the second Adar. There is no difference between the first Adar and second, but in the reading of the Megilla and the gifts to the poor.

GEMARA: The Mishna says that the two Adars do not differ; that is to say, in the order of the portions that must be read from the Bible on the Sabbaths of the four weeks of Adar, the two Adars are equal. According to whom is the Mishna?

Not according to the first Tana, and not according to R. Eliezer b. R. Jose, and not according to R. Simeon b. Gamaliel of the following Boraitha: If they have read only the Megilla in the first Adar, and the year becomes intercalary, it must be read again in the second Adar, because all the duties that are obligatory in the second Adar are so also on the first Adar, except the reading of the Megilla. R. Eliezer b. R. Jose said: It must not be read in the second Adar, because all the duties customary in the second are so also in the first. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel in the name of R. Jose said: It must be read also in the second Adar, because all the duties obligatory in the second must not be done in the first. And we asked there, is R. Simeon b. Gamaliel not saying the same as the first Tana? And R. Papa answered: The order of the portions is different between them. Hence our Mishna is not in accordance with the first Tana, because of the gifts to the poor, which according to the Tana of the Boraitha must be given in the first Adar also; and not in accordance with R. Eliezer, who says the Megilla must not be repeated at all in the second Adar; and not in accordance with R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, as according to him there is a difference in the order of the portions (as R. Papa explained). The Mishna is in accordance with R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, but is not completed, and must read thus: There is no difference between the fourteenth day of the first Adar and the fourteenth day of the second Adar, except in the reading of the Megilla and gifts to the poor. But the next day, in respect to mourning and fasting, they are equal. Concerning the order of the portions, the Mishna does not speak about it. Said R. Hyya bar Abin in the name of R. Johanan: The Halakha prevails according to what Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel said in the name of R. Jose. Said R. Tabi: The reason why R. Simeon b. Gamaliel declares so is, that one redemption (from Haman) should be near to another redemption (from Egypt, Passover). R. Elazar said: The reason of R. Simeon b. Gamaliel is, because it is written in Esther [9:29]: "To confirm this letter of Purim the second time." "The second" means in the second Adar.

R. Samuel bar Jehudah said: Esther sent to the sages the request: "Establish me for the later generations." And they answered: "You want to excite the envy of other nations against us." She rejoined: "My history is already written in the chronicle of the kings of Media and Persia." Rabh and R. Hanina, R. Johanan and R. Habiba (see Sukka, page 5), taught: Esther sent to the sages: "Write about me for later generations." And they answered to her: It is written [Prov. 22:20]: "Have I not written for thee thrice?" 1 (thrice means, three times shall be mentioned in the Torah the war with Amalek--in Exodus, in Deuteronomy, and in I. Samuel): only thrice, and not four times. Finally, they found a passage in the Pentateuch [Ex. 17:14]: "Write this for a memorial in the book"; and they interpreted the passage thus: "Write this"--what is written here and in Deuteronomy; "for a memorial"--i.e., what is written in the Prophets (Samuel); "in the book"--i.e., what is written in the Book of Esther. We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Eliezer said: The Book of Esther was dictated by the Holy Spirit, as it is written [Esther, 5:16]: "And Haman said in his heart"; and if it were not by the Holy Spirit, how could we know what he said in his heart? R. Aqiba said: "Esther" was dictated by the Holy Spirit because it is written [ibid. 2:15]: "And Esther found favour in the eyes of all those that beheld her" (this also could not be known, but for the Holy Spirit). R. Meir said: "Esther" was dictated by the Holy Spirit, because it is written [ibid. 22]: "And the thing became known to Mordecai" (and who told him? We must say that it was the Holy Spirit). R. Jose b. Durmaskes said: From this passage [9:10]: "But to the spoil did they not stretch forth their hands" (and it could not be known what was done in the one hundred and twenty-seven provinces by everyone). Said Samuel: If I had been there, I would have said a thing better than all these sayings: It is written [ibid., ibid. 27]: "The Jews confirmed it as a duty, and took it upon themselves." That means, they confirmed in Heaven what they took upon themselves below. Said Rabha: To all the above sayings I have objections, except to Samuel, to whom it cannot be objected. What R. Eliezer said--that was common sense. Haman knew there was not a man in the king's court that was so respected as he himself, and it is self-evident that thus he thought. What R. Aqiba said--perhaps it was as R. Elazar explains farther on, that every nation thought Esther was of its race; and what R. Meir said-perhaps it was as R. Hyya bar Abbi will explain farther on, that Mordecai understood the language of Rigthau and Theres; and what R. Jose b. Durmaskes said--perhaps they may have sent messengers to the king; but to what Samuel said there is no objection. Said Rabbina: That is as people say, it is better to have one pungent pepper-grain than a full basket of cucumbers. R. Joseph said: From this passage [9:28]: "And these days of Purim will not pass away" (and how can this be known? Only from the Holy Spirit). And R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak said (from the end of the verse): "Nor will their memorial cease from their seed."

"Gifts to the poor." R. Joseph taught: It is written [9:22]: "Sending portions one to another." "Portions" in plural--two portions should be sent to one man; "and gifts to the needy"--needy is in plural: that means, no less than two portions to two men. R. Jehudah the Second 1 sent to R. Oshyia a leg of a third-born calf and a pitcher of wine, and the latter sent to him the message: "The Master has confirmed both duties to send portions one to another; and to give gifts to the needy." Rabha sent to Mari bar Mar through Abayi a bag of dates and a goblet full of flour of dried wheat. Said Abayi to him: Now Mari will say: When a countryman becomes a king, he is still unable to remove the basket from his shoulder. And it is the same with you: now you are the Head of the College, and send to him commonplace articles. R. Mari bar Mar returned to Rabha through Abayi a pouch (tasca, Lat.) of ginger and a goblet full of long pepper. Said Abayi: Now the Master will say: I had sent him sweets, and he has sent to me pungent things. Said Abayi again:, When I went out from the house of my Master, I was sated. When I arrived there, they furnished the table with sixty diverse dishes, and they ate all; and the last dishes were called "roast of Kedar," and it was so good that I wanted to eat up the dish with it. And this is what people say: "The poor does not know even when he is hungry." Or, as people say: "The stomach is wide enough for sweet things."

Abayi bar Abbin and R. Hanina bar Abbin used to change their meals on Purim. Said Rabha: A man is obliged to intoxicate himself on Purim, till he cannot distinguish between "cursed be Haman" and "blessed be Mordecai." Rabha said again: If one has eaten the festive meal in the night, he has not fulfilled his duty, because it is written, "days of entertainment and joy."

R. Ashi was sitting in the presence of R. Kahana. It became dark, and the rabbis had not yet come. Said R. Kahana to him: Why have not the rabbis come yet? And he answered him: Perhaps they are engaged with the festive meal? And he rejoined: Could they not have the festive meal in the evening? Said R. Ashi: Has the Master not heard what Rabha said, that if one has eaten the meal of Purim in the night, he has not fulfilled his duty. And he rejoined: Did Rabha indeed say so? And he answered: Yea. And he learned it from him forty times, and afterward it was as if he had put it into his pocket.

MISHNA: There is no difference between Sabbath and festivals, except in the preparation of food. There is no difference between the Sabbath and the Day of Atonement, excepting that those who knowingly and wilfully profane the Sabbath are punished by man, while those who wilfully profane the Day of Atonement are punished with Karoth (by Heaven).

There is no difference between one who by a vow has interdicted himself from receiving a benefit from another man

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and one whose vow was confined to the interdiction of accepting any food from another, except that it is not lawful for the first to set his foot in the house (or property) of the other and to borrow vessels (of the other) which are not used for the preparation of food, There is no difference between vows and voluntary offerings, except that in the case of the first-mentioned the person who thus vows is liable for the risk, but he is not liable for the last-mentioned.

GEMARA: "Except in the preparation of food." But in the preparations for the preparing of food, they are equal.

"He is punished with Karoth." But in paying of damages, both are equal. And the Mishna is in accordance with R. Nehunia b. Hakana of the following Boraitha: He decided that the Day of Atonement is equal to Sabbath with regard to damages: as on Sabbath, because it is a capital punishment, no damages are to be paid, so on the Day of Atonement, as the punishment is Karoth, he is exempt from damages.

"Vessels which are not used," etc. But in regard to vessels which are used for the preparation of food, they are equal.

"He is not liable for the last-mentioned." But with regard to the commandment, "Thou shalt not delay," they are equal.

MISHNA: There is no difference between a person labouring under an involuntary emission of semen who has experienced it twice (on the same day, or on the two following days) and one who has experienced it thrice (in the same time, or within three days), excepting that the last-mentioned must bring a sacrifice. There is no difference between a leprous person who has only been shut up and one whom the priest has declared as leprous, excepting that the latter must go with rent clothes, and suffer the hair of his head to grow wild. There is no difference between the leper declared clean after being shut up and one who has been cured of that disease, excepting that the latter must be shaved, and bring offerings of birds.

There is no difference between the Holy Books and Thephilin and Mezuzoth, except that the first-mentioned may be written in any language, but the latter in Assyrian characters only. Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel says: The permission to write the Holy Books in another language was limited to the Greek language only.

There is no difference between a high-priest anointed with the sacred oil and one whose dignity was marked by additional sacerdotal vestments only, except the bull which the first-mentioned is to offer, in case he gave a wrong decision which led to a transgression of a precept. There is no difference between an officiating high-priest and his late substitute, except the bull offered on the Day of Atonement, and the tenth of the ephah of flour(which the real high-priest alone might offer).

There is no difference between a large high place 1 and a small one, except the Paschal offering. This is the rule: All offerings which are brought in consequence of vows, and all peace-offerings, may be offered on a small high place, but not sacrifices of another kind.

There was no, difference between the Tabernacle of Shiloh and the Temple of Jerusalem, except that at the former place it was lawful to eat of sacrifices having a minor degree of holiness, and of the second tithe, in any place from whence Shiloh might be seen; but in Jerusalem it was lawful to eat these within the walls only. In both places, however, sacrifices which were most holy might be only eaten within the hangings (of the court of the sanctuary). The holiness of Shiloh had subsequently a period in which it became lawful (to offer sacrifices elsewhere), but the holiness of Jerusalem has no such period.

GEMARA: "Excepting that the last-mentioned must bring a sacrifice." But in respect to their lying, sitting, and the seven days which they have to wait till it is allowed to take a legal bath, both are equal (all this will be explained in Tract Zabim).

"There is no difference between a leprous person," etc. But in regard to sending him away outside of the assembly and in respect to defilement they are both equal (as will be explained in Tract Negaim).

"There is no difference between the Holy Books," etc. But to sew it with dried veins of a clean animal and to make unclean the hand (see Appendix, Sabbath) both are equal.

"May be written in any language." There is a contradiction to the following Boraitha: If one wrote a Targum instead of portions of the Holy Book (in the original); or, vice versa, if he wrote the translation in characters of the original, and also if he wrote it not in Assyrian but ancient Hebrew (square) characters, it is not holy to make unclean the hand, until it should be written in Assyrian characters, in a book and with ink (and there it has been said the Holy Books can be written in all languages). It presents no difficulty: the Boraitha meant, not Holy Books, but the Thephilin and Mezuzoth, and the Mishna means Scripture. What is the reason that Thephilin and Mezuzoth if written in another tongue are not holy? Because it is written [Deut. 6:8]: "They shall be as frontlets between thy eyes." They shall be as originally.

What is meant, if the Targum was written in the original characters? If in the Torah, it is right. The words "Yegar Sahadutha" [Gen. 31:47] are Aramaic; but what Aramaic words are in the Thephilin? Therefore we must answer the contradiction thus: The Boraitha refers to the Book of Esther. Why must it not be written in other languages? Because it is written [Esther, 8:9]: "According to their writing, and according to their language." But what Aramaic words are in the Book of Esther? Said R. Papa [in Chapter I., verse 20], "The king's decree" (Pithgam), which is not a Hebrew word, but Aramaic. R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak said [ibid., ibid.]: The last word, "will show respect" (Yekar), is not Hebrew. R. Ashi, however, said: That the Boraitha means, not the Holy Scrolls (Pentateuch), but the Prophets and Hagiographa. And this is in accordance with R. Jehudah of the following Boraitha: Thephilin and Mezuzoth must be written only in Assyrian characters; and our sages have not allowed they shall be written in any language, only in Greek. And in addition to this Boraitha it is stated: Said R. Jehudah: The sages allowed to write in Greek only the Pentateuch, but not anything else. And this was also allowed only because of what occurred with Ptolemy the king, as follows: It happened to Ptolemy the king that he took seventy-two elders from Jerusalem, and placed them in seventy-two separate chambers, and did not inform them to what purpose he had brought them. And afterward he entered to each of them, and said to them: Translate me the Torah of Moses from memory. And the Holy One, blessed be He, sent into the heart of each of them a counsel, and they all agreed to have one mind, and changed as follows: Instead of "In the beginning God created the world," they wrote, "God created the world in the beginning"; instead of Gen. i. 26 they wrote, "I will make a man in an image"; instead of Gen. 2:2 they wrote, "And God finished on the sixth day, and rested on the seventh day"; instead of Gen. 5:2 they wrote, "created him"; instead of Gen. xi. 7 they wrote, "Let me go down"; [18:12]: "And Sarah laughed among her relatives"; instead of xlix. 6, "In their anger they slew an ox, and their self-will lamed a fattened ox." And instead of Ex. 4:20, "Set them on a porter (man-carrier)"; instead of ibid. 12:40, "Dwelt in Egypt and in other lands"; and ibid. xxiv. as ibid., "Against the respectable men of Israel." Instead of Num. 16:15, "Not one precious thing I took away"; and instead of Deut. iv. 19 they wrote, "assigned to light for all nations"; instead of ibid. 17:3, "which I have not commanded to worship"; and instead of Lev. 11:6, "the hare," which is expressed in the Bible "Arnebeth," as Ptolemy's wife was named so they wrote, "and the beast that has small feet."

"Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel says," etc. Said R. Abahu in the name of R. Johanan: The Halakha prevails according to R. Simeon b. Gamaliel. And he says again: What is the reason of R. Simeon b. Gamaliel? Because it is written [Gen. 9:27]: "May God enlarge the boundaries of Japheth, and may he dwell in the tents of Shem." That means to say, the most beautiful thing which Japheth has--that is, the Greek language--shall dwell in the tents of Shem.

"There is no difference between a high-priest," etc. But in respect to the bullock of the Day of Atonement, and the tenth of an ephah, which the high-priest must bring, both are equal.

"There is no difference between Shiloh and Jerusalem." Said R. Itz'hak: I have heard that one may sacrifice in the Temple of Honin in Egypt, even at this time. He holds that the Temple of Honin is not a temple for idolatry, but for God, and also that the sanctitude of Jerusalem was only while the Temple existed, but is not so for the future, since its destruction. As it is written [Deut. 12:9]: "For ye are not as yet come to the rest and to the inheritance." "To the rest," i.e., the Tabernacle of Shiloh; "to the inheritance," i.e., the Temple of Jerusalem: and we see that the Tabernacle of Shiloh is compared to the Temple of Jerusalem, as Shiloh, after the Tabernacle was destroyed, ceased to be holy, and it was lawful to sacrifice elsewhere, the same was with Jerusalem. The sages then said to R. Itz'hak: Do you say so? And he answered: No. Said Rabha: I swear by God that he has said so, and I have learned it from him. But what is the reason that he himself receded from this? Because R. Mari objected to this, from a Boraitha which states that the sanctitude of Shiloh was gone after the Tabernacle was destroyed, but of Jerusalem the sanctitude was not gone even after the Temple's destruction.

It is written: "And it came to pass in the days of Ahasuerus." R. Levi, according to others R. Jonathan, said: This is a tradition among us from our ancestors--the men of the Great Assembly--that wherever it is written ויהי (it came to pass), was some disaster. Here there was Haman. In Ruth: "And it came to pass in the days of the judges." There was hunger. Genesis, vi. 1: "And it came to pass when men began to multiply," and soon after is written: "And God saw that the wickedness of man was great"; [ibid. 11:2]: "And it came to pass as they journeyed toward the east." And there was the dispersion. And ibid. xiv. 1. "And it came to pass in the days of Amrophel." There was a war. In Joshua, 5:13: "It came to pass when Joshua was by Jericho," it is written he saw a man with a drawn sword in his hand; ibid. 6:27: "And the Lord was with Joshua" (the Hebrew expression is the same); and soon it is written: "And the children of Israel committed a trespass"; I Samuel: "There was a certain man"; and afterward it is written: "Hannah he loved, but the Lord had shut her womb." Ibid. 8:1: "It came to pass when Samuel was old." His sons walked not in his way. Ibid. 18:14: "And David was successful in all his ways," and soon comes: "Saul was in dread of him." II Samuel, vii. 1: "And it came to pass when the king dwelt in his house." And he was not allowed to build the Temple. But is it not written [Gen. 29:16]: "When Jacob saw Rachel," and in Genesis [1:5]: "And it was evening, and it was morning, the first day"--and so in many other instances, and no disaster happened? Wherever it is said, "it came to pass," there may or may not be a calamity; but whenever it is said, "and it came to pass in the days," there surely happened a misfortune. There are five expressions, "it came to pass in the days"; viz., in the days of Ahasuerus, the judges, Amrophel, Ahaz [Is. vii.], and Yoiakim [Jerem. i.], and in all instances there were troubles.

R. Levi says again: We have a tradition from our ancestors that Amuz and Amaziah were brothers. What does he come to teach us? It is similar to what R. Samuel b. Nahmani said in the name of R. Jonathan: A bride who is chaste in the house of her husband's parents deserves that kings and prophets should descend from her, and this we infer from Tamar, as it is written [Gen. 38:15]: "And Judah saw her and thought her to be a harlot, because she had covered her face." Because she had covered her face he took her for a harlot? That means, she had covered her face when she had been in his house, so that he did not know her. Therefore she was rewarded that from her descended kings and prophets--kings from David; and prophets, as R. Levi said above. Amuz and Amaziah were brothers, and Isaiah the son of Amuz was a prophet.

R. Jonathan, when he came to lecture about the Book of Esther, began with this passage [Is. 14:22]: "I will rise up against them," etc., "and I will cut from Babylon name and remnant, and son and grandson, saith the Lord." Name, i.e., they will not have their own writing; "remnant," they will not have their own language; "son," they will not have any kingdom; "grandchild," that means Vashti.

R. Simeon b. Nahmani, when he came to lecture, began his lecture with the passage [Is. 55:13]: "Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir-tree, and instead of the nettle shall come up the myrtle." "Instead of the thorn," i.e., instead of Haman the wicked, who made himself an idol, as it is written [ibid. 7:19]. "All thorn-hedges"; "shall come up the fir-tree," i.e., Mordecai, who was the essence to all the spices, as it is written [Ex. 30:23]: "And thou, take unto thyself principal spices, of pure myrrh"--this is translated in the Aramaic Mor-decai; "instead of the nettle," i.e., Vashti the wicked, who was granddaughter of Nebuchadnezzar the wicked, who had burnt the house of God, shall rise Esther the upright, who was called Hadassa (Myrtle), as it is written: "And he had brought up Hadassah--that is, Esther" [Esther, 2:7]; "And it shall be unto the Lord for a name," i.e., the reading of the Megilla; "for a sign of everlasting that shall not be cut off," i.e., the Days of Purim.

R. Joshua b. Levi began his lecture from this passage [Deut. xxviii. 63]: "And it shall come to pass that as the Lord rejoiced over you to do you good, and to multiply you, so will the Lord rejoice over you to bring you to nought, and to destroy you." Let us see. Does the, Holy One, blessed be He, rejoice when the wicked are in misfortune? It is written [2 Chron. 20:21]: "As they went out before the armed array, and said: Give thanks unto the Lord. for unto everlasting endureth his kindness." Said R. Johanan: Why is it not here said, as usually, "for He is good"? Because the Holy One, blessed be He, rejoices not at the misfortunes of the wicked. And R. Johanan said again: It is written [Ex. 14:20]: "And the one came not unto the other all the night." That means, the angels of heaven wanted to sing the usual song, and the Holy One, blessed be He, said to them: My creatures are drowning in the sea, and you want to sing songs! Said R. Elazar: He Himself does not rejoice, but He makes others rejoice. And it seems to be so, because it is not written: "As he rejoiced," etc., "so will he rejoice" (others). 1

R. Abba bar Kahana began his lecture with this passage [Ecc. 2:26]: "For to a man who is good in His presence He giveth wisdom and knowledge and joy"--this means Mordecai the Upright; "but to the sinner he giveth employment to gather up and to bring together"--that means Haman; "that he may give it to him that is good before God," i.e., Mordecai and Esther, as it is written afterward [Esther, 8:2]: "And Esther appointed Mordecai over the house of Haman."

Rabba bar Upbron began his lecture with the following passage [Jerem. 49:38]: "And I will set up my throne in Elam, and I will destroy thence kings and princes." By kings is meant Vashti, and by princes Haman and his ten sons.

And R. Dimi b. Itz'hak begins to lecture from this passage [Ezra, 9:9]: "For we are bondmen; yet in our bondage hath our God not forsaken us, but hath extended unto us kindness before the kings of Persia." And that was in the time of Mordecai.

R. Hanina bar Papa begins his lecture from this passage [Ps. 66:12]: "Thou hast caused men to ride on our heads: we entered into fire and into water." "Into fire," in the time of Nebuchadnezzar; "into water," in the time of Pharaoh. "But thou broughtest us to the enjoyment of overflowing plenty." That was in the time of Haman.

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R. Johanan began his lecture from this passage [Ps. 98:3]: "He hath remembered his kindness and his truth to the house of Israel: all the ends of the earth have seen the salvation of our God." When did all the ends of the earth see it? In the time of Mordecai and Esther.

Resh Lakish began his lecture with this passage [Prov. 28:15]: "As a roaring lion and greedy hear, so is a wicked ruler over an indigent people." "The roaring lion"--that is, "Nebuchadnezzar, as it is written [Jeremiah, 4:7]: "The lion is come up from his thicket." "A greedy bear" is Ahasuerus, about whom it is written [Daniel, 7:5]: "And behold, there was another, a second beast, like a bear." An d R. Joseph said: The Persians are meant, who eat and drink like a bear, and are corpulent like a bear, and let their hair grow like a bear, and have no repose, like a bear. "Wicked ruler," i.e., Haman; "indigent people," i.e., Israel, who are poor in merits.

"R. Elazar begins his lecture with this passage [Ecc. 10:18]: "Through slothful hands the rafters will sink, and through idleness of the hands the house will become leaky." That means to say, because Israel became idle, and did not observe the Law, the enemy of the Holy One, blessed be He (meaning Him), becomes sunk, i.e., poor.

R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak begins his lecture with this passage [Ps. 24:2]. "If it had not been the Lord who was for us, when men rose up against us." Men, and not a king (that is Haman).

Rabha begins his lecture with [Prov. 29:2]: "When the righteous are in authority, the people will rejoice; but when the wicked beareth rule, the people groan." When the righteous rule, i.e., Mordecai and Esther, the people rejoice, as it is written [Esther, 8:15]: "And the city of Shushan was glad and joyful." And when the wicked rule, i.e., Haman, the people groan, as it is written [ibid. 4:15]: "But the city of Shushan was perplexed."

R. Mathna begins with the following passage [Deut. 4:7]: "For what great nation is there that hath God so nigh unto it?"

R. Ashi begins with the following passage [ibid., ibid. 34]: "Or hath God essayed to go to take to himself a nation from the midst of a nation?" (What they lectured is not written.)

"And it came to pass in the time of Ahasuerus." Said Rabh: Woe! woe! This is what is written [ibid. xxviii. 68]: "And there ye will offer yourselves for sale unto your enemies for bondmen and bondwomen without anyone to buy you." Samuel said: It is written [Lev. 26:44]: "I will not cast them away, neither will I loathe them, to destroy them utterly." I have not cast them away--in the times of the Greek, and I have not loathed them--in the time of Nebuchadnezzar; "to destroy them"--in the time of Haman; "to break my covenant with them"--in the time of the Persians; "for I am the Lord their God"--in the time of Gog and Magog. A Boraitha stated: "I will not cast away"--in the times of the Chaldeans, as in that time I raised for them Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah; and have not loathed men in the times of the Greeks, when I gave them Simeon the Upright and the Maccabees; "to destroy them"--in the time of Haman I gave them Mordecai and Esther; "to break my covenant"--in the time of Rome I gave them the House of Rabbi and the sages of that generation; "for I am the Lord their God"--in the future no nation or tongue will dominate over them.

R. Levi said: From this verse [Num. 33:55], and R. Hyya from ibid. 56. (What they lectured is unknown.)

"Ahasuerus." Said Rabh: He was the brother of a head 1 and the companion of a head. "The brother of a head," i.e., brother of Nebuchadnezzar the wicked, who was called "head," as it is written [Daniel, 2:38]: "Thou art the head of gold." "And the companion of a head"--what Nebuchadnezzar did, he intended to do. Nebuchadnezzar killed, he intended; Nebuchadnezzar destroyed, he had the intention. As it is written [Ezra, iv.]: "In the beginning of the reign of Ahasuerus, they wrote slanders on the inhabitants of Judea and Jerusalem." Samuel said: Ahasuerus signifies "black," i.e., in his time the faces of the Jews were black as the bottoms of pots. R. Johanan says: Ahasuerus signifies "woe to his head" (ah, rosh); and R. Hanina says it signifies "poor" (rash)--his taxes were so heavy that men became poor.

It is written [Esther, 1:1]: "The same Ahasuerus"--he was the same in his wickedness from beginning to end. (Similarly) it is written [in Gen. 36:43]: "This is Esau," i.e., the same in wickedness from beginning to end; and [Num. 26:9]: "These are Dathan and Abiram," i.e., they were the same in wickedness always; and [II Chron. 28:22]: "He, King Ahaz," i.e., the same in wickedness always; and on the contrary, also [1 Chron. 1:27]: "Abram--the same is Abraham," i.e., Abraham was the same in his righteousness from beginning to end; [Ex. 6:26]: "These are Aaron and Moses," i.e., were the same in righteousness from beginning to end; [I Samuel, 17:14]: "And David was the youngest," that means, he was as in his youth from beginning to end: as in his youth he humbled himself before one greater than be, so also when he was a king he was modest before a man superior to him in wisdom.

"Who reigned." Said Rabh: He was a self-made king. Some say, it was in his praise, there was none so fit to be a king as he; and some say it is to his disgrace--he was not fit to be a king, but he had much money, and the money made him king. The rabbis taught: Three kings reigned over the whole world--Ahab, Ahasuerus, and Nebuchadnezzar. Ahab, as it is written [I Kings, xviii. 10]: "As the Lord thy God liveth . . . he caused that kingdom and nation to take an oath . . ."; and if they would not be under his dominion, how could he cause them to take an oath? Nebuchadnezzar, as it is written [Jerem. 27:8]: "And it will come to pass that the nation or kingdom which shall not serve Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, and not place its neck under the yoke of the king of Babylonia." Ahasuerus, as stated in Sanhedrin, was king of the whole world. Are these all? Was not Solomon also king of the whole world? Solomon was not a king to the end of his life.

This is right, according to those who hold he was first a king and then a common man; but according to those who say he was a king, a common man, and then again a king, what can be said? Solomon is different. He reigned over the beings above 1 and below, as it is written [I Chron. 29:23]: "Solomon sat on the throne of the Lord." (He is not reckoned with them.) But there is Sennacherib? As it is written [Is. 36:19]: "Which of all the gods of the lands have saved their countries from my hand?" There was Jerusalem, which was not subject to him. But there is Darius? As it is written [Dan. vi. 26]: "Darius the king wrote to all peoples, nations, and tongues that live on the whole earth: Your peace shall be great." There were seven countries not under his dominion; as it is written [ibid. 2]: "It pleased Darius, and he raised over his kingdom 120 satraps" (while Ahasuerus reigned over 127). But there is Cyrus? As it is written [Ezra, 1.]: "So said Cyrus, king of Persia: All the kingdoms of the earth the Lord hath given unto me." He only vaunted.

"When the king sat," and, "in the third year of his reign." That is a contradiction? Nay, it is when be became firmly seated on the throne.

R. Na'hman b. Hisda lectured: It is written [Is. 45:7]: "Thus hath said the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, 'Whom I have taken hold of by his right hand.'" Was then Cyrus a Messiah? It is meant that God had said to Messiah: I complain of Cyrus; I have thought he would build my House, and gather all my people that were in exile, and he only says [Ezra, 1:3]: "Whoever among you that is of all his people, may his God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem" [but did not command all to return].

It is written in the first chapter: "The army of Persia and Media"; and [10:2] "The kings of Media and Persia." Why is Media here mentioned first, and in the other verse Persia? Said Rabha: They made this agreement between them: When one of our nation will be king, the governors will be of your nation, and vice versa; [ibid. 1:5]: "And when these days were completed." Rabh and Samuel say, one that he was a wise king, and the other that he was a foolish king. One says he was a wise king, because he made the feast first for the remote subjects, because for his townsmen he could make it at any time; and the other says he was a fool, for he should have made it first for his townsmen, so that if those would rebel, these at least would defend him.

The disciples of R. Simeon b. Yochi asked their Master: By what sins had the Israelites incurred the decree of Haman in that age? Answered he: What is your opinion? They said: Because they enjoyed the feast which Ahasuerus the wicked man made. If so, only those of Shushan should have suffered. Why did those of all provinces? They said to him: Let the Master explain. So he answered: Because they kneeled to the image. Said the disciples to him: If so, they were guilty, and why were they not killed? And he answered: They bowed to the image not because they wanted, but only for appearance; so the decree against them was also for appearance not carried out. And this is what is written [Lam. 3:33]: "He doth not afflict of his own will."

"In the court of the garden of the king's palace." Rabh and Samuel--one says every one was placed in the place be fitted: the court, garden, and king's palace; and one says he first tried to place them in the court, and it could not contain them; he then placed them in the garden, and it also could not contain them, until he placed them in the king's palace. A Boraitha, however, states that he placed them in the court from which two doors opened, one into the garden and another into the palace.

"And the royal wine was in abundance" [Esther, 1:7]. Said Rabh: We infer from this that he gave to each to drink wine that was older than he.

"And the drinking was according to the order" [ibid. 8]. What is meant by "according to the order"? R. Hanan said in the name of R. Meir: It was according to the order of our Torah. As in our Law eating precedes drinking, so he gave more to eat than to drink.

"Without compulsion." Says R. Elazar: From this it can be learned that to each was given to drink wine that grew in his country.

"On the seventh day, when the heart of the king was merry with wine." And till then, what did he do? Was he not till then merry with wine? Said Rabha: The seventh day was Sabbath. When Israelites eat and drink on Sabbath, they begin with sayings of the Law and praises to God; but the nations, when they feast, speak about women. These said the Medians are beautiful, and those said the Persian women are more fair. And Ahasuerus said to them: The one that I have is neither Median nor Persian, but Chaldean, and she is fairer than they all; and if you wish you can see her. They said: Yea, we wish to see her, but she must be naked. And the same measure which one uses, is used against one: as Vashti used to take Israelite maidens, and make them work nude, on Sabbath, so also it was decreed that she should be brought nude. And this is what is written [Esther, 2:1]: "After these events, as the king's fury was appeased, he remembered Vashti, and what she had done, and what had been decreed concerning her"; i.e., the decree had been the same as what she had done. "And the king was very wroth." What was the cause? Said Rabh: She sent to him this message: "Thou groom of my father, my father used to drink wine as a thousand persons, and never had he committed such follies when he was drunk as thou." And therefore he was so wroth.

"Then said Memuchan." We have learned in a Boraitha: Memuchan was Haman. Why was he called Memuchan? Because he was destined 1 for the troubles that befell him afterwards. R. Kahana said: From this we see that usually an ignorant man comes forward first (as he is mentioned last in verse 14).

"That every man should bear rule in his own house." Said Rabha: But for the first letters, there would have been left no remnant of Israel; because the men laughed at such a decree, that every man should rule in his own house. For even a tanner is in his own house a prince, and therefore they did not pay so much attention to the second decree in the later letters.

"And let the king appoint officers." Said Rabh: It is written [Prov. 13:16]: "Every prudent man acteth with knowledge, but a fool spreadeth abroad his folly." "Every prudent man acteth with knowledge"--that was David, as it is written [1 Kings, 1:2]: "Wherefore his servants said unto him, Let them seek out for my lord the king a young virgin." Everyone who had a daughter, brought her himself to the king. "But a fool spreadeth abroad his folly," i.e., Ahasuerus, who had to appoint officers, for whoso had a beautiful daughter hid her from him,

"There was a certain Jew in Shushan the capital a Benjamite." What is meant by "he was a Benjamite? If it is meant to give his genealogy, let it have been traced to Benjamin; otherwise, why were the first three of his ancestors mentioned? In a Boraitha it is explained that all the three names are not those of his ancestors, but are his own. The son of Yair, i.e., the man who made the eyes of the Jews light 1 with his prayer; the son of Shimi, the man whose prayer God heard; 1 the son of Kish, i.e., the man who knocked on the gates of Mercy, and they were opened to him. 1 Said R. Na'hman: Mordecai was crowned with these fair names. It is written, "a Judean man," and then, "a Benjamite." Which was he? Said Rabba bar bar Hana in the name of R. Joshua b. Levi: His father was a Benjamite and his mother was a Judean. The sages, however, said: The tribes disputed with each other. Judah said: Through me Mordecai was born, for if David bad killed Shimi b. Gera, he could not have been born; and Benjamin said, he belongs to me, because he is of my tribe. Rabha says: On the contrary, the Kneseth (congregation) of Israel said: See what Jehudah did to me, and see what the Benjamites have done to me: Judah, because David did not kill Shimi, made possible the birth of Mordecai, of whom Haman became jealous; and because Saul had not killed Agag was born Haman, who caused troubles to Israel.

R. Johanan said: He was a Benjamite. Why is he called a Judean? Because he did not want to worship idols, and every Israelite who rejects idols is called a Judean, as it is written in Daniel 10:12: "There are certain Judean men," etc. "Thy gods they do not worship."

R. Simeon b. Pazzi, when he wanted to lecture about Chronicles, began thus: All the names which are mentioned in the Chronicles without any explanation, we are nevertheless able to explain them. It is written [I Chronicles, 4:18]: "And his wife the Judean bore Jered the father of Gedor, and Cheber the father of Socho, and Jekuthiel the father of Zanoach. And there are the sons of Bithya the daughter of Pharaoh, whom Mered had taken (for wife)." Why was she called "the Judean"? Because she denied idolatry, as it is written [Ex. 2:5]: "And the daughter of Pharaoh went down to wash herself at the river." And R. Johanan said: She went to cleanse herself of the idolatries of her father's house.

"Bore Jered." Did she bear him--she only reared him? From this we may infer that whoso rears an orphan is the same as if she bore him. Jered--that is, Moses. Why is he called Jered? Because in his day manna descended 1 from heaven to Israel. "Gedor," 1 i.e., he fenced up the breaches of Israel. "Cheber," 1 i.e., he joined the Israelites to their Heavenly Father. "Socho" 1--he was to Israel as a tabernacle (protection). "Jekuthiel"--the Israelites hoped to God in his days. 2 Zanoach," i.e., he abandoned or atoned for the sins of Israel in his days. It is written three times "Abi" (father), i.e., he was the father of Torah, the father of Wisdom, and the father of Prophets. And these are the sons of Bithya the daughter of Pharaoh, whom Meret had taken. Was, then, his name Meret-

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-it is known that his name was Kaleb? The Holy One, blessed be He, said: "Kaleb, who rebelled 2 against the advice of the spies, shall take the daughter of Pharaoh, who had rebelled against the idolatries of her father."

"Who had been carried away into exile from Jerusalem" [2:6]. Said Rabha: He had not been exiled, but came by his own will.

"And he had brought up Hadassah." Is she called Hadassah and called Esther? We have learned in a Boraitha, R. Meir said: Her right name was Esther, but she was called Hadassah, because the upright are called thus, as it is written [Zechariah, 1:8]: "He was standing among the myrtle-trees." R. Jehudah said: Her right name was Hadassa. Why was she called Esther? Because she concealed 2 her words, as it is written [2:10]: "Esther told nothing." R. Nehemiah said: Her right name was Hadassah. Why was she called Esther? Because the nations called her for her beauty "star". B. Azzai said: Esther was not tall or short, but of moderate size, like a myrtle. R. Joshua b. Kar'ha said: Esther's complexion was yellow, but she had grace.

"For she had neither father nor mother. And when her father and mother were dead, Mordecai had taken her to himself as a daughter." Why this superfluous repetition? Said R. Aha: To tell us that when the mother became pregnant her father died, and when she was born the mother died.

"And the seven maidens who were selected to be given to her" [ibid. 9]. Says Rabha: By them she counted the days to know when Sabbath was.

"In the evening she went and in the morning she returned" [ibid. 14]. Said R. Johanan: Among the blameworthy actions of that wicked man, it can be said in his praise that he had intercourse with women only by night.

"And Esther found favour" [15]. Said R. Elazar: Every nation thought her to belong to itself.

"And the king made a great feast" [ibid. 18]. And Esther still did not tell her nation; he lightened the taxes of all nations, and she did not tell; he sent presents to his governors, and she still did not tell; so he asked the advice of Mordecai how to discover it; and he told him that a woman becomes jealous only of another woman, and when he will take other women she will tell (as a favour to him). But this availed not either, as it is written: "And Esther had not yet told of her descent or her people."

R. Elazar said: It is written [Job, 36:7]: "He withdraweth not his eyes from the righteous." In reward of the modesty of Rachel, King Saul descended from her; and in reward of Saul's modesty Esther descended from him. Wherein was Rachel modest? It is written [Gen. 29:12]: "And Jacob told Rachel that he was her father's brother." Was he her father's brother? He was the son of her father's sister! That means, he asked her: Will you marry me? And she answered: Yes, but my father is a trickster, and he will deceive you. To this he answered: I am his brother in trickery. And she asked him: May an upright man do it? And he answered: Yea, it is written in "Samuel, 22:27: "With the pure thou wilt show thyself pure, and with the perverse thou wilt wage a contest." And he asked Rachel: How can he cheat me? And she replied: I have an elder sister, and he will not let me marry before her. So he confided to her some signs by which to distinguish her. And when Leah was brought in her stead, Rachel said: My sister will be put to shame. So she confided to her the signs. And this is what is written: "And it came to pass that in the morning, Behold, it is Leah." That means, till the morning he knew it not. And therefore she was rewarded by Saul's being descended from her.

And what was Saul's modesty? It is written [2 Sam. 10:16]: "Of the matter of the kingdom, whereof Samuel had spoken, he told him not." For this he was rewarded by Esther's being descended from him. R. Elazar said again: When the Holy One, blessed be He, decrees greatness for a man, it is for him and his descendants to the end of ages; as it is written [Job, 36:7]: "He doth establish them forever, and they are exalted." But if they become proud, he humbles them, as it is written [ibid. 8.]: "If they be bound in fetters."

"In those days, while Mordecai was sitting in the king's gate, Bigthan and Theresh . . . became wroth" [Esther, 2:21]. Said R. Hyya bar Abba in the name of R. Johanan: The Lord makes the masters wroth against their servants, in order to do good to the upright; as it was in the case of Joseph, as it is written [Gen. 41:12]: "And there was with us a Hebrew lad," etc. And he makes slaves wroth against their masters, to perform a miracle for the good of the upright. And who is it? Mordecai, as it is written: "And the thing became known to Mordecai." R. Johanan said Bigthan and Theresh were Tarsees, and spoke their own language, and said among themselves: "Since Esther has come into the court, we know no sleep. Therefore let us put poison into the king's drink, in order that he should die." And they knew not that Mordecai was of the Great Sanhedrin, every one of whom knew seventy languages. Then Bigthan said to Theresh: Our watches are not the same. He answered: I will watch for you too (and say you are sick). "And the thing was inquired into, and found true." What was found? That he had not been at his post.

"After these events" [ibid. 3:1]. What events? Said Rabha: After the Holy One, blessed be He, had created a cure to their woe. Because Resh Lakish said: The Holy One, blessed be He, afflicts not Israel before He has prepared the cure for them in advance. As it is written [Hosea, 8.]: "Should I desire to heal Israel, then would the iniquity of Ephraim be laid open." But with idolatrous nations it is different. First He smites them, then He heals them, as it is written [Is. 19:12]: "And the Lord will thus strike Egypt, striking and healing."

"But it appeared too contemptible in his eyes to lay his hand on Mordecai alone" [6]. Said Rabha: In the beginning he wanted to lay hand on Mordecai alone, and later on the people of Mordecai, i.e., the scholars, and later on all the Jews.

"Some one cast the Tur, that is the lot". We have learned in a Boraitha: When the lots fell on the month of Adar, Haman rejoiced very much, for he said: It is the month in which Moses died. But he did not know that on the 7th of Adar Moses had died, and also had been born.

"There is one people" [ibid. 8]. Said Rabha: There was no man who could calumniate so well as Haman. He said to the king: Let them be destroyed. And he answered: I am afraid of their God, lest he act toward me as toward others that did evil to Israel. Then Haman replied: They no longer observe their God's commandments. Then the king said: But there are among them rabbis, who observe them. Then he rejoined: They are one people, all are the same, no one observes. And if thou shouldst think I shall leave a void in thy kingdom, thou must know that they are scattered among all nations, and their extermination will not be perceptible. And perhaps thou wilt say, thou derivest a benefit from them. Know that they are like mules, 1 that are unproductive. And if thou shouldst imagine there is one country in which they dwell together, know that they are scattered in all the provinces of thy kingdom.

"And their laws are different from those of every people," i.e., they do not eat with us, and do not intermarry with us.

"They do not execute the laws of the king." The whole year they find excuses not to give the taxes, saying: Now is Sabbath, now is Passover.

"It is no profit for the king to tolerate them." Because they eat and drink in a manner to disgrace the king, for if a fly fall into a goblet of wine, they will take it out and drink it; but if the king should touch the goblet of wine, they will pour it Out.

"If it be pleasing to the king, let it be written to destroy them, and ten thousand talents of silver will I weigh out. Said: Resh Lakish: It was known to Him who said one word, and the world was created, that in the future Haman would give talents of silver to buy Israel. Therefore He had commanded that in the same month they should give Shekalim of silver to the Lord, as we have learned in a Mishna that on the first day of Adar it was heralded that the Shekalim be given. And the king said to Haman: The silver is given to thee; that people also, to do therewith as it seemeth good in thy eyes.

Said R. Abba: The parable of Ahasuerus and Haman resembles what? Two men, one of whom had a hillock in his field and the other a valley (or pit); he who had the valley, when he saw the hillock, said: If one would sell it to me, I would buy it to fill tip the valley. Then it happened they met, and he who had the valley said: Sell me the hill. And he answered: Take it for nothing, so that you remove it. (So Ahasuerus also had wanted to get rid of the Israelites, and when Haman came to him he gave them away for nothing.)

"And the king drew his signet ring from off his hand." Said R. Abba bar Kahana: The removal of this ring had a greater effect than forty-eight prophets and seven prophetesses, who preached that Israel should better its ways; but this made them really better.

The rabbis taught: Forty-eight prophets and seven prophetesses preached to Israel, and subtracted or added nothing, save the reading of the Megilla, which was instituted by the prophets alone. What basis had they for that? Said R. Hyya bar Abbin in the name of R. Joshua b. Kar'ha: They drew an a fortiori conclusion: if when Israel was delivered from slavery to freedom they sang, so much the more when they were saved from death to life. Why, then, do we not say Hallel on Purim? Because we do not say Hallel for the miracles that happened outside of Palestine. But the exodus from Egypt was also a miracle outside of Palestine? This is in accordance with the teaching of the following Boraitha: Till Israel entered Canaan, they said praises for all miracles, but since they occupied Palestine they sang praise only for miracles in Palestine. R. Na'hman, however, said: The reading of the Megilla, that is the same as Hallel. Rabha said: There, when they went out of Egypt, it was right to say Hallel, because it is said: "Praise, O ye servants of the Lord," and not Pharaoh's; but now, how could they say so on Purim, since they continued to be slaves of Ahasuerus? Who were the seven prophetesses? Sarah, Miriam, Deborah, Hannah, Abigail, Huldah, Esther.

Sarah, as it is written [Gen. 11:29]: "The father of Milcah and the father of Yiscah." And R. Itz'hak said: By Yiscah is meant Sarah. Why was she called Yiscah? Because that signifies seeing, and she was a seer through the Holy Spirit. Miriam, as it is written [Ex. 15:26]: "Then took Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron." Aaron's, and not Moses' sister? Said R. Na'hman in the name of Rabh: She had prophesied even when she had been yet but Aaron's sister, before Moses' birth, and she said: In the future my mother will give birth to a child that will deliver the Israelites. Finally, when Moses was born, the whole house was filled with light. And her father rose, and kissed her on her head, and said: Daughter, thy prophecy is fulfilled. Afterward, when he was cast into the river, the father asked: Daughter, what has become of thy prophecy? And this is what is written [ibid. 2:4]: "And his sister placed herself afar off, to ascertain what would be done to him," i.e., to know what would be the end of her prophecy.

Deborah, as it is written [Judges, 9:4]: "And Deborah, a prophetess."

Hannah, as it is written [1 Sam. 2:1]: "And Hannah prayed and said, My heart is glad in the Lord, my horn is exalted through the Lord." My horn is exalted, and not my flask. David and Solomon, who were anointed with the horn, their dynasty endured; but Saul and Jehu, who were anointed with a flask, their dynasties did not last.

"There is none holy like the Lord, for there is none beside thee" . . . . . blessed be He: a human being is survived by his own work, but God survives all His works.

"There is not any rock like our God," i.e., there is no sculptor like our God. . . . . Abigail, as it is written [1 Sam. 25:31]: "And when the Lord will do good unto my lord." She prophesied that he would be king.

Huldah, as it is said [2 Kings, 22:14]: "Huldah the prophetess."

And Esther, because it is written [Esther, 5:7]: "Esther put on royalty." It should be written, "royal apparel"? That means, she clothed herself in the Holy Spirit, and this is inferred from an analogy of expression; here it is written, "she put on," and in 1 Chron. 12:18, "a spirit invested Amassoi." As there the Holy Spirit is meant, so here.

Said R. Na'hman: Pride does not become women. Two women were proud, and they both had unlovely names: one was called Bee (Deborah) and one Cat (Huldah). Of Deborah it is written [Judges, 4:6]: "And she sent and called Barak and went not herself"; and of Huldah it is said [2 Kings, 22:15]: "Say unto the man that hath sent you to me"; and she did not say, "unto the king."

"And Mordecai ascertained all that had been done" [Esther, 4:1]. What had been done? Said Rabh: That Haman had persuaded Ahasuerus.

"Then called Esther for Hathach Said Rabh: Hathach is Daniel. Why was he called Hathach? Because he was cut from, or deprived of, his office. Samuel says: On the contrary, he had the office, but he was called Hathach because all laws were decided by him.

"And they told Mordecai the words of Esther". But he went not himself to her? From this is inferred that an evil tiding must not be brought personally.

"And Mordecai went about". Said Rabh: What is meant by "went about"? He transgressed by fasting on the first day of Passover; he fasted three days, and the third was Pesach. And Samuel says: It means "he passed." There was a piece of water between the court and Shushan, and he crossed it.

"And it came to pass on the third day that Esther put on royalty" [4:1]. Said R. Elazar in the name of R. Hanina: From this we infer that she clothed herself in the Holy Spirit, as explained above.

The same says again: The blessing of a common man shall never be held light, because we find that two who were the greatest in their generations were blessed by two common men, and the blessings have been fulfilled, and they are David and Daniel. David, whom Araunah blessed, as it is written [2 Samuel, 24:23]: "And Araunah said unto the king, may the Lord thy God receive thee favourably." And Daniel, whom Darius blessed, as it is written [Dan. vi. 17]: "May thy God, whom thou worshippest, continually, truly deliver thee." The same authority says again: Do not hold light the curse of a common man. For Abimelech cursed Sarah, saying [Gen. 20:16]: "This is to thee a covering to the eyes," and it happened to her children as is written: "And Isaac's eyes became dim" [Gen. 27:1]. The same says again: He who repeats something said by another, in that person's name, brings salvation to the world, as it is written: "And Esther said it to the queen in the name of Mordecai." And thus Israel was saved. He says again: When an upright man is lost, he is lost to his generation; but not he himself. He is like to a pearl, which may be lost to the owner, but is and remains a pearl.

"Yet all this profiteth me nothing" [5:13]. Said R. Elazar in the name of R. Hanina: That was because Mordecai once had a πρεσβυταί, and Haman had sold himself to him as a slave, as said R. Hisda. The same said again: In the future, the Holy One, blessed be He, will be Himself a crown on the head of every upright man, as it is written [Is. 28:5]: "On that day will the Lord of hosts be for a crown of glory and a diadem of beauty." What is meant by "a crown of glory and a diadem of beauty"? It is to those who do His will, and hope for His glory. But shall we assume, to all of them? Therefore it is written: "Unto the residue of his people." That means, to those who

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are so modest that they consider themselves like the remnant of the people.

"And for a spirit of judgement" [ibid. 6]. To those who judge their own resolutions. "To him that sitteth in judgement." It is the judge who does justice. "And for strength." It is to those who conquer their own desires. "To those that drive back the battle." That means, the disputing about the Law. "To the gate." That means, the scholars who come to the gate of the houses of prayer and learning in the morning and the evening. The Severity of justice said to the Holy One, blessed be He: Creator of the world, what is the difference between the Israelites and other nations? And He answered: Israel studied the Torah, and the idolaters did not. To this justice replied [ibid. 7]: "But these also are now stumbling through wine, and reeling through strong drink."

"And placed herself in the inner Court of the king's house" [Esther, 5:1]. Said R. Levi, as she came to the house of idols, the Shekhina left her; so she began to say [Ps. 22:2]: "'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' Canst thou hold guilty one who does a thing unintentionally as if she did it intentionally, and what she is forced to do as if she did it voluntarily?"

"And it happened when the king saw Esther the queen". Said R. Johanan: Three angels came to her help at the same time: one angel raised her head, that the king might see her; one, who gave her grace; and one who made longer the sceptre which the king stretched out to her. How much did it become longer? Says R. Jeremiah: It was two ells long, and became twelve ells long. And others say sixteen, and others say twenty-four; and in a Boraitha we have learned sixty. Rabba bar Uphran said in the name of R. Eliezer, who had heard it from his Master, and his Master from his Master: It became longer two hundred ells.

"Let the king and Haman come this day unto the banquet" [5:5]. The rabbis taught: Why did Esther invite Haman to the feast? R. Elazar says: She spread for him a net, as it is written [Ps. lxix. 23]: "May their table become a snare before them." R. Joshua says: She learned it in her father's house, as it is written [Prov. 25:21]: "If thy enemy be hungry, give him bread." R. Meir said that at the time when Ahasuerus would be at the feast, Haman should not get wind of the matter, and rebel. R. Jehudah said: She did it that it should not be noticed she was a Jewess. R. Nehemiah said: That the Israelites say not, We have a sister in the king's court. Therefore we need not pray to God. And R. Jose said: He should be near, if she wanted him. R. Simeon b. Menassia said: That He above should see that she was so humbled as to be forced to flatter her enemy, and should perform a miracle. R. Joshua b. Korba said: She meant to make herself agreeable to Haman, that the king might become jealous, and should kill both him and her, whereby Israel would be saved. R. Gamaliel said: Because she knew Ahasuerus was very fickle (and if she told him to kill Haman, he might repent; but if he should be in her house, it would be executed immediately). Said R. Gamaliel: After all, we must still hear what the Median has said. As we learn in the following Boraitha, R. Elazar of Media said: She had intended to make Haman jealous of Ahasuerus, and Ahasuerus jealous of Haman. Rabha said: As it is written [in Prov. 16:18]: "Before downfall goeth pride." Abayi and Rabha both said: She intended to do as is written [in Jeremiah, 51:39]: "When they are heated I will prepare their drinking feasts and will make them drunken." Rabba bar Abahu once found Elijah the prophet, and asked him: What did Esther intend to do? And he answered: As all the Tanaim and all the Amoraim opined.

"In that night sleep fled from the king". He thought, What could be the meaning of Esther's invitation of Haman? Perhaps they conspired against him to kill him? Then he considered that some friend of his would be found to inform him. But then he said: Perhaps there are men who have rendered me services, and I have not rewarded them. Therefore people do not care to do me a kindness. As soon as this struck him, he commanded to bring to him the Chronicles. "And they were read" by themselves; i.e., that place in the Chronicles turned up accidentally.

Said R. Ashi: R. Shila of the village Tamratha lectured: If what is recorded about Israelites below is not erased, so much the more what is written about them in Heaven above.

"There hath nothing been done with him". Says Rabha: They said so, not because they loved Mordecai, but because they hated Haman.

"Do this to Mordecai". And Haman asked: Who is Mordecai? And the king answered: The Jew. And he said again: There are many Jews by the name of Mordecai. And he answered: The one that sits at the gate of the king. He said: For this man it will suffice if thou wilt give him a village, or the tolls of a river. And the king said: Give him this too. Therefore it is written: "Leave out nothing of all that thou hast spoken." "And Haman then took the apparel and the horse". As Mordecai saw that Haman came to him on the royal horse, he trembled, and said to the rabbis who sat near him: This man probably comes with an order to put me to death. Go away from here, that you may not get harmed through me. Mordecai wrapped himself, and stood up to pray. When Haman entered, he sat down and waited till Mordecai ended the prayer. Then Haman asked Mordecai: What was your occupation when I entered? He replied: We studied the laws of a handful [Lev. 6:8]. We deliberated what a handful should be. Haman answered: Your handful, which you have offered to God, has outweighed the ten thousand talents that I had proposed to the king, for your destruction. Then said he to him: Put on the royal apparel and mount the horse, for the king wants you. Mordecai said: I must not put on the royal garments before I wash myself. Haman took him himself to the bath, and washed him, and cut his hair. Thereafter, he bade him mount the horse. He replied: I cannot; I am too weak from fasting. So Haman bent himself, and helped him to climb the horse, by letting him step on his back.

"And proclaimed before him: Thus shall be done unto the man," etc. Haman's daughter heard this, and saw from a distance a man riding on a horse. She thought her father sat on the horse, and Mordecai led him. When they came nearer, and she perceived her mistake, she threw herself from the balcony, and died. And this is what is written: "Haman hastened to his house, mourning, and having his head covered"--mourning over his daughter, and his head covered, because of the disgrace.

"And Haman related to Zeres his wife and to all his friends". And afterward it is written: "Then said unto him his wise men and Zeres his wife." First they are called friends, and then wise men? Said R. Johanan: A man even of the nations who says an intelligent thing may be called wise.

"If Mordecai be of the seed of the Judeans." They said: If Mordecai is descended from other tribes, you will get the better of him; but if he be descended from one of these tribes--Jehudah, Benjamin, Ephraim, Menasseh, then you cannot overcome him. From Jehudah because it is written [Gen. xlix. 8]: "Thy hand shall be on the neck of thy enemies"; and the other three, because it is written [Ps. 80:3]: "Before Ephraim, Benjamin, and Menasseh, awaken thy might."

"But thou wilt surely fall before him." R. Jehudah b. Ilai lectured: What is meant by "surely fall"? His wise men and wife said to him thus: This nation [Israel] resembles earth, and resembles stars; when they sink they sink to the dust, and when they rise they rise to the stars.

"When the king's chamberlains arrived" [Esther, 6:14]: "and they hastened." From this we infer that they brought him in a hurry,

"For we have been sold, I and my people . . . for the adversary regardeth not the damage of the king." She said to him: This enemy is not worth the damage he causes to the king: when he became jealous of Vashti, he killed her; and now he becomes jealous of me, and wants to kill me too.

"And the king arose in his fury . . . and when the king returned" [7:7, 8]. From this we may infer that as he had gone out in fury, so he returned in fury. "Haman was fallen upon the couch." It is not written "fell," but "was fallen," from which we may infer that an angel came and pushed him. And the king said: Woe inside, and woe outside!

"Then said Harbanah". Said R. Elazar: Harbanah the wicked had been among those who had given the advice to make a gallows for Mordecai; but as he saw his plan not fulfilled, he deserted Haman and went over to Mordecai's friends, and this is written [Job, 27:22]: "And will cast upon him, and have no pity; out of his hand will surely escape." "And the fury of the king was appeased"

It is written [Gen. 14:22]: "To all of them he gave to each changes of raiment; but to Benjamin he gave . . . five changes of raiment." Is it possible that what gave trouble to Joseph's father, as Rabba bar Me'hassia said in the name of Rabh, he (Joseph), the righteous man, should do? Said R. Benjamin b. Jepheth: That was a hint that from him would descend a man who would wear five royal garments, as it is written [Esther, 8:15]: "And Mordecai went out in a royal apparel of blue and white, and with a great crown of gold, and with a cloak of fine linen and purple."

"And he fell upon his brother Benjamin's neck 1 . . ." [Gen. 45:14]: "How many necks had he--he had only one? He wept for the two Temples, that would be situated in Benjamin's land, and would be destroyed. "And Benjamin wept upon his neck." He wept for the Tabernacle of Shiloh, that would be in Joseph's part of the land, and would be destroyed. "And behold, your own eyes see, and the eyes of my brother Benjamin" [Gen. 45:12]. Said R. Elazar: Joseph said to them: Just as I have nothing in my heart against Benjamin, who took no part in my sale, so I have nothing against you." It is my mouth that speaketh unto you." What I speak with my mouth, I think in my heart. "And to his father he sent after this manner [ibid. 23] . . . with the best things of Egypt." What is meant by the best things of Egypt? Said R. Benjamin b. Jepheth in the name of R. Elazar: He sent him old wine, which when old men drink they have their minds invigorated. "And Israel bowed himself upon the head of the bed" [37:31]. The same authority said: When the fox is at the head, the people bow to him. "And he comforted them, and spoke kindly unto them" [50:21]. Said the same authority again: He told them such things as are agreeable to be heard; namely, ten lights could not extinguish one, much less could one light put out ten.

"For the Jews there was light, and joy and gladness and honour" [Esther, 8:16]. Said R. Jehudah: By light is meant the Law, as it is written [Prov. 6:23]: "For the commandment is a lamp, and the law is light." "Joy," that is, a holiday, as it is written [Deut. 16:14]: "And thou shalt rejoice on thy feast." "Gladness" means circumcision, as it is written [Ps. 119:162]: "I am rejoiced over thy promise." And by "honour" is meant Thephilin, as it is written [Deut. 28:16]: "And all the nations of the earth shall see that thou art called by the name of the Lord, and they shall be afraid of thee." And we have learned in a Boraitha, R. Eliezer the Great said: By this are meant the Thephilin on the head.

"And Parshandatha" [Esther, 9:7]. R. Adda, from the city of Jopha, said: The names of the sons of Haman and the phrase "and the ten" must be pronounced in one breath. Why? Because their souls left their bodies all at the same time. Said R. Johanan: The Vav of Vayzatha must be made longer, that it look like a gallows, for all ten were hanged on one gallows-tree.

"Words of peace and truth". Said R. Tanhum, and according to others R. Ashi: We may infer from this that it should be written like the Law of Truth; as that must be written on ruled parchment, so this. "And the order of Esther confirmed". Said R. Johanan: Read together the former verse and this: "The matters of the fastings, the prayers, and the order of Esther confirmed."

"For Mordecai the Jew was the second in rank after King Ahasuerus, and great among the Jews, and acceptable to the multitude of his brethren" [10:3]. To the multitude, but not to all? From this we may infer that a part of the Sanhedrin turned away from him.

R. Joseph said: The study of the Law is greater than the saving of lives, for before Mordecai was mentioned the fifth, and later the sixth. It is written [Ezra, 2:2]: "Who came, with Zerubbabel, Jeshua, Nehemiah, Serayah, Realayah, Mordecai, Balshan;" and later, [in Nehemiah, 7:7] he is mentioned the sixth. (Rashi explains this thus: From the return of Ezra to the return of Nehemiah twenty years elapsed, and meanwhile Mordecai became of high rank, but before he had been more of a scholar.)

Rabh, and according to others R. Samuel b. Martha, said: The study of the Law is of more importance than the building of the Temple; for so long as Barach b. Neriah lived, Ezra returned not to the land of Israel. Said Rabha in the name of R. Itz'hak b. Samuel the son of Martha: The study of the Law is more important than the honouring of the parents; for in all the years that Jacob passed with Shem and Eber and studied the Law, he was not chastised for failing during that time to honour his father and his mother. 1

CHAPTER 2.

CONCERNING THE READING OF THE MEGILLA--BY WHOM, WHERE, AND IN WHAT LANGUAGES.

MISHNA: Anyone who reads the Megilla in an irregular manner does not fulfil his duty; nor if he reads it by heart, or translated in any language which he does not understand. It is lawful, however, to read to those that know no Hebrew in a foreign language which they understand; if they have heard it in (the original language with) Assyrian characters, they have also done their duty (though they have not understood the Hebrew). Should anyone read it so as to make long pauses between the parts and slumber meanwhile, he will have fulfilled his duty. If anyone should read the Megilla while writing, expounding, or correcting it, with the intention of fulfilling his duty, it is fulfilled; but not, if he had no such intention. If the Megilla was written with paint, ruddle, gum, vitriol black, on papyrus, or on rough vellum, the duty is not fulfilled, but it must be written in Assyrian characters, in a book, on good parchment, and with ink.

GEMARA: Whence do we deduce this? Said Rabha: It is written [Esther, ix. 28]: "And these days are remembered and celebrated." The remembering is compared to the celebrating, as the celebration cannot be earlier, because the 15th day cannot precede the 14th; so in remembering, the second chapter cannot be read before the first. We have learned in a Tosephtha that the same is the case with the Hallel Prayer, and the saying of Shema. And whence is this deduced? Said Rabba: Because it is written [Ps. cxiii. 3,]: "From the rising of the sun unto his going down, the name of the Lord is praised (as the sun does not go backward, so the praises of the Lord). R. Joseph said: From the following passage [Ps. 18:24]: "This is the day which the Lord has made" (as the day progresses without irregularity, so is to be the prayer). R. Ivia says: From the following passage [ibid. 113:2]: "Let the name of the Lord be blessed" (let it be as it is). And R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak, and according to others R. A'ha bar Jacob, says: From [ibid. 2]: "From this time forth and for evermore" (as time progresses regularly, so should the prayer be).

The rabbis taught: Whence do we deduce that we should mention the Patriarchs in the prayer? Because it is written [Ps. 29:1]: "Ascribe unto the Lord, ye sons of the mighty" (by mighty are meant the Patriarchs). And whence do we deduce

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that we should mention in the prayer the power of God? Because it is written [ibid.]: "Ascribe unto the Lord glory and strength." And whence do we deduce that His Holiness must be mentioned? Because it is written [ibid. 2]: "Ascribe unto the Lord the glory of his name; bow down to the Lord in the beauty of holiness." And from what did they see that we should pray for Wisdom after Holiness is mentioned? Because it is written [Is. 29:23]: "Then will they sanctify the Holy One of Jacob, and the God of Israel will they reverence"; and in the succeeding verse: "They also that were erring in spirit shall acquire understanding." And why do we mention Repentance after Wisdom? Because it is written [Is. 6:10]: "Lest his heart understand, and he will repent, and be healed." If so, we ought to mention Healing after Repentance? It would not be proper, because it is written [ibid. 55:7]: "And let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him; and unto our God, for be will abundantly pardon." Pardon is therefore prayed for after Repentance. But why is preference given to this verse over that verse? There is another passage [Ps. 103:3]: "Who forgiveth all thy iniquities, who healeth all thy diseases. Who redeemeth from the pit thy life." Shall we assume that Redemption and Healing come after Forgiveness--in the verse above quoted it is written, "he will repent and be healed"? Not healing from disease is meant, but the forgiveness is a healing. And why did they mention Redemption in the seventh Benediction? Said Rabha: Because it is known they will be redeemed in the seventh year (in Sanhedrin it is said that in the last of the seven years before Messiah they will be redeemed). And why do they pray for Healing in the eighth Benediction? Said R. A'ha, because circumcision takes place on the eighth day, and requires a healing. And why do they pray for the Blessing of the Year in the ninth Benediction? Said R. Alexandri: That is for those who raise the prices, as it is written [Ps. 10:15]: "Break thou the arm of the wicked and of the bad man." And this the ninth psalm. (This whole psalm, Rashi explains, speaks only of people buying up grain to raise its price, and he infers it from the verse: "He lieth in wait to snatch up the poor; he snatcheth up the poor as he draweth him into his net." And why is it considered the ninth psalm? Because they consider the first two psalms as one.) And why do we pray for Return from the Exile after the Benediction of the Year? Because it is written [Ezek. xxxvi. 8]: "But ye, O mountains of Israel, ye shall send forth your boughs, and your fruit shall ye bear for my people Israel; for they are near at hand to come." And as soon as there will be a Return from Exile, there will be the Punishment of the Wicked, as is written [Is. i. 25]: "I will turn my hand against thee, and purge away as with lye thy dross." And further: "I will restore thy judges as at the first, and thy counsellors as at the beginning." After the Judgement of the Wicked there shall be no sinners, as is written: But destruction shall come over transgressors and sinners together." And those that forsake the Lord shall perish, and when sinners cease to exist, the horn of the righteous is exalted; as it is written [Ps. 75:11]: "And all the horns of the wicked will I hew off, but the horns of the righteous shall be exalted." And righteous proselytes are included among them, as it is written [Lev. 19:32]: "Before the hoary head shalt thou rise up, and honour the old man." And soon after: "If a stranger sojourn with thee, ye shall not vex him." And where will be exalted their horn? In Jerusalem. As it is written [Ps. 122:6]: "Pray ye for the peace of Jerusalem: may those that love ye prosper. "When Jerusalem will be rebuilt, David will come as it is written [Hosea, iii. 5]: "After that will the children of Israel return and seek for the Lord their God and David their king." And with David will come Prayer, as it is written [Isaiah, 56:7]: "Even these will I bring to my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my house of prayer." And with Prayer comes Service in the Temple, as it is written further: "Their burnt-offerings and their sacrifices shall be accepted upon my altar." And after service comes a thanksgiving offering, as it is written [Ps. 1:23]: "Whoso offereth thanksgiving glorifieth me." (The order of the separate parts of the Eighteen Benedictions has already been laid down.) And why do they say the Blessing of the Priests after Thanksgiving? Because it is written [Lev. ix. 22]: "And Aaron lifted up his hands toward the people, and blessed them, and came down after he had offered the sin-offering and burnt-offering and peace-offering."

And perhaps he blessed them before the service? Nay, we do not suppose so; for it is written, "he came down after he had offered"--not "to offer," but after offering. If so, let it be said before the Thanksgiving? It would not be proper, because! it is written: "Whose, offereth the thanksgiving glorifieth me." And why is this verse preferred to that? Because common sense tells that Service and Thanksgiving are the same thing. And why do we pray for Peace after the Blessing of Priests'? Because it is written [Num. 6:27]: "And they shall put my name upon the children of Israel, and I will bless them." And the blessing of the Holy One, blessed be He, is Peace, as it is written [Ps. 29:11]: "The Lord will bless his people with peace."

(Let us see:) If one hundred and twenty elders, and among them many prophets, have arranged the Eighteen Benedictions, why have we learned in another place that Simeon of Peculi had ordered them? They had been forgotten, so he reintroduced the order.

After these Eighteen Benedictions, it is not permitted to bless the name of the Lord more, as R. Elazar said: It is written [Ps. 106:2]: "Who can utter the mighty acts of the Lord? Who can publish all his praise?" i.e., who is fit to utter? He who can publish all his praise (and as no one can do it, only the prayers that have been ordained should be said).

Rabba bar bar Hana said in the name of R. Johanan: He who speaks too much in praise of God is uprooted from the world, as it is written [Job, 37:20]: "Can all be related of him when I speak? Or if a man talk even till he be swallowed up?" R. Jehudah of the village Geboriah, according to others of Gibor-Hail, lectured: It is written [Ps. 65:2]: "For thee praise is silent." 1 Silence is the cure to everything: when R. Dima came from Palestine, he said that in the West they say: "A word is worth a sela, and silence two."

"If he reads it by heart." Whence is this deduced? Said Rabha: There is an analogy of expression in the word "memorial." Here it is written [Esther, 9:28]: "These days are remembered"; and there [Ex. 17:14]: "Write this for a memorial in a book." As there it is written "in a book" so here it. should be read out of a book. How is it known that loud reading is meant--perhaps only looking through the book?

. . . . . It would not be reasonable; as a Boraitha states: It is written [Deut. 25:17]: "Remember"; and it cannot mean "in thy heart," because it is written again [ibid. 19]: "Thou shalt not forget." That means, certainly, in thy heart. Consequently "remember" must mean orally.

"Or translated," etc., i.e., when both the language and the characters are foreign.

"To those who know no Hebrew," etc. But it is just stated that by hearing it read in a foreign language one has not fulfilled his duty. Rabbi and Samuel both said: By this Greek is meant. How is the case? If it was written in Assyrian (characters), and one read it in Greek, then he reads it by heart? Said R. A'ba in the name of R. Elazar: That means, when it is written in Greek, and he reads it in Greek.

The same authority says again: How is it known that God called Jacob "El" (one of the names of God)? Because it is written [Gen. 30:20]: "And called it El, the God of Israel," which he interprets, "who called him El, the God of Israel." For if the altar was meant, the verse would say, "and Jacob called it." An objection was raised: If one read the Megilla in Coptic, in Old Hebrew, Elamic, Median, or Greek, one has not fulfilled his duty? What is said above, that Greek is lawful, is like another Boraitha which says that if one has read in Coptic to Coptic, Hebrew to Hebrews, Elamic to Elamite, or Greek to Greek Israelites, they have done their duty. If so, why do Rabh and Samuel say the Mishna means only Greek: let them say it means all foreign languages may be read to those who understand them? Rabh and Samuel mean that even to those who do not comprehend it, it may be read in Greek. But in the Boraitha it is said, that only if Greek is read to Greek Israelites it is lawful? Rabh and Samuel are in accordance with Rabban Simeon Gamaliel, who says that even the Pentateuch was allowed to be written only in Greek, not in another tongue. If so, let them say, more briefly, the Halakha prevails according to R. Simeon b. Gamaliel? If they said so, we would think it bears reference only to other books; but as of the Megilla it is written, "according to its writing," we would think only in Assyrian characters [meaning: Aramaic.] it is allowed, and not Greek, therefore they come to teach us that even here Greek is proper.

"One who has it read to him from Assyrian characters." But he does not comprehend it? What is the use? It is like the case of women and common people, who do not understand it either, yet they are fulfilling their duty. Rabbina opposed: Why do you compare him to women and common people? But as it does not matter, provided we understand the proclamation of the miracle, so it also matters not in their case.

"Long pauses," etc. (The term used in the Mishna is "Serugin.") The rabbis did not understand the expression of the Mishna, until they beard that the servant-maid of Rabbi, when she saw that the rabbis came to Rabbi's house in small detached parties, at intervals, said to them Why do you come--Serugin, Serugin? The rabbis taught If one made pauses in his reading, he has fulfilled his duty; but if he read it irregularly, he has not; R. Muna says in the name of R. Jehudah: Even when one has made pauses he has done his duty, provided they were not long enough for the reading of the whole Megilla, but otherwise he must begin again from the beginning. Said R. Bibbi: Rabh said that the Halakha does not prevail according to R. Muna, and Samuel says that it does. Said R. Joseph: Hold in thy mind what R. Bibbi has said, for Samuel decides more vigorously. When a single authority holds vigorously, even when the majority differ from him (and it is an old rule, that where Samuel and Rabh disagree the Halakha prevails according to Rabh, when the laws are not about pecuniary matters).

The rabbis taught: When the scribe who had written the Megilla had omitted letters or sentences, but the reader read it like an interpreter, and supplied what was missing, the duty was done.

The rabbis taught: If the reader has omitted one verse, he should not say: When I shall have read the entire Megilla I shall then read the omitted verse; but he should commence with that verse, and read further. The same is it when one comes to the house of prayer, and finds the first half of it gone through by the congregation, he should not say: "I will read with the congregation to the end, and then read the first half"; but he should begin to read from the beginning, and read to the end.

"And slumber." What is meant by slumbering? It means not sleeping, but being drowsy, so that when he is called, he answers; but to answer intelligently he is not able before he is called a second time.

"If anyone should read whilst writing," etc. How was the case? If he had arranged the verses beforehand, and first read, then copied them, even if he had the intention, what is it? It is reading by heart. Shall we say, if he was writing verse by verse and reading them, he has not fulfilled his duty either, because by R. Helba in the name of R. Hama bar Guria, quoting Rabh, said: The Halakha prevails according to him who said that legally the whole Megilla must be written and be before him? This is meant: An entire Megilla lay before him, and he read each verse, and copied it.

Rabba bar bar Hana said in the name of R. Johanan: Even one letter must not be written, unless copied from a Megilla. An objection was raised: R. Simeon b. Elazar said: It happened to R. Meir, that he went to make the year intercalary in Asia, and there was not any Megilla; so he wrote it down from memory, and then read it to the community. Said R. Abahu: With R. Meir it is different: Of R. Meir was said the 25th verse of chap. iv. of Proverbs: "Thy eyelids see straight out before thee" (he saw the Megilla in his mind as clearly as with his eyes). Ramai bar Hama asked R. Jeremiah of Diphthi: What is meant by this? He answered him: The words of the Law, of which it is said [Prov. 23:5]: "When thou lettest merely thy eyes fly over it, it is no more." But in the case of R. Meir it was as if he saw it with his eyes, so was it engraved in his memory.

R. Hisda found R. Hananal writing Scripture, not from a copy, and he said to him: It is true, thou art fit to write the entire Bible from memory; but the sages have said, nevertheless, that it is unlawful to write even one letter thus. From what we hear that he was fit for writing it all by heart, and we see that he knew it also by heart, yet he was not allowed to do so (how then could R. Meir do it?). In the time of necessity, when there was no other Megilla, it was different.

"If the Megilla was written with . . . vitriol black." Said Rabba bar bar Hana: This means that which is used by shoemakers for blackening new shoes.

"Rough vellum," when the hide has been already salted, but not polished.

"But it must be written in Assyrian characters." Why? Because it is said, "according to their writing."

"In a book and with ink." Whence do we deduce this? From an analogy of expression. It is written [Esther, ix. 29]: "Then wrote Esther"; and [Jer. 36:18]: "Then said Baruch unto them, With his mouth did he utter clearly all these words unto me, and I wrote them in the book with ink."

MISHNA: If an inhabitant of an open town had gone to an anciently walled town, or vice versa, if he intends to return to his place, he shall read it at the same time they read in his place; if not, he may read with the inhabitants of the place in which he is. From where is it necessary to commence the reading of the Megilla, so as to fulfil one's duty? R. Meir says: It is obligatory to read the whole. R. Jehudah says: It suffices if he commence at "a Jewish man" [Esther, 2:5]. R. Jose says: Even if from "after these events" [ibid. 3:1].

GEMARA: Said Rabha: "If he intends to return." That means, to return on the night of the 14th; but if he does not purpose to return on that night, he may read with the inhabitants of the place where he is. And he said again: Whence do I deduce this? Because it is written [Esther, 9:19]: "Therefore do the Jews of the open towns, that dwell in open towns." Let us see. It is stated already, "The Jews of the open towns." Why is it repeated, "that dwell in open towns"? He comes to teach us, that if one dwells even one day there, he is considered as an inhabitant of an open town. This is right about open towns, but how do we know that the same applies to walled towns? That is common sense: If one who dwells a day in an open town is considered an inhabitant thereof, the same must be in the case of a walled town.

And Rabha says again: If a countryman has gone into a town, he must read with the inhabitants, for why was he permitted to read on the Assembly-day? That he should not trouble himself to come to the town; but if he is there, he must read in any case, whether he intends to stay there or not.

"From where is it necessary to commence," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Simeon b. Jechayi said: He may begin from, "in that night" [chap. 6:1].

Said R. Johanan: All these different opinions have been deduced from the following verse: It is written [9:29]: "Then wrote Esther the queen. . . . with Mordecai the Jew, with all

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due strength." Those who say the entire Megilla should be read, mean the whole might (strength) of Ahasuerus; he who says it should be begun from "a Jewish man," means the whole power of Mordecai; and he who says from "after these events," thinks the power of Haman; and he who says from "in that night," means the whole power of the miracle should be related. Said R. Helba in the name of R. Hama bar Guria, quoting Rabh: The Halakha prevails according to him who says: The whole Megilla must be read. And even he who says from "a Jewish man" also means it should be written wholly, if not read. The same says again: The Megilla is called "a book," also "a letter." That means, it is called a book because if it is stitched together with threads of flax it is invalid, as the Holy Scrolls are; and it is called a letter because if only three veins are used it is yet valid (unlike the Holy Scrolls). Said R. Na'hman: This is when every vein is triple (triply stitched).

R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel: If one has read the Megilla from the Bible, in which it is among other books, he has not fulfilled his duty, as the Megilla should be separated. Said Rabha: This is when the scroll of the Megilla was like the other scrolls; but if it was a little longer or shorter and distinguishable from them, it does not matter.

R. Hyya bar Abba said in the name of R. Johanan: If one reads the Megilla bound with other books, he has not done his duty. Those who heard him repudiated him, saying: This is only the case when it is read in public; but an individual may do so. The same says again in the name of the same authority: The law that, when the Holy Scrolls are stitched together, margins must be left at the top and at the bottom is a Halakha from Moses on Sinai. And those who heard him repudiated him, 1 saying: It is not a Halakha from Moses on Sinai, but it has been ordered only that the parchment may not be torn. The same says again in the name of the same authority: If in the case where Moses and Elijah were, there had been a chink as narrow as a needle, they would not have remained alive when the Lord passed, as it is written [Ex. 33:20]: "For no man can see me and live." The same says again in the name of the same authority: It is written [Deut. 9:10]: "And on them was written according to all the words which the Lord had spoken with you on the mount." We infer from this that God revealed to Moses all the particulars of the Bible (i.e., what words signify that something is to be included or to be excluded), and of the particulars the Gemara deduces from the Mishna, and what the scribes will discover later. And what is it? The reading of the Megilla.

MISHNA: All are qualified to read the Megilla, except a deaf person, fool, or a minor. R. Jehudah, however, allows it to be read by a minor.

GEMARA: Who is the Tana that holds that even when a deaf man has already read it the duty is not fulfilled? Said R. Mathna: The Tana is R. Jose of the following Mishna in Berachoth: "He who read Shema, and did not himself hear what he read, he has done his duty. R. Jose, however, said, he has not." How do we know that our Mishna is in accordance with R. Jose, who says that even if he has done it already, he has not fulfilled his duty. Perhaps it is in accordance with R. Jehudah, who says that he must not commence; but if he has done it already, he has done his duty? It would not be reasonable; because the deaf person is mentioned together with the fool and the minor, and as when the last two have done it the duty has not been fulfilled, so it must be with the deaf.

"R. Jehudah allows a minor." We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Jehudah said: When I was a minor I read the Megilla in the presence of R. Tarphon and the elders in the city of Lud. The sages answered: One adduces no proof from a minor. We have learned in another Boraitha: Rabbi said: When I was a minor I read the Megilla in the presence of R. Jehudah. The sages said to him: One cannot adduce a proof from a man who permitted it (because the majority differed from him). Why have they not answered here also. One brings no proof from a minor? They meant it; firstly, he was a minor, but even if he were not, they would not recognise it as a proof, because R. Jehudah was an individual exception.

MISHNA: The following religious acts may not be done before sunrise on the day on which they are obligatory: To read the Megilla, to circumcise, to bathe (on the seventh day of the purification of an unclean or defiled person), to sprinkle (the unclean as a purification); nor may a woman (who had experienced her menses beyond the usual time, and who was to) wait a day (before she might bathe) do so before the sunrise of that day. But if any of these acts has been done at any period after daybreak, it is valid.

GEMARA: Whence do we deduce this? It is written [Esther, 9:28]: "And these days are remembered and celebrated." The days, and not the nights. Shall we assume that this is in contradiction to R. Joshua b. Levi, who said above that one must read the Megilla in the evening, and repeat it on the day? What this Mishna teaches, that before sunrise the Megilla must not be read, refers to the second time, i.e., the reading by day.

"To circumcise." Because it is written [Lev. 12:3]: "On the eighth day shall the flesh of his foreskin be circumcised."

"To bathe, to sprinkle." Because it is written [Num. 19:19]: "And the clean person shall sprinkle upon the unclean on the seventh day"; and bathing is equal to sprinkling.

"After daybreak." Whence is this deduced? Said Rabha: Because it is written [Gen. i. 5]: "And God called the light day"; and the beginning of the light is called day. If so, then, as it is written, "and the darkness he called night," let the time when it begins to be dark be called "night"; and we have a tradition that until the stars appear it is not reckoned to be night. Therefore, says R. Zera, infer it from the following passage [Nehemiah, iv. 15]: "So we laboured at the work, while the half of them were holding the spears from the rising of the morning dawn till the stars appeared,

MISHNA: The following religious acts may be done during the whole of the day (on which they are obligatory): The reading of the Megilla, of the Hallel; the sounding of the cornet; the handling of the Lulab; the prayer at the additional offering; the additional offering; the confession of sin on sacrificing the bulls, the confession to be made on bringing the second tithe, the confession of sin by the high-priest on the Day of Atonement; the imposition of hands (on the sacrifice); the slaughtering of a sacrifice; the waving of the offering; the bringing it to the altar; the taking of the handful of flour [Lev. 2:2]; the burning with incense of the fat of a sacrifice on the altar; the pinching or wringing off of the head of fowls brought at sacrifices [Lev. 1:15]; the receiving of the blood of a sacrifice; the sprinkling thereof on the altar; the giving the bitter water to drink to a woman suspected of adultery; the striking off of the heifer's neck [Deut. 21:4], and the purification of a leprous person. The following acts may be done during the whole of the night: The cutting of the sheaves for the "omer," and the burning of the fat and members of a burnt-offering on the altar [Lev. vi. 9]. This is the rule: Whatever is commanded to be done by day may legally be done during the whole of the day; and whatever is commanded to be done by night, it is lawful to do during the whole of the night.

GEMARA: Whence do we deduce this? Because it is written: "Those days are remembered and celebrated." The reading of Hallel, as is written [Ps. 113:3]: "From the rising of the sun unto the going down." R. Joseph says: As it is written [ibid. 118:24]: "This is the day which the Lord hath made." "The use of the Lulab," because it is written [Lev. xxiii. 40]: "And ye shall take unto yourselves on the first day." "The sounding of the cornet," because it is written [Num. 29:7]: "A day of blowing of the cornet shall it be unto you." "And the additional offering," as it is written [Lev. 23:3 7]: "Everything upon its day." And the prayer at the additional offering is like the offering itself. 1

"This is the rule," etc. What is it meant to include? The putting away of the spoon of frankincense, and the taking it away (because the old must be taken away at the same time that the new is brought, as will be explained in Tract Mena'hoth).

"By night," etc. What is it meant to include? The eating of the Paschal lamb, which is only before sunrise; and the Mishna is not in accordance with Elazar b. Azariah (as will be explained in Tract Mena'hoth).

CHAPTER 3.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE POSTURE OF THE READER OF THE MEGILLA, AND HIS CLOTHES, BEFORE PRAYER.

MISHNA: The Megilla may be read either sitting or standing, by one person only, or by two persons at the same time. They alike fulfil their duty. In places where it is usual to say a blessing (after reading it) it is obligatory to say it, but not when it is not customary. Three men are called to read in the Holy Scrolls on Mondays and Thursdays; and in the afternoon of the Sabbath neither more nor less than that number may be called, nor shall any section from the Prophets then be read. He who commences the reading of the Holy Scrolls shall pronounce the first benediction before reading it, and he who concludes the reading shall pronounce the last benediction after reading it.

On the first of the month, on the intermediate days of the festivals, four men are to be called. This number may neither be added to nor diminished, nor shall any section of the Prophets then be read (the first of these men shall say the first blessing before reading, and the last who concludes the reading shall say the last blessing after reading). This is the rule: On all days, when an additional offering is prescribed, which are nevertheless not festivals, four men are to be called; five on festivals; six on the Day of Atonement; and seven on the Sabbath. This number may not be diminished, but it may be increased, and a section of the Prophets must be read on those days. The first and the last readers shall pronounce the benedictions before and after reading.

GEMARA: We have learned in a Boraitha: It is not so with the reading of the Torah, which can be read only when the congregation sits. Whence do we deduce this? Said R. Abahu: It is written [Deut. 5:28]: "But as for thee, stand thou here by me." From this we infer, he should stand, and the congregation should sit. He says again: How do we know that the Master should not teach the disciple when he sits on the bed, and the disciple on the floor? Because it is written: "Stand by (with) me" (as I stand so you should stand).

The rabbis taught: From the time of Moses till Rabban Gamaliel the Law was studied standing; when R. Gamaliel died, sicknesses came into existence, and they began to study sitting. And this is what we have learned in a Mishna elsewhere, that since R. Gamaliel had died the honouring of the Law had ceased.

One verse says [Deut. 9:9]: "I sat on the mount"; and another [ibid. 10:10]: "I stood on the mount." Said Rabh: He stood when he studied, and he sat when he repeated. R. Johanan, however, said: By "sitting" is meant abiding, as is written [Deut. 1:46]: "And ye sat in Kadesh," which means "dwelt." Rabha says: The easy things he learned standing, and the difficult things he sat down to understand.

"By one person, or by two," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha: The law is not so with the Holy Scrolls (which only one can read, not two).

The rabbis taught: The scrolls of the Pentateuch one should read and the other should interpret; but not one shall read and two interpret; but the Prophets: One should read and two may interpret it, but two should not read and two interpret. In case of Hallel and the Megilla, however, even ten may read and ten interpret. Why so? Because Hallel and the Megilla are dear to the people, and even if ten read they will give their attention.

"In places where it is usual to say a blessing," etc. Says Abayi: The Mishna refers only to the benediction after it; but before, it is obligatory. As R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel: For all religious duties, one should pronounce a benediction before they are done.

What blessing should be pronounced before the reading of the Megilla? R. Shesheth of Qartazia said in the presence of R. Ashi: Three blessings: Blessed be He, etc., who has commanded us to read the Megilla; Blessed be He, etc., who has performed miracles for our ancestors; and the benediction of the time. What blessing is said after the reading of the Megilla? "Blessed be Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast taken up our quarrels, who hast judged our judgements, who hast taken revenge for us, who hast retaliated for us on our adversaries, and who recompensest according to their deservings all our enemies. Blessed be Thou, O Lord, who punishest all the adversaries of Israel." Rabha said: "Blessed be Thou, God of salvation." Said R. papa: Therefore, we should say both: "Blessed be Thou, O Lord, who punishest our adversaries, God of our salvation!"

"Three men are called to read," etc. To what do the three correspond? To the Torah, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa. So said R. Ashi. Rabha said: To priests, Levites, and Israelites. And R. Simi taught: One must not read less than ten verses in the house of prayer; and if one of them consists of the words, "And God spoke to Moses," it is reckoned among the ten. To what do these ten correspond? R. Joshua b. Levi says: To the ten unemployed men in the synagogue. And R. Joseph said: To the ten commandments given to Moses on Sinai. R. Johanan says: To the ten sayings of the Lord, by which He created the world.

Rabha said: The first of the three men who goes to read in the Torah, if he has read four verses, he may be praised; if not the first, but the second did it, he may be praised; if the third did this, he may be praised (and if all three read four verses each, all may be praised). It happened once R. Papa came to the synagogue of Abiguber; and he read four verses to the first, and R. Papa praised him.

"Neither more nor less." We have learned in a Boraitha: "The beginner shall pronounce the benediction before the reading, and the last reader after." But in this time, when we have the custom that everyone says the benediction both before and after, the reason why the rabbis have ordained so is that those who enter and go away in the middle of the reading should not fail to hear either the blessing before or after.

"On the first of the month." Ula bar Rabh asked Rabha: The portion about the beginning of the month [Num. 28:11], how should it be read? Shall we begin to read with the first verse of the chapter which speaks about the daily offering--eight verses--how shall we do? If two each read three verses, only two will be left for the third, and two should not be read? If they read each four, then for the third will be left seven verses, because about Sabbath there are two, and about the first of the month five? If the third should begin with the ninth verse (about Sabbath), and read the two about Sabbath and one about the first of the month, we have learned in a Boraitha: One must not begin a portion (containing less) than three verses? (and about Sabbath there are two). If the third begin with Sabbath, and read three about the first month, then two verses will be left. Rabha answered: This I did not hear, but I heard something similar. We have learned in the Mishna, in Tract Taanith: "The first day one reads in Genesis from 1:6: 'Let there be an expanse,'" And a Boraitha added to this: From "In the beginning" should be read by two, and from "Let there be an expanse" should be read by one. And it was discussed: It is right that from "Let there be an expanse" should be read by one, because there are three verses; but up

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to that there are only five verses, and how can two men read it? Have we not learned in a Boraitha that each must read no less that three verses? And in answer to it, it was taught: Rabh said: The second should begin from the third verse, which has been already read; and Samuel says: They shall divide the third verse into two parts.

[Why does Rabh say he shall read a second time, and not begin in the middle? Because Rabh holds the verse which Moses did not leave in the middle we may not split; but Samuel says we may. And according to Samuel may we stop in the middle of the verse? Did not Hanania Kara say: I had great trouble when I was by R. Hanina the Great, who did not permit me to stop in the middle of a verse, except for the schoolchildren, because I had to teach them? Why did R. Hanina permit? Because schoolchildren could not otherwise be taught; and so Samuel allowed, because it was necessary. But why does not Samuel say as Rabh? Because if one enter in the middle, and hear the second reading the third verse, he may think the first has read only two.]

An objection was raised: We have learned in Taanith: "A portion containing six verses may be read by two men, but if it contain five, only one man must read; but if the first has only read three, the second must read the remaining two, and one of the next portion. But, according to others, he must read three verses of the next, because he must not begin to read a portion, unless he read three verses." Now, if it were as Rabh and Samuel say, why does not the Boraitha teach he shall repeat a verse, or stop in the middle? There the case is different; because it is practicable, but not here.

Said R. Tan'hum in the name of R. Joshua b. Levi: The Halakha prevails according to the saying of the Boraitha in the name of the others. And he says again: As one must not begin a portion, to read less than three verses, so one must not stop unless three verses are yet left.

Rabba the son of Rabha sent to ask R. Joseph how the Halakha prevails. And he sent him the answer: The Halakha prevails, that it shall be repeated by the second reader.

"This is the rule: When an additional offering." The schoolmen propounded a question: On a fast of the congregation how many persons should be called to read? Should we say that be. cause on the first of the month and intermediate days there is an additional offering, four should read; but on this occasion, when there is no additional offering, only three should read? Or that, because there is an additional prayer, four should be called to read?, Come and hear: It happened that Rabh came to Babylon on a congregational fast-day. He arose and read in the Torah, and said a benediction when he began, but not when he finished. The whole congregation fell upon their faces, and he did not. Now let us see: Rabh (who was no priest) could read only what an Israelite reads (i.e., was the third). Why, then, did he not pronounce the benediction after he had finished? We must assume because he thought a fourth would yet read, so there would be four? Nay; Rabh was the beginner, and substituted a priest, because he was the best man; and we find in Gittin, that R. Huna did so too. It is right of R. Huna, because, as it is said there, R. Ammi and R. Ashi, although they were priests themselves and the most honoured men of Palestine, nevertheless bowed before R. Huna; but Rabh, how could he substitute a priest? Was there not Samuel, who was a priest, and always had preference before Rabh? Nay; Samuel also bowed to Rabh; but Rabh gave preference to him only to honour him, and it seems to us that this is correct, that Rabh read first; because if not so, why did he pronounce the benediction before? But perhaps it was after it was ordained that the benediction should be pronounced both before and after? Then he would have pronounced the benediction after it also? It is different. Where Rabh was, the people were permitted to enter the house of prayer, but not to leave, till Rabh finished lecturing. Hence there was no fear for those who might leave. (The question is therefore not decided, because after the first may be either two or three.) Come and hear. This is the rule: On the day when no labour is done, as on a congregational fast and the 9th of Abh, three must read; and on those days when to do labour is not prohibited, as on the first of the month and intermediate days of a festival, four read. This decides the question.

Said R. Ashi: Have we not learned in our Mishna: This is the rule: On the day which has an additional sacrifice, but is not a festival, four men read? Now, when it is said, "this is the rule," may we not assume that it is meant to include a congregational fast and the 9th of Abh? Nay, a sign only was given that it should not be thought festivals and intermediate days are equal in the reading of the Torah: they gave us a rule that even on a day having a preference over another day, one man more must be called to read. Therefore, on the first of the month, intermediate days, which have an additional sacrifice, four read; on a festival, when no labour may be done, five must read; on the Day of Atonement, which has a punishment of Kareth, six read; on Sabbath, which has a capital punishment, seven read.

It is said above: Rabh did not fall on his face. Why? Because he was the most honoured man; and this is similar to the teaching of R. Elazar: He said, an honoured man must not fall on his face, unless he is sure he will be answered as Joshua b. Nun, of whom it is written [Josh. vii. 10]: "And the Lord said to Joshua: Get thee up; wherefore liest thou upon thy face?" Said R. Hyya bar Abbin: I saw that Abayi and Rabha used not to fall on their faces, but only reclined their heads on their hands.

"Six on the Day of Atonement." According to whom is our Mishna? Not according to R. Ishmael, and not according to R. Aqiba of the following Boraitha: "On the festival five, on the Day of Atonement six, and on the Sabbath seven--not more and not less. So is the decree of R. Ishmael. R. Aqiba says: On a festival five, on the Day of Atonement seven, on Sabbath six--not less, but it may be more." If the Mishna was in accordance with R. Ishmael, it would not allow, as he, more; and if in accordance with R. Aqiba, the latter says, on Sabbath six? Said Rabha: The Mishna is in accordance with the disciples of R. Ishmael, who teach: On festivals five, on the Day of Atonement six, on Sabbath seven--not less, but more is permitted. So said R. Ishmael. This is in self-contradiction of R. Ishmael? There are two Tanaim: One says R. Ishmael had said so, and the second he had said otherwise. To what do the three, five, and seven correspond? R. Itz'hak b. Nahmani and R. Simeon b. Pazzi, according to others R. Samuel b. Nahmani--one said that it corresponds to the blessings of the priests (where there are three words in the first verse, five in the second, seven in the third), and the other said that they correspond to the three door-keepers [2 Kings, 25:18] and the five men who could come unto the king's presence [ibid. 19] and the seven who could see Ahasuerus [Esther, 1:14]. And the same taught R. Joseph. Said Abayi to him: Why has the Master not explained it to us before? He answered: I did not know you needed an explanation of it, and you asked me not; did you ever ask me anything to which I answered not?

Said Jacob, one of the Minim, to R. Jehudah: The six men who read on the Day of Atonement, to whom do they correspond?, He said: To the six men who stood on the right and the left of Ezra, as is written [Nehem. 8:4]: "The names of the six who stood on the right, and of the six that stood on the left."

The rabbis taught: All are entitled to be counted read among the seven on Sabbath, even a minor and a woman. The sages, however, said: A woman should not read in the Torah for the honour of the congregation. The schoolmen propounded a question: May the last reader from the Prophets be counted among the seven? R. Huna and R. Jeremiah bar Abba differ: One says yes; the other says no. The first gives the reason that, although he reads from the Prophets, he reads from the Pentateuch also, and why should he not be counted? while the second holds with Ula, who said that the reader from the Prophets reads from the Pentateuch only in honour of the Torah, not because it is his task; and therefore it is not counted. An objection was raised: We have learned that he who reads portions from the Prophets should read not less than twenty-one verses, to correspond to the verses from the Torah read by the seven men (each of whom read three). Now, if the same person reads also from the Pentateuch, he should read but twenty-four verses from the Prophets, as he himself read three in the Torah? As be reads only in honour of the Law, it should not be counted. Rabha opposed: Do not we read Jeremiah, vii., from verse 21 to chapter viii., where twenty-one verses are not found? There it is different, because the subject is concluded there. And where the subject is not finished, must we read twenty-one verses? Did not Samuel bar Abba say: I stood many times before R. Johanan, and when we had done reading ten verses, he told us to stop, though it was in the midst of the subject? Where there is an interpreter, the law is different. As R. Tahlipha b. Samuel taught: When must be read twenty-one verses? Where there is no interpreter, otherwise he may cease earlier.

MISHNA: When men come into the synagogue after the prayer has been finished, they may not repeat the prayer if they are less than ten in number, nor may any of them act as minister before the reading-desk, nor may priests raise their hands (to say the priest's blessing), nor may they read in the Law, nor read a section from the Prophets. When there are less than ten men present at a burial, the customary standings and sittings with the corpse, may not take place, nor may the blessing for mourners be said, nor the forms used in condolence with mourners, nor the seven blessings said on the celebration of a marriage, nor may the persons who join to say grace after meals mention the Divine name. And on an occasion of redeeming land that has been consecrated it is necessary that at least nine Israelites and a Cohen (priest) shall be present, and the same also at the valuation of a man (if he had said: I consecrate the value of my person to the sanctuary).

GEMARA: Where is this deduced from? Said R. Hyya b. Abba in the name of R. Johanan: Because it is written [Lev. 22:32]: "I may be sanctified among the children of Israel." All things sanctified must not be less than ten. I

"Standings and sittings." Because it was the custom for a mourner to say: "Rise, honoured men, rise!" and "Sit down, honoured men, sit down!" which may not be said to less than ten.

"Blessing for mourners," etc. What is the blessing for mourners? The benediction they said in the streets after the burial. Then R. Itz'hak said in the name of R. Johanan that the benediction of mourners was pronounced by not less than ten men, and the mourners themselves are not counted. The benediction of bridegrooms, however, is also said by ten, including, however, the bridegrooms.

"Mention the Divine name." Why so? Because he must say: "Let us bless our God," and this is not suitable when there are less than ten. (The Owner of Rewards shall recompense you for the kindness of accompanying the deceased. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who givest rewards), and the same was said to the condolers.

MISHNA: Not less than three verses of the Holy Scrolls may be read in the synagogue by each person (called to read). One verse only of the Law may at one time be read to the interpreter. From the Prophets, however, may be read three also; but if each verse should form a separate section, each must be read separately. Passages may be skipped in the reading of the Prophets, but not in that of the Holy Scrolls. What time may be suffered to elapse to skip from one passage to another? while the interpreter does not conclude his interpretation.

GEMARA: "A separate section," etc. For instance, Isaiah, lii. 3, 4, and 5, treat of different subjects.

"Passages may be skipped." There is a contradiction: We have learned in a Mishna in Yoma the following: He reads Lev. 16;7, "After the death," etc., and then in 23:27, "But on the tenth." From this we see that he skips in the Pentateuch also? Said Abayi: It presents no difficulty. In the Pentateuch one may not skip when it is one subject; but if there are two different subjects one may. But we have learned in a Boraitha that even when the subject is the same one may skip in the Pentateuch, and in the Prophets only when the subjects are different? In both cases it is meant, while the interpreter does not conclude his interpretation.

In another Boraitha we have learned: One must not skip from one Prophet to the other. In the reading of the twelve Minor Prophets, however, one may do so; but not from the termination of one to the beginning of the other.

MISHNA: Whoever reads in the house of prayer the section from the Prophets may also repeat the prayer (Shema) and act as minister before the reading-desk; and if he is a priest, may say the blessing of the priests. If a minor, his father or teacher shall act for him.

A minor may read in the Law (in the synagogue) and act as an interpreter, but may not publicly recite the Shema, nor act as minister at the reading-desk, nor (if a priest) say by himself the blessing of priests. A man in rags may repeat the Shema and act as interpreter, but he may not read in the Holy Scrolls, nor act as minister before the reading-desk, nor (if a priest) say the blessing of priests. A blind man may repeat the prayer and act as interpreter; but R. Jehudah says: One who never beheld the light (i.e., was born blind) may not repeat Shema.

GEMARA: Why so? Said R. Papa: This is a reward of honour (because to read portions from the Prophets is not such an honour as to act as minister). Rabba bar Simi, however.. said: To prevent quarrels (one should not say: I will read the Prophets and thou read the Shema). "A man in rags." Ula bar Rabh asked Abayi: May a minor in rags read in the Torah? He answered: Why did you not ask about a naked man? Because we are certain that he must not, for the honour of the congregation, the same is the case here.

We have learned in a Boraitha: The sages said to R. Jehudah: Many persons lectured about the Merkabha (Divine Chariot) [Ezekiel, i.], although they had never seen it. Answered R. Jehudah: That deals with things in the inner consciousness, and if one meditates about them one may be fit to lecture. But if a man blesses for light it is for the benefit received, and a blind man has no benefit by it. The rabbis, however, hold that a blind man does derive benefit from light, as R. Jose of the following Boraitha said: My whole life I was sorry about the following verse [Deut. 28:29]: "And thou shalt grope about at noonday, as the blind gropeth about in the darkness." I always asked, what matters it to the blind whether it be light or darkness, he gropes at any rate? till it happened once I walked in a dark night, and I met a blind man who walked with a torch. I asked him: My son, thou art blind. Why walkest thou with fire? He replied: So long as the torch is in my hands, people see me, and would not let me fall into a pit or tread on thorns.

MISHNA: A priest whose hands are deformed must not raise them (to bless the people). R. Jehudah also Prohibits it to a priest whose hands are stained with wood or with madder roots, because the people stare at him.

GEMARA: We have learned in a Boraitha: By the blemishes are meant those on his hands, face, or feet. R. Joshua b. Levi said: If there are eruptions on his hands, he must not raise them. We have learned the same in the following Boraitha: If he has eruptions on the hands, or they are crooked, he must not raise them. Said R. Ashi: The priests from the villages 'Hiphni and Bishni all stutter, and must not bless either. The same we have learned in the following Boraitha: One must not make men act as ministers who are from Beth Sheon or Beth

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Hippa; also the men of Tibonin, because they pronounce an a as an h, and an h as an a. R. Johanan said: A priest of one eye must not raise his hands. But was there not a one-eyed priest in the neighbourhood of R. Johanan who did bless, and he said to him nothing? That man was known in his town, and nobody stared at him because of his peculiarity; as is stated in a Boraitha: If one such is known in his town, he may.

"R. Jehudah also prohibits." We have learned in a Boraitha: If the majority of a town worked at the same kind of work, and their hands were stained also, he may.

MISHNA: One who should say: "I will not minister at the reading-desk in coloured clothes," may not be permitted to do so even in white ones [because we are afraid perhaps he becomes heretical, as only the Minim are particular about this]. If he refuses to minister with sandals on his feet, he may not be permitted to minister even barefooted. A man who makes the Tephilin round endangers himself, and has not properly observed the commandment. 1 A person who places them low down on his forehead, or on the palm of his hand, acts like the Sadducees. If he covers them with gold, or places them on his unkli, 2 he acts like a dissenter who does not care for our tradition.

If one says in his prayers: "The good shall bless Thee," he acts heretically. If he says: "As to birds' nests were Thy mercies extended, so have mercy upon us"; or, "For Thy good be Thy name remembered"; or one who says twice "Modim," he shall be silenced (by authority). Also, whoever explains the text [Lev. 18:21]: "And of any of thy seed shalt thou not let pass through to Molech" to mean, "Thou shalt not give thy seed to an Aramite (heathen) woman," (and those who explain figuratively the section in the Law relating to carnal intercourse between relatives [Lev. 18]), shall be silenced, and publicly reprimanded. The occurrence of Reuben with Bilha is to be read without being interpreted; that of Tamar is to be read and interpreted. The first part of the occurrence with the golden calf is to be read and interpreted; but the second part [commencing Ex. 34:21] is to be read without being interpreted. The blessing of the priests, and the occurrence of David and Amnon, are neither to be read nor interpreted; the description of the Divine Chariot [Ezek. 1.] is not to be read as a portion from the Prophets, but R. Jehudah permits it. R. Eliezer says, neither [Ezek. 16.]: "Cause Jerusalem to know her abominations," etc.

GEMARA: "The rabbis taught: The Scripture about the creation of the world may be read and interpreted." [Is this not self-evident? Lest one say if it will be read and interpreted, one may ask what was before the creation, or what will be after the world, what is taking place above, and what is occurring below, they come to teach us this is not feared.] What happened to Lot and his two daughters may be read and interpreted. [Is this not self-evident? One might say that we should care for the honour of Abraham: they come to teach it is not so.] What happened to Tamar and Jehudah may be read and interpreted. [Is not this self-evident? Lest one say that we should care for the honour of Jehudah, they come to teach us, on the contrary, it is an honour for Jehudah that he confessed it.] What occurred with the golden calf may be read as far as the first part goes, and interpreted. [Is this not self-evident? We might assume we should care for the honour of Israel. They come to teach us that it is more agreeable to them when it is interpreted, that it causes their forgiveness.] The blessings and the curses pronounced by Moses in Leviticus and Deuteronomy may be read and interpreted. [Is this not self-evident? We might assume, perhaps, when they will hear it, they will become dejected, and say: If so, we will do all we please, as we will be punished so terribly in any event: they come to teach us it is not so.] The warnings and punishments may be read and interpreted. [Is this not self-evident? One might say if the punishments will be read, one might think Israel should do their duties only from fear, they come to teach us this is not apprehended.] The story of Abisolom, Amnan, and Tamar may be read and interpreted. [Is this not self-evident? One might say we should spare the honour of David. They tell us it is not so.] The story of the concubine in Gibea may be read and interpreted. [Is not this self-evident? They come to teach us that we should not do as R. Eliezer of the following Boraitha: It happened to a man who read in Ezekiel, 16: "Make known unto Jerusalem her abominations," in the presence of R. Eliezer, that R. Eliezer said to him: "Instead of investigating the unworthiness of Jerusalem, go and rather investigate the faults of your mother." When it was heard, an investigation was made, and it was found he was not a rightful Israelite.] Following are those which may be read, but not interpreted: What happened to Reuben and Bilha may be read, but not interpreted. It happened once to R. Hanina b. Gamaliel, who went to Kabul, and the reader of the congregation read [Gen. 35:22]: "And it came to pass when Israel dwelt," he said to the interpreter: "Stop, do not interpret except the last verse." And the sages commended him for this. The second part of the story about the golden calf may be read, but not interpreted? What is the second part? From Ex. 32:21-25.

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Simeon b. Elazar said: A man should always be prudent in his replies, for from Aaron's answer to Moses, those that murmured became lawless; for they said: There is something in idolatry, for it is written: "And I cast it into the fire, and there came out this calf." The Blessing of Priests is read, but not interpreted, because it is written [Num. 6:26]: "The Lord lift up his countenance."

"The occurrence of David and Amnan." Did we not learn in a Boraitha that the story of Amnan and Tamar is to be read and interpreted? It presents no difficulty: Where "Amnan ben David" is written, it must not be read; but the other places may.

CHAPTER 3.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING SELLING OF SACRED PROPERTY AND ABOUT THE READING OF THE HOLY SCROLLS ON SABBATH AND HOLIDAYS.

MISHNA: Inhabitants of a town who have sold the open (or market-) place of the town may buy for that money a prayer-house; the money obtained by the sale of a prayer-house they may apply to the purchase of an ark (to keep the Holy Scrolls in); for that obtained by the sale of such an ark, cloaks or wrappers for the Holy Scrolls may be purchased; for the proceeds of such wrappers, books of the Prophets and Hagiographa may be purchased; for the proceeds of the same books, the scrolls of the Pentateuch may be purchased; but if they had sold scrolls of the Pentateuch, it would not be lawful to apply that money for the purchase of books of the Prophets and Hagiographa, nor wrappers for the proceeds of such books, nor an ark for the proceeds of wrappers, nor a prayer-house with the proceeds of an ark, nor a market-place with the money obtained by the sale of a prayer-house; and so in respect to any surplus fund.

GEMARA: "Inhabitants of a town." Said Rabba bar bar Hana in the name of R. Johanan: All this was said by R. Menahem bar Jose, in accordance with whom are many anonymous Mishnas; but the sages said that there is no sanctity in a market-place. But what is the reason of R. Menahem b. Jose? Because on the congregational fast-days the people assembled in the market-places to pray (as is explained in Tract Taanith). The rabbis, however, do not care for what happens only occasionally.

"The money obtained by the sale of a prayer-house." Said R. Samuel bar Na'hmani in the name of R. Jonathan: The case is only about prayer-houses of villages, where they are the inhabitants' property; but in large towns, where money for them is collected from other places also, and to which other men come to pray, the congregation cannot sell it at all, because the prayer-house belongs to a majority who are absent, and it is not theirs.

Said R. Ashi: The prayer-house in my town, Masa-Me'hasia (Sura), although the money was collected from abroad, yet because they all came for my sake, I am the owner of it, and if I wish, I may sell it. Rabha said: What is said, that the money obtained for sacred property must be spent only on other sacred things, applies only to a case where it was not sold by the seven elders of the town, in presence of the townsmen, but if they did so, it may be spent even on drinking beer (if all so wish). There was a hill, on which had stood a prayer-house, which Rabbina wanted to sow. He came to R. Ashi, and asked whether he might do so. He answered him: Go and buy it from the seven elders of the city, in the presence of the townsmen, and then you may sow it. Rami bar Abha was engaged in building a new prayer-house; but he also had an old prayer-house, which he wanted to pull down in order to use the bricks and beams for the new structure. He asked himself this question: R. Hisda once said, one may not destroy an old prayer-house before the new one has been finished; but this is only because one is not sure whether the new one will be completed; I, who am certain that it will, may I pull it down or not? He went and asked R. Papa, who prohibited. He went then and asked R. Huna: he forbade him also.

Rabha said: A prayer-house may be exchanged for another, or sold, but it may not be rented or pledged. Why? Because when it has been sold, its sanctity departs from it; but when rented or pledged, it remains holy, and may not be used for profane purposes. The same is it with the bricks of a prayer-house: they may be exchanged or sold, but not pledged. This applies to old bricks, but not to new ones which have not yet been used. About giving away, however, as a present, R. Aha and Rabbina differ: one says one may do so, and the other not.

The rabbis taught: Articles used for a religious duty may be cast away; but such as are used in holy service must be hidden. What articles are used for religious duties? Such as a Sukkah, Lulab, cornet, Tzitzith. What are holy things? Scrolls of Scripture, Tephilin, Mezuzoth, also cases of scrolls, of Tephilin, and their straps.

Said Rabha: I had thought before, that the pulpit on which the Holy Scrolls are laid to be read is not itself a sacred article, but only one used for the preparation of a holy article; but where I saw once the Holy Scrolls put down on it (without a cloth between), I thought it was itself used for a holy purpose, and therefore must not be sold. Rabha says again: At first I had thought the curtain of the ark was only an article used for a sacred article; but after I had seen that they folded it together, and put the Holy Scrolls on it, I knew it was a sacred article itself, and must not be sold. The same said again: Of an ark which fell to pieces one may construct a smaller ark, but not a pulpit. He said again: When the curtain of the ark is rotten, one may cut it smaller for the use of the Holy Scrolls, but for scrolls of parts of the Pentateuch he must not. The cases of the Holy Scrolls and of the Five Books, as they were used for sacred purposes, must be hidden. Is this not self-evident? Lest one say that they are not made for the honour of the sacred things, but to preserve them, he comes to teach us it is not so.

Mar Zutra said: The Holy Scrolls, when rotten, may be used as shrouds for a dead man that has no friends to bury him, and left no property to be used for that purpose, and this is hiding them.

Said Rabha: Holy Scrolls that were whole, and were torn, may be interred in the grave of a scholar, and even if he had learned only Halakhoth (and did not know Gemara). Said R. A'ha bar Jacob: But they must be put into a clay vessel, as it is written [Jer. xxxii. 14]: "And place them in an earthen vessel."

R. Papi said in the name of Rabh: A prayer-house may be converted into a learning-house, but not vice versa; and R. Papa in the name of Rabha taught the contrary. Said R. A'ha: It seems to be according to R. Papi, because so said R. Joshua b. Levi: A prayer-house may be turned into a learning-house. Infer from it that it is so.

"It will not be lawful to buy books of the Prophets," etc. The schoolmen propounded a question: May old Holy Scrolls be sold, to purchase with the money new ones? Shall we assume that as the new ones have no preference over the old ones, they may not be sold; or that if the old ones are not sold, the new ones cannot be had, therefore it may be done? Come and hear: Rabba bar bar Hana said in the name of R. Johanan, quoting R. Simeon b. Gamaliel: One must not sell old scrolls for the purpose of buying new ones. There it is different: It is a precautionary measure lest he sell the old ones without buying new ones; but here the question is about such as are already written, and he ready for us to be obtained when the money is had. How is the law? Come and hear: R. Johanan said in the name of R. Meir: In any case the Holy Scrolls must not be sold, except for the purpose of using the money for study, or for marriage. From this we see that to exchange the Law for study, one may; so to exchange old scrolls for new ones, one may also. But perhaps it is different, because from studying he will know how to act; and marrying, because it is written [Is. xlv. 18]: "Not for naught did he create it; to be inhabited did he form it." But to exchange old Holy Scrolls for new ones, perhaps one may not? (This question is not decided.)

The rabbis taught: A man shall not sell Holy Scrolls, even when he does not need them; furthermore, says R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, even when he has nothing to eat, and has sold the Holy Scrolls, or his daughter for a slave, he will not see a sign of blessing all his life. Even when he has sold them, and bought new ones instead at a lower price, he will not see a sign of blessing in the remainder of the money. Said Rabha: The case is only when old Holy Scrolls have been sold, and new ones bought, so that some money was left; but when money was collected for this purpose and Holy Scrolls were bought, but some money was left, it may be used for all purposes. And even in the first instance it is so only when the old Holy Scrolls had been bought by the seven elders of the town, in the presence of townsmen, without any condition; but if it was bought conditionally, it may be used even for Duksusia.

Said Abayi to one of the rabbis, who arranged Boraithoth before R. Shesheth (who was blind): Hast thou not heard from R. Shesheth what is meant by Duksusia? He answered: So said R. Shesheth: A rider, whom the people of the town hire for their needs. Said Abayi again: Therefore if a young scholar heard something and does not know it, he should ask a man who usually goes before the great rabbis, because it is impossible that he should not have heard an explanation from the great men.

R. Johanan said in the name of R. Meir: When inhabitants of one town went away to another town, and the elders of that town ordered them to give charity for the poor of that town, they should give (that it should not be suspected they give no charity); but when they return, they may take it back, to support therewith the poor of their own town. The same we have learned in a Boraitha. But if an individual went to another town, and was ordered to give charity there, it should be given away to the poor of that town.

R. Huna ordered a congregational fast. Came to him R. Hana bar Hanilai, with many inhabitants of his town: he ordered them to give charity, and they did so. When they had to return, they said: Let the Master give us back the money, that we may support therewith the poor of our own town. He said to them: We have learned in a Boraitha: When must it be given back? Where there is no scholar in their town who occupies himself with the public needs; but if there is such a man, it must be given to him, that he should dispose thereof. According to this judgement, so much the more the poor of my town and yours, all are supported through me.

MISHNA: Sacred public property must not be sold to private individuals, because the sanctity thereby becomes

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lowered. This is according to R. Meir. The sages, however, said: If so, it would also be prohibited for a large town to sell sacred things to a smaller one.

A prayer-house may be sold, according to R. Meir, only conditionally (that if they want it, it shall be returned to them). But the sages permit it to be sold permanently, except for the four following uses: to be made a bathing-house, a tanning-place, a legal diving-bath, or laundry. R. Jehudah says: It may be sold on the condition that it be made an open court, and then the purchaser is at liberty to turn it to what purpose he pleases.

GEMARA: "But the sages permit to be sold permanently." Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: A man may let water within four ells of a prayer-house. Said R. Joseph, what does he come to teach us? We have learned this in a Mishna, R. Jehudah said, he may sell it for a court-yard, and the buyer can do what he pleases. And even according to the rabbis, who forbid it, it is only in case of a prayer-house whose sacredness is permanent; but in regard to the four ells before the prayer-house, which have no sacredness, even the rabbis admit. One Tana taught in the presence of R. Na'hman: One who prays, and wants to let water, shall step away four ells and do so; and he who has done so must walk away four ells before he may pray. Said R. Na'hman to him: "The last teaching is right, because we have learned in a Mishna that he must withdraw from such things to a distance of four ells; but that he who prays should go away four ells, why is this? By this teaching you make all streets of Nahardea sacred, for there is no place. there where men have not prayed; hence letting water would be unlawful in them? Therefore teach, he must tarry for the length of time required for walking four ells, but need not walk." It is right that he who has let water should wait as long as walking four ells requires, because the feet can be besprinkled and he must wait till they dry; but why shall he who has prayed wait for that time? Said R. Ashi: Because for that length of time the prayer is still in his mind and his lips still keep moving, if he had been praying. The disciples of R. Zakkai asked him: In reward of what have you been living so many years? He replied: I never let water within four ells from a prayer-house, and I never called my neighbour nicknames. It never happened I should pronounce the morning benediction of the Sabbath without a goblet of wine: it happened once I had no money to buy with, and my old mother sold the cap from her head and brought me wine for Kiddush.

[It is taught in a Boraitha:] when she died she left three hundred cans of wine, and when he died he left to his heirs three thousand cans of wine. R. Huna stood in the presence of Rabh, girdled with a piece of rubber gum. And Rabh asked him: Where is thy girdle? He said: I had not wine for Kiddush, and pawned my girdle to get it. Rabh answered him: May it be God's will that you should be wrapped in silk. When he married his son Rabha, he slept on a bed; as he was not tall, his daughters and daughters-in-law threw their silken clothes upon him, and he was wholly hid. When Rabh heard of this, he was sorry, and said: When I blessed you, why did you not answer me: and the same to the Master.

The disciples of R. Elazar b. Shamua asked him: In reward of what have you lived so long? He replied: I never used the house of learning as a passage (compendiarius, thoroughfare); I never trod on the heads of the holy people (he used to come earlier than his disciples, and did not make them rise from their seats on the ground, as it is in the East); and I never raised my hands (for he was a priest) to bless Israel without pronouncing first a benediction. R. Preda was asked the same question by his disciples. He told them it never happened a man should come to the house of learning earlier than I; I never pronounced a benediction at a meal in the presence of a priest; and I never ate of an animal of which the gifts had not been separated, as R. Itz'hak said in the name of R. Johanan: It is not allowed to eat of an animal of which gifts have not been made to the priest even in these days. The Master says: "I have pronounced no benediction in the presence of a priest." Is that a merit? Did not R. Johanan say a scholar for whom a priest, even a high priest, who is an ignorant man pronounces a benediction (which properly the scholar had to pronounce, and the latter had not protested, he) deserves death, because it is written [Prov. 7:36]: "All those that hate me love death"? Do not read "Mesanai," etc. (see Sabbath.). R. Preda means when the priest was equal to him in scholarship.

The disciples of R. Nehunia b. Haqana put to him the same question, and he answered: I never honoured myself by the disgrace of my neighbour, and I never went to bed with the curse of my neighbour (but reconciled myself to him before), and was liberal with my money.

["I never honoured," etc. As it happened, R. Huna bore a pickaxe. R. Hana bar Hanailai took it away from him, and he wanted to carry it. He said to him: If it is your custom to carry such a thing in your town, do it; but otherwise, if I will be honoured by your disgrace, I do not want it." I never went to bed." As Mar Zutra, when he went to bed, used to say: I pardon all the men who have vexed me. "I was liberal." As the: Master said elsewhere that Job was liberal with his money; that is, he allowed the storekeepers larger profits than was necessary.]

R. Aqiba asked R. Nehunia the Great the reason for his longevity. His servants came and beat him (for the question). R. Aqiba fled from them, and went to the top of a tree, and said: Rabbi, when it is written [Num. 28:4]: "one sheep," if it is not in the plural why should "one" be written in addition? And he said to his servants: He is a young scholar; do not hit him. And he answered to him: "One" is added to signify that it shall be the best in its flock. (Then he answered to him to the first question thus:) I never accepted in my life presents, I never was obstinate, and I was liberal with my money.

["I accepted no presents." As happened to R. Elazar, when gifts were sent to him from the house of the Nasi, he did not take them; and when he was invited, he used not to go. He used to say: When they send to me gifts, they do not wish that I shall live, for it is written [Prov. 15:27]: "He that hateth gifts will live." And R. Zera, when gifts were sent to him, he did not accept; but went when he was invited, saying: "They only want to honour me." "And I was not obstinate." As Rabha said: Who yields from his obstinacy has his sins cancelled. As it is written [Micah, vii. 18]: "Pardoning iniquity and forgiving transgression"; and that is interpreted in Tract Rosh Hashana: To whom does God pardon iniquity? Him who pardons the wrongs of his neighbour toward him. Rabbi asked R. Joshua b. Korha: In reward of what have you lived so long? He answered to him: Does it grieve you that I live so long? He rejoined him: Rabbi, it is a study, and I want to learn it from you. He replied: I never in my life looked into the face of a wicked man [as R. Johanan said: One shall not look at the appearance of a wicked man, as it is written (II Kings, 3:14)]: "Surely, were it not that I regard the presence of Jehoshaphat the King of Judah, I would not look toward thee nor see thee." Rabha says: From the following passage [Prov. 18:5]: "It is not good to favour the countenance of the wicked." When R. Joshua b. Korha was dying, Rabbi asked him: Bless me! And he said to him: It shall be the will of God you should reach the half of my age. Said he to him: Rabbi, and not your whole age? Do you not wish I should live as long as you? He replied to him: And what will your sons do? will they tend sheep? If you will live so long, you will survive them (Rabbi was a Nasi). The disciples of R. Adda bar Ahba 1 asked him: Why have you lived so long? He answered: I never was angry in my house, I never preceded a superior, I never thought of Divine subjects in unclean alleys, and I never walked four ells without thinking about the Law and without phylacteries, and I never took a nap in the house of learning; I never rejoiced when my neighbour was in misfortune, and I never called my fellowmen nicknames.]

MISHNA: Furthermore, R. Jehudah says: No funeral orations may be delivered in a house of prayer which had become ruinous, nor may it be used as a rope-walk, nor to spread nets therein, nor to spread fruit on its roof, nor to use it as a passage--compendiarium--(by a shorter route), as it is said [Lev. 26:31]: "I will bring your sanctuaries into desolation." That means, they remain sanctuaries even in their desolation. If grass spring up therein, it may not be pulled up, that the view may contribute to the affliction (of the beholder).

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: The house of prayer must not be treated with levity: one must not eat therein, drink, decorate one's self there, promenade, nor resort there from the great heat or from rain; one must not deliver there a funeral oration after an individual, but one may read there, study Mishna, and deliver a funeral oration after a scholar who was needed by many men. And it has to be swept always, also sprinkled with water, that there be no dust, and no grass grow (where there is no floor). R. Jehudah said: "This is when they are in good condition; but when in ruins, if grass spring up, it may not be pulled up, that the view may contribute to the affliction." R. Asi said: The prayer-houses which are in Babylon, although they are built conditionally, yet in the meantime no one allows himself any levities in them. What does he mean thereby? They do not make business calculations there. R. Asi said again: When business calculations are made in the prayer-house, finally it will become a place for a dead body for a night. How is this to be understood? He means to say that in punishment of this, some one will die in the town who will have no friends, and will be left overnight in the house of prayer. "Decorate one's self." Said Rabha: The scholars and disciples may do it in the learning-house. As R. Joshua b. Levi said: Why is a learning-house called the house of the rabbis? Because some things it is allowed to the rabbis to do which is not permitted to others.

"From the great heat or rain." As Rabbina and R. Ada bar Mathna stood and asked a question of Rabha, meanwhile it began to rain. They entered the house of prayer, but remarked thereat: We go to the prayer-house not from the rain, but for the study of a Halakha for which the mind must be clear as the sunny day, when a north wind blows, purifying the air. R. A'ha b. Rabha asked R. Ashi: How is it when one wants to see a man who is in the prayer-house? May one go in to call him, or not? He answered: If he is a young scholar when he enters the prayer-house, he should speak about some Halakha. When he is a disciple studying Mishna, he should study, entering, a Mishna; if he can only read the Pentateuch, he should say a verse therefrom; if he is unable to do this, he should ask a child: What verse have you learned to-day? If not even this, he should enter, and stay there a while, and only then leave (that it should not seem he came only for this purpose). "After a scholar who was needed," etc. What is meant by this? R. Hisda pointed out, e.g., if anyone of R. Shesheth's disciples should die. R. Shesheth pointed out R. Hisda: If, e.g., one of R. Hisda's disciples would die.

Raphram lamented his daughter-in-law in the prayer-house. He said: For my honour, and in honour of the deceased, the whole world will come to hear my oration. R. Zera lamented after one of the rabbis in the prayer-house, and said: Either in my honour or in honour of the deceased all will come to hear. Resh Lakish delivered a funeral oration after a young scholar who had been in Palestine, and taught Halakhoth to twenty-four rows of disciples. He said: Woe! that the land of Israel has lost such a great man. One scholar died who had known Halakhoth, Siphra, Siphri, and Tosephta. They came and told R. Na'hman he should lament him. R. Na'hman said: What shall I say to such a great man--shall I say, Woe! that such a book-case full of books was lost? (He learned all by himself and not from masters, therefore he styles him merely thus, but not "scholar," because maybe he learned by heart but did not understand the reasons.) Come and see the difference between the mighty of the land of Israel and the pious ones of Babylon. (Rashi explains it thus: Resh Lakish was of the most honoured men of Palestine, as it is said elsewhere that even to Rabbi bar bar Hana he did not talk in the street. Nevertheless, as above said, when a young scholar, learned only in Halakhas, died, he made the lamentation without any questions. R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak was of the pious men of Babylon, as it is said elsewhere that he said: Do not mention fear of sin, because I live yet.)

We have learned in a Mishna in Aboth: "Who uses the crown, is lost." Resh Lakish taught: That means, if one uses for his service a man who learns Halakhoth, which are the crown of the Law. Said Ula: A man can use the service of one who learns four Halakhoth, but not of one who teaches four Halakhoth; as happened with Resh Lakish, who walked on the road, and had to cross a stream. A man came, took Resli Lakish on his shoulders, and carried him across. Resh Lakish asked him: Can you read in the Torah? He said yes. Can you read in the Mishna? He said: I have studied four sections of the Mishna. Said Resh Lakish to him: You have cut out for yourself four rows of gold, and still you carried the son of Lakish on your shoulders? Throw him into the water! Said the man: It is agreeable to me to serve the Master. Said he: You may do it only when you will have learned from me something (and then he taught him a Halakha).

The rabbis taught: The burial of a corpse and the marriage of a bride supersede the study of the Law. It was said of R. Jehudah b. R. Ilai: He used to interrupt his study for the above two things. This is in the case when the dead man has not enough men to accompany him, but if there are enough, one need not interrupt his study. What is meant by "enough"? Said R. Samuel bar Inia in the name of Rabh: It means thirteen thousand men, and six thousand with cornets. And according to others, the six thousand are included in the thirteen thousand. And Ula says: As many men as could form a wall from the place where the man died to the grave. R. Shesheth says: Six hundred thousand men. As the Law was given to six hundred thousand men, so a man who has learned the Law should be accompanied by six hundred thousand men. This applies only to a disciple who has learned, but for the Master who taught, no definite number is to be prescribed.

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Simeon b. Yochi said: Come and see how the Israelites are beloved by the Holy One, blessed be He. Wherever they went in exile, the Shekhina accompanied them. They were exiled into Egypt, the Shekhina was with them, as is written [I Sam. 2:27]: "Did I not appear unto the house of thy father, when they were in Egypt?" When they were exiled into Babylon, the Shekhina was with them, as is written [Is. 43:14]: "For your sake I was sent to Babylon." And in future, when they will be redeemed, the Shekhina will also come to them, as is written [Deut. 30:3]: "The Lord thy God will return"; it is not said, He will bring back you, but He will return with you.

It is written [Ezek. 11:16]: "Yet will I be to them as a minor sanctuary." Said R. Itz'hak: This means the houses of prayer and the houses of learning that are in Babylon. R. Elazar said: That is the house of our Master who is in Babylon (i.e., Rabh). Rabha lectured: It is written [Ps. 90:1]: "Lord, a place of refuge hast thou been unto us." That means the prayer and learning-houses. Said Abayi: Formerly I learned at home, and prayed at the house of prayer; but when I heard later what David said [in Ps. 26:6]: "Lord, I love the site of thy house," I went to study also in the prayer-house.

A Boraitha states: R. Elazar the Kapar said: The prayer and learning-houses which are at present in Babylon will in the future be established in the land of Israel, as it is written [Jer. xlvi. 18]: as Thabor is among the mountains, and as Carmel is by the sea, so shall he come." An a fortiori conclusion is to be drawn: If Thabor and Carmel, at which only occasionally the Law was studied, are counted among the land of Israel, the

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prayer and learning-houses, at which the Law is still studied, so much the more that they will become the land of Israel.

Bar Kapara lectured: It is written [Ps. 68:17]: "Why watch ye enviously, ye many-peaked mountains?" A Heavenly voice was heard, which said to the mountains: "Why should ye be jealous of Mount Sinai? Ye, all great mountains, are blemished in comparison with Sinai." This is inferred from the expression "Gabnunim," and by analogy of expression in Lev. xxi. 20, the expression "crook-backed," which is one of the blemishes, is "Giben." Said R. Ashi: From this we may infer that a man who is haughty must be considered as blemished.

"Nor used as a passage" (compendiarium). What is meant? Said Rabha: The explanation is similar to the word; instead of going around, one goes through the house. Said R. Abahu: If the house was originally used as a shorter route, one may. R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak said: If one entered it without the intention to use it thus, but afterward wants to go through the other door, he may. And R. Helbi in the name of R. Huna said: If he entered to pray, he may go out by the shorter road. As is written [Ezek. 46:9]: "But when the people of the land came before the Lord on the appointed feasts, he that entereth in by the way of the north gate to bow himself down shall go out by the way of the south gate."

"If grass spring up," etc. But did we not learn in a Boraitha, he must not pull it up to feed therewith cattle, but he may uproot it, and leave it lie? In the Mishna also is meant, he should not pull it up for animals.

MISHNA: When the first of Adar falls on a Sabbath, the portion Shekalim [Exod. xxx. ii] is to be read; if it falls on any other day, that portion must be read on the preceding Sabbath, and nothing additional is read on the following Sabbath. On the second, the portion "Remember" [Deut. 15:15] is to be read; on the third, that of the red heifer [Numb. xix.]; on the fourth, that of the new moon [Ex. xvii.]; on the fifth, they return again to the regular order. The regular order of Aphtaroth is also to be interrupted on the days of new moon, on that of Hanuka, on Purim, and on public fast-days, also on the fast of the standing men (this is explained in Tract Shekalim), and the Day of Atonement.

GEMARA: We have learned in the Mishna in Shekalim (vol. 4 p. 1): "On the first day of the month of Adar warnings are heralded from Jerusalem concerning Shekalim and Kelayim." About Kelayim it is the time of sowing, therefore it is right that it is heralded they should have no Kelayim; but whence do we deduce that about Shekalim it must be heralded on the first of Adar? Said R. Tebi in the name of R. Joshia: It is written [Num. xxviii. 14]: "This is the burnt-offering of the new moon for every month." The expression is: "Hodesh behodsho" (i.e., new in its new), that means that the Torah said: Renew it. Ye shall bring the offerings from the new taxes of the year, and as with the first of Nisan begins the new year, it must be heralded in Adar that the new taxes shall be collected before or on the first of Nisan, for the purpose that they might be brought in time to the Temple.

Is the Mishna not in accordance with R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, who said: Only two weeks before Passover shall it be lectured about the Passover? Nay, we can say it is in accordance with R. Simeon b. Gamaliel also, but because in Shekalim, I, Mishna c, it is said: "On the fifteenth of Adar the money-changers outside of Jerusalem seated themselves at their tables," etc., we must be earlier in reading the portion of Shekalim. What is called the portion of Shekalim? Rabh says: The portion about the daily offerings [Num. 28:2]. And Samuel says: Ex. 30:21. It is right according to Samuel that it is called Shekalim, because it speaks about it; but according to Rabh, where is mentioned in that portion about Shekalim? About Shekalim is not mentioned, but according to Rabh this shall be read because the daily offerings must be brought from the new Shekalim as R. Tebi said above. We have learned in the following Boraitha in accordance with Samuel: If the first of Adar falls on Sabbath, the portion from Ex. xxx. 21 shall be read; and the portion from the Prophets should be about Yehoyada the priest [2 Kings, 12.]. R. Itz'hak of the city of Naph'ha said: If the first of Adar falls on Sabbath, three Holy Scrolls must be taken out, and it should be read from one the portion due on that Sabbath, and from one the portion proper on the first of the month, and from one the portion of Shekalim [Ex. 30:21]. He says again: When the first of the month Tebeth falls on Sabbath, the same thing is to be done--three scrolls are to be taken out: one portion proper for the Sabbath should be read, the second that of the first day of the month, and the third about Hanuka [Num. 7.] It was taught: When the first of Tebeth falls on a week-day, said R. Itz'hak: Three must read the portion of the first day of the month, and one about the sanctification; and R. Dimi from the city of Hepha said, Three must read about the sanctification, and one about the first of the month. Said R. Mani: It seems to us that R. Itz'hak of Naph'ha is correct; because a frequent thing is given preference over an unfrequent thing, and we read Hanuka once a year, while the first of the month is twelve times. Said R. Abbin: On the contrary, it seems to be according to R. Dimi, for what is the cause of the fourth man being called to read the Torah? The first of the month. Therefore the fourth man must read the portion of the first of the month. How is it to be decided? R. Joseph said: We must give preference to Hanuka; and Rabba said, to the first of the month. And the Halakha prevails that the main attention must be given to the first of the month, not to Hanuka.

It was taught: When the Sabbath of Shekalim falls when the portion proper to this Sabbath is Thetzaveh [Ex. 27:20], said R. Itz'hak of Naph'ha: Six persons should read from verse 20 of xxvii. to verse 11 of xxx., and one from verse 11 in chapter 30 to verse 17. Said Abayi: The people will think the portion is so long, and will not notice that they read the portion Shekalim, therefore he says six should read from 20 in xxvii. to 17 in xxx. (Thetzaveh), and then should come another and repeat from 11 in 30 to 17 (Shekalim). It was taught: When the first of Adar falls on the eve of Sabbath, said Rabh, the portion Shekalim should be read the preceding Sabbath, because the tables of money-changers are set up two weeks after the reading, and if it will be read on the succeeding Sabbath, they will not be set up on the 15th, but two days later. Samuel, however, said: It should be read on the succeeding Sabbath. The tables will not be set up at all events until Sunday, because they will not begin on the eve of Sabbath, consequently the reading will not cause any delay. Their point of difference is the same as that of the Tanaim of the following Boraitha: There must be an interruption between the Sabbaths, on which must be read the four portions before Passover; so is the decree of R. Jehudah Hanasi. R. Simeon b. Elazar, however, said: No interruption must there be. And he said again: I say, there must be no interruption only then when the first of Adar falls on the eve of Sabbath, but if in the middle of the week, the portion Shekalim must be read on the preceding Sabbath, although the Sabbath is yet in the month Shebat.

"On the second the portion 'Remember' is to be read." It was taught: When Purim falls on the eve of Sabbath, said Rabh: The portion "Remember" should be read on the preceding Sabbath, because, if on the Sabbath after, "Remember" will be read after it has been done (with the reading of the Megilla). Samuel, however, said it should be read on the succeeding Sabbath; and concerning the fact, that the reading of the Megilla must not precede the reading of "Remember," it will not precede in the walled towns, where it is read on the 15th, and then "Remember" will be read before the Megilla. When, however, Purim falls on Sabbath, said R. Huna, all agree it must not be read the preceding Sabbath, but on the same Sabbath. R. Na'hman, however, said: Rabh and Samuel differ also about this. The same was taught also by R. Hyya bar Abba in the name of R. Abba quoting Rabh: When Purim falls on Sabbath, the portion "Remember" should be read the preceding Sabbath.

"The third, that of the red heifer." The rabbis taught: What is meant by the third Sabbath? The one falling after Purim. In the name of R. Hama bar Hanina it was taught: By the third Sabbath is meant the one after which comes the first day of Nisan. They do not differ, however, when the first of Nisan occurs on Sabbath. On the preceding Sabbath the portion of the heifer must be read; and when it falls on a week-day, it has to be read on the Sabbath after Purim.

"The fourth, that of the new moon." The rabbis taught: When the first of Adar falls on Sabbath, the portion Shekalim must be read, and the portion of the Prophets should be about Yehoyada the priest. And what is called the first Sabbath? The one after which the first of Adar falls in the same week, and even on the eve of the succeeding Sabbath. On the second has to be read "Remember," and the portion of the Prophets must be from 1 Sam. 15.: "I remember what Amalek," etc. And what is called the second Sabbath? When Purim falls on the week after it, and even on the eve of Sabbath after it. On the third Sabbath it must be read about the heifer, and the portion of the Prophets in Ezek. 34:24: "I will sprinkle upon you." And what is called the third Sabbath? When it falls after Purim. The fourth Sabbath it has to be read about the new moon, and the portion of the Prophets shall be from Ezek. xlv. 19: "Thus has said the Lord Eternal, in the first month, on the first of the month." And what is called the fourth Sabbath? When the first of Nisan falls in the week after it, and even on the eve of the next Sabbath.

"On the fifth, they return again to the regular order." What order is meant? R. Ami says: To the order of the portions usually read on each Sabbath; and R. Jeremiah says, to the order of the portions from the Prophets (because on these four Sabbaths the portions from the Prophets were different). Said Abayi: It seems to us it should be as R. Ami said, as the Mishna stated above (p. 81) agrees with his opinion.

MISHNA: On the first day of Passover the portion in Leviticus relating to the festival must be read; on Pentecost that commencing "Seven weeks shall ye count," etc. [Deut. xvi.]; on the day of New Year, the portion commencing "In the seventh month, on the first day of the month" [Num. 29:7]; on the Day of Atonement that of "After the death" [Lev. xvi.]; on the first day of the Feast of Tabernacles, the portion of Leviticus relative to the festivals must be read; and on the other days of that festival the offerings for each day [Num. 29:17].

On the half feast of Hanuka, the portion of the offerings of the princes [Num. vii.] must be read; on Purim, that of "And Amalek came" [Ex. xvii. 8]; on the first of the month, "And on the beginnings of your months" [Num. 28:11]; on the fast-days for the standing men, about the creation [Gen. 1.]; on fast-days, the portion containing the blessings and maledictions [Lev. 26:3]; the denunciations therein contained must be read without interruption; namely, one man must read the whole chapter. On Mondays and Thursdays, and on the Sabbath afternoon, they shall read the portion of the Torah in its regular order, but these readings are not available to reduce the regular number, for it is written [Lev. 23:14]: "Moses declared unto the children of Israel the appointed festivals of the Lord." Whence it is inferred that each must be read on the appointed festival to which it refers.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: On Passover should be read the portions referring to this festival, and the portions from the Prophets should be from Joshua, 5:9, about Gilgal, etc.; and at present in exile, when we keep two days as festivals, the first day should be about Gilgal; the second day from 2 Kings, 23, about Joshiah; the last days of Passover should be selected small portions in which it is spoken about Passover. What are they? (This will be explained further on.) And the last days of Passover--on the first of them should be read [Ex. 13:17], "And it came to pass when Pharaoh," and the portion from the Prophets should be from 2 Samuel, 22, "And David spoke"; and on the next day [Deut. 15:19], "All the first-born males," and from the Prophets, in Isaiah, 10:32, "As yet to-day will he remain at Nob." Said Abayi: And now people have the custom to read as follows: "Draw out" [Ex. 12:2], "When a bullock" [Lev. 22:27], "Sanctify" [Ex. xiii. 2], "If thou lend" [ibid. 22:24], and "Hew thyself" [ibid. 34:1], "And the Lord spoke" [Num. 9:1], and "It came to pass" [Ex. 13:17], and then "All the first-born" [Deut. 15:19]. On Pentecost, "Seven weeks shalt thou number" [Deut. 16:9], and from the Prophets, in Habakkuk, 3. An anonymous teacher says [Ex. 19.]: "In the third month," and the portion from the Prophets should be from Ezekiel, i., about the Divine Chariot. And now when in exile we keep two days Pentecost, we do as both have said, but reverse it on the first day of the New Year, as the anonymous teacher, and on the second as above. In the days of the New Year, "In the seventh month" [Num. 29.], and from the Prophets, "Is not Ephraim a dear son" [Jerem. 31:20]. According to others, "And the Lord visited Sarah" [Gen. 21.], and from the Prophets, about Hannah [1 Sam. 1.]. And now when we keep two days, we read on the first about Sarah, and the second, "God did tempt Abraham" [Gen. 22.], and the portion from the Prophets, "Is not Ephraim" [Jer. 31:20]. On the Day of Atonement we read [Lev. 16.], "After the death," and from the Prophets [Is. 57:15], "For thus hath said the High," etc. And in the Min'ha prayer, we read about the laws of legal marriage [Lev. xviii.], and from the Prophets, Jonah.

[R. Johanan said: In nearly every place where you find the might of the Holy One, blessed be He, you find also His modesty. This is written in the Pentateuch, and repeated in the Prophets, and mentioned a third time in the Hagiographa. In the Pentateuch [Deut. 10:17]: "For the Lord your God is the God of gods, and the Lord of lords"; and the next verse, "Who executeth justice for the fatherless and the widow." It is repeated in the Prophets [Is. 57:15]: "Thus hath said the High and Lofty One, who inhabiteth Eternity, whose name is Holy"; and the end of this verse is "yet also with the contrite and humble in spirit." The third time in Hagiographa [Ps. 68:5]: "Extol him who rideth upon the heavens." "The Everlasting is his name," and the next verse is "A father of the fatherless, and the judge of the widows."]

The first festival day of the Feast of Tabernacles should be read the portion about this feast in Leviticus; and from the Prophets [Zechariah, 14:1]: "Behold, a day is coming unto the Lord." Now when we keep two days, we read on the second the same as on the first, but from the Prophets [I Kings, 8:2]: "And all the men of Israel assembled." And on the remaining days of the festival we read about the sacrifices of the festival, and on the last day we read "All your first-born," to the end of the chapter, and from the Prophets [ibid. 4:1]: "And it came to pass when Solomon had finished"; and on the morrow, "And this is the blessing" [Deut. 33], and from the Prophets [1 Kings, 8:22]: "And Solomon stood."

R. Huna said in the name of Rabh: On the Sabbath in the intermediate days of the festivals, whether Passover or that of Tabernacles, should be read Ex. 33:12; and from the Prophets [Ezek. 37], about the dry bones, and on Feast of Tabernacles [Ezek. 38], about Gog and Magog. During Hanuka the portion in Num. vii. about the offerings of the princes, and from Prophets [Zechariah, 3], about the candlesticks, And when it happens there are two Sabbaths in the eight days of Hanuka, on the first Sabbath the candlesticks of Zechariah, on the last Sabbath from 1 Kings, 7:49, about the candlesticks of Solomon. On Purim [Ex. 17], "And Amalek came," and "On the beginnings of your months" [Num. 28]. And if the first of the month falls on Sabbath, it should be read from Isaiah, lxvi. 23: "And it shall come to pass that from one new moon to the other." And when the first of the

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month falls on Sunday, the preceding Sabbath it should be read from the Prophets [1 Sam. 20:5]: "And Jonathan said unto David, to-morrow is the new moon."

R. Huna said: If the first of the month Ab falls on Sabbath, it should be read from the Prophets in Is. 1:14: "Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth." On the ninth of Ab itself? What portion do we read from the Prophets? Said Rabh: Is. 1:2]: "How became a whore the faithful city?" Said Abayi: And now people have the usage to read from the Pentateuch [Deut. 4:24]: "When thou begettest children ", and from the Prophets in Jerem. 8:13: "I will make an end of them."

"On the fast of the standing men." Whence do we deduce this? (Rashi explains it that the question is what connection there is between the creation and these fasts.) Said R. Ami: If not the standing men, the heaven and earth would not abide; as is written [Jerem. 33:25]: "If my covenant be not with day and night, I would not appoint the ordinances of heaven and earth," And it is also written [Gen. 16:8]: "And he said, Lord God, whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it?" Said Abraham before the Holy One, blessed be He: Creator of the Universe, perhaps if Israel will sin before Thee, Thou wilt destroy them as the generation at the time of the Flood and of the Dispersion of Babel. And He answered: Nay. Said Abraham: Whereby will I know it? And the Lord said: Take Me a heifer three years old (i.e., the sacrifices will forgive their sins). Then Abraham said again: Creator of the Universe, this will be as long as the Temple exists, but what will be when the Temple will be destroyed? And the Lord answered: I have therefore ordained to them the order of the sacrifices, and every time they will read it, it will be considered by Me as if they had offered them, and I will forgive them all their sins.

"Without interruption." Whence do we deduce this? Said R. Hyya bar Gamda in the name of R. Asi: Because it is written [Prov. 3:11]: "The correction of the Lord, my son, do not despise." (And if there were interruption, it would seem as if the correction were disagreeable to them.) Resh Lakish, however, said: That is because we do not pronounce a benediction over chastisement. What else shall he do? We have learned in a Boraitha: He should begin a verse before the curses, and should end a verse after them. We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Simeon b. Elazar said: Ezra ordained that Israel should read the curses in Leviticus before Pentecost, and those in Deuteronomy before New Year. Why so? Said Abayi, and according to others Resh Lakish: That the curses should end with the year. It is right of Deuteronomy, because then begins a new year; but in Leviticus, before Pentecost, does Pentecost begin a new year? Yea, Pentecost is also a New Year's day, as we have learned in Tract Rosh Hashana, on Pentecost is decided in Heaven about the fruit of the year.

The rabbis taught: From the same place where they stop to read in the Pentateuch on Sabbath in the morning, they begin to read in the Min'ha prayer; and from the same place they should begin on Mondays and Thursdays and the next Sabbath. So is the decree of R. Meir. But R. Jehudah said: From the same place where they had stopped the last Sabbath, they should begin at the Min'ha prayer, and Mondays and Thursdays, and also the next Sabbath. Said R. Zera the Halakha prevails so. The rabbis taught: One shall open the Holy Scrolls and look on them, then pronounce the benediction, then read. R. Shephatia said in the name of R. Johanan: He who rolls together the Holy Scrolls, shall do it so that the sewn rolls should be in the middle, so that it be done easily. The same said again in the name of the same authority: They may be rolled together only from outside, but not from inside, so that the letters should not be seen outside. When one holds scrolls himself, and has to find in it something, he should not begin to roll away from his person, because one scroll might fall down, but he should roll them toward his person, so that they should remain on his knees. When he rolls them from both sides, he should begin with the side toward his person, because if from the other side, a man will be unable to see at a distance what is written in them, and it is a duty to let him see.

The same says again: If ten men have read in the scrolls, the greatest of them should roll them together, for R. Joshuah b. Levi said: He who rolls them together, is rewarded as much as all of them together.

He says again: Whence do we know that we may avail ourselves of a Heavenly voice? Because it is written [Is. 30]: "Thine ears shall hear a thing from behind them." When is this the case? When one hears a male voice in town, and a female voice in the country, and when it says: "Yea, yea," or "Nay, nay." The same says again in the name of the same authority: Who reads without sweetness, and learns without a chant, of him says the verse in Ezekiel [20:25]: "And I also have given unto them laws that are not good." Abayi opposed. Shall I say, because he cannot make sweet his voice, the above verse should be applied to him? Therefore we must say as R. Mesharshia said elsewhere, that if two scholars are in one town, that contradict themselves in Halakha, to them is the above verse applied.

Said R. Pornach in the name of R. Johanan: Who handled the Holy Scrolls, while naked, 1 will be buried naked. Said R. Janai the son of R. Janai the Elder: It is better that the mantle of the Holy Scrolls should be inserted between the scrolls than vice versa. It is written [Lev. xxiii. 44]: "And Moses spoke of the festivals of the Lord to the children of Israel"; i.e., he told them the merit of reading the portions of the Torah each in its time. The rabbis taught: Moses ordered to Israel they shall discuss and lecture on the subject of the day: the Halakhas of Passover on Passover, the Halakhas of Pentecost on Pentecost, and the Halakhas of Tabernacles on the Feast of Tabernacles.

END OF TRACT MEGILLA.

TRACT EBEL RABBATHI (GREAT MOURNING), OR SEMA'HOTH (JOYS).

SYNOPSIS OF SUBJECTS OF VOLUME 8.--EBEL RABBATHI.

CHAPTERS 1. to 3. One who is in agony of death is regarded as alive In all respects. How so? May the inhabitants of a village greet each other if a death occurs in their community? How shall a suicide be buried, and who is considered such? Suicide of a minor. The burial of one judicially executed. That of one separating himself from the congregation, and of those stealing the duties. At what age are poor children to be lamented, and at what age rich ones? The funeral meal. At what age is death considered Kareth (short life)? The days of sickness. The legend about the conversation of the Angel of Death with many of the Amoraim, 1-11

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EBEL RABBATHI (GREAT MOURNING), OR SEMA'HOTH (JOYS).

CHAPTER 1.

A. One in he struggle of death is to be regarded as living in all respects. He still binds the dependents to the law of Yibum, and he exempts from the same. He makes his dependents eat of heave-offerings, and prevents them from eating it. He inherits and makes others inherit. hen a limb or a piece of flesh is removed from him, it is regarded as of a living man. The blood of his sin-offering and transgression may be sprinkled until he dies.

B. His mouth must not be closed, nor his openings stopped. No metal vessel or anything which chills must be put on his navel till he dies, as it is written [Eccl. xii. 6]: "While the silver cord is not yet torn loose."

C. He must not be moved, nor put on sand or salt, until he dies.

D. His eyes must not be closed. Whoever touches or moves him is regarded as a shedder of blood.

E. His relatives may not rend their clothes nor remove their shoes nor lament over him, nor may the coffin be brought into his room, till he dies.

F. His death must not be announced, nor his deeds proclaimed, until he dies; R. Jehudah, however, said: If he was a wise man, the latter may be done.

G. Greetings must not be exchanged when there is a death in a village, but it may be done in a greater city. An infant cut or torn at birth, a miscarriage, or born alive at the eighth month, or born dead at the ninth--all the religious ceremonies do not apply to it.

H. The same is the case with an idolater or bondsman, nevertheless they may exclaim over him: "Woe, lion! lion! Woe, hero!" R. Jehudah said: (It may be said also:) Woe, trusted man, who lived by his labour! They said to him: If so, what is there left to say of the upright? He rejoined: If he was righteous why should this not be said of him? No consolation is needed (on the death of) male and female slaves.

I. It happened when the female slave of R. Eliezer died, his disciples went to console him. When he saw them he went into the yard, and they followed him; he returned to the house, and they followed him. He then said to them: I thought that you might be scalded with lukewarm water, now I see that you cannot be scalded even with boiling. Have I not taught unto you: No consolation is needed (on the death of) slaves?

J. When Tebbi the slave of Rabban Gamaliel died, the latter accepted consolation. Said his disciples to him: Our master! hast thou not taught unto us that no consolation is needed on slaves? He rejoined: My slave Tebbi cannot be likened to other slaves; he was a righteous one.

K. He also permitted him to lay Tephilin. Said his disciples: Our master! hast thou not taught unto us that slaves are exempt from Tephilin? And he made the same rejoinder.

L. Slaves must not be distinguished as Father so and so, or Mother so and so. The household of Rabban Gamaliel, however, used the distinction of "Father Tebbi" and "Mother Tebbitha" to the above-named and his wife.

M. Ancestors must not be distinguished as the fathers of the nation (or the tribes), except the three Patriarchs; nor mothers of the nation, but the four mothers.

CHAPTER 2.

A. A suicide must be buried without any ceremony. R. Ishmael said: It may be exclaimed: Alas, suicide! Alas, suicide! Said R. Aqiba to him: Leave him alone. Do not honour nor abuse him. No rending, no removal of shoes, and no lamenting. They may, however, stand in line, and say over him the mourners' benedictions, because it is for the honour of the living. This is the general rule: Whatever is for the honour of the living may be done; but everything which is not for their sake, it is not imperative for the congregation to do for such.

B. Who is to be considered a suicide? If one ascended to the top of a tree or a roof, and he fell down and was killed, he must not be considered a suicide, unless he says previously: "I am going to drop myself!" and immediately afterward it was observed that he did so; then it is to be considered a suicide, and he shall be buried without any religious ceremonies.

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C. When one is found hanging on a tree strangled, or lying on a sword killed, he is not to be considered a suicide, and nothing may be withheld from him.

D. It happened to the son of Gornos in Lud, who ran away from school, that his father threatened him. Being afraid of his father, he drowned himself in a pit. When R. Tarphon was inquired about him, he said: Nothing shall be withheld from him.

E. It happened to a lad at the city of Bene-Berak, who broke a glass on the Sabbath, that his father threatened him. Being afraid of his father, he drowned himself in a pit. It was told to R. Aqiba, and he said: Nothing shall be withheld from him.

F. From this the sages declared: One shall not threaten a child. He shall either punish him immediately, or he shall keep silence. Said R. Simeon b. Elazar: Lust, children, and women should be repulsed with the left, and attracted with the right hand.

G. Those who are put to death by the decision of a court must be buried without any ceremonies. Their brothers and relatives may come and greet the witnesses and the judges, to show them that the judgement is considered just, and that they have nothing against them; that they do not mourn for them loudly, but are sorry for them, as sorrow is only in the heart. Rabbi Nathan, however, said: There is no difference between silent sorrow and loud weeping.

H. No funeral meal must be prepared for them, as it is written [Lev. xix. 26]: "Ye shall not eat upon the blood."

I. Whoever separates himself from the congregation, nobody shall have anything to do with him. And when he is dead, his brothers and other relatives may dress and wrap themselves in white, eat, drink, and rejoice that the enemy of the Place is lost [Ps. 139:21]. This verse, with the following, is to be explained thus: Why do I hate them with the utmost hatred? Because they have separated themselves from me, and become my enemies.

J. The same is the case with those who steal the duties, or steal from devoted things, they are considered as shedders of blood; and not merely that, but also as idolaters, adulterers, and intentional violators of the Sabbath.

K. From those who are killed by the government, nothing may be withheld, nor from those who were drowned in the sea or a river, or were eaten by a wild beast. From what time must the day of the mourning for them be counted? Since the time that they have despaired of finding. If separate limbs are found, it cannot be counted till the head and the greater part of the body are found. R. Jehudah said: The backbone and the skull are considered as the greater part of the body.

L. If a husband or wife, or parents, were crucified in the town, the wife, the husband, or the children shall not live in that town, except it be as large as Antioch, and even then they must remove to another part. Until what term are they not allowed to live there? Till the flesh is totally destroyed, and the bones cannot be recognised any longer. L1

CHAPTER 3.

A. An infant a day old must be regarded by his parents as if he would be a bridegroom; and not merely a day old, but even if the head and the greater part of the body came out alive. The expression of "a day" is used by the sages because it is more usual.

B. An infant dying at birth is interred attended by one woman and two men, and is carried in the hand. Abba Saul, however, said: By two women and one man. The sages objected to him that one woman is allowed to be with two men in a separate place, but not vice versa. No line of consolers is formed, no mourners' benediction is said, until it is thirty days old. From the age of thirty days till a twelvemonth it may be attended by men and women, and is carried in a case under the arm. From the age of one to three years it is attended by the same, with the addition that it may be carried in a case on the shoulder. R. Jehudah, however, said: If the father desires, a coffin may be brought to the cemetery to bury it in, even if it is not three years old.

C. At the age of three it is carried in a hearse. R. Aqiba, however, said: If it is three years old, but looks like two, it is not carried in a hearse; but a hearse may be used for those who look like three even if they are less. Simeon the son of the brother of Azariah said: Anyone borne in a hearse, his praises may be proclaimed. R. Meir in the name of Elazar b. Azariah said: If when he was alive he used to play on the street and was known to the people, then they are obliged to attend, but not otherwise. R. Jehudah, however, said in the name of the same: Even if he was known only to his neighbours.

D. Regarding lamentations, R. Meir in the name of R. Ishmael said: The poor are lamented from the age of three, and the rich from the age of five; R. Jehudah, however, said in the name of the same: The poor from the age of five, and the rich from the age of six. R. Aqiba said: The poor from the age of six, and the rich from the age of seven. The poor are lamented the same as the rich, the rich as the children of the sages, and they as the princes.

E. A child that was able to act for himself may be lamented for his own virtues; if he has none, for those of his parents; if his parents have no virtues, for those of his other relatives. A bride may be lamented either for the virtues of her father or father-in-law, as honours should be exaggerated and not diminished. No honour is to be invented, but may be added to the original.

F. In Jerusalem they used to say: "Prepare good things, they shall be used before thy hearse." In Judah, however, they used to say: "They shall be used behind thy hearse." Because in Jerusalem the lamenters used to walk in front of the hearse, and proclaimed only the virtues which he possessed; and the people who were behind the hearse, even such as he did not. And in Judah the lamenters were behind the hearse, and they spoke only of the virtues which he possessed; and the people who were behind them did not repeat anything. From the age of three to thirty, one is lamented as if he were a bridegroom; from thirty to forty he is lamented as a brother; from forty to fifty as a father.

G. R. Simeon b. Elazar said: From the age of thirty to forty, if he has children, or if most others of his age have grandchildren, he is lamented as a father; otherwise, as a brother.

H. One dying under the age of fifty, it may yet be considered as if he were under the punishment of Kareth (short life). When, however, he reaches the age of fifty-two, this was the death of Samuel the Prophet; at the age of sixty, this is the death mentioned in the Scriptures, as it is written [Job, 5:26]: "Thou wilt go in a ripe age unto the grave." At seventy it is considered old age, as it is written [Psalms, 90:10]: "The days of our years in this life are seventy years." At eighty it is considered uncommon vigor, as it is written [ibid.]: "And if by uncommon vigor they be eighty." "Above that age it is a life of affliction, and so said Barzillai the Gileadite to David," [2 Samuel, 19:36].

Death after only one day of sickness is a death of wrath; at two days, it is a death of terror; at three days, a death of pest; at four and five days, a hastened death; at six days, it is the death mentioned in the Torah; at seven, it is a death of favour; more than that, it is a death of suffering.

The rabbis taught: One who dies suddenly, he is said to have died an abrupt death; if the death was preceded by one day's sickness, it is a hastened death. R. Hananiah, however, said: The latter case is termed a plague-death, as it is written [Ezek. 24:16]: "Son of man, behold, I will take away from thee the desire of thy eyes by a sudden death (plague)"; and it is stated again [ibid. 18]: "And when I had spoken unto the people in the morning, my wife died at evening." If it was preceded by a two days' sickness, it is a hurried death; if by a three days', it is a reproach; if by a four days', a rebuke; but if preceded by a five days' sickness, it is an ordinary death. [Said R. Hanin: From what biblical passage is this adduced? From (Deut. 31:14): "Hehn korvu yomechu lomuth" (Behold, thy days approach that thou must die). "Hehn" means "one" in Greek; "korvu" (in the plural) is two; "yomechu" (in the plural) is also two; altogether five.] Death at the age of fifty is Kareth (cut off); at fifty-two, the age at which Samuel of Ramah died; at sixty, a death by Heaven. [Said Mar Zutra: Whence is this adduced? From (Job, v. 26): "Thou wilt go in a ripe age, unto the grave," the numerical value of the letters of being sixty.] Seventy is called an old age; eighty, an age of uncommon vigor, as it is written [Psalms, 90:10]: "And if by uncommon vigor they be eighty." Rabba, however, said: "From fifty to sixty it is Kareth; and the reason why this is not stated in the Boraitha is because of the honour of Samuel." When R. Joseph arrived at the age of sixty, he gave an entertainment to the rabbis, for he said: "I have passed the age of Kareth." Said Abayi to him: "It is true that the Master has passed the age of Kareth, but has then the Master already passed the day of Kareth?" And he answered him: "Be content for the present with half." R. Huna died suddenly, which caused the rabbis great worry. A couple of sages of Hadaeb taught them: "It was stated (regarding a sudden death), only when the deceased has not reached the age of eighty; but if he has, it is, on the contrary, considered a death caused by a kiss." Rabha said: Longevity, fertility, and maintenance do not depend on virtue but rather on fate, as is illustrated by the case of Rabba and R. Hisda, both of whom were upright rabbis and both could bring down rain by their prayers, and still R. Hisda died at the age of ninety-two and Rabba at the age of forty. In the house of R. Hisda there were sixty marriages, while in that of Rabba there were sixty deaths. In the house of R. Hisda there was fine white bread in such an abundance that even the dogs did not care for it, while in that of Rabba there was not sufficient barley bread for human beings. Rabha further said: Three things I prayed Heaven to grant me. Two were granted, the third one not: the wisdom of R. Huna and the riches of R. Hisda were granted me, but the modesty of Rabba bar R. Huna was denied to me. R. Seorim (Amram), the brother of Rabha, was sitting at the bedside of Rabha when the latter was in his last agonies. Said Rabha to him: "Let the Master tell him (the angel of death) not to cause me any pain." And he answered him: "Is, then, the Master himself not a friend of him?" Rabha rejoined: "As my fate was already referred to him, he will not care for me any more." R. Seorim then said to the sick: "I would like that the soul of the Master should appear before me." When it was so, R. Seorim asked: "Had the Master felt any pain?" (at the time of the separation of the soul from the body), and he answered: "It was as if pinched with the lancet." Rabha was sitting at the bedside of R. Na'hman when he was in his last agonies, and the latter said: "Let the Master tell him (the angel of death) not to pain me." And he said to him: "Is not the Master a prominent person?" (to tell him so himself). And he answered him: "Who is esteemed, or worthy, or who can contend (at such a moment)?" He then said to the dying: "Let the Master's soul appear before me." When it was so, he asked him: "Had you pain?" And he answered: "It was as easy as to remove a hair from milk; and yet, if the Holy One, blessed be He, would command me to return to the world I was in I would pray permission not to do it, for the fear (of the angel of death) is too great." R. Elazar was eating Trumah (heave-offering) when the death angel appeared before him, and he said to him: "You see that I am now eating Trumah, is it not sacred?" And the appropriate moment passed over. To R. Shesheth he presented himself in the market, and he said to him: "Do you wish to take me when I am in the market, as if I were an animal? Come to my house." When he presented himself to R. Ashi in the market, the latter said to him: "Extend my time thirty days, so as to enable me to review my studies, as ye say: 'Happy is the person who comes here possessed of his studies.'" On the thirtieth day he appeared again, and R. Ashi said to him: "Why such punctuality?" And he answered him: "You interfere with Bar Nathan, as no regency must interfere with another, even as much as a hair (i.e., R. Nathan cannot become the head of the college so long as you are alive)." R. Hisda could not be overpowered (by the angel of death), for he kept on studying all the time, and the death angel climbed up and hid himself in a cedar in front of Rabha's house. When the cedar broke down, R. Hisda discontinued his study for a moment and he was overpowered at that moment. R. Hyya was inaccessible (to the angel of death). One day he transformed himself into a mendicant, and knocked on the door and asked for a slice of bread. When R. Hyya handed him what he asked for, the angel said to him: "Does not the Master have mercy with a poor man? Why does the Master have no mercy with me? I am the angel of death." And as proof, he showed him the fire-rod. R. Hyya then delivered up his soul to him.

I. Said R. Hanina b. Antigonos: If an old man has eaten forbidden things, or intentionally violated the Sabbath, the punishment of which is Kareth, I1 and he is over the age that short life should be applied to him, what will signify to us that his death was that of Kareth? Therefore we must consider that he who died after only three days of sickness, it is a death of Kareth; at four days, it is a hastened death, etc. Said R. Jehudah: The pious of ancient times have suffered of the sickness of the intestines two or three days before their death, I2 for the purpose of cleaning their bodies of all food and drink, that they should enter clean in the world to come, as it is written [Proverbs, 27:21]: "(As) the fining-pot is for silver, and the furnace for gold, so is a man (proved) according to his praise."

CHAPTER 4.

A. For relatives of the first degree--e.g., father, mother, son, daughter, brother, wife, and sister--a priest may defile himself. R. Aqiba said: For those of the second degree he mourns and is prevented also from services, which he must not perform when his dead is not buried; but he must not defile himself.

B. R. Simeon b. Elazar, however, said: He may defile himself for his grandfather and his grandson, but the sages say: For whomsoever he is obliged to perform all the ceremonies of mourning, are to mourn with him, but not otherwise. If it was doubtful, however, whether the deceased was his brother or son, or not, he mourns and is considered an Orvan, but he must not defile himself.

C. For his betrothed he must neither mourn nor defile himself. The same is the case with his divorced wife, although he has children by her.

The rabbis taught: Over all those of which it is written in the chapter relating to priests [Lev. xxi.], that a priest may defile himself on them, an ordinary person must mourn, and they are the following: wife, father and mother, brother and sister, son and daughter. To these were added: his brother and virgin sister by his mother, and his married sister either by his mother or by his father. And also over all their second degree of consanguinity. Such is the dictum of R. Aqiba. R. Simeon b. Elazar, however, holds that it extends only to his grandson and his grandfather. The sages, however, laid down the following rule: "Over whom one is bound to mourn, with him he must mourn." Does not the rule of the sages state the same thing stated by the first Tana? There is a difference as to those who are with him in the same house. Rabh once said to Hyya his son, and so also said R. Huna to Rabba his son: "In her (wife's) presence observe mourning, but not in her absence." Mar Uqba's brother-in-law died, and he was inclined to observe both the seven and the thirty days. When R. Huna came to him and found him mourning, he said: "Dost thou desire to partake of the mourning-meal? The rule that one must observe mourning out of respect for his wife, extends

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only to father-in-law and mother-in-law." We have also so learned in a Boraitha: "Ameimar's grandson died, and he rent his garment. When subsequently his son arrived he rent again in his presence, and when he afterwards recollected that he was seated at the time he rent, he arose and rent once more."

D. [What is the term for Aninuth? From the time of death till the interment, such is the dictum of R. Meir. The sages, however, say: One day only.] If a high-priest has married a widow against the written Law; or an ordinary priest has married a divorced woman, or one who has performed Halitzah, he may mourn for her, and has to keep the term of Aninuth, but must not defile himself.

E. For his sister, if she is betrothed, R. Meir and R. Jehudah say he may defile himself. R. Jose and R. Simeon hold that he must not.

F. If he has married a virgin but without virginity, according to R. Jose and R. Meir he defiles, and according to R. Simeon he may not. If he has married a forced or a seduced woman, all agree that he may not. If he married a vigaros, all agree that he may.

G. The general rule which R. Simeon laid down is: For every woman who was fit for the high-priest when she was yet a virgin he may defile himself, but not otherwise.

H. For all those of whom it was declared that a priest may defile himself, it is not meant as a permission but as an obligation. So also said R. Aqiba; R. Ishmael, however, said: It is meant as a permission.

I. It happened to Joseph the priest that his wife died on the eve of Passover, and he was reluctant to defile himself, so his colleagues pushed him on her and defiled him against his will, saying: It is not a permission but an obligation.

J. Until what time may he defile himself? R. Meir said: That whole day; R. Jose said: Until three days; R. Jehudah in the name of R. Tarphon says: Until the grave is closed.

K. It is related that when R. Simeon b. Jehozadok died at Lud, his brother Johanan came from Galilee to defile himself with him, after the grave was already closed. When the sages were asked about it they decided: He must not defile himself; however, the grave may be opened to enable him to see him.

L. It happened that a youth died and left his property to strangers, and left out his family. His relatives complained, and demanded an examination. When the sages were asked, they decided not to do so, because as soon as the grave is closed the corpse must not be moved. According to others: As soon as one dies, his hair is changed.

M. An ordinary priest who is defiling himself with relatives must not do the same with a stranger, even at the same time, in case the stranger has sufficient attendants; but if he has not he may defile himself, and afterward retire to an undefiled place. The same is the case when he begins, and others come to relieve him.

N. When there were two roads, one short but unclean and the other long but clean, if the people went on the long one he should accompany them, and if the people took the short road he should go with them, for the honour of the people.

O. If he was engaged in burying his dead, so long as he is in the grave he may receive from strangers for burial, but if he was out he must not return.

P. If he has defiled himself on the same day, R. Tarphon makes him culpable to a sin-offering, and R. Aqiba makes him free. All agree, however, that he is culpable when he does so on the morrow, because he has added one more day to be unclean, as he must count seven days after the last defilement.

Q. A priest may defile himself for relatives even if they are not fit for the priesthood; e.g., for his son, daughter, brother or sister, begotten by a temple-servant or bastard, except for those begotten by a slave or a Gentile.

R. A high-priest who defiles himself with the dead, or bares his head, or rends his garments, is liable to the punishment of stripes.

S. For all uncleanness for which a Nazarite must shave off his hair, he is liable to stripes; otherwise he is not.

T. A high-priest who enters a cemetery is liable to stripes.

U. If he enters the yard of a cemetery, or if he goes outside of Palestine, he is liable to chastisement (rabbinically).

V. If he enters a field where there is a lost grave, he is not culpable till he traverses every bit of it.

W. A priest may defile himself by going outside of Palestine to attend a civil or criminal court; to sanctify the month; to intercalate the year, and to save his field from the idolaters. He may bring a complaint and sign it in their courts; however, he must first make a declaration that he is going for this purpose.

X. He may also leave Palestine for the purpose of studying the Law, or to get married. Said R. Jehudah: He may do the former when there is nobody in the place to learn from; otherwise he may not. R. Jose, however, said: Even if there is one to learn from he may do so, because not everyone can teach. It happened to Joseph the priest that he went to his master to study the Law; he went outside of Palestine to R. Jose in Zaidin.

Y. A priest may defile himself with a piece of bone of his father's body, even if it was as large as a grain of barley; R. Jehudah, however, said: He must not. A priest must not defile himself with a limb cut off a living body, be it even that of his father.

Z. It happened to Joseph Parkass that he had an abscess on his foot, and the surgeon came to cut it off. He said to him: If thou wilt leave of it a bit of the size of a hair, let me know. When the surgeon told him that he did so, he summoned his son Nehemiah and said: My son, till here thou art obliged to attend me, but no farther. For the sages said: One must not defile himself for a limb cut off a living body, be it even that of his father. When the sages heard of it, they said: The following passage: "My life is in my hand continually, yet thy Law do I not forget." [Ps. cxix. 109], applies to him; and also: "There is many a righteous man that perisheth in his righteousness" [Prov. vii. 15].

AA. If he was on the road and he found a Meth-Mitzvah, he is obliged to attend to it. What is to be considered such? If he would call for help and his cry could not be heard in the nearest town; but when it is heard, it is not considered as such (and he must not defile himself).

BB. It is always considered a Meth-Mitzvah unless there are sufficient people to attend to its funeral.

CC. If there was a high-priest and a Nazarite, the high-priest shall defile himself but not the Nazarite, according to R. Eliezer; for the latter must bring an offer for his defilement, and the former not. The sages, however, say: Rather let the Nazarite bring a hundred offers than cause defilement even to an ordinary priest; because the sanctification of the priest is from birth and forever, and the Nazarite's is only temporary.

DD. All agree that if there was an anointed high-priest and an unanointed one who is recognised only by his many garments, the latter must defile himself and not the former; when there was the latter and an overseer, or an overseer and an ex-overseer, or an ex-overseer and a priest anointed for the war, or he and a common priest, or a common priest and a Levite, or he and an Israelite, the second of each pair always must defile himself but not the first. If both are equals, the quickest of the two must do so; and if both are quick, the one that expresses the desire shall do so.

EE. If it was found between a ploughed and an abandoned field, it shall be buried in the latter; between a ploughed and a sown field, it shall be buried in the former; between a sown field and an orchard, or an orchard and a field in which persea grows, it shall be buried in the former. If both places are equal in value, it shall be buried in the nearest one; and if they are equal in distance, it can be buried wherever desirable.

FF. Said R. Aqiba: "The following incident was the commencement of my reward to be counted among the wise. I once arose early and found a slain body. I burdened myself with it for three legal limits of the Sabbath, until I brought it to a cemetery, and I buried it. When I related this to the sages, they told me that my every step was considered as if I had shed blood. Whereupon I drew the following a fortiori conclusion: When, having in view to perform a meritorious deed, I have transgressed so much, how much the more would I have sinned if I had had no such intention!" Whenever R. Aqiba was reminded of this incident he said: This was the commencement of my reward.

CHAPTER 5.

A. No work must be done by a mourner on all the. seven days after the burial; nor by his children, his servants, or his cattle. As he and they all are not allowed, so are others not allowed to do any work for him.

The rabbis taught: A mourner is prohibited to do any work during the first three days, even the indigent who lives on charity; thenceforward he may do it privately; and the housewife may spin with her spindle.

The rabbis taught: A mourner must not visit another mourner during the first three days; thenceforth he may, but he must not sit among the condolers, but among those who are being condoled.

The rabbis taught: A mourner is prohibited the first three days from greeting others; from the third to the seventh he may only answer a greeting; thenceforward he may greet and answer as usual. When the sons of R. Aqiba died, an enormous crowd flocked to the funeral. R. Aqiba ascended the rostrum, and addressed the people: "Brothers in Israel, listen to my words: It is not because of merit or station of mine that ye appear here, for assuredly there are my superiors in this city. Oh, your reward will be great. Ye have dome homage to the Law; your presence would suffice to console me, even if I had buried two bridegrooms; ye appeared here because you thought to yourselves [Psalms, xxxvii. 3]: 'The law of his God is in his heart.'" (Hence we see that it is permitted to greet even within the first three days?) Where the honour of the public is concerned the case is different.

"From the third to the seventh day he may answer, but not greet." There is a contradiction from the following Boraitha: One who meets his friend who is in mourning, if within twelve months he may speak to him words of consolation, but must not greet him; if after twelve months, he may greet him, but not speak to him words of consolation, unless indirectly. R. Meir said: To what may the case of one speaking to his friend, a mourner, words of consolation after twelve months be compared? To one whose foot was dislocated, and after having it cured, met a physician who said to him: "Come with me and I will dislocate it again, and cure it in order to prove to you the efficiency of my drugs"? This presents no difficulty. This Boraitha relates to mourning over father or mother; the former statement relates to mourning over other relatives. But have we not learned in another Boraitha that he may speak to him words of consolation indirectly? Our Boraitha may also be explained in the same sense; viz., "He shall not speak to him words of consolation directly."

The rabbis taught: A mourner, during the first three days, if he arrives from a place nest distant, may adopt the same computation of the time as the local mourners, but if he arrives from a distant place he must have his own computation; thenceforth, if he even arrives from a place not distant, he must have his own computation. R. Simeon, however, said: "Even if he arrived on the seventh day, if only from a near-by place, he may adopt the computation of the local mourners." The Master said above: "The first three days, one who arrives from a near-by place," etc. Said R. Hyya bar Abba in the name of R. Johanan: "This is the case only where the eldest of the family is at home at the time." The schoolmen propounded a question: How is it if the eldest of the family has gone to the cemetery? Come and hear: R. Hyya bar Abba said in the name of R. Johanan: "Even if the eldest of the house has gone to the cemetery, he may compute with them (the local mourners)." But have we not learned in another Boraitha that he must have his own computation? This presents no difficulty: One case is when be arrived within the first three days, and the other when he arrived after the first three days. As Rabh said to the inhabitants of Zalpuni: "Those who arrive within the first three days may compute with you; those who do not, must compute for themselves." Rabha said to the inhabitants of M'huza: "You who do not follow the coffin (to the cemetery, but only as far as the town-gate) may compute (the mourning) from the minute you turn your faces away from the town-gate."

The Boraitha states: R. Simeon said, etc. Said R. Hyya bar Gamda in the name of Joseph b. Saul, quoting Rabbi: "The case is only when he arrived before the condolers departed."

It is written [Jerem. 22:10]: "Weep not for the dead and do not bemoan him." Weep not--that is, not more than sufficient; and do not bemoan him--that is, not more than prescribed. How so? During the first three days--weeping; the seven--lamentation; during the thirty days--not to calender clothes and cut the hair. After that period the Holy One, blessed be He, says: Be not more merciful than I am." It is written [ibid., ibid.]: "Weep sorely for him that goeth away." Said R. Jehudah: "This means one who goeth away childless. R. Joshua b. Levi had never gone to console a mourner unless the deceased died childless, for it is written [ibid., ibid.]: "Weep sorely for the one that goeth away, for he shall never return any more, and see the land of his birth." R. Levi said: "A mourner the first three days must imagine to himself as if a sword is placed between his shoulders; between the third and seventh day, as if it is opposite him in a corner; from that day on, as if it passes in front of him in the street."

"The bier of a woman must at no time be set there," etc. R. Ami said: "For what purpose was the death of Miriam stated closely following the law of the red cow? To teach that, as the red cow atoned for sin, so also does the death of the righteous. Said R. Elazar: "For the same purpose was the death of Aaron closely written to the description of the priests' garb; viz., as the priests in their garb atoned for the sins, so also does the death of the righteous."

B. It is permitted for others to do work involving things perishable; e.g., his grain may be garnered and thrashed, his tubs may be scoured, and if his olives are turned, R. Jehudah says he may put the first press-block on, etc.

The rabbis taught: The following things are prohibited to a mourner: labour, washing, anointing, sexual intercourse, wearing shoes, reading the Law, the Prophets, the Hagiographa, studying the Mishna, Midrash, Halakha, Talmud, and Agada; but if, however, the public require his services, he need not restrain himself. As it happened, the son of R. Jose died in Sepphoris, and the latter notwithstanding came to college and lectured the whole day long. Rabba bar bar Hana was once in mourning, and he was inclined not to go out to deliver his usual lecture. Said R. Hanina to him: "If the public requires one's services, he need not restrain himself." He then wanted to employ an interpreter. Said Rabh to him: "We learned in a Boraitha: 'But he should not employ an interpreter.'" How, then, shall he do it? As we have learned in the following Boraitha: It happened that the son of R. Jehudah bar Ilai died, and the latter came to college followed by R. Hanania b. Akabia, who took a seat at his side. He (R. Jehudah bar Ilai) whispered (the lecture) to R. Hanania b. Akabia, and the latter to the interpreter, and the interpreter announced it aloud to the public.

The rabbis taught: A mourner must not wear phylacteries during the first three days, but from and including the third day he is allowed to do so, and need not remove them on the arrival of new persons. Such is the dictum of R. Eliezer. R. Jehudah, however, said that he must not wear them only

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during the first two days, but from and including the second day he is allowed; but on the arrival of new persons he must remove them.

R. Hyya bar Abba, R. Ami, and R. Itz'hak of Naph'ha were sitting in the cottage of R. Itz'hak b. Elazar, and a statement resulted: "Whence is it deduced that mourning lasts for seven days? It is written [Amos, 8:10]: 'And I will change your feasts into mourning.' As the feast lasts for seven days, so does also mourning." But perhaps Pentecost is meant, which lasts only for one day? The latter one is applied according to Resh Lakish; for Resh Lakish said in the name of R. Jehudah the Second: Whence do we know that remote information (of the occurrence of a death in the family) makes mourning customary for one day only? From the passage [ibid., ibid.]: "And I will change your feasts into mourning." And we find one festival which lasts for one day only.

C. If he was the only baker in town, he may do his work privately for the sake of the people.

D. If one was cutting another's hair, or was having his hair cut, and he was told that his father was dead, he might finish it. Workingmen who receive work from a mourner are forbidden to do this work at his house, but they are allowed to do it at theirs. R. Simeon b. Jo'hai said: A day labourer is forbidden in any case. Contract work may not be done on his premises, but it may on theirs. Work on anything attached to the ground must not be done in either case, and work to be done in another city is allowed in either case.

E. When one mourning succeeds another, he may cut his hair with a knife but not with shears. If his clothes are dirty, he may wash them in cold water but not in feet-water. A mourner and one who is under the ban, when on the road, are allowed to wear sandals; however, they must remove them as soon as they reach the town. So is the law also for the 9th of Abh, or a general fast-day.

It is certain that a mourner must not cut his hair, for the Merciful One expressly directed the sons of Aaron [ibid. x. 6]: "The hair of your head you shall not let grow long"; hence the case is not so with other mourners. The question, however, is, whether those who are under the ban, and lepers, may cut their hair? Come and hear: Those who are under the ban, and those afflicted with leprosy, are prohibited from cutting their hair and washing (their clothes). One who, was under the ban and died in such a state, the Beth Din stone his coffin. Said R. Jehudah: "It does not mean a heap of stones, as was the case with Achan [Josh. vii. 26], but it means that the Beth Din places a big stone on his coffin, to teach that whoever dies while under the ban, his coffin is stoned.

A mourner must wrap up his head, for the Merciful One directed Ezekiel [Ezek. 24:17]: "And cover not thyself to thy upper lip." Hence, others must cover. How is it, however, with one who is under the ban? Said R. Joseph: Come and hear (Taanith): "And they wrapped up their heads and sat as if they were under the ban, or mourners, until they were commiserated by Heaven." Said Abayi to him: "Perhaps they have done that, because they have considered themselves as put under the ban by Heaven, in which case it is very rigorous." What is the law in regard to a leper? Come and hear: It is written [Lev. 13: 45]: "And he shall cover himself up to his upper lip." Hence we see that wrapping up is necessary. A mourner must not wear phylacteries, for Ezekiel was commanded [Ezek. 23:17] to put them on. Hence we must say that others must not. But the question is as to one who is under the ban, in regard to phylacteries? This question was not decided. It is certain that a mourner must not greet any one, as Ezekiel was commanded [ibid.]: "Sigh in silence." But how is the case with one who is under the ban? Said R. Joseph: Come and hear (Taanith, ibid.): "And to greet one another as if they were rebuked from Heaven." Said Abayi to him Perhaps this case is different, because it is very strict."

F. No ban is for less than thirty days, and no rebuke is for less than seven days.

G. Said Rabban Gamaliel: He to whom the court has stretched out its hand, although he was again befriended, will not leave this world peaceably.

CHAPTER 6.

A. A mourner must not read the Pentateuch, Prophets, and Hagiographa. He is also not allowed to study Mishna, Talmud, Halakha, and Hagadah. He is also not allowed to wash, to anoint, to wear shoes, or to have sexual intercourse with his wife. He must cover his head and lower his couch. Rabban Gamaliel washed himself when his wife died (see Mishna Berachoth, 166).

A mourner must not study the Law, because the Merciful One commanded Ezekiel: "Sigh in silence" [ibid.]. But how is it with one who is under the ban? Said R. Joseph: Come and hear: We have learned: "One who is put under the ban may study for himself and also with others; he may be hired and he may hire others. But the case is otherwise with one who was excommunicated; the latter may, however, study for himself in order not to discontinue his studies. He may also establish for himself a small store in order to earn a living." Rabh said: "He may sell water in the market of Araboth."

A mourner must not wash his clothes, as it is written [2 Sam. 14:2]: "Then sent Joab to Thekoa, and he fetched thence a wise woman, and said to her," etc., "and anoint thyself not with oil; but be as a woman that hath these many days been mourning for the dead." What is the case with those under the ban? Come and hear: "Those who are under the ban are prohibited from cutting their hair and washing their clothes." Infer herefrom. A mourner must have his garment rent, because the Merciful One commanded the sons of Aaron [Lev. 10:6]: "And your garments you shall not rend"; hence others must. A mourner must lower his couch (place the mattress near or on the floor), as Bar Qappara taught: "(God said) I had placed my image among them, and for their sins I upset it (decreed death). Let them now lower their beds." A mourner must not work, for it is written [Amos, 8:10]: "And I will change your feasts into mourning," As on the feast it is prohibited to do any work, so also is the case with the mourner. May one who is under the ban work? Said R. Joseph: Come and hear (Taanith): "When it was stated that it is prohibited to do work, it referred only to the day-time but not to the evening; and the same is the case with one who is under the ban." A mourner must not wash himself, as it is written [2 Sam. 14:2]: "And anoint thyself not with oil"; and anointing includes also washing.

And the Halakha prevails that a mourner must not bathe his entire body in either warm or cold water for seven days, but he may bathe his face, hands, and feet with cold water but not with warm. To anoint himself ever so little is prohibited, however, for a mourner; but he may do so for the purpose of removing the dirt from a certain part of his body.

A mourner must not wear shoes, because Ezekiel was commanded [Ezek. 24:17]; "And the shoes put on thy feet." Hence others must not. A mourner must have no intercourse with his wife, as it is written [II Sam. xii, 24]: "And David comforted Bath Sheba, and he went in unto her, and lay with her." Hence, before comforting it is prohibited.

On the first three days if a mourner is greeted he shall say: "I am a mourner." However, from the fourth day onward he may answer half-heartedly.

B. When the death occurs in the same city, he must not accompany the others on the first two days; on the third he may go out and stand in the line for the purpose of being consoled, but he must not console others. All this is only when there are sufficient pall-bearers and burial attendants; otherwise he must accompany the others even on the first day.

The rabbis taught: "A mourner on the first Sabbath must be confined to his house. On the second he may leave the house, but he may not occupy his usual seat (in the prayer-house); on the third he may occupy his usual seat, but he must refrain from conversation; and on the fourth Sabbath he is as any other person." R. Jehudah said: "As to the first Sabbath, it was not necessary at all to state that he must be confined to the house, for it is self-evident, because all come to comfort him on that day. But the above order begins on the second Sabbath; viz., 'On the second he must be confined to his house,' etc., and only on the fifth Sabbath he is as any other person.

C. On the first and second days the mourner must not enter the Temple mountain; on the third, however, he is allowed to enter, but must go around to the left. The following must enter to the left: A mourner, one who is under the ban, one who has a sick person in his house, and one who has sustained a loss. "Why do you enter to the left?" (the people standing about ask him). "Because I am a mourner!" And they rejoin: "The One who rests in this house may console thee!" And if he says: "Because I am in ban!" they rejoin: "The One who rests in this house may soften their hearts and they will befriend thee." So says R. Meir. Said R. Jose to him: "If so, you seem to insinuate that they have not judged him rightly? But they rejoin thus: "The One who rests in this house, will soften thy heart, that thou mayest listen to their advice, and they will again befriend thee." To the one who had a sick person in his home they rejoined: The One who rests in this house shall have mercy upon him! and if the sick was his only son they should pray: "Shall have mercy upon him immediately!"

D. It happened to a woman whose daughter fell ill, that she ascended the Temple mount, turned to the left, and did not stir from there till she was told that her child had recovered.

E. To one who has sustained a loss they say: "The One who rests in this house will soften the heart of the finder, and he will return it to thee immediately!" It happened to Elazar b. Hananiah b. Hezekiah b. Gorion that he lost the Holy Scrolls, which cost him a hundred Manah. He ascended the Temple mount, turned to the left, and did not stir till he was told that they were found. And the Temple was built by Solomon only for the purpose that everyone who should have any trouble should come and pray, as it is written [I Kings, viii. 37]: "If there be famine in the land, if there be pestilence," etc. From this we know only for individuals; when do we know that it is also for the public in general? It is written [ibid., ibid. 38]: "Of all thy people Israel." Lest one say it is also for the one who prays for children, or for riches which may not be good for him, therefore it is written [ibid., ibid. 39]: "As thou mayest know his heart, for thou thyself alone knowest the heart of all the children of men." Whatever is good for him, grant him. Whence do we know that they should not persist in their rebellion? It is written [ibid., ibid. 38]: "When they shall be conscious every man of the plague of his own heart, and he then spread forth his hands toward this house." All this concerns the Israelites, but whence do we know that it concerns also the Gentiles? Therefore it is written [ibid., ibid. 41]: "But also to the stranger, who is not of thy people Israel, but cometh out of a far-off country," etc.

CHAPTER 7.

A. The period of thirty days must be counted to the following: to mourning, to calender clothes, to cutting of hair, to demand debts, to a woman of handsome form, to betrothal, to marriage, to a virgin, to a widow, to a Yebamah, to one who vowed against his wife, and to an indefinite Nazarite.

B. "To mourning." How so? It is written [Deut. 34:8]: "And the children of Israel wept for Moses in the plains of Moab thirty days."

"Calender clothes" means all garments which come out from under the press. So is the decree of Rabbi. The sages, however, say: Coloured but not white. But R. Meir said the reverse: White but not newly coloured; old, however, is permitted in any case. Funda, fascia, pileus, and helmets are also permitted. To give garments to be pressed is permitted within the thirty days.

The rabbis taught: "It is not permitted to calender clothes, whether new, or old ones which have just been removed from under the press, during the full period of thirty days." Rabbi, however, said: "It applies only to new ones." R. Elazar bar Simeon said: "They have prohibited new white garments only." Abayi acted in accordance with Rabbi. Rabha, however, acted in accordance with R. Eliezer bar R. Simeon.

"To cutting of hair." He must not cut off the hair of his head, his mustache, his beard, or any hair of his body. A woman, however, is permitted to cut her hair after the seven days.

"To demand debts." If one lends money for an indefinite period, he cannot demand it before thirty days.

C. "To a woman of handsome form." It is written [Deut. xxi. 11]: "And hast a desire unto her, that thou wouldst take her to thee to wife." She must shave off her hair, and pare her nails. So is the decree of R. Meir; but R. Aqiba said: The hair must be shaved, and the nails she must let grow. Said R. Eliezer: As in both the head and nails the Torah prescribed a doing, and as the doing what is said by the head means that the hair shall be cut off, the same is the case with the nails; but R. Aqiba said: As the doing what is said by the head is meant to make her ugly, the same is the case with the nails (and nothing is uglier than long nails). A support to R. Eliezer can be found in II Samuel [19:25]: "And Mephibosheth the (grand-) son of Saul came down to meet the king, and he had not dressed his feet, nor trimmed his head." A support to R. Aqiba can be found in Daniel [4:30]: "Till his hair was grown like eagles' (feathers), and his nails were like birds' claws."

Pin'has, the brother of Mar Samuel, was in mourning. When Samuel came to condole with him and noticed that. his nails were untrimmed, he said to him: "Why dost thou not trim them?" And he answered him: "If this were the case with thee, wouldst thou disrespect the mourning to such an extent?" And it was [Eccl. x. 6] "like an error which proceedeth from the ruler." And a death occurred in Samuel's family. When R. Pin'has came to condole with him, the former trimmed his nails and threw the parings in his face, saying: "I see that thou dost not pay any attention to the saying: Words are ominous, as said R. Johanan. Whence is it deduced that words are ominous? It is written [Gen. xxii. 5]: "And Abraham said unto his young men," etc., "and we will worship and come again to you"; and it so happened that both of them returned. (Although Isaac was intended to be sacrificed.) It was understood from Samuel's action that, the nails of the hand only may be cut, but not those of the feet. R. Onan bar Ta'hlipha, however, said: "It was explained to me by Samuel himself that there is no distinction made." Said R. Hyya bar Ashi in the name of Rabh: "With a nail file, however, it is not allowed."

Rabh said (and Mar Zutra learned it in a Boraitha): "A couple from Hamthon once came before Rabbi and asked his permission to cut their nails in their mourning, and he permitted them to do so; and if even they would have asked his permission to trim their mustaches, he would also have permitted them." Samuel added: "They actually did ask his permission and he did permit them."

D. It is written [Deut. 21:13]: "And she shall put off the raiment of her captivity." If she was dressed in white or black which becomes her, or she had on jewelry, they must be removed from her, for the purpose of making her unhandsome. The case is only if she has declined to embrace the Jewish faith; but if she be inclined, she is dipped, is freed from slavery, and he may marry her. The purpose for which all this was done is to prevent mingling.

E. "To betrothal." How so? It is not allowed to make the feast of betrothal within thirty days of the day of the funeral.

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"To marriage." The feast of marriage is not allowed to be made within this period; but if everything was prepared before the death occurred of one of his or her parents he may marry, and have the first intercourse with her; but after that they must be separated for seven days. This is only in case one of his parents dies; but if his wife dies, he is not allowed to marry again until three regular festivals have passed. E1 R. Jehudah, however, said: Two, and he may marry at the third. This is the case when he has grown-up children; but if they are yet little ones, or he is childless, he may marry even within the thirty days. It happened that the wife of R. Tarphon died, and R. Tarphon said to her sister within the period of mourning: "Enter this house, and educate thy sister's children." Nevertheless, he had no intercourse with her until the thirty days were over.

The rabbis taught: "One is not permitted to marry during the full period of the thirty days. If he, however, mourns over his wife, he must not remarry again until three festivals shall have passed. R. Jehudah, however, allows after the first and second festival have passed." But if he is childless he may remarry at once, in order not to restrict reproduction; so also is the case if he has minor children, for they have to be brought up. It happened that the wife of Joseph the priest died, and he said to the deceased's sister while still on the burial ground: "Go and rear thy sister's children." But still he did not cohabit with her for a long while. For how long? Said R. Papa: "Until after the thirty days."

"To a virgin." The period in which to complain that one has not found virginity is limited till thirty days after the marriage.

CHAPTER 8.

A. During three days before the interment, experts repair to the cemetery and examine the dead whether they are really dead; [and although this is the custom of other nations], there is no fear of the prohibition of the deeds of the Amorites. A1 It happened that one of the dead was examined (and found alive), and he lived twenty-five years after that; and to another one, that he begat five children before he died.

B. A canopy may be made for dead bridegrooms and brides, and either eatable or uneatable things may be hung on it. So is the decree of R. Meir. R. Jehudah, however, said: Only unripe things-viz., unripe nuts, unripe χαλλοξ, tongus of purple, and flasks of Arabian oil; but not when they are ripe, nor ripe pomegranates, nor flasks of sweet oil, as whatever hangs on the canopy, no benefit may be derived from it. Strings of fish, pieces of meat, may be thrown before the dead bridegroom or bride in the summer, but not in rain time; and even during the summer, they must not do so with cooked fish or other eatables which will be spoiled after they are thrown on the ground. Nuts and other fruit in shells, as they are not spoiled, may be thrown at all times. There is a rule that anything which may be spoiled must not be thrown.

C. Likewise wine and oil may be put in a water pipe in honour of live bridegrooms and brides. As it happened to Jehudah and Hillel the sons of R. Gamaliel, when they were the guests of Ben Zakkai in Babylon, the townspeople flooded the water pipes with wine and oil to honour them. Also the bodies of kings, and their clothes may be burned, their cattle ham-stringed, without fear that it is after the usages of the Amorites. The ceremony of burning clothes and other things is performed for the corpses of kings only, but not for princes. When Rabban Gamaliel died, Aquilas the proselyte, however, burned in his honour clothes of the value of eight thousand Zuz, and when he was asked why he did so, he answered: It is written [Jerem. 34:5]: "In peace shalt thou die; and as burnings were made for thy father," etc. Was not Rabban Gamaliel more worthy than a hundred kings, for whom we have no use?

D. The hair of a dead bride may be loosened; and the face of a bridegroom may be uncovered, and the marriage contract and the pen may be put by his side, without fear that so is the custom of the Amorites. There may also be put in the coffin the key and the pinkas (πιναξ) of the dead, to call the attention of others to mourn, as it happened with Samuel the Little, that his key and pinkas were put in his coffin, because he did not leave a son. And Rabban Gamaliel the Elder and R. Elazar b. Azariah lamented him, saying: "For this dead one it is meet to weep, it is proper to lament. When kings die they leave their thrones to their children, when rich men die they leave their wealth to their children, but Samuel the Little took with him the most precious thing in the world, and is gone!"

E. Before he died, he said: "Simeon and Ishmael are prepared for the sword, and all the remaining people for being robbed, and great trouble will follow." And he spoke this in Aramaic. When this occurred, and R. Simeon b. Gamaliel and R. Ishmael were condemned to death, R. Ishmael was weeping; but R. Simeon said: I praise God that it is only two steps till I shall be received in the bosom of the righteous in the world to come, and you are weeping? And the former rejoined: Do I weep because we are going to be slain? I am weeping because we will be slain as if we were murderers and violators of the Sabbath. After they were executed, and R. Aqiba and R. Jehudah b. Ethyra were informed, they put sackcloth on their loins, rent their garments, and said: Brother Israelites! If a good thing was to come for the whole world, these two sages would certainly have been the first to receive it; and now, as they were the first to be executed, it must be only for their benefit: they shall not see the great calamities which will follow after that. Woe! "The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart" [Isaiah, 57:1]. "He shall come (to his father) in peace, they shall repose in their resting-place" [ibid., ibid. 2].

F. When R. Aqiba was executed, and R. Jehudah b. Baba and R. Hanina b. Teradion heard of it, they also arose, put sackcloth on their loins, rent their garments, and cried: Brothers, listen to us! R. Aqiba was not slain because of robbery nor because he had not observed the Law with all his might, he was slain only for an example, as it is written [Ezek. 24:24]: "Thus shall Ezekiel be unto you for a token . . . then shall ye know that I am the Lord eternal." We are sure that within a few days there will not be a place in the whole of Palestine where corpses of the people will not be lying about. It was said that scarcely had a few days passed, when a canine appetite dissipated the whole world, which lasted from that time for a twelvemonth.

G. When R. Hanina b. Teradion was seized by the government they sentenced him to the stake, his wife to the sword, and his daughter to a house of prostitution. He inquired: To what have they sentenced the poor thing (his wife)? And he was answered: To the sword! Whereupon he exclaimed the following passage: "Righteous is the Lord in all his ways [Ps. 114:17]. When she asked to what the rabbi was sentenced, she was answered: To the stake. Whereupon she exclaimed the passage: "Great in counsel, and mighty in execution," etc. [Jer. xxxii. 19]. When he was to be burned they wrapped him in the Holy Scrolls, and his daughter cried and threw herself on the ground. He said to her: My daughter! If thou weepest and throwest thyself on the ground over me, is it not better I should be consumed by a fire which was kindled in this world than by a fire which is not kindled (Gehenna)? As it is written [Job, xx. 26]: "A fire not urged by blowing." And for the Holy Scrolls! Knowest thou not that the Torah is fire itself, and no fire can consume another? The parchment only is burned, but the letters fly away. Thou must also know that the great servants of the king are mostly beaten through the lesser, as it is written [Hosea, 6:5]: "Therefore did I hew (them) down by means of the prophets, I slew them by the work of my mouth."

H. R. Aqiba said: There is a king who has four sons. One is struck and is silent; the second rebels; the third prays for mercy; and the fourth says to his father: Strike me (because I am deserving). Abraham was struck but was silent, as it is written [Gen. 22:2]: "Take now thy son, thy only one, whom thou lovest, even Isaac . . . and offer him there for a burnt-offering." He ought to have said: The other day thou didst tell me: "For in Isaac shall thy seed be called" [Gen. 21:12]? and nevertheless it is written [ibid. 22:3]: And Abraham rose up early in the morning," etc. Job was struck and rebelled, as it is written [Job, 10:2]: "I will say unto God, do not condemn me: let me know for what cause thou contendest against me." Hezekiah was struck, and he prayed for mercy, as it is written [2 Kings, 19:15]: "And Hezekiah prayed before the Lord," etc. According to others, even Hezekiah rebelled, because he said: "Did I not do what is good in thy eyes?" [ibid. 20:3]. But David is the one who said to his father: Strike me (because I am deserving), as it is written [Psalms, 51:4]: "Wash me thoroughly from my iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin."

I. The study of the Torah must not be interrupted till the soul is out of the dying one. When R. Simeon the son of R. Aqiba was ill, he (R. Aqiba) did not absent himself from the college, but inquired about him through messengers. The first messenger announced that he was yet ill. He nevertheless said to the disciples: "Question!" The second announced that he was worse, and still he did not interrupt his studies. The third one announced that he was in the struggle of death, and yet he said: "Question!" till the fourth one announced the death. Whereupon he arose, removed his phylacteries, rent his garments, and said to them: "Brother Israelites, listen to me! Till now we were obliged to study the Law; now, however, we are obliged to honour the dead." A great multitude assembled to bury the son of R. Aqiba. He said: "Bring me out a bench to the cemetery." He sat down and said: "Brother Israelites, listen! (You have assembled) not because I am a sage, for there are greater sages than I; not because I am rich, for there are richer men than I. If the men of the south know Aqiba, why should the Galileans know him? If the men know Aqiba, what have the women and the children to do with Aqiba (but here is not Aqiba, here is the Torah)? Oh! your reward will be great, ye have done homage to the Law. I am consoled, and had I even seven sons and buried them all, I would be consoled, [not that one is desirous of burying his children], but because I know that he will inherit the world to come; because it is known to all that he was given to philanthropic activity, to whom a sin never reaches." (See Yomah, p. 138.)

Moses, who was himself righteous, and was given to philanthropic activity, the reward of the public was counted to him, as it is written [Deut. 33:21]: "He executed the justice of the Lord, and his judgements with Israel." Jeroboam the son of Nebat sinned and induced the public to sin: the sin of the public was counted to him, as it is written [1 Kings, 14:16]: "For the sake of the sins of Jeroboam, who did sin, and who induced Israel to sin."

J. (There is a tradition): The reward of virtue is brought about by a meritorious person (see Sabbath); e.g., Israel was destined to be redeemed from Egypt, as it is written [Gen. 15:14]: "And afterward shall they go out with great substance." But as Moses and Aaron were meritorious persons, it was done through them. The same is the case with the receiving of the Torah: they would have received it without Moses' Aaron, and the generation of the desert, as it is written [Proverbs, 2:7]: "He treasureth up sound wisdom for the righteous." The paragraph of judges [Ex. 15:18] would be said, even if Jethro would not appear. The same is the case with the paragraph about the second Paschal lamb, it would be said even if the defiled men were not under the requirements of law [Numb. 9:7]; and the same is with the paragraph of inheritance, it would be written without the daughters of Zelophchad.

K. The Temple also would have been built without David and Solomon, as it is written [Ex. 15:17]: "The sanctuary, O Lord, which Thy hands have established." In the time of Haman, Israel would have been redeemed also without Mordecai and Esther, as it is written [Lev. 26:44]: "And yet for all that, though they be in the land of their enemies, I will not cast them away, neither will I loathe them to destroy them utterly." But all that was done through the above-mentioned, because a reward shall be brought about by a meritorious person.

L. The same is true of the reverse. Israel was destined to be enslaved, even if Pharaoh should not have existed, as it is written [Gen. 15:13]: "And they will make them serve, and they will afflict them four hundred years." Israel would worship the idols even if Jeroboam b. Nebat should not have existed, as it is written [Deut. 31:16]: "And then will this people rise up and go astray." The paragraphs of the blasphemer and the violator of Sabbath would have been written even if the blasphemer and the stick-gatherer should not have existed. Israel was destined to be slain by the sword, even if the persecutors at different times should not have existed, as it is written [Amos, 9:10]: "By the sword shall die all the sinners of my people." Jerusalem would have been destroyed also, without Nebuchadnezzar and his associates, as it is written [Micah, 3:12]: "Therefore for your sake shall Zion be ploughed up as a field, and Jerusalem shall become ruinous heaps, and the mount of the house as forest-covered high places." But all this was done through the above-mentioned, because of the rule that the chastisement for sin is dealt out through a sinner, and this was explained by Papus and Lulianus his brother to Trajan their prosecutor. (see Taanith.)

M. Those who are more particular in interpreting the verses of the Scriptures said: It is written [Deut. 12:3]: "And ye shall overthrow their altars." Wherein have the wood and stone sinned (to be destroyed)? It must be only because people have stumbled through them. From this is to be drawn an a fortiori conclusion: Wood and stones which have neither virtue nor sin, neither goodness nor wickedness, because people have stumbled through them, if the Torah nevertheless decided their destruction, so much the more he who causes his neighbour to sin, and inclines him from the path of life to the path of death, deserves to be destroyed! In the same manner they explained the following: It is written [Lev. 20:16]: "Then shalt thou kill the woman and the beast." If the woman has sinned, in what has the beast sinned? It must be only because the woman has sinned with it, it must be killed; as otherwise, whenever it would be seen in the street, people would say: "This is the beast through which so and so was stoned." And also here they draw the same a fortiori: An animal which has no virtue, etc., like the wood and stones, and nevertheless the Torah decided that it must be stoned--a man who causes his neighbour to depart from the path of life to the path of death, so much the more must he suffer for it.

N. An a fortiori conclusion is also to be drawn from the stones of the altar; namely, it is written [Deut. 27:5]: "Thou shalt not lift up any iron tool upon them," and it is also written [Ex. 20:22]: "For if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it." Why, then, shall iron be unfit for the altar more than any other metal? It is because the sword is an unpropitious event and the altar is a propitious one, and a sign of curse must be removed from the thing which is forgiveness. Now, is this not all a fortiori: The stones of the altar which do not see, hear, talk, neither eat nor drink, but only because they made peace between Israel and their heavenly Father, the Torah said they should not be cut with iron, "Of whole stones shall they build the altar of the Lord God" [Deut. 27:6], we see then that the stones which bring peace in the world must not come in contact with iron and must be whole--the students who in themselves are a forgiveness to the world, so much the more must they not

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come in contact with evil things, in order to be perfect before the Holy One, blessed be He?

CHAPTER 9.

A. For all the relatives, one must rend his garments, also for the teacher from whom he received his study. A wise man, however, all are his relatives, all must rend their garments, all must take off their shoes, and all may take part in the funeral meal (which used to be eaten in the street on the return from the cemetery). R. Simeon b. Elazar, however, said that rending of the garments is obligatory to all who are present at the death of a human being; the relatives, however, must rend their garments and take off their shoes, even if they are not present. Different is it when a sage dies. All who are notified of his demise must perform the mourning ceremonies.

B. For the death of the chief of a college all (the college men) are obliged to bare their right arm; for the chief of a court, the left; and for the Nasi both arms are bared. When the death of R. Eliezer occurred, R. Aqiba bared both his arms, beat his breast until blood spurted from it, and cried: "My father, my father, the chariot of Israel, and their horsemen [1 Kings, 2:12].

Ula said: "Lamenting is by striking on the breast, for it is written [Isa. 22:12]: 'They shall strike on the breast, lamenting.'" Clapping is done with the hands, and striking is done with the feet.

The rabbis taught: "One who strikes with his feet must not do so with his sandals on, but with his shoes on, in order to avert danger." R. Johanan said: "If the mourner motions his head (as if he is consoled already), his consolers need no more stay with him." R. Johanan said again: "All persons must rise from their seats on the arrival of a Nasi, except a mourner and a sick person." R. Johanan said again: "All persons are told to be seated (after they rose), except a mourner and a sick person.

C. For all his relatives one is not obliged to bare his aim, except for father and mother. If something is on the arms which prevents their being bared, one is not obliged to do it even at the death of his parents. It happened that when the death of R. Aqiba's father occurred, R. Aqiba did not bare his arm, though others did.

In all cases it is praiseworthy to remove the corpse as soon as possible, excepting in the case of a dead parent, unless it is on a Friday or on the eve of a festival, for the removal is then only for the honour of the deceased (in order that they shall not remain unburied until after the Sabbath or festival). In all cases of death it is optional with the mourner whether to lessen his attendance to his business or not; in the case of the death of a parent, he must lessen. As to baring the shoulder, it is also obligatory in case of parents only. It happened that the father of a great man of the generation died, and the great man wanted to bare his shoulder; another great man, who equalled him and who was present at the time, wanted to do likewise (in order to show his respect), and the first one refrained from doing it (in order to prevent the other one from inconvenience). Said Abayi: "The great man of the generation was Rabbi, and the other one who was present at the time was R. Jacob bar A'ha." According to others, it was vice versa. In all cases of death the mourner may cut his hair after thirty days; but in the case of his parents, not before he is censured by his friends (for wearing too long hair). In all cases of death one may participate in any enjoyment after thirty days, except in the case of his parents, when he may do so only after twelve months. Said Rabba bar bar Hana: "In an entertainment of friends he may participate at once." In all cases one may rend his garment only one span long; over parents he must rend so much as to bare his breast. Said R. Abuhu: From what passage do we know this? From [2 Sam. 1:2]: "David thereupon took hold of his clothes, and rent them." And it is known that wherever "hold" is mentioned, it is not less than a span. In all cases, even if one has ten garments on, it is sufficient to rend the upper one only; over his parents, however, he must rend all the garments he has on, except the chest protector. And there is no distinction made between male and female. R. Simeon b. Elazar, however, said: "A woman rends the undergarment, places the rent part on her back, and then rends her upper garment." In all cases it is optional whether to tear asunder the outside hem or not, but over parents it is obligatory. R. Jehudah, however, said: "If the hem is not torn asunder, it is not considered rending at all." Said R. Abuhu: "What is the reason of R. Jehudah's statement? It is written [2 Kings, 2:12]: "And he took hold of his clothes, and rent them in two pieces." The superfluous statement, "in two pieces," indicates that it must be rent so that it should look as if torn in two pieces. In all cases the rent may be slightly sewed together after the seven days, and regularly mended after the thirty days; but over parents it may only be slightly sewed together after thirty days, but never regularly mended. Women, however, may sew it together at once, for the sake of decency. When Rabbin came from Palestine, he stated in the name of R. Johanan: "Over relatives it is optional whether to rend by hand or with an instrument; over parents, by hand only." R. Hyya bar Abba said in the name of R. Johanan: "Over relatives the rent is made in the house; over parents, even outside of the house." A prince once died. Said R. Hisda to R. Hanan bar Rabha: "Stand on an elevation and rend your garments, so that every one will see it." Over the death of a scholar, the right shoulder is bared; over that of a chief of a court, the left one is bared; over that of a Nasi, both shoulders are bared.

The rabbis taught: When a scholar dies, his college closes. When a chief of a court dies. all the colleges in the city in which he resided close, and those who come to the prayer-house to pray change their usual seats, so that those who have seats on the north benches take seats on the south benches, and vice versa. But when a Nasi dies, all the colleges close and the members of the congregation assemble in the prayer-house, and only seven read in the Law, and leave. R. Joshua b. Kar'ha said: "That does not mean that they shall walk around in the streets, but that they must remain in their houses and keep silent." And no ordinance or Agada should be declared in the mourner's house. It was said, however, of R. Hananiah b. Gamaliel that he had declared ordinances and Agada in the house of a mourner.

The rabbis taught: "And the following rent garments may not be mended: garments rent over the death of parents: over the death of one's instructor in Law; over a Nasi, chief of the court; over ill-tidings; over blasphemy; the Holy Scrolls which were burned by fire; the cities of Jehudah; the Temple; and over Jerusalem. And one may rend over the destruction of the Temple and add another rent (at the same place) over Jerusalem." R. Helba in the name of Ula of Birah, quoting R. Elazar, said: "One who beholds the cities of Jehudah in their desolate state, says [Isa. 64:9]: 'Thy holy cities are become a wilderness,' and rends his garment; when he beholds Jerusalem in her desolate state, he says [ibid., ibid.]: 'Zion is become a wilderness, Jerusalem a desolate place,' and rends; when he beholds the Temple in its desolate state, he says [ibid. 10]: 'Our holy and our beautiful house where our fathers praised Thee is burned up with fire; and all our costly things are become ruins,' and rends."

The Boraitha stated: "One may rend over the Temple and add another rent," etc. There is a contradiction from the following Boraitha: "Both the one who heard it and the one who saw it, as soon as they reach Zophim they rend their garments, and they do so separately over the Temple and over Jerusalem?" This presents no difficulty: The first Boraitha relates to a case where he beheld the Temple first; the second, where he beheld Jerusalem first (Rashi explains the first case that he was under such circumstances that he could not see Jerusalem first, as for instance if he were in a closed carriage).

The rabbis taught: "And all (rents) may be slightly sewed together, hemmed, gathered (a sort of stitch), and stair-stitched, but not regularly mended." Said R. Hisda: "Mending is not allowed only when it is done in the fashion of Alexandria"(for it then looks as if never rent).

The rabbis taught: The original rending is a span long; the additional, three fingers. Such is the dictum of R. Meir; R. Jehudah, however, said: "The original rending is three fingers, and the additional a trifle." Said Ula: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Meir as regards the original rending, and according to R. Jehudah as regards the additional one." We have learned the same also in a Boraitha in the name of R. Jose.

Rending which is not done in the moment of excitement (immediately after the occurrence of the death) is not considered rending at all. Was it then not stated that Samuel rent all the twelve different garments he had on when he was informed of the death of Rabh, saying: "The man whom I always feared (for his sharpness) has passed away"? And was it not also stated of R. Johanan that he rent thirteen woollen garments when he was informed of the death of R. Hanina, saying: "The man whom I always was in dread of has passed away"(and in these instances it was not immediately after the occurrence of the death)? In case of death of rabbis it is different, because. their teachings being always fresh in memory, the moment of excitement is whenever the information of their death reaches. Rabhin bar Ada said to Rabha: "Thy disciple R. Amram taught the following Boraitha: A mourner during all the seven days must wear the rent part in front, and if he changes clothes he must rend again. On the Sabbath he must remove the rent part from the front to the back; if he, however, changes his clothes for the Sabbath, he must not rend again." (Hence we see that one must rend, although after the moment of excitement?) Rabha answered him: "This applies only to parents, but over other relatives it is different."

May those rents be mended? The father of R. Oshiya and Bar Qappara differ: One holds they may, and the other holds they may not.

Rabha said: A mourner may walk around in his easy-dress in his house (in private).

D. If he was informed of his father's death, and he rent his garments, and afterward he was told that it was not the father but the mother, his duty is fulfilled; and also vice versa. If after he has rent for his parents he was told that it was not his parents but one of his relatives, this rending is sufficient. If, however, he was informed of the death of a relative, and after he has rent he was told that it was not his relative but one of his parents, he must rend again.

The rabbis taught: "If one is informed of the death of his father and he made a rent, and then he was informed of the death of his son and he made an additional rent, the lower rent may be mended but not the upper one. If, however, he was informed of the death of his son first, the upper one may be mended but not the lower one. If he was informed of the death of his father, mother, brother, and sister at the same time, he may make one rent for all. R. Jehudah b. Bathyra, however, said: One rent over his father and mother, and another over all the others; for an additional rent should not be added to the one over his parents." What is the reason? Said R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak: "Because the law of additional rending does not apply to the case of parents." Said Samuel: "The Halakha prevails according to R. Jehudah b. Bathyra." Could Samuel say so? Did not Samuel decide that the Halakha prevails, in regard to mourning, according to the one who is lenient? Mourning is one thing and rending is another.

How far down must one rend? As far as his navel. According to others, as far as the breast. And although there is no direct support for that from the Scripture, there is nevertheless a hint for that in [Joel, 2:13], "And rend your heart, and not your garments."

The rabbis taught: If a sick person has a case of death in his family he must not be informed of the fact, for it may cause him distress; and no rending is done in his presence, and the women are silenced (to keep any knowledge from him); and a minor's garments are rent for the purpose of moving others to pity him; and rending is done over the parents of one's wife out of respect to the latter. R. Papa said: "We have learned in Tract Great Mourning: 'But one (mourner) may not place a babe in his lap, for it may cause him to smile and thus be disliked by others.'"

"The funeral meal is not to be taken except on a couch standing up properly." The rabbis taught: "One who comes to the mourner's house, if he was intimate with the mourner, he takes the funeral meal on a lowered couch; if he were not, on a couch standing up properly." Rabha had a death in his family, and Abba bar Martha, who was also known as Abba bar Maniumi, came to console him. Rabha put up the couch, Abba bar Martha lowered it, and Rabha remarked: "How little sense this young scholar has!"

The rabbis taught: "A mourner who travels from one place to another, if it is convenient to him to lessen his attendance to his business he shall do so; if not, he shall attend at least in company with other traders."

The rabbis taught: From what time on must the couch be lowered? From the time the deceased is removed from the house. Such is the dictum of R. Elazar. R. Joshua, however, said: "From the time the top-stone is placed on the grave."

When R. Gamaliel the Elder died, as soon as he was removed from the house R. Elazar told the mourners to lower the couches; when the top-stone was placed on the grave, R. Joshua told them to do so, and they answered: "We have already done so by the direction of the elder teacher."

The rabbis taught: "From what hour on may the couches be put in proper condition on Friday? From the hour of the Min'ha prayer on." Said Rabba bar Huna: "One must not, however, sit down on them until sunset, and on Saturday evening he must again lower them, although he has but one more day to mourn."

The rabbis taught: "One must lower not only his own couch, but all the couches in the house, even if they numbered ten and were placed in different places; and even if four brothers mourn over the death of a fifth brother, they all must lower their couches. If there is, however, one couch used exclusively for placing on it utensils, that one need not be lowered."

The rabbis taught: "One (a mourner) who sleeps on a stool, a large mortar, or on the floor has not fulfilled his duty." Said R. Johanan: "For he has not performed the duty of lowering the couch."

E. If one bought a garment which was rent for a death, he must not sew it together, unless he knows that the rent is such that it may be sewed together. If one sells such a garment, he is obliged to acquaint the buyer what kind of a rent it is. All garments of which their rents must not be sewed together, must not be sold to Gentiles; neither can they be turned downward and sewed together. Such is the decree of R. Simeon b. Elazar. The sages permit it. If one comes to a dying person in a rent garment, he is robbing the dead. It is a greater sin to rob the dead than the living, because one can always appease the latter and make restitution, which he cannot do to the dead. The same may be said of him who honours his parents after they are dead: it is more praiseworthy than when he honours them when they are alive, as in that case it may be said that he does so because he fears them, or because he expects to inherit from them; but when he honours them after they are dead, it is only for the sake of heaven.

The rabbis taught: One who wears in the presence of a deceased person a garment which has been rent over another deceased, is imposing on both the deceased and the living. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said: "One who borrows a garment of

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another for the purpose of visiting his sick father, and informing the borrower of the purpose for which the garment is to be used, does visit his father but finds him dead, he must rend, but may mend it and return it to the owner, paying him the difference in value caused by the rending. But if he has not informed the owner of the purpose, he may not rend.

F. If one has rent for one dead, and he be resuscitated, if he dies immediately after, this rent is sufficient; but if he live some time, one must rend again.

G. One who saves the garment which was upon the dead is robbing the dead: this is only with the garments which are with him in the coffin, but not those which are with him in bed; nevertheless, the heirs must be told not to save even the garments which were with him in the bed. One who adds garments to a corpse more than necessary, he transgresses the precept, "Thou shalt not destroy" [Deut. 20:19]. So is the decree of R. Meir. R. Eliezer b. Zadok said: He makes the corpse homely. Rabban Gamaliel said: Also, they add vermin.

H. Said R. Nathan: The garments in which the corpse is buried will be renewed with him in resurrection, as it is written [Job, 38:14]: "She is changed as the sealing-clay, and (all things) stand as though newly clad."

CHAPTER 10.

A. A mourner is exempt from reading Shema, from prayers, and all the precepts commanded in the Torah, during the time that the corpse is in his house. If one desires to be rigorous with himself, he shall not do so, for the honour of the dead. When the time for reading Shema approaches, all the people read; he, however, must be silent. When they rise to pray, he shall acknowledge the justice, saying: "Lord of the universe! I have sinned against Thee; a little only of my indebtedness was called in, although I deserve much more. May it be Thy will to close up our breaches and condole us!" R. Simeon said: He also prays for the departed soul.

B. The mourner must eat with his neighbours. If he has none, he shall eat in another room; if he has none, he shall make a partition of ten spans' distance; if he has nothing to make a partition with, he shall turn his face and eat. He must not lean and eat, neither must he eat meat nor drink wine; he must not pronounce the meal benediction, nor can he be included where three are required in pronouncing it, neither may others pronounce it singly or in three for him. All this is only on week-days; on the Sabbath, however, he may eat and lean, and is allowed all the things mentioned above. As Rabban Gamaliel said: On the Sabbath a mourner is not considered as a mourner at all.

R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh said: "A mourner on the first day must not eat of his own bread, for the Merciful One said [Ezek. 24:22]: 'And the bread of other men shall ye not eat.'" Rabba and R. Joseph (when they were in mourning) used to exchange their meals between themselves. R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh said again: "When a case of death occurs in a town, all the inhabitants of the town are prohibited from doing any work." R. Hamnuna happened to be in Drumtha, and he heard the horn announcing the occurrence of a death. When he subsequently noticed certain persons doing some work, he said to them: "Let these persons be under the ban, for is there not a death-case in town?" They answered him: "There are special societies for burying the dead." And he thereupon said to them: "If such is the case, you are absolved." R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh said again: "One who laments excessively over a deceased may be sure to have to do so over another deceased." There lived a woman in the neighbourhood of R. Huna who bad seven sons. Once one of them died, and she was weeping very much. R. Huna sent her a message not to do so, but she paid no attention to it, and R. Huna sent her the following message: "If you listen to what I say, well and good; if not, you may as well prepare a shroud for another of your sons." Subsequently another son died, and one by one all of them died. He then said to her: "Now prepare a shroud for yourself." And she also died.

C. The corpse must not be carried out when near the time of reading Shema: it must be done an hour sooner or later. When the bearers of the hearse go out, those in front of it, as their services are required, are exempt from reading Shema, but are prohibited to wear their shoes; those who are behind it, however, as their services are not required, are obliged to read Shema and are allowed to wear their shoes. Both are exempt from prayer and phylacteries. If on their return from the burial there is yet time to begin and finish Shema before standing in line, they first read, and stand in line afterward; otherwise they stand in line first, and read and pray afterward. The inside row which sees the mourner is exempt from it; the outside, however, is not. R. Jehudah said: Even if there is but one row, if they stand for the sake of the mourner, they are exempt; but if they stand for the sake of their own honour, they are not. The people who come to console, if they see the mourner they are exempt, otherwise they are not.

D. R. Simeon b. Elazar said: Rabban Gamaliel had a prepared sepulchre at Jamnia, wherein they used to deposit the corpse and lock the door. After that they came to stand in line around the mourner and consoled him; through this they exempted the public from doing these duties, and subsequently the corpse was brought up to Jerusalem.

The rabbis taught: At first in the houses of the rich (mourners), silver and gold baskets and white glass were used: and in those of the poor, willow baskets and coloured glass were used, and the poor felt ashamed; and it was enacted that only willow baskets and coloured glass should be used by all. At first they used to leave the face of the deceased uncovered and used to carry him on an expensive bier if he belonged to the rich class; but they used to cover his face (for their faces grew dim from hunger) and carry him on a common bier if he belonged to the poor class, and the poor people felt ashamed. So it was enacted that all should be covered and be carried on a common bier. At first they used to carry the rich in braided beds, and the poor in common ones, and the poor felt ashamed, and it was enacted that all should be borne in a common bed. At first spices used to be placed at the side of those who died from bowel-troubles, and those who suffered from that disease while still living used to feel. ashamed; and it was enacted that spices should be placed at the side of every deceased person out of respect to those who were suffering from that disease while still living. At first the expenses accompanying the burial of a deceased person were more burdensome and painful to his relatives than the death itself, and they used to leave the corpse and run away, until Rabban Gamaliel, the Nasi, directed that he be buried in flaxen garments; and it became customary with the people to bury the dead in flaxen garments. Said R. Papa: "And at present, even in a flaxen garment of the value of one Zuz."

When the grave is closed, the mourner wraps up his head: when ready for the line, he bares it and exempts the others from doing it; if he steps outside the line, he covers it again; when he comes home and others come to visit him, he bares it again and exempts the others from doing it.

E. When a death occurs in the family of a sage or a disciple of a sage, they may come and discuss about the laws of mourning before him. If they err, he may set them right half-heartedly; but himself must not propound a question. He may speak himself, if he so desires, or he may permit another to speak for him. It happened that the son of R. Jehudah died, and the latter permitted another to speak for him; so also did R. Jose the Galilean when his son died. It happened to R. Aqiba that his son died, and he sat and lectured all day; so also did Rabbi when his son died. If it is necessary to discuss about something, they must begin concerning the laws of mourning, and then branch off to other matters, and finish again in regard to mourning. In Judah, on the Sabbath they greet the mourner on entering and leaving the college, to show that no mourning exists on the Sabbath.

CHAPTER 11.

A. When two deaths occur in town, the one that died first is buried first; and if the first has to be left over night, the second is buried. And although it is said: Whoever leaves his dead over night transgresses a negative commandment, still, if it is done for the purpose of digging a grave, to prepare shrouds, or to enable his outside relatives to attend to his funeral, it does not matter. If a master and a pupil die on the same day, the master is buried first; a pupil and a common man, the pupil is buried first. If both are masters, or pupils, or common men, the one that died first is buried first. A man and a woman, the woman is buried first, because the latter is more liable to become disgusting.

B. These are the differences between a man and a woman: A man may be left in the street to hold an oration over him, but not a woman; the greatest man of the city may accompany a man, but he is not to be troubled for a woman. R. Jehudah said: He may; the funeral meal is taken over a man, but not over a woman. Said R. Jehudah: If she has little children, the meal is taken with them.

C. They do not stand in line, nor is the mourning benediction said after the burial of the first, but after the second; then they do all this, and console, and exempt the public from doing so. Two mourners may not be consoled together, unless they are in the very same position in the community. The same is the case with two corpses to be carried in one hearse: An accident happened in the city of Usha wherein a house tumbled down and killed two male children and one female child, and R. Jehudah ordered that all three should be carried together. The male children were put on one side, and the female on the other, and they lamented over them: "Woe, woe, bridegroom! Woe, bride!" Two funeral orations may not be held in one town at the same time, unless there is enough attendance for both. The same is the case with two brides, they must not be married at the same time, unless there is enough attendance for both. R. Simeon b. Elazar said: Even in this case it is not advisable to do so, because there may be enmity.

D. The corpse must be set aside for a bride, because the honour of the living precedes that of the dead. A bride, however, must be set aside for a king, for the honour of the king. King Agrippa, however, stepped aside for the sake of a bride, and he was praised by the sages. His remark was: "I have time to put on my crown every day, and she can put on her crown only once in her lifetime."

E. The study of the Law (in the colleges) must not be interrupted for the sake of a burial or a bride. Abba Saul, however, said: The performance of meritorious deeds has preference over study, as was the custom of R. Jehudah. Whenever he saw a funeral or a bridal party coming, he glanced at the disciples, telling them: The performance supersedes study. If one of the parents of a married couple die, the woman must not paint nor adorn herself, and her husband must not protest against it. Sweeping, washing glasses, and making of the beds is not considered as labour to a mourner.

The rabbis taught: "The mourner's house may be swept and besprinkled, and the dishes, glasses, flasks, and jugs may be rinsed, but no gum to be put on coal, or spices, may be brought to the mourner's house." Must it not? But has not Bar Qappara taught: "No benediction is pronounced over gums (to be put on coal) or spices in the mourner's house"; from which it is inferred that only the benediction is not pronounced, but they may be brought there? These present no difficulty: the first statement relates to the place where the mourner is sitting; the statement of Bar Qappara, to the place where the consolers are sitting.

F. If one leaves five sons, who were at his table, but each one slept at his own house, each one must lower his couch in his own house, otherwise the performance is made only in the house which is used for sleeping. If, however, there were five rooms, and all were used, it must be done in all. One lodging in another's house, if he is intimate with his host, he must lower his couch, otherwise he need not. One who is on a journey and hears of the death of one of his near relatives, if he can lower his couch without any difficulty, he may do so. One may turn over his couch on two benches, or on four stones, no matter if there were even five mattresses on top of it, and was four spans above the ground, provided the legs of the couch are in the air. This, however, is after the burial; but when the corpse is in the house, he may not sleep even on an upturned couch.

G. The performance of lowering the couch is sometimes for six days, and sometimes for five, four, and three days, no more, no less. How so? If the death occurred on a week-day, it is for six days; if in the afternoon of the eve of Sabbath, it is for five days; if a festival succeeds this Sabbath, for four days; and if the two days of New Year succeed this Sabbath, it is for three days.

CHAPTER 12.

A. Renting on a death, the mourning of seven and thirty days, begin from the day of burial, or from the day he was informed, if he was not present. For whom one is obliged to rend at the time of death, he is also obliged when gathering his bones from one grave to be put into another. Also the law of sewing together the rent applies to that for gathering bones; the mourning, however, is only for one day, and the night belonging to that day does not belong to the day of mourning.

The rabbis taught: A recent information makes customary both the seven and the thirty days; a remote information, however, makes customary only one day's mourning. What is a recent, and what a remote information? A recent--if within thirty days; a remote--if after thirty days. Such is the dictum of R. Aqiba. The sages, however, hold either case makes customary both the seven and the thirty days. Said Rabba bar bar Hana in the name of R. Johanan: "Whenever it is found that the majority is rigorous and the individual is lenient, the Halakha prevails according to the majority, with the exception of this case here, in which, although the majority is rigorous, still the Halakha prevails according to the individual" (R. Aqiba). As Samuel stated: "In the case of mourning the Halakha prevails according to the one who is lenient." R. Hanina received information of the death of his father from the city of Husai, and he consulted R. Hisda. The latter said to him: "A remote information causes mourning for one day only." R. Nathan bar Ami received information of the death of his mother from the same place, and he consulted Rabha, who said to him: "Are you not aware of what was said in regard to a remote information?" And the former objected: "Have we not learned that this is so only in regard to the five cases of relatives whom one is bound to bury (son, daughter, brother, sister, and wife); but as regards father and mother, the seven and thirty days must also be observed?" And he answered him: "The Tana of the Boraitha is an individual (in his opinion), and we do not concur with him." As we have learned in the following: It happened that the father of R. Zadok died in the city of Ginsak, and he was informed after three years, and he went and asked Elisha b. Abajah and the Elders who were with him, and they told him he shall keep seven and thirty. The same occurred when the son of R. A'hiya died in exile, and his father has performed for him the mournings of seven and thirty (hence the above Boraitha is in accordance with the individual, and not according to R. Aqiba. And from the following we can see also that the Halakha does not prevail according to Elisha b. Abajah, namely,) Rabh was the son of the brother of R. Hyya on his father's side, and also the son of his sister on his mother's side.

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And when Rabh came to Palestine, R. Hyya asked him: Is thy father alive? And he answered: My mother is alive. Then R. Hyya asked again: Is your mother really alive yet? And he answered. My father is alive. Then R. Hyya told his servant: Take off my shoes; but a little later you shall take my garments in the wash-house. From this we have learned three things: First, that a mourner must not wear shoes; second, that a remote-in formation mourning is customary for only one day; and, third, that a part of the day is considered as a whole day.

B. There were different societies in Jerusalem, and each of them had to attend to different things. One was to attend mourners; one to attend marriages; one to attend circumcision or redeeming of a first-born male child, and one for removing the bones from one grave to another. The attendance to a bride's house precedes a mourner's house; circumcision or the redeeming of a first-born male child precedes the removal of bones. The ancient pious, however, preferred to go to a house of mourning instead of the house of a bride, as it is written [Eccl. 7:2]: "It is better to go to the house of mourning than to go to the house of feasting; inasmuch as that is the end of all men, and let the living lay it to his heart," as whoever follows the bier, knows that this will happen also to him.

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Meir used to say: It is written [Eccl. 7:2]: "It is better to go to the house of mourning than," etc., "and let the living lay it to his heart," which means, let the living lay to his heart matters connected with one's death--viz., when he laments over him, that he will also be lamented over; when he buries him, that he will also be buried; when carrying him, that he will also be carried; and when eulogizing him, that he will also be eulogized. According to others one who is modest, and troubles himself with burying the dead, will be elevated by Heaven, as it is written [Prov. 25:7]: "For better it is that it be said unto thee, Come up higher, than that thou shouldst be put lower in the presence of the prince, which thy own eyes have (often) seen."

The rabbis taught: When the sons of R. Ishmael died, four elder sages came to console with him; viz., R. Tarphon, R. Jose the Galilean, R. Elazar b. Azariah, and R. Aqiba. Said R. Tarphon to the other three: "You must know that he (R. Ishmael) is very wise and he is well versed on Agada, and therefore none of you must intrude when the other will be speaking." Said R. Aqiba: "And I will be the last one." R. Ishmael began: "His sins have increased, his mournings have succeeded one another, and he has inconvenienced his instructors once and twice." R. Tarphon then arose and said: "It is written [Lev. x. 6]: 'But your brethren, the whole house of Israel, may bewail the burning,' etc. If this was ordered over the death of Nadob and Abihu, who have observed only one commandment, as it is written [ibid. ix. 9]: 'And the sons of Aaron brought the blood unto him,' etc., so much the more so over the death of the sons of R. Ishmael." R. Jose then followed and said: "It is written [1 Kings, 14:13]: 'And all Israel shall mourn for him, and bury him.' If so much was done for Abiyah the son of Jeroboam, who has performed one kind deed only, as it is written [ibid., ibid.]: 'Because there had been found in him some good thing,' so much the more so over the death of the sons of R. Ishmael." [What was the good thing? R. Zera and R. Hanina bar Papa: one says that he suspended his office and made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem on the feasts; the other says: he has abolished the guards which were established by his father to prevent the pilgrimage to Jerusalem.] R. Elazar b. Azariah then began: "It is written [Jerem. 34:5]: 'In peace shalt thou die; and as burnings were made for thy fathers,' etc., if so much was done for Zedekiah the king of Judah, who performed only one meritorious thing in that he ordered to bring up Jeremiah from the pit filled with mire, so much the more so over the sons of R. Ishmael." Finally, R. Aqiba began: "It is written [Zech. 12:11]: 'On that day will the lamentations be great in Jerusalem like the lamentation at Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon.' [And R. Joseph said: If not the translation of Jonathan of this passage, namely: On that day will the lamentations be great in Jerusalem, like the lamentation for A'hab bar Omri, who was killed by Hadadrimmon bar Tabrimmon, and like the lamentations for Josiah bar Amon, who was killed by Pharaoh the Lame in the valley of Megiddon, I would not know its meaning.] If so much over A'hab the king of Israel, who has done only one good thing, as it is written [I Kings, 20:35]: 'And the king was stayed up in his chariot against the Syrians' (to prevent the defeat of Israel), so much the more for the sons of R. Ishmael." Rabha said to Rabba bar Mari: Zedekiah was promised that he would die in peace, and still it is written [Jerem. 39:7]: "And the eyes of Zedekiah did he blind?" (How was the promise to die in peace fulfilled?) He answered him: "So said R. Johanan: (It was fulfilled) that Nebuchadnezar died in his time." Rabha further said to Rabba bar Mari: Josiah was promised [2 Kings, 22:20]: "Therefore, behold, I will gather thee unto thy fathers, and thou shalt be gathered unto thy grave in peace." And still it is written [2 Chron. 35:23]: "And the archers shot the king Josiah?" And he answered him: "So said R. Johanan: (The promise was fulfilled in that) the Temple was not destroyed during his life-time."

R. Johanan said: "The consolers are not permitted to speak consolation before the mourner engages in conversation, as it is written [Job, 2:13]: "But no one spoke a word unto him," etc.; [ibid. 3:1]: "After this time Job opened his mouth," etc.; and only [ibid. 4:1]: "Then answered Eliphaz," etc. (These quotations are according to Na'hmanidus.) R. Abbuhu said: Whence do we know that the mourner takes his seat at the head of the consolers? It is written [ibid. 29:25]: "I chose their way for, them, and sat as chief," etc., "as the mourners being comforted" (read YiNâXêm) Mar Zutra said: "From the following passage [Amos, 6:7]: 'And the noisy banquet of those who were stretched out shall pass away?' R. Hama bar Hanina said: Whence do we know that a bridegroom takes his seat at the head of the guests? It is written [Isa. 61:10]: "As a bridegroom decketh himself with elegant attire." (The Hebrew reading: "Ke'hathan yechaehn pêêar," "Hathan" meaning a bridegroom, and "yechaehn" having the same letters as "cohen," a priest), as a priest sits at the head, so also does a bridegroom. R. Hanina said: "The separation of the soul from the body is as difficult as the removal of a knotty rope from the mast." R. Johanan said: "It is as difficult as the removal of a knotty rope holding the masts of two ships together."

The bones and the veins must not be taken apart when gathering them; it must not be feared, however, that this will happen while gathering them. All bones one may handle while gathering, except that of his parents, which must be handled by others. Such is the decree of Rabbi Johanan b. Nuri; R. Aqiba, however, said: As the bones are not allowed to be gathered till the flesh is all destroyed, and the form is not recognised any longer, it does not matter even if they are his parents'.

C. The bones of two corpses may be gathered together, but he shall keep them separate in a casket; he shall put one's in one corner, and the other's in another. So is the decree of R. Aqiba. R. Johanan b. Nuri, however, said: There is not any need for keeping the bones separated, as the basket in which they will be buried will finally be rotten, and the bones will be mixed again; if, however, he desires that they shall be separate, he shall bury them in caskets of cedar.

D. The bones may be sprinkled with wine or oil, according to R. Aqiba; with oil and not wine, because wine destroys them, according to Simeon b. Nanes; the sages, however, maintain that they may not be sprinkled with any of these, but cover with dust.

E. Said R. Eliezer b. Zadok: So my father commanded me: When I will die, you shall first bury me in a valley, then gather my bones, and put them in a cedar casket; but you shall not handle them yourself, and so I did. Johanan entered the grave and gathered (the bones) and spread over them a chest protector, and then I entered, rent my garments over them, and covered them with a sheet. I did to my father as he has done to his. It is not allowed for a man to wrap and tie up the corpse of a woman; a woman, however, may do so to a man. E1 The same is the case when a woman suffers in her intestines, a man must not examine nor attend her; a woman, however, is allowed to do so to a man.

F. Abba Saul b. Botnith said in his will to his sons: Bury me at the feet of my father, and take off the Tzitzith from my palium.

G. With all relatives one is allowed to bathe, except with his father, father-in-law, his stepfather, the husband of his sister, and the instructor from whom he received his wisdom. R. Jehudah, however, said: If his father was old or sick he may enter the bath-house and bathe him, for it is in his honour.

A hearse is not used unless the head and the greater part of the corpse are there. R. Jehudah said: The backbone and the skull are considered as the greater part of the body.

H. It happened with the son of R. Hanina b. Teradion, who associated with bad company and became a robber and was executed, when, after three days, he was found all swollen, his remains were put in a cage and that in a hearse, and was brought in the city. They wanted to lament him for the sake of his parents, but the father did not let them do so; he instead exclaimed on him the following [Prov. 5:11-14]: "While thou moanest at thy end, when thy flesh and thy body are coming, to their end, thou sayest: 'How have I hated correction, and how hath my heart rejected reproof, while I hearkened not to the voice of my instructors, and to my teachers I inclined not my ear; but little more was wanting and I had been in all (kinds of) unhappiness in the midst of the congregation and assembly.'" His mother also exclaimed over him the following passage [ibid. 17:25]: "A foolish son is a vexation to his father, and bitterness to her that hath borne him." His sister also exclaimed the following [ibid. 20:17]: "Bread of falsehood is pleasant to a man, but afterward his mouth will be filled with gravel stones."

CHAPTER 13.

A. One who gathers or guards the bones is exempt from reading Shema, prayer, and all the precepts commanded in the Torah, and if he desires to be rigorous with himself, he must not do so, for the honour of the dead. R. Johanan b. Nuri, however, said: He should step outside a distance of four ells and read. Ben Azai said: If they were with him in a boat he should remove them to another place and read. R. Itzhak said: Only from the bones of relatives he is exempt; from strangers, however, he is not. R. Simeon said: He is exempt only on week-days, but not on Sabbath. R. Nathan, however, said: He is exempt only when the bundle (of the bones) is on his shoulders, because the duty of guarding it is on him, but not of prayer.

B. One who removes bones or the Scriptures from one place to another, must not place them in a wagon, a boat, nor on a beast under his seat: however, in order to preserve them from thieves or robbers, he may.

C. It is not allowed to pass through a cemetery with the phylacteries on, nor the Scriptures in the hand, as it is considered disrespectful to the dead.

D. One finding a corpse in a grave must not move it, unless he is certain that the place was only borrowed for him. One finding bones on marshy ground, must put them in a grave. Such is the decree of R. Aqiba. The sages, however, say: He must not move them. One who finds bones in a grotto or a cavity must not move them. A corpse or his bones must not be moved from one place to another, even if they are equal in esteem, much less if the other place is lower; he may, however, do so from a lower to a higher place. However, if he moves them to a place on his estate, he is allowed to do so, even if the former place is more esteemed.

Two corpses must not be buried in one grave, nor a corpse with bones, and vice versa. R. Jehudah, however, said: If they used to sleep together when alive, they may be buried together.

E. A building over a grave which was vacated, no benefit may be derived from it; if, however, it was excavated in a rock, and also the grave itself, when it was vacated a benefit may be derived from it; nevertheless, it must not be used for low purposes, such as a cow-house, straw-barn, etc. A grave which was dug for a person who was yet alive may be sold; but if for one who was already dead, it may not. The same is the case with monumental stones.

No benefit may be derived from a vacated coffin. If it is made of stone or clay, it must be broken, and if of wood--burned. Boards of the cemetery must not be moved from their place.

CHAPTER 14.

A. A cemetery must not be considered vilely; e.g., no aqueduct may be drawn through it, nor a path made; no cattle must feed there, nor may one use it as a compendiarius, nor pick wood or grass therefrom. If he has picked he must derive no benefit from it, and if he picked them only to clean the grave, he must burn them on the same place.

B. Though inheritances are movable from place to place and changed from one family to another, with graves, however, it is different; they are not movable or changeable from one family to another. A new grave may be measured, divided, and sold, but not an old one; there is, however, a new one which must be considered as old, and vice versa, namely: When there were in an old grave even ten corpses, but were buried without the permission of the owner, it must be considered as a new grave and may be measured, divided, and sold; if, however, it was with his permission, even if it was a miscarriage, it must be considered an old one, and nothing may be done with it.

C. No occupancy must be considered with the graves of the exiles; e.g., in time of a pest or war, the graves are not secured to the corpses by occupancy. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said: Miscarriages do not acquire their graves, the same is the case with all who are buried without the permission of the owner. A woman who has inherited a grave, she and her offspring are to be buried in it. Such is the decree of R. Meir; R. Jehudah, however, said: She, but not her offspring; however, he owns that all her offspring who existed during her life, may be buried with her. If her father requires she should be buried in his grave, and her husband says in his, the father has the preference; if she has children, then the husband has the preference; if her will states that she shall be buried with her children, it should be done so. If the father says she should be buried with her husband, or vice versa, she is buried with her husband, because it is his duty to feed, redeem, and bury her, and he must provide all the necessaries, such as a hearse, flutes, and mourners, and where an oration is held, he must provide also that. If he declines to do all that, it is done by the court on his account against his will.

D. There are three kinds of graves: One that is found, one that is known, and one which injures the public. The first is permissible to vacate, and if it was vacated, the place is clean, and a benefit may be derived from it; the second is not permissible to vacate; if it was vacated, the place is unclean, and no benefit may be derived from it; and the third is permissible to vacate; the place is clean, but no benefit may be derived from it.

E. A cemetery which surrounds the city on three sides, must be vacated; if on two sides, if they were opposite they can remain; if they were joined, they must be removed. All graves

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may be removed for the necessity of the community. R. Aqiba, however, said: With the exception of those of a king and a prophet, as there was the grave of the prophetess Huldah, in Jerusalem, and it was never touched. His contemporaries rejoined: That is no proof, as there was a cavern from the grave to the brook Kidron, which drew off the uncleanness.

F. One who sells the graves of his family, (it is considered as if) he did nothing. The same is the case if he sold the place of lamenting. The rabbis taught: One who sold his grave, the way to it, or standing-place, and the house of lamenting, his family may come and reclaim them against his will, because it is a disgrace to the family that they should be sold to someone else.

G. The rabbis taught: There must be not less than seven standings and sittings after the burial, to signify the seven times "vanity" is mentioned in Ecclesiastes [1:2]: "Vanity of vanities, saith Koheleth, vanity of vanities: all is vanity." Said R. A'ha the son of Rabha to R. Ashi: Explain me how they used to do, and he rejoined: As we have learned in the following Boraitha: R. Jehudah said: Formerly in Jehudah they have made not less than seven standings and sittings for a dead body, and the funeral director used to say: "Arise, dearests, arise!" and "Sit down, dearests, sit down!" Said the sages to him: If that was all, let them do so also on the Sabbath. The sister of Rama bar Papa was the wife of R. Ivjah, and she died. He made for her a standing and a sitting. Said R. Joseph: He has erred in two things. First, this do only the relatives of the second degree, who are not obliged to mourn, and he was one of the mourners; and, secondly, this is to be done only on the day of burial, and he did so on the day after. Said Abayi: He has also erred in this: It is usually done near the cemetery, and he did this in the city. Said Rabha: He erred also in this: It is only done where it is customary, and in his place it was not customary at all. An objection was raised: It is said above that the sages said to R. Jehudah: "If that was all, let them do also on the Sabbath." Now if this is to be done only in the cemetery, and on the first day, can this occur on Sabbath? The answer was, They meant to say, in a city which is near the cemetery, and when the consolers returned from the funeral which ended at twilight.

Whoever reminds a mourner of his dead after twelve months are over, is to be blamed for renewing his wound. Said R. Simeon b. Gamaliel: One whose wife died and has married again within a twelvemonth, one who wishes to talk to him about his dead, shall do so in the market, but not in his house.

All eatables may be brought to the house of a mourner-oval. shaped bread, meat, and fish; and if an assembly does that, also herbs and pulse. Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel said: Where it is customary, even cooked food.

H. Ten goblets of wine have the sages ordered in the mourning house: three before eating, to give an appetite; three during the meal, to soften the food in the stomach, and four after the meal, for the four blessings contained in the after-meal benediction. Afterwards they have added four more: one for the sake of the sections of the city who have occupied themselves with the burial; one for the sake of the presidents of the congregations (for their advancing money for the sake of the burial of the poor); one for the Temple (to console for its destruction), and one in memory of Rabban Gamaliel (who was the first to command to be buried in linen garments, as said above). When the sages have seen that they became drunk, they have restored the original number.

One who pronounces the meal benediction in the house of a mourner, what shall he say in the fourth blessing? "The good One who does good to all." R. Aqiba, however, said: "The truthful judge, the Ruler of His creatures. O give thanks unto the Lord, for He is good; because unto eternity endureth His kindness."

END OF VOLUME 8
END OF BOOK 5 (4)

THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD BOOK 6 (formerly 5)
(Vols. 9 and 10)

VOLUME 9
Tract Aboth
Introduction to Section Jurisprudence
Synopsis of Tract Aboth (Fathers of the Synagogue).
Chapters 1-6

Tract Derech Eretz-Rabba. (Worldly Affairs).
Synopsis of Tract Derech Eretz-Rabba and Zuta
Chapters 2-11

Tract Derech Eretz-Zuta
Chapters 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9.
The Chapter on Peace

SECTION NEZIKIN* (JURISPRUDENCE).

[* A word from which also the name "Nazorean" for the early Christians comes from.]

SYNOPSIS OF SUBJECTS OF TRACT ABOTH (FATHERS OF THE SYNAGOGUE).

INTRODUCTION TO SECTION JURISPRUDENCE.

WITH the present volume we begin the Section "Damages," also called "Jurisprudence," from the occurrence of discussions on criminal law. This section forms the fourth in the old edition, and comprises the following treatises: "First Gate," "Middle Gate," "Last Gate," "Sanhedrin," "Stripes," "Oaths," "Testimonies," "Idolatry," "Fathers" (or "Ethics of the Fathers of the Synagogue"), and "Decisions."

Notwithstanding the fact that in the old edition of the Talmud "Fathers" stands next to the last tract, we have placed it at the head of the section, relying upon the decision of Sherira Gaon in his letter (Goldberg edition, Mayence, 1872, p. 14) declaring that it is perfectly permissible to change the order of sequence of tracts in the several sections. Therefore, because the treatise entitled "Fathers" deals entirely with the ethics of life, we have deemed it best to give it precedence over the other treatises. Just as in the Pentateuch we find the ten commandments--the basis of all ethical religion--heading the subsequent detailed laws and ordinances, so it seems but fit that the Section "Damages" should be headed by the tract setting forth the main ethical principles, and be continued by the detailed discussions. We are further borne out by the Talmud itself, which reads (First Gate, Chap. III., Mishna 3): "One who wishes to be pious should observe the laws of damages. Rabhina said: 'He should observe the teachings of the Fathers.'" Rabhina's statement should, in our opinion, not be taken literally, but as indicative of the opinion that the decisions contained both in "Fathers" and in "Damages" generally are equivalent.

"Fathers" is one of the few treatises which consists of Mishna only; i.e., has no supplementary Gemara either in the Babylonian or the Palestinian Talmud, although interspersed throughout the contents of the entire Talmud may be found amplifications or comments on some of the sentences of the "Fathers." There is, however, a Tosephtha entitled "Fathers of Rabbi Nathan" which discusses most sentences of the original "Fathers" separately; in fact, begins the discussion of each sentence with the interrogation "How so?" Forming, therefore, a valuable addition to the much-valued literature of the "Fathers," we have considered it our duty to incorporate it in our edition, and we have therefore inserted the said Tosephtha in the place where, in other tracts, we have placed the Gemara.

Owing to the fact that the Tosephtha named above bears the name of Rabbi Nathan of Babylon, one of the most distinguished masters of his generation, but at the same time contains ethics similar to those of the Mishna, as well as lectures and discussions which could not have been compiled by that author and are evidently contributions from scholars of a later period, the historians of modern times, from Zunz in his "Gottesdienstliche Vortraege" to Brill in his "Jahrbuecher" and Weiss in his "Dor Dor Vedorshov," engage in elaborate speculation as to who was the compiler of the "Fathers of R. Nathan" and at what time it was compiled. The complicated nature of the Tosephtha in question brought to the front a number of commentators and text-revisers, and finally Solomon Tausik and Solomon Shechter made a search of manuscripts, and published new editions of the Tosephtha, with additions from the material found in the manuscripts. The latter, in fact, searched so thoroughly that he found an entirely different version of the Tosephtha, and then published in his edition two separate texts, calling them First Text and Second Text, respectively, with his own corrections, notes, and a long introduction (Vienna, 1887).

[Several requests have been received by the translator that an index should be made to the volumes of the Talmud, as is customary with all modern works. It would be an utter impossibility to give a complete index of everything contained in the Talmud. Were it like other scientific works, which treat each subject separately, this could easily be done; but with the Talmud it is different. On one page many different subjects may be discussed, and again a single subject may occupy several pages. The Talmud, therefore, has never had an index.

After careful examination of the volumes, page by page, it has been decided to make a synopsis, i.e., to give briefly the heads of the discussions and conversations upon each Mishna, indicating the page where the Mishna is to be found, and the Gemara of each one, which serves as a commentary. By this the reader should be able to refer to what he desires to know.

A synopsis is therefore given of every Mishna which discusses a single subject, with its accompanying Gemara--in this volume, the Tosephtha; but when several short Mishnas cover the same subject, a single synopsis is given of the whole, including the Gemara of each one; and where a chapter is short, a synopsis of the whole chapter is made, without dividing it into Mishnas.

This is the best that can be done, and it is hoped that readers will find it satisfactory.]

CHAPTER 1.

MISHNA A. The Great Assembly originated three maxims. Be deliberate in judgement. How so? The books of Proverbs, Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes were hidden. How was Adam created? Why was Adam created on the last hour of the sixth day? On the same day on which he was formed, on the very same day his countenance was created. According to others: "Be deliberate in judgement" means not to have an irascible manner. Erect safeguards for the Law. The safeguard of the Lord, of Adam the First. The legend about Eve and the serpent, etc. The ten curses with which Eve was cursed at that time. "Shall I and my cattle eat out of the same trough?" The tradition about the ox of Adam, the steer of Noah, and the ram sacrificed by Abraham, 1-11

CONTINUATION OF CHAPTER 2. OF TOSEPHTHA.--What is the safeguard that the Torah made to its words? What Elijah the prophet answered the widow of the scholar who died in the prime of his life. What is the safe guard that Moses made to his words? The reason why Moses broke the Tables? What is the safeguard that Job made to his words? The safe guard that the prophets made to their words. The safeguard that the Hagiographers made to their words. The safeguard that the sages made to their words, 11-19

CONTINUATION OF CHAPTER 3. OF TOSEPHTHA.--Whoever takes a coin from charity when not in need of it, etc. Study the Law in thy old age, even if thou hast studied it in thy youth. If you gave a coin to a poor man in the morning, and another one begs of you in the evening, give him also. What happened to a poor man with R. Aqiba. What happened to Benjamin the just, 19-21

MISHNA B. The motto of Simeon the Just. Upon the Torah, how so? Upon service, how so? Upon bestowal of favours, how so? Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai and Vespasian. In three things mankind differ one from the other, 22-26

MISHNAS C AND D. Be not like slaves who serve their masters for the sake of compensation. Let the fear of Heaven be upon you. Let your house be the meeting place of the wise. How did R. Aqiba begin his wonderful career? Not less astonishing was the literary career of R. Eliezer. How his father Hyrkanus reached the seats of Ben Zizith Ha Kesseth, Nakdimon b. Gurion, and Calba Shebua, 26-32

MISHNAS E AND F. Let thy house be wide open for the poor. When the great affliction came upon Job, he prayed, etc. Teach thy house humility--the different explanations of this saying. Get thee a wise teacher. Judge everyone from his favourable side. The legend about a maiden who was led into captivity and the pious men who went to redeem her. Not only were the upright of former times themselves very strict and particular, but also their cattle were so. The ass of R. Hanina b. Dosa, 32-38

MISHNA G. Keep aloof from a wicked neighbour. Slanderers are punished with plagues. The legend about Moses, Aaron, and Miriam. Do not consider thyself exempt from God's chastisement, 38-41

MISHNAS H TO K. Make thyself not as those that predispose the Judges. Love work--how so? Do not care for superiority. See to it that your name be not known to the Government. Ye wise, be guarded in your words. Love peace--how so? Moses desired to die the same death Aaron did--how so? The legend of the death of Moses, at length. Pursue peace--how so? Love all men too, and bring them nigh unto the Law, 41-50

MISHNAS L TO Q. If I do not look to myself, who will do so? And if not now, when? He who does not desire to learn from his masters is not worthy to live. He who increases not, decreases--how so? He who serves himself with a tiara perishes. Fix a time for study. Promise little and do much. Receive everyone with friendly countenance. Make a master to thyself. "I have never found anything better for a man than silence." Three things support the world. The disciples of Hillel; of R. Johanan b. Zakkai--what was said about them and what they used to say. The consolation of R. Johanan b. Zakkai by his disciples when his son died. Thy fellow's honour must be as dear to thee as thine own. Do not allow thyself to be easily angered. The two proselytes that came before Hillel and Shammai. Repent one day before thy death, 50-58

CHAPTER 2.

MISHNAS A TO M. In choosing the right path, see that it is one which is honourable to thyself and without offence to others. All who occupy them selves with communal affairs should do it in the name of Heaven. Do His will as if it were thy own, that He may do thy will as if it were His. Pass not judgement upon thy neighbour until thou hast put thyself in his place. The boor can never fear sin, and the ignorant can never be truly pious. The more feasting the more food for worms. What is the best thing to cultivate. Which is the evil way a man should shun. Warm thyself before the light of the wise. An envious eye, evil propensities, and misanthropy drive a man out of the world. The legend about Joseph the Just, R. Zadoq, R. Aqiba, R. Eliezer the Great, etc. How difficult it is for man to avoid the evil propensities. Love everyone except the infidels, the enticers, the misleaders, and the informers.

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Thy neighbour's property must be as sacred as thine own, 58-65

MISHNA N. Set thyself to learn the Law. Johanan b. Zakkai and the daughter of Nakdimon b. Gurion. Let noble purpose underlie thy every action. The sages who were recounted of R. Jehudah the Prince. How they were named by Issi b. Jehudah, 65-70

CHAPTER 3.

MISHNAS A TO V. Consider three things, and you will not fall into transgression. Pray always for the welfare of the Government. Whoever takes the words of the Torah to his heart. Render unto God what belongs to Him, for thou and all thou hast are His. Whomsoever fear of sin precedes, his wisdom prevails. He whose works are in excess of his wisdom, his wisdom will endure. Be pliant with thy chief. Receive every man with cheerfulness. Mockery and frivolity are the forerunners of immorality. Everything is foreseen and free will is given. The world is judged by grace. All that we possess is merely a trust. Without knowledge of religion there can be no true culture, and without true culture there is no knowledge of religion. Qinim, canons, astronomy, and geometry are after-courses of wisdom, 70-81

CHAPTER 4.

MISHNAS A TO P. Who is a wise man? He who learns from everybody. Despise no man, and consider nothing as too far removed to come to pass. Be exceedingly lowly of spirit. Wear not the law of God as a crown to exalt thyself withal. Judge not alone, for none may judge alone save One. Whatsoever congregation is for the sake of Heaven will in the end succeed. Let the honour of thy disciple be as dear unto thee as the honour of thine associate. Be careful in thy study, for error in study counts for an intentional sin, 81-86

MISHNA Q. Neither the security of the wicked nor the afflictions of the righteous are within the grasp of our understanding. Be beforehand in saluting every man. Be the lion's tail rather than the fox's head. Do not seek to appease thy friend in the hour of his passion. Look not upon the pitcher, but upon what it contains. Envy, sensuality, and ambition destroy life. Accept not the assurance of thy passions, that the grave will be a place of refuge for thee. Without thy consent wert thou created, born into the world without thy choice. Thou art living without thine own volition, without thine approval thou wilt have to die. About the death of Eliezer the Great. Set something apart for charity, before you are compelled to do so by others. Lower thy seat two or three rows from the place you intend to occupy. There are three persons whose life is not worth living. The safeguard for honour is refraining from laughter. The safeguard for wisdom is silence. Whoever marries a woman not suitable to him transgresses five negative commandments. Do not be as the lintel, which no hand can reach, etc., 86-95

MISHNA Q. (continued). Those that despise me shall be lightly esteemed. The support of the wise, etc. Do not keep away from a precept which has no limit. Let the honour of thy disciple, etc. There is grain in Judea, straw in Galilee, and chaff on the other side of the Jordan. There is no love such as the love of the Torah. There is no wisdom such as the wisdom of manners. Whoever maintains peace in his own household, etc. The words of the Torah are as difficult to acquire as silken garments and are lost as easily as, etc. All those things which are done in private shall be done as if they were done publicly. Do not isolate thyself from the community. The disciples are divided into three classes, etc. Whoever constitutes the Torah as the chief good, and considers worldly affairs as a secondary thing, etc. Conciliate not thy friend in the hour of his anger. The scholars are divided into four classes . One studies but does not teach others, etc. If one honour his friend for pecuniary considerations, he will in the end be dismissed in disgrace, etc. On account of the four different means of forgiveness, etc. Repentance must be to every one of them. However, one who has profaned the name of heaven has not the power to repent. Wherefore do scholars die before their time. Be careful in greeting thy neighbour He who neglects the words of the Law on account of his riches. There is a case where one transgresses ignorantly, etc. One who connects himself with transgressors, etc. The punishment of the liar is that even when he tells the truth he is not believed, 95-103

CHAPTER 5.

MISHNAS A TO G. By ten sayings the world was created. For what purpose is this stated? Whence is it deduced that a single person is equal to the whole creation? The Holy One, blessed be He, showed unto Adam all succeeding generations, together with their preachers, directors, leaders, prophets, heroes, criminals, and their pious. Nine hundred and seventy-four generations before the creation of the world, the Torah was already written, etc. He created in man all that he created in his world--how So? Ten generations were there from Adam to Noah. For what purpose was this stated? The Lord said: I will not equal the evil thoughts to the good thoughts so long as their fate has not yet been sealed. Ten generations were there from Noah to Abraham. For what purpose was it necessary to state this? With ten temptations was Abraham our father tempted. They are as follows, etc. In contrast with these ten temptations the Lord performed ten miracles for his descendants in Egypt. When our fathers stood by the sea, etc. "Arise, and pass through it," etc. With ten temptations did our ancestors tempt God in the wilderness. By means of ten trials the Holy One, blessed be He, tested our forefathers. This sin with which the Israelites were afflicted is enough for that time, etc. Ten names of praise are applied to the Holy One, blessed be He. Ten ignominious names are applied to the idols. There are two sons of the clear oil. This refers to Aaron and Messiah. In the Torah there is written eleven times the word "she" when it ought to be "he." Ten times did the Shekhina descend upon the earth. Ten degrees the Shekhina removed itself from one place to another. A prophet is called by ten different names. There are ten names for the Holy Spirit. Ten are called "living." Ten miracles were wrought for our fathers in Egypt, 103-115

MISHNAS H TO O. Ten miracles were performed for our forefathers in Jerusalem. Jerusalem never was defiled by leprosy. How Kimchith, the mother of R. Ishmael, saw her two sons as high-priests on the same day. The men of Sodom have no share in the world to come. About Kora'h and his company. "The Lord killeth, and maketh alive; he bringeth down to the grave, and bringeth up," has reference to them. The generation of the desert. "Gather together unto me my pious servants, who make a covenant with me by sacrifice," has reference to them. The ten tribes have no share in the world to come. R. Aqiba, however, said: "As the day is first dark and then lightens up, so also their darkness will be followed by light." The following seven have no share in the world to come, etc. There are three kings and four commoners who have no share in the world to come. Absalom has no share in the world to come. Seven things mark the clod, and seven there are for the sage. There are seven creations of as many grades of importance. Man possesses six qualifications, three of which belong also to the beast, and three to the angels. The evil spirits possess six qualifications, three of which belong to man. There are seven sorts of hypocrites. That which is hidden is only so from human beings, but not from Heaven. There are seven things which, if used moderately, are wholesome to the body, and if in excess are the reverse. With seven things God created the world. Seven attributes are serving before the throne of Grace. There are seven dwelling-places. A wise man does not speak before those who surpass him in wisdom and years; and does not interrupt another in his speech; admits the truth, etc. Seven kinds of punishments come on account of seven cardinal transgressions. About the execution of R. Simeon b. Gamaliel and R. Ishmael b. Elisha the high-priest. Captivity comes upon the world, etc. Five are not to be forgiven. Four kinds of views are held by men concerning property, 115-131.

MISHNAS P TO GG. There are four kinds of dispositions among men. There are four kinds of pupils. There are four kinds of charity-givers. There are four kinds of visitors of the house of learning. There are four kinds of the disciples of the wise. Love inspired by ulterior motives, etc. Whatsoever gainsaying is for the sake of Heaven will have good results. Whosoever causes many to be righteous, sin prevails not over him. In whomsoever are the following three things, he is a disciple of Abraham, etc, Be courageous as the panther, light-winged as the eagle, swift as the deer, and strong as the lion, One five years old should study Scripture, etc. Turn it and turn it again, for everything can be found therein, 131-133

CHAPTER 6.

MISHNAS A TO R. Whosoever is busied in Torah for the love thereof merits many things. Every day a Heavenly voice goes forth from Mount Horeb and proclaims as follows, etc. He who learns from his companion one chapter, etc., is bound to do him honour. The path of Torah, etc. Seek not greatness for thyself, and desire not honour. Greater is Torah than the priesthood, and than the kingdom. There are four things which bear good fruit in this world. A meritorious act has both principal and benefit. One who causes many to be righteous, no sin prevails upon him. Regarding dreams, there are four sages, three scholars, three books of the prophets, and three books of the Hagiographa. Every assembly that is for the sake of performing a religious duty remains everlasting. Comeliness, strength, wealth, honour, wisdom, age, hoariness, and sons are becoming to the righteous, etc. If thou shouldst give me all the silver, gold, and goodly stones and pearls that are in the world, I would not dwell but in a place of Torah. Five possessions had the Holy One in this world. Whatsoever the Lord created in this world He created only for His glory. There are three crowns: the crown of Torah, priesthood, and kingdom. Three things were said of charitable men. There are three different kinds among scholars. There are three different kinds of sweat that are beneficial to the body. There are six kinds of tears. There are three advantages in an earthen vessel. There are three advantages in a glass vessel. The money that the Israelites carried away from Egypt returned to Egypt. If you do the least wrong to your companion, it shall be considered by you the greatest wrong, etc. The following articles were hidden, etc., 133-143

TRACT ABOTH.

(Fathers of the Synagogue--Ethics.)

CHAPTER 1.

MISHNA A. Moses received the Law on Sinai and delivered it to Joshua; Joshua in turn handed it down to the Elders (not to the seventy Elders of Moses' time but to the later Elders who have ruled Israel, and each of them delivered it to his successor); from the Elders it descended to the prophets (beginning with Eli and Samuel), and each of them delivered it to his successors until it reached the men of the Great Assembly. The last, named originated three maxims: "Be not hasty in judgement; Bring up many disciples; and, Erect safe guards for the Law."

Tosephhta--Aboth of R. Nathan.

1Moses was sanctified in the cloud, and received the Torah from Sinai, as it is written [Ex. xxiv. 16]: "And the glory of the Lord abode upon Mount Sinai," which means on Moses (for what purpose?), to purify him; this occurred after the ten commandments had been given. So says R. Jose the Galilean; R. Aqiba, however, says: It is written [ibid.]: "And the cloud covered it six days." This refers to the mountain, before the ten commandments had been given, and this is what is written further on [ibid.]: "And he called unto Moses the seventh day out of the cloud" (for what purpose?--only) to confer honour upon him.

Said R. Nathan: Why did Moses stay the entire six days without communication from the Shekhina? To cleanse his body of all the food and drink it contained, that he might be like angels at the time of his consecration.

Said R. Mathia b. Heresh to him: Rabbi, all this stated above was done only to overawe him, that he might receive the words of the Torah with awe, terror, fear and trembling, as it is written [Ps. ii. "Serve the Lord with fear and rejoice with trembling."

It happened that R. Josiah and R. Mathia b. Heresh were both sitting and studying the Law. R. Josiah then departed to attend to worldly affairs. Said R. Mathia to him: "Rabbi, what dost thou gain by forsaking the words of the living God, and devoting thyself to worldly affairs? Even though thou art my master, and I thy disciple, yet I dare say that it is not right to do so." (Lest one say that R. Josiah did so from jealousy,) it was said: While sitting and studying the Torah they were jealous of each other, but when they parted they were like friends from youth.

Through Moses the Torah was given on Sinai, as it is written [Deut. 5:19]: "And he wrote them on two tables of stone, and he gave them unto me." And also [Lev. xxvi. 46]: "These are the statutes and ordinances and laws, which the Lord made between him and the children of Israel on Mount Sinai, by the hand of Moses." The Law which the Holy One, blessed be He, has given to Israel, was given only in the hand of Moses, as it is written [Ex. xxxi. 17]: "Between me and the children of Israel." So Moses (because of his purification and sanctification) was privileged to be the representative of Israel before the Lord.

Moses offered the ram of consecration and prepared the oil of anointment, and anointed therewith Aaron and his sons during all the seven days of consecration. With the same oil high-priests and kings were afterward anointed, and Elazar burned the (first) red-cow, with the ashes of which the unclean were purified in later generations. Said R. Eliezer: "The oil of anointment was of such importance that it remained even for the later generations, for Aaron and his sons were consecrated with the oil of anointment, as it is written [Ex. 30:30]: 'And Aaron and his sons shalt thou anoint, and consecrate them to be priests.'" (Hence we see that although Aaron was a high-priest, his sons, nevertheless, stood in need of anointment.)

Joshua received it (the Law) from Moses, as it is written [Numb. 27:20]: "And thou shalt put some of thy greatness upon him, in order that all the congregation of the children of Israel may be obedient." The elders (who lived after Moses) received it from Joshua, as it is written [Judges 2:7]: "And the people served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that lived many days after Joshua, who had seen all the great deeds of the Lord, which he had done for Israel." The judges received it from the elders, as it is written [Ruth, i. 1]: "And it came to pass in the days when the judges judged." The prophets received it from the judges (beginning with Samuel the prophet, who was also a judge), as it is written [Jerem. 7:25]: "And I sent unto you all my servants the prophets, sending them daily in the morning early." Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi received it from the prophets. The men of the Great Assembly received it from. Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, and they said the following three things mentioned in the Mishna:

"Be deliberate in judgement." How so? It means a man shall be slow in his judgement, for he who is slow is deliberate, as it is written [Prov. 25:1]: "Also these are the proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah the king of Judah have collected." They have not collected them,, but they were deliberating upon them before (making them public). Abba

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Saul, however, said: "Not only were they deliberating over them, but they also explained them."

Formerly it was said: The books of Proverbs, Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes were hidden, because they are only parables, and do not belong to the Hagiographa; the men of the Great Assembly, however, came and explained them, as it is written [Prov. 7:7-20]: "And I beheld among the simple ones, I discerned among the youths, a lad void of sense, etc. and, behold, a woman came to meet him with the attire of a harlot and obdurate of heart; she is noisy and ungovernable; in her house her feet never rest; at one time she is in the street, at another in the open places, and near every corner doth she lurk, and she caught hold of him, and kissed him, and with an impudent face she said to him, 'I had bound myself to bring peace-offerings; this day have I paid my vows; therefore I am come forth to meet thee, to seek thy presence diligently, and I have found thee. With tapestry coverings have I decked my bed, with embroidered coverlids of the fine linen of Egypt. I have sprinkled my couch with myrrh, aloes, and cinnamon. Come, let us indulge in love until the morning: let us delight ourselves with dalliances. For the man is not in his house, he is gone on a journey a great way off; the bag of money hath he taken with him; by the day of the new-moon festival only will he come home.'" And it is written also in Song of Songs [7:12, 13]: "Come, my friend, let us go into the field; let us spend the night in the villages; let us get up early to the vineyards; let us see if the wine have blossomed, whether the young grape have opened (to the view), whether the pomegranate have budded: there will I give my caresses unto thee." And it is written again in Ecclesiastes [11:9]: "Rejoice, O young man, in thy childhood; and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youthful vigor, and walk firmly in the ways of thy heart, and in (the direction which) thy eyes see; but know thou, that concerning all these things God will bring thee into judgement." And again in Song of Songs [7:10]: "I am my friend's, and toward me is his desire." So we see that the last-mentioned passage of the Song of Songs explains all that was mentioned above; under the term "my friend's" the Lord is understood. Hence (it is sure) that they were not only deliberating, but also explaining them.

According to others the statement "Be deliberate in judgement means to teach that one shall be careful with his words, and also not to have an irascible manner against those who have received his words, for one who is easily provoked by those who have received his words often forgets his (original) words; for so we find with Moses, our master, who had forgotten his (original) words. (See Pesachim, p. 129: "Resh Lakish said," etc.)

And where do we find that Moses was irascible with his hearers? It is written [Numb. xxxi. 14]: "And Moses was wroth. . . . Have you allowed all the females to live?" And it is written [ibid., ibid. 16]: "Behold . . . through the counsel of Bil'am." How so? Infer from this that this was the advice of Bil'am given to Balak: "These people, your enemies, are hungry for food and are thirsty for drink, as they have nothing but manna. Go and put up tents for them, place in them food and drink, and seat in them beautiful women, daughters of nobles, so that the people may turn to Baal Peor." (This will be given in Sanhedrin in detail.)

Now from this we may draw an a fortiori conclusion. If Moses our master, the wisest of the wise and the father of the prophets, at the time he became angry at his listeners forgot his original words, so much the more would we commoners. From this we should learn how necessary it is to be careful and not irascible.

Ben Azai says: Be careful in thy words, that thy hearers shall not err through them.

"And erect safeguards for the Law." That means that one shall make a safeguard to his words as the Holy One, blessed be He, has done. Adam the First made one to his; the Torah made one to its words; Moses and job likewise made safeguards to their words, and so also the Prophets and Hagiographers have all made safeguards to their words.

The safeguard that the Holy One, blessed be He, made is this [Deut. 29:23]: "Even all the nations will say, wherefore hath the Lord done thus unto this land?" Infer from this that it was known beforehand to Him, by whose one word the universe was created, that the future generations will ask this; therefore he said to Moses: Write the answer for the future generations [ibid., ibid. 24, 25]: "Then shall men say, because they have forsaken the covenant of the Lord, etc., and they went and served other gods and bowed down to them--gods which they knew not, and which he had not assigned unto them."

We see, then, that the Holy One, blessed be He, made these answers, to prevent His people from incurring His wrath by their questions, and that they might live in peace.

Adam the First's safeguard to his words was thus [Gen. 2:16, 17]: "And the Lord God commanded the man, saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat; but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it; for on the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die."

We see, then, that Adam did not want to give Eve the exact words he received, but he added [ibid. iii. 3]: "Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die," in order that they should take care even not to touch the tree. At that time the wicked serpent said to himself: "As it is impossible for me to make Adam stumble (for he himself received the words from the Lord), I will make Eve stumble." He sat by her and had a long conversation with her. He said to her: "As thou sayest that the Holy One, blessed be He, has forbidden thee to touch it, see that I am touching it and will not die, and the same will be with thee." And so he did: he arose and shook the tree with his hands and feet till the fruit fell down. [According to others the serpent did not actually touch the tree at all, because as soon as the tree saw the serpent it stopped him and said: "Thou wicked one, do not touch me," as it is written [Ps. 36:12]: "Let not come against me the foot of pride, and let not the hand of the wicked chase me off." Another explanation of the above passage is, that it has referred to Titus, who beckoned with his hand, and struck the altar, saying [in Greek]: "ΛΥΧΟΣ! ΛΥΧΟΣ!" (Lychos! Lychos! = Wolf! Wolf!) thou art a king, and I am a king, come and engage with me in battle. How many oxen were slaughtered upon thee; how many heads of birds were pinched off on thee; how many measures of wine were poured upon thee; how much incense of spices was burned upon thee, thou art the one who destroys the whole world," as it is written [Is. 29:1]: "Woe to Ariël, to Ariël, the town where David dwelt! Add ye year to year; let the festivals come round in order."]

The serpent said again to her (Eve): "If thou sayest that the Holy One, blessed be He, forbade to eat it, see I eat of it, and do not die, and thou mayest do the same and thou wilt not die." So Eve said to herself, the injunctions of my master are unfounded. [(There is a tradition that) at first Eve called Adam nothing but master.] She then herself ate of the fruit and gave it to Adam, and he too ate, as it is written [Gen. 3:6]: "And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that, it was pleasant to the eyes," etc.

With ten curses was Eve cursed at that time, as it is written [ibid., ibid. 16]: "Unto the woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy pain and (the suffering of) thy conception; in pain shalt thou bring forth (children), and for thy husband shall be thy desire, but he shall rule over thee." "I will greatly multiply"--those are the two afflictions of blood that a woman has to suffer: that of her menstruation and that primæ noctis. "And thy suffering" means the rearing of children; "and thy conception" means the pain of pregnancy. "In pain shalt thou bring forth children" is to be taken in its literal sense. "And for thy husband shall be thy desire"; infer from this that the woman is longing for her husband during his absence on a journey. She is wrapped like a mourner, separated from all men as if she were in prison and as if she were excommunicated from all mankind. And who caused all this? The words that Adam added: "Ye shall not touch it." From this they deduced the maxims that if one makes a safeguard to his words (without stating that it is such) he cannot stand by it. Consequently they said that one must not add to what he has heard. Said R. Jose (this is what people say): "It is better to have a wall of ten spans which is solid, than one of a hundred ells which is tottering."

What were the thoughts of the wicked serpent at that time? "I will slay Adam and marry his wife, and I will be king of the whole world, I will walk erect, and will banquet on the best of the land." Then the Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: "Thou hast thought to slay Adam and marry his wife, therefore I will put enmity (between thee and the woman); thou hast thought to be king of the world, therefore be thou cursed among all the cattle; thou hast thought to walk erect, therefore upon thy belly shalt thou go; thou hast thought to banquet on the best of the land, therefore dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life."

R. Simeon b. Menassia says: "Woe that a great servant was lost to the world, for if the serpent had not been accursed, every one would have had two serpents in his house. He would send one to the West, and the other to the East, and they would bring him diamonds, precious stones and pearls, and all the valuable things of the world, and no creature could stand against them, and furthermore they could be used instead of a camel, ass, and mule in the field, garden," etc.

R. Jehudah b. Bathyra says: "Adam was sitting in the Garden of Eden and the angels served him with roasted meat and chilled wine." When the serpent saw this and observed this honour, he became jealous.

How was Adam created? The first hour his dust was gathered, the second the form was created, the third he became a body, the fourth his members were joined, the fifth the openings were developed, the sixth the soul was put unto him, the seventh he rose to his feet, the eighth Eve was mated to him, the ninth he was brought into the Garden of Eden, the tenth the command was given to him, the eleventh he sinned, the twelfth he was driven out and went away; this is what is written [Ps. 49:21]: "Ve Adam bikor bal yolin." (Adam, "Bal Yolin"--he shall not stay over night.) [We have learned in Tract Rosh Hashana: On the first day which psalm did they say? "Unto the Lord belongeth the earth with what filleth it" [Ps. 21:17]; this was because He created and is still continuing to create, and He is judging the world. On the second day they said: "Great is the Lord and highly praised, in the city of our God" [ibid. 48:2]; it is because He divided all His creatures and became the one ruler of the universe. On the third they said: "God standeth in the congregation of God, in the midst of judges doth He judge" [ibid. 82:1]; it is because He then created the sea, the land, and the earth was rolled to its right place, and room was made for His congregation. On the fourth day they said: "O God of vengeance, Lord! O God of vengeance, shine forth" [Ps. 94:1]; because then He created the sun, the moon, the stars, and the planets which give light to the world, and the Lord will punish those who worship them. On the fifth they said: "Sing aloud unto God our strength; shout joyfully unto the God of Jacob" [Ps. 81:2]; because He then created the birds, the fishes, and the great sea monsters, who (the birds) fill the world with song. On the sixth they said: "The Lord reigneth, He is clothed with excellency; the Lord is clothed, He had girded Himself with strength: (therefore) also the world is firmly established, that it cannot be moved." Because then He finished all His work He became exalted and placed Himself on the loftiest point of the world. On the seventh they said: "A psalm or song for the Sabbath day" [ibid. 92:1]. A day of entire rest, when there is no eating nor no drinking and no traffick, but the upright sit with their crowns on their heads and are nourished from the glory of the Shekhina, as it is written [Ex. 24:11]: "And they saw (the glory of) God, and did eat and drink," just like the angels.] Why was Adam created on the last hour of the sixth day? In order that he might immediately partake of the sabbatical meal.

R. Simeon b. Elazar said: Adam can be likened to an Israelite who married a proselyte woman, and he constantly sought to impress upon her mind the following regulations: "My daughter, eat not bread when thy hands are unclean, eat not of fruits which were not tithed, do not violate the Sabbath, do not get into the habit of making vows, and walk not with another man. If thou shouldst violate any of the commands, thou wilt die." Another one, who wished to mislead her, did those very things before her that she had been told were sinful: he ate bread when his hands were unclean, partook of fruits which were not tithed, violated the Sabbath, etc., and thereby caused this proselyte to think that everything that her husband told her was entirely false, so she violated all his commandments.

R. Simeon b. Johai said: The case of Adam can be likened to one who, when intending to leave his house, took a barrel and put therein a certain number of dates and nuts; then he caught a scorpion and put it in the top of the barrel, be covered it well and put it in a corner, and said to his wife: "My daughter, everything I have in this house is placed at thy disposal, except this barrel, which thou must touch not at all." As soon as her husband went away, she, however, opened the barrel, put her hand into it, and the scorpion bit her. She took sick and went to her bed. When her husband returned, he asked her what the trouble was. She said: "I put my hand in the barrel, and the scorpion bit me, and I am dying." He said to her: "Did I not tell thee before that thou must not touch the barrel?" He became angry, and drove her out of his house. The same happened to Adam when the Holy One, blessed be He, told him: "Of every tree in the garden thou mayest freely eat; but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it; for on the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die"; but as soon as he did eat he was driven out of the Garden of Eden, and this is what the passage said [Ps. 49] (see above).

On the same day on which he was formed, on the very same day his countenance was created; on the very same day he was made a body, and his members were joined and his openings developed, and on the very same day the soul was put unto him. On the same day he stood upon his feet, and Eve was mated to him. On the same day he pronounced the names of all the creatures, and on the very same day he was placed in the Garden of Eden and received the command (not to eat, etc.), and on the very same day he violated it and was driven out, to comply with what is written [Ps. xlix.] (see above). On the same day they went to bed two, and descended from the bed four. R. Jehudah b. Bathyra, however, says that they descended six (two sons and two daughters). On that day three sentences were pronounced over Adam, as it is written [Gen. 3:17, 18]: "And unto Adam he said, because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, etc., cursed be the ground for thy sake, in pain shalt thou eat of it, etc., and thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to thee, and thou shalt eat the herbs of the field." As soon as Adam the First heard that the Holy One, blessed be He, said: "And thou shalt eat the herbs of the field," he trembled in his whole body. He said before Him: "Lord of the Universe, shalt I and my cattle eat out of the same trough?" Said the Holy One, blessed be He: "As thou hast trembled, therefore in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread" [ibid., ibid. 19].

As Adam was laid under three sentences, likewise was it with Eve. As it is written [ibid., ibid. 16]: "I will greatly multiply thy pain and (the suffering of) thy conception; in pain shalt thou bring forth children." The first few days of menstruation are painful. So also are the first few moments of

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her sexual intercourse with a man. Also when the woman becomes pregnant, her face loses its beauty and becomes yellow the first three months.

When evening drew near, and Adam, looking toward the west, saw that it was becoming darker and darker, he said: "Woe to me is this, because I have sinned, that the Lord darkens the world upon me!" He did not know that it was the course of nature. In the morning, when he saw it lighted up and the sun risen in the east, he rejoiced greatly. He built an altar and sacrificed on it as a burnt-offering an ox, the horns of which were formed before his hoofs. (Rashi explains this elsewhere as follows: All the creatures of the first days of creation were created in their full-grown sizes, and as the head was formed first the horns thereon preceded the hoofs in point of time. This means to say that Adam sacrificed an ox of the first creation.) As it is written [Ps. 69:32]: "And this will please the Lord better than an ox or bullock having horns and cloven hoofs."

(There is a tradition) that the ox of Adam, the steer of Noah, the ram sacrificed by Abraham in place of his son, were all of the first creation, as it is written [Gen. 22:13]: "And Abraham lifted up his eyes and saw, and behold, there was a ram Achar" (another one, which signifies that it was one differing from the usual ones). At that time (of the sacrifice of the ox, the Holy One, blessed be He, became merciful to him and) three divisions of angels came down with harps, and psalteries, and all musical instruments, and they sang with Adam, as it is written [Ps. 92:1-3]: "A psalm song for the Sabbath day. It is a good thing to give thanks to the Lord, etc. To tell in the morning of thy kindness, and of thy faithfulness in the nights." "To tell in the morning of thy kindness," this means the world to come, which is likened to the morning, as it is written [Lam. 3:23]: "They are new every morning, great is thy faithfulness"; and [Ps. 92] "And of thy faithfulness in the night" means this world, which is likened to night, as it is written [Is. 21:11]: "The doom of Dumah. Unto me one calleth out of Se'ir, Watchman, what of the night? Watchman, what of the night?"

The Holy One, blessed be He, said then: "If I will not punish the serpent, that would be as if I Myself were destroying the world, because it would be said that the one that I set up as king over the entire world has disobeyed My command and ate of the forbidden fruit"; therefore immediately He turned to the serpent and cursed him, as it is written [Gen. 3:14]: "And the Lord God said unto the serpent," etc. R. Jose said: "If the serpent had not been cursed, the world would have been destroyed immediately afterward."

When God created Adam, He formed him with two countenances, front and back, as it is written [Ps. 139:5]: "Behind and before hast thou hedged me in, and thou placest upon me thy hand." And the angels came down to serve him, and the Holy One, blessed be He, took him under His wings, as it is written: "And thou placest upon me thy hand."

According to others, from this passage is to be inferred that Adam and the Temple were both created with both hands. This view is supported by the following passages [Ps. 119:73]: "Thy hands have made me and established me"; and it is also written about the Temple [Ex. 15:17]: "The sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have established."

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

1What is the safeguard that the Torah made to its words? It is written [Lev. 18:19]: "And a woman in the separation of her uncleanness shalt thou not approach." One might say it is allowed to embrace and kiss her, and converse with her, therefore it is written: "Shalt thou not approach"; test one say it is allowed to sleep with her on one bed when they are both dressed, therefore it is written [Lev. 15:33]: "And of her that is suffering in her separation," that means during all the days of her separation she shall be as if under a ban; 1 from this it may be said that a woman who makes herself homely during her separation does it in accordance with the will of the sages, and one that adorns herself during that time incurs the dissatisfaction of the sages.

It happened that a man, although faithfully studying (the Bible), learning (the Mishna), and serving (in the colleges) of the sages, died in the prime of life. His wife used to take his phylacteries 2 and go around and visit all the synagogues and colleges, weeping and crying: "My masters, in the Law it is written [Deut. 30:20]: 'For he is thy life and the length of thy days'; now there is my husband, who read and learned much and served the sages, why did he die in the prime of life?" And there was no one that gave her a satisfactory answer. Once she met Elijah the prophet, of blessed memory, and he said to her: "My daughter, wherefore criest thou?" and she made to him the same complaint. He then said to her: "What was his wont with thee in the first days of thy separation?" She answered: "Rabbi, he did not even touch me with his little finger; furthermore, he told me, 'Do not touch anything, that thou mayest not bring it into suspicion.'" "And what was his habit with thee in the last days of thy separation?" he said again. She answered: "Rabbi, I used to eat and drink with him, and to sleep with him fully dressed on the bed, and his body touched mine, but with no intention of anything else." Elijah then said: "Blessed be the Omnipotent that killed him, because it is written [Lev. 18:19]: 'Shalt thou not approach.'"

It is written [ibid., ibid. 6]: "None of you shall approach to any that are near of kin to him." From this it was said one must not stay in a separate room with any woman in a hostelry, though she be his sister or daughter, because of public opinion. For the same reason one must not converse with a woman in the market, not even with his wife. For the same reason a man shall not walk behind a woman, even though she be his wife. This was deduced from the following analogy of expression: It is written in the passage of illegal unions, "Ye shall not approach," and here is also written, "Thou shalt not approach," from which it is to be inferred that one shall not approach such things as can cause him to sin (or cause people to talk about him).

There is an ancient saying: Keep thyself apart from the abominable, and from things which are equal to it; and the sages explained it thus: Keep thyself from trivial sin, that it may not lead thee to a grave one. Run to perform a slight meritorious deed, for it will lead thee to the performance of a great one.

It is written [Song of Songs, 7:3]: "Thy body is like a heap of wheat fenced about with lilies." "Thy body is like a heap of wheat" refers to the assembly of Israel, and "fenced about with lilies" refers to the seventy elders. Another explanation of the words, "Thy body is like a heap of wheat," is that they refer to the lenient religious duties which seem to be of no consequence; "fenced about with lilies," nevertheless when the Israelites perform them they bring them to the world to come. How so? When one is with his wife in his house he can do with her what he pleases even during the separation, as there is nobody to control him or reprove him; but when he refrains from having intercourse with her until she submerge herself, he is doing so only because he is afraid of him who commanded the submerging (in the legal bath); and the same is the case with the first dough, the first wool of shearing (no control can be exercised). Hence such duties, which are as light as lilies, bring the Israelites who perform them to the world to come.

Which is the safeguard that Moses made to his words? It is written [Ex. 19:10]: "And the Lord said unto Moses, Go unto the people and sanctify them to-day and to-morrow." As Moses the upright regarded it inexpedient to speak to the people in the manner God spake to him, he added one day of his own volition, and said to them [Ex. 19:15]: "Prepare yourselves for three days." Why did he do so? Because he thought it might happen that one could have seminal intercourse with his wife that day, and so they will receive the Torah when they are unclean; "therefore I will add a third day, that in all the three days they shall refrain from intercourse, in order that they may be clean when receiving the Torah from Mount Sinai.

This is one of the things that Moses did of his own accord by drawing an a fortiori conclusion (as will be explained farther on), and his act was afterward sanctioned by the Omnipotent. The same was the case with the breaking of the tables, with his leaving the Tabernacle, and with his separation from a woman. How so? He said: "Since relative to the Israelites who were to be sanctified for the time being only, for the purpose of receiving the ten commandments from Mount Sinai, the Holy One, blessed be He, said unto me, 'Go unto the people and sanctify them to-day and to-morrow,' how much more incumbent is it on me to be particular about the cleanliness of my person, as I must be ready for such a divine call every day and every hour, and do not know when He would speak to me by day or by night." And this was exactly in accordance with the will of God. R. Jehudah b. Bathyra, however, said: Moses did not leave his wife before he was told to do so by the Mighty One, as it is written [Numb. 12:8]: "Mouth to mouth do I speak with him." It means, mouth to mouth have I told him to separate himself from a woman. According to others, it is from the following passage: It is written [Deut. 5:27]: "Go say to them, return ye unto your tents"; and immediately after [ibid., ibid. 5:28]: "But as for thee, remain thou here by me." Therefore he returned and separated himself. This was exactly the meaning of this passage.

The a fortiori in the case of the Tabernacle was thus: He said: As for my brother Aaron, who is anointed with the oil of anointment, and clothed in holy garments for service, the Holy One, blessed be He, regarding him said [Lev. 16:2]: "Speak unto Aaron thy brother, that he come not at all times into the holy place." Now I who am not chosen for such service, as I am not a priest, how much more reason is there for me to leave the Tabernacle? He did so, and it was in accordance with the will of the Omnipotent.

The a fortiori in the case of the tables was thus: It is said when Moses ascended on high to receive the tables [which were written and preserved since the creation of the world, as it is written [Ex. 32:16]: "And the tables were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of God, engraved upon the tables," do not read "Charuth" (engraved), but Cheiruth (free), for every one who is studying the Law is a free man]. The angels conspired against Moses, saying: "Lord of the Universe, what is the mortal, that thou rememberest him?" etc. [Ps. viii. 5-9]. They murmured against Moses and said: What is the distinction of one born of woman, that he should come into the council on high? As it is written [Ps. 68:19]: "Thou didst ascend on high, lead away captives, receive gifts." He nevertheless took the tables and descended with great rejoicing. When he saw the contamination with which they had stained themselves in worshipping the golden calf, he said: If I should give them the tables, I impose upon them a responsibility which might result in capital punishment by divine power, for on the tables is written: "Thou shalt have no other gods before me" [Ex. 20:3]. He started to return, but the seventy elders saw him and ran after him, and grasped the tables on one end, the other end being still in Moses' hand, and he overpowered them all, as it is written [Deut. 34:12]: "And in respect to all that mighty hand, and in all the great, terrific deeds which Moses displayed before the eyes of all Israel." He looked at the tables, and saw that they were without writing upon thern. He then said: How shall I give Israel the tables, now that they have no value? I will rather break them. As it is written [Deut. 9:17]: "And I took hold of the two tables, and cast them out of my two hands, and I broke them." Said R. Jose the Galilean: I will explain this with a parable. A king said to his ambassador: "Go, betroth to me a maiden who is beautiful, chaste, and of pleasing manners." The ambassador went and betrothed such to him. Soon he found that she acted the harlot. The ambassador was in a predicament. "What is to be done? If I grive her the marriage contract now, I may subject her to capital punishment. No," he said, "I will tear the marriage contract and thereby release her from my master and save her." So Moses the upright said, as stated above: "Rather will I seize and break them (the tables) and save the Israelites by enabling them, in case they should be charged with idolatry, to say: 'Where are the tables? They did not exist at all.'"

R. Jehudah b. Bathyra said: Moses would not have broken the tables had he not been told by the Mighty One to do so, as it is written: "Mouth to mouth do I speak with him"; that means, I told him to break the tables. According to others, that thought is expressed in the following passage [Deut. 9:16]: "And I looked, and behold, ye had sinned against the Lord." He would not say "I looked," unless he saw the writing of the tables flying away. Anonymous teachers find the same in the following passage [Deut. 10:5]: "And they have remained there, as the Lord hath commanded me." He would not have said he was commanded unless he had been told to break them. R. Elazar b. Azariah infers it from the following passage [ibid. 34:12]: "Which Moses displayed before the eye of all Israel"; or, "All that Moses did was by the command of the Lord," as in other cases Moses acted according to the command of God. [R. Aqiba infers it from the following passage: "And I took hold of the two tables." What can a man take hold of? Only what he can destroy (i.e., if he had not been commanded to do so he could not have been able to destroy a thing given by God). R. Meir infers it from the following passage: "Which thou hast broken"; it really means, "which thou didst break rightfully" (see Sabbath).]

Also Hezekiah, King of Judah, did four things of his own volition which were in accordance with the will of the Lord: "And Hezekiah prospered in all his works" [2 Chron. 32:30].

What is the safeguard that Job made to his words? (Let us see), it is written [Job 1:1]: "And this man was perfect and upright, and fearing God, and eschewing evil." We learn therefrom that job kept aloof from anything that led to sin, from abomination and from what is equal to it. It may be asked [if it is so, are not the terms "perfect" and "upright" superfluous? (the words "fearing God" and "eschewing evil," are they not sufficient)? Infer from this that the term "perfect" means that he was born circumcised. Adam the first man also came forth circumcised, as it is written [Gen. 1:27]: "And God created man in his image." Also Seth was so born, as it is written [ibid. 5:3]: "And begat a son in his likeness, after his image." Noah, too, was born circumcised, as [ibid. 6:9] the term "perfect" was used in reference to Noah. Shem was also so born, as it is written [ibid. 14:19]: "And Malkizedek, king of Salem." 1 Jacob the patriarch was also so born, as the appellation "perfect" was also applied to him [ibid. 25:27]. And Joseph was also so born, as it is written [ibid. 37:2]: "These are the generations of Jacob: Joseph." It ought to be the generation of Jacob: Reuben (as he was the first-born). Why is it Joseph? Infer from this, that as Jacob was born circumcised, so also was Joseph. And Moses was born circumcised, as it is written [Ex. 2:2]: "And when she saw him, that he was a goodly child." What good could his mother see in him? Was he then more beautiful than all mankind? Say, then, he was born circumcised. Also Balaam the wicked was born circumcised, as it is written [Numb. 24:4]: "Thus saith he who heareth the sayings of God." (According to the tradition of the Talmudists, one who is not circumcised could not hear the words of God, and as Balaam was a Gentile, and not circumcised by his parents, and yet he heard the words of God, consequently he must have been born circumcised.) Samuel was also born so, as he is also graced with the appellation good [I Sam. 2:26]. David was also born so, traditionally, as (the support from Ps. 16:1 does not imply

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anything). Also Jeremiah was born circumcised, as it is written [Jer. 1:5]: "Before yet I had formed thee in thy mother's body I knew thee, and before thou wast yet come forth out of the womb I sanctified thee." Also Zerubabel was born so, as it is written [Haggai, 2:23]: "On that day, saith the Lord of hosts, will I take thee, O Zerubabel, the son of Shealtiel, my servant."] And he (Job) said [Job 31:1]: "A covenant have I made with my eyes: how then should I fix my looks on a virgin?" Infer from this that job was so scrupulous with himself that he did not even look at a virgin. This is to be made an a fortiori conclusion--namely, if a virgin whom he could marry himself, or to his son, brother, or relatives was not looked upon by him because he was so rigorous with himself, so much the more did he refrain from looking at a married woman. But what was the reason that Job was so rigorous with himself as regards looking at a virgin? Because he thought, if I look at her to-day (and like her) and to-morrow she marries some one else, I will have looked on (and liked) a married woman.

What safeguard have the prophets made to their words? It is written [Is. 42:13]: "The Lord--as a mighty one will he go forth, like a man of war will he arouse his vengeance: he will shout, yea, raise the war-cry." Is then the Lord as one mighty one? Is He not stronger than all the mighty ones of the world put together? The same is in Amos [3:8]: "The lion hath roared, who will not fear? the Lord Eternal hath spoken, who will not prophesy?" Is then the voice of the Lord equal to one lion--is it not as of all the lions of the whole world put together? The same meaning is conveyed by the following passage [Ezek. 43:2]: "Behold, the glory of the God of Israel came from the way of the east; and his voice was like a noise of many waters; and the earth gave light from his glory." (Now let us see. We know from a tradition that the words) "like a noise of many waters" mean the angel Gabriel; and by "the earth gave light," etc., is meant the appearance of the Shekhina. Is not here an a fortiori conclusion to be drawn? Gabriel, who is only one of the thousands of millions of servants who minister before the Lord, if his voice reached from one end of the world to the other, so much the more would that of the King of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He, who has created the universe, who has created the higher and the lower; but the reason why the prophets spake so is, that only such things are mentioned that the eye of a human being can see, and only such things are written that the car of a human being can hear.

What was the safeguard that the Hagiographers made to their words? It is written [Prov. 5:8]: "Remove far from her thy way and come not nigh to the door of her house." "Remove far from her thy way" means heresy against which one is warned. Lest one say, I have confidence in myself and I am sure that it would not influence me, therefore it is written [Ps. 2:19]: "All that come unto her return not again, and they will not reach the paths of life." [It is written [ibid. 9:2]: "She hath killed her cattle, she hath mingled her wine; she hath also set in order her table." This refers to the: wicked. When one goes away with them, they give him food and drink, they clothe and cover him, and give him plenty of money; but as soon as he becomes one of them, each one recognises what belonged to him and takes it away from him. Concerning them it is written [ibid. 7:23]: "Till an arrow cleaveth through his liver, as a bird hasteneth into the snare, and knoweth not that it is done to take his life."]

Another explanation to the above passage is this: "Remove far from her thy way" refers to a harlot. When one is warned not to go in this market, and not to enter into that alley, as there is a celebrated and much-spoken-of harlot, and he says, I have confidence in myself even though I go there I would not be seduced by her; nevertheless they must say to him, Go not, for after all thou canst be seduced by her. Did not our sages say: "A man shall not be in the habit of passing by the door of a harlot, for it is written [ibid. vii. 26]: 'For many deadly wounded hath she caused to fall: yea, very numerous are all those slain by her'"?

What is the safeguard that the sages made to their words? e.g., the reading of Shema (see Berachoth), and so also have the latter sages made a safeguard to their words; and they have multiplied disciples who did the same thing. As to this, however, the schools of Shammai and Hillel differ. The School of Shammai maintain that one shall teach only those who are wise, modest, rich, and come from a good family; the School of Hillel, however, hold that one may teach every one, as there were many transgressors in Israel, and after they had become upright, pious, and righteous men, engaged in the study of the Law, they had the good fortune that from them descended men of uprightness, piety, and righteousness.

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

1R. Aqiba said: "Whoever takes a coin from the fund intended for charity to the poor when he is not in need of it, will not die before he will really be in need of assistance." 2 He used to say: One that bandages his eyes or his shoulders, and says: "Give charity to the blind or to the leper," will in the end speak the truth-that is, he will be such. He also said: One that throws his bread on the ground, or scatters his money in his anger, will not die before he will be in actual need of assistance. He said again: One that tears his garments or breaks his vessels in his wrath, will eventually worship idols, for this is the way of the evil thoughts: to-day they urge him to tear his garments, and to-morrow they will advise him to worship idols. And again: One that is desirous that his wife shall die in order to inherit her property, or to marry her sister, or one who is desirous that his brother shall die in order to marry his wife, in the end will be buried by them. Regarding such it is written [Eccl. 10:8]: "He that diggeth a pit will fall into it; and him who breaketh down a fence, a serpent will bite him."

(Here follows a repetition of a Mishna in Baba Kama, which, according to our method, we have omitted.) R. Dostai b. Janai said: Though thou hast chosen and sown in the first quarter, sow also in the second: perhaps a hail might destroy the first, but the second will be preserved; for thou knowest not which will succeed, whether this or that, or both may be preserved, and both of them will be alike good, as it is written [Eccl. xi. 6]: "In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening let not thy hand rest." And even though thou hast sown in the first and second quarters, do not neglect to do so also in the third, as it may happen that a blast might destroy the first, but the latter will be preserved, as is said in the passage just mentioned.

R. Ishmael b. R. Jose said: The above passage refers to study, thus: Study the Law in thy old age, even if thou hast studied it in thy youth. Do not say: "I do not want to study when I am aged"; but study it always, because thou knowest not which will succeed. If thou hast studied the Law in years of plenty, do not count it for the years of famine. The study during times of ease does not count for those of distress, because one thing done in distress is better than a hundred in ease, as it is written [ibid.]: "In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening let not thy hand rest." R. Aqiba also said the same.

R. Meir said: When thou hast studied under one master, say not: "It is enough," but go and study under another; yet do not go to all of them, but only to those who were near to the Law from the start (meaning a scholar from a scholarly house), as it is written [Ps. v. 15]: "Drink water out of thy own cistern, and running water out of thy own well."

It is a duty to study under three masters, such as R. Eliezer, R. Joshua, and R. Aqiba, as it is written [Ps. 8:34]: "Happy is the man that hearkeneth unto me, waiting day by day at my gates, waiting at the posts of my doors." 1 Because thou canst not know which master's teaching will remain with thee, or perhaps all are good, as may be learned from the above-mentioned passage.

R. Joshua said: "The same passage applies also to this: Marry a woman in thy youth; marry one also (if need be) when you are old; beget children in thy youth, and do so also in thy old age. Do not say, I will not marry again as I have children, but marry and beget more children, as you do not know which of them will be the good."

He used also to say: "If thou hast given a coin to a poor man in the morning, and another one begs of you in the evening, give him also, as thou knowest not whether both will be benefited by thy donation, and whether both are alike deserving, as it is written: "In the morning sow thy seed."

It happened that a pious man who used to spend much in charity, while aboard a ship encountered a great storm, and the ship foundered. R. Aqiba saw him go down, and came to testify before the court in order that his wife might marry again. Before the court adjourned, the man came and stood before them. Said R. Aqiba to him: "Did you not sink into the sea?" He answered: "Yea." "And who brought thee out of the sea?" R. Aqiba asked again. He answered: "The charities that I have given have saved me from the sea." "Whence dost thou know this?" He said: "When I went down in the deep, I heard the noise of the waves. It seemed to me that they said to each other: This man has done charity all his days (and they actually threw me on land)." R. Aqiba then arose and said: Blessed be the Lord the God of Israel, who has chosen the words of the Torah and the words of the sages, for they are preserved everlastingly. As it is written [Eccl. 11:1]: "Cast thy bread upon the face of the waters; for after many days wilt thou find it again." It is written again [Prov. 10:2]: "And charity will deliver from death."

It happened that to Benjamin the upright, who was the treasurer of charities, there came a woman and asked for food. He said: "I assure you that the treasury is empty." She said: "Rabbi, if thou wilt not help me, thou wilt kill a widow and her seven children." He then fed them at his own expense. Years afterward Benjamin the upright fell ill, and he suffered very much on his sick-bed. Said the angels before the Holy One, blessed be He: "Lord of the Universe, Thou hast said: He who preserves one soul of Israel is regarded (by Scripture) as if he preserved an entire world. Benjamin the upright, who has preserved a widow and seven children, (is entitled) so much more to such consideration, yet he is pining on the couch. of a painful disease." They implored the mercy of God in his behalf, and His decree was annulled, and twenty-two years were added to his life.

MISHNA B. Simeon the just was one of the remnants of the Great Assembly. His motto was: "The order of the world rests upon three things: on law, on worship, and on bestowal of favours."

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

1"Upon the Torah." How so? It is written [Hosea, 6:6]: For piety I desired, and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt-offerings." Infer from this that the burnt-offering is more favoured than ordinary sacrifices, because it is all burnt up in the fire, as it is written [Lev. 1:9]: "And the priest shall burn the whole on the altar," and elsewhere [I Sam. 7:9]: "And Samuel took the sucking lamb and offered it for an entire burnt-offering unto the Lord." Yet the study of the Law is more acceptable in the sight of the Lord than burnt-offerings, because he who is studying the Torah knows the will of the Lord, as it is written [Prov. 2:5]: "Then wilt thou understand the fear of the Lord, and the knowledge of God wilt thou find." From this it may be inferred that when a sage lectures to the public it is accounted to him in Scripture as if sacrificing fat and blood upon the altar.

Two scholars studying together, when a bride or a bier carrying a corpse passes before them, must observe the following rule: If the bride has all she needs to feel that she is such, and if the dead has all that is needed for decent burial, the students shall not interrupt themselves; but if such be not the case, let them suspend their study and go to add to the joy of the bride and to do honour to the dead. [It happened that a wedding procession passed by while R. Tarphon was studying with his disciples, and he directed that the bride be brought up to his house, and he told his mother and his wife to wash, anoint, and ornament her, and to dance for her until she should reach her groom. According to Elias Wilna.]

It also happened that, while R. Judah b. Ilai was teaching his disciples, a wedding procession, which had not sufficient followers, passed by, and he with his disciples took part in the procession until the bride passed.

It happened again that while the same was engaged in teaching his disciples, a bridal party passed by. He asked: "What is that and they answered: "A bridal party." He then said: "My sons, arise, evince your interest in the bride." So we find that the Holy One, blessed be He, bestowed His favour upon a bride, as it is written [Gen. 2:22]: "And the Lord God formed the rib." And in the cities by the sea a bride is called Beniatha, "the formed one." If He has done so, how much more reason is there for us so to do? Infer from this that the Lord formed Eve and ornamented her like a bride, and brought her to Adam, as it is written [ibid.]: "And brought her unto Adam." Only once has the Lord become a mediator to Adam; henceforward man must procure a mediator for himself, as it is written [ibid., ibid. 23]: "Bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh." Once only was Eve formed out of Adam; henceforward man betroths the daughter of his fellowman.

"On service." How so? As long as the service of the Temple existed, the world was blessed for the sake of its inhabitants, and the rain came down in due season, as it is written [Deut. 11:13, 14]: "I love the Lord your God, and to serve him . . . that I will send rain for your land in due season." But when the service of the Temple ceased, the inhabitants were not blessed, and the rain did not come down in due time, as it is written [ibid., ibid. 16]: "Take heed to yourselves that your heart be not deceived . . . and he will shut up the heavens that there be no rain." Also Haggai said [2:15, 16]: "Direct, I pray you, your heart from this day and upward, before the time that a stone was laid upon a stone in the temple of the Lord: since those days were, when one came to a heap of sheaves of twenty (in number), and there were but ten; when he came to the wine-press to draw off fifty measures out of the vat, and there were but twenty." [Why was it not said of the wine-press also "twenty, and there were but ten," the same as of the wheat? Because the wine-press is a better sign than the wheat. There is a tradition that when the vine is spoiled it is a bad sign for the current year.]

Said the Israelites before the Holy One, blessed be He: "Lord of the Universe, why hast Thou done thus to us?" The Holy Spirit answered: "Ye looked for much, and, lo, it came to be little, . . . because of my house that lieth in ruins, while ye ran every man unto his own house" [Haggai, 1:9]. "If ye will employ yourselves with the service of the Temple, I will bless ye as heretofore," as it is written [ibid. 2:18, 19]: "Direct, I pray, your heart . . . from the four and twentieth day of the ninth month, even from the day that the foundation of the Lord's temple was laid. . . . Is the seed yet in the barn? Yea, as yet the wine, and the fig-tree, and the pomegranate, and the olive-tree have not brought forth; (but) from this day will I bless you." Infer from this that there is no service which is favoured by the Lord more than the Temple service.

"Upon bestowal of favours." How so? It is written [Hosea, 6:6]: "For kindness I desired, and not sacrifice." Moreover, at the beginning the world was created with kindness, as it is written [Ps. 89:3]: "To eternity will kindness be built up (e.g., the world is built up with kindness), the heavens--yea, in these wilt thou establish thy faithfulness."

R. Johanan b. Zakkai once went out of Jerusalem, followed by R. Joshua, and seeing the destroyed Temple, R. Joshua said: "Woe to us, that this is destroyed, the only place where the

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sins of the Israelites were atoned!" R. Johanan corrected him, saying: "My son, do not grieve over it. We have other means of atonement as effective--namely, bestowal of favours, as it is written [Hosea, 6:6]: 'For kindness I desired, and not sacrifice.' As we find with Daniel, who was occupied in doing good. And what good did he do? He certainly did not sacrifice burnt-offerings and voluntary offerings, as he was in Babylon, and with regard to the place of sacrifice, it is written [Deut. 12:13, 14]: 'Take heed to thyself that thou offer not thy burnt-offering in every place which thou mayest see; but in the place which the Lord will choose in one of thy tribes, there shalt thou offer thy burnt-offerings.' What good, then, did he do? He rejoiced with people in their joy, he wept with them in their sorrow, he helped and cheered poor brides, he honoured the dead by following them to the last resting-place, he gave material aid to the needy, and prayed three times every day, and his prayers were received with favour, as it is written [Dan. 6:11]: 'And three times every day he kneeled upon his knees, and prayed, and offered thanks before his God,' etc."

When Vespasian came to destroy Jerusalem, he said to the inhabitants: "Fools, wherefore do ye seek to destroy this city and to burn the Temple? All I want of you is to send me a bow or an arrow--i.e., to acknowledge my dominion over you. I will leave you in peace." They, however, said: "just as we killed the two who came before thee, so will it be with thee." When R. Johanan b. Zakkai heard this, he invited the leaders of Jerusalem to a conference, and said unto them: "My sons, why should you occasion the destruction of the city and insist upon it, as it were, that the Temple be burnt? All the enemy wants is that you send to him a bow or an arrow, and is willing on that condition to depart." But they answered him in the manner they answered Vespasian. The latter had spies within the walls of Jerusalem, and whatever they heard they wrote upon an arrow and threw it outside the wall. In this manner Vespasian learned that R. Johanan b. Zakkai was friendly to Caesar (and so he really was, and confessed it frankly to the leaders of Jerusalem). When R. Johanan b. Zakkai saw that his efforts during several days in succession to win the leaders for peace proved futile, for the leaders did not listen to him, he sent for his disciples, R. Eliezer and R. Joshua, and said: "My sons, try to take me out of here. Make me a coffin, and I will sleep in it." They did so, and R. Eliezer held the coffin by one end, and R. Joshua held it by the other, and thus carried him at sunset to the gates of Jerusalem. When the gate-keepers asked them whom they had there, they answered: "A corpse; and you know that a corpse cannot remain in Jerusalem over night." They were allowed to go, and they carried him till they came to Vespasian. There they opened the coffin, and he arose and introduced himself to Vespasian, who said: "Since thou art the Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai, I give thee the privilege to ask a favour of me." He answered: "I request nothing but that the city of Jamnia shall be free to me to instruct there my disciples. I will build there a prayer-house, and will perform all the commandments of the Lord." Hereupon Vespasian said: "It is well. Thou mayest go thither, and undisturbed carry out the object of thy desire." R. Johanan b. Zakkai then asked permission to say something to Vespasian. This having been granted, he said: "I can assure you that you will become a king." "How dost thou know it?" He answered: "We have a tradition that the Temple will not be delivered to a common man (in the name of the king), but to the king himself." As it is written [Is. 10:34]: "And he will cut down the thickets of the forest with iron, and the Lebanon shall fall by (means of) a mighty one." 1 It was said that scarcely had a few days elapsed when a messenger came from the city of Rome with the tidings that Caesar was dead, and the resolution was adopted that Vespasian be his successor.

At the time when Jerusalem was taken, R. Johanan b. Zakkai, with a trembling heart, was sitting and watching as Eli did, as it is written [I Sam. 4:13]: "Lo, Eli was sitting upon a chair by the wayside, watching; for his heart was anxious for the ark of God." When he heard that Jerusalem was destroyed and the Temple burnt, he and his disciples tore their garments, wept, cried, lamented, and said: "Open thy doors, O Lebanon!" [Zech. 11:1]--that is, the Temple; "and the fire shall eat on thy cedars"--that is, the priests of the Temple, who took the keys and threw them up high and said, before the Holy One, blessed be He: "Lord of the Universe, here are the keys which thou hast intrusted us with, as we were no faithful treasurers and we are no longer worthy to do the work of the King and to eat at his table."

Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the twelve tribes all wept, cried, lamented, and said [ibid. 2, 3]: "Wail, fir-tree, for fallen is the cedar; those that were mighty are despoiled," etc. "Wail, fir-tree, for fallen is the cedar"--that is, the Temple; "those that were mighty are despoiled," applies to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and his twelve sons. "Wail, O ye oaks of Bashan"--that is, Moses, Aaron, and Miriam; "for the impervious forest is come down"--that is, the Holy of Holies; "the noise of the wailing of the shepherds, for wasted is their glory"--that is, David and Solomon his son; "the noise of the roaring of young lions, for wasted is the pride of the Jordan"--that is, Elijah and Elisha.

In three things has the Holy One, blessed be he, made mankind differ one from the other: in voice, behavior, and features. "In voice": for what purpose?, The Holy One, blessed be He, has varied the voices of mankind one from the other, to prevent the generations from adultery; because if it would not be so, when a man would leave his house, some one else might come in (in the night time) and do violence to his wife; but as the voices are different, she could recognise that of her husband.

"In behavior": for what purpose? The Holy One, blessed be He, has varied the behavior of mankind one from another, to prevent jealousy; if not so, mankind would be jealous of each other; therefore the behavior of one is different from that of another. "In features": for what purpose? The Holy One, blessed be He, has varied the features of mankind that the women might recognise their husbands, and the men their wives, otherwise all would be mixed up.

MISHNA C. Antigonus of Socho, who received it from Simeon the just, was in the habit of saying: "Be not like slaves who serve their master for the sake of the compensation; be like such servants as labour for their master without reward; and let the fear of Heaven be upon you."

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

1 "The fear of God shall be upon you, that your reward may be double in the world to come." Antigonus from Socho had two disciples, who were studying his words. They communicated them to their disciples, and they in turn to theirs, who sought the reason which prompted the sage to make such an utterance. "Wherefore," they asked, "have our ancestors said such a thing? Is it possible that a labourer will work all day, and not expect to be rewarded in the evening?" What if they had known that there is a hereafter, and that there will be a resurrection? They would in that case not have expressed themselves in that manner. The result was, that these disciples deviated from the path of the Torah, and formed two new schools with exclusively worldly tendencies, that of the Sadducees and that of the Baitusees: Sadducces--because the name of the founder of their school was Zadok; and Baitusees--because the name of the founder of their school was Baitus. They surrounded themselves with pomp and the brilliancy of shining metals, gold and silver, not so much for the delight and pleasure which they derived from those things as to spite the Pharisees, who deprived themselves of enjoyment here, in order to inherit the world to come, which in their opinion was a mere delusion.

MISHNA D. Jose b. Joezer of Zereda and Jose b. Johanan of Jerusalem received from them. Jose b. Joezer used to say: "Let thy house be the meeting place of the wise; sit gladly at their feet, and drink in their words with avidity."

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

2"Thy house shall be the meeting-place for the wise." What does this mean? That the house should be for the use of scholars, their disciples and their disciples, in the sense that one man says to the other: "I shall wait for you at that place." Another explanation of that phrase is this: If a scholar comes to thee for the purpose of being instructed by thee, and thou art able to comply with his wish, do so; if thou art not able to teach him, dismiss him at once. Neither shall he sit before thee on the bed, chair, or bench, but on the floor; and every word that thou utterest he shall receive with awe, terror, fear, and trembling.

"Sit gladly at their feet." It means that when a renowned scholar comes to the city you shall not say: "I need him not," but go to him; and do not sit before him on the bed, chair, or bench, but con the floor; and every word that comes from his lips, receive with awe, terror, fear, and trembling, for so our ancestors received the Torah from Mount Sinai. According to another explanation the words: "Sit gladly at their feet," are referred to Rabbi Eliezer, and the words: "Drink their words as a thirsty man drinks water," are referred to Rabbi Aqiba.

For how did R. Aqiba begin his wonderful career? (Was it not in the manner hinted in the above words?) It has been said that when he was forty years old he had not learned yet anything. (At that age, however, he conceived the idea of applying himself to study.) It once happened that, standing at a well, he asked: "Who has made that hollow in the stone?" The people whom he asked answered: "The water which continuously, day after day, falls upon it." They also said (by way of reproach): "O Aqiba, it is strange that thou knowest not the passage in Scripture which reads: 'Water weareth out stones'", [Job, 14:19]. Aqiba then drew an a fortiori conclusion. He said: "If the soft has so much power over the hard as to bore it (water over stone), how much more power will the Torah, the words of which are as hard as iron, have over my heart, which is flesh and blood?" He at once turned to the study of the Law. He and his son 1 went to a school where children were instructed, and addressed one of the teachers: "Master, teach me Torah." Aqiba and his son took hold of the slate, and the teacher wrote upon it the alphabet, and he quickly learned it; and then wrote it in the reversed order, and learned as fast; then he learned the Book of Leviticus, and proceeded from one book to the other, until he finished the study of the Bible. He then sat down at the feet of R. Eliezer and R. Joshua, and said: "Masters, I beg of you to open to me the underlying principal Mishnayoth." As soon as they recited one Halakha to him, he went away; and, contemplating what they had told him, a new realm of thought was open to him. He saw that there must be a reason why this thing was written here; why this thing was written there, and why this thing has been said so and not otherwise, and why it has been said at all. He went back to his masters questioning, and made them rise and deliberate.

Rabbi Simeon b. Elazar said: I shall illustrate this point with the following parable: A stone-cutter who was doing his work in the mountains was once seen standing upon a rocky height, knocking off small pieces thereof. "What art thou doing?" people asked him. His answer was: "I am trying to uproot this mountain and throw it into the Jordan." They laughed at him. He, however, continued his work; knocked off piece after piece, and when he had reduced the mountain to a big rock, he planted himself against it, and pushed and pushed until he had uprooted the rock, and then threw it into the Jordan, saying: "This is not thy place, that one is." So has R. Aqiba done too, with R. Eliezer and R. Joshua (he compelled them to improve and to rectify their method).

Said R. Tarphon to him: Aqiba, to thee applies the following passage [Job, xxviii. 11]: "The various droppings of water he uniteth into streams, and what is hidden he bringeth forth to light." Things which were hidden from mankind, R. Aqiba brought forth to light.

Every day during the entire time of his learning he used to cut a bundle of straw, half of which he would sell for his needs and the other half he used for light. His neighbours murmured, saying: "Aqiba, thou greatly dost annoy us with the smoke; rather sell it to us, and buy oil with the money and study by its light." He answered them: "The straw supplies me with many things: first, it gives me light for studying; secondly, I warm myself by its flame; and, thirdly, I make my bed on it when I go to sleep."

In the world to come, R. Aqiba will be a menace to the poor who have neglected study. 1 When they will be questioned why they had not studied the Law, and they shall answer because they were poor and had to work for a livelihood, then R. Aqiba will be held up to them as one who was also poor and wearied, and yet did study; and if they should say because of their little children, again R. Aqiba a will be pointed to, who had many sons and daughters, and yet supported them and his wife Rachel. At the age of forty Rabbi Aqiba began his studies, and at the end of thirteen years he lectured in public. It was said that he did not leave this world until he had tables of gold and silver, and also golden step-ladders to ascend to his bed. His wife went out with an ornament of gold which represented Jerusalem "on her head; and when his disciples said to him: Rabbi, thou hast put us to shame by the profuse jewelry thy wife is wearing," he answered: "She has undergone much suffering, great troubles and privations, for the sake of my study."

Not less astonishing is the beginning of the literary career of Rabbi Eliezer. He was twenty-two years old when, for the first time, he felt a desire for study; and when he intimated to his father that his intention was to sit at the feet of R. Johanan b. Zakkai, his father Hyrcanus told him to plough a full Maanah (a piece of land) without eating anything. R. Eliezer got up early in the morning and did the will of his father, but then left him. It is said that that day was Friday, and that he went in the evening to his father-in-law to eat. Others say that he did not eat at all, that he fasted from the sixth hour of the eve of Sabbath to the sixth hour from the expiration of Sabbath. On the road he saw something which looked to him like food--it is said that it was cow-dung--he picked it up and put it to his mouth. He continued his journey, and finally came to the place where R. Johanan b. Zakkai had his residence and his school. R. Eliezer remained over night at an hostelry in the neighbourhood. In the morning he sat at the feet of the great sage, and whose attention he attracted by the offensive odor that came from his mouth. R. Johanan, attributing the bad smell to an empty stomach, said to him: "Hast thou eaten anything today?" R. Eliezer made no answer. Again the master put the same question to him, and again he was silent. His host was sent for, of whom the sage inquired whether Rabbi Eliezer partook of any food at his place. "No, he did not," the host said. "I did not offer him any food, thinking that he might eat with the Rabbi." "And I," the Rabbi said, "did not offer him any food, assuming that he had eaten at your place. But while we are conversing Eliezer is starving." (Food was given to Eliezer, and then) Rabbi Johanan blessed Eliezer, and said unto him: "As thy offensive odor is the result of privation for the sake of study, may thy name shine forth with the glory of scholarship."

Hyrcanus was angry at his son for the course he had taken, and made up his mind to disgrace and disinherit him. But it came to the ears of R. Johanan what Hyrcanus resolved upon to do. It was the day when R. Johanan was lecturing to the great men in Israel that Hyrcanus meant to punish his disobedient son. And the Rabbi appointed watchmen, and advised them: "Should Hyrcanus come, do not allow him to enter the auditorium." They tried to carry out his instruction. But Hyrcanus managed to push himself through and to reach

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the seats of Ben Zizith Ha Kesseth, Nakdimon b. Gurion, and Calba Shebua, where he sat down with trembling. It is said that on that occasion R. Johanan threw glances of affection at Eliezer, and requested him to open an argument. Modestly did R. Eliezer attempt to decline the honour, saying that he did not know how to begin. But the master and his disciples prevailed, and Eliezer rose and discussed things in an astounding manner, and every subject he touched upon and elucidated pleased Rabbi Johanan to such an extent that he got up and kissed him on the forehead. But Rabbi Eliezer remarked: "Master, everything I said I have learned from thee." Before adjournment Hyrcanus, Eliezer's father, got up and said: "Masters, I had come here with the intention to disgrace my son Eliezer by disinheriting him; but now, however (after I have seen this), I say that all my properties shall be given to him, and his brother shall get none of them."

(It is mentioned that Hyrcanus took his seat by Zizith Ha Kesseth, etc., and is explained why he was so called; but as it is not completed here, the full explanation is given in Tract Gittin.)

Concerning Nakdimon b. Gurion, it was said that the bedding of his daughter was of the value of twelve thousand golden dinars from the city of Tyre, and a golden dinar of Tyre she used to spend for spicing the cookery for every week. She was a childless widow, and was waiting for her brother-in-law to marry her.

And why was he named Nakdimon? Because the sun hastened for his sake. (See Vol. VIII. of Section Moed, Tract Taanith, pp. 51, 52.)

Why was he called Calba Shebua? Because whoever entered, his house hungry as a dog, left satiated. 1 When Vespasian came to destroy Jerusalem, the zealous fanatics were going to burn all his wealth. Said he to them: "Wherefore are ye, destroying this city, and are going to burn my wealth? Wait until I find out what I have in my house." He found that he had food for twenty-two years, of which at least one meal a day could be had by each inhabitant of Jerusalem. He at once gave orders to thresh, to sift and to grind, to knead and to bake, and prepared food for twenty-two years for every one in Jerusalem, but they paid no attention to him. What did the Jerusalemites do? They brought the wagons, sawed them, and smeared them with clay. They also did more than this: they boiled straw and ate it, and every Israelite who took part in the war was placed on the city walls. Said one: If any one give me five dates, I will go down and bring back five heads of the enemy. He received five dates, and he went down and took five heads of Vespasian's men. When Vespasian observed their excrement, and found there was nothing cereal in it, he said to his army: "If those who eat nothing but straw are still slaughtering so many of you, if they would eat and drink as you do, how many more of you would they have killed?

MISHNA E. Jose b. Johanan of Jerusalem was in the habit of saying: "Let thy house be so wide open that the poor may enter it as were they inmates there; and do not hold too much discourse with woman." The sages have cautioned against talking too much with one's own wife. An inference can then be made with regard to talking with the wife of a neighbour. Hence the wise man said The man who does talk overmuch with woman causes evil unto himself, makes himself insusceptive of the words of the Thora, and in the end will be an heir to Gehenna."

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

"Thy house should be wide open." This means that one's house should be wide open south, east, west, and north, as was the house of Job, which had four entrances made, so that the poor should not have the trouble of walking around the house looking for the entrance, but should find it whichever way they came without any difficulty.

"As were they inmates there" [literally: "The poor shall be of thy household"]. It is not meant that the people of thy house shall be poor, but that the poor shall speak of what they ate and what they drank in thy house as they used to tell what they ate and drank in the house of Job. And when they met one another on the road, and asked, "Whence do you come?" the answer was: "From the house of Job." "Whereto are you going?" "To the house of Job." Job's house was in a measure the house of the poor.

When the great afflictions came upon job, he prayed before the Holy One, blessed be He: "Lord of the Universe, have I not fed the hungry and have I not given drink to the thirsty?" as it is written [Job, 31:17]: "Or if ever I ate my bread alone and the fatherless did not eat thereof." "And have I not clothed the naked?" as it is written [ibid., ibid. 20]: "And if be have not been warmed with the fleece of my sheep." (Nevertheless I am so punished.) The Holy One, blessed be He, answered him: job, as yet thou hast not reached one-half of the performances of Abraham. Thou sittest and waitest in thy house, and wayfarers enter. The one who is used to wheat-bread gets wheat-bread, one who is used to meat gets meat, one who is used to drink wine gets wine. Not so Abraham. He was in the habit of going out of his house to hunt up wayfarers, whom he brought under his roof, and entertained them in a better manner than they had been accustomed to. He offered wheat-bread, meat, and wine to those who at home lived on coarser food. Moreover, he built booths on the road and supplied them with refreshments, and those who entered ate and drank, and blessed God for it. He was favoured by heaven, and all that the heart desired and the mouth asked for was to be found in Abraham's house, as it is written [Gen. 21:33]: "And Abraham planted an orchard in Beer-Sheba."

"Teach thy household humility." For if he is humble, the members of his household are also humble, and the consequence then is that if a poor man comes to the door and asks: "Is your father at home?" they answer: "Yes, sir. Please walk in." As soon as he enters he finds a set table, and eats and drinks, and blesses heaven for the enjoyment afforded him." When, however, one is not humble, and the members of his household are irascible, the outcome then is that if a poor man asks: "Is your father at home?" they answer harshly: "No," and assail the poor man with angry and menacing words.

Others take the words: "Teach the members of thy household humility," to mean this: When a man is humble and the members of his household are also so, the result is that when he has to go away to countries on the other side of the sea, he says: "I thank thee, Lord my God, that my wife is at peace with her neighbours"; and so his mind is tranquil when he is away from home. But when one is not humble and the members of his household are irascible, it follows that when he has to go away to countries on the other side of the sea he has to pray: "May it be Thy will, Lord my God, that my wife shall not quarrel with her neighbours, and my children shall not quarrel among themselves"; his heart is always trembling and his mind is restless until he returns. It has been said: "And prolong not converse with a woman." It means not even with his own wife, much less with the wife of his neighbour; for he who holds much discourse with a woman causes evil to himself, neglects the teaching of the Law, and finally he is doomed to Gehenna.

Another explanation of the above saying is, that when one enters the house of learning and is not treated with the honour due to him, or has a quarrel with his neighbour, he should not inform his wife of what took place, for in informing her he disgraces himself, and so also his neighbour; and his wife, who has heretofore respected him, will now laugh at him. When his neighbour hears of this, he says: Woe to me, words which were strictly between him and me, he revealed to his wife. The consequence of this is that he degrades himself, his wife, and his neighbour.

MISHNA F. Joshua b. Pera'hia and Nithai the Arbelite received from them. The former used to say: "Get thee a wise teacher, acquire a comrade, and judge every one by his good qualities (i.e., from his favourable side)."

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

"Get thee a wise teacher." This means that one should procure a constant teacher of whom he should learn the Scripture, Mishna, Midrash, Halakhoth, and Agadoth. What he has left unexplained in the Scripture, he will finally explain in the Mishna, what is unexplained in the Mishna will be explained in the Halakha, and what is unexplained in the latter will be explained in the Agadah. The consequence of all this is, that one acquires all he desires in his own place and is full of blessings.

R. Meir used to say: One that learns the Torah of one teacher, may be compared to one who has one field, part of which he sowed with wheat and part with barley; in one part he planted olives, and in another fruit-trees. And so this man acquires wealth and blessings. The one, however, who studies under two or three masters is to be compared to one who has many fields: in one he sows wheat, in another barley; in one he plants olives, and in the other fruit-trees. And so this man has to go from place to place in many countries, and has no enjoyment of his wealth.

It is said: "Win a friend." How is a friend won? This is to teach us that a man has to acquire an associate with whom he should eat, drink, read, learn, and sleep; to whom he should reveal his secrets, the secrets of the Torah, and the secrets of every-day life. The good to accrue from such an intimacy is that, if one of them should blunder in the recital of a traditional law or in the division of chapters, or one should declare anything which is unclean as clean, and vice versa, and anything which is prohibited as permissible, and vice versa, his associate will correct him. How do we know that, if the associate really turns his attention to the mistake and sets him right, both will be rewarded greatly for their good endeavor? We learn it from the biblical passage which reads [Eccl. 4:9]: "Two are better than one"; that is to say, the efforts of both will be crowned with success.

When three are sitting and studying the Law together, the Holy One, blessed be His name, accounts it to them as if they had formed a league for His praise, as it is written: "He that buildeth in the heavens his palace and established on earth his tabernacle." From this passage thou art to learn that if three sit and study together it is accounted to them as if they constituted a league to glorify the Holy One, blessed be He.

When two persons are studying the Law together their reward will be received above, as it is written [Mal. 3:16]: "Then conversed they that fear the Lord one with the other: and the Lord listened and heard it," etc. But what is meant by the words: "They that fear the Lord? That when they have made up their mind to redeem the captives and release the prisoners, and the Holy One, blessed be He, has given them the opportunity to do so, they embrace it at once. What is meant by the words: "And for those who think after his name"? 1 They whose thought of doing the above-mentioned great things never ripens into firm resolution, but are doubtful in the Lord whether they will succeed, and therefore the Lord gives them not the opportunity, and they are lost before doing anything they thought of doing. Also an individual who engages in the study of the Law, his reward is marked in Heaven, as it is written [Lam. 3:28]: "That he sit in solitude because he hath laid it upon him." This is illustrated by the following anecdote: A man had a little son whom he left alone when he went to attend to some business. The boy, instead of spending his time in play, took a scroll and spread it upon his knees, and thus he sat and studied. When his father returned and found his son in that commendable position, he joyfully said: "See what my little son has done! Left alone, he took to study of his own accord . Even so the Almighty regards an individual who is absorbed in holy thought. His reward is marked in Heaven.

"Judge everyone from his favourable side." It happened that a girl was led in captivity, and two pious men went to redeem her. One of them entered into a house of harlots. When he came out again, he said to his companion: "What were thy suspicions of me (when you saw me enter this house)?" He said: "I thought you went to investigate what sum her ransom would be." He answered: "I assure you that so it was. As thou hast judged me from my favourable side, so may the Lord judge thee in the same manner."

It happened, again, that a maiden was led into captivity, and two pious men went to redeem her. One of them was suspected as a robber, and was confined in prison, and his wife brought him food and water every day. One day he asked her: "Go to my companion and tell him that I am in prison because I went to redeem the maiden in question, and he who intended to take part in it is doing nothing and pays no attention to her." She rejoined: "Thou art in prison, and thou think about foolish things?" She therefore did not listen to him. He again requested her to go and to notify his companion, and finally she did so. What did this man do? He took gold and silver, and, accompanied by other people, came and released them both. When he was released he said: "Let this maiden sleep with me in bed with her clothes on." In the morning he said: "Let me go and dip (in a legal bath), and let her do the same." They did so. He then said to them: "Of what did ye suspect me when I went to dip myself?" They answered: "We thought that in all the days thou wast in prison thou wert hungry and thirsty, and now, when thou hast seen fresh air, thou hast grown hot and perhaps thou hast become Keri." "And what did ye suspect when she was dipped?" They answered: "We thought that in all the time that she was in prison among the idolaters, she was compelled to eat and drink with them, and you therefore ordered her to dip for the purpose of purification." He then rejoined: "I assure you such was the case, and as you have judged me favourably, so may the Lord judge you."

Not only were the upright people of former times themselves very strict and particular, but also their cattle were so. There is a tradition that the camels of Abraham our father never entered a place where there were idols, as it is written [Gen. 24:31]: "While I have cleaned the house, and room for the camels." The first part of this passage relates that he cleared the house from Teraphim; but what is meant by the second part, which seems to be superfluous? Infer from this, that the camels did not enter the abode of Laban the Aramite until all the idols were cleared away.

It happened that the ass of R. Hanina b. Dosa was stolen by robbers. They tied him in the yard, and put straw, barley, and water before him; but he neither ate nor drank. They said then: "If we leave him here, he will die and infect the yard." Therefore they opened the gate and let him out, and he went on rejoicing until he reached the place of R. Hanina b. Dosa.

When the latter's son heard his voice, he said to his father: "Is not the voice of this ass similar to that of ours?" He rejoined: "My son, hasten to open the gate for him, or else he will die of hunger." He did so; he put food and water before him, and he fed and drank. Hence the above saying: "In former times the upright men were pious, so were their cattle."

MISHNA G. Nithai the Arbelite was accustomed to say: "Keep aloof from a wicked neighbour, associate not with a sinner, and never consider thyself exempt from God's chastisement."

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

1"Keep aloof from a wicked neighbour." This means any bad neighbour in the house, or outside, or in the field. "In the house," because plagues come only in the house of the wicked, as it is written [Prov. 5:22]: "His own iniquities will truly catch the wicked." Infer from this, that the plagues come only for the sins of the wicked. The sins of the wicked have caused the demolition of the wall of the upright. For instance, if

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leprosy breaks out on the wall of the house of the wicked, which is also the wall of the adjoining house of the upright, the entire wall must be demolished. Hence the wall of the upright is demolished for the sins of the wicked. That is what R. Ishmael, son of R. Johanan b. Brokah, said: "Woe to the wicked, and woe to his neighbours."

With ten trials have our ancestors tried the Holy One, blessed be He, but they were punished only for one of them, which is calumny. They are as follows: One at the sea, one at, the beginning of the manna period and one at the termination of it, one at the first and last appearance of quails, and at Marah, at Rephidim, one at Horeb, one on the occasion of the golden calf, and one when they sent spies. That of the spies was the hardest of all, as it is written [Numb. 14:22]: "And (they) have tempted me these ten times, and have not hearkened to my voice." It is also written [ibid., ibid. 37]: "Even those men that had brought up the evil report of the land died by the, plague before the Lord." From this is drawn an a fortiori conclusion: If on account of the land, which has no mouth to talk with, no countenance and no shame, the Holy One, blessed be He, punished the spies who made it suffer, how much the more reason is there for the Holy One, blessed be He, to avenge the suffering of one who has been slandered and put to shame by his neighbour.

R. Simeon said: Slanderers are punished with plagues, for we find that Aaron and Miriam, who slandered Moses, were stricken with plagues, as it is written [ibid. xii. 1]: "And Miriam and Aaron spoke against Moses." Why is Miriam mentioned before Aaron? Infer from this, that Miriam made the beginning. (How so?) What she had heard from Zipporah [the wife of Moses] she told to Aaron, and they both spoke against this upright man; therefore plagues came upon them, as it is written [ibid. 12:9]: "And the anger of the Lord was kindled against them, and he went away." For what purpose is it written: "and he went away"? To intimate that the anger was removed from Aaron, and placed upon Miriam, because Aaron did not go into such details of the matter as did Miriam; therefore she was punished more. Miriam said: "Although I have not separated myself from my husband, still the Lord has spoken to me." Aaron said: "The word of the Lord came to me, although I have not separated myself from my wife; and also to our ancestors came the word of the Lord, although they were not separated from their wives; but he (Moses) who is too proud in his mind separated himself from his wife." Furthermore, they judged him not in his presence but in his absence, and by a mere supposition. From this draw an a fortiori conclusion: If Miriam, who had spoken against her brother (secretly), and not in his presence, was so severely punished, how much severer must be the punishment of a common person who speaks against his neighbour in his presence and shames him.

[At that time Aaron said to Moses: "Moses, my brother, dost thou think that the leprosy is placed on Miriam's flesh only, it is also on the flesh of our father Amram." This is to be compared to one who takes a live coal in his hand, and even if he keeps on turning it from one place to another, still every place it touches is blistered (and as Miriam is the flesh and blood of our father, the leprosy afflicts also his flesh), as it is written [ibid., ibid. 12]: "Let her not be as a dead-born child." At the same time, Aaron began to appease Moses, saying: "Moses, my brother, have we ever injured anybody in the world?" He said: "No, you have not." "Now then," he said, "if we have,, not injured anybody else, how could we intend to do an injury to our own brother? But what can we do? Shall, through this error, our brotherly covenant be abolished, and our own sister be lost?" Then Moses made a circle, entered in it, and prayed for his sister and said: "I will not stir from here till she be healed," as it is written [ibid., ibid. 13]: "O God, do thou heal her, I beseech thee." The Holy One, blessed be He, then said to Moses: "If a human king would rebuke her, or her own father would do this to her, would she not be ashamed seven days? Now if I, who am the King of the kings of kings, rebuke her, were it not proper that she should be ashamed fourteen days? Yet for thy sake I will forgive her," as it is written [ibid., ibid. 14]: "If her father had spit in her face," etc.

"But the man Moses was very meek" [ibid., ibid. 3]. Shall we assume that he was meek, but not beautiful and praised? Is it not written [Ex. 40:19]: "And he spread the tent over the tabernacle"? As the Tabernacle was ten ells in height, so was Moses. Shall we assume that he was as meek as the angels, since it is written [Numb. 12:3]: "More so than any man"? Consider that man is said, but not angels. Perhaps you think that he would have been considered meek in the former generation. Mark that it is written [ibid.]: "Upon the face of the earth," implying only his own generation. [But what is meant by "he was meek"? . . . There are three kinds of leprous people: moist, dry, and polypous (ulcer in the nose), yet Moses was humbler than the afflicted.]

R. Simeon b. Elazar said: Leprosy comes also for the sin of slander, as we find in the case of Gehazi, who slandered his master, and was so punished, as it is written [2 Kings, 5:27]: "May then the leprosy of Naaman cleave unto thee . . . and he went out from his presence a leper, (white) as snow."

He also used to say that leprosy came upon those who were haughty, for so we find in the case of Uzziyahu, as it is written [2 Chron. 26:16-19]: "His heart was lifted up to his destruction, unfaithful against the Lord his God, and went into the temple of the Lord to burn incense upon the altar of incense. And there went in after him . . . the leprosy even broke out on his forehead." At this time the Temple was split for a distance of twelve square miles, and the priests hurried out. "And he also made haste to go out, because the Lord had afflicted him. And he was a leper until the day of his death, and dwelt in the leper-house as such; for he was excluded from the house of the Lord, and Jotham his son was over the king's house, (and) judged the people of the land" [ibid. 20, 21].

"And thou shalt not associate with a sinner." By this is meant, that one should not attach himself to a bad or wicked man, as we find with King Jehoshaphat, who became attached to Ahab and went up with him to Ramoth-Gilead, and there was a wrath over him from before the Lord. The same was the case when be became a party to King Ahazyahu, with whom he made ships in 'Ezyon-geber, which the Lord broke down, as it is written [2 Chron. 20:37]: "Because thou hast connected thyself with Ahazyahu, the Lord hath broken down thy work. And the ships were wrecked." And so we find with Amnon, who associated with Jonadab, and received from him wicked advice, as it is written [2 Sam. 13:3]: "But Amnon had a friend whose name was Jonadab, the son of Shim'ah, David's brother; and Jonadab was a very sensible man--sensible in wickedness, as it is written [Jer. 4:22]: "Wise are they to do evil." According to others, it is meant that one shall not associate with the wicked, even to study the Torah.

"Do not consider thyself exempt from God's chastisement." How so? One should always fear in his heart every day lest affliction come on him to-day or to-morrow, for thus it is written about Job [Job, 3:25]: "What I greatly dreaded," etc. Another explanation of it is: If one sees that he is successful in all that he undertakes, he should not say: "I deserve it all; the Lord gives me food and drink (as interest), and the principal remains for the world to come"; but he shall be afraid and think: "Perhaps I possess but one desert and all the reward for it is given to me in this world, so that I have no claim in the world to come."

MISHNA H. Jehudah b. Tobai and Simeon b. Shata'h received from them. The former was wont to say: "Make not thyself as those that predispose the judges, 1 and while the litigants stand before thee let them be in thine eyes as guilty; and when dismissed from before thee let them be in thine eyes as righteous, because that they have received the verdict upon them."

Simeon b. Shata'h used to say: "Interrogate the witnesses very closely, and be careful with thy words, lest they be put by them on the track of falsehood."

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

1"Make thyself not as those that predispose the judges." Learn from this, that when entering a college and hearing there a saying or a Halakha, thou shalt not be hasty in answering, but sit and think over the reason why they have said so [and from what sources they derived such judgement; also investigate about which Halakha they were questioned, and also consider the time when it happened]. When two litigants come before thee for judgement, one of whom is poor and the other rich, say not: "How shall I declare the poor innocent, and the rich guilty, or vice versa? If I declare one of them guilty, he will become my enemy"; neither say: How shall I take away one's money and give it to the other? for the Torah said [Deut. 1:17]: "Ye shall not respect persons in judgement."

According to others, for what purpose is the following passage written: "The small as well as the great shall ye hear" [ibid.]? That means that both litigants shall receive the same treatment: one shall not be allowed to sit down while the other is standing, or one shall not be allowed to plead at length while the other shall be directed to be short in his pleading.

Said R. Jehudah: "I have heard say that it is not forbidden to have both litigants sit down (at the hearing), but what is forbidden is, to allow one to sit down while the other one is directed to be standing," etc. From the above passage is to be inferred that the treatment must be alike, even if one of the litigants is a great man. The case of a common man shall be as carefully considered as that of a great man. The lawsuit of a very small amount shall receive the attention of a lawsuit of a great sum of money.

He also used to say: Whoever would have told me before I had entered this great position, "Enter," I would have challenged him, and now that I am the incumbent hereof, should anybody dare to tell me to abandon it, I would be of a mind to throw at his head a kettle of boiling water, for there is a difficulty in the ascent, but when one has reached the top, it is as hard for him to descend. So we find it was with Saul, that when he was told to ascend the throne he hid himself, as it is written [I Sam. 10:22]: "And the Lord said, Behold, be hath hidden himself among the vessels"; but when told to give up the crown, he followed David even to take his life.

Simeon b. Shata'h said: Examine the witnesses very closely, but while thou art so doing, be careful with thy words on account of the deceivers. Thy words may give them the clue to lying.

MISHNA I. Shemayah and Abtalion received from them. The former was in the habit of saying: "Love work and hate to attain superiority, and see to it that your name be not known to the government." 1

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

2"Love work." How so? That is, one should love work; at all events, he ought not to hate it, for as the Torah was given in a covenant, so was labour, as it is written [Ex. 20:9, 10]: "Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work, but the seventh day is the Sabbath in honour of the Lord thy God."

Said R. Aqiba: There comes a time when one does his work, and thereby escapes death; and on the other band there comes a time when one does no work, and incurs the penalty of death by heaven. How so? One who is idle the whole week and has nothing to eat on the eve of Sabbath, but having in his possession consecrated money misappropriates it for his own use, incurs the penalty of death by heaven; but if he was making repairs in the Temple, and is paid with consecrated money and uses it, he escapes the death penalty.

R. Dostai said: "How can it happen that one who did no work all the six days shall finally be compelled to labour all seven days? Strange as this appears, yet it may happen. For instance, a man who did no work during the week, Friday comes and he has nothing to eat. He starts to look for work, but is seized by conscription officers, who, holding him by an iron chain, compel him to make up on Sabbath for what he neglected during the six days."

R. Simeon b. Elazar said: Even Adam the First tasted nothing before he performed some work, as it is written [Gen. 2:15]: "And put him into the garden of Eden, to, till it and to keep it"; and afterward he was commanded: "Of every tree in the garden thou mayest freely eat" [ibid., ibid. 16].

R. Tarphon said: Even the Holy One, blessed be He, rested not His Shekhina in the midst of Israel before some work was performed by them, as them is; written [Ex. xxv. 9]: "And they shall make me a sanctuary; and I will dwell in the midst of them."

Rabbi Jehudah b. Bathyra said: What shall one do who is without work? (Let him seek it, and he will find it.) Let him see whether there is no demolition in his Yard or field, and employ himself in that manner, as it is written [ibid. 20:9]: "Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work." Wherefore is it said, "And do all thy work"? R. Tarphon said: One is doomed to death only through idleness. R. Jose the Galilean explained (the saying of R.. Tarphon) thus: If one through idleness stood upon the edge of a roof, castle, or building, or upon the edge of a river and fell down and died, his death was caused through idleness.

R. Nathan said: Moses worked at the Tabernacle without consulting the princes of Israel, who right along thought that at any moment he might solicit their coöperation. When they heard the voice which went throughout the camp proclaiming that the material prepared was sufficient for all the work, they cried: "Woe to us, that we have not participated in the work of the holy Tabernacle." They, therefore, rose and added a great thing of their own accord, as it is written [Ex. 35:27]: And the princes brought the onyx stones."

"Do not care for superiority." It means that one must not place the crown merited by him upon his own head, but should let others do it, as it is written [Prov. 27:2]: "Let another man praise thee, and not thy own mouth; a. stranger, and not thy own lips."

R. Aqiba said: One that makes himself superior to the Law is compared to a putrefied carcass which lies in the road, so that every passer-by puts his hand to his; nose and hastens away, as it is written [Prov. 30:32]: "If thou hast become degraded by lifting up thyself, or if thou hast devised evil, put thy hand to thy mouth." Said Ben Azai to him: The sense of this passage seems to be thus: One who degrades himself for the sake of the Law, and eats decayed dates, and dresses in worn-out clothes, and is watching at the door of the sages, the passers-by call him an idiot, but be sure that in the end it will be found that he is full of knowledge. This is what people say: One who makes himself superior to the Law will finally be put down, and one who lowers himself for the sake of the Law will finally be greatly elevated.

"And see to it that your name be not known to the government." One should not have the ambition to be prominent among government officials, otherwise they will become jealous of him, slay him, and confiscate his property. Neither shall one proclaim his neighbour's name to the government; that is, one shall not say: "May the Lord protect so and so, from whose house to-day went out a hundred oxen, a hundred ewes, and a hundred goats," etc., as it may happen that just at that time the officer passes by and hears this and reports it to his chief, and the latter surrounds his house and takes away all he has. As to this, the following passage applies [Prov. 27:14]: "When one saluteth his friend with a loud voice . . . it will be counted a curse to him." According to others, the word Rashuth means not the government but

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publicity, and the passage is to be construed thus: If one's friends say publicly in the market: "May God protect so and so; to-day he brought into his house many measures of wheat and barley," etc., etc., robbers may hear of it and come in the night, surround the house, and take away all he possesses, and in the morning he has nothing left. Of him it is said in Scripture: "When one saluteth his friend with a loud voice," etc.

Others, again, say that it means the government, and the expression "he shall not announce," etc., means one shall not endeavor to be a solicitor for the governor of the city or his vice, for they rob the money of Israel.

Still another explanation is: One shall not seek any governing power, for although in the beginning it appears very pleasing, in the end he will find it very burdensome.

MISHNA I. Abtalion was wont to say: "Ye wise, be guarded in your words; lest you load upon yourselves the penalty of exile and be exiled to the place of evil waters; and the disciples that come after you may drink and die, and the name of Heaven be profaned."

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

"Ye wise men, be guarded in your words." Perhaps they will decide something in your name which will not be according to the teachings of Law, and ye will become liable to the punishment of exile, and be banished to a place where the water is bad. What is meant by "bad water"? It is permissible to say that it has reference to the vices of that place, as it is written [Ps. 16:35]: "And they will mingle with the nations and will learn their doings." Some think that it is to be taken literally. Others, however, think that it refers to hard labour.

MISHNA K. Hillel and Shammai received from them. Hillel said: "Be a disciple of Aaron, love peace, pursue peace, love all men too, and bring them nigh unto the Law."

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

1"Love peace." How so? One should love to see peace in Israel and peace everywhere, as Aaron loved peace, about whom it is written [Mal. 2:6]: "The love of truth was in his mouth, and falsehood was not found on his lips; in peace and equity he walked with me, and many did he turn away from iniquity." When Aaron went on the highway and met a wicked man, he bade him peace in the customary form of salutation. The result was that that man reformed. For when he was about to commit a sin, he remembered that Aaron the high-priest saluted him, and would say: "Woe, if I sin, how will I dare to raise my eyes and look Aaron in the face, who was so friendly to me?" and thus he is prevented from sin.

Likewise, when two men quarrelled with each other (and it came to the ears of Aaron), he went to one of them and said: "My son, see what thy neighbour does. He beats his breast, tears his clothes and cries, saying: 'Woe is me! How will I dare to lift up my eyes to look my neighbour in the face? I am ashamed of myself, for it is I who wronged him.'" Thus Aaron allayed the bitterness of that man's feeling. Then Aaron went to the other man and addressed him in the same style, and likewise pacified his heart. When those two men met, they no longer eyed one another as enemies, but embraced and kissed each other, as friends do. Because of Aaron's peace-making, it is written about him [Numb. 20:29]: "They wept for Aaron thirty days."

The passages about the mourning of Moses and Aaron are differently written. About Aaron it is written "even all the house of Israel," which includes also women; about Moses, however, it is written only, "and the children of Israel," which excludes women. To explain this, there are different opinions. Some say because Moses, who was a true judge and judged justly without favouritism, used to rebuke the sinner and say to him: Thou hast sinned in so and so. Aaron, however, when judging them, judged them truly, but at the same time he did not rebuke them, even when the sinners were males, much less when, they were females. And, secondly, many thousands were named Aaron, after the high-priest. For were it not for Aaron they, would not have been brought to the world at all, as Aaron's special efforts were directed toward making peace between man and Wife, so that if, after that, a child was born to them they named him after their peace-maker.

According to others, the reason why even all the house of Israel wept is because they had seen Moses our master sitting and weeping, and who then would not weep? And they also saw Elazar and Pinechas, who were high-priests, weeping, and who would not weep with them?

Then Moses desired to die the same death that Aaron died. Why so? Because it was said that Moses saw his bier decked out with great pomp and many divisions of angels lamenting over him. And although Moses never expressed that wish, but only thought so in his heart, the Holy One, blessed be He, granted him his desire, as it is written [Deut. xxxii. 50]: "And die in the mount whither thou goest up, and be gathered unto thy people; as Aaron thy brother died on Mount Hor." From this is to be inferred that Moses had a desire to die the death of Aaron.

At the time (when Moses was about to die), God said to the angel of death: "Go and bring unto me the soul of Moses." Coming to Moses, he demanded his soul. But Moses censured the angel of death. He said to him: "Thou art not entitled to be where I am, and thou art asking of me my soul?" and Moses drove him away with degradation. At length the Lord said unto Moses: "Moses, Moses, thou hast lived long enough in this world, as thy share in the world to come has awaited thee ever since creation," as it is written [Ex. 33:21]: "And the Lord said, Behold, there is a place by me, and thou shalt stand upon the rock." Thereupon the Lord Himself took the soul of Moses and placed it under His throne, as it is written [1 Sam. 25:29]: "Yet will the soul of my Lord be bound in the bond of life." And He took his soul with a kiss, as it is written [Deut. 34:5]: "Through the mouth of God."

[Not merely the soul of Moses is placed under His throne, but all the souls of the righteous, as it is written: "Yet will the soul of my Lord be bound in the bond of life." Should one assume that the souls of the wicked are also hidden there, therefore it is written [I Sam. 25:29]: "And the soul of thy enemies will he hurl away, as out of the middle of the sling."

For the better understanding of this, let us think of who puts a stone in his sling: although he hurls it from one place to another, he knows not where it will finally land. So are the souls of the wicked: they are wandering and hovering in the world without rest.

After the death of Moses the Lord again commanded the angel of death to bring Him the soul of Moses. He went to the place where he used to be found when alive, but did not find him. He then went to the ocean, and asked whether Moses was there. It answered: Since the day when the Israelites passed through me, I have not seen him. He went to the mountains and hills, and put to them the same question, and they said: Since the day when the Israelites received the Law from Mount Sinai, we have not seen him. So he went to the nether world and place of perdition, and asked them the same question, and they said: We have heard of his name, but have never seen him. Finally, he inquired of the angels, and they said: "God (alone) understandeth her way, and he knoweth her place" [Job, 28:23]. The Lord preserved him for a life in the world to come, and no creature knows where he is, as it is written [Job, 28:20-22]: "But wisdom . . . a report of her." At the same time Joshua was sitting and grieving because he did not know where his master was, till the Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: Joshua, do not grieve. My servant Moses is dead.]

"Pursue peace." How so? One shall be a pursuer of peace in Israel among all kinds of people. If a man remains in his place silent, he cannot be a pursuer of peace. But what shall he do? He should leave his place in search of peace, as it is written [ibid.]: "Seek peace, and pursue it." Which means, seek it in thy place, and if thou canst not find it, pursue it in another.

The Holy One, blessed be He, also made peace in heaven, in that he did not name ten angels Gabriel, Michael, Uriel, or Raphael, as, for instance, many people bear the same name; otherwise, when He would summon one of them, they would all respond, and be jealous of one another. Therefore He gave each one a separate name. When He summons one, only that one comes, and He sends him wherever He desires. They reverence and respect one another, and are meeker than human beings, for when they begin to sing the praises of the Lord, one says to another: "Begin thou, as thou art greater than I am"; and the other says: "Thou art greater than I am, and therefore begin thou." With human beings, however, it is the reverse. Every one says: "I am greater than thou art." Some say that not individual angels, but divisions of angels, say to each other: "Begin ye, ye are greater than we are," as it is written [Is. vi. 3]: And one called unto the other and said."

"Love all men too." That is to say, that one should love all men, and not hate them; for so we find with the men of the "generation of the division," because they loved each other, the Lord was reluctant to destroy them, but only scattered them to all four corners of the world. The men of Sodom, however, because they hated each other, were annihilated by the Lord, both in this and the world to come, as it is written [Gen. 13:13]: "But the men of Sodom were wicked and sinners before the Lord exceedingly. "And sinners" implies that they were guilty of illegal unions; "before the Lord" implies that they were guilty of desecration of the Holy name; "and exceedingly," that they sinned wilfully.

"And bring them nigh unto the Law." How so? One should try to uplift 1 people and bring them under the wings of the Shekhina, as our father Abraham did; and not only Abraham, but also Sarah, as it is written [Gen. 12:5]: "And Abraham took Sarah his wife, and Lot his brother's son, and all their substance that they had acquired, and the persons that they made 1 in Charan." Is it possible? Even all mankind combined could not create even a small insect. We must, therefore, say that the Lord considered the people that they brought under the wings of the Shekhina as if they had made them.

As one cannot divide his life with his neighbour in this world, so he cannot divide with him his deserved reward in the world to come, as it is written [Eccl. 4:1]: "And, behold, there are the tears of the oppressed, and they have no comforter; and from the hand of their oppressors they suffer violence, and they have no comforter." Why is it written "and they have no comforter" twice? To infer that, although there are men who eat (plentily), drink, and are successful with their sons and daughters in this world, they may have nothing in the world to come, and they will have no comforter there. In this world, when something is stolen from one, or a death occurs in one's family, his son, brother, and other relatives come and console him, but this cannot be done in the world to come, as it is written [ibid., ibid. 8]: "Yea, he hath neither son nor brother."

The same is the case with one who has begotten an illegitimate son; for the latter may say to him: "Scoundrel, thou hast lost thyself as well as me." For the bastard may have a thirst for knowledge, and therefore desire to study the Law in Jerusalem together with the other disciples, but cannot do so because, being a bastard, he is prohibited from entering Jerusalem. It happened once that a bastard was not allowed to pass Ashdad, as it is written [Zech. 9:6]: "And bastards shall dwell in Ashdad, and I will cut off the pride of the Philistines."

MISHNA L. He also used to say: "A name made great is a name destroyed; he who increases not, decreases; and he who will not learn from his masters is not worthy to live; and he who uses his knowledge as a tiara perishes."

MISHNA M. He also used to say: "If I do not look to myself, who will do so? But if I look only to myself, what am I? And if not now, when?"

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

"He used to say: 'If I do not look to myself, who will do so?'" (That is), if I cannot reach any reward while I am alive, who can reach it for me after my death?

"And if not now, when?" (That is), if I can do nothing for myself while I am alive, who can do it for me after my death? So also said Ecclesiastes [ix. 4]: "For a living dog fareth better than a dead lion." By "a living dog" is meant a wicked person who exists in this world, and "than a dead lion" refers to all the righteous, who are highly received in the world to come, including even the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The living dog, that is, a wicked man who is still alive, fareth better is accepted by the Holy One, blessed be He, when he repents and becomes virtuous and receives a share in the world to come, while a dead lion cannot add aught to his good deeds after he is dead. The same, used to say: "If thou wilt come to my house," etc. (See Section Moed, Vol. 7.; Succah.)

It happened that Hillel the First, while on a journey, met men carrying wheat. He inquired how much was a saah, and was told two dinars. Afterward he met others, who gave him the price of the same as three dinars. He said: "Did not the first men say it was only two dinars?" They rejoined: "Thou foolish Babylonian, dost thou not know that the reward is according to the trouble?" (They came from a farther distance.) But he said: "Is that your answer to my civil question?" Finally he succeeded in making them gentle and accommodating.

He also used to say four things in the Babylonian dialect: "A name made great is a name destroyed." It means, a man shall not desire to have his name proclaimed to the government, for the reason stated above.

"And he who does not desire to learn from his masters." It was said that it happened to an inhabitant of Beth Ramah who adopted the customs of the pious, and Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai sent one of his disciples to examine him. He found him occupied in heating oil on a range and then pouring it into peeled grain. On being questioned what he was doing, he answered, I am careful with the heave-offering, to eat it in its purity, just as if I were a high-priest. Then he asked again: Is this range clean or unclean? He rejoined: Do we then find anywhere in the Torah that a range can be unclean? An oven only is mentioned, as it is written [Lev. 11:33]: "Whatsoever is in it shall be unclean." Then the disciple again rejoined: The law of the oven applies also to the range, as it is written [ibid., ibid. 35]: "An oven or range shall be broken down, they are unclean." The same added: If such was thy habit, thou hast never in thy life eaten clean heave-offerings.

"He who increases not, decreases." How so? If one has learned one, two, or even three treatises, and has not added anything thereto, he will finally forget even that.

"And he who serves himself with the tiara perishes." Any one that uses the name of the Lord, as it is written, which is prohibited, has no share in the world to come.

MISHNA N. Shammai was in the habit of saying: "Fix a time for study; promise little, and do much receive every one with friendly countenance."

MISHNA O. Rabban Gamaliel said: "Make to thyself a master, and free thyself of doubt, and tithe not much by estimation."

MISHNA P. Simeon his son was wont to say: "All the days of my life have been passed among the sages, and I have never found anything better for a man than silence; and the discussion of the law is not of such import as is the practice thereof. He who talks much, cannot avoid sin."

MISHNA Q. He also said: "Three things support the world--law, truth, and peace--as it is written [Zechariah, viii. 16]: 'Truth and the judgement of peace, judge ye in your gates.'"

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

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1"Fix a time for study," etc. It means, when one has heard something from a sage in the college, he shall not treat it as something unessential, but as a standard saying to be studied diligently, and what he learns from the wise he shall teach it to others, as it is written [Deut. 5:1]: "That ye may learn them, and that ye may observe to do them." And also of Ezra it is first written [7:10]: "For Ezra had directed his heart to inquire in the law of the Lord, and to do it." And immediately after it is written [ibid.]: "And to teach in Israel statutes and ordinances."

"Promise little, and do much." As such is the custom of the righteous, who promise little but do much; the custom of the wicked, however, is to promise much and do nothing. Whence do we know that the upright promise little, and do much? From Abraham our father, who said to the angels: "Ye will eat with me a morsel of bread," as it is written [Gen. 18:5]: "And I will fetch a morsel of bread, and comfort ye your heart." But what did he in reality do? He prepared for them three oxen and nine saah of fine meal. And whence do we know that he baked for them nine measures of fine meal? From [ibid. 6]: "And Abraham hastened into the tent unto Sarah and said: Make ready quickly three measures of fine meal." "Three" is literal, "meal" is six, and "fine meal" is nine. And whence is it derived that he roasted for them three oxen? From the following [ibid., ibid. 7]: "And Abraham ran unto the herd," etc. "The herd" means one, "a calf" one, "tender" one. According to others it was four, because the word "good," which is added, is also counted as one. "And gave it unto a young man" [ibid.]. This means Ishmael his son, to accustom him to religious practice.

Also the Holy One, blessed be He, promised little and did much, as it is written [ibid. 15:13, 14]: "And he said unto Abram, know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land which is not theirs, and they will make them serve, and they will afflict them four hundred years. And also that nation whom they shall serve, will I judge; and afterward shall they go out with great substance." He promised him with ד and ך the numerical value of which is 54. But when the Lord at last avenged Himself on Israel's enemies, He did so with seventy-two letters (contained in verse 34, Deut. 34.): "Or hath a god essayed to go to take to himself a nation from the midst of a nation, by proofs, by signs, and by wonders . . . and by great terrors."

Whence is it derived that the wicked promise much and do nothing? From Ephron, who said to Abraham [Gen. 23:15]: "A piece of land worth four hundred shekels of silver, what is that between me and thee?" Nevertheless, in the end he accepted the whole sum of the money, as it is written [ibid., ibid. 16]: "And Abraham understood the meaning of Ephron; and Abraham weighed out to Ephron the silver."

"Receive every one with friendly countenance." How so? That means, that even if one presents to his neighbour the most precious things with bad grace, it is accounted to him in Scripture as if he had given nothing; but if one receives his neighbour with a friendly countenance, although he give him nothing, it is accounted to him in Scripture as if he had conferred upon him great favours.

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

1Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai received from Hillel and Shammai. Hillel the First had eighty disciples, thirty of whom were worthy that the Shekhina rest upon them as on Moses, but their generation was not deserving of it. Thirty others were worthy to institute the intercalary years, etc., etc. (Continued in Succah.)

"He used to say: 'If thou hast accumulated much knowledge, do not boast of it, for it is for that that thou wast created.'"

There are five disciples of Rabbi Johanan b. Zakkai whom he characterized in the following manner: Eliezer b. Hyrcanus as "a plastered cistern which loseth not a drop"; Joshua b. Hananiah as "a threefold cord that cannot quickly be torn asunder"; Jose the priest as "the most pious in his generation"; Ishmael b. Hananiah as "a garden-bed in the desert which absorbs water"; and Elazar b. Arach he named "as a flowing brook and swelling spring whose waters rise and overflow abroad," as it is written [ibid. 5:16]: "So will thy springs overflow abroad; and in the open streets will be thy rivulets of water.

"I consider the judgement of R. Elazar b. Arach," etc. Happy is the disciple who receives from his master such a testimonial of praise and acknowledgment. When the son of Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai died, his disciples came to console him. R. Eliezer entered first, sat down before him, and asked his permission to say something. The request having been granted, he said: "Adam the First accepted consolation when his son died. And whence do we find it so? It is written [Gen. 4:25]: 'And Adam knew his wife again' ('again' means after this consolation). Thou also shouldst accept consolation." He rejoined: "Is not my own grief sufficient, that thou must remind me of that of Adam the First?"

Next entered R. Joshua, and also asked for permission to say something, which was granted, who then said: "Job, who had many sons and daughters, all of whom died in one day, yet he accepted consolation. As it is written [Job, 1:21]: 'The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away; may the name of the Lord be blessed.'" He rejoined: "Is not my own grief sufficient, that thou remindest me of that of Job?"

Next entered R. Jose. He sat down before him and said: "Be it thy wish that I say something." And being encouraged by the sage, he continued: "Aaron had two full-grown sons, and both died on one day, yet he accepted consolation, as it is written [Lev. 10:3]: 'And Aaron held his peace,' which means that he was consoled. Would it not be right that thou shouldst do likewise?" The sage rejoined: "Have I not enough of my own grief? Why do you remind me of the grief of Aaron?"

Then entered R. Simeon, and said: "Rabbi, may I be favoured by thee to say a word in thy august presence?" And the sage answered: "Proceed." Then the former said: King David had a son who died, and he received condolence. It well becomes thee to persuade thyself into comfort. As to King David, it is written [2 Sam. 12:24]: 'And David comforted Bathsheba his wife, and he went in unto her, and lay with her; and she bore a son, and called his name Solomon.'" He rejoined: "Is not my own grief sufficient, that you all remind me of the grief of others?"

Finally R. Elazar b. Arach entered, and when the master saw him he said to his servant: "Take a vessel and follow me to the bath-house; the man who is entering now is a great man, and I am sure that I could not withstand his arguments." He entered, sat down before him, and said: "I will entertain thee by telling a parable: A king had intrusted one of his subjects with a precious article. The man used to exclaim, weeping: 'Woe is me! When will I be relieved of this responsibility?' This, O Rabbi, is thy case. Thy son, who spent his time in sacred study, departed from the world sinless. What a comfort it ought to be to thee that thou hast returned the article intrusted to thy care intact!" Hereupon the sage said: "Elazar, my son, thou hast consoled me as people should console each other."

When they left him, Elazar said: "I will go to Damsith, which is a fine place with excellent waters"; and the other disciples said: "We will go to Jamnia, where there are many scholars, and love the study of Law." He that went to Damsith lost a good deal of his authority, but the names of those who went to Jamnia, the seat of great scholarship, became legion in learned circles.

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

1"Thy fellow's honour must be as dear to thee as thine own." How so? As one watches over his own honour, so should he guard the honour of his neighbour, and as one is loath to see his own honour assailed, he should be so in regard to the honour of his neighbour.

Another explanation of the above is: When one is possessed of an hundred thousand, and all is taken away from him, he should keep his conscience clear even of the value of a small coin.

"Do not allow thyself to be easily angered." That is, one should be as meek as Hillel the Elder, and not as irritable as Shammai the Elder. It is said about Hillel that two men once wagered the sum of four hundred zuz upon his patience; the one who could succeed to provoke his anger was to receive the amount. (See Sabbath, p. 50; the whole legend ending with): "Take care of thy temper. A Hillel is, worthy that twice that amount be lost through him; a Hillel must not get excited."

2What was the irascibility of Shammai the Elder? It was related that once a man came to Shammai and said: "Rabbi, how many Laws have you?" "Two Laws: the written and the oral Law." He answered: "I believe in the written, but not in the oral Law," said the man. But Shammai rebuked him, and drove him away.

The same man came to Hillel and said: "Rabbi, how many Laws were given?" And he told him two--the written and the oral. The man said: "I believe in the written, but not in the oral Law." And Hillel said: "Sit down, my son, and write for me the Aleph-Beth. After he did so, he asked him what the first letter was. "An Aleph," said the man. "It is not an Aleph, but a Beth," said Hillel. And be again asked him: "What is this?" And the man said: "A Beth." "It is not a Beth, but a Gimel," said Hillel. "Whence knowest thou that this is Aleph, the other a Beth, and the third a Gimel? Because it is a tradition of our forefathers, and whereas thou believest in one tradition, believe also in the other."

It happened that a Gentile passing by a synagogue heard a child reading: "And these are the garments which they shall make: a breastplate, and an ephod, and a robe" [Ex. 28:4]. He came to Shammai and said: "Rabbi, to whom belongeth all that honour?" "To the high-priest who serves at the altar," was the answer. The Gentile then said: "Convert me, on the condition that I be made a high-priest." Said Shammai: "Are there no priests in Israel, or have we no high-priests, but that we should raise to this dignity this lowly stranger, who came to us but with his staff and knapsack?" He rebuked him, and drove him away.

He then came to Hillel with the same request, and the latter said: "Sit down, and I will tell thee something. If one is to appear before a human king, is it not demanded of him that he learn how to make his entrance and exit?" "It is so," said the Gentile. Then continued Hillel: "Thou, who art desirous of appearing before the King of kings of kings, how much more necessary for thee to learn how to enter the Holy of Holies, how to trim the lamps, how to approach the altar, how to order the table, and how to prepare the fire on the altar." The man then replied: "What seems right to thee?" So Hillel wrote for him the Aleph-Beth, and he learned it; then he instructed him in Leviticus, and he went on learning till he came to the passage: And the stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death [Numb. 1:51]. Then he of himself made the following deduction: If the people of Israel, who are called the children of the Lord, and of whom the Shekhina said [Ex. 19:6]: "And ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and a holy nation," were so warned by Scripture, should not I, an insignificant stranger who has come merely with his knapsack, take the hint? Thus the stranger became reconciled of his own accord.

He came to Hillel the Elder and said: "All the blessings that are contained in the Torah shall rest upon thy head, for hadst thou been as Shammai the Elder, I would not have become as one of Israel. His irascibility came near causing me to be lost both in this world and the one to come; but the patience of Hillel has brought me to a life in this world and the one to come." It was said that to this proselyte were born two sons: he named one Hillel and the other Gamaliel, and they were called Hillel's proselytes.

"Repent one day before thy death." The disciples of R. Eliezer asked him: "How can one know the day of his death, that he may then repent?" He answered: "For that very reason he should make every to-day a day of repentance"; that is, he should be repenting all his life.

R. Jose bar Jehudah said in the name of his father R. Jehudah bar Ilai, who said it in the name of Ilai, quoting R. Eliezer the Great: "Repent one day before thy death, and warm thyself before the light of the wise, but beware of their embers, perchance thou mayest be singed; for their bite is the bite of a fox, and their sting is the sting of a scorpion and also their words are as coals of fire."

CHAPTER 2.

MISHNA A. Rabbi (Jehudah the Prince) was in the habit of saying: "In choosing the right path, see that it is one which is honourable to thyself and without offence to others. Be as scrupulous about the lightest command as about the weightiest, for no man knoweth the result of his actions. Weigh the present temporal disadvantages of a dutiful course against the reward of the future, and the present desirable fruits of a sinful deed against the injury to thine immortal soul. In general, consider three things and thou wilt never fall into sin: remember that there is above thee an all-seeing eye, an all-hearing ear, and a record of all thine actions."

MISHNA B. Rabban Gamaliel, the son of R. Jehudah the Prince, was wont to say: "Beautiful is the study of the Law when conjoined with a worldly avocation, for the efforts demanded by both stifle all inclination to sin. But study which is not associated with some worldly pursuit must eventually cease, and may lead to iniquity. All who occupy themselves with communal affairs should do it in the name of Heaven, for the merit of their fathers sustains them and their righteousness stands forever. And ye yourselves shall have reward reckoned unto you, as if ye had wrought it."

MISHNA C. ["Be cautious with those in authority, for they let not a man approach them but for their own purposes; and they appear like friends when it is to their advantage, and stand not by a man in the time of his need.]

MISHNA D. He also used to say: "Do His will as if it were thy own, that He may do thy will as if it were His. Annul thy will before His, that He may annul the will of others before thy will."

MISHNA E. Hillel was in the habit of saying: "Do not isolate thyself from the community and its interest. Do not rely upon thy spiritual strength until the day of thy death. Pass not judgement upon thy neighbour until thou hast put thyself in his place. Say not a thing which must not be heard, because eventually it will be heard, Say never, 'Sometime or other, when I enjoy leisure, I will attend to my spiritual advancement'; perhaps thou wilt then never have the leisure."

MISHNA F. He also said: "The boor can never fear sin, the ignorant can never be truly pious. Whoso is ashamed to ask will never learn; no irritable man can be a teacher. He whose mind is given to worldly gain will not acquire wisdom. Where a man is needed, endeavor that thou be the man."

MISHNA G. Moreover, he saw a skull which floated on the face of the water, and he said to it: "Because thou drownedst they drowned thee, and in the end they that drowned thee will be drowned." 1

MISHNA H. He furthermore said: "The more feasting the more food for worms; the more wealth the more cares; more women, more witchcraft; more maid-servants, more lewdness; more men-servants, more theft. But the more knowledge the more food for life; the more study the more wisdom; the more reflection the better the counsel; the more charity the more peace. He who earns a good name gains something that can never be taken away. He who has gotten to himself words of Law has gotten to himself the life of the world to come."

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MISHNA I. Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai received it from Hillel and Shammai. He was wont to say: "If thou hast learned much, do not boast of it, for it is for that that thou wast created."

MISHNA J. The above had the following five disciples: R. Eliezer b. Hyrkanos, R. Joshua b. Hananiah, R. Jose the priest, R. Simeon b. Nathaniel, and R. Elazar b. Arach. He used to recount their praises: "Eliezer b. Hyrkanos is a plastered cistern, which loseth not a drop; Joshua b. Hananiah--happy is she that bare him; Jose is pious; Simeon b. Nathaniel is a sin-fearer; Elazar b. Arach is a welling spring."

He used to say: "If all the wise of Israel were in a scale of the balance, and Eliezer b. Hyrkanos in the other scale, he would outweigh them all." Abba Saul, however, said in his name: "If all the wise of Israel were in a scale of the balance and Eliezer b. Hyrkanos with them, and Elazar b. Arach in the other scale, he would outweigh them all."

MISHNA K. He (Johanan b. Zakkai) said to their. once: "Go out and find what is the best thing to cultivate." R. Eliezer said: A generous eye; R. Joshua said: A loyal friend; R. Jose said: A good neighbour; R. Simeon thought: Prudence and foresight; R. Elazar said: A good heart. Thereupon the Master said: "I consider R. Elazar b. Arach's judgement the best, for in his all of yours are included."

He said to them again: "Go and find out which is the evil way a man should shun." R. Eliezer said: An evil eye; R. Joshua said: An evil companion; R. Jose said: An evil neighbour; and R. Simeon said; He that borrowed and repayeth not; he that borrows from a man is the same as if he borroweth from the Omnipotent, as it is written [Ps. 37:21]: "The wicked borroweth and repayeth not, but the righteous is beneficent and giveth.", R. Elazar said: An evil heart. Thereupon the Master said: "I consider R. Elazar b. Arach's judgement the best, for in his all of yours are included."

MISHNA L. Each of these disciples had three maxims. R. Eliezer: "Thy fellowman's honour must be as dear to thee as thine own. Do not allow thyself to be easily angered. Repent one day before thy death." (He also said:) "Warm thyself before the light of the wise, but beware of their embers, perchance thou mayest be singed; for their bite is the bite of a fox, and their sting the sting of a scorpion, and their hiss is that of a fiery-serpent; and all their words are as coals of fire."

MISHNA M. R. Joshua: "An envious eye, sinful propensities, and misanthropy drive a man out of the world."

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

1"An envious eye," etc. How so? It means one shall look upon the house of his neighbour with the same eye as he looks upon his own; and as one is anxious that there be no bad repute against his wife and children, so should he be anxious in regard to his neighbour's or his children's.

Another explanation of this passage is: One shall not be envious of the erudition of his neighbour. It happened to one who was envious, that his days were shortened, and he departed prematurely from this world in consequence thereof.

"Sinful propensities." How so? It is said that the evil propensities are thirteen years older than the good propensities, as they begin to grow with the child in the mother's womb, so that he defiles the Sabbath and commits other transgressions, and there is nothing in his mind to remonstrate with him. But when he is thirteen years old, the good thoughts are born. If he defiles the Sabbath, they tell him: Scoundrel, is it not written [Ex. xxxi. 14]: "Every one that defileth it shall surely be put to death." If he is about to commit adultery, they say to him: Scoundrel, is it not written [Lev. 20:16]: "Then shall the adulterer be put to death, together with the adulteress." When one becomes excited and is about to commit incest, all the members of his body are willing, for the evil thoughts reign over all the two hundred and forty-eight members; but when he is about to perform a meritorious deed, all his members begin to pain him, for the evil thoughts within him reign over all the two hundred and forty-eight members of his body; and the good thoughts are compared to one who is imprisoned, as it is written [Eccl. iv. 14]: "For out of the prison cometh the one to reign," which refers to the good thoughts.

[There are others who say that it refers to Joseph the upright. This wicked woman (his mistress) used to persecute him with her words. She said: "I will imprison thee." He answered: "The Lord looseneth the prisoners." She said: "I will dig out thy eyes." He answered: "The Lord causeth the blind to see." She said: "I will bend thy stature." He answered: The Lord raiseth up those who are bowed down."

And in reality there is no wonder that Joseph the upright refused to listen to her, as the same happened to R. Zadoq, as it was said: To R. Zadoq, who was great in his generation, while he was in captivity, a certain matron sent a beautiful female slave; but as soon as he noticed her he turned around to the wall, so as not to see her, and absorbed himself with the Torah all night. In the morning she went to complain to her mistress, and said: "Death is preferable to me than to be with this man." The matron sent for him and asked: "Why hast thou not treated this woman as men usually treat women?" He answered: "I could not do otherwise. I belong to a great family of priests. I have entirely ignored her, so as not to be tempted to have intercourse with her, and add bastards to Israel." When she heard this, she gave orders concerning him, and then dismissed him with great honour. Neither is there any wonder for the refusal of R. Zadoq, as R. Aqiba was greater in his act; and to him happened the following:

R. Aqiba, while at one time in a certain country, was calumniated before the Sultan (and was imprisoned). He sent to him two beautiful women, who were washed, anointed, and adorned as brides. They were hugging him all night, each one inviting him to herself. He, however, repulsed them. They complained before the Sultan, and said: "Death is preferable to us than to be with that man." He sent for him and asked; "Why hast thou not treated these women as men treat even homely women--are they not human beings as thyself? Hath not thy Creator also created them?" He answered: "I could not do otherwise: their odor seemed to me to be that of putrefied carcasses."

And even R. Aqiba is not to be admired for his act, for R. Eliezer the Great exceeded him by the following act: He brought up his own sister's daughter, and for thirteen years slept with her in one bed. When she became of marriageable age, he told her to get married. She, however, replied: "Am I not thy servant? Use me as a slave to wash thy disciples' feet." He again told her: "I am too old. Get married to one suitable to thy age." She answered: "Have I not already told thee I am thy servant, and to use me as a slave to wash thy disciples' feet?" When he heard this, he proposed to her and married her.]

Said R. Reuben b. Aztrobli: How difficult it is for one to avoid the evil propensities which are within him from the minute of his birth! As it is written [Gen. 4:7]: "Sin lieth at the door." So we see that a young animal is always careful not to approach harmful things, as fire or a well, because it has no evil propensities, while a human child must always be guarded against putting his hand into fire, and other harmful things, because he has a desire to do those things, and this is due to the evil propensities born with him.

Said R. Simeon b. Elazar: "What are the evil thoughts to be compared to? To a piece of iron which is placed in the fire; so long as it is there, various vessels can be formed out of it.

The same is the case with evil thoughts: there is no other preventive but the Torah, which is likened to fire. As it is written [Prov. 25:21, 22]: "If thy enemy be hungry, give him bread

to eat; and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink; for though thou gatherest coals of fire upon his head, yet will the Lord repay it unto thee."

Said R. Jehudah the Prince: To the following parable the evil thoughts can be compared: Two men entered a hostelry, and one of them was arrested for robbery. When asked for an accomplice he said he had one, although he could easily have denied it, yet he said so in order to implicate also his companion and make him share his own fate. The same applies to evil thoughts: they are not satisfied with their destruction of the soul, they also destroy the body.

Said R. Simeon b. Johai: From the following is to be deduced that the Israelites will never see Gehenna. The following parable can be applied to this: A king who had a barren field rented it to some persons at a yearly rental of ten measures of wheat. The land was manured, watered, and surrounded with ditches, and generally properly cared for. Still, at the end of the year the lessees paid the king only one measure of wheat instead of ten. When the king asked them for an explanation, they said: "Our lord and king, thou knowest well that the land was barren, and brought thee no revenue at all; now even after so much of our labour invested, it did not produce more than this measure." A similar plea will the Israelites make in the future before the Holy One, blessed be He: "Lord of the Universe! thou knowest how the evil thoughts allure us." As it is written [Ps. 103:14]: "For he knoweth our frame" (and on that consideration will be forgiven).

"And misanthropy." This means: One should not say: Love the sages, but hate the disciples; or, Love the disciples, and hate the common people; but, Love every one except the infidels, the enticers, the misleaders, and the informers. So also says David [Ps. 139:21, 22]: "Behold, those that hate thee I ever hate, O Lord! and for those that rise up against thee do I feel loathing. With the utmost hatred do I hate them: enemies are they become unto me."

It is also written [Lev. 19:18]: "But thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself: I am the Lord." Because I have created him; and if he practiseth what thy people do thou shalt love him, but not otherwise.

R. Simeon b. Elazar said: The above passage was said as a strict admonition: If thou wilt love him, thou art assured of a good reward; otherwise (remember), I am the judge and I will see to it that thou art punished.

MISHNA N. R. Jose: "Thy neighbour's property must be as sacred as thine own. Set thyself to learn the Law, for it is not an heirloom unto thee. Let noble purpose underlie thine every action."

MISHNA O. R. Simeon: "Be careful in reading the Shema, and, in prayer; do not look upon the prayer as an obligatory task, but as a privilege granted by mercy and grace before God, for it is written [Joel, ii. 13]: 'For gracious and merciful is he, long-suffering and of great kindness, and he bethinketh himself of the evil.' Never think thyself too great a sinner to approach Him."

MISHNA P. R. Elazar: 1 "Be most zealous in the pursuit of study; be prepared always to answer a scoffer; remember in whose service thou labourest." (He also added:) "Know who is thy Master, that he may be trusted to recompense thee for thy work."

MISHNA Q. R. Tarphon was in the habit of saying: "The day is short, the work is great, the workmen are slothful, the reward is rich, and the Master is urgent."

MISHNA R. He also said: "It is not incumbent on thee to complete the whole task, but thou art not at liberty therefore to neglect it entirely. If thou hast learned much Law thou wilt be given much reward; and faithful is the Master of thy work, who will pay thee the reward of thy work; and know also that the gift of the recompense of the righteous is for the world to come."

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

2"Thy neighbour's property must be as sacred as thine." It means that one should be as careful of his friend's property as he is of his own; and as he is desirous that there shall be no slur cast on his belongings, so shall he desire that there should be none on those of his friend.

Others explain the above thus: When a disciple comes to thee with the request to teach him, if thou art able comply with his request; otherwise, dismiss him at once, and do not accept his money, as it is written [Prov. 3:28]: "Say not unto thy neighbour, Go, and return, and to-morrow will I give, when thou hast it by thee."

"Set thyself to learn the Law." How so? When Moses our master saw that his sons knew not enough of the Law to be able to succeed him, he wrapped himself up and prayed: Lord of the Universe! designate to me the one who should be at the head of the people, as it is written [Numb. 27:15-17]: "And Moses spake unto the Lord, saying, Let the Lord, the God of the spirits of all flesh, appoint a man over the congregation, who may go out before them, and who may come in before them." Said the Holy One, blessed be He: "Moses, take Joshua, appoint an interpreter for him, and at the head of the great men in Israel let him lecture in thy presence." Thereupon Moses said to Joshua: Joshua! these people which I deliver in your care are not to be regarded as he-goats or sheep, but as kids and lambs; for they have not as yet had experience in the commandments, and therefore cannot be considered as such. As it is written [Songs, 1:8]: "If thou knowest this not, O thou fairest of women! go but forth in the footsteps of the flock, and feed thy kids around the shepherds' dwellings."

Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai once went in the market,, and he noticed a girl picking up barley from under the feet of the cattle of the Arabians. "My daughter, who art thou?" he asked her, but she made no reply. Again he put the same question to her, but again she was silent. Finally she said: "Wait a little." She enveloped herself with her hair, stepped up to him, and said: "Rabbi, I am the daughter of Nakdimon b. Gurion." "And what has become of thy father's money?" he asked her; and she answered. "Rabbi, on him was verified the saying which was proverbial in Jerusalem: 'One who desires to preserve his wealth, should lessen it (spending it in charities; but as my father did not sufficiently spend in charities, it all vanished).'" "And what has become of that of thy father-in-law?" he again interrogated her; and she answered: "Rabbi, through my father also his was lost." Thereupon said Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai to his disciples: "Whenever I used to read the passage: 'If thou knowest this not, O thou fairest of women! go but forth in the footsteps of the flocks,' I could not make out what punishment was contained therein; but after what I have seen today, I can safely say that the punishment is meant that Israel must be under the domination of the lowest nation of the heathens; and not merely that, but also must lie among the manure of their cattle."

The same girl then asked him: "Rabbi, dost thou recall that thou hast signed thy name to my marriage contract?" He answered: "I do"; and turning to his disciples, he continued: "Verily, I signed my name to the marriage contract of this girl, which was for a million Tyrian dinars. Her father's family never left their house to enter the Temple, until a woollen cloth was spread for them."

It happened that a girl and her ten maids were captured, and a heathen brought her up in his house. One day he gave her a pitcher and told her to bring him some water. One of her maids got up and took it from her. "Why hast thou done this?" he inquired of her; and she answered: "Master, I swear by thy life that I am one of five hundred maids belonging to her mother." When he heard this, he liberated the girl and her ten maids.

The following happened to another young girl who was captured and brought up in the house of a heathen. One night he had a dream, in which he was commanded to send her away. His wife, however, prevented him from doing so. Again he had a dream, in which he was told that if he would not send away the girl he would die. He did so, but desiring to know

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what became of her, be followed her. She kept on walking until she became thirsty. She went down to a spring to drink, and placing her hand upon the wall, she was bitten by a snake and died. She floated upon the water until he went down, took her out, and buried her. When he returned home, be said to his wife: "The people to which this girl belonged is punished by no other but their Father in heaven."

"Let noble purpose underlie their every action." It means, for the sake of the Torah, as it is written [Prov. 3:6]: "In all thy ways acknowledge him, and he will make level thy paths."

Said R. Simeon: Be punctual in the reading of Shema, and in prayer; and when thou prayest, let it not be as a conversation, but supplication before the Holy One, blessed be He, as it is written [Jonah, 4:2]: "That thou art a gracious God, and merciful, long-suffering, and abundant in kindness, and repentant of the evil."

Said R. Elazar (see Mishna, and in addition he said): "Nothing of the Torah shall be forgotten by thee. Know for whom thy exertion is and with whom thou hast made a covenant; and who is thy master, who is surely to be trusted that he will recompense thee for thy work."

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

(As Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai used to recount the praise of his disciples), so was R. Jehudah the Nassi recounted of the following sages: R. Tarphon, R. Aqiba, R. Elazar b. Azariah, R. Johanan b. Nuri, and R. Jose the Galilean.

He called R. Tarphon "a pile of stones"; others say, "a pile of nuts," which, should one be taken away, the whole pile is stirred and there is a rolling of nuts one upon the other. So it was with R. Tarphon, when a disciple came to him and said. "Teach me," he taught him the Scriptures, Mishna, Midrash, Halakhoth, and Agadoth; and when he left him, he was full of the blessing of the Torah.

He called R. Aqiba "a sealed treasure," and compared him to a workman who, taking his basket, goes outside, and whatever he may chance to find he puts into it. However, when he returns home, he assorts every article. So has R. Aqiba done (when he was studying), and made rules to the Torah to be easily comprehended, as rings are made to vessels to make it easy to take a hold of them.

He called R. Elazar b. Azariah "a huckster's basket," and compared him to a huckster who, taking his basket, goes about the country, and the people come flocking around him inquiring for various articles, and find that he has everything. So it was with R. Elazar b. Azariah, when a disciple came to him, he taught him everything that he desired; and when he left him, he was full of the blessings of the Torah.

He called R. Jose the Galilean "a gatherer of good things with no pride about him," who collected the good manners of all the sages and the Mishnaioth that all the sages have taught.

When R. Jehoshua became of old age, etc. (See Section Moed, Vol. 6., Tract Hagiga: "It happened that Johanan b. Broka," etc., till paragraph beginning with "It happened once.")

Issi b. Jehudah gave the sages names. To R. Meir he gave the name of "sage and scribe"; to R. Jehudah, "a sage when he desires to be"; to R. Elazar b. Jacob, "a small vessel (not of much knowledge), but very clear"; to R. Jose, "a man of good reasoning in the science of the Law"; to R. Johanan b. Nuri, "a basket of a peddler containing a variety of everything"; to R. Jose the Galilean, "a gatherer of the very best things, with no pride about him"; to R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, "a vault full of the best purple dye"; to R. Simeon, "learns much and forgets little."

When, later on, R. Simeon met Issi b. Jehudah, he asked him: "Why hast thou attacked me before the scholars?" And he answered: "I have said only that thou learnest much and forgettest little, and even that little is of no importance."

CHAPTER 3.

MISHNA A. Aqabia b. Mahalallel used to say: "Consider three things, and thou wilt not fall into transgression: know whence thou comest, whither thou art going, and before whom thou art about to give account and reckoning; know whence thou comest--from a fetid drop, and whither thou art going--to worm and maggot; and before whom thou art about to give account and reckoning: before the King of the kings of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He."

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

1"Said Aqabia b. Mahalallel, whoever takes to his heart the following four things will never sin": Whence he comes; whither he goes; what will become of him; and who is his judge. Whence he comes? from a dark place! Whither he goes? to a dark place! What will become of him? dust and worms! And who is his judge? the King of the kings of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He!

Said R. Simeon: He comes from a dark place and returns thither; he springs from a fetid drop, from a place which no eye can behold, and finally becomes dust and worms, as it is written [Job, 25:6]: "How much less the mortal, the mere worm? and the son of earth, the mere maggot?"

Said R. Elazar b. Jacob: He is a worm while living, and a maggot when dead. What is meant by "a worm while living"? the vermin that infest him; "and a maggot when dead" applies to those that are bred from him after his death.

Said R. Simeon b. Elazar: To what can this be compared? To a king who built a magnificent palace, in which he dwelt, and a tanner's ditch passed in front of its entrance. Whoever passed by said: "How beautiful and how glorious this palace would have been, if this tanner's ditch had not passed in front of its entrances." So is man. If now, when from his entrails issues forth a rancid stream, he is so proud and haughty, had a stream of sweet-smelling water or oil issued from him, how much the more proud and haughty would he have been.

When R. Eliezer fell ill, his disciples came to visit him. They sat before him and said: "Our master, teach us the best of all the things you taught us." He said: "Be careful of your friend's honour; and when you pray, know before whom you are standing, and through this you will be rewarded with life in the world to come."

MISHNA B. R. Haninah, the Segan of the high-priest, said: "Pray always for the welfare of the government; were it not for the fear of it, men would swallow each other alive." R. Haninah b. Phradyon said: "Two that sit together and do not discuss any portion of the Law, their sitting is considered that of scorners, as it is written [Ps. 1:1]: 'And sitteth not in the seat of scorners'; but two that sit together and are discussing some words of the Law have the Shekhina among them, as it is written [Mal. 3:16]: 'Then conversed they that feared the Lord one with the other; and the Lord listened and heard it,' etc."

This is as to two. Whence is it deduced of even one who occupies himself with the study of the Law, that the Holy One, blessed be He, fixes his reward? It is written [Sam. 3:28]: "That he sit in solitude and be silent; because He hath laid it upon him."

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

1Said R. Hananiah the Segan: Whoever takes the words of the Torah to his heart, all thoughts of the sword and hunger, of foolishness and fornication, evil thoughts in general and thoughts of adultery, thoughts of nonsense and thoughts of human cares, are destroyed for him, for so it is written in David's Psalms [19:9]: "The precepts of the Lord are upright, rejoicing the heart: the commandment of the Lord is clear, enlightening the eyes. P, But one that does not take to heart the words of the Torah, to him the reverse comes, as Moses wrote in his Deuteronomy [28:46-48]: "And they shall remain on thee for a sign and for a token, and on thy seed for ever. For the reason that thou didst not serve the Lord thy God with joyfulness, and with gladness of heart, while there was an abundance of all things; therefore, shalt thou serve thy enemies whom the Lord will send out against thee, in hunger, and in thirst, and in nakedness, and in want of everything."

Since it says: "In hunger," what is meant by it? At the time when one has not even a piece of barley-bread, his enemies demand of him wheat bread and fat meat. And what is meant by the words: "And in thirst"? At the time when one has not even a drop of vinegar, or beer, his enemies demand of him the best wine of the land. And what is meant by the words: "And in nakedness"? When one has not even a woollen or linen shirt, his enemies demand of him silken ones, the best of all lands. The words, "And in want of everything," mean that he will be without a light, knife, and table. Others says: Without vinegar and salt. This corresponds with the manner in which people curse when they say: "May there be no vinegar nor salt in thy house!"

He used to say the words: "Look not so at me, because I am somewhat black, because the sun hath looked fiercely at me" [Song of Songs, 1:6], refer to the counsellors of Judah, who relieved themselves of the yoke of the Holy One, blessed be He, and chose a human king to reign over them.

"My mother's children were angry with me" [ibid.] refers to Moses, who slew the Egyptian, as it is written [Ex. 2:11, 12]: "And it came to pass in those days, when Moses was grown up, that he went out unto his brethren, and looked on their burdensome labours. . . . And he looked this way and that way, and when he saw that there was no one by." What is meant by "and when he saw that there was no one by"? Infer from this, that Moses inquired of the deliberating groups of angels, whether he should slay him (the Egyptian). They told him. to do so, and he did it, not with a sword, but by a word, as it is written [ibid., ibid. 14]: "Sayest (intendest) thou to kill me, as thou hast killed the Egyptian?" From this can be learned that he killed him by the Holy Name.

Others say that the passage: "My mother's children were angry with me," refers to Moses, who fled to Midian, as it is written [Ex. 2:15-17]: "And Pharaoh heard this thing, and he sought to slay Moses; but Moses fled from the face of Pharaoh, and tarried in the land of Midian, and he sat down by a well. . . . And the shepherds came and drove them away, but Moses arose and helped them and watered their flocks." Moses constituted himself as judge, and said: "It is usual for the males to draw the water and for the females to water the flocks, and here I see the reverse. There is in this place much perversion."

There are others who say that as long as Moses stood by the well, the water surged and came toward him, but when he left, the water also receded. At the same time, he said: "Woe to me, that I have left my people and come to dwell among heathens."

Another explanation of the above passage is, that it refers to the Israelites who made the golden calf, for although at first they said [Ex. 24:7]: "All that the Lord hath spoken will we do and obey," nevertheless they soon afterward exclaimed: "These are thy gods, O Israel" [Ex. 32:4].

Still others say that the above passage refers to the spies who brought and spread an evil report about the land, and caused that carcasses of Israelites fell in the desert, as it is written [Numb. 14:29]: "In this wilderness shall your carcasses fall."

"They appointed me to be keeper of the vineyards" [Song of Songs, 1:6]. Said the Holy One, blessed be He: Who has caused me to shower kindness upon the heathens, but Israel himself? For when the heathens live in prosperity they are pushed, cursed, and persecuted.

Others say that the above passage refers to the Israelites who were exiled in Babylon, and the prophets who were then among them told them to observe the laws of offerings and tithes. They, however, answered: "We were exiled because we refused to observe those laws, and you wish us to observe them now?"

MISHNA C. R. Simeon said Three that have eaten at our table, and have not blessed the Lord for His kindness, are as if they have eaten of the sacrifices of the dead, as it is written [Is. 28:8]: 'For all tables are full of vomit of filthiness, there is no place (clean).' But three that have blessed the Lord when eating at our table, are as if they had eaten of the table of the Omnipotent, as it is written [Ezek. 51:22]: And he spoke unto me: This is the table that is before the Lord.'"

MISHNA D. R. Hanina b. 'Hakhinai used to say: "He who awakens by night, and he who is walking alone on the road and turns aside his heart to idleness, it is his own fault if he incurs trouble for himself."

MISHNA E. R. Nehunia b. Haqanah said: "Whoso receives upon him the yoke of the Law (i.e., one who devotes himself wholly to study), the community removes from him the yoke of the government and the yoke of worldly cares; but a student who breaks from him the yoke of the Law, the community lays upon him the yoke of the government and the yoke of worldly cares."

MISHNA F. R. 'Halaphtha of the village of Hananiah said: "When ten sit and are occupied in words of Law the Shekhina is among them, as it is written [Ps. 82:1]: 'God standeth in the Congregation of God.' And whence is it proved of even five? It is written [Amos, 9:6]: 'And hath founded his bundle 1 on the earth' (and a bundle is at least of five). And whence even three? It is written [Ps. 82:1]: 'In the midst of judges doth he judge' (and the number of judges is generally three). And whence even two? It is written [Mal. 3:16]: 'Then they that favoured the Lord spake often one to another.' (The least number of persons who can speak to each other is two.) And whence even one? It is written [Ex. 20:24 (21)]: 'In every place where I shall permit my name to be mentioned, I will come unto thee and will bless thee.'"

MISHNA G. R. Eliezer of Bartota said: "Render unto God what belongs to Him, for thou and all thou hast are His, as David said [1 Chron. 29:14]: 'For all things come from thee, and of thine own have we given thee.'"

MISHNA H. R. Jacob said: "One who walks by the way and learns, and breaks off his study and says, 'How beautiful is this tree!' and, 'How fine is this furrow field!' is endangering his own life."

MISHNA I. R. Dosithai b. R. Janai said in the name of R. Meir: "When a scholar of the sages sits and studies, and subsequently forgets what he studied, Scripture likens him to one who endangers his own life, as it is written [Deut. 4:9]: 'Only take heed to thyself, and guard thy soul, diligently, that thou do not forget the things which thy eyes have seen and that they depart not from thy heart all the days of thy life,' etc. It might be thought that he is culpable of forgetting even when his study had grown hard to him, therefore it is written [Deut. 4:19]: 'And they depart not from thy heart all the days of thy life,' from which it is to be inferred that he is not guilty unless he intentionally leads such a life as to forget them.

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

1R. Hanina b. Dosa said: Whomsoever fear of sin precedes, his wisdom prevails, as it is written [Ps. cxi. 10]: The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord."

"He also used to say: 'Whosesoever deeds exceed,'" etc., as it is written [Ex. 24.]: "We will do and obey." It was asked of R. Johanan b. Zakkai: "What praise is to be applied to one who is wise and sin-fearing? He answered: "A mechanic who has his tools with him." And what praise is to be applied to the one who is only wise, but not sin-fearing?" And he answered: "He is a mechanic who has no tools." He was asked again as to what praise is to be applied to the one who is sin-fearing but lacks wisdom, and he answered: "No mechanic but has tools."

"R. Elazar b. Azariah said: 'If there is no Law,'" etc. He used to say: One who is possessed of good deeds and who has studied much law, to what is he to be compared? unto a tree that is planted by waters, whose branches; are few but whose roots are many, and which can withstand the severest storm,

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as it is written [Ps. 1:3]: "And he shall be like a tree planted by rivulets of water," etc. One who lacks good deeds but who has studied law, to what is he to be compared? to a tree planted in the desert whose branches are many and his roots few, which is easily uprooted by any wind, as it is written [Jer. 17:6]: "He shall be like a lonely tree in the desert."

"R. Gamaliel said: 'Set a teacher,'" etc. A teacher for wisdom and a companion to study with, and be quit of doubt and do not tithe much by estimation.

Simeon his son used to say: All my days I spent among the sages, and I found silence to be the most advisable thing, and that not discussion but practice is the principal thing; and if silence is advisable for intelligent persons, so much the more for fools. Wisdom does not bring to much talk, nor does much talk bring to wisdom; the main thing is practice. Whosoever talks much causes sin, as it is written [Prov. x. 19]: "In a multitude of words transgression cannot be avoided"; and it is also written [ibid. xvii. 28]: "Even a fool, when he keepeth silence, is counted wise." R. Simeon b. Eliezer said: "He who studies the law and is sin-fearing is like a physician who is consulted about a wound and who has his instruments and drugs with him; but one who studies the Law and is not sin-fearing is like a physician who, when consulted about a wound, has the instruments to operate with but has no drugs to heal the wound up."

MISHNA J. R. Hanina b. Dosa said: "He in whom fear of sin precedes his wisdom, (may be sure that) his wisdom will endure; and he in whom wisdom precedes his fear of sin, (may be sure that) his wisdom will not endure."

He also used to say: "He whose works are in excess of his wisdom, (it is certain that) his wisdom will endure; and he whose wisdom is in excess of his works, (it is certain that) his wisdom will not endure."

He also said: "He who has earned man's esteem and love, will also receive the favour of Heaven; but he who is not worthy of such esteem, cannot expect to find favour with God."

MISHNA K. R. Dosa b. Horkhinas said: "Sleeping away the morning, carousing at noonday, childish trifling, and the company of the vulgar waste a man's life away.

MISHNA L. R. Elazar the Modai said: "He that profanes things sacred and contemns the festivals; he who causes his neighbour to blush in public, and annuls the covenant of Abraham our father, and acts barefacedly against the Torah, even though he is possessed of Torah and good deeds, he has no share in the world to come."

MISHNA H. R. Ishmael said: "Be pliant with thy chief (although he is not deserving) and yielding to the impressment, 2 and receive every man with cheerfulness."

MISHNA N. R. Aqiba said: "Mockery and frivolity are the forerunners of immorality. Tradition is the rampart about the Law; tithes (charity) are the rampart of wealth; good resolutions are the preservative of abstinence; and the safeguard of wisdom is--silence."

MISHNA O. He used to say: "Beloved is man, that he was created in His image, and, moreover, that he was notified that he was so created, as it is written [Gen. ix. 6]: 'For in the image of God made he man.'"

MISHNA P. "Beloved are Israel, that they are called children of God; moreover, that it was made known to them that they are so called, as it is written [Deut. 14:1]: 'Ye are the children of the Lord your God.'"

MISHNA Q. "Beloved are Israel, that there was given to them a precious article; moreover, that it was made known to them that there was given to them the precious article" [as it is stated elsewhere that with this the world was created, as it is written [Prov. 4:2]: "For good information do I give you; my teaching must ye not forsake"].

MISHNA R. "Everything is foreseen and free-will is given. And the world is judged by grace; and every one is judged according to the majority of his deeds" (i.e., if one has done more good than evil, he is judged more favourably--Rashi).

MISHNA S. He (Aqiba) used to say: "All that we possess is merely a trust, and over all life a net is spread out. The storehouse is open, the proprietor sells on credit; the ledger lies ready and the purchaser's hand makes the entry; whoever wishes may come and borrow, but the collectors are continually going the rounds of the debtors, and obtain payment from them voluntarily or involuntarily; they know whereupon they base their claims, and their court is a tribunal of justice, and everything is prepared for the banquet" (i.e., even the wicked have a share in the world to come--Rashi).

MISHNA T. R. Elazar b. Azariah was wont to say: "Without knowledge of religion there can be no true culture, and without true culture there is no knowledge of religion. Where there is no wisdom, there is no fear of God; and without fear of God there is no wisdom. Without learning there can be no counsel, and without counsel there will be lack of learning. Where there is a dearth of bread, culture cannot thrive, and lack of culture causes dearth of bread."

MISHNA U. He also used to say: "With what is he to be compared, who can boast of more learning than charitable deeds? With a tree of many branches and but few roots--there comes a storm that uproots and prostrates it, as it is written [Jer. 17:6]: 'And he shall be like a lonely tree in the desert, which feeleth not when the good cometh; but abideth in the parched places in the wilderness, in a salty land which cannot be inhabited. 'But what does he resemble, who can show more deeds than learning? A tree of few branches and many roots: all the storms, and winds may bear down and rage upon it, they cannot move it from its place. As it is written [Jer. 17:8]: 'And he shall be like a tree that is planted by the waters, and by a stream spreadeth out its roots, which feeleth not when heat cometh, but its leaf remaineth green, and in a year of drought it is undisturbed by care, and ceaseth not from yielding fruit.'"

MISHNA V. R. Elazar b. 'Hasma said: "'Qinim' and 'Pitteche Niddah' are essentials of Torah; canons of astronomy and geometry are after-courses of wisdom."

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

3"Sleeping away the morning." It means: One shall not wilfully sleep till past the hour of reading the Shema, for by so doing he neglects the Law, as it is written [Prov. xxvi. 13]: "As a door turneth upon its hinges, so doth the slothful upon his bed. The slothful saith, There is a leopard in the way: a lion is between the streets."

"Carousing at noonday" means: One should not make a practice of drinking wine at midday, for by so doing he is prevented from observing the Law, as it is written [Eccl. 10:16]: "Woe to thee, O land! when thy king is low-minded, and when thy princes eat in the morning." Also: "Happy art thou, O land, when thy king is noble-spirited, and thy princes eat in proper time." When is the proper time? Say, then, in the world to come, as it is written [Is. 9:22]: "I the Lord will hasten it in its time"; also: "At the proper time shall it be said to Jacob and to Israel," etc. [Numb. 23:23]. Said the Holy One, blessed be He, to Balaam: "At the time, but not in the time; not in your time, but at the time when I will redeem Israel."

"Childish trifling." By this is meant, that one should not make a practice of talking to his wife, sons, or daughters when he is studying at home; for by so doing he neglects the Torah, as it is written [Josh. 1:8]: "This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth; but thou shalt meditate therein, day and night."

"The company of the vulgar" means: One should not lounge with idlers in the market, lest he neglect the Torah, as it is written [Ps. 1:1, 2]: "Happy is the man who walketh not in the counsel of the wicked . . . and sitteth not in the way of scorners; but whose delight is the law of the Lord." Said R. Meir: For what purpose is it said: "And sitteth not in the way of scorners"? Say, then, it refers to the assembly halls of the scoffers, as it is written [ibid. xxvi. 5]: "I have hated the assemblage of evil-doers; and with the wicked will I not sit"; and it is also written [Mal. 3:19]: "For, behold, the day is coming, which shall burn as an oven, and all the presumptuous, yea, and all who practise wickedness, shall be stubble"; and "presumptuous yea, are scoffers, as it is written [Prov. 21:24]: "The presumptuous and proud, scorner is his name."

Once it happened that R. Aqiba, while sitting and teaching his disciples, was reminded of the way he spent his younger days. He said: "I thank thee, Lord my God, that thou hast placed me among the studious, and not among the idlers in the markets."

CHAPTER 4.

MISHNA A. Ben Zoma was in the habit of saying: Who is a wise man? He who learns from everybody, as it is written [Ps. 119:99]: 'Above all my teachers have I obtained intelligence!' Who is a hero? He who conquers his passions, as it is written [Prov. 16:32]: 'One that is slow to anger is better than a hero; and he that ruleth his spirit, than the conqueror of a city.' Who is a rich man? He who is satisfied with his lot, as it is written [Ps. 128:2]: 'For thou eatest the labour of thy hands: then wilt thou be happy, and it shall be well with thee.' 'Wilt thou be happy' in this world, 'it shall be well with thee' in the world to come. Who is honoured? He who honours his fellowmen, as it is written [1 Samuel 2:30]: "For those that honour me will I honour, and those that despise me shall be lightly esteemed.'"

MISHNA B. Ben Azai was in the habit of saying: "Hasten to fulfil the commandment of little importance as if it were of much importance, and flee from all manner of sin, for the fulfilment of one precept brings about that of another, and one transgression brings about another; for the reward of virtue is virtue itself, and the reward of sin is sin." He likewise said: "Despise no man, and consider nothing as too far removed to come to pass; for there is no man but hath his day, and no event that may not come."

MISHNA C. R. Levitas of Jabneh said: "Be exceedingly lowly of spirit, for the hope of man is the worm." "R. Johanan b. Baroquah said: "Whoso profanes the name of Heaven in secret, they punish him openly. Error, like design, is punishable as to the profanation of His name."

MISHNA D. R. Ishmael said: "He that learns in order to teach, they grant him the faculty to learn and to teach; he that learns in order to practise, they grant him the faculty to learn, to teach, to preserve, and to practise."

MISHNA E. R. Zadoq was in the habit of saying: "Wear not the law of God as a crown to exalt thyself withal, nor use it as a spade to dig therewith (for wealth)." [And thus was Hillel wont to say: "And he who serves himself with the tiara perishes."] Thus thou art to learn that he who makes use of his learning in the Law to further his own selfish ends loses all merit.

MISHNA F. R. Jose said: "Whosoever honours the Torah is himself held in honour, and whosoever dishonours the Torah is himself dishonoured with men."

MISHNA G. R. Ishmael said: "He that refrains himself from judgement, frees himself from enmity, and rapine, and false swearing; and he that is arrogant in decision is foolish, wicked, and puffed up in spirit."

MISHNA H. He used to say: "Judge not alone, for none may judge alone save One; and say not, 'Accept ye my opinion,' for they are free to choose, and not thou."

MISHNA I. R. Jonathan said: "Whosoever fulfils the Law in poverty will at length fulfil it in wealth, and whosoever neglects the Law in wealth will at length neglect it in poverty."

MISHNA J. R. Meir said: "Lessen your business, that you have more time for the study of the Law, and be lowly in spirit unto every man; and if thou idlest away thy time without study of the Law, thou wilt have many idlers against thee; and if thou labourest in the Law, He hath much reward to give unto thee."

MISH NA K. R. Eliezer b. Jacob said: "He who performs one precept has acquired unto himself one advocate, and he who commits one transgression has gotten to himself one accuser. Repentance and good deeds are as a shield against punishment."

MISHNA L. R. Jehudah the Sandlar said: "Whatsoever congregation is for the sake of Heaven will in the end succeed; and that which is not for a divine purpose will in the end not succeed."

MISHNA M. R. Elazar b. Shamna said: "Let the honour of thy disciple be as dear unto thee as the honour of thine associate; and the honour of thine associate as the fear 1 of thy master; and the fear of thy master as the fear of Heaven."

MISHNA N. R. Jehudah said: "Be careful in thy study, for error in study counts for an intentional sin."

MISHNA O. R. Simeon was wont to say: "There are three crowns--the crown of the Law, the crown of the priesthood, and the crown of royalty. But the crown of a fair name excelleth them all."

MISHNA P. R. Nehorai said: "Betake thyself to a place of Torah, and say not that it will come after thee, because thine associates will confirm it unto thee, and (moreover) lean not unto thine own understanding."

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

2"Who is a wise man? he who learns from everybody." Who is the most modest? One who is as modest as Moses our master was, as it is written [Numb. 12:3]: "But the man Moses was very meek." Who is the richest of all? One that is satisfied with his lot, as it is written [Ps. 128:2]: "When thou eatest the labour of thy hands: (then) wilt thou be happy, and it shall be well with thee." Who is the greatest of all heroes? One that controls his passion, as it is written [Prov. 16:32]: "One that is slow to anger is better than a hero; and he that ruleth his spirit, than the conqueror of a city." And one that is the ruler of his spirit is considered as if he had conquered a city full of heroes, as it is written [ibid. 21:22]: "A wise man scaleth the city of the mighty"; and "mighty" means mighty in the Torah, as it is written [Ps. 103:20]: "Mighty in strength, that execute his word." There are others who say that it means the ministering angels, as it is written [ibid.]: "Bless the Lord, ye his angels, mighty in strength," etc. There are still others who say that the greatest hero is he who makes his enemy his friend.

"Despise no man." As it is written [Prov. 13:13]: "Whoso despiseth the word shall fall in debt to it; but he that feareth the commandment will be rewarded."

He also used to say: "One who is taught the Law while young is like unto a heifer which was tamed while yet small, as it is written [Hosea, 10:11]: "And Ephraim is as a well-taught heifer that loved to tread out the corn." The one who is taught the Torah in his old age, however, is like a cow which was tamed when already old, as it is written [ibid. 4:16]: "For like an untamable cow is Israel disobedient."

He also used to say: "He that is taught the Torah in his youth is similar to a woman who kneads her dough with warm water, and one that is taught the Torah in his old age is similar to a woman who kneads her dough with cold water."

R. Eliezer b. Jacob said: "One that is taught the Law when young is similar to a screed which was written on new paper, and one who is taught the Law when old is similar to a screed which was written on old paper."

R. Simeon b. Gamaliel adds to the above the following: "One that is taught the Law when young is similar to a young man who marries a young woman; they are suited to and desire each other. One that is taught in his old age, however, is similar to an old man who marries a young woman: she is

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suitable to him, but not he to her. She desires him, but he avoids her, as it is written [Ps. 127:4]: "Like arrows in the hand of a mighty man, so are the children of youth"; and immediately after it is written [ibid., ibid. 5]: "Happy is the man that hath his quiver filled with them."

One that learns and forgets is similar to a woman who bears children but buries them, as it is written [Hosea, 9:12]: "But though they were to bring up their children, yet would I bereave them, that there should be no man." Do not read "would I bereave them", but "would I forget them". As it is written [Deut. 11:18]: "Therefore shall ye lay up these my words in your heart," etc., i.e., the words of the Torah shall be distinguished from each other, and at same time shall be marked upon thee side by side, as it is written [Prov. 7:3]: "Bind them around thy fingers; write them upon the table of thy heart" (i.e., as the fingers are separate from each other and still side by side of each other), and it is also written [ibid. 6:21]: "Bind them upon thy heart continually, tie them about thy throat."

MISHNA Q. R. Janai said: "Neither the security of the wicked nor the afflictions of the righteous are within the grasp of our understanding."

MISHNA R. R. Mathia b. 'Heresh was in the habit of saying: "Be beforehand in saluting every man! Be the lion's tail rather than the fox's head!"

MISHNA S. R. Jacob said: "This world is, as it were, the antechamber of the world hereafter; therefore, prepare thyself in the antechamber, that thou mayest be admitted into the banqueting hall!"

MISHNA T. He used to say: "Better is one hour of repentance and good deeds in this world than all the life of the world to come, though one hour of refreshment of spirit in the world to come is better than all the life in this world."

MISHNA U. R. Simeon b. Elazar said: "Do not seek to appease thy friend in the hour of his passion, and do not seek to console him in the hour when his dead is laid out before him; and do not interrogate him in the hour of his vow, and strive not to see him in the hour of his disgrace."

MISHNA V. Samuel the Little used always to repeat the following passage [Prov. 24:17, 18]: "At the fall of thy enemy do not rejoice, and at his stumbling let not thy heart be glad, lest the Lord see it, and it be displeasing in his eyes, and he turn away from him his wrath.'"

MISHNA W. Elisha b. Abuyah said: "He who learns as a lad, to what is he like? To ink written on fresh paper. And he who learns when old, to what is he like? To ink written on blotted paper.

MISHNA X. R. Jose b. Jehudah, the villager of Babylon, 1 said: "Whom does he resemble, who learns from the young? Him who eats unripe grapes and drinks the wine fresh from the wine-press! But whom does he resemble, who learns from old men? Him who eats ripe grapes and drinks old wine!"

MISHNA Y. Rabbi was in the habit of saying: "Look not upon the pitcher, but upon what it contains. Many a new pitcher is full of old wine, and many an old one does not even hold new wine."

MISHNA Z. Rabbi Eliezer the Kapar said, "Envy, sensuality, and ambition destroy life."

MISHNA AA. He likewise said: "Those born unto the world are destined to die; the dead to live on again; and those who enter the eternal life, to be judged. Therefore let it be recognised, understood, and remembered, that He the Almighty, the Creator, Architect, He is the counsellor, He the judge, He the witness, He the accuser. He is always ready to give judgement; blessed be He! for, before Him there is no injustice, no oversight, no regard for rank, no bribery. Know that all will appear in the account! Accept not the assurance of thy passions, that the grave will be a place of refuge for thee. For without thy consent wert thou created, wert born into the world without thy choice; thou art now living without thine own volition, without thine approval thou wilt have to die; so likewise without thy consent thou wilt have to render account before the Supreme King, the Holy One, blessed be He!"

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

1Said Elisha b. Abuyah: "A virtuous man who has studied the Law diligently is similar to one who builds a foundation of stones and a superstructure of bricks; though they be inundated, yet they cannot be moved. One who is not virtuous, in spite of having studied the Law, is similar to one who lays stones on a brick foundation: the smallest freshet will overturn the building."

He used to say: "The former is also similar to lime which is spread upon stones, even heavy rain cannot melt it; and the latter is similar to lime which is spread on bricks, the lightest shower will melt it."

He also used to say: "The former is also similar to a cup which has a ψηφος (a four-cornered polished stone), even when it is turned over, still some of its contents remain; but the latter is similar to a cup without a ψηφος, as soon as it is turned over, everything in it is spilled.

He used to say: "The former is also similar to a horse which has a complete harness; and the latter is similar to a horse which lacks a bridle: the man who mounts him is soon thrown off."

He also used to say: One who is taught when young, absorbs the words of the Torah in his blood, and he can utter them explicitly, but the reverse is with one who is taught when old. There is also a proverb to this effect: "If thou hast not desired them in thy youth, how wilt thou reach them in thy old age?"

He also used to say: "The words of the Torah are as hard to purchase as golden vessels, and as easy to lose as glassware, as it is written [Job, 28:17]: 'She cannot be estimated after gold and glass.'" He brings together gold with glass, as golden vessels when broken can be repaired; but glassware when broken cannot be repaired, unless melted and formed again. And what does it mean: "And not in exchange for her (can) vessels of refined gold (be taken)"? [ibid.]. That the countenance of him who occupies himself with the words of the Torah, and observes them, shines as refined gold; but the countenance of him who occupies himself with them, and does not observe them, becomes dark as glass does.

He also used to say: "It is possible for a man to study the Law continuously for twenty years and forget it in the course of two years." How so? If he has not gone over what he had learned for six months, he will pronounce the unclean clean, or vice versa. If he has neglected to go over his studies for twelve months, he will confuse the sayings of the sages; in eighteen months, he will forget the beginning of the Tracts; and in twenty-four, even that of the chapters; and finally will have to be silent altogether. Of him said Solomon [Prov. 24:30, 31]: "By the field of a slothful man I once passed along, and by the vineyard of a man void of sense: and, lo, it was all grown over with thorns, nettles had covered its surface, and its stone wall was broken down." And when the wall of a vineyard falls, the entire vineyard is soon destroyed.

He also used to say: "One who causes his friend to perform a meritorious deed, it is as if be himself had done it." This can be compared to a human king who caught a bird and gave it to one of his servants, saying: "If thou wilt be careful of this bird, I will reward thee; otherwise, I will take thy life for its." So also has the Holy One, blessed be He, said to the Israelites: "The words of the Torah which I gave to you, if you will observe them I will reward you; otherwise, I will take your lives for them," as it is written [Deut. 4:9]: "For it is not a vain word for you; on the contrary, it is your life."

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

1Ben Azai said: "If the mind is tranquil because of acquired wisdom, it is a good sign; 2 but if made restless by acquired wisdom, it is a bad sign. If the mind is tranquil on account of faith in the Creator, it is a good sign; but if the mind is restless on account of believing in the Creator, it is a bad sign. If one has the sympathies of the sages at the hour of his death, it is a good sign for him; if he has not, it is a bad sign for him. When dying, if his face is turned upward, or he looks straight in the faces of the persons around him, or if his countenance shines, it is a good sign for him. The reverse is unfavourable."

When R. Johanan b. Zakkai was dying, he raised his voice in weeping. Said his disciples to him: "Master, thou art as a high pillar, the light of the world, a strong hammer--wherefore criest thou?" He answered: "Am I going before a human king? Such a one is angry at me, it can be only for this world; if he imprisons or slays me, it is only for this world. Moreover, I might appease him with words or bribe him with money. But I am going before the King of kings of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He: if He should be angry at me, it includes both worlds, and whom I cannot appease with words or bribe with money. Besides, there are two ways before me: one leads to the garden of Eden and the other to Gehenna, and I do not know whether I will be condemned to Gehenna, or I will enter the Garden of Eden, as it is written [Ps. 22:30]: 'Before him shall bend the knee all that are going down into the dust,' etc.

It is also written [Ex. 30:23]: "And then will I take away my hand"; also [Ezek. 2:10]: "And he spread it out before me, and it was written within and without," etc. "Within" means this world; "without" means the world to come. Others say: "Within" means the sufferings of the righteous, and the welfare of the wicked in this world; and "without" refers to the reward of the upright, and the expiation of the wicked in the world to come.

"And there were written therein lamentations, and dirges, and woe" [ibid.]. "Lamentations" refers to the expiation of the wicked in this world, as it is written [ibid. 32:16]: "This is the lamentation wherewith they shall lament for her; the daughters of the nations shall lament for her." "Dirge" 1 refers to the reward of the upright in the world to come, as it is written [Ps. 92:4]: "Upon a ten-stringed instrument, and upon the psaltery; and with the sweet sound 1 of the harp." "And woe" refers to the expiation of the wicked in the world to come, as it is written [Ezek. 7:26]: "Mishap shall come upon mishap, and report shall be spread upon report."

Before he (Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai) died, he said: "Clean the house of all defilement, and put in a chair for Hezekiah, King of Judah."

He used to say: "Whoever dies with a sound mind, or when yet able to talk, or while conversing about the Law, or while doing something meritorious, or in a state of gladness, or while laughing, it is a good omen for him; if otherwise, it is a bad omen. If one die on the eve of Sabbath, or at the close of the Day of Atonement, it is a good omen for him; but if at the close of the Sabbath or on the eve of the Day of Atonement, it is a bad omen."

There is a tradition that when R. Eliezer fell ill, it was on the eve of a Sabbath. When R. Aqiba and his comrades visited him, he was sleeping in his chamber; so they stayed in the dining-room. When Hyrcanus his son entered to remove his phylacteries, he was prevented from doing so by his father, who began to cry. He left the chamber, and said to the sages: "My masters, methinks that my father is not clear in his mind." R. Eliezer, however, overheard him, and rejoined: "My son, it is not I who am not clear in my mind, but thou. For thou hast neglected the lighting of the lamps, for which thou art liable to a death penalty by the hand of heaven, and hast instead occupied thyself with the removal of my phylacteries, for which thou art guilty only because of Shbuth." When the sages heard that his mind was clear, they sat down at a distance of four ells 1 from his bedside. They inquired of him as to cleanness and uncleanness of many subjects among them; also an amulet or torn phylacteries, are they subject to defilement or not? He answered: "They are. Dip them as they are, and be careful about them, for they form part of the great Halakhoth which were told to Moses on Sinai." And they kept on asking him concerning cleansing, defilement, and the legal baths, saying: Rabbi, What is this? and, What is that? and he answered accordingly--clean, or unclean.

Then R. Eliezer said to the sages: "I wonder whether the scholars of this generation will be punished with death by the hand of heaven?" They inquired: "Rabbi, why so?" And he rejoined: "Because they have not served me."

Later on he said to Aqiba b. Joseph: "Aqiba, why hast thou not served me?" He answered: "Rabbi, I had not the opportunity." And he rejoined: "I wonder whether thou wilt die a natural death." There are others who say that he did not rejoin anything.

When R. Eliezer spoke thus to his disciples, his blood froze within him. Said R. Aqiba: "Rabbi, what will my death be?" He answered: "Aqiba, thine will be the hardest of all!" Thereupon the latter sat down before him, and said: "Rabbi, now teach me." And he taught him three hundred Halakhoth concerning a bright spot (in the skin of one's flesh). At the same time he raised his two arms, and laid them on his breast, saying: "Woe to me! that my two arms, which are like two holy scrolls, must leave this world. If all the seas were ink, and all the reeds were pens, and all mankind were writers, they could not write down everything I have learned and repeated, and what I heard while serving the sages in the college, and I have not left out of the Torah even as much as a drop of the sea. Moreover, I learn three hundred Halakhoth in the verse, 'Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live' [Ex. 22:17] [there are others who say three thousand Halakhoth], and nobody ever asked me about them, except Aqiba b. Joseph; for he said to me once: 'Rabbi, teach me how melons are planted, and how they are pulled out.' I said one thing, and the entire field became covered with melons, He then said: 'Rabbi, thou hast taught me their planting; teach me also how they are pulled out.' And I said one thing, and all the melons were gathered together in a heap."

R. Elazar b. Azariah inquired of him as to cleanness and uncleanness of many subjects, and he answered: "It is clean," or "unclean," accordingly, correctly; and when answering of one thing that it was clean, his soul left him while saying "clean." Whereupon R. Elazar b. Azariah rent his garments, and, weeping, went out and told the sages: "My masters, come and see R. Eliezer, who is clean for the world to come, because his soul left him while saying 'clean.'"

After the Sabbath, R. Aqiba came and found his coffin while being borne from Cesarius to Luda; he immediately rent his garments, and tore his hair till the blood flowed and dropped to the ground. He wept and cried: "Woe to me! Rabbi, because thou hast died. Woe to me! my master, because thou hast left the whole generation as an orphan." When standing in line he said: "'My father, my father, the chariot of Israel and its horsemen' [2 Kings, 2:12], there are many foreign coins which no money-changer can change besides you (i.e., I have many hard questions of law which cannot be solved by any one besides you)."

"Ben Azai said: 'Hasten to,'" etc. He used to say: If thou hast performed a meritorious deed, and art not sorry for it, it will draw many meritorious deeds in its train; but if one transgresses, and is not sorry for it, it will draw many sins in its train. For one meritorious deed draws another, and one transgression draws another in its train, as the reward for a meritorious deed is the performance of another, and the punishment for a transgression is a transgression."

He also used to say: "Set something apart for charity, before you are compelled to do so by others, so that you get the reward of both the charity and the setting it apart, and not that the reward for the latter shall go to the one who compelled you to do it."

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He also used to say: "Lower thy seat two or three rows, from the place you intend to occupy. For it is better thou shalt be told to ascend than to descend, as it is written [Prov. 25:7]: 'For better it is that it be said unto thee, Come up higher, than that thou shouldst be put lower in the presence of the prince.'"

There are three persons whose life is not worth living: one who must eat at the table of others; one who lives in an attic; and one whose wife dominates over him. There are others who say: One who suffers in his body.

He used to say: "It is easier to rule the whole world than to associate and discuss with hypocrites."

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

1R. Aqiba said: "The safeguard for honour is refraining from laughter; the safeguard for wisdom is silence; the safeguard for vows is abstinence; that for cleanness is holiness; and that for meekness is the fear of sin."

He used to say: Do not mingle with the scoffers, for thou mayest learn their doings; do not eat with an ignorant priest, for thou runnest the risk of desecration. Be not free with vows, lest thou wilt trespass upon oaths; do not get into the habit of dining sumptuously, for this may bring thee to eat the bread of charity; do not come to a doubt (upon slight evidence), and it will prevent thy coming to a certainty (upon scant proof); and do not go to a foreign country, for thou mayest be compelled to follow the ways of idolaters. So also said David [1 Sam. 26:19]: "Because they have driven me out this day so that I cannot attach myself on the inheritance of the Lord, saying, Go, serve other gods." Canst thou for a moment think that King David was an idolater? He only meant to infer that he who leaves Palestine and goes to a foreign country is considered as if he were an idolater.

He also used to say: "Whoever is buried in other countries, it is as if he were buried in Babylon; whoever is buried in Babylon, it is as if he were buried in Palestine; whoever is buried in Palestine, it is as if he were buried under the altar, because the whole (soil) of Palestine is fit for an altar; and whoever is buried under the altar, it is as if he were buried under the throne of glory, as it is written [Jer. 17:12]: 'A throne of glory, exalted from the beginning, is the place of our sanctuary.'"

He used to say: "The ignorant can never be truly pious."

He also used to say: "Why do disciples die while young? Not because they are adulterers, or robbers, but because they interrupt their studies, and occupy themselves in idle conversation, and also because they do not begin again where they stopped."

R. Simeon b. Elazar said: "The Israelites who live outside of Palestine are unconsciously worshipping idols. How so? And idolater gives a feast in honour of his son, and he invites all the Jews of the place, and although they eat and drink of their own, and their own servants wait on them, yet it is considered as if they had eaten the sacrifices of the dead, as it is written [Ex. 34:15]: 'Any one call thee, and thou eat of his sacrifice.'"

"And contemns festivals." R. Aqiba said: "Whoever marries a woman not suitable to him transgresses five negative commandments; for 'thou shalt not avenge,' 'nor bear any grudge' [Lev. 19:18]; for 'thou shalt not hate thy brother in thy heart' [ibid., ibid. 17]; for 'thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' [ibid., ibid. 18]; and [Lev. 25:36] 'that thy brother may live with thee': as he hates her, he desires her death, consequently he abolishes the commandment of the multiplication of mankind."

He also used to say: "Whoever eats unhealthy food transgresses thrice: he despises himself, as well as the food, and pronounces a benediction upon unwholesome things."

R. Jehudah b. Ilai said: "When one dies and leaves a son, who did not care to learn the Torah from him, and he goes and learns it from others, his only desire is to be flattered (and as the father was too proud to flatter, therefore be did not have the merit of teaching his son)."

R. Elazar the Kapar said: "Do not be as the lintel, which no hand can reach; neither as the upper cross-beam, on which the engravings are defaced; and not as the middle threshold, at which sometimes the feet strike; but as the lowest one, on which every one steps, and which, when in the end the entire building is demolished, is still left in its place."

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

1R. Jose said: Whoever venerates the Torah is himself honoured by the people, as it is written [1 Sam. 2:30]: "For those that honour me will I honour, and those that despise me shall be lightly esteemed." "Those that honour me" refers to Pharaoh, King of Egypt, who honoured the One who said, "Let there be the world," and went out at the head of his court; and when his servant remarked that kings usually went in the rear of' their court, he answered: Am I then going before a human king? I am going before the King of kings of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He. Therefore the Holy One, blessed be He, also honoured him and meted out his retribution Himself, as it is written [Habakkuk, 3:15]: "Thou didst pass along over the sea with thy horses."

R. Joshua b. Kar'hah said: "Pharaoh rode into the sea on a stallion, as it is written [Ex. 15:19]: 'For the horse of Pharaoh went in,' etc.; but when his retribution came, it was done with a horse and chariot, as it is written [Habakkuk, iii. 15]: 'Thou didst pass along over the sea with thy horses,'" etc.

"Those that despise me shall be lightly esteemed," refers to Sennacherib, who despised the One who said, "Let there be the world"; therefore be was despised by the Holy One, blessed be He, as it is written [Is. 37:24, 25]: "Through thy servants hast thou . . . till besieged places." Therefore the Lord punished him through an angel, who shaved his head and beard, and he returned to his kingdom shamefacedly.

"R. Ishmael the son of R. Johanan b. Broka said: 'Whoever learns for the purpose of teaching,'" etc. He used to say: "Though thou hast not undertaken to accomplish the entire Law, yet thou art not free to neglect it altogether; and the more one occupies himself with it, the more reward he accumulates."

"R. Eliezer b. Hisma said," etc. R. Johanan b. Nuri, however, said: "The Halakhoth, the purification, and the law of menstruation and Qinim are the essentials of the Torah."

He used to say: "The support of the wise, the institution of courts and their maintenance, bring much good to the world."

R. Johanan b. Dehabai said: "Whoever says this Halakha is not seemly, forfeits his share in the world to come."

He used to say: "Do not keep away from a precept which has no limit, or from a labour which has no end. This can be compared to one who was hired to take water from the sea and spill it on the land. When, seeing that the sea does not decrease and the land is not submerged, he becomes disgusted and refuses to continue the work, he is to be told as follows: 'You ignoramus! Why should you become disgusted? Continue your work, and get your pay of a golden dinar every day.'"

"R. Eliezer b. Shamua said: 'Let the honour of thy disciple,'" etc. Whence do we know that one shall be as particular regarding the honour of his disciple as regarding that of his colleague? From Moses our Master, who said to Joshua: "Choose for us men" [Ex. 17:9]. He did not say choose for me, but for us. Infer from this that he regarded him as his equal, although he was master and Joshua the disciple. And whence do we know that one should be as particular regarding the honour of his colleague as regarding that of his master? It is written [Numb. 12:11]: "Then said Aaron unto Moses, Alas, my lord." Was not (Moses) his younger brother? Infer from this that he regarded him as if he were his master. And whence do we know that one should be as particular in regard of the honour of his master as regarding that of Heaven? As it is written [ibid. 11:28]: "And Joshua the son of Nun, the servant of Moses from his youth, answered and said, My lord Moses, forbid them," We see that Joshua equalled Moses to the Shekhina.

At first they used to say: There is grain in Judea, straw in Galilee, and chaff on the other side of the Jordan; afterward they changed it to: There is no grain in Judea; there is no straw in Galilee, but chaff; and on the other side of the Jordan there is neither.

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

1R. Nathan said: "There is no love such as the love of the Torah; there is no wisdom such as the wisdom of manners; there is no beauty such as the beauty of Jerusalem; there are no riches such as the riches of Modea; there is no strength such as the strength of Persia; there is no adultery such as the adultery of the Arabians; there is no haughtiness such as the haughtiness of Elam; there is no hypocrisy such as the hypocrisy of Babylon, as it is written [Zech. 5:11]: 'And he said unto me, To build for it a house in the land of Shinar'; and there is no witchcraft such as the witchcraft of Egypt."

R. Simeon b. Elazar said: "A sage living in Palestine is praiseworthy. When he leaves it for a foreign country, his wisdom diminishes; and although his wisdom diminishes, still he has preference to a sage who never lived in Palestine. This can be compared to metal of Nadai which is brought to the countries of the sea: although depreciated in its original value, it is nevertheless more valuable than all other iron of the world."

Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel said: "Whoever maintains peace in his own household, it is considered as if he maintains it among every one in Israel; and whoso causes envy and contention in his household, it is considered as if he had done so among every one in Israel; for every one is king in his own house, as it is written [Esther, 1:22]: 'That every man should bear rule in his own house.'"

Rabban Gamaliel said: "The following four regulations of the Romans annihilated the subjugated nations: the unlimited taxes, the high license on bath-houses, and theatres, and grain tithe."

He used to say: "The words of the Torah are as difficult to acquire as silken garments, and are lost as easily as linen ones. Nonsense and foolish things are easily acquired, but are hard to lose as a sack is; for sometimes one buys a sack in the market for a sela, and uses it for four or five years."

R. Jehudah the Prince said: "Whoever indulges in the pleasures of this world, the pleasures of the next are withheld from him; but one who does not, will not forego them there."

He also used to say: "The upright who fare badly in this world can be compared to a cook who prepares a feast for himself: although it had cost him much trouble, still he has done it for himself. The wicked, however, who fare badly in this world, are as the cook who prepared a feast for others: although it had cost him much trouble, nevertheless he has done nothing for himself, but for others."

He further used to say: "All those things which are done in private shall be done as if they were done publicly."

"Hillel said: 'Do not isolate thyself from the community.'" He also used to say: "One who eats much, merely increases his excrement, and who (adds flesh to his body) multiplies worms and moths; but whoever increases his good deeds, secures bodily rest."

R. Elazar b. Shamua said: "The disciples are divided into three classes: Hewn stones, corner-stones, and a polished stone. A disciple who has studied Midrash, and only knows how to answer the question of the scholar appertaining to Midrash, and answers in that is compared to a hewn stone which has only one surface; one who has studied Midrash as well as Halakhoth, and he is able to answer a scholar in both, is like a corner-stone which has two surfaces; and one who has acquired a knowledge in Midrash, Halakhoth, Agadoth, and Tosephthas, and is enabled to answer in all four branches, is like a polished stone which has four surfaces, one on each of its four sides."

R. Jehudah b. Ilai said: "Whoever constitutes the Torah as the chief good, and considers worldly affairs as a secondary thing, will attain importance in the world. If, however, he does the contrary, he will become insignificant in the world. This can be compared to a regiment which has to go between two roads, one of fire and the other of snow. If it keeps near that of fire, it will be scorched; and if near that of snow, it will freeze. It is therefore best to go in the middle, and it will thus be guarded from heat and cold."

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

1"R. Simeon b. Elazar (in the name of R. Meir) said: 'Conciliate not thy friend in the hour of his anger,'" etc. He used to say: "If some of thy neighbours praise, and others reprimand thee, love the latter and hate the former; for the latter are bringing thee to a life in the world to come, and the others are withdrawing thee from it."

He also used to say: "Wherever a righteous man goes his heart goes along; if he stands still, his heart does so also."

He further used to say: "One who applies himself to the study of the Law is assisted in his application. However, if he neglects it, he is further prevented from it by such as a lion, wolf, tiger, hyena, and snake; or soldiers or robbers surround and punish him, as it is written [Ps. 58:12]: 'Verily, there is a God that judgeth in the earth.'"

Abba Saul (b. Nanes) said: "The scholars are divided into four classes: One studies, but does not teach others; a second teaches others, but does not study himself; a third one both studies for himself and teaches others; and a fourth neither studies himself nor teaches others. The first class learn a chapter, or two or three, study them repeatedly until they know them by heart, but do not teach them to others; the second learn an entire section two or three times, teach it to others, but not having studied it repeatedly forget it; the third learn one, or two, or even three, entire sections, teach them to others, and study them themselves, and therefore do not forget them; and the fourth class are those who have learned an entire section two or three times, but have not taught it to others, neither have they studied it themselves, and thus they forget it."

R. Hanania b. Jacob said: "One who keeps awake at night studying the Law, it is a good omen for him; however, if he spends the night only in conversation, it is a bad omen for him."

R. Jacob b. Hananiah said: "One who is awake by night, but does not study, it were better for him not to have been born."

R. Elazar the Kapar said: "If one honour his friend for pecuniary considerations, he will in the end be dismissed in disgrace; but if he scorns him for a meritorious purpose, in the end he will be dismissed honourably. Whence is the former deduced? From the case of Balaam the wicked, who honoured Balak for a mercenary purpose, as it is written [Numb. 22:18]: "And Balaam answered and said unto the servants of Balak: If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold." And whence do we know that he was dismissed in disgrace? As it is written [ibid. 24:11]: "And now flee thou to thy place . . . but, lo, the Lord hath kept them back from honour." Whence is the latter case derived? From that of Moses our master, who scorned Pharaoh for a meritorious purpose, as it is written [Ex. 11:8]: "And all these thy servants shall come down unto me, and bow themselves down unto me, saying." Was, then, Pharaoh standing upon the roof, and Moses on the ground? Say, then, that Moses said to Pharaoh: "Even all thy servants who bow before thee on thy altar will come down and entreat me, but I will not listen to them." And whence do we know that he was dismissed honourably? It is written [ibid. 12:31]: "And he called for Moses and Aaron by night."

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They answered: "Are we, then, thieves, that we shall go out in the night?" Wait till the Holy One, blessed be He, will bring us seven pillars of honours, and accompanied 'by them we will go forth joyfully and openly, as it is written [Numb. 33:3]: "On the morrow after the passover-sacrifice the children of Israel went out with a high hand."

On account of the four different means of forgiveness, R. Mathia b. Heresh went to visit R. Ishmael b. Elazar the Kapar in Ladakia. He interrogated him: "Hast thou heard the four different means of forgiveness on which R. Ishmael used to lecture?" He rejoined: "I have heard they are three, but repentance must be to every one of them." It is written [Jer. 3:22]: "Return, ye backsliding children, I will heal your backslidings." And again [Lev. 16:30]: "For on that day shall (the high-priest) make an atonement for you to cleanse you." Also [Ps. 89:33]: "Then will I visit with the rod their transgressions, and with plagues their iniquity." And also [Is. 22:14]: "Surely this iniquity shall not be forgiven unto you until ye die." How can these four contradictory passages be explained? Thus: If one has violated a positive precept, and has repented, he is forgiven immediately--to this case the first passage is applied. If one has violated a negative precept and has repented, the repentance is suspended until the Day of Atonement, when he is forgiven--to this the second passage is applied. If one has committed a sin for which he is liable to Kareth, or death by the court, and has repented, the repentance and the Day of Atonement are suspended until he is cleared by sufferings--to this case the third passage is applied. However, one who has profaned the name of heaven has not the power to repent, and no sufferings clear him, and the Day of Atonement does not atone for him; but repentance and sufferings are suspended, and only death absolves him--to him is applied the last passage. Issi b. Jehudah said: "Wherefore do scholars die before their time? Not because they commit adultery or robbery, only because they condemn themselves."

R. Itz'hak b. Pin'has said: "Whoever is versed in Midrash, but not in Halakha, has not tasted of wisdom; and he who is the opposite, has not tasted of the fear of sin."

He used to say: "One who is versed in Midrash, but not in Halakha, is like unto a strong man, but who is unarmed; one who is the opposite is like an armed weakling. One, however, who is versed in both is like unto a man who is both strong and armed."

He further used to say: "Be careful in greeting thy neighbours. Do not enter a house of strife, neither strive to see it. Be among thy colleagues, and be thou a head to a fox rather than a tail to a lion."

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

1"R. Nathan b. Joseph said: 'He who neglects the words of the Law on account of his riches, he will finally do so on account of poverty; but he who observes the Law even when he is poor, he will finally do so when rich.'" He used to say: "The consoling of the mourners, the visiting of the sick, and the bestowing of favours bring much good to the world."

R. Meir said: "One who transgresses one precept doubtfully, it is considered as if he had done it in certainty. How so? One commits a sin and has cognition of it, he brings a sin-offering of the value of a sela, or the tenth part of an ephah of the value of a Dupondius. However, if he is in doubt whether he sinned or not, he must bring a trespass-offering of the value of two selaim. (So is the Law.) Now, let us see. It is certain that goodness of heaven exceeds considerably heavenly chastisement, is there not room to draw an a fortiori conclusion that if chastisement, which is less than goodness, still if one is in doubt whether he did or did not sin, heaven requires him to bring a trespass-offering to pacify his conscience and to be rewarded for bringing the offering, so much the more in case of goodness of heaven which exceeds chastisement, that heaven rewards him in case of doubt as if it were sure that he did it."

R. Nathan b. Joseph said: There is a case where one transgresses ignorantly, and nevertheless it is considered as if he had done it wantonly. How so? If one has killed a person unawares, and escapes to a city of refuge, and the avenger of the blood find him before he reach the city of refuge and kill him, he is free. However, if one killed a person wantonly, and the avenger of the blood kills him (before the court has pronounced sentence, not heeding the warning of witnesses), it is equal to ordinary murder, although the avenger thought that he might do so as a relative of the murdered person, and he may be killed for the crime. Now let us see: Which is in excess, goodness or chastisement of heaven? Surely the former. Now, if chastisement, which is less, if one commits a sin erroneously, still in such a case, it is considered as if done intentionally, so much the more so in case of goodness which is in excess.

R. Aqiba said: "One who connects himself with transgressors, although he has not done as they did, he is nevertheless punished as they are. However, if he connects himself with the performers of the precepts, although he has not taken part in the performance, he nevertheless is rewarded as they are. How so? When two persons give their testimony that some one has killed a person, and it is found that their testimony is collusive, they are sentenced to death; and as they are brought to the stoning place, somebody comes running up, saying: 'I know something about these witnesses'; and when his testimony is also found to be collusive, he, too, is sentenced to death; and when he is brought to the stoning place, he wails: 'Woe to me! had I not come with them, I would not have been sentenced.' Hence the same a fortiori conclusion stated before must be drawn. If one connects himself with transgressors and it is so, much the more one will be rewarded if he connects himself with performers of precepts."

R. Simeon said: "The punishment of the liar is that even when he tells the truth he is not believed, as we find with the sons of Jacob, who at first lied to their father, and he believed them, as it is written [Gen. 37:31]: 'And they took Joseph's coat, and killed a he-goat'; also [ibid., ibid. 33]: 'And he recognised it, and said: It is my son's coat.' In the end, however, when they spoke the truth, he did not believe them, as it is written [ibid. 14:26]: 'But his heart remained cold, for he believed them not'; and [ibid.]: 'And they told him, saying: Joseph is yet alive, and he believed them not.'" There are others who say: "The holy spirit which had left Jacob our father during the absence of Joseph returned to him at that time, as it is written [ibid., ibid. 27]: 'The spirit of Jacob their father revived.'"

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

1R. A'hai b. Joshiah said: "One who buys grain from the market is compared to an infant whose mother died, and which, although nursed by many other nurses, is never satiated. One who buys bread from the market, is comparable to one for whom a grave was dug for interment. One who eats of his own is like an infant reared at the breasts of his mother."

He used to say: "One who eats of his own, his mind is tranquil; but if he eats of that belonging to his father, mother, or his children, and especially of that belonging to strangers, his mind can never be tranquil."

CHAPTER 5.

MISHNA A. By ten sayings the world was created; and why so? Could it not have been created by one saying? But it was that vengeance might be taken on the wicked, who destroy the world that was created by ten sayings; and to give a goodly reward to the righteous, who maintain the world that was created by ten sayings.

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

"By ten sayings the world was created." For what purpose is this stated? To teach that if one carries out a precept, or observes one Sabbath, or preserves a soul, it is considered as if he had preserved the entire world, which was created with ten sayings. But he who transgresses once, or violates one Sabbath, or destroys one soul, is considered like unto one who has destroyed the entire world, which was created with ten sayings. And so we find with Cain, who killed his brother Abel, as it is written [Gen. 4:10]: "The voice of thy brother's blood (in plural)." He shed only the blood of one person--why is the plural used? Infer from this that the blood of the decedent's children, grandchildren, and all the descendants which were destined to be descended from him, were all crying before the Holy One, blessed be He.

R. Nehemiah said: "Whence is it deduced that a single person is equal to the whole creation? It is written [ibid. 5:1]: 'This is the book of the generations of Adam.' And before that it is written [ibid. 2:4]: 'These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth when they were created.' We see that with reference to the creation of man almost the same wording is used as with reference to the creation of heaven and earth, which goes to show that one is as much as the other. Likewise may be inferred from this, that the Holy One, blessed be He, showed him (Adam) all the generation which were to spring from him, as if they were standing and playing before him." There are others who say that the righteous only were shown to him, as it is written [Is. 4:3]: "Every one that is written down into life in Jerusalem.

R. Joshua b. Kar'hah said: "It is written [Ps. 139:16]: 'My undeveloped substance did thy eyes see, and in thy book,' etc. Infer from this that the Holy One, blessed be He, showed unto Adam all succeeding generations, together with their preachers, directors, leaders, prophets, heroes, criminals, and their pious. In this or that generation, such and such a king will reign; in another, a certain sage will exist, etc."

R. Eliezer the son of R. Jose the Galilean said: "Nine hundred and seventy-four generations before the creation of the world, the Torah was already written and reposing in the lap of the Lord, and sung praises together with the angels, as it is written [Ps. 8:8, 9]: 'Then was I near him as a nursling; and I was day by day (his) delight, playing before him at all times; playing in the world, his earth.' They have compared this to one who desired to engrave many subjects on a piece of wood, and as it was not of sufficient size, he was in despair. What could he do? Let him engrave upon the earth, where he has enough space. So also did the Holy One, blessed be He, whose great name shall be praised for ever and evermore, when He in His wisdom and understanding created the entire world. He created the heavens and the earth in the upper and lower regions, and created in man all that he created in his world: the world contains forests, so also does man, viz., his hair; the world contains evil beasts, so does man, viz., lice; there are thorns in the world, so also are they in man--his ears; there is odor, so also in man--his nose; light--man's sight; evil-smelling liquids, so also in man--the excretion of the nose; salty water, so also in man--tears; rivers, so also in man--his urine; castles, so also in man--his lips; gates, so also in man--his teeth; sweet water, so also in man--his saliva; stars, so also in man--his cheeks; towers, so also in man--his neck; cathedrals, so also in man--his arms; nails, so also in man--his fingers; a king, so also in man--his head; advisers, so also in man--his kidneys; millstones, so also in man--his stomach; regulations, so also in man--his spleen; manure, so also in man--his belly; pits, so also in man--his navel; spring-water, so also in man--his blood; trees, so also in man--his bones; hills, so also in man--his ashes; a mortar and pestle, so also in man--his knees; horses, so also in man--his legs; hills and valleys, so also in man--when standing he is like a hill and when lying he is like a valley Hence all that which the Holy One, blessed be He, created in His world, He also created in man."

MISHNA B. Ten generations were there from Adam to Noah, to show how great was His long-suffering; for all the generations were provoking him, till He brought the deluge upon them.

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

1"Ten generations were there from Adam to Noah." For what purpose was this stated? To teach that all these generations persisted in provoking the Lord, nevertheless He did not bring the flood on the world, for the sake of the upright and pious. There are others who say: As long as Methuselah lived, the flood descended not upon the world; and it was even suspended for seven days after his demise; as it is written [Gen. 7:10]: "And it came to pass, after the seven days." What seven days? The period of mourning for the upright, who prevented the retribution.

Another explanation is: The above passage teaches that the Holy One, blessed be He, granted them an additional respite, after the original one hundred and twenty years, of seven days, in which time to repent.

Still another explanation is, that the Lord changed the order of the world for seven days, causing the sun to rise in the west and to set in the east, so that perchance they would notice it, become frightened, and repent; however, it had no effect.

Still another explanation is, that the Lord spread His table before them during seven days, and gave them an inkling of what there was in the world to come, so they might reflect and say: Woe to us, for all this good which is lost to us, and for the destruction of our offspring, as it is written [ibid. 6:12]: And God looked upon the earth, and, behold, it was corrupt.

R. Elazar b. Parta said: "It is written [ibid., ibid. 3]: 'My spirit shall not always strive for the sake of man.' It means that the Lord said: 'I will not judge them until I will double their rewards,' as it is written [Job, 21:13]: 'They wear out their days in happiness; and in a moment they go down to the nether world.'

R. Jose the Galilean said: "It is written: 'My spirit shall not always strive.' It means that the Lord said: 'I will not equal the evil thoughts to the good thoughts so long as their fate has not yet been sealed.' After that, however, both are equal in transgression."

He used to say: "The evil spirit is removed from the upright and the good spirit predominates, as it is written [Ps. 109:22]: 'And my heart is deeply wounded within me.' From the wicked, however, the good thoughts are removed and evil thoughts are given them instead, as it is written [ibid. 36:2]: 'Saith vice itself to the wicked, So I feel it within my heart, that he should have no dread of God before his eyes.' To people of mediocrity both are given: the one who is nearer to the good thoughts is ruled by them, and one who is nearer to the evil thoughts is ruled by them, as it is written [ibid. 109:31]: 'For he ever standeth at the right hand of the needy, to save him from those that judge his soul.'"

R. Simeon b. Elazar said It is written [Gen. 6:3]: 'My spirit shall not strive,' etc. This means the Lord said: 'I will not judge them before I have rewarded the upright.' This is only as to this world; but as to the world to come, it is written [ibid. 146:46]: 'When his spirit goeth forth, he returneth to his (native) earth.'"

R. Aqiba said, of the same verse: "The Lord said: 'They have not reflected that they are flesh and blood.' On the contrary, they were haughty, and said unto God: 'Depart from us'" [Job, 21:14].

R. Meir said, of the same verse: "This means that the Holy One, blessed be He, said: 'This generation said: God does not judge, there is no judge in the world; God has left it.'"

Rabbi said, of the same verse: "This means that the Holy One, blessed be He, said: 'They have not instituted a Sanhedrin on earth, therefore will I institute for them a Sanhedrin on high.'"

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MISHNA C. Ten generations were there from Noah to Abraham, to show how great was His long-suffering; for all the generations were provoking Him till Abraham our father came, and received the reward of them all.

Tosephtha-Aboth of R. Nathan.

1"Ten generations," etc. For what purpose was it necessary to state this? To teach that all these generations have provoked Him, and there was not one who walked in the way of the Holy One, blessed be He, till Abraham our father, as it is written [Gen. xxvi. 5]: "Because that Abraham obeyed my voice . . . and my laws." Are there then two Laws? Infer from this that the Lord provided Abraham with two reins, which, like two sages, made him understand, advised him and taught him all night, as it is written [Ps. 16:7]: "I will bless the Lord, who hath given me counsel: also in the night season my reins admonish me." And not only that, but Abraham our father was wont to practise charity first and justice afterward, as it is written [Gen. 18:19]: "For I know him, that he will command," etc. When two disputants came before him, and, one of them complained that the other owed him a manah, Abraham was wont to deposit a manah of his own with one of them, and then said: Make your complaints. When he found that one really owed the other, he said to the one with whom he deposited the manah: "Give it to thy neighbour"; and if neither owed the other, he said: "Divide it between yourselves, and depart in peace." However, David the king practised justice first and charity after, as it is written [2 Samuel, 8:15]: "And David did what was just and right unto all his people." When two disputants came to him, and one of them claimed that the other owed him a manah, he told them to make their complaints, and after finding one of them liable, he used to give the other the manah; otherwise, he said: "Divide your claims, and depart in peace."

MISHNA D. With ten temptations was Abraham our, father tempted, and he withstood them all, to show how great was the love of Abraham our father.

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

"With ten temptations," etc. They are as follows: two at "get thee out of thy country"; two with his two sons; two with his two wives; one with the kings; one at "the pieces"; one at Ur of the Chaldees; and one at the circumcision. Wherefore so many? For the reason that when Abraham our father will claim his reward, the angels shall say: More than us, even more than all of us, is he worthy to receive his rewards, as it is written [Eccl. 9:7]: "Go, eat with joy thy bread, and drink with a merry heart thy wine."

In comparison to these ten temptations, the Holy One, blessed be He, performed ten miracles for his descendants in Egypt, and also brought ten plagues (on the Egyptians); and performed ten miracles for the Israelites at the sea, and brought ten plagues on the Egyptians at the sea. The Egyptians roared at them with their voices, so also did the Lord roar at them at the sea, as it is written [Job, 37:5]: "God thundereth with his marvellous voice." The Egyptians came to the sea with bows and arrows, so also did the Lord appear, as it is written [Habakkuk, 3:9]: "Laid quite bare is thy bow"; also [Ps. 18:15]: "And he sent out his arrows, and scattered them." The Egyptians came to the sea armed with swords, so also did the Lord, as it is written [ibid.]: "And he shot forth lightnings, and discomfited them"--lightning means sword, as it is written [Ezek. 21:14, 15]: "The sword, the sword is sharpened, and also polished: in order to make a thorough slaughter it is sharpened, in order that it may glitter 1 is it polished." The Egyptians came armed with spears, so also did the Lord, as it is written [Habakkuk, 3:11]: "At the shining of the flaming glitter of thy spear." The Egyptians were proud of their shield and buckler; so was the Lord, as it is written [Ps. 35:2]: "Take hold of shield and buckler, and rise up for my help." The Egyptians came with sling-stones, but the Lord with hailstones, as it is written [Ps. 18:13]: "From the brightness before him his thick clouds passed away (with) hail-stones and coals of fire."

When our fathers stood by the sea, Moses said to them: "Arise and pass through it!" and they rejoined: "We will not pass, till we see the sea become chips, chips." Whereupon Moses struck the sea with his staff, and it was converted into chips, as it is written [Habakkuk, iii. 14]: "Thou didst strike through with his own spears the chiefs of his villages." Again Moses said to them: "Arise and pass through it," and they rejoined: "We will not pass till the sea becomes a valley." Moses struck the sea again, and it became a valley, as it is written [Ps. 58:13]: "He divided the sea, and caused them to pass through"; also [Is. 63:14]: "As a beast goeth down into the valley." Moses again urged them to pass through the sea, and they answered: "We will not, till it becomes separated into parts"; as it is written [Ps. cxxxvi. 13]: "To him who divided the Red Sea into parts." When urged again, they said: "We will not pass till the bottom becomes loamy." Whereupon Moses struck the sea with his staff, and the bottom became loamy, as it is written [Habakkuk, 3:15]: "But (thou) didst pass along over the sea with thy horses, over the piled-up billows 1 of great waters." Again they refused to pass through, until the bottom of the sea should become a desert; and Moses caused it to be so, as it is written [Ps. 106:9]: "And he led them through the depths, as through the wilderness." They refused again until the sea became converted into small particles, and Moses caused it to be so, as it is written [ibid. 74:13]: "It was thou that didst divide by thy strength the sea." They again refused until it should become rocky, and Moses caused it to be so, as it is written [ibid.]: "Thou brokest in pieces the heads of the crocodiles on the water," and that can be broken on rocks only. They again refused until the sea should become dry land, and Moses made it so, as it is written [ibid. 66:6]: "He changed the sea into dry land"; also [Ex. 15:19]: "But the children of Israel went on dry ground through the midst of the sea." They refused again until the waters became as walls, and Moses made them so, as it is written [Ex. 14:22]: "And the waters were a wall unto them, on their right hand, and on their left." They still refused till there should be bottles, and Moses complied again, as it is written [ibid. 15:8]: "The flood stood upright as a wall." And the infants were drinking oil and honey out of these bottles, as it is written [Deut. 32:13]: "And he made him to suck honey out of the rock," etc. There are others who say: "Living water issued out of the sea, when they were between the walls, and they drank of it, as the sea water is salty; for it is stated "the flood," and that means sweet water, as it is written [Songs, 4:15]: "A well of living waters, and flowing down from Lebanon." The clouds of glory were above their heads, to protect them from the sun.

R. Eliezer said: "The deep was arched over their heads, while passing through the sea, to save them from pain." The former and the latter both say: The upper and the lower waters overthrew the Egyptians, as it is written [Ex. 14:27]: "And the Lord overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea."

MISHNA F. With ten temptations did our ancestors tempt God in the wilderness, as it is written [Numb. 25:22]: "And have tempted me these ten times, and have not hearkened to my voice."

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

1"By means of ten trials the Holy One, blessed be He, tested our forefathers," and they were found wanting in all of them. They are as follows: In the wilderness, in the plain, opposite Suph, between Paran and Thophel and Laban and Chazeroth and Di-zahab. "In the wilderness" they made the golden calf, as it is written [Ex. 32:8]: "They have made themselves a molten calf." "In the plain" they quarrelled with Moses on account of water, as it is written [ibid. 17:3]: "And the people thirsted there for water." "Opposite Suph"--their rebellion at the Red Sea. There are others who say: This has reference to Michah's graven image. "Between Paran"--where the incident of the spies occurred [Numb. 13:3]: "And Moses sent them out from the wilderness of Paran." "And Thophel" refers to the nonsense (slander) 2 they talked of the manna. "And Laban"--this is the dissension of Korah. "And Chazeroth"--near which place the incident of the quails occurred. All these are seven, and somewhere else it is written [Deut. 9:22]: "And at Thah'erah, and at Massah, and at Kibroth-hat-thavah." (Making altogether ten.) What does Di-zahab refer to? Aaron said to them: "Ye have enough of the sin of the gold which ye brought for the calf."

R. Eliezer b. Jacob said: "This sin with which the Israelites were afflicted, is enough for that time till the resurrection of the dead."

Ten names of praise are applied to the Holy One, blessed be He: "Adonai," "Jah," "Eloim," "Eloah," "Eloechu," "Eloechem," "El," "Eheh-ascher-Eheh," "Shadai," "Zebaoth." Said R. Jose: "I do not agree as to the name "Zebaoth," for it is written [Deut. 20:9]: "That they shall appoint captains for the armies," the Hebrew term for "army" being "Zebaoth." (These being proper names of God, we have not translated them.)

Ten ignominious names are applied to the idols. They are as follows: Abominations, idols, molten images, graven images, false gods, groves, sun-images, Atzabim, Aven, images.

Two signs (the inverted letter Nun) are placed in the Torah at a small section, viz.: "And it came to pass, when the ark set forward," etc. [Numb. 10:35, 36]. Said Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel: "It would have been advisable to remove this section and put it in another place. Something like this we find elsewhere [Judges, 18:20]: 'And Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Menasseh,' was he the son of Menasseh, and not the son of Moses? But because his deeds were not like those of his father Moses, therefore he is traced to Menasseh."

Likewise we find [Zech. 4:14]: "These are the two sons of the clear oil, that stand by the Lord of the whole earth." This refers to Aaron and the Messiah, and we do not know who is more beloved; but, as it is written [Ps. 110:4]: "The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent of it, thou shalt be a priest for ever." It is to be inferred from this that the latter is more beloved.

It is said [Ps. 80:14]: "The boar out of the forest doth gnaw at it." Is it not written out of the river? 1 The difference in the two words implies this: As long as Israel act contrary to the will of the Omnipotent, the idolaters are likened to them as a boar out of the forest, which kills the people, damages the cattle, and is an affliction to mankind. However, when the Israelites act according to the will of the Omnipotent, the idolaters are likened unto them, as the boar out of the river (hippopotamus), which does not kill people, nor injures any creatures. Many words of the Torah are dotted. They are as follows: "May the Lord judge between me and thee" [Gen. 16:5].

The second Yod is dotted in the word "ubenecha," which hints that she (Sarah) applied it to Hagar. Others say she meant those who caused quarrelling between her and him. "And they said unto him, Where is Sarah thy wife?" [ibid. 18:9]. The Aleph, Yod, and Vav are dotted to imply that, although they knew where she was, still they inquired after her. "And he perceived not when she lay down, nor when she arose" [ibid. 19:33]. The second Vav is dotted, to imply that he perceived only when the younger arose. "And Esau ran to meet him, and embraced him, and fell on his neck and kissed him" [ibid. 33:4]. All the letters of the word "vayishokehu" are dotted, to signify that he was not sincere. R. Simeon b. Elazar said: "It implies, on the contrary, that this kissing was sincere, but all his other acts were insincere." "And his brothers went to feed his father's flocks in Shechem" [ibid. 37:12]. There are dots on the word "eth," to imply that they did not go to feed the flocks, but to eat, drink, and commit follies. "All that were numbered of the Levites, whom Moses numbered with Aaron" [Numb. 3:39]. The entire word is dotted, to imply that Aaron was not included in the number. "Or be on a distant journey" [ibid. 9:10]. The Heh in the word "rechokah" is dotted, to imply that it does not really mean a distant journey, only that he was prohibited from passing the threshold of the outer court (of the Temple). "And we have laid waste (all) up to Naphach, which reacheth unto Medeba" [ibid. 21:30]. The Resh in the word "asher" is dotted, to imply that only the idolaters laid waste the countries. Concerning the first day of Tabernacles, it is written [ibid. 29:15]: "And a tenth part each." The Vav of the word "eissoron" is dotted, to imply that there should be only one-tenth part. And, lastly: "The secret things belong unto the Lord out God; but those things which are publicly known belong to us and to our children for ever" [Deut. 29:30]. The entire two first words and the Ayin of the third are dotted, to imply that Ezra said: If Elijah will come and question me why I have written thus, will answer: 'I have already dotted them.' However, if he will say: 'Thou hast written well,' I will erase the dots."

Ten times did the Shekhina descend upon the earth. Once in the Garden of Eden, as it is written [Gen. 3:8]: "And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden." Once in the generation of the (builders of) the tower, as it is written [ibid. 11:5]: "And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower." Once in Sodom, as it is written [ibid. 18:21]: "And I will go down now, and see if they have done according to the cry against them." Once in Egypt, as it is written [Ex. 3:8]: "And I am come down to deliver it out of the hand of the Egyptians." Once at the sea, as it is written [Ps. 18:10]: "And he bent the heavens, and came down." Once at Sinai, as it is written [Ex. 19:20]: "And the Lord came down upon Mount Sinai." Once at the Temple, as it is written [Ezek. 44:2]: "This gate shall remain locked, it shall not be opened . . . because the Lord, the God of Israel, hath entered in by it." Once at the pillar of cloud, as it is written [Numb. 11:25]: "And the Lord came down in a cloud." And once when it will come down in the days of Gog and Magog, as it is written [Zech. 14:4]: "And his feet will stand on that day upon the Mount of Olives."

Ten degrees the Shekhina removed itself from one place to another: From the cover to the cherub, as it is written [2 Samuel, 22:11]: "And he rode upon a cherub, and flew along"; from the cherub to the threshold, as it is written [Ezek. 9:3]: "And the glory of the God of Israel ascended up from the cherub whereupon it had been, to the threshold of the house"; from the threshold to the two cherubim, as it is written [ibid. 10:18]: "And the glory of the Lord went forth from off the threshold of the house, and halted over the cherubim"; from the cherubim to the roof, as it is written [Prov. 21:9]: "It is better to dwell in a corner of a roof"; from the roof to the wall of the outer court, as it is written [Amos, 7:7]: "And, behold, the Lord was standing upon a wall (made) by a plumbline"; from the wall of the outer court to the altar, as it is written [ibid. 9:1]: "I saw the Lord standing upon the altar"; from the altar to the city, as it is written [Micah, 6:9]: "The voice of the Lord calleth unto the city"; from the city to the mount, as it is written [Ezek. 11:23]: "And the glory of the Lord ascended from the midst of the city, and halted upon the mount," etc.; from the mount to the desert, as it is written [Prov. xxi. 19]: "It is better to dwell in a desert land"; and once when it ascended on high, as it is written [Hosea, 5:15]: "I will go (hence, and) return to my place."

A prophet is called by ten different names. They are as follows: Ambassador, faithful, servant, messenger, seer, watchman, man of scrutiny, dreamer, prophet, man of God.

There are ten names for the Holy Spirit, namely: Proverb, metaphor, riddle, word, saying, calling, commandment, prophecy, sacred speech, and vision.

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Joy has ten different expressions: Gladness, joy, rejoicing, joyfulness, pleasure, relish, satisfaction, complacency, delight, cheer.

Ten are called "living": The Holy One, blessed be He, as it is written [Jer. 10:10]: "But the Lord God is the truth: he is the living God"; the Torah, as it is written [Prov. 3:18]: "A tree of life is she to those that lay hold on her: and every one that firmly graspeth her will be made happy"; Israel, as it is written [Deut. 4:41: "But ye that cleave unto the Lord your God are alive, every one of you, this day"; good deeds, as it is written [Prov. 11:30]: "The fruit of the righteous is of the tree of life"; the Garden of Eden, as it is written [Ps. 116:9]: "I will walk before the Lord in the lands of life"; the tree, as it is written [Gen. 2:9]: "And the tree of life in the midst of the garden"; Palestine, as it is written [Ezek. 26:20]: "But I will bestow glory in the land of life"; charitable deeds, as it is written [Prov. 12:28]: "On the path of righteousness there is life"; the wise, as it is written [ibid. 13:14]: "The instruction of the wise is a source of life"; light, as it is written [Job, 33:30]: "In the light of life."

MISHNA E. Ten miracles were wrought for our fathers in Egypt, and ten by the sea.

MISHNA G. Ten miracles were wrought in the Sanctuary: No woman miscarried from the scent of the holy meat, and the holy meat never stank; and a fly was not seen in the slaughter-house; and an uncleanness befell not the high-priest on the Day of Atonement; and a defect was not found in the sheep, nor in the two loaves, nor in the shew-bread; and rains did not extinguish the fire of the fuel heaped upon the altar, and wind prevailed not against the pillar of smoke; they stood serried, and bowed down at ease; and serpent and scorpion harmed not in Jerusalem, and a man never said to his fellow, "The place is too strait for me to lodge in Jerusalem,"

MISHNA H. Ten things were created at twilight of the eve of Sabbath: the mouth of the earth and the mouth of the well, and the mouth of the ass, and the bow, and the manna, and the rod, and the Shomir worm, and the character and the writing, and the tables. And some say the evil spirits also; and the sepulchre of Moses, and the ram of Abraham our father; and some say the first tongs with which subsequently other tongs were made.

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

Ten miracles were performed for our forefathers in Jerusalem: The holy meat was never spoiled; no woman miscarried from the scent of the holy meat; no one was ever injured; no accident ever happened to any one; no one ever stumbled; no conflagration ever occurred; no rain was ever there; no man ever said: "I could find no oven wherein to roast the paschal lamb"; no man ever said. "I could find no bed wherein to sleep"; no man ever said to another: "I could find no quarters in which to pass the night."

Jerusalem never was defiled by leprosy, nor condemned as a misled city; no ledges, galleries, or channels could be built on the public streets, because they would form a tent for uncleanness; a corpse could not be left there over night, nor human bones be carried through the streets, and no stranger was permitted to settle within its walls. No graves could be maintained there except those of the house of David and the prophetess Huldah, which existed since the days of the early prophets. It was said that there was a grotto which caused the uncleanness to run into the brook Kidron. No plants must be planted there, and no gardens or parks might be laid out there, except gardens of roses, which existed there since the days of the early prophets. No geese nor hens might be bred there, much less swine; no dung might remain there, because of defilement. A stubborn and rebellious son is not judged there, such is the decree of R. Nathan, for it is written [Deut. xxi. 19]: "Then shall his father and his mother lay hold on him, and bring him out unto the elders of his city, and unto the gate of his place but as they are not his city and place, he cannot be judged. Houses cannot be sold there together with the ground on which they stand. No house can remain as a permanent possession after a twelve-month. No rent may be taken for houses, but it may be for beds and mattresses. Said R. Jehudah: "It is not allowed to take rent even for that." What did they do with the skins of the holocaust? They were given to the lodging-house keepers. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said: "The innkeepers were in the inside and the lodging-house keepers on the outside. The innkeepers used to buy sheep, having nice wool, for four to five selahs, and sell them to the Jerusalemites, and made big profits on them."

One verse says: "In one of thy tribes" [Deut. 12:14]; and another says: "Out of all your tribes" [ibid., ibid. 5]. The first relates to the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and the second to Jerusalem, which belongs to all Israel. What belonged to Judah? The Temple Mount, the chambers, and the outer courts; and to Benjamin belonged the Temple, the porch, and the Holy of Holies, and a triangle extended into the part of Judah in which the altar was built. Benjamin was favoured, and became the host of the Mightiness, as it is written [ibid. 33:12]: "And between his shoulders will he dwell."

Said R. Jehudah: At the time when it became known that the Temple would be built on the boundaries of Judah and Benjamin, they had improved and separated the suburb of Jericho. And who ate its products all these years? The children of the Kenite, the father-in-law of Moses, as it is written [Numb. 10:32]: "It shall be, that the same goodness which the Lord may do unto us will we do unto thee." However, when the Temple was built, they vacated. And whence do we know that they were sustained by charity? They said: "When the Lord will reveal His Shekhina, He will reward Jethro and his children, as it is written [ibid., ibid. 29]: For the Lord hath spoken (to bring) good upon Israel." Said R. Simeon: They were prominent men and were proprietors of houses, fields, and vineyards. However, because of the work of the Lord they left everything and went away, as it is written [1 Chron. 4:23]: "There were the potters, and those that dwelt in plantations," etc. They dwelt with the king in his work. And where did they then go? To Jabez, to study the Torah, and thus have become a people of the Omnipotent. Jabez was a very good and righteous man: he was a truthful man and pious, and occupied himself with the study of the Law; therefore the pious went to a pious.

"Ten miracles were wrought, etc.; and an uncleanness befell not the high-priest on the Day of Atonement"--except R. Ishmael b. Kimchith, who went out to converse with a certain dignitary, and some saliva dropped out of his mouth on his garments; and his brother entered and officiated as high-priest in his stead, and their mother had the satisfaction of seeing her two sons as high-priests on the same day.

The sages saw her, and said to her: "What piety hast thou practised?" And she rejoined: "The ceilings of my house never saw my hair."

"No woman miscarried." It never happened that there was anything left of the holy meat; and when they ate too much of it, they drank the waters of Shiloach, which assisted digestion.

"And a defect was not found," etc. Broken earthen vessels were sunk in the ground.

"And wind prevailed not," etc. And when the pillar of smoke went up from the sacrificial altar, the smoke went up straight as a staff until it reached the clouds; but the pillar of the incense went up from the golden altar in the direction of the Holy of Holies.

"They stood serried and bowed down," etc. When the Israelites came up to kneel before their Father in Heaven, it was so that they were compact and no one could put his finger between them, but when kneeling every one had ample space. The greatest wonder of all was, that even when a hundred people entered at once there was no need for the inspectors of the synagogue to proclaim: "Make room for your brother!" (Some think that) the greatest wonder of all was, that when all stood up in prayer they were compact and no one could put his finger between them, but when they bowed there was a space of a man's height between them.

Said Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel: Jerusalem is destined that all the nations and kingdoms should be gathered together in it, as it is written [Jer. 3:17]: "And all the nations shall be gathered unto it, to the name of the Lord"; and further: "Let the waters be gathered together" [Gen. 1:9]. As "the gathering together" there means that all the waters of creation shall be in one place, so also "the gathering together" here means that all the nations and kingdoms shall be assembled in it.

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

1"The men of Sodom"--have no share in the world to come, and they are not judged, as it is written [Gen. 13:13]: "But the men of Sodom were wicked and sinners before the Lord exceedingly." "Wicked"--one with another; "sinners"--in consanguinity; "before the Lord"--inasmuch as they desecrated the name of God; "exceedingly"--they did all that intentionally. And it is written [Ps. 1:5]: "Therefore shall the wicked not be able to stand in the judgement, nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous." The first part of the passage relates to the generation of the flood, and the second to the men of Sodom. R. Nehemiah said: "Even in the congregation of the wicked they are not included, as it is written [ibid. 104:35]: 'May the sinners cease from off the earth, and the wicked be no more.'"

Small children of the wicked have no share in the world to come, and are not judged, as it is written [Mal. iii. 19]: "For, behold, the day is coming which shall burn as an oven . . . who will not leave them root or bough." Such is the dictum of R. Eliezer. R. Joshua, however, said: They are included, and the words, "who will not leave them root or bough," refer to their own bodies, as it is written [Dan. 4:11]: "He called with might, and thus he said: Hew down the tree and lop off its branches, strip off its leaves and scatter its fruit"; and further [ibid. 12]: "Nevertheless leave the body of its roots in the earth, but (bound) with fetters of iron and copper." As in both passages roots are mentioned, and as the roots mentioned there refer to the trunk of the tree, so the roots here refer to the body of man. If so, what do the words, "who will not leave them root or bough," imply? That no reward shall be found on which they could depend.

Others say: "They are included, and to them refers what is written [Is. 44:5]: "This one will say, I belong to the Lord; and the other will call himself by the name of Jacob; and the other will inscribe himself with his hand unto the Lord, and surname himself by the name of Israel." "This one will say, I belong to the Lord," refers to the perfectly righteous; "and the other will call himself by the name of Jacob" refers to the small children of the wicked; "and the other will inscribe himself with his hand unto the Lord" refers to the wicked who left off their wickedness, turned back, and repented; and, "and surname himself by the name of Jacob" refers to proselytes.

Korah and his company have no share in the world to come, and are not judged, as it is written [Numb. xvi. 33]: "And the earth closed over them, and they disappeared from the midst of the congregation." Such is the decision of R. Eliezer. R. Joshua, however, said: "They are included, and the words, 'The Lord killeth, and maketh alive: he bringeth down to the grave, and bringeth up' [1 Samuel, 2:6], have reference to them, because here is mentioned the grave, as it is written [Numb. 16:33]: 'And they went down, they and all they that appertained to them, alive into the pit.' Also there it is mentioned. in both cases the bringing up from the grave is included." Said R. Eliezer to him: "If so, how are we to understand, 'And the earth closed over them and they disappeared from the midst of the congregation'?" He answered: "We are to understand that they disappeared from the midst of the congregation, but not from the world to come."

The generation of the desert have no share in the world to come, and are not judged, as it is written [ibid. 14:35]: "In this wilderness shall they be spent, and therein shall they die"; and further [Ps. 95:11]: "So that I sware in my wrath that they should not enter into my rest." Such is the dictum of R. Eliezer. R. Joshua, however, said: "They are included, and the words, 'Gather together unto me my pious servants, who make a covenant with me by sacrifice' [Ps. 1:5], have reference to them." Said R. Eliezer to him: "If so, how dost thou explain the words, 'so that I sware in my wrath'?" He answered that this had reference to the spies, and all equally wicked of that generation. "But," continued R. Joshua, "I am anxious to know how thou dost apply the words: 'Gather together.'" "I apply them," said the other, "to Moses, Aaron, the pious of the generation, and the tribe of Levi." R. Jose the Galilean said: "They are not included, for it is written [Numb. 14:35]: 'In this wilderness shall they be spent, and therein shall they die'; and further [Deut. 21:4]: 'And they shall break there the neck of the heifer in the valley.' As the word 'there' mentioned here means that it shall die and not be moved from its place, so also the 'there' mentioned in that passage means that they shall die and not be moved from their places." An objection was raised, namely: Is in that passage the word "there" mentioned in connection with the wicked only, and not with the upright? Is it not said [Gen. 44:31]: "There they buried Abraham and Sarah his wife"; and further [ibid. 5]: "In my grave, which I have dug for me in the land of Canaan, there shalt thou bury me"; and also [Numb. 20:1]: "And Miriam died there and was buried there"; and further [ibid. 33:38]: "And Aaron the priest went up . . . and died there"; and further [Deut. xxxiv. 5]: "And Moses the servant of the Lord died there in the land of Moab, according to the order of the Lord"? Said Rabban Gamaliel: It is written [Deut. 11:21]: "In order that your days may be multiplied, and the days of your children in the land which the Lord sware unto your fathers to give unto them." It refers to the resurrection, when the parents and the children both will enjoy the same longevity. R. Jose the Galilean sides with R. Eliezer, and R. Gamaliel sides with R. Joshua.

The ten tribes have no share in the world to come, and are not judged, as it is written [Deut. 29:27]: "And the Lord plucked them out of their land . . . and he cast them into another land, as it is this day." Said R. Simeon b. Jacob: "As the day in which they have rebelled will never return, even so will they not return." R. Aqiba, however, said: "As the day is first dark and then lightens up, so also their darkness will be followed by light."

The following seven have no share in the world to come: A scribe, a teacher of little children, even the best of physicians, the city judge, the store-keeper, the beadle, and the butcher.

There are three kings and four commoners who have no share in the world to come. The three kings are: Jeroboam, Achab, and Menasseh; the, four commoners are: Balaam, Doeg, Achitophel, and Gechazi. Said R. Jehudah: Menasseh has already repented, as it is written [2 Chron. 33:13]: "And he prayed unto him, and he permitted himself to be entreated by him . . . and brought him back to Jerusalem, unto his kingdom." They argued against him thus: "Had the verse stated merely, 'and brought him back to Jerusalem,' we would then agree with thee, but since it is added, 'unto his kingdom,' it can be said that He returned him to His kingdom, but not to a life in the world to come."

Said R. Meir: "Absalom has no share in the world to come." Said R. Simeon b. Elazar: "Achaz, Achaziah, and all the kings of Israel who were wicked have no share in the world to come." Said R. Johnan b. Nuri: "Also one who pronounces the Name as it is written has no share in the world to come."

He used to say: "One who scans the Song of Songs (like a secular poem), and one who cannot speak above whispering or has turned yellow in consequence of a wound or recites (in

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ridicule) the passage, 'I will put none of those diseases upon them,' etc. [Gen. xv. 26], has no share in the world to come." And the sages say: Every disciple who has studied, and then abandons his studies, has no share in the world to come, as it is written [Numb. 15:31]: "Because the word of the Lord hath he despised"; and further [Jer. 2:5]: "What fault did your fathers find in me, that they went away far from me?"

R. Meir said: "Whoever does not visit the college which is in his city has no share in the world to come"; and R. Aqiba said: "Also those who do not serve the sages."

MISHNA I. Seven things mark the clod, 1 and seven there are for the sage. The wise man does not speak before those who surpass him in wisdom and years; he does not interrupt another in his speech, he is not hasty in answering; he does not ask questions rashly; asks with propriety and to the point; speaks first upon the matter first in order, and last upon last; when he does not understand the matter under discussion, he confesses, "I do not understand it"; and admits it when he has been convinced. The opposite of these things mark the clod.

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

2There are seven creations of as many grades of importance. The sky is very important; but more important are the stars, because they light up the world. Of a higher grade than the stars are the trees, because they produce fruit, and the stars do not. More significant than the trees are the pernicious winds, because they move hither and thither, and the trees do not. Greater than the pernicious winds is the beast, for the beast is active and eats, which the former cannot do. Of a higher kind of development is man; for man is intellectual, and the beast is not. More excellent than man are the ministering angels; for they are able to traverse from one end of the world to another, which man cannot do.

Man possesses six qualifications three of which belong also to the beast, and three to the angels: Man eats and drinks, multiplies, and excretes just like a beast; but he is endowed with intellect, walks erect, and speaks in the holy language, just as the angels do.

The evil spirits (Shedim; Deut. 32:17) possess six qualifications three of which belong to man, and three to the angels; namely, they eat and drink, multiply, and die as men do; but they have wings, a knowledge of the future, and traverse from one end of the world to another, just as the angels do. There are others who say: They also can assume any shape and form they like, and see but are not seen.

The rabbis taught: There are seven sorts of hypocrites (who try to show themselves as if they were of the true Pharisees), and they are: Shichmi; Niqpi; Qoosai; Medukhia; "What more is my duty, and I will do it?"; Pharisee of love; and Pharisee of fear.

Shichmi--i.e., who acts like Shechem (Gen. 34.), (who allowed himself to be circumcised, not to please God but for his own benefit). Niqpi--i.e., one who walks tiptoe (so that he strikes his feet against stones or other obstacles in the way), in order to show his meekness and thereby attract attention. Qoosai--i.e., one who shows himself as walking with his eyes shut in order not to look upon women, and strikes his head against a wall and bleeds. Such is the interpretation of R. Nahman b. Itz'hak. Medukhia--i.e., who so bends his body while walking that he resembles a pestle. Such is the interpretation of Rabba b. Shila. "What more is my duty," etc. Why is this hypocrisy? It means that he is boasting of having done every possible good thing, and challenges that he shall be told what more there is to be done and he will do it. "Pharisee of love," etc. Abayi and Rabha both said to the scholar who repeated this: "Do not place love and fear with the hypocrites, as R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: 'Always shall one occupy himself with Torah and merits even not for the sake of Heaven, for once he makes it his custom to do so he will finally come to do it for the sake of Heaven.'"

Said R. Nahman b. Itz'hak: "That which is hidden (in one's heart) is only so from human beings, but not from Heaven; and even visible hypocrisy can only be punished by the Upper Court." Said Janai the king to his wife: "Do not fear of the Pharisees, neither of those who claim to be their opponents; but do fear of the coloured ones (who put on false colours), who in reality act like Zimri (Numb. xxv.), and demand the reward of Phinehas."

There are seven things which, if used moderately, are wholesome to the body, and if in excess, are the reverse: Wine, work, sleep, wealth, travel, warm water, and the letting of blood.

With seven things God created the world. They are as follows: Wisdom, understanding, knowledge, strength, might, kindness, and mercy. And as He has created the world with seven things, so also has He created seven ancestors--three fathers and four mothers.

Seven attributes are serving before the Throne of Grace, viz.: Faithful, Righteous, Justice, Kind, Merciful, Truth, Peace, as it is written [Hosea, 2:21, 22]: "And I will betroth thee unto me for ever: yea, I will betroth thee in righteousness, and in justice, and in loving-kindness, and in mercy. And I will betroth thee unto me in faithfulness; and thou shalt know the Lord"; and further [Ps. 85:11]: "Kindness and truth are encountered together; righteousness and peace kiss each other." And what signifies, "and thou shalt know the Lord"? Any one who is possessed of these attributes has a knowledge of the wisdom of the Omnipotent.

There are seven dwelling-places: The high, the low, the atmosphere, and the four winds. Said R. Meir: There are seven heavens: Curtain, firmament, welkin, dwelling-house, habitation, settled place, nebulæ. Accordingly the earth has seven names: Land, earth, realm, dry land, globe, and nether world. Why is it so named? Because it is seasoned with every thing. Others say, because it destroys all.

"A wise man does not speak before those who surpass him in wisdom and years." This refers to Moses, as it is written [Ex. iv. 30]: "And Aaron spoke all the words which the Lord had spoken unto Moses, and he did the signs before the eyes of the people." Now, then, who of the two was competent to speak? Naturally, Moses; for he had the message direct from God, and Aaron only heard it from Moses. But Moses considered that it was not seemly to speak in the presence of his elder brother; he therefore conferred upon Aaron the honour of being speaker.

"Does not interrupt," etc.--refers to Aaron, as it is written [Lev. 10:19]: "And Aaron spoke unto Moses: Behold, this day have they offered their sin-offering, and their burnt-offering," etc. He was silent till Moses ceased speaking, and did not even say to Moses to be brief in his utterances. There are others who say that Aaron took him aside and said: "My brother Moses, tithes, which are less important than any other offering, a mourner (before the burial of the dead) is prohibited from eating them; a sin-offering, which is of great importance, so much the more should it be forbidden to him." And Moses at once admitted that he was right, as it is written [ibid. 20]: "And when Moses heard this, it was pleasing in his eyes," and in the eyes of the Mightiness.

"And he was angry with Elazar and Ithamar the sons of Aaron" [ibid. 16]. Learn from this that when one teaches his disciples he usually keeps his eyes on the great one, and when he is angry, he turns his anger to the one who is least: for he was angry even with Aaron.

Aaron was older than Moses, and the Lord is greater than Aaron, and why did He not speak to Aaron? Because his other sons did not prevent Nadab and Abihu from committing a sin.

We find with Abraham our father, when he was praying for the men of Sodom, the Holy One, blessed be He, said: "If I find in Sodom fifty righteous within the city, then will I spare the whole place for their sake" [Gen. 18:26]. The One who said: "There shall be the world," very well knew that there were not in Sodom even four or five righteous, only He waited till Abraham finished, and then answered him, as it is written [ibid. 33]: "And the Lord went away when he had finished speaking with Abraham; and Abraham returned unto his place."

"He is not hasty in answering"--refers to Elihu the son of Barachel the Buzite, as it is written [Job, 32:7]: "I had said, Days shall speak." Infer from this that they were sitting silently before Job. When he rose, they also arose; when he sat down, they did likewise; when he ate or drank, they did as he did, until Job asked their permission to speak, as it is written [ibid. 3:1-3]: "And after this time job opened his mouth, and cursed his day. . . . . Let that day whereon I was born perish, and the night when it was said, There hath been a male child conceived." The night when my mother came to my father and told him that she was pregnant shall perish. And whence do we know that they did not all speak at once? As it is written [ibid. 2]: "And Job commenced, and said"; and, "Then answered Eliphaz the Themanite, and said" [ibid. 4:1]; and, "Then answered Bildad the Shuchite, and said" [ibid. 8:1]; and, "Then answered Zophar the Naamathite, and said" [ibid. xi. 1]; and, "And Elihu the son of Barachel the Buzite commenced, and said" [ibid. 32:6]. Scripture has enumerated them one by one for the purpose of informing all who come into the world that the wise does not speak before one who is greater than he.

"And does not interrupt another in his speech; asks with propriety"--refers to Jehudah, as it is written [Gen. xliii. 9]: "I will be surety for him."

"Asks unwarranted"--refers to Reuben, as it is written [ibid. 42:37]: "And Reuben said unto his father, thus: Two of my sons shalt thou slay."

"Speaks first upon the matter which is first in order,"--etc. refers to Jacob. Others say to Rebecca, and still others say to the men of Haran.

"And says: 'I have not heard it,' when he actually did not hear"--refers to Moses, as it is written [Numb. ix. 7, 8]: "And these men said unto him . . . and Moses said unto them, Wait ye, and I will hear what the Lord," etc.

"Admits the truth"--also refers to Moses, as it is written [Lev. 10:20]: "And when Moses heard this, it was pleasing in his eyes." Also the Holy One, blessed be He, confessed to the truth, as it is written [Numb. 27:7]: "The daughters of Zelophchad speak rightly."

MISHNA J. Seven kinds of punishments come on account of seven cardinal transgressions. When some men tithe, and some do not tithe, dearth comes from drought; some of them are hungry, and some of them are satiated. When they have not tithed at all, a dearth comes from tumult and from drought. And when they have not separated the first dough, a deadly dearth comes.

MISHNA K. Pestilence comes unto the world for the capital crimes mentioned in the Torah, which are not to be brought before the tribunal, 1 and for the seventh-year fruits.

MISHNA L. The sword comes upon the world for suppression or perversion of judgement, and also for false interpretation of the Law.

MISHNA M. Noisome beasts come into the world for vain swearing, and for profanation of the Name. Captivity comes upon the world for idolatry, for incest and for shedding of blood, and for not observing the Sabbatical year.

MISHNA N. At four seasons the pestilence waxes: in the fourth year, in the Sabbatical year; at the ending of the latter, and at the ending of the Feast in every year--in the fourth, on account of the poor's tithe in the third; in the seventh, on account of the poor's tithe in the sixth; and at the ending of the seventh, on account of the fruit of the Sabbatical year; and at the ending of the feast in every year, on account of the largesses of the poor.

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

2"Seven kinds of chastisements," etc. Said R. Jose: Because of the sin of the first dough, there is no blessing in the fruit, and the people are delivered into the hands of their enemies, as it is written [Lev. 26:16]: "And ye shall sow in vain your seed; for your enemies shall eat it." For the sin of offerings and tithes the heavens withheld the rain and dew, as it is written [Job, 24:19]: "Drought and heat speedily consume the snow waters," etc.

A plague comes to the world because of the sin of gleanings, forgotten sheaves, the corners and the tithes for the poor.

It happened that a woman who was the neighbour of a landowner sent her two children to glean in his field, but he did not let them. In their absence their mother wished that they return home, thinking they might bring something to eat; and they, too, wished to return home, thinking that their mother might have something to give them to eat. Coming home empty-handed and finding nothing at home to eat, the disappointment and the sorrow all around were so great that all three died in one day. Said the Lord: Ye took away their lives, I also will take away your lives, as it is written [Prov. 22:22, 23]: "Rob not the poor, because he is poor, neither crush the afflicted in the gate; for the Lord will plead their cause, and despoil the life of those that despoil them."

"The sword comes upon the world," etc. When R. Simeon b. Gamaliel and R. Ishmael b. Elisha the high-priest were seized and condemned to die, and the former was wondering and saying: "Woe to us, that we are to be slain as intentional violators of the Sabbath, idolaters, uncoverers of consanguinity, or blood-shedders." Said the latter to him: "Dost thou desire that I shall say something before thee?" And he answered: "Say!" Whereupon he said: "Mayhap when thou wert dining poor people came to thy door, but were forbidden to enter by the doorkeeper?" And R. Simeon answered: "By heaven, this was not done. On the contrary, watchmen were placed at my door: when they saw the poor approaching, they brought them to my table and were given food and drink, and they blessed heaven." "Perhaps when thou wert sitting at the Temple mount and lecturing, and all the multitudes of Israel were sitting before thee, thou hadst become haughty for a moment?" "No, my brother Ishmael, I have never done that; but man should be prepared for affliction (without any reason whatever)."

They then beseeched the executioner in the following manner: One said: "I am a priest, the son of a high-priest. Kill me first, and spare me the pain of seeing my colleague die." And the other said: "I am a prince, the son of a prince. Kill me first, and spare me the pain of seeing my colleague die." And he advised them to cast lots. They did so, and it fell on Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel. Whereupon the executioner took the sword and cut off his head. R. Ishmael held it to his bosom, and wept and cried: "The holy mouth, the truthful mouth, a mouth whence issued precious stones, diamonds, and pearls, who has hidden thee in the dust, and who has filled thy tongue with dust and ashes? Thou art meant in the prophetic exclamation [Zech. 13:7]: 'Awake, O sword, against my shepherd, and against the man whom I have associated with me.'" Scarcely had he finished when also his head was struck off. To them Scripture refers when it is said [Ex. 22:23]: "My wrath shall wax hot, and I will slay you with the sword; and your wives shall be widows, and your children fatherless." As the men are slain, is it not self-evident that the women become widows? (Why, then, does Scripture say: "And your wives shall be widows"?) To convey the idea that they were and were not widows; i.e., there was no evidence that the men were killed, as it happened in Bythar, where not a soul escaped to give evidence of any man's death, and consequently the women could not marry again. "And the children shall become fatherless" means that they could not inherit the property of their father, for the same reason.

"Captivity comes upon the world," etc. Because of idolatry, as it is written [Lev. 26:30]: "And I will destroy your high places and [ibid. 33]: "And you will I scatter among the

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nations and further [Deut. 4:25]: "When thou begettest children," etc.; and [ibid. 27]: "And the Lord will scatter you among the nations"; and [ibid. 28]: "And ye will serve their gods, the work of man's hands." The Holy One, blessed be He, said: "As you are desirous of being idolatrous, I will exile you to a place where idolatry prevails."

For not observing the Sabbatical year. Whence do we know this? It is written [Lev. 26:34]: "Then shall the land satisfy its Sabbaths," etc. Said the Holy One, blessed be He: "Because ye do not observe the Sabbatical year, the land itself will observe it; and the number of months that ye fail to observe it, the land itself will observe it." For that reason it is written [ibid.]: "Then shall the land satisfy its Sabbaths, all the days of its desolation."

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

1Five are not to be forgiven: The one who sins relying that he will repent, and repents and sins again (and thus he sins too much and repents too much); the one who sins relying upon the forgiveness of the day of atonement; and the one who instigates others to sin; and the one who is guilty of profaning the Holy Name. And were it not for the sins of mankind, the keys to the mysteries would have been intrusted to man, and he would know by what means earth and heaven were created and also what there is above. R. Aqiba used to say: "Everything is foreseen and unconcealed, and everything is according to one's understanding." He also used to say that everything was given as a pledge, and a net is spread out for all living, etc. The repentance of the wicked delays the execution of their judgement; their verdict, however, remains sealed until they make restitution. The quietness of the wicked (without having remorse) ends badly. Superiority buries its claimers.

A man arrives into this world naked and leaves it in the same state, and it is desirable that the leaving should be as (sinless) as the coming. For profaning the Holy Name there is no repentance pending, and the Day of Atonement does not forgive. Repentance forgives till the day of death, and that day wipes out (all sin). The wicked are paid (in this world) and the upright are given credit (that is to say, the wicked that have studied the Law without performing what is written therein and otherwise have done nothing good, and those upright that have studied the Law with a good intention and have done no evil--these and those are given a small portion of what they earned), and the greater part is counted to them for the future.

R. Elazar b. Zadoq says: The upright in this world can be compared with a tree whose trunk grows on a clean spot, while one of its branches extends over an unclean spot, of which people say: Cut off the branch, and the whole tree will be on a clean spot. The wicked ones can be compared with a tree standing on an unclean spot and extending its branches to a clean spot, in which case, if the branches would be cut off, the whole tree would stand on an unclean spot.

Six different names were applied to the lion: Arjah, Cphir, Lobhi, Laish, Sha'hal, Sha'haz. Six names were applied to the serpent; viz., Na'hash, Soroph, Tanin, Ziphoni, Epheh, Achshubh. Six names were applied to Solomon; namely, Solomon, Jedidiah, Koeleth, Ben Iokoh, Ogur, L'muel.

MISHNA O. Four kinds of views are held by men concerning property. He who says: "What belongs to me shall continue to be mine, and thou shalt keep thine own," holds the common view. Some consider this the view of the men of Sodom. "Mine shall be thine, and thine shall be mine," thus say the ignorant. "Mine shall be thine, and thou shalt also keep thine own," thus says the magnanimous. "Thine shall be mine, and mine shall continue to be mine," are the words of the godless.

MISHNA P. There are four kinds of dispositions among men. Some are easily enraged, but as quickly soothed--there the fault is neutralized by the merit. Some are slow to anger, but are calmed only with difficulty--there the merit is counterbalanced by the fault. One is slow to anger and easily pacified--he is of a gentle disposition. Another is easily irritated and hard to soothe--he is a wicked man.

MISHNA Q. There are four kinds of pupils: one understands readily but forgets soon--there the advantage is swallowed by the failing; another grasps but slowly, and seldom forgets--there the failing is outweighed by the talent; a third understands readily and is slow to forget--his is a good portion; a fourth understands slowly and forgets quickly--his is a poor endowment.

MISHNA R. There are four kinds of charity-givers: He who gives but does not care that others should give--his eye is evil towards others (i.e., the charity-giver shall not have the pleasure of doing charity and the poor shall be deprived of it); he who makes others give, but does not give himself, does not make the best use of his own; he who gives, and makes others give, is pious; but he who neither gives nor suffers others to give is a cruel man.

MISHNA S. There are four kinds of visitors of the house of learning: he that goes and does not practise (i.e., he accepts the lessons without any examination or study of them), the reward of going only remains with him; he that practises (i.e., he who studies at home) and does not go, the reward of practice remains with him; he that does both is pious; he that enrols among the college visitors, but neither goes nor practises, is wicked.

MISHNA T. There are four kinds of the disciples of the wise: sponge, funnel, strainer, and sieve; sponge--sucking up all things; funnel--allowing all that is received in the one end to flow out at the other; strainer--letting the wine run through and retaining the dregs; sieve--blowing off the bran and keeping the flour.

MISHNA U. Love, inspired by ulterior motives, dies out when those motives disappear; but love without such motives never fades.

MISHNA V. What love is that which is inspired by ulterior motives? E.g. the love of Amnon and Thamar. And what love is without such motives? E.g., the love of David and Jonathan.

MISHNA W. Whatsoever gainsaying is for the sake of Heaven will have good results, and that which is not for the sake of Heaven will not have the desired result.

MISHNA X. What gainsaying is that which is for the sake of Heaven? E.g., the gainsaying of Hillel and Shammai. And that which is not for the sake of Heaven? E.g., the gainsaying of Korah and his followers.

MISHNA Y. Whosoever causes many to be righteous, sin prevails not over him; and whosoever causes many to sin, they grant him not the faculty to repent.

MISHNA Z. Moses, who was righteous and caused many to become righteous, the righteousness of the many was therefore laid upon him, as it is written [Deut. 33:21]: "He executed the justice of the Lord, and his judgement with Israel."

Jeroboam, who on the contrary sinned and caused many to sin, the sin of the many, therefore, was laid upon him, as it is written [1 Kings 14:16]: "For the sake of the sins of Jeroboam, who did sin, and who induced Israel to sin."

MISHNA AA. In whomsoever are the following three things, he is a disciple of Abraham, and in whomsoever are the contrary three things, he is a disciple of Balaam.

MISHNA BB. He who possesses a good eye, a modest spirit, and a humble mind is to be counted the disciple of Abraham our father; an evil eye, a haughty spirit, and a bombastic mind is to be counted the disciple of Balaam. And what difference is there between the disciples of Abraham and those of Balaam? The disciples of Balaam go down to Gehenna, as it is written [Ps. 55:24]: "But thou, O God, thou wilt bring them down into the pit of destruction: let not the men of blood and deceit live out half their days; but I will indeed trust in thee." But the disciples of Abraham derive benefit in this world and inherit the world to come, as it is written [Prov. 8:21]: "That I may cause those that love me to inherit a lasting possession; and their treasures will I fill."

MISHNA CC. Jehudah b. Tema was in the habit of saying: "Be courageous as the panther, light-winged as the eagle, swift as the deer, and strong as the lion, to execute the will of thy Heavenly Father."

MISHNA DD. He used to say: "Gehenna will be the place for the bold of face, and the Garden of Eden will be that for the shamefaced."

MISHNA EE. He used to say: "One five years old should study Scripture; ten years--Mishna; thirteen years--should practise the commandments; fifteen years old--should study Gemara; eighteen years old--the bridal; at twenty--pursuits; at thirty--strength; at forty--discernment; at fifty--counsel; at sixty--age; at seventy--hoariness; at eighty--power; at ninety--decrepitude; at one hundred--it is as though he were dead and gone and had ceased from the world."

MISHNA FF. Ben Bag-Bag said: "Turn it, and turn it again (the Torah), for everything can be found therein. Study it, get old and gray with it, and never depart from it; for there is no better gauge of a moral life than--the Torah."

MISHNA GG. Ben He-He said: "The reward is commensurate with the affliction."

CHAPTER 6.

[Wise men have taught in the Mishna tongue. Blessed is He that made choice of them and their Mishna.]

MISHNA A. R. Meir said: "Whosoever is busied in Torah for the love thereof merits many things; and not. only so, but he is worth the whole world, as he is called friend, beloved, loves the Omnipotent and mankind; pleases the Omnipotent and mankind. And it clothes him with meekness and fear, and fits him to become righteous, pious, upright, and faithful; and removes him from sin, and brings him toward the side of merit. And they derive from him the benefit of good counsel, and sound wisdom, understanding, and strength, as it is written [Prov. viii. 14]: 'Mine are counsel and sound wisdom: I am understanding; mine is might.' And it gives him kingdom and dominion, and faculty of judgement. And they reveal to him secrets of Torah; and he is made, as it were, a spring that ceases not and as a river that flows on increasing. And he becomes modest and long-suffering, and forgiving of insult, and it magnifies him and exalts him over all things."

MISHNA B. Said R. Jehoshua b. Levi: "Every day a Heavenly voice goes forth from Mount Horeb, and proclaims as follows: 'Woe to the creatures for contempt of the Law, for whosoever does not occupy himself in the, Law is called "blameworthy,"' as it is written [Prov. 11:22]: 'As a golden ring in a swine's snout, so is a hand some woman that hath thrown off discretion'; and it is also written [Ex. 32:16]: 'And the tables were the work of God, and the writing, was the writing of God, engraved (charuth) upon the tables.' Do not read charuth, graven, but cheruth, freedom, for there is no free man but him who is occupied in the study of the Law; as whosoever is occupied in such study, behold he exalts himself, as it is written [Numb. 21:19]: 'And from Mattanah to Nachaliël; and from Nachaliël to Barmoth.'"

MISHNA C. He who learns from his companion one chapter, or one Halakha, or one verse, or one word, or even one letter is bound to do him honour, for thus we find with David, King of Israel, who learned from Achitophel two things only, and nevertheless he named him his master, his guide, and his acquaintance, as it is written [Ps. 55:14]: "But it is thou, a man my equal, my guide, and my acquaintance." And is there not an a fortiori conclusion to be drawn from this, that as David, King of Israel, who learned from Achitophel two things only, called him his master, his guide, and his acquaintance, he who learns from his companion one chapter, or one Halakha, or one verse, or even one letter is so much the more bound to do him honour? And honour is nothing but the Torah, as it is written [Prov. iii. 35]: "The wise shall inherit glory"; and also [ibid. 28:10]: "But the men of integrity will inherit what is good"; and good is nothing but the Torah, as it is written [ibid. 4:2]: "For good information do I give you, my teaching (Torah) must ye not forsake."

MISHNA D. This is the path of Torah: A morsel with salt shalt thou eat. Thou shalt drink also water by measure (Ezek. 5:11) and shalt sleep upon the ground, and live a life of painfulness, and in Torah shalt thou labour. If thou doest thus, "happy shalt thou be and it shall be well with thee" [Ps. 128:2]. "Happy shalt thou be" in this world, and "it shall be well with thee" in the world to come.

MISHNA E. Seek not greatness for thyself, and desire not honour. Practise more than thou learnest, and lust not for the table of kings, for thy table is greater than theirs, and thy crown greater than their crown, and faithful is thy taskmaster, who will pay thee the wage of thy work.

MISHNA F. Greater is Torah than the priesthood, and than the kingdom; for the kingdom is acquired by thirty degrees, and the priesthood by twenty-four, and the Torah is acquired by forty-eight. And these are they: by learning, by a listening ear, by orderly speech, by discernment of heart, by reverence, by fear, by meekness, by cheerfulness, by purity, by attendance upon the wise, by discussion with associates, by argumentation of disciples, by sedateness, by Scripture, by Mishna, by moderation of business, limitation of worldly things, by temperance in pleasure, by little sleep, by lessening converse, by reducing merriment, by long-suffering, by a good heart, by faith in the wise, by acceptance of chastisements; he that knows his place, and that rejoices in his portion, and that makes a face to his words, and does not claim merit to himself: he is loved, loves God, loves all creatures, loves righteousness, loves uprightness, loves reproofs, and retires from honour, and does not puff up his heart on account of his learning, and does not rejoice because he is privileged to give decision, bears the yoke with his associates, and inclines him to the scale of Merit, and grounds him upon the truth and upon peace, and concentrates his mind in study, asks and answers, hears and adds thereto; he that learns in order to teach, and learns in order to practise; that makes his master wiser, and that considers what he has heard, and tells a thing in the name of him that said it. Lo, thou hast learned that whosoever tells a thing in the name of him that said it brings redemption to the world, as it is written [Esther, 2:22]: "And Esther said it to the king in the name of Mordecai."

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

1There are four things which bear good fruit in this world, and yield greater benefits for the world to come, if man observes them. They are honouring of parents, conferring favours, reconciliation of adversaries, and, above all, the study of the Law. There are four things for which one who is guilty of them is punished both in this and in the world to come; namely, idolatry, incest, shedding of blood, and, above all, slander.

A meritorious act has both principal and benefit, as it is written [Is. 3:10]: "Say ye to the righteous, that be hath done well; for the fruit of their doings shall they eat." A transgression has principal but no benefit, as it is written [ibid. 11]: "Woe unto the wicked . . . for the recompense of his hands," etc. According to others, transgressors have benefit, as it is written [Prov. 1:31]: "Therefore shall they eat of the fruit of their own way," etc.

"One who causes many to be righteous, no sin prevails upon him." In order that he might not go to Gehenna, while his disciples will enjoy the world to come, as it is written [Ps. 16:10]: "For thou wilt not abandon my soul to the grave." On the other hand, "One who causes others to sin is never afforded the faculty to repent"--also for the reason that the reverse of the above shall not be the case, as it is written [Prov.

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28:17]: "A man oppressed by the load of having shed human blood will flee even to the pit."

One who says, "I will sin and then do repentance," is not afforded the opportunity to repent; "I will sin, and the Day of Atonement will atone for it," or, "I will sin, and the day of death will wipe it out"--it does not do so.

R. Elazar b. Jose says: "One who has sinned and repented, and thenceforward seeks to perfect himself, does not move from his place until he is forgiven; and one who says that he will sin and repent thereafter, he is forgiven only up to three times, and no more."

"There are four characters among men," etc. There are four characters among disciples: one who desires to teach and that others shall do likewise, he is of a good disposition; if he desires to teach, but does not like to see others do the same thing, he is of bad disposition. That others shall teach, and not he--this is medium. According to others, this is the character of Sodom (as the Sodomites did not want any one to derive any benefit from them). If, however, he wishes that neither he nor others shall teach, he is decidedly wicked.

There are four characters among those who sit in the house of learning. One who becomes friendly (with the sages who study there) and studies with them has a share (with the sages); one who befriends himself but does not study with them has no share; one who estranges himself (from the sages) but studies himself has a share; and the one who both estranges himself and does not study has no share.

One who propounds questions and gives their answers has a share (in the world to come); one who only questions has none; one who sits and keeps silent has a share. One who befriends himself in order that he might listen and learn has a share; if he befriends himself in order that others might say that he befriends himself and sits before a wise man, he has none. If he sits at a distance in order to accord honour to one who is superior to him, he has a share; if, however, the reason is that others might say that he does not need that sage, he has none. One that propounds questions and gives their answers in order that others might say that he propounds questions and gives their answers and serves the scholars, has no share; if, however, he does so in order really to learn something, he has. If he sits silent in order to listen and learn, be has a share; if, however, the purpose is that others might say that he does so, he has none.

"There are four different characters among students," etc. One resembles a sponge: as a sponge absorbs all liquids, so does that kind of student absorb all that he studies: Scripture, Mishnah, Midrash, Halakhoth, and Agadoth. One is like a sieve: as a sieve passes through the fine flour and retains the coarse particles, so an intelligent student retains what is good in the study and leaves out what is not. One is like a funnel: as it lets in the liquid through one opening and lets it out through the other, so is it with the unintelligent student--what enters his one ear goes out through the other, until all is gone. The fourth student is like a wine-strainer which lets the wine pass through and absorbs the dregs: so also the wicked student forgets the good teachings and retains the bad ones.

R. Eliezer b. Jacob named the last one a horn (which lets in the liquids at one end and lets them out at the other). How so? For instance, a child who is given a pearl, he will drop the latter when given a slice of bread; and when given a potsherd he will drop the bread, and finally he has nothing but the potsherd.

As to disciples, R. Gamaliel the elder compares them to the following four kinds of fish: an unclean, a clean fish, a fish found in the Jordan, and one found in the Ocean. By an unclean fish is meant a disciple of poor intellect, who, notwithstanding his study of Scripture, Mishna, Halakhoth, and Agadoth, still remains poor-minded. By a clean fish is meant a disciple of rich intellect, who studies Scripture, Mishna, Halakhoth, and Agadoth, and develops his mind. By a fish from the Jordan is meant a scholar who has studied all the mentioned subjects, but has not acquired the faculty of answering questions put to him. And by a fish found in the Ocean is meant a scholar who studied all the above subjects and has the ability of answering the questions put to him.

With regard to sight, it may be said that there are four different misfortunes: those that see and are visible, e.g., the wolf, the lion, the leopard, the bear, the hyena, the serpent, robbers, and soldiers (who in time of war commit robbery); those that are visible but do not see, e.g., the sword, the arrow, the spear, the knife, the stick, the lance; those that see but are not visible, e.g., the plague of an evil spirit; and those that neither see nor are visible, e.g., the plague of stomach trouble.

There are four sages: One who sees R. Johanan b. Nuri in his dream may hope to be fearful of sin; R. Elazar b. Azariah--he may hope for riches and greatness; R. Ishmael--he may hope for wisdom; R. Aqiba--he may fear being chastised.

There are other three scholars (regarding dreams): One who sees Ben Azai may hope to be one of the pious; Ben Zoma--he may hope for knowledge; Elisha b. Abuyah--may fear being chastised.

(The same is the case) with the following three books of the prophets: Kings--he may hope for riches, greatness; Isaiah--satisfaction; and Jeremiah--chastisement.

(The same is the case) with the following books of the Hagiographa: Psalms--he may hope to be modest; Proverbs--he may hope for wisdom; and Job--he may fear being chastised.

There are also three things regarding the righteous and the wicked ones (which will be explained in Tract Sanhedrin).

"Every gainsaying," etc. Every assembly that is for the sake of performing a religious duty remains everlasting; e.g., the Great Assembly. And every assembly which is not for such purpose will finally cease; e.g., the assembly for division [Gen. 11.].

MISHNA G. Great is Torah, that gives life to those who practise it in this world and in the world to come, as it is written [Prov. 4:22]: "For they are life unto every one of those that find them, and to all his body a healing." And it is also written [ibid. 3:8]: "It will be healing to thy body, and marrow to thy bones." And it is again written [ibid., ibid. 18]: "A tree of life is she to those who lay hold on her, and every one that firmly graspeth her will be made happy." And again [ibid. 1:9]: "For a wreath of grace are they unto thy head, and chains for thy throat." And again [ibid. 4:9]: "She will give to thy head a wreath of grace; a crown of ornament will she deliver to thee." And again [ibid. 3:16]: "Length of days is in her right hand; in her left are riches and honour." And again [ibid. 3:2]: "For length of days, and years of life, and peace, will they increase unto thee."

MISHNA H. R. Simeon b. Menassia said in the name of R. Simeon b. Jo'hai: "Comeliness, and strength, and wealth, and honour, and wisdom, and age, and hoariness, and sons are becoming to the righteous, and becoming to the world, as it is written [Prov. 16:31]: 'An ornamental crown is the hoary head, on the way of righteousness can it be found.' And it is also written [ibid. 20:29]: 'The ornament of young men is their strength; and the glory of old men is a hoary head'; and again [ibid. 17:6]: 'The crown of old men is children's children; and the ornament of children are their fathers'; and again [Is. 24:23]; 'And the moon shall be put to the blush, and the sun be made ashamed; for the Lord of Hosts will reign on Mount Zion, and in Jerusalem, and before his ancients in glory.'"

S. Simeon b. Menassia said: "Those seven qualities which the wise have reckoned to the righteous were all of them confirmed in Rabbi and his sons."

MISHNA I. R. Jose b. Qisma said: "Once I was walking by the way and there met a man, and he gave me 'Peace!' and I returned him 'Peace!' He said to me: 'Rabbi, from what place art thou?' I said to him: 'From a great city of wise men and scribes am I.' He said to me: 'Rabbi, should you like to dwell with us in our place? I will give thee a thousand thousand dinars of gold, and goodly stones, and pearls.' I said to him: I If thou shouldest give me all the silver, gold, and goodly stones, and pearls that are in the world, I would not dwell but in a place of Torah, as it is written in the Book of Psalms by the hand of David, King of Israel [Ps. 119:72]: "Better is unto me the law of thy mouth than thousands of gold and silver." Moreover, in the hour of a man's decease, not silver, not gold, nor goodly stones and pearls, accompany the man, but Torah and good words alone, as it is written [Prov. 6:22]: "When thou walkest it shall lead thee, when thou liest down it shall watch over thee; when thou art awake it shall converse with thee." "When thou walkest it shall lead thee" in this world; "when thou liest down it shall watch over thee" in the grave; "when thou art awake it shall converse with thee" in the world to come; and it is also written [Haggai 2:8]: "Mine is the silver, and mine is the gold, saith the Lord of Hosts."'

Five possessions had the Holy One, blessed be He, in this world, and these are they: Torah, one possession; Heaven and earth, one possession; Abraham, one possession; Israel, one possession; the Sanctuary, one possession. Torah, whence? As it is written [Prov. viii. 22]: "The Lord created 1 me as the beginning of his way; the first of his works from the commencement." Heaven and earth, whence? As it is written [Is. 66:2] "The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool where is there a house that ye can build unto me? and where is the place of my rest?" And it is also written [Ps. 104:24]: "How manifold are thy works, O Lord! in wisdom hast thou made them all; the earth is full of thy riches." 1 Abraham, whence? It is written [Gen. 14:19]: "And he blessed him, and said, Blessed be Abram of the most high God, the possessor of heaven and earth." Israel, whence? As it is written [Ex. 15:16]: "Till thy people pass over, O Lord, till this people pass over which thou hast purchased." And it is also written [Ps. 16:3]: "In the saints who are on the earth, and in the excellent--in them is all my delight." The Sanctuary, whence? As it is written [Ex. xv. 7]: "The sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have established." And it is also written [Ps. 78:54]: "And he brought them to his holy territory, even to this mount, which his right hand had acquired." 1

Whatsoever the Holy One, blessed be He, created in this world, He created not but for his glory, as it is written [Ps. 43:7]: "Every one that is called by my name, and whom I have created for my glory; whom I have formed; yea, whom I have made." And it is also written [Ex. 15:18]: "The Lord will reign for ever and ever."

R. Hanania b. Aqashia said: "The Holy One, blessed be He, was pleased to give merit to Israel, therefore he multiplied unto them Torah and precepts, as it is written [Is. 42:21]: 'The Lord willed to do this for the sake of his righteousness; therefore he magnifieth the law and maketh it honourable.'"

Tosephtha--Aboth of R. Nathan.

R. Simeon said there are three crowns: the crown of Torah, that of priesthood, and that of kingdom; the crown of a good name, however, is above all. Concerning the crown of priesthood: If one would offer all the gold and silver in the world for it, he could not acquire it, as it was only for Aaron and his children [Numb. 25:13].

The same is the case with the crown of kingdom, which cannot be gotten for all the gold and silver in the world, as it was only for David, as it is written [Ezek. 37:24]: "My servant David will be the prince for ever." But with the crown of Torah it is different; every one who wants to possess it, he may come and take it, as it is written [Is. 55:1]: "Every one of ye that thirsteth, come ye to the water" (meaning the Torah). Occupy thyself with the words of the Torah, and do not occupy thyself with idle things. It happened to R. Elazar b. Simeon, etc.

Three things were said of charitable men: he who gives charity may be blessed, but if he gives it in the form of a loan is still better; but he, however, who gives one money to do business with, with the understanding that he shall pay him half of the profits, is above all.

There are three different kinds among scholars; one who is able to ask questions and to answer them is a wise one; one who is only able to ask questions but not to answer them is inferior to him; but he who is able neither to ask nor to answer questions is not to be considered at all.

There are three different kinds of sweat that are beneficial to the body: the sweat following a sickness; the sweat produced by a bath; the sweat of labour. The sweat following a sickness is healing, but the sweat produced by a bath has no equal.

There are six kinds of tears: three of them are good and three are bad. Those produced by weeping, smoke, and in the toilet are bad (see Sabbath, p. 355). Those produced by spices, laughing, and by sharp fruit are good.

There are three advantages in an earthen vessel: it absorbs, does not exude, and gives no bad smell to the thing that is in it.

There are three advantages in a glass vessel: it does neither absorb nor exude, and it exposes to view what is therein contained; and keeps warm in a warm temperature, and cold in a cold temperature.

The money that the Israelites carried away from Egypt returned to Egypt, as it is written [Ex. xii. 36]: "And they emptied out Egypt"; and it is also written [Gen. 47:14]: "And Joseph gathered up all the money," etc.; and it is written [1 Kings, 14:25, 26]: "And it came to pass in the fifth year," etc. The heavenly writing on the tables returned to its origin (see Pesachim.). "R. Jehuda b. Thema said," etc. He used also to say: Love Heaven, love all the commandments. If you do the least wrong to your companion, it shall be considered by you the greatest wrong; but if you have done him good, though it have been a great deal, you shall consider it little. On the contrary, if your companion has done you the least good, you shall consider it much; and if he has done you a great wrong, consider it little. Be as a tight leather-bag that has no opening to let in the wind. Be prepared to receive affliction, and be forgiving to those who oppress you.

The following articles were made and were hidden: The first tabernacle, and the vessels therein contained; the ark, the broken tables and the receptacle of the manna, the staff, the bottle of the oil of anointment; the staff of Aaron, its buds and blossoms; the garments of the first priests and the garments of the anointed priest. But the mortar of the house of Abtinas, the table, the candelabra of the Temple, the curtain, the golden plate, are still in Rome.

All that the Holy One, blessed be He, created in His world was so created only for His glory, as it is written [Is. 43:7]: "Every one that is called by my name, and whom I have created for my glory, whom I have formed-yea, whom I have made"; and it is also written [Ex. 15:18]: "The Lord will reign for ever and ever."

R. Hananiah b. Akashia said: The Holy One, blessed be He, desired to reward Israel in the world to come, and therefore He magnified the Law for them and gave them a great number of merits, as it is written [Is. 52:21]: "The Lord willed to do this for the sake of his righteousness; therefore he magnifieth the law, and maketh it honourable."

END OF TRACT ABOTH AND OF ABOTH OF R. NATHAN.

SYNOPSIS OF SUBJECTS OF TRACT DERECH ERETZ-RABBA (Worldly Affairs).

CHAPTER 2.

OF the Sadducees, common informers, the wicked, the hypocrites, the heretics, the Scripture says, etc. Of the

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terrifying, the overbearing, the haughty, the barefaced, and of those who develop only their muscular strength, the Scripture says, etc. Of evil-thinkers, story-tellers, tale-bearers, smooth-tongued persons, the Scripture says, etc. Who assaults his neighbour in private, and who insults him in public, etc. Who forestalls fruit, raises the prices, diminishes the measure, accepts payment in large-sized shekels only, and who lives on usury, The following leave no inheritance to their children, etc. The conceited, the slanderers, and those who indulge in obscene language, who are wise in their own eyes, etc. Who lets his young son marry an older woman, and who marries off his daughter to an old man, and who bestows favours upon those who are unworthy, etc. Who betrays his partner, does not return a lost thing to its rightful owner, loans money to another in order to get possession of his house and field, and who lives immorally with his wife, and maliciously slanders his wife, etc. Who are wronged and do not wrong, who consider themselves contemptible, and who overcome their passion, etc. Who loves his wife as himself, honours her more than himself, who leads his children on the right path, and who marries off his son in due time, etc. Who loves his neighbour, loans even a small amount to a poor man, etc. Who truthfully repent, who receive the repentant into their midst, who judge rightfully, reprove truthfully, propagate purity, are pure of heart, are merciful, distribute charity, exert themselves in the study of the Law. Search for an opportunity to do good, pursue righteousness, etc. On account of the following four things an eclipse of the sun occurs, etc. On account of the following four things an eclipse of both the sun and the moon occurs, etc. On account of the following four things the estates of the citizens are destroyed, etc. Do not fret thyself to be equal to the evil-doers. There is no sitting above, neither is there eating, etc.

CHAPTERS 3. TO 6.

ONE who bears in mind the following four things, etc., will never sin. Think of a big palace in the centre of which the vat of a tanner is placed. If a man allows his lips to pass only respectable words. Be careful, each of you, in honouring your neighbour. Be always pleasant at your entering and at your leaving. The angels, Abraham, and Lot. It is customary that, when entering, the master of the house enter first and the guest after him; the reverse when leaving. Never shall a man enter the house of his neighbour without permission. The philosopher, Rabban Gamaliel, and his comrades. Always consider strangers as burglars, and at the same time honour them as if each of them were R. Gamaliel himself. One who enters his neighbour's house shall do what he is told by the host (provided it is legitimate). The legend about Simon b. Antiptaris, his guests, and R. Jehoshua. A man shall never be angry at his meals. Always shall a man try to agree with the majority of the people. Hillel the Elder, his wife, and the poor man. One shall not begin to eat the heads, but the leaves, of garlic or onions, 6-12

CHAPTERS 7. TO 9.

WHEN two are sitting at the table, the elder one commences to eat first and the younger one after him. One shall not eat before the fourth hour. One who enters a house shall not ask for food, but shall wait until he is invited. One should not offer presents to his neighbour, knowing that he would not accept them. When one who does not intend to buy is in the market, he should not ask for the prices, for he misleads the sellers. One should not use a slice of bread to cover therewith a dish. Five things said Rabbi in regard to bread. One who comes to the table to take his meal shall not take his portion and give it to the waiter. Guests must not give anything to the son of the host, etc., 12-15

CHAPTERS 10. AND 11.

ONE who enters the bath-house may say, etc. How should one conduct himself before bathing? One who is not careful is an ass's equal; one who eats in the market is a dog's equal. One must not spit in the presence of his neighbour, even in a bath-house. One shall not greet his neighbour when he is washing himself. He who walks the road. A common informer is considered a murderer. He who hates his neighbour without cause is also considered such. One who sets a definite time for the redemption of Israel through Messiah will have no share in the world to come, 16-19

TRACT DERECH ERETZ--RABBA. (WORLDLY AFFAIRS.)

CHAPTER 1.

(omitted)

CHAPTER 2.

THE Sadducees, the common informers, the wicked, the hypocrites, the heretics, of them the Scripture says [Job, 13:16]: "For a hypocrite cannot come before him"; the terrifying, the overbearing, the haughty, the barefaced, those who develop only their muscular strength, of them the Scripture says [Psalms, 37:17]: "For the ovens of the wicked shall be broken; but the upholder of the righteous is the Lord." Evil-thinkers, story-tellers, talebearers, smooth-tongued persons, of them the Scripture says [ibid. 35:5]: "May their way be dark and slippery, and may the angel of the Lord pursue them." Those who assault their neighbour in private and those who insult him in public, those who trifle with majorities, and those who cause quarrels, they will become as Korah and his society, of whom the Scripture says [Numb. 16:33]: "And the earth closed over them, and they disappeared from the midst of the congregation." Those who forestall fruit, those who raise the prices, those who diminish the measure, those who accept payment in large-sized shekels, and those who live on usury, of them the Scripture says [Amos, 8:7]: "Sworn hath the Lord by the excellency of Jacob. Surely I will not forget to eternity all their works."

The following leave no inheritance to their children, and if they do leave to their children, nothing of it comes to their grandchildren: viz., those who play at dice, and those who raise tender cattle (in Palestine); those who do business with the money obtained from the fruit of the Sabbatical year, and those who pay with coins (of doubtful genuineness) coming from the sea-countries, and a priest and a Levite who obtained advances on their shares (of heave-offering and tithes), and those who disgrace the Holy Name, of them the Scripture says [Ps. 9:18]: "The wicked shall return into hell, all the nations that are forgetful of God." And of them it is also written [Eccles. 1:15]: "What is crooked cannot be made straight." Those who motion with their hands, stamp their feet, walk on their toes (to show pride), of them the Scripture says [Ps. 36:12]: "Let not come against me the foot of pride, and let not the hand of the wicked chase me off." The conceited, the slanderers, those who indulge in obscene language, those who are wise in their own eyes, of them the Scripture says [Mal. 3:19]: "For, behold, the day is coming which shall burn as an oven," etc,

One who lets his young son marry an older woman, and one who marries off his daughter to an old man, and one who bestows favours upon those who are unworthy, concerning such Scripture says [Deut. 29:19]: "The Lord will not pardon him." The collectors, the war-instigators, the publicans, of them Scripture says [Ezek. 27:27]: "Thy wealth and thy warehouses, thy commerce, thy mariners and thy pilots, thy caulkers and the conductors of thy commerce, and all thy men of war that were in thee, and in all thy assemblage which was in the midst of thee, fell into the heart of the seas on the day of thy downfall." One who betrays his partner, one who does not return a thing found to its rightful owner, one who loans money to another in order to get possession of his house or fields in case of non-payment, and one who lives immorally with his wife, and one who maliciously slanders his wife in order to divorce her, of them the Scripture says [Jer. 17:10]: "I the Lord search the heart, probe the veins."

Those who are wronged and do not wrong, etc. [see Yomah.]; those who consider themselves contemptible and despicable, those who overcome their passion, and are altogether modest, of them the Scripture says [Is. 49:8]: "Thus hath said the Lord, In the time of favour have I answered thee, and on the day of salvation have I helped thee, and I will preserve thee, and I will appoint thee as a people of my covenant to raise up the land, to divide out desolate heritages." Trustworthy men, those who keep other people's secrets, those who gladly return articles intrusted to their care, and found things to their rightful owners, of them Scripture says [Ps. 101:6]: "My eyes shall be upon the faithful of the land, that they may abide with me." One who loves his wife as himself, who honours her more than himself, and one who leads his children on the right path, and one who marries off his son in due time to prevent him from sin, of them it is written [Job, 5:24]: "And thou shalt know that there is peace in thy tent; and thou wilt look over thy habitation, and shalt miss nothing. And thou shalt know that thy seed is numerous, and thy offspring as the herbage of the earth."

One who loves his neighbours and is friendly to his relatives, and one who marries off his sister's daughter, and one who loans even a small amount to a poor man in his need, 1 of them the Scripture says [Is. 58:9]: "Then shalt thou call, and the Lord will answer."

One who executes his trust rightfully, 2 those who truthfully repent, and those who receive the repentant into their midst and instruct them so that they shall not return to their former sins, of them it is written [ibid. 8] Then shall break forth as the morning-dawn thy light.

Those who judge rightfully, those who reprove truthfully, those who propagate purity, and those who are pure of heart, of them it is written [Ps. 73:1]: "Truly, God is good to Israel, to such as are pure of heart." Those who sigh, weep, and in their lamentations are hopeful of the redemption of Jerusalem, of them it is written [Is. 61: 3]: "To grant unto the mourners of Zion, to give unto them ornament in the place of ashes." Those who are merciful, feed the hungry, quench the thirst of the thirsty, clothe the naked, and distribute charity, of them the Scripture says [ibid. 3:10]: "Say ye to the righteous that he hath done well." The poor, the bashful, and those who are humble in spirit, and those who are submissive to youth, and those who carry out their promises, of them the Scripture says [Job, 22:23]: "And if thou decree a thing, it will be fulfilled unto thee, and upon thy ways the light will shine." Those who exert themselves in the study of the Law, and study it for the purpose of observing it, and those who search for the opportunity to do good, and those who frequent the temples, of them the Scripture says [Prov. 8:24]: "Happy is the man that hearkeneth unto me, watching day by day at my gates, waiting at the posts of my doors." Those who pursue righteousness, and seek peace for their nation, and those who participate in the affliction of the community, and those who stand by the community in case of distress, of them the Scripture says [Nahum, 1:7]: "The Lord is good, a stronghold on the day of distress."

On account of the following four things an eclipse of the sun occurs (see Succah.): When the head of a college (Ab Beth Din) died and was not properly lamented; when a betrothed damsel cried for help (Deut. 22:23-28) in town and no one offered help; male sodomy; and the shedding of the blood of two brothers at one and the same time (there is no explanation of this in any of the commentaries, and it seems to us that there happened something like that in the author's time which is unknown to us).

On account of the following four things the eclipse of both the sun and the moon occurs: Those who write defamatory reports about others, giving false testimony, raising tender cattle, and destroying fruit-bearing trees. On account of the following four things the personal property of citizens is seized by the government: For keeping paid notes (with the intention to demand another payment), for the practice of usury, for not exercising one's power to prevent sin when he could do so, for subscribing publicly to charity and not paying the subscription.

On account of the following four things the estates of the citizen are destroyed: For robbing or withholding the wages of a wage-earner [Lev. 19:; for removing the yoke from one's own neck and placing it upon the neck of another, and for haughtiness above all.

R. Dusthai b. R. Jehudah said: Do provoke the wicked (see Megilla, p. 13), as it is written [Prov. 28:41: "They that forsake the law praise the wicked, but such as observe the law contend with them"; but lest one say, is it not written [Ps. 37:1]: "Do not fret thyself because of the evil-doers, neither be thou envious against the workers of iniquity"? say to him that this is the answer of him whose heart-beating prevents him from doing so (because of this passage), but the true interpretation of this passage is thus: "Do not fret thyself to be equal to the evil-doers, neither be thou envious to be like them of the workers of iniquity."

There is no sitting above (in heaven), neither is there eating, drinking, sleep, multiplication, animosity, hatred, provocation, envy, nor stubbornness, weariness nor delay, and that is what David the King of Israel said [ibid. 18:12]: "He made darkness his hiding-place" (i.e., it is dark and hidden to all mortals). To what end did David say this? To none other than to praise of the Holy One, blessed be He, who is "Yah," rules on high, whose unity is one, whose name is one, and who rests in three hundred and ninety heavens, and on each His name and mode of pronunciation are marked; and in each of them there are servants, seraphim, ophanim (wheels, Ezek. 1), cherubim, galgalim, and a throne of glory; and there is no wonder at that, for even as a mortal king has many palaces for the seasons of the year, so much the more the Everlasting, since all is His. And when Israel are doing His will, He rests in the seventh heaven, named Araboth, and does not keep distant from His world, as it is written [Numb. 7:89]: "From between the two cherubim: and thus he spake unto him." When offended He ascends to the highest heaven, and all cries and weeping are not listened to, and fasts are ordered, and they roll themselves in ashes, cover themselves with sacks, and shed tears (and all in vain, until He has mercy upon them).

CHAPTER 3.

BEN AZAI said: One who bears in mind the following four things, and never loses sight of them, will never sin namely, whence he came, and whither he goes, who is his judge, and what will become of him. Whence he came?,--from a place of darkness; and whither he goes?--to darkness. Whence he came?--from a dirty place; whither he goes?--to make unclean every one who will touch him. Whence he came?--from a fetid secretion, and from a place which is invisible to a human being; whither he goes?---to sheol and Gehenna, to be, burned in fire. And who is his Judge? Remember that his Judge is not of flesh and blood, but the Lord of all the creation, blessed be He, before whom there is no, iniquity, no oblivion, no consideration of person, no, bribery. And what will become of him?--worms and maggot, as it is written [Job, 25:6]: "How much less the mortal, the mere worm? and the son of earth, the mere maggot?" R. Simeon said: A human being has worms in his body when alive--i.e., lice, and he is converted into a maggot after his death.

R. Eliezer b. Jacob said: Think of a big palace in the centre of which the vat of a tanner is placed: so is a handsome and respected man who lets an unbecoming word pass his lips. If a

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human being would issue from his body perfume (instead of excrement), how would he pride himself against all other creatures? (So, if this man allows his lips to pass only respectable words, he can pride himself.) When R. Eliezer was about to depart, his disciples paid him a visit and requested him to teach them only one more thing. And he said unto them: Go, and be careful, each of you, in honouring your neighbour; and when you are praying, remember before whom you stand and pray, and for the observation of these you will have a share in the world to come.

CHAPTER 4.

BE always pleasant at your entering and at your leaving. Lessen your worldly business in order to study the law. It happened with R. Simeon b. Elazar, etc. (See Taanith, for the whole legend repeated here.) How shall one honour his master? (See Yomah.) And so also we find with the three angels Gabriel, Michael, and Raphael, who came to Abraham our father. Gabriel's errand was to destroy Sodom and Gomorrah; Raphael's was to heal Abraham; and Michael's, to inform Sarah. And when Abraham saw the angels, the Shekhina came and stood above him, and he addressed the angels, saying: "My masters, wait awhile, until I take leave of the Shekhina, for you also must respect her," as it is written [Gen. 18:3]: "And he said, My Lord, if now I have found favour in thy eyes, pass not away, I pray thee, from thy servant." And after Abraham took leave of the Shekhina he returned, and bowed to them and brought them under the tree, as it is written [ibid. 4]: "Let a little water, etc., be fetched, and wash, etc."; And then he said [ibid., ibid.]: "I will fetch a morsel of bread." Lot, however, said [ibid. 19:2]: "And tarry all night, and (then) wash your feet?" Some of the anonymous teachers observe that in this very point Lot showed his prudence. He reasoned: If the Sodomites will see them after they have washed their faces, hands, and feet (i.e., I give them shelter overnight), they will kill me, my wife, and my daughters; but let the Sodomites see them with the dust on their feet, they will then think that they have just arrived.

He who accompanies his master ought not to depart from him without permission. When two disciples go or sit together (they need not ask for permission from each other), they are both equal.

It is customary that when entering, the master of the house enters first and the guest after him, and when leaving the house the guest leaves first and the master after him. And he who departs from his comrade, whether his comrade is greater than he or he is greater than his,,, comrade, he must inform him of his leaving. And every one may learn this from the Lord, who said to Abraham, "I leave you," as it is written [Gen. 18:33]: "And the Lord went away when he had finished speaking with Abraham; and Abraham returned unto his place" (from the wording, "and the Lord went away," it is inferred that He informed him).

CHAPTER 5.

NEVER shall a man enter the house of his neighbour without permission, and this conduct may be learned, from the Holy One, blessed be He, who stood at the gate of the garden, and called to Adam [Gen. 3:9]: "And the Lord God called unto the man, and said unto him, Where art thou?" It happened with the four elders Rabban Gamaliel, R. Jehoshua, R. Elazar b. Azariah, and R. Aqiba, who went to the interior cities of Rome, in one of which there lived a friend of theirs, a philosopher--R. Jehoshua asked Rabban Gamaliel if he would like to go and see their friend the philosopher, and he answered he would not. On the next morning, however, he asked him again, and he said he would. They then went, and R. Jehoshua knocked at the door of the philosopher, and at once the philosopher concluded that this must be the manner of a wise man. When he knocked again, the philosopher arose and washed his face, hands, and feet. When he knocked the third time, the philosopher opened the door, and saw that the sages of Israel were coming from both sides of the street; namely, Rabban Gamaliel being in. the centre, R. Jehoshua and R. Elazar b. Azariah to his right, and R. Aqiba to his left, and the philosopher was somewhat puzzled as to the manner of saluting them. He said within himself: "Whom of the sages shall I greet first? If I should greet R. Gamaliel first, I might thereby offend the other sages; and if I should address my greeting to all of them (without naming the head of them), I will offend R. Gamaliel." He therefore concluded to address them thus: "Peace to you, sages of Israel, and to R. Gamaliel first."

Always consider strangers as burglars, and at the same time honour them as if each of them were R. Gamaliel himself. It happened to R. Jehoshua that a man called at his house, and he gave him to eat and drink, and took him up to the roof to sleep there, and then removed the step-ladder leading to the roof. The man was a thief, and arose by night, and took things of value that Rabbi Jehoshua had on the roof and packed them up in his garment, and in the attempt to descend and carry off the booty he fell down and almost broke his neck. When R. Jehoshua came in the morning and found him in that condition, he said to him: "You ignoramus, is this the way people like you do?" He answered: "Rabbi, I did not suspect that persons of your station would remove the ladder." And he rejoined: "Did you not notice yesterday that I was cautious about you?" From that time on R. Jehoshua proclaimed that always should strangers be considered as burglars, and still one should honour them as he would R. Gamaliel.

CHAPTER 6.

ONE who enters his neighbour's house shall do what he is told by the host (provided it is legitimate). And it happened that guests came to the house of Simeon b. Antiptaris, and he invited them to eat and drink, and they vowed by the Torah that they would not do so. Nevertheless, they afterwards ate and drank; but when they were about to depart, he punished them with stripes. When this came to the ears of R. Johanan b. Zakkai and the sages, they became angry, and said, "Who will go and inform him of our displeasure?" Said R. Jehoshua: "I will go and investigate." When he came there he found him on the threshold of his house, and he greeted him, saying: "Peace to you, master"; and he answered, "Peace to you, my master and teacher." Then Rabbi Jehoshua said: "I need shelter." And he answered: "Take it here in peace." They then occupied themselves with the study of the Law until evening. In the morning he told him: "Rabbi, I would like to take a bath." And he rejoined: "Do as you please." R. Jehoshua, however, was afraid that he would beat him. When he returned from the bath, they ate and drank. When he desired to leave, he said: "Who will accompany me?" And the host said: "I will." R. Jehoshua then thought to himself: "What information can I give to the sages who sent me here?" He then looked backward, and when he asked him: "Rabbi, what are you looking for?" he answered: "I would like to question you about one thing. Why did you beat others who came to your house with stripes, and you did not do so to me?" He rejoined: "You are my master. You are a great sage, and of course your manners are refined. The other men, however, that came to me, I told to eat and drink, and they vowed by the Torah that they would not, and afterwards they disregarded their vow; and I have heard from the sages that one who vows by the Torah and disregards his vows is to be punished with forty stripes." He then answered: "Be thou blessed by Heaven, that thou hast done so. I swear by thy life that he who thus conducts himself deserves that thou give him forty stripes in thy name, and another forty in the name of the sages who sent me to investigate thy method." R. Jehoshua then came back and informed the sages of what he had discovered in Simeon Antiptaris.

A man shall never be angry at his meals. It happened with Hillel the First that he invited a man to a meal. In the meantime a poor man came and stood at his door, and said to his wife: "I am to marry to-day, and I have nothing in my house." His wife then took the meal she had prepared for the house, and gave it to him. She then kneaded a new dough, and cooked other dishes, and served them before her husband and the guest. Hillel said then to her: "My child, what is the reason of the delay?" And she related to him what happened. He then remarked: "My daughter, I have also judged you from the favourable side, because it is known to me that all that you do is for the sake of Heaven."

Corner-tithe for the poor is not set aside in the cooking-pot, but in the dish. It happened with R. Jehoshua, etc. (See Erubin, for the whole legend repeated here.) Always shall a man try to agree with the majority of the people (this is explained in Khethuboth, and will be translated there). For the first meal-benediction, the hard part and not the soft part of the bread is to be used. Never shall a man hold a slice of bread of the size of an egg and bite from it, and one who does so is called a glutton; and one shall not drain his cup of wine at a draught (see Pesachim.), and if he does so he is considered a glutton. But how shall he do? If he does it in two draughts, it is respectable; if in three. it is considered putting on airs.

One shall not begin to eat the heads, but the leaves of garlic or onions. If he does so, he also is called a glutton. One shall not drink two cups of wine before the after-meal benediction (and subsequently pronounce the benediction without a goblet, but he shall leave one goblet for the benediction. The commentaries explained this otherwise, the reason being that there should be no "pairs"--see Betzah,--but we cannot agree with them); if he do so, he can be taken for a glutton.

CHAPTER 7.

WHEN two are sitting at the table, the elder one commences to eat first and the younger one after him; and if the younger commences first, he is a glutton. It happened that R. Aqiba prepared a meal for his disciples consisting of two dishes of meat, one half-roasted and the other one well cooked. The half-roasted was served first; the most sensible of them took the whole piece into his one hand and with his other hand he tried to break off some part of it, but could not, and he placed it back and ate bread alone. One of them, who was less sensible, took the whole piece and bit off a piece. Said R. Aqiba to him: "Not so, my son. Put thy foot on it in the dish, and then you will probably succeed better." Finally, the well-cooked meat was served, and they ate and were satisfied. Then said R. Aqiba to them: "My children, I did all that to see whether you had refined manners."

One shall not eat before the fourth hour, neither shall he take a bath prior to that hour. Hot water in large quantities is injurious to one's body, but in small ones is beneficial. The same is the case with wine. Three things are equal one to the other: wisdom, fear of God, and modesty. One shall not rejoice among those who are weeping, neither shall he weep among those who rejoice; he shall not be awake among those who are asleep, nor shall he sleep among those who are awake; he shall not be standing among those who are seated, nor shall he be seated among those who are standing. This is the rule: One shall not have different manners from those of his friends and of people in general among whom he is.

CHAPTER 8.

ONE who enters a house shall not ask for food, but shall wait until invited. When the goblet is filled, he shall drink it slowly. What is meant by slowly? If it is a cold beverage--in four draughts; if a warm beverage--in three. Said R. Jehudah: This applies to the goblets of Galilee, but as regards the goblets of Judah, which were larger, he may drink it as slow as he pleases. One must not say to his friend: "Come and eat with me, as I did with you," for it gives the impression that he wants to repay with interest. In Jerusalem, however, they invited each other in turn. One shall not send to his friend a barrel of wine with oil on the top thereof, because a serious accident may result from it. It actually happened that one invited his friends to his son's wedding, and when going down to his cellar to get wine, he noticed that the barrel had oil (on the top, and thinking that it was all filled with oil) he hanged himself for shame, and died. Hence the above warning is given.

One should not say to his neighbour, "Take oil from that jug and anoint thyself," knowing that it is empty (even when knowing that the man has no habit of anointing himself), because he puts the man under obligation to him for nothing. The same holds good of food: one should not ask his neighbour to take a meal with him when he knows that he would not do so. One should also not offer presents to his neighbour, knowing that he would not accept them, for the same reason. One should not serve his neighbour with new wine, telling him that it is old wine, because it is equivalent to robbery (if he takes money from him, and even if he does not take money from him he deceives him). For the same reason, when one serves wine to ass-drivers, he shall not say: "Take it away from this one (whom he does not like), and give it to the other one." When one is in the grain-market and has no intention of buying, he should not ask for the prices, for he misleads the sellers.

CHAPTER 9.

ONE should not use a slice of bread to cover therewith a dish. One should not wipe the dish with a piece of bread and lay it on the table, for he disturbs the mind of his neighbour. For the same reason, one shall not bite off a piece of bread and place the remainder in the dish intended for another person. One should also not drink from a goblet and give the balance to another one to drink, for it may cause danger to life. It happened that R. Aqiba stopped at the inn of a certain person, who offered him a goblet, first tasting its contents, and R. Aqiba told him to drink the whole of it. He offered him another one, first having tasted it. R. Aqiba told him to drink it all, until Ben Azai said to him: "How long wilt thou continue doing so?" It again happened that R. Aqiba was lodging with a certain person, and he placed a piece of bread underneath the dish to support it, and R. Aqiba took hold of it and swallowed it. Said the man to R. Aqiba: "Rabbi, had you no other bread to eat than that piece with which I supported the dish?" And he answered: "First, I thought that you could burn yourself with lukewarm water (i.e., you will understand a slight hint). Now I see that you cannot burn yourself even with boiling water." One shall also not empty his cup and then place it on the table, but he shall keep it in his hand until taken away by the waiter.

Five things said Rabbi in regard to bread, namely: Raw meat must not be placed on bread, nor shall a cup or dish be placed on bread, nor shall bread be used to support a dish, nor shall it be thrown from place to place; nor shall one sit at the table when others are eating, for he disturbs their appetite. One who comes to the table to take his meal shall not take his portion and give it to the waiter, for the reason that some unforeseen thing may happen during the meal (and his portion may be needed); but he shall place it in front of him until the end of the meal, and then give it to him. Guests must not give anything to the son of the host, nor to his servant or messenger, without the permission of the host. It happened once with a man who invited three guests in years of famine, that he served them three eggs. The son of the host then came and stood in front of them, and the first guest took his portion and gave it to him, and so did the second and third. When the host returned, and found his son holding one in his mouth and one in each hand, he raised him full height and struck him to the ground, and he died. The mother, hearing of what happened when standing on the roof, was so shocked

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that she fell down dead. When the father heard this, he also threw himself from the roof, and died. Then R. Elazar said: "Three human beings were killed on account of this."

CHAPTER 10.

ONE who enters the bath-house may say: "Let it be thy will, God my Lord, that thou cause me to come in and go out in peace, that thou cause me to return to my place in peace, and save me from this and from similar peril in the world to come."

How should one conduct himself before bathing? Thus: He shall first remove his shoes, take off his hat, remove his overcoat, take off his girdle, then take off his shirt, and after all the drawers. After bathing, when a towel is brought to him, he first wipes his head and then the other parts of his body. When the oil is brought to him, he shall first anoint his head and then other members of his body, and then he shall put on first his drawers, then his shirt, the girdle, then he shall wrap himself in his mantle, and then he shall put on his hat, and then his shoes. And if he has his son, his slave, or bondsman, they shall do it for him. Always shall the right shoe be put on first, and then the left one; and when taking off the shoes, the left one shall be taken off first. One who enters a bath-house must not fatigue himself, nor excite himself, but let him be in every respect careful. Said R. Simeon b. Gamaliel: "One who is not careful is an ass's equal; one who eats in the market is a dog's equal"; and according to others, he is ineligible to be a witness. In the toilet-room the one who enters must not hurry the one who is sitting there, and the same is in a bath-house. One shall not bring oil into a bath-house in a glass vessel (for it may break and cause injury). One must not spit in the presence of his neighbour, even in a bath-house. The law relating to a bathhouse and toilet may be discussed in the respective places, but other things must not be discussed, not alone in the bathing-room but in the dressing-room, and even when the majority of the persons were dressed as well, because when even a few are undressed all are considered undressed. One shall not greet his neighbour when he is washing himself; and if he does so, the other may answer him that it is a bath-house. According to others, he may answer the greeting, and there is nothing in it. One should not put his foot in a bath-tub when another one is sitting in it, for it is a disgrace for the one bathing.

CHAPTER 11.

HE who walks the road, etc. (See the whole Boraitha in Yomah, paragraph: "We have learned according to R. Shila"). One who, soon after returning from the road, takes a bath, gets intoxicated, sleeps on the bare floor, and indulges in congressu feminæ, his blood is on his head (it is equivalent to suicide). He who sells his books, or his daughter, etc. (See Megilla.) R. Itzhak says: "A common informer is considered a murderer, as it is written [Lev. 19:16]: 'Thou shalt not go up and down as a tale-bearer among thy people.'" R. Eliezer said: "He who hates his neighbour without cause is also considered such, as it is written [Deut. 19:11]: 'But if any man be an enemy to his neighbour,' etc. (i.e., if he is so, he is capable of doing what is further written in the verse)." Ben Azai says: "He who hates his wife is also considered such, as it is written [ibid. 22:13 and 14] (i.e., if he hates her he will finally lay an accusation against her, etc., and he will hire witnesses to accuse her with a view to take her life)." R. Jose says: "One who sets a definite time for the redemption of Israel through Messiah will have no share in the world to come. And the same applies to one who hates the scholars and their disciples. The same applies to a false prophet and a slanderer." R. Meir says: "One who has a house of learning in his town, and is able to go there but does not do so, is not worthy of living, as it is written [Numb. 15:31]: 'Because the word of the Lord hath he despised;' etc." Haughtiness is equivalent to idolatry, as it is written [Deut. 7:26]: "And thou shalt not bring an abomination with thy house;" and it is also written [Prov. 16:5]: "An abomination of the Lord is every one that is proud of heart." Since the abomination mentioned in Deuteronomy is idolatry, and the same expression is used in Proverbs, hence we learn that haughtiness is equivalent to idolatry. 1

TRACT ZUTA RABBA.

CHAPTERS 1. TO 4.

WHAT are the qualities of sages? Their thought concerning this world. If you have sustained a loss of your property, remember that job, etc. When you hear others insult you, do not answer them. Love the Law; love all creatures and respect them. Love doubtfulness. Keep aloof from everything that. may bring to sin. Keep aloof from grumbling. Seven patriarchs are resting in glory. Let all thy ways be for the sake of Heaven. Do not discuss in the presence of one who is greater than you in wisdom. Accept the words of Law, even when you are in affliction. Be afraid of a light sin. Do not say, "I will flatter this man," etc. If thou hast done much good to some one, consider it as very little. If others have done thee much wrong, etc. Do not hate the one who reproves thee. Let it be thy habit to say, "I do not know," The commencement of making vows is the door to foolishness. Fifteen customs are ascribed to the sages. Be as the lower threshhold, upon which all persons tread. The society of scholars is always agreeable. What should one study more--Scripture, Mishnayoth, or Talmud? No pay shall be exacted for teaching. Do not complain of your being less wise than another. Do not complain that another one is beautiful and you are ugly. Let. your ears not listen to vain talk. Be not afraid of the court of justice on earth. If you perform all the commandments with joy, etc. All that is said above is a warning to you, 25-27

CHAPTERS 5. TO 9

A SCHOLAR must not eat standing, etc., etc. By four things the scholar is recognised, etc. The beauty of wisdom is modesty. The beauty of noble performance is secrecy. Four things are derogatory to scholars, etc. When entering, the greater shall be first, etc. For saying benediction, the greater is first. The first step to sin is in one's thoughts. A scholar must be careful in his eating, drinking, washing, anointing, etc. After peace but not after war. Rather follow behind a lion than behind a woman. Who respects the sages?, etc. Keep aloof from anger. Love the poor in order that your children shall not come to poverty, etc. If you keep your mouth from slander, you will spend all the days of life in peace. When you see your neighbour has become poor, do not refuse to help him. If you lower yourself, the Lord will lift you up. This world resembles the eyeball of a Man, etc., 27-31

THE CHAPTER ON PEACE.

ALTHOUGH evil decrees are enacted, one after another, against Israel, still they endure forever. Seek peace at the place where you are, and if you do not find it, seek it in other places. All manner of lying is prohibited, except it be to make peace between one and his neighbour. Great is peace, in that the covenant of the priests was made with peace. When the Messiah shall come to Israel, he will begin with peace. Great is peace, in that all the benedictions and prayers conclude with peace. He who loves peace runs after peace, offers peace, and answers peace, the Holy One, etc.,

END OF TRACT DERECH ERETZ--RABBA.

TRACT DERECH ERETZ-ZUTA.

CHAPTER 1.

THE qualities of the sages are: Modesty, meekness, eagerness, courage, bearing wrongs done to them, and being endeared to every one; submission to the members of their household, fear of sin, and judging every one according to his deeds.

Their thought concerning this world is: All that is in this world is of no importance to me, for this world is not mine. They are occupied in teaching others, and no one can see in their teaching anything wrong. Their questions are to the point and their answers are according to the Law.

One shall always be like an air-bag which is open to receive the air, and as a deep excavation which preserves the water therein contained, and as a glazed jug that preserves the wine therein; as a sponge that absorbs everything. Be as the lower threshold that all tread upon, and as a nail in the wall that is within the reach of every one to hang his clothes on.

If you have sustained a loss of your property, remember that job lost his property, children, and health. Be careful about all that you see with your eyes, for the principal deception is by the eye. Be careful with your teeth (with your meals), that you should not eat too much. Do not discuss with the Sadducees, that you shall not fall into the Gehenna. When you hear others insult you, do not answer them. If people are praising you for having done a great thing, you shall nevertheless consider it of no importance. An ordinary man shall be considered to your eyes great, if you have insulted him, until you shall have asked him to forgive you. This passage may also be so rendered: If others say something bad about thee, though it be of a serious nature, treat it as insignificant. But, on the other hand, if thou say something bad about others, though it be insignificant, thou shouldst regard it as serious and have no rest until thou beg pardon. Your behavior shall not be bad, for this is no praise for the Torah (which you possess, but let your behavior be good, for this is a praise for the Torah).

Love the Law, and respect it; love all creatures, and respect them. Subject your will to the will of others, as was done by Leah for Rachel and by David for Saul. But ignore your will, and even the will of others, for the will of Heaven, as we find by Jacob that he did not kiss Joseph (because he was engaged in prayer). Love doubtfulness (i.e., everything shall be doubtful to you until you convince yourself of it), and hate the expression: "And what of it?" (i.e., even of the most unimportant things you should not express yourself thus). Keep aloof from everything that may bring to sin, and from the abominable, and from what is equal to it, that you should not be suspected by others of transgression. Do not slander your neighbour, because he who does so has no remedy. Keep aloof from grumbling, for by grumbling you may come to growl at others, and it will be added to your transgressions. With seven patriarchs covenants were made, and they are: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, Pinchas, and David--Abraham [Gen. 15:18], Isaac [ibid. 17:21], Jacob [Lev. 26:42], Moses [Ex. 34:27], Aaron [Numb. 18:19], Pinchas [ibid. 25:12], David [Ps. 89:4]. Seven patriarchs are resting in glory, and worm and maggot do not affect their earthly remains, and they are: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, Amram their father, and, according to others, also David, as it is written [ibid. 16:9]: "Therefore is rejoiced my heart, and my spirit is glad; also my flesh shall rest in safety." Nine entered the Garden of Eden when they were still alive, and they are: Enoch (Chanoch) the son of Jared, Elijah Messiah, Eliezer the bondsman of Abraham, Hirom the king of Zor, Ebed-melech the Cushi [Jer. 38:7], and Jabetz the son of R. Jehudah the Prince, Bothiah the daughter of Pharaoh and Serech the daughter of Ascher, and, according to others, also R. Jehoshua b. Levi.

CHAPTER 2.

LET all thy ways be for the sake of Heaven. Love Heaven, and fear it. Tremble at, and at the same time rejoice Over, all commandments. Sit before the elders, and let thy cars be attentive to their words. Incline thine ears to the words of thy comrade. Be not hasty in answering, and consider everything from the right point, and answer to the first question first, and to the last, last; and always confess the truth. Do not discuss in the presence of one who is greater than you in wisdom. If somebody wants to teach you something, do not say that you have heard it already. If you are questioned on the most unimportant matter, and you do not know it, be not ashamed to say, "I do not know." If somebody taught you something and you did not listen to it, be not ashamed to say, "Repeat it again"; and say not that you have not listened to it, but that you did not understand it. Do everything for the sake of the Creator, and talk of thy deeds in the same sense (according to Elias Wilna). Do not make thy merits as a crown to be glorified by it, and not as a hatchet to cleave with it, nor a spade to dig with it. Accept the words of Law, even when you are in affliction. Do not seek to wrong him who wronged you. Let thy accounts always be correct, and thy conduct excellent. Keep thy promise. Love the Law, righteousness, rebukes, straightforwardness.

Do not run after honour. Be not proud when rendering a decision: Consider that all of which thou art possessed to-day may not be thine to-morrow; and if thou art not certain, as to property already in thy possession, that it will remain with thee, what is the use of thy striving to possess what belongs to others? Remember what the prophet says [Habakkuk, ii. 6]: "Woe to him that increaseth what is not his! for how long? and to him that loadeth himself with a burden of guilt!" Let it be thy habit to finish everything in a good manner. Let thy tongue be always soft. Be a good merchant, pay well, and strive always to do good. Be afraid of a light sin, for this may bring you to a grave sin. Respect all kind of men. Do not say, I will flatter this man, that he may give me food; that man, to give me beverages; that man, to cover me: for it is better that thou shouldst bear thine own shame than to be ashamed of others who will do so unto thee. Take care that thy teeth shall not shame thee, and thou shalt not be disgraced by thy mouth, and not cursed by thy tongue, and not put to shame by thy lips. Take care that thou shouldst not need to bow to some one on account of thine own words. If thou wishest to become attached to thy neighbour through bonds of love, always consider what good thou art able to do unto him. If it be thy wish to be kept away from sin, always look to the result of it. If thou art craving for merits, consider carefully their details. If thou hast done much good to some one consider it as very little; and thou must also not say that thou hast done it from what belongs to thee, because there is One who has done that unto thee, and thou art obliged to thank Heaven for it. If, however, some one has done thee some good, consider it as if he has done much. Do not say that Heaven has done good to me because of my good deeds; on the contrary, be afraid that it was done unto thee because of thine unworthy deeds [Deut. 7:10]: "And repayeth those that hate him to their face, to destroy them." If, however, thou hast done any wrong, consider it much, and say: "Woe is me that I have sinned," or, "Woe is me that I was the cause of the wrong." If others have done thee much wrong, it shall be considered in thine eyes as little, and say: "This is only a part of the retribution that I deserve."

CHAPTER 3.

DELIBERATE before a word passes thy lips, and be thoughtful how thou shouldst act in worldly affairs. See always that thy steps shall be rewarded. justify the judgement that was imposed upon thee and free thyself from anger. judge favourably thy neighbour, and see that thy verdict shall not make him guilty (if his guilt is not fully established). Be content with thy share, and adorn thyself with the little thou dost possess. Do not hate the one who reproves thee. Thy share wilt be blessed forever if thine eye will always be: good, and thy soul always satisfied. Let it be thy habit to say, "I do not know" (of a thing that thou art doubtful about), for thou

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mayest be caught lying. If thou neglect one command, thou wilt finally be negligent of other commandments. The same is if thou hast overlooked the words of the Law willingly: finally thou wilt be overlooked, willingly or unwillingly. If thou hast taken away others' property, thine will be taken away.

The commencement of making vows is the door to foolishness. Frivolity with women is the beginning of adultery. If thou hast guaranteed for some one, remember that it must be paid by thyself. If thou hast borrowed money, know that thou hast borrowed it to be repaid in time. If thou hast loaned money to somebody, be prepared to have difficulty in collecting it. Remember the time thou hast to repay, and settle thy accounts.

The following fifteen customs are ascribed to the sages: He is pleasant in entering, and so also when leaving; is prudent in his fear for Heaven; versed in wisdom; wise in his ways, has a good conception, a retentive memory, is clear in his answers, questions to the point, and answers according to the Law; he learns something new from every chapter taught to him; he is going to the wise; he learns for the purpose of teaching it and performing it.

Be as the lower threshold, upon which all persons tread, and still it lasts even when the whole building is demolished.

CHAPTER 4.

SCHOLARS always are agreeable in society, but not so ordinary people. He who occupies himself only with study of the Scripture pursues the right course, yet the sages do not think so; with Mishnayoth, it is a course to be rewarded; but he who occupies himself with the study of the Talmud pursues a course than which there is no better. Still, it is advisable that one shall occupy himself with the study of Mishnayoth more than with that of the Talmud. Do not exact pay for thy teaching. Moreover, take no compensation whatever for it, for the Omnipotent has given His teaching to thee gratuitously; for the one who asks for reward destroys the whole world (because there are many who cannot afford to pay and will remain ignorant). And do not say: "I have no money to live on, and therefore I must take reward for my teaching." Remember all money is the Lord's, as it is written [Haggai, ii. 8]: "Mine is the silver, and mine is the gold, saith the Lord of hosts" (and He will supply you with money).

If you have done charity, be sure that you will be favoured with money; and if it has been your good lot to acquire money, do charity with it so long as it is in your power. Give it to those who need it in this world, in order that you may get the world to come; for if you do not use it for charitable purposes, it will disappear suddenly, as it is written [Prov. 23:5]: "When thou lettest merely thy eyes fly over it, it is no more." Do not complain of your being less wise than another, for you have not served (the sages) as much as he did. Neither shall you complain that the other one is rich and you are not, for it is not every man who is favoured with two tables (of this and of the world to come). Do not complain that another one is beautiful and you are ugly, for at the time of death a man becomes a carcass; moreover, a carcass of any animal may be sold or presented to somebody, while no one cares even to look at a human carcass. Do not say: "That man is righteous, while I am not"; for both of you will have to account. Do not say: "That man is powerful, while I am weak"; for there is no power aside from the Torah, as it is written [Ps. 103:20]: "Bless the Lord, ye his angels, mighty in strength, that execute his word, hearkening unto the voice of his word." Bear always in mind the following: Know whence you come, whither you go, and before whom you will have to render an account, and do not turn your eyes on money which is not yours; for they close the gates of heaven against. prayer. Let your ears not listen to vain talk, for they are most likely to get burned. Do not slander, for the mouth will be first on the day of judgement to give account. Be not possessed of slander or other bad things, or of robbery, for all the members of thy body will testify against thee on the day of judgement. Let thy feet not hasten thee to evil-doing, because it is likely that the angel of death will get there sooner, and wait for thee. Be not afraid of the court of justice on earth, where only witnesses may be bought, but fear the Court above, because thou art certain that there will be witnesses who will testify against thee. And not only this, but your own deeds proclaim thy accusation from time to time.

If you have performed all my commandments with joy, my attendants will come to meet you, and even I my self will say to you: "Let thy coming be in peace." Your eyes that never looked at property not belonging to you shall have light in darkness, as it is written [Is. lviii. 10]: "Then shall shine forth in the darkness thy light, and thy obscurity be as the noonday." Your ears that have not listened to vain talk shall hear of peace in the world to come, as it is written [ibid. 30:21]: "And thy ears shall hear the world behind thee, saying, This is the way, walk ye in it, when ye turn to the right hand, and when ye turn to the left." Your mouth that has not slandered will be coveted by those who were used to slander. Your mouth that has studied the Torah will be a blessing to those who wish to be blessed. Your hands that have kept away from robbery, what can do unto you those who do injustice? Your hands that you have not withdrawn from doing charity, what can do to you those mighty men? Your feet that have not carried you to sin, what can the angel of death do unto you?

All that is said above is a warning to you, and you may do as you please, but do not say that you were not warned.

CHAPTER 5.

A SCHOLAR must not eat standingly, nor lick his fingers, nor yawn in presence of others. Talk little, laugh little, sleep little, indulge little in pleasure, say little "yea" and little "nay." One has always to know with whom he is sitting, near whom he is standing, with whom he is eating, with whom he is conversing, for whom he signs contracts and notes of debt. By four things the scholar is recognised: his pocket, his goblet, his anger, and his dress; and, some say, even his talk. The beauty of the Law is wisdom; the beauty of wisdom is modesty; the beauty of modesty is the fear of Heaven; the beauty of the fear of Heaven is noble performance; the beauty of noble performance is secrecy (i.e., not publicly, for the purpose of being praised). One shall not be awake, etc. (see above).

CHAPTER 6.

FOUR things are derogatory to scholars: to walk alone in the dark (and arouse suspicion); to be perfumed; to be the last in entering a prayer-house, and to hold much discourse at a meeting of dunces.

When entering, the greater shall be first; when leaving, the smaller shall be first. When ascending steps, the greater shall be first; when descending, the smaller shall be the first. At a public meeting, the greater shall have the preference. When entering a prison, the smaller shall do so first. For saying benedictions, the greater is first. The one entering the house must always greet first the one who is in the house. One must not lean at meals (as was the custom in the Orient) when a greater man than he is at the table. One shall not drink in public unless he turns away his face from the bystanders. The first step to sin is in one's thoughts, the second is scorn, the third is haughtiness, the fourth is cruelty, the fifth is idleness, the sixth is causeless hatred, and the seventh is an evil eye; and these were meant by Solomon [Prov. 26:25]: "For there are seven abominations in his heart."

CHAPTER 7.

SEVEN things mark the clod, etc. (See Aboth, Chap. V., Mishna J.) A scholar must be careful in his eating, drinking, washing, anointing, in wearing the sandals, in his walking, dressing, in the use of his voice, in the act of spitting, and also with all his good deeds. As a bride, who so long as she is in her father's house pursues privacy and modesty, and when she is given away in marriage announces publicly, saying: "All those who can come to testify against me, let them come and do so," so a scholar must pursue privacy in his deeds but publicity in his ways; namely, he must run after truth but not after falsehood, after honesty but not after robbery, after modesty but not after haughtiness, after peace but not after war, after the advice of the old but not after that of the young. He shall rather follow behind a lion than behind a woman.

Who respects the sages? he who gives food, drink, dress, shoes, goes out to meet and accompanies when leaving, without distinction between rabbi or disciple. And who shows them disrespect? he who occupies the seat of his master even during his absence, or substitutes him (without permission) in lecturing, or contradicts him.

CHAPTER 8.

(omitted; Chapter 8. is a repetition of what was stated in other places.)

CHAPTER 9.

R. Eliezer the Kapar said: Keep aloof from anger, for by being angry at others you will add to your transgression. Love your admonisher, for by doing so you, will add wisdom to your ability; and rather shun the one who honours you, that your wisdom be not lessened. Love the prayer-house, in order that you shall be rewarded daily; and the house of learning, in order that your children shall come to study. Love the poor, in order that your children shall not come to poverty. Love modesty, that you may enjoy longevity; love the pious, in order that you may be saved from the black angel. Be careful in the reading of Shema, and prayer in general, in order that you be saved from Gehenna. Your house shall be wide open, in order that you shall never lack food.' Be careful that the doors of your house shall not be closed when you take your meals, that you may not be punished therefore with poverty. Be careful about the honour of your wife. Be glad of your chastisement, for this probably saves you from Gehenna. Be joyful at your table when the hungry derive benefit from it, in order that you enjoy longevity and have a share in the world to come. Be also joyful when giving charity from your house, in order that you may pacify the anger of death, as it is written [Prov. 21:14]: "A gift in secret pacifieth anger, and a bribe in the bosom, strong fury." If you have troubled your feet for the poor or for the sake of a merit, the following passages may be applied to you [Deut. 28:6]: "Blessed shalt thou be at thy coming in, and blessed shalt thou be at thy coming out." If you keep your mouth from slander, you will spend all the days of life in peace. One who is audacious towards one who is greater than he will finally be punished with a plague. If you run to do honour to a sage, you will be rewarded with enviable children; and for running to do honour to the poor, you will be rewarded with sons of learning and a law-abiding record in Israel. Dost thou see a sage die, do not turn away from him until after burial, that thou, too, mayest receive respect and attention when it will be thy time to die. When you see your neighbour has be come poor and his power is on the decline, do not refuse to help him, as it is written [Eccl. 8:5]: "Whoso keepeth the commandment will experience no evil thing." If you have loaned him something when he was in need, the following passage will be fulfilled on you [Is. 58:9]: "Then shalt thou call, and the Lord will answer." If you lower yourself, the Lord will lift you up; but if you assume superiority over your fellowmen, the Lord will lower you. If others quarrel with thee, whether in a house of learning or at an ordinary meeting-place, do not leave until peace is restored, and they shall praise thee in thy absence as Pinchas b. Elazar. Great is peace, that even when it reigns among idolaters nothing can be done to them, as it is written [Hosea, 4:17]: "Ephraim is bound (bound together) to idols; let him alone." But if they quarrel among themselves, it is said of them [ibid. 10:2]: "Their heart is divided; now shall they bear their guilt." Hence that house in which there is strife will be destroyed, and the sages say that even a prayer-house in which there is strife will be demolished. The same is it with two chiefs of the court who live in one town and quarrel with each other, they will finally die. Abba Saul said: Strife between courts is a destruction of the world. Abba Issi b. Johanan said in the name of Samuel the Little: This world resembles the eyeball of a man. The white is the ocean that surrounds the whole land; the black is the world; the circle in the black is Jerusalem, and the image (the pupil) in the circle is the Temple, which will be rebuilt in the near future. Amen.

CHAPTER 10.

(omitted; Chapter 10. is a repetition of what was stated in other places.)

THE CHAPTER ON PEACE.

(This chapter is considered a separate treatise. See Zunz and other bibliographers.)

R. Jehoshua b. Levi said: Great is peace, for it is as the leaven to dough. If the Holy One had not given peace to the world, sword and beast would devour up the whole world, as it is written [Lev. 26:6]: "And I will give peace in the land."

It is written [Eccl. 1:4]: "One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh, but the earth endureth for ever." King Solomon meant to say thus: Although one generation passes away and another one comes, one kingdom disappears and another one appears; and although evil decrees one after another are enacted against Israel, still they endure forever. The Lord does not abandon them, and they are never abandoned. They are never annihilated, neither do they decrease, as it is written [Mal. 3:6]: "For I the Lord have not changed: and ye sons of Jacob, ye have not ceased to be" (i.e., as I have never changed and will never change, so ye sons of Jacob have never ceased and will never cease to be). But [Deut. 4:4]: "Ye that did cleave unto the Lord your God are alive, every one of you, this day." R. Jehoshua said: Great is peace, for at the time Israel arose and said [Exod. 24:7]: "All that the Lord hath spoken will we do and obey," the Holy One was pleased to give unto them His Torah and blessed them with peace, as it is written [Ps. 29:11]: "The Lord will bless his people with peace." Hezekiah said: Great is peace, for at every commandment in the Torah it is written "if," as, for instance, Exod. 23:4, "If thou meet," etc., which means, if such a thing occurs to you, you must do the commandment; but concerning peace, it is different, there it is written [Ps. 34:15]: "Seek peace, and pursue it," which means, seek peace at the place where you are, and if you do not find it, seek it in other places. Great is peace: about all the journeys of Israel it is written, "And they removed . . . and . . . encamped," which means they removed in strife and encamped in strife, but when they came to Sinai there was no more strife, and they encamped in peace, as it is written [Exod. 19:2]: "And Israel encamped opposite the Mount" (i.e., all Israel were united). The Holy One, blessed be He, then said: "Because Israel hates discord and loves peace, and all are united, this is a favourable time that I should give them my Torah." Adoniah the son of David was killed because he was quarrelsome, and it is permitted to support the accusation of a quarrelsome man, as Nathan the prophet did when Bath-Sheba accused Adoniah [1 Kings, 1:14]: "I myself will come in after thee, and confirm thy words." And Rabbi said: All manner of lying is prohibited, except it be to make peace between one and his neighbour. Bar Kappara said: Great is Peace, as among the angels there is no animosity, no jealousy, no hatred, no commanding, no quarrelling, because the Holy One, blessed be He, has made peace among them, as it is written [Job, 25:2]: "Dominion

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and dread are with him: he maketh peace in his high places." "Dominion" is the angel Michael and "Dread" is Gabriel, one of whom is of fire and the other one of water, and still they do not oppose each other, for the Holy One, blessed be He, has made peace between them.

R. Jehoshua said: Great is peace, in that the covenant of the priests was made with peace, as it is written [Numb. 25:12]: "I give unto him my covenant of peace." The name of the Holy One, blessed be He, is also "peace" (Shalom), as it is written [Judges, 6:24]: "And called it Adonay-shalom." R. Jose the Galilean said: The name of the Messiah is also "peace" (Shalom), as it is written [Is. 9:5]: "The prince of peace." Said R. Jehoshua: Israel is also called "peace," as it is written [Zech. 8:12]: "For the seed shall be undisturbed, the vine shall give its fruit," which is to be interpreted thus: "The vine will give its fruit to the seed of peace" (Israel). R. Jose the Galilean said: When the Messiah shall come to Israel, he will begin with peace, as it is written [Is. 52:7]: "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of the messenger of good tidings, that publisheth peace, that announceth tidings of happiness, that publisheth salvation, that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth." He also said: Great is peace, because even wars are waged for the sake of peace, as it is written [Deut. 20:10]: "When thou comest nigh unto a city to make war against it, then summon it with the word of peace." R. Jehoshua said: In the future the Holy One, blessed be He, will uphold the righteous with peace, as it is written [Is. 26:3]: "The confiding mind wilt thou keep in perfect peace; because he trusteth in thee." Again he said: Great is peace, because it accompanies the living as well as the dead--the living, as it is written [Exod. 4:18]: "And Jethro said to Moses, Go in peace"; the dead, as it is written [Gen. 15:15]: "But thou shalt come to thy fathers in peace," R. Jehoshua of Sachnin said in the name of R. Levi: Great is peace, in that all the benedictions and prayers conclude with "peace." The reading of Shema we conclude with "peace," "and spread the tent of thy peace"; the blessing of the priests concludes with peace, "and give thee peace"; and the eighteen benedictions conclude: "Blessed be thou, master of peace."

Said R. Jehoshua b. Levi: The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Israel, You have caused me to destroy my house and to exile my children, now pray for peace and I will forgive you, as it is written [Ps. 122:6]: "Pray ye for the peace of Jerusalem." Therefore he who loves peace, runs after peace, offers peace, and answers peace, the Holy One, blessed be He, will make him inherit the life of this world and the life of the world to come, as it is written [Ps. 37:11]: "But the meek shall inherit the land, and shall delight themselves because of the abundance of peace."

END OF TRACT ZUTA.

THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD BOOK 6 (5)
VOLUME 10
Tracts Baba Kama (First Gate)
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SYNOPSIS OF SUBJECTS OF TRACT BABA KAMA (THE FIRST GATE).

CHAPTER 1.

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tribunal, although he will be punished for them by the Divine court. Is armed robbery, when not committed publicly, still considered theft as regards the payment of double? For frightening away a lion from one's neighbour's field the law awards no compensation. How does it pay what it damaged? About one who came before the Exilarch and complained of another who destroyed one of his trees. One who destroys a young date-tree, what amount of damage must he pay? There was a case, and Rabh acted in accordance with R. Meir; but in his lectures, however, he declared that the Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Simeon b. Gamaliel (see foot-note). About one who puts up a stack of grain on another's land without permission. One who started a fire through the medium of a deaf-mute, etc.

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MISHNA 7. No tender cattle must be raised in Palestine but in its forests. A shepherd (who raises tender cattle) that repented, we do not compel him to sell out all his cattle at once. No tender beasts shall be raised in Palestine, except dogs, cats, and monkeys. R. A'ha b. Papa said in the name of R. Hanina b. Papa three things. Upon ten conditions did Joshua divide the land among the settlers. The ten enactments of Ezra. No swine is permitted to be raised at anyplace. Rabbi, the Prince of Pales tine, objected to the use of the Syriac language, and insisted that only the Holy and the Greek languages should be used in Palestine. R. Jose objected to the use of the Aramean language in Babylon, and insisted that the Holy and the Persian languages should be used. No dogs shall be kept unless on a chain. In the towns adjoining the frontier they must be kept on a chain only in the day time, 174-181

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MISHNAS 3. TO 5. The law is more rigorous in regard to a man than in regard to an ox, etc. One who assaults his father or mother, but does not bruise them, and one who wounds another on the Day of Atonement, are liable to pay all the items of damage. To whom belongs the compensation received by one's minor daughter for a wound? About an investment for a minor and the nature thereof, Is a slave considered a "brother"? The Halakha prevails that the benefit in case of a woman who sells her right in the marriage contract belongs to herself; and if she bought estates therewith, her husband has nothing even in their income. If one blow into the ear of another, he pays one sela for the disgrace he caused him. What if one strikes another with the palm or with the back of his hand on the cheek? This is the rule: Rank and station of the parties are taken into consideration. May a witness be a judge in the same case? A non-vicious ox that killed a man and also caused damage to another, must his owner pay for the damage, besides the payment of the atonement money? All that was said concerning disgrace is only for the civil court, as to how much the plaintiff should receive, but there can be no satisfaction for the injury to the feelings, for which, if he would even offer all the best rams of the world, they would not atone, unless he prays the plaintiff for forgiveness. The origin of a series of sayings by the rabbis as well as by ordinary people. If one says to another, "Break my pitcher," etc. A money-pouch containing charity funds was sent to Pumbeditha, and R. Joseph deposited it with a certain man who did not take good care of it and it was stolen from him, and R. Joseph held him responsible. What Abayi said to him about it, 193-210

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CHAPTER 9.

MISHNAS 1. TO 3. If a change on the face of an article gives title to the possessor and if it is biblically? Would all the above-mentioned Tanaim trouble themselves to teach us a Halakha of the Beth Shammai? Robbers and usurers, if they make a restitution of their own accord, it should not be accepted, etc. There are three cases in which the increase is appraised and the payment is with money. I and the King Sabura are brothers in regard to court cases. (See foot-note.) Did not I tell you, You shall not change names? R. Joseph bar Hama used to compel slaves of his debtors to labour for him, etc. What were the coins of Jerusalem and what were the coins of Abraham the patriarch? Labour which cannot be recognised on the body of the animal as damaging, the civil court cannot make him liable for. Is a germon considered a direct pecuniary loss? May the court decide a case of a goring ox in its absence? If a specialist took a thing to repair it and he spoiled it. A builder who undertook to take apart a wall, and he broke the stones or bricks, A butcher specialist, if he has spoiled the meat he is a tort-feasor, and is also considered wilful, etc. Why so many reasons?" I think your brain is not in regular order." "Rabh did two good things regarding you. He prevented you from using a doubtful thing, and also restrained you from possible robbery." There was a woman who showed a coin to R. Hyya, etc. Resh Lakish showed a dinar to R. Elazar, and he told him it was a good one. He said then: "See, I rely upon you," etc.

MISHNAS 4. TO 7. If one gave wool to the dyer, and it was spoiled. To be dyed red, and it is dyed black, or conversely. To make a chair of it, and he has made a bench. Is the colour of the dyes to be considered as existing upon the wool or not? In one tract is the order of the Mishna not to be taken in consideration, but in two different tracts it must be considered? The whole of Section Damages is considered as one tract. If one has given money to his messenger to buy wheat, and he buys barley. If one buys a field in the name of his neighbour. Kahana paid money for flax. In the mean time the flax became dearer and the seller sold it (for Kahana's benefit). One who has stolen the value of a coin swears falsely and afterwards confesses. The same is the case in a deposit. If one has robbed one of five persons, and he does not know which of them. It happened with one pious man who bought of one of two persons, and he did not know from which of them. A messenger must not be made in his absence. It happened with R. Abba, who was the creditor of R. Joseph bar Hama, and the former asked R. Safra to bring, etc. "My master, do you mean to deduce from this Scripture that it must be paid, or you say is it common?" If one has robbed two bunches of the value of a parutha and had returned one of them, how is the law? He who denies a deposit is considered as a robber. As soon as the owner has taken an oath, he has not to pay. One who claims "stolen" on a deposit, or of a lost article he has found, must pay double, etc. The three oaths--first, that I have done all my duty in taking care of it; second, that I did not make use of it; and third, that it is not under my control. If a gratuitous bailee swore it was stolen, and, nevertheless, he paid: and then the thief was found. Where is my bailment? Lost! Do you swear by God? Amen. Witnesses testified that he himself had stolen it. If one robbed his father and swore falsely, and after his death he confessed. "I swear you shall have not any benefit from my estate." If one robbed a proselyte and swore, and afterwards the proselyte died. The priests who receive the robbery of the proselyte, are they considered heirs, or only receivers of a donation?

CHAPTER 10.

MISHNAS 1. TO 6. If one left money made by usury for his heirs, although they know of it, they are not obliged to return it. The brother-in law of R. Jeremiah, who was a minor, shut the door in his face, etc. The testimony of witnesses can be taken even in the absence of the parties. May a document be approved even not in the presence of the party, or it must not? It is an obligation on the court to give notice to the defendant that his property will be sold. A messenger of the court should be trusted as two witnesses, etc. One must not be summoned by the court on the eve of a Sabbath. Money must not be changed from the treasury of duties, etc. Why contractors of duty are counted among murderers. R. Ashi happened to be on the road, and saw a vineyard in which some grapes were ripe, etc. A contractor of the government has the right to pledge a fellow-citizen for the duty of another citizen of the same city, etc. If the contractors returned him instead of his ass another one, etc. If one saved an estate from the stream or from robbers, etc. Are a woman and a minor qualified to be witnesses? A child was telling: It happened that my mother and I were prisoners among the heathens, and I did not turn away my eyes from my mother, etc.,

MISHNAS 4. TO 6. If one recognises his utensils or books by another. If a thief has sold out his stolen articles, and later it was recognised that he is the thief. If the thief was a notorious one. If one destroys his own goods for the sake of saving the goods of his neighbours. The redemption money of a caravan in a desert is to be charged proportionately to the amount each of them possesses, etc. If a robbed field was taken away by land robbers. There was a man who showed to the contractor a heap of wheat belonging to the Exilarch. There was a man by whom a silver goblet was deposited, he presented it when he was attacked by robbers,

MISHNAS 7. TO 12. If a stream has overflowed the robbed field. If one says, I have robbed you, and I don't know if I have returned it to you. One must not buy from the shepherds kids of goats, etc. And not fruits from the watchman. One who robs his neighbour, even the value of a parutha, is considered as if he would take away his life. One shall not buy from the carder flocks, because they are not his property. What about the splinters which fall out by the carpenter

VOLUME 10

TRACT BABA KAMA (THE FIRST GATE).

CHAPTER 1.

THE FOUR PRINCIPAL TORT-FEASORS; THE DIFFERENT MODES OF RESTITUTION; THE VICIOUS AND NON-VICIOUS ANIMALS; THE APPRAISEMENT BEFORE THE COURT.

MISHNA 1: There are four principal causes of tort (expressly mentioned in the Scripture): the ox; the (uncovered) excavation; the mabeh (the pasture of one's cattle in another's field); and the fire. The measure of the damages done by the ox is different from that of the damages done by the mabeh, and vice versa; and that of both, which are animated beings, is not like that of the damages caused by the fire, which is not animated. And the measure of damages caused by the three last mentioned, which are movable, is different from that of the damages caused by the (uncovered) excavation, which is stationary. One thing, however, is common to all, and that is, that they are all likely to do damage, which must be guarded against, and if damage is done, the one responsible for it must make good from his best estates.

GEMARA: If the Mishna states that there are "principals there must be derivatives. Are those derivatives as their principals or not? Said R. Papa: "Some of them are and some of them are not?" (as explained further on). The rabbis taught: "It was said of the ox that he has three principals, the horn, the tooth, and the foot. Of the horn the rabbis taught: It is written [Ex. xxi. 28]: "If an ox gore," and goring is only with the horn, as it is written [Deut. 33:17]: "And his horns are like the horns of reem; with them shall he push (gore)," etc. What is the derivative of the horn? Hurting, biting, lying upon, 1 and kicking; (because they are usually done intentionally, as goring). Why is "goring" called a principal? Because it is written [Ex. 21:28]: "If an ox gore?" Let also hurting be a principal, because it is written [ibid., ibid. 35]. "And if a man's ox hurt." That hurting means goring, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: "It starts out with hurting, and it ends with goring, to teach thee that the

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hurting mentioned here means goring." Why does the Scripture in case of a man use the term "gore," while in the case of an animal it uses the term "hurt"? For a man, who is fortunate, 2 (who is guarded by his planet) "gore" is used (because it is certain that the ox gored him intentionally with all his might to harm him), but of an animal, which is not fortunate, "hurt" is used, and by the way it teaches us that an ox which is vicious toward a human being is considered vicious toward an animal, which case is not so in the reverse. But is then "biting" not the derivative of the "tooth"? Nay, the tooth usually derives benefit by doing the damage (consuming), which is not the case with biting. Are not lying upon and kicking the derivatives of the foot (because it cannot be done without bending of the feet)? Nay, damage by the foot is of frequent occurrence (because whenever the animal walks and there is something in the way it damages it), which is not the case with the above. But to what does R. Papa refer in stating that the derivatives are not like their principals? Shall we assume that he refers to those just stated? This cannot be, for they are all of the same nature, as stated above, and the owner must guard against it, and he must pay the damage. We must therefore say that there is no difference between the principal and derivatives of the horn, and R. Papa's statement refers to the derivative of the foot, in case of doing damage by digging up gravel with the foot, in which case only one-half of the amount of the damage must be paid, and which is Sinaic (i.e., the restitution is for actual damage and not as a fine, which is always the case whenever one-half damage is paid). But why is this case called a derivative of the foot? (only one-half of the damage is paid, while in the case Of the principal the whole must be paid). It is a derivative in respect that (by the same tradition that if the damage-doing animal is not of sufficient value to pay the amount of the damage) the balance must be paid from the best of one's estates, which is only so in case of damage by the foot. Is the latter part of this then certain? Did not Rabha further on propound a question wherefrom the damages shall be collected? (This does not matter.) Rabha was not certain about it, but R. Papa was. Why, then, is it called a derivative of the foot, even according to Rabha's theory, who was not certain about it? To equal it to the foot in that respect, that it is not liable if the damage was done on public ground (as damages done by the foot are not paid unless done on the ground belonging to the party damaged).

"And, mabeh," etc., "and fire," etc. What is meant by mabeh"? Said Rabh: "It means a man"; Samuel, however, said it means the tooth (of the ox). Why does Rabh not explain it as Samuel? Because when the Mishna states "ox," it means everything with which an ox can do damage (consequently "mabeh" must be something else). And what is the reason of Samuel? Is Rabh's opinion, then, not correct? The Mishna states ox. Said Rabh: "It states 'ox' for the damage done by the foot, and 'mabeh' for that done by the tooth, and it must be explained as follows: The law of damages done by the foot, which is of frequent occurrence, cannot be applied to that of the tooth, which is not of frequent occurrence; on the other hand, the law of damage done by the tooth, which usually benefits thereby, cannot be applied to that of the foot, which derives no benefit."

But what is the matter with the horn? Why is it left out? This is included in the statement, "And if they do damage, the one responsible," etc. Why is it not mentioned expressly? The Mishna states only cases of those which are considered vicious from the very beginning (and must pay the full amount of damage, as tooth and foot, etc.), but not cases of those which are not considered vicious from the beginning (as the horn, which pays the full amount of damages only on the third time of doing damage). Why does Samuel not concur with Rabh? He maintains that it cannot mean a "man," because this latter is enumerated in a subsequent Mishna: "A vicious ox, and an ox doing damage on the estate of the party suffering the damage, and the man." Why is "man" not mentioned in the first part of the Mishna? Our Mishna treats only of injuries done by one's property, but not of injuries done by one's person. Now as to Rabh, is then the "man" not enumerated in the subsequent Mishna? (Why, then, state it also in our Mishna?) Rabh may say: "It is mentioned in the later Mishna only because other vicious ones are mentioned therein, and according to him (who says that 'mabeh' means a man) the statement in the Mishna, 'the law of damages,' etc., must be explained thus: "The law of damages of an ox differs from that of a man in that the former pays 'atoning money,' while the latter does not (if a vicious ox kill a man by goring he pays atoning money, therefore if only the law of the ox would be stated, that of the man could not be deduced therefrom, because if a man kill another man unintentionally he is banished; if intentionally he suffers the death penalty, and pays no atoning money); and the law of a man differs from that of an ox in that the former is liable (in case of personal injuries caused to another man, in addition to the payment of actual damages) to four things (explained further on), which is not the case with the ox; the one thing common to both is that they are likely to do damage, and one is charged with taking care of them." [Is it then usual for an ox to do harm? It means a vicious one. But is it then usual for a man to do harm? Yea, when asleep. How is it to be understood? It is usual for a man when asleep to contract and stretch out his limbs, and all that is then in his way he damages.] But is not the man charged with his own care of himself? This can be explained as R. Abbuhu said elsewhere to one Tana: "Read, 'The man is charged with his own care of himself'"; so also is it to be read in our Mishna (and the statement in the Mishna that one is charged with taking care of them refers to the others mentioned).

R. Oshiyah taught: There are thirteen principal tort-feasors: the depositary; the one loaning for use; the bailee for hire; the bailor for hire; the actual damage sustained through the personal injury; the expense incurred in curing the injury; the earnings lost through such injury and the shame suffered (this will be explained in Chapter 8.), and those four principals mentioned in our Mishna, which make thirteen. (The depositary is liable for arbitrary damage; the one loaning for use is liable even for an accident; and the bailee for hire and the bailor for hire are responsible even for theft and loss, and, manifestly, for arbitrary damage; actual damage means that if one inflicts an injury on another person he must pay the difference in value of the person injured; the pain suffered, i.e., so much as one whose arm, for instance, was to be amputated by an instrument would pay to be relieved by a drug from such pain as amputation would cause; all the others are explained further on in this volume.) Why did the Tana of our Mishna not state those nine? It is correct according to Samuel, because the Mishna treats only of injuries done by one's property, and not of injuries by one's person, but according to Rabh (who says that "mabeh" means a man, and so injuries by one's person are treated of) why does he not state them? The Mishna treating of "a man" means to include all damages done by a man. And according to R. Oshiyah, are they not included in the "man" stated in the Mishna? There are two kinds of damages done by man, viz., those done by him to another man (which constitute a crime), and those done by him to an ox (in which case the liability is restricted to civil damages only). If so, why not state the same thing in regard to an ox? Let him state a case where an ox injured a man, and a case where he injured another ox. What question is this? As to a man there is a difference between the injury done to a man and that done to an ox, for in the former he is liable for the four things, and in the latter case he pays only actual damages (and therefore both are stated); but in the case of an ox, what difference is there between the injury done by him to a man and that done by him to an ox? In both cases he pays only actual damages.

R. Hyya taught: "There are twenty-four principal tort-feasors, viz., those who pay double [see Ex. xxii. 4]; those who pay four or five [ibid. 21:37]; the thief (who confesses his guilt, in which case he pays only the actual value) and the robber (who is also a principal because he is mentioned in the Scripture [Lev. 5:23]; the collusive witness; the one who commits rape (is a principal because mentioned in Deut. 22:29); the seducer [mentioned in Ex. xxii. 16]; the slanderer [Deut. 22:19]; the one who defiles heave-offering; the mingler (one who mingles together heave-offering with ordinary food); the one who brings a drink-offering (to the idols); (the three latter are not mentioned in the Scripture, but still they are principals for they pay pecuniary damage, and the latter is stated in the Scripture); and these with those thirteen mentioned above make twenty-four.

But why does R. Oshiyah not enumerate these mentioned here? He enumerates only those who pay actual damages, but not those who pay in form of a fine. If so, why does he not enumerate the thief and the robber who pay actual damages (as explained above)? He does so, for he states the depositary and the one loaning for use (in the case of the depositary it very often occurs that he sets up as a defence that it was stolen from him, and we have learned elsewhere that if one sets up a defence of theft or robbery he is responsible as a thief and robber). And as to R. Hyya, does it not state the depositary and the one loaning for use? He states separately property which came lawfully into his possession (as in the case of the depositary, etc.), and property which came unlawfully into his possession (as the thief).

It is correct according to the Tana of our Mishna, who states "principals" because there are also derivatives (which were enumerated above), but according to R. Hyya and R. Oshiyah if they state "principals" there must be derivatives; what are they? Said R. Abbuhu: They are all as principals in that respect that the damage must be paid from the best estates. What is the reason? It is deduced by an analogy of expression; in all those cases either the word "for" or "give" or "pay" or "money" is written. (Where it is written "for" we deduce it by analogy from the "for" stated as to the vicious ox, as there it is from the best estates (which in turn is deduced from the tooth and foot); so also it is here, if "give" or "pay" is written we deduce it from the ox that gored a slave where these words are written; if "money" is written we deduce it from the pit where the same word is written; and in all those cases it is paid from the best estates.)

"The law of the damage done by an ox is not like that," etc. For what purpose does he mention this here at all? Said R. Zbid in the name of Rabha: "He means to say with that, that no question should be raised why the Scripture does not state one of the tort-feasors and leave the others to be deduced (by way of analogy) therefrom, for one cannot be deduced from the other (as it is stated above; Rabh according to his theory and Samuel according to his).

"And that of both which are animated," etc. For what purpose does the Tana mention this? Said R. Mesharshia in the name of Rabha: "He means to say that it should not be questioned why the Scripture does not state two of the tort-feasors (the ox and the mabeh), and fire would be deduced from these two; for this one cannot be deduced from those two (for the one is not like the others, etc., as stated in the Mishna). Said Rabha: "If any one of these should be mentioned with the 'pit,' all others could be deduced from those two by reason of having something common to all (as e.g., if he would state the pit and the horn, the tooth could be deduced thus: the pit, the nature of which is not to move and do damage, must pay; the more so the tooth, the nature of which is to do so; and if you should say the pit is made from the very beginning to do damage, which is not so with the tooth, I will cite you the horn (which is not made so); and if you will say that the horn does the damage intentionally, I will cite you the pit and the conclusion will return (the former argument will be reinstated); the one thing common to all is that it is their nature to do damage, and one is charged with taking care of them, etc. I will also bring in the tooth. In such a way I would also deduce the foot, if the pit and the horn should be stated; and if it should be objected that the pit is from the beginning made to do damage, which is not so with the foot, the horn would be cited; and if it should be objected to on the ground that the horn does damage intentionally, the pit would be cited. And so forth as to all, with the exception of the horn, for the objection might be raised that they are all considered vicious from the beginning (which is not so with the horn). For what purpose, then, did the Scripture enumerate all of them? To teach their different peculiarities; viz., the horn--to distinguish between a vicious and a non-vicious one; the tooth and foot--to exempt them from liability if the damage was done on public ground (for it is written, Ex. xxii. 4, "and they feed in another man's field," but not on public ground); the pit--to exempt it from liability if vessels fell into it (and were damaged); the man--to make him liable to pay for the four things (which is not so in the case of the others); fire--to exempt it from liability if it consumed concealed articles (as e.g., if articles were concealed in a stack of grain, in which case the liability is only for the grain, but not for the articles).

"The one thing, common to them all," etc. What does this mean to include? (As from the statement it seems to include all other things the nature of which is to do damage, and one is charged with taking care of them, what other such things can there be?) Said Rabhina: "It means to include that which we have learned in the following Mishna: 'If notice be given to one to remove (within a certain time usually given by a Beth Din) a wall, or to cut a certain tree, (and he failing so to do within such time) they fall, he is liable.'" How is the case? If he renounced his ownership of them, then according to both Rabh and Samuel it is like the case of the pit; as a pit because it does often damage one must take care of it, so also is the case here. 1 If he has not renounced ownership, then, according to Samuel who says that they are all deduced from the pit, are they the same as the pit? Nay, the case is that he has renounced ownership, but lest one say that they are not like the pit which is originally made to do damage, which is not the case with the above things (the building of a wall or the planting of a tree), then the case of the ox proves that; and lest one say that the ox is different because of its usual way of doing damage with its feet, then again the case of the pit may prove and so the conclusion will return (and the original argument is reinstated).

"To pay the damages." The rabbis taught: It is written [Ex. 22:4]: "With the best of his own field, and with the best of his own vineyard shall he make restitution." That means the best field and the best vineyard of the plaintiff (e.g., if A's ox grazed upon a parcel of land belonging to B, the best land of B is taken as a standard, and A must pay an amount of damages equal to the difference in value of such a parcel of land before and after having been grazed upon). Such is the dictum of R. Ishmael; R. Aqiba, however, said: "The passage intends to state only that damages are collected from the best estates of the defendant (i.e., the parcel of land of the plaintiff is appraised, and if the defendant wishes to pay in land he must do so with land of his own best estates), and so much the more in case of damages to consecrated articles. Is it possible that according to R. Ishmael restitution must be made with the best land even if land of an inferior quality be damaged? Said R. A'ha bar Jacob: "The case treated of here is that the best land of the plaintiff was of the same quality as the worst land of the defendant, and they differ on this point. R. Ishmael holds that the land of the plaintiff is taken as a standard, and the passage stating that he shall pay from the

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best estates, means from the best estates of the plaintiff, and R. Aqiba holds that that of the defendant is taken as a standard for best."

What is the reason of R. Ishmael's statement? The word "field" is written below (with the best of his own field) and also above (and they feed in another man's field) (ibid., ibid.); as above it has reference to the land of the plaintiff, so also in the statement below (and the passage is to be expounded thus: When the defendant has land which equals the best of the plaintiff's, he must pay out of such land the amount of the damage). And R. Aqiba? He may say, it is written: "With the best of his own fields, etc., he shall make restitution." That means not that of the plaintiff (and no deduction by analogy is admissible when the statement is so plain). R. Ishmael, however, may say: In this case we must derive the benefit of both the analogy of expression and the passages; the analogy of expression as I have explained, and the benefit from the passage I derive for explaining that it refers to a case where the defendant has both best and worst land, and the plaintiff has only best land, and the worst land of the defendant is inferior to the best of the plaintiff, in which case he cannot say to the plaintiff, collect your damages from my worst (because the passage gives the benefit to the plaintiff to be paid from the best), and therefore. he must make restitution from his own best estates.

Abayi propounded the contradiction of the following passages to Rabha: It is written [ibid., ibid.]: "With the best of his own fields," etc., which means from the best estates only and with nothing else, and we have learned in another Boraitha: "It is written [Ex. xxi. 34]: 'And to return money (make restitution)'; means this to include equivalents of money, even bran?" (Rabha answered): This presents no difficulty. When he returns of his own will he may give even bran, but if through the court he pays from the best estates. Said Ula, the son of R. Ilai: "The wording of the passage seems to lead to the same conclusion, for it is written 'shall he make restitution,' which signifies involuntarily." Said Abayi to him: "Is it then written 'restitution shall be made'?" (which would mean involuntarily). It is written "he shall make," etc., which can also mean voluntarily. When R. Papa and R. Huna, the son of R. Jehoshua, returned from the college they explained the above passage as follows: "Anything (of personal property) is considered as the best of estates, for if he cannot sell it (at a reasonable price) at one place, he can take it to another place (and therefore if he makes restitution with personal property he may do so even with bran); except (if he makes restitution with) land, he must do so only with the best estates in order to enable him to procure a buyer."

R. Samuel bar Abba of Akkrunia propounded the following question to R. Abba: When the standard (as to which are the best and which are the worst lands) is taken, is it taken of those lands of his own, or of those of the public in general? (i.e., has the defendant to make restitution out of his own best estates, and if his worst lands are as good as the best of the public in general, must he nevertheless pay out of his own best, or if his worst lands are as good as those of the public in general, may he make restitution out of his worst lands?--for they are as good as those of the public in general). According to R. Ishmael this is no question, for he says that those of the defendant are taken as a standard (and therefore if his worst are as good as those of the plaintiff he pays out of his worst estates), but the question is only according to R. Aqiba, who holds that those of the defendant are to be taken as a standard. How is it? Shall we assume that the passage "the best of his own fields" means to exclude the lands of the plaintiff, or it means to exclude the lands of the public in general? And he answered him: The Scripture states expressly "of his own land," and you ask whether the land of the public in general is taken as a standard? R. Samuel objected: We have learned (in case there are to be collected a woman's claim under her marriage contract [Kethubah], damages, and other debts): If one has only good lands, all the claims are collected from the good lands; if he has only medium lands, all are collected from those lands; if only poor-quality lands, all are collected from those lands; if he has all the three, damages are collected from the good; ordinary creditors collect from the medium; the Kethubah is collected from the poor-quality lands; if he has good and medium land only, damages are collected from the good; ordinary debts and the claim of his wife are collected from the medium lands; if he has medium and poor-quality lands only, damages and ordinary debts from the medium and the wife's claim from the poor-quality lands; if he has only good and poor land, damages from the good and the other two from the poor-quality land. Now, we see that the middle part of this Boraitha states "that if he had medium and poor land, damages and ordinary debts are collected from the medium and the other two from the poor land," and if it is as you say, that his own lands are taken as a standard, let the medium he has be considered the best (as they are his best), and the creditors shall be referred to the poor lands? Therefore said Rabhina: They differ as to the statement of Ula. For Ula said: "According to the Scripture the creditors are paid out of the poorest, for it is written [Deut. 24:11]: 'In the street shalt thou stand, and the man to whom thou dost lend shall bring out unto thee the pledge into the street.' Now if it depends on the will of the debtor, he usually brings out the poorest article he possesses as a pledge; but why have the sages enacted that creditors shall be paid out of the medium? In order not to close the door to the borrowers." The one master holds of Ula's enactment, the other one does not (but adheres strictly to the meaning of the passage).

The rabbis taught: "(One who had to pay damages, ordinary debts, and the wife's claim), if he convey all his estates (the good, medium, and poor) to one person, or to three different persons at the same time, they pass to the grantees subject to the same liabilities as if in the hands of the grantors (i.e., the one who bought the good pays off the damages, the one who bought the medium pays off the creditors, etc.). If at different times, all are paid from the estate sold last (for the buyers of the prior estates may each say: When I bought my land there were other lands from which to pay). If this estate is not sufficient, the last but one is resorted to; if still insufficient, the last but two is resorted to." How is the case, if he conveyed to one person? Shall we assume that he conveyed them by one deed, then surely they pass subject to the original liability, for even if he sold them to three persons, in which case one must have priority, you say that they pass subject to such liabilities, still more so if he sold to one? (what was the necessity of stating it?) Therefore we must say that it means that they were conveyed one after another (on three different days), and why does he state three? To teach that although each one of them may say: "I left room enough for payment," the same thing may be said even if sold to one. He will say on each parcel of land: When I bought this parcel of land there were other parcels out of which to pay. The case here is that the good lands were the last to be sold (in which case it is more advantageous for him to let them collect according to their rights than to advance the argument that he left room for payment). So also said R. Shesheth. If so, shall they all collect of the good lands? (for at the time the first two estates were sold all the liability shifted over to the best lands). The grantee may tell them: "If you will be quiet and collect according to your original rights well and good, but if not I will return the deed for the sale of the poor land to the grantor (and then the liability will shift over to those lands, for no claims are collected from conveyed lands when there are free lands), and all of you will have to collect your claims from the poor land."

It is certain that when the grantee conveyed the medium and the poor lands, and left the best for himself, that they all collected their claims from the best lands, for those were the only ones which remained, and the others were no more in his possession so that he could refer to them saying, "I do not care for the enactment of the sages (for my benefit)" but in case he conveyed the good land and left for himself the medium and the poor, how is it? (shall the claims be collected from the second grantee because he took his lands subject to the liability? and from the first grantee they cannot collect, for he can say he accepts the enactment of the sages, and the good estates which were at the time of the first conveyance free were subject to the liability for payment of the claims?). Abayi intended to decide that all collect from the best estates. Said Rabha to him: "Did not the first grantee convey to the second grantee all his rights and interests he may have in them? And now, if they would come to the first grantee, they could collect from the medium lands only, and although at the time the medium and poor lands were conveyed the good ones were still free, he could say, "I do not want to avail myself of the enactment of the sages"; so also the second grantee can tell them: "Collect your claims from the medium and poor lands," for when the second grantee bought the estates he did so with the intention to acquire all the rights and interest the first grantee had at the time. R. Huna, however, said: (The above passages, one mentioning "money" and the other "the best estates," do not contradict each other), it means either money or best estates. 1

R. Assi, however, said: "Money is as good as land." For what purpose is this statement? If for the purpose that it is considered the "best" (i.e., although he has good land he may pay in money), then it is the same that R. Huna stated, and it would be sufficient to say "and so also said R. Assi" Shall we assume that it is for the purpose of teaching as in the case of two brothers who have divided up land between themselves, and subsequently a creditor (of their father) comes and levies upon the share of one of them (that the other may pay his share of contribution either in land or in money)? Did not R. Assi already state this case? For it was taught: "Two brothers partitioned their estates and subsequently a creditor came and levied upon the share of one of them; Rabh said the partition is thereby annulled (and a new partition must take place of the lands which remained), because he holds that brothers in such a case are as heirs. Samuel, however, said that it is valid, because he holds it is as an ordinary sale and as one who buys without a responsibility. R. Assi says he (the other brother) must pay his share of one-fourth in land and one-fourth in money, for he was in doubt whether they are considered as heirs, and he must contribute his share in land and not in money, or as an ordinary sale with responsibility, and he must pay to him what he lost, but in money, and therefore he must pay one-fourth in money and one-fourth in land), therefore he must pay one-fourth in land and one-fourth in money. But what is meant by the statement "it is as good as land"? that it is considered "best"? then it is again the same statement made by R. Huna? Say: "And so also said R. Assi."

R. Zera in the name of R. Huna said: In case one does a meritorious thing he shall do it up to one-third. What does this mean? Shall we assume that it means up to one-third of his own property? If so, then if he has occasion to perform three meritorious things he must spend his whole property? Said R. Zera: It means up to one-third in endeavoring to adorn the meritorious thing (e.g., if there are two scrolls of Law, and one is more expensive than the other, he shall spend one-third more to buy the more expensive one). R. Assi questioned: Does it mean one-third of the cheaper one, or does it mean one-third should be added? This question remains unanswered. In the West it was said in the name of R. Zera: Up to one-third he shall spend from his own (without expectation to be rewarded in this world), thenceforward from the Holy One's, blessed be He (i.e., that part will be repaid to him in this world).

MISHNA 2.: (The following is the rule:) In all that which I am charged with taking care of I have prepared the damage (i.e., if damage was done it is considered that I was instrumental in doing it). If I prepare only a part of the damage I am responsible nevertheless for the whole, as if I prepared the whole. And only as to property which cannot be desecrated (but for that which is desecrated there is no responsibility), or property of persons governed by laws adopted by their community, 1 or such that has an owner, and at any place (the damage was done), except if done on the ground exclusively belonging to the defendant, or on that belonging to both together, the defendant and the plaintiff. If damage was done, the defendant must complete the payment of the damages with the best of his estates.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: "In all that which I am charged with taking care of," etc. How so? If one intrusts a deaf man, a fool, or a minor with the charge over a pit, or an ox, and they cause damage he must pay for such damage, which is not so in case of fire (explained further on). What case is treated of here? when the ox was kept on a rope, or the pit was covered, equivalent to which in case of fire is as if it were live coals; and if you should ask why there should be a difference (between the former and the latter), (it may be said) in the case of the ox he is likely to get loosened, and in the case of a pit the cover is likely to slip off (and therefore the owner should have that in mind and bestow better care), but in the case of coal it is the reverse, for it is likely to get more and more extinguished. But according to R. Johanan, who said (elsewhere) that if one intrusts even a flame (to those stated above) he is also free (and consequently the statement above, "which is not so in case of fire," must be explained as meaning a flame), and in such a case the equivalent thereof here would be a loosened ox and an uncovered pit. Why should there be a difference? There (in case of fire) the deaf man has so closely connected himself with the fire (i.e., if he would not move it, it would remain stationary), that it is considered that he himself has done the damage (this is according to Rashi's second explanation, and it is stated elsewhere that if a deaf man, etc., do damage there is no liability), but here it is not so (for the ox or the pit did the damage without the aid of those mentioned).

The rabbis taught: There is a more rigorous rule in the case of the ox than in the cases of the pit and the fire, and vice versa. (How so?) The rigorousness of the rule in case of the ox is that he (the owner) pays the atoning money (when the ox kills a free man, and 30 shekels if a slave) which is not so in the case of the pit and fire. The rigorousness of the rule in the cases of the pit and the fire is that the pit is originally made to do damage, and the fire is considered "noxious from the beginning," which is not so in case of the ox. There is a more rigorous rule in the case of fire than in the case of the pit, and vice versa. The rigorousness of the rule in case of the pit, which is made originally to do damage, lies in that one is responsible if he intrusted it to a deaf man, minor, or fool, which is not so in case of fire, and the more rigorousness is in the case of fire, which has in its nature to move and to do damage, and is considered noxious in that it consumes everything whether fit or unfit for it, which is not so in the case of the pit. Let him also teach that the case of the ox is more rigorous because he is liable for damages to vessels (by breaking them intentionally either with the horn or with the foot), which is not so with the pit. The Tana enumerates some and leaves out others. Is then anything else left out that also this is left out? Yea, the case of concealed articles (e.g., if an ox has kicked upon a sack containing vessels, or an ox carrying a sack containing vessels fell into a pit and the vessels broke, the owner is responsible for the vessels, which is not so in case of fire).

"If I have prepared a part of the damage," etc. The rabbis taught: "How so? If one dug a pit nine spans deep and another one came and completed it to be ten spans deep, the latter is responsible (whether the ox falling into it was killed or only

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injured). Shall we assume that this is not according to Rabbi (who said further on that for damages both are liable)? Said R. Papa: The case is that the ox that fell in was killed (in which case Rabbi also agrees that the one who dug the last span must pay). R. Zera opposed: Is this the only case--is it not the same if one left his ox in charge of five persons, and one of them left intentionally and the ox caused damage--is the, one who left responsible? And R. Shesheth also opposed, saying that there is another case when one added fuel to a burning fire, and the latter caused damage; the last one is responsible, and R. Papa himself opposed, saying there is also another case of the following Boraitha when five persons sit on a bench, and it does not break, and another one comes and sits down and it breaks, the last one is responsible (for the whole damage); and he himself explained it as it had been, Papa bar Abba (who was a heavy-weight man). Now, let us then see; in all those three cases how is it to be understood? If without the last one no damage would have been caused, then is it self-evident that he is responsible? And if even without him damage would have been caused, then what has he done that makes him liable? (and therefore these illustrations cannot be cited, because in the, case of the pit the one who dug it nine spans can say to the other: If you had not dug the tenth span the animal would not have been killed (as there is a tradition that a pit less than ten spans deep cannot kill), but only injured, and I would have had to pay only for the injury, but not for the whole animal). But finally how is this Boraitha, after all, to be explained? (for the former two cases which are not Boraithas we do not care). It can be said that if he would not have sat down it would have not broken before the lapse of two hours, and he hastened it to break in one hour, in which case the first five can say to the last one: "If not for you, we would have remained sitting a little longer, and would have left (and the bench would not have broken)." But why should he not reverse the argument and say: "If you were not with me on the bench, it would not have broken at all?" The case is that it broke while he was leaning on them. What is the difference? Lest one should say that, as he caused the damage only by his strength (leaning) and not by sitting down, he should not be liable, he comes to teach us that one's strength is equivalent to one's weight of body.

"I am responsible to pay the whole damage." It does not state "I am responsible for the damage," but "I am responsible to complete the compensation for the damage"; this is a support to what was taught by the rabbis: "The completion of the compensation for the damage." This is to teach that the plaintiff must trouble himself with the disposal of the carcass. Whence do we deduce it? Said R. Ami: It is written [Lev. 24:21]: "And he that killeth a beast shall make restitution for it" (yeshalmenah). Do not read "yeshalmenah," but read "yashlimenah," he shall complete her (i.e., the plaintiff shall take the final trouble of disposing of it by sale and the defendant shall pay the balance of the damage). Hezkyah says, it can be deduced from the following passage [Ex. 21:34]: "And the dead beast shall be his," which signifies it shall be that of the plaintiff. So it was explained by the disciples of Hezkyah. "Thou sayest it belongs to the plaintiff perhaps the passage means that it belongs to the defendant? It was said: "It was not so." What does that mean? Said Abayi: If thou shouldst think that the carcass belongs to the defendant, it should have been written "an ox for an ox" [ibid., ibid.], and no more (and I would know that the defendant can have the carcass); why the addition of the above passage? Infer here from that the passage means that it shall remain the plaintiff's. Said R. Kahana to Rabh: Is that so, that without the addition of that passage it could be thought that it belongs to the defendant? Where is the common sense? Since if he (the defendant) has a number of carcasses he may give them to the other party (in payment of the damages), for the master said above: It is written [ibid.] "He shall 'return'; that includes equivalents of money, and even bran." The more so the carcass in question, which is his own? This statement (as to who has to trouble himself with the disposal of the carcass) was necessary as to the loss in value of the carcass (i.e., that from the time the animal was killed its owner is charged with its disposal, and if through his negligence it was not disposed of, and there resulted a loss in value, that loss is charged to the plaintiff).

Shall we assume that the Tanaim of the following Boraitha differ as to this case? It is written [ibid. 22:12]: "If it be torn in pieces let him bring it in evidence that it happened so by accident, and he will not be liable" (for a bailee for hire is not responsible for accident). Abba Saul, however, says it means he shall bring the carcass into court (to be appraised). May we not suppose that they differ thus (for we cannot suppose that they differ in case it was done by accident, for even Abba Saul must concede that a bailee for hire is not responsible in such a case, but they probably differ in a case where the bailee is liable): One holds that the loss in value is chargeable to the plaintiff, and the other holds that it is chargeable to the defendant? Nay, both agree that it is chargeable to the plaintiff, but they differ as to the trouble of transportation of the carcass.

As we have learned in the following Boraitha: The anonymous teachers say: Whence do we deduce that the owner of the pit has to bring up the killed ox from the pit (at his expense)? It is written [ibid. xxi. 34]: "He shall make restitution in money unto the owner thereof; and the dead" (i.e., he must give also the carcass, which cannot be done unless brought up from the pit). Said Abayi to Rabha: "How is this case of transportation of the carcass? Shall we assume that when in the pit it is worth one Zuz and when on the brink thereof it is worth four? Then this trouble is for his own benefit? Why the passages?" He answered him: "The case is that it is in either case not worth more than one Zuz" (and even then he must bring it up). But can there ever happen such a case? Yea, as people usually say: "A beam in the forest is worth one Zuz, and the same, although, in the city, is also only of same value."

Samuel said: "(It is the custom of the courts that) no appraisement is made for a thief or robber (i.e., if one stole an article, etc., and the same was broken, he does not return the broken parts and pay the difference in value, but must return good articles), but only in case of damages. And I, however, add also the borrower, and Aba (Rabh) agrees with me."

It was taught: Ula said in the name of R. Elazar: An appraisement is made for a thief and a robber. R. Papi, however, said: No appraisement is made. And the Halakha prevails that no appraisement is made for a thief and robber; but for a borrower, however, it may be made, according to R. Kahana and R. Assi. Ula said again in the name of R. Elazar: "A firstborn (of a man) which was killed by an animal within the thirty days need not be redeemed." So also has Rami bar Hama taught: Because it is written [Numb. 18:15] "thou shalt redeem" one might think that this were so even if it were killed within the thirty days; therefore it is written [ibid., ibid.] "nevertheless" 1 to distinguish (that in case it was killed it need not).

The same said again in the name of the same authority: "Of brothers who have divided up (their estates of inheritance), that wearing apparel which they have on is appraised, but that which their sons and daughters have on is not appraised, because they have no case in court, and therefore we do not trouble them to come." Said R. Papa: "Sometimes, however, even what they have on is also not appraised; this may be the case if the eldest brother was the manager of the estates, and he was dressed in better clothes for business purposes."

The same said again in the name of the same authority: The Halakha prevails that debts are collected from slaves (because they are considered as real property). Said R. Na'hman to Ula: Did R. Elazar say so even when the slaves fall inheritance to orphans? Nay, only from him. From him? Would you say even from the only garment he has on? The case here is that he has hypothecated the slave, as Rabha said: "If one hypothecates his slave and thereafter sells him, the creditors nevertheless replevy the slave. If he has, however, hypothecated his ox, and thereafter sold him, the creditor cannot replevy him. Why so? Because when a slave is hypothecated people talk about it, and therefore the vendee is charged with notice, which is not the case with an ox." After R. Na'hman left, Ula said to those present: "So said R. Elazar: 'Even from the orphans (for a slave is as real estate).'" Said R. Na'hman (when he heard of this): "Ula avoided me (to state that in my presence, for fear I would cut him off with numerous objections)." Such a case happened in Nahardea and her judges collected a debt (from the slaves which fell an inheritance to orphans). In Pumbeditha such a case happened, and R. Hana bar Bizna collected it. Said R. Na'hman to them: "Go and return it, and if not I will collect it from your property." Said Rabha to R. Na'hman: "Ula, R. Elazar, the judges of Nahardea, and R. Hana bar Bizna are all your opponents; according to whom then is your decision?" He answered: "I know a Boraitha, which was taught by Abimi: "A premonition (πρεοβολη) is effective as to land, but not as to slaves; personal property passes with land (if personal property is sold with land, and only the land is taken possession of, the personal property also passes), but not with slaves." (Hence we see that slaves are considered personal property.) Shall we assume that the Tanaim of the following Boraithas differ as to this case: If one sold slaves and land, and the vendee took possession of the slaves, the land does not pass. The same is the case if vice versa. Land and personal property, if the vendee took possession of the land, the personal property passes, but not vice versa. Slaves and personal property do not pass, unless the vendee takes possession of both of them, as one does not pass with the other. In another Boraitha it was taught that if one takes possession of the slaves the personal property sold therewith passes. Shall we not assume that they differ in this: One holds that slaves are considered real, and the other holds that they are personal property? Said R. Ika, the son of R. Ami: "Nay, all agree that a slave is personal property, and that Boraitha which states that it does not pass is correct, and that Boraitha that states that it does pass, treats of a case where the clothes which are on the body of the slave were sold." [And even when so, what of it? Is this then not considered a moving court, and with a moving court (personal property) does not pass? And if you should say that he was then not moving, did not Rabha say (Baba Metzia, Chap. I.) that if it does not pass when moving, it does not do so also when standing or sitting?] The Halakha prevails that it passes only when the slave is tied and cannot move.

But have we not learned in another Boraitha that if he takes possession of the land the slaves also pass? There is the case that the slaves are standing upon it. Would you say that the Boraitha which states that they do not pass means that they do not stand upon it? This would be correct according to the one who says that slaves are considered personal property, and therefore if they stand upon it they do, and if not they do not pass; but according to the one who says that slaves are as real property, why is it necessary that they should stand upon it? Did not Samuel say that if one convey to another ten different parcels of land located in as many different states, the taking possession of one of them acquires title to all? (Says the Gemara: What a question is this?) Even according to the opinion of him who says that slaves are considered personal estates, why is it needed that they should stand upon it? Have we not the tradition that if personal property be sold with real property, the former need not be upon the latter when possession is taken of the latter? What answer can you give to this, that there is a difference between personal estates that are movable and those that are not? Say the same thing here: There is a difference between movable and immovable real estate. Slaves are considered movable real estate, the body of the earth is one wherever it is (consequently all his lands are attached to each other).

"Property which cannot be desecrated," etc. R. Abba said: "An ox intended to be sacrificed as a peace-offering, which has done damage, the (half) damage is paid out of his meat, but not out of those pieces prepared for the altar." Is that not self-evident, for those pieces are for the Lord? It means to teach that the value of the half of these pieces is not collected from the other half of the flesh (e.g., a non-vicious ox consecrated for a peace-offering, of the value of two hundred Zuz when slaughtered, that has killed another ox of the same value when alive, in which case according to law he must pay the damage out of half of his body. Now the pieces being burnt the value of the half body is diminished, nevertheless the amount diminished cannot be collected from the other half of the body). According to whom is this? According to the rabbis, (who hold in case one ox has pushed another ox into a pit) that only the owner of the ox has to pay, but not the owner of the pit (although it is not sufficient); then this is self-evident. If it is according to R. Nathan, who in the above case holds that the owner of the pit must complete it, why should in this case the parts sacrificed be exempt? This can be according to both R. Nathan and the rabbis; according to the rabbis, because we might say that the rabbis held so only where there are two distinct elements (the ox and the pit), but in this case where there is only one body, the plaintiff may say: I will collect my damage from any part I wish. And according to R. Nathan: In that case the owner of the ox may say to the owner of the pit: I found the ox in thy pit; whatever I cannot collect from that party, I will collect from thee. But in the case herein can he then say the flesh has done the damage, but not those pieces in question? (Hence the statement.)

"And that property that has owners." What does this mean to exclude? We have learned in a Boraitha, this means to exclude ownerless property. How is the case? If our ox gore an ownerless ox, who claims damages? If the reverse is the case, let him go and take the ox? The case is that (after he has done the damage) he was appropriated by some one. Rabhina said: "This means to exclude the case where he first did the damage, and then was consecrated by his owner, or declared ownerless (by driving him out)." So also we have learned in a Boraitha: "Further than that said R. Jehudah: Even if he damaged and then was consecrated, or his owner declared him ownerless he is exempt, as it is written [Ex. 21:29], 'and warning have been given to his owner, and he killeth a man or a woman,' etc., which signifies that during the killing, the bringing of the suit and the making of the award there shall be one and the same owner."

"Except on the property of the defendant." For he can say to him: What has your ox to do on my premises?

"And on the property of both the defendant and the plaintiff." Said R. Hisda in the name of Abimi: In a partnership court one partner is liable to the other partner for damages done by the tooth and foot, and our Mishna is to be explained thus: "Except on property exclusively belonging to the defendant, where he is free, but on premises belonging to both the defendant and the plaintiff, if damage is done, the one doing it is liable." R. Elazar, however, makes them free and explains the Mishna that there is no liability for foot and tooth when it belongs to the plaintiff or to both the defendant and the plaintiff, and what is stated further on of one's liability refers to damage done by the horn, because partnership property is for that purpose considered a public ground. It is right according to Samuel, but according to Rabh, who says that the expression "ox" in the Mishna includes everything in relation thereto, what does this mean to include? It means to include that which the rabbis taught: "If damage is done the defendant is responsible." This means

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to include the depositary, the loan for use, the loan for hire, and the bailor for hire; if an animal has done damage on their ground, a non-vicious ox pays half and a vicious ox pays the full amount of damages. If the enclosure wall in good condition broke in in the night time, or it was broken in by burglars and (the animal) went out and has done damage, there is no liability." How was the case? Shall we assume that the ox of the bailor for hire has injured the ox of the bailee, let the bailor say to the bailee: If he should damage some stranger's property you would have to pay (because you are charged with taking care of him); why should I pay you when he has injured your ox? And if the reverse were the case (and still it is said that only one-half is paid), let the owner say to the bailee: If he were injured by an ox of a third person would you not have to pay me the full amount of damage? (because in the case of a loan for use he is liable for damages occurring by accident), now when your own ox has caused the injury you want to pay me only one-half? The case is that the ox of the bailor has injured the ox of the bailee, and the objection just stated can be explained that the bailee has agreed to take care that the ox shall not be injured, but not that he shall do no injury to others.

If so, how will be explained the later part which states that if the wall was broken in in the night-time, or the same was broken in by burglars, and the animal went out and did damage, he is free, from which is to be inferred that if in the daytime there is liability. Why should it be so? Did he then warrant against his injury to others? The Boraitha meant thus: If he has warranted against his injury to others he is liable only in the daytime, but not if in the night-time or by accident. Is that so? Has not R. Joseph taught: "In a partnership court and an inn, one is liable for damages done by the tooth and the foot?" Is this not contrary to the statement of R. Elazar? R. Elazar might answer: Do not the Boraithas themselves contradict each other? Have we not learned in another Boraitha: R. Simeon b. Elazar laid down four rules in regard to damages: "If done on ground exclusively belonging to the plaintiff and not to the defendant, the liability is for the whole (even if done by the horn and in case of a non-vicious animal); if vice versa there is no liability at all; if on ground belonging to both, as e.g. a partnership courtyard or valley, there is no liability for the foot and tooth, but for goring, pushing, biting, lying upon, and kicking, a non-vicious pays one-half and a vicious pays the whole. If on ground belonging to neither of them, as, for instance, a courtyard belonging to neither of them, there is a liability for the tooth and foot; for goring and biting, pushing and lying upon and kicking, a non-vicious ox pays one-half and a vicious pays the whole damage." Hence, we see that it is stated that in a partnership courtyard or a valley there is no liability for the tooth and the foot, and hence do the two Boraithas contradict each other. That one (which says there is no liability) treats of a courtyard which is held in partnership for both storing fruit and keeping oxen (in which case it is considered a partnership courtyard as to both the foot and the horn), and therefore in case of the tooth he is free, and in case of the horn he pays half, as it is equal to public ground; and that Boraitha taught by R. Joseph treats of a court held in partnership only as to fruit, but not as to oxen, in which case as to the tooth it is considered the exclusive ground of the plaintiff. It seems to be so also from the difference used in the wording of the Boraithas. In one case things similar to an inn (which is not used for oxen), and in the other-those similar to a valley (where generally oxen are pastured) are stated. Infer herefrom. R. Zera opposed: If there was a partnership for fruit, can it be called another man's field, as required by Ex. xxii. 4? Said Abayi to him: "So long as it is not partnership as to oxen it is considered another man's field."

MISHNA 3.: Damages are assessed in money, and are collected from what has a value of money; and it must be done before the court, and only on testimony of witnesses who are freemen, and they must be members of a community who have adopted a set of laws for their government; and women are on the same footing with men as to damages; both the defendant and the plaintiff must contribute (sometimes) toward the payment of the damages. (The whole Mishna will be explained further on in the Gemara.)

GEMARA: What is the meaning of "assessing in money"? Said R. Jehudah: It means the assessment shall be made by the Beth Din in money only, and this is explained in the following Tosephtha which the rabbis taught: "If a cow has damaged a garment (on the ground belonging to the owner thereof), and subsequently the garment of same owner lying on public ground was trod upon by the cow, and was damaged, it is not said, because each party is entitled to damage from the other, that both shall be relieved from paying each other at all, but the damages in each case are separately assessed, and the excess paid to the party due."

"They are collected only from what is valued in money." The rabbis taught: The expression in the Mishna "what is valued in money" teaches that the Beth Din is not obliged to collect damages unless from real estates, but if the party entitled to be paid, however, has anticipated and has seized upon personal property the Beth Din may collect his claim from that property. How is it so inferred from the Mishna? Said R. Ashi: The expression "which is valued in money" means to say but real money itself, and all those things (personal property, slaves, evidences of debt, etc.) are considered money itself. R. Jehudah bar Hinna propounded the following contradiction to R. Huna, the son of R. Jehoshua: It states "what is valued in money"; this teaches that the Beth Din is not obliged to collect unless from real estates; and another Boraitha states: It is written [Ex. 21:34]: "(he shall give) unto the owner," which includes even equivalents of money, and even bran? (Hence a contradiction?) The case treated of here is that if they are to be collected from orphans' estates, for damages due from their deceased father, in which case they are to be collected from realty only. If it is from orphans, what does the last part state-that if the party has seized personal property the Beth Din may collect therefrom? The case is as Rabha said in the name of R. Na'hman elsewhere, that he made the seizure during the lifetime of the father, so also is the case here.

"On testimony of witnesses." This is to exclude the case when one admits his guilt, and thereafter witnesses appear, so that he is no more liable to pay a fine. This is correct according to the one who holds that if one admits his guilt and thereafter witnesses appear that he is no more liable to fine, but according to the one who says that in such a case he is, what does the statement in the Mishna mean to exclude? It is needed in regard to the latter part, which states that the witnesses must be freemen, to exclude slaves.

"And the women are on the same footing," etc. Wherefrom is this deduced? In the schools of Hezkiah and R. Jose the Galilean it was taught: It is written [ibid. 21:28]: "If an ox gore a man or a woman"; this signifies that the Scripture made equal a woman and a man in respect to all crimes which are mentioned in the Scripture.

It was taught: The one-half damage paid (in case of a non-vicious ox); R. Papa said damages, because he is of the opinion that usually oxen require particular care and according to the law he would have to pay the whole damage, but as that happened only once the Scripture had pity with him and remitted one-half, and R. Huna the son of R. Jehoshua holds that it is a fine, because he is of the opinion that oxen usually are considered guarded and according to the law he would have to pay nothing at all, but the Scripture nevertheless fined him in order that he should take particular care. An objection was raised, based upon the Mishna. Both the plaintiff and the defendant sometimes contribute toward the payment of the damage. It is right according to the one who says that the half damages paid is considered damage; therefore sometimes the plaintiff must also contribute (i.e., he takes less than he suffered), but if according to the one who holds that it is a fine, then he takes what he is not entitled to, how can you say that he is contributing? This statement is only in regard to loss in value of the carcass. But this was already stated in the first Mishna, as explained above, "to complete the damage." Infer that the owners are charged with the disposal of the corpse? This need be stated twice, once in case of a vicious and once in case of a non-vicious animal; and it would not suffice to state it only once; for if it should be stated only in case of a non-vicious animal it would be argued that it is so because of that fact that he was not vicious, but in case of a vicious animal I would say it is not so; and if it would be stated only in case of a vicious animal, it could be said that it is so because the full amount of damage is paid, but in the case of a non-vicious animal it is not so, hence the necessity of stating it twice.

(An objection was made.) Come and hear: "The following is the rule: All those who pay more than actual (punitive) damage (e.g., in case of killing a slave where thirty shekels are to be paid) do not pay so on their own admission (but it must be proved by other evidence). Is it not to be inferred herefrom that in case of paying less (than actual damages), one does pay so on his own admission? Nay, this means in case where the whole damage is paid. But how is it in case of paying less--is the same the case? Then why should it state, the rule is that all those who pay more," etc.; why not state, the rule is that all those who pay damages not according to the actual amount of damage done," which would make it clear as to those who pay more as well as to those who pay less? This objection remains, and the Halakha, however, prevails that the half damage is a fine. Can there be a settled Halakha in spite of an objection? Yea, for what is the reason of raising the objection, because it does not teach, "as much as they have damaged"? It could not state so because there is the half damage in case of raking up gravel, which is Mosaic that it is damage and not fine. Now, when the conclusion arrived at is that the half damage is a fine, when a dog consumes a sheep or a cat consumes a hen, it is unusual (and therefore considered the derivative of the horn and pays only one-half damage); such a damage is not collected in Babylon, where fines are not collected. But this is so only where those killed were big ones, but in case they were small ones it is usual, and it is to be collected in Babylon also; but if the plaintiff has seized upon the property belonging to the defendant (even in the former case), we do not compel him to surrender it, and also if he says: "Fix me a time to go to Palestine," his request maybe granted. And if he does not go he is put under the ban. In either case we place him under the ban until the tort-feasors are removed, as stated further on (end Chapter 4.), in the name of R. Nathan.

MISHNA 4.: There are five cases which are considered non-vicious and five which are considered vicious. A domestic animal is considered non-vicious to gore, to push, to bite, to lie upon, or to kick; the tooth (of an animal) is considered vicious to consume that which is fit for it; the foot is considered vicious to break everything on its way while walking; the vicious ox; the ox doing damage on the estates belonging to the plaintiff exclusively; and a man. The wolf, the lion, the bear, the leopard, and the bardalis and the serpent are considered vicious. R. Elazar says: When they are domesticated they are not, with the exception of the serpent, which is under all circumstances vicious.

GEMARA: From the teaching of the Mishna that "the tooth is considered vicious to consume," it must be inferred that the case is when the damage was done on the ground belonging to the plaintiff, and it is nevertheless taught "the animal is not vicious," which means not to pay the whole, but to pay half, and this is according to the rabbis, who say that the horn doing damage on the estate of the plaintiff is considered unusual, and pays only one-half of the damage; then according to whom would be the latter part? "The vicious ox and the ox doing damage on the estate of the plaintiff and the man," which means that they pay the whole damage, according to R. Tarphon, who says that the horn, although it is unusual for it to do damage on the premises of the plaintiff, still pays the whole. Then the first part of the Mishna will be according to the rabbis, and the latter part according to R. Tarphon? Yea, so it is, as Samuel said to R. Jehudah: Genius, do not trouble yourself about the explanation of our Mishna, and follow my theory that the first part is in accordance with the rabbis and the latter part is in accordance with R. Tarphon. R. Elazar in the name of Rabh, however, said that both parts are according to R. Tarphon, but the first part treats of a court that was separated for fruit only to one of the parties, and for oxen for both of them, and in such a case concerning "tooth" it is considered the premises of the plaintiff only, and concerning "horn" it is considered public ground.

Said R. Kahana: I have explained this Halakha to R. Zbid of Nahardea, and he rejoined: How can both parts of the Mishna be in accordance with R. Tarphon? Did not the Mishna state, "the tooth is vicious to consume what is fit for it," which signifies that it is vicious only as to what is fit for it, but not as to what is unfit (as then it is like the horn and pays only half), and R. Tarphon says plainly that even the horn pays the whole on the premises of the plaintiff?

Therefore said Rabhina: "The Mishna is not completed, and ought to read as follows: There are five cases which are considered non-vicious until they are declared to be vicious; the tooth, the foot, however, are considered vicious from the very beginning, and this is called the vicious ox; as to the ox doing damage on the estate of the plaintiff, the rabbis and R. Tarphon differ; and there are other vicious animals similar to those: the wolf, the lion, the bear, the bardalis, the leopard, and the serpent." So also we have learned plainly in a Boraitha.

"And not to lie upon." Said R. Eliezer: "It is so only when it lies on large vessels, but if on small ones it is usual, and it comes under the law applying to the foot."

"The wolf, the lion, etc., and the bardalis." What is a bardalis? Said R. Jehudah: It is a Nephrasa. What is a Nephrasa? Said R. Joseph: It is an Apa (Hyena). 1 Samuel said if a lion on public ground had caught an animal and ate it up alive there is no liability, for it is his usual way to do so, and therefore it is as if an ox had consumed fruit or herbs in public ground; but if he had first killed it and then ate it up he is liable, for it is not usual, and it comes under the law applying to the horn.

MISHNA 5.: There is no difference between a vicious and a non-vicious animal, only that a non-vicious pays one-half of the damage, and only from the (money realised from the sale of the) body of the animal having done the damage; and a vicious animal pays the whole damage and from the best estates.

GEMARA: What is meant by "best estates"? said R. Elazar: It means, the highest of his own estates; and so it is said [II Chron. 32:33]: "And Hezekiah slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the best place of the sepulchres," etc., and R. Elazar said, "best" means among the "highest of his own family"--that is, David and Solomon."

It is written [ibid. 16:14]: "And they buried him in his sepulchres, which he had dug for himself in the city of David, and they laid him in the couch which was filled with sweet odors and divers kinds of spices," etc. "And all Jehudah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem showed him honour at his death" [ibid. 32:33]. Infer from this that his disciples were placed on his grave to study the law. R. Nathan and the sages differ as to how long it continued; one says it lasted three, the others say seven, and still others say it lasted thirty days.

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The rabbis taught (referring to the passage just quoted) that it means the thirty-six thousand people who preceded the coffin of Hezekiah, the king of Judah, all their shoulders bared. So said R. Jehudah. Said R. Ne'hemiah to him: "Was not the same thing done upon the death of Ahab?" The great honour consisted in that the Holy Scrolls were placed on his coffin, and it was announced, "That one resting in the coffin has performed all that is written in these Scrolls." But do we not do the same thing at present? At present we only take the Scrolls out, but we do not place them on the bier, and if you wish you may say that at present we even place them on the bier, but do not say "that he performed," etc. Said Rabba bar bar Hana: I was once walking along with R. Johanan, and he said that at present we say even "he performed," etc., but we do not say "he taught" (that which is written in the Scrolls, which was said at the funeral of Hezekiah). But did not the master say: "The study of the Law is great because it causes action"? Hence we see that action has preference over study, and why was it said of Hezekiah that he "taught"? This presents no difficulty. Over learning, action has a preference; teaching, however, has preference over action.

R. Johanan in the name of R. Simeon b. Johai said: "It is written [Isa. xxxii. 20]: 'Happy are ye that sow beside all waters, freely sending forth the feet of the ox and the ass.'" It means that those who occupy themselves with the study of the Law and those bestowing favours on others will be rewarded with the inheritance of two tribes, as it is written [ibid., ibid.]: "Happy are ye that sow," and "sowing" means nothing else than charity, as it is written [Hosea 10:12]: "Sow then for yourselves after righteousness, that you may reap (the fruit) of kindness"; and by "water" is meant the Law, as it is written [Isa. 55:1]: "Ho, every one of ye that thirsteth, come ye to the water" (i.e., the Torah); "is rewarded with the inheritance," etc., means he overcomes his enemies as the tribe of Joseph, as it is written [Deut. 33:17]: "With them shall he push nations together to the ends of the earth," and he acquires understanding as the tribe of Issachar, as it is written [1 Chron. 12:32]: "And of the children of Issachar, those who had understanding of the times to know what Israel ought to do."

CHAPTER 2.

RULES REGULATING THE PRINCIPLE OF VICIOUSNESS AND NON-VICIOUSNESS IN THE FOUR PRINCIPAL TORT-FEASORS ENUMERATED IN THE FIRST MISHNA.

MISHNA 1.: What tendency makes the foot to be considered vicious? 1 That of breaking (everything in its way) while walking. An animal has a tendency to cause breakage while walking in her 2 usual way. If, however, she were kicking (which is not her habit to do, and therefore considered a derivative of the horn), or there were gravel being kicked up from under her feet (which is sometimes her habit to do) and vessels were broken, one-half of the damage is paid. (In the case of gravel it is so by tradition; and the case is that it was done on the premises of the plaintiff.) If she stepped on a vessel and broke it, and the fragments thereof fell on another vessel and broke it, for the first vessel the full amount of the damage is paid (for it is the damage of the foot), but for the second vessel only one-half is paid (for it is the same as that of "gravel"). Cocks have a tendency to walk in their usual way and cause breakage. If, however, something was attached to their feet, or they were hopping and they broke vessels, only one-half is paid (the reason is explained further on in the Gemara).

GEMARA: Said Rabhina to Rabha: (Let us see.) Does not the term "foot" in the Mishna mean the foot of the animal; and does not the term "animal" mean its foot? Why, then, the change of the terms in the Mishna? He answered: Our Mishna begins with "foot," because the same term was used in a previous Mishna, (but the proper term is "animal").

The rabbis taught: An animal has a tendency to walk in her usual way and cause breakage. How so? An animal that entered upon the premises of the plaintiff and caused damage with her body, or with her hair while walking, or with the saddle which she had on, or with the freight she was loaded with, or with the halter placed in her mouth, or with the bell suspended from her neck; and an ass with his load the whole must be paid. Summachus says: In the case of gravel and in that of a swine raking in rubbish, if damage was done the whole must be paid. "Damage was done?" Is this not self-evident? Read therefore: If he hurled it and thereby did damage, the whole must be paid. "Gravel?" Where is this here mentioned? The Boraitha is not complete, and ought to read thus: In case of gravel, although it is in their nature to kick up, still half only is paid; and the same is the case if damage was done by a swine that was raking in rubbish and hurled some of it. Summachus, however, says: Gravel and swine pay the whole damage.

The rabbis taught: Cocks that were flying from one place to another, and broke vessels with their wings, pay the whole; if, however, the damage was caused by the wind produced by the wings, only half is paid (for whatever is not done directly by the body, but only by the force produced by the body, is considered to be on the same level with "gravel," and pays half). Summachus, however, holds that the whole must be paid.

Another Boraitha states: Cocks that were hopping on dough, or on fruit, and made the same dirty or punctured them, the whole damage must be paid. If they throw on them dust or gravel, half is paid. Summachus, however, holds that the whole must be paid.

Still another Boraitha teaches: If a cock were flying from one place to another, and the wind produced by the wings damaged vessels, only half must be paid. So we see that the above anonymous Boraitha is according to the Rabbis. Said Rabha: On the contrary, the last Boraitha is correct according to Summachus (who opposes that it was a tradition that "gravel" pays only half) and says that the whole must be paid, because he holds that one's force is on the same level with one's body (and therefore damage done by the wind, caused by the wings, is equivalent to damages-done by the wings themselves), but according to the rabbis, if it is considered as done by the body, then the whole must be paid; if it is not considered as done by the body, nothing is to be paid. Subsequently Rabha himself explained: It is undisputed that one's force is equivalent to one's body, but the force (wind) being unusual, it is considered as "gravel," for which there is a tradition that only half is paid.

Rabha said again: All that which in case of one having a running issue is considered a sufficient contact to make the article unclean, in case of damages pays the whole; and all that which in case of one having a running issue is not sufficient contact to make unclean, pays in case of damages half; and he means to teach us the case of the wagon carrying one having a running issue (i.e., as in case of a wagon carrying one having a running issue which passes over vessels the latter become unclean, but if only "gravel" is kicked up from under the wagon and falls upon vessels the latter do not become unclean; so also in case of damages, in the first instance the whole, and in the latter instance only half is paid). There is a Boraitha supporting Rabha: "An animal has a tendency," etc., with the addition that a wagon carrying a person pays the whole damage.

The rabbis taught: "Cocks that were nibbling at a rope from which a water-pail was suspended, and severing the rope broke the water-pail, pay the whole." Rabha propounded a question: If an animal stepped on a vessel which did not break at once, but only rolled away for some distance and then broke, what is the law? Do we follow the origin and consider it to have been broken by the body (and the whole is paid), or do we follow the place where the breakage took place, and it is the same as in the case of "gravel" (and only half should be paid)? Come and hear: Hopping is not to be considered vicious; according to others, however, it may. Is it possible that damage done by hopping shall not be considered vicious (is it not in the nature of the cocks to do so)? Must it not be assumed that while hopping the vessel rolled away and then broke, and they differ on the following: One holds we trace the damage to the origin, and one holds that we consider only the place where the damage occurred? (Hence we see that in this case there exists a difference of opinion.) Perhaps (all agree that we consider only the place where the damage occurred, but) this is in accordance with Summachus, who holds that even "gravel" pays the whole. If so, how would you explain the latter part: "If a fragment flew off and fell on another vessel and the latter broke, for the first vessel the whole, but for the second only half must be paid?" Now if it be according to Summachus, does he then hold to the theory of half damage? And if you should say that he distinguishes between primary and secondary force (in case of the rolling of the water-pail it was primary force, but in that of the vessel damaged by the fragments of the pail it was secondary force), let the question of R. Ashi as to whether or not Summachus distinguishes between primary and secondary force be solved from this, that it is not on the same level with primary force? We must, therefore, say that the above Boraitha is according to the rabbis. Infer from this that we trace the damage to its origin.

R. Bibi bar Abayi, however, said: In the case of the above water-pail the latter was rolling by the continuous original action of the cock (even in the moment of breaking).

Rabha questioned: The one-half damage paid in case of "gravel," is it paid out of the body of the tort-feasor, for we do not find anywhere that half damage is paid from the best estate; or is it paid from the best estate, for we find nowhere that damage done by usual means shall be paid out of the body of the tort-feasor? Come and hear: "A dog that snatched and carried off a cake from the burning coals on which it was being baked to a barn, and there consumed the cake, and with the burning coal that stuck in the cake set fire to the barn, must pay for the cake the whole, and for the barn only one-half." Is the reason for that not because the damage of consuming the cake is that (directly) of the tooth, and the damage to the barn is only indirectly (remote), as in "gravel," and we have (nevertheless) learned in a Tosephtha in regard to this latter that the half damage is paid out of the body? (Hence that it is paid out of the body?) But, on the other hand, can it enter the mind that the reason for the liability in this case is because it is the usual case of "gravel," according to R. Elazar of the Boraitha, even if he concurs with Summachus that "gravel" pays the whole damage? Do we find anywhere that such is paid out of the body? We must, therefore, say that in the usual case of "gravel" the damage is paid out of the body, but the case in the above Mishna is that the coal was handled not in the usual way, and R. Elazar holds in this respect with R. Tarphon, who said that where damage was done by the horn in an unusual way on the premises of the plaintiff, the whole damage must be paid. In reality, however, it is not so. For what is the reason of the assertion that it is, according to R. Tarphon, because of the whole damage? We can say that R. Elazar holds, according to Summachus, that "gravel" pays the whole, and he agrees also with R. Jehudah, who says further on that the non-vicious element (even in case of viciousness) remains intact, and therefore when it is stated here that it is to be paid out of the body, it refers to that element (and in case of non-viciousness it is always paid out of the body).

Said R. Sama, the son of R. Ashi, to Rabhina: (Even according to this theory) you can explain R. Jehudah's statement only in case of a non-vicious animal that became vicious, but how can you explain his statement when the animal is considered vicious from the beginning, as in the case of "gravel in the unusual way"?

We must, therefore, say (if you wish to explain that it is "gravel in the usual way") that R. Elazar held that the whole damage must be paid, according to him, only when it became vicious by doing so thrice, and they differ in the following: One, holds that the theory of viciousness does not apply to gravel, and one holds that it does. If it should be so, then why did Rabha question whether there can be viciousness in case of "gravel in the usual way" (i.e., as when we say that the first time one-half damage is paid, as in the case of the horn, so also it becomes vicious by being done thrice, as the horn), or viciousness cannot apply here, (for as it is a derivative of the foot (because it is natural) it is considered vicious from the beginning, and still pays only one-half damages); according to the rabbis, it certainly is not, and according to R. Elazar it is? Rabha might answer: My doubt whether the theory of viciousness applies to gravel is according to the rabbis, who differ with Summachus; in our case, however, both the rabbis and R. Elazar agree with Summachus, and the reason why the rabbis hold that only half is paid, is because the cause was in the unusual way (in which case it is a derivative of the horn), and it does not become vicious, and the point of their difference is the same as that of the rabbis and R. Tarphon. We have heard R. Tarphon say only as to the whole damage, but have we ever heard him say that it must be paid out of the body? Yea, it is sufficient that the result derived from an inference be equivalent to the law from which it is drawn, and as this is a derivative of the horn, it cannot pay more than the principal or in another manner. But we know that R. Tarphon does not hold to the rule just stated? (There is no difficulty.) He does not hold to that rule only in cases where the rule of a fortiori is applicable, but where this rule is not applicable he does hold to the former rule.

R. Ashi questioned: According to the rabbis, who differ from Summachus and hold that in "gravel in the usual way" only one-half is paid, does the "unusual way" in gravel (as, for instance, if done by kicking up gravel) change it to the payment of one-fourth of the damage (i.e., as the "usual way" is considered vicious, does the "unusual" way make it non-vicious to pay one-half of the amount paid in case of viciousness)? Can this not be solved from Rabha's question, whether there is or there is not viciousness in the case of gravel, from which it is to be inferred that it does not change it (for if it does change it to one-fourth, then in case of viciousness it would pay only half, how can Rabha doubt whether viciousness in this case pays the whole--does viciousness, then, pay more than double the amount of non-viciousness)? We can explain that Rabha was doubtful in both rules (both as to change and viciousness). If you will assert that in case of gravel the rule of change does not apply, can we apply to this case the rule of viciousness? This question remains unanswered.

"If she were kicking," etc. R. Abba bar Mamal questioned R. Ami, and according to others R. Hyya bar Abba: If she (the animal) were walking in a place where it was impossible for her not to kick up gravel, and she kicked, and by so doing kicked up gravel and caused damage, what is the law? Shall we say that because it was impossible for her not to do it, it is, although done by kicking, considered the usual way (and pays half), or we do not consider it so, because still it was done by kicking? This question remains unanswered.

R. Jeremiah questioned R. Zera: If she were walking on public ground and gravel being kicked up from under her feet caused damage, what is the law? Is this a derivative of "horn" (because gravel pays half), and she must pay even if it was on public ground, or gravel is the derivative of "foot" (because it is done with the foot), and there is no liability if done on public ground? He answered him: Common-sense dictates that it is a derivative of the "foot." (He asked again:) If she were walking on public ground and kicked up gravel which fell on

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private ground causing damage, what is the law? He answered: If there is no starting, shall there be a resting (i.e., the starting being on public ground, where there is no liability, shall the resting-place of the gravel be taken into consideration)? The questioner objected: Have we not learned elsewhere: If she were walking on the road and kicked up gravel, whether on public or on private ground, there is a liability. Shall we not assume that it means that both the kicking up of the gravel and the damage were done on public ground? (Now if kicking up gravel is compared with the "horn," therefore there is a liability, as in the latter case; but if it is a derivative of the "foot," why should there be a liability?) (He answered:) Nay, it means that the kicking was on public, but the damage was done on private ground. But did you not argue, "If there is no starting, shall there be a resting?" He answered: I retract my argument.

R. Jehudah the second and R. Oshiyah were sitting on the porch of R. Jehudah's house, and a question was asked: If she has done damage by shaking her tail, what is the law? (Is it considered to be in her habit to do so, and there is no liability, or not?) Said the other: Is there any duty on the owner to hold her by the tail when leading her? If so, why not apply the same argument to the horn, shall the owner hold him (the, ox) by the horn when leading him? What comparison is this? In the latter it is not in his nature to do so, but in the former it is (and therefore it is a derivative of the "foot"). If it is in her? nature to do so, then what is the question for? The question was only in case it was extraordinary shaking. (This question remains.)

"Cocks have a tendency," etc. Said R. Huna: The statement that he pays only half and no more relates only to a case where the article got attached of itself; but if a human being attached it, the one who did so is liable to the whole damage, (for it is considered a "pit"). "If it got attached of itself," who is liable? If we assume that the owner of the article attached is liable, how was the case? If he kept the article with good care, then it was only an accident; if he did not, then it was wilful, and the full damage must be paid. We must, therefore, say that the owner of the cock is liable.

Why does he not pay the whole damage? Because it is written [Ex. 21:33]: "If a man dig a pit," which means to limit it to a human being only, and exclude the case of an ox digging a pit (in this case the article attached is considered "a pit" which the cock created), let the same argument apply even to the half damage, and let us say: "If a man dig a pit, but not if an ox dig a pit" (and let there be no liability at all). We must, therefore, say that our Mishna treats of a case where the cock has done the damage by hurling the article for some distance (in which case it is "kicking up gravel," and only half damage is paid), and the statement of R. Huna applies to the following case: "Of an ownerless article, R. Huna says if it got attached of itself there is no liability at all; but if it was attached by a human being, the one who attached it is liable." On what principle is he liable (for, after all, it does not resemble a "pit" in all respects, because a "pit" is stationary, while here it was removed from the place where it was tied on)? Said R. Huna bar Munoa'h: He is liable on the principle of a "movable pit," which is made so either by human beings or by animals (e.g., if one places a stone in the public highway which, while lying in that place, did not cause any damage; and another person or an animal removed it from that to another place and damage was caused there, the latter is liable).

MISHNA 2.: What tendency makes the tooth to be considered vicious? That of eating what is fit for it. An animal has a tendency to consume fruit and vegetables; if she, however, chewed up a garment or vessels, only half damage is paid. This is said only if on the premises of the plaintiff, but on public ground there is no liability. But if she derived any benefit therefrom, the value of such benefit is paid. How so? If she consumed from the middle of the public highway, the value of the benefit is paid; if from the sideways of the highway only, the amount of the damage is paid; if from the front of a store, the value of the benefit; if from within the store, only the value of damage is paid. (This Mishna is explained further on.)

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: The tooth has a tendency to consume what is fit for it. How so? For an animal that entered the court of the plaintiff and consumed food that is fit for her or drank liquids that are fit for her, the whole damage must be paid. The same is when a beast entered the court of the plaintiff and killed an animal, or consumed meat, the whole damage must be paid.

For a cow, however, that consumed barley and an ass that consumed beets, or a dog that was licking oil or a swine that devoured meat, the whole damage must be paid (although it is not their usual food). Said R. Papa: Now that you lay down the rule that an article consumed which constitutes the food of the consumer only in case of unusual necessity is considered food; for a cat that devoured dates and an ass that consumed fish, the whole must be paid. It happened that an ass consumed a loaf of bread contained in a basket and chewed up the basket, and R. Jehudah decreed that the whole be paid for the bread and half for the basket (because the former is in his habit to eat and the latter not). Why so? Is it not in his habit to chew also the basket while eating the bread? The case was that he first consumed the bread and then chewed up the basket. Is then bread the usual food of cattle? Have we not learned: "If she consumed bread, meat, or cooked food, half is paid"? Shall we not assume that it treats of cattle? Nay, it means a beast. If so, then it is in its habit to eat meat? The case is that the meat was roasted. It can be explained also that the meat was raw, but that the animal was a deer. And if you wish to explain it that it treats of cattle, then the case was that the food was placed on the table (which is unusual for cattle to eat from). It happened that a goat, noticing beets on the top of a barrel, climbed up and consumed the beets and broke the barrel, and Rabha ordered to pay the whole for both. Why so? Because: as it is in her habit to consume beets, so it is also her habit to climb up the barrel. Ilpha said: An animal being on public, ground, that extended her neck and consumed some article from the back of another animal, is liable. Why so? Because the back of the other animal is considered as the plaintiff's premises. Shall we assume that he shall be supported by the following Boraitha: "When his basket was placed on his back and an animal extending her neck reached the food therein and consumed it, it is to be paid for"? Nay, the case is as Rabha said, that! it was reached by the animal jumping at it, so also was the case here, viz., by jumping. Where was Rabha's explanation taught?

On the following statement of R. Oshiyah: An animal on public ground, if she has consumed while walking there is no liability, but if she has done so while standing in one place there is a liability. (And it was questioned): Why is this so? Is it not usual for an animal also to stand in the public highway? Said Rabha: R. Oshiyah meant to say if the animal jumped. R. Zera propounded a question: If it was rolling, what is the law? To what case has R. Zera reference? If the animal was standing on private ground and the article was rolling toward the private ground. 1 (Do we follow the place where it was consumed, and there is no liability, or do we follow the place wherefrom it was removed, and there is a liability?)

Come and hear: "R. Hyya taught: A bundle of food being placed partly within and partly without (private premises), if the animal consumed that portion placed within, there is, and if that portion placed without, there is no liability." Shall we not assume that it was rolled in (i.e., that the whole was consumed, and it was rolled wholly in or wholly out, respectively; hence, that we follow the place of consumption)? Nay, R. Hyya taught so only in long-leafed grass (in which case every leaf is partly within and partly without the premises, and as soon as one end is touched the other goes after it, and therefore we follow the place of consumption, but not so in case of grain).

"If she chewed up a garment," etc. To what part in the Mishna has this reference? Said Rabh: To all parts. Why so? If one does an unusual thing (as in this case the placing of a garment in public ground), and another does an unusual act to that thing (as in this case the chewing up of the garment by the animal), there is no liability. Samuel, however, says this was taught only of fruit and vegetables, but for garments and vessels there is a liability. Resh Lakish, however, concurs with Rabh (because he adheres to his theory further on, Chap. III., Mishna 6.)

"If she derived benefit," etc. How much? Rabba said the value of hay. Rabha said the value of cheap barley. There is a Boraitha in accordance with Rabba, namely: "R. Simeon b. Jo'hi says: Only the value of hay or straw is paid, and no more." There is another Boraitha in accordance with Rabha, namely: "If she derived benefit, she pays as much as the value of the benefit. How so? If she consumed a kabh or two, not the full value is paid, but only so much as one requires to feed his animal on food fit for her, although he is not in the habit of using such food. Therefore (as the fitness of the food is taken into consideration) if she consumed wheat or other food injurious to her, there is no liability (if on public ground)."

R. Hisda said to Rami bar Hama: I regret that you were not in our neighbourhood the other evening when very acute questions were asked of us. What were they? Thus: One who takes up his dwelling in the court of his neighbour without the latter's knowledge, must he, or must he not, pay rent? How was the case? If the court was not to be let, and the dweller was such that he did not need to rent any (e.g., if he had a dwelling of his own, or could get one without paying rent), then the one derives no benefit and the other suffers no loss? And if the court was to be let and the dweller needed a dwelling-place, then one does derive benefit and the other suffers loss (and why should no rent be paid)? The case was where the court was not to be let, but the dweller needed one. How is it? Can the dweller say to the court-owner: "What loss have I caused you?" Or can the court-owner say to the dweller: "It does not matter, for you derived benefit at any rate"? And he answered him: For this there is a Mishna. Where is that Mishna? He said to him: If you will render me some services, I will tell you where it is. He took off his coat and rolled it together for him. He then said: It is the above Mishna which states that if any benefit was derived the value thereof must be paid. Said Rabha: How secure and careless does the man feel that knows that the Lord helps him. (See Yomah, page 31, a similar saying in the name of R. Huna.) He accepted the Mishna as a case similar to the one above, when in reality the facts of the Mishna are different from those of the case above, as in the case stated in the Mishna one derives benefit and the other suffers damage, while in his case one derives benefit and the other does not suffer any loss.

[What could Rami bar Hama say to that? Generally, one who places fruit on public ground renounces ownership of it (and therefore there is no loss).]

Come and hear: R. Jehudah said also that one who occupies his neighbour's court without the latter's knowledge must pay rent. Infer from this that in case one derives benefit, although the other suffers no loss, there is a liability? Nay, there it is different; it treats of a new house, the walls of which become soiled from use (and this is considered a loss to the owner). (Finally) this question was sent to the school of R. Ami, and he answered: What has he done, what loss has he suffered, or what damage has he caused? Said R. Hyya bar Abba: Nay, we have still to consider this matter (as the soiling may be considered a damage). Afterward they sent to him (to R. Hyya b. Abba) for his decision in this matter, and he said: They continue sending me this question; if I could find any reason to decide this, would I not have answered?

(In reference to above question) it was taught: R. Kahana said in the name of R. Johanan: He need not pay any rent. R. Abbubu said in the name of the said authority that he need pay rent.

R. Abba bar Zabda sent a message to Mari bar Mar to ask R. Huna for his decision in the above matter. In the meantime R. Huna departed life. Said Rabba, his son: So said my father and teacher in the name of Rabh: He need not pay. (He also said): One who rents a house from Reuben must pay the rent to Simeon. How does Simeon come in here? He meant thus: If the house, in which he was living there at the time, was sold to Simeon, the rent must be paid to Simeon (although Simeon had no knowledge that he was occupying the house). Could, then, R. Huna say two things which contradict each other? There is no contradiction, because in the latter case the occupant intended to pay for its use. The very same case was taught by R. Hyya bar Abin in the name of Rabh, and according to others in the name of R. Huna. R. S'horah said in the name of R. Huna, quoting Rabh: One who dwells in the house of his neighbour (which was unoccupied and located in an unsettled district) without the owner's knowledge need not pay any rent, because the non-occupation causes damage, as it is written [Is. 24:12]: "And in ruins is beaten the gate" (i.e., if unoccupied the gate becomes ruined, and therefore the owner of the house derives benefit from the occupation). Said Mar bar R. Ashi: I once saw such a house which was damaged and looked as if gored by an ox. R. Joseph assigned another reason, viz., a house which is inhabited lasts longer (for the inhabitants make all the repairs necessary). What is the difference between these two reasons? There is a difference when the house is used for storing wood and straw. 1

A certain person erected a palace on the ruins belonging to orphans, and R. Na'hman collected the rent (for the use of the ruins) from the palace. Should we assume that R. Na'hman holds that one who dwells in the house of his neighbour without the knowledge of the owner must pay rent? In this case the ruins were previously occupied by ancients who used to pay a nominal rent to the orphans, and R. Na'hman ordered Carmines to go and compensate the orphans, which order was disregarded by him, and therefore R. Na'hman collected it from the palace.

"How does she pay for the benefit," etc. Said Rabh: This was taught only when she turned around her head (from the public highway to the sideway), but in a case where one leaves a portion of his own ground open to the public highway (and an animal enters upon it while walking on the public ground and consumes fruit stored there) there is no liability. Samuel, however, says: Even in the latter case there is a liability. Shall we assume that they differ as (to the liability of a) pit located on one's own ground (where the owner renounced his ownership of the ground, but not of the pit)? Rabh holds that (the owner of the pit) is liable (and in this case in question the fruit is considered a "pit," and the ground being ownerless, it is considered public ground, and therefore he ought not to have done so, and for that reason there is no responsibility for consuming it). Samuel holds that for the pit in question there is no liability (consequently he was allowed to place his fruit there, and therefore the consumer is liable). Nay, Rabh may answer, I hold in case of a "pit on one's own ground" that there is no liability; but why is here the consumer liable? Because the owner of the animal can say: You cannot have so much privilege as to place your fruit in the immediate neighbourhood of public ground and hold my ox to liability. And the same is the case with Samuel, who may say: In case of a "pit on one's own ground," I hold that there is a liability, but here, if even it would be right (for the owner of the animal) to say that the ox could not be aware of the pit (and therefore if he should be damaged the owner of the pit would be liable), the case is different, because the fruit was exposed to view and the ox could not escape noticing it (and therefore if the ox

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should be injured the owner of the fruit would not be liable; the owner of the ox, however, is liable for the fruit consumed by his ox, because he derived benefit from another's property). Shall we assume that in the above case (turning the head) the Tanaim of the following Boraitha differ: "If an animal consumed from the middle of the highway, the value of the benefit derived is to be paid; if from the sideways, the value of the damage is to be paid. Such is the dictum of R. Meir and R. Jehudah; R. Jose and R. Elazar, however, hold that it is not her usual habit to consume, but only to walk (on the sideway, and therefore there is a liability). Now, shall we assume that R. Jose concurs with the first Tana, but they differ only as to "turning the head," viz.: The first Tana holds that in that case she also pays only the value of the benefit, and R. Jose holds that she pays the value of the damage done (and hence that the Tanaim differ)? Nay, it may be said that all agree, that in case of "turning the head" it is either according to Rabh or according to Samuel, but they differ here as to feeding in another man's field [Ex. 22:4]: "And he lets his beasts enter, and they feed in another man's field."

One holds that it means to exclude public ground (and therefore if she consumed from the middle of the street there is no liability), and one holds it means to exclude the ground of the defendant. "The ground of the defendant?" (Why should there be any liability?) Let the defendant say to the plaintiff: What right had you to place your fruit upon my ground? We must therefore say that they differ in cases stated by Ilpha and R. Oshiyah (R. Meir holds, if in the middle of the highway only the value of the benefit is to be paid in both the case stated by Ilpha and that stated by R. Oshiyah. And R. Joseph maintains that it is not her usual habit, etc., and holds to Ilpha and R. Oshiyah.)

MISHNA 3.: A dog or a goat that jump down from the top of a roof and break vessels pay the whole damage; for they are vicious (as to jumping, and it speaks of a case on the premises of the plaintiff). A dog that snatched a cake (from the coal on which it was baked) and carried it to a barn and there consumed the cake and (with the burning coal stuck in the cake) set fire to the barn, the whole for the cake, but only one-half damage for the barn is to be paid (as explained further on in the Gemara).

GEMARA: The Mishna states a case of jumping, because in case of falling down there is no liability; we see then that the Tana holds that where the beginning of an act is wilful (in this case, allowing the goat or dog to be on the top of the roof), but the end is only by accident (the falling down, which he could not anticipate), there is no liability. We have so also learned in a Boraitha: "A dog or goat that jump down from a roof and break vessels pay the whole damage; if, however, they fell down there is no liability." The rabbis taught: "A dog or a goat that jump up from below, there is no liability; if, however, they jump down from above there is. A human being or a cock, however, that jump are liable in either case."

"A dog that snatched," etc. It was taught: R. Johanan said: One's fire is considered one's arrow (i.e., one who allows a fire started by him to spread and do damage is liable on the same principle as one who shoots from a bow when the arrow does damage). Resh Lakish, however, said: The liability is because the fire is considered one's property. There is a contradiction from our Mishna: "A dog that snatched a cake," etc. It would be right according to the one who holds that one's fire is considered one's arrow, for in this case it is the dog's arrow (and the dog is the person's property); but according to the one who holds that it is because the fire is considered one's property, in this case it is the property of the owner of the dog. Resh Lakish may say: The case was that he flung it, in which case he is liable for the cake to the full amount; for the place on which the coal fell to one-half (for it is unusual); and for the barn he is not liable at all (for the liability for one's fire is because it is his property, and in this case it is not). And R. Johanan may explain that he placed (the cake and the burning coal) in the usual way, and therefore for the cake and the place where the coal lay he is liable to the full amount, but for the barn he is liable only to one-half. Said Rabha: There are both a biblical passage and a Boraitha in support of R. Johanan, viz., a biblical passage, for it is written [Ex. 22:5]: "If a fire break out"; "break" means if it does so of itself, and still "he that kindled the fire shall surely make restitution" [ibid.]. Hence we see that one's fire is considered one's arrow. A Boraitha: As we have learned: "The passage starts out with damages done by one's property (the above-quoted passage, which means 'break' out of itself) without the aid of some person, and ends with the damages done by one's own person: 'He that kindled,' etc. [ibid., ibid.], to teach that the liability for one's fire is because it is considered his arrow."

Rabha said again: It was first a difficulty to Abayi: It is known that there is no liability for damages done by fire to concealed articles; how can such a case be found in the biblical law, according to those who hold that fire is considered one's arrow? Afterward he himself tried to explain it thus, that the case is where a fire started in one court and the fence of the court fell in, not by reason of the fire (but by some other reason), and on account of this the fire spread to another court and caused damage, in which case the "arrow" ceased to be such at the boundary of the first court (for at the time the fire was started it was unable to spread outside of the court, before the falling in of the fence).

If so, then the same thing may be said also in case of unconcealed articles? We must, therefore, say that the one who holds that the liability is because it is his arrow, holds that it is so because the same is also his property, and that in this case he had sufficient time to repair the fence (before the fire spread) but did not do so; and although not liable for starting the fire he is liable for allowing it to spread, in which case it is the same as if he had kept his ox in a stall without locking the door. If it should be so, that the one who holds that the liability for one's fire is because it is his arrow holds also of the other theory, that it is considered his property (and if not liable for one reason is liable for the other reason), then what is the difference between R. Johanan and Resh Lakish? The difference is as to the liability for the four things. (According to the one who holds that it is because it is his arrow also, there is a liability; and according to the one who holds that it is because it is his property, there is none.)

"For the cake," etc., "pays," etc. Who is liable--the owner of the dog? Why should also the owner of the coal not be liable? (For according to both R. Johanan and Resh Lakish the liability is because it is his property, and according to R. Johanan, who holds that half must be paid for the barn, the owner of the coal pays the other half; and according to Resh Lakish, who holds that there is no liability at all for the barn, let the owner of the coal be liable for the whole?) The case is that the owner of the coal took good care of it. If so, how could the dog get hold of it? The case is that the dog dug under the door and in such a way gained access. Said Mari, the son of R. Kahana: From the fact that the owner of the dog must pay the whole damages is to be inferred that ordinary doors are considered unsecured in regard to dogs (and it must not be considered unusual so as to pay only half).

Let us see: The Mishna states that the dog has consumed the cake, etc. Consumed where? If not on the premises of the owner of the cake, why must it be paid? This is not "in another man's field" [Ex. 22:4] (which means on the premises of the plaintiff). We must, therefore, say that it was at the barn of the cake-owner. (From the fact that he must pay for the cake) then infer that the mouth of an animal (consuming something on the premises of the plaintiff) is considered as it is yet in the court of the plaintiff. (As the case stated in the Mishna was that the dog kept it in his mouth from the time he picked it up until he reached the barn, and it was not considered that it was on the premises of the defendant, although the dog was his property,) for if it would be considered as the premises of the defendant, he could say to the plaintiff: Your bread was all the time in the mouth of my dog, which is my property, and there it was consumed; why, then, shall I pay? We say infer, because a question was actually raised as to this. And there could no such question arise if it were certain that the mouth of the animal is considered the premises of the defendant; and besides, there could arise no case in which there would be a liability for damage by the tooth, as in order to consume it it must necessarily be taken into the mouth. Said Mari, the son of R. Kahana: If there could be no direct case of "tooth," there could arise a case which is its derivative, as, for instance, when the animal was rubbing against the wall for her own benefit and thereby did damage, or she rolled over fruits for her own benefit, and made them dirty (which cases are derivatives of the "tooth"). Mar Zutra opposed: But is it then not written in the Bible that there must be complete destruction [I Kings 14:10]: "Sweeps away the dung till there be nothing left"? Which is not the case here (as the wall or the fruit is still in existence). Said Rabhina: It can be explained that by rubbing against the wall she obliterated completely the engravings thereon; (and in case of the fruit), said R. Ashi, that by rolling over the fruits she sank them into the mud (so that they could not be removed).

There were certain goats belonging to the family of Tarbu that were doing damage to the property of R. Joseph, and he said to Abayi: Go and tell their owners to keep them in safety. The latter answered him: If I do so they will tell me that you should put up a fence on your ground. [If one must put up a fence upon his premises in order to prevent consumption of, or otherwise damaging, his fruit, how can there: be a case of liability for damage by the "tooth," for which the Scripture makes it plainly liable? That may be in case she dug under the fence or the fence fell in in the night-time (if there was no opportunity of repairing it).] Announced R. Joseph, and according to others Rabba: It shall be known to all those who are ascending to Palestine and to all those who are descending to Babylon that if those goats that are kept for slaughter during the market days do damage, their owners shall be warned twice or three times. If they listen well and good, if not the goats are to be brought to the slaughter-house, even before the arrival of the market days, and the owners are to be paid their market value of that day.

MISHNA 4.: What is considered a non-vicious and what is considered a vicious one? A vicious ox is one that has been warned three days. A non-vicious one is one that abstains (from goring) for three days. Such is the dictum of R. Jehudah. R. Meir, however, said a vicious ox is one that had been warned thrice, and a non-vicious one is one that, when children pat him on the back, does not gore them.

GEMARA: What is R. Jehudah's reason? Said Abayi: It is written [Ex. 21:36]: "In time past" (in the original: "Mi-tmol, Shilshom"). It could have been written "tmol" (yesterday), and then would have counted only once, but it is written "Mi-tmol" (since yesterday), therefore it signifies twice; when "shilshom" is added it signifies thrice, and then follows, "and his owner hath not kept him in" [ibid.], which means that viciousness begins upon goring the fourth time (for the third time, however, only half is paid). Rabha, however, is not so particular about the addition of "mi" to "tmol," and therefore this word signifies only once, and the word "shilshom" signifies twice, hence "and his owner," etc., means the third time, when the ox becomes vicious, and he pays the whole damage.

And what is the reason of R. Meir's theory? This is explained in the following Boraitha.: R.. Meir said: (Draw an a fortiori conclusion): If he gored at "long intervals (only once a day), he is considered vicious on the third time; so much the more if he had gored thrice in one day he must be considered vicious. They rejoined: There is no conclusion a fortiori to be drawn here, as there is a similarity in the case of a woman who has a running issue, who is unclean for seven days only when she notices the disease three days in succession once a day, but if she notices it three times or more in one day she has to wait only one day. He said again. (From this nothing can be inferred) as the verse made this case an exceptional one by the words "And this," etc. [Lev. xv. 3], which signify that it is so only in this case, and no others can be compared to it, for we see that in this case the verse made it, in case of a man, depend upon the number of times of noticing of the issue, while in the case of a woman, it made it dependent upon the number of days.

The rabbis taught: What ox is considered vicious? One that has been warned for three days; and a non-vicious one is one that is patted by children and does not gore; such is the dictum of R. Jose. R. Simeon, however, holds that a vicious ox is such as has been warned thrice (even in one day), and the statement as to the three days is only as to abstaining (that is, if after having been warned three times he abstains for three days from goring, then he is again considered non-vicious). Said R. Na'hman in the name of R. Ada bar Ahba: The Halakha prevails as stated by R. Jehudah in regard to a vicious ox, and according to R. Meir in regard to a non-vicious ox, for the reason that R. Jose agrees with them. Said Rabha to R. Na'hman: Let the master say that the Halakha prevails according to R. Meir in regard to a vicious ox, and according to R. Jehudah in regard to a non-vicious ox, for the reason that R. Simeon agrees with them in both. He rejoined: I concur with R. Jose, for he has always his valid reasons.

The schoolmen propounded a question: The three days in question, are they as to make the ox vicious; but the owner may be liable for a vicious one in one day; or are those three days also as to the owner? In what case can there be a difference? If there appear three different sets of witnesses in one day (and testify as to three gorings in three days), if those three days are as to the ox, then he becomes vicious; but if they are as to the liability of the owner, then the latter can say all the three sets appear only now (and the Scripture requires that they shall appear in three days).

Come and hear: "An ox does not become vicious until testimony is given in the presence of both his owner and the court. If in the presence of only one of them, he does not become vicious until it is in the presence of both. If two witnesses testified as to the first goring, two as to the second goring, and two as to the third (each goring being at a different place, time, and man), we have then three sets of witnesses, but still all the three sets are considered one as to be proved in collusion. If one set is found collusive there is still the testimony of the other two sets, and neither the owner is liable to pay for a vicious one nor are his witnesses liable (to pay the other half for viciousness). The same is if also the second set proved collusive. If, however, all the three sets prove collusive, they are all considered as one set, and all of them are to pay the one-half for viciousness, and that is meant by the passage [Deut. xix. 19]: Then shall ye do unto him, as he had purposed to do unto his brother," etc. Now let us see. If the three days are as to the ox (but the owner may become liable if testimony be given to him thrice in one day), it is correct that the witnesses are liable only when all the three sets proved collusive (for it may be that the one who was injured brought all the witnesses to testify to the three gorings, and each set knew of the other and to what they were to testify, and therefore they cannot say that they intended to make him pay only one-half); but if you should say that the three days are as to the owner also, why should the first set of witnesses (if proved collusive) be liable? Let them say that they did not know that others would come in two or three days later to testify as to make him vicious. Said R. Ashi: When I read this Halakha before R. Kahana, he said to me: Even if the three days are explained to be in regard to the ox

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only, would it then be correct, for (if even the first set cannot argue that they had no knowledge of the testimony to be given by the others, for they knew that on their own testimony he could not be made vicious) the last set can say: How should we have known that all these witnesses before the court were going to testify as to this case; we intended to testify so as to make him pay only one-half? We must, therefore, say (that if the three days refer to the ox) one set of witnesses gave the other a hint as to what they were going to testify. R. Ashi said: The case is that they all come together and therefore are supposed to know of the testimony of one another. Rabhina said: It may be that the witnesses knew the owner, but did not know the ox (and therefore by coming to testify they meant to make the ox vicious and must have known that there was already testimony given). If they do not know the ox, how can they make him vicious? They testify and warn the owner that there is a "goring" ox among his cattle, and therefore that he should take care of all his cattle.

The schoolmen propounded the following question: For one who sets his neighbour's dog on a third person, what is the law? The first one is surely not liable (for he was only instrumental in the injury), but the owner of the dog, is he or is he not liable? Can he say: What did I do in this matter? Or can we tell him: Having known that your dog is capable of being set on, you should not keep him? Said R. Zera: Come and hear. It is stated in our Mishna: What is considered a non-vicious ox? One who when patted by children does not gore them, but if he does gore he is liable (although it was caused by the patting of the children). Said Abayi: Is this, then, so stated in the Mishna? Perhaps the Mishna meant that if he did gore he is no more considered entirely non-vicious, but that he is not liable for that goring. This question remains undecided. Rabha said: If you should say that one who sets on his neighbour's dog is liable, it would follow that, if in such a case the dog turned on the one who sets him on and bit him, the owner is not liable. Why so? As stated above, that one who does an unusual thing, etc., which is the same in this case. The man was wrong in setting on the dog, and the dog should not bite him. Said R. Papa to Rabha: It was taught in the name of Resh Lakish in accordance with your theory in the case of two cows. Rejoined Rabha: I in such a case hold him to liability, for the reason that we can say to him: You had permission to step upon me, but had you then also permission to kick me?

MISHNA V.: "An ox that did damage on the premises belonging to the plaintiff," stated in Chapter 1., Mishna 4.; how so? If he gored, pushed, bit, lay down on, or kicked while on public ground, he pays half; if while on the premises of the plaintiff, R. Tarphon holds the whole; the rabbis, however, say one-half. Said R. Tarphon to them: (Are we then not to draw an a fortiori conclusion.) In a case in which the law is lenient with the "tooth" and "foot" on public ground, making them not liable, it decrees rigorously if the same happened on the premises of the plaintiff, namely, that the whole must be paid; in a case where it decrees rigorously that the "horn" on public ground must pay half, is it not a logical inference that we ought to strictly adjudge the same, if on the premises of the plaintiff, liable for the whole? They said to him: It is sufficient that the result derived from the inference be equivalent to the law from which it is drawn, viz., as if on public ground only half, so also if on the premises of the plaintiff. He rejoined: I also do not infer "horn" from "horn," but I infer horn from "foot," and I reason thus: if in cases in which the "tooth" and "foot" were dealt with leniently if on public ground, the "horn" was dealt with rigorously, is it not a logical conclusion that the latter shall be rigorously dealt with in cases where the former were also so dealt with? They rejoined again: It is nevertheless sufficient that the result derived from the inference be equivalent to the law from which it is drawn.

GEMARA: Did R. Tarphon ignore the theory of "It is sufficient," etc.? Is, then, this rule not a biblical one? As we have learned in the following Boraitha: "An a fortiori conclusion must be considered biblical. Where is it to be found in the Bible? It is written [Numb. xii. 14]: 'And the Lord said unto Moses, if her father had spit in her face would she not be ashamed seven days?' So much the more if it is toward the Shekhina, it must be fourteen days? But there is a rule that it is sufficient that the result derived from the inference be equivalent to the law from which it is drawn." (Hence we see that the rule of "It is sufficient" is also biblical.) R. Tarphon does not hold to that rule only where an a fortiori argument can refute that inference, but where there is no such refutation he does, viz., in the Bible the seven days of the Shekhina are NOT written; only by an a fortiori argument we set it to be fourteen days, and therefore, by the rule above stated, we equal it to the father's case, but in our case the half damage is written in the Bible and applies also to the premises of the plaintiff, and by an a fortiori argument we only add another half to it. Now if you should apply the rule above stated, then the a fortiori argument would be refuted entirely by it. The rabbis, however, maintain that the seven days in case of the Shekhina ARE written in the Bible, viz. [ibid., ibid.]: "Let her be shut up seven days." R. Tarphon, however, may say that that is the very verse which indicates the application of the rule of "It is sufficient," etc. And whence do the rabbis deduce the application of this rule? There is another passage for that, viz. [ibid. 15]: "And Miriam was shut up." R. Tarphon, however, may say that that other verse is necessary to indicate that the rule of "it is sufficient," etc., is applicable in ordinary cases also, as one might say that it is applicable to this case only because of the honour of Moses; hence the passage.

Let the "tooth" and "foot" be liable (if they do damage) on public ground by the following a fortiori argument: The horn (doing damage) on the premises of the plaintiff pays only half, still the same is the case even on public ground; the "tooth" and "foot," which pay the whole if on the premises of the plaintiff, is it not logical that they should be liable on public ground? Therefore the Scripture reads plainly [Ex. 22:4]: "And they feed in another man's field," which signifies private, but not public ground. Do we then say that the whole must be paid (as the tooth, to which this passage has reference), we say that one-half should be paid? There is another passage [Ex. 21:35]: "And divide his money," which signifies his money (of the horn), but not the money in other cases (i.e., in other cases the whole must be paid).

Let the "tooth" and "foot" be liable only to one-half if on the premises of the plaintiff by the following a fortiori argument: The horn which is liable on public ground pays only half on the premises of the plaintiff; the "tooth" and "foot," which have no liability at all on public ground, should they not so much the more pay only half on the premises of the plaintiff? To this the Scripture reads [ibid. 22:4], "make restitution," which means a satisfactory payment (the whole).

Now let the horn on public ground not be liable at all by the following a fortiori argument: The "tooth" and "foot," which pay the whole on the premises of the plaintiff are not liable on public ground; the horn, which pays only half on the premises of the plaintiff, should it not so much the more be entirely free on public ground? Said R. Johanan: The Scripture added [ibid. 21:35]: "They shall divide" (which is superfluous, as it was already stated before that his money shall be divided), to signify that it is also liable on public ground.

Let a man (that kills another wilfully, but without warning, in which case he is neither to suffer the death penalty nor to be banished) pay a sum of money in atonement by the following a fortiori argument: An ox which is not liable to the payment of the four certain things must nevertheless pay a sum of money in atonement; for a man who is liable to the payment of the above four things, is it not logical that he should be liable to the payment of a sum of money in atonement? To this the Scripture reads [ibid. 30], "whatever may be laid upon him," which means upon him only (the ox), but not upon a man.

Now let the ox be liable to the payment of the four things by the following a fortiori argument: A man who is not liable to the payment of money in atonement is nevertheless liable to the payment of the four things; for an ox, which is liable to the payment of atonement money, is it not logical that he should pay the four things? To this the Scripture reads [Lev. 24:19]: "And if a man, etc., in his neighbour," which does not mean an ox, etc.

The schoolmen propounded the following question: An ox that steps with his foot on a child lying on the premises of the plaintiff, what is the law in regard to the payment of the atonement money? Shall we say that it should be equal to the case of the horn, as when the horn gores twice or thrice it is considered its habit and pays atonement money, the same shall be applied to the foot, as it is always its habit to step? On the other hand, can it be said that there is no similarity to the horn because the horn gores with the intention to do damage, which cannot be said of a foot which steps without such intention? Come and hear: One who leads his ox into one's court without the owner's permission and the ox gore the owner to death, the ox is to be stoned and his owner, whether in case of viciousness or non-viciousness, must pay the full sum of atonement. Such is the dictum of R. Tarphon. Now let us see: Whence does R. Tarphon infer that in case of non-viciousness the full sum of atonement money must be paid? Is it not because he holds with R. Jose the Galilean, who says (Text, 486) that a non-vicious ox pays half atonement money on public ground, and he (R. Tarphon) draws an a fortiori conclusion from the "foot" (viz., the tooth and foot, which are not liable at all on public ground, "pay the full amount of atonement money on premises belonging to the plaintiff, and the horn, which pays, according to R. Jose the Galilean, half atonement money on public ground, so much the more should be paid the full atonement money on premises belonging to the plaintiff). Hence we see that the case of atonement money applies also to the foot. Said R. A'ha of Diphthi to Rabhina: Common-sense also dictates so. For if one should think that it does not apply to the foot, and the Tana (R. Tarphon) deduces it only from the injuries caused by the foot (but not from the killing) (viz., if the foot, which on public ground is not liable for damages, pays the full damage if on premises of the plaintiff, the horn, which pays on public ground half atonement money, according to R. Jose the Galilean, is it not logical that on premises belonging to the plaintiff it should pay the full sum of atonement money?) It could be refuted and said: As far as the damage of the foot is concerned, it is its habit (to damage all things lying in its way when walking), but it is not so as to killing. Infer from this that the case of atonement money applies to the case of the foot also, and R. Tarphon has drawn his a fortiori conclusion from this case. And so it is.

MISHNA 6.: A human being is considered always vicious, whether he acts intentionally or unintentionally, when awake and also when asleep. If one blind the eye of his neighbour, or break his vessels, he pays the whole damage.

GEMARA: The Mishna teaches if one blind the eye of his neighbour that, as in the case of breaking one's vessels, only damage is paid for, but not the four things; so also in the former case only for the damage, but not the four things, is to be paid (when done unintentionally). Whence is that deduced (that the damage is paid for even when unintentionally)? Said Hyzkiah, and so also was it taught by his disciples: The passage says [Ex. 21:25] "wound for wound" (which is superfluous, for it is stated [Lev. 24:19]: "And if a man cause a bodily defect"), to make one liable for unintentional as for intentional damage, and for an accidental as for a deliberate act. But do we not need this passage to make one liable for the pain (which is one of the four things explained above) where damages are paid? If so, let the passage say "wound for wound," why then "wound instead of a wound"? Infer from this both.

Rabba said: One who carries a stone in his lap without being aware of it, and while getting up from his seat drops it, as regards damages he is liable (for there is no difference whether it was intentional or not), but as regards the four things he is not; regarding the Sabbath the Scripture prohibits only intentional work; as to banishment (if a human being was killed thereby), he is not liable; as to his liability to a slave (if it fell on a slave and blinded him), R. Simeon b. Gamaliel and the rabbis differ (as to whether he must manumit him or not [Ex. 21:26]). If in the above case he was at first aware of the presence of the stone, but subsequently forgot it, as to damages he is liable, as to the four things he is not (for the fact that he forgot it cannot be considered wilfulness); as to banishment he is liable, as regards Sabbath he is not; as regards a slave, R. Simeon b. Gamaliel and the rabbis differ. If he intended to throw the stone two (ells) distant and threw it four, as to damages he is liable; as to the four things he is not; as regards Sabbath, intention is necessary; as to banishment, the Scripture said [ibid. 21:13]: "And if he did not lie in wait," excepting this case under discussion; as regards a slave, R. Simeon b. Gamaliel and the rabbis differ. If he intended to throw four (ells) and threw it eight (ells) distant, as to damages he is, as to the four things he is not liable; as regards Sabbath he is free unless he said: Let it fall wherever it may; as regards banishment the above-quoted passage means to except such a case as to his liability to a slave. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel and the rabbis also differ. 1

Rabba said again of one who drops his own vessel from the top of a roof, and before it reaches the ground another person strikes it with his cane and breaks it, the latter person is not liable, for it is considered that he broke a broken vessel.

The same said again: One who drops a vessel from the top of a roof upon the ground which has been covered with pillows, and another person removes them before the dropping of the vessel (without the knowledge of the person who drops it) and the vessel was broken, there is no liability on the part of the person who drops it, for at the time he dropped it he thought it could not break, nor was the person who removed the pillows liable, because he was only the remote and not the proximate cause of the damage.

The same said again: If one drop a child from the top of a roof, and before it reaches the ground another person cut it with his sword, this is similar to the case of the following Boraitha, in which R. Jehudah b. Bathyra and the rabbis differ: If one was assaulted by ten different persons, no matter whether at once or at different times, and was killed, none of them has to suffer capital punishment, as according to the Scripture it must be known who was the cause of the death. R. Jehudah b. Bathyra, however, holds, in case the assault was made by one after the other, that the last one is guilty, for he hastened his death (and this rule can be applied to the above case of the child).

If (in the case of the child) a vicious ox killed it with his horns before it reached the ground, this is similar to the case of the Boraitha in which R. Ishmael, the son of R. Johanan b. Broka, and the rabbis differ.

The same also said: One who falls from the top of a roof by an extraordinary wind and does damage, or falls on a woman and causes her shame, is liable for the damage, but not to the four things. If, however, it happen by an ordinary wind and causes damage or disgrace to a woman by falling on her, he is liable for all the four things except for the disgrace.

Lastly Rabba said: One who causes the death of another by placing live coals upon his (bare) breast has no liability (for the deceased could remove them); if he placed the coals upon

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another one's clothes and they were burned he is liable (because the moment the live coal was placed on the clothes the latter were at once damaged).

[Said Rabha: Both these cases are explained in Mishnayoth. The first one in Tract Sanhedrin, Mishna II., and the second in this tract, Chapter 8., Mishna 5.] He, however, propounded the following question: If one placed a live coal upon the breast of his neighbour's slave, is the slave considered in such case as his own body (and there is no liability, for the slave should remove it), or is he considered only his property (and he is liable)? And if one should say that a slave is considered the body of his master, what is an ox under such circumstances considered? He subsequently solved it himself. A slave is considered one's body, and an ox is considered one's property (and there is liability in the latter case, for the ox cannot remove it).

CHAPTER 3.

RULES CONCERNING PLACING VESSELS ON PUBLIC GROUND. INJURIES CAUSED BY PEDESTRIANS TO EACH OTHER WITH THEIR LOADS. THE VICIOUS AND NON-VICIOUS OXEN--IF THEY HAVE DONE INJURY TO EACH OTHER OR TO HUMAN BEINGS, ETC.

MISHNA 1.: If one places a jug on a public ground and another person stumbles over it and breaks it, the latter is not liable; if he is injured, the owner of the barrel is liable for the damage.

GEMARA: The Mishna starts out with "jug" and ends with "barrel," and it is the same way in several subsequent Mishnas. Said R. Papa: Jug and barrel are one and the same thing (as to the cases cited). (If so) for what purpose did the Mishna change the terms? For business transactions (e.g., if one sells barrels he may deliver jugs, and vice versa). How is the case? Shall we assume in the case of a certain locality where these terms are decidedly distinct, then jug is one thing and barrel another? It is only in the case where most of the people use those terms distinctly and separately, but there is also a small portion who use them interchangeably, in which case I would say that the majority is to be followed; hence the statement that in money matters the majority is not to be followed (but the burden of proof is on the plaintiff).

"And another person," etc. Why is he not liable--must he then not look out? Said the disciples of Rabh in his name: The Mishna speaks of a case where he filled up the whole thoroughfare with barrels. Samuel said: When it is done in darkness. R. Johanan, however, said: The Mishna may be explained in that he placed the jug in a corner (where it could not be noticed). Said R. Papi: Our Mishna cannot be explained unless according to Samuel's or R. Johanan's interpretation, but not according to Rabh, because if it should be according to Rabh's interpretation he would not be liable if even he should break the barrel intentionally, as he had no passage way. (The Gemara, however, says that it can be explained also according to Rabh's interpretation, as R. Zbid in the name of Rabha explains it further on.) Said R. Aba to R. Ashi: In the West it was said in the name of Ula that the reason for the statement of the Mishna is that pedestrians are not in the habit of looking around.

Such a case happened in Nahardea, and Samuel held him liable. In Pumbeditha--and Rabba held him liable. It is correct of Samuel, for he follows his theory; but Rabba, shall we assume that he concurs with Samuel? Said R. Papa: It was in a corner of an oil-mill (and it was customary with those who came to the mill to place their vessels outside when waiting for their turn to enter the mill), and because it was customary to place there the vessels the pedestrian had to take care not to break them. R. Hisda sent the following message to R. Na'hman: "It was said (it is the custom of the judges to fine) one who kicks the other with his knees three (selas); one who kicks the other with the foot, five; one who strikes the other with his fist, thirteen--what is the fine if one strikes his neighbour with the handle of a hoe or with the iron of the hoe?" He returned the following answer: "Hisda, Hisda, you are collecting fines in Babylon; state to me the facts in the case." He then sent him the following facts: There was a partnership water-basin out of which each of the partners irrigated his land every second day. Once one was irrigating his land from the basin when it was not his turn, and when the other one asked him why he did so and the former did not heed him, he struck him with the handle of the hoe. Said he (R. Na'hman) to him (R. Hisda): He would have been justified if he had even struck him a hundred blows, for even according to the one who holds that a man ought not to take the law into his own hands, in cases of loss one may do so, for when one is in the right he need not trouble himself (to go to court). And R. Na'hman says this, according to his theory which was taught elsewhere, that a man may take the law into his own hands even not in case of loss. According to R. Jehudah, however, this is permitted only in case of loss. R. Kahana objected: There is a Tosephtha: "Ben Bag Bag says: Do not enter the courtyard of thy neighbour secretly to take what belongs to you, for fear that he may look upon you as upon a thief, but do so publicly, and tell him that you take your own (in contradiction to R. Jehudah, who holds that one must not take the law into his own hands)." R. Jehudah rejoined: Your support, Ben Bag Bag, is an individual, and the majority differ with him. R. Janai, however, explained that "take it publicly" means to do so with the aid of the law.

Come and hear: If an ox mount another to kill him, and the owner of the latter come along and pull out his own ox, and the former drop on the ground and is killed, he is not liable. Shall we not assume that this is in the case of a vicious ox, in which case there is no loss (for if he had not acted thus, and his ox should have been killed, he would have been paid in full; hence even where there is no loss one may take the law into his own hands)? Nay, it is in case of a non-vicious ox where there is loss (for if he should have waited to be paid by law, he would have received only one half). If so, how is the latter part of the Boraitha: "If, however, he pushed down the ox that mounted, and the ox was killed, he is liable." Now, if it is in case of a non-vicious ox, why should he be liable (there is loss, and he acted according to law)? Because he should have pulled out his own ox and not pushed the other so as to kill him.

Come and hear: "For one who obstructs the court of another by placing there jugs of wine and oil, the owner of the court may break the jugs while going in and out of the court." (Hence we see that one may do so although there is no loss?) Said R. Na'hman bar Itzhak: It means that he may break them while going out to go to court and also when coming in to get his documentary evidence (in case such is necessary; e.g., when there is a dispute as to the ownership of the courtyard).

Come and hear the statement of our Mishna: "One who places a jug," etc., "he is not liable." The reason being that he stumbled over it, but if he broke it without stumbling over he is liable. (Hence we see that even when there is loss [for Rabh explained, above, this to be when the whole thoroughfare has been filled with jugs] no person is allowed to take the law into his own hand.) Said R. Zbid, in the name of Rabha: Nay, the same is the case even if he broke it intentionally, but the reason why he mentioned stumbling is because he had to state in the latter part that if he was injured the owner of the barrel is liable, in which case stumbling is essential, for if otherwise he himself caused his own injury; he mentioned that also in the first part.

Come and hear: "It is written [Deut. 25:12]: 'Then shalt thou cut off her hand'; this means that a fine of money shall be imposed upon her." May we not assume that this is only when she could not save herself otherwise? (Hence one may take the law into his own hands?) Nay, that means when she could do otherwise. Then how is the case when she could not--is she free? If so, instead of the Boraitha stating in the latter part: It is written [ibid. 11]: "If she putteth forth her hand," this signifies to exclude the messenger of the court, if he has done a similar thing he is free (from paying for disgrace), let the Boraitha teach that there is a difference also in her own act; viz., the case is when she could save herself otherwise, but if she could not she is free? The Boraitha maintains thus: The case is when she could save herself otherwise, but if she could not, her hand is to be considered as a messenger of the court and she is free.

Come and hear: "One who set aside the due corner-tithe at one corner of his field and the poor came and took their due share at another corner, both are considered corner-tithe." Now if you should say that one may take the law into his own hands, let the owner prevent them from taking at another corner by force? Said Rabha: The expression that "both are corner-tithe" means only that both are free from tithe (given to the Levites), as we have learned in the following Boraitha: "One who renounced his ownership to his vineyard and then hastened in the morning and plucked the fruit himself, he must observe peret [Lev. xix. 10], gleanings [Deut. 24:21], peah [Lev. xix. 9], and forgotten heaves [Deut. 24:19], but he is free, however, from the Levites' tithe.

MISHNA 2.: A jug (filled with water) that broke on public ground and its contents cause a person to slip and fall, or one is injured by its fragments, he (the carrier of the jug) is liable. R. Jehudah, however, says, if he break it intentionally he is, otherwise he is not.

GEMARA: Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: It was taught only if he soil his clothes with the contents of the jug, but if he damage his person there is no liability, for the public ground (which has no particular owner) causes his damage. When I stated this before Samuel he said to me: Let us see; as to the liability for damage caused by one's stone, knife, or load (placed on public ground), we deduced it from the "pit" on, public ground, (in which the Scripture reads "ox" and "ass"), and in all of them I read "an ox, but not a human being"; "an ass, but not vessels," and only as far as death is concerned (as the Scripture in this case speaks of death); as to damage, however, if to person there is, but if to property there is no liability on the part of the one who placed them there. (Hence Samuel's theory is the reverse of that of Rabh.) What has Rabh to say to this? This (that we deduce all that from "pit") is only where he had renounced his ownership from them (as such is the case with the pit on public ground), but if he had not it is still his property (and we deduce his liability from the "ox"). R. Oshyiah objected: (There is a Boraitha:) It is written [Ex. 21:33]: "And an ox or an ass fall therein," and we say an ox, but not a human being; an ass, but not vessels; and from this it was said that if an ox or an ass laden with vessels fell into the pit and they were broken, he is liable only for the injuries to the animal, but not for the damage to the vessels. Similar to this is his stone, knife, and load placed on public ground that cause damage. Therefore if one break his glass vessels by striking them against the stone so placed, he is liable. Now the first part of the Boraitha would be in contradiction to Rabh, who holds him liable for the vessels also, and the latter part (which treats of breaking glass vessels by striking them against the stone) would contradict Samuel? [Why would this be a contradiction only to those two? Do, then, those two parts of the Boraitha itself not contradict each other? Say, then, that Rabh would explain the Boraitha in accordance with his theory that he renounce ownership, and Samuel according to his theory stated above.]

Now, when we come to the conclusion that one's stone, knife, or load is equal to one's "pit," according to R. Jehudah, who holds that there is a liability for damages done to vessels by falling into a pit, if one strike his bottle against a stone he is liable. Said R. Elazar: Thou shouldst not think that he is liable only when both the stumbling and the breaking were caused by the stone, and not if only the breaking was caused by the stone, as in reality he is liable even in such case, as we concur with R. Nathan's theory.

"If intentionally," etc. What means intentionally? Said Rabba, when he intended to lower them down from his shoulders (and while doing so they struck against the wall, he is liable, for his carelessness is considered a deliberate act). Said Abayi to him: Should we infer from this that R. Meir (who is very rigorous) holds that one is liable even if the jug dissolve of itself (although it is an accident)? He answered: Yea, R. Meir holds one liable if even only the handle remained in his hand. Why so? Is this not an accident, and being such, the Scripture frees him from liability, as it is written [Deut. 22:26]: "But unto the damsel shalt thou not do anything"? And if you should say that this is only as regards capital punishment, but as regards damages one is liable, have we not learned in a Boraitha: "If his jug break and he fail to remove the fragments, or if his camel fall and he fail to raise it, R. Meir holds him liable for the damage they cause; the sages, however, hold that he is free from human justice and is liable only to heavenly justice; and the sages concede to R. Meir, where one places his stone, knife, or load on the top of a roof, and they are blown down by an ordinary wind and do damage, that he is liable; on the other hand, R. Meir concedes to the rabbis that, where one places jugs on the roof in order that they should dry, and they are blown down by an extraordinary wind and do damage, he is free" (because it is an accident; hence even according to R. Meir damages by an accidental act are excusable)? Therefore said Abayi: They differ (in our Mishna) in two cases: during the falling and after the vessels rested upon the ground; one holds that for stumbling while falling he is liable for carelessness, and the other one holds that it is an accident. And they also differ after the resting of the vessels, in case he renounce his ownership to the articles which caused the damage; one holds him liable even in such a case, and the other one holds him free. And wherefrom is such a theory? From the fact that the Mishna mentions two cases, viz.: "If he slipped on account of the water, or he was injured by the fragments," which is practically one and the same thing, we must say then that it means either when he slipped on account of the water while falling or that he stumbled over the fragments after they rested. But how is it with the above Boraitha, can you apply also to it the same interpretation? This would be correct regarding the jug containing water, but how can we find the above two cases in regard to the camel, as you cannot hold one liable for the stumbling of his animal, even in a case where one is held liable for his own stumbling; and if there should be a liability it should be only in one case, namely, if he renounced his ownership to the carcass? Said R. A'ha: It can be explained that the camel stumbled by reason of the overflow of a river. How is the case? If there was another way, then he is surely liable; if there was no other way, is it not accident? Therefore it must be explained thus: that he himself stumble first and the camel stumble over him, in which case his stumbling is considered carelessness. But (according to R. Jehudah, who requires intention in our Mishna in case one renounce ownership from his articles which caused damage) what intention can there be so that he should be held liable? Said R. Joseph, and so also said R. Ashi: If his intention was that he should regain ownership of the fragments. R. Elazar also holds that they differ even during the falling and concurs with Abayi's theory stated above.

R. Johanan, however, said that they differ only as to after they rested, and he comes to teach us that only in this particular case the rabbis freed him from liability if he renounced his ownership to the articles which caused the damage because it was accidental (but where there is no accident he is liable for renouncing his ownership).

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It was taught: "One who renounces ownership to his articles that cause damage, R. Johanan and R. Elazar: one holds him liable and the other holds him free." Shall we assume that the one who holds him liable is in accordance with R. Meir and the other one is in accordance with the rabbis? Nay, as to R. Meir, all agree (that he is liable); they only differ as to the rabbis: the one who holds him free concurs with the rabbis, while the one who holds him liable may say: I say that even the rabbis who held him free do so only in the case of an accident, as stated above, but in other cases they also held him liable. There is ground for the supposition that it is R. Elazar who holds one liable. (See Pesachim, "Two things," etc.) Have we not heard from him concerning the following Mishna (above, page 30, end): "One who stirs up manure," etc., that it is so only in case he had an intention to claim it is his own, but otherwise he is not; hence we see that Elazar holds that if one renounce ownership to his articles which caused damage he is exempt. Said R. Adda bar Ahba: The case here is that he restored it to its original position. Said Rabbina: The case as explained by R. Adda bar Ahba is similar to one who finds an uncovered pit and he covers it and then again removes the cover (in which case he is not liable, for it is considered as if he never had anything to do with it). Said Mar Zutra, the son of R. Mari, to Rabbina: I fail to see any similarity. In the case of the pit the former act (the uncovered pit) is still as it was, while in the case of manure the act of the first one is no more in existence (because the place it first occupied is now vacant). If it has any similarity to a pit it is in case one find an uncovered pit and stuff it up, and then again dig it out, in which case the former act disappears entirely and is wholly his work (and therefore he is liable). Therefore said R. Ashi that the case of manure was that he stirred it up less than three spans (and therefore it is considered no stirring up at all, and whereas he had no intention of exercising any act of ownership, it cannot be considered his property, and if we cannot hold him liable as being his property, we can also not hold him liable for digging a pit). And why does R. Elazar force himself to explain it where he stirred it up below three, and the reason is only because he intended it as an act of claiming ownership, but not otherwise; let him explain it that it was above three, and although there was no intention of claiming ownership he is nevertheless liable? (Because he holds that one who renounces ownership to the articles which cause damage is liable.) Said Rabha: He did so because of the phraseology of the Mishna, viz.; Why "stirred" up--why not "lifted" up? Hence that "stirring" means below three spans.

Now when we come to the conclusion that it is R. Elazar who holds him liable, then it is R. Johanan who holds him free. Does then R. Johanan really hold so? Did he not say elsewhere that the Halakha prevails as an anonymous Mishna, and there is such a Mishna: "One who digs a pit on public ground and an ox or an ass falls into it and is killed, he is liable"? We must, therefore, say that R. Johanan holds that he is liable. Now, on the other hand, if R. Johanan holds that he is liable, then R. Elazar holds that he is not; but has not R. Elazar said in the name of R. Ishmael (Pesachim, "Two Things," etc., hence, that he holds that he is liable? These present no difficulty. What is stated here is his own, and that in Pesachim, is his teacher's opinion.

MISHNA 3: One who empties water into public ground and causes injuries thereby, he is liable for the injuries. One who hides away a thorn or glass, or one who builds his fence of thorns, or a fence that falls in into public ground and some persons were injured thereby, he is liable for the damage.

GEMARA: Said Rabh: It was taught only if his vessels were soiled, etc. Said R. Huna to Rabh: If this should be considered even his mud (he ought to be liable)? Rejoined Rabh: Do you understand that the water was not absorbed? I mean when it was absorbed, and yet he injured himself by the collected earth, and therefore there is no liability, for he should have been careful.

[Why did Rabh repeat his statement here? He said that already in connection with the preceding Mishna.] This was necessary: Once as to the sunny season and once as to the rainy season, and it is in accordance with the following Boraitha: "Although it is permitted during the rainy season to empty refuse-pipes and clean excavations, still it is not permitted to do so during the sunny season; and even in the rainy season, although they do it with permission, they are liable for the damage they cause."

"One who hides away," etc. Said R. Johanan: It was taught only in case it is jutting out, but if it is pressed in he is free. Why is he not liable even when it is pressed in? Said R. A'ha, the son of R. Ika: For the reason that it is not the custom of man to rub against the wall. The rabbis taught: One who hides away his thorns or glass in the wall of his neighbour, and the owner of the wall comes along and pulls down the wall and the thorns or glass falls into the public ground and does damage, the one who hid them away is responsible. Said R. Johanan: This is the case where the wall was in bad condition, but where the wall was in good condition the owner of the wall only is liable. Said Rabhina: It is to be inferred from this that if one covers his well with the pail of another, and the owner of the latter comes along and carries away his pail, the former is liable (if some accident occurs). Is this not self-evident? Lest one say that because the owner of the wall did not know who hid the thorns and could not inform him to remove them, therefore he is free; but in case of the well, as the owner of the pail knows him, he should have informed him that he took away the pail, and therefore the owner of the well should be free--he comes to teach us that there is no difference.

The rabbis taught: The former pious men used to bury their thorns and broken glass in their fields three spans below the surface in order that they should not interfere with the plough. R. Shesheth used to burn them. Rabha used to throw them into the (river) Chiddekel. Said R. Jehudah: One who wishes to be pious should observe the laws of damages. Rabhina said: He should observe the teachings of the fathers (which were enumerated in the first tract of this section).

MISHNA 4.: One who places straw or hay on public ground in order to convert them into manure, and some pedestrian sustains injury through them, he is liable; and the one who takes possession of them first is entitled to them. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel says: All those who obstruct a public thoroughfare by placing chattels therein and cause damage are liable; and the one who takes possession of them first is entitled to them. One who stirs up manure on public ground and a pedestrian sustains injury thereby is liable.

GEMARA: Shall we assume that our Mishna is not according to R. Jehudah of the following Boraitha: "R. Jehudah says: During the season of conveying manure one may remove his manure to the public highway and collect it there for thirty days in order that it should be trodden by man and animal, for on this condition did Joshua distribute the land"? It can be explained that R. Jehudah concedes that nevertheless he is liable for the damage.

(There is an objection.) Come and hear: "All those of whom it was said that they may obstruct the public highway, if they do damage they are liable; according to R. Jehudah, however, they are not." Said R. Na'hman: Our Mishna treats of the season when the manure is not conveyed, and it is according to R. Jehudah. R. Ashi, however, says: Our Mishna states "straw" and "hay" (which means before they were converted into manure, and the reason is) because they are slippery.

"The one who takes possession of them," etc. Rabh said: This applies to both the original substance as well as to its improvement. Zëira, however, holds that it applies to the improvement only. What is the point of their difference? Rabh holds that the original substance is also to be confiscated (as a fine) because of the improvement, and Zëira holds that only the improvement is to be confiscated. There is an objection from the clause of our Mishna: "One who stirs up manure," etc., and does not mention that the one who takes possession of it first is entitled to it. (Hence it contradicts Rabh.) Said R. Na'hman bar Itzhak: You quote a contradiction (to Rabh) from the subject of manure. In cases where there can be an improvement (e.g., straw) the original substance was also subjected to the rule as a fine, but where there can be no improvement (e.g., manure) there is no fine at all.

The Schoolmen propounded a question: According to the one who holds that the original substance is to be fined because of the improvement, is it to be fined at once or only after the improvement has taken place? This can be inferred from the fact that it was attempted to contradict Rabh from "manure(which does not improve; hence that he is to be fined at once). What answer is this "Did not the Schoolmen propound their question after they heard of R. Na'hman's answer, and nevertheless they were doubtful? Shall we assume that in this case the Tanaim of the following Boraitha differ? "One who removes his straw and hay to a public highway to convert it into manure, and a pedestrian sustains injuries, he is liable, and the one who takes possession of them first acquires title to them, and if one takes them it is considered robbery. Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel, however, holds that all those who obstruct a public highway and cause damage thereby are liable to pay the damage, and the one who lays his hand upon the articles of obstruction first acquires title to them, and it is not considered robbery." Let us see. How is this Boraitha to be understood? It reads that the one who lays his hand on the articles of obstruction first acquires title to them, and immediately thereafter it states that the one who takes them is guilty of robbery. It must, therefore, be explained thus: "One who lays," etc., acquires title to the improvement, but the original substance is prohibited as robbery, and R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, however, says the same is the case also with the original substance. According to Zëira surely the Tanaim differ in this case, but according to Rabh do they also differ? Rabh may say that all agree that the fine applies to the original substance on account of the improvement, but in what they differ here is, whether this Halakha should be put into practice or not. As it was taught: "R. Huna said in the name of Rabh: The Halakha is so, but it is not applied in actual practice. R. Adda bar Ahbah, however, holds that it is applied in practice." But this is not so, for R. Huna once declared peeled baley (placed by one on public ground to dry it) ownerless, R. Adda bar Ahbah did the same with date-husk. It was correct for R. Adda bar Ahbah, as he followed his theory (stated above), but shall we assume that R. Huna retracted from his statement above? Nay, in this case the owners were warned (several times).

MISHNA 5.: Two potters (each carrying pottery) that walked, one following the other, and the first stumbled and fell, and the second stumbled over the first and also fell, the first one is liable for the damages of the second.

GEMARA: Said R. Johanan: It is not to be said that our Mishna is only according to R. Meir, who holds that stumbling is considered wilful and therefore he is liable, but even according to the Rabbis who hold that it is an accident and he is free. Here, however, the case is different for he had to get up (at once) and he had not done so. R. Na'hman bar Itzhak, however, holds that if he even could not get up he is liable, because he had at least to give warning to the other, which he had not done. R. Johanan, however, denies this theory, for if he could not get up he could also not give warning (because of his excitement).

There is an objection from the following Mishna: "If one carrying a barrel followed one carrying a beam, and the barrel was broken by the beam, he is free, but if it broke because the carriers of the beam stopped, he is liable." Is it not to be assumed that he stopped in order to place the beam on the other shoulder, which is usually done, and still it is said that he is liable, because he should give warning? Nay, he stopped to rest. But how is it in the former case, is he free? Then the Boraitha should state that it is only when he stopped to rest, but if to place it on the other shoulder he is free. Why then does it state in the latter part that he is free only if he told him to stop with the barrel? With this he comes to teach us that, although he stopped to rest, if he called to him to stop he is free.

Come and hear: "Potters and glaziers that walked, one following the other, and the first one stumbled and fell, and the second one stumbled over him and the third over the second one, then the first is liable for the damage of the second and the second is responsible to the third. If, however, they all fell on account of the first one, he is responsible for the damage of all; but if they warned each other they are not responsible." Is this not so even if they could not get up? Nay, they could get up, and it comes to teach us that even in such a case when they warned each other they are free.

Said Rabha (in explanation of the above Boraitha): "The first one is liable to the second one for both injuries to the person and to property. The second, however, is liable to the third one for personal injuries only." [How is this to be understood?] If stumbling is considered a wilful act, let the second one also be liable; if, on the other hand, stumbling is considered an accident, then let the first one also be free. The first one is considered wilful as it is equal to a "pit on public ground," in which case the digger is liable for both injuries to the person and to property; the second, however, who is considered as if he himself has fallen into the pit (because of the stumbling of the first) can be liable only for personal injuries because he did not get up in time, but not for damages to property, as he can say that he did not dig the pit.

The Master said: If they all fell because of the first one, the first is liable for the damage of all of them. How was the case? R. Papa said: He obstructed the way (crosswise) like a carcass (which obstructs the whole way). R. Zbid, however, said: If such should be the case the first one would not be liable for the damages of the third, who should be careful, seeing that the second one stumbled over the obstruction of the whole thoroughfare; therefore he maintains that the first one fell diagonally and did not obstruct the whole thoroughfare, and the third one in his intention to walk on the unobstructed portion of the thoroughfare did not see the stumbling of the second and stumbled over him. 1

MISHNA 6.: If one was coming from one side of the street carrying a barrel, and the other one was coming from the other side carrying a beam, and the barrel was broken by the beam, there is no liability, as both had the right to go each his way (and the carrier of the barrel should be careful not to collide with the beam). The same is the case when the carrier of the barrel followed the carrier of the beam. If, however, the carrier of the beam stopped (without any reason), and the carrier of the barrel while walking broke it by striking against the beam, he is liable; if the carrier of the barrel was told to stop by the carrier of the beam he is free. If the carrier of the barrel was preceding, and the carrier of the beam was behind him and broke his barrel by colliding with the beam (although unintentionally), he is liable (because of carelessness); if the barrel carrier stopped, he is free; but if he told him to stop and the beam carrier did not heed him, he is liable. The same is the case with one carrying fire and the other hemp.

GEMARA: Rabba bar Nathan questioned R. Huna: When one injures his wife by having intercourse with her, how is the law: is he free because he has done it with permission, or is he nevertheless liable because he had to look out for her health? And he answered: This we have learned in our Mishna: "He is free, as both had the right to go each his way." Said Rabha to the latter: Is there not to be drawn an a fortiori conclusion from a wood [Deut. xix. 5] in which case both had permission

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to enter, and nevertheless when one was injured or killed, it is considered that the defendant entered the plaintiff's premises, and he is responsible or guilty; so much the more here it must be considered that he entered upon her premises and injured her? [But did not the Mishna state that each of them had permission to go his way? There is no similarity. In the case of the Mishna both had equal permission, and each of them did the same thing the other did, but here only he acted but she did nothing. Is that so? Did not the Scripture say plainly [Lev. 18:29]: "Even the souls that commit them shall be cut off"? Hence we see that the Scripture considers the female also as acting. There both of them derive pleasure and therefore are punished, but here the act is only his.] Resh Lakish said: If there were two cows on public ground, one of which was lying and the other one walking, and the latter kicked the former, she is not liable; if, however, the reverse was the case she is liable.

MISHNA 7.: Two that were on public ground, one running and the other one walking (ordinarily), or both of them running, and they injured each other, both are free.

GEMARA: Our Mishna is not according to Issi b. Jehudah of the following Boraitha: "Issi b. Jehudah says: The one who was running is liable, for it is uncommon. He, however, con. cedes that if it was on the eve of Sabbath in twilight, that he is not liable, for he is permitted at that time to run (and therefore it is considered common)." Said R. Johanan: So the Halakha prevails. But has not R. Johanan said elsewhere that the Halakha prevails according to an anonymous Mishna, and our Mishna (which is anonymous) states not so? The case in our Mishna is to be explained in that it speaks of the twilight on the eve of Sabbath, from the fact that it states, "or they were both running they are free." Then without the above explanation it would be superfluous after the statement that if even only one was running, etc., for it is self-evident that if both were running that so much the more they ought to be free; therefore the Mishna must be considered as incomplete, and should read thus: If one was running and the other one was walking, there is no liability, when the case was in the twilight of the eve of Sabbath; on a week day, however, the one running is liable; if both were running they are free, even on a week day.

The Master said: "And Issi concedes that if it was in the twilight of the eve of Sabbath he is free, for he did so with permission." What is the permission? It is according to R. Hanina, who used to say: Come with us to meet the bridal queen. And according to others, "to meet the Sabbath bridal queen." R. Janai used to get up, enwrap himself and say: Come bride, come bride! (Hence it is a merit to run at twilight on the eve of Sabbath to meet the Sabbath.)

MISHNA 8.: One who chopped wood on public ground and caused damage on private ground, or vice versa; or on his own private ground, and has done damage on another's private ground, he is in either of those cases liable.

GEMARA: And all the three cases were necessary to be mentioned, for if the Mishna should state the case of one who chopped wood on his own private ground, and did damage on public ground only, one might say that the liability is because on a public thoroughfare there are usually many passers-by; but if vice versa there is no liability because on private premises there are not many people. And if it should state the case of public to private ground only, one might say that the liability is because he had no right to chop wood there, and as he did that without permission he is liable, but from private to public ground, where he had a right to do so, there is no liability even if it caused damage on public ground. And if it should state these two cases only, still one might say that in one case he is liable, for he has done it without permission, and in the other case because there are many persons, but from one private ground to another, where usually not many people are, and each owner is permitted to do such a thing on his own premises, there is no liability, therefore it was necessary to mention all. The rabbis taught: "One who enters a carpenter's shop without permission, and was struck on his face by a flying splinter and died, there is no liability. But if he entered with permission the carpenter is guilty." Guilty of what? Said R. Jose b. Hanina: It means the liability to pay the four certain things, but he is free from banishment, for it is not equal to the case of a forest, which is considered the ground of every one who enters it, but in this case he entered his neighbour's estate. Said Rabha: Is not the following a fortiori conclusion to be drawn here: A forest, where each one enters by his own will (without the permission of the other), still it is considered as if he entered by the request of the other, and he is to be banished in case he kills one unintentionally); in the case at bar, where he decidedly enters by the request of the other, shall he not so much the more be banished? Therefore we must explain the Boraitha thus: He is free from banishment means that this alone would not be sufficient, and the reason of R. Jose b. Hanina is that it is such an act of negligence that almost amounts to an intentional act (for he should look out).

An objection was raised from the following: "One who throws a stone into a public ground and kills some one, he is to be banished." Is this not such a negligent act as almost amounts to an intentional act, for he had to have in mind that on public ground people come and go, and still it says that he must be banished. Said R. Samuel bar Itzhak. The case is that he was tearing down his wall and threw the material into rubbish in the daytime. What was the nature of this rubbish? Was it such rubbish as people are likely to be about, then it is intentional? If not, then is it an accident? Said R. Papa: The case is that it was rubbish that people do their necessities thereon in the night-time, but not in the daytime, but still it may happen that some might do so in the daytime; it cannot be considered an intentional act, for it is uncommon to do so in the daytime, and, on the other hand, it is also not an accident, for it may happen.

R. Papa in the name of Rabha explained that R. Jose b. Hanina's statement has reference to the first part only, viz.: "One who enters a carpenter's shop without permission, and was struck in the face by a flying splinter and died, the carpenter is free." Said R. Jose b. Hanina: He is liable to pay the four things, but he is free from banishment (and the difference is thus): That he who explains that it refers to the latter part of the above Boraitha, so much the more as to the first part; but according to R. Papa, he who explains that it refers only to the first part, in the latter part where be entered by request he is to be banished. Is that so? Have we not learned in the following Boraitha: "One who enters a blacksmith's shop and was struck by an escaping spark and died, there is no liability, even if he entered with permission"? The case here is that it was the blacksmith's apprentice. Assuming that it is so, may he be killed? It was that his employer insisted that he should leave the shop, and he did not do so. Supposing it so, may he be killed? The employer thought that he did leave. If so, then any person would come under the same rule. In the former case the apprentice usually obeys his employer (and therefore the blacksmith assumed that he left when being told to do so), but in the case of a stranger the blacksmith should look around and see whether the stranger did leave or not.

R. Zbid in the name of Rabha supported the above statement by the expression of the verse, viz. [Deut. 19:5]: "It (the iron) found," 1 but not when be makes himself found to the iron. From this R. Eliezer b. Jacob said: One who drops out of his hand a stone, and another one puts out his head and is injured by it, he is free. Said R. Jose b. Hanina: He is not to be banished, but he must pay the four things.

He who applies the explanation of R. Jose to the last case self-evidently holds that it also applies to the former case, and he who applies the explanation to the former case, in the last case may say that he is wholly free.

The Rabbis taught: Employees who came to demand their wages from their employer, and were gored by his ox or bitten by his dog, to death, he is free. Anonymous teachers, however, hold that employees have the right to demand their wages from their employer (and therefore he is guilty). How is the case? If the employer usually comes to town, what reason have the anonymous teachers for their assertion? If, on the other hand, he can be found only in the house, what is the reason of the first Tana? It is in a case where he is not certain, and the employee when knocking on the door or gate is told "In"; one holds that "in" means "come in" (and therefore they had the right to enter), and the other one holds that "in" means "stay where you are (and I will come out to you)." There is a support to the latter construction of "in" from the following Boraitha: "An employee that entered to demand his wages from his employer, and he was gored by his ox or was bitten by his dog, he is not guilty although he entered with permission." Why so? We must say that it means that when knocking on the door or gate he was told "in," and he meant that he had permission to enter, but in reality "in" meant only "stay where you are (and I will come out to you)."

MISHNA 9.: Two non-vicious oxen that wounded each other: the one who is hurt the most is to be paid one-half of the amount of the value of difference of the injuries. If both are vicious the full amount of difference of the injuries is to be paid. If one is non-vicious and the other vicious: if the vicious one injured the non-vicious more than he himself was injured he pays the full amount of the difference, if the reverse is the case only one-half is paid. So also if two men wound each other, the one who hurt the most must pay the full amount of the difference.

A man who hurt a vicious ox and was also hurt by the ox, or when the reverse was the case, the full amount of difference is to be paid. If the case was with a non-vicious ox the man pays the full amount and the ox pays the half. R. Aqiba, however, says: Even if the ox was non-vicious, the full amount is to be paid.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: It is written [Ex. 21:31]: "According to this judgement shall be done unto him." That means that as the judgement when two oxen gore each other, so also shall it be when an ox gores a man. As in the former case a non-vicious ox pays one-half and a vicious one the full amount; the same is the case if it gored a human being. R. Aqiba, however, says: "According to this judgement" means that the judgement just mentioned applies to man, but not to the preceding case. Shall we assume that it must be paid from the best estates? Therefore it is written [ibid., ibid.]: "Shall be done unto him," which means that he pays only from the body of the ox, but not from the best estates.

MISHNA 10.: An ox of the value of one hundred selas that gored another one of the value of two hundred, and the carcass was worthless, the plaintiff takes the ox (i.e., one-half of the damage).

GEMARA: Our Mishna is in accordance with R. Aqiba of the following Boraitha (which treats of the same case, and teaches): "The ox shall be appraised in court, and if he is worth one-half of the killed one the plaintiff may take him." Such is the dictum of R. Ishmael; R. Aqiba, however, holds that the plaintiff takes the ox without any appraisement. On what point do they differ? R. Ishmael holds that the plaintiff becomes a creditor, and his demand is money, and it must be assessed by the court, and R. Aqiba holds that the plaintiff becomes a partner to the defendant, and they differ as to the explanation of the following passage [Ex. 21:35]: "Then they shall sell the live ox and divide his money, and the dead ox also they shall divide." R. Ishmael explains that it means that this shall be done by the court, and R. Aqiba maintains that the passage makes the parties partners, if both oxen were of equal value; if, however, the goring ox was worth half he belongs -it once to the plaintiff. What is still the difference? When the plaintiff has consecrated him (according to R. Aqiba he is sacred, and according to R. Ishmael he is not until awarded to the plaintiff by the court). Rabha questioned R. Na'hman: If the defendant sold the ox, how is it, according to R. Ishmael, who holds him to be a creditor, is the sale valid? Or perhaps because the ox becomes subject to the appraisement of the court it is not valid? He answered: The sale is not valid. But have we not learned in a Boraitha that it is valid? He may recover him. If it is so, what is the validity of the sale? In case the vendee used him in the meantime in ploughing he need not pay for it. Then infer from this that if a borrower sells his personal property the Beth Din can recover it for the benefit of the lender. Nay, from this case in which the Scripture made the ox hypothecary nothing can be inferred.

R. Ta'hlipha, of Palestine, taught in the presence of R. Abuhu: If he sold him it is invalid, but if he consecrated him it is valid. Who sold him? The defendant, and all agree that the sale is not valid, because even according to R. Ishmael be is still subject to the appraisement in court, and if he consecrated him all agree that he is sacred, because even according to R. Aqiba, who holds that he belongs to the plaintiff without any appraisement, a sacred thing is different by reason of the statement of R. Abuhu, who said that it was so decreed for fear that it might be said that consecrated things become ordinary without being redeemed.

The rabbis taught: "A non-vicious ox that has done damage, if he was sold, consecrated, slaughtered, or presented to somebody, the act is valid if it was done before the rendition of judgement; if, however, either of these things were done after rendition of judgement, it is null and void. If the creditors levied upon the ox, whether the damage was done before or after the recognition of the court of the debt the levy is void, for the damages in case of a non-vicious ox are paid from his body only. In case of a vicious ox all the above acts of his owner are valid without regard whether it was done before or after rendition of judgement, and even the levy of creditors is valid regardless of whether the damage was done before or after recognition, for the reason that damages in case of a vicious ox are paid from the best estates only.

The Master said: "If sold it is valid, as far as the non-payment for the ploughing he has done; if it was consecrated it is valid for the reason stated by R. Abuhu; and if slaughtered or presented to somebody the act is valid." It would be correct as to presenting, because it means as far as the value of ploughing is concerned, but in case he was slaughtered, why should not the damage be collected from the value of his meat? Have we not learned in a Boraitha: "It is written: 'The live.'" Whence do we know that if even it was slaughtered? Therefore it is written: "And they shall sell the ox," which means in whatever state he is? Said R. Shizbi: This (that the act is valid) was necessary only as to the reduction in value on account of being slaughtered (i.e., the owner of the ox need not pay the amount of such reduction).

The rabbis taught: "An ox of the value of two hundred zuz that gored another ox of the same value, and injured him to the extent of fifty, and the injured ox then improved and became of the value of four hundred, although it is possible that if not for the injury he would have improved still more, and would have become of the value of eight hundred, still he pays him only as at the time of the injury (one-half of fifty zuz); if, however, the injured ox became lean and decreased in value, he pays him according to the value at the time of the trial. If the ox who caused the injury improved, he pays him as at the time of the injury; if he decreased in value, as at the time of the trial. On account of what was that leanness of the plaintiff's ox? If it was on account of work done with him by the plaintiff, let the defendant say, Why should I suffer for the decrease in value caused by you? Said R. Ashi: The case is that the leanness was caused by the blow, in which case the plaintiff

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can say the horn of your ox is still impressed (in my ox) and this caused leanness.

MISHNA 11.: An ox of the value of two hundred that gored another ox of equal value and the carcass was of no value whatever. R. Meir holds that of such a case it is written [Ex. 21:35]: "Then shall they sell the live ox and divide his money." Said R. Jehudah to him: So the Halakha prevails in reference to the passage cited by you, but how is the last part of this passage [ibid., ibid.]: "And the dead one shall they also divide"? This can apply to a case where the carcass of the ox (which ox was of the same value as the goring ox) is still worth fifty Zuz, in which case each takes one-half of the live and one-half of the dead ox.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: "An ox of the value of two hundred zuz that gored an ox of equal value and the carcass was worth fifty, each one takes one-half of the live and one-half of the dead ox, and this is the case of the ox intended by the Scripture." Such is the dictum of R. Jehudah. R. Meir, however, holds this is not the ox intended by the Scripture, but it is where it is as stated in the beginning of the Mishna, and the provision of the passage that "also the dead ox shall they divide" is carried out by appraising how much the carcass is worth less than when the ox was alive, and one-half of that difference (seventy-five zuz) is paid to the plaintiff from the live ox together with the carcass. If it is so, then, according to both, if the carcass is worth fifty each of them gets one hundred and twenty-five, as even according to R. Jehudah, who divides both oxen between them, the share is only one hundred and twenty-five, what is the difference between them? Said R. Johanan: The difference is as to the increase in value of the carcass (since the time of the injury). R. Meir holds that it belongs wholly to the plaintiff, and R. Jehudah holds that they are considered partners, and each takes one-half. And this was because there presented itself a difficulty to R. Jehudah: If you say that the Scripture sympathised with the defendant and meant that he should share in the improvement (of the carcass), would you say in case of an ox worth five selas (twenty zuz) that gored an ox worth one hundred and the carcass is worth fifty zuz, that they also must divide equally the live and the dead ox (and so the defendant will still profit in that, because the one-half carcass is worth twenty-five zuz, and half of the live is worth ten zuz, which makes thirty-five zuz, while the value of the defendant's ox was only twenty zuz), and where do we find such a case wherein the defendant should still profit? And furthermore, is it not written plainly [ibid. 36]: "He shall surely pay," which signifies that the defendant pays, but should not profit. [For what purpose is this additional passage adduced? Lest one say that he pays only where the plaintiff does actually suffer damages, but where he does not, as, for instance, an ox worth five selas that gored an ox of equal value, and the carcass was worth six selas (by increase in price, in which case the plaintiff profits), in such a case the defendant may profit, therefore this passage is adduced to show that the defendant should always pay but never profit.] Said R. A'ha bar Ta'hlipha to Rabh: If it is so, then according to R. Jehudah, who insists upon the division of both, we find instances according to him that a non-vicious ox pays more than one-half, and the Scripture provides expressly [ibid. 351: "Then shall they sell the live ox and divide his money" (e.g., when an ox worth fifty gored one worth forty, and the carcass was worth twenty, then the damage amounts to twenty, and if the plaintiff take one-half of the live ox which is twenty-five, and one-half of the carcass which is ten, he would receive altogether thirty-five, which is more than one-half of the damage). Nay, R. Jehudah also holds of the rule that the difference should be divided and deducted from the live one. Whence does he deduce it? From [ibid., ibid.]: "And the dead ox also they shall divide." But does not R. Jehudah deduce from this passage that each takes one-half of the dead and one-half of the live one? The passage could read: "And the dead ox they shall divide." Why "and the dead ox also"? To infer both.

MISHNA 12.: There are cases when one is liable for the acts of his ox and is free if they are his own acts, and vice versa. How so? If one's ox cause disgrace the owner is free, 1 but if he himself did so he is liable. If his ox blinded the eye of his slave or knocked out his teeth the owner is not liable (i.e., the slave is not to be manumitted), but if he himself did it he is. If his ox wounded one of his parents he is liable, but if he himself had done so he is free; and the same is the case when his ox set fire to a barn on Sabbath he is liable, while if he himself did so he is free, for in both last cases he is guilty of a capital crime.

GEMARA: R. Abbuhu taught in the presence of R. Johanan: All those whose acts are of a destructive nature are not liable (as regards the observation of the Sabbath), except those who wound and set fire. Said R. Johanan to him: Go and teach this outside of the college (i.e., such a statement is not to be respected by the college), as those two mentioned are no exceptions (and are also of destructive nature); they can only constitute exceptions in case of the wounding (of an animal when he needed the blood) for his dog, 2 and in case of fire when he needed the ashes (i.e., when the act was done with an intention to derive benefit from the things acted upon).

There is an objection from our Mishna: "An ox that set fire to a barn," etc. And as the Mishna equals the owner to his ox, is it not to assume that as the ox had no need of the fire so also had the owner none, and still it is stated that he is free (civilly) because he is guilty of a capital crime (hence we see that setting fire on Sabbath is an exception)? Nay, the equality is in the reverse; that is, as the owner did it with some purpose, so also did the ox. How is this possible of an ox? Said R. Avia: It may be explained that it was an intelligent ox that had an itch on his back, and he started the fire in order to roll in the ashes. But whence do we know that this was his intention? From the fact that he really did roll in the ashes. Are there such intelligent oxen? Yea, there are, as there was an ox that belonged to R. Papa, who when he once suffered from toothache removed the cover from the beer barrel and drank from the beer to be cured.

Said the rabbis to R. Papa: How can you say that the equality is that the ox imitated the owner? Does not the Mishna state that if his ox cause disgrace he is free, but not if he himself: now can an ox have such intelligence as to intend to disgrace? Yea, for instance, when he intended to do damage (but caused only disgrace), in which case the Master said elsewhere, if he intended to do damage but caused only disgrace, he is liable.

MISHNA 13.: An ox that ran after another ox, and the latter was injured, the plaintiff claims that the ox injured him while the defendant claims that it was not so, but that the injury was caused by rubbing against a stone: the rule is that the burden of proof is upon the plaintiff. If two oxen having different owners were running after a third, each of the defendants claiming that the other one's ox caused the injury, both of them are free; if the two oxen belonged to one person both are liable (as explained further on); if one ox was a big one and the other a small one, the plaintiff claims that the big one caused the injury while the defendant claims that the small one caused it (the difference being that the big one is of sufficient value to pay the half damage while the small one is not); or if one was non-vicious and the other vicious, the plaintiff claiming that the vicious one did the injury, and the defendant claiming that the non-vicious did it, the burden of proof is upon the plaintiff. If the defendant's oxen were two, one a big one and the other a small one, and so also were the plaintiff's oxen, the plaintiff claims that the big one injured his big ox and the small one injured the small ox, and the defendant claims that the reverse was the case (so as to reduce his payments); or when one was a non-vicious and the other one a vicious one, the plaintiff claims that the vicious one injured the big one and the non-vicious the small one, while the defendant claims that it was not so, but that the non-vicious injured the big one and the vicious the small one, the burden of proof is upon the plaintiff.

GEMARA: Said R. Hyya bar Abba: This statement (in the Mishna, that the plaintiff has the burden of proof) shows that Summachus' companions differ with him, for Summachus holds that money, the ownership of which is doubtful, must be divided among its claimants. Said R. Abba bar Mamel to R. Hyya bar Abba: Does then Summachus hold so even if both of them claim to be positive in their statements? He answered: Yea. And whence do we know that our Mishna also speaks that both claim to be positive in their statements? Because it teaches plainly: One party says: Your ox; and the other party says (positively): Not so. R. Papa opposed: According to your explanation that both claim to be positive in their statements, the last part must naturally also treat of such a case; then how is it to be understood: If one was a big one and one was a small one, etc., the plaintiff has the burden of proof; how would be the law if he does not prove: he takes according to the statement of the defendant? Would this not be in contradiction to Rabba bar Nathan, who says that where one party claims to have sold another party wheat, and the other party admits to have bought of him barley, that the latter is free (and according to the above rule the seller would be entitled to recover for barley)? We must, therefore, say that the case is when one claims that he is positive, while the other one is not positive. Let us see who claims that he is positive. Shall we assume that the plaintiff claims that he is positive and the defendant does not, then there will still be a contradiction to Rabba bar Nathan. We must, therefore, say that the plaintiff does not claim that he is positive while the defendant does so (and therefore he claims his damages from both, and if he does not prove his assertion he recovers only according to the defendant's statement). Now as the latter part speaks of a case where the plaintiff was uncertain and the defendant was certain, the same must be the case in the first part of the Mishna, and even Summachus holds to his theory, because if not it was not necessary for the Mishna to teach this case. Nay, in the latter part of the Mishna the plaintiff is not positive and the defendant is positive, and in the first part the reverse is the case.

But after this explanation the first part and last part treat of different cases; then could you not explain that the first part speaks where both were positive (and only then Summachus says that the money should be divided), and the last part treats where one is positive and the other is not (in which case Summachus does not oppose). It can be said: Certainty and uncertainty in the first part, and uncertainty and certainty in the other part is still one and the same case, but if both assert certainty in one case and certainty and uncertainty in the other case, there are two different things, and if the Mishna should mean so it would state so plainly.

"Both are liable." Said Rabha, of Pharsika, to R. Ashi: Infer from this that if non-vicious oxen cause damage the plaintiff may collect his damages from any one of them. Nay, the case in the Mishna is that both oxen were vicious. Said R. A'ha the elder to R. Ashi: If the case were that they were vicious, why is it stated that both are liable? It ought to be "he" (the man) is liable, meaning the owner (as the damage is paid from the best estates). We must, therefore, say that the case is that they were non-vicious, and it is according to R. Aqiba, who holds that they (the parties) are considered partners, and the reason here is that both oxen are on hand, in which case he cannot shift the responsibility upon the missing ox, but where one of them is missing the defendant may say to the plaintiff: Prove that this ox has done the injury, and I will pay you.

CHAPTER 4.

RULES IN REGARD TO OXEN REPEATEDLY GORING OTHER OXEN AND HUMAN BEINGS. OXEN OF ORPHANS AND GUARDIANS AND WHAT IS CONSIDERED "GUARDED."

MISHNA 1.: An ox that gores four or five oxen one after another, the last of them must be paid from the body of the goring ox (if he was yet considered non-vicious., e.g., when the goring was not in succession 1), and from the balance of the half body the last but one must be paid, and if there was still a balance left the last but two must be paid, so that the later the more privileged. Such is the dictum of R. Meir. R. Simeon, however, says that if an ox of the value of two hundred zuz gores an ox of the same value, and the carcass is worth nothing, each one takes one hundred; if he again gores another of the value of two hundred, the last one takes one hundred zuz, and the former takes fifty, and fifty zuz remain for the owner of the goring ox; if he again gores a third one of the same value, the last one takes one hundred, the last but one takes fifty zuz, and the first as well as the owner takes each a golden dinar (twenty-five silver dinars).

GEMARA: According to whom is our Mishna? It is certainly not according to R. Ishmael, who holds that the plaintiffs are considered creditors, for if it be so, then not the last, but the first would be more privileged, for he was prior to the last one in point of time. Neither can it be in accordance with R. Aqiba, who holds that in case of a non-vicious ox the plaintiff and the defendant are considered copartners, for then if there is a balance left from the body of the ox after the goring of the last one, the same would have to be divided equally among all the plaintiffs previous to the last one, and the decree of the Mishna is that the last but one must be paid, etc. Said Rabha: The Mishna can be explained in accordance with R. Ishmael, and the difficulty that it is stated that the later, the more privileged, which ought to be the first (according to R. Ishmael), is to be explained thus: that the plaintiff levied upon the ox, and in such a case the plaintiff becomes responsible for the damage done by the ox while under his control, as he is then considered a bailee for hire as regards damages (and so was the case with all others). But if such was the case, then why is it stated that if there is a balance left it goes to the last but one? It ought to go to the owner of the ox (for all the gorings subsequent to the first one were made while the ox was not under his control). Said Rabhina: The statement in question means that if after the last one was paid from the body of the ox, there still remained a balance, the same must be paid over to the preceding one. 1 And so when Rabhin came from Palestine he said in the name of R. Johanan that the Mishna is to be explained in the same sense that Rabha did; that is, that the Mishna treats only about the negligence of the plaintiffs who took the ox under their control and neglected to sufficiently guard him as was their duty to do.

Now, when the Mishna is explained to be in accordance with R. Ishmael, how is it about the last part: "R. Simeon said, etc., . . . the first as well as the owner take each a golden dinar"? This is certainly in accordance with R. Aqiba's opinion that the goring ox becomes the common property of a copartnership. Then the Mishna would be in accordance with two different opinions, viz., the first part according to R. Ishmael and the last part in accordance with R. Aqiba. The Schoolmen said: Yea, so it is, for Samuel said to R. Jehudah (concerning this Mishna): "Genius, leave alone the explanation of the Mishna and agree with me that the first part is according to R. Ishmael and the last part according to R. Aqiba." 1

MISHNA 2.: An ox that is vicious towards his own species, but not towards other species, or towards human beings but not towards animals, or towards young cattle, but not towards full-grown cattle, the whole damage is to be paid to those towards which he is vicious and half to those towards which he is not vicious. The disciples asked R. Jehudah what

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the law was when an ox was vicious on Sabbath days, but was non-vicious on week days. He answered: The same is the case also here. He pays the whole for damage done on the Sabbath days, and half for that done on week days. When is such an ox restored to non-viciousness? If he refrained from doing damage for three Sabbath days in succession.

GEMARA: It was taught: R. Zbid said: The Mishna teaches "and not vicious," which means that as to other species it was certain that he was not vicious, but if it is not certain he is to be considered vicious towards all. R. Papa, however, said: The Mishna teaches "he is not vicious," which means that an ox that is vicious towards his species is not considered vicious towards others. The reason for their difference of opinion is the following: The former lays more stress on the last part of the Mishna, which teaches that when he is vicious towards young cattle he is not considered vicious towards full-grown cattle, and this could be correct only in accordance with his interpretation that it is certain that he was not vicious, but according to the explanation that he is considered non-vicious this statement is entirely superfluous, as it was already stated that he is not considered vicious even to young cattle if it is not certain, and it is self-evident that so much the less towards full-grown cattle. The latter attaches more importance to the first part of the Mishna, which teaches that if vicious towards human beings he is not considered so towards cattle, and this could be correct only if it is explained that if it is uncertain that he is vicious to cattle he is also considered non-vicious; then the statement of the Mishna is necessary to teach us that, although he is vicious towards human beings, he is still not considered so towards cattle, but if you should explain that he is considered vicious, even when it is uncertain, then this statement is entirely superfluous, as it was already stated that he is considered vicious even from cattle to cattle, and it is self-evident that so much the more so when he is vicious toward human beings.

Said R. Ashi: The last part of the Mishna could support R. Zbid only. Come and hear: "The disciples questioned R. Jehudah what the law was, etc., . . . and he answered, etc. . . ." Now, if the Mishna is to be explained according to R. Zbid, that when not certain he is considered vicious, both the question and the answer are correct (i.e., they questioned him, when he was certain for Sabbath days and not certain for week days, how was the law); but if you will explain the Mishna otherwise (i.e., as R. Papa) what was their question? The Mishna states plainly that he is not vicious. Did they intend to teach R. Jehudah and not to question him? And, secondly, was it then an answer of the latter? He only repeated what they said? Said R. Janai: R. Zbid's opinion is supported even from the first part of the Mishna, which states: "The whole is paid to those toward whom he is vicious, and half is paid to those toward whom he is not." This statement can be correct only when he is certain to be non-vicious; then it is correct that the Mishna explains its former statement: To those toward whom he is vicious he must pay so much, and to those, etc., but if the Mishna means to state that one vicious toward human beings is not vicious toward cattle, to what purpose is the latter statement? Is it, then, not known how much a vicious ox and how much a non-vicious pays? If, however, an ox gored another ox, an ass, and a camel, he must be considered vicious toward all species of cattle even according to the theory of R. Papa (as these three species make it certain that he is vicious).

The Rabbis taught: There is a case where an ox may become vicious "in alternate order," namely, if he meets an ox and gores him, and subsequently he meets another ox and does not, the third however he meets he again gores, when meeting the fourth one, though, he does not, but when meeting the fifth one he does; and again the sixth he does not. There is another case where an ox may become vicious "in alternate order" towards all species, namely, if he meets an ox and gores him, and subsequently an ass and does not, a horse and does, a camel and does not, a mule and does, a wild-ass and does not gore him.

The Schoolmen propounded a question: How is it if he gores three oxen in succession and subsequently one ass and one camel: shall we count the third ox together with the former two, and should he be considered vicious toward oxen only but not toward other species of cattle, or shall we count the last ox with the ass and camel, so that he gored three times in succession three different species of cattle, and he is then considered vicious toward all species of cattle? This question remains unanswered. 1

Rabha said: "If an ox gored three times, each time upon hearing the blowing of a horn, he is considered vicious when hearing the sound of a horn." Is this not self-evident? Lest one assume that the first time is not to be counted because he became frightened, he comes to teach us that it is counted.

MISHNA 3.: An ox belonging to an Israelite that gored an ox belonging to the sanctuary, or of the sanctuary that gored one of a commoner, there is no liability, for it is written [Ex. 21:31]: "The ox of another" (man), but not of sanctuary.

GEMARA: This Mishna is not in accordance with R. Simeon b. Menassia of the following Boraitha: "An ox of a commoner that gored an ox of the sanctuary, or vice versa, is free, for it is written: 'The ox of another,' but not of the sanctuary. R. Simeon b. Menassia, however, says that an ox of the sanctuary that gored an ox of a commoner is free, but an ox of a commoner that gored an ox of the sanctuary, whether vicious or not, the whole damage must be paid." Let us see what the reason is of R. Simeon's opinion. If R. Simeon interpreted the word "another man" literally, why, then, should the commoner's ox be liable when he gores an ox of the sanctuary (the sanctuary cannot be called another man)? And if he interpreted the word not literally, why should an ox of the sanctuary be free when be gored a commoner's ox? And if one might say that although be interpreted the word literally, he nevertheless makes the commoner pay on the ground of the following a fortiori conclusion: When one commoner's ox gores a similar ox he must pay; so much the more if a commoner's ox gores one belonging to the sanctuary, and then his statement that even if he was non-vicious the whole damage must be paid would not be correct, as there is a rule that it is sufficient that an inference should be equal to the law from which it is derived (and under no circumstances more rigorous); why then must he pay the whole damage if it is based only on this a fortiori conclusion? Said Resh Lakish: In reality in all cases the whole damage must be paid; the verse, however, making an exception of goring and stating that half only is to be paid, added at the same time the word רעהו(which means, literally, "his comrade"), with the intention to exclude all those cases where it cannot be considered of his comrade, e.g., of the sanctuary; and the correctness of this statement may be proved from the fact that when the verse speaks of a vicious ox the above word "Re-ehu" is not mentioned.

When the daughter of R. Samuel bar Jehudah died, one of the Rabbis said to Ula: Let us go and console him. He said to them: What have I to do with the consolation of a Babylonian, for it may turn into a blasphemy, as they are in the habit of saying in such cases, "What can be done?" (against the will of God), which means that if something could be done against His will they would, and this is certainly a blasphemy. He then went alone, and his consolation was as follows: It is written [Deut. 2:9]: "And the Lord said unto me, Do not attack the Moabites, nor contend with them in battle." Could it, then, ever enter Moses' mind to engage in war without the consent of the Lord? But Moses drew an a fortiori conclusion for himself, thus: If of the Midianites who only came to help the Moabites the Scripture reads [Numb. 25:17]: "Attack the Midianites, and smite them," the Moabites themselves so much the more? The Holy One, blessed be He, then said: "Thy conclusion was so because thou couldst not imagine what I bear in my mind. Two good doves I have to bring forth from them; namely, Ruth the Moabite and Naomi the Amonite." Now is there not an a fortiori conclusion to be drawn? If for two good doves the Holy One, blessed be He, has saved two great nations and has not destroyed them, so much the more would He have saved the life of the master's daughter if she would be righteous and something good would have to come forth from her.

MISHNA 4.: An ox of a sound person that gored an ox belonging to a deaf mute, idiot, or minor, there is a liability. If the reverse was the case, there is none. An ox of the three last-named persons that gores, the court should appoint a guardian and the witnesses should testify in the presence of the guardian. If in the meantime the deaf mute is cured, the idiot becomes of sound mind, or the minor becomes of age, the ox is restored to his non-viciousness. Such is the dictum of R. Meir. R. Jose, however, says that he remains in the same position. An ox of the stadium (i.e., the place where oxen are trained for fighting) is not liable to be killed when killing even a human being, for it is written: "If an ox gore," which means of his own inclination, but not when he is trained to do so.

GEMARA: Does, then, the Mishna not contradict itself? First it states that if an ox of the three named persons that gores an ox of a sound person, there is no liability, from which it may be inferred that no guardian is to be appointed when the ox is non-vicious to enable the plaintiffs to collect from his body, and immediately after it states that an ox of those three persons that gores, the court should appoint a guardian and witnesses should testify before him, from which it may be inferred that a guardian is appointed for the purpose of enabling to collect from his body? Says Rabha: This is to be interpreted thus: If they were known to be goring oxen the court appoints a guardian, and the witnesses are examined in the presence of the guardian and the ox is declared vicious, so that if he subsequently gores again the damage is collected from the best estates. From whose best estates? R. Johanan said: From those of the orphans. 1 R. Jose b. Hanina said: From those of the guardian.

Did R. Johanan, indeed, say so? Did not R. Jehudah say in the name of R. Assi that the estate of orphans must not be touched (until the orphans reach majority, even when there is a written obligation of their deceased father to be paid), unless interest would grow on the obligation (e.g., when the deceased borrowed money from a Gentile). R. Johanan, however, says also when the widow's marriage contract is to be paid, because she must be paid out of the estate a sum of money for her subsistence so long as her marriage contract remains uncollected. Hence we see that only for the purpose of supporting the widow, or where there is interest growing, R. Johanan permits to collect from orphans' estates, but not otherwise. Reverse the statement in our case, that R. Johanan holds from the estate of the guardian, and R. Jose b. Hanina said from those of the orphans. Said Rabha: Because there is a contradiction between the statements in the name of R. Johanan, you make R. Jose err. R. Jose b. Hanina was a judge, and he always dived to the bottom of the law. Therefore the statement in our case is not to be reversed, but the reason why R. Johanan states in our case that it shall be collected from the estates of the orphans, is because there is no other way, as if it should be collected from the estates of the guardian nobody would consent to become one. And the reason for Jose b. Hanina's statement that it shall be collected from the guardian's estates is because the guardian will be able to collect what he has paid from the orphans' estates when they reach majority.

There is a difference of opinion of the Tanaim as to whether a guardian is appointed in order to collect from the body of the ox in the following Boraitha: "An ox who has gored and his owner subsequently became a deaf mute, an idiot, or went to the sea countries, Jehudah b. Nekussa in the name of Summachus holds that he must be considered non-vicious until the evidence of viciousness was given in the presence of his owner; the sages, however, hold that a guardian is appointed and the evidence is given in his presence. Should it happen that the deaf mute became cured, the idiot of sound mind, or the owner has returned home, Jehudah b. Nekussa in the name of Summachus says that the ox is restored to his non-viciousness, and remains so until the evidence is given in presence of the owner, and R. Jose says that he remains in the same position he was in." Now let us see what Summachus does mean by his first statement that he must be considered non-vicious, etc. Shall we assume that the ox was still non-vicious; i.e., he had not gored thrice? Then how shall his second statement be explained, that he is restored to his non-viciousness, which means that he was already vicious? We must then say that the statement that he is considered non-vicious means that it is considered that he had not gored at all, hence no guardian is to be appointed to collect from his body, and the sages say that there is one appointed. This is the explanation of the first part of the above Boraitha. In the last part of the Boraitha they differ on another point; that is, if the change of control also changes his state (i.e., whether the change from the control of the guardian to that of the owners changes also his viciousness to non-viciousness)? Summachus holds that it does, and R. Jose holds that it does not.

The rabbis taught: "An ox of a deaf mute, idiot, or minor that gored, according to R. Jacob, the half damages must be paid." How was the case? If it was a non-vicious ox it is self-evident that only half is to be paid, as the same is the case with an ox of a sound man, and if R. Jacob means that only half is paid even if he was vicious, let us see under what circumstances it may be said so. If the necessary care was taken of him then even the half should not be paid (for it is plainly written [Ex. 21:29], "and he hath not kept him in," but here in this case he had kept him in), and if the necessary care was not taken of him why should not the whole damage be paid (as according to R. Jacob there is no difference who owns the ox)? Said Rabha: This can be explained that it was a vicious ox, and care was taken of him, but not so much as was necessary to prevent him from coming into contact with other oxen; and the reason of R. Jacob's opinion is because he holds in accordance with R. Jehudah, who says that the state of non-viciousness continues until he is declared vicious, and he also agrees with him in that imperfect care is sufficient also for a vicious one, and he agrees also with the Rabbis that a guardian is to be appointed to collect from the body of the ox. Said Abayi to Rabha: But do not R. Jacob and R. Jehudah differ from each other in their opinions? Have we not learned in the following Boraitha that the ox in question R. Jehudah holds him liable, and R. Jacob holds that he must pay half? Said Rabbah b. Ula: R. Jacob only explains the liability to which R. Jehudah holds him, but does not differ with him. Rabhina, however, says that they do differ, but the case was that there was a change of control; that is, that the deaf mute was cured, etc. R. Jehudah holds that he remains in the same position he was in (and therefore he pays the whole), and R. Jacob says that the change of control changes also his status.

The rabbis taught: "Guardians pay from the best estates, but do not pay the atonement money" (see Ex. 21:30). Who is the Tana who holds that the money (which is to be paid according to the verse mentioned) is in atonement, and orphans need not have atonement, for they are not of age? Said R. Hisda: It is R. Ishmael, the son of R. Johanan b. Broka, of the following Boraitha: "It is written [ibid., ibid., ibid.]: 'And he shall give the ransom of his life'; that is, the value of the deceased. R. Ishmael, the son of R. Johanan b. Broka, however, says it means the value of the defendant." Shall we not assume that the point of difference is, that the Rabbis hold that the beginning of that verse means the value of the deceased in money as damages, but not in atonement,

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and R. Ishmael holds that it is in atonement? Said R. Papa: Nay, all agree that it is in atonement, but their point of difference is: The Rabbis hold that the appraisement must be of the person who was killed (because his value is to be paid), and R. Ishmael holds that the appraisement must be of the person of the defendant, because it is written [ibid.]: "And he shall pay the ransom of his life." And the Rabbis? Yea, it is true that it states "his life," which means that his life is atoned for, but the amount to be paid for such atonement is the value of the deceased.

Rabha once declared before R. Na'hman that R. A'ha b. Jacob was a great man, and R. Na'hman said to him: When he comes to visit you bring him to me. When he had done so, said R. Na'hman to R. A'ha: Question something of me; and he put him the following question: "An ox belonging to two copartners (who has killed a man), how shall the atonement money be paid? If each copartner should pay the full amount then there would be two atonements, and the verse reads one; and if we should say that each of them shall give only half, then each pays only half, while the verse states that 'there shall be laid on him a sum of money,' which means the whole sum, and not the half." While R. Na'hman was sitting and deliberating over the case, he put to him another question, as to whether the property of the one who has to Pay atonement is levied upon, as such is the case with one who owes sin and trespass-offerings (this will be explained in Tract Eruchin). And R. Na'hman said to him: Leave alone this question. I am still sorrowful that I could not answer the first question at once.

The rabbis taught: "One who borrows an ox with the understanding that he was non-vicious, and it was found out that he was vicious (and while being under the control of the borrower he gored again), the owner pays one-half and the borrower the other half. When, however, he became vicious while being under the control of the borrower, and he has returned him to the owner (and he gored once more), the owner must pay half and the borrower is free." Let us see: The Master said that in case he was borrowed with the, understanding of being non-vicious, and was found vicious, each pays one-half. Why shall the borrower pay anything? Let him say to the owner, I have borrowed an ox, but not a lion. Said Rabh: The case was that it was known to the borrower that he was a goring ox. But still, he can say that he was understood to be non-vicious, and he turned out to be vicious, why shall I pay half? Because the owner may answer him: What difference does it make to you in this case, if even he would be non-vicious? As soon as he has gored while being under your control you would have to pay half; the same is now, you pay only half. But still there is a difference, for a non-vicious ox pays from his body, while a vicious one from the best estates. The owner may say: Even in this case there is no difference to you, for you would have to pay for the other half of the ox to me in money. Now let us see (the second part of the Boraitha): "When he became vicious while under the control of the borrower, etc., the borrower is free;" hence we see that the change of control changes his status, and from the first part it is to be inferred that it does not change the status, as the whole damage is to be paid if he gored while under the control of the borrower. Said R. Johanan: Break 1 this Boraitha: the Tana who taught the first part did not teach the last one. Rabba, however, says: The Boraitha cannot be broken, as in the first part it is declared that change of control does not change the status, the same must be the case with the second part. The reason, however, for its decision is because the owner can say as regards the viciousness of the ox, which occurred while under the control of the borrower: The latter did not take care of him as he was not his, and therefore I do not consider him vicious at all. R. Papa, however, says: As in the last part of the Boraitha the control does change the status, so also is it in the first part, but the reason why there the whole amount is to be paid is because the ox always bears the name of his owner, even while under the control of the borrower, and therefore the change of control is not to be considered.

"The ox of the stadium," etc. The Schoolmen propounded a question: Is the ox in question fit for the altar or not? Rabh said he is, for he was goring by compulsion, and Samuel said he is not, for at any rate a transgression was committed with him. There is a Boraitha supporting Rabh, which states plainly that the ox of a stadium is not guilty of death, and is fit for the altar.

MISHNA 5.: An ox that killed a man by goring him, if it was a vicious one, the atonement money is to be paid, but not when he was a non-vicious one. Both of them, however, must be killed. The same is the case when he gored a minor male or female. If he gored a male or a female slave he must pay thirty selas, without regard whether their value was one thousand zuz or only one dinar.

GEMARA: If a non-vicious ox killing a man must be killed, how can there be found a vicious ox in regard to man? Said Rabba: The case was that he was running after three men, two of whom escaped, and the court determined from the circumstances that if he would have caught those two he would have killed them. R. Ashi, however, holds that such determination is of no value, but the case was that he gored two, injuring but not killing them at once, and then gored a third one to death, when the first two also died, and therefore he is considered vicious as to the third to pay the atonement money. R. Zbid, however, says: By "vicious one" is meant simply that he has killed three animals, and an ox that is considered vicious as to animals is considered so also as to human beings. 1

"Both of them," etc. The rabbis taught: "From [Ex. 21:28]: 'Then shall the ox be surely stoned'; is it not self-evident that he became a carcass, and a carcass must not be eaten, why then does the verse add 'and his flesh shall not be eaten'?" The verse comes to teach that if he was slaughtered after judgement was rendered the flesh must not be eaten. This is the prohibition of eating it, but whence is it deduced that no benefit must be derived from it? Therefore it is written [ibid., ibid.]: "But the owner of the ox shall be quit," which means he shall be quit from any benefit. Such is the explanation of Simeon b. Zoma. But whence do we know that the words, "his flesh shall not be eaten," mean when he was slaughtered after judgement was rendered; perhaps it means after he was stoned, and the words "shall not be eaten" are to be explained that he shall not derive any benefit, but if he was slaughtered the flesh may be eaten also? The prohibition to eat it is inferred from "surely stoned," and if the verse "his flesh shall not be eaten" would mean to prohibit any benefit, it should have stated "shall not be derived any benefit," or "he shall not be eaten." Why the addition "his flesh" to indicate that if he was turned by slaughtering into food, as other meat, it is also prohibited?

The rabbis taught: It is written [ibid. 28]: "But the owner of the ox shall be quit." Said R. Eliezer: He is quit from paying the half of atonement money. (One might say as a non-vicious pays half damage in case of goring an animal, the same is the case when he first gores a man.) Said R. Aqiba to him: Is this not self-evident? The half payment is collected from his body, and here when the ox is stoned its owner may certainly say: "Bring it into court and collect from it." Said R. Eliezer to him: Do you consider me as common as not to know such a case? I speak of an ox that is not guilty of death; for instance, if he killed a man in the presence of one witness, or in the presence of his owner only (in which case the ox cannot be killed, but one might say that nevertheless the half atonement money must be paid). [You say in the presence of his owner, which means that the owner admits that it was so, then it would be equal to one who confesses of being liable to pay a fine, and the law is that he who confesses of being liable to fine is free? R. Eliezer holds that this money is in atonement and not a fine.]

In another Boraitha we have learned: Said R. Eliezer: "Aqiba, do you consider me so common as to speak of an ox which is to be killed? I speak about an ox who intended to kill an animal but killed a human being, or who intended to kill a non-viable child and killed a viable one." Which of these two statements has R. Eliezer made to R. Aqiba first? R. Kahana in the name of Rabha said the one just mentioned was made first. R. Tibiumi in the name of the same authority said that the first statement was made first. The statement of the former is to be compared to a fisher who catches fishes in the sea; if he finds big fish he takes them, and if afterward he finds small ones he takes them also (although the second statement is much straighter evidence than the first one, he nevertheless made also the other statement), and R. Tibiumi's statement is to be compared to a fisher who keeps the small fish if he catch them first, but catching afterward big fish he abandons the small ones and keeps the big ones. (So was the case with R. Eliezer. He tried to give him evidence from the first statement, but as this was easily objectionable he tried to find stronger evidence and gave it to him.)

We have learned in another Boraitha: "But the owner of the ox shall be quit." R. Jose the Galilean said that means that be is quit from paying the value of children (if she was pregnant). Said R. Aqiba to him (Is it necessary to have a separate verse for this)? Is it not written [Ex. 21:22]: "If men strike, and hurt a woman with child," etc., from which is to be inferred that only in case of human beings there is a liability for hurting children, but not in case of oxen? (Says the Gemara): Is not R. Aqiba correct? Said R. Ula, the son of R. Idi: Another verse is necessary for the following reason: From the verse just mentioned one might say men, but not oxen that are equal to men. That means, as men are considered always vicious, so vicious oxen are free from liability for hurting children, but non-vicious oxen should be liable. Therefore comes the other verse, "The owner of the ox shall be quit," to teach that even in such a case there is no liability. Said Rabha: Shall the native remain on earth and the stranger be lifted up to the highest heaven? 1 (i.e., how can it enter the mind that a vicious ox shall be free and a non-vicious shall be liable?) Therefore said R. Ada b. A'hba: (This verse alone would not be sufficient, for) in case of men they are liable for the children only when they intended to strike each other and struck the woman, but if they intended to strike the woman herself there is no money liability because they are guilty of a capital crime; but in case of oxen one might say that even when they intended to strike the woman herself their owner shall be punished also to pay for the children, therefore the expression "shall be quit" indicates that it is not so. And so was it taught plainly in a Boraitha which R. Hagi brought when he came from the south, as R. Ada b. A'hba explained it.

We learned in still another Boraitha: R. Aqiba said: "But the owner of the ox shall be quit," means from the payment for a slave (in case he was killed by the ox). But why should not R. Aqiba say to himself, as he said above to R. Eliezer, page 143: "Bring it into court and collect from it," as the ox must be stoned? Said Rabha: The verse is nevertheless needed for the following reason: One might say: Because there is more rigorousness; about a bondman than about a freeman, as for a bondman thirty shekels are paid even if he was worth only one shekel, and in case of a freeman his actual value only is paid, therefore it might be said that the payment for the bondman must be from the best estates; hence the verse to make him quit.

There is a Boraitha in support of Rabha, as follows: "The owner of the ox shall be quit." Said R. Aqiba: Quit from payment for the bondman: but why is a verse needed for that, is it not common sense? He is liable for a bondman and is liable for a freeman: as in the liability for a freeman you made a distinction between a non-vicious ox and a vicious one, is it not common sense that there shall also be made the same distinction in the liability for a bondman. And in addition to that we may draw the following a fortiori conclusion: A freeman for whom there is a liability for his full value, and nevertheless there is a distinction between a vicious and non-vicious ox, a bondman for whom only thirty selas are paid (although he may have been worth one hundred or more), so much the more that there ought to be a distinction between a vicious and non-vicious one (why, then, is the verse needed)? There is more rigorousness about a bondman than about a freeman, for in case of the latter, if he was worth one sela he pays that much--that is, only the actual value--but in case of a bondman thirty selas are paid if even he was worth one sela, and therefore one might say that whether vicious or non-vicious the full amount must be paid, hence the verse that he shall be quit.

The rabbis taught: It is written [ibid., ibid. 29]: "And he killeth a man or a woman." Said R. Aqiba: What does the verse mean to teach us by the expression "a man or a woman," if it is only to teach that a woman is equal to a man? This was already stated in the preceding verse: "If an ox gore a man or a woman." This verse is to make a woman equal to a man in this respect, that as the damages for the killed man must be paid to his heirs, so also in the case of a woman it is paid to her heirs. But does R. Aqiba hold that her husband does not inherit from her? Have we not learned in the following Boraitha: "It is written [Numb. xxvii. 11]: 'And he shall inherit it'? From this is to be inferred that the husband inherits from his wife." So said R. Aqiba. Said Resh Lakish: R. Aqiba meant the atonement money, which payment is made only after her death, and thus it is only considered inchoate and the husband does not inherit such a share in her inchoate as he does in her existing estates. But what is the reason that it is collected only after her death? Perhaps it is to be collected as soon as the court came to the conviction that she must die from the injuries. Therefore it reads [ibid., ibid. 29, 30]: "And he killeth a man or a woman, the ox shall be stoned, and his owner also should of right be put to death. But there shall be laid on him a sum of money in atonement." From which is to be inferred that the money is paid only when "his owner shall of right be put to death," which cannot be when she is still alive. But did not R. Aqiba say that even in cases of damage her husband does not inherit from her? Have we not learned in a Boraitha: "If one struck a woman and caused her to abort he must pay for the damage and pain to herself, and the value of the children to the husband; if her husband is dead he pays to his heirs; if the woman is dead he pays to her heirs. If she was a bondwoman and became free, or she was a proselyte, the one who has to make the payment need not pay, for he himself acquires title to the payment, as these classes of persons have no legal heirs." Hence we see that even for the damage and pain the payment must be made to her heirs and not to the husband. Said Rabba: The case was that she was a divorced woman; and so also said R. Na'hman: If the case was with a divorced woman, why should she not take a share of the money paid for the children? Said R. Papa: The Scripture has awarded the money for the children to their father, even if they were begotten illegally, as it is written [Ex. 21:22]: "As the husband of the woman lay upon him."

Resh Lakish said: An ox that killed a bondman unintentionally is free from the payment of the thirty shekels, as it is written [ibid., ibid. 32]: "Thirty shekels shall be given to his master, and the ox shall be stoned," from which it is to infer that only when the ox is to be stoned the money is to be paid, but not otherwise. Said Rabba: The same is the case as regards atonement money in case the ox killed a freeman unintentionally, for it is written [ibid.]: "The ox shall be stoned, and his owner also should of right be put to death, but there shall be laid on him a sum of money in atonement," from which is to be inferred that only when the ox is stoned, etc., the atonement money is to be paid, but not otherwise. Abayi objected: We have learned: "(If one confess, saying) my

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ox has killed a certain person, or his ox, he has to pay on his own testimony." Does it not mean atonement money also? Nay, it means the money for damages. If it is so, why does the latter part state. "My ox has killed the slave of a certain man; be is not compelled to pay on his own testimony"? Now if this is not the fine but damages, why should he not pay? Said Rabba to him: I could answer you that the first part treats of damages and the latter of fine, but I do not like to give you a far-fetched answer. Both parts treat of damages, but in the first instance the atonement money is paid upon his own testimony under the following circumstances: That witnesses came and testified that his ox killed a man, but were unable to testify whether he was vicious or non-vicious, and the owner admits that he was vicious, in such a case he has to pay the atonement money on his own testimony, but where there are no witnesses he pays only the damage, but not the atonement money. And in the case of a slave, if witnesses come and testify that the ox killed the slave, but they are unable to testify whether he was vicious or not, and the owner admits that he was vicious, he has not to pay the fine upon his own testimony, and where there are no witnesses he need not pay even the damages. R. Samuel b. Itzhak objected: We have learned: "The same liability one has for a freeman he also has for a bondman, either as to atonement money or as to the death penalty." Is there then any atonement money in case of a bondman? We must therefore say that it means damages; hence we see that one pays damages even on his own testimony. Some say that he himself answered this objection, and others say that Rabba said to him: This Boraitha is to be explained thus: In every case where one is liable to pay atonement money--for instance, a freeman--when done with intention and there is testimony of witnesses, he is liable under the same circumstances to pay a fine of thirty shekels in the case of a slave, and in case he is liable for damages only--as, for instance, when witnesses testify that he has done it without intention--in case of a slave under the same circumstances he pays only damages, but no fine; but if he himself admits, although in case of a freeman he has to pay damages, in case of a slave under such circumstances he is free. Rabha questioned Rabba: If one's fire has done damage without intention is there a liability or not? Shall we assume that it is only in case of an ox where, when intentionally he pays atonement money, when unintentionally he pays damage, but in the case of fire, where there is no atonement money at all (as, if intentionally, he is guilty of a capital crime), if it was unintentionally he shall not pay damages, or the atonement money is not to be taken into consideration, and the damages must be paid at any rate; as we do not know of any reason why fire should be distinguished from an ox when done unintentionally, as both are his property? This remains unanswered. When R. Dimi came from Palestine he said in the name of R. Johanan thus: It could be written: "Shall be laid on him a sum of money in atonement." Why is the word "if" 1 added? To teach that the atonement money shall be paid when done unintentionally as well as if done intentionally. Said Abayi to him: According to your theory, why should we not say the same of a bondman, where it is also written [ibid. 31] "if," even when done unintentionally; and if you should say that so it really is, why then said Resh Lakish that if an ox killed a slave unintentionally he is free from the thirty shekels? He answered: What contradiction do you adduce? They are two different persons, and differ in their opinions. When Rabhin came from Palestine he said that R. Johanan has declared plainly that the same is the case with a slave when killed, even unintentionally, and that he deduced it from the word "if," as explained above.

"A male or female minor." The rabbis taught: It is written [ibid. 31]: "If he gore a son or gore a daughter;" that is, to make one liable for little children as for grown persons. But is this not common-sense? There is a liability of a human being for a human being, and the same liability is of an ox for a human being; as in the former there is no difference as to whether young or old, so also in the latter case, and this can be inferred also by the following a fortiori conclusion: In the case of human beings, in which the murderer is guilty only when he is a grown-up person, but not a child, for it is written plainly "man" (and a child is not called "man"); in the case of an ox, in which there is no difference as to whether it is old or young (as the Scripture calls him ox from the very same day he was born, Lev. 22:27), so much the more that he shall be guilty for children as well as for grown persons. Why, then, is a verse needed? Nay (as to all that was said above could be objected thus): In the case of human beings there is a liability for the four certain things, which is not the case with an ox, and one might say, as in the case of an ox, there is no liability for the four things; so also should there be a distinction between children and grown persons; hence the above passage. From this passage we deduce only as to a vicious ox; whence do we know that as to a non-vicious one? This is common-sense: As there is a liability for a grown man or woman, and the same liability is for children, and as to grown persons no distinction is made between a vicious and non-vicious ox, the same is the case with children. This can also be inferred by a fortiori conclusion: Grown persons, who are responsible for their acts, if they were killed by an ox there is no distinction made between a vicious and non-vicious one; so much the less in case of children, who are not responsible for their acts, that no distinction is to be made whether the ox was vicious or not. Is it not against the rule to draw an a fortiori conclusion from a rigorous one to a lenient one to make the lenient rigorous? (It is deduced that no distinction is made between a vicious and non-vicious ox in regard to grown persons from the case of the children, and the verse, "If he gore a son," etc., speaks of a vicious ox; now you compare again the case of children to the case of grown persons, to say that as there is no distinction, so is none here, consequently you draw from the rigorous one, i.e., grown persons, which is based only upon common-sense, to the case of children, where the Scripture says plainly that the ox must be vicious, and consequently lenient, as it can be said that only a vicious and not a non-vicious is meant, to make a non-vicious also liable.) And still we can say that the case of children is more lenient, for children are free from observance of the Law, which is not the case with grown man; therefore it is written: "If he gore a son, or gore a daughter," the repetition of "gore" being superfluous, to teach us that there is no distinction between a vicious and non-vicious ox, between injured and killed, and in all cases it must be paid.

MISHNA 6.: An ox that was rubbing against a wall whereby the wall fell upon a human being and killed him; if the ox intended to kill an animal and killed a man, or a non-viable child and killed a viable one, he is free.

GEMARA: Said Samuel: He is free from death, but he is liable to pay the atonement money. Rabh, however, says that he is free from both. But why shall atonement money be paid? Is he then not non-vicious? (Is it not said that he was rubbing against the wall, in which case he is surely non-vicious, at least in this case?) As Rabha explained this, that it was vicious in this respect as to fall into pits, so also here that it was vicious in rubbing against the wall. But if so, then he must be put to death. It would be correct in the case of Rabha's explanation cited concerning a pit, because he noticed therein vegetables, and intending to eat of them he fell in, but in this case here what can be said? He was rubbing against the wall to derive benefit. How do we know that? From the fact that he continued rubbing even after the falling of the wall. But then is this the proximate cause? Is it not the remote cause, as digging up gravel? Said R. Mari, the son of R. Kahana: The case was that the wall was little by little removed by his rubbing until the very moment it fell, and therefore it was the proximate cause, but still there was no intention to kill.

There is a Boraitha which is a support to Samuel and an objection to Rabh, namely: "There are cases in which the ox is put to death and the owner pays atonement money, and there are other cases in which atonement money is paid, but the ox is not put to death, and still others in which the ox is put to death, but no atonement money is paid, and finally such cases in which there is no liability to either. How so? If there are both viciousness and intention, both atonement money is paid and the ox is killed. If viciousness without intention is present, atonement money only; non-viciousness but intentional, the ox is put to death, but no atonement money. Non-viciousness without intention, no liability at all. But if, however, he has done damage unintentionally R. Jehudah holds him liable and R. Simeon holds him free." What is the reason of R. Jehudah's decision? He compares it to atonement money: as the latter is to be paid if unintentional, so also in damages; and R. Simeon compares it to the killing of the ox: as the ox is not to be killed if it was unintentional, so also is the case with damages.

"If the ox intended to kill an animal," etc. But how is the case if it intended to kill one man and killed another, is there a liability? If so, then this Mishna will not be in accordance with R. Simeon of the following Boraitha, in which he says "that even if he intended to kill one man and killed another he is also free." And his reason is because it is written [Ex. xxi. 29]: "The ox shall be stoned, and its owner," etc. The killing of the ox is equal to the death of its owner: as the owner cannot be put to death unless he killed this man intentionally, so also the ox is not killed unless it killed this man intentionally. But whence do we deduce that it is so in case of murder? Because it is plainly written [Deut. 19:11]: "And he lie in wait for him, and rise up against him," etc., which indicates that he must have the intention for the man he killed.

MISHNA 7.: An ox belonging to a woman, to orphans, or their guardian, or an ownerless ox, or an ox belonging to the sanctuary, or the ox of a proselyte who died without heirs, all those (if they kill a man) are put to death. R. Jehudah, however, holds that an ownerless ox, or that belonging to the sanctuary or to the proselyte in question are not put to death, for the reason that they have no owners.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: "The word 'ox' is repeated seven times in the chapter of the Scripture treating of the goring of a man by an ox, which repetition means to include all those kinds of oxen stated in the Mishna. R. Jehudah, however, says that notwithstanding these repetitions, an ownerless ox, or one belonging to the sanctuary or to a proselyte are not put to death, because they have no owners. Said R. Huna: R. Jehudah makes him free even if he was consecrated or declared ownerless after the goring. Whence this theory? Because it is repeated in R. Jehudah's statement, "an ox that is ownerless or one belonging to a proselyte," etc., are they not both equally ownerless? Hence for the purpose stated. And so it is plainly stated in the following Boraitha: Furthermore, R. Jehudah said: Even if it was consecrated or made ownerless after goring, they are also free, as it is written [Ex. 21:29]: "And warning had been given to his owner," etc., which means that it is put to death then only when during the bringing to the court, the judgement, and its execution its owner is still in existence.

MISHNA 8.: An ox that was sentenced to be put to death and his owner consecrated him, he is not consecrated. If his owner slaughtered him, his meat is prohibited. If, however, this was done before the completion of the sentence, he is consecrated, and if slaughtered his meat may be used.

If one delivered his ox to a gratuitous bailee or borrower, to a bailee for hire, to a hirer, all those substitute the owner as to responsibility for damage: a vicious one pays the whole, and a non-vicious one the half.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: "An ox that killed a man; if before sentence he was sold or consecrated the act is valid, if slaughtered his meat may be used. If the bailee returned him to his owner the act is valid. If, however, all those enumerated were done after sentence, neither of those acts is valid. R. Jacob, however, said that as regards the bailee the act is valid even if after sentence, and the point of their difference is thus: Whether the ox may be sentenced in its absence from before the court. The rabbis hold that the sentence must be pronounced in the presence of the ox. Now the owner may say to the bailee: If you would have returned him to me before sentence, I would have driven him away into the swamp (so that he could not be brought before the court), and R. Jacob, however, holds that as the sentence may be pronounced in his absence, there is no difference. What is the reason for the rabbis' theory? The verse quoted above, "The ox shall be stoned, and his owner," etc., from which is to infer that the ox is in this respect equal to his owner, as his owner could not be sentenced to death in his absence, the same is the case with the ox. R. Jacob, however, objected and said: The owner is different, because he could argue before the court, but for what purpose is the presence of the ox necessary in the court?

"If he delivered him to a bailee," etc. The rabbis taught: The following four substitute the owner: The gratuitous bailee, the borrower, the bailee for hire, and the hirer. If the ox under the control of the above killed a man while being non-vicious, .he must be put to death, and no atonement money is paid; if while being vicious, also atonement money is paid; and all of them with the exception of gratuitous bailee must pay the value of the ox to its owner. Let us see how was the case. If they guarded him as required, let all of them be free; if they have not guarded him as required, let even the gratuitous bailee also pay? The case was that they have not sufficiently guarded him. For the gratuitous bailee it is considered sufficient, and therefore he is free, but for all others it is not sufficient (because a greater degree of care is required of them). Let us see, according to whom is this Boraitha? If according to R. Meir, who says that a hirer is equal to a gratuitous bailee: "Why did not the Boraitha add to the gratuitous bailee also the hirer? And if it is according to R. Jehudah, who says that a hirer is equal to a bailee for hire, why did not the Boraitha add to the gratuitous bailee also that all of them in the case of a vicious ox are free from atonement money" (as R. Jehudah holds that even slight care is sufficient for the above substitutes)? Said R. Huna b. Hinua: The Boraitha is in accordance with R. Eliezer, who says that there is no guard for a vicious ox unless the knife, and he also holds according to R. Jehudah, who says that the hirer is equal to a bailee for hire. Abayi, however, says that the Boraitha is in accordance with R. Meir, and it is as Rabbah b. Abuhu changed the statement of the rabbis as follows: One who hires an ox, how shall he pay? R. Meir says, as a bailee for hire, and R. Jehudah says, as a gratuitous bailee.

R. Elazar said: One who delivered his ox to a gratuitous bailee, and the ox did damage, the bailee is liable, but if he was injured he is free. Let us see how the case was. If the bailee agreed to guard him against injury, then let him be responsible if even he was injured, and even he did not let him be free even if he did damage. Said Rabha: The case was that he did take the responsibility, but he knew at the time that he was a goring ox, and common-sense dictates that his intention was to guard him against goring as it was his habit, but it could not enter his mind that he will be gored by others.

MISHNA 9.: If its owner properly tied him and locked him up, and still he broke out and did damage, be it a vicious or a non-vicious one there is a liability. Such is the dictum of R. Meir. R. Jehudah, however, holds that a non-vicious is liable, and a vicious is not, for it is written [Ex. 21:29]: "And he hath not kept him in," but here he had. R. Eliezer, however, says there is no guard for a vicious ox except the knife.

GEMARA: We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Eliezer b. Jacob said: "Whether vicious or non-vicious, if they were slightly guarded (from negligence) he is free from the whole damage." The reason for this is because he is in accordance with R. Jehudah, who said above that slight care is sufficient for a vicious ox, and he holds that even a non-vicious ox must

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also be guarded from the analogy of expression "gore." As in the case of a vicious one it is plainly written, "He hath not kept him in," so also it is in case of a non-vicious.

R. Ada b. A'hba said: R. Jehudah made him free (in our Mishna) from viciousness, but not from non-viciousness (i.e., he must still pay half).

Rabh said: If he was vicious to gore with the right horn he is not considered vicious as to the left horn. According to whom is Rabh's saying? (The saying of Rabh is certainly not regarding the payment, as it is certain that even when he was vicious toward human beings he is not considered vicious toward an animal, and it is therefore self-evident that if it was known to be vicious with his right horn, no claim can be made that the whole must be paid if he gored the first time with the left horn. Rabh's saying therefore must be interpreted to have reference to "taking care.") If it is in accordance with R. Meir even a non-vicious one must be taken good care of? And if according to R. Jehudah, who holds that only slight care is sufficient, then why is it necessary to make the distinction between viciousness and non-viciousness, as to goring with left and right horns: there is a distinction also in the very case of the right horn, viz., if no care at all was taken of him then the viciousness prevails, but if any care at all was taken of him, only the non-viciousness prevails and the viciousness is gone? It can be said that he is in accordance with R. Jehudah, but he does not hold of the theory of R. Ada b. A'hba. And Rabh's saying is to be explained thus: To find in one and the same ox both viciousness and non-viciousness, it can be only when he was vicious to gore with the right and not with the left horn; but if he was vicious as to both horns, then the element of non-viciousness can no more be found in him (i.e., if no care at all was taken of him he is vicious in all respects, but if any care at all was taken the viciousness is gone and the non-viciousness remains).

"R. Eliezer says for a vicious ox," etc. Said Abayi: The reason for R. Eliezer's saying is as we have learned in the following Boraitha: R. Nathan said: Whence do we deduce that one must not raise a noxious dog in his house, nor maintain a defective ladder? For it is written [Deut. xxii. 8]: "That thou bring not blood upon thy house."

CHAPTER 5.

RULES CONCERNING A GORING OX; EXCAVATIONS ON PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PREMISES; EXCAVATIONS MADE BY PARTNERS, ETC.

MISHNA 1.: Should an ox gore a cow and the new-born calf be found dead at her side, and it be not known whether she gave birth to it before the goring or by reason of the goring, the owner of the ox pays half the damage for the cow and one-fourth for the calf. So also should a cow gore an ox and her new-born calf be found alive at her side, and it be not known whether she gave birth before the goring or by reason of the goring, the owner of the cow pays half the damage from the body of the cow and one-fourth from that of the calf.

GEMARA: Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: This is the dictum of Summachus, who holds that money about which there is a doubt as to whom it rightly belongs, must be divided. But the sages said: There is a principal rule--the burden of proof is upon the plaintiff. [For what purpose is the statement that there is a principal rule? It was necessary that, even when the plaintiff claimed positively while the defendant only said that he was doubtful about it (in which case one might say that there need be no proof at all), this rule apply.] The same we have also learned in the following Boraitha (the exact statement of the Mishna with the addition): This is the dictum of Summachus, but the sages say that the burden of proof is upon the plaintiff.

Said R. Samuel b. Na'hmani: Whence is this rule deduced? From [Ex. xxiv. 14]: "Whoever may have any cause to be decided, let him come unto them." That means, he shall produce proof before them. R. Ashi opposed: Why is a verse necessary? Is it not common-sense that one who feels pain goes to a physician? We must therefore say that this verse applies to the saying of R. Na'hman in the name of Rabba b. Abbuhu: Whence is it deduced that in case of a claim and counterclaim the claim must first be passed upon and judgement awarded and executed, and then the counterclaim must be proved (as at this stage the former defendant is now the plaintiff)? From the above-quoted passage, which means that the plaintiff who has the cause to be decided shall be heard first. The sages of Nahardea, however, said that in some cases it might happen that the counterclaim must be passed upon first, and that is in case the judgement, if awarded against the defendant, would have to be collected from the latter's real estate; for if the judgement were allowed to be collected before the counterclaim was proved, the estate would sell much cheaper than if he should prove his counterclaim and sell his estate at a proper price.

"So also should a cow gore an ox," etc. Half and a quarter of the damage! Why three-quarters--he has to pay only half? Said Rabha: The Mishna meant to say thus, If the cow is there, one-half of the damage is collected from the body of the cow; but if she cannot be found, one-quarter is collected from the body of the calf, and the reason is because it is doubtful whether the calf was with its mother at the time of the goring or not; but if we should be certain that it was, half would be collected from the body of the calf.

This decision of Rabha is in accordance with his theory elsewhere as to a cow that has done damage--the same may be collected from its offspring, because the latter is considered a part of her own body. A hen that has done damage--the latter cannot be collected from her eggs, for the reason that they are completely separated from the hen and it does not care any more for them.

Rabha said again (in the first instance, when the ox gored the cow): The cow and her offspring are not separately appraised, but both of them together (i.e., the value of the cow before giving birth and that after she gave birth, and not the value of the cow separately and that of the calf separately); for otherwise it would work too much harm to the defendant. The same is the case if one cut off the hand of his neighbour's slave or if one damage his neighbour's field (that is, in each of those cases the value prior to doing the damage and that after doing the damage is ascertained, and thus the damage is appraised, and not by appraising separately the damaged part and the main body). Said R. A'ha the son of Rabha to R. Ashi: If in reality the law is so, what do we care for the defendant? let him suffer. Why, then, did Rabha protect him? Because the defendant might say: "I caused injury to a gravid cow, and therefore the appraisement must also be made of such a cow." it is certain, if the cow belonged to one person and the calf to another, that for the reduction of the fatness it must be paid to the owner of the cow; but for the depreciation on account of the reduction in fulness, to whom is this to be paid? (I.e., if while the cow was gravid the owner of the cow sold the calf to be born to another person, and through the injury the cow miscarried, and by reason thereof the cow became reduced both in fatness and in fulness (figure), both of which are elements making up the value of a cow; now, for the reduction in fatness the owner of the cow must be paid, for the calf has not contributed to it; but for the depreciation on account of the decrease in the fulness, shall the owner of the calf be paid? for the calf gave her that fulness, or both the cow and the calf contributed to it, and the value of this damage must be divided.) R. Papa says it is paid to the owner of the cow only. R. A'ha the son of R. Iki says that it must be divided, and so the Halakha prevails.

MISHNA 2.: A potter that placed his pottery in the court of another without his permission, and the court-owner's cattle broke them, there is no liability. If the cattle were injured thereby, the potter is liable. If, however, he placed them there with permission, the court-owner is liable. The same is the case with one who placed his fruit in another's courtyard and it was consumed by an animal of the court-owner. Should one lead his ox into the court of another without permission and it be gored by the ox of the court-owner, or be bitten by his dog, there is no liability. If, however, the ox in question gored the court-owner's ox, or it fell into the well and spoiled the water, he is liable. If the court-owner's father or son was in the well (at the time, and was killed), he must pay atonement money. If, however, he led it there with permission, the court-owner is liable. Rabbi, however, says that in all these cases the court-owner is not liable unless he expressly undertook to take care of the ox.

GEMARA: Is the reason for the statement in the first part of the Mishna only because he placed them without permission, but if with permission the potter would not be liable for injuries to the animals of the court-owner, and we do not say that it is implied that the potter has assumed the care of the animals, and this can be only in accordance with Rabbi, who holds that wherever it is not expressly assumed there is no implied assumption to take care? Now, the latter part, which states: "If he placed them there with permission the court-owner is liable," is certainly in accordance with the rabbis, who hold that there is an implied assumption even when nothing was expressly mentioned; and in the last part Rabbi declared that in all cases he is not liable unless the court-owner expressly assumed the care; hence the first and last parts will be in accordance with Rabbi, and the middle part in accordance with the rabbis? Said R. Zera: Separate the clauses, and say that the one who taught this part did not teach the other. Rabha, however, says: The whole Mishna can be explained to be in accordance with the rabbis, and that the case was that he entered with permission and the court-owner assured the safety of the pottery (and the potter assumed nothing), in which case he is responsible if even the wind should break them.

"If he placed his fruit," etc. Said Rabh: The case is only if she slipped on account of them; but if she consumed them (and by reason thereof died) there is no liability, for she was not compelled to eat them.

Come and hear: "One who led his ox into another's courtyard, and it consumed wheat which caused it diarrhœa and it died, there is no liability. If, however, he led it in with permission, the court-owner is liable." Why not argue here the same way, and say that it was not compelled to eat? Said Rabh: "You wish to contradict a case with permission by a case without permission? In the former event he assured the safety of the ox, and therefore he is liable if even the ox should choke himself."

The schoolmen propounded the following question: "When he assured the safety of the ox, did it only extend to himself (i.e., to protect the ox against the injury by his own animals), or also to all cattle?" Come and hear: "R. Jehudah b. Simeon taught in Section Damages, of the school of Qarna: If one placed his fruit in the courtyard of another without permission and an ox came from some other place and consumed it, he is free; if, however, with permission, he is liable. Who is liable and who is free--is it not the court-owner?" (Hence we see that he must guard him also against injury by others?) Nay, it may be said that it has reference to the owner of the ox. If so, what difference is there whether it was with or without permission? There is: If with permission, it is to be considered the premises of the plaintiff, in which case the tooth is liable (for as soon as the court-owner allowed him to enter he thereby assigned him room in his court); but without permission, it cannot be considered that he consumed it "in another man's field," which is required in the case of the tooth, and therefore there can be no liability.

Come and hear: "If one lead his ox into a courtyard without permission and an ox come from another place and gore it, he is free; if, however, with permission, he is liable." Who is free and who is liable--is it not the court-owner? Nay, it is the owner of the ox. If so, what difference is there whether with or without permission? The Boraitha is in accordance with R. Tarphon, who says that there is an extra rule as to the horn if on the premises of the plaintiff, in which case he pays the whole. Now, if with permission, it is considered the premises of the plaintiff (for the reason stated above) and he pays the whole damage; but if without permission, it is equal to the case of the horn on public ground, in which case only half is paid.

It happened that a woman entered a house to bake, and the house-owner's goat having consumed the dough, became feverish and died. Rabha then made the woman pay for the goat. Shall we assume that he differs with Rabh, who said that it was not compelled to consume it? What comparison is this? There it was without permission, and therefore the safety was not assured; but here it was with permission, and therefore the safety of the goat was assured by the woman (for the reason stated further on, that in baking by a woman modesty is required, as she has to bare her arms and the owner of the house cannot stay in the room; it is therefore considered that he has assigned the whole room to the woman, and therefore she is responsible for the damage done to the house-owner). And why is this different from the following case: If a woman enter another's premises to grind her wheat without permission and the house-owner's animal consume the wheat, there is no liability. If, however, the animal was injured thereby, the woman is liable. The reason then is because it was without permission, but if with permission she would be free? There is a difference: In case of grinding wheat, where no modesty is required and the owner could be present, the care of the animal devolves upon him; but in case of baking modesty is required (as stated above).

"If one lead his ox into a courtyard," etc. Rabha said: One who leads his ox into a courtyard without permission, and the ox digs an excavation in the courtyard, the owner of the ox is liable for the damage caused to the court, and the court-owner is liable for the damages caused by the excavation (if he renounced ownership), although the Master said elsewhere, on the strength of the passage [Ex. 21:33]: "If a man dig a pit," a man, and not an ox; for here in this case he had to fill up the pit (before renouncing ownership), and by not so doing it is considered as if he dug it.

Rabha said again: "One who leads his ox into a court without the permission of its owner, and it injures the owner, or the latter is injured through it, he is liable. If, however, it lie down (and by doing so breaks vessels, or while being in such a position the court-owner stumbles over it and is injured), there is none." Does, then, the lying down relieve him from liability? Said R. Papa: Rabha means, not that the ox itself lay down, but that it lay down (voided) excrement and thereby soiled the vessels of the court-owner, in which case the excrement is considered a pit; and we do not find that there is a liability for damage to vessels by a pit. This would be correct according to Samuel, who holds that any obstacle is considered a pit; but as to Rabh, who holds that it is not considered a pit, unless ownership is renounced, what can be said? Generally from dung ownership is renounced.

Rabha said again: If one enter a court without permission and injure the court-owner, or the latter be injured through him (by jostling against him), he is liable; if the court-owner injure him, he is free. Said R. Papa: "This was said only in case the court-owner has not noticed him; but if he has, he is liable." What is the reason? Because he can say to him: "You have the right only to drive him out, but not to injure him." And each follows his own theory, for Rabha, and according to others R. Papa, said: If both of them were there with permission (e.g., on a public highway), or both of them without permission, if one injure the other (by striking with the hand, although unintentionally), both are liable (for as to

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damages there is no difference whether with or without intention); but if one was injured through the other (as by jostling), they are free. The reason, then, is because both of them were either with or without permission; but if one was with and the other one without permission, the one who was with permission is free and the other is liable.

"If he fall into the pit and spoil the water," etc. Said Rabha: This was taught only when it was spoiled through the body (e.g., when the body was soiled); but if it was so because of the (putrefied) smell, he is free. And the reason is, because the carcass is only the germon (origin) of the smell, and for germon there is no liability.

"If his father, his son," etc. Why so? Is he not a non-vicious one? Said Ula: It is in accordance with R. Jose the Galilean, who holds, with R. Tarphon, that the horn on the premises of the plaintiff pays the whole damage, so also here he pays the whole sum of atonement money, and for that reason he teaches, "if his father," etc., to indicate that it was the premises of the plaintiff.

"If he lead him in with permission," etc. It was taught: "Rabh said: The Halakha prevails according to the first Tana, while Samuel holds that the Halakha prevails according to Rabbi."

The rabbis taught: "If he said: 'Lead in your ox and take care of him,' if he did damage, he is liable; if he was injured, there is no liability. If he, however, said: 'Lead in your ox and I will take care of him,' the reverse is the case." Is there not a difficulty in the explanation of the Boraitha? First it states, if he told him to lead in the ox and to take care of him he is liable if he did damage, etc.--then the reason is because he told him expressly to take care of him; but if nothing was said as to care, the reverse would be the case, for the reason that, when nothing is mentioned, the court-owner impliedly assumes the care. How, then, should the last part: "If he, however, told him: 'Lead in your ox and I will take care of him,' etc., be explained? Is it not to infer that the reason was because he expressly said that he would take care of him, but if nothing was said as to care, the owner of the ox is liable and the court-owner is free, for the reason that under such circumstances the court-owner does not assume the care, which is according to Rabbi, who holds that the court-owner is not liable unless he expressly assumes the care, and so the first part would be according to the rabbis and the last part according to Rabbi? Said Rabha: The whole Mishna can be explained to be in accordance with the rabbis, thus: Because it states in the first part "and you take care of him," it states also in the last part, "and I will take care of him." R. Papa said: The whole Mishna may be explained in accordance with Rabbi, but that he holds with R. Tarphon, who says that the horn on the premises of the plaintiff pays the whole, and therefore if he tell him, "You take care," the court-owner has not assigned him any room, and thus it is to be considered as the horn on the premises of the plaintiff, which pays the whole; but if he keep silent, it is considered that he has assigned him room in the court, and thereby the court becomes a partnership, and under such circumstances only half is paid.

MISHNA 3.: If an ox intend to gore another ox, and injure a woman and cause her to miscarry, the owner of the ox is free from paying for the child. If, however, a man intend to hurt another man, and hurt a woman and cause her to miscarry, he must pay for the child. How is this payment made? The woman is appraised as to the difference in her value (as a slave) before and after she gave birth. Said R. Simeon b. Gamaliel: If so, then her value increases after giving birth. We must therefore say that the worth of the infant is appraised and its value is paid to her husband if she has one, or to his heirs if she has no husband. If she was a manumitted slave or a proselyte, there is no liability.

GEMARA: The reason is only because it intended to gore another ox, but if it originally intended to gore the woman he is liable for the infant. Shall we assume that this is a contradiction to R. Ada bar A'hba, who said elsewhere that even in such a case there is no liability? Nay, R. Ada b. A'hba may answer that, even according to our Mishna, there is no liability even if it intended to gore the woman. But why does the Mishna say that it intended to gore another ox? Because in the last part it states a case where a man intended to injure another one, in which it is essential, for so states the Scripture; therefore the same expression was used.

"How is this payment to be made," etc. The value of the infant? It ought to read "the increased valuation caused by the infant"? (for so does the Mishna state, that the woman is "appraised," etc.). It really means: "How does he pay the value of the infant and the increased valuation caused by the infant? The woman is appraised," etc.

"Said R. Simeon b. Gamaliel," etc. What does he mean? Said Rabha: He means thus: Is, then, the value of a woman during pregnancy higher than after she gives birth-is not the reverse the fact? We must therefore say "that the worth of the infant," etc., and so also we have learned in a Boraitha elsewhere. Rabha, however, says: He means thus: Does, then, the increase in value of the woman belong wholly to the husband, and she has no share in the increase of value caused even by her infant? The infant is appraised and its value paid to the husband, and the money for the increase in valuation is divided between the husband and the wife. We have so also learned plainly in a Boraitha, with the addition that each item must be separately appraised: the pain, the damage; the value of the infant, however, must be paid to the husband only, but the increase in valuation caused by it must be divided. If so, then the two statements of R. Simeon b. Gamaliel contradict each other? This presents no difficulty. The one case is that of a first-birth, and the other is not.

And the rabbis, who hold that the increase in valuation also belongs to the husband, what is their reason? As we have learned in the following Boraitha: From the Scripture, which reads [Ex. 21:22]: "And her children depart from her," do I not know that she was with child? Why does it state, "a woman with child"? To tell thee that the increase in value caused by pregnancy belongs to the husband. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, however, applies the passage quoted to the following Boraitha: R. Eliezer b. Jacob said: He is not liable unless he struck her over the womb. And R. Papa explained the above statement of R. Eliezer b. Jacob, that he does not mean the womb only, but any part of the body except the arm or foot.

"If she was a bondwoman," etc., "or a proselyte woman," etc. Said Rabba: This is to be explained that he wounded her before her husband died, in which case the deceased acquired title to the money to be paid, and upon his death the same is inherited by the defendant, in whose possession the money still is (and so is the law as regards the property of a proselyte who died without leaving heirs); but if he wounded her after the death of her husband, the money is to be paid to her. Said R. Hisda: "Who is the author of this statement? Are, then, children as packages of money, that their ownership may pass from one to another? Where there is a husband alive the Scripture made an exception, in that the money to be paid should belong to him; but where there is none, no payment at all is to be made." Regarding this statement the Tanaim of the following Boraitha differ: "An Israelite's daughter that was married to a proselyte and she has conceived by him, and some one wounded her, if during the lifetime of the proselyte, the value of the infant goes to him; if after his decease, one Boraitha states that the defendant must pay to the mother and another Boraitha states that he is free."

According to Rabba's theory there is no doubt that the Tanaim differ, but according to R. Hisda's theory, in accordance with whom will be the Boraitha which states that he must pay? It is in accordance with Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel, who said that the mother gets one-half of the money to be paid even when her husband is alive, and the whole if he is dead.

R. Iba the elder propounded the following question to R. Na'hman: One who took possession of the documents of a proselyte (which he held against the lands of an Israelite), what is the law? Shall we assume, of one who receives mortgages on estates, that his main intention is to take possession of the lands, and whereas of the latter the proselyte has as yet not taken possession, the one who took possession of the documents has acquired no title, because these documents are not considered property, or is it considered that the proselyte's intention was also as to the documents (and so they are his property)? He said to him: Answer me, my Master, could the intention of the proselyte be to wrap up a bottle in them? He answered: Yea, it may have been also for that very purpose.

Rabba said: "If an Israelite's pledge is in the hands of a proselyte and the latter dies, and another Israelite comes and takes possession of it, he may be deprived of the possession (by the owner of the pledged article). Why so? Because as soon as the proselyte died the lien on the pledge became null and void. If, however, a proselyte's pledge is held by an Israelite and the proselyte dies, and another Israelite takes possession of it, the pledgee has his lien on the pledge to the extent of his debt and the other one acquires title as to the balance. Why should not the pledgee's premises (on which the pledge is located) acquire the title for its owner? Did not R. Jose b. Hanima say that one's premises acquire title for their owner even without his knowledge? It may be explained that he was not there, and therefore when the owner is there, and he wishes he himself could acquire title, his premises can also do so for him; but where there is no owner to acquire title himself, his premises cannot do so for him. And so the Halakha prevails.

MISHNA 4.: One who digs a pit on private ground and opens it into public ground, or vice versa, or on private ground and opens it into the private ground of another person, is liable.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: One who digs a pit on private premises and opens it into public premises is liable; and this is the kind of a pit that was meant by the Scripture. Such is the dictum of R. Ishmael. R. Aqiba says: The pit mentioned in the Scripture is where one renounced ownership to his premises (on which there was a pit), but did not renounce it to the pit. Said Rabba: As to a pit on public ground, all agree that there is a liability, but as to one on one's own premises, R. Aqiba holds that even in such a case there is a liability, for it is written [Ex. 21:34]: "The owner of the pit"; that means that the Scripture meant a pit that has an owner, while R. Ishmael holds that it means the one to whom the cause of the injury previously belonged. But what does R. Aqiba mean by his saying, "That is the pit meant by the Scripture"? Thus: Why should this case be free from payment? Is this not the very case with which the Scripture began as regards payment? 1 R. Joseph, however, says, that as to a pit on private premises all agree that there is a liability, for the reason stated by R. Aqiba; they only differ as to a pit on public ground. R. Ishmael holds that one is also liable in such a case, thus: It is written [ibid., ibid. 33]: "And if a man open a pit, or if a man dig a pit"; now, if for the opening one is liable, so much the more is he for the digging? We must therefore say that the liability came to him because of the digging and opening only (i.e., that neither the premises nor the pit is his, as being on public ground). R. Aqiba, however, may explain it thus: Both statements are necessary, for if the Scripture should state only as to the opening, one might say that only in case of opening it is sufficient to cover it, but in case of digging it is not, unless he stuff it up; and if the Scripture should state only the digging one might say that only in such a case it must be covered, for he has done some substantial act; but in case of opening only there is no need even to cover it, for no substantial act was done. Hence the necessity of both verses. And what does R. Ishmael mean by his statement, "This is the pit," etc.? He means that this is the pit with which the passage began as to damages.

There is an objection from the following: One who digs a pit on public ground and opens it into private ground is free, although it is not permitted to do so, for the reason that no excavation must be made under public ground. One who digs a round, oval, or obtuse-angle-shaped pit on private ground and opens it into public ground is liable. And one who digs pits on private premises adjoining public ground, as, for instance, those who dig pits to lay foundations for buildings, is free. R. Jose b. Jehudah, however, makes him liable, unless he put up a partition ten spans high, or unless the pit was at least four spans distant from the pathway for man and beast. Now the first Tana holds him free, because it was for laying foundations; but otherwise he would also hold him liable? (Hence there is a liability for a pit on one's own premises?) According to whose theory is the statement of the first Tana? It would be correct according to Rabba, for it could be explained that the first part is according to R. Ishmael and the last part according to R. Aqiba; but according to R. Joseph, the last part is in accordance with all and the first part in accordance with none? R. Joseph may say that the whole Boraitha is in accordance with all, but the first part treats of a case where he renounced ownership neither to the premises nor to the pit (and although he must not do so, nevertheless there is no liability). Said R. Ashi: Now that we arrive at the conclusion that according to R. Joseph's theory the Boraitha is in accordance with all, the same may be explained also according to Rabba's theory that the whole Boraitha is in accordance with R. Ishmael; but the reason why, according to your inference, there would be a liability, if it is not for laying a foundation, is because he extended the excavation under the public ground (and therefore, if not for laying foundations, it should be considered digging on public ground).

The rabbis taught: One who digs and opens a well and delivers it over to the community is free (if any accident happened). Otherwise he is liable. And so also was the custom of Nehunia the pit-digger, to dig and open wells and deliver them over to the community. And when the rabbis heard of it, they said: "He is acting in accordance with the Halakha."

The rabbis taught: It happened to the daughter of the very same Nehunia, that she fell into a large well. They came and informed R. Hanina b. Dosa of it. During the first hour he said to them: "Go in peace"; and so also during the second. At the third (when there was fear that she might have died), he said that she was out already and saved. When the girl was asked who saved her, she said that a ram passed by led by an old man (the ram of Isaac led by Abraham), who saved her. When R. Hanina b. Dosa was asked whether he knew of her safety by prophecy, he said: I am no prophet, nor am I the son of a prophet, but I thought to myself, "Can it be that the children of that upright man (Nehunia, who was digging wells to enable the pilgrims to drink water from them) shall die by the very thing he was taking so much pains to prepare for the welfare of Israel?" Said R. A'ha: Notwithstanding this, his son died of thirst. The reason is, that the Holy One, blessed be He, is particular with the upright around Him, even on a hairbreadth, as it is written [Ps. 1:3]: "And round him there rageth a mighty storm" 1 (and there must have been some sin committed by Nehunia for which he was punished). R. Nehunia says: From the following passage [ibid. 69:8]: "God is greatly terrific in the secret council of the holy ones, and fear-inspiring overall that are about him." R. Hanina said: One who says that the Holy One, blessed be He, is liberal (to forgive every one his sins), his life may be disposed of liberally (for he encourages people to sin), as it is written [Deut. 33:4]: "He is the Rock, his work is perfect; for all his ways are just." R. Hana, and according to others R. Samuel b. Na'hmani, says: It is written [Ex. 34:6], "Long-suffering" in the plural,

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and not in the singular, to signify that He is long-suffering towards the upright and also towards the wicked.

The rabbis taught: One shall not remove stones from his own premises to public ground. It happened once that one did so, and a pious one passing by at the time and seeing him do that said to him: "Thou ignoramus, why dost thou remove stones from premises not belonging to thee to thy own premises?" He laughed at him. Some time later he was compelled to sell his lands, and while walking on the public highway in front of his former lands he stumbled over the stones he once piled up. He then exclaimed: "I see now that the pious one was right in his saying!"

MISHNA 5.: One who digs a pit on public ground and an ox or an ass falls into it (and is killed), he is liable. It matters not as to the shape of the pit, whether round, oval, or a cavern, rectangular or acute-angular, in all cases he is liable. If this is so, then why is it written "pit" [בור]? To infer from this that as a round pit in order to be sufficient to cause death must be no less than ten spans deep, so also all other forms must be at least ten spans deep. If they were of less depth, however, there is no liability for death; but for injuries there is.

GEMARA: Rabh said: The pit for which the Scripture made one liable is because of the vapours (therein contained), but not because of the shock (the animal receives). From this may be inferred that Rabh holds that the vapours kill the ox for which the digger of the pit is liable; if the ox should be killed not by the vapours, but by the shock received at the bottom of the pit, there should be no liability, because the ground is considered ownerless. Samuel, however, holds because of the vapours, and so much the more because of the shock; and if one might say that the Scripture meant only as to the shock and not as to the vapours, and therefore if it should be proved that the death was caused by the vapours and not by the shock there should be no liability, it would be incorrect, for the Scripture is testifying that the digger of a pit is liable, and even if the pit were filled with wool sponges, On what point do they differ (for according to both, if the ox was killed he must be paid for)? The difference is in case he formed a hill (ten spans high) on public ground (from which the ox fell down and was killed): according to Rabh he is not liable, while according to Samuel he is. What is the reason of Rabh's opinion? The passage states [Ex. 21:33], "Fall into it," which signifies that there must be the usual way of falling (into an excavation, and face downward), but according to Samuel "fall" means in any manner.

There is an objection from our Mishna: If so, then for what purpose is written "pit," etc.? Now, it would be correct according to Samuel, for the "so also," etc., would include also a hill on public ground; but according to Rabh, what does this include? It includes rectangular and acute-angular pits. But are these not expressly stated therein? They are first stated, and then it is explained whence they are deduced; and it was necessary to enumerate all the forms of a pit, to teach that in each of them there are sufficient vapours to kill, if they are ten spans deep. It happened that an ox fell into a lake from which the neighbouring lands used to be irrigated, and its owner slaughtered it. R. Na'hman nevertheless declared him trepha (illegal, because, according to his theory, the limbs of the ox were broken by the fall). The same, however, declared that if the owner would spend only one kabh of flour in going around and asking the law in his case, he would learn that if the animal under such circumstances should be alive twenty-four hours after the fall it could be held fit for eating, and he would not lose his ox, which is worth many kabhim of flour. From this we see that R. Na'hman holds that an animal may be killed from shock in a pit less than ten spans deep.

Rabha objected to R. Na'hman from our Mishna: "If they were less than ten spans deep and an ox or an ass fell into them and was killed, there is no liability." Is not the reason because there is no shock? Nay, because there are no vapours. If so, then why is it stated further: "If he be injured, he is liable." Why so--there are no vapours? He answered: "There are no vapours sufficient to kill, but sufficient to injure."

He again objected from the following Boraitha: It is written [Deut. 22:8]: "If any one were to fall from there"--this signifies that it means only from there, but not thereinto. How so? If the level of the public highway were ten spans higher than the roof of the house, so that some one might fall from the highway to the roof, there is no liability (because there was no obligation to make a battlement); if, however, the highway were ten spans lower than the roof, there is a liability (for a battlement has to be made). Now then, if shock in an excavation less than ten spans deep also kills, why state ten? He answered: "This case is different, for it states 'house,' and less than ten cannot be called a 'house.'"

MISHNA 6.: When a pit belongs to two partners, and one of them passes by and does not cover it, and so also does the second, the latter only is liable.

GEMARA: Let us see. How can there be a pit of two partners on public ground? This case could be if we should say that the Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Aqiba, who holds one liable for a pit even if it be on his own premises, and partnership in the pit would be possible if both partners dig a pit on their premises and subsequently renounce their ownership to the premises but not to the pit; but if the Halakha prevails according to him who says that if one dig a pit on his own premises there is no liability, how is it possible on the one hand that there should be liability for the same pit on public ground, and on the other hand how can there be a partnership pit on the public ground? Shall we assume that both of them together hired an agent to dig the pit for them? Is there not a rule that there can be no agent to commit a transgression, for the agent ought not to commit any transgression if even he was hired to do so? Consequently the partners could not be responsible for the acts of the agent. If we assume that the partnership consisted in that each of them dug five spans deep, then there can be no partnership, for the act of the first one can be taken into account according to Rabbi's theory only as to injuries; but even according to him as to death, and according to the rabbis' theory as to both injuries and death, it cannot be counted. How, then, can there be a partnership in a pit? Said R. Johanan: It is possible if both of them together removed a lump of earth from it which completed it to make it ten spans deep.

Where are the theories of Rabbi and his colleagues, mentioned above, stated? In the following Boraitha: "If one dig a pit nine spans deep and another one complete it to make it ten deep, the latter one is liable. Rabbi, however, says: The latter one only is liable in case of death, and both are liable in case of injuries."

What is the reason of the rabbis' theory? It is written [ibid., ibid. 33]: "And if a man dig a pit," which signifies that it must be by one only. Rabbi, however, explains this passage to mean that it must be dug by a man and not by an ox.

The rabbis taught: "If one dig a pit ten spans deep and another one complete it to make it twenty, and still another one make it thirty deep, all of them are liable." There is a contradiction from what we have learned in the following: "If one dig a pit ten spans deep and another one plaster and lime it (and thereby makes it narrow and increases its vapours), the last one is liable." Shall we not assume that the one case (where all are liable) is according to Rabbi and the other is according to his colleagues?

Said R. Zbid: "Both may be explained to be according to Rabbi only, thus: The case where all are liable is correct, as stated, and the case where only the last one is liable is where there were originally in it not sufficient vapours even to injure, and the other one by his acts produced so much vapours as to be sufficient both to injure and kill."

Rabha said: "If one place a stone at the edge of a pit which is less than ten spans deep and thereby complete its walls to measure ten spans, whether he is responsible or not would raise the same difference of opinion as between Rabbi and his colleagues stated above." Is this not self-evident? One might say that if one dig one span more in the bottom, and by doing so he increase the vapours to be sufficient to kill, he is liable, because the vapours produced by him killed the animal; but if he raise the walls at the top (by placing the stone), by which he did not increase the vapours, as they were there already, one might say that he was not liable, because the animal was not killed by the vapours produced by him--he comes to teach us that there is no difference.

Rabba bar bar Hana in the name of Samuel bar Martha said: A pit eight spans deep, two of which are filled with water, there is a liability. Why so? Each span of water equals two of dry ground. The schoolmen propounded a question: If the pit was nine spans deep and only one span of them was filled with water, what is the law--shall we say that as there is only a little water there are no vapours in it, or shall we say that as it is nine spans deep the vapours of the water complete it to make it ten? Again, if the pit was seven spans deep, three of which were filled with water, what is the law--shall we say that as there is much water in it there are vapours, or because it is not sufficiently deep there are none? This remains unanswered.

R. Shizbi questioned Rabba: "If one dig a pit ten spans deep and another widen it (toward one direction only), what is the law?" He answered: "Then he diminished the vapours!" The former rejoined: "But he increased the possibility of being injured?" Rabba made no answer. Said R. Ashi: "A case of this kind must be examined. If he fell in through the side which was widened, then he surely increased the possibility of falling in, and he is responsible; if, however, he fell in through the other side, then he diminished the vapours, and he is not."

It was taught: "A pit the depth of which is of the same dimensions as its width, Rabba and R. Joseph, both in the name of Rabba bar bar Hana quoting R. Mani, differ as to the decision of those quoted: One holds that there are always vapours (sufficient to kill) therein unless the width exceeds its depth, and one holds that there are no vapours therein unless the depth exceeds its width."

"If one passed by and did not cover it." From what time on is he free? (That we say that the other one was charged with covering it, for the case undoubtedly is that the first one not only passed by but also used the pit; because if not so, then the first one ought to be liable as well, as it was negligence also on his part not to cover it.) As to this the following Tanaim differs: "One is drawing water from a well and another comes telling him to let him draw water, as soon as he lets him do so, the liability of the first ceases. R. Eliezer b. Jacob, however, says that the liability ceases from the moment he delivered him the cover of the well. On what point do they differ? R. Eliezer b. Jacob holds that the theory of choice 1 applies to such a case, and each drew water from his own part (and therefore the second is not considered to have borrowed from the first his share, so as to be charged with the care of the whole, and for that reason both are liable in case of damages; but if he accepted the cover, he thereby became charged with the care of the whole), and the rabbis hold that the theory of choice does not apply to such a case. R. Elazar said: One who sells his well, title passes with the delivery of the cover. How was the case? If he sold it for money, let the title pass by the payment of the money; if by occupancy, let the title pass by this act? The case was by occupancy, which requires that he should expressly tell him, "go and occupy and acquire title"; and if he delivered the cover to him, it is considered as if he told him so.

R. Jehoshua b. Levi said: One who sells his house, the title passes with the delivery of the keys (as it is the same as the delivery of the cover of the pit).

Resh Lakish in the name of, R. Janai said: "One who sells a flock of cattle, title passes with the delivery of the Mashkhukhith (the drawing-rope). How was the case? If he drew them (removed them from one place to another), let title pass by this act? If by delivery, let title pass by doing this? The case was that he drew them, which requires that the vendor shall tell the vendee expressly, "Draw them and acquire title," and as soon as he delivered the Mashkhukhith it is considered as if he told the vendee expressly, "Draw, and acquire title to them." What is meant by Mashkhukhith? It means the bell. R. Jacob said: "It means the forerunning goat kept at the head of the flock as leader, as a certain Galilean lectured in the presence of R. Hisda: When the shepherd gets angry at his flock, he blinds the leading-goat at the head of the flock (so that the leader falls and with him all the flock)."

MISHNA 7.: If the first one covered it, but when the second one passed by he found it uncovered and did not cover it, the latter is liable. If the owner of a pit properly cover it, and still an ox or an ass fall into it and is killed, there is no liability. If however, he do not properly cover it, he is liable. If an ox fall forward, face downward, into a pit by reason of the noise caused by the digging, there is a liability; if, however, it fall backward, there is none. If an ox or an ass with its housings fall into it and the housings be damaged, there is a liability for the animal but not for the housings. If there fall therein an ox, deaf, raging, or young, there is a liability (explained further on). If a boy or a girl, a male or a female slave, fall in, there is none.

GEMARA: Until what time is the first one free? Said Rabh: Until he again knows of his own knowledge that the pit is uncovered. Samuel, however, says: Until he is informed, even if he has not seen it himself. R. Johanan says: Time must be allowed him until he could be informed and could hire workmen to cut wood and cover it.

"If he cover it properly," etc. If he covered it properly, how could the animal fall in? Said R. Itz'hak bar bar Hana: The case was, that the cover became rotten from the inside (and could not be noticed).

The schoolmen propounded the following question: "If he covered it sufficiently to withstand oxen but not camels, and camels came along and made the cover shaky and then oxen fell therein, what is the law? Let us see. How was the case? If camels are usual there, then certainly the act is wilful; if they are not, then it is only an accident? The question is only where camels come there at times. Shall we say that, because camels do come there, it is considered wilful, for he should have had it in mind, or do we say that because at that time they were not there it might be considered an accident?" According to others the schoolmen did not question as to such a case; for there is no doubt that, as long as they came at times, he should have had it in mind, but what they did question was this: If he covered it sufficiently to withstand oxen but not camels, and the latter are usual there and the cover became rotten from within, what is the law? Do we say that because it is considered wilful as to camels it is so also as to allowing it to rot, or that the theory of because does not apply here? Come and hear: "An ox that was deaf, raging, young, or blind, or an ox that walked in the night-time, he is liable; if, however, the ox was sound and it was in the day-time, he is free." Now, why should it be so? Why not say because it is considered wilful as to an unsound ox it is also considered so as to a sound one? Infer from this that the theory of because does not apply to such cases, "If it fell in forward," etc. Said Rabh: By "forward" is meant that it fell on his face, and by "backward" that it struck the back of its head against the bottom of the pit. And both of them have reference to the pit. [And this is in accordance with his theory that the Scripture made one liable in case of a pit only because of the vapours, but not because of the shock.] Samuel, however, says: "In case of a pit there is no difference whether it fall forward or backward, but he is liable." [For he follows his theory as to the vapours, and so much the more because of the shock.] But how is the case possible that when it fall backward from the sound of the

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digging he shall be free? As, for instance, when it stumbles over the pit and falls backward and strikes outside of the pit. Samuel objected to Rabh from the following Boraitha: "As regards a pit, whether it fall backward or forward, he is liable?" This objection remains.

R. Hisda said: Rabh admits in case of a pit on one's own premises that he is liable, because the owner of the ox may say, "You are liable either way; for whether he died from the vapours or from the shock, it was yours." Rabha, however, says: The case in the above Boraitha, which states that he is liable if even the ox fall backward, was that he turned over; that is, he first fell face downward, but before. he reached the ground he turned over and fell on his back, and therefore it is the vapours that he inhaled while falling face downward that kill him. R. Joseph says: The Boraitha in question does not mean to say that the owner of the pit is liable, but, on the contrary, that the owner of the ox is liable, and it treats of a case where the ox did damage to a well, namely, by (entering a courtyard without permission, the owner of which renounced ownership neither to the courtyard nor to the well, and) falling into the well, spoiling the water therein contained; in which case he is liable, no matter which way it fell. R. Hanina taught in support of Rabh: It is written: "And fall"--that means that the falling should be in the usual manner, face downward. From this it was said that if he fell face forward into a pit from the sound of the digging there is a liability; if backward from the same cause, there is none.

The Master said: "If he fall face downward from the sound of the digging, there is a liability." Why so? Was this not caused by the one who was doing the digging? (In this case it is assumed that the owner has hired another person to do the digging, and the latter is only the germon (medium), and there is no liability for being the germon?) Said R. Simi b. Ashi: It is in accordance with R. Nathan, who said that the damage must be paid by the owner of the place where it was done, for the reason that the digger cannot be liable, because he is only the germon of the damage, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: "An ox that pushed another ox into a pit, the owner of the ox, and not the owner of the pit, is liable. R. Nathan, however, said that each one of them pays half (for both have their share in it)." But have we not learned in another Boraitha: "R. Nathan said: The pit-owner pays three-fourths and the owner of the ox one-fourth"? This presents no difficulty: One case treats of a vicious and the other of a non-vicious ox. But what does he hold in case of a non-vicious ox? If he holds that each one has done the whole damage, let each one pay half? And if, on the other hand, he holds that each one has done half the damage (and therefore the owner of the ox pays as for a non-vicious one one-fourth, which is half of the damage he did), only three-fourths are paid and one-fourth is suffered by the plaintiff? Said Rabha: R. Nathan was a judge, and he dived into the very depth of the Halakha. He holds that each has done only half the damage; but as to the objection raised that the owner of the ox should pay only one-fourth, it may be said that the owner of the killed ox may say to the owner of the pit: "I found my ox in your pit and you killed him; therefore, whatever I can realise from the owner of the ox who pushed mine in I will, and the balance you will have to pay."

Rabha said: "One who places a stone on the edge of the opening of a pit and an ox stumbles over the stone and falls into the pit," as to this question the difference of the rabbis and R. Nathan comes in (according to the rabbis the one who placed the stone is liable, for he caused the fall, and he cannot be considered as the germon, for the placing of a stone in itself is considered the same as a pit; and according to R. Nathan both are liable, for both contributed). Is this not self-evident? Lest one say: In that case the pit-owner may say to the owner of the ox, "Were it not for my pit your ox would have (instead of pushing him in) killed him"; but here, in this case, the one who placed the stone may say to the pit-owner, "Were it not for your pit, what harm would my stone have done him? Had he stumbled over, he would have gotten up at once?" It therefore teaches that he may, however, say to him, "Were it not for your stone, he would not have fallen into the pit." Rabha said: An ox and a man who together push some other into a pit (so that the ox, the man, and the pit have all contributed), as regards damages all are liable; as regards the four things and the value of the infant (if it should be the case), the man is liable and the others are free; as to payment of atonement money and the thirty shekels for a slave, the ox is liable and the others are free; as regards damage to vessels and an ox that became desecrated and was redeemed, the man and the owner of the ox are liable, and the owner of the pit is free. Why is the owner of the pit free in this latter case of a redeemed ox? Because it is written [Ex. 21:36]: "And the dead shall belong to him," which means in a case where the dead can belong to him, excepting this case (for although it was redeemed the carcass cannot be sold but must be buried).

"If an ox fall in," etc. Our Mishna is not in accordance with R. Jehudah of the following Boraitha: "R. Jehudah makes one liable for damages to vessels caused by a pit." What is the reason for the rabbis' theory? It is written [ibid.]: "And an ox or an ass fall therein," which signifies an ox but not a man, an ass but not vessels. R. Jehudah, however, holds that the "or" means to add also vessels. Now, according to R. Jehudah, who admits that the word "ox" means to exclude man, what does the word "ass" mean to exclude? Therefore said Rabha: The necessity of stating "ass" as regards a pit according to R. Jehudah, and "lamb" as regards a lost thing according to all, is really difficult to explain.

"If an ox, deaf," etc. What does this mean? Shall we assume that the ox belongs to a deaf person, etc., but if he belongs to a sound person there is no liability? How is that possible? Said R. Johanan: It means that the ox was deaf, etc. But if he was sound, there is no liability? Said Rabha: "Yea, an ox that is deaf, etc., but if he was sound there is no liability, because a sound ox is capable of taking care of himself. The following Boraitha is plainly in support of the above: If there fall therein a deaf, raging, young, or blind ox, or an ox walking in the night-time, there is a liability. If it was a sound one, however, and in the day-time, there is no liability.

MISHNA 8.: There is no difference between an ox and another animal as regards falling into a pit; to have been kept distant from Mount Sinai [Ex. xiii.] as to payment of double, to restitution of lost property; as regards unloading; muzzling, kilayim [of species], and as regards Sabbath. Neither is there any difference between the above-mentioned and a beast or bird. If so, why does the Scripture mention "ox or ass"? Because the verse speaks of what is usual.

GEMARA: Concerning falling into a pit, it reads [Ex. 21:34]: "In money unto the owner thereof," which signifies any animal that has an owner. Concerning Mount Sinai, it reads [ibid. 19:13]: "Whether it be animal 1 or man, it shall not live," which includes also beasts; and the word "whether" includes also birds. Concerning payment of double, it reads [ibid. 22:8]: "For all manner of trespass," which signifies that every manner of trespass (wilfulness and even as regards inanimate subjects). Concerning restitution of a lost thing, it reads [Deut. 22:3]: "Every lost thing of thy brother's." Concerning unloading, we deduce it from the analogy of expression of "ass" used here, and in regard to Sabbath [Deut. 5:14] (as concerning the latter, other animals are also included, so also here). Concerning muzzling [Deut. 25:4], we deduce it from the analogy of the term "ox" used here, and concerning Sabbath [ibid.]. Concerning kilayim, if it relates to that of ploughing, we deduce it from the analogy of the term "ox" in the manner just stated; if it relates to that of coupling of animals, it is deduced from the analogy of the word "any of thy cattle" used here, and concerning Sabbath. And whence do we know that it is so as to Sabbath itself? From the following Boraitha: R. Jose says in the name of R. Ishmael: At the first commandments it is written [Ex. 20:10]: "Thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle"; and at the second commandments it is written [Deut. 5:14]: "Nor thy ox, nor thy ass, nor any of thy cattle." Why were they expressly stated? Are, then, the ox and the ass not included in it cattle"? To tell thee that, as the terms "ox" and "ass" mentioned here include beasts and birds, to put them on the same footing, so also, wherever these two terms are mentioned, they include beasts and birds. But perhaps the statement in the first commandments should be taken as general and that of the last commandments as particular, and as there is a rule that the general includes nothing but the particular, this means to say that only ox and ass are meant, and nothing else? Nay, it states, at the last commandments, also "all 2 of thy cattle," and the word "all" adds all other beasts. Is it really so, that wherever "all" is written it adds something? Is not the same word used at tithing, and still it is construed to be a case of general and particular? (See Erubim, p. 64.) We may say that "all" is sometimes also a general, but in this particular instance it must be explained only as to add; for it would have been sufficient to state only "and cattle," as it does in the first commandments, and still it states, "and all cattle," to infer that it plainly means to add.

Now, having come to the conclusion that this "all" means to add, why was it necessary to state "cattle" in the first and "ox" and "ass" in the last commandments? It can be explained that these particular expressions were mentioned for the purpose of deducing muzzling, unloading, and kilayim by the analogy of expression stated above. If also (that as regards kilayim it is deduced from Sabbath), let even a man be prohibited from drawing a wagon together with an animal, as he is also prohibited as regards Sabbath? Why, then, have we learned in the following Mishna: "A man is permitted with all of them to plough and draw"? Said R. Papa: One of the inhabitants of Papanai knew the reason for that, and that was R. A'ha bar Jacob, who explained it thus: It is written [ibid. 14]: "In order that thy man-servant and thy maid-servant may rest as well as thou"--that means that they are compared to them only as regards rest, but not as regards any other thing.

R. Hanina b. Egil asked R. Hyya b. Aba: Why in the first commandments is it not written "that it may be well with thee," and in the second commandments it is so written [Deut. 5:16]? He rejoined: "Instead of asking me for the reason, you had better ask me whether it is so written at all; for I did not notice it. You had better go to R. Tan'hum b. Hanilai, who used to frequent R. Joshua b. Levi, who was well versed in Agadah." He went there and got the answer from R. Tan'hum. From R. Joshua b. Levi I heard nothing about it, but so told me Samuel b. Na'hum the brother of R. Aha b. Hanina's mother [according to others, the father of the same]: The reason is because the first commandments (contained on the tables) were destined to be broken. And if so, what of it? Said R. Ashi: If this had been written thereon and subsequently (the tables) had been broken, Heaven save! "good" would have ceased from Israel.

R. Jehushua said: One who sees the letter "Teth" in his dream, it is a good omen for him. Why so? Because the first time this letter is used in the Scripture is in the word "Tobh" (good) in the verse [Gen. 1:4]: "And God saw the light, that it was good (tobh)."

"And so also a beast," etc. Said Resh Lakish: In this Mishna Rabh teaches us that a cock and a peacock and a pheasant are considered kilayim with each other. Is this not self-evident? Said R. Habiba: Because they are usually raised together, one might say that they are one species. Hence this statement.

Samuel said: The ordinary goose and the wild goose are considered kilayim. Rabha b. R. Hanan opposed. Why so? If because the one has a long beak and the other a short one, then let a Persian and an Arabian camel also be kilayim, because the one has a thick and the other a thin neck? Therefore said Abayi: The reason is because the one has his testicles on the outside, while the other has them inside. R. Papa said: The one hatches one egg at a time, while the other hatches many at a time.

CHAPTER 6.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE GUARDING OF ANIMALS AGAINST DOING DAMAGE. CONCERNING THE STARTING OF FIRE; IF IT PASSES OVER A WALL. FOR WHAT DISTANCES PASSED BY A FIRE IF THE ONE WHO STARTED IT LIABLE?

MISHNA 1.: If one drive his sheep into a sheep-cot and properly bolt the gate, but still they manage to come out and do damage, he is free. If he do not properly bolt the gate, he is liable. If they break out in the night time, or robbers break in the gate, and the sheep come out and cause damage, he is free. If the robbers lead them out, they are responsible for the damage. If one exposes his cattle to the sun, or he places them in the custody of a deaf-mute, a fool, or a minor, and they break away and do damage, he is liable; if, however, he places them with a (professional) shepherd, the latter substitutes him (as regards liability for damages). If the cattle fall into a garden and consume something, the value of the benefit they derive is to be paid. If, however, they enter the garden in the usual way, the value of the damage is paid. How is the value of the damage to be ascertained? It is appraised how much a measure of the land required for planting a saah was worth before and how much it is worth after. R. Simeon says: If they consume ripe fruit, the value of ripe fruit is paid; if they consume one saah, the value of one; if two, the value of two is paid.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: When is it called properly and when not properly bolted? If the gate is bolted so as to withstand an ordinary wind, it is called "properly"; if not, it is called "improperly." Said R. Mani b. Patish: Who is the Tana who holds that slight care is sufficient for a vicious one? It is R. Jehudah of the following Mishna: If his owner secured him with the rope and properly locked him up, and still he came out and did damage, whether he was non-vicious or he was vicious, there is a liability. Such is the dictum of R. Meir. R. Jehudah, however, says: For a non-vicious there is, but for a vicious one there is no liability; as it is written [Ex. xxi. 36]: "And his owner had not kept him in," but here he had. R. Elazar, however, said: "There is no other care for a vicious one than the knife." It can be said that the Mishna is in accordance with R. Meir also, but the tooth and foot are different, for the Scripture required only slight care with them, as R. Elazar, and according to others a Boraitha taught: "There are four things regarding which the Scripture diminished the amount of care, and they are the pit, the fire, the tooth, and the foot: The pit, as it is written [ibid., ibid. 33]: "And if a man open a pit, or if a man dig a pit, and do not cover it"; but if he had only covered it (without placing a layer of earth on it), it is sufficient. Fire, as it is written [ibid. 22:5]: "He that kindled the fire shall surely make restitution," which signifies that it must be done purposely. The tooth and foot, as it is written [ibid., ibid. 4]: "And he let his beasts enter, and they fed in another man's field," which signifies an intentional act, but not otherwise. Said Rabba: From our Mishna it is also to be inferred (that the reason is because the Scripture diminished the amount of care), for it states sheep instead of ox (although sheep require less care), of which it treats throughout. We must say, then, that this is because the Law requires only slight care, and therefore the Mishna mentioned only sheep, which usually do damage only with the tooth and foot, and not with the horn, and also for the reason that the tooth and foot are considered vicious from the beginning, which is not the case with the horn. Infer from all this that slight care only is required.

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We have learned in a Boraitha: "R. Jehoshua said: There are four things (for which) one who does them cannot be held responsible before an earthly tribunal, although he will be punished for them by the Divine court, and they are: he who breaks the fence of the stall where his neighbour's cattle are kept (only when the fence was shaky); he who bends his neighbour's growing crop in the direction of fire (only during the prevalence of an unusual wind); he who hires a false witness (only for the benefit of his neighbour); and he who suppresses his own testimony and thereby deprives his neighbour from its benefit (only if he was the sole witness). But if the circumstances are different, he is liable also to an earthly tribunal.

R. Ashi said: The case of bending one's crop in the direction of the fire may be explained that he spread blankets over the crop, and thereby made it "hidden articles," for which there is no liability for the one who starts the fire (as explained elsewhere).

But are there not other cases in which one is liable only to heavenly justice? Yea, there are, but those just stated had to be enumerated here, for one might say that in these cases there should be no liability even to the Divine court. Thus, in the first case, because it had to be abolished anyhow; in the second, because by an unusual wind it would have caught fire without that and (according to R. Ashi it is also necessary to mention this case, lest one say he may argue that he spread the blankets over it in order to protect it against the fire); in the third, because the witness had not to listen to the one who hired him, as it was prohibited by the Law; and in the last case, because who could guarantee that if he should not have testified the other would have admitted his liability? And lest one say that in such cases there is no liability, even to the Divine court, hence the statement.

"If he expose them to the sun," etc. Said Rabba: And this is so even if they undermined (the fence and did damage); lest one say that in such a case the damage was done through accident, he comes to teach us that even this is considered wilful. Why so? Because the plaintiff may say to the defendant: Did you not know that when exposing them to the sun they would do all they could to break out?

"If the robbers lead them out," etc. Is this not self-evident, for by this act they place them under their own control as regards everything? The case was that they only stood before them on each side (so as to leave only the way leading to the standing crop open). And this is in accordance with Rabba, who said in the name of R. Mathua, quoting Rabh: One who leads another one's animal to, and places it in, one's barn (and it does damage), is liable. "Places?" Is this not self-evident? We must say, then, that it means that he stood before them (as explained above). Said Abayi to R. Joseph: You explained to us the above saying of Rabh, that the case was that he struck it (driving it on), so also was the case here with the robbers, that they did not lead them out, but only struck them with a cane (and this action is considered equivalent to leading them out with the hand).

"If he deliver them to a shepherd," etc. From the fact that it states that he delivered them to a shepherd, and it does not state that "he delivered them to another," it is to be inferred that the shepherd in turn delivered them to his assistant, for such is the custom of a shepherd; but if he delivered them to a layman the shepherd is not liable. Shall we assume that this will be a support to Rabha, who said elsewhere: "A bailee who intrusts his bailment to another bailee is liable?" Nay, perhaps the statement here is because it is customary so to do, but such is the law, even if it was delivered to a layman.

It was taught: A bailee of a lost article, Rabba says that he is considered a gratuitous bailee for he derives no benefit from such bailment; R. Joseph, however, says that because the Scripture imposed this duty upon him, against his will, he is considered a bailee for hire.

R. Joseph objected to Rabba from the following Boraitha: If he returned the lost article in a place where its owner were likely to see it, he is absolved from any obligation to further trouble himself with it; and if it was stolen or lost, he is responsible. Does this not mean if it was stolen or lost while under his control (and still he is liable; hence he is considered a bailee for hire)? Nay, it means from the place to which he returned it. But does it not state that he need not trouble with it any more? He answered him: The case was that he returned it in the noon-time, and it teaches two cases, thus: If he returned it in the morning, when it could be noticed by its owner, who usually passes by that place, he need no more trouble himself with it; if, however, he did so in the noon-time, when the owner does not usually pass by, and it was stolen or lost, he is responsible. He again objected from the following: "He is always liable until he return it to the control of the owner." Does that not mean if even he placed it in his house, hence we see that he is considered a bailee for hire? He answered him: I admit that in case of animated beings more care is required, for they are used to walk away.

Rabba then objected to R. Joseph's statement from a Boraitha which teaches: It is written [Deut. xxii. 1]: "Bring them back." "Bring them" means to the owner's house; "back" means to his garden or to the owner's ruined (vacant) house. We must say, then, that in the last two places the returned property is not guarded; because if it is, then what difference is there between these two places and the house? Now then, if he is considered a bailee for hire, why is he not liable for it at the last two places? And R. Joseph answered: The Boraitha speaks of a case where the property was guarded, and the difference between those places and the house is that in the former case the owner is not notified, and it comes to teach us that the knowledge of the owner is not required, as R. Elazar states in Baba Metzia, p. 31a.

Said Abayi to R. Joseph: Do you yourself not admit that he is considered a gratuitous bailee? Did not R. Hyya b. Aba say in the name of R. Johanan that, regarding found property, if the finder claims that it was stolen from him (and it was found out that it was not so), he pays double (as it is written [Ex. 22:7, 8]: "If the thief be not found . . . or for any manner of lost thing"); and if he would be considered a bailee for hire, why should he pay double (by his own claim he admits that he has to pay the value of the bailment)? He answered: The case was that he claimed to have been robbed by armed robbers (i.e., an accident, in which case he is free). He objected again: If so, then it is robbery, and not theft? R. Joseph rejoined: I say that even armed robbery, when committed not publicly, is still considered theft, and he must pay, according to Scripture, double. Abayi objected again: (It was stated elsewhere in regard to the comparison between a gratuitous bailee and a bailee for hire, as follows:) "Nay, a gratuitous bailee pays double and a bailee for hire does not." Now, if armed robbers pay also double, like ordinary thieves, there can also be a case of a bailee for hire who should pay double, as, for instance, when he claims that he was robbed by armed robbers (and it was found out to be not so)? He rejoined: It means thus: Nay, there can be no comparison between a gratuitous bailee who pays double, whatever his claim may be, and a bailee for hire who pays double only when he claims to have been robbed by armed robbers. He still objected from the following Boraitha: It is written [Ex. 22:9]: "And it die, or be hurt"; from this we know only as to death or hurt. Wherefrom do we know also as to theft or loss? This is to be drawn by an a fortiori conclusion, thus: A bailee for hire who is not liable for death or hurt is still liable for theft or loss, a borrower who is liable for death or hurt ought so much the more to be liable for theft or loss. And this a fortiori conclusion is irrefutable. Now, if armed robbers are considered ordinary thieves, why is it irrefutable-can it then not be refuted thus: There is an exception with a bailee for hire who pays double when he claims that he was robbed by armed robbers? He rejoined: The Tana of this Boraitha holds that even to pay only the actual value without an oath is better than to pay double under oath (and therefore the a fortiori conclusion cannot be refuted). (The explanation of this statement will be found in Baba Metzia, where this case is treated at length.)

"If it fall into a garden," etc. Said Rabh: The case was that it struck upon the growing crop, and the benefit derived for which payment must be made is that it was prevented from striking hard upon the ground. But how is the case if it consumed some plants, does it not pay? Shall we say that Rabh is in accordance with his theory "that the animal ought not to have eaten"? What comparison is this? When did Rabh say this? Only when the animal was injured by the fruit which it consumed and the owner of the animal claims payment for such injuries, in such a case the owner of the fruit can say that the animal ought not to have eaten; but when the animal did injury to the owner of the fruit by consuming it, did Rabh then say that it must not be paid? But what, then, did Rabh mean by his statement above? Rabh means to state a case of "not only"; viz., Not only that he pays where it consumed, but even when it fell on the crop and consumed nothing it must pay, for the benefit it derived in being prevented from striking hard upon the ground, and lest the owner of the animal say that this was only his duty, similar to frightening away a lion from his neighbour's field, for which the Law awards no compensation, it comes to teach us that payment must be made for the benefit. But why is this really not to be compared to frightening away a lion from one's neighbour's field? Because in such cases one does not incur any expense, but here he has actual loss.

In what manner did it fall? R. Kahana said that it slipped out by reason of the urine it let. Rabha, however, said that it was pushed in by another animal. According to the latter, so much the more if it happened by reason of her own urine; but according to the former, only in such a case; but when pushed in by another animal it is considered wilful, and the value of the damage is paid, for he (the owner of the field) can say to the owner of the animal. "You should have seen to it that the animals could have passed one by one, without being pushed in." Said R. Kahana: The case is only if it damaged one plant-bed (that it pays the benefit that it derived); but if it went from one plant-bed to another, consuming the plants, it pays the full value. R. Johanan, however, says that even in such a case, and even if it continued doing so the whole day, only the value of the benefit derived is paid (because when once it was already there it could not keep away from consuming), until the owner has noticed that the animal left the field and then returned again. Said R. Papa: It must not be said that the owner of the animal must have notice of both the leaving and the returning, it is sufficient if he only had notice of the leaving and did not care to keep it from returning, because the owner of the field may say to the owner of the animal: "You should have known that, so long as it knew the way, it would go there at the earliest opportunity, and you should have taken care of it."

"How does it pay what it damaged," etc. Whence is this deduced? Said R. Mathua: It is written [Ex. 22:4]: "And they feed in another man's field"--this teaches us that the appraisement is made with the other field (which was not damaged). But is this passage not necessary, to exclude public ground? If so, then the Scripture ought to read, "and they feed another man's field." Why in another man's field? Hence to infer both.

How is the appraisement made? Said R. Jose b. Hanina: One saah in sixty (i.e., the Mishna means not only sixty times the portion damaged, but thus: To the measure of land sufficient for planting a saah of grain, on which the damage was done, are added fifty-nine measures of such dimensions, and appraisement is then made as to the value of such a lot of land if sold as one lot of land; then the value of a measure sufficient for the planting of one saah is apportioned, and then is ascertained the difference in price of such saah on account of such damage. The reason is, that no undue advantage should be taken of the defendant; for a small plot of land is comparatively higher in price than a plot of sixty times its size, because a poor man can also afford to buy it and there are more purchasers). R. Janai, however, says: One Tirkav in sixty (thirty saah, and not sixty saah, in order not to take undue advantage of the plaintiff, as for plots of sixty saah buyers are not so numerous, because for a man of moderate means it is too much and for a rich man it is too small a plot). But Hezkiah says: The appraisement is made only by one in sixty times the quantity damaged. An objection was raised from the following: "If she consumed a kabh or two, one must not say that their value must be paid, but it is assumed as if it were a small plant-bed and is thus appraised." Is it not to be presumed that this plant-bed is appraised separately and for itself? Nay, it means in sixty times its size.

The rabbis taught: "The appraisement is not one kabh in sixty kabh, for it increases its value; neither one kur in sixty kurs, for it unreasonably reduces its value." What does this mean? Said R. Huna b. Menoa'h in the name of R. Aha the son of R. Ika, it means thus: A measure of a kabh is not appraised separately, for the plaintiff may unduly benefit by it; nor a kabh as relative to a kur, for the plaintiff may unduly be injured by it (for the damage may not be so well noticed), but every unit is appraised at sixty times its value (for the reason stated above).

It happened that one came before the Exilarch and complained of one who destroyed one of his trees. Said the Exilarch to the defendant: "I know of my own knowledge that the tree was one of a group of three trees which was worth one hundred zuz. You will therefore pay him one-third of this amount." The complainant refused to accept this decision, saying: Before the Exilarch, who applies the Persian law, what have I to do? and he went before R. Na'hman, who assessed the damage by appraising the destroyed tree as relative to a group of sixty trees. Said Rabha to him: The rule of sixty was held when damage was done by one's property (without the intention of its owner), and you wish to apply the same rule to this case, where the person himself has done the damage intentionally? Said Abayi to Rabha: Why do you think that in case of damage done by one's own person this rule should not apply, because "sixty" is not mentioned in the following Boraitha: "One who destroys the young grapes of his neighbour's vineyard, the damage is assessed by appraising the value of the vineyard before and after the destruction"? But have we not learned in another Boraitha, similar to this as regards damage by one's property, viz.: If the animal destroyed a bough, R. Jose said, the assessors of fines in Jerusalem say that a bough one year old is worth two silver dinars; two years old--four. If it consumed hay, R. Jose the Galilean says that the damage is assessed by appraising the value of what remained. The sages, however, hold that the value of the land before and after the consumption of the hay is appraised (and the difference in value is the damage). If it consumed grapes in the budding stage, R. Jehoshua says that they are considered as if ready to be plucked, the rabbis, however, apply the former rule. R. Simeon b. Jehudah says in the name of R. Simeon: This was said only when the grapes or figs were still in sprouts; but if they were already developed to the size of a white bean, they are considered as ready to be plucked? Now then, as to the sages, although they do not mention the rule of sixty, still we know from elsewhere that such is their theory, and therefore it does not state it here expressly. Interpret the above Boraitha in the same manner. The Master said: R. Simeon b. Jehudah said, etc. This was said only when the grapes and figs were still in sprouts, from which it is to be inferred that if they were in the budding stage they are considered as ready to be plucked. How should the latter part be explained: "If it consumed figs or grapes when

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already of the size of a white bean, they are considered as ready to be plucked"--from which it is to be inferred that if in the budding stage it is appraised as to how much it was worth before and how much after? Said Rabhina: Add, and teach together thus: "This is in a case where it consumed grapes and figs in the sprouting stage; but if in the budding stage or when they were already of the size of a white bean, they are considered as ready to be plucked." If this is so, is it not the same as what R. Jehoshua said? The difference is as to the deduction from the amount of damage of the value of the increased sap (of the tree by reason of the destroyed fruit, which benefits the remaining fruit). But it is not known who is the one who holds him liable. Abayi, however, says: It is very well known, because the Tana who takes into consideration the increase of sap is R. Simeon b. Jehudah, who holds something similar in Khethuboth. R. Papa and R. Huna the son of R. Jehoshua used to appraise the tree together with a small portion of the ground on which it was growing. The Halakha, however, prevails in accordance with R. Papa and R. Huna the son of R. Jehoshua as regards Aramean trees and in accordance with the Exilarch as regards Persian trees (because they are expensive).

Eliezer the Little once put on black shoes and stood in the market-place of Nahardea. When the officers of the Exilarch asked him for the reason, he answered that it was because he was lamenting the fall of Jerusalem.

They said to him: "Are you such a great man as to be worthy of lamenting the fall of Jerusalem?" And thinking that he was doing that in search of notoriety, they placed him under arrest. He, however, protested and said: "I am a great man." When asked to prove it, he said: "Either you ask me some difficult question, or I will ask one of you." They said to him: "You ask the question." He asked thus: "One who destroys a young date-tree (on which the dates are not yet ripe), what amount of damages must he pay?" They answered: "He pays the value of the tree." "But there are already dates on it?" They rejoined: "Then let him also pay the value of the dates." "But did he, then, take the dates with him; he only destroyed the tree?" he argued. "Well, let us then hear what you have to say to that." He answered: "The damage is appraised as to one in sixty." They said to him: "But who agrees with you in that?" He answered: "Samuel is still alive and his college is in full bloom." When they inquired of Samuel and verified that he agreed with him, they liberated him.

"R. Simeon says: If it consumed ripe fruit," etc. Why so? Was it not said above that [Ex. xxii. 4]: "And they feed in another man's field" teaches that it should be appraised together with the ground? This is so only when the ground is needed, but in this case (ripe fruit), where they no longer need the ground, it must be appraised separately and paid in full. Said R. Huna b. Hyya in the name of R. Jeremiah b. Aba: There was a case, and Rabh acted in accordance with R. Meir; but in his lectures, however, he declared that the Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Simeon b. Gamaliel. He acted in accordance with R. Meir of the following Boraitha: If he (the husband) transferred some of his estates to one, and his wife did not sign the release of her dower (the amount stated in her marriage contract), and then he transferred other estates to another and she did sign, she lost her dower. Such is the dictum of R. Meir. (And she cannot say: I did this favour to my husband and signed the release as to the second estates because I lose nothing thereby, as I take my dower in the first estates, from which I have not released my right.) And he lectured that the Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Simeon b. Gamaliel of our Mishna, that if the fruit was ripe it must be appraised separately.

MISHNA 2.: One who puts up a stack of grain on another's land without permission, and the land-owner's animal consumed some of the grain, he is free. If the animal was injured thereby, the one who put up the stack is liable. If, however, it was done with permission, the land-owner is liable.

GEMARA: Said R. Papa: It treats here of a case where there was a watchman who told him, "Go and put up your stack," which is construed to mean, "Go, put up your stack, and I will take care of it."

MISHNA 3.: One who started a fire through the medium of a deaf-mute, idiot, or minor, he is free from responsibility to an earthly tribunal, but he is liable to the Divine court. If, however, he started the fire through the medium of a sound person, the latter is liable. If one brought fire and the other wood, he that brought the wood is liable. But if the wood was brought first by one, and subsequently another brought the fire, he who brought the fire is liable. If one came and blew at the fire and kindled it, the one who did so is liable. If, however, it was kindled by the wind, all are free.

GEMARA: Said Resh Lakish in the name of Hezkiah: He is not liable to earthly tribunals only if he delivered to the per. sons mentioned in the Mishna a burning coal and they blew at it; but if he handed them a flame, he who handed it to them is liable. Why so? Because it is his own act that caused the fire. R. Johanan, however, says that even in such a case he is free. Why so? Because it was the deaf-mute's tongs (medium) that caused it. And the court cannot hold him liable unless he handed them both fire and fuel, for in such a case surely his intention was to cause it.

"If the wind kindled it, all are free." The rabbis taught: "If he was blowing at the fire and so also was at the same time the wind--if his blowing, independently of the wind, was sufficient to kindle the fire he is liable; if not, he is free. Why so--let it be as if he was winnowing and the wind helped him, in which case he is liable? Said R. Ashi: This was said only as regards Sabbath, where the Scripture requires intentional work (and of course he is satisfied with the help afforded him by the wind and thus it is intentional); but here he is the mere cause (germon), and there is no liability as regards damages for being a mere germon.

MISHNA 4.: If one start a fire and it consume wood, stones, or earth, he is liable; for it is written [Ex. xxii. 5]: "If a fire break out, and meet with thorns, so that stacks of corn, or the standing corn of the field, be consumed thereby, he that kindled the fire shall surely make restitution."

GEMARA: Said Rabha: All those various things were necessary to be enumerated in the Scripture, for one could not be deduced from the other by comparison. Thus, if it mentioned thorns only, it could be assumed that only in such a case there is a liability, because they are destined to be burnt and one does not take proper care, and therefore it is considered gross negligence; but in case of stacks, which are not so and usually one takes proper care of them, it would be considered an accident, for which there is no liability; again, if it mentioned stacks only, it could be assumed that there is a liability, because the damage is great; but in case of thorns, where the damage is little, one might say that there is no liability. But for what purpose is "standing corn" mentioned? To teach that as standing corn is exposed to view, so everything is exposed to view (to exclude that which was concealed from view). [But according to R. Jehudah, who holds that there is a liability also for such things, what does the case just mentioned teach? It comes to include all that is in a standing position, as trees and animals.] "Field"--to include the case where the fire singed the surface of fallow ground or of stones. But let the Scripture mention only "field," and it would include all the others? If so, one might say that it applies only to the products of the field (but not to the ground itself), hence it teaches us that (by stating "standing corn" expressly and "field," to include the ground itself).

R. Simeon b. Na'hmani said in the name of R. Johanan: No chastisement comes upon the world unless there are wicked ones in existence, as it is written [ibid., ibid.]: "If a fire break out and meet with thorns." When does a fire break out--when there are thorns prepared for it? Its first victims, however, are the upright, as it is written [ibid., ibid.]: "So that stacks of corn be consumed"--not it shall consume, to signify that the stacks of corn (the upright) are consumed first.

R. Joseph taught: It is written [Ex. 12:22]: "And none of you shall go out from the door of his house until the morning?" Infer from this that as soon as permission is given to the executioner he makes no distinction between upright and wicked; and furthermore, he picks out his first victims from among the upright, as it is written [Ezek. 21:8]: "And I will cut off from thee the righteous and the wicked." R. Joseph cried, saying: If they are liable to so much misfortune, what good is there in being upright? Said Abayi: It is of great good to them, as it is written [Isa. lvii. 1]: "Before the evil the righteous is taken away" (i.e., that he shall not see the evil that will come in the future).

The rabbis taught: When pestilence is raging in town, stay in-doors, as it is written [Ex. 12:22]: "And none of you shall go out from the door of his house until the morning"; and it is also written [Isa. 26:20]: "Go, my people, enter thou into thy chambers, and shut thy door behind thee"; and again it is written [Deut. 32:25]: "Without shall the sword destroy, and terror within the chambers." Why the citation of the two additional passages? Lest one say that it is so only as to nighttime but not as to day-time, hence the passage in Isaiah, which means at any time; and lest one say that this is so only where there is no terror within the house, but when there is it could be assumed that it were more advisable to go out and associate with others, hence the last-quoted verse in Deuteronomy, to teach that although within the house terror reigns, yet without it is still worse, as "without the sword shall destroy." Rabha in times of fury used to keep the windows shut, for it is written [Jer. 9:20]: "For death is come up through our windows."

The rabbis taught: If there is a famine in town, do not spare your feet and leave town, as it is written [Gen. 12:10]: "And there arose a famine in the land: and Abram went down into Egypt to sojourn there." And it is also written [2 Kings, 7:4]: "If we say, We will enter into the city, then is the famine in the city; and we shall die there." For what purpose is the quotation of the additional passage? Lest one say that it is so only where there is no risk of life, but where there is it is not so, hence the quotation, which is followed by [ibid., ibid.]: "If they let us live, we shall live; and if they kill us, we shall but die." The rabbis taught again: "When there is a pestilence in town, a person shall not walk in the middle of the road; for so long as the Angel of Death has received his permission to rage, he does so high-handed. On the contrary, when peace reigns, one must not walk on the sideways; for so long as he has not the permission, he hides himself away."

R. Ami and R. Assi were sitting before R. Itz'hak Nap'ha. One was asking him to say some Halakha, and the other to say some Agadah. When he began to say a Halakha he was interrupted by one, and when an Agadah he was interrupted by the other. He then said: I will tell you a parable: It is like unto a man who has two wives-an old one and a young one. The young one picks his gray hair and the old one his black hair. The result is that he becomes bald-headed. I will tell you, however, now something which will be to the satisfaction of both of you: (Agadah)--It is written [Ex. 22:5]: "If a fire break out and meet with thorns"--that means, if it should break out of itself--"he that kindled the fire shall surely make restitution." Said the Holy One, blessed be He, "I shall surely make restitution for the fire I kindled in Zion," as it is written [Lam. 4:11]: "He kindled a fire in Zion, which had devoured her foundations"; and, "I shall also build it up again by fire," as it is written [Zech. 2:9]: "But I--I will be unto her . . . a wall of fire round about, and for glory will I be in the midst of her." (Halakha)--Why does the verse begin with the damage by one's property (if a fire break out) and end with damages done by one's person (he that kindled the fire)? To teach thee that one is liable for his fire on the same principle as liability for one's arrow.

MISHNA 5.: If the fire passed over a fence four ells high, or through a public highway or a river, there is no liability.

GEMARA: But have we not learned in a Boraitha, as regards a fence of such height, that there is a liability? Said R. Papa: The Tana of our Mishna counts regressively, viz.: For six, five, and down to (and including) four ells there is no liability; while the Tana of the Boraitha counts progressively, viz.: For two, three, up to (but not including) four, there is a liability. (Hence for four ells, according to both, there is no liability.) Said Rabha: The rule that for four ells there is no liability applies also to a field filled with thorns (which makes it very inflammable). Said R. Papa: The four ells begin to count from the edge of the thorns upwards.

Rabh said: Our Mishna treats of a case where the fire was rising upwards, but if it was creeping (and consuming whatever was in its way, and therefore if it even crossed a public highway, there is a liability) there is a liability even up to a hundred ells. Samuel, however, says the reverse: Our Mishna treats where the fire was creeping; but if it was rising upwards, any dimensions are sufficient to relieve from liability. The following Boraitha is in support of Rabh: This (that if it crossed a public highway there is no liability) was said only if the fire was rising; but if it was creeping and fuel was within reach, even a hundred miles, there is a liability. If it crossed a river or a pool eighteen ells wide, there is no liability.

"A public highway." Who is the Tana who holds so? Said Rabha: It is R. Eliezer, who says in the following Boraitha: If it was sixteen ells, as wide as a public highway, there is no liability.

"Or a river." Rabh said: It means a full-sized river. Samuel, however, said: It means a lake (from which the neighbouring fields are irrigated). According to Rabh, it is so even if the river dried up (for so that it be wide enough, it is considered as a public highway), but according to Samuel there must be water in the lake.

MISHNA 6.: If one start a fire on his own premises, how far must the fire pass (in order to subject him to liability)? R. Eliezer b. Azariah said: It is looked upon as if it were in the centre of a space of land sufficient for planting a kur of grain (and if it pass out of such distance, he is liable). R. Eliezer says: Over sixteen ells, as wide as a public highway. R. Aqiba says: Over fifty ells. R. Simeon, however, says: It is written [Ex. 22:5]: "He that kindled the fire shall surely make restitution"--that means that he must make restitution for all that was burnt through the fire he started.

GEMARA: Does, then, R. Simeon not hold of distances in regard to fire? (i.e., that a fire must not be built unless it is a certain distance from other objects). Have we not learned in the following Mishna (Baba Bathra, Ch. 2., M. 2): R. Simeon says: These distances were said only for the purpose that if they were observed, and still damage was done, there is no liability (hence we see that he holds of distances?). Said R. Na'hman in the name of Rabba b. Abuah: R. Simeon's statement ill the Mishna, that one must pay for what was burnt through his fire means that the fire was made by the one who started it of such height in that it could pass the different distances stated, respectively. R. Joseph in the name of R. Jehudah, quoting Samuel, said: The Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Simeon, and so also said R. Na'hman in the name of the same authority.

MISHNA 7.: If one cause his neighbour's stack of grain to burn down, and there be vessels therein which also are burnt, R. Jehudah says that he must pay also for the vessels. The rabbis, however, hold that he pays only for a stack of wheat or barley, as the case may be, of such dimensions. If a bound kid were therein and a slave was standing near by and both were burnt, he must pay for the kid (but not for the slave, as he

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should have escaped); if, however, a bound slave were therein and a kid was standing near by and both were burnt, he is free (from damages, because he is guilty of murder). And the sages concede to R. Jehudah that, if one set fire to another's house (or palace), he pays for all that was therein contained, for it is customary with people to keep their property in the house.

GEMARA: R. Kahana said: The rabbis and R. Jehudah differ only in case he started the fire on his own and it communicated to another's premises, in which case R. Jehudah holds one liable for the damage done by fire to concealed articles, and the rabbis do not, but if he started the fire on another's premises, they all agree that he pays for all that was contained therein. Said Rabha to him: If so, why does the Mishna state further on that "the rabbis concede," etc.--let it distinguish in that very statement, and say that the case is so only if he started the fire on his own premises, but if on another's they all agree that he must pay for all that was contained therein? Therefore said Rabha: They differ in both; viz., if he started the fire on his own premises and it communicated to another's. R. Jehudah holds him liable for concealed articles and the rabbis hold him free; and also in the other case, R. Jehudah holds that he must pay for all that was concealed therein, even if it were αρναχις; (a belt made with pockets to place money therein). The rabbis, however, hold that he is liable only for such articles as are usually kept there, as a threshing-board or an ox-bow, but not for such articles as it is not customary to keep there.

The rabbis taught: If one cause a stack of grain belonging to another to burn down, and there be vessels therein which also are burnt, R. Jehudah says that he pays for all that was contained therein. The rabbis, however, hold that he pays only for a stack of wheat or barley, and the vessels are considered as if their space was occupied with grain. This is so only when he started the fire on his own premises and it communicated to another's; but if he started it originally on another's premises, he pays for all that was therein. And R. Jehudah concedes to the rabbis that, if one permit his neighbour to place a stack of grain on his premises and the other did so and concealed some articles therein (and the owner of the premises cause a fire to burn them) he pays only for the grain; if he permitted him a stack of wheat and he placed there a stack of barley, or vice versa, or of wheat and he covered it with barley, or of barley and he covered it with wheat, that he pays only the value of barley.

Rabha said: If one give a golden dinar to a woman and say to her: "Take care of it, for it is a silver dinar," and she damage it, she pays for a golden dinar; for he may say to her: "What right had you to damage it?" If, however, it was lost because of her negligence, she pays only for a silver dinar; for she can say to him: "I obliged myself to take care of a silver dinar only, but not of a golden one." Said R. Mordecai to R. Ashi: Ye learned this in the name of Rabha, while we derived it from the above Boraitha, which states that, if one allowed him to place a stack of wheat and he covered it with barley, or vice versa, he pays only the value of barley; hence we see that he may say to him that he obliged himself to take care of barley only. So also here. She may say, "I obliged myself to take care of a silver dinar, but not of a golden dinar." Rabh said: I heard something in regard to R. Jehudah of our Mishna, and I cannot recollect what it was. Said Samuel: Does (Aba) not recollect what was said in regard to R. Jehudah's theory that one is liable for concealed articles? That he must make oath as to the value, as enacted in case of a bailee who claims that he was robbed.

It happened that one kicked the money-pouch of his neighbour into the river. The owner came and claimed that such and such articles were therein. When it came before R. Ashi, he was deliberating as to what was the law in such cases. Said Rabhina to R. A'ha the son of Rabha, according to others R. A'ha the son of Rabha to R. Ashi: Is this not stated in our Mishna: "And the sages concede to R. Jehudah that if one," etc., "because it is customary with people," etc.? He answered: If he had claimed that he had money therein it would be so, but here he claims that he had therein pearls; and the question is, is it customary with people to keep pearls in a money-pouch? This remains unanswered.

Said R. Jemar to R. Ashi: If one claimed that he kept a silver cup in his house, what is the law? He answered: It must be investigated whether he is a man of such standing that he has silver cups, or whether he is a person whom others trust and deposit with him such article. Then he makes oath, and he is paid; if not, he is not believed, and no oath is given him.

R. Ada the son of R. Avia questioned R. Ashi: What difference is there between a robber and one who uses violence? He answered: He who uses violence pays the value (to the owner who gives up the articles under duress) while a robber does not. He rejoined: If he pays the value, why is it called violence--has not R. Huna said: If even one were threatened with hanging in order to compel him to sell his property, the sale is valid? This presents no difficulty. R. Huna said so only when he finally consented, and said plainly, "I am willing to sell it"; but if he never voluntarily consented it is considered violence, even if the value of the article was received by him.

MISHNA 8.: If a spark escape from under the blacksmith's hammer and do damage, there is a liability. A camel that was walking on a public highway laden with flax, and the flax pressed into a store and caught fire from the storekeeper's lit candle and set fire to the house, the driver of the camel is liable. If, however, the candle was placed outside the store, the store-keeper is liable. R. Jehudah says: If it was a Hanuka lamp, there is no liability.

GEMARA: Said Rabhina in the name of Rabha: From the statement of R. Jehudah it is to be inferred that there is a merit in placing the Hanuka lamp within ten spans (above the ground); for if it should be assumed to be above ten, why should R. Jehudah say that there is no liability--let him say that the store-keeper should have placed it above the camel and its rider? Hence as stated: Nay, it may be said that it might be placed even above them; but as an answer to the claim that he should have placed it above the camel and its rider, he may say that when one is occupied in the performance of a merit the rabbis do not put him to so much trouble.

CHAPTER 7.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE PAYMENT OF DOUBLE, AND FOUR AND FIVE COLLUSIVE WITNESSES; THE RAISING OF YOUNG CATTLE IN PALESTINE, ETC.

MISHNA. I: The payment of double (in cases of larceny) is more rigorous than the payment of four and five fold; for the former is applicable to animate as well as to inanimate beings, while the latter is applicable to an ox and a sheep alone, as it is written [Ex. xxi. 37]: "If a man steal an ox or a sheep, and kill it or sell it," etc.

The one who steals a stolen article from a thief does not pay double, neither does he pay four or five fold if he afterward slaughtered or sold it.

GEMARA: It does not state that the payment of double is applicable to a thief as well as to one who claims that the bailment was stolen from him, and the payment of four and five fold is applicable to a thief only. Shall we assume from this that this is a support to R. Hyya b. Aba, who said in the name of R. Johanan: One who avails himself, as regards a bailment, of the claim that it was stolen from him, pays double; if he slaughtered or sold it, he pays four and five fold? Does, then, the Mishna state, "there is no difference," etc., "and only in this case," etc.? It states only "is more rigorous" and mentioned only one, and did not care to enumerate all.

"For the payment of four," etc. Whence is this deduced? From the following Boraitha: The rabbis taught: It is written [Ex. 22:6]: "For all manner of trespass"--this is a general term; "for ox, for ass, for lamb, for raiment"--this is a particular term; "or for any manner of lost thing"--which is again a general term. It is, then, a general, particular, and again a general term, in which case it is construed to be limited to the particular term; and as the particular term states expressly a movable subject, the substance of which is counted as money (a value is put on it), so also the others mean only movable subjects the substances of which are counted as money, excluding land, which is not movable; slaves, who are likened to land; also documents, which, although movable, their substance is not counted for money; as well as consecrated articles, because the Scripture reads "his neighbour's." (The further discussion which follows here belongs to Mishna VI., Chapter IX. of this volume, and is to be found there.)

R. Ilaa said: If he stole a lamb and while in his possession it grew into a ram, or a calf and it grew into an ox, this is considered a (material) change while in his possession and he acquires title to it; and if he subsequently slaughtered or sold it, it is considered his own (and he is not liable to the payment of four and five fold). R. Hanina objected to him from the following: If he stole a lamb and it grew into a ram, or a calf and it grew into an ox, he is still liable to the payment of double, and four and five fold, and the payment may be made in such cattle as they were at the time when the theft was committed. Now, if he acquired title by the change, why should he pay--did he not slaughter or sell his own? He answered: But what is your opinion--that the change does not acquire title? why, should he pay as at the time the theft was committed--why not their present value? He answered: Because he may say: "Did I then steal of you an ox? I stole of you a calf!" He rejoined: May the Merciful save us from such opinions! He retorted: On the contrary, may the Merciful save us from such opinions as yours.

R. Zera opposed: Let title be acquired (if not by the change in the body of the stolen subject) by the change in its name? Said Rabha: There was no change of name, for a calf one day old is already called "ox," as it is written [Lev. 22:27]: "When an ox or a sheep or a goat is born," etc., and so also a ram, as it is written [Gen. xxxi. 38]: "And the rams of thy flock have I not eaten." Did Jacob then mean to say that only, rams he did not eat, but lambs he did? Infer from this that a lamb one day old is already termed ram. But, in any event, is this not an objection to R. Ilaa? Said R. Shesheth: The, above Boraitha is in accordance with the school of Shammai, who hold that the change does not affect the title of the owner, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: If one give to a harlot as her hire wheat and she grind it into fine flour, or olives and she press them into oil, or grapes and she press them into wine--one Boraitha teaches that it is prohibited (to be used for an offering under Deut. 23:19), and another Boraitha teaches that it is permitted; and R. Joseph said that Gorion of Asphark explained the above, that those who prohibited their use are of the school of Shammai and those who permitted their use are of the school of Hillel. What is the reason of the Beth Shammai? Because it is written [ibid., ibid.]: "For both of them," which means to include also their changed forms; and the Beth Hillel are not very particular about the word "both," and hold that it means only their original but not their changed form.

Now, let us see: The point of difference (between R. Ilaa and R. Hanina) is that one holds that the change does, while the other holds that it does not acquire title; but as to the payment, both agree that the original value must be paid, as further on the Boraitha teaches: He pays double, four or five fold, as at the time the theft was committed. Shall we assume that from this there is an objection to Rabh, who said above that where the principal only is paid the original value at the time the theft was committed is paid, but double, four and five fold, is paid as at the time of the trial? Said Rabha: If he makes restitution in specie, he returns lambs; but if he pays money, he pays their present value.

Rabba said: That a change acquires title is both written and taught: Written [Lev. 5:23]: "And he shall restore the robbed article 1 that he hath taken violently away." Why did the Scripture mention "that he hath taken violently away"? (is it not understood from the words "robbed article"?)--to teach that if it is still in the same state as at the time it was stolen it must be returned in specie; if not, money only shall be paid. Taught: if one robbed wood and made it into vessels, wool and made it into garments, he pays as at the time of the theft. "If he had not succeeded in giving it to him (to the priest, the first shorn wool) until he died he is free." Hence we see that change acquires title.

Resignation of hope (when an article was robbed or lost and its owner resigned his hope to regain it), the rabbis said that it does acquire title for the robber. But we do not know whether they mean that it is so biblically, or rabbinically only. It may be said that it is biblically, because it may be equal to one who found an article of which its owner resigned his hope to regain it immediately after it was lost and before it reached the hands of the finder; and the same can be said of the robber that, when the robbed one resigned his hope of regaining it immediately after he was robbed, the robber subsequently acquired title. On the other hand, it cannot be equalled to a lost article, for when it reached the finder he took it permissively, while the robber, when he took the article, committed a sin. Therefore biblically he never acquired title; but rabbinically it was enacted that he should acquire title for the benefit of those who might wish to repent (that they might be able to return its value). R. Joseph, however, says that resignation of hope does not acquire title even rabbinically (and the stolen article must be returned in specie), and he objected to Rabba from the following: If he stole leaven and kept it over Passover, he may say to the owner, "Yours is before you as it was" (although the owner can no more derive benefit from it, still the damage is not visible). Now, in this case it is certain that the owner has resigned his hope of regaining it, as it is of no value at all for him even if returned; and if this acquires title, why may he say to him, "Yours is before you"--did not the thief acquire title as soon as hope was resigned? And if he desires to repent, he ought to pay the full value in money? He answered: What I mean is, in a case where the one resigned his hope and the other desired to acquire title to it; but in your case, although the owner resigned his hope, the thief did not want to acquire title, as also to him it was of no value.

Rabba said: The discussion whether change in name or action, or resignation of hope, does or does not acquire title remained unexplained for twenty-two years, until R. Joseph became the president of the college, and explained that the change of name is equivalent to change in act, which surely acquires title, as the reason for both is the same. For instance, change in act--if he made vessels out of stolen wood, there is no more wood, but vessels, and at the same time the name was also changed; consequently the acquisition of title comes from both the change in act and in name. The same theory can apply to a thing where the change in act was slight, scarcely noticed; as, for instance, if he trimmed a hide into a horse-blanket, in which case the principal thing is the change in name; for before it was known as a hide, while now it is known as a horse-blanket, and title is acquired.

But is there not a case of a robbed beam which was built into a house--a case very similar to the above, and in which the principal change was in name; because before it was known as beam and after as a roof, and nevertheless, if not for the rabbinical enactment for the benefit of those who might wish to repent, biblically he had to take apart the building and return the beam in specie? Answered R. Joseph: In this case there was no change in name, as it was called a beam even

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after being built into the house (as all the beams together are called a roof, but each one separately still retains the name beam; and we so find it in a Boraitha elsewhere).

R. Zera says: Even if the beam in question does no more retain its original name when built into the roof, it would still not be considered a change; for as soon as the building is taken apart the original name "beam" is used again, while in the case of the hide, as soon as it was changed into a horse-blanket, it will never be called "hide" again.

R. Hisda in the name of R. Jonathan said: Whence is it deduced that a change does not acquire title? It is written [Lev. 5:23]: "And he shall return the stolen article," which means in specie under all circumstances. But is it not also written "that he hath taken violently away" (which may be explained to include the value thereof)? This verse is needed to deduce from it that he pays an additional fifth part for his own theft, but not for that of his father (as will be explained in Chapter IX.).

Ula said: Whence is it deduced that resignation of hope to regain property does not acquire title? It is written [Mal. 1:13]: "And ye brought what was robbed, and the lame, and the sick"--that means that "what was robbed" is equal to the lame in this respect, that as the lame cannot be remedied neither can robbery, no matter whether before or after resignation of hope. Rabha deduced this from the expression [Lev. 1:3] "his offering," which means but not what was robbed. If before resignation of hope, it is self-evident--why, then, the verse? We must therefore say that it means even after resignation. Infer from this that resignation of hope does not acquire title.

"And the payment of four," etc. Why so? Let it be deduced by an analogy of expression of the word "ox" mentioned here and "ox" mentioned in regard to observation of Sabbath; as there "ox" includes beasts and birds, so also here? Said Rabha: The verse says here [Ex. 21:37]: "An ox or a sheep twice, to teach it of only those two, but no others.

"The one who steals," etc. Rabh said: This was taught only before resignation of hope; but if after that the first thief acquired title, and the second thief must pay him double. Said R. Shesheth: "I would say that Rabh said this while he was napping, for we have learned: R. Aqiba said: Why did the Scripture say that if he slaughtered and sold it he must pay four and five fold? Because the sin was deeply rooted in him (and he acquired title to it by his acts). Now, let us see. When? If before resignation, what deep-rooting is there? (he has not acquired title and his acts helped nothing, as no one holds that title is acquired before resignation of hope). We must therefore say that it was after resignation. Now then, if resignation acquires title, why should he pay four and five fold--did he not kill or sell his own? It may be explained as Rabha said (that he must pay four and five fold even before resignation of hope, and the reason is) because he repeated his sin.

(An objection was raised.) Come and hear: It is written [Ex. 21:37]: "And kill it, or sell it"; as if killed it can no more return to life, so also in case of sale it must be such that it should not return again. When? If before resignation, it does return? We must therefore say that it relates to after resignation. Now, if resignation acquires title, why should he pay four and five fold--was it not his own when he slaughtered or sold it? It is as R. Na'hman said elsewhere, that even before resignation of hope, if the thief hired it out to a third party for thirty days, although the thief had no title to it, still his act of hiring was valid. So also can our case be explained.

It was taught: One who sells before resignation of hope to regain it, R. Na'hman says that he is liable to pay four fold because he sold it; and the Scripture holds him liable to pay whether before or after resignation. R. Shesheth says that he is free, because it cannot be called sale when the sale is invalid; and therefore his acts were of no effect, and the liability is only where his acts are of effect, as in case of slaughtering. So also was R. Elazar's opinion, that it means after resignation of hope. As R. Elazar said: It must be declared that resignation of hope to regain stolen property comes generally immediately after the occurrence of the theft (and if the thief sold it, his act is valid, because there were both resignation of hope and change of control); and this theory is supported by the Scripture, which holds the thief liable to the payment of four and five fold without fear that the owner might have not resigned his hope; and this is only because generally hope is resigned immediately after the occurrence of the theft. But perhaps the Scripture means even before resignation of hope? This would not be correct, for sale and slaughtering are written together; and as in case of slaughtering his acts are accomplished and cannot be undone, so also in case of sale. But perhaps this is so when we know for certain that he has resigned his hope? This also would not be correct, for the same reason that sale and slaughtering are written together; and as in case of slaughtering there is no difference whether before or after resignation of hope, so also is the case with sale. Said R. Johanan to him: The case of kidnapping [Ex. 21:16], in which there is surely no resignation of hope, for no one gives up hope in such cases, and still the Scripture makes him guilty, can prove that the Scripture does not require any resignation of hope. [From this we see that R. Johanan holds that he is liable before resignation of hope.] But what is the law after resignation of hope? (Does he agree with Rabh's opinion stated above?) Nay, he holds him liable whether before or after resignation of hope. Resh Lakish, however, holds him liable only before resignation of hope but not after that; for after resignation he acquired title, and if he killed or sold it he did so to his own.

R. Johanan said: A stolen thing of which the owners have not resigned hope to regain it cannot be consecrated. By the owner thereof, because it is not under his control; and by the thief, because he has no title thereto. Did, indeed, R. Johanan say so? did not R. Johanan say that the Halakha always prevails according to an anonymous Mishna, and there is a Mishna [Second Tithe, Chap. V., M. 1]: A vineyard in the fourth year of its planting (the fruit of which must first be redeemed before using it) used to be marked with clods (of earth), and this was a sign that benefit might be derived from it after being redeemed, as benefit may be derived from earth. In the third year of its planting, however, in which the fruit must be destroyed without deriving any benefit at all from it, it used to be marked with fragments of broken clay vessels, for a sign that as from such fragments no benefit can be had, so also none must be had from the fruit. Graves used to be marked with limestone (to warn passers-by not to step on them lest they become unclean), which is white, for a sign that therein were interred (human) bones, which are also white; and the limestone was dissolved and spread upon the graves, to be more visible. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, however, said that the vineyards used to be marked in the Sabbatical year only, because the fruit was considered ownerless, and therefore warning had to be given not to use it (because of the third and fourth years); but in other years, when the fruit must not be used without the permission of the owner, it was not marked, but, on the contrary, let the wicked thief eat of it, and suffer the consequences.

The pious man, however, used to place money in the vineyard, declaring: "All that is plucked and gathered of this fruit shall be redeemed by this money." (Hence we see that although not under his control, still it is redeemed--how, then, can R. Johanan say that neither can consecrate a stolen thing?) But lest one say that the above statement regarding the pious one is not anonymous, but is the continuation of the statement of R. Simeon b. Gamaliel (even then R. Johanan would contradict himself), as Rabba bar bar Hana said in his name, that wherever the teachings of R. Simeon b. Gamaliel are mentioned in our Mishnayoth the Halakha prevails according to him, except in three cases? (which are enumerated in Sanhedrin), it may be said: Do not read, The pious man used to place money in the vineyard, declaring, 'All that was plucked,' etc., but read, 'All that will be plucked,' etc. (i.e., that the money was placed when the fruit was still attached to the trees, and as in the Sabbatical year all fruit is ownerless, the one who plucks and gathers it becomes its owner and at the same time the money placed there redeems it)." But, after all, could, then, R. Johanan say so--did he not say elsewhere that the declaration of the pious ones and of R. Dosa were of one and the same theory, and in the declaration of R. Dosa it is plainly stated "that was plucked," as we have learned in the following Boraitha: R. Jehudah said: In the morning the owner of the ground gets up and says, "All that the poor will pluck and gather to-day is hereby declared ownerless." R. Dosa said: The declaration is made toward evening, and thus: "All that the poor have plucked and gathered is hereby declared to have been ownerless"? Change the names in the Boraitha, and read instead of R. Dosa R. Jehudah, and instead of R. Jehudah R. Dosa. Why do you declare that Boraitha incorrect--better correct the statement of R. Johanan and place R. Johanan instead of R. Dosa? It may be said that the names in the Boraitha must be changed in any event, for from this Boraitha is to be inferred that R. Jehudah holds to the theory of choice, 1 and it is known from his statements elsewhere that he does not hold this theory. But, after all, why do you change the names in the Boraitha--because it would be a contradiction between one statement of R. Jehudah and another one? There would be the same contradiction between one statement of R. Johanan and another, as it is known that also R. Johanan does not hold to the theory of choice [and if we should make his declaration read, "that what the poor will gather," it would show that R. Johanan does hold to the theory of choice (as the declaration is made previous to the gathering of the fruit, and whatever had been gathered by the poor had been chosen previously in his mind)]. As R. Assi said in the name of R. Johanan: "Brothers that have partitioned among themselves estates that they inherited, they are considered as vendees, and the estates return in the jubilee year" (and we do not say that the part which came to him by partition was chosen previously to be his part of the inheritance, which, according to the biblical law, does not return; hence he does not hold to the theory of choice?). Therefore R. Johanan's statement above remains unchanged, but his statement that stolen property cannot be consecrated, etc., is based upon our Mishna, which states, "The one who steals a stolen article from a thief does not pay double" (which is anonymous). And why so? It would be correct that he should not pay to the thief, for it is written [Ex. 22:6]: "And it be stolen out of the man's house," but not of the house of the thief. But why should he not pay it to the owner of the property? We must say, then, that to the thief he does not pay because it was not his, and not to the owner because it was not under his control; and this is the very statement of R. Johanan. But still, why should he adopt this anonymous Mishna and ignore the other--why not adopt the anonymous Mishna which treats of the pious ones? Because for this statement support can be found in the Scripture [Lev. 27:14]: "And if a man sanctify his house as holy unto the Lord," from which is to be deduced that as "his house" is under his own control, so also other things which are under his own control (but not otherwise).

Abayi said: If it should not be said in the name of R. Johanan that "the pious" and R. Dosa are of the same theory, I would say that the pious ones hold to the theory of R. Dosa, but R. Dosa does not hold to the theory of the pious ones, viz.: The pious ones hold to the theory of R. Dosa because they arrived at their decision to make such declaration by drawing the following a fortiori conclusion: A thief who has committed a sin, the rabbis made an enactment for him not to pay double (to enable him to repent and to make restitution); so much the more an enactment must be made for the poor (to prevent them from sin). R. Dosa, however, does not concur with them, for according to him the rabbis made their enactment for the poor only and not for the thief (and the law that the thief must not pay double to the first thief is not an enactment of the rabbis but a biblical law). Said Rabha: Were it not for the above statement of R. Johanan that the pious ones and R. Dosa, etc., I would say that under "the pious ones" R. Meir is meant, because did not R. Meir say elsewhere that second tithe is consecrated property, and nevertheless as regards its redemption the Law considers it as if it were under the owner's control? 1

The sages of Nahardea said: No writ of replevin of personal property is granted by the court, the bailee of which denied its possession before the court. This is so when the bailee denied its possession, for it would look as if the court issued a writ the execution of which was not certain; but when he admitted possession but not ownership by the plaintiff, a writ might be issued. The same said also: A writ of replevin which does not contain the following direction: "Investigate, take possession, and retain it for yourself," is invalid; for the bailee can say to him, "The property is not assigned to you, and you are not the proper party plaintiff." Said Abayi: If the direction is contained, but it states only as to part of it, the bailee cannot say that he is not the proper party plaintiff; for if part is assigned to him by the court, he has authority to replevy the whole. Said Ameimar: If the writ did not contain the above direction, and nevertheless he took possession of it, the court cannot compel him to return it. (Rashi explains that according to other commentators it means that if the messenger of the court who executed the writ of replevin has kept the property for himself for a debt due him from one of the parties to the litigation, the court cannot compel him to give it up. Rashi approves of this explanation, saying that he found it in the Decisions of the Gaonim.) R. Ashi, however, says that the court has the right to compel him to return it, because when the court appointed one to execute its mandates it was upon the written condition that he should obey all the orders of the court; consequently he is only a messenger of the court and he has no right to keep it for himself. And so also the Halakha prevails.

MISHNA 2.: If two witnesses testify that one stole (an ox or a sheep), and either the same or other witnesses testify that he slaughtered or sold the same, he must pay four and five fold. If one stole the same and sold it on the Sabbath, or he stole and sold it for idolatry; or he stole and slaughtered it on the Day of Atonement; or he stole from his father and slaughtered and sold it, and thereafter his father died; or he stole and slaughtered it and then consecrated it-in all those cases he pays four and five fold. The same is the case if he stole and slaughtered it in order to use it as a medicine, or to feed his dogs therewith; or he slaughtered it and it was found unfit for eating (trepha); or he slaughtered it in the Temple court without consecrating it as an offering. R. Simeon, however, makes him free in the two last-named cases.

GEMARA: "If he stole and sold it on the Sabbath," etc. But have we not learned elsewhere that in such a case he is free? Said Rami b. Hama: The Boraitha which says that he is free from the payment of four and five fold treats of a case where the thief sold the stolen property to the owner of a garden and received in payment figs which the thief himself plucked on Sabbath (and thus incurred the penalty of capital punishment, and there is a rule that where there is capital punishment there can be no mention of civil liability). But it may be said that such must not be considered a sale. For if, for instance, the owner of the garden should claim before the court that he has not received from the thief the value of the figs, we would not make him liable to pay for the figs as he has committed a crime, and the above maxim applies also here; consequently there was no sale.

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Said Rabha: Even in a case where the court would not entertain the plaintiff's complaint, the sale would still be called a sale as regards the same required by Scripture. As, for instance, the law prohibits the hire of a harlot, even if she was his own mother (and he promised her a sheep as her hire). Now, if she would sue him before a court for failing to pay her the hire, would the court then direct him to pay it--and nevertheless if he had given her the sheep it would be called "harlot's hire" and its use would be prohibited? The same is the case here: although as regards the enforcement of payment of the claim the court would not interfere, still, because he transferred it to him in this manner the sale is valid.

"If he stole and sold it on the Day of Atonement," etc. Why so? It is true that there is no capital punishment; but is he not liable to punishment by stripes--and there is a rule that he who is punished by stripes is free from payment? It may be said that it is according to R. Meir, who holds that stripes do not absolve from civil liability. If so, then let him also be liable if he slaughtered it on the Sabbath. And lest one say that R. Meir holds only that stripes do not free from payment but capital punishment does, have we not learned in the following Boraitha: If he stole and slaughtered it on the Sabbath . . . (although he incurs the death penalty) he pays four and five: such is the dictum of R. Meir. The rabbis, however, make him free? Said the schoolmen: Leave the Boraitha alone, as it was taught in regard to the same: R. Abin, R. Ilaa, and the whole society said in the name of R. Johanan that the Boraitha treats of a case where he slaughtered it through an agent. But is there, then, a case where one commits a transgression and another is liable for it (have we not a rule that there is no agent to commit a sin)? Said Rabha: The case here is different, for the verse reads [Ex. 21:37]: "And kill it or sell it." As in case of sale there must be another person (to buy it), so also in case of slaughtering, when it was slaughtered by another under his direction. The school of R. Ishmael inferred this from the additional word "or"; the school of Hezkiah inferred it from the word "for" used in that verse.

Mar Zutra opposed: Is there, then, a case where one, if he did it himself, would not be liable, but if he did it though a messenger he would be liable? Said R. Ashi to him: There the reason is not because he is not liable, but because he is guilty of a capital punishment, and the above rule applies. Now, when you say that the above Boraitha treats of a case where he slaughtered it through a messenger, why do the rabbis make him free of four and five fold? The schoolmen explained that by the "rabbis" mentioned in the Boraitha in question is meant R. Simeon, who holds that slaughtering which is not legal is not called slaughtering in accordance with the requirements of the Scripture.

"If he stole from his father, "etc. Rabha questioned R. Nahman: If he stole an ox belonging to two partners and slaughtered him, and then he confessed to one of the partners, what is the law? Shall we say that the Scripture [Ex. 21:37] meant five whole oxen, but not half oxen (for every partner has a right only to one-half of each ox), or shall we say that in "five oxen" the halves arc included? He answered him: The Scripture reads "five (whole) oxen," and not half oxen. He objected: It states further: "If he stole from his father and slaughtered or sold it, and thereafter his father died (and the thief became one of the heirs), he pays four or five." Now, when he is one of the heirs, is this not equal to the case where he confessed to one partner (and this makes him free entirely for the above reason--"an ox" and not "a half ox"; and the same ought to be here, because he is an heir, and the payment of a "whole" ox does no longer hold)? He answered him: The case here was that his father before he died laid already the matter before the court. But how is it if he had not laid the matter before the court--does he not pay? If so, why should it state in the latter part, "If he stole from his father and he died, and thereafter he slaughtered or sold it, he does not pay"? Let the Tana distinguish in the very first case, thus: This was said only where the deceased laid the matter before the court; but if he had not yet done so, he does not pay? He rejoined: It is really so; but because it states in the first part, "If he stole from his father and slaughtered it, and thereafter the father died," it also states in the latter part, "If he stole from his father, who soon died, and thereafter he slaughtered or sold it." On the next morning R. Nahman said to Rabha: (I have reconsidered the matter, have changed my mind, and came to the conclusion thus:) In the expression "five oxen" halves are included, and what I told you last night was said without careful deliberation. But what difference is there between the first and the last part (why does the latter part make him free)? He answered: The Scripture reads, "and killed it," which means that as the stealing was in transgression, so also ought to be the killing, as is the case in the first part. In the latter part, however, the killing was no more in transgression, as it belonged to him.

"One who slaughtered," etc., "and it was found unfit," etc. Said R. Simeon in the name of R. Levi the elder: It is considered slaughtered only when the act is fully accomplished. R. Johanan, however, says: It is so considered from the very beginning. Said R. Habibi of Husnahah to R. Ashi: Shall we assume that R. Johanan holds that the prohibition to use meat of cattle slaughtered in the Temple court, which was not consecrated as an offering, is not biblical? (See Kiddushin.) For if it is biblical, as soon as the act of slaughtering began it became a forbidden thing from which no benefit must be derived, and the remainder of the act was carried out on what belonged no more to the owner-why then is he liable to pay four and five fold? Said R. A'ha the son of Rabha to him: The liability is incurred from the very beginning of the act. Said R. Ashi: This is no answer, for it reads "and kill it," which means the fully accomplished act, which would not be so in this case. But then the above question remains? He rejoined: So said R. Gamda in the name of Rabha: The liability is incurred in case he cut part of the trachea and gullet outside, and the remainder of same inside the Temple court (in which case there is the fully accomplished act before it became a prohibited thing).

MISHNA 3.: If two witnesses testify that one stole an animal, and those very same witnesses testify that he had thereafter slaughtered or sold it, and subsequently those witnesses are proved collusive, the collusive witnesses must pay the full liability of four and five fold. If two witnesses testify that he stole it and other two testify that he slaughtered or sold it, and both sets of witnesses are proved collusive, the first set pays the double and the second set pays the balance of the five. If the second set is found collusive, the thief pays for two and the collusive witnesses for three. If only one of the second set is proved collusive, the whole testimony of the second set is invalidated. If one of the first set was found collusive, the whole testimony in the case was invalidated; for if there is no theft, there can be no (liability for) slaughtering or selling.

GEMARA: It was taught: A collusive witness--Abayi said that he is considered such from the date on which he gave the collusive testimony (and all the testimony he gave since then is incompetent); for as soon as he gave the collusive testimony he was considered wicked, and it is written [Ex. 23:1]: "Put not . . . wicked to be a witness." Rabha says that he is considered such only from the date on which he was proved collusive; for a collusive witness is an exception in the law, for they are two against two. Why, then, give more veracity to the latter two than to the former? Therefore the law applying to a collusive witness begins only from the date on which he was proved such. According to others, Rabha agrees with Abayi that he is considered collusive from the date on which the testimony was given; but in case they have in the meantime signed their names to a bill of sale, Rabha does not hold the conveyance invalid, in order that the grantee should suffer no damage. In which case can there be a difference in those two versions? In case two witnesses proved the collusiveness of one and two others proved the collusiveness of the other, or that their testimony was made incompetent by other witnesses testifying that they were robbers: according to the first version the reason of Rabha is because it is an exception. Here there is no exception, because there are four against two; consequently Rabha would agree with Abayi that all their testimony given in the meantime is invalid. According to the others, who say that the reason is that the grantee shall suffer no damages by invalidating the conveyance, there is no difference whether there were two or four. R. Jeremiah of Diphthi said: There happened a case and R. Papa acted in accordance with Rabha. R. Ashi, however, said that the Halakha prevails according to Abayi. There is a rule that always the Halakha prevails according to Rabha when he differs with Abayi, except in the six cases, the case at bar being one of them.

There is an objection from our Mishna, which states: "If two witnesses testified that he stole an animal, etc., they pay the full liability." Shall we not assume that they at one time testified as to the theft and at another time as to the slaughtering, and then they were first proved collusive as to the theft and subsequently as to the slaughtering? Now then, if they were considered collusive from the date on which they gave the collusive testimony, as soon as they were proved collusive as to the theft, it was established that their testimony as to the slaughtering was incompetent, and why should they pay for the testimony of the slaughtering? It may be explained that the case was that they were proved collusive as to the slaughtering first. But still, when they were subsequently proved collusive as to the theft it was established that they were incompetent, and why should they pay for their testimony of slaughtering? The Halakha prevails that the Mishna treats of a case where their testimony was given at one and the same time, and subsequently they were proved collusive.

Rabha said: Witnesses that testified that one has committed murder and the court found the accused guilty on their testimony, and two other witnesses subsequently denied the testimony, and still another set of two witnesses testified that the first two were with them at another place at the alleged time of the murder (alibi), which testimony makes them collusive (according to Scripture), they must suffer the death penalty, for denial is the beginning of collusion which is subsequently proved by the last witnesses. And he said again: My theory is based upon the following Boraitha: "If two witnesses testify that a certain person blinded his slave's eye and thereafter knocked out one of his teeth, and they also testify that the owner of the slave admitted it, and subsequently the witnesses are found collusive, they must pay to the slave the value of the eye." Now, how is the case? Shall we assume that it was as stated without any other set of witnesses to deny the former testimony, and the slave was manumitted on their testimony, then the expression ought to be "and they pay to him (instead of 'to the slave,' for he was already manumitted) the value of his eye, and to his master the value of an uninjured slave"? Another proof is that the case is that there was no denial--that they also testify that the owner admitted it, for what purpose it this? We must therefore say that another set of two witnesses testify that he knocked out one of his teeth first, and then blinded his eye, in which case the owner must pay him the value of the eye; then came a third set of witnesses and testified that he first blinded his eye and then knocked out his tooth, in which case the owner must pay him only the value of the tooth, because there is a contradiction between the first and the middle sets, and the statement that the owner admitted it means that he is more satisfied with their testimony, as he has to pay only the value of a tooth, and the statement that they were found collusive has reference to the middle set, and nevertheless it is stated that they must pay the slave the value of the eye, hence that denial is the beginning of collusion. (For if it is not, why should the law of collusion apply to them after their testimony became incompetent?) Said Abayi: Nay, not as you say, that because if there would be three sets of witnesses, as soon as the middle one was denied by the first one the third set could not make it collusive. The case, however, was that the set which became afterwards collusive is the first set, and your proof from the fact that the Boraitha does not state that the collusive set has to pay to the master can be explained thus: The second set did not deny the fact, but only reversed the order, i.e., they say to the first set, "On that day on which you claim that the master had blinded his eye," etc., "you were with us and you could not witness the crime; but we did witness on another day that the master first knocked out his tooth and then blinded his eye." And therefore the Boraitha does not state that they must pay the value of the slave, etc., because the slave becomes free even on their testimony; and I take this from the last part of the same Boraitha: "We testify that a certain person knocked out his slave's tooth and blinded his eye, and this is just as the slave says, and thereafter they were proved collusive, they pay the value of the eye to the owner." Now, how was the case? If the second set does not admit any wounding at all, then the first set must pay to the owner the value of the whole slave. It is therefore apparent that all admit that he wounded him, but that they reverse the order of the wounding, and thus prove them collusive. Now, as the last part treats of a case where they became collusive through the reversal, the first part must also treat of a similar case. (Says the Gemara:) After all, let us see how the case was: If the second set testify that it happened on a later date, then the first must still pay the full value of the slave, because on the day on which they testify it happened the slave had not to be manumitted? We must therefore say that the second set testify that it happened on an earlier date. But still, even in such a case, if the slave had not summoned him to court before the testimony of the first was given, they must still pay the full value of the slave; for before their testimony the owner was not subject to liability (to manumit the slave)? It must therefore be said that the case was after judgement was given.

R. Zera opposed: Whence do we know that money must be paid? Perhaps when he only blinded his eye he is manumitted because of that, if when he only knocked out one of his teeth he is manumitted because of that, and when he did both-blinded his eye and knocked out one of his teeth-he is also only manumitted and no money is paid. Said Abayi: As to your question, the verse reads, "for the sake of his tooth," which does not mean for the sake of his tooth and eye; and also "for the sake of his eye," which does not mean for the sake of his eye and tooth.

Regarding witnesses whose testimony was first denied and then proved collusive (as to which Abayi and Rabha differ above), R. Johanan and R. Elazar also differ: One holds that they are put to death, the other holds that they are not. It may be inferred that the one who holds that they are not put to death is R. Elazar, for he said elsewhere that witnesses whose testimony was only denied (but not proved collusive), in a case in which human life was involved, have to stiffer the penalty of stripes. Now, if we should assume that R. Elazar is the one who holds that they have to suffer the death penalty if proved collusive, why should they be punished with stripes in case their testimony was only denied? is it not a "negative process" that entails the death penalty by the court, and in such cases no stripes are administered? We must therefore say that it is R. Elazar who holds in the above Boraitha that they have not to suffer the death penalty.

"They are punished with stripes." Why so? Are they not two against two? Why should more credence be given to the one

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set than to the other? Said Abayi: The case is that the supposed murdered person appeared in court alive.

MISHNA 4.: If two witnesses testify that he stole it, and one witness, or he himself, testifies that he slaughtered or sold it, he pays only two, but not four and five fold. If he stole and slaughtered it on Sabbath, or sold it for purposes of idolatry; if he stole it from his father and this latter died, and subsequently he slaughtered or sold it; if he stole and consecrated it, and thereafter slaughtered or sold it--in all those cases he pays only double and not four and five fold. R. Simeon says: If one stole consecrated cattle for which the one who consecrated them is responsible, and slaughtered them, he must pay four and five fold; if, however, it is that for which he is not responsible, the thief is free.

GEMARA: The Mishna states, "If one witness," etc. Is this not self-evident? It may be said that it means to teach us that when he himself admits that he slaughtered, it is equal to the case where one witness testifies; as in the latter case, if thereafter another witness conies and testifies to the same thing, their testimony is taken together to make up the requisite number of witnesses, so also in this case the testimony of another witness is added to his own, in opposition to what R. Huna said in the name of Rabh, that one who admits to the court that he has incurred the liability to pay a fine and thereafter witnesses appear, he is free. R. Hisda objected to R. Huna's statement from the following: It happened that R. Gamaliel blinded the eye of his slave Tabi and he was very glad of the occurrence. When he met R. Jehoshua, he said to him: Do not you know yet that my slave Tabi is manumitted because I blinded his eye? Said R. Jehoshua to him: Your statement does not make him free, for he has no witnesses. Hence we infer from R. Jehoshua's answer that if there appear witnesses after an admission of the incurrence of the liability to pay a fine, the latter must be paid? He answered him: The case of R. Gamaliel is different, for he had not admitted it before the court. But was, then, R. Jehoshua not the president of the court? Yea, but it was not during the session of the court, but only as to a private person. But have we not learned in another Boraitha that what R. Jehoshua said to him was: This is nothing, for you yourself admitted it (from which is to be inferred that even if witnesses appear thereafter he is also free)? And is it not also to be assumed that the reason for the different statements of the Boraithas is: The Tana who says that he told him, "because he has no witnesses," holds that if witnesses should appear after the admission the slave would be liberated, and the Tana who says that R. Jehoshua told him, "because you already admitted," means to say that after admission the testimony of witnesses is of no avail? Nay, all agree that witnesses who appear after an admission count nothing; but the point of difference is this: The one who says, "because he has no witnesses," means that it was not before the court, and the one who says, "because you already admitted," means that he had done so before the court.

It was taught: "One who admits that he has incurred the liability of a fine and thereafter witnesses appear, Rabh says that he is free. Samuel, however, says that he must pay." Said Rabha for Ahilai: The reason of Rabh's theory is because in the verse [Ex. xxii. 31 the word "found" is repeated twice, which means that if it should be "found" by testimony of witnesses, he should be "found" (liable to pay the fine) by the court, excluding the case of self-incrimination. But is this not deduced from the verse [ibid., ibid. 8]: "And he whom the judges may condemn"? We must therefore say that the first-quoted verse means to exclude the case where one admits his liability to pay a fine and thereafter witnesses appear.

What does Samuel deduce from this verse? He deduces that the thief himself must pay double, as it was taught in the school of Hezkiah that the double payment applies only when he himself stole it, but not where he claims that it was stolen from him. Rabh objected to Samuel from the following: If on seeing that witnesses were coming the thief admits the theft, but denies the slaughtering, etc,, he pays only the principal. (Hence we see that if he admits before witnesses appear he is free from the payment of double, which is a fine?) He answered him: The case is, that the witnesses withdrew and did not appear. But since it states in the last part: "R. Elazar b. R. Simeon said: Let witnesses come and testify (after he admitted, so that the fine should be paid)," it is to be inferred that the Tana of the first part holds that he is not liable (although the witnesses came and testify?) Said Samuel: The very same R. Elazar b. Simeon quoted by you, who holds as I do, is the basis of my theory.

According to Samuel, surely Tanaim differ (and the Tana of the first part cannot be explained to be in accordance with him); but according to Rabh is it to be assumed that he explains Elazar's statement to be in accordance with him, namely: Elazar's statement was only where he admits for fear of witnesses; but where the admission is made without such fear, even he would concede that he is free? (Yea, so it is.) Said R. Hamnuna: It seems that Rabh's theory is applicable to the following case: If one confesses to theft and thereafter witnesses testify to the same, he is free from fine, for by his confession he made himself liable to pay the principal; but when he first denies, and after witnesses testify that he committed the theft he confesses to both the theft and the slaughtering, he is liable to pay four and five fold, for he sought to free himself entirely. Said Rabha to him: By your statement you caused grief to all the elders of the college: Did not R. Gamaliel by his confession, "I have blinded the eye of my slave," make himself free from fine, and still R. Huna, who was objected to from this fact by R. Hisda, did not give the reason stated by you (and R. Huna was an actual disciple of Rabh? hence, your statement is not correct)? (Notwithstanding the objection of Rabha, it was taught by R. Hyya b. Aba in the name of R. Johanan exactly as stated by R. Hamnuna.)

Said R. Ashi: From both our Mishna and the above-quoted Boraitha it is also to be inferred that R. Johanan's statement is correct, viz.: The Mishna, viz.: "If two witnesses testify that he committed the theft," etc. Why should it not better state: "If one witness or he himself testifies that he stole and slaughtered it, he pays only the principal" (for all what the Mishna means to teach us is that one's own confession frees him from the payment of fine; and if it should state as just mentioned, it would also include the payment of four and five fold)? We must therefore say that the Mishna comes to teach that only in case he did not make himself liable even for the payment of the principal, as e. g. that witnesses testify to the theft, and he only confessed, or one witness testifies to the slaughtering, etc., then only may it be said that his confession is equivalent to the testimony of one witness; so that if another witness should come thereafter and testify, his testimony would be added to that of the first witness and he would be liable; so also if after he confessed one witness appears, his testimony should be added to the confession, and he should be liable to pay four and five fold; but when he first confesses to both the theft and the slaughtering, or only one witness testifies thereto, in which case he makes himself liable to the payment of the principal, if even thereafter another witness comes, his testimony is not to be added to the confession, and he has to pay only the principal.

The Boraitha, viz.: "If one seeing witnesses coming confesses to the theft, but denies the slaughtering," etc. Why does the Boraitha state as it does? Let it state, " . . . and he admits that he stole it, or that he slaughtered and sold it, he pays the principal only"? (And we would infer from this that also when he even admits only the slaughtering, in which case he seeks to be entirely free, it is nevertheless considered an admission to make him liable for the principal?) We must therefore say that it means to teach us that only when he confess to the theft which makes him liable to the payment of the principal he is free (from fine), but when he does not confess to the theft, but the same is proved by witnesses and thereafter he admits that he slaughtered and sold it, and subsequently the same is also proved by wit. nesses, in which case he did not make himself liable even to the payment of the principal, he is liable (also to pay fine). Hence, we see that the admission of having slaughtered it (not coupled with the confession to the theft) is not considered an admission at all? Nay, it may be said that it means to teach us this very thing, viz.. Because he confessed to the theft, although he did not admit that he slaughtered or sold it, and thereafter witnesses testify that he slaughtered and sold it, he is nevertheless free from four and five, for the Scripture reads, "four or five," but not "four or three" (and here, when he confesses to the theft, he is liable to the payment of the principal only, and if we should make him liable for the slaughtering, etc., he would have to pay two more for a sheep or three more for an ox, so that it would be "three or four," but not "four or five").

"If he stole and consecrated it, and thereafter slaughtered or sold it," etc. This would be correct in case of slaughtering, for at the time of the slaughtering it was already consecrated property and not that of the owner, But why should he not be liable for the consecration itself--is this not considered a transfer from one owner to another, and what difference is there whether he sold it to a human being or to the sanctuary? Nay, there is a difference: In the first case its name is changed, for before the sale he is the ox of Reuben and after the sale he is the ox of Simeon, while when he consecrated him he still continues to be known as "Reuben's consecrated ox."

"R. Simeon says," etc. Now, when R. Simeon holds that there is no difference whether he is sold to another person or sold to the Sanctuary, then the reverse should be the conclusion: If his responsibility still continues after the consecration, he should be free, because it is still under his control; and if his responsibility ceases upon the consecration he should be liable, for by the act of the consecration he placed it under the control of the Sanctuary; and according to him, it is the same as if he sold it to a commoner? R. Simeon's statement has reference to the following Boraitha: "It may be said that the payment of four and five fold applies neither to one who steals stolen property from a thief, nor to one who steals consecrated property from the house of him who consecrated it, because it is written [Ex. xx. 6]: 'And it be stolen out of the man's house,' which means but not out of the house of the Sanctuary." R. Simeon says: If he is responsible for the consecrated property, he is liable, for the reason that it is still under his control, and the verse, "be stolen out of the man's house," is still to be applied, but not when it is not under his control. Rabha questioned: If one makes a vow to bring a burnt-offering and sets aside an ox for such offering, and thereafter the ox is stolen, may the thief make restitution by returning a sheep, according to the rabbis, or a dove or a pigeon, according to R. Elazar b. Azariah, as we have learned in the following Mishna: "If one say, 'I oblige myself to bring a burnt-offering,' he may bring a sheep; R. Elazar b. Azariah, however, says that he may bring a dove or a pigeon." Now, how is the law in our case: Shall we assume that the thief may say, "You obliged yourself to bring a burnt-offering, and here it is," or the owner may say, "My wish is to do this merit in the best manner possible"? After he questioned, he himself answered: The restitution of the thief is acceptable according to the rabbis if it is a sheep, and according to R. Elazar b. Azariah if it is a fowl. R. A'ha the son of R. Iqa taught that the above saying of, Rabha was not questioned and answered as stated above, but was originally said so by him.

MISHNA 5.: If the thief sells all but one-hundredth part of it, or he is a co-owner of it, or he slaughters it illegally so that it becomes a carrion, or he lacerates it (from the nostrils to the heart), or he tears the trachea and gullet, he pays only double, but not four and five fold.

GEMARA: What is meant by one-hundredth part of it? Said Rabh: It means of the meat which is made permissible for use by the legal slaughtering of the animal. Levi, however, holds even of the wool which is to be shorn. So also was taught plainly in a Boraitha. But according to whom, then, is Rabh's statement? According to R. Simeon b. Elazar of the following Boraitha, who said: "If he sells all but one of its fore or hind legs, he does not pay four and five fold; if, however, he sells all but its horns or its wool, he does pay four and five fold." On what point do they differ? The first Tana holds that "and kill it or sell it" [Ex. 21:37] means, as in case of slaughtering, it must be the whole, so also in case of sale. R. Simeon b. Elazar, however, holds that the fore and hind legs, which require legal slaughtering, if he excluded them from the sale, it is considered a sufficient remainder, and he is free from payment of four and five fold; but the horns and wool, which require no slaughtering, are not considered a sufficient remainder.

The rabbis taught: "One who steals an animal one leg of which is missing, or which is lame or blind, or one who steals an animal belonging to a co-partnership, is liable. But partners that steal together are free." But have we not learned in another Boraitha that partners are liable? Said R. Na'hman: This presents no difficulty: The first Boraitha treats of a case where one partner stole of his co-partner (and therefore it is not considered a sale of the whole, for he himself is entitled to halo, and the other Boraitha treats of a case where one partner steals from a third party. Rabha objected to R. Na'hman: "Lest it be assumed that a partner who steals from his co-partner, or two partners that steal together (from a third party), should be liable, therefore it is written [ibid]. 'And kill it,' which means the whole of it, which cannot be the case here?" Therefore said R. Na'hman: This presents no difficulty: The Boraitha which states that he is liable means a case where he slaughters it with the knowledge of his co-partner (in which case he is considered the agent of the other partner, and the act is that of both partners), and the Boraitha which states that he is free means a case where he slaughters it without the knowledge of his co-partner (in which case it is considered that he slaughters the part stolen by his co-partner, which he did without permission, and it was said above that if one slaughters the animal stolen by another one is free from four and five fold; for his own half, however, he cannot be liable, for it is not considered the slaughtering of the whole).

The Rabbis taught: "If he steals it and gives it to another party who slaughters, sells, or consecrates it; or he steals and sells it to another party on credit, or exchanged it, or makes a present of it, or gives it to his creditor in payment of a loan made to him, or he gives it to his creditor in payment for merchandise sold to him on credit, or makes it a bridal-gift--in all those cases he pays four and five fold." What new thing does this mean to teach us? The first part, which states the case where he gives it to another who slaughters it, means to teach us that in this particular case he is liable for the act of his agent, although in other cases one who appoints a messenger to commit a transgression is not liable for the act of the messenger.

MISHNA 6.: (The liability to the fine of four and five fold applies only where the thief slaughters it after he acquired title to it, or he slaughters it outside of the owner's premises, namely:) If he steals it within the premises of the owner and slaughters or sells it outside of it, or he steals it outside of the owner's premises and slaughters or sells it within the premises, or the stealing, slaughtering, and sale are outside of the owner's premises, he pays four and five fold. If, however, the stealing, slaughtering, and sale are within the owner's premises, he is free.

If while the thief is leading the animal out it dies, still within the premises of the owner, he is free. If he lifts it up or

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leads it out of the premises, and it dies, he is liable. If he redeems his first-born son with it, or he gives it to his creditor, or to a gratuitous bailee or to a borrower to do work with it, or to a bailee for hire, or to a hirer, and the other person is drawing it forth and it dies while still on the premises of the owner, he is free. If, however, he lifts it up or he leads it out of the premises and it dies, he is liable.

GEMARA. Ameimar questioned: Was it enacted that a bailee should not be liable unless he should first draw (see above) the bailment, or not? Said R. Imar to him: Come and hear the statement of our Mishna: "If he redeems his first-born son with it, or he gives it to his creditor, etc., he is free." Does this not mean that the bailee drew it? Infer from this that there is such an enactment. We have so also learned in the following Boraitha: "R. Elazar said: As it was enacted that a buyer has to acquire title by drawing the article he buys, so also was it enacted that the bailee should draw the bailment when he takes it under his control." So also we have learned in a Boraitha with the addition: "And as title to real property can be acquired by money, conveyance, and occupancy (hazaka), so also title to rents can be acquired by those three." What kind of rents? Shall we assume rent of personal property--can, then, personal property be rented by a conveyance? Must it not be drawn? Said R. Hisda: Rent of real property is meant.

R. Elazar said: If it was noticed that the thief was hiding himself in the forest (for the purpose of stealing an animal) and he slaughters or sells it therein, he pays four and five fold. Why so--he had not drawn it? Said R. Hisda: The case was that he drove it on with a stick. But if he did it so openly that it could be noticed, then he is a robber (and not a thief, and according to the Scripture he is free from the payment of four and five fold)? Nay, because he tried to hide himself, he is considered a thief. Under what circumstances, then, can he be considered a robber? Said R. Abbahu: As, for instance, Benayahu the son of Yehoyada, of whom it is written [2 Samuel, 33:21]: "And he snatched the spear out of the Egyptian's hand and slew him with his own spear." R. Johanan says: As, for instance, the men of Shechem, of whom it is written [Judges, 9:25]: "And the men of Shechem set persons to lie in wait for him on the top of the mountains, and they robbed all that passed by them on that way."

The disciples questioned R. Johanan b. Zakkai: Why did the Scripture treat more rigorously with the thief than with the robber? He answered them: Because the robber put the honour of his Creator at least on the same level with that of His servant, while the thief did not do so, but, on the contrary, considered the eye and car of Heaven as if it would not see and hear; as it is written [Is. 29:15]: "Woe unto those that seek to hide deeply their counsel from the Lord, so that their works may be in the dark, and they say, Who seeth us?" etc.; and it is also written [Ps. 44:7]: "And they say, The Lord will not see, and the God of Jacob will not take notice of it"; and it is also written [Ezek. 9:9]: "For they have said, The Lord hath forsaken the land and the Lord seeth not."

R. Meir said: The following parable was related in the name of R. Gamaliel: To what is the above equal? To two persons who lived in one and the same town. One made a feast and invited all the inhabitants of the town, but not the princes; the other one made a feast and invited neither the inhabitants nor the princes. Whose punishment ought to be severer? Surely that of the first one.

The same said again: Ponder over the greatness of labour: In case of stealing an ox which he prevented from labouring, the thief pays five; in case of a sheep which does not perform any work, he pays only four. R. Johanan b. Zakkai said: Ponder over the greatness of the honour of creatures. For an ox who walks with his feet, he pays five; but for a sheep, for which he had to humiliate himself by carrying it on his shoulders, he pays only four.

MISHNA 7.: No tender cattle must be raised in Palestine, but they may be raised in Syria and in the deserts of Palestine. No cocks or hens must be raised in Jerusalem (even by laymen), because of the voluntary offerings (the meat of which may be eaten in any part of the city, and as the habit of the named fowls is to peck with their beaks in the rubbish, they may peck into a dead reptile and then peck in the meat of the offerings). In all other parts of Palestine priests only must not raise them, as they use leave-offerings for their meals, and they must be very careful about cleanliness. Swine must not be raised by Jews at any place. One shall keep no dog unless on a chain, and no noose is to be laid out for trapping pigeons unless fifty riss distant from inhabited places.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: "No tender cattle must be raised in Palestine but in its forests; in Syria, however, even in the inhabited places, and, of course, in all other places." Another Boraitha states: No tender cattle must be raised in Palestine but in the deserts of Judea, and in those of the village of Achu; and although no tender cattle must be raised, still large cattle may, for no restrictions are made for the community unless most of the people can observe them. Tender cattle may, but large cattle may not be imported from other countries. And although they must not be raised, still they may be kept during the thirty days immediately preceding a feast day, or the celebration of the wedding of one's children. But this shall not be construed to mean that they may be kept for thirty days, and that if some cattle were bought less than thirty days before the feast day that one may continue keeping them after the feast day until the expiration of the thirty days, but that as soon as the feast day is over he must not keep them any longer. The butcher, however, may buy and slaughter them at once, or keep them (until the market day), provided that the cattle he bought last shall not be kept after the market-day to complete the thirty days.

The disciples once questioned R. Gamaliel, whether it was permitted to raise tender cattle, and he answered: "Yea." But have we not learned in our Mishna that it is not? It must be said, therefore, that they questioned him whether it was permitted to keep them, and he answered them: "Yea, provided they are kept locked in the house, so that they shall not go out and pasture with the flock."

The rabbis taught: It happened that a pious person was suffering from a severe cough, and the physicians declared that he could not be cured unless by drinking every morning fresh-drawn milk which was still warm. He obtained a goat, which he tied to the leg of his bed, and drew her milk every morning. Once his colleagues came to visit him, and on seeing the goat tied to the leg of the bed they turned back, saying: There are armed robbers in the house of this man (for the habit of a goat is to stray upon other's fields), and shall we visit him? They sat down and examined into his conduct, and found no other transgression in him except that one. The pious one himself before he died said: I know that there can be no other transgression found in me except the one of the goat, that I disregarded the prohibition of my colleagues.

R. Ishmael said: My father's family was of the citizens of upper Galilea, and why was that locality destroyed? Because they pastured their young cattle in the forests and tried civil cases by one judge; and although their forests were near their houses (in the immediate neighbourhood, and they were pasturing their cattle in their own forests), still, a small-sized field was between those forests (which belonged to strangers), and they used to pass their cattle over that field.

The rabbis taught: "A shepherd (who raises tender cattle) that repented, we do not compel him to sell out all his cattle at once, but he may do so by degrees. So also is the case with a proselyte who inherited dogs and swine; we do not compel him to sell out all at once. So, also, one who made a vow to buy a house or marry a woman in Palestine; we do not compel him to do so until he finds one fit for him. It happened once with a woman whom her son used to annoy, that she swore that she would marry the first one who would propose to her, and unsuitable persons came forward with propositions. When this came before the sages, they declared that her intention was only for a suitable person.

As it was said that no tender cattle must be raised (in Palestine), so also was it said that no tender beasts should be raised. R. Ishmael, however, said that hunters' dogs, cats, monkeys, and weasels might be raised, for they are kept for the purpose of keeping the house clean. R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: We follow in Babylon the practice prevailing in Palestine regarding tender cattle. Said R. Ada b. Ahba to R. Huna: But do not you raise tender cattle? He answered: Mine are taken care of by Haubah my wife. According to others, R. Huna said: We follow in Babylon the practice prevailing in Palestine regarding tender cattle since Rabh settled in Babylon (whom many followed from Palestine and who bought or rented all the land in Babylon). Rabh, Samuel, and R. Assi happened to meet at a circumcision feast, and according to others at a redemption feast. Rabh declined to enter the house before Samuel, and Samuel declined to enter before R. Assi, and the latter in his turn refused to enter before Rabh. It was then decided that Samuel should wait until Rabh and R. Assi had entered. (But why did Rabh refuse to enter before Samuel, he was surely greater than Samuel?) Rabh simply paid this courtesy to Samuel on account of his cursing him (see Sabbath.). While they were so discussing a cat came and bit off the arm of the child, after which Rabh lectured that it is permitted to kill a cat and prohibited to keep it and that there can be no robbery in respect to it, and that if a cat gets lost no one need return it to its owner. If it is permitted to kill it, is it not self evident that it is prohibited to keep it? Lest one say that there is no prohibition to kill it but it may also be kept, hence the statement. Again, if it says that there can be no robbery in respect to it, why, then, the statement that it need not be returned to its owner if lost? Said Rabhina: It means even as far as its skin is concerned. An objection was raised from our Mishna: "R. Simeon b. Elazar said: Dogs, cats, etc."? This presents no difficulty. A black one may, but a white one may not. But in the case of Rabh, was it not a black one? It was a black descending from a white one.

R. A'ha b. Papa said in the name of R. Hanina b. Papa 1 the following three things: (a) In case of a plague of the itch a fast day with the blowing of the horn may be ordered on the Sabbath; (b) if the door of success is closed to one, it will not open soon; and (c) if one buy a house in Palestine, the deed may be written and executed even on Sabbath. What does the statement, "if the door of success," etc., mean? Said Mar Zutra: The granting of a diploma for a rabbi 2. R. Ashi said: It means that when one falls into misfortune he cannot soon recover. "If one buy, etc., the deed, etc., on Sabbath." Does it really mean that the Sabbath may be violated in such a case? Nay, it means as Rabha said, that a Gentile may be told to do it, although in ordinary cases the rabbis prohibited it on account of Sabbath-rest; still, in this particular case they did not. R. Samuel b. Na'hmani said in the name of R. Jonathan: One who buys a town in Palestine is compelled also to buy a tract of land around it to make it accessible from all four sides, in order to promote settlement in Palestine.

The rabbis taught: "Upon the following ten conditions did Joshua divide the land to the settlers: (a) That one may pasture his cattle in the forest of another; (b) he may gather wood upon another's field; (c) grass may be gathered on another's field at any place, except that of the carob-bean; (d) a branch may be cut off a tree at any place, except of an olive tree; (e) the townspeople may use the water of springs even newly opened by strangers; (f) nets may be spread in the Tiberian waters by every one for fishing purposes, provided he does not stake them so as to interfere with navigation; (g) one may evacuate behind a fence even of a field of saffron; (h) one may walk the cross way (opened on a field) until the second quarter of the season; (i) one may walk the side road when the main road is cloddy; (j) one who lost his way in a vineyard might raise and lower the tree branches in trying to find it; and, lastly, (k) a stranger who dies in a field should be interred in the place where he dies (see Erubin.)." Are there only ten, are there not eleven enumerated? The condition that one may walk the cross-walks was not made by Joshua but by Solomon, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: When all the fruit is gathered in from the field and the owner still permits no one to enter his field, do not people murmur and say: What benefit does that man derive from it and what injury would the people cause him by crossing his field? Of him the verse says: When you can afford to be good, do not cause people to call you bad. Is there, then, such a verse to be found in Scripture? There is a verse similar to it, viz. [Proverbs, 3:27]: "Withhold not a benefit from him who is deserving it, when it is in the power of thy hand to do it."

But are there no more than those enumerated? Is there not another one, of which R. Jehudah speaks in the following Boraitha: "R. Jehudah says: During the manuring season, etc., for on this condition did Joshua, etc." Again, there are those enumerated in the following Boraitha: R. Ishmael the son of R. Johanan b. Broka says: The court declared the following conditions to have been made by Joshua when he distributed the land among Israel: (a) That one may enter his neighbour's orchard to cut off a tree branch and use it in saving his bee-hive, paying the owner of the orchard the value thereof; (b) one shall empty his vessel containing wine and save therewith his neighbour's honey (if one carrying wine and one carrying honey met together and the vessel containing the honey broke), and receive from him the value of the wine; (c) one shall unload his wood and load on his neighbour's hemp (under circumstances similar to those stated above), and get from him the value of his wood? The Boraitha enumerated only those which were declared to have been so unanimously, but not those that were stated by individuals without being supported by their colleagues.

But did not R. Abin upon his return (from Palestine) say in the name of R. Johanan that one more condition was made by Joshua, namely, that whether it be a tree branching over into a neighbouring field or one standing near the boundary, he may bring the first-fruit to Jerusalem and read the scriptural passages [Deut. 26:51; and if the above-enumerated ten conditions were a Boraitha, R. Johanan, who was (not a Tana but only) an Amora, would not contradict it? Therefore it must be said that the phrase, "The rabbis taught. Ten conditions," mentioned above does not mean that it was a Boraitha (as it usually indicates), but that it was taught by R. Jehoshua b. Levi (who was also an Amora, and R. Johanan may differ with him). R. Gebiah of the city of Khthil taught so plainly: R. Tanhum and R. Brice said in the name of the certain elder who was R. Jehoshua b. Levi, that ten conditions did Joshua make with the settlers.

Ten enactments were enacted by Ezra, viz.: (a) That portions of the Scripture should be read at the Saturday afternoon prayer; (b) on Mondays and Thursdays; (c) the court should be open on Mondays and Thursdays; (d) clothes should be washed on Thursdays (for the honour of the Sabbath); (e) garlic should be eaten on the eve of Sabbath; (f) a woman should do her baking early in the morning (so as to have fresh bread for the poor who should ask for it); (g) a woman should wear underwear; (h) a woman should comb her hair before immersing (in the legal bath); (i) vendors should travel from town to town and peddle their wares unmolested. He also enacted immersion (in a legal bath) for those who see Keri (wet-dreams). Ten things were said of the city of Jerusalem (when it was the capital of Palestine): (a) Real property should always be redeemed by the seller; (b) if a slain person is found in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, the ceremony of the heifer [Deut. xxi.] should not be performed;

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(c) it should never be declared a condemned town [Deut. 13:14]; (d) the laws of plagues [Levi. xiv. 35] should not apply to the houses of Jerusalem; (e) no beams should be permitted to protrude, nor any corner boards (Erubin, p. 40); (f) no dumping places for rubbish should be permitted therein; (g) no potter's kiln should be permitted to be constructed therein; (h) no gardens or orchards should be permitted there except those of roses, that existed since the time of the first prophets; (i) no hens or cocks should be raised; and (j) no dead body should remain over-night in the city (but should be carried out of the city).

"No swine is permitted to be raised at any place." The rabbis taught: "During the civil war of the Maccabees, Hurkanoth was within and Aristobulos was without the city wall, and every day those within lowered by means of a chair a basket full of dinars from the top of the wall to those outside, and the latter sent them up cattle for the daily sacrifices. Among the outsiders was an old man who was learned in Greek science, and he said to them: So long as your enemies continue to perform the holy service you will not subdue them. On the next day, when the basket of dinars was lowered, they sent them up a swine. When the swine reached the centre of the wall he fastened his feet in the wall, and Palestine trembled for a distance of four hundred square parsa. At that time it was declared that cursed be he who raised swine and cursed be he who taught his sons Greek science. Of that time it was taught (Tract Mena'hoth.) that the omer was brought from the gardens of Zriphin and the two loaves from the valley of Ein Sokher."

But is, then, the study of Greek science prohibited--have we not learned in the following Boraitha: "Rabbi said: In Palestine there is no use for the Syriac language, which is not clear, when there are the Holy language (pure Hebrew) and the Greek language, both of which are very clear; and R. Jose said: In Babylon there is no use for the Aramean language, for there are the Holy language and the Persian language"? It maybe said: Greek language is one thing and Greek science is another. But is, then, the study of Greek science prohibited--has not R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel: So said R. Simeon b. Gamaliel: It is written [Lam. 3:51]: "My eye affected my soul because of all the daughters of my city. There were a thousand young men in my father's house, five hundred of whom studied Scripture and five hundred Greek science, and of all of them only two remained--I here and my nephew in Assia"? R. Gamaliel's house was an exception, for its proximity to the government, as is stated in a Boraitha: "He who cuts his hair χομη imitates the ways of the Amorites, which are prohibited [Lev. 18:3]. Abtulmus bar Reuben, however, was permitted to do so, for he had stood near the government. The house of R. Gamaliel was permitted to study Greek science for the same reason."

"No dog shall be kept," etc. The rabbis taught: No one shall raise a dog unless he is kept on a chain, or unless in a town adjoining the frontier, in which he is permitted to keep him without a chain only in the night-time. There is a Boraitha: R. Eliezer the great said: The raising of dogs is equivalent to the raising of swine. For what purpose is this equivalence? That the curse said of him who raises swine should apply also to him.

R. Joseph b. Maniumi said in the name of R. Na'hman: Babylon [Nahardea] is considered a city located at the frontier.

R. Dosthai of Biri lectured: It is written [Numb. x. 36]: "And when it rested, he said, Return, O Lord, among the myriads of the thousands of Israel." Infer from this that the Shekhina does not rest on Israel unless they number two myriads two thousand. If it should happen that this number should be one less and there should be a pregnant woman whose child when born would complete it, and a dog should bark and cause the woman to miscarry, it would appear that he caused the Shekhina to withdraw from Israel. It happened with a woman that entered a house to bake there, etc. (See Sabbath.).

"No nets are spread," etc. But do we go as far as that? Have we not learned in the following Mishna: "Dove-cots may be located at a distance of fifty ells from a town"? Said Abayi: They fly for a much longer distance, but as to pecking up food they do so only within fifty ells. But do they fly only thirty ris? 1 Have we not learned in the following Boraitha that nets should not be spread out in the neighbourhood of inhabited places, even at a distance of one hundred mil? R. Joseph said that "inhabited" means where vineyards are laid out, Rabba said that it means where dove-cots are kept. If so, let him say that it must not be done for the doves themselves, in order that they should not be caught in? If you wish, it can be answered that the doves are ownerless; and if you wish, it can be answered that he himself is the owner of the doves.

CHAPTER 8.

THE FIVE ITEMS OF PAYMENT IN CASE OF INJURY TO A HUMAN BEING, INDEPENDENTLY OF THE CRIMINAL LIABILITY. THE LIABILITY FOR ASSAULT WHEN NO INJURY IS SUSTAINED.

MISHNA 1.: One who wounds his neighbour is liable to pay the following five things, viz.: damage, pain, healing, loss of time, and disgrace. "Damage."--If he blinds one's eye, cuts off his hand, or breaks his leg, the injured person is considered as if he were a slave sold in the market, and he is appraised at his former and his present value. "Pain."--If he burns him with a spit or with a nail, if even only on the nail (of his hand or foot), where it produces no wound, it is appraised how much a man his equal would take to suffer such pain. "Healing."--If he caused him bodily injury, he must heal him; if pus collected by reason of the wound, he must cause him to be healed; if, however, not by reason of the wound, he is free. If the wound heals up and breaks out again, even several times, he must cause it to be healed; if, however, it once heals up thoroughly, he is no more obliged to heal it. "Loss of time."--The injured person is considered as if be were a watchman of a pumpkin field, as he was already paid the value of his hand or foot. The disgrace is appraised with consideration of the station and rank of the one who causes as well as of the one who suffers it.

GEMARA: Why so? Perhaps it is to be taken literally, for the Scripture reads [Ex. xxi. 24]: "Eye for eye"? This cannot enter the mind, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: Lest one say, if he blinds one's eye or cuts off one's hand, that the same should be done unto him, therefore it is written [Lev. 24:21]: "And he that killeth a beast shall make restitution for it; and he that killeth a man," etc. As in case of a beast only the value is paid, so also in case of a man. And lest one say, Does not the Scripture read [Numb. 35:31]: "Moreover, ye shall take no redemption for the person of a murderer, who is guilty of death"? you may say that from this, very verse it may be inferred that no redemption money is to be taken for a murderer, but redemption money is to be taken for one who destroys such members of the body as cannot grow on again.

We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Simeon b. Johi said: "Eye for eye" means its value. You say, its value. Perhaps it means literally? Nay, for what should be done when a blind man blinds another, etc.--how should be fulfilled the commandment "eye for eye"? And lest one say that such a case is an exception, therefore the Scripture reads [Lev. 24:22]: "One manner of judicial law shall ye have"; from which is to be inferred that it means a law which can be applied alike to all human cases.

In the school of R. Ishmael it was taught: The Scripture reads [ibid., ibid. 20]: "So should it be given 1 unto him"; and by "given" is meant a thing which is given from hand to hand. If so, how are the preceding words in the same verse to be explained? "In the manner he should give a bodily defect," etc. (hence the word "give" is used also for such a thing as is not given from hand to hand)? It may be explained thus: The school of R. Ishmael deduce it from a superfluous verse, thus: Let us see. It reads already in the preceding verse [ibid. 19]: "And if a man cause a bodily defect in his neighbour; as he hath done, so shall it be done unto him." Why, then, the repetition in verse 20? To indicate that it means money. But still the above-stated objection as to the use of the word "give" in the beginning of the verse remains? Because at the end of the verse the Scripture desired to use a term from which it should be deduced that it means money. It used the same expression also here.

The school of R. Hyya deduce it from the following: The Scripture reads [Deut. 19:21]: "Hand for hand" 2--that means something that can be passed from hand to hand, i.e., money. It happened that an ass bit off a child's arm. When the case came before R. Papa b. Samuel he said: Go and appraise the sum to be paid for the four items. Said Rabha to him: But we have learned that five items are appraised? He answered: I mean in addition to the actual damage. Said Abayi: But this was an ass, and an ass pays actual damage only? He then said: Go and appraise his actual damage. But he must be appraised as if he were a slave? He answered: Go and appraise him as such. Said the child's father: I do not want to submit to such an indignity. He was told: This money belongs to the child (and you cannot deprive him of that). The father then answered: When he shall grow up, I will rather pay him of my own.

It happened that an ox lacerated the arm of a child, and the case came before Rabha. He said: Go and appraise the actual damage as if he were a slave. His disciple said to him: Are not you, master, the one who said that all appraisements which are made as of a slave are not to be collected in Babylon? He answered: The appraisement may be made, so that in case he should subsequently seize some property of the defendant he will not be compelled to return it. And Rabha in this decision follows his theory elsewhere: "Damages of an ox caused to him by another ox, or damages of an ox caused by a man, are to be collected in Babylon, but damages of a man caused to him by another man, or by an ox, are not to be collected in Babylon." Why arc the latter damages not collected? Because it states [Ex. xxii. 8]: "Before the judges," etc., and in Babylon the majority of the judges are not ordained, is it not the same with damages caused by one ox to another, etc.--for they are all mentioned together in the Scripture, where the word "Eloim" is written, which means ordained judges? Rabha speaks of a case when it was caused by the tooth or foot, which are considered vicious from the beginning, and such damage is at any rate to be collected in Babylon.

"Pain--if he burned him," etc. Who is the Tana who holds that pain without damage must be paid for? Said Rabha: It is Ben Azai of the following Boraitha: Rabbi said: "Burning" is mentioned in the Scripture first. Ben Azai said: "Bruise" is mentioned first. (How is it possible that they should differ as to which is written first and which last, when the verse [Ex. xxi. 25] reads plainly "burning" first and "bruise" last?) The point on which they differ is whether "burning" without producing a bruise is considered pain which is to be paid for: Rabbi says that the word "burning" could be explained to mean without a bruise, and the word "bruise" mentioned last is only to explain that burning without a bruise is not to be considered. Ben Azai, however, maintains that "burning" means with a bruise; and because "bruise" is repeated again, it may be inferred that when it happened that the burning was without a bruise it is also considered pain which must be paid for. R. Papa opposed: On the contrary, common sense would dictate that Rabha's statement, "Burning is mentioned first," means to say that because usually burning is accompanied with a bruise it is also considered pain and must be paid for; and Ben Azai's statement that bruise is mentioned first means to say that "bruise" is the main point, as burning without a bruise is not considered at all. It may also be explained that both agree that the word "burning" means with or without a bruise, and the point of their difference is: Given a general and a particular which do not follow one after the other (e.g., in the verse in question, where the words "wound for wound" intervene between them), Rabbi holds to the rule "that a general includes nothing but what is stated in the particular" does not apply to such a case, while Ben Azai holds that it does. And lest one say: If "burning" includes also a bruise, why, then, the repetition? Say that the word "bruise" means to increase the payment.

"It is appraised how much one would," etc. When the damage is paid for, how should the pain be appraised separately? Said the father of Samuel: It should be appraised how much one would pay to have his arm, which by the decree of the government must be amputated, severed by a drug 1 instead of a sword. If so, it ought to state "give" instead of "take"? Said R. Huna b. R. Juhoshua: It means that the plaintiff shall take from the defendant what such a man would give.

"'Healing.'--If he caused him bodily injury," etc. The rabbis taught: If pus collected by reason of the wound and the wound broke out again, he must heal him; and he must also pay for the loss of his time until he shall be healed again. If, however, not by reason of the wound, he is free from both. R. Jehudah said: Even if it was by reason of the wound, he must cure him only, but not pay again for the loss of time.

The sages, however, say that the healing and the loss of time go together: When he must pay for one, he must also pay for the other, but not for one without the other. What is the point of their difference? Said Rabba: I found the disciples of the college sitting and declaring that the rabbis and R. Jehudah differed as to whether a wound might be bandaged or not (i. e., whether the injured person is permitted to increase the expense of healing by bandaging up his wound and thereby causing high temperature, which produces pus). The rabbis hold that it may be bandaged at the expense of the defendant as regards both healing and loss of time. R. Jehudah, however, holds that it may not be done. But if he does so, for healing, which is plainly written in the Scripture (thoroughly healed), he must pay; but for loss of time, for which there is no additional word in the Scripture, he must not pay. Said I to them: If we should come to the conclusion that a wound may not be bandaged, even healing would not have to be paid for. We must therefore say that all agree that a wound may be bandaged; but they differ, if bandaged too much (and this caused high temperature and produced pus), as to who must suffer the increased expense. R. Jehudah holds: That as one must not bandage a wound more than necessary, he is only obliged to pay for healing, because the Scripture insists on it by the repetition of the word "healing"; but regarding the loss of time, about which there is no repetition in the Scripture, he has not to pay for it. The first Tana, however (of the above-mentioned Boraitha), holds that because he must pay for the increased healing, for the reason stated above, he must also pay for the increase in loss of time, which is equal to healing in all respects.

(Let us see:) According to the rabbis, who hold that he who is liable for loss of time is also liable for the expense of feeling, and he who is not liable for loss of time is not liable for the expense of healing, wherefore the repetition of the word "healing" in the verse? 1 It is needed for what the following Boraitha states: "R. Ishmael said: It is written [Ex. xxi. 19]: Thoroughly healed," from which is to be inferred that a physician is permitted to heal (although the affliction came from Providence).

The rabbis taught: Whence do we know that if pus collected by reason of the wound and the wound broke out again he must heal him, and also pay for the loss of time? From [ibid., ibid.]: "Only he shall pay for his loss of time, and shall cause

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him to be thoroughly healed." Lest one say that it is so also if the pus collected not by reason of the wound, therefore it reads only. R. Jose b. Jehudah said: The above word "only" excludes the case when it collected even by reason of the wound.

The Master said: "Lest one say," etc. If not by reason of the wound, why was there a verse needed? The expression in the Boraitha "not by reason," etc., may be explained as stated in the following Boraitha: If he disobeyed the prescription of the physician and ate honey or other saccharine substances, which are injurious to a wound, and a cancer formed, shall he also be liable to heal him? Therefore it is written only.

If the defendant should say, "I will cure you myself," the plaintiff may object, saying: "I fear you as a lion lying in wait." And if the defendant should say, "I will get you my relative, a physician, who will cure you for nothing," he may say: "A physician who cures for nothing is worth nothing." And if he should offer to get a physician who lives at a distance from the plaintiff, the latter may object, saying: "One may get blind before seeing him." And also, conversely, if the plaintiff should demand money to heal himself, the defendant may answer: "You may not comply with the directions of the physician, and thus defer the time of the healing." And if the plaintiff should demand from the defendant to agree upon a fixed sum, the defendant may also object, saying: "You may take the money and not cure yourself, and people will call me 'a vicious ox.'"

It was taught above: "And all those are paid where actual damage is paid." Whence do we deduce this? Said R. Zbid in the name of Rabha: The Scripture reads [Ex. xxi. 25]: "Wound for wound," which means that pain is to be paid for where actual damage is paid. But is this verse not necessary to make an unintentional act equal to an intentional one, and an accidental one equal to a voluntary act? If so, let the Scripture read "wound by wound"--why "wound instead of a wound"? (See supra.) To infer both. R. Papa, however, said in the name of the same: There is a repetition as to healing [ibid., 19], to add healing where actual damage is paid. But can there be a case where one should be liable for all the four things where no actual damage was done? Yea, Pain--as is stated in the Mishna: "If he burned him with a spit or a nail," etc. Healing--as, for instance, when he had a slight wound and it was healing up, and from the medicines applied the skin turned white, and other medicines had to be applied to restore the natural colour. Loss of time--when he must be confined to the house. Disgrace--when he spat in his face.

"Loss of time," etc. The rabbis taught: "Loss of time. He is considered as if he were a watchman of a pumpkin field; and lest one say that no justice is done in such a case, for should he be cured he could still do some kind of manual work, or serve as a messenger and get better compensation? There is no injustice, because he has already received the value of his limb."

Rabba said: If one cut off another's hand he pays him the value thereof; and as regards loss of time, it is appraised as if he were a watchman of a pumpkin field. If one breaks another's leg, he pays the value thereof; and as regards loss of time, it is appraised as if he were a doorkeeper. If one blinds another's eye, he pays him the value thereof, and the loss of time is appraised as if he were a miller. If, however, he makes him deaf, he pays the value of his whole body, for he is not fit for any work.

Rabba questioned: In case one cut off another's hand, broke his foot, blinded his eye, at intervals, and each injury was not appraised separately when it occurred, and finally he made him deaf, how shall the appraisement be made? Shall we assume that the appraisement for the deafness will be sufficient, as he has to pay him for the whole body, or each of the injuries must be appraised separately, and the difference would be that he would receive compensation for the pain and the disgrace of each injury separately? I do not question as regards actual damage, healing, and loss of time, for each of which he has not to receive separately, as he receives now compensation for the whole body as if killed, but for the pain and disgrace suffered with each injury? Another question: How is it if each injury was appraised, but the money was not yet collected? Shall we assume that because it was appraised separately each must be paid; or, because he has not yet paid and now he has to pay for the whole body that all the previous appraisements are included therein? Both questions remain undecided.

Rabba questioned: If one strikes another and makes him temporarily unfit to labour, as, for instance, when he strikes him on the hand and it gets swollen, which will pass over, shall we assume that because he will recover he need pay him nothing, or perhaps for the time during which he is incapable to work he must pay? Come and hear: "One who strikes his father or mother, but makes no bruise, and one who wounds his neighbour on the Day of Atonement, is liable to all the five things." Does the first part of this Boraitha not mean a case like the one questioned by you; i.e., that he struck them on the hand, which will soon pass over, and still it states that he must pay all? Nay, it may be explained that he caused him deafness, but makes no bruise. But did not Rabba say that one who causes deafness to his parents is to suffer the death penalty, for deafness is impossible without a bruise, which is a drop of blood that falls into the car? Therefore the Boraitha must be explained that he shaved off his hair. His hair? It will surely grow on again, and this is Rabh's question (as there is no difference whether the hand will recover or the hair will grow on again?) It can be explained that the Boraitha meant that he applied a depilatory which prevents the hair from growing on again. Pain--because the depilatory entered the grooves (of his head) and caused him pain. Healing--because the pain must be allayed by medicine. Loss of time--as for instance when he was a professional buffoon who shows different grimaces and gesticulations, and he is prevented from doing so on account of that. Disgrace--there can be no greater disgrace than to be without hair.

And this matter, in which Rabba was doubtful, was certain to Abayi in one way and to Rabha in the opposite way, as it was taught: If he strikes him on his hand, which gets swollen, Abayi says he must pay both the value of his hand in his trade during the time of his sickness and also the loss of time in such labour as he could do without the hand. Rabha, however, says he is paid only what he loses every day by not working. It was taught: One who cuts off the arm of his neighbour's Hebrew servant; Abayi says he pays the value of the arm to the servant and for the loss of time to his master. Rabha, however, says: The whole must be paid to the servant, who should buy therewith land, the usufruct of which should belong to the master. It is certain that where the injury is wholly to the slave, e.g., where he split his car or his nostrils (which does not prevent him from work), that all that he gets belongs to him; but where the injury is of such nature that he cannot do any work, the difference between Abayi and Rabha concerning the loss of time remains.

"Disgrace," etc. Our Mishna is in accordance with R. Simeon of the following Boraitha only: "All those who sustain injury are looked upon as if they were independent men that became poor, as all Israelites are the children of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Such is the dictum of R. Meir. R. Jehudah says: It is according to his rank and station. R. Simeon, however, says: The rich ones are looked upon as if they were independent men who became poor; the poor ones, as if they were the very poorest class." Hence our Mishna, which states that it is according to the station of the party, is not in accordance with R. Meir, who makes no difference, nor according to R. Jehudah, who says further on that a blind person gets nothing for being disgraced, but according to R. Simeon only (who considers rank and station).

According to whom is the following Boraitha: "The rabbis taught: If he intended to disgrace a small one and disgraced a big one, he pays the big one the amount he would have to pay the small one. If he intended to disgrace a slave and he disgraced a freeman, he pays to the freeman the amount he would have to pay to the slave"? It seems to be in accordance with neither of the Tanaim mentioned above. [At the first glance, the Boraitha is to be explained that "small one" means one who is poor in estate, and "big one" means one who is rich in estate, and therefore it is not in accordance with R. Meir, to whom all are equal, nor according to R. Jehudah's theory, who holds no disgrace is paid for to slaves, and, finally, not according to R. Simeon, who holds that no disgrace is paid for unless it was caused to him who was intended. Why so? Because R. Simeon equals it to murder, of which it is written [Deut. xix. ii]: "And he lie in wait for him," etc.; and we find also, as regards disgrace [ibid. xxv. 11]: "And putteth forth her hand" (which means intentionally), hence in both intention is required.] It may be explained even in accordance with R. Meir, and the terms "small" and "big" should be taken literally: a grown person and a minor. But is, then, a minor paid for disgrace? Yea, as R. Papa said elsewhere, if the minor is of such understanding that he feels ashamed when one says to him, "Be ashamed of yourself," disgrace is paid for to him.

MISHNA 2.: One who causes disgrace to a nude, blind, or sleeping person is liable; if, however, one causes disgrace when asleep, he is free. If one falls down from a roof and causes damage and disgrace, he is liable for the damage but not for the disgrace, as the latter requires intention.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: "If he disgrace a nude person, he is liable; but still, the disgrace caused to a nude person is not equal to that caused to a dressed one. If he disgrace him in a bath-house, he is liable; but still, such disgrace is not equal to that caused to one in the market." The Master said: "If he causes disgrace to a nude person," etc. If he walks nude in the street--is, then, such a person capable of being ashamed? Said R. Papa: As for instance when a wind rolled up his clothes somewhat, and the defendant rolled them up more and thereby caused him shame. "In a bath-house." Is, then, a bath-house a place for claiming for disgrace? Said R. Papa: It means that he caused him shame while on the banks of a river.

R. Aba b. Mamel questioned: If one causes shame to a sleeping person who subsequently dies while asleep, what is the law (as to the payment for shame)? On what point is the question? Said R. Zbid: It is thus: Is shame paid for, for hurting one's feelings, and here, when he dies while sleeping, his feelings are not hurt, or it is only a fine for the indignity of one in the presence of others, and here was such indignity? Come and hear: "R. Meir says: A deaf-mute, and a minor, disgrace is paid for to them, but not to an insane person." Now, then, if it is a fine for the indignity, it is correct that a minor be also paid, but if for hurting the feelings, has a minor, then, feelings of shame? But even if it is for indignity, why should an insane person not be paid for? Insane? is there any greater shame than this?

R. Papa says: The point of the question is thus: Is the reason because of the hurting of his own feelings--here, when he dies when sleeping, there was none--or because of the feelings of the family? Come and hear, etc. (the Boraitha just quoted). Now, then, if for the sake of the family it is correct that it states also a minor, and if for his own, is, then, a minor capable of feeling shame? But even if it is because of his family, it is not correct that an insane person shall not be paid for? There is no greater shame for a family than the insanity of one of its members. Be this as it may, let it be inferred that the reason is because of his family; for if because of his own feelings, the minor stands in the way? Said R. Papa: A minor is sometimes paid for shame if he is of such understanding that he feels ashamed when one says to him: "Be ashamed of yourself!" We have also so learned plainly in a Boraitha: "Rabbi says: A deaf-mute has, an insane person has not, but a minor sometimes has and sometimes has not, feelings of shame, as explained above."

"One who disgraces a blind one," etc. Our Mishna is not in accordance with R. Jehudah of the following Boraitha, who says: "A blind person has no feelings of shame; so also he used to free him from banishment, stripes, and death punishment by the court." What is the reason of R. Jehudah's theory? He deduces it from the analogy of expression "the eye," which is used in speaking of disgracing a person and also in speaking of collusive witnesses: as in the case of collusive witnesses blind persons are excluded (for if they cannot see they cannot testify). And regarding banishment, as it is stated in the following Boraitha: It is written [Numb. 35:23]: "Without seeing him" (which is to be explained that here he has not seen, but he is capable of seeing), which excludes a blind person (who can never see). Such is the dictum of R. Jehudah. R. Meir says: (On the contrary,) it includes a blind person. What is the reason of R. Jehudah? It is written [Deut. 19:5]: "And he that goeth into the forest with his neighbour to hew wood." Should we assume that this includes even a blind one? Therefore the Scripture says, "without seeing him," to exclude him. And R .Meir? (He may explain it thus:) The Scripture reads "without seeing him," to exclude something, and it is written [ibid., ibid. 4], "without knowledge," which also means to exclude something; and there is a rule that where there is one exclusion after another it means to include. Hence it includes the blind. R. Jehudah, however, maintains that "without knowledge" means to exclude the one who does it intentionally (who is guilty of a crime). "From death by the court." It is deduced by analogy of the expression "murderer" used here and in case of banishment. (In case of one killing a person the expression "murderer" is used [Numb. 35:31], and so also in case of banishment.) "From stripes." It is deduced by the analogy of the expression "Rosha" [ibid. xxv.] (the wicked, the guilty one) used here, and in case of death by the court [Numb. xxxv. 31].

We have learned in another Boraitha: "R. Jehudah says: A blind person has no sense of shame. He also relieved him from the performance of all the commandments contained in the Scripture." Said R. Shesheth b. R. Idi: What is the reason of his statement? It is written [Deut. vi. 1]: "And this is the commandment, with the statutes and the ordinances"--from which is to be inferred that only those who can be ordained as judges have the obligation of observing the commandments, but not those who cannot be ordained (and as a blind person cannot be ordained a judge, he is exempt).

R. Joseph said: First I used to say: If there should come one and tell me that the Halakha prevails according to R. Jehudah, who says that a blind person is exempt from the performance of commandments, I shall make a feast for the rabbis, because I, who am under no obligation to do so, still do perform them; but since I heard of what R. Hanina said, that there is more reward for him who performs a commandment which he has an obligation to than for him who performs it without such obligation, I changed my mind, and I say that I shall make a feast if one should come and tell me that the Halakha does not prevail according to R. Jehudah; for if I am required to perform the commandment, the reward will be greater.

MISHNA 3.: The law is more rigorous in regard to a man than in regard to an ox in this respect, that a man pays the five certain items, and also the value of the aborted children, while an ox pays only for actual damage and is free also from paying for the aborted children. One who assaults his father or mother, but does not bruise them, and one who wounds another on the Day of Atonement, is liable to pay all the above items. One who wounds a Hebrew servant is liable to pay all, but for loss of time when he is his own. One who wounds a heathen slave of another is liable to pay all. R. Jehudah says: There is no disgrace to slaves. A deaf-mute, an insane person, and a minor, one who meets with them is in a

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bad position, for the one who wounds them is liable, while if they do so to others they are free. The same is the case with a slave and a (married) woman, with the difference that they must pay when they become independent; namely, when the woman is divorced and the slave is liberated. If one, however, assaults his father or mother and bruises them, or, on the Sabbath, any person, he is free from payment of the above-enumerated items, for he is guilty of a capital punishment. One who wounds his own heathen slave is free from everything.

GEMARA: R. Elazar questioned Rabh: One who wounds the minor daughter of another, to whom is the compensation to be paid? Shall we assume that as the Scripture granted the income of a minor daughter to her father, the same is the case with the compensation for a wound inflicted upon her, for her value is diminished thereby; or perhaps the Scripture granted him only the income so far as she is under his control; for instance, if he wanted to marry her to one afflicted with scabies he could do so, but as to wounding, if he himself wanted to wound her he must not do so; hence it is an income which is not under his control, and therefore he does not acquire title to it? He answered: The Scripture granted him only the income first stated.

He objected to him from our Mishna: "But for the loss of time when he is his own?" (Hence we see that the loss of time is considered; and as the income from the labour of a minor daughter belongs to her father, he shall at least collect for the loss of time?) Said Abayi: Rabh concedes, as far as this is concerned, that her father gets it up to the age when she becomes vigorous. He objected again from the following: "One who wounds his grown son, he pays him at once; if he wounds his minor son, he makes an investment with the money he has to pay; if he wounds his minor daughter, he is free; and not only he, but even if others have done so to her, the father gets the payment?" He answered: This also has reference to loss of time only.

There is a contradiction to the above statement that in case of a grown son he pays him at once, from the following: One who wounds another's children--if they are grown persons, he pays them at once; if they are minors, he makes an investment with the money due; if his own children, he is free? This presents no difficulty: The one case treats of where he provides their board, and the other case treats of where he does not. Now, let us see: You interpret the first Boraitha that it treats of where he does not provide their board; then the last part of same: "If one wounds his minor daughter, he is free, and if others do so to her the payment belongs to him," also treats of where he does not provide her with board--why, then, should the payment belong to him? must she not pay for her board? As Rabha b. R. Ula explained elsewhere that it refers to that part which is in excess of what she needs for her board, so also is it to be explained here, that it relates to the excess. If so, then the second Boraitha treats of where the father does provide their board--why should they get the payment? does it not belong to the father? It maybe said that one is particular only about money of his own pocket, but about an income that comes from the outside one is not particular.

But is, then, a found article not an outside income, and still one is particular about it? An outside income which comes without any pain to the body, one is particular about; but an income which comes by reason of a wound, where she suffers bodily pain, is different. But does not the Boraitha state that if others wounded her they must pay to her father? It may be said that, as the Boraitha was interpreted that the children were not on his board, it is to show that the man is so penurious that he does not even provide board for his children, and such a man is certainly particular even about such an income; but in our case, where it is explained that they are on his board, it may be assumed that he is not particular about such an income.

What kind of investment (mentioned in the above Boraitha) should he make? R. Hisda said: He should buy with the money the Holy Scrolls. Rabba b. R. Huna said: (An article which brings benefit, e.g.) a date-tree, the benefit of the fruit of which should belong to the minor.

And Resh Lakish is also of the opinion that the Scripture granted to the father only the benefit derived from the labour of a minor daughter. R. Johanan, however, says: Even the money gotten for a scratch. A scratch? How can this enter the mind? Even R. Elazar questioned only in case of a wound, because her value was reduced; but in case of a scratch, which does not reduce her value, he did not question at all? Said R. Jose b. Hanina: The case is that the scratch was on the face, and in such a case it causes a reduction in her value.

"A heathen slave," etc. What is the reason of R. Jehudah's theory? Because it is written [Deut. 25:11]: "When men strive together, one with his brother," 1 which signifies one with whom there can be a fraternity, excluding a slave. The rabbis, however, maintain that the word "brother" can also mean a slave, as there is a fraternity with a slave, because he is obliged to perform many commandments which an Israelite is obliged to perform. Now then, according to R. Jehudah, who is particular about the word "brother" mentioned in the Scripture, let witnesses who were found collusive in their testimony against a slave (to convict him of a crime punishable by death) not be put to death, for it is written [ibid. xix. 19]: "Then shall ye do unto him as he had purposed to do unto his brother"? Said Rabba in the name of R. Shesheth: The verse reads [ibid., ibid.]: "And thou shalt put away the evil from the midst of thee," which means under any circumstances.

Now, according to the rabbis, who maintain that a slave is also considered a "brother," let a slave be qualified to become a king? According to such a theory the same question could be put as regards a proselyte (who according to all is named brother, and nevertheless he is not qualified)? But both are excluded by the following verse [ibid. 17:15]: "From the midst of thy brethren shalt thou set a king over thee," which signifies from the best qualified of your brethren. The question can, however, be put thus: Let, according to the rabbis, a slave be eligible as a witness, for it is written [ibid. 19:18]: "He had testified a falsehood against his brother"? Said Ula: Even as regards witnesses he must be excluded by the following a fortiori argument, thus: An Israelitish woman is not eligible as a witness--a slave, who is not an Israelite and cannot even intermarry with an Israelitish woman, is it not logical that he should not be eligible as a witness? And if you should say that a slave has the preference, for he is circumcised, which is not the case with a woman, the case of a minor can prove it, who is circumcised, and still he is ineligible as a witness; and if you should say that a minor has no obligation of performing commandments, while a slave has, the case of the woman can be cited who has such obligation and still she is ineligible as a witness, and the former argument will be reinstated; from which it is to be seen that in some respects one has preference and in others the other has preference. In one thing, however, they are all equal, in that they are not fit to perform all the commandments to which an Israelite is subject and they are eligible as witnesses; the same is the case with a slave, who is not fit to perform all the commandments and is also eligible as a witness.

"A deaf-mute," etc. The mother of R. Samuel b. Aba of Hagrunia married R. Aba, and she transferred her estates to her son R. Samuel. When she died, he went before R. Jeremiah b. Aba and he installed him in the possession of the estates. His stepfather went and told this to R. Hoshiya, who in his turn told it to R. Jehudah, and the latter said to him: So said Samuel: A woman who sells her estates to some one with a condition that her husband shall have the fruition of same during his lifetime, and thereafter she dies, her husband can recover the estates from the buyer (for he inherits from his wife, and because he had the usufruct of the estates he is considered as if he were the first buyer). When this was stated before R. Jeremiah, he said: I, however, know of a Mishna (Third Gate, Chap. 8.) which states: "One who transfers his estates to his son, after his decease . . . If the son sell them, the buyer has nothing in them until the father dies." We see, then, that if the father die the buyer acquires title in them, and even in case the son dies when the father is still alive, in which case they never came into the possession of the son. As R. Simeon b. Lakish said, there is no difference whether the son dies during the lifetime of the father or the father dies during the lifetime of the son, in both of which cases they never came into the possession of the son, the buyer nevertheless acquires title.

When the answer of R. Jeremiah was repeated before R. Jehudah, he said: So said Samuel: This is not equal to the case of our Mishna. Why so? Said Abayi: On account of the enactment of Usha, which is in accordance with Samuel's statement. (See Khethuboth.) Said R. Idi b. Abin: We have so also learned in the following Boraitha: If witnesses say: "We testify that that person divorced his wife and paid her the amount of her marriage contract," and it was found that she was still with him, and cohabited with him, and those witnesses were found collusive, they must not pay the full amount of the marriage contract (because she may die before her husband and nothing will be collected, but it must be appraised how much she would get in cash now if she should transfer her right in the marriage contract, so that if she should die before her husband the buyer would lose), but only the benefit of the same; and if she dies, her husband inherits also this from her. Now then, if the enactment of Usha should be of no effect, why should her husband inherit the amount of her marriage contract--let her be able to sell her right in the marriage contract and collect the full amount of it? Said Abayi: What comparison is this: If the enactment was made regarding a woman's estate which she sells reserving the benefit, should the same enactment apply to guaranteed estates?

Said Abayi: As we have come to speak about benefit, let us say something regarding it: The above-mentioned benefit belongs to the wife; for if it should belong to the husband, let the collusive witnesses say to her: What loss did you sustain--if you had sold them, the benefit would anyhow have belonged not to you, but to your husband? Said R. Shalman: It does not matter: This benefit, although it would go to the husband, would be a benefit for her, as it would be used to increase the luxury of the household.

Rabha said: The Halakha prevails that the benefit in case of a woman who sells her right in the marriage contract belongs to herself; and if she bought estates therewith, her husband has nothing even in their income. Why so? The rabbis enacted that he should have the direct income of his wife's estates belonging to her before marriage, but not the income of her estates which she acquired after her marriage in which her husband has no share (e.g., estates bought with the money paid her for disgrace caused to her, etc.). When R. Papa and R. Huna returned from Rabh's college, they questioned: On account of the enactment made in Usha, it was taught of a slave and a woman, one who meets with them is in a bad position, etc. Now, if the enactment of Usha should be of no effect, why should the compensation for her wound be paid to her husband, let it be paid to her and let her buy estates the usufruct of which shall belong to her husband? (What question is this?) Even according to the theory that the enactment of Usha is of effect and she cannot sell the right in her marriage contract absolutely, let her sell, however, her estates of which her husband has the fruition for any benefit she could derive and pay to him whom she wounded? We must then say that she does not possess any. The same is the case here.

MISHNA 4.: If one blow 1 into the car of another, he pays one sela (as a fine for the disgrace he caused him). R. Jehudah, however, in the name of R. Jose the Galilean says, one manah. If he strike him with the palm of his hand on the cheek, he pays two hundred zuz; if, however, with the back of his hand, he pays four hundred. If he pull or cut his ear, or pull his hair, or spit in such a manner that the spittle fall on him, or strip him of his garment, or he bare the head of a woman in the market, four hundred zuz is to be paid. This is the rule: Rank and station of the parties are taken into consideration. R. Aqiba, however, says: Even the poorest of Israel must be considered as if they were independent men who had lost their estates, for they are the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. And it happened that one bared the head of a woman in the market, and when the case came before R. Aqiba he imposed a fine of four hundred zuz. Said the defendant to him: "Grant me time for payment," and he did so. The defendant then watched her when she was standing at the gate of her courtyard, and broke her pitcher containing oil of the value of one issar: she bared her head, dipped her hand in the oil, and rubbed it into her hair in the presence of witnesses. The defendant then brought the witnesses before R. Aqiba and said: Rabbi, do you command me to pay this woman four hundred zuz? R. Aqiba answered: Your pleading is of no avail, for one who wounds himself, although it is considered a crime, he does not pay a fine, but if others wound him he must be paid. The same is the case with one who cuts off his plants; although it is unlawful, still he pays nothing, but if others do so (to the same property) it must be paid for.

GEMARA: The schoolmen propounded a question: The manah stated in the Mishna, does it mean a manah of the city of Zur, 1 which contains one hundred zuz, or does it mean the manah of the country, which is one-eighth part of it? Come and hear: "It happened that a man blew into the ear of another and the case came before R. Jehudah the Second, and he said: I saw you doing it, and I hold with R. Jose the Galilean; and there are also other witnesses who saw you doing it, therefore go and pay him a manah of the city of Zur." 2There was a man who did so to his neighbour, and when the case came before R. Tubiah b. Mathna he sent a message to R. Jose, questioning him whether the sela mentioned in the Mishna meant a sela of Zur or one of the country, which is only of the value of one-half of a zuz, and he answered: This is to be inferred from the end of Mishna 1., Chap. 4., where it states "the first two a golden dinar"; and if the Mishna treated of a sela of the country, it would state one more case, viz.: "If the ox still gore another ox worth two hundred zuz, the owner of the ox and the owner of the first ox that was injured take each twelve dinars and one sela." Said R. Tubiah: Should the Tana enumerate all the possible cases as a peddler does his wares? How was the case decided? It was decided from the statement of Rabh, which R. Jehudah said in his name, that all the moneys mentioned in the Scripture mean those of Zur, and those mentioned by the rabbis mean those of the country. (Hence one-half of a zuz.) Said the plaintiff: As I have to get only one-half of a zuz, let it be for the poor, as I do not want it. Thereafter he said again: Give it to me and I will use it for improving my health. Said R. Joseph to him: The poor have already acquired title to it, and although they were not here, we the treasurers of charities are considered the hand of the poor.

Hanan the Bisha (the bad) blew into the ear of another. When the case came before R. Huna, he said: Go and pay him one-half of a zuz. Hanan had in his possession a bad zuz that he could not pass, and he tendered it to the plaintiff, asking for one-half zuz change. When he refused, he blew in his ear again, and paid him the whole zuz.

(It is said above, "I saw you doing it.") May a witness be a judge in the same case? Have we not learned in a Boraitha: If the Sanhedrin saw one murdering another, they shall be divided; viz., some of them shall appear as witnesses and the others shall perform the function of judges. Such is the dictum of R. Tarphon. R. Aqiba, however, said: As they are all

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witnesses, none of them can perform the function of judges? Did R. Aqiba indeed say so? Have we not learned in another Boraitha: It is written [Ex. 21:18]: "And if men strive together, and one smite the other with a stone, or with the fist." Said Simeon the Timani: As in the case of the fist it must be investigated whether the blow of the fist was of such violence as to make him ill, confined to his bed, the same is the case with the stone; but if the stone was lost from the hand of the witnesses, no judgement can be granted. Said R. Aqiba to him: "Did he strike him in the presence of the court, so that they could testify how much, for what, and at what place he struck him; and secondly, in case one pushes his neighbour from the top of the roof of a house or palace and he dies, are, then, the court obliged to go and investigate if the height was such as to kill a man, or shall the house or palace be brought before the Beth Din? And if you should say, 'Yea,' how should be the case if in the meantime the palace were destroyed--shall we wait until it be rebuilt of the same height, so that it can be measured? Therefore we must assume that as in the case of the fist (which is always there) it depends upon the testimony of the witnesses whether the blow was of such violence, etc., the same is the case with the stone, except where the stone was lost before the witnesses have seen it." We see, then, that R. Aqiba said that the court can testify how the striking was, hence that a witness can act as judge? He said it only to R. Simeon: According to your theory, should the court, etc., but he himself does not allow a witness to be a judge under any circumstances.

The rabbis taught: "A non-vicious ox who killed a man and has also caused damages to another, he must be tried for the crime but not for the damages (because a non-vicious ox pays for damages from his body, and in this case his body is to be stoned); a vicious one, however, who did the same is tried first for the damages and subsequently for the crime. If, however, he was sentenced to death first, he cannot be tried again for the damages." What is the reason? Why shall he not be tried again for the damages. (In such a case the payment is to be made from the estates of the owner?) Said Rabha: I found the disciples of the college sitting and discussing about this case, and they came to the conclusion that the Boraitha is in accordance with R. Simeon the Timani's theory, that in all cases the appraisement of the court is necessary also concerning damages; and in our case, as it was already decided that the ox must be killed, the execution must not be postponed for the purpose of appraisement. Said I to them: The Boraitha can be explained also in accordance with R. Aqiba, namely, that the case was that the owner of the ox ran away (and he cannot be tried when he is not present). If so, even if the ox was not first tried for the crime, can a civil case be tried in the absence of the parties? The case was that he ran away after the witnesses testified in his presence. But if he ran away, from whom shall the payment be collected? If he was not yet tried for the crime, the appraisement of the damages can be made and the ox may be hired to do work with him until the compensation for the hire equals the amount of the payment, and subsequently he shall be tried for the crime. If so, let also a non-vicious ox be tried for the damages and then hired until the hire shall equal the amount of damages, and thereafter he shall be tried for the crime? Said R. Mari bar Kahana: From the fact that it does not state so, it may be inferred that the hire paid for an ox is not considered as its body, but as the estates of the owner.

The schoolmen propounded a question: Is investigation (before appraisement) necessary in case of damages, or not? Shall we assume that only in case of a crime it must be investigated whether the blow was enough to kill, but in case of damages he must pay at any rate, or there is no difference and investigation must be had? Come and hear: It is stated above, "As a pit of ten spans depth, which is capable of killing, so also other things, etc. If, however, it was less deep, he is liable only for damages but not for killing." Is it not to be assumed that it means from the bottom to the top--namely, ten spans deep is for killing, less than ten is for damages? Hence we see that investigation is not necessary, as it must be paid even if it was only two or three spans? Nay, it means from the top to the bottom--namely from one up, but not including ten, is investigated for damages, but it must be investigated how many spans deep are necessary for such damage (but if it was ten or more, then we follow the tradition that from ten up it kills).

Come and hear: Concerning the five certain things it must be investigated, appraised, and collected at once, including healing and loss of time, which are also previously appraised as how long it will take before he will be cured. If, however, it was not so--for instance, during that time he grew worse, or, on the contrary, he was cured in a shorter time, it does not matter, and the appraisement remains the same. Infer from this that there is appraisement in damages. (From this the question of the above schoolmen cannot be decided yet, as) they were not in doubt that appraisement was necessary of the time needed for the injured person to be cured, etc., but they still doubted if the article which caused the damage must be investigated whether it was capable of causing such damage or not. Come and hear the decision of Simeon the Timani stated above, from which is to be inferred that investigation is necessary also for damages. And so it is.

The Master said: If he was examined, and it was concluded that the healing must take a certain time, and he was healed before the time, he gets nevertheless the full amount. This will be a support to Rabha, who said that he who is examined, and it is concluded that his sickness will continue the whole day, and he becomes cured in half a day, so that the other half day he is doing some work, he is nevertheless paid for the full day, as it is considered that his sickness was shortened by the mercy of Heaven.

"If he spat in such a manner," etc. Said R. Papa: On those parts of his body which were not covered, but not if the spittle fell on his garments. But let it be considered as if he caused him shame by words? In the West it was said in the name of R. Jose b. Abin that from the above explanation of the Mishna by R. Papa is to be inferred that if one disgraces another by mere words he is free.

"Rank and station," etc. The schoolmen propounded a question: The statement of the first Tana, shall it be construed leniently or rigorously? Leniently, if he was a poor person he must not be paid so much as if he were a rich one, or rigorously, that if he was of higher station he is paid more for the disgrace caused him? Come and hear R. Aqiba's statement in the same Mishna, that even the poorest man must be considered as an independent man, etc., from which it is seen that the first Tana meant leniently. And so it is.

"It happened that one bared," etc. Do we, then, allow time for payment in such a case? Did not R. Hanina say that in cases of wounding no time is given? Yea. We do not allow time in cases of pecuniary damage, but in cases of disgrace, where there is no pecuniary damage, time is allowed.

"He watched her when she was standing," etc. But the Boraitha states that R. Aqiba said to him: You dived into deep waters and brought up a fragment of a clay vessel: one may wound himself, but if others wound him they must pay (and in our Mishna it states that a man must not do so)? Said Rabha: This presents no difficulty. The Boraitha speaks of a wound which is not allowed, while the Mishna speaks of disgrace, which one is allowed to cause to himself.

But the Mishna speaks of disgrace only, and still R. Aqiba said, "Although he is not allowed," etc.? R. Aqiba meant to say thus: It is not only in case of disgrace, which one may do to himself, and still if caused by another he is responsible; but even in case of wounding, in which he is not allowed to do it to himself, and after he himself did it others came and caused him other wounds, they are nevertheless responsible.

"One who cut off his plants," etc. Rabba bar bar Hana taught in the presence of Rabh: "If the plaintiff says, 'You killed my ox,' or, 'You cut off my plants,' and the defendant answer, 'You ordered me to do so,' he is free." Said Rabh to him: If so, you would not leave life to the people-must he then be believed that he was ordered to do so? Rabba bar bar Hana answered: Then ignore it. Said Rabh to him: Why should you not explain your Boraitha that it treats of an ox which was sentenced to be killed, or of a tree which the court ordered to be cut off? He rejoined: If so, then what is the complaint of the plaintiff? The complaint is thus: I wanted to do this commandment myself, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: It is written [Lev. 17:13]: "Then shall he pour out the flood thereof, and cover it up," etc. This means that the covering up must be done by the one who pours it out (if he desires to do so); and it happened of one who slaughtered a fowl and another anticipated him and covered its blood with dust, that R. Gamaliel made him pay ten golden zuz. (Hence one has the right to complain for a meritorious deed which he was prevented from doing.)

Rabh said: A tree that contains a kabh of fruit is prohibited to be cut off. Said Rabbina: If, however, the tree be worth more in wood, it may be done. We have learned so also in the following Boraitha. It is written [Deut. 20:20]: "Only those trees of which thou knowest"--that means, a tree which bears fruit; "that they are not fruit-trees" 1--that means, a wild tree. Now as, according to this explanation, every tree which is needed may be cut off, why, then, the words "that they are not fruit-trees"? To teach that if there are both wild trees and fruit-trees, the wild trees have the preference to be cut off. But lest one say that even when the fruit-tree is worth more in being used for a beam in a building than for its fruit, the wild tree must be cut off first, therefore it is written "only."

The gardener of Samuel brought him dates in which Samuel tasted a taste of wine, and to the question why it was so the gardener answered that the dates were growing in the vineyard, and Samuel said: If they absorb so much sap of the vines, uproot them and bring me their roots to-morrow.

R. Hisda, when he noticed young date-trees in his vineyard, told the gardener to uproot them, saying: Vines are valuable and date-trees may be bought from their income, while date-trees are only of slight value, and from their income vines cannot be bought.

MISHNA 5.: All that which is said regarding payment for disgrace is only for the satisfaction of the pecuniary damage, but the hurt feelings of the disgraced are not forgiven, unless he prays and secures forgiveness from the plaintiff, as it is written [Gen. 20:7]: "And now restore the man's wife," etc. And whence is it deduced that if the defendant does not forgive he is considered cruel? From [ibid., ibid. 17]: "And Abraham prayed unto God, and God healed Abimelech," etc. If one says to another: "Blind my eye, cut off my hand, break my foot," he (the defendant) is liable, even if he told him so on the condition that he should be free. If he told him: "Tear my garment, break my pitcher," he is liable. If, however, he told him so on the condition that he should be free, he is so. If one says to another to do such damage to a third person, even on condition that he should be free, the defendant is liable whether it be personal injuries or injuries to property.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: All that which was said concerning disgrace is only for the civil court, as to how much the plaintiff should receive, but there can be no satisfaction for the injury to the feelings, for which, if he would even offer all the best rams of the world, they would not atone for it, unless he prays the plaintiff for forgiveness, as the verse quoted in the Mishna reads farther on: "For he is a prophet, and he will pray for thee." For he is a prophet! Must, then, only a prophet's wife be restored, and not that of an ordinary person? Said R. Simeon b. Na'hmani in the name of R. Jonathan: Read thus: Restore the man's wife; (and) because he is a prophet, he will pray for thee-which means that another's wife must be restored. And your claim [ibid., ibid. 4 and 5]: "Lord, wilt thou then slay also a righteous nation? Said he not unto me, She is my sister?" etc., is of no avail; for if a stranger comes to a city, he is usually questioned only what he would eat or drink, but not who is his wife or relatives, as your habit is; and because he was a prophet and he knew what you were going to ask him, therefore he and Sarah were compelled to say so. Infer from this that one is punished even when he commits a crime through ignorance, because he ought to learn and know.

It is written [ibid., ibid. 18]: "Every womb." Said the disciple of R. Janai, even the hen of Abimelech's household did not lay its eggs. Said Rabha to Rabba bar Mari: 1 Whence is the following saying of the rabbis deduced: He who prays in behalf of his neighbour for a certain thing which he himself needs, he is answered first? He answered: From the following verse [Job, xlii. 10]. "And the Lord brought back the captivity of job, when he prayed in behalf of his friends." He said to him: You deduce it from this, and I deduce it from the following verse [Gen. 20:17]: "And Abraham prayed unto God, and God healed Abimelech, and his wife, and his maid-servants," etc.; and immediately thereafter it is written [ibid. 21:1]: "And the Lord visited Sarah as he had said," etc., which means, as Abraham prayed in behalf of Abimelech.

Said Rabha to Rabba bar Mari: Whence do we deduce the following people's saying: With the thorn the rose is also beaten? He answered: From the following verse [Jer. 2:29]: "Wherefore will ye contend with me? all of you have transgressed against me, saith the Lord." ("All," although there were some who were righteous, as the prophets, etc.) Said he to him: You deduce it from this verse, and I deduce it from the following [Ex. 16:28]: "How long refuse ye to keep my commandments," etc. "ye" includes Moses and Aaron also).

The same said again to the same: It is written [Gen. 47:2]: "And he took some of his brothers, five men." Who were the five? He answered: So said R. Johanan: Those whose names were mentioned twice in the benediction of Moses [Deut. xliii.] (Zebulun, Gad, Dan, Asher, and Naphtali). But is not Jehudah's name also mentioned twice? Jehudah's name was mentioned twice for another purpose (explained in Tract Makkoth, 10). He questioned him again: What is the origin of the following people's saying: "One misfortune follows the other"? He answered: In the following Mishna: "The rich bring the first-fruit in golden or silver baskets (and take the baskets back), while the poor bring it in willow baskets, and the baskets remain with the fruit for the priests." He said to him: You find it in the Mishna, and I find it in the Scripture [Lev. 13:45]: "And the leper. . . . Unclean, unclean, shall he call out." (Hence, it is not enough that he is afflicted, he must himself call it out.)

He said again: Where is the origin for the rabbis' saying: Arise early in the morning and eat something, in the summer because of the heat and in the winter because of the cold; and people say: Sixty men were running after one who used to eat early in the morning, and could not overtake him? In the verse [Is. 49:10]: "They shall not be hungry nor thirsty, and neither heat nor sun shall smite them." Said he: I, however, find the origin in the following [Ex. 23:25]: "And ye shall serve the Lord," which means the reading of Shema and prayer; "And he will bless thy bread, and thy water," which means the bread and salt and the pitcher of water one takes immediately thereafter; [and then he may be sure that] "I will remove sickness from the midst of thee."

He said again: What is the origin of the rabbis' saying: If your neighbour calls you "ass," put on a saddle (i.e., do not answer him)? He answered: In [Gen. 16:8]: "And he said, Hagar, Sarah's maid. . . . And she said, From the face of my mistress."

He said again: And wherefrom is the people's saying: "When talking to a stranger, tell him first of all the position you are

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in"? He answered: From [ibid. 24:34]: "And he said, I am Abraham's servant." And wherefrom is the people's saying: A duck while it keeps its head down, its eyes still look at a distance? He answered: From [1 Samuel, 25:31]: "And when the Lord will do good unto my lord, then do thou remember thy handmaid." (While praying to save her life, she hinted that he should marry her.)

And wherefrom. the following people's saying: For the wine furnished by the host to his guests thanks are due; the main thanks, however, receives the man who takes care of serving the same in a nice manner? He answered: From [Numb. xxvii. 19j: "And thou shalt lay thy hand upon him"; and also [Deut. 34:9]: "And Joshua the son of Nun was full of the spirit of wisdom; for Moses had laid his hands upon him, etc." (Hence we see that the whole credit is given to Moses.) And wherefrom the following people's saying: A tree bearing bad fruit usually keeps company with trees which do not bear fruit at all? He answered: This is written in the Pentateuch, repeated in the Prophets, mentioned a third time in the Hagiographa, also learned in a Mishna and taught in a Boraitha: Pentateuch [Gen. xxviii. 9]: "And Esau went unto Ishmael." Prophets [Judges, 11:3]: "And then gathered themselves to Yiphthach idle men, and they went out with him." Hagiographa [Ben Sira, 13.]: "Every fowl associates with its kind and man with his equal." Mishna: "All that is attached to an unclean article is unclean and all that is attached to a clean article is clean." Boraitha: "R. Eliezer said: Not in vain did the cuckoo go to the crow, because it is of its kind." He said again: And wherefrom the following saying: If you advise your neighbour and he does not heed your advice, press him to the wall and let him suffer? He answered: From [Ezek. 24:13]: "Because I endeavored to cleanse thee, and thou wouldst not be clean, thou shalt not be cleansed from thy uncleanness any more." And wherefrom the following saying: Do not spit in the well from which you drank water? He answered: From [Deut. 23:8]: "Thou shalt not abhor an Edomite; for he is thy brother; thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian; because thou wast a stranger in his land." And wherefrom the following saying: If you will help me to lift the burden, I will carry it; and if not, I will not touch it? He answered: From [Judges, 4:8]: "If thou wilt go with me, then will I go; but if thou wilt not go with me, I will not go." And wherefrom the following: When we were young we were considered as men, and now when we are old we are considered as children? He answered: It is first written [Ex. 13:21]: "And the Lord went before them . . . and by night in a pillar of fire, to give light to them"; and thereafter [ibid., 23:20]: "Behold I send an angel before thee, to keep you on the way." And wherefrom the following: If you keep in touch with oil, your hands will become oily? He answered: From [Gen. 13:5]: "And Lot also, who went with Abram, had flocks, and herds, and tents." R. Hanan said: Whoso calls down divine judgement on his neighbour is punished first, etc. R. Itz'hux added to this: Woe to him who cries for such, more than to him upon whom the judgement is called down. We have so also learned in the following Boraitha: "Both are punished (by the Divine Court), but the one who calls down the judgement is punished first." The same said again: Do not hold light the curse of a common man, etc. R. Abahu said: It is better for one to be of the persecuted than of the persecutors as there are no more persecuted birds than doves and pigeons, and the Scripture made them fit for the altar. "Blind my eye," etc. Said R. Assi 1 to Rabba: Why in the first part the condition that he should be free is of no effect, and in the second part it is? He answered: Because no one will ever forgive for the loss of the principal members of his body. Said he to him: Does, then, a man easily forgive for pain-and nevertheless a Boraitha states: "If one say to another, 'strike me,' or 'wound me, upon condition that you should not be liable for it,' and if he does so, he is free? Rabba remained silent. Thereafter he said to him: Do you know how to explain this? He said: So said R. Shesheth: The reason is for the indignity caused to his family. It was taught: R. Oshiya said: For the reason just mentioned; and Rabha said: Because one does not forgive for the loss of the principal members of his body. R. Johanan, however, said: One may forgive for all that was done to him; and our Mishna, which makes him liable, although it was on the condition that he should be free, is because there is sometimes a "nay" which means "yea" and a "yea" which means "nay" (explained in the following Boraitha). We have learned also in the following Boraitha: If one says to another, "Strike me," or "wound me," and the other asks, "On condition that I should be free?" and he answered "Yea!"(i.e., if so, you would like to do so)? Hence this "yea" means "nay." "Tear my garment," and he says, "And thereafter I should pay for it?" And he answers, "Nay." which means "Yea, you may do so." 2

"Break my pitcher," etc. There is a contradiction from the following Boraitha: It is written [Ex. xxii. 6]: "If a man . . . to keep," etc., for preservation; but not when he says to him keep it for destruction or for charity. (Hence we see that if he told him to keep it for destruction, although he did not say on the condition of being free, he is nevertheless free?) Said R. Huna: This presents no difficulty: The Boraitha speaks of when it was delivered to the bailee for, and he accepted it for, destruction--then certainly he is free; and the Mishna speaks of when he told him to break the pitcher when the same was yet in the hands of the owner. Said Rabba to him: The words "to keep" in the Scripture mean certainly that it was delivered to the bailee; and nevertheless, if thereafter he told him to destroy it, without making the condition to be free, he is liable, unless he told him to keep it for destruction at the time of the delivery? Therefore said Rabba: Both cases treat of destruction after the delivery; but the Mishna speaks of when he told him to destroy it after he received it for safe-keeping, and the Boraitha speaks of when he told him at the time of the delivery to keep it for destruction.

There was an ἀρνᾶχίς; of charity which was sent to Pumbeditha, and R. Joseph deposited it with a certain man who did not take good care of it, and it was stolen from him. R. Joseph held him responsible. Said Abayi to him: Did not the Boraitha state, to keep it for preservation, but not for charity? He answered: The poor of Pumbeditha receive each a fixed sum from charity, so that this money belonged to them, and they can be the claimants thereof (and the reason why the Boraitha holds the bailee free, if it was given to him to keep it for charity, is because where the poor do not receive fixed sums at certain periods they cannot claim a certain fixed amount, and there. fore it is considered that there are no claimants).

[NOTE.--The last two chapters of The First Gate will be printed in the succeeding volume.]

END OF VOLUME 2. (10).

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SYNOPSIS OF SUBJECTS OF TRACT BABA KAMA (THE FIRST GATE).

CHAPTER 9.

MISHNAS 1. TO 3. If a change on the face of an article gives title to the possessor and if it is biblically? Would all the above-mentioned Tanaim trouble themselves to teach us a Halakha of the Beth Shammai? Robbers and usurers, if they make a restitution of their own accord, it should not be accepted, etc. There are three cases in which the increase is appraised and the payment is with money. I and the King Sabura are brothers in regard to court cases. (See foot-note.) Did not I tell you, You shall not change names? R. Joseph bar Hama used to compel slaves of his debtors to labor for him, etc. What were the coins of Jerusalem and what were the coins of Abraham the patriarch? Labor which cannot be recognized on the body of the animal as damaging, the civil court cannot make him liable for. Is a germon considered a direct pecuniary loss? May the court decide a case of a goring ox in its absence? If a specialist took a thing to repair it and he spoiled it. A builder who undertook to take apart a wall, and he broke the stones or bricks, A butcher specialist, if he has spoiled the meat he is a tort-feasor, and is also considered wilful, etc. Why so many reasons?" I think your brain is not in regular order." "Rabh did two good things regarding you. He prevented you from using a doubtful thing, and also restrained you from possible robbery." There was a woman who showed a coin to R. Hyya, etc. Resh Lakish showed a dinar to R. Elazar, and he told him it was a good one. He said then: "See, I rely upon you," etc., 211-228

MISHNAS 4. TO 7. If one gave wool to the dyer, and it was spoiled. To be dyed red, and it is dyed black, or conversely. To make a chair of it, and he has made a bench. Is the color of the dyes to be considered as existing upon the wool or not? In one tract is the order of the Mishna not to be taken in consideration, but in two different tracts it must be considered? The whole of Section Damages is considered as one tract. If one has given money to his messenger to buy wheat, and he buys barley. If one buys a field in the name of his neighbor. Kahana paid money for flax. In the mean time the flax became dearer and the seller sold it (for Kahana's benefit). One who has stolen the value of a coin swears falsely and afterwards confesses. The same is the case in a deposit. If one has robbed one of five persons, and he does not know which of them. It happened with one pious man who bought of one of two persons, and he did not know from which of them. A messenger must not be made in his absence. It happened with R. Abba, who was the creditor of R. Joseph bar Hama, and the former asked R. Safra to bring, etc. "My master, do you mean to deduce from this Scripture that it must be paid, or you say is it common?" If one has robbed two bunches of the value of a parutha and had returned one of them, how is the law? He who denies a deposit is considered as a robber. As soon as the owner has taken an oath, he has not to pay. One who claims "stolen" on a deposit, or of a lost article he has found, must pay double, etc. The three oaths--first, that I have done all my duty in taking care of it; second, that I did not make use of it; and third, that it is not under my control. If a gratuitous bailee swore it was stolen, and, nevertheless, he paid: and then the thief was found. Where is my bailment? Lost! Do you swear by God? Amen. Witnesses testified that he himself had stolen it. If one robbed his father and swore falsely, and after his death he confessed. "I swear you shall have not any benefit from my estate." If one robbed a proselyte and swore, and afterwards the proselyte died. The priests who receive the robbery of the proselyte, are they considered heirs, or only receivers of a donation?

CHAPTER 10.

MISHNAS 1. TO 4. If one left money made by usury for his heirs, although they know of it, they are not obliged to return it. The brother-in law of R. Jeremiah, who was a minor, shut the door in his face, etc. The testimony of witnesses can be taken even in the absence of the parties. May a document be approved even not in the presence of the party, or it must not? It is an obligation on the court to give notice to the defendant that his property will be sold. A messenger of the court should be trusted as two witnesses, etc. One must not be summoned by the court on the eve of a Sabbath. Money must not be changed from the treasury of duties, etc. Why contractors of duty are counted among murderers. R. Ashi happened to be on the road, and saw a vineyard in which some grapes were ripe, etc. A contractor of the government has the right to pledge a fellow-citizen for the duty of another citizen of the same city, etc. If the contractors returned him instead of his ass another one, etc. If one saved an estate from the stream or from robbers, etc. Are a woman and a minor qualified to be witnesses? A child was telling: It happened that my mother and I were prisoners among the heathens, and I did not turn away my eyes from my mother, etc.

MISHNAS 4. TO 6. If one recognizes his utensils or books by another. If a thief has sold out his stolen articles, and later it was recognized that he is the thief. If the thief was a notorious one. If one destroys his own goods for the sake of saving the goods of his neighbours. The redemption money of a caravan in a desert is to be charged proportionately to the amount each of them possesses, etc. If a robbed field was taken away by land robbers. There was a man who showed to the contractor a heap of wheat belonging to the Exilarch. There was a man by whom a silver goblet was deposited, he presented it when he was attacked by robbers.

MISHNAS 7. TO 12. If a stream has overflowed the robbed field. If one says, I have robbed you, and I don't know if I have returned it to you. One must not buy from the shepherds kids of goats, etc. And not fruits from the watchman. One who robs his neighbour, even the value of a parutha, is considered as if he would take away his life. One shall not buy from the carder flocks, because they are not his property. What about the splinters which fall out by the carpenter.

THE TRACT BABA KAMA (THE FIRST GATE).
CHAPTER 9

THE LAWS RELATING TO THE CHANGE OF THE NAME AND NATURE OF STOLEN ARTICLES, AND WHEN AN ARTICLE BECOMES USELESS. ABOUT SKILFUL MECHANICS WHO SPOIL WORK INTRUSTED TO THEM, AND AS TO THE PLACE TO WHICH A STOLEN ARTICLE MUST BE RETURNED.

MISHNA 1.: If one has stolen wood and made utensils of it, or wool and made garments of it, he must pay only for the cost of the material at the time it was stolen. If one stole a gravid cow and it brought forth young, or a sheep with its wool and he sheared it, he must pay the value of a gravid cow in its last month, or the value of a sheep ready to be sheared; if, however, the cow became gravid or the sheep grew its wool after the robbery, their value at the time they were stolen is to be paid. This is the rule: All robbers must repay the value of the article as it was at the time of the robbery.

GEMARA: The Mishna states: Utensils of wood or garments of wool, from which it is to be inferred that when the utensils were not as yet made, but only planned, or the garments not yet bleached, the law is otherwise. Then there is a contradiction in the following Boraitha: "If one has stolen wood and planed it, stones and cut them, wool and bleached it, flax and cleansed it, the payment for it is to be taxed, as when stolen"? Said, Abayi: "The Tana of our Mishna states that not only an irremediable change makes the robber the owner of it so that he must not return the same, but the value of the

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material when it was stolen, which is biblical; but even a removable change, e.g., planed wood of which he made utensils that can be taken apart in such a way that the wood may remain in the same condition as when stolen, or spun wool, which can also be taken apart, etc., which change is only rabbinical. The Mishna comes to teach us, that even in such a case the robber acquires title by the change and must pay only the value of the material." R. Ashi, however, said: "The Tana of our Mishna speaks also of a change that is biblical. For instance, by utensils is meant even a planer with which he has only planed the wood, and by garments is meant unbleached felt-spreadings (which he has only bleached) which change is irremediable." If bleaching is considered an irremediable change, it would be contradictory of the following Mishna, which states: "If one had no time to give it to the priest until it was dyed, then he is free; but when it was only bleached, he must give it to the priest"? Said Abayi: "This presents no difficulty, as our Mishna is in accord with R. Simeon, and the other with the rabbis of the following Boraitha: If he has the wool from five sheep, a quantity of about a pound and a half, a part of it would go to the priests. If some of this quantity was already woven, it does not count. If, however, some of it was only bleached, according to the sages it counts, and according to R. Simeon it does not." Rabha said: "Both statements may be explained in accordance with R. Simeon, and there is no difficulty, as one of them speaks of it when it was only scattered, and the other one speaks of it when it was combed before bleaching." R. Hyya bar Abin said: "The one speaks when it was only bleached and the other when it was sulphurated." Now, then, how can bleaching be considered a biblical change, when even dyeing is not considered a change, according to R. Simeon; as is stated in the Boraitha concerning the gift of the first shearing to the priest, in the case mentioned above: "Do not exclude from the quantity even wool that was already dyed"? Said Abayi: "This presents no difficulty. The statement of R. Simeon, given by R. Simeon ben Jehudah in his name, that dyeing wool counts, is opposed to the rabbis, who declare that R. Simeon said it does not count (consequently, one Boraitha is in accord with R. Simeon ben Jehudah's statement and the other is in accord with the declaration of the rabbis)." Rabha, however, said: "It is not necessary to say that the rabbis oppose R. Simeon ben Jehudah, for dyeing is different, because it can be removed by οαπων, and the above statement, that when it was dyed he is free, speaks when it was dyed by σαπωγ, which is not irremediable."

Said Abayi: All the following Tanaim agree with R. Simeon's statement explained above, that a change does not give title: Namely, Beth Shammai, as stated above (Ch. VII.). R. Eliezer ben Jacob of the following Boraitha: R. Eliezer ben Jacob said: If one had stolen a saah of wheat and had ground, kneaded, and baked it, and separated the heave of it, how can he make a benediction; it would be not a benediction but a blasphemy, as it is written [Psalm, 10:3]: "The robber blesses . . . despises the Lord." Simeon b. Eliezer, of the following Boraitha, declares the following rule: Every increase that was made by the robber is subject to his disposal: He may keep it for himself, or return it to its owner, saying: Here is your property. How is this to be understood? (If he may say to the one robbed, "Here is yours," then it belongs to the owner-how, then, is it at the robber's disposal?) Said R. Shesheth: He means to say, if there is an increase the robber may retain it; but if there is a decrease, he can say to the one robbed, "It is yours," because a change in the property does not give title. If so, why not the same when there is an increase? This is only an enactment of the sages for the benefit of those who repent. R. Ishmael, of the following Boraitha: The positive commandment to separate the corner tithe is to be performed by putting aside from the standing corn; if that has not been done, he may put aside from the sheaves; if he had neglected also from this, he may do it in the granary before the corn was threshed; but afterwards he separates first the Levitical tithe and then the corner tithe. In the name of R. Ishmael, however, it was said: "He may separate the corner tithe and give it to the poor even from the dough."

Said R. Papa to Abayi: "Would all the above-mentioned Tanaim trouble themselves to teach us a Halakha of the Beth Shammai (which does not prevail?)," and he answered: "All they mean to say, is that Beth Shammai and Beth Hillel do not differ in this regard." Said Rabha: Why, then, (what compels you to teach that all the Tanaim hold that a change is of no avail)? Perhaps R. Simeon ben Jehudah's statement has reference only to a case of dyeing, as the colour can be removed as stated above; and the Beth Shammai, because it is not clean enough for the altar, and R. Eliezer ben Jacob could not accept it to pronounce a benediction upon it, as such a meritorious act should not be caused by a transgression; and R. Simeon ben Elazar also, because it can again become fat; and, finally, R. Ishmael's statement was made only on the corner tithe as there is a superfluous word in the expression "Thou shalt leave it" (but in any other case they all may agree that a change is of value). And lest one say, that it can be inferred from this for all the other cases, it would not be correct, because charity affairs are different, as R. Jonathan questioned: "What is the reason of it?" Shall we assume that R. Ishmael's theory is correct, because he holds that a change does not give title, or perhaps he holds it here only to be in accord with the superfluous word stated above, which must be only for the purpose that this rule applies only here as there is not known any other purpose for it? And he questioned also, What will the rabbis who opposed R. Ishmael say in regard to the superfluous expression in question? It can be said, It is needed; for we have learned in the following Boraitha: If one has renounced his ownership of a vineyard, and then in the morning he plucked the grapes, he is exempt from cleaning the vineyard and gathering every grape, forgotten sheaf, and corner tithe (because of the above-mentioned expression or something similar to it being applicable to all these gifts). It is, however, exempt from tithe. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: "The Halakha prevails in accord with R. Simeon ben Elazar." Abayi taught the same as follows: R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel: It was said that the Halakha prevails according to R. Simeon b. Elazar, but he did not accept it.

R. Hyya bar Abba said in the name of R. Johanan: According to the Scripture a stolen thing is to be returned whatever its condition (although it is changed), as it is written [Lev. 5:23]: "He shall restore what he has taken away violently," no matter how it is now; and there is no wonder at the statement of our Mishna, for it is only for the benefit of those who repent. The rabbis taught: Robbers and usurers, if they make restitution of their own accord, it should not be accepted; and be who does accept it, acts contrary to the sages. Said R. Johanan: This Mishna was taught in the time of Rabbi, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: It happened that one intended to repent, but his wife told him, "If thou wilt do so, then even thy girdle will not belong to thee," and so he was kept back from repenting. At this time the statement of the above Mishna was made. Come and hear: "The repentance of shepherds, commissioners, and the contractors of duties is hard (because they do not know to whom to return the stolen goods); and when they nevertheless do repent, they have to return to those whom they know. (Hence we see that they must return?) We can say: Yea, they must return, but it should not be accepted. Then what is the use of their returning? To satisfy the Heavenly Will. If so, in what point is the difficulty of their repentance? And also, how would the last part of this Boraitha be understood: "And the remainder, which they do not know to whom to return, shall be used by them in providing for the needs of the community"? And R. Hisda explained it that it means, e.g., wells, excavations, etc. Hence we see that it should be accepted? Therefore we must say: The above Boraitha was taught before the above-mentioned enactment of the sages was made. According to R. Na'hman, however, who said that this enactment was made in reference to stolen articles which no longer exist, it may be explained that both Boraithas were taught after the enactment, and there is no contradiction, as one speaks of stolen articles that exist, and the other of such stolen articles as no longer exist. But was, then, not the above-mentioned enactment made in reference to the statement about the girdle, although it was in existence? Nay, it must not be taken literally. It means the value of the girdle. But was not the enactment made even in reference to an article that exists; for there is a Mishna that when a stolen beam was used for the building of a house, the one robbed could collect its value only, for the benefit of him who repented, although the beam still exists? This case is different, as the robber would suffer great damage by taking it out, and therefore the rabbis consider it as if it did not exist at all.

"If one has stolen a gravid cow," etc. The rabbis taught: If one had stolen a sheep and he had shorn it, or a cow and she brought forth, he must pay for the animal itself, and also for the wool or the young. This is the decree of R. Meir. R. Jehudah said: "A stolen thing must be returned as it is" (and the value of the wool or the young as they were, at the time of the robbery, but not the increase during the time they were under his control). R. Simeon, however, said. The value of the stolen article in money when it was robbed must always be considered. The schoolmen propounded a question: What is R. Meir's reason? Does he hold that a change is never of any avail, or, in other cases, agree that a change gives title, but here it is only a fine which should be inflicted on the robber, and the difference (between the two suppositions would be) when the cow becomes thin (in the house of the robber)? Come and hear: If one has given wool to dye it red, and it was dyed black, or vice versa, said R. Meir: He must pay him the value of the wool. Hence only the "value of the wool," but not for the increase? Now, if R. Meir is of the opinion that a change does not give title, the value of the wool and the increase should be paid? Hence it is to be inferred that he holds that everywhere a change acquires title, and here is only a fine for the robber. According to others, the schoolmen did not propound the above question, because Rabh has changed the names in the following Mishna. If one has stolen a cow or slaves, and they become old while under his control, he must pay according to their value when they were stolen. This is the decree of R. Meir. The sages, however, say as to slaves, he may say: "Yours is before you." Hence we see that, according to R. Meir, a change gives title, and here is only a fine, and if there was any question by the schoolmen it was this: Is the fine only for an intentional act or only for an unintentional? Come and hear the Mishna mentioned above concerning the dyeing of wool, that he must pay only for the wool and not for the increase, because there was no intention, from which it is to be inferred that without intention there is no fine. "R Jehudah said the stolen property," etc. What is the difference between R. Jehudah's and R. Simeon's statement? Said R. Zbid: They differ when the increase is still in the stolen thing. According to R. Jehudah, it belongs to the one robbed, and according to R. Simeon to the robber. R. Papa said: Both agree that such an increase belongs to the robber (as even R. Jehudah meant only it should be returned as it was at the time it was stolen), and the case here held when it was customary in the country to take cattle for improvement for the reward of half, third, or a quarter. According to R. Simeon, the robber gets only the customary reward, but according to R. Jehudah the whole improvement belongs to him. There is a Boraitha which states plainly as R. Papa explained. Said R. Ashi: When we were in the college of R. Kahana, we were in doubt regarding R. Simeon's theory as to the payment of half, etc., for improvement, whether he shall be paid in money or with its meat? Afterwards we concluded from R. Na'hman's statement in the name of Samuel that it means in money: There are three cases in which the increase is appraised and the payment is with money, and they are: A first-born pays the increase after the death of his father to the other brothers; the same the creditor to the buyer, or to the heirs (for the increase after the time the estates were bought or after the death of the lender). Said Rabbina to R. Ashi: How could Samuel here state that the creditor must pay to the buyer for the increase? Did he not say that the creditor collects even the increase? And he answered: This presents no difficulty, when we take into consideration that there is a difference between an increase which is not yet ripe (that in such a case a creditor collects it) and an increase which is already ripe for harvest (which a creditor cannot collect). He objected: But was it not a fact that Samuel's court collected every day even from crops that were ripe for harvest? He answered: This also presents no difficulty when the claim is equal to the amount of the field together with the increase (then the creditor collects the increase also). When the claim is, however, only for the value of the estate (then the creditor must pay for the increase). Rejoined the former: This is right according to him who holds that even when the buyer has money he cannot pay the creditor with money; but according to him who holds that when the buyer has money, he can pay the creditor with money (why is it stated that the creditor pays with money for the increase?) why should not the buyer (have the right to) say: If I had money, I would make you leave the estate entirely. Now, when you take it for your debt, you have the right to take it for your debt only; but as for the increase, would it not be right to leave for me a part of the estate? And he answered: The case was when the field was hypothecated to the creditor, i.e., when the loan was issued, he told him: You have to collect your debt from this estate only.

Rabha said: If one has stolen an article, and after improving it sells or bequeaths it, the sale or the bequest is valid for the improvement. He questioned, however, in case it was improved by the buyer, How is the law? After he questioned it, he decided: What else, then, had the first sold to the other, if not every right that he might have in this estate (so that the buyer has the same share of the improvement as the seller himself).

R. Papa said: He who stole a date tree and cut it down, did not acquire title, although he removed it to his own field. Why so? Because it has even then the same name as before--date tree. It is the same if he cut it in pieces, for they are still called pieces of a date tree. If, however, he has stolen pieces and made beams of them, title is acquired; if he has stolen beams and made short ones of them, title is not acquired; but if he has made boards of them, title is acquired.

Rabha said: If one stole a palm branch and has torn it in single leaves, title is acquired, because it is no more called palm, but leaves; for the same reason, title is acquired when he has stolen leaves and made a broom of them. If, however, he has stolen a broom and made a rope, title is not acquired, because it can be taken apart and a broom again made of it. R. Papa questioned: If the double leaf of the same was divided (so that it cannot be restored), how is the law? Come and hear: R. Mathun said in the name of R. Jehoshua ben Levi: If the double leaf is divided, it is considered as if taken away, and it is invalid (for use of that day). Infer from this that such a change gives title.

R. Papa said: "If one has stolen clay and made bricks of it, title is not acquired, because it can be reduced again to clay; conversely, however, title is acquired, because, even if he will again convert it into bricks, it will have another appearance and will be no more the same as it was before. The same is the case if he has robbed bullion and coined it into money. If, however, he stole old coins and had cleaned them that they look like new ones, title is not acquired; but conversely it is,

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because, even should he clean them again, they will still be recognised as the old ones.

"This is the rule," etc. What does it mean to add? Such a case as that of which R. Ilai said: "When one has stolen a sheep and it becomes a ram, or a calf and it becomes an ox, the change is considered as being made while in the possession of the thief, and title is acquired so that, if he has slaughtered or sold it, it is considered he has done it with his own. It happened that one had stolen a pair of oxen, and he ploughed and sowed his field with them. Finally, he returned them. When the case came before R. Na'hman, he said: Go and appraise the increase he has made with them. Said Rabha to him: Is the increase of the field caused only by the oxen, and not by the field also? And he answered: Did I say the whole increase shall be collected? I mean half of it only. And he rejoined: After all, it is no more than a robbery of which the rule is, "It shall be returned as it is." He answered again: Did I not tell you that when I am sitting in the court you shall say nothing to me; for Huna, my colleague, has said that I and the King Sabura are brothers in regard to court cases. 1 This man is known as an old robber and I want to fine him.

MISHNA 2.: If one has stolen cattle or slaves, and they become old, he must pay their value at the time stolen. R. Meir, however, says: Concerning slaves he may say: "Yours are before you." If he has stolen a coin and it broke, fruits and they became rotten, wine and it became sour, it is to be paid as at the time robbed; a coin which afterward became invalid, heave-offering and it became unclean, 1 or leaven which was in the hand of the one robbed during Passover, a cow and it was used for sodomy, or it: became invalid for the altar or it was condemned to be stoned, he may say: "Yours is before you."

GEMARA: Said R. Papa: It means not only when it became old, but even when it becomes thin. But is it not stated plainly old? This expression is used to teach that only when it is incurable, as in the weakness of old age. Said Mar, the older son of R. Hisda, to, R. Ashi: It was said in the name of R. Johanan that when one steals a sheep and it becomes a ram, or a calf and it becomes an ox, such a change gives title; and if he slaughters or sells it, it is considered as his own. And he answered: Did not I tell you, you shall not change names? This was said not in the name of R. Johanan, but of R. Ilai. "R. Meir said," etc. R. Hanina bar Abdimi said in the name of Rabh: The Halakha prevails according to R. Meir. But why did Rabh desert the majority in this decision? The reason is because in the Boraitha the names are changed. Why, then, has Rabh given preference to the Boraitha, and not to the Mishna, which ought to be better authority? Yea, when there is one Mishna against one Boraitha; but there are two Boraithas against one Mishna (and therefore he prefers to change the names in our Mishna, that it shall correspond with them). The other Boraitha is as follows: If one has exchanged a cow for an ass, and the cow has brought forth young; or if one has sold a female slave and she has given birth (to a child), and one of the parties said it was born when it was in his control, and the other keeps silent, the first acquired title to it; when each of them says he does not know, then the value is to be divided. But if each of them claims that it occurred when it his control, then the seller has to take an oath that it while under his control (and not the buyer, as there that all those to whom a biblical oath is applied, they s do not pay). So is the decree of R. Meir. The sages, however, say: There is no oath, as an oath is not to be ordered in cases of slaves or real estate. Hence, here also, is the opinion, of R. Meir that slaves are not considered real estate. But if he changes the names in the Mishna, his statement ought to be, that the Halakha prevails according to the rabbis? He meant to say so: According to you who have changed the names, the Halakha prevails as R. Meir. But how could Rabh state that a slave is considered real estate? Did not R. Daniel bar R. Ktina say in his name: If one has compelled a slave of his neighbour to do labour for him, he is free from charges? Now, if you bear in mind that a slave is considered real estate, why shall he not be charged? Is not the slave yet under the control of his owner? The case was when not in time of labour (that one has the benefit when the other loses nothing, and there is a decision above that in such a case he is free from charges). But would the owner of the slave be satisfied that his slave should become tired, so that it would do harm to his usual work? It can be explained (that his owner has no work for his slave), and so it is agreeable for him that his slave shall not become used to idleness. R. Joseph bar Hama used to compel slaves of his debtors to labour for him. Said Rabha, his son, to him: Why does the Master so? And he answered him: Because R. Na'hman said that the labour of a slave is not worth even the food he consumes. Said Rabha: R. Na'hman said so because of his slave Daru, who was dallying about the shops and doing nothing, but not of slaves who are working. And he answered: I hold with the statement made by R. Daniel, who in the name of Rabh stated above. And his son said again: This is said in case the compeller has not any claims against the owners of the slaves; but you, Master, who claim money from their owners, it looks like usury, as R. Joseph bar Miniumi said in the name of R. Na'hman: Although it is said of one who lives on the property of another without his knowledge is not obliged to pay rent therefor, but when he has lent money to the owner of the property he must pay him rent (that it shall not be considered as usury). Rejoined his father: (You are right.) I will not do it again.

It was taught: If one takes possession of another's ship and makes use of it. Said Rabh: The owner may collect either the usual price of loaning it, or, if it was damaged and the amount of repairing surpasses the amount of hiring, he may collect even this. Samuel, however, said: If the amount of the hiring surpasses the amount of the repairing, he takes only the latter. Said R. Papa: They do not differ. Rabh speaks of a case where the intention of the sailor was to pay the value of the ship, and Samuel speaks of a case where the intention was to steal (and a stolen article is to be returned as it was when stolen, without any increase, for the benefit of those who repent). "If one has stolen a coin," etc. Said R. Huna: The expression "broke" is to be taken literally; the expression "it became invalid" means that the government abolished it. R. Jehudah, however, said: It would be the same as if broken, but the expression "invalid" means that it became invalid in this country, but has still a value in another one. Said R. Hisda to R. Huna: According to your theory, it was abolished by the government. Is that not equivalent to those who stole fruits which became rotten or wine which became sour, for which the value at the time it was stolen is to be paid? And he answered: There is a change in taste and smell, which is not the case here. Said Rabba to R. Jehudah: According to your theory abolished by the government is the same as broken. Is that not equivalent to the case of heave-offering, of which it is stated that he may say: "Yours is before you"? And he answered: Nay, it cannot be equivalent; for in the case of the heave-offering, it remains the same as it was before, and no one can recognise any change in it; but here every one can recognise that the coin is of no value. It was taught: If one has given credit, to be repaid with coin which had the full value at that time, and afterwards this coin was abolished? Rabh said: He must pay him with coin of the time of payment. Samuel, however, said: The debtor can say, "I give you the coin according to our agreement, and you must take the trouble to use it in the city of Mishon, where it has a value. Said R. Na'hman: It seems that Samuel's theory can be applied in the case of a creditor, who intends to go to that place, but not otherwise. Rabha objected to R. Na'hman, from the following Boraitha: The second tithe cannot be changed with coins which are not circulating in the market, as the coins of Cachba, or of the government of Jerusalem, or of the kings of the ancient times. As the expression, "kings of the ancient times," does not imply the coins of the later kings, which have not any value here, but still have a value in other countries, they may be changed (although the changer has not any intention to go there, as he has to take this money for use in Jerusalem)? And he rejoined: The case was when the governments were not particular when foreign coins were used. According to you (said Rabha again), Samuel means to say that even when the governments are particular; but if they are, how can he bring the coins there? It can be explained that they can be smuggled in, as the government does not search for them, but if found they confiscate them.

The rabbis taught: What were the coins of Jerusalem? David and Solomon were engraved on one side, and Jerusalem the holy city on the other side; and what were the coins of Abraham the patriarch? An old man and woman on one side and a young man and woman on the other side. Rabha questioned R. Hisda: If one has given credit, to be paid with a certain coin, and in the mean time the coins increased in weight, what is the law? And he answered: He must give him coins which are used at the time of payment. And he questioned again: Even if there is a large increase in size and weight? 1 And he said: Yea. But on account of the larger coins, the fruits become cheaper (as we get more produce for a larger coin than a smaller one, and so it would look like usury). Said R. Ashi: It must be discovered whether the fruits become cheaper on account of increase of the coins in question, then the payment is to be reduced accordingly. But if the fruits become cheap on account of great production, then no reduction is to be made. But (even in the latter case), at any rate, is there not then an increase in the metal of the coin which looks like usury? Therefore the question must be decided in accordance with the following act of Papa and R. Huna the son of R. Joshua, who have in such a case examined the different coins of the merchant Argdimus, and have found that eight of the new ones are equal to ten of the old ones (and then they decided that the borrower must pay accordingly). Rabha said: If it happened that one had pushed another's hand, and a coin fell down from his hand into the sea, he is free, as he may say: I did it unintentionally, and the coin is before you; you may take it. This is the case only when the water is so clear that the coin is to be seen, but not otherwise. 1 Rabha objected from the following Mishna: The second tithe cannot be charged upon money which is not under one's control at the time, e.g., when he placed his money in custody or in the king's treasury (which he cannot reach without great difficulty), or when the purse with money fell into the sea, so that the tithe cannot be charged on such money. (Hence we see that such money is not considered under his control.) And Rabha answered: This case is different, as the verse plainly states "and bind up the money in thy hand." And Rabha said again: If one has defaced coins belonging to others, he is free, because he did not take away anything, and it is considered as if he had done nothing. This is only by striking with a mortar upon the effigy (so that it disappears), but not when he has filed it, as then the weight of it is lessened. And Rabha said again: If one cuts off the ear of his neighbour's cow, which by such an act becomes unfit for the altar, he is free, because the cow is afterwards as good as before and he has done nothing, as not all cattle are prepared for the altar. Rabha objected from the following Boraitha: "If one has laboured with the red cow or with its ashes, he is free from the lower court, but he is nevertheless responsible in the divine court." We see then that labour which cannot be recognised on the body of the animal as damaging, the civil court cannot make him liable for; but by taking off the car, which is recognised on the body, he should be responsible even before the civil court? Nay, the case is the same, and the above Boraitha comes to teach us that even in a case where the change is not to be recognised on the body, he is nevertheless responsible before the divine court. The same said again: Ii one has burnt a note of his neighbour, he is free, because he can say, "I have only burned a piece of paper." Rami bar Hama opposed: Let us see. If there are witnesses who know what was written in the note, let them draw another good note for him (and there would be no damage at all); and if there are no witnesses, how can we know the amount of the note? Said Rabha: The rabbis' decision may hold even when the burner trusts the owner of the note as to its amount. R. Dimi bar Hanina said: The above statement of Rabha is discussed by R. Simeon and the rabbis, namely: According to R. Simeon, who holds that a germon is considered a direct pecuniary loss, then in the case of Rabha there is a liability; but to the rabbis, who hold that a germon is not considered such, then in the case of Rabha there is no liability. R. Huna, the son of R. Joshua, however, opposed: You have heard R. Simeon so declaring only in a case where the origin was money, in the following case stated by Rabha: If one has stolen leavened bread before passover, and another has burned it in the middle days of the feast, he is free, because there is an obligation on every Israelite to destroy it. If the case occurs after passover, there is a difference of opinion; according to R. Simeon, by whom it is held a germon for a direct pecuniary damage, there is liability, and according to his opponents there is not; but in a case where the origin is not money, did you hear them differ? Said Amemar: In the courts where they summon for causing damage by germon, the full value of the note is to be collected from the destroyer. In the courts, however, where they do not, in such cases there is to be collected only the value of the piece of paper. Such a case happened, and Raphram compelled R. Ashi to pay from his best estates.

"Leavened bread," etc., "he can say, 'Yours is before you.'" Who is the Tana who holds that in prohibited things, from which no benefit is to be derived, one may nevertheless say: "Yours is before you." Said R. Hisda: It is R. Jacob of the Boraitha stated above (p. 103). R. Jacob said: Even when it is already decided that the ox shall be killed, and the bailee has returned it to its owner, the act is valid, and we must assume the point of their difference is this: R. Jacob holds that of things from which no benefit is to be derived he may nevertheless say: "Yours is before you," and the rabbis hold that such is not the case? Said Rabha to him: Nay, all agree, in the case stated above, that one may say, "Yours is before you." For if such is not the case, let them differ also in case of leaven on passover (stated above). The point of their difference here, however, is this: Whether the court may decide the case of the goring ox in its absence. The rabbis hold that the decision must be in the presence of the ox, and therefore the owner can claim that if it should be returned to him before the decision of the court, he could drive it away to a meadow, but after the decision he could do nothing; so that no decision could be rendered; and R. Jacob holds that the presence of the ox is not necessary, and the bailee can say to the owner: "What is the difference, when the ox would be returned to you; the court would decide the case in any event, and as the ox is yours, I have nothing to do with it."

"Fruits, and they became rotten," etc. But we have learned in a Mishna that in such a case one must pay their value at the time they were stolen? Said R. Papa: The Mishna just quoted speaks of a case when all the fruit had become rotten, and our Mishna speaks when only a part of them had become so.

MISHNA 3: If a specialist took a thing to repair it and he spoiled it, he must pay. The same is the case if a carpenter took a box, a trunk, or a cage to repair and he has spoiled it--he must pay. A builder who undertook to take apart a wall, and he broke the stones or bricks, or spoiled them, he must pay. If, however, by taking it apart from one side, it fell down from another side, he is free; provided, however, it did not fall down by reason of the stroke.

GEMARA: Said R. Asi: The Mishna speaks only when the things were given solely for repairing, e.g.., to put nails on it;

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but if wood were given to one to make the above articles new ones and he broke them, he has to pay only for the wood, and not for the vessels, because the carpenter acquires title in the increase of the wood by having made a vessel of it. There is an objection from our Mishna: If a specialist took something to repair it, he is liable. Shall we not assume that he took wood? Nay, it means when he took vessels. But does not the second part speak of vessels, of which it is to be inferred that the first part speaks of wood? Nay, the Mishna itself explains in the latter part the meaning of the first part, and it is to be read thus: If he has spoiled. How so? If he has given it to specialists for repairing, and they have spoiled it, they are responsible; e.g., if he gives to a carpenter a trunk, etc. And it seems also that the latter part is only an explanation. Then (if such is not the case) the latter case would be entirely superfluous, as it is stated already in the first part that, even if he took wood he must pay; it is self-evident, when he took vessels and spoiled them? (Says the Gemara:) This conclusion is not strong enough, as it can be said that the statement of the second part was necessary to declare the meaning of the first part, lest one say that the first part treats of vessels, but with wood the case would be different, it expresses in the second part the different vessels, to infer from it that the first part treats of wood, and, nevertheless, he is responsible. There is another objection from the following Mishna: Come and hear: If a specialist took a garment and made it ready, and informed the owner he should take it and the owner did not care to do so, the negative commandment of Lev. xix. 13, "There shall not abide," etc., does not apply here. If, however, he has delivered it to him in the middle of the day, and it is not paid by sunset, the above commandment is applied. Now, if some would bear in mind that the master acquires title on the increase, then why should the above commandment be applied? Must not the garment be considered as the property of the master? Said R. Mori the son of R. Kahana: This Mishna speaks of an old garment that was given to be cleaned and to comb the wool, where there is no increase. But, finally, if given to him to put in order, e.g., to make it soft, or to clean it so that it shall look like a new one--is this not to be considered an increase? The case was that he hired him on time, then he must pay him for his time and not for the garment, and, therefore, if he had not paid him, the above passage applies. Samuel said: A butcher (even), a specialist, if he has spoiled the meat (by slaughtering the cattle not in accordance with the law) he must pay, he is a tort-feasor, and is also considered wilful in doing this damage, as he has slaughtered it not in the place where it ought to have been done, and his mission of slaughtering is not fulfilled. Why so many reasons? If it stated a tort-feasor only, one may say that the case is only when he was hired to slaughter, but if he has done it gratuitously he should be free; therefore the addition.

"His act is considered wilful." R. Hama bar Guria objects from the following Boraitha: If one has given his cattle for slaughter and they are spoiled so that they become (unfit for eating), if the butcher was a specialist, there is no liability; but if he was a layman, there is. Both, however, if they were hired, then are they liable. Samuel's answer was: I think your brain is not in regular order. The same objection was raised to it by another of the rabbis, and Samuel said to him: (Stop objecting,) as thou wilt receive the same answer as thy colleague. I taught this in accord with R. Meir, and you questioned me in accordance with his opponents. Why did not you give a careful consideration to my statement? Did I not say he is a tort-feasor, and considered wilful, etc., and whose theory is it that such a consideration should apply in such cases? There is only R. Meir. [Where did R. Meir state this?] In the following Mishna: If one's jug was broken (in the public street), and he did not remove it, or his camel fell down and he did not raise it (and damage was caused), R. Meir said: He must pay. The rabbis, however, say: This damage cannot be collected by the civil court; the divine court, however, makes him responsible for it. And it is declared that they differ in the case of stumbling, whether it is considered wilfulness or not. Rabba bar Hana in the name of R. Johanan said: A professional slaughterer is always responsible for his act, and even if he were expert as they of Ziphrus. Did R. Johanan, indeed, say so? Did not Rabba bar bar Hana himself say that such a case happened for R. Johanan in the congregation of Moun, and R. Johanan said to him: "Go and bring witnesses that you are a specialist in slaughtering cocks, and I will take off the responsibility from you"? This presents no difficulty. The latter was a gratuitous act, and the first case speaks of hire. As R. Sera used to say: One who likes to be sure of the responsibility of his slaughterer, he shall advance him a dinar. It happened that a case of egressum (in slaughtering) came before Rabh, and he declared it unlawful for use, and at the same time he absolved the slaughterer from payment. When R. Kahana and R. Asi met the owner of the cattle, they said to him: Rabh did two good things regarding you. He prevented you from using a doubtful thing, and also restrained you from possible robbery (as, if he had made the butcher pay, it would have been a robbery). It was taught: Suppose one gave a coin to a banker for examination, which was approved by him, and afterwards it was found to be of no value? If he was a specialist, he is free; but if a layman, he is responsible. So is the statement of one Boraitha. Another one, however, states that in any case the banker is responsible. Said R. Papa: The statement that he is free speaks of experts like Danki and Esau, who do not need any more experience, but they erred in the picture of the coin, which was a new one in this country, and they took it for an old one of another country, and they did not know that in this country such a coin was just made. There was a woman who showed a coin to R. Hyya, and he told her: It is a good one. The next day she came and told him that when she showed it to other people she was told it was of no value, and she could not give it out. Then R. Hyya said to Rabh: Give her a good dinar, and write in my account book that this was a bad business (to lose money for nothing, as I should not have given a decision upon it). But why--was not R. Hyya an expert in such cases, as Danki and Esau mentioned above, of whom it was said they had not to pay for their error? R. Hyya did not go to the extreme of the law, but acted on the teaching that a generous man should always moderate the law when it is against poor people (as will be explained in the Second Gate (Chap. 2.) by R. Joseph). Resh Lakish showed a dinar to R. Elazar, and he told him: It is a good one. He said then: I rely upon you. And the former rejoined: What do you mean by relying upon me--that if it will be found of no value I should change it? Are not you he who said that the decision of this Halakha is in accordance with R. Meir, who decided that laws of germon (damages which are done indirectly) shall be put in practice? Consequently the Halakha does not so prevail. "Nay, rejoined Resh Lakish, "I meant that it is according to him and so the Halakha prevails." [And where did R. Meir stated it? In the following Boraitha. The name of R. Meir is not mentioned here, and Tosphatt declares that it was known to the Gemara that this is his decision.] "If the partition which was placed between the vineyard and corn was broken, the court has to order him twice to repair it. If he, however, did not care to fulfil the order, then the products are prohibited, and the owner of the partition has to suffer the damage."

MISHNA 4.: If one gave wool to the dyer, and it was spoiled in the kettle, the value of the wool is to be paid. If it was poorly dyed, by reason of the kettle not being clean, if the increase in value of the wool is more than the expense, then he pays the expense only; and conversely, the increase only. If one has given wool to be dyed red, and it is dyed black, or conversely, R. Meir says: The value of the wool is to be paid. R. Jehudah says: It must be seen which was greater, the increase or the expense.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: If one has given wood to the carpenter to make a chair of it, and he has made a bench, or conversely, the value of the wood is to be paid. So is the decree of R. Meir. R. Jehudah says: "If the increase is more than the expense," etc. (as stated in the Mishna). R. Meir, however, agrees that such a decision applies if the agreement was to make a nice one and he made it unsightly. The schoolmen propounded a question: Is the colour of the dyes to be considered . as existing upon the wool, or not? How is it to be understood if one has stolen the wool and the dyes of the same man, and has dyed the wool with the same, and then returns the wool? Now, if it is considered as existing, then he has returned all he has stolen from him; and if not, he has returned him only the wool? But even suppose not, is not the price of the wool increased by that? Nay! The case was that the dyed wool became cheaper after it was stolen. Rabbina said: The question is in case the wool belongs to one and the dyes to another, and a monkey came and dyed this wool with these dyes. Shall we then assume that the dyes are considered as existing upon the wool, and the owner of the dyes can say: "Pay me for my dyes which are upon your wool"? Or, perhaps can the other say: "There is nothing that belongs to you, as the colour of your dyes is not taken into consideration." Come and hear: A garment which is dyed with the rinds of fruits grown in the sabbatic year must be burned. Hence it is to be inferred that the colour of dyes is considered as existing? There is a difference, as the Scripture uses the expression, "It shall be," which means: It shall always be considered as existing.

"R. Jehudah says," etc. R. Joseph was sitting behind R. Abba, before R. Huna, and R. Huna said: The Halakha prevails in accord with R. Joshua ben Karcha and also with R. Jehudah. R. Joseph then turned his face, and said: It is necessary to say that the Halakha prevails in accord with R. Joshua ben Karcha, lest one say that, as there is a rule where an individual and the majority differ, the Halakha prevails as the majority; therefore he comes to teach us that here the Halakha prevails according to the individual. [What is the case of R. Joshua ben Karcha? The case of the following Boraitha, where it is said that before the pagans' holidays there should be collected from them only such debts as are not known by any writing; but if there is a note, it must not be collected.] But for what purpose was it necessary to state: The Halakha prevails according to R. Jehudah? Is this not self-evident? Is there not an anonymous Mishna after the Mishna in which they differ, and there is a rule that in such a case the Halakha prevails in accordance with the anonymous Mishna--namely, in this First Gate, R. Meir and R. Jehudah differ in our Mishna stated above, and in the Second Gate there is an anonymous Mishna that he who has changed the order must suffer the damages, which is certainly in accordance with R. Jehudah's theory? [Said the Gemara:] R. Huna holds that his statement was necessary, because at a first glance one may say that the order of the Mishnayoth is not to be taken into consideration; and, consequently, there is not an anonymous Mishna after the Mishna which was discussed. If so, what, then, is the rule? R. Joseph may say: We can say to every anonymous Mishna which comes after a discussion that there is no order in the Mishnayoth. And what would R. Huna say to this? He might say that only in one tract is the order of the Mishna not to be taken into consideration, but in two different tracts it must be considered. And R. Joseph? He maintains that the whole of Section Damages is considered as one tract. And if you prefer, it may be said that, even to him who does not consider the whole section as one tract, the anonymous Mishna in the Second Gate, which is placed among decided Halakhas without any change, prevails.

The rabbis taught: If one has given money to his messenger to buy wheat and he buys barley, or vice versa, there was taught in one Boraitha that the decrease as well as increase is accounted to the messenger; and in another one, the decrease only, but the increase must be divided. Said R. Johanan: The different opinions of the Boraithas present no difficulty: one is in accordance with R. Meir, who holds that change gives title, and the other one is in accord with R. Jehudah, who holds it does not. R. Elazar opposed: How can we infer that according to R. Meir even the increase belongs to the messenger? Perhaps R. Meir spoke only of an article that one needs for his own use, but not for the market (as there is a difference which article he buys as soon as there is profit on it). And, therefore, said R. Elazar, both Boraithas are in accord with R. Meir, and present, nevertheless, no difficulty. The first means when it was bought for eating, and the other for the market. In the West they ridiculed Johanan's explanation according to R. Jehudah, for who had informed the man of the wheat that he shall pass title to the man of the money (and why should the sender get a share of the increase)? R. Samuel bar Sasarti thus opposed this: If it is so, then even when the messenger has bought the same article he was ordered to buy, then the profit should not belong to the sender? Said R. Abuhi: Then there is a difference, because the messenger fulfilled what he was ordered, and he is considered as the owner himself.

The rabbis taught: One who buys a field in the name of his neighbour, he for whom it was bought, is not to be compelled to sell it; but if he bought it under this condition, then he may be compelled. How is this to be understood? Said R. Shesheth: It means to say the following: If, e.g., one has bought a field in the name of the Exilarch, the Exilarch cannot be compelled to sell it again; but if he bought it under this condition that the Exilarch shall transfer it, he may be. Now we see that he acquires title in any case. Shall we assume that this Boraitha differs with those of the West, which said above, that title without information cannot be acquired? This question could be answered that the buyer has informed the seller, and the witnesses also, that he buys it for himself; but the latter part, which stated that the Exilarch may be compelled to sell it again, presents a difficulty. Why should not the Exilarch say: I do not want to be honoured (by you in buying things in my name), and to be despised afterwards (in making me a seller of property). Therefore, said Abayi, it means thus: If one buys a field in the name of his neighbour, the seller is not compelled to write him another bill of sale upon his own name unless he bought it under this condition; but is it, then, necessary for the Boraitha to state that the seller has not to give two bills of sale in two different names--is it not self-evident? Lest one say, the buyer could claim that the seller was well informed that the bill of sale in the other's name was only a πινακος; ("for fear that my creditors shall not claim this estate); and certainly, as I would not give money for nothing, it was with the intention I should get another bill of sale in my name." He comes, therefore, to teach us that the seller can say to the buyer: "Go and get your bill of sale from him in whose name you have bought." But where is the need of the latter part, "if he bought it under this condition," etc.? Is this not self-evident! The case was when the buyer said to the witnesses in the presence of the seller: "Observe that I want to get another bill of sale." Lest one say, the seller could claim: "I meant another bill of sale from him in whose name it was, bought"; he comes, therefore, to teach us that the buyer may claim that, only for the purpose of getting another bill of sale from the seller, he informed him in the presence of witnesses; as if not, there would not be any necessity for the seller to know this. R., Kahana paid money for flax. In the meantime the flax became dearer and the seller sold it (for R. Kahana's benefit). Then R. Kahana questioned Rabh if he had a right to take the money. And he answered: If in selling the flax it was said that it is Kahana's flax, go and take it; but not otherwise. Now, Rabh's decision is in accordance with the theory of the rabbis of the West, stated above. But did, then, R. Kahana give four (with the intention to get) eight? The flax was his, and it became dearer by itself, so that the seller who had sold it without the

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knowledge of R. Kahana is to be considered as a robber, of whom it is stated in the Mishna: He must pay the value when it was stolen, and the flax was already dearer. The case was that R. Kahana had not given to the man flax at all, but money to buy it at the lowest price, and he had confidence in him; and when the seller did not mention that he sold the flax of R. Kahana, the increased price of the flax, which was not as yet the property of Kahana, if he had taken it, was to be considered as usury. Rabh, however, in his decision is in accord with his theory that a trust may be made for fruit, to pay for it now and to get it when it will be dearer. He must, however, take the fruit itself, but not the money for it (as it would be like usury).

MISHNA 5.: One who has stolen the value of a coin, even the smallest in the country, and he swears falsely that he did y not take it, and afterwards confesses, he shall return it to the owner where he is to be found, even when he is in Madai. He cannot return it to his son or a messenger. He may, however, return it to the messenger of the court. In case the one robbed is dead, he may return it to his heirs. If he has returned the principal amount, but not the fifth part (that he must add) [see Lev. v.], or if the one robbed had renounced the principal amount but not the fifth part, or he had renounced both except the value of less than a parutha of the principal. amount, he is no more obliged to go to him (for the sake of returning the part he still owes him). If, however, the fifth part only is paid or renounced, or even when both are renounced less than a parutha of the principal amount itself, he must go to him to return it. If he has paid the principal amount, and he took an oath that he had returned him the fifth part also, and then he confesses, he must then add a fifth part to the fifth, etc., till the part sworn off will be less than a parutha. The same is the case in a deposit, as it is said [Lev. 5:21-24]: "If any person sin and commits a trespass against the Lord; if he, namely, lie unto his neighbour in that which was delivered to him to keep, or in a loan, or in a thing taken away by violence, or if he has withheld the wages of his neighbour, or if he has found something which was lost and lies concerning it and swears falsely in any one of all these which a man can do to sin thereby. Then shall it be when he has sinned and is conscious of his guilt, that he shall restore what has been violently taken away, or the wages which he has withheld, or that which was delivered to him to keep, or the lost thing which he has found, or any one thing about which he may have sworn falsely, and he shall restore it, in its principal, and the fifth part thereof shall be added thereto: unto him to whom it appertains shall he give it on the day when he confesses his trespass."

GEMARA: (If he has sworn) but how is it when he has not sworn--he must not pay? then the Mishna is not in accord with R. Tarphon nor with R. Aqiba of the following Mishna: "If one has robbed one of five persons, and he does not know which of them, and each of them says he was robbed, he shall place the robbed amount among them and he is free, so is the decree of R. Tarphon." R. Aqiba, however, says: "Such is not the way to prevent one from sinning, and he is not free unless he pays the amount to each of them." Now, according to R. Tarphon, even when he swears, he may nevertheless get free by placing the robbed amount among them; and according to R. Aqiba, even when there was no oath he must pay to each of them? Our Mishna can be explained in accord with R. Aqiba and his statement, he shall pay to each of them is only in case he has sworn, because it is said [Lev. 5.]: ["Unto him to whom it appertains shall he give it on the day when he confesses his trespass."] R. Tarphon, however, maintains: "The rabbis have made an enactment even in case there was an oath, as stated in the following Boraitha: R. Elazar b. Zadok says: There was a great enactment by the rabbis that in case the travelling expenses for returning it should exceed the robbed amount, he may pay the principal amount and a fifth part of it to the court, and he may bring the trespass offering and an atonement will be made for him. Concerning this statement R. Aqiba may say that such enactment applies only when he knows whom he has robbed; but in our case, where he does not know who of the five was robbed by him (so that he cannot return the robbed article to the right owner), the above enactment does not apply." Rabha objected from the following: "It happened with one pious man who bought of one of two persons, and he did not know from which of them, when he then came before R. Tarphon, he told him to place among them the value of the goods bought and he will then be free. When he came to R. Aqiba he told him: 'You cannot make good this act unless you will pay to each of them the full amount.'" Now if you bear in mind that R. Aqiba's statement is only when he has sworn falsely--would then a pious man swear falsely? And if one may say, that this person has become pious after he has sworn falsely--is there not a rule that everywhere the expression, "It happened with a pious one," etc., is used, it means always R. Jehudah ben Rabba or Jehudah b. Ilai, and both were always pious? Therefore said Rabha: The case in our Mishna is entirely different, it was known to him whom he has robbed, and he has confessed to him, and because at the time of the confession the robbed one did not demand he shall return him the robbed articles immediately, it is considered as if he would say, "Keep it for me," and this can only be when he has not sworn and did not need any atonement; but when he has sworn, although the robbed one would say to him plainly, "Keep it for me," he still needs an atonement, and this cannot take place until the robbed articles are returned in the hands of the robbed one.

"He cannot give it," etc. It was taught, a messenger who was instructed by the creditor in the presence of witnesses. R. Hisda said: "He is considered a good messenger, so that if an accident happens to him after he received the money, it is to be charged on account of the creditor and not of the debtor, for the reason that the creditor took the trouble to appoint this messenger in the presence of witnesses, so that as soon as the messenger receives the money the debtor shall be acquitted." Rabba, however, said: "The creditor has only introduced the messenger as a man who is worthy to be trusted, and if you wish, you can send with him, but I am not responsible until the money reaches me." An objection was raised from our Mishna: "He shall not give it to his messenger." What kind of a messenger is meant? If he was not instructed before witnesses, how do we know that he is a messenger? Hence, we must say that he was nominated in the presence of witnesses (and nevertheless it is said he shall not give it to him)? R. Hisda explained that the Mishna speaks of the robbed one's employee. But how, if the same would be appointed to receive this thing in the presence of witnesses--may then the robber give it to him? Then why does not the Mishna make this distinction, instead of the statement that he can give it to the messenger of the court? It may be said that the Mishna prefers to speak of a messenger who is to be respected at any rate, no matter through whose influence appointed, whether of the robbed one or of the robber, which is not the case with a private messenger. And with this statement the Mishna also intends to contradict R. Simeon ben Elazar of the following Boraitha, who said: A messenger of the court when nominated by the robbed one without the consent of the robber, or when even by the robber, and the robbed one has sent another messenger and took the robbed article, and before it was returned to the robbed one an accident happened, the robber has done his duty. R. Johanan and R. Elazar both said that a messenger appointed in the presence of witnesses is a good messenger, and regarding the above stated objection from our Mishna, we may say: Our Mishna speaks of a case where the robbed one has only advised a man to tell the robber that he can give him the articles robbed to deliver; for he thought that the robber had nobody to send him.

R. Jehudah, in the name of Samuel, said: "A messenger must not be made in his absence, namely: If the creditor writes to the debtor, 'Send me the money through so and so, and I take the responsibility for it'--even when he had signed this letter with his signature and with witnesses it is of no value." R. Johanan, however, said: "If it was signed and witnessed, the order may be executed."

But what is to be done according to Samuel's theory? The creditor shall pass the title of the money to the messenger, and the messenger shall be able to give a receipt in his own name; as it happened with R. Abba, who was the creditor of R. Joseph bar Hama, and the former asked R. Safra to bring it when he returned. And when R. Safra demanded the money, said Rabha the son of R. Joseph to him: "Did R. Abba give you a receipt for the amount?" and he answered, "No." Then he said: "Go and take from him a receipt first." Finally, after reconsidering, he said to him: "Even if you would have a receipt, I would not give you the money, for the reason that perhaps until you will reach him, he will be dead, and this money will belong to his orphans, so that the receipt of R. Abba would be of no value." And when R. Safra questioned what then should be done, he replied: "Let him rather assign the amount to you with real estate, and you will give us a receipt," in your own name; as it happened that R. Papa had to collect twelve thousand zuz from one in the city of Husai, and he assigned them to R. Samuel bar Abba with the threshold of his house, and when the latter returned, R. Papa went forth to meet him even to the city of Toach.

"If he has paid," etc. From this is to be inferred that the fifth part is not considered a fine, but an addition to the principal; and if the robbed one dies, it must be paid to his heirs; and so it seems from the latter part of our Mishna: "He has to add a fifth part to the fifth part." And so also it is plainly stated in the following Boraitha: "If one has robbed and has sworn falsely and then he dies, the heir must pay the principal amount and the fifth part, but they are free from the trespass offering." So we see, then, that the heirs are subject to the payment of the fifth part for their father. Is there not a contradiction from the following Boraitha: "It is written 'which he robbed,' which signifies that only of his robbery a fifth must be added, but not of that of his father's"? And in addition to this, the Boraitha states: "Still one may say that so it is when neither the father nor the son has sworn falsely; but if both or one of them has sworn, the fifth must be paid. Therefore it is written [Lev. 5:23]: 'What he has taken violently away, or the wages which he has withheld'; and here the son did nothing of the kind." (Hence we see that the fifth part is considered a fine for the false oath, and not an addition to the amount? Said R. Na'hman: "This presents no difficulty. Our Mishna speaks of a father who confessed the robbery, and the Boraitha speaks when he did not." If he did not confess, then the principal amount also should not be paid? And lest one say it is indeed so, why then speak about the fifth part only? from which it is to be inferred that the principal part is to be paid, and aside of this the Boraitha cited above states: "And still one may say, the son has to pay the principal amount for the father's robbery only when both the son and father have sworn. Where we know, however, that the same is the case, when both or one of them did not swear? From the four distinct expressions of robbery, wages, lost things, and deposit from which we deduce it?" [When R. Huna had repeated this Halakha in the presence of his son Rabba, the latter questioned: "My master, do you mean to deduce from this scripture that it must be paid, or you say is it common?" And he answered: "I said it is to be deduced from the above expressions mentioned in the scripture.] But let us see what did R. Na'hman mean by his expression, "he has not confessed"?" That the father had not confessed, but the son did; then that the son pay the fifth part for his own guilt." It may be said that the robbed article is no more in existence, and in such a case the son is no more obliged to pay even the principal amount (explained further on in Chap. 10.). If so, even the principal amount should not be paid? The case was there one of real estate left by the father.) But even then this is only a loan without a note, which is not to be collected, either from the buyers or heirs? It may be said that the case was after it was already in the court. If so, even the fifth part should be paid? Said R. Huna, the son of R. Joshua: "It is because the money in question is not to be paid upon a disavowal which is to be collected from real estate only." Rabha said: "The case was that the robbed article was deposited somewhere of which the son had no knowledge when he swore. The principal is to be paid because it is still in existence; the fifth part, however, he must not pay, because the oath was not false, as he was not aware of it."

"Except less than the value of a parutha." Said R. Papa: "There is no difference if the robbed article exists or not; he is not obliged to travel after him for the purpose of returning, as the fear that it may become dearer is not to be taken into consideration." Rabha said: If one has robbed three bunches of the value of three paruthas, and then the bunches became cheaper, three for two, even when he had returned two bunches to him, he must return the third also; and this can be proved from our Mishna where it is stated, that when he robbed leavened bread before passover, etc., he may say: "Yours is before you." From which it is to be inferred that it is so only when the robbed article exists still in the same form as it was before; but if it does not exist, he would be obliged to pay him the full amount, although it is now of no value at all. The same is the case here; although it has now no more the value of a parutha, he must nevertheless pay for it because it had this value before. He was in doubt, however, in the following case: If one has robbed two bunches of the value of a parutha, and had returned one of them, how is the law? Shall we say: There it is no robbery, or perhaps because he has not returned all he has robbed, he must return it? Afterwards he decided that although it is not considered robbery any more, the commandment to return it is not yet fulfilled. (He must therefore return it.) Rabha was still in doubt in the following case: Where one robbing leaven before passover, etc., our Mishna states that he may say: "Yours is before you." How is now the law, when the robber, after the leaven became prohibited, has sworn that he does not possess it, and that he did not rob it; and after he confesses? Shall we assume that in case the leaven should be stolen, he would be obliged to pay for it, although in that time it was of no value? Consequently he has denied a case of money, and therefore he must repay. Or as the article is still in existence and of no value whatever, his denial is not to be considered a false one. (Said the Gemara:) This Halakha in which Rabha was doubtful to Rabba was certain, for he said elsewhere: If the plaintiff claims the defendant has stolen an ox from him and he denies it, and on the question, how then is the ox in your house, he answers: "I am a gratuitous bailee of it," and afterwards he confessed he is liable because this oath would make him free in case it would be stolen or lost; the same is the case when he swore that he was a bailee for hire, because it would make him free in case the ox should break a leg or die; and, finally, the same is the case when he swore that he had borrowed it to do labour with it, as this oath would make him free in case it should die while labouring. Hence we see that, although the article is before us, it is considered as if he had denied money, because so would be the case should it be stolen. The same is also here with the leaven. Although it is now only dust, it is nevertheless considered as money for the reason stated above. When Rabha was repeating the above stated Halakha, Amram objected from the following Boraitha: It is written [Lev. v. 22]: "And he lies concerning it," it meant to exclude, if he confesses the principal amount. How so? If the plaintiff claims you have stolen my ox, and the defendant denies, and on the question, "How, then, is my ox on your premises?" he answered: "You sold it, you have given it to me as a present, or your father

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sold or gave it to me as a present, or the ox ran after my cow, came by itself, or I found it wandering on the way, or I am a gratuitous, or bailee for hire, or I have borrowed it;" and he swore so, and after confessed; lest one say he is liable for a trespass offering; therefore the above-cited verse. Hence the Boraitha contradicts Rabba's statement, and he answered: Tardus. This Boraitha speaks of a case that he said, "Here it is, take it." It had reference to a case that the ox was still in the meadow. The Boraitha states: "Thou hast sold it." What confession of the principal claim is then to be found in such an answer or in the answer of the defendant, "You or your father gave it to me as a present"? In case of selling he told him at the same time that he bought it and did not yet pay, or "that you or your father gave it to me under the condition I should do something for him, which I did not do, and therefore take your ox and go." But what answer is this to "I have found it wandering on the way"? should not the plaintiff claim, "If so, was not your obligation to return it to me?" Said the father of Samuel: "The answer was, I swear that I have found it as a lost thing, and I did not know it is yours."

We have learned in a Boraitha: Ben Azai said: "There are three different oaths concerning the testimony of a witness regarding a lost thing; namely, (a) I knew that it was a lost thing, but I do not know who found it; He knew the finder; (b) I know the finder some, but I do not know what he found; and (c) I know the finder and the article lost." To what purpose did Ben Azai state it? R. Ami in the name of R. Hanina said: "He said it to make the witness free from a trespass offering." Samuel, however, said: "To make him liable." And these two Amoraim differ in the same as the Tanaim of a Boraitha elsewhere differ, and the point of their difference is whether a germon is to be considered as pecuniary damage or not. (Explained above.)

R. Shesheth says: "One who denies a deposit trusted to him is considered as a robber of it, and is liable even for an accident." And this can be proved from the following Boraitha: "And lie concerning," etc. In that passage we read of the punishment of telling a lie, but where is the warning against it? Therefore it is written [ibid., ibid. 20:21]. "Neither shall he deny." Is it not to be assumed that the punishment is for the denying, even without an oath? Nay, the punishment is for false swearing. But if so, how is it to be understood the later part of the same Boraitha? It is written [ibid. 5:21]: "And swear falsely." In this passage we read the punishment, but where is the warning? Therefore it is written [v. 22]: "Nor lie." Now as the later part speaks of swearing, is it not to be inferred that the first part speaks without swearing? It may be said in the first part also, an oath is meant which was found false by witnesses, and in such a case he is liable even for an accident; the later part, however, speaks when it was found to be false by his own confession, and in such a case he must add the fifth part to the principal amount and a trespass offering.

R. Huna said in the name of Rabh: "If the plaintiff claims a hundred zuz, and the defendant denies and takes an oath, he is free even when witnesses testify against him, because it is written [Ex. xxii. 20]: "And the owner of it shall accept this, and he shall not make it good." From this it is deduced that as soon as the owner has taken an oath, he has not to pay any more money. Said Rabha: "Rabh's theory seems to be correct in the case of a loan, as the money was taken for spending; but in the case of a deposit which ought to be returned as it was, it is still considered under the control of the owner, wherever it is." In reality, however, Rabh had said this even in case of a deposit, as the verse of the Scripture refers to such a case. R. Na'hman was sitting and repeating this Halakha. R. A'ha bar Minyumi, from R. Na'hman, objected to it from the following Boraitha: "Where is my deposit?" and the other answered: "It is lost," and the first said: "Do you swear (and so may God help you)?" And he answered: "Amen." Witnesses testified, however, that he had consumed it, he must pay its value only; but if he himself confessed, he must add a fifth part and a trespass offering. (Hence there is a payment after swearing?) And R. Na'hman answered; "The case was when the oath was taken out of court, which is not considered legal." Said the former again: "If it is so, how is the later part of the same Boraitha to be understood: 'Where is my deposit?'" And he answered: "It is stolen; do you swear," etc., and he said "Amen." And witnesses testified that he himself had stolen it, he must pay double; if, however, he confessed, he must add only a fifth part, etc., to the principal and a trespass offering. Now if it is as you say that the oath took place out of the court, can there be a double payment without the court? And R. Na'hman rejoined: "I could explain to you that the first part speaks of an oath without and the later in the presence of the court. I don't like, however, to give you an incomprehensible explanation. It may be explained that the oath was taken in the court, and it presents nevertheless no difficulty, as the Boraitha speaks of a case when the defendant took the oath of his own volition (before he was ordered by the court to do so, in which case the oath does not make him free from payment). And Rabh speaks when the defendant took the oath by the order of the court." Said Rami bar Hama to R. Na'hman: "Let us see; the theory of Rabh seems to be not acceptable to you, why then the trouble to explain the Boraitha in accord with his theory?" And he answered: "It is only to interpret Rabh as he would explain the Boraitha." But did not Rabh deduce his theory from the above verse? It may be said, this verse is needed, that all those who must take an oath biblically swear and do not pay; and the verse is to be interpreted thus: He who has to pay, must swear, and the plaintiff must accept it. Rabha objected from the following Boraitha. "If one declares that the deposit confined to his care was stolen, and he had sworn falsely, and then he confessed and witnesses testified also against him; if his confession was before the testimony of the witnesses, he must add a fifth part and a trespass offering, but if the witnesses testified first, the double amount must be paid and an offering. Now, either explanations of an oath out of the court or without the order of it, cannot apply here because of a double payment which cannot be paid without a legal oath, and yet he must pay." Rabha therefore said: "In case of a confession, no matter if he claims it was lost or stolen, he must always add the fifth part and trespass offering, even in accord with Rabh, for he cannot deny the verse. 'And he confessed 1 what he has sinned' [Lev. v. 5]; and also if he claims it was stolen, and witnesses are against him, he must pay the double amount even in accord with Rabh, as this is also written plainly in the Scripture. His theory, then, is only when he claims 'lost' and swears, and witnesses testify against him without a confession on his part."

R. Hyya bar Abba, in the name of R. Johanan, said: "One who claims 'stolen' on a deposit, or of a lost article he has found, must pay double, and if he has slaughtered or sold must pay four and five fold; because he is considered as if he himself had stolen." He himself, however, objected to it from the following Boraitha: "Where is my ox?" and he answered, "Stolen." "Do you swear by God?" and he said, "Amen." Witnesses, however, testified that he consumed it; then he pays double. Now, could he then eat meat without previous slaughtering it and nevertheless he pays only double, but not four and five fold only." It may be said that he had eaten it when it was a carcass (i.e., it was killed by another one). The same said again in the name of the same authority: "If one claims stolen of a lost article which he found, he must pay double. Why so? Because it is written [Ex. 22:8]: 'Or for any manner of lost things, of which he can say,' etc." He said again in the name of R. Johanan: That he who claims "stolen" on a deposit is not liable for a biblical oath until he admits a part of it. Why so? Because it is written [ibid., ibid.]: "This it is," which means that a part of it is admitted; and he differs with R. Hyya bar Joseph, who says that the verse applies to the case of a creditor, and was inserted here through an error. Rami bar Hama taught: The four bailees--a gratuitous, a borrower, a bailee for hire, and a hirer--are not liable to a biblical oath until they admit a part. Said Rabha: "His reason is because in the case of a gratuitous bailee, it is plainly written [ibid.]: 'Thus it is,' and for a bailee for hire there is an analogy of expression, 'giving,' which reads in both cases. A borrower is also included in the word [ibid., ibid. 13] 'and,' which means that this case shall be equal to the former. And concerning a hirer, according to him who declares him equal to a gratuitous bailee, then the law of latter applies to him also, and the same is the case with him who declares him a bailee for hire." Said R. Abbin, in the name of R. Elia, quoting R. Johanan: "If one has claimed that a bailment is lost and swears afterwards he claimed it was stolen, and swears again, he is free from the amount, even when witnesses testify against him; because the first oath makes him free towards the owner (and the second oath, which would not be ordered by the court, must not be taken into consideration)." R. Shesheth said: If one claims of a bailment "stolen," as soon as he has made use of it, he is free; and the reason is because the Scripture reads [Ex. 22:2]: "Then shall the master of the house be brought unto the judges (to swear) that he had not stretched out his hand"; from which it is to be deduced that if he had made use of it, he is free (from the double amount). 1 Said R. Na'hman to him: "Is not the three oaths: first, that I have done all my duty in taking care of it; second, that I did not make use of it; and third, that it is not under my control? Now, is it not to be assumed that the second oath is equal to the third? As by the third, when thereafter it was known that it is under his control he must pay, the same is the case when it was known that he had made use of it?" And he answered: "Nay, the second is equal to the first, as by the first he is free from the double amount, when it was found that he was careless with it; so is the same in the case when he had made use of it."

Rami bar Hama questioned: "Is it the payment of the double amount that makes him free from the fifth part, or is it the oath which makes hi, m liable for the double amount that frees from the same payment?" What should be the difference (between both suppositions) thus, e.g., if one claims "stolen," and swears falsely, and thereafter he claims on the same "lost," and swears again and witnesses testify regarding the theft and he himself confesses regarding it, "lost"? Now, if the claim "theft," which causes the double amount, makes him free from the fifth part, in that case he was already liable for the double amount; and if the oath that causes the double amount absolves him from the fifth part, then the second oath, which did not cause the double payment, should make him liable for the fifth part? Said Rabha: Come and hear: "If one said to somebody in the market: 'Where is my ox which you have stolen?' and he says: 'I have not'; 'Do you swear,' etc., and he says, 'Amen,' and witnesses testify that he did steal, he must pay the double amount; if, however, he has confessed without witnesses, he pays the principal and the fifth part and an offering. Now, in this case the witnesses are the cause of the double amount, and if he should confess after the witnesses appear, he would not be absolved from the double payment, but from the fifth part. Now, if the oath which causes the double payment absolves him from the fifth part, why is he absolved from it even if he has confessed after the witnesses appear? Let us see. The last oath was not the cause of double payment; let it make him liable for the fifth part; we must therefore say that the money which causes the double amount makes him free from the fifth part." Infer from this.

Rabbina questioned: "If there is a case of the fifth part and the double amount with two different persons in the very same case, e.g., one has given his ox for care to two persons and both claimed 'stolen,' one has sworn and thereafter confessed; and one has sworn and was denied by witnesses. How is it? Shall we assume that with one person is the Scripture particular that both the fifth part and the double amount shall not come together; but with two persons one shall pay the double amount and one the fifth part, or the law is particular that in one and the same case the above both fines shall not occur?" This question remains unanswered. R. Papa questioned: "If there is a case of two-fifths part or two double amounts with one man, how is it?" E.g., if the claim was "lost," and he swore and confessed and then he repeated again the claim "lost," and swore and confessed again, in which case, according to the law, he should be liable for two fifth parts and one principal amount, and the same question is, if the claim was "stolen"; he was denied by witnesses after he swore and this was done twice. Shall we assume that the Scripture is particular only that two different kinds of fines should not be paid in one and the same case, and here it is only one kind; or perhaps the Scripture is particular that no two fines shall take place in the case? Come and hear. Rabha said [Lev. v.]: "And the fifth parts thereof." 1 Hence we see that the Scripture has added many fifth parts to one principal. Infer from this.

"If a gratuitous bailee swore it was 'stolen,' and nevertheless he paid the full amount and then the thief was found, to whom is the double amount to be paid?" Abayi said: "To the owner, because, as the bailee did not pay until he was summoned and ordered by the court to pay or swear, although he did both, the owner did not pass the title of the double amount to him." Rabha, however, says, "To the bailee who has paid the amount, no matter before or after swearing." 2 If the bailee was summoned, and he has sworn and then thief was found, and when he was asked by the bailee he confessed; when, however, the thief was summoned by the owner he denied, but witnesses testified to the theft. Should the thief be absolved from the double payment on account of his confession to the bailee or not (because at that time the bailee had nothing more to do with this)? Said Rabha: "If the bailee has sworn to the truth, it is to believe that the owner has confidence in him still, and it is considered that the ox is still under his control, and therefore the confession of the thief to the bailee is to be taken in consideration. But if he has sworn falsely (the consequence of which is that the owner loses confidence in him), then the confession of the thief to the bailee is of no value." It was taught: "If the bailee claims the article was stolen by accident and then the thief was found." Said Abayi: "If he was a gratuitous bailee, the chance is given to him either to swear or to pay. If it was accidentally and the owner collects the double amount from the thief, or he (the bailee) pays the principal, the double amount shall belong to him, and if he is a bailee for hire, he must pay to the owner, and the trouble with the thief he must take upon himself." Rabha, however, says: "There is no difference what kind of a bailee he was. The prosecution of the thief is always upon the bailee (and for his trouble he collects the double amount, but no oath is to be ordered)."

Rabba Zuti questioned thus: "If it was stolen by accident and the thief had returned it to the bailee, and then it dies in his house by negligence, what is the law? Shall we assume that from the moment it was stolen by accident he ceased to be the bailee of it (and so he is no more responsible), or perhaps he became its bailee again as soon as it is returned to him." This question remains unanswered.

MISHNA 6.: "Where is my bailment?" And he answers lost! Do you swear by God? etc., and he says "Amen." Witnesses testified that he had consumed it, and he must pay the amount. [If, however, he has confessed without witnesses, he must add a fifth part and an offering.] Where is my bailment? "It was stolen." "Do you swear?" and he says "Amen." Witnesses testified that he himself had stolen it, he pays the double amount. By self-confession, however, he must add a fifth part to the principal amount, and bring a trespass offering. If one robbed his father and swore falsely, and after his death he confessed and desired to return the robbed articles, he pays

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the principal and the fifth part to his brothers or to his father's brothers. If he does not want to pay his share, or he has not with what he may borrow from his friends, and the creditors will collect it from his part of the estate; e.g., if there are three brothers, they collect from the estate a third part of the robbed articles and the remainder from himself. If one says to his son: "I swear you shall not have any benefit from my estate"; if he dies, he may inherit; if the oath was neither in his lifetime nor after his death, then he does not inherit. He may, however, transfer his part to his sons or brothers, but if he has nothing to eat, he may borrow from his friends, and they will collect it from the inheritance.

GEMARA: Whence do we deduce all this? From what the rabbis taught. It is written [Ex. xxii. 6]: "If the thief be found." The verse here treats of one who claims that it was stolen from him. Thou sayest so, but perhaps the verse treats of the thief himself? From the fact that the verse states further [ibid. 7]: "If the thief be not found," it is to be inferred that that verse treats of one who claims that it was stolen. We have learned in another Boraitha: It is written: "If the thief be found," the verse treats of the thief himself. Thou sayest so, but perhaps it treats of one who claims that it was stolen? If it states further on, "If the thief be not found," which plainly means one who claims that it was stolen, how then is the verse, "If the thief be found," to be construed? hence it refers to the thief himself.

Now, then, all agree that the verse, "If the thief be not found," refers to one who claims that it was stolen. Whence is this deduced? Said Rabha: The verse is to be interpreted thus: "If it should be found out that it is not as he claimed (that it was stolen by somebody else), but that he himself stole it, then he shall pay double."

Whence do we deduce that it is so only when he was put under oath? From what we learned in the following Boraitha. It is written [ibid., ibid. 7]: "Then shall the master of the house be brought to the judges"; that means, to put him under oath. Thou sayest so, but perhaps it means only for payment? It states further on [ibid. 10] "that he have not stretched out his hand," and it states the same thing above [ibid. 7], as there it means under oath (for it states so plainly), so also here it means under oath. It would be right according to the Tana who says that one verse treats of the thief himself and the other one treats of one who claims that it was stolen; therefore it is necessary to have two verses; but according to the Tana who holds that both verses treat of one who claimed that it was stolen, why two verses? It may be said that one is to exclude, when he claimed that it was lost. But according to the Tana who says that one treats of the thief himself and the other of one who claims that it was stolen; and therefore both verses were necessary. Whence does he deduce as to the claim of having been lost? From the fact that it states "the thief" instead of "thief."

"If one robs his father," etc. Said R. Joseph: "In case there are no heirs but him, he must give it for charity." Said R. Papa: "He must mention (in returning it) that this is the money he robbed from his father." Let us see (in case there are no heirs but him) why he shall not be allowed to relinquish the property to himself. Did not we learn in the Mishna stated above: "If he has relinquished the principal amount, but not the fifth part," of which it is to be inferred that it can be relinquished? Said R. Johanan: "This presents no difficulty, as the cited Mishna is in accord with R. Jose the Galilean, and our Mishna is in accord with R. Aqiba of the following Boraitha: 'It is written [Numb. v.]: But if the man has no kinsmen to whom restitution could be made for the trespass.' Could there be an Israelite that has no relatives or kinsmen? We must therefore say that the Scripture speaks of a proselyte who was robbed by an Israelite. If one robbed a proselyte and swore falsely and afterwards he repented, having heard that the proselyte was dead, he was about to bring the money and trespass offering to Jerusalem (according to the law), where he met the proselyte, who was still alive, and settled with him to keep the robbery as a loan, and afterwards the proselyte died, he acquires title on what he holds in his hands." This is the decree of R. Jose the Galilean. R. Aqiba, however, says: "There is no remedy for him (until the robbed article is out of his hand)." According to R. Jose the Galilean, he may relinquish to others as well as to himself; and according to R. Aqiba, however, neither to others nor to himself. And in the above illustration, where the robber had settled with the proselyte to count it as a loan is used only to make known the strength of R. Aqiba's theory, that even if the robbed one himself permits the robber to keep it as a loan, nevertheless he has no remedy until the robbery is out of his hand. Rabha, however, maintains that both Boraithas are in accordance with R. Aqiba's statement, that a relinquishment cannot be made when it concerns only himself, as illustrated above, but to others he may. [Said the Gemara:] "Let us see: in accordance to both R. Johanan and Rabba, the theory of R. Jose the Galilean is that he may relinquish even for himself. If so, how would be the case in the robbery of a proselyte [Numb. 5:8] (which, as explained above, means of a proselyte), which must be returned to the priest? How can it be found?" Said Rabha: "It may be that the confession was after the proselyte's death, and this confession passes title of the robbery to the priest (when he confesses, however, when the proselyte is still alive, the robbery remains a loan as long as the proselyte is alive, and therefore after his death he may excuse it to himself)." Rabbina questioned: "If a female proselyte was robbed, how is it? It is written 'a man'; should a woman be excluded, or is it only the custom of the verse to mention a man, and the same is the case with a woman?" Said R. Aaron to Rabbina: "Come and hear the following Boraitha: It is written a man, where do we know that the same is with a woman? As it is written further (to whom restitution . . . which is restored, etc.) there are two restitutions, to include a woman (or a minor). Why, then, is mentioned a man? to teach that if it was a man one must investigate if he has some kinsman, but if a minor the investigation is not necessary (because it is self-evident that a minor, who is a proselyte, has no kinsman)."

MISHNA 7.: If one robbed a proselyte and swore, and afterward the proselyte died, he must add a fifth part to the principal for the priest, and a trespass offering to the altar, as it is written: (But if the man have no kinsman, etc., as quoted above [Numb. 5:8]). If, however, while bringing the money and the trespass offering to Jerusalem the robber dies, the money may be transferred to his children, and the trespass offering shall be fed until it gets a blemish, and then it shall be sold, and the money shall be used for a voluntary offering. If, however, he dies after the money was transferred to the priest of that week, his heirs cannot collect it from them, as it is written [ibid., ibid. 10]: "Whatsoever any man gives to the priest shall belong to him." If he has given the money to the department of Jehayary, and the offering to that of Jadaiah in the next week, he has fulfilled his duty. If, however, he has transferred the trespass offering first, and the next week he has given the money to the other department, if the consecrated animal is still in existence the priest of the second week may offer it; and if not, he has to bring another trespass offering, as the law is that if he had returned the robbery before the trespass offering he has done his duty, but not otherwise. If he has returned the principal only without the fifth part, the latter does not prevent the offering of the trespass offering (but he must afterwards add the fifth part).

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: It is written "Asham" (the debt), it means the principal amount; "which is restored" means the fifth part. (But perhaps the word "Asham" means the ram [What is the difference? To exclude Rabha's theory, who said elsewhere: The robbery of a proselyte, when it was restored in the night-time or it was returned in halves, the duty is not fulfilled. Why so? Because the Scripture names it "Asham," and as an Asham cannot be brought during night-time, or in halves, for the same is the case with the returned robbery.] of the offering, as it is frequently so called. As at the end of the same verse it is written: "Beside the ram of the atonement," etc., hence the former word must be explained (the amount) as stated above.)

Rabha said again: "The robbery of a proselyte which contains not the value of a parutha to every priest who is in divine service at that week, the duty is not fulfilled." Why so? Because it is written [ibid., ibid.]: "The Asham which is restored," of which is to be inferred that a restore of any value may be made to each priest. He said again: (If there were two robberies of two proselytes, which were restored to the priests) they have no right to say: "A part of us will take the one restored robbery against the other restored robbery. You may take." Because in the Scripture it is called Asham, it cannot be divided.

Rabha questioned: "The priests who receive the robbery of the proselyte, are they considered heirs or only receivers of a donation?" What is the difference? If one has robbed leaven of which the passover was passed (which has no legal value), if they are considered heirs, then they must take it as their inheritance; but if they are only receivers of a donation, this cannot be called a donation, as it has no value and they must not receive it. Come and hear: "There are twenty-four gifts of the priesthood given to Aaron and his sons (this Mishna will be translated in Tract Hulin), and then the robbery of a proselyte is mentioned, hence it is considered a donation."

"If, however, he dies after the money was delivered," etc. Said Abayi: "Infer from this that the robbed money when returned atones for the half, because if this would not be the case, it would state that the money must be returned to the heirs. Why so? Because when he has returned the money, he has not had in mind to leave it there without offering the trespass offering." "If so, let a sin-offering, which remains after its owner is dead, be considered as a common animal, because when he has separated it for a sin-offering, he did not bear in mind that he will die before offering it." (This is no question) as there is a tradition that when the owner dies after separating a sin-offering, the animal is to be put to death; and the same tradition is in case of a trespass offering, that when a sin-offering is put to death, the trespass offering is to be fed until it becomes a blemish.

APPENDIX TO PAGE 253.

"R. Ashi the first." There is a mark in the text by Boaz: "Perhaps R. Ashi the first or the expression 'R. Johanan was astonished' was said by R. Ashi himself." The second supposition, however, does not hold good, as farther on the Gemara adds: "R. Jose b. Hanina accepted," etc.; and the latter, who was a Tana, was certainly many generations before author of this paragraph, unless this also would be the continuation of the author's declaration; but then he would add: "and R. Jose," etc. Hence the first is correct.

CHAPTER 10.

REGULATIONS REGARDING ROBBED ARTICLES WHICH REMAIN AFTER THE DEATH OF THE ROBBER.--IF ONE RECOGNISES HIS STOLEN ARTICLES AT THE PREMISES OF SOME ONE.--REGARDING ROBBED ESTATES, AFTERWARDS THE GOVERNMENT TOOK IT AWAY, ETC.

MISHNA 1.: If one has robbed an edible article and used it for his family, or he left the article as it was, his heirs are free from payment. If, however, it was an article of responsibility, they are obliged to pay. (The Gemara will explain the meaning.)

GEMARA: Said R. Hisda: "If one has robbed an article of which the owner did not renounce the hope of gaining it, and another one came and took it away from him, the owner may collect it from any one of them he chooses. Why so? Because as long as the owners did not renounce their hope, it is considered as it were still under their control." [And our Mishna, which states that the heirs are free from payment, is in case that the hope of regaining was already renounced.]

"Or he left the article," etc. Said Rami bar Hama: "From this statement is to be inferred that the control of an heir is the same as the control of a buyer (i.e., as the Mishna speaks of a case where the hope of regaining it is renounced, the change of control gives title, and the control of the heirs after the death of the robber is also considered a change as if it would be bought by somebody else)." R. Rabha, however, said: "It is not so, and our Mishna, which makes them free, treats of a case where the heirs have already consumed the article after the death of their father." But from the latter part of our Mishna, which states that "if there was a responsibility," etc., it must be said that the first part treats of the robbed article still in existence. Said Rabha: "When I will die, R. Oshiah will come to thank me, for I always try the Mishnayoths (edited by Rabh) with the Boraithas taught by him, and our Mishna also is in accordance with the following Boraitha of R. Ashiah: "If one has robbed and used the article for his family, the heirs are free from payment. If, however, the article remains, they have to return it; if the article is no more in existence--i.e., they have consumed it--they are free, unless their father left them real estate, in which case they must pay at any rate." R. Ada bar Ahaba taught: The difference of opinion between Rami bar Hama and Rabha in connection with the following Boraitha: "If one left money made by usury for his heirs, although they know of the case, they are not obliged to return it." And the above statement of Rami bar Hama was deduced from this. But Rabha is of the opinion that nothing is to be inferred from this case, which is entirely different, as the verse reads: "Thou shalt not take of him any usury or increase." The Torah, advises him he shall return the usury to him for the purpose he shall stand in favour with him, and this is only said to the usurer himself, but not to his children.

One who taught the statement of Rami bar Hama and Rabha in connection with this Boraitha, the same is to apply furthermore in connection with our Mishna, and according to them who taught it in connection with our Mishna, it can be said that in the case mentioned in the Boraitha Rami bar Hama agrees with Rabha.

The rabbis taught: "If one robbed an edible article and he used it for his children, the children are free from payment; if, however, the article is yet in existence after the death of the robber, and the children are grown up, they must pay; but if they are still minors, they are free; and even when they are grown up, if they say: 'We know the accounts of our father with you, and he owes you nothing,' they are free." (This Boraitha was corrected so by Rabha.) We have learned in another Boraitha: "The children are free only when the robber used it for his family; but if a robbed edible article is in existence, his heirs, whether grown up or minors, are obliged to return it." Rabha said: "If their father left for them a cow borrowed for labour, they may use her for the time she was borrowed; if she dies even by an accident (and not while labouring), they are free. If they thought that she was the property of their father, and they slaughtered and consumed her, they have to pay the value of her meat in low prices. If, however, their father left real estate, they have to pay anyhow."

The rabbis taught: It is written [Lev. 5:23]: "He shall restore the robbed article which he has robbed." 1 Why the repetition "which he has robbed"? To teach that he shall restore it in the same manner it was robbed; and from this the sages said: "When he has robbed an edible article, and he makes use of it for his family, they are free from payment; but if still in existence, grown up as well as minors are obliged to return it." In the name of Symmachos, however, it was said that if the heirs were still minors, they are free.

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The brother-in-law of R. Jeremiah (who was a minor) shut the door in the face of R. Jeremiah (who wanted to inherit it for himself). When the case came before R. Abbin, he declared that the minor has a right to do so, because he demands his property. Rejoined R. Jeremiah: "But I have witnesses that I have used this room while my father-in-law was yet alive, as he had transferred it to me." Rejoined R. Abbin: "But can, then, the testimony of witnesses be taken in the absence of the other party (your opponent is yet a minor)?" And R. Jeremiah said again: "But have we not learned that minors as well as grown up, etc., must return?" And he rejoined again: "Is not Symmachos, who said that minors are free, your opponent?" R. Jeremiah objected, saying: "Are you ignoring the opinion of the sages, and agree with Symmachos only for the purpose that I shall lose my case?" This case was talked about by the people until it came to the ears of R. Abuhu, who said: Did you not hear what R. Joseph bar Hama declared in the name of R. Ashiah: "If a minor compelled his slaves to take away a field from another, claiming it belongs to him, we must not wait until he will be of age to sue him, but immediately the field must be returned, and when he will be of age he shall then bring evidence"? (Said the judge:) "What comparison is this to our case? There the minor was the plaintiff and took possession of an estate against the law, but here the minor is the defendant, and he is in the right possession of his estate which was occupied by his father."

R. Ashi the first said in the name of R. Shabathai: "The testimony of witnesses can be taken even in the absence of the parties." R. Johanan (when he heard this) was astonished, saying: "How is it possible to accept witnesses not in the presence of the parties?" R. Jose bar Hanina, however (his disciple, who was a judge), had accepted this theory in case one of the parties or witnesses was sick, or the witnesses had to go to the sea-countries, or it was sent by the court after him and he did not appear. R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel: "Witnesses may be accepted even not in the presence of the parties." Said Mar Ukba: "Samuel explained it to me that this is in case issue was already joined for the hearing of the case, and he was sent for and he did not appear; but if he was only summoned by the court and his case was not yet opened, he may say: 'I will go to the Supreme Court (in Jerusalem).' But if such a claim be listened to he may claim it even when the court was opened for his case?" Said Rabbina: "It means when an order from the Supreme Court was already issued that this case should be decided by the Supreme Court."

Rabh said: "A document may be approved even not in the presence of the party." R. Johanan, however, says: "It must not." Said R. Shesheth to R. Jose bar Abuhu: "I may explain to you the reason for R. Johanan's statement as follows: It is written [Ex. 21.]: And warning, has been given to his owner, and he has not kept him in. The Scripture means that the owner of the ox must come to the court and be present when his ox will be judged." Rabha, however, says: "The Halakha prevails, that a document may be approved even in the absence of the party, and even if he is objecting, but if he asks to suspend the case for a certain time, that he should be able to bring evidence against the document, the court may allow it. If he appears in time, then it is good; if not, the court suspends it -for the three next sittings; and if he does not appear, the court shall give him ninety days' time before his estate shall be sold for this debt. The first thirty days we do not sell his estate, to give him time to get cash. The second thirty days we give him time to sell his goods himself, and the third thirty days also when he claims that he has a buyer for his estate, but the buyer is not yet ready with cash. After the above time a warrant is to be given to the plaintiff, that he may sell the estate of the defendant. All this is done only when the defendant desires time, but if he says, 'I will not go to the court any more,' a warrant is given immediately. And this is only by a creditor, but in case of a deposit, a warrant is issued immediately, but only when the debtor possesses real estate, not upon personal property; and the reason is, if the creditor would have a right to take the personal property immediately under his control, he may sell it, so that in case the defendant afterwards will bring evidence that the document was of no value, his property could not be returned to him in case the creditor does not possess real estate; but if he does, a warrant may be issued even in this case." (Says the Gemara:) "In practice it is not so; a judgement is not issued on personal property, even when the creditor possesses real estate, as in the meantime he can sell his real estate, as it will go down in price."

It is also an obligation on the court to give notice to the defendant that his property will be sold, if he is near by; but not if he is far away and there are no relatives; but if there are, or there is a caravan by whom he can be notified, he is notified that this will occur after twelve months, until the caravan should make its tour and return. As Rabbina did in case of Mar Aha, where he postponed the selling for twelve months, the time which it takes for the caravan to tour and retour from the country of Husia. [Also this was not produced] as the above case is different; the defendant was a mighty man, and if the warrant would appear before him, it could not be collected from him, and therefore he was only notified that a warrant would be issued (and it was issued in such a moment that he could do nothing); but in another case the warrant was to be suspended only until a messenger had time to return with the answer of the defendant, about three or four days.

Rabbina said: "A messenger of the court should be trusted as two witnesses in case of putting a man under the ban; but if he testifies, in such a case where the man must be notified that, if he will not follow the order, he will be put under the ban, he may not be listened to unless the scribe is paid for issuing it."

Rabbina said again: "If a summons was sent with a woman or with his neighbour, who are going to the city where the defendant resides, and he does not appear, he may be put under the ban (as generally the above have fulfilled their promise to bring him the summons). But this is only when he lives out of the town; but if he is in the city, he is not to be put under the ban, because the former, through whom the summons was sent, may rely upon the court that it will send its own messenger, unless he was summoned by the messenger of the court."

Rabha said: "If one was notified that he will be put under the ban if be will not appear before the court, this writing must not be destroyed until he appears (even if he says he will do so), and if such was issued for not obeying the order of the court, it shall not be destroyed until he follows the order." [The latter case is not practised, but it is destroyed as soon as he promises to follow the order.]

R. Hisda says: "A note concerning putting under ban is to be used only when he was summoned for the three days when the court was sitting (Monday, Thursday, and Monday again), and only the following Thursday to be issued."

R. Asi happened to be in the court of R. Kahana, and saw, that a woman was summoned in the afternoon, and on the morrow, when she did not appear, he issued a notification that she would be put under the ban. Said the former to him: "Does not the master hold the decision of R. Hisda stated above?" And he answered: "This was said only when the man is not in the city, but for this woman, who is sure to be in the city and summoned, it is a contempt of the court and must be punished." R. Jehudah said: "One must not be summoned by the court on the eve of a Sabbath or a festival (or when he is a student), not in the days of the months Nison and Tishri (as then the college examination took place), but a summons may be issued in these days to appear after the above months. On the eves of Sabbaths and festivals, however, even to appear after Sabbath or festival is not to be issued, because he is then busy to prepare for the following day and the summons may escape his mind." R. Na'hman said: "One must not be summoned verbally to appear on Monday, on the Sabbath before it when he comes to hear the lecture, and also on the day when he comes to hear the lecture of the coming festival. (It was usually lectured thirty days before each festival.) He shall appear on some day afterwards (for fear they will restrain from coming to the lecture). When people used to come to R. Na'hman in the days mentioned above with claims against some of the assembled people, he used to say to them: "Did I assemble them for your benefit?" [Said the Gemara: "Now when the time is changed and swindle is used, no attention may, be given to all the terms said above."]

"If, however, it was an article of responsibility," etc. Rabbi taught his son Simeon: "Not only real estate, but even an animal which they use for labour, they are obliged to return for the honour of their father." R. Kahana questioned Rabh. "How is it with a bed or a table which they are using?" And he answered [Prov. ix. 9]: "Give to the wise (instruction) and he will become yet wiser." (It means the same is the case with all other things.)

MISHNA 2.: Money must not be changed from the treasury of duties, and not from the treasury of the treasurers for charity, and also charity must not be taken from them; it may, however, be done with the private money of the above treasurers, or when it is in market charity may be accepted.

GEMARA: A Boraitha, an addition to the above statement, teaches: "He may take change from a dinar if be has to pay a part of it." "Treasury of duties." Why not? Did not Samuel say: "The law of the government must be respected as the law of the Torah." Hence the duties must not be considered robbery? Said R. Hanina bar Kahana in the name of Samuel: "The Mishna treats of a contractor who paid the government the duties of the inhabitants, and he collects from them as much as he desires, and in such a case it is considered robbery." The disciples of R. Janai say: "The Mishna treats of a duty not established by the government (but by some mighty people of the city)." According to others, the above statements of Samuel and R. Janai were delivered in connection with the following Boraitha: "Vows may be made before murderers or contractors of duty concerning the heave-offering or concerning the royal treasure (i.e., if one vows it shall be forbidden to consume any fruits, if these fruits do not belong to one of the above-mentioned)." And when it was questioned: "Why the contractor of duty is counted among murderers," etc., the above explanations of Samuel and Janai were given. R. Simeon said: "R. Aqiba when he came from Zefiru lectured as follows: "Whence do we deduce that the robbery of a heathen is prohibited?" It is written [Lev. xv. 48]: "After he has sold himself, shall he have the right of redemption" (the verse treats when a Jew has sold himself for a slave to a heathen), which means that even when the Jewish court has the might to get him free without money, they must not do so unless the heathen is paid the full amount, as it is written [ibid., ibid. 50]: "And he shall reckon with him that bought him," etc.

R. Ashi happened to be on the road and saw a vineyard in which some grapes were ripe, and he said to his servant: "Go and see, if it belongs to a heathen, bring me some; and if it belongs to a Jew, do not." The owner of this vineyard, who was a heathen, heard this, and questioned him: "Are the goods of a heathen allowed to be robbed?" And he answered: "I meant, if the owner is a heathen, he will take money for it, but a Jew would not take money from me; and I do not want to have it for nothing." The text states: Samuel said: "The law of the government is to be respected," etc.

Said Rabha: "This is proved by the fact that we pass the bridges which the government made, although they take beams of the estate belonging to private estates." Said Abayi to him: Perhaps we do so because the owners of the beams in question have renounced their hope to regain it." And he answered: "If the law of the government should not be respected as the law of the Torah, why should the owners of the beams renounce their hope? The officers of the government do not usually do as they are ordered. The order is, they shall cut off trees of all the pagus (e.g., one owner shall not suffer too much and the other nothing), and the officers cut off from one pagu which is more prehensible to them. All beams they need, and nevertheless we pass the bridges which were made of such beams; and this is because the officers of the government are considered as the government itself, which needs not to take the trouble searching any other pagus, where the beams in question are to be found, and it is only the fault of the citizens, who have not prepared the necessary material for the bridges from the pagus where such material can be obtained, and take money for it from the government."

Rabha said again: "If there were four partners to a barn, three of them took out the grain of it, and when the collector of duties came he found only the share of the fourth partner. He may take from it for all the four partners, and it is not considered robbery, even if the collector was a contractor of the government. The case, however, is when they were partners; but if some of them were only gardeners, who took for their trouble a share of the grain, the collector has not to take the duties for them who are absent, because the gardeners only took what belonged to themselves."

The same said again: "A contractor of the government has the right to pledge a fellow-citizen for the duty of another citizen of the same city (who stands with him in business connections), as so the law of the government is in case it is a duty from the fruits of the land or from this year; if, however, it is from the last year, for which the contractor has paid already to the government, he must not do so." The same said again: "Heathens who live in the limit of a Techum 1 of the city, who possess cattle and they are hired to dung the fields, one may not buy an animal from them, for fear it may be Jewish cattle, as they usually feed the Jewish cattle together; but if they live out of the limit of the Techum, it is allowed." Said Rabbina: "If some Jews of the city are claiming that their cattle are among the cattle of the heathens, even out of the limit, is also prohibited." Rabha, according to others R. Huna, publicly announced: "It shall be known to all who are going down to Babylon or going up to Palestine that an Israelite who is testifying for the sake of a heathen, without being invited as a witness, when the defendant is an Israelite he may be put under the ban. Why so? Because the heathen collects money by the testimony of one witness (and the Scripture requires two witnesses). This is only in case when he is the only witness; but if there are two, they must testify even when they are not called up; and this is also only when the case is brought up in a court of violence, but in the court of a Dower (a Persian prince) they may testify, as they also in such a case order only an oath." Said R. Ashi: "When I was in the court of R. Kahana 1 we were questioned: "A respectable man upon whom the above court would rely, as upon the testimony of two, and he is the only witness, should he not testify, because the money would be collected upon his testimony, or because he is a respectable man it would be against his conscience if he does so? This question remained unanswered.

MISHNA 3.: If the contractors took away his ass, (and after complaining) they returned him instead of his another one, or he was robbed of a garment, and another one was returned to him instead by the robbers, he may take it, as usually in such cases the owners renounced the hope of regaining it. If one saved an estate from the stream or from robbers, if the owners of it have renounced the hope, he may keel) it. The same is the case also with a swarm of bees. R. Johanan ben Broka, however, says: "A woman or a minor is trusted when they show the place whence this swarm was coming. One may also run through the field of his neighbour to save the above; if, however, he causes damage, he must pay; but one has no right

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to cut up a branch of a tree, although he pays for it." R. Ishmael his son, however, allows even this.

GEMARA: A Boraitha, however, states (that if he takes a stranger's ass from the contractor, and he is afraid it may be considered robbery, he has to return it to the first owner and not to the contractor, although the title is acquired as soon as the hope of regaining is renounced; here with a contractor it is different (and the title does not pass to the contractor).

Said R. Assi: "The statement of the Mishna applied only when the robber was a heathen, but not if he were an Israelite, because he thinks of summoning him to the court." R. Joseph opposed: "It seems to be, on the contrary, that as the heathen courts are very powerful, they do not renounce their hope because they think of summoning him." But if the robber were an Israelite, whose courts are not so powerful, he usually renounces hope. Therefore if this statement was made by R. Assi, it was on the latter part of the Mishna: "If they renounced their hope, it is his." Upon this it was that R. Assi said: "This applies only to a heathen. But if the robber were an Israelite the same is the case even if it were not certain that they had renounced their hope."

There is a Mishna [Kelim, 26:8] about skins when they were stolen or robbed. In the first case the intention of the thief is not to be considered, because in such a case usually the owners do not renounce their hope; and R. Simeon is of the opinion that in case of a theft the owners do renounce their hope, but not in the case of a robbery; and Ula said that they differ when there is a supposition only, but if it is certain that the owners have renounced, all agree that title is acquired.

Rabba, however, says that they differ even when it is certain. Said Abayi to Rabba: "You may not differ with Ula in this case, because the quoted Mishna which states 'that usually the owners do not renounce their hope, of which it is to be inferred that only when it is supposed so, but if it is certain that they have renounced their hope, title is acquired.'" And he answered: "We read in the above quoted Mishna not as stated, but 'because the renunciation of hope is of no avail.'" There is an objection from our Mishna if the contractor took his ass, etc., which states he may keep it because usually the owners renounce their hope. Now, according to whom should be our Mishna? If in accordance with the opponents of R. Simeon, then the robbery mentioned in the quoted Mishna would be a difficulty; and if in accordance with R. Simeon, the theft mentioned there would be a difficulty, too. Still it would be correct in accordance with Ula's theory, who says that when it is certain all agree, etc., then our Mishna could be explained that it means when it was certain; but according to Rabha's theory, in accordance with whom is our Mishna? Our Mishna can be explained that it treats when the robber was armed, and in accordance with R. Simeon. But is this not the same robbery as by a contractor? The Mishna mentions two cases of robbery, one who is protected by the government, and one who is persecuted by the government. Come and hear: "A thief, a robber, and an oppressor (who takes an article and pays for it against the will of the owner), if they have consecrated the article in question, or if they have separated heave-offering from the robbed grain, it remains so. Now, according to whom would be this Boraitha: "If with the rabbis, robbery would be a difficulty," etc? This Boraitha is in accordance with Rabbai, who says elsewhere that there is no difference between a thief and a robber, and it is explained further on that Rabbai means the kind of a robber mentioned by R. Simeon, who acquires title, and not of the robbers who do not. "A swarm of bees," etc. What means the Mishna with the expression "also"? It means to say that although a swarm of bees is only an enactment of the rabbis, that one can claim he is the owner of it, to prevent quarrels, and one may say that while it belongs to him only rabbinically, he renounces his hope immediately; it comes to teach us that the same is the case here also.

"Said R. Johanan ben Broka," etc. Are, then, a woman and a minor qualified to be witnesses? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: "This case was when they ran after it, and the two in question had showed him the place whence the swarm of bees was coming, but they were not called as witnesses." R. Ashi, however, said: "One who relates a thing without intention of testifying has a value only in case of a widow, who needs evidence that her husband is dead." Said Rabbina to him: "Is it not just mentioned that such a relation is valued also in the case mentioned above?" And he answered: "A swarm of bees is different, as the owner of it is only made rabbinically." [And in case where it is biblically, is it not valid?] Did not R. Jehudah say in the name of Samuel: "It happened with a man who was talking without any intention as follows: I recollect when I was a child, upon the shoulders of my father I was taken from the school, and they dressed me and put me in a legal bath, so that I should be able to partake of heave-offering at the night meal." And R. Hanina added this tale: "My comrades reported themselves from me and called me Johanan the cater of cakes." And Rabbi established him as a priest for this tale. In the time of Rabbi (after the destruction of the temple) heave-offering was only rabbinical. And still in a biblical case such is not valid? Did not R. Dimi say in the name of R. Hana or Aha of Carthagena: "It happened in the court of R. Joshua ben Levi, according to others in the court of Rabbi, with a child who was telling: 'It happened that my mother and I were prisoners among the heathens, and I did not turn away my eyes from my mother. When I was going to draw water, or to gather some wood, I did not stop thinking of her,' and upon this telling Rabbi married her to a priest (to whom it is prohibited to marry a suspicious woman). In the case of a woman prisoner they dealt leniently."

"He shall not cut up a branch," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha R. Ishmael ben R. Johanan ben Broka said: "It was decided by the court that one may descend in his neighbour's field, or cut up a branch of his neighbour's tree, for the purpose to save his or somebody else's swarm of bees, and the value of the branch shall be paid from the swarm of bees; and there was also another decision of the court, that if for the purpose of saving one's honey he must spill out his own wine, he must do so, and the value of his wine he shall collect from the honey he has saved; and the same is the case when he has wood on his wagon and he sees that one's flax is in danger, he must throw off his wood to place the flax instead, and the value of the wood be may collect from the flax, because under this condition Joshua to our ancestors inherited the land."

MISHNA 4.: If one recognises his utensils or hooks by another, and it was announced that such things were stolen, the defendant must swear how much he has paid and collect it by returning the articles. If, however, it was not announced that such articles were stolen, he is not trusted to say so, as it can happen that he himself sold it, and the buyer sold it again to the defendant.

GEMARA: And even when it was announced that there was a theft, what is it? There may be still a suspicion that he sold it and then he announced it was stolen. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: "The case was that in the same night, when the theft happened, visitors were coming to him and found him crying that his articles were stolen. But still (if he is a suspicious man) it can be said that seeing that men are coming to him, he began to claim of the recent theft." R. Kohana completed the above statement of Rabh, that the case was that men who were staying over night in his house, it was found afterwards they were robbers, and they took with them packages with utensils, and it was murmured that his articles were stolen. Said Rabba: "All what is said above is to be feared in case the plaintiff was known that he used to sell his utensils, but not otherwise. But cannot it happen that even when it was not his custom to sell out when he was in need, he nevertheless did sell all his articles?" Said R. Ashi: "Therefore the Mishna states that it was known in the city that his utensils were stolen."

It was taught: "If a thief has sold out the stolen articles and after it was recognised that he is the thief, Rabh in the name of R. Hyya said that the plaintiff may deal with the thief only." And R. Johanan in the name of R. Janai said that he may deal with the buyer only (i.e., he can take the stolen things without any payment). Said R. Jose. "They do not differ: the one who says that he has to do with the buyer means, in case he bought it before the owner of the article has renounced his hope of regaining it, and the one who says that he has to do with the thief only, means that the sale was after the hope was renounced, and both agree with the theory of R. Hisda"(supra.). Abayi, however, said: "They do differ, as we find elsewhere concerning the gifts of cattle belonging to the priest, which must be considered always that the hope of regaining is not renounced, and they differ there also." But what is the point of their difference? They differ about the statement of R. Hisda just quoted. R. Zebid, however, said: "The point of their difference is this: In case the hope of regaining was renounced when it was already in the hand of the buyer, one holds that when the hope was renounced after the control was changed it does not give title, and the other one holds that it is no difference." R. Papa says: "All agree that the articles must be returned to the owner, and they also agree with R. Hisda, that the plaintiff may summon him who is more convenient for him, and the point of their difference is, if the enactment which is made for the benefit of one who buys a thing publicly in the market, without knowing that it is a stolen article, shall come to his money if the article is found to be a stolen one. According to Rabh this enactment does not apply here, and the buyer must look for his money from the thief; and his above statement, he has to do with the thief, means the buyer and not the owner. And R. Johanan holds the above enactment applies here, and he may look for his money from the owner. Is Rabh, then, of the opinion that this enactment does not apply here? Did not R. Huna, who was the disciple of Rabh, say to the plaintiff who claimed the article from the buyer who bought it from Hanan the bad, who stole it, Go and redeem it? With Hanan the bad it is different; as he possessed nothing, it is considered as if the thief would not be recognised at all."

Rabba said: "If the thief was a notorious one, the above enactment does not apply." But was not the above Hanan the bad a known one, and nevertheless the same enactment was enforced? He was known for a bad one, but not for a thief. It was taught: "If a thief has paid his debt with a stolen article the above enactment does not apply, because the creditor did not give him the money with the intention of collecting it from such articles. When, however, he lends upon this article to the half of its value, the above enactment may apply; when, however, he lent the full value, Amemar said: "The enactment in question does not apply." Mar Zutra said: "It does." If he has sold it for the full value, the enactment applies; if for half the value, R. Shesheth maintains: "It does not"; and Rabha maintains: "It applies." And the Halakha prevails, that in all cases the same enactment is to be practised, except when the thief pays his debt with it. One man lent four zuz from Abimi bar Nazi, the father-in-law of Rabbina; afterwards he stole a garment and brought it to his creditor, and be lent him four more zuz; finally it was recognised that the garment was stolen, and Abimi came to ask the law of Rabbina, and he said: "The first four zuz he cannot collect, as you have collected it already from the stolen garment (for which no enactment is made). The latter four zuz, however, you may collect, and return the garment." R. Kahen opposed. "Why shall we not assume that the first four zuz he had collected from the garment, which are not to be returned, and the last four zuz he (Abimi) trusted the thief without any pledge as he did before?" The case was not decided until it came before R. Abuhu, and he decided that the Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Kahen. One of the city Narsha stole a book and sold it to a citizen of Pepunian for eighty zuz; the latter sold it to a citizen of Mehuza for a hundred and twenty zuz. Said Abayi: "The owner of the book shall pay eighty zuz to the Mehuzan man and shall take his book, and the forty remainder the Mehuzan man shall collect of the Pepunian." Rabha opposed: "When the enactment was made, even when he bought from the thief himself, shall it not apply to him who bought it from the buyer?" Therefore he decided that the owner shall pay to the Mehuzan one hundred and twenty, and he shall take his book, and then he shall collect the eighty from the Narshian and forty from the Pepunian.

MISHNA 5.: If one has emptied his barrel which was filled with wine, and saved in it the honey of his neighbour's broken barrel, he receives only the value of his barrel and for the labour he has done; if, however, he told the man of the honey, "I will save yours in case you will pay me for my wine," he must do so. The same is the case when a stream has overflowed two asses, one of one hundred and one of two hundred, and the owner of the one hundred saved the two hundred one, he has to be paid for his trouble only, unless he has made this condition with his neighbour before saving.

GEMARA: But why so? Let him (the man of the wine) say: "Was not your honey at the time I saved it ownerless? If I had not saved it, it all would be lost, consequently I may take at least for my wine." The case was when the owner of the honey could save it only with great trouble.

"If, however, he told," etc. But cannot the man of honey say, I was only jesting? Is not the case similar to the case of the following Boraitha: "If one runs away from prison and he says to the boatman, 'I will give you a dinar if you will pass me,' he shall pay him only what is due to him"; hence he can say, what I said a dinar was only jesting, why not the same in our case? Our case is to be compared with the later part of the same Boraitha; namely, "If, however, he says: Here is a dinar, take it and pass me, he may keep the whole dinar for his job" (and so in our case when he gives him the honey for the purpose of saving it, it is considered as if he had paid him in advance). But what is the reason for this statement? Said Rami bar Hama: "The case is when the man of the boat has caught fish at the same time he was waiting for passengers, and he may claim that he could make the same money catching fish."

"With a stream," etc. And both cases were necessary to teach; namely, if the first only would be stated, one may say, because it was so spoken of, that he shall lose his own wine for the purpose of saving the other's honey. But in the other case, which was accidental, it is not so; and if the latter only would be stated, one may say because it was an accident he gets only for his trouble when it was not arranged otherwise; but in the first case, when he has destroyed his property for the benefit of the other he must be paid, even when it was not spoken of; therefore both are stated. R. Kahana questioned Rabh: "If the condition was made, he shall save the two hundred one, and for his one hundred ass, which would be lost, he shall be paid; and he descended and did so, and in the meantime it happened that his own ass was saved by itself, what is the law?" And Rabh answered: "The agreement shall be fulfilled nevertheless, and the saving of his ass is heavenly favour. As it happened with R. Safra, who was going with a caravan and a lion had followed them, and every night the caravan used to throw an ass for the lion; when the time arrived that R. Safra should throw his ass he did so, but the lion did not touch it, and on the morrow he took it back and acquired title of it." R. Aha of Difti questioned Rabbina: "Why was it necessary for R. Safra to acquire title to it? It is true he renounced his ownership of it, but it was done only for the sake of the lion, but not for the sake of others." R. Safra did so to prevent murmur of those who are not thoroughly acquainted with the law.

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Rabh questioned Rabbi: "What is the law when upon the above condition he descended to save the ass, but did not succeed?" And he answered: "Is this a question? Certainly his trouble only is to be paid." Rabh objected from the following Boraitha: "If one was hired to deliver some medicine to a sick one, and he finds him dead or cured, the messenger gets his full payment?" And Rabbi answered: "What comparison is this? There the messenger has fulfilled his mission, but here he did not."

The rabbis taught: "A caravan in the desert which was in danger of being destroyed by robbers, and they paid for their redemption, the sum must not be collected equally from each person, but proportionately to the amount each of them possessed. If, however, they have hired a guide, each of them should pay his share equally. At any rate, it must be done according to the custom of the caravan. The drivers are allowed to make a condition with the proprietors, that in case an ass will be lost, they shall furnish them another ass. If, however, the ass was lost by wilful negligence, they are free. But if he says: "Give me the money for the lost one and I will buy me another one myself," he is not to be listened to (because he may not buy, and will neglect to take care of the other asses). Is this not self-evident? The case is even so when he has another ass. Lest one say he will not neglect to take care of the asses of the caravan, as his own ass is among them; he comes to teach us that the taking care of one is not equal to that of two.

The rabbis taught: If a ship upon the open sea, when it was necessary to decrease the weight, the weight of the loading must be counted (i.e., to throw away the same weight of the loading of each passenger without any consideration of the value); however, the law of the ship must be observed. The owners of the ship (who are sailing together) may make a condition among themselves, that if one ship will be lost another shall be furnished. If there were wilful carelessness, however, or he departed himself and sailed on a place where the other ships usually did not go, the conditions are of no avail. "Is this not self-evident?" It means even when usually in the month of Nissan they go the distance of one cord, and in the month of Tishri on the distance of two cords, and the ships in question did go in Nissan, when they usually go in Tishri. Lest one say that this is not to be considered wilfulness, he comes to tea h us that it is not so.

The rabbis taught: "A caravan that was attacked by robbers, and one of them succeeds in saving some goods from them, this must be divided among the passengers; if, however, he said to them, 'I will try to save for myself,' it is of avail." Let us see how was the case. If each of them could do the same, but he preceded them even if he has said, "I will save for myself," he must not do so. (It is not of avail because all of them have not renounced the hope of regaining it.) And, on the other hand, if it was impossible for them to save their goods, and the one succeeded nevertheless in saving some, why must he divide among the caravan? (They have already renounced their hope of regaining.) Said Rami bar Hama: "It means when they were partners, and in such a case a partner may separate himself against the will of his partner; therefore if he said, I will do so, he is separated; but not if he did it silently." R. Ashi, however, says: "The case was that they could save only with great trouble. If he did it silently, he must divide; but if he said, I will take the trouble on myself, it is of avail."

MISHNA 6.: If one has robbed a field and it was taken away from him by land robbers, when the land robbers were a plague of this country, the robber may say: The land is in the same place, and take it if you can; if, however, it was robbed because of the robbers, he must buy another field for him.

GEMARA: "Because of the robber." How was the case? If it was taken only from him and not from others, this is already stated in the first part. "If it was a plague of the country," etc. The case was that the government compelled him to show such land of which they could take possession, and he was going and showed it to them, it is considered as if it was robbed by himself. There was a man that in such a case showed to the contractor a heap of wheat belonging to the Exilarch, and when the case came before R. Na'hman, he made him pay for the same. At the same time R. Joseph was sitting behind ' R. Huna bar Hyya, and the latter behind R. Na'hman and, questioned him: "If the decision was in accordance with the law, or is it only a fine?" And he answered: "This is in accordance with our Mishna, which states: If because of the robbers, etc., and it was explained that it means that he has showed," etc. When R. Na'hman went out, said R. Joseph to the above R. Huna: "What difference was it to you if it is, law or fine?" And he answered: "If it is a law, then we will take the same for practice; and if a fine, we will not." R. Huna bar Jehudah happened to be in the house of Ebioni (the debate house of the apostate Jews), when after he came to tell Rabba of his misfortune, he asked him: "Do you feel some wrong action you have done?" And he said: "There was a case when one Israelite compelled by the heathen showed them the property of his neighbour and I made him responsible." And he said to him: "Go and fix your wrong act, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: An Israelite who was compelled by heathens and showed the property of his neighbour, he is not responsible, unless he took it with his own hands and gave it to the heathens." Said Rabba: "If, however, he showed it to them without having been compelled to this, it is to be considered as if he took it with his own hands." There was a man whom the heathens compelled, and he showed them the ass of R. Mary ben R. Pinchas ben R. Hisda. The heathens said to him, Take the ass and follow us, and he did so. Afterwards he was summoned before R. Ashi, and he acquitted him. Said the rabbis to R. Ashi: "Have we not learned in the above Boraitha: 'That when he took it with his hands he is responsible'?" And he answered: "The Boraitha means when he was not told to take it with his hand, but here he was compelled to do so by their command." R. Abuhu objected to R. Ashi from the following: "If a mighty man (of whom one is in fear) says to one, 'See that this branch of grapes or a bunch of grain shall reach me,' and he did so, he is responsible for it." And he answered: "It means that they were standing on either side of a stream." [And it seems to be so, as the Boraitha states: See it shall reach me, and not Give it to me.] There were two men who had quarrelled about a net, each of them saying, "It belongs to me." One of them then took it and delivered it to an officer of the government. Said Abayi: "He may say, 'It was mine' and I could do with it what I pleased.` Said Rabha to him: Must he then be trusted? he ought to be put under the ban until he gets it back, and then to leave it to the court to decide to whom it belongs. It happened that a man showed to the government the μεταξα of R. Aba. R. Abuhu, R. Hanina bar Papi, and R. Itz'hak of Naf'ha were discussing what should be done with him. R. Ilai, who was sitting among them, said to them: "So said Rabh, that he is responsible only when he himself took it and gave it to the government." They said to him: "Go to R. Simeon ben Elyakim and R. Elazar ben Pdoth, in whose courts cases of germon are tried." He did so, and they made the man responsible on the basis stated in our Mishna: "If because of the robber and it was explained when he showed it."

There was a man by whom a silver goblet was deposited, then when robbers attacked him he presented them with the goblet, and they left him alone. When the case came before Rabha, he made him free. Said Abayi to him: "Has not the man saved himself with the property of his neighbour?" Therefore said R. Ashi: "Such a case must be investigated. If he is a wealthy man, the robbers were coming to rob him because of his own wealth; and if he is not wealthy, they came only because of the deposited silver." It happened also with a man to whom the treasury for redeeming prisoners was deposited, and when robbers attacked him he presented it to them. When the case came before Rabha, he made him free; when Abayi remarked to him the same as he has remarked before to Rabha, Rabha answered: "There is not a greater redeeming of prisoners than this case itself. There was a man who led his ass to a boat before men came in; after it was crowded, it was too heavy and it was dangerous, lest the boat sink, and one of the passengers pushed the ass into the river, and it was drowned; after which Rabba made him also free." Abayi remarked to him as above, and he said: "It was only self-defence, then if not for the ass he himself would drown." This decision of Rabba is according to his theory, elsewhere, that one who runs after a man to kill him, and on the way he breaks vessels, no difference if they belong to the persecuted man or to others, he is free from payment, because he is guilty of a capital crime; and the persecuted one, if he breaks the vessels of the persecutor, is free, because the property of his persecutor must not be dearer to him than his own body. And if, however, they belong to others, he is responsible, as it is not allowed to save himself with the goods of his neighbour. But if one was going after the persecutor to save the persecuted man, and while running he breaks vessels, he is free no matter to whom they belong. This is not because the law is so, but if he should be responsible, no one would be willing to save a man from persecution.

MISHNA 7.: If a stream has overflowed the robbed field, he may say to him: "Yours is before you."

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: "One who robbed a field and it overflowed, must deliver up another. So is the decree of R. Elazar." The sages, however, maintain: "He may say to him: 'Yours is before you.'" What is the point of their difference? R. Elazar based his theory upon the exclusions and inclusions of the verse [Lev. 5:21]: "If he namely lie unto his neighbour," which includes everything. "That which was delivered to him to keep," it excludes other things; and further on [ibid., ibid.]: "Or any one thing about which he may have sworn falsely." It is again an inclusion of everything, and there is a rule that when the Scripture includes, excludes, and again includes, everything is included. The rabbis, however, do not consider this as inclusions and exclusions, but as a general and special. "If he namely lie" is general; "Which was trusted to him" is special; and "Or any one thing" is again general, and there is a rule that when there is a special between two generals, it must be judged similar to the special only; namely, as the special is a movable thing and it has a value in money, so all articles which are movable and have a value, excluding real estate, which is immovable, and bondsmen, who are compared to real estate, and also documents, although they are movable, they themselves have no value of money. But have we not learned in another Boraitha: "The very same is the case with the robbed cow, which was overflooded (which is a movable thing, and has a value of money)? He must furnish him with another cow, so is the decree of Elazar; the sages, however, say: He may say: 'Yours is before you.' In what is the point of their difference then?" Said R. Papa: "It means in a case where the robbed cow was lying on the robbed field, and it was overflooded with the field, (and the robber did not yet acquire title) on the robbed cow." R. Eliezar is so in accord with his theory and the rabbis with their theory.

MISHNA 8.: If one robbed, borrowed, or deposited an article when they were in an inhabited land, he must not return it when he is in a desert, unless he took it for the purpose of going into a desert.

GEMARA: There is a contradiction: "A loan is payable everywhere, a bailment and a lost article are not to be delivered only in their right places (hence a loan may be returned at any place?)." Said Abayi: "The quoted one means this: A loan may be demanded at any place, but a lost thing and deposit are to be demanded at the right places only."

"For the purpose to go," etc. If so was the condition, is it not self-evident? The case is, if he said, let be this bailment with you as I go to the desert, and the bailee said to him, I also intend to go there, and if my wishes will be to return it to you there, I may do so.

MISHNA 9.: If one says, I have robbed you, or borrowed from you, or you have deposited with me, and I don't know if I have returned it to you, he must pay; however, if he says, I am in doubt whether I have robbed, etc., he is free.

GEMARA: It was taught: If the plaintiff claims a mana (100 zuz), and the defendant says, I don't know; R. Huna and R. Jehudah say, "He must pay," because certainty has preference to uncertainty. R. Na'hman and R. Johanan say, "He is free," because they hold that the money in possession of the defendant must be considered his until evidence is brought. An objection was raised from our Mishna, which states that if he says, "I am in doubt if you have borrowed it to me, he is free." Now let us see how was the case. If there is no plaintiff, then even the first part in the case, "I am certain I have borrowed, but doubtful if it was returned," must also speak when there is no plaintiff; why, then, must he pay? We must, therefore, say that the whole Mishna treats when there IS a plaintiff, and nevertheless in the second part it states he is free from payment. (And this is an objection to Huna and Jehudah.) Nay, the Mishna treats when there was no plaintiff, but the man likes to satisfy the heavenly will. (If he is certain that he has borrowed, it is the heavenly will he shall pay; but if he is in doubt whether he has borrowed, he is free at any rate.) It was taught also by R. Hyya bar Aba in the name of R. Johanan: "If one claims a mana and the defendant says, 'I don't know,' he is obliged to pay if he would satisfy the heavenly will.

MISHNA 10.: If one steals a sheep from the flock and returns it, and it dies or it was stolen again, he is responsible; if, however, the owner did not know either of the theft or of its returning, and when they came to number the flock they found it right (and after it died or was stolen), he is free.

GEMARA: Rabh said: "If the theft was known, the returning must also be announced (and if he did not so, he is still responsible for it, even after the owner had numbered the flock), and the numbering makes him free only when he did not have any knowledge of the theft." Samuel, however, said: "The numbering makes him free at any rate." As he explains it, the last sentence of the Mishna applies to the whole of it. R. Johanan said: "If they have knowledge of the theft, the numbering after it was returned makes him free; but if they have not any knowledge of the theft, the numbering does not matter at all, as he is free even without it." And he explains that the last sentence of the Mishna applies only to the first part of it. R. Hisda, however, said: "Only when they have knowledge does the numbering make him free; but if not, he is responsible even after the numbering. And the statement of our Mishna. holds good only when they had knowledge of the theft also, and Rabha explained the reason of R. Hisda's statement thus: The theft accustomed the sheep to separate themselves from the flock, and it may do so again; but if he has notified the owner, he will take care of them. Did Rabha, indeed, say so? Has he not said: "If one has seen that a thief had picked up sheep of the flock with the intention of stealing them, and he alarmed him and the thief threw them away, and the man was not certain if the sheep were returned, and the sheep then died or are stolen, he is responsible. Is it not to assume that the thief is responsible even when the owner has numbered them? Nay, it means when it was not numbered. But did Rabh say as it is stated above? Did he not state: 'If he has returned it to another flock, which the same owner has on another place, he is free (and there was neither knowledge nor numbering)'?" Said R. Hanan bar Aba: Rabh agrees when the sheep were speckled, and in such a case the owner knows that it was stolen in his absence, and the shepherd recognises it by the speckle. Shall we assume that the following Tanaim differ in this case: "If one has stolen a sheep from the flock or a coin from the pocket, he has to return it to the same place he took

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it from"? So is the decree of Ishmael. R. Aqiba, however, says: "It is necessary that the owner know the facts in the case." The schoolmen thought that usually a man knows the amount in his pocket, and he counts it whenever he takes a coin out, so he has knowledge of the theft; and R. Ishmael holds that the numbering makes him free, and R. Aqiba that the numbering does not make him free, unless he was notified of the returning. (Hence R. Ishmael and R. Aqiba differ in both, a sheep when it was not notified, in which Rabh and Samuel differ, and also in the case in which R. Johanan and R. Hisda differ.) Said R. Zebid in the name of Rabha: "If a bailee has stolen from the premises of the owner, all agree with R. Hisda; but here they speak of a case where the bailee has stolen it from his own premises." R. Aqiba holds that his function as a bailee has ceased (and he must notify the owner of the theft and returning). R. Ishmael, however, holds: "He is still a bailee, and when he returns it to the place he took it from his own knowledge suffices."

MISHNA 11.: One must not buy from the shepherds kids of goats, wool, or milk, and not from fruit watchmen wood and fruits. One may, however, buy from the women of Jehudah woollen garments (which usually were manufactured by them), and flax garments from those of Galilee, and also calves from the women of the city of Sharon. If, however, the sailors like to do it secretly, it is prohibited. Eggs and poultry are allowed to be bought at any place.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: "One must not buy from the shepherds goats, kids, sheared or plucked off; garments of wool, however, are excluded, because it belongs to them; milk and cheese may be bought in deserts, but not in inhabited places. Four or five sheep or fleeces of wool together may be bought, but not two." R. Jehudah said: "Domestic sheep (which are brought home at night-time) may be bought, but not of deserts." This is the rule concerning buying of shepherds, an article which the owner of it perceives may be bought, but not articles which are not.

"The Master says, 'Four or five sheep,'" etc. If four may be bought, so much the more five? Said R. Hisda: "Four from a small flock and five from a large one." But is not this text contradicting itself? It states four or five, from which it is to be inferred but not three; and immediately it states but not two, from which one may infer that three is allowed. This presents no difficulty. If the three are of the best sheep, they may; and if from the lean ones, they may not be bought. The schoolmen propounded a question: "R. Jehudah, who says that domestic ones," etc., made his condition of the first part; namely, that for the four or five in question, and he is more rigorous than the first Tana of the above Boraitha, or his condition is for the second negative part, which states but not two sheep, and he, R. Jehudah, comes to teach that only from outside, but domestic, even two may be bought, and he is lenient. Come and hear the following Boraitha: R. Jehudah said: "Domestic ones may be bought of them, but not others; in any place, however, four or five sheep together may be bought." Hence his decision was lenient.

"And not from the fruits watchmen," etc. Rabha bought a bunch of branches from an οὐρος (a labourer who gets for his labour a part of the products). Said Abayi to him: "Did not our Mishna state 'Not from the fruit watchmen, wood or fruits.'" And he answered: "It means of a watchman who is hired for money, but of such who takes for his labour a part of the products, may be bought, as he usually sells his own part."

The rabbis taught: It may be bought from the fruit watch. men when they sell publicly and the scale is before them; if however, they try to do it secretly, it is prohibited. It may be bought from them at the gate of the garden, but not at a place which is behind it.

It was taught: "When is allowed to buy from a robber?" Rabh holds: "When it is known that the greater part of the goods is his own." Samuel, however, maintains that even when the smaller part only is known to be his own. R. Jehudah's decision to Ada Daila was in accordance with Samuel's theory.

Property which belongs to a denouncer, R. Huna and R. Jehudah differ; one says, "It may be destroyed intentionally," and the other says, "It may not." The one who says, "It may," speaks thus because his money must not be dearer than his body. And the one who says, "It may not," speaks thus because, perhaps, he will have good children, and it is written [Job, xxvii. 17]: "He may prepare, but the righteous will clothe himself (therewith)." R. Hisda had an οὐρος who used to take exactly the half of the products for himself. Thereupon R. Hisda discharged him, and read with reference to himself the verse [Prov. 13:22]: "But the wealth of the sinner is treasured up for the righteous."

R. Johanan said: One who robs his neighbour even the value of a parutha (half a cent) is considered as if he would take away his life; as it is written [Prov. 1:19]: "So is the path of every one that is greedy after (unlawful) gain; it takes away the life of those that own it." And also [Jeremiah, 5:17]: "And they shall consume thy harvest and thy bread; they shall consume thy sons and thy daughters." And also [Joel, iv. 19]: "Because of the violence against the children of Judah." And also [2 Samuel, 21:1]: "On account of Saul and on account of the house of blood, this because he has slain the Gibeonites." To what purpose is the second verse cited? One may say that it speaks only of his life, but not of the life of his children; hence the other verse. And still one may say that it treats only of a robber who does not pay for the robbery, but not if he does; hence the third verse, which treats of violence, which is even when he gives money. And, finally, one may say: It is only when he did it with his hands, but not when he was only a germon; hence the last verse, which reads, "Who has slain the Gibeonites"; and where is it to be found that Saul had slain them? We must say, therefore, that he was a germon because he had slain Nob the city of the priests, the supporters of the Gibeonites, who lost their lives by the death of their supporters. And the Scripture considers Saul as he himself had slain them.

"But it may be bought from the women," etc. The rabbis taught: "It may be bought from woman (the articles mentioned in the Mishna), but not wine, oil, or fine meal, and also not from slaves and not from minors." Aba Saul, however, said: "A woman may sell for four, five dinars for the purpose of buying a cap for herself." They all mentioned if they told the buyers to be careful about the bargain, then it is prohibited. Charity may be taken from them by the treasurers only a small quantity, but not a large one. From the women of the men who are engaged in the oil press may be bought a measure of olives or oil, but not small quantities. R. Simeon ben Gamaliel, however, said that in the upper Galilee even a small quantity may be bought (as this article is very dear there), and it may be the men are ashamed to sell small quantities in his house, and they give it to their wives to do so. Rabbina, who was a treasurer of charity, happened to be in the city of Mehuza, and the women gave him for charity golden chains and rings, and he accepted. Said Rabba Tosphah to him: "Did not the Boraitha state that a large quantity must not be accepted from the women by the treasurers of charity?" And he answered: "For the Mezuzath this is considered a small quantity."

MISHNA 12.: Flocks of wool which came out by washing belong to the washman, but what came out by the carder belongs to the owner. If three threads only come out by the washing, the washman may keep it; if more, be must not; if, however, there were black threads in a whole piece, he may keep all of them for himself. The remaining threads of sewing, and stuff of the size of three fingers square, belong to the owner, not to the tailor. The splinters which fall off from the carpenter's bench with the plane belong to him, but what with the hatchet are the owner's; if, however, he laboured at the owner's house, even of the plane belongs to the owner.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: "One may buy flocks from! the washman, because it is his. The washman may take the two upper threads for himself. By stretching the garment out for combing he can stitch the loops on the garment only by three stitches. One shall not comb the garment to its shoot, but to its warp, and he shall cut up the fringes to its length but not to its width; if by completing it be has to cut up in the width also, he may do so, the size of a span."

The rabbis taught: "One shall not buy from the carder flocks, because they are not his property, unless in such places where it is customary that the carder keeps it for himself. A cushion, however, or a pillow filled with this stuff may be bought from him at any place." Why so? Because the change gives title to him.

The rabbis taught: "One must not buy from a weaver (who is labouring for others) all the stuff in connection with the weaving; he may, however, buy from him a garment even made of different colours (although it is to be presumed that the different colours were the remainder of threads given to him for garments, and did not previously belong to him, as the weaving it to a garment is considered a change and title is acquired). The same is the case with a dyer: one must not buy from him stuffs in connection with dyeing, but a whole dyed garment, for the reason stated before."

The rabbis taught: "If a tanner takes skins to prepare them, the rubbish belongs to the owner; the wool, however, of the skins which was taken out from the water belongs to the tanner."

"If they were black," etc. Said R. Jehudah: "If such was taken off by the washman, it counts for the size which is needed for putting zithzoths in it; however, my son Itzchak is particular with it and cuts it up."

"But not the tailor." How much, however, may the tailor keep for himself? Said R. Assi: The size of a needle's square.

"The splinter which fall out by the carpenter," etc. Is there not a contradiction from the following: "What the carpenter takes off with the hatchet and what is cut up with the saw belongs to the owner, but what falls off from the bore or plane or the splinter by the saw belongs to the carpenter"? Said Rabha: "There is no contradiction. At the place of our Tana there were two kinds of planes, a big one and a small one. The big one is called ἀξινη, and the small one is called plane. The Tana of the Boraitha, however, had knowledge of the big one only, and named it also plane."

"If, however, he was working at the owner's house," etc. The rabbis taught: The stone-cutters may keep the rubbish; branches, however, which fall off from the trees by fixing them, or of wineyards or other plants and herbs, if the owner is particular with them, it is considered a robbery when taken without permission, but not if they are not particular. Not any robbery applies to onycha and grass, unless the places where they are particular. So said R. Jehudah. Said Rabba: "The city of Sirian in Babylon is one of the places where they are particular with it."

END OF TRACT BABA KAMA.

SYNOPSIS OF SUBJECTS OF TRACT BABA METZIA (MIDDLE GATE).

CHAPTER 1.

MISHNA 1. Two persons who hold a garment, and each of them claims that he has found it. A biblical oath is given only when there is an admission in part from the defendant. If the plaintiff claims a hundred and the defendant says only fifty, and here they are. If one claims a hundred, and the other denies all, and there are witnesses for fifty, what shall the oath contain? When one of the two holders overcame the other and took it away, what is the law? There was a bath-house about which two parties quarrelled--one of them arose and consecrated it. When two hold a note, the tender claims the note is not yet paid, and the borrower says the note is paid. Where is "the theory of because" to be used? The law is that leading gives title. If one was found riding upon a found ass, and another was holding the bridle,

MISHNAS 2. TO 6. If one sees an article on the road, and says to his neighbour, bring it to me. If one picks up an article for another, the latter does not acquire title. Why so? If one has seen an article, and he fell upon it. If one has seen people running after a lame stag on his field. It happened that R. Gamaliel said: "The tithe which I am going to measure should be delivered to Joshuah." When one throws a purse of money through the open door. When a thing was found by one's minor son or daughter, or his Jewish man or maid servant, or his wife. When one has found a note which secures real estate. If Reuben sold a field to Simeon with security, and the creditor of Reuben came and took it away. Encumbered property is not liable either for the used fruits, etc., for the benefit of humanity. How a bill of sale must be written. If one buys an estate, knowing that the seller is not the real owner of it. If the robber after he has sold it bought it from the real owner. If one says that the estate which I am about buy now shall be transferred to you at the same time that I acquire title to it. When I was about six or seven years old, my father was among the scribes of Mar Samuel's court. If one claims a hundred zuz, and the other denies; afterwards, he says, I have paid it. If one finds documents of divorce, of enfranchisement of a slave, of presents, etc. What is to be considered a will documents signed by the court, documents of a claim, etc. What is meant by claiming documents? What is called a roll? When three borrowed from one, etc.

CHAPTER 2.

MISHNAS 1. TO 6. There are found articles which belong to the finder without any proclamation. If there is a change in the found article which usually ought not to be. The renouncing of hope in regaining a lost article whose loss is not yet certain. Amaimar, Mar Zutra, and R. Ashi happened to be in the garden of Mari bar Issak, and the gardener placed before them dates and pomegranates. The rule concerning a lost article is this. Whether a number is considered a distinguishing mark or not? The reason why the sages decided that the place is not to be considered a mark. If one finds a purse in the market, how is the law? The following articles he must proclaim. Three coins one upon the other, etc. If one found, under a wooden wall, pigeons tied one to the other. If he found a covered vessel. If one found anything in a heap of rubbish. If one has seen money dropped on sand, and afterwards found and took it. If one found something in a store. If one found money in fruit sent to him.

MISHNAS 6. TO 8. The returning according to marks given is biblically or rabbinically? Until what time is he obliged to proclaim? R. Ami happened to find a purse with dinars in the presence of a Roman. If one identifies the article but not its marks. If the found article is of such a kind that it labours for its food. And if of such a kind that it does not labour. If one found books. If the article was a garment. Vessels of silver and copper. It is better to drink a goblet from the hand of a witch than to drink a goblet of lukewarm water. R. Ismael b. Jose was on the road, and met a man carrying a bundle of wood. What is to be considered a lost thing? If he returned it and it runs away again. What is to be deduced from the twofold expressions in many passages written in the Scripture? The loss of time must be appraised according to one's loss in his special trade. If he has found the animal in a stable, in a public thoroughfare. The commandment of the Scripture is for unloading, but not loading. How is this to be understood? If one lost a thing, as did his father before, etc, If his father and his master were overloaded. They who occupy themselves with the study of Scripture are not to be blamed, etc.

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CHAPTER 3.

MISHNAS 1. TO 4. A deposit stolen or lost, paid by the depository, of which thereafter the thief was found, to whom shall the double amount be paid? A gratuitous bailee, when he said, I have neglected my duty, etc. There was lost a deposited nose-jewel, and R. Na'hman made him pay by force. Finally the article was found, and was increased in value, etc, if an article was appraised for the sake of a creditor, and the latter appraised it for his own creditor, may the returning take place or not? From what time may the creditor use the products of an appraised estate? If one has hired a cow and he loaned it to some one else. It can happen that the hirer has a right to require several cows from the owner of one cow. How so? A bailee who has transferred the bailment to another bailee, how is the law? The Halakha prevails, that a bailee who has transferred the bailment to another bailee of any kind is responsible. If doubtful money is to be collected or not (illustrated in Mishna 3.)? Do you want to contradict a case of deposit with a case of robbery? A robber must be punished. If there was an uncertainty of both the plaintiff and the defendant, how is the law? If one deposits fruit at his neighbour's? If one becomes a prisoner, may his property be transferred to his nearest relatives or not? The difference between forsaken, abandoned, and a prisoner's properties. The estate of a prisoner must not be transferred to a minor relative, and not the estate of a minor to any relative. There was an old woman who had three daughters; together with one of them she was taken to prison, and of the remaining two one died and left a child. A brother of Mari b. Isk came to him and demanded a share of the inheritance, and he said, I do not know you.

MISHNAS 5. TO 11. The quantity of usual losses one may count to deposited articles of grain and fruit? Losses of wine and oil depend upon the kind of barrels in which placed. If a barrel is deposited for safe-keeping, and the depository handled it, and it broke while yet under his hand. Peculiar is the stretching of hands which reads in regard to a bailee for hire, in connection from the same expression in the Scripture which reads in regard to a gratuitous bailee. If one has deposited money for safe-keeping, and the depository tied it and carried it on his shoulder, etc. Nothing is considered safety with money, unless it is hidden in the ground. It happened that one deposited money with his neighbour, and he gave it to his mother for safe keeping, and it was stolen. Money deposited for safe-keeping with a money changer. A depository who stretches his hand for the bailment. If one intends to use a bailment deposited in his control and says so, the liability follows immediately.

CHAPTER 4.

MISHNAS 1. TO 5. If one bought gold and silver coins together and made a drawing on the gold ones, title is also given to the silver ones, but not vice versa. Rabh borrowed dinars from the daughter of R. Hyya; thereafter the dinars increased in value. One holds that the law of exchange applies to a coin also, and another holds that it does not. If one were holding some coins in his hands and said . Sell me your articles for the money I have in my hand, and the other agrees. If one said: Sell me for this amount, title is acquired, and nevertheless the law of fraud applies. According to whom do we write in our legal papers, With an utensil which is fit to confirm with? Biblically, money paid gives title; why, then, was it said that drawing is needed? According to Abayi, he who retracts ought to be notified that he will be punished by Heaven, and according to Rabha he shall be cursed. It happened that one gave money for poppy, meanwhile the poppy increased in price. Tabuth or Samuel b. Zutra was such kind of a man that he would not change his word, even if all the goods of the world were delivered to him, and he told: The above case of poppy happened to me. Cheating, which according to law makes the sale null and void, is in case where the sum of which he was cheated counts four silver dinars. Until what time the retraction may take place? The law of fraud applies to the buyer as well as to the seller, to a private as well as to a merchant. There is no cheating concerning a specialist who knows the value. If one is doing business with his neighbour in trust. How much less of the quantity of a sala should be effaced, that the law of fraud could not be claimed? The prescribed quantity for cheating is four silver dinars to each sala.

MISHNAS 6. TO 10. There are five fifth parts which must be added to the principal amount. The things to which the law of cheating does not apply. Does the law of cheating apply to a hire? The laws of usury and cheating apply only to commoners, not to the sanctuary. A gratuitous bailee does not swear. If one bought wheat and sowed it in the field, how is the law? If there was fraud to more than a sixth of the value, how is the law? As cheating is prohibited in buying or selling, so it is in words. Cheating in words is more rigorous than cheating in money. To what thing do the western people pay more attention? One should always be careful with the honour of his wife. The noted legend of the oven of the Akhina. The law is not in the heavens. We do not care for a heavenly voice. Regarding cheating, there are three negative commandments. One must not mix together fruits from two separate fields. A merchant may buy grain from five barns, and place it in one storeroom. The embellishment of articles which are to be sold is forbidden.

TRACT BABA METZIA (MIDDLE GATE).

CHAPTER 1.

RULES AND REGULATIONS REGARDING FOUND ARTICLES, DOCUMENTS, ANIMALS, AND IF ONE APPOINTS A MESSENGER TO PICK UP A FOUND ARTICLE.

MISHNA 1.: Two persons, who hold a garment, and each of them claims that he has found it, or that the whole belongs to him, (in such a case) each of them shall take an oath that no less than a half belongs to him, and then its value shall be divided. If, however, one claims the whole and the other half of it, then the oath for the first must be for no less than three quarters, and for the second no less than a quarter, and it is to be divided accordingly. The same is the case with an animal, if both are riding; or, if one is riding and one leading, each of them must take an oath that no less than a half belongs to him, if both claim for the whole, and so they divide. If, however, there are wit. nesses, or they admit the fact, then it is to be divided without any oath.

GEMARA: Why is it stated: "Each of them claims he has found it, or the whole garment belongs to him"--is not one of them sufficient? R. Papa, according to others R. Shimi bar Ashi or Kadi, says: The first part speaks about a found article, and the last one about a transaction, and both cases are necessary. For when the case of a found only, only a found article should be stated, one may say that the rabbis ordered an oath, because it is only a found article, of which each of them may say: My neighbour would lose nothing even if I claim the whole and get half of it, which is not the case in a transaction (as the buyer paid for it, and if it would not be necessary for him he would not do so). On the other hand, if the last part only should be stated, one may say: "The rabbis have given an oath to both of them, because each of them may say: As the same money my neighbour claims that he has given, I also have given, therefore I have a right to keep it for myself, and my neighbour shall go to the trouble to buy another, which is not the case with a found article, and therefore in the former case an oath would not be ordered." Hence both cases are necessary.

"Transaction!" Let us see from whom the money was taken. The case was, that both paid the money, one with the consent of the seller and the other against the seller's will, but the seller does not recollect to which of them he had given the consent (hence the order of the oaths).

Shall we assume that our Mishna is not in accord with Ben Nanas, who says: "An oath cannot be ordered to both, as one I of them would surely swear falsely"? The Mishna can be explained even in accord with Ben Nanas, as he speaks of a case where one of them would surely swear falsely. Here, in case of a found article, it may happen that both of them has picked it lip at the same time?

Shall we then assume that our Mishna is not in accord with Symmachus, who says: "That money which is doubtful is to be divided without an oath"? (See First Gate.) With whom, then, is the Mishna in accord? With the rabbis who are the opponents of Symmachus; do they not say that it is always incumbent on the plaintiff to bring evidence? What comparison is there? In the case where one of them is a plaintiff, and the other a defendant, the rabbis say that it is incumbent on the plaintiff to bring evidence. Here, however, when they both held a thing, they ordered an oath. But according to the theory of Symmachus, even in the case where there is a plaintiff and defendant, it is to be divided without an oath. Moreover, here, as both are holding it, it can be said that even Symmachus would agree with our Mishna, as the oath mentioned is rabbinical only, for R. Johanan says that the oath is an enactment of the sages to prevent one from going out and taking hold of his neighbour's property, claiming it as his.

At any rate, our Mishna is not in accord with R. Jose, who says (Chapter III., Mishna 106): "If so is the case, what can the defrauder lose? therefore, the whole amount must be deposited until there will be evidence." Let us then see if our Mishna can be explained in accord with the rabbis, the opponents of R. Jose, who say that the part in doubt should be deposited until Elijah will come." Is not the case in our Mishna similar to the case there, as both claims are doubtful? What comparison is it?

It does not belong to both parties, but to one of them; the rabbis ordered it should be deposited "until Elijah will come." Here, however, there is a possibility that the article belongs to both parties, so they ordered an oath; but R. Jose maintained that even where it is certain that both parties have a share in the money in question, he nevertheless decided that the money should be deposited "until Elijah will come." Moreover, here, it is probable that the article belongs to one party. (Therefore our Mishna is in accord with the rabbis and not with R. Jose.)

According to both the rabbis and R. Jose, how should the following Mishna be understood: "A storekeeper upon his credit-book (if it is found that he has given something by the order of the employer to his working-men, and they deny having received anything), both take an oath, and collect the money from the employer"? Now, one of them has surely sworn falsely; why should it not be here the same also, that the money should be collected from the employer and deposited "until Elijah will come," as one of them is surely a defrauder? It can be said there is another reason. The storekeeper may say to the employer: I have followed your order, and I have nothing to do with your working-men, whom I would not believe even with an oath, and it was your fault that you did not order me to give the goods only in the presence of witnesses or to take a receipt from him. The working-man can say to the employer: You must pay me for my work, and I have nothing to do with your storekeeper, whom I would not believe even with an oath; and therefore both collect the money from the employer after they have sworn.

R. Hyya taught: If the plaintiff says that the defendant owes him a hundred zuz and the defendant denies owing him anything, and witnesses, however, testify that they only know that he owes him fifty, he must give him fifty, and take an oath for the remainder. The reason is that the admission of the defendant himself shall not be stronger than the testimony of witnesses, 1 and this I have concluded by drawing an a fortiori conclusion, and also our Mishna supports me by its statement:

"When two are holding a garment," etc. We are the witnesses that each of them holds what he claims to be his, without any admission by his opponent, and, nevertheless, it is stated that each of them must take an oath.

Why was it necessary to draw an a fortiori conclusion for the above statement? Lest one say that a biblical oath is given only when there is an admission in part from the defendant, and the reason is, as Rabba declared elsewhere: "Why do the Scriptures decide that one who admits to a part of the claim must take an oath? Because usually one is not so bold as to deny the whole in the face of his creditor, and therefore he admits partly, even had he intended to do so before his creditor appeared, and therefore he only denies a part of it; and it may be that even their denial is only to gain time for the investigation, thinking that in the meantime he will get cash, and will pay the whole claim; and, therefore, the Scripture prescribes an oath in such a case, which is to be believed, that a man with such intention will refuse to swear falsely, and would rather admit the debt of the whole amount. But in case he denies, and witnesses testify against him, in which case the intention above cannot be supposed? No oath is prescribed, he must pay according to the testimony of the witnesses, and shall be acquitted. Therefore it was necessary for him (R. Hyya) to deduce it, by drawing an a fortiori conclusion, as follows:

The admission from his own mouth, which does not cause fine, nevertheless causes an oath; witnesses who cause fine, so much the more they should cause an oath. 1

Let us see, then, what R. Hyya means in saying that he has support from our Mishna? How can the case in the Mishna be compared to his case? In the case of R. Hyya the creditor had witnesses, and the borrower had none at all; then if he would have witnesses who would testify that he owes him nothing, R. Hyya certainly would not order an oath. But in our Mishna, as we are witnesses for one party, we are also witnesses for the other party, and nevertheless an oath is ordered. (Consequently the Mishna orders an oath, not because of admission in part, in which case a biblical oath would be necessary, but only a rabbinical oath as stated above.) Therefore, if it was taught that R. Hyya had said he had a support from our Mishna, it was said in regard to another statement of his as follows: "If the plaintiff claims a hundred and the defendant says only fifty, and here they are, he is, however, obliged to take an oath upon the remainder. Why so? Because "here they are" is considered an admission in part; that is, although "here they are" means that "your claim is now settled, and I owe you nothing," it is nevertheless considered an admission in part. And the support of the Mishna is this: As they both hold the garment, we are witnesses that each of them says, "Take what you hold, and the remainder is mine," and this is equal to the claim "here they are," and nevertheless an oath is ordered.

R. Shesheth, however, says: "When he says, 'here they are,' there is no oath. Why? Because 'here they are' is considered as if the money is already in the hands of the plaintiff. Consequently the claim for the other fifty is denied entirely without any admission. But according to R. Shesheth the decision of our Mishna would be embarrassing to him. He may say that the oath in our Mishna is only an enactment of the sages.

But does not R. Hyya also agree that so it is? Yea, but if "here they are" is equal as an admission in part, and the oath is ordered biblically, the rabbis have the right to order an oath similar to the biblical one. According to R. Shesheth's theory, however, that in such a case no biblical oath should be ordered at all, how could the rabbis arrange an oath which has no analogy in the Scripture?

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An objection was raised from the following Boraitha: If there was a note for Sellahs or Dinars without number, the lender claims five and the borrower says three, there must be an oath, because the third one by the borrower is an admission in part. As he could say that the plurality in the note means only two, so is the decree of R. Simeon Elazar. R. Aqiba, however, says: "The admission of the third one is to be considered as if he had returned a lost thing, and he is acquitted. Now, how the case would be if he would say only two (which would not be denied after the note is recognised), an oath would be ordered, even ac. cording to R. Aqiba's theory. Is not the note (which can be collected from his real estate) considered as "here they are," and, nevertheless, an oath would be necessary? Infer then from this that such is the law with all claims which are defended with here they are."

Nay, it can be said that even when he admits only two, there is no oath, and the expression "three" is mentioned only to deny the theory of R. Simeon, who takes three for an admission in part, for which the law prescribes an oath. And so also seems to be common sense that, according to R. Aqiba, even if he would say only two, he is free from an oath. Then if not so, how can he make him free, when he admits three? It could be a trick on his part to admit three and to be free from any obligation, as he would know that when, if he should claim only two, an oath would be given to him. Infer from this, that so it is. But if it is so, then it contradicts R. Hyya, who says that "here they are" does not prevent an oath. Nay, here in our case of the note, "here they are" is not the reason, but because the note is a support to his assertion, or it can be explained the note implies a mortgage on real estate, and there is no oath in a case where real estate is claimed.

Come and hear (another objection): We learned that the father of R. Aputriki had taught in the first case of R. Hyya just "the reverse of R. Hyya, viz.: "If one claims a hundred, and the other denies all, and there are witnesses for fifty, lest one say there should be given an oath, because the testimony of the witnesses should be considered as an admission in part; therefore it is written [Ex. xxii. 8]: 'For any manner of lost things, of which he can say, this it is,' which means the liability is only when he admits with his own mouth, but not by the testimony of witnesses." (Hence it contradicts R. Hyya.) How can you contradict R. Hyya with a Boraitha? R. Hyya is a Tana, who is authorized to differ with it. But is not the Boraitha supported by a verse of Scripture? R. Hyya may say that the question is needed for the law of an admission in part. And the Tana of the above Boraitha may say that "this it is" has one word which is superfluous. We therefore deduce from both of them, viz.: that to an admission in part an oath is necessary, and that no oath is given when witnesses testify.

There was a shepherd to whom cattle was given always in the presence of witnesses. It happened, however, one day, that it was given to him without witnesses, and he denied, and witnesses testified that he had eaten two of them. Said R. Zera: "If it I is to agree with the first case of R. Hyya, he must take an oath", for the others." Said Abayi to him: "Even should we agree, could then an oath be given to him? Is he not a robber (to whom an oath is not given)?" Rejoined R. Zera: "I mean to say, that an oath should be given to the plaintiff that he had delivered to him such, and he may collect the money."

But even if we do not agree with R. Hyya's decision, we should nevertheless give him a rabbinical oath, according to R. Na'hman's enactment concerning the following Mishna: "When one claims hundred and the other denies, he is free." Said R. Na'hman: "He is free from a biblical oath, but he must take a rabbinical oath?" Nay, that an oath which cannot be given to the defendant the plaintiff shall swear, etc., is also only an enactment of the sages, and an enactment to an enactment cannot be made.

"Why," said Abaye, "he is a robber? Even if a shepherd only, an oath could not be given to him according to R. Jehudah, who says: 'A shepherd who is not known to be trustworthy, is unfit as a witness?'" This presents no difficulty. If the shepherd keeps his own cattle, he is not fit for an oath; but if he keeps the cattle of others, he is fit; because if it would not be so, how could we confide the cattle to a shepherd? Is it not written [Lev. 19:14]: "Nor put a stumblingblock before the blind." But we go with the rule: A man will not sin for others' benefit.

"Each of them swears," etc. What shall the oath contain? The part that he claims to have in it, and he swears that he has half of it, or he swears that he has not less than a half in it? (The difference between the two expressions is this. In case he swears to an affirmative statement, if he has not, he has sworn falsely. When, however, he swears to the negative statement, the oath is not false, even if he has nothing, as he only swears that he has not in it less than so and so, and in case he has nothing in it, he has not sworn falsely. The expression in the Mishna, however, is in the negative, and therefore the question.) Said R. Huna: "He swears both. 'I have some claim in it, and not less than a half.'" But why not in an affirmative manner: "I swear that I a half belongs to me"? Then he would contradict his claim that the whole garment belongs to him. And even in the negative manner, does he not contradict his claim? If he says: "According to my knowledge, the whole is mine, but at all events I swear that at least no less than a half belongs to me. But, after all, as they both hold the garment and the oath is ordered to both equally, why the oath at all? Let them divide without an oath?" Said R. Johanan: "This oath is not biblically at all, it is only an enactment of the sages, for the purpose that one shall not take possession of his neighbour's property, claiming that it is his, or he has a share in it; therefore the oath. But if he is suspected in the case of money, why should he be trusted in an oath?" Nay, the "theory of because" (because he is suspected in the, case of money, should he be also suspected in an oath?) we do not act upon. And a support to it we can find in the Scripture, which ordered an oath in an admission in part; and if it would be customary that whoever is suspected in a case of money, should be also suspected of swearing falsely, why then the oath? This above support, however, can be dismissed thus: In the case of an admission in part, there is no suspicion at all. The defendant merely had not the whole amount in cash, but only a part of it, and he taught: I will admit now only the part I have in cash, and the remainder I will give afterwards. And it is as Rabba stated before. This can also be proved from the statement of R. Idi bar Abin in the name of Hisda: "One who denies falsely a money loan is nevertheless qualified to be a witness, but whoever denies a deposit (which was given to him only to,, take care of, and he falsely denies it) is disqualified to be a witness." But why shall we not say if he denies a deposit, that merely he could not find it then, and therefore he denies it, intending, however, to return it when it will be found? He is disqualified only in the case where there are witnesses that the deposit was in his house when he denied it, and he had knowledge of it, or the witnesses testified that he was holding it in his hand. But did not R. Shesheth say: "For the following three things: (a) That I have not neglected it, (b) I have not made use of it, and (c) I am positive it is not under my control, the oath was given"? (This is the case of a gratuitous bailee, who is not liable when it is stolen.) Now, why then should he be trusted with the oath? Let "the theory of because" he is suspected in a case of money, he should also be suspected in an oath, also be applied here. Say, then, that such a theory we do not practise. Abayi, however, says that the reason for the statement in our Mishna, to make them both swear, is not as R. Johanan explains, because in such a case an oath would not be trusted to him, but we suppose that his claim is because he has an old loan of money, which is forgotten by the other, and therefore he takes possession of the garment claiming it is his, because in reality all personal property is a security for the loan. If it is so, let them take the garment without an oath? We are not supposing a certain loan, but that he is in doubt about it. But when he is doubtful, and he nevertheless takes possession of his neighbour's property, let him be suspected, that he will also swear in such a case? Said R. Shesheth, the son of R. Idi: Usually men restrain themselves from taking an oath on a doubtful thing, although they are not averse to taking possession of property doubtfully, because money can be returned, which is not the case with an oath.

R. Sera propounded a question: "When one of the two holders overcame the other and took it away, what is the law?" Let us see how was the case? If the other party keeps silence, then he admits; and if he objects, what more could he do, when his opponent is stronger than he? The case was, that previously he was silent, and afterwards he objected, and the question is: Shall we assume that because he was silent he has admitted, or perhaps the reason he kept silent previously was because it was done in the presence of the rabbis, who could testify in the case? Said R. Na'hman: Come and hear (in addition to our Mishna, there is a Boraitha, as follows): "All this is said only when both are holding the garment; but if only one holds it, and the other claims the ownership of it, the rule that the plaintiff is to bring evidence applies here also." Now, let us see; if one would claim ownership of personal property which is in the possession of another, the statement of the Boraitha would be entirely superfluous, as it is self-evident. We must say, then, that the case was as R. Zera stated it. Nay; this can be explained as follows: They appear before the court when one took possession of the whole garment, and the other put only his hand upon a small piece of it. In such a case an oath is necessary, even according to the theory of Symmachus, who says that doubtful money is to be divided without an oath; he would agree, however, in this case, because the laying of one's hand upon a piece of it counts for nothing.

If the law were that of one overcome, and took possession in the presence of the court, and the court decided that it should be taken away from him, and in the meantime he had consecrated it, there is no question but that such an act at that time cannot be considered. But if the court would decide to leave it in his possession, should he have overcome the other, and he as yet not taking possession of it, consecrated it, what is the law? Shall we say, because the master says elsewhere: "The consecration by word of mouth only is equivalent to delivering to a common person," in our case shall his mere word of mouth be considered as equivalent to his overcoming and taking it away (and then the thing is certainly consecrated), or perhaps it is not so, because it is not yet in his possession, and it is written [Lev. xxiv. 14]: "And if a man sanctify his house," of which it is to be inferred that, as his house is under his control, so he can consecrate it, so everything which is under his control, but not otherwise, can be consecrated, and in our case it is not yet under his control? Come and hear: There was a bath-house about which two parties quarrelled, each of them claiming it was his property. Then one of them arose and consecrated it. And R. Hanania and R. Aushia and other rabbis did not use this bath any more. And R. Aushia said to Rabba: "When you go to see R. Hisda in Kopri, question him about this case." When Rabba went to Kopri, he passed by Sura, and he questioned R. Hamnuna, and the latter answered him thus: It is decided in a Mishna [Thaharoth, Chap. 4:12], which states: "If there is a doubt about a first-born, be it of a human being or of an animal, clean ones (which are allowed to be eaten) or unclean ones, the rule that the plaintiff must bring evidence is applied to it." And a Boraitha, in an addition to this Mishna, states: "They are nevertheless prohibited from shearing their wool and to use them for labour." Now, it is certain that if the priest took it away, the court would not compel him to return it, because then he would be the defendant, and the other party must bring evidence. And still, even when the priest did not yet take it away, it is said that it must not be used for labour, as stated above. (Hence we see that even when it is doubtful, it is nevertheless consecrated.) Rejoined Rabba: "You compare this with the consecration of a first-born! There is a difference, as its consecration comes by itself without being consecrated by a human being, and therefore it must be used for labour, no matter under whose control it is."

But what is the law in the above case of the bath-house, after all? Come and hear: R. Hyya bar Abin said: "A similar case happened to R. Hisda, and he questioned R. Huna, and his decision was based upon R. Na'hman's following decision: That such property which must be replevined by the court, even if it is f'; consecrated by one of the parties, it is not holy." But how is it if it could be replevined? The consecration would be valid, although he did not as yet take possession thereof. Did not R. Johanan say: "If one has robbed a thing, and the owner has not yet resigned the hope to regaining it, it cannot be consecrated by one of them? (See First Gate.) Do you think the bath-house in question was a movable property, to which the rule that the plaintiff must bring evidence applies? This was a real estate, that, if he can replevin it by the decision of the court, it is considered as if it were already under his control."

R. Thalifa of Palestine taught in the presence of R. Abbahu: "If two appear before the court, both holding one garment, each of them gets the part he holds in his hand, and the remainder they divide equally." Remonstrated R. Abbahu: But not without an oath. (Asked the Gemara): If it is so, how is our Mishna to be explained, which states: It shall be divided, and it does not state that, 'only the part that he holds in his hand.' How is the case to be explained? Said R. Papa: When both hold only the χερχοξ (the fringes). Said R. Mesharshias: "Infer from this that a sudarium, which usually the buyer must take in his hand when he wishes to consummate his agreement, 1 is enough when he takes in his hand the size of three fingers square, as this piece which he holds is considered as if cut off, and the expression [Ruth, 4:7], "and gave it to the other," is applied.

Rabha said: "The case in our Mishna, even when the garment was covered with gold (on some places), it is nevertheless to be divided. Is this not self-evident? Rabha means to say that the gold cover was placed in the centre of the garment. But even this is self-evident? The case was that the gold covering was nearer to the hand of one of the parties. Lest one say, that the garment shall be divided so that the gold shall remain his share, he comes to teach us that the other party has the right to demand that the gold shall also be divided.

The rabbis taught: When two hold a note (the lender and the borrower), the lender claims: "The note is not yet paid, but I dropped it, and it was found by the borrower"; and the borrower says: "The note is paid, and it is mine now"; the note is still in force, if the signature is certified to by the court. So is the decree of Rabbi. R. Simeon ben Gamaliel, however, says: "The value of it must be divided." If, however, the note falls into the hands of the judge, nobody can compel him to give it away. R. Jose, however, says: "Even then the note is in full force."

The master says: "It is in force if the signature," etc. And what is then-does the lender collect the whole amount? which contradicts the statement of our Mishna. Said Rabba in the name of R. Na'hman: "If the note is approved by the court, all of them (the Tanaim who are named in the above Boraitha) agree that the value of it must be divided (because it is considered as money or a garment, the law of which is stated in our Mishna). They differ, however, when the note is not approved by the court. "Rabbi holds that even when the borrower admits that it is his note, it must be nevertheless approved by the court." If they do so, the value is divided; but if they do not, it is not to be divided. Why so? Because the note would not have any value whatever. Who then makes it a

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valid note? The borrower, by the admission of his signature, but in the same time he claims that the note is paid. R. Simeon ben Gamaliel, however, is of the opinion that when the signature is admitted, it need not be approved by the court, and therefore it has a positive value, which must be divided. The text above says: "If it falls in the hands of the judge," etc. Why? Is the judge not a human being as any other? Said Rabha It means thus: If a stranger has found a note, on which the certification of the court is to be seen much less when there is no certification by the court, neither of the parties mentioned in the note can make use of it. (Therefore it must not be returned to any of them), for fear that either was written by the borrower, and he has not received any money as yet, or (if it was certified to by the court) perhaps it was paid. But R. Jose holds that, so long as it is not marked that the note is paid, it is in force, and there is no fear that it is a paid note."

R. Elazar said: "R. Simeon ben Gamaliel and Rabbi differ when both parties hold the text of the note, or both hold the signatures of the witnesses or court; but when one holds the text and the other the signatures, each of them may keep what he holds." R. Johanan, however, said: "It makes no difference what they hold, it must always be divided." But is it not stated: "Each takes what he holds"? The case was, when the certification of the court or signatures to the note were in the centre of it. If it is so, what is there new in that he comes to tell us? The case was, that the signatures were nearer to one than to the other. (This is to be explained, as in the above case, when covered with gold.) Said R. Aha of Diftha to Rabbina: "According to R. Elazar, who says that one takes the text and one the signatures, for what purpose do the parties need it, to use it as a cover for a utensil?" Rejoined Rabbina: "It means its value, namely: The difference in value is to be appraised between the text and the signatures; and the explanation is thus: A note which is certified to by the court, and the date is stated, has more value, as such can be collected even from property that was mortgaged after the date of certification, which is not the case with a note in which the date of certification is not stated. In this case the one who holds the certification gets the amount, which is as mortgaged after the date of certification. And also the case in which it must be divided, also means its value; because if not so, how would you explain the case in our Mishna, where the garment is to be divided? Should it be cut in pieces and damaged? Surely not, but it means the value of it should be divided, and the same is the case here." 1

Rami bar Hama said: "From the decision of our Mishna (that when both claim to have found a garment, which means that both picked it up, both are entitled to it, and it is to be divided), it is to be inferred that if one sees an article upon the ground, and tells his companion to pick it up for him, the latter acquires the title. For if it could be borne in mind that it is not so, the case of our Mishna when both picked it up, for the purpose that they should get title to it, each half that belongs to one of them was also picked up by the other, and consequently both should not get title to it, and it should still be considered as it is still upon the ground, so that any other may take it out of their hands, and acquire title for himself. Infer from this, that so it is." Rabha, however, says: "This is no support at all. It may be said that one cannot get title to a found thing through another, even when the other does not intend to keep it for himself. The case in the Mishna, however, is different, because each of them intends to get title to it, and in the same time, when he gets title for himself, he acquires title to the other half for his companion. And a support to it is to be found in the following: If one commands his messenger he shall steal something, and he did so, the sender is free; but if they were partners and had stolen something together, both are liable. And why? Is it not because at the same time that he bears the guilt for himself, he bears it also for his neighbour?" Infer from this, that so it is.

The same said again: Now that we are coming to the conclusion that we can use "the theory of because," if a deaf and healthy man picked up a found article together, neither of them gets title to it, because, as the deaf man cannot get title for himself, the healthy one cannot get title to it. And lest one say, why should the healthy one be considered worse off than if he too were deaf, for in such a case when both are deaf, both get title to it? The reason is, that in such a case it is only an enactment of the sages, that they shall not come to blows; but here, when the healthy one does not acquire title, the deaf one will say: "If the healthy one does not get title of it, how should I get title to it?"

"If two are riding." R. Joseph said: R. Jehudah told me as follows: "I have heard from Mar Samuel two things, in the case when one is riding and the other is leading. In one case he decided that he acquires title to it and in the other that he does not, and I cannot recollect in which case it is and in which not." Let us see what was the case! Shall we assume that if one was riding on a found animal and somebody came and took it away from him, and in the same way was the case with the leader, that one was leading a found animal and somebody took it away from him, is it possible that Samuel could declare in the latter case r that the leader did not get title to it? (The law is that leading gives title.) Consequently if Samuel declared in one case that he had not, it is riding only.) And R. Jehudah would not doubt it.) When, however, he was in doubt, it must be the following case, when one was a-riding, and the other was the leader of the same animal, and in this case Samuel declared that one had acquired title to it and the other not; and his doubt was if the rider had the preference because he held the animal, or the leader because the animal was going by his leading? Said R. Joseph again: "R. Jehudah told me, let us find out the meaning of Samuel from the following Mishna: If one was sitting in a wagon of Kelaim and another was leading it, each of them gets the forty stripes. R. Meir, however, sets free the sitting one" [Kelaim, 8, 4]. Samuel, however, changed the names and declared that the sages made him free, and this was because so the Halakha prevails.

Infer from this that, riding, one does not acquire title even when there is no leader, and much less when there is another one who leads it. Said Abayi to R. Joseph: "How can the master decide the case of riding from the case of sitting? The riding one holds the bridle, which is not the case with the sitting one." And he answered: "So taught Idi: A bridle does not give any title."

It was taught, also, by R. Helbou in the name of R. Huna, that a bridle gives title only when it is given hand to hand; a found animal, however, or if it was from the inheritance of a proselyte who dies without heirs, it does not. For what purpose is the bridle termed Mussira? 1 Said Rabha: "Idi explained to me that this expression was used because it contains in it delivery." And, therefore, if his neighbour delivers to him the bridle of the animal, he has bought it, and he acquires title. Of a found animal or of the inheritance stated above, in which there is no one who can deliver it to him, title cannot be acquired.

An objection was raised from our Mishna. "When two were riding upon an animal," etc., according to whom would be this statement? Certainly not according to R. Meir, who declared that even sitting gives title, so much the more riding. It must be, therefore, that it is according to the rabbis, from which it is to be inferred that riding gives title. Nay, the Mishna may treat of a case when the riding one leads the animal by striking her with his feet. But if it is so, he is the leader? Yea, there are two kinds of leaders. Lest one say, that the riding one has the preference, because he does both, holds and leads it, the Mishna therefore comes to teach us that both are equal.

(Another objection was raised.) Come and hear: "Two who were pulling a camel or leading an ass, or one of them was pulling and the other leading, by such an act the title is recognised." R. Jehudah, however, says: "Title is not recognised unless one is pulling a camel or leading an ass." We see, then, that the Boraitha states "pulling and leading" only, but not riding. The same is the case in riding, and when it states pulling and leading, it is only to deny the theory of R. Jehudah, who says that the title to a camel is acquired by pulling and an ass by leading, and it teaches that title is acquired even in the reverse. But if it is so, let the Boraitha teach both when two were pulling or leading either a camel or an ass? There is one who does not acquire title. Some say that pulling an ass and others say leading a camel. According to others, the objection was raised from the latter part: "By such an act," etc. Does not this expression mean to exclude riding? Nay, it means to exclude when the reverse was done. If so, it is only a repetition of R. Jehudah: "There is a difference between them, that with both mentioned animals one of the two things in question does not give title; some say pulling an ass and others say leading a camel."

Come and hear: "If one was riding upon a found ass and another was holding the bridle, the former has acquired title of the ass, and the other one of the bridle. Hence we see that riding does give title? Here is also the case, when he leads it with the feet. If it is so, why does he not acquire title to the bridle also? Read: The riding one acquired title to the ass and half of the bridle, and the other to the other half of the bridle. This would be correct if the riding one does acquire title to the bridle by picking it up through an agent intentionally; but the one who was only holding it, why should he have any right? Read, then: The one has acquired title to the ass and the whole bridle, and the other only to the piece which he holds in his hand. What answer is this? Even if you would say that when an agent picks up a found article for his principal, the principal acquires title, this is only in the case when the agent was willing to do so; but here the holder of the bridle picked it up with the intention to keep it for himself, and when you say that he has not any right for himself, how should he acquire title for the other? Said R. Ashi: "The riding one has a right to the ass and the part of the bridle which is upon the head of the ass, and the holder of it the piece which he holds in his hand, and the remainder does not belong to either of them." Come and hear (again): R. Eliezer says that riding gives title in the field and leading in the city. (Hence we see that riding gives title?) Here is also meant when he leads it with the feet; then it is leading? There are two kinds of leading, as explained above. But if it is so, why does not riding give title even in the city? Said R. Kahna: "Because it is not customary for men to ride in the city." Said R. Ashi to him: "According to your theory, if one picked up a Persian coin on Sabbath, which is not the custom with Israelites on Sabbath, should he also not acquire title to it? You also admit that such an act is good enough to give title. The same should be the case with riding in the city?" Therefore we must say that R. Eliezer speaks not of a found article, but of a regular sale, at which the buyer was told: "Go and acquire title in it, as it is customary." If it was a public ground where men are usually riding, title is acquired; and if he was a respectable man who used to ride even in the city, the title is acquired. The same is the case when it was a woman. And (on the contrary, if he was a commoner, who is not ashamed to ride anywhere,) title is acquired. (And the title is not acquired only by such people who are accustomed to riding in the city.)

R. Elazar questioned: "If one says to a person: Pull this animal and acquire title on the utensils which have been placed upon it, what is the law? Does the pulling of the cattle suffice to give title on the utensils or not?" Said Rabha: "Even if he should say to him, acquire title on both things in question, would it be sufficient for the utensils also? Is not the animal considered as a movable court, which does not give title in the utensils placed on it? And lest one say it means when the animal stops, is there not a rule that when the title is not acquired by moving, it does not even when it was standing or sitting?" The Halakha, however, prevails, that when the animal was tied. Said R. Papa and R. Huna the son of R. Joshuah to Rabha: "According to your theory, if one was going in a boat and fish fell into the boat, would we also consider the boat as a moving court, that title in the fish would not be acquired?" And he answered: The boat is resting, but the water is moving and bears it along."

MISHNA 2.: If one rides on an animal and sees an article on the road, and says to his neighbour, Bring it to me, and the latter picks it up and says, I myself have acquired title to it, he has done right. If, however, after delivering it he says: I have acquired title to it first, his claim is not to be considered.

GEMARA: We have learned a Mishna [Peah, 4., 9]: If one has gathered the corner tithe, saying, I take it for a poor so and so, R. Eliezer says that the poor ones get title to it. The sages, however, say that he may give it to the first poor man he may meet. Said Ula in the name of R. Joshua b. Levy: "They differ only when the one who took it was not poor. R. Eliezer holds, that because he can renounce his ownership of all he possesses so that he himself would be poor, would be then entitled to it, the same is the case even if he had not done so. And "because" he himself is entitled to it, he may do so for any one else. The rabbis, however, hold, that the "theory of because" can be applied only once. In this case, however, "Because" is used twice, therefore their decision. If, however, the man in question was poor himself, all agree that he can take it for another poor man, as here only one "because" is to be used; namely, because be has a right to acquire it for himself, he may do the same for another. Said R. Na'hman to Ula: "Let the master say, that even if they were both poor, they still differ. As regarding a found article, all are considered as poor, and nevertheless our Mishna stated that if the one who picked it up said: I myself have acquired title to it, his act is correct. Now if in the quoted Mishna they differ, in that one poor for another, our Mishna would be in accord with the rabbis." (That is, in the first part, "because" the one who picked it up was entitled to it for himself, he has also a right to transfer it to another although he was directed by the rider; and the latter part teaches us that, when he has not acquired title to it before he has given it to the rider, we do not apply the above "theory of because," if he want it for himself.) But if you will say that the recited Mishna speaks only of a rich for a poor, but when both were poor all agree that the title is acquired for the other, then our Mishna is neither in accord with the rabbis nor with R. Eliezer? And he answered: "The Mishna treats of a case when the man who picked it up says to the rider: Although you have seen it first, nevertheless by picking it up I intended to acquire it for myself." And it seems that this explanation is correct from the latter part, which states: "If he says I have acquired title on it first," etc., which is superfluous, as it is self-evident that he means at the time when he picked it up, which certainly he was the first, even if he would not assert it so plainly. Therefore, we must say that it comes to teach us that even in the first part his claim was that he acquired title first. R. Na'hman, however, may say that the expression "first," mentioned in the latter part, was with design to show that in the first part this word was not used.

R. Na'hman and R. Hisda both said: "If one picks up an article for another, the latter does not acquire title. Why so? Because this would be similar to one who takes possession, without any order, of goods or money of his neighbour for the purpose of settling his account with so and so, although the same is a debtor to other persons, which is certainly unlawful, and his act cannot be taken into consideration." Rabha objected to R. Na'hman's statement from the following: A thing found by an employee who was hired by the day, belongs to himself. When is this the case? When the employer

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has hired him to clean or plough the field; but if he was hired for any kind of work for the day, the found article belongs to the employer. (Hence we see that one can acquire title for another.) Said R. Na'hman: In the case of an employee is different, for his hand is considered as the hand of his employer for the whole day. But did not Rabh say that an employee can retire from his agreement in the middle of the day though he was hired for the whole day? And R. Na'hman rejoined: "Yea, but so long as he has not retired, his hand is considered as the employer's hand." And the reason why an employee may retire from his agreement, even in the middle of the day, is because it is written: "For unto me are the children of Israel servants" [Lev. 25:55], which means my servants but not servants to other servants. (So one cannot make another one a slave even for one day.)

R. Hyya b. Aba, however, says in the name of R. Johanan, that "if one picked up an article for another, the latter acquires title; and if you should object to it from our Mishna, I would say that the Mishna speaks of a case when he said: 'Bring it to me and not acquire title for me.'"

MISHNA 3.: If one has seen an article and he fell upon it, and at the same time another came and took hold of it, the latter has acquired title.

GEMARA: Said Resh Lakish in the name of Aba Kahna Bardala: "The four ells of a man gives title to him at every place. Why so? The rabbis made this enactment to prevent quarrels." (This sentence will be explained in the following discussion.) Said Abaye: R. Hyya bar Joseph objected to this from the following Mishna [Peah, 4, 3]: "If one took a part of the Peah and threw it on the remainder, he lost his share in it entirely." If one of the poor fall upon the Peah, or he spreads his garment upon it (with the intention of acquiring title to it), his act is ignored, and the garment must be removed. The same is the case with the forgotten sheaf [Peah, 4, 3]. Now if the statement of Resh Lakish is correct, why does he not acquire title to it with his "four ells" (when he has fallen upon it)?

The case was that he did not say: "I intend to acquire title to it." But if the above enactment of the sages exists, even if he did not say anything, what is it? With his falling he convinces us that only with this act he wishes to acquire title to it, but not with the four ells in question. R. Papa, however, said: The enactment of the sages regarding the four ells had reference only to a public place, but not on a private field; and although the Merciful One has privileged him to go in and to gather the Peah, he is entitled only to do that, but he is not privileged to consider it as his own property.

Said Rabha: "R. Jacob bar Idi objected the above saying of Resh Lakish from the Law of Damages stated in our Mishna: 'If one falls upon a found article and another took hold of it at the same time, the latter acquires title to it.' Now if Resh Lakish's statement is correct, did not the former acquire title with his four ells?" This objection is answered in the very same manner as Abaye's objection. R. Shesheth, however, says: "The enactment of the sages is only in a semita (a kind of sidewalk where it is not so crowded), but not in the public street, where there is always a crowd and many have the same four ells." But did not Resh Lakish say: "In every place?" With this expression he means to include the sidewalks of the public streets.

Resh Lakish said again in the name of the same authority: "A minor female has not the right to acquire title in her property, and also the law of the four ells does not apply to her." R. Johanan, however, in the name of R. Janai said: That both of the above laws apply also to her. The two sages, however, do not differ--the former speaks of a divorce, the law of which will be explained in Tractate Gittin (Divorces); and the latter treats about a found article, which was in her four ells or on her property, she does acquire title.

MISHNA 4.: If one has seen people running after a found article which was on his field, or after a lame stag, or after unfledged pigeons, and he says: "My property shall give me title to it," his saying is correct. If, however, the stag was not lame, or the pigeons were fledged, his saying counts for nothing.

GEMARA: Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: "The Mishna treats only of a case when he was standing upon his field." But let his property give him title, even if he was not standing upon it, did not R. Jose bar Hanina declare that the property of one gives title to him, even without his knowledge? Yea, but this is said only of a closed yard in which things are preserved; but in an open field, in which things are not, the title is acquired only when he is standing upon it, but not otherwise, as we learned in the following Boraitha: "If one was in the city and said: It is known to me that my employees have forgotten a sheaf in my field (I myself, however, did not forget it), it shall not be considered a forgetfulness as mentioned in the Scripture, lest one say it is not called forgotten; therefore it is written: 'And thou forgettest a sheaf in the field.' There it is considered a forgetfulness, but not if he has recollected it when he was already in the city." How shall the Boraitha be understood?

It is said, first: "Lest one say it is not called forgetfulness, by which we see that the Boraitha would state that it is considered as forgotten, and afterwards is proved the contrary, that it is not considered as forgotten."

We must, therefore, say that when he was still in the field it first escaped his mind, and then the minds of his employees; but if he kept it in his mind, and the employees forgot it, it is not considered as forgetfulness. And why so? Because when he was standing upon it, his property gives him title to it, even if afterwards it escaped his mind. But when he was in the city, even if he was aware of it, and afterwards it escaped his mind, it is called forgetfulness; because he was not on his field, his property does not give him title. And so it is, as Ula and also Rabba bar bar Hana explained our Mishna, that the case was only when he was standing upon his field.

R. A'ha, however, objected to Ula's statement: "There is a Mishna (Maaser Sheni, 5, 9): It happened that Raban Gamaliel, with the Elders, were sailing on a boat, and R. Gamaliel said: The tithe, which I am going to measure, should be delivered to Joshu, and the place where it is now is leased to him. Another tithe for the poor should be delivered to Aqiba ben Joseph; he should take possession of it for the poor, and the place where it is now found is also leased to him." Now, were then R. Joshua and R. Aqiba standing upon R. Gamaliel's field, and, nevertheless, we see that they acquired title to it? And Ula answered him: This question fit coming from a man who never studied. When R. Abba came to Sura, he told the students of the college that so said Ula, and so I objected (and I did not get a satisfactory answer from Ula), said one of the students to him: "R. Gamaliel assigned to them movable property through real estate." R. Zera accepted this explanation. R. Abba did not. Said Rabha: "R. Abba is right in opposing it." Then was there not a Sudarium through which usually title is acquired in consummating a sale? But as the grain, which was already tithe, would not be considered as R. Gamaliel's property, and he had only the benefit of choosing the men whom he likes to give it, and such a benefit is not considered as money, that it shall be sold by Sudarium, the same is not considered as money to acquire it through real estate. (But R. Gamaliel renounced his ownership) and to ownerless property every one can acquire title. And for this purpose, R. Gamaliel leased his property to them, that it should belong to them for a certain time. So it is considered their property, and they acquire title to it. (Said the Gemara:) In the reality it is not as Rabha said, because the gifts that belong to the priest, it is written, you shall give to him, and therefore title cannot be acquired through a Sudarium, which is only an act of buying and selling. But to assign movable things as real estate, it can be called a valid gift.

R. Papa, however, said: "In the above case of R. Gamaliel the title was acquired through his property, and nevertheless there is no contradiction to Ula's theory, because in this case the things of tithe which were assigned to the two persons named were not ownerless, but belonged to R. Gamaliel, and he transferred them through his property, and this suffices even if they were not standing on the property assigned to them." Said R. Shimi to R. Papa: "Let us see the case of a divorce, 1 where also a third person transfers it to her, and nevertheless, said Ula, the divorce is valid only when the woman is standing upon her property." In a case of divorce it is different, as the laws permit that it be delivered to her against her will. R. Shesheth, the son of R. Idi, opposed: "Is this not an a fortiori conclusion? namely, a divorce which is permitted to be delivered to her against her will, nevertheless it is necessary that she should be standing upon her property; so much the more, a gift the title of which is acquired only by the acceptor's will, it should be necessary that he should stand upon property." Therefore said R. Assi: "The theory of the a fortiori conclusion would not be applied here, as the reason why the property gives title is because her property is considered as her hand, and cannot be less in value than her messenger, who acquires title of a gift for her, even when she did not appoint him to do so, for the reason that it is self-evident she would not refuse to accept a gift." In the case of a divorce, however, which is not for her benefit, a messenger without her consent cannot accept for her in a matter which is supposed to be against her will; and there is a rule that a messenger cannot accept anything which is not beneficial to his principal. And the same is the case with her yard.

"If we have seen them running," etc. Said R. Jeremiah in the name of R. Johanan: "The case is, when the owner was running after them, and overtook them." He, however, propounded a question, what would the law be in the case of a gift, and R. Aba bar Kohana received the decision afterwards, that even if he had not overtaken them, he acquired title, because a third person transferred it to him.

Rabha propounded a question: When one throws a purse of money through an open door, and (after passing through the house) it came out through another opening, what is the law--has the owner of the house acquired title to it or not? Shall we say that, although the purse did not rest in the house, it is considered as if it had rested? Rejoined R. Papa, according to others R. Ada bar Mathna or Rabbina, to Rabha: "Is it not a similar case as in our Mishna, where it is said: 'When he sees them running,' etc., where R. Jeremiah said in the name of R. Johanan that he only acquires title when he ran after them and overtook them; and then he propounded the question, what is the law in the case of a gift, from whom afterwards R. Aba bar Kahana heard that by a gift he acquired title through his property even when without overtaking them?" In the case of our Mishna the animals were also only running through the field without resting there, and nevertheless it is said that the property gave title to him. The same is therefore even in our case. So Rabha rejoined: "Both these cases are different, as there, although the animals did not rest upon the field, still they ran upon it, and touching the ground may be considered as if they had rested upon it, which is not the case with the purse, which did not touch the ground at all."

MISHNA 4.: When a thing was found by the minor son or daughter of a man or by his man or maid servant, or by his wife, the found article belongs to him. When, however, it was found by his son or daughter of age, or by his Jewish man or maid servant, or by his divorced wife, although he had not yet paid the amount due according to her marriage contract, the found article belongs to the finder.

GEMARA: Said Samuel: "Why did the rabbis say that the found article of a minor son belongs to his father? The reason is that, as soon as he finds it, he runs with it to his father without any delay. (He picked it up, therefore, specially for his father, and so it belongs to the parent.) (Kethuboth gives another reason why the found article of his minor daughter or his wife belongs to him, and therefore here the question is only of the minor son.) Shall we say that Samuel is of the opinion that a minor cannot acquire title for himself, according to biblical law? (for if the minor could acquire title for himself, the rabbis would not say that the found article should always belong to his father, even in the case where the son is independent of his father and supports himself). Did we not learn: "When a man hires a workman to labour in his field, it is allowed for the son of the workman to gather the forgotten sheaves in the same field (in case the son is poor)? When, however, the workman was working (as a partner) for a half or a third or a quarter of the products of the field, then his son is not allowed to gather." (As then the workman is considered as the owner of the field. The son is, therefore, not allowed to gather in the same field.) R. Jose, however, said: "Even in the latter case his son and his wife are allowed to gather in the same field (as R. Jose is of the opinion that the son even can keep that which he gathers for himself, and so he can do it even when his father is the owner of the field, when the son himself is poor)." And Samuel said that the law is according to R. Jose's theory. This would be right when we say that Samuel is of the opinion that a minor can acquire title in himself, for the reason that we say the minor gathers it for himself, and the father afterwards acquires title to it from his son (and therefore he said that the law is according to R. Jose). But when Samuel was of the opinion that a minor cannot acquire title for himself at all (how could Samuel say that the law is according to R. Jose, that the son may gather in the same field?), as the son can only acquire title to it for his father, and his father is a rich man; how is it allowed that the son as well as his wife may gather in the same field? Nay, this presents no difficulty, as Samuel only gives the reason of the Tana of our Mishna, but Samuel himself did not accept the theory. But does R. Jose really hold that a minor had a right to acquire title according to biblical law--is there not a Mishna in Tract Gittin, in which his opinion there contradicts his opinion here? Therefore Abaye said: "It is, however, allowed that the son may gather in the same field for the following reason (the rabbis consider this field as a field in which the gatherers after the youth were already in the field, in which case the sheaves are allowed to be gathered even by rich people, because the poor had already renounced their ownership in the field, and the same is the case with this field), that the poor (at the start) renounce their right to gather in this field, as they know that the son of the workman will gather in there where the father is working." R. Ada b. Mathna, however, objected to Abaye's statement: "Is it allowed for a man to put a lion in his field, that the poor men shall be frightened to run away when seeing it? (It means if the son has no right to gather in this field it should not be allowed for him to be there at all, and then the poor will not renounce their right to gather in this same field?)" Therefore says Rabha: "In this case they gave him the right to acquire title, although he cannot do so in other cases, because the other poor men would be satisfied with this; for when they themselves will be hired as workmen, their sons also would be allowed to gather in the same field."

And he differs (i.e., Samuel, with his above-stated reason of the Mishna) with the opinion of R. Hyya bar Aba in the name of R. Johanan, who said (about the expression "of age" and "minor" in our Mishna) that it is no matter if the son is of age or a minor; but even if of age, if he lives with his father and depends upon him, he is considered as a minor. On the other hand, even a minor, if he is independent of his father, is considered as of age.

"The found article of his Jewish man or maid servant," etc. Why? Suppose he would be only hired as a workman, we have learned: "When a thing is found by a workman, it belongs to him. This is only the case when the employer has said to him,

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Clean my field or dig it to-day; but when he has hired him for any work for the day, the found belongs to the employer." (And why, then, should not the case in our Mishna be the same?) Said R. Hyya bar Aba in the name of Johanan: "The Mishna treats of a case where the servant was working at a labour similar to piercing pearls, and his employer did not want him to interrupt his ordinary work with any other work, not even to pick up a found article, and therefore (even when it happened that he had found a very precious thing) it belonged to himself." Rabha said: "The case here is that he picked up the found article without interrupting his work (and therefore it belongs to himself)." R. Papa, however, said: "The case in the Boraitha, where it is said that the found article belongs to the employer, means only when the working-man was hired to gather found articles for him; e.g., when his field was flooded, and he hired him to gather the cast-up fish."

(In such a case only any other found article belongs to the employer, but not in any other case.)

"The found article of his wife," etc. If she was divorced, is it not self-evident? The case was where it was doubtful if the divorce reached her legally, and in such a case the husband is still bound to support her; lest one say that for that reason her found article belongs to him, it comes to teach us that the reason why her found article belongs to the husband is only to prevent animosity, which cannot apply here, as here there is already animosity.

MISHNA 5.: When one has found a note which secures real estate, he shall not return it, because it can be collected by the court; but if not, he shall return it, as it cannot be collected. So is the decree of R. Meir. The sages, however, say: "He must not return (to the parties), as at any rate the case will come before the court and the money will be collected."

GEMARA: How is the case? Shall we assume that the debtor admits, even in the first case, why he shall not return to the lender, and if he does not admit, why shall he return it, even when there is no security, the note cannot be collected only from encumbered property, but from free property? The case is when the debtor admits, and the reason why it must not be returned is this: It is to be feared, perhaps, the note was written in Nisan, but he did not receive the money in question before Tishri. And if it will be returned to the lender, he will take possession of goods sold in the mean time against the law. If so, then why is it not to be feared in the case of all the notes which come before the court? In all the notes there is no weak point; but this note, because lost, has a weak point. R. Elazar said: "They differ when the debtor does not admit. R. Meir holds that a note without security cannot be collected even from unencumbered property, and the rabbis hold that it can be collected; but when there is an admission, all agree it must be returned without any fear that perhaps it is paid, and his admission is a χοινωνια (a sort of conspiracy.)" R. Johanan, however, said: "They differ only when there is an admission, and the point of their difference is this: R. Meir holds that a note without security is collected from unencumbered property only; the rabbis, however, hold, that from encumbered property also. But in case there is no admission, according to all it must not be returned, because it is to be feared that the note is paid."

There is a Boraitha in support of R. Johanan objecting to R. Elazar's statement in one point and to Samuel's in two: "When one has found a note, if there is security, although both admit it shall not be returned to one of the parties; if, how. ever, there is no security, when the borrower admits, it shall be returned to the lender; but if there is no admission, it must not be returned to either of them. So is the decree of R. Meir, as he used to say that notes to which there are security can be collected even from encumbered property; but if there is no security, it can be collected only from free property. The sages, however, say any note can be collected even from encumbered property." Hence there is a contradiction to R. Elazar's statement in one point, for he says: R. Meir holds that a note with. out security is not to be collected from any property, and he says, also, that according to both R. Meir and the rabbis there is no fear for a Kainunia, and the Boraitha states that a note without security can be collected from unencumbered property, and it is also too plain to see that according to all, the Boraitha fears a Kainunia, in that it states that even when they both admit, it must not be returned. [But is this not two points in which R. Elazar is contradicted by the Boraitha? Nay, it is counted only one, because there is only one reason for both the theories, namely: As he interpreted it, the difference between the Tanaim of the Mishna in case there is no admission, he was compelled to say that such a note is not to be collected even from free property; and when, according to his interpretation when there is an admission, all agree that it must be returned, he was compelled to say that there is no fear for a Kainunia.] And there is a contradiction to Samuel in two points; the first one is the same as to R. Elazar's statement, as he also interpreted the Mishna when there is no admission; and the second is to Samuel's statement elsewhere, that if one has found a bill of sale he must return it to the owner without fear that it is a paid one, and the above Boraitha, which states that even if they both agree, it must not be returned to either of them, contradicts directly Samuel's statement, as we see that the Boraitha fears that it is paid even when they both agree; and so much the more in the case of Samuel, when the debtor does not admit. Samuel said: "The reason why the sages hold that a note without security is to be collected from all kinds of properties is, because that according to their supposition the mistake, in not mentioning the security, is made by the scribe, but there is no doubt that the lender who took the note had intended that the amount should be secured by all the property of the borrower." Said Rabha bar Ithi to R. Idi bar Abin: Did Samuel indeed say so-did he not declare elsewhere that the scribe must be advised by the owner regarding the increment to the field in case it is mortgaged, and will be taken away from him, and also that in such a case he shall have the right to collect his money from the best estate, and that all his estates are mortgaged to this sale, but he must not write such things without advice in the matter? Shall we assume that the one who said, in the name of Samuel, the above statement does not hold, that Samuel stated the last one, or both contradictory statements can be reconciled? There is no difficulty in explaining. The first statement of Samuel is in case of a money loan, in which usually one who gives money is very careful in securing all the borrower's property, and if it was not so mentioned in the note it must be a mistake of the scribe's; and the other one is by a regular sale, in which it can happen that one needs an estate only for a short time and he does not care if it will be taken away from him afterwards, as it happened that Abuha bar Ihi bought the best estate of his sister. Afterwards it was taken away by one of her creditors, and he complained before Mar Samuel. The latter questioned him: Is it mentioned in the bill of sale that her property is security? And he answered "No." Then Samuel said: "You can go in peace." He questioned: "Did not the master say that the omission of security was only a mistake of the scribe?" And the answer was: "This is only in the case of notes on money loans; but in a case of a bill of sale, it can happen that the buyer needs the real estate only for a short time."

Rabha said: "If Reuben sold a field to Simeon with security, and the creditor of Reuben came and took it away, this is the law, that Reuben has a right to summon him before the court, and the creditor cannot say, I have nothing to do with you, because Reuben may claim that finally the debt will return to him for payment. According to others, the same is the case even if the field was sold without security, because Reuben may say: I dislike to have Simeon incensed against me."

Rabha said again: "If Reuben sold a field to Simeon without security, and before he took possession of it there were claims against it, he can retract; but not when the claims arose after he had taken possession, because the seller can say, You have bought a cat in a bag (without looking to see what there was in it), and therefore you must keep it." What act of the buyer is considered sufficient as a Hazaka (occupation)? When he has improved the borders of the field. According to others, the same is the case even when the field was sold with security, because the seller can say to him, Show me the warrant by which the field will be taken away from you, and I will repay the money to you, but not before. It was taught: "If one sold a field and it was found that it was not his, Rabh said: The money as well as the increase must be returned." Samuel, however, said: "The money only." The schoolmen asked R. Huna: "When the increase in question was stated plainly in the bill of sale, what is the law? Shall we assume that Samuel's reason rested on the theory that the increase was not stated, then in our case the seller is obliged to return; or that Samuel's reason rested on the theory that in reality he did not possess any estate, and if the money paid would be returned with any increase, it would appear usurious?" R. Huna answered: "Yea and nay," as he himself was in doubt. It was taught, however, by R. Na'hman in the name of Samuel, that "the increase does not belong to him, even if it were in the bill of sale, for the reason just mentioned." Rabha objected to R. Na'hman from the following Mishna [Gittin, V., 1]: "Encumbered property is not liable either for the used fruits, for the increase of the estate, or for the support of the wife and daughters; for the benefit of humanity." (For if this would be practised, nobody would buy a field, for fear it might be taken away from him.) Now, from the expression "encumbered," it is to be inferred that free estate is liable even for the increase; and is this not the same case as when it was bought from one who did not possess any estate? Nay, a creditor may be meant. If it is so, how is the first part of the same Mishna to be understood, that "of the used fruit"? If there is a creditor, has he the right to use the fruit at all? Did not Samuel say: "The creditor has the right to collect from the field of its increase, but not of the fruits." We must, therefore, say that in this part the case of a robbery arises and, consequently, the latter part also treats of a robbery--why, then? Is it not customary in a Mishna that the first part should treat of one case and the other part of another? But is it not otherwise explained in the following Boraitha: "What is meant by the expression 'for the increase of the estate'? If one has robbed a field and it is to be taken away from him; the amount of the field is to be collected even from encumbered property; the increment, however, from unencumbered only." Now, how was the case? If we assume that it is from a robber, why should the robber get any benefit? It must, therefore, treat of a case where the robber had sold the field to another, and the other has increased its value, and nevertheless it is said that it must be paid for the increment also? Answered R. Na'hman: "And without your objection, could, then, the Boraitha be taken as it reads? It must be corrected; correct it, also, that it treats of a creditor." The Gemara raised another objection from the further explanation of the above Boraitha: Come and hear: "What is meant by the expression 'of the used fruits,' etc.?" '

Here, also, it cannot be interpreted to mean that it was taken away from a robber, for the reason explained above; and it must treat of a case as explained above, and nevertheless it is said that for the used fruits is to be collected. (Are, then, not the fruits to be considered as an increment?) Said Rabha: "The case was that one had robbed a field full with fruits, and he had consumed the fruits and digged excavations in it. When, then, the robbed one came to complain, he collected for the field even from the encumbered property of the robber, but for the fruits of his free estate only." Rabha bar R. Huna said: "It means that it was taken away from Gentiles for debt. The robbed one, then, when he complains, collects as above." Rabha did not explain as Rabha bar R. Huna, because the expression, "and it is to be taken away from him," is to be interpreted by the court. Rabha bar R. Huna did not explain as Rabha, because the same expression means that the field is to be taken away in good condition, and not when it was spoiled by digging. R. Assi, however, said: "The Boraitha is to be corrected, and it speaks of two different parties in the case as follows: If one robbed a field full with fruit, and he consumed the fruit and sold the field, then the buyer collects his money from the encumbered property of the robber, and the robbed one for the fruit from the free estate only."

Let us see: according to both Rabha and Rabha bar R. Huna, is this not a debt without any written document, the law of which is, that it cannot be collected from encumbered property? The case arose after it was decided by the court, which is equal in strength to a note. If it is so, why not the fruit also? The case was that the decision was for the principal estate, but not for the fruit. What compels you to interpret the Boraitha with such an explanation? Because usually men claim of the court first for the estate and after for the fruits.

Did Samuel indeed say that the buyer does not collect for the increase--did not Samuel say to R. Huna bar Shilath: "Be careful, in writing a bill of sale or a mortgage, to mention that it should be collected from the best estate, and the increase and the fruit?" Now, what case is referred to? If a creditor, has he then a right to the fruit? Did not Samuel say: "The creditor collects the increase, but not the fruit?" It must, therefore be said that Samuel means to say that there is a suspicion that the seller is a robber? Said R. Joseph: "Samuel speaks of a case where such was the condition, that he should be responsible also for the increase, with the same legal formality." Said Abaye to him: "Is it then allowed to lend a saah of grain to get back the same measure (although the price of it may be then higher, seeming usurious), when it was in accord with the legal formality?" and he answered: "There is a difference between a loan and a sale. Here it is a loan, and therefore it is allowed."

The text reads: "Samuel said: 'The creditor,'" etc. Said Rabha: "From this it is to be inferred that the seller shall write the bill of sale as follows: I, the first party, assign the goods to you, and I will discharge all claims which may arise against the sold property, and am responsible for the trouble and increase you may have made, and it shall also be testified to in this bill of sale that the transaction was consummated with good will, etc." Said R. Hyya bar Abin to Rabha: "If it is so, how would it be with a gift, in which case such a bill of sale is not made, as the donor would not care to take such a responsibility on himself? Does this affect the case so that the donor is not bound to pay for the increment?" And he said, "Yea, it is." "But if so, does then a gift give more right than a sale?" And he rejoined: "Certainly it has, because the buyer gets it returned from the seller, which is not the case with a gift."

R. Na'hman said: "The following Boraitha supports the statement of Mar Samuel, but my colleague, Huna, interprets it for other purposes, namely: 'When one sold a field to another, and finally it is to be taken away from him, he collects for the estate from encumbered property, but for the increment from free estate only. (Hence there is a support to Samuel's theory.) Huna, however, interprets that the Boraitha speaks of when it was bought from a robber.'"

We have learned in another Boraitha: When one sells a field and the buyer has improved it, and a creditor takes it away, then, when the buyer collects his money, if the value of the increase was more than the expenses, he collects the expenses from the creditor, and the difference between the expenses and the value of the increase from the owner of the field; when, in reverse, he collects from the creditor the value of the increase only, how would Samuel himself explain the above Boraitha? If the case is when it was bought from a robber, in the first part there will be a difficulty, as, according to his theory, no

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increment must be paid to a robber; and if it speaks of a creditor, then the whole Boraitha would not agree with him, as, according to his theory, a creditor collects the increment of the field (without being obliged to return the expenses?). The Gemara explains this: "If you choose, it speaks either of a case of where it was bought from a robber who possessed real estate, or when the increment was mentioned in the bill of sale with the legal formality. And if you choose to explain that the Boraitha speaks of a creditor, here also it presents no difficulty, if you take into consideration that there is a difference between an increment that is not yet ripe, where in such a case a creditor can collect it, and an increment of grain, which is already ripe for harvest, which a creditor cannot collect. But is it not a fact that Samuel's court collects every day even from grain that is ripe for harvest? This presents no difficulty. When the claim is equal to the amount of the field with its increment (then the creditor collects the increase also). When, however, the claim is only for the estate, then he pays for the increment and takes the estate."

If one buys an estate knowing that the seller is not the real owner of it, and, nevertheless, he has paid money for it, then the money must be returned to him, but not the increment. So is the opinion of Rabh. Samuel, however, said: "Even the money is lost." In what point is their difference? According to Rabh the money was given by the buyer as a deposit, and the reason why he did not plainly say so was because he was afraid he would not accept it. Samuel, however, means that knowing that the property did not belong to the seller, he gave his money as a gift; and the reason why he did not say so is because he was afraid he would be ashamed to accept it. But let us see: According to both he has not bought the estate; how then did he take possession of it and consume its fruit? The buyer thought so: I, meanwhile, will work the estate and use its fruit as the robber did till now, and when the real owner of it will come, then the money shall be, according to Samuel, lost; or, according to Rabh, returned. Rabha said: "In case an estate is bought from a robber, the Halakha prevails that he collects both the amount and the increment, although the latter was not spoken of. In case the buyer had knowledge that the estate did not belong to the seller, and nevertheless he paid money and has improved the estate, the Halakha prevails that he loses the increase but not the money, and also that not mentioning the security in a bill of sale or a note given for a loan is to be considered as a mistake of the scribe, and not, as Samuel said, that the scribe must not do it without advice."

Samuel questioned Rabh: "If the robber, after he has sold it, bought it from the real owner, can he be substituted for the real owner, to take it away from his buyer?" And Rabh. answered: Nay, because before the sale the intention of the (so-called) robber was to buy it from the owner; consequently, he sold to the buyer the right which he would acquire afterwards. What is the reason for ascribing to him such an intention? Mar Sutra says: "Because it would be disagreeable for him to be called a robber." R. Ashi, however, says: "It is agreeable to one that he shall remain an honest man." What is the difference between these two opinions? There is a difference in case the robber has given the robbed field as a gift, according to him who says that it is agreeable to remain an honest man; the same is the case also in a gift; but according to him who says that he would not like to be called a robber, with a gift it is different, as he could not be called a robber even if the gift would be taken away from the donor.

It is self-evident that when (before the robber bought it from the owner) he sold it again to another man or bequested it, or gave it as a gift, then certainly his intention was to remove the goods from his possession, he sold it first; the same is the case when he inherited this estate; after he sold it, he may rescind the sale by returning the money, as here cannot apply the supposition that he intended to remain an honest man, as the estate came to him not through his effort; but in case he took possession of the field afterward as a creditor of the robbed one, then it is to be seen whether the latter possesses other estates; and the creditor insisted on having this field, then it is to be inferred that it is to remain in the possession of the buyer; but if not, then his intention is not certain and the buyer cannot insist upon this estate; but when he received it after it was sold as a gift, then R. A'ha and Rabbina differ: one maintains a gift is the same as an inheritance; the other, however, says that a gift is equal to a sale; for if he would not trouble himself to please the robbed one, he would not get this gift, and the intention to remain an honest man in the eyes of the buyer is applied here. At what time did he buy it from the robbed one, so that the above intention can be applied that the buyer can insist upon this sale? R. Huna said, when the robber bought it before he was summoned by the buyer to the court (but when he was summoned and he appealed to the court, then we see that the above intention was not in his mind, and he bought the field only for himself). Hyya bar Rabh said: "Before the judgement was in his hands." R. Papa said: 'The time did not expire until the days of the proclamation began."

Rami bar Hama opposed, saying: "Let us see what was the act by which the buyer acquired title to the estate; with the bill of sale? Is that not to be considered as a piece of broken clay vessel, as the estate was not his?" Said Rabha to him: "The theory of Rabh's statement can be explained, that when the buyer said to him, 'I trust upon your word that you will see that the estate shall remain in my possession without any trouble,' and for this satisfaction that his word was trusted, the intention mentioned above is to be applied here." R. Shesheth, however, objected from the following Boraitha: "If one says, 'I sell to you my inheritance from my father, or what I will catch with my net,' he says nothing. If, however, he said, 'I sell you what I will inherit from my father, who is dying, or what my net will catch this day,' the transaction is valid. Hence we see that the sale of property which is not yet in possession is of no value?" Answered Rami bar Hama: "Here I see a great man with a wonderful objection." Rabha, however, answered: "I see the great man, but I do not see the wonderful objection, as the two cases have no comparison at all. In the case of Rabh, the buyer said to him, I rely upon you, therefore he troubles himself to make his sale good so that he shall not be called a robber afterwards; but here the buyer cannot rely upon him (because it was not known to him if he will inherit anything or not)." The above objection of R. Shesheth was sent to R. Abba bar Zabda, and he answered: "It would be of no use to bring this objection before the students, as it seems to me that they will not be able to answer it." Rabha, however, said: "It ought to be brought before the students of the higher class, for it seems to me they will understand the difference between the two cases as stated above. A similar case happened in Pumbeditha (and the court decided on Rabh's theory, and objection was made from the above Boraitha, and R. Joseph said then, as Abba bar Zabda and Abaye, the same as Rabha."

But what is the reason that in the latter part of the Boraitha the sale is of value? Said R. Johanan: In the latter part, when his father is dying, the sale is of value for the honour of his father (as it may be that he needs money for the expense of burial, and he sells it beforehand not to disgrace his father in delaying the burial). And what about the net? that is also an enactment of the sages to make the sale valid, as perhaps he needs food for the day.

R. Huna said in the name of Rabh: "If one says that the estate which I am about to buy now shall be transferred to you at the same time that I acquire title to it, the title is acquired and it cannot be rescinded any more." Said Rabha: "It seems to me that Rabh's statement applies only when he said any field which I am about to buy, as the donee relies upon him; but if he mentioned a certain field, then the donee does not rely upon it, as he may think perhaps this field is not for sale at all (the Gemara said) by God, Rabh said even when he specified a field, as Rabh's theory is in accord with R. Meir [Kedushin II., 43b] that a man can grant a thing which is not yet in existence in a case of marriage, and our case is equal to that."

Samuel said: "If one finds in the market a note, made for a loan, which contains the legal formality that it should be collected even if the loan did not take place, it is to be returned to the creditor; for if it was written for the purpose of making a loan which did not as yet take place, yet the note is valid, as his promise was to pay at any rate, and there need be no fear that it was paid, because if so it would be torn." Said R. Na'hman: "When I was about six or seven years old, my father was among the scribes of Mar Samuel's court, and they used to proclaim that a note of the above-mentioned kind, if found, should be returned to the creditor." Said R. Amram: "This is also supported from the last Mishna. 'All documents signed by the court are to be returned.' Hence we see that there is no fear that perhaps it is paid." Said R. Sera to him: "The Mishna may speak of documents in which it is testified that, according to the order of the court, the creditor had already taken possession of the estate, or judgements against debtors who at that time had no property, and both kinds are not to be paid with money." Said Rabha: "Are these kinds of notes not payable? Did not the court of Nahardayi say that even an estate the value of which was ascertained and assigned to the creditor is to be returned till twelve months elapsed, and Amemar of the same place testified that he, as one of the judges of the, above city, had declared there is always time it should be returned if paid." Said Rabha: "In those cases there is another reason, for, according to the law, the creditor would not be obliged to return the estate, and it is only an enactment of the sages to return it on account of the verse [Deut. vi. 6]: 'And thou shalt do that which is right and good in the sight of the Lord.' Therefore, when he took possession of the estate, it was considered as a regular sale, and also the debtor had either to tear the note made for a loan when paid, or take from him a bill of sale; and by not doing so, he harmed himself, which, however, in the case of a common credit note, the above reason cannot be applied, for the following reason: It may happen that the creditor, when he got the money, promised him to return the note afterwards, as at this time it was not at hand, or he kept it back for the expenses of the scribe."

R. Abuha said in the name of R. Johanan: "If one finds a note on the street, although approved by the court, it shall, however, not be returned to the creditor, because it may be feared that the note is paid, and much less when such was not approved." R. Jeremiah, however, objected from the above mentioned Mishna: "All documents, etc." Said R. Abuha to him: "Jeremiah, my son, all cases are not equal! The Mishna may be explained so that it speaks of a debtor who was already known as a liar." Said Rabha: "And even in such a case, must it be taken as a rule that such a man never pays his debts?" "Therefore," says Rabha, "the Mishna in question explains as R. Sera said above." And as the case of a liar is mentioned, we may say thus: R. Joseph bar Minumi said in the name of R. Na'hman: "When one was ordered by the court to pay, and he claimed afterwards he had done so, he may be trusted (with a rabbinical oath). If, however, the court had only decided and the order was not yet issued, and the debtor claimed he had paid it, he is not to be trusted, and the creditor can get a judgement (when he takes a rabbinical oath)." R. Zebid, however, in the name of R. Na'hman said: "In both cases he is to be trusted; and when the creditor claims a judgement, it is not to comply with his request; therefore, if there is some difference in the above cases, it may be as follows: When he was ordered by court to pay his debt and afterwards he said he had done so, and there were witnesses that he had not, then he is considered a liar in regard to this money that he is not to be trusted when he says again he has paid it; if, however, it was only decided, but the order was not yet issued, and the witnesses contradicted him, he may be, nevertheless, trusted, if he says again he had paid, because his first statement was only to gain time, and he thought that until the judges would consider the matter that an order be issued the money would be paid."

Rabba bar bar Hana said in the name of R. Johanan: "If one claims hundred zuz and the other denies, but witnesses, however, testify for the whole amount; afterwards he says, I have paid it, he is considered a liar in this case." A similar case arose with Shabbathai, the son of Mrinus, who assigned a silk garment to his daughter-in-law in her marriage contract, and she accepted it. Afterwards the marriage contract was lost, and he denied that such a thing was written in the contract; witnesses, however, testified that he had written; then he declared he had given her the garment, and when the case came before R. Hyya, he decided that the above Shabbathai is to be considered a liar in this case. R. Abin in the name of R. Ilaa, quoting R. Johanan: "If it was decided that the defendant take an oath, and afterwards he said he did so against the testimony of witnesses that he had not, he is considered a liar in regard to this oath." When this statement was reported to R. Abuhu, he said: "It seems that such a statement holds only when he was ordered by the court, but not when he declared himself willing to take an oath, as then it may happen that he had after reconsidered, and therefore he cannot be considered a liar." When this statement was reported again to R. Abin, he said: "So, too, was my declaration. And so it was taught elsewhere plainly." R. Asi said in the name of R. Johanan: "If one finds a note made for a loan which was approved by the court, dated the same day on which it was found, it must be returned to the creditor, because there is no fear that the loan did not take place, as it was approved by the court, and also there need be no fear that it was paid, as the loan was made only that day." Said R. Zera to R. Asi: "Did R. Johanan say so--did you not state in his name that if the loan was paid, one cannot use the same note for another loan, as its strength to collect from encumbered property ceased (from the moment it was paid)? Now, then, on what date does it mean that it cannot be taken for another loan? If for a later date, then this note cannot be used at any rate, as the note is of an earlier date. We must then say that it means it cannot be used for another loan on the same day." I And he rejoined: "Did I say that it can never happen? I said only it is not usual." R. Cahana said. "The statement of R. Johanan treats only when the borrower admits that the note was not yet paid. If so, what comes he to tell us? Lest one say the note is paid, and the reason the debtor admits that it was not paid is only because he wants to take another loan, and save the expense of writing another note, he comes therefore to teach us that it is not so, as in such a case the creditor himself would oppose, for the reason that if this would be heard in the court it would cancel the note." R. Hyya bar Abba said in the name of R. Johanan: "If one claims to have done what was enacted by the court to do, he says nothing; for the enactment of the court is good as if one held a note in his hand." And the same, when he heard this, asked R. Johanan: "Is this not said in the [Kethuboth] Mishna: When a woman shows her divorce without the marriage contract, she nevertheless collects what is written in the marriage contract?" Answered R. Johanan: "If I would not take away the broken vessel which had covered the pearl, thou hadst not found it." Said Abaye: "Why, then, this Mishna may treat of such places where it is not customary to write a marriage contract at all, and so the document of divorce is considered as if she had the contract in her hand; but where the above contract is customary, she cannot collect without it. After consideration he retracts the former statement, and said what I said above cannot be the reason; for if such is the case, that

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where the contract is written she cannot collect it without the contract, how should she collect when she becomes a widow after betrothal (with a ring, as the custom was then, and from that time she was already considered a married woman; the marriage contract, however, was written after the official marriage)? You can say that she collects it when she brings witnesses that her husband is dead; then this would count nothing, as the heir could nevertheless say that he had paid already; and lest one say that it is so, then to what use would be the enactment of the sages that the woman shall get support."

MISHNA 6.: When one finds documents of divorce, of enfranchisement of a slave, of presents, or of receipts, he should not return them (to the person for whom they were made), because it may be that the person who had written the documents had changed his mind not to give them for whomever they were written.

GEMARA: Rabba bar bar Hana lost a document of divorce (which he had to deliver to the women as a messenger) in college, and when it was found he said: "If you require signs to identify the document, I have them; and if I am trusted by you to recognise it, then I recognise it" (and he had done both, he had told what were the signs and also recognised it by sight). When it was returned to him he said: "I cannot tell if they did it on account of the signs, as they hold that the biblical law requires only signs; or signs only would not be sufficient, and it was returned only by sight, in which only a scholar is trusted, but not a common man." (There is an objection to our Mishna from the following Mishna:) "If one has found in market a document of divorce, and if her husband admits that he wrote such a divorce he shall return it to her; and if not, he must not return it to either of them." Now then, it states that when the husband admits, it may be returned. Why then: let it be feared that perhaps the husband wrote the divorce to deliver it in the month Nissan, and he had not given it to her until Tishri, and in the meantime he had sold (legally) the fruit of her property, which was produced from Nissan to Tishri, and afterwards when the woman would collect with the same divorce, she would take away from the buyers the products from the time it was written illegally. This, however, would be correct according to him who holds that as soon as the husband has decided to divorce her, he has no more right to use her products; but according to him who holds that he has a right until the divorce is delivered, what can be said? When she comes to collect, it can be said to her, Bring evidence at what time the document was delivered to you. But why should this be different from the note made for a loan stated above, where he must not return it, even when the debtor admits, for the same reason stated above by the divorce, let him there also return it to the creditor, and when he will come to collect, evidence shall be required at what date the note made for the loan was delivered to him? It may be said, in the case of a divorce the buyer can say that the rabbis had decided to return the divorce to her only for the purpose that she should be able to remarry; but regarding the collecting, she must bring evidence when the divorce was delivered to her, but by a creditor the buyer cannot say anything. Now is it obvious that the purpose the robbers had in returning to him the note was for collecting.

The rabbis taught: "If one finds a document of enfranchisement on the market, if the owner admits, it may be returned to the slave; and if not, it must not be returned to either of them." It states, however, that when the owner admits, it may be returned to the slave. Why should it not be feared here the same as above, that the document was written in Nissan and was not delivered to him until Tishri, and meanwhile the slave had bought property for himself, and the owner (who had not yet delivered the document) sold out, and when the slave came with his document of enfranchisement, which was written in Nissan, he will certainly collect it illegally? The above answer can also apply here, that evidence will be required from the slave at what time the document was given to him.

"Wills or presents," etc. The rabbis taught: "What is to be considered a will? if it is written, the property so and so shall belong to so and so after my death; and what is considered a note for a gift, a present? if it is written, the property so and so belongs to so and so from this date, but he cannot sell it or use its fruit until I die. Is it to be assumed that if it was written it shall belong to so and so from to-day without the above explanation, the donee did not acquire title of it! (he certainly acquires title to sell it and to use it from that day)." Said Abaye: "The Boraitha means to say thus: When is the note for a gift to be considered equal to a will? If it is explained that he shall not take possession of it before his death."

Now let us see, after all the discussion above, the reason for our Mishna that it shall not be returned because the testator did not consent to return it; but if he does, it may be returned; is that not contradictory to the following Boraitha: "If one has found documents of wills, of hypothecation, or presents, although both admit, it is not to be returned to either of them?" Said R. Zebid: (It is not as Abba bar Mamal tried to explain the above contradiction that one speaks of a healthy man and one of a sick man, but) "both speak of the latter case, and nevertheless there is no contradiction, as our Mishna treats of a case where the testator himself, who can change his mind to assign it to anybody, said, Give to another; so that if it would be returned to whom it was first assigned, he would not acquire title to it, but the last one would: and the Boraitha which states that it shall not be returned speaks of the son of the testator, and the reason is, it is to be feared that perhaps the testator has not given it to him because he has decided to assign it to another; and, therefore, he did not deliver it to him, and the son, after the death of the father, to whom the intention of his father was known, assigned the estate to another and already delivered the document to him, and afterwards he decided to give it to the one to whom it was previously assigned by his father, but as the document was already given to the second, and he could not retract it, he declared that the father's will was, to deliver it to whom it was first assigned with the intention that the latter should summon the party to whom the son had delivered his document, so that finally the estate should be divided among them. The court, therefore, may say it will not be returned for the reason explained above; but if you wish that the man in question should get the estate, go and draw up another document and deliver it to him and then the will of your father will be complied with.

The rabbis taught: "If one finds a receipt (of a marriage contract), it is to be returned to the husband when the woman recognises it, but not otherwise." Now then, why should it not be feared the same as above? Perhaps she wrote it to deliver it in Nissan and she had not delivered it before Tishri, and in the meantime she had assigned to somebody else her marriage contract for the benefit of the products in the interim from Nissan to Tishri, and afterwards if the goods would be collected by her receipt, it would be illegal." Said Rabha: "Infer from this, that the Boraitha is in accord with Samuel, who says: 'When one sells a note made for a loan and afterwards he relinquishes the debt mentioned in the note, it is relinquished, and even his heir can do so (so that the debtor must pay nothing and the money taken for the note is to be returned).'" Abaye, however, said: "Even if we should say that Samuel's decision is not to be considered, the case in question is to explain when the marriage contract is in her possession and she brought it before the court. According to Rabha's theory, however, the marriage contract is not to be considered, for she may have had two." Abaye, however, rejoined: "First, it is not to be feared that there may be two; and secondly, the collection on account of the receipt takes place from the date it was signed, no matter when it was delivered." The last statement of Abaye is in accord with his theory elsewhere, that witnesses with their signature give title to whomever the document was written.

MISHNA 7.: One who found documents in which was assigned by the court the property of the defendant in benefit for the plaintiff, or obligations of supporting (his step-daughter, or) documents of Haliza or such where the annulment of a marriage of a female minor is expressed, documents of a claim and of arbitration, and other documents made by the court, are to be returned to whomever they belong. When one finds a note in a καψα or bag or a roll or a bunch of notes, it must be returned. What is to be considered a bunch? Three bound together. R. Simeon ben Gamaliel says: "When three notes of the same debtor and different creditors are found, they should be returned to the debtor; but if three different debtors from one creditor, then to the creditor. If one finds a note among his own notes and he does not know to whom it belongs, it shall be placed in court until Elijah will come. If there is a συμφωνια, he shall act according to it."

GEMARA: What is meant, claiming documents? In the college of Babylon they used to explain it as documents of plaintiff and of the defendant. R. Jeremiah, however, said: Documents of the arbiters taken by the parties."

"And all documents made by the court." There was found a divorce which was written in the city of Shevéré, which was situated on the river Rackth, and it was brought in the court of R. Huna. Said R. Huna: "It is to be feared that there are two cities of such a name (therefore it is doubtful if it may be returned)." Said R. Hisda to Rabba: "Look up this matter, for in the evening R. Huna will inquire about it of you." Rabba did so, and found the quotation stated above in our Mishna. Said R. Amram to Rabba: "How can you, master, decide the matter of a legal marriage from a money case?" And he answered: "Tardus! Did not the Mishna state documents of Haliza, etc. (are these not documents of legal marriage)?" In the meantime the pillar of the college broke, and each of the above sages claimed that this happened as a punishment for the disgrace of his honour (Rabba because he was insulted by the expression of R. Amram, and the latter because he was ashamed of being called Tardus).

"A roll or a bunch of notes." The rabbis taught: "What is called a roll?" If there were no less than three; and a bunch must contain the same number, but in this case they must be tied together. Shall we infer from this that such a knot is to be considered as a sign of identification? Said R. Hyya: "It treats of a case where the notes of the bunch were also rolled, one in the other." If it is so, then it is a roll (already mentioned above). A roll means that each of the notes was rolled separately in it; and a bunch means they were rolled together. What shall be proclaimed: the number? Why, then, no less than three: must he not proclaim it even when there were two? As Rabbina said elsewhere, that if one finds a number of coins he must proclaim that he found money without mentioning the number and without explaining what kind of money, the same is the case here, he shall proclaim: "I have found documents," without any explanation (and the loser must explain their condition and how many).

"R. Simeon ben Gamaliel," etc. If they belong to the creditors, how could they be together? But perhaps they were lost by the creditors while going to register them. The case was when they were already registered. But perhaps they were lost from the hand of the register. It is not usual for one to leave his registered note with the register.

"When three borrowed from," etc. For if they were lost by debtors, how could they be found together? But perhaps they were lost on the way from the scribe's. The case was when three different handwritings were found. Perhaps they were lost on the way to the register's? Usually the creditor registers the note, but not the borrower.

"If there is," etc. R. Jeremiah bar Abba said in the name of Rabh: "A συμφωνια that is in the hand of the creditor is invalid even when it was written by himself, as it may be that he prepared it in case the debtor would give him the money at a time when it would not be easy for him to make a receipt, and much less when it was written by a scribe, as it may be that he expected money from the debtor, and while waiting for it, it happened that the scribe called upon him. Does not our Mishna, which states he shall do accordingly, contradict Rabh? As R. Saphra said elsewhere, if it were found between torn notes, so also can be explained our Mishna. An objection was raised. Come and hear: "A συμφωνια in which was proved by witnesses (and the creditor denies that he received the money), it is sufficient if the witnesses admit their signatures." Read: The witnesses must be questioned if they saw the payment. There is another objection: "A συμφωνιαwhich is proved by witnesses is valid." It means that the payment was approved by the court, and this explanation seems to be right, as the latter part states that if there are no witnesses it is invalid, and it cannot mean that no witnesses at all, as this would be self-evident. Hence it must be explained that when it was not approved by the court, it is considered as if there were no witnesses. In addition to the text mentioned above, we learn: "If there were no witnesses, but it was in the hands of the depository, or it was placed below the signatures, it is valid: and the reasons are that a depository was trusted by the creditor; and below the signatures, because if it would not be paid, he would not permit them to spoil the note."

CHAPTER 2.

LAWS RELATING TO FOUND ARTICLES, WHICH MAY OR MAY NOT BE KEPT WITHOUT PROCLAMATION, AND HOW FOUND ARTICLES SHALL BE CARED FOR, ETC.

MISHNA 1.: There are found articles which belong to the finder without any proclamation; namely, scattered fruits or scattered money in a public thoroughfare, small sheaves, strings of pressed figs, bread of a baker (as all bread of the baker is alike; home bread, however, differs, and is recognisable), strings of fish, pieces of meat, and shorn wool from the country where it was shorn, cleansed flax, and stripes of scarlet wool--all these belong to the finder (when it was found in such a place where people pass). So is the decree of R. Meir. R. Jehudah, however, maintains: If there is a change in the found article, which usually ought not to be, as, e.g., he found a fragment of a clay vessel in pressed figs, or he found a coin in a loaf of bread, he must proclaim. R. Simeon b. Elazar says: All stew vessels which are for sale he need not proclaim.

GEMARA: How much of the scattered fruit belongs to him without proclaiming? Said R. Itzhak: "If in a distance of four ells there were scattered fruits the measure of kab." Let us see in what condition did he find it. If it was placed in such a way as dropped unintentionally, why only a kab? Even if there are more, it should be his; and if it was placed in such a manner that it can be supposed they were placed intentionally, even less he should proclaim. Said R. Uqba bar Hama: "It treats of a place where the grain is gathered from the barns, and if he found the size of one kab scattered within four ells, which it is too much trouble to gather, the owner of it usually would not take such trouble and renounce his ownership, but if it were scattered within a shorter distance, he may think, 'I will take the trouble to pick it up afterwards,' and he does not renounce his ownership." It was taught: "The renouncing of hope in regaining a lost article, which it is not yet certain is lost (i.e., the article was found before the loss was known to the owner, but usually, becoming aware of its loss, he will not try to regain it). According to Abayi such must not be taken in consideration, and Rabha, however, maintains it may." They, however, do not differ when the article has a mark that in such a case it must be supposed that when he will become

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aware of it, he will not renounce his hope to regain it because of the mark; and even if thereafter it was heard that he had renounced his hope, still the finder has not acquired title, because at the time he found it, it cannot be considered that the hope should be renounced when the owner becomes aware of its loss, because there is a mark, and he will certainly think, "I will try to search for it by identifying the mark." The same also do not differ when the article was found at the seashore or near a waterfall, that it belongs to him, even if it has a mark, because the law allows it, as will be explained further on; the point of their difference, however, is in case the article has no mark. Abayi is of the opinion that the finder cannot acquire title to it, because the owner is not yet aware of his loss. Rabha, however, maintains that he does, because it is certain when the owner becomes aware of it that he will renounce his hope. Come and hear. Our Mishna states: "Scattered fruit, it is his." Although he did not know whose it was? Said R. Uqba: b. Hama: "The Mishna means a case in the season of gathering the grain from the threshing floor, which is considered an intentional loss." Come and hear. Scattered money belongs to him, and certainly the loser of it was not aware when he lost it (as if he were, he certainly would pick it up), and nevertheless it belongs to the finder. This can be explained as R. Itzhak said elsewhere: "Usually a man inspects his purse frequently (and the loss of his money was already known to him when the finder picked it up)." Come and hear the other part of the Mishna: "Pressed figs and bread of a baker, it is his." Why, the owner was not aware of it? It also can be said because such are of great value he must have been aware of the loss. [The same was objected to, based on further expression of our Mishna, "Stripes of scarlet wool," and the answer was the same as above.] Come and hear (another objection). "χασσια which were found in a public thoroughfare, although they were near the field where they grew, and also a fig tree the branches of which were bent toward the street, and one found figs beneath, the people are allowed to eat these, and it is not considered robbery; they are free from tithe." Now the Boraitha would not contradict Abayi, as the cassia are of great value, and it is known where the fruit of the fig tree would drop; but the latter part of the same Boraitha states that if it were an olive tree or carob, it is prohibited. Would not this be a contradiction of Rabha's statement? Said R. Abbahu: "It is different with an olive tree, as the colour of the olives is the same as that of the tree, and they can be recognised wherever they are found 1 (and therefore the owner of them does not renounce his ownership, thinking that any one will recognise that they are his). If so, why should it be the same with the fig tree mentioned above? Said R. Papa: When figs drop, they become soiled (therefore their owner does not care for them any more). Come and hear. A thief or a robber who took an article from one and gave it to another, or an article falls into the Jordan and is washed up at another place, and some one Picked it up, the latter is entitled to it. Now this would be correct concerning a robber or the Jordan, where the owner sees his article lost, and renounces his hope of regaining it; but with the case of a thief, has then the owner seen him, that he should renounce his hope? R. Papa interprets the Boraitha, saying that it treats of an armed robber; but is it not the same as a robber, which case has already been mentioned? It treats of two kinds of robbers. Come and hear: "If the river has flooded one's beams, wood, or stones, and carried them away to another field, the latter may use them, because their owner has lost his hope." We see that the reason is because it was certain that the one had renounced his hope already, but when uncertain it is not to be used (and this would contradict Rabha). The case was that the owners could have saved the articles; if so, how is the latter part of the same to be understood? If the owner came to get them, he is obliged to return them. Now, why going to get them? If he could save them he should be obliged to return, even if he had not come to get them, etc. The case was that he could save them with great trouble. If he came to get them, we see that he had not renounced his hope; and if not, it is to be supposed that hope is renounced. Come and hear (another objection). How can a case be where one shall separate heave-offering without the knowledge of its owner, and nevertheless the heave-offering shall be valid? Thus, if one goes to the field of his neighbour and gathers grain, and has separated the heave-offering without knowledge of the owner, if robbery can be suspected, the heave-offering is not valid; and if not, it is; and how does he know that there is no robbery? When the owner appears while his neighbour is on his field engaged in the above-stated work, and said to him, You should separate for the priest from the better ones; then, if better ones are found, the heave-offering is valid, but if not it is invalid (because the remark of the owner was but ironical, as there were no better ones). If, however, the owner had added to the heave-offering, it is valid, although better ones were not to be found. We see, then, if there were better ones the heave-offering is valid, though the separator did not know of it while doing so (let it be the same with regard to renouncing hope, that, even when it comes afterwards, the finder shall acquire title even before the renouncing was known?). Rabha explained this in order that the Boraitha shall agree with Abayi's theory: "The owner, with his remark, appoints his neighbour to be his messenger." (Said the Gemara:) It seems that Rabha's explanation is correct, for if he would not become his messenger, how can his act be of any value? Is it not written [Numb. xviii. 28]: "Thus shall ye also offer," etc., and from the word "also," which is superfluous, it is declared that it includes a messenger, and it is also declared there that as the word "ye" means "it shall be done intentionally," so also if this is done by the messenger the intention is necessary? (hence we see that only a messenger has the right to separate heave-offering), and the above Boraitha must therefore be explained that he appointed him as a messenger, saying, "Go and separate"; but he did not determine of which grain he should separate. And usually the owners separate from the middle one; the messenger, however, does so from the better one; now when the owner comes and says, "Why did you not separate from the better one?" if there is to be found still better than he had separated, his act is valid; but if not, the saying of the owner must be considered ironical, and the messenger's act is of no avail.

Amaimar, Mar Zutra, and R. Ashi happened to be in the garden of Mari bar Issak, and the gardener placed before them dates and pomegranates. Amaimar and R. Ashi partook. Mar Zutra, however, did not; meanwhile the host came and said to his gardener: "Why did you not serve the rabbis with the best ones?" Said both Amaimar and R. Ashi to Mar Zutra: "Why does the master not partake of it now? Have we not learned if better ones are to be found the heave-offering is valid?" And he answered: "So said Rabha, that this expression is to be cited in case of heave-offerings only, because it is a meritorious act, and it may be assumed that the owner made his remark with good intentions; but here, it can be said that he said so to the gardener only not to be ashamed (to be considered niggardly)." Come and hear. R. Johanan said in the name of R. Ishmael b. Jehouzadok: "Whence do we know that a lost article, which was flooded, is allowed to be used by one? Because it is written [Deut. xxii. 3]: 'In like manner shalt thou do with his ass, and in like manner shalt thou do with his raiment, and in like manner shalt thou do with every lost thing of thy brother's which may have been lost by him, and which thou hast found.' From which it is deduced that when it is lost to him, but not to others; exclude, then, the flooded article, which is lost to him and also for every one; and as in the case of flooding the article is allowed for use, no matter whether it had a mark or not, the same is the case with an article which is not allowed for use, when it is not certain that the owner of it has renounced his hope. No matter whether the article has a mark or not, it is prohibited, even in case where the hope would be renounced by the owner immediately after he became aware of his loss." Hence Rabha's statement is objected to, and the Halakha prevails according to Abayi, as this is one of the six things. (See Baba Kama, p. 163.) 1 Said R. Achi' the son of Rabha to R. Ashi: "Now as it is decided that Rabha's statement is objected to, how then do we eat dates which the wind blows away to the highway?" And he answered: "Because there are insects which consume them; the owners of the dates therefore renounce their hope of such." The former questioned again: "In case the trees belong to orphans, who are disqualified to renounce their hope, let therefore all fallen dates not be used." And he rejoined: "Must we then consider that the whole valley belongs to orphans?" The former said again: "But if it be known that such is the case, how is the law?" And he rejoined: "Then it is prohibited."

"Small sheaves," etc. If the mark on the article in question was of such a nature that it could be effaced by stepping on it, Rabba said: "That such a mark is not to be considered." Rabha, however, said: "It is." An objection was raised from our Mishna. Small sheaves in public thoroughfare may be used without proclamation, but if they were found on private ground he may take it provided he proclaims. Now how was the case?

If it treats of such that have not a mark, what shall he proclaim? We must, therefore, assume that although they have a mark they are his if found in public thoroughfares, because the mark is usually effaced by stepping upon it; hence it is an objection to Rabha. He may say that the Mishna treats of such that have not a mark, and your question, What shall he proclaim if on private ground? is to be answered that he shall proclaim the place where it was found, as it was taught that both sages mentioned above differ concerning the place. Rabha maintains that it is a mark, and Rabba says it is not. 1

Said R. Zbid in the name of Rabha: "The rule concerning a lost article is this, as soon as the owner exclaims, 'Woe, the damage I have had!' he does not care to search for it any more (it is considered renouncing of hope, etc.)." The same said again, in the name of the same authority: "The Halakha prevails that sheaves on public ground belong to the finder in all cases; however, in private thoroughfares, if it was found in such a manner indicating that it was dropped, it can be used, and if indicating that it was placed so intentionally, he may take it providing he proclaims; and in both cases it is only when it has no distinguishing mark; but if there were, no matter in which place, and how they were placed, he must proclaim."

"Strings of fish," etc. Why? Let the knot be the required mark? It means, i.e., that it was found in the way as fishermen usually tie it; but let the number be the required mark. Such a number is used by all fishermen.

R. Shesheth was questioned whether a number is considered a distinguishing mark or not, and he answered: "We have learned this in the following: 'If one found silver or copper vessels, a cassiteron of tin, or any other metal vessel, the finder need not return it, unless the owner of it identify it by a mark or the exact weight of it.' Now, as the weight is a mark, the same is the case with the size and number."

"And pieces of meat," etc. Why let the weight be a mark? when the weight was as customary with all butchers. But let the kind of the piece be a mark, e.g., leg or shoulder, etc. Have we not learned in the following Boraitha: If one found pieces of fish or a bitten fish, he must proclaim; barrels of wine, oil, grain, dry figs, and olives are his? It treats of a case when there was a distinguishing mark in cutting it, as Rabba bar R. Huna used to cut it in the form of a triangle. It is so also to be inferred from the statement "a bitten fish" (and this is certainly a distinguishing mark, so also pieces of fish mean which were cut differently). The master says barrels of wine, etc.; but have we not learned in a Mishna further on: Pitchers of wine or oil he must proclaim? Said R. Zeira in the name of Rabh: "The Mishna treats of a case when the pitchers were sealed and marked. If it is so, then the Boraitha treats of a case when they were found open: must it not be considered an intentional loss (i.e., when open it would be spoiled by reptiles, vermin, etc.)?"

Said R. Houshea: "It treats of a case when it was covered with a cork, and not smeared with clay." 1 Abayi, however, said: "It may treat also of sealed ones, and nevertheless it does not contradict the Mishna, as the Mishna speaks of a case when the market for wine was not yet opened, and the barrel found was of one who had sealed it with a mark which could be recognised. The Boraitha, however, speaks of a case after the market was opened, and usually the marks on the barrels were all alike, and could not be distinguished from each other, as it happened with Jacob bar Abba, who found a barrel of wine after the market was open, and he questioned Abayi and was told that he may keep it for himself."

R. Bibi questioned R. Na'hman: "Is the place (where it was found) considered a mark or not?" And he answered: "This we have learned in the above Boraitha: 'If one found barrels of wine, etc., they are his'; now if the place would be considered a mark, then why should he not proclaim the place?" R. Zbid, however, said: "This is no support, as it may treat of a case that when he found it on a dock where many barrels were placed."

R. Mari said: "The reason why the sages decided that the place is not to be considered as a mark, was because it can be said to him who claims that the article was lost by him in this place, that there were men passing the same, and another one may have lost it there."

It happened that one found unripe dates 1 near the winepress room, and questioned Rabh, and was told that he may keep it for himself; the man, however, hesitating, and Rabh said to him: "You may give a part of it to my son, Hyah." Shall we assume that Rabh holds that a place is not to be considered as a mark?

Said R. Abba: "Rabh's reason was, it was seen on this article that the owner had renounced his hope in it, as it was already mouldy."

"R. Simeon b. Elazar said," etc. What does he mean by the expression new vessels? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: "By the word new he means that the eye was not acquainted with it." How was the case if the vessels had a mark? What is it if the eye was not yet acquainted with them, and if there was no mark? What use is it that the eye should be acquainted with them? It can be used to return it to a young scholar who claims that he recognised them by seeing. If the eye was acquainted with them, we do so; if not, we do not. As R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel in the following three things. The rabbis 'hesitate to tell the truth when being questioned in a tractate (e.g., if some one asked, can you repeat the tractate so and so by heart, they answer no, although it is not true, out of modesty), and in conversation between him and his wife, and also about the hospitality of a private one, they usually answer in the negative, although it is not so (because people should not abuse his liberality and bring the man to poverty). And when it was questioned to what purpose did Samuel declare the above, Mar Zutra answered: "It was said with regard to returning a lost thing to one of the rabbis, if he recognised it with his eye, if we know that only in the above three things he hesitates to tell the truth, but in all other things he speaks the truth, then the article in question is to be returned to him, but not otherwise."

It happened that a silver goblet was stolen from Mar Zutra the pious, when he was in a hospes; in the mean time he saw a young man who dried his hands, after washing, with the garment of another, and he thought, this man does not care

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for his neighbour's money, and he accused him until he confessed that he stole the goblet. We have learned in a Boraitha: R. Simeon b. Elazar admits that new vessels, in case the eye was familiar with them, that he must proclaim them; however, the following new vessels which were not familiar to the eye he need not: namely, strings of needles, spinning instruments, and strings of hooks, but only when he found single strings; if, however, he found a pair of each, he must proclaim. The same R. Simeon used to say: "If one saved something from a lion, a bear, a tiger, or a bardalas, or from the sea, or if he found it on a dock or in one of the great markets, and in any place where it is crowded, he may keep it for himself, as the owner of it has surely renounced hope. 1 It happened that one found four zuz tied up in a rag, and was dropped in the river Biron, and he came before R. Jehudah and was told to proclaim. Why so; is it not equal to the depth of a sea, as stated above? With the river Biron is different, because it was frequently cleaned, and there were stones and fences for fishing, the loser may not renounce his hope in regaining it; furthermore that the majority of the fishers and the cleaners of that river were Israelites, and the loser may think that in case an Israelite finds it he may return it.

R. Jehudah was walking behind Mar Samuel in the market, where wheat prepared for fermenting was sold, and R. Jehudah questioned him: How would be the case if some one should find a purse here? And he answered: It would belong to the finder. But how if an Israelite would come and give the mark of it? (the former questioned again). And Mar Samuel answered, then he would be obliged to return. The former rejoined: Are not the two decisions contradictory? And he answered: I mean not according to the exact law, but by moderating the same, as it happened to my father, who found certain asses in a desert and returned them to the owner after an elapse of twelve months; though he was not obliged to do so in accordance with the strict law, he nevertheless did so by moderating the same. Rabha happened to walk behind R. Na'hman in the market of tanners, according to others in the market where the rabbis used to assemble, and he questioned him: How if one would find here a purse? And he answered: It would belong to him. And how if an Israelite would claim that it is his by giving a mark? And he answered it counts for nothing; but if he claims with a certainty that it is surely his, Rabha said again. And the latter rejoined, it would be equal to him who cries for his collapsed house or for his sunken ship (as the ownership of it is lost with the losing).

There was a vulture which captured meat in the market, and put it between the trees of Bar Marian, and when Bar Marian came to question Abayi, he was told to keep it for himself. Although the majority of the inhabitants were Israelites, hence infer from this that the Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Simeon b. Elazar of our Mishna, even in case the majority are Israelites? With the vulture it is different, as it may be just as the depth of the sea. But did not Rabh declare that meat which was hidden from the eye must not be eaten for fear it is not legally slaughtered? It may be said that Bar Marian saw the vulture taking it from a place where legal meat was sold. R. Hanina found a slaughtered goat on the way from Tiberias to Ziporus, and he was allowed to use it. Said R. Ami: It was allowed as a found article in a crowded place, in accordance with R. Simeon b. Elazar; and also as a legal slaughter in accordance with R. Hananiah b. R. Jose the Galilean of the following Boraitha: If one has lost his goats or hens, and thereafter he found them slaughtered, R. Jehudah prohibited their use, and R. Hananiah b. R. Jose the Galilean allowed it. Said Rabbi: It seems that the opinion of R. Jehudah is correct when he found it in rubbish, and the opinion of R. Hananiah is correct when he found it in a house. Infer from all this that if one finds an article in a crowded place it is his, even when the majority of the inhabitants are Israelites. Said Rabha: Such meat may be used even when the majority of the inhabitants are heathen, but the majority of the butchers are Israelites. R. Ami found slaughtered pigeons on the way from Tiberias to Ziporus, and he questioned R. Assi, according to others R. Johanan, and according to still others he questioned the college, and was told to keep it for himself. R. Itzhak of Naph'ha found a ball of cord, of which nets were made, and he came before R. Johanan or in the college, and was told to keep it for himself.

MISHNA 2.: The following articles he must proclaim: When he found a vessel containing fruit or an empty one, money in a purse or an empty one, heaps of fruit or heaps of money, or even three coins which were one upon another, sheaves in private ground and bread made in a household, and shorn wool which looks as if it was already in the hand of a master, pitchers of wine or oil, all these he must proclaim.

GEMARA: The Mishna treats of a case when the fruit was found in the vessel, and the money in the purse; but how is it if the vessel was empty and fruit was scattered near by, or the purse was empty and the money was near it? It would be his without any proclamation, and the rabbis taught the same plainly in a Boraitha, with the addition that if a part of it was in the vessel or in the purse, and another part on the ground near by, he must proclaim. Does this not contradict the following: If one has found an article which has no mark, near an article which has a mark, he must proclaim; and if the owner comes declaring the mark, and takes the article, he is also entitled to the other one which was without a mark (hence the vessel and the fruit in question should be proclaimed)? Said R. Zbid: This presents no difficulty. The Boraitha which states it is his treats of, e.g., an empty vat and near it flax (it is not to be supposed that the flax fell out of the vat, as some would remain there, and the same is the case with an empty purse and money near it), and the Boraitha which states it should be proclaimed treats of an empty basket, and fruit which is supposed to have fallen out of the basket. R. Papa, however, maintains that both Boraithas may treat of a basket and fruit, but one speaks of a case where some was left in the basket, and the other one treats when it was entirely empty; and if you wish, it may be said that both treat of a case when nothing was left, but in one case the face of the vessel was turned toward the fruit, and in the other case the vessel was with a rim (so if the fruit which was found near it would fall from the vessel, some of it would remain there because of the rim).

"Heaps of fruit," etc. Infer from this that the number is a mark? Perhaps the plurality stated in the Mishna is not correct, as it ought to be singular. If so, infer from it that "place" is a mark? Perhaps the plurality is correct. 1

"Three coins one upon the other," etc. Said R. Itzhak of Magdahl: 2 Only when they were like a steeple. The same we have learned in the following Boraitha: If one found scattered coins, they are his; if, however, they were lying in a steeple-like manner, he must proclaim. And what is to be understood as steeple-like manner? Where three coins were lying one upon another.

Does not the Boraitha contradict itself? It begins "scattered money," of which it is to be inferred that if it was not entirely scattered, but in the condition where a part overlapped another, and the other part was on the ground, it must be proclaimed; and immediately after it states that it was in a steeple-like manner, etc., of which it is to be inferred that if they were not so but overlapped, it is his? The Tana is of the opinion that if they were not placed in a steeple-like manner it is considered scattered.

Said R. Hanina: "The case in question speaks of coins of three different rulers; but if they were of the: very same, ruler, they are his." How is this to be understood? If they were placed in a steeple-like manner, he must certainly proclaim, no matter of what ruler they are; and if scattered, even if they are from three rulers; what is it? Therefore if the statement was made by R. Hanina, it is as follows: The case is only when the three coins were placed as if they were of three rulers: viz., the larger one at the bottom, the middle one, which was a little smaller, upon it, and the third, a still smaller one, on the top, which indicates that some one placed it so intentionally; but if the coins were of one ruler and of one kind, that all were alike, even if they were one upon the other, it is his, as it may happen that they were lost by the owner in such a manner. R. Johanan, however, is of the opinion that even if they were from one ruler he must proclaim.

What shall he proclaim? If the number, why then three; even two should be the same. Said Rabbina: He proclaims the kind of coin. R. Ashi questioned: If they were placed like the stones of Markullus (an idol of ancient times which was worshipped by putting stones one upon the other), what is the law? Come and hear. There is a Boraitha: Scattered money, it is his; however, like the stones of Kullis, he must proclaim. And how were the above stones placed? Two on either side and one on top of both. The rabbis taught: If one finds a sala in the market, and his neighbour claims it is his, giving a mark that it is new, it is a coin of Nero or of another ruler, he says nothing; and even if he says my name is written upon it, it counts for nothing, because on a coin no mark is to be considered, as he may nevertheless have given it away to some one and it was lost by the latter.

MISHNA 3.: If one found under a wooden wall, or a brick one, pigeons tied one to the other, or if they were placed on a thoroughfare of a private field, he must not touch them. The same is the case with a covered vessel found in rubbish; if, however, it was uncovered, he may take it and proclaim.

GEMARA: Why shall it not be touched? Because it may be that some one has hid it, but it has no mark on it (so if it would be taken away he could not regain it), therefore it must be left until the owner will come and take it. But why should not the tying be a distinguishing mark? Said R. Abba b. Zabda in the name of Rabh: It means that they were tied, as usually, at the wings, but let then the place be a mark. Said R. Uqba bar Hama: When they were jumping; if jumping, then it may be that they were coming from some other place, and should be allowed. Yea, it may be so, and it may be also that one hid them purposely, and in such a doubtful case R. Abba. b. Zabda declared, in the name of Rabh, that it should not be taken from the very first; but if one nevertheless took it, he is not to be compelled to return it.

"If he found a covered vessel," etc. This contradicts the following: If he found a vessel hidden in rubbish, he may take it and proclaim, because usually the rubbish will be removed and some one else may take possession of the vessel (hence you see that he may take it, and our Mishna states it shall not be touched?). Said R. Zbid: This presents no difficulty. The Mishna treats of Kuva and Goblets, and the Boraitha treats of small. knives and double-pronged zincked forks which were mixed unintentionally with the rubbish. R. Papa, however, says: In both, goblets were meant, but the Mishna treats of rubbish which is not to be removed, and the Boraitha of that which is to be; but if it is to be removed, the article which is there was certainly put there intentionally (it means that the owner does not intend to make use of it any more), therefore we must say that the rubbish in question was of a kind which is not to be removed, but afterwards it was decided that it should be. According to R. Papa's theory it is correct what the Boraitha adds, "as usually rubbish will be removed," but according to R. Zbid's theory, how is this additional expression to be understood? Read "as usually small vessels are thrown away with rubbish."

MISHNA 4.: If one found anything in a heap of rubbish or in an old brick wall, it is his; if, however, in a new wall, in the outer part, it is his; if in the inner part, it belongs to the owner. If, however, the house was rented, if even he found it in the house it is his.

GEMARA: It was learned that the reason was that the finder may say, that this article was hidden by the Amorites. But only the Amorites hide things, and the Israelites not? It means when the vessel seemed to be antique.

"If it was a new one," etc. Said R. Ashi: If the article was a knife, and the handle was from the outside, it is supposed it was placed there by some stranger; and if it was from the inside, it is to be supposed that it was put there by the owner of the house. The same is the case with a purse: it must be investigated whether the opening of the purse is outside or inside. If so, why does our Mishna state, "if from the outside it is his," without any distinction whether the handle or the opening of the purse was placed outside or inside? Our Mishna treats of round or roundish articles, which on all sides are alike. There is a Boraitha in addition to it, that if the articles were found on both sides, they are to be divided between the finder and the owner.

"If it was rented," etc. Why so? Let us see who was the last tenant. Said Resh Lakish in the name of Bar Kapara: It speaks of a case when it was rented to three men. Infer from this that the Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Simeon b. R. Elazar stated above. Therefore, said R. Menashia bar Jacob, it speaks when it was an inn with three heathen. R. Na'hman in the name of Rabba b. Abuhu, how. ever, said: "There is no difference who the guests were, even Israelites, if one of them lost something, he may say, 'There were no others, but my two neighbours. If they found it they would return it to me, as I had mentioned several times to them that such a thing was lost by me; and when they did not return it, it indicates that they would steal it, and there is no use arguing with them.'" (Consequently he renounced his hope of regaining it.) And R. Na'hman said, in accordance with his theory elsewhere, as follows: "If one has seen that a sala was dropped by one of two who were standing there (but he does not know to which of the two it must be returned). Why so? Because only two of them occupied the place, and the loser will think, 'As there was no other besides my neighbour, I will tell him, Only you could have found it, and you must return.' But if there were two others besides him, the finder of the sala may keep it for himself, as the loser would think, 'My sala is lost at any rate. If I claim it of one of my neighbours he would deny, and so, too, would say the other one' (consequently the hope of regaining is renounced)." Said Rabha: "If there were three, he must not return it only in case the coin has not the value of one perutha; but if it has the value of two peruthas, he must return. Why so? Perhaps they are partners, and one of them relinquishes his share to the other without renouncing any hope." The same said again: "If one has seen a sala dropped, and he took it before the owner renounced his hope, with the intention to rob it, he transgresses the three following commandments: [Lev. 19:13] 'Nor rob him,' [Deut. 22:1] 'Thou shalt surely bring them back again,' etc., and [ibid., ibid. 3] 'Thou art not at liberty to withdraw thyself'; and even if reconsidering, he returned it, it is considered a gift; the transgression, however, remains. If, however, he took it with the intention of returning it, and after the owner renounced his hope he reconsidered to rob it, he transgresses the second commandment mentioned above. But if he was waiting until the owner renounced his hope, and then took it, he transgresses only the commandment of the last verse stated above." He said again: "If one has seen money dropped in sand, and afterwards found and took it, he is not obliged to return it, although the loser sifted the sand; for it may be supposed that the purpose of sifting the sand was because he thought, as it happened to me it also may happen to some one else, and perhaps I might find, if not mine, something of another loser."

MISHNA 5.: If one found something in a store, it is his; if, however, between the counter and the storekeeper, it belongs to the latter; if before a money changer, it is his; if, however, between the chair where he usually sits and the table, it belongs to the money changer; if one has bought fruit or one

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sent him such, and he found money in it, it is his; if, however, he found it tied in a package he may take it, but proclaim.

GEMARA: Said R. Elazar: "Not only on the ground before the money changer, but even if he found it on the table, it is his." Whence did the same get such a law? Said Rabha: "From the expression of the Mishna, 'between the chair and the table,' etc.; let it state even on the table, or if he finds in the table, as it states in the first part. If he found in the store? Infer from this that even the money was on the table (and the money changer being absent), it is his (as it may be supposed some one else forgot it, as the money changer is usually very careful)."

"If one has bought fruit," etc. Said Resh Lakish in the name of R. Janai: "It treats of a case where he bought of a merchant, but if of a private person, he must return; and so also taught a scholar in the presence of R. Na'hman. Said the latter to him: Did, then, the private person thresh it himself (though the expression in the Mishna is fruit it means also grain)? and the former answered, Then ignore the Boraitha. Rejoined R. Na'hman: It is not necessary to ignore it, as it could be explained that the case was where the owner threshed it by means of his male or female heathen slave (and if even they lost the money in question, it belongs nevertheless to the owner)."

MISHNA 6.: A garment is also included (in the verses concerning lost articles). Why, then, is it mentioned separately? To teach that all other articles should be equal to it; as a garment usually has marks and claimants, so also any article which has marks and claimants, he must proclaim.

GEMARA: In what verse is it included? Said Rabha: "In [Deut. xxii. 3] 'With every lost thing.'" He said again: To what purpose does the Scripture mention ox, ass, sheep, and a garment separately? (Is it not included in the cited verse above?) They are all needed, for if the Scripture would mention the garment only, one might say that it must be returned when witnesses testify that it belongs to the claimant, or when the claimant gives the mark which is on the material of it; but if, e.g., an ass, and witnesses or marks can be given of the saddle only, the ass is not to be returned; therefore ass is mentioned, and ox was also necessary to signify that a mark indicating that its tail was cut was sufficient, and the same is with sheep, that the mark, the wool shorn, suffices. But would it not be sufficient if the ox only, without the sheep, were mentioned, as it would be self-evident that the wool of sheep which was shorn is a sufficient sign for returning, as the same is the case with an ox with its tail cut? The answer to this (see Baba Kama, p. 127, the quotation if an ox fall in at the end).

The rabbis taught: It is written [ibid., ibid.], "Which may be lost to him," means to exclude a loss which has not the value of a perutha. R. Jehudah, however, says: "The words further on, 'which thou hast found,' signify this."

The schoolmen propounded a question: The returning, according to marks given, is biblically or rabbinically. What is the difference? Regarding the returning of a written divorce, by proclaiming the marks on it, if it is biblically, it must certainly be returned; if, however, rabbinically, it may be said that the sages made their enactment concerning money matters, but not concerning a biblical prohibition (for if an error would occur in such a case, a married woman would be allowed to marry again). Shall we assume that the Tanaim of the following Boraitha differ in that case; namely, testimony of witnesses must not be accepted on suppositions (e.g., if witnesses came to testify that they suppose, by seeing the body of so and so, that he was killed, unless they testify that they had seen his face and his nose attached). Elazar b. Mahbai, however, said: "It may." Should we not assume that the point of their difference is that the first Tana holds that signs are rabbinical, and Elazar holds that they are biblical? Said Rabha: "All agree that signs are biblical, and the point in which they differ is, one holds that the suppositions of such a case by his comrade may be relied upon, and one holds it may not (because an error may occur also in a case of a comrade)." He said again: "The fact that we return lost articles according to signs given, proves that it is biblically; for if not, how could the sages make such an enactment in a case of doubtful money? Should we assume that the finder is pleased to return the article according to signs, only because if it should happen that he himself lost an article, the same would be done to him?" Said R. Saphra to him: "What do we care for the pleasure of the finder, when the loser is not pleased (e.g., the man who claims and gives signs, and yet it is not the real ones)? Is it, then, usual that one should desire to do good to himself in futuro (which it is doubtful if it will happen) with money which does not belong to him?" Therefore said Rabha: 1 "All the losers would be pleased by giving signs that the articles should be returned to them, as they know that witnesses are not always to be found; and, on the other hand, the signs on the articles are not known to every one who would like to claim them, and only the loser, who knows the exact mark, will proclaim them and come in possession thereof" (and therefore it is possible that such an enactment was made by the sages, and it is not biblically). Finally said Rabha: "That the marks in question are biblically is to be deduced from the following verse [Deut. xxii. 2]: 'And it shall remain with thee until thy brother inquire after it.' Could, then, one bear in mind that it should be returned before it is inquired about? We must, therefore, say that the inquirer must be examined whether he is not a swindler, and by what means he can be identified if not by the exact marks; hence infer from this that they are biblically." He says again: "If it is your decision that the marks in question are biblically." "[If it is your decision." Did not Rabha just deduce it from averse? Yea, but still one can say that the examination mentioned above should be by means of witnesses.] If there were two persons who gave the very same marks, it must be reserved (until proper evidence is brought); if there were marks and witnesses contradicting each other, the witnesses have the preference. If there were marks and marks from two parties, and there was a third one who brought one witness, the third one must not be taken in consideration, and the article must be kept in reserve. If there were witnesses testifying that the ownership of the article by this man was when it was woven, and other witnesses the ownership of another man when it was lost, the latter has the preference, as it may be that the first one sold it and it was lost by the buyer. If one party testifies to the length, and another party to the width, the length has preference, as the width can be assumed by seeing the article when it was used. If one testifies to the length and the width, and another one testifies to the square, the former has the preference; the square and the weight, the latter has the preference. If the husband claims that the written divorce was dropped by him before it was delivered to his wife, and proclaims certain marks, and she claims it was dropped by her after she received it (consequently she is single and can marry), she has the preference (because if she had not received it, how could she know the marks?). However, the marks must be not in length and width, as she could see it before it was given to her, but a mark such as a hole in such and such letter of it. If the marks were the very same given by him and her concerning the length of the thread upon which the divorce was put, she has the preference. If both claim that it was in the χαψα (a kind of small case), he has the preference, because it is well known to her that the entire contents of it he has placed there.

MISHNA 7.: Until what time is he obliged to proclaim? Until his neighbours are aware of it; so is the decree of R. Meier. R. Jehudah, however, says: "All the three festivals (Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles), and after the latest festival seven days, that the loser should be able to go home three days and return three days, and one day for the proclaiming of his loss."

GEMARA: A Boraitha in addition to the Mishna, which states "the neighbours of the lost article." How is it to be understood? Does it mean that the neighbours knew who lost the article? Let them go and return. Therefore it must be said that it means the neighbours of the place where the lost thing was found.

"R. Jehudah said," etc. There is a contradiction in the following: On the third of Mar Cheshvan they pray for rain. R. Gamaliel said: "On the seventh of it, which is the fifteenth after the festival, for the purpose that the last of the inhabitants of Palestine shall have reached Euphrates."

(Hence we see that seven days were needed for each tour.) Said R. Joseph: "This presents no difficulty. The cited Boraitha speaks of the first temple, of which it is written [I Kings, iv.]: 'Judah and Israel were numerous as the sand which is by the sea in multitude,' then fifteen days were needed; in the second temple, however, of which it is written [Ezra, 2:64]: 'The whole congregation together was forty and two thousand three hundred and sixty,' etc., seven days are sufficient." Said Abayi to him: "Is it not written [Nehemiah, 7:73]: 'So the priests and the Levites,' etc., and also [Ezra, 2:70]: 'And the singers and the gatekeepers . . . in their cities'? and as it was so, the reverse of your theory should be held. In the first temple, then the people were very numerous, and caravans were going to and fro, day and night; not so much time was necessary as in the second temple, when caravans were not so frequently travelling and not in night-time." Said Rabha: "There is no difference between the first and second temple concerning a lost thing. The rabbis did not like to cause too much trouble to anyone." Said Rabbina: "Infer from this that the finder must proclaim the kind of the. garment he has found, for if he has only to proclaim a lost article, one day would be added to the loser for searching for his garments, to see what was missing. Infer from this that so it is." Rabha, however, says: "Nothing is to be inferred from this. The rabbi did not like to cause too much trouble, as stated above." The rabbis taught: "The first festival, the proclaimer must say: This is the first feast for my proclamation, and on the second he must say this is the second, and on the third he need say nothing (and this will mark that it is the third time)." The rabbis taught: "Formerly each finder used to proclaim on all three festivals, etc., as stated above; however, since the destruction of the Temple [which we hope will be rebuilt soon in our days], the sages enacted that it shall be proclaimed in the synagogues and houses of learning, and since oppressors have increased, it was ordered that the finder should notify his neighbours and friend, and he is quit." What is to be understood by the expression "oppressors"? They who claim that all lost articles belong to the government.

R. Ami happened to find a purse with dinars in the presence of a Roman, and he was afraid to take it. The Roman, however, said to him, You may take it for yourself; we are not Persians, who say that a lost article belongs to the government. The rabbis taught: "A certain stone was in Jerusalem, and every one who had lost anything would go there, and the same did the finders. The one used to proclaim, and the loser would give the marks of the article lost, and if correct, he took it; and this is what we have learned in Tract Taanith concerning Chouna, who said, Go and see if the certain stone is covered by rain.

MISHNA 8.: If one identifies the article, but not its marks, it must not be delivered to him; and if the claimant is known to be a swindler, even if he gives marks, as it is written [Deut. xxii. 2], "until thy brother inquire after it," which means until you shall investigate whether he is thy brother or a swindler.

GEMARA: It was taught: R. Jehudah said: An article, but not the kind of it, must be proclaimed, as swindle is to be feared. R. Na'hman, however, said: He proclaims also the kind of article, for if swindle is to be feared, there will be no end of the matter. An objection was raised from our Mishna, which states, "if he identifies the article without its marks," etc.; this would be correct if an article but not the kind is proclaimed. Then the Mishna comes to teach that even if he identified the article, it must nevertheless not be delivered until he gives the marks; but if, as you say, he proclaims the kind of article, is it not self-evident that without given marks it would not be returned? Said R. Saphra: "It may be said that he proclaims the kind of article, and the claimant gives marks, but not the essential marks, it is not to be returned, and the Mishna with the expression 'marks' means the essential ones."

"And he who is known as a swindler," etc. The rabbis taught: Formerly, if one lost an article he would give the marks and it was delivered to him. But since swindlers have increased, it was enacted that the claimant was obliged to bring witnesses that he was not a swindler; as it happened with the father of R. Papa, who lost an ass and thereafter found it at some one's place. When the case came before Rabba bar Huna, he said to him, Bring witnesses that you are not a swindler; and he did so, and Rabba questioned them: Do you know that this man is a swindler? And he answered: Yea. Said the claimant: I am a swindler? The witnesses rejoined: We meant to say you are not, and Rabba decided that it be returned, because one would not bring witnesses who would testify against him.

MISHNA 9: If the found article is of such a kind that it labours for its food, it shall be fed and laboured with,; and if of such a kind which does not labour and must be fed, it shall be sold, as it is written [ibid., ibid.]: "And then thou shalt restore it," which means, deliberate how the restoration should be made. But what shall be done with the money? According to R. Tarphon he may use it, and therefore if be loses it, he is responsible. According to R. Aqiba, however, it must not be used, and therefore if it is lost, he is not responsible.

GEMARA: (The Mishna does not state any definite time.) Is it for eternity? Said R. Na'hman in the name of Samuel: "It means until twelve months have elapsed. We have learned the same in the following Boraitha: Each article which is subject to labour for its food, as, e.g., a cow or an ass, he may keep it until twelve months have elapsed, and when this time has passed it may be appraised and the value of it deposited. Calves and colts he may keep three months, geese and hens thirty days, and after this time has elapsed it should be appraised," etc. R. Na'hman bar Itzhak, however, says: "A hen (which lays eggs) should be kept twelve months (as it is equal to a cow which labours for its food), and the same is plainly stated in a Boraitha."

"And if of such a kind which does not labour," etc. The rabbis taught: "It is written: 'Thou shalt restore it to him,' which means you must see that the restoration is made; viz., if you have found several calves, colts, geese, or hens, you must not sell one of them for the purpose of feeding the remainder (for if so, it can happen that all of them should be sold for their food), but sell all at once and deposit the money."

"But what shall be done with the money," etc. We see that the sages mentioned in the Mishna differ only in case where the money was used, but if it was not, and it was lost, all agree that he is free. Shall we assume that our Mishna is an objection to R. Joseph's statement, who said (Baba Kama, p. 134): "That the bailee of a lost thing is equal to a bailee for hire"? R. Joseph may say that when the article was stolen or lost (by carelessness), all agree that he is responsible, and the point of their difference is, it was lost through an accident for which only a borrower is responsible. According to R. Tarphon, who permits the money to be used, he is considered a borrower, and is responsible; and according to R. Aqiba, who does not permit the use of it, he is not considered a borrower, and therefore not responsible for an accident. If so, to what purpose does R. Aqiba use the expression "therefore"? He did it because R. Tarphon used the same expression, and

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with him it was necessary, as he meant to teach thus: As the use of the money was permitted, although he did not, he is nevertheless responsible, because he is considered a borrower. But does not R. Tarphon say it was lost, which means even if not accidentally? As Rabba said elsewhere: "That where the expression 'it was stolen' occurs, it means by an armed robber; and where the expression 'lost' occurs, it means accidentally, as, e.g., the ship sunk in the sea, so also is to be explained here." Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: "The Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Tarphon. Bid Ra'hba was in the possession of money belonging to orphans, and he questioned R. Joseph whether he may use it, and he answered: "So R. Jehudah declared in the name of Samuel, that the Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Tarphon." Said Abayi to him: "But was it not taught in addition: R. Helba in the name of R. Huna said that the case holds only with money obtained for a found article, he may use it for his trouble; but if the money was found, of which he had no trouble, it must not be used; and this money of the orphans which is in possession of the questioner came to him without any trouble?" R. Joseph said to the questioner: "Go, people do not allow I shall permit you." 1

MISHNA 10.: If one found books, then he may read them once within thirty days; if he is unable to read, then he must unroll them once in thirty days (to air them). He is, however, not allowed to study in them for the first time; and, furthermore, no other one shall assist him. If the article was a garment, it must be shaken once within thirty days, and he may spread it out for its own sake, but not for his honour. Vessels of silver and copper may be used if for the sake of the articles, but not so often that they may become worn. If, however, the utensils are of gold or of glass, they must not be touched until Elijah will come. If, however, the article found was unfit for the finder to carry, he may leave it.

GEMARA: Samuel said: "He who finds Tephilin (Phylacterien) in market, he may appraise their value and use them immediately." Rabbina objected from our Mishna: "If one found books. . . . he may unroll," etc.; hence it is not mentioned that he may appraise and use them. Said Abayi: "With Tephilin it is different, as they are always to be found for sale at the scribe's, as, e.g., Bar Habu; written books, however, are very seldom articles which can be bought." The rabbis taught: "One who borrows the Holy Scrolls of his neighbour, must not lend them to another; he may open and read in them provided he does not begin to study in them for the first time, and also he must not invite another to study with him. The same is the case if one deposits Holy Scrolls at his neighbour's: the bailee must unroll them (for airing) once in twelve months, and in the meantime he may read in them; he must not, however, open them for the purpose of reading only." Symmachus, however, says: "If they were new ones, he may air them once in a month; and if old, once in twelve months." R. Elazar b. Jacob says: "It makes no difference, once in twelve is sufficient."

The master said: "He must not lend them to another." Does this law apply only to Holy Scrolls? Is it not the same with anything else? Did not Resh Lakish say (in regard to a Mishna in Tract Gittin): Here taught Rabbi that a borrower must not lend an article to another, and the same is the case with a hirer? Lest one say that usually one is pleased that a meritorious deed be done with his property, he comes to teach us that he must not do so, even with the Holy Scrolls without permission. To what purpose, then, does the master teach, He opens them, etc.? Is this not self-evident, as for this purpose they were borrowed? Because he means to tell that he must not begin his study for the first time, etc., he mentioned also the above. 1 But how is to understand the latter part? R. Elazar b. Jacob says: "Once in twelve." Is it not the same as the first Tana said? Read, R. Elazar b. Jacob said in both cases they must be unrolled once in thirty days.

"To study in them," etc. There is a contradiction in the following: "One shall not read a paragraph and repeat it or translate it into another language; he must not open more than three folios of them, and three men must not read in one and the same volume." Is it not to be understood from this that three must not, but two may? Said Abayi: "This presents no difficulty. In one and the same paragraph even two are not allowed, but in two different paragraphs each of them may read separately."

"If the article was a garment," etc. Is it, then, good for the garment to shake it frequently? Did not R. Johanan say that whoever has a specialist weaver in his house (who may weave for him new garments), may shake his garments every day; hence we see that frequent shaking spoils the garment? Yea. Every day it would spoil it, but once in thirty days is good for it; and if you wish, it may be said that R. Johanan treats of a woollen garment (which can be torn by shaking), and the Mishna treats of linen ones.

R. Johanan said: 1 "It is better to drink a goblet from the hand of a witch than to drink a goblet of lukewarm water when the goblet is of metal, and was not boiled previously, and it is ordinary water without any spices in it." He also said: "He to whom his father bequeathed too much money, and he desires to lose it, shall dress himself in Roman linen garments (which are very dear and are spoiled in a short time), and shall use glass utensils of great value, and shall hire others to do the work necessary in his vineyards while he is absent."

"Vessels of silver and copper," etc. The rabbis taught: "If one finds wooden vessels, he may use them in order that they may not decay. Copper ones he may use for warm liquids, but not put them on the fire, because the vessels may be worn off; silver ones he may use for cold liquids, but not for warm, for they may lose their brightness; spades or axes he may use for soft materials, but not for hard, for they may be diminished; however, golden ones or glass ones must not be touched until Elijah will come. The same law applies also to deposited articles. If so, to what purpose was it deposited? Said R. Ada b. Hama in the name of R. Shesheth: "It was deposited for saving only, as, e.g., the owners had departed for the sea-countries."

"If, however, the article found, . . . he may leave it." Whence do we deduce it? From that which the rabbis taught: "It is written [Deut. xxii. 1]: 'And withdraw thyself from them,' which means that there are cases in which you may withdraw, and others in which you may not. How so? If, e.g., he was a priest, and the found article was on a cemetery, or he was a sage, and it is not fit for him to carry the found article, or if his labour at that time should have more value than the value of the found article, he may leave it, as in such cases the verse cited above applies." Let us see in what case the above verse is needed. If to a priest who saw a found article in a cemetery, is then a verse needed? Is it not self-evident, as there is a negative and positive commandment concerning a priest, who must not defile himself by the dead [Lev. xxi. 1], and the positive commandment, "Ye shall be holy" [ibid. xix. 2], and to return a lost thing is one positive commandment only; and aside from this it must not be ignored, a bodily prohibition for money matter even if it is meritorious, and if the above-cited verse is needed, because his loss of time has more value than the lost article. This is also inferred from the saying of R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh, as follows: "It is written [Deut. xv. 4]: 'There shall be no needy man among thee,' 1 which signifies that yours has preference over that of another; it must therefore be said that the verse in question is needed for the case of a sage, for whom the found article is unfit for his honour." Rabba said: "If he has seen an animal, and struck it (and it ran away), he must return it." It happened that Abayi was sitting in the presence of Rabba, and goats came near him, and he took a clot of dirt and threw it at them, and they ran away. Said Rabba to him: "If they will be lost You will be responsible; go and bring them back to the owner."

The schoolmen propounded a question: If the man is so respected that in the city it is not nice for him to drive cattle, but in the field he usually does so, what is the law? If he has seen his neighbour's cattle astray in the field, must he return them to the city only, or, as the Scripture requires that they shall be returned to their proper place, and as it is not fit for him to lead them in the city, he need not do so even in the field? On the other hand, it may be said because it is fit for him to do it in the field, it is his duty to lead them to the city, and when it is already there return them to the proper place. This question remains unanswered. Rabha said: "(This is the rule.) If it would be his own article, he would trouble himself to put it in the proper place; then he must do the same with that of others. The same is the case with loading and unloading a wagon. If he is accustomed to do so for himself, he must do so for another if he is in need [Ex. xxiii. 5]."

R. Ismail b. Jose was on the road, and met a man carrying a bundle of wood, who put it down to take a rest; thereafter he asked R. Ismail to help him lift it on his shoulder, and he asked him the value of it, and the man answered a half zuz. R. Ismail then bought it for a half zuz, and renounced his ownership to it. The man, however, had acquired title to it by drawing it. Then R. Ismail bought it from him again by adding another half zuz, and renounced his ownership again. When he had seen that the man intended to draw it again to acquire title again, he said: "I have released my ownership for the whole world, but not for you." And was not R. Ismail a sage for whom it was not fit to do such a thing? He was acting to moderate the law, as R. Joseph taught: It is written [Ex. xviii. 20]: "And thou shalt make them know," etc. "To make them know" means how to make a living; "the way" means bestowing of favours; "wherein they must walk" signifies to visit the sick and bury the dead; "and the work" means the exact law; "they must do" means to moderate the law. The master says: Wherein they must walk to visit the sick. Is this not included in bestowing of favours? It was necessary to name this separately, in case when the sick one was his comrade, and the master says elsewhere that by visiting a sick one, if he is his comrade, a sixtieth part of the sickness goes over to him, and notwithstanding this he must do so. But is not the burying of the dead included in bestowing of favours? It was necessary to teach that even if he was a sage, and it is beyond his dignity, he must nevertheless do so in such a case. "To moderate the law," as R. Johanan said that Jerusalem was destroyed because they used the exact law only and never moderated it.

MISHNA 11.: What is to be considered a lost thing? E.g., if he found an ass or a cow feeding in a public thoroughfare, it is not to be considered a loss. If, however, the packing material of the ass was turned over wrongly, or the cow was running between the vineyards, it is to be considered a loss which must be returned. If he has returned it, and it runs away again, even four or five times, he must return it, as it is written [Deut. xxii. 1]: "Thou shalt surely bring them back." If his loss of time was worth a sala, he must not say, Give me a sala, but he may take the reward as a labourer would usually take for such work. If there were three persons (who constitute a Beth Din of common men), he may make the condition before them (my loss of time in this case is worth so and so much, and I will collect from the owner); but if there were not such three persons, before whom could he make such a condition? Hence his own time has preference.

GEMARA: How is the first part of the Mishna to be understood, which states it is not to be considered a loss when it were lost to the owner? Why not? Said R. Jehudah: It means to say, what the rule of a lost thing is which one is obliged to trouble himself. If the articles mentioned were fed in a public thoroughfare, it is not considered such that the finder need trouble himself, unless he finds them in such condition as mentioned in the Mishna further on. But how is the second part to be understood, which states it is to be considered a loss, etc.? Does it mean for eternity? Said R. Jehudah, in the name of Rabh: "If he has seen them three days in succession at the same place." How was the case, if in night-time even one hour is sufficient, and if in the daytime even more than three days should not be considered? The Mishna treats of a case where he had seen them in the morning or at sunset; if only three days in succession, it may be supposed that it is only mishap, and they will come out soon; but if more, it is certainly a lost thing. We have learned the same in the following Boraitha: "If one found a garment or an ox in the market, or a cow running in the vineyard, it is considered a loss; but if the articles mentioned were lying on the side of a partition, or the cow was fed between the vineyards, it is not considered a loss, unless he has seen them three days in succession. If one has seen that his neighbour's field is about to be overflowed, he may prevent it if it is within his power." Rabha said: "It is written [Deut. 22:3]: 'With every lost thing,' it means to add a loss of real estate." Said R. Hananiah to him: "The following Boraitha should support you: If he has seen water going to overflow, he may prevent it by making a dam." And Rabha answered: "This teaching may not support me, as it may be that it treats of a case when there were sheaves in the field (hence it is not real estate). If it is so, what does the Boraitha teach us? Is it not included in the verse cited above? It may be said that there were sheaves which were still attached to the ground, and the use of the ground was yet necessary. Lest one say because they still need the support of the earth, it should be considered as the earth itself, it comes to teach us that this is not so."

"If he returned it, and it runs away again," etc. Said one of the scholars to Rabha: "Why so? The Scripture reads Hosshéb (which means, 'thou shalt return'), once, and then Thisbibém ('thou shalt return them'), twice." And Rabha answered: The first word means even hundred times, and the second word is needed lest one say that he is only obliged to return to his house, but not to his garden or ruined building, hence the second word Thisbibém." 1 How was the case? If the article would be saved in the garden or ruins, then it is self-evident that he must return it, and if it was not saved there, why should he return? It may be said that it is to be saved there, and it comes to teach us that the knowledge of the owner is not necessary, and this is in accordance with R. Elazar, who said, in everything between man and man, the knowledge of the owner is needed, except concerning the return of a lost thing, in which the knowledge of the owner is not needed (i.e., he may put the found article on the owner's property, where it may be saved without notifying him that he has done so), and this is deduced from the superfluous word in the Scripture mentioned above. The same is the case with the word [ibid., ibid. 7] which also reads Shalach Téishalach (literally, "sending, thou shalt send"). "I would say Shalach once, Téishalach twice," (said the above scholar to Rabha, and he answered:) "Shalach means even hundred times, and Téishalach signifies that even if the mother was needed for a meritorious purpose (e.g., to cleanse a leper [Lev. 14:4]), it must be, nevertheless, sent away." The same scholar said again to him: It is written [Lev. 10:17]: Hakhéach Toucheach (literally, 'rebuke, thou shalt rebuke'); say the first word means one, and the second two." And Rabha answered: "The first word means even hundred times, and the second means that not only the master must rebuke his pupil (when seeing him acting wrong), but even the pupil must do so to his master. The same is the case with the word [Ex. 23:5] Ozob Tahsob (literally, 'help, thou shalt help'), which means you must give your assistance, even not in the presence of the owner; and the same means the word [Deut. 22:4] Hokem Tokim (literally, 'load, thou shalt load'). But why does the Scripture repeat the same concerning unloading [Ex. 33.] and loading [Deut. xxii.]? It is needed. For if it would say the first

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case only, one might say that because a living thing is inflicted and damages also he must assist, but in the other case of loading, in which both things do not exist, it is not so; and if it would be mentioned in the last case loading, one might say that he must do so, because he has a right to charge for his loss of time, but in unloading, which must be done gratuitously, he is not obliged, therefore both are written." [But according to R. Simeon, who holds that even loading must be done without any compensation, what can be said? He may say that the Scripture does not indicate which verse is to be explained for loading and which for unloading. But could not the trouble about a lost article be deduced from the above-cited verses? Why is it mentioned separately? It is necessary because one might say that in both cases above there is an infliction on a living being and an infliction on the owner also (therefore the Scripture prescribes support), but concerning a lost article, in which there is an infliction on the owner only and not on the lost thing, the Scripture would not prescribe support, and the former cases also cannot be deduced from the latter one, because in this case the owner is not present (and therefore support is necessary), which is not so with the former cases, hence all of them were necessary.] The same is with the repetition of [Numb. 35:17] Moth Yoomot (literally, "dead, he shall die"), which means that if it is impossible to kill him by the prescribed death, he may be killed in any manner; the same is with [Deut. xiii. 16] Hahkie Thakki (literally, "smite, thou shalt smite"), which means if you cannot smite it as prescribed, you must do so in any manner; the same is with [ibid. 24:13] Hohsheb Tohshib (literally, "return, thou shalt return"), which means that even when the pledge was taken without permission of the court, it must nevertheless be returned; so also [Ex. 22:23] Choboul Tahchboul (literally, "pledge, thou shalt pledge"), which means the same as above [if so, to what purpose is it repeated? one for a day dress and the other for a night dress]; so it is also [Deut. xv. 8] Pathoach Tiptahch (literally, "open, thou shalt open"), which means that not only to the poor of your city you are obligated, but also to those of other cities; and also [ibid., ibid. 10] Nauthon Teetén (literally, "giving, thou shalt give"), which means both great and small gifts. The same is [ibid., ibid. 14] Hahnék Theahnek (literally, "donate, thou shalt donate"), which means that you must do so even if thy house was not blessed through him [but according to R. Elazar b. Azaria, who holds that if it was not blessed, he is not obliged to donate, what can be said? Nothing; but the Scripture usually speaks like a human being]. So also is with [ibid., ibid. 8] Ha'bêt Taabitanov (literally, "lend, thou shalt lend "), which means that not only to him who possesses nothing and refuses donations, but even to him who possesses but does not want to use his property for his livelihood, you must also act the same. [But according to R. Simeon, who denies any obligation upon a person of the latter case, what does the repetition signify? Nothing; the Scripture speaks as stated above.]

"When the loss of time was the value of a sala," etc. How is this to be understood? Said Abayi: "The loss of time must be appraised according to his loss in his special trade."

"If there were three men," etc. Issur and R. Saphra were partners in business. Subsequently R. Saphra divided in presence of two witnesses. Finally he came before Rabba bar R. Huna, and was told to bring three men, or two of them, before whom he divided the goods, or even two witnesses that he has done so in presence of other three men, and he said to him: "From what source do you take your decision?" And he rejoined: "From our Mishna, which states, 'If there were three men,' etc." Rejoined R. Saphra: "What comparison is this? The Mishna treats of collecting money from one to give it to another, and therefore a Beth Din of three men was necessary; but in my case I took that which belongs to me only. Why do not two witnesses suffice? And my theory may be supported from a Mishna elsewhere, which states that a widow may sell for her support the goods of her late husband, even not in the presence of a Beth Din (but before two witnesses)." Said Abayi to him: "But was it not taught in addition to your Mishna thus, R. Joseph bar Minyumi in the name of R. Na'hman said: It means, she does not need a court of special judges, but a Beth Din of three common men is nevertheless necessary."

MISHNA 12.: If he has found the animal in a stable, he is not obliged to trouble himself. In a public thoroughfare, however, he is. If it was in a cemetery (and he was a priest), he must not defile himself. If he was told by his father to defile himself, or not to return it, he must not listen to him. If he has unloaded, and reloaded, and again even four or five times, he is obliged to do so, as it is written [Ex. xxiii. 5]: "Thou shalt surely help him." 1 If, however, the owner went away and sat down, saying: "You are obliged by Scripture to assist me, do so if you want in my absence," he is not obliged to do anything, as it is written Eemou (literally, "with him"). If, however, he was old or sick, he is free. The commandment of the Scripture is for unloading, but not loading. R. Simeon, however, maintains loading also; R. Jose the Galilean said: "If the animal was overburdened more than it could carry, there is no liability, as it is written [ibid., ibid. 5], 'under his burden,' which signifies under such a burden which it can bear."

GEMARA: Rabha said: "The stable mentioned in the Mishna means that it was of such a kind where the animal was not afraid to stay, and also was not locked in, and if it wanted to leave it could do so; and this is to be inferred from the expression, 'He is not obliged.' It is only in case it is not afraid to stay there, and from the same is also to be inferred that the stable was not locked, as if it were so, would it be necessary to teach that he is not obliged; is it not certain that when he finds it on the street, he is obliged to place it in such a stable, should he then be obliged to take it out? Hence infer that such was the case."

"In a public thoroughfare, however, he is," etc. Said R. Itzhak: "It means when the thoroughfare was placed two thousand ells from the town, not otherwise, and from this is to be inferred that the stable in question, even if it was placed beyond the stated limit, there is no liability."

"In a cemetery," etc. The rabbis taught: Whence do we deduce that he must not listen to his father in the above-mentioned cases? It is written [Lev. 19:19]: "Ye shall fear every man his mother and his father, and my Sabbath ye shall keep; I am the Lord," which means that ye all are obliged to preserve my commandments (says the Gemara); but were it not written here, "and my Sabbath ye shall keep," you would say that he must listen to his father? Why? In case of a lost thing there is a positive and negative commandment (supra.), and honouring his father is a positive commandment only, and there is a rule that one positive commandment does not contradict a case wherein are a positive and a negative commandment? It was necessary lest one say because the honour of parents is equal to the honour of Omnipotent, from an analogy of expression "honour" [Ex. 20:12] and [Prov. 3:9], "he shall listen to his father," (although it is against a commandment), which teach us that it is not so.

"But not loading," etc. How is this to be understood? Shall we assume not loading at all? Is it not written [Deut. 22:4]: "Thou shalt surely help him? Therefore we must explain that the Mishna means thus: The commandment is to unload without any compensation, but not Loading without any." R. Simeon, however, says: "The same applies to the latter, and this explanation is as the rabbis taught plainly: 'Unloading without a compensation, and loading with.' R. Simeon, however, says: 'Both are equal.' What is the reason of the rabbis? Because, if it would be according to R. Simeon, the Scripture would be loading only, and the unloading would be deduced by drawing an a fortiori conclusion, as above, and R. Simeon may answer as said above."

Rabha said: "From the decision of both we learn that a living being must not be inflicted is so biblically, as even according to R. Simeon the above a fortiori conclusion is not to be drawn, because in the Scripture loading or unloading is not clearly mentioned, but if it were, this a fortiori conclusion would be drawn; hence the infliction in question is so biblically, even in accordance with R. Simeon (for if not, how could an a fortiori conclusion be drawn?); but perhaps the same would be drawn not from the infliction, but from the damage; thus, in case of loading, wherein there is not any damage, he is obligated so much the more in case of unloading, wherein there is damage? Does, then, the Scripture treat only of a case wherein there is no damage? How, then, is it if, e.g., when the man is going to a fair and is prevented from reaching it by some occurrence, or if in the mean time all his goods are stolen (is one not obliged to help him)? And one more support,, that the infliction in question is so biblically, is to be found in the latter part. R. Jose the Galilean says: "If he was overloaded," etc., from which is to be inferred that the first Tana holds even in such a case one is obliged to help, and this only because of the infliction of the animal. But perhaps they (first Tana, R. Jose) differ only in that verse from which R. Jose deduces his decision, and the rabbis do not care to deduce it (not be cause the infliction in question is biblically); furthermore, it may be deduced that it is not so biblically from the first part, which states that in absence of the owner one is not obliged to help; and if the infliction in question is biblically, what difference is it whether the owner is present or absent (he is biblically obliged to redeem the animal of its infliction at any rate)? Nay, the infliction is so biblically, and the decision that in the absence of the owner he is free, is not to be understood as meaning entirely free, but free to do it without compensation; but in the absence of the owner he must do for compensation. This is supported by the following Boraitha: "An animal belonging to a heathen, he must trouble himself with it as it were an Israelite's." This is correct. If the infliction is biblically there is no difference to whom the animal belongs; but if it is not biblically, why must he trouble himself about a heathen's animal? It may be said he must do so not to cause animosity, and so it seems from the latter part, which states: "If it was loaded with prohibited wine, he need do nothing with it." And this can apply only when the infliction is not biblically; for if it is, what difference is it with what material the animal was loaded? Nay, the Boraitha means to say that if there was prohibited wine to load, he should have nothing to do with it. Come and hear (another objection). If his friend was needed to unload, and his enemy was needed to load, it is a meritorious act to help the enemy for the purpose of overcoming his wicked nature. Now if the infliction is biblically, his friend should have the preference, because his animal is inflicted? Notwithstanding this, the overcoming of his wicked nature has the preference. Come and hear. The enemy in question is meant an Israelite and not an enemy, an idolater. Now if the infliction would be biblically, what difference is it who the enemy was? (The animal is inflicted.) Do you think the enemy in question means the enemy mentioned in the Bible [Ex. 23:5]? it means the enemy mentioned in the Boraitha (who needs help in loading). Come and hear. The word lying, in the just cited verse, means that the lying occurred through the burden, but not when his habit was to lie down while under burden, "lying" and not when it was standing, "under his burden" and not when it was unloaded, "his burden" such as it could stand, but not otherwise. Now if the infliction is biblically, what difference is it between lying and standing? The Boraitha is in accord with R. Jose the Galilean, who holds that the infliction is not biblically, and it seems to be so from the statement "under such a burden which it could stand," and such a theory was heard from R. Jose only.

The rabbis taught: "It is written [ibid., ibid. 5] "if thou see"; one may say that even when he was far away; therefore it is written [ibid. 3] "if thou meet"; and lest one say that only by an exact meeting (but not when he happened to be near him), therefore it is written "if thou see," to indicate that his seeing was when it was possible to meet him; and the conjecture of the sages was a seventh and half part of a mile distant, which was known as a riss. A Boraitha in addition to this states that he must accompany him the distance of a pazsa. Said Rabba bar bar Hama: "Provided he is paid."

MISHNA 13.: If one lost a thing as did his father before, his own has preference. The same is the case with his master. If, however, his father and his master have lost an article at the same time, his master has preference because his father brought him only into this world, while his master, who taught him wisdom, brings him into the world to come; if, however, his father was a sage, he has the preference (i.e., to trouble himself for him). If his father and his master were overburdened, he should unload his master first, and after his father. If both were in prison, his master has preference to be redeemed; if, however, his father was a sage, he has the preference.

GEMARA: Whence is this deduced? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: "It is written [Deut. 15:4] 'No needy man among thee', which means that yours has the preference always." The same said again in the name of the same authority: "Although the law is exactly so, he who always acts accordingly will finally need the support of others." (Rashi explains this that he who is always particular that he shall have the preference absolves himself of charity, of bestowing favours, and is not respected, and therefore he stands alone and will finally need support.)

"If his father and his master were overloaded," etc. The rabbis taught: "The master in question is meant one who has taught him the wisdom of Gemara" (i.e., the reasons of the decisions of the Mishna and that they do not contradict each other, and some sense for allowed and not allowed obligations and absolutions of the Scripture.--Rashi); "but not who taught him Scripture, exact Mishnayoth," is the dictum of R. Meir. R. Jehudah says: He who taught him the greater part of his wisdom only is considered his master. R. Jose, however, maintains: "That even if he enlighted his eyes in only one Mishna, he is to be considered his master." Said Rabha: "As, e.g., R. Sh'orah, who explained to me the word Zuhma with the word Listrum." 2 Samuel tore his garment at the death of one of the rabbis who had explained to him only one expression in the Gemara. Said Ula: "The Babylonian sages arise one before another, and tear their garments, for the death of one of their colleagues; however, concerning a lost thing of which the master has preference, they do not consider only the master of whom he had learned the greater part of his wisdom."

R. Hisda questioned R. Huna: How is it with a disciple whom his master needed? And he answered: "Hisda, Hisda, I have not any need for you; you, however, need me for forty years more." They both became angry, and did not visit each other any more. R. Hisda, however, fasted forty days for the disgrace of R. Huna, and R. Huna did the same because he suspected that R. Hisda with his question meant him. "It was taught: R. Itzhak b. Joseph in the name of R. Johanan said: The Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Jehudah. R. Aha b. R. Huna in the name of R. Shes'heth said: The Halakha prevails according to R. Jose." Could R. Johanan say so? Did he not say elsewhere that the Halakha prevails in accordance with an anonymous Mishna, and our Mishna states his master, who taught him wisdom? By the word wisdom, i.e., the greater of his wisdom.

The rabbis taught: "They who occupy themselves with the study of Scripture are not to be blamed, but, on the other hand, not to be praised. With the Mishnayoth, however, they are to be praised, and will be rewarded; but with the Gemara

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there is not a better custom. However, look to occupy thyself with the Mishnayoth better than with the Gemara." Does not the Boraitha contradict itself? It states there is not a better custom than the Gemara, and immediately it states, Occupy thyself with the Mishna. Said R. Johanan: "In the time of Rabbi the above Mishna was taught; in consequence all the disciples left the Mishna and started the Gemara; he therefore lectured again, "Occupy thyself better with Mishnayoth," etc., and subsequently his above lecture was added to the Mishna. What was the basis of the above-mentioned lecture? R. Jehudah b. Ilayi lectured as follows: "It is written [Isaiah, xvi. 5]: 'Hear the word of the Lord, ye that tremble of his word. Your brethren that hated you, that cast you out for the sake of my name, said, Let the Lord be glorified, but he will appear to your joy, and they shall be made ashamed.'" "Tremble of his word" means the scholars who study Gemara; "your brethren" means those who study the Scripture; "that hated you" means the students of the Mishnayoth (the students of the Mishnayoth, says Rashi, hated the students of the Gemara, because the latter had decided that the students of the Mishnayoth, without Gemara, are the destroyers of the world, because they act according to the Mishnayoth without knowledge of their sources and bases, and very often the Halakha does not prevail according to their decisions); "that cast you out" means the common people. But lest one say their hope has ceased, therefore it is written: "He will appear to your joy"; and may one say that Israel will be ashamed, therefore it is written: "And they (the idolaters) shall be ashamed, and Israel will rejoice."

CHAPTER 3.

LAWS RELATING TO BAILMENTS, HIRERS, LOSSES ON DEPOSITED ARTICLE AS TO THEIR QUANTITY AND THEIR QUALITY, AS TO THE CARE TO BE BESTOWED ON DEPOSITED ARTICLES BY THE DEPOSITARY, AND OF MONEY WHETHER IT MAY BE USED.

MISHNA 1.: If one has deposited an animal or vessel with his neighbour, and they were stolen or lost, and he paid, because he refused to take an oath [according to the law that a gratuitous bailee must swear and is acquitted], and thereafter the thief was found, who must pay the double amount, or in case he has slaughtered or sold, four and five fold, to whom shall he pay? To him who has kept the bailment. If, however, the bailee took an oath, because he refuses to pay, and the thief was found, he must pay the above-mentioned amount to the owner.

GEMARA: "He has paid, because he refused," etc. Said R. Hyya bar Abba in the name of R. Johanan: "The expression 'paid' is not to be understood that he has done so already, but if he said, 'I will pay,' it is to be considered paid." And there is a Boraitha in accordance with his statement, viz.: "If one has hired a cow of his neighbour, and it was stolen, and the hirer said, I will pay rather than take an oath (that it was not an accident), and thereafter the thief was found, the double amount belongs to the hirer."

R. Papa said: "A gratuitous bailee, when he said, 'I have neglected my duty' (which makes liable for payment), acquires title of the double amount because he could be acquitted if he should claim it was stolen. The same is the case with a bailee for hire, when he claims 'stolen,' because he could be acquitted by claiming it was crippled or died (in which case he is not responsible); and also a borrower, if he said, I am ready to pay, he acquires title for the double amount, as he could acquit himself by claiming the animal had died while labouring." Said R. Zbid to him: "So said Abayi: A borrower does not acquire title of the double amount, unless he has already paid. Why so? for all the benefit he has derived was only upon his word, without any actual payment. It is not sufficient his saying, I am ready to pay." And there is a Boraitha supporting him: "If one borrowed a cow of his neighbour, and it was stolen, and the borrower hastened and paid, and thereafter the thief was found, the double amount belongs to the borrower." Shall we assume that the Boraitha is an objection to R. Papa's statement? He may say, has, then, the Boraitha more strength than our Mishna--does not the Mishna state, "and he paid," and nevertheless it was interpreted that the same is the case if he says, "I will pay"? Why should not this same explanation apply to the Boraitha? But what comparison is it? The Boraitha states, "he hastened and paid," which is not the case in the Mishna. But why should it not be explained he hastened to say, "I will pay"? Nay, the same Boraitha expresses in the case of a hirer, "he said," and in the case of a borrower, "hastened," hence the Boraitha was particular as to its word. But whence do we know that the Boraitha's statements were taught together--perhaps each statement was taught separately, consequently no special attention must be paid to the wording? The disciples of R. Hyya and R. Oshia were questioned, and the answer was, that all the statements of the above Boraitha were delivered at one time.

It is certain that if he previously said, "I will not pay," and afterwards he declared, "I will," it is a reconsideration and must be counted; but how is it if it is vice versa? Shall we assume this also a reconsideration, or perhaps he intended to pay, but as he had no cash, he only postponed payment? Also how is it if he promised to pay, and dies, and his heirs refuse, or he dies without saying anything, and his heirs pay, does the double amount belong to them, or can he say to them, "If your father would promise to pay I would be pleased to transfer the double amount to him, but with you I have nothing to do, as probably you were aware of the double amount, and, therefore, you paid"? These questions are not decided. R. Huna said: "In all cases an oath is given to the bailee that at that time the article is not in his possession, for fear, perhaps, he would prefer to keep the article for himself, and, therefore, he paid for it." 1

There was a man who deposited a nose jewel with his friend, and when being required to return, he said, "I do not know where I put it," and when the case came before R. Na'hman, he said: "Such an answer shows a neglect of duty, and you must pay." The man did not submit to R. Na'hman's decision, unless R. Na'hman made him pay by force. Finally, the article was found, and was increased in value. Said R. Na'hman: "Return it to its owner and have your money refunded." Said Rabha: "I was sitting before R. Na'hman when he decided the above case, and our study was in this chapter, and I questioned him, Is not this case equal to the statement of our Mishna: If he paid and refused to swear, etc., and R. Na'hman did not answer, (and thus deliberating this matter I came to the conclusion that) it was right in him not to answer, because the case in our Mishna does not treat of a case where he was troubled by the court, as in this case." (Says the Gemara:) "Shall we assume that R. Na'hman holds that property appraised by the court, for the sake of the creditor, and delivered to him, should be returned to the defendant when he brings cash? Nay! The above case of the nose jewel is different; as the article was in his possession, no appraisement could be made; hence the appraisement itself was an error. (However, when the court appraises by examining the article, no change is to be made.) The sages of Nahardea, however, hold that even a correct appraisement by the court is to be returned in twelve months (when the defendant brings cash). Said Amemor: "I myself am a Nahardean, and I hold that an appraisement is always to be returned." (Said the Gemara:) "So the Halakha prevails, because it is written [Deut. 6:18]: "And thou shalt do that which is right and good," etc. 1

It is certain, when it was appraised for the sake of a creditor, and the latter appraised it for his own creditor, the returning may take place, because it may be said to the latter creditor, You cannot be entitled to any more privilege than this defendant. The reverse is the case when the creditor sold it, or gave it as a present, because the intention of the people was given to the estate but not to the value of it. The same is the case if it was appraised for a widow (according to her marriage contract) and she remarried, and the same is also when the estate was appraised for the sake of a creditor of a widow, and after she remarried and died her husband cannot require for returning, as he is considered a buyer (and not an heir), to whom the law prescribes no returning shall take place, neither by nor to him. As R. Jose said: "It was enacted in the city of Usha that if a woman sold her estate, called mulgeo 1 (i.e., an estate in which her husband has the usufruct, the use of the products and the principal estate remain hers) while her husband is yet alive and she dies, the husband may take it away from the hands of the buyer." If, however, the creditor took the estate for his debt without appraisement, but with the admission of his creditors, it may be returned or not. R. A'ha and Rabbina differ; according to one it may not, because it was a correct sale, as the debtor had given it with his good will; and according to the other it may, because the sale is not to be considered a good one, as the debtor did it only because he was ashamed to go to court, but not with his good will.

From what time may the creditor use the products of an appraised estate? According to Rabba, as soon as the warrant reaches him; and according to Abayi, from the time the warrant was signed by the court. Rabha, however, says: "The warrant that the estate shall be sold for his debt does not suffice even when it is in the hands of the creditor, provided the time of heraldry had elapsed." (The previous products, however, belong to the debtor.)

MISHNA 2.: If one has hired a cow and he loaned it to some one else, and it died a natural death, the hirer takes an oath that the death was natural, and the borrower must pay to the hirer. Said R. Jose: "How could the hirer do business with the cow, which did not belong to him? Therefore the cow, or the value of it, must be returned to the owner."

GEMARA: Said R. Idi b. Abin to Abayi: "Is not the oath the only reason for acquiring title? Let then the owner say: Keep aloof from this case with your oath, and I will summon your borrower (as it did not die while in your possession). It will be better for me to summon the borrower (who is responsible even for an accident)." And Abayi answered: "Do you think that the oath is the only reason for the title? It is not so. The title is acquired with the death of the animal, the title of its value is acquired to the hirer, and the oath is only to please the owner."

R. Zera said: "It can happen that the hirer has a right to require several cows from the owner for one cow. How so? (As the explanation of this queer proposition is so clearly illustrated by Rashi, we omit the explanation given in the Gemara, and we append it in a foot-note. 1) Said R. A'ha of Difta to Rabbina: "Let us see. It was only one animal which was going from borrowing to hiring, and vice versa. Why then should he furnish him with four--is it not sufficient he should furnish him with two, one of them to remain the property of A and the other for the remaining labour days"? And Rabbina answered: "Is then the animal yet alive, that it could be said so? The animal is dead, and there were two cases of hiring and two cases of borrowing, and he has a right to receive compensation for each case, also for each hiring of the labour days." Mar bar R. Ashi, however, maintains: "A is entitled to two cows only, one for both cases of hiring, and one for both cases of borrowing; as the cases under one name cannot be considered two, because all this occurred with only one animal (as explained above)."

It was taught: "A bailee who has transferred the bailment to another bailee, according to Rabh the first bailee has the same responsibility as if he would take care of it himself, (i.e. he is free from accident). According to R. Johanan, the first one is responsible even for an accident." Said Abayi: "According to Rabh's theory, not only a gratuitous bailee who transferred to a bailee for hire, who has increased the responsibility of it, is not responsible any more than the prescribed law of such a bailee, but even if he was a bailee for hire and he transferred it to a gratuitous bailee, that the responsibility was decreased; the same is the case, because he transferred it to one who was able to take care of it (consequently he did not neglect his duty); and according to R. Johanan's theory, not only a bailee for hire who transferred it to a gratuitous bailee, in which the responsibility was decreased, but even a gratuitous bailee who transferred it to a bailee for hire, in which the responsibility was increased, he is nevertheless responsible for all that occurs, because the owner may say, "I have trusted the bailment to you, not to any one else, as I did not want the bailment to be under the control of some one else." Said R. Hisda: "Rabh's statement was not made by him directly, but it was inferred from an act which happened, namely: There were gardeners who had deposited their spades at a certain old woman's; one day, however, one of them gave it for safekeeping to his comrade, and when the latter heard voices from a wedding procession and wanted to accompany it, he transferred the spade of the above to the old woman, and when he returned, he found it was stolen. When the case came before Rabh, he acquitted him. Those who have heard this decision thought that it was because of the law that a bailee who transfers the bailment to another bailee is free; in reality, however, Rabh acquitted him because the depositor himself used to deposit his articles with the same old woman; consequently he could not claim that he would not trust her with his bailment. R. Ami was sitting and declaring the just stated Halakha, and R. Abba bar Mammal objected to his statement from our Mishna: "One hired a cow," etc. Now if the above statement is correct, why could not the owner of the animal claim, "I did not want that my bailment should be under the control of another one"? And he answered: The Mishna treats of a case where the owner gave him permission to loan it to some one. If so, the owner has a right to the value of the cow? The owner told him, You can do so to whomever you like (and so he cannot claim any more that he does not want his bailment to be under another's control).

Rami bar Hama objected to this from Mishna 7., in this chapter, which states that if he transferred them to his little children, etc., of which it is to be inferred that if he would transfer them to his big children, he would be free. Why so? The owner could claim, "I do not want my bailment to be under another's control." Said Rabha: "Usually, when one deposits an article for safekeeping with any one, he intends that he may ask his wife and children to take care of it, and the sages of Nahardea said: "That it seems the cited Mishna is rightly explained so, as it states, 'his little children,' of which it is to be inferred that if he would give it to the care of the big ones, he would be free."

However, the case is only with his children, not with strangers, for if he would transfer them to strangers, he would be responsible at any rate, for the reason that the bailee can claim that he did not want it in the control of another, as stated above." Rabha said: "The Halakha prevails, that a bailee who has transferred the bailment to another bailee of any kind is responsible. Why so? Because the owner may say, that you alone are trusted by me with an oath, but not the man to whom you have transferred it."

It was taught: "If the bailee has neglected his duty, and the animal was going out to the rushes and dies a natural death, Abayi in the name of Rabba makes him liable, and said: That any judge who would decide to the contrary is not worthy to be a judge, as not only according to him who holds that if an accident follows a neglect, there is a liability, he is responsible, but even according to him who holds that in such a case there is no liability, in this case he would admit that he is responsible. Why so? Because it may be said that the air of the

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rushes killed it (hence it is not the accident, but the neglect, which caused the death)." Rabha, however, in the name of Rabba said: "He is free, and every judge who decides to the contrary is not worthy to be a judge, as not only according to him who holds that if an accident follows a neglect there is no liability, but even according to him who holds to the contrary, would admit that in this case he is free. Why so? Because there was a natural death, and there is no difference to the Angel of Death where his subject is placed." Rabha, however, admits that if it was stolen from the rushes, although it dies a natural death in the house of the thief, the bailee is nevertheless responsible. Why so? Because if it were alive, not he, but the thief, would possess it (consequently, before he dies the liability came simultaneously with the theft).

Said Abayi to Rabha According to your theory, that there is no difference to Angel of Death where it is placed, the answer of R. Ami to R. Aba stated above, that it treats of a case where the owner has permitted the hirer to borrow it, etc., would not be satisfactory, as also in their case a natural death occurred and he could claim that it is no difference to Angel of Death where it was placed." Rejoined Rabha: "According to you the objection was: That the owner could claim, 'I do not want that my bailment should be under the control of another,' your objection could be sustained; but I said that the claim of the owner was that the first bailee only is trusted by him with an oath, but not any one else; hence your objection cannot be sustained."

Rami bar Hama objected from the following Boraitha: "If he brought the animal to a steep hill, and it falls and dies, it is not to be considered an accident, and he is liable." Of which it is to be inferred that if a natural death would occur while yet on the steep hill, it would be considered an accident. Why? Let him say that the mountain air or the labour of ascending such a high altitude has killed it? The Boraitha treats when it was brought to a good fat pasture.

"Said R. Jose," etc.: Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: "The Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Jose." Said R. Samuel b. Jehudah to R. Jehudah: "You declared to us in the name of Samuel that Jose differs also with the first Mishna (in case of double payment); does the Halakha prevail according to him against the first Mishna also or not"? And he answered: "Yea, so it is!" The same was taught in the name of R. Elazar. R. Johanan, however, said: "R. Jose agrees with the first Mishna, in case he has already paid." Already paid! Did not R. Hyya b. R'Aba declare in his name that even if he said, "I am ready to pay," suffices? Say then, R. Jose agrees with the first Mishna in case the defendant declared already, "He is ready to pay."

MISHNA 3.: If one said to two persons, I have robbed one of you the value of a manna (100 zuz) but I do not know which of you, or the father of one of you deposited with me a manna, but I do not know whose father, he must pay a manna to each of them, as he himself admitted his debt.

If two persons have deposited with one person one hundred zuz and the other two hundred, and each of them claims that the two hundred are his, the depository must pay to each of them one hundred, and the remaining hundred should be deposited until Elijah will come. Said R. Jose: If so, what does the swindler lose? Therefore, the whole sum should be deposited. The same is the case with two utensils: one of them was worth hundred zuz and the other thousand, and each of them claimed that the better one was his; then one of them must get the hundred one, and the other get hundred zuz in cash from the value of the utensils, and the remainder is deposited until Elijah will come. R. Jose, however, objected as said above, and maintained that both utensils should be deposited until Elijah will come.

GEMARA: We see then, from the beginning of the Mishna, that doubtful money is to be collected, and we do not say leave the money with its present possessor, in accordance with the law of occupancy (Hasaka). Is there not a contradiction in the second part, in case of a deposit, where the doubtful hundred zuz must be deposited? The answer was: "Do you want to contradict a case of a deposit with a case of robbery?" A robber must be punished, but not a depositor.

There is, however, contradiction of both robbery and deposit. In case of a deposit it is stated in the first part: The father of one of you has deposited, etc. He must pay a manna to each of them. And in the second part, in case of the deposits of one and two hundred, it states that the doubtful hundred shall remain, etc. Said Rabha: "The first part is to be compared to two men who have deposited separately, one in the absence of the other, two bundles, where it is the duty of the depository to be very particular with the bundles and to mark on each of them to whom it belongs (so he ought to know whose father deposited with him). And the second part treats of a case where both persons deposited together the above sum, and it is to be compared as if they would put their moneys in one bundle, in which case the depository may say: You yourself were not particular in separating the sum to whom it belongs; then shall I be more particular than you? The contradiction of a case of robbery to the other case of the same is as follows: There is a Mishna (First Gate.): "If one robbed one of five persons and does not know the one, and each of them claims, 'He was robbed,' the robber may place the sum among them, etc., and depart, so is the decree of R. Tarphon."

We see, then, that we do not collect money in case of doubt because of the law of occupancy, and our Mishna, however, states that the robber must pay a manna to each of them (hence doubtful money is to be collected?). Are you then certain that our Mishna is in accordance with R. Tarphon? Yea! As in addition to the cited Mishna it is said that R. Tarphon admitted that if one said to two persons, "I have robbed one of you of a manna and I do not know who is the one," he must pay a manna to each of them. (Hence the contradiction is clear.) Nay! There is no contradiction. R. Tarphon speaks of a case when both persons summoned him; and our Mishna treats of a case when the robber repents and would like to satisfy the heavenly will, and it seems that our Mishna must be so explained, as A closes with the expression that he himself admitted his debt. Infer from this that so it is.

The master says: "When both parties summon him." But what does the defendant claim?" R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh said: "He kept silence." And R. Mathnah said in the name of the same: "He denies knowing either of them. According to him who says he denies, if he keeps silent it would be counted as an admission, and according to him who says he kept silent, this silence is not counted as an admission, as he may declare, 'I kept silent before each of them because I thought, perhaps he is the one who deposited the greater sum.'"

The master said: "The robber may place the sum thus robbed and depart." And what shall be then? Shall the five take the sum? Did not R. Aba b. Zabda declare in the name of Rabh "Every doubt," etc.

Said R. Saphra: "The expression 'departed' means this: He is to place the sum before the court in presence of the five men, saying, 'Who of you is robbed shall bring evidence'; and as they could not do so, he may depart with the money, and it shall remain with him until evidence is brought." Said Abayi to Rabha: "Did not R. Aqiba say that such a way would not keep him from transgression, but he must pay the sum robbed to each of them? Hence we see that on account of doubt money is to be collected, and not to leave the money with the possessor in accordance with the law of occupancy (and in Tract Baba Bassra, 155b, we heard him saying that the law of occupancy has the preference)? And he answered: There was an uncertainty of both the plaintiff and the defendant, and here it is only an uncertainty of the plaintiff, but the defendant is certain that he has robbed one of them. But is not the case in our Mishna also, an uncertainty of both the plaintiff and the defendant, as the latter says to each of them, "I do not know whether you were robbed"? It is already explained above that our Mishna treats of a case where he repents and would satisfy the heavenly will. Said Rabbina to R. Ashi: "How could Rabha say, if there were two bundles he ought to be particular to know to whom each bundle belongs. Did not Rabha or R. Papa say elsewhere: That all agree in case where two men have deposited with a shepherd, one two sheep, and one one sheep, in the presence of both, and thereafter each claims the two sheep are his, the shepherd must place three sheep before them and depart? And he answered, There the case was where they deposited in his flock in his absence."

The same is the case with two utensils, etc. Why the repetition? Is this case not the same as the previous? To teach us that even in the case of utensils, which may involve a loss by selling the better one, the rabbis are nevertheless of the same opinion.

MISHNA 4.: If one deposits fruit at his neighbour, he must not touch it, even when should they be lost (destroyed by mice or by decay). R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, however, maintains, that he must sell it by order of the court, as this is similar to returning a lost thing.

GEMARA: What is the reason of the first Tana of our Mishna? Said R. Kahana: "Usually one is pleased with his own goods, be it a ninth part, as with the goods of a stranger, be it multifold." R. Na'hman b. Itzhak, however, said: "Because it is to be feared, l perhaps the owner of it has separated it for heave-offering or tithe." Said Rabba b. b. Hana in the name of R. Johanan: "The Tanaim of the Mishna differ only when the fruit becomes diminished as usual (further on is explained the measure of usual loss of each kind of grain and fruit); but if the loss would be more than usual, all agree that he may sell it by order of the court." An objection was raised from the following: If one has deposited fruit at his neighbour's, and it decays; or wine, and it becomes sour; or oil, and it creates a stench; or honey, fermenting, one must not touch it; such is the decree of R. Meier. The sages, however, say: "He may try to prevent the loss and sell it by order of the court, provided he does not buy it for himself. Similarly, holders of charity funds, when there is no poor to whom to distribute, may change the money to any one, but not to themselves. Officers who are appointed to distribute food to the poor, if there is none, they may sell it, provided they do not buy it for themselves." Now the Boraitha states: "Fruit, and became rotten"; does it not mean even more rotten than usual? Nay, it means as usual. It states: "If wine becomes sour," etc., which certainly means that it is entirely spoiled for consumption? With beverages it is different, as there is no remedy (this would be correct with wine that becomes sour, and then has yet a value as vinegar, but oil and honey) when spoiled, what use can be had of them? Oil to smear the heels of footwear, and honey to use as salve for the camel wounds. The Boraitha states: "According to the sages he may try to prevent the loss." What should he do? Said R. Ashi: "He can save the pitchers which contained the spoiled articles; for if anything remains within, the pitchers may also become spoiled. What is the point of their difference? According to one, care should be taken only for a great loss, but not for a trivial loss; and according to the other, care must be taken even for a trivial loss.

"R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said," etc. It was taught, R. A'ba b. Jacob in the name of R. Johanan said: "The Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Simeon." And Rabha in the name of R. Na'haman said: "The Halakha prevails in accordance with the sages." But did not R. Johanan declare conclusively that when R. Simeon b. Gamaliel is mentioned in the Mishna the Halakha prevails in accordance with him--why then the repetition? There are Amoraim who differ concerning R. Johanan's decision; according to some of them the decision was conclusive, and according to others the decision was rendered not for all time (i.e., in some instance the Halakha does not prevail according to Raban Simeon).

It was taught: "If one becomes a prisoner, according to Rabh his property must not be transferred to the nearest relative; and according to Samuel, it may." If there was a rumour that the man was dead, all agree it may be done; but if there is no rumour about his death, Rabh maintains: "It may not, because the relative may spoil his property"; and Samuel maintains it may, because the master decided that when the owner of the. property returns, the man who kept his property for him may be rewarded, as usually gardeners take a share for tilling the ground (i.e., that from each property he receives his share), he would not spoil it. An objection was raised from the following Boraitha: R. Elazar said: "It is written [Ex. 22:23]: 'My wrath shall wax hot, and I will slay you with the sword,' etc. From this it is understood that their wives remained widows and their children orphans. For what purpose, then, does the verse add, 'and your wives shall be widows and your children fatherless'? To indicate that their wives would wish to remarry, but would not be allowed, and their children would beg that the property of their father should be transferred to them, and it will not be granted (i.e., they will be prisoners, hence the property of a prisoner is not to be transferred to his relatives)." Said Rabha: "It was taught that it may be transferred to them, but they may not sell it. Such a case happened in Nahardea, and R. Shesheth did not allow the transfer of the property to his relative to be made, basing his decision upon the just quoted Boraitha." Said R. Amram. to him: "Perhaps the Boraitha is taught as Rabha amended it." And he rejoined: "Are you not a Pumbadithan, who tries to pass an elephant through the eye of a needle? Does not the Boraitha make the wives equal to their children? As the wives are entirely forbidden to marry, so are the children entirely from their father's property."

Says the Gemara: However, in the case in question the Tanaim of the following Boraitha differ. If one took possession of the estate of a prisoner, he must not be compelled to give it up; furthermore, if he was informed that the prisoner was about to be liberated, and he hastened to use the products of the estate, he is considered diligent, and rewarded. And the following are considered property of prisoners. If his father, brother, or one of his grantors went to the sea-countries, and there was a rumour that they were dead, whoever takes possession of their abandoned property, he must be compelled to give it up. And the following is considered abandoned property. "If the owners went to the sea-country, and no rumour of their death was heard." [R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, however, said: "I have heard that the latter's property is equalled to the prisoner's.] The same is the case with him who takes possession of forsaken property. And what is called forsaken property? If its owners are somewhere in the neighbourhood, but cannot be found. Why, then, is the former called abandoned and the latter forsaken? Abandoned means, he was compelled to leave it; as it is written [Ex. 23:11]: "But the seventh year shalt thou let it rest and lie still," which is a decree of the Lord, and the latter means that he has forsaken it willingly, as it is written [Hosea, 10:14]: "The mother was dashed in pieces upon her children." The Boraitha adds, it was declared that all those who take possession of such land, their compensation must be appraised as if they were hired as gardeners.

Now let us see in which case this addition applies? It cannot be applicable to the case of prisoners, as it was stated above that he is considered diligent; and also not in the case of forsaken property, as it is stated that he must be compelled to give it up; consequently it applies only to the case of abandoned property. But according to whom? Shall we assume that it is in accordance with the rabbis? Did they not declare that also in such a case the possession must be given up;

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and if in accordance with R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, did he not declare that he heard that this case must be decided as the case of prisoners? Yea! As in the case of prisoners, but not in all respects. It is equal only in case the possessor need not give it up, but not in case that he should be considered diligent, as his compensation is to be appraised as that of a gardener.

But why is this case different from that in the Mishna (Kethuboth, Chap. 8., Mishna 3), which states that all he has done must be recognised? Nay! It is similar to the following case only, in which case it was said by R. Jacob in the name of R. Hisda, that if one incurred expense for the estate of his wife who is not yet of age, it is to be considered as if he incurred the expense for the estate of a stranger, which does not belong to him (i.e., for which he may never be reimbursed). Why so? The rabbis enacted in such a case a rule to prevent the possessor from spoiling the estate, and the same is made here in our case for the same purpose.

But did not the Boraitha state "all of them, their compensations must be appraised," etc.? What does the expression mean? "All of them"? To add to what R. Na'hman said in the name of Samuel, that if one became a prisoner, his estate may be transferred to his relatives, and if he left his estate willingly, this is not to be done. R. Na'hman, however, declares his own opinion to be that if he was compelled to run away, he should be considered as a prisoner. Because of what does he run away? If for the reason that he has not paid his duty, is it not the same as if he abandoned his estate willingly; therefore, it must be explained that R. Na'hman means that he ran away because of some crime. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: "A prisoner who left ripe stalks for cutting, or grapes, dates, or olives for pressing, the court should appoint a guardian who shall do all work necessary, and then transfer it to his relative. But why should the garden not remain until his return? For adults, full-grown men, no guardians are appointed."

R. Huna said The estate of a prisoner must not be transferred to a minor relative, and not the estate of a minor to any relative, and also not to a relative of his relative (e.g., a minor who has a brother of his father, and this brother has a brother of his mother, who is a perfect stranger to the minor). It must not be transferred to a minor relative, because he may damage the estate; and also not to a relative, and a relative of relatives, because in the course of time they may possess it without any protest; they would keep it for themselves permanently, basing their pos. session upon the law of Occupancy."

Said Rabha: "It is to be inferred from R. Huna's statement above, that possession is not taken of the estate of a minor, no matter whether he is an uncle on his father's or mother's side; no matter whether it was land or houses, and also no matter whether the division among the brothers took place or not."

There was an old woman who had three daughters. Together with one of them she was taken to prison, and of the remaining two, one died and left a child. Said Abayi: "What shall we do? Should we transfer the estate to the remaining living daughter, who is here, then perhaps the old woman will die, and the minor will become an heir; and there is a rule that the estate of a minor must not be transferred to a relative in trust. Should we transfer the estate to the child, then perhaps the old woman will not die; and there is a rule that no minor can be appointed as guardian to the estate of a prisoner. Therefore, the half of the estate should be given to the sister, who is here; and a guardian shall be appointed for the other half for the sake of the child." Said Rabha: "When there is no other way but the appointment of a guardian for the half, then he shall be appointed rather for the whole estate." Finally, it was heard that the old woman was dead. Said Abayi: "Now, one-third of the estate should be given to the sister, and one-third transferred to the child, and the remaining third should be divided one-half to the sister, for safekeeping, and for the other half a guardian shall be appointed for the sake of the child." (Rashi explains thus: One-third certainly belongs to her, as she is an heir; the same is the case with the other third of the minor; the remaining third, however, belongs to the sister who is a prisoner, whose existence is doubtful. Now, the half of her inheritance must surely be transferred in trust to her sister, as the law allows a relative to be a guardian; and, at any rate, her sister may take possession of it, if she is dead, as she is the heir; and if she is still alive, she is to be considered a guardian. The other half, however, if she is dead, the minor is an heir; but if she is alive, she cannot be a guardian, because of age; and, therefore, a guardian must be appointed.) Said Rabha: "If a guardian, then he must be appointed for the whole third."

A brother of Mari b. Isk, who was born in Hoozai, came to him and demanded a share of the inheritance of his father, and he said: I do not know you. The case came before R. Hisda, and he said: Mari is right: as it is written [Gen. xlii. 8]: "And Joseph recognised his brothers, but they recognised not him." And the reason was, because Joseph had departed when he was not yet bearded, and when they saw him he was; therefore it is for you to bring evidence that you are his brother. And he answered: I have witnesses, but they are afraid to testify, because Mari is a powerful man (and they are afraid of being injured by him). Said R. Hisda to Mari: "Then you must go and bring witnesses that he is not your brother." Rejoined Mari: "Is this the law? Is it not a rule that the plaintiff must bring evidence?" And R. Hisda answered: "So is my decision to you and to all powerful men like you." And he rejoined: "What is the use of my bringing wit. nesses, they will certainly testify for my sake, as they will be afraid to testify against me." Rejoined R. Hisda: "I do not suspect that the witnesses will do two wrong things for fear of you; what they may do is, not to appear before the court, but they are not suspected that they should come and testify falsely." Finally, witnesses appeared, and testified that he is his brother. And the brother claimed Mari should give him a share from the vineyards and gardens cultivated by Mari, and R. Hisda said that his claim was right, as there was a Mishna, Chap. ix., in the Third Gate, which stated so. Said Abayi to him: "What comparison is this? The Mishna there treats of a case where were brothers of age and minors, and those of age cultivated the estate; the Mishna states, therefore, the improvement must be divided (i.e., as they know of the existence of their minor brothers, they relinquish the forth. coming share of their labour for the sake of the minors). But here, did Mari know that a brother existed, that he should relinquish his labour for him?" The case was not decided in this court, and came before R. Ami, and he said: "Was it not decided in a case of greater importance, namely, of a relative who took possession of the estate of a prisoner, and improved it, his compensation must be appraised as a gardener; and in this case, as R. Hisda decided, he should take an equal share of the improvement made by Mari, without any compensation even as a gardener, and the case was returned to R. Hisda, and he said: How can it be compared? The case cited by R. Ami was, that the court appointed the relative to take care of the estate, and certainly a compensation must be given him; but here, did Mari do so with the permission of the court? and, moreover, the court could not appoint him as a guardian, because his brother was a minor then, and, as said above, no relative can be appointed guardian of the estate of a minor." The case was referred again to R. Ami, and he said: "I was not aware that his brother at that time was a minor."

MISHNA 5.: If one deposits fruit, the depository may account to him losses as follow: To wheat and rice, nine half cabs to one coor; to barley and millet, nine whole cabs; to spelt and flax, three saahs to one coor; however, all must be appraised according to the measures and circumstances of the time. Said R. Johanan b. Nuri: What do the mice care? they consume all the same, whether more or less; therefore he must account the loss to him for one coor only. R. Jehudah, however, says: If there was a large quantity, he may account for no loss at all, because it increases.

GEMARA: Is it not a fact that with rice there is more loss? Said R. bar bar Hana in the name of R. Johanan: "The Mishna treats of shelled rice."

To spelt and flax, etc. Said R. Johanan in the name of R. Hyya: "The Mishna treats of flax which is yet in the stalk, and so we have also learned in the following Boraitha: To spelt and to flax in the stalk, and to rice not shelled, three saahs to one coor."

All must be appraised, etc. In a Boraitha it was taught so accordingly to each coor and circumstance of the season.

R. Johanan, etc. There is a Boraitha which adds as follows: It was said to R. Johanan, Is it not a fact that much of it undergoes a loss, and much of it is scattered?"

Another Boraitha, concerning our Mishna, states: All this is said in case he has mixed it with his own, but if he has assigned a corner, for him to put his grain, then he may say: "Yours is before you, take it as it is."

But why should it not be the same, even if he has mixed it with his own? He may take his own, and for the remainder he shall say: Yours is before you? The case was, when he used this grain. But even then let him take the remainder of his own? The case was when he did not know how much he had used of it.

R. Jehudah said, etc. What is to be considered a large quantity? Said Rabba bar bar Hana in the name of R. Johanan: Ten coors; and so we also learned in a Boraitha.

A disciple taught before R. Na'hman that all this was said in case the depositor measured the grain of his barn, and the depository returned the grain also from his barn; but if he returned the grain from his house he needs not to account to him any loss at all, because it usually increases. Said R. Na'hman to him: "Does the Mishna treat of fools who give a large measure and take in return a small one? Perhaps your Boraitha teaches as follows: All this is said when the depositor has given it to him at harvest time, and it was returned to him at the same season; but if he deposited it in the harvest, and it was returned to him in the rain season, he needs not to account any loss, as it increases." Said R. Papa to Abayi: "If it is so, why should not the pitcher full of grain crack in the rain season? It happened that such a pitcher cracked. According to others, the grain which was in a closed pitcher does not increase, for lack of space."

MISHNA 6.: The loss of wine counts one-sixth--R. Jehudah, however, says one-fifth--of oil, three lugs of each hundred, namely, one and a half for yeast, and one and a half for the absorption of the vessel. 1 If, however, the oil was already purified, there is no loss for yeast, and if the vessels were old ones, then nothing is to be accounted for the vessels. R. Jehudah, however, says that even if one sells purified oil the buyer bears the loss of one and a half to each hundred lugs, for waste 2 yearly.

GEMARA: And they do not differ. The one of them treats of waxed barrels, as the custom was in his place, which do not absorb much; and the other treats when they were smeared with pitch, as the custom was in his place, and absorbed more. Some say that in some places barrels were made of such kind of clay that did not -absorb much. In the place where R. Jehudah used to live, there was usually put forty-eight pitchers into one barrel, and they were sold for six zuz. R. Jehudah, however, when he became a storekeeper, sold every six pitchers for one zuz, so that for thirty-six pitchers he obtained six zuz, and twelve remained for him; counting the loss of eight pitchers for absorption by the vessels, he nevertheless had for his profit four pitchers. But did not Samuel say that one must manage that his profit should not exceed a sixth of the amount? Hence a sixth is allowed? Why, then, did not R. Jehudah manage to have a sixth profit? Because of the barrels and the yeast, which, aside from the four lugs, remained for him. If so, then R. Jehudah profited by more than a sixth? He took this for his trouble, and for the commission which he had to give to the barrel sellers.

"If it was purified oil," etc. But even if there were old ones, it is impossible that they should not absorb some? Said R. Na'hman: The case was when they were waxed. Abayi, however, says, even when they were not waxed, if they were old ones they had already absorbed all they could, and nothing more from the new stuff.

R. Jehudah says, etc. Said Abayi: "In accordance with R. Jehudah's theory, one may mix yeast with the oil he is selling; and that is the reason that the buyer must accept a lug and a half for yeast, as the seller may say, If I would like to mix yeast with it you would have to accept; do the same even when I give it to you pure. But why should not the buyer say, If you would put yeast in it, I would sell it with the oil; but now, even if you would furnish me with the yeast separately, what should I do with it, as I cannot sell it separately? The Mishna treats of a private person who prefers clear oil.

And, according to the theory of the rabbis, one must not mix yeast with oil, and therefore one may not accept any loss for yeast, as the buyer may say, As it is not allowable for you to mix the yeast with the oil, I need not accept any loss for yeast. Said R. Papa to Abayi: It seems to be the contrary. According to the sages, he is allowed to mix yeast, and therefore the buyer need not accept any loss for it, as he may say, Because you have not mixed it, you have relinquished it for my sake. And, in accordance to R. Jehudah's theory, the mixing is not allowed, and therefore he must accept the loss of a lug and a half, and the seller may say, To mix any yeast with the oil by one is not permitted, and if you were not to accept any loss, where is my profit? Shall I be a business man for buying and selling without deriving any profit from it? There is a Boraitha which states that a buyer or a depository, concerning the offscouring, is equal in law. How is this to be understood? Shall we assume as the buyer does not accept the offscouring, the same is the case with the depositor? Why? The depository may say: What have I to do with your offscourings? Therefore it must be explained in the reverse. As the depositor must accept the offscouring, the same is the case with the buyer. Is that so? Have we not learned in a Boraitha, R. Johanan said that the loss of unpurified oil is to be accounted to the seller only, but not to the buyer, because he accepts a lug and a half for yeast, without offscouring? This presents no difficulty. It treats of a case when the money for the oil was paid in Tishri, and he delivered it in Nissan, with the same measure as at the time it was bought (then the buyer must accept the loss, as the oil in Nissan is usually already purified), and R. Johanan speaks of a case when it was paid and delivered in Nissan with the usual measure of the season.

MISHNA 7.: If a barrel is deposited for safe-keeping with some one without the owner assigning a separate place for it, if the depository has handled it and it broke while yet under his hand, if his act was for his own advantage he is responsible. If for the sake of the article, he is not. If, however, it broke after it was replaced, there is no responsibility at any rate. If a separate place was assigned by the owner, and the depository handled it and it broke, he is responsible for it at any rate, provided he has replaced it for the sake of the article.

GEMARA: This Mishna, which states that there is no responsibility if it broke after he replaced it, even if it was for his own advantage, is in accordance with R. Ismael, who said elsewhere that no knowledge of the owner is necessary for the return of a lost article; but if so, why then only when a separate place was not assigned to it? The same should be the case even when it was assigned? Yea! but it is to be explained thus: Not only when a place was assigned by the depositor, and the depository put it into the same, he is free;. but even if no place was assigned, if only the depository returned it to the place where it was before, he is also free; but if so, how is to be understood the latter part of our Mishna in case a place was

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assigned by the depositor? This is in accordance with R. Aqiba, who said that the knowledge of the owner is needed. And the same interpretation of the first part is to be used here also; that is, not only if a place was not assigned, but even if it were assigned, he is nevertheless responsible. But is it right that the first part should be in accordance with R. Ismael and the latter part with R. Aqiba? Yea! as R. Johanan said: "He who will interpret to me our Mishna in accordance with one of the two above Tanaim, I will carry his clothes for him to the bath-house." R. Jacob b. Abba, however, explained it before Rabh that he took the same with the intention of robbery, and R. Nathan b. Abba, before the same, that he took it with the intention of using a part of it, (and although he has not used it as yet) it is nevertheless considered already his property and he is responsible for it. 1 In which point do Jacob and Nathan differ? In the law of "stretching his hand" (Ex. xxii. 10): If using a part of it is needed, or the intention alone makes him liable, although he has not touched it as yet. According to Jacob he is not liable unless he has used some, and according to Nathan the intention only suffices. R. Shesheth opposed (both statements). "Does then the Mishna state he took it? It states he handled it only." Therefore he explained it that the handling was for the purpose of reaching pigeons, which were on a higher place, by standing upon the barrel, and he holds that borrowing an article without permission of the owner is considered robbery; hence he acquired title to it. And by such an interpretation the whole Mishna can be explained in accordance with R. Ismael, and the latter part, in case the place was assigned by the depositor, treats when the depository has replaced it not in its assigned place. R. Johanan, however, maintains that, from the expression of the Mishna, replaced is to be understood that he put it at the very same place (and therefore his above statement). It was taught: "Rabh and Levi, one of them holds that stretching his hands means that he used a part of it already, and the other one holds that the intention only suffices, and from the explanation of Rabh in a Boraitha, further on, it may be understood that Rabh is the one who holds that the intention only suffices. The Boraitha states as follows: "A shepherd, who left his flock, and in the meantime a wolf or a lion damaged it, he is free (provided it was not a neglect of duty). If, however, he placed his cane or his bag upon the animal, which was damaged by the above wild beast he is responsible; and in the discussion, why such a law? It was explained in the name of Rabh that he struck it with his cane and it ran away." Now, did he take anything away from the animal? Hence it is to be inferred that he holds that the liability of stretching his hands needs not any using or diminution of the article. But perhaps Rabh means that he struck it so hard with his cane that it becomes lean (hence it is considered a diminution), and it seems so from the expression, he struck it with his cane; hence Rabh holds that to the above liability using is needed, and Levi is the one who holds it needs not. Said R. Johanan in the name of R. Jose b. Nehoraï: Peculiar is the stretching of hands, which reads in regard to a bailee for hire in connection from the same expression, which reads in regard to a gratuitous bailee. But I say that it is not peculiar. (Says the Gamara:) According to R. Jose, What is the peculiarity? He maintains this expression should not be written in the case of a bailee for hire, and it should be deduced from the case of a gratuitous bailee thus: A gratuitous bailee, who is not responsible for theft and loss, is responsible for stretching of hands. A bailee for hire who is responsible for the former also, so much the more should he be responsible for the latter act. Why then is it written separately? The peculiarity is that he is responsible, even for the intention. And R. Johanan, who said: I say it is not peculiar, bases his theory on the ground that the above a fortiori conclusion is to be controverted thus: A gratuitous bailee is in some respects more rigorously held in a case where he claims stolen, and must pay the double amount if thereafter it was found that it was not so, which is not the case with the bailee for hire. He, however, who does not use the objection, maintains that the principal amount without an oath (which the law prescribes to a bailee for hire) is more rigorously held than the double amount with an oath.

Rabha says: "If the expression of stretching hands would not be written in the both above-mentioned cases, it could be deduced from the case of a borrower. A borrower who has stretched his hands on the article with the permission of its owner is, nevertheless, responsible, even for an accident; both the above-mentioned cases, which treat of those who have stretched their hands without the permission of the owner, so much the more should they be responsible. Why, then, is it written, one of them, to teach that the intention of stretching hands without using suffices; and the other one, that one shall not say that the rule: it is sufficient for a deduction, to apply the law of the case from which it is deduced, in the very same manner, but not more rigorously? And as a borrower is not responsible when it happened in the presence of the owner, so also should be with both mentioned bailees, that if they have done so in the presence of the owner, they should be free (therefore the repetition, to teach that in this case it is not so).

MISHNA 8.: If one has deposited money for safe-keeping, and the depository tied it and carried it on his shoulder, or he gave it to his son or daughter, who were not as yet of age, or he did not lock it safely, he is responsible for carelessness. If, however, he was careful with it, as it is required of a bailee (and nevertheless an accident happened), he is free.

GEMARA: It is correct in all cases mentioned in the Mishna, that he is responsible for carelessness, but in the case that he tied it and carried it on his shoulder, why is this considered careless? What better could he do? Said Rabha in the name of R. Itshak: It is written [Deut. 14:25], "and bind up the money in thy hand," which means, although it is "bound up," it shall nevertheless be in his hands. R. Itshak said again: That the above cited verse intimates that one shall manage so that his money shall always be in his hands. And he said again: It is advisable for one that he shall divide his money in three parts, one of which he shall invest in real estate, one of which in business, and the third part to remain always in his hands (as it may happen that he will need cash for a profitable transaction). The same said again: Usually blessing does not occur but in things which are not before the eyes, as it is written [Deut. xxviii. 8]: "The Lord will command upon thee the blessing in thy storehouses" (which are not continually before the eye). Similar to this, it was taught by the disciples of R. Ismael. The rabbis taught: "He who is going to measure the grain in his barn, he may say, It shall be thy will, O Lord our God, Thou shalt send blessing to the labour of our hands. When he begins to measure, he may say: Blessed may be He Who sendeth blessings upon this heap. If, however, he prayed after measuring, his praying was in vain, because blessing does not occur on things which are weighed, measured, or counted, but on things which are not before the eyes, as it is written (as the above cited verse)."

Samuel said: "Nothing is considered safety with money, unless it is hidden in the ground." Said Rabha: "Samuel admits that if it was in the twilight of the eve of Sabbath, that the rabbis would not trouble him to do so. If, however, after the Sabbath departed, and he had time to hide it, and he did not do so (and in the meantime something occurred), he is responsible, unless he was a young scholar who thought, probably, I will need money for the benediction of the Habhdala. It happened that one deposited money with his neighbour, who hid it in a hut made of branches, and it was stolen. When the case came before R. Joseph, he said: "Although concerning fire, it is a wilful carelessness; concerning thieves, it is considered safe; and there is a rule that if, finally, it was an accident, although it was started in neglect, there is no responsibility. The Halakha, however, prevails, that in such a case there is responsibility."

It happened that one deposited money with his neighbour, and when he demanded the money, the depository said: I do not know where I put it; and Rabha made him pay, declaring that such an answer is considered wilfulness. It happened also that one deposited money with his neighbour, and he gave it to his mother for safe-keeping. She put it in a χαρταλος; (a kind of box), and it was stolen. When the case came before Rabha, he was considering how to decide: Should we make him pay, he may say, he who gives an article for safe-keeping does so with the condition that the depository may save it by means of his family. Shall we make his mother pay, she may say, my son did not inform me that the money was not his. If I were aware of it, I would have buried it; and shall we make him pay because he did not tell his mother? He may say, on the contrary, I have done so, because I thought if she would think it is my money, she would take more care of it; therefore, he decided that he shall swear that he gave it to his mother; and she shall swear that she put it in the above-named box, and it was stolen, and then both shall be free. There was a guardian of orphans, who bought an ox for the orphans and transferred it to the shepherd. The ox had no teeth and could not eat, and finally it died. And Rami b. Hama considered how to decide: Shall we make the guardian pay, he may say, I transferred it to the shepherd, what could I do more? And shall we say the shepherd shall pay, he may say, I did my duty. I have put it between the oxen, and food was given to it; how could I know that it could not eat? [Let us see: the shepherd is considered a bailee for hire of the orphans, was it not his duty to investigate? If there would be a damage to the orphans, it would indeed be decided so; but the case was, that the orphans did not suffer any damage, as they found the owner of the ox and collected the money which was paid to him for it. Who, then, is now the plaintiff? The owner of the ox, who claims that he was not informed of the case. Of what should he be informed (did he not know that his ox had no teeth and the act of selling was a fraud)? It speaks of a speculator whose business is to buy and sell oxen.] The decision of Rami b. Hama was, that the speculator should swear that he was not aware of it, and then the shepherd must pay the value of cheap meat.

It happened one deposited a bundle of hops with his neighbour, who owned a similar bundle of the same, and told his employee to put the hops in the beer, from his own bundle, but the employee took them from the other one. When the case came before R. Amram, he was considering how to decide this case. Shall the depository be made to pay? He may claim, I told my employee to take from my own. Then should the employee be made to pay? He may claim, my employer did not tell me not to touch the other bundle, and I thought that he only showed me that he owned hops, and it was no difference from which bundle I would take. [But what damage did the depository sustain? Even if he paid for the hops used, he has in exchange his own. Said R. Sama b. Rabha: "The case was, that the beer was spoiled by the bad hops." And R. Ashi said: "The hops were good, but mixed with thorns, and the beer was not improved as it should be." And the employer claimed the damage was caused by the bad quality of the hops, and wanted the difference of the value for not improving, and it was decided he should get it.]

MISHNA 9.: Money deposited for safe-keeping with a money-changer, if it was tied up, he must not use it, and therefore, if lost, he is not responsible. If open, he may use it, and is responsible if lost. With a private person, however, he may not use it under any circumstances, and is therefore not responsible for loss. A storekeeper is considered in this respect a private person, according to R. Meier. According to R. Jehudh, however, he is considered a money-changer.

GEMARA: If the depositor names the sum contained in each bundle, why then shall the money-changer not use it? (Every one knows that a money-changer needs always money for his business, and one who deposits money with him does so usually with the intention that it shall be used.) Said R. Assi in the name of R. Jehudh: "Read in the Mishna that it was both tied up and scaled." R. Mari questioned: "How is the law, when it was tied up with an unusual knot? (Should it be considered as a seal or not?)" This question remains undecided.

"If open, he may use it," etc. Said R. Huna: "Even if it was robbed." [But did not the Mishna state for loss? as Rabha explained that loss means such an accident as, e.g., his ship was lost at sea.] R. Na'hman, however, maintains that in such case he is not responsible. Said Rabha to him: "According to your theory we see that the money-changer is not considered a borrower (who is responsible even for an accident); then must he not be considered also as a bailee for hire (hence he should not be responsible for theft) And he answered: "I agree with you, that because he has a right to use the money for business, to derive benefit from it, this makes him a bailee for hire." R. Na'hman objected to R. Huna's statement from the following Tosephta: "'Money deposited with a money-changer, if tied up, must not be used, and in case the money was from the sanctuary and the money-changer used it, the transgression is not imputed to the treasurer of the sanctuary. If, however, open, it maybe used, and if the money-changer used it, the transgression falls upon the above-named treasurer.' Now, according to your theory that the money-changer is responsible, even if it was robbed by force (consequently, with the act of depositing, it goes from under the control of the treasurer, and is from now on under the control of the money-changer, hence the transgression was already done by depositing). Why then does the Tosephta state that only when the money-changer used it, the transgression falls upon the treasurer?" And R. Huna answered: "Indeed, the same is the case even when the money-changer has not used it, and the expression used in the latter part is not to be taken in particularity, but it is mentioned because of the same expression in the first part?"

MISHNA 10.: A depository who stretches his hand for the bailment, the school of Shamai makes him liable from the time he touched it for increase and decrease, so that if, thereafter, it becomes lower in price the depository must suffer; and the same if it increases, he must transfer the increase to the owner. The school of Hillel makes him liable from the time he used it. R. Aqiba, however, maintains that he must pay the value at the time he is summoned.

GEMARA: Rabba said: "If one robbed a barrel of wine, the value of which was one zuz at that time, and thereafter it increases to four zuz; if he breaks it or drank its contents, he must pay four zuz. If, however, it breaks accidentally, he must pay one zuz only. Why so? Because, if it would still be in existence, he would be obliged to return it; consequently, the guilt came with the drinking or breaking, when the value was already increased; and there is a Mishna that all robberies must be counted from the time they were perpetrated; but if it was broken without his fault, so that after its increase he had done nothing, he pays one zuz only, as his liability begins from the time he took it, and then it was worth only one zuz. An objection was raised from our Mishna: The school of Hillel makes him liable, etc. What is meant by the expression, from the time he used it? Shall we assume that by the word used is meant that he had given it away, and at that time the value of it was decreased? Is there one Tana in the whole college that holds so? Is it not stated in the Mishna that all robberies must be paid at the time they were perpetrated, and if increased at the time, then Beth Hillel's decision would be the same as Beth Shamai? Hence the expression, "at the time it was used," means when it was taken from the owner. And the above schools differ in case of an increase. According to Beth Shamai, if it increased at the time he had given it away, he must pay the increase also; and according to Beth Hillel, it must be

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appraised only at the time it was robbed; and if so, then Rabba's decision is in accordance with that of Beth Shamai? Rabba may say that the schools do not differ with an increase, but with decrease. And the point of difference is this: The Beth Shamai holds that the liability comes with the stretching out of his hands, although he has not used it as yet; consequently, the decrease occurs while under his control. And the Beth Hillel holds that using is necessary; consequently, it is considered under the control of the owner until the depository makes use of it, and if a decrease occurs while it was not as yet used by him, it is counted under the control of the owner.

Then Rabha's decision above, that stretching out the hands needs not the using, would be in accordance with the Beth Shamai; therefore this point of their difference must be explained thus: The Beth Shamai holds that the increase of a robbed article belongs to the owner, and according to Beth Hillel, it belongs to the robber. (And the Mishna treats of a case, e.g., a gravid cow or a sheep unshorn, according to Beth Shamai, it belongs to the owner; and according to Beth Hillel, it belongs to the depository.) R. Meier and R. Jehudah differ in the same case (Baba Kama,), and it seems to be so, as the Mishna states that the school of Shamai holds that he must suffer increase and decrease; and the school of Hillel, at the time it was used. (From the expression increase and decrease, and not dearer and cheaper, it is to be inferred that it treats of a case similar to the above-mentioned explanation--Rashi.) Infer from this that so it is.

R. Aqiba, however, maintains, etc. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: The Halakha prevails according to R. Aqiba. He, however, agrees that in case there were witnesses at the time of robbery it must be paid. Why so? Because it is written [Lev. 5:24]: "To whom it appertaineth shall he give it, on the day when he confesseth his trespass." And as there were witnesses, the trespass is counted from the time it was done. Said R. Oshia to R. Jehudah: "Rabbi, thou sayest so! So said R. Assi in the name of R. Johanan: R. Aqiba insists in his decree even if there are witnesses, and his reason is taken from the same verse cited, as only the court made him know of his trespass." Said R. Zeira to R. Abba b. Papa: "When you will ascend to Palestine, make thy way around the steps of Zur and visit R. Jacob b. I'di and question him whether he heard from R. Johanan about R. Aqiba's decision above, and if so, the Halakha prevails." (He did so) and the answer was: "So said R. Johanan, the Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Aqiba always."

What is meant always? Said R. Ashi: "It means even when there were witnesses. It can also be said that it means the Halakha prevails in accordance with him, even when the depository returned it to its former place and then it broke: against R. Ismael's theory that the knowledge of the owner is not necessary (i.e., that R. Aqiba makes him responsible if it breaks, while the owner was not as yet aware that the article was returned), and so the Halakha prevails. Rabha, however, said: "The Halakha prevails in accordance with Beth Hillel."

MISHNA 11.: If one intends to use a bailment deposited in his control and said so in presence of witnesses, the liability follows immediately; so according to Beth Shamai. Beth Hillel, however, maintains he is not liable unless he has acted so, as it is written [Ex. xxii. 10]: "That he has not stretched out his hands against his neighbour's goods." If he has bent the (deposited) barrel, and took of it a quarter of a lug, and in the meantime it broke by accident, he must pay only for the quarter of a lug. If, however, he picked up the barrel and took the above-mentioned measure, and in the meantime it broke, he must pay for the whole barrel.

GEMARA: Whence is all this deduced? From the following, as the rabbis taught: "It is written [ibid., ibid. 8]: 'For all manner of trespass.'" From this the Beth Shamai deduces that he is liable for the intent as well as for the act itself. The Beth Hillel, however, maintains that there is no liability unless he stretches out his hands, as the above-cited verse (10) reads. Said the Beth Shamai to the Beth Hillel: Is it not written, "for all trespasses"? And they answered: But is it not written, "if he had not stretched out his hands"? The verse, however, cited by you is to be explained thus: Let one say that he is liable only when he himself committed this act, but not if he did so through his slave or messenger; therefore it is written, of all trespasses.

If one bent the barrel, etc. Said Rabha: "It is so in case it breaks. If, however, the wine became sour, he must pay for the whole. Why so? Because his act causes the damage (for if it were full, no air could enter to spoil it)."

If, however, he picks it up, etc. Said Samuel: "The expression, and he took of it, is not to be taken literally, for it means with the intention of taking out, and he is liable even if it broke before he did take." Shall we assume that Samuel holds that "using" is not needed for the liability of stretching hands? It may be said this case is different, as one-quarter of a lug may cause the spoiling of the whole wine, as explained above.

R. Ashi questioned: "If one picked up a deposited packet with the intention of taking out of it one dinar, what is the law? Shall we assume that wine only is saved when it is full, but money can be saved at any rate, or a full packet of money is safer than one which is not filled up (as from a packet full of money a coin cannot easily drop)? This question remains unsettled.

CHAPTER 4.

LAWS RELATING TO TITLE, REAL AND PERSONAL; FRAUD, WHAT CONSTITUTES FRAUD AND THE CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDING FRAUDULENT TRANSACTIONS, ETC.

MISHNA 1.: If one bought gold and silver coins together and made a drawing on the gold ones, title is also given to the silver ones, but not vice versa. The same is the case with copper and silver coins: the drawing on copper ones gives title to the silver, but not vice versa. If one has drawn coins which are out of circulation, having bought them together with good money, the sale is valid for both; if, however, he took possession of the good money, which was bought together with those out of circulation, the latter are not considered his unless he takes possession of them also. The same is the case if one buy uncoined with coined money, to acquire title to both he must take possession of the uncoined. If, however, he did so with the coined money, the uncoined is not considered bought. Movable articles give title by drawing them, also for the coins bought with them, which is not the case with drawing the coins only. All movable articles give title by drawing one of them. How so? If one made a legal drawing of the article, although he has not Paid the money as yet, he cannot rescind. If, however, he paid the money, and did not make a drawing of the article, he may rescind. But it was said that He who has punished the generation of the flood and the generation of the scattered, whose tongues were confused (Gen. xi. 7), He will punish him who does not keep his promise. R. Simeon, however, maintains that he who has the money in his hand has the preference (even in the former case).

GEMARA: Rabbi taught his son R. Simeon: "Gold coins give title to the silver." And the son rejoined: "Rabbi, in your youth you taught us that the silver ones give title to the gold ones, and now in your old age you teach that only the gold ones give title, but not the silver ones." [The Gemara questioned what was the reason then? In his youth he taught that because gold is more valued it is considered a circulating coin, and silver, which is not so valued, is considered an article of trade, and, therefore, if he took possession of the article, title to the gold one is acquired; and in his old age he came to the conclusion that because silver is a circulating coin used all over the world, it is considered a coin, and gold, which is not so much in circulation, is considered an article of trade: so that by drawing it the silver coins are bought.]

Said R. Ashi: "It seems to me that his opinion while in his youth is more correct, as our Mishna states that copper gives title to silver; now if you are of the opinion that silver in comparison with gold is considered an article of trade, it is correct when it states that copper gives title to the silver, as it is considered an article of trade only in comparison with gold, but in comparison with copper it is considered a circulating coin. But if you say that silver is considered a circulating coin, even in comparison with gold, is it then necessary to teach that it be considered so in comparison with copper? Is this not self-evident? (Hence his opinion while in his youth is more correct.)" The Gemara, however, maintains that this statement cannot be considered an evidence, as the teaching that copper gives title to silver was needed in case where silver is considered a circulating coin, even in comparison with gold, because it may be said that in the places where copper coins are used they are more in circulation than silver; hence they cannot be considered articles of trade in comparison with silver; therefore he comes to teach us that although in some places it is as stated above, in the majority, however, silver is more in circulation than copper, and is considered a circulating coin everywhere. And R. Hyya is also of the opinion that silver is always considered a circulating coin, and this is to be understood from the following: "It happened that Rabh borrowed dinars from the daughter of R. Hyya; thereafter the dinars increased in value, and when Rabh came to question R. Hyya, he was told to pay with the best dinars, and this decision shows that he held that silver is the right circulating coin; for if it would be considered an article of trade in comparison with gold, it should be considered as if one had borrowed a saah of fruit when it was cheap, and returned the same measure when it was dearer, which is not allowed because it appears usurious." (Says the Gemara:) This also cannot be considered as a real support for the above statement, as Rabh at the time he borrowed the dinars from R. Hyya's daughter possessed his own dinars, and in such a case it is analogous to the case stated in a Boraitha: "If one says, Lend me a saah of grain, I shall return it to you when my son will arrive home, as he has the key to my granary, he may return to the lender the same measure, even if it became dearer, because the lender acquired title to it at the same time that he delivered to him the required articles."

Rabha said: "The Tana of the following Mishna holds that gold is considered the right circulating coin. The coin parutha mentioned in the Talmud is one-eighth of an Italian Issar. [To what purpose is it stated? Concerning the law of marriage, that less than a parutha is not considered.] An Issar is one twenty-fourth of a silver dinar. [To what purpose is this? Concerning general transactions, that a silver dinar must be of this value, as it is stated further on. And a silver dinar is one-twenty-fifth of a gold one. This is taught concerning the law of redeeming the first-born son [Ex. 13:13].]"

Now, if the gold dinar is considered a coin which is always of the same value, it is correct to say that the Tana named this coin for the purpose of redeeming, but if it would be considered an article of trade which increased and decreased in price, would the Tana then name it for this purpose? Is it not a fact that at the time of increasing the priest would give him change of it, and at the time of decreasing the father would have to add the difference? Hence it is inferred from this that it is considered a standard coin.

It was taught: Rabh and Levi: One holds that the law of exchange applies to a coin also, and the other holds that it does not (i.e., although it is said above by drawing the coin, the article is not considered sold unless by drawing the article itself, this is only when it was done in the way of buying and selling, but if it was done in the way of exchange, e.g., if one says: I have an article of so and so, and would like to exchange it for this coin, as soon as he takes possession of the coin, title is acquired to the article by the other party). Said R. Papa: "The reason given by him who holds that a coin cannot be exchanged is that the face of the coin is changeable by the government, and to acquire title by Sudarium, a standard coin is needed. An objection was raised from our Mishna, gold coins give title to the silver one. Is it not to be assumed that it means in exchange? Hence we see that the law of exchange applies to a coin also. Nay, it means in the way of buying and selling for money. If so, it should be stated that one who has drawn the gold one is liable for the silver one? Why the expression, gives title? Read, then, he is liable, etc. And it seems that so is the correct explanation from the latter part, which states that silver coins do not give title to the gold ones; and this is correct only when it treats of selling for money, as it was said that gold is considered an article of trade, and silver a circulating coin, and the drawing of a coin does not give title to the article; but if you will say that it treats of exchange, then both articles should give title, each to the other. And also from the following Boraitha: "Silver does not give title to gold; also, if one sold twenty-five silver dinars for one gold dinar, although he made a drawing on the silver, the gold is not considered his, unless he draws the gold." And this also is correct only by selling; but if an exchange, title ought to be given. But if it treats for money, how is to be understood the first part of this Boraitha? Gold gives title to silver; also, if one has sold a golden dinar for twenty-five silver ones, the silver belongs to the seller anywhere it may be found, provided the buyer made a drawing of the gold. This would be correct if it treated of exchange, but when it speaks of an ordinary sale, it should state that the buyer is liable for it instead of "the silver belongs, etc." Said R. Ashi: "It treats of a sale for money, and the expression, wherever it is to be found, means the place where the coin was made; e.g., if he promised to furnish new coins, he cannot finish the old ones, although they are more valuable, because the buyer may say, I need them for safe-keeping, and new ones will preserve their surface better than old ones." R. Papa said again: "Even according to him who holds that the law of exchange does not apply to a coin, means that with the coin itself exchange cannot be made, but nevertheless title can be acquired to it by drawing the exchanging article, similar to articles of fruit, in accordance with R. Na'hman's theory, which is, that although exchange cannot be done with themselves, title, nevertheless, can be acquired to it by drawing the exchanging article, and the same is the case with a coin also. This statement was objected to from a Mishna (Maassar Sheni, IV., 5), and the conclusion was that the law of exchange does not apply to a coin under any circumstance; and R. Papa himself retracted from his statement (cf. Baba Kama, p. 236). And so also said Ula, R. Assi, and Rabba b. b. Hana in the name of R. Johanan, that the law of exchange does not apply to a coin. R. Abba objected to Ula's statement from the following: "He whose drivers and employees were summoning him for their wages, and he said to a money-changer, Give me change for a dinar, and I will give you from the money I have at home a good dinar and a tressith; if he really possesses money at home, this maybe done, but if he has not, it is prohibited, as it appears usurious. Now, if it is borne in mind that there is an exchange with a coin, then this act is a loan only, and should be prohibited?" Ula was silent. Said R. Abba to him: "Perhaps the money of which the Boraitha speaks was uncoined, so that they are considered articles of trade, which may be acquired by exchange." Said Ula to him: "You are right, and this is to be inferred from the expression, a good dinar, and not a dinar and a tressith, which means, from uncoined money I have at home I will give you the value of a dinar and a tressith." R. Ashi, however, said: The Boraitha treats of coined money, and, nevertheless, it does not contradict the above statement, for as soon as he has the money home, it is to be like the case where

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one said, Lend me until my son will come with the keys, stated above.

"All movable articles," etc. Said Resh Lakish: "Even a purse filled with money may be acquired with another one equal to it." And R. Ah'ha explained his statement, that he speaks of dinars in one purse which were abolished by the ruler. and in the other purse, which were by the country; and both cases are needed, for if he would speak of those which were abolished by the ruler, one might say, because they are useless anywhere, they may be exchanged; but that of the country, which can be used in another country, they are still considered coins in circulation, and the law of exchange does not apply. And if he would speak of the latter, one might say, because they are useless at any rate in this country, they are not considered any more as circulating coins; but if prohibited by the ruler, but privately still circulated, they are yet considered coins; therefore both statements.

Rabba in the name of R. Huna said: "If one were holding some coins in his hand and said: Sell me your articles for the money I have in my hand, and the other agrees, and accepts the money, without asking the amount of it, the buyer acquires title to the article; and if, however, the article was in value a sixth less than the amount, the sale is null and void, because it is fraudulent. The title is acquired to the article because the seller was not particular as to the money; it is considered as an exchange, and the law of fraud applies here, because of the expression, 'sell me,' which means it shall be the value of the amount I hold in my hand." R. Abba in the name of the same authority, however, said: "If one said, Sell to me for the money I have in my hand, no cheating can be claimed."

It is certain that when the seller is not particular as to the amount, the buyer acquires title to the article, even before he drew it, as it is considered an exchange, in which the drawing of one article suffices for the others also. But what is the law if it is an exchange, and they are particular as to the values--is the drawing needed in both articles or does one of them suffice? Said R. Ada b. Ah'ba: Come and hear: If one was holding his cow in the market, and his neighbour questioned him, Why are you holding the cow here? He answered, I need an ass. Replied the other, I have an ass, and can furnish you with it, but would like to know the price of your cow. The price is so-and-so. And what is the price of your ass? So-and-so; and they agree. Then the owner of the ass made a legal drawing of the cow, but the ass died before the owner of the cow made the drawing; the title to the cow is not acquired by the owner of the ass; hence we see that, although in a case of exchange, as soon they are particular as to the value, title is not acquired unless the drawing of both articles occurs. Said Rabha: "Does then the law of barter apply to fools who are not particular as to the value? All exchanges are very particular, and nevertheless title is acquired by drawing of one of the exchanged articles, and the above Boraitha treats of a case where the exchange was made of an ass for a cow and a sheep, and the owner of the ass made a drawing on the cow only, but not of the sheep, which cannot be considered a legal drawing."

The Master said: "If one said: Sell me for this amount, title is acquired, and nevertheless the law of fraud applies. Shall we assume that R. Huna holds that coins maybe exchanged? Nay! R. Huna holds with R. Johanan, who says that, biblically, money gives title, but for what purpose was it so stated that drawing gives title? This was enacted for the purpose that one might say, Your property was destroyed by fire in my attic." (I.e., that R. Huna holds that there can be no exchange with coins, and his above statement is made on the basis that with the money he acquired title, by using the word "sell me," and there is not any need of drawing, because the drawing was enacted by the sages to prevent damage to buyers, who pay the money without taking possession of the article; and if a fire may happen while it is yet in the house of the seller, he will not care to save it, as it does not belong to him any more, therefore the sages enacted that the seller is responsible for the property unless the buyer has made a drawing of it.) And the enactment was made only for a usual selling and buying, but for such a sale as R. Huna stated, which is unusual, this enactment does not apply. Said Mar Huna, the son of R. Na'hman, to R. Ashi: "You taught so; we, however, have taught plainly, and so said R. Huna, that no exchange is to be made with a coin. How should an exchange of coins be confirmed? Rabh says, with the property belonging to the buyer, 1 because it is more pleasing to the buyer that the seller shall receive a present from him 2 for the purpose that he shall decide to transfer the property to him with a good will; and Levi said, with the garment of the seller, as will be explained further on." Said R. Huna of Daskarta to Rabha: According to Levi's theory, that it must be done with the garment of the seller, for he may transfer previously to him real estate with this garment, which shows that the title to real estate can be acquired with personal property, and there is a Mishna which states the contrary: Personal property can be transferred with real estate. And he answered: If Levi would be here, he would strike your face with fiery lashes. Do you think that the garment gives title? For the pleasure he feels on being presented with the article, he concludes to transfer the goods to the other.

The former Amoraim are in accordance with the Tanaim of the following Boraitha (who differ also on this point): It is written [Ruth, iv. 7]: "Now this was formerly the custom in Israel at a redeeming and at an exchanging, to confirm anything, that a man pulled off his shoe and gave it to the other, and this was the manner of testimony in Israel." "Redeeming" means selling, and so it reads [Lev. xxvii. 20]: "It shall not be redeemed any more." "An exchanging" means taken literal, as it reads [ibid., ibid.]: "He shall not alter it nor change it." "To confirm. . . . pulled off his shoe and gave it to the other." Who has given to whom? Boaz gave to the redeemer. R. Jehudah, however, says: "On the contrary, the redeemer gave to Boaz." There is a Boraitha: "This ceremony can be done with any article, even if its value is less than a parutha." Said R. Na'hman: "It must be a utensil, but not fruit." R. Shetheth, however, maintains that this may be done with fruit also. What is the reason for R. Na'hman's statement? Because in the Scripture one reads "shoe," which is a utensil. R. Shetheth, however, bases his opinion upon "confirming anything." And what would R. Na'hman say to this? To confirm anything, which was done by the ceremony with the shoe. But according to R. Shetheth, what does the word "shoe" signify? As the shoe is a complete article, so all other articles with which this ceremony is to be performed must be completed, to exclude fruit, which is not fit for a Sudarium.

R. Shetheth b. R. Idi said: According to whom do we write in our legal papers, 'with an utensil which is fit to confirm with"? In accordance with the opponents of R. Shetheth, who said that the ceremony may be done with fruit also, and the opponents of Samuel, who said that a vessel made of maroka (baked ordure) may be used for this purpose, and also to deny Levi's theory, which is "with the property of the seller"; we say to confirm "with," but not to give title with it. 1 R. Papa, however, said: "The expression, with a vessel, means to exclude a coin, which is fit." Said R. Zbid, and according to others R. Ashi: "To exclude such vessels of which no benefit must be derived (as, e.g., devoted to idolatry), there is no necessity of excluding maroka, which all agree it is not fit for that purpose."

"Uncoined money," etc. How is this to be understood? Said R. Johanan: "I.e., a coin which is counterfeit." And he is in accordance with his theory elsewhere, that R. Dossa and R. Ismael said one and the same thing. R. Dossa in a Mishna (Idioth, I., 2): Second tithe must not be exchanged for a counterfeit coin. And R. Ismael of the following Boraitha: It is written [Deut. 19:25]:,Then shalt thou turn it into money, and bind up the money in thy hand"; to include all the money which can be bound in the hand, so is the dictum of R. Ismael. R. Aqiba said that it includes all coins which have an imprint of the ruler's face on them.

"How so, if one made a legal," etc. Said R. Johanan: "Biblically, money paid gives title; why, then, was it said that drawing is needed? For fear that a fire may occur in the house of the seller, where the bought article is placed; and if it is still considered under his control he will trouble himself to save it, but if it would be considered under the control of the buyer he will not care to save it. Resh Lakish, however, said that the drawing is prescribed by the Scripture, viz.: It is written [Lev. 15:14]: "And if thou sell aught unto thy neighbour, or buy aught of thy neighbour's hand," signifies a thing which goes from hand to hand. R. Johanan, however, says that "hand" excludes real estate, that the law of fraud does not apply to it. Resh Lakish, however, maintains that if it would be as R. Johanan said, the Scriptures would read in the case of selling only. Why is then the case of selling repeated? To verify my statement. An objection was raised to Resh Lakish's statement from our Mishna: "R. Simeon, however, said that he who has the money in his hand has the preference," which means that the seller may retract, but not the buyer; and this is correct only when money paid gives title biblically, therefore the preference is given to the seller that he may retract, in case the article will become dearer for his purpose he should save it from an accident, thinking it is still considered mine, as I may retract and probably the price will be increased; but not the buyer, as the title is acquired with paying the money. But if the money does not give title biblically, why should not the buyer also have the right to retract? Resh Lakish may say, I have nothing to do with R. Simeon's theory, and my explanation is in accord with the rabbis' theory. There is, however, an objection from the latter part. But it was said: He who punished, etc., which would be correct only when money gives title; but if it does not, why should he be punished? Because he retracts his words. Is that so? Have we not learned in a Boraitha: R. Simeon said, although it was said that a garment gives title to a gold dinar, and not vice versa, so only is the strict Halakha; but in addition to it, however, it was said that He who took revenge on the generation of the flood. . . . and the people of Sodom and Gomorrah, and on the Egyptians in the sea, He will take revenge on him who retracts his words. And he who is doing business with words only (without money), to him title is not given; however, the spirit of the sages does not please him, and Rabha adds that this is the only punishment for such people, hence we see that word retractors; do not stand under the punishments stated above? Yea! They are not under punishment when there were words only, but if there were words with money they are. Said Rabha: "The Scripture and a Boraitha support Resh Lakish. The Scripture, as it is written [Lev. 5:21]: "If he, namely, lie unto his neighbour in that which was delivered to him to keep, or in a loan, or in a thing taken away by violence, or if he had withheld the wages of his neighbour." "A loan"--said R. Hisda, i.e., that the borrower has pledged an article for

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his loan (which is then equal to a deposit). "Withheld the wages"--said R. Hisda: This is also in case the employer has separated the amount due to the employee, or the value of it, and told him, from this you will collect your wages. Now, concerning repentance the Scripture reads [ibid., ibid. 23]: "That he shall restore what he had taken violently away, or the wages which he hath withheld, or that which was delivered to him to keep." But a loan is not mentioned. Is it not because there was not a drawing on the article pledged (which was still in the hands of the borrower), and therefore he had not yet acquired title? Said R. Papa to Rabha: "Perhaps it is not repeated because wages is repeated, and this is to be deduced from it as the case is similar?" Answered Rabha: "It treats of a case when the employer already took the amount which was assigned to him and thereafter deposited it again." But is it not the same as a deposit? It tells us of two kinds of deposits. If so, should' the Scripture repeat also a loan, and should it be explained similarly that the pledge was returned and again assigned?

If it would be so, then it would, be no objection and no support; but as the Scripture did not repeat it, it may be considered a support. But is it indeed not repeated? Have we not learned in a Boraitha that R. Simeon said: "Whence do we know that the verse quoted applies to all that was mentioned in the previous verse? Therefore it is written [ibid., ibid., 24]: 'Or any one thing about which he may have sworn falsely.'" And R. Na'hman in the name of Rabba b. Abuhu, quoting Rabh, said that it intends to add that a loan shall also be returned? It may be, but nevertheless the Scripture did not repeat it plainly, and the Boraitha is as follows: If one has given a coin belonging to the sanctuary unintentionally to a bath-house keeper (for using the bath), he has committed a transgression, although he did not use it as yet. And Rabh explained the Boraitha, that the expression bath-house keeper signifies that only in a similar case, where the giver of the coin has nothing to receive in exchange; but in case he has, he committed no transgression, unless a drawing was made on the receiving article. And so also is R. Na'hman's opinion, that money gives title biblically. And Levi searched in the Boraithas which he compiled himself, and found one which stated that if one gave a coin belonging to the sanctuary to a wholesale dealer as a deposit for goods which he should take later, a transgression is committed (hence we see that money gives title without any drawing). But then the Boraitha contradicts Resh Lakish's above statement? He may say that this Boraitha is in accordance with R. Simeon of our Mishna.

"But it was said that He who had punished," etc. It was taught: According to Abayi, if he retracts, he ought to be notified that he will be punished by Heaven, and according to Rabha the Mishna means he shall be cursed. He who had punished, etc., shall punish you. Said Rabha: "I base my statement upon the following act. R. Hyya b. Joseph accepted money as a deposit for salt to be delivered afterwards. In the meantime the price of it went up, and he questioned R. Johanan what he had to do, and was told that he must deliver the salt, otherwise he must take the punishment stated in the Mishna. Now, if the Mishna means that he should be notified only, is then R. Hyya b. Joseph among those who must be notified (was he not aware of it)? But even according as you say, that he was to be cursed, is it possible that R. Hyya b. Joseph would take for himself a curse from the rabbis? The case with him was thus: He thought that he had to deliver to him the salt according to the sum of the deposit, but not for the whole amount of the sale, and was told by R. Johanan that with the deposit they had acquired title for the whole amount bought. It was taught: A deposit, according to Rabh, gives title only for the sum it contains; and according to R. Johanan, it gives title for the whole article or articles he had bought. An objection was raised: If one has given a deposit to his neighbour, with the condition that if he should retract, the deposit shall be relinquished; and the other said to him, in case I will retract, I shall double the amount of the deposit. These conditions are to be followed, so is the decree of R. Jose. [And R. Jose is in accordance with his theory elsewhere, that the presumption is that it is a good sale.] R. Jehudah, however, maintains that it is sufficient that he should deliver to him the value of his deposit. Said R. Simeon b. Gamaliel: "This is in case he gave him the money as a deposit, but if it was given to him as a part of the payment, as, e.g., if one sold a house or a field for a thousand zuz, and he paid five hundred zuz as a part of it, title to the article sold is acquired, and he must pay him the balance even after a lapse of many years." Is it not to be assumed that the same is the case with movable property, that

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the deposit gives title to all the movable property he has bought (so if one of them has retracted, he must accept the above curse "of him who had punished," etc.)? Nay! To movable articles title is acquired only for the sum the deposit contains, and the difference between them and real estate is, that with the latter title is acquired by money only; the deposit gives title to the whole of it; but to movable articles, with which drawing is required, and even if he would pay for the whole, without any drawing, the possessor of the money has the right to retract (as said above), but he must take the curse in question. Hence title is acquired with the condition that the curse will be borne by him. Then this curse can apply only to the article in value as much as the deposit contains, but not for the amount it was bought (i.e., that if he had delivered it to him for the amount of the deposit, the above said punishment does not apply).

R. Kahana had accepted money for flax which he was to deliver thereafter. In the meantime flax became dearer, and he questioned Rabh what to do, and was told, deliver to them for the sum you have in your hand, as the balance was bought relying on words only, for which a loss of confidence is not to be considered, as it was taught: "'Words,' Rabh said, 'if they are not kept, loss of confidence is not to be considered.' And R. Johanan says it may." An objection was raised from the following: R. Jose b. Jehudah said: Why is repeated [Lev. xxi. 36] "just hin," is this not included in the word "just ephah," ibid., ibid., to instruct you that your Yea (which is the literal translation of hin) shall be just, and your Nay shall be just (hence we see that words must be kept)? Said Abayi: "The cited verse signifies one shall not talk with his mouth differently from what he thinks in his heart."

But did R. Johanan indeed say so? Did not Rabba b. b. Hanna say in his name that if one said to his neighbour, I will make you a present, he may retract thereafter. Said R. Papa: "R. Johanan agrees that if one promises to make a present of a small amount, no retraction can take place, as the other party relies upon it. It happened that one gave money for poppy, meanwhile the poppy increased in price, and the seller retracted, and told him, I have no poppy, take your money back; and he did not. Meanwhile the money was stolen, and the case came before Rabha. He said: "Because he was told to take his money back, the seller is not responsible, not only as a bailee for hire, but he cannot even be considered a gratuitous bailee." Said the rabbis to Rabha: "Must not the retractor at least take upon himself the above curse as his punishment?" And he said: "Yea; if he will not give the poppy, he must bear this punishment." Said R. Papi: "I was told by Rabbina that the case was not so, as he was told by one of the rabbis, who was named R. Tabuth, and according to others Samuel b. Zutra was his name, and he was such kind of a man that he would not change his word, even if all goods of the world were to be delivered to him, and he told me: The above case of poppy happened to me. On one Friday I was sitting in my house, when a man came and questioned me whether I have poppy to sell, and I said no; said the man to me, let then this money I have be deposited with you, as it is nearly twilight; and I said my house is yours, put it wherever you like; he did so, and finally the money was stolen, and when he came to complain before Rabha, he was told that by my words, "my house is yours," I did not take any responsibility even as a gratuitous bailee. And when he was asked, did not the rabbis say to Rabha that this man should take the curse of punishment, etc.? he rejoined: This never occurred.

"R. Simeon said," etc. We have learned in a Boraitha (in addition to our Mishna), R. Simeon said: "This is in case both the article and the money were in the hands of the seller; but when the money was in the hands of the seller and the article in possession of the buyer, he cannot retract, because he already received the value for the money." Is that not self-evident? Said Rabha: "The case was that the attic of the buyer was hired by the seller, and the article was placed there. In such a case no drawing is needed, as the enactment of drawing was for the purpose that the seller shall trouble himself in case of a fire to save it, which does not apply in this case, as the article was under the control of the buyer, and if a sudden fire would happen the buyer would do all things possible to save it." It happened that one paid for an ass, and before he got hold of it he learned that this ass would be taken away by Parsek the rufuli. He demanded the return of his money, claiming he had no need for the ass any more. The case came before R. Hisda, and he decided as it was enacted that the seller may retract, so long as the buyer did not make a drawing of the bought article, so it was enacted that the buyer can also retract, so long as he has made no drawing on it,

MISHNA 2.: Cheating, which according to law makes the sale null and void, is in case where the sum of which he was cheated counts four silver dinars from the amount of twenty-four silver dinars, which makes a salah; i.e., a sixth of the whole amount. Until what time may the retraction take place? Up to the time that the buyer can show his article to a merchant or his relatives. R. Tarphon decided in the city of Luda that to avoid a fraudulent sale of eight silver dinars from twenty-four, i.e., a third of the whole amount; and the merchants of Luda were pleased with this decision. When, however, they heard his further decision, that the retraction may take place during the whole day, they requested R. Tarphon that he should leave them with the old decision of the sages, and so they returned to the decision of the sages.

GEMARA: It was taught: Rabh said: "The Mishna means the sixth of the correct price of the article." Samuel says: "It means also a sixth of the amount" (the illustration further on). (Says the Gemara:) If one has sold an article of six dinars for five, or for seven, both agree that the price is to be considered; and in both cases there is a cheating of a sixth. If, however, he sold an article of five dinars for six, or seven for six, according to Samuel, who said that the sum of the money must also be taken in consideration, it is considered cheating, as the price was six, and there was cheating in one dinar. According to Rabh, however, who says that the correct price of the article must be considered, if he took six for five, then the cheating was of a fifth, and the sale is void; and if seven for six, then the cheating on the part of the seller was less than a sixth, the sale is valid, and the dinar is considered relinquished. The reason of Samuel's statement is that the sale is considered void only when there is more than a sixth both in the price of the article and in the money paid; and the same is the case with relinquishing, that there is less than a sixth of both; but if there is a sixth part of one of the two, it is considered cheating, and the money which was paid in excess, or less, must be returned by the parties.

There is a Boraitha which supports Samuel, as follows: "He who was cheated has the preference. How so? If one sold an article which was worth five for six, who was cheated? The buyer; he had the preference of choosing; if he likes he may say, return to me my money, or, if he wishes, he may say, give me the dinar of which I was defrauded." And if one has sold the value of six dinars for five, who was cheated? The seller; then he has the preference; he may choose to demand the return of the article, or he shall give him one more dinar, of which he was defrauded. (Hence it is considered a cheating either in price or in the money.) The schoolmen propounded a question: "If there was a cheating less than a sixth, which, according to the rabbis is considered a relinquishment, does it take place immediately, or does the buyer have time to show it to a merchant or his relatives; and if you would say that so it is, what then should be the difference between a sixth or less? Shall we assume that if a sixth he has the preference, if he likes to make void the sale, or to demand the money he was defrauded of; and if it was less than a sixth the sale is valid, but the sum obtained by, cheating must be returned?" Come and hear the last words stated in our Mishna: "and so they returned to the decision of the sages." (That is, that time for showing it to a merchant, etc., was always granted.)

Said Rabha: "The Halakha prevails as follows: If cheating was less than for a sixth of its value, the sale is valid; more than a sixth, the sale is void; and if, however, an exact sixth, the sale is valid, but the amount must be returned to him who was cheated, and in all such cases the time for showing to merchants, etc., is granted." There is a Boraitha supporting Rabha, viz.: "Cheating in less than a sixth, the sale is valid; more than a sixth, the sale is void; an exact sixth, the sale is valid, but the cheating must be returned." So is the decree of R. Nathan. R. Jehudah the prince, however, maintains: "The seller always has the preference; if he likes he may require the price which was agreed, or that the amount of which he was cheated should be returned; in both cases, however, time for showing it to a merchant must be granted to the buyer."

"Until what time the retraction may take place," etc. Said R. Na'hman: "This decision applies to the buyer only, but the seller may retract at any time." Shall we assume that the last words of our Mishna support R. Na'hman, as they are correct only when the seller has the right to retract at any rate; and, therefore, they were not benefited by R. Tarphon's decision; but if you would say that the seller has no more right than the buyer, then they could be benefited by R. Tarphon's decision, in case they have erred in the price of sale. Why, then, have they returned to the decision of the sages? (This is not to be considered a support, as it is not usual that the merchants of Luda should make an error in the sale.)

The host of Rami b. Hama sold an ass and erred in the price, and Rami found him dejected, and questioned him why, and he answered, because of the sale; and Rami told him to retract, but he rejoined that the time for showing it to a merchant, etc., had already elapsed; then Rami advised him to go into the court of R. Na'hman, and he decided according to his theory stated above (in the beginning of the paragraph). His reason was that the buyer always carries the article with him, and so can show it to all, if there were an overcharge or not; but the seller, who is not in possession, must wait until a similar article is again in his possession to show it, and therefore he may retract. There was a man who had to sell pearls, which were worth five dinars each, and he demanded six. When, however, he was offered five and a half, he accepted it. A buyer who wanted to get the same for five dinars said to himself, if I would give him five and a half I could not sue him any more, as the half-dinar would be considered a relinquishment, as it is less than a sixth; I will, there. fore, give him all he demands, and then I will sue him for cheating me of an exact sixth; and he will be compelled to return one dinar. When the case came before Rabha, he said that the law in question applied only to him who buys from a merchant, but of a private person no cheating is considered. A similar case came before R. Hisda, and he decided the same as Rabha did; and R. Dimi, who was present, said to him: "Even so; you have decided righteously." And so did R. Elazar also say: "Even so!" But is there not a Mishna which states, as the law of fraud applies to a layman it applies also to a merchant; now, is not a layman the same as a private person? Said R. Hisda: "The Mishna speaks of a private person who sells hemp articles; but if he sells the utensils which were used by himself, if not at a good price, he would not sell them."

MISHNA 3.. The law of fraud applies to the buyer as well as to the seller, to a private person as well as to a merchant. R. Jehudah, however, maintains that there is no cheating concerning a merchant. The cheated one has the preference; he may demand his money should be returned; or, if he likes, the amount of which he was cheated.

GEMARA. Whence is all this deduced? As the rabbis taught, it is written [Lev. 25:14]: "Ye shall not overreach one another"; from this we learn in case the buyer was cheated, but whence do we know that same is the case with the seller? There. fore it is written [ibid., ibid.]: "Or buy aught of thy neighbour"; and both cases were necessary, for if the Scripture would mention the seller only, one might say that, because he is aware of the value of his stock, the cheating is a crime to him, but the buyer, who is not aware of the exact price, the law of fraud does not apply; and if the Scripture would mention the buyer only, one might say, because he received for his money a valuable article which remains with him permanently. The law of fraud applies here, but the seller, who loses his article and takes money, which is not stationary, "as people say if you sell an article it is lost to you," one might say that the above law does not apply to him, therefore both are mentioned.

"There is no cheating concerning a merchant," etc. Because he is a merchant, no cheating should be considered? Said R. Na'hman in the name of Rabh: "R. Jehudah speaks of a specialist who knows the value, and the reason why he sold it below the price is to be considered that he needed money at that time to buy another bargain and, therefore, he relinquished the greater value of the article sold, and the retraction took place afterwards (therefore it must not be considered). R. Ashi, however, says: "R. Jehudah's decree may be explained thus: Concerning a merchant the prescribed kind of cheating is not to be considered, as he may retract even if it were other than the prescribed kind." There is a Boraitha supporting R. Na'hman, viz.: "R. Jehudah maintains no cheating exists in regard to a merchant, because he is experienced."

"The cheated has the preference." According to whom is our Mishna? Not with R. Nathan, and also not with R. Jehudah the prince, of the Boraitha cited above. For our Mishna states, "if he likes," and R. Nathan's decision is strictly; and R. Jehudah mentioned in his decision "the seller," while our Mishna mentioned "the buyer"? Said R. Elazar: "I, indeed, do not know who taught our Mishna." Rabba, however, said: "The Mishna is in accordance with R. Nathan, and the Boraitha is to be corrected with the addition, 'if he likes.'" Rabha, however, maintains that the Mishna is in accordance with R. Jehudah, and that which was omitted in the Mishna concerning the seller the Boraitha explains. Said R. Ashi: "It seems to be that this explanation is correct, as the Mishna begins, 'to the buyer as well to the seller,' and thereafter it mentions only the buyer, of which is to be seen that something is omitted, and that was the seller." Infer from this that so it is.

It was taught: "If one says, I sell this article to you with the condition you shall not claim any cheating of me, Rabh says that he nevertheless may claim cheating, if there were any, and according to Samuel he may not. Said R. Anan: "Mar Samuel has explained to me his decree as follows: If one says, with the condition you shall not claim of me any cheating, no claim must be considered; if, however, he say, with the condition that no cheating with the article should be claimed, if there was a cheating the claim must nevertheless be considered."

Said Abayi: "Rabh's decree is in accordance with R. Meier, who holds (in Tract Kedushin) that no condition can be made concerning a law which is plainly written in the Scripture, and Samuel's decree is in accordance with R. Jehudah, who holds that this rule holds only concerning prohibited things, but not in money matters." Rabha, however, maintains that both (Rabh's and Samuel's) statements are in accordance with both mentioned Tanaim, and notwithstanding present no difficulty, as the above Amoraim speaks of a case where the seller did not mention to the buyer that he is certain that the price is higher than the real value of the article, and the Tanaim of the above cited Mishna speak of a case where such was mentioned, as so we have learned in addition to our Mishna in the following Boraitha: "This is only in case where the seller says, I do not think that you will be cheated, but even if you should, you shall not claim cheating; if, however, a condition was plainly made, as, e.g., the seller says to the

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buyer, this article which I am about to sell you for two hundred, I am aware has a value of only one hundred, and it will be yours for my price, with the condition that you shall not claim cheating; and the same is when the buyer says to the seller, this article I am about to buy from you for one hundred, I know is worth two hundred, and with the condition that no cheating shall be claimed, I give you the money, then no claim of cheating is to be considered."

The rabbis taught: "If one is doing business with his neighbour in trust, 1 he must not furnish him with bad articles in trust and with good articles according to their value, but both should be equal (if, for instance, there are two kinds of wine, good which can easily be sold wholesale, and bad which can be sold only in retail, the possessor must not offer the good to the agent for the full value, with the condition he shall sell for him the bad to storekeepers at any price he may obtain, and the money for both shall be returned to him after all is sold; that is, that for his trouble he should use the money obtained for the good until the bad be sold in retail, as this would be indirect usury), and for his. trouble he should pay him the usual price. The commissioner, however, may charge him for carrying on his shoulder, for the hiring of a camel, and for storage and hotel, but not separately for himself, as he has been paid already for his trouble in full."

What does it mean that he shall pay for his trouble separately? Said R. Papa: "As, e.g., the sellers of hemp articles get four per cent. 'as their commission.'"

MISHNA 4.: How much less of the quantity of the Sala should be effaced, that the law of fraud could not be claimed? According to R. Meier, four issars, which is one issar to each dimar; and according to R. Jehudah, four pundiuns, one pundiun to each dinar. According to R. Simeon, however, eight pundiuns; two pundiuns (which are four issars) to one dinar (and it means an exact sixth of its value). What time is to be given for retracting? In the large cities, time for showing it to a money-changer must be granted; and in villages, until the eve of Sabbath. If, however, there was a sale, even after an elapse of twelve months, he must accept its return without any claim, but he may be angry with him. Such a sala may be expended for second tithe without any fear, as he who does not accept circulating money is considered a bad man.

GEMARA: There is a contradiction to our Mishna from the following Boraitha, which states: How much should the sala be effaced that the law of fraud should apply? (the same quantity as in our Mishna is given; hence, according to the Boraitha, the law of fraud applies to such quantities, and according to our Mishna it does not?) Said R. Papa: "This presents no difficulty. The Tana of our Mishna comes from the bottom to the top (i.e., an effaced sala until what quantity it may be circulated until it reaches the quantity mentioned; but if such a quantity is already reached, it is not any more considered in circulation, and the law of fraud applies); and the Tana of the Boraitha comes from top to the bottom (i.e., if the effaced coin has lost the quantity in question, it is not more fit for circulation, etc., hence both statements have the same meaning)."

Why, then, do the Tanaim differ concerning a sala and not with another article, in which all agree that a sixth is the prescribed kind of cheating? Said Rabha: The Tana who holds a sixth is the prescribed kind is R. Simeon, who points to the same kind in a sala. Abayi, however, maintains that one usually relinquishes if he was cheated in value less than a sixth; as people say, pay dearer for the necessity of your dressing, but for your stomach look that you are not overcharged. The text of the Mishna says: How much of the quantity, etc. A Tosephta in addition to this Mishna states that if it was effaced more than the above quantity, he may sell it for its value. What is the prescribed quantity of a diminished coin which one is still allowed to keep? If it was a sala, he may keep it if it still contains the value of a shekel; and if it was a dinar, he may keep it when a quarter of the quantity was diminished. If, however, it was less than one issar it is prohibited, and he must not sell it to a merchant, and not to a powerful man, or to a robber, as they may cheat some other persons with it, and therefore it is advisable he shall bore a hole in it, and put it around the neck of his son or daughter.

The master says: "A sala of the value of a shekel, which counts a half; and from a dinar only a quarter; why the difference?" Said Abayi: "The quarter concerning an issar means a quarter of a shekel, which counts a half of a dinar." Said Rabha: "It seems to me so, because it is not stated a quarter of it, 'but a quarter,' which generally means 'of a shekel.'" But why should the prescribed quantity of a dinar be dependent upon a shekel? Herewith he teaches us, by the way, that there is a kind of dinar which came from a shekel (i.e., that the quantity of the shekel was diminished to a halo, and this is a support to the statement of R. Ami, who says that a dinar which came from a shekel may be kept for circulation (as every one could recognise that it is only a half of the quantity); but a dinar which came from a sala (i.e., that the sala was diminished to the value of three quarters), it may not be kept in circulation even at the value of a dinar, because it is still a large coin, and can easily be taken for a shekel. The Boraitha states, if, however, it was less than an issar, then it is Prohibited. How is this to be understood? Said Abayi: "It means to say, if the sale in question was diminished more than the value of an issar, it is prohibited to be kept." Said Rabha to him: "Why an issar? If the sala in question was diminished even only a trifle of the above quantity, it is also prohibited to be kept? Therefore," says he, "it means if a sala were diminished in quantity as an issar to a dinar, it is prohibited to be kept, and it is in accordance with R. Meier's opinion." An objection was raised: Until what quantity may it be diminished, and still allowed to be kept? If it was a sala, until the quantity of a shekel. Is it not to be assumed that it was diminished little by little, and still it was allowed to be kept until it became of the size of a shekel? Nay, it means that it was dropped into the fire and diminished all at once. The master says: "He may bore a hole in it and put it around the neck," etc. There is a contradiction from the following: "An uncirculating coin must not be used as a weight, and also he must not use it for an ornament, and also he must not perforate it, and put it on the neck of his son or daughter; but he shall grind or melt it, or cut it in pieces, or throw it away into the Dead Sea" (so that it could not be used by swindlers, hence it states he must not perforate it, etc.). Said R. Elazar, and, according to others, R. Huna in his name: "This presents no difficulty. The statement that he may bore a hole in it means, in the middle of the coin, which spoils; it entirely; and the statement that it may not means, on the side" (as a swindler could fix it).

"What time is to be given for retracting," etc. Why concerning a sala, it makes a difference between large cities and villages, which is not the case with another article? Said Abayi: "The statement of our Mishna concerning an article means also in the large cities." Rabha, however, maintains "that every one is aware of the value of a common article, but to understand the value of a sala one must be a money-changer; therefore, in large cities, where money-changers are to be found, such time is prescribed; in the villages, however, where money-changers are not to be found, time is given until the eve of Sabbath, when usually people go to the market to buy supplies for Sabbath.

"If, however, there was a sala," etc. Where? If in the large cities, there is a money-changer; and if in villages, it is said, "until the eve of Sabbath"? Said R. Hisda: "It is not the strict law, but a meritorious act for pious men is taught here." If so, how is to be understood the latter part, "but he may be angry"? Who should be angry--the pious one? Let him not accept it, and not be angry, or the one who returned it should be angry, why it was accepted? It means to say thus: "That even if he who is not pious, and does not accept it, the one who possesses the coin may be angry, but cannot sue him."

"Such a sala may be expended for second tithe," etc. Said R. Papa: "Infer from this that he who is too particular with the examination of money is considered a bad man, provided he can circulate it easily. Our Mishna may be a support to Hiskiyah, who said that if one came to change a coin of a second tithe for small money, he may take change only for its value; but if he would exchange the second tithe for it, he may take as much of the second tithe as if it would be a good one. How is this to be understood? He means to say that, although, when changing it for small money, he cannot take more than its value, he may nevertheless take the second tithe for the full value of such a coin.

MISHNA 5.: The prescribed quantity for cheating is four silver dinars to each sala; for a claim of which one of the parties must take an oath, no less than the value of two silver dinars. For admitting a debt, which makes him liable for a biblical oath of denying the claim of the plaintiff, a perutha is sufficient. In five cases the value of a perutha is prescribed--one just mentioned; second, a case of betrothal, for which the value of a perutha suffices; third, the one who benefits himself from the goods belonging to the sanctuary, with the value of one perutha, he has committed a transgression; fourth, who finds an article worth only a perutha, he is obliged to proclaim; and fifth, he who has robbed his neighbour for the value of one perutha, and has sworn falsely, and after repented, he must return it to him personally, even should the robbed one be at that time in Madai.

GEMARA: Was this not stated already in Mishna 2? It is repeated because of the perutha of admission; but even this is already stated in a Mishna (in Kidushin, etc.)? It is repeated here also because of the new statement about the five peruthas.

"In five cases the value," etc. Let it teach, also, that there is one more perutha of cheating (i.e., that when he sold an article for six peruthas, and it was worth only five). Said R. Kahana: "From this is to be inferred that the law of cheating does not apply to peruthas; it means that to less than a silver coin no claim of cheating can be made." Levi, however, maintains it does apply, and so he taught in his Boraitha. There are five peruthas--cheating, admitting, betrothal, robbing, and the warrant of the judges. Why does not the Tana of our Mishna mention that a warrant can be issued for a perutha? Is not robbery the same case, and it is mentioned? But notwithstanding that it mentioned robbery, it does mention a loss worth a perutha (which also must be decided by the court)? This was necessary to state, owing to the peculiarity of both. The robbed article must be returned, even if the owner is in Madai, and one must proclaim a lost article even if it was worth only one perutha, and after finding it is decreased in value. Why, then, does not Levi mention a lost article in his Boraitha? Because he mentioned robbery. But why does he mention the warrant for a perutha-is it not the same as robbery? This was necessary to deny R. Ktina's statement, who maintains that a warrant can be issued even for less than a perutha. Rabha objected to R. Ktina's statement from the following: "It is written [Lev. v. 16]: And that in which he hath sinned against the holy thing, he shall pay." That means to include, that even when the value was less than a perutha, it must be returned; hence it is only of the sanctuary, but not of common property; therefore if it was taught in the name of R. Ktina, it was as follows: If the court found it necessary to take up the claim of the value of a perutha, it may issue a warrant even for less than a perutha, as the court does not start a case less than a perutha; but if it was started, the decision may be even for less.

MISHNA 6.: There are five fifth parts (which must be added to the principal amount) and they are: (1) who eats heave-offering; (2) the heave-offering of tithe (the tenth part of which the Levites must separate from the tithe [Num. xviii. 26]); (3) the same which was separated when the grain was bought from a suspicious man; (4) the first dough [Num. xv. 20]; and (5) the first-fruits [Lev. ii. 14]. The same is also the case if one redeems his plants in the fourth year (after planting), he must add a fifth part, or he exchanges his second tithe. The same is also the case if one redeems from the sanctuary the article he has sanctified, and also who had any benefit of the things belonging to the sanctuary, the value of a perutha, and also if one robbed his neighbour of the value of a perutha and swore falsely, all of them must add a fifth part to the principal amount.

GEMARA: Said Rabha: It was a difficulty to R. Elazar, the statement of our Mishna that a fifth must be added to the heave-offering which was separated when bought from a suspicious man, thus: Is it possible that the sages have given weight to their decision equal to the Scriptures? (The law that heave-offering must be separated when bought from the man in question is only rabbinically--would it not be enough that one should pay the principal amount only, if consumed?) Said R. Na'hman in the name of Samuel: This Mishna is in accordance with R. Meir, who says elsewhere (Erubin, p. 181) that the sages usually do so.

MISHNA 7.: To the following things the law of cheating does not apply: Bondmen, documents, real estate and property belonging to the sanctuary; and also the law of paying the double amount and of four and five fold does not apply to them. A gratuitous bailee does not swear (if lost), and a bailee for hire does not pay (as they would do on movable common property). R. Simeon, however, says: If one is responsible for the property belonging to the sanctuary, the law of cheating does apply, but not when he is not responsible. R. Jehudah said that there is no cheating to him who sells holy scrolls, animals, or pearls (the reason why will be explained further on in the Gemara), but he was told that there is nothing to add to the things enumerated above.

GEMARA: Whence is this deduced? From what the rabbis taught: It is written [Lev. 25:14]: "And if thou sell aught unto thy neighbour or buy aught of thy neighbour's hand," which means things going from hand to hand; excludes real estate, which is not movable, and also bondsmen, who are equalled to real estate; excludes also documents, because it reads, "and if thou sell aught," which means that their body can be sold and bought; excludes documents, which are made only for the eye and of which the contents are for sale, but not their bodies [from this it was said that if one sells his documents for actual use (i.e., for wrapping), the law of cheating does apply. Is this not self-evident? It was said to deny R. Kahana's theory that there is no cheating as to articles of which the value is only a perutha]; and things belonging to the sanctuary, because the verse reads, "From thy brother," to exclude the sanctuary. Rabba b. Mammal opposed: Is, then, the word hand everywhere mentioned in the Scripture literally? Is it not written [Num. xxi. 26]: "From his hand," which is certainly not literally, but from his control? On the other hand, can we then explain the word hand everywhere it is written not literally? Have we not learned in the following Boraitha: "It is written [Exod. 22:3]: 'If the thing stolen be actually found in his hand,' etc. From this we know when it was found in his hand only. Whence we deduce that the same is the case when it was found upon his roof, yard, or his veranda? Therefore it is written Himatzeh Timatzeh, (literally, 'found was found' 1), to include the above." We see then, that if it were not for the superfluous word "Timatzeh" the word hand would be taken literally, provided that in such places (as cited above) where it is impossible to take it literally it is explained control.

R. Zera questioned: Does the law of cheating apply to a hire? Shall we assume that the Scripture reads sale but not hire, or there is no difference? Said Abayi to him: Is it mentioned in the Scripture "a sale for ever"? Sale is mentioned anonymously, and a hire can also be called a sale for the time hired. Rabha questioned: If one bought wheat and sowed it in

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his field, how is the law? Is it to be compared to putting it in a vessel, and the law of fraud does apply, or, as it is in the earth, is it compared to real estate, to which the law of fraud does not apply? (Says the Gemara: Let us see how was the case? If the buyer said to the seller: "You shall sow six measures," and witnesses testify that he has sown only five, did not Rabha say elsewhere that everything with a measure, weight, or number, even in a quantity to which the law of fraud does not apply, the cheated may retract? The case was that the buyer bought a quantity of wheat needed for his field, with the condition that the seller should sow it, and thereafter it was found that he had not given the quantity needed. Hence the doubt to what case stated above it is to be compared. This question remains undecided.

Rabha in the name of R. H'assa said: R. Ami propounded the following question: The articles mentioned in the Mishna to which the law of cheating does not apply, how is the law if there was fraud to more than a sixth of the value, where in other cases the sale is abolished? Is it the same with the things of the Mishna, or not? Said R. N'ahman: Thereafter the same R. Hassa said that R. Ami resolved his question, and decided that only the law of fraud does not apply, but the law of abolishing the sale applies. R. Yonah, however, concerning things of the sanctuary, and R. Jeremiah concerning real estate, both in the name of R. Johanan, declared that the law of fraud does not apply, but the law of abolishing does. [He who applies Johanan's statement in regard to things of the sanctuary, applies it also in regard to real estate, and he who applies it in regard to real estate, to the things of the sanctuary, however, does not apply it, as Samuel said that things belonging to the sanctuary, if of the value of a manah, were exchanged for one perutha, the act is valid.]

An objection was raised from the following Mishna: "A blemished animal belonging to the sanctuary, if it was exchanged for an animal of a commoner, the exchange is valid and the blemished animal becomes ordinary; but if its value was more than its exchange, the money must be added to the sanctuary." And R. Johanan in explaining this Mishna said: It becomes ordinary biblically; the money of its value, however, which is said to be added, is rabbinically only. Resh Lakish, however, maintains that the money in question is also biblically. Now let us see how was the case? If the exchanging animal was less in value than the prescribed quality of cheating, how could Resh Lakish say that the money must be added biblically? Does not our Mishna state that there is no cheating in sanctuary, and if it was less in value than a sixth, how could R. Johanan say that the money added is rabbinically? He himself said that the law of abolishing applies to it? There is a case of cheating, and they differ if the explanation of the statement, "the law of cheating does not apply." Should it be explained as R. Hisda interprets it, that the Mishna, with the expression "there is no cheating," means the prescribed quality of it does not apply, even if it were less than the prescribed quality it may also be abolished.

Another objection was raised: "The laws of usury and cheating apply only to commoners, but not to the sanctuary?" Should this Boraitha have more weight than our Mishna, which was explained that it means the prescribed quality of it? Interpret, then, this Boraitha in the same manner, namely: Usury and the prescribed quality do not apply to the sanctuary. If so, how should the latter part of it be understood? This is more rigorous in the case of a commoner than in the case of the sanctuary (and as you interpret, then the reverse is the case). This statement applies to usury only. But then it should state: Regarding cheating, however, the reverse is the case? What question is it? It is correct to say that this is more rigorous in case of a commoner, etc., as this is the only case; but regarding the sanctuary, is, then, this the only case in which it is rigorous? All cases of the sanctuary are rigorous.

"Double amount," etc. Whence is this deduced? As the rabbis taught: It is written [Exod. xxii. 8]: "For all manner of trespass"--that is, generally; "for an ox, for an ass, for a lamb, for raiment"--that is, partis (a special part); "or for any manner of lost thing"--it is again general. And there is a rule that when there is in the Scripture a general, a partis, and again a general, it must be judged similar to the partis, as the partis mentioned is a movable thing, and its body is of value. So also all movable things the bodies of which have a value; excluded being real estate, which is not movable, and also bondmen, who are equal to real estate, and also documents, of which, although they are movable, the bodies are of no value. And concerning the sanctuary there is another verse, which reads, "his neighbour," and the sanctuary cannot be considered a neighbour. "And of four and five fold," etc. Why so? Because the Merciful One says payment of four and five fold, but not the payment of three and four (i.e., as the double amount is excluded, it would be for a sheep threefold and for an ox fourfold Jehudah, however, maintains that the above-named things better answer this purpose. But in respect to what quality cheating is not to be considered? Said Ameimar: To the double amount of its value (but no more). There is also a Boraitha: R. Jehudah b. Bathyra says that also with him who sells a horse, a sword, and a shield in war-time, no cheating is considered, as there is a question of life.

MISHNA 8.: As cheating is prohibited in buying or selling, so it is in words. (How so?) One must not ask the price of a thing when he does not intend to buy it. To a person who has repented one must not say, Remember your former acts. To a descendant from proselytes one must not say, Remember the acts of your parents. As it is written [Exod. xxii. 20]: "And a stranger 1 thou shalt not vex, nor shalt thou oppress him."

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: It is written [Lev. xxv. 17]: "And ye shall not overreach one the other"--this means, in words. But perhaps it means in business? It is already written [ibid., ibid., 14] concerning business. Hence this verse must apply to words only. How so? To a person who has repented one must not say, Remember your former acts. To a descendant of proselytes one must not say, Remember the acts of your parents. If a proselyte comes to learn the Torah, one shall not say, The mouth that hath eaten carcasses, etc., should utter the words Torah, which was pronounced by the mouth of the Almighty. To a person who suffers from chastisements, sickness, or burying his children, one must not say, as Job's colleagues said to him [Job, 4:6, 7]: "Is not, then, thy fear of God still thy confidence, thy hope equal to the integrity of thy ways? Remember, I pray thee, who ever perished, being innocent? or where were the righteous destroyed?" Also, one must not send people to any one, telling them that he is a grain seller, who never was so. R. Jehudah says: One must also not inquire the price of an article, having no money to pay, as all that refers to his heart, and in such a thing it is said, "Thou shalt fear thy God."

Said R. Johanan in the name of R. Simeon b. Johai: Cheating in words is more rigorous than cheating in money. As to the former, it is written, "Thou shalt fear thy God," and as to the latter it is not written so. And R. Elazar says: The former is to his body and the latter to his money. R. Samuel b. Na'hmeni says: The latter can be returned, but the former cannot, A disciple has taught before R. Na'hman b. Itzhak: One who abuses his neighbour publicly is compared to a shedder of blood. And he answered: Your statement is correct, as we see in the man who becomes ashamed, the red colour of his face disappears and he becomes white.

Said Abayi to R. Dimi: To what thing do the Western people pay more attention? And he answered. To make pale the face (i.e., putting people to shame). As R. Hanina said: All descend to Gehenna, except three. All! Is it possible? Say, All who descend to Gehenna return thence, except the following three, who descend and do not return: An adulterer, one who makes pale the face of his neighbour in public, and one who applies vile names to his neighbour. But is it not the same as making pale his face? i.e., even when he was already used to be named so.

Said Rabba b. b. Hana in the name of R. Johanan: It is rewarded more leniently that one commit a doubtful adultery than to make pale the face of his neighbour. Whence is it taken? From Rabha's lecture, thus: It is written [Psalms, 35:15]: "But in my downfall they rejoiced, and gathered themselves together . . . they did tear me, and ceased not." Thus said David before the Holy One, blessed be He: "Lord of the Universe, it is known before thee that if they would tear try flesh the blood would not run. Even when they are occupied in the study of Negaim and Ahaloth they said to me, David, who is an adulterer, with what kind of a death must he be punished? And I answered them, He is to be hanged: he, however, has a share in the world to come, but he who makes pale the face of his neighbour publicly has no more any share in the world to come."

Mar Zutra b. Tubia in the name of Rabh, according to others R. Hana b. Bizna in the name of R. Simeon the Pious, and still to others R. Johanan in the name of R. Simeon b. Johai, said: It is better that one throw himself in a burning furnace than to make pale the face of his neighbour publicly. And this is taken from the act of Tamar, as it is written [Gen. 38:25]: "When she was led forth, she sent to her father-in-law," etc.

Rabh said: One should be careful with his wife, not to deceive her even in words, for often her tears hasten the punishment. R. Elazar said: Since the destruction of the Temple the gates of prayer are closed. As it is written [Lamentations, iii. 8]: "Also when I cry aloud and make entreaty, he shutteth out my prayer." However, the gates of tears were not closed. As it is written [Psalms, 39:13]: "Be not silent at my tears."

Rabh said again: He who follows the advice of his wife falls into Gehenna. As it is written [I Kings, 21:25]: "But indeed there was none like unto Achab . . . to which his wife incited him." Said R. Papa to Abayi: Is that so--do not people say: "If thy wife is little, bow thyself and listen to her advice?" This presents no difficulty. Rabh speaks about worldly affairs, and the people's saying is about house affairs. According to others, Rabh speaks of heavenly affairs and the others about worldly affairs. R. Hisda said: All gates are closed for prayers except for him who cries upon cheating. As it is written [Amos, 7:7]: "Behold, the Lord was standing upon the wall of Anach, and in his hand was an Anach." 1 Said R. Elazar: All sinners are punished through a messenger, except the cheater, who is punished by the Lord himself, as it reads: "And the Anach is in His hand." R. Abuhu said: For the following three the petition of the Shekhina is not shut: Cheating, robbery, and idolatry. Cheating, as mentioned above--"Anach in His hand;" robbery, as it is written [Jer. 6:7]: "Violence and robbery are heard in her; in my presence there are continually disease and wounds;" and idolatry, as it is written [Isaiah, 65:3]: "The people that provoke me to anger to my face continually."

R. Jehudah said: One should always be careful about grain in his house, as the quarrel in the house comes often about the grain. As it is written [Psalms, cxlvii.]: "He who bestoweth peace in thy borders, who satisfieth thee with the best of wheat." Said R. Papa: This is what people say, "When the barley is out of the barrel, the quarrel knocks at the door." And R. Hinna b. Papa also said: One should always be careful about grain in his house, as Israel was called poor only because of grain. As it is written [Judges, 6:3-6]: "And it was when Israel had sown, etc. . . . And they encamped against them . . . and Israel was greatly impoverished."

R. H'albo said: One should always be careful with the honour of his wife, as the blessing in the house usually comes for the sake of the wife. As it is written [Gen. xii. 16]: "And he did well to Abram for her sake." And this is what Rabha used to say to the inhabitants of his town, Mahuza: Revere your wives, for the purpose of becoming rich.

There is a Mishna (Keilim, 5, 10) which treats of an oven which R. Eliezer makes clean and the sages unclean, and it is the oven of a snake. What does this mean? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: It intimates that they encircled it with their evidences as a snake winds itself around an object. And a Boraitha states that R. Eliezer related all answers of the world and they were not accepted. Then he said: Let this carob-tree prove that the Halakha prevails as I state, and the carob was (miraculously) thrown off to a distance of one hundred ells, and according to others four hundred ells. But they said: The carob proves nothing. He again said: "Let, then, the spring of water prove that so the Halakha prevails." The water then began to run backwards. But again the sages said that this proved nothing. He again said: "Then, let the walls of the college prove that I am right." The walls were about to fall. R. Joshua, however, rebuked them, saying: "If the scholars of this college are discussing upon a Halakha, wherefore should ye interfere!" They did not fall, for the honour of R. Joshua, but they did not become again straight, for the honour of R. Eliezer [and they are still in the same condition]. He said again: Let it be announced by the heavens that the Halakha prevails according to my statement, and a heavenly voice was heard, saying: Why do you quarrel with R. Eliezer, who is always right in his decisions! R. Joshua then arose and proclaimed [Deut. 30:12]: "The Law is not in the heavens." [How is this to be understood? said R. Jeremiah: It means, the Torah was given already to us on the mountain of Sinai, and we do not care for a heavenly voice, as it reads [Exod. 23:2]: "To incline after the majority." R. Nathan met Elijah (the Prophet) and questioned him: "What did the Holy One, blessed be He, at that time?" (when R. Joshua proclaimed the above answer to the heavenly voice), and he rejoined: "He laughed and said, My children have overruled me, my children have overruled me."] It was said that on the same day all the cases of purity, on which R. Eliezer decided that they were clean, were brought into the college and were destroyed by fire. And they cast a vote, and it was decided unanimously to bless him (to place him under the ban). The question arose, then, who should take the trouble to inform him, and R. Aqiba said: "I will do so immediately, for one who is not fit for such a message may go and inform him suddenly, and he will destroy the world." What did R. Aqiba? He dressed himself in black and wrapped himself with the same colour, and sat at a distance of four ells from R. Eliezer. And to his question: "Aqiba, what is the matter?" he answered: "Rabbi! it seems to me that your colleagues have separated themselves from you." The rabbi then tore his garments, took off his shoes, and sat on the floor, and his eyes began to flow. The world was then beaten a third in olives, a third in wheat, and a third in barley. According to others, even the dough which was already in the hands of the women became spoiled. A Boraitha states that that day was the severest of all days, as every place on which R. Eliezer had set his eyes was burned. And also Rabban Gamaliel, who had at that time been sailing, was in danger of drowning by a tempest, and he said: "It seems to me that this storm is because of R. Eliezer b. Hurkanus." He then arose and prayed: "Lord of the Universe, it is open and known before thee that not for the sake of my honour or the honour of my parents I acted so, but for thy glory, to prevent a quarrel in Israel." And the sea then became quiet.

Eima Shalum, the wife of R. Eliezer, was a sister of Rabban Gamaliel, and since that time she prevented her husband from falling upon his face. 1 It happened, however, in a day which was the last of the month, and she erred, thinking that this day was the first of the month (in which the falling upon the face is not customary). According to others, a poor man

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knocked at the door and she was going to give him some bread, and when she returned she found her husband falling on his face, and she said to him: "Arise, you have already killed my brother!" In the meantime it was heralded by the house of Rabban Gamaliel that he was dead, and to the question R. Eliezer asked her: "Whence did you know this?" she answered: "I have a tradition from the house of my grandfather that all gates are closed for prayers, except for him who cries upon cheating."

The rabbis taught: "He who cheats a stranger transgresses three negative commandments, and he who oppresses him transgresses two." Let us see. Regarding cheating there are three negative commandments [Exod. 22:20, Lev. xix. 33 and ibid. 25:17], as the expression "the other" includes a stranger also. Then there are three negative commandments concerning oppression also-namely, Exod. 22:20, 23:9, and ibid. 22:24--which include also the stranger. Hence there are three negative commandments in oppression also? Read, then, in both cases: He transgresses three negative commandments.

We have learnt in a Boraitha: R. Eliezer the Great said: Why does the Scripture in thirty-six, according to others in forty-six places, warn concerning strangers? Because they are of a mischievous nature. 1 Why is there added [Exod. 22:20], "for strangers ye were in the land of Egypt"? There is a Boraitha: R. Nathan says: Do not rebuke your neighbour for a similar blemish to that you have on your body; and this is what people say: To him who has had a hanged one in his family, do not even mention hang up a fish.

MISHNA 9: One must not mix together fruits from two separate fields, if the seller has named the field of which the fruits were to be issued; and even when the fruits of both are new, much less old with new. In reality, it was said of wine that it is allowed to mix old with new, when the new was sold, because the old improves the new. However, one must not mix the yeast of one wine with another wine, but he may give him the yeast of the same. If the wine was mixed with water, he must not sell in his store, provided he informed the buyers; not to a merchant, however, even if he informed him, for he buys only for the purpose of cheating. In the places where it is customary to mix water with wine, he may do so. A merchant may buy grain from five barns and place it in one store-room; he may also buy wine from five presses and put it in one cask, but not with the intention of mixing it.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: "It is not necessary to state, if the new was sold four measures for one sala and the old three measures only that they must not be mixed (if he sold him old ones), as this would be plain cheating; but even when the reverse is the case, he must also not do so, as usually one buys it to keep for a long time (the new becomes old and the old-spoiled)."

"In reality, it was said," etc. R. Elazar said: Ada was the one who said that wherever the expression "in reality" is stated, it means that so the Halakha prevails. Said R. Na'hman: The Mishna treats of a case in which it was done in the time of wine-pressing, as in that time the wine is fermenting, and therefore it is improving; but after the time is over, it spoils. But now it is customary to mix it, even not at that time. Said R. Papa: It is because people are aware of it, and relinquish their right. R. Aha b. R. Ika said: They do in accordance with R. Aha of the following Boraitha, who permits to mix beverages which are to be tasted, as the buyer recognises if mixed.

"But he may give him the yeast of the same," etc. But is it not stated in the first part that it must not be mixed at all? And lest one say that the Mishna means he shall inform him, this would not hold good, as is stated in the latter part, he shall not sell it in his store provided he informed the buyer, from which it is to be inferred that the first part treats even when not informed. Said R. Jehudah, it means to say thus: One must not mix the yeast of yesterday with the wine of to-day, and vice versa; he may, however, give him the yeast of the same. We have also learnt this in the following Boraitha: "R. Jehudah said: He who pours wine for his neighbour must not mix wine from yesterday with that of to-day, and vice versa, but he may do so with the wines of the same day."

"If water was mixed," etc. It happened that wine was brought to Rabha from a store; he mixed it, tasted, and it was not sweet, and he returned it to the store. Said Abayi to him: "Did not our Mishna state that he must not furnish it to a merchant, even if he was informed" (how, then, did you return the mixed wine to the merchant)? And he answered: "The wine which I mixed is easily distinguished (because I make it very weak), and lest one say that the store-keeper would add wine to it so that the water will not be recognised, then it would be prohibited to sell even plain water to a wine-merchant, lest he mix it with wine."

"In the places where it is customary," etc. A Boraitha in addition to our Mishna states that he may mix a half, a third, or a quarter, as is customary in that city. Said Rabh: The Mishna, however, treats of the time of wine-pressing (but not otherwise).

MISHNA 10: R. Jehudah said: A store-keeper must not furnish little children with presents of nuts, etc., because he accustoms them to buy all their needs at his place. The sages, however, permit this. He also prohibits to lower the prices, for the above reason. The sages, however, say that people may be grateful for such an act. A store-keeper must not take off the shells of beans, in order to raise the price more than if they remained in the shells. The sages, however, permit (as the buyer usually knows the difference of the prices). They, however, agree that one must not do so with the top of the measure only, for he deceives the eye (as the buyer may think that the contents of the whole measure is so). The embellishment of articles which are to be sold, e.g., slaves, animals, or vessels, is forbidden (further on, the meaning).

GEMARA: What is the reason of the rabbis who permit to give presents to children? Because the store-keeper may say to his competitor: "I distribute nuts; you may do so with plums."

"To lower the prices," etc. For what reason do the rabbis permit this? Because he influences the wholesaler to lower his prices also.

"To take off the shells," etc. Who are the sages mentioned in the Mishna? R. Aha of the Boraitha, who permits to do so with visible things.

"The embellishment of," etc. The rabbis taught: "One must not brush up an animal's hair to give it a delusive appearance of fatness, or make it drink water of bran-flour, which causes its hair to be so."

It is also not allowed to blow up entrails (for sale, to give them a delusive appearance), also not to soak meat in water (for the purpose of increasing the weight). Samuel has permitted to put silk fringes on a mantle (so as to make it appear more woolly). R. Jehudah did so with fine clothes, to gloss them by rubbing with a substance. Rabba permitted to press hemp garments, and Rabha to paint arrows, and R. Papa baskets (i.e., to give them a better appearance). But does not our Mishna state that embellishment for slaves and animals is not allowed, This presents no difficulty: new ones are to be embellished, but old ones are not allowed, as they may get a new appearance (and the buyer will be cheated).

Concerning slaves, what embellishment can be done? As it happened, one old slave painted his hair and beard and came to Rabha that he should buy him. And Rabha answered him: "Let thy house be open for the poor" (i.e., I have the service of the house done by poor men). When he came to R. Papa b. Samuel, he bought him. One day he told him to bring a drink of water, and he washed away the paint and told him: "See, I am older than your father;" and R. Papa read to himself the following verse [Proverbs, xi. 8]: "The righteous is delivered out of distress, and another cometh in his stead."

SYNOPSIS OF SUBJECTS OF TRACT BABA METZIA (MIDDLE GATE).

CHAPTER 5.

MISHNAS 1. TO 4. What is considered usury, and what increase? Why does the Scripture mention separately a negative commandment regarding usury, robbery, and cheating? A small liquid measure one shall not fill up in a manner to make foam. Why is the redemption from Egypt mentioned in the Scripture in conjunction with usury, zizith, and weight? Usurers are equalled to shedders of blood. "That thy brother may live with thee" (but shall not die with thee, i.e., the life of thyself is preferred to, etc.). One must not fix a price on fruit before the market prices are announced. The many things which may be done in a sale, but not in a loan, as they may appear usurious. The rule of usury in transactions is: If one sells the article cheaper because it is not yet in his possession, etc. If one has returned robbed money with an account of other money he had to give, he has done his duty. A lender must not dwell in his debtor's house "for nothing," or even for decreased rent. Hiring may be increased, but not sale. How so? One is allowed to increase the price of an article when the money is to be paid at a certain time after delivery (provided he does not say: "If for cash, you will have it cheaper"). There are cases in which the use of the fruit is permitted to both, prohibited to both, permitted to the seller only. Stipulations which may or may not be made in selling real estate. What is to be considered gossip. Does an asmakhta give title or not? There was a man who sold an estate with the security of his very best estates, finally they were overflooded. Is usufruct considered direct or indirect usury? In places where it is the usage for the lender to use the fruit from a pledged estate without any deduction of the debt, and the borrower has a right to return the money at any time, then is the law, etc. A scholar, however, must not do even this. From pledged estates a creditor of the lender has no right to collect in case he dies. Also a first-born of the lender cannot claim the double amount prescribed to him biblically. If the borrower say to the lender: Stop using the fruit, etc. The different customs in pledging real estate at Papuna, Mehusa, Narsha. Why a pledge is called mashkhantha.

MISHNAS 5. TO 11. The law about giving money or articles for half profit. The proper payment for raising cattle. Why R. Papa decided differently in the cases of the Samaritans who appeared before him. R. Hama used to rent zuzes daily for the smallest coin for each zuz and he lost his money. All animals which are labouring for their food may be appraised, that the increase shall be divided equally. One may say to a farmer: I shall give you twelve kur of grain instead of the ten you demand, if you will lend me some money to manure your field. One may rent a boat on the condition that should it break he shall be responsible. One may say: I take your cow for the price of thirty dinars in case it should die, etc. May money belonging to orphans be lent for usury or not? One who lends money for a business which is very likely to bring profit with little chance of loss is wicked; for one which is likely to bring loss and far from profit, is pious, etc. An iron sheep must not be accepted from an Israelite, etc. (for explanation see Mishna 7.). An Israelite may lend to his race money belonging to non-Israelites for usury, etc. The interpretation of verse 8, Prov. 28. The meaning of verse 24, Ex. xxii. He who takes usury will lose all his possessions. What is to be done with the usury promised by or to a heathen, after he has been proselyted. A quote in which usury is mentioned the lender must not be allowed to collect even the principal, which he must forfeit as a fine. Articles for delivery during the year must not be bought for a certain price before the market price is fixed. If one travelled with stock from one place to another, and while on the road his neighbour asked him to sell to him at the price of the place he intends to go to, etc. What Samuel ordered the grain dealers, who used to advance money for grain to the farmers, to do. Also the order of Rabha to the watchmen. Are the rabbis consuming "usury" by paying in Tishri for the wine they will choose in Teveth when it is already in good condition? I call your attention, master, to the rabbis, who pay head-tax charges for those who cannot pay them, etc. Seuram used to compel doubtful characters to carry the palanquin of Rabha. If one of a company of three partners has given money to a messenger to buy some. thing, it is to be considered as for the company, and not as for himself. If the grain was to be finished with two kinds of labour only, one may fix the price, but not if he require three kinds of labour. There was a man who paid a stipulated amount for an outfit to be delivered at the house of his daughter's father-in-law, in the meantime the value of the equipment was reduced, etc. One may lend his gardeners wheat to be returned in the harvest-time the same measure, etc. Hillel (the First) says: A woman must not lend a loaf of bread to her neighbour unless a price is stipulated for it, for fear wheat may become dearer, and then the return of the loaf (of the same quality) will appear usurious. The Halakha, however, does not so prevail. One may say to his neighbour: Help me in weeding or digging to-day and I will help you on some other day, etc. There is a kind of usury which may be called preceding usury, and another kind which may be named succeeding usury. How so? If one owes his neighbour money and it was not customary for him to greet him first, before the loan, he must not do so after the loan took place. If one is aware that his debtor has nothing with which to pay he must not pass him by. There are three who cry for help and are not heard.

CHAPTER 6.

MISHNAS 1. TO 4. He who hired day labourers and they deceived one another, there is nothing but resentment, etc. Whoever changes his words or retracts them has to suffer for the injury caused. The rabbis hold that the labourers have always the preference. R. Dossa, however, holds that the employer has the preference. Said Rabh: The Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Dossa. Did Rabh indeed say so? If one sold a field for a thousand zuz, and the buyer gave him a deposit of two hundred, and the seller retracts, etc. As to whether a deposit gives title or not Tanaim differ in their opinions. How a Bill of Sale must be written according to R. Simeon b. G. Payment in installments is valid, though it was not so stipulated. If one hired an ass for use on a mountain, and he used it in a valley, or vice versa, although the distance for which it was hired was equal (in both ways), the hirer is responsible for an accident. Who is responsible for an angaria? If one has hired an ass for the purpose of riding, and it dies while in the middle of the way, etc. If one hires a boat and it sinks in the middle of the way. If one hires a boat for a certain place, and has unloaded it while in the middle of the way. What may or may not be placed upon the ass which was hired for riding only. If one hires an ass to be ridden by a male, the same must not be ridden by a female. If one hires a cow for ploughing on the mountain and he plough in a valley, etc. How is it if the plough-handle breaks, and there has been no change in the agreement, etc.? If one hired an ass to carry wheat and he used it for barley. Which quantity of overloading makes one responsible to the bearing on shoulders, to a skiff, to a larger boat, and to a ship.

MISHNAS 5. TO 6. All specialists are considered bailees for hire. One may let out a pledge of a poor man and deduct the amount earned from his indebtedness. If one hires a cow, how shall he pay in case it is lost? If one bought utensils from a specialist to send to the house of one's father-in-law, etc. There was a man who sold wine to his neighbour, and the buyer said: I shall carry it to such a place, etc. Guard for me this article and I will guard yours to-morrow; or, I will lend you, or vice versa. All are considered bailees for hire, one to

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the other. The two cases in which R. Papa and Rabha were embarrassed for their decisions and finally it was found that their decisions were correct. If a depositary said: Leave it here "for you," he has no responsibility whatever, but how is the law if he said: Leave it "anonymously"? On a pledge he is considered a bailee for hire. If one carries a barrel from one place to another and breaks it, he must swear that there was no neglect, etc. R. Eliezer was wondering how such a decision could hold good. What shall he swear? I swear that I broke it unintentionally. There were carriers who broke a barrel of wine belonging to Rabba b. b. Hana, while in his service, and Rabh commanded Rabba to return their garments and pay them for their labour.

CHAPTER 7.

MISHNA 1. One cannot compel his employees to come earlier or depart later than is customary at that place, although it was agreed upon. It happened with R. Johanan b. Mathea, who said to his son: Go and hire labourers for us, etc. Resh Lakish's advice to labourers in general. The legend, how R. Eliezer b. R. Simeon was appointed by the government to capture thieves. He who would like to see a beauty similar to that of R. Johanan shall take a silver goblet just out of the worker's, etc. The legend of R. Johanan with Resh Lakish, and how the latter married the sister of the former, and how the death of both Johanan and Resh Lakish occurred. The continuation of the legend about R. Eliezer, how he accepted chastisements upon himself, how he was kept unburied, in his attic, many years; how finally he was buried; what his wife answered Rabbi (the prince) when he asked her to marry him; how Rabbi has also accepted chastisements, etc., etc. He who is a scholar himself and his son and grandson are also, the Torah does not depart from their children for everlasting, etc. R. Zera, when he ascended to Palestine, fasted one hundred days in order to forget the Gemara of the Babylonians, etc. Resh Lakish used to mark the caves of the rabbis. R. Zera's dream. Elijah (the Prophet) frequently appeared in the college of Rabbi. The Hagadah about Abraham with the Angels; the names of those Angels. Why did the Lord change Sarah's words when telling them to Abraham? Until the time of Abraham there was no mark of old age; until the time of Jacob there was no sickness; until the time of Elisha there was no one who became cured from sickness.

MISHNAS 2. TO 11. Who are the labourers who have a right, according to the law of Scripture, to partake of the fruits of their labours? Whence is all this deduced? The particular law about muzzling an ox while labouring. How is the law if the animal is sick and the consuming of grain injures it? May it be muzzled? When Gentiles steal bulls and castrate them, and return them to their owners, may the Israelites use them or not? If one has "muzzled" a cow only with his voice, or if one leads two kinds of animals with his voice only, is he guilty or not? R. Papa and also R. Ashi told in their colleges what they were questioned and decided not in accordance with the existing laws and the reasons. Why the labour of a workingman entitles him to consume the fruit of that with which he is labouring. If one is occupied with pressing dates, he must not consume grapes, and vice versa. A labourer must not consume more than his wages, etc. Does the Scripture add to his wage the consuming of the fruit with which he is engaged? Or is it a part of his wage? A labourer has the right to make a stipulation that he shall not eat what he is entitled to and take money for it instead. Watchmen of fruits are permitted to eat, according to the custom of the country, etc. The following labourers have a right to partake according to the law of Scripture, etc. There are four kinds of bailees: A gratuitous bailee, a borrower, a bailee for hire, and a hirer. For what loss must a hirer pay? What is the extent of the duty of the bailee for hire? Abu placed flocks at Rumnia, and Shabu, who was an errant robber, took them away. Although Abu proved that this was the case, R. Na'hman held him responsible, etc. A single wolf's coming among the flock is not considered an accident. A robbery is considered an accident. A natural death is an accident, but not if it is caused by cruelty. A gratuitous bailee has the right to make a stipulation that in case of loss he shall be freed from taking an oath. A stipulation made contrary to that which is written in the Scripture is of no avail. A bailee for hire may stipulate that he shall be equal to a borrower. But how shall a stipulation of this kind be made verbally, only?

CHAPTER 8.

MISHNAS 1. TO 4. If one borrows a cow, and at the same time hires or borrows its owner, etc. There are four kinds of bailees, etc. Whence do we deduce all this? How do we know that he is responsible in case of confiscation also? There is no responsibility when the owner works together with the borrowed article. If one tells his messenger that he shall substitute him in service to his neighbour, together with his cow, how is the law if the cow breaks or dies while labouring? If one borrows another's slave and cow, how is the law? What should a husband who uses the estate of his wife be considered--a borrower or a hirer? If the body of the animal becomes lean because of the labour, how is the law? Maraimar b. Hanina hired mules from Huzai, and the former overworked them, and they died, etc. If one borrowed a cow for half a day and for the other half a day he hires it, etc. If one has borrowed a cow, and the owner sends it to him by his son, slave, or messenger, or even by the same persons of the borrower, and it dies while on the road? If one borrows a hatchet; if he has done some work with it, he acquires title to it for the time borrowed. Is the law concerning an ordinary man equal to that of the sanctuary? If one exchanges an ass for a cow, and it brought forth young. If one possesses two male slaves or two fields, one large and one small, and the buyer claims: I bought the large one, etc.

MISHNAS 5. TO 9. If one sold out his olive trees for fuel, and there were still bad olives on them. Olive trees which were overflooded, taken out and planted in another's field, etc. If one has planted trees in a field belonging to another without the consent of the owner. If one has rebuilt a ruin of one's neighbour without his consent. If one rents a house (without appointing the time) in the rain season, etc. All the terms are fixed only for giving notice. This notice is to be given by the owner of the house as well as by the tenant. The owner of the house is obliged to give to the tenant a door bolt, a lock, etc. However, things which can be done by any one the tenant has to furnish himself. Whose duty is it to furnish a mezuzah? The manure belongs to the owner, etc. If the year was made a leap year the tenant reaps the benefit of the intercalation. However, if he rented him the house monthly, the intercalation belongs to the owner. In an agreement, which is to be considered, the first expression, or the last? If the renter says: I have paid; and the owner claims: I have not received it, who of them must bring evidence? If one has rented out a house for ten years, and has signed the lease without a date, etc. If a man rents out a house and it falls, etc.

CHAPTER 9

MISHNAS 1. TO 4 One who hires a field must do as it is customary in that country, etc. If the stipulation was made on wine, etc. They must also prepare together the sticks needed for the vineyard for the next year. In Babylon there is a custom that the gardener is not given any straw. If one hires a field and it was a dry place, or a group of trees, and thereafter the spring ceases to flow, etc. If the hirer told him: Rent to me this dry field, etc. If one has undertaken to work up a field and he has neglected to do so. Mair, Jehudah, Hillel, Jehoshua, and Jose, these considered the language of the common people legal (although it was not in accordance with the enactment of the sages). If one lends money to some one, he has no right to pledge him through the court for more than he owes him. Rabina used to double the amount in the marriage contract, etc. There was one who undertook to work up a field, and he said: Should I neglect, I will give you one thousand zuz, etc. There was a man who undertook a field for poppy, sowing with wheat, and finally the wheat was worth more than poppy. If one has given articles for business without any stipulation, and took from him two notes, etc. If the gardener did not want to weed the field, saying: I will give you your due, he must not be listened to.

MISHNAS 5. TO 9. If one took a field in partnership and it was not productive. If one hires a field and the locusts destroyed it, or it was burned. If that year was a year of destruction or a year without rain, etc. If this happened once, he has to sow it the second time, etc. If one hires a field for ten kur wheat per annum, and the products are poor. There was a man who hired a vineyard for ten barrels of wine, and thereafter the wine became sour. If one takes a field for sowing barley, he must not sow wheat in it, etc. The explanation of Deut. xxviii. 3-6. Thirteen advantages can be gained by taking the early morning meal, viz., etc. Get up early in the morning and eat, in the summer, because of the heat; and in the winter, because of the cold? The advices given by R. Jehudah to the land surveyor about measuring land, trenches, and the space for anchoring. Correct thyself first, and then others. All the inhabitants of the city must contribute to the repairing of the wall of the city if it is destroyed. If one takes possession of a dock, he is a rascal. If one takes possession of a field which was placed between two brothers or partners, it is considered a piece of assurance. To a presented estate the right of preëmption does not apply, etc. To a pledged estate, and if it is sold for taxes, or for the support of a widow, or for burial, this law does not apply. If one hires a field for a few years (less than seven), he must not sow flax in it. R. Papa hired fields for pasture, and some trees sprouted in them, etc. Because you are descendants of frail people, you speak frail words. Joseph had a planter who planted all his trees for half product, and he died and left five sons-in-law, etc. The planter of Rabbina did damage and was discharged and he came to complain to Rabha, etc. There was a planter who said "Give me what I am entitled to of the improvements, as I want to go to Palestine." There was one who pledged his vineyard for ten years, and it became old in eight years. There was a note in which was written the year without a number, etc. If the gardener claims: "I worked for the half," and the owner says for a third, who should be trusted? If orphans claim: "We have made the improvements on this estate," and the creditor claims: "It was improved by your deceased father," for whom is it to bring evidence?

MISHNAS 10. TO 14. If one hires a field for the whole sabbatic season for seven hundred zuz, the sabbatic year is included. A day-labourer has to collect his money the whole night after that day, etc. The transgression of this commandment comes and ceases with the first morning. One who withholds wages transgresses the commandments of five verses, etc. The commandment: "In the same day you shall give his wage," and also the negative, "There shall not abide . . . until morning," applies to men, cattle, and vessels. To a proselyte who promised not to worship idols and not to commit adultery, but not to conform to other Jewish laws, the commandment applies. One who withholds wages is considered as if he would take out the soul. If the storekeeper or the money-changer failed to pay him, may he return his claim to the owner or not? Is piece-work subject to that law or not? If a creditor has to pledge his debtor, he may do so only by court, etc. If things belonging to a debtor are to be sold out, has the court to consider which should be sold and which left to him, or is all to be sold out? If one lends money to his neighbour, he has no right to pledge him, is not obliged to return, transgresses all the commandments which are in the Scripture concerning [pledging]--what does this mean? If the pledge was returned and the borrower died, etc. One who pledges a nether and upper millstone transgresses a negative commandment and is guilty for two articles. There was a man who pledged a butcher knife from his debtor, etc.

CHAPTER 10.

MISHNAS 1. TO 6. If one owns a house, the upper chamber of which belongs to another, and it falls. If the attic was ruined, and the owner of the house declined to repair it. When the tenant goes to dwell in the lower apartment, must the owner vacate it for the tenant, or should they dwell together? Must the party doing the damage remove the cause of it, or must the injured party remove the cause of the damage? One is responsible for damage done to his fellow by things which come directly from him (though it is the obligation of every one to keep aloof from damaging things). A house with an attic, belonging to two persons, which becomes ruined; the owner of the upper chamber requires the rebuilding, and the owner of the house refuses, etc. The same is the case with an olive-press which was placed under a garden, etc. A wall or a tree which falls suddenly on a public thoroughfare and causes damage, etc. What time is fixed for such a case by the court? The same is the case with a labourer who was told by his employer to take the articles with which he was engaged for payment. Whether looking gives title to an ownerless article or not, the Tanaim differ. One must not place his manure upon a public ground, unless it is immediately taken away by those who want to use it. If a hewer of stones has transferred them to the polisher, and they cause damage while under his control, the latter is responsible. When two gardens were placed one above the other, and some herbs were grown between them, the upper one may use that which he can reach with his hand, provided he does not exert himself to reach them. This was reported to the King Sabura.

TRACT BABA METZIA (MIDDLE GATE).

CHAPTER 5.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING USURY IMPRISONMENT, RENTING HOUSES, INSTALMENTS, LOANS FOR HALF PROFIT, APPRAISING, ETC.

MISHNA 1.: What is considered usury, and what is considered increase? If one lends a "sela" (four dinars) to get five, or two "saahs" wheat for three, this is prohibited, because it is biting. And what is considered increase? One buys wheat, a "kur" for a golden dinar (twenty-five silver dinars), which is the market price, and the price of wheat advances to thirty silver dinars; the buyer then requires his wheat, which he desires to sell, and buy wine for it. The seller said: "I accept the wheat for thirty dinars, and you shall have to get wine from me according to the present market price," but he has not wine ready for delivery; this is an unlawful increase.

GEMARA: In leaving out usury, which is biblical, and explaining increase, which is rabbinical only (which is the matter of an exchange), it may be deduced that, biblically, "usury" and "increase" are one and the same thing; and yet both expressions are mentioned in the same sentence [Deut. xxiii. 20]: "Usury of money, and increase of victuals?" Said Rabha: There is indeed not a case of "usury" without an "increase," and vice versa. The Scripture, however, mentioned purposely Neshekh (biting) and Tarbeth (increase), to teach us that there are two negative commandments for usury. The rabbis taught: It is written [Levi., xxv. 37]: "Thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury, nor lend him thy victuals for increase." There is mentioned only usury of money, and an increase of victuals; whence we know that even the negative commandment of usury is to be applied on victuals also? There it is said "Usury of victuals." Whence the negative commandment of increase on money? It is therefore said, "usury of money." This expression is superfluous, as it is said

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at the beginning of the same sentence: "Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother," etc., which includes any kind of usury; therefore this superfluous expression is to be applied for the negative commandment of increase (tarbeth) on money. As this verse speaks of the borrower only, whence do we know that the same is the case with the lender? From the analogy of expression, "usury," which is used in both cases, we deduce that, as in the former case, there is no difference between money, victuals, usury, or increase. Whence, however, is to be deduced, that any increase is prohibited? From "usury of anything that is lent upon usury."

Rabbina, however, said: The analogy of expressions would be needed if the Scripture would read: "Thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury, and thy victuals," etc.; but as it is written: "Thou shalt not give him thy money, and upon increase," etc., it is not necessary, because we read: "Thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury and increase," and we also read: "With usury and increase thou shalt not give thy victuals." But says the Gemara: Did not the Tana of the Boraitha deduce analogy of expressions! How then can Rabbina, as an (Amoroi) oppose the statement of a Tana? There is no opposition, as he means to say, that if it would not be plainly written in the Scripture, it could be deduced from the above analogy of expression. The above analogy, however, is needed to include every kind of usury which is not mentioned in the Scripture, concerning a lender. Rabha said: Why does the Scripture mention separately a negative commandment regarding usury, robbery, and cheating? (Are they not all of one and the same character?) It is necessary, for if it were written concerning usury, only, one might say it is something peculiar, as the borrower (who needs the money) is also forbidden to give usury; hence, robbery and cheating could not be deduced (as there is a rule that nothing is to be deduced from a peculiarity). If concerning robbery only, one might say because there is an act of violence, of which cheating cannot be deduced. And if it were stated concerning cheating only, one might say that because he was not aware of the cheat, and could not relinquish even if he would like to do so, therefore the above could not be deduced. Let us see. If even one from another cannot be deduced, why, then, should not one of them be deduced from the two others? Which of them! Suppose it should not be written concerning usury, and therefore be deduced from the others. One may say that in both the above cases it was done against his will, which is not the case with usury, as the borrower agrees. And should it be deduced concerning cheating from above two, one might say that buying and selling matters cannot be deduced from a case of violence, etc. But let the Scripture leave robbery, which could be deduced from the above, as what would be the objection? "Usury is a peculiarity!" cheating would prove; and if there would be an objection that in the case of cheating no relinquishment could be made, as it was not known, usury would prove. The same discussion will revolve indefinitely, and though the points of each are different, they are equal, however, in one point: that their acts are considered a robbery; hence, robbery could be deduced? It may be said: That so it is, and the commandment of robbery applies to him who withholds the wages of an employee. But is this not plainly written [Deut., 24:14]: "Thou shalt not withhold," etc.? It is written to show that two negative commandments shall be applied to any act of unjust keeping of wages. If so, why then is theft mentioned? (Could it not be deduced from above?) It is needed, as it is stated in the following Boraitha: "Thou shalt not steal," even with the intention to vex a short time, and returning; "Thou shalt not steal," even with the intention to please your neighbour with the due double amount (instead of charity, which he would probably not accept). R. Yimar questioned R. Ashi: (After all that is said above,) is not the commandment superfluous concerning right weight? And he answered: The commandment applies to him who hides his scales in salt that they should become heavier. But is this not a direct robbery? I mean to say that the transgression comes just with the act (although he had not used it as yet).

The rabbis taught: It is written [Lev., 10:35]: "Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgement, in mete-yard, in weight, or in measure." Mete-yard means measuring real estate; one should not measure with the same rope for two heirs, for one in the summer season and for the other in the winter (because the rope, if dry, is shorter). "In weight" means, one should not hide the weight in salt (explained above). A small liquid measure one shall not fill up in a manner to make foam; and from this the following a fortiori conclusion is to be drawn: Of a small measure which contains only a thirty-sixth part of a lug, the Thora is particular that the liquid should not be measured with foam; of a hin or a lug, or a half, third, or quarter of a lug, so much the more the measure must be full without foam.

Rabha said: Why is the redemption from Egypt mentioned in the Scripture in conjunction with usury, zizith, and weight? The Holy One, blessed be He, said: It was I who distinguished in Egypt between a first-born and another one, and it is also I who will punish one who lends money upon usury to an Israelite with the pretext that the money belongs to a heathen; and also him who hides his weights in salt, and finally him who puts thread of χαλαιγος; in his garment and saying: it is purple-blue prescribed in Scripture for Tshitstits; as in these three things human beings can easily be deceived.

R. Huna happened to come to Sura of Euphrates. On that occasion Hanina of the same place questioned him: Why did the Scripture mention the redemption from Egypt in conjunction with the eating of reptiles? And he answered. "So said the Holy One, blessed be He: I who have distinguished in Egypt, etc., will punish one who mingles the inwards of unclean fishes with the inwards of clean ones and sells them to an Israelite. And he rejoined: What I do not understand is, why is here mentioned "who brought you up," which is not the case in the other place where the redemption from Egypt is mentioned?

Said Rabbina: To that was taught by the school of R. Ismael: The Holy One, blessed be He, said: If the only reason why Israel should be redeemed from Egypt would be that they should not defile themselves with the consummation of reptiles, it would be sufficient [i.e., the expression, Who brought you up, is in the Hebrew Hamnaleh, which means also, a higher standing]. To the question, however, Is then the reward for not eating reptiles greater than that of the three things mentioned above (to which the expression, I brought you up, is not used)? he rejoined: The question here is not about reward, as the Scripture means they were brought up in such a manner that they felt disgust to defile themselves with reptiles.

What is considered increase, etc.? Is then all that mentioned before in the Mishna not increase? Said R. Abuhu: The cases of the first part are biblically prohibited, and those of the latter rabbinically only. And so also said Rabha, with the addition that to the first part the verse [Job, xxvii. 17]: "He may prepare it, but the just shall put it on," applies (i.e., that the children, even being upright, are not obliged to return usury taken by their wicked fathers). But why not so much the more in the second part, which is rabbinical? Say then: The above cited verse applies to the first part also, although the first part treats of direct usury and the second of indirect. R. Elazar said: Direct usury is to be replevied by the court, which is not the case with indirect usury. R. Johanan, however, maintains that even the former is not to be replevied. Said R. Itzhak: The reason of R. Johanan's decision is the following verse [Ezekiel, 18:13]: "Hath given forth upon usury, and hath taken increase, shall he then live? He shall not live; he has done all these abominations." Hence such a man is charged with a crime of capital punishment, from whom damages are not collected.

R. Adda bar Ahaba says of the following [Lev., 25:36]: "Take thou no usury of him or increase, but fear thy God." Hence nothing is mentioned here about the restoration (as is mentioned in the case of theft or robbery).

Rabha, however, said: It is to be deduced from the first part of the above cited verse itself [Ezekiel, 18:13]: "He shall surely die: his blood shall be upon him." Hence the usurers are equalled to blood-shedders; as bloodshed cannot be restored, the same is the case with usury. R. Nachman bar Itzhack said: "The reason for R. Elazar's theory stated above is because it treats in the latter part of the verse mentioned before [Lev., ibid., ibid.], that he may live with thee, which means, return him the usury taken, that he may live. R. Johanan, however, applies this verse to the case mentioned in the following Boraitha: "If two were on the road (in the desert), and one of them has a pitcher of water which is sufficient for one only until he may reach an inhabited place, but if both would use it both would die before reaching a village;" and Ben Patturo lectured that in such a case it is better that both should drink and die than one should witness the death of his comrade. (And so it was practised) until R. Aqiba came and taught: It is written: "That thy brother may live with thee" (but shall not die with thee, i.e., the life of thyself is preferred to the life of thy brother).

R. Saffra said: Promised usury, which, according to the Persian Law, is collected from the borrower for the lender, according to our Law must be collected from the lender for the borrower; and that which, in accordance with the Persian Law, is not to be collected, is also not to be collected from the lender, according to our Law. Said Abayi to R. Joseph: Is this to be considered a standing rule? Are not then two saahs of grain promised for one saah, that the Persian court collects from the borrower for the lender, and we do not return such to the borrower? And he answered: They do not collect it because of usury, but because they consider it as a deposit in the hand of the borrower when the grain was dear, and now, as it is cheaper, they collect the value of the deposited grain, which may amount to the extent of two saahs (according to our Law, however, it is prohibited, because it appears usurious). Said Rabbina to R. Ashi: Let us see. A pledge without account (i.e., if one has borrowed money for a vineyard and the creditor used the fruit of it without deducting anything of the debt, but for usury of the money), if the borrower used the fruit for himself, the Persian court collects from the borrower for the lender; and according to our law in such a case we do not collect from the lender for the fruit he has used (as it is not considered direct usury, because it may happen that the vineyard should be sterile)? And he answered, that this also is not because of usury, but because they consider it a regular sale. (The lender paid money for the vineyard, and it is considered his until the borrower repays the amount, which is considered another sale.) Then how is R. Saffra's statement to be understood? His statement is concerning money matters only, direct usury, which is allowed by the Persians, and such a promise is collected by their court; in accordance with our Law, if the lender has already taken charge, it is to be collected from him by a court, and this is in accordance with R. Elazar's theory stated above, and also his further statement that what the Persians do not collect from the borrower speaks of usury which was not fixed with the loan, but taken previously or after it (as will be explained in the last Mishna of this chapter).

If one buys wheat, etc. And if he has no wine, is this to be considered increase? Have we not learned in the following Boraitha: "A price must not be fixed on fruit before the market prices are announced; but when already announced, one may sell it for this price even if it is not in his possession as yet?" Said Rabba: Our Mishna treats when he came to take it for his debt, as is illustrated in the following Boraitha: "If one claims a hundred zuz, and goes to the barn of his debtor, saying: 'Give me my money, as I intend to buy wheat for it,' and he says: 'You can buy it from myself at the existing market price, and I will deliver it to you in monthly instalments during this year,' it is prohibited (although it would be allowed if he would advance him cash now), as the old debt is not considered for cash at the time of this agreement." (Hence the statement of our Mishna that when he has no wine at the time it is considered an increase, which is prohibited.) Said Abayi to him: If so, then even when he possesses the wine it should be considered an unlawful increase (as the wheat which he claims is an old debt)? Therefore, said Abayi, the Mishna is to be explained as R. Saffra illustrated the law of usury taught in the school of R. Hyia: "There are things which in reality ought not to be considered usury, and nevertheless they are prohibited because they appear usurious." How so? (Illustrates R. Saffra:) If one said: "Borrow me a mana" (which is twenty-five selas), and he answered: "I have no money in cash, but I can furnish wheat for a mana," and he accepted, and thereafter the lender buys it from him for twenty-four selas, this is lawful, but nevertheless it is prohibited to be practised, as it appears usurious. And similar to this case may be the case in our Mishna illustrated; namely, if one said: "Borrow me thirty dinars," and he said: "I have no cash, but I can furnish you wheat for this amount," and he accepted, and thereafter the lender bought from him for a golden dinar (which is twenty-five silver dinars) as the market price at that time, but before delivering it to him the price increased to thirty, and when the lender came to require his wheat the borrower said: "I have no wheat, but wine for thirty dinars," then, if he possesses it he may do so, as he took from him a trade article and repays him with a trade article, but if not he will be compelled to give him the value of the wheat at the increased price (i.e., thirty dinars), and this appears usurious. Said Rabha to him: If so, why does the Mishna state, Give me my wheat (the value of which when he bought it was only a golden dinar; the borrower of the wheat is considered now a seller and the buyer has not made a drawing or paid any money for it that he should acquire any title to it, hence the seller may retract and give him back twenty-five dinars; we must then say that the lender claims thirty dinars, the value of the wheat he sold him first): I then let the Mishna state, Give me the value of my wheat? Read, then, "The value of my wheat." But does not the Mishna state: "Which he desired to sell," and according to your theory it should state: "Which he sold"? Read, "Which I sold." But the further expressions: "I accept it for thirty," "so is the market price," could not be explained in accordance with your theory? Therefore said Rabha: When I will die, R. Oshia will come to meet me, as I try always to explain his Boraithas in accordance with the Mishnayoth. And there is a Boraitha taught by the same, as follows: "If one claims a mana and stands at the barn of his debtor, saying, Give me money, as I desire to buy wheat for it, and he answers: I possess wheat and can furnish it to you at the market price (and the lender accepts it), then, when the time to sell the wheat arrived, and he required his wheat for sale, as he wants to buy wine to sell it in season, and he says: I possess wine, buy it from me at the market price (and he again accepted), and when he came, in season, requiring the wine for the purpose of selling it to buy oil for the season, and he says: I have also oil and you can buy it from me at the existing market price--in all these cases, if he possesses the articles, it is allowed; if not, it is prohibited, because it appears usurious." And the expression in our Mishna: "If one buys wheat," means that he bought it for his previous loan.

Rabha said: From the above cited Boraitha three things may be inferred: (a) That with a loan articles may be bought at the existing price to deliver in instalments although the price may be increased, and it is considered as though he would give him cash--not in accordance with R. Hyia's statement above, that it is not so considered; (b) provided the article is ready by the debtor for delivery; and (c) R. Janai's

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statement 1 that there is no difference between the article and the money; as it is allowed to accept an article bought at the existing price even if afterwards the price increased, so is it also allowed to accept the difference in money.

The same said again: As the above theory is correct, there is no difference even if the article is not ready for delivery by the seller to buy of him at the existing market price, provided he takes the money now (as he can buy the article everywhere, it is considered as if it were ready for delivery).

R. Papa and R. Huna b. R. Joshua raised an objection to his statement (supra.): "In all cases, if he possesses; . . . if not, it is prohibited." And he answered: (What comparison is it?) There is a loan and here a sale.

Rabha and R. Joseph both said: The rabbi's decision that one may buy articles to deliver them in instalments at the existing market price (in the larger cities, without fear that it appear usurious 1) is because the buyer may say: I do not consider it favourable even should the price increase during the year, as for the cash I have forwarded to the seller I could buy in the cities of Hini and Shili, at a lower price than in the larger cities, all I need for this year. Said Abayi to R. Joseph: According to thy theory, it should be allowed to lend a saah of grain in the time when it is cheap, to return the same measure to him when it is dear, as the lender can say: I do not see any favour in this, as I could keep the wheat in my store until that time (and it is said above that this is not allowed, as it appears usurious). And he answered: There is a loan, but here is a sale. Said Ada b. Abba to Rabha: After all, it is still an advantage to the buyer, as he would have to pay the broker (i.e., has he not the advantage of saving the broker's fee?). And he rejoined: It treats when he pays the same to the seller. R. Ashi, however, said: A man's money does the brokerage for him (i.e., dealers come to the wholesaler directly).

Rabba and R. Joseph both said: One who buys grain in the time when it is ripe, but before it was harvested (when the market price is not yet fixed, and it is said above that, from him who possesses, it is allowed to buy even before the price is fixed), he must convince himself by seeing the grain at the barn of the seller. (Asks the Gemara:) To what purpose? If to acquire title, the seeing would not do (without drawing it)? And if in case of retracting by the seller he should be classified with those who have to accept the curse (mentioned in Chap. iv., Mishna I.), is the same not the case if he has not seen? Yea, it is for that purpose; but, usually, he who buys grain in the above-mentioned time buys it of two or three farmers; and then, if the farmers have seen him at their barns, they are sure that the buyer relies upon them. But otherwise the farmer may say: I thought you found better ones and you did not care any more to take mine, therefore I sold it out. Said R. Ashi: Now, coming to the conclusion that the relying upon him is the reason of the above statement, it is sufficient even if he had told him: I rely upon you at any other place.

R. Nahaman said: The rule of usury in transactions is: If he sells him the article cheaper because it is not yet in his hand, it is forbidden. He said again: If a wax dealer says to the buyer: "I need money and you can get now five wax cakes for a zuz instead of the fixed price, which is four," if these cakes are ready for delivery he may do so, but not otherwise. Is this not self-evident? Lest one say that the same is the case when the wax dealer has to gather his cakes placed with others' in the city, as this is similar to the case: "Lend me . . . until my son will return with the keys," mentioned above, he comes to teach us that this case, that they are not collected as yet, is not to be considered if they would be in his hand.

The same said again: If one found a surplus in the small coins he borrowed, he must return him the surplus, provided such an error is usual. If, however, it could not be supposed as an error, he may consider it a present of his friend. What error is to be considered usual? Said R. Aha b. R. Joseph: To the number of tens and fives (e.g., if he had to give him two score and he found twenty-one or twenty-two, or he had to give him twenty-five and he found twenty-six or twenty-seven; but not if he found twenty-five instead of twenty). Said R. Ahab. Rabha to R. Ashi: But if the lender was a miser, so that a present from him is unimaginable, how then? And he answered: Then it can be supposed that with this he returned him the sum which he robbed him of so me time ago, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: "If one has returned robbed money with an account of other money he had to give him, he has done his duty." The former questioned again: But how is it if he never did any business with him? And he rejoined: Even then it may be supposed that another one who robbed him of the same amount told him to do so, when it will occur that he will require a loan from him.

R. Kahana said: I happened to be at the college when Rabh I had finished his lecture and I heard him saying: "Melons, melons," and did not know what he said about them. After Rabh left, the college men told me that he had said as follows: If one advanced money to a gardener for melons, to deliver to him thereafter, and his melons usually were the size of a span, the price of which was ten for a zuz, and he promised to give him the same number at the size of an ell for the advanced money, this agreement is of avail. Is this not self-evident? Lest one say that because they are growing from themselves it is allowed, he comes to teach that even then it is only when he possesses such. And according to whom is it? To the Tana of the following Boraitha: "If one goes to milk his goats, to shear his sheep, or to take out honey and wax from his hives, and he offers to sell the products by the advance of money for a cheaper price, it is allowed. If, however, he says: 'I will sell you the above products to a certain quantity which will be produced in the future, it is prohibited.'" Hence, we see that although they grow from themselves it is, nevertheless, prohibited. Rabha, however, said the articles are not similar to the case of melons, as the same melons which are now small will become big by growing themselves, but milk, wool, or honey of the bees is not grown at all, as he takes the milk out to-day and on the morrow there is other milk instead, and the same is with the shorn wool and the honey. Therefore, the above-mentioned case of the melons is permissible.

Abayi said: One may say to his comrade: "Take four zuz for a barrel of wine you possess, with the condition that if it should become sour you should be responsible, but if it becomes dearer or cheaper it should be charged on my account." Said R. Shrabia to him: Is this not a case in which the profit is to be very likely expected, and little loss from damage (i.e., the increase in price is usual, and its becoming spoiled unusual, and there is a rule that in such cases it must not be done)? And Abayi answered: This would be correct if he would not accept in case it became cheaper, but since he accepted this also, both chances, of profit and damage, are alike.

MISHNA 2.: A lender must not dwell in his debtor's house for nothing, or even for decreased rent, as it is usury.

GEMARA: Said R. Joseph b. Menjumi in the name of R. Nahaman: Although it was decided that one who occupies the court of his neighbour without his knowledge need not pay any rent (First Gate, p. 40; if, however, he said to him: Borrow me some money and dwell in my house, he must pay him rent. If however, while dwelling there for nothing he lent him any money, he need not pay. Why so? As the loan was not made previously for this purpose, it does not matter.

Abayi said: If a debtor who sold grain, four measures for one zuz, had to pay a zuz usury, and furnished to his creditor five measures for the same, then the court that levies the usury levies only four measures, as the fifth may be considered a present. Rabha, however, says: All the five must be levied, as all the five together came to hand by usury.

Abayi said again: If a debtor who owes four zuz usury has furnished a garment to his creditor, when the court levies the usury it levies only four zuz, but not the garment. Rabha, how. ever, maintains that the garment is to be levied, for the reason that people may say that the garment he wears is of usury.

Rabha said: If one claimed thirteen zuz usury, and at the same time he hired a court of his debtor for the same price which is worth only ten, when the usury is levied all the thirteen zuz are to be collected. Said R. Aha of Difti to Rabbina: Why should not the creditor claim: "Because the money was of a profit I did not care to give him three zuz more than the value, but now, when they levy the money, why should I be charged more than others?" And he answered: The owner of the court may say: "There is no difference, as so was my agreement and you accepted it."

MISHNA 3.: Hiring may be increased, but not sale. How so? The owner may say to the hirer: "You can have this court for ten selas a year, if you give me the money in advance, but if in monthly instalments you have to pay one sela a month." It is, however, not allowed for the owner of a field to say: "If you advance me a thousand zuz you can have this field, but if by instalments, you have to pay twelve hundred."

GEMARA: Why are the two cases so different? Rabba and R. Joseph both said: Hiring is usually paid afterwards, and so if he pays him monthly he pays only what was due the last day of the month, as during the month he did not owe him anything, consequently there is no reward for waiting for the payment; and the lower price which he offered him, for paying in advance the money for all the year, must also not be considered usury, as the owner has a right to reduce the price for occupying his property. With sale, however, it is different, because the money must be paid with the act of the sale, and he acquires title immediately. Consequently, the increase of 200 for the instalments is usury. Said Rabha: The rabbis have investigated this matter to find its basis in the Scripture, and finally based it upon the verse [Lev. xxv. 53]: "Hired from year to year," which signifies that the hiring of this year is paid at the beginning of the next.

But if by installments, etc. R. Nahaman said: It is allowed to increase the price of an article when the money, is to be paid a certain time after delivering (provided he does not say: "If for cash, you will have it cheaper"). And Rami, according to others Uqba b. Hama, objected to him from the last part of our Mishna; and he answered: There he said plainly: "If you advance me the money you will have it cheaper" (which certainly appears usurious). Said R. Papa (who was a brewer): I do so with my customers. I sell them on Tishri at the price of Nissan, thinking that to me it is undoubtedly allowed, as my beer would not get spoiled until Nissan and I am never in need of money (so that I should sell cheaper for cash), and I do only a favour to my customers by crediting them. Said R. Shesheth b. R. Aidi to him: Why should the master take the example of yourself and not of your customers? You should consider these circumstances, that if they would have money they would pay you at the price existing in Tishri? Said R. Hama: I do so in my business, and to me it is allowed beyond any question (Rashi explains that he was a wholesale dealer in many articles, and he sold them to the travellers at the market price of the large cities, with the condition that they should pay him when they returned, and he was also responsible for his goods on the way until sold; they, however, were allowed to buy articles for the money obtained and to sell them in other places), as they are pleased that I take all the responsibility of the goods until sold, and also that they are free of duty because the goods bear my name (the Persians used to free the rabbis of duties), and furthermore that my goods have the preference for sale, as it is announced in the market that no one can sell the same goods until mine are sold, because they bear my name. 1 The Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Hama, with R. Elazar (who says that usury is levied), and also with R. Yanai, who said above that there is no difference between the articles and the money.

MISHNA 4.: If one sold his field, taking a deposit and saying: "You may take possession of the field belonging to you from to-day, when you will bring the balance," such an act is not allowed. If, however, one has borrowed money on his estate with condition that if he will not repay within three years it shall belong to the lender, it belongs to the lender if not paid; and so did Baitus b. Zunin under the supervision of the sages.

GEMARA: But who uses the fruit in case he sold his field by a deposit? According to R. Huna, the seller; and according to R. Anan, the fruit must be deposited until the remainder is paid. And they do not differ. R. Huna speaks in case the seller told him he shall acquire title when he will bring the balance, and R. Anan speaks in case he said, When the balance will be paid in time title shall be acquired by you from to-day.

R. Saffra learned in the Boraithas, treating upon usury, taught in the school of R. Hyia, concerning the statement of our Mishna: There are cases in which the use of the fruit is permitted to both, prohibited to both, permitted to the seller only.

And Rabha illustrated it thus: The first case applies when the agreement was that he shall acquire title for the amount of the deposit only; the second applies when he was told that if he will pay the balance in time, title to the property shall be given to him from to-day; the third applies, if he was told, A title will be given to you at the time when you will bring the balance; and the fourth applies if he was told, Title is given to you from now and the balance you owe me should be considered a loan.

According to whom is the statement of our Mishna that both are prohibited? Said R. Huna b. R. Joshua: At any rate, it is not in accordance with R. Jehuda, who said: If there is only one side of usury (i.e., if, for instance, the buyer should not keep his promise, there would be no usury if the seller used the fruit) it does not matter. (The other parts of the above Boraitha, how. ever, are in accordance with R. Jehuda also, as there is a certain usury without any doubt).

If one has pledged his house or field, and the lender said to him: "You may sell it to me for such and such amount, but if you sell it to another, you will have to add such and such an amount to my loan," this is usury. But if he says: "Should you wish to sell for its value, I shall have the preference," it is allowed. The same is the case if one has sold a house or a field with the condition that if he should have money thereafter, the estate should be returned to him; it is considered usury (as the money is considered a loan for which the lender uses the estate until the money is returned). If, however, the buyer says: "I will return it to you when you will have money," such an agreement is allowed. [And the above-mentioned R. Huna said that these two Boraithas also are not in accordance with R. Jehuda, as there is only one side of usury (i.e., that should the seller or bor. rower not have the money necessary, there would be no usury) which is allowed according to his theory.] But what difference is there if the seller made the condition of returning when he will have the money, or the buyer made it? Said Rabha: That is, if the buyer said, "I will do so not as a condition but by my good will."

There was a man who bought an estate without any security--i.e., that the seller did not take the responsibility to return him the money should the estate be taken away from him by the seller's creditors. Seeing, however, that the man looked downhearted, the seller said to him: "Why art thou grieved? Should it be taken away from you I will collect for you the fruit and the improvement." Said Amimar: This is only a gossip. Said R. Ashi to him: Your reason is, because this condition should be made by the buyer and not by the seller; does not the above Boraitha state that if the seller said, "I will return it to you, etc.," it is allowed, because such a condition ought to be made by the seller and not by the buyer? And Rabha explained this that only when the buyer says: "It is not a condition, etc.," from which it is to be inferred that if he did not add this it would not be considered as a gossip? And

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Amimar rejoined: Rabha means to say thus: As this condition should have been made by the seller, and it was not, then when the buyer says, "I will do it," it is to be considered as though he would add: "from my good will."

It was taught: It happened that a sick man wrote a divorce to his wife and she heard him sigh. Then she said to him: "Why do you sigh? If you will live I am yours." Said R. Zebid: It is to be considered a gossip only. Said R. A'ha of Difti to Rabina. And should it not be considered so, what harm could there be? Does it then depend upon her to make a condition in the divorce? That depends on the husband only. (And he rejoined:) Lest one say that, hearing her statement, the husband resolved to give the divorce upon this condition, he comes to teach us that it is not so.

If one has borrowed money on his estate, etc. Said R. Huna: The case is if the condition was made at the time the money was paid. If, however, it was made thereafter, title is acquired according to the amount paid only. R. Nahaman, however, maintains that even then title is acquired on the whole estate; and R. Nahaman acted accordingly in a case of the Exilarch. R. Jehuda, however, tore the document, and the Exilarch told this to R. Nahaman, and he said: (It does not matter;) a boy tore it as, concerning jurisprudence, all are considered boys in comparison with me. Afterwards, R. Nahaman retracted from this statement, and said that even when the condition was made at the time the money was given, it is of no avail. And Rabha objected to him from our Mishna: "If he will not repay within three years . . . it is his." And R. Nahaman answered: I say that an asmakhta gives title. Minjumi, however, maintained that it does not. But then our Mishna contradicts Minjumi? He interprets our Mishna as treating of when the seller said: Title should be acquired by you from now. Said Mar the Senior and the junior, sons of R. Hisda, to R. Ashi: So said the sages of Nahardai in the name of R. Nahaman: An asmakhta gives title only in time but not thereafter. And R. Ashi rejoined: This would not be correct, as there is a rule that a thing which gives title in time gives also thereafter. Perhaps you mean to say thus: If the borrower sought him within the time of the loan and told him: Acquire title on it, as I will not redeem it any more, then title is acquired; but if he said the same to him after the time has elapsed, it counts nothing, as it is to be considered that he said so only because he was ashamed for the delay of the payment. (Says the Gemara:) In reality, title is not acquired even within the time, as the saying of the borrower is to be considered as a postponement of time only, as he would not like to be troubled when the time of payment arrived.

R. Papa said: The asmakhta sometimes gives title and sometimes does not. If, e.g., he finds his debtor on the day of payment drinking beer, and not caring about the payment of his debt, it is to be considered that the debtor does not intend any more to redeem his pledge, and then title is acquired by the lender; but if he found him on that day searching for money, title is not acquired. Said R. A'ha of Difti to Rabina: Even in the first case title should not be acquired, as it may be the debtor drinks only to drown his grief, or he relies upon some one who assured him that he would furnish him money. Therefore said Rabina: If we see that the debtor does not care to lower the price of his goods for the purpose of collecting the money due, it must be considered that he does not care any more for the pledged estate, and title is acquired. And the above R. A'ha rejoined: Even this proves nothing, as it may be he does not want people to know his circumstances, which would cause a reduction in value of his estate. Therefore it may be assumed that R. Papa's statement was thus: "If the debtor was particular on that day with his estate not to have it sold, even for its value, it is certain that he does not care for the estate pledged, and title is acquired. R. Papa said again: Although it is decided by the rabbis that an asmakhta gives no title, it is nevertheless considered a hypotheca of which he should collect his money. Said R. Huna b. R. Nathan to him: Has then the debtor at the time pledged said: "Acquire title on the estate to the amount of my debt"? Said Mar Zutro bar R. Mari to Rabina: And even if he said so, would the title be acquired? The stipulation of the pledge was that if he does not repay him within three years then he may collect from this estate, and this is again only an asmakhta, which gives no title. Therefore the hypotheca mentioned by R. Papa is to be explained, that the stipulation was thus: "From this estate you shall collect your money within three years (i.e., I shall sell out from it for your money). However, should the money not be collected within that time, all the estate shall belong to you after the elapse of above-stated time."

There was a man who sold an estate with security, and the buyer questioned: "Should this estate be taken away by your creditors, will you then repay me from the very best of your estates?" And he answered: "From the very best of my estate I will not, as I need it for myself; your money, however, will be collected of other best estates I possess." Finally it was taken away, and the very best estate of the seller was overflooded. R. Papa (before whom this case was brought) thought to collect the buyer's money from the best estate still left in his possession. (The seller, however, claimed that the agreement was, he should repay him from the best but not from the very best; and as now the very best is overflooded, this next best is now the very best, which he needs for himself, so he has a right to repay him from the estate lower in value.) Said R. Papa to him: "This estate which was secured is still in your possession, and you have to repay from it."

Said R. A'ha of Difti to Rabina: "The claim of the seller (just explained) is a just one, as this estate which is not overflooded is now his very best, which according to the agreement was not security." Rabi b. Shiba was a creditor of R. Kahana, who said to him: "Should I not pay you at a certain time, you may collect your money from this wine." Finally the wine became dearer, and R. Papa was about to say, that the law of asmakhta, which gives no title, applies only to real estate which was not for sale. This wine, however, which was for sale, is considered money. Said R. Huna b. R. Jehoshua to him: "So was said in the name of Rabba: 'Everything made with a stipulation, gives no title.'" R. Nahaman said: "As the rule that an asmakhta gives no title is accepted by the rabbis in case of a loan with pledged estate for three years, if the lender took possession of it and used the products he must return both."

(Said the Gemara:) "Shall we assume that R. Nahaman holds that a relinquishment by an error is not to be considered? Was it not taught concerning one who sold out the products of his tree, that, according to R. Huna, he may retract from the sale before the fruits were produced, but not afterward; and according to R. Nahaman he may, even in the latter case?" He, however, said: I admit that if the buyer used already the products in question, it is not to be collected from him (hence we see that a relinquishment by an error is considered?). (The answer was:) There was a sale, but our case is a loan, and the lender used the products for the interest of his loan, which is considered direct usury, which is to be collected by the court. 1 Rabha said: I was sitting before R. Nahaman at the time he said, "I admit, however," etc. (just quoted), and was about to object to his statement from the law of cheating mentioned above, that the amount cheated must be returned, although it was done willingly. (Supra.) He, however, looked at me and understood my intention, and he therefore brought as a support to his statement the following Mishna (Kethuboth 2., Mishna 6): "She who refuses to cohabit with her husband, etc., is not entitled to her marriage contract." (The compensation for usufruct, etc.), from which it is to be inferred that although her husband has not any right to use the fruit belonging to her, it is not to be collected from him if he has done so. (Says the Gemara:) In reality, however, both the objection and the support do not hold; there is no objection from cheating of which the cheated one was not aware that there is such, that he should relinquish it; and there is no support from the woman in the Mishna cited, that each of the women mentioned in the cited Mishna would be pleased to be counted among the married ones.

There was a woman who said to a certain man: "Go and buy for me an estate from my relatives." He did so. The seller, however, said to him: "I sell it to you with the stipulation that when I shall have money, I shall repay you and take back my estate." And the messenger answered him: "You and Navla 1 are brother and sister and you can settle this matter between you." Said Rabba b. R. Huna: "Such an answer may be considered satisfactory, that the seller should rely upon it, and therefore he doesn't give title." (Questioned the Gemara:) "According to this decision, the estate certainly must be returned; but how is the law with the products if she used them? Is it considered direct usury, which is levied by the court, or indirect, which is not?" Said Rabba to R. Huna: "It seems that it is considered indirect," and so also said Rabha. Said Abayi to Rabba: "How is the law with an estate pledged without any stipulation, when the lender has used the fruit? Shall we assume that the reason, in the above case, which was considered indirect, is because it was not determined at the sale she should use the fruit, and the same is the case here? or it is not to be compared, because there was a sale, and here it is a loan?" And he answered: "This reason holds good, in this case also." Said R. Papi: Rabina acted in his court not in accordance with Rabba b. R. Huna's statement, but has reckoned the value of the fruit used and collected. Mar b. R. Joseph, in the name of Rabha, said: "In places where it is the usage for the lender to use the fruit from a pledged estate without any deduction of the debt, and the borrower has a right to return the money at any time, then is the law as follows: If the lender has used the products to the extent of the amount of his loan, he may be ejected from the estate; if, however, he has used more than the amount of the loan, the court may not collect from him, neither may it be deducted from another debt which the debtor owes him. If, however, the estate belongs to orphans, then if he has used more than the amount due, it is to be collected, or deducted from another debt they owe him." Said R. Ashi: "As you came to the conclusion that in case he has used more than the amount due we do not collect from him, we do not eject him even if he has collected the amount of the money loaned, unless he is paid the money issued; because the ejecting is the same as if it would be collected for the product consumed by means of sale, and not by means of deducting from his loan, and this is not to be done with indirect usury." And R. Ashi acted accordingly in a case of orphans irrespectively of age. Rabha R. Joseph, in the name of Rabha, said: In the places where it is the usage to pledge estates without stipulations, it is advisable that one shall not use the fruit unless by way of deducting something of the debt, as then it is considered as if he would sell him the products for the amount deducted, and it appears not usurious. A scholar, however, must not do even this, but he must determine at the time of the loan how much he may use. But this would be correct only to him who holds that a determined quantity is allowed; but to him who holds that even this is not allowed, what can be said? [And it is known that R. Aha and Rabina are the two who differ on that point.] Let us then see. What kind of a determination is meant? If, e.g., the lender stipulated, "I will use the fruit during five years without any deduction; at the elapse of that time, however, I will credit you with all products." Such a determination, however, is opposed by some sages, who maintain that as soon he uses the products without any deduction it is direct usury; we must therefore say that the determination mentioned by Rabha means, if he said: "During the first five years I will deduct from the amount due so-and-so; at the elapse of this time, however, I will credit you with all products." R. Papa and R. Huna b. Yehosha both said: "The pledged estates in question, a creditor of the lender has no right to collect from in case he dies" (because the deceased has nothing in the body of the estates, and the using of their products is considered movable property, which is not secured to a creditor after the death of the debtor, although it may be collected from him as long as he is alive; and the reason is that as long as he is alive, although movable properties are not secured to the creditor, the court has a right to levy on them for a debt for which the debtor has promised to repay, even from the garment of his body; but after his demise his orphans are not obliged to repay their father's personal debt if it were not secured by real estate). And also a first-born of the lender can not claim the double amount prescribed to him biblically, for the above reason, and the Sabbatical year makes the debtor free, as it is not considered a pledge, since the borrower has a right to eject the lender from the estate after the product was used to the extent of the amount due. In places, however, where it is not customary to eject the lender from the estate in question, a creditor and a first-born may claim their right on it, and the Sabbatical year does not make it free. And Mar Sutra, in the name of R. Papa, said that, as to the estate in question, where it is the usage to eject the lender, he may be ejected even from using dates that were blown down by wind on the rush mats. If, however, the lender has already picked them up from the rush mats, and put them in his vessels, title is acquired. And according to him who says that when the vessels of a buyer are placed in the care of the seller for the purpose of putting in them the things bought it gives title to the buyer even in his absence, if the dates in question were put in the vessels of the lender by some one they give title to him even if he himself has not picked them up. It is certain that in countries where ejection is the usage, and the lender stipulates that he shall not be ejected, it is of avail; but how is it when the lender made the stipulation that he may be ejected, in places where ejection is not the usage--is it then necessary to enforce this by the ceremony of a sudarium or not? According to R. Papa it is not necessary, and according to R. Shesheth b. R. Aidi it is, and the Halakha so prevails.

If the borrower says to the lender: "Stop using the fruit, as I am about to furnish the money due," he must do so immediately (in places where ejection is usage). If, however, he says: "Stop using the fruit, as I am making efforts to get the money"--according to Rabina, the lender may not listen to him, and according to Mar Sutra, the son of R. Mari, he has to, and so the Halakha prevails.

R. Kahana, R. Papa, and R. Ashi did not use the fruit even by deduction; Rabina, however, used to do so. Said Mar Zutra: "The reason of him who does so is, because he compares this to the biblical case [Lev. 27:16], that although the fruits of the field mentioned there are of great value, he may redeem it for the sum of four zuz a year, 1 and the same is the case here (he may do so because he is not certain that there will be any products of the estate, consequently, he may buy it for a small price). However, he who does not allow this to be done holds that this case is not similar to the biblical case mentioned above--there is a sanctification for which the Merciful One allows it to be redeemed for such a trifle, but here it is a loan, and it appears usurious. R. Ashi said: "I was told by the elders of M'tha Mechasia (Suria) that an anonymous pledge holds good one year only; i.e., that the borrower can eject the lender only after the elapse of a year, but not earlier." He said again: I was told by the same authorities that a pledge is called mashkhantha, as the lender is considered from that time a neighbour (shakhan) to the borrower; so that if the borrower has to sell his estate, and the lender is willing to give the same price as offered by others, he has the same privilege as the preëmptor of an estate attached to that seller, to whom the laws give privileges to obtain it for himself in case he offers the same price as others.

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Rabha said: The Halakha does not prevail, as the inhabitants of Papuna, who sell their goods on instalments for the same reason as R. Papa mentioned above, and not as the inhabitants of Mahuza, who used to write in their notes the profit which they supposed the borrower would derive from the money taken on half profit, as who can assure that such a profit would be derived? Said Mar b. Amaimar to R. Ashi: "My father used to do so, and nevertheless when they claim that such a profit was not derived, he trusted them;" and he answered: This holds good only when they came to him with that claim; but how would it be in case he should die and the note falls into the hands of his heirs? [R. Ashi's talk was like an error which proceedeth from the ruler (Eccles. 10:5), and Amaimar died.] And also not as the farmers of the city of Narshah, who used to lend money to poor farmers on their land, and thereafter rented it to them for so-and-so many kurs yearly, and so they wrote in their contracts; "So-and-so has pledged his field to so-and-so, and afterwards he rented it for so-and-so many kurs." Had, then, the lenders acquired title on the field to be justified to rent it out? It is then direct usury. However, now that they write in their agreements: "I have bought from so-and-so such a field for so-and-so, and it was under my control such length of time, in which I have used the fruit and have deducted from the money paid, and thereafter I rented it to the former possessor for so-and-so many kurs yearly"--this is allowed, for the purpose not to shut the door for borrowers. (Said the Gemara:) After all, it is direct usury, as it can happen that the field should not yield so much product as agreed, and the lender takes the kurs of grain as interest for his money.

MISHNA 5.: One who possesses articles for sale must not give them to a retail dealer to sell, with the stipulation to receive half profit from the sale, charging him the articles at wholesale market price. One must also not furnish some one with money in order to buy and sell articles for it, for half profit, provided he pays him separately as a labourer for his trouble. It is also not, allowed to hatch hens for half profit, and also not to appraise calves and foals, according the value after two years, and making a half of it a compensation for the raising of them. Should it happen, however, that they die (the raiser must suffer half of their loss), provided the raiser is paid separately for his trouble and food. One, however, may accept the above animals without any stipulation for half profit. And then they shall be kept calves until they become threefold and an ass until it is fit for carrying burdens.

GEMARA: A Boraitha in addition to this Mishna states "as a labourer," and Abyi explains "as a labourer of this profession."

The rabbis taught: "How much should he be paid separately? According to R. Meier: More or less, but it must be stipulated between them; according to R. Jehuda, it is sufficient even if he gives him a meal or some fruit. R. Simeon b. Johai, however, maintains that he should receive the amount a labourer is entitled to."

The rabbis taught: "Goats, sheep, and all other animals which are fed but do not labour, must not be appraised for the half. R. Jose b. R. Jehuda, however, says: Goats and sheep may, as the raiser has the milk and the wool for use, and they yield wool by being shorn, by passing through water, and by being plucked (in passing bushes, etc.); and also a hen, because she is labouring for her food (as she lays eggs)." (Says the Gemara:) And according to the first Tana (of the Boraitha), their milk and wool are not sufficient for his trouble and food? If agreement was that the raiser shall use milk and wool for himself, all agree that it is sufficient; the point of their differing is if it was agreed that the raiser should use only the whey of the milk, and whey and refuse of wool; the first Tana holds in accordance with R. Simeon b. Johai, who demands the full payment of a labourer, and R. Jose holds in accordance with his father, R. Jehuda, who says above, that one meal suffices.

The rabbis taught: "A woman may say to her neighbour who has eggs, 'You may give me four eggs and I'll let my hen sit on them for two little chickens she will hatch.' If, however, she says, 'I have the hen and you the eggs, let us divide the little chickens,' it is not allowed according to R. Simeon. R. Jehuda, however, allows this."

The rabbis taught: "In the places where it is the usage to pay the raiser for carrying the calves on his shoulder, it may be appraised, and it is not necessary to act differently to the custom of the country." R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said. "A calf and a foal may be appraised with their mother and without any separate payment, even in those places where they pay separately for carrying calves (as the mothers are with them, there is no trouble in carrying them, and they are also fed by their mothers)." Said R. Nahaman. "The Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Jehuda, with R. Jose his son, and with R. Simeon b. Gamaliel." The sons of R. Ilish were summoned for a note which was issued by their father for half profit and half loss. Said Rabha: "R. Ilish was a great man, and he would not have issued a prohibited document; the note, therefore, may be explained that if his partner desired to obtain the half profits, then he had to suffer two-thirds of the loss, and if R. Ilish would have to suffer the half of the loss, then his partner would take two-thirds of the profit for his trouble." Said R. Kahana: "I told this to R. Zebid of Nehardae, and he rejoined: (It is not necessary to give the above explanation) about the note of R. Ilish, as it may be R. Ilish had some benefit from his partner, and it is in accordance with R. Nahaman, who said that the Halakha prevails with R. Jehuda; and I answered him: It was not taught by R. Nahaman, 'the Halakha prevails,' but the system of the above-mentioned sages is one and the same, and it seems to be so from his expression, 'R. Jehuda, R. Jose his son, etc.' Should he desire to state that the Halakha prevails according to them, he would teach the Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Jehuda, who is more lenient than all others."

Rabh said: 'If one gives a calf for raising, with the stipulation that the profit and loss shall be equally divided, and besides a third increase of the present value should belong to the raiser, it is allowed." Samuel, however, maintains: "How would be the case if there should be no increase? Should then the man labour for nothing? Therefore he must fix a dinar for his labour." But Rabh himself is also of this opinion, as he said that the head of the calf belongs to the raiser. Is it not to assume that the head is an additional compensation to the third increase, said above? Is it not for the purpose that, should there be no third increase as agreed, he takes for his labour the head; hence here is the fixed dinar which Samuel desires? Rabh's decision that a third increase suffices without any other compensation means when the raiser has his own cattle to raise, as people say: "It is the same trouble to feed one as many."

R. Elazar of Hagruniah bought a cow which he gave to his gardener for raising, and gave him besides the half interest also the head for his trouble. Said his wife to him: "If he would be an equal partner to you by giving the half money of the half cost he would give you the אליה 1 in your share." Afterwards they bought one in partnership and divided the אליה and R. Elazar said: "Let us divide also the head." Said his gardener: "When you issued the whole amount for the animal, I took the whole head to myself, and now when I have the half money in it, I shall take a half only?" R. Elazar answered: "When the money was my own, if I would not add a little to your share it would appear usurious; but now we are equal partners, and if you claim you had more trouble than I, the food for it was used from my garden, and while you were engaged therein, there was not much trouble feeding it."

The rabbis taught: Until what time must the raiser trouble himself with the appraised animal given to him for raising? Symmachos said: "With mules eighteen months, with asses twenty-four months, and if one desires to divide within that time, his partner may prevent him, for the years are not equal; as in the second year the trouble of feeding is more than in the first." There is another Boraitha: "Until what time must one trouble himself with the offspring of the appraised animal? With little animals, as goats and sheep, thirty days, and big animals, fifty days." R. Jose, however, said: "With little animals, three months, as their teeth are small, and he has to see what food is fit for them, and from that time further on the raiser takes a half of his value and a half of the increase belonging to his partner (as he takes the same of the mother)."

R. Menasya b. Gadah took his half and half of the increase of his partner; when he came before Abayi, he said to him: Who was the appraiser? [Perhaps the appraisement was not correct, and, secondly, this city is counted among those where it is customary to raise the offspring until grown tip, and there is a Mishna that where the custom is to do so no change is to be made.]

There were two Samaritans who had done business with each other. Afterwards one of them divided the money without knowledge of his partner, and the case was brought before R, Papa, and he decided that his act was correct, as R. Nahaman said that cash money may be considered as divided. The next year they bought wine in partnership, and one of them divided without knowledge of his partner, and the case came again before R. Papa, who asked Who has appraised for you? Said the plaintiff to R. Papa: It seems to me that the master is partial" (as last year he decided in his favour, and also in this case). Said R. Papa: "Why then? Last year you did not complain that your partner took the better coins and left you the worse ones, and as there was cash, which need not any appraisement, he had the right to divide without your knowledge; but in this case, everybody knows that there is a difference between one kind of wine and another. How could you do it without knowledge of your partner and without any appraisement by a specialist?" It is mentioned above, R. Nahaman said money is considered as if it would be divided; however, this is only if the coins were equal, as, e.g., all of them were circulating ones, or if old coins, which have more weight but are not in frequent circulation; but if they were of both kind, it must not be done without knowledge of the partner.

R. Hama used to rent zuzes daily for the smallest coin for each zuz, and he lost his money. [He thought that because he had not given it as a loan, but as a lease, it is allowed to do so as with another erub; in reality, however, it cannot be compared, as the same erub is to be returned, and if it was spoiled it is recognised; but here the same zuz is not returned, as he took it for business and returned him another one, and therefore it is considered a usurious loan.]

Rabha said: One may say to his neighbour: "I will lend you four zuz to keep for a longer time with the stipulation that you shall lend to so-and-so a zuz;" as the law has prohibited only usury that came direct from the borrower to the lender. The same said again: One may pay money to any one for giving a good reference to the money broker in order to borrow money from him. As Abba Mar, the son of R. Papa, used to take wax vessels from the wax dealers for reference to his father, that he should lend them money; and when the rabbis told R. Papa that his son took usurious money, he answered thus: Such a usury he may take; the law has forbidden only usury which comes from the borrower to the lender. Here, however, he is paid for his reference, and this is allowed.

MISHNA 6.: A cow, an ass, and all animals which are labouring for their food may be appraised, that the increase shall be divided equally. In the places where it is customary to divide the offspring while they are yet small, it should be so done; and where it is customary to raise the offspring until they arc grown up, it should be so done. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said: "That a calf and a foal may be appraised with their mothers." One may say to a farmer: If you would lend me some money which would enable me to manure your field, I shall give you twelve kur of grain for it, instead of the ten you demand; and the farmer may accept it without fear of usury (as the kurs added are considered for the use of a manured field).

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: This which is said above is allowed only with a field, but not with a store, and not with a boat; i.e., the hirer must not increase the price for rent, in case the owner lends him money to buy stock for sale, or to buy a cargo for his boat. Said R. Nahaman, in the name of Rabba b. Abuhu: It may happen that the same should be allowed to be done also with a store if he lends money to paint and decorate it, in order to draw customers; and also with a ship, in order to improve it with masts of which the hirer has the benefit in that it will sail faster; and if he borrows money for this purpose, he may increase the rent of the above-mentioned, and it is not considered usury, as the owner may raise his rent for a decorated store and an improved boat.

Rabh said: "One may rent a boat with the condition that, should it break, the hirer is made responsible." Said R. Kahana and R. Asi to him: "If he takes rent, he, the owner, must be responsible for damage, and when the hirer is responsible for it, then he must not pay rent." Rabh was silent. Said R. Shesheth: Why was Rabh silent? Was he not aware of the following Boraitha, although it was said that an iron sheep must not be accepted from an Israelite, i.e., one must not both be responsible for the article hired, in case it becomes injured while labouring, and at the same time pay rent for it; but he may do so with a non-Israelite. It was said, however: One may say: I take your cow for the price of thirty dinars in case it will die; but all the time it will be alive in my hands I will pay you monthly a salah for her labour. This is allowed, because the appraisement of the cow was in case she is dead, but not when alive. Said R. Papa: The Halakha prevails that a ship may be hired for rent and at the same time the hirer should be responsible, and the custom of the sailors was that they pay rent when they take possession of the boat, and pay the value of the damage in case such occurs. Is this then depending upon custom (as he must pay for the whole boat in case it breaks, then it is a sale, and the rent paid should be considered usury for awaiting of payment)? Because it was said in the above Boraitha that it may be done with a cow, as the appraisement was after death, the same is the case here. And as this law was accepted, it became customary.

R. Annan, in the name of Samuel, said: Money belonging to orphans may be lent for usury. Said R. Nahaman to him: Be cause they are orphans should we permit prohibited things for them? Orphans who are consuming that not belonging to them may go to their bequeather; but as you said the Halakha in the name of Samuel tells me the fact, you have seen that Samuel did so (as it cannot be that Samuel would declare that such an unlawful Halakha should be practised). And he answered: There was a copper kettle belonging to the orphans of Mar Uqba, which was under the control of Mar Samuel, who used to weigh it at the time of giving it to the hirer, and did the same at its return; and in case of the weight diminishing, got paid for it besides the payment for using it. Hence if it would not be allowed to lend the money of orphans for usury, how could he demand both to be paid for the diminished weight and at the same time to take rent for using it? Said R. Nahaman: "Such a thing maybe done even with bearded orphans, as the copper of the kettle decreased in value by using it, for which the orphans get no separate payment, as they take the value for the diminished copper only." Rabba b. Chila, in the name of R. Hirda, according to others, R. Joseph b. Hama, in the name of R. Shesheth, said: "Money belonging to orphans may be used for a business that is very likely to bring profit, and with small chance of loss."

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The rabbis taught: "One who lends money for a business which is very likely to bring profit with little chance of loss, is wicked; for one which is likely to bring loss and far from profit, is pious. Equal to both, this is the custom of every just business man. Said Rabba to R. Joseph: How, then, should be done with money belonging to orphans? And he answered: "It shall be deposited in court, and the court shall furnish them with means for livelihood from time to time, according to their need." But if so, then the whole amount will be consumed? Said R. Ashi: "We look for a man who is rich, trusted, listens to the Law, and never accepts a rebuke from the rabbis, and we give the money to him by the court for use in a business which is likely to bring profit with small chance of loss."

MISHNA 7.: An iron sheep must not be accepted from an Israelite (i.e., to lend money with the understanding that the debtor shall always be responsible for it, and at the same time he shall pay the half profit it brings), as it is direct usury. This, however, may be done with non-Israelites, as it is allowed to lend them, and borrow from them, for usury. This is also allowed to be done with a proselyte who obligated himself not to worship idols, but did not obligate himself to observe the Hebrew laws. An Israelite may lend to his race money belonging to non-Israelites for usury, provided the latter are aware of it, but not otherwise.

GEMARA: Is it to be assumed that the iron sheep in question is considered under the control of the acceptor? Then it would be a contradiction to the following Boraitha: "If one accepted 'iron sheep' from a heathen, the offspring are free from the law of first-born; i.e., that if for the money in question was bought cattle, which brought young ones, the first-born must not be given to the priest, although it was in the hand of an Israelite (hence we see that it is considered under the control of the lender and not of the acceptor, for if it were under the control of the latter, why should the first-born of the half belonging to the Israelite be free from the above-mentioned law?). Said Rabha: The reason is, because, should he not repay the money, the heathen would take possession of the cattle, and if even this would not be sufficient he would also take the young ones; and so it is considered that the hand of a heathen rests in this case, and under such circumstances the law of the first-born does not exist.

It is written [Prov. 28:8]: "He that increaseth his wealth by interest and usury, will gather it for him, that will be kind to the poor." What is meant by the expression, "that he will be kind to the poor"? Said Rabh: For example, as the King Sabura, who collects money from the Israelites for the purpose of distributing it among the poor of the Persians. Said R. Nahaman: Huna told me that not only usury-taking from an Israelite is meant, but also from a heathen; and Rabha objected this statement from [Deut. 23:21]: "From an alien thou mayest take interest", and he answered: The expression in Hebrew is tashikh, which means you may give him interest if you need money and you cannot get it without; but to your brother (an Israelite) you must not do so under any circumstances. But is it not written plainly further on: "But from thy brother thou shalt not take interest?" It is written to show that he who does so transgresses both a positive and a negative commandment. He objected again from our Mishna, which states that with a non-Israelite it is allowed. Said R. Hyya b. R. Huna: The Mishna allows to do so only for the need of his livelihood, but not more than he needs, as the rabbis had prohibited the taking of usury from all mankind.

There are some who applied the above statement of R. Huna to the following: R. Joseph taught: It is written [Ex. 22:24]: "If thou lend money to my people to the poor by thee," which signifies, if there is one of thy people, and an alien, the former is to be preferred. If there were a poor and a rich man, the poor is to be preferred; poor of thy city and poor of another one, the former has the preference. And to the question, Is it not self-evident that an Israelite is to be preferred? said R. Nahaman: Huna told me that it means that an Israelite should be preferred even if he can take usury from a heathen, and to the Israelite he must give it for nothing.

There is a Boraitha: R. Jose said: Come and see how the usurers are blind. If one calls his neighbour "wicked," his neighbour tries to take revenge on him as soon as he is able to do so, and the usurers bring witnesses, a scribe, a pen and ink, and write and sign that so-and-so reasons away the God of Israel (who has prohibited the taking of usury).

There is another Boraitha: R. Simeon b. Elazar said: One who has money and lends it without usury, to him applies the verse [Psalm 15:5]: "That putteth not out his money for interest and taketh no bribe against the innocent. He that doeth these things shall not be moved to eternity." Which signifies that he who takes usury will lose all his possessions. But is it not a fact that they who do not take usury are also stricken with poverty? Said R. Elazar: The latter are to be raised again, but those who take money, if they fall will never rise again.

The rabbis taught: It is written: "Thou shalt not take of him usury or increase" [Lev. 25:36], but thou mayest be a surety for him. A surety for whom? For the lender 1 who is an Israelite? Is there not the following Mishna: The following transgress a negative commandment: the lender, the borrower, the surety, and the witnesses?--i.e., to an alien. But is it not a fact that the aliens summon the surety first? Hence it should be considered that the surety takes usury from him. Said R. Shesheth: It speaks of when the alien has promised that in case of a suit he shall obey the decision of the Jewish court. But if so, then usury should not be taken from him at all. Said R. Shesheth: He promised only to obey the decision of the Jewish court in case of a suit, but not to observe the law of usury.

An Israelite may lend money belonging, etc. The rabbis taught: One may lend money belonging to an alien with his knowledge, but not otherwise. How so? If an Israelite borrowed money from an alien for usury, and when he was about to return it another Israelite said to him: Give the money to me and I will pay you the usury you have to pay to the lender;--this is prohibited. If, however, he takes him to the lender, he may do so; and the same is the case if an alien has borrowed from an Israelite for usury, and when he is about to return it to him, another Israelite meets him, and asks to have the money lent to him for the same interest he has to give to the Israelite, it is allowed; if, however, the alien takes him to the lender, it is prohibited. The prohibition of the last part is correct; but why is it allowed in case the Israelite takes the money belonging to the Israelite and pays usury? Is it not a fact that in the case of an alien no messenger is to be considered? Hence, even with the knowledge of the heathen, it should be considered that one Israelite takes direct usury from another Israelite? Said R. Papa: It means, he takes him to the alien that he may hand him the money personally. Is this not self-evident? Lest one may say that as the alien does it through the Israelite it is not allowed, he teaches us that it does not matter.

The rabbis taught: An Israelite who borrowed money from an alien for usury, and afterwards added the usury money to the principal amount, and then took a note from him for the whole sum and then the lender became a proselyte: he may collect the whole amount. If, however, the note was taken after he became a proselyte, he collects the principal amount, but not the usury. The same is the case with an alien who borrowed money from an Israelite, and became a proselyte; if the note for the principal amount including the usury was given by him while he was yet an alien, the whole amount is to be collected; but if after he became a proselyte, the principal amount only is to be collected. R. Jose, however, maintains that even then the whole amount may be collected; and Rabha, in the name of R. Hisda, quoting R. Huna, said: So the Halakha prevails; and he himself declared that the reason of R. Jose's statement is that people shall not say that he became a proselyte on account of this money only.

The rabbis taught: "For a note in which usury is mentioned the lender must not be allowed to collect even the principal amount, which he must forfeit as a fine. So is the decree of R. Meier. The sages, however, maintain that the principal amount is to be collected." What is the point of their differing? R. Meier holds that the permissible amount may be imposed as a fine for that of the prohibited one, and the rabbis hold that it may not.

There was a man who had pledged his vineyard to a lender, who kept it for three years, and afterwards said to the owner: If you sell it to me, good; but if not, I will hide the document of the pledge, and claim that the vineyard was bought by me (and as it is in my possession already three years, I will be trusted according to the law of (Hasaka) occupancy. The owner then assigned his vineyard in presence of witnesses to his minor son, and afterwards gave a bill of sale to the lender. This sale is certainly not valid; but the money which the lender has given for the bill of sale, is it to be considered as a loan with a note which is to be collected from an encumbered estate, or is it considered a loan without a note which is not to be collected from such estate? Said Abayi: Is this not the case of which R. Assi said above that when one admits his signature to the note, it is not necessary to have it approved by the court, and it is to be collected also from an encumbered estate? Said Rabha to him: What comparison is it? In the case of R. Assi, where the borrower admits that he owes the money with a note, another note can be written even if the original is lost; in this case, however, the bill of sale was written unwillingly, and another one cannot be written. Mrimar repeated Rabha's statement in the presence of Rabina, who cited to him then the statement of R. Johanan on the explanation of the Mishna, "that notes which were written with a previous date are of no avail"; and to the question, Why should it not be collected from the later date? R. Johanan answered: It is to be feared that he will collect from an encumbered estate at the previous date. Let him then say that the bill of sale is invalid because, if lost, it cannot be rewritten from the date of the first writing. And he answered: What comparison is it to our case? There it cannot be rewritten from the original date, but it can be rewritten with a later date; here, however, it cannot be rewritten at all for the reason said above.

MISHNA 8.: One must not buy articles to deliver during the year, for a certain price before the market price is fixed. He may, however, do so afterwards--even when the seller does not possess as yet the articles bought--for the price he pleases, as, if he does not possess them, he can buy them from another. If the seller was first in the harvest, the buyer may stipulate the price with him for the sheaves, crop of grapes, vat of olives, clay balls of a potter, and lime when it was already in the kiln, and also for manure of the whole year. R. Jose, however, maintains that he must not do so with manure unless he has it ready for delivery; the sages allow it. For all mentioned above he may make the stipulation that if the price will decrease he shall deliver them for the lower price. R. Jehuda says that to this effect no stipulation is necessary, as the buyer may claim in such a case the existing price or the return of his money.

GEMARA: R. Assi said in the name of R. Johanan: The price for the whole year must not be stipulated for at the existing price of the large cities, as these prices are changeable. The rabbis taught: "One must not buy articles to deliver during the year before the market price is fixed. If, however, the new articles were four for a salah and the old ones three, the price must not be fixed until it will be a standing price for both of them. If mixed grain from different fields sold four measures for a salah, and from a single one three, the price must not be fixed until the market price will be fixed for both." Said R. Nahaman: A price may be fixed for the mixed one, as the existing market price for such grain. Said Rabha to him: Why should this differ from grain from a private field? You may say that, if the seller does not possess the mixed grain, he can borrow from another seller of mixed grain; is it not the same with private men? And he answered: A private man would consider that it is humiliating for him to borrow from a dealer of mixed grain, or, if you wish, I may say that one who gives money to a private man intends to get from him the best in the market.

R. Shesheth, in the name of R. Huna, said: "One must not lend money with the understanding that if it is not returned at a certain time the borrower shall furnish him articles at the existing price (i.e., although this is allowed to be done in the manner of buying and selling, with a loan it is not allowed, as it appears usurious). Said R. Joseph b. Hama, according to others, R. Jose b. Abba, to him: Did, indeed, R. Huna say so? Was he not questioned whether it was allowed to be done as the students of the college did, who borrowed money in Tishri and repaid with fruit in Tebeth at the price of Tishri? And he answered: There is wheat ready for sale in the cities of Hini and Chili which is always at a low price, and they can buy and repay their debt with that. We see then that he has allowed such a loan? He was previously of the opinion that it must not be so done; after. wards, however, when he heard that R. Samuel b. Hyya said in the name of R. Elazar that this may be done, he retracted from his previous opinion and decided that it may be done.

The rabbis taught: If one travelled with stock from one place to another, and while on the road his neighbour asked him to sell it to him at the price of the place he intends to go to (I will sell it here and will use the money until a certain time)--if the seller takes the responsibility of the stock while on the road it is allowed, but otherwise it is not (because it is considered a loan, and the increase in price appears usurious). If one was about to deliver his fruit to a certain city in which the price of it was higher, and some one told him that he has the same fruit in the above-mentioned city and he will deliver it to him there in exchange for the fruit in his possession here, then, if he really possesses the same in the above-mentioned city at the time he takes the exchange, it is allowed (because the fruit of that city is considered from now under the control of him who gives the exchange for it here). But if the one who offers the exchange has it not ready for delivery as yet, it is not allowed. For the grain dealers, however, it is allowed to borrow money with the understanding to repay it with grain for a lower price than the existing one in that city, without fear that this appears usurious. Why so? R. Papa says: Because with his money he opens the door for them to buy grain at the lowest price at every place it is to be found; so he enables them to repay him with the grain at a lower price, even immediately after the loan, and therefore it is not to be considered usury for the prolongation of time for repayment. R. A'ha b. Iqa, however, says: It is favourable to them for the wholesale grain dealers to know that they sold their grain at a low price, so that the dealers will make the price of their grain still lower, so as not to lose their custom. What is the difference between these two reasons?" If the grain seller was a new one who was unknown as yet to the country grain sellers, then, according to R. A'ha b. Iqa's theory, it is not allowed for him to do so. In Sura four measures of grain could be bought for one zuz; in Kahfri there were sold six for one zuz; and Rabh had given money to the grain dealers in Sura to buy grain for him in Kahfri at the rate of five measures for a zuz, taking the responsibility of the grain while on the road. But if he was responsible for them while on the road, why didn't he take six, as was the existing price in Kahfri? With such a prominent man as Rabh it is different (he allowed them one measure for their trouble). R. Assi questioned R. Johanan: May this be done with other articles besides grain? And he answered: Rabbi was about to do so with frippery, and R. Ismael b. R.

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Jose restrained him from this. With regard to a vineyard (i.e., to buy the products of it, when they are not as yet ripe, at a low price, by advancing money for the same), Rabh did not allow this, because the price of the ripe fruit will be higher, and it appears as if he were taking usury for his money. Samuel, however, permitted this, as the buyer takes the risk of his money in case the vineyard may not yield the products, or in case they may become spoiled. Said R. Shima b. Hyya: Rabh, however, admits that this may be done with calves (i.e., to buy the offspring of the cattle for next year), and there is a great risk of miscarriage and other accidents. Samuel said to the grain dealers who used to give money to the farmers for the products of the next year: "I order you to help the farmer in his labour on the field, in order that you may acquire title to the body of the field, as, if you will not do so, your money will be considered as a loan, which is not allowed." And Rabha also said to the watchmen of the crops (who used to receive their payment from the grain when ready for delivery): "I order you to help the farmer in his labour all the time he is labouring, until harvest, as if you were hired for this purpose; for according to the law you would have to be paid only after all the labour is done, and then, when you receive a larger quantity of the grain than your trouble was worth, it would be considered that the farmer lowered the price for you, which is allowed. (If, however, you will not follow my order, the larger quantity would be considered as arising from waiting for the money which ought to be paid to you every day for watching, and appears usurious)." The rabbis said to Rabha: "You, master, consume usury, as usually the farmers hire their fields for the quantity of four kurs for each field, with the understanding they shall harvest it in Nissan, and you wait until Eyor and take six kurs." And he answered: "Your acts are unlawful, as the field is hired to the gardener, and if you compel him to harvest in Nissan you are injuring him in many kurs, as the grain is not ripe as yet; but I am awaiting until Eyor and benefit him, and the two kurs more I take is for hiring the field and not for awaiting the payment of the money." There was a certain alien who pledged his house to R. Mari b. Rachel, 1 and afterwards he sold the same to Rabha. At the elapse of one year after the pledging took place R. Mari submitted the rent for the next year to Rabha, saying: The reason why I did not submit the rent to you for the first year is because a pledge without a fixed time is a year, and if the alien would like to repay me within the year, he could not do so without my consent; but now, when the time is over, I have to submit to you the rent for your house. And Rabha rejoined: "I did not know that the house was pledged to you, and if I were aware of it, I would not buy it; but now we have to act according to the Persian law, which dictates that the buyer has not to collect the rent until he pays the whole amount, and I will also act so. I will not take the rent from the house until the debt on the house will be paid to you by the seller.

Said Rabha of Barnish to R. Ashi: "I call the attention of you, master, that the rabbis are consuming usury, as they pay for wine in Tishri and choose it in Teveth when it is already in good condition, and this appears usurious, as, if they would take it in Tishri, they would suffer the damage if spoiled; but by advancing the money, the responsibility rests on the seller." And he answered: They advance the money for wine and not for vinegar, and the wine which becomes sour during that time was so already in the beginning of the season, but it could not be so recognised it is, therefore, lawful for them to take the wine for which they have advanced their money. Rabina used to give money to the inhabitants by the shore of Shanwatha before the time of wine-pressing, that they should deliver him the wine thereafter, and they delivered him a barrel or two more than he bought. He came to question R. Ashi whether he could accept it or not, as it appeared usurious. And he answered: You may; as it is only a gift. Said Rabina: But I am afraid this should be considered robbery, as the estates they possess were occupied by them after the owners of them escaped for not paying taxes, and the possessors paid the taxes to the Government (and as it is a law that estates cannot be considered robbed, they still belong to the previous owners; consequently the products are robbery). And R. Ashi rejoined: The estate is pledged for the taxes, and the Government says that the estate on which taxes were not paid is to be pledged to him who pays; consequently their occupation is lawful.

R. Papa said to Rabha: I call the attention of you, master, to the rabbis, who pay head-tax charge for those who cannot pay them, and they are labouring with them more than ought to be. And he rejoined: If I were to die a day previous you would not be aware of what R. Theshsth said, namely: The surety for these people lies in the archives of the king, and the king has ordained that he who pays no charge shall be made the servant of him who pays (for him).

R. Seuram, the brother of Rabha, used to compel doubtful characters to carry the palangin of Rabha, and Rabha approved his act from the following Boraitha: "Whence do we deduce that one, whose habit is not in accordance with the law, may be made to labour?" From the verse [Lev. xxv. 46]: "You may hold them to service forever, and 1 over your brethren, the children of Israel." Lest one say, however, that the same may be done with one who is acting rightly, therefore it is written: "But over your brethren . . . ye shall not rule with rigor."

R. Hama said: If one gave money to his comrade to buy wine for him, and he neglected to do it, the latter must deliver to him wine at the price current at the dock of Zulschafat (a place where the wholesale wine dealers brought their stock for sale). Said Amimar: I repeated this Halakha to R. Zbid of Nahardea, and he said: R. Hama's decision holds good only when he ordered him to buy any wine for him; but when the order was to buy a certain kind of wine, the messenger has no responsibility, as who can be sure that the wine ordered could be gotten easily? R. Ashi, however, maintains that even if the order was for any wine, he is not to be made responsible, as it is only an asmachta . . . which gives no title. But why should this case be different from the Mishna in Chapter IX of this tract, that if one hired a field for sowing purposes, and did nothing, he must pay according to the appraisement of the products it would yield when cultivated? Then it was in his power to cultivate the field, and therefore he is responsible; but here it may be that he could not find the wine required.

Rabha said: If one of a company of three partners has given money to a messenger to buy something, it is to be considered for the company, and not for himself. However, this is only in case their money is kept in one sum; but if the money of each partner is tied and sealed separately, the things bought are only for him who gave the money.

R. Papi, in the name of Rabha, said: "The mark which is usually placed on each barrel of wine when sold gives title to the buyer" (even without any drawing). To what purpose was this decision made? According to R. Habiba, to give title so that the seller should have no right to retract; and according to the rabbis, if the seller has retracted, the sale is invalid, but he has to accept the curse of "who has punished the generation of the flood," etc., mentioned in the above Mishna. And so the Halakha prevails in places where it is customary to make such a mark a final act of the sale.

If the seller was first in the harvest, etc. Said Rabh: If the grain was to be finished with two kinds of labour only, he may fix the price; but if he requires three kinds, he must not. Samuel, however, maintains that if the finishing depends upon the efforts of a human being, even if there were a hundred kinds of labour for finishing, he may; but if he depends upon Heaven (as, e.g., rain or sunshine), even if there is only one kind of finishing, he may not. But did not the Mishna state that one may fix the price on sheaves, although he must dry, thresh, and winnow them (hence there are three kinds of labour before it is finished)? It may treat of when the sheaves were already spread in the sun for drying. But according to Samuel, that the price must not be fixed even if one depends upon Heaven, and there is the winnowing which cannot be done without an extraordinary wind. This:, also can be done with sieves.

Clay balls of a potter, etc. The rabbis taught: "The price must not be fixed on the clay balls of a potter unless they are made." So is the decree of R. Meier. Said R. Jose This is in the case of white earth, which is not so frequently in the market; but of i black earth, as from the village of Hanania or Shihin and neighbourhood, he may do so even before they are made, as, if he does not possess the material, he may find it in the market. Amimar used to give the money when the earth was brought to the pottery. According to whom did he act? If according to R. Meier, it must not be done until ready; if according to R. Jose, it may be done even before the earth was brought? His act was in accordance with R. Jose's decision. But in the place of Amimar the earth was dear, and not so frequently found; when the earth was brought he relied upon the sellers and gave the money; otherwise, he did not.

And also manure of the whole year, etc. Is not the statement of the sages the same as that of the first Tana? Said Rabha: They may differ concerning the rain-season, in which is allowed to be done, in accordance with the decision of the first Tana; and according to the sages, it may be done only in the sun-season, but not in the rain-season.

For all mentioned above, etc. There was a man who paid a stipulated amount for an outfit to be delivered at the house of his daughter's father-in-law; in the meantime the value of the equipment was reduced (and the father-in-law refused to receive it for the value stipulated), and when the case came before R. Papa he decided that if the price was stipulated at the rate existing when the goods were to be delivered, then he must give for it the existing price, and if this stipulation was not made, he has to accept it at the previous price. Said the rabbis to R. Papa: And even then why should he pay him the higher price? The money paid does not give title? And he answered: My decision also was only concerning the curse mentioned in the Mishna. If it was stipulated, and the seller retracted, he has to accept the above curse; and if it was not stipulated, and the buyer retracts, then the above curse applies to the latter.

MISHNA 9: One may lend his gardeners wheat to return him in the harvest-time the same measure, for the purpose of sowing, but not for consuming. (This was stated because) Raban Gamaliel used to do so with his gardeners, but if afterwards the price changed to a higher or a lower one, he always took the lower price to benefit the gardener, not because so was the Halakha, but because he wanted to act rigorously for himself.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: "One may borrow his gardener's wheat, etc., for sowing, if he has not started work, but not if he has." Why did not the Tana of our Mishna make a difference, when the Tana of the Boraitha did? Said Rabha: R. Aidi explained to me thus: The Tana of the Mishna speaks of a place where the gardener usually sows the field with his own wheat, and there is no difference whether he started to work or not. As long as he did not furnish the seed the owner may eject him; consequently, if he lends him his wheat, it is not considered a loan, but as a stipulation that he shall work for the owner of the field, and the owner shall receive from the share of the gardener that measure of grain which was advanced to him (and therefore, no matter if afterwards the price was raised, it is not usury). And the Tana of the Boraitha speaks of a place where usually the owner of the estate furnished the seed, and he (the owner) has changed the custom of his place; because his field was in good condition he made the gardener furnish the seed. Then, if the gardener has not started his work as yet, so that the owner may eject him, the above stipulation may be made, as it is considered a business matter, not a loan; but if his work is already begun, for which reason he cannot be ejected by the owner, and then the gardener is compelled to borrow the seed from the owner, it is considered a loan; and if the grain becomes higher, if he returns him the same measure it appears usurious.

The rabbis taught: "One may be asked by his neighbour for a loan of grain, to return the same at a certain time if the price will not be lower; but if it will, then he shall be paid in money at the price now existing. If, however, such stipulation was not made, if it became lower, he may return him with grain; if higher, he has to pay him in money at the price existing at the time borrowed, according to the explanation of R. Shesheth.

MISHNA 10.: One must not lend a kur of wheat that it shall be returned to him from the barn (for fear it may become dearer). He may, however, lend him until his son came with the key. Hillel, however, forbids even this, as he used to say: A woman must not lend a loaf of bread to her neighbour, unless a price is stipulated for it, for fear wheat may become dearer, and then the return of the loaf will appear usurious.

GEMARA: Said R. Huna: "The statement of the Mishna that one may borrow wheat until he found the key: it is allowed only to borrow as much as he possesses; if he possesses a saah, he may borrow one; if two, two." R. Itzhak, however, said that even if he possesses only one saah, he may borrow many kurs (as the title of this saah is not secured to the lender and he may use it for himself; consequently the borrowed grain is to be returned from that of the market, and this saah he possesses remains free; on which he may borrow many saahs). Taught R. Hyya to support R. Itzhak: ("One must not borrow wine or oil if he does not possess) a drop of wine, a drop of oil." From which it is to be inferred that if he possesses one drop he may borrow upon it many drops.

Hillel forbids, etc. Said R. Nahaman in the name of Samuel: The Halakha prevails in accordance with Hillel. (The Gemara, however, says:) The Halakha does not prevail in accordance with R. Nahaman's statement.

As he used to say, etc. Said R. Jehuda in the name of Samuel: Hillel stands alone with his statement, as the majority of the sages hold that it may be borrowed and repaid anonymously (without any stipulation). The same said again in the name of the said authority: Society men transgress who are not very particular with each other regarding the size, weight, and number of things borrowed and returned (if they borrow from one another, and do not care to make return in kind and in the same manner, they transgress the commandment, "Thou shalt not cheat thy brother in measure, etc.," as they accept more or less than was borrowed). And also as regards violence, Sabbaths, and festivals, if they lend to each other on these days, according to Hillel, they are also accused of usury. The same said again in the name of the said authority: Scholars who know the law of usury may lend each other for interest (as they know the law, they give the interest by means of a present). Samuel said to Abuhu b. Ihi: Lend me a hundred peppus; I will return you a hundred and twenty, and it will be right (not as usury, but as a present). R. Jehuda, in the name of Rabh, said: One may lend to his sons or family for usury, to give them an idea how hard it is to pay usury and to understand the great punishment of it. (Said the Gemara:) This, however, must not be practised, as they may get accustomed to it, and afterwards lend money for usury.

MISHNA XI.: One may say to his neighbour: Help me in weeding or in digging around my vineyard to-day, and in return I will help you on some other day, but he must not say: "Help me in weeding and I will help you in digging, or vice versa. All the days of the rainy season are considered alike, and the same is the case with the days of the sunny season; but one must not say: "Help me in the sunny season and I will help you in the rainy season," or vice versa.

Raban Gamaliel says: There is a kind of usury which may be named preceding usury, and also another kind which may be named succeeding usury. How so? If one is to borrow money

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from another, and he sends him a present previously for this purpose, it is a preceding usury; if one has kept the money of his neighbour for a certain time, and on repaying he sends a present, saying: "This is for the favour you did in leaving the money in my hand for such a time"--this is succeeding usury. R. Simeon says: There is also usury of talk. One must not say: I inform you that such and such a man, whom you are anxious to see, has arrived (and for this information you shall favour me with a loan). The following transgress the negative commandment of usury: The lender, the borrower, the surety, and the witnesses. The sages add also the scribe. They transgress the following commandment [Lev. 25:37; also ibid. 36, and Ex. 22:24, and in the verse: "Ye shall not lay upon him usury;" and finally, Lev. 19:114]: "Ye shall not put a stumbling block before the blind, but thou shalt be afraid of thy God. I am the Lord."

GEMARA: There is a Boraitha: R. Simeon b. Joa'ling said: Whence do we deduce that, if one owes his neighbour a hundred zuz, and it was not customary for him before the loan to greet him first, he must not do so after the loan took place? From [Deut. 23:20]: "Interest of anything, etc.," i.e., that even a word must not be given as interest.

And the following transgress, etc. Said Abayi: "The lender transgresses all the commandments mentioned; the borrower transgresses the commandments of Deuteronomy mentioned above and of Leviticus, 19:14. The witnesses, however, transgress the commandment of Exodus, 22:24."

We have learned in another Boraitha: "The usurers lose more than they profit (as said above, finally they lose all they possess); furthermore, they make Moses our master a fool, and his law untrue, saying: If he knew that usury brought great profit, he would not have written that it is prohibited."

When R. Dimi came from Palestine, he said: Whence do we deduce that if one is aware that if one is aware that his debtor has nothing with which to pay, he must not pass him by? From the verse [Ex. 22:24] cited above. R. Ami and R. Assi both said: One who does so is as if he caused his debtor to suffer from fire and water; as it is written [Psalm 66:12]: "Thou hast caused men to ride on our head; we entered into fire and into water." R. Jehuda said, in the name of Rabh: Who lends money to any one without witnesses transgresses the commandment: "Ye shall not put a stumbling block before the blind." Reish Lakish adds that he who does so draws a curse upon himself, as it is written [Ibid. 31:19]: "Let the lying lips be made dumb which speak hard things against the righteous." (Rashi explains this as meaning that in case the debtor denies the entire claim of his creditor, people usually believe the debtor and curse the creditor.)

The rabbis said to R. Ashi: Rabina adheres strictly to all that the rabbis ordained. (And to try whether it is so,) R. Ashi sent to him on one eve of Sabbath: Let the master send me ten zuz, as I have a chance to get a bargain. And he answered: Let the master appoint witnesses or write a note. And R. Ashi sent to him: Do you demand this also from me? And he answered: In much the more from you, master, who are always engaged in your study. It can easily escape your mind, and I would draw a curse on myself.

The rabbis taught: "The following three cry for help without being heard: Who lends money without witnesses, who buys a lord to himself, and he over whom his wife rules." What is meant by "who buys a lord to himself"? Who assigns his possessions to his children while he is still alive. Other number among the cries for help which are not heard, that of him who suffers in one city and does not try to find his livelihood in another.

CHAPTER 6.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING HIRING LABOURERS, CATTLE, OR TRANSFERRING GOODS, THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE DRIVERS, ETC.

MISHNA 1.: He who hired servants (for the daytime), and they deceived one another, there is nothing but resentment. (The explanation is given farther on.) If one hired a driver or a carrier to bring trumpets, flutes for a wedding or funeral, or day labourers to take out flax from its steeping, or to do things which, if not done on the day of hiring, would cause damage, and they retracted: if there were no others to be hired for the same price, the employer may increase the amount of their hire, or deceive them (i.e., promise an increase, but pay only according to the first agreement). If one hired servants, and they retracted, they have to suffer; if, however, the employer retracted, he has to suffer. (This is the rule:) Whoever changes or retracts his words, has to suffer for the injury caused.

GEMARA: The Mishna does not state that the servants have retracted, but that they have deceived one another, which is to be understood, the servants have deceived one another. How was the case? The employer appointed one of his servants to hire labourers for him, and he deceived them. (Let us see.) How was it? If the employer told him to hire men for four zuz a day, and he hired them for three, they have agreed for the price, and what has resentment to do here? On the other hand, if the employer told him to hire men for three zuz, and he promised four, then, if he told them that they would receive their payment from himself, let him pay the difference from his own pocket, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: "If one hires a labourer to do his work, and thereafter instructed him to do the work of another, he must pay him the full payment, and the reward for his labour he may demand from the employer?" The case was, he said to the labourer that the employer will pay, i.e., he has not fixed any price. But let them see how the price for a day for labourers stands? The case was that there were some employers who paid three, and some who paid four, and the labourers may claim: "If we did not understand from your words that we were to get four, we would take the trouble to look for other employers who pay four." And if you wish, it may be said that the Mishna treats of servants who possess their own fields (and they do not hire themselves unless for a higher price than the ordinary), and they may claim: "If we did not understand that we were to get four, it would be a humiliation for us to hire ourselves for a lower price." It can also be explained that the Mishna treats of labourers who are doing work only for others, and nevertheless they may claim: "Because we understood that we were to get four zuz, we troubled ourselves to make a good job." But, then, their work should be examined? The case was, they were engaged in digging a trench which was filled with water, and could not be examined. And if you wish, it may be said that the employer told the servant to hire labourers for four zuz a day, and he hired them for three; and although they agreed to work for the price, they may be angry with the hirer, saying: "Do you not hold to the verse [Proverbs, 3:27]: Withhold not a benefit . . . when it is in the power of thy hand to do it"?" After all, it may be said that the Tana of our Mishna by the expression "deceived" means also "retracted" (and he treats of a direct agreement between the employer and the servants), as we have learned in the following Boraitha: "If one has hired labourers, and they have deceived the employer, or vice versa, they have nothing but resentment, provided they did not go to work at all. But if the drivers went for grain and did not find any, or field labourers went to work and found that the field was as yet wet, they get the full payment. However, the hire of a driver who loads his wagon and delivers it to the proper place is not to be the same as the hire of one who did not find any load; and the same is the case with labourers who are engaged in work all day compared with those who are idle the whole day. All this, however, relates to when they had not yet begun the labour; but if they began, their labour must be valued for what they have done. How so? If they agreed to cut stalks or to weave a garment for the price of two salas, and they left their work, having done the half of it, the work done must be appraised; if, e.g., their work was worth six dinars, they may be given one sala (which is eight dinars), or they may be let finish their work, and take two alas. And if it was worth only, one sala, they get a sala. R. Dossa, however, says the remaining work must be appraised, and they get the difference; e.g., if the remaining work can be done for less than six, they get only one-half a sala (although they have done the half of the work), or they may be let finish their work, and take two; but if the remaining work could be done for a sala, the labourer who has done the half gets a full sala. However, all this is said of such things as do not become spoiled if the work is,, done later; but in cases in which the work may become spoiled, he may hire other labourers on their account, or he may deceive them. How so? He may say to them: "I made the agreement with you to work for one sala; now, however, I raise it to the amount of two." To what amount may he increase the hire? To the amount of forty to fifty zuz, provided there are no other labourers to hire for a lower price; but if there are, and the retracting labourers tell him to get his work done by them, he has nothing but resentment.

A disciple taught before Rabh that the full amount must be paid, but Rabh said: My uncle (R. Hyga) said: "If I were the hirer, I would pay only for the loss of time," and thou sayest that, he must pay the full amount. The Gemara questioned: Does the above Boraitha not add. The hire of a driver who loads his wagon, etc., is not to be the same as the hire of one who did not find any load? (Why, then, did not Rabh refer him to this Boraitha, and not to his uncle?) Rabh was not aware of the above addition. According to others, he was aware of it; and concerning this Boraitha he says: My uncle said: "If I were the hirer, I would pay nothing," and thou sayest that loss of time must be paid. But, if so, there is a difficulty. It might be said that R. Hyga speaks of labourers that he appointed yesterday to come to work early in the morning, and rain made the field wet at night,, so that it was unfit for work; and in such a case the labourers ought to know it, and not come to work at all. The Boraitha treats of a case where both the employer and the labourers were not aware of the fact that the field was unfit for work at that time. And so also declared Rabh. elsewhere: If one hired labourers to dig a trench, to begin their labour on the morrow, and at night rain filled the trench with water, then, if at the time he hired them he notified them of the place where the trench was to be found, the labourers have to suffer the loss (seeing the rain, they ought not to come to work); but if at the time he hired them he did not notify them of the place where the trench was to be found, be must pay for the loss of time (as they may say: How were we to know that the trench was placed where it was raining?). The same said again: If one hired labourers to wet his fields, and in the meantime rain came, the labourers suffer the damage. If, however, they become wet by the overflow of a river, the employer must pay them for the loss of time. He said again: If one hired labourers to wet his fields, and in the middle of the day the river from which the water was to be taken ceased to flow, if this was an accident the labourers have to suffer. If, however, this happens with the river frequently, the employer must suffer; provided the labourers were strangers and did not know the nature of this river. He also said: If the work for which the labourers were hired for a day was finished at the middle of the day, he may engage them with other similar or easier work, but not with harder. And if he has not such, he nevertheless must pay them the full amount. Why so? Let him pay them for the loss of time only? Rabha speaks of carriers of Mahuza (his city), who used to become weak when they had nothing to do (in the daytime).

The master said: The labour already done must be appraised, and if it was worth six dinars, they get a sala (eight dinars). Hence the rabbis hold that the labourers always have the preference.

"Or let them finish their work, and take two salas." Is this not self-evident? The case was that the labour became dearer, and the labourers and the employer became reconciled. Lest one claim that the labourers may say: "We accepted your reconciliation with the intention that you will raise our wages" (and as, according to the rabbis, the labourers always have the preference, their claim should be taken into consideration), he comes to teach us that the employer may say: "My intention in becoming reconciled was to give you a good meal."

"If the labour were worth one sala, they get it." Is this not self-evident? The case was, that at the time he hired them the labour was cheaper. He, however, promised to raise one zuz. Thereafter the labour became a zuz higher: lest one say that the labourers may claim that they were promised a zuz over the existing price, consequently they have to get two zuz more, he comes to teach us that the employer may say: "I was aware that the labour is worth a sala, and it will be increased to this extent sometime. I therefore promised to pay you the proper price, but not to add a zuz above the proper price."

"R. Dossa said," etc. As he holds, the employer has the preference. But to what purpose does he add: "Or let them finish the work and take two salas"? Is this not self-evident? He treats of a case where the labour became cheaper and the employer locked them out, and afterwards the labourers became reconciled to him: lest one say that the employer may claim that he accepted the reconciliation with the intention to lower the price, he comes to teach us that the labourers may say they have become reconciled to him with the intention of making a good job. But to what purpose does he continue, that if a sala, etc.? Is this not self-evident? Said R. Huna b. R. Nathan: He speaks of a case where the labourers have lowered the price a zuz, and thereafter the labour became a zuz cheaper: lest one say that the employer may claim: "My agreement was to give a zuz less than the current price, consequently I have now to pay two zuz less," he comes to teach us that the labourers may claim: "We were aware that the labour may become cheaper, and were willing to work for the proper price, but not lower than that."

Said Rabh: The Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Dossa. Did, indeed, Rabh say so? Has he not said that a day labourer may retract even in the middle of the day? And lest one say that R. Dossa makes a difference between a day labourer and a pieceworker, the following Boraitha shows that he makes no difference, namely: "If one hired a labourer, and in the middle of the day the latter heard that one of his relatives died, or he became ill from sunstroke, whether be was a day labourer or a piece-worker be gets the full payment." Now, according to whom is it? Shall we assume it is according to the rabbis? Why, then, need it to be said that it was accident? Even without this the rabbis hold that the labourer always has the preference. It must therefore be in accordance with R. Dossa; hence he makes no difference between the above two kinds of labourers?

Said R. Nahaman b. Itzhak: The Boraitha treats of a case where the work would be lost if not finished in the same day, and therefore only in case of an accident does he get the full payment in accordance with all of them; but in other cases there is a difference between the two kinds of labourers mentioned above (according to R. Dossa). And if you wish, it may be said that the statement of our Mishna, that "he who retracts his word must suffer the damage," is to be interpreted as we have learned in the following Boraitha: "Whoever retracts." How so? If one sold a field for a thousand zuz, and the buyer gave him a deposit of two hundred, if the seller retracts, the buyer has the preference; he may insist upon the return of his money, or he shall furnish him with the best estate for the value of his deposited money. If, however, the buyer retracts, the seller has the preference; he may return him the money, or give him the worst estate he has for the value of

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his money. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, however, says (that in case one buys an estate by instalment), an agreement must be written to prevent any retraction. How so? The seller writes: "I, so-and-so, sold such-and-such a field to so-and-so for one thousand zuz, of which two hundred were paid, and the balance of eight hundred is to be paid afterwards," then the agreement is in full force even for many years.

The master said: "Or best estates for his money." At the first sight it is to be understood the best estate the seller possesses. Why so? Let him be considered a creditor, of whom a Mishna states that he has to collect from the middle one; and, secondly, he has given the money for a certain estate which is still in existence? Said R. Nahaman b. Itzhak: The Boraitha means to say, in both cases, from the best and the worst of the field in question. R. Aha Aiga, however, says: There is no contradiction even when it means from the best estate he possesses, as usually a poor man who buys an estate for a thousand zuz has to sell out his personal property or small estates for a cheap price, so that if the seller retracts the buyer suffers damage, and there is a Mishna that all damages must be appraised from the best estate.

R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said: "The seller writes," etc. We see, then, that the buyer acquired title only because of the agreement, and not otherwise; but did not a Boraitha state: "If one gave a deposit to his neighbour, and said: Should I retract, my deposit shall be relinquished to you, and the seller said: Should I retract, I shall return you the deposit in double, the stipulations are of avail; so is the decree of R. Jose." [R. Jose is in accordance with his theory that an asmakhta gives title.] R. Jehuda, however, said: It is sufficient that the buyer should acquire title to the amount of his deposit. Said R. Simeon b. Gamaliel: All this is only in case the buyer said: My deposit shall give me title. If, however, there was sold to him a field for a thousand zuz, and in payment thereon he gives him five hundred zuz, title is given to the buyer to the whole field, and he has to give him the remainder even during many years (hence we see that according to him title is acquired even if it was not so written as stated above). This presents no difficulty. The Boraitha speaks of when the seller agrees to wait for the remainder, and the Mishna speaks of when the seller was in need of money, and insisted upon immediate payment (which shows that he sold him the article only because he was in need of money, and would not like to give him title until the whole amount was paid; as Rabha said elsewhere: If one has sold an article, when he was in need of money, and received a deposit from the buyer, title is not acquired unless the whole amount is paid; but when the seller was not in need of money, and did not insist upon immediate payment of the remainder, title is acquired).

Rabha said again If one lends a hundred zuz to his neighbour, and he returns the sum in instalments by single zuzes, although it was not so stipulated, the payment is valid, and the lender has nothing but resentment, as he may say that the borrower had harmed him, for he could have done business with the money if it were paid to him in one payment.

There was a man who sold an ass while he was in need of money, and the buyer paid him the whole amount less one zuz. R. Ashi was deliberating if in such a case title is acquired or not. Said R. Mordechai to him: So said Abimi of Hagrunia in the name of Rabha, that one zuz is considered the same as many, and title is not acquired. Said R. A'ha b. R. Joseph to R. Ashi . But we have heard in the name of Rabha that title is acquired; and he answered: The Halakha you have heard in the name of Rabha must be interpreted, in case it was certain that he has sold his field on account of its infertility, and the insisting upon the payment of the remainder was only because he was afraid he shall retract.

It is certain that if one was in need of a hundred zuz, and could not find any one to buy an estate for this amount, and sold out for two hundred (and received a deposit of one hundred zuz), and insisted upon the immediate payment of the remainder, then title is not acquired. But how is it when, if the same would trouble himself to find a buyer for one hundred zuz, he could get one, but he did not, and sold out for two hundred zuz, and was insisting upon the immediate payment of the remainder? Shall we assume that this case should be considered as the case of selling a field on account of infertility, stated above; or is it not because, after all, he sold out this field unwillingly, owing to the need of money? This question remained undecided.

If one hired a driver . . . or he may deceive them. But to what amount may he hire others on their account? Said R. Na'hman: To that amount which the employer owes them for the labour done already. Rabha objected to this statement from the Boraitha stated above, that he may hire on their account to the sum of from forty to fifty zuz; and R. Na'hman answered: The above Boraitha speaks of a case where the labourers place their instruments to such an amount in the house of the employer.

MISHNA 2.: If one hired an ass for use on a mountain, and he used it in a valley, or vice versa, although the distance for which it was hired was equal in both ways (as, e.g., ten miles), and the ass dies, the hirer is responsible. If he hired it to use it on the mountain, and he used it in a valley instead, and the ass slipped, he is free (because this could surely occur on the mountain, upon which such a case is more frequent); if, however, it was overheated, he is responsible. The reverse is the case when he used it on the mountain instead of in the valley: if it slipped, he is responsible; and if it is overheated, he is free. If, however, it was overheated because of the ascending to the top of the mountain, he is responsible. If one hired an ass and it became blind, or it was taken for an angaria (i.e., taken by the Government for labour), the owner may say: "Yours (which you have hired) is before you." If, however, it dies, or broke a foot, he must furnish him with another ass.

GEMARA: Why does the Mishna make a difference in the second part between slipping and overheating, and does not do so in the first part? In the school of R. Yanai was said: Because in the first part the plaintiff may claim the animal dies owing to the air of the mountain; (if it was hired for a valley,) he may say that it was not used to the air of a mountain, and if for a mountain, he may claim it was not used to the air of a valley. R. Jose b. Hanina, however, said: The Mishna treats of when it dies owing to overwork, and Rabba says: The Mishna treats of when it dies from the bite of a snake (so the plaintiff may claim: If you had used it for the place hired, such would not have occurred). R. Hyya b. Abba, in the name of R. Johanan, said: The Mishna is in accordance with R. Meier, who holds that one who has done contrary to the agreement with the owner is considered a robber, and is responsible. Where is to be found such a statement by R. Meier? In the following Boraitha: "If one has given a dinar to a poor man for the purpose of buying himself a shirt, he must not buy a garment, and if for the purpose of a garment, he must not buy a shirt, because this would be contrary to the intention of the donor." But perhaps there is another reason; namely, people shall not say: "So-and-so has promised to furnish a garment for the poor so-and-so," and did not keep his promise? Then R. Meier should state: Because of suspicion. Why, then, his reason, "because it is contrary to the intention," etc.? Hence he holds that every change of the intention of the owner is considered robbery. Infer from this that so it is.

Or it was taken, etc. Said Rabh: The case is only when it is an angaria which is to be afterwards returned; but if it is an angaria which is not to be returned, he must furnish him with another ass. Samuel, however, maintains: There is no difference what kind of an angaria it was; if it was taken for using to the same place where the hirer intends to go, the owner may say to him: "Yours is before you." If, however, it was taken in a contrary direction, then the owner must furnish him with another ass. An objection was raised from the following: If one hired an ass, and it became blind or mad, the owner may say: "Yours which you have hired is before you." If, however, it dies, or it was subject to an angaria, he must furnish him with another ass. This would be correct in accordance with Rabh's theory, as the Boraitha may treat of an angaria which is not to be returned; but Samuel's statement it contradicts. And lest one say that the Boraitha speaks of when it was taken away in a contrary direction, so that it could agree with Samuel's statement also, it cannot hold good, because of the latter part of the same Boraitha, which states: R. Simeon b. Elazar said that if it was taken away for use in the same direction, the owner may say: "Yours is before you"; and if in a contrary direction, he must furnish him with another ass. Now, from the statement of the latter it is to be inferred that it makes no difference to the first Tana in what direction it was taken? Samuel may say: Is there not a Tana who is in accordance with my theory? I hold with R. Simeon b. Elazar, and if you wish, it may be said that the whole Boraitha is in accordance with R. Simeon b. Elazar, but it is not complete, and should read thus: If one hires an ass, which becomes blind or mad, the owner may say: "Yours which you hired is before you." If, however, it dies or becomes subject to an angaria, he must furnish him with another ass. This, however, was said if it was taken away in another direction; but if it was taken away in the same direction be intended to go, the owner may say: "Yours is before you" (you may accompany this one until the officers of the Government will meet another ass, and yours will be returned to you). So is the decree of R. Simeon b. Elazar, as he used to say that only if it was taken in another direction must he furnish him with another ass, and not: otherwise. But how can you interpret the Boraitha in accordance with him? Have we not heard him stating that if one has hired an ass for the purpose of riding upon it, and it becomes blind or mad, the owner must furnish him with another one, which contradicts the statement of the Boraitha in question? Said Rabba b. R. Huna: For the purpose of riding, it is different (as he cannot ride upon a blind or mad animal, but as for carrying burdens, he can do so even with the same). Said R. Papa: If he had hired the ass for the purpose of carrying glassware, the case is the same as if he hired it for riding.

Rabba b. Huna, in the name of Rabh, said: "If one has hired an ass for the purpose of riding, and it dies while in the middle of the way, he has to pay the half of the agreed price, and he has nothing but resentment." Let us see. How was the case? If the carcass of this ass would pay for delivering the burden to the place to which it was hired, what had resentment to do here? Let him sell the carcass, and deliver the goods, and if this is not the case, why should not the owner deliver the goods to the place? The case was such that one could not be found, to be hired for delivery; and the owner may claim payment from the place from which it was taken, to the place directed. But let us see. How was the agreement? If it was for any ass to carry the goods, then certainly he must furnish him with another one, and if for this ass, then let him sell the carcass for the purpose of carrying his goods. This was when the sale of the carcass would not yield the amount needed. But even if the carcass would pay, may he do so? (Did, then, the owner sell him this ass? The decision of the Mishna is that he shall furnish him with another ass; consequently he has not given him any title for this one?) Rabh is in accordance with his theory who said elsewhere that the principal amount must not be totally consumed, as it was taught: "If one has hired an ass, and it dies while in the middle of the way," Rabh said, that if the carcass would pay to buy another one instead, he may do so; but if it would pay only to hire another one, he must not. Samuel, however, maintains he may, and the point of their differing is the total consumption of the principal amount of the thing hired. According to Rabh, it must not be consumed (and the statement of the Mishna, that he must furnish him with another ass, is in case it dies while yet under the control of the owner, so that if he sells the carcass he adds to this amount and buys another ass, and so the principal amount is not wholly consumed as in case of selling the carcass for the purpose of hiring another one); and according to Samuel, even the total consuming of the principal amount is allowed.

The rabbis taught: "If one hires a boat, and it sinks in the middle of the way, R. Nathan said: If he has paid, the money remains with the same owner; but if he has not paid, he has nothing to pay." Let us see. How is the case? If the agreement was "for this boat in which I shall carry wine to a certain place," why, then, should he not collect what he paid for? He should claim for another boat for delivering wine, and if it was for any boat, for delivering this wine, why should he not pay, even if he has not done so until now? Let the owner claim for the wine he has agreed to deliver, and he will furnish another boat; and if the wine is lost, and the hirer cannot keep his agreement, let him pay. Said R. Papa: R. Nathan's decision can be explained only in case the agreement was "for this boat and this wine," but if the agreement was "or any boat and any wine," the loss must be divided.

The rabbis taught: "If one hires a boat for a certain place, and has unloaded it while in the middle of the way, he has to pay for the half way, and the owner has nothing but resentment." How is the case? If the owner has the opportunity to let it, why then resentment? And if not, why should he not get pay for the whole way? The case was, the owner had an opportunity to let it. He claims, however, that the loading and unloading, which must be done twice, damages the boat. But if so, the claim is a just one, and he has to be paid. Read in the Boraitha thus: In the middle of the way he loads more, and the agreement was that he may load as much as he likes, and shall be paid according to the weight of the load; and if he adds more in the middle of the way, he has to pay him for this loading for the half way only. But, then, what is the resentment for? For the losing of time.

The rabbis taught If one hires an ass for the purpose of riding, the hirer may place on it his garment, his bottles with beverages, and food for himself for that day. More than this, however, the driver may prevent. The driver may also place hay and barley and food for himself for this day only. More than this, the hirer may prevent." How is it? If on the way, food can be bought, why should not the driver prevent the hirer from placing more food than for one day? And if it could not be bought, why should the driver be prevented from taking food for more than one day? Said R. Papa: The case was, that food could be obtained at the inn only, and for a driver it is customary to trouble himself, in the city, to find out who is selling food for the ass and himself, which is not the case with the hirer.

The rabbis taught: "If one hires an ass for the riding of a male, the same must not be used for a female; if for a female, a male may ride on it. There is, however, no difference whether the female was tall or short, pregnant or nursing." If you say that a woman nursing a child, which are two bodies, may, is it not self-evident that a pregnant woman, which is only one body, may? Said R. Papa: It means even when she was both pregnant and nursing.

MISHNA 3. If one hires a cow for the purpose of ploughing on the mountain, with all the implements belonging to it, and he plough in a valley, if the plough-handle breaks he is free; if vice versa, and it breaks, he is responsible. If to thresh pulse, and he threshes grain, he is free; but if to thresh grain, and he threshes pulse, he is responsible, because pulse becomes slippery (and thus the plough-handles can easily break).

GEMARA: But how is it if the plough-handle breaks without any change of the agreement: who has to pay for it? Said R. Papa: He who holds the handle of the plough (because it breaks owing to his carelessness); and R. Shesha b. R. Idi says: He who manages the handle in such a manner that the

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plough digs deeper in the ground than it ought to, and so the Halakha prevails. In a place, however, which was known to them as strong ground, etc., both the holder of the plough-handle and the manager are responsible.

R. Johanan said: If one sells a cow to his neighbour, saying: "This cow is a gorer, a biter, a kicker, lying down while labouring," and in reality it was afflicted with only one of these defects, the sale is invalid (as the buyer, on examining it, may not find one or two of the defects he was told of, and thinks the seller is only jesting, and the cow has no defects at all). If, however, he says: It is afflicted with one of the defects mentioned above, and it has also some other defects, although it was afflicted with only this one, the sale is valid (because it was the buyer's duty to search for such defects as were mentioned to him). So, also, we have learned in the following Boraitha: "If one sells a female slave, telling the buyer that she is an idiot, epileptic, and becomes confounded, and she was afflicted with only one of these, the sale is invalid (for the reason stated above). If, however, he says she is afflicted with one of the defects mentioned above, and she has also other defects, the sale is valid." R. A'ha b. Rabha questioned R. Ashi: How is it, if she has indeed all those defects (and the buyer claims that because the seller mentioned all the defects separately, he thought he was jesting, but if he had been aware that she was afflicted, he would not have bought her)? Said R. Mordechai to R. Ashi: So was it said in the name of Rabha, that in such a case the sale is valid.

MISHNA 4.: If one hired an ass for carrying wheat, and he used it for barley (of the same weight as the wheat he had spoken of, and the ass becomes injured), he is responsible. For grain, and he used it for straw, he is responsible, because an increase of volume makes the load harder for the animal. If for half a kur of wheat, and he used it for half a kur of barley, there is no responsibility. If, however, he has increased the size (although it was equal in weight to the half kur of wheat), he is responsible. How much must the load be increased to make him responsible? Symmachos, in the name of R. Meier, said: One saah for a camel, and three kabs for an ass.

GEMARA: It was taught: Abayi said: We read in the Mishna: "The volume of the load is like the weight (i.e., loads of the same volume are considered of the same weight as regards the stress on the animal, and if he added these kab to the volume bargained for, he is responsible for any injury to the ass). Rabha, however, said: We read in the Mishna: It is as hard for loading--i.e., weight is weight, and the volume is an addition, and if he changed the load for a more voluminous one, although of the same weight, he is responsible for the additional volume.

There is an objection from our Mishna if it were hired to carry half a kur of wheat, and he used it for half a kur of barley: "If he has increased the size, etc., is it not meant three kabs" (as the explanation of Abayi)? Nay; it means a saah (and the Mishna is interpreted thus: If for carrying a half kur of wheat, and he used it for a half kur of barley, he is free, although he changed the article, as the change was lighter; if, however, he had increased the barley to the weight of wheat, he is responsible, owing to the increase of size). But does not the Mishna state further on: "How much must the load be increased . . . a saah for a camel," etc.? This is not a continuation of the former, but a separate statement; thus, when there was no change in the article, and weight was added to the usual load, how much should be added in order to make him responsible? Symmachos says, etc.: Come and hear (another objection): "If it were for carrying a half kur of wheat, and he used it for sixteen saahs of barley, he is responsible." From which is to be inferred that if he added only three kabs he is free? Abayi explained that this Boraitha speaks of a load counted by stricken measures; according to others, reduced in weight by being worm-eaten. 1

The rabbis taught: "An addition of one kab makes one responsible when he has hired one to carry a burden on his shoulders. A lethakh (a half kur) is an addition to a skiff, one kur for a larger boat, and three kurs are an addition for a ship (i.e., if the above were added to the usual loading of the vessels named, the one who hires is responsible for damage)."

The master says: One kab for him who carries on his shoulders: but if he is a man with sense let him throw it off if it is too heavy? Said Abayi: For example, when he became sick soon after he was loaded with his burden. And Rabha said: Even if it has not occurred so, as the Mishna's statement is for the purpose of an additional payment also--i.e., for this addition he has to pay him separately. R. Ashi maintains that the carrier need not throw it off, because he may have thought: "I am too weak now, but I will become stronger, and able to carry the usual weight for which I am hired," as he was not aware that the size of a kab was added. It was said above: "One kur for a larger boat," etc. Said R. Papa: Infer from this that the usual weight for a large boat is thirty kurs. To what purpose is it stated? For the purpose of business--i.e., if one has hired a boat for carrying without any stipulation, thirty kurs is the usual load.

MISHNA 5.: All specialists are considered bailees for hire. If, however, they have notified the owners that the work is ready and they may take it, and the payment should be made thereafter, they are considered from that time gratuitous bailees. If one says: "Guard for me this article, and I will guard yours," the depositary is considered a bailee for hire. If one says: "Guard for me this article," and the depositary answers: "Leave it with me," he is a gratuitous bailee. If one has lent money on a pledge, he is considered a bailee for hire. R. Jehudah, however, said that if he has lent him money on a pledge (without interest)he is considered a gratuitous bailee; if, however, he has lent fruit on the pledge, he is considered a bailee for hire. Aba Saul said: "One may let out a pledge of a poor man, and the money he takes for it he shall deduct from the debt of the pledger, because this is considered as if he would return a lost thing."

GEMARA: Shall we assume that our Mishna is not in accordance with R. Meier 1 of the following Boraitha: If one hired a cow, how shall he pay in case it is lost? (The question is asked because the law of a gratuitous bailee, a bailee for hire, and a borrower is to be found in the Scripture. A hirer, however, is not mentioned; hence the question: To whom of the above named shall he be compared?) R. Meier says: To a gratuitous bailee (as he pays for the labour done by the animal, and takes no compensation for guarding it). R. Jehudah, however,. says: To a bailee for hire. (As he hired the animal for his benefit, although he pays for the labour, he is considered a bailee for hire. Now, a specialist who takes the article for his own benefit is compared to a hirer, and R. Meier considers him a gratuitous bailee.) It can be said as Rabba b. Abuhu, who has changed the names in the above Boraitha and taught: R. Meier said, To a bailee for hire; and R. Jehudah said, To a gratuitous bailee.

If, however, they have notified, etc. There is a Mishna (in Chapter 8. of this tract): "If the borrower told the lender to send through a messenger, and he did so, he is responsible for an accident; and the same is the case when he returns it in that way." Said R. Na'h'man b. Papa: We have learned the same in our Mishna; if they all said: "Take yours, and the money you may pay afterwards," it is considered a gratuitous bailment. Is it not to be assumed that the same is the case if he has notified the owner that the work is ready (without adding something to it)? Nay; "Take yours" is different.

Huna Mar b. Mrimar, in the presence of Rabina, raised a contradiction between the two Mishnayoth mentioned above, and afterwards explained them as follows: In our Mishna it is stated: If they said, "Take yours," etc., they are considered from that time bailees for hire; and the same is the case if they have notified the owners that the work is ready for them. Is it not a contradiction from the above-cited Mishna that if the borrower told him to send, etc., he is responsible? (Hence we see that it is considered under the control of the borrower even when he returned it, and this contradicts the statement in our Mishna, which is, that as soon as the specialist has notified the owner of the article that it is ready for delivery it is considered under the control of the owner.) And he himself answered that Raphram b. Papa said, in the name of R. Hisda, that the cited Mishna treats of when the borrower has returned the loan through his messenger before the agreed time has elapsed (consequently it was under his control unquestionably); but if he did so after the elapse of the agreed time, he is free.

The schoolmen propounded a question: What is meant by the expression "free"? Is it meant free of the responsibility of a borrower (who is responsible for an accident also), but that he is still responsible as a bailee for hire (who must pay for theft and loss), or does it mean entirely free from any charge? Said Amimar: It seems that he is free only from the responsibility of a borrower, but not from the responsibility of a bailee for hire; as he has derived benefit from it, he is considered such.

There is a Boraitha supporting Amimar as follows: "If one bought utensils from a specialist to send to the house of his father-in-law, with the understanding that if they are accepted he will pay their value, if not, he will pay according to the benefit he shall derive from the pleasure they will give to the house of his father-in-law because of their being sent as presents: if an accident happens to the utensils while on the road thither, the buyer is responsible. If, however, the accident occurred while the utensils are being returned, he is free, for he is considered a bailee for hire (for he derives them from the benefit mentioned above), who is not responsible for an accident (and this is in accordance with the theory of Amimar).

There was a man who sold wine to his neighbour, and the buyer said: "I shall carry it to such a place: if I sell it there, you will be paid; if not, it will be returned to you"; and an accident occurred while returning it. When the case came before R. Na'hman, he made him responsible. Rabha objected from the above-cited Boraitha, which states that if an accident occurred while on the road thither, he is responsible, and while returning, he is free; and R. Na'hman answered: "This returning is to be considered as if it were on the road still for sale, because common sense says that if he could sell it while returning he would certainly do so."

Guard for me, etc. Why so? Is this not to be considered a guard in the presence of the owner (as at the: same time the article guarded was stolen, the owner of it was caring for the article entrusted to him in return, and the Scripture plainly reads [Ex. xxii. 14]: "But if the owner thereof be with it," etc.; and this is explained further on to mean, if the owner is with him in the same labour)? Said R. Papa: The Mishna means to say You guard for me to-day, and I will do so for you tomorrow.

The rabbis taught: If one say: "Guard for me this article, and I will guard yours to-morrow; or, lend me, and I will lend you"; "guard for me, and I will lend you," or vice versa, all are considered bailees for hire, one to the other.

There were sellers of spices who agreed that each one of them should be engaged one day in each week in preparing food for the whole company. One day they said to one of their number: "Go and bake bread for us," and he replied: "Then guard for me my garment." They, however, neglected to do so, and the garment was stolen; and when the case came before R. Papa, he made them responsible. Said the rabbis to R. Papa: Why should they be responsible? Was not the neglect in the presence of the owner? And he was embarrassed. Finally it was learned that, at the time the garment was stolen its owner was not occupied in baking, but was drinking beer (consequently the decision of R. Papa was a just one). But why was R. Papa embarrassed? There is a different opinion between the Tanaim in such a case. According to one, he is free; and according to the other, he is not. Could not R. Papa say that he agreed with the latter? The case was, the day on which he was told to bake for the company was not the day appointed for him, and he was asked to do this as a favour. He, however, says: "For this favour you will favour me by guarding my garment," and it was not owing to wilful neglect that it was stolen. And R. Papa made them responsible according to the law of a bailee for hire; and the rabbis told him that the company ought not to be held responsible, because of the law concerning a guard in the presence of the owner, to which all agree that there is no responsibility, and therefore he was embarrassed; but finally it was learned that his decision was correct as stated above.

There were two men on the road; one was tall and the other was short. The tall man was riding an ass, and had with him an ironed sheet for a covering, and the short one was covered with a cloak (a woollen one). When they came to cross a stream, the short man placed his cloak upon the ass, and instead of it took the sheet of the tall man and wrapped himself up in it, and the water carried it away. When the case came before Rabha he made him responsible. Said the rabbis to Rabha: Why should he be responsible? Was it not in the presence of his owner (i.e., at the same time the sheet was lost, the lender was crossing the stream with the borrower's cloak; is this not equal to the case, "guard my article, and I will do so with yours," of which it is said above that if it was at the same time there is no responsibility)? And Rabha was embarrassed. Finally, it was learned that the short man took it without the consent of his comrade, and he also placed his cloak upon the ass without consent.

There was a man who let his ass to his neighbour, and told him: "See that you do not take the way by the river of Paqud, owing to its marshy road; take the way of the city of Narsh, which is dry." The man, however, took the way by the river of Paqud, and the ass died; when he returned he said: "It is true I took the way by the river mentioned, but there was no marsh." And when the case came before Rabba he said: This man may be trusted, as, if he were to tell a lie, he would say, "I took the way of Narsh." Said Abayi to him: Such a supposition cannot hold good when there are witnesses (i.e., it is known to all that the way by the mentioned river is marshy).

Guard this, etc. Said R. Huna: If the depositary said: "Leave it here for you," he is not a gratuitous bailee and not a bailee for hire (i.e., he has no responsibility whatever, as it can be understood to mean: "You, yourself can guard it in this place"). The schoolmen propounded a question: If he said: "Leave it anonymously," how is the law? Come and hear: "Guard it for me," and he answered, "Leave it here for me," he is considered a gratuitous bailee; from which is to be inferred that, if an anonym, he is not considered a bailee at all. On the other hand, from the above decision of R. Huna, that the one who said "Leave it for you" is not considered as any bailee, it is to be inferred that if he said "Leave it" only, he is considered a gratuitous bailee. Therefore, nothing is to be inferred from the cited Boraitha. But shall we assume that on this point the Tanaim of the following Mishna differ? If he has brought him his things with the permission of the owner of this court, the owner is responsible. Rabbi, however, maintains that in all mentioned cases the owner is not responsible unless he accepted it for the purpose of guarding. Nay, perhaps the reason for the decision of the rabbis is because a court is usually a place where things are safe, and when the owner gave the permission to bring in the things, he did so with the intention of guarding them but in our case, which concerns a public place, the expression "Leave it" may be understood to mean, "Leave it and guard it yourself." On the other hand, the reason for the rabbis' decision may be because usually one must have permission to enter a court belonging to a private person, and when he asked leave to

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place his things in the court, he answered, "Enter"--i.e., "enter and guard your things yourself"; but in a public place the expression "Leave it" may be understood to mean, "Leave it and I will take care of it," as, otherwise, does the man have to ask permission from him to leave it there?

On a pledge, he is a bailee for hire, etc. Our Mishna is not in accordance with R. Eliezer of the following Boraitha: "If one lends money on a pledge, and the pledge was lost, he may take an oath that there was no wilful neglect in guarding it, and collect his money from the borrower; so is the decree of R. Eliezer." R. Aqiba, however, maintains the defendant may claim, "You have lent me the money only on this pledge, and as the pledge is lost, so is your money." But if he lends a thousand zuz on a note, and also added a pledge, then all agree that he loses his money in case the pledge is lost (as then the pledge is not for any other purpose than to collect the money from it in case of default; otherwise the note would be sufficient even from an encumbered estate. Hence we see that R. Eliezer considers the possessor of the pledge a gratuitous bailee, contrary to our Mishna).

Shall we assume that the above-mentioned Tanaim speak of a case in which the pledge was not worth the amount lent upon it, and their point of differing is in a case which is similar to Samuel's following theory: "If one lends to his neighbour a thousand zuz, and pledges for them the handle of a scythe only, if the handle is lost, the thousand zuz are lost (as he accepted it as a pledge for his money, he intends to collect his money only from it)? Nay, when the pledge was not worth the amount lent, none of them agrees with Samuel, as they speak of a pledge worth the amount lent, and the point of their differing is R. Itzhak's following decision: Whence do we deduce that a creditor acquires title to the pledge? From [Deut. 24:13]: "And unto thee shall it be as righteousness before the Lord thy God." Now, if the lender does not acquire title to the pledge, what righteousness is there? But how can you understand it in this way? Was, then, R. Itzhak's decision in a case where the article was pledged at the time the money was lent? The above verse cited by him treats of a pledge taken by the court (as explained elsewhere). Have you ever heard that he said the same when it was pledged at the receipt of the money? Therefore, we must say, that all agree with R. Itzhak, and they speak of a case where it was pledged at the time of receiving the money, and the point of their differing is in regard to a guardian of a lost thing , of which R. Joseph's decision was that he is a bailee for hire.

But is it to be assumed that as to the above decision of R. Joseph the Tanaim differ? Nay; all agree with his decision. Here, however, they differ in case the lender uses this pledge for the purpose of deducting from the debt. According to one, a meritorious deed was done by him by lending the money (for which he will be rewarded), and he is therefore considered a bailee for hire; and according to the other, the using of the pledge is for his own sake, and there is no meritorious deed, and therefore he is considered a gratuitous bailee.

Aba Saul said, etc. Said R. Hannan b. Ami in the name of Samuel: The Halakha prevails in accordance with Aba Saul; and he also decided so only for a hoe; a stone-cutter's chisel and a hatchet, which are frequently used, pay, the wearing off of them being very little.

MISHNA 6.: If one carries a barrel from one place to another, and breaks it, whether he was a gratuitous bailee or for hire, he must swear (that there was no neglect), and is free. Said R. Eliezar: I have also heard that in both cases he has to take an oath, but was wondering how such a decision could hold good.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: If one carries a barrel from one place to another for his neighbour and breaks it, whether he was a gratuitous bailee or for hire, he must swear; so is the decree of R. Meier. R. Jehudah, however, says: If he was a hired man, he must pay.

R. Eliezar said, etc. Shall we assume that R. Meier holds that stumbling is not considered wilful neglect? Have we not learned (First Gate.) that if one has not removed his broken pitcher or his fallen camel from a public thoroughfare, and upon it some one is injured, R. Meier makes him responsible. And the sages, however, maintain that he is free in civil court, but responsible in heavenly court, and we are aware that the point of their differing is whether stumbling is considered a wilful neglect? Said R. Hyya b. Aba in the name of R. Johanan: This oath is an enactment of the sages, as, if it would not be made, no one could find a man to carry a barrel for him.

What shall he swear? Said Rabha: "I swear that I broke it unintentionally"; and R. Jehudah comes to teach us that the oath is only for a gratuitous bailee, but that a bailee for hire must pay, each according to the law applicable to them (as in my opinion stumbling is not considered a wilful neglect, but between a neglect and an accident, therefore it must be compared with the law of stolen or lost, and there was no enactment of the sages at all); and R. Eliezar (of our Mishna) comes to teach that he has a tradition that R. Meier is right in his decision, but I do not understand how an oath could be given to both kind of bailees, as an oath is correct only concerning a gratuitous bailee, who has to swear that he has not neglected (as I also agree with R. Jehudah that stumbling is not considered neglect). But what should a bailee for hire swear? That he has not neglected? He must pay even then. And also concerning a gratuitous bailee, an oath would do if in the place where he had to pass was a declivity in the middle of the alley; but if not, how can he swear that he has not neglected, when he was stumbling on an even way? (and this, as said above, "is considered between neglect and accident"). And finally, in case of a declivity also, an oath should be given only when there are no witnesses that such was in the way; but if there are witnesses, why an oath? Have we not learned in the following Boraitha: Aissi b. Jehudah said, The Scripture reads [Ex. xxii. 10, 11]: "No man seeing it, then shall an oath of the Lord be between them both." But if there was a man who had seen it, then he must testify, and the defendant is acquitted.

There was a man who carried a barrel of wine on the main street of the city of Mahuza, and broke it on a beam projecting from a wall. When he came before Rabha he said: In the main street many people are passing; go and bring witness that there was no neglect on your part and you will be acquitted. Said R. Joseph, his son, to him: Is your decision in accordance with Aissi (mentioned above)? And he answered: Yea; as I hold with him.

There was a man who sent a messenger to buy for him four hundred barrels of wine, and he did so, but thereafter he informed the sender that the contents of all of them became sour. When the case came before Rabha, he said: If such a considerable quantity of wine became sour, people would talk about it, and become aware of where the barrels were placed, and what was the reason the wine became sour. You are therefore responsible, unless you bring witnesses to show that at the time you bought it the wine was good, and was spoiled by an accident. Said R. Joseph, his son, to him: Is your decision in accordance with Aissi? And he answered: Yea; as so the Halakha prevails.

R. Hyya b. Joseph enacted in the city of Sikhra that the carrier who carries his burden by means of carrying poles, if he carries barrels of wine, and they break, he has to pay half damages only. Why so? Because with a burden which is too heavy for one and too light for two, it is to be considered between neglect and accident. They, however, who carry by means of trimmer beams must pay the whole (because taking such a heavy burden, which needed the strength of two, is considered a wilful neglect).

There were carriers who broke a barrel of wine belonging to Rabba b. b. Hana, while in his service, and he took their garments for the damage caused; and they came to complain before Rabh, who commanded Rabba b. b. Hana to return their garments. And when the latter questioned him: Does the law prescribe so? He answered: Yea; as it is written [Prov. ii. 20]: "In order that thou mayest walk in the way of good men." Rabba b. b. Hana did so. The carriers, however, complained again: "We are poor, we were working the whole day, we are hungry and have nothing to eat." And Rabh told Rabba he must pay them for their labour. And he asked again: Is so the law? And he answered: Yea; as it is written [ibid., ibid.]: "And observe the path of the righteous."

CHAPTER 7.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE TIME A LABOURER HAS TO WORK, WHAT HE MAY OR MAY NOT CONSUME OF THE ARTICLE HE IS WORKING, AND ABOUT MUZZLING AN OX WHILE LABOURING.

MISHNA 1.: One cannot compel his; employees to come earlier or depart later than is customary at a place, although it was agreed upon. Where it is customary for the employees to get food, the employer must do so. In places where it is customary to furnish them with vegetables, he must do so, and all according to the custom of that country (although it was not stipulated in the agreement).

It happened with R. Johanan b. Mathia, who said to his, son: Go and hire labourers for us. He did so, with the understanding that they should be fed; and when he came to his father, he said to him: "My son, if you should provide them with meals like the banquets of King Solomon at his time, you are not sure that you have done your duty, as they are children of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Therefore, go and tell them, before they begin their labour, that they are to be fed with bread and pulse only." Said Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel: It was not necessary at all, as all must be done according to the custom of the country.

GEMARA: Is this not self-evident? The Mishna means to say, that even when he has increased their wages he cannot say that he did so that they should begin earlier and depart later than customary, as the employees may claim that the increase of wages was for the purpose of making a good job.

Resh Lakish said It is advisable for a labourer that when he departs from his labour he should relinquish a little of his time for the employer (i.e., that if the custom was to work from morning until dark, he shall not manage to come home at twilight, but to stay at his work until dark). In the morning, however, he has not to leave his home before sunrise (i.e., that from the time of leaving home to his place of labour he should be considered as labouring).

But to what purpose was this statement? Let them observe the custom of that city? He alludes to a new city. But even then let him observe the custom where they come from? He means when the labourers were hired from different cities with different customs. And if you wish, he speaks in case the agreement between the employers and employees was that they shall do their work as a labourer mentioned in the Scripture [Psalm 104:22, 23]: "The sun ariseth. . . . Man goeth forth unto his work and to his labour until the evening."

R. Zera lectured; according to others, R. Joseph taught: "It is written [ibid., ibid. 20]: "Thou causest darkness, and it becometh night, wherein creep forth all the beasts of the forest." This world is compared to the darkness of night. All the beasts, etc., means the "wicked," who are compared to wild beasts. "The sun ariseth in the world to come," means to the upright. "They withdraw to their lairs," means the wicked to Gehenna. "And lie down in their den," means the upright, as each upright one has a dwelling in the world to come, according to his honour. "Man goeth forth unto his work," means the upright are going to receive their reward. "And to his labour until the evening," means he who has completed his work, while alive, until the day of death.

R. Eliezar b. R. Simeon met the chief of police who was engaged in capturing thieves, and said to him: How can you capture them? Are they not compared to wild beasts (according to others, he quoted to him the following verse [ibid. 10:9]: "He lieth in wait in a secret place like a lion in his den," etc), and perhaps you capture respectable men, and the wicked remain at large? And he answered: What can I do? I am so ordered by the king. Then he rejoined: I will instruct you how to do. Enter a wine-house at the fourth hour of the day (first meal-time), and if you will see a man drinking wine, holding his goblet and slumbering, make an investigation about him. If he is a scholar, he was certainly engaged in his studies at night; if he is a labourer, it may be he was engaged in his labour at night; and if he was a night labourer, and it was not heard that he was working at night, still it must be investigated-perhaps he has done such labour that causes no noise; but if this man is nothing of this kind, he is surely a thief, being engaged the whole night in his miserable work, and you may capture him. This advice was heard in the ruler's house, and it was decided that the reader of the letter himself should be the messenger. (This was the parable at that time, which means that the adviser himself should be engaged for the same purpose.) R. Eliezer was brought and appointed to capture the thieves, and so he did. Sent to him R. Jehoshua b. Kar'ha: "Vinegar descending of wine" (this parable was also applied to men of reputable origin who turn to bad habits), "how long will you deliver people of the Lord for slaying?" And he answered: "I weed the thorns of the vineyard." And the above R. Jehoshua sent to him again: "Leave it for the owner of the vineyard; he himself will weed the thorns." One day he was met by a washman, who called him "Vinegar descending of wine"; and he thought, because the man was so brazen he must be wicked, and gave orders to capture him, which was done. When his wrath abated he tried to release him, but he could not, and he applied to himself the verse [Proverbs, 21:23]: "Whoso guardeth his mouth and his tongue, guardeth his soul against distresses." Finally the prisoner was to be hanged, and R. Eliezer stood under the gallows and wept. Said the prisoner to him: "Rabbi, do not be sorry; I and my son have committed adultery on the Day of Atonement." The rabbi, placing his hand on his abdomen, said: Rejoice mine entrails; if your doubts are so, how is your certainty. I am sure that no worms shall consume you after death. The same case happened with R. Ismael b. R. Jose, that he was ordered by the Government to capture thieves. Elijah met him and said: "How long will you deliver the people of the Lord for slaying?" And he answered: "What can I do? So is the order of the king!" And Elijah rejoined: "Your father escaped to Assia; you can do the same to Ludqia."

[Both R. Ismael b. R. Jose and R. Eliezer b. R. Simeon were so big-bellied that when they were standing face to face a yoke of oxen could pass under them.] R. Johanan said: I am a remainder of the beauties of Jerusalem.

He who would like to see a beauty similar to that of R. Johanan shall take a silver goblet just out of the worker's hands, with the mark of the flame still to be seen on it, and shall fill it with the germs of scarlet "rumna," put on its top a crown of red roses, and place it between the sun and the shadow; and in the reflection from it one may see but a part of R. Johanan's beauty.

Is that so? Did not the master say that the beauty of R. Kahana is similar to R. Abuhu? The latter beauty is likened to that of Jacob the patriarch, and his is likened to the beauty of Adam the first; hence R. Johanan was not mentioned among the beauties? Because he had no beard.

R. Johanan used to sit by the gate of the bath, so that when the daughters of Israel would return from taking their legal bath, they should meet him, and bear children like to him in beauty and scholarship. And when the rabbis questioned him: Are you not afraid of an "evil eye"? he answered I am a descendant of the children of Joseph, and no "evil eye" can do harm to them; as it is written [Genesis, 49:22] "Joseph is a

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fruitful bough, a fruitful bough by the eye." 1 And R. Abuhu said: Do not read "by the eye," but "above the eye" (which means that no eye can do harm to him). R. Jose b. Hanina said: He infers this from the following verse [ibid. 48]: "And let them grow into a multitude" (like fish, etc.). 2 As the water covers the fish in the sea, so that the eye can do no harm to them, so is it with the descendants of Joseph.

One day R. Johanan was bathing himself in the Jordan. When Resh Lakish saw him, he jumped into the Jordan, and came to him. Said R. Johanan to him: Your strength shall be devoted to the study of the Torah. Rejoined Resh Lakish: Your beauty is fit for women. Said R. Johanan: If you will repent (and leave your profession), I will give you my sister, who is still more beautiful than I am. Resh Lakish accepted this proposition [and when he was about to jump for his garment, he could not do so (Rashi explains this by saying that because he accepted the yoke of the Torah he lost his strength)]. R. Johanan then instructed him and made a great man of him. One day there arose a dispute in college about: the time at which different new iron weapons, as swords, knives, etc., became subject to defilement. R. Johanan said: From the time they were taken from the furnace; and Resh Lakish said: From the time they are taken out of the cooling water. Said R. Johanan: The former robber understands his handicraft (knows the nature of deadly weapons). Rejoined Resh Lakish: And what good have you done me? When in my old profession, I was also called master, as in my new profession. Rejoined R. Johanan: I have done much good to you, as I brought you under the wings of the Shekhinah. R. Johanan was nevertheless dejected, and Resh Lakish became ill. The wife of Resh Lakish, who was the sister of R. Johanan, came to the latter and wept, saying: Pray for his health, for the sake of my son. And in response he cited the following verse: "Leave thine orphans to me, I will give them their livelihood" [Jerem. 49:11]. She continued weeping: Do pray, for my sake, that I am not left a widow. And he cited to her in answer the end of the same verse. Finally, R. Simeon b. Lakish's soul went to rest, and R. Johanan grieved very much after him. And the rabbis of the college were searching for a man who would be able to soothe him, and decided that R. Elazar b. Pdath, whose decisions are original, would be fit for this task. And he went to R. Johanan's college and sat before him, and when R. Johanan said anything, he used to say: There is a Boraitha which supports you. Then R. Johanan exclaimed: Is it you who desires to replace bar Lakish? In his time, when I said anything, he raised twenty-four objections, and I had to make them good with twenty-four answers, so that the discussion became very animated. You, however, say to everything: There is a Boraitha which supports you. Am I not aware that my saying has a good basis? Finally, R. Johanan tore his garments, wept, and cried: "Where art thou, bar Lakish? Where art thou, bar Lakish?" He continued crying until he became demented, and the rabbis prayed for his death, and his soul went to rest everlasting.

Notwithstanding that R. Simeon b. Eliezar said above that he is sure all his deeds were just, he was not satisfied, and prayed for mercy from Heaven, and invoked upon himself chastisements, and became so afflicted that in the night they had to spread under him sixty felt spreadings, and in the morning they removed from him sixty basinfuls of blood. In the morning his wife used to make for him sixty kinds of pap, which he ate, and became well. His wife, however, would not allow him to go to the college, in order that he might not be troubled by the rabbis; and so he used to say every evening to his afflictions: "Come, my brothers," and in the morning, "Go away, for I do not want to be prevented from studying." One day his wife heard him call the afflictions, and she exclaimed: You yourself bring these afflictions upon you! You have exhausted the money of my father (through your illness). She left him and went to the house of her father. In the meantime it happened that sailors made him a present 1 of sixty slaves, each of them holding a purse with money; and the slaves prepared for him daily the sixty kinds of pap he used to eat. One day his wife told her daughter: Go and see what your father is doing. And she went. Her father then said to her: Go and tell your mother that we are richer than her parents. And he applied to himself the verse [Prov. xxxi. 14]: "She is become like the merchant ships, from afar doth she bring her food." Finally he ate, drank, became well, and went to the college, and there he was questioned about sixty kinds of blood of women, and he purified all of them. 2 The rabbis murmured, saying: Is it possible that of such a number there should not be a doubtful one? And he said: If it is as I have decided, all of them shall bring forth male children; if not, then there shall be at least one female among them. Finally, all of the children were born males, and were named Eliezar after him. [There is a Boraitha, Rabbi said: "Woe to the wicked Government which has prevented R. Eliezar from attending the college, and, because of this, the multiplying of Israel."] When he was about to die, he said to his wife: I know the rabbis are angry with me (for I have captured many of their relatives as thieves), and they will probably not attend my funeral as they ought to do. You shall therefore leave me in my attic, and you shall not be afraid of me. Said R. Samuel b. R. Na'hmani: I was informed by the mother of R. Jonathan that she was told by the wife of R. Eliezar that no less than eighteen and no more than twenty-two years after his death she kept him in his attic. She used to ascend every day to examine his hair, and found nothing, and when it happened that one hair fell out, blood was visible. One day she found a worm in his ear, and she was dejected. But he appeared to her in a dream, telling her: It is nothing to be dejected for, as this is a punishment for allowing a young scholar to be insulted in my hearing, and not protesting against it, as I ought to have done. When two parties had a law-suit, they used to come and stand by the door, and each of them would explain his cause. Thereafter a voice was heard from the attic: You, so-and-so, are just with your claim; or, You, so-and-so, are unjust. It happened one day that his wife was quarrelling with a neighbour, and the latter exclaimed: It may occur to you, as to your husband who is not buried. And when the rabbis heard this, they said: When this conduct goes to such a length, it is an insult to the deceased. According to others, R. Simeon b. R. Jo'hai, his father, appeared to one of the rabbis in a dream, and said: There is my little dove among you, and you do not care to bring it to me. And the rabbis decided to employ themselves with his funeral. However, the inhabitants of Akhbria would not let them remove R. Eliezar from his attic, because during all the years R. Eliezar slept in his attic not a wild beast had come to their city. On one eve of the Day of Atonement the inhabitants of the city mentioned were troubled, and took away the guard from R. Eliezar's house; and the rabbis hired some men of the village of Biri, and they took the corpse with the bed and brought it to the rabbis, who removed it to the cave of his fathers. They, however, found the cave surrounded by a snake, and said: Snake, snake, open thy mouth, and let the son enter to his father. And it did so. Rabbi then sent a message to the widow that he would like to marry her, and she answered: An object which was used by a holy man should not be used by an ordinary man. There is a parable: Should the hook which was used by the hero to hang up his weapon be also used by Kulba the shepherd to hang up his knapsack? Sent Rabbi to her: Let it be granted that he was greater than myself in wisdom. Was he also greater than I in meritorious acts? And she answered: You admit, then, that he was greater in wisdom than you, of which I was unaware. I am, however, aware that in meritorious acts he was greater than you, as he submitted to chastisements, which you did not.

Where is it known that R. Eliezar was greater in wisdom than Rabbi? When Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel and R. Jehoshua b. Kar'ha were sitting in the college on benches, R. Eliezar and Rabbi were sitting before them on the floor, objecting and answering (discussing the Halakhas taught). And once the sages said: We are drinking the water of the two young men, and we let them sit on the floor! They prepared benches for them, and they occupied them. Said R. Simeon b. Gamaliel to Rabbi: I possess only one little dove (only one son), and you want me to lose it (he was afraid of an "evil eye," as Rabbi was then too young). And they made him descend to his former seat on the floor. Then R. Jehoshua b. Kar'ha said: Is it right that he who has a father shall live, and he who has not shall die? (i.e., because R. Eliezar was an orphan, we shall leave him on the bench without fear of an "evil eye," even though he was of the same age as Rabbi). They therefore made R. Eliezar also take his former seat on the floor. Eliezar became dejected, saying: They compare me to him. Until that time, when Rabbi said anything, R. Eliezar used to support him; from that time, however, when Rabbi used to say: I have to object, R. Eliezar would say to him: You mean to object from this and this; here is the answer to your objection, and also to an objection you intend to raise from this and this, and so you are surrounding us with lots of objections which are of no value. Rabbi became dejected, and came to complain before his father, who answered: You should not be angry, as he (Eliezar) is a lion, the son of a lion, and you are a lion, the son of a fox. And this is what Rabbi said elsewhere: There were three modest men, my father, the children of Bathyra, and Jonathan the son of Saul. My father, as said above, that he compared himself to a fox; the Beni Bathyra, as it is said (Passover, p. 127), that they who were princes themselves have left their places to Hillel, as he was greater in wisdom than they; and Jonathan b. Saul, as it is written [I. Samuel, 23:17]: "And thou wilt be king over Israel, and I will be next unto thee." [But perhaps Jonathan said so because he had seen that the whole world was sympathising with David; and also the Beni Bathyra, because they were compelled to do so, as they could not answer the questions submitted to them; therefore R. Simeon b. Gamaliel was certainly one of the modest men of the world.]

Said Rabbi: I see that chastisements are favoured. And he accepted for himself afflictions for thirteen years, six of them with cold chills, and seven of them with scurvy.

The riding-master of Rabbi was wealthier than King Sabur. When he used to feed the animals of Rabbi, the voices of the animals were heard for three miles. And he used to do this at the time Rabbi was doing the necessary of men, and he was crying so from pain that his voice was heard all over the neighbourhood; and notwithstanding the voice of the animals, his voice was heard farther, so that even the sailors on the sea heard him. (Says the Gemara:) Nevertheless, the afflictions of R. Eliezar b. R. Simeon were of more value than Rabbi's, as the former's were caused by love, and went away for the same reason; and Rabbi's were caused by an act, and went away also in the same manner. Caused by an act, as follows: There was a calf which was about to be taken for slaughtering, and it ran away, and put its head under the garment of Rabbi, and cried. And Rabbi answered: Go; you are created for this purpose. Then it was said by Heaven that, as he has no mercy with creatures, he shall be afflicted with chastisements. And the afflictions also disappeared because of the following act: One day his female servant was about to dispose of kittens, and Rabbi said to her: Leave them alone; it is written [Psalm 145:9]: "And his mercies are over all his works." Then it was said by Heaven: Because he has mercy with creatures he shall be dealt with mercifully and relieved from his chastisements.

During all the years R. Eliezar was suffering from his afflictions, men were not dying before mature age; and during all the years Rabbi was suffering from his illness, it never happened that the country was in need of rain. It chanced that Rabbi came to the place where R. Eliezar used to dwell, and asked whether that upright man had left a son. And he was told that there was a son, and every prostitute whose price was two dinars paid to him four dinars. And Rabbi sent for him, surrendered him to R. Simeon b. Aissi b. Lqunia, the brother of his mother, and left for him a diploma as rabbi, against the time that he should be able to graduate. The first few days the youth used to say: I will return to my place. And his uncle tried to persuade him to give his attention to study, saying: People want to make you a scholar, and you will be rewarded with a golden candlestick, and named Rabbi, and you say you will return to your former place. He persuaded him so much that he swore never to mention it again. When he grew up he went to the college of Rabbi, and when the latter heard his voice he said: The voice of this young man is similar to the voice of R. Eliezar b. R. Simeon. And he was told that this youth was his son. Rabbi then applied to him [Prov. 11:30]: "The fruit of the righteous is the tree of life, and the wise draweth souls to himself." "The fruit of the righteous means R. Jose b. R. Eliezar, and the wise, etc., means R. Simeon, his uncle." When this R. Jose died, they brought him to the cave of his father, and found it encircled by a snake. The rabbis said Akhna, akhna (snake), open thy mouth, and let the son enter to his father. But it did not listen to them. They thought it was because his father was a greater man. A heavenly voice, however, was heard: Not because the father was greater than the son, but because the father was suffering with his father in the cave, 1 which was not the case with R. Jose b. Eliezar.

It happened once that Rabbi came to the city where R. Tarphon used to dwell, and asked whether the same, who used to swear by his children (I shall bury my children if it is not so-and-so), left a son. And he was told that he left no son, but a grandson of his daughter, and he is such a beauty that the prostitutes paid him. He sent for him, and told him: If you will repent I shall give you my daughter. And he did so. According to some, he married Rabbi's daughter, and thereafter divorced her; and according to others, he did not marry her at all. People should not say that he repented only for the sake of this woman. [But what was the reason that Rabbi troubled himself so much in such cases? It was because it was said by R. Jehudah, in the name of Rabh; according to others, R. Hyya b. Abba, in the name of R. Johanan; and still according to others. R. Samuel b. Na'hmani, in the name of R. Jonathan: He who teaches the law to the son of his neighbour is rewarded by becoming a member of the heavenly college; as it is written [Jeremiah, 15:19]: "Behold, thus said the Lord: . . . Thou shalt stand before me, and if thou bring forth the precious from the vile, thou shalt be as my mouth." And he who teaches the law to the son of a commoner, even if there was an evil heavenly decree against the world, it is abolished for the sake of this meritorious act, as it is written in above-cited verse.

R. Parnakh, in the name of R. Johanan, said: He who is a scholar himself, and also his son and also his grandson, the Torah does not depart from his children for everlasting; as it is written [Isaiah, 59:21]: "And my words which I have put in thy mouth shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy children, nor of the mouth of thy children's children, said the Lord, from henceforth and unto all eternity." The repetition, "said the Lord," in the same verse signifies that the Holy One, blessed be He, says: "I am the surety that so it will continue." What is meant by eternity? Said R. Jeremiah: In the later generations the Torah returns to its old inn.

R. Joseph fasted forty days, and he heard a heavenly voice: "It shall not depart out of thy mouth." He fasted another forty days, and heard: "It shall not depart out of thy mouth and out of thy children." He fasted then forty days more, and he heard: "Also out of the mouth of thy children's children." He then said: For the later generations I have no more to fast, as the Torah usually returns to its old inn.

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R. Zera, when he ascended to Palestine, fasted one hundred days in order to forget the Gemara of the Babylonians, to the end that he should be no longer troubled by them. Then he fasted another hundred days, that R. Eliezar might not die during his life, as then he would have to bear all the troubles of the congregation. Then he fasted another hundred days more, that the fire of Gehenna might not affect him. Every thirty days he used to examine himself by a heated oven, and the fire did not affect him. It happened, however, one day, that the rabbis gave their eyes to this, and he burned his hips, and henceforth he was named "the little one with the burned hips."

R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: It is written [Jeremiah, 9:11, 12]: "Who is the wise man that may understand this? And who is he to whom the mouth of the Lord hath spoken, that he may declare it; for what is the land destroyed?" etc. The beginning of the verse was questioned by the wise, but without a result. The continuation of the verse was questioned by the prophets, and also without any result, until the Holy One, blessed be He, explained it himself in the succeeding verse: "And the Lord said: Because they forsook my law, which I had set before them."

Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: "The words which I have set before them" (which are superfluous, as it is written above, "my law") signifies that even when they were occupied in the study of the law, they have not pronounced the prescribed benediction for it (and with this they have shown that the law is not respected by them as it ought to be).

R. Hama said: It is written [Prov. 14:33]: "In the heart of the man of understanding resteth wisdom," which means "a scholar a son of a scholar"; "but (the little which is) in the bosom of fools is made known" means "a scholar the son of a commoner." Said Ula: This is what people say: A single issar in a pitcher makes kish-kish. (A single coin in a pitcher proclaims its presence.) Said R. Jeremiah to R. Zera: What is the meaning of [Job, 3:19]: "The small with the great is there, and the servant free from his master"? Are we ignorant that the great and small are there? It must therefore be interpreted thus: He who makes himself little for the purpose of studying the Law in this world, he becomes great in the world to come; and also he who hires himself for a slave to the Law in this world, he becomes a lord in the world to come.

Resh Lakish used to mark the caves of the rabbis (to the end that priests might not step on them, as it is prohibited to them to defile themselves by graves). When he was about to do so with the cave of R. Hyya, it was concealed before him, and he became dejected and said: "Lord of the Universe! Have I not occupied myself with the discussions of the Torah like R. Hyya?" And a heavenly voice answered him: Yea, thou hast occupied thyself as much as R. Hyya, but thou hast not multiplied the Torah as much as he did.

When R. Hanina and R. Hyya were quarrelling, said the former to the latter: Are you quarrelling with me, who am able to renew the Torah, should it be forgotten, by means of my ingenious discussions? And he answered him: Are you quarrelling with me, who have caused that the Torah should not be forgotten in Israel? I did thus: I have sown flax, prepared nets of it, caught deer, made of their skins parchment, and with their meat I fed orphans. I wrote on the parchment the five books of the Pentateuch, each on a separate roll, and used to go to a city, taking five little boys, instructing each of them in one of the above books until they knew the contents by heart. I took also other six boys, and instructed each of them in a different section of the Mishnayoth, saying to the boys, "Until I return, each of you shall teach the others the book which is known to one of you and not to the other"; and so I have caused the Torah not to be forgotten in Israel. And this is what Rabbi exclaimed: How great are the acts of Hyya! Said R. Ismael b. R. Jose to him: Are they then greater than yours, master? And he answered: Yea! Greater also than my father's? (Questioned R. Ismael again.) And he said: Nay! No one could bear such in his mind.

R. Zera said: Yesterday night R. Jose b. Hanina appeared to me in a dream, and I questioned him: Where are you placed in the heavenly college? And he answered: By the side of R. Johanan. And where is R. Johanan placed? By the side of R. Janai. And where is R. Janai placed? By the side of R. Hanina. And R. Hanina? By the side of R. Hyya. I then said: Is not R. Johanan worthy to be placed by the side of R. Hyya? And he answered: To a place which is illuminated and from which rays come forth, who will dare to bring into it the sun of Napha? R. Habiba said: I was told by R. Habiba b. Surmkhi, who has seen one of the rabbis to whom Elijah frequently appeared, that in the morning his eyes were nice and in the evening they were red, as if burnt by fire. And to the question, What is the matter? he told me: I have asked Elijah to show me the rabbis while ascending to the heavenly college. And he rejoined: At all of them you may look, but toward the palanquin of R. Hyya you must not look. And how shall I recognise it? All the rabbis are accompanied by angels when ascending and descending, except the palanquin of R. Hyya, which does so of itself. I, however, could not restrain myself, and gazed upon it. Then two rays blinded my eyes. On the morrow I went to the cave of R. Hyya, fell upon it, and prayed, saying: I am studying the Boraithas of you, O master! and I occupied myself with their explanations; then I was cured.

Elijah used to appear frequently in the college of Rabbi. On one of the days during new-moon, it was a bright day, and Elijah did not appear; and when he questioned him thereafter the reason why, he rejoined: It takes time until I awake Abraham, wash his hands, await until he prays, and bring him afterwards to sleep again. The same I do with Isaac, and the same with Jacob. Rabbi questioned him again: Why do you not awake all of them at the same time? "This I am not allowed, as it is to be feared then, if they should all pray together, they would bring the Messiah before his time." And Rabbi asked him: Is their equal to be found in this world? And he said: Yea! There are R. Hyya and his sons. Rabbi then ordered a fast-day, and placed R. Hyya and his sons on the altar, and when they came to the benediction, "He who causes the wind to blow," a wind came, and when they came to the words, "He who causes rain," rain came. When, thereafter, they were about to say the benediction of "resurrection," the world began to tremble, and in heaven it was questioned, "Who has revealed the secret to mortals?" And Elijah was found guilty, and they punished him with sixty fiery lashes. He then appeared on the altar as a fiery bear, and scattered them.

Samuel of Ir'hina was the physician of Rabbi. When Rabbi had sore eyes, he was about to inject some medicine into them, and Rabbi said: I cannot endure it. He then wanted to apply salve to the eyes, but Rabbi prevented him, as even this he would not endure. He then poured some medicine into a tube under his head in bed, and he was cured. Rabbi troubled himself to invest Samuel with the title "Rabbi," but never had the opportunity, and Samuel said to him . Let the master not be so sorry. I have seen the book which was shown to Adam the first, and there it is written: "Samuel of Ir'hina will be named a sage, but not a rabbi, and Rabbi will be cured through him." It is also written there: "Rabbi and R. Nathan are the finishers of the Mishnayoth. R. Ashi and Rabina will be the finishers of the Gemara." 1

R. Kahana said: I was told by R. Hama, the son of Hassa's daughter, that R. b. Na'hmani's death occurred by conspiracy, namely: It was denounced to the Government that there was a man among the Jews who prevented thirteen thousand Jews from paying head-tax one month in summer and one month in winter time (i.e., that in the months of Nissan and Tishri about thirty thousand men went to hear Rabba's lectures for the holidays, and the officers of taxes could not find them at home to collect the taxes. The Government sent an officer to take him, but could not find him at home. He went in search of him from Pumbaditha to the cities of Aqura, Agina, Ch'him, Tripha, and Eina Damim, and from Eina Damim back to Pumbaditha. It happened that the officer took the same inn in which Rabba was concealed. There was a set table for the officer, and after he drank two goblets of wine the table was taken away, and it happened that the face of the officer was turned backwards. The host came to Rabba, and questioned him what to do, as he was afraid of trouble because of the misfortune which happened to the officer of the king; and Rabba ordered that a table should be set again with one goblet of wine, and thereafter to take the table away. They did so, and the man was cured. Then the officer said: I am now certain that the man I want is here. And he searched for him and found him, saying: I will go from here and report that I could not find him. Should they put me to death, I will not disclose it; but should they torture me, I will tell the truth. He then took Rabba, locked him up in a chamber for men, and took the key with him. Rabba prayed, and the wall fell miraculously; he ran away and went to Agina, sat down on a crudum of a tree, and was starving. In the meantime there was a dispute in the heavenly college about a case of purity, in which some of them decided that it is impure and some of them pure, and it was decided that R. b. Na'hmani should decide the case, as he used to say that he was the only one who knew the law of Nagaim and the only one who knew the law of Oh'loth. They sent the angel of death for him, but he could not touch him, as he did not cease studying one moment. In the meantime a wind blew and made noise with the trees of the forest, and Rabba thought that the officers were after him and said: It is better for me to die than to be taken by the Government. And when he was dying, he was questioned about the dispute in the heavenly college, and he decided it was pure. Then a heavenly voice came forth, saying: Well is it with thee, R. b. Na'hmani, that thy body is pure, and that thy soul left thy body while thou wast saying "pure." A pitiacium (writing) fell in the city of Pumbaditha: "Rabba b. Na'hmani was taken to the heavenly college." Then Abayi, Rabha, and all rabbis of the college went to occupy themselves with his funeral; but they did not know where to find his body, and they went to Agina, and they saw a swarm of birds which made a shade under them, and they remained so, without moving, and the rabbis understood that this was the place where the dead was to be found. And they lamented for him three days and three nights. Another pitiacium was found: "He who will separate himself will be put under the ban." And they lamented for him seven days more. Then another pitiacium (from heaven) fell: "Go to your houses in peace.

On that day that Rabbi died a storm arose and threw a certain merchant who was riding on a camel on one side of the River Papa to the other side of the same. Being astonished, and asking, What is it? he was answered: Rabba b. Na'hmani is dead. He then arose and said: "Lord of the Universe! The whole world is thine, and Rabba b. Na'hmani is also thine. Thou dost love Rabba, and Rabba loveth thee--why, then, shouldst thou destroy the world?" And the storm abated.

R. Simeon b. Halaphta was a fat man. 1 On one hot day he ascended to the top of a mountain to cool himself, with his daughter, telling her to fan him, promising her therefor a talent's worth of nard. In the meantime a wind began to blow, and he said: How many talents' worth of nard is to be given to the Lord of the winds?

And all according, to the custom of the country, etc. What does the Mishna mean by adding the word "all"? It means in places where it is usually the custom to give the labourers, after their meal, a certain measure of beverage, so that the hirer had no right to say to the labourers to bring vessels for this purpose, but provide for them himself.

It happened with R. Johanan b. Mathia, etc. Is not this fact a contradiction to the Mishna's statement? The Mishna is not completed, and must read thus: If, however, the hirer has promised them food in such places as it is customary to furnish them with food without any promise, it must be considered that he has to furnish them with something better than customary, as it happened with R. Johanan b. Mathia, who said to his son: Go and hire labourers for us. He did so, with the understanding that they should be fed, and when he came to his father, be said to him: "My son," etc., ... "as they are children of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob."

Shall we assume that the meals of Abraham were better than those of Solomon? Is it not written [1. Kings, 4:22, 23]: "And Solomon's provision for one day was thirty kors of fine flour and sixty kors of meal, ten fatted oxen, and twenty pasture oxen, and a hundred sheep, besides harts, and roebucks, and fallow deer, and fatted fowl." And Gurion b. Astirin, in the name of Rabh, said that the fine flour and meal were only for skimming the foam; and R. Itz'hak said, that each wife of the thousand Solomon had, used to prepare such a meal, thinking that he would come to partake his meal with her. And concerning Abraham it is written [Gen. 18:7]: "And Abraham ran unto the herd, and fetched a calf tender and good." And R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: A "calf" is one; "tender," two; and "good," three? Abraham took three oxen for three men (which makes an ox for each man). And concerning Solomon there were for the many people of Israel and Judah, as it is written [1. Kings, 4:20]: "Judah and Israel were numerous as the sand which is by the sea," etc.

What is meant by fatted fowl? Rabh said: Crammed fowl. And Samuel said: They were fat without cramming. And R. Johanan said: An ox fed without doing any labour, and a hen that is not occupied with hatching.

R. Johanan said: The best of cattle is an ox, and the best of fowls is a hen. Said Ameimar: R. Johanan meant a black hen that feeds herself in the vineyard with the seeds of grapes.

It is written [Gen. 18:7]: "And Abraham ran unto the herd," etc. Said R. Jehudah, in the name of Rabh: A "calf" is one; "tender," two; and "good" is three. [Why not say one, as people say tender and good? Then it should be written, a "good, tender calf." Why "and good"? To signify that it was another one. But then there are only two? As the words "and good" signify another one, so signifies also the word "tender."] Rabba b. Ula, according to others R. Hoshia, and still according to others R. Nathan b. Hoshia, objected. Is it not written [ibid., ibid.]: "And gave him to a young man, and he hastened to dress him"?--i.e., that each of them he gave to a separate man for dressing. Farther on it is written: "And he took cream and milk, and the calf which he had dressed," i.e., that each which was ready first, he placed before them. But why were three necessary. Was not one sufficient? Said R. Hanan b. Rabha: He wanted to give to each of them a whole tongue with mustard. 2 Said R. Tan'hum b. R. Huilar: One must not change the custom of that place where he abides, as Moses, when he ascended to heaven, did not eat; and the angels of heaven, when they descended to earth, ate and drank. Ate and drank! Have they then a stomach? Say: it seemed as if they were eating and drinking.

R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: All that Abraham did for the angels by himself, the Holy One, blessed be He, did for his children by himself; and what Abraham did through a messenger, the Holy One did the same for his children through a messenger: "And Abraham ran unto the herd"; "and a wind went forth from the Lord" [Numb. 11:31]. "He took cream and milk"; "I will let rain for you bread from heaven." "And he stood by them"; "I will stand before thee " [Ex. 17:6]. "And Abraham went with them" [Gen. 18:16]; "And the Lord went before them" [Ex. 13:21]. "Let a little water"; "and thou shalt smite the rock" [Ex. 17:6]. And the same (Rabh) differs with R. Hama b. Hanina, who said that in reward for three things which Abraham had done his children got three things; namely, for the cream and milk they were rewarded with

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mannah; for that "he stood by them" under the tree, his children were rewarded with the pillar of cloud; and for "let a little water," etc., they were rewarded with the well of Miriam.

"Let a little water," etc. Said R. Janai b. Ismael: The angels said to Abraham: Do you suspect us to be Arabs who bow themselves to the dust of their feet? Thou hast a son, Ismael, who is doing so.

"And the Lord appeared unto him in the grove of Mamre . . . in the heat of the day" [Gen. xviii. 1]. What does this signify? Said R. Hama b. Hanina: This day was the third of Abraham's circumcision, and the Holy One, blessed be He, made him a sick call; and to the end that Abraham should not trouble himself with guests, the Lord caused the day to be intensely hot, so that no one should go out. He, however, sent out his servant, Eliezer, in order to search for guests. He went, but found none. Abraham said: I do not trust you (this is what people say, there is no trust in slaves), and went out himself. Seeing the Lord, blessed be He, standing by the door, for that it is written: "Pass not away, I pray thee, from thy servant" [Gen. xviii. 3] (and to favour him, the Lord sent three angels), and for that it is written: "And he lifted up his eyes and looked," etc. [ibid., ibid. 2]. "He ran to meet them." But is it not written, he stood near them? Why, then, did he run after them? Previously they were standing near him, but seeing that he was afflicted with pain, they withdrew, and be ran after them.

Who were these three men? Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael. Michael came to give the message to Sarah, Raphael to cure Abraham, and Gabriel to destroy Sodom. But is it not written [ibid. xix. x]: "And two angels came to Sodom"? Michael accompanied Gabriel, in order to rescue Lot, and so it seems to be as it is written: "And he overthrew," etc. [ibid., ibid. 25]. It is not written they have done so. Why is it written concerning Abraham: "So do as thou hast spoken"? [ibid. 18:5]; and concerning Lot it is written, "and he pressed upon them"? [ibid. 19:3]. Said R. Elazar: Infer from this, you may decline an offer from a person inferior to yourself, but not from a superior. It is written: "And I will fetch a morsel of bread"; and after this it reads: "And Abraham ran unto the herd." Said R. Elazar: Infer from this, that the upright promise little and do much, and the wicked promise much and do nothing. And where do you take it from? From Ephron [ibid. 23:15]: "A land . . . what is between me and thee"; and farther on it reads: "And Abraham understood the meaning of Ephron . . . four hundred shekels of silver current with the merchant" [ibid. xix. 16]. Hence they did not take any other money but such as was current with merchants.

"And they said unto him, Where is Sarah thy wife," etc? Said R. Jehudah, in the name of Rabh, according to others in the name of R. Itz'hak: Did the angels not know that Sarah was in her tent? Why did they ask for her? In order to increase her grace in the eyes of her husband. R. Jose b. Hanina, however, said: For the purpose of sending her a goblet of benediction.

It was taught in the name of R. Jose: Why are the letters A j v of the word עליו pointed in the Holy Scrolls? The Torah teaches us to be kind in worldly affairs, that when one comes as a guest, he may make inquiries of the host for the health of his wife.

"After I am waxed old," etc. [Gen. 18:12]. Said R. Hisda: After her body was wrinkled, and the folds increased, the body was again made smooth, the wrinkles of age were straightened out, and beauty returned. It is written [ibid.]: "My lord being old"; and farther on it is written: "I am old." Hence, the Holy One, blessed be He, did not refer to Abraham, as she said. From that the disciples of R. Ismael said: Great is the peace, as even the Lord changed her words for the purpose of peace, as it is written She said my lord is old . . . since I am old."

It is written: "Who would have said unto Abraham that Sarah should have given children suck?" [Gen. 21:7]. How many children did Sarah suckle? There was only one. Said R. Levi: That day on which Abraham weaned Isaac, he made a great banquet; and his neighbours of all nations murmured, saying: Behold, an old man and an old woman took a child from the market, proclaiming him for their own son. And this is not enough for them, but they are giving banquets, to convince people that it is as they say. What did our father Abraham? He had invited all great men in his generation, and Sarah our mother invited their wives, and every one of them brought her child along, but without their nurses, and a miracle occurred to Sarah, that her breasts opened like two springs, and she nursed all the children there. But it was still murmured and said: As Sarah was only ninety years old, it is possible that she had borne a child miraculously; but Abraham, who is over a hundred years, how is it possible that he should be able to beget children? Then the face of Isaac at once changed, and became of the appearance of Abraham, so that every one proclaimed that Abraham begot Isaac. Until the time of Abraham there was no mark of old age, and he who wanted to talk to Abraham spoke to Isaac (when he was grown up), or vice versa; then Abraham prayed, and the mark of old age was visible, as it is written [ibid. 47]: "And Abraham was old." Until the time of Jacob there was no sickness (and death occurred suddenly); and Jacob prayed that sickness would come before death; as it is written [ibid. 43:1]: "Behold, thy father is sick." Until the time of the prophet Elisha there was no one who became cured from sickness; but Elisha, however, prayed and was cured; as it is written [2. Kings, 13:14]: "Elisha was sick of the sickness whereof he had to die," which signifies that previously he was sick and cured.

The rabbis taught: Three times was Elisha sick. First at the time he discharged Gekhsee from his service, and secondly when he set the bears on the children [2. Kings, 2:24], and the third time when he died.

With bread and pulse only. Said R. A'ha b. R. Joseph to R. Hisda: Does the Mishna state bread of pease or bread and peas? And he answered: By God the letter "Vahv" (which means "and") is required to be as large as a rudder of the Labroth.

Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel, . . . all must be according, etc. What does he mean by the word "all"? This was learned in the following Boraitha: "If one hires a labourer, to pay him in accordance with the custom of this city, he may pay him according to the smallest scale of wages; so is the decree of R. Jehoshua. The sages, however, say the payment must be at a middle rate, neither too high nor too low."

MISHNA 2.: The following labourers have a right, according to the law of Scripture, to partake of the fruits of their labouring: They who are engaged with the growing of produce may partake of that which is ripe, but is still attached to the ground, and also of the produce which is already cut off from the ground, but not yet ready for delivery. However, the above must be produced from the ground. They must not, however, partake of the fruits of their labouring if the produce is attached to the ground, but not ripe, and also if it is cut off and ready for delivery; neither may they partake of the fruits of labour of which the products do not grow in the ground (as, e.g., the milking of cattle or the making of cheese).

GEMARA: Whence is all this deduced? It is written [Deut. 23:25]: "When thou comest in thy neighbour's vineyard, thou mayest eat," etc. This is only concerning a vineyard. Whence do we know that the same is the case with other places? We infer it from the case of the vineyard, thus: As in a vineyard, the products of which come forth from the ground, a labourer may eat of its fruits when they are ripe, the same is the case with other things brought forth from the ground, when they are ripe. But it can be said that this law is only concerning a vineyard, because the law of gleaning [ibid., ibid. 24:21] applies only to gleaning; therefore we may infer this from stalks [ibid. 23:26]: "When thou comest into the standing corn of thy neighbour, thou mayest pluck," etc. But even to this there is a separate law, which applies to stalks only; namely, to separate the first dough. Then we turn again to the vineyard, and to the former question it is answered that there is a separate law of gleaning; we turn again to the stalks, and the conclusion is that both cases have separate laws which apply each to itself specially, and one to the other specially. In one thing, however, they are alike, the products of both are brought forth from the ground, and when ripe a labourer may partake of them. The same is the case with all products that are brought forth from the ground, and when they are ripe the labourer engaged in producing them may partake of them. But their likeness is further seen in that they are brought to the altar (wine to the offerings, and fine meal to meal-offerings)? Therefore, olive trees may also be inferred from this, as oil from the olives is also brought to the altar with the meal-offering. [Is it, then, necessary to infer olives from vineyards and stalks? Are the olives themselves not called a vineyard; as it is written [Judges, 15:5]: "And burnt up both shocks and standing corn, as also oliveyards"? Said R. Papa: It is named a vineyard of olives (Kerm Zayith), but not indefinitely a "vineyard," which does not include olives. And the above-cited verse reads, "when thou comest in the vineyard," therefore olives are to be inferred from above.]

But, after all, whence do we deduce about all other products which cannot be inferred from what is mentioned above, as all are distinguished by separate laws applying only to them? Therefore said Samuel: We infer all from the words of above-cited verse [Deut. 23:26]: "But a sickle shalt thou not move," which means that to all products under a sickle the same law applies. But is this verse not needed to teach that one may partake of them as long as the sickle is used, but not thereafter? Nay; this is inferred from the previous verse [25]: "But into thy vessel shalt thou not put it." But according to Samuel's theory, whence do we deduce about products which are not under the sickle (as, e.g., dates, etc.)? Said R. Itz'hak: It is to be inferred from the words "standing corn" that the same is the case with all products which are standing. But was it not previously said that this cannot be inferred from stalks, as they are distinguished with the law of the first dough? This was said before it was learnt that it may be inferred from the words "under the sickle"; but after it was learnt of all products which go under the sickle, the same is said of all standing products.

If so, to what purpose is written the above-cited verse 25? Could it not be deduced from the 26th? Said Rabha: It is needed to infer from it the Halakhas of the following Boraitha: It is written Khe Th'bhau (when thou comest), and in 24:15 is written Lou Th'bhau, as there the verse applies to a labourer. So the verse 25:23 applies also to a labourer. It reads, "in thy neighbour's vineyard"; but not in a vineyard of the sanctuary. "Thou mayest eat grapes," but not drink the wine of them (i.e., one shall not take the grapes, make wine, and drink it). Grapes only, but not with something else (i.e., one shall not mix them with something else which might increase the appetite for them). "At thy own," i.e., as if thou wouldst be the owner of them: as the owner may partake of them before the tithe is separated, so may the labourer also. "Till thou have enough," but not more; "but into thy vessels thou shalt not put"--i.e., that at the time you put them in the vessels of the owner you may eat, but not when you are not so engaged.

Rabbina, however, said: There is no necessity to deduce from verses in the Scripture concerning a labourer when he is engaged with the products when they are already cut off from the ground, and also for an ox that it may eat from the attached products of the ground, because it is written [Deut. 25:4]: "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he thresheth out the corn." Now let us see! This law applies to all animals, as it is stated in First Gate (p. 127). It ought to read: "Thou shalt not thresh with a muzzled ox." Why, then, is ox mentioned? To compare the muzzled with the muzzler (i.e., the man who muzzles the cattle). As the muzzler may eat of the attached article when it is ripe, the same is the case with the muzzled animal; and as the muzzled one may eat all that which is not still attached to the ground, so also may the muzzler.

The rabbis taught: It is written "threshing" [Lev. 26:5] as the threshing is only upon products brought forth from the ground, of which the labourer may eat, the same is the case with all products of the ground, excluding him who milks, and makes cheese and butter, which are not products from the ground, and of which a labourer must not eat.

Was it not deduced already from the verses stated above? Why then this Boraitha? Lest one say that because all the products which are standing were included, as stated above, therefore the products not brought forth by the ground should also be included, it comes to teach us that it is not so. There is another Boraitha: "As threshing applies only when the product of which a labourer may eat is ready, the same is the case with other products which are ready, excluding those who lop garlic and onions (for the purpose of making more room for the good plants to grow)--a labourer may not eat of these, as they are not yet ripe." And still another Boraitha: "A threshing applies to grain which is not yet fit for separating tithe, and a labourer may eat of it; the same is the case with other things which are not yet fit for separating tithes, excluding those who separate dates and dry figs, which are fit already for separating tithes--the labourer must not eat thereof." But did not another Boraitha state that a labourer who does so may eat thereof? Said R. Papa: That Boraitha speaks of unripe dates which are taken off the trees in vessels made of palms, and are soaked in oil until they become ripe, and at that time they are not yet fit for separating tithes. There is still another Boraitha: "As threshing applies to such things as are not yet ready for separating the first dough, a labourer may eat thereof; but he who kneads or bakes must not eat of that which he handles, because it is already fit for the first dough; and this Boraitha speaks of countries which are out of Palestine, to which the law of tithe does not apply."

The schoolmen propounded a question: May a labourer roast the grain on fire and eat it? Shall we say that this is the same as grapes with something else, which is not allowed, or is this different? Come and hear! It is allowed for the owner of a vineyard to give to his labourers wine, that they do not eat too many grapes; and the labourers also may soak their bread in herring-pickle, that they may eat more grapes thereafter (hence we see that such things are allowed). (Says the Gemara:) The schoolmen did not question whether the men prepare themselves to eat more or less; their question was only whether it was allowed to prepare the fruit by sweetening it, that it might become better for eating? Come and hear! Labourers may wait until the sun warms the grapes before eating of them; they are not allowed, however, to heat grapes over fire (hence it is not allowed). From this nothing is to be inferred, as it may be it is not allowed because of the loss of time, and the question of the schoolmen refers to when he has with him his wife or children, who may heat the grapes for him? Come and hear! A labourer who is engaged in separating spoiled figs, dates, grapes, or olives may eat of them, though tithe is not yet separated; to eat them with their bread, however, they are not allowed, unless they do so with the consent of the owner. Neither may they use salt in eating them (hence to heat over fire is all the less allowed). (Says the Gemara:) Neither from this is anything to be inferred, as salt is certainly equal to grapes with something else, which is not allowed, as stated above.

The rabbis taught: Cows which are engaged in separating the shells from barley that has been dried in an oven, or which are threshing grain of heave offering or of tithe, there is no transgression when one muzzles them. However, that people who are not aware the grain is of such a kind may not be misled, a handful of the grain may be taken and put in a sack and hung on their necks. R. Simeon b. Johai, however, said:

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He may put spelt in sacks and hang them on their necks, as spelt is better for the cow in every instance. There is a contradiction from the following: "Cows that are engaged in shelling grain when they are muzzled, there is no transgression; if, however, they are threshing heave offering or tithe, there is transgression if they are muzzled. The same is the case when an Israelite does the threshing with the cow of a Gentile; if, however, a Gentile threshes with the cow of an Israelite, there is no transgression." Hence there is a contradiction in the statements of the Boraithas in the case of heave offerings and tithes? It presents no difficulty. One Boraitha treats of the heave offering of the tithe, which is not doubted; and the other treats of a suspicious one (De Mai).

The schoolmen questioned R. Shesheth: "How is the law if the animal is sick and the consuming of grain injures it? May it be muzzled?" Shall we assume that, when commanded not to muzzle the animal, it is because what it may consume is good for it, so that, in the case questioned, muzzling is allowed; or is the above commandment because of the suffering of the animal on seeing the grain and not being able to eat of it, in which event the muzzling is prohibited even in the case mentioned? And he answered: This we have learned in the Boraitha mentioned above, as Simeon b. Johai said: "He may bring spelt, etc., because spelt is better for the cow." Hence we see that the reason for prohibiting muzzling is because the grain is good for the cow.

The schoolmen propounded a question: "May one say to a Gentile: Muzzle my cow and thresh with it? Shall we assume that the rabbinical prohibition to do through a Gentile what is prohibited for an Israelite to do himself is only concerning Sabbath, the violation of which is a crime, but that the prohibition of muzzling, which is only a negative commandment, does not exist in such a case, or is there no difference?" Come and hear! "When a Gentile threshes with the cow of an Israelite, the Israelite does not transgress if the animal was muzzled." Is it not to be inferred that he does not transgress the commandment, but that, nevertheless, the muzzling is prohibited? Nay; from this expression nothing is to be inferred, as it may be that it is used only because of the same expression in the case of an Israelite threshing with the cow of a Gentile, in which it was necessary to state that he commits a transgression. (Then) come and hear! A message was sent to the father of Samuel with the following question: When Gentiles steal bulls and castrate 1 them, and return them to the owners, may the Israelites use them or not? And his answer was: "There is craft used in doing this thing. Use the same with the owners, and make them sell the animals" (to Gentiles, so that the owners may not use them for ploughing. Hence we see that the violation of even a negative commandment, which is not a crime, must not be committed through a Gentile). R. Papa, however, said: "The people of the west, who sent the above question, hold with R. Hidga, who maintains that the children of Noah (i.e., others than Jews) are warned biblically against castration, and the owners of the above-mentioned castrated oxen transgressed the commandment [Lev. 19:14]: "Thou shalt not put a stumbling-block before the blind." Rabbi meant to say that the answer of the father of Samuel, "Make them sell them," meant that they were to be sold for slaughtering, so that no one should use them any more. Said Abayi to him: "It is sufficient fine for the owner that he must sell them for any purpose, and to any one, Israelite or Gentile."

There is no doubt that a son of full age is considered a stranger to his father that he may sell to his son; but how is the law with a minor son? R. A'hi prohibits, and R. Ashi allows. Maremar and Mar Zutra, according to others, two certain pious men, used to exchange between themselves the oxen in question for other ones. Rami bar Hamai questioned: "Does one transgress if he has placed the young one of the cow on the outside of her for the purpose of keeping the cow from consuming the grain while threshing, or if he has engaged it while it is thirsty, or if he has spread a καταβολή on the grain?" One of the questions at least may be resolved from the following Boraitha: The owner of the cow is allowed to make it hungry that it may eat more while threshing; he may also give it sufficient food beforehand, that it may not consume much while threshing (and this can be compared to spreading a katabole, hence it is allowed).

R. Jonathan questioned R. Simai: "How is the law if he has muzzled the animal outside of the field? Shall we assume that the Scripture prohibits muzzling it while threshing only, or does the Scripture mean that grain shall not be threshed with a muzzled animal?" And he answered: "This can be deduced from [ibid. 10:9]: "Wine or strong drink shalt thou not drink, . . . when you go in unto the tabernacle"; from which it could be inferred that this is prohibited when you go in, but not previously. However, it reads [ibid., ibid. 10]: "So that you may be able to distinguish between the holy," etc., which means you must not go in while drunk (no matter when you have used the strong drink). The same is the meaning here: there shall be no muzzling while threshing.

The rabbis taught: "He who muzzles a cow and he who pairs two kinds of animals in one wagon is exempt from the punishment of stripes, as it applies only to the threshers and the leader of them."

It, was taught: "If one has muzzled a cow only with his voice (e.g., when the animal is about to eat of the grain he stops it with his voice), or if one leads the two kinds of animals with his voice only (without holding the bridle), according to R. Johanan he is guilty, because his voice is considered an act, and according to Resh Lakish he is free, as the voice is not considered an act. R. Johanan objected to the decision of Resh Lakish from the following Mishna (Themura): "One is not allowed to exchange; but if he has done so, the exchange is valid, and he is punished with forty stripes"(hence we see that though it was done by mouth only, it is considered an act, for which he is punished with stripes). And he answered: This Mishna is in accordance with R. Jehuda, who holds that one is to be punished with stripes for violation of a negative commandment, even if there is no physical act; but how can this Mishna be explained in accordance with R. Johanan? Did not the same state in its first part that the law of exchange applies to every one, male as well as female? And to the question: What does it mean by adding the expression "to every one" (would not "he" be sufficient for male or female)? The answer was: To include an heir, and this is certainly not in accordance with R. Johanan, as he holds that an heir cannot exchange, and also has no right to lay his hands upon an offer? The Tana of the Mishna cited holds with R. Johanan in one thing, but differs from him on the other point.

The rabbis taught: He who muzzles the cow while threshing is punished with stripes, and pays for the cow four kabs, and for an ass three kabs of fodder. But how is it possible that one should be punished for one crime with two punishments? We are aware that if, e.g., one deserves stripes for one crime, and for another, death, the stripes must be omitted, and the same is the case with a crime for which he has also to pay for the damage he has done when the crime was committed; the first punishment only must be imposed, and he is free from payment? This Boraitha is in accordance with R. Meir, who says that both are imposed. Rabha, however, said: There are many cases in which, although one is not obliged to pay the damages, he nevertheless has to pay, from a moral standpoint; and my support is from the Scripture, which forbids the hire of a harlot to be used in the temple, even if she was a relative, for which crime one is to be stoned (hence the hire is considered a payment), although it is not collected by the court. R. Papa said: The reason he has to pay in this case, despite his punishment with stripes, is because the obligation to pay was incurred before the crime for which he is to be punished with stripes was committed; he has to feed the animal as soon as he takes possession of it, and he cannot be punished with stripes until he has done work with it.

R. Papa said: The following two things were questioned of me by the disciples of R. Papa bar Abba, and I decided one of them in accordance with the law, and the other differently; namely, May one knead dough with milk or not? And my answer was: "Nay," according to the law [see Psachim.]; and the other question was, May one enter two kinds of animals in one stable? And I prohibited this, not in accordance with the law, as Samuel allows it. R. Jehuda said: One may gender one kind of animals with his hands without any fear even for immorality, as his mind is occupied with the expected product. R. A'hdbui b. Amui objected: There is a Boraitha: If the Scripture read [Lev. 19:19]: "Thy cattle shalt thou not let gender," only, I would say that one must not gender any kind of animal at all; but as it is added, "with a diverse kind" (kilaem), it signifies that only kilaem is prohibited. But with one kind of cattle one may gender; and also, in that case, he may only hold it for this purpose. Hence we see that only to take hold is allowed, but not to gender? The expression, "to take hold," means to gender; and it was used only because of its being a nicer expression.

R. Ashi said: I was questioned by the disciples of R. Nehemia the Exilarch as follows: "Is it allowed for one to enter in one stable two kinds of animals with their females? Shall we assume that because there are male and female of the one kind it does not matter about the presence of another kind, or is even this not allowed?" And I have answered them in the negative, not in accordance with the law, but because of the immorality of the Exilarch's slave.

MISHNA 3.: The labour of a workingman entitles him to consume the fruit of that with which he is labouring, no matter with which member of his body he is doing the work; so that if he has worked with his shoulder, without occupying his hands or feet, it is sufficient. R. Jose ben R. Jehudah, however, maintains that he is entitled only when he employs his hands and feet in the work.

GEMARA: What is the reason of this statement? It is written [Deut. 23:25]: "When thou comest into thy neighbour's," etc., signifies that it suffices when he enters to labour with any member of his body. And what is the reason of R. Jose's statement? He maintains that the muzzler shall be equal to the muzzled one; as the latter is entitled only when it is occupied in its labour with its hand and feet, the same is the case with the muzzler.

Rabbi bar Huna questioned: If one threshes with geese and cocks, how is the law according to R. Jose's theory? Does R. Jose mean that one is entitled to eat only when he works with all his strength? And if so, then the geese and cocks which are working with all their strength are entitled to eat. Or does he mean, literally, the hands and feet, and as in this case they have none they are not entitled to eat? This question remains undecided.

R. Na'hman, in the name of Rabbi bar Abuhu, said: Labourers who enter the wine-press are entitled to eat grapes, but not to drink wine; however, they are entitled to both if they cross the whole length of the wine-press while labouring.

MISHNA 4.: If one is occupied with pressing dates, he must not consume grapes, and vice versa; however, he may wait until he reaches the places where the good ones are to be found, and eat from them. In all cases it is said that he may consume only while he is labouring. In order not to waste the time of the owner, it was enacted that the labourers may consume when they are going from one place to another, and also when they are returning from the wine-press; and also an ass is entitled to consume while unloading.

GEMARA: The schoolmen propounded a question: If one was occupied with one vine, may he take a bunch of grapes from it to consume while labouring on another vine? If we assume that a labourer is entitled to consume of that kind which is to be put in the vessel of the owner, then he certainly may do so, or he is entitled to consume only from those which are to be put in the vessel of the owner; and as the grapes of the first vine were not to be put in the owner's vessel, he may not eat of them; and lest one say that he may not, then there would be difficulty in understanding why the ox, while labouring at things which are attached to the ground, may eat of them, because those attached to the ground are not to be put in the vessels of the owner. Said R. Shesheth b. R. Aidi: This case cannot prove anything, as it may mean that a branch with fruit reaches the labouring ox, but not otherwise. Come and hear. Our Mishna states that if one is occupied with dates he must not consume grapes; from which we infer that he may consume of one kind of fruit. Now, if it be not allowed to take fruit from one vine when he is going to labour on another, how could such a case be found? Said R. Shesheth b. R. Aidi: This proves nothing, as the Mishna may treat of a case where the dates were resting on the vine, or vice versa; and it came to teach that although he cannot occupy himself unless he takes of the dates resting upon the grapes, and one may say that in such a case he is considered to be occupied with both, the Mishna teaches that is not so (and so it is not safe to infer from this that if he is occupied with one kind of fruit in one place he may partake of it while labouring on another of the same kind). Come and hear! The latter part, "One may wait until he reaches the place where the good ones are," etc. Now, if one would be allowed to eat of the fruit on which he is not occupied, at another place where he is occupied, then why should he wait until he reaches the place of the good ones? Let him immediately bring and eat of it. Nay; it may be that he is not allowed to do so because of wasting time. However, if so, the question may arise: How is it if he has somebody--e.g., his wife or his children who are not labouring there--and they can bring him the good ones, so that there is no waste of time; may it so be done or not? Come and hear the other statement of our Mishna: "In all cases. . . . however, in order not to waste time," etc. And the schoolmen, in explaining the reason for this statement, were about to say that because, biblically, walking is not considered labour, one, biblically, is not allowed to eat in that case. Therefore the enactment in question was necessary, from which it is to be inferred that when one is labouring he may consume even biblically, and it may be decided that he may do so. However, it may be said that walking is considered labour, and yet according to the Bible walking is not considered labour, and yet according to the Bible one may not do so, and therefore the enactment was necessary; hence the question may be decided negatively.

An ass is entitled, etc. While unloaded! From what, then, shall it consume? Correct the Mishna so that it reads, "until it is unloaded"; and this is the same as the rabbis taught elsewhere, that an ass and a camel may consume from the load which is upon them. However, one may not take of the load with his hands and give them to eat.

MISHNA 5.: The labourer may consume of cucumbers or dates with which he is working, even to a dinar's worth. R. Elazar b. Hasma, however, said: A labourer must not consume more than his wages; but the sages allow even this. Nevertheless, a man should be instructed that he must not be greedy, so that the doors of mankind should not be shut against him.

GEMARA: Are not the sages' statements the same as the first Tana? The point of difference can be found in the following saying of Rabh: I have found hidden scrolls in the house of R. Hyya, in which it was written as follows: "Aisi b. Jehudah says: The verse written [Deut. xxiii. 25]: 'When thou comest in the vineyard of thy neighbour,' means not only a labourer, but anybody." And Rabh himself added: "Aisi's theory does not allow any one to make a living" (i.e., if it would be allowed for every one to enter the vineyard of a

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stranger, and to consume, as much as he likes, then nothing would remain for the owner). So that the first Tana does not agree with Aisi, and the sages do. Said R. Ashi: I have repeated this Halakha before R. Kahanah, and questioned him whether it meant labourers who are doing their work for their meal only; and he answered me: That even then one would prefer to hire men to cut off the trees of his vineyard than to have people enter and consume all it contains.

The schoolmen propounded a question: Are we to interpret the command of the Scripture, that a labourer may eat in addition to his wages (i.e., the Scripture has added to his wage the consuming of the fruit he is engaged with, consequently it is a part of his wages; or is it only a kind of charity which the Scripture commands to give him)? And the difference is, if the labourer says: "Give this that I am entitled to to my wife and children." If it is a part of his wages, this could be done; but if it is only a kind of charity, it may be said that the Merciful One has rewarded only the labourer himself, but not his wife and children. What is the law? Come and hear! R. Elazar b. Hasma said: A labourer must not consume more than his wages allow. Are we not to assume that the point of their differing is that one holds that this is a part of his wages, and the other holds that it is a kind of charity? Nay, all agree that this is a part of his wages; and the point of their differing is the explanation of the word knaphshkha, 1 which is mentioned in the Scripture [ibid., ibid.]. One holds that this word may be interpreted, "a thing which you get with danger to your life" (i.e., if one undertakes to ascend to the top of the tree in order to get the fruit), and the other interprets this word, "as thy soul" (i.e., as for thy soul thou likest to muzzle thyself not to partake, thou mayest do so; the same is the case with the labourer, in some instances thou mayest prevent him from consuming). Come and hear! "A labourer who was a Nazarite, if he said, Give the grapes or wine that I am entitled to to my wife and children, he must not be listened to." Now, if this is a part of his wages, why should he not be listened to? Nay; there is another reason. People say, it must be said to a Nazarite, Go around, go around, so that you shall not meet a vineyard (i.e., the things which are forbidden to him should not be found near him). Come and hear another Boraitha: If a labourer said the same, he also must not be listened to; hence if this is a part of his wage, why should he not be listened to? Nothing is to be inferred even from this, as the expression, "a labourer," may be interpreted to mean a Nazarite. But is there not a separate Boraitha which says plainly "a Nazarite"? This is no question, as the Boraithas were taught separately. One plainly states a Nazarite, and the other named a labourer, which means also the same. Then come and hear another Boraitha: From this we deduce that a labourer must not be listened to when he asks that that which he is entitled to shall be given to his wife and children, from the verse [ibid., ibid.]: "But into thy vessel thou shalt not put any." And lest one say that this Boraitha also means a Nazarite, then this verse would be used as a reference, because for a Nazarite there is another reference given above? Yea; it may mean a Nazarite, but the verse belonging to a labourer is brought because one has named him a labourer.

Come and hear another Boraitha: If one hires a labourer to cut dates, he may eat of them and he is free from tithe. But if he was hired with the stipulation that "I and my son shall partake of it," he may and is free from tithe; his son, however, may eat only when the tithe is separated. Now, if this is a part of his wages, why, then, should his son not be free from tithe? Said Rabbina: Because the fruit used by his son is considered bought, as the son has nothing to do with it, and only consumes because of the stipulation of his father, who gave his word for it. Consequently, it is as if he had bought and sold it. Come and hear the next Mishna, which states that a stipulation can be made for all his family except the little children, etc. Now, if this is considered a charity, it is right that no stipulation should be made for his little children, if they have not reached the age of reason; but if it is a part of his wages, why should not the stipulation be of value for the children also? It may be said that it means when he does not feed them. But did not R. Hoshua teach that "one may make a stipulation for himself and for his wife, but not for his cattle; for his sons and daughters who are of age, but not for those who are not yet of age; however, for his male or female slaves whether they are of age or not"? From this we infer that all the Boraithas mentioned mean when he feeds them all; and the point of the difference is that the Tanaim of the above Boraithas and also of the cited Mishna hold that it is only a kind of charity, and R. Hoshua holds that it is a part of his wages.

MISHNA 6.: A labourer has the right to make a stipulation that he shall not eat what he is entitled to and take money for it instead. He has also a right to do the same for his grown son and daughter, for his wife, and for his grown-up male and female slaves, but not for his minor children or slaves, and not for his cattle, because these have no reason. If one hires labourers to work in his vineyard when it is in its fourth year (of which the fruit is prohibited), the labourers must not partake of it. If, however, he didn't notify them of the case, he must redeem the fruit and let them eat. If the round cakes of his dry figs became open, or his barrels of wine became ready for use, so that they are fit for separating tithe from them, the labourers must not eat; but if, however, he didn't notify them at the time he hired them, he must separate the tithe and let them eat.

Watchmen of fruits are permitted to eat, according to the custom of the country, but not according to the law of the Scripture.

GEMARA: (Concerning the watchmen:) Said Rabh: The Mishna treats only of watchmen who guard vineyards, the fruit of which is still attached to the tree, and therefore, according to the Scripture, they are not to eat of it when it is not yet ripe. But they who guard wine-presses and heaps of grain are permitted to eat even in accordance with the law of the Scripture; for the reason that guarding is considered a labour. Samuel, however, maintains that the Mishna treats of those who guard wine-presses and heaps of grain; but they who guard vineyards are not entitled even in accordance with the law of the country, for the reason that guarding is not considered labour according to his opinion. R. Aha bar Huna objected to this from the following: "He who guards the red cow defiles his garments." Now, if guarding is not considered an act of labour, why should his garments be defiled? Said Rabba bar Ulah: It was enacted to be so for fear he would touch one of its members. R. Kahana objected from the following: If one guards cucumber fields, he must not fill up his belly from one garden bed, but he may eat some from each bed. Now, if guarding is not considered labour, why is he entitled to eat at all? Said R. Shimi bar Ashi: The Boraitha treats of those that were already cut off. But if so, then they are already fit for tithe? It treats in case the blossoms are not yet removed. Said R. Ashi: It seems to me that Samuel is right in his theory, and he can be supported from Mishna 2. in this chapter: "The following labourers have a right to partake according to the law of Scripture," etc. From which it is to be inferred that there are such who eat not in accordance with law of the Scripture, but in accordance with the law of the country. How, then, should the latter part of the same be explained: "They have not to partake," etc.? What does the expression "not to partake" mean? If we say that they are not to partake in accordance with the law of the Scripture, but that they may partake in accordance with the law of the country, then it would be the same as in the first part; we must, then, say they are not to partake even in accordance with the law of the country. And what is this? One who is engaged on that which is still attached to the ground and is not yet ripe, and, furthermore, the watchmen of the vineyards.

MISHNA 7.: There are four kinds of bailees: a gratuitous bailee, a borrower, a bailee for hire, and a hirer. (In case of loss,) the first is acquitted on taking an oath that he has not neglected his duty; the second has to pay under all circumstances; the third and fourth are acquitted in case the property entrusted to them has been broken, confiscated, or has died, but not when it has been lost or stolen.

GEMARA: Who is the Tana who states that there are four kinds of bailees? Said R. Na'hman, in the name of Rabba h. Abuhu: It is R. Mair. Said Rabba to him: Is there one who does not hold the theory of the four bailees? R. Na'hman rejoined: I mean to say that the only one who holds that a hirer and a bailee for hire are equal in law is R. Mair.

Is this so? Has not R. Mair said the contrary in the following Boraitha? For what loss must a hirer pay? R. Mair said: For the same that a gratuitous bailee must pay. R. Jehudah, however, said: For the same loss as a bailee for hire. (Hence R. Mair holds that a hirer is the same as a gratuitous bailee?) Rabba b. Abuhu has changed the names (in the quoted Boraitha). If so, then there are three, not four, kinds of bailees. Said R. Na'hman b. Itzhak: There are four kinds; the laws concerning them, however, are only three.

There was a shepherd who pastured his cattle on the shores of the River Papa. One of the cattle slipped and fell into the water. When the case was brought before Rabba he acquitted him, saying: What could he do? He has guarded them as is usual with shepherds. Said Abayi to him: In accordance with your theory, if the shepherd entered the city at the usual time, is he also acquitted? And he answered, "Yea." And what if he sleeps at the usual time, is he also freed? And the answer was, "Yea."

Then R. Abye objected to him from the following: The accidents for which a bailee for hire is not responsible are, e.g. [Job, 1:15], "When the Sabeans made an incursion and took them away." (Hence we see that he is responsible only for such things as he could prevent, but not otherwise. And Rabha answered: The Boraitha treats of the watchmen of the city who were hired to watch all night, so that their employers might rely upon them to prevent all accidents. Abye raised another objection from the following: What is the extent of the duty of a bailee for hire, as, e.g. [Gen. 31:40]: "(Where) I was in the day the heat consumed me," etc.? And he answered: This Boraitha also means the watchmen mentioned above. Abye rejoined: "Was Jacob the Patriarch a watchman of the night?" And he rejoined: "Yea; Jacob promised Laban that he would watch his (Laban's) cattle, as city watchmen watch the property entrusted to them." Abye then raised another objection from the following: "If a shepherd entered the city while his cattle were pasturing, and a wolf seizes a sheep, he must not be accursed. He must only be held responsible if it be adjudged by the court that his presence could have prevented the occurrence." Are we not to assume that the Boraitha means that the shepherd went to the city at the time that shepherds usually went there, and that even if this was the case he is held responsible for the accident? Said Rabha: "Nay; it means if he left the cattle at an unusual time."

Then, since he has neglected his duty, why should he be acquitted even if his presence could not have prevented the accident? The Boraitha treats of a case in which he (the shepherd) heard the voice of the wild beasts and fled. If so, why is it necessary to adjudge; what could he do under such circumstances? It would have been his duty to frighten the beast away by throwing stones and sticks. If so, why should only a bailee for hire do this; does not the same hold good for a gratuitous bailee? Was it not you, master, who said that if a gratuitous bailee could put the beast to flight with sticks and stones he is responsible?

Yea, I did say so; but this would only be the case if he could do this without incurring any expense; while the bailee for hire must do so even if he should incur expense. How much is it his duty to spend for this purpose? The amount that the article is worth. But where is it to be found that a bailee for hire is to be responsible for an accident, so that he is obliged to pay his own expenses? He is obliged to save them even when he must spend money, which, however, is returned by the owner.

Says R. Papa to Abye: If so, what good is it to the owner to have the property saved? And he rejoined: It saves him the trouble of buying others; besides, it is more pleasant for him to have the cattle which he is used to.

R. Hizda and Rabba b. R. Huna do not agree with the above theory of Rabha, that if a bailee for hire has not neglected his duty he is not responsible for any accident; and the owner may say that he has paid for guarding the cattle in order that they may be guarded better than is usual.

Bar Adda of Sabula led cattle across the bridge of Narash, and one of them pushed the other into the water. When this case was brought before R. Papa, he held him responsible. When the defendant objected, saying: "What could I do?" he answered: "You could lead them across one by one." At this the defendant, however, exclaimed: "Does not the master know his people sufficiently well to know that they have not the time to lead them over one by one?" The judge then rejoined: Such claims have often been brought before the court, but they could not be taken into consideration.

Abu placed flocks at Rumnia, and Shabu, who was an errant robber, took them away. Although Abu proved that this was the case, R. Na'hman held him responsible. Shall we assume that R. Na'hman differs with R. Huna b. Abuhu, who sent a message, that if an article was thereafter stolen by accident ,and the thief was identified, the depositary, if he be a gratuitous bailee, may choose either to take an oath or summon the thief. But if he was a bailee for hire he must pay and summon the thief. (Hence, as R. Na'hman made Runia, who was a gratuitous bailee, responsible, he certainly does not agree with the above theory of R. Huna?)

Said Rabha: This proves nothing. As there was military in the city where Runia was, if he called for help they would have come to his assistance.

MISHNA 8.: A single wolf coming among the flock, it is not considered an accident, while two constitute one. R. Jehudah maintains that at a time when there are visitations, a single wolf is also considered an accident.

Two dogs are not considered. Jeddna d. Babylon, in the name of R. Mair, said: If both come from one side it is not, but if they come from two different sides it is. A robbery is considered an accident. A lion, a bear, a leopard, a panther, and a snake are accident when they come suddenly; but if one has led his cattle where wild beasts or robbers abound, it is not considered an accident. A natural death is an accident, but not if it is caused by cruelty. If cattle fall from a steep rock where they have gone of their own accord, it is an accident, but if they are led there, it is not.

GEMARA: But have we not learned in a Boraitha that even a single wolf is considered an accident? Said R. Na'hman b. Itzhak: The Boraitha treats of a visitation, and it is in accordance with R. Jehuda.

A robbery is considered an accident. If there is only one robber, is there not only one man against one man? Said Rab: It means if the robber was armed. The schoolmen propounded a question: "If the robber and the shepherd were both armed, what is the law? Shall we say that as there was one against one, then it is not to be considered an accident? Or shall we say that as the robber risks his life, which is not the case with the shepherd, it is? Common sense says that it is so.

Said Abye to Rabba: If a shepherd meet a robber and say to him: "You ill-reputed thief, remember that we are located in such and such a place, where we have so and so many men, so and so many dogs, and so and so many archers with us, and if you venture to come to us you will be killed"; and if, in spite of this warning, the thief ventured to do so, how is the law?

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And he answered: Informing the thief of the location of the pasture is equal to the statement of our Mishna about leading the cattle to the place of robbery, etc.

MISHNA 9.: A gratuitous bailee has the right to make a stipulation that in case of loss he shall be freed from taking an oath. A borrower may do the same so as to be freed from payment. A bailee for hire and a hirer may likewise do the same, so that they may be freed from both an oath and from payment.

A stipulation made contrary to that which is written in the Scripture is of no avail. A stipulation which is made on condition that a certain act be done in advance is of no avail. If, however, the stipulation was that a certain act be done afterwards, and it is possible to fulfil the condition, the stipulation is of avail.

GEMARA: Why can a stipulation of this kind be made? Is it not contrary to what is written in the Scripture, and therefore ought it not to be unavailable? Our Mishna is in accordance with R. Jehudah, who said that in money matters a stipulation of this kind is of avail; as we have learned in the following Boraitha: "If one says to a woman: You shall be betrothed to me on condition that I will neither support nor dress you," the betrothal is valid, but the stipulation is to be abolished. So is the decree of R. Mair. R. Jehudah, however, maintains that in regard to money matters the stipulation is valid.

But how can we interpret the statement of our Mishna in accordance with R. Jehudah, when in the latter part it plainly states that a stipulation made contrary to the Scripture is of no avail, which is certainly in accordance with R. Mair? This presents no difficulty, as the latter may treat of other than money matters. But still, if so, how would you interpret the last part of the Mishna, which states that "a stipulation which has an act in advance," etc., and such a theory was heard from R. Mair only, as stated in the following Boraitha: Aba'ha Laphtah, the man of the village of Hananya, said in the name of R. Mair that a stipulation which is to be fulfilled before an act is valid; but if the act is to be performed afterwards it is invalid? Therefore we must say that the whole Mishna is in accordance with R. Mair; and the reason the stipulation is valid is because he freed himself from all obligations before he became a bailee.

There is a Boraitha which says that a bailee for hire may stipulate that he shall be equal to a borrower. But how shall a stipulation of this kind be made verbally only? Said Samuel: It treats of when it was made with the ceremony of a sudarium. R. Johanan, however, maintains that even when a sudarium is not necessary--as the benefit which he derives is from the reputation he earns among the people of being a trustworthy man--he makes up his mind to take all responsibility.

And it is possible to fulfil, etc. Said R. Tabla, in the name of Rabha: This is in accordance with the decree of R. Jehudah b. Tama: The sages, however, maintain that even in such a case the stipulation is of avail. As we have learned from the following Boraitha: Here is your divorce, with the stipulation that you shall ascend to heaven, or shall descend to hell, or you shall swallow a stick a hundred ells long, or you shall cross the ocean on foot. If such a stipulation is fulfilled the divorce is valid; but if not it is invalid. R. Jehudah b. Tama, however, said that such a divorce is valid. Such is the rule: a stipulation which is impossible to be fulfilled should be considered a jest, and the divorce remains valid.

Said R. Na'hman, in the name of Rabba: The Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Jehudah b. Tama. Said R. Na'hman bar Itzhak: It seems to be so, as the last expression from our Mishna agrees with him.

CHAPTER 8.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE SALE AND HIRING OF ANIMALS, THE EXCHANGE OF THEM, THE SALE AND LEASING OF REAL ESTATE.

MISHNA 1.: If one borrows a cow, and at the same time hires or borrows its owner, or if he does so before borrowing the cow, and the cow dies while they were labouring, the borrower is free from payment, as it is written [Ex. 22:13]: "And if one borrow aught of his neighbour, and it be hurt or die," etc. If, however, he has borrowed a cow, and has borrowed or hired its owner afterwards, and it dies, he is responsible; as it is written [ibid., ibid. 13]: "The owner thereof not being with it, he shall surely make it good."

GEMARA: As in the latter part the Mishna states, "if he borrowed the cow afterwards," we may infer that in the first part it means that he has borrowed or hired its owner at the very time that he borrowed the cow. How, then, can there be a case in which the cow is borrowed by being led only, and its owner by words? And if the owner of the cow says to the borrower: "I and my cow are borrowed for your service," he is already considered borrowed, but the cow is not considered so until it is led off by the borrower. And so the owner was borrowed before the cow? If you wish, we may say that the stipulation was made that the owner shall not be considered borrowed until the leading of the cow takes place; and if you like, it may be said that the cow was already placed in the yard of the borrower, and in such a case leading it off is not necessary. We have learned in the Mishna that "there are four kinds of bailees," etc. Whence do we deduce all this? From what the rabbis taught. The first paragraph [ibid., ibid. 6] treats of a gratuitous bailee; the second [ibid., ibid. 9] treats of a bailee for hire; the third [13] treats of a borrower.

Says the Gemara: This is correct concerning a borrower, as it is so plainly written [verse 13]. But how do we know that the first and the second paragraph mentioned above are not the reverse? Common sense shows that the second paragraph means a bailee for hire, as he is responsible for loss and theft. But perhaps the contrary may be said. The first paragraph may mean a bailee for hire, since he is responsible for the double amount if he claims theft. (This is no question.) It is more rigorous to pay the principal amount without an oath than the double amount with an oath. The evidence for this can be inferred from the case of a borrower who has all the benefit without any expense, and nevertheless he pays only the principal amount. But has not the borrower to feed it and also to guard it consequently he has some expenses? It can be said that the borrower keeps it in a grazing place, which is also secured from thieves; or that he borrows vessels for which he has no expenses at all. It is stated in the same Mishna "that a bailee for hire and a hirer take an oath in case the borrowed thing breaks, is confiscated, or dies, but they pay for loss and theft." This is correct in case of theft, as it is written plainly [ibid., ibid. 12]: "But if it be stolen he shall make restitution unto the owner thereof." But whence do we know that the same is the case with loss? Therefore the word "stolen" is repeated 1 to include loss.

But this would be correct according to him who holds that the Torah does not talk as men talk. (Therefore, as there is a repetition, loss may be deduced.) But according to him who holds that the Torah talks like men, what can be said? It was said in the west that an a fortiori conclusion is to be drawn thus: For theft which is almost an accident one must pay; for loss which is almost a neglect, so much the more he must pay. Whence do we deduce that a borrower is responsible for any kind of loss? It is plainly written that he is responsible for anything broken or for death. But how do we know that he is responsible in case of confiscation also? And lest one say that this can be inferred from the case of broken or death, it may be objected that cases could be borne in mind which are not so in case of confiscation. It is from what R. Na'hman said in the following Boraitha: Since it is written in verse 13 [ibid., ibid.], "hurt or dies," confiscation may be included. But is not the word "or" needed for itself? Because if it were not, one might say that the restitution must be made only if the article be both hurt and dead, but not if it were broken only.

Nay, there could be no error, in either case, because common sense dictates that there is no difference to the owner if it were entirely or only half killed. Whence do we deduce that a borrower is responsible for theft or loss? And lest one say that this is to be inferred from the cases of damage or death, then it may be objected that the above cases are different, as they cannot be returned. But in case of theft or loss it can sometimes be returned if he troubles himself. Therefore it must be said that this is deduced from the word "and" in verse 6, which means that what is written above also belongs to this, and also that this corresponds with the above.

It was taught: In case of neglect in the presence of the owner, R. A'ha and Rabuna differ. One makes the borrower responsible, because he holds that a verse can be used only with that matter which was written previously in conjunction with it; and as verse 14 frees the one who has neglected his duty in the presence of its owner, it is not written concerning a gratuitous bailee, which begins with ibid., verse 6 (although the law about neglect is mentioned there, and it is not mentioned concerning a bailee for hire and a borrower); therefore the responsibility of a neglect, just mentioned by the two, is to be deduced by drawing an a fortiori conclusion from a gratuitous bailee. However, to free one from the consequences of neglect done in the presence of the owner cannot be deduced, because verse 14, which freed them, does it only on the responsibility mentioned there. And the one who frees him holds that the law of a verse can be used in conjunction with that preceding it and that written before. Consequently, verse 14 refers also to a gratuitous bailee in verse 6.

An objection was raised from our Mishna, which states: "He who has borrowed the cow and the owner at the same time," etc.; but a gratuitous bailee is not mentioned there? (Hence there is an objection to him who says that a gratuitous bailee is free in case of neglect committed in the presence of the owner?)

But even according to your theory is there mentioned in the Mishna a bailee for hire? Therefore we must say that the Mishna teaches only things which are plainly written, but not things which are deduced.

R. Hamnuna said: There is no responsibility when the owner works together with the borrowed article--e.g., when the owner of the borrowed ass works with it, and also when he is present from the time the article is borrowed until it is broken; but not otherwise. (Says the Gemara:) From this statement it is to be inferred that he interprets verse 14, "that the owner must be with it the whole time." Rabha then objected from the following: "If one has borrowed or hired a cow and its owner at the same time, or borrowed the cow and hired the owner, although the owner did his work at some other place, the borrower is free from payment in case the cow dies." May we not assume that the same is the case even if the owner was engaged with another kind of work? Nay; it means the same work. What, then, is the meaning of "at another place"? E.g., he digs after it the earth which it ploughs to make it ready for seed. But as the latter part of this Boraitha states plainly: "If one hired or borrowed a cow, and thereafter he borrowed or hired its owner, although the latter were engaged with his cow in the very same work and at the same time, the borrower is not responsible in case the cow dies." Consequently, the first part must speak of a separate kind of work he was engaged in? It can be explained that both parts of the Boraitha speak of one and the same labour, and by the change of expressions it was intended to add something unexpectedly new in the first part as well as in the last; namely, in the first part, that although he was engaged at another work, the borrower is free in case of the cow's death; and in the latter part, that even if he were working together with his cow there is a responsibility. But can such an explanation hold good? To be unexpectedly new it must be only if the cow were labouring at a separate work, and its owner at another kind of work; but if both are at the same work, it is very easy to be seen that he is free. Aside from this there is another Boraitha which states as follows: Because it is written [Ex. 22:14]: "But the owner thereof be with it," etc. Why, then, was there need to state, "the owner not being with it," etc.? Is the first not sufficient? It is only written to teach that if the owner were with it at the time of borrowing, there is no necessity for him to be also with it at the time it dies; however, if he were with it at the time it was dying or breaking, but not at the time it was borrowed, the responsibility remains. And there is also another Boraitha, similar to this, which objects to R. Hamnuna's statement, and so it remains. However Tanaim differ in the interpretation of the Scripture, in the following Boraitha it is written [Lev. 20:9]: "For every man . . . that curses his father and mother shall be put to death, that his father and his mother hath he cursed," etc. Now, from this it is known that when he curses both father and mother he is guilty; whence do we know that the same is the case when he cursed only one of them? Therefore the repetition, "his father and his mother," to teach that one of them is sufficient to put him to death. So is the decree of R. Jashia. R. Jonathan, however, maintains that from the repetition one cannot understand more than from the first sentence, as for both it could be explained that the two are meant or only one is meant. However, the law is correct as R. Jashia said, for if the verse would mean both only, it would state so plainly.

Abye, who agrees with the theory of R. Jashia, interprets the verses in question in this manner. From the verse [13] it is to be understood that when the owner was not present at both times mentioned above, but if he was present at one of the times only, he (the borrower) is free; and from verse 14 it is understood that when he was present on both occasions he is free, but if on one occasion only he is responsible. Therefore it must be concluded that if the owner was present at the time the animal was borrowed, there is no necessity for him to be present at the time of its death. But if vice versa, there is a responsibility. Rabha, however, agrees with the theory of R. Jonathan, and interprets the verses in question thusly: From verse 13 it may be understood that if he were present at both times, and also if he were only present at one of them, and the same may be understood from verse 14, and therefore we conclude that the law remains as Abye said (although I do not agree with his reasons).

However, whence do we know that the owner's presence at the time of borrowing is the main thing--perhaps the occasion of the accident is the main thing? Common sense shows that the former is the main thing, as this act only brings the article under the control of the borrower. On the contrary, common sense shows that death is the main thing, as a borrower is responsible for an accident? Nay; after all, the first is the main thing, as this act obliges him to feed it. Said R. Ashi: From the expression, "And if a man borrow aught of his neighbour" [ibid., ibid.], it is to be inferred that he is responsible only when he borrowed from his neighbour, but not if his neighbour is with him. Then the continuation of the above-cited verse and what follows would be all superfluous? Nay; if not the following, one may say that such expressions are customary in the Scripture.

Rabina questioned R. Ashi: If one tells his messenger that he shall substitute him in service to his neighbour together with his cow, how is the law if the cow breaks or dies while labouring? Is the word "owner" in the Scripture to be taken so particularly that no one can stand in his stead; or in such a case is the messenger of one considered as if it were himself? Said R. Aha b. R. Iwia to R. Ashi: "Concerning a husband who used the cow of his wife." R. Jonathan and Resh Lakish differ in regard to his responsibility, and concerning a messenger R. Jonathan and R. Ashi differ.

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Said R. Eylish to Rabha: If one borrows another's slave and cow, how is the law? This question is to be considered according to the theory of both the Tanaim who differ in the case of the law regarding a messenger, whether he is considered a substitute or not. To the one who holds that he is considered a substitute, the question is the same as is the case with a slave, for the reason that the slave is free from the obligations of the law, and therefore he cannot substitute; on the other hand, according to him who holds that a messenger is not considered a substitute, it may also be questioned if the same is the case with a slave or if the latter is different, as he may be considered as the hand of his master (consequently he may stand for him?). And Rabha answered: "Common sense dictates that the hands of a slave are considered as his master's."

Rami b. Hama questioned: "A husband who uses the estate of his wife, what should he be considered, a borrower or a hirer?" Said Rabha: "Only a man of such genius is fit to make such an ingenious error. What difference is there if he is considered a borrower or a hirer? In both cases it must be considered that the owner of the property is with him; consequently there is no responsibility." The question, however by Rami bar Hama could be raised in case one has hired a cow of a woman and thereafter married her. If the husband is considered a borrower, then he is not responsible, as the owner of the article borrowed is with him; or if he is considered a hirer, the law of a hirer consequently remains. But what is the difference? Is it not a fact that now the owner of the hired article is with him, and this should supersede the previous act which was without the hirer; as we say the same in case he is considered a borrower?

Therefore, if Rami raised a question it must be thus: If a woman has hired a cow from any one, and afterwards she married, then, in accordance with the rabbis, who hold that the borrower has to pay to the hirer, there is no question, as the owner of the borrowed article is considered to be with him. However, according to R. Jose, who holds that in such a case the cow must be returned to its first owner--now, if after the woman has married, her husband uses the cow and it breaks, what is he considered, a hirer who must pay, or a borrower who is not responsible for an accident in the presence of its owner? Said Rabha: The husband is considered neither a borrower nor a hirer, but (a buyer of the estate of his wife), as said in the First Gate.

The schoolmen propounded a question: If the body of the animal becomes lean because of the labour, how is the law? Said one of the rabbis, named R. Hylqia b. R. Ovia: As the schoolmen questioned in case of leanness and not in case of death, they must be sure that in the latter case one is surely responsible. Why, then, has he borrowed it, to put it under a canopy? Said R. Rabha: Not only if it become lean, but even if it dies while labouring, there is no responsibility, for the reasons said above by R. Hylqia.

There was a man who borrowed an axe from his neighbour and it broke, and he came before Rabh, who told him to bring witnesses that he used it as an axe is usually used, and then he would acquit him. (Questioned the Gemara.) But how is it when there are no witnesses? Come and hear! There was one who borrowed an axe and it broke, and Rabh had decided that he must buy him another one. Said R. Kahana and R. Assi to Rabh: "Does the law prescribe so?" Is it not stated that the defendant has only to pay the damage, but not to buy another? And Rabh kept silence. The Halakha, therefore, prevails in accordance with R. Kahana and R. Assi, that he must return the broken one and must give the difference in money.

There was one who borrowed a pitcher and it broke, and R. Papa told him to bring witnesses that he used it as a pitcher is usually used, and he would acquit him. There was a man who borrowed a cat, which had overeaten itself with mice and died, and R. Ashi, before whom the case was brought, was deliberating (whether this is considered a case in which it dies while labouring or not). Said R. Mordecai to him: "So said Abimi of Hagrunia, that a man whom a woman has killed must not be taken into consideration."

Rabha said: "If one wants to borrow something from his neighbour, and so that he shall not be held responsible if it be damaged, he may say to the borrower: You may give me water to drink (i.e., that the giving of water will be considered a labour, so that he borrowed the article with its owner). However, if the lender is clever, he may say to him: First borrow what you need, and afterwards I will give you the water."

Said Rabha: A teacher who teaches infants, a planter, a butcher, a barber, and the scribe of the city--all these, when they do their work, are considered, in case one borrows an article from them, as if he has borrowed also the owner of it.

Said the rabbis of Rabha's college to Rabha: "According to your theory you, master, are borrowed to us" (i.e., that if we were to borrow something from you and should spoil it we should be free from payment). And Rabha became angry, saying: "You want to benefit yourselves with my money? On the contrary, you, as my disciples, are borrowed to me, since I have the right to engage you in any tract of the Talmud I like, and you have no right to prevent me or refuse to study what I explain to you." (Says the Gemara: In reality it is not so.) In the days before the festivals he is borrowed to them, as then he must teach the laws of the coming festivals; they (the disciples), however, are borrowed to him on all other days.

It happened that Maraimar b. Hanina hired mules from Huzai, and the former overworked them and they died; Rabha made him responsible. Said the rabbis to Rabha: "Was it not a neglect in the presence of the owner, and Huzai used to support them in their work? Rabha was embarrassed; finally it was learned that Huzai was not supporting them in their labour, but, on the contrary, was there to see that they were not overloaded. (Consequently Rabha was right in his decision.) This is correct in accordance with him who holds that a neglect in the presence of the owner is to be freed, but there is one who holds that in such a case the borrower is not free. Why, then, the embarrassment? (He may have agreed with the latter.) The case was that the mules were stolen, and died in the house of the thief; and when Rabha made him responsible the rabbis questioned him: "Was it not stolen in the presence of the owner? Why, then, should Maraimar be responsible for the theft?" And therefore Rabha was embarrassed. Finally, it was learned that Huzai came only to see that they should not be overloaded.

MISHNA 2. If one borrowed a cow for a half a day, and for the other half a day he hires it, or he borrows it for to-day and hires it for to-morrow, or there were two of them, one of which he borrowed and the other he hired, and it dies, the lender claims that it dies in the time for which it was borrowed, and the borrower says, "I don't know," then the latter is responsible. If the reverse, the hirer says: "It dies while labouring when it was hired," and the owner says, "I don't know," then the former is free. If, however, they contradict each other, and one says that it died while borrowed, and the other says it died while hired, then the hirer has to take an oath that it is as he said, and he is acquitted. But if both say they don't know how the case was, then the damage is divided.

GEMARA: From this statement it is to be understood that if one claims a mana, and the defendant says, "I don't know," he must pay. Shall we assume this should be an objection, as it was taught that R. Na'hman and R. Johanan hold the defendant free in such a case? R. Huna and R. Jehudah hold him responsible (the reason of R. Na'hman's statement is, as R. Ashi explains, because the plaintiff cannot collect any money without evidence; and therefore the money remains with the defendant, in accordance with the law of hazakah). Nay; as R. Na'hman said elsewhere that this is only in case the defendant has to take an oath (the illustration will follow further on). The same can be explained in the case in our Mishna. How was the case? Rabha illustrates it thus: If one claims a mana, and the defendant says, "I am sure of fifty zuz, but not of a hundred," then as he cannot take an oath he must pay. However, in the cases brought in our Mishna, such a case can be found in the first part, when there were two cows. The plaintiff claims, "I have forwarded to you two cows for one day, a half of it as a loan and the other half as a hire, or for two days, one day as a loan and the other as a hire," and both die in the time for which they were borrowed. The defendant claims, "I am sure that one of them died in the time of borrowing, but I am not sure of the other one," and as he cannot swear, he must pay. The second part is to be explained that there were three cows, and the plaintiff claims that two of them died in the time for which they were borrowed. The defendant claims that he is sure only of one of them, and as to the others, he does not know whether that which was borrowed died, and that which is still alive is the one which was hired, or vice versa. As he cannot swear, he must pay. And according to Rami bar Hama, who holds that all the four kinds of bailees are liable only when they admit a part and deny a part, the first part of the Mishna is to be explained that the claim was for three cows for half a day, or a day as a loan and the other as a hire; and the plaintiff claims that all the three died at the time when they were borrowed. The defendant, however, denies one of them altogether, and for the remainder he claims that only one of them died in the time for which it was borrowed, and concerning the other, he is doubtful; and in the second part the plaintiff claims that he has given him four cows: three of them as a loan and the one as a hire, and the three which were borrowed died. The defendant denies one altogether, and admits that one died in the time for which it was borrowed, and as to the remainder he is doubtful. As he cannot take an oath, he must pay.

One says it died while borrowed, etc. But why? In the claim of the defendant we do not see any admission, even in part, as to the claim of the plaintiff (since the plaintiff claims that that which was borrowed died, and the defendant says that it is still alive, but that the other which was hired is dead; consequently he is not obliged to take an oath at all. Said Ula: As the defendant must take an oath that the cow in question died a natural death, the plaintiff may desire that in that oath shall be included a statement that the hired cow, and not the borrowed one, died (such a desire must be listened to, as it is explained elsewhere that this is a biblical law).

But if both say they don't know, etc. This statement is in accordance with Symachos, who holds that doubtful money must always be divided.

MISHNA 3: If one has borrowed a cow, and the owner sends it to him by his son, slave, or messenger, or even by the same persons of the borrower, and it dies while on the road, the borrower is free. If, however, the borrower orders him to send it through his son, slave, or messenger, or even through the same persons of the owner, or even if the owner says to him, "I will send it through the persons mentioned above, of my own or of yours," and the borrower says, "Do so," then the borrower is responsible for the death while on the road, and the same is the case with the return.

GEMARA: Was it not said above that the hand of a slave is considered as the owner's? Why, then, should the borrower be responsible if it was sent with the slave of the owner? Said Samuel: It treats of a Jewish bondman, whose body does not belong to the owner. Rabh, however, said: The Mishna can be explained that it treats even of a heathen bondman; but the order of the borrower is to be considered, as if he would say: Strike it with a stick and it will come to me. 1 As the borrower told him to send it in that manner, his intention was that as soon as he shall forward it to the above-mentioned persons, the control of the owner ceases.

An objection was raised from the following: If one borrows a cow and it was sent to him with the son of the owner, or with his messenger (with the consent of the borrower), the borrower is responsible for an accident on the road. If, however, it was sent by his slave, he is free. Now this would be correct in accordance with Samuel's theory, as the Boraitha may treat of a heathen slave, and our Mishna of a Jewish one; but according to Rabh's theory it contradicts? Say, then, Rabh explained the case of the Mishna, that the borrower is not as explained above, "it is considered," but Rabh says that the Mishna treats of which it was said plainly, "Strike it with a stick and it will come to me." As it was taught: "Lend me your cow. Through whom shall I send it to you? Strike it with a stick and it will come." Said R. Na'hman in the name of Rabba bar Abuhu, quoting Rabh: As soon as it was out of the control of the owner the borrower is responsible for an accident.

There is a Boraitha which states plainly, as it is above, in the name of Rabh. Shall we assume that it shall be a support to him? Said R. Ashi: Nay; as the Boraitha may treat in case that the courtyard of the borrower was behind that of the owner, so that the borrower was sure that if the owner would strike the animal with a stick, while turning it to the yard of the borrower, it will come to it (but not otherwise). But is not such a case self-evident? The case was that there was another corner in the yard of the owner, and the animal could turn there while running. Lest one say that in such a case the borrower was not sure, it is necessary to teach us that he was.

R. Huna said: "If one borrows a hatchet, if he has done some work with it he acquires title to it for the time borrowed, but not otherwise." (According to his theory drawing does not give title to a bailee.) To what purpose was this stated? Did he mean to say that he is not responsible for an accident? Why should this case be different from the case of the cow mentioned above? He meant to say that the owner has the right to retract as long as the borrower has not used it, but not after he has. And he differs with R. Elazar, who said that at the same time the enactment of drawing was made concerning buyers, it was also enacted concerning bailees, and so also we have learned in a Boraitha, with the addition that as real estate may be bought with money, with a note, and with hazakah, the same is the case with hiring. With hiring! What has a note and a hazakah to do with hiring? Said R. Hisda: When real estate is hired (e.g., if one hires a house, if he has paid the rent, or has given a note, or taken possession, hazakah, of it) the owner has no right to retract.

Samuel said: If one steals a bunch of pressed dates, which contains fifty dates--and usually when they are sold together a bunch contains only forty-nine, but if single he sells out the whole fifty--then, when the robber repents and wants to make amends, if the dates belong to a common man he has to repay only for forty-nine, but if they belong to the sanctuary, he must repay fifty, with the addition of a fifth part. However, if one spoils the same, he is free from the additional fifth part; as the master said elsewhere: It is written [Lev. xxii. 14]: "If a man eat a holy thing unwittingly," etc.; it excludes if he spoiled it.

R. Bibi bar Abye opposed: Why shall he pay to a common man only forty-nine? Let the owner say: I would sell them singly. Said R. Huna bar Jehoshua: There is a Mishna (in the First Gate.): "It is appraised at how much the measure of the land required for planting a saah was worth before, and how much it is worth after."

Hence we do not appraise the value of that which was consumed, but of that which was diminished. Shall we assume that Samuel holds that the law concerning an ordinary man is not equal to that of the sanctuary? Are we not aware that elsewhere R. Abuhu, in the name of Samuel, declares that there is no difference? Samuel had retracted that statement. But how do you know that Samuel retracted from that

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statement? Perhaps he had retracted from this statement. We are aware of this from Rabha's following statement: "That if some one took something from the sanctuary unintentionally or by an error, he transgresses, as if he did the same from an ordinary man intentionally." (Hence we see that there is a difference between a sanctuary and ordinary goods, and Rabha would not teach such a law if it were against Samuel.) Rabha said: Carriers who break a barrel of wine, the price of which on a market day is five zuz and on an ordinary one four, on the market day they have to return another barrel of wine, but on another they have to pay in cash four zuz. This, however, is said if the wine dealer has no other wine for sale. But if he has other wine, and he does not sell it, they may return him a barrel of wine, as we see that he intends to keep the wine for the season; and also in case they pay him, he has to deduct the money for their labour, and also what he has to pay for making a hole in the barrel (which was of clay).

MISHNA 4.: If one exchanged an ass for a cow, and it brought forth young ones, or one has sold one's female slave and she gives birth, and the seller claims that this happened before the sale, and the buyer thereafter, the value of it is to be divided. If one possesses two male slaves, a large one and a small one, or two fields, one large and one small, and the buyer claims, I bought the large one, and the seller, I doubt it, the buyer's is to be considered. If the seller claims: I sold the small one, and the buyer doubts it, the claim of the seller must be considered. If, however, they contradict each other, the seller must take an oath that he has sold the smaller one; if both doubt it, the difference is to be divided.

GEMARA: Why should it be divided? Let us see who possesses it. It should be the obligation of the plaintiff to bring evidence. Said R. Hyya bar Abba in the name of Samuel: The Mishna says: When the articles in question are still in the semita (a corner near a public thoroughfare where articles for sale are placed). But why should it not be considered still under the control of the owner, and the buyer the plaintiff who should have to bring evidence? The Mishna is in accordance with Symachos, who said that doubtful money ought to be divided without a note. But was Symachos's decision in a case where both claim that they are certain? Symachos's decision was only in cases where both doubted. Said Rabba b. R. Huna: Yea, Symachos made his decision, even in a case where both claim certainty. Rabh, however, said: Symachos's decision was only when both claimed that they are doubtful, but not when both claimed certainty. But the Mishna is to be corrected, that both of them claimed that they were doubtful; and therefore the article in question must be divided. However, the Mishna is correct only with Rabh's correction, because part of it speaks plainly in case both are in doubt. Therefore the first part must also be interpreted in the same way. But according to Rabba bar R. Huna's theory, who says that Symachos's decision was even when both claim certainty, the last part would be entirely superfluous, since even when they claim certainty it is to be divided. Is it so much the more when both claim doubt? Nay; this cannot affect, as it may be said that the last part was taught only to make clear the meaning of the first part; lest one say that it speaks only when they both claim doubt. Therefore it teaches plainly the claims of doubt in the last part to signify that the first part speaks when both claims were of certainty, and nevertheless it must be divided. An objection was raised from the decision in our Mishna that the seller must take an oath that he has sold the smaller one, and this is correct only in accordance with Rabha, who says that Symachos's decision does not apply to a case of certainty. But, according to Rabba bar R. Huna's theory, it does. Why, then, should he take an oath; let them divide?

Symachos admits that in such a case where the oath is to be taken biblically, the law that it should be divided does not exist, as will be explained further on.

If one possesses two slaves, etc. What has an oath to do here? In the claim of the defendant we do not see any admission at all, as the plaintiff claims that he sold another person, which the defendant does not contradict; and, secondly, the seller says: "Here is your bought article; take it." Such a case is not considered a part admission, as said above; and aside from this there is no rule that no oath must be given concerning slaves. Said Rabh: It treats when he demands the value of the articles sold, but not themselves, as, e.g., the value of the slave or the field in question. Samuel, however, says: The Mishna treats concerning the garments of a slave and the sheaves of a field; the seller claims: I sold you the smaller ones; the buyer says: The larger ones. But then the claims are not of one and the same article, and the axiom, There is no admission by the defendant, mentioned above, applies also to this. As Rabh Papa declares elsewhere that it speaks not of a ready-made garment, but of the stuff to a garment, which is still attached, and one claims: You have sold me measure for a large garment, and the other says: For a small one, the same is to be explained here.

It was difficult for R. Hoshea to accept this explanation, as the Mishna states a slave, and not a garment. Therefore he tried to explain thus--that the Mishna treats that the plaintiff claims that he sold him a slave with his garments or a field with its sheaves. And to the objection that there is no admission at all to the claim of the plaintiff that he has sold him a garment with the slave, the explanation of R. Papa mentioned above may be used here also, that the dress was attached to the slave (i.e., that he was dressed in it); and as an oath has to be given to him for the dress, the oath about the slave may also be included.

It was difficult for R. Shesheth to accept this explanation, as according to it the main thing the Mishna teaches is that the oath for encumbered estate, for which an oath is not given when the claim is only about it, is nevertheless to be included in the oath given for unencumbered estate; and this is plainly stated in several places elsewhere. This, however, presents no difficulty, since, lest one say that the garment which the slave wears is equal to himself, or the sheaves of the field which are still attached to it are equal to the field, it comes to teach us that it is not so.

If both doubt it, etc. This is certainly in accordance with Symachos's theory, who says that doubtful money is to be divided. How, then, is the second part to be explained, which states that if the seller claims that it was born under his control, the seller must swear that so it was? Did not Rabba bar R. Huna declare above that Symachos's theory applies also to the claims of a certainty? Why, then, an oath? Let them divide in this case also. Symachos admits that in such a case, where the oath is to be taken biblically, the law that it should be divided does not exist. As Rabha explained that it treats of a case in which he has cut off a woman's hand, and of a field in which he has digged pits, excavations, and caves, to which the theory, "Here they are," does not apply, as it is not acceptable. Concerning the admission in part, it may be considered that her hand is considered a part of her. 1

MISHNA 5.: If one sold out his olive trees for fuel, and there were still bad olives on them, the oil of which was less than a quarter of a lug from the measure of a saah, they belong to the buyer. If, however, there was such a quantity or more, the buyer claims it is produced from his trees, and the seller claims it was produced from his estate, the products are too be divided.

Olive trees which were overflooded (by a stream), taken out by the owner, and planted in another's field, and the two quarrel about the fruit borne: one claims, My trees, and the other, My ground brought it. It is to be divided.

GEMARA: Let us see how the case was. If the seller told the buyer to cut it off immediately, and he didn't, then even if there was less than that quantity, it belongs to the seller. If he told him: You can cut it off whenever you like, then, even if it was more, it belongs to the buyer. The case was that he sold it without any stipulation; then less than a quarter of a lug people do not care about. But when more than this, they do. Said R. Simeon b. Paze: The quarter in question must be measured after what is lost in pressing it.

Olive trees which were overflooded, etc. Said Ula, in the name of Resh Lakish: The law holds good only when they were torn out with lumps of earth in which they were planted. (In such a case the trees in question are free from the law Arlah; that is, the first three years) and even then only when three years have elapsed from the time he had planted them in the other field. Otherwise the fruit belongs to the owner of the trees; as be may say to the owner of the estate: If you, e.g., would plant new trees you could not use them in the first three years, as they would be Arlah. But why should not the owner of the estate claim: "If I should do as you say, I would use all of them after the lapse of three years, and now you take half of it." Therefore we must accept, as Rabin has reported that Resh Lakish said, thus: The law holds good when they were torn out with the lumps of earth and during the first three years, but after the lapse of three years all of them belong to the owner of the estate, because of the reason stated above. But why should not the owner of the trees claim: If you should plant it you would not use it for three years, and now you consume half of it every year? Because the owner of the estate may answer: If I were to plant it, they would be small and would not afford much, so that I could use the ground near them for vegetables (which need sunshine), which is not the case now, as you planted your trees in that place.

There is a Boraitha: If the owner of the trees says, "I will take back my plant from your field," he must not be listened to (although after three years it will all belong to the other one), but the owner of the estate has to pay the value of trees for planting, and not the value for fuel. Why so? Said R. Johanan: Because of the occupancy of the land of Israel. Said R. Jeremiah: To such an explanation we need such an authority as R. Johanan.

It was taught: If one has planted trees in a field belonging to another, without the consent of the owner. Said Rabh: His word must be appraised, but not to his benefit (i.e., if the expenses were more than the improvement, he gets nothing, and if the improvement was worth more, then he gets paid for the improvement). Samuel, however, maintains that the appraisement should be as much as one has to pay for planting such a field. And R. Papa said.. They (i.e., Rabh and Samuel) do not differ, as one speaks of a field which is better for trees and the other of that which is better for vegetables. And the statement of Rabh was not heard from him plainly, but was so inferred from the following: There was a man who came to Rabh with such a complaint, and he told him to appraise his work. He objected, saying, I do not want my field to be planted at all, and Rabh said: Go and appraise his work, not to his benefit. And the man said: I don't want to do even that, as he spoilt my field. Thereafter it was learned that the owner of the field had fenced it, and Rabh said: From this we see that his work satisfies you; go and appraise his work so that he may be benefited.

It was taught: "If one has rebuilt a ruin of one's neighbour without his consent, and to the owner's claim has said: I will take back my wood and stones," R. Na'hman is of the opinion that he must be listened to, and R. Shesheth maintains that he must not. An objection was raised. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said that in such a case the Beth Shamai hold that he should be listened to, and the Beth Hillel say not. Shall we assume that R. Na'hman holds in accordance with the Beth Shamai? R. Na'hman holds with the Tana of the following Boraitha: In such a case his claim should be taken into consideration; so is the decree of R. Simeon b. Eliezar. But R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said that so was the decree of the Beth Shamai. The Beth Hillel's verdict, however, is contrary. How, then, should the law be decided? Said R. Jacob in the name of R. Johanan: If this happened with a house, his claim may be considered, but not with a field--for the reason the earth became deficient.

MISHNA 6.: If one rents a house (without appointing the time) in the rain season, he has no right to make the tenant move from the Feast of Tabernacles until Passover; and in the summer season for a period of thirty days. In the large cities, however, there is no difference at what time; he must keep him twelve months; and the same is the case with stores or shops at any place. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel maintains that the term of the shops of bakers and dyers is three years.

GEMARA (Let us see): In the rain season why must he keep him for the whole season? Because usually when a man rents a house it is for the whole season. Why should not the same be said of the summer season? And if you should say that the reason is that because during the rain season it is not easy to find a house to rent, then how is it that in the large cities the term is fixed for twelve months? Now if the twelve months terminate in the rain season, and the owner makes the tenant move, why it is not easy to find a house for rent? Said R. Jehudah: All the terms are fixed only for giving notice; i.e., thus: If one lends a house to some one anonymously, one cannot make the tenant move from the Feast of Tabernacles until Passover, unless one had given him notice thirty days before, And so, also, we have learned in the following Boraitha: The terms thirty days and twelve months are for giving notice; and this notice is to be given by the owner of the house as well as by the tenant, as the owner may say, If you had given me notice, I should have troubled myself to find a man who would have taken it for the whole season. Said R. Assi: If he has dwelt even only one day in the rain season, the owner loses the right to make him move until Passover. But was not thirty days the term? He means to say if one day of the thirty days in question had passed without any protest of the owner. Said R. Huna: The owner, however, has the right to increase the rent. Said R. Na'hman to him: This would be if he would hold him (in his pocket) until the tenant would lose his last garment. (Rejoined R. Huna:) I mean if the rent in general becomes dearer. It is certain, if the house of the owner where he dwells falls, he may make the tenant remove from that house (if the term is at an end) even without a notice before, as he may say, You are not better than myself, as I also cannot so easily find a house, and I was not aware that my house will fall. If the tenant sold out his lease, loaned, or made it a present, the same may be done, as the owner may say, You are not better than the man from whom you took it. If, however, the tenant has given it for the wedding of his son, then it must be investigated; if it was possible for the owner to notify him, he should do so; and if not, he may say, You are not better than myself.

There was a man who bought a lot of wine and couldn't find a place to keep it in, and he asked a certain woman if she had a place for hire; and she said no. Then he betrothed her and she gave him a place. He went home, wrote a divorce, and sent it to her. She then took carriers, paid them with the same wine for taking it out, and put it in the street. When the case was brought before R. Huna b. R. Jehoshua, he said: As he has done, so it was done to him; he was rightly rewarded, and not only from a yard which was not for rent she had the right to do so, but even if it was for rent, as she may say I would like to let it to some one, but not to you, as you are in my estimation equal to a spy.

R. Simeon b. Gamaliel maintains, etc. A Boraitha states that the reason is because they usually give very much of their goods in debt to the people in the neighbourhood.

MISHNA 7.: The owner of the house is obliged to give to the tenant a door bolt, a lock, and all other things belonging to the house which is to be done by a specialist. However, the things which can be done by any one the tenant has to furnish himself. The manure of the house belongs to the owner; the

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tenant has a right only to the ashes which he takes out from the ovens.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: The owner of the house is obliged to put in doors, to open windows, to repair the ceiling, and to support it with a beam; and the tenant is obliged to make for himself a ladder, a battlement, a gutter, and to plaster the roof with clay.

R. Shesheth was questioned: Whose duty is it to furnish a Mezuzah? 1 But did not R. Mesharshia say that the obligation is the tenant's? The question was that if the door-post was of stone, whose is it to furnish a place for the Mezuzah? And R. Shesheth answered thus: We have learned in our Mishna, which states that things which need not a specialist the tenant must prepare; and this is also to be considered among these things as he can fix it himself.

The rabbis taught: The tenant has to buy a Mezuzah, but when he removes he must not take it with him, unless he is aware that a Gentile will occupy the house after him. And it happened that one took it out while removing, and buried his wife and two children.

The manure belongs to the owner, etc. How is the case if the cattle were the tenant's? Why, then, should the manure belong to the owner of the house? And if the yard was not rented to him, and the cattle belong to the owner, then it is self-evident that it belongs to him? The court was not rented, and the manure was not of the owner's cattle, but of cattle which were in the court to load or unload things belonging to the tenant. And this statement may be a support to R. Jose bar Hanina, who said that a courtyard acquires title for its owner even without his knowledge. An objection was raised from the following: If one said all articles found in my courtyard to-day, it shall give title to me. He said nothing. Now if the theory of R. Jose is correct, why should his words be disregarded? It speaks of an open court where the articles are not secure. If so, how is to be understood the latter part of the same Boraitha, which states: If, however, there was heard a voice in the city that in the yard of so and so is found an article (Rashi explains this as, e.g., that it was heard in the city that a lame ram happened to come to his field, or that the river overflowed and left some fish in his yard) his word is to be considered. Now, if it speaks of a court where the things are not secure, why should his word be considered, even in this case? If such a thing was heard in the city, one would not dare to take it, and therefore it is considered as if the yard were secured,

Another objection was raised from the following: Ashes of the ovens and dust from the air belong to the tenant, but that from the stable and in the yard belongs to the owner. Now if the theory said above by R. Jose is correct, why should dust of the air belong to the tenant? Is it not the air of the owner's court? Said Rabha: Air which cannot reach the ground because of some obstacle must not be considered as if it were on the ground. But was the decision certain to him? Did not he himself question as follows: If one has renounced his ownership of a purse of money, and has thrown it into one open door, and it passes out through another open door, and falls outside of the house, did the contact of the purse with the air of the house in its passage through give title to the purse to the owner of the house, or, because it has not rested in the house, has the house-owner no title? (Now if he were certain in his above decision, he would not ask such a question?) In the case questioned by him there was no obstacle, as in the case mentioned above.

That which is in the stable and in the yard, etc. Why both? Is not one sufficient, as it speaks of a yard which was not rented to the tenant? Said Abye: It means to say that even if the courtyard was rented. still that which is in the stable belongs to the owner. And R. Ashi said: From this it may be inferred that if the yard was rented without any stipulation, the stable in it is not to be considered included.

MISHNA 8.: If the year was made a leap-year, the tenant reaps the benefit of the intercalation. However, if he rented him the house monthly, the intercalation belongs to the owner. It happened in Ciphorius, that one rented a bath-house for twelve golden dinars a year. The payment should be one dinar monthly, and thereafter the year was made leap intercalary. When the case came before R. Simeon b. Gamaliel and R. Jose they decided that the payment of intercalation shall be divided.

GEMARA: Does the Mishna bring a fact to contradict its previous statement? (As there is no mention of a division, but belongs either to one or to the other.) The Mishna is not completed, and should read thus: If he has rented it to him for twelve months to be paid monthly, then the payment for the added month is to be divided, and it happened also in Ciphorius, etc.

Said Rabh: If I were there I would decide that this month belongs altogether to the owner. What was the intention of Rabh to teach us? That the last expression must be considered. Has he not taught the same elsewhere; namely, R. Huna said that in the school of Rabh it was taught that if one says I sell you this article for an istera (hundred mahas), then he has to pay him a hundred mahas in good money, and if vice versa he may give him an istera? (The difference between an istera and a hundred mahas is that an istera contains also a hundred mahas, but not in current money.) From that statement we can infer nothing, as one may say that the last expression was only an explanation to the preceding one. (In our case, however, there is no explanation. The owner rented the tenant the house for a year for twelve golden dinars. The payment should be a dinar monthly; consequently it was two conditions, and not an explanation.) Samuel, however, said: The decision was so made because they came to the court in the middle of the month, but if they had appeared in the beginning it would be entirely the owner's; and if they would come in the end of the month, it would be the renter's (because they doubted as to which expression should be considered, the first or the last; and if they came in the beginning of the month, and he required payment or removal, then his claim is to be considered, since the house is his. And if they came at the end of the month, there is no claim for removal, but for the past month. Such a debt cannot be collected by the court, and therefore the money remains with the renter. But if they came in the middle of the month, and the owner demands payment or removal, he is to be paid for the future, but not for the time past.

But did not Samuel also hold that the last expression must be considered? Is it not stated elsewhere: If one said, I sell you a kur of wheat for thirty salahs, the seller may retract even at the last saah, because the buyer does not acquire title until he has taken the last one (and he had sold him the whole kur and not every saah separately). If, however, the seller said, I sell you a kur for thirty salahs, each saah for a salah, then he cannot retract from that which was already measured (as the last expression, one saah for a salah, is the one taken into consideration). So said both Rabh and Samuel. (Hence we see that Samuel also agrees to the theory of the last expression.) Nay, the reason in that case was, because he took possession of it already, and in our case also for the same reason that it is doubtful, whether the first or the last expression is to be considered. He does not pay for the time occupied, but for the future. R. Na'hman, however, maintains that the estate is always considered in the occupancy of the owner, and therefore there is no difference at what time in the month they came to the court. His rent must be paid; and not only when the last expression was a salah a month, but even if it was the reverse, a "salah a month, twelve for a year."

R. Janai was questioned: If the renter says I have paid, and the owner claims I have not received it, who of them must bring evidence? (Let us see.) The following Mishna in (Tract B'khorad) answers this question: Either it was for time past or for the present, namely: If the father dies within thirty days of his first-born son's birth, he must be considered unredeemed as yet (i.e., when he is grown up, then the obligation of redeeming would remain to him all his life). If, however, his father dies after thirty days, he is to be considered redeemed, unless neighbours assure him that he was not. (From which it is inferred that within the time the renter must bring evidence, and after the time the owner must bring evidence, as according to the Jewish law rent is paid at the end of the month.) The question was, at the very same day when the term is ended, the renter says I paid you in the morning, and the owner says you did not. Said R. Johanan to them: This we have learned in the following Mishna: A labourer who claims in the last day of his employment, that he did not receive as yet his salary has to take an oath and collect the money. And that the labourer must take an oath and not the employer is enacted by the rabbis only there; as the employer has to deal with many labourers, it may happen that he has given to another one instead, and then he will swear falsely; but in your case the renter is trusted, if he takes an oath that he has paid.

Rabha, in the name of R. Na'hman said: If one has rented out a house for ten years, and has signed a lease without a date, and thereafter he claimed that the tenant has already had the house for five years, he is to be trusted. Said R. A'ha of Difti to Rabina: According to this theory, if one has loaned a hundred zuz and has taken a note, should the debtor also be trusted if he says, I have paid you the half? And he answered: What a comparison is this? A note is written for collection; and if he would pay, he would insist that it should be written on the note or he would take receipt. In this case, however, the owner may claim that he has made the lease, so that the tenant shall not be able afterwards to claim hazaka (occupancy).

R. Na'hman said: If one borrows at his neighbour's an article for the time it may be fit for work, he may take it as often as he requires it as long as it exists. Said R. Mari, the son of Samuel's daughter: This holds good only if it was done with the ceremony of a sudarium. And R. Mari b. R. Ashi said: That in case it breaks, he is obliged to return him the pieces, as it was only borrowed, but not sold.

Rabha said: If one borrows a hoe to dig this vineyard, he may dig with it the whole vineyard. If he says a vineyard, it may be any vineyard he likes, and if he says vineyards, then he may dig as many as he possesses, and if it breaks he must return the pieces.

R. Papa said: If one says lend me this well, and it becomes ruined, the borrower has no right to rebuild it. If, however, he said a well, if it becomes spoilt, the borrower may rebuild it. If, however, he said to him, Allow me your estate to dig a well, he may dig at any place in it until he finds water. However, all this holds good only with the ceremony of a sudarium.

MISHNA 9.: If a man rents out a house and it falls he must build another house in the same condition as the first was; if it was a small one, he must not build it larger, and vice versa. If it was two houses he must not make one, and vice versa; he must not increase or decrease the number of windows, unless the renter agrees.

GEMARA (How was the case): If the owner rented him this house, then why should he build another one when it falls; and if he rented him anonymously a house, then why can he not make any change in the building, e.g., two or one, or a large instead of a small? When Rabin came from Palestine he said, in the name of Resh Lakish, that the Mishna treats: When the owner said to the tenant, I rent out to you a house like this. If so, what does the Mishna teach us? Is this not self-evident? The case was if the house was standing on a shore of a river, and lest one say, that it means a house which is placed in the same position, therefore the Statement of the Mishna.

CHAPTER 9

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE HIRING OF FIELDS; PAYMENT OUT OF THEIR PRODUCTS OR IN MONEY; THE NEGLECT OF THE HIRER; WHAT HE MAY OR MAY NOT SOW IN THEM.

MISHNA 1.: If one hires a field (no matter under what condition, for a half, third, or a quarter, or for so and so many kurs a year) he must do as it is customary in that country: to scythe, to turn it out, or to plough, to weed after them. (When they come to divide) the grain, they have also to divide the hay and straw. If the stipulation was made on wine, then they divide the vine and sticks. They must also prepare together the sticks needed for the vineyard for the next year.

GEMARA: There is a Boraitha: If the custom was to scythe, he must not tear out, as the owner of the estate may say it is better for me that some of the straw remains, which will serve me to prepare manure next year. Or if the custom was to tear it out, he must not scythe, although one might say I would like the garden to be clean, and the other says, I would like to have the straw of it, and the reason is because each of them has a right to prevent the other.

To weed after them he may. Is not this self-evident? The case was in such a place where the custom was not to weed, and he, however, did so while still growing, saying, I do so now in order that I shall not have to do it after the grain is taken off. It teaches us that such a stipulation is not to be considered.

All must be done according, etc. What does it mean to include in the word "all"? That what the rabbis taught: Where it was customary to let the trees with the earth he may do so, and in the places where it is not customary he must not do so. Is this not self-evident? The case was in places where it was customary to let it for a third of the products, and he let it for a quarter, lest one say that the owner may say, I have reduced the price for the purpose of saving the trees for myself. It comes to teach us that this cannot be done unless so stipulated.

Where it is customary not to let it, etc. Is this not self-evident? The case was in places where it was customary to let for a quarter, and he took it for a third, lest one say that the hirer may claim, I have increased the price for the purpose that you should give it to me with the trees. It comes to teach us that this cannot be done unless so stipulated.

R. Joseph said: In Babylonia there is a custom that the gardener is not given any straw. To what purpose does he say this? Because if it happened that some are doing so, it shall not be considered as a custom, but attributed to their goodness. The same said again: The first earth upon the trench, the second, and the third, and also the sticks for the thorns must be furnished by the owner; the thorns themselves, however, by the gardener. This is the rule. All things which are considered the most necessary for preserving the garden must be furnished by the owner, but extraordinary things by the gardener. (As this benefits him only as this saves him time and trouble.) He said again: The hoe, the dung-fork, the pail, and the bag for water is to be furnished by the owner; the gardener, however, has to dig the channels for water.

As they divide the wine, etc. What have sticks to do here? In the school of R. Janai it was said, i.e.: The peeled sticks on which the vine is usually supported.

They must also, etc. Wherefore this addition? This corresponds to the former, and it means thus: Why should the sticks be divided? Because the preparation of them is to be done by both.

MISHNA 2.: If one hires a field and it was a dry place (so that it has to be artificially watered), or a group of trees and thereafter the spring ceased to flow, or the trees were cut off, the hirer has no right to deduct from the price stipulated. If, however, at the time hired the hirer said to him: Rent me this dry field, or this field in which there are a group of trees, and

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it happened that the spring dried up or the trees were cut off, the right of deduction is granted.

GEMARA: How was the case? If the general river from which all water their fields become dry, why then shall nothing be deducted from the agreement; let him claim that this is a plague to the whole country (further on it is taught that in such a case the hirer may deduct)? Said R. Papa: I.e., that the channel from the river to the field only became dry, and then the owner of the field may say, you could water it by means of pails. R. Papa said again: The statement of the two Mishnayoths applies to both cases, either he took it in partnership for half or third of the product, or he hires for a certain amount of kurs. The statement of the following Mishnayoths of this chapter, however, are different, as the law which applies to an undertaking for half of the products does not apply to a hiring and vice versa, as it will be explained further on.

If the hirer said to him: Rent me this dry field, etc. But why? Let him say, I only gave you the name without any particular intention; have we not learned in the following Boraitha that if one says, I sell you the estate which contains a kur of earth, and there is no more than a half, or, I sell you a vineyard and there are no vines, or, I sell you a fruit-yard, and there are nothing but pomegranates, all these sales are valid as they are so called. And the same should be the case here. Said Samuel: This presents no difficulty, as in all cases of the Boraitha the owner says it to the buyer, therefore the name is considered. From the case stated in our Mishna, however, we see that he wanted that particular field upon which he was then standing, as he said this. Rabina, however, said: It does not matter who says so, the case in the Mishna is different, because in spite of the fact that he mentions this, of which it is to be inferred that he was standing upon, he nevertheless mentioned dry field also, which shows that only that particular dry field suits him, because of the circumstances.

MISHNA 3.: If one has undertaken to work up a field, and he has neglected to do so, it must be appraised at how much it would produce if worked, and the defaulter has to pay, as it is customary for an agreement to be so written, that should it be neglected, I will pay from my best estate.

GEMARA: R. Mair, R. Jehuda, Hillel the first, R. Jehoshua b. Kar'ha, and R. Jose, all these considered the language of the common people legal (although it was not in accordance with the enactment of the sages); R. Mair, in the last sentence in our Mishna, which is stated in his name elsewhere, R. Jehudah in the following Boraitha: One has to bring the offer that is prescribed for the present of a rich man to his wife. (The difference between the offering of rich and poor is explained in Lev. 14:21.) Because in the marriage contract he writes: I will take upon myself all the responsibility you have had before our marriage--i.e., from the time he marries her he takes upon himself to make good all her obligations to the sanctuary, even those contracted before marriage. 1 Hillel the first in the following Boraitha: The inhabitants of Alexandria used to betroth their wives, but at the time they were prepared to go under the canopy (Chupha) other people used to come and take them away; and the sages were about to proclaim their children bastards. Said Hillel the first to them: Bring me the marriage contract; and finding that it is written there: You shall be my wife when you enter the canopy, therefore the children were not proclaimed such. R. Jehoshua b. Kar'ha in the following Boraitha: If one lends money to some one, he has no right to pledge him through the court for more than he owes him, as is written in the agreement: You may pledge me for all I owe you. [Was this, indeed, because of the written agreement? Did not R. Johanan say: If one has pledged his debtor, and thereafter he has returned him his pledge for a short time, and meanwhile the debtor dies, the lender has a right to take it away from his heirs? (Hence we see that even without an agreement the lender acquires title to the pledge.) The agreement benefited the lender, in case the debtor has used the pledge and diminished its value, to collect it from their other estate.] R. Jose in the following Boraitha: In the places where it was customary to consider the dowery prescribed by the father of the bride, as a loan, the husband has a right, in case the marriage contract was not fulfilled to collect it from his father-in-law as a creditor. In the places, however, where it was customary to write in the marriage contract to double the amount, the husband collects the half. The inhabitants of Nahardai used to collect only the third of the amount written. Maremar, however, used to collect the whole amount. Said Rabina to him: Have you not learned where it is customary to write double he collects the half only? This presents no difficulty, as the cited Boraitha treats when it was not made with the ceremony of a sudarium, and Maremar treats when it was.

Rabina used to double the amount in the marriage contract, and when asked to strengthen this with the ceremony sudarium, he would say: One of the two, either a sudarium or the double amount. There was one who said when on his dying bed: Give four hundred zuz to my daughter in her marriage contract, and R. A'ha b. R. Ivia questioned R. Ash,: Does he mean to give four hundred in cash, so that the marriage contract should be written eight hundred; or does he mean that it should be so written in the contract, which in reality means only two hundred? It must be investigated how he expressed himself. If he said, Give her four hundred too her marriage, then it is evident that he meant cash, and it must be written eight hundred; but if he said, Give her in the marriage contract four hundred, it means only two hundred. (Said the Gemara:) In reality it is not so. There is no difference if he said to her marriage, or in her marriage contract, it must be considered that he intended two hundred, unless he said give her four hundred without any addition.

There was one who undertook to work up a field, and he said: Should I neglect I will give you one thousand zuz. Finally he neglected to work up a third of it, and the sage of Nahardai decided he shall pay him 333 1/3 zuz. Rabha, however, said the whole thing was only an asmakhta, which gives no title. But why should this be different from that which is stated in our Mishna: If it will be neglected I shall pay with my best estate? In the Mishna there was no exaggeration; here, however, when he said he will give a thousand it was merely an exaggeration.

There was another man who undertook to work up a field for poppy and had sowed it with wheat. The wheat, however, became dear, so that the price was equal to poppy (so that the owner of the estate suffered no loss). R. Kahna, nevertheless, was about to deduct from the agreement the value of the fertility which was used less for wheat than it should have needed for poppy. Said R. Ashi to R. Kahna: People say it is better for one that his earth should become meagre than he himself.

There was a man who undertook a field for poppy, sowing with wheat, and finally the wheat was worth more than poppy, and Rabina was about to say that the hirer shall take the value of the increase. Said R. A'ha of Difti to him: Was the increase from the grain only; was it not also from the fertility of the earth? The sages of the Nahardai said: If one takes an article to sell in places where it is dearer, for the half profit, the enactment of the sages was that half shall be considered a loan and the other half a deposit; and they did so to benefit both. The borrower is benefited, as he has the right to use the half for his own expenses, and the lender, because the half, which is considered a deposit, collects it from his heirs in case he dies, as it becomes no personal property of theirs. This is in accordance with R. Ida bar Rabin.

Rabha, however, said: It is therefore called business that first one must not use it for himself; and, secondly, that if he dies it should not be considered personal property of his heirs.

Rabha said: If one has given articles for business without any stipulation (the law of which is that the owner takes three-quarters of the profit, and suffers half if damage occurs), and took from him two notes, e.g., if he sold him two bundles of goods for two hundred zuz, and took a note for each of them for a hundred zuz, and the borrower had sold out one bundle for one hundred and thirty zuz and the other for seventy, then if there were only one note, it would be considered no profit nor loss. But now, as there are two, to one there is a profit of thirty zuz, of which the lender takes two-thirds or twenty, and the other one is considered thirty zuz loss, of which the lender suffers half. If, however, it is the reverse (i.e., he took two loans in two days on one note), then in such a case as stated above, the borrower suffers (five zuz), not the lender. He said again: If one took money for business, and has had a loss, and thereafter he exerts himself and regains the loss, but failed to notify the lender both of the gain and the loss, he cannot claim that the lender shall suffer any loss, because the lender may say to him: You have exerted yourself for your own benefit to regain it, that people shall not say that you are a poor business man. The same said again: If two persons took money from one lender for business, they shall do it together, and one of them profits and wants to separate himself from his partner, he has no right to do so if his partner protests and says: Let us be partners until the time appointed for returning the money. And if one claims: I would take half the profit for my share, the other may prevent him, saying he cannot take out the profit because of the possibility of future loss. And even if one of the partners claims the half profit and half of the principal amount, the other can prevent him by saying: We cannot divide, as the whole money belongs to the business. And if he promised his partner that in case of loss he shall suffer his share, his partner can prevent him by saying that the fate of two is better than of one.

MISHNA 4.: If the gardener did not want to weed the field, saying: I will give you your due, he must not be listened to, as the owner may claim, To-morrow you will leave this field, and I will have to weed it myself.

GEMARA: And even if the gardener says: I will weed it afterwards, the owner may say: I want good wheat, and if it is not weeded the wheat cannot be as good as when weeded. And if he says: I will buy you good wheat from the market, he may say: No, I want the wheat from my estate, and even if he claim: I will weed out that share of it which belongs to you only, he may say that by doing so you will spoil the reputation of my field. But did not the Mishna give only one reason, that I will have to weed it, etc.? All these claims are included in the one reason given by the Mishna, that finally he will have to weed it. (The statements of this Mishna apply only to a hirer, but not to one who took it in partnership.)

MISHNA 5.: If one took a field in partnership, and it was not productive, he must not leave it as long as there is hope of bearing even only one heap. R. Jehudah says that there is no appraisement as to the contents of a heap, he therefore maintains that he must not leave it if there is hope of the products being at least as much as was sowed.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: If one took a field in partnership and it was not productive, if there is grain sufficient to make one heap, he is obliged to work it up; as the usual written agreement of such a partnership is as follows: I will plough, sow, weed, make sheaves, thresh, blow, and will make a heap of it for you, and then you will take half and I for my labour the other half. What should be the quantity of the heap? To cover the winnow--i.e., that if put in it should be completely covered.

The schoolmen propounded a question: How is it if both edges of the winnow are still visible? Come and hear. R. Abuhu said: R. Jose bar Hanini explained to me, when the right side of the winnow cannot see the sun. It was taught: That quantity of the heap is three saahs according to Levi, and according to the disciples of R. Janai two. Said Resh Lakish the saahs in question must remain after it was cleaned out.

But how much is it? Said R. Ami in the name of R. Johanan, four saahs for one kur, and R. Ami himself maintains eight for a kur. There was a certain old man who said to R. Huna b. Rabba bar Abuhu: I will explain to you the reason of their statements. In the year of R. Johanan the earth was fertile, and four for a kur was sufficient, but in years of R. Ami the earth was already meagre. There is a Mishna (Peah 15.): If the wind has spread the sheaves it must be appraised how much gathering for the poor there would be if this had not occurred. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said: He may give to the poor as much as was sowed, and what a quantity does he mean? When R. Dimi came from Palestine he said: In the name of R. Eliezar or R. Johanan four kabs to a kur.

R. Jeremiah questioned, Is it meant for a kur seed (i.e., for a kur sown in the field), or for the field where a kur grain can be gathered; and if you should mean for a kur seed, there is still a question whether it means for sowing by hand or with oxen? (As to the last one the quantity is larger.) Come and hear. When Rabin came he said in the name of R. Abuhu, quoting R. Eliezar or R. Johanan, four kabs for a kur seed; the question, however, whether with bands or oxen remains undecided.

MISHNA 6.: If one hires a field, and the locusts destroyed it or it was burned, if this was a general plague in the country he may deduct from the agreement, but not otherwise. R. Jehuda, however, maintains that if he has hired it for money, he must deduct under any circumstances.

GEMARA: What is to be understood by a plague of the country? Said R. Jehudah as, e.g., the majority of the valley, where there were many fields, was destroyed. Ulah, however, said: If four fields, on all its sides.

If the owner had told him to sow it with wheat, and he had sowed it with barley, and the fields of the majority of the valley were destroyed and also his barley, may the owner of the field claim that if he had sowed it with wheat, according to the agreement, it would not have been destroyed, as I have prayed that I should succeed in wheat, not in barley? Common sense dictates that his claim is right. If it happened that all the fields of the landlord were destroyed, and which was hired included, but the majority of the valley was not destroyed, may the hirer claim that since all your estate was destroyed, it is your fate that this field was also destroyed? The landlord, however, claims that if you hadn't hired it some of my field should have been left to me, consequently it is your fate. Common sense dictates that the claim of the landlord is right. If all the estates of the hirer were destroyed, and also the majority of the valley, may the hirer claim that because the majority of the valley was destroyed he has not to pay, or the landlord may say: As all your estate was destroyed, it was your fate that this was also destroyed? Common sense dictates the claim of the landlord is right. But why should not the hirer claim that if it were my fate something would be left to me, as it is said above concerning above? As the landlord may say that if Providence would favour you, some of your own fields would have been left to you. An objection was raised from the following: If that year was a year of destruction, or a year which was like the years of Elijah (without rain), it must not be counted among the years of redeeming. We see then that he compares a year of destruction to the years of Elijah, when there was no grain at all, but where grain is to be found it is not to be considered a plague of the country.

Said R. Na'hman bar Itz'hak: There it is different, as it is written [Lev. xxv. 15]: "According unto the number of harvest years," etc., which signifies that as long as there is some grain in the country it is called a harvest year.

Said R. Ashi to R. Kahana: According to your theory, let the Sabbatic year be counted, as there is grain out of Palestine where the Sabbatic year is not observed, and he answered: The

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Sabbatic year is a decree of the king, and must not be considered at all.

Samuel said: The statement of our Mishna applies only when he has sowed it and it was grown, and then the locusts have destroyed it. But if he has not sowed it at all because of the locusts, the hirer is responsible, as the landlord may claim that if you would sow it the verse of Psalm, xxxvii. 19 would apply to me.

There is one Boraitha which states that if this happened once, he has to sow it the second time and also the third, but not if it happened the third time also. And another Boraitha states that he has to sow it even after the third time, but not after the fourth. This presents no difficulty. As one Boraitha is in accordance with Rabbi, who holds that two times is to be considered a hazaka, and the other Boraitha is in accordance with R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, who holds that it must not be considered so unless it happened three times. Resh Lakish said: The Mishna treats: In case it was sown, grown, and then was destroyed by the locusts; but if he has sown and it didn't grow, the owner of the estate may claim he shall sow it again and again, until the sowing time is past. But when is it considered past? Said R. Papa: When the gardeners come from the field in the month Adar.

An objection was raised from the following: R. Simeon b. Gamaliel in the name of R. Mair and also R. Simon b. Mnasia said: That the latter half of Tishri Mar Cheshvan and the first half of Kislev is the time for saving, the latter half of Kislev Tabeth and the half of Shbat is winter; the latter half of Shbat, Adar, and the half of Nisan is cold; the half of Nisan, Iyar, and the half of Sivan is harvest; the latter half of Sivan, Thamuz, and the half of Ab is summer, and the half of Ab, Ellul, and the half of Tishri is heat. (Hence we see that the time of sowing is only until the half of Kislev.) R. Jehudah counts from Tishri. R. Simeon, however, counts from Cheshvan. But even then, who is more lenient? R. Simeon, who counts from Cheshvan, does not even count the sowing-time until Adar. This presents no difficulty. The one speaks of a case when he took the fields for sowing wheat and corn, which are usually sown in the beginning of the winter, and the other speaks of barley and peas, which are usually sown in Adar.

If he hired for money, etc. There was one who undertook an estate to sow garlic on the shore of the river of the old king; and it happened that the river was stopped. When the case came before Rabha, he said that it is not usual for this river to be stopped up, and consequently it is therefore considered a plague of the country, and you may deduct. Said the rabbis to him: Have we not learned in our Mishna that R. Jehuda said if he took it for money, he must pay under all circumstances, and he answered: There is no one who cares for his decision.

MISHNA 7.: If one hires a field for ten kur wheat per annum, and the products are poor, he may pay him with the same. The same is the case if the wheat was good, he cannot say: I will pay you with the best of the market, but must furnish him with the same.

GEMARA: There was a man who took an estate for pastio (pasture; such a field is usually sown many times a year) for one kur of barley. First he used it for pasture, and afterward he sowed barley in it, and the barley was bad. R. Habiba of the city of Sura, on the shores of the Euphrates, then sent a message to Rabina, asking: How should such a case be decided? Is it equal to the statement of our Mishna, which says that he must pay with the products of the estate, or as he hires it for pasture, and uses it for barley, it is different? And Rabina answered: What comparison is this? In the case of the Mishna the earth was sown according to the agreement, and the payment has to be with its products; but here he has not conformed to the agreement, hence he has to pay him with the good barley of the market.

There was a man who hired a vineyard for ten barrels of wine, and thereafter the wine became sour. R. Kahana was about to say that this case is equal to the case stated in the Mishna, that if the field becomes stricken and produces bad barley, he may pay him with its products. Said R. Ashi to him: What comparison is this? In the case of our Mishna the earth failed to give what was expected of it; here, however, the earth did fulfil the expectation, and the wine became sour thereafter. However, R. Ashi admits that when the grapes become wormy, and also in case the sheaves of the field became spoilt, that he has to repay him with the same.

MISHNA 8.: If one takes a field for sowing barley, he must not sow wheat in it; but if for wheat, he may sow barley. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel forbids this: he must not sow peas in that which was taken for grain, but he may sow grain in that taken for peas. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel forbids this also.

GEMARA: Said R. Hisda: The reason of R. Simeon's statement is, because it is written [Zephaniah, 33:13]: "The remnant of Israel shall not do injustice or speak lies, and there shall not be found in their mouth a deceitful tongue."

An objection was raised from the following: That which was collected for the poor on Purim must be distributed at the same time without any particulars. However, the poor must not buy with the donation a strap for the shoes, unless it was so stipulated by the elders of the city. So is the decree of R. Jacob in the name of R. Mair. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, however, was lenient (permitting this). Hence we see then that he was lenient in his decision, and in our Mishna, however, he is rigorous. Said Abye: R. Simeon's reason is as my master (Rabba) said: He who likes his earth to bring forth good fruit, should sow in it one year wheat and the other barley; one year in the length and the second in the width. This, however, is the case if he does not sow in time, but if in time it does not matter.

He must not sow peas, etc. R. Jehudah taught to Rabin: If for grain, he may sow peas. Said Rabin to him: But did not the Mishna state he must not? And he answered: My statement is not contradictory, as the Mishna speaks of Palestine, which is mountainous, and the leanness of the earth is taken into consideration; and I talk of Babylon, which is situated in a valley, and there is no fear of this. Said R. Jehudah to Rabin b. Na'hman, Rabin, my brother: Cresses growing among flax may be used without fear that there is robbery (because the owner is benefited by their removal, as they do more harm than good). If, however, they are placed outside of the flax-beds, then it is robbery, and the same is the case even if they grow among the flax, but are already grown up as much as the flax, and so do no more harm. The same said again: Rabin, my brother, in our fields, which are closely attached, there are some among my trees, the branches of which are bent toward yours, and vice versa. In such cases, however, the custom is that the fruit belongs to the side to which the branches incline. As it was taught: A tree which stands on the boundary of two estates belonging to two different persons, where the branches are inclined there should the fruit be used. So said Rabh. But Samuel maintains that it is to be divided. An objection was raised from the following: A tree which is placed on the boundary is to be divided, and this contradicts Rabh. In order that the cited Boraitha should not contradict Rabh, Samuel explains that it speaks of a case in which the tree in question occupies the whole boundary; but, then, it is self-evident? It means even when all the branches are inclined to one side. However, even then it is self-evident? Lest one say that then one's neighbour has a right to say. You may take of the fruit of those branches which are inclined to your field, and I will take the remainder, it comes to teach us that our neighbour may say, We must share equally.

The same said again: Rabin, my brother, see that you do not buy an estate close to the city, as R. Abuhu in the name of R. Huna quoting Rabh said: One is not allowed to stand and consider his neighbour's field when the fruit is nearly ripe because of an evil eye. Is that so? Did not R. Abba meet the disciples of Rabh, asking them what has Rabh to say to the following verses [Deut. xxviii. 3-6]? And they answered: Rabh said thus: "Blessed shalt thou be in the city," means your house shall be near the synagogue; and "Blessed shalt thou be in the field," means that your estate should be nearer to thy city; "Blessed shalt thou be at thy coming in," means you shall find your wife and family ready to please you; and "Blessed shalt thou be at thy going out," means that your offsprings shall be equal to you. And R. Abuhu answered: R. Johanan interpreted them differently-namely: "Blessed thou shalt be in the city," means that the closet of man's necessity shall be near his house [but not a synagogue, as the one who goes further is rewarded for his walk]; "Blessed shalt thou be in the field," means that thy estate shall be thirded, one third in grain, one in olives, and the other in wine; and "Blessed shalt thou be in thy coming in and in thy going out," means that your departing from this world shall be equal to your entering, as your entering was without any sin, so shall be your departing. (Hence we see that it is a blessing if the estate is near the city?) This presents no difficulties. When it is fenced it is a blessing, but not when it is not.

It is written [Deut. 7:15]: "And the Lord will take away from thee all sickness." Said Rabh: It means an evil eye. And Rabh is in accordance with his theory, as it happened once that Rabh was at the cemetery, and he did what he did, and said thereafter: I see that ninety-nine of the dead were killed by an evil eye, and only one died a natural death. But Samuel said: All sickness is from the air, and as he said elsewhere, that every sickness and death came from the air. But are there not some who were killed by the government? Also these, if not the air, a medicine could be prepared that would restore them. R. Hanina, however, says that the verse means cold, as it is written [Proverbs, 22:5]: "Thorns and snares," etc., 1 from which we infer that everything is in the hands of Heaven but cold. R. Eliezar said, i.e., the gall; and so also have we learned in the following Boraitha: The word ma'hlah 2means the gall. And why is it called ma'hlah? Because it makes sick the whole body of the man. According to others it is called ma'hlah, because there are eighty-three kinds of sicknesses to which the cause is only the gall (and the letters of the word ma'hlah number eighty-three), and all these sicknesses are abolished by consuming bread with salt and a pitcher of water early in the morning.

The rabbis taught: Thirteen advantages can be gained by taking the early morning meal--namely: prevention from heat, cold, winds, evil spirits, and also the brightening of the fool, the winning of a law-suit (Rashi explains this, that the early meal brightens his mind so that he can explain his case clearly to the court), to learn, to teach, his words are listened to, his learning is retained, his flesh does not give too much heat, and he does not lust for a strange woman, and the meal also kills the parasites in the intestines, and according to others it removes jealousy and brings love.

Said Rabba to Rabha bar Mari: Where is it from that people say, Sixty racers cannot reach the man who takes his meal early in the morning; and also the rabbis say, Get up early in the morning and eat, in the summer because of the heat and in the winter because of the cold? And he answered: Because it is written [Isaiah, 49:10]: "They shall not be hungry nor thirsty, and neither heat nor sun shall smite them," etc., which is to be explained that they shall not be smitten by heat and cold, because they were not hungry in the morning. And he rejoined: You infer this from this; I, however, from the following [Ex. 23:25]: "And ye shall serve the Lord your God," means the reading of shemah and praying; "and he will bless thy bread and thy water," means the bread and salt and the pitcher of water taken in the morning; (and this will do that:) "I will remove sickness from the midst of thee."

R. Jehudah said to R. Ada, the land-surveyor: You should be very particular in your business. Bear in mind that every inch of the earth is fit for sowing saffron. And he said again to the same: When you are measuring the trench from the river to the fields, you should not be particular with the four ells near the trench which the owners are forbidden to sow. However, that which remains on the shore for anchoring, do not measure at all, but leave it so that it should be conspicuous enough; and this advice is in accordance with his theory, that the four ells of the trench belong only to those who are benefited by them, but that of the shore belongs to every one.

R. Ami proclaimed: A forest or any other group of trees placed on the shore must be cut off at the width of a shoulder (i.e., to leave space for the towmen of the boats on both sides of the river). R. Nathan b. Hoshea had cut off sixteen ells, and the inhabitants of Mashrunia beat him bloody. He thought sixteen ells were needed for a public thoroughfare. For the towmen, however, is only required sufficient space for the managing of ropes bound to the boat.

Rabba b. R. Huna possessed a forest on the shore of the river, and when he was asked to cut it off, he answered: Let the forests which are before and behind mine be cut off, and then I will cut off mine. But how could he answer so? Is it not written [Zephaniah, 2:1]: "Gather yourselves together." And Resh Lakish said: That is, Correct thyself first, and then others? The forests before and behind him belonged to a governor of the Persians, Parzak, and Rabba was aware that he would not care to cut off his, and no one can compel him, consequently the carriers of the boats could not pass anyhow; what, then, would be the use of his cutting? Rabba bar R. Na'hman was sailing in a boat, and had seen a forest on a shore, and to the question, Whose is it? he was told that it was Rabba b. R. Huna's, and he applied to him the verse [Ezra, 9:2]: "And the hand of the princes and the rulers hath been the first in this trespass," and he then commanded his people to cut it off. (He was not aware of that which was said above.) Rabba b. R. Huna came and found them cutting, and said: Who has cut this, his branches shall be cut off; and it was said that all the years of the existence of Rabba b. R. Huna the children of Rabba b. Na'hman were not preserved.

R. Jehudah said: All the inhabitants, even orphans, of the city must contribute to the repairing of the wall of the city if it is destroyed, but not scholars, as they need no guard (Rashi explains that their wisdom guards them); but if the spring was spoiled the scholars must also contribute (as they also require water). This applies only in the case of contribution of money, but when the contribution means to dig themselves, then the rabbis are to be freed, as it would be a humiliation for them to do this work. He said again: When there is a stop in the river, the people behind it have to contribute to the repairing of it, but not those who live before it; with rain-water, however, it is the reverse. The illustration is in the following Boraitha: If five gardens, one behind the other, which are watered from one spring, and the spring becomes spoiled, all of them are obliged to support the people of the highest one. Hence the very lowest one has to support all those above it; and if it happens that only the entrance of the lowest is spoiled, then the above are not obliged to support it. Reverse is the case with five courtyards which pour their unclean waters to one sewer, and if the channel was spoiled at the last one, all of them must support it (and also all that are above the yard have to support the lower ones, but the highest has to shift for itself).

Samuel said: If one takes possession of a dock he is a rascal, but he cannot be removed by law (Rashi explains this to mean that at the time of the Persians the estate was ownerless, and he who paid the duty to the government acquired title, as he who took possession of the dock is given title, but this act is considered rascality, as the dock is for loading). Now, however, as the Persians write in their deed: "You may acquire title on this estate as far as the measure of a neck of a

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horse from the water," if any one takes possession of a dock, he is to be removed.

R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh said: If one takes possession of a field which was placed between two brothers or partners, it is considered a piece of assurance, but he cannot be removed by law. R. Na'hman, however, Pays that he may be removed also. But if there is no other right than preëmption, he is not to be removed. The N'hardais, however, maintain that even for this he is to be removed, as it is written [Deut. vi. 18]: "And thou shalt do that which is right and good in the eyes of the Lord."

In case the buyer asked advice from the preëmptor, and the latter advised him to buy, is his word sufficient, or must it be done with the ceremony of a sudarium? Rabbina says the sudarium is not necessary, and the N'hardais say it is; and so the Halakha prevails.

Now, as it was concluded that the sudarium is necessary, if it was not done, and the land became greater or less in value, it is considered under the control of the preëmptor, so that the buyer has to pay the prevailing price. If, e.g., he bought it for one hundred and it was worth two hundred, it must be investigated. If the owner has lowered the price for every one, then the preëmptor has to pay him only one hundred, as he could buy it from the owner at the same price; if, however, the price was lowered only for him, then he has to pay the two hundred. If, however, he had bought for two hundred, and it was worth only one hundred, the schoolmen were about to say that the preëmptor may say to the buyer: My message to you was for my benefit not for my loss. 1 Said Mar the elder b. R. Hisda to R. Ashi: The N'hardais have declared in the name of R. Na'hman that there is no cheating concerning estates. If one bought a field which was placed in the centre of others it is to be investigated; if this field is distinguished to be the best or the worst of all his other estates then the sale is valid; and if not, it is to be feared that that was craftiness on his part, as he may have bought it for the purpose of claiming the preemption to all fields around him.

To a presented estate the right of preëmption does not apply. Amemar, however, maintains that if the donor obliged himself in writing to be responsible for it, this law applies.

If one had sold out all his estate to one buyer preëmption cannot be claimed, and the same is the case if be returns his estate to its first owner from whom he bought it. The same is the case with an idolater. If bought, the buyer can say: Am I worse than your first neighbour? You ought to be grateful to me that I have driven a lion out from your neighbourhood. If sold, the law of preëmption does not exist, as it applies only to the buyer, and he, the idolater, is not under the obligation of the above-cited verse ("do right and good"). To the seller, however, this does not apply, as he may say: No one can compel me to sell my estate. However, the seller is to be put under ban until he obliges himself to be responsible for any harm done by this buyer to the preëmptor.

To a pledged estate the law of preëmption does not apply, as R. Ashi declared that he had heard from the elders of the city of Suria that therefore is a pledge called Mashkhantha, because the one to whom it is pledged is a neighbour. (See above.)

If one wishes to sell out his estate because it is placed at too great a distance, and to buy one near him, preëmption cannot be claimed; and the same is the case if he wishes to sell out the estate near him because it is bad and to buy good ones. (The above-cited verse means to "do right and good" to one as long as he does no harm to another.) If it is sold for taxes or for the support of a widow or for burial, this law does not apply. The N'hardais said that in such cases the estate may be sold out without any proclamation; the same is the case if he sold it to a woman, to orphans, or to his partners. If he has neighbours in the city and neighbours in the field which are not considered preemptors, the former have the preference. A scholar has the preference to a neighbour and even to a relative. The schoolmen questioned: How is it if he was both a neighbour and a relative? Come and hear what is written [Proverbs, xxvii. 10]: "Better is a near neighbour than a distant brother."

If the buyer is about to pay with current money, and the preëmptor wishes to pay with money which is of greater value but is not current, he loses his right. If the preëmptor sends money sealed (and the owner of the estate fears to open it, as it, may not be the full value), and the buyer sends it open, he also loses his right. If the preëmptor says: I am going to try to get money, it is not to be taken into consideration; if, however, he says: I have money, and I am going to bring it, if he is a wealthy man the same may be postponed, but not otherwise. If the lots belong to one and the houses to another, the former has a right to prevent the sale of the latter, but not vice versa. The same is the case if the field belongs to one and the trees thereon to another.

If the preëmptor wants the lots for sowing, and the buyer wants it for houses, the latter has the preference. If there was a stone or a group of trees separating the two fields, if the preemptor can in spite of this make one bed for sowing, attaching the two estates, preëmption may be claimed, but not otherwise.

If there were four preëmptors, one on each side, and one of them hastened and bought it, the sale is valid, but if all four appear at the same time, the estate must be divided diagonally.

MISHNA 9.: If one hires a field for a few years (less than seven) he must not sow flax in it; and he has also no right to cut branches off the sycamore tree for building purposes. If, however, he took it for seven years, he has a right in the first year to sow flax, and also to cut from the above-mentioned branches.

GEMARA: Said Abye: He has no right to the branches of the sycamore, but he has a right to the improvement of it. Rabha, however, maintains that he has no right even to this. An objection was raised from the following: When the term of his agreement to this field is at an end, the contents of the field must be appraised. Is it not as, e.g., the improvement of the sycamore? Nay; it is meant the vegetables and herbs. If so, why then the appraisement? Let him take it out and go. If it happens before the market-day arrived? Come and hear. If the sabbatical year arrived, when the term of this field was not yet up, it must be appraised. [Does, then, the sabbatical year abolish the agreement? Read then the jubilee year; but even then the jubilee year abolishes only sales, but not hirings.] Read then: If the jubilee year arrived while the agreement is not yet up, it must be appraised. Now that the vegetables should be appraised, does not apply here as in the jubilee year they are ownerless? You must therefore say that, i.e., the improvement of the sycamore. Hence it is contrary to the statement of Rabha. Abye, in order that this shall not contradict Rabha, explains it thus: A jubilee year is different, as it is written [Lev. 25:33]: "Then shall the house that was sold," etc. The "house" which is sold . . . to be free, which signifies that a sale is to be returned, but not an improvement. Then let this law be inferred as a standard. Nay, there was a right sale, and the jubilee year is a command of the Lord, of which a hired article cannot be inferred.

R. Papa hired fields for pasture, and some trees sprouted in them, and when his term ended he demanded the improvement of them. Said R. Shesheth b. R. Idi to him: Would you also demand for the increase in thickness of a tree if there should be one? And he answered: Then it would be altogether different, as it is not usual to hire a field for this purpose, but I have hired this estate with this intention.

(Says the Gemara:) Is this in accordance with Abye, who said above that he has a right to the improvement of the sycamore? Nay, this may be explained also in accordance with Rabha, as there the hirer suffered no damage from the improvement of the sycamore. Here, however, there is damage, as the place where the tree grows he could not use for pasture. Said R. Shesheth to him: Then I have damaged you this little space, here is the value of it and go. And he answered: Nay, I would sow saffron in this place. Rejoined R. Shesheth: With your claim that you would sow saffron, you have made clear your intention that you did not wish to improve this estate with plants which should remain forever, but with such as you could take off at will; consequently your claim is for the value of the trees for fuel; then take this value and go.

R. Bibi bar Abye hired a field, and they surrounded this field with an embankment, and some trees grew up from it, and when his term was at an end he asked for this improvement. Said R. Papa to him: Because you are descendants of frail people you speak frail words; even R. Papa demands it (in the above) only because he has had damage, but here, what damage have you had?

R. Joseph had a planter who planted all his trees for half product, and he died and left five sons-in-law, all planters. Said R. Joseph: Hitherto I have had only one to rely upon, and now I have five; each of them may rely upon the other, and my gardens may be neglected. Therefore he said to them: If you want to take the improvement of this year and resign, it is all right; if not, I will discharge you without any reward, as R. Jehudah--according to others R. Huna or R. Na'hman--said: If a planter dies his heirs may be discharged without reward. (Says the Gemara:) In reality it is not so.

There was a planter who said: If I do any damage I will be discharged. Finally he did. Said R. Jehudah: He may be discharged without any reward. R. Kahana., however, maintains he may be discharged, but he must be rewarded for what he has done. R. Kahana, however, admits that if it was so stipulated, then he is not to be rewarded. Rabha, however, says: Even then his saying was only an asmakhta, which gives no title. But why is this different from what we have learned above: If I neglect, etc. . . . I will pay with my best estate? There is no difference, as in both cases only the amount of the damage is paid; there he pays cash for the damage done, and here is deducted the amount of the damage, and the remainder must be paid to him for his reward.

Runia, the planter of Rabbina, did damage and was discharged; and he came to complain to Rabha, who answered him: He has done right; you have so deserved. And he rejoined: But he has not given me any notice. And Rabha said: That was not necessary at all. This decision is in accordance with his theory elsewhere, that an infant, teachers, planters, butchers, barbers, and the scribes of a city may be discharged without any notice; as there is the rule that damage which cannot be repaired annuls the agreement; and damage done by such people is counted under that category.

There was a planter who said: Give me what I am entitled to of the improvements, as I want to go to 'Palestine. When the case came before R. Papa b. Samuel, he decided that so should be done. Said Rabha to him: Was this improvement wholly due to his effort; did not the earth do its share? And the planter, said, I don't ask for the whole improvement, but only for half; and Rabha rejoined: Until now the gardener took the half for his labour, but now when he leaves, the owner is compelled to hire another man and to pay him from his pocket. And R. Papa answered: I mean he shall take a quarter of the improvement and a quarter shall remain for future labour.

R. Ashi taught that the above decision that he shall take a quarter means a quarter from the two-thirds profit that the owner of the vineyard takes for himself, which makes a sixth of the entire improvement (e.g., if the improvement was worth six dinars, two of them are for the gardener, three for the owner, and one for the planter--as Minyumi bar R. Nehumi said: In the places where the planter takes half and the gardener a third, the planter who wishes to leave the work, his reward must be appraised, so that the owner shall not suffer damage; and therefore if the quarter in question means a sixth, as explained above, it is correct, but if it should be explained literally, a quarter of the whole improvement, then the owner would suffer a half-dankha damage. Said R. Aha b. R. Joseph to R. Ashi: Let the planter say to the owner: You give your share to the gardener, and with my share I will do as I please (i.e., I will sell out to some one my share, and he will do his work without paying the gardener). And R. Ashi answered him: Leave thy objections for the section Holiness, which is so complicated that your objections will best fit there. Said R. Minyumi b. R. Nehumi: If an old group of vines, which do not bear fruit, remains in the vineyard, the planter has to receive half of it, as it is considered equal to those branches of the vineyard of which the planter takes half. If, however, a vineyard was flooded, and the vines were taken out or planted in another place, the planter gets only a quarter of it.

There was one who pledged his vineyard for ten years, and it became old in eight years. Abye said: The old vines are considered improvement, so that it belongs to the lender, and Rabha said: This is to be considered the principal amount which is to be sold, and for the amount to buy another vineyard with improvement, so that the lender shall use the fruit. (Come and hear an objection:) If a married woman inherits old vines and olives, they are to be sold for fuel and for the value estate is bought, and the husband loses the fruit. (Hence we see that it is considered principal amount, and this is an objection to Abye.) This Boraitha treats of a case, that where the woman inherited trees without estate, and if it would be allowed for the husband to consume them all, then nothing would remain from the principal amount, and this is against the law, as the principal amount of the woman must always remain to her benefit; so was it explained in Tract Khthubet.

There was a note in which was written years without a number. The landlord claims it means three, and the lender claims it means only two; meanwhile the lender hastened and took the fruit from the third year also. Now the court has to decide who should be trusted. According to R. Jehudah the estate must be considered under the hazakah of its present possessor, and he should be trusted. According to R. Kahana, as the fruit there was already consumed by the lender, they must be considered under his hazakah, so that he must not pay for it, and so the Halakha prevails. But is it not decided elsewhere that the Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Na'hman, who holds that the estate must always be considered under the hazakah of its possessor? There was a case which could not be proved which of them was right; but here it can be proved by the witnesses who signed the note, and we do not care to trouble the court twice, i.e., that if the court would now compel the lender to pay, and after he will bring witnesses that he was right, they would have to replevin from the borrower. If in case the broker claims for five years and the borrower claims three, and the note was lost, according to R. Jehudah the lender is trusted, because should he intend to make a wrong claim, he would say, I bought it, and as there is no note he could do so. Said R. Papa to R. Ashi: R. Zebid and R. Avira do not agree with the theory of R. Jehudah. Why so? Because this note, which was for collection, was undoubtedly taken good care of, and he has only concealed it, thinking, I will meanwhile use the fruit two years more.

Said Rabbina to R. Ashi: According to this theory the pledges of Sura, to which they usually write as follows: At the elapse of the time for which it is pledged this estate should become free without any payment. Now, if the lender should conceal the document and say, I bought it, should he also be trusted according to R. Jehudah's above theory? Is it possible that the rabbis should make such enactments by which the borrower should easily suffer? And he answered: There was the enactment of the sages, where the owner of the land should pay taxes and dig a trench around it. Now if this land was

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bought without a trench, and the taxes were unpaid, what could the buyer do? And he answered: He has to protest, in order that people shall know that it is a pledge only, and by not doing so he has done harm to himself.

If the gardener claims: For the half I worked, and the owner says for a third, who should be trusted? According to R. Jehudah, the owner; according to R. Na'hman, however, the custom of the country must be considered. The schoolmen were about to say that the above do not differ, as R. Jehudah speaks of a place where the gardener takes only a third. Said R. Mari, the son of Samuel's daughter, to them: So said Abye, Even at the place where the gardener takes half they differ, as according to R. Jehudah, even then the owner is trusted, as, should he like to make a wrong claim, he could say the gardener was hired for money for a certain time.

If orphans claim: We have made the improvements of this estate (and so no creditor has anything to do with it), and the creditor claims: It was improved by your deceased father, for whom is it to bring evidence? R. Hanina was about to say that the estate is to be considered under the hazakah of the orphans, consequently the creditor has to bring evidence. Said a certain old man to him: So said R. Johanan, that the orphans must bring evidence, because an estate which is to be taken away for debt is to be considered as if already done, and therefore they are considered the plaintiffs.

Said Abye: We have also learned the same in the Third Gate concerning a tree which was placed within fifty ells of the city, and it was doubted whether the city was built first or the tree was planted first. It was decided that the tree must be cut off at any rate. Hence, we see that because the tree is to be cut off it is considered as if already cut, and the evidence is only for the money (this will be explained in Third Gate in this case). The same is the case here; the note upon the estate is for collection, and it must be considered as if already collected, and the plaintiffs are the orphans. But how is it if the orphans have brought evidence? Again R. Hanina was about to say, that we give them estate for their claim. In reality, however, it is not so, as they get money, not estate for their claim; and this is to be inferred from the statement of R. Na'hman in the name of Samuel, who declares in the First Gate, page 216, that there are three to whom the improvement must be appraised, and they take money not estate for their claim. (See there.)

MISHNA 10.: If one hires a field for the whole sabbatic season (i.e., seven years, from the first year until the sabbatic year is past) for seven hundred zuz, the sabbatic year is included; but if for seven years the sabbatic year is to be excluded. A day-labourer has to collect his money the whole night after that day; for a night-labourer the whole day after it; if he was hired for a few hours, the night and day after. For a week, month, year, or for the whole sabbatic season, if his term expired during the day, collects in the same day, and if at night, that night, and the whole day after.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: Whence do we deduce that a day-labourer has to collect the whole night after? From Lev. xix. 13: "There shall not abide with thee the wages of him that is hired, through the night until morning." And whence that a night-labourer collects the whole day after? From Deut. xxiv. 15: "On the same day shalt thou give him his wages," etc.; but perhaps it means the reverse? Wages are paid only at the end.

The rabbis taught: As it is written: "There shall not abide with thee . . . through the night" it is self-evident that, i.e., until morning. Why, then, is it repeated? To teach the transgression of this commandment comes and ceases with the first morning. But what does he transgress after that time? Said Rabh: He transgresses, You shall not keep wages. Said R. Joseph: Where is such a verse to be found? [Proverbs, 3:28]: "Say not unto thy neighbour . . . when thou hast it by thee," etc.

The rabbis taught: If one told his neighbour to hire labourers for him, neither of them transgresses the above-cited verses. The owner, because he himself has not hired them; and the hirer, because they have not worked with him. However, this is only in case the hirer told the labourer: You shall get your payment from the owner. But if he told him: I will pay you, the transgression rests upon him. Jehudah b. Maramar told his servant: Go and hire labourers for me, and tell them that they will get their payment from the owner. Maramar and Mar Zutra, when they required labourers, hired one for the other, with the stipulation that they should get the payment from the owner. Said Rabba bar R. Huna: The inhabitants of Sura, who usually get their money on the market-day, do not transgress if they postpone the wages of their labourer until the market-day, as the labourers are aware of this. However, if they have money and do not pay, they transgress that of the Proverbs cited above.

For a few hours, etc. Said Rabh: If he was hired for hours of the day, he collects the whole day, and if for the night, he collects the whole night. Samuel, however, maintains that of the day collects at daytime, and that of the night collects at night and the whole day after. But does not our Mishna state "for a few hours, the night and day after," and also further on, "for a week, month," etc., "if his term expires during the day, collects in the same day," etc., which is an objection to Rabh's statement? Rabh may say that in this case the Tanaim differ, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: A labourer of a few hours of the day collects the whole day; of the night, the whole night. So is the decree of R. Jehudah. R. Simeon, however, maintains that of the night collects the whole night and the day after. From this it was said that one who withholds wages transgresses the commandments of the following five verses: [Lev. 19:13,] "Thou shalt not withhold anything from thy neighbour," [and ibid.,] "nor rob him"; [Deut. 24:14,] "Thou shalt not withhold," etc., and in the above cited verse, "There shall not abide," etc.; and from [Deut. 15,] "On the same day," etc., and finally, that "the sun may not go down upon it." The labourers who finish at daytime, the night does not apply to them, and they who finish at night, to them the day does not apply.

Said R. Hisda: The Boraitha does not mean that one transgresses all the five negative commandments cited above, but the case of hiring is subject to them, that some of them transgress when the day is past, and some when the night is past. What is considered withholding and what robbery? Said R. Hisda: Come again, come again, is withholding; but if one says: "I have the wages, but do not want to give them to you, "' that is robbery.

R. Shesheth opposed from the following: What is considered withholding? That to which the Law prescribed an offering, which is equal to that, as, e.g., to him who denies a money-deposit. (Hence "call again" is not under that category, as he does not deny.) Therefore, says Rabha, withholding and robbery are one and the same. And why is it written separately? That one, by doing this, transgresses two negative commandments.

MISHNA 11.: The commandment: "In the same day you shall give his wage," and also the negative, "there shall not abide . . . until morning," applies to men, cattle, and vessels; however, the transgression is only when the labourer demanded it, but not otherwise. If the owner has transferred him to the storekeeper or money-changer (and he does not pay him immediately) there is no transgression.

A labourer who claims his wages when his time for collection is not yet elapsed, collects his money with an oath (in case the owner says, You were paid already), but not after the lapse of time. If, however, there are witnesses that he has demanded his money in due time and did not get it, he may collect it with an oath even thereafter.

To a proselyte who promised not to worship any more idols, and not to commit adultery, but not to conform to all other Jewish laws, the commandment, "Thou shalt pay him the same day," applies. However, not the negative commandment, "There shall not abide," etc.

GEMARA: According to whom is the statement of our Mishna? Not to the first Tana, nor according to R. Jose bar Jehudah of the following Boraitha: It is written [Deut. xxiv. 14]: "Of thy brethren," means to exclude idolaters; "or of thy strangers," means a real proselyte; 1 "that are in thy land," means a proselyte who has only promised not to worship idols. This all treats of the wages of man; whence do we know that cattle and vessels are to be included? Therefore it is written, "in thy land"--i.e., all which is in thy land--and for all of them the transgressions of the five cited verses apply. From this it was said that there is no difference between the wages of man, of cattle, and of hired vessels; the verse, "in the same day," etc., applies, and also the verse, "there shall not abide . . . until morning." R. Jose b. Jehudah, however, said, that to a proselyte of the second kind mentioned above, the first verse, "in the same day," applies, but not the other one; to cattle and vessels neither applies, but "Thou shalt not withhold" does apply.

Now if the Mishna would be in accordance with the first Tana, then the proselyte in question would be a difficulty; and if with R. Jose, then the cattle and vessels stand in the way. Said Rabha: Our Mishna is in accordance with a Tana of the disciples of R. Ishmael, who taught elsewhere the very same as our Mishna does.

What is the reason of the first Tana of the above Boraitha? He takes into consideration the analogy of the expression "hired," which is written in Deut. xxiv. 14 and Lev. xix. 13. As in the former case the law of robbery applies to a proselyte, cattle, and vessels, the same is the case there with wages. And R. Jose b. Jehudah does not take this analogy into consideration. But even then, why should not the law of in the same day," etc., apply to cattle and vessels also? Taught R. Hanina: Because it is written [Deut. 24:15]: "That the sun may not go down upon it, for he is poor." This signifies that this law applies only to those who can become poor or rich, excluding cattle and vessels, to which such conditions cannot apply. The first Tana, however, needs this verse, because of the law that if there were two labourers, a poor one and a wealthy one, and he has cash at that time to pay only one of them, the poor has the preference. And R. Jose maintains that this is deduced from ibid. 14. The first Tana, however, maintains that both of the above-cited verses are needed; one to give preference to the poor over the rich, and the other to give preference to the poor over the mendicant; and there is a necessity for both, as we could not infer one from the other. E.g., if it were written that the poor labourer has preference over the mendicant, one might say that because the mendicant is not ashamed to demand it, and because the rich labourer is ashamed to make demand, the poor labourer is not to be preferred; and if it were written concerning a wealthy labourer and a poor one, one might say that because the wealthy man does not need it, and a mendicant needs it as much as the poor labourer, the latter is not to be preferred; therefore both are written.

What does R. Jose deduce from the words, "with thee," from the above-cited verse? That which R. Assi said: That even if he was hired only to press one cluster of grapes, if he was not paid in time, there is a transgression of "there shall not abide . . . till morning." The first Tana, however, maintains that this can be deduced from [Deut. 24:15] "his soul longeth," etc., which signifies that the law applies to all things for which "his soul longeth."

It was said: From the words, "the soul longeth," etc., is to be inferred that one who withholds wages is considered as if he would take out the soul. And R. Huna and R. Hisda differed in the explanation of it. According to one it means the soul of the withholder himself, and according to the other the soul of the labourer. The reason of the former is [Proverbs, 22:22, 23]: "Rob not the poor . . . and despoil the life of those that despoil them"; the reason of the latter is [ibid. i. 19]: "It taketh away the life of those that own it."

Is only when the labourer demanded it, etc. The rabbis taught: One might say that he is guilty even when the labourer does not demand. Therefore it is written, "with thee," which means with thy knowledge. (And if he does not demand, how should he know that he needs it?) And lest one say that he is guilty even if he has no cash at that time, therefore it is written, "with thee"; and lest one say that he is guilty even if he has transferred him to a storekeeper or money-changer (with his consent), therefore it is written "with thee."

The schoolmen propounded a question: If the storekeeper or the money-changer failed to pay him, may he return his claim to the owner or not? According to Rabha he may, and according to R. Shesheth he may not. Said Rabha: My statement is based upon the teaching of the Mishna, which states "there is no transgression," from which we infer that the transgression does not apply, but the obligation remains. R. Shesheth, however, interpreted this expression, that he is no more subject to that law.

R. Shesheth was questioned: Is piece-work subject to that law or not? Shall we assume that the master acquires title to the improvement of an article given him, and therefore when he returned it and was not paid, it is to be considered as a loan, for which there is no transgression; or that the master does not acquire title and it is considered labour? And R. Shesheth answered, It is subject. But there is a Boraitha that it is not. The Boraitha treats if he has transferred him to a storekeeper or money-changer.

Collects his money with an oath. For what purpose have the rabbis enacted the oath? Said R. Na'hman in the name of Samuel: These enactments were made to serve as a rule forever; in such cases as are biblical, the oath is to be taken by the employer, and the rabbis have removed the oath from him to the labourer for the sake of his livelihood (i.e., that he should be able to take an oath immediately and collect the money).

But is it correct that for the sake of the labourer the right of the employer should be taken away? With this his right is not taken away, as it is more pleasant for the owner that the oath shall be given to the labourer, so that labourers shall not say that he pays his labourers with oaths. But why can you not say the reverse, that it may be more pleasant for the labourer if the employer takes the oath, that the employers shall not say that he is an unjust claimant? Therefore it must be said that the reason is, that because the owner has many labourers, it is easy for him to make a mistake in giving to one man instead of the other and swear falsely. But if so, why should not the labourer be paid without any oath? To quiet the mind of the employer. But why should it not be enacted that the owner shall pay in the presence of witnesses? This would be too much trouble. But why should it not be enacted that it shall be paid in advance? Because it is convenient to both to have the payment after (for the owner, as perhaps he has not yet prepared it, and for the labourer, as he may lose it while labouring). If so, why should not the law be the same concerning a stipulation; and there is a Boraitha that if the specialist says: Your stipulation was to pay me two dinars for this my work, and the employer says only one, the plaintiff has to bring evidence (and if he has none the defendant takes an oath)? Stipulations are different, because they are usually borne in mind. But if the reason is because the owner is liable to make a mistake, why should not the same law apply even if the time has elapsed, and the statement of our Mishna is not so? It is because usually one would not easily transgress the law, "There shall not abide," etc. But was it not said that the owner is liable to make a mistake, as he has many labourers? This is before the time elapsed, but thereafter one is reminded of his duty. But is then the labourer suspicious of robbery?

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Concerning the owner there are two hazakahs; one that it is not likely that he would transgress by not paying, and the other that the labourer would not leave his wages without any claim. The labourer, however, has only one hazakah, that he would not demand robbery; therefore the preference is given to the employer.

If there are witnesses, etc. But is he not demanding now? Said R. Assi: The witnesses are that he did so in time. But perhaps he has paid him afterwards? Said Abye: The witnesses are to testify that he had demanded in time, and afterwards was not paid. But does this hold good forever (i.e., that the labourer must always bring witnesses when he demands wages)? Said R. Huna bar Uqba: It means one day after time is elapsed, it was granted that he shall take it with an oath.

MISHNA 12.: If a creditor has to pledge his debtor, he may do so only by court; and even then he has no right to enter his house, as it is written [Deut. xxiv. 11]: "In the street shalt thou stand." If he had mortgaged him two vessels, he may take only one; he also has to return a pillow for the night and the plough for the day. If the debtor dies, however, he has not to return it to his heirs. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, however, said that even to the debtor himself he is not obliged to return only the first thirty days; thereafter he may sell it out in the presence of the court.

GEMARA: Said Samuel: Even the messenger of the court has a right only to take away from him in the street, but not to enter his house.

But does not our Mishna state that he shall pledge him in the court, of which it is understood that the court may pledge him even in his house? In this case Tanaim differ, as we have learned from the following Boraitha: The messenger of the court who came to pledge a debtor must not enter the house, but stand on the street; and the debtor has to bring the pledge out to him, as it is written: "In the street shalt thou stand, and the man"(which may be interpreted the messenger of the court and the creditor). And another Boraitha: If the creditor himself comes to pledge him he must stand outside, and the debtor has to bring him the pledge, but if this is to be done by the messenger of the court, he may enter the house; however, he has no right to pledge cooking utensils, and he also must leave two beds, and a feather-bed for a wealthy man, and a bed and a mat of reeds for the poor one; for him, but not for his wife and children, as the cases of estimation and creditor are equal, concerning the essentials of the debtor, that it must be left to him.

The master said: Two beds, etc. For whom? It is not for his family, as it is stated "for him only." Why, then, are two beds necessary? One for eating and one for sleeping? And this is according to Samuel, who said: That to all sicknesses I know a remedy except to the following three: if one eats unripe dates on an empty stomach, if one wraps himself with a wet μεϑοιον on the naked body, and if one takes his meal and immediately goes to sleep without walking four ells.

A disciple taught in the presence of R. Na'hman: We have to leave for the debtor if he owes to an ordinary creditor. The same essentials which are left by the collector in case of an estimation must be left also in case of a common creditor.

Said R. Na'hman to him: According to the law all his goods are sold out for the sake of the creditor, as, according to R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, after thirty days even the pillows must be sold out, and you say that here shall be applied the law of estimation.

But whence do we know that the Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Simeon b. Gamaliel? Perhaps it prevails in accordance with the first Tana of our Mishna. The disciple who taught in the presence of R. Na'hman said that so is the law, even in accordance with R. Simeon, and therefore R. Na'hman's objection. But perhaps even R. Simeon b. Gamaliel means to say that only things which are not absolutely necessary are sold, but not that which is. If it were borne in mind that so is the decree of R. Simeon, then all the things would be considered absolutely necessary for him, as Abye said that R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, and R. Simeon, R. Ishmael, and R. Akiba--all of them hold that in this respect all Israel are equal to princes. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel and R. Simeon in Tract Sabbath, and R. Ishmael and R. Akiba in the following Boraitha: If one owed a thousand zuz and wears a stola worth almost the same price, it is to be removed and replaced by another one according with his dignity; however, it was taught in the name of Ishmael and R. Akiba that all Israel are fit for such a stola. But according to that which was borne in mind first, that we sell out only what is not necessary, it is correct with a pillow and a cover that they can be sold out, and cheaper ones bought. But a plough, to what purpose should it be sold, as all the ploughs are alike? Said Rabha b. Rabba, i.e., in case his plough was a silver one. R. Haga opposed. Let the creditor say: Is it my duty to support you? Said Abye to him: Yea, it is so, as it is written [Deut. 24:13]: "And unto thee shall it be as righteousness before the Lord thy God."

The schoolmen propounded a question: If things belonging to a debtor are to be sold out, has the court to consider which should be sold and which left to him, or is all sold out? Come and hear. Rabbin sent a letter: I have questioned this from all my masters, but there was no reply. The question, however, was as follows: If one vowed a mana for the preparation of a temple, and the treasurer came to collect this money from his property, does he take all that belongs to that man, or are the essentials to be left him? And to this question R. Jacob in the name of R. Pada and R. Jeremiah in the name of Ilpha said that it must not, because an a fortiori conclusion is to be drawn fro-m a creditor who is obliged to return necessary things. Nevertheless, when, selling out, nothing is left, so much the more as in the case of the sanctuary, which has not to return, that nothing should be left. R. Johanan, however, maintains concerning estimation [Lev. xxvii.]: It is said, "a particular vow," to the estimated value, and in case of estimation necessary things are left; the same is the case with the sanctuary.

Rabba bar Abuhu met Elijah at a cemetery of idolaters, and questioned him about the law in question in regard to a creditor, and he replied: There is an analogy of the expression "poor" used in both estimation [ibid., ibid. 8] and creditor [Lev. 25:35], from which we infer that the same law is to be applied in both. Rabba then questioned him: Is not your master a priest, a descendant of Aaron? Why then do you stand on a cemetery? And he answered: It seems that you have never studied Section Tabarot (purifications), in which there is a Boraitha: R. Simeon b. Johe said graves of idolaters do not defile, as it is written [Ezek. xxxiv. 31]: "And ye, my flock, the flock of my pasture, are men," which signifies that ye are called men, but not idolaters. Rejoined Rabba: My circumstances hardly allow me to study the four necessary sections (Festivals, Damages, Women, and Holiness); should I undertake to study the remaining two, which are not used at the present time? Elijah then asked, What does he mean? And he answered: I cannot make my livelihood. He then took him to paradise, and told him to take from the leaves lying on the floor in the garden, and he did so. While going out he heard some one saying: Who else has consumed his share in the world to come as Rabba did? He then shook his garment, and the leaves fell out. However, his garment retained the smell of them, and be sold it for three thousand dinars, and be donated them to his sons-in-law.

The rabbis taught: It is written [Deut. 24:13]: "And if he is a poor man, thou shalt not lie down with his pledge," from which it is to infer that if he was rich he may. How is this to be understood? Said R. Shesheth, i.e., if he is a poor man you must not lie down while his pledge is in your house, but if he is wealthy it does not matter.

The rabbis taught: If one lends money to his neighbour, he has no right to pledge him, is not obliged to return, transgresses all the commandments which are in the Scripture concerning (pledging). What does it mean? Said Rabha: He must not pledge, and if he did so, be must return in case the pledge be taken thereafter; but if he took the pledge at the time the money was lent, he is not obliged to return; however, he transgresses the above commandments.

R. Shizby taught in the presence of Rabba: It is written [Ex. 22:25]: "Thou shalt restore it unto him by the time the sun rises" 1--a garment used by day and pledged at night, and [Deut. 24:13]: "Thou shalt punctually deliver him the pledge again, when the sun goeth down," means a garment which is used at night and was pledged in the daytime.

R. Johanan said: If the pledge was returned and the borrower died, the lender has a right to take it away from his children. An objection was raised. R. Mair said: Since it was pledged, why then the returning and pledging again? For the purpose that the sabbatic year should not make it free and it should not be considered personal property of his children in case of death. We see, then, that only in case it was pledged again this law holds good, but not if it is already in the possession of his children. Said R. Ada b. Mathna: Have you not tried to explain the curiosity of pledging and returning in some way? Explain it then thus: If it is to be returned, why then the pledging altogether? For the purpose that the sabbatic year shall not free it, and it shall never be considered the property of his children.

The rabbis taught: The verse [Deut. 24:10]: "Thou shalt not go into his house to take his pledge," signifies that in his house only you shall not go; you may, however, go into the house of his surety, and it is so written [Proverbs, 20:16]: "Take away his garment because he has been surety for a stranger." And it is also said [ibid. 6:1-4]: "My son, if thou hast become surety for thy friend," which means, if you were surety, then give him what you have assured, and if you have no money, see some friend, who shall ask him to favour you. "Into his house you must not go" to regain money loaned, but you may do so, for the payment of your work (with your shoulders), for your ass, for your man, or your pictures if you have not made this as a loan to him.

MISHNA 13.: A widow must not be pledged whether she is rich or poor, as it is written [Deut. xxiv. 17]: "Thou shalt not take in pledge the raiment of a widow."

GEMARA: The above is the decree of R. Jehudah. R. Simeon, however, said that only a poor one must not be pledged, because it must be returned (daily), and she would get a bad name among her neighbours, but to a rich one it does not matter. (The reason of that statement will be explained in the Third Gate in its proper place.)

MISHNA 14.: One who pledged a nether and upper millstone transgresses a negative commandment and is guilty for two articles, as it is written [ibid., ibid. 6]: "No man shall take to pledge the nether or the upper mill-stone" (and not this only, but all other articles which are for the preparation of food), "for he taketh a man's life to pledge."

GEMARA: R. Huna said: He who has pledged the nether in question is punished with stripes prescribed for a negative commandment twice, for two negative commandments, for the nether and for man's life; both the nether and the upper millstone, he is to be punished thrice. R. Jehudah, however, maintains for each part of them, but not for man's life, as that verse signifies that all other working instruments are under the same law.

There is a Boraitha in accordance with R. Jehudah: If one has pledged a pair of scissors, or a team of cows, he is guilty for two crimes. If, however, he pledge only one of them, he is guilty for one; and another Boraitha states: Lest one say that he is guilty for one crime even if he pledge a pair, therefore it is written: "He shall not pledge the nether or the upper mill-stone." As these are separate instruments used together, one is guilty for each of them separately; so also is the case with all other instruments of such a kind.

There was a man who pledged a butcher knife from his debtor, and Abye told him to return it, as it is an instrument used for preparing food; and for his debt he shall summon the butcher. Rabha, however, maintains that this is not necessary, as the pledger could claim, I bought it. Therefore the whole value of this pledge can be collected for his debt. But did not Abye hold the same theory? Why should this be so different from the case which happened in Nahardai, that goats have consumed peeled barley, and the owner of the barley took the goats for pledge, and has claimed more than the value of it, and the father of Samuel decided that he could collect from them the whole value? There it was different, as the barley was not for hire and loan, but the knife was for loan and hire. And R. Huna b. Abin sent a message: That all things which are for loan and hire, the one who claims that he has bought it is to be trusted. But did not Rabha hold this theory? Has he not taken away from orphans a pair of scissors and a book of Hagada because they were for loan and hire? Rabha may say that a knife which became spoilt by frequent use one is particular not to lend.

CHAPTER 10.

RULES CONCERNING HOUSES, GARDENS, AND OTHER REAL ESTATE OWNED IN PARTNERSHIP, AND WHAT MAY OR MAY NOT BE DONE IN PUBLIC THOROUGHFARES.

MISHNA 1.: If one owns a house, the upper chamber of which belongs to another, and it falls, the wood, stones, and all other materials are to be divided accordingly (i.e., he who has had a greater share in this building takes more). If some stones or bricks are still saved, an investigation is to be made, from which part of the building the stones were most liable to break; then the saved ones belong to that part which was not liable to break. If, however, one of them recognises some of his stones, he may take them, provided he reckons them to his account.

GEMARA: From this statement it is to be investigated which part was more liable to break. We may infer that the cause of the ruin was known; then let us see if it was ruined because of the lower, which could not hold the upper part any longer; then the materials which lie in that place where the lower part was placed belong to its owner, and the materials beside it belong to the upper part; and if it was ruined by a storm or a stroke so that the upper part fell first, then there can be no doubt that the upper bricks are the broken ones. Why then the above statement? The Mishna treats in case the material was removed immediately after the falling occurred by the street cleaner, who paid no attention to the cause and the manner of its falling. If so, let us see under whose control they are now, and for the other party who is the plaintiff it is to bring evidence? Partners usually are not particular in such a case where the materials are placed.

Provided he reckons them to his account. Rabha was about to say that it must be divided according to the value, i.e., that he must get broken ones for the amount of his partner's saved ones. Hence he is benefited by his claim that he recognises the stones belonging to him. Said Abye to him: On the contrary, this will not benefit him, but damage, as according to his claim he recognised all that belongs to him; consequently all other stones do not belong to him, but to his partner. Therefore he said the Mishna meant that his partner shall take other saved stones according to the number he took by recognising, and the benefit of such a claim is that if his bricks were of more value than the others his partner has nothing to say against the quality.

MISHNA 2.: If the attic was ruined and the owner of the house declined to repair it, the tenant has a right to take his residence down in the house until his attic be repaired. R. Jose,

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however, said the owner has to repair the roof, and the tenant the rain leaders.

GEMARA: Does the Mishna mean entirely ruined, so that it is impossible to live in, or even if it was ruined in part, e.g., four ells? According to Rabh, as he may use the lower part instead of the ruined, the greater part is meant, and according to Samuel, even a small part; it is disagreeable for one to live in two places. But let us see how the case was. If he hired this chamber, he may claim that so is his fate; if any chamber, let him hire another one for his tenant. Said R. Ashi: The case was that the owner said: "This upper chamber of this house is rented to you," and with such an expression he subjects the house to the chamber. This is as Rabin b. R. Ada reported in the name of R. Itzhak: It happened that one said to his neighbour, "I sell you this vine which is placed upon the persicum." Finally the latter was thrown out, and the case came before R. Hiye, who decided that the owner must furnish him with another persicum as long as the vine exists.

R. Abba b. Manuel questioned: When the tenant goes to, dwell in the lower apartment, must the owner vacate it for the tenant, or should they dwell together; as the owner may say, "I have not rented it to you, that I should be put out"? Should you decide that it is so, there would be another question: If there were two upper chambers, one above the other, and the lower became spoiled, should we say the tenant shall go to dwell in the upper one? Or he may claim: "I have rented to ascend one story, and am obliged to ascend two"? This question remains.

There were two who used to live in two upper chambers, one above the other, and the topmost became spoilt, and when the rain came through it did damage. Who is to make the repairs? R. Hiye b. Abba said the occupant of the upper chamber, and R. Ilai, in the name of Hya b. Jose, said the occupant of the lower one. Shall we assume that the above differ the same as R. Jose and the rabbis of our Mishna differ (i.e., R. Jose holds that the party doing the damage must remove the cause of it; and therefore he maintains that the tenant has to repair the rain leaders, and the rabbis hold that the injured party has to remove the cause of damage, and therefore they say that the owner has to repair even this). How could it be borne in mind that the sages of our Mishna differ in the case cited above? Are they not contrary to this opinion in the case of removing a tree (Baba Batra, p. 256)? It can only be said that the above Amoraim differ the same as the above Tanaim differ in the place cited. However, the point on which the Tanaim of our Mishna differ is this: Who must strengthen the roof? The rabbis hold, the smearing with clay of the roof and the rain leaders strengthens, hence, it is the obligation of the owner, and R. Jose holds that the above is only for straightening the roof? There shall not be any holes, and therefore it is the duty of the tenant to make the walking upon it more convenient.

But did not R. Ashi declare, when he was at the place of R. Kahana, that we all have decided that R. Jose admits that one is responsible for damage done to his fellow by things which come directly from him (though it is the obligation of every one to keep aloof from damaging things, so that the owner of it is not responsible for the carelessness of the injured one)? This is only as, e.g., if one has planted a tree that did no harm when planted, but thereafter when the roots spread; but, e.g., if one pours water, and while going downward it injures, he is responsible. Hence R. Hya's statement above that in such a case the lower one has to repair is not in accordance with R. Jose's, theory. The case mentioned above was not direct, as he washed his hands at another place on the roof and the water rested there, and afterwards it flowed down from another place.

MISHNA 3.: A house with an attic belonging to two persons which becomes ruined: the owner of the upper one requires the rebuilding and the owner of the house refuses; the former may rebuild the house and dwell in it until the latter returns him the expenses. R. Jehudah, however, maintains that even in such a case he is considered a tenant who must pay his rent (as he has not his own house); therefore the owner of the attic rebuilds the house and attic, roofs it, and then he may make his dwelling down in the house until the expenses are paid.

GEMARA: Said R. Johanan: At three different places R. Jehudah teaches us that it is forbidden for one to derive benefit from the property of his neighbour, although the latter loses nothing; namely, in the case of our Mishna, also in case of changing the colour by dyeing (First Gate.), and finally in case of the payment of a part of his debt, that R. Jehudah decrees that the note for collection loses its former force even if so stipulated. (Baba Batra.)

(Says the Gemara:) After all these statements we are not sure of such a decree by R. Jehudah, as all the three have their reasons; here because of spoiling the house while used, hence the owner loses by paying as for a new one; in the case of dyeing, because of changing of the agreement, and there is a Mishna above, that he who does so must suffer; and also concerning the payment of a part of his debt, because it is only an asmakhta, which according to his theory above, gives no title; but in cases where one does not suffer at all, and the other derived some benefit, may be that he (Jehudah) does not object.

R. A'ha b. Ada in the name of Ula said: If the owner of the lower part wants to rebuild his house with unhewn stones instead of hewn ones, his partner cannot protest (because the building with them is stronger than of the hewn ones), but if vice versa, he may prevent him. The same is the case with half bricks instead of whole ones (Rashi explains that between two half bricks, little stones and cork were laid, so that the wall became thicker by a span), and so it is with cedars instead of sycamores. To diminish the number of windows, and also the height of the building, his partner has no right to protest; if, however, the owner wanted to rebuild him the attic, just the reverse is the case, as the lower part may protest against a heavier attic which may damage his house. But how should the law be decided if both of them have no money to rebuild it? As R. Nathan of the following Boraitha: The owner of the lower part takes two shares and the upper one a third, and according to anonymous teachers the lower one takes three-quarters and the upper one one-quarter. And Rabba said: Practise as R. Nathan said, as he was a judge and always went into the deepness of the law. He reasoned that the upper building damages a third of the lower (i.e., that if the upper one were not upon it, it would hold a third more), therefore a third he must take.

MISHNA 4.: The same is the case with an olive-press which was placed under a garden. (Rashi explains that it means of two brothers who inherited them, one took the olive-press, the other the garden), and the roof of the press-house became ruined, the owner of the garden may descend and work up the bottom of the press-house for seed, until the roof of it will be repaired.

A wall or a tree which falls suddenly on a public thoroughfare, and causes damage, the owner is not responsible. If, however, time was given to him for cutting off the tree or the wall, and it fell after the time elapsed, he is responsible. If one's wall is placed at a neighbour's garden, and it falls (into his neighbour's garden), and he insists that the stones should be removed, the owner of them, however, says: "They are yours (as I renounce my ownership of them)," he is not to be listened to. If, however, the owner of the garden accepted his offer, and after a reconsideration he offers him his expenses for the removing, and repairs his stones, he is also not to be listened to.

The same is the case with a labourer who was hired to work with straw and hay, and when he demanded his pay, if the employer said to him: Take the articles in which you were engaged, for your payment, he must not be listened to. If, however, the labourer accepted, and after reconsideration the employer told him: Take cash for your hire and leave the articles to me, he must not be listened to.

GEMARA: Rabh said that the Mishna meant that the greater part of the roof was spoilt, but if only a small part, e.g., four ells, he may work up his garden, and for the space spoilt he should use the bottom of the press-house. But Samuel said: It means even four ells, as it is disagreeable for one to sow in two places; and both cases of their differing were necessary to state; as if the former only, one might say that only concerning a dwelling Samuel disagreed with Rabh, and concerning sowing he agrees; and if the latter, one might say concerning sowing Rabh agrees with Samuel; therefore both were taught.

If time was given. What time is fixed for such a case by the court? Said R. Johanan: "Thirty days."

If one's wall was placed, etc. From the expression, "he offered him his expenses," it is to be understood that after the gardener has already removed; but if the reconsideration had been before the removal, the owner of the wall has still the right to them, even if it was accepted by the gardener; why, then, let his estate give him title as R. Jose said above. R. Jose's statement holds good when the former owner of that article agrees to give him title; here, however, he does not, as his former proposition was made only to win time for removing.

The same is the case with a labourer, etc. It was necessary for the Mishna to teach both cases, as in the former case only, one might say: It is because the gardener has nothing to demand from the owner of the wall; but in the latter case, where the labourer has to demand his money from the employer, he may be listened to, as people say: From a debtor of thine accept even bran in payment; and of this case only, one might say, as soon as he accepted, he acquires title, because he had money at his employer's, but in the former case the gardener does not acquire title, even if he accepted, as he has nothing to claim from the wall man; therefore both were necessary.

He must not be listened to. But have we not learned in a Boraitha that he may be listened to? Said R. Na'hman: This presents no difficulty. The Boraitha speaks of an ownerless article (which some one hired a labourer to remove without notifying him that it is such; and after he was through, he said, "Take this for your labour"), he may be listened to; and our Mishna treat of his own work. Rabha objected to R. Na'hman from the Boraitha above (p. 20), which states that if a labourer who was hired for the whole day finds an article, it belongs to his employer, from which it is easily understood that in our case, when he was hired to remove an ownerless article, the one who hired him acquired title to it, hence the drawing of the labour gives no title to him. Why then should the employer be listened to if he tells him to take it for his work? Therefore said R. Na'hman, both the Mishna and the Boraitha speak of ownerless articles; however, the cases are different, as the Mishna speaks of lifting (i.e., that the labourer has removed the article), and the Boraitha speaks of looking (i.e., that the labourer was hired to guard it by looking), so that there was no act on the part of the labourer which could give him title, and so neither of them has as yet acquired title; therefore the employer is listened to.

Said Rabba: If looking gives title to an ownerless article or not, the Tanaim of the following Mishna differ: The watchmen appointed to watch aftergrowth (of barley for omer) in the sabbatical year, receive their wages from the treasure of the sanctuary. R. Jose, however, maintains, if one likes to do this for nothing he is allowed. Said the sages to him: According to your theory the omer would be brought from the donation of an individual. Is it not to assume that the point of their differing is whether looking gives title? According to the first Tana it does, and therefore if the watchman did it for nothing, he acquires title to it (as growth is ownerless in a sabbatical year); and R. Jose holds that looking does not give title, and the congregation acquires title on them when delivered to them The saying of the sages is to be explained thus: According to your decision, that one can watch without any payment, in accordance with our theory that looking gives title, the omer could be brought by an individual?

Said Rabha: All agree that looking gives no title, and the point of differing is whether it is to be feared for mighty men, who would take possession of the aftergrowth, being ignorant that it belongs to a sanctuary. The first Tana holds that such is to be feared, and therefore the sages enacted that the watchmen shall get four zuz, so that it shall come to the ears of the above that the sanctuary laid its hand on it, and they will keep aloof from it. R. Jose, however, holds that such an enactment was not made, and the sages said to him: According to your decision the watchman remits his four zuz to the congregation (as we are sure that four zuz were enacted), and so his four zuz in which they had no share will always be considered his, and if the congregation buys daily offerings for it or other things, it is considered from an individual (which is not allowed), and so said Rabin when coming from Palestine, that R. Johanan is also of the opinion that the above is the point of their differing.

MISHNA 5.: One must not place his manure upon a public ground, unless it is immediately taken away by those who want to use it. Clay must not be soaked or bricks made upon a public thoroughfare; however, one may knead clay if needed for building, but not for bricks. For a building at a public place they must use the material as soon as it is brought, that it shall not be left there a long time, and even then, if they cause damage, the owner is responsible. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel maintains that one may prepare material for his building during thirty days.

GEMARA: Our Mishna is not in accordance with R. Jehudah, who said (First Gate, p. 66) that one may do so in the season. Abye said: R. Jehudah with his decision just quoted, R. Simeon b. Gamaliel with his decision in our Mishna, and R. Simeon with his decision (First Gate, p. 145), that if damage was done there is no responsibility, are teaching that as soon as one placed his property with the permission of the court, he is not responsible for damage done by it.

The rabbis taught: If a hewer of stones has transferred them to the polisher, and they cause damage while under his control, the latter is responsible; the polisher to the drier, the latter to the carrier, and the latter to the builder, the builder to the architect; all of them are responsible if damage was done through the stones while under their control only, but as soon as one transfers them to the other, his responsibility ceases. If, however, the stones fall from the line they were placed upon, all of them are responsible. But have we not learned in another Boraitha that the very last one is responsible, while all others are free? This presents no difficulty. The first one speaks of a case where all of them undertook to build this building in partnership, and the second of a case where they were hired day labourers.

MISHNA 6.: When two gardens were placed one above the other, and some herbs were grown between them, according to R. Mair the herbs belong to the higher garden, and according to R. Jehudah to the lower one. Said R. Mair: (My decree is correct;) if the higher would remove his earth, there would be no herbs. Answered R. Jehudah: If the lower one would care to fill up his garden with earth to make it alike with the higher one, the same would be the case. Rejoined R. Mair: As either of them can prevent the other, we have to investigate from what sources the herbs exist. R. Simeon, however, maintains that the upper one may use that which he

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can reach with his hand, and the remainder belongs to the lower one.

GEMARA: Said Rabha: The sages of our Mishna do not differ concerning the rest of the herbs, that they belong to the upper one; they, however, do differ concerning the branches. R. Mair holds that the branches must go with the roots, and R. Jehudah does not agree with his theory, as we have learned in the following Boraitha, that that which comes out of the roots and the branches belongs to the owner of the estate. So is the decree of R. Mair. R. Jehudah, however, says that the branches belong to the owner of the tree. This is concerning business, and the same we have learned concerning Arla (the third year of planting, of which the fruit is forbidden for use), and both cases were necessary to teach, as if only one case, one might say that they differ only concerning business, but not concerning prohibited things, and vice versa.

R. Simeon maintains, etc. Said the school of R. Janai: Provided he does not exert himself to reach them. Ephraim the scribe, the disciple of Resh Lakish, said in the name of his master, that the Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Simeon. This was reported to the King Sabura, 1 and he said: We are grateful to R. Simeon for his decision.

END OF BABA METZIA AND VOLUME 12.
END OF BOOK 7 (6)

THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD BOOK 8 (formerly 7)
(Vols. 13. and 14.)

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SYNOPSIS OF SUBJECTS OF TRACT BABA BATHRA (LAST GATE).

CHAPTER 1.

MISHNAS 1. TO 3. In case of dividing partnerships in a yard, where and of what the wall shall be built. Is overlooking another's property considered injurious? Of what size the yard must be to be fit for division. May a prayer house be taken apart before the new building is ready? The legend of Herod the great with Simeon b. Shatuh. How Herod built the Temple without the consent of the Roman government. Concerning partitions, fences in partners' gardens, and valleys. Mayor may not one be compelled to join in the expenses of fences if one's estate is surrounded by his neighbour's on three sides? If there is a wall, and one of the owners claims that his neighbour did not bear his share of the expense. A debtor who says: I paid my debt before due. If the plaintiff demanded his money long after due. He who claims, "I have never borrowed," is to be considered as if he should say, "I have never paid." How and where is a parapet to be made and of what size? If there were two courtyards one upon the other; there were two tenants, and the roof of the lower one sank; there was one who built a wall against the window of his neighbour, etc. Two brothers divided a bequest, a palace and a fine garden, and the latter built a wall on the edge of the garden. There was a note belonging to orphans, against which the other party showed a receipt, 1-16

MISHNA 4. The sharing in the building of a gate to a courtyard as well as to a city wall. Who are obliged to pay taxes and duties of a city? Rabbi opened his barns of grain in the years of famine, etc. How long must one dwell in a city to be taxed? Charity must be collected by two persons and distributed by three. May one be pledged or not for charity? Who of the poor must be investigated before support, and who supported immediately without inquiry? What about one who begged from door to door? The virtue of charity equals the sum of the virtues of all the other commandments together. "I was told by the child who was corrected by his mother," etc. The one who is doing charity secretly is greater than Moses our master. How is the verse, Prov. xxi. 21, to be understood? Whosoever makes it his business to do charity will be blessed with sons having wisdom, wealth, etc. The discussion of Aqiba with Tarnusruphus. As the yearly household expenses for one are appointed (in Heaven) on each Rosh Hashana, so are his losses. Grace is charity which nears the redeeming, etc. How may the born of Israel be raised? Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai questioned his disciples as to the meaning of the verse, Prov. xiv. 34, etc. Iphra Hurmiz, the mother of King Sabur, sent four hundred dinars for charity to R. Ammi, etc. If one bought a tract of land, however small, he is considered a citizen immediately.

MISHNA 5. Partners cannot compel each other to divide. This is the rule: If, after division, each part retains its former name, then one can compel his partner to divide. A yard must be divided in accordance with the doors, etc. The four ells which are allowed for each door are for unloading. If one of the inhabitants of an alley desires to open the door leading from his yard to another alley. Inhabitants of alleys who desire to make doors to the street may be prevented by the public. Prophecy was taken away from the prophets and was given to the wise, to lunatics, and children (how this is to be understood). There was a man who bought an estate near to the estate of his father-in-law (who had no male children). The law, "Either you concede or I concede," when is it applied? The case of female slaves whom Huna bequeathed to his sons. May or may not the books of the Bible be bound together? What must the size of the holy scrolls be? What was placed in the ark, and how. The order of the Prophets, and who wrote them? Who was Job--an Israelite or a Gentile--and at what time did he exist, if he existed at all? The legends about Satan and Job. Satan was more afflicted than Job himself, etc. Satan and Peninnah both intended (with their accusations) to please Heaven, etc. The explanation of the passages addressed out of the storm wind, etc., etc. Why was not Job doubly rewarded with daughters, as he was with sons and with all his property? There are three to whom the Holy One, blessed be He, gave a taste of the world to come in this world. There are six whom the angel of death has not dominated. There are four who died without sin.

CHAPTER 2.

MISHNAS 1. TO 3. How much space is to be left between one's property and another's? For whom is it to remove himself from supposed injury, the supposed injurer or him who would be injured? One must remove a pond for steeping flax from herbs, garlic from onions, and mustard from bees. Three spans space, and plastered with lime--are both needed, or does one of them suffice? Is one allowed to void his urine near the wall of his neighbour? Under what circumstances one may or may not place an oven in a lower story of a house. Can one of the partners in a yard prevent his partner from establishing a store in it, or not? At what age a child may be taken to school. The enactment of Joshua b. Gamla concerning teaching of children. In what circumstances the claim, "You are cutting off my livelihood," applies? "I doubt whether an inhabitant of one alley can prevent one of another alley from competing with him." The legend of R. Dimi's dry figs. How much space is to be left from one wall to an opposite one, and how much to a window.

MISHNAS 4. TO 12. To what distance a ladder must be removed from one's neighbour's pigeon-coop. The distance between a pigeon-coop and the city. If a case which we should judge by a majority would be different if according to proximity, how is it to be judged? How much space is to be left to the city when planting a fruit tree outside; and how much to a wild one, to a carob, and to a sycamore. How much to barns, to cemeteries, and to tanneries. The Shekhinah occupies every place. The world is like a balcony without the fourth wall, etc. On what side of the city a tannery may be placed. He who desires to increase his wisdom shall recite his prayers towards the south, etc. To a well a distance of twenty-five ells must be left when planting a tree, etc. One must not plant a tree near his neighbour's field, etc. A tree which bears fruit to the measure of a kab is forbidden to be cut down. A tree which is within sixteen ells of the boundary of another's estate is considered robbery, etc. If the branches of a tree are inclined towards another's field, what is to be done? The branches of a tree which overhang public ground may be cut off, so that a came] with its rider may pass freely.

CHAPTER 3.

MISHNA 1. The law of occupancy--to what it does and does not apply. Whence is it deduced? What time is needed for it, and how a protest against it should be made. Must the three years of hazakah be interrupted? Who testifies as to the occupancy of houses? The many cases of occupied houses which the owners claimed, brought before different rabbis of the Amoraim who decided differently. If one claims, "It was from my parents," and the other claims the same. There was one who said: "I possessed a document but lost the true one, and this is a correct copy," There was another case similar concerning a hundred zuz in cash. It was murmured among people that Rabha b. Sharshum had appropriated land belonging to orphans, and Abayi sent for him. One snatched a piece of silver from his neighbour and the case was brought before R. Ami. There was a boat about which two parties quarrelled, each claiming that it was his. If each of the parties claim: "This estate belonged to my parents." If witnesses testified that the plaintiff has loaded a basket of fruit from this field on the shoulders of the defendant, the hazakah is effected immediately. Is ploughing a hazakah, or not? If one has made a hazakah on the trees and another upon the ground, has the owner of the trees a share in the ground?

MISHNAS 2. AND 3. There are three lands concerning the law of hazakah. If one runs away from a city because of crime, and one occupies his estate, the law of hazakah applies. How should one protest? Is a protest not in one's presence to be considered? Under what circumstances the court announces to the defendant that his property will be sold. How is it when he told them to write a deed of gift without an explanation? A hazakah to which there is no claim is not to be considered. How so? What happened to Anan and Kahana, who placed their fences on others' estates. If the father has consumed one year and his son two, or vice versa, or each of them one year and the buyer from them one year, is it considered a hazakah? The law of hazakah does not apply to specialists, farmers, etc. May one who is supposed to be interested in a case be a witness? Has one a right to say: "I cut myself off from this estate entirely"? If A has robbed B of a field and has sold it to C, then D comes with a claim, has B then any right to be a witness for C? If one sold a field to his neighbour without security, he has no right to qualify as a witness concerning it. The announcement of Rabha or Papa about an article which a Gentile takes away from an Israelite. If one has given his garment to a specialist, the latter claiming two zuz and the owner one. If one has exchanged his utensils for another's in the house of a specialist, etc. "Come and I will tell you what the swindlers of Pumbeditha are doing." May a gardener be taken as a witness in case of a claim, or not? A robber--neither he nor his son has hazakah, but his grandson has. A specialist or a gardener who has ceased his profession, a son who was separated from his father, and a woman who was divorced--all of them are considered, in a case of hazakah, with men in general. If one sold his estate by duress, the sale is valid. Why so? Tabba hanged Pappi on a tree, to compel him to sell him his field. If witnesses testify they signed a note whose amount was not yet paid, but was prepared by the borrower in case he should find some one who would make him the loan. "I did so only with the intention of pleasing my husband, but not with the intention of selling it." Is there no occupancy in the estate of a married woman? If one borrowed from his bondsman and encumbered his estate for him by a document, and afterwards he freed him? One must not accept bailments from women, slaves, or children. If one who was the business man of the house, and the bills of sale and notes were in his name, claims: "All this is my own"--what should be the evidence? Concerning a gift or an inheritance of brothers. Is it not the duty of every Israelite to save the property of his neighbour from damage when seeing danger is near? There cannot be a better hazakah than lifting up, as this act gives title to one in everything. The estate of idolaters, if sold to an Israelite, and the latter has not made a hazakah on it, it is like a desert. If an Israelite buys a field from a Gentile and another Israelite comes and takes possession of it (before the bill of sale reaches the buyer). "I was told by the Exilarch Uqban the following three things: (a) That the law of the government should be respected as a law of the Torah," etc.

MISHNAS 4. TO 10. What, and under what circumstances, collusive witnesses have to pay. If there were three brothers and one stranger. There is a difference in usage of articles--in some cases hazakah applies, and in some not. Does this rule always hold good? The wonderful sayings and acts of Bnaha. Hazakah does not apply to movable pipes attached to drains, etc. What is to be considered an Egyptian window? To an enclosure the size of a span in width, hazakah applies. One must not open windows to the yard even when he is a partner in it. One must not open, in a yard belonging to partners, a door or window opposite that of one's partner, etc. One must not make a hole in public ground. "There were enclosures from R. Ammi's property facing an alley," etc. When the second Temple was destroyed, many of Israel separated themselves from eating meat and drinking wine. Such a thing must not be decreed, which the majority of the congregation could not endure.

CHAPTER 4.

MISHNAS 1. TO 5. If one sells a house unconditionally. If one sells a property, he must write in the bill of sale: "I reserve nothing of it for myself." If E owns a field adjoining A's field from east to west, and B's from north to south, and he comes to sell it, etc. If A and B were partners in a field, and A sold his share to C. If one sold a house with the stipulation that the upper diæta (chamber) was reserved for him. If one has sold the house to one man and the diæta to another. Title is not given to a well, although there is mentioned that one sold the depth and the height. The difference between a sale and a gift. If one sold a house, he sold with it the door, the bolt and lock, but not the key. If one sold a yard, the houses. walls, cellars, and caves are included, but not movable property. If one sells a press-house, the sale includes the trough, the press-beam or press stone, etc.

MISHNAS 6. TO 9. If one sells a bath-house the sale does not include the boards on the floor. If one sells a town, the sale includes houses, etc., but not movable property. If one sells a field, the sale includes the stones which are needed for its use. From the passage, Gen. xxxiii. 17, we infer that the boundary is sold to the buyer with the field biblically. A depositary who claims that he had returned the bailment, etc. In selling a field, if it contains a well, cistern, etc., they are not included in the sale.

CHAPTER 5.

MISHNAS 1. TO 5. How should one acquire title to a boat? To a promissory note title is given by transfer and bill of sale: acquire title to it and to all the debts it contains is traditional and also according to common sense. A bill of sale to a wagon

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does not include the mules when not hitched, and vice versa. May the amount paid serve as evidence? If one sells an ass, the harness is not included. The khumni is not included in the harness. What does khumni mean? If one sold a she-ass, its foal is sold; but if a cow, the calf is not. If one buys the brood of a pigeon-coop; of a bee-hive. If one buys a tree for cutting it down, he must begin a span high from the ground; an inoculated sycamore, three spans; a trunk of sycamores, two. If exactly three spans, it is beneficial for the growth of the tree, etc.

MISHNAS 6. TO 9. If one buy two trees within his neighbour's field, the ground beneath is not sold; if three, it is. Concerning the firstfruit offerings. If the branches were wide-spreading. How much space is to be left between the trees in question, that it should be considered the buyer's? A practised act is more important for evidence. How should the ground be. longing to the buyer be measured? If one has sold two trees situated in his field and one on the boundary. There are four legal customs concerning sales. If one sold dark-red wheat and it was found to be white, or vice versa, etc. By what acts is title given to fruit and to flax? The vessels of the buyer give title to him in every place, except on public ground. There are four legal customs concerning sellers, etc. To real estate title is acquired by money, deed, or hazakah; and to personal property title is given by drawing only. To a thing which is usually lifted up, title is given by lifting; and usually drawn, by drawing. If one hires a servant to work for him in the barn for one dinar a day, with the stipulation that he shall work for him for the same price in the harvest-time. If one sold wine or oil, and it be comes dearer or cheaper.

MISHNAS 10. AND 11. If one sends his little son to the storekeeper with a pundiun (dupondius), but the child loses the issar and breaks the glass. If one take a vessel from a specialist, to examine it, he is responsible for an accident. The wholesaler has to clean his measures once within thirty days. Must overweight be given, and how much? The punishment for false measuring is harder than for adultery. It is harder for the cheating of a commoner than for the cheating of the sanctuary. The scales must be hanging three spans in the air, etc. Weights must not be made of tin, lead, cassiterite, or other kinds of metal. One must not keep in his house an unjust measure, even if he uses it for a chamber. If the elders of the city want to enlarge the measures, it must not be more than a sixth of them. From the verse Ezek. 45:12 may be inferred three things, etc. "Those who forestall fruit," etc.--who are meant thereby? There must not be exported from Palestine things by which a livelihood is made. It may be prayed by blowing of horns even on Sabbath, when business becomes dull. One must not emigrate from Palestine to other provinces, unless the price of grain has increased, etc. "When Abraham our father departed from this world, all the great men of the nations stood up in a file and said," etc. "I remember when a child used to break a piece of carob, threads of honey would leak out," etc.

HAGADAH.

The well-known legends of Rabba b. b. Hana: Waves, Hurnim ben Lilith, roebuck of one day, alligator. The fish which destroyed sixty cities. The fish with two fins. About the leviathan, male and female. The banquet of the upright in the world to come. The bird with her head in the sky. The geese from which a whole river of fat was running. The Arabian merchant who accompanied Rabba in the desert, and showed him the dead of the desert at the time of Moses. The place where Korach with his company was swallowed up, where the earth and the sky meet, etc. What R. Johanan has to tell. Jehudah of Mesopotamia. What happened with Eliezer and Jehoshua while on the ship. What Huna b. Nathan told. The canopies (chupas) for each upright in the world to come. The ten chupas made for Adam the first in paradise. About Hiram the King of Tyre who claimed to be a God. The increase of Jerusalem in the future.

APPENDIX.

Usucapio in the Roman Law 214

TRACT BABA BATHRA (LAST GATE).

CHAPTER 1.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING HOUSES, YARDS, AND FIELDS IN PARTNERSHIP OR CONJOINTLY; THE SHARING IN PARTITIONS, FENCES, AND WALLS; LOOKING INTO OTHERS' PROPERTY; CLAIMS PAID BEFORE DUE; DUTIES OF ONE TO HIS CITY--STREETS, ETC.; CITIZENSHIP BY LAPSE OF TIME, AND CONCERNING THE SIZE OF A YARD LIABLE TO DIVISION.

MISHNA 1.: Partners in a courtyard surrounded by two houses, each of them belonging to one of the partners, one of whom (or both) may desire to make a Me'hitza (partition) in the yard, the wall is to be built in the middle exactly. The material for it and all other things must be as is customary in the country; viz.: in the case of unhewn stones (of which the thickness is usually six spans) each of them has to give his share of space and material for three spans; in the case of hewn stones, for two and a half; in the case of half-bricks, between which are usually inserted sand and small stones, for two; and in the case of whole bricks, one and a half spans from each suffice. Therefore, when it happens that such a wall falls, the space and material of it belong to both equally. The same is the case with a garden in places where they are usually fenced: if one of the partners desires to construct a fence, the other cannot prevent him, nor withhold his share of the expense. In valleys, however., in places where it is not usual to fence, one cannot compel his partner to share with him, but he may build a fence about his own portion, and make an enclosure on the outside (as a sign that it belongs to him only); and therefore should such a fence fall, the material belongs to him alone. If, however, such is built conjointly, it must be in the exact middle, and an enclosure is to be made on both sides (as a sign that it was built conjointly); and therefore should it fall, the space and material belong to both.

GEMARA: The schoolmen, in interpreting the Mishna, were about to explain the word Me'hitza as meaning division, according to Numbers xxxi. 43, where the word Ma'htzis is used in the sense of divided into halves; and the Mishna comes to teach that when both have decided to divide their grounds, one of them can compel the other to join in building such a wall, even if he object to do so, from which it is to be inferred that looking into the other's property is considered injurious. But perhaps the expression Me'hitza means only a partition, according to what we have learned in a Tosephtha, that if a partition (which divides the vine from other kinds of products) break, the owner of the other products has to notify the owner of the vineyard twice that he should fence it, and if he does not do so, the products are prohibited and the owner of the vineyard is responsible. And as in this Tosephtha the word Me'hitza is used with the meaning of a fence, so it may be that in our Mishna also it means a fence. And the Mishna teaches that if both have decided to build a fence, then each of them must join in its making, but not otherwise. From which it is to be inferred that looking into another's property is not considered injurious? If it should be so, then why does the Mishna state "the wall must be," etc.? It ought to be, "it must be built." On the other hand, if the Mishna means that they have decided to divide, why the expression "Me'hitza"? It ought to be "to halve," as people say: "Come to halve our goods"; and also, if looking is considered injurious, why the statement of the Mishna, "if both like to do so"? Even if one of them desires, his partner may be compelled to join with him, so as to prevent injurious looking in. Said R. Assi in the name of R. Johanan: Our Mishna treats of a small yard which was not liable to division (it did not contain eight ells), and then only when both consent to divide can one compel his partner, but not otherwise. But then what comes the Mishna to teach? That when the yard is not sufficient for a division, and both wish to do so, they may? Is it not taught plainly farther on? From that teaching one may say that he can compel him only to join in erecting a border-mark, but not a wall. It comes to teach us that the same is the case even with a wall. But if so, why the other statement of a border-mark? There it is needed because of the last part of the Mishna, which teaches that with the Holy Writ it is different: it is not allowed to be divided, even if both consent to do so. Now, the Mishna is explained as treating of a yard which is not sufficient for division. Then what matters it--even if they have both decided to divide their grounds, could they not retract? Said R. Assi in the name of R. Johanan: It treats of a case in which it was already done with the ceremony of a sudarium. But even then, what matters it? After all, it was decided only verbally, and they may retract? It speaks of a case in which the parts of each were already marked off. R. Ashi, however, said: It speaks of a case in which each of them has already made a hazakha (settlement) on his part, so that they have acquired title and can no more retract. (The expression in the Mishna for half-bricks is khphisin.) Said R. A'ha b. R. Ivia to R. Ashi: Whence do we know that this expression means half-bricks and the additional span is for the stuff which is put between them? Perhaps it means unhewn stones, and this additional span is for the projecting corner. And he answered: The meaning of the words of the Mishna is traditionally so explained.

Said Abayi: A span is needed only when, between the half-bricks, small stones and sand are put, but if only clay, a span is not needed. Shall we assume that a wall, four ells in height, of hewn stones needs the thickness of five spans? Was not the height of the walls of the first Temple thirty ells, and the thickness only six spans, and it nevertheless held? The additional span sustained it. Why, then, did they make the walls of the second Temple still thicker? Because a thickness of six spans can sustain only a height of thirty ells, but not a greater one, and the second Temple was much higher. And whence do we deduce it? From [Haggai, 2:9]: "Greater shall be the glory of this latter house than that of the former." Rabh and Samuel, and according to others R. Johanan and R. Elazar, differ in the explanation of this verse. According to one, it means the building itself; and according to the other, it means the years of its existence. In reality, however, it was in both respects more glorious.

The schoolmen propounded a question: Does the Mishna mean, by giving the sizes, with the lime, or without? Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: Common sense dictates that it means with the lime; for without the lime the sizes mentioned in the Mishna would not be correct (since without the lime it would not hold, and the lime, of course, enlarges the size). But can it not be said that it means without the lime, and because the size of the. rime does not reach a span, therefore the Mishna does not count it? But does not the Mishna state a span and a half? It may be said that, because the two halves make a span, therefore it is counted. Come and hear! (Erubin, p. 28:) "The cross-beam in question must be wide enough to hold a half of a brick, which is three spans in length and in width." There it treats of a great one, and it seems to be so, as it says: "A half of a brick, three spans," etc., from which it is to be inferred that there is a smaller half-brick which is not of the size mentioned, and this is the size in our Mishna, where both half-bricks together measure only three spans with the lime. R. Hisda said: One must not take apart a prayer-house until another one is built; according to some, because it may be neglected by accident, and according to others, because until the new one be built there they will have no place for prayer. And the difference is that, when there is another place for prayer, according to the latter it may be done.

Maremar and Mar Zutra used to take apart the summer house of prayer in the winter, and the winter house of prayer in the summer. Said Rabhina to R. Ashi: How is it? When the money for the new building has already been collected by the treasurer, may the old be taken apart, or not? And he answered: Even then a redeeming of prisoners may happen, for which the sum might be used. But how is it if the whole material for the new building was already prepared? And he rejoined: Even then the above case can happen, and the material would be sold out for this purpose. If so, then even when it is already built? And he replied: A completed building it is not customary to sell for such a purpose. And this was all said in case no sign of ruin was seen in the old building; but if there were such, it might be taken apart immediately. R. Ashi, for example, saw such in the prayer-house at Sura, and took it apart and placed his bed there, and did not take it out until the whole building was ready. It is said farther on that Baba b. Buta advised Herod to take apart the old Temple for the purpose of building a new one. Was this not against the law, as declared above by R. Hisda: "One must not take apart," etc.? If You wish, you may say he saw a sign of ruin in the old one; and if you wish, it may be said it is different with a king, who usually does not retract from his word, as, e.g., Samuel said, that if the king should say, "I will remove this great mountain," it would be done.

Herod was a servant of the Hasmoneans, and there was a little girl among them upon whom he cast his eyes. One day he heard a voice saying that a servant who should rebel that day would succeed. Then he slew all his superiors except this little girl; and when she saw that he intended to marry her, she ascended to the roof and proclaimed: "If it happen that one shall claim himself descended from the Hasmoneans, be it known that he is a slave, for all the Hasmoneans were slain except myself, and I now commit suicide by throwing myself from this roof." Said Herod to himself: Who insists upon what is written [Deut. 17:15]: "From the midst of thy brethren shalt thou set a king," etc.? The rabbis, as the leaders of Israel. He therefore slew all the rabbis, and left only Baba b. Buta, to take advice from him when needed; but he blinded him. One day Herod came (incognito) and sat before him, saying: "Let the master see what the bad slave Herod has done." And he answered: "What can I do to him?" And he said: "Curse him." But Baba answered with the verse [Eccl. 10:20]: "Even in thy thoughts, thou must not curse a king." Herod said: "But he is not a king at all." And Baba answered: "Let him be only rich, it is written [ibid., ibid.]: 'In thy bed chambers, do not curse the rich.' And even if he be only a ruler, it is written [Ex. 22:27]: 'A ruler among thy people, thou shalt not curse.'" And Herod said: "This is only when he does as the people of Israel do; but he, Herod, does the contrary." And he rejoined: "I am afraid of him." Herod continued: "But there is no one who could tell him, as only you and I are here." And Baba rejoined with the above-cited verse: "For a bird of the air can carry the sound," etc. Then rejoined Herod: "I am Herod, and did not know that the rabbis were so careful. Had I been aware of this, I should not have slain them; but now I crave your advice; perhaps as to that you will find some remedy for me." And Baba answered: "You have blinded the eye of the world, as it is written [Num. 15:24]: 'If through inadvertence of the congregation.' 1 Go, therefore, and occupy thyself with the eye of the world, which is now the Temple, as it is written [Ezek. 24:21]: 'I Will profane my sanctuary . . . the desire 2 of your eyes,' and so I advise you to rebuild the Temple."

And Herod said: "I fear the Roman government." Rejoined Baba: "Send a messenger to Rome, for which it shall take a year until he shall reach there, and let him remain there a year, and his returning shall also take a year, and during the three years you can take apart this Temple and build a new one." Herod did so, and the answer was: "If you have not as yet taken apart the old one, let it remain so; if you have already taken it apart, do not build a new one; and if you have already

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taken apart and also rebuilt, such is the custom of bad slaves: they seek advice after the thing is already done. It is true, you are now the ruler. Your record, however, is in our archives, in which it can be seen that you are not a king, nor a descendant of kings. It is only marked, 'Herod, the servant, has made himself free.'" It was said that he who had not seen the new Temple of Herod had not, in all his life, seen a fine building. "With what material did he build it?" asked Rabha. With ornamented marble stone of different colours, the stones being not in a straight line, but alternately projecting and receding, the gaps being intended to receive the lime. He intended to cover it with gold, but the rabbis advised him not to do so, because as it was it looked as effulgent as the waves of the sea.

But why did Baba give Herod such advice? Did not R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh, or in the name of Jehoshua b. Levi, say that Daniel was punished for giving good advice to Nebuchadnezzar, as it is written [Dan. 4:24]: "Therefore, O king, let my counsel be agreeable unto thee, and atone for thy sins by righteousness," etc.? With the Temple it was different, for except by the king, it could not be rebuilt at all. And whence do we know that Daniel was punished? He was thrown into the lions' den [ibid. 6.].

"And all other things," etc. What does the expression all add? Those places where it is customary to make such a partition of thorns.

"Therefore, if it happens that such a wall fall," etc. Is this not self-evident? It means that, should the wall fall into the part of one of them, or if, in the building thereof, one of the partners should build it all on his part, lest one say that then the other partner should be considered as a plaintiff for whom it is to bring evidence, it comes to teach us that this is not so.

"The same is the case with a garden," etc. Does not this paragraph contradict itself? It states: "The same is the case, etc., where it is customary to make a fence"; from which it is to be inferred that if it was not customary, one cannot compel another to join. Then how is to be understood the last part, which states: "In a valley, etc., where it is not customary to make a fence," etc.; from which it is to be inferred that if there be no such custom at all, he may be compelled to join? And this is contradictory, since even concerning a garden, where there was no such custom at all, he is not to be compelled. So much the less in a valley, where there is no such custom? Said Abayi: It means to say thus: In a garden, even where it was not the custom, and in a valley, where it was the custom, to make a fence, the partner may be compelled to join. Said Rabha to him: If it is so, to what purpose is it stated "however." "Therefore," said he, "it means thus: concerning a garden, where there is no custom at all, it must be considered as if it were customary to make a fence; however, in a valley, where it is not the custom, it is to be considered as though the custom were not to fence. Therefore in the first case he is to be compelled to join, and in the second he is not."

"But one may put the fence in the space of his own part," etc. How shall the enclosure be put? Said R. Huna: It shall be inclined toward the inside. Why not toward the outside? Because then the partner could cut it off and claim that the wall was built conjointly. But can the same not be done even when it inclines toward the inside? The joining (to the fence) would be recognised. But does not the Mishna state plainly, "outside"? The objection remains.

R. Johanan, however, said that the Mishna means not exactly an enclosure, but a sign smeared with clay, the extent of an ell, outside. And why not inside? Because then the partner could mark such outside, to claim that it was done by both. But even now, the partner can scrape it off for the purpose of making such a claim? Scraping can be recognised (as artificial). If, however, the partition were made of thorns, there can be no remedy with a sign, unless one writes it on a note and puts in for safekeeping in the court. 1 So Abayi maintains.

"If, however, such was built conjointly," etc. Said Rabha of Pharziqa to R. Ashi: Why, then, the enclosure at all? And he answered: The Mishna treats of a case in which one has already made such an enclosure on one side; the other should follow him on the other side, as a sign that the wall belongs to both. And he asked: Does the Mishna teach a remedy against a swindler? And R. Ashi rejoined: Is not the first part, which states that an enclosure should be made (inside or outside), a remedy against a swindler? To which he answered: The first part teaches a law, and by the way gives also the advice which should be the remedy against a swindler; but in the last part it does not teach a new law at all, as it is self-evident that when they have joined in the wall the material belongs to both (and the new teaching is only the remedy against a swindler)? Said Rabhina: The last part treats of a case in which the wall was made of thorns, and comes to teach that it is not as Abayi said above, that there is no remedy except by a note, etc.; but that if the enclosures are made on both sides it suffices.

MISHNA 2.: If one's estates surround those of his neighbour on three sides, and he has fenced all the three sides, the neighbour is not to be compelled to join in the expense (so long as it is open on the fourth side). Said R. Jose: If the neighbour fenced the fourth side of his field, then he must join in the expense of all the fences.

GEMARA: Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: The Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Jose. And there is no difference whether the fourth fence was built by the surrounder or by the surrounded (as in either case his [the neighbour's] field is now protected). It was taught: R. Huna said: He must take an equal share in all the expense, and Hyya b. Rabh maintains that he has only to pay for the cheapest fence-rails. An objection was raised from our Mishna, which states that when he has fenced all three sides the neighbour is not to be compelled; from which it is to be understood that if he has fenced the fourth side also, then the neighbour must join. Then the decision of R. Jose, who said that when the fourth was fenced he must join in the expense of all the fences, is to be understood that he differs with the first Tana in that, according to him, he must share all the expense equally, while according to the first Tana he must pay only for cheap fence-rails. And this explanation can be correct only in accordance with R. Huna. But according to Hyya, who said that all of them treat only about the payment for cheap fence-rails, what, then, would be the point of difference between the first Tana and R. Jose? It is to be explained as to the surrounder and the surrounded. According to the first Tana, even when the surrounder has fenced the fourth side, the surrounded has to pay, for the reason stated above; and according to R. Jose, only when the surrounded himself has fenced the fourth side, from which we see that the other fences pleased him; but if the surrounder did so, the surrounded has nothing to pay.

Runya's estate was surrounded by that of Rabhina on all four sides. And when he asked him to join in the expense of fencing, he would not listen. "Join at least in the expense for cheap fence-rails." He would not listen. "Give something for the protection of your estate"; and he would not. One day Runya was engaged in gathering dates from his trees, and Rabhina said to his gardener: "Go and fetch one bunch of dates." And Runya rebuked him. Then said Rabhina to him: "Now your intention that your trees should be protected, if not from thieves, at least from goats, is clear." And he answered: "Goats can be prevented by the voice." And Rabhina rejoined: "But even then you must have a man who shall lift up his voice." Finally Runya came before Rabha, who told him that he should go and settle with Rabhina as well as he could, as otherwise he would decide in accordance with R. Jose as explained by R. Huna.

The same Runya bought a field which was attached to one of Rabhina's, and the latter was about to prevent him, in accordance with the law of preemption. Said R. Saphra b. R. Ieba to Rabhina: "People say, Zala, who is poor, needed for his family as much bread as Zalla the rich. Permit then the poor Runya, who has already one estate among your estates, to have another one, so that he can make a living."

MISHNA 3.: If a wall which separated courtyards falls, the owners of both sides have to join in rebuilding it (to the height of four ells). If there is a wall, and one of the owners claims that his neighbour did not bear his share of the expense in building it up to the height of four ells, he is not to be trusted unless he brings evidence (as it is considered that his neighbour did so at the time it was built). Above four ells, one cannot compel his. neighbour to join with him. If there were a wall above that height, and the neighbour built another one near it to the same height, with the intention of roofing, he has to share in the expense, even before roofing; and if he claims that he has already joined in the expense, he is not to be trusted unless he brings evidence.

GEMARA: Said Resh Lakish: "A debtor who says: 'I paid my debt to the creditor, when the time had not yet elapsed,' is not to be believed, as usually creditors are glad to be paid in due time."

Abayi and Rabha both said: It may happen that one unexpectedly got money and thought, "I shall pay my debt before it is due, so I shall not be troubled thereafter." An objection was raised from our Mishna, which states that he is considered to have paid at the time it was built. Now let us see how was the case. If the defendant claims that he has given his share of the expense in time, there is no reason why he should not be believed, it must then be said that he claims to have paid it before it was due, and nevertheless the Mishna states that he is to be believed? The case of the Mishna is different, as with every brick or every piece of material that was used the time for payment is considered due; i.e., it is not to be considered that he is claiming to have paid before it was due. Come and hear the other part of the Mishna concerning the height over four ells, which is considered not to have been done conjointly. Let us see how was the claim. If the defendant claims: "I have joined with you in time," why should he not be believed (he is the defendant, and it is for the plaintiff to bring evidence)? It must be, then, that he claims that he has joined before the time due, and we see that he is not believed. There is another reason why he should not be believed, as usually one would pay no money before he is positive that the court will decide against him. R. Papa and R. Huna b. R. Jehoshua acted according to Abayi's decision, and Rabha b. Mar R. Ashi acted according to Resh Lakish, and so the Halakha prevails. And even in the case of orphans, although the master said elsewhere that he who comes to collect from the estate of orphans cannot do it without taking an oath; yet in our case the "hazakha" rule, that one does not pay when it is not due, is strong enough even concerning orphans.

The schoolmen propounded a question: If the plaintiff demanded his money after the time has long elapsed, and the defendant claim that he had paid when it was as yet not due, shall we say that the above standing rule., that one does not pay before due, denies the theory of giving consideration to a claim which appears trustworthy, for the reason that, why should he tell a lie which only injures him, as, e.g., the defendant could say: "I have paid in time" (and then it would be for the plaintiff to bring evidence), while claiming "I have paid before due," the burden of proof lies upon him, or perhaps such a claim is to be considered even with the standing rule? Said R. A'ha b. Rabha to R. Ashi: Come and hear! If one claims, "I have a mana with you," and the debtor answers, "Yea"; on the morrow, when he demands his money, the debtor says, "I have already paid you," then he is free. If, however, he says, "You have nothing with me," he is responsible. Is it not to be assumed that by the expression, "I have paid you," it means in time, and the expression, "You have nothing with me", means, "I have paid you before due"? Hence we see that such a claim is not considered Nay, the expression, "You have nothing with me," means, "You have never loaned it to me," as the master says elsewhere: He who claims, "I have never borrowed," is to be considered as if he should say, "I have never paid."

"If, however, he has built another wall," etc. Said R. Huna: If he has built only a half-wall, it is the same as if he should build the whole. And R. Na'hman said: He has to join only for the half he has built, but not for what he has not. R. Huna, however, admits that if the neighbour built something opposite the party wall, the corner of his house attaching it to the party wall, then he has not to join in the expense except so far as he has built; and also R. Na'hman admits that if he has prepared in his wall a place for roofing it (from which is to be seen that he intends to continue the wall and to roof it), he must join immediately. R. Huna said the holes in the wall prepared for placing the roofing beams, which were prepared by one of the partners, do not support the claim of the other partner, who says he has joined with him in the building of the whole wall (claiming that if he should not do so he would not expend so much money in an uncertainty, perhaps his partner would not join with him and would not allow him to open windows to the side of his yard), even when the μελαθγοω (the holes which hold the beams) for the roofing beams have already been placed, as the builder may say, "I have prepared the whole thing, with the purpose of not damaging the wall through making holes in it, being sure that this would suit you, and you will join in the expense afterward." R. Na'hman said: If one has placed on his neighbour's wall little boards for roofing, it is not to be considered that the consent of his neighbour suffices for roofing it with beams. In the reverse case, however, such is to be considered sufficient. The same said again: If the dripping of water from; one's roof into a neighbour's yard take place, it gives him a right to put a pipe on the roof so that the water may run to one place in the same yard; and the same is the case in the reverse, but not if the roofing be of small branches, so that it contains numerous interspaces, thus spoiling the earth where there is dripping through the interspaces. R. Joseph, however, maintains that even this is allowed, and so he acted.

R. Na'hman in the name of Rabba b. Abuhu said: If one let a chamber of his house to his neighbour, and this was a house with many rooms for different tenants, the tenant may use the holes which are in the wall, the beams which protrude up to four ells from his chamber; and if this was an upper chamber, he may also use the thickness of the wall on the roof, if customary to use same; but he has no right to use the front yard. R. Na'hman himself, however, maintains that he has a right to the front yard also, but not to the rear yard; and Rabha maintains that he has a right in the rear yard also.

Rabhina said: A roof which is made for shade, if one has attached it to the wall of his neighbour, it is not to be considered as "hazakha" until the lapse of thirty days. However, if there be no protest after thirty days, it is a "hazakha" (and the owner is trusted if he claim that he has done this with his neighbour's consent). If this, however, was done for the purpose of a booth for the Feast of Tabernacles, after seven days it is considered a "hazakha." If, however, one has attached the roof with clay, it is considered a "hazakha" immediately (as this he would not do without consent).

Abayi said: If there were two houses on both sides of a public thoroughfare, each of the owners has to make a parapet to half of his roof, but not exactly opposite each other (i.e., one may make it on the north and the other on the south), and each of them has to add a little to his half (for the purpose of preventing looking into his neighbour's property). [Questioned the Gemara:] Why only on a public thoroughfare--should it not on a private thoroughfare be the same? The law of a public thoroughfare it was necessary for him to teach, lest one say: "One may claim it is anyhow needed

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for you to make a parapet to prevent the people passing in the street from looking into your property; therefore make the whole parapet on your property, and I will bear half of the expense." So he comes to teach us that he may answer: "From the public thoroughfare one can see only in the daytime, but not at night"; or, "Only when I am standing, but not when I sit," and also, "When one likes to look. For you, however, it is to be seen in any circumstances." The master said: "Each of them has to make a parapet to half a roof," etc. Is this not self-evident? He means to say that if one has already done his part, lest one say his neighbour has a right to say to him, "Take from me the expense, and make all of it (as it is too much trouble for me to find a labourer for such a small work; and if you had not done yours, I would have taken labourers to do the whole of it on my property and taken from you your share of the expense)," it comes to teach us that his neighbour may say, "As you do not wish to spoil your roof by the weight of the entire parapet, so I do not wish to spoil mine." R. Na'hman in the name of Samuel said: On a roof which looks into the yard of one's neighbour, he has to make a parapet to the height of four ells. However, between the roofs he need not. And R. Na'hman himself maintains that four ells is not necessary, but a partition of ten spans is. To what purpose? If to prevent looking, then four ells are necessary; and if only for separation of the roofs, in case one step beyond his roof, he should be accused of intention to steal, then any partitions suffice, and if to prevent goats or sheep from straying, a small partition which they cannot jump over suffices? It is for the second purpose mentioned above; but if there should be any separation, he may say, "I stretched my hand over to the neighbour's roof because I wanted to measure the boundary lines on the roof," which is not likely for him to say when the partition is of ten spans. An objection was raised from the following: "If his courtyard was higher than the roof of his neighbour, it is not to be taken into consideration." May we not assume that it means that no parapet whatever is needed? Nay. It means the consideration of a parapet of four ells, but one of ten spans is required.

It was taught: If there were two courtyards, one upon the other, according to R. Huna the lower one has to build from his upper side upwards until he reaches the upper one, and the higher one continues; and according to Ula and R. Hisda the higher one has to share in the expense of the lower one also; and there is a Boraitha which supports R. Hisda as follows: If there were two courtyards, one upon the other, the upper one cannot say, "I will begin to build from my property," but he must share with the lower one; and if, however, his courtyard were higher than the roof of his neighbour, he has nothing to do with him.

There were two tenants, one in the upper and one in the lower part of a house, and the roof of the lower one sank, and he called on the upper one to rebuild it. He declined, saying, "My residence is not spoiled." Then the lower one asked of him permission to rebuild the whole thing at his own expense, but the upper one responded, "I have no place in which to live until you shall have rebuilt." Then he wanted to hire a residence for him, but he was told, "I do not want to trouble myself by removing." And to the claim of the lower one that he could not live in the house, he answered, "Thou canst bow thy head when going out and coming in." Said R. Hama: The upper one's claim could be taken into consideration, provided the roof had not reached down to the height of ten spans from the floor of the house; but if it so reached down, the lower one may claim, "This place belongs to my property, and it must be removed." And all this is said when there was no stipulation at the time of building; but if there were, the upper one may be compelled to share in the rebuilding. But to what extent must it have sunk that the lower one should have the right to rebuild? Said the rabbis, in the presence of Rabha, in the name of Mar Sutra b. R. Na'hman: He has quoted his father answering this question, that if the height was less than is stated (Chapter 6., Mishna 4), the height should be the half of the length and the breadth together. And Rabha answered: Did not I tell you, you should never hang a βιχος; (clay pot) on R. Na'hman's neck? (It means that nonsense should not be quoted in his name.) For I know R. Na'hman's decision was: "If it was spoiled from the ordinary use of a dwelling." However, after all, to prevent controversy the law should state some dimension. Said R. Huna b. R. Jehoshua: If the height decreases so that the bundles of sticks usually made in the city of Mehusa cannot be brought in and be manipulated.

There was one who built a wall against the window of his neighbour, and to the claim of his neighbour, "You darken my place," he answered him, "I will close up at my expense this window and make you a new one above." But the other party refused, saying, "By doing so you will spoil my wall." He said then: "I will take apart your wall unto this place and build you a new one." The other rejoined: "The old wall will not bear the new building." He then offered to rebuild the whole wall from top to bottom and to make him a new window, and again he refused, saying that one new wall would not correspond with the three old ones. Finally the other party agreed to rebuild the whole house, and still he refused: "I have no place to live." And even then his neighbour agreed to hire for him a residence, and he again responded, "I do not want the trouble of removing." And R. Hama decided that the law cannot compel him to comply with the wish of his neighbour. But to what purpose is this stated? Has not R. Hama declared his decision in the above case? He meant to say that even if he has used the house in question for keeping straw and wood only, even then he cannot be compelled.

There were two brothers who divided a bequest. One took a palace and the other took a nice garden which was in front of it; and the latter built a wall on the edge of the garden, and to the claim of his brother that he darkened his house, he answered, "I built it on my property." And Rabh decided that the law is not against him. Said Rabhina to R. Ashi: Why should this case differ from the case in the following Boraitha: Two brothers divided a bequest. One took a vineyard and the other took a field. The owner of the vineyard is entitled to four ells of the field for the entering of animals to work it up, etc., as it is considered that so was the stipulation at the time of the division. (Hence we see that the requirements of the vineyard are taken into consideration. Why should it not be the same with the palace of the above case?) And R. Ashi answered: There the owner of the vineyard paid to his partner the difference between the two estates, and consequently the stipulation that his vineyard should be worked up was made. To this Rabhina rejoined: Do you mean to say that in the case of the palace there was not any settlement about the value of the two parts of the bequest? Does the law speak of fools? And R. Ashi rejoined: It may be there was a settlement, and the man of the garden took his share for the value of the building of the palace, but they had not made any settlement for the value of the air. But should there not be taken into consideration the rightful claim of the man of the palace, that he has paid him the difference for a palace, and then it was changed into a dark chamber like a prison? Said R. Shimi b. Ashi: The name of the palace does not change even after the wall is built, and the gratification which the owner of the garden received was for the name. As we have learned in the Middle Tract, if one said, "I sell you the estate, which contains a kur of earth, and there is no more than a half," etc., the sale is valid, as it is so called. But still, what comparison is this? There he sold him a piece of ground which was so named, and the buyer is aware of what he bought; but here, could not the man of the palace say: "I have agreed to this division for the purpose of living in it as my parents did, and now it is darkened"? Said both Mar the Elder and Mar the Younger, the sons of R. Hisda, to R. Ashi: The Sages of Nahardai, among them R. Hama, decided according to their theory elsewhere, that they hold with R. Na'hman, who said in the name of Samuel that brothers, after the dividing of a bequest, have no claim for a path, for windows, for ladders, and for canals, each on the other (as they ought to take these into, consideration when dividing), and must be strict on this law, as this was enacted once for all. Rabha, however, maintains that such a claim is always to be taken into consideration.

There was a note belonging to orphans, against which the other party showed a receipt, and R. Hama decided not to collect on this note because of the receipt, and not to destroy it until the orphans should have grown up, as they might find some evidence against the receipt. R. A'ha b. Rabha questioned Rabhina: How does the Halakha prevail in all cases like the above-mentioned? and he answered: All of them are to be practised in accordance with R. Hama, except in the case of the receipt, as witnesses should not be considered by us as liars. 1 Mar Sutra b. R. Mari, however, said that even in the last case R. Hama is right; for, if the receipt were genuine, they would have made use of it while the creditor was still alive, and because they did not do so forgery was to be feared.

MISHNA 4.: Partners of a courtyard must share in the expense of building a gate or a door to it, if one of them demands it. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, however, says: Not all courtyards need a door (the Gemara will explain which need one and which do not). An inhabitant of a city has to share in the building of a wall around the city, with the doors and the bolts. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, however, maintains that not all cities need one. How long must one dwell in a city to be considered a citizen of it? Twelve months. If, however, he has bought a dwelling-house in it, he is considered a citizen at once.

GEMARA: Shall we assume that a gate to a courtyard is considered a good thing? Is it not a fact that there was a pious man to whom Elijah appeared frequently, and after he had built a gate to his courtyard Elijah did not speak to him thereafter (because this prevented poor men from entering for their needs)? This presents no difficulty. If the door is to be opened from inside, it is not good; but if from outside (so that any one can open it), it is a good thing.

"Building a gate or door to it," etc. There is a Boraitha: R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said that only a yard which is near the public thoroughfare needs a gate, but not one which is not near to it. The rabbis, however, maintain that a courtyard which is even far away from a public thoroughfare may need a gate; for it may happen that people will pass into it from that which is at the thoroughfare, and will cause harm to the owner's property. And also to a city which is far from the boundary a surrounding wall is not required, according to R. Simeon; and the rabbis maintain that each of them may require one in war time. R. Elazar questioned R. Johanan: How shall such a tax be apportioned: according to the number of souls, or to the number of houses, or according to one's wealth? And he answered: According to the number of houses; and thou, Elazar, my son, put nails in this Halakha (that it never escape from thy mind).

R. Jehudah the Second taxed the rabbis for this purpose, and Resh Lakish said to him: The rabbis do not need any guard, as it is written [Ps. cxxxix. 18]: "Should I count them," etc. Count whom--the upright? Can they be more than the sands? Is it not written [Gen. xxii. 17] that all Israel is only "as the sand"? You must then say that it means that the acts of the upright are more than the sands, etc. Now, the little sands guard the sea. So much the more should not the acts of the upright, which are more than the sands, guard them? R. Na'hman b. R. Hisda taxed the rabbis. Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak to him: By this act you have transgressed what is written in the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa. The Pentateuch [Deut. xxxiii. 3]: "Yea, thou also lovedst the tribes; all their saints were in thy hand; and they, prostrate before thy feet, received thy words." Thus said Moses before the Holy One, blessed be He: "Lord of the Universe, even when thou lovest the tribes, the saints of Israel shall be in thy hand" (i.e., they shall be guarded by thee). For the further explanation of this verse R. Joseph taught that it means the scholars who drag their feet from town to town and from country to country to learn the Torah and to discuss about the commandments of the Omnipotent. The Prophets [Hosea, 8:10]: "But even though they should spend gifts among the nations, now will I gather them; and they shall be humbled a little through the burden of the king of princes." And Ula said: This verse was written in the Aramaic language, and the expression Yithnu should be read Yethano, which means (in Aramaic) "to learn," and it is to be interpreted thus: If all the Israelites who are in exile should occupy themselves with the study of the Torah, the gathering of them would be at hand; but if only a few of them, they should be exempt from the burdens imposed by kings or princes. And the Hagiographa [Ezra, 7:24]: ". . . no one shall be empowered to impose any tax, tribute, or toll," etc. And R. Jehudah said: This means, to free the scholars of the taxes of the government.

R. Papa had taxed orphans for digging a new well. Said R. Shesha b. R. Idi to him: Perhaps no water will be found (and then the money of the orphans would be taken for nothing, for they are not of age to relinquish their property). And he answered: I am taking the money; if there should be water, I will use it; if not, I will return it.

Rabbi opened his barns of grain in the years of famine, and said: This shall be for the use of them who have studied the Bible, Mishna, Gemara, Halakha, or Hagada, but not for ignorant men who have never desired to study anything. R. Jonathan b. Amram entered, and said: Rabbi, feed me. He asked him: My son, hast thou read the Bible? And he said no. Hast thou studied the Mishna, or anything? And he said no. "Then why should I feed thee?" And he answered: Feed me as people feed a dog or a raven. And he did so. After he went out, Rabbi was sorry, saying: Woe is me! that I have given my bread to an ignorant man. Said R. Simeon his son to him: Perhaps this man was your disciple, Jonathan b. Amram, whose custom it is not to derive any benefit from his wisdom. It was investigated, and they found that so it was. Then said Rabbi: My barns shall be open to every one, without any distinction. Rabbi's previous act, however, was in accordance with his theory elsewhere, that chastisements are inflicted upon the world only because of the ignorant men who do not desire to study anything.

"How long must one dwell in a city," etc. There is a contradiction from the following. A caravan with asses or camels, who are travelling from one place to another, who took their rest in a city which was guilty of idolatry, and the caravan while being there were persuaded and worshipped idols, they are to be stoned, but their money must be saved for their heirs. If, however, they were there thirty days, they must be slain by the sword, as inhabitants of the town, and their money is to be confiscated (hence we see that thirty days' residence suffices to be counted a citizen). Said Rabha: This presents no difficulty. To be counted an inhabitant of the town, thirty days suffice; but to be a citizen, twelve months are required. As we have learned in the following Boraitha: If one vows that he shall derive no benefit from the citizens of this town, he must not so derive from them who have resided there for twelve months; but he may derive benefit from them who have resided there less than this time. If, however, he vows not to derive benefit from the inhabitants of this city, then he may derive from them only who have not resided as yet thirty days. But have we not learned in a Boraitha that a poor man who has resided thirty days in the city is entitled to get meals from the kitchen of the city charities? Three months entitles him to get cash for food from the treasury of the charities; six months, to raiment; nine months, to burial; and twelve months, he must share in the expense of fencing fields

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or gardens, which it was then customary to make of sticks in the shape of the Greek letter ψ? Said R. Assi in the name of R. Johanan: The statement in the Mishna, twelve months, means also the same.

The same said again in the name of the same authority: Every one, even orphans, must share in the expense of the fencing, except rabbis.

R. Papa said: To the repair of the wall of the city, for buying horses for the riders around the city (for watching and to ascertain what it needs), and for an arsenal. all, even orphans, must contribute, except the rabbis. The rule for this is that to everything from which they derive benefit they must contribute, even orphans. Rabba had taxed the orphans of Mar Mirion for charity. Said Abayi to him: Has not R. Samuel b. Jehudah taught that orphans must not be taxed for charity, even for the redeeming of prisoners? and he answered: I did so only to honour them.

Aiphra Hurmiz, the mother of King Sabur, sent a purse with dinars to R. Joseph, saying: This shall be used for the highest charity. And he deliberated what kind of charity should be considered the highest. Said Abayi to him: As it is said above that orphans must not be taxed even for the redeeming of prisoners, it is to be inferred that redeeming of prisoners is considered the highest charity.

Rabha said to Rabba b. Mari: Wherefrom is the Rabbi's decision that redeeming of prisoners is the highest charity? And he answered: From what is written [Jer. 15:2]: "Such as are destined to death, to death; to the sword, to the sword; to famine, to famine; to captivity, to captivity." And R. Johanan said all in this verse that is mentioned later is harder than what precedes it--as, for instance, "to be killed by the sword" is harder than a natural death, in accordance with the verse, as well as with common sense. The verse [Ps. 116:15]: "Dear 1 in the eyes of the Lord is the (natural) death of the pious," accords with common sense--because from a natural death the corpse remains clean, but the sword defiles it with blood. And that famine is worse than the sword is also learned from the same, as in the verse [Lam. 4.], "Happier are those slain by the sword than those slain by hunger," etc., and common sense--for the latter has to suffer long and great pain, while the former's death is quick and sudden. Captivity, however, is harder than all of them, as in it all the before-mentioned sufferings are endured.

The rabbis taught: Charity must be collected by two persons and distributed by three. Collected by two, because an administrating body must be constituted of no less than two; distributed by three, because it requires deliberation in judgement (as to whether the applicant is worthy of support, and to what extent): therefore it is likened unto a civil case which requires a body of three. The collecting of food is to be done every day; but cash for the charity treasury, only on the eves of the Sabbaths. Distributing of food is for every poor man, but cash is only distributed to the poor of the city. However, the elders of the city have a right to exchange, according to their discretion, money for food, or food for money. The elders of the city have also the right to fix the measures, and the prices of victuals and beverages, and also the wages of labourers, and to fine him or them who transgress their laws. The masters say: No administrative body should be less than two. Whence is this deduced? Said R. Na'hman: It is written [Ex. 28:5]: "And they shall take the gold." An administration requires two; but to bestow trust, one is sufficient. And this is a support to R. Hanina, who said that it happened once that Rabbi appointed two brothers as treasurers of the charity (and two brothers are considered one in this office). But, after all, what "administration" is there in collecting charity? It is as R. Na'hman said in the name of Rabba b. Abuhu, that one may be pledged for charity even on the eve of Sabbath (hence it is administration). Is that so? Is it not written [Jer. 30:20]: "I will punish all that oppress them"? Also R. Itz'hak b. Samuel b. Martha said in the name of Rabh that it means even the collector of charity? This presents no difficulty. If the man is wealthy, he may be pressed and pledged as Rabha pressed R. Nathan b. Ammi and took from him four hundred zuz for charity. But if he is not wealthy, then the one who presses him will be punished. It is written [Dan. 12:3]: "And the intelligent shall shine brilliantly, like the brilliance of the expanse." This means a judge who goes into the depths of the law and tries ever to decide according to the truth. "And they that bring many to righteousness shall be like the stars, for ever and ever." This means the collectors of charity. In a Boraitha, however, it is taught that the first part of the verse quoted means both the judges and the collectors, while the latter part means the instructors of children. Who, for instance, is meant? Said Rabh: "R. Samuel b. Shilath"--whom Rabh found once standing in a garden, and he said to him: "Have you left your honourable position (as I was told that you never left the children whom you are instructing, and now I see you standing without them)?" The answer was: "It is thirteen years since I have seen this part of my property, and even now my mind is with my pupils." (But there are only mentioned the judges, collectors, and instructors of children.) But how about the rabbis? Said Rabhina: The verse [Judges, 5:31], "But may those that love him be as the rising of the sun in his might," refers to them.

The rabbis taught: The collectors of charity must not separate themselves from each other (while they are engaged in collecting). However, one may go to collect from the storekeepers, while the other does so from the keepers of the stands in the market. Should it happen to a charity collector to find money in the streets, he must not put it into his private purse, but into the purse of the charity, and when he shall reach home then he may take it out. The same is the case if he meets one of his debtors and he pay him what he owes him: he shall not put it into his private purse, but into that of the charity (to prevent suspicion), and when he comes home he may take it out.

The rabbis taught: The treasures of charity, if there be no poor among whom to distribute, they may exchange the smaller coins of the money collected for larger ones, but not from their private purse. And the same is the case with the collectors of food; if there be no poor, they may sell it to others, but not to themselves. The coins of charity must not be counted in pairs, but each one separately (in order to avoid suspicion).

Abayi said: Formerly my master would not sit on the rugs which belonged to the synagogue (because they were brought from the treasury of the charities); but after he heard that the elders of the city have the right to change the use of charity money as they see fit, he sat thereon.

Formerly (he said again), while being a treasurer, he used to have two purses--one for poor strangers and one for the poor of the city; but when he heard that Samuel said to R. Ta'hlipha b. Abdimi, "You can keep the money for charity in one purse with the stipulation that you may distribute it to whom you find worthy," he also kept the money in one purse, as he made the same stipulation with his congregation. R. Ashi, however, who was also a treasurer, said: I need no stipulation at all, as all the donations are intrusted to my discretion.

There were two butchers who made a stipulation that each of them should do business every alternate day, and he who should violate this agreement, the skins of his slaughtered cattle that day should be destroyed. And finally one did business on the day which was not his, and the partner destroyed his skins. And when the case came before Rabha, he made him pay. R. Jimar b. Shlamyah objected to him from that which was taught above, that they may fine them who act against the stipulation, and Rabha did not care to answer him. Said R. Papa: He has done right in not answering, as only when there is no court or honoured man may partners make a stipulation between themselves. But if there be, then their stipulations are not to be considered when the court, etc., has no knowledge thereof.

The rabbis taught: One must not examine the treasures of charity, and also not the treasures of the sanctuary. Although there is no direct support from the Bible, a hint of this is to be found [2 Kings, 12:16]: "And they reckoned not with the men into whose hands they delivered the money," etc.

R. Elazar said: It is advisable for one to count his money, although he has a trusted treasurer in his house, as it is written [ibid., ibid. 11]: "They put up in bags after having counted the money," etc.

R. Huna said: If one came to ask food, it may be investigated whether he is in need; but no investigation should be made of him who asks for raiment. This can be seen from the verse [Is. 58:7]: "Is it not to distribute thy bread to the hungry . . . when thou seest the naked, that thou clothe him?" etc., as the expression distribute, "Porosh" (with an sh instead of with an s), means investigate first and then give. And immediately after this it reads: "When thou seest the naked," etc., which means at once. R. Jehudah, however, maintains the contrary: No investigation for food, but for raiment. He appeals to common sense and to the verse. To common sense--he who requires food suffers the pangs of hunger, which is not the case with 'him who asks raiment; and the same cited verse is also to be interpreted thus: "Is it not to distribute thy bread," etc., means immediately, as the verse is to be explained according to its pronunciation and not the spelling; 1 "and if thou seest the naked," etc., means that he shall show you that he is so. And there is a Boraitha supporting R. Jehudah. If one say: "Clothe me," he must be investigated, but if he say: "Feed me," it must be complied with at once without any investigation. There is a Mishna (mentioned in Sabbath.): "If a wandering mendicant come to a town, he must be given a loaf which can be bought for a pundian (one forty-eighth of a sela), when the price of flour is one sela for four saahs. If he remain over-night, he must be given lodging; and if he remain over Sabbath, he must be given three meals for Sabbath." What is meant by lodging? Said R. Papa: A bed to sleep in and a pillow; and a Boraitha in addition to this states that if this mendicant was begging from door to door, then the congregation need not look after him.

There was a mendicant who begged from door to door, and R. Papa paid no attention to him. Said R. Samma b. R. Ieba to him: If the master pay no attention to him, then no one will mind him, and he may starve to death. But did not the Boraitha say that if he beg from door to door the congregation has nothing to do with him? This means that to him must not be given what is appointed for mendicants who don't beg at the door, but something is to be given him. R. Assi said: One may not refuse to give at least a third of a shekel yearly for charity, as it is written [Neh. 10:33]: "And we established for us (as one of the) commandments to impose on ourselves (to give) the third part of a shekel in every year," etc. And he said again: The virtue of charity equals the sum of the virtues of all the other commandments together, as it is written (in the just cited verse) "commandments," in the plural and not in the singular. Said R. Elazar: The gatherer of charity is deemed more virtuous than he who gives charity, as it is written [Is. 32:17]: "And the work of righteousness (i.e., zedaka--charity) shall be peace; and the effect of it quietness and security for ever," which means: If he was worthy of reward, he will distribute his bread to the hungry; and if he was not worthy of reward, the poor will be the members of his household.

Said Rabha to the inhabitants of Mehusa, his city: I pray you, see that there be concord among you, in order that ye shall have peace from the government. R. Elazar said again: When the Temple was in existence one gave his shekel, and he was atoned. Now, when the Temple is destroyed, if people do charity, well and good; if not, the idolaters come and take away their goods by force. Nevertheless, even this is counted as charity in Heaven, as it is written [Is. 60:17]: " . . . and righteousness as thy taskmasters." (Even when given to the taskmasters, it is counted in Heaven as charity.) Said Mar Uqba: I was told by the child who was corrected by his mother, in the name of R. Elazar, as follows: It is written [Is. 59:17]: "And he put on righteousness as a coat of mail," etc., which may be understood, that as in a coat of mail every little link thereof is counted in the number which is needed to make up such a coat of mail, so every little coin of charity is counted in Heaven, in the end making up a great amount.

R. Hanina, however, said from the following verse [ibid., 64:5]: ". . . and like a soiled garment, all our righteousnesses . . ." As every thread of a garment makes it into a great garment, the same is it with charity, that every coin counts in the great aggregate.

Why was R. Shesheth called the child who was corrected by his mother? Because it happened once that R. A'hadbui b. Ammi questioned him something concerning the law plagues; and while discussing this matter, the questioner answered him jestingly. R. Shesheth became dejected, and in punishment for this, R. A'hadbui became dumb, and forgot his studies. The mother of R. Shesheth came to him and wept before him, that he should pray for R. A'hadbui to be cured; but he did not listen to her until she said to him: "See the breasts by which you have been nursed," when he prayed, and R. A'hadbui was cured.

R. Elazar said: The one who is doing charity secretly is greater than Moses our master; as in regard to him it is written [Deut. 9:19]: For I was afraid of the anger, and the indignation . . . and regarding him who does charity secretly, it is written [Prov. 21:14]: "A gift in secret pacifieth anger, and a bribe in the bosom, strong fury." He differs, however,. with R. Itz'hak, who says that one pacifies only anger, but not strong fury. Because he maintains that the beginning of the verse just quoted does not correspond with the end; as it was heard in his name that a judge who accepts bribery brings strong fury into the world.

R. Itz'hak said again: He who gives a coin to a poor man is rewarded with six blessings; he, however, who encourages him is rewarded with eleven. The six are [Is. 58:8, 9]: "Then shall break forth as the morning dawn thy light. . . . Then thou shalt call, and the Lord will answer." The eleven are [ibid., ibid. 10]: ". . . . and satisfy the afflicted soul, then shall shine forth in the darkness thy light And thou shalt be called," etc.

The same said again: It is written [Prov. 21:21]: "He that pursueth righteousness and kindness will find life, righteousness, and honour." How is this verse to be understood? Because he pursues righteousness, he will find righteousness? It means that whoever pursues righteousness and charity, the Holy One, blessed be He, will open unto him the ways of procuring money, in order that he may be able to do charity. R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak said that the Holy One, blessed be He, gives him the chance to find men who need and are worthy of support, so that he may have the full reward for it, in the world to come. What does he mean to exclude? He means to exclude what Rabha or Rabba lectured: It is written [Jer. 18:23]: ". . . in the time of thy anger deal thus with them." Thus prayed Jeremiah before the Holy One, blessed be He: "Lord of the Universe! even when they overrule their evil thoughts and are about to do charity, Thou shouldst not give them the chance to support worthy men; but unworthy ones, for which they will get no reward in the world to come." R. Joshua b. Levi said: "Whosoever makes it his business to do charity, will be blessed with sons having wisdom, wealth, and who will preach haggadah (morality)." As it is written in the above-cited verse, "will find life," which means wisdom; "wealth," as in the same verse it is written zedaka (which

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means charity, and, usually, to be able to do charity, one must be wealthy); and "haggadah," as in the same verse it says "honour," and reads [Prov. 3:35]: "The wise shall inherit glory. . ."

There is a Boraitha: R. Mair used to say: If a common questioner discusses, "If your God likes the poor, why does He not feed them?" one may answer, "For the purpose of saving us from the punishment of Gehenna." This Tarnusruphus questioned of R. Aqiba, and the above was his answer. To which Tarnusruphus rejoined: It is, on the contrary, for this you should be punished with Gehenna; and I will give you a parable from which you will understand why: A king became angry at his slave and put him in prison, with the command that nobody should feed him; in spite of this, a person fed him and gave him drink. Would the king not be angry at and punish such a man? And ye Israelites are called servants, as it is written [Lev. 25:55]: "For unto me are the children of Israel servants . . . ." R. Aqiba answered: I will give you another parable, to which my previous answer is to be compared: A king became angry with his son, put him in prison, and commanded that nobody should give him food or drink; in spite of which command, one fed him and gave him drink. When the king became aware of it, would he not be grateful to this person and send him a present? And we Israelites are called children, as it is written [Deut. xiv. 1]: "Ye are the children of the Lord," etc. Tarnusruphus, however, said: Ye are named children, and also servants--children, when ye are doing the Omnipotent's will, and servants when ye act against His will. And you will admit that now ye are acting against His will (as your Temple is destroyed and ye are in exile, which would not be the case, if ye did His will). Hence he who favours you acts against the will of God. To which R. Aqiba answered: With regard to this, it is written [Is. 58:10]: "And if thou pour out to the hungry thy soul, and satisfy the afflicted soul," etc. The "afflicted soul" refers to us in our present circumstances, and nevertheless the beginning of this verse favours such charity.

R. Jehudah b. Shalom lectured: As the yearly household expenses for one are appointed (in Heaven) on each Rosh Hashana, so are his losses. If he is worthy, he will act according to the beginning of the verse cited; but if not, the last portion of this verse, "the afflicted souls," will be the members of his own house. So Rabban Johannan b. Zakkai had seen in a dream that his nephews would lose in the current year seventeen hundred dinars, and he made them distribute this amount for charity. However, seventeen dinars remained with them, and on the eve of Atonement the government took them away from them. Then R. Johannan said unto them: "Fear not; seventeen dinars were taken from you, and you will lose no more." To the question: "Whence do you know?" he answered: "I have seen it in a dream." And to the question: "Why did you not inform us, as then we would have distributed the entire amount to the poor?" he answered: "In order that you give charity only for the purpose of doing the heavenly will."

It happened to R. Papa that, while mounting steps, he slipped, and nearly fell (and would have been killed; but was miraculously saved). Then he said: If this had happened, my enemies would have accused me of being a violator of the Sabbath or an idolater. Said Hyya b. Rabh of Diphti to him: Perhaps a poor man called upon you and you paid no attention to him. As we have learned in the following Boraitha: R. Joshua b. Kar'ha said: He whose eyes are shut to charity is likened unto an idolater; and this is to be taken from an analogy of expression in the following verses: Concerning charity it is written [Deut. 15:9]: "Beware that there be not Belial in thy heart"; and concerning idolatry, it is written [ibid., 13:14]: "There have gone forth children of Belial." Hence the expression Belial makes the two above-mentioned acts equal.

There is a Boraitha: "R. Elazar b. Jose said: Charity and kindness done by Israel in this world, are defenders and peacemakers between them and their heavenly Father; as it is written [Jer. 15:5]: 'For thus hath said the Lord, Enter not into the house of mourning, neither go to lament nor to condole with them; for I have taken away my peace from this people, saith the Lord, yea, kindness and mercy.' Kindness means bestowing of favours, and mercy means charity (hence, because these were taken away, therefore is the peace also taken away)."

There is another Boraitha: "R. Joshua said: Grace is charity, which nears the redeeming; as it is written [Is. 56:1]: 'Thus hath said the Lord, Keep ye justice and do zedaka 1 (charity).' The same used to say: Ten hard things were created in the world: A mountain is hard, iron cuts it; iron is hard, fire softens it; fire is hard, water extinguishes it; water is hard, the clouds bear it; clouds are hard, the winds spread them; the wind is hard, the body tolerates it; a body is hard, shaking breaks it; shaking is hard, wine dispels it; wine is hard, sleep removes it; death is harder than all of these, and charity saves from death; as it is written [Prov. 10:2]: '. . . but zedaka will deliver from death.' "

R. Dusthai b. Yannai lectured: Come and see how the manner of the Holy One, blessed be He, is not as the manner of human beings. When a human being brings a present to the king, there is a doubt whether it will be accepted or not; and if it be accepted, whether he will see the king. But the Holy One, blessed be He, is not so; if a man gives a coin to a poor man, he is rewarded and experiences the appearance of the Shekhinah; as it is written [Ps. 17:15]: "As for me, in zedek (charity) shall I behold thy face.

R. Elazar used to give a coin to a poor man before praying, quoting the above verse [ibid., ibid.]: "I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with contemplating thy likeness." What does it mean? Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: "It means that scholars who keep sleep from their eyes in this world, the Holy One, blessed be He, satisfies them with the appearance of the Shekhinah in the world to come." R. Johanan said: It is written [Prov. 19:17]: "He lendeth to the Lord, that is liberal to the poor." If this were not written, it would be impossible of conception; for it appears as if He becomes a servant to the lender; for it is written [ibid., 22:7]: ". . . and the borrower is servant to the man that lendeth." R. Hyya b. Abba, in the name of R. Johanan, said: It is written [ibid., 11:4]: ". . . but zedaka will deliver from death"; and [ibid., 10:2]: "Treasures of wickedness will not profit aught; but zedaka will deliver from death." What do the two zedakas mean? One, that it saved him from an unnatural death; the other, that it saved him from Gehenna. Which of them speaks of Gehenna? The one from chap. xi., as there is there mentioned the day of "wrath"; as it is written [Zeph. 1:15]: "A day of wrath is that day," etc., meaning Gehenna. And what kind of zedaka saves one from an unnatural death? If he gives, and knows not to whom, and he who receives it knows not from whom (if he gives his donation to the treasurer of charity). "Gives and knows not to whom" excludes the acts of Mar Uqba (who used to put four zuz every day in the slot underneath the door for one poor man, so that the poor knew not from whom he received it, but Mar Uqba knew to whom he gave it). "The receiver does not know from whom" excludes the acts of R. Abba, who used to wrap up some dinars in his handkerchief and, coming among the poor, stretch his hand containing it behind him, and the poor would take it out; so that he knew not who took it, but the poor knew who was the giver. An objection was raised from the following: What shall one do that he should have male children? R. Elazar said: He should distribute his money among the poor. R. Joshua said: He should enjoy his wife before he has intercourse with her. And R. Eliezer b. Jacob said: He shall not give a coin for the treasury of charity unless the treasurer is like unto R. Hananya b. Theradion. (Hence one must not always give to the treasury of charity?) The above Boraitha meant also when the treasurer was of that kind. R. Abuhu said: Moses said before the Holy One, blessed be He: "Lord of the Universe, how may the horn of Israel be raised?" To which He answered: "You should take charity from every one of Israel who is to be counted" [Ex. 30:12]. The same said again: King Solomon b. David was questioned: How great is the power of charity? and he answered: Go and see how David, my father, explained this [Ps. 112:9]: "He distributeth, he giveth to the needy: his righteousness endureth for ever; his horn shall be exalted in honour." Rabha, however, said, from the following verse [Is. 33:16]: "He shall dwell on high; rocky strongholds shall be his refuge; his bread shall be given him; his water shall be sure." And it is to be interpreted thus: "Why shall he dwell on high," etc.? Because to the poor he has given his bread, and to the down-trodden his water was sure. R. Abuhu said again: Solomon was questioned: Who is supposed to be the man who has a share in the world to come? And be answered with the verse [Is. 24:23]: " . . . and before his ancients in glory" (which means him who is respected in his old age for the wisdom which he gathered during all his life. As it happened to Joseph b. R. Joshua, who was in a state of catalepsy, and when he awoke his father asked him: What have you seen in the upper world? And he answered: I have seen a reversed world: he who is here highly esteemed is there considered of the lowest class, and vice versa. His father rejoined: Not a reversed world, but a rational one, have you seen. He continued questioning: And how are we considered there? And he answered: The same as in this world. I also heard a saying: Happy are they who come here with their study in their hands. I also heard that those who were killed by the government, none of the creatures could approach them (because of their high standing).

Who is meant by those who were killed by the government? Shall we assume that R. Aqiba and his comrades are meant? Is it only because they were killed? (They were the greatest men of the generation, aside from this.) It meant them who were killed in Louda. (See Tract Taanith.)

There is a Boraitha: Rabban Johannan b. Zakkai questioned his disciples as to the meaning of the verse [Prov. 14:34]: "Zedaka exalteth a people; but the disgrace of nations is sin." And R. Eliezer answered: "Zedaka exalteth a people" means Israel, as it is written [2 Sam. 7:23]: "And who is like thy people, like Israel, the only nation on the earth?" And "the disgrace of nations is sin"--all the zedaka and kindness of the nations, if they indulge in them only for the purpose of becoming great or gaining a good name, is a sin for them. R. Joshua (one of the disciples) answered the first half-verse same as R. Eliezer; and the second half: If the nations do so even in order that their kingdom shall continue to exist for a long time, as in the case of Nebuchadnezzar [Dan. iv.]. Rabban Gamaliel answered the first half of the verse as above; the second half: It is a sin for the nations if they do so solely to pride themselves thereon against other nations. So he who is proud without cause falls into Gehenna, as it is written [Prov. 21:24]: "The presumptuous and proud, scorner is his name, who dealeth in the wrath of presumption." And by wrath is meant Gehenna, as mentioned above. Said R. Gamaliel: For the right interpretation of this verse we are still in need of the Modaith; as R. Eliezer b. Modaith interpreted it thus: The first part as above, and the second part: If the nations art doing so only for the purpose of insulting Israel; as it is written [Jer. 40:3]: "Now the Lord hath brought it . . . because ye have sinned," etc., which was said by Nebusaradan. R. Ne'hunia b. Hakana, however, answered. This verse is to be interpreted thus: Zedaka and kindness exalt a nation, meaning Israel; but to the nations it is considered a sin-offering. Their master, R. Johannan b. Zakkai, rejoined: It seems to me that Ne'hunia's interpretation is better than yours and mine. "Than mine! Did he also say something about this?" Yea as we have learned in the following Boraitha: "Said to them R. Johannan b. Zakkai: As a sin-offering atones for Israel, so does charity atone for all other nations."

Iphra Hurmiz, the mother of King Sabur, sent four hundred dinars for charity to R. Ammi, and he did not accept it, but forwarded it to Rabha, who accepted it, in order to have peace with the royal house. R. Ammi, however, became angry, and said: Does Rabha not accept the verse [Is. 27:11]: "When its boughs are withered, they shall be broken off; women will come and set them on fire; for it is not a people of understanding," etc.?

But why does R. Ammi become angry? Did he not want to maintain the peace with the royal house? He thought that this money ought to be distributed among the Gentile poor only. Rabha also did so, but R. Ammi was not aware of it.

There is a Boraitha: It was said about Benjamin the Upright, who was a treasurer of charity, that at one time a woman came to him in the years of famine, asking him to feed her. And he told her: I swear that there is nothing in the treasury of charity. But she rejoined: Rabbi, if you will not feed me, you will find a woman with her seven children dead. He then fed her from his own pocket. At a later time he became sick and was near to death; the angels said before the Holy One, blessed be He: "Lord of the Universe, Thou hast declared that he who saves one soul of Israel is like unto him who has saved a whole world; and Benjamin the Upright, who has saved a woman with her seven children, should he die in his prime?" Immediately the adverse decree was torn, and a Boraitha states that twenty-two years were added to his life.

The rabbis taught: It happened with the King Monbas, who had distributed his treasure and that of his parents, in the years of famine, that his brothers and the whole household murmured against him, saying: Your parents saved and always added to the treasure of their parents, and you are distributing all this! And he rejoined: My parents saved their riches in this world, and I save in the heavenly treasury. As it is written [Ps. 85:12]: "Truth will grow up out of the earth, and righteousness will look down from heaven." My parents saved in their treasury, which brought them no interest, and I have saved in such a treasury as does bring interest. As it is written [Is. 3:10]: "Say ye to the righteous, that he hath done well; for the fruit of their doings shall they eat." My parents have saved in a place which can be reached by a hand, but I have saved in a place that can be reached by no hand. As it is written [Ps. 89:15]: "Righteousness and justice are the prop of thy throne: kindness and truth precede thy presence." My parents have saved for their descendants, and I have saved for myself. As it is written [Deut. 24:13]: ". . . and unto thee shall it be as righteousness before the Lord thy God." My parents have saved money in their treasury, and I have saved souls in my treasury. As it is written [Prov. 11:30]: "The fruit of the righteous is of the tree of life; and the wise draweth souls to himself." My parents have saved for this world, and I have saved for the world to come. As it is written [Is. 58:8]: ". . . and before thee shall go thy righteousness; the glory of the Lord shall be thy reward."

"If, however, he bought a dwelling-house," etc. Our Mishna is not in accordance with R. Simeon b. Gamaliel of the following Boraitha, who says that if one bought a tract of land, however small, he is considered a citizen immediately. But have we not learned in another Boraitha that he taught, if one bought a tract of land which is even only fit to build a house upon? There are two Tanaim who have reported differently in his name.

MISHNA 5.: Partners cannot compel each other to divide a courtyard unless each of the parts measures at least four ells; nor can a field be divided unless each part measures at least nine kabs for sowing. R. Jehudah, however, says: Nine half-kabs. Nor can a garden be divided unless each part measures at least half a kab for sowing. R. Aqiba, however, says: A quarter. Neither can one compel his partner to divide a

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dining-room, a turret, a pigeon-coop, a cloth, a bath-house, or an olive-press house, unless each has enough room to continue his former work. This is the rule: If, after division, each part retains its former name, then one can compel his partner to divide; but not otherwise. All this is said when the partners disagree; however, when they do agree, they may do as they please. An exception is the Holy Writ, if they possess it, which must not be divided, even if both agree to do so.

GEMARA: Said R. Assi in the name of R. Johanan: The four ells mentioned must be measured after doors and partitions necessary have been placed. And he may be supported from the following Boraithas: As one of them states that a courtyard is not to be divided unless each part contains eight ells, and another one states, unless four ells; to explain the contradiction, it is to be said that one treats without the doors and partitions, and the other treats with them.

R. Huna said: A yard must be divided in accordance with the doors (it means, he who possesses more doors is to get a greater share). R. Hisda, however, maintains that four ells must be allowed for each door, and the remainder should be divided equally. There is a Boraitha which supports R. Hisda: "All the doors which are in a yard, the owners of them have a right to four ells for each one; if one possesses one door, and another one two, the former takes four, and the latter eight ells; and the remainder is to be divided equally. If, however, one of them possesses a gate which measures eight ells, he has .a right to eight ells opposite it, and four ells in the yard." What is meant by the additional four ells? Thus said Abayi: He takes eight ells in the length and four ells in the width of the yard. Amemar said: An excavation in the yard which contains granum of fruit for the food of cattle, four ells is to be measured to it on either side. However, this is said when the owner has no separate door for it; but if he has one, four ells to the door only are to be measured. R. Huna said: "To a balcony the law of four ells does not apply, as the four ells which are allowed for each door are for unloading, and to and from the balcony one goes through the door of the house. R. Shesheth objected from the following: Gates of houses, as well as gates of balconies, have a right to four ells? The Boraitha speaks of a balcony which is partitioned with windows; if so, then it is self-evident, as it is a good chamber? It means that the partitions did not reach the ceiling. The rabbis taught: A gate, a balcony, or a gallery to which doors of the upper compartments open, and from which steps lead down to the court, have each a right to four ells. And even if five houses were open -to this gallery, no more than four ells are allowed. R. Johanan, questioned R. Jannai: Has a chicken-coop a right to four ells, or not? And he answered: The four ells are given for unloading, and here he can load and unload through the roof of the chicken-coop. Therefore it has no right to four ells.

Rabha questioned R. Na'hman: In the case of a house which is only half roofed, how is the law about the four ells in question? And he answered: It is not entitled to them--not only when it is roofed from inside, so that it is easy for one to go in to unload; but even when it is roofed from outside, he may take the trouble of entering from inside to unload.

R. Huna questioned R. Ammi: If one of the inhabitants of an alley desires to open the door leading from his yard to another alley, may the inhabitants of that alley prevent him, or not? And he answered: They may. He questioned him also: Lodgings for the government militia, how should they be arranged? In accordance with the number of souls or in accordance with the number of doors? And he answered: In accordance with the number of souls. And so also have we learned in the following Boraitha: Manure in the yard is to be divided in accordance with the doors of the house; and military lodgings, in accordance with the number of souls.

R. Huna said: If one of the inhabitants of an alley desires to make a fence around the entrance, the other inhabitants may prevent him, because he extends their way (making them walk around his fence). An objection was raised from the following: If there were five courtyards open to the alley (which was, in turn, open to the street), all of them may use the place bordering on the fifth yard which is nearest the street (for loading, unloading, etc.). The fifth, however, may use only its own place, but not the places near the other yards. The same is the case with the first three at the place near the fourth yard, the first two at the third, and only the first one at all of them, while none of them have the first one. (Hence we see that to the first one none of them has a right; and this objects to R. Huna's theory, who said that none of them have a right to make a fence around their entrance.) Regarding this law, Tanaim. of the following Boraitha differ: One of the inhabitants of an alley who desires to open his door into another alley, the inhabitants of that alley may prevent him. If, however, the door was there, only it was shut, and he wanted to open it, they cannot prevent him. So is the decree of Rabbi. R. Simeon b. Elazar, however, maintains, that if there were five yards opening to an alley, all of them may use the places which border upon the yards in the alley. And to the question, "Where are yards mentioned?" it was said that this Boraitha is not complete, and should read thus: "And the same is the case with five yards which open into an alley: all of them may use the fifth which is nearest the street, and the fifth can use only its own place, etc. So is the decree of Rabbi. R. Simeon, however, maintains that all of them may use the places alike."

The master says: If there was a door, and it was shut, the inhabitants cannot prevent him. Said Rabha: This law holds good only when he had not broken the hinges; but if he had broken the hinges, it is supposed that he had not intended to open the door again, and the inhabitants can prevent him from doing so. Said Abayi to him: The following Boraitha supports you: "If there was a house with a closed door, the four ells for unloading applies to it; if, however, the owner broke the hinges from the door, he has lost his right to them." Rabba b. b. Hana, in the name of R. Johanan, said: Alleys which are open to a road which leads to another city, and the inhabitants of this city desire to close them, the inhabitants of that city may prevent them; not only when there is no other road to that city, but even if there was another road, they can also prevent them. As R. Jehudah, in the name of Rabh, declared: A thoroughfare which is occupied by a majority, it is prohibited to spoil.

R. Annan, in the name of Samuel, said: Inhabitants of alleys who desire to make doors to their ends which are open to the street may be prevented by the public. The schoolmen were about to interpret this that it meant only the first four ells which are attached to the public ground, but not beyond this. As R. Zera said elsewhere, in the name of R. Na'hman: The four ells which are attached to the public ground are to be considered as the public ground itself. In reality, however, it is not so, as R. Na'hman's decision there was only regarding the law of defilement; but here it might happen that the street should be crowded and many people would enter beyond the four ells.

"Nor can afield be divided," etc. And R. Jehudah does not differ with the first Tana, as each of them speaks in accordance with the custom in his country. But what is the law in Babylon? Said R. Joseph: It can be divided if there is enough to plough for a day. How is this to be understood? If it means in the days of sowing, when the earth has already been ploughed, then the ploughing will not last two days, and in one day it could not be completed; and if in the days of ploughing, then in the time of harvest there will not be a day's work (and it is a trouble to hire labourers for a fraction of a day)? If you wish, it may be said that it means a day of ploughing and sowing together; and if you wish, it may be said that it means a day of sowing and artificial watering. R. Na'hman said: A valley can be divided when there is for each part a day's artificial watering. "A vineyard," says the father of Samuel, "three kabs for each part." And so also we have learned in the following Boraitha: "If one says: 'I sell you a part of the vineyard,' it is no less than three kabs. So is the decree of Symmachos." Said R. Jose: "Such a decree is only prophetical, as I see no ground for this." How is the law in question to be decided in Babylon? Said Rabha b. Qisna: There shall be no less than three bushes, each of them containing no less than twelve branches of grapes, to dig which is a man's day's work.

Said R. Abdimi of the city 'Haifa: Since the Temple was destroyed, prophecy was taken away from the prophets and was given to the wise. (How is this to be understood?) Can a wise man not be also a prophet? In other words, were all the prophets fools? He means to say, that although it was taken away from the prophets who were not wise, it was not taken away from the wise ones. Said Amemar: And a wise man is better than a prophet, as it is written [Ps. 90:12]: ". . . obtain (nobbi 1) a heart endowed with wisdom." And usually, who is dependent upon whom? The smaller is dependent upon the greater. Hence wisdom is greater than prophecy. Said Abayi: This theory may be supported from the fact that one great man declares something new, and exactly the same had been said by another great man. Said Rabha: "What support is this? It may be that both of them are equal in wisdom. Therefore," said he, "it happens frequently that a great man declares something new, and afterwards it is found that Aqiba b. Jose has already declared so (and it is hard to say that he was equal in wisdom to R. Aqiba). R. Ashi, however, objected also to this: It may happen that in this one case he was equal in wisdom to him. And he supported this from the fact that it very often occurs that a sage declares a Halakha, and afterwards it is learned that the same was already said to Moses on Mount Sinai. But even then, perhaps it was by chance, as it happens that a blind man accidentally seizes something. It means that he declares also the reason of it.

R. Johanan said: Since the Temple was destroyed, prophecy was taken away from the prophets and was given to lunatics and small children. What is meant by lunatics? Thus it happened to Mar b. R. Ashi, who was standing in the market of Mehuza and heard a lunatic say that the future head of the college in Suria would be Tibumi (Mar's name was Tibumi). And he said: "Who among the rabbis signs his name Tibumi, if not myself? Hence I shall succeed." And he went to Suria. In the mean time the rabbis of the college intended to appoint R. A'ha of Diphthi as their head. However, when they heard that Mar had arrived, they sent to him two of the rabbis to take his advice, and he detained them. Then they sent another two, and he did the same with them. Finally ten of them arrived, and then he began to teach and to lecture, and proclaimed himself as the head of the college. [He did so because one must not begin to lecture if there are less than ten persons present.] R. A'ha then applied to himself the saying of the sages: He to whom harm has been done by heaven, has no hope of relief in the near future, and vice versa.

And what in regard to the children? For example, the little daughter of R. Hisda was sitting on the knee of her father, and Rabha and Rami b. Hama were sitting opposite, and to the question of her father, "Whom of them would you like to marry?" she answered, "Both of them." And Rabha immediately rejoined: "I shall be the last one." (And so it was. Rabha married her after the death of her first husband, Rami b. Hama.)

R. Abdimi of 'Haifa said again: Before one eats and drinks he has two hearts, and after this he has only one, as it is writ ten [Job, xi. 13]. 1 Said R. Huna b. R. Joshua: Who is used to wine, even if his heart is locked like a virgin's, the wine opens it; as it is written [Zech. 9:17]: ". . . and new wine the virgins."

R. Huna b. R. Joshua said: It is certain that when a firstborn among his brothers (who is entitled biblically to two shares) comes to inherit his shares in real estate, he is to be given two portions adjoining. But how is it if the first-born has died without children, and the surviving brother marries his wife and takes his shares--does the law of preëmption apply to him also, as to the dead brother, or not? Abayi said: He is to be treated just as the dead one. And Rabha said: It is written [Deut. 25:6]: "And it shall be that the firstborn," etc., which signifies that he shall be treated as the first-born in that respect, but not respecting the division of a heritage.

There was a man who bought an estate near to the estate of his father-in-law (who had no male children), and when they came to divide the inheritance of the father-in-law, he insisted that the estate at the boundary of the one he bought should be given to him. Said Rabha: Such a claim, if not listened to, it would be equal to the acts of Sodomites. Therefore they must be compelled to comply with his wish. R. Joseph opposed: Could not his brothers-in-law claim that this estate was pleasant to them as the estate of Bar Marion (which was then known as the best estate)? And the Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Joseph (if the estate needs no artificial watering). Should one of brothers who are about to inherit two estates of dry land, each of which has a pond for watering, buy an estate adjoining one of the two estates in question, and demand that this should be given him as his share-said Rabha: As each of them has a pond for watering, his claim is a right one; and if declined, it would be a Sodomite custom. R. Joseph, however, opposed this, saying: His brother can claim: "It might happen that one pond would become dry and we should be compelled to water both estates from one pond; but as he has bought another estate, the pond will not be sufficient for watering all of them, and mine would remain dry." And the Halakha prevails in accordance with him also in this case.

If the inheritance consists of two estates which are watered from one pond, and one of the brothers has bought an estate adjoining one of these, and demands this adjoining one as his share--said R. Joseph: His claim is a right one, as the above reason cannot apply here; and, therefore, if it should not be listened to, it would be a Sodomite custom. To which Abayi opposed: One can claim: "It is better for me to have my estate between your two, and then it will be better preserved." However, the Halakha prevails again with R. Joseph, as the latter claim is not to be considered. If two brothers inherit an estate which has a river on one side and a pond on the other, the estate must be divided diagonally so that each half borders on both the river and the pond.

"Nor a dining-room," etc. But how is it when there is not so much space for each? According to R. Jehudah the law, "Either you concede or I concede," must be applied. One of them can say: "Either I pay you cash for your share, and the whole estate remains for me, or vice versa." And R. Na'hman said: Such a law cannot be applied, and they must remain in partnership. Said Rabha to R. Na'hman: According to your decision, that the law of concession does not apply in such a case, how is it, then, if a first-born and his brother have inherited from their father a slave, or an animal which is not fit for slaughtering-how shall they divide it? (A first-born is entitled to two-thirds; and therefore he took as his instance a first-born, because it is more difficult for them to remain partners.) Answered R. Na'hman: Because I say even then they must remain partners, and the slave or animal in question must serve to one two days, and to the other one.

An objection was raised from the following: If there is a bondsman only in half (as, for instance, he has been a bondsman of two masters and was freed by one of them), he may serve his master one day, and attend to his own business the other day. So is the decree of Beth Hillel. Said Beth Shammai: Such a law is partial, as you have satisfied only the master, but not the bondsman; as the bondsman cannot marry a female slave, for he is half free, nor can he marry a free maiden, because he is half slave, shall it be decided that he shall remain unmarried? This would also be improper, as the

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world is created for reproduction; as it is written [Is. 45:18]: "Not for naught did he create it: to be inhabited did he form it." And therefore he can compel his master to set him free, and accept a note for half his value. And Beth Hillel changed their decision and yielded to that of Beth Shammai. (Hence we see that in such a case the law of concession applies?) Here it is different, as the concession is not an even one for both partners; for the bondsman can only demand of the master to accept half his value for freeing him; but the master cannot demand of the bondsman to sell him his free half, as this is against the law.

Another objection was raised: Two brothers, one of them rich and the other poor, inherit from their father a bath- or a press-house. If it is rented to somebody, they must certainly divide the rent; but if the bath was made for their private use, the rich brother can say to the poor one: You may hire or buy servants who will prepare the bath for your use, but I will not pay for half the work, or buy olives and press them in the press-house. (Hence we see that the law of concession does not apply?) Here also the concession is not even, as the poor one has no money to offer to pay for his share in the inheritance. Come and hear another objection from our Mishna. "If, after the subdivision, each part can retain its former name," etc., but if not, it must be appraised in money and one of the partners must concede his share to the other when he is paid. (Hence the law of concession applies?) On this point Tanaim differ, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: "If one of the partners says to the other: 'Take your share in full, and I will take the remainder,' he must be listened to. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, however, says that he must not."

Now let us see. If the case be similar to that of our Mishna, why should R. Simeon b. Gamaliel object? We must say, then, that the Boraitha cited is not complete, and it should read thus: "You take the prescribed quantity for your share, and I will take the remainder; or, I will concede or else you concede"--he is to be listened to. And R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said: "Nay." Hence Tanaim differ. The case maybe similar to that quoted in our Mishna, and the reason of R. Simeon why he must not be listened to, is this: He may claim: "I have no money to pay for your share, and I do not want to accept a present from you." As it is written [Prov. 15:27]: "He that hateth gifts shall live."

Said Abayi to R. Joseph: R. Jehudah's decision, that the law of concession applies, is in accordance with Samuel, who said, concerning the Holy Writ, that if it was a property of two partners "it must not be divided even when both agree," the case being only when it was bound in one volume; but if bound in two parts, they may. And this can also be correct when the law of concession does not apply; for if it were applied, then there would be no difference whether bound in one or in two parts. R. Shalman, however, explained the decision of Samuel: When both partners agree to divide.

Amemar said: The law of concession is to be applied. Said R. Ashi to him: And what about R. Na'hman's decision? And he said: I do not hold with him. "Is that so? Did it not happen to Rabba and R. Dimi, the sons of Hinna, that their father bequeathed unto them two female slaves, one of them able to cook and bake, and the other to spin and weave; and they came before Rabha, and he decided that the law of concession did not apply here?" "There was another reason; viz., both brothers needed the services of both slaves. And to decide, 'You take one and I take the other,' would not be the law of concession." But did not Samuel decide that when bound in two parts they might divide? It is already explained above that he speaks of a case when both partners are willing to do so.

The rabbis taught: One may attach the Pentateuch to the Prophets, and both to the Hagiographa, and keep them in one volume. So is the decree of R. Meir. R. Jehudah, however, said: "Each of them is to be kept separately." The sages said, furthermore, that the book of each Prophet must be kept separately. Said R. Jehudah: It happened with Beithus b. Zonin, that he had eight books of the Prophets attached together, with the permission of R. Elazar b. Azariah. According to others, however, he had the books, but they were each of them kept separately. Said Rabbi: It happened once that the Pentateuch, Prophets, and Hagiographa, attached to one another, were brought to us, and we approved it.

After each book of the Pentateuch, four lines must be left blank when copying. The law is the same regarding each book of the Prophets; except in the case of the books of the Twelve Prophets, three lines after each is sufficient to be left blank. However, if one book ends at the bottom of the page, the next book may be begun right at the top of the next page without leaving any lines blank.

The rabbis taught: "If one wishes to attach the scrolls of the Pentateuch, Prophets, and Hagiographa to one another, he may do so, provided he leaves a whole page blank at the beginning, and at the end enough blank space to wrap around the entire scroll; and he may begin a new book at the top of a page when the previous book ends at the bottom of the page preceding. And if he wishes to separate the books afterwards, he may do so." How is this to be understood? It is self-evident that a separate book is better than if attached. It means to say one may begin at the top of the page; as then, if he decides to separate the books, it will be easier for him to do so. There is a contradiction in the following Boraitha, which states: "There must be blank space at the beginning and at the end of each book, sufficient to wrap it up." To wrap what up? Around the whole book? Then it contradicts the former Boraitha which states that at the beginning one page is sufficient; and if it means only one page, then it contradicts the above, which states "enough at the end to wrap around the book"? Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: This Boraitha also means to leave blank space at the beginning and at the end, as prescribed. R. Ashi, however, said: The latter Boraitha speaks of the Holy Scrolls, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: "All scrolls are rolled (around one holder) from right to left; the Holy Scrolls are rolled towards the middle (and must be attached to two holders); and a blank page must be left both at the beginning and at the end." And R. Eliezer b. R. Zadok said: So wrote the scribes of Jerusalem their Holy Scrolls.

The rabbis taught: The length of the Holy Scrolls must not exceed the circumference; nor must the latter exceed the length.

Rabbi was questioned about the prescribed dimensions of the Holy Scrolls. He answered: Six spans in length when written on double parchment will be equal to the circumference; and when on ordinary parchment, I do not know what length.

R. Huna wrote seventy Pentateuchs, and in only one of them the length happened to be equal to the circumference. R. A'ha b. Jacob wrote only one, on calf-skin, and the measurements happened to be just as prescribed; and the rabbis cast their eyes upon him, and he died.

[Said the rabbis to R. Hamnunah: Is it true that R. Ammi wrote four hundred Pentateuchs? And he answered: Perhaps he wrote only one verse [Deut. 33:4]: "The law which Moses commanded us, is the inheritance of the congregation of Jacob," four hundred times. Similarly to this, Rabha questioned R. Zera: Is it true that R. Janai had planted four hundred vineyards? And he answered: Perhaps such as contain five trees, two on each side and one behind (which, in regard to the law of Kilaim, is considered a vineyard).]

An objection was raised: The ark which was made by Moses was two and a half ells in length, one and a half in width, and one and a half in height: all these measurements were taken with an ell of six spans. The tablets which were brought down by Moses were six spans square and three spans thick: they were placed in the ark lengthwise. Now, how much space did the tablets occupy in the ark? Twelve spans. Then three spans of space were left. Take off one span for the two walls of the ark, each of which was half a span, then two spans' space was left, where the Holy Scrolls were placed. As it is written [I Kings, viii. 9]: "There was nothing in the ark save the two tables of stone," etc. The expressions "nothing" and "save" are an exclusion after an exclusion; and there is a rule that where such is to be found, it means an inclusion; and here the Holy Scrolls are included, which were in the ark. Now the length of the ark is accounted for. How is the width to be accounted for? The tablets occupied six spans in width; and from the remaining three one span must be deducted for the two walls. This leaves two spans of empty space, to the end that the Holy Scrolls should not be crushed while being taken out or returned. So said R. Mair. R. Jehudah, however, maintains that the ell was of five spans. The tablets, which were six spans square and three thick, were placed in the ark lengthwise, and occupied twelve spans, thus leaving only one-half span of space: one finger (a quarter of a span) for each wall. This is for the length. As to the width, the tablets occupied six spans; and from the remaining space of one and a half spans take off half a span--one and a half fingers 1 for each wall--leaving then one span; and this was occupied by the pillars. As it is written [Solomon's Song, 3: 9 and 10]: "The pillars thereof," etc. And also the casket in which the Philistines placed the gift to the God of Israel was put alongside. As it is written [1 Sam. 6:8]: "Ye must put in a casket alongside of it, and then send it away," etc. And upon the casket the Holy Scrolls were placed. As it is written [Deut. 31:26]: "Take this book of the law, and put it at the side of the ark," etc. We see, then, that it was placed at the side and not within the ark. But what is to be included from the two exclusions mentioned above? The broken tables, which were first broken by Moses. Now, if it is borne in mind that the circumference of the Holy Scrolls was six spans, its diameter must have been two spans, as there is a rule that everything with a circumference of three spans has a diameter of one span. Now, as it was said above, that the Holy Scrolls were rolled toward the middle, then the diameter must exceed two spans, for the space in the middle between the two rolls could not be reckoned in the two spans. How, then, could it get in? Said R. A'ha b. Jacob: "The Holy Scrolls which were written by Moses (of which the king read the portion belonging to him, and the high priest read on the Day of Atonement in the court of the Temple) were rolled from left to right only, in one roll." But even then, how can you put in a thing which is two spans in thickness into a space of only two spans? Said R. Ashi: "A piece of the parchment was left, out from the roll, so that it could be put in the two spans, and what was left was lying on the top." But according to R. Jehudah's theory, where were the Holy Scrolls placed before the Philistines sent the casket? A little board was attached to the pillars, and the Holy Scrolls were put upon it.

The rabbis taught: "The order of the prophets is as follows: Jehoshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, and the Twelve Prophets." Let us see: Hosea, of the Twelve Prophets, was before Isaiah, as it is written [Hosea, 1:2]: "The beginning of the word of the Lord," etc. This certainly cannot be understood that he was the first of the prophets to whom the Lord spoke since the time of Moses, as there were many prophets after Moses preceding Hosea. And therefore R. Johanan explains that he was the first of the four prophets who prophesied at that period; viz.: Hosea, Isaiah, Amos, and Micah. Hence he was before Isaiah. Why is he placed after? Because his book is counted among the Twelve, among whom were Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, who were the last of the prophets: therefore his book is placed together with theirs. But why was the book of Hosea not separated, and placed first? Because his book is small, and if it were placed separately it would become lost. However, was not Isaiah before Jeremiah and Ezekiel? Why is he not placed first? Because "Kings" ends with the destruction of the Temple, and the whole book of Jeremiah speaks of the destruction, and that of Ezekiel at the beginning speaks of the destruction and at the end of consolation, while Isaiah's entire book speaks of consolation: destruction was put next to destruction, and consolation next to consolation.

The order of the Hagiographa is as follows: Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Lamentations, Daniel, Book of Esther, Book of Ezra, and Chronicles. 1

And who wrote all the books? Moses wrote his book and a portion of Bil'am [Numbers, 22.], and Job. Jehoshua wrote his book and the last eight verses of the Pentateuch beginning: "And Moses, the servant of the Lord, died." Samuel wrote his book, Judges, and Ruth. David wrote Psalms, with the assistance of ten elders, viz.: Adam the First, Malachi Zedek, Abraham, Moses, Hyman, Jeduthun, Asaph, and the three sons of Korach. Jeremiah wrote his book, Kings, and Lamentations. King Hezekiah and his company wrote Isaiah, Proverbs, Songs, and Ecclesiastes. The men of the great assembly wrote Ezekiel, the Twelve Prophets, Daniel, and the Book of Esther. Ezra wrote his book, and Chronicles--the order of all generations down to himself. [This may be a support to Rabh's theory, as to which, R. Jehudah said in his name, that Ezra had not ascended from Babylon to Palestine until he wrote his genealogy.] And who finished Ezra's book? Nehemiah ben Chachalyah.

There is a Boraitha in accordance with him who said that the last eight verses of the Torah were written by Joshua; namely: "It is written [Deut. 36:5]: 'And Moses the servant of the Lord died,' etc. Is it possible that Moses himself should have written 'and he died'? Therefore it must be said that up to this verse Moses wrote, and from this verse forward Joshua wrote. So said R. Joshua, according to others R. Nehemiah." Said R. Simeon to him: Is it possible that the Holy Scrolls should not have been complete to the last letter, and nevertheless it should read [ibid., 31:26]: "Take this book of the law," etc. Therefore, we must say that up to this verse the Holy One, blessed be He, dictated, and Moses repeated and wrote it down; and from this verse forward He dictated, and Moses with tears in his eyes wrote it down; as thus it is read [Jer. 36:18]: "Then said Baruch unto them, With his mouth did he utter clearly all these words unto me, and I wrote them in the book with ink."

According to whom, then, is the following--that R. Joshua b. Aba, in the name of R. Gidel, quoting Rabh, said: "The last eight verses of the Pentateuch, when read from the Holy Scrolls, must be read by one person without any interruption"? Should it not be in accordance with R. Simeon? It may be also in accordance with R. Simeon; and the reason for the exception of these eight verses is because, as there was already a change at the writing by Moses (as said above), the change is made also here. "Joshua wrote his book"; but is it not written there: "And Joshua died"? This was written by Elazar. But is it not written there: "And Elazar died"? The book was finished by his son Pinchas.

"Samuel wrote his book." But is it not written: "And Samuel died"? The book was finished by Gad the seer and Nathan the prophet.

"David wrote the Psalms," etc. But why did the Boraitha not enumerate also Ethan the Ezrachite? Said Rabh: "The latter and Abraham are identical." It enumerates Moses, and also Hyman; did not Rabh say that by Hyman is meant Moses? There were two Hymans.

"Moses wrote his book," etc. This is a support to R. Levy b. Lachma, who said that Job lived in the time of Moses. 1 Rabha, however, said: Job lived in the time of the spies which were sent by Moses to investigate Palestine.

One of the rabbis was sitting before R. Samuel b. Na'hmeni and said: Job never existed; and is mentioned in the Scripture only for an example. Said he to him: The Scripture is against your theory, as it states plainly [Job, 1:1]: "There was a man,"

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etc. But according to your theory it is also written [2 Sam. 12:3]: "But the poor man had nothing," etc. Was it so in reality? It was written only for an example! The same may be said concerning Job? If it were so, why, then, his name and the name of the country he came from?

R. Johanan and R. Elazar both said that Job was among the ancestors of the Babylonian exiles; and his college was in Tiberias.

An objection was raised: There is a Boraitha: "Job's age was from the time when Israel came to Egypt until he left it." Read: "As many years as the Israelites were in Egypt." Another objection was raised. There were seven prophets who have prophesied to the nations, viz.: Bil'am and his father, Job, Eliphaz the Themanite, Bildad the Shuchite, Zophar the Na'amathite, and Elihu ben Barachel the Buzite. (Hence we see that Job was a Gentile?) And according to your theory, was then Elihu, just mentioned, a Gentile? He was certainly an Israelite, as it is written, "of the family of Ram." And why is he called a prophet of the nations? Because his prophecies were for the nations. The same can be said concerning Job. But did not the Jewish prophets also prophesy for the nations? The Jewish prophets prophesied to Israel, and to the nations also, but the above-mentioned seven have prophesied for the nations only.

There is an objection from the following: A pious man was among the nations, and Job was his name; and he came to this world only for the purpose of receiving his reward. The Holy One, blessed be He, however, brought chastisements upon him, and he began to blaspheme; the Lord then doubled his reward in this world, so that he should have no share in the world to come. (Hence we see that Job was a Gentile?) On this point Tanaim of the following Boraitha differ: R. Elazar said: Job was in the time of the judges; as it is written [Job, 27:12]: ". . . deal in such vanities?" And which generation was one entirely of vanities? It is the generation of the Judges. R. Joshua b. Karha said: Job was in the time of Ahasuerus; as it is written [Job, 42:15]: "And there were not found such handsome women as the daughters of Job," etc. And in which generation were handsome women searched for, if not in the generation of Ahasuerus? [But perhaps it was in the time of David, when handsome women were also searched for [1 Kings, 1:3]? There they searched only among the daughters of Israel, but in the time of Ahasuerus it is written, "in all the land."] R. Nathan said that Job was in the time of the Queen of Sheba, as it is written [Job, 1:15]: "When the Sabeans made an incursion." [And R. Samuel b. Na'hmeni said in the name of R. Jonathan: He who translates Malchas Sheba "the queen of Sheba" is in error, as the right translation is "the government of Sheba."] And the sages said: He was in the time of the Chaldea, as it is written [ibid., ibid. 17]: "The Chaldeans posted themselves," etc. Still others said that Job was in the time of Jacob and has married Dinah, Jacob's daughter. (They infer it from an analogy of expression, Nebala.) And all the just mentioned sages hold that Job was an Israelite, except the last, who maintains that he was a Gentile. R. Johanan said: It is written [Ruth, 1:1]: "And it came to pass in the days when the judges judged," etc. It means it was a generation that judged the judges. If, e.g., the judge said to them: "Takeout the toothpick from thy tooth," they answered: "If thou wilt take the beam out of thy eyes, I will remove the toothpick." If, e.g., the judge said to one: "Thy silver is become dross," the answer was: "Thy wine is drugged with water" [Is. 1:22] (i.e., if the judge accused one of a small transgression, the accused said to him: "Thou thyself art a greater sinner than I am").

It is written [Job, 1:6-9]: ". . . that the accuser (Satan) also came in the midst of them," etc. Satan said before the Lord: "I have sped all over the world, and found no trusty man like thy servant Abraham, to whom thou didst say [Gen. 13:17]: 'Arise, walk through the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it; for unto thee will I give it.' And not withstanding this, when he searched for a grave to bury his wife Sarah, and did not find one until he bought it for four hundred silver shekels, he did not murmur or bear in mind anything against thee." "Then said the Lord to Satan," etc. Said R. Johanan: That which was said about Job is more important than that which was said about Abraham, as regarding the latter it is written [ibid., 22:12]: "Now I know that thou fearest God," etc. And regarding the former it is written [Job, i. 1]: "And this man was perfect and upright, and fearing God and eschewing evil." What is meant by "eschewing evil"? Said R. Aba b. Samuel: Job was liberal with his money; it is customary, if a labourer has done some service to the value of half the smallest coin, that the employer takes him to the storekeeper, buys something for this coin, and gives the labourer the half due him. Job, however, gave him the whole coin for such services. "Then Satan answered, Is it for nought that Job feareth God? . . . the work of his hands hast thou blessed." What does this mean? Said R. Samuel b. R. Itz'hak: "Any one who took a coin from Job for business, has succeeded." And what means, "And his cattle are far spread out in the land"? Said R. Jose b. Hanina: His cattle have changed the order of the world. Usually wolves kill goats; Job's goats, however, killed wolves.

"But only stretch forth thy hand," etc. [ibid. 11-19]: "The oxen were ploughing, and the she asses were feeding beside them." How is this to be understood? Said R. Johanan: From this is to be inferred that the Holy One, blessed be He, gave Job a foretaste of the world to come (as about the world to come it is written [Jer. xxxi.] that pregnancy and birth in a woman occurred together). "A fire of God," etc. [to 2:5]. Satan again answered the Lord, as said above.

"And Thou hast incited me against him," etc. Said R. Johanan: If this were not written it would be impossible for a human being to conceive it: the Scripture speaks of the Lord as if He were a human being who can be influenced through incitement.

There is a Boraitha: Satan descends and tempts human beings; then ascends and accuses them; then takes the order and takes the soul of him whom he has tempted.

"Then the accuser answered the Lord," etc. [ibid., ibid. 4-8], Said R. Itz'hak: Satan was more afflicted than Job himself. It is similar to a master who says to his servant: "Break the barrel, but save the wine" (without letting him have a vessel to save it in). So was it with Satan; the Lord told him to take Job's body, but to save his soul. Said Resh Lakish: From this we see that he who is called Satan is himself the evil spirit who tempts one to sin; and he himself is the Angel of Death, as he was told to save the life: from which it is to be seen that the life of man was in his hands.

R. Levi said: Satan and Peninnah both intended (with their accusation) to please heaven. Satan, who had seen that the Lord was favourable toward Job, feared that through the justice of Job Abraham's merits would be forgotten, and, therefore, he spoke as above. And Peninnah, as it is written [I Sam. 1:6]: "And her rival also provoked her continually, in order to make her fret," etc. It means for the purpose of making her pray and have a child. R. A'ha lectured the same in the city of Papuniah, and Satan came and kissed his feet for this.

"With all this, did not Job sin with his lips." Said Rabha: "With his lips he did not sin, but he sinned in his heart." What was it? [Job, 9:24]: "Is a land given up to the wicked? He covereth the faces of its judges: if this be not the truth, who is it then? 1 Said Rabha. Job was about to turn the dish face downwards (i.e., to deny the might of the Lord).

Said Abayi to him: Job spoke only about Satan. On this point Tanaim differ. About the just cited verse R. Elazar said: Job was about to turn the dish face downwards. And R. Joshua said to him: Job spoke only with regard to Satan. It is written [ibid. x. 7]: "Still it is within thy knowledge that I am not wicked, and there is none that can deliver me out of thy hand." Said Rabha: Job wanted to free the whole world of a trial. He said thus: Lord of the Universe, Thou hast created an ox with parted hoofs, and us without (and Thou hast commanded that only creatures with the parted hoofs shall be eaten, but Thou couldst have made it the reverse). Thou hast created Paradise, and Thou hast created Gehenna; Thou hast created the upright, and Thou hast created the wicked. Who can prevent Thee? (Hence no reward and no punishment should be dealt, as all was done according to Thy will!) And what have Job's colleagues answered to this? [ibid. 15:4]: "Yea, thou truly makest void the fear (of God), and diminishest devotion before God." Which means that the Holy One, blessed be He, has created the evil spirit, and He has created wisdom as a remedy against him.

Rabha lectured: It is written [ibid. 29:13]: "The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me; and the heart of the widow I caused to sing for joy." From the first half of this verse we learn that be used to rob a field belonging to orphans, improved it, and returned it to them; and in the latter half we learn that if there was a widow whom no one wished to marry, he put his name upon her, saying that she was his relative, and then it was easy for her to marry. It is written [ibid. 6:2]: "Oh, that my vexation could be truly weighed, and my calamity," etc. It was said by or to Rabh: The earth may cover Job's mouth for this. He makes himself a comrade of providence [ibid. 9:33]: "There is no one who can decide between us, who could lay his hand upon us both." Said Rabha: For this also his mouth may be covered with earth: should a slave rebuke his master? [ibid. xxxi. 1]: "A covenant had I made with my eyes: how, then, should I fix my look on a virgin?" Said Rabha: He had not looked upon strange women, but Abraham had not looked even at his own wife; as it is written [Gen. 12:11]: "Now I know that thou art a woman of handsome appearance," from which it is to be inferred that before that time he knew not that.

[Job, 7:9]: "As the cloud vanisheth and passeth away: so will he that goeth down to the nether world not come up again." Said Rabha: From this we see that Job denied resurrection. [Ibid. ix. 17]: "He that bruiseth me with his tempest, and multiplieth my wounds without a cause." Said Rabba: Job has blasphemed by the tempest, and by the tempest he was answered. Blasphemed by the tempest--as he said: "Lord of the Universe! Perhaps a tempest passed before Thee, and changed to Thee the word Iyabh to Oyabh." 1 And by the tempest he was answered--as it is written [ibid. 38:1]: "Then did the Lord address Job out of the storm-wind. . . . Do but gird up like a mighty man thy loins: and I will ask thee, and do thou inform me."

So said He: "I have created many hairs on human beings, and for each hair I have created a separate hole; for if two should be nourished from one hole, it would blind the eyes of men; now from one hole to another it was not changed to me; and from Iyabh to Oyabh, should it be changed?" [Ibid., ibid. 25]: "Who hath divided off water-courses," etc. "There are many drops that I have created in the clouds, and for each drop there is a separate place; for if two drops should go into one, they would make the earth too soft, and it could not produce; these places were not changed to me." ". . . And a way for the lightning (that is followed by) thunders." "Many thunders have I created in the clouds, and for each thunder there is a separate track; for if two should go along the same track, they would destroy the world. The tracks were not changed to me; and from Iyabh to Oyabh, should it be?" [Ibid. 39:1]: "Knowest thou the time when the chamois of the rock bring forth?" "The chamois of the rock is cruel towards its offspring, and when the time of bearing comes she ascends to the top of the mountain, so that the offspring should fall and die. And I send an eagle which receives it with its wings." "Markest thou when the hinds do calve?" "The hind has a narrow womb, and when the time of bearing comes, I procure a snake that bites her in the womb, so that she is able to bring forth the offspring. In both cases it must happen at the exact moment; for if it occurs a second before or a second later, the young in the first case, and the mother in the latter, would die. Now, from one second to the other there never is a change; and from Iyabh to Oyabh, should it be changed?" [Ibid. 34:35]: "Job hath not spoken with knowledge, and his words are without intelligence." Said Rabha: From this it may be deduced that one is not to be made responsible for his words at a time when he is afflicted. [Ibid. 2:11-13]: "When, now, the three friends of Job . . . and they met together," etc. What is meant by "they met together"? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: They all entered at one time the gate of the city where Job lived; although a Boraitha states that each of them lived three hundred parsas away from the others. But who informed them? According to some, each of them had a crown on which were engraved the pictures of his three colleagues; and if one of them became afflicted, the picture was changed. And according to others, they had in their garden three trees, each of which bore the name of one of the friends; and if one became afflicted, the tree was changed. Said Rabha: This is what people say: "Either to have colleagues like Job's, or death."

It is written [Gen. 6:1]: "And it came to pass when men began to multiply . . . and daughters," etc. R. Johanan said: With a daughter, multiplication comes into the world, as in Chaldaic a girl is called rabhia; literally, multiply. Resh Lakish, however, maintains that with a daughter strife comes into the world, as rabhia means also strife. Said Resh Lakish to R. Johanan: According to your opinion, multiplication comes with daughters; why was not Job doubly rewarded with daughters, as he was with sons and with all his property? And he answered: Although they were not doubled in number, they were in beauty; as it is written [Job, 42:13-15]: "He had also fourteen 1 sons and three daughters," etc. And farther on it is written: "And there were not found such handsome women," etc.

To R. Simeon, Rabbi's son, a daughter was born; and he became dejected. Said his father to him: With thy daughter came multiplication (rabhia). Said Bar Kapara to him: The consolation of your father is very poor. The following Boraitha states: "The world cannot be without males and females. However, happy is he whose children are male, and woe to him whose children are female. The world cannot be without a spice dealer and a tanner (burseus); happy is he who is a spice dealer, and woe to him who is a tanner." On this point, however, the Tanaim of the following Boraitha differ. It is written [Gen. 24:1]: "The Lord has blessed Abraham bakhol (in all things)." What does the word bakhol mean? R. Meir said: He was blessed in not having any daughters. R. Jehudah, however, said: He was blessed in having a daughter. Anonymous teachers say: He had a daughter with the name Bakhol. R. Elazar the Modai said: Abraham, our father, was an astrologer; and therefore all the kings from the West and the East came to his door to ask his advice. 1 R. Simeon b. Johanan said: A diamond was hanging on Abraham's neck, and when a sick man looked upon it, he was cured. And when Abraham passed away, the Lord sealed it in the planet of the sun. Said Abayi: This is what people say: When the day arrives, the sick become better. There is another explanation of the word bakhol--that as long as Abraham was alive Esau did not rebel. According to still others: "Because Ishmael repented in his days." That Esau did not rebel in his days is stated in a Boraitha to explain the verses Gen. 25:29-34 as referring to that day on which Abraham died. And that Ishmael had repented is explained by Rabha, in the name of R. Johanan, to Rabhina and to R. Hama b. Buzi thus: It is written [ibid., ibid. 9]: "And his sons Isaac and Ishmael," etc. And from the fact that Isaac is named first, although Ishmael was older, it is to be understood that Ishmael had repented and, knowing that Isaac was better than he, given him the preference. But perhaps the verse only does it because it was so, and Ishmael

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had nothing to do with it? Then the Scripture [ibid. 35:29] would also say Jacob and Esau, and not according to the age, as it is now. Hence the previous construction is correct.

The rabbis taught: There are three to whom the Holy One, blessed be He, gave a taste of the world to come in this world; namely, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: Abraham--because regarding him is written bakhol; Isaac--because regarding him is written mikhol; and Jacob--regarding whom is written khol. The same three overruled the evil spirit, as the words just mentioned are written regarding them.

The rabbis taught: There are six whom the Angel of Death has not dominated: the former three, and Moses, Aaron, and Miriam--the three former, because of the words mentioned; and the three latter, because it is written [Num. 33:38]: "By the order of the Lord," etc. There are seven whom the worms have not devoured: the former six, and Benjamin ben Jacob; according to others, also David--the former six, because of the reasons stated above; and Benjamin, because it is written [Deut. 33:12]: "The beloved of the Lord (is he), he shall dwell in safety," etc. There are four who died without sin, but because it was so decreed at the time when the serpent made Eve eat the fruit of the tree of wisdom; viz., Benjamin b. Jacob, Amram father of Moses, Jesse father of David, and Khilab b. David--to all of them traditionally, except Jesse the father of David, which is also deduced from the verse. 1

CHAPTER 2.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING SPACE TO BE LEFT BETWEEN ONE'S PROPERTY AND ANOTHER'S, BE IT OF ONE OR TWO KINDS. UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS A TENANT MAY PLACE AN OVEN IN HIS DWELLING. UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES A SHOP IN A YARD MAY BE PREVENTED. CONCERNING THE SPACE TO BE LEFT BETWEEN A CITY AND PIGEON-COOPS, TREES, BARNS, CEMETERIES, AND TANNERIES.

MISHNA 1.: One must not dig a well near that of his neighbour, nor a channel, cave, aqueduct, or basin, for washing, unless it be removed to a distance of at least three spans from that of his neighbour, and plastered with lime. Olive or poppy waste, dung, salt, lime, and flint-stones must also be removed to a distance of three spans, and must be covered with lime. To the same distance, seeds, ploughing, and urine must be removed from the wall; a handmill to a distance of three spans from the lower millstone, which is four from the upper millstone; and an oven three spans from the foundation, which is four spans from the upper rim.

GEMARA: The Mishna begins with a well and ends with a wall? Said Abayi, according to others, R. Jehudah: By the term "wall" is meant the wall of the well. But then it could teach: "Unless he removes it from the well," and it would be self-evident that the meaning is "from the wall of the well"? The Mishna comes to teach us by the way that a wall of a well must measure no less than three spans, in cases of selling and buying, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: "If one says, 'I am selling you the well with its walls,' the walls must measure three spans."

It was taught: If one comes to dig a well at the boundary of his neighbour's vacant plot, has he to remove it to the distance mentioned in the Mishna, or not? According to Abayi he has not, and according to Rabha he has. They differ with regard to a plot prepared for works only; but if it is not prepared for this, they both agree that he may dig at the boundary. And even if it was according to Abayi, he is not obliged to remove the well to any distance. Even in accordance with the theory of the rabbis, who state farther on that if one comes to plant a tree near the well of his neighbour, he must do so at a distance of twenty-five ells, it is because the well was already in existence there at the time he comes to plant; but here the well does not as yet exist. And according to Rabha he must maintain the distance. Even in accordance with the theory of R. Jose, who says, farther on, that each of the neighbours has a right to do what he pleases on his own property, etc., it is because, when he begins to plant, roots which can injure the well do not as yet exist. But here the owner of the plot which is prepared for wells may claim: "Each time you use the spade at my boundary, you weaken my estate."

An objection was raised from our Mishna: One must not dig a well near that of his neighbour, from which it is to be inferred--near the already existing well; but if not, he may. And this contradicts Rabha's theory? He may answer: Was it not taught, in addition to this, that it means from the wall of the well?

Another objection from the latter part of our Mishna was raised, which enumerates all the things that are to be removed from the wall, from which it is to be understood that it speaks of an existing wall, but not if it is not yet in existence. And the answer was: This can also be explained that the Mishna comes to teach us that all the things which it enumerates are injurious to the wall.

Come and hear the following: A tree must be removed from a well to a distance of twenty-five ells. Does it not mean from an existing well? Here also it may be explained to mean that at a distance of less than twenty-five ells the roots are injurious to the well. But the same is the case if the well did not as yet exist. If so, then how should the latter part, which states that if the tree is already in existence one has not to cut it down, be understood? For if one must not plant a tree near a plot, even when it is only prepared for walls, how can such a case be found? As R. Papa explained elsewhere, it speaks of a case where one buys such. So it can also be explained here to mean: In case one bought such a tree, he has not to remove it.

Come and hear the following: One must remove a pond for steeping flax from herbs, garlic from onions, and mustard from bees. Is it also not to be understood to mean already existing herbs? Here also it can be explained, even when it is only prepared for them, and it comes to teach that the things mentioned harm one another. But if so, how should the latter part: "R. Jose allows mustard. . . . Because the bees consume the blossoms of my mustard," be understood? As if one must remove the bees even from a place which is only prepared for mustard, how can such a case be found? Said R. Papa: "It means, when one buys such." But if so, then what is the reason of the rabbis' decision; and also according to R. Jose, why only with mustard? Should it not also be the same in the above case of herbs and flax? Said Rabhina: The rabbis hold that the injurer has to remove himself from the things which can be injured by him; e.g., if the roots of a tree are injurious to a well, the tree must be removed, and not the well, (Says the Gemara:) From Rabhina's statement it is to be inferred that R. Jose holds that the injured one has to remove himself--then why only in the case of mustard? The same ought to be the case with the herbs. If there is a pond for steeping flax, the herbs should be removed, and not the pond? Therefore we must say that R. Jose is also of the opinion that the injurer must remove himself, and the reason of the herbs in question is because the pond does harm to the herbs, and not the herbs to the pond; but bees and mustard injure each other. And thus said R. Jose to the rabbis: The case of the herbs and pond is correct, because the pond injures the herbs, and not vice versa. But why should the same be in the case of bees and mustard, which injure each other? The rabbis, however, are of the opinion that bees do not harm mustard; for if they try to consume the mustard within the sown seeds, they cannot grasp them, by reason of their extremely small size. And if they do harm the leaves, it would not matter, for others will grow. But how can it be said that R. Jose holds that the injurer must remove himself--does not the following Mishna state: R. Jose said: Although the well was in existence before the tree was planted, the latter has not to be cut down, etc.? Therefore we must say that R. Jose holds that the injured one has to remove himself. And he said to the rabbi thus: My theory is, that the injured one must remove; but even in accordance with your theory, that the injurer must remove, your decision is correct in the case of the herbs in question, as the pond harms the herbs, etc. But why should it be the same in the case of mustard and bees, which do harm each other? To which the rabbis answered as stated above. The mustard, however, harms the bees on account of its pungency.

"Nor a basin for washing," etc. Said R. Na'hman in the name of Rabba b. Abuhu: The case is when it is a basin for soaking clothes (they used to soak clothes for several days in canine dung); but if it is a basin for washing, it is to be removed four ells (because of splashing while washing). And so also we have learned in the following Boraitha: "A basin for washing--four ells." But in our Mishna it is stated "three spans." Hence it must be explained that the Boraitha treats of a basin for washing, and is in accordance with R. Na'hman.

R. Hyya b. R. Ivya taught in our Mishna plainly: Provided there is a space of three spans from the edge of the soaking pond to the wall.

"And plastered with lime." The schoolmen propounded a question: Does the Mishna state, "and plastered with lime" (which means that this must also be done), or, perhaps, "or plastered with lime" (which means that one of the two requirements suffices)? It certainly teaches "and plastered with lime"; for if it read or, then all, parts of the Mishna would be taught together, as there is no difference between them. But perhaps it teaches separately, because the injurious effect is not the same in both cases: in the one case it is wetting from the well, while in the other it is the heat from the olive waste? Come and hear the following Tosephtha: R. Jehudah said: "If a flint-stone is placed by a human being between the properties of two persons, each of them may dig a well on his property at a distance of three spans from the flint-stone, provided the walls of the well he plastered with lime." We see, then, that only when that from which the earth becomes weak is placed there by a human being the lime is needed; but if it is there naturally, no lime is needed? Nay; the same is the case even when it is there naturally; and the expression "placed" is necessary. lest one say that in such a case the prescribed amount of space is not sufficient. Therefore he comes to teach us that it does not matter.

"Olive or poppy waste," etc. There is a Mishna [Sabbath, p. 86]: "It must not be deposited . . . and also not in lime or in sand," etc. Why, then, here is sand not mentioned and a flint-stone is, while there the reverse is taught? Said R. Joseph: Because it is not customary to deposit victuals in flint stones.

Said Abayi to him: "Is it, then, customary to so deposit in wool-flocks, and, nevertheless, it is mentioned there? Therefore," said Abayi, "the Mishnayoth rely upon each other." (I.e., our Mishna relies upon the cited one in the case of sand, while the latter Mishna relies upon ours in the case of flint-stones, as the same is the case with both.) Said Rabha to him: "If such were the case, then the other things would not be repeated in both Mishnas; but some of them would be mentioned in one Mishna, and others in the other, Therefore," said Rabha, "the reason why a flint-stone is not mentioned in the cited Mishna is because a pot with victuals cannot be deposited there, as the flint-stone would break it. And the reason why sand is not mentioned here is because the nature of sand is such that it is warmed up by a hot thing, but it is cooled by a cold thing," (Hence, here, it must not be removed.) But did not R. Oshia teach us in his Boraitha that sand must also be removed? R. Oshia numbers it among the things which are injured by wetting. Let, then, the Tana of our Mishna, also add this to the category of things that injure by wetting? Wetting is already dealt with in the case of the channel mentioned therein. But does not the Mishna state, "a basin for washing," which is also in the same category, although a channel has already been mentioned? Both must be mentioned, because one could not be inferred from the other, for the following reasons: If a channel only were mentioned, one might say because it is stationary--but for a basin for washing, which is not stationary, the space in question is not needed. On the other hand, if it mentioned only a basin for washing, one might say: "Because of the wetting by stagnant water which has been used for washing is injurious, but a channel does not matter." Therefore both had to be mentioned.

"Seeds, ploughing," etc. Why is it necessary for both to be mentioned? If seeds must be removed, is it not self-evident that ploughing for the purpose of sowing is also meant? It means even when the seeds were sown in an unploughed field where they are not so deep. And would not ploughing be understood from seeds; as what is a field ploughed for, if not for sowing? It means even when it was ploughed for the improvement of trees. But why all this? It has already mentioned the things that injure by wetting; and as a field that has been ploughed or in which seeds have been sown needs wetting, it is self-evident that it must be removed? The Tana speaks of Palestine, concerning which it is written [Deut. 11:11]: ". . . from the rain of heaven doth it drink water." Shall we then assume that the Tana holds that the rootlets proceeding from the planted seeds extend laterally so that unless the distance beat least three spans the wall maybe injured? Have we not learned [Kilaim, 7, 1] that when one plants vines, he cannot sow seeds over them, unless there be a layer of earth at least three spans in depth over the vines; and a Boraitha in addition to this taught that he might sow on the sides of the plot where the vines are planted (even if not three spans deep; hence we see that the rootlets proceed from seeds downwards, and not laterally, for in the latter case it would be forbidden to sow the seeds even on the sides)? Said R. Haga in the name of R. Jose: The seeds are mentioned, not because the rootlets proceed laterally, but because they render the ground wherein they are sown friable, thus weakening the support to the wall of the well if placed too near it.

"And urine." Said Rabba b. b. Hana: One is allowed to void his urine near the wall of his neighbour; as it is written [I Kings, 21:21]: "Mashtin C'kir." But does not our Mishna state that urine must be removed to a distance of three spans? The Mishna means urine which has been collected in a urinal. Come and hear another objection from the following Tosephtha: "One must not void his urine against the wall of his neighbour, unless it be at a distance of three spans." This is said concerning a brick wall, but in the case of one made of stones, a distance of one span is sufficient to prevent harm by softening the ground under the wall. And if the wall is built upon a rock, then it does not matter at all. Hence it contradicts Rabba b. b. Hana? This objection remains. But does he not cite a verse? The verse means even such a creature as habitually voids its urine upon a wall--namely, a dog.

"A handmill," etc. Why so? Because it makes the ground vibrate. But have we not learned in a Boraitha that a horse-mill must be removed to a distance of three spans from the circumference, which is four spans from the funnel; and such a mill does not make the ground vibrate? Therefore it must be said that the reason of our Mishna is not the vibration of the ground, but the noise produced by the mill.

"And also an oven," etc. Said Abayi: From this it is to be inferred that the foundation should be wider than the upper rim by one span. And this regulation relates to buying and selling; for if its foundation did not contain a span more, the buyer may recede.

MISHNA 2.: One must not place an oven in a lower story of a house, unless there be an empty space of four ells above it. If the oven is placed in an upper chamber, there must be at least three spans of stone-flooring under it; under a cooking stove only one span of stone-flooring is required. Yet when damage is caused, it must be repaired. R. Simeon, however, says: All these measurements are ordained so that, when they are

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complied with and damage is caused, one is not held responsible for it.

One must not establish a bakery or a dyer's shop under another's granary; and also not a stable. In reality, it was said that a bakery may be established under a wine store; but, at all events, not a stable.

GEMARA: But have we not learned in a Boraitha that an oven requires four spans, and a stove three? Said Abayi: That Boraitha speaks of bakers, ovens and stoves, and the oven mentioned in our Mishna is that of a private man, and similar to a baker's stove.

"One must not establish a bakery," etc. A Boraitha states that if the stable has been established before the granary over it, it may remain.

"In reality, it was said," etc. There is a Boraitha: It was allowed under a wine store, because it improves the wine; but not a stable, because it imparts a bad odor to the wine. Said

R. Joseph: Our wine is harmed even by the smoke of a candle. Said R. Shesheth: A haystack is likened unto a stable (because when the hay is damp it becomes warm and emits an odor which harms the wine).

MISHNA 3.: Partners in a yard can prevent one from establishing a store there, claiming that they cannot sleep on account of the noise produced by the people's coming and going. He, however, who makes utensils, which he sells in the market, cannot be prevented by the partners, with the claim that the noise of the hammer disturbs their sleep. The same is the case if one of them has a handmill, or if he is a teacher of children, as the claim that they cannot sleep on account of the noise is not to be considered.

GEMARA: Why, in the first part, is the claim of the noise from the people's coming and going considered, while in the latter part the noise of strange children is not considered? Said Abayi: The latter part speaks of an instructor of children residing in an adjoining yard. Said Rabha to him: "If it were so, then the Mishna would state that in an adjoining yard it is permitted. Therefore," said he, "the latter part of the Mishna speaks of a school for children's education, and was stated after the enactment of Joshua b. Gamla. So R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: May the memory of Joshua b. Gamla be blessed, for, were it not for him, Israel would have forgotten the Torah, as in former times the child who had a father was instructed by him; but the one that had not, did not learn at all. The reason is that they used to explain the verse [Deut. xi. 19]: "And ye shall teach them to your children," etc., literally--ye personally. It was therefore enacted that a school for the education of children in Jerusalem should be established, on the basis of the following verse [Is. 2:3]: ". . . for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord out of Jerusalem." And still the child who had a father was brought to Jerusalem and instructed; but the one who had not, remained ignorant. It was therefore enacted that such school should be established in the capitals of each province; but the children were brought when they were about sixteen or seventeen years of age, and when the lads were rebuked by their masters, they turned their faces and ran away. Then came Joshua b. Gamla, who enacted that schools should be established in all provinces and small towns, and that the children be sent to school at the age of six or seven years (and after this enactment it was also enacted that the claim of the noise of school-children should not be considered).

Rabh said to the schoolmaster R. Samuel b. Shilath: If the child is under six years of age, do not accept him; but above that age, accept him and feed him (with knowledge) as you feed an ox. The same said again to him: When you must beat a child, do so with a shoe-strap only; if this produces the desired effect, then well and good; if not, leave him in the company of his comrades, whose steady progress he will see, and this will improve him. An objection was raised from the following: If one of the tenants of a yard wishes to establish an office for circumcision, a barber shop, a tannery, or a school for children, the other tenants may prevent him? It speaks of children of idolaters. But there is another Boraitha which states that if there are only two tenants, and one of them wishes to make one of the above-named establishments, the other one may prevent him? This Boraitha also speaks of children of idolaters. Conic and hear another Boraitha: He who has a house in a yard belonging to partners, must not rent this house for one of the above-named establishments; nor to a Jewish or a Gentile schoolmaster. This Boraitha speaks of the head schoolmaster of the entire city (who has all the subordinate schoolmasters under his control, and instructs them how to teach, which produces a great deal of noise).

Rabha said: Since the enactment of Joshua b. Gamla we do not transfer a child from the school of one city to that of another; but from one congregation to another we do. However, if there is a river between them, we do not, unless there is a bridge over it; but if there is only a dock, we do not. He said again: The number of children in a school must not exceed twenty-five, if there is one teacher; if the number is between twenty-five and forty, an assistant must be provided for him by the city; and if there are fifty, two teachers must be appointed. He said again: If there is one teacher who can perform his duties well enough, but there is another one who is still better, the former must not be discharged, lest his successor become too certain of retaining the position and will not attend to his work properly. R. Dimi of Nahardea, however, said: On the contrary, he will be even more diligent, as the jealousy of scholars increases wisdom. Rabha said again: If there are two teachers, one of whom is a good expounder, but is not particular about the exact pronunciation of the words in the Scriptures, while the other is particular in the latter respect but is not so good an expounder, the former should be appointed, as the errors will be corrected by themselves. R. Dimi of Nahardea, however, said: On the contrary, an error impressed upon the mind of a child remains there forever (therefore the latter should be given the preference), as it is written [I Kings, 11:16]. "For six months did Joab remain there with Israel, until he had cut off every male in Edom." When he came before David, and was asked why he had done so, he said . Because it is thus written [Deut. 25:19]: thou shalt blot out each zochor (male) of Amalek." Said David to him: But we read zoicher (remembrance, meaning both--males and females)! And Joab answered: "My master instructed me to pronounce zochor." 1 He then went to his master, and questioned him how to pronounce this word, and he answered zochor. So he took out his sword, and wanted to kill him. And to the question of the master, "Why?" he answered: Because it is written [Jer. xlviii. 10]: "Cursed be he that doeth the work of the Lord negligently." And his master rejoined: "Let, then, this man (myself) remain in this course," and he answered him, quoting the end of the verse: "And cursed be he that withholdeth his sword from blood." Some say that he slew him, and others say that he did not. Rabha said again: An instructor of children, a planter, a butcher, a barber, and a scribe of the city are to be considered as if they were already warned (i.e., if they neglect their duties they may be discharged without previous notice); as the general rule regarding this is: All irreparable damage done by a specialist, who is appointed as such, is to be considered as if he were previously warned. (An instructor of children who has spoiled a child cannot repair this harm; and the same is the case with a planter who has spoiled the trees; a butcher who, through his neglect, has made the meat illegal for use; a barber who has killed a man by performing venesection; and a scribe who has written the Holy Scrolls fallaciously.)

R. Huna said: If one of the inhabitants of an alley establishes a handmill there, and another one comes to do the same, the law gives the former the right to prevent the latter; for he may claim: "You are cutting off my livelihood." He is supported by the following: Fishermen must remove their nets from a fish which has already been marked by one of them while it was trying to escape from him to a distance that a fish is usually able to traverse. And to the question, How far is it? Rabba b. R. Huna said: "The distance of a parsa"? Nay, with fish the case is different, as they place spies (to look out for bait, and the former fisherman is certain that the fish will go to his bait and then he will surely catch it; but here his comrade may say to him: "I am not injuring your livelihood, as your customers will go to you and mine to me").

Said Rabhina to Rabha: Shall we assume that R. Huna is in accordance with R. Jehudah, who said (Middle Gate, p. 143) that a storekeeper must not furnish little children with presents of nuts, etc., for the purpose that they may call again--and the sages allowed this? Nay, it may be said that R. Huna's theory is in accordance with that of the rabbis also, as there they allow this for the reason that the storekeeper may say, "I bestow nuts, you may give plums"; but here the claim, "You are cutting off my livelihood," is a right one, even in accordance with the rabbis.

An objection was raised. One may establish a store or a bath-house near or opposite to that of his neighbour, and the latter cannot prevent him from doing so, for he may say: "You can do business in your establishment, and I will do business in mine." (Hence this contradicts R. Huna's theory?) On this point Tanaim of the following Boraitha differ: "The inhabitants of an alley may combine to prevent one from another alley from opening a tailor shop, tannery, children's school, or any other specialist's establishment; but they cannot do so against an inhabitant of their own alley. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, however, maintains that the majority can prevent an inhabitant even of their own alley."

R. Huna b. R. Joshua said: "It is certain to me that the inhabitants of one city have a right to prevent one of another city from competing with them, provided he does not pay the duties of the city. It is also certain to me that an inhabitant of an alley cannot prevent another inhabitant of the same alley; but I doubt whether an inhabitant of one alley can prevent one of another alley." And this question remains undecided.

Said R. Joseph: R. Huna, who prohibits competition in any specialty, admits that concerning instructors of children no competition is to be considered; as the master said that the jealousy of scholars increases wisdom. Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: R. Huna also admits that no competition is to be considered in the case of peddlers in large cities, as the master said that Ezra has enacted for Israel that peddlers shall travel in the large cities, for the purpose that the daughters of Israel might easily procure their ornaments. This is only concerning travelling dealers; but the establishment of a stationary place may be prevented. And if the peddler is a young scholar for whom it is a humiliation to travel, he may be permitted to establish a stationary place; as Rabha permitted R. Yashia and R. Obadiah to establish a place of business against the then existing law of that city, saying that because they were scholars they would be hindered in their study by travelling.

There were three basket dealers who brought baskets to Babylon, and the inhabitants of the city prevented them. So they came before Rabhina, who said: They come from the country, and may sell their goods to countrymen who come here on the market day; but only on that day, and in the market only, but may not traffic with their goods in private houses of the city.

There were wool dealers who brought wool to the city of Pumnahara, and the inhabitants there prevented them. They came before R. Kahana, who said to them: "They have a right to do so." They, however, claimed that they had to collect their debts, which must take time, and they had nothing to live on if they should be prevented from selling their goods; and he allowed them to sell as much as they needed for a livelihood only, while they were there, but not more.

R. Dimi of Nahardea brought dry figs in a boat. Said the Exilarch to Rabha: Go and see whether he is a scholar; then you may hold the market for him. And Rabha sent R. Ada b. Abba to examine him. He questioned him about something of the Law, which he could not answer. So R. Dimi said to him: Is the master Rabha? He tapped him good-naturedly on the sandal, and answered: "From myself to Rabha there is a great difference; but, nevertheless, I am your master, while Rabha is the master of your master." In consequence of this, the market was not held for him; and R. Dimi lost on his dry figs, and came to complain before R. Joseph, saying: See, master, what was done to me! And he answered: The One who neglected not to take revenge for the shame of the king of Edom, shall not neglect to revenge your shame. (The shame of Edom, as it is written [Amos, 2:1]: ". . . because he burned the bones of the king of Edom into lime.") Consequently R. Ada's soul has gone to its rest. Then R. Joseph said: I have punished him, for I have cursed him. R. Dimi said: I have punished him, for he had caused my loss on the dry figs. Abayi said: I have punished him, for he used to say to the rabbis: While ye are licking bones in the college of Abayi, would it not be better for you to eat fat meat in the college of Rabha? And Rabha said: I have punished him, for, when he used to go for meat, he used to say to the butcher: You must give me meat before you give it to the servant of Rabha, as I am better than he. R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak said: I have punished him. For R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak was the head of the preachers in the days before festivals; and every day, before preaching, he reviewed his sermon together with R. Ada b. Abba. On that day, however, on which R. Ada b. Abba died, R. Papa and R. Huna b. R. Joshua detained him, so that he should explain to them what Rabha lectured on the last Sabbath concerning cattle tithe, and he repeated for them all that Rabha said. Meanwhile the time for R. Na'hman's preaching arrived, and R. Ada did not call him. Said the rabbis to R. Na'hman: Why does the master sit? It is already dawning, and you have to go to preach. And he answered: I am sitting and waiting for the coffin of R. Ada. And, indeed, R. Ada's death was soon announced. It seems, therefore, that R. Na'hman had punished him.

MISHNA 4.: If one's wall is attached to that of his neighbour, he must not build a wall parallel to it unless he leaves an interval of four ells. One must also not build a wall opposite the windows of his neighbour, wherever they are to be found, unless it be at a distance of four ells.

GEMARA: But the Mishna declares that his wall was already attached to that of his neighbour. Who gave him the right to do so? Said R. Jehudah: It means that if one wished to do so he must not, unless he left the above-mentioned space. Rabha opposed: "But the Mishna states that it was already attached?" Therefore he said that the Mishna meant to say thus: If there was already a wall at a distance of four ells from that of his neighbour, and it fell, he must not build another one unless at the same distance, as the treading upon the earth between the two walls is useful for the strength of their foundations. Rabh, said: "The Mishna treats only about a wall of a garden (because, as inside there is no treading upon the earth near the wall, it needs the treading outside); but concerning a wall of a yard, it does not matter. R. Oshia, however, maintains that the same is the case with a wall of a yard also. Said R. Jose b. Hanina: And they do not differ; as the former speaks of an old town (where the ground is already trodden), while the latter speaks of a new town.

Our Mishna states that, for windows, wherever they may be placed, a space of four ells is needed; to which a Boraitha adds: "If a window is placed at the top, the wall in question must reach such a height that when the owner stands upon it and stoops, he should be unable to see anything by looking in at the window. And if a window is placed at the bottom--to such a height that he could not see when standing upon it. And if the window be opposite the wall, he must leave such a space as would not darken the window." We see, then, that the reason

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of the regulation concerning a parallel wall is the darkening, but not the treading mentioned above? The Boraitha speaks of a side-wall. How much space, however, must one leave, in order that the window will not be darkened? Said R. Jyobha, the father-in-law of Ashian b. Nadbach, in the name of Rabh: As much as the width of the window. But from such a height one can still look in at the window? Said R. Zebid: He speaks of a wall with a gable-top. But does not the Mishna state four ells? This presents no difficulty. The Boraitha speaks of one side-wall to which the space of the width of a window suffices; and our Mishna speaks of two side-walls; then four ells are needed, so that the window be not darkened. Come and hear: One must leave a space of four ells near the drains of his neighbour's roof, so that the latter may be able Ito place a ladder there. (It speaks, in case the owner of the house. is allowed to direct his drains to the neighbour's yard; and, while he allows him this, he must also allow him a space for a ladder.) We see again that the purpose of leaving the space is for placing a ladder, and not for treading upon the earth? It speaks of a slanting roof overhanging the neighbour's yard, with the drains placed at the edge, which does not prevent the treading in the yard under it; and, therefore, there could be no reason but the latter.

MISHNA 5.: One must remove the ladder in his yard from his neighbour's pigeon-coop to the distance of four ells, that a weasel should be unable to jump from it to the latter; and also his wall from his neighbour's roof-drains to a distance of four ells, to enable his neighbour to place a ladder there.

GEMARA: Shall we assume that our Mishna is not in accordance with R. Jose, who says farther on that everybody may do on his property what he pleases? This Mishna can also be in accordance with him, as R. Ashi said: When I was at the house of R. Kahana, he said that R. Jose admitted that one is responsible for any damage done to his neighbour by his arrows (e.g., if he places a ladder so, that it would be easy for a weasel to jump from it to the pigeon-coop). But, after all, this is not direct damage, but germon? (See First Gate, p. 125.) Said R. Tubi b. Mathna: We infer, then, from this, that to cause damage by germon is forbidden (i.e., indirect damage).

R. Joseph had in his yard small date-trees, under which barbers used to perform venesection; and ravens, while coming to consume the blood, caused harm to the dates; and R. Joseph commanded: "Remove the cur-cur from my property!" (i.e., that the barbers should not be allowed any more to do their work there, and then the ravens would not come for the blood). And to Abayi's question: Are not the barbers a germon? he answered with the declaration of R. Tubi b. Mathna just quoted. But had not the barbers already made there a hazakah? To this R. Na'hman in the name of Rabba b. Abuhu said: There is no hazakah concerning damages. But was it not taught that, regarding this, R. Mari said: "As, for instance, smoke, which injures the eyes," and R. Zebid said: "As, for instance a toilet, which is disgusting to the sight"? Said R. Joseph: To me, who am tender-hearted, the blood is as disgusting as the things just mentioned.

MISHNA 6.: A pigeon-coop must not be placed within fifty ells of the town: nor has one a right to make a pigeon-coop on his own property, unless his property extends to fifty ells on each side. R. Jehudah said: "He must have four kurs on each side--the space which a dove can cover at one flight without resting." If, however, one has bought one, he is in his right even when there is only a quarter of a kur of space.

GEMARA: Are fifty ells sufficient for this? Have we not learned in a Boraitha that a net for doves must not be spread unless the locality be thirty riss distant (four miles) from an inhabited place? Said Abayi: "As far as flying goes, it is to a great distance; but with fifty ells it usually gets enough of food" (after which it flies thirty riss; hence beyond the fifty ells it does no harm to the gardens or vineyards). But does not a Boraitha state that in an inhabited place even within a hundred miles one must not spread a net? Said R. Joseph: This speaks of the case when there are vineyards, so that they fly from one vineyard to another, and so they can fly through a much greater distance. And Rabha said that it speaks of a case where there are many pigeon-coops. If it is so, why does the Boraitha state that one hundred miles from a city one must not do so, because he can catch doves from another pigeon-coop, even not in the city? It may be said that the pigeon-coops in question were his own, or they were ownerless.

"He is in his right," etc. Said R. Papa, and according to others R. Zebid: From this it is to be inferred that the court has to open the mouth of a buyer or of an heir to claim hazakah. (I.e., if the plaintiff claims that the estate is his and brings evidence that such estate is his or his parents', and the defendant says, "I inherited it from my parents," or "I bought it from so and so, who has occupied it for so many years," and brings witnesses to his statement, but the witnesses cannot testify that he who occupied it before bought it or inherited it from some one, then the court must consider the defendant's claim; and by the expression "open the mouth," it is meant that the court may say to the defendant: Look for evidence that the one from whom you bought it or inherited it had it in his occupancy for so many years.) What news do they come to teach us? Does not a Boraitha state farther on that if the defendant claims inheritance it is not necessary for him to say when the bequeather bought it? It was necessary for them to teach that the same is the case when the defendant claims "I bought it." But this is also stated farther on [Chapter 3., Mishna 10]? Their statement was nevertheless necessary, for the following reason: From the case in the quoted Mishna one might say that, because it speaks of a yard which was near the public thoroughfare, the claim is to be considered a right one; for if it were not as he says, the public would prevent him; or, at his request, the public have relinquished their right to that yard. But here, in a private case, it is different; and if this case only were stated, one might say that it is to be taken into consideration, as a private party usually settles the difference, or else he relinquishes his right; but there, in the case of the public, with whom can he settle, or who can relinquish? Therefore both cases were necessary to be stated.

Again--"he is in his right" (hazakah). But did not R. Na'hman in the name of Rabba b. Abuhu say that there is no hazakah in regard to damages? Said R. Mari in the name of Rabh: This is said only concerning smoke, as mentioned above.

MISHNA 7: A little dove that is found within fifty ells of a pigeon-coop belongs to the owner of the latter; if outside of fifty ells, it belongs to the finder. If it is found between two pigeon-coops, it belongs to the nearer one; but if in the exact middle, it is to be divided.

GEMARA: Said R. Hanina: In a case which we should judge by a majority, it would be so; and if, according to proximity, it would be different, the decision by a majority must be taken into consideration; and although both majority and proximity are biblical, nevertheless majority has the preference.

R. Zera objected: It is written [Deut. xxi. 3]: "The city which is the nearest," etc. Does it not mean even if there are other cities which are more populous than the nearest one?

Nay; it means if they are not. But even then, why should not the majority of the world be considered? It means, if the city in question is situated among the mountains, where it is not usual for robbers to come from a distant place. But does not our Mishna state that a dove within fifty ells of the pigeon-coop belongs to it, even when there are others outside of the fifty ells which have more doves than the nearest one? Nay; it means when there are not. If it is so, how is the latter part, which states, "if outside of fifty ells, it belongs to the finder," to be understood? If there are no other pigeon-coops, it can only be from that one? It speaks of a pigeon which can hop only; and R. Uqba B. Hama said that a pigeon which hops cannot do so more than fifty ells. R. Jeremiah then questioned in the college: How is the law if one foot was within the fifty ells and the other without? And for this question he was driven out of the college.

Come and hear another objection from our Mishna, which states that if it is found between two pigeon-coops, it belongs to the nearer one. Does it not mean even when the farther one has more doves? Nay; it means when both have an equal number. But why, then, should the majority of the world not be considered? It speaks of a case when vineyards occupy the whole distance between the two pigeon-coops, and the pigeon is found on a walk within the vineyard; and then it cannot be supposed that it came from anywhere else, as it is known that a hopping dove does not go out of sight of her pigeon-coop. Hence she must be from one of these two in question; as, if she were from another one, she could not see it on account of the trees and partitions.

It was taught: A barrel of wine floating on a river, if found opposite a city of which the majority of the inhabitants are Jews, it may be used; if opposite a city of a majority of Gentiles, it must not be used. So said Rabh. Samuel, however, maintains that even when the majority are Jews it is also prohibited, lest perhaps it came from Dagra (a country near the river Euphrates, where there were no Jews). Shall we assume that their point of difference is the above statement of R. Hanina--that one is in accordance with him and the other is not? Nay; both agree with R. Hanina, and the point of their differing is thus: One maintains that if this were from Dagra, it would have sunk while floating in the bays formed by the projecting rocks along the coast from Tyre to Accho, and in the shallow waters caused by melting snow; and the other maintains that because the stream in the river is strong, it could reach here.

A pitcher of wine was found in a vineyard of arla (the third year after planting); and Rabhina allowed to use it. Shall we assume that he did so because he holds with R. Hanina's theory? Nay; his reason was because if it were stolen from this vineyard they would not have hidden it in the same. This is only concerning wine (because the thief would not leave the wine lest the presser of the grapes should find it); as for grapes, however, they would not fear to leave them where they were stolen and take them away afterwards. There were some leather bags of wine which were found among the vines of a vineyard belonging to a Jew; and Rabha permitted their use. Shall we assume that he did so because he does not hold with R. Hanina's theory (as the majority of men are Gentiles, and not Jews)? Nay; his reason is that all the pressers and those that pour the wine into barrels are Jews. This law, however, applies only to large leather bags, but not to small ones, for fear that they were dropped by travellers, the majority of whom are Gentiles; and even if there were large ones with them, the law nevertheless applies, for fear that they were dropped by a traveller upon an ass, who had hung them on both sides of the ass.

MISHNA 8.: In planting a tree, a space of twenty-five ells must be left outside of the town; for a carob or a sycamore, fifty ells are needed. Aba Shaul said: "For a wild tree, fifty ells." If the city was built first, the tree might be cut down without paying for it; but if the tree was planted first, it is to be cut down and paid for; if doubtful as to which was there first, it is to be cut down without paying for it.

GEMARA: What is the reason of all this? Said Ulla: "Because of the beauty of the city." But why not because it is not allowed to make a field of the open space around the town, and vice versa? It means to say that even according to R. Elazar, who hold., that this is allowed, here it is not to be tolerated, because it spoils the beauty of the city. And also according to the rabbis, who allow to plant trees in an open space belonging to the city, but not seeds; here, concerning a single tree they would not allow it, as it spoils the beauty of the city. And whence do you know that the rabbis make a difference between seeds and trees in this respect? From a Boraitha [Erubhin.]: "If a wood-shed of more than two saahs . . . was used to sow grain . . . things must not be moved therein . . . If, however, trees were planted in the greater part of it, things may be carried therein." The Mishna states that if the tree was planted first, it must be cut down and paid for; but why should the: owner of the tree not claim that it should be paid for, and then, cut down? Said R. Kahana: Because a pot belonging to partners is neither warm nor cold (it means that one relies upon the other to warm it or to cool it, and it remains as it was); and here also, if he should wait until he got the money, each of the inhabitants would refer him for payment to the next one, and so the trees would remain indefinitely; therefore it is to be cut down, and the money should be collected through the court.

"If there is a doubt," etc. Why is this case different from that of a tree and a well, concerning which, if there is a doubt as to which was there first, the tree must not be cut down? Because there, if it is certain that the tree was there first, it must not be cut down, the same being the case when there is a doubt; while in our case, even when it is certain that the tree was planted first, it must be cut down, the same being the case when there is a doubt. And concerning the payment for it the city may say: Bring evidence that your tree was planted first, and then you will get the money.

MISHNA 9.: A barn must not be placed within fifty ells of the town; the same is the case if one wishes to make a barn on his own property-he may do so, provided he has fifty ells of space on each side of it. One must also remove a barn from the plants and from the newly ploughed field of his neighbour (which must wait a year before sowing), to a distance sufficiently great to prevent any harm to the plants or the field.

GEMARA: Why, in the first part, is a space of fifty ells required, and in the second part a space only large enough to prevent harm. Said Abayi: The latter part of the Mishna speaks of a temporary barn, and not of a permanent one. What is called a temporary barn? Said R. Jose b. Hanina: If one does not winnow with the shovel. R. Ashi, however, maintains that there are no two parts in the Mishna at all, only the latter part is an explanation of the first, thus: Why must a permanent barn be removed from the city fifty ells? For the purpose that it shall not do any harm to the city. An objection was raised from the following: "A permanent barn must be removed fifty ells from the town, and the same distance must be allowed to one's cucumbers, plants, and a ploughed field, to prevent damage." Now this is correct only according to R. Ashi's explanation; but it contradicts Abayi. The difficulty remains.

However, it is correct only concerning cucumbers, etc., as the dust of the barn settles upon their hearts and spoils them; but what harm can this do to a ploughed field? Said R. Aba b. Zabda, according to others b. Zutra: Because the dust of the barn increases the amount of manure in the field (and spoils the seeds).

MISHNA 10: Carcasses. cemeteries, and tanneries must be removed to a distance of fifty ells. A tannery must not be established except on the east side of the city; R. Aqiba, how ever, maintains that it may be established on every side except the west, and a space of fifty ells is to be left. One must also remove his pond for steeping flax from a neighbour's herbs; garlic from onions; and mustard from bees. But R. Jose allows mustard.

GEMARA: The schoolmen propounded a question: What does R. Aqiba mean? On each side he may establish without the space of fifty ells, excepting the west side, where the fifty ells are necessary; or does he mean that on each side he may establish, provided he leaves the space of fifty ells, except the west side, where he must not do so at all? Come and hear the following Boraitha: "R. Aqiba said: On each side one may

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establish a tannery, if he leaves a space of fifty ells, excepting the west side, where he must not do so at all because of its frequency." Said Rabha to R. Na'hman: "What does the expression frequency mean--does it mean frequent winds? Did not R. Hanan b. Aba say in the name of Rabh, that four winds are blowing every day and the north wind blows with them? Therefore the expression frequency means that the Shekhinah rests there frequently." As R. Joshua b. Levi said: "We must be grateful to our forefathers for having informed us of the place where we are to pray; as it is written [Neh. ix. 6]: And the host of the heavens bow down before thee.'" R. Aha b. Jacob opposed: "Perhaps it means, on the contrary, that they are praying at the east side, and then they step backwards, as a slave does usually before his master; and when they come to the west side, they bow." Hence the Shekhinah is in the east side. The objection remains.

R. Jose, however, holds that the Shekhinah occupies every place, as he said: It is written [ibid., ibid.]: "Thou indeed art the Eternal One alone: it is thou that hast made the heavens," etc. Thy messengers are not as the messengers of human beings, who usually return from the place to which they were sent, to that whence they were sent, announcing that they have fulfilled their duty. Thy messengers, however, are doing the same in the very place to which they were sent; as it is written [Job, xxxviii. 35]: "Canst thou send out lightnings, that they may go, and say unto thee, 'Here are we'?" It does not read that they come and say "Here are we," but that they go and say it in the place to which they were sent: hence the Shekhinah occupies every place. And R. Ishmael also holds the same, inferring it from [Zech. ii. 7]: "And, behold, the angel that spoke with me went out, and another angel came out to meet him." It does not read after him (achrov), but against him (likrono): from which it is to be inferred that the Shekhinah is everywhere. And R. Shesheth also holds so, as he (who was blind) said to his servant: Raise and turn me for praying to any side of the world excepting the east; not because the Shekhinah is not resting there, but because the minim have decided that one must pray only towards the east side. R. Abuhu, however, maintains that the Shekhinah is resting in the west, as he said: Why is the west side called Oriah? Because it is filled with the air of God.

R. Jehudah said: It is written [Deut. 32:2]: "My doctrine shall drop as the rain"; which means the west wind, which comes from the neck of the world; 2 "my speech shall distil as the dew," which means the north wind, which makes gold cheap (because it brings hunger, and that renders gold cheap), as it is written [Is. xlvi. 6]; 3 "as heavy rains upon the grass," means an east wind that makes storms in the world; 4 "and as showers upon herbs," Means a south wind, which brings beneficent rain and causes growth of grasses.

There is a Boraitha: R. Elazar said: The world is like a balcony without the fourth wall; and when the sun arrives in the evening at the northwest corner, it is diverted by this wind and ascends above the sky. And R. Joshua said: The world is like a tent which is fenced on all sides, and when the sun arrives in the evening at the northwest corner, it turns around and returns beyond the sky; as it is written [Eccl. 1:6]: "Going toward the south, and turning round toward the north, the wind moveth round about continually; and around its circles doth the wind return again." "Going toward the south"--during the day; "and turning round toward the north"--during the night; "moveth round about"--means facing east and west, so that sometimes, when the days are long, it goes through them, and when the days are short, it goes around them. R. Elazar used to say [Job, 37:9]: "Out of his chamber cometh the whirlwind," which means the south wind; "and out of the north, the cold," which means the north wind. "From the breathing of God ice is given"--means the west wind; "and the broad waters become solid"--means the east wind.--But did not the master say that the south wind brings beneficent rain' etc.? This presents no difficulty: If the rain comes slowly, it makes the grass grow; but if it comes down in torrents, it does harm.

R. Hisda said: It is written [ibid., ibid. 22]: "The golden light that cometh out of the north"--it means the north wind, which makes gold cheap, as it is written in Isaiah, verse cited above.

Raphram b. Papa in the name of R. Hisda said: "Since the Temple was destroyed, the south wind has never brought rain, as it is written [Is. ix. 9]: 'And he snatcheth on the right hand, 1 and is yet hungry; and he eateth on the left hand, and is not yet satisfied; they shall eat every man the flesh of his own arm.' It is written also [Ps. 139:13]: 'The north and the south--these hast thou created,' etc." The same said again in the name of the same authority; "Since the Temple was destroyed, the rains do not come from the good treasure; as it is written [Deut. 28:12]: The Lord will open unto thee his good treasure, the heaven, to give the rain of thy land,' etc. From which it is to be seen that when Israel did the will of the Omnipotent, and Israel was in his own land, the rain came from the good treasure; and now that Israel is no more in his own land, the rain does not come from the good treasure."

R. Itz'hak said: He who desires to increase his wisdom shall recite his prayers towards the south; and he who desires to become rich shall do so towards the north; and as a mark in aid to remembering this direction, may be taken the fact that in the tabernacle the golden table was placed on the north, and the candelabrum, which gives light (wisdom)--on the south. And R. Joshua b. Levi said: One shall always recite his prayers towards the south, as when his wisdom shall increase, he shall also become richer; as it is written [Prov. iii. 16]: "Length of days is in her right hand: in her left are riches and honour." But did not R. Joshua b. Levi say that the Shekhinah is in the west? He does not mean that he should stand in the south exactly, but that he should stand in the west (southwest corner) and incline himself towards the south.

Said R. Hanina to R. Ashi: Ye who are located on the north side of Palestine must recite your prayers towards the south (so that you shall face Jerusalem). And whence do we know that Babylon was situated north of Palestine? From [Jer. i. 14]: "Out of the north shall the evil break forth," etc.

"A pond for steeping flax," etc. There is a Boraitha: "R. Jose allows mustard; as the owner of it may claim: 'Instead of telling me that I should remove my mustard from your bees, it is for you to remove your bees from my mustard, for they come and consume its blossoms.'"

MISHNA 11.: From a well a distance of twenty-five ells must be left when planting a tree; and fifty ells when planting sycamores or carobs. It makes no difference whether it be above or alongside. If the well has been there first, the tree must be cut down and paid for; but if the tree has been there first, it may remain. The same is the case when there is a doubt. R. Jose, however, maintains that even when the well was there before the tree there is no necessity for cutting down the latter, as one digs on his property while another plants on his own.

GEMARA: There is a Boraitha: "It makes no difference whether the well be below the tree or vice versa"? This would be correct when the tree is above the well, as its roots injure it; but if the well be above the tree, what harm can be done? Said R. Haga in the name of R. Jose: Because the roots render the earth friable, and thus harm the bottom of the well.

"R. Jose, however, maintains," etc. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: The Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Jose. And R. Ashi said: When I was with R. Kahana, we came to the conclusion that R. Jose admits that when one's arrows do damage, etc. Papi di Unaha, who was poor and afterwards became rich, built a palace. In the neighbour. hood were established poppy presses; and when they were in operation the palace used to shake. He came to complain before R. Ashi, who told him what R. Kahana said to him. But how much should the palace shake to make the presses responsible? When a pitcher is on the roof of the palace and its cover shakes.

The disciples of Bar Marian b. Rabbin used to card flax, and the dust of it harmed the men that passed by; and they came to complain before Rabhina, who said to them: That which was said, that R. Jose admits that one should be made responsible for the damage caused by his arrows, was said only when they come from him directly; here, however, as the dust does not come directly, but is blown by the wind, there is no responsibility. Mar b.. R. Ashi opposed: Why should it be different in the case of winnowing, when the wind assists one, concerning which it is said, in the First Gate, that he is responsible? When this was said before Miramar he decided that Mar was right in his supposition, and Marian's disciples were responsible. But to Rabhina: Why should this case be different from that of a spark that proceeds from under the hammer and does damage, in which case he is responsible? "There one is pleased that the sparks should escape outside and not inside--where they may cause harm; but in our case they are not pleased at all that the dust should escape where men pass."

MISHNA 12.: One must not plant a tree near to his neighbour's field, unless it be at a distance of four ells; and it makes no difference whether it be vines or other trees. If, however, there is a fence between the two estates, each of them may plant on his side of the fence. If the roots spread to the estate of one's neighbour, the latter may replace them three spans deeper, so that they shall not hinder in ploughing. If he has to dig a pit or a cave, he may cut off the roots which prevent him from doing so, and the fuel is his.

GEMARA: There is a Boraitha: "The four ells in question are for the purpose that the owner of the vineyard should be able to work it up." Said Samuel: "This is said only concerning Palestine, where they have long ploughs; but in Babylon, where the ploughs are short, two ells suffice." And the same is stated in the following Boraitha: "One must not plant a tree near his neighbour's field, unless he leaves a space of two ells."

And as this contradicts our Mishna, which states four ells, it must be explained that the Boraitha speaks of Babylon, and is in accordance with Samuel's theory. Infer from this that so it is.

Rabha b. R. Hanon had trees at the boundary of R. Joseph's vineyard; and birds which used to rest on the trees descended into the vineyard and did harm. And R. Joseph told him to cut down his trees. And to his claim that the trees were placed at the prescribed distance, R. Joseph said: "This is prescribed only for trees, but for vines more space is required." But does not our Mishna state that there is no difference between vines and trees? R. Joseph rejoined that it means a tree from a tree, and vines from vines; but from a tree to vines more space is required. Said Rabha: "I shall not cut it down; as Rabh said that a tree which bears fruit to the measure of a kab is forbidden to be cut down; and also R. Hanina said: 'Shakkhath, my son, would not have died if he had not cut down a fig-tree before the time; but you, masters, may cut it down if you like.'"

R. Papa had trees at the boundary of R. Huna b. R. Joshua's estate. At one time he found him digging and cutting off its roots; and to the question why he did so, R. Huna answered: In accordance with our Mishna, which states that one may replace the roots to the depth of three spans, in order not to prevent ploughing. Said R. Papa to him: But the master digs deeper. And he answered: I am digging an excavation, and our Mishna allows to do this. Said R. Papa: I tried to repeat for him many supports to the statement that he was not doing right, but he did not listen to me; until I reminded him about the decision of R. Jehudah, that a path that is used by the majority was forbidden to be spoiled. After R. Papa went out, R. Joshua said to himself: Why did I not oppose also this claim of his, with that this was said only within sixteen ells from a tree; but in my case it was outside sixteen ells, and the cutting off of the root could do no harm to the tree.

"And the fuel is his," etc. Jacob of Daiba questioned R. Hisda: Who is meant by 'his'? And he answered: This we have learned in the following: "From roots of a tree belonging to a private man, which spread into the estate of the sanctuary, must not be derived any benefit; but if one has so derived, he is not liable for a sin-offering. This can be correct only when it is said that the roots go with the tree; therefore one is not liable for a sin-offering. But if it should be said that they go with the estate wherein they spread, why should one not be liable? But if the theory that the roots go with the tree remains, how is the latter part of the Mishna to be understood: If the tree is from the sanctuary, and its roots spread into a private estate, the same is the case? Now, if the roots go with the tree, why is one not liable when he derives benefit from it? This objection cannot hold good, as it speaks of a root that grew after the tree had already been sanctified; and there is a Tana who holds that upon the growth which takes place after sanctification no transgression is considered. Rabhina, however, says that there is no contradiction in that Boraitha, as the first part speaks of the roots which were within sixteen ells of the tree, and the latter part of those which were outside of the sixteen ells. Hence the Mishna, which states "his," means the owner of the tree.

Ulla said: A tree which is within sixteen ells of the boundary of another's estate is considered robbery, as it derives its nourishment from another's estate, and its fruit must not be used for the firstfruit offering. Whence did Ulla deduce this? Shall we assume from the Mishna [Sh'byith, I. 7]: "Ten plants which are scattered within a field which a saah of grain can be sown in, the entire piece of land may be ploughed for the sake of the trees until the new Sabbath year comes (as the trees derive nourishment from the entire field in which they are scattered, which is not allowed in a field for sowing seeds)." How many ells are there altogether in a piece of land which is fifty ells square (this is the extent of ground in which a saah of grain can be sown), if divided into strips of one ell? Two thousand five hundred. Then each tree needs for its nourishment two hundred and fifty; and this would not correspond with Ulla's theory, as he requires sixteen ells on each side, which means thirty-two ells square. And if it should be divided into strips of one ell, it would be 1,024 ells. And shall we say from the Mishna (ibid., ibid. 5): A field with three large trees (which are scattered in the above space), belonging to three different persons, according to the Sabbatic law it counts as a tree field, so that it may also be ploughed until the new Sabbatic year? Then, of the two thousand five hundred ells each tree derives its nourishment from 833 1/3 ells; but even then the quantity prescribed by Ulla differs by still more. Ulla was not particular. But non-particularity may be applied when the matter is taken rigorously; but when taken leniently (as, e.g., in Ulla's case, in which the tree becomes free from the firstfruit offering), it must not be applied. Ulla meant to say, not sixteen ells square, but sixteen ells in a circle, and as a square measures more than a circle by one-fourth, it makes only 768 ells for nourishment; and, according to the cited Mishna, each tree would need 16 2/3 ells for nourishment, hence he was not particular in the two-thirds, and this makes it more rigorous--to which non-particularity applies. 1

But why only sixteen ells--does not our Mishna state that a space of twenty-five ells must be left from the tree to the well? Said, Abayi: "The roots spread much farther, but to a distance of sixteen ells they nourish and render the earth poor; while beyond that distance they do not." When Rabbin came from Palestine, he said in the name of R. Johanan that from a tree near the boundary, as well as from a tree whose branches are inclined towards another estate, the firstfruit offering might be brought; and there might be read in this connection

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the passages from the Scriptures referring hereto, as with this stipulation did Joshua bequeath the land to Israel.

MISHNA 13.: If the branches of a tree are inclined towards another field, the owner of the field may cut them off to a sufficient extent, so as not to hinder a team of oxen from passing with the plough. In the case of a carob or a sycamore, however, it must be measured with a plummet (cutting off all the branches as far as they hang over the border line); and if the field is of dry land, the branches from any tree, which overhang it, may be cut off. Aba Shaul said that the same is the case with every wild tree.

GEMARA: The schoolmen propounded a question: Does Aba Shaul mean to oppose with his decision the first part of the Mishna, saying that even if it be not dry land the branches of a wild tree must be cut off; or the second part, which states that the branches from any tree must be cut off--he opposes, saying only of a wild tree, but not of a fruit-tree? Come and hear the following Boraitha: "Aba Shaul said: Every tree of which the branches overhang a dry field must be measured with a plummet, because the shade harms a dry field." Hence his opposition was to the first part. Said R. Ashi: "Even if the Boraitha did not state it so plainly, this could be understood from R. Shaul's expression in our Mishna, as it states every wild tree; and if he opposed only the second part, he would have specified a wild tree. Hence his opposition is to the first part."

MISHNA 14.: The branches of a tree which overhang public ground may be cut off, so that a camel with its rider may pass freely. R. Jehudah says: A camel loaded with flax or with bundles of branches. R. Simeon says: Every tree of that kind must be measured with a plummet, because of the law of defilement.

GEMARA: Who is the Tana who holds that concerning damages we have to consider only the present time, and not the future? (As the Mishna states, it must be cut off only for a camel; and does not consider that the branches grow up again.) Said Resh Lakish: Tanaim differ in this case; and our Mishna is in accordance with R. Eliezer, who allows in a Mishna farther on to dig caves and excavations under a public ground, of a size sufficient for a wagon loaded with stones to pass. R. Johanan, however, maintains that our Mishna may be also in accordance with the rabbis of that Mishna who prohibit this, as there it is to be feared that it may fall suddenly; but here, each branch that grows up can be cut off.

"R. Simeon says," etc. A Boraitha adds to this "for the purpose that it may not form a tent of defilement." Is this not to be understood from the Mishna itself? (As what other law of defilement can it mean?) If from it one may say that it meant, for fear a raven should bring something unclean and deposit it on the tree; and then it would be sufficient to cut off some branches, so that the branches should not hold anything, it comes to teach us that it means it shall not form a tent, and then it must be measured with a plummet.

CHAPTER 3.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING OCCUPANCY (HAZAKAH)--AT WHAT TIME AND IN WHAT RESPECT IT GIVES TITLE. REPLEVINS BY COURT. PROPERTIES OCCUPIED BY A DEFENDANT WHO IS MIGHTIER THAN THE PLAINTIFF BUT EQUAL IN EVIDENCE. A PROTEST AGAINST OCCUPANCY IN ONE'S PRESENCE: OR ABSENCE BY ONE'S OPPONENT. THE WRITING OF BILLS OF SALE AND DEEDS OF GIFT. OCCUPANCIES WHICH CAME FROM INHERITANCE. THE OCCUPANCIES OF SPECIALISTS, PARTNERS, GARDENERS, AND GUARDIANS. OBTAINING PROPERTIES FROM THE CONTRACTING COLLECTORS OF DUTIES AND TAXES. BAILMENTS--OF WHOM THEY MAY BE ACCEPTED. PERSONAL PROPERTIES TO WHICH THE LAW OF OCCUPANCY DOES AND DOES NOT APPLY. OPENING OF WINDOWS AND DOORS TO NEIGHBOURS' OR PARTNERS' PROPERTIES, AND BUILDING OF CAVES, PITS, ETC., UNDER PUBLIC GROUND.

MISHNA 1*.: The law of hazakah (occupancy) is, if one has occupied any property for three years from date to date (without any protest from another party), and this applies to houses, pits, excavations, caves, pigeon-coops, bath-houses, press-houses, dry land, slaves, and the same is with all other articles which bring fruit frequently. However, to a field not artificially watered, the three years of hazakah must not be counted from date to date. Thus, according to R. Ishmael: If one had occupied it eighteen months--viz., three months in the first year, the following whole year, and three months of the third, it is considered three years, and constitutes a hazakah. R. Aqiba, however, said: "Fourteen months--viz., one month of the first, one month of the third, and the whole second year suffices to constitute a hazakah." Said R. Ishmael: This is said of a grain field of which the products are harvested at one time; but if an orchard were within, bearing olives and figs, then, if one has harvested the grain, pressed the olives, and dried the figs, it is considered three years.

[* We deem it necessary to call the attention of the reader to the fact that the law of occupancy was chiefly taken from the ancient Roman law. These paragraphs are about usucapio (occupancy), which dictates that each usucapio without titulius (claim) is not considered. The claims must be pro emptore (purchase) or pro donato (gift), pro legato, pro dote, or pro herede (inheritance); and with usucapio, which is based upon inheritance, no other claim was necessary. The law applied even when it was known that the occupant never had a deed to what he had occupied, and the reason was because the plaintiff had time to protest three years, or at three harvestings, and when he did not make any claim nor any protest, it was evident that the occupant had a right to occupy, and no other evidence was needed. There is also a difference between præsentes and absentes of the occupant. However, concerning servitutes (service) there was also usucapio, in the reverse; namely, pro libertate (liberty), which means that the servant or bondsman had a right to free himself by non usus--namely, when during three years he was never put to any work by his master he became free. But there was no usucapio by using the bondsman, even if for several years: property in him was not acquired if he had no other evidence. (See Ltf. Schweppe, § 305.) According to this, Abraham Krochmal, in his Scholia to the Babylonian Talmud maintains that the term "to slaves" in the Mishna in question means that the law of occupancy applies to these slaves themselves; viz., after three years' rest from any service to their masters, the slaves become free, but not, in accordance with the Gemara, conversely. And so he also explains Resh Lakish's statement, "that the law of hazakah does not apply to a living creature," as unchangeable, and it seems to us that so it is. (The Jews were forced by the Romans to apply Roman Law here because in original Jewish belief and Jewish law before the Roman-Jewish War 66-73 all lands in the Holy Land "belonged to God" while a plot of land in Roman jurisdiction is just a commodity anyone could do business with. Landownership was one of the issues why the Roman-Jewish War broke out in the first place.).]

GEMARA: R. Johanan said: I have heard that the Sanhedrin of Usha used to say: Whence do we know that to constitute a hazakah three years are needed? From the law of a goring ox; as an ox, when it gores thrice, comes out of the category "not vicious" and is placed under the category of "vicious." So, also, if one has occupied a property three years (without protest), it comes out from the control of the seller and is placed under the control of the buyer.

But if this is so, it can be said that as a vicious ox is not guilty unless he gores the fourth time, so also should it be with the hazakah, that it shall not be considered until the fourth year. Nay, that is no comparison. An ox which gores three times becomes vicious; but even then, if he has not gored oftener, what shall he pay? But here, when one has occupied any property for three years, it becomes his. But according to this, let an occupancy for which no reason can be given by the occupant be considered; and this is not permissible, since a Mishna further teaches that such is not to be considered? The reason that three years are considered a hazakah is because it approves the claim of the occupant--e.g., if the plaintiff claims, "You have stolen it," and the defendant says, "I have bought it," the occupancy of three years approves the fact that the defendant tells the truth. But if to the question, "What are you doing on my property?" he has no answer, what shall the hazakah approve? Shall the court make for him such a claim as he himself does not? R. Avira opposed: If hazakah is inferred from a vicious ox, then a protest not made in the presence of an occupant should not be considered, as concerning a vicious ox the maiming must be in his presence [Ex. 21:29]? Nay; in this respect, there is no comparison, as there the Scripture directs that the warning shall be in the presence of the owner. But here the protest is only to show that he had not relinquished his ownership, and if he has protested for other people it suffices, as he (who has heard the protest) has a colleague, and his colleague has another, etc.; and if it is said in public, it will certainly reach the ear of the occupant. According to this, if he has occupied it three months and consumed the fruit which grew each month--e.g., a pastio--let it be considered a hazakah? Was not R. Ishmael I of the Sanhedrin of Usha? And according to him this law holds good; as it is stated in our Mishna that if he has harvested his grain, etc., it is considered three years, according to R. Ishmael. But what is the reason of the decision of the rabbis? Said Rabha: Because for the first three years one usually takes care of his deed; but not for more than this. Said Abayi to him: According to your theory, let a protest which is not in his presence not be considered; as the occupant might claim, "If you gave the protest to me, I would take care of the bill of sale," this claim cannot be considered for the reason stated above, "that your colleague has a colleague," etc.

R. Huna said: "The three years in question must be uninterrupted." What does he come to teach us? Is it not stated in our Mishna, three years from date to date? Lest one say that it means to exclude the case which is told in the Mishna, of a field which is not artificially watered, but if one has occupied it three years on an average it is considered a hazakah even if it was with interruption, he comes to teach us that it is not so. Said R. Hamma: R. Huna admits that in places where it is usual to let the fields rest one year, the three years are considered hazakah, although there is interruption. Is this not self-evident? The case was when he had his field in a pagus, where some let it rest while others did not: lest one say that the plaintiff might claim, "If it were yours, you would not make any interruption," he comes to teach us that the defendant might claim, "It was more agreeable for me this way, because after it rests a year it brings more produce." But does not our Mishna apply hazakah to houses to which testimony could be given for occupying in the day-time, but not in the night-time? (Hence a hazakah is considered even when there is no testimony that it was not interrupted.) Said Abayi: Who testifies as to the occupancy of houses? Neighbours. And neighbours are aware of the nights as well as of the days. Rabha said: The Mishna means when two witnesses came and testified: "We have rented the house from the defendant, and lived in it three years, day and night." Said R. Jimir to R. Ashi: Are the witnesses not interested in it; for if they would not so testify, they would be told to pay their rent to the plaintiff? Answered he: "Ignorant judges would give such a decision. May it not be the case that the witnesses hold the rent of the house, asking, To whom shall we pay?" Said Mar Zutra: Nevertheless, if the plaintiff requires that the defendants should bring two witnesses who should testify that they lived in the house three years, day and night, the court must listen to him. And Mar Zutra admits, if the plaintiff was a traveller who had travelled in large cities with his stock that although he does not require the testimony for day and night, the court may claim it for him. And R. Huna admits, that in stores like those of Mehusa, which are usually occupied in the daytime only, three years is considered a hazakah.

Rami and R. Uqba, the sons of Hamma, bought a female slave jointly: one kept her the first, third, and fifth years, and the other the second, fourth, and sixth. And thereafter a claim was made concerning this slave. And they came before Rabha. Said he to them: Why did you do so--to the end that neither of you should be able to claim hazakah? As it is not a hazakah for each of you, so it is not considered a hazakah for the whole world. This, however, applies because there was no written agreement between you that she should serve you in such a manner. But if such had been written, it might be regarded the same as if it were made public, and no claim is to be considered. Rabha said: If one has used a whole field the years of hazakah, except a quarter of a saah, he acquires title to the whole field except to that which he has not used. Said R. Huna to R. Joshua: It is so if this piece was also fit for sowing. If, however, it was not fit for that, title is acquired to it also, with the field. R. Bibi b. Abayi opposed: According to your theory, how should one make a hazakah on rocky ground, if not by putting cattle or drying fruit there? The same ought to be done with that which was not fit for sowing; and because he has not done so, title is not acquired.

There was one who said to his neighbour: "What are you doing in this house?" to which he answered: "I bought it from you and have occupied it the years of hazakah." Said the plaintiff: "I used to live in the front rooms, passing through yours, and therefore I did not care to protest." And when the case came before R. Na'hman, he said to the defendant: Go and bring evidence that you have occupied the whole house alone. Said Rabha to him: Does not the law dictate that it is for the plaintiff to bring evidence?

The following case, however, contradicts both R. Na'hman and Rabha. It once happened that one said to his neighbour: "I sell you all the properties which formerly belonged to Bar Sisin." There was, however, another estate which also bore the name of Bar Sisin estate, and the buyer wanted to take possession of it; but the seller claimed that this had never belonged to Bar Sisin, and that it was only so called. And when the case came before R. Na'hman, he decided that it belonged to the buyer; and Rabha said to him: Does not the law dictate that it is for the plaintiff to bring evidence? Hence the decision of this case contradicts the former entirely? Nay; in the former case the plaintiff was the owner of the house, and in the latter case the buyer was the plaintiff. Hence Rabha did not change his decision. And concerning R. Na'hman, he also did not contradict himself; but merely because it was named Bar Sisin, he held that it was formerly owned by Bar Sisin, and it was for the claimant, who said it was not so, to bring evidence. And this case is similar to a case where one wants to deny hazakah with a note. Would it not be said to him: Bring evidence that the note is a right one, and then only you can have this?

There was one who asked his neighbour, "What are you doing in this house?" and he said, "I bought it from you, and I have occupied it the years of hazakah." But the owner claimed that he was always out of the city and was not aware that he had been occupying this house, and therefore no protest was made. The defendant, however, stated he had witnesses to the fact that thirty days each year the owner used to be in the city, to which the plaintiff again answered: "These thirty days I was always busy in the market, and I never thought about my house." When the case came before Rabha, he decided that the owner of the house was to be trusted.

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There was another who asked his neighbour, "What are you doing on my estate?" to which he answered, "I bought it from so and so, who told me that he bought it from you." Then he said: "You admit, however, that the estate was mine and that you have not bought it from me. Then go (and see the man you bought it from). I, however, have nothing to do with you." And Rabha decided that the plaintiff's claim was in accordance with the law.

There was another who answered to the same question as above: "I bought it from so and so, and occupied it the years of hazakah." But the owner answered: "That man is known as a robber." The defendant, however, claimed that he had witnesses that at the time he bought it he took the owner's advice. To which the plaintiff answered: "It is true I advised you to buy it, because it would be easier for me to take it away from you than from the robber." Upon which, Rabha decided that the plaintiff's claim was in accordance with the law. Is this in accordance with Admon of the following Mishna: "If one claims that this estate belongs to him notwithstanding the fact that he was a witness on the bill of sale to this field, it may be considered, because he may claim that from this man it is easier for me to take it away than from the first. So is the decree of Admon. The sages, however, maintained that when he was qualified as a witness he lost his right." It may be even in accordance with the rabbis, as in the case of the cited Mishna he was a witness in writing; but here he only gave his advice in words and had not lost his right.

There was another case where one questioned and answered the same as above. Said the defendant: "I have witnesses that you called upon me on that evening and requested me that I should sell it to you, without your mentioning that it belonged to you." And the plaintiff replied: "I thought I would buy my estate for a small amount, instead of taking the matter into court." And Rabha, before whom the case came, decided that such a claim might be considered.

There was another case in which the defendant claimed that he bought it from so and so, and had occupied it the years of hazakah, to, which the plaintiff opposed: "Here is a bill of sale, showing that I bought it four years ago from the same man you claim you bought it from." To which the defendant answered: "Do you think by the expression 'the years of hazakah,' I meant three years? I meant many years--so that I had occupied it three years before you bought it." And Rabha decided that people call many years the years of hazakah. But this can hold good only when he has occupied it seven years, so that the years of hazakah have preceded the bill of sale; but if he has occupied only six years, then the claim of hazakah cannot be considered, because the bill of sale is the greatest protest.

If two persons come before the court, one claiming, "This estate was my parents'," and the other claiming, "It was my parents'," and one of them brings witnesses that it was his parents', and the other witnesses that he had occupied it the years of hazakah? Said Rabha: The one who brings evidence that he occupied it the years of hazakah is to be trusted, since, if he wished to tell a lie, he could claim, "I bought it from you and have occupied it the years of hazakah." Said Abayi to him: "The supposition if he cared to tell a lie cannot be applied in a case where there are witnesses. "If thereafter, however, the plaintiff claims: "It is true it was your parents' estate, but I bought it from you. And by what I said before, I It was that of my parents,' I meant that this estate was so long in my possession that I looked upon it as if it were bequeathed to me by my parents"--may one change his claim before the court, or not? According to Ula he may do so by giving a good reason; but according to the sages of Nahardea, he may not. Ula, however, admits that if the first claim was, "It was my parents', and not yours," it cannot be changed in any circumstances. The same is also the case if, before the court, he claimed so, and afterwards, as he was going out, he claimed otherwise, since it is to be supposed that to such claims he was advised by some one else, and they must not be considered. The Nahardeans, however, admit also that if this man claims, "When I said my parents' estate, I meant that my parents bought it from yours," such a claim is to be considered; and also that if one, in discussing a case outside of the court, did not mention anything of that which he is now claiming before the court, he cannot be accused of not having said so before, as it may be supposed that one does not like to tell his right claim to people in absence of the court. Said Amemar: "I am a Nahardean, and nevertheless hold that if there is a good reason one may change his former claim." And so the Halakha prevails.

If one claims, "It was from my parents," and the other claims the same, and one brings evidence that it was his parents' and that he occupied it the years of hazakah, and the other also brings evidence that he has occupied it the years of hazakah? Said R. Na'hman: Disregard the claims of hazakah which contradict each other, and decide it under the evidence that it was from the parents, which was not denied. Said Rabha to him: But do not the witnesses contradict each other, and in such a case not one of them ought to be taken into consideration? And he answered: They contradict each other as to the years of hazakah, but do they contradict themselves with regard to the parents?

Shall we assume that Rabha and R. Na'hman differ in the same way as R. Huna and R. Hisda differ? As it was taught. If two parties of witnesses contradict each other, they may be listened to in another case where there is no contradiction. R. Hisda, however, maintains that, it being manifest they are perjurers, nothing must be trusted to them.

Shall we then assume that R. Na'hman is in accordance with R. Huna, and Rabha with R. Hisda? Nay; if the decision were in accordance with R. Hisda, Rabha and R. Na'hman would not differ (as, according to R. Hisda, such witnesses cannot be used again in any case). Therefore we must say that both are in accordance with R. Huna; and nevertheless they differ, as Rabha maintains that even according to R. Huna the witnesses are fit for another case, but in this case they must not be listened to in any circumstances. The man who previously brought evidence that he had occupied it the years of hazakah, found thereafter witnesses that the estate was his parents'. Said R. Na'hman: We dispossessed the defendant of that estate (for a good reason), and now that the circumstances have changed we may bring him in again, without fear that this would be a humiliation to the court. Rabha, or, according to others, R. Zera, objected from a Mishna in Tract Kethuboth, which states, concerning marriage, that after the court has decided no change is to be made, even in the event of new evidence being introduced. Said R. Na'hman to him: I was about to practise according to my theory. Now, as you object, and R. Hamnuna of Suria does the same, I shall not do so. However, thereafter R. Na'hman acted according to his theory. One who had seen him doing so thought it was an error on his part. In reality, however, it was not, as he did so on the basis that many other great men had decided that the humiliation of the court must not be taken into consideration.

There was one who said to his neighbour, "What are you doing on this estate?" to which he answered, "I bought it from you, and here is the deed," to which the defendant opposed that the deed was false: The plaintiff bent and whispered to Rabba: Concerning this note, his claim is right. However, I possessed, but lost, the true one; and this is a correct copy. Said Rabba: He may be trusted, since if he wished to tell a lie he would claim that the document was genuine. Said R. Joseph to him: "But, after all, what is the basis of the plaintiff's evidence? Is it not the deed in question in reality nothing else but a broken piece of clay, as he has himself admitted that it was made by him?"

There was another case similar concerning a hundred zuz in cash, in which the plaintiff admitted that the note in his hand was a false one, made instead of the genuine, lost; and Rabba took it into consideration for his reason stated above, and R. Joseph opposed him as above. And R. Iddi b. Abbin said: The Halakha prevails in accordance with Rabba if the case dealt with real estate, because we leave the estate in the possessor's hands. And the Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Joseph if the case concerned ready-money, for the same reason that we have to leave the money in the hands of the possessor (i.e., according to the rule that it is for the plaintiff to bring evidence).

There was a surety who claimed that he had paid to the lender for the borrower one hundred zuz, by showing the note. Said the borrower: "Did not I pay you?" And he answered: "But did you not take it again from me." When the case came before R. Iddi b. Abbin, he turned it over to Abayi, and Abayi sent a message to R. Iddi: Why are you doubtful in this case? Was it not you who said that the Halakha prevails with R. Joseph in case of ready-money--that is, that we leave the money with its possessor? This law, however, holds good when the surety claims he lent it again, without giving any reason; but if he claims, "I returned the money because it was not circulating," this claim must be considered, and the note is in force.

It was murmured among people that Rabha b. Sharshum had appropriated land belonging to orphans; and Abayi sent for him and asked him to tell him about the case. And he told him thus: This estate was pledged to me by the father of the orphans. I, however, had other money with him without any pledge; and after I had collected the first debt from the product of the pledge I knew, if I turned over the estate to the orphans and claimed that I had other money with their father, I should have to take an oath in accordance with the decision of the rabbis. Therefore I kept the pledge, with the deed, until I should collect from the products what was due me, and then I would return it. And the court must take my claim into consideration in accordance with the theory of "because"--that is, because I could claim that I had bought the estate from the deceased, and I would be trusted after I had occupied it the years of hazakah, therefore my claim that I had money with the deceased must be regarded. Said Abayi to him: You could not claim you had bought it, as people are still murmuring that the estate belongs to the orphans. Therefore you must return the estate to the orphans, and when they shall be of age, you can sue them.

A relative of R. Iddi b. Abbin died, and left a tree, and another relative took possession of it. But R. Iddi claimed that he was a nearer relative, and that it belonged to him, while the other claimed that he was a nearer relative. Finally the other party admitted that R. Iddi was a nearer relative, and R. Hisda transferred the tree to R. Iddi. Said R. Iddi to R. Hisda: This man must return to me all the product of this tree which he has consumed since the death of the owner. Said R. Hisda to him: Are you the man about whom it is said that he is a great man? Your claim relies upon his admission that you are a nearer relative, after you gave evidence; but until that time he felt sure that he was a nearer relative. Consequently he has consumed the fruit rightly, and his admission now is to be considered as if he made you a present. Both Abayi and Rabha disagreed with R. Hisda, as his admission now must be taken into consideration, even concerning the previous product.

There was one who questioned his neighbour as to what he was doing on his estate, and he answered: "I bought it from you, and occupied it the years of hazakah." However, he found witnesses for the occupancy of two years only; and R. Na'hman decided he should return the estate, and also the value of the fruit he had consumed in two years. Said R. Zebid: If he were to claim: "I did not intend to keep the estate, but had the right to consume the fruit thereof, because I rented it," he is to be trusted; for did not R. Jehudah say: If one holds a scythe and a basket, saying, "I am going to gather the dates of such and such a tree, which I bought," he is to be trusted, because one would not dare to take possession of a tree which does not belong to him? And the same is the case here, for no one would dare to consume fruit which did not belong to him. If so, why should this law not apply to an estate also? For land a deed is demanded (as nobody would buy an estate without a deed); but in hiring products, a deed is unusual, and therefore it cannot be demanded.

There was another man who questioned his neighbour as to what he was doing on his estate, and he answered, "I bought it from you and occupied it the years of hazakah," to which he brought one witness. The rabbis who were in the presence of Abayi, before whom the case was brought, were about to say that this was similar to the following case: One snatched a piece of silver from his neighbour, and the case was brought before R. Ami, in the presence of R. Abba, and the plaintiff brought one witness that he snatched. And the defendant answered: "Yes, I took it; but I did so because it was mine." And R. Ami was deliberating," How decide this case?" Shall he repay it? There are no two witnesses. Shall we free him? There is one witness. Shall we give him an oath? The plaintiff claims that he snatched it, which is robbery, and a robber is not to be trusted with an oath. Said R. Abba to him: Consequently this man is obliged to take an oath, for which he is not to be trusted. And the law is, that he who is obliged to take an oath and cannot swear, must pay. Said Abayi to them: What comparison is this? A case similar to R. Abba's would be if the plaintiff had brought one witness that he had consumed the product two years; then he would have to pay, because he would not be trusted with an oath, as concerning the consumed fruit he would be considered a robber. 1 But here, the defendant has brought a witness to support himself; and if he had another, we would leave the whole estate in his hand. Hence he cannot be considered a robber who is not to be trusted to take an oath, and therefore we cannot make him pay.

There was a boat about which two parties quarrelled, each claiming that it was his, and one came to request the court that it should take charge of the boat until he should be able to get witnesses that it was his. Should his request be granted, or not? According to R. Huna, it should; and according to R. Jehudah, it should not. But in case the request was granted and the court took charge of it, and the other party, seeing that his opponent could not find evidence, requested that the court should resign its charge and leave it to the parties, so that he who could, should take possession of it--should this request be granted, or not? According to R. Jehudah, it should not; but according to R. Papa, it might. The Halakha, however, prevails that in such a case the court should not take charge of it; but, if it was already done, it should not be released before the question was decided.

If each of the parties claim: "This estate belonged to my parents"--said R. Na'hman: "In such a case, the law of the stronger is to be applied." But why should this case be different from a case where two notes are given out on the very same date to two different persons, and the property of the debtor is sufficient for the payment of one note only, in which Rabh's decision was that the property should be divided between both creditors equally; and Samuel's, that it must be left to the consideration of the judges, so that they might give the preference to him who had more right according to their opinion? It is because there is no hope that one of them would bring evidence that he has the preference (since the notes were written on one and the same day, and even if one should bring witnesses that his note was written before the other, there is a rule that there is no priority in a matter of hours); but in one case there is hope that one of them may bring evidence. But why should this case not be equal to the one in Mishna 4, p.

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261, Middle Gate, about the doubt when the young ass was born, and it was decided that it should be divided? There each of the parties, claiming it was born while under his control, has an equal chance; but here each of them claims the whole article to be his own, and the court cannot decide that it should be divided, since, if the claim of the one be true, the other has never had any right to it. Said the Nahardeans: If a third party from the market came and took possession of it, the court has no right to take it away from him, because there is no plaintiff. As R. Hyya taught: If one steals an article belonging to many persons, he cannot be considered a thief whom the court can compel to return it, as there is no plaintiff. Said R. Ashi: R. Hyya meant to say that he cannot be considered a thief who atones by returning the article, for he does not know whom he robbed; but the court may compel him to place the article under its charge.

"Three years from date to date," etc. Said R. Aba: If there are witnesses who testify that the plaintiff has loaded a basket of fruit from this field on the shoulders of the defendant, the hazakah is effected immediately. Said R. Zebid: If, however, the plaintiff claims, "I have let him this field for the products only," he is to be trusted, provided this claim was made during the three years of hazakah, but not afterwards. Said R. Ashi to R. Kahana: Why should not his claim be regarded even after three years, as, if he sold (for three years) him the fruit, what should he do before the time had elapsed? Answered R. Kahana: He should have protested before the time the hazakah elapsed, so that it should be known that the estate belonged to him. If this were not the case, the pledges of Sura, in the documents of which are written: "After the time of these pledges elapses, this estate shall be returned without any payment," how is it if the possessor of the estate should hide the pledged deed after three years, and claim, "I have bought it"--should he be trusted? Would, then, the rabbis enact such a thing as could do harm to the pledger? We must then say that the pledger, before the lapse of the time, must proclaim his protest, so that it shall be known that the estate belongs to him. The same is the law in our case.

R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh said: An Israelite who has bought a field of a Gentile, who has occupied it the years of hazakah, claiming to have bought it from another Israelite, but had not shown any deed, the law of hazakah does not apply to the last buyer, even if he has occupied it three years or more, because he relies upon the Gentile, and the law of hazakah does not apply to Gentiles (who are mightier); and it may happen that he has occupied the estate without any right, because the Israelite was afraid to claim it (unless he shows a deed). Said Rabha: If the last buyer claims, "I was told by the Gentile that he bought it from you," he is to be trusted, because he could claim, "I myself bought it from you, and occupied it the years of hazakah." But is such a thing possible, that if the Gentile should claim the property in his own name he would not be relied upon because the law of hazakah does not apply to him, and when the Israelite claims in the Gentile's name he is to be trusted? Therefore Rabha's statement was thus: If the last buyer claims, "In my presence the Gentile bought it from you, and then he sold it to me," he is to be trusted, because he could claim, "I bought it directly from you." R. Jehudah said again: If one holds a scythe and a basket, saying, "I am going to cut off the dates from the tree which I bought of its owner," he is to be trusted, as one would not dare to go publicly to cut off products which do not belong to him. The same said again: If one has occupied a piece of land which was outside the fence of one's field (which they usually sowed for the wild beasts to feed on), he cannot claim hazakah, as the owner may say, "I did not protest because I could not have made use of it anyhow, for the wild beasts would have consumed the produce." If one of the years of hazakah happened to be a year of arla, it is not to be considered. And so, also, we have learned in the following Boraitha: If one of the years was a Sabbatic or an arla year, or one has sown it with Kilaim, it must not be considered. R. Joseph said: If in the hazakah years he harvested the stalks while yet unripe, it is not to be considered (because he has not occupied it as usual). Said Rabha: But if this was around the city of Mehusa it is to be considered, because all the farmers, on account of their cattle, are in the habit of doing so. R. Na'hman said: To land which is full of pits and cannot be worked up properly the law of hazakah does not apply, because the owner may claim, "As it was of no use to me, I did not protest." The same is the case with such fields as return no more than was sown in them. And also in the case of exilarchs, to an estate which is bought from them, or which they buy, the law of hazakah does not apply, because they are mighty, and no one would dare to protest against them; and, also, they themselves do not care to protest.

"Slaves." Does the law of hazakah apply to slaves? Did not Resh Lakish say: To every living creature the law of hazakah does not apply? Said Rabha: He means to say it does not apply before three years (i.e., one cannot claim that he bought it as he may do with other personal property for which no evidence is needed when found in his possession), but after three years it does. And Rabha said again: If this slave was an infant lying in his cradle, the law of hazakah applies immediately. Is this not self-evident? He means even in case it has a mother; and lest one say that it is to be feared that its mother left it there, it comes to teach us that this is not to be feared, because usually a mother does not forget her child.

There were goats that consumed peeled barley in the city of Nahardea, and the owner of the barley caught them and would not return them until the value of the barley was paid. And his claim was of considerable amount, and the father of Samuel decided that he might claim the value of all the goats, as if he were to claim that he bought them he ought to be trusted, seeing that they were found in his possession. But did not Resh Lakish say that the law of hazakah does not apply to living creatures? Why did the father of Samuel decide (Middle Gate, pp. 306 seq.) that he could collect the whole value of the goats? (See there.) With goats it is different, as they are usually transferred to the shepherd. But do not goats go in the morning and evening without the shepherd? In the city of Nahardea thieves were frequently found, and the shepherds used to deliver the cattle into the hands of their owners.

"Three months in the first year," etc. Shall we assume that the point of difference between R. Ishmael and R. Aqiba is that one holds ploughing is a hazakah (i.e., if one ploughs a field and the owner does not protest, it is supposed that he bought it from him). And one holds that it is? But how can you bear in mind that R. Aqiba holds ploughing to be a hazakah, when he means a whole month in two hazakah years? Is one day not sufficient for ploughing? Therefore we must say that, according to all, ploughing is not considered a hazakah, and the point of their difference is ripe and unripe fruits. According to R. Ishmael, the hazakah applies only to ripe fruits, and according to R. Aqiba also to unripe ones.

The rabbis taught: Ploughing is not a hazakah. According to others, it is. Who are the others? Said R. Hisda: It is R. Aha of the following Boraitha. If one has ploughed it one year and sown it two, or vice versa, it is not a hazakah. R. Aha, however, says it is. Said R. Ashi: I have questioned all the great men of this generation, and they have told me that ploughing is a hazakah. Said R. Bibi to R. Na'hman: The reason of him who holds that ploughing is a hazakah is because that usually one would not keep silent if a stranger came and ploughed his land. And the reason of him who holds that ploughing is not a hazakah, is because the owner might think: "I can derive benefit from every furrow he makes with the plough on my land, so I will protest afterwards."

The inhabitants of the city of Pumnahara sent a message to R. Na'hman b. R. Hisda thus: Let the master teach us if ploughing is a hazakah or not. And he answered: R. Aha and all the great men of this generation have decided that ploughing is a hazakah. Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: It was too much of him to assert, "All the great men." Are not Rabh and Samuel in Babylon, and R. Ishmael and R. Aqiba in Palestine, who bold that ploughing is not a hazakah? R. Ishmael and R. Aqiba we hear saying so in our Mishna, but where did Rabh and Samuel say so?

As R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: R. Ishmael and R. Aqiba were a minority of the sages, but the majority of the sages held that a hazakah is three years from date to date. And this was certainly to exclude ploughing. And concerning Samuel. said also R. Jehudah in his name: This was the opinion of R. Ishmael and R. Aqiba only; but all the other sages held that the hazakah does not apply unless one has harvested, gathered the vintage, and pressed olives, each of them three times. What is the difference between Rabh and Samuel--as, according to both, three years are needed? Said Abayi: A young tree which bears fruit on the average three times in less than three years, according to Samuel it is a hazakah, and according to Rabh it must be from date to date.

"Said R. Ishmael . . . a field for grain," etc. Said Abayi: From R. Ishmael's decision, that three harvestings suffice to constitute hazakah, we can understand the opinion of the rabbis opposing him: If the field contains thirty trees, each ten of which take up a space where a saah of grain can be sown, and the defendant has used ten the first year, ten the second, and ten the third, it is a hazakah, although three years have not yet elapsed (as he has consumed in each year what was ripe). And this is to be inferred from R. Ishmael's statement that each performance of the three articles is counted as if it were done thrice, to constitute a hazakah. The same is the case with the thirty trees: the consuming of each ten is counted with the consuming of the others, and therefore it constitutes a hazakah. But this is only the case when but ten of them were ripe each year; but if more were ripe, and he only consumed ten, it is not. And the same is the case if the ten trees were ripe in one place only the first year, ten in another place the second, and ten in a third place the last year; for in order to constitute a hazakah, the trees must be scattered throughout the whole field, three or four of them growing in the space of a saah each year.

If one has made a hazakah on the trees and another upon the ground, each of them acquires title to what he holds. So said R. Zebid: R. Papa opposed; for, according to this theory, the one who has made a hazakah on the trees has nothing in the ground. So let the owner of the field say to the owner of the trees, "Cut down your trees and go." "Therefore," said he, "in such a case one has acquired title to the trees and half of the ground, and the other to the other half of the ground."

It is certain if one has sold his ground and left the trees, the ground required by the trees must be left for them; for even according to R. Aqiba, who said elsewhere that usually when one sold a thing he did so with a good eye (i.e., with the intention of benefiting the buyer), this is only in case he sold him a well. We must say the stone-walls to the well on his property are also sold to him. But in this case, where he retains the trees, which make the ground poor, and also their roots may hinder the plough, it is certainly his intention that the ground needed for the trees shall remain his, as otherwise the buyer will have a right to demand from him that he shall cut down his trees. But if he has sold the trees and retained the ground, in this case the rabbis and R. Aqiba differ. According to R. Aqiba, who holds that usually the seller sells with a good eye, the buyer has a right to the growing of the trees. But according to the rabbis, who do not hold so, the buyer has no such right. And even according to R. Zebid, who said above, in the case of hazakah, that each of them has nothing in that which the other has occupied, it is only as to buyers that the one who has occupied the ground can say to him who possesses the trees, "As I have nothing in your trees, so you have nothing in my ground." But in case of selling, according to the rule that a seller sells with a good eye, this claim cannot apply even in accordance with the opinion of the rabbis. And even R. Papa, who said above that the owner of the trees has a share in the ground, it is only in the above case where there were two buyers--the one who buys the trees and the buyer of the ground--that each of them can claim, "As the owner sold to you with a good eye, so did he to me." But in this case, according to the rabbis, who hold that a man usually sells with a bad eye (i.e., with the intention of benefiting merely himself), R. Papa may also agree that, according to the rabbis' theory, the buyer of the trees has no claim to the ground. The Nahardeans said that if, of the above-mentioned thirty trees, fifteen of them were planted in the space of a saah, although he had consumed the product of all of them three years successively, it is not considered a hazakah, because he has not done as people do (i.e., fifteen trees in the space of a saah cannot bear good products, and the one who possesses such usually cuts out many of them to make room for the others; and as he did not do so, it seems that he does not consider this to be his property). Rabha opposed this. For, according to this theory, one could never acquire title to a bed of a pastio, which is usually sown three times a year, and the overcrowding is thinned out to make space for the remainder (and when the occupant has only consumed them, and not thinned out, he does not acquire title). "Therefore," said he, "in such a case he acquires title to the trees, and not to the ground." Said R. Zera: In this case the Tanaim of the following Mishna differ: A vineyard which was planted in less than four ells' space, R. Simeon said: Concerning Kilaim, it is not considered a vineyard at all. The sages, however, maintained that it is so considered, and the middle ones are to be considered as if they did not exist (i.e., the law of a vineyard, which should interfere with other kinds of seeds, is that it must be planted so that between each row of the vines four ells of space must be left; and if not, it is not called a vineyard. But according to the rabbis, the middle one is not considered; consequently there is more than four ells' space between them, and it does interfere-hence, according to this theory, of the trees in question which were overcrowded, fifteen in the space of a saah, the middle ones are not to be considered, according to the rabbis; but they are considered, according to R. Simeon).

The Nahardeans said again: If one has sold a tree to his neighbour, the buyer acquires title to it from beneath it unto the deep. Rabha opposed. Why should it be said that the whole ground unto the deep shall be sold to him? The seller may claim: I sold it to you as people used to sell a saffron tree, of which the buyer derives the benefit as long as the tree yields fruit, but after it became withered, the buyer had to remove it and leave the ground to the seller. Therefore said Rabha: This applies only to him who claims that he bought it with the stipulation that if the tree dies he may plant another one in its place, and after he possessed it the years of hazakah. Said Mar the Elder, the son of R. Hisda, to R. Ashi: Even if it was a saffron tree, and in such a case the buyer usually cares for the valuable saffron, and not the ground beneath, what should the seller do if, after the three years, the buyer claims he has also bought the ground (so that he can plant another one)? And he answered: The seller should protest before the years of hazakah elapse, as is said above.

MISHNA 2: There are three lands concerning the law of hazakah: The land of Judea, the land on the other side of the Jordan, and of Galilee. If the owner of the estate was in Judea, and one has made a hazakah in Galilee, or vice versa, it is not considered a hazakah unless the owner of the estate should be with the occupant in one and the same country. Said R. Jehudah: The law of three years is made only for the purpose that if the owner, for instance, was in Spain, and his estate was in Judea, which is a year's journey from there, if one has occupied his estate while on the road, a year's time is given for

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him to be notified, and another year for his return (i.e., no matter where he is, three years suffice for hazakah).

GEMARA: Let us see! What does the first Tana of the Mishna hold? If a protest in the absence of the occupant is considered, then, even when one was in Judea and the other in Galilee, he could protest; and if it is not considered, then even if both were in one country, when they are not in one city, the hazakah should not apply, as he could not protest. Said R. Abba b. Mamal in the name of Rabh: He holds that a protest not in his presence is to be considered. But our Mishna treats of a case of war, during which this protest would be of no use (because there would be no one to notify him). And why does he mention Judea and Galilee? To teach that these two countries are always considered as if there might be a war between them, as caravans going from one country to the other are very rare. R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh said: If one runs away from a city because of crime, etc., and one occupies his estate, the law of hazakah applies. And R. Jehudah continued: After Rabh's death I said this Halakha in his name before Samuel, and he said to me: Is this not self-evident? Must, then, a protest be in one's presence? (Says the Gemara:) And, indeed, what news did Rabh teach with this statement, unless that a protest not in one's presence is considered? He already said so elsewhere. With this statement he teaches us that, even when the protest was before two witnesses who were not able to notify the occupant, it is nevertheless considered a protest. As R. Anan said. Mar Samuel has explained to me his opinion that only when one protested in the presence of two witnesses who are able to notify the occupant, it is considered; but not otherwise. Rabh, however, is of the opinion: "Thy colleague has another colleague," etc.; and so, when protested before two, it will become known. Said Rabha: The Halakha prevails that the law of hazakah does not apply to the property of one who runs away, and also that a protest which is not in one's presence is considered. Are not the two Halakhas contradictory of each other? This presents no difficulty. If one runs away because of money matters, he is not afraid to protest, as he does not care whether his residence is made known; but if one runs away on account of a crime, then he cannot protest, as this would make known his hiding-place.

How should one protest? Said R. Zebid: If the protest was, so and so is a robber; it does not suffice, but he must protest: "He is a robber who has robbed me of my estate, and as soon as it is possible I shall summon him." But how is the law if he added to this protest, "Do not notify him of my protest"? Said R. Zebid: How can this be considered, when he plainly says: Do not notify him. R. Papa, however, is of the opinion that it means: Do not notify him, but tell it to other people, so that he will become aware of it afterwards. How is the law if the witnesses told him: We will not notify him? According to R. Zebid, such a protest is not to be considered, and according to R. Papa, it is, because although they should not notify him, they will nevertheless tell it to other people. But how is it if the protestor said: Do not mention it to any one? According to R. Zebid, it is certainly not to be considered. But how is it when they said: We will not mention this to any one? According to R. Papa, it is not to be considered. R. Huna b. R. Jehoshua, however, maintains that, even then, it is a protest, as a thing which does not belong to a man, he will talk about it some time, and it will become known.

Rabha said in the name of R. Na'hman: A protest not in one's presence is to be considered; and he opposed him from the statement of R. Jehudah in our Mishna, who said that a year is allowed for notifying him and a year for returning. And if a protest not in one's presence should suffice, why must he come back? And he answered: R. Jehudah's statement is only an advice for one that he had better come himself, so that he should be able to take possession of the estates and products. (Says the Gemara:) From that which Rabha objected, it must be said that he himself does not hold with him concerning a protest in the absence of the occupant; and above it was said that Rabha himself had so decided? After he had heard it from R. Na'hman, he accepted it.

R. Jose b. Hanina happened to meet the disciples of R. Johanan and questioned them as to whether R. Johanan had said before how many people a protest must be made. R. Hyya b. Abba said in the name of R. Johanan: In the presence of two. And R. Abuhu said in his name: Three are needed.

Shall we assume that the point of their differing is the saying of Rabba b. R. Huna: "Everything which is said in the presence of three persons cannot be considered slander"? Now he who holds that two persons are sufficient does not agree with Rabba, and he who holds that three are needed does so, because he holds with him? Nay, all agree with Rabba, and the point of their differing is-a protest not in one's presence: he who says that two are sufficient, because such is not to be considered (and therefore he needs two, so that they shall testify that the occupant was present at the protest). 1 And he who holds that three are needed does so because a protest not in one's presence is considered, and therefore three are needed in order to make the protest public. If you wish, it may be said that all agree that such a protest is to be considered, and the point of their differing is that one holds that for this purpose witnesses are needed, and the other one holds that it is only necessary to make it public.

Giddle b. Minjumi had to make a protest against some one, and happened to meet R. Huna, Hyya b. Rabh, and R. Hilkiah b. Tubi, who were sitting together, and he made his protest before them. The next year he came again to protest. Said Hyya b. Rabh to him: The protest from last year is sufficient. Said Resh Lakish in the name of B. Kapara: It is, however, necessary for one to repeat his protest after the lapse of every three years. R. Johanan, however, doubted concerning this decision, saying: Does the law of hazakah apply to a robber? A robber! Is it, then, certain that he is a robber? (Does he not claim that he had a deed, that it was lost?) He means to say that, as after the first protest he has done nothing to find the deed or to bring any other evidence, he is so considered, and the law of hazakah should not apply to him. Said Rabha: The Halakha prevails that one has to repeat his protest after each three years.

Bar Kapara taught: If one has protested once, twice, and three times, if the second and third times he has claimed the same that he claimed the first time, the occupant has no hazakah; but if he comes with other claims, the hazakah prevails with the occupant.

Rabha said in the name of R. Na'hman: When a protest is made before two persons, there is no necessity to ask that it be written down. The same is the case with an announcement. (There is a law that if one is compelled to sell his property, or to do any other thing against his will, he may announce it before two persons, and afterwards he can sue the buyer.) For an admission, however (that he owes something to one), he must ask the two witnesses to write it down. The ceremony of a sudarium must be done before two persons without writing. The approval of an oath, however, must be done by three persons. Said Rabha: I could not understand why the sudarium should be made before two. If it is considered an act of Beth Din, then three are needed; and if it is not considered such, why should it not be written down? After deliberating, however, he said: This act is not considered as an act of Beth Din, and writing down is not needed, because this act is as good as if it were written. (This is the final conclusion of the act, and cannot be denied.)

Rabha and R. Joseph both said: We do not write down an announcement unless in a case where the defendant does not listen to the court. Both Abayi and Rabha, however, said that even for such people as we are, it may be written down. The Nahardeans said: An announcement in which it is not written: "We witnesses testify that it was known to us that this man was compelled," etc., is not to be considered. What kind of an announcement do they mean? If concerning a divorce or a gift, it is sufficient when it is made public only. And if for a sale, did not Rabha say elsewhere: We do not write announcements about things sold? It means of a sale, and Rabha admits that when one was compelled to sell against his will, as, for instance, in the case of certain vineyards (Middle Gate.), we do write such announcements.

R. Jehudah said: A hidden deed of gift is not sufficient for collection. What does this mean? Said R. Joseph: If one said to the witnesses, "Go to a place which is invisible, and write him a deed of gift." According to others, R. Joseph said: If the giver did not say to the witness, "Go to the market, and in the presence of the people you shall write him this deed." And the difference between these two sayings is when he said to them: "Go and write," without any addition. Said Rabha: Such a deed is sufficient to be an announcement in case one has to render the same to another.

Said R. Papa: This statement attributed to Rabha was not plainly said by him, but it was inferred from his decision of the following act. There was a man who wanted to marry a certain woman, and she said to him: "If you will transfer all your property to me, I will be yours, and not otherwise." And he did so. Then came his older son, and said to him: "What then becomes of me?" And the father told two witnesses they should hide themselves in a certain place and write a deed that the property belonged to his son. And when the case came before Rabha, he decided that none of them had acquired title to the property (the son, because it was written in a hidden place; and the woman, because the first deed was an announcement against the latter deed). This, however, was only a supposition by those who heard this decision. In reality, however, Rabha did so because any one could see that the deed to the woman was written only under compulsion. But in the above case of a hidden deed, it could not serve as an announcement, because the latter was made in public. And it is to be assumed that he did so because such was his will, and the former was done unwillingly; and therefore he told the witnesses to write it in a secret place.

The schoolmen propounded a question: How is it when he told them to write a deed of gift without any explanation? (The question is concerning the two sayings of R. Joseph mentioned above.) According to Rabhina, it is considered proper; and according to R. Ashi, it is not proper (unless he told them to make this publicly). And so the Halakha prevails.

MISHNA 3.: A hazakah to which there is no claim is not to be considered. How so? "What are you doing on my property?" And if he answered: "Because there was no claim against it," it is not to be considered. But if he says: Because you have sold it; or, You had presented it to me; or, Because your father did so, this is to be considered. A property, however, which one possesses by inheritance does not need any explanation (which means that the claim, "I have inherited," is sufficient).

GEMARA: Is not the first statement in the Mishna self-evident? Lest one say: As the man has occupied the estate, it must be supposed that he has bought it, but has lost the deed; and the reason why he does not claim "bought," is because he feared that the plaintiff would ask to see the deed, therefore it is for the court to ask him: "Perhaps you had a deed, which was lost?" as it is written [Prov. 31:8]: "Open thy mouth for the dumb," etc.; it comes to teach us that it is not so.

It happened that an overflow took away the fence of R. Anan's field, and he built a new one in the space belonging to his neighbour. And his neighbour complained before R. Na'hman, who decided that he must remove it. Said R. Anan to him: But I have made a hazakah on it. And he answered: You desire that I shall decide in accordance with R. Jehudah and R. Ishmael, who said that if it was done in the presence of the plaintiff, it is immediately considered a hazakah. The Halakha does not prevail according to them. Said R. Anan: But this man has relinquished his right to me, as he himself assisted me in making the fence. And he answered: Such a relinquishment was only an error, and cannot be considered; as you yourself, if you were aware that you were building the fence on a space which did not belong to you, would not do it. And so was it with your neighbour: he, also, was not aware that the space belonged to him.

The same happened to R. Kahana, and his neighbour came to complain before R. Jehudah, bringing two witnesses. One testified that R. Kahana had occupied two rows of his neighbour's estate, and the other testified three. And R. Jehudah decided he should pay him for two of the three rows. Said R. Kahana to him: Is not your decision in accordance with R. Simeon b. Elazar, who said elsewhere that the school of Hillel agrees that the smaller amount is included in the larger one (i.e., as there is no contradiction to the two rows, it is considered as two witnesses for two rows which must be paid for)? But I can bring you a letter from Palestine that the Halakha does not prevail with R. Simeon b. Elazar. And he answered: If you will bring me this letter, we shall see.

It happened in the city of Kashta that one had lived in an attic four years, and then the owner of the house came to ask him what he was doing in the house. To which he answered: I bought it from so and so, who bought it from you. And the case came before R. Hyya, who said to the defendant: If you will bring witnesses that the man from whom you bought it lived in this attic even one day, I will leave the attic in your possession, but not otherwise. Said Rabh: I used to sit then before my uncle, and I said to him: Can it not happen that one should sell out his property in the night-time, and leave it immediately? And I understood from my uncle's appearance that if the defendant should claim: "I was present when my seller bought it from you," he would trust him, because, if he wished to tell a lie, he could claim: I bought it from you directly. Said Rabha: It seems to me that R. Hyya was correct in his decision, as our Mishna states that if the defendant claimed inheritance, no other explanation is needed, which means an explanation is not needed, but nevertheless evidence that he inherited it is needed. (Said the Gemara:) This support does not hold good, as it may be said that the expression, "no explanation is needed," means also no evidence. Furthermore, the claim "bought" should have more chance than an heir; for if it were not known to him that the seller had a right to sell it, he would not throw away his money.

The schoolmen propounded a question: If the seller was seen on this property, not as a tenant, but as the owner, to measure it, would this be sufficient, according to R. Hyya? Said Abayi: "Aye." Rabha, however, maintains that it may happen that one shall measure his property without any intention of selling. If there were three buyers to one estate (i.e., A sold it to B, who occupied it a year, and thereafter sold it to C, who also after a year's occupancy sold it to D, with a bill of sale: then came A and claimed that the estate was his--he never sold it--and B does not possess any bill of sale, shall we say that, as between B, C, and D three years of hazakah have elapsed, and as A has not protested, D is entitled to it? or, as each of them has not occupied it the years of hazakah, A's claim is to be considered), the years of occupancy count. Said Rabh: This is only when both C and D possessed their deeds, but not otherwise.

Shall we assume that Rabh holds that only a deed is considered to be known by the people, but not witnesses; and the reason why he said elsewhere that he who sells his field in the presence of witnesses, and thereafter it was taken away from the buyer, the buyer has a right to collect his money from encumbered estates, is because the people who bought their estates afterwards from the seller had to investigate whether he had not sold his estates previously with security, but not because witnesses are considered known to the people? But how could Rabh say so? Is there not a Mishna farther on

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which states that if by witnesses only, he may collect from unencumbered estates only? And lest one say Rabh is a Tana who has a right to differ with a Mishna, did not Rabh and Samuel both declare that a loan which was made orally is not collectible either from heirs or from buyers? You contradict a case of a loan with a case of selling. They are entirely different, as he who makes a loan does it privately, as he would not like people should know he needed money, and the value of his estate would decrease. But he who sells an estate does it publicly, as he is searching for a buyer who will give him a better price.

The rabbis taught: If the father has consumed one year and his son two, or visa versa, or each of them one year, and the buyer from them one year, it is considered a hazakah. Shall we assume that it is a hazakah because a sale is considered known to the people, and therefore the owner ought to protest? Does not the following contradict: If one has occupied or consumed in the face of the father one year, and in the face of his son two, or vice versa, or in the face of each one year, and in the face of the buyer who bought it from the son one year, it is considered a hazakah for the occupant? Now, if you would bear in mind that selling and buying are considered known to the people, why is the selling itself not considered the greatest protest? Said R. Papa: This may not contradict, as the cited Boraitha may treat of one who sold the field among his other fields. (And so the sale of this particular field was probably not known to the people, and therefore it cannot be considered a protest.)

MISHNA 4.: The law of hazakah does not apply to the following: specialists, farmers, partners, gardeners, and guardians. There is also no hazakah to a husband on the estate of his wife, and vice versa; and no hazakah to a father on the estate of his son, and vice versa. All this is said concerning hazakah, but concerning a gift or an inheritance of brothers, or one who takes possession of the estate of an heirless proselyte, if he has done any work whatever (e.g., if he has locked it, or made any partition, or torn down the old one), it is considered a hazakah.

GEMARA: Both the father of Samuel and Levi taught: There is no hazakah to a partner, and so much the less to a specialist. Samuel, however, taught: There is no hazakah to a specialist, but to a partner there is. And Samuel is in accordance with his theory elsewhere, that concerning partners the law of hazakah applies. They also may be witnesses for each other, and they are also considered bailees for hire to each other. R. Abba raised the following contradiction to R. Jehudah "At the cave of R. Zakkai." How can you say that Samuel holds that hazakah applies to partners? Did not he say that when one works on his partner's estate, it is to be considered as if he had done this with the permission of his partner. Is this not to be understood to mean that a partner has no right of hazakah? This presents no difficulty. One of Samuel's decisions speaks of when the partner has consumed the products of the whole estate which belongs to both, and the other decision treats of when he took possession of a half share, claiming that they had divided their estates long before and that he had made a hazakah on the part he now holds. To which his partner objects, saying: Our stipulation was such that you should keep it three years, and then I should keep it three years.

In explaining this, two parties differ. One maintains that Samuel's decision that a partner has a right of hazakah is in case he has consumed all the products of the estate belonging to both. For a partner usually consumes the products of half of the estate, taking them from one half one year and from the other half the following, in order to equalise matters. And as we see that one has taken possession of the entire estate for three years in succession, it is to be supposed that he bought the same. And the other decision of Samuel speaks of when they do as is customary, consuming the products of the same half three years in succession: no hazakah applies, because his partner may claim that such was the stipulation, as stated above.

And the other maintains to the contrary. If he consumes the whole, there is no hazakah, because it may be that that was their arrangement; namely, that one should use the products the first three years and his partner the three years succeeding. But if one utilizes exactly half for three years in succession, it may be said that he bought it, and therefore hazakah applies. Rabhina, however, says that both of Samuel's decisions may apply to the case that one has consumed the whole estate; but the decision that he has a hazakah speaks of a field which contains the prescribed quantity for division. Consequently, if one consumes the whole field (without any protest from his partner), it is to be supposed that he bought it. And the decision that there is no hazakah speaks of a field which has not the prescribed quantity. And it is to be supposed that their arrangement was that each should use it for three years, as said above.

The text says: "Samuel holds that when one works on his partner's estate," etc. What did Samuel mean to teach, that in partnership the law of hazakah does not apply? Let him then say so plainly. Said R. Na'hman in the name of Rabba b. Abuhu: He means to say that when one takes his partner's field, which is fit for sowing only, and plants trees in it, he is not liable for damages, as it is considered to be done with his partner's permission, and, moreover, his partner can claim half of any profits which may accrue after the expense of planting has been deducted. Farther on Samuel says: "They may bear witness for each other," etc. Why? Are they not interested in each other's affairs? He means to say, in case one of them gave a deed to the other, saying he had nothing further to do with the field. But even then, what is it? Have we not learned in the following Boraitha: If one says to his partner: "I have no claim on this field," "I have nothing to do with it," or, "I keep my hands off it," he says nothing (i.e., unless he distinctly says, "It is yours, and I shall have nothing further to do with it," it is not to be considered, because it may be that he said it in a manner indicating that he wished he would have nothing to do with it, etc.)? It means that this was done with the ceremony of a sudarium (and then certainly he has nothing to do with it). But, after all, he is still interested in this case, for if the plaintiff should win the case, and the estate were taken away from the defendant, it might be appraised insufficient to cover the debt made while he was still a partner, and then it would devolve upon him. And he may also be interested in seeing that this estate shall remain with his partner, as it may happen afterwards that some one should claim that his partner had borrowed some money while they were still partners, and when his partner should have no estate, the debt be turned over to him? This means that when he transferred his property to him he at the same time in writing took upon himself the responsibility. The responsibility of what? If the responsibility of this estate, in case it were taken away by some one, should devolve on him, then he is certainly interested in this case; and if it means he takes the responsibility of claims which may be upon the estate for his own debts, then he has nothing to do with any other claims: he is disinterested in so far as he has nothing to do with the estate itself--only the making good of his own debts. But has he a right to cut himself off from all other liabilities? Have we not learned in a Boraitha that if Holy Scrolls were stolen from a city the thieves must not be tried by the judges of that city, and also no witnesses from that city should be brought as evidence?

Now, if one should have a right to say: "I have cut myself off from this estate entirely," it would be possible, in the above case, for two judges to say, "We have relinquished our shares in the Holy Scrolls," and witnesses the same way, and then the judges could decide the case and the evidence of the witnesses be used. With Holy Scrolls it is different, as they are made for reading, and one cannot help hearing them. Come and hear! If one say: Give a manna to the poor of that city--if there is a trial about this, the case must not come before the judges of that city, and no evidence of witnesses of the same city should be admitted. Now, how can you maintain, because the poor of the city take the charity, that the judges of the city should not be eligible to decide the case? You must say, then, that the judges must not be of the poor who take charity, nor witnesses who have benefit therefrom. And why let the judges or the witnesses relinquish their share in this charity and be used? The Boraitha speaks also When the manna in question was given for Holy Scrolls, and the expression "poor" is because concerning the Holy Scrolls all are considered poor; and if you wish, it may be said, the expression "poor" is to be taken literally, and it speaks of the poor whom the judges or witnesses are obliged to assist. And therefore the trial could not come before them, because they are interested in it (i.e., if the poor should win the case, their share of assistance would be less than before). And even if the judges or witnesses were taxed to assist the poor of that city with a certain sum per annum, they are still considered interested in that case, for they are pleased at the poor receiving more support.

Samuel says further: "They are also considered bailees for hire," etc. Why so? Is this not a guard in the presence of its owner, and it is said above that in such a case he is not responsible? Said R. Papa: He means to say, if one said to his partner: Guard for me to-day and I will guard for you to-morrow.

The rabbis taught: If one sells another a house or a field, he is not allowed to be a witness, because he is always responsible for it, if there should be a claim against it. But if he has sold him a cow or a garment, he may be a witness, because he has nothing more to do with them. What is the difference between the former and the latter facts? Is the seller not responsible in case it should be found that the cow or garment in question was stolen by him? Said R. Shesheth: The first part speaks of the following case: If A has robbed B of a field and has sold it to C, then D comes with a claim, B then has no right to be a witness for C, because he is interested in having it returned to A, so that he can establish his claim. But if B should be a witness that C is right, how can he claim afterwards that the field is his? He can only testify that D's claim is wrong. But could not B exercise his right, even if it were D's? He may think that C, who is not .so mighty, might settle with him, while with D it would not be so easy. And if you wish, it may be said that it speaks of a case as follows: B has witnesses that this property belongs to him, and D has witnesses who contradict B's witnesses. And in such a case, usually the judges decide that the property shall remain with its present owner. And therefore B is interested in it, .and must not be trusted as a witness. But why was it necessary for R. Shesheth to illustrate this Boraitha in case the robber had sold the field to another? Could he not illustrate this by saying that C had announced his claim while the field was still in the hands of the robber A--then B cannot be a witness? Because it has to teach in the last part that if he has sold movable property to some one, which means the one who robbed the property in question and sold it, the one who has been robbed may be a witness, and this can only hold good in case of movable property which was passing into another's hands and of the renouncing of the hope to regain it by the owner. As the law dictates that these two things give title to the possessor, consequently the robbed one, who has nothing more to do with these articles, may be a witness. But if the article were still in the hand of the robber, the robbed one would not renounce his hope of regaining .it, and it would still be considered his property, and consequently he cannot be a witness. Therefore he illustrated the first part also in the same manner. But, after all, although the robbed one renounced his hope of regaining the article, did he do the same about the value of it? He speaks when the robber no longer exists--when he has no further hope even for the value, as we have learned in a Mishna that if one robbed movable property and bequeathed it to his children, they are free from paying for it. But why does not R. Shesheth explain this Boraitha as speaking of an heir (it means if the robber dies and leaves it for his heirs)? This objection would not hold good, in accordance with him who, holds that the control of an heir is not equal to the control of a. buyer. But to him who holds that they are equal, what can be said? Furthermore, there was a difficulty to Abayi: Why does; the Boraitha use the expressions "responsible" and "not responsible"--as, according to R. Shesheth's explanation, it ought to be said, because this is "returning" and "not returning"? Therefore the Boraitha must be explained in accordance with Rabbin b. Samuel, who said in the name of Mar Samuel as follows: If one sold a field to his neighbour without security, he has no right to qualify as a witness concerning it, because in case of a creditor he can show this as a source of collection. But this. can only be in case of a house or other real estate, and not of movable property; and not only when it was sold without any stipulation that collection is not to be made on movable property for the claim of a creditor, but even in case it was written, "You shall collect your money from the garment which is on my shoulders," he can do it only when the movable property is still in his; possession, but not otherwise. As even then the property in question has been made a hypothec, he can only collect when it is yet under the borrower's control; but when it is not under his; control, he cannot. As Rabha said (First Gate.): If one has made his slave a hypothec, and thereafter he sold it, a collection can be made; but if the hypothec was an ox or an ass, and he has sold it, the creditor cannot collect. Why so? Because real estate, when it is sold, people talk about it, which is not the case with movable property. But let it be feared that the owner of the movable property has mortgaged it together with the real estate. As Rabba said elsewhere: Such an agreement holds: good to collect also from the personal property. And R. Hisda. added to it that this law holds good only when the borrower mentioned in his agreement that this should not be considered, an asmachtah, or a copied agreement? It speaks of a case in which the movable property was bought and sold immediately. Let it still, however, be feared that he wrote in the mortgage of the real estate: "All the personal property which I possess and which I shall possess hereafter." Shall we assume that because such is not feared, a similar agreement is not to be considered? And if in spite of such agreement he has sold out or bequeathed his movable property, the sale is valid? Nay; it may be said that the above case treats of when there are witnesses who testify that this man never possessed any real estate. But did not R. Papa say that although the rabbis had enacted that if one sold out real estate without security, and a creditor took it away from the buyer, the latter could not claim the money from the seller? If, however, the investigation shows that the seller has never possessed this estate, he must pay?

It speaks that the buyer was aware that the ass in question was born from his cattle. R. Zebid, however, maintained that if sold without security, even if it was found afterwards that he never possessed it, the buyer could claim his money, because the seller might claim that on this account it was sold without security.

It is said above, in the name of Samuel, that he who has sold a field without security cannot be a witness concerning this estate, as he is interested in it; in case his creditor came, he can show him this field for collection. Let us see how the case was. Does the seller possess other real estate? Then certainly the creditor will make his claim against that estate first, as there is a rule that no collection should be made from encumbered estate when there are unencumbered estates of the defendant. And if he does not possess any others, then what can the

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creditor take from him, even if it remains with the buyer? It may be said that he does not possess other estates. Nevertheless, he may say: "I do not want to be wicked," that the verse in Ps. 37:21, "The wicked borrowed and repayeth not," should apply to me. But would not the same verse apply to him concerning the buyer? Nay; as he may say: I plainly told him that I would not secure this field to him. Consequently he was willing to buy it, even though it might be taken away from him afterwards.

Rabha, according to others R. Papa, announced: It shall be known to them who are ascending to Palestine or descending to Babylon, that if one Israelite sold to another an ass, and a Gentile came and took it away, claiming that it was stolen from him, it is but right that the seller shall settle with the buyer, so that he shall not suffer the whole damage. This, however, is said when the buyer was not aware that this ass was born among his animals. But if the buyer was aware of it, he cannot expect any settlement (as such was his fate). And even in case he was not aware, he may do so when the Gentile takes away the ass only, but when he takes away the saddle and also the man, since he takes not only what belongs to him, but all that the buyer possessed, then again it is his fate.

"Specialists," etc. Said Rabba: "This is said when the owner has transferred to the specialist in the presence of witnesses; but otherwise, because he may claim that he never took it from him, he is to be trusted if he says that he bought it from him. Said Abayi to him: According to your theory, even if it was in the presence of witnesses, he should also be trusted, because he could claim that he has returned it already. Answered Rabba: Do you mean to say that if one deposits an article with his neighbour in the presence of witnesses the depositary should return it to him without witnesses, and that it should not be born in mind (that he used witnesses when presenting)? The latter must do the same when returning; for, if not, he will not be trusted when he claims to have returned it. Abayi objected from the following: If one has seen his slave learning a trade at a specialist's, or his garment at a cleaner's, and to the question, "What does it concern you?" he answers, "You sold it, or made it a present to me," he said nothing. But if he claims: "I was present when you told so and so to sell it, or give it for a present," he may be trusted. And to the explanation of the difference in the law between the first part and the latter, said Rabba: The latter part means to say: If the article in question came to the present possessor from a third hand, and the latter said to the plaintiff: In my presence you told so and so that he might sell it, or give it as a present. And the reason is because, if he wished to tell a lie, he could claim: I myself bought it from you. Now we see that the first part states, "If one has seen." And what does it mean? If there were witnesses, why the expression "seen"? He should bring his witnesses and take it away. We must say, then, that there were no witnesses; yet, as soon as he has seen it, he may take it away (hence this contradicts your statement that if there were no witnesses he is to be trusted, claiming, "I bought it from you"). Says Rabba: Nay; it means that there were witnesses (when he presented it to him), and even then only when he saw it in his possession. (Said Abayi:) But did you not declare that he who has deposited an article in the presence of witnesses, the returning must also be done in the presence of the same? And he answered: I retract that statement. Rabha, however, objected to Abayi, and brought the following as a support to Rabba: If one has given his garment to a specialist, the latter claiming, "The stipulation was that you should give me two zuz," and the owner claims the stipulation was for one zuz, so long as the. article is in the hand of the specialist, it is for the owner to bring evidence. If, however, the specialist has already returned it to the owner, if he announced his claim in time (i.e., before sunset, at which time a labourer has to get his payment), then he takes an oath and gets the full payment. But if it was after that time, he is the plaintiff, and it is for him to bring witnesses. Now let us see how was the case. If there were witnesses, then it must be done as the witnesses testify. It must be said, therefore, that there are no witnesses, nevertheless the specialist is trusted. Is this not because he could claim, "I bought it," so that he would be trusted? So is it when he claims his payment? Nay; it treats of when there were no witnesses, and also when the owner of the article did not see it in the hands of the specialist (so that the specialist could claim that he had returned it).

R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak objected from our Mishna, which states that a specialist has no hazakah, from which it is to be inferred that only a specialist has not, but a common man has. And this is certainly the case if there were no witnesses; for if there were, why should he? Hence we see that a specialist has no hazakah even when there were witnesses. And this contradicts Rabba's above statement, and this objection remains.

The rabbis taught: If one has exchanged his utensils for another's in the house of a specialist, he may use them until the owner shall come and recognise his. If the same was done at the house of a mourner or at a house of a wedding, he must not use them before they shall be recognised. And what is the reason for the difference in the two cases? Said Rabh: I used to sit before my uncle, and he explained it to me that it might happen that the owner of an article might say to a specialist, "Sell this article for me" (hence the article might be given to him, not by an error but intentionally by the specialist, who has a right to sell it), which cannot be the case in the house of a mourner or of a wedding. Said R. Hyya b. R. Na'hman: Then it may be used only when the specialist himself has exchanged it; but if this was presented to him by his wife or children, he must not use it. And even when it was presented by the specialist himself, the law holds good if he said to him: "Here is this article"; but if he said to him: "Here is your article," then he must not use it, as we see that the specialist has erred in giving it to him. Said Abayi to Rabha: Come and I will tell you what the swindlers of Pumbeditha are doing. If one claims: "Give me up my mantle which I have given to you for repairing," the other answers that this never occurred. And if he claims: "I have witnesses who saw it at your place," he claims it was another's. "But bring it forth and let us see it." He answers: "No, indeed! I have no right to show you the goods of others." Answered Rabha: Although he is a swindler, nevertheless he does it in accordance with the law, as the Boraitha states plainly, when he sees it with his eyes. Said R. Ashi: If the claimant is a clever man, he can make the specialist show him the article in question, saying: I understand that you keep it because you are afraid I shall deny the debt which I owe you. I admit to you in the presence of witnesses that I owe you, and will pay you when you shall bring forth this garment and it shall be appraised. Then you will take yours, and I shall take mine. Said R. Aha b. R. Ivya to R. Ashi: The swindler may answer: I do not need your appraisement, as it was appraised long ago by more competent men than you are.

"Gardeners," etc. Why so? Until now he took only the half, and now we see he has consumed the whole of it for three years, why has he no hazakah? Said R. Johanan: It speaks of family gardeners (i.e., the same gardeners used to guard and work up the fields as gardens of that family since it was in its possession, and as this was a kind of inheritance, the owners could not discharge them by substituting others, and with such gardeners it might happen that they consumed the fruit for three years in succession and thereafter the owners consumed the fruit for the same period, and therefore no hazakah applies to them. But to ordinary gardeners, if they consume the fruit for three years, hazakah does apply. R. Na'hman said: A gardener who has hired other gardeners to substitute him for the years of hazakah (even if he was of the kind mentioned by R. Johanan), hazakah may be considered, because in such a case the owners would protest. R. Johanan said again: To a gardener of the above sort, who has divided the work which is needed for the gardens, to hired gardeners, hazakah does not apply, as it may be supposed that he does so with the permission of the owner (as he himself could not do the whole work). R. Na'hman b. R. Hisda sent a message to R. Na'hman b. Jacob: Let the master teach us. May a gardener be taken as a witness in case of a claim, or not? R. Joseph was sitting before the latter when the message came, and said to him: "So said Samuel: A gardener may be a witness." But is there not a Boraitha which states that they must not? This presents no difficulty. If there are products still on the estate, the gardener may not qualify as a witness; but if there were none, then he may.

The rabbis taught: A surety maybe a witness for the borrower in case the latter has other property besides that to which the claim refers. And the same is the case with a lender. The first buyer may be a witness to the second (e.g., if A sold one field to B and another to C, and D claims that the field sold to C belongs to him as A has robbed him of it, B may be a witness in that case in behalf of C in case A has other property), so that if there should be another claim he should be able to pay from the remainder.

A receiver (i.e., one who receives the money from the lender and forwards it to the borrower, as to which the law dictates that the lender has a right to collect from whomsoever he chooses--either from the receiver or from the borrower)--according to some he may, and according to others he may not be a witness. He who permits this maintains that the receiver is considered an ordinary surety whom the law permits to be a witness, and he who forbids it maintains that the receiver is always pleased when the borrower has more estates, so that in case a creditor should appear he will be able to pay him from his middle estate.

R. Johanan said again: A specialist has no hazakah, but his son has; and the same is the case with a gardener. A robber, however, neither he nor his son has hazakah, but his grandson has. Let us see how was the case? If all mentioned above claimed that the estate was their fathers', then they also should not have any hazakah; and if they claim for themselves, it means that they themselves bought it. Why should this law not apply to the son of the robber also? He speaks of a case where there are witnesses who testify that the owners have admitted to their fathers in their presence that they sold it; and then the sons of a gardener or a specialist are to be trusted if they claim to have inherited from their fathers; but the son of a robber is not to be trusted even in such a case. As R. Kahana said: It may be feared that the owner has admitted to the robber only for fear lest he make him more trouble. Said Rabha: It may happen that even the grandson of a robber shall not have any hazakah. It is when the basis of his claim is his grandfather. Who is to be considered a robber, so that the law of hazakah should not apply? Said R. Johanan: When he has occupied a field which does not belong to him (and as he was an influential man, the owner was afraid to sue him). R. Hisda, however, maintains that it means only people like a certain family of N, who used to kill men when they opposed them in money matters.

The rabbis taught: A specialist has no hazakah so long as he keeps up his profession, but otherwise when he has ceased. And the same is the case with a gardener when he has given up his gardening. The same is the case with a son who has separated himself from his father, and with a woman who was divorced from her husband--all of them are considered, in a case of hazakah, with men in general. It is correct to teach about a son who has separated himself, lest one say that usually a father relinquishes his right to a son; but was it also necessary to teach about a divorced woman? Is not this self-evident? It means that the divorce was made by such a document as is doubtful in legality, and in such a case she is considered divorced and not divorced; and it is in accordance with R. Zera, who said in the name of Jeremiah b. Abba, quoting Samuel, that in a case where the sages say, "She is divorced and not divorced," her husband is obliged to support her.

R. Na'hman said: Huna told me that all the persons mentioned above who have not the right of hazakah, if they bring evidence, it is to be considered, and the court may leave the property in their possession; except a robber, for even if he brought evidence, it must not be considered, and the court replevins the estate. But what news comes he to teach us? Have we not learned this already elsewhere, that if one has bought estates from a sicarius (a man who took away the estate by threatening murder if it was not given to him), and afterwards he got a bill of sale from the owner (without giving him any money), the bill of sale is not considered and he has no title (hence it is already taught that a robber and all those who base their claims upon his actions, even if they bring evidence, are not to be considered)? This teaching was necessary to deny Rabh's theory, who said that the cited Mishna speaks only of a case in which the owner told the buyer: "Go make a hazakah on the estate and acquire title," but has not furnished him with any deed. But if he gave him a deed, title is acquired. R. Huna comes to teach us that the Halakha prevails in accordance with Samuel, who said that in such a case, even if he gave him a deed, title is not acquired unless he take the responsibility for the future. And R. Bibi has added to the above statement of Huna in the name of R. Na'hman, that the estate does not remain in his possession, but the claim for his money, in case he paid afterwards to the robbed one, is to be considered, provided witnesses testify that he gave him the money in their presence. But if they testify that in their presence the robbed one has admitted to the robber that he was paid for it, it is not to be considered. As R. Kahana said elsewhere: Such an admission may have been made only because of fear that he would be killed. R. Huna said: If one sold his estate by duress, the sale is valid. Why so? For if one sells every estate which belongs to him, he usually does so because he is compelled to do so by circumstances, and nevertheless the sale is valid.

But perhaps there is a difference between the pressure of his private circumstances and duress, which is a pressure by others? This is to be explained as we have learned in the following Boraitha: It is written [Lev. 1:3]: "Shall he bring it," which means that he may be compelled to bring it--that it may be Lirzuno (literally, according to his will). And what does this mean--that he shall be compelled until he shall say: "I am willing to do so." But still it may be that there is a difference, because one likes to atone (and consequently he does it, finally, with good will). Therefore we may infer the same from the latter part of the cited Mishna: And the same is the case with divorced women--he may be compelled until he says: "I am willing to do so." But still it may be that this is to be done because it is a meritorious act to listen to the law (which is not the case with R. Huna's theory). Therefore we must say that R. Huna's decision was from a commonsense standpoint, that when a man is in such circumstances he resolves to give title to the buyer. R. Jehudah objected from the following: A divorce which was compelled by the court of Israelites is valid. By Gentiles, it is not, unless they beat him, saying: "Do as the Israelite court dictates to you." Now, if you say because of the circumstances he resolves to give title, why should the divorce be invalid, even at a court of Gentiles? It may also be supposed that because of circumstances it was resolved to give the divorce legally. The answer is: Was it not taught in addition to this that R. Mesharshiah said: Biblically the divorce is valid, even when it was obtained in a court of Gentiles. And why did the rabbis enact that such should be invalid--that every woman who did not like her husband should not go to the Gentile court to be divorced from her husband? R. Hamnuna objected from the above-cited Mishna: If he bought of a sicarius, etc. Why, then, should it not be said in that case also, that because of the circumstances he resolved

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to give title? Of this, also, it was taught that Rabh said that this holds good only when there was no deed (as said above). But still there would be an objection to Samuel, who said above that even with a deed the same is invalid?

Samuel himself. agrees that such a sale is valid in case the buyer has paid the owner in cash. But would not R. Bibi's above statement in the name of R. Na'hman contradict R. Huna? Bibi's statement is not a Boraitha and not a Mishna, but only a saying, to which R. Huna need not pay any attention. Said Rabha: The Halakha prevails that if one sells his goods under duress the sale is valid, provided he was compelled to sell one of his estates, and he himself has made the selection. But if he was compelled to sell this field, the sale is not valid, provided he did not count the money given him for it (as this shows that he does it unwillingly); but if he has counted the money the sale is valid. And all this is said in case he has no opportunity to extricate himself; but if he had, and did not take advantage of it, the sales are valid. (Says the Gemara:) In reality, the Halakha prevails that in all these cases the sale is valid, even if he was compelled to sell this field, as a woman is similar to this field; and Amemar said that if a woman is compelled to betroth herself under duress the betrothal is valid. Mar b. R. Ashi, however, said that in case of a woman the betrothal is null and void. Because he has acted unlawfully, he must also be treated unlawfully, and the rabbis deny his betrothal and consider it void.

Tabba hung Pappi on a tree called khidra, to compel him to sell him his field, and he did so. And Rabha b. b. Hana signed his name on both--on the protest of Pappi made before being compelled, and on the bill of sale made under duress. Said R. Huna: He who has signed his name to the protest, and also he who has signed his name on the bill of sale, did well. How is this to be understood? If there was a protest, the bill of sale cannot hold good, and vice versa? He meant to say that if there were no protest, he who signed his name on the bill of sale did well, for according to his theory a sale under duress is valid. But why should the protest annul the bill of sale, when the same witnesses who signed the protest signed the bill of sale also? Did not R. Na'hman say: Witnesses who testify that they signed their names to a note whose amount was not yet paid, hut which was prepared by the borrower in case he should find some one who would make him the loan, are not to be trusted? And the same is the case if some one has sold a bill of sale, and the witnesses whose signatures were on the same testified that the one who made the bill of sale made also a protest previously "before us, that he was compelled to make this bill of sale, and we have acknowledged the truth of his protest."

Why, then, said R. Huna that if not for the protest the sale would be valid? Let him say it is valid, notwithstanding this protest, in accordance with R. Na'hman's decision just stated? R. Na'hman's statement was when the protest was oral, as such cannot harm a written document. In our case, however, the protest was a written one, and therefore it annuls the bill of sale.

Mar b. R. Ashi, however, maintains that if witnesses testify, "We signed our names before the money was given" (as explained above), they are not to be trusted; but if they testify that this bill of sale was previously "protested before us and acknowledged by us," they may be trusted. Why so? Because in the first case, after the witnesses signed their names to the fact that so and so had borrowed money from so and so, they could not sign another document that the borrower had not received the money as yet, as it would contradict their first statement, and it would seem that they had made themselves liars; and, therefore, if they testify so, they are not to be trusted, as there is a rule that one cannot make himself wicked; i.e., if one comes before the court, and says, "I am a liar," or "wicked," for the purpose that another shall have benefit from this confession, he is not to be trusted. But in the other case, however, both documents may be written by the very same men; i.e., if they see a man in trouble, they may listen to his protest, write it down, and sign it, and thereafter also sign the bill of sale to which he was compelled. And therefore, even if the protest was not written by them, they may be trusted if they testify that they have heard the protest and acknowledged to the truth of it.

"No hazakah to a husband," etc. Is this not self-evident? As he has a right to use the fruit of her estate,. how can it be considered a hazakah? It speaks of even when he gave her a document that he has no interest in her estate. But even then, what is it? Have we not learned in a Boraitha above, that if one says: "I have nothing to do with this field," "I have no claim to it," and, "I keep my hands off it," he says nothing? Said the disciples of R. Yanai: Our Mishna treats of when he gave her such a document when she was still betrothed. And this is in accordance with R. Kahana, who says of an estate which one expected to take possession of in the future, he has a right to make a stipulation that he should not inherit it. And it is also in accordance with Rabha, who said: If one declares: "I do not care to have the privilege of the enactment by the sages in a thing similar to the above," he may be listened to. What does this mean? That which R. Huna said in the name of Rabh: A woman has a right to say to her husband "I do not wish to be supported by you and also would not wish to do any work for you."

Now the Mishna states that the consuming of fruit does not make a hazakah; but if he brings evidence that she sold her estate to him, it would be a hazakah. Why? Let her claim that she had done so only to please her husband. Have we not learned in a Mishna: If one bought an estate from another whose properties were encumbered by the marriage contract of his wife, and afterwards he also took a deed from his wife, the sale is invalid? Is it not because she may say: I did so only with the intention of pleasing my husband, but not with the intention of selling it? Was it not taught in addition to this Mishna that Rabha b. R. Huna explained it that the Mishna treats of certain three fields--namely, one, of one he had set apart in the marriage contract before marriage; and another, of one of which he had made a hypothec in the marriage contract after marriage; and the third, of one which she brought him as a gift from her father, which was appraised at a certain amount of money, for which the husband became responsible in the marriage contract? What does he mean to exclude? Shall we assume to exclude all other estates which were also encumbered to her? Then, certainly, it would create so much the more animosity between her husband and herself, because he would say: You did not want to sign this because you are expecting my death or to be divorced. Hence the claim that "I have done so to please my husband" would be right. And shall we say that he means to exclude the usage of fruit? Did not Amemar say that if the husband and his wife have sold the usage of fruit from her estate, it is not to be considered (because of the same claim, "I have done it only to please my husband")? He means to exclude the use of fruit; and Amemar's statement was only in case he had sold out and died, that she might, after his death, make use of that claim, or in case of her death, he had a right to make use of such a claim, according to the enactment of the rabbis. And it is as R. Jose b. Hanina said (First Gate.). But when they are both alive and have sold out, and even when the husband only has sold out, the sale is valid. And if you wish, it can be said that Amemar's statement is based upon R. Eliezer's elsewhere, that an article which does not bear the name of its owner--as, for instance, the fruit of the wife's estate, which cannot be said to belong to her or to belong to him--cannot be sold by either of them. And Rabha said that R. Eliezer based his statement on [Ex. 21:21], "for he is his money," which means the money which belongs to him alone.

"On his wife's estate." But did not Rabh say that a married woman must protest (in case one has occupied her estate). Who is the one who has occupied her estate? Shall we assume any one? Did not Rabh say: "There is no occupancy in the estates of a married woman"? We must therefore say, he means even when her husband has occupied her estate? Said Rabha: He means the husband, and in case he has dug in her estate excavations, pits, and caves, then she must protest, as he has the right to her estate only for usage of fruit; and if she did not, he has a hazakah, as, if he had not bought it, he would not dare to dig in it. But did not R. Na'hman say in the name of Rabba b. Abuhu that there is no hazakah concerning damages (hence if the husband has damaged her estate, she. has not had to protest). Was it not taught in addition to this? R. Mari said: Concerning smoke, etc. (see above.)? R. Joseph, however, said: Rabh means a stranger, and he speaks in case he has occupied it at a certain time while her husband was still alive and three years after his death; and because the occupant could claim, "I bought it from you" (as three years have already elapsed since her husband's decease), he is to be trusted if he claims, "You sold out your estate to your husband, and I bought it from him." The text states: Rabh says: There is no occupancy in the estate of a married woman. The judges of the Exile, however, maintain that there is. And Rabh himself, when he was told of this, said: The Halakah prevails in accordance with the judges of the Exile. (Samuel and Karna were called the judges of the Exile.) And to the question of R. Kahana and R. Assi: Has the master receded from his statement? he answered: I meant to say, as it was illustrated above by R. Joseph.

"And vice versa." Is this not self-evident? Has she not to be supported from the estate of her husband? It treats in case he has set aside another estate for her support. But how is it if she brings evidence that she has paid him for it? Has she the right? Let him claim: I intended only to discover the money which she had hidden from me, and therefore I told her I would sell it, never intending, however, actually to transfer it to her. And because it was not stated, let it be inferred from this that if a husband sold his estate to his wife, the above claim should not be taken into consideration? Nay; it may be said that the Mishna means evidence in the form of a transfer as a gift.

R. Na'hman said to R. Huna: "The master was not with us yesterday, in our college, and there were taught many good things." "And what were they?" "That when a husband sells his estate to his wife, she acquires title, and the claim, 'I did it only to discover her money,' etc., is not to be considered." And Huna answered: This is self-evident, as if you take away the fact that she has given him money, the bill of sale gives her title. For have we not learned in a Mishna that real estate may bought with money or a document, or with hazakah? Rejoined R. Na'hman: But was it not taught, in addition to it, that Samuel said that it speaks only of a bill of a gift, but a bill of sale gives no title unless he paid the money for it? Said Huna: But was this not objected to by R. Hamnuna, from the following: With a document--how so? If he wrote on a piece of paper [or on a piece of broken clay, although it has no value whatever], "My field is sold to you," or, "My field is bought from you," it is sold and transferred to the buyer? And R. Na'hman answered to this: Did not R. Hamnuna himself answer his objection that it speaks of one who sells his estate because of its barrenness? R. Ashi, however, answered (the objection of Hamnuna): The cited Boraitha speaks of a gift which was written in the manner of a bill of sale, to strengthen its power (i.e., the seller has to make good all claims to it). An objection was raised from the following: If one borrowed from his bondsman, and encumbered his estate for him by a document, and afterwards he freed him, or from his wife and thereafter he divorced her, they have nothing to claim. Must we not assume that the reason is because we suppose that he only intended to discover the money which was hidden from him? That case is different, as one would not like to make himself a slave to the lender ([Prov. 22:7]: "The borrower is servant to the lender").

R. Huna b. Abbin sent a message to the college relating that if one sold out his field to his wife, she acquires title, but he has still a right to use the products. However, R. Abba b. Abuhu, and all the great men of the generation, said that such a bill of sale is to be considered a deed of gift, but it was written in the manner of a bill of sale for the purpose of strengthening its power. This message was objected to by the college, from the Boraitha just cited, and was answered with the same reply.

Rabh said: If one sold his field to his wife, she acquires title, and the husband uses the products. If, however, he has presented it to her as a gift, she acquires title, and he must not use the fruit. R. Elazar, however, maintains that in both cases title is acquired, and the husband has no right to use the fruit. R. Hisda acted in accordance with R. Elazar. Said Rabban Uqba and Rabban Nehemiah, sons of Rabh's daughter, to R. Hisda: "Does the master put aside the great men and act like the small ones?" (R. Elazar was only a disciple of R. Johanan.) And he answered: I have also acted according to the theory of the great men, as when Rabbin came from Palestine, he said in the name of R. Johanan that in both cases she acquires title, and the husband has no right to use the products. Said Rabha: The Halakha prevails that if one sells his field to his wife she does not acquire title, and the husband may use the fruit; and if a gift, she acquires title, and he may not use the products. Does not Rabha contradict himself? (He says she does not acquire title, and it is self-evident that he may use the fruit; and when he says he may use the fruit, it means although she has acquired title.) This presents no difficulty. If she bought with the money which was hidden from her husband, she does not acquire title at all; but if with money which was not hidden from him, she acquires title; but he may, nevertheless, use the fruit. So was it said in the name of R. Jehudah.

The rabbis taught: One must not accept bailments from women, from slaves, or from children: If, however, one has accepted from a woman, he must return it to her; and in case she dies, he must return it to her husband. From a slave, he must return to him; and in case he dies, then to his master. If from a minor, he should invest it in such a thing as will bear good fruit until he shall be of age, and in case of death return it to his heirs. All of them, however, if they said, while dying, "This belongs to so and so," he must act accordingly (even when the depositor was a minor); and if they have declared nothing, he may do in accordance with his conscience--(i.e., he shall return it to him whom he thinks to be the proper heir. The wife of Rabba b. b. Hana while dying said: These earrings belong to Martha, and to the sons of his daughter. And Rabba came to question Rabh what he she should do. And he answered: If these people whom she mentioned are worthy, so that they can afford to keep bailments with her, then do as she declared; and if not, then you may explain her declaration as you please. "From a minor, he should invest," etc. R. Hisda maintains in Holy Scrolls; and Rabha b. Huna said: A tree which bears dates.

"A father on the estate of his son," etc. Said R. Joseph: Even if they have separated themselves. Rabha, however, maintains that in case of separation the law is different. Said R. Jeremiah of Diphti: R. Pappi has acted in accordance with Rabha's statement. Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: I was told by R. Hyya of Hurmiz Ardshir that he was told by R. Aha b. Jacob, quoting R. Na'hman b. Jacob, that when they have separated themselves each of them has a right of hazakah. And so the Halakha prevails.

It was taught: If one of brothers who was the business man of the house, and the bills of sale and notes were in his name, claims: "All this is my own, inherited from my mother's father," according to Rabh, the burden of proof lies upon him; and according to Samuel, it lies upon his brothers. Said Samuel: Abba admits that in case he dies the burden of proof

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is thrown upon his brothers. R. Papa opposed: Should we make for orphans such a claim as their father while alive had not any right to (i.e., when this brother was alive, it was for him to bring evidence, and if he could not, the goods belong to all the brothers, and because he is dead, shall we say that the brothers have to bring evidence, and if they cannot it belongs to his orphans)? Did not Rabha levy upon a pair of shoes and a book of Hagadah from orphans without any evidence that they were things which are usually hired and borrowed? And he did so in accordance with the message of R. Huna b. Abbin, that of things which are usually borrowed and hired one is not trusted to say, "They were bought by me." This difficulty remains. Said R. Hisda: The decision of Rabh concerning the brother who manages the business of the house, holds good only when all the brothers are not separated in the household--even in the dough of bread which they take for the house. But if they are, he may claim that he has spared from his householding the amount which he has in his hand, and the brothers have nothing to do with it. The evidence mentioned in Rabh's decision--what should it be? According to Rabba, the evidence should be with witnesses that he has saved the money or it came from other sources; and according to R. Shesheth, it is sufficient when the court has approved the bill of sale or other notes which bear his name (as it is to be supposed that the court would not approve if it were not sure it belonged to him only). Said Rabha to R. Na'hman: There are Rabh and Samuel, with Rabba and R. Shesheth, who discuss this matter, and I would like to know the opinion of you, master--with whom you agree. And he answered: I am aware of the following Boraitha: One of brothers who was the business man of the house, and there were bills of sale and other notes bearing his name only, and he claims: "They are my own, inherited from my mother's father," the burden of evidence rests with him. And the same is the case with a woman who was managing the business in a house and there were documents bearing her name only, and she claims that they are her own property which came from her grandfather on the father's or mother's side--it is upon her to bring evidence. (Says the Gemara:) It was necessary for the Boraitha to declare the same law in the case of a woman, lest one say that because it is an honour for a woman to be trusted with the management of a house, she would surely take care not to rob the orphans, and therefore she ought to be trusted without evidence, it comes to teach that it is not so.

"Concerning a gift or an inheritance of brothers," etc. How is this to be understood? Does not the law of hazakah apply to the persons mentioned farther on in the Mishna? The Mishna is not complete, and should read thus: All this is said of a hazakah to which there is a claim; as, for instance, the seller says, "I did not sell," and the buyer says, "I have bought." But a hazakah to which there is no claim, as, for instance, who presents a gift or an inheritance of brothers, or who takes possession of the property of a proselyte, to which the law prescribes that he needs to acquire title by doing something-if he has locked it or made any partition, etc.--it is a hazakah. R. Houshia taught: In a Tosephtha of Tract Kidushin, written by the school of Levi, "If he locked it," etc., in the face of the other party--it is a hazakah. Is this to be understood, only to his face, but not in his absence? Said Rabha: He meant to say: If this was in the face of the other party, it is not necessary for the latter to tell him: "Go make a hazakah, and acquire title." But if not to his face, it is not considered a hazakah unless he distinctly said to him the words just mentioned. Questioned Rabh: How is the law concerning a gift, according to the Boraitha just mentioned (must the giver also tell the receiver, "Go and make a hazakah," or not)? Said Samuel: Why was Abba doubtful? When, concerning a sale for which the seller gets money, it is not a hazakah unless he tells him, "Go and make a hazakah," so much the less it must be so with a gift, for which he has received nothing. Rabh, however, maintains that he who makes a gift usually makes it with a good eye, and no explanation is needed.

The Mishna states: "Any work whatever." What does this mean? As Samuel said: If he has completed the partition which was there already to the size of ten spans, or he has broken a hole in the partition through which he can go in or out, it is considered a hazakah. Let us see how was the partition! If it was placed in such a position that one could not climb over it to the estate, and after its completion by the occupant it is also the same, what, then, has he done that shall be considered a hazakah? And if in its previous condition one could climb over it, and after its completion one cannot, then he has done much that does not correspond with the expression "whatever"? It means that in the previous condition one could easily climb over it, and after it was completed it is not so easy for one to do so; and the same is the case with a hole in a partition, by which, in the previous condition, it was not easy to enter, and one broke it to such an extent that it is easy to enter. R. Assi in the name of R. Johanan said: If the occupant of the property of a proselyte put a little piece of wood too near the hole which was in the partition and with this he has improved it, or he took out a piece of wood and with this he has improved it, it is considered a hazakah. What does he mean by the expression, "he put . . . or he took out"? Shall we assume that with this piece of wood he closed the hole so that it prevents the water from going in, or he took out a piece of wood, and with this he has made place for the water gathered in to come out? Why should it be considered a hazakah? Is it not the duty of every Israelite to save the property of his neighbour from damage when seeing danger is near? Therefore it must be supposed that he means he has put in a piece of wood with the purpose that the water which is useful to the estate shall remain, or he took out a piece of wood so that he opened a channel permitting water to reach the estate. The same said again in the name of the same authority: If there were two estates left by a proselyte and there was a boundary between them, and one has made a hazakah in one of them with the purpose of acquiring title to it, it is acquired. If for the purpose of acquiring title to both, title is acquired only to that on which he has made a hazakah, but not to that which was on the other side of the boundary; and if for the purpose of acquiring title to the latter, even to that in which he has made a hazakah, title is not acquired.

R. Zera questioned: If one has made a hazakah for the purpose of acquiring title to it, to the boundary, and to the estate which is beyond it, how is the law? Shall we assume that, because all are connected title is acquired, or because the boundary intervenes between them it is considered as if they were separated and title is not acquired? This question remains undecided. R. Elazar questioned: How is it if this man has made a hazakah on the boundary itself with the purpose of acquiring title to both? Should the boundary be considered a breadth of the earth which joins the two fields, and therefore title is acquired, or the fields are nevertheless considered separated and title is not acquired? This question also remains undecided.

R. Na'hman said in the name of Rabba b. Abuhu: If there were two houses, one inside of the other, and one has made a hazakah on the outer one for the purpose of acquiring title to it, title is acquired. If for the purpose of acquiring title on the inner one also, the outer one is acquired, but not the inner. For the purpose of acquiring the inner one only, even the outer one is not acquired. The same is said again in the name of the same authority: If one has built a palace on the property belonging to the proselyte in question, and another comes and puts doors to the palace, the latter has acquired title to the whole of it. Why so? Because the work of the first is considered as if he had only turned bricks without using them, as the doors to it are the main thing.

R. Dimi b. Joseph in the name of R. Elazar said: If on the estate of the proselyte in question there was a palace and one has coated one of the walls with lime, or painted one of the pictures therein, title is acquired. How much of the wall must he coat or how large must he paint the picture? Said R. Joseph: One ell. And R. Hisda added that this ell must be opposite the door (but at another place he must coat or paint more than this).

R. Amram said: The following was told to us by R. Shesheth, who to enlighten our eyes explained a Boraitha. He said: If one has prepared his bed in the estate of the proselyte in question and slept there, he acquires title to the whole estate. And he enlightened our eyes to the Boraitha as follows: How can one acquire title to a bondsman with hazakah? If the slave has put on the shoes of the master or taken off his shoes, or has carried his garments after him to the bath-house and undressed him and washed him, anointed, rubbed, dressed him, put on his shoes, or even lifted him up, title is acquired.

Said R. Simeon: There cannot be a better hazakah than lifting up, as this act gives title to one in everything. How is this to be understood? The Boraitha says that if the slave has lifted up his master it gives title to the master; but if vice versa, it does not. And to this answered R. Simeon: There is no better hazakah than lifting up, which means that this gives title even if the slave was lifted up by the master. R. Jeremiah of Bira in the name of R. Jehudah said: If the estate of the proselyte in question was already ploughed and one put radishes in the furrows, it is not considered a hazakah, because at the time he put the radishes in, without covering, there was no improvement at all; and even if in a few days afterwards these begin to grow, it is not considered as if done by him, but from itself.

Samuel said: If one peels off the bark of a tree, if he has done it for the improvement of the tree, title is acquired; and if for food for his cattle, it is not. [And how can we know this? If he peels off the tree from both sides, it is supposed that he does it for the improvement of the tree; but if from one side, it is for his cattle.] He said again: If one cleans off the estate in question, if he has done this for the improvement of the earth, title is given; but if he has done so with the idea of using it for fuel, it does not. [And how shall this be proved? If he takes off all there is, it is supposed that he does it for the improvement; but if he chooses the larger pieces and leaves the smaller ones, it is to be assumed that he does it for the purpose of using it for fuel.]

And the same said again: If one engaged himself to level ground for the sake of the earth itself, it gives him title; and if with the intention of placing a temporary barn there, it does not. [And how shall this be proved? If, for instance, he takes off the superfluous earth from the hills and puts it in the hollows (and so he has done with all of them), it is to be supposed that he does it for the improvement of the ground; but if he only made the hills lower, and only at the edges of the hollows he filled these in, then it is to be supposed that he does so with the intention of putting up a temporary barn.] He also said: If he opens a stream of water to this ground, if he does so for the improvement of the earth, title is given to him; but if with the idea of catching fish, it does not. [And how shall this be proved? If he opens both sides of the estate, one for the purpose of letting the water enter and the other side for letting it out, it is supposed that he does so with the intention of catching fish; and if he open only one side, so that the water may enter, it is assumed that he does so for the improvement of the earth.] There was a woman who peeled off on one side trees of the estate of the proselyte in question for thirteen years. Another man came who dug a little under the tree; and the case came before Levi, according to, others before Mar Uqba, and he left it in the possession of the latter. And this woman came and protested, and he said to her: What can I do for you, in that you have not made the hazakah as it ought to be?

There was a woman who had made a partition to that which was already there in the estate of a proselyte. Another man, however, came and digged in the estate; and when the case came before R. Na'hman, he left the estate with the latter. And this woman came and caused a disturbance, and R. Na'hman answered: What can I do for you, as you have not made a hazakah as people ought to do?

Rabh said: If one paints in the estate in question a likeness of an animal or a bird, title is acquired. So Rabh himself made such a hazakah at a garden which was near his college, left by a proselyte who died without children.

It was taught: A field which was marked out by boundaries on four sides, said R. Huna in the name of Rabh: As soon as one has dug one spadeful of earth he acquires title to the whole field. Samuel, however, maintains that he acquires only the place he has dug. And what is the law concerning a field not marked off by boundaries? Said R. Papa: If he digs in it as much as a team of oxen in one furrow and the return. R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel: The estate of idolaters, if sold to an Israelite and the latter has not made a hazakah on it, it is like a desert; and the first who makes a hazakah on it acquires title. Why so? Because the idolater, as soon as he gets the money, cuts himself off from it; and as the Israelite has not as yet acquired title to it until he gets the bill of sale, it is therefore like a desert, and every one may try to take possession of it (returning the money to the buyer). (The commentator Rashbam, however, maintains that from the expression, "It is like a desert," it is to be understood that the occupant has to pay nothing, and the buyer has to sue the seller if he can do so.) Said Abayi to R. Joseph: Is it possible that Samuel should say so? Did he not declare elsewhere that the law of the government must be respected as the law of the Torah, and the government dictates that title is acquired only by a deed, and not otherwise? Hence the other one who has made a hazakah is also without the deed needed. And he answered: I know it only from experience. As it happened in the village Dura of the shepherds, an Israelite bought an estate of idolaters, and the Israelite came and dug a little on this estate, and when the case came before R. Jehudah, he left it in the hand of the latter. And Abayi rejoined: Do you want to compare any other cases to the case of the village Dura? There was a pagus with estates hidden from the government, and the possessors of those estates did not pay taxes for it. And the government dictates that he who pays the taxes owns the land.

R. Huna bought an estate from an idolater and another Israelite digged in it; and the case came before R. Na'hman, and he left it in the hands of the latter. Said Huna to him: The basis of your decision is what Samuel said, that the estates which are sold by an idolater are like a desert, and who takes possession thereof acquires title. Why should the master not decide in accordance with the other saying of Samuel, that the digger acquires title only at the place where he dug? And he answered: In this respect I hold in accordance with Rabh, in whose name R. Huna said: As soon as one has digged one spadeful he acquires title to the whole of it.

R. Huna b. Abbin sent a message: If an Israelite buys a field from a Gentile, and another Israelite comes and takes possession of it (before the bill of sale reaches the buyer), the court has no right to take it away from the latter. And to this, R. Abbin, R. Elaa, and all our masters at that time agree. Rabba said: I was told by the Exilarch Uqban b. Nehemiah, in the name of Samuel, the following three things: (a) That the law of the government should be respected as the law of the Torah. (b) The hazakah of the Persians is no less than forty years. (c) And the rich farmers who buy land from the officers of the government for the taxes which were not paid by the previous owners, the sales are valid. But this is only when the owners owe to the government taxes. But if the land was taken for poll taxes, the sale is not valid. Why so? Because the poll taxes rest upon their heads, not upon their land. R. Huna b. Jehoshua, however, maintains that even the barley in the

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pitcher is mortgaged to the poll taxes (i.e., when the land was taken away for poll taxes, they have a right to sell it). Said R. Ashi: Huna b. Nathan told me that Amemar objected to the decision of R. Huna, saying: According to this theory, the rule prescribed by the Scripture, that a first-born shall take two parts in the inheritance, should be abolished, as if the whole estate is encumbered to the government for poll taxes, the bequeathed estate will be fit only in the future for inheritance, but not as yet. And there is a rule that the first-born has a right to take a share only in that which is already fit. And he answered: Why this objection to poll taxes? The same can be raised concerning land taxes also. But to this it can be answered that he speaks of when one dies after he paid the land taxes, and the same can be said with poll.

R. Ashi said: Huna b. Nathan told me: I asked the scribe of Rabha, and he told me that the Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Huna b. R. Jehoshua. (Says the Gemara:) In reality it is not so, as the scribe of Rabha says this only to approve his acts. R. Ashi said again that an απραχτος; (a man who goes idle) must bear the taxes of the city. But this is said only when he was freed by some of his friends in that city who told the chief that he owned nothing from which to pay and he let him go; but if the chief himself or the officers who were appointed by the government do not like to collect from him because he is idle (although they collect his share from the other townsmen), it is to be considered as a divine help to him and he must not be troubled again. R. Ashi said in the name of R. Johanan: A boundary or a tree which is found between two estates of a proselyte is considered an intervention concerning hazakah, but not concerning corner tithe and concerning defilement. When Rabbin came from Palestine, he said in the name of R. Johanan: It is considered an intervention concerning the two last-mentioned as well. But how is the law if there was no boundary and no tree, and nevertheless they were separated? R. Mrinus in the name of R. Johanan explained that he acquires title to the whole field which is called after his name. What does this mean? Said R. Papa: If people call it the field which the proselyte used to water from his valley. R. Aha b. Ivya was sitting before R. Assi, and said in the name of R. Assi b. Hanina that a hazuba makes an intervention in the estate of a proselyte. What is a hazuba? Said R. Jehudah. in the name of Rabh: This was a mark by which Joshua marked the land which he divided among the tribes of Israel. He says again in the name of the same authority: Joshua did not count but the cities which were placed on the boundaries (i.e., the cities which are enumerated in the Book of Joshua). He said again in the name of Samuel: All that the Holy One, blessed be He, had shown to Moses from the land of Israel was subject to tithes. (It means that from the products growing in those places tithes must be separated biblically.) What does it mean to exclude? The land of the Kenites, Kenizzites, and Kadmonites [Gen. xv. 19].

MISHNA IV.: If there are two witnesses that the occupant has consumed the products of a field three years, and after investigation it is found that they were collusive, the witnesses have to pay the whole value of the products from the last three years to the plaintiff. If, however, two have testified for the first year and two others for the second year, and still two others for the third year (and all of them had witnessed falsely), the payment mentioned above must be divided among them, of which each of the parties has to pay a third.

If there were three brothers witnessing, and one stranger testified the same as they had, they may be considered as three parties of witnesses--i.e., one of the brothers said: I am aware that the defendant has occupied this property the first year; the second: I am aware that he has occupied it the second year; and the third testified for the third year. If the stranger, how. ever, says: I testify that the defendant has occupied it all the three years, his testimony is counted to each of them, so that for each year there are two witnesses. If, however, the testimony was found to be collusive, they ought to be considered as one party of witnesses, and the brothers have to pay the whole claim.

GEMARA: Our Mishna is not in accordance with R. Aqiba of the following Boraitha: R. Jose said: When Abbah 'Halaftha went to study the Torah from R. Johanan b. Muri, according to others the reverse was the case, he questioned him: How is it if one has occupied a property the first year in the presence of two witnesses, and the second in the presence of two others, and the third in the presence of still two others, should this be considered a hazakah, or not? And he answered: It is. Rejoined the former: I am of the same opinion; but R. Aqiba opposes, as he used to say: It is written [Deut. xix. 15]: "A case be established." A case, but not half a case (i.e., as each party testifies only for one year, they are testifying to only half a case; but not the whole case).

R. Jehudah said: If one of the witnesses testifies that the occupant has occupied the estate all the three years with wheat, and the other testifies with barley, it constitutes a hazakah. R. Na'hman opposed: According to this theory, if one testifies that he has occupied it the first, third, and fifth years, and the other for the second, fourth, and sixth, should this also be considered a hazakah? Answered R. Jehudah: What comparison is this? In your case one testifies for this year, and the other for other years; but in my case both are testifying for the very name year. The difference is only concerning barley and wheat, about which people are not used to be too particular.

"If there were three brothers," etc. There was a promissory note signed by two witnesses, of whom one died, and his brother with a stranger comes before the court to testify that the signature of the deceased is a right one. Rabhina was about to say that this case was familiar to our Mishna, which states that three brothers and one stranger are counted legal witnesses. Said R. Ashi to him: There is no similarity at all. In the case of the Mishna half the amount of the claim is collected, because of the testimony of the brothers, and the other half because of the testimony of the stranger. In this case, however, the brothers' testimony collects three-quarters of the whole amount (i.e., the signature of the deceased witness gives the right to collect half the amount. Now when this brother came to testify concerning the signature, his testimony is for a quarter of the whole amount, and the testimony of the stranger who was with him for the other quarter. Hence three-quarters of the whole amount are to be collected by the testimony of the brothers, which is not legal.

MISHNA 5.: There is a difference in usage of articles: In some cases the law of hazakah applies, and in some it does not. E.g., if one used to keep his cattle in the yard of his neighbour, or a stove, oven, or handmill, or raised there hens, or he kept there his manure, it is not considered a hazakah. However, if he has made a partition ten spans high for his cattle, or for the other articles mentioned above, or he has kept his hens in his neighbour's house, or has dug three spans in the ground of his neighbour for his manure, or he has made a heap of it three spans high on the same ground, it is a hazakah.

GEMARA: Why should the law differ in the latter part from the first part (is it not a fact that the owner of the yard would protest when a stranger kept his cattle therein without any right)? Said Ula: It is because of the following rule: Usage which does not give title to the property of a deceased childless proselyte, it also does not give it to the property of one's neighbour; and usage which does give title in that case, gives also title in the latter case.

R. Shesheth opposed: Does this rule always hold good? Is it not a fact that ploughing, which is not considered a hazakah concerning the estate of one's neighbour, gives title when it is done on the estate of a proselyte? On the other hand, usage of fruit, which is considered concerning a neighbour's estate, does not give title to the estate of a proselyte. "Therefore," said R. Na'hman in the name of Rabba b. Abuhu, "the Mishna treats of a yard belonging to partners, who usually are not particular if one of them keeps his cattle there; but they are, if one separates his cattle by a partition." Is that so? Have we not learned in a Mishna: If partners have vowed not to derive any benefit from one another they must not enter in their yard, as by entering one derives benefit from the share of his neighbour. Therefore R. Na'hman's above saying was concerning a rear yard, in which usually one is not particular if his neighbour leaves there his cattle. But concerning a partition, they would be particular. R. Papa, however, maintains that both our Mishna and the cited one speak about a yard belonging to partners; but some are particular concerning leaving cattle and some not. Therefore, in a case that may lead to an offence, as in the cited Mishna, it is decided rigorously; and concerning money matters it is decided leniently. Rabhina, however, maintains that partners are never particular with one another. And concerning the case of deriving benefit, the Mishna which treats about vows is in accordance with R. Eliezer, who holds that even a little gift that is usually presented by the storekeepers to their customers is prohibited to him who has vowed not to derive any benefit from his storekeeper, which the rabbis allow. R. Johanan in the name of R. Bnaha said: Everything (which is not in the agreement) may partners prevent each other from doing in the yard belonging to them except washing, because the daughters of Israel must not be left to disgrace themselves by washing at the bank of the river (as they must stand there with bare feet). And Hyya b. Aba said: It is written [Is. 33:15]: "And shutteth his eyes against looking on evil," meaning him who does not look upon women when they are occupied in washing. How is this to be understood? If there is another way to pass, and one passes by that way for the purpose of looking, then he is wicked; and if there is no other way, what can he do, as he is compelled to pass them? It means even in the latter case, and nevertheless one must manage not to look upon them.

R. Johanan questioned R. Bnaha 1: What is meant by a shirt of a scholar? And the answer was: It covers the whole body, so that no part of it may be seen. And what is meant by a garment of a scholar? If it covers the shirt so that a fragment of it not more than a span should be seen. What is meant by a table of a scholar? That the table-cloth covers two parts of the table, and the third part is uncovered to place there plates and herbs, and the ring of the table (they used to have a ring in order to keep together the table-cloth, to hang it up after the meal), and the ring should be outside. [But have we not learned in a Boraitha that the ring must be inside? This presents no difficulty, as one Boraitha speaks of when there is a child sitting by the table--then it must be inside; or it speaks of the night meal, when it is better it should be inside, so that the servant should not touch it while it is dim; and another Boraitha speaks of a day meal, without a child.] And that of a common man looks like a tam, as the dishes are placed around and the bread is in the middle. What is meant by a bed of a scholar? If under it nothing is to be found but sandals in summer-time and shoes in the rainy season; and the bed of a commoner looks like a treasure of vilis wherein you may find everything?

R. Bnaha used to mark caves of the dead (for the purpose of defilement). When he came to the cave of Abraham (the Patriarch), he found Eliezer his servant standing outside, and to the question, What is Abraham doing now, he answered: He sleeps in the arms of Sarah, and she looks on his head. And Bnaha asked Eliezer to beg permission for him to enter. He said to Abraham: Bnaha is waiting at the door. Said Abraham: Let him come in: it is known that the evil spirit does not remain in our world. Bnaha then entered, took the measure of the cave, and went out; when he arrived, however, at the cave of Adam the first, he heard a heavenly voice saying. Thou hast seen the image of Adam; but in the face of Adam himself, who is the work of (the Lord), thou hast no right to look. And to the protest: I need to mark the measure of the cave, he was answered: The measure of the outside of Abraham's cave equals the inside of Adam's.

Said R. Bnaha: I have seen the heels of Adam and they appeared to me as the circumference of the sun. Beside the face of Sarah, that of every one else looks like the face of an ape to that of a man. And Sarah's to that of Eve is also like the face of an ape to that of a man; and Eve's to that of Adam himself is also like the face of an ape to that of a man. The beauty of R. Kahana is similar to that of R. Abuhu, etc. (See Middle Gate.)

There was a Magus who used to dig after the dead for the purpose of taking away their shrouds. When he arrived at the cave of R. Tubi b. Mathna, he grasped him by the beard, and Abayi came and requested him to leave him, and he did so. The next year the Magus came again to this cave, and Tubi again grasped him by the beard, and Abayi's request was refused, until scissors were brought and the beard was cut off.

There was a man who said while dying: I bequeath one barrel of earth to one son, a barrel of bones to another, and one barrel of down to the third. And they did not understand what he meant, and came with this question to R. Bnaha. And he asked them if they possessed estates. They said: Yea. Have you cattle? Yea. Have you also vestes-stragula (blankets, quilts, mattresses)? Yea. Then he said: If so, this is what your father has bequeathed to you (it means, one shall have the estate, one the cattle, etc.).

There was a man who heard his wife saying to her daughter: Why are you not careful in your unlawful acts? I have ten sons, and only one is from your father. When he was dying he said: I bequeath all my properties to one son (as he did not know which one was his). And as they did not know to which of the sons, the case came to R. Bnaha, who advised them to go and knock on the father's grave until he should come and explain whom he meant. Nine of the sons did so, but the one who was his did not. Then R. Bnaha decided that all the estates should be given to this one. His brothers then denounced him to the government, saying: There is one man among the Jews who collects money without witnesses and without any evidence. And he was arrested. His wife then came complaining: I had a slave. People came and cut off his beard, removed his skin, consumed his flesh, filled the skin with water, which they gave to drink to their comrades, and they did not give me any of the money or some other equivalent for it. The officers did not understand her, and decided to question the vise of the Jews; perhaps he would understand what it meant. They did so, and he answered: She is complaining about a leather-bag (it means she had a buck: they stole it from her, killed it, consumed the meat, and from the skin they made a leather-bag for water to drink from. They said then: Because he is so wise, he shall sit at the court and judge. He saw, then, that it was written on the αμβολαη: A judge who is summoned cannot be named a judge. Said R. Bnaha to them: If so, then any one may come and summon the judge (though he had never any business with him). Should he be no longer qualified to be a judge it ought to be thus: A judge who is found liable in the court, so that money is to be collected from him, is no longer qualified as a judge. And they thus corrected this: However, the sage of Judea maintains that a judge from whom money is collected by a judgement is not considered a judge.

He saw again that there was written at the head of each dead, I, blood, am the cause; and at the head of each life, I, wine, am the cause. And he said to them: According to this, if one falls from the roof or a tree and dies, does also the blood kill him; and also, if you see one dying, give him wine and he will revive? It ought to be written thus: In the head of every sickness, I, blood, am the cause; and in the head of every medicine, I, wine, am the cause. And they corrected thus: In the head of all sickness, I, blood, am the cause; in the head of all medicines, I, wine, am the cause (i.e., if the man would use wine in accordance to his health he would never come to

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sickness, and only in places where there is no wine is medicine needed--i.e., because there is no wine, sickness is frequent). On the gates of the city of Kaputkaya was written: Anipak, Anbag, and Antell are all of equal measure (so that there is no claim that if one bought an Anpak and received an Anbag, etc.). These measures are equal to a quarter of a biblical lug (said the Gemara).

MISHNA 6.: The law of hazakah does not apply to movable pipes attached to the roof-gutters (drains), but does apply to the places of them and also to spouts. It does not apply to an Egyptian ladder or to an Egyptian window; but to both of Tyre it does apply. What is to be considered an Egyptian window? If a human head cannot enter in it. R. Jehudah, however, maintains: If it has a frame, although a human head cannot enter it, the law of hazakah applies.

GEMARA: How is it to be understood that the pipes have no hazakah, and the place has? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: It means thus: The movable pipes have no hazakah at one side (i.e., if the pipes were fixed that water should come out; e.g., on the north side of his neighbour's yard, so that if the owner of the yard needs this place he has a right to compel the owner of the house to remove them to the south side). However, he has no right, after long usage undisturbed, to insist that the gutters or pipes be entirely removed. R. Hanina, however, explained the Mishna thus: The law of hazakah does not apply to pipes in the respect that, if they are too long, the owner of the yard may insist that they be shortened; the place, however, has a hazakah, so that if the owner claim that they shall be removed, he is not to be listened to. And R. Jeremiah b. Abba said: It means if the owner of the yard wishes to build something beneath, he may; but he has no right to insist on their removal. An objection was raised from our Mishna, which states that the law of hazakah applies to a spout, which is correct in the two first explanations (as a spout, which is more stationary than a pipe, must not be removed or shortened); but in the third, that one may build beneath, to what purpose does the Mishna teach it? Why not? What harm can be done with this to the spout? The Mishna speaks of when the spout was surrounded by a stone building, so that the owner of it may claim that the new building would weaken the stone building surrounded by the spout.

R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said: Drains which discharge water in the yard of one's neighbour, and the owner of the roof wants to stop it--the owner of the yard has a right to pre. vent him, claiming, As you have acquired title to my yard for discharging the water of your roof, so I have acquired title to that water of your roof.

It was taught: R. Oshyah said: He may prevent. And R. Hamma said: He may not. He then went and questioned R. Bissa (his father, who was also the grandfather of R. Oshyah) and he decided that he might prevent. Rammi b. Hamma then applied to him the verse [Eccl. iv. 12]: "And a threefold cord cannot quickly be torn asunder," which means R. Oshyah, the son of R. Hamma, the son of R. Bissa.

"To an Egyptian ladder." What is called an Egyptian ladder? Said the school of R. Yanai: Such as has not four steps.

"An Egyptian window," etc. Why does the Mishna explain what an Egyptian window means, and did not so do concerning an Egyptian ladder? Because to the. latter it had to state the opinion of R. Jehudah.

R. Zera said: The window in question has a hazakah when it is placed lower than four ells from the ground only; and one can prevent his neighbour from opening such in a building which adjoins his yard only when it exceeds four ells. R. Ailah, however, maintains that the same is the case even when it is higher than four ells. Shall we assume that the point of their difference is, if the court has to coerce one who acts after the manner of the Sodomites (e.g., if one derives benefit from a thing which does not harm any one, the preventer is equalled to the Sodomites, and the question is, Must the court overrule such a preventer or must it be left to the conscience of this man, and the court has nothing to do with it?). Nay; all agree that in such a case the court shall overrule the preventer. Here, however, it is different, as the neighbour might say: It might happen that you would take a footstool, stand upon it to look in at my window, and then will be visible to you what is going on in my house.

There was one who wanted to open a window higher than four ells to his neighbour's yard, and the case came before R. Ami; and he referred it to R. Abba b. Mamal, who decided in accordance with R. Ailah. Said Samuel: To a window which is to be opened for light, whatever size it may be, the law of hazakah applies.

MISHNA 7.: To an enclosure the size of a span in width hazakah applies; and if one came to make it in his building which faces his neighbour's yard, the latter has a right to protest. To less than the above size hazakah does not apply, and also no protest can be made against it.

GEMARA: R. Assi, or R. Jacob in the name of R. Manni, said: If he has made a hazakah with the enclosure which was the width of one span, he has made it for four spans. How is this to be understood? Said Abayi: He means to say that if the enclosure one span wide has the length of four spans, he may increase it to four spans square (as his neighbour does not disturb him from taking the space of four spans in the length, it would be the same as if it were square).

"Less than that size no hazakah," etc. Said R. Huna: This is said concerning the owner of the roof only, but the owner of the yard may prevent his neighbour from making an enclosure even less than a span. R. Jehudah, however, maintains that neither of them can prevent the other. Shall we assume that the point of their difference is, if harm done by looking is considered damage, or not? Nay; all agree that it is considered. But in this case such an enclosure not being fit for use, except to hang something in it, is different, as one may say: I can do it without looking into your property. The one, however, who forbids this, maintains that his neighbour may claim: It can happen that while hanging his things in this enclosure he will be frightened, and even unwillingly his face will be turned to my property, and will see what I should not like.

MISHNA 8.: One must not open windows to the yard even when he is a partner in it (without the consent of the other partner). If he bought a house in another yard, he must not open a door to that yard in which he is a partner. If he built an attic upon his house, he must not make its entrance in the yard in question. He may, however, divide a chamber inside of his house, and build an upper chamber upon it, so that the entrance should be through his house.

GEMARA: Why does the Mishna treat about a yard of partners? Is it not the same with the yard of one's neighbour, without any partnership? It means to say not only to one's neighbour's yard is he not allowed, but even to that in which he is a partner. Lest one say: As his partner has to hide from him (such things as he would not like his partner to see) in the yard anyhow, it does not matter if he should open a window to that part which belongs to him; it comes to teach us that his partner may say: Until now I had to hide myself from you in the yard only; but by opening a window from which my house will be visible, I shall have to hide myself in my house also.

The rabbis taught: It happened with one who opened his windows to a partner's yard, and he came before R. Ishmael b. R. Jose, who said to him: My son, thy hazakah is valid, as thy partner has not protested. When this case came up again before R. Hyya, he said: You have troubled yourself to open it, trouble yourself to close it. Said R. Na'hman: If one of the partners built a wall against the window which was opened to the yard in question and was not disturbed by the owner of it, it is considered a hazakah immediately; as one would not tolerate that his light should be shut off in his face and be silent.

"If he bought a house . . . he must not open a door to that yard," etc. Why so? Because he increases walkers through the yard (and this would be disagreeable for the inhabitants of it, as their work in the yard would be visible to people, which they would not like). But if so, why then, does the latter part allow to build an upper chamber inside of one's house? Does he also not increase walkers with this? Said R. Huna: It means that he may divide his chamber horizontally, so that it should serve for an attic; but not to enlarge the building.

MISHNA 9: One must not open in a yard belonging to partners a door or window opposite his partner's door or window: If there is a small one, he must not enlarge it; and if there is one door, he must not make two of it. All this, however, may be done to the public street.

GEMARA: Whence do we deduce all this? Said R. Johanan: From [Num. xxiv. 2]: "When he saw Israel encamped according to their tribes." What did he see? That their doors were not exactly opposite each other. And then he said: They are worthy that the Shekhinah should rest upon them.

"He must not enlarge it." Rammi b. Hamma was about to say, e.g., that if it was the size of four ells, he must not make it eight; because he takes four ells space from the yard. But if it was two ells, he might enlarge it to four. Said Rabha to him: His partner may claim: When you had a small door, I could hide myself from you, which is not the case with a large one.

"If there was one," etc. Rami b. Hamma was about to say, when the door was four ells wide, he must not divide it into two each; but if it was eight ells wide, he might divide it in two--each of four. Said Rabha to him: His partner may claim when he had one door: I could hide myself from you, which is not the case when you will have two.

"To the public street." Because one may say: It does not matter that my door is open just opposite yours, as you must anyhow hide from the passers-by.

MISHNA 10: One must not make a hole in public ground; viz., pits, excavations, or caves. R. Eliezer, however, permits this, if the surface of the ground remains strong enough to bear wagons loaded with stones. One must not build enclosures or balconies on the space belonging to public ground; he may do so, however, on the space of his property which faces the public ground. If one bought a yard and there were enclosures or balconies upon public ground, it constitutes a hazakah and may remain so.

GEMARA: Why do not the rabbis permit the same as R. Eliezer illustrated? Because it may happen that it shall break suddenly and will cause damage.

"Enclosures," etc. There were enclosures from R. Ammi's property facing an alley, and there was also another man whose property was facing the public ground; and the public complained, and the case came before R. Ammi, who decided that the enclosure should be cut off. Said the defendant: Does not the master's enclosures face the alley? And he answered: My enclosures are facing an alley, the inhabitants of which have relinquished their right in my behalf; yours, however, are facing the public ground. Who can relinquish to you? R. Yanai had a tree bending over public ground, and another man had the same, of which the public complained (that a mounted camel could not pass). And defendant came before R. Yanai, who, told him to leave him to-day and come to-morrow. On that night R. Yanai ordered the removal of his own tree. And when the defendant came in the morning, he told him to remove it. And to the question: Does not the master himself possess such? he answered: Go and see if mine is not removed; if not, yours can remain; but if it is, you must do the same. But why did not R. Yanai remove it before that case came before him? He previously thought that the passers-by were pleased to sit in its shadow; but when he saw that they were complaining, he ordered the removal. And why did he not order the defendant to remove the tree before removing his? Because of what was said by Resh Lakish (Middle Gate.): Correct first thyself, and then others.

"In the space of his property." The schoolmen propounded a question: If one left space for it, but has not yet made the enclosure, may he do it afterward, or not? According to R. Johanan he may; according to Resh Lakish he may not. Said R. Jacob, to R. Jeremiah b. Thalipha: I am able to explain to you that there was no difference between the two rabbis just mentioned, concerning the enclosures in question, as both agree that they may be made even at any time. In what they do differ is, if one wants to replace the walls of his property in their former position, and their decision was just the reverse. According to R. Johanan he may not; because of that which was said by R. Jehudah (see above): A path which is used by the majority must not be destroyed. And according to Resh Lakish he may; because even then there is still place for passing.

"If one bought a yard," etc. Said R. Huna: If the wall of the yard in question fall, he may rebuild it with the former enclosures. An objection from the following Tosephtha: One must not paint his house with whitewash or any other coloured dye at this time to show that he is mourning for the destroyed Temple. However, if he bought such already painted, he may keep it as it is; but if it falls, he must not furnish the same painting to the ones rebuilt. (Hence the refurnishing is prohibited.) You cannot oppose mourning for the Temple to common money matters.

The rabbis taught: When the second Temple was destroyed, many of Israel separated themselves from eating meat and drinking wine. And R. Joshua approached them, saying: My children, why do you not eat meat and drink wine? They replied: Should we eat meat of which sacrifices were brought, or drink wine which was offered at the altar? Said R. Joshua to them: If so, let us not eat bread, as the meal-offering is also abolished?

Then we can live on fruit? They replied: But was there not also the firstfruit offering? And was it not also the custom to put water on the altar, which no longer exists? Let us, then, cease the use of fruit, and of water also. And they were silent. Then said R. Joshua to them: My children, come and listen to me. It would be wrong not to mourn at all, because the evil decree is executed. But to mourn too much is also impossible, as there must not be decreed a prohibition for the congregation which they could not stand, as it is written [Mal. 3:9]. And therefore the sages said: When one paints his house, he shall leave part unpainted as a sign of mourning. [How much? Said Rab Joseph: An ell square. And Rab Hisda said: This must be opposite the door.] One may prepare all that he needs for his meal, leaving out some little things as a sign of mourning. And the same is the case with a woman: she may dress with all her ornaments, leaving out some of the unimportant for that purpose. As it is written [Ps. 137:5]: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget. May my tongue cleave to my palate if I do not remember thee; if I recall not Jerusalem at the head of my joy." What is meant by at the head of my joy? Said R. Itz'hak: It is the custom to put some ashes on the head of the groom on the day of marriage. And R. Papa said to Abayi: They used to place it on their foreheads at the place of phylacteries, as it is written [Is. 61:3]: "To grant unto the mourners of Zion--to give unto them ornament," etc. And every one who is mourning for Jerusalem will be rewarded by seeing her joy. As it is written [ibid. 64:10]: "Be highly glad with her, all ye that mourn for her."

There is a Boraitha: R. Ishmael b. Elisha said: From that day when the Temple was destroyed it would be only right we should take upon ourselves not to eat meat and not to drink wine; but such a thing must not be decreed, which the majority of the congregation could not endure. And from the day that the Roman government put upon us evil decrees, prohibiting to us the Torah and its commandments, did not allow us to circumcise and redeem our children, it would be

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only right we should take upon ourselves not to marry and have children, so that the children of Abraham would be destroyed by themselves; but leave Israel, let them do as they please, as it is better they should sin unintentionally than intentionally (as if this should be ordered, they would certainly not observe it).

CHAPTER 4.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING UNCONDITIONAL AND CONDITIONAL SALES OR GIFTS OF BUILDINGS, HOUSES, AND PALACES: WHAT IS AND WHAT IS NOT INCLUDED; AND ALSO CONCERNING YARDS, BATH-HOUSES, AND PRESS-HOUSES FOR OIL AND WINE. SALES OF WHOLE CITIES, VALLEYS, FIELDS, WELLS, ETC.

MISHNA 1.: If one sells a house unconditionally, the yeziah which is upon it is not included in the sale, even when it is open to the house, neither the chamber which is inside, nor the roof if it has a railing ten spans high. R. Jehudah, however, maintains that if it has the appearance of a door, although it is less than ten spans high, it is not included in the sale.

GEMARA: What does yeziah mean? Here (in this college) it was explained as αετο--gable. 1 R. Joseph, however, maintains that it is an upper floor with windows. According to the first explanation, the latter one, which is more valuable, it is self-evident is not included in the sale. But according to the latter explanation the first one is included. R. Joseph taught: We find two additional names to yeziah, mentioned in I Kings, vi. 5: "And he built on the wall of the house a gallery (yeziah) round about." It is also named Zelah [Ezek. xli. 6]: "And the side chambers--Zelah," etc. And also To [ibid. xl. 7]: "And every cell (To)," etc. The last is also used in Midoth, IV. 6: Said Mar Zutra: All that is mentioned above applies only when it contains four ells. Said Rabhina to him: According to your theory, the succeeding Mishna, which states: "Not the well (it does not matter whether the well is merely dug in the ground or is surrounded by stone walls), although it was written in the bill of sale that he sold to him all that was in the height and depth, it is not included in the sale"--means, also that if it does not contain four ells it is (and this is certainly not so)? What comparison is this? The use of a well is not the same as the use of a house, while the use of an upper floor is identical with the use of the house; if it contains four ells, it is of value and it is not included in the sale; but if less than this, it is not of value.

"Neither the inner chamber." Was it necessary to teach this? If the yeziah is not included, is it not self-evident that much less is the chamber? It speaks of a case in which in the bill of sale were noted some boundaries of the inner chamber, and lest one say that in such a case it is included, the Mishna comes to teach us that it is not so. And this is in accordance with R. Na'hman, who said in the name of Rabba b. Abuhu that if one sells a house depending on a palace, although in the bill of sale were noted the boundaries of the palace, the buyer cannot claim that he sold him the whole palace, as it is to be considered that the boundaries were noted only to make known where the palace was situated. (Says the Gemara:) Let us see how was the case. If people make a distinction in calling the one a house and the other a palace, and the bill of sale specifies a house, then certainly he sold him a house, not a palace. And if people call the whole building a house (not a palace), then he certainly sold him the house with all its contents? It speaks of a case in which the majority calls it a house, but the minority names it palace. One might say that he sold him the entire building. R. Na'hman comes to teach us that in such a case he ought to write in the bill of sale: "The entire building is sold to you, and I reserve nothing for myself." And because this was not mentioned, it is to be considered that he sold him only one house of this building and the remainder he left for himself. The same said again in the name of the same authority: If one sold a field situated in a valley, although in the bill of sale are specified the boundaries of the valley, he sold him only the field and not the entire valley, as the specifying is to be considered necessary in defining the situation of the valley only. Let us see how was the case? If people make a distinction in calling the one field and the other valley, and the bill of sale specifies a field, then certainly he sold him a field (etc., etc., as above). And the answer is also the same as above, that because it was not written in the bill of sale that he had reserved nothing for himself, he sold him only one field. And both cases were necessary for R. Na'hman to teach; since, if he had taught only of a house, one might say that there is a difference between using a palace and using a house. But in case of a valley of which the use of every part is equal, the entire valley is sold. And if he would teach from a valley only, one might say that because there was no necessity for the seller to specify which field of the valley he sold him, as every part of it is used for one and the same purpose, therefore it is considered that he sold him only one field. But in case of a palace the chambers of which are for different uses, it ought to be specified in the bill of sale which house was sold; and as it was not, the entire building was sold: therefore both were necessary.

According to whom is the statement of R. Mari, the son of Samuel's daughter, in the name of Abayi, that if one sells to his neighbour a property, he must write in the bill of sale: "I reserve nothing of it for myself"? In accordance with R. Na'hman's statement in the name of Rabba b. Abuhu.

There was one who said to his buyer: I sell to you the ground of B. Hyya. And there were two pieces of ground that were called B. Hyya (and the buyer claimed that both were sold to him, while the seller insisted that only one was sold to him). When the case came before R. Ashi, he decided that only one was sold (as the seller said to him, "I sell you the ground"--singular, and not the "grounds"); and if even the seller had said the grounds, then it would signify two. And if such were three, the third would not be sold unless he should say: "I sell you all the ground I possess." And even then, if the seller possessed, besides this ground, orchards and vineyards, the latter would not be sold. And if the seller should say, "I sell you my zihra"(which means in the Persian language fields and plants), then the orchards and vineyards belong to the buyer, but not houses nor slaves, unless he said, "I sell to you all properties I possess."

If in a bill of sale for real estate there was specified a boundary of a length of one hundred ells on the west side, and of the length of fifty ells only on the east side? Said Rabh: Title is given to the buyer corresponding with the shorter boundary only (i.e., that the specifying of the one hundred ells on the west side is to be considered only a mark to identify the beginning of his field).

Said both R. Kahana and R. Assi to Rabh: Let it be considered that he sold to him a triangle (i.e., that it should be measured from the end of fifty on the east side to the one hundred of the west side, and the other estate should not belong to him). And Rabh did not answer. (Says the Gemara:) If the adjoining fields on the west side belonged to A and B, and on the east side to C and D, and in the bill of sale was specified from the boundary of A and B to the boundary of D on the other side, then even Rabh admits that it is to be considered he sold him a triangle, as the boundary of C was not mentioned.

If E owns a field adjoining A's field from east to west, and B's from north to south, and he comes to sell it, he must write in the bill of sale: "I sell you the field adjoining A's field from both sides, and also B's from both sides." And it is not sufficient that he should write: "My field, which is between A's and B's fields," as then he could claim that he sold to him the half of it only (i.e., a half on west side adjoining A's and a half on south side adjoining B's, and the remainder he reserved for himself). If in the bill of sale the three boundaries of the field were specified, but not the fourth, according to Rabh title is given to the buyer from all three boundaries, except a bed of the fourth, which was not specified in the bill of sale. Samuel, however, maintains that title is given to the whole, even to the fourth. But R. Assi maintains that title is given to the buyer for one bed all over this field only. And the reason of his theory is that he agrees with Rabh, that from the fact that the fourth boundary is omitted in the bill of sale, it is to be assumed that he reserved it for himself. And this being reserved for himself, so was his intention with the other boundaries, and the specifying of the three was meant to give him title to one bed all over the field.

Said Rabha: The Halakha prevails that the buyer acquires title to the whole field, even to the fourth boundary, provided it is contained in the three boundaries; but if it is not contained, title is not given. And even if it is, but it contains inoculated trees, or the fourth boundary was of a size in which nine kabs of grain could be sown, it is excluded.

Let us see! Rabha states that if there were inoculated trees, or it were nine kabs, title is not given, from which it is to be understood that if it is not contained properly, title is not given to the fourth boundary, although it does not contain the above. We may infer from this statement that although he has not written in the bill of sale that he reserved nothing for himself (as is said above that so it must be written in a bill of sale), it is supposed that he reserved nothing for himself, and also that the Halakha prevails that if it is contained title is given, provided there were not trees, and the size was less than nine kabs. But if there were, title is not acquired. However, it was taught in the name of Rabha just the reverse; and therefore, if such a case came before a court, we must leave it to the consideration of the judges.

Rabba said: If A and B were partners in a field, and A sold his share to C, stating in the bill of sale, "I sell you the half I have of this ground," then all his share is sold, and he has reserved nothing for himself. If, however, it states, "Half of the ground I possess," then he sold him only a quarter of the whole field, which is half of his. And to the question of Abayi: "Why should we make a difference between the two statements (is it only because in the first statement the 'ground' was mentioned later, and in the other statement the expression 'ground' is mentioned first)?" Rabba kept silent. Said Abayi: I thought that because he was silent he receded from his statement, and accepted my opinion; but it was not so, as I have seen the bills of sale which were approved by the court of my master, and in reference to the expression, "I sell the half which I possess in the ground," the court has marked in its approval "that a half of the whole field is sold to so and so," and in reference to the bill of sale which was written, "A half of the ground I possess," the court's approval was: "A quarter of the whole field is sold to so and so." Rabha said again: If two partners have divided their estate, and one of them says to another, "I sell you my share in the ground," and he shows him the boundary, that it begins from the ground belonging to his partner after the division, then all his share is sold. But if the same shows him the boundary of his estate not from the place which belongs after the division to his former partner, but from the opposite side, then a field of nine kabs from his share is sold to him, but not his entire share. 1 And also here Abayi questioned him the reason of the different decisions, at which he again kept silent; and the schoolmen who heard this thought that he had receded from his statement, and in both cases his whole share was sold. In reality, however, it was not so. As R. Youmar b. Shlamjah said: Abayi explained to me that there is no difference whether he has shown him the boundary from which he has divided, or the opposite side. If he has added to his statement, "and all of its boundaries," then his entire share is sold; but if he has added nothing, then a field of nine kabs only is sold.

It is certain that, if a sick man said in his last will, "So and so shall share my properties," he meant the exact half; but how is it if he said, "Give a share to so and so in my properties"? Said Rabhina b. Kisi: Come and hear the following Boraitha: If one said, "Give a share to so and so in my well"--said Symmachos: No less than a quarter is meant (as it is certain that he wanted to help him out in watering his fields, and the rabbis suppose that a quarter of the well suffices for this purpose). If, however, he said: "Give a share from my well in his barrels" (in which the above purpose cannot be supposed), not less than an eighth part is meant. (This Rashbam explains as implying that he wished to help him out in watering his cattle. R. Gershom maintains: So was then the custom--to fill their barrels with water, for the purpose of using it the whole year.) And if it was said: "Give him a share from my well for his pots," not less than a twelfth part is considered; and if it was said: "Give him for his small vessels," then a sixteenth part 1 of the well is meant.

Hence we see that, according to Symmachos, if he said, "Give him a share in my well," without any additional remarks, a quarter is meant; and the same is the case when he said, "Give him a share in my properties."

The rabbis taught: A Levite who sold a field to an Israelite with the stipulation that the tithes of the field (which the Israelite must separate) should belong to him, this stipulation is valid; and if the stipulation was, "to me and to my children," if the Levite dies, the tithe must be given to his children. But if he said, "So long as the field may be in your hands," then, if the Israelite should sell it and rebuy the same thereafter, the Levite has nothing more to do with it. But why should the tithe belong to him? Is there not a rule that one cannot grant a thing which is not as yet in existence, and as the products of the field have not as yet come forth, consequently the tithe is not in existence? The above stipulation is to be considered as if he should say: The space in which the first tithe shall grow I reserve for myself.

Said Resh Lakish: From this we may infer that if one sold a house with the stipulation, "The upper diæta (chamber) shall remain for him," the stipulation is valid. To what purpose does he state so? Is it not said above that even without any stipulation, if it is not plainly stated in the bill of sale that this diæta goes with the house, it remains the owner's? Said R. Zebid: Resh Lakish meant to teach that if there was such a stipulation, then the owner has a right to make enclosures in the attic, facing the yard of this house, and the buyer cannot prevent him, as the stipulation was for this purpose. And R. Papa maintains: If the seller wants to build another attic upon that one, he may do so.

(Says the Gemara:) According to R. Zebid's explanation, it is correct, what Resh Lakish said: "From this we may infer," as the above Boraitha teaches that his stipulation is to be considered as reserving space for himself. So also with the stipulation as to the attic--he reserves space for himself to make enclosures, etc. But according to R. Papa's explanation, how can this case be inferred from that Boraitha? This difficulty remains.

R. Dimi of Nahardea said: If one sells a house with the intention of giving title to all its contents, although the bill of sale states from the bottom to the top, title is not acquired in wells, etc. (if such there were), unless he writes: "You shall acquire title from the depth of the earth to the height of the sky." And it is not sufficient to state: "From the depth to the height of this house is sold to you"; and the reason is because the last expression gives title only to that which is beneath the house, like a cellar, basement, etc., and also to the roof and the attic, but it does not suffice for the well and its stone walls, which are not included in the same. However, the expression, "from the depth of the earth to the height of the sky," includes them also, and other caves which may be found beneath the house, and also above the roof, if there is an attic that measures more than ten spans in height and width.

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The schoolmen 1 propounded a question: If one has sold or presented the house to one man and the diæta to another, should it be considered a reservation, or, because he sold the diæta to some one else, he reserved nothing for himself, and it cannot be considered? And if you will say that such is not considered, how is it if the seller said: "The house is sold to you except the diæta" (but did not say, "I reserved it for myself")? Said Rabha in the name of R. Na'hman: If we conclude that the house to one and the diæta to another is not considered a reservation, the latter case, besides the diæta, is to be considered, and it will be in accordance with R. Zebid, who said above that if he likes to make enclosures, etc., he may do so. Hence we see that, as he left the diæta for himself so he did with the space of the enclosures.

MISHNA 2.: Title is not given to a well, or to the stone wall thereof (if this was not plainly mentioned in the bill of sale of the house), although there is mentioned that he sold him the depth and the height; however, the seller must buy a way to the well from the new owner of the house. So is the decree of R. Aqiba. The sages, however, maintain that it is not necessary; and R. Aqiba admits that it is not necessary for the seller to buy a way if he said plainly that the well in question was not included in the sale. If, however, the house was sold to some one, and the well to some one else, it is not necessary for the latter to buy the way to it from the owner of the house, according to R. Aqiba; but according to the sages it is.

GEMARA: Rabhina was sitting and deliberating the difficulty of the expressions in the Mishna, Bour (well) and Duth (a well surrounded by a stone wall). Are they not for the same purpose? Why, then, was it needed to mention both? Said Rabha to him: Come and hear the following Boraitha: Bour and Duth both meant a well which is dug in the ground, but the first means solid ground without a wall for containing water, and the second means surrounded by a stone wall. (Hence if the Mishna should mention the first, one might say that because it is not surrounded by masonry it is not included in the sale; but the second, which is a kind of building, is included. And if the second were mentioned, one might say that because it is a separate building and of value, therefore it is not included; but the first, which is not of great value, is; therefore both are needed.) And so also explained Mar the Elder, the son of R. Hisda, to R. Ashi.

"He must buy a way," etc. And the point of their differing is that R. Aqiba holds that usually the seller sells his goods with a good eye (explained above.), and the rabbis hold the contrary. And wherever it is said: "R. Aqiba is in accordance with his theory that the seller sells his goods with a good eye," the argument is based upon this statement. [And lest one say that the point of their differing is something else, as, e.g., the seller could not intend that one should fly to his well through the air, etc., therefore there is repeated in the latter part of the Mishna the same difference of opinion, to teach that only in the supposition of a good and bad eye is the point of their differing.]

It was taught: R. Huna in the name of Rabh said: The Halakha prevails in accordance with the sages; and R. Jeremiah b. Aba in the name of Samuel: The Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Aqiba. Said the latter to the former: Why, many times I said before Rabh that the Halakha prevailed in accordance with R. Aqiba, and he said nothing to me. And he rejoined: "That was because you taught before him the reverse--that R. Aqiba was of the opinion that the seller sells with a bad eye." 1 Said Rabhina to R. Ashi: Shall we assume that both Rabh and Samuel decided in accordance with their theories elsewhere (Chap. 1.), where they differ also concerning brothers who have divided their inheritance; and if it is so, why have they repeated this statement twice? (Answered R. Ashi:) It was necessary, as, if one of the two were cited, one might say that Rabh so decided concerning brothers, as one might claim: "I like to dwell in the house wherein my parents dwelt." As it is written [Ps. 45:17]: "Instead of thy fathers shall be thy children." But in the other cases he would agree with Samuel. And if the other case were stated, one might say that only in this Samuel differs with Rabh, but concerning brothers Samuel agrees with him. Therefore both statements were needed.

Said R. Na'hman to R. Huna: Should the Halakha prevail as we declare, or in accordance with you? And he answered: The Halakha should be established in accordance with you, as you are nearer to the Exilarchs, whose judges are competent and can be relied upon.

It was taught: 2 Two houses, one beyond the other, so that one has to pass the other in going to the street or the yard, and both are sold, or presented as a gift, to two different persons---neither of them has the right to pass the other's house without his permission, and much less when the inner house is sold and the outer is presented as a gift. But how is the case if the outer house is sold, and the inner is presented as a gift? The schoolmen were about to say that the same is the case. However, they were opposed from the following Mishna, which states, in the last Mishna of this chapter, that "there is a difference with a gift," etc., from which we see that all agree that he who makes a gift does so with a good eye. The same is the case here, when the owner of the house has at one time sold the outer, and made a gift of the inner, as it was with a good eye, so that he shall have a right to pass.

MISHNA 3.: If one sells a house, the door is sold, but not the key to it; the stationary mortar in the house, but not the movable--the ετροβιλος; (every revolving body--here, however, is meant the lower stone of a handmill), but not the mill-funnel, nor an oven or a stove. If, however, he said to him, "The house with all its contents," all of these are sold.

GEMARA: This Mishna is not in accordance with R. Meir, who said: If one has sold a vineyard, he has sold all the vessels which are used for same.

The rabbis taught: If one has sold a house, he sold with it the door, the bolt, and lock, but not the key; the engraved mortar, but not that which is only attached; the lower stone, but not the mill-funnel, nor the oven or stove nor the handmill. R. Eliezer, however, maintains that all that is attached to the ground is to be considered as the ground proper. If, however, the seller said, "The house and all its contents," all of them are sold. But in any case, the well, the surrounding stones thereof, and the yeziah are not sold.

R. Nehemiah b. R. Joseph sent a message by a woman to Rabha b. R. Huna the minor 1 in the city of Nahardea: When this woman shall appear before you, you shall collect on her behalf the tenth of all the properties belonging to her father, for her support, even from the lower stones of the handmills. Said R. Ashi: When we were with R. Kahana we used to collect for such a purpose even from the rent of the houses (the law is, that for the support of a daughter a tenth of the real estate is to be collected, and R. Ashi holds that the rent of real estate is to be considered the same for this purpose).

MISHNA 4.: If one sold a yard, the houses, wells, cellars, and caves are included, but not movable property. If, however, he said, "with all their contents," all is sold; in any case, if there were bath or press houses, they are not included. R. Eliezer, however, maintains: If one has sold the yard without any explanation, he has sold only the ground thereof, but nothing else. (Even if, according to the amount which was paid by the buyer, it seems that all its contents are sold, as the law of deceiving does not apply to real estate.--Rashbam.)

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: If one sells a yard, the outer houses, the inner ones, Beth Hulsauth, 1 and stores which are open inside are included in the sale, but not those which are open outside. If, however, they are open on both sides, they are included. R. Eliezer, however, maintains that if one sold the yard he sold only the moles (i.e., the great mass of the air). The text says if they are open from both sides they are sold with it; but has not R. Hyya taught that they are not? This presents no difficulty. Our Boraitha speaks of that of which the main use was inside, and R. Hyya speaks of that of which the main use was outside.

"Eliezer said," etc. Said Rabha: If the seller said: "I sell you this foreyard," all agree that the houses are included; but if he said: "I sell you the yard," they differ. According to the rabbis, the yard with all its contents is meant, as the yard of the tabernacle, which is written, "the length of the yard" [Ex. 27.], and all its contents is meant; and R. Eliezer holds that with the word "yard" is meant the air only.

Rabha in the name of R. Na'hman said: If one has made a hazakah on the Chulsu, title is acquired in the ground to a depth at which silver or gold, if found, belongs to him. Is this not self-evident? Has not Samuel said: If one sold ten fields in ten different countries, as soon as he has made a hazakah on one of them, title is acquired to all? Lest one say that there is a difference, as the surface of the earth is alike everywhere, and the fields are similarly adapted for planting, they are therefore considered as if they were joined each to the other; but in our case the use of the two things mentioned is different, and one might say that title is not given to the ground-therefore Rabha's statement.

MISHNA 5.: If one sells a press-house, the sale includes the trough, the press-beam or press-stone, and the poles, but not the boards that are put on grapes while pressing; neither the wheel nor the treading rod. If, however, he told him, "This press-house, with all its contents," all is sold. R. Eliezer, however, maintains that the expression "press-house" means the treading-rod only.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: If one sell a press-house, the sale includes the bronze plates that prevent the grapes from scattering, the trough, the press-beams, and lower stones of the handmill, but not the upper stones. If, however, he said, "With all its contents," all is sold. In any case, neither the boards which are put on the grapes while pressing, nor the sacks, nor the packing-bags are sold. R. Eliezer, however, maintains that he who sells a press-house sells the treading-rod also, as the expression "press-house" means chiefly the "treading-rod."

MISHNA 6.: If one sell a bath-house, the sale does not include the boards on the floor (the baths at that time were heated beneath the stone floors, and boards were placed on the floor for stepping upon), the basin, neither the curtains on the doors. If, however, he said, "With all its contents," all is sold; but in any case the sale does not include the channels with water, nor the wood piles prepared for the bath-house.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: If one has sold a bathhouse, the sale includes the separate houses for keeping the boards, the tubs, the basins, and the curtains; but not the boards proper, neither the tubs, nor the basins, nor the curtains. If, however, he said to him, "With all its contents," all is sold. In any case, however, the channels that contain water for the use of bathing in the summer and rainy seasons are not sold, nor the houses for storing the wood, unless he said: "The bathhouse with all its implements," then the sale includes everything that may be used for bathing purposes.

There was a man who said: "I sell you the press-house with all its implements," and there were some stores outside of the press-house, in which poppy was spread out for drying purposes, and the buyer claimed that they were also included, while the seller claimed they were not. The case came before R. Joseph, who decided in accordance with the Boraitha just cited, that in such a case everything that maybe used for that purpose is sold. Said Abayi to him: But does not R. Hyya teach the contrary? Therefore said R. Ashi: It must be investigated how the sale was; if he said, "the press-house with all its implements and also its boundaries," then title is given to all of them, but not otherwise.

MISHNA 7.: If one sells a town, the sale includes houses, wells, caves, bath and press houses, pigeon-houses, and also Beth Hashal'hin, but not the movable property, unless he said, "the town with all its contents"; then, even if there were cattle or slaves, they are also included in the sale. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said: He who sells a town sells also the santer (the meaning will be explained farther on).

GEMARA: Said R. A'ha b. R. Ivya to R. Ashi: From this Mishna is to be understood that slaves are considered movable property; as, if they were to be considered real estate, then they would be sold with the town without any stipulation. Answered he: Even according to your theory that they are considered movable property, why does the Mishna state that if he said, "even with all its contents," slaves are sold also, from which is to be understood that they are not movable property proper? And what could you answer to this--that there is a difference between movable property that must be carried and that which is self-moving? The same answer can apply also to the theory that slaves are considered real estate, as there is a difference between stationary real estate "and that which is self-moving."

"Sold the santer." What does this word mean? Here in Babylon they explained it "guardsman," or "bailiff" (a slave). Simeon b. Abtulmus said: It means a pagus (land that surrounds the town). According to him who explains it as "guardsman," etc., so much the more is the pagus included in the sale; but according to him who explains it as a pagus, the guardsman is not included. An objection was raised from our Mishna, which states: "press-houses and Beth Hashal'hin," and the schoolmen explained the expression shal'hin (which everywhere means dry field) as meaning the gardens around the town, which also usually ought to be watered. And this is correct only for him who explains the word santer as a pagus, when the Mishna is to be explained thus: The first Tana holds that only the gardens around the town are included, but not anything else; and R. Simeon b. Gamaliel came to add the pagus; which, according to his opinion, is also included. But according to him who explains santer as a "guardsman," if it be assumed that the first Tana speaks about gardens, should R. Simeon answer him with a "guardsman"? Nay! The explanation of the word shal'hin is not gardens, as you thought, but, as is everywhere explained, dry land, which means pagus. [And this explanation is correct, as it is written [Job, 5:10]: "And sendeth out waters," etc., which is the translation of Veshilea'h.] And R. Simeon b. Gamaliel came to say: Not only a pagus, but even the "guardsman," is also included.

Come and hear another objection! R. Jehudah said: The santer is not included, but the anqlmus (the scribe of the city, who was usually a slave to whom all the surrounding fields on which the taxes were to be collected was known). Hence as the scribe anqlmus means a man, so also must santer mean a man? Why? Santer may mean a pagus, and anqlmus a man. But this cannot be, because of the latter part of the said Boraitha, which states: It does not include, however, the shirih, neither the villages around the town, nor the forests which are near it, and also not the vivarium of wild beasts, fowl, or fish. And to the question, What means the word shirih? it was said by R. Aba: It means pieces of paguses (i.e., dry land surrounding the town, broken by rocks). Now can you say that part of the pagus is not sold, while the whole pagus is? Reverse the names! R. Jehudah said: The anqlmus is not sold, but the santer is.

But how can you say that R. Jehudah is in accordance with R. Simeon? Does he not hold with the rabbis, who said: "The villages that surround the town are not sold," while R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said plainly in a Boraitha: The sale of the town includes the villages near by also? It does not matter. R. Jehudah may agree with him in one thing, and differ in another.

"'Vivarium' of wild beasts," etc. There is a contradiction from the following Boraitha: If villages belong to the town, they are not sold with it; if the town contains one part of the

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sea, or it has a vivarium of wild beasts, fowl, or fish, they are sold therewith. This presents no difficulty! One Boraitha speaks of when the entrance to the vivarium was from the city, and the other speaks of when the entrance was from the field. But does not the first Boraitha state: Nor the forests which face the town (which means also the entrance from the town)? Read: The forests that are separated from it.

MISHNA 8.: If one sells a field, the sale includes the stones which are needed for its use; and if it was a vineyard, the sticks which are used for keeping the vines in order. Also the stalks that are attached to the ground, the reed-bushes if they take a space less than that in which a quarter of a kab can be sown, the hut (where the watchman guards) if it is not smeared with clay, and a carob or a sycamore uninoculated; but not the stones, the sticks of a vineyard which are not for use at that time, neither the grain that is not attached to the ground. If, however, he says, "with all its contents," all is sold. In any case, however, the sale does not include the reed-bushes if they take more space than said above, and not the hut if smeared with clay, and not a carob or sycamore when inoculated.

GEMARA: What stones are to be considered to be needed for use? Here in this college it was explained, stones which are prepared for laying upon the sheaves, that they may not be scattered by the wind. Ula, however, said: It means stones that are arranged for a wall.

But did not R. Hyya teach: The stones that were gathered in heaps for this purpose? Read: arranged. To him who explains the stones as for laying upon the sheaves--according to R. Meir, who says elsewhere that if one sells a vineyard all the things which are useful for it are sold therewith, the stones in question are included, even when they are placed outside the field; and according to his opponents, only when they are placed in the field and prepared for this purpose. And to Ula's explanation that it means stones for a wall--according to R. Meir even when they were not arranged, and to his opponents only when they were arranged.

"The sticks," etc. The school of R. Yanai says: It means posts for supporting the vine, in order to prevent its bending. And according to R. Meir, even when they were not prepared for this purpose; and to the rabbis his opponents, however, only when already placed under the vine.

"Stalks which are attached," etc. Even when they are ripe for harvesting.

"The reed-bushes," etc. Although they are growing separately, or thick ones, which have nothing to do with the vineyard.

"The hut," etc. Although it was not attached to the ground.

"And the carob," etc. Although thick and strong.

"But not the stones," etc. According to R. Meir, when they were not prepared for this purpose, and according to the rabbis when they were outside of the field; and also to Ula's explanation--according to R. Meir, when they were not prepared, and to the rabbis, when they were not arranged.

"The posts for supporting," etc. According to R. Meir, when they were not prepared, and according to the rabbis, when they were not placed under the vine.

"When they were not attached," etc. Even so they still needed the ground for drying.

"And not the reed-bushes." Although they are still small. And R. Hyya b. Aba said in the name of R. Johanan: Not reed-bushes only, but even if there was a small bed of spices, having a separate name, it is not included in the sale. Said R. Papa: Provided they are called the spices of so and so.

"And not the hut," etc. Although it were attached to the ground.

"Nor the carob," etc. Whence is this deduced? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: From [Gen. 33:17]: "And the field of Ephron . . . and all the trees that were in the field, that were in all its borders round about, were made sure"; from which is to be understood that all those without the borders were excluded (and so also the inoculated carob, etc., are of separate value and had nothing to do with his field). Said R. Mesharshia: From this passage we infer that the boundary is sold to the buyer with the field biblically; i.e., because it is written "round about," which is the boundary, and was sold by Ephron with the field.

R. Jehudah said: It is advisable for one who sells his estate to write in the bill of sale "acquire title to the trees, to the young plants, also to those trees that do not yield fruit." And although title is given to all these, even if it were not so written, it is better for the bill of sale to contain the words just mentioned. If one said: "I sell you the ground and date trees," then, if there were such on his estate, he must give him two of them; and if there were not, he has to buy two for him; and if he possesses them, but they were mortgaged, he has to redeem two for him. If he said: "I sell you the estate with the date trees," if the estate contains such the sale is valid; and if not, the sale is void. If he said: "An estate on which there are date trees," and there were none, the sale is valid; for he meant, it is fit for them. If he said: "I sell to you this estate, except such and such a tree," it is to be investigated whether this tree is a good one that yields much fruit--then he reserves it for himself; but if it was a bad one, which yields no fruit at all, or only a little, and in this field were better ones, so much the more does he reserve them for himself. If he said: "I sell you this field, except the trees," if there were many kinds of trees they are certainly not included; but even if it contained only date trees or vines, they are excluded also. If, however, there were trees and vines, the trees only are excluded; and if there were date trees and vines, the date trees are excluded but not the vines.

Rabh said: A date tree is considered a reservation only when he must ascend with a rope for gathering the fruit; but if not so high, it is not considered a reservation. The judges of the Exile (Samuel and Karna), however, maintain: If it does not hinder the yoke of oxen which are ploughing around it, it is not considered a reservation; but if it does hinder, it is. However, they do not differ, as Rabh speaks of a date tree and they treat of other trees.

R. A'ha b. Huna questioned R. Shesheth: How is it if the seller says: Accept the half of such and such a carob? It is certain to me that he does not acquire title to other carobs; but I doubt whether he acquires title to the half of the carob in question? And the answer was: He does not. He objected to him from the following Boraitha: If he said, "Accept the half of such and such a carob," title is not acquired to the other carobs, by which is to be understood that he does not to the other carobs, but he does to the half in question? And he answered: Nay! Even to the half left to the buyer, title is not given, this case being similar to one in which it was said, "I sell you this field, except the half of such and such a one." Were we to assume that the buyer acquires title to all his fields except the half in question, although he said plainly, "I sell you this field," it must be said he does not acquire title to any except to that which he had shown him; and that his remark, "except the half field," etc., was but redundance. The same is the case here. If he said, "I sell you this field, except the half tree," the last word is to be considered redundance.

R. Amram questioned R. Hisda: If one has deposited something with his neighbour, and taken from him a receipt (approved by witnesses), and thereafter the depositary claims that he has returned the bailment, how is the law? May it be said that, because if he were to claim that the bailment was taken away from him by force, he would be trusted, the same should be the case with the claim, "I have returned," or the depositor has a right to say: If it were so, how comes thy receipt in my hands? And he answered: He is to be trusted when he takes an oath, the same being the case when the depositary claims "it was taken away from me by force"--he must take an oath.

Shall we assume that R. Amram and R. Hisda differ on the same point as the Tanaim of the following Boraitha differ: If one holds a document which witnesses to an amount of money given by him to his deceased partner for a half profit, and claims that the amount was not returned to him, while the orphans say that they are not certain whether the amount was returned? The judges of the Exile said: The plaintiff has to take an oath, and collects the whole amount. The judges of Palestine, however, maintain that he collects only the half with this oath. And all of them agree with the sages of Nahardea, that of the money which is given for the purpose of a half profit half of the amount is considered a loan and the other half a deposit. (See Middle Gate.) Now is it not to be supposed that the point of their differing is that one party holds that the claim of the plaintiff, "The document in my hand gives evidence that the amount was not returned," is to be listened to, and the other party (who says that with the oath he collects the half only) maintains that such is not considered evidence? Nay! All agree with R. Hisda, and the point of their differing is, that one party holds if the deceased had returned, he would have notified his heirs, and the other holds it may be that death prevented him from doing so.

R. Huna b. Abi sent the following message: A depositary who claims that he had returned the bailment, although his receipt is still in the hands of the depositor, is to be trusted (with an oath), and with a document of a half profit in the hands of the plaintiff suing the orphans, he may swear and collect the whole amount. Do these two statements contradict each other (as in the case of a depositary the document is in the hand of the plaintiff, and the defendant is trusted with an oath, and in the case of a half profit the plaintiff is trusted with an oath)? The latter case is different, because, if the deceased had made return, he would have notified his heirs. Said Rabha: The Halakha prevails concerning orphans, that he takes only the half with an oath. Mar Zutra, however, said: The Halakha prevails with the judges of the Exile. And to the objection of Rabhina, that Rabha had long ago decided that he takes only the half with an oath, he answered: We have learned the reverse; i.e., that the judges of the Exile hold that he takes the half only with an oath, and the Palestinians, that he collects the whole amount. Hence my decision is the same as Rabha's.

MISHNA 9.: In selling a field, if it contains a well, cistern, or pigeon-house, no matter whether they are still in use or damaged, they are not included in the sale. However, the seller must buy a way from the buyer for passing to them. So is the decree of R. Aqiba. The sages, however, say that it is not necessary. R. Aqiba, however, admits that if the bill of sale states, "except the above things," he need not buy a way. If the seller sold the above separately to another--according to R. Aqiba it is not necessary for the buyer of them to buy a passage, and according to the sages it is. This is all said concerning a sale; but if the owner of the field has made a gift of it, title is given to the field with all its contents. The same is the case when brothers divide their inheritance, and the field falls in a share of one of them: he acquires title to all its contents.

If one made a hazakah on the estate of a childless proselyte, the hazakah applies to all the above-mentioned things, if they were to be found on it. If one consecrate his field, all that is to be found in it is sanctified. R. Simeon, however, said: The above-mentioned things are not included in the sanctification; but if there was an inoculated carob or a trunk of a sycamore, it is included, because while growing they are nourished by the sanctified ground.

GEMARA: What is the difference between a sale and a gift? Jehudah b. N'qusa explained before Rabbi: The one who makes a gift, if he desires to reserve any part of it for himself, he ought to state so plainly, which is not the case with a seller, who needs money: the details of the sale must be determined by the buyer, and if not so done, the seller has the preference.

There was a man who said in his will: Give to so and so my house that contains a hundred barrels (i.e., that within the width, length, and height of the house ten barrels square could be placed). After investigation it was found that the house contained one hundred and twenty barrels (i.e., twelve rows, each of ten barrels), and no other house was found on the deceased's estate. And Mar Zutra said: The will states a hundred, but not a hundred and twenty. Said R. Ashi to him: Did not our Mishna state: All this is said concerning a sale, but concerning a gift title is given to all; and the reason is that he who makes a gift does it with a good eye? The same is the case here. The deceased thought that it contained a hundred only. He therefore said so, that the donee should be aware that he bequeathed him such a big house, but not to exclude it if it contained still more than he thought, as it must be supposed it was given to him with a good eye.

"If one consecrated his field," etc. R. Huna said: Although the rabbis have declared that he who buys two trees that are between others does not acquire title to the ground beneath, if the seller has sold the ground with the trees, but reserved two trees for himself, the ground beneath belongs to him. And even R. Aqiba's theory, that usually a seller sells with a good eye, is only concerning a well, etc., which does not cause any harm to the ground; but as for trees, which while nourishing do so, if the buyer should not agree that the ground beneath should belong to the seller, he would tell him to cut down the trees and go; and if he did not do so, it must be supposed that he was willing that the trees with the ground beneath should remain to the seller forever, so that in case the trees should wither he might plant others instead.

CHAPTER 5.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING SALES OF SHIPS, BOATS, ANIMALS, AND TEAMS; CONCERNING BROODS OF PIGEONS AND BEASTS; TREES, WITH THE GROUND AND WITHOUT. HOW TO ACQUIRE TITLE TO FRUIT AND FLAX. OF ARTICLES WHICH BECAME DEARER OR CHEAPER BETWEEN THE TIME OF SALE AND DELIVERY. AT WHAT TIME THE WHOLESALERS AND STOREKEEPERS HAD TO CORRECT THEIR WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, AND OF WHAT MATERIAL THE WEIGHTS MIGHT AND MIGHT NOT BE MADE.

MISHNA 1.: If one sells a boat, the sale includes the mast, the flag, the shovels, and all things pertaining to the leading of the boat, but not the slaves, and the sacks for carrying goods, nor the entheca. If, however, he sells the boat with all its contents, all is sold.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: If one sold a boat, the sale includes the scala, and also the well with water therein. R. Nathan said: The sale includes also the safety boats. And so also said Symmachos, but he named them dugit as in Palestine, while R. Nathan named them bizit as in Babylon. 1

It was taught: To acquire title to a boat, according to Rabh, as soon as one made a little drawing on it title is given. Samuel, however, maintains that title is not given unless he moved the entire boat. Shall we assume that they differ in the same way as the Tanaim of the following Tosephtha do: How does one acquire title by transferring? By taking hold of the feet of the animal or its hair, its saddle or the load that is upon it, the bridle, the bell on its neck (although the animal has not moved from its place), title is given. And how does one acquire title by drawing? By calling it and it follows the voice, or by striking it with a stick and it runs from him: as soon as the animal has moved hand or foot, title is acquired. R. A'hi, and according to others R. A'ha, said: Not unless it has moved its whole body. Hence it is to be assumed that Rabh holds with the first Tana and Samuel with R. A'ha? Nay. Rabh may say: My decision is in accordance with R. A'ha's also, as R. A'ha speaks of a living body, which, even if it raised hand or foot, it remains still on its place without moving from

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it (and therefore he requires the moving of its whole body); but I speak of a boat, which, if one draws it a little, the entire body thereof is set in motion. And Samuel also may say: My decision can be also in accordance with the first Tana, who speaks of a living body which lifts its hand or foot, and usually it is to move the other one also; but concerning a boat, it is not considered a drawing unless he moves the entire boat.

Shall we assume that they differ in the same way as the Tanaim of the following Tosephtha do? To a boat, title is given by drawing. R. Nathan says: To a boat, and also to promissory notes, title is given by drawing, or by a bill of sale. And to the question: Where are promissory notes mentioned, so that R. Nathan's statement should apply? it was answered that the Tosephtha is not complete, and is to be read thus: To a boat, title is given by drawing, but to promissory notes by transferring. R. Nathan, however, maintains that to both title is given by drawing, as well as by a bill of sale.

But is, then, a bill of sale needed for a boat--is it not movable property, for which drawing is sufficient? It must then be said it was taught thus: To a boat, title is given by drawing, and to promissory notes by transferring. R. Nathan, however, says: To a boat by drawing, and to promissory notes by a bill of sale. And as R. Nathan's statement concerning a boat would be superfluous if his decision were the same as the first Tanaim, we must then say that they differ in the same way as Rabh and Samuel differ (i.e., that R. Nathan requires that the whole body of the boat should be moved, while according to the first Tana a little drawing suffices)? Nay; both may agree with Rabh or with Samuel, and they do not differ at all concerning a boat. Wherein they differ is but as to promissory notes. Said R. Nathan to the first Tana (of the above Tosephtha): Concerning a boat I certainly agree with you, but concerning promissory notes I hold to my opinion that if there were a bill of sale the transferring gives title, but not otherwise. And they differ in the same point as the Tanaim of the following Boraitha do: To promissory notes title is given by transfer. So is the decree of Rabbi. The sages, however, say: Title is not given by writing (as to all the debts contained in the promissory notes) unless the notes in question are transferred to the buyer, and the same is the case when the notes were transferred without a bill of sale: as to such things, both writing and transferring are needed.

Now let us see. The above Boraitha is explained in accordance with Rabbi. Let, then, the case of the boat also be explained in accordance with Rabbi, who holds that to a boat title is acquired by transfer, inasmuch as we have learned in the following Boraitha that such is the decree of Rabbi. But the sages say that title is not given unless he makes a drawing or he hires the place in which it is then placed? This presents no difficulty. Rabbi speaks of when the boat was placed on a public ground (as then drawing could not be made, because he must draw to a place which is under his control, which is not the case when it is in public ground; and the Boraitha speaks of when it was in a place where he could make a drawing to one under his control). Now we see that the Boraitha just cited speaks of a boat that was placed in public ground. How, then, is to be understood the latter part of it, which states: And the sages say title is not given unless the buyer makes a drawing? Now, if it was in public ground, from whom could the buyer hire the place so that a drawing should suffice? And aside from this, does, then, a drawing give title in public ground? Did not both Abayi and Rabha say: Transfer gives title in public ground, and also in a yard that does not belong to both (the seller and the buyer)? In a semita (path), however, or in a yard belonging to both, drawing gives title, and "lifting up" gives title everywhere? The expression "unless he makes a drawing" means that he shall move from the public ground to the semita, and the expression "unless he hires the place" is also to be explained as meaning that if it happens to be placed on premises belonging to one of them title is not given unless he hires the place.

Shall we assume that Abayi and Rabha both are in accordance with Rabbi (who holds that transferring suffices for a boat)? Said R. Ashi: If he should say: "Go make a hazakah and acquire title," then title would be given. Here, however, it is understood the seller told him, "Go make a drawing and acquire title." And the point of their differing is, one holds that the seller was particular with his words, that only by drawing title should be given (but not otherwise), and the other holds that his expression is to be considered only as if he should show him the place where it is to be found (i.e., "If you wish to make a drawing, here it is").

R. Papa said: If one sells a promissory note, he must write in the bill of sale, "Acquire title to it, and to all the debts it contains."

Said R. Ashi: I have explained the Halakha before R. Kahana and questioned him: How would it be if this were not inserted--would not title be given? Did, then, the buyer need it for the purpose of covering a glass with it (is it possible that a man should invest his money in a piece of paper that he cannot use but to cover something--must it not be assumed that he bought the debts which it contained)? And he answered: Yea! for this purpose he bought it. (And if the amount shows that it was double the value of the paper, then the sale would in any case be null and void, as exacting beyond a sixth makes the sale void.)

Amemar said: The Halakha prevails that to promissory notes title is given by transfer in accordance with Rabbi. Said R. Ashi to Amemar: Is your decision traditional or according to common sense? And he answered: Traditional. Rejoined R. Ashi: It is also according to common sense, as promissory notes are only words. (The note proper does not contain the debts or any money, but the promise of the borrower, which are words, and title cannot be given by words only.)

"But not the entheca." What does this mean? It means the contents of the entheca.

MISHNA 2.: If one sold a wagon, the bill of sale does not include the mules for it (when not hitched), and vice versa. If the yoke with the wagon were sold, the oxen when not hitched were not included, and vice versa. R. Jehudah, however, maintains: The amount paid may serve as evidence. How so? If one said: Sell to me your yoke for two hundred zuz, it is self-evident that he meant the whole team, as there is no yoke that could be worth two hundred zuz. The sages, however, say that such cannot be taken for evidence (as it may be he desires to make him a present without humiliating him).

GEMARA: R. Ta'hlipha b. Merba taught a Boraitha before R. Abuhu: If one has sold a wagon, the sale includes the mules. Said R. Abuhu: But our Mishna teaches that it does not. Rejoined the former: Then ignore my Boraitha. Said Abuhu: It is not necessary, as it can be explained that your Boraitha speaks of when the mules were hitched to the wagon.

"If one has sold the yoke," etc. Let us see how was the case? If people by the expression "yoke" mean the yoke without the cattle, then it is self-evident that he sold him the yoke only; and if the expression means "a team," then he certainly sold him the whole team? It speaks of a place in which some people by yoke mean the entire team, while others by this expression mean the yoke with harness, but not the cattle. According to R. Jehudah this can be ascertained from the amount; but the rabbis hold that the amount cannot be taken as evidence (as it is for the buyer to explain his desire plainly, as there are some who by yoke mean the wagon prepared for the oxen, not including them, and therefore the preference is given to the seller).

But even if the amount is not an evidence, let the sale be void if there was an exaction beyond a sixth of the value. And should you say that the rabbis do not hold to the theory that an exaction beyond a sixth makes void the sale but that they hold that the sale is valid, and the seller has only to return the amount which was overcharged, the answer is: This is not so, as we have learned in Middle Gate, Mishna, that the rabbis hold this theory? Yea! They hold the theory only in a case where an exaction could be made (i.e., in a sixth or more of the value); but in our case (two hundred zuz for the yoke only), where exaction cannot be made, it may be assumed that the buyer wishes to give a present to the seller (but does not wish to humiliate him, and so presents him the money for the yoke).

MISHNA 3.: If one sells an ass, the harness is not included. Nahum the Modaite, however, maintains it is. Said R. Jehudah: At one time they may be sold, and at some other time they may not. How so? If the ass with its harness was before him, and the buyer says, "Sell me this ass," and the seller agrees, the harness is also sold; but if he says, "Is this your ass? sell it to me," then the harness is not included.

GEMARA: Said Ula: The first Tana and Nahum differ only in the sacks and disacos and khumni, as the first Tana holds that usually an ass is bought for riding (consequently the utensils that are not for this purpose are not included); but Nahum maintains that an ass is usually sold for carrying burdens, consequently the utensils for this purpose are included, as the saddle, sumpter-saddle, belt, and girdle. An objection was raised from the following: "I sell you the ass with its harness": the saddle, the sumpter-saddle, the belt, and the girdle are sold, but not the sack, the disacos, nor the khumni, unless he said, "it and all pertaining to it"; then all is sold. We see, then, that only when he said, "the ass with its harness," the saddle, etc., are sold; but not, if he did not mention the harness? Nay; the same is the case even if he did not so mention, and the Boraitha comes to teach that the sack, etc., are not sold, even if he said, "the ass with its harness."

What does khumni mean? Said R. Papa b. Samuel: A saddle used by females only.

The schoolmen propounded a question: Does the Mishna treat of when the things mentioned above were upon the ass, so that, if they were not so, Nahum the Modaite would agree with the first Tana, or, on the contrary, does it treat of when the ass was not dressed in them, in which case the first Tana would agree with Nahum? Come and hear! If, however, he said, "it and all that is upon it," all is sold. And this is correct according to the supposition that they differ when the ass was dressed in these things, and the Boraitha is in accordance with the first Tana of our Mishna; but on the supposition that they differ when the ass was not dressed, according to whom would be the Boraitha? Nay; this cannot be taken for a support, as it may be that they differ even when the ass was not dressed, and the cited Boraitha is to be read: If he said, "the ass and all those things in my possession fit for its use."

Come, then, and hear what R. Jehudah says in our Mishna, and there is no doubt that he speaks of when the ass was dressed in them, as his expression "this ass" means all is sold. Is it not to be assumed that this was an answer to the first Tana (who said that even in such a case the things are not sold)? Nay! R. Jehudah was not answering, but taught a separate Halakha. Said Rabhina to R. Ashi: Did not R. Abuhu say, replying to R. Ta'hlipha (above, in the Gemara to the second Mishna): Explain your Boraitha, "When they were hitched," etc.? from which is to be inferred that the Mishna speaks of when they were not hitched; and when the second Mishna treats of them not hitched, it must be assumed that the third Mishna also speaks of the same case? On the contrary, take the first Mishna, which states, "not the slaves nor the entheca"; and to the question what does entheca mean, R. Papa answered: The contents of the entheca. Hence the Mishna treats of when the load was upon it, from which is to be inferred that the second Mishna speaks also of when they were hitched (and this is not so). Therefore you cannot object or support from their teachings, as each Mishna speaks of a different case.

Abayi said: R. Eliezer, R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, R. Meir, R. Nathan, Symmachos, and Nahum the Modaite all hold that if one sells a thing the sale includes also all those things that are used with it-Eliezer, who said: If one sells a press-house, the treading-rod is included; Simeon b. Gamaliel, who said: If one sells a town, the santer is included; R. Meir, who said: If one sold a vineyard, all the vessels in use for the same are included; Nathan and Symmachos, who said above that the safety boats are included in the sale of the boat; and Nahum the Modaite with his statement in our Mishna.

"R. Jehudah said," etc. What is the difference whether he said "this ass," or "is this your ass"? Said Rabha: If he said "this ass" he was sure that the ass belonged to him, and with the word "this" he meant the harness; but if he asked him, "Is this your ass?" he was not sure it was his. And he asked, if it was his, that he should sell it to him, meaning the ass only, without the harness.

MISHNA 4.: If one sold a she-ass, its foal is sold; but if a cow, the calf is not. If he sold the place where the manure is kept, the manure in it is sold therewith; a well, the water it contains is included; a beehive, the bees are included; a pigeon-coop, the doves it contains are included.

GEMARA: Let us see how was the case? If he said, "with its offspring," even if it is a cow why should the offspring then not be included; and if he did not say so, why should the offspring of an ass be included? Said R. Papa: It speaks of where he told him: I sell you a nursing ass, or a nursing cow. Of the latter the buyer can use the milk, but to what purpose did he say a nursing ass? We must assume that he means the nursing ass with its offspring. 1

"A well, the water it contains is sold." Said Rabha: Our Mishna is in accordance with an individual Tana of the following Boraitha (but the majority do not agree with him). If one sells a well, the water it contains is not included. R. Nathan, however, maintains it is.

MISHNA 5.: If one buys the brood of a pigeon-coop (e.g., if he buys in the month Nisan all the pigeons to be hatched during the whole year, but not the old ones, and usually each dove hatches two young ones every month, male and female, and those pigeons after two months hatch also, and so it is during the entire year, the month Adar excluded), he must leave the first pair of little ones with the parents. If one buys the brood of a beehive, he has to take the first three broods, after which the owner may make the bees impotent of propagation. If he buys the honey in combs, he must leave two with the beehive. If one buys olive trees for the purpose of cutting them down, he must leave the branches which are only two spans high for the seller.

GEMARA: But have we not learned in a Boraitha, concerning a pigeon-coop, that he must leave the first and second pair? Said R. Kahana: This presents no difficulty. The Mishna speaks of the old dove, and the Boraitha of both mother and daughter which have hatched--one pair for the old and one for the young mother. But why should not the pair left for the old mother suffice also for the young one, as she would not leave the pigeon-coop, because her mother and the pair remaining would bind her to stay there, even as the old dove is bound to the same? The old one is bound to both--to the young mother as well as to the pair left, while her daughter, as soon as she has hatched, has no longer anything to do with her mother, but is bound to her children.

"Three broods," etc. By what means does one make them impotent? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: By feeding them with mustard. In Palestine, however, it was said in the name of R. Jose b. Hanina: Not the mustard, but the honey which they consume after having eaten the harsh mustard, causes the impotency. R. Johanan said: He must not take the three broods at one time, but gradually, taking one and leaving one, etc.; and a Boraitha states that the first three he may take one after another, and after that he takes one and leaves one. 1

"Olive trees," etc. The rabbis taught: If one buys a tree for the purpose of cutting it down, he must begin a span high

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from the ground; if it was an uninoculated sycamore, he must leave three spans; and if a trunk of a sycamore, two spans. If sticks or vines, from the knots upwards. If date and cedar trees, he may take them with the roots, for if they were cut at the top they would not grow again.

Do we need three spans for an uninoculated sycamore? Have we not learned (Shebiith, 4. 5): One must not cut an uninoculated sycamore on a Sabbatical year, because it is considered a labour in a field? R. Jehudah said: One must not do it in the usual way, but higher than ten spans he may, or he may cut it at the level of the ground. Hence we see that it harms only if it is cut at the level of the ground, but not if a little higher than three spans. Said Abayi: If exactly three spans, it is beneficial for the growth of the tree, and at the level of the ground it surely harms it, but up to three spans it does neither good nor harm. Concerning a Sabbatical year, only what harms may be done; and concerning buying and selling, only things which are beneficial.

It is said that date and cedar trees one may take with the roots, because if cut at the top they will not improve. Has not R. Hyya b. Luliyni lectured that it is written [Ps. xxxii. 13]: "The righteous shall spring up like a palm tree, like a cedar," etc.? Why are both trees mentioned? If it mentioned the cedar only, one might say: As the cedar does not yield any products, so is the upright. Therefore it mentions the palm tree. And if the latter only were mentioned, one might say: As a palm tree does not improve after being cut off, so is the righteous. Therefore both are mentioned. Hence we see that a cedar does improve? This speaks of another kind of cedar which does so. As Rabba b. R. Huna said (Taanith.): There are ten different kinds of cedars.

MISHNA 6.: If one buy two trees within his neighbour's field, the ground beneath is not sold. R. Meir, however, maintains it is. If the branches were wide-spreading, the seller has no right to cut them off, though the shade of them harms his field. That which grows from the trunk belongs to the buyer, and that from the roots to the seller. If the trees die, the buyer has no right to the ground; however, if he bought three trees, the ground is included, and if the branches become wide-spreading, the owner of the ground may cut them off, and all that is growing from both trunks and roots belongs to the buyer; and if the trees die, he has the right to plant others.

GEMARA: There is a Mishna (Bikurim, 1:6): If one buy two trees within his neighbour's ground, he may offer the firstfruit, but he must not read [Deut. 26:10]: "The soil which thou hast given to me," as the earth is not his. R. Meir, however, said: He may offer and also read. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: According to R. Meir, one is obliged to offer the firstfruit, even if he bought it in the market. And whence has he inferred it? From the superfluous Mishna--i.e., it is already said in our Mishna that he who buys even two trees has bought the ground therewith according to R. Meir. Why, then, was it necessary to repeat that in the cited Mishna? We must say that only to teach that, seven if one does not possess any ground, he is nevertheless obliged to offer the firstfruit if he possesses such, even from the market (and the cited Mishna is to be explained thus: R. Meir said to the first Tana: Even if I should agree with you that the one who buys the two trees does not possess any ground, he is nevertheless obliged to offer the firstfruit). But is it not written [Deut. 26:2]: "Which thou shalt bring in from thy land"? This is to exclude the land outside of Palestine. But is it not written [Ex. 23:19]: "The first of the firstfruits of thy land shalt thou bring," etc.? This is to exclude the ground of a Gentile. But is it not written [Deut. ibid.]: "Which thou hast given me"? This means, thou hast given me money to buy."

Rabba objected from the following: If one bought one tree within the trees of his neighbour, he may bring the firstfruit; but does not read, " . . . thou hast given," because he has no ground. So is the decree of R. Meir. Hence we see that if he has no ground he cannot read, "the earth thou hast given." This objection remains.

Said R. Simeon b. Elyakum to R. Elazar: On what reasons did R. Meir base his theory concerning one tree, and the rabbis theirs concerning two trees--that the men should bring the firstfruit and should not read? Does not the Scripture exclude him from bringing also? Said R. Elazar to him: Concerning a thing for which one previous master gave no reason you are questioning me in the college for the purpose of bringing me to shame? Said Rabba: I do not see any difficulty in it, as it may be assumed that the rabbis, as well as R. Meir, were doubtful as to the accuracy of the law: the rabbis could not absolutely decide that he who bought two trees had no ground, and R. Meir could not be certain concerning one tree, and therefore they decided he should bring, but not read.

But how can you say that R. Meir was doubtful-did he not plainly say above, because he has not acquired title to the ground? Read: "Perhaps he has not acquired titles," etc. But according to both, why should the man in question bring? Suppose that, according to law, they are not considered firstfruit at all, and that he brings common fruits to the sanctuary, which is prohibited--i.e., that he first sanctified them. But the fruit must be consumed by the priests, and if they are not considered firstfruit, they are consecrated for an offering or for another purpose, and it is prohibited that any one should derive benefit therefrom--i.e., after he brings them, he redeems them. But even then, if they are not considered firstfruit, they are liable to separate "heave-offering and tithe"; and by bringing them he exempts them from these duties--i.e., he previously separates the above from them. This can be correct concerning heave-offering, which belongs to the priest, and the same concerning "second tithe"; and also the "tithe for the poor" he may give to a poor priest, but to whom shall he give the first tithe that belongs to the Levite, as the Levite must not derive any benefit from consecrated things? This he may also give to the priest in accordance with R. Elazar b. Azaryha of the following Boraitha: Heave-offering must be given to the priest, first tithe to the Levite. So is the decree of R. Aqiba. R. Elazar b. Azaryha, however, maintains that even the first tithe may be given to the priest (after Ezra fined the Levites). But if they are considered firstfruit, the reading of the passages is obligatory? The obligation does not prevent the bringing. As R. Jose b. Hanina said elsewhere: If one has gathered the firstfruit, and sent it by a messenger who died while on the road, then the firstfruit may be brought into the sanctuary; but the passages should not be read, for it is written [Deut. 26:2]: "Thou shalt take," and farther on, "Thou shalt go," etc., which means that the gathering as well as the bringing should be done by one person, and as the messenger is dead the reading cannot take place.

Said R. A'ha b. R. Ivya to R. Ashi: Let us see I The reading consists of passages from the Scripture, which are allowed to be read by every one and at any time. Let him then read, "And he answered": when he reads this with the bringing, it looks like a lie, which is not the case when he reads the Scripture.

R. Mesharshia b. R. Hyya said: The reason is that if the reading were allowed, another, who has similar fruit, might think that such is really considered firstfruit, and will not separate the heave-offering therefrom.

"If the branches were wide-spreading." What is to be considered trunk, and what roots? Said R. Johanan: All above the surface of the ground is considered trunk, and beneath roots. But suppose that an upheaval should occur that will cover the trunk so that the branches shall have the appearance of three trees, and then the buyer may claim: You sold me three trees, and I have a right to the ground. Therefore said R. Na'hman: The expression in the Mishna, "from the trunk belongs to the buyer," means as to cutting it down, but not to leaving it. And thus also said R. Johanan.

R. Na'hman said: We have a tradition that a date tree has no trunk. R. Zebid was about to explain R. Na'hman's statement by what our Mishna states, that if such a tree is cut on the top it does not further increase, and therefore the buyer cannot claim a right to the outgrowth of the trunk, as, the remainder of the tree being only for removal, he renounced his hope to derive any benefit therefrom. To which R. Papa opposed the statement in our Mishna that he who bought two trees which are also for removal has no right to the ground, and nevertheless he has a right to the outgrowth of the trunk? "Therefore," said he, "R. Na'hman means that it can never occur that trunks of date trees may bring forth outgrowths."

But does not the Mishna oppose R. Zebid's theory? He may say: The Mishna treats of a case in which the buyer bought the trees for the term of five years (i.e., if it should happen that in the meantime they shall die, he has a right to plant others instead), and therefore he has a right also to the outgrowth of the trunks.

"If he has bought trees," etc. To what extent of ground has he acquired title? Said R. Hyya b. Abba in the name of R. Johanan: He acquires title to the ground beneath the branches and that between them; and outside, to the extent that he may stand with his basket to gather the fruit from the outside branches. R. Elazar opposed: How is it possible that this should be granted to the buyer, when even a path through the field is not granted, as he has not any right to the ground which is outside of the trees?

Said R. Zera: From the teaching of our master (R. Elazar) we may learn that if he bought three trees he has no path, but if he bought two trees he has, as he may claim: The trees are situated on your ground, and as you have sold me trees situated on your ground, so also have you granted me a path to them.

Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak to Rabha: Shall we assume that R. Elazar does not agree with his master Samuel, who said that the Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Aqiba, who holds that usually the seller sells with a good eye (and according to this theory, if he sold him three trees he granted him also a path to them). And he answered: Our Mishna cannot be in accordance with R. Aqiba, as it states that when the branches are wide-spreading the seller has the right to clear them, and in accordance with R. Aqiba, this right could not be given to him, for the supposition is that he sold them with a good eye. Rejoined R. Na'hman: We have heard R. Aqiba saying so only concerning a well, etc., which does not impoverish the ground; but have you heard him saying so concerning a tree, which does? Does not R. Aqiba agree that, in a case in which the branches of a tree overhang the field of another, he may clear the size of a plough handle?

There is a Boraitha in accordance with R. Hyya b. Aba that the buyer of three trees acquires title to the ground beneath, between, and outside to the extent that he can stand there with a basket in the hand. Said Abayi to R. Joseph: Who has a right to sow the outside ground that belongs to the buyer (the buyer of the trees, to whom it belongs, or the owner of the ground, who allows the buyer to be present there only at the time of gathering--therefore he may sow it, and the buyer has a right to step on it at that time)? And he answered: This we have learned in the Mishna farther on, that the outsider may sow the path which leads to the inside field. Rejoined Abayi: What comparison is this? There the buyer of the inner field does not suffer any damage when he steps on the sown path to his field; but here, if the owner of the ground should sow it, there is a damage to the buyer of the trees in not having the products of the ground belonging to him. Therefore if this case should be compared to the one in the cited Mishna, it is only to the latter part, which states that neither of them has a right to sow. There is a Boraitha in accordance with Abayi, which states plainly that neither of them has a right to sow.

How much space is to be left between the trees in question, that it should be considered the buyer's? R. Joseph in the name of R. Jehudah, quoting Samuel, said: From four to eight ells. And Rabha in the name of R. Na'hman, quoting Samuel, said: From eight to sixteen. Said Abayi to R. Joseph: Do not quarrel with R. Na'hman, as there is a Mishna (Kilaim, IV. 9) in accordance with him: If one has planted his vineyard sixteen ells square, he may sow other seeds between the rows. And R. Jehudah said: It happened in the city of Zalmon that one had planted his vineyard sixteen ells square. One year he trained the branches of every two rows in one direction, and sowed in the opposite direction; and the next year he trained the branches in another direction, and sowed on the ground that had lain fallow. And when the matter was brought before the sages, they sanctioned it [his manner of proceeding]. And he answered: I took my theory from such a case as happened in the village of the shepherds, which was brought before R. Jehudah, and he decided to give them space for a yoke of oxen with the harness thereof; but I did not know the measure of such a space, and after I had given my attention to a Mishna stated above, as follows: "One must not plant a tree near his neighbour's field unless he leaves four ells space," and a Boraitha in addition to this states the four ells mentioned are for the purpose of working up a vineyard (as explained above.), I inferred from this that the measure of a yoke with the harness is four ells. But is there not a Mishna (Kilaim, 4. 9) in accordance with R. Joseph: Beth R. Meir and R. Simeon say: If one plants his vineyard eight ells square, he is permitted to sow other seeds therein? Yea; nevertheless, a practised act is more important for evidence.

It is correct in accordance with R. Joseph, which is according to R. Simeon's theory, as we have heard that R. Simeon's theory equals both cases, when the vines are scattered and also when they are growing together--"scattered," from the Mishna just cited, and "growing together," from the following Mishna. A vineyard which is planted in less than four ells is not to be considered a vineyard at all. So is the decree of R. Simeon, etc. But according to R. Na'hman, who is in accord with the rabbis' theory, we have heard their opinion concerning scattered ones (as said above in the case of Zalmon); but have you also heard their opinion about growing together? This is common sense. As R. Simeon considers the half space in his theory of growing together, the same is the case with the rabbis: they also consider the half space in their theory of growing together.

Said Rabha: The Halakha prevails--from four to sixteen ells; and there is a Boraitha which supports him as follows: What is meant by being near one to another? Four ells. And what is meant by being far? Sixteen ells. In the latter case, if one bought the trees he bought also the ground, and also the shrubs between; and, therefore, if it happens that a tree withers or is cut off, the ground remains his. If, however, it were less or more than the above space, or he bought the trees not at one time, but one after another, the ground and the shrubs between do not belong to him; and, therefore, if a tree becomes withered or is cut off, he has no right to the ground (to plant another instead).

R. Jeremiah questioned. How should the ground belonging to the buyer be measured--from the end of the branches or from the trunk (so that he would have more space than by measuring from the branches)? And R. Gibiahh from the city of Khthil said to R. Ashi: Come and hear the following Mishna [Kilaim, 7. 1]: If a vine has been bent in such a manner that the main stem is out of sight [underground], the measure [as to legal distance] must be calculated from the second stem--i.e., the place where it rises from the ground and again becomes visible. R. Jeremiah questioned again: How is the law if one has sold a tree of which the branches are separated by four ells from one another: And the above R. Gibiahh said to R. Ashi. Come and hear the second Mishna [ibid., ibid.]: If three vines are bent [and partly covered with mould] and their stems remain visible, R. Elazar ben Zadok said: If there

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remain between them not less than four and not exceeding five ells in width, they [the vines] must be looked upon as connected; otherwise, they are not to be so considered.

R. Papa questioned: If one has sold two trees situated in his field and one on the boundary, are they to be counted together, or not? The same question arises when one has sold two situated on his own ground and one on his neighbour's, and both questions remain undecided. R. Ashi questioned: (If in the above questions it were decided that they should be counted together,) how is the law if there were a well, or a channel, or intervention by a public ground or a row of young trees? This question also remains undecided.

Hillel questioned Rabbi: If a cedar tree intervened, how is the law? And he answered: Then title is given to him in the trees, as well as in the cedar. How should the trees be situated so that the sixteen ells in question should be measured? According to Rabh in a row (. . .) and according to Samuel diagonally (' . '); and the difference is, that according to him who said "in a row" the ground belongs to the buyer, so much the more when they are situated diagonally; while according to him who says "diagonally," if they are in a row the ground does not belong to the buyer, as if in a row the ground between is fit for sowing. R. Hamnuna opposed: According to the theory that if they were placed diagonally the ground belongs to the buyer only for the reason that such a ground is not fit for sowing, how would it be if one should sell three thorns which are called Higi Runiitha, the ground between which is also unfit for sowing--shall we also assume that the ground belongs to him? And he was answered that the thorns in question are of little value, which is not the case with the trees in question (and the law dictates both that the trees should be of value and the ground between unfit for sowing).

MISHNA 7.: If one sold the head of a cow, the feet are not included, and vice versa; the windpipe, the liver is not included, and vice versa. However, concerning a calf, the feet are included in the sale of a head, and vice versa; and the same is the case with the windpipe and the liver.

There are four legal customs concerning sales: If one alleges having sold good wheat and thereafter it was found to be bad, the buyer may retract; if he alleged having sold bad and thereafter it was found good, the seller may retract. If, however, it was found as alleged, neither of them can retract (although from the sale of the wheat to the delivery the price for same has increased or decreased). If one sold dark red wheat and it was found to be white, or vice versa; trees of olives, and they were found to be sycamore, or vice versa; wine, if it was found to be vinegar, or vice versa--both have a right to retract.

GEMARA: Said R. Hisda: If one has sold wheat worth five zuz for six, and subsequently it increases to eight, who was imposed on prior to the increase? The buyer. Therefore the right of retraction from the sale is given to him only, but not to the seller, as the buyer may say: If you had not imposed on me in the beginning, you could not retract from the sale even if the price increased, and having imposed on me, should you have the right to retract? And it was learned in our Mishna that if one alleged having sold good and it was found bad, the right of retraction was given to the buyer and not to the seller, even if it had increased in price more than the seller took.

The same said again: If one has sold for five the value of six, and thereafter it lowered to three zuz, who was imposed on prior to that decrease? The seller. The right to retract is only for him and not for the buyer, for the reason stated above, that the seller may say to the buyer: If I had not been imposed on in the beginning, you could not retract though the price should decrease, and inasmuch as I have been imposed on, should you have such a right? And so teaches our Mishna: If one alleges having sold bad, and thereafter good was found, the right of retraction is given to the seller and not to the buyer.

But what then came R. Hisda to teach? Does not the Mishna state so? Without his statement, one might say that according to the Mishna, in those cases illustrated by R. Hisda, both have a right to retract, as there was imposition in the beginning of the sale (while the Mishna treats of where no imposition took place), and therefore R. Hisda came to teach us that the Mishna must be interpreted according to his illustration.

"Wine, and it was found vinegar." Shall we assume that our Mishna is in accordance with Rabbi, and not with the rabbis of the following Boraitha? Wine and vinegar are considered one kind, concerning heave-offering (so that if he has separated troomah from the wine for the vinegar also, or vice versa, it is valid). Rabbi, however, maintains that it is not, because they are two separate kinds? Nay! Our Mishna may be in accordance with the rabbis also, as they differ with Rabbi only concerning tithe and heave-offering, and it is in accordance with R. Ilaha, who has inferred elsewhere from the Scripture that if one has separated tithe or troomah from the bad, for the good ones of the same kind (grain or fruit), his action is valid; but concerning selling and buying the rabbis also agree that the one who desires wine cannot be satisfied with vinegar, and vice versa.

MISHNA 8.: If one has sold fruit, and the buyer has made a drawing on it, although it was not as yet measured, title is given, but not if it was measured for him, and the drawing has not taken place; and if the buyer were shrewd, he would hire the place where the fruit is to be measured, so that the seller should not have the right to retract even before the drawing is made.

If one buys flax, title is not given unless he removes it from one place to another; but if the flax was still attached to the ground, and the buyer pulled up some of it, title is given.

GEMARA: Said R. Assi in the name of R. Johanan: If he has measured it, and placed it on the semita (path) for the buyer, title is given. Said R. Zera to him: Perhaps the master has heard from R. Johanan that he has measured and put it in the basket of the buyer. And he answered: The question of this scholar is similar to that of men who do not understand a Halakha at all, for is it then needed to teach that title is given if the seller puts it in the basket of the buyer?

(Says the Gemara:) Has R. Zera accepted R. Assi's theory, or not? Come and hear! R. Yanai said in the name of Rabbi: If the yard where the fruit was placed belonged to both the seller and buyer, title is given to the latter.

Is it not assumed that title is given even if it was placed on the ground of the yard? Nay; it means if it was placed in the basket of the buyer; and it seems to be so, as R. Jacob in the name of R. Johanan said. If after measuring he puts it on the semita, title is not given. And as this would contradict the above statement of R. Assi in the name of R. Johanan, we must then say that one has heard from him when the basket of the buyer was placed on the semita, and from the other, when the basket of the buyer was not. Infer from this that R. Zera had not accepted. Come and hear another objection! But when measured, and a drawing was not made, title is not given. Does this not mean in the semita? Nay; it means "public ground." If so, how is the first part to be understood: "If he has made a drawing, but not measured, title is given." Does, then, a drawing give title in public ground? Is it not said above that in public ground only transferring gives title, but not drawing? The expression "drawing" means that he removed it from the public ground to the semita. But how about the latter part: "If the buyer is shrewd, he hires the place," etc.? If it speaks of a public ground, from whom can he hire it? It means to say, if it still remained on the premises of the owner, then if the buyer is shrewd he will hire the place.

Both Rabh and Samuel said: The vessels of the buyer give title to him in every place, except on public ground. R. Johanan and R. Simeon b. Lakish both are of the opinion that it gives title even when on public ground. Said R. Papa: The above parties do not differ, as the latter speaks of a semita; and why they call it public ground is because it is not private ground. (Says the Gemara:) It seems to be so, as R. Abuhu said in the name of R. Johanan: The vessels of one give him title in every place where it is permitted to him to place them. Hence we see that only to those places where it is permitted to him to place them is title given, but not to public ground where one is not permitted to place one's vessels. Come and hear the following Tosephtha: There are four legal customs concerning sellers: (a) If the measure does not belong to both of them and it was placed on public ground, or in a yard that does not belong to both, then, if the measure was not as yet filled up and the seller wishes for some reason to recede from his sale, he may do so; but if it was filled up, then it is considered already the buyer's (as it is supposed that for this purpose it was lent to the buyer, that as soon as filled he might take it with its contents); (b) if the measure belongs to one of them, to every atom that is put in the measure the owner of the measure acquires title, provided it was at those places named above; (c) if it was on the premises of the seller, the buyer does not acquire title unless he lifts it up or removes it from the seller's premises; and (d) if it was on the premises of the buyer, as soon as the seller agreed to sell him the grain for such and such a price the buyer has acquired title. If, however, the grain in question was deposited previously by the seller without the intention of selling it, and thereafter the depositary bought it from him, title is not given unless the seller agrees to renounce his right to the place where the grain is now placed, or the buyer hires it. We see, then, that if the measure was filled up title is given to the buyer, even if it was on the public ground? Also, here, by public ground is meant a semita; but if so, why the repetition, "a yard that does not belong to both"? Is it not the same as a semita? By this expression is also meant that the whole yard does not belong to one of them, as they were partners in it.

R. Shesheth questioned R. Huna: If the vessels of the buyer were placed on the premises of the seller, does the buyer acquire title or not? And he answered: This we have learned (Githin, I. 1): "If he put the divorce in the pocket of her dress or in her basket, she is divorced" (hence we see that one's vessels give him title). Said R. Na'hman to R. Huna: Why have you decided this question from that Mishna which was objected to, and there were about a hundred explanations of the meaning of it (q.v.)? You should decide this from the Tosephtha cited above: If it was on the premises of the seller, title is not given unless he lifts it up, or removes it; and it is to be assumed that it speaks of when the measure was the buyer's. (Answered he:) Nay; it means if the vessels belong to the seller. (Rejoined he:) If the first part speaks of when the vessels belong to the seller, the second part must also treat of the same. How, then, is the decision to be understood: "If it was on the premises of the buyer, as soon as the seller has agreed," etc., title is acquired? Why, then, is it not still in the hands of the seller? Nay; the latter part speaks of when the vessels belong to the buyer. But what compels you to explain the two parts of it in different applications? Because, generally, if on the premises of the seller his measures are used, and on the premises of the buyer his are used.

Said Rabha: Come and hear another objection: If the buyer or his servants have led the asses of the seller, with the load, to his premises (and the load was still upon the asses or in the hand of the servants), whether the price was made but no measure taken, or measure taken but no price made, both have a right to retract. If, however, they were unloaded in the street and one brought the stuff to his house, if the price was made before measuring neither of them can retract; but if measured before the price was made. the sale is not considered settled, and both may retract. Now, as we see that the vessels belonging to the seller, if they are on the premises of the buyer, do not give title, it must be the same with the vessels of the buyer on the premises of the seller--neither do they give title? Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak, it speaks of when the buyer removed it from the vessels and placed it on his premises. Rabha became angry at this explanation: Does not the Tosephtha plainly teach "unloaded," and he says, "removed it and placed it on his premises"? Said Mar b. R. Ashi: It can be explained that the load was of bundles of garlic of which the unloading itself makes it rest on the premises of the buyer, and it needs no more work. Said Huna b. Mar Zutra to Rabhina: Let us see. It states "unloaded" (from which it must be supposed that he did it with the consent of the owner). What, then, is the difference whether the price was made or not? (Is it not said above that if on the premises of the buyer, as soon as agreed on, no retraction can take place, as the premises of the buyer give title?) Why, then, should a retraction take place in such a case? And he answered: If the price was made, the seller relies upon it, and the sale is made; but if otherwise, he does not. Said Rabhina to R. Ashi: Come and hear what both Rabh and Samuel declared above: The vessels of one give him title at every place. Is this not equivalent to saying even on the premises of the seller? Yea, provided he told him: Go and acquire title.

There is a Mishna (Kidushin): To real estate title is acquired by money, deed, or hazakah, and to personal property title is given by drawing only. As to which in Surah it was taught in the name of R. Hisda, and in Pumbeditha in the name of R. Kahana, according to others in the name of Rabha, as follows: This is said concerning things which it is not usual to lift up; but to those which it is usual to lift, title is given only by lifting up, but not by drawing.

Abayi was sitting repeating this Halakha, and R. Ada b. Mathna objected to him from the following: If one steals a purse on Sabbath and takes it into the street, he is obliged to pay for the purse, because he was culpable of stealing before the violation of the Sabbath was committed. (There is a rule that if in one and the same thing a liability for money and a crime were committed, the punishment for the crime absolves him from payment.) In such a case. however, two separate crimes are considered, as after he steals the purse it becomes his (and the violation of the Sabbath is done with his own). If, however, he drew the purse little by little, and he picked it up when it was already on public ground, he is absolved from payment, as both crimes were committed together. Now a purse is certainly a thing which is usually lifted up, and nevertheless one acquires title to it by drawing; for should it not be Sabbath, he would be obliged to pay for it, even if he should not have lifted it up until it reaches the street? And he answered: It speaks of a purse fastened with a cord, of which drawing is usual. Said R. Ada: I also speak of such a kind of purse. And he rejoined: I mean such a big purse as could not be lifted up except by drawing it by the cord. It was objected again from the above Tosephtha that if on the premises of the seller, title is not given unless he lifted it up or drew it, from which we see that to a thing that can be lifted up title is acquired by drawing also. Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak. It is meant in parts. To a thing which is usually lifted up, title is given by lifting, and usually drawn, by drawing.

Come and hear! If one sold fruit, if he made a drawing although not measured, title is given. Now fruit is usually carried, and nevertheless drawing suffices? It means big loads of fruit. If so, how is the latter part to be understood: "If one buys flax, title is not given unless he removes it to another place"? Is it not usual for flax to be in big loads? With flax it is different, because it is usually detachable in big loads.

Said Rabhina to R. Ashi: Come and hear! To a cow, title is given by transferring; and to a calf, by lifting up. So is the decree of R. Meir and R. Simeon b. Elazar. But the sages say: To a calf, by drawing also. Now a calf can be lifted up, and nevertheless drawing gives title? With a calf it is different, as it resists. Therefore it is difficult to lift it up.

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Rabh and Samuel both said: If one says: I sell you a kur of thirty saahs for such an amount, the seller has a right to retract even at the last saah. If, however, he said: I sell you a kur of thirty saahs, each saah for a selah, title is acquired to every saah as measured. Come and hear! If the measure belongs to one of them, to every atom that was put in title is acquired, although the whole measure was not as yet filled. Hence we see that title is given even when one did not say: I sell you each measure for a certain price? It speaks of when in the measure were marks, as where one said: I sell you a bin for twelve selahs, each lug for a selah. And R. Kahana illustrates thus: There were marks in the bin for one, two, three lugs, etc. The same is it with the measure in question: there were marks for each saah. Come and hear! If one hires a servant to work for him in the barn (not in harvest-time) for one dinar a day, with the stipulation that he shall work for him for the same price in the harvest-time, although at that time the price is a selah a day (and advances him the wages for the whole time), it is prohibited to do so, as it looks usurious; but if he hires him for one hundred days from to-day for a dinar a day, and advances him one hundred dinars, although during the time the harvest begins and each day is worth a selah, it is permissible. Now, if you say that to a kur of thirty saahs, each saah for a selah, title is given for each saah measured, it ought to be the same with the days in question--for each working day a dinar shall be charged, and when the harvest comes he shall add every day for the increase in price at that time, and by not doing so it is to be considered usury? Said Rabha: Whence did you obtain that it is not permissible to one to lower the price for his work? Hence this does not contradict the statement of Rabh and Samuel at all. But if so, why is there a difference between the first part of the Boraitha and the latter? In the first part it does not say: Work from to-day. And if he begins his work at the harvest-time for a lower price, it looks usurious, as he has lowered the price for advancing the money. In the second part, however, where he begins to work immediately, and works every day for the same price, it cannot be considered usury if he does not increase the price at harvest-time.

"And the buyer pulled up some of it," etc. Because he pulled up some of it, he acquires title to the whole? Said R. Shesheth: It treats of a case in which the seller said to him: Fix something in the ground, and acquire title to all that is attached thereon.

MISHNA 9.: If one sold wine or oil, and it became dearer or cheaper, if before the measure was filled it is to be charged to the seller; and if afterwards, to the buyer. If the sale was made through a broker, and it happens that a barrel leaks, it is to be charged to the broker, and the seller is obliged to add a few drops to the measure. After the seller has turned over the measure, and some of the liquid has gathered, it belongs to the seller; the storekeeper, however, is not obliged to keep the measure until the last three drops are leaked out. R. Jehudah says that on the eve of Sabbath, when it grows dark, one is exempt from this duty.

GEMARA: Let us see to whom the measure in question belongs? If to the buyer, why should it be charged to the seller, even if it was not filled; and if to the seller, why should it be charged to the buyer, even if it was filled up? Said R. Ilaah: It speaks of when the measure was the broker's. But does not the Mishna state in the latter part, "if there was a broker," from which it is to be inferred that the first part means without a broker? The first part speaks of the broker's measure in his absence; and the latter, in his presence.

"After the seller has turned over the measure," etc. When R. Elazar reached Palestine, he met Zeeri and asked him- Is there here some scholar whom Rabh has taught the laws about measures? And he showed to him R. Itz'hak b. Abdimi. And be asked him: What is your difficulty? The statement of our Mishna, which says that this belongs to the seller, and another: If, of troomah which was given to the priest, after the barrel was turned over and leaked out there was still some remainder, it is troomah (hence we see that it belongs to the buyer)? And he answered: This presents no difficulty, as additional to our Mishna was taught by R. Abuhu: The reason is that usually the seller renounced his right to such a trifle (which cannot be said there, as who can renounce troomah?).

"The storekeeper," etc. The schoolmen propounded a question: Does R. Jehudah with his statement mean to say that the wholesaler is exempt from adding the drops on the eve of Sabbaths, therefore being more lenient than the first Tana, or does he mean the storekeeper, and is rigorous, as he exempts him on the eve of Sabbaths and not on week-days? Come and hear the following Boraitha, which states plainly: R. Jehudah said on the eve of Sabbaths the storekeeper is exempt, for he is then busy.

MISHNA 10.: If one sends his little son to the storekeeper with a pundiun (dupondius) to buy one issar's worth of oil and to get one issar change, and the storekeeper so acts, but the child loses the issar and breaks the glass containing the oil, the storekeeper is responsible. R. Jehudah, however, frees him, as for this purpose the child was sent. The sages, however, admit that when the glass was in the hand of the child and the storekeeper poured the oil into it, the storekeeper is free.

GEMARA: It is correct, in their difference concerning the oil and the change of the issar, that according to the rabbis the child was sent only to notify the storekeeper of his want, so that the storekeeper shall supply it, and according to R. Jehudah that it was sent to bring it; but why should the storekeeper be responsible for the glass, which the father should not have intrusted to the child, who was unable to take care of it? Said R. Houshiah: The Mishna treats of when the sender was a glass-dealer, and the storekeeper took it to examine it and it broke. And it is in accordance with Samuel, who said elsewhere that if one takes a vessel to a specialist for examination, and it was destroyed by an accident, the latter is responsible. Is it to be assumed that in this simple statement of Samuel the Tanaim differ? Therefore said both Rabba and R. Joseph: It treats of when the storekeeper was a glass-dealer also, and he gave the glass to the child; and R. Jehudah's decision that the sender is nevertheless responsible for the glass also is because it was sent for the purpose of bringing the oil (and as the father gave no vessel, the storekeeper did only what was demanded); and the rabbis are in accordance with their theory that the storekeeper had to supply. But if so, how is the latter part, "If the glass was in the hand of the child," etc., to be understood? Is it not said that the child was sent only to notify him? Therefore Abayi and R. Hanina, sons of Abin, both said: The Mishna speaks of a case in which the storekeeper took the glass to measure with (and although the storekeeper had not requested that such should be sent to him, as soon as he took it for the purpose of measuring he is responsible). And this is in accordance with Rabba, who said (Middle Gate, p. 69): "If he has struck the animal, although he was not obliged to return it, he is responsible. But Rabba's statement was concerning a living thing, which usually runs away when struck. Have you also heard him stating in such a case as ours? Therefore said Rabha: I and the lion of our society, which is R. Zera, have explained thus: The Mishna treats of when the storekeeper took the glass for measuring to other customers--and the point of their differing is, "a borrower without consent." According to one, he is considered a robber and is responsible; and according to the other, he is considered a borrower who is not responsible for an accident.

The text says: Samuel said: "If one took a vessel from a specialist, to examine it, he is responsible for an accident." This is only when the price of the article was fixed.

There was a man who entered a butcher shop and lifted up a shoulder of meat, and while examining it a crusher came and took it away from him; and when the case came before R. Ziemar, he made him responsible, as the price for it was already made.

There was a man who brought cucumbers to the city of Pumnahara, and a crowd arriving, each of them took one for the purpose of buying, but the seller could not see of whom to demand the money. And he exclaimed, "All of them are consecrated for heaven." When the case came before R. Kahana, he decided that one cannot consecrate a thing not belonging to him (and as the price for each cucumber was fixed and they were in the hands of the buyers, they had acquired title to them even before paying; but if the price were not fixed, they would be still under the control of the owner and the consecration valid).

The rabbis taught: If one were examining herbs in the market, selecting from them and putting the same aside, even if he did so the whole day title is not acquired, and there is no obligation for tithe. (It treats of when the seller was one of the common people who was suspicious that he did not separate tithe therefrom.) If, however, he had made up his mind to buy, title is acquired, and they become a subject for tithe. In case of reconsidering he has no right to return, because they are already a subject obligatory for tithe; and also he has no right to separate the tithe if he intended to return, as he would diminish the value. Therefore he can do no other than separate the tithe and pay the owner for them.

But is it so, that because one has made up his mind to buy he acquires title and makes a thing subject for tithe? Said R. Houshiah: The Boraitha treats of one who fears heaven like R. Saphra, who always acted as it is written [Ps. xv. 2]: "And speaketh the truth in his heart."

MISHNA 11.: The wholesaler has to clean his measures once within thirty days (because the stuff sticks to them and impairs accurate measuring). A retailer, however, has to do so once within twelve months. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, however, maintains that the reverse is the case. (With the wholesaler, who measures continually, the stuff does not stick, and it is sufficient to clean them once within a year; but with the retailer, who does not measure continually, the stuff sticks, and he is obliged to clean them once within thirty days.) The storekeeper must do the same with his measures twice a week, and the weights once a week (as he takes hold of them with wet hands, and consequently they become heavier, and when he buys something, in weighing the stuff he deceives the seller). The scales, however, he must clean before each weighing thereon. Said R. Simeon b. Gamaliel: All this is said when he sells liquids, but otherwise it is not necessary. The storekeeper is obliged to bend the cross-bit the size of a span to the scale that contains the stuff sold (in case he sells a litra or more). If, however, he weighs strictly, he must give him the overweight due--one-tenth of a liquid and one-twentieth of a dry thing. Where it is customary to measure with small measures, one must not do it with large ones, and vice versa. Where it is customary to smooth the measures, it must not be heaped; and to heap, it must not be smoothed.

GEMARA: Whence is all this deduced? Said Resh Lakish: From [Deut. xxv. 15] "A perfect and just weight shalt thou have"; and as the word "just" is superfluous, it is to be explained thus: justify the perfect measure from thy own. If so, how is the latter part, "if he weighs strictly," to be understood? (If it is a biblical obligation to add to the exact weight, tow can it be allowed to weigh strictly?) Therefore it must be aid that the first part of the Mishna treats of places where it is o customary, and the interpretation of Resh Lakish refers to he latter part, which states that he must give him the overweight. And to the question, Whence is this deduced? Resh Lakish interpreted the above-cited verse. And how much shall the overweight be? Said R. Abba b. Mamal in the name of Rabh: A tenth of a litra in liquid to a quantity of ten litras.

"One-tenth to liquid," etc. The schoolmen propounded a question: Does it mean one-tenth of a liquid to ten wet measures and one-twentieth to twenty dry measures, or one-tenth to ten liquid and to twenty dry ones? This question was not decided.

R. Levi said: The punishment for false measuring is harder than for adultery, as concerning the first the expression in Scripture is [Lev. xviii. 24], "with all," and the latter [Deut. xxv. 16], "with iele." And whence is it inferred that these words mean hard punishment? From [Ezek. xvii. 13]: "But the mighty (iele) did he take away."

And what is the reason? Concerning adultery one can atone by repentance, which is not the case with an unjust measure, as he cannot know whom he has cheated, in order to make amends.

The same said again: It is harder for the cheating of a commoner than for the cheating of the sanctuary, as the punishment for robbing a common man is more severe than for robbing the sanctuary. 1 Concerning a commoner it is written [Lev. 5:21]: "If any person sin and commit a trespass against the Lord--if, namely, he lie unto his neighbour . . . in a thing taken away," etc. Hence even in the beginning of the deception the passage calls him sinner, while concerning the robbing of the sanctuary [ibid., ibid. 14:15], "If any person commit a trespass," etc., he is not called sinner at the time he took it, unless he derived benefit therefrom.

The rabbis taught: Whence is it deduced that it must not be smoothed where the custom is heaping, and vice versa? From [Deut. 25:15]: "A perfect and just measure shalt thou have." And whence is it deduced that if one say, where the custom is not to smooth, "I will smooth and diminish the amount," or, in places where it is smoothed, "I will heap and increase the amount," he must not be listened to? From the same cited verse and from the superfluous word "just," as stated above.

The rabbis taught: Whence is it deduced that one must not weigh accurately where it is customary to add to the weight, and vice versa? From the same cited verse: "perfect and just weight." And if one cared to do otherwise than according to custom, and pay the difference? He must not be listened to, as said above.

Said R. Jehudah of Sura: It is written [ibid., ibid. 14]: "Thou shalt not have in thy house," etc. (the term "in thy house," which is superfluous, is to be interpreted thus: thou shalt not have money in thy house, for the purpose of smoothing where it is the custom of heaping, and vice versa, or for overweight, etc.), because this would bring one to keep in his house two divers measures. And the same explanation is to be given to [ibid., ibid. 13]: "As it is desired of every one to have one weight and one measure, just and perfect."

The rabbis taught: From the same verse is to be inferred that gradums must be appointed to investigate measures, but not to investigate prices. The Exilarchs used to appoint gradums for both (measures and prices). And Samuel said to Karna: Go and lecture to them that gradums should be appointed for measures only. He, however, lectured that for both (measures and prices) gradums must be appointed. And Samuel cursed him for this. However, Karna did it in accordance with Rami b. Hama, who said in the name of R. Itz'hak: Gradums should be appointed for measures as well as for prices, because of cheating.

The rabbis taught: If one desires a litra, a half, or a quarter, it may be given to him with its weight, but for less than this no weight should be made; but he may give it to him according to the money or by weight of coins.

The rabbis taught: If one desires three-quarters of a litra, he has no right to demand one shall weigh him each quarter separately (and give him overweight to each of them); but one may weigh him a litra, and leave the fourth quarter for overweight. The same is the case if he needs ten litras: he has no right to demand he shall weigh him each litra separately with an overweight; but he weighs him all the ten in one scale, and gives one overweight to all.

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The rabbis taught: The scales must be hanging three spans in the air--i.e., three spans from the ceiling or three spans from the ground; and the cross-bit with the cords of the scales must be the size of twelve spans; for wool and glassware two spans, and the cross-bit with cords of the scale nine spans; the storekeeper and privates, however, one span, and the cross-bit with cords of the scale six spans; and for gold and silver three fingers in the air, and of the cross-bit and the cord of the scales I do not know the size (the Tana of this Boraitha says so).

(Says the Gemara:) For what purpose is the first-mentioned scale of which it is not stated what should be weighed upon it? Said R. Papa: For gravita (of iron and copper smiths, who weigh pieces of one hundred litras on one scale., according to others, their filings).

Said R. Mani b. Patish: The same sizes of scales are needed to make a subject for defilement (this will be explained in the proper place).

The rabbis taught:. Weights must not be made of tin, lead, cassiterite, or other kinds of metal, but they may be made of granite or glass.

The rabbis taught: The roller for smoothing must not be made from a melon stem, as it is too light; nor of iron, as it is too heavy; but of olive, nut, sycamore, or box tree.

The rabbis taught: The roller must not be made thick at one end and narrow at the other; one must not strike rapidly, because this would be a benefit for the buyer and a disadvantage to the seller; and also not too slow, which is a disadvantage to the buyer and beneficial to the seller. And to all this was said by Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai: It would be painful to me to declare the art of measuring, as this would serve as a lesson for swindlers, and also painful not to declare it, as swindlers would say that the rabbis have no idea of the art of our profession.

And to the question of the schoolmen: Did R. Johanan declare so, or not? said R. Samuel b. R. Itz'hak: He did; and on the basis of the following verse [Hos. 15:10]: "For righteous are the ways of the Lord, and the just shall walk in them, but the transgressors will stumble through them." 1

Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: One must not keep in his house an unjust measure, even if he uses it for a chamber. Said R. Papa: This is said of places where measures are not stamped; but in places where they are it does not matter, for no one would take a measure without being stamped. And even where they are not stamped, it is prohibited to keep them when they are not examined by the government; but if they are, it does not matter.

(Says the Gemara:) In reality, however, it is not so, as it may happen that one may measure with it by twilight. And so also we have learned in a Boraitha: One must not keep in his house an unjust measure, even if he uses it for a chamber. He may, however, keep a saah, a tarkab, a half of it; a kab, a half, or a quarter of it; a thuman or a half of it; and an ukla. [And how much is an ukla? A fifth of a lug.] And of liquids--a hin, a half, a third a quarter; a lug, a half, a quarter, and an eighth, and an eighth of an eighth, which is named kartub. But why is it not allowed to keep a measure of two kabs? for one may take it for a tarkab. We see, then, that a mistake can be made in a third. Then it ought not to be allowed to keep a kab, as we may take it for a half tarkab. Therefore we must say that a measure of two kabs is not allowed, for one may take it for a half tarkab. We see, then, that a mistake can be, made in a quarter, as a half tarkab measures a kab and a half. Why, then, is it allowed to keep a half thuman and ukla? Said R. Papa: Small measures are known to the people, and no mistake can be made. But why is it allowed to keep a third and a quarter of a hin? Because these measures were used in the Temple, the rabbis would not care to prohibit them. But why were they not prohibited in the Temple also? Because the priests were always careful.

Samuel said: If the elders of the city want to enlarge the measures, it must not be more than a sixth of them; and the same is the case when they want to enlarge a coin. And the seller should not fix his profit at more than a sixth (provided the price of the stuff has not increased; but if it has, then the profit may be even twofold).

Let us see what is the reason of Samuel's decision? Shall we assume that the reason is, if the wholesalers do not increase the price more in proportion, then they may do so even when it is enlarged to one-sixth exactly? And if the reason is not to make void the sale (as exacting more than a sixth makes the sale null and void)? Did not Rabha say: Every sale by measure, weight, or number, if there should be an exaction of even less than the law prescribes, it may be retracted? Therefore it must be said that the reason is that an outside seller should not suffer any damage (i.e., if an outside seller, who is not aware of the increase, sells for the same price as before, and his profit is usually a sixth, if it was enlarged to a sixth only then he derives no profit, but neither does he suffer any damage in the cost price). Is that so? Does not the seller need to make profit on his sale? Should one who sells at cost be called a merchant? Therefore said R. Hisda: Samuel took as a basis for his decision the following verse [Ezek. 45:12]: "And the shekel shall be twenty gerahs: (in pieces of) twenty shekels, five and twenty shekels, fifteen shekels, shall be your maneh." Was, then, a maneh sixty shekels, which makes two hundred and forty zuz? Therefore from this verse may be inferred three things: (a) That the maneh of the sanctuary was in value twice as much as the common shekel; (b) that it is allowed to increase a sixth, but not more; and (c) that the sixth may be added even from outside (e.g., to add ten to fifty, so that the sixth may be reckoned after being added, as the maneh of Ezekiel is sixty shekels, while a maneh in general contains twenty-five shekels).

R. Papa b. Samuel made a kielah of three kpiz. 1 And to the question: Did not Samuel say there must not be added more than a sixth? answered he: I have invented a measure entirely new. He sent it to Pumbeditha, and it was not accepted; but the city of Papunia accepted it, and called it Rus-Papa (i.e., the measure of Papa).

The rabbis taught: "Those who forestall fruit," etc. (here as in Derech Eretz--Rabba, Vol. 9.). Those who forestall fruit--who are meant thereby? Said R. Johanan: People like Sabbati, the forestaller of fruit (whose custom was to buy fruit only for the purpose of selling it to the poor at a high price; but if one buys fruit at the cheap season not for this purpose, and the price increases, and he sells it at the existing price, it does not matter). The father of Samuel used to buy grain at harvest-time, and sold it at the same price. Samuel his son, however, used to store up the grain he bought in harvest until the price became higher, and then sold it at the same price as in harvest-time. And from Palestine a message was sent that the acts of the father were more meritorious than those of his son. Why so? Because through the acts of the father the wholesaler could not increase the price, while the acts of the son did not prevent the increase of price, and his selling cheap could not affect the high price which was already fixed.

Rabh said: One may store up the grain he has harvested from his field (as it is prohibited only to buy in the market at harvest-time for the purpose of increasing the price). And so we have also learned in the following Boraitha: One must not forestall fruit, grain, etc., by which a livelihood is made, as, e.g., wine, oil, and fine flour; but spices, pepper, etc., one may. This is said, however, if one buys it from the market; but from one's own field it is allowed to store everything. One is also allowed to store up in Palestine for the following three years--for the eve of a Sabbatic year, for the Sabbatic year itself, and for the succeeding year (as in the last year people must wait for the new crop). In famine years, however, even a kab of carobs must not be stored up, for it produces a curse to the prices. R. Jose b. Hanina said to Puga his servant: Go, store up for me grain for three years--for the eve of the Sabbatic year, the Sabbatic year itself, and the succeeding year.

The rabbis taught: There must not be exported from Palestine things by which a livelihood is made, as wine, oil, and fine meal. R. Jehudah b. Bathyra allows to export wine, because it diminishes intoxication; and even from Palestine to Syria the export of the above is prohibited. Rabbi, however, allows export from the last province of Palestine to the first province of Syria which bounds it.

The rabbis taught: One must not buy from the farmer things by which a livelihood is made for the purpose of selling in the market at a higher price in the provinces of Palestine; but for the farmer himself it is allowed to sell in the markets.

It was said, however, that R. Elazar b. Azarya used to sell wine and oil to the retail dealers, and they sold it at a higher price; and the reason was, that he holds with R. Jehudah concerning wine; and oil was abundant in the markets of his place, so that the retail dealers could not affect the price.

The rabbis taught: One must not derive twice a profit on eggs. Said Mari b. Mari: In the interpretation of the Boraitha Rabh and Samuel differ. According to one, it means one shall not double the price; and according to the other, it means one seller shall not sell it to another seller so that he has profit, and the seller in the market will also make a profit--but he himself must sell it in the market.

The rabbis taught: It may be prayed by blowing of horns, even on Sabbath, when business becomes dull. Said R. Johanan: This is to be done in case remnants of flax become very low in Babylon, and wine and oil in Palestine. Said R. Joseph: Provided that the stuff was lowered to near half-price.

The rabbis taught: One must not emigrate from Palestine to other provinces, unless the price of grain has increased to the extent of a selah for two saahs. Said R. Simeon: This is only when one could not find any grain at all to buy; but if he can get it even at the price of a selah for each saah, one must not emigrate. And so also was the opinion of R. Simeon b. Johai, who used to say that Elimelech, Mahlon, and Kilyon were the great men of their generation, and were their leaders; and they were punished only because they emigrated from Palestine. As it is written [Ruth, 1:19]: "All the city was in commotion about them, and people said, Is this Naomi?" And to the question: What does it mean? said R. Itz'hak: It means: See what has become of Naomi, who emigrated from Palestine.

He said again: At that day when Ruth reached Palestine, the wife of Boaz had died; and this is what people say, that before the deceased departed the substitute for managing the house was already prepared. Rabba b. R. Huna in the name of Rabh said: Boaz is identical with Ibzan. What came be to teach us? That which was said in his name elsewhere, viz.: One hundred and twenty banquets Boaz made for his children. As it is written [Judges, 12:9]: "And he had thirty sons, and thirty daughters he sent abroad, and thirty daughters he brought in for his sons from abroad," etc. And at each marriage two banquets were given--one in the father's and one in the father-in-law's house--and to not one of them did he invite Manoah, saying: What return can I expect of this childless man? And there is a Boraitha that all the children died when he (Boaz) was still alive. And he remarried and begat one who was better than all the sixty, the same was Obed, who was born by Ruth, from whom David descended.

R. Hanan b. Rabha in the name of Rabh said: Elimelech, Shalman the kinsman, [Ruth, iv. i] and the father of Naomi all were the descendants of Nahshon ben Aminadab. To what purpose was it said? To teach that even him who is a descendant of such great men, the meritorious acts of his parents do not absolve him when he emigrates from Palestine. The same said again in the name of the same authority: The name of Abraham's mother was Amthlai bath Khrubu, and the name of Haman's mother was Amthlai bath Urbthi; the name of the mother of David was Nzb'th bath Edal; the mother of Sampson, Z'llpunith, and his sister N'shiin. To what purpose was this said? For an answer to the Epicuristen (who deny all the legends of the Bible, saying, for instance: If Abraham existed, why was his mother's name not mentioned, as doubtless his father had many wives, and the mother of Abraham should be distinguished, the same being the case with the others mentioned above? and we answer them that all their names are known to us traditionally).

The same said again in the name of the same authority: Abraham our father was in prison ten years three in the city of Khutha and seven in Qurdu. R. Dimi of Nahardea, however, taught the reverse (seven in Khutha and three in Qurdu; some say that he was imprisoned by Nimrod and others by his father, because he broke his idols). R. Hisda said: The city Eibra-Zeira of Khutha is the city Ur Kasdim mentioned in the Bible.

R. Hanan b. Rabha in the name of Rabh said again: On the day when Abraham our father departed from this world, all the great men of the nations stood up in a file and said: Woe to the world, that has lost its leader! and woe to the ship, that has lost its χυβερνηζης; (steerer)!

It is written [I Chron. 29:11]: "And thou art exalted as the head above all." And the above said in the name of Rabh: Even an officer of wells (who has to keep order in using them for watering the fields) is appointed by Heaven (i.e., that even such an insignificant office is not filled without the decree of Heaven; and he takes the verse literally, "and thou art exalted over all the heads that arc appointed by thee").

R. Hyya b. Abin in the name of R. Jehoshua b. Karsha said: Elimelech would not emigrate from Palestine, if he could get even bran-flour for use. But why was he punished? Because he ought to have prayed for his generation, which he did not. As it is written [Is. 57:13]: "By thy crying thou canst be saved with all who are gathered with thee." 1 Said Rabba b. b. Hana in the name of R. Johanan: One must not emigrate from Palestine when money is cheap, but the grain high; but if vice versa, even when the price of four saahs is only one selah, one may. As R. Johanan said: I remember a time when there were four saahs for one selah, and there were many who starved, as they did not have an issar. And he said again: I remember that working people did not wish to take work on the east side of the city, as the smell of bread (which the west wind carried to them) would kill them, as they had not eaten fresh bread for a long time. The same said again: I remember when a child used to break a piece of carob, threads of honey would leak out and moisten his hands. R. Elazar said: I remember, when a raven would catch a piece of meat, a thread of fat would be seen dropping from the height to the ground. R. Johanan said again: I remember times when a young girl of sixteen and a boy of seventeen walked together and did not sin. He said again: I remember what was said in college: Who yields to idolaters in discussion, the end will be that he will fall into their hands; and he who confides in them, all that he possesses will remain in their hands.

It is written [Ruth, 1:2]: "Mahlon and Kilyon," and in [1 Chron. 4:22]: "Joash and Saraph." Rabh and Samuel differ. One said that the real names were Mahlon and Kilyon; but why were they named Joash and Saraph? Joash, because they despaired of redemption, and Saraph, because they were liable to burning. And the other says their real names were Joash and Saraph; and why were they named Mahlon and Kilyon? Mahlon, because they made themselves very common by their emigration, and Kilyon, because they were liable to destruction. 1

It seems that Mahlon and Kilyon were their real names, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: It is written [ibid., ibid.]: "And Jokim and the men of Coseba, and Joash and Saraph, who had dominion in Moab and Jashubi-lechem. And these are ancient things."

Jokim means Joshua, who had confirmed the oath which was given to the men of Gibeon; and "the men of Coseba" 2

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means the men of Gibeon, who lied before Joshua. Joash and Saraph were Mahlon and Kilyon; and why were they named Joash and Saraph? Because they despaired of redemption, and for this they were liable to burning. "Who had dominion in Moab" means that they had married daughters of Moab. "And Jashubi-lechem" means Ruth the Moabitess, who had returned and was attached to Beth-Se'hem. "And these are ancient things" means the above was said by Him who is older than the days. As it is written [Ps. 89:21]: "I have found David my servant." It is also written [Gen. 19:15]: "And thy two daughters, that are found." It is written [1 Chron. 4:23]: "These were the potters (Hayozrim), and those that dwelt in plantations and sheepfolds; for the king's sake, to do his work, they dwelt there." Hayozrim means the children of Jonadabh b. Rechab, who preserved the oath of their father. "In plantations" means the king Solomon, who was a plant in his kingdom. Vegidroh (sheepfolds) means the Sanhedrin, who had fenced the broken partition of Israel. "For the king's sake," etc., means Ruth the Moabitess, who lived to see the kingdom of Solomon her great-grandson. As it is written [1 Kings, 2:19]: "And placed a chair for the king's mother." And R. Elazar said that it means "to the mother of the kingdom."

The rabbis taught: It is written [Lev. 25:22]: "Shall ye eat yet of the old harvest," which means without need of preserving. How is this to be understood? Said R. Na'hman: It will not be worm-eaten. And R. Shesheth said: It will not be singed. There is a Boraitha in accordance with R. Na'hman: "Of the old harvest," lest one say that Israel must wait for the new crop, as the old has already gone, therefore it is written [ibid., ibid.]: "Until its harvest come in," which means, until the harvest shall come by itself (and he will not need to take it before it is ripe, and make it fit for use by drying).

And there is also a Boraitha in accordance with R. Shesheth: "Ye shall eat yet from the old harvest," lest one say that Israel would have to wait for the new harvest because the old one became spoiled, therefore it is written, "Until its harvest come in," which means that the old will suffice until the new shall come in its natural way, without any need to take it before it is ripe.

The rabbis taught: It is written [ibid. 26:10]: "And ye shall eat very old store." From this may be inferred that a thing that is older is better, but this is said of things which are used to be preserved. But whence do we know of things which are not to be preserved? Therefore it is written: "Joshon Noshon" (literally, old, old) [ibid., ibid.],"and the old ye shall remove because of the new," from which is to be inferred that at that time all their granaries were filled up with the old crop and their barns with the new. And Israel used to say: "Why should we remove the old, which is as good as the new, for the latter?"

Said R. Papa: All old things are good, except dates and the beer thereof, and harsnah (a dish at that time used by the poor--see Aboda Zara, 73a).

Rabba said: I Sailors told me the wave that usually makes the ship sink is visible by a ray of whitish light, and we struck it with a stick, upon which is engraved, "I will be that I will be" [Ex. 3:14]. Then it became quiet. He said again: The sailors told me that from one wave to the other are three hundred parsas, and the height of each wave is also three hundred parsas. It once happened that I was on the boat, and a wave lifted me up to such a height that I could see the basis of a little star, and in my eyes it looked as a space where forty saahs of mustard could be sown. Should the wave have lifted me up higher, I would have been burned by the heat of that star; and I heard a voice, one wave speaking to the other: My colleague, did you leave something in the world which thou hast not destroyed, that I may accomplish it? And the answer was: Go and see the Might of thy Master, as there is only one row of sand that separates the sea from the land; and yet I could not step over it. As it is written [Jer. 5:22]: "Will ye not fear me? saith the Lord; will ye not tremble at my presence, who have placed the sand as a bound for the sea by an everlasting law, which it never can pass over? and though the waves thereof be upheaved, yet can they not prevail; though they roar, yet can they not pass over it."

He said again: I have seen Hurnim bar Lilith, who jumped on the top of brick-houses of the city of Mehusa, and was running so fast from one to the other that a rider could not overtake him. Once it happened that two mules were saddled for him on the two bridges over the river Druggring, which were far from each other, and he jumped continually from one saddle to the other, while holding two cups of wine, pouring from one into the other continually without spilling one drop, and this day was such a stormy one, as illustrated [Ps. 107:28], until the government took notice of him, and he was slain. 1

He said again: I have seen a roebuck one day old, which was like the mountain of Tabur, which measures four parsas; and the length of its neck was three parsas and the space covered by its head one and a half parsas; and when it emitted excrement it stopped the Jordan.

Rabba b. b. Hana said again: I have seen an alligator as large as the city of Hagrunia, which contained sixty houses. A snake came and swallowed it, and a large-tailed raven came and swallowed the snake, and then the raven sat on a tree. Come and see how strong was that tree! R. Papa b. Samuel said: If I had not been there, I should not have believed it.

Rabba said again: At one time when on board of a ship I saw a fish into whose gills a reptile crept from which it died, the sea throwing it out on land. And sixty streets were destroyed by its fall, and sixty streets consumed its flesh, and sixty other streets salted the flesh that was left; and from one eye they filled three hundred measures of oil; and when I returned thither after twelve months, I saw its bones being sawed to restore the streets that were destroyed by it.

He said again: At one time I was on board of a ship, which was driven between two fins of a fish, three days and three nights the fish was swimming against the wind and we were sailing with the wind [and lest one say that the ship did not go fast enough, when R. Dimi came from Palestine, he said that ft was so fast that in the time of heating a cumcuma of water the ship ran sixty parsas, and a rider shooting an arrow at the same time could not be swifter than the ship]. And R. Ashi said that this was one of the smallest fishes of the sea which has two fins.

The same Rabba said again: It once happened that I was going on a boat, and saw a fish on which sand was gathered and grass grown thereupon. And we thought it was an island, descended, baked and cooked upon it. When the back of the fish grew hot, it turned over, and had the ship not been so near we would have been drowned.

The same Rabba said again: At one time while on board of a ship I saw a bird which was standing in water that reached only up to its toes; its head, however, reached the sky, and we thought the water was shallow, so we were about to bathe there, when we heard a heavenly voice. Do not go down, for a carpenter here lost an axe seven years ago, and still it has not reached the ground--not because it is so deep, but because of the current. Said R. Ashi: This bird is the Zeez Sodai mentioned in Ps. l. 11.

Rabba b. b. Hana said again: It happened once, while in the desert, that I saw geese of which the feathers fell out owing to their fatness, and a whole river of fat was beneath them, and to my question, "Have I a share in you in the world to come?" one of them lifted up its wing, and one of them a foot. When I told this to R. Elazar, he said: Israel will be punished for them, as by his sin Messiah does not come, and the geese must endure their fatness.

The same Rabba said again: Once while in the desert we were accompanied by an Arabian merchant who used to take a clod of earth, smell it, and say: This way leads to such a place, and this to such a one. And we asked him: How far are we from water? And he smelt the earth, saying: Eight parsas. Thereafter we gave him other earth to smell, and he said: Three parsas. I changed the clods of earth, but we could not deceive him, and he said to me: Come with me. I will show you the corpses of the dead in the desert at the time of Moses. I did so, and their appearance was as fresh as if they went to sleep while drinking. All of them were lying on their backs. The foot of one of them, however, was lifted up, and the merchant, while riding and holding a spear in his hand, passed beneath it, without reaching the joint of his knee. I took and cut off a corner of one's taliths, 1 in which were tsitsith. Then neither we nor our cattle could stir. Said the merchant to me: Perhaps you have taken something belonging to the dead, as I have a tradition that if one takes something from them he cannot stir. When I told this to the rabbis, they said: The whole Abba is an ass, and the whole Bar Bar Hanah is nonsense (all his stories are). For what purpose didst thou take it? To know with whom the Halakha concerning tsitsith prevails--whether with the school of Shammai 2 or with the school of Hillel? Then thou oughtest to have investigated their tsitsith by counting the threads and knots. Then (continued Bar Bar Hanah) the merchant said to me: Come and I will show you the mountain of Sinai. I followed him, and saw that it was surrounded by serpents. All of them were standing, and looked like white asses. I also heard a heavenly voice saying: Woe is me that I have sworn; and now after having so done, who will absolve me from that oath? When I told this before the rabbis, they said again: The whole Abba is an ass, etc. Why didst thou not say: Thou art absolved, thou art absolved? [He, however, did not do so, because he thought: Perhaps it means the oath for the deluge, referring to what is written in Is. liv. 9: "As I have sworn that the waters of Noah," etc. The rabbis, however, were right in accusing him, as if it were about the deluge, why, then, "woe is me"?] The same merchant said to me: Come and I will show you the place where the children of Korah were swallowed. And I saw two crevices in the ground from which smoke issued. I took a piece of wool, wetted it with water, put it on my spear, placed it in the crevice, and when I took it out it was smudging. And the merchant said to me: Stoop down and hear. And I heard them saying: Moses and his Torah are true, and we are liars. Said the merchant to me: Each thirtieth day of the month, Gehenna turns them over here, like meat in a kettle, and they (the swallowed) repeat the above.

He said again to me: Come and I will show you where the sky and earth meet. I followed him, took my basket, and put it on the window of the sky. After praying, I searched for it but could not find it. Then I said to the merchant: Are there, then, thieves here? And he answered: It was the wheel of the sky which took it with it. Wait until to-morrow at this same time and you will find it.

R. Johanan used to tell: Once while on board of a boat I saw a fish which raised its head out of the water, and its eyes looked like two moons; water was pouring from both of its nostrils like the two rivers of Sura.

R. Saphra used to tell: Once while on board of a boat I saw a fish which had horns raising up its head from the water, and on its horns was engraved thus: "I am of the small creatures in the sea and measure three hundred parsas, and I am going into the mouth of the leviathan." Said R. Ashi: This is a sea-goat that digs with its horns the ground of the sea.

R. Johanan told again: Once while on board of a boat I saw a χαρταλος; (a kind of basket) which was set with diamonds and pearls and surrounded by a kind of fish called karshah, and a diver descended in order to catch it; but the basket made a motion and threatened to break his leg. He, however, threw a leather bag containing vinegar (according to others a leather bag with sand) towards it, and the basket sank. At the same time a heavenly voice spoke to us: What business have ye with this kartilitha, which belongs to the wife of R. Hanina b. Dosa, who will deposit in it the purple for the upright in the world to come?

R. Jehudah of Mesopotamia used to tell: Once while on board of a ship I saw a diamond that was encircled by a snake, and a diver went to catch it. The snake then opened its mouth, threatening to swallow the ship. Then a raven came, bit off its head, and all water around turned into blood. Then another snake came, took the diamond, put it on the carcass, and it became alive; and again it opened its mouth, in order to swallow the ship. Another bird then came, bit off its head, took the diamond, and threw it on the ship. We had with us salted birds, and we wanted to try whether the diamond would bring them to life, so we placed the gem on them, and they became animated, and flew away with the gem.

The rabbis taught: It happened with R. Eliezer and R. Jehoshua who were on a ship, that R. Eliezer was asleep and R. Jehoshua awake. The latter became frightened, so that R. Eliezer awoke, and said: What is the matter, Jehoshua? What have you seen that frightened you? And he answered: I have seen a great light on the sea. Rejoined R. Eliezer: Perhaps you have seen the eyes of the leviathan about which is written [Job, xli. 10]: "And his eyes are like the eyelids of the morning dawn."

R. Ashi said: Huna b. Nathan told me: It happened once, while I was in the desert, and we had with us a leg of meat, that we cut it, made it legal for eating, put it on the grass, and went to gather wood for roasting. When we returned, the leg had resumed the shape it had before it was cut; and we then roasted it. When we returned after twelve months, the coals upon which it was roasted were still alive. When I told this to Amemar, he said that the grass was samtrie, that has the quality of combining things which were previously separated; and the coals were of broom-brush, which when ignited remains alive for a long, long time.

It is written [Gen. 1:21]: "And God created the great sea monsters." Here in Babylon they translate this the reem of the sea. R. Johanan, however, says: It means leviathan--leviathan male and female, as it is written [Is. 27:1]: "On that day will the Lord punish with his heavy and great and strong sword leviathan the flying serpent and leviathan the crooked serpent, and he will slay the crocodile that is in the sea."

R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh said: All that the Holy One, blessed be He, created, was male and female, and also the leviathan--the flying serpent male and the crooked serpent female; and if they should have intercourse they would destroy the world. Therefore the Lord made the male impotent, and killed the female and salted it for the upright in the world to come, as it is written [ibid.]: "And he will slay the crocodile," etc. "and also the cattle upon a thousand mountains" [Ps. 1:10]. He created them male and female, and if they should have intercourse they would destroy the world. Therefore the Holy One, blessed be He, made impotent the male and made cold the female, and preserved it for the upright in the world to come, as it is written [Job, 40:16]: "only see (how great) is the strength in his loins," meaning the male, "and his force in the muscles of his belly," meaning the female.

But why did He not make cold the female of the leviathan also? Because a salted female has a better taste. And why did He not salt the females of the cattle in question? Salted fish gives a good taste, but salted meat does not.

The same said again in the name of the same authority: At the time the Holy One, blessed be He, willed to create the world, He said to the ruler of the sea: Open thy mouth, and swallow all waters that are to be found in the world. And he said: Lord of the Universe, is it not enough that I swallow the water under my dominion? And he was therefore killed immediately, as it is written [ibid. 12]: "By his power he split in pieces the sea, and by his understanding he crushed Rahab." Said R. Itz'hak: Infer from this that the name of the ruler of this sea is Rahab, and did not the waters of the sea cover the body, not one of the creatures could remain alive owing to the

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bad smell, as it is written [Is. 11:9]: "They shall not do hurt nor destroy . . . as the waters cover the sea." Do not read "cover the sea," but "cover the ruler of the sea."

R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh said again: The Jordan discharges by the cave of Pmias. There is also a Boraitha: The Jordan discharges by the cave of Pmias, and flows to the sea of Sipchi, of Tiberias, until it reaches the ocean; and through it it flows until it reaches the mouth of the leviathan, as it is written [Job, 40:23]: "He remaineth quiet, though a Jordan rusheth up to his mouth."

Rabha b. Ula opposed: "Did not this verse speak of the cattle on the thousand mountains? Therefore," said he, "this verse must be interpreted thus: When are the cattle in question sure that they shall remain alive? When the Jordan reaches the mouth of the leviathan (i.e., so long as the leviathan lives, they are sure that they shall remain alive, as all are prepared for the world to come when the Messiah shall appear)."

When R. Dimi came from Palestine, he said in the name of R. Johanan: It is written in Ps. 24:2: "For upon seas he hath founded it, and upon rivers he hath established it." It means the seven seas and four rivers which surround the land of Israel (Palestine); and they are the sea of Tiberias, Sodom, Chirat, Chiltha, Sipchi, Aspamia, and the Ocean: these are the seven seas, and the four rivers are Jordan, Jarmuch, Kirumyun, and Phiga.

The same R. Dimi said in the name of R. Jonathan: The angel Gabriel will go hunting for the leviathan, as it is written [Job, 40:25]: "Canst thou draw out the crocodile (leviathan) with a fishhook? or cause his tongue to sink into the baited rope?" And should not the Holy One, blessed be He, help him, he would not conquer him, as it is written [ibid., ibid. 19]: "He is the first in rank . . . he that hath made him can alone bring his sword near to him."

The same said again in the name of R. Johanan: When the leviathan becomes hungry, he expels from his mouth a gas which makes boil all the waters in the deep, as it is written [ibid. 41:23]: "He causeth the deep to boil." And should he not enter his head in paradise, not one of the creatures could withstand the bad smell of the gas, as it is written [ibid., ibid.]: "He rendereth the sea like an apothecary's mixture." And when he gets thirsty, he makes the sea hollow like beds, as it is written farther on: "Behind him he causeth his pathway to shine." And R. Aha b. Jacob said: The deep does not come to its natural way before seventy years, as it is written: "Men esteem the deep to be hoary"--and hoary is not less than seventy years.

Rabba said in the name of R. Johanan: The Holy One, blessed be He, will make a banquet for the upright from the flesh of the leviathan, as it is written [ibid. 40:30]: "Yichrov 1 Olof Chahvierim." Yichrov means a banquet, as it is written [2 Kings, 6:23]: "And he prepared for them a great meal" (the expression in Hebrew being Veyichre, etc.); and Chahvierim means scholars, as it is written [Solomon's Song, 8:13]: "Companions (Chaverim) listen for thy voice," etc. And the remainder of it will be cut in pieces, and be sold in the markets of Jerusalem, as it is written [Job, 40:30]: "Divide him among merchants."

The same said again in the name of the same authority: The Holy One, blessed be He, will make a booth for the upright from the skin of the leviathan, as it is written [ibid., ibid. 31]: "Canst thou fill his skin with Soukoth." 2 If the upright is to have a booth, a booth is made for him from it; and if less, a little hut; and if still less, a necklace will be made for him, as it is written [Prov. 1:9]: "And chains for thy throat -; and if still less, an amulet will be made for him, as it is written [Job, 40:29]: "And tie him up for thy maidens"? And the remainder of the skin the Lord will spread on the walls of Jerusalem, and the brightness of it will shine from one end of the world to the other, as it is written [Is. 60:3]: "And nations shall walk by thy light, and kings by the brightness of thy shining."

It is written [ibid. 54:12]: "And I will make of kadkad (rubies) thy battlements," etc. Said Samuel b. Nahmeni: Two angels--in heaven, Gabriel and Michael, according to others two Amoraim of Palestine, and they are Jehudah and Hiskiyah the sons of R. Hyya--one says it means shoham (onyx) and others jasper, and the Holy One, blessed be He, said: Let it be as both say. [Is. 54:12]: "And thy gates," etc. This is as R. Johanan lectured while sitting: The Holy One, blessed be He will bring jewels and pearls the size of thirty ells square, twenty ells in height and ten in width, and will place them on the gates of Jerusalem. And one disciple ridiculed him: We do not even find a jewel as large as the egg of a dove, and he lectured about such sizes? Thereafter it happened that the same disciple was on a boat on the high sea, and he saw angels who sawed jewels and pearls the size of thirty ells square, boring holes in them twenty in height and ten in width. He asked them: For what purpose? And they answered: The Holy One, blessed be He, will place them on the gates of Jerusalem. And when he returned he said to R. Johanan: Lecture, Rabbi, for all you said is true, as I have myself seen. And R. Johanan said to him: Ignoramus, if you had not seen it, you would not have believed. So you would ridicule the words of the sages? He cast his eyes on him, and he became a heap of bones.

An objection was raised: It is written [Lev. 27:13]: "I will lead you qummiuth." 1 R. Meir said: It means two hundred ells, double the height of Adam the first, who was one hundred ells in height. R. Jehudah, however, said: It means one hundred ells, the size of the Temple with its walls, as it is written [Ps. 144:12]: "So that our sons may be like plants grown up in their youth, our daughters like corner-pillars, sculptured after the model of a palace." (Hence we see that according to both the height of the Temple will be one hundred ells at least. Why, then, said R. Johanan only twenty in height?) R. Johanan only meant for the windows in the gates that let in air.

Rabba in the name of R. Johanan said: The Holy One, blessed be He, will make seven canopies (chupas) for each upright, as it is written [Is. 4:5]: "And then will the Lord create upon every dwelling of Mount Zion, and upon her places of assembly, a cloud and smoke by day, and the brightness of a flaming fire by night; for over all the glory shall be a covering (chupa)." Whence we deduce that the Holy One, blessed be He, will make a chupa to each upright according to His dignity. But why smoke to a chupa? Said R. Hanina: Each one who looks with a bad eye upon the scholars in this world, his eyes will be filled with smoke in the world to come. And why fire (in the chupa)? Said R. Hanina: Infer from this that each of the upright will be burned by the chupa of his neighbour. And woe to such a burn and such a shame! (i.e., the neighbour's chupa is so beautiful and large that my chupa looks like a small hut against his). Similar to this is what is written [Num. 27:20]: "And thou shalt put some of thy greatness upon him." But not all of it. The elders of that generation used to say: The appearance of Moses was like the sun, and the appearance of Joshua like the moon. Woe to such a burn! woe to such a shame!

R. Hama b. Hanina said: Ten chupas were made by the Holy One, blessed be He, for Adam the first in paradise, as it is written [Ezek. 28:13]: "In Eden the garden of God didst thou abide; every precious stone was thy covering, the sardius, the topaz, and the diamond, the chrysolite, the onyx, and the jasper, the sapphire, the emerald, and the carbuncle, and gold.--(From the word sardius, including the word gold, are ten different kinds.) Mar Zutra says: Eleven--as he counts all the precious stones also. Said R. Johanan: The gold was less in value than all (as it is placed last). What is meant by the continuation of the same verse: "Thy tabrets and thy flutes," etc.? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: So said the Holy One, blessed be He, to Hiram the king of Tyre: When I created the world, and saw that thou wouldst rebel, deeming thyself a god, I therefore created holes and flutes in men, in order that thou shouldst be known as human. And according to others He said: "I saw that thou wouldst rebel," etc. I have therefore punished Adam the first with death, so that it should be known that thou wast human. What mean the words, "upon her places of assembly" (Isaiah, in the above cited verse)? Said Rabba in the name of R. Johanan: Jerusalem in the world to come is not like Jerusalem of this world. In the latter every one who likes to enter does so, but in that of the world to come only those invited will enter.

He said again in the name of said authority: In the world to come the upright will be named with the names of the Holy One, blessed be He, as it is written [Is. 43:7]: "Every one that is called by my name, and whom I have created for my glory, whom I have formed; yea, whom I have made."

Samuel b. Nahmeni said in the name of R. Johanan: The following three will be named with the name of the Holy One, blessed be He: the upright, as said above; the Messiah, as it is written [Jer. 23:6]: "And this is his name whereby he shall be called--The Lord Our Righteousness"; and Jerusalem, as it is written [Ezek. 48:35]: "And the name of that city shall be from that day, The Lord is there" (shamah). Do not read shamah (there), but shmah (her name).

R. Elazar said: In the future, holy will be said before the upright as now it is said before the Holy One, blessed be He, as it is written [Is. 4:3]: "And it shall come to pass that whoever is left in Zion, and he that remaineth in Jerusalem, shall be called holy--every one that is written down unto life in Jerusalem."

He said again in the name of the same authority: The Holy One, blessed be He, will increase Jerusalem three parsas, as it is written [Zech. 14:10]: "And she herself shall be elevated, and be inhabited on her former site," which means that it will be increased to its former size. And whence do you know that the size of the former Jerusalem was three parsas? Said Rabba: There was a certain old man who told me that he had seen the first Jerusalem, and the size thereof was three parsas. And lest one say that it would be difficult to ascend, therefore it is written [Is. 60:8]: "Who are these that are like a cloud," etc. Said R. Papa: Infer from this that the clouds are at a height of three parsas from the ground.

R. Hanina b. Papa said: The Lord wanted to give a measure to Jerusalem, as it is written [Zech. 2:6]: "To measure Jerusalem." And the angels said before the Holy One, blessed be He: Lord of the Universe, there are many great cities thou hast created in thy world, belonging to the nations, of which thou hast not determined their length and their breadth. For Jerusalem, upon which thy name rests, where is thy Temple, and dwell the upright, thou dost determine a measure.

[Ibid. 8]: "And he said unto him, Run, speak to this young man, saying, Without walls shall Jerusalem be inhabited, because of the multitude of men and cattle in her midst."

Resh Lakish said: The Holy One, blessed be He, will add a Litsuy (probably a suburb) to Jerusalem a thousand times the area of one containing country seats and twelve hundred T'trplirus, a thousand towers and one hundred and sixty-nine thousand gardens, and each of all that is said above will be like Ziporias in her glory. And there is a Boraitha which states: R. Jose said: I have seen Ziporias in her glory, and there were one hundred and eighty thousand markets in which only spices for dishes were sold. It is written [Ezek. 41:6]: "And the side chambers were three one over another, and thirty times." What does that mean? Said R. Levi in the name of R. Papi, quoting R. Jehoshua of Skhui: If there were three Jerusalems, each of them had thirty chambers on the top; and if thirty Jerusalems, each of them had three chambers on the top.

END OF FIRST PART OF TRACT BABA BATHRA AND OF VOL. 5. (13.).

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SYNOPSIS OF SUBJECTS OF TRACT BABA BATHRA (LAST GATE).

(PART 2)

CHAPTER 6.

MISHNAS 1. TO 8. If one sold fruit and it did not sprout, or an ox and thereafter it was found a goring one. May the trouble of slaughtering and selling the meat be taken into consideration? If an ox was found killed at the side of another pasturing one. Between majority and hazakah, which should be preferred? All hold the theory of majority. If one delivered wheat for grinding to fine meal, but the miller did not properly grind it; or if meal were delivered to a baker and he did not bake it properly. If one buys fruit, he has to accept a quarter of a kabh of dust on a saah. If he sold a cellar of wine, he must accept ten harsh barrels on each hundred. If wheat, a quarter of a kabh of peas; if barley, a quarter of chaff; if lentils, of dust. If the buyer has found more than the above prescribed quantity. The difference between a cellar and this cellar, and also if for keeping was added. May or may not wine which is sold in retail stores be considered products of the vine? If one sells wine, and it turns sour. Which wine is considered an old one. If one is proud, he is not tolerated even by his family. A commoner who disguises himself in the garment of a scholar cannot enter into the habitation of the Holy One, etc. If one sells, or a contractor undertakes to build, a wedding or a widow house. A groom who resides in the house of his father-in-law is lighter than bran, and still lighter is an invited guest who brings with him an uninvited one, and still lighter is he who answers before hearing the question. If one wishes to build a stable. If one possesses a well, situated on the other side of his neighbour's house, or a garden inside of his neighbour's. If there was a public thoroughfare through one's field, etc. If one sells a place for digging a grave, or an undertaker makes a place for one, the inside of the cave must be four by six, etc.

CHAPTER 7.

MISHNAS I. TO VI. I sell you earth of the size whereon one kur can be sown, etc., or measured with a line. In case the buyer has to make return, it shall be in money. If the seller said "the size of a kur," without any addition, how is the law? "I sell you the estate," with a measurement a trifle more or less; or, "this estate . . . with its marks and boundaries." If two versions of the seller contradict each other, which is to be considered? The difference in opinion of the Amoraim in the explanation of Mishna IV. R. Papa bought an estate said to be twenty saahs--after it was measured it was found only fifteen. To two brothers who had divided their inheritance came a third brother (of whose existence they were not previously aware). If brothers divided their inheritance, and a creditor of their father came and took away the share of one of them. If the members of the court differ in the amount, upon appraisement brought before them. "I sell you the half of the field"; "The southern half of this field," etc.--the seller has to give space for a partition, etc.

CHAPTER 8.

MISHNA 1. There are those who bequeath, and also inherit, others who inherit but do not bequeath; and also those who neither bequeath nor inherit. The passage [Num. xxvii. 8] in the Scripture does not correspond with all that is taught above. Who were the grandfathers of Pinchos ben Elazar on his mother's side. If one is about to marry, it is advisable for

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him to investigate the character of the bride's brothers, It is better for one to hire himself to Abhada Zarah (idolatry) than to rely upon people that shall support him. Abhada Zarah means "idolatry." Literally, however, it is "a strange service." Is the tribe of the mother's side equal to the tribe of the father's side? What happened to Janai and Jehudah the second when they came together? The husband from his wife. Whence is this deduced? Whence came Pinchos ben Elazar to have a mountain which his father did not possess? Whence is it deduced that the husband does not inherit the estate to which his wife during her life is only heir apparent? In the case of a gift with the ceremony of a sudarium, whether healthy or sick, what time may be given him to retract.

MISHNAS 2. TO 4. The order of inheritance is thus, etc. If one decides that a daughter shall inherit, when there is a daughter of a son, even if he were a prince in Israel, he must not be listened to. What happened to Rabban Johanan with the Sadducean? "The daughters of Z'lophchod have inherited," etc. The land, of Israel was divided among the ascendants from Egypt, and not among their children. Joshua and Caleb inherited the shares of the spies. Whence is this deduced? May or may not a disciple be honoured in the presence of his master? Why is the order in mentioning the daughters of Z'lophchod different in the Scripture? If a woman marries at less than twenty years of age, she bears children until sixty; but when she marries after forty, she does not then bear children. There were seven men who encompassed the whole world since its creation until now, etc. How was the land of Israel divided--into twelve parts, or among the people severally? The land of Israel will be divided among thirteen tribes. A son and a daughter are equal concerning inheritance, etc. How shall the double share of the first-born be counted--double as to each brother or as to the whole estate. What is the reason that Jacob took away the privilege of the first-born from Reuben and gave it to Joseph? Jacob's children, who came to Egypt, in sum you find seventy; however, if you will number them in detail, you will find only sixty-nine. In the case of inheritance of a promissory note, the first-born took a double share, etc. A first-born does not take a double share in a loan. The Palestinians, however, say he does. What is to be done with an estate bequeathed for life only, which the in. heritor has sold? A first-born does not inherit property to come in the future, and the same is the case with a husband. If the first-born protests when his brothers come to improve the estate left by their father,

MISHNAS 5. TO 7. A will which is against the law of the Scripture must not be listened to; however, if it is as a gift, it may. "My son is my first-born," he takes a double share; "My son is a first-born," he does not. "Go to Sh'kh'at my son, who is a first-born, whose spittle cures eyes." If two wives of one have born two sons in a secret place which was dark, and it is not known who was born first, they may write a power of attorney each to the other, etc. If one was known to the people as a first-born, and his father said of another, etc. A creditor may collect from bondsmen belonging to orphans for their father's debt. A second-cousin, a third-cousin, may be a witness (according to the law). If one says, "This child shall inherit all," or "My wife shall take an equal share with one of my sons," he is to be listened to. If the word "gift" was mentioned in the beginning, etc. How is this to be illustrated If one wrote, "The field on the east side shall be given to A, and B shall inherit that on the west side," is title given or not? All that is said in one speech is valid, except as to idolatry. If one says: "A shall inherit my estate," and he has a daughter, he said nothing; or, "A shall inherit my estate instead of my daughter," or, "My daughter instead of my son"--how is the law? A Halakha must not be taken for granted from a discussion or from an act, unless one is told to do so. Rabbi said: My youth made me presume to contradict Nathan the Babylonian. If one bequeath all his estates to his wife, he makes her a guardian only. (All that is said above treats of a will by a sick man.) How is it if this was done while in good health? If one has bequeathed all his estates to his sons, but has left to his wife a small portion of ground.

How is it in a similar case when one is in good health? A sick person who has bequeathed all his estate to a stranger, it is to be investigated if the latter is in some way fit to be called a direct heir. An inheritance has no interruption, and goes direct to the heirs of the inheritor. The rabbis condemned one who bequeathed his estate to strangers, leaving out his children. What happened to Shamai the elder with Jonathan b. Uziel.

MISHNAS 8. TO 12. "This is my son," he is to be trusted; "My brother," he is not. if one testify he has divorced his wife, he is to be trusted. If a short period of time, can one's testimony be divided--that for the past he should not be trusted, and for the future he should? If a sick person said to witnesses: "Write, and give a mana to so and so," and before they did so he dies. How is it if the same was said by one in good health? If one wishes to bequeath his estate to his children, etc. How if he has written "from to-day and after my death"? If a sudarium is mentioned, no matter what version was used, nothing is needed to be added. "My estates are bequeathed to you, and after you to B," etc. Who is called a crafty villain? To a gift presented by one who is dying, at what time is title given? There was a woman who had a tree on the estate of R. Bibbi b. Abayi, etc. If A said to B, "I give you this ox as a present, with the stipulation that you shall return it to me." If a sick man said, "I have a mana with so and so," the witnesses may write this, etc. The Halakha prevails that it must not be feared the court will err. The father has the right to gather the products bequeathed to his son, etc. If he left grown-up and minor sons, the grown ones have no right to derive any benefit on account of the minors, etc. How is it if a woman has borrowed money, consumed it, and thereafter she married without paying her debt, and brought estates with her at marriage? "The following is not to be returned in the jubilee year," etc. In some respects the husband should be considered as an heir, and in some respects as a buyer.

CHAPTER 9.

MISHNAS 1. AND 2. If one leave sons and daughters, if the inheritance is of great worth, the daughters must be supported from it; if a moderate one, the daughters must be supported, and the sons may go a-begging. If the estates were of great worth, but there was a promissory note in the hands of a creditor. If the deceased left a widow and a daughter, and the estates left could support only one of them. If one leave sons, daughters, and an hermaphrodite. "If my pregnant wife shall bear a male," etc. A child of one day inherits and bequeaths, etc. All that was said here was taught in the city of Sura. In Pumbeditha, however, it was taught otherwise, etc. One said, "I bequeath my estate to the children who shall be born of you by me," etc. One said, "My estate shall be for you and your children." And R. Joseph decided: One half of the estate belongs to her, and the other half to her children. There was one who had sent home pieces of silk, without any order to which member of his household they belonged.

MISHNAS 3. TO 7. If one left grown-up and minor sons, and the former improved the estate, etc. If one has made the wedding of his son in one of his houses, the son acquires title to the house, etc. Three things the rabbis enacted as laws without giving any reason. Brothers partners in business; if one of them was taken by the government to work, etc. If one of the brothers took two hundred zuz to begin the study of the Torah or to learn a trade, etc. Wedding presents may be replevined by the court. If one has betrothed a woman and dies before marriage, a virgin collects two hundred and a widow one hundred zuz. Five things were said about wedding presents: (a) They may be collected by the court; (b) they are returned at the time when the donator marries, etc. Who is like unto a wealthy man who is known to be rich by his many cattle and estates, etc.? The different explanations of Prov. 15:15. If one sends presents to the home of his betrothed's father, to the value of one hundred manas, and has partaken of the betrothal meal, even for one dinar, they are not to be returned. How is it when the presents have improved, etc.? If a sick person had bequeathed all his estates to strangers, etc. Three things Achithophel charged his sons, etc. If a sick person said: "A shall reside in such a house," or, "B shall consume the products of such and such a tree," etc. A sick person who has bequeathed all of his estates to strangers, it must be investigated how was the case. If a sick person has bequeathed all his estates to strangers and thereafter is cured. The expressions, "He shall take," "shall be rewarded." How shall it be done if he expresses himself A is the one who shall derive benefit from my estates? If a sick person has confessed, "I owe so much to so and so," shall it be taken for granted, etc.? In five cases the act of a gift is not considered unless the bequeather writes "all my estates." What is considered estates? How is the case with the Holy Scrolls--as they must not be sold, are they considered estate or not, etc.? The mother of Rami b. Hama bequeathed to him her estates on one evening. The mother of R. Amram the Pious possessed a bundle of deeds, etc. Concerning a gift in part of a sick person-in one respect it is equal to a gift by one in good health, etc. A sick person who has bequeathed all his estates to strangers, although made with a sudarium, if he was cured he may retract. If one bequeathed first to one and thereafter to another, etc.

MISHNA 8. If in the deed it was not mentioned that he was sick, and he claims that he was sick at the time of writing and had a right to retract. What kind of evidence is required, etc. It happened in the city of Bene Brack, that one sold the estate of his father and died; and his relatives complained that he was not of age when he died. What must be the age of one who has the right to sell the estates left him by his father? How is he to be considered during the nineteenth year--nineteen, which is still not of age, or twenty? There was one lad less than twenty, who had sold the estate of his father. If a lad of thirteen years and one day presented a gift to some one, his act is valid. If one divides his estates verbally, no matter if he was in good health or dangerously sick, according to R. Elazar to real estate title is given by money, etc. It happened with an inhabitant of the city of Mruni, who was in Jerusalem, that he possessed much valuable property which he desired to present to different persons, etc. If it happens that a sick person divides his estates verbally on the Sabbath, etc. Suppose a house falls upon A and his father or on any persons, that one of them has to be bequeather and the other inheritor, and it is not known who dies first. If a son has sold his share of the inheritance of his father to some one, and dies while the father was still alive, and thereafter his father died, the son of the seller has a right to take away the goods from the buyer. And this is a complicated case in the law of money matters. A son inherits from his mother when he is already in the grave, so that his brothers from his father's side should inherit from him.

CHAPTER 10.

MISHNAS 1. TO 5. A simple get (document) the witnesses must sign at the end of the contents. A folded one, however, the witnesses must sign outside, etc. In what place should the witnesses sign a folding document? If the signatures of the witnesses were separated by a space of two lines from the writing, the document is invalid; is it meant with their usual space or without? There was a folding document which came before Rabbi, and he said: "There is no date to it," etc. All must be done as is customary in the country. If there was only one witness to a simple, etc. If in the document was written "hundred zuz," which make twenty selas, etc. If on the top of the document was written "a mana," and on the bottom "two hundred zuz," or vice versa, etc. There was a document in which was written, "six hundred and a zuz," etc. There was a toll-master of a bridge who was a Jew who said to Abayi: "Let the master show me his signature," etc. A divorce may be written by the court for a husband in the absence of his wife-the husband must pay the fees. Documents of arbitrating and all other acts of mediating by the court must not be written unless both parties are present-at the expense of both. There was a receipt approved by Jeremiah b. Abba. However, the same woman came into his court to claim her marriage contract several years later, etc. If one has paid a part. of his debt, and deposited his document with some one. If it happened to one that a promissory note became erased, he must find witnesses. The approval must be written: "We three, E, F, G, the undersigned, were sitting together, and before us was brought by A, the son of B, an erased note," etc. If one comes before the court claiming that he has lost a promissory note from so and so, etc. If one has presented a gift to his neighbour by a deed, if the deed was returned by the beneficiary the gift is considered returned. The following is the order of claims before the court. The lender comes to the court to complain that the borrower does not pay his debt, etc. Concerning deeds, they may write another one without mentioning the responsibility of the seller for the estate, etc. There was a woman who gave money to one that he might buy estates for her, etc. If one came to claim a field saying that he possesses a deed, and also that it was in his possession the years of hazakah, etc. If there was any forgery in the document, or there were incompetent witnesses, the transferring is not considered.

MISHNAS 6. TO 9. If one has paid a part of his debt, according to R. Jehudah the promissory note must be changed. According to R. Jose. the lender has to give a receipt for the amount paid. The Halakha prevails neither with R. Jehudah nor with R. Jose, etc. If the document was written at the date used by the government, and such a date fell on a Sabbath or on the Day of Atonement, etc. It happened with R. Itz'hak b. Joseph, who had money with R. Abba, etc. Abba said to his scribe. "When it shall happen that you have to write a document with a later date, you must write as follows: this document was postdated by us for a certain reason," etc. If one holds a promissory note for a hundred zuz, and requests that it shall be rewritten in two notes each of fifty zuz, etc. If there were two brothers, one rich and one poor, and they inherited from their father a bath-house, or an olive-press house, if for business they must share equally; but if for private use, etc. If there are two persons who bear one and the same name, they cannot give promissory notes to each other, nor to any of the inhabitants. If a promissory note was paid, etc. If one (while struggling with death) says to his son: "A promissory note among the notes I possess is paid, but I do not remember which," etc. If one made a loan to his neighbour through a surety, he must not collect first from the surety, etc. Whether a surety has to pay or not, R. Jehudah and R. lose differ, etc. If the surety said: "Lend to this man, and I am the surety," etc. If the expression was, "Give to him, and I will return you," then has the lender nothing to do with the borrower. There was a judge who transferred the estate of the borrower to the lender. before the lender had demanded his money from the borrower, etc. There was a surety for orphans who had paid the lender before he notified the orphans. If one was put under the ban because he declined to pay his debts. If the promissory note of the deceased was in the hands of the surety, who claims to have paid the lender, etc. There was a surety for a deceased debtor to a heathen, who paid the heathen before he had demanded his debt from the Orphans. If one made himself surety to a woman for a marriage contract, etc. A sick person who has consecrated all his estates, and at the same time said "So and so has a mana

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with me," he may be trusted. A sick person who said: "A has a mana with me," and thereafter the orphans claimed that they have paid, they are to be trusted. If one borrows money on a promissory note, the lender has a right to collect from encumbered estates. If it happen that a creditor sees his debtor in the market, grapples him by the throat and one passes by and says, "Leave him alone, I will pay," he is nevertheless free, because the loan was made not upon his surety. Biblically there is no difference between a loan on a document and by word of mouth, and it should be collected from encumbered estates. A verbal loan is not collectible--neither from heirs nor from buyers. If the surety signed before the signatures, it may be collected from encumbered estates. Only a surety in the presence of the court is free from a sudarium, but all others are not.

TRACT BABA BATHRA (LAST GATE).
(PART 2.)
CHAPTER 6.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE SALE OF SEEDS WHICH BECOME SPOILED, THE QUANTITY OF DUST WHICH MAY OR MAY NOT BE ACCEPTED IN THE MEASURES OF GRAIN AND FRUIT, AND WINE WHICH BECOMES SOUR AFTER SALE BEFORE DELIVERY.--CONCERNING CONTRACTORS FOR HOUSES AND STABLES, WELLS AND GARDENS SITUATED IN NEIGHBOURS' PROPERTIES OR PUBLIC THOROUGHFARES IN PRIVATE GROUND, AND CONCERNING GRAVES AND CAVES FOR BURYING.

MISHNA 1.: If one sold fruit or grain (without any stipulation), and the buyer sowed it but it did not sprout, even if this were seed of flax, the seller is not responsible. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, however, maintains that if he sold seeds for gardens, which could not be used for eating, the seller is responsible.

GEMARA: It was taught: If one sold an ox, and thereafter it was found it was a goring one, the sale is void according to Rabh. Samuel, however, said: The seller may say: "I sold it to you for slaughtering." Let us see: If the buyer was one of those that buy for slaughtering (e.g., a butcher), why then should the sale be void according to Rabh? And if he was one who buys for working purposes (e.g., a farmer), why should the sale be valid according to Samuel? It treats of one who buys for both purposes (e.g., if he was both a farmer and a butcher). But even then, let us see the amount he paid for it, from which we can judge whether he bought for slaughtering or for work. It treats of where the meat has increased in price to the extent of the value of an ox for working. If so, what is the difference (the buyer gets the full value for his money in any case,)? The difference is, if the trouble of slaughtering and selling the meat should be taken into consideration (according to Rabh it should, and therefore the sale is void; and according to Samuel it should not). Again, let us see how was the case. If the seller has no cash to return, why, according to Rabh, should the sale be void, so that the buyer has to return the ox? Let him keep the ox for his money; as people say: "If you keep something in hand belonging to your debtor, even if it is bran, take the trouble to make money by it." It means when the seller is not lacking in cash. According to Rabh, the sale is void because the majority must always be taken into consideration, and the majority of cattle-buyers are traders; and Samuel maintains that only in prohibitory laws the majority is to be taken into consideration, but not in money matters.

Come and hear an objection from the following (First Gate, V., Mishna I.): "Should an ox gore a cow and the new-born calf be found dead at her side, and it be not known," etc. (see there, end of the Mishna, p. 106). Now, according to the theory of our Mishna, the decision of the cited Mishna would not be correct, as the majority of cattle should be taken into consideration, which conceive and bring forth living offspring. Hence the dead one found at her side is dead because of the goring. Why, then, is it considered doubtful there? The doubt was, if the ox gored the cow in front, so that the premature birth took place because of terror before goring, or if the cow was gored in the back, and the premature birth was occasioned by the goring, and therefore the extent of the injury is considered doubtful. And there is a rule that such be divided.

Shall we assume that the point of difference between Rabh and Samuel is the same as that in which the Tanaim of the following Boraitha differ? "If an ox was pasturing and another one was found killed at his side, although investigation shows that the death occurred from goring, and the pasturing ox was vicious in goring, or the death occurred from biting, and the pasturing ox was vicious in biting, it is still uncertain that this ox has gored or bitten the other." R. Aha, however, said: If there was found a camel killed at the side of a biting camel, although the latter was not yet vicious, it must be taken for a certainty that he killed the other. The schoolmen thought majority and hazakah 1 identical; for as a goring or a biting animal has a hazakah to gore, bite, and kill, it is to be taken for a certainty that the gored or bitten one found at his side was killed by him, and the same is the case with the majority. Is it not to assume that Rabh holds with R. Aha, and Samuel with the first Tana?

Nay! Rabh may say: My decision is correct, even in accordance with the first Tana of the cited Boraitha, as the reason of his decision is not majority, but hazakah"--i.e., there was not a majority of vicious oxen, but one, which had a habit (hazakah) of goring or biting, as hazakah and majority are not identical; but if there should be a majority, it would be taken into consideration. And, also, Samuel may say: My decision is correct, even in accordance with R. Aha, as his reason is the habit (hazakah) of that animal which was found near, and a majority would not be taken into consideration.

Come and hear an objection from our Mishna, which states that the seller is not responsible, even for seeds of flax. Does not the term "even" mean, although the majority is for sowing, and nevertheless it is not taken into consideration? Hence it opposes Rabh? In this point the Tanaim of the following Boraitha differ: "If one sold fruit, and the buyer has sown it but it did not sprout, if it was garden seed, which could not be used for eating, he is responsible; but if it was seed of flax, he is not." R. Jose, however, said that the seller has to return to the buyer the value of the seed, as the majority buy it for sowing only. The sages, however, answered him: There are many who buy it for other purposes.

But who of the Tanaim in this Boraitha hold not the theory of majority? Shall we assume that it means R. Jose; and the sages answered him that there are many people who buy seeds, etc.? Then all of them hold the theory of majority, but one takes into consideration the majority of the seed (i.e., the majority of seed which is bought for sowing, and the other the majority of men)? Therefore we must say that it means, the difference of opinion between the first Tana and R. Jose, or the difference of opinion between the first Tana and the sages, who answered him (i.e., the statement in the Boraitha, "and they said to him," means the first Tana, not R. Jose).

The rabbis taught: "The seller has to return to the buyer the value of the seed, but not the expenses for ploughing, sowing, etc.; according to others, however, the expenses also." Who are the others? Said R. Hisda: R. Simeon b. Gamaliel. Which R. Simeon b. Gamaliel? Shall we assume from our Mishna, which states that for seeds which could not be used for eating, he is responsible, and from the first Tana's statement, that the seller is not responsible for seeds of flax, that it is to be inferred for seeds of flax only, but for other seeds which cannot be used for eating, the Tana is also of the opinion that the seller is responsible? Then they do not differ at all. Therefore it must be said that they differ in the expenses, the first Tana holding the seller must return the value of the seeds only, and R. Simeon all the expenses also (and so R. Hisda means R. Simeon of our Mishna). But perhaps the reverse is the case--R. Simeon holds the value of the seeds only, while the first Tana holds the expenses also? This presents no difficulty; for as usual the second Tana adds something. But perhaps the entire Mishna is in accordancewith R. Simeon and is not complete, but should read thus: If one sells fruits and they were sown and did not sprout, even if they were seeds of flax, he is not responsible. Such is the decree of R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, who holds that only for garden seeds that cannot be used for eating the seller is responsible. Therefore we must say that R. Hisda means R. Simeon b. Gamaliel of the following Boraitha: "If one delivered wheat for grinding of fine meal, but the miller did not properly grind it, but made it into bruised grain or bran; or if meal were delivered to a baker and he did not bake it properly, but when he took it out it fell to pieces; or if an ox were delivered to a slaughterer, and he made it illegal, each of these persons is responsible, as they are considered bailees for hire." R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said, that they not only have to pay the damages, but also for the shame of the owner in the eyes of the guests who were invited to the meal, as well as for the shame of the guests themselves; and so the same R. Simeon used to say: There was a great custom in Jerusalem, if one ordered a banquet for guests, and the host spoiled it, he had to pay for his own shame, and for the shame of the guests. There was also another great custom in Jerusalem: "a flag was put at the door where a banquet was to be given, and the invited guests had to enter only when the flag was still at the door, but when it was taken off they were not to enter any more."

MISHNA 2.: If one buys fruit, he has to accept a quarter' of a kabh of dust on a saah; of dry figs, he has to accept ten wormy ones in a hundred; on a cellar of wine, he must accept ten harsh ones on each hundred; if he sells him earthen jugs made in Sharon he has to accept ten unglazed ones on each hundred.

GEMARA: R. K'tina taught: By a quarter of a kabh of dust is meant peas, but not earth proper. Is that so? Did not Rabba b. Hyya Ktuspha'h say in the name of Rabba: If one has cleaned off little stones from the barn of his neighbour he has to pay him the value of wheat (i.e., as if they were there, he may put them in the measure, but to put them intentionally he is not allowed)? Peas, he has to accept a quarter of a kabh on a saah, but dust he has also to accept, although a less quantity. You say less than a quarter of dust, but did not the following Boraitha state: "If one sells wheat, he has to accept a quarter of a kabh of peas on a saah; if barley, a quarter of chaff on a saah; and if lentils, a quarter of dust." Is it not to assume that a quarter of dust is to be accepted for wheat and barley also? With lentils it is different, because they are not cut, but torn out from earth, and therefore usually a great deal of dust remains with them, which is not the case with wheat and barley; but if it is so, infer from this that for wheat and barley no dust must be accepted at all, while it is stated above that less than a kabh is to be accepted? Nay, from the statement that for lentils he has to accept a quarter nothing is to be inferred; this being stated, lest one say because there is usually much dust more than this quantity is to be accepted, it comes to teach us that it is not so.

R. Huna said: If the buyer has found more than the above prescribed quantity and sieves it, he may sieve the whole quantity he bought, without leaving any dust at all, and the seller has to fill the measure without allowing for the prescribed quantity. According to some it is the strict law, as usually one gives his money for clean fruit, but if for a trifle of dust, as much as a quarter of a kabh on a saah, the buyer is not very particular and does not take the trouble to sieve it; but in our case, when he is compelled to trouble himself with sieving, he may make the whole fruit extremely clean; and according to others, it is a fine, as usually no more than a quarter of a kabh ought to be found in a saah, and when there was found more, it is presumed that the seller put it in intentionally, and therefore he is fined by the rabbis.

Come and hear an objection from the following Boraitha: "If a planter undertakes to plant a field with fruit trees, the owner of it must accept empty space for ten trees on each hundred, but if, however, it was found empty for more than this, he has to plant trees on the whole empty space." Hence is R. Huna's above statement law? Said R. Huna b. R. Jehoshua: This is not a support to R. Huna, as an empty place for more than ten trees is to be considered as a separate field, and the planter who undertook to plant the owner's fields is to be considered as if he had to begin the planting in this empty field, and therefore he has to plant the whole field, which case is not similar to that of R. Huna.

"If he sold a cellar of wine," etc. Let us see how is the case. Whether the seller said to the buyer, "I sell you a cellar of wine" or "this cellar of wine," it is a difficulty from the following Boraitha. "If he said 'I sell you a cellar of wine,' all of it must be good; if 'this cellar of wine,' he must give him wine which is sold in the retail stores; but if he said, 'I sell you this cellar,' even if it was found to be all vinegar, the sale is valid." Our Mishna speaks of the case wherein the seller said, "a cellar of wine," and there is no contradiction of the cited Boraitha as it should read, and the buyer has to accept the ten spoiled ones in the hundred. But has not R. Hyya taught: If one sells a barrel of wine, he must give the buyer all good wine? With one barrel it is different, as a barrel contains only one kind of wine; but has not R. Z'bid in the name of the school of R. Ossiah taught in "a cellar of wine" all must be good, in "the cellar of wine" the seller must give the buyer all good wine, but the latter must accept ten bad in the hundred; and this is the word Outzar ("treasure of wine") which the sages have taught in our Mishna? Therefore it must be said that our Mishna treats of the case wherein the seller said "this cellar," and the contradiction from the above Boraitha in the case, if "this cellar," presents no difficulty, as R. Z'bid says, if the seller told the buyer, "I sell you wine for keeping," and the Boraitha says the words "for keeping" were not said, and therefore (the Halakha prevails thus) if the seller said, "a cellar of wine for keeping," all of it must be good; if "this cellar of wine for keeping," the buyer must accept ten in the hundred; if "this cellar of wine," without the addition "for keeping," the seller may give the buyer wine that is sold in retail stores.

The schoolmen propounded a question; How is it if the seller said, "a cellar of wine," without the addition "for keeping"? On this point R. Aha and Rabhina differ. According to one the buyer has to accept ten in the hundred, and according to the other he has not, the one who says "he must accept" inferring it from R. Z'bid, who states in the case of "a cellar of wine," all of it must be good, and it was explained above that he speaks of the case in which the seller added "for keeping," from which it is to be inferred that if these words were not added, the buyer must accept; and the other, who says the buyer must not, infers from the above Boraitha, which states in the case of "a cellar of wine" all of it must be good; and it was explained above that the Boraitha treats of the case wherein "for keeping" was not said. But to him who infers from R. Z'bid, is not the Boraitha contradictory? He may say the Boraitha is not completed, but should read thus: This is said, if the seller told the buyer "for keeping," but if not, the buyer must accept, and if the seller said "this cellar of wine" without any addition, he may give the buyer wine which is sold in the stores; but to him who infers from the Boraitha, is not R. Z'bid contradictory who, as explained, said that the seller told the buyer the wine was "for keeping"? He may say that the same is the case if the seller did not say "for keeping," and the above explanation was only

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in order that the Boraitha and R. Z'bid might not contradict each other; in reality, however, R. Z'bid does not agree with the Boraitha.

R. Jehudah said: On wine which is sold in stores the usual benediction may be made. (The benediction is, "Blessed be Thou the Lord our God King of the Universe who hast created the products of the vine.") and R. Jehudah means to say that although the wine in stores is usually bad, it is still called the product of the vine. R. Hisda, however, said: What have we to do with such a wine (i.e., how can such wine be called a product of the vine)?

An objection was raised: In the case of moulded bread and sour wine, and any dish of which the appearance is spoiled, the benediction should be "That all is created by His words" (hence it contradicts R. Jehudah). Said R. Z'bid: R. Jehudah admits that over wine made of kernels, which is usually sold on the corners of streets, the right benediction may be said. Said Abayi to R. Joseph: "There is R. Jehudah, and there is R. Hisda, each of them with his opinion; I would like to know how is yours, master?" And he answered, "I am aware of the following Boraitha: 'If one examine a barrel of wine for the purpose of separating heave-offering from it, for all others, and he did so for a month or two, and thereafter it was found that the wine turned into vinegar, three days is considered certain, and further on doubtful.' How is this to be understood? Said R. Johanan thus: The first three days from the examination it is to be considered certainly wine, and thereafter it is to be considered doubtful. Why so? Because usually wine becomes sour from the top, and when he tasted it, it was not sour, and if you say it had become sour immediately after he tasted it, the smell only was vinegar-like, but the taste still of wine (as the sages had a tradition that less than three days from the beginning it becomes not vinegar) and such is considered wine. R. Jehoshua b. Levi, however, said that all he separated in the last three days is certainly vinegar, but previous to that it is doubtful. Why so? Because usually wine begins to turn sour from the bottom, and maybe when he tasted it it was sour already, of which he was not aware; and even should I admit that wine begins to turn sour from the top, my decision is still correct as it may be that it began to turn sour immediately after being tasted, and I hold that if it smells of vinegar, though the taste is still of wine, it must be considered vinegar" (hence according to R. Jehoshua b. Levi the wine which is sold in stores is not considered wine at all, and according to R. Johanan it is considered wine).

The sages of the South taught in the name of R. Jehoshua b. Levi thus: The first three days it should be considered as wine, the last three days as vinegar, and in the days between as doubtful. But does this statement not contradict itself? The first three days it certainly is wine, hence if the smell is of vinegar and the taste of wine, it is considered wine; and thereafter they said, the last three days it is certainly vinegar, from which it is to be inferred that if the smell is of vinegar and the taste of wine, it is considered vinegar. The case was that it was found wholly strong vinegar, and it is stated above that it takes no less than three days after it turns sour to become wholly vinegar; hence it is to be supposed that in the last three days it was already vinegar. However, according to which of these two was the conclusion of R. Joseph? In this, also, R. Mari and R. Z'bid differ, one saying that his conclusion was in accordance with R. Johanan, and the other saying it was in accordance with R. Jehoshua b. Levi.

It was taught: If one sells a barrel of wine and it turns sour, according to Rabh the first three days it is considered tinder the control of the seller, and thereafter "it is considered under the control of the buyer." Samuel, however, maintains that the seller is not responsible even when it was still in his barrel, as this is to be considered the fate of the buyer.

R. Joseph acted in accordance with Rabh concerning beer of dates, and according to Samuel with wine, the Halakha, according to Samuel, however, prevails in every respect. 1

MISHNA 3.: If one sells wine and it turns sour, the seller is not responsible; if, however, it was known that the nature of his wine was to turn sour (and the buyer was not aware of it), the sale is void. If he said, "I sell you wine, prepared with spices, in good order," the wine must remain in good order until the feast of Pentecost. (Afterward it may become spoiled by heat.) If the seller sold the buyer old wine, it must be from last year; and if he said "very old," it must be aged not less than three years.

GEMARA: Said R. Jose b. Hanina: All this is said of the case wherein it was delivered to the buyer in his own jugs; but if it was placed in the jugs of the seller, the buyer might say: "Here are your jugs and your wine." Why then may not the seller claim: You ought not to keep it so long? It means that while selling, the seller told the buyer "for keeping." But what compels R. Jose to such a difficult interpretation, in which the jugs were the buyer's, and the seller says "for keeping"? Why is it not simply said that the jugs were the seller's and he said nothing? Said Rabha: It is because the further statement of the Mishna, "that if it was known that the nature of the seller's wine was to turn sour the sale is void" was a difficulty to him. Why, then, let the seller claim he ought not to keep it so long? We must then say, that the Mishna treats of the case wherein the seller told the buyer "for keeping" (he therefore interpreted the whole Mishna, that such was the stipulation), and infer from this that so it is. He, however, differs with R. Hyya b. Joseph, who said that the fate of one causes the spoiling of his wine; as it is written [Habakkuk, 2:5]: "And even the wine of a proud man rebels."

Said R. Mari: If one is proud, he is not tolerated even by his family, as the above verse reads "the proud man whose house will not stand," which is to say that he is not tolerated by his household. R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh said: A commoner who disguises himself in the garment of a scholar, cannot enter into the habitation of the Holy One, blessed be He; and this is deduced from an analogy of expression, Nvie, which is to be found in Ex. xv. 13. The Hebrew expression in the above cited verse is also Y'nvie (literally, "dwelling," "inhabit").

Rabha said: "If one sells a barrel of wine to a storekeeper (with the stipulation that he shall sell it at retail and then pay the owner), and a half or a third of the wine turns sour, the law is that the seller must accept the return of his wine; and this is said only in case the faucet was not changed by the storekeeper, but if it was changed and placed near to yeast, there is no responsibility, and there is also no responsibility if the storekeeper kept the wine over the market day." He said again: "If one has accepted wine for half interest, with the intention of taking it to the suburb of Dwulchpht (where usually wine is dear), and by the time it reached there the price was lowered, the law is that the owner has to accept the return of the wine." The schoolmen propounded a question: How is it when the same was vinegar? Said R. Hillel to R. Ashi: When we were at R. Kahana's he said to us, the same is the case with vinegar, as he agrees with R. Jose b. Hanina's statement above. "Old wine," etc. A Boraitha in addition to our Mishna states that if it was said, "very old wine, it must keep its good quality until the feast of tabernacle in the third year."

MISHNA 4.: If one sells to one a place for the purpose of building a wedding-house for his son or a widow-house for his daughter, and the same is the case if a contractor undertakes to build such for him, the size must be not less than four ells in length by six in breadth; such is the decree of R. Aqiba. R. Ishmael, however, maintains that this is the size of a stable. If one wishes to build a stable for cattle, he builds it four by six. The smallest house is no less than six by eight, a large one eight by ten, and a triclinum (restaurant) ten by ten, and the height must be a half of its length and of its width. An example of this, said R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, was the building of the Temple.

GEMARA: Why does the Mishna state "a wedding-house for his son and a widow-house for his daughter"? Let it state a wedding or a widow house for his son or daughter. The Mishna incidentally teaches us that it is not a good custom for a son-in-law to dwell with his father-in-law, as it is written in the book of Ben Sira: "I have weighed everything on the scale and did not find a thing to be lighter than bran; however, a groom who resides in the house of his father-in-law is lighter than bran, and still lighter than he is an invited guest who brings with him an uninvited companion, and still lighter is the one who answers before he has heard thoroughly the question, as it is written [Prov. xviii. 13]: 'When one returneth an answer before he understandeth (the question), it is a folly unto him and a shame.'"

"If one wishes to build a stable," etc. Who said this? According to some, R. Aqiba himself, and he said so; and although this is the size of a stable for cattle, it nevertheless happens that human beings live in such a building (and as the seller or the contractor did not stipulate the size, the minimum may be taken). Others say R. Ishmael taught this saying: That if one wishes to build a stable, it is the size of four by six. "Triclinum," etc. There is a Boraitha: For a quantir, twelve ells square is needed. What does it mean? A fore yard?

"An example of this," etc. Who taught this? Some say R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, and it should read thus. Whence is this deduced? Said R. Simeon b. Gamaliel: All must be judged according to the building of the Temple, and some say that the first Tana taught an example of it (and he was about to finish his statement with "the building of the Temple," but R. Simeon b. Gamaliel interrupted him saying:) Do you want to compare all common buildings with the building of the Temple; do all people build such buildings?

We have learned in a Boraitha: Anonymous teachers say the height must be not less than the length of the crossbeams of the ceiling. But why not say, simply, the height must be as the width? If you wish, it may be said that usually a house is wider at the top than at the bottom; and if you wish, it may be said that, because the ends of the beams are placed in the enclosures of the wall, they are longer than the width of the house.

MISHNA 5.: If one possesses a well, situated on the other side of his neighbour's house (by inheritance, or even bought from him with a path), so that when water is needed he must pass through the house, he may enter and leave at the time people usually enter and leave. However, he is not allowed to take his cattle to the well, but he has to take water for them outside of the house and water them. The owner of the well, as well as the owner of the house, has a right to put a lock on it.

GEMARA: A lock on what? Said R. Johanan: Both locks may be put on the well. It is right that the owner of the well should put a lock on his well, so that no one can use the water; but for what purpose should the owner of the house put a lock on it? Said R. Elazar: Lest his neighbour, while passing his house to the well in his absence, should remain alone with his wife.

MISHNA 6.: If one has a garden inside of his neighbour's garden, he may enter and leave only when people are wont to do so. He must not take buyers with him to his garden, and be also has no right to pass through his neighbour's garden for the purpose of entering another field conjoining this one, when he has no business in his own garden; and only the owner of the outside garden has a right to sow the path. If, however, a path was designated to him by court, on the side, with the consent of both parties, then he may enter and leave whenever he pleases and may also take with him buyers; however, the right to pass through to another field is not given, and neither of them has the right to sow the path.

GEMARA: R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said: If one says, "I sell you a place of one ell for digging a well to water your dry land," it must contain the width of two ells, and he also has to add him two ells from his field to the edges of the well, on which to erect walls to prevent the overflow of the water; and if he said, "I sell you an ell for making a sewer," it must be one ell wide and one-half ell to each edge. But who has a right to sow the edges (while the walls were not as yet trade)? R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said: The owner of the field; and R. Nharnan in the name of Samuel said: The owner of the field may plant trees there, but not sow it, as by sowing he harms the water.

R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said again: If the walls of a channel fall, the owner of it may repair it from the material of the field upon which the walls were placed; as certainly they fall on the same field where they were placed (but the material was scattered by the wind all over the field). R. Papa, however, opposed, saying that the owner of the field may claim that the water of "your well has underwashed the material and caused it to fall"; therefore he gave another reason, that such a stipulation must have been in existence when he hired that place, for otherwise he would not have wasted his money.

MISHNA 7.: If there was a public thoroughfare through one's field and he took it for himself and designated another one at the side of his field, what he has given is considered the public's, and to that which he took for himself he does not acquire title. If one sells a path in his field for a private thoroughfare it must be four ells, for the public it must be no less than sixteen. A way for the government has no limit. The way for carrying a corpse to the grave has also no limit; however, the space where the people stand for condoling was determined by the judges of Ziboras of a space where four kabhs may be sown.

GEMARA: Why should he not acquire title to that thoroughfare he took for himself, when he designated another one for the public; let him take a stick with which to drive off intruders, or do you want to infer from this that one cannot take. the law in his own hands, even when he suffered damage? Said R. Zebid in the name of Rabha: It is to be feared that if this would be allowed, one would give to the public a crooked way; but R. Mesharshia in the name of Rabha said that our Mishna treats of a case wherein the owner of the field has designated such. R. Ashi, however, maintains that a way which is placed; at one side is considered crooked, because it is near to one who resides near to this side, while it is far to him who resides on the other side, (and therefore he does not acquire title) to that which he took. But let him say to the public, "take your way and return mine" (and the Mishna states what he has given is lost). It is in accordance with R. Eliezer of the following Boraitha: "R. Jehudah said in the name of R. Eliezer, if the public has chosen a way for itself, what was done remains." But may the public be robbers, according to R. Eliezer? Said R. Gid'l in the name of Rabh: He speaks in case the public has lost a way in this field (i.e., some time ago there was a thoroughfare which afterwards was lost). If so, why then said Rabba b. R. Huna in the name of Rabh that the Halakha does not prevail with R. Eliezer? The one who has taught this statement was not aware of the other statement (i.e., R. Gid'l does not approve the statement of Rabba b. R. Huna in the name of Rabh). But according to Rabba b. R. Huna, what is the reason of our Mishna's statement, that of R. Jehuda, who said above that a path of which the public took charge must not be spoiled? By which act did the public acquire title to the thoroughfare, according to R. Eliezer? By passing, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: If one passed (in an ownerless field) on its length and breadth he acquired title to the place he has passed, so is the decree of R. Eliezer. The sages, however, maintain that passing has no effect at all, and title is not acquired unless he makes a hazakah. Said R. Elazar: The reason of R. Eliezer is the following verse [Genesis, 13:17]: "Arise, walk through the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it, for unto thee I will give it." The sages say this cannot be taken for a support,

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however, as Abraham was beloved by Heaven, and it was said to him for the purpose of making easier for his children the subjection of the land. Said R. Jose b. Hanina: The sages admit to R. Eliezer in case of a footpath between vineyards, because it was made for passing, title is also given by passing. When such a case came before R. Itz'hak b. Ami he decided that the plaintiff should get a footpath upon which he should be able to carry a bundle of branches on his shoulders, which in turning here and there should not touch the walls. But this is said in a case wherein the places for the walls are not yet designated; but if they were, the space should be given him, so as to put one foot after the other.

"For a private," etc. There is a Boraitha: Anonymous teachers say: "As much as an ass with its load could pass." The judges of the exile said: Two cubits and a half. And R. Huna said: The Halakha prevails with them. But did not R. Huna say elsewhere that the Halakha prevails with the anonymous teachers? The limit of both is "equal."

"A public thoroughfare is sixteen ells." The rabbis taught: A private way is four ells, a way from one city to the other is eight ells, a public way is sixteen ells, and the way to the cities of refuge (Num. xxxv. ii) thirty-two. [Said R. Huna: Whence is this deduced? From the Scripture (Deut. 19:3): "The way to them." It should be "a way," and the word "the" makes it double.] The way of the government has no limit, as the king has the right to erect partitions, houses, and no one has a right to prevent him, and the way for burying a corpse has no limit, because of the honour of the dead. 1

MISHNA 8.: If one sells a place for digging a grave, or an undertaker makes a grave for one, the inside of the cave must be four by six, and opening into it eight niches for coffins, three on each side and two at the top and bottom. The length of the niches is four ells, the height seven spans, and the width six. R. Simeon, however, said: The inside of the cave must be six by eight, the niches must be thirteen, four on each side, three on the upper side, and one on the right side of the door and one on the left. He also makes a fore yard at the mouth of the cave six ells square, as much as the coffin with its carrier needs. He also has to open to this fore yard two, caves from two sides. R. Simeon, however, said four to all its four sides. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, however, maintains that all must be done according to the rock (i.e., if the earth is soft more niches could be made, but if rocky the number must be limited accordingly).

GEMARA: The two niches which R. Simeon requires, one on the right side of the door, etc., how shall he dig them? If their length should be dug from the wall of the cave under the fore yard, then they will be trodden down; furthermore, there is a Mishna to the effect that one who stands in the yard of a grave is clean, but if the niches should be dug under the yard the one who stands above would not be clean. Said R. Jose b. R. Hanina: He made the niches like an upright bolt; i.e., placed the bodies in an upright position. But did not R. Johanan say that asses are buried in like manner? According to him, the niches should be made in the corners. But then each of them would come in contact with the other. Said R. Ashi: If he makes those in the corners deeper (according to R. Simeon, who said that four niches must be on each side), if they were all equally dug they would come in contact. It must be said that he digs some of them deeper, and the same may be said here. 1 R. Huna b. R. Jehoshuah, however, maintains that he makes the niches crooked. (Says the Gemara:) This statement does not hold, as according to it he would have to make eight inches in the space of eleven and one-fifth ells, which is impossible.

CHAPTER 7.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING ROCKS AND PITS IN GROUND SOLD; THE QUANTITIES OF GREATER OR LESS MEASURE WHICH MAY OR MAY NOT VOID A SALE OF FIELDS, VILLAGES, ETC.

MISHNA 1.: If one says: "I sell you earth the size where one kur can be sown, and there were crevices ten spans deep, or rocks ten spans high," they are not measured, but if less than that size they are measured. If, however, he said to him, "about the size of a kur," and there were crevices or rocks even more than the size of ten spans, they are measured.

GEMARA: Said R. Itz'hak: The statement of the Mishna about rocks and crevices which are measured when they are less than ten spans holds good only when all of them together do not measure four kabhs, but not if they do. Said R. Uqba b. Hama: Even then they are measured only when they are scattered within five kabhs space (but in less they are not measured); and R. Hyya b. Abba in the name of R. Johanan says that five kabhs do not suffice, and they are measured only when they are scattered within the greater part of the field, which is at least sixteen kabhs, as a kur is thirty kabhs; and R. Hyya b. Abba himself questioned: How is the law according (to R. Johanan's theory) if the greater part of the rocks in question were scattered within the smaller part of the field, and the smaller part of them within the larger part of the field (and if altogether they measured four kabhs)? These questions are not decided. 1

There is a Boraitha: "If there were a single rock (but it bears a separate name; e.g., 'the west rock') even if of less than ten spans, it is not measured; and also if the rock were placed near to the boundary, whatever size it may be it is not measured."

MISHNA 2.: "I sell you earth of the size wherein a kur can be sown, measured with a line." If there were a trifle less, he may deduct; if a trifle more, the buyer has to return it. If, however, the seller says "about this size, a little more or less," even if there were less than a quarter of a kabh on each saah, the sale is valid; but if it were more than that size, an account must be taken. In case the buyer has to make return, it shall be in money; however, if he wishes to return him land, he may do so. And why was it said that the buyer should return the seller money? To favour the seller, so that if there were a trifle more the buyer should not have the right to return him this trifle, which the seller could not use; but if there were a kabh and a half more than the prescribed size, it means in the case of nine kabhs of land in a field and a half kabh in a garden, and according to R. Aqiba even a quarter of a kabh, then the buyer may return the land, and not only the land which is in excess of the prescribed size, but even that of this prescribed size itself is to be returned with the other.

GEMARA: The schoolmen propounded a question: If the seller said "the size of a kur," without any addition, how is the law? Come and hear. If the seller says, "I sell you an estate the size of a kur," or "about the size of a kur, a little less or more, I sell you," and thereafter it were found a quarter of a kabh less or more to a saah, the sale is valid. Hence we see that even if be does not add to the words "the size of a kur," it is the same as if he would say "about." Nay, the Boraitha is to be explained thus: The last part of the Boraitha explains the first part. If one says, "I sell you of the size of a kur," "about" is to be understood in case he should add a trifle less or more. R. Ashi objected: If this were so, why the repetition "I sell you, I sell you"? Therefore the Boraitha is to be explained as above, that the size of a kur means "about," and so it is.

"It shall be in money." We see from this that the advantage of the seller and not the buyer is taken into consideration; but valid? If, however, the estate is larger, the court compels both the seller to sell and the buyer to buy; hence we see that the advantage of both is taken into consideration? (I.e., that even have we not learned in the following Boraitha: If there were less or more than seven kabhs and a half on a kur, the sale is if the seller insists that the excess should be returned to him, he is not to be listened to if it is an advantage for the buyer to have it.) The Boraitha treats that at the time it was found over the prescribed size, the estate was lower in price and the seller willing to sell. Therefore we say to the buyer, "You may reckon it at the existing price," and the same is said to the seller, "If you do not wish the estate to be returned to you, you must accept the existing price." But have we not learned in another Boraitha that if the buyer compensates the seller, he must reckon at the previous rate? That Boraitha speaks that when the reverse was the case, the price was low at the time of the sale and became higher after it was known that there was an excess over the prescribed size.

"It means in the case of nine kabhs," etc. Said R. Huna: This applies even in a valley which is of more than ten kurs. R. Na'hman, however, says seven and a half to each kur; but if there were a kabh and a half more (which counts nine kabhs) even to one kur, all must be returned, even if to the other kurs the addition were not over the prescribed size. Rabha objected R. Na'hman from our Mishna, which states that if he left nine kabhs in a field, etc. Does not the Mishna mean at least two kurs as the size of the usual field? Nay, it means one kur. Farther on, in a garden, a half of a kabh is given as the minimum of excess. Does it not mean at least two saahs, as usually a garden is called of that size? Nay, it means one saah, and according to R. Aqiba one quarter. Does it not mean, if the garden was a saah? Nay, it means if it was half a saah. R. Ashi questioned: If one sold a field, and afterwards, but before the money was paid, it became a garden, and there were found more than a quarter to a saah, but it should not reach the size of nine kabhs or vice versa, how should the prescribed size be reckoned--as that of a field or that of a garden? This question remains undecided.

There is a Boraitha: "If the estate over the prescribed size sold was conjoined with the other estate of the seller, even if that were but a trifle, the buyer has to return the seller the estate." R. Ashi questioned: How is the law if there were a well between this estate sold and the other estate of the seller, a channel, a public thoroughfare, or a row of trees, should these constitute lines of demarcation or not? This question remains undecided.

"And not only the land which is in excess," etc. How is this to be understood? Taught Rabhin b. R. Na'hman: Not only that which was over the prescribed size the buyer returns the seller, but all the quarters to each kur, although the rest be not over the prescribed size, he must return.

MISHNA 3.: "I sell you the estate with a measurement, a trifle more or less." The last words, "more or less," nullify those preceding them. "I sell you a trifle more or less to be measured with a line." The last words here nullify the preceding ones (and the seller must give the purchaser a just measurement; so that if the land were in excess, the excess must be returned, and if less the seller must supply the deficiency), such is the decree of ben Nanas.

GEMARA: Said R. Abba b. Mamal in the name of Rabh: "The colleagues of ben Nanas differ with him." What came he to teach us? Have we not learned in the Middle Gate, p. 269, Mishna 8, that it happened in Ciphorius that one rented a bath-house for twelve golden dinars a year? The payment was to be one dinar monthly; and thereafter the year was made intercalary. When the case came before R. Simeon b. Gamaliel and R. Jose they decided that the payment for the intercalated time should be made at the same rate as for the ordinary time. If from that Mishna one says that the last words, "one dinar monthly," are to be interpreted as a retraction of the first words, "twelve a year," the last words, "a dinar monthly," may also be interpreted as explaining the former, "twelve a year" (over which the sages differed with ben Nanas); however, here, in that the last words cannot be interpreted as an explanation, but as a retraction of the former, the sages agree with him. He comes to teach us that they differ also in this case. R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said: This which is taught in our Mishna is in the words of ben Nanas, but the sages say that the shorter expression must always have the greater weight (i.e., "with a measurement" is shorter than "a trifle less or more"), no matter whether the shorter phrase were said before or after the longer one. Says the Gemara: Shall we assume that with the expression "this" Samuel meant to say that he himself does not agree with him? Do not both Rabh and Samuel say that if one said "a kur for thirty selas," he may retract even at the last saah; and if he added each saah for one sela, to all which was measured title is acquired, which corresponds with the decision of ben Nanas? Therefore we must say that he meant to say "this," and I agree therewith. But is that so? Did not Samuel say (Middle Gate.): "The decision was so made . . ." but if they had appeared in the beginning, would it be entirely the owner's; and if in the end, the renter's? (This, at all events, cannot correspond with ben Nanas' decision.) Therefore it must be said again that by the word "this" he means that "I do not agree," and the reason of his decision in the case of each saah for selah is because that which was measured is considered already in his hands, and the same is the case with the rent for the intercalary month; if at the end of the month, it belongs to the renter, because it is already in his hand. R. Huna said: It was said in the college of Rabh: If one said: "I sell this to you for an istra a hundred moahs, he must give him a hundred moahs; but if he says a hundred moahs an istra he has to give him an istra although it is less in value than a hundred moahs."

What came he to teach us--that the last expression must be considered? Has not Rabh said this already concerning the case of the cited Mishna: "If I were there, I should give it to the owner of the house" (and that is because the last words were "a dinar monthly")? Lest one should say that in one case the last words ("hundred moahs," or vice versa) are to be considered as an explanation to the first words, he comes to teach us that it is not so.

MISHNA 4.: If one says, "I sell you this estate, the size of a kur, with its marks and boundaries;" and afterwards it were found that the size is less than stipulated--if it were less than a sixth of the whole size, the sale is valid; but if there were a sixth wanting, the buyer may deduct from the payment.

GEMARA: It was taught: R. Huna and R. Jehudah differ in the explanation of our Mishna. According to the former the Mishna means that an exact sixth should be considered as less than a sixth, and the Mishna is to be explained thus: "With less than a sixth wanting, a sixth inclusive, the sale is valid." If, however, more than a sixth is wanting, it may be deducted. According to R. Jehudah the Mishna means that an exact sixth is to be considered as more, and it is to be explained thus: "With less than a sixth wanting the sale is valid; a sixth, however, or more wanting is to be deducted."

An objection was raised from the following Tosephtha: "With its marks and boundaries, and there was a sixth less or a sixth more, it parallels a case wherein the court appraises an estate, and the sale is valid." Now we know that in a case wherein the court appraises, if there were an error as to an exact sixth, it is considered as if it were more, and the appraisement is void; hence this contradicts R. Huna? R. Huna may say that there is no contradiction, as the Tosephtha ends with the words "the sale is valid," and if this paralleled the case wherein the court appraises, how could it be valid in case there were more than a sixth? Does not the law provide that in the case of an error of the court in more than a sixth, the appraisemerit is void? It must be said then that it is parallel in one respect but not in the other; and it is to be explained thus: It parallels the case wherein the court appraises with an error of less than a sixth (which does not affect the appraisement), but it does not parallel the case in which the error of the court is of a sixth or more and affects the appraisement, which differs from our case, as the purchaser has only to deduct the money value of the deficiency, while the sale is still valid.

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R. Papa bought an estate from some one who told him that it measured the size of twenty saahs. After it was measured it was found that there were only fifteen; and the case came before Abayi, who decided that the sale was valid, because the seller had used the qualifying words "as you see its marks and boundaries." But have we not learned that if there were more than a sixth lacking its value is to be deducted, and here there is a fourth part? In the first case the condition is not known to the buyer before the sale; but in the latter case, as the condition was known to R. Papa and he saw it at the time he bought, it must be supposed that he had considered and accepted it. Rejoined R. Papa: But did he not tell me that it measured twenty? He probably meant to say that "these fifteen are better than twenty elsewhere."

There is a Boraitha: R. Jose said: "Some brothers divided their inheritance by lot, and when to each of them his lot fell, all of them acquired title to their shares." Why so? Said R. Elazar: At the time the land of Israel was allotted to the tribes. But was there not also the Urim v'tumim, as it is said farther on that the high priest Elazar had on the Urim v'tumim, and then the lots were cast? Said R. Ashi: By their arrangement prior to allotment (whereby the estate was divided into shares of equal value) they had prepared themselves that each should acquire title to the share which the lot should cast for him, and therefore no other ceremony was necessary.

It was taught: To two brothers who had divided their inheritance between them came a third brother (of whose existence they were not previously aware). Their division is null and void according to Rabh. Samuel, however, maintains that each of the two must relinquish a third of his inheritance to the third brother (e.g., they inherited six fields, and each of them must give one of these to the newcomer, so that the three brothers may have two fields apiece). Said Rabha to R. Na'hman: According to Rabh, who says that the division is null and void, it must be said he holds that since all of them did not share in the first division, the inheritance must be redivided. Would the same be the case with three partners, two of whom have divided (in the presence of three persons who are considered a Beth Din) in the absence of the third one, and there is a decision (Middle Gate.) that such holds good? The cases are dissimilar. In the latter case the partners divided the property into three shares, and as it was done in the presence of a Beth Din the division holds good; but in the former case the two brothers had divided the inheritance into two parts only, as they were unaware of the third brother's existence.

Said R. Papa to Abayi: According to Samuel's decision that the first division is valid, it must be said he holds that such an act, done in accordance with the law, must not be abrogated, although thereafter it appears that the brothers took more than belonged to them; but did not both Rabh and Samuel say: If one says, "I sell you a kur for thirty selas," the seller may retract even at the last saah (above.)? (We see then that even when done in accordance with the law an act may still be abrogated.) There is, however, here a difference. The rabbis enacted that law to please both the seller and the buyer. (I.e., in case the price should become lower, before the buyer has received the property, it is to his advantage to retract; and in case the price becomes higher, the advantage is for the seller. Hence this law is beneficial to both.)

It was taught: If brothers divided their inheritance and a creditor of their father came and took away the share of one of them, according to Rabh the former division is null and void. Samuel, however, said that such was this brother's lot, and it did not concern the other. R. Assi, however, maintains, not as Rabh, that the division is void, and they must divide the remainder, and not as Samuel, that it does not at all concern the other one; but that the second brother must surrender one quarter of his estate and a quarter of the money he has inherited. Rabh holds that the heirs, even after their division, are still to be considered heirs (hence if one of them has lost the property through his father's debt, he is still an heir to the remainder), while Samuel holds that at the time they divide they are considered buyers (each of them buying his share of his brother) without any security; and consequently each has no further concern after the division. R. Assi was doubtful whether they are to be considered heirs of buyers; therefore the half which ought to be taken from the one who did not suffer loss is considered doubtful money, and there is a rule that doubtful money is to be divided. Said R. Papa: The Halakha concerning the two cases, that of the third brother as well as that wherein the share of one was taken away by their father's creditor, prevails in accordance with Samuel, who says the division holds good, and it is for them to divide from their shares in payment of the debt. Amimar, however, said: The Halakha prevails in accordance with Rabh, who said that the division is void and the property must be redivided, and so the Halakha prevails.

The rabbis taught: If there are three who have qualified as a Beth Din to appraise the estate of one deceased, for the support of his widow and daughters, and if one says that in his opinion the estate is worth twenty-five selas (a moanah of 100 zuz), and the two others say two hundred or vice versa, the opinion of the individual is of no effect; but if one appraises the estate at one hundred zuz, which are twenty-five selas, the second for twenty, and the third for thirty, the value is fixed at one hundred zuz. R. Eliezer b. R. Zadok, however, says that it should be taken for ninety zuz, and anonymous teachers say that a third of the difference between the second and third valuations must be added to the second, which will give 93 1/3, zuz. The reason of him who says the estate is worth one hundred zuz is that the opinion of the arbitrator is to be taken into consideration, and the reason for R. Eliezer's opinion that the estate is worth ninety zuz is that he who appraised it at eighty underestimated by ten zuz, while he who appraised it at 100 overestimated by ten zuz, and as there is a majority who appraised it at not more than 100 zuz, the third, who appraised it at twenty zuz over a moah, is not to be taken into consideration at all. Why not say that the one who said 100 zuz has underestimated by ten and he who says thirty has overestimated by ten, and the estate should therefore be valued at 100? Because the majority declare it not worth more than 100 zuz, or one moah. The anonymous teachers maintain that the estate is worth 93 1/3 zuz, because the one who estimated its value at twenty selas (eighty zuz) underestimated by 13 1/3, and the one who said 100 zuz overestimated by 13 1/3, although he had intended to say 103 1/3 zuz, but thought he would not like to make his difference too large. And why not say that the one who said thirty selas (120 zuz) has overestimated by thirteen, and the estimate should be fixed at 113 zuz? The opinion of the majority that the estate is not worth over a moah is to be taken into consideration. Said R. Huna: The Halakha prevails with the anonymous teachers. Said R. Ashi: The reason of the anonymous teachers is not acceptable; should we decide according to them? There is a Boraitha that the judges of the exile are in accordance with the anonymous teachers, and R. Huna said again that so the Halakha prevails, but R. Ashi objected again for the same reason stated above.

MISHNA 5.: If one says "I sell you the half of the field" (the half of the value is meant), the better one against the inferior is to he appraised, and the seller has a right to give the buyer the latter. The same is the case when he said "I sell you the southern half of this field," and the buyer takes the half determined on by the seller. The seller, however, has to give space for a partition, and for a large and a small ditch. What is the breadth of a large ditch? Six spans. And of a small one? Three.

GEMARA: Said R. Hyya b. R. Abba in the name of R. Johanan: The buyer has to take the inferior. And he (when he heard this statement from R. Johanan) said to him: Does not the Mishna say "the better one against the inferior is to be appraised"? And should not this be explained to mean that each of them should take half of both good and inferior? And he answered: It seems to me that you have eaten too many dates in Babylon (so that you have no time to descend into the depths of the Mishna). Does not the Mishna contain the same expression, in the latter part, 1 concerning the sale of the south side of his field? And why the repetition? It should read "he should take a half at the south side," and we would understand it to mean half of the size. We must then say that it is repeated to teach that also in that case the half of the value is meant, as the same was in the first part.

"The partition," etc. There is a Boraitha: "The large ditch must be outside and the small one inside of the field, but both beyond the partition, so that beasts may not jump over the partition in the field." Why then the small ditch? Does not the large one suffice for this purpose? Because it is six spans wide, the beasts could enter in it and jump over. But does not the small ditch suffice? Because it is small, the beasts could stand on the edge of it and jump over. And how much shall the space be between the large and the small ditch? One span.

CHAPTER 8.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING BEQUESTS TO AND INHERITANCE BY NEAR AND DISTANT RELATIVES, MALE AND FEMALE SLAVES AND THEIR DESCENDANTS, FIRST-BORN AND HUSBANDS. ONE MAY OR MAY NOT WISH TO BEQUEATH HIS ESTATE TO STRANGERS WHEN HE HAS CHILDREN. WHICH WILLS MUST BE CONSIDERED AND WHICH WILLS MUST NOT. THE DIVIDING OF AN INHERITANCE BETWEEN GROWN-UP AND MINOR CHILDREN, MALE AND FEMALE.

MISHNA 1.: (Concerning inheritance, there is a difference between relatives.) There are those that bequeath at their death, and also inherit at the death of their relatives. There are those who inherit but do not bequeath, and also those who neither bequeath nor inherit. The father, his children, and also the brothers of the father may both bequeath and inherit to and from each other. The son from his mother, and the husband from his wife, and also the children of sisters inherit, but the former do not bequeath to the latter. The woman to her children, her husband, and her brothers bequeaths, but does not inherit from them. The brothers of the mother, however, neither bequeath to nor inherit from her.

GEMARA: Why does the Mishna mention the father his sons first? It does so, first, because the reverse order would imply a curse, and usually the beginning must not be with a curse (for when the son dies before his father it is certainly a curse), and, secondly, the Scripture [Numbers, xxvii. 8] reads, "If a man die and have no son," etc.; hence the death of the father is mentioned first. The Tana of the Mishna does thus because the law that a father shall inherit from his son is not written in the Scripture but is deduced (as will be explained farther on) and he desires to mention it first. Whence do they deduce it? From the following Boraitha: "(It is written) 'his kinsman means the father, from which it is deduced that if one dies and leaves brothers and a father, the father is the heir and not the brothers'; but lest one say that the father of the deceased is preferred to his son, it is written 'that is next to him,' which means, whoever is nearest, and the son to his father is considered nearer than a father to his son. And what is the reason that you exclude the brother and include the son? Because the Scripture has substituted the son for the father in the case of a man servant [Ex. xxi. 9] and also in that concerning the possession of a field [Levit. xxv. 13], of which it is said elsewhere that only when the son has redeemed the field sanctified by his father, it may be returned in the jubilee year, but not if the father's brother or any other relative has done so. But why not say that the brother shall have the preference, as he inherits from his brother in case the latter dies childless [Deut. xxv. 5]? This cannot hold good, as the brother thus inherits only if there is no son; but if there is a son the brother does not inherit." Is it only for this reason, and if it were otherwise would the brother be the heir? May the son be substituted for his father in the two cases above stated, and the brother in the one case only? Nay, the same reason is given in the case of the above-mentioned possession of a field, wherein the son is preferred to the brother, also because the brother inherits only when there is no son. But why not say a kinsman means the father, from which we infer that he is preferred to his daughter? Lest one say that he is preferred to his son also, therefore it is written, "who is next to him," and a son is nearer to his father than the father to his son. As said above, this could be opposed thus: Let us see! If one dies and leaves a daughter, it is the same concerning Yeboom as if lie should leave a son. Hence we see that a son and daughter are here equal before the law, and the same equality would obtain concerning inheritance. But why not infer from this that the father has the preference over his brother? And lest one say that he should have the preference over the brothers of the deceased also, it is written "the next," and brothers are considered nearer than the father to his son. It is not necessary that the fathers brother be considered as excluded in the Scripture, as that would be contrary to common sense. What is the basis for the inheritance of the uncle of the deceased from his nephew, if not that his brother is the father of the deceased; and when the father is still alive, why should the brother be the heir?

But let us see. The passage in the Scripture does not correspond with all that is taught above [Num. xxvii. 8], "If a man die and have no son, then shall ye cause the inheritance to pass unto his daughter, and if he have no daughter . . . unto his brothers . . . and if no brothers, unto his father's brothers, and if . . . no brothers, . . . to the kinsman." (Hence when the kinsman is mentioned at the end, how can you say that it means the father, who is the first in case the deceased left no son?) The passages are not written in order, as the kinsman, meaning the father, should be mentioned first, but the Scripture relies upon the words "who is next to him," and it is for the court to decide who is nearest to him. The following Tana, however, deduces it from the same passage in another manner, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: R. Ishmael said: "It is written, 'If a man die and have no son, then ye shall cause his inheritance to pass,' etc. Infer from this that you transfer the inheritance from the father only when the deceased left a daughter, but not when he left brothers." But why not say that the daughter transfers the inheritance from his brothers but not from his father? Because if it were so, the passage would read "and ye shall give the inheritance," and not "ye shall cause to pass," which means that if there is a daughter, her father may pass the inheritance to her, even when his own father is still alive. Now, what does kinsman mean in the opinion of R. Ishmael, who has deduced this from the words "ye shall cause to pass"? That which the following Boraitha states: "His kinsman means his wife. Deduce from this that the husband inherits from his wife." But to him who infers this from the word kinsman, what do the words "ye shall cause to pass" mean? That which we have learned in the following Boraitha: Rabbi said: In all the passages it is written "shall ye give," and only concerning the daughter "ye shall pass," to show that there is no one who shall pass an inheritance to another tribe except a daughter; so if she marries one of another tribe, her son or her husband may inherit from her.

But, after all, where is it you are assured that kinsman means the father? In Levit. 19:12, "Thy father's kinswoman." Then why not say it means the mother, as the next verse reads "thy mother's kinswoman"? Said Rabha: It is written [26:11]

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"next to him of this family," and the family is named only from the father's side as [ibid., 2] "after their families, by the descent from their fathers." But is not the name of the mother's side also employed? Is it not written [Judges, 17:7], "And there was a young man out of Bethlehem-Judah of the family of Judah, but he was a Levite, and sojourned there"? Now does not this passage contradict itself? It is written "of the family of Judah," from which it is to be inferred that they came from the tribe of Judah, and then it says he is a Levite, which means that he was of the tribe of Levi. We must conclude that his father was from Levi and his mother from Judah, and nevertheless this is called a family name. Said Rabha b. R. Hanan: The verse reads "and he is Levi," which does not mean that he was a Levite, but that his name was Levi. If so, how is to be understood (ibid., 17), "I have obtained a Levite for a priest"? There it is also written Levi, and means a man by the name of Levi. But how can you say that his name was Levi? Was not his name Jonathan, as it is written (ibid., xviii. 30), "And Jonathan the son of Gershom . . . were priests," etc.? And he answered: Even according to your theory, was he then the son of Menashe? He was the son of Moses, as it is written [1 Chron. 23:15]: "The sons of Moses were Gershom and Eliezer." It is written Menashe, because he acted like Menashe, who was an idolator; and therefore the phrase "of Judah" is employed because Menashe came from Judah. R. Johanan in the name of R. Simeon b. Jo'hai said: From this is to be inferred that we confer a corrupt name on a corrupt man. R. Jose b. Hanina, however, said that this may be inferred from the following [1 Kings, 1:6]: "And his mother had after Abshalom." But was not Adoniyah the son of Chaggith, and Abshalom the son of Maacha? We must say that. because he acted like Abshalom, who also rebelled against the kingdom, the verse conjoined him with Abshalom.

R. Elazar said: We see that when Moses married the daughter of Jethro, Jonathan was the outcome, and when Aaron married the daughter of Aminadab the outcome was Pinchos.

But was not Pinchos also a descendant of Jethro, as it is written [Ex. 6:251, "Elazar took of the daughters of Putiel for wife and she bore unto him Phinchas," and it is said elsewhere that Jethro and Putiel are identical? Nay, this Putiel is Joseph, as it is also said elsewhere that Joseph and Putiel are identical. 1 But is it not said elsewhere that the tribes chided Phinchas, saying: "See the descendant of Puti, whose grandfather had fattened calves for idols; shall he dare to kill a prince of the tribe of Israel?" Both names are applicable; for if his mother's father was a descendant of Joseph, his mother's mother was a descendant of Jethro or vice versa, and the word Putiel instead of Puti may mean both.

Rabha said: If one is about to marry, it is advisable for him to investigate the character of the bride's brothers; as it is written (ibid., 23), the "sister of Nachshon." To what purpose is it written the "sister of Nachshon"? Is it not evident that she was the sister of Aminadab? Hence this is an intimation to one about to marry to investigate the brothers of his prospective bride. There is also a Boraitha to the effect that the majority of children resemble the brothers of their mother. It is written [Judges, 18:3], "Who brought thee hither?" (halom) which means "Are you not a descendant of Moses?" of whom it is written [Ex. 3:5] "hither" (halom), and "thou shalt be a priest to the idol"? And he answered: "I have a tradition from the house of my grandfather that it is better for one to hire himself to Abhada Zarah (idolatry) than to rely upon people that shall support him." [(Says the Gemara:) He has misunderstood it. Abhada Zarah means "idolatry." Literally, however, it is "a strange service" and it is as Rabh said to Kahana: (If you are in need), fleece a carcass in the middle of the market and do not say you are a great man, and it is not fit for you.]

David saw that he was fond of money and appointed him treasurer for the government, as it is written [1 Chron. 26:24], "Shebuël the son of Gershom, the son of Moses, superintendent of the treasuries." Was then his name Shebuël? Was it not Jonathan? Said R. Johanan: Shebuël is composed of two words, Shebu, which means "repented," and El means "God"; and "Shebuël" means that he repented to God with all his heart. "His children . . . inherit." Whence is this deduced? It is written [Numbers, xxvii. 8], "If a man die, and have no son," etc. We see the case is one wherein he has no son, but if he has one, that one has the preference. Said R. Papa to Abayi: But perhaps it means that if there is a son only, he shall inherit, and if there is a daughter only, she shall inherit; but if there were a son and a daughter neither of them should inherit. Said he: Who then shall inherit--the mayor of the city? I mean to say that neither of them shall inherit all, but each take an equal share. Said Abayi to him: Was it then necessary for,, the Scripture to state that if there were only one son he may inherit all the estates of his father? Answered he (R. Papa): I mean to say that the verse perhaps came to teach that a daughter may also be an inheritor. And he (Abayi) answered: This is already written [ibid., 36:8], "And every daughter that inheriteth," etc. R. A'ha b. Jacob said: This is to be deduced from the following [ibid., 27:4], "Why should the name of our father be done away from the midst of his family because he hath no son?" But if he should have a son, the son would have the preference; but perhaps this was only the saying of the daughters of Zelophchod (i.e., they thought that such was the law, as it was customary at that time). But after the Torah was given the law was changed, that a son and daughter should inherit together; therefore Abayi's explanation is better.

Rabhina said: This is to be deduced from the words "next to him," and a son is nearer than a daughter; and why? As it is said above, he may be substituted for his father in the cases concerning a maid-servant and a field, etc. But could then a daughter be substituted for her father in the case of a maid-servant? Hence the best interpretation is Abayi's; and' if you wish, it may be deduced from Levit. 25:46, "For your sons after you," etc., which means to your sons 1 and not to your daughters. But according to this the verse [Deut. 11:21], "The days of your children," which is also written with "Bniechein," should also be explained the sons and not the daughters? With a blessing it is different.

"The brothers of the father." Whence is this deduced? Said Rabba: By analogy of expression "brothers" here [Numbers, 27:9] and in Genesis, 42:32. "We are twelve brothers, the sons of our father"; as there they were brothers of the father, so are they here also on the father's side. But was it not said above that from the father's side the family is named, but not from the mother's? (See above.) Yea, this is deduced from verse 11, as above, and Rabba's statement was taught concerning Yeboom (the marriage of a brother to the widow of his childless brother).

"The son from his mother." Whence is this all deduced? From that which the rabbis taught. It is written [Num. 36:8], "Any daughter who inherits the estate of the tribes." 1 How can a daughter inherit from two tribes? It must be concluded that her father was from one tribe and her mother from another, and both died leaving estates, and she has inherited both. This is concerning a daughter, but whence have we knowledge concerning a son? From the a fortiori argument that as a daughter who has no share in the inheritance of her father when there is a son is nevertheless an heir to the estate of her mother, a son who inherits from his father so much the more inherits from his mother. And from this it is to be deduced that, as there the son has the preference over the daughter as an heir of the father, so is it also with the inheritance from the mother. Both R. Jose b. Jehudah and R. Elazar b. Jose, however, say in the name of Zecharia the son of the butcher that a son and a daughter are equally heirs of their mother. Why so? Because there is a rule: It is sufficient that the result derived from the inference be equivalent to the law from which it is drawn (and as the law that a son may inherit from his mother is drawn a fortiori from the case of the daughter, it is sufficient to say that he inherits also, but not that he shall have the preference). But does the first Tana ignore the theory of "it is sufficient"? Is this not biblical, as we have learned (First Gate, in the beginning of the Gemara)? In all other cases he uses the theory; here, however, it is different, because of the reading "from the tribes." We see then that the tribe of the mother is equal to the tribe of the father, and as concerning the father's the son has the preference, so also is it concerning the mother's.

Nithai was about to act in accordance with Zecharia, and Samuel said to him: Ignore Zecharia, as the Halakha does not prevail with him. R. Tabla had acted in accordance with R. Zecharia, and R. Na'hman asked him What he had done. And the answer was that he had done so because R. Hinna b. Shlamiah said in the name of Rabh that the Halakha prevails with R. Zecharia the son of the butcher, and R. Na'hman told him, "Go and retract from your statement, and undo what you have done, and if you will not listen, I will put out R. Hinna from your ears" (I will place you under the ban). R. Huna b. Hyya was also about to act in accordance with R. Zecharia, and R. Na'hman said, "What are you doing?" And he answered: "I do so because R. Huna said in the name of Rabh that the Halakha prevails with R. Zecharia. Said R. Na'hman: "I will send immediately a message to R. Huna asking him if he said so." And Huna b. Hyya became ashamed. Said R. Na'hman to him: "If R. Huna were dead, you would rebel against me and act accordingly." But in accordance with whose was R. Na'hman's opinion? With both Rabh's and Samuel's decision that the Halakha does not prevail with R. Zecharia.

R. Janai leaned upon the shoulders of R. Simlai his servant, when he walked on the street, and it happened that R. Jehudah the second was coming in an opposite direction, and R. Simlai said to him: "The man who is coming in an opposite direction is a respectable one, and he is also nicely dressed." When they came together, R. Janai fumbled about R. Jehudah's dress 1 and said: "Is this what you call nicely dressed? It seems to me like a sack." Jehudah the second questioned him: "Whence 1 is it deduced that a son has the preference over a daughter in the estate of their mother?" And he answered: "Because it is written 'tribes,' and the verse compares the tribe of the mother with the tribe of the father. As in the former case the son has the preference, so is it in the latter." Said Jehudah: "If so, why not say that as in the father's case the first-born takes a double share, so should it be in the mother's?" Said R. Janai to his servant: "Take me away from him, this man does not want to learn." And what was the reason? Said Abayi: It is written [Deut. 21:17], "of all that is found in his possession," not in her possession. But why not say that this is so when a single man has married a widow who has children from the first husband, but if a single man has married a virgin, the first-born shall take a double share? Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: The same verse cited reads, "for he is the beginning of his strength," his but not her. Is this verse not necessary to include a first-born who came after a miscarriage, that he is entitled to a double share, although he is not considered as such to be redeemed? Because it should be read, "he is the first of strength," and from the addition his both inferences are drawn. But still it may be said in case a widower married a virgin, but if a bachelor married a virgin then the first-born is entitled to a double share also from his mother. Therefore said Rabha: The verse ends "to him belongeth the right of first birth"; which means to him a male, but not to a female.

"And the husband from his wife." Whence is this deduced? From that which the rabbis taught. It is written [Numbers, xxvii.], "his kinsman," and his wife is meant. Infer from this that the husband inherits from his wife; but lest one say that she inherits from him also, it is written [ibid.] "and he shall inherit from her." "Outhoh" means he inherits from her, but not she from him. But the verses are not written in that order, you say? Said Abayi: Read thus: "Then shall ye give his inheritance to his next kinsman and he shall inherit from her." Said Rabha to him: It seems to me that you have a keen knife to cut the verses. Therefore, said he, the verse means he shall give the inheritance from his kinsman to him; as he holds that the sages have a right to subtract, to add, and to interpret. (I.e., it is written nachlossou, literally "his inheritance," with a Vav at the end; lishourou, literally "to his kinsman," with a Lahmed at the beginning. Subtract the Lahmed from lishourou and the Vav from nachlossou. Put these two letters together and they will read lou, literally "to him," and then the verse will read thus: "Ye shall give the inheritance of his kinsman to him.) The following Tana, however, infers this from the same verse in another way, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: It is written, "And he shall inherit from her." Infer from this that the husband inherits from his wife. So said R. Aqiba. R. Ishmael, however, said: It is not necessary to cut the verses (he does not hold the theory of subtracting, adding, etc.), as there are other verses [ibid., 36:8], "every daughter that inheriteth," which refers to the transferring of an estate from one tribe to another through the husband, who is of one tribe and has married a woman of another tribe. It is written [ibid. 7], "And the inheritance of the children of Israel shall not pass from tribe to tribe," and it is also written next, "and no inheritance shall pass from one tribe to another," and then it is written [Joshua, 24:33], "And Elazar the son of Aaron died and they buried him in the hill of Pinchas his son." Where then had Pinchas a hill which Elazar did not possess? We must then conclude that Pinchas married a woman who owned a hill, she died and he inherited it. And it is also written [I Chronicles, 2:22], "And Segub begat Jair, who had three and twenty cities in the land of Gilad." And wherefrom did Jair obtain that which his father, Segub, did not possess, if not by inheritance from his wife. But to what purpose did R. Ishmael cite all the above verses? Lest one might say that the first cited verse does not speak of transferring an estate through the husband, but through her son, and the husband does not inherit. Therefore is the other verse cited, "And the inheritance of the children of Israel shall not pass," etc. But lest one say that this verse is written to make the one who transgresses answerable under a positive and a negative commandment, but still through the son and not the husband, therefore is the third verse cited. But lest one say that this verse is also written for the purpose of making the transgressor answerable under two negative and one positive commandments, therefore is the fourth verse cited; and lest one say that Elazar's wife owned a hill and Pinchas inherited it from her, therefore is the fifth verse cited. And lest one say that the same was the case with Segub and Jair, then why two verses which contain the same case?

Said R. Papa to Abayi: But what does this support? It may be said that the husband does not inherit, and all the above cited verses state that it was through the son, and did both Jair and Pinchas buy the estate in question? And Abayi answered: You cannot say that Pinchas bought the estate, as if this had been so the property would have been returned to the seller in the jubilee year, and then the upright Elazar would have been buried in ground not his own. But perhaps the hill in question was transferred to Pinchas from estates set apart for the priests [Numb. 18:14]. Said Abayi to him: If we were to agree with your theory, the estate would be still transferred from one tribe to another. Is it not explained above that verse 8 refers to a woman who has inherited from both father and mother, who were of two different tribes? Why, then, if she should marry one belonging to the tribe of her father, would the estate of her mother be transferred to another tribe? And

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R. Papa said: This is no objection, as the case may be different, and perhaps the estate of her mother was already transferred. Rejoined Abayi: Such a supposition cannot be taken into consideration; as one would not say that because a part had already been transferred, the other part should now be transferred. Furthermore, the transfer was according to the law, as when a woman has married one of another tribe, her brother being still alive, she then possessed no heritage, but received it after she was already married. Afterward her daughter, who has inherited her mother's estate, if she should marry even one belonging to her father's tribe, her son would inherit from her the estate which had belonged to another tribe.

Said R. Jiiman to R. Ashi: Even in accordance with Abayi, who holds that the husband does inherit, it is correct. If the verse is to be explained that the daughter has already inherited from her mother, who was of another tribe, the Scripture commands that she shall marry one of another tribe, to the end that the estate of one tribe shall not be transferred to another one, no matter whether through son or husband; but if the estate of her mother was not as yet transferred, why should she marry one of her father's tribe? The estate of her mother, which belongs to her, if her husband inherits from her, would be transferred to him; hence the estate of one tribe would be transferred to another. The answer was that she might marry a man whose father was of the tribe of her father, and his mother of the tribe of her mother, and in such a case the estate of her father remains within the tribe of her father, and the estate of her mother remains also with the man whose mother is of the same tribe. But if so, should not the verse read "to one who is of the family of her father's and mother's tribe"? If the verse should so read, one might say that even if her husband's father were of her mother's tribe, and his mother was of her father's tribe, this would not be in accordance with the law, as the estate of her father would be transferred to her husband, who is of another tribe. There is a Boraitha that through the son the estate is transferred, namely: "The seventh verse reads 'the inheritance of the children of Israel shall not pass,' etc., which refers to the son. But perhaps it refers to the husband? This could not be, as verse 9 reads 'as no inheritance shall pass from one tribe to another,' which refers to the husband; hence verse 7 refers to the son." There is another Boraitha: "Verse 9 refers to the husband, but perhaps it refers to the son? This cannot be, as verse 7 has already referred to the son." We see, then, that both Boraithas hold that verse 9 refers to the husband. Where is this taken from? Simon in the name of Rabba b. R. Shila said: From the expression "ish" in verse 8, which means husband. But is not the same expression in verses 7 and 9? Said R. N'ahman b. Itz'hak: From the expression "Idbako" (adhere). But also this expression is in 7 and 9? Therefore said Rabha: From the end of verse 9, which reads "the tribes of Israel shall adhere"; and R. Ashi maintains, from the expression "from one tribe to another tribe," a son cannot be called of another tribe.

R. Abuhu in the name of R. Johanan, who spoke in the name of R. Janai, who heard it from Rabbi, quoting R. Joshua b. Kar'ha, said: Whence is it deduced that the husband does not inherit the estate to which his wife during her life is only heir apparent (e.g., his wife is an only daughter and she dies before her father, leaving a child, and thereafter her father dies, and her child but not her husband inherits)? From [I Chronicles, 2:22]: "Segub begat Jair, who had three and twenty cities." Whence did Jair obtain these, which his father did not possess. Infer from this that Segub, had married a wife who had twenty-three cities, and she died while her nearest heirs yet lived. Thereafter her nearest heirs also died, and Jair, her son, not Segub, her husband, was her heir. And the same is the case with Elazar, who married a woman who possessed a hill, and she died while her nearest heirs were still alive, and thereafter the nearest heirs also died and Pinchas inherits from her. How are we assured that Elazar's wife brought him the hill; perhaps Pinchas' wife possessed it? By the words "his son," in Joshua, xxiv. 33 (which are superfluous, as every one knows that Pinchas was his son), meaning his son who was the proper heir."

"And also the children of sisters." There is a Boraitha, "Sons but not daughters of sisters." How is this to be understood? Said R. Shesheth: It means that if there were sons and daughters, the sons would have the preference. As R. Samuel 1). R. Itz'hak taught in the presence of R. Huna: It is written [Numb. 27:11] "and he shall inherit it," which means that the second inheritance shall be equal to the first; as in the first the son has the preference, so it shall be with the second. Rabba b. Hanina taught in the presence of R. Na'hman: It is written [Deut. 21:16], "Then shall it be (in the day 1) when he divideth an inheritance," which means in the daytime he may divide an inheritance but not in the night-time. Said Abayi to him: "Do you mean to say that only from him who dies in the daytime his children may inherit, but otherwise they cannot? Perhaps you mean to say that judges must not discuss a case of a will, at night, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: It is written [Numb. 27:11] "a statute of justice," which means that the whole section which treats of inheritance is a statute of justice (which must be discussed in the daytime only and by no less than three judges). It is as R. Jehudah said elsewhere: If three persons visited a sick man and he made verbally his last will before them, they might, if they wished, write it down, and, further, they might execute it. If, however, there were only two, they might write down his will (as witnesses), but could not execute it. And to this R Hisda added that so it is as to the daytime only, but if it were at night, even if there are three, they may write down the will, but not execute it; because they are considered witnesses only, and a witness cannot qualify as an executor. And Rabba answered him: Yea, this is what I meant to say.

It is taught: In the case of a gift with the ceremony of a sudarium by any person, whether healthy or sick, what time may be given him to. retract? Rabba said: As long as they are sitting at that place where the ceremony was performed And R. Joseph said: As long as they are discussing this matter Said R. Joseph also: It seems to me that I am right in my decision, as R. Jehudah said that three who are visiting a sick person may, if they like, write down his will and execute it; now, if you say he may retract as long as they are sitting there, though they do not discuss the matter, how can they execute the will but in the doubt that while they are doing so he may retract? Said R. Ashi: I have maintained before R. Kahana, even in accordance with R. Joseph's theory, that it is to be feared that even while they are discussing this matter he will retract; how then can they execute the will? Say, then, that they have ceased to discuss this matter and are discussing another one. The same can be said here, that they arose after hearing his will, and again took their seats. The Halakha, however, prevails in accordance with R. Joseph concerning the field mentioned above, concerning this case, and concerning the case of "a half" (when the sick man says, "I bequeath my estate to you and your son," upon which, according to R. Joseph, the estate may be divided equally), which matter will be explained in Chapter 9.

"The woman to her children." To what purpose is this repeated? Does not the first part read "the son from his mother," etc.? It comes to teach us that the case of "the woman to her children" is equivalent to that of the woman to her husband. As the husband does not inherit in the place of his wife that which she would have inherited had she lived (as illustrated in the case of the woman who predeceases her father), so also the son inherits his mother's share, but his brothers (of the one father) do not inherit from him if he dies. R. Johanan in the name of R. Jehudah b. R. Simeon said: Biblically a father inherits from his son, and a mother also inherits from her son, as it is written "tribes," from which is deduced the tribe of the mother as well as the tribe of the father; as concerning the tribe of the father, the father inherits from his son, the same is the case with the mother. R. Johanan, however, opposed R. Jehudah, from our Mishna, which states that a woman to her son, her husband, and the brothers of the mother may bequeath but not inherit. R. Jehudah answered: I am not aware who taught our Mishna; but let him say that our Mishna is in accordance with R. Zechariah, who does not care to explain the word "tribes" as a comparison. Our Mishna cannot be explained in accordance with R. Zechariah, as it states "and the children of sisters," and a Boraitha adds that the sons but not the daughters are meant, which was explained by R. Shesheth as meaning that the sons have the preference, and according to R. Zechariah, sons and daughters are equal heirs of their mother. But how is to be explained the teaching of the Tana of our Mishna? If he holds that the word "tribes" is to be taken as a comparison of one tribe to another, why should not a woman inherit from her son; and if he does not, whence does he derive his theory that a son has the preference in the estate of his mother? The comparison holds good, but this case is different; because it is written "every daughter that inheriteth," which means she may inherit but does not bequeath.

MISHNA 2.: The order of inheritance is thus: If a man dies, leaving no son, the inheritance shall pass to his daughter (reads the passage), by which we see that the son has preference before the daughter, and the same is the case with all the descendants of the son, who also have preference before the daughter. The daughter has preference over the brothers of her father, and the same is the case with her descendants. The brothers of the deceased have preference over the father's brothers, and the same is the case with their descendants. This is the rule: After every one who has the preference concerning an inheritance, his descendants have, in order, a like preference. The father has the preference before all his descendants.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: It is written "a son from which we know the son himself only, but whence do we deduce the son's son or his daughter, or even the grandson of his daughter? It is written ien lou; and we read the word ien as if it were written ayin, which means investigate, for perhaps his son left a son or a daughter, etc. It is also written "a daughter," by which we know indeed the daughter, but whence do we deduce her daughter, son, and daughter of her son? It is written ien, "ayin," as said above. And the same is the case with investigation in the opposite direction (i.e., perhaps the father's father is yet alive), so that an investigation concerning inheritance may stretch back to Reuben, the son of Jacob. Why only back to Reuben, and not as far as Jacob? Said Abayi: We have a tradition that the whole tribe cannot be extinguished. R. Huna in the name of Rabh said: If one decides that a daughter shall inherit, when there is a daughter of a son, even if he were a prince in Israel, he must not be listened to, as so acts the Sadducean, which we have learned in the following Boraitha: On the 24th day of the month Tebheth we returned to our old law, namely: the Sadducean used to say that a daughter should inherit an equal share with the daughter of the son, and Rabban Johanan b. Zakai said to them: "Ye fools, wherefrom have ye taken this?" And none was there to answer him, except an old man who talked (childishly) against him thus: Is this not an a fortiori conclusion? The daughter of his son who comes upon the strength of her deceased father, the son of the bequeather inherits. So much the more the daughter who comes upon the strength of the bequeather himself should take a share in the inheritance. R. Johanan then read before him [Gen. 36:20], "These are the sons of Seir the Chorite, who inhabited the land, Lotan and Shobal and Zibon and Anah," and there is also written [ibid. 24]. "And these are the children of Zibon, both Ajah and Anah." How is it to be understood? Infer from this that Zibon had lain with his sister Ajah, and she bore Anah. [But perhaps there were two Anahs?] Said Rabba: I shall say a thing which would be fit for King Sabur to say [Samuel is meant, although, according to others, R. Papa said so when he meant Rabba]. It is written in the same verse cited "that Anah," which means one that is the same as the Anah of verse 20. Said the Sadducean to R. Johanan: Rabbi, with such an explanation do you think to override me? R. Johanan answered: And why not? Should not our Torah with its regulations ignore your gossip? Your a fortiori conclusion could be easily overthrown by the following theory: How can you compare one's daughter to the daughter of his son, when the latter has a right of inheritance even when the brothers of her father are still alive, while the former has no such right (for a daughter does not inherit when she has brothers)? And with this he conquered the Sadducean, and this day was established for a festival.

It is written [Judges, 21:17]: "And they said their inheritance must be secured for Benjamin, that not a tribe may be blotted out from Israel." Said R. Itz'hak of the school of R. Ami: Infer from this that at that time a stipulation was made that as long as the tribe of Benjamin should continue, the daughter of a son should not inherit her share with existing brothers, in order that, through her marriage to a man of an other tribe, she might not divert the estate from the tribe of her father. R. Johanan in the name of R. Simeon b. Johai said: He who leaves no son to succeed him is unloved of heaven, as it is written [Psalms, 55:20]: "Those who leave 1 no changes fear no God." R. Johanan and R. Joshuah b. Levi ,differ. According to one a son is meant, and according to the other a disciple. From the fact that R. Joshuah b. Levi did not go to a funeral unless the deceased was childless, because it is written [Jeremiah, 22:10], "Weep sorely for him that goeth away," which R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh interpreted as meaning "he who passeth away without a son," it must be concluded that R. Joshuah b. Levi was the one who said "a disciple." R. Pinchas b. Hama lectured: It is written [1 Kings, 11:21]: "And when Hadad heard in Egypt that David slept with his father and that Joab the captain of the army was dead." Why concerning David is it written "slept," and concerning Joab "dead"? Because David left a son, and Joab did not. But is it not written [Ezra, 8:9]: "From the children of Joab, Obhadia b. Jechiel"? Therefore, as "slept" is the word employed for David, we must conclude that he left a son like himself, which was not the case with Joab. Wherefore in his case the term "dead" is used. And he also said: Poverty in the house of one is harder than fifty plagues, as it is written [Job, 19:21]: "Spare me, spare me, O ye my friends! for the hand of God hath touched me." And he was answered [ibid. 36:21]: "Thou hast chosen this instead of poverty." The same said again: If one has a sick person in his house, he shall go to a wise man and request him to pray for the sick one, as it is writ ten [Prov. 16:14]: "The fury of a king is like the messengers (of death; but a wise man will appease it."

"This is the rule." Rami b. Hama questioned: If the deceased left a grandfather and a brother, as did Abraham and Jacob to the estate of Esau, who had the preference? Said Rabha: Come and hear the decision of our Mishna, which states that the father has the preference before all his descendants. Rami, however, maintains that the father has the preference over his descendants, but not over the descendants of his son. (Says the Gemara:) It seems that Rami is right. As the Mishna states, this is the rule: He who has preference concerning inheritance, his descendants have the same. Now, if when Esau died Isaac and Abraham were both alive, Isaac would have had the preference to the estate; the same would have been the case if Isaac had been dead. Then Jacob would have had the preference over Abraham, because he was a descendant of Isaac. Infer from this that so it is.

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MISHNA 3.: The daughters of Z'lophchod have inherited three shares from the inheritance of their father, his share as one of the ascendants from Egypt, his share in the division of Chipher his father (who was also among the ascendants from Egypt), and because he was a first-born he inherited a double share.

GEMARA: Our Mishna is in accordance with him who said that the land was divided among the ascendants from Egypt, and not to their children (i.e., the person who entered the land of Israel, if he was among the ascendants of Egypt, took his share, and divided it among his children; and if an ascendant had died and his children entered the land, the share of their deceased father was given to them and they divided it among themselves), as we have learned in the following Boraitha: R. Iashiah said: The land was divided to the ascendants of Egypt, as it is written [Numb. 26:55], "According to the names of the tribes of their fathers." But how does this correspond with [ibid. 53], "unto these shall the land be divided," which means to those who entered the land? Those are meant who are of sufficient age (twenty years), excluding the minors. R. Jonathan, however, said that to those who entered the land it was apportioned, not to their fathers, as it is written in the verse just cited. But how would this correspond with verse 55? This inheritance is different from all other inheritances, as in all others the living inherit from the dead, and here the dead inherit from the living, and to illustrate this, said Rabbi, I shall give you a parable. It is similar to the case of two priests in one city, one of whom has one son, while the other has two; and when they go to the barn to take the Taruma, he who has only one son takes one share (e.g., a saah), and he who has two takes two shares, and they turn them over to their fathers, who divide the shares equally among themselves, according to the number of souls. Such, also, was the apportionment of the land of Israel. Each received land according to the number of his souls, and after that they divided it among themselves according to the number of the heads of the family who were of the ascendants from Egypt; hence the dead ascendants inherit from the living. R. Simeon b. Elazar, however, said that the land was apportioned to both, in the manner stated in both of the above-cited verses. How so? He who was of the ascendants from Egypt took his share among them, and he who was of those who entered the land of Israel took his share among them, and he who was of both the ascendants and the entering took his shares with both of them. The shares of the spies Joshuah and Caleb took and divided equally. Those who murmured and the congregation of Kora'h had no share in the land at all, and their children took their shares, as the direct heirs of their grandfathers on both the paternal and maternal sides. But whence do you know that in Num. xxvi. the ascendants from Egypt are meant? Perhaps it means the tribes themselves who entered the land? It is written [Ex. 6:8]: "I will give it you for an heritage." Inheritance implies from parents to children, and this was said to the ascendants from Egypt.

Said R. Papa to Abayi: It is understood by him who says. that the land was divided among the ascendants from Egypt [Num. 26:54], "To the large tribe shalt thou give the more inheritance, and to the small shalt thou give the less inheritance," etc.; but to him who says "to those who entered the land," what does this verse mean? This objection remains.

R. Papa said again to the same: To him who said that the land was divided to the ascendants it is to be understood why the daughters of Z'lophchod sued for their father's share; but according to him who says "to those who entered the land," for what did they sue? There was no share for them, as Z'lophchod was dead and he had no share. They sued that the share of their deceased father might be given to their grandfather Chipher, and that they might take their shares in succession. (He said again:) It is comprehended by him who says "the ascendants," etc., why the children of Joseph cried [Joshua, 17:14], "Why hast thou given me but one lot and one portion of inheritance?" But to him who says "to those who entered," why did they cry--each of them took his share? They cried concerning the minor children, which were numerous. Said Abayi: From all this is to be inferred that all who entered the land of Israel had a share; and if not, they protested. And lest one say that he whose protest had effect is written, and he whose protest had no effect is not written, then the protest of the children of Joseph was of no effect and nevertheless written down. This is beside the purpose of the verse, which is aimed to convey good advice to mankind; in effect, that one shall take care not to be afflicted by a covetous eye. And this is what Joshuah said to the children of Joseph [ibid. 15], "If thou art a numerous people, then get thee up to the wood country," which means, "Go and hide thyself in the forest, that no covetous eye may afflict thee"; and they answered: We are the descendants of Joseph, whom a covetous eye cannot afflict. As it is written, etc. [see Middle Gate.].

The text says that the shares of the spies Joshua and Caleb inherited. Whence is this deduced? Said Ula: It is written [Numbers, xiv. 38]: "But Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb . . . remained alive." What is meant by "remained alive"? Shall we assume it is meant literally? To this there is another verse [ibid. 26:65], "save Caleb and Joshua." We must then conclude that the first-cited verse means that they lived with their shares. Farther on they murmured, and the congregation of Kora'h had no share? But did not a Boraitha state that the shares of the spies, the murmurers, and the congregation of Kora'h, Joshua and Caleb inherited? This presents no difficulty. The Tana of our Boraitha compares the murmuring to the spies, while the other master does not, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: It is written [ibid. 27:3], "Our father died in the wilderness." Z'lophchod is meant. "But he was not of the company" means "the spies"; "of those who gathered themselves" means "the murmurers in the company of Kora'h," literally. Hence one compares the murmurers to the spies, and one does not.

Said R. Papa to Abayi: And to him who does not so compare them, did then Joshua and Caleb inherit almost the whole land of Israel (as the murmuring ones were very numerous)? And he answered: He means to say the murmurers who were among the company of Kora'h. 1

"As a first-born he inherited a double share." But why? At the time when Z'lophchod died the land was not as yet prepared for apportionment (as it was still in the possession of the nations), and it is said above that a first-born does not inherit a double share in that which is not yet in existence. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: The Mishna was meant to say "in their personal property."

Rabba opposes R. Jehudah's statement that the daughters of Z'lophchod, took four shares, as it is written [Joshua, 17:5], "Ten portions of Menasseh." Therefore said Rabba: The land of Israel was considered prepared for division, since the Lord himself promised to give it as an inheritance to Israel. An objection was raised from the following: R. Hidqua said: "I had a colleague, Simeon the Shqmuni, who was one of the disciples of R. Aqiba. He used to say thus: Moses our master was aware that the daughters of Z'lophchod were heiresses; but he did not know whether they were entitled to the share of the first-born, and the passage about the inheritance would be written through Moses, even if the case of the daughters of Z'lophchod had not happened, but they were favoured by heaven that this passage should be written through them. The same was the case with the wood-gatherer. Moses our master was aware that for the crime he committed there is a capital punishment, but he did not know by which of them he should be executed; and the passage would have been written through Moses, even if the case of the wood-gatherer had not happened. But as he was guilty, it was written through him; and this is what is meant by the reward of virtue, while the chastisement for sin is dealt out through a sinner. (See Sabbath, 1st ed., p. 55.) Now, if it be borne in mind that the land of Israel was prepared for division, why was Moses doubtful? He was doubtful in the following: It is written [Ex. 6:8] "And I will give it you for an heritage." Does this mean "an heritage from the parents"? Hence a first-born has to take a double share; or does it mean, "I give it to you--you shall bequeath it to your children" (as the decree was, that the persons ascending from Egypt were to die in the desert), and the decision was both that the land was a heritage from the parents and yet not for themselves, but to bequeath to their children? And this is what is written [ibid. 15:17]: "Bring them, and plant them." It was not said "us," and this was a prophecy, wherein they themselves did not know they were prophesying.

It is written [Num. 28:2]: "And they stood before Moses and before Elazar the priest, and before the princes and all the congregation." Is it possible that when Moses did not answer them they were going to complain before the princes? Therefore this verse must be reversed. So said R. Jashia. Abba Hanan in the name of R. Elazar said: All of them were in the college when they came to make their complaint. And the point of their differing is: Whether in presence of the master the disciple must be honoured or not. According to one, he may; and therefore he maintains that before they came before Moses they asked the princes, and he who said that this verse must be reversed, maintains that all were of the opinion that in presence of the master the disciple must not be honoured with any question. There is a Boraitha that the Halakha prevails that he may be honoured. But another Boraitha states: He may not. And it presents no difficulty. In case the master himself honours the disciple, it may be done; and in case he does not, it may not.

There is a Boraitha that the daughters of Z'lophchod were wise, understood lecturing, and were also upright. They were wise, as their protest was to the point. As R. Samuel b. R. Itz'hak said: At the time when Moses our master was sitting and lecturing about the law of Yeboom [Deut. 25:57], "If brothers dwell together," they said to him: If we are considered as a son, then let us inherit; and if we are not considered at all, then let our uncle marry our mother. And therefore [Num. 27:5]: "And Moses brought the cause before the Lord." They understood lecturing, as they said: If he should have a son, we would not say a word. But there is a Boraitha that they said: If there should be a daughter. How is this to be understood? Said R. Jeremiah: Ignore the Boraitha. Abayi, however, said: "It is not necessary to ignore it. As they said: If there should be a daughter from a son, we would not say a word. They were upright, in that they each only married him who was respectable and fit for them. R. Eliezer b. Jacob taught: Even the youngest of them was not less than forty years of age when she married. Is that so? Did not R. Hisda say: If a woman marries at less than twenty years of age she bears children until sixty. After twenty she bears until forty; but when she marries after forty, she does not then bear children? Because they were upright, a miracle happened to them, as to Jochebed, the mother of Moses. As it is written [Ex. 2:1]: "And there went a man of the house of Levi, and took a daughter of Levi." Is it possible that a woman of one hundred and thirty years of age should be named daughter? As R. Hama b. Hanina said: This meant Jochebed, whose mother was pregnant while on the road to Egypt, and she was born before the walls (when they arrived in Egypt). As it is written [Num. 26:59]: "Jochebed the daughter of Levi, whom (her mother) bore to, Levi in Egypt." And why is she named daughter? Said R. Jehudah b. Zebidah: Infer from this that signs of youth returned to her. The wrinkles disappeared, the complexion became improved, and her beauty returned to her. But why is it written "he took"? It ought to read, "he remarried." Said R. Jehudah b. Zebidah: Learn from this that he did with her as if he were marrying for the first time: he placed her under a canopy. Aaron and Miriam sang before her and the angels said: "The mother of the children shall rejoice."

Farther on the Scripture mentions the daughters of Z'lophchod according to their age, and here according to their wisdom. And this is a support to R. Ami, who said: In the college the most scholarly has preference to age; at a banquet, however, age is considered. Said R. Ashi: Even in college, only he who excels in wisdom; and also concerning a banquet, only he who is of advanced age is considered (but if one has little wisdom and little more age than the others it does not matter).

In the school of R. Ishmael it was taught: All the daughters of Z'lophchod were equal in wisdom (and that they are mentioned in the Scripture differently means nothing).

R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said: It was permitted to them to marry any one of any tribe, as it is written [Num. 36:6]: "To those who are pleasing in their eyes may they become wives." But what is to be said of that which is written farther on: "Only to the family of their tribe," etc. This is to be considered as a good advice--that they should marry respectable men only who were fit for them, and not as a positive commandment.

Rabba objected: It is written [Lev. 22:3]: "Say unto them . . . in your generations." (How is this to be understood?) Say unto them, who were at the mountain of Sinai; and to "your generations" means that the same law shall apply to "all their generations." But why should it be mentioned, "the parents and their children"? Because there were some commandments for the parents only, and some applying to children only. And what are the commandments to parents only? The law [Num. 36:8]: "And every daughter that inheriteth any possession," etc. And what are the commandments to the children? Many, as e.g., heave-offering, tithe, and all others imposed upon the land of Israel.

We see, then, that the cited verse 8 prohibited marriage to other tribes at that time only? Rabba himself answered his objection: The daughters of Z'lophchod were not included in the commandments to the parents.

The master says: "The commandments belong to the fathers, but not to the sons. But whence is this deduced? From [ibid., verse 6]: 'This is the thing,' which means, 'This thing shall be customary only in their generation.' So said Rabba." Said Rabba the minor (Zuti) to R. Ashi: According to this, should Lev. 17:3, in which the same expression is used, also be "for their generation" only? And he answered: There it is different, as verse 7 reads plainly: "A statute forever shall this be unto them throughout their generations."

There is a Mishna in Tract Taanith, p. 80: "Never were any more joyous festivals in Israel than the 15th of Ahb and the Day of Atonement," etc. Why is the 15th of Ahb a festival? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: In their days the tribes were allowed to intermarry.

(Here is repeated from Taanith, pp. 91, 92, q. V.)

The rabbis-taught: There were seven men who encompassed the whole world since its creation until now: namely, Mesushelach has seen Adam the first, Shem has seen Mesushelach, Jacob has seen Shem, Amram has seen Jacob, Achiah the Shiloni has seen Amram; Elijah the prophet has seen Achiah, and the latter (Elijah) is still alive. But how can you say Achiah had seen Amram? Is it not written [Num. 26:65]: "There was not left of them one man save Caleb and Joshua"? Said R. Hamnuna: The tribe of Levi was excluded from the decree that all should die in the desert. As it is written [ibid., 14:29]: "In this wilderness shall your carcasses fall, and all that were numbered of you, according to your whole number from twenty years," etc., excluding the tribe of Levi, of which the number was from thirty years. But did not the same happen to other tribes? Is there not a Boraitha that Jair and Machir, the sons of Manasseh were born in the time of Jacob, and did not die until after the entering into the land

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of Israel? Said R. A'hab. Jacob: In that decree, they who were less than twenty, and more than sixty years old, were not included. 1

The schoolmen propounded a question: How was the land of Israel divided? Was it divided into twelve parts for twelve tribes (and for each tribe as a whole), or was it divided severally? Come and hear! [Num. 26:56]: "According as they are, many or few" (hence it was divided among the tribes and not severally). And there is also a Boraitha: "In the future the, land of Israel will be divided among thirteen tribes," while in the past it was divided only among twelve; and it was also divided by money (the explanation will be given farther on); and it was also divided only "by lot" and by the Urim v'tumim, as it is written [ibid., 56]: "by the decision of the lot." How so? Elazar was attired in the Urim v'tumim. Joshua and all Israel were standing by, and an urn containing the names of the tribes, and another, and the names of the boundaries of the land, were placed there; and Elazar, influenced by the Divine Spirit, would say thus: "Zebulon will now come out from the urn, and with him, the boundary of Akhu." And then one of the tribe of Zebulon would put his hand into the urn and draw the name of his tribe, and then put his hand into another urn and draw Akhu. And then again Elazar, influenced by the Divine Spirit, would say: Now Naphtali will come, and with him the boundary Ginousar. And so it was with each tribe. However, the division in the world to come will not be equal to the division of land in this world, as in this world, usually, the lot of one is a field of grain, and of another, one of fruits; but in the world to come, every one will have a share in the mountains, valleys, and plains. As it is written [Ezek. 48:31]: "The gates of Reuben, one," etc., which means that every one will have equal land and shares, and the Holy One, blessed be He, Himself will assign the shares. As it is written [ibid., 29]: "And these are their allotted division, said the Lord Eternal." We see, then, that the Boraitha states that in the past the division was twelve parts to the twelve tribes. Hence it was divided among the tribes and not severally. Infer from this that so it is.

The master said: The land of Israel will be divided among thirteen tribes. Who will be the thirteenth? Said R. Hisda "The prince of Israel will be the thirteenth. As it is written [ibid., 19]: "And the labourer of the city (i.e., the prince who bears the yoke of the whole city), whom men of all the tribes will serve." Said R. Papa to Abayi: But why not say that to the prince would be given a city or the like, but not a thirteenth share of all the land? 2 And he answered: This could not be borne in mind. As it is written [ibid., 21]: "And the residue shall belong to the prince, on the one side and on the other of the holy oblation, and of the possession of the city," etc. (Hence we see that a share was given to him by all tribes.)

The text says farther on: "It was divided by money." What does it mean? Shall we assume that he who had good land would pay to him who had inferior? Does the Boraitha treat of fools, who take money instead of good land? Therefore it must be said that money was paid by those who had shares near to Jerusalem to those who took their shares far from Jerusalem (nearness to Jerusalem being preferable, as it was nearer to the Temple and farther from the land of the natives, therefore in less danger than if near to them). And on this point the following Tanaim differ. R. Eliezer said that they were rewarded with money, and R. Joshua maintains that this reward was in land, as, e.g., compared with where a saah can be sown nearer to Jerusalem they took five saahs. It says farther on: "It was divided only by lots." There is a Boraitha, "except Joshua and Caleb." What does it mean? That they did not take any land at all? Is it possible? It is said above that they took the shares of the spies, etc. Hence they took what did not belong to them. So much the more what did belong to them. It means they did not take by lots, but by the decree of heaven. As it is written [Joshua, 19:50): "By the order of the Lord did they give him the city which he had asked--Timnath Serah on the mountain of Ephraim." And Caleb--as it is written [Judges, 1:20]: "And they gave Hebron unto Caleb as Moses had spoken." But was not Hebron one of the cities of refuge? It means the suburbs and villages around the city.

MISHNA 4.: A son and daughter are equal concerning inheritance. However, a son takes two shares of the estate of his father, but not of the estate of his mother; and the daughters are fed from the estate of their father, but not from that of their mother.

GEMARA: What does the Mishna mean by its statement that they are equal concerning inheritance? Shall we say that they inherit together? Is it not said above that the son and all his descendants have preference over the daughter? Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: It means to say that they are equal concerning an estate which is not yet fit for division. But have we not learned also this: That the daughters of Z'lophchod took three shares from the estate of their father, and when Z'lophchod died the land was not yet fit for division? And, secondly, what does the expression "however" mean? Said R. Papa: It means to say that they are equal in taking the share of a firstborn. It means that when a first-born died childless they took his share. But this also was already stated concerning Z'lophchod; because he was a first-born, a double share belonged to him, which his daughters inherited, and in reference to him also we do not know what the expression "however" means. Therefore said R. Ashi: It means to say that the son and daughter are equal; in case one has bequeathed to him or to her all his estate, his will must be executed. Is this in accordance with R. Johanan b. Beroka? This is said farther on by him: If one has bequeathed to them who are legal heirs, his words must be listened to? And even if one should say that our Mishna is in accordance with R. Johanan, and the succeeding Mishna is in accordance with them who differ with R. Johanan, is it not a rule that in such a case the Halakha does not prevail with the anonymous Mishna? And still, what means the word "however"? Therefore said Mar b. R. Ashi: It means that the son and daughter are equal in all cases concerning inheritance, be it the estate of father or mother. However, there is a difference between them, that the son takes two shares from the estate of the father, but does not from the estate of his mother."

The rabbis taught: It is written [Deut. 21:17]: "To give him a double portion," which means a double portion as against one brother., But perhaps it means a double portion from all the estate, and should be discussed thus: His share, when he has five brothers, should be equal to that when he has only one. As in the latter case he takes two shares from the whole estate, so it should be with the former. On the other hand, it can be discussed thus: His portion, when he has five brothers, should be equal to that when he has only one brother, in this respect, that as in the latter case he takes twice as much as his brother, so it should be in the former case, that he takes twice as much as all of them. Therefore it is written [ibid., 16] "Among his sons, what he hath." We see, then, that the Torah treats of the inheritance as among all one's sons; hence we have to take the second supposition, and not the first. It is also written [I Chron. 5:1]: "And the sons of Reuben, the first-born of Israel, for he was the first-born; but when he defiled his father's bed, his birthright was given unto the son of Joseph the son of Israel, so that the genealogy is not to be reckoned after the first birth." And it is also written [ibid., 11]: "For Judah became the mightiest of his brothers, and the prince descended from him; while the first birthright belonged to Joseph."

Now the case of the first-born is mentioned concerning Joseph, and also concerning generations; as in the case of Joseph, it was only twice as much as each of the brothers. As it is written [Gen. 48:22]: "Moreover, I have given unto thee one portion above thy brothers." So also is it with the case mentioned as to generations, that the first-born should have only one portion more than his brothers. It is written farther on: "Which I took out of the hand of the Emorite with my sword and with my bow." Did he indeed take it with sword and bow? Is it not written [Ps. 44:7]: "For not in my bow will I trust, and my sword shall not help me."? Therefore we must explain that "with his sword" he means prayer, and "with my bow" supplication.

To what purpose was it necessary to cite all the verses? Lest one say that the cited verse in the above Boraitha is needed for R. Johanan's above theory; therefore the other cited verse, etc.

Said R. Papa to Abayi: How is it inferred from the last cited verse that Jacob gave Joseph twice as much as to all his brothers? Perhaps he presented to him only a like estate? And he answered: To thy question. the Scripture says [Gen. 48:5]: "Ephraim and Manasseh shall be unto me as Reuben and Simeon." (Hence we see that he had twice as much as his brothers, who each were counted as one tribe, and he for two.)

R. Helbo questioned R. Samuel b. Na'hmeni: What is the reason that Jacob took away the privilege of the first-born from Reuben and gave it to Joseph? You ask for the reason. Does not the Scripture state the reason: "When he defiled his father's bed"? I mean to say: Why did he give it to Joseph? And he rejoined: I will tell you a parable to which this case is similar: There was one who had raised an orphan in his house. At a later period the orphan became rich, and thought, I will recompense my benefactor (because Joseph supported his father in the years of famine, therefore he recompensed him). Said R. Helbo to him: And how would, it be if Reuben had not sinned: then Jacob would have given nothing to Joseph? Thereto I shall tell you what R. Jonathan your master said concerning this: The first-born had to come from Rachel. As it is written [ibid., 37]: "These are the generations of Jacob. Joseph." But Leah was preferred by virtue of her prayers. Because of the very chastity of Rachel, the Holy One, blessed be He, returned it to her. And what were Rachel's virtues? As it is written [ibid., 12]: "And Jacob told Rachel that he was her father's brother, and that he was Rebekah's son." The brother of her father? Was he not the son of her father's sister? It was thus: He asked her whether she would marry him, and she said, Yea, but my father is very shrewd, and you cannot persuade him. And to the question: What does it mean? she answered: I have a sister who is older than myself, and my father will not give me to you while she is not married. Then he said: I am his brother in shrewdness. She then asked him: Is it, then, allowed to the upright to be shrewd? And he answered: Yea; as it is written [2 Sam. 22:27]: "With the pure thou wilt show thyself pure, and with the perverse thou wilt wage a contest." And then he furnished her with some signs, that when she should be brought to him he would ask her for these signs, that he might be sure that she was not exchanged for Leah. Thereafter, when Leah was brought to him instead of Rachel, the latter thought, Now Leah will be ashamed, and confided to her the signs. And this is what is written [Gen. 29:25]: "And it came to pass that in the morning, behold, it was Leah," from which it is to be inferred that until the morning he did not know that she was Leah, because of the signs which Leah received from Rachel.

Abba Halipha Qruyah questioned R. Hyya b. Abba: Of Jacob's children who came to Egypt in sum you find seventy; however, if you will number them in detail, you will find only sixty-nine. And he answered: There was a twin with Dinah. As it is written [ibid., 46:15]: "With Dinah his daughter." According to your theory there was a twin with Benjamin also, as the same expression was used? He said then: A valuable pearl was in my hand, and you were about to abstract it. So said R. Hama b. Haninah: This was Jochebed, whose mother was pregnant, and bore her before the walls (see above).

R. Helbo questioned again R. Samuel b. Na'hmeni: It is written [Gen. 30:25]: "And it came to pass, when Rachel had borne Joseph," etc. Why when Joseph was born? And he answered: Because Jacob our father saw that the descendants of Esau would become submissive to the descendants of Joseph only. As it is written [Obadiah, 1:18]: "And the house of Jacob shall be a fire, and the house of Joseph a flame, and the house of Esau a stubble." Helbo objected to him from [I Sam. 30:17]: "And David smote them from the twilight even unto the evening of next day," etc. Hence we see that they were submissive also to David, who was a descendant of Judah, and not of Joseph. Answered Samuel: The one who made you read the prophets did not do so with the Hagiographa, in which it is written [1 Chron. 12:21] "And as he was going over to Ziklag . . . captains of the thousands that belonged to Manasseh." Hence they were submissive to the descendants of Joseph. R. Joseph objected from [ibid., 4:42 and 43]: "And some of them, even of the sons of Simeon, five hundred men, went to mount Seir, having at their head Pelatyah and Nearyah and Rephayah, and Uzziel, the sons of Yishi. And they smote the rest of the Amalekites that were escaped, and dwelt there unto this day." Said Rabba b. Shila: Yishi was a descendant of Manasseh. As it is written [ibid., v. 24]: And these were the heads of their family divisions: namely, Epher and Yishi."

The rabbis taught: "The first-born takes a double share in the shoulders, in two cheeks and the maw, in the consecrated things, and also in the improvement of the estate which was improved after the father's death. How so? If the father left them a cow which was hired to others, or she was pasturing on the meadow and she brought forth offspring, the first-born takes a double share. If, however, the heirs build houses or plant orchards, the first-born does not take a double share."

Let us see how was the case with the shoulders, etc. If already in the father's hand, it is self-evident; and if not when still alive, then it was not yet in existence; and there is a rule that a first-born does not take a double share in that which is fit, but not yet in existence? The Boraitha treats of a case where the priest has acquaintance among people who usually give such a gift to him only, and the cattle were slaughtered while the father was still alive. And the Tana of the Boraitha holds that the above gifts are considered separated immediately after slaughtering, although they were not as yet taken off. It states farther on: If the father left them a cow, etc. Let us see: It teaches that the first-born takes a double share, even when it was under the control of others. Is it not self-evident that so much the more does the rule apply when it was pasturing on the meadow under proper control? It comes to teach us that the case "hired out to others" should be equal to pasturing in the meadow in this respect, that the heirs not needing to feed it, the improvement came of itself; but not when the heirs fed it, as then the improvement would be considered as made by the heirs, of which no double share is given. And this Boraitha is in accordance with Rabbi of the following Boraitha: A first-born does not take a double share in the improvement of an estate which was improved after the father's death. Rabbi, however, said: I say that he takes, provided the improvements came by themselves, but not if improved by the heirs.

When they inherited a promissory note, the first-born took a double share; and if there was left a promissory note from the father, the first-born had to pay a double share. If, however, he says, "I will not pay double and also not take a double share," he may do so. What is the reason of the rabbis? It is written [Deut. 21:17]: "To give him a double portion." We see that the Scripture considers this a gift; and a gift is not considered unless it comes to one's hand. The reason of Rabbi is, because it is written "a double portion." We see, then, that the Scripture equals this to an ordinary share; and as concerning an ordinary share it is considered belonging to the heir even before it reaches his hand, the same is the case with the double share.

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Said R. Papa: In case the father left a small tree, and pending the time of inheritance it became large; or unmanured earth, which has improved by itself, all agree that a double share is given. In what they differ is, in a case where the father dies when the seeds are as yet growing, and at the time of dividing the inheritance had been made into sheaves; or date-trees were as yet blooming, and at the time, of dividing bore dates. According to one, it is to be considered an improvement by itself; and according to the other, it is considered changed to another article, of which a double share is not to be given.

Rabba b. Hana in the name of R. Hyya said: If one has acted in accordance with the decision of Rabbi, the act is valid; and the same is when he has acted in accordance with the decision of the sages. And the reason is because R. Hyya was doubtful whether the Halakha prevails with Rabbi when he differs with an individual, or it is so even when he differs with a majority (as in this case a majority differs with him). Hence it cannot be considered a wrong act if one has acted according to one of the decisions. Said R. Na'hman in the name of Rabh: It is prohibited to act in accordance with Rabbi [as he holds that the Halakha prevails with Rabbi against an individual only]. R. Na'hman, however, himself maintains that it is permitted to act in accordance with Rabbi [as he holds that the Halakha prevails with Rabbi even against a majority]. Said Rabba: It is prohibited to act in accordance with Rabbi to start with; however, if one did so, his act is valid [and his reason is, that in such a case where Rabbi differs with the majority, the college has to teach in accordance with the majority to start with, but it cannot compel the one who acted in accordance with Rabbi to ignore his act].

It was taught: R. Na'hman taught in the Mechilta and Siphre, it is written [Deut. 21:17]: "Of all that is found in his possession," means to exclude the improvement which was made by the heirs after the father's death, but not that which improved by itself. And this is in accordance with Rabbi. Rami b. Hama, however, taught in the above-mentioned books that it excludes that which improved by itself, and so much the more that which was improved by the heirs. And this is in accordance with the sages.

R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel: A first-born does not take a double share in a loan. According to whom is it? It cannot be in accordance with the rabbis, as they exclude him even from an improvement which is under the heirs' control; so much less of a thing which is not under their control. It must then be said that this is in accordance with Rabbi. But then the Boraitha which states. "If they inherit a promissory note, the first-born takes a double share in the loan, as well as in the interest," will not be in accordance with both the rabbis and Rabbi. It may be that Samuel's statement is in accordance with the sages; and nevertheless he has to teach this, lest one say, because he holds the promissory note in his hand, it is to be considered as already collected, he comes to teach us that it is not so.

"A message was sent from Palestine, that he takes a double share in the loan, but not in the interest." According to whom is this? It cannot be in accordance with the rabbis, for the reason stated above; and also not. in accordance with Rabbi, who states in a Boraitha that he takes a double share in the loan, as well as in the interest? It is in accordance with the sages; but the Palestinians hold that a note is considered as already collected.

Said R. A'ha b. Rabh to Rabhina: Amimar happened to be in our city, and lectured: "A first-born takes a double share in a loan, but not in the interest thereof. And Rabhina answered: The Nahardeans are in accordance with their theory elsewhere (both Amimar and R. Na'hman were from Nahardea), as in such a case Rabba said that if the heirs recovered real estate on a loan of their father a double share is given, but not if they collected money. R. Na'hman, however, holds the reverse: A double share is given if money is collected, but not on real estate. Said Abayi to Rabba: There is a difficulty concerning your decision, and also concerning the decision of R. Na'hman. Concerning your decision, the reason of which is to be supposed that their father left to them not this money now collected, as he left a promissory note only; but why should it not be the same with the estate? Did, then, their father leave real estate to them? Moreover, you, master, said that the reason given by the Palestinians concerning the case of a certain old woman (stated farther on) seems to you a right one, and this certainly contradicts your present decision. And concerning R. Na'hman's there is also the same difficulty, as his reason must be that there is no double share from the collected estate, because they did not inherit it from their father. Why should it not be the same with money, as the collected money was not of the inheritance of their father. Moreover, did not R. Na'hman say in the name of Rabba b. Abuhu, that if orphans have recovered real estate for a debt to their father, and there was a creditor to whom their father was indebted, the creditor might take away the estate which they recovered? (Hence he (R. Na'hman) considers the recovered estate as if left by the deceased--why, then, should there not be given a double share?) Answered Rabba: There is no difficulty concerning my statement, nor concerning R. Na'hman's, as we both have pointed out only the reason of the Palestinians by which, according to my theory, a double share is given from real estate, but not for money; and to R. Na'hman's it is the reverse. But our own opinion is, that neither from real estate nor from money is a double share given.

What was the case of the old woman, mentioned above? There was one who wrote in his will: "My estate shall be given to my old grandmother, but after her death it shall belong to my heirs." The deceased had a married daughter, who died while her husband and the deceased grandmother were still alive; and her husband, after the death of the old woman, demanded the estate of his father-in-law, which was in the hand of his grandmother. And R. Huna's decision was: His claim is right, as the will states, "After her, my heirs shall inherit it," which is to be explained, "My heirs, and the heirs of my heirs." R. Anan's decision, however, was: His claim is not to be considered, as the will states, "to my heirs," and he was not his heir, but the heir of his daughter. And the Palestinians sent a message: The Halakha prevails with R. Anan, but not for his reason, as, according to his reason, even should his daughter leave a son, he would also not inherit; and this is not so, as the reason why the husband could not inherit is, that the law that the husband inherits from his wife holds good only when she left real estate, but not such an estate as was not as yet in her hands, but to come, which is not the case with a son, who inherits this also.

But shall we assume that R. Huna holds that one may inherit even an estate which was not as yet in the hands of his wife? Said R. Elazar: This case was discussed by great men, and the final decision, with its reason, will be rendered by a small man like my humble self. Every one who says "after thee" is to be considered as if he were to say "from to-day" (i.e., the above will states "after her," which means the estate shall belong to "my heirs from to-day, but they are not to use the products so long as the old woman is alive"). Rabba, however, said: It seems to me that the reason given by the Palestinians is good as, according to that will, if the old woman should sell the estate, the sale would be valid.

R. Papa said: The Halakha prevails that a husband does not inherit a property which was to come in the future to his wife, and the same is the case with a first-born. He--the first-born--also does not take a double share in a recovered loan, in real estate or money; and, furthermore, if the first-born owes money to his father, the share which belongs to a first-born is to be divided, half to himself and the other half to his brothers. (The reason is, according to Rashbam, because this share is considered doubtful money, as it is not certain that the first-born is to be considered an occupant with respect to it, the supposition being that he has mortgaged all his estate for this debt to his father for the purpose that, in case of his father's death, he should take a double share. And there is a rule that doubtful money is to be divided. And according to Gershom, the reason is because this loan is not to be compared with the loan of a stranger, as he who is an heir is also an occupant with respect to this debt, and this gives him title to a half of the share in question.)

Said R. Huna in the name of R. Assi: If the first-born protests when his brothers come to improve the estate left by their father, saying: "They shall delay improvement until after division," this protest must be considered in case they have not listened to him, and he takes a double share in the improvement also. Said Rabba: The decision given by R. Assi seems to me right in case, e.g., they inherited vines, and the improvement was by gathering the grapes from the vines; or they inherited olives, and took them off from the trees: but if they made wine or oil thereof, the protest is not to be considered. R. Joseph, however, maintains: Also in the latter case, it is to be considered. Why? They inherited grapes, and now it is wine! As R. Uqba b. Hama said elsewhere: It means he shall receive a double share of the value of the grapes. The same is the case here. I.e., if it happened that the vine was of less value than the grapes, he might claim his double share in the grapes, as he has protested that wine be not made of them. And where did Uqba say this? In reference to the statement of R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel, that if a first-born and his brother have inherited vines or olives, and gathered them, the first-born takes a double share of them, even when they were pressed. Pressed! Were they not first grapes, and now wine? Mar Uqba b. Hama explained that it means that the first-born receives his full double share of the value of the grapes, as explained above.

R. Assi said: If, at the dividing, the first-born took an equal share with his other brother, it is to be considered that he has relinquished his right. R. Papa in the name of Rabha said: He has relinquished his right in the divided estate only. R. Papi in the name of Rabha, however, said: It is to be considered that he has relinquished his right on all the estates. The reason of the former is because he holds that the first-born has nothing until the estate is divided. Therefore he can relinquish his right only in the divided ones. And the latter holds that as soon as the father dies the double share belongs to the first-born, even before division. And therefore, as he has relinquished his right in the divided estate, so has he done with all others. Both statements, however, were not said by Rabha plainly, but were inferred from the following act: There was a first-born who sold all the estate belonging to him and his brother. The orphans of his brother were going to eat dates of the estate belonging to their father, which was in the possession of the buyers, who struck them. Their relatives said to the buyers: It is not enough for you that you have bought their estate without the consent of the father and the orphans, you dare to strike them. And the case came before Rabha, who decided that the act of the first-born was null and void. R. Papi explained that it means he did nothing with the share belonging to the ordinary brother, but concerning his own share, the sale was valid; and R. Papa explained the decision of Rabha, that the whole sale was null and void, because the first-born had nothing in the estate before it was divided.

A message was sent from Palestine: If a first-born sold out before division, he did nothing. Hence they hold that the firstborn had nothing before the division. The Halakha, however, prevails that he has. Mar Zutra of Drishba had divided a basket of pepper with his brothers, and took an equal share, though he was a first-born; and when the case came before R. Ashi, he decided that as he relinquished his right concerning the pepper, it was also relinquished on all other property.

MISHNA 5.: If one said in his will, "My son so and so, who is a first-born, shall not take a double share," or, "My son so and so shall not inherit at all with his brothers," he said nothing, as this provision is against the law in the Scripture. If, however, he has divided all his goods in his verbal will, and to some of his heirs he has bequeathed more and to some less, also equalizing the first-born, his will is valid, provided he has not mentioned in his will the word "inheritance." But if he said "because of inheritance," it is not to be considered. If there was a written will in which, in the beginning, middle, or end, was mentioned "a gift," all that it contains is to be listened to.

GEMARA: Shall we assume that our Mishna is not in accordance with R. Jehudah, who said in Tract Kedushin that a condition against the law in the Scripture, if in money matters, may be listened to? This Mishna can be even in accordance with him, as in that case the woman was aware of the law, but relinquished her right. In our case, however, no one has relinquished.

R. Joseph said: "If one said in his will, 'My son so and so is my first-born,' he takes a double share. If, however, he said, 'My son so and so is a first-born,' he does not, as perhaps it was meant he was a first-born to his mother." There was one who came before Rabba b. b. Hana as a witness that he was certain so and so was a first-born. And to the question: Whence do you know it? he answered: Because his father called him "the first-born fool." And he said: This is no evidence, as people used to name a first-born to his mother first-born fool (i.e., a first-born without right).

It happened that another came before R. Hanina as a witness for a first-born, and to the question: Whence do you know it? he answered: His father used to say, "Go to Sh'kh'at my son, who is a first-born, whose spittle cures eyes." But perhaps he meant a first-born to his mother? There is a tradition that a first-born of the father cures, and a first-born to his mother does not.

R. Ami said: If born ατμητος, and after perforation found to be a male, he does not take a double share, as it is written [Deut. 21:15], "first-born son," which means a son when born. R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak said that also the law of ibid., ibid. 18 does not apply to him. Amimar said: Such is not considered an heir at all, so that his share is not to be reckoned, and does not diminish the double share for the first-born. R. Shezby said: He must also not be circumcised on the eighth day. And R. Shrabyah said: The law [Lev. 12:2] does also not apply to such (as in all the cited verses it reads a son or a male child). Said Rabha: There is a Boraitha in accordance with R. Ami: It is written a son, but not ατμητος; a first-born, but not a doubtful one. What does the latter part mean to exclude? That which Rabha lectured: If two wives of one have born two sons in a secret place which was dark, and it is not known who was born first, they may write a power of attorney each to the other (i.e., if I am the first-born, I authorize you to take the double share for me; and if you are, then take it for yourself. And then one of them collects the double share and divides it with the other. Said R. Papa to Rabha: But did not Rabbin send a message: I have questioned all my masters about the law in this case, and could get no answer from any of them; but it was said in the name of R. Janai that if they were recognised, and afterward they were mixed up again, then the stated power of attorney is to be written, but not otherwise. Then Rabha took an interpreter and announced in college: That which I said in my first lecture was an error, as in the name of R. Janai was said thus: That if they were already recognised and afterward mixed, then the above-mentioned power of attorney should be given to each by the other, etc.

The inhabitants of a village situated in a meadow sent the following question to Samuel: Master, teach us where it was certain to the people that so and so, from the children of so

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and so, was a first-born. Their father, however, said that another was the first-born. How is the law? And his answer was: They should write the above-mentioned power, one to the other.

According to whom was Samuel's decision? If he holds in accordance with R. Jehudah, let him say so; and if in accordance with the rabbis, let him say so? He was in doubt according to whom the Halakha prevails. And wherein is their differing? The following Boraitha: It is written [ibid., ibid. 17]: "Shall he acknowledge," which means, he shall introduce him to others (which is superfluous, this being already written in the previous verse). From this said R. Jehudah: One is to be trusted if he testifies, "This is my first-born son." And as he is trusted concerning a first-born, so is he also to be trusted to testify, "This is a son of a divorced woman," and of lost priesthood. The sages, however, say that he is not trusted. Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak to Rabha: According to R. Jehudah's theory, the above-cited verse is right; but according to the rabbis, to what purpose is it written? That in case of a doubt the father's acknowledgment is needed (but in a case of certainty to the people that one was a first-born, the father is not trusted in denying it). But to what does such a law apply? If concerning a double share, even if he was not a first-born, has the father not a right to bequeath him a double share in the manner of a gift? It means, in case the father acquired estates after acknowledgment (i.e., if he is to be trusted, the acknowledged first-born takes a double share; and if not, he does not). But according to R. Meier, who said that one may grant a thing not yet in existence, to what purpose is the above verse written? If property came to him while he was struggling with death.

The rabbis taught: If one was known to the people as a firstborn, and his father said of another, that he was the first-born, he is to be trusted; and if one was known to the people as not a first-born, his father, however, testifying that he is, he is not to be trusted. The first part is in accordance with R. Jehudah, and the latter with the rabbis. R. Johanan said: If he has testified, "He is my son," and thereafter said, "He is my bondsman," he is not to be trusted. If, however, he testified, "He is my bondsman," and thereafter, "He is my son," he is to be trusted; as the first testimony is to be considered as if he should say, "He serves me like a bondsman." The reverse is the case when at the house of taxes. If he said before the officers, "He is my son," and afterwards, "my bondsman," he is to be trusted, as the first statement was to avoid the payment of taxes for his slave; but if he said before the officers, "He is my bondsman," and thereafter, "my son," he is not to be trusted. An objection was raised from the following: If he has served him like a son, and he acknowledged him as such, and thereafter he said, "he is my bondsman," he is not to be trusted; and the same is the case if he has served him like a bondsman, and was acknowledged by him as such, and thereafter he said, "He is my son": he is not to be trusted. (Hence this contradicts R. Johanan.) Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: The Boraitha treats of when he was called "the slave who costs me a hundred zuz," and such a thing a father would not say of his son.

R. Abba sent a message to R. Joseph b. Hama: If one says, "You have stolen my slave," and the defendant says, "I have not," and to the question, "What, then, is he doing with you?" the defendant answers, "They sold him to me," or "gave him to me as a present; and if you wish, take an oath that it was not so, and then you can take him." And if the plaintiff did so,(although, according to the law, the plaintiff had no right to take him with an oath, and for the defendant no other evidence or oath is necessary, if he would not say so), the defendant has no right to retract from his previous words.

What news came he to teach us? This we have already learned in a Mishna (Sanh. 3, 2)? He comes to teach that the differing of R. Meier and the sages is in a case equal to our case, and the Halakha prevails in accordance with the sages.

The same R. Abba sent a message to the same R. Joseph: The Halakha prevails that a creditor may collect from bondsmen belonging to orphans for their father's debt. R. Na'hman, however, said: He must not.

The former sent another message to the same: The Halakha prevails that to a second-cousin a third-cousin may be a witness (according to the law, relatives must not be witnesses, and Abba comes to teach that a third to a second-cousin, which means a great-grandson to a grandson, is not considered a relative in this respect). Rabha, however, said: The third-cousin is competent as a witness even to the first-cousin. Mar. b. R. Ashi had accepted a grandfather as a witness: the Halakha, however, does not prevail with him. The same sent another message to the same: If one can witness about an estate, and he became blind, he is no longer competent as a witness in the case. Samuel, however, maintains that he is, as it is still possible for him to mark the boundaries; but concerning a garment, he is not. R. Shesheth, however, maintains that even in case of a garment he is still competent, as he may mark the width and the length of the garment; but not in a piece of metal. R. Papa, however, maintains that even in such a case he is still competent, as he may be aware of the weight.

An objection was raised: If one were cognizant of a case before he became a son-in-law to one of the parties, and the case came before the court after he became a son-in-law; or he was cognizant of the case when he was still in good health, and afterward became dumb, blind, or insane, he is not competent as a witness. But if he was cognizant of the case before becoming a son-in-law, and thereafter married a daughter, but she died before the case came before the court; or he was in good health when he became cognizant of the case, and also when it came before the court, but in the time between he became dumb, blind, etc., and cured, he is fit to be a witness. This is the rule: If in the beginning or the end of the case he was not competent, his testimony is not to be considered; but if he was competent both at the beginning and the end, but not in the time between, his testimony holds good. This opposes the statements of all the Amoraim as above, and the objection remains.

R. Abba sent another message to R. Joseph b. Hama: If one say, "Of one child among the others," he is to be trusted. R. Johanan, however, says: He is not. What does this mean? Said Abayi: If one says, "This child shall inherit all my estates," he is to be listened to in accordance with R. Johanan b. Beroka. R. Johanan, however, says: He is not to be listened to, in accordance with the rabbis. Rabha, however, opposed: Does the message say he shall or shall not "inherit"? It says "trusted." Therefore he explained it thus: "If one testifies to one child among his children that he is the first-born, he is to be trusted, in accordance with R. Jehudah. R. Johanan, however, says: He is not to be trusted, in accordance with the rabbis. The same sent another message to the same. If one said in his will, "My wife shall take an equal share in my estates with one of my sons," he is to be listened to. Said Rabha: It holds good only concerning the estate in possession when the will was made, but not concerning the estate bought thereafter, and also that she takes an equal share with one of his children at the time of dividing (i.e., if his children increased in number after the will was made, she takes her share accordingly, but not according to the number of children at the time the will was made). The same sent another message to the same: If one holds in his hands a promissory note, saying, "Nothing was paid," but the borrower say, "The half is paid," and witnesses testify that the whole amount is paid, the borrower has to take an oath that he paid the half, and then the lender may collect the other half from unencumbered, but not from encumbered estate, as the people by whom the estate is encumbered may claim, "We rely upon the witnesses that the whole amount is paid." And even according to R. Aqiba (Middle Gate, p. 5), the borrower may be considered as one who returns a lost thing-that is, if there are no witnesses; but if there are, R. Aqiba also admits that a half must be paid, as it is to be supposed that the borrower has admitted the half when he has seen that there are witnesses, and he did not know whether they were for or against him, and therefore lie admitted a half. Mar. b. R. Ashi opposed: Even in accordance with R. Simeon b. Elazar, who said that the admission is to be considered, as an admission in part, to which an oath is given biblically, it is only when there are no witnesses who support him; but not in this case, where witnesses support him: he is certainly considered as if he returned a lost thing. Mar Zutra in the name of R. Simeon b. Ashi lectured: The Halakha prevails in accordance with all messages that were sent by R. Abba to R. Joseph b. Hama. Said Rabhina to R. Ashi: But does not R. Na'hman oppose one of the above messages (and there is a rule that the Halakha prevails with R. Na'hman concerning money matters)? And he answered: We read the above message: It must not be collected; and so also said R. Na'hman. If so, what does Mar Zutra mean to exclude by his statement that the Halakha prevails with all the messages? It cannot mean Rabha's above statement, as he does not oppose, but explain; and also not Mar b. R. Ashi's, who said that a grandfather is competent as a witness. It is already said there that the Halakha does not prevail with him. And should we say that it means to exclude Samuel's, R. Shesheth's, and R. Papa's concerning witnesses who were not competent at the time the cases came before the court, they also were already objected? Therefore, we must say he came to exclude R. Johanan's statement, and the opposition of Mar b. R. Ashi as above.

"If it was mentioned in. the beginning," etc. How is this to be illustrated? When R. Dimi came from Palestine, he said in the name of R. Johanan: "There shall be given such and such a field to so and so, who shall inherit it"--this is considered as if "gift" were written in the beginning. "So and so shall inherit such and such a field, and it shall be given to him"--this is a gift in the end. "He shall inherit, and it shall be given to him to inherit"--this is considered "gift" in the middle. This, however, is if there were one man and one field--i.e., "Such and such a field shall be given to A, and he shall inherit"; but if it was written, "The field on the east side shall be given to A, and he shall also inherit such on the west side," that concerning which inheritance is mentioned is not to be considered, as it is against the biblical law. The same is the case where there was one field and two persons, as, e.g., "A shall inherit a half of such and such, and the other half be given to B." R. Elazar, however, maintains: The law holds good even in the latter cases, but not when there are two fields and two persons. When Rabbin came from Palestine, he said: "If one wrote, "The field on the east side shall be given to A, and B shall inherit that on the west side"--according to R. Johanan, title is acquired, and according to R. Elazar it is not. Said Abayi to him: Your saying is right concerning R. Elazar, as he said above that when there are two fields and two persons the will is not to be considered; but it contradicts R. Johanan's above statement. And he answered: R. Dimi and I differ in the statement which was made in the name of R. Johanan. Resh Lakish, however, maintains that title is not acquired unless it is stated plainly, "A and B shall inherit such and such fields which I have presented to them as a gift." Then they should inherit (i.e., as this will speaks about two persons, "gift" must be mentioned twice, so that it should constitute a gift for each of them). However, in this case the Amoraim still differ. R. Hamnuna maintains that the will in question holds good only as to one person and one field, but not as to one person and two fields, or vice versa. R. Na'hman, however, said that it holds good even as to one person and two fields, or vice versa; but not as to two persons and two fields; and R. Shesheth maintains that it holds good even in the latter case.

Come and hear an objection from the following: "My estates shall belong to you, and after you so and so shall inherit, and after him so and so shall inherit. If the first heir dies, title is given to the second; if the second dies, title is given to the third; but if the second dies while the first is still alive, the estate must be turned over to the heirs of the first one." Now, is not the case in that Boraitha equal to two fields and two men, and nevertheless it states that title is given? And lest one say that the Boraitha also treats of a case in which the persons mentioned are all direct heirs of the testator, and it is in accordance with R. Johanan b. Beroka's statement said above, then how is to be understood the latter part: "If the second dies, title is given to the third"? Did not R. A'ha b. R. Ivia send a message that in accordance with R. Johanan b. Beroka, if one says, "My estates shall belong to you, and after you to so and so," if the first was a direct heir, the second has nothing in the estate, as the expression is not to be considered as a "gift," but as an "inheritance"? And there is no interruption concerning an inheritance (i.e., an inheritance cannot be halved so that a half of the inheritance shall belong to the direct heir and the other half to the second, and also cannot be interrupted by the death of the regular heir, but is to be inherited by his heirs). Hence, the Boraitha is an objection to the statements of all the Amoraim mentioned above, and so it remains.

Shall we then assume that it also objects to Resh Lakish's statement (i.e., that the Halakha does not prevail with him)? How can this be imagined? Did not Rabha say that the Halakha prevails with Resh Lakish in certain three things, one of which being his statement made above? This presents no difficulty. The Boraitha cited speaks of when it was said in one speech (i.e., there was no interruption between the words, "My estate shall belong to you, and after you," etc. It is therefore to be supposed that at the time he gave title to the first he also gave it to the second; and therefore all of them acquire title). But Resh Lakish treats of when it was said with interruption (i.e., the statement of Resh Lakish that if there were two men and two fields title is not given, means that he said first, "This field shall be given to them," and after deliberating he said again, "shall inherit such a field," etc. Then the word "given" cannot be considered, in case of this other, and therefor title is not given). The Halakha prevails that all that is said in one speech is valid, except as to idolatry (i.e., if one said this shall be for the idol, and without any interruption he said for something else, the thing in question is prohibited: because of the rigor as to idolatry, the first word which was spoken is considered). And the same is the case concerning betrothing--the first word is considered and the following is not, although it was in one speech.

MISHNA 6.: If one says: "A (who is a stranger to him) shall inherit my estate," and he has a daughter, or, "my daughter shall inherit," though he has a son, he said nothing, as the provision is against the biblical law. R. Johanan b. Beroka, however, maintains that if he has bequeathed to such persons as are fit to be his heirs, his will must be listened to; but if the persons are not fit to be his heirs, it is not to be considered.

GEMARA: From the expression of the Mishna, to a stranger instead of his daughter, or to the daughter instead of a son, it is understood if it was one daughter among others, or one son among others, he may be listened to. How, then, as to the latter part? R. Johanan b. Beroka said: If the persons were fit to be his heirs, etc. Is this not the same as what the first Tana said? And lest one say that R. Johanan holds that even in the former case his will is valid, this cannot be, as the following Boraitha states: R. Ishmael the son of R. Johanan said: My father and the sages do not differ as to when one has bequeathed to a stranger instead of his daughter, or to his daughter instead of his son--he is not to be listened to; and wherein they do differ is, if he had bequeathed to one son or to one daughter among others, where according to my father his will is valid, and according to the sages it is not. (Hence there

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is a difficulty in understanding the expression of the Mishna?) If you wish, it may be said that because R. Ishmael found it necessary to say that they do not differ, there must be one who said that they do; and this was the first Tana. And if you wish, it may be said that the whole Mishna is in accordance with R. Johanan b. Beroka. But it is not complete, and should read thus: If one said: "A shall inherit my estate instead of my daughter," or "My daughter instead of my son," he said nothing. If, however, "My daughter so and so shall inherit my estate instead of my other daughters," or "my son instead of my other sons," he may be listened to; as R. Johanan b. Beroka declares that if he has bequeathed all his estate to him who is one of his direct heirs, his will is valid.

Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: The Halakha prevails with R. Johanan. And so also said Rabha. And he added: What is the reason of R. Johanan b. Beroka? [Deut. 21:16]: "Then shall it be, when he divideth as inheritance among his sons what he hath," means that the Torah gave permission to the father to bequeath his estate to whichever of his sons he pleased. Said Abayi to him: This may be inferred from "that he shall not institute the son of the beloved as the firstborn before," etc. We see that this is said only about the firstborn, but not about the other sons. Nay, the latter is needed in addition to what we have learned in the following Boraitha: Aba Hanan in the name of R. Eliezer said: To what purpose is it written, "that he shall not institute," etc.? Because from the beginning of the verse it is deduced that permission is given to a father to bequeath his estate to whom he pleases. And one may discuss thus: An ordinary son has the privilege to take his share in the estate which is not yet fit for division as if it were already fit, and nevertheless his father has the permission to ignore him; a first-born, who has no such privilege, so much the more he could be ignored. Therefore it is written, "He shall not institute," etc. But let the Scripture read, "he shall not institute," only. Why the first half of the verse? Because one may discuss thus: a first-born, who has not the privilege to take his double share from that which is not yet fit, has nevertheless the privilege that he cannot be ignored by his father. An ordinary son, who has the privilege, so much the more he should not be ignored. Therefore the beginning of the verse, from which we infer that the father is permitted to bequeath his estates to whom he pleases, was necessary.

Said R. Zrika in the name of R. Ami, quoting R. Hanina, who said so in the name of Rabbi: The Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Johanan b. Beroka: Said R. Abba to him: He did not say so, but he decided so in a case (which came before him.) And what is the difference? One holds preference is to be given to a statement (i.e., if he states that so the Halakha prevails, it is a teaching forever; but if he was only acting so, it may be said that it was only according to the circumstances and we cannot take it for a rule forever). And the other holds that the preference may be given to an act.

The rabbis taught: A Halakha must not be taken for granted from a discussion or from an act, as one has no right to act unless he is told to do so. If he questioned his master and he told him such and such a Halakha is to be practised, then he may go and act so, provided he does not compare one case to another. But do we not compare one thing to the other in the laws of the Torah? Said R. Ashi: It means to say that he must not compare one thing to the other in the law of dietary (i.e., an animal which is fit for eating biblically, if it has such a sickness that it cannot live twelve months, it must not be used). In Tract Chulin the diseases are enumerated, but such diseases as are not enumerated there are discussed whether in connection with lawful use or otherwise. And it is said that in such cases no comparison is to be taken in consideration unless known by tradition. As we have learned in a Boraitha, one must not say, concerning Trepheth (sickness which makes the animal illegal): This is similar to this. And one should not be surprised, as, if one cuts a piece of the animal from one side, it may remain alive; and from another side, and it dies immediately.

R. Assi questioned R. Johanan: "If you, master, declare a Halakha to us, saying that such is the law, may we practise accordingly? And he answered: You shall not practise unless I tell You that such is for practice. Said Rabha to R. Papa and to R. Huna b. R. Joshua: If it should happen that my written resolution in a judgement should come to your hands, and you should see some objection concerning it, you shall not tear it before seeing me; for if I should have some reason to approve it I will tell you, and if not I will retract from it. But if the same should happen after my death, you shall not tear it, and at the same time you shall not take it for an example for other cases. You shall not tear it, because, if I were alive, probably I would approve it by a good reason; and shall not take it for an example, as a judge has to act only according to his conviction and to that which he sees with his own eyes.

Rabha questioned: How is it when one bequeaths his estates to one son among others, while he is still in good health? Shall we assume that R. Johanan b. Beroka's statement is concerning a sick person only, to whom the above-cited passage may apply, but not concerning one who is in good health (when it is not usual for one to divide his estate), or it does not matter, and one may bequeath his estate when he pleases? Said R. Mesharshia to him: Come and hear the following: R. Nathan said to Rabbi: You have taught the following Mishna: If one has not written in the marriage contract, "Male children borne of you by me shall inherit the amount mentioned in your marriage contract in addition to their share among their other brothers," he is nevertheless responsible in this respect, as this stipulation is made by the Beth Din (court). And Rabbi answered him: It is to be read in that Mishna, instead of "inherits," they shall "take" (which means a gift, and to this all agree that the father has a right). Thereafter, however, Rabbi said: My youth made me presume to contradict Nathan the Babylonian, as I see now--from the law that male children cannot collect their mother's marriage contract from encumbered estate--that Nathan, who declared the expression of the Mishna to be "inherited" was right, as if the expression were as I declared, why, then, should they not collect from encumbered estates also? (Hence we see that one even in good health has the right to bequeath, etc., as the Mishna treats of one entering into marriage.) And who is the one who holds that one may give the preference to one of his sons among others, if not R. Johanan b. Beroka? Hence there is no difference if he does it while sick or in good health. Infer from this that so it is.

Said R. Papa to Abayi: Let us see. According to both, no matter if the expression in the Mishna is "inherit" or "take," why should this hold good? Is there not a rule that one cannot grant to some one a thing which is not as yet in his hands? And even according to R. Meir, maintains that one may do so, it is when the thing is in existence, but not as yet in his hands. Here, however, concerning the marriage contract the male children are not at all in existence, and in such a case even R. Meir admits that one cannot. And if the answer to this question should be: When the court made a stipulation, it is different. Say then that only in a case where the stipulation of Beth Din holds, one can write so, even when he is in good health, but not otherwise? And Abayi answered: After all, it may be inferred that the Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Johanan b. Beroka, from the expression "inherit," as it could state "take" to which there is no opposition; and the choosing of the expression "inherit" shows that it agrees with R. Johanan. Thereafter, however, said Abayi: "What I said above is incorrect, as there is another Mishna: If one has not written in the marriage contract, 'The female children whom you will bear by me shall remain in my house after my death, and shall be fed from my estates until they shall marry,' he is nevertheless responsible, as this is a stipulation of the Beth Din." Now we see that the two statements which ought to be written in the marriage contract are in one case because of inheritance and in the other because of a gift; and in such a case even the opponents of R. Johanan admit that it is lawful. Said R. Nihumi, according to others R. Hananiah b. Minumi, to Abayi: But how do you know that one Beth Din has enacted both the stipulations mentioned above? Perhaps they were enacted by two different Beth Dins?

R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said: If one bequeath all his estates to his wife, it is to be considered that he makes her a guardian only. It is also certain that if he did so to his elder son, he is considered a guardian only. But how is it if he has bequeathed all his estates to his younger son? It was taught: R. H'nilai b. Aidi in the name of Samuel said that the same is the case even when his younger son was in his cradle.

It is certain that if one allot in his will an estate to a son and a stranger, the son is considered a guardian and the stranger acquires title to that which is bequeathed to him as a gift. The same is the case if to his wife and a stranger. It is also certain that when he had bequeathed his estates to his bride who was betrothed (and yet not married), or to his divorced wife, that it is a gift and they acquire title. The schoolmen, however, were doubtful when he did so to his daughter if there were sons, or to his wife if he left brothers; and also to his wife, Who had no children, but stepsons. Shall we assume that he appointed any one of them as guardian only, for the purpose that she should be respected by the heirs as long as she lived, or he made them a gift and they acquire title to the estate. Said Rabhina in the name of Rabha: The women mentioned above do not acquire title, as they are considered guardians; except the bride and also his childless wife if she is together with her stepsons. and therefore acquire title). R. Avira, however, said in the name of the same authority that all the above-mentioned women acquire title except his childless wife, if he left brothers; and also his childless wife if she is together with her stepsons.

(All that is said above treats of a will by a sick man?) Rabha questioned: How is it if this was done by one while in good health? Shall we assume that the above verse applies only to a sick man, whose last will must be respected, or the same is the case with one in good health, as for this purpose he so acted that his words should be respected from that day? Come and hear: If one writes the products of his estates to his wife, and thereafter he dies, she may collect her marriage contract from the estate itself. If he writes her a part of the estate--a half, a third, or a quarter--she may collect her marriage contract from the remainder. If, however, he had presented to her all his estates, and thereafter a creditor came holding a promissory note from the deceased, according to R. Eliezer the deed of gift shall be annulled and she shall remain by her marriage contract. The sages, however, maintain, on the contrary: The marriage contract shall be annulled and she shall remain by the deed of gift (as it may be supposed that she has relinquished her right in the marriage contract because of the gift she has received). Should, however, evidence be brought that the gift was not lawful, she remains shorn on both sides of the head. R. Jehudah the baker told that such a case happened with his sister's daughter, who was a bride; and the case came before the sages, and they decided that her marriage contract should he annulled and she should remain by her deed of gift. And thereafter the latter, for some reason, was also annulled, and she remained shorn on both sides of the head. We see, then, that if it were not for the creditor with his note, title would be given to her. Now, how was the case? Shall we assume that it was by a will from a sick man? Is it not said above that she is considered a guardian only? We must then say that it was by one in good health. Hence Rabha's question can be decided affirmatively. Nay, it may treat of a will by a sick man; and, according to R. Avira, it can apply to all the women mentioned above, and according to Rabhina's explanation it may apply to a bride and a divorced wife. Said R. Joseph b. Minumi in the name of R. Na'hman: The Halakha prevails that the marriage contract shall be annulled as the sages declare. Shall we assume that R. Na'hman does not hold the theory of supposition? Have we not learned in the following: If one's son went to the sea countries, and was thereafter reported dead, and he in consequence bequeathed all his estates to some one else, the gift is valid, even if his son were alive and returned. R. Simeon b. Menasia, however, maintains that the gift is null and void, as if he were aware that his son was still alive he would not do so; and R. Na'hman said that the Halakha prevails with the latter. (Hence we see that R. Na'hman holds the theory of supposition.) Yea, his decision that the marriage contract should be annulled is also because of a supposition--that for the pleasure she has in announcing that her husband presented to her all his estates she has relinquished the right to her marriage contract.

There is a Mishna (Peah, 3., 10): "If one has bequeathed all his estates to his sons, but has left to his wife a small portion of ground, she loses her marriage contract." How is this to be understood--because he gave her a parcel of ground, she lost her marriage contract? Said Rabh: It means when he made the ceremony of a sudarium, to give title to his sons with

her garment (i.e., as she has given her garment for the purpose of dividing all his estate among his sons, it is to be supposed that she agreed to this act without any objection concerning her marriage contract). Samuel, however, maintains that it is sufficient if he did so in her presence and she kept silent (as if this were against her will she would protest). R. Jose b. Hanina, however, maintains: It speaks of when he said to her, "Take this ground instead of your marriage contract." And the Boraitha teaches that concerning a marriage contract it is more loosely constructed than for other creditors, as the latter do not lose their right unless they say plainly, "We relinquish our right," while concerning a marriage contract it is sufficient that she does not protest. There is an objection from a Mishna in Khethuboth: R. Jose said: "If she has accepted, although he wrote nothing, she has lost the right of her marriage contract." From which it is to be inferred that according to the first Tana the accepting is not sufficient unless he writes. Hence he requires both writing and accepting. And lest one say that all of the Mishna in question is in accordance with R. Jose (i.e., if he wrote her a small parcel of ground, she loses her right). And R. Jose adds that the same is the case if she accepted, although it was not written. This cannot hold good, as there is a Boraitha in addition to that Mishna: Said R. Jehudah: All this holds good when she was present and had accepted; but if she accepted and was not present, she lost nothing of her right in the marriage contract. Hence this Mishna is an objection to all the Amoraim mentioned above, and the objection remains.

Said Rabha to R. Na'hman: In the case in question we have heard the opinions of Rabh, Samuel, and R. Jose. Now I would like to know what is the opinion of you, master. And he answered: I am of the opinion that as soon as he made his wife a sharer with his sons (i.e., at the time when he bequeathed his estates to his sons and set aside a piece of ground for her), she lost her marriage contract. (Provided she had not protested, as R. Na'hman holds with Samuel that if she kept silent it was sufficient.--Rashbam.) And so also it was taught by R. Joseph b. Minumi, in the name of R. Na'hman. Rabha questioned: How is it in a similar case when one is in good health? Shall we say only when he was sick, and she was aware that he had no other estates, therefore she relinquished? But when he was still in good health she might think, "Why should I relinquish my right--he may in the future buy some other estates?" Or, on the other hand, having seen that he divided all his estates, she renounced her hope and relinquished? This question remains undecided.

There was one who wrote in his will, a half of my estate to one daughter, and the other half to another, and a third of the

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products to my wife. At that time R. Na'hman happened to be in Sura (where this will was made), and R. Hisda questioned him: How should such a case be decided? And he answered: Thus said Samuel: Even if he left to her the products of one tree only, she lost her right in the marriage contract. Said R. Hisda to him: Samuel's decision was when he gave her title to that which is attached to the ground; but in our case he left for her only fruit which was already gathered. And he rejoined: Then you speak of movable property. In such a case she certainly lost nothing. There was another man who said in his will: A third to one daughter, a third to another, and a third to my wife. It happened that one of the daughters died while her father was still alive (i.e., as a father inherits from his daughter the deceased's share reverted to him, and this is similar, as he might buy some other estate after the division of his previous one), and R. Papa was about to decide that his wife had only the third bequeathed to her, but nothing in the third left from her daughter, for the reason that as soon as he has made her a sharer with his daughters the marriage contract was considered null. Said R. Kahana to him: Why should this case be different from the case that after making his will he bought other estate? Would she not have a right to it because of her marriage contract, as she has relinquished her right only for the sake of her daughters, when there was no other estate, but not in the estate he bought afterwards? The same is the case here: the inheritance of his daughter is to be considered as other estate bought.

There was another who divided all his estate but one tree among his wife and children, and Rabhina was about to say that the widow had a right to this tree only, if the amount of her marriage contract exceeded the value of the estate she received. Said R. Yimar to him: If she relinquished her right at the time the division took place, then she has no right even to this tree; and, on the other hand, if she has a right to this tree, which means that she did not relinquish her right, then, by the same right by which she collects the excess from this tree, she may do so from the others which are in possession of the heirs.

R. Huna said: From all said above, it is to be inferred that in the case of a sick person who has bequeathed all his estate to a stranger, it is to be investigated if the latter is in some way fit to be called a direct heir. Then he takes it as an inheritance; and if not, he takes it as a gift. Said R. Na'hman to him: Why quibble? Say plainly the Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Johanan b. Beroka, as your decision is in accordance with him. However, perhaps you refer to a case which happened while one was dying and was questioned: To whom do you bequeath your estate--probably to so and so? and he answered: To whom else? And hence your statement that if the legatee is in some way fit to be an heir he takes it as an inheritance; and if not, he takes it as a gift? And he (Huna) answered: Yea, that is what I meant. But what is the difference whether he takes it as an inheritance or a gift? R. Ada b. Ahbha in the presence of Rabha said: If because of inheritance, then the widow of the deceased must be fed from the estate until she gets the amount belonging to her according to her marriage contract, which is not the case when he takes it as a gift. Said Rabha to him: Shall such a case make the position of the widow worse? In the case of an inheritance biblically, it is said that the widow must be fed from the estate; in the case of a gift, which is only a rabbinical enactment (as in reality one cannot present anything after death, but the sages enacted that the will of a sick person shall be considered as written and presented), shall she not have her right of support? Therefore Rabha explained: R. Huna's above statement agrees with the message which was sent by R. Aha b. Ivia: In accordance with the decision of R. Johanan b. Beroka (above.), an inheritance has no interruption, and goes direct to the heirs of the inheritor. Said Rabha to R. Na'hman: But the testator himself has controverted this with his saying, "after you, so and so shall inherit." He said so because he meant that he might do so. But the law dictates that there shall be no interruption; hence this stipulation is against the biblical law, and must therefore not be considered. There was a man who said in his will: My estates shall belong to A and after A to B. A, however, was a legitimate heir, and when he died, B came and demanded the estate. And R. Elish in the presence of Rabha was about to decide that B's claim was a right one. Said Rabha to him: judges who are arbitrators (i.e., who do not decide according to the strict law, but mediate between the parties) judge so. This case, however, was the same as that concerning which R. Aha b. Ivia sent his message (that inheritance has no interruption), and he became ashamed. Rabha then applied to him [Is. lx. 22]: "I the Lord will hasten it in its time" (i.e., Elish was ashamed that were it not for Rabha he would have acted against the law). And Rabha comforted him, in that Providence would not leave such an upright man to act wrongly, and therefore it so happened that he (Rabha) was present. Hence he had no need to fear the justice of his decisions in other cases.

MISHNA 7.: If one bequeathed his estates to strangers, leaving his children without anything, his act is valid; but he is condemned in the eyes of the sages. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, however, maintains that if his children were not going in the right way he might be mentioned among the good men.

GEMARA: The schoolmen propounded a question: Do the rabbis differ with R. Simeon or not? Come and hear: Joseph b. Joezer had a son with bad habits; and he had also a measure of dinars. And because of his son, he consecrated the dinars to the Temple. The son went and married the daughter of Gadil, the master of the crowns for King Janai; and when his wife had borne a child, he bought a fish for her, and found in it a pearl. Said his wife to him: Do not carry it to the court of the king, as they will appraise it cheaply and will take it from you. Take it, rather, to the treasurer of the sanctuary; but do not mention any price for it, as if you should do so, you will have no right to change it thereafter, as there is a rule that concerning a sanctuary the upset price is considered final, and one has no longer right to retract, as after delivery to a commoner. He did so, and it was appraised by the treasurer at thirteen measures of dinars. The treasurer then said to him: We have now in the treasury only seven measures of dinars, as the taxes are not yet collected. And he answered: Let the remaining six measures be consecrated to heaven. And the treasurer recorded in his book: Joseph b. Ioezer brought to the sanctuary one measure, while his son has brought six. According to others, they wrote: Joseph brought to the sanctuary one measure, and his son took from it six measures. Now, as they wrote Joseph brought in, it is to be inferred that he acted rightly. But perhaps, on the contrary, as according to others they recorded "his son took out seven," it may be said that they considered the act of the father unlawful. Therefore from this Boraitha nothing is to be inferred. However, how should this question be decided? Come and hear: Samuel said to R. Jehudah: Do not transfer an inheritance from any one, even from a bad son to a good one; further, nor from a son to a daughter.

The rabbis taught: It happened in the case of one whose children had evil habits, that he bequeathed all his estates to Jonathan b. Uziel; and the latter sold a third of them, consecrated a third, and the remaining third he returned to the deceased's sons. And Shamai the Elder came to rebuke him for having so done with estates bequeathed to him, contrary to the will. And he answered him: Shamai, if you have the right to make null that which I have sold and that which I have consecrated, then you have also a right to take away the property which I have returned to the children. But as you have no right to do the former, you have no right to exclaim against my latter act (i.e., if you consider me the owner of the estates bequeathed to me, then I may do with them what I please; and if I am not the owner, then also what I have consecrated should be annulled; and as you cannot annul the consecration, because the estate was bequeathed to me without any condition, consequently the estates are mine, and you cannot take away the property from the children.) And Shamai exclaimed: The son of Uziel has vanquished me! the son of Uziel has vanquished me! But what was his opinion before he came to rebuke him? He did so because of what happened in the city of Beth Horon. There was one of whom his father vowed that he should not derive any benefit from him; and when he made a banquet for the marriage festival of his son, he said to his neighbour: I make you a present of this courtyard and all that is prepared for the banquet, but only to the end that my father should be able to come and eat with us at that banquet. And his neighbour answered: If all this is mine, I consecrate it to heaven. And the donor rejoined: I have not given you my property to be consecrated to heaven. Rejoined the neighbour: Then you have given all this to the end that your father and you shall eat and drink and be reconciled, and the sin shall rest on my head. And the sages decided that a gift which cannot be consecrated by the benefactor is not to be considered a gift at all. 1

MISHNA 8.: If one says: "This is my son," he is to be trusted; but, "my brother," he is not to be trusted. He may, nevertheless, share with him the inheritance of his father (when there are only two; but if there are three, the third, who does not recognise him as his brother, is not bound to share with him, and so he receives a half of the share of the brother who does recognise him). If the doubtful man dies, the estate must be turned over to him from whom it was taken. If, however, the deceased left other estates besides those he inherited with his brother, all the brothers share equally (because in the case of that one who testified that he is a brother to all, he has no right to the inheritance without the other brother).

GEMARA: The Mishna states: "'This is my son,' he is to be trusted." To what purpose is it stated? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: For the purpose that he may inherit from him, and to acquit his wife of Yeboom. But was it necessary for the Mishna to state that he might inherit from him? Is it not self-evident (i.e., if its testimony was because of inheritance only, he could give it as a present)? It was necessary to state that he is to be trusted to acquit his wife of Yeboom. But this also we have learned elsewhere: If one says while dying: "I have children," he is to be trusted (and his wife is acquitted of Yeboom). If, however, he says: "I have brothers somewhere," and he was childless, he is not to be trusted (the intent being that his wife should be prohibited from remarrying). That Boraitha speaks of when the people were not aware of any brothers, and our Mishna came to teach that even when people were aware that one had brothers he is to be trusted if be testifies that such a person was his son.

R. Joseph in the name of R. Jehudah, quoting Samuel, said: Why was it said: One is trusted in testifying that he has a son; because if one testify that be has divorced his wife, he is to be trusted? And Joseph himself exclaimed: Lord of Abraham! He sustains a thing which we have learned in a Mishna by a thing which was not teamed at all. Therefore, if this was taught, it must be thus: R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said: Why is one trusted to testify, "This is my son" (and with this to acquit his wife of Yeboom)? because, if he likes, he can divorce her. Said R. Joseph again: Now, when we come to the conclusion that the theory of "because" may be used, we may infer that if one testify he has divorced his wife, he is to be trusted; because, if he wishes to make her free, he may give her a divorce then. When R. Itz'hak b. Joseph came from Palestine, he said in the name of Johanan: A husband is not trusted to testify that he has divorced his wife. R. Shesheth, when he heard this, made a gesture implying: Now the "because" of R. Joseph is gone. Is that so? Did not Hyya b. Abin say in the name of R. Johanan: The husband is trusted? This presents no difficulty. If his testimony is of a time long past, he is not to be trusted; and if of a short period of time (e.g., a day or two before, so that this testimony should be used for the future), he is to be trusted. The difference is in case she was suspected of adultery a month before his testimony: If he is trusted, then she committed no adultery; and if not, the suspicion must be investigated. 1

The schoolmen propounded a question: Should one's testimony for the time past, in which he is not to be trusted, be considered for the future (e.g., if he testified in January that he had divorced in December, which does not hold good in case of the suspicion stated above, does it hold good for the time after the testimony took place? And the question is: Can one's testimony be divided--that for the past he should not be trusted, and for the future he should)? R. Mary and R. Zebid: According to one we may divide, and according to the other we may not. But why should this case be different from the following case stated by Rabha: If one testifies that his wife has committed adultery with so and so, if he has another witness, the man can be put to death in accordance with the law that two witnesses have to testify to a crime-we conjoin his testimony to the stranger's and they are considered two witnesses; but his wife cannot be executed, as it is unlawful that a husband should be a witness against his wife (hence we see that the testimony is divided: for one it is considered, and for the other it is not)? It may be said: Concerning two we do divide, but not concerning one person.

There was one who, while dying, was questioned concerning his wife (i.e., he was childless, and they questioned him if his wife was divorced from him, so that she might remarry after his death or she remained liable to Yeboom)? And he answered: She is fit to marry even the high priest 1 (i.e., I have divorced her). Said Rabha: We may trust him, as it is said above by Hyya b. Aba in the name of R. Johanan: A husband is to be trusted in testifying that he has divorced his wife. Said Abayi to him: But did not R. Itz'hak b. Joseph in the name of R. Johanan say: He is not to be trusted? And Rabha rejoined: But have we not explained above, that one speaks of the past, and the other of the future? Rejoined Abayi: Shall we rely upon an explanation in such a rigorous law as marriage is? Then said Rabha to R. Nathan b. Ami (before whom the case came: Investigate this matter (as probably Abayi is right). There was another, of whom it was known to the people that he had no brothers, and so, also, he testified while dying. However, it was murmured by some that he had brothers in some other country. And R. Joseph decided: There is no risk in allowing his widow to remarry, as he not only said so while dying, but it was known to the majority. Said Abayi to him: But is it not murmured that there are witnesses in the sea-country that he has brothers? (Answered R. Joseph:) But at present there are no witnesses, and in a similar case, R. Hanina said elsewhere: Should we prohibit a woman from marrying because some say that there are witnesses in the north? Rejoined Abayi: If Hanina had decided leniently concerning a woman in captivity, whose prohibition to marry a priest is rabbinical only, should we compare our case, which is biblical, if the childless deceased left brothers? And Rabha said to Nathan b. Ami, who had charge of this case: Investigate this matter.

"'This is my brother,' he is not." But let us see what the other brothers say. If they admit that the one in question is their brother, why should he share with one only? We must then say that they deny it. Then how is the latter part, "If he had estates from other sources, the brothers have to share," to be understood? They do not deny that he was their brother. It means When the others say, "We do not know whether he is a brother or not."

"It must be turned over to him," etc. Rabha questioned: How is it if the same estate were improved of itself--e.g., if it were a young tree, and it grows up, etc., there is no question

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of the improvement being through the labour of the deceased, as this is similar to the case in which one got estates from other sources; but the question is: If the improvement was of itself? This question remains undecided.

MISHNA 9.: If one dies, and a δαιθηχη was tied to his body, it is not to be considered at all. If, however, while sick he had submitted it to some one, be he his direct heir or not, it must be listened to.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: What is to be considered a δαιθηχη? (Repeated here from Middle Gate, p. 40, from the quotation "Wills" to the end of the paragraph. See there.)

Rabba b. R. Huna was sitting in the balcony of Rabh, and declared the following in the name of Johanan: If a sick person said to witnesses: "Write, and give a mana to so and so," and before they did so he dies, it must not be listened to, for the reason that probably the deceased had in mind to give title in the case by a deed only; and as such a deed cannot be written after death, nothing can be done. Said R. Elazar to the disciples who were also sitting there: Bear in mind this Halakha, as it is for practice. R. Shezbi, however, said: The reverse was the case: R. Elazar declared the Halakha, and R. Johanan told them to bear it in mind, etc. Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: It seems to me that R. Shezbi is right, as, if R. Elazar declared the Halakha, it was necessary for R. Johanan to approve it; but if Johanan declared it, was it then necessary for Elazar to give 'his approval to what his master said? And secondly, from the following, it is to be inferred that Elazar had declared the above, namely: Rabin sent a message in the name of R. Abuhu: It shall be known to you that R. Elazar sent a message to the sages in exile, in the name of our master (Rabh): If a sick person said, Write, giving a mana to so and so, and it was not done until he had died, nothing is to be done (for the reason said above). (R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel, however, said: They may write and give. 1) But R. Johanan said (though the Halakha so prevails): It must, nevertheless, be investigated. What shall be investigated? When R. Dimi came from Palestine, he said the following two things: (a) A will which is written at a later period abolishes a will written previously (if title was not given by a ceremony of a sudarium). (b) If a sick person said, "Write, giving a mana to so and so," and died, it must be investigated, whether with the expression "write" the testator meant to strengthen the act. In that case it may be done; and if not, it must not. R. Aba b. Mamel opposed from the following: If one in good health said to witnesses, "Write, giving a mana to so and so," and suddenly died, nothing is to be done. From which it is to be inferred that if this were said by a sick person it would be listened to? He himself answered thereafter: If the expression "write" was only to confirm the act, then it may be listened to. But how can we know what he meant? As R. Hisda said elsewhere: If written, and confirmed by the ceremony of a sudarium, no retraction can take place. So also in our case. If it was said by the sick person, "Give to him, and also write," then the last expression may be considered as a confirmation of this act; and it may be so done.

It was taught: R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said: The Halakha prevails, they may write and give; and so also said Rabha in the name of R. Na'hman.

MISHNA 10.: If one wishes to bequeath his estate to his children (i.e., it speaks of one who remarries and does not wish that the children by his first wife should lose their share in his estate after his death), he must write: I bequeath my estate to them from to-day and after my death (i.e., the estate belongs to them thenceforward, but not the products until after his death). So is the decree of R. Jehudah. R. Jose, however, maintains: It is not necessary to write "from to-day."

If one wrote: "I bequeath my estate to my son from today, and after my death," he has no longer any right to sell his estate, because it is bequeathed to his son; and his son, also, has no right to sell it because it is still under the control of his father. If, notwithstanding this, the father has sold, the products thereof are sold until he dies. If the son, however, sold, the buyer has nothing therein until the father dies.

GEMARA: But how if he has written "from to-day and after my death"? Have we not learned in a Mishna: If one wrote in a divorce, "from to-day and after my death," it is considered a doubtful divorce, so that after his death his widow cannot marry his brother, but must perform the obligation of Halitzah. (This is no objection) as there we are doubtful as to the explanation of his words. Does he mean by the words, "after my death," to be a condition (i.e., if I die she shall be divorced from to-day), or as a retraction (i.e., the last words retract the former), and therefore she cannot marry. Perhaps the divorce was valid, and it is prohibited to her to marry a brother-in-law. But she is under the obligation of Halitzah. Perhaps the divorce was invalid. In our case, however, it is to be explained, the body of the estate is bequeathed "from today," but the products, "after my death."

"R. Jose . . . It is not necessary," etc. Rabba b. Abuhu became sick. R. Huna and R. Na'hman came to make him a sick call. Said R. Huna to R. Na'hman: Question him whether the Halakha prevails with R. Jose. And he answered: I am not aware of the reason of his statement. To what purpose, then, should I ask if the Halakha so prevails? Rejoined R. Huna: I will tell you the reason later, and meanwhile you may question him with whom the Halakha prevails. And he did so. And Rabba answered: So said Rabh: The Halakha prevails with R. Jose. When they went out from him, said R. Huna: The reason of R. Jose's statement is because the date of the deed testifies to whom from that day the estate belongs. And so also we have learned plainly in a Boraitha.

Rabha questioned R. Na'hman: According to R. Jehudah, who requires that there shall be written "from to-day," etc., how is it, if this was made with the ceremony of a sudarium? (Shall we assume that as the above ceremony was already performed title is acquired, and nothing further is to be added; or, even then, it must be written in the deed "from to-day," etc.?) And he answered: In such a case it is not necessary. R. Papa, however, maintains that there is a difference in the tenor of the deed. If it was written: We have secured the ceremony of a sudarium, which he agreed to and made, then nothing is needed to be added. If, however, it was written: He agreed, and we performed the ceremony, then it is necessary to write, "from to-day," etc. (and the reason is, that the latter expression may be explained as intimating that he agreed that possession should come after death, and thereto we have joined the ceremony of a sudarium). R. Hanina of Sura opposed: Are there such things as we do not know, and we must rely upon the scribes? The scribes of Rabha and of Abayi were questioned, and it was found that they were aware of the difference mentioned above. R. Huna b. R. Joshua, however, said: There is no difference between the two versions mentioned above; as to either of them, nothing is to be added. But if "sudarium" was not mentioned in the deed at all, and there was a memorandum: e.g., "The undersigned testify that a memorandum was made by so and so," etc., then, according to R. Jehudah, "from to-day," etc., is needed. Said R. Kahana: I repeated this discussion before R. Zebid of Nahardea, and he told me: You have learned this so. We, however, have learned it as follows: Said Rabha in the name of R. Na'hman: If a sudarium is mentioned, no matter what version was used, nothing is needed to be added; but in respect to a memorandum (illustrated above) R. Jehudah and R. Jose differ.

"I bequeath my estates to my son," etc. It was taught: If the son sold out and then died while the father was still alive, according to R. Johanan the buyer has nothing in it; and according to Resh Lakish, title is given to the buyer after the father's death. The reason of their difference is, because the former holds that the sale of the products ought to be held similar to the sale of the body; and as the products could not be sold by the son, as he had nothing in them so long as the father was alive, so he could not sell the body. And the latter holds that the body is not subordinate to the products; as the body belonged to the son, the sale is valid.

R. Johanan objected to Resh Lakish from the Boraitha stated above, which says: The estate must be turned over to the heirs of the first; and according to you, it ought to be to the heirs of the testator. And he answered: It was already explained by R. Hoshua in Babylon that there was a difference when the testator said plainly "and after you." And so also it was answered by Rabh, to a contradiction made before him by Rabha b. R. Huna. But have we not learned in a Boraitha that the estate must be turned over to the heirs of the testator? In the resolution of this case, Tanaim differ: "My estates are bequeathed to you, and after you to B; A sells out, and consumes the amount. B has a right to recover it from the buyers after the death of A. So is the decree of Rabbi. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel maintains B has a right only to what remained from A." A contradiction was made from the following: My estate is bequeathed to you, and after you to B; A may sell and consume it. So is the decree of Rabbi. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, however, maintains that A has a right to the products only. Hence Rabbi and R. Simeon contradict themselves in the two Boraithas. This presents no difficulty. The statement of Rabbi in the later Boraitha is concerning the products only; and the statement in the first Boraitha is concerning the body. There is also no contradiction in R. Simeon's statements, as his statement in the last Boraitha means that so is the law to start with; and his statement in the former means, if it were already done.

Said Abayi: Who is called a crafty villain? He who advises A to sell the estate (bequeathed to him for his life only), relying upon R. Simeon b. Gamaliel's decision. Said R. Johanan: The Halakha prevails with R. Simeon b. Gamaliel. He, however, admits that if A gives the same as a present to C, when he is dying, he has done nothing. And what is the reason? Said Abayi: Because C ought to acquire title to it only after the death of A. But at that time B had already acquired title, as it was bequeathed to him after A's death. But did Abayi say so? Was it not taught: To a gift presented by one who is dying, at what time is title given? According to Abayi, with the death: and according to Rabha, after death. Hence C ought to have the preference, according to Abayi's last statement, as to B it is bequeathed after death? Abayi has retracted from his last statement. But do you know where he has retracted from the last statement? Perhaps he has retracted from the first. Yet it cannot be borne in mind that there is a Mishna which states as follows: If one should say: "This shall be your divorce if I should die"; or, "It shall be yours if I should not recover from this sickness"; or, "After my death," he said nothing. (Hence this Mishna is a direct contradiction to Abayi's statement that title is given with the death. If it were so, the divorce would be valid when he said: This shall be your divorce when I die. And therefore it must be supposed that he retracted from the later statement.)

Said R. Zera in the name of R. Johanan: The Halakha prevails with R. Simeon, even in case in the estate in question there were included bondsmen, and they were freed. Is this not self-evident? Lest one say that the testator may claim: "I did not bequeath to you my estate, you shall transgress 1 with them," it came to teach us that it does not matter. And R. Joseph said in the name of the same authority: Even if he had made of them shrouds for a corpse. Is this not self-evident? Lest one say that the testator may claim: "I did not give it to you for the purpose that you should make from it things from which it is prohibited to derive any benefit," he came to say it does not matter.

R. Na'hman b. R. Hisda lectured: If one said: "This citron is given to you as a gift, and after you to B," and A became seized of it, and performed his duty as owner on the first day of Tabernacles, it depends upon the difference between R. Simeon and Rabbi whether it was done lawfully. R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak opposed: The above Tanaim differ in the case whether the sale of the products be considered the same as the sale of the body (explained above), or not? But in our case, if it was not presented to him to the end that as owner he should perform the duty of that day, for what, then, was it given to him? Therefore it must be said that all agree that A, who did as owner his duty of that day, acted lawfully. But if he has consumed or sold it, it depends upon the difference between the Tanaim mentioned above whether the sale is valid, or A has to pay for it.

There was a woman who had a tree on the estate of R. Bibbi b. Abayi; and each time she went to gather the products of the tree, it made him angry. She then sold it to R. Bibbi for his life, with the condition that after his death it should be turned over to her or her heirs. He, however, transferred it to his minor son (to the end that the tree should remain his for a long time, as according to the law a minor acquires but cannot give title, and this act was according to R. Simeon b. Gamaliel). Said R. Huna b. R. Jehoshua: Because you are weak you speak weak words. 1 Even Simeon b. Gamaliel admits that his statement holds good only when he transferred it to some one else; but not if to himself.

Rabha said in the name of R. Na'hman: If A said to B, "I give you this ox as a present, with the stipulation that you shall return it to me," and B consecrated it and afterward returned it, the ox is consecrated, and B has fulfilled his duty. Said Rabha to R. Na'hman: But, after all, what has he returned to him? The ox being consecrated, he cannot derive any benefit from it. Rejoined R. Na'hman: But did B depreciate the value, of the ox? Has he not returned it as he got it? R. Ashi, however, said: It must be investigated how the stipulation reads. If "You shall return it," then he acted correctly, as he did return it. But if "You shall return it to me," which means it shall be fit for me, but if he has consecrated it, it is no more fit for him. Consequently it cannot be considered returned.

R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel: If A has bequeathed his estate to B, and B says "I do not want it," he nevertheless acquires title, even if he still protests he does not want it. R. Johanan, however, says: He does not. Said R. Abba b. Mamel: And they do not differ. If B protests at the very time the deed of gift was given to him, he does not acquire title; but if he first kept silent, and afterward protested, title is acquired.

The rabbis taught: If a sick person said, "Give two hundred zuz to A, three hundred to B, and four hundred to Q" it must not be understood that he who is mentioned first in this deed acquires title to that amount; and, therefore, if a creditor comes with a promissory note of the deceased, it may be collected from all of them. If, however, it reads, "Two hundred zuz to A, and after him three hundred to B, and after him four hundred to C," then the one who is mentioned first in the document acquires title to that amount; and the promissory note must be collected from the last. And if the money he receives does not suffice, it must be collected from the one mentioned before him; and if his does not suffice, it must be collected from the first.

The rabbis taught: If a sick person said, "Give two hundred zuz to my first-born son so and so, who is worthy to have them," he may take them, and also the double share belonging to a first-born. If, however, the sick person said, "Give him such an amount for his first-born privilege, the son has the preference to choose which is better for him--the amount bequeathed or the double share prescribed for him. The same is the case if the sick person said, "Give two hundred zuz to my wife, who is worthy of them." She takes them and also what belongs to her according to her marriage contract. If, however, he said, "Give them to her for her marriage contract," she has the choice of taking them or that which

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belonged to her according to her marriage contract. If a sick person said, "Give two hundred zuz to my creditor B, who is worthy of them," he may take them, and also collect what the deceased owes him. But if he said, "Give them to him for my debt," then he takes it for the debt.

How is the last sentence to be understood--because he said he is worthy of them, he shall take both the two hundred zuz and his debt? Why not explain, as he had a right to them because of my debt? Said R. Na'hman: Huna told me that this Boraitha is in accordance with R. Aqiba, who is particular concerning the version as it is said (Chap. 4, Mishna 2): R. Aqiba admits, etc. From which we see that he gives his attention to a superfluous word. The same is it with the case in our Boraitha-that the words, "as he is worthy of them," are superfluous; and according to R. Aqiba they are said because he wants to add them to his debt.

The rabbis taught: If a sick man said, "I have a mana with so and so," the witnesses may write this, although they are not aware that such is the case. And therefore, when his heirs come to collect from the debtor, it is for them to bring evidence. So is the decree of R. Meir. The sages, however, maintain that the witnesses must not write unless they are aware that so it is. And therefore, the heirs may collect this debt without any other evidence. Said R. Na'hman: Huna told me: The Boraitha must be so understood. R. Meir said: They must not write; and the sages: They may. And even R. Meir said so because he feared that the court, before which the case of "collection" should come, would err, and approve the deed without any investigation, if the witnesses who signed the deed testified only to what the deceased said, or they were aware that the contents were true. And the sages maintain: Usually a court does not err, and can be relied upon to give proper attention to this matter. Said R. Dimi of Nahardea: The Halakha prevails that it must not be feared the court will err. But why should this differ from the following case stated by Rabha: The ceremony of Halitza must not be made by the court, unless they know the persons? And the same is the case with a denial (of a woman, betrothed in childhood, who on arriving at majority denies the marriage before the court; and according to the law she may remarry without any other act). And therefore the witnesses who were present may write a testimony of this act, although they themselves did not know the persons. And the reason why the court must not perform the ceremony of Halitza, unless they know the persons, is because it is to be feared that the court before which she may come to remarry will not investigate whether she is the same person who had to take Halitza. (Hence we see that error by the court is to be feared?) This is no objection. A court usually does not investigate the act of a former court; but the acts of witnesses, it does.

MISHNA 11.: The father has a right to pluck the products of trees which are found on the estate bequeathed to his son, after his own death, and may present them to whom he pleases. If, however, the plucked fruit remains after his death, they belong to his heirs.

GEMARA: The plucked fruit only, but not that which is attached to the trees, although ready to be plucked (i.e., such belongs to the son, to whom the estate is bequeathed after his father's death)? Have we not learned in a Boraitha that in case the fruit was ripe, under the control of the bequeather, it belongs to the buyer if he sold it before his death? Said Ula: This presents no difficulty. Our Mishna treats of when he bequeathed to his son, and it may be supposed that his last will was that from that remaining on the tree his son should derive benefit; and the Boraitha speaks of when he has bequeathed his estate to a stranger.

MISHNA 12.: If he left grown-up and minor sons, the grown ones have no right to derive any benefit on account of the minors, nor have the minors a right to same on account of the older brothers (e.g., the older ones have no right to dress themselves at the expense of the inheritance before the division, nor should the minors be supported from the inheritance); but they must divide the inheritance equally. If the older ones have married at the expense of the inheritance, the same amount must be added to the shares of the minors. However, the latter have no right to claim for any addition if their older brothers have married while their father was still alive, as the amount expended for their marriages is considered a gift from their father. 1

The very same is the case with grown-up and minor daughters. All of them must receive an equal share. However, in one respect preference is given to daughters who were left together with grown-up sons. The daughters must be fed from the inheritance at the charge of the sons, which is not the case with minor daughters who were left together with grown-up ones.

GEMARA: Rabha said: In the case of the oldest brother who has dressed himself at the expense of the house before division, his act is lawful (and nothing is to be deducted from his share). But does not our Mishna state: "Grown-up ones have no right to derive any benefit," etc. Our Mishna speaks of when they are idle, and do nothing for the benefit of the house. If idlers! Is it not self-evident? Lest one say that, nevertheless, they would be pleased that their brother should be nicely dressed, it comes to teach that it is not so.

"Grown-up and minor daughters," etc. R. Abuhu b. Genibh sent a message to Rabha: Let the master teach us:. How is it if a woman has borrowed money, consumed it, and thereafter she married without paving her debt, and brought estates with her at marriage? Must her husband pay her debt, or not?

Shall we assume that the husband is considered a buyer of the estates brought, consequently he has not to pay, as the law dictates that a loan made without a deed cannot he collected from a buyer; or is he considered an heir, and must pay his wife's debts, even when contracted without any deed? And Rabha answered: This we have learned in our Mishna: If the grown-up daughters have married, the minors may do the same. Is this not to be interpreted that if the grown-up daughters have borrowed money from the estate also belonging to the minors, the minors shall do the same by collecting the debts from their sisters' husbands? Nay! The Mishna means to say that they take the same amount from the inheritance as their sisters did. But this is not so. As R. Hyya taught plainly: If the older ones have married at the charge of the inheritance, the minors may collect the amount from their husbands? (Hence we see that the husband is considered an heir, and must pay?) This cannot be taken for support, as a law made in connection with an inheritance for the purpose of marriage is considered as public and known to the people, and also in the light of a deed which is to be collected from encumbered estates.

Said R. Papa to Rabha: Why did you try to decide the question from R. Hyya's Boraitha? Was the same not decided by Rabbin's letter: If one dies leaving a widow and a daughter, the widow must be supported from the deceased's estate. If the daughter has married or dies, the widow is still to be supported from the estate. Said R. Jehudah the son of R. Jose's sister: Such a case came before me, and it was decided that a widow must still be supported from the estate. Now, if the husband is considered an heir, it is correct that his widow should be supported from his estate; but if he is considered a buyer, why should she be supported from his estate? Does not a Mishna state that for the support of a widow and daughters, encumbered estate must not be taken away? Said Abayi: What news has Rabbin sent in his message? Have we not learned this in a Mishna: "The following is not to be returned in the jubilee year: The double share taken by a first-born and the inheritance of a woman taken by her husband"? Hence we see that the husband is considered an heir? Said Rabha to him: And even after he has sent the message. do we then know that it is in accordance with the law? Did not R. Jose b. Hanina say (Middle Gate.) that the husband takes away from the buyer? Therefore said R. Ashi: The rabbis have enacted that in some respects the husband should be considered as an heir, and in some respects as a buyer; and have so done on his account. Concerning the jubilee year, it is better for him that he should be considered an heir, for the purpose that he should not be compelled to return the inheritance of his wife, and concerning the case of R. Jose b. Hanina (stated above) he is to be considered as a buyer, that he should not suffer any, damage; and in the case of Rabbin they have considered him as an heir, to the end that the widow should not suffer any damage. But why did the sages consider him as a buyer in the case of R. Jose b. Hanina? Do not the buyers (from whom he takes away the property) suffer? Therein they themselves cause that they should suffer, as they ought not to have bought goods from a married woman, who lives with her husband, without his consent.

CHAPTER 9.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE SUPPORT OF UNMARRIED DAUGHTERS AFTER THE DEATH OF THEIR FATHER, IF AMONG THE CHILDREN WERE AN HERMAPHRODITE OR AN ANDROGYN. MAY OR MAY NOT ONE BEQUEATH HIS ESTATE TO STRANGERS IF HE HAS CHILDREN? DOES THE SECOND WILL ABOLISH THE FIRST? IF A SICK PERSON RECOVERS AFTER MAKING A GIFT WHILE SICK, MAY HE RETRACT OR NOT? IF SUDDEN DEATH OCCUR TO MANY PERSONS, AND IT IS NOT KNOWN WHO DIED FIRST, AND EACH OF THE HEIRS CLAIMS FOR HIS BENEFIT.

MISHNA 1.: If one dies, and leave sons and daughters, if the inheritance is of great worth, then the sons inherit, and the daughters must be supported from it; and if a moderate one, the daughters must be supported, and the sons may go a-begging. Admon, however, said: Because I am a male shall I suffer? Said Rabban Gamaliel: It seems to me that Admon is right.

GEMARA: What is to be considered great worth? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: It shall be sufficient for all of them to be supported for twelve months. And he (Jehudah) added: When I told the Halakha before Samuel, he said: Such is the decree of R. Gamaliel b. Rabbi. The sages, however, maintain: It shall suffice to support all of them until the daughters become of age. So also it was taught by Rabbin, according to others by Rabba b. b. Hana, when he came from Palestine, in the name of R. Johanan: If the inheritance suffices to support all of them until the daughters become of age, it is considered of great worth; and if less, it is considered moderate. How is this to be understood? If it does not suffice to support all of them, shall the daughters take the entire inheritance, leaving nothing for the sons? Therefore said Rabha: There must be deducted from the inheritance the amount which will suffice for the daughters until they become of age; and the remainder shall be given to the sons.

It is certain that if for some reason the estates become less in value after the father's death, and do not suffice for the support of the daughters until they become of age, and also for the sons' support, both have already acquired title, and must be satisfied with that which falls to their lot (i.e., the daughters have no right to claim that they shall be supported until of age from the share of their brothers). But how is it if the estate increased in value after death? Shall we assume that the increase belongs to the heirs, and therefore the sons may have the benefit of it? Or, as they had nothing in it when their father died, they are considered entirely cut off from this inheritance, and have nothing to do with the increase? Come and hear what R. Assi said in the name of R. Johanan: If orphans hastened and sold out from this inheritance before the daughters summoned them, the sale is valid, and the daughters have no right to take it away from the buyers, according to the rule that it cannot be collected from encumbered estate for the support of the daughters. (Hence we see the sons are considered heirs, notwithstanding that the estate was not of great worth.) Consequently they have a share in the increase.

R. Jeremiah was sitting before R. Abuhu, and questioned him as follows: If the estates were of great worth, but there was a promissory note in the hands of a creditor, which ought to be collected from the estates, should the estates, because of the note, be considered moderate, so that the support should be for the daughters and the sons should go a-begging? Or, until collected, should all of them be supported, without taking into consideration that after collecting nothing might remain for the support of the daughters? And should you decide that the promissory note, although not yet collected, diminishes the value of the estates, for the reason that the amount due will be collected in any event, even should the creditor die, how is it if the deceased left a step-daughter whom he has to support, according to the marriage contract of his wife, until she shall become of age, and the amount of her support diminishes the estate from being of great worth, and stamps it moderate? How, then, should the inheritance be considered, should the step-daughter die, and then, the obligation being gone, the estates remain of great worth. There is still another question. If the deceased left a widow and a daughter, and the estates left could support only one of them, who has the preference? And R. Abuhu answered: Go to-day, and come to-morrow. And when he came he said to him: Of all the questions, I can decide the last one. As R. Aba said in the name of R. Assi: The sages have enacted that when there is a widow with a daughter she shall have similar treatment to that of a sister who remains with her brother. As in the latter case, if the estate is moderate she must be supported, although her brothers remain beggars, so also the widow as against a -daughter-the widow must be supported and the daughter may go a-begging.

"Admon, however, said: Because I am a male," etc. How is this to be understood? Said Rabha: He means to say: Because I am a male, and ought to inherit all the estates where the inheritance is of great worth, leaving for my sister only the support for her livelihood until of age, shall I remain a beggar when there is a moderate estate?

MISHNA 2.: If one leave sons, daughters, and an hermaphrodite (if it is doubtful whether male or female), and the inheritance is of great worth, the males may count same among the females; but when the inheritance is moderate, the females may count same among the males.

If one say: "If my pregnant wife should bear a male, he shall take a mana," and she bears a male, the mana is to be given to him; "If a female, she shall take two hundred zuz," she takes two hundred. If a male a mana, and a female two hundred zuz, and she had born a male and a female? The male takes one hundred and the female two hundred zuz. But if she bears an hermaphrodite, he takes nothing. If, however, he said: "What she shall bear shall take," then he takes accordingly. And the same is the case if there were no heirs but he--he inherits all.

GEMARA: The Mishna states: They count same among the daughters, which means he shall be treated like them. But does not the later part state: If she bears an hermaphrodite, he takes nothing? Said Abayi: It means that the males counted him among the females; but the latter have the right not to accept him, and he remains without any support. Rabha, however, maintains: They pass him and he must be similarly supported. And the latter part of our Mishna is in accordance with Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel of the following Mishna: If she bears an hermaphrodite or an androgyn, which is at times a male and at times a female, R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said: No sanctity rests upon them. (The cited Mishna treats: If one

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made a vow for the offspring of a gravid cow--if a male, it shall be a burnt-offering; and if a female, a peace-offering.)

An objection was raised from the following: "An hermaphrodite inherits like a son, and is supported like a daughter." And this can be correct only according to Rabha: That he is considered an heir, like a son, in a moderate inheritance; and is supported, like a daughter, in one of great worth. But according to Abayi, who said above that he takes nothing, how do you find that he shall be supported like a daughter? Even according to your theory, how do you explain Rabha's statement, that as an heir, like a son, he takes something of a moderate inheritance? In such a case the sons take nothing; hence he means to say that he is considered an heir like a son--to be a beggar. So also you can explain the Mishna: He is in condition to have support like a daughter, but, nevertheless. he does not get any.

"If one says: If my pregnant wife shall bear a male," etc. Shall we assume that a daughter is better to him than a soil (as the Mishna says, "If a male one hundred, and a daughter two hundred")? Concerning inheritance, a male is better to him, as he bears his name; and concerning a gift, a daughter is better to him, as it is more difficult for her to make a living than for a male. Samuel, however, maintains that the Mishna treats of when his wife was pregnant with her first child; and it is in accordance with R. Hisda, who said elsewhere: If the first child is a female, it is a good sign for future sons, according to some because she will educate the sons; and according to some, that she should not be afflicted by a covetous eye. Said R. Hisda: As for me, I always give preference to females over males. And if you wish, it may be said that our Mishna is in accordance with R. Jehudah in the following Boraitha: It is a meritorious act for one to support his daughters, and so much the more his sons who occupy themselves with the Torah. So is the decree of R. Meir. R. Jehudah, however, said: It is a meritorious act to support the sons, and so much the more to support the daughters, because of their humiliation (if they should have to beg).

There was one who said to his wife: I bequeath my estate to the child with which you are pregnant. Said R. Huna: This means that he designed to give title to an embryo, and an embryo cannot acquire title. R. Na'hman objected to R. Huna from our Mishna, which states: If my wife shall bear a male, he shall take a mana, etc. And he answered him: I do not know who has taught our Mishna (i.e., I do not find our Mishna to be in accordance with the majority, nor a single one of the sages). But let R. Na'hman say that the Mishna treats of when the bequeather said: I bequeath the estate to the child after my wife has borne it? R. Huna is in accordance with his principle that the child does not acquire title even after birth. (As it was taught:) R. Na'hman said: If one bequeaths to an embryo, title is not given; but if he said, "after he is born," title is given. R. Huna, however, maintains that even then title is not given. But R. Shesheth is of the opinion that in either case title is given. And he added: I deduce my statement from the following Boraitha: "If a proselyte supposed to be childless dies, and Israelites have robbed his estate, and thereafter they hear that he has a son, or that his wife is pregnant, they are obliged to return it. If, however, they have returned it, and thereafter they hear that the son is dead, or that his wife has had a miscarriage, and they again take the estate, he who made a hazakah in the second instance has acquired title, but he who made the same in the first instance has not." Now, if it be remembered that an embryo does not acquire title, why should title not be given to them who made a hazakah in the first instance? Said Abayi: There is a difference with an inheritance which came of itself: In such a case the embryo acquires title. Rabha, however, said: Even in case an inheritance came by itself, the embryo does not acquire title; and the reason why title is not given to them who made a hazakah in the first instance is because they were still uncertain whether the property taken would remain with them, as there was still a doubt whether children were left. But in the second instance they were sure of their ground.

Come and hear another objection: "A child of one day inherits and bequeaths (e.g., if his father dies when he was even one day old, he inherits from his father; and if at birth the estate of his deceased father came to him, and he dies when he was one day old, his relatives inherit from him). We see, then--only when he was one day old, but not when in embryo. This was explained by Rabh Shesheth: He inherits the estate of his mother, to bequeath to his brothers on his father's side. And this can be only when he was alive one day after his mother; but not when he was in embryo, as he died before his mother. And a son does not inherit from his mother, when once in his grave, so that his brothers on his father's side could inherit from him.

Shall we assume that in case the mother dies while pregnant the embryo dies first? Perhaps she dies first? There happened such a case, and the embryo moved convulsively thrice. Said Mar b. R. Ashi: Such a movement was without any life, such as the movement of the tail of a lizard. Mar b. R. Joseph in the name of Rabha said: The cited Boraitha means to say that a child of one day diminishes the share of a first-born . E.g., a first-born takes a double share--i.e., twice as much as each of his other brothers. But if there were added a male child of one day, the estate must be divided into five parts, if there are four brothers, of which the first-born takes a double share. And if this child dies afterwards, his share is to be divided equally among the four brothers. This is only when he was old one day, but not when an embryo; because [it is written, Deut. xxi. 15], "and they bear him children." As the same said also on the same authority: A son who was born after the death of his father does not diminish the share of the first-born, as it reads in the verse just cited "bear him"; but when born after his death, it was not born to him.

All that was said here was taught in the city of Sura. In Pumbeditha, however, it was taught as follows: Mar b. R. Joseph said in the name of Rabha: A first-born who was born after the death of his father does not take a double share. As it is written [ibid., 17]: "Shall he acknowledge," and when he is dead he cannot acknowledge. The Halakha prevails in accordance with all the versions said by Mar b. R. Joseph in the name of Rabha.

R. Itz'hak in the name of R. Johanan said: He who bequeaths to an embryo, title is not acquired. And should you object to this statement from our Mishna, which states: "If one bequeaths a mana to the embryo, he takes it after he is born," I may tell you that this is said only of a father, whose mind is near to his son; but it cannot be done by a stranger. Said Samuel to R. Hana of Bagdad: You may bring to me ten persons, and I will teach in their presence that title is given if one bequeaths to an embryo. The Halakha, however, prevails that title is not given.

There was one who said to his wife: I bequeath my estate to the children who shall be born of you by me. And his elder son came and said: What becomes of me? And the father answered: You will take a share as one of the brothers. Now, the children which are to be born can certainly not acquire any title; but the question is, does the elder son, when he came to share with his brothers born thereafter, take a double share, as his father bequeathed to him a part of his estate when his brothers were not yet in existence? Or does he share with them equally? According to R. Abbin, R. Miicha, and R. Jeremiah, he is entitled to a double share; and according to R. Abuhu, Hanina b. Papi, and R. Itz'hak of Naf'ha, he is not. Said R. Abuhu to R. Jeremiah: With whom should the Halakha prevail--with us or with you? And he answered: Certainly with us, as we are older than you; and not with you, who are still young scholars. And R. Abuhu rejoined: Does this depend upon age? It depends upon reason, and our reason is better than yours. And what is it? questioned R. Jeremiah again. And he answered: Go to R. Abbin, and ask him, as I have already explained to him the reason at the college; and he shook his head in sign of assent. He went to him, and he told him: Because this case is similar to that of one who says: "You and this ass shall acquire title to this article," would title be given to him? Is this not to explain: You shall acquire title as the ass? The same is the case if one says: You shall share with the children, which are not yet in existence even in pregnancy. Hence title is not acquired in either case. It was taught: If one says: "Acquire title to this as the ass," certainly title is not given; but if he says: "Acquire title, you and the ass," according to R. Na'hman title is given to a half. And R. Huna said: This man said nothing. R. Shesheth, however, said: He has acquired title to the whole of it. Said R. Mordecai to R. Ashi: R. Ivia raised an objection from a Mishna in Tract Kiduchin: It happened with five women, among them two sisters, that one presented to them a basket with dry figs, saying: You are all betrothed to me with this basket. And one of the women accepted the basket for them all. And when the case came before the sages, they said: The sisters are not betrothed. Hence--only the sisters? But the strangers were. Why? Is this not similar to the case: You and the ass shall acquire (i.e., as the sisters could not under any circumstances be betrothed to one person, the other women must also be treated similarly)? And he answered: That is what R. Huna dreamt--that R. Ivia was going to raise a question (and now I see that R. Huna's dream was true). However, the objection does not hold good, as that Boraitha was explained: In case the man has added: All of you who are fit to be my wives.

There was one who said to his wife: My estate shall be for you and your children. And R. Joseph decided: One half of the estate belongs to her, and the other half to her children. And he added: I deduce my decision from the following Boraitha: Rabbi said: It is written [Lev. xxiv. 9]: "And it shall belong to Aaron and to his sons," meaning a half shall be for Aaron and a half for his sons. Said Abayi to him: What comparison is this? Aaron was fit to receive a share; and therefore the Merciful One mentioned him, that he should take a half. But in this case a woman is not fit to be an heir at all, when there are male children. Would it not be sufficient that she should take an equal share with her children? Is that so? Did not such a case happen in Nahardea, and Samuel collected for the woman a half; and also in Tiberias, and Johanan collected for her a half? Furthermore, when R. Itz'hak b. Joseph came from Palestine, he told: It happened that the government had taxed the citizens of the city and those who had real estate for the manufacture of a crown for the ruler, and Rabbi decided a half should be collected from the citizens, and the other from the owners of real estate. But what comparison is that with what was told by R. Itz'hak? As to that one, it is known that in previous orders from the government they applied only to the rich citizens, and those who possessed real estate only assisted them, with the consent of the government. But the order in question was written: Both the rich, and real-estate owners are taxed. Therefore Rabbi's decision.

R. Zera objected from the following: If one said: I intend to bring a meal-offering, of one hundred tenths of an ephah--to bring it in two vessels--he may bring sixty in one vessel and forty in the other. However, if he brought fifty and fifty, in two vessels, he has fulfilled his duty. We see, then, that only when he does so it is valid; but the law prescribes that he must bring sixty in one and forty in the other. Hence we see that equal halves is not to be understood when he says in two parts? Nay, this cannot be compared. We are witnesses that he intended to bring a great offering; and the expression "in two vessels" was because he was aware that it could not be put into one. Therefore there must be put in one vessel as much as it can contain, and the remainder in the other one.

(Says the Gemara:) The Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Joseph in the three cases: the case of a field, mentioned in the eighth chapter, in the case of a sudarium mentioned in the preceding chapter, and in this case of the half. There was one who had sent home pieces of silk, without any order to which member of his household they belonged, and R. Ami decided: Those which are fit for the sons, they shall use; and those which are fit for the daughters, shall be used by them. This law, however, holds good only in case he had no daughters-in-law; but if such a case should happen when there are daughters-in-law, and his own daughters are married, it is to be supposed that he sent them to the daughters-in-law. If, however, his own daughters were unmarried, he would not neglect his daughters, and it is to be supposed that he sent them for them.

There was one who said in his will: My sons shall inherit my estate. However, he had only one son, and some daughters. And the question arose: By the expression "sons" in the plural, does he mean the one son only, excluding the daughters, or does he mean to include them? Said Rabha: There is a verse in Num. xxvi. 8, "And the sons of Pallu: Eliab." And R. Joseph said: There is another verse in I Chron. ii. 8, "And the sons of Ethan: Azaryah." There was another, who said: "My estate shall belong to my sons," and he had only one son and a grandson. And the question arose: Whether people are used to call grandsons also sons? R. Hbiba said: They are. And Mar b. Ashi maintains: They are not. And there is a Boraitha in accordance with the latter, namely: If one vowed not to derive any benefit from his sons, he may derive it from the grandsons.

MISHNA 3.: If one left grown-up and minor sons, and the former improved the estate, the improvement shall be divided equally. If, however, they said: "Observe in what condition the estate was left by our father, and it shall be known that we are going to improve it for our own sake," they have a right to take the benefit for themselves. The same is the case with a widow. If she had improved it without any remark, the improvement belongs to all the heirs. But if she remarked, "Seeing in what condition my husband left," etc., the benefit belongs to her.

GEMARA: Said R. Hbiba, son of R. Joseph b. Rabha in the name of his grandfather: The Mishna means to say that they have improved the estate, not at their own expense, but .at that of the estate (i.e., they went only to the trouble of hiring labourers for improving, but at the expense of the estate). But if they had expended from their own, then the benefit belongs to them without any remarks. Is that so? Did not R. Hanina say: If their father left them only covered wells (which are usually higher for watering fields), the improvement is for all? We see, then, that although the wells required much trouble to preserve them from pollution, and they should be always covered, the improvement is nevertheless for all? This case is different. It requires only that they shall be watched; and this can be done by minors also.

"Observe in what condition," etc. R. Saphra's father left money, and R. Saphra took it for business purposes. His brothers summoned him before Rabha (demanding a share from the profits). Said Rabha to them: R. Saphra is a great man, and would not leave his study to trouble himself for the sake of others.

"If she had improved it," etc. But what has a woman to do with the estate of orphans? (The law dictates as to whether she shall take what belongs to her according to her marriage contract, and depart; or shall take upon herself the trouble of the orphans, and be supported from the estate. But she .has no right to any profit.) Said R. Jeremiah: It treats in case the woman were an heir (i.e., if the will reads: She shall share equally with the orphans). But if so, it is self-evident. Lest one say: As it is not usual for a woman to occupy herself with business, therefore it should be considered as she remarked--she is doing it for herself, it comes to teach us that it is not so.

"In what condition my husband left it," etc. Is this not self-evident? Lest one say: Because of the pleasure she takes in thinking that people praise her for troubling herself for the

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orphans' sake, she relinquishes the benefit in spite of her previous remark, it comes to teach us that it is not so.

R. Hanina said: If one has made the wedding of his son in one of his houses, the son acquires title to the house: provided the son was of age, married a virgin, and she was his first wife, and this wedding was the first of his house. It is certain that when the father has separated for this wedding a house with an attic, the son acquires title to the house, but not to the attic. But how is it if on the house was a balcony? or there were two houses, one inside of the other? Is title given to both, or only to that in which the wedding took place? These questions remain undecided. An objection was raised: If the father had separated for his son a house and furniture, the son acquires title to the furniture, but not to the house? This Boraitha treats of when the treasurer of his father was still in the house. So said R. Jeremiah. And the Nahardean said: Even when there was left his pigeon-coop. And both R. Jehudah and R. Papi said: It suffices if his father left there a vessel with roasted fish (i.e., this shows that he has not relinquished his right to the house). Mar Zutra left his sandals in the wedding house which he separated for his son, and R. Ashi a bottle of oil (for the purpose said above). Said Mar Zutra: The following three things the rabbis enacted as laws, 2 without giving any reason: The case just mentioned; and that which was said above in the name of Samuel: If one has bequeathed all his estates to his wife, she is considered a guardian only; and also that which was said by Rabh. If A said to B: You owe me a mana, give it to C, and all the three were present, title is given to C.

MISHNA 4.: Brothers partners in business. If one of them was taken by the government to work for it, the damage caused by his absence, and also the profit for the business during that time, must be counted to the partnership. If, however, he becomes sick, and has to be cured, it is at his own expense.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: If the government had appointed one of the brothers as a collector, or a military purveyor, if this was because of the duty of the house, it must be counted for all of them, but if it was because of his personal fitness, then it is for himself. Is this not self-evident, because the duty of the house must be counted for all? It treats of when he was a genius. Lest one say: In such a case it must rot be counted for the house, because he was taken on account of his genius, it comes to teach us that it is not so.

The rabbis taught: If one of the brothers took two hundred zuz, to begin the study of the Torah, or to learn a trade, they may say to him: If you are with us, you have to be supported; but not otherwise. But why not support him, by deducting what his labour was worth to the house? This may be a support to R. Huna's statement, who said elsewhere: The blessing of the house increases when there are more people (i.e., because the expenses of the house do not decrease when there is one person less). But, after all, let them support him even in his absence for the profits, owing to his share after deducting his labour and the expenses. Yea, this in reality they have to do.

"If, however, he becomes sick," etc. Rabbin sent a message in the name of R. Ilah: The Mishna means to say: In case he himself causes his sickness; but if he was occasionally sick, the cure must be at the expense of the house. What does it mean: "Caused by himself"? As R. Hanina says: All sickness comes from Providence, except cold. As it is written [Prov. 22:5]: "Thorns 1 and snares are in the way of the perverse man; he that doth guard his soul will keep far from them."

MISHNA 5.: If, while the father of the house was still alive, he sent through some of the brothers presents to weddings of his friends, and after his death some of the brothers married and the presents were returned to them by the same friends, it is to be counted to the income of the house; as the wedding presents may be replevined by the court. If, however, one presents to his friends pitchers of wine or oil, it is not to be replevined by the court, as this is reckoned a bestowing of favours only.

GEMARA: There is a contradiction from the following: "If the father sent, through one of his sons, a present to the wedding of his friend, and told him to remain there during the wedding, then, when this present returns to the son's wedding, it belongs to him only. If, however, a wedding present was sent to the father, the returning must be at the expense of the house." Hence we see that the son may preserve the returning present for himself; and this contradicts our Mishna. Said R. Assi in the name of R. Johanan: Our Mishna also treats: When the wedding present was first sent to the father. But does not the Mishna state: Through some of the brothers? Read to some of the brothers. But the Mishna states farther on: If it was returned? It means: If this came to be returned by the brothers, it must be returned at the expense of the house. R. Assi himself, however, said: It presents no difficulty (there is no necessity for such a complicated explanation of the Mishna, as it can be explained thus). Our Mishna treats: When the father sent the present through one of his sons, without designating that the returns should belong to him, then the returns belong to the house. And the Boraitha treats: When the father has nominated one of his sons to deliver the present, so that the returning should belong to him. Samuel, however, said: The law is to be practised in accordance with the Boraitha. And our Mishna treats: In case the son through whom the present was sent dies childless, and his brother came to marry his wife, who according to the law is also his heir. However, this present he does not inherit from him; because there is a rule that this brother does not inherit property which was not yet in the deceased's possession, but has to come to him in the future. (Says the Gemara:) From Samuel's statement is to be inferred that the one who has received the present is obliged to return, even if the donator were dead. Why, then, let him say: Give me my friend who presented it to me, and I shall enjoy myself and give him a present, as he did to me. But as this cannot be, I am not obliged to anything. As we have learned in the following Boraitha: At those places where it is customary to return the presents which the bride has given to her groom at the time of betrothal, and she dies before marriage) they must be returned. At the place where it is not customary, they must not. And R. Joseph b. Abba in the name of Mar Uqba, quoting Samuel, said: Even at those places where it is customary to return, it is only in case the bride dies; but when the groom, it must not be returned, for the reason that she may say: Give me my husband, and I will enjoy myself with him, as for that purpose he gave them to me. Hence he may say also: Give me my friend, and I will enjoy with him. Said R. Joseph: It speaks of when his friend was at the wedding and had enjoyed himself with him all the seven days of the wedding, and the groom suddenly dies before the present was returned to him.

Shall we assume that in the above-mentioned claim of the bride, "Give me my husband," etc., the Tanaim of the following Boraitha differ: If one has betrothed a woman, and dies before marriage (and the marriage contract was already written), a virgin collects two hundred and a widow one hundred zuz. Concerning the presents given at the betrothal, however, it is to be practised as is customary at that place. So is the decree of R. Nathan. R. Jehudah the Prince, however, said: In reality, it was decided that in the place where it is customary to return, it must be returned; and where it is not customary it must not. Now does not R. Jehudah repeat what was said by the first Tana? It must then be assumed that the point of the difference is: If the bride may claim: "Give me my husband," etc., and the Boraitha is not complete and should read thus: If one betroths a woman, a virgin collects two hundred and a widow one hundred zuz, provided he has withdrawn from the contract. But if she dies, if it was in a place where it was. customary to return, it must be done so; and if where it was not, it must not. But all this is in case she dies. But if he dies, there is to be no return, as she may claim: Give me my husband, etc. And to this R. Jehudah the Prince came to say: Even in the latter case it must be done according to the custom of that place, as such a claim is not to be considered? Nay! All agree that the claim in question is to be considered; and there is no difference between them in case he dies. But in case she dies, they differ. And the point of their difference is: Whether the presents with which she was betrothed should be considered lost forever. According to R. Nathan, they are not so considered; and according to R. Jehudah, they are. But does not the Boraitha state that where it is customary to return, it must be so done? This means presents which were given by him aside from the betrothal. And the Tanaim of this Boraitha are in accordance with the Tanaim of the following: If one has betrothed his bride with a talent (a coin--according to some one hundred and twenty manas, and to others sixty, and according to Rashbam twenty-five), a virgin collects two hundred zuz besides the talent, and a widow one hundred. So is the decree of R. Meir. R. Jehudah, however, maintains: A virgin two hundred, and a widow one hundred of the talent; and the remainder must be returned. But R. Jose said: If he has betrothed her with twenty, he may give her thirty halves; and if with thirty, he may give her twenty halves. Let us see of what kind of case this Boraitha speaks. In case she dies, there is no longer any marriage contract; and if he dies, why should she return the remainder? Is it not said above that all agree that the betrothal money must not be returned, as the claim: "Give me my husband," etc., is to be considered? And if you should say: It speaks in case she had sinned; then if intentionally, has she still a right to her marriage contract? And if unintentionally, he may marry her if he be a commoner. It must be then said that it speaks of when the groom was a priest, and she was forced to sin (and in such a case a commoner may, and a priest may not marry her). And the point of their difference is, that R. Meir holds the money of betrothal to be lost forever, and R. Jehudah holds that it is not; and to R. Jose it was doubtful whether yes or no. And therefore he maintains that, according to the rule, doubtful money is to be divided. If he has betrothed her with twenty selas (eighty zuz), she has to return to him forty zuz. However, he has to complete the amount belonging to a widow as a marriage contract, which is one hundred zuz; therefore he gives her thirty half-selas, which are sixty zuz, and this completes the mana to which she is entitled. And if he betrothed her with thirty selas, she has to return to him fifteen, and he must give her twenty half-selas more. Said R. Joseph b. Minumi in the name of R. Na'hman: Babylon is the place where it is customary to return. And by Babylon he meant the city of Nahardea. But how is it with the other cities in Babylon? Both Rabba and R. Joseph say: The betrothal money is not to be returned; but the presents are. Said R. Papa: The Halakha prevails, whether he or she dies, or he has retracted, the presents only are to be returned, but not the betrothal money. And in case she has retracted, the betrothal money also. Amimar, however, maintains that even in the latter case the money must not be returned, for the reason that one may say that he is then allowed to be betrothed to her sister (i.e., if one should see the betrothal money returned, he might think the betrothal cancelled, and he might marry her sister, which is biblically prohibited so long as she is alive). But according to R. Ashi: This is not to be feared, as the divorce in her hands testifies that the betrothal was not cancelled. (Said the Gemara:) R. Ashi's statement is not to be taken into consideration at all; as one may be aware that she has returned the betrothal money, and not be aware that she took a divorce.

"May be replevined," etc. The rabbis taught: The following five things were said about wedding presents: (a) They may be collected by the court; (b) they are returned at the time when the donator marries; (c) they are not considered usurious (i.e., if the return was of a greater value than presented); (d) the Sabbatic year does not release them; (e) a firstborn has no double share in them. They are collected by the court, because they are considered a loan. They are not usurious, because they were not presented with this intention. The Sabbatic year does not release them, because the verse Deut. 15:2 does not apply to them. And the first-born does not take a double share in them, because they are not as yet in existence, and he is not entitled to that which will be an inheritance in the future.

R. Kahana said: The following is the rule: If one came into the city, and heard that his comrade, who was at his wedding, marries, he must come and make a present. The same is the case if he heard the voice of the drum which announced the marriage of his comrade; but if it was not drummed, the groom ought to let him know. However, if he failed to do so, although he may be away, he nevertheless must pay. In such a case, however, he may deduct for the meal of which he has not partaken. And how much may he deduct? Said Abayi: The inhabitants of the city of Ganna used to deduct one zuz. However, this depends upon the value at which one would appraise the respect and honour of attendance at the wedding banquet. The rabbis taught: If one has married publicly, and thereafter, by returning the presents, he wishes to be married privately, he has a right to say: As you did with me publicly, I will do with you; but not when privately. The same is the case if one has married a virgin, and the other marries a widow; or, if one has married a second wife, and his comrade marries his first wife, the former may say: As you have done with me, I will do with you. The same is the case if to him it was done once, and his comrade demands from him he shall do twice.

The rabbis taught: Who is like unto a wealthy man who is known to be rich by his many cattle and estates? The one who is a master in Haggadah (as he lectures everywhere, and becomes known to all). Who is like unto a broker who does business at his home only and is not well known to the community? The one who occupies himself with pilpulistic (dialectology, one who is a master in dialectics). Who is like unto one who makes his living by selling things which are to be measured--who gathers his money little by little, which finally becomes a considerable amount? The one who gathers the decisions of the rabbis, little by little, and finally possesses a great deal of wisdom. However, all are dependent to the owner of wheat, which is the Gemara, as only by the studying of it are we able to understand the Mishnayoth and the Boraithas.

R. Zera in the name of Rabh said: It is written [Prov. 15:15]: "All the days of the afflicted are evil." It means: The masters of Gemara (because they must find out how to decide the laws from the Mishnayoth, which always need an explanation). "But he that is of a cheerful heart," etc., means: the one who is a master in Mishnayoth. Rabba, however, maintains the reverse. He who is a master in Mishnayoth cannot come to any conclusion about Halakha; but he who is a master in

Gemara knows how to decide Halakhas. And this is what R. Mesharshia said in his name: It is written [Eccl. 10:9]: "He that moves stones will be hurt through them," meaning the masters of the Mishna. "He that cleaveth wood will be endangered thereby," means the masters of Gemara (because they do not always succeed in finding out the correct decisions). R. Hanina said: "All the days of the afflicted," etc., means him who has a bad wife. "But he who is of a cheerful heart," etc., means him who has a good wife. R. Janai said: "All the days of the afflicted," etc., means one who is effeminate. "And he that is of a cheerful heart," etc., means him who is hardened to the ways of the world. R. Johanan said: By the first is meant him whose nature is merciful, and who takes to heart everything which happens to his fellow-men; and by the second is meant him who is callous. R.

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Jehoshua b. Levi said: The first means him who is a pedant; and the second, him whose mind is worldly. 1

MISHNA 6.: If one sends presents to the house of his betrothed's father, to the value of one hundred manas, and has partaken of the betrothal meal, even for one dinar, they are not to be returned. If, however, he did not partake, they may be returned in case of retraction. If the presents were given for the purpose that the bride should bring them, after her marriage, to her husband's house, they are to be returned. But if such is to be used while she is yet in her father's house, they are not.

GEMARA: Said Rabha: It means if he has partaken of no less than the value of a dinar; but if less, he has a right to demand a return. Is this not self-evident? The Mishna states a dinar? Lest one say this statement is only general, but not particular, he came to say that this is to be taken literally. Here in the Mishna it is eating. But how is it if he drank, or his substitute had partaken? Also, how is it if they had sent to him? Come and hear. R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said: It happened with one who had sent to his betrothed's father one hundred carrums containing pitchers of wine and oil, and vessels of silver and gold, and silk garments; and while he was joyful over the act, he rode on his horse to the gate of his betrothed's father, where they gave him a goblet of a warm beverage which he drank while sitting on the horse. Thereafter he died before marriage. And R. Aha, the mayor of that city, brought this case up before the sages in the college of Usha, and they decided: Such presents as may become spoiled before marriage are not to be returned, but such as are in good condition may. Hence we see even if one has not eaten, but drunk, it is the same. Infer from this also that the value of what he had drunk was less than a dinar (as a goblet of warm beverage cannot amount to a dinar). Said R. Ashi: Who can assure us that the goblet to which they treated him was not worth a thousand zuz, as perhaps they had ground a pearl 1 of that value in the goblet? But infer from this that if they had sent to his house, it is the same as if he had partaken of it at the house of his betrothed's father? Nay! Perhaps at the gate of his betrothed's father is the same as if he had partaken of it inside the house. The schoolmen questioned: How is it when the presents have improved--e.g., if he had made presents in cattle and they brought offspring? Shall we say, because they have to be returned to him, they are to be considered under his control, and belong to him; or, because if they should be lost, payment for them would be demanded, they are considered under the control of his betrothed's father? This question remains undecided.

Rabha questioned: The presents which are usually spoiled during the time from the betrothal to marriage--how is it if they were in good condition; must they be returned, or not? Come and hear the Boraitha cited above: "R. Aha, the mayor of that city, brought the matter up before the sages of Usha, who decided: If they are liable to be spoiled, they are not to be returned." Does it not mean although they are in good condition? Nay, it may mean if they were spoiled. Come, then, and hear the last part of our Mishna: "But if they be used while she is yet in her father's house they are not? "This was explained by Rabha to be nets and veils. R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh said: It happened with one who sent to the house of his betrothed's father, wine, oil, and garments of flax; all of them new of that year at the time of Pentecost. But what news came he to tell us? If you wish, he tells us the great value of the land of Israel; and if you wish, it may be said that he came to teach us: If one claims that he had done so at such a time, his claim is to be considered. The same said again in the name of the same authority: It happened with one, that he was told that his betrothed wife could not smell. He went after her into a ruined building to test her, and said: I perceive a smell of radishes (i.e., he kept in his pockets some for the purpose of testing her, whether she would smell them), and she answered him sarcastically: If one should furnish me with the dates of Jericho, I would eat them with the radishes I smell. Thereupon the ruined building fell and she died. And the sages decided: Because her husband entered the ruin only for the purpose of testing, he has no right to inherit from her.

"But if they be used while in her father's house," etc. Rabbin the elder was sitting before R. Papa and said: This is only in case death occurred to one of them; but if he had retracted, the presents are to be returned, but not what he had expended for the banquets. If, however, she had retracted, even the value of a bundle of herbs is to be returned. Said R. Huna b. R. Jehoshua: The value of the meat used at the banquets must be appraised at the cheapest price. How cheap should it be? A third of the existing price.

MISHNA 7.: If a sick person had bequeathed all his estates to strangers, leaving some ground for himself, his gift is considered valid. If, however, he left nothing, it is invalid.

GEMARA: Who is the Tana who holds that we may act in accordance with the supposed intention of the bequeather (as the Mishna states, "If he left nothing for himself it is invalid," which means, if the sick person becomes cured, he may retract: because if he could know that he would remain alive, he would not do so)? Said R. Na'hman: It is according to Simeon b. Menasia of the previous chapter. R. Shesheth, however, maintains: This is in accordance with R. Simeon of Shizuri of Tract Gittin (Chapter 6., Mishna 6), who said: Also who is dangerously sick. Who is the Tana of what the rabbis taught in the following Tosephtha: If one was sick in bed, and he was questioned to whom he bequeathed his estates, and he said: "I thought that I had a son, but now that I am convinced I have not, I bequeath my estates to so and so"; or, "I thought that my wife was pregnant, but now that I know she is not, I bequeath them to so and so"; and thereafter it became known that he left a son, or that his wife was pregnant, this bequeathing counts nothing--shall we assume that it is in accordance with R. Simeon b. Menasia and not with the rabbis? Nay! It may be even in accordance with the rabbis, as when he said: "I thought," etc., it is different. Why was it supposed previously that this should not be in accordance with the rabbis? Lest one say that the sick person said it only to mention his sorrow, but he did not think that it should not be bequeathed if he did have a son, it comes to teach us that it is not so. R. Zera in the name of Rabh said: Whence do we deduce that a gift of a sick person must be biblically considered? Because it is written [Num. 27:8]: "Then shall he cause to pass unto his daughter" (i.e., it should be written as elsewhere: You shall give the estates), it comes to teach that there is another case which we have to pass, and this is the gift of a sick person. R. Na'hman in the name of Rabba b. Abuhu, however, maintains from [ibid., verse 9]: "Shall ye give his inheritance unto his brothers" (which is also superfluous, as it should read: If no daughter, then to the brothers), which teaches that there is another gift which is to be considered valid, and that is, of a sick person. R. Menasia b. Jeremiah said: It is deduced from [2 Kings, 20:1]: "Give thy charge to thy house," etc., from which we see that concerning a sick person it is sufficient when he charges without any writing. And Rami b. Ezekiel said: From the following [2 Samuel, 17:23]: "And Achithophel . . . and gave his charge to his household," etc., we see that charging is sufficient without any writing.

The rabbis taught: The following three things has Achithophel charged his sons: You shall not quarrel with each other; you shall not rebel against the kingdom of David; and if the Day of Pentecost be a clear one, you may begin to sow wheat. Mar Zutra, however, said: It was taught that he said: If it should be cloudy. Nahardeans said in the name of R. Jacob: Not exactly clear, and not exactly cloudy; as, if it should be a little cloudy, with a north. wind blowing, it is also considered clear. Said R. Abba to R. Ashi: We, however, do not rely upon the cited Boraitha, but on what is said by R. Itz'hak b. Abdimi in Tract Yoma.

[There is a Boraitha by Abba Shaul: If the Day of Pentecost be clear, it is a good sign for the whole year. R. Zebid said: If the first day of the new year is a warm one, the whole year will be warm; and if cold, the whole year will be so. And to what purpose was it said? Concerning the prayer of the high priest on the Day of Atonement (that he should pray accordingly).] Rabha, however, in the name of R. Na'hman said: The gift of a sick person is rabbinical. And it was so enacted that a sick person should not become exhausted, being aware that, because he is sick and cannot write down or sign his will, he can do nothing with his property. But did, indeed, R. Na'hman say so? Did he not say: Although Samuel decided: If one sold a promissory note to his neighbour, and thereafter relinquished his right in it, his act is valid; and even his heir may do so? He (Samuel) nevertheless admits that if he gave this note to some one as a gift, he has no longer right to relinquish his debt, even if he becomes cured. Now, this would be correct if the gift of a sick person were biblical; but if it is rabbinical, why should he not be able to relinquish it when cured? It is true it is not biblical, but the rabbis have enacted that this law should be equal to a biblical one.

Rabha in the name of R. Na'hman said: If a sick person said: "A shall reside in such a house," or, "B shall consume the products of such and such a tree," he said nothing, unless he said: "Give such and such a house to A, that he may reside there"; "Give such and such a tree to B, and he shall consume its products." Is it meant to say that R. Na'hman holds that a sick person who verbally wills has no more right than one who is in good health--i.e., if one who is in good health should say: "He shall reside there," it would not be considered a gift even if it were done with the ceremony of a sudarium; then it would contradict another saying of Rabha's in the name of R. Na'hman: If a sick person said: "The loan made by me to A shall be given to B," he is to be listened to, which is not the case with one in good health, as title cannot be given to a loan which is made with the intention that the borrower shall expend it. (Hence we see that a sick person has more right than one in good health.) Said R. Papa: The reason of this law is, because an heir inherits it, it is considered as if it were under the control of the borrower. And farther on it is said that the gift of a sick person is considered as an inheritance. R. Aha b. R. Aiqua, however, said: To transfer a loan is lawful, even for him who is in good health in case it were made in the presence of all three, as is said above by R. Huna.

The schoolmen propounded a question: If the sick person bequeaths a tree to A and the products of it to B, should it be considered as if he reserved it for himself, in such a case it being said above that he cannot retract when cured, or is it not so considered? And should you decide that it is not so considered when he bequeaths the products to another, how is it if he said: I bequeath the tree to A, except the products. Is this considered as if he reserved some of the ground for himself, or not? Said Rabha in the name of R. Na'hman: Even if it should be decided, the products to another, it cannot be counted that he reserved some of the ground for himself, it is to be counted as if he left the products to himself, for the reason that if one left to himself, he does it with a good eye. Said R. Abba to R. Ashi: We taught R. Na'hman's statement as to what was said above by Resh Lakish concerning a house and an attic; and in accordance with R. Zebid's explanation there.

R. Joseph b. Minumi in the name of R. Na'hman said: A sick person who has bequeathed all of his estates to strangers, it must be investigated how was the case (i.e., if he had divided them at one time). E.g., of my property such and such shall belong to A, and such and such to B, etc.--as he could not do otherwise if he had made up his mind to divide his estates in such a manner as if 'he were to die of his sickness, so the last ones are not considered as if he would reserve some of his estates for himself--all of them acquire title after his death. But in case of cure he may retract from all of them, even from the first, but if he so does after deliberating (i.e., "Such and such shall be to A," then stops, and some time thereafter adds: "Such and such to B," etc.), in case he was cured of this sickness he may retract only from the last one, as he left nothing for himself--for it is to be supposed that if he knew he would be cured he would not give away the last of his estate so that he should remain a beggar--but not from the previous one. But why should not we suppose, even in the latter case, that his intention was concerning all of them, in case he should die, and the deliberation was as to who was more worthy to be his inheritor? Usually a sick person who expects to die makes up his mind for all his estates before he mentions any name.

R. Aha b. Minumi in the name of R. Na'hman said: If a sick person has bequeathed all his estates to strangers, and thereafter is cured, he cannot retract, as it may be feared, perhaps, he has estates in another country. But does not our Mishna state: In case he left nothing for himself, he may? And according to this theory, how can such a case occur? Said R. Hama: It may occur, if he said: All my estates, wherever they may be found. Mar b. R. Ashi said: Our Mishna means to say: In case it was clear to the people that he had no estates elsewhere.

The schoolmen propounded a question: Should a retraction in part be considered a retraction of all, or not (e.g., if he first bequeaths all his estates to A, and thereafter he bequeaths a part of same to B, which, according to the law, he may do, the question arises whether A has still the right to what was bequeathed to him at first, or the retraction of a part annuls the first entirely)? Come and hear: "If one bequeaths all his estates to A, and thereafter a part of them to B, B acquires title, but A does not." Is it not to be assumed that it means in case he dies? Nay! It means in case he was cured. And so it seems to be from the latter part stated in the same Boraitha: "If he wrote, 'A part of my estate shall belong to A and all the remainder to B,' the latter acquires title, but not the first." And this statement is correct in case he was cured; as then, bequeathing all the remainder to B, he reserved nothing for himself; but if it speaks in case he dies, why should both of them not acquire title? Said R. Yemar to R. Ashi: The same might be said even when he was cured. If you decide that a retraction in part is considered a retraction to all, it is correct that title is given to B, as the first bequeathing to A is entirely annulled with that which he has separated from it to B. But if you should decide that a retraction in part does not annul the first, let this case be considered as the case of "dividing" mentioned above, and title should not be given to any of them.

The Halakha, however, prevails: "That a retraction in part is considered entirely." And the first case mentioned in the just cited Boraitha holds good for both, whether he dies or is cured; and the latter case holds good only when he was cured.

R. Shesheth said: The expressions, "He shall take," "shall be rewarded," "shall make a hazakah," and "shall acquire title" are to be considered a gift, from which he has no right to retract. A Boraitha adds: "Also the expression 'shall inherit,' to him who is fit to be his direct heir." And it is in accordance with Johanan b. Beroka.

The schoolmen questioned: How shall it be done, if he expresses himself: A is the one who shall derive benefit from my estates? Does he mean all of them shall belong to him, or that he shall derive some benefit from them, but not all? This remains undecided. The same propounded another question: How is it if he had sold all his estates while he was sick--may he retract when cured, or not? And in answering this question, at one time it was said by R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: He may retract; and at another time it was said by the same in the name of the same authority: He may not. However, they do

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not contradict each other, as the first decision holds good in case the money obtained was still in his hands, and the second applies in case the seller had expended it by paying his debts.

The schoolmen propounded another question: If a sick person has confessed, "I owe so much to so and so," shall it be taken for granted, and his creditors acquire title to the cash or estates left; or, probably, that he said this for the purpose that, should he be cured, his children should not think that he was rich, and therefore the man whom he mentioned in his confession takes nothing? Come and hear: Aisur, the proselyte, had thirteen thousand zuz with Rabha. R. Mari was his son (whose mother Rachel, daughter of Samuel, who was in captivity, was pregnant with him from the same Aisur when he was still a heathen before marriage, and although he was born after the father had embraced Judaism, according to the law he was not considered his son concerning inheritance, and also must not be named after him, therefore Mari was named Mari b. Rachel, after his mother). Said Rabha: I do not see any lawful case which could make R. Mari inherit the money deposited with me. By inheritance he cannot, as, according to the law, he is not considered an heir. Should his father while sick make it a gift to him, there is a rule that he who can be an heir is fit to receive the gift, but not he who is not fit to be an heir. There is also a rule that to coins title cannot be given by exchange; and if his father would present him with real estate, which is lawful, his father does not possess it; and if by transferring them from me to him in the presence of all three of us, then certainly, if he would send after me, I would not listen. Which R. Aiqua b. R. Ami opposed, saying: Why, then, let Aisur confess that the money in question belongs to Mari, and with his confession title would be given to him. While so discussing, Aisur got wind of it, and confessed. Rabha became angry, saying: They are instructing people how to make their claims good and do harm to me.

"Reserving some ground for himself," etc. But what is meant by this? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: It means real estate, or ground by which his livelihood is assured. And R. Jeremiah b. Abba maintains: The same is the case when he left movable property. Said R. Zera: See how the decisions of our elders correspond. Why is it said real estate? Because it is supposed that a sick person would think, "If I should be cured, I shall get my livelihood from this estate." The same is the case if he left movable property; he relies upon it. R. Joseph, however, opposed: I do not see such a correspondence at all. He who says "movable property" does not correspond with our Mishna, which states plainly, "ground" (real estate); and he who said "to be sufficient for his livelihood" also does not correspond with it, which states "some real estate," which cannot be explained that it should suffice for a livelihood. Said Abayi to him: Does the Mishna mean in each case when it mentions ground, that it is not changeable for movable property? Did not R. Dimi b. Joseph say in the name of R. Elazar, referring to a Mishna in Tract Gittin, in which also some ground is mentioned: Movable property is also considered a remainder in that case? There it is different. It should not state "ground" at all; but because it begins with the law of Peah, which applies to ground no matter how small it is, etc., it uses the same expression at the end. But in reality there is a difference between real estate and movable property. It was also questioned: Is this a rule--that wherever the expression, a trifle, is mentioned in the Mishna, it does not mean a certain quantity? Is there not a Mishna in Chulin: "If five sheep give some wool, the law of the first shearing applies to it"? and to the question: What does "some wool" mean? said Rabha: No less than a litra and a half, etc. Hence we see the expression "some" means a certain quantity? There also it should not state "some wool"; but because in the beginning it states: If each sheep gives a litra and a half, it expresses in the latter case "some wool," as the quantity from every five sheep is only one litra and a half.

It is certain that if one says, "I bequeath my movable property to so and so," he acquires title to all vessels or garments which are useful, except wheat and barley. And if he says, "All my movable property," wheat and barley are also included; and even the grinder of a handmill, but not the grindstone. And if he say, "All that is movable," even the latter is included. But the question arises: If among his properties were also bondsmen, is title given to them also, as they are also considered movable property; or are slaves under the category of real estate and title is not given?

Said R. Aha b. R. Ashi to R. Ivia: Come and hear Mishna 7 in Chapter IV. of this tract, which states: If he said, "I sell the town, with all its contents," slaves are included. From which it is to be inferred that slaves are considered movable property; as if they were considered real estate they ought to be included, even if he did not mention "with all its contents." But can you infer from it that they are considered movable property? Does not the Mishna express itself "even bondsmen"; and if they should be considered movable property, why "even"? We must then say that there is a difference between movable property which must be carried and that which is self-moving. The same answer can also apply to the theory that slaves are considered real estate.

Rabha in the name of R. Na'hman said: In five cases the act of a gift is not considered unless the bequeather writes "all my estates," and they are: A sick person, his bondsmen, his wife, his children, and the estates of a woman who has bequeathed them to some one for the purpose that her future husband should not demand them at the marriage. "A sick person"--as our Mishna states: If he reserved nothing for himself, the bequeathing is not considered. "A slave"--as there is a Mishna which states: If one has bequeathed all of his estates to a slave, the latter becomes free. If, however, he reserved some for himself, he does not. "His wife"--as is said above: If one bequeaths all his estate to his wife, it is considered that he has appointed her as a guardian only. "To his children"--as stated above: If one bequeaths all his estate to his children, but reserves for his wife some ground, she loses the right of her marriage contract. "And the estate of a woman who desires to hide it from her future husband"--as the Master said elsewhere: In such a case she must write all her estates, as only then she may retract after her marriage. But if she reserved something for herself, she loses the right. And in all those cases where they reserved for themselves movable property, their acts were invalid, except in the case of a marriage contract, to which the enactment of the rabbis was made for real estate only. Amimar, however, maintains: If the movable property in question was mentioned in the marriage contract, and while bequeathing all his estate to his children he reserved it for himself, it is considered, and his wife does not lose her right in the marriage contract.

If A bequeaths his estates to B, and among them were slaves, they are included, as they are also called estate, as said above. Earth is considered estate, as there is a Mishna: Estates which one can rely upon can be acquired with money, with a bill of sale, and with hazakah. Garments are also considered estate, as the same Mishna adds: And to that which cannot be relied upon, title is given only by drawing. Coins are also considered estate, from the same Mishna, which adds: Such estates which cannot be relied upon may be obtained with that which may be relied upon. 1 [Here is repeated from Baba Kama what happened to R. Papa when he had to collect twelve thousand zuz, as evidence that coins are considered estate.] Deeds are also considered estate. As Rabba b. Itz'hak said: There are two kinds of deeds. If one said to witnesses: "Give title of this field to so and so by a ceremony of a sudarium, and write him a deed, he may retract as to the deed," but he cannot retract as to the field itself, as title was already given. But if he said: "Give title," etc., with the stipulation, "You shall write him a deed also," he may retract from both. And R. Hyya b. Abbin in the name of R. Huna said: There are three, kinds of deeds: the two just mentioned; and the third, if the seller hastened and wrote the deed. As is said above: If the. seller desire to write a bill of sale, he may do so even in the absence of the buyer; as after the buyer makes a hazakah on the estate, title is given to the deed wherever it may be found. As we have learned: Estates which cannot be relied upon are obtained with that which is to be relied upon, etc. (We see, then, that deeds are considered estate.) Cattle are also so considered, as we have learned (Tract Shekalim, Chapter IV., Mishna g): "If one devote his possessions, and there are among them cattle. fit for the altar, male or female," etc. Fowl are also so considered, as we have learned [ibid., h]: "If one devote his possessions, and among them . . . oils and birds," etc. Tephilin are also so considered, as we have learned: "If one devote his estates, among which tephilin were found, they must be left for him."

The schoolmen propounded a question: How is the case with the Holy Scrolls--as they must not be sold, are they considered estate or not? This remains undecided. The mother of R. Zutra b. Tubhia had transferred to Zutra her estates because she was about to marry R. Zebid. However, after marriage, Zebid divorced her. Then she came before R. Bibi b. Abayi, claiming that she retracted from her transfer, as she told R. Zutra plainly that only for the purpose of marriage had she transferred her estates to him. But he said: You transferred them on account of marriage, and you did marry. Said R. Huna b. R. Jehoshua: Because you are weak you speak weak words (see above.) Even according to him who said: "If she wishes to hide her estates from her future husband, title is given," it is only in case she does it without any remark; but in this case she said plainly to her son that she did it because of marriage. But now she is divorced.

The mother of Rami b. Hama bequeathed to him her estates on one evening, and in the morning she bequeathed them to her son R. Uqba. Rami then went to R. Shesheth, who turned over the estates to him. And R. Uqba went to R. Na'hman's court, and he decided that the estates belonged to him (Uqba). R. Shesheth then went to R. Na'hman and questioned him: Why such a decision? If it is because she retracted from the first, this would hold good only should she be cured; but she was dead from this sickness, and her first will ought to be listened to? And he answered: So said Samuel: In such a case where a retraction holds good in case of a cure, it is the same if the retraction was made while still sick. Rejoined R. Shesheth: Samuel said so in case he has retracted and reserved the estates for himself? But did he say also that he might bequeath to another? And R. Na'hman answered. Yea! Samuel said plainly: One may do so, whether for himself or for another.

The mother of R. Amram the Pious possessed a bundle of deeds, and while dying she said: They shall be given to my son Amram. His brothers, however, came to complain before R. Na'hman, claiming that Amram had not made any drawing on the deeds; consequently he had not yet acquired title to them. To which R. Na'hman answered: The words of a dying person are considered as if written and delivered.

The sister of R. Tubi b. Matna bequeathed her estates to him on one morning, and in the evening came R. Ahadbui, who cried before her, claiming that people would say: The one brother is a scholar and the other not, and she has bequeathed to him. When the case came before R. Na'hman, he decided as he said above in Samuel's name, that the retraction held good. The sister of R. Dimi b. Joseph owned a part of a vineyard; and every time she became sick, she used to present it to him, and when cured to retract. At one time she became sick and sent to him: Come and acquire title to my estates.

And he answered: I do not want them. She, however, sent again to him: Come and acquire title to them, so that, according to the law, I shall not be able to retract. He then went, reserved a part thereof for her, and then the ceremony of a sudarium was made. She again became cured, and again retracted, and came to R. Na'hman requesting that he should return to her her estates. And R. Na'hman summoned R. Dimi before the court. But he was not willing to listen, saying: To what purpose shall I go? All that was done was in accordance with the law. She reserved of the estates for herself in case she should be cured, etc. He then sent to him: If you will not appear before the court, I shall prick you so that blood will not run (i.e., put him under the ban). Then R. Na'hman examined the witnesses how was the case. And they said: The woman said thus: "Woe is me! I am dying," and then she said her will. To which R. Na'hman gave his decision: In such a case it is considered that she made the will because she was afraid she would die; and a will made in the fear of death may be retracted.

It was taught: Concerning a gift in part of a sick person, it was said before Rabha, in the name of Mar Zutra the son of R. Na'hman, who said in the name of his father: In one respect it is equal to a gift by one in good health; it means he cannot retract if cured; and in the other to a will of a sick person, as it needs not the ceremony of a sudarium. Said Rabha to them: I told you several times, "Do not put a clay-pot (see Chapter 1.) on the neck of R. Na'hman." R. Na'hman said thus: It is considered a gift of one in good health and must be done with the ceremony of a sudarium. Rabha, however, objected to R. Na'hman from our Mishna, which states: If he reserved some ground for himself the gift is valid. Is it not to be assumed that no sudarium is needed? And he answered: Nay! It must be done with the ceremony of a sudarium. But does not the latter part state: If he reserved nothing, title is not given? And if it is as you say, why should it not be the same when made by a sudarium? And he answered: So said Samuel: If a sick person has bequeathed all his estates to strangers, although made with a sudarium, he may retract, because it is certain he made it in the fear of death. R. Mesharshia objected to Rabha from the following: It happened with the mother of Rukhl's sons that while sick she said: My jewelry shall be given to my daughter, and is worth twelve manas. And she died; and the sages listened to her will. (Hence we see that, although it was a part of her estate, and it was not made with the ceremony of a sudarium, it was nevertheless considered.) The case was, because she had mentioned: I am certain I shall die, therefore I bequeath this to my daughter. R. Huna b. R. Jehoshua, however, said: If the sick person has commanded while dying, a sudarium is needed; and all Boraithas cited treat when the sick person has divided all his estates among different persons. And in such a case it is said above that the rabbis consider them as a gift of a sick person. The Halakha, however, prevails that for a gift of a sick person in part a sudarium is needed, even when he dies of that sickness; but if he commanded while dying, no sudarium is needed in case he dies. But if he was cured he may retract, even if it was done with a sudarium.

It was taught: A gift of a sick person, in which it was written that it was made with a sudarium--it is considered based upon two sources, and must be listened to. So declared the school of Rabh in the name of their master. Samuel, however, said: I do not know what should be done in such a case. The reason of the school of Rabh is: Because the will was made on two bases, it is equal to both--a gift of one in good health, from which he cannot retract, and to a gift of a sick person who said, "The loan I have with A, shall be given to B." And the reason of Samuel, who was doubtful in such a case, is: Perhaps the sick person made up his mind not to give title without a deed, and such cannot be written after death.

However, there is a contradiction from the following statement of Rabh's, to his one decision just mentioned, and the same is it with Samuel--namely: The message which Rabbin sent in the name of R. Abuhu (above.), in which both Rabh and Samuel contradict themselves? Nay! There is no contradiction at all. Rabh it does not contradict, because in

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one case he speaks where it was made with a ceremony of a sudarium, and in the other where it was not. And to Samuel also there is no contradiction, as his decision in the case cited speaks when the sudarium was made to strengthen the act. (This will be explained farther on.)

R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak was sitting behind Rabha, and Rabha before R. Na'hman, who questioned him: Did Samuel indeed say that it is to be feared the sick person had perhaps made up his mind to give title by a deed only? Did not R. Jehudah say in his name: A sick person who has bequeathed all his estates to strangers, although made with a sudarium, if he was cured he may retract. Because it is known that this bequest was only because he thought he would die. R. Na'hman gestured, and Rabha remained silent. After R. Na'hman went out, questioned R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: Rabha, what does R. Na'hman mean by his gesture? And he answered: He means that title is given when the act was strengthened. And to the question: How is it known that the act was strengthened? Said R. Hisda: If it was written: "In addition to his gift the ceremony of a sudarium was made."

It is certain that if one bequeathed first to one, and thereafter to another, it is as R. Dimi said above: The later will abolishes the first. But how is it if he wrote and gave title with a sudarium to one, and thereafter he did the same to another? According to Rabh: Title is given to the first, as in his opinion it is similar to a gift by one who is in good health. But according to Samuel title is given to the second, as in his opinion it is similar to a gift of a sick person, and it is to be feared that he had perhaps made up his mind to give title only by a deed. So it was taught in the city of Sura. In Pumbeditha, however, it was taught as follows: R. Jeremiah b. Abba said: A message was sent from the college to Samuel: Let the master teach us--how is the law if one has bequeathed his estate to strangers with a sudarium? And his answer was: After a sudarium, nothing can be done. The schoolmen, however, understood that Samuel's decision was only if it was bequeathed to another; but if he became cured and wished to retract for the sake of himself, he might do so. Said R. Hisda to them: When R. Huna came from Khuphry, he explained that Samuel meant to say it holds good in any event (i.e., he cannot retract even for himself). There was one who bequeathed his estates with a sudarium while he was sick, and thereafter became cured and wanted to retract, and brought up his case in the court of R. Huna. And R. Huna said to him: "I can do nothing for you, as you acted not in accordance with those who wish to retract after cure. They usually give title with one of the two--a document or a sudarium. You, however, have done both; and such an act can by no means be abolished." There was a deed of gift in which it was written: While I live and after my death. Rabh considered this as a will upon death, because death was mentioned. And Samuel considered it as a gift by one in good health, because while "I live" was mentioned--explaining that the word death is to be interpreted from time everlasting. Said Uhla: The sages of Nahardea decided: The Halakha prevails with Rabh. Said Rabha: If, however, it was written: "While I still live," title is given. And Amimar said: The Halakha does not prevail with Rabha. Said R. Ashi to him: Is this not self-evident? Have not the Nahardeans decided: The Halakha prevails with Rabh? (And he rejoined:) One might say: When "still alive." Rabh also admits: I came to say that it is not so. There was such a case, which came before R. Na'hman in the city of Nahardea, and he sent the plaintiff to R. Jeremiah b. Abba in the city of Shum-Tamia, saying: Nahardea is the city of Samuel, and we cannot act against him, though the Halakha prevails with Rabh. There was also such a case which came before Rabha, and he decided in accordance with his own theory. And the plaintiff was a woman, who troubled him very much, saying: His decision was not in accordance with the law. He said then to R. Papa b. R. Hanon, who was his scribe: Write her a document that she won the case; but at the bottom write a few words from a Mishna in Middle Gate: "He may hire other labourers or deceive them" (that the court to which she shall bring my judgement will understand that I do not agree with it). And she exclaimed: I see you desire to fool me--may your ship sink! Rabha's followers dipped his clothes in water, to overcome the curse of the woman. However, they did not succeed, as Rabha was punished for this.

MISHNA 8.: If in the deed it was not mentioned that he was sick, and he claims that he was sick at the time of writing and had a right to retract, while the plaintiff claims that he was in good health, it is for him to bring evidence that be was sick. So is the decree of R. Meir. The sages, however, say: There is a rule that it is always for the plaintiff to bring evidence.

GEMARA: There was a deed of gift in which it was written that it was done while he was sick in bed; but it was not mentioned that he died from that sickness. And Rabha said: It does not matter, as in reality he did die, and his grave is evidence. Said Abayi to him: But what evidence is this that he died from that sickness? Perhaps he was then cured, retracted, and thereafter died of another sickness? And that this is to be feared we may infer from a ship which sinks, when it is seldom that the men on board are saved. And, nevertheless, we apply to such a case both the rigorous law concerning life and the rigorous law concerning death (i.e., the wives of those who were on board are not allowed to marry, as perhaps their husbands are not dead, but have drifted to the shore at another place and remain alive, and also must not partake of Terumah in case their husbands were priests, as perhaps they are dead). So much the more in our case, in which the majority of sick persons become cured. Should we not fear that, because it was not mentioned in the deed that he died from that sickness, he was cured?

Said R. Huna b. R. Jehoshua: The decision of Rabha in this case is in accordance with R. Nathan of the following Boraitha (in such a case as stated in our Mishna, it depends on circumstances): Who has to collect from whom? If he, the bequeather, has to take out of their hands, he can do so without any evidence; but if they have to collect from him, evidence must be brought. So is the decree of R. Jacob. R. Nathan, however, maintains: If the case comes on while he is in good health, it is for him to bring evidence that he was sick when the deed was written. On the other hand, they have to bring evidence that he was in good health, if the case comes on while he is sick. (Hence we see that R. Nathan's decision is according to the circumstances at the time the case is before the court; and the same is Rabha's theory.)

"The sages, however, say," etc. What kind of evidence is required? According to R. Huna: Witnesses shall testify that he was in good health when the deed was written. And according to R. Hisda and Rabba b. R. Huna: The evidence should be by approval of this deed (i.e., the defendant claims that he was then sick, and consequently the deed is valueless; but if they bring evidence from the court that it was approved by it, he must not be trusted, as it is to be supposed that the court would not approve it if it was not aware that he was in good health). R. Huna, who required witnesses, maintains: R. Meir and the sages differ as R. Jacob and R. Nathan do. And R. Hisda and Rabba b. R. Huna maintain: They (Meir and the rabbis) differ as to whether a deed which is admitted by the signer must be approved by the court or not. According to R. Meir, it is not necessary; and according to the rabbis, it is.

Rab ha is also of the opinion that the evidence in question must be witnesses. Said Abayi to him: What is your reason? Shall we assume that because all other documents state it was done when he was on his feet and in good health, and here it is not so mentioned, it is to be assumed that he was then sick? Why not say to the contrary, as in all documents of a sick person it is written: "It was done while he was sick in bed," and here it is not mentioned, it is to be assumed that he was then in good health? (And he answered:) Since it can be so said, and also the contrary, therefore we leave the money or the article in the hands of its possessor; and it is for the plaintiff to bring evidence.

The decision of this question is still in discussion, as R. Johanan and Resh Lakish also differ. According to the former, witnesses are required; and according to the latter, the approval of the deed.

R. Johanan objected to Resh Lakish from the following: It happened in the city of Bene Brack that one sold the estate of his father, and died; and his relatives complained that he was not of age when he died. And they came and questioned R. Aqiba whether they had a right to examine the corpse. And his answer was: First, you are not allowed to disgrace the dead; and secondly, the signs of maturity are subject to change after death. Now, according to my theory that witnesses are required, it is correct: as the buyers required evidence from the relatives, which they could not give, they asked for permission to examine the corpse. But according to your theory that the evidence should be by approval of the deed, let them, then, approve the documents, and hold the goods without any, examination? And Resh Lakish answered: Do you think that his estates were still in the possession of his relatives, and the buyers were the plaintiffs? On the contrary, the estates were in the hands of the buyers; and the relatives were the plaintiffs. (Says the Gemara:) It seems to be so, as his relatives kept silence when Aqiba told them they were not allowed to examine; and if the buyers were the plaintiffs, they would certainly claim: We gave him money--let him be disgraced and disgraced. However, this cannot be taken as a support, as it can be said that therefore R. Aqiba said to them: "And secondly, signs of maturity are subject to change," because of their claim: Let him be disgraced. (It was taught) Resh Lakish questioned R. Johanan: There is a Mishna among the Mishnayoth of Bar Kapara: If one worked up a field and consumed the products as if he were the owner of it, and then one came and claimed, "It is mine," but the occupant showed him a document, whether bill of sale or deed of gift, and the plaintiff said, "I do not recognise such a document at all," the signatures which are on the document must be approved by the court (i.e., it is sufficient that the witnesses should testify before the court that they recognise their signatures, but it is not necessary that they should testify that the sale or gift was made in their presence). If, however, the plaintiff claims: "I recognise this deed, but it was written only upon your request for a special purpose; but I never sold"; or, "I sold to you and never took any money," if the plaintiff brings evidence, then it must be done accordingly; but if there is no evidence, the deed is in force. Shall we assume that it is according to R. Meir, who said: "If one recognises his document, the approval of it is not necessary," and not in accordance with the rabbis? And R. Johanan answered: Nay! I say that all agree such a document does not need any approval. Said Resh Lakish again: But there is a Mishna that they do differ. And he answered: That Mishna treats that the witnesses themselves impair the deed (i.e., they testified that they signed it illegally). But can he, the giver of the document, be supposed to impair it? Rejoined Resh Lakish: But in your name it was said that you would approve the claim of the relatives who asked permission for the examination (cited above), as it seemed to you they were right. To which R. Johanan rejoined: This was said by Elazar, but I never said such a thing. Said R. Zera: If R. Johanan denies what was said by Elazar his disciple, will he also deny what was said by R. Janai his master? The same said in the name of Rabbi: If one admits that he wrote this document, it must nevertheless be approved. To which R. Johanan said, answering him: Rabbi, is this not the same as our Mishna states? The sages, however, say: It is for the plaintiff to bring evidence. And there is no other evidence but the approval of the document. And therefore (adds R. Zera), it seems that our master Joseph Js right when he states in the name of R. Jehudah, quoting Samuel, that the rabbis said approval is not needed to a document which is admitted by the signer. And he who holds that he still needs an approval is R. Meir. Also, by the expression of R. Johanan, "All agree," is meant the rabbis, as R. Meir was only a single individual who so holds. But does not the Mishna state the reverse? And also the Boraitha, does it not state in the name of the sages that it must be approved? Reverse the names in the Mishna, as well as in the Boraitha. But was it not stated above that R. Johanan is the one who requires that the evidence mentioned in the Mishna should be witnesses? This statement is also to be reversed (i.e., R. Johanan said: The evidence should be with the approval of the deed). Then the objection must be reversed also--not that R. Johanan objected to Resh Lakish, but the reverse? Nay! So said R. Johanan to Resh Lakish: According to my theory that I require the evidence should be by the approval of the deed, it is correct that the buyers took possession of the estate which was sold to them by the alleged minor. But according to your theory, how can there be such a case--that the buyers should possess the estate? Where could they find witnesses who should testify that he was of age? And Resh Lakish answered him: I admit to you that the claim of the relatives ought not to be taken into consideration; for what was their claim as against the deed in which witnesses signed that "he was of age"? And there is a rule that witnesses have the preference; as it is assumed that witnesses would not testify unless they were aware of the case. Hence concerning this deed they would not sign it if they were not aware that he was of age.

It was taught: What must be the age of one who has the right to sell the estates left him by his father? Rabha in the name of R. Na'hman said: Eighteen. And R. Huna b. Hinna in the name of the same authority said: Twenty. R. Zera objected from the above case which happened in the city of Bene Brack, to whom R. Aqiba said: The signs of maturity are subject to change after death. And this can be correct in him who said eighteen, as then his relatives questioned the law if the corpse might be examined. But according to him who said twenty, of what use could the examination be? At that time the signs of maturity are already unrecognisable, as we have learned in a Mishna: If one gets to the age of twenty, and the signs of maturity are not visible, they have to bring evidence that he has reached the age of twenty; and he, the castrate, is a legal "saris," who does not perform the ceremony of Halitzah and also cannot marry his brother's wife. Hence we see that after twenty the symptoms of maturity are already unrecognisable. The answer was: Was it not taught in addition to the Mishna by R. Samuel b. R. Itz'hak in the name of Rabh: Provided the symptoms of a "saris" were visible. Said Rabha: It seems that this explanation is right, as the Mishna states: "He, the castrate, . . . 'saris,'" from which it is to be understood that such signs were visible on the body; as if not, why should he be named "castrate"? But how is it if neither the signs of maturity nor of a "saris" were visible? How many years are needed, that he should be considered of age? Taught R. Hyya: After he reaches the majority of life (i.e., thirty-six years, as life is considered seventy). It happened that such cases were brought before R. Hyya by the mothers, questioning him: What must be done, that the signs of age should appear? And he used to answer: If the lad was thin, see he should become fat; and if he was fat, he would advise that they should make him thin, as sometimes the signs came earlier because of thinness, and sometimes because of fatness.

The schoolmen propounded a question: How is he to be considered during the nineteenth year--nineteen, which is still not of age, or twenty? Rabha in the name of R. Na'hman said: The whole twentieth year, is he considered nineteen? And Rabba b. R. Shila in the name of the same authority said: As twenty. The statement of Rabha, however, was not heard from him plainly; but it was so judged from the following act: There was a lad who was between nineteen and twenty, who

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used to sell his father's estate, and Rabha had annulled all his acts. People who saw this thought that it was because he considered him not of age. In reality, however, Rabha did so because signs of foolishness were seen in him, as he used to free all his slaves. 1

Giddle b. Menarshia sent a message to Rabha: Let the master teach us! How should a girl of fourteen years and one day who has a knowledge of business be considered? And he answered: If she has a knowledge of business, then her sale is valid, but not otherwise. Why was the question for a female and not for a male child? Because so was the case.

There was one lad, less than twenty, who had sold the estate of his father, and his relatives instructed him that when he should be at the court of Rabha he should eat dates and throw the pits at Rabha's person (for the purpose that Rabha should see he was a fool, and so annul his sales). He did so, and Rabha did indeed annul the sales. When the judgement was written, the buyers instructed him to go into court and say: The Book of Esther can be bought for one zuz, and the same is the price for Rabha's judgement. And he did so. Rabha then decided: His sales are valid. And when his relatives told him he was so instructed by the buyers, Rabha answered: He understands business if it is explained to him, and in such a case his acts are valid; and his previous act, that he threw the pits at me, was because he is too much of a scamp.

Said R. Huna b. R. Jehoshua: Concerning witnesses--his testimony may be considered at such an age (between nineteen and twenty). Said Mar Zutra: But only concerning movable property, and not real estate. Said R. Ashi to him: What is the reason that he is fit to be a witness for movable property--because his sales are valid? If so, let children of six and seven years be fit for this, as there is a Mishna: The purchase or sale of movable property by minors is valid. And he answered: Witnesses must be men, as it is written [Deut. 19:17]: "Then shall both the men who have the controversy stand before the Lord," etc., which cannot be applied to children.

Said Amimar: If a lad of thirteen years and one day presented a gift to some one, his act is valid. Said R. Ashi to him: Why? Even concerning a sale where he should receive money, the rabbis enacted that it should be annulled, because he might sell too low. Shall we say, if he presents a thing without any money his act is valid? (Said Amimar to him:) And according to your theory, if such a lad bought a thing which is worth six zuz for five, should this be considered? This is certainly not so, because there is no difference whether it was worth more or less, as the rabbis annulled all sales made by such a lad who does not understand business. And the reason is that the rabbis were aware that lads at such an age have an inclination for money; and if you should allow one to sell, he would sell all the estates of his father for a small amount. But concerning a gift it is different, as if he would not have any benefit from it, he would not do so; and therefore the rabbis enacted that his gift should be considered, so that others should also please him. R. Na'hman in the name of Samuel said: A young man before twenty may be examined for the signs of maturity concerning betrothals, divorces, the ceremony of Halitzah, and protesting against marriage, and as to selling the estates left him by his father. The Halakha, however, prevails, that between nineteen and twenty he is considered as before nineteen; and it prevails also in accordance with Giddle b. Menarshia, with Mar Zutra, and also with Amimar, and with all the laws which are stated by R. Na'hman in the name of Samuel.

MISHNA 9.: If one divides his estates verbally, no matter if he was in good health or dangerously sick, according to R. Elazar to real estate title is given by money, by a deed, and by a hazakah; and to movable property, title is given by drawing only. He was then told that it happened with the mother of the sons of Rukhl, who was sick and said: Give my jewelry, which is worth twelve manas, to my daughter, that the sages had listened thereto. And he answered: The sons of Rukhl ought to have been buried by their mother while they were still young (i.e., they had bad habits, and therefore the sages fined them, that they should not inherit from their mother).

GEMARA: There is a Boraitha: R. Eliezer said to the sages: It happened with an inhabitant of the city of Mruni, who was in Jerusalem, that he possessed much movable property which he desired to present to different persons; and he was told that he could not give them title, unless he did so together with some real estate. He went then and bought a rock near Jerusalem, and said: The north side of the rock shall belong to A, and with it one hundred sheep and one hundred barrels; and the south to B, and with it one hundred sheep and one hundred barrels. And when he was dead, the sages approved his will. Hence we see that, though the rock could not be considered real estate, as it could not be used for anything, nevertheless title was given. And he was answered: This is no support, as the Mrunian was in good health when he did so; but this cannot be done by a sick person.

R. Levi said: It is allowed to make the ceremony of a sudarium with a sick person even on Sabbath, lest he become exhausted; but not because the Halakha is in accordance with R. Eliezer of the following Mishna.

MISHNA 10.: R. Eliezer said: If it happens that a sick person divides his estates verbally on Sabbath, it may be listened to, because it is prohibited to write; but not on week days. R. Jehoshua, however, maintains: It was said on Sabbath, a fortiori when it happened on week days. Similar to this is: One may acquire title for a minor, but not for adults. So is the decree of R. Eliezer. R. Jehoshua said: For a minor, and a fortiori for an adult.

GEMARA: Our Mishna is in accordance with R. Jehudah, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: R. Meir said: The reverse is the case. If this happened on week days, his words must be listened to, because he is allowed to write; but not on Sabbath, because he is not allowed to write. So is the decree of R. Eliezer. R. Jehoshua said, on the contrary: It was said on week days, and so much the more on Sabbath. R. Jehudah, however, said: R. Eliezer's decree was, if on Sabbath, his words must be listened to, because he is not allowed to write; but not on week days, when he is allowed to write. And R. Jehoshua's decree was to the contrary. And the same is the case as to the latter part of the Mishna.

MISHNA 11.: Suppose a house falls upon A and his father, or on any persons, that one of them has to be bequeather and the other inheritor, and it is not known who dies first, and to the estate there is a claim from the widow for her marriage contract, and from other creditors. The heirs of the father say that the son died first; and the creditors say that the father died first, and the son afterward. (I.e., the creditors of the son who had a right to the estate only if he died after his father, so that with the death of his father the inheritance came to him. But if he was dead before his father, he has nothing in the estate. And this is what his brothers claim, that the creditors have no right in the estate left by their father. Concerning a marriage contract, that will be explained in the Gemara.) According to the school of Shamai, they have to divide; and according to the school of Hillel, the estate must be left in the hands of the present occupants.

If it happened that the house fell on him and his wife, the heirs of the husband claim that the woman dies first, consequently her husband has inherited from her; and the heirs of his wife claim that he died first, consequently they have a right to her marriage contract and also to her own estate. They have to divide, according to the school of Shamai. But the school of Hillel say: They must leave the estate in the hands of its present occupant. And the occupants are to be considered as follows: The estates belonging to the marriage contract are to be considered as in the hands of the husband's heirs. But her own estates, which she brought with her to her husband, and which ought to go out with her by death or divorce, are to be considered in the hands of the heirs of her father.

If, however, the house falls on one and his mother, both schools agree that it must be divided. R. Aqiba, however, said: I hold that they (the schools) differ in the latter case also; and the school of Hillel are still of the opinion that estates must be left in the hands of the occupants. Said Ben Azai to him: We deplore that the schools differ in the former cases, and you come to add the third one, in which the rabbis testify that they have agreed.

GEMARA: The estates which were brought by the deceased woman, mentioned in the Mishna--to her husband for usage of fruit only, according to the school of Beth Hillel. Who is to be considered the occupant? According to R. Johanan: The heirs of the husband. According to R. Elazar: The heirs of the woman. R. Simeon b. Lakish, however, said in the name of Bar Kapara: Such must be divided. And the reason of this statement was taught by Bar Kapara himself, that as the claims of both parties are equal (i.e., the heirs of the husband claim that all the products of this estate belonged to the deceased, as he had a right to sell them, and therefore they belong to his heirs; and the opponents claim that they were only to be used while he was alive, and therefore what was not consumed by him, if his wife were alive she would certainly take with her estate; hence it belonged to her, and after her death to us), it is to be considered doubtful money, the law of which is division.

"R. Aqiba said . . . in the hands of the occupants." But who are considered their occupants? R. Aila said: The heirs of the mother; and R. Zera: The heirs of the son. When R. Zera ascended to Palestine, he retracted from his statement in Babylon and accepted the system of R. Aila. Rabba, however, retained the system of R. Zera as a Halakha. Said R. Zera: From my retraction, I see that the air of the land of Israel makes one wise; as after I came here I saw that my statement while I was still in Babylon was erroneous. 1

"Said Ben Azai to him," etc. Said R. Simlai: Infer from this that Ben Azai was an associate disciple of R. Aqiba; as if he were a disciple only, he would have said to him, "The master said," and not, "And you (thou)."

A message was sent from Palestine as follows: If a son has sold his share of the inheritance of his father to some one, and dies while the father was still alive, and thereafter his father died, the son of the seller has a right to take away the goods from the buyer. (Because, at the time sold, the seller has nothing as yet in his hands, and the sale was for that which would be his in the future; and as the son died before his father the goods were never his, and his son is now the heir of his grandfather, to whom the goods in question belong; hence he has a right to take them away.) And this is a complicated case in the law of money matters. But let the buyers say: Your father has sold, and you are taking away? What a claim is this! Cannot the plaintiff say: My basis is my grandfather, from whom I inherit (and my father had not any right to sell this--as explained above); and that such a claim is to be considered may be supported by [Ps. xlv. 17]: "Instead of thy fathers shall be thy children: thou shalt appoint them as princes in all the land." Hence it is not at all a complicated case in money matters. And if such there be, it would be the following: A first-born who sold the share prescribed to him while his father was still alive, and died before his father, the first-born's son has a right to take away from the buyers after the death of his grandfather. Hence his father sold that to which he was entitled; and his son, whose basis is his deceased father, takes the goods away. And this is complicated, as he cannot say, "My basis is my grandfather," for the grandfather had nothing to do with the double share of the first-born son. But even this cannot be called a complicated case, as he may claim, "My basis is my grandfather, and not my father, who has never possessed the goods he sold; for now only do I take the place of my father, who was a first-born, and take his share." Hence it is in accordance with the usual law. Therefore, if in the message of Palestine was said "a complicated case," it might be the following: If one sign a document before he robbed some one, and thereafter he became a robber, who is no longer competent to be a witness, he has no right to testify to his handwriting; but others, who know his handwriting, may. Hence he is not trusted, and the others who came upon his basis are trusted. Is this not complicated? But perhaps it treats of when his handwriting was already approved by the court, while he was still righteous? Therefore it is to be assumed that they meant the following case: If one signed a document as a witness to a stranger, and thereafter he became his son-in-law, he has no right to testify to his signature; but others may testify that they recognise the writing of the son-in-law, and then it may be relied upon. Hence he is not trusted, and others are. And you cannot say that it means only when his handwriting was already approved by the court at that time, as R. Joseph b. Minumi in the name of R. Na'hman said plainly: Even in case it was not. However, even this cannot be called complicated, as it may be said that it is thus decreed by the law. A son-in-law must not witness in a case of his father-in-law, not because it is feared he may lie, but because it is prohibited, even if the son-in-law were Moses our master. Therefore we must come to the conclusion that the complication lies in the first case mentioned in the message, and the objection based on the cited verse is not to be taken into consideration, as the verse speaks of a "blessing." But bow can you say that it speaks of a blessing, and nothing is to be inferred from it? Does not our Mishna state: "If the house falls upon him and his son, or any persons," etc.? Does it not mean, by the "heirs of the father," grandsons, and "any persons," brothers of the deceased? Now, if you bear in mind that one cannot say, "I come on the basis of my grandfather," as the cited verse cannot serve as a support, then, even when the son dies first, how is it? Let the creditors say: We claim the inheritance of the father? Nay! By "the heirs of the father" is meant the deceased's brothers; and by "any persons," his uncles, brothers of his father.

"One and his mother," etc. R. Shesheth was questioned: Nay! A son inherits from his mother when he is already in the grave, so that his brothers from his father's side should inherit from him? Answered R. Shesheth: This we have learned in the following Boraitha: If the father was taken into captivity and died there, and at the same time his son dies in his country, or vice versa, and it was not known who died first, the heirs of the father and the heirs of the son (on his mother's side) may divide among themselves the inheritance. Now, if the son while in the grave could inherit from his mother, even if he dies first, let him inherit from his grandfather on his mother's side, and then his brothers on the father's side would inherit from him. Infer from this that while in the grave nothing is to be inherited. Said R. Aha b. Minumi to Abayi: This may be inferred also from our Mishna, which states that concerning one and his mother all agree that they must divide. And if the law of inheriting in the grave were in force, let him inherit from his mother while in the grave, the same to revert to his brothers on the father's side. Hence such a law does not hold good. And why not? Said Abayi: There is the same expression in the Scripture concerning the inheritance of a husband from his wife, and a son from his mother. As the first does not inherit while in the grave, so it is with the second, etc. (This has already been explained in Chapter 8.)

CHAPTER 10.

HOW DEEDS SHOULD BE WRITTEN AND WHERE THE WITNESSES SHOULD SIGN. CONCERNING ERASURES OF SOME WORDS IN DEEDS. IN WHICH CASES BOTH PARTIES MUST BE PRESENT AT THE WRITING OF THE DEEDS, AND IN WHICH ONE OF

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THEM SUFFICES. CONCERNING A DEPOSITED DEED WHICH WAS PAID IN PART. HOW SHALL THE COURT APPROVE AN ERASED DOCUMENT? PROPERTY FOR PRIVATE USE WHICH WAS LEFT TO POOR AND RICH BROTHERS.

MISHNA 1.: A simple "get" (document) the witnesses must sign at the end of the contents. A folded one, however, the witnesses must sign outside. 2 But if the witnesses signed their names outside in a simple one, or inside in a folded one, both are invalid. R. Hanina b. Gamaliel, however, said: If in a folded one the signatures of the witnesses were inside, it is valid, as it can be taken apart and will constitute a simple one. Rabbon Simeon b. Gamaliel maintains: All must be done as is the custom of the country. A simple document must be signed by two, and a folding one by three witnesses. If there was only one witness to a simple and two to a folding, both are invalid.

GEMARA: Whence is this deduced? Said R. Hanina: From [Jer. 32:44] "Men shall buy fields for money, and write it in deeds, and seal them, and certify it by witnesses," etc. "Write it in deeds" means a simple document; "seal" means a folding one; "certify" means by two witnesses; "by witnesses" means three. How so? We must say, then, two witnesses for a simple, and three for a folding one. But perhaps the reverse? Common sense dictates that a folding one, which is added to in folding, should be added to also in witnesses. (The discussion proceeds to deduce this from the Scriptures, which were objected to as usual, and the Gemara came to the following conclusion): The folding one is only an enactment by the rabbis; and the verse above cited was only a light support. And why this enactment? Because of the many priests who used to live in their city. (The law prescribes that a priest, having divorced his wife, it is prohibited to him to remarry her; which is not the case with a commoner.) And as the priests are usually ill-tempered, they used to divorce their wives as soon as they became angry. Therefore the rabbis enacted that the "get" should be folded and sewn several times, that it might prolong the time, in order that they should become quiet, and recede from their previous intention. This is correct concerning divorces. But why for other documents? Because all kinds of documents were then called "gets," they enacted that all should be done in one manner.

In what place should the witnesses sign a folding document? According to R. Huna: Between one folding and another (i.e., in the folding space above the lines, and thereafter it was folded and sewn so that the signatures were inside). According to R. Jeremiah b. Abba: On the reverse side, and exactly opposite the writing. Said Rami b. Hama to R. Hisda: According to R. Huna, who maintains in the folding space above the lines which is thereafter also folded, it is to be assumed that it remains inside; but this is not so, as it happened that a folding document was brought before Rabbi, and he exclaimed: There is no date to it. To which R. Simeon his son answered: Perhaps the date is inserted, etc., Now, if it were as R. Huna said, Rabbi ought to say: There is neither date nor witnesses (as the witnesses signed inside, one could not sew it when it was folded). And R. Hisda answered: Do you think that R. Huna means between the folding inside? He meant outside. But if so, why should not forgery be feared, as one can write inside what he likes, while the witnesses have already signed outside? In the document must be written at the end, "All its contents are true," and they remain forever. Hence to that which is written thereafter no attention is given. But it is still to be feared that after it is written he can forge what he pleases, and then write again, "All this is true," and have it signed by other witnesses? A document must contain only one approval that "all is true," but not more. But still it is to be feared that he can erase the approval, adding what he pleases, and then write, "All is true," etc. To this it was said by R. Johanan: If there was inserted a word between the lines, and thereafter the witnesses testify it was inserted at their instance and they approve it, the document is valid; but if some words were erased, then, although approved at the end, the document is nevertheless invalid. And this was said concerning an erasure in the place of the words "all that is written is true," and the size of these words. But even according to R. Jeremiah b. Abba, who said: On the reverse, and opposite the writing (i.e., where the writing finishes inside, he shall begin opposite to write his name; so that if there should be some lines more over the signature of the witness it would be considered forgery), it is also to be feared that one might forge some lines, and add one more witness, opposite the forgery, and might say: My intention was to add one witness more? And the answer was: Do you think that the witnesses have signed lengthwise, in order? No! They signed one under the other, so that no more lines after the witnesses' signatures could be added. 1

R. Itz'hak b. Joseph in the name of R. Johanan said: To all the erasures which are in the document must be written at the end, "With this signature we approve them," etc.; and in the mean time they must mention the abstract of the contents in the last line. And why so? Said R. Amram: Because the last line is not taken into consideration, as it can easily be forged; as usually the witnesses do not sign so near to the writing that one line could not be inserted, and therefore if the abstract of its contents is written attention is given, but not to something new. And to the question of R. Na'hman: What is the basis of your statement? he answered: The following Boraitha: If the signatures of the witnesses were separated by a space of two lines from the writing, the document is invalid; but if by one line, it is valid. Let us, then, see what is the reason that two lines' space make the document invalid. Is it not because one can forge the two lines? But the same can be done with one line also? We must then say that if a new sentence is written on the last line it is not taken into consideration. And so it is.

The schoolmen propounded a question: How is it if there is space for one line and a half? Come and hear the following: If there is space for two lines, it is invalid; for less than two, it is valid. If there were four or five witnesses to a document and one of them was found to be a relative, or incompetent for sonic other reason to be a witness, the document may remain in force by the remaining witnesses. And this is a support to Hezkiyah, who said: If there was a space left, and this was filled up with the signatures of relatives as witnesses, the document is valid. And do not be surprised at such a law (why should not the signatures of the relatives who are not competent to witness in that case harm this document?), as such a law is to be found concerning a Sukka: If on the roof of the Sukka was space to the size of three spans uncovered, it makes the Sukka invalid; but if it was covered with illegal things, the size of four is needed to make it invalid.

The schoolmen questioned: In the two lines in question, is it meant with their usual space or without? Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: Common sense dictates that their space is included; as if it were supposed that it meant without, of what use could be the size of one line without any space to it? (If one should come to forget this line, he would then be compelled to write it in such characters that it would be entirely different from the original and immediately recognised. Infer from this, therefore, that "with their space" is meant.)

R. Sabbathi said in the name of Hezkiyah: The space of the two lines in question means of the handwriting of the witnesses, not of the scribes; as if one wants to forge, he does not go to the scribes (and usually the handwriting of a commoner is larger than that of a scribe). And what size is meant? Ami in the name of Ula: Two lines and three spaces. According to R. Abuhu: One line and two spaces. Said Rabh: This was all said about the space between the contents of the document and the signature of the witness. But from the signature of the witness to the approval of the court, it does not matter how much space is left. R. Johanan, however, said: All this was said concerning the space from the contents to the signatures of the witnesses; but concerning the space from the signatures of the witnesses to the approval of the court, even if there was one line, it is invalid.

"R. Hanina b. Gamaliel," etc. Rabbi objected to the statement of R. Hanina, thus: How could one make from a folding one a simple, if their dates were entirely different? As in a simple document which is dated according to the years of the king, if the king was in his first year, it is written: On fourth day of such and such a month, in the first year of king so and so; and in a folding one they used to add one year to the kingship of the ruler (e.g., when it was in the first year, they used to write in the second; and if in the second, they used to write in the third). (Rashbam says: It was the custom of the nations to add one year to the kingship of the ruler in their documents. And the rabbis enacted: In a folding one it shall be dated according to the custom of the land, for the above-mentioned reason; but not in simple documents.) Now, if you say that it can be taken apart and made a simple one, it may happen that one can borrow money with a folding one, and during this time may come into some money and pay his debt before due; and to the request for a return of the document, one may say that he lost it, and give a receipt. Then, when the document falls due, he can make it into a simple, and require his money again (as in the folding one there was added one year, hence the time due in a simple comes one year later, and he can claim that he borrowed money again for the current year)? Rabbi holds: Concerning a folding one, no payment is made upon a receipt unless the document is returned or destroyed.

But was, then, Rabbi acquainted with a folding document? Did not one come before Rabbi, who was about to annul it because it bore a later date? And Zunin said to Rabbi: So is the custom of this nation, that if the king has ruled one year they count him two; and if two, three. After he had heard it from Zunin, he enacted the law that no money should be paid upon a receipt. There was a document in which was written: In such a date of the year of Orkhon, A had borrowed money from B (but the number of the year was not written), and R. Hanina, before whom the case came, said: It must be examined when this Orkhon ascended the throne; and perhaps it was several years after, as the meaning of Orkhon is "lengthy," and he was named Orkhon because he was a good many years on the throne. Said R. Hoshea to him: So is the custom of this nation: the first year they named him Orkhon, and the second year Digon. Hence this document must be counted from the first year of the present ruler. But perhaps it was when he ascended the throne the second time, as once he abdicated and then ascended again? Said R. Jeremiah: At the second time he was named Orkhon-Digon, and not Orkhon only.

There was a folding document which came before Rabbi, and he said: There is no date to it. R. Simeon his son then said to him: Perhaps it is inserted between its folds! He took it apart, and found the date. Thereupon Rabbi scrutinized him, To which Simeon said: Not I was the writer of it, but Jehudah the Tailor. And Rabbi answered: Leave out slander. It happened at another time that R. Simeon was sitting before Rabbi, and reading for him a chapter of Psalms, and Rabbi said: How correctly and nicely it is written. To which Simeon answered: Not I, but Jehudah the Tailor, wrote it. And also to this Rabbi remarked: Leave out slander. (Questioned the Gemara:) It is correct that the first time he told him he should leave out slander, as Rabbi disliked folding documents, and was angry with the writer of it. But what slander was it if he said that the correct and nice writing was by Jehudah? This is in accordance with R. Dimi the brother of Safras, who taught: One must be careful in praising his neighbour, as very often blaming comes from praising.

R. Amram in the name of Rabh said: From the following three transgressions one is not saved day by day, namely: (a) Thought about sin (e.g., if he sees a handsome woman); (b) calculation of the effects of prayer--expectation of the granting of one's prayer as a due claim; (c) and slander. Slander! Do you mean that people slander one another every day? It means indirect slander (e.g., while praising or talking of one, one indirectly comes to blame). R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: The majority of men are suspected of robbing (i.e., in business every one looks out for himself, without taking care lest he do wrong to him who deals with him), the minority are suspected of adultery, and all of them of indirect slander.

"All must be done as is customary in the country." But does not the first Tana also hold that the customs of the country are to be observed? Said R. Ashi: At those places where a simple is customary, and one told the scribe to make it, and he made him a folding one, it is certainly invalid; and vice versa. The point of this difference, however, is the places where both are customary, and he ordered the scribe to make for him a simple, but he prepared a folding one. According to the first Tana: It is invalid. According to R. Simeon: It is valid, as it may be supposed that he ordered him to make for him a simple only for the scribe's sake, that he should have less trouble; but if he did not heed, and made a folding one, it must not be ignored. Said Abayi: R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, R. Simeon, and R. Elazar all are of the opinion that in such a case it must be supposed that the giver of the order did so only to show him what was better for him; but he did not intend to be particular. B. Gamaliel as just mentioned; R. Simeon with his statement that if one has deceived a woman, not to her evil, but to her good (e.g., if he said to her: You are betrothed to me with this silver dinar, and it was a golden one), his act is valid; and R. Elazar of the following Mishna: If a woman said: Go and receive my divorce at such and such a place, and he received it at another place, it is invalid. But according to R. Elazar it is valid, as it is to be supposed that she only showed him the place where she supposed it was better for him to go, but was not particular in her words.

"If there was only one witness to a simple," etc. It is correct what the Mishna teaches us: A folding document which was signed by two witnesses only is invalid, as in all other cases two witnesses suffice. But to what purpose does it state that one witness to a simple is invalid? Is this not self-evident, as there is no case in which one witness should be sufficient? Said Abayi: It teaches: Even if, in addition to that witness who has signed, there were another who testified the same verbally, it is nevertheless invalid. Amimar, however, had in a similar case which came before him decided that the document is in force. And to R. Ashi's objection that Abayi holds it invalid, he answered: I do not hold with him. But how would Amimar explain the above question--to what purpose is it stated in the Mishna? He would answer thus: It came to teach that as a simple document with one witness is invalid biblically, so it is with two witnesses to a folding. And as a support to Amimar there may be taken the following: The colleagues of R. Jeremiah in Palestine sent a message to him: How is it if there is one witness in writing and the other verbally--should they be conjoined for decision upon their testimony, or not? We do not question, how is it according to the first Tana, the opponent of R. Jehoshua, b. Kar'ha, who maintains, in Tract Sanhedrin: Even two with two must not be conjoined under certain circumstances, and so much the less one with one. But our question is, how is it according to R. Jehoshua, who decided: If there were two witnesses in writing and two verbally, they are to be conjoined? Does he hold the same when there was one and one, or not? And R. Jeremiah answered: I am not worthy that you should send to me such a message. But as you have already done so, I may say that the opinion of your disciple is that they may be conjoined. (Said R. Ashi:) We have heard that the message was thus, The colleagues sent to R. Jeremiah: How is the law if, of two witnesses, one of them has testified before one court and the other before another--may both courts be conjoined to decide

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upon their testimony? We are aware that according to the first Tana, the opponent of R. Nathan: Even if they had testified at different times before one court, their testimony is not to be taken into consideration, two courts are out of the question. But according to R. Nathan, who says: "In one court their testimony may be conjoined," does he hold the same with two courts, or not? And R. Jeremiah answered them as said above. Rabhina, however, said: The message was thus: If three were sitting as a Beth Din to approve a document, and thereafter one of them died, must they write in their approval, "We were sitting three, but one is gone"; or is it not necessary? And he answered them: I am not worthy that you should send questions to me, but as you have done so, I may say that the opinion of your disciple is that it is necessary they should write, "We all three were sitting as a Beth Din, according to the law, to approve this document, but one of us is gone, and therefore only we two sign." And for this answer R. Jeremiah was returned to the college.

MISHNA 2.: If in the document was written, "hundred zuz which make twenty selas," he collects only twenty selas. If, however, it was written, "hundred zuz which make thirty selas," he collects only one mana (which only makes twenty-five selas). If there was written, "silver zuz which are," and the preceding words were erased, then the document is good for no less than two; "silver selas which are," and the preceding was erased, no less than two selas; "dracontiums which are," it means also no less than two.

If on the top of the document was written "a mana" and on the bottom "two hundred zuz," or vice versa, the last one must always be taken into consideration. But if so, why is it at all necessary that the amount should be written at the top? To the end that should it happen that in the words of the bottom one letter should be erased, then we may learn it from the top one.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: If it was written "silver," without mentioning any particular coin, the document is good for no less than one silver dinar; and if "silver dinars," or "dinars of silver," then it is no less than two silver dinars. If, however, "silver to be paid with dinars," then it is no less than two golden dinars (it being understood that he borrowed from him silver to be paid with gold dinars, and as there is a plural it is no less than two).

The master said: "Silver no less than a dinar." But perhaps it means a piece of metal? Said R. Elazar: It means it was written a silver coin, but it was not mentioned which. But if so, why should it not mean perutas? Said R. Papa: It treats of those places where the perutas were not made of silver.

The rabbis taught: If the documents read "gold," it is not less than a golden dinar; "golden dinars," or "dinars of gold," it is not less than two golden ones. If, however, it was written, "gold to be paid with dinars," he must pay in gold the value of two silver dinars. But why should this not be explained: He shall pay him in good gold to the value of two golden dinars? Said Abayi: The defendant has always the preference (i.e., by the general name dinar is meant a silver one; of a golden dinar it must be said plainly golden, and as here it is mentioned to be paid with dinars, and the word gold is omitted, the holder of the document has to suffer). But why in the first case, where it reads "silver to be paid with dinars," you say he shall pay two golden dinars P Said R. Ashi: That Boraitha treats of when the document reads "denri," and the latter Boraitha when it was written "denrin"; and "denri" means gold, and "denrin" silver. And my support is from a Mishna in Tract Kinin: " . . . It happened that the price of kinin in Jerusalem increased to the extent of denri in gold. Said R. Simeon b. Gamaliel: I swear by the Temple that I go, not to bed this night before their price shall decrease to denrin." Hence denrin means silver, and denri gold.

"On the top of the document," etc. The rabbis taught: The bottom may be learned from the top when there is only one letter erased; but not when two (e.g., if it was written, "Hanan of Hanani," or "Anan of Anani"--i.e., the i was erased). Let us see! Why not two letters? Because if there were a name of four letters, two would constitute one half of a name. The same can be said with one of two letters, as there are names which consist of two letters only; 1 then the one would be one half of a name. Therefore we must say that the exception of two letters is because it might happen in a name of three letters, and when two are erased the greater part of the name is missing.

There was a document in which was written "six hundred and a zuz," and R. Chrabia sent it to Abayi, questioning him: Does it mean six hundred staters and one zuz, or six hundred perutas and a zuz. And he answered: Eliminate perutas, which it is not usual to write in a document, as generally they are counted together to make from them dinars or zuz. This must therefore mean six hundred staters. But as there are staters of two zuz, and also others of the same name of half a zuz, and it was said above that the defendant has the preference, the holder of the document must suffer, and he takes only six hundred half-zuz and a zuz. Abayi said: If one desires that his signature shall be known in the court, he shall not write it at the bottom of a paper, as one can find it, but write at the top that he owes him money. And there is a Mishna: If one shows a document with his handwriting that he owes him money, he may collect from unencumbered estates.

There was a toll-master of a bridge who was a Jew, who said to Abayi: Let the master show me his signature, as it is my custom to allow the rabbis to pass without pay (I would leave it with my assistants so that if it should happen you would like to pass, they will not demand payment). Abayi showed him on the top of a piece of paper. He, however, tried to draw the paper so that the signature should come a little lower, and Abayi said to him: Do not try, as the rabbis have preceded you with their advice to sew a signature at the very top of the paper. Abayi said again: From the word "thlath," which means three, to the word "eser," which means ten, one shall not write in a promissory note at the end of the line, to prevent forgery. 1 But if it happened that he did so, he should repeat the word two or three times, so that one of them should occur in the middle of the line.

There was one document in which was written: "A third of a vineyard"--in Aramaic "Thiltha Beperidisa"--and the owner of this document erased the top and the bottom of the first letter of the second Hebrew word, so that from the Beth he made a Vav, which means "and," so that the document, as brought before Abayi, read: "A third and the vineyard," and claimed a third of the seller's garden and the whole vineyard. When Abayi examined the document, he asked him: Why does the Vav stand so extended in the world? He then urged him to confess, which he did.

There was another document, in which was written: The shares of Reuben and Simeon my brothers ("Achai" in Hebrew) were sold to me. The buyer, however, added a Vav for the word Achai, and as the brothers had another brother by the name of Achai, he claimed that he bought the shares of all three brothers--Reuben, Simeon, and Achai. With this document he came to the court of Abayi. And there also Abayi asked him: Why is the world so narrow to the Vav? And also he was urged to confess, which he did. There was another document, which was signed by Rabha and R. Aha b. Ada. When it was brought before Rabha, he said: I recognise my handwriting, but I never signed my name in the presence of R. Aha b. Ada. He urged the holder of the document to confess, which he did. Then said Rabha to him: I understand how you might easily forge my name; but how could you do so with R. Aha's, whose hands are trembling? And he answered: I would put my hand on the rope-bridge, to imitate, trembling writing.

MISHNA 3.: A divorce may be written by the court for a husband in the absence of his wife (because, according to the ancient law, the consent of the woman was not necessary); and an approved receipt for a marriage contract to be handed to the woman in the absence of her husband, provided the court knows them--the husband must pay the fees. A promissory note may be written for the borrower in the absence of the lender, but not for the tender unless the borrower is present; and the fee is to be paid by the borrower. A bill of sale may be written for the seller in the absence of the buyer, but not for the buyer unless the seller is present; the buyer pays the fees. Documents of betrothal and marriage must not be written unless both are present--at the expense of the groom. The same is the case with documents for hiring, and contracting fields and gardens; and the expenses are to the contractors. Documents of arbitrating, and all other acts of mediating by the court, must not be written unless both parties are present--at the expense of both.

R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, however, maintains: The latter documents must be written in two copies, one for each party.

GEMARA: What does it mean--provided the court knows them? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: They shall know exactly the name of the husband concerning a divorce, and the exact name of the woman concerning a receipt. R. Safra, R. Aba b. Huna, and R. Huna b. Hinna were sitting together in the presence of Abayi and were deliberating over the statement of Rabh just mentioned--concerning a divorce, the name of the husband, but not the name of his wife? and concerning a receipt, the name of the woman, though they do not know the name of the husband? Why should it not be feared that this man would furnish the divorce to another woman, whose husband bore the same name as himself? And the same is the case with the woman: she may furnish her receipt to a man whose wife bears the same name. Said Abayi to them: So said Rabh: The name of the husband and of his wife, concerning a divorce; and the same is the case with a receipt--the name of the woman and her husband. But why should it be prepared and given to the husband? Is it not to be feared that two men who bear one and the same name should reside in the same city (e.g., Joseph b. Simeon), whose wives also bear the name of Rachel, and one can take a divorce and give it to the wife of the other? Said R. A'ha b. Hinna to them: So said Rabh: If two men of the same name reside in one city, they cannot divorce their wives unless both the men named and their wives are present. Still, it is to be feared that one may go to another city, name himself according to one of the inhabitants of his city, and take a divorce, and thereafter return to his city and furnish the divorce to the wife in whose husband's name the divorce was made out. Said R. Huna b. Hinna: So said Rabh: If one was known under one name thirty days in succession, there is no fear that he bears a false name, as he would be afraid to bear it for such a long time. But how is it if one requires a divorce should be prepared for him before he was known thirty days--shall he not be listened to? Said Abayi: This can be proved by somebody calling him suddenly by this name, and he answered. R. Zebid, however, maintains: A swindler knows what he is about, and is careful. And therefore it is no evidence if he answers to a sudden call.

There was a receipt approved by Jeremiah b. Abba. However, the same woman came into his court to claim her marriage contract several years later; and when her receipt was shown to her, she claimed to be not the same woman (i.e., it was another woman who bore my name and signed the receipt). Said R. Jeremiah: I also was of that opinion, and I said so to the witnesses who signed this document; but they told me you are the same but older, and therefore your voice has changed. And the case came before Abayi, who said: Although it was decided by the rabbis: If one said something in behalf of the plaintiff or the defendant, he has no right to retract from the first statement, and decide otherwise; however, with a scholar, who is not used to look in the face of a woman and to be particular as to her voice, it is different, as it must be supposed that after he was told she was the same, he himself had recognised her.

There was another similar case before the same R. Jeremiah, who said to that woman: I am sure you are the same. And also here Abayi decided: Although a rabbi is not used to look in the face of a woman, etc.; but when he says he did so, and is sure, he may be trusted.

Abayi said: It is advisable for a young scholar, who goes to betroth a woman, that he shall take with him a commoner; as otherwise they may substitute another woman, and he will not notice it.

"The husband must pay the fees," etc. Why so? Because it is written [Deut. 24:1]: " . . . he may write and give," which means at his expense. In our time, however, it is not so customary, because the rabbis put the expenses to the account of the woman, in case the husband should decline to bear the expenses and postpone the divorce in a case where the woman is compelled to demand it.

"Paid by the borrower," etc. Is this not self-evident? It treats even where he takes money for business at a half profit.

"The buyer pays the fees," etc. Is this not self-evident? It treats even in case the seller sold his field because of its infertility.

"The expense of the groom," etc. Is this not self-evident? It means even if he were a scholar and the court were certain that they would be pleased to have him as a son-in-law even at their expense.

"The expenses are to the contractors," etc. Is this not self-evident? It speaks even in case it must remain for a year or two unfertilized for the sake of the estate.

"Arbitrating," etc. What kind of documents is meant? In this college it was explained: The documents of the claims which the scribes of the court have to copy so that the parties should not change afterwards. R. Jeremiah b. Abba said: It means, in case each one chooses his arbitrator.

"One for each party," etc. Shall we assume that the point of their difference is, if one may be compelled not to act like a Sodomite? According to the first Tana: If one declines to pay the half of the expenses, it is an act of a Sodomite, and he must be compelled to do so. And according to R. Simeon: It is not, and he must not be compelled? Nay! All agree that such cases are to be compelled. Here, however, it is different, as the reason of R. Simeon's decision is: One may say, I would not like that my claim and my decided right should always be before your eyes, while I do not possess them; and this would be a burden to me, as if a lion would lie at my house, fearing every time that you might come to quarrel with me.

MISHNA 4.: If one has paid a part of his debt and deposited his document with some one, with the stipulation: If I should not pay you from date until a certain day, you may return this document to the lender, and finally he failed to pay; according to R. Jose: The depositary may return, and according to R. Jehudah: He must not.

GEMARA: What is the point of their difference? R. Jose holds: An asmachtha 1 gives title. And R. Jehudah maintains: It does not. Said R. Na'hman in the name of Rabba b. Abuhu, quoting Rabh: The Halakha prevails with R. Jose. When they came to say the same before R. Ami, he said to them: After such an authority as Johanan teaches us, once and twice, that the Halakha prevails with R. Jose, what can I do? However, the Halakha does not prevail with R. Jose (remarks the Gemara).

MISHNA 5.: If it happened to one that a promissory note became erased, he must find witnesses who are aware of the date when it was written, and bring them before the court, and they have to make the following approval: A, the son of B, came here with his note, which was erased on such and such a day, and C and D were his witnesses.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: The approval must be written as follows: "We three, E, F, G, the undersigned, were sitting together, and before us was brought by A, the son of B,

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an erased note, which was signed on such and such a day, and C and D are his witnesses." And then if there be added: "We have examined the testimony of the witnesses, and have found it correct," the holder of the document may collect with it, without further evidence. If, however, this were not remarked, he must bring evidence.

If a document was torn, it is invalid; but if it was torn of itself, it is valid. If it was erased or faint, if still recognisable it is valid.

What does it mean--"was torn," and "was torn of itself"? Said R. Jehudah: If it was torn by the court; and of itself means not by the court. How is it to be known that it was torn by the court? Said R. Jehudah: If the places where the signatures of the witnesses, the date, and the amount were written are torn. Abayi, however, said: The court used to tear it in its length and width.

There were Arabs who came to Pumbeditha, who used to compel the inhabitants to submit to them the deeds of their estates. The inhabitants of the city came to Abayi with their deeds, requesting him to take a copy of them, so that, in case they should be compelled to deliver to the Arabs the originals, the copies should remain, so that in the future they could be sued. Said he: What can I do for you, since R. Safra long ago decided that two deeds must not be written for one field, because it might happen that one would seize it once, and again thereafter. They, however, troubled him, and he said to his scribe: Write for them on an erased paper, and the witnesses shall sign on the paper which is not erased, as such a deed is invalid. Said R. Aha b. Minumi to him: But perhaps the writing will be recognisable, and then it will be valid, as stated in the Boraitha above? And he answered: I did not say he should write a correct deed: I meant he should write some letters of the alphabet.

The rabbis taught: If one comes before the court claiming that he has lost a promissory note from so and so, although he brought with him witnesses who testify, "We wrote and signed the note in question for the borrower, and in our presence he gave it to him," the court must not write another one. However, this is said only concerning promissory notes. But concerning deeds, if such a case happened, they may write him another one, without mentioning that the seller is responsible in case it should be taken away by creditors. Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel, however, maintains: This must not be done even concerning deeds. And he used to say also: If one has presented a gift to his neighbour by a deed, if the deed was returned by the beneficiary, the gift is considered returned. The sages, however, say: Nevertheless, the gift remains for the beneficiary. The master said: Without mentioning the responsibility of the seller. Why so? Said R. Safra: Because two deeds must not be written for one and the same field, for the reason it may happen that a creditor of the previous owner will take it away. Then, the buyer who has two deeds may use both deeds to take away the estates which were sold by A to D and E. (I.e., A had sold a field to B, which was encumbered to C, the creditor of A; and C proclaimed his right to it. Then B proclaimed his right, based upon the deed, to the estate encumbered to C, and took away the estate from D, who bought it from A at a later date. After he did so, and the deed was torn by the court, he (B) would make a bargain with C that for a certain amount he should not hasten to take possession of the field to which he was entitled, but should wait a few years and then do it; for the purpose that C's first claim should be forgotten, and later on, when C should take possession of the field which was until now in the hands of B, it should seem to be as a new claim; and then, on the basis of the second deed retained by him (B), he should also take away from E the estates bought by him from A at a later date.

(Says the Gemara:) But as the promissory note of the creditor was torn by the court when he took away from him the first time, how came he to proclaim his right again? And should one say, in case it was not torn? Did not R. Na'hman say: The following is the order of claims before the court? The lender comes to the court to complain that the borrower does not pay his debt; then the court summons him, and if he does not appear it puts him under the ban, and a replevin is given to the lender, that he may levy on the estates of the borrower or of those who bought same from him at a later date than that of the promissory note. And when the creditor finds such estates in some other city, the court of that city tears the replevin and substitutes a document that he may collect such and such an amount from such and such estate, after the appraisement shall be made for the court. And after this is done, the court furnishes him with a memorandum of the appraisement and tears the previous document. Hence a replevin in which it is not mentioned that the promissory note of the borrower was "torn by us" must not be taken into consideration by any court; and a document which was given for appraisement in which it is not mentioned that the replevin of such and such a court was "torn by us" is also not to be taken into consideration. The same is the case with the memorandum of appraisement with which the court furnishes him, if it is not mentioned that the document giving the right to make an appraisement of the estate for the debt of so and so was "torn by us." Hence the alleged bargain between B and C could not occur? The statement of R. Safras that two deeds must not be written is because it might happen that one should claim the field not for debt, but because he inherited it from his parents, and it was stolen by the possessors of it. In such a case the above-mentioned bargain may be made. 1

Said R. Aha of Diphthi to Rabhina: According to the supposed bargain mentioned above, that B asked C that he should not hasten to take possession, to what purpose such a bargain? If he possesses two deeds, he may take away from D and E at one time? And he answered: By such an act he would invite investigation by his opponents, and they would find out the bargain.

One Mishna states: Concerning deeds, they may write another one, without mentioning the responsibility of the seller for the estate, in case it should be taken away. Why? Let the court write a correct deed and deliver it to the buyer, at the same time furnishing the seller with a document that the first deed was lost, and if such should be found, that it was of no value, as another deed was supplied to the buyer. The rabbis said before R. Papa, according to others before R. Ashi: Because this is not stated, we may infer that the court must not furnish the seller with such a receipt. And he answered: In other cases, receipts may be written. In this case, however, it is not because of the bargain mentioned above, but as the receipt which makes the first deed valueless is in the possession of A, and not in the hands of the buyers; and it might be that D and E, who had bought from A, would not be aware of such a document, and would not be in a position to protest against the estates being taken away from them by the creditors of A. But, finally, D and E would transfer their claims to A; and then he would show them the document, and the estates would certainly be returned to them? Yea! But meanwhile the creditors would consume the products, and it would be a difficulty for D or E to collect the value from them, as there is a rule: On consumed stolen property it is very bard to collect. It may also happen that D and E bought their estate without any responsibility on A's part; hence one may take it away without any claim from these parties. But if such a case is to be feared, why should they furnish such receipts in cases of loans, as the same may happen with promissory notes--that the goods should be taken away while the receipt is in the hand of the borrower? There it is different. If the claim comes with a promissory note which had nothing to do with this estate, the possessors of the estate would investigate the matter, whether the borrower had paid him the money due, and would not return the estate without consulting the seller, who is the debtor on that promissory note: which is not the case if the document was for real estate, as in such cases usually estates are claimed, and not money.

The master said: "It may be written without mentioning the responsibility," etc. How, then, should it be written? Thus said R. Na'hman: This deed is not for collection, neither from encumbered nor from unencumbered estates, but only to testify that the estate belongs to so and so, who is the buyer of it. Said Raphram: From this, where it must be written that such a document is not in force for collection, it may be inferred that in such a one where nothing is written there is authority to collect with it even from encumbered estates; as it is to be supposed that it is an error of the scribe, who had forgotten to insert the responsibility of the seller. R. Ashi, however, maintains: A document in which nothing is mentioned does not collect from encumbered estates. And the above Boraitha, which states, "not to mention the responsibility," etc., is not as R. Na'hman explained it, but is to be taken literally--that nothing is to be mentioned--and then he is not responsible.

There was a woman who gave money to one that he might buy estates for her. He bought them for her, without responsibility in case there should be claims. And she came to complain before R. Na'hman, who said: The woman is right, as she sent to you to the end that she should have benefit, but not that she should suffer damage. You, therefore, have to buy from the woman without responsibility, and thereafter to sell to her with your responsibility.

It is said above by R. Simeon b. Gamaliel: If one has presented a gift . . . the gift is considered returned. What is his reason? Said R. Assi: Because it is to be considered as if one were to say: I give you this for a present so long as you keep this document. Rabba opposed: If so, how is it if this document was torn or lost--must one also return the gift? Therefore, said he, the point of the difference between R. Simeon and the rabbis is thus: According to R. Simeon, title is given to documents and to all their contents by transferring; and therefore when the donee returned it to the donor, the latter acquired title to it and to its contents. But according to the rabbis, title is not given by transferring; hence when the donee takes possession of the gift, the returning of the document counts nothing.

The rabbis taught: If one came to claim a field, saying that he possesses a deed, and also that it was in his possession the years of hazakah--according to Rabbi, the main evidence should be the deed (if he cannot show it, his second claim of hazakah must not be considered); and R. Simeon b. Gamaliel maintains: The main evidence is the hazakah. What is the point of their difference? When R. Dimi came from Palestine, he said: They differ whether title is given to documents. by transferring. According to R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, the transferring does not give title; and according to Rabbi, it does. Said Abayi to him: If so, you differ with my master, Rabba, who said above: R. Simeon b. Gamaliel holds: That transferring does give title. And he answered: And what if I do differ? Why not? Rejoined Abayi: I mean to say that the above Boraitha could be explained only as done by my master, but not otherwise. And then, if it is as you say, R. Simeon contradicts himself. Therefore, said Abayi, the point of the difference between Rabbi and R. Simeon b. Gamaliel in the Boraitha just cited is: In case it happened that one witness who signed the deed was found to be a relative, or for some other reason incompetent to be a witness. And it is the same point in which R. Meir and R. Elazar differ. Rabbi holds with R. Elazar, who says that the final act of a divorce, or anything else, is to be considered done by the witnesses who are present at the transfer, and not by the witnesses who sign the document. And R. Simeon b. Gamaliel holds with R. Meir, who said: The final act is considered done by the witnesses who sign the document.

But did not R. Abba say: Even R. Elazar admitted that if there was any forgery in the document, or there were incompetent witnesses, the transferring is not considered, even when it was done by lawful witnesses? Therefore said Rabhina: All agree that if the court said, "We have investigated the testimony of the witnesses, and found it false," or that one of them was incompetent, the document is invalid, as R. Abba declared. And the above Tanaim differ concerning a document without witnesses at all. According to Rabbi, who holds with R. Elazar, if it was transferred in the presence of witnesses, the act is considered final; and according to R. Simeon, who holds with R. Meir, it is not. And if you wish, it may be said that the point of their difference is: Whether a document which the signer admits must or must not be approved by the court. According to Rabbi, it must not; and according to R. Simeon, it must. But have we not heard just the reverse in Middle Gate, p. 11? (The rabbis taught:) Therefore we must say that the point of their difference is: If one is obliged to convince the court of all the evidence one mentioned at the beginning of the trial, or it is sufficient if he convinces it of one part of it (i.e., if he said, first, "My evidence is a deed, and also hazakah," and thereafter he was able to convince the court of the hazakah only). According to Rabbi: It is not sufficient unless he should show the deed. And according to R. Simeon: The latter evidence suffices. But if he should be able to show the deed, then all agree that the evidence of the hazakah would not be necessary at all. And this is similar to the following case: R. Itz'hak b. Joseph claimed to have money with R. Abba, and came to complain before R. Itz'hak of Naf'ha. And R. Abba claimed: I paid you in the presence of A and B. Said R. Itz'hak (of Naf'ha) to him: Bring, then, A and B--they shall testify. Said he to him: Am I not to be trusted, even if they do not appear? Is it not a Halakha: If one borrowed money in the presence of witnesses, it is not necessary for the borrower that he shall pay him in the presence of witnesses? Rejoined the former: I hold with the Halakha which was said by you, master, in the name of R. Ada b. Ahaba, quoting Rabh: If one says, "I paid you in the presence of A and B," it is necessary for him that A and B shall come and testify. Said R. Abba again: But did not R. Giddle say in the name of Rabh: The Halakha prevails with Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel? And even Rabh, his opponent, meant with his statement only to make his evidence clear before the court (but not because the law dictates so)? And R. Itz'hak answered: I also mean you shall make your evidence clear before the court, as I hold with Rabha; and if you are not able to do so, you must pay.

MISHNA 6.: If one has paid a part of his debt, according to R. Jehudah, the promissory note must be changed (i.e., the old note must be torn, and a new one made for the balance). According to R. Jose: The lender has to give a receipt for the amount paid. Said R. Jehudah: Then, according to you, the borrower must watch his receipt so that it shall not be consumed by mice. Answered R. Jose: Yea! This is better for the lender, as if it should be a difficulty for the borrower to watch the receipt he will pay the whole debt sooner; and we must not impair the right of the lender.

GEMARA: Said R. Huna in the name of Rabh: The Halakha prevails neither with R. Jehudah nor with R. Jose, but the court must tear the first note and write him another one with the same date as the first. Said R. Na'hman, according to others R. Jeremiah b. Abba, to R. Huna: If Rabh were aware of the following Boraitha: "The witnesses tear the note, and write for him another one with the same date as the first," he would retract from his statement that this must be done by the court. And he answered: He was aware of this Boraitha, and nevertheless he did not retract, for the reason that only the court has the power to collect money, which therefore may tear and write another one with the former date, but not witnesses who have done the message they were ordered to, as they have no right to do the same again without a new order. Is that so? Did not R. Jehudah say in the

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name of Rabh: If a deed was lost, witnesses may write another one, even if this occurred ten times, to one field. Said R. Joseph: Rabh meant a deed of gift. And Rabha said: Rabh meant a document without any, responsibility of the estate for other claims.

Where is to be found the Boraitha cited above, of which Rabh was aware? It is thus: If one's debt was a thousand zuz on a document, and he paid five hundred, the witnesses may tear the document and write another one for five hundred, of the date of the old one. So is the decree of R. Jehudah. R. Jose, however, says: The document of the thousand remains, and a receipt for five hundred must he given to the borrower. And for two reasons it was said that a receipt should be written and handed to the borrower: first, because he should be compelled to pay as soon as possible; and, secondly, the debt should be counted from the first date. But does not R. Jehudah also say that a new document should be written with the same date as that which was torn? So said R. Jose to R. Jehudah: If you say that the document should be written from the first date, then I differ with you only in one thing--concerning the receipt; and if you think that the document should be written from the date on which a part was paid, then I differ with you in both.

The rabbis taught: If the document was written at the date used by the government, and such a date fell on a Sabbath or on the Day of Atonement, on which it is prohibited for an Israelite to write, this note is to be considered written with a later date, which is valid. So is the decree of R. Jehudah. But according to R. Jose, it is invalid. Said R. Jehudah to him: Did not such a case come before you in Cepphoris, and you made it valid? And he answered: I did so only with a case similar to that about which we are discussing, because, as the date fell on a Sabbath, it is highly probable that the document was of a later date; but in other cases, where such a supposition has no basis, I do not agree with you. But what answer is this? R. Jehudah also claimed that the case happened to be before R. Jose in Cepphoris. Said R. Pdath: All agree that if the date of the document was examined and found to fall on a Sabbath, or on the Day of Atonement, it must be considered as with a later date, and it is valid. In what they do differ is: A document which is doubtful, if written with an earlier or a later date. According to R. Jehudah, who holds that in case of payment no receipt is given, but the document itself must be returned, it is valid, because it cannot do any harm to any one by being collectible twice. And according to R. Jose, who holds that for a payment in part the document must not be returned, and only a receipt is furnished, it is invalid, because he can collect with it the whole amount, as the receipt is in the hands of the borrower. Said R. Huna b. Jehoshua: Even according to them who say that a receipt may be written, it is only if a part or a half was paid; but for the whole amount no receipt is written, but he must return him the note; and if lost, he loses his money.

(Says the Gemara:) In reality it is not so, as a receipt may be written even on the whole amount; as it happened with R. Itz'hak b. Joseph, who had money with R. Abba, and when he demanded his money, R. Abba demanded his promissory note. And R. Itz'hak answered: The note is lost, and I will give you a receipt. And he answered: There are both Rabh and Samuel who taught that we do not write a receipt. And when this case came before R. Hanina b. Papi, he said: Rabh and Samuel were so beloved by us that if some would bring the earth of their graves we would keep it always before our eyes; but notwithstanding this, there are both R. Johanan and Resh Lakish who decided that a receipt should be given; and the same was said by Rabbin when he came from Palestine in the name of R. Ilah. Common sense also dictates so; as how can it be supposed that if the creditor lost the promissory note the debtor may consume the whole amount and enjoy himself? Abayi opposed: But after your theory that a receipt is to be written, how is it if the receipt is lost--should the lender collect the money again and enjoy himself? Said Rabha to him: Yea! So is the law, as we read in the Scriptures: "The borrower is a servant to the lender" [Prov. xxii. 7]. Said R. Yema, according to others R. Jeremiah of Diphthi, to R. Kahna: What is the basis of our custom that we write documents with later dates, and we also write receipts? And he answered: That which R. Abba said to his scribe: When it shall happen that you have to write a document with a later date, you must write as follows: This document was postdated by us for a certain reason, and is dated not with the date it was ordered, but of to-day. Said R. Ashi to R. Kahna: However, in our day and in our country we do not act likewise. It is since R. Safras said to his scribe: Should you have to write a receipt for a lost promissory note, then, if you are aware of the date the promissory note was given, you must write: "The money which was due according to the note written on such and such a date was returned to the lender." And if you do not know the exact date, you must write: "The money due on a note of so and so, to so and so, was paid," not mentioning the date at all; and then, if the note should appear again, it will be of no value. Said Rabhina to R. Ashi, and according to others R. Ashi to R. Kahna: But why is it not customary in our time to do so, as we write documents with later dates without mentioning that they are postdated, and receipts with the date of payment, and we do mention the date of the document? And he answered: The rabbis enacted: One shall do so for his own sake; but if one does not care to do so, it will be his own fault if he should suffer damage. Said Rabba b. Ashila to the scribes: If you should have to write a deed of gift, or deeds in which the seller does not take the responsibility of the estate for the future, you shall do as follows: If you remember the date when the donor or the seller told you in the presence of witnesses to do so, you shall write that date; and if you do not recollect the exact date, you may write the current date, and it will not be considered false. Rabh told his scribes, and the same did R. Huna: When you are writing a document in the city of Shili, although you were ordered to do so in the city of Hini, you must write in the document the city in which you are doing it, and not the city where you were ordered.

Rabha said: If one holds a promissory note for a hundred zuz, and requests that it shall be rewritten in two notes, each of fifty zuz, his request is to be refused--for the sake of both the lender and the borrower: for the lender it is better to have one document, as, should it happen that he pay the half, he will give him a receipt, which the borrower will have to watch, and therefore he will hasten to pay his debt; and for the borrower it is also better, as the law of a document paid in part is, that the lender must take an oath (and in case he is lacking cash the lender will give him time rather than take an oath). And he said again: If one has two notes of fifty each, and he requests that one of a hundred should be made instead of the two, also to this request no attention should be paid--and also for the sake of both. For the lender it is better, if fifty is paid, that the other document should remain in force, so that he will not be obliged to take an oath; and also for the borrower it is better, having paid one note, that he shall not be bound to watch the receipt for the other half. R. Ashi said: If the lender holds a promissory note for a hundred zuz, and orders the scribe to write for him another note for fifty zuz, claiming that the half was paid by the borrower, he must not be listened to; nor if he asks that the note should be written from that date, or from the current date. Why so? It is to be feared that the borrower has paid the whole amount, and to the demand that his note should be returned, he was answered, "It was lost," and furnished him with a receipt instead; and this note for fifty zuz be will collect from him, claiming that this note has nothing to do with the former one.

MISHNA .: 7If there were two brothers, one rich and one poor, and they inherited from their father a bath-house or an olive-press house, if for business, they must share equally; but if for private use, the rich one may say to the poor, "You may hire slaves, that they shall heat the bath for your use"; or, "You may buy olives and press them for your private use, but I shall not allow you to do this for a stranger, and you take the benefit." If it happen that in one city two persons bear one and the same name, they cannot give promissory notes to each other nor can any of the inhabitants collect on a promissory note of one of them. If there were found a promissory note of one of the two persons by some one which is marked "paid," the other may also claim: My note is paid. How, then, shall they do, if they wish that their documents shall be of value? Write their names threefold--e.g., Joseph b. Simeon b. Jacob; and if they are alike in this also, they must make a sign to their names (e.g., if one is shorter than the other, he must say, "the Little"; and if they are both of equal size, if one is a priest, he shall write "Cohen").

GEMARA: There was a promissory note which came to the court of R. Huna, in which was written: "I, A, the son of B, have borrowed from you a mana." Said R. Huna: "From you" can be any one--even the Exilarch, or even King Sabur. Hence it may be that some one lost it, and you found it. Said R. Hisda to Rabba: You must study the case, as in the evening R. Huna will ask you how to decide it. He had deliberated, and found the following Boraitha: A divorce which was signed by witnesses, but there was no date. Said Aba Saul: Ii the divorce reads: "I divorced her this day," it is valid. Hence we see that "this day" means that on which it was given out. The same is the case with this document; "from you" means from this man who holds it. Said Abayi to him: But perhaps Aba Saul holds with R. Elazar, who holds that the final act of the witnesses of transfer is considered (therefore he makes valid such a divorce as must be delivered in the presence of lawful witnesses). But in our case, why should it not be feared that the plaintiff found a lost note? And he answered: That such a supposition is not to be taken into consideration may be inferred from our Mishna, which states: If there are two persons who bear one and the same name, they cannot give promissory notes to each other, nor to any of the inhabitants, etc. But if one of them has a promissory note from one of the inhabitants, it is valid, and he may collect. Now, why is it not to be feared that it was lost by the other person who bears the same name, and this plaintiff found it? Hence we see that this is not taken into consideration. Abayi, however, may say that this is not taken into consideration because there is only one person who could lose it, and if so, he would certainly announce his loss; but in other cases, where it might be lost by any one, it should be feared. But is there not a Boraitha which states: As the two persons who bear the same name cannot collect promissory notes from each other, so also cannot one of them collect from any other one? Hence this Boraitha differs with our Mishna. And what is the point of their difference? Whether in such a case the plaintiff has to bring evidence. The Tana of the Mishna holds that he has not; and the Tana of the Boraitha maintains that he has. As it was taught: To promissory notes title is given by transferring. However, according to Abayi the holder of them must bring evidence that they were transferred to him. And Rabha said: He must not.

Said Rabha: I infer my statement from the following Boraitha: If one of the brothers holds a promissory note from some one, claiming that his father or his brother had transferred it to him, it is for him to bring evidence. Hence we see that this law holds good only concerning brothers, who usually hinder one another, and claim that their brother took it without their or their father's consent; but in all other cases no evidence is needed. Abayi, however, maintains: On the contrary, this Boraitha comes to teach: Lest one say that concerning brothers, who hinder one another and are very careful with the inheritance, no evidence is needed for the one who holds the document, although in all other cases it is, the Boraitha came to state that it is not so. But there is another Boraitha: As the persons who bear the same name are allowed to take promissory notes from others, so they may take from each other. And what is the point of their difference? Whether a promissory note may be written for the borrower in the absence of the lender. The Tana of our Mishna holds that this may be done. Hence one of the two persons may go to the scribe, telling him that he wants to borrow from his fellow-citizen, who bears the same name, some money. And after he receives such a promissory note, he may claim that this was given by the other to him; therefore our Mishna says that they cannot collect from each other. And the Tana of the Boraitha holds: The promissory note must not be furnished to the borrower in the absence of the lender. Hence there is no fear.

"If a promissory note was paid," etc. We see, because a receipt was found. But how would it be if not? The promissory note would hold good. But our Mishna states: Nor can any of the inhabitants collect. Said R. Jeremiah: It speaks of when in the note his name was written threefold; but if so, let them see the receipt, to whom it was made out. Said R. Hoseah: It speaks of when it was written threefold in the note, but not in the receipt. Abayi, however, said: The Mishna is to be explained thus: If there was found among the borrower's documents a writing, "The promissory note which I gave to Joseph b. Simeon is paid," if he possess such from the other, both are considered paid.

"To write their names threefold," etc. There is a Boraitha: If both were priests, they must write their names four fold--e.g., Joseph b. Jacob b. Itz'hak b. Abraham; and that all the four names should be alike is very rare.

MISHNA 8.: If one (while struggling with death) says to his son: "A promissory note among the notes I possess is paid, but I do not remember which," all of them are to be considered paid. If, however, one person has given two promissory notes, the larger amount is considered paid, and the smaller amount not.

GEMARA: Rabha said: If one says: "A promissory note from you, which I possess, is paid," and there were two from him, the larger amount is considered paid, and the smaller amount not; if, however, "The debt you owe me is paid," all the promissory notes from him which are in his hands are considered paid. Said Rabhina to him: According to your theory, if one says: "My field is sold to you," does it mean that the largest he has is sold? And if he said, "The field I possess is sold to you," does it mean all the fields? There it is different, as it is for the plaintiff to bring evidence; and if the buyer so claims, he has to bring evidence to what he claims. But here the creditor is the plaintiff; and if he says, "Your debt is paid," it is the best evidence that all the notes are paid.

MISHNA 9.: If one made a loan to his neighbour through a surety, he must not collect first from the surety, unless the borrower does not possess any estate; however, if the stipulation was made that he may collect from whom he pleases, then he may start with the surety.

R. Simeon b. Gamaliel (however) is of the opinion that even in such a case the lender may not start with the surety, unless the borrower does not possess anything. And he used to say thus: If one made himself a surety to a woman for her marriage contract, and thereafter the husband was about to divorce her, the court should compel him to vow that from the time divorced he should not derive any benefit from his former wife, which means not to remarry her, for fear that the husband and his wife may have made a bargain to collect the money for the marriage contract from the surety, and thereafter he will remarry her.

GEMARA: And why should not the creditor collect from the surety? Both Rabba and R. Joseph said: The surety may

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claim: I have given bail for the money in case the borrower should die or run away, but not if I deliver him to you. R. Na'hman opposed, saying: Such is the Persian law. But this is

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not so, as the Persians collect from the surety only, even when the borrower possesses estates? R. Na'hman meant to say: Such a law is similar to a Persian law, for which they give no reason, and therefore he says the Mishna meant: He shall not summon the surety unless he has already summoned the borrower. So also we have learned in the following Boraitha: If one made a loan to his neighbour through a surety, he must not summon the surety first, unless the stipulation was that he might collect from whom he pleased. R. Huna said: Whence do we deduce that a surety is obliged to pay? From [Gen. xliii. 9]: "I will be a surety for him." R. Hisda opposed, saying: He was not a surety only, but also a receiver, as it reads farther on, "from my hand shalt thou require him," and also [ibid. xlii. 37], "deliver him into my hand," etc. Therefore said R. Itz'hak: From [Prov. xx. 16]: "Take away his garment, because he hath become surety for a stranger." (Here is repeated from Middle Gate, p. 305. See there.)

Amimar said: Whether a surety has to pay or not, R. Jehudah and R. Jose differ. According to the latter, who holds that an asmachtha gives title, he is responsible; and according to the former, who holds that an asmachtha, does not give title, the surety is not obliged to pay. Said R. Ashi to him: But is it not a fact that a surety is responsible, although it is now taken as a rule that an asmachtha. does not give title? Therefore said R. Ashi: Because of the pleasure that the lender trusted him on his word, the surety made up his mind that the lender should be paid under all circumstances; and such a case it is not considered as an asmachtha, but as a debt which ties upon himself.

"That he may collect from whom he pleases," etc. Rabba b. b. Hana in the name of R. Johanan said: Even then, if the borrower possess estates, he must not collect from the surety. But does not the latter part of the Mishna state that Simeon b. Gamaliel said so; from which it is to be inferred that the first Tana holds that he may collect from the surety in any event? The Mishna is not complete, and should read thus: If one made a loan to his neighbour through a surety, he must not collect through the surety unless he had made the stipulation that he might collect from whom he pleased. But even then he collects from the surety in case the borrower does not possess any estate; but if he does, he must collect from the borrower first, and if it should not be sufficient, then from the surety. If, however, the surety was also the receiver of the loan for the borrower, then he may collect from the surety, although the borrower possesses estate. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, however, maintains that even then he collects from the borrower if he possesses any estate. (In the name of R. Johanan was said (First Gate, p. 156): In that case the Halakha does not prevail with R. Simeon b. Gamaliel.)

R. Huna said: If the surety said: "Lend to this man, and I am the surety"; or, "I will pay"; or, "Count the debt to me"; or, "Lend him, and I will give to you"--all these versions are considered surety. If, however, he said to him: "Give to him, and consider me as receiving the money"; or, "Give to him, and I will pay"; or, "Count the debt to me"; or, "Give to him, and I will return to you"--all these versions are considered receipt. (I.e., if he said: "Borrow from him," it means that he should be the debtor: "In case he shall not pay, I will." But if he says, "Give to him," then the borrower is not considered here at all, as the lender gave by his order.)

The schoolmen propounded a question: How is it if he said, "Lend him, and count me as the receiver"; or, "Give to him, and I will be surety"? According to R. Itz'hak: In the first case, in which he remarked, "I will be the receiver," he must be so considered, although he said, "Lend him"; and in the second case, in which he said, "I will be surety," he is to be so considered, although he said, "Give to him." R. Hisda, however, maintains: In either case he is considered a receiver, unless he said, "Lend him, and I will be the surety." And according to Rabha: All the versions mentioned above are considered surety, unless he said, "Give to him, and I will return to you."

Said Mar b. Amimar to R. Ashi: So said my father: If the expression was, "give to him, and I will return you," then has the lender nothing to do with the borrower. (Says the Gemara:) In reality it is not so. The lender may collect the money from the borrower, unless the surety took the money from the hand of the lender and delivered it to the borrower.

There was a judge who transferred the estate of the borrower to the lender, before the lender had demanded his money from the borrower, and R. Hanin b. R. Yeba removed the judge. Said Rabha: Who so wise to do such a thing, if not R. Hanin b. R. Yeba, as he holds that the estates of the debtor are his surety; and our Mishna states: He must not collect from the surety, nor must he demand his debt first from the surety?

There was a surety for orphans who had paid the lender before he notified the orphans (i.e., he was surety for the father of the orphans, who borrowed some money, and after his death he paid the lender from his own pocket, and then summoned the orphans to pay him from their estates). And R. Papa decided: To pay a debt for which there is no document is a meritorious act, to which orphans who are not of age cannot be compelled; and therefore the surety must wait with his claim until they shall become of age. R. Huna b. Jehoshua, however, maintains: The reason why the orphans have not to pay until they shall become of age is, because they are not aware that the deceased had not paid such a debt. And the difference of the two statements is, in case the deceased had confessed before his death that he had not yet repaid the debt. Then, according to R. Huna, the orphans may be compelled to pay; but not, according to R. Papa.

A message was sent from Palestine: If one was put under the ban because he declined to pay his debt, and he died while still under the ban, he is to be considered as if he had confessed before his death that he had not yet paid, and the orphans have to pay, as the Halakha prevails in accordance with R. Huna b. Jehoshua.

An objection was raised from the following: If the promissory note of the deceased was in the hands of the surety, who claims to have paid the lender, and he demands the debt from the orphans' estates, he cannot collect (for perhaps the lender lost it, and he found it). If, however, there was marked in the note by the lender that he has received the debt from the surety, he may. Hence this is correct only with R. Huna's statement; but it contradicts R. Papa, who said: The orphans must not be compelled to pay in such a case. R. Papa may say: When, the lender wrote that he received the money from the surety and transferred the promissory note to him, it is no longer considered a debt without a document, the payment of which is only a meritorious act, to which the orphans cannot be compelled; as for that purpose the tender marked, "I have received from you that from this date the promissory note should be considered as if given by the deceased to the surety."

There was a surety for a deceased debtor to a heathen, who paid the heathen before he had demanded his debt from the orphans. Said R. Mordecai to R. Ashi: So said Abimi of Hagrunia in the name of Rabha: Even according to him who holds that it may be doubted whether the deceased had paid his debt before dying, it is only when the creditor was a Jew, but not when he was a heathen, who usually demands the debt from the surety and not from the debtor. Answered R. Ashi: "It is just the contrary. Even according to him who said that it must not be doubted whether the debt was paid, it is only concerning a Jew; but concerning a heathen, whose law dictates that they have to collect the debt from the surety, it is to be feared that if the surety should not have in his hand an amount which would cover the debt in case it should not be paid, he would not consent to be a surety; and therefore he cannot collect from the orphans except by suing them when they shall be of age.

"If one made himself surety to a woman for a marriage contract," etc. Moses b. Azoi was a surety for the marriage contract of his daughter-in-law, whose husband was R. Huna, who was a scholar, and became thereafter very poor and was unable to support his family. Said Abayi: Is there not one who shall advise R. Huna to divorce his wife, and she shall go to his father, who is rich, and collect the marriage contract, and thereafter R. Huna shall remarry her? Said Rabha to him: But does not out Mishna state: "He shall vow not to derive any benefit," etc.? Rejoined Abayi: Must, then, every one who wishes to divorce his wife go to the court? Finally it was developed that R. Huna was a priest, who could not remarry his wife in case of being divorced. Said Abayi: This is what people say: Poverty follows in the path of the poor. But did he not say above, that he who gives such advice is called a shrewd knave? In this case, where the surety was his father and the son was a scholar, it is different. But was not the father a surety only, who has not to pay (as will be explained farther on)? He was also a receiver. But even then, it is correct according to him who holds that a receiver must pay, even in case the groom possessed nothing at the time of marriage. But what can be said to him who said that in such a case even a receiver is not to be compelled to pay? It may be said that when his father became surety the son was still in the possession of some estates; and if you wish, it may be said that with a father it is different. As it was taught: A surety in a marriage contract, all agree that he has not to pay. A receiver from a creditor, all agree he must pay; but concerning a receiver in a marriage contract and a surety from a creditor the rabbis differ. According to one: If the borrower possessed estates at the time the loan was made, the receiver must pay, as it may be supposed that he obliged himself with all his mind, as he had nothing to fear; and the other holds: He must pay in any event. The Halakha, however, prevails: A surety must pay in any event, unless he was a surety to a marriage contract, even in case the husband was in possession of estates at the time he became surety. And the reason is, because it may be supposed that he did so as a meritorious act, in order that the couple should not be parted; and he did no harm to the bride, as, if the husband had money, he would pay.

R. Huna said: A sick person who has consecrated all his estates, and at the same time said, "So and so has a mana with me," he may be trusted, as it is to be assumed that one would not use deceit against the sanctuary. R. Na'hman opposed: Is it, then, usual that one should use deceit against his children? And, nevertheless, both Rabh and Samuel say: If a sick person said, "So and so has a mana with me," if he added, "Give to him," he is to be listened to; but if he did not, he is not to be listened to. Hence we see that, if he did not say "Give," his statement that so and so has a mana with him is considered as if he did so for the purpose that, should he be cured, his children should not think him very rich. Why should not the same be applied in the case of the sanctuary. R. Huna speaks in case there was a promissory note, and only the sick person admitted that the note was a right one. if so, then we must say that the statements of Rabh and Samuel applied even when there was no promissory note. But if so, it was a loan without a document, and both Rabh and Samuel said: On such a loan one cannot collect, neither from the heirs nor from the buyers? Therefore said R. Na'hman: In both cases it speaks of when there was a document: one case treats of when the note was approved, and the other when it was not. And then if he said "Give," he approves the note, and is to be listened to; and if he does not say "Give," the note remains unapproved.

Rabba said: A sick person who said, "A has a mana with me," and thereafter the orphans claimed that they have paid, they are to be trusted. If, however, he said, "Give a mana to A," and the orphans say they have paid, they are not to be trusted. But is not common sense against such a theory? It seems just the contrary. If the father said, "Give," and the orphans said "We did so," they may be trusted; but if the father said, "A had a mana with me," it may be supposed they did not hasten to pay him, and why should they be trusted? Therefore if such a statement was made by Rabba, it must be thus: If a sick person said, "A has a mana with me," and the orphans thereafter said that after deliberating the deceased said, "I have paid it already," they may be trusted, as it is probable the deceased remembered that he had returned it. But if the sick person says, "Give a mana," and thereafter the orphans claim the same as is said above, they are not to be trusted; as if it were for deliberation, he would not say it give."

Rabha questioned: If a sick person had confessed (i.e., his creditor came to him, saying, "You owe me a mana," and he said, "yea"), must the sick person also add "yea," that those who are present shall be witnesses, as is required in such a case of one in good health, or not? And it is also a question whether he must say to the witnesses: "Mark this in writing "; and also whether a sick person has the right to say, "It was only a joke," or, "This is out of the question." Concerning one who is dying, after deliberating, he came to the conclusion that all these are not necessary, as there is a rule: The words of a dying person are to be considered as written and delivered to whom it concerns.

MISHNA 10.: If one borrows money on a promissory note, the lender has a right to collect from encumbered estates; and if without a note, but in presence of witnesses, the lender may collect from unencumbered only. If A holds a writing that B owes him money (not a promissory note, which usually must be drawn by witnesses), he collects from unencumbered estates only. A surety who has signed his name after the signatures of the document ("I, so and so, am a surety"), the lender may collect from the surety from unencumbered estates only (as it is considered a verbal surety, as there were no witnesses who testified to this).

Such a case happened to come before R. Ishmael, and he decided that he should collect from free estate. Ben Nanas, however, maintains: He must not collect from any estate. And to the question of R. Ishmael: Why so? he answered: If it happen that a creditor sees his debtor in the market, grapples him by the throat, and one passes by and says, "Leave him alone, I will pay," he is nevertheless free, because the loan was made not upon his surety. The same is the case here. If, after the document was made and the witnesses signed it, he adds, "I am a surety," he is not considered such, as he was a surety when the loan was already made. Said R. Ishmael: If one wishes to become wise, he shall occupy himself with the civil law; for there is no store (of wisdom) in the entire Law richer than it (the civil law). And those who wish to study civil law may take lessons of Ben Nanas.

GEMARA: Ula said: Biblically there is no difference between a loan on a document and by word of mouth; and it should be collected from encumbered estates. Why is it said that on a verbal one, one collects from free estate only? Because the buyers of the borrower should not suffer damage (i.e., as they could not be aware of a thing done verbally). But when there is a document, it is their own fault if they do not investigate before they buy. Rabba, however, maintains the contrary: Both loans ought to be collected from free estates only; as, according to the biblical law, the estates are not mortgaged even if there is a document (unless it is so written). But why did the rabbis enact that a document collects from encumbered estate? In order not to close the door for borrowers. For a verbal loan, however, they did not enact, as it is not known to the people; and the buyers from the borrower could not know there was a loan.

Did, indeed, Rabba say so? Was not his decision [in Chapter 8.] "that a first-born takes a double share in the estate collected after the death of the father"? Now if not mortgaged biblically, in a document why should he take a double share--to which he is not entitled in movable property or money

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collected after death? And lest one say that the names of Ula and Rabba should be reversed in the above statements, this would not hold good, as we have heard Ula saying elsewhere that a creditor collects biblically from the worse estate of the debtor. Hence we see that Ula holds that estates are mortgaged biblically. (This presents no difficulty, as the cited statement of Rabba [in Chapter 8.] was only to give the reason of the Palestinians; but he himself does not hold with them.)

Both Rabh and Samuel hold: A verbal loan is not collectible--neither from heirs nor from buyers; as, biblically, estates are not mortgaged on any loan. But R. Johanan and Resh Lakish both hold: They are mortgaged, and therefore a loan is collectible--whether from heirs or from buyers. Said R. Papa: The Halakha prevails that a verbal loan is collectible from heirs, for the purpose of not closing the door to borrowers; but is not collectible from buyers, who could not know of the existence of such a debt.

"If A holds a writing from unencumbered estates," etc. Rabba b. Nathan questioned R. Johanan: How is it if this writing was approved by the court? And he answered: Even then, the same is the case. Rami b. Hama objected from a Mishna in Tract Gittin, in which it is stated that, according to R. Elazar, if such a document, without witnesses, was given to the lender in the presence of witnesses, he may collect from encumbered estates? The case is different, as the writing was with the intention of transferring it in the presence of witnesses; it is the same as if the witnesses had signed the document.

"A surety . . . after the signatures," etc. Said Rabh: If the surety signed before the signatures, it may be collected from encumbered estates; and if after, from unencumbered estates only. But at some other time the same Rabh said: Even if he had signed his name before the signatures, it is to be collected from free estates only. Hence Rabh contradicts himself. This presents no difficulty, as his statement, from free estates only, speaks of when the surety wrote, e.g., "B is a surety," which does not make it clear for whom he is a surety; and the witnesses who signed their names after him, perhaps they have nothing to do with the surety. And his statement that it is collectible from encumbered estates speaks of when there was written after the text, explaining the loan, "And so and so is the surety," to which the approval was by the witnesses signed after him. And the same was said by R. Johanan.

"Such a case came before R. Ishmael," etc. Said Rabba b. b. Hana in the name of R. Johanan: Although R. Ishmael praised Ben Nanas, the Halakha prevails with R. Ishmael.

The schoolmen propounded a question: How is it if such a case as illustrated by Ben Nanas occurs? Come and hear what R. Jacob said in the name of R. Johanan: Even then, R. Ishmael differs with him. But with whom, then, does the Halakha prevail? Come and hear what Rabbin, when he came from Palestine, said in the name of Johanan: R. Ishmael differs with Ben Nanas even in the case illustrated by him, and the Halakha prevails also in this case with R. Ishmael. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: However, if the man who said, "Leave him alone, I will pay," fulfils his promise with the ceremony of a sudarium, he is mortgaged. Infer from this that in case of all other sureties no sudarium is necessary; and this differs with R. Na'hman, who said: Only a surety, in the presence of the court, is free from a sudarium; but all others are not. The Halakha, however, prevails that with a surety who was present when the money was delivered, a sudarium is not needed, but after the delivery it is needed. With a surety appointed by the court it is not needed, as, because of his pleasure at the court choosing him to be the surety, he makes up his mind to pay, and is mortgaged.

END OF TRACT BABA BATHRA AND OF VOL. 6. (14.)
END OF BOOK 8 (7)

THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD BOOK 9 (formerly 8)
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TRACT SANHEDRIN (SUPREME COUNCIL).

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TRACT SANHEDRIN (SUPREME COUNCIL).

A WORD TO THE READER.

Many books have been written by the scientists of the last century, and many lengthy articles have appeared in the various periodicals, concerning the Jewish high court, and this tract, which, if extracts were given, would make an entire bulky volume in itself. However, we deem it best to give the reader the information where these are to be found. The time during which the Sanhedrin were established is the main topic of their discussions. Zunz, for instance, gives the time from King Simeon of the Maccabees. Jost states that it was from the period of Hyrcan. And an anonymous writer in "Israelitische Annalen," Vol. 1., pp. 108-134, maintains that they were established at an exceedingly earlier date, and that the Greek name "Sanhedrin" was changed during the time of the second Temple. At all events, Schürer, in his "Jüdische Geschichte," wrote a lengthy article on this subject, in Vol 2., from p. 188 to 240 (where there is to be found a bibliography of the subject), concluding with his opinion that the high court began at an earlier time. Z. Frankel, too, in his article, "Der gerichtliche Beweis," Berlin, 1848, claims that the establishment of the jury in the entire civilized world was taken from the Sanhedrin. All this was written in Germany. An English book by Rabbi Mendelsohn also treats upon this topic. We, too, will have something to say concerning this in our forthcoming "History of the Talmud." We are inclined, in many respects, however, to accept the opinion of Reifmann, given in his Hebrew book, "Sanhedrin," Warsaw, 1888. He says that courts were even established in the days of Noah, the judges of which were Shem, Abraham, Isaac, and Amram, continuing until Moses. He, in turn, established a court of seventy judges, and from that time the Supreme High Court was of that number (seventy-one, including Moses), and thereafter supreme courts of twenty-three, and courts of three, were established at all times, and wherever the Jews resided; the sages of the second Temple naming these courts "great" and "small" Sanhedrin. Reifmann's reasons are gathered from the post-biblical literature, and are based upon the Bible. According to him, the three judges had to decide civil cases only, the twenty-three, criminals and capital punishments, and the seventy-one were a political body, who were to decide also the great events; as, for instance, an entire tribe, or the princes and heads of tribes. We, however, would say that the court of three had also to decide criminal cases to which capital punishment did not apply. So it seems to us, from this tract of the Talmud, that a stubborn and rebellious son was punished with stripes by a court of three, before being finally sentenced to death by the court of twenty-three.

Reifmann also quotes from "Midrash Aggada," that before prophesying a prophet was obliged to get permission from the Sanhedrin, who previously tried him whether he was a true prophet or not We may here add that this contradicts the Talmud, for it says that to recognise a true prophet was by demanding a sign, and if the prophet would have been obliged to get the permission of the Sanhedrin, this would certainly be mentioned in the Talmud instead.

This is as much as we have to say in regard to the time and name, and that the Sanhedrin ceased about forty years previous to the destruction of the Temple. At the same time we would call the attention of the readers to the fact that this tract distinguishes itself from all others in Halakha as well as in Haggada. Aside from the many strange explanations of the verses of Scripture, which are not used in other extracts, it says plainly that there are numerous laws written in the Pentateuch which have never occurred, and never will occur, but that they were written merely for study. The Haggada also distinguishes in taking the power to judge upon the Bible personages if they are to have a share in the world to come, and also in criticism of their acts, even of the most holy of them. This is self-evident that the later commentaries, and especially the cabbalists, interpreted the Haggada after their ways. We, however, have translated it almost literally, with an effort to make it in some respects intelligible to the general reader, and have also added footnotes, where we deemed it necessary. And we may say that the real student will find much pleasure if he will devote his special attention to this tract.

For this purpose we have made from this celebrated tract a double volume, as we deem it will please the readers and the students, and will also equalise the size of the volumes. [M. L. R. September 16, 1902.]

SYNOPSIS OF SUBJECTS

CHAPTER 1.

MISHNA 1. To which cases judges are needed to decide, and to which commoners; which three, five, twenty-three, and seventy-one. The Great Sanhedrin consisted of seventy-one, and the Small of twenty-three. How many a city should contain, that it should be fit for a supreme council. If one were known to the majority of the people as an expert, he alone might decide civil cases. A permission from the Exilarch holds good for the whole country (of Babylon and also for Palestine); from the Prince in Palestine, for the whole of Palestine and Syria only: he may teach the law, decide civil cases, and may also decide upon the blemishes of first-born animals. He (a priest) saw a divorced woman and married her, and with this he annulled his priesthood. He erred in his opinion--e.g., there were two, Tanaim and two Amoraim who differed in a case, and he decided the case according to one. There are three Tanaim who differ concerning arbitration. When the decision is already given in accordance with the strict law, an arbitration cannot take place. May or may not a judge say, "I do not want to decide this case"? and under what circumstances? Is mediation a meritorious act, or is it only permitted? There were many who used to say maxims of morality, and Samuel found that they were only repetitions of verses in the Scriptures. "Say unto wisdom, Thou art my sister," means, if the thing is certain to you as that it is prohibited for you to marry your sister, then you may say it; but not otherwise. If one appoints a judge who is not fit to be such, he is considered as if he were to plant a grove in Israel. The court shall not listen to the claims of one party in the absence of the other (in civil cases). "You shall judge righteously" means, you shall deliberate the case carefully, and make it just in your mind, and only thereafter may you give your decision: "For the judgement belongeth to God." The Holy One, blessed be He, said: "It is the least for the wicked to take away money from one and give it to another illegally," etc. Is warning needed to a scholar? Where is the hint that collusive witnesses are to be punished with stripes? Punishment of stripes is not applied to those who do no manual labour. The numbers three, five, and seven--to what have they a similarity?

A year must not be intercalated with one month, except by them who are invited for it by the Nashi. Since the death of the last prophets--Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi--the Holy Spirit has left Israel, etc. A leap year should not be made because of the kids, lambs, etc. For the following three things a leap year is made: Because of the late arrival of Spring, etc. A leap year must not be made in the years of famine, The year must not be intercalary before Rosh Hashana. A leap year must not be made in one year for the next. No appointment of a leap year must be because of defilement. If not for Ben Baba, the law of fines would be forgotten from Israel. The legend how Jehudah b. Baba supplied the degree of Rabbi to five (six) elders, and by this act he caused the oral law not to be forgotten from Israel. The custom of giving degrees must not be used out of Palestine. What is to be considered second tithe, of which the value is not known? Rotten fruit, etc. "Every great matter," means the matter of a great man. By the whole tribe, is meant the head of it. The legend how a battle was decided by King David. Whence do we know that it is a duty to appoint judges to each tribe? etc. The legend of Eldad and Medad, and what their prophecy was. How Moses selected the seventy elders from each tribe, and also the payment of the first-born who were not redeemed by Levites. Sentence of guilt must be by a majority of two. If all persons of a Sanhedrin are accusing, the defendant becomes free. How so? In a city in which the following ten things do not exist it is not advisable for a scholar to reside. and they are, etc. Of rulers of thousands were six hundred; of hundreds, six thousand; of fifties, twelve thousand; of tens, sixty thousand--hence the total number of the officers in Israel was seventy-eight thousand and six hundred.

CHAPTER 2.

MISHNAS 1. AND 2. The high-priest may judge and be a witness; be judged and witnessed against. A king must not judge, and is not judged; must not be a witness, nor witnessed against. There are cases from which one may withdraw himself, and there are others from which he may not. How so? A king must not be a member of the Sanhedrin; nor he and a high-priest engage in discussion about a leap year. The legends of three pasturers who had a discussion about the month Adar, which the rabbis took as a support to establish a leap year. When he (high-priest) goes in the row to condole with others, his vice and the ex-high-priest are placed at his right, etc. Formerly the custom was for the mourners to stand, and the people to pass by, etc. A row is not less than ten persons, not counting the mourners. All agree that if a king has relinquished his honour, it is not relinquished. How could David marry two sisters while they were both living? The strength of Joseph was moderation on the part of Boas, and the strength of the latter was moderation on the part of Palti, etc., etc. If a death occurs in the house of the king, he must not leave the gate of the palace.

MISHNAS 3. TO 4. Three positive commandments was Israel commanded when they entered Palestine, viz., they should appoint a king, etc. The treasures of kings which are plundered in time of war belong to the king, only. He (the king) must not marry more than eighteen wives. Even one wife, should she be liable to turn his heart away, he must not marry her. The number eighteen mentioned in the Mishna--whence is it deduced? Four hundred children were born to David by the handsome women whom he took captive (i.e., those mentioned in Deut. xxi. 11). Only a son may stay alone with his mother, but it is not allowed for any one besides to stay alone with a married woman. He (the king) must not acquire many horses, neither more gold and silver than to pay the military. He shall not acquire many horses, and lest one say, "Even those which are needed for his chariots," etc. He shall not acquire much gold and silver--lest one say, "Not even sufficient for paying the military," etc. Why does not the Scripture explain the reason of its law? Because in two verses it was so done, and the greatest men of a generation stumbled because of them, etc. Ezra was wrothy that the Torah should be given through him, if Moses had not preceded him. In the very beginning the Torah was given to Israel in Assyrian characters, etc. (see footnote, 1). One must not ride on his--the king's--horse, etc. Come and see how hard is divorce in the eyes of the sages! He who divorces his first wife, even the altar sheds tears on account of him. The king must cut his hair

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every day, a high-priest every eve of Sabbath, and a commoner priest every thirty days.

CHAPTER 3.

MISHNAS 1. TO 3. Civil cases by three: one party may select one, and so the other, and both one more. Pure-minded people of Jerusalem used not to sign a document unless, they were aware who was the other who was to sign it, and also would not sit down to judge unless they were aware who was to be their colleague, etc. One has no right to reject a judge who was appointed by the majority. There is a rule that the testimony of one who is interested in a case is not to be taken into consideration. Proof is needed to each claim, even if it is not so important that it could injure the case. He who saw Resh Lakish in the college saw one uprooting hills and crushing them, and he who saw R. Mair saw one uprooting mountains and crushing them. Gamblers (habitual dice-players) and usurers, and those who play with flying doves, are disqualified to be witnesses. What crime is there in dice-playing? Because they do not occupy themselves with the welfare of the world. One who borrows to pay usurers is also disqualified. Gamblers are counted those who play with dice; and not only with dice, but even with the shells of nuts or pomegranates. Among those who play with doves--other animals are also meant. There was added to the disqualified witnesses robbers and forcers (i.e., those who take things by force, although they pay the value for them). There was secondly added to that category, collectors of duty and contractors of the government. The father of R. Zera was a collector for thirteen years, etc. One's thought for his maintenance injures him in his study of the law, etc. They who accept charity from idolaters are disqualified to be witnesses, provided they do so publicly, etc. One who is wicked in money matters only is disqualified to witness, but not one wicked in heavenly matters. Bar Hama had slain a man, and the Exilarch told Aba b. Jacob to investigate the case; and if he really slew the man they should make the murderers blind, etc.

MISHNAS 4. TO 6. The following are counted relatives who may not be witnesses: Brothers, brothers of father or mother, brothers-in-law, etc. "My father's brother shall not witness in my cases; he, his son, and his son-in law." "The brother of my mother-in-law cannot be a witness for me." The husband of one's sister, also the husband of the sister of one's father and the husband of the sister of one's mother, their sons and their sons-in-law, are also excluded from being witnesses. A stepfather . . . his son-in-law, etc. There was a deed of gift which was signed by two brothers-in -law--i.e., two husbands of two sisters, etc. How were the witnesses examined? They were brought into separate chambers, etc. How were the witnesses frightened? There was one who had hidden witnesses under the curtains of his bed, and he said to his debtor: "Have I a mana with you?" etc. There was one who was named by the people "the man who has against him a whole kab of promissory notes." There was another who was named "the mouse who lies on dinars," etc. There was a document of confession in which it was not written: "He (the debtor) has said to us, 'Write a document, sign, and give it him' (the creditor)," etc. "I have seen your deceased father hide money in a certain place, saying, 'This belongs to so-and so,'" etc. How is the judgement to be written? So was the custom of the pure-minded in Jerusalem. They let parties enter, listened to their claims, and thereafter let the witnesses enter, listened to their testimony, then told all of them to go out, etc. This is a rule for every case in which is mentioned "a witness," that it means two. Simeon b. Alyaqim was anxious that the degree of Rabbi should be granted to Jose b. Hanina, etc., etc. A confession after a confession, or a confession after a loan, may be conjoined; but a loan after a loan, or a loan after a confession, do not join. Witnesses in civil cases who contradict one another in unimportant investigations are to be considered. So long as the defendant brings evidence to his advantage, the decision may be nullified by the court. However, if after he had said, "I have no witnesses," etc. What happened to R. Na'hman with a young man whom he made liable. If one who is summoning a party who says, "I want my case brought before the assembly of sages," etc., he maybe compelled to try his case in that city. In Babylon they are not allowed to try cases of fine.

CHAPTER 4.

MISHNAS 1. TO 3. Cases coming before the court, the witnesses thereof must be examined and investigated. What difference is there between civil and criminal? The following from (a) to (g). Biblically there is no difference between civil and criminal cases concerning investigations. But why is it enacted that civil cases do not need investigation? "Justice, only justice, shalt thou pursue," means that one shall follow to the city of a celebrated judge, etc. What has the court first to say to the advantage of the defense in criminal cases? If one has tried a case, and made liable him who is not, or vice versa, etc. Tudus the physician testified that not one cow or one swine was sent from Alexandria in Egypt of which the womb was not removed. If one was found guilty by the court, and thereafter one come, saving: "I know a defense for him, etc, So long as the fire in the stove burns, cut off all that you want to roast, and roast it. (i.e., when you are studying a thing, consider it thoroughly to prevent questions.) All who take part in the discussion may explain their reasons, until one of the accusers shall yield to one of the defenders. In the neighbourhood of R. Johanan there was one who was blind who used to judge cases, etc. From the time of Moses until the time of Rabbi, we do not find one man who was unique in the possession of wisdom, riches, and glory, etc. One may teach his disciple, and at the same time may judge in association with him in criminal cases. In ten things civil cases differ from criminal cases. All are competent to judge civil cases. But not all of them are competent to judge criminal cases. The Sanhedrin sat in a half-circle in order that they could see each other, etc. The Torah has testified that we are such a kind of people that even a fence of lilies is sufficient for us, and will never be broken. How were the witnesses awestruck in criminal cases? A human being stamps many coins with one stamp, and all of them are alike; but the Holy One, blessed be He, has stamped every man with the stamp of Adam the first, and, nevertheless, not one of them is like the other, Although the court of the Sanhedrin existed no longer, the punishment of the four kinds of death prescribed in the Scripture was not abolished by Heaven. Adam the first was created singly, and why? That disbelievers should not say there were many Creators in heaven, etc. In three things one is different from his neighbour--in voice, etc.

CHAPTER 5.

MISHNA 1. The court used to examine the witnesses with seven inquiries, etc. Should one of the witnesses say, "I have something to say in behalf of the defendant," or one of the disciples, I have something to say to the disadvantage of the defendant," the court silences him. Why not say that eight queries are necessary in the examination? Viz., how many minutes are there in the hour? Do you recognise this man as the murderer of him who was slain? Was he a heathen or an Israelite? Have you warned him? Did he accept the warning? etc. Whence do we deduce that the warning is prescribed biblically? Witnesses who testified in case of a betrothed woman, if they be found collusive, are not to be put to death. What is the difference between examination? etc. Until what time may the benediction of the moon be pronounced? If Israel should have only the meritorious act of receiving the glory of their heavenly Father once a month, it would be sufficient. They do not drink wine. And why not? In civil cases the court may say: The case becomes old, etc.

CHAPTER 6.

MISHNAS 1. TO 4. If the conclusion was to condemn, the guilty one was taken out immediately to be stoned. A herald goes before him, heralding: So and so, etc. One stands with a flag. I doubt who had to bear the cost of the flag and horse mentioned in the Mishna, etc. If one of the disciples said, "I have something to say in behalf of the defendant," and thereafter he became dumb? He who is modest, the verse considers him as if he should sacrifice all the sacrifices mentioned in the Scripture. When he (the guilty) was far from the place of execution--a distance of ten ells--he was told to confess. Why are the words "unto us and to our children," and the Ayin of the "ad" pointed? The Lord said to Joshua: Thou thyself hast caused all the evils, because thou didst excommunicate the goods of Jericho. One should always proceed with prayer before trouble comes. It happened with one who was going to be executed, that he said: If I am guilty of this crime, my death shall not atone for all my sins. See footnote, 1, concerning the legend of Simeon b. S. of the eighty witches hung by him. A male was stoned while naked, but not a female. The stoning place was two heights of a man, etc. If before the execution the hands of the witnesses were cut off, he becomes free from death. "The avenger of the blood himself shall slay." Infer from this that it is a meritorious act for the avenger to do so himself.

MISHNAS 5. AND 6. All who are stoned are also hanged. A male, but not a female. Two must not be judged on the same day, provided there are two kinds of death. How was one hanged? The beam was put in the earth, etc. King Sabur questioned R. Hama: Whence do you deduce from the Torah that one must be buried? etc. Is the burying because the corpse shall become disgraced if not buried, or is it because of atonement? Is the lamentation an honour for the living or for the deceased? And what is the difference? etc. A wicked person must not be buried with an upright one. All the curses with which David cursed Joab fell on the descendants of David. They were [II Sam. iii. 29], etc. If not for Joab, David would not have been able to occupy himself with the law, etc.

CHAPTER 7.

MISHNAS 1. TO 5. Four kinds of capital punishment are prescribed to the court by the Scriptures. According to R. Simeon, burning is more rigorous than stoning. With her father, burning applies; with her father-in-law, stoning applies. How is this to be understood? Do you come to teach a Halakha which will be used only then when the Messiah will appear? The prescribed punishment of burning was this: The sinner was placed in waste knee-deep. Then placing a twisted scarf of coarse material within a soft one, etc. But why should burning not be inferred from the offerings of the bullocks, which were burned bodily? Nadob said to Abihu: When will the two old men die, and you and I be leaders of Israel? The prescribed punishment of slaying was thus: He was decapitated, etc. The prescribed punishment of choking was thus: The sinner was placed in waste knee-deep, etc. To the following sinners stoning applies: viz., one who had connection with his mother, etc. "A man" means to exclude a minor. [Lev. xxii.]: "That lieth with his father's wife" means, that there is no difference whether she is his mother or not.

MISHNAS 6. TO 7. One who had connection with a human male, or with an animal, and also a human female who uncovers herself before a male animal, are punished with stoning. "With an animal" makes no difference whether it was a large or a small one. A blasphemer is not guilty, unless he mentioned the proper name of God (Jehovah). "Any man whatsoever," etc., meaning to include the heathen, who are warned of blasphemy. Ten commandments were commanded to Israel in Marah; seven of them are those which were accepted by the descendants of Noah. For transgression of these commandments a descendant of Noah is put to death, viz., adultery, bloodshed, and blasphemy. A descendant of Noah may be put to death by the decision of one judge, by the testimony of one witness, etc. Every relationship for which the punishment of the courts of Israel is death, a descendant of Noah is warned of it; but all other relationships, the punishment of which is not death, are permissible to them. He who raises his hand to his neighbour, although he has not as yet struck him, is called wicked. "Flesh in which its life is, which is its blood, shall ye not eat," [Gen. ix. 4] means any member of the animal, while it is still alive. We do not find any case where what is forbidden to the descendants of Noah should be allowed to the Israelites. An unclean thing never came from heaven. There is no difference if one hears it from the blasphemer himself or from the witness who heard it from the blasphemer--he must rend his garments.

MISHNAS 8. TO 12. One is considered an idolater who worships it with its proper worship; and even if he only sacrifices, smokes incense, or pours wine, etc. Why not say that from bowing "all kinds of worshipping" is to be inferred? In our Mishna it is stated: "He who worships idols." There is another Mishna, farther on, which states: He who says: "I will worship," is always considered an idolater, etc. If one worship an idol because he loves it, or because he fears it, etc. Concerning Sabbath it is more rigorous than all the other commandments in one respect, and all other commandments are more rigorous in another respect, etc. There is a tradition: He who conjoins the name of Heaven with something else is to be destroyed. It happened to a female heathen who was very sick an vowed that if she recovered she would worship all the idols which were to be found, etc. If one gives one of his children to Molech, he is not guilty unless he has transferred him to the servants, etc. One is not guilty unless he let him pass in the usual manner. What was that? A row of bricks were placed for passing, etc. Baal ob (mentioned in the Scripture) is the python that makes the dead speak from his armpit, and Yidoñi means one that makes the dead speak from his mouth. Is not he who queries an "ob" the same who inquires of the dead? Nay! etc. An observer of times is, according to R. Aqiba, he who reckons times and hours, saying: This day is good to go on the road, etc. He who curses his father or mother is not punished with a capital punishment, unless he curse them by the proper name of God.

MISHNAS 13. TO 14. He who sins with a betrothed damsel is not guilty to be stoned, unless she was a maiden betrothed and still in her father's house. A seducer means one who is himself a commoner--e.g., he says: There is an idol in such and such a place which so and so eats, etc. Concerning all who are liable to capital punishment biblically, it is not allowed to hide witnesses except in this case, etc. A conjurer is liable to be stoned only when he did an act, but not if he dazzled the eyes. The Halakhas of witchcraft are similar to the Halakhas of Sabbath. There are some to which stoning applies, etc. I have seen a rider of a camel who took his sword, cut off the head of the camel, and thereafter rung a bell, and the camel stood up. It was only a dazzling of the eyes. The legend of R. Eliezer with his disciple, "Thou shalt not learn to do," means: "Thou must not learn to do, but thou mayest learn it to understand it for the purposes of deciding cases.

CHAPTER 8.

MISHNAS 1. TO 8. A stubborn and rebellious son--at what age may he be considered as such? From the time he brings forth two hairs, etc.; but the sages used to speak with delicacy. A minor of nine years and one day is fit to have connection with a woman, and in a case of adultery it is considered. Whence do we know that the first generation produced children at the age of eight? A daughter should be more open to the charges of stubbornness and rebelliousness, etc. But so is the decree of the Scripture--"a son, and not a daughter." He cannot be condemned as a stubborn and rebellious son, unless

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he eats meat and drinks wine. You shall not look for wine which makes red the faces of the wicked in this world, and makes them pale in the world to come. Thirteen ways are enumerated in the Scripture concerning wine, as in Genesis ix., from 20 to 25. If he has stolen from his father and consumed on his premises, etc., he is not charged as a stubborn and rebellious son unless he stole from his mother and father. If the father is willing to transfer the case of the son in question to the court, and the mother is not willing, or vice versa, etc. Such a thing neither occurred nor ever will be, and the same is with the case of a misled town, and also with a house of leprosy, and was written only for study. If one hand of his father or mother is missing, or they limp, or are dumb, etc. If he runs away before the decision of condemnation is rendered, etc. The Scripture prefers that be should die innocent, and not be put to death because of his sins. For the death of the wicked is both a benefit to them and a benefit to the world, etc. In the case of "breaking in" (Ex. xii., 1], for which there is no liability if one is killed by a detector, one is also punished because of his future crimes, etc. A burglar who broke in and succeeded in taking some utensils and escaped is free from paying. Because he acquired title to them by his blood. It happened that rams were stolen from Rabha by burglary and thereafter they were returned to him; he would not accept them because the above decision came from the mouth of Rabh, etc.

MISHNA 9. The following may be killed for self-protection: He who pursues one to kill him, and he who pursueth a betrothed damsel, etc. According to the rabbis the Scripture cares for the violation of her honour, and as she also cares for it, though without life-sacrifice, she must be saved even by killing her pursuers, etc. One who intends to worship idols may be killed (if there is an impossibility of preventing his crime otherwise.) "In the city of Luda it was voted and resolved that if one were compelled, under threat of being killed, to commit any one of all the crimes which are mentioned in the Torah, he might commit it and not be killed, except idolatry, adultery, and bloodshed. Is a descendant of Noah commanded to sanctify, the Holy Name, or not? It happened to one that he saw a woman and became sick through his infatuation, etc,

CHAPTER 9.

MISHNAS I. TO VI. Punishment of burning applies to one man who has intercourse with a woman and her daughter, and to a daughter of a priest, etc. Punishment with the sword applies to a murderer and to the men of a misled town. If one pressed down a person while he is in water, or in fire, preventing him from coming out, he is guilty, etc. If one bound a person, and he died thereafter of hunger, he is not guilty of a capital crime. If, however, he put him in a sunny place, and he died because of the sun, he is guilty. Ball-players--if one threw a ball with the intention of killing some one, he is to be put to death, and if it was unintentional, he is to be exiled, etc. All agree that if one kills a person whose windpipe and larynx (gullet) are cut or whose skull is fractured, he is free (for it is considered as if he attacked a dead man). If one strikes a person with a stone or with his fists, and he was diagnosed (by the physicians of the court) to die, and thereafter he improved, etc. Capital punishment does not apply to one who intended to kill an animal and killed a man, an idolater and killed an Israelite, etc.; but it does apply to one who intended to strike a person on the loins with an article which was sufficient for this purpose, and he strikes him to death on his heart, etc. A murderer mixed up among others--all of them are free, etc. If it happen that the persons sentenced to deaths of different kinds, and are so mixed that it is not known who comes under this kind of death and who under another, all of them must be executed with the more lenient death. If one committed a crime which deserves two kinds of death, he must be tried for the more rigorous one. Ezek. xviii. must not be taken literally, but "the mountains he eateth not" means that he does not live upon the reward of the meritorious acts done by his parents; "his eyes he lifteth not up to the idols" means that he never walked overbearingly, etc.

MISHNAS VII. TO IX. He who receives stripes, and relaxes into the same crime, the court takes him to the kyphos. He who kills a person not in the presence of witnesses is taken to the kyphos and is fed on scant bread and water. If one steals a kisvah, or one curses his neighbour, invoking God as a "carver," zealous people (like Pinchas) have a right to strike him when caught in the act. What is this punishment if there were no zealous men? Answer to this, it happened that it was read before R. Kahan in a dream, etc. In a case where there is a violation of the Holy Name the honour of the master must not be considered. "If a priest performs the service while he is defiled," etc. "If a common Israelite served in the Temple," etc.

CHAPTER 10.

MISHNAS 1. TO 6. Choking applies to him who strikes his father or mother, to him who steals a living soul, etc. A son is not guilty of a capital crime unless he wounds his father by striking him. Cursing is in one respect more rigorous than striking, as he is guilty even if he did it after his lather's death. If one steals a person, he is not guilty of a capital crime unless he brings him upon his own premises. There is no difference whether he stole a male or a female, a proselyte, or a bondsman, or a minor, etc. R. Jehudah says that there is no disgrace for slaves. "Thou shalt not steal," in the third commandment, means human beings. [Lev. xix., ii]: "Ye shalt not steal," meaning money. A judge rebelling against the Great Sanhedrin. There were in Jerusalem three courts, etc. In case a judge in the country had a dispute with his colleagues, they came to the first court. If this court were able to decide it traditionally they rendered their decision; and if not, all of them came to the Great Sanhedrin, which was in the Temple treasury, etc. A disciple who is not a judge who decides for practice against the Great Sanhedrin, is not culpable. A rebelling judge is not guilty unless he gave his decision in a matter to which, if done intentionally, korath applies, etc. The punishment of him who transgresses the decision of the scribes is more rigorous than for that which is plainly written in the Scriptures. The judge in question was not put to death by the court of his own city, etc., but was brought to the Supreme Council, in Jerusalem, etc. A false prophet who is to be sentenced by the court is only he who prophesies what he (personally) has not heard and what he was not told at all, etc. He who prophesied in the name of an idol, saying, "So and so was said by such an idol," although it corresponds exactly with the Hebrew law, he is punished by choking. See all illustrations, pp. 258-260. In every case mentioned in the Torah, if a true prophet commands you to transgress, you may listen, except as to idolatry.

CHAPTER 11.

MISHNA I. All Israel has a share in the world to come. The following have no share in the world to come: He who says, etc. Three kings and four commoners have no share in the world to come etc. Is he who does not believe that the resurrection is hinted at in the Torah such a criminal that he loses his share in the world to come? Where is the resurrection hinted at in the Torah? etc. From the Pentateuch, Prophets, and Hagiographa. Queen Cleopatra questioned R. Mair thus: When they shall be restored, will they be naked. or dressed? Caesar questioned Rabbon Gamaliel: You say that the dead will be restored. Does not the corpse become dust? etc. The living die--should the dead come to life? That which has not existed at all comes to life--shall those who had life once not come to life again? The legend of Gebiah b. Pessisa who advocated Israel before Alexander of Macedonia, etc. Antoninus said to Rabbi: The body and soul of a human may free themselves on the Day of judgement by Heaven. How so? Why does the sun rise in the east and set in the west? At what time does the soul come into the body? At what time does the evil spirit reach man? Lest one say that the verse just cited means, I make one die and another, one shall I bring to life, therefore it reads, "I wound and I cure." As wounding and curing apply to one person only, etc. He who hesitates in declaring a Halakha to a disciple, even the embryos in the entrails of their mothers denounce him. Great is wisdom, as it was placed between two divine names. Exiles atone for everything. The upright who will be restored in the future will never return to dust. "What will they do at the time the Holy One, blessed be He, shall renew His world?" etc. Concerning the dead whom Ezekiel restored, the different opinions of Tannaim and Amoriam, if it was a reality or a parable only. Six miracles occurred on the day Nebuchadnezzar threw Chananyah, Mishael, and Azaryah into the caldron. Even at the time of danger one shall not change the dress belonging to his dignity. Where was Daniel at the time that they were thrown into the caldron? The legend of Achab and Zedkiyahu with the daughter of Nebuchadnezzar. According to the advice of three, Daniel went away before the affair of Chananyah, etc, Concerning the six barleys which Boaz gave to Ruth. All that is written in the book of Ezra was said by Nehemiah b. Chackhalyah. Why then was it not named after him? The angel who rules the souls after their departure from this world is named Dumah. Hiskiah, who has eight names, shall take revenge on Sanherib, who also has eight names. Hiskiah's (king of Judah) whole meal consisted of a litter of herbs. Pharaoh, who personally blasphemed, was also punished by Heaven. Sanherib, who blasphemed through a messenger, was also punished through a messenger. Ten trips had the wicked made on that day, etc., as it reads [2 Kings, 10:28-32]. There was one day more appointed for the punishment of the iniquity of Nob. And the astrologers told Sanherib, etc. If the judgement is postponed over one night there is hope that it will be abolished entirely. The legend how Abishai saved King David from Yishbi's hand at Nob. Sanherib, when he came to attack, brought with him forty-five thousand princes with their concubines in golden carriages, etc., the many legends concerning Sanherib. Be careful with the children of the Gentiles, as it happens very often wisdom emanates from them. That the day on which Achaz died consisted of only two hours. And when Heskiah became sick and thereafter recovered, the Holy One returned the ten hours to that day, etc. Three hundred mules loaded with iron saws which cut iron were given to Nebusaradan by Nebuchadnezzar while going to attack Jerusalem. Nebusaradan was a true proselyte, from the descendants of Sissera were such who studied the law in Jerusalem, and from the descendants of Sanherib were such who taught the Torah among a majority of Israelites, etc. Have you heard when the fallen son will come? etc. In his Sabbatic period when the son of David will appear in the first year there will be fulfilled, etc. The generation in which the son of David will come, young men will make pale the faces of the old, etc. The world will continue for six thousand years, the first two thousand of which was a chaos, etc. There are no less than thirty-six upright in every generation who receive the appearance of the Shekinah. All the appointed times for the appearance of the Messiah have already ceased. And it depends only on repentance and good deeds. Jerusalem will not be redeemed but by charity. What the Messiah told to Jehoshua ben Levi: Ben David will not arrive until Rome shall have dominated, etc. Discussion concerning the name of the Messiah. The cock said to the bat, I look out for the light because the light is mine (I see it), but for what purpose do you wait for it? The days of the Messiah will be as from the day of creation until now. "He hath despised the word of God," means he who learned the Torah but does not teach it. He who learned the Torah and does not repeat it is similar to him who sows but does not harvest, etc. Has not Moses written something better than: And Lotan's sister was Thimna, etc.? Who is meant by the term epicurian? What good have the rabbis done for us? They have never permitted us to eat a crow, and they have not prohibited us to eat a dove, etc. The measure with which man measures will be measured out to him--i.e., as a man deals he will be dealt with. A good woman is a good gift; she may be given to one who fears God. A bad woman is leprosy to her husband, etc. One may ask the fortune tellers who tell fortunes by certain oils or eggs. But it is not advisable to do so, because they often lie. Support me, and I will bear the statement of Aqiba, my disciple, who says: "Pleased are chastisements," etc. Three men (biblical personages) came with indirectness, etc. What means, "and he lifted up his hands"? He took off his phylacteries in his presence. The legends concerning Jeroboam. King Menashe appears to R. Ashi in a dream. R. Abuhu used to lecture about the three kings and became sick, etc. Why was Achab rewarded by the prolongation of his kingdom for twenty-two years? Because he was liberal with his money and assisted many scholars from his estate; half his sins were atoned. Four sects will not receive the glory of the Shekhina, viz., scorners, liars, hypocrites, and slanderers. Achaz abolished the worship and sealed the Torah, etc. The angels wanted to put Michah aside, but the Lord, however, said leave him alone because his house is open for travellers. Great are entertainments, for its refusal estranged two tribes from Israel, etc. Why does not the Mishna count Achaz and Amon among those who have no share? etc. Explanation to verses of Lamentation. The Scripture is particular that if any one tells his troubles to his neighbour, he should add: "May it not happen to you." The interpreters of notes said that all of them have a share in the world to come, etc. "A perpetual backsliding." Said Rabh: A victorious answer has the assembly of Israel given to the prophets, etc. Concerning Bil'am, the elders of Moab [modern Jordan.], and Midian [south of Joran and Saudi Arabia.].

One shall always occupy himself with the Torah and divine commandments, even not for the sake of Heaven, as finally He will come to do so for His own sake, etc. The caution that Achiyah, the Shilonite, gave to Israel is better for them than the blessings that Bil'am has given to them. "And Israel dwelt in Shittim." Everywhere such an expression is to be found it brings infliction, etc. I saw the record of Bil'am, and it was written therein thirty-three years was Bil'am when he was killed by Pinchas, the murderer. One shall not bring himself into temptation, as David, king of Israel, placed himself in the power of a trial and stumbled. Six months was David afflicted with leprosy; the Shekhina left him, and the Sanhedrin separated themselves from him. Exclusion shall always be with the left hand, and inclusion with the right hand--i.e., if one is compelled to repudiate some one, he shall do it easy as with his left hand, etc. Concerning David's sin with Bath Sheba.

MISHNA 2. The generation of the flood have no share in the world to come, and are also not judged, etc. Concerning the generation of dispersion, men of Sodom and Gomorrah, etc.: "Noah was just, a perfect man in his generation;" in his generation, but not in others. According to Resh Lakish: In his generation which was wicked, so much the more in other generations. Eliezar, the servant of Abraham, questioned Shem the great, etc. Shem the great questioned Eliezar, etc. "The generation of dispersion." What had they done? What were the crimes of the Sodomites? Concerning the congregation of Korah. One must do all he can not to strengthen a quarrel, etc. "And all . . . on their feet," means the money which makes one stand on his feet. "The generation of the desert has no share," etc, Eliezar, however, said, they have, etc.

MISHNAS 3. TO 4. The ten tribes who were exiled will not be returned, etc. From what age has a minor a share in the world to come? Your saying is not satisfactory to their

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creator. Say the reverse, even he who has studied but one law does not belong to the Gehenna. It happened once that I was in Alexandria of Egypt, and I found a certain old Gentile who said to me: Come, and I will show you what my great-grandfathers have done to yours, etc. Concerning Shebna and his society, ref. Isaiah, 8:12. Adam was created on the eve of Sabbath. And why?

The Minnim shall not say, etc. At the time the Lord was about to create a man, He created a cœtus of angels, etc. Every place where the Minnim gave their wrong interpretation the answer of annulling it is to be found in the same place--e.g. The discussion with R. Gamaliel and other rabbis. "My creatures are sinking into the sea, and ye want to sing?" It reads [Ob. 1:1]: "The vision of the Lord . . . concerning Edom." Obadiah was an Edomite-proselyte. And this is what people say that the handle of the hatchet to cut the forest is taken from the wood of the same forest. [Gen. 22:1]: "After these things." After what? After the words of the Satan, etc. According to Levi, after the exchange of the words between Ishmael and Isaac, etc.

MISHNA 4. The men of a misled town have no share in the world to come. Concerning the key of rain, which is one of the three keys which are not to be transferred to a messenger, Elijah, too, in the days of Achab, etc.

TRACT SANHEDRIN (SUPREME COUNCIL).

CHAPTER 1.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE APPOINTMENT OF JUDGES IN CIVIL AND CRIMINAL CASES. WHICH ARE CONSIDERED CIVIL AND WHICH CRIMINAL. HOW MANY ARE NEEDED TO THE INTERCALATION OF A YEAR AND OF MONTHS; TO APPRAISE CONSECRATED REAL ESTATE AS WELL AS MOVABLE PROPERTIES; AND IF AMONG THE APPRAISERS MUST BE PRIESTS, AND IF SO HOW MANY. THE NUMBER OF PERSONS NEEDED TO ADD TO THE CITY FROM THE SUBURBS OF JERUSALEM. WHAT MAJORITY IS NEEDED TO ACCUSE AND WHAT TO ACQUIT. HOW MANY PEOPLE MUST BE IN A CITY THAT A COURT OF TWENTY-THREE JUDGES SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED.

MISHNA 1: To decide upon the following cases, three persons are needed (the Gemara explains for which common and for which judges): Civil cases, robbery, wounds, whole damages and half, double amount and four and five fold payments; 1 and the same in the case of forcing, seducing, and libel (i.e., an evil name, Deut. 22:19). So is the decree of R. Meir.

The sages, however, maintain: In the last case (libel) twenty-three are needed, as this is not a civil case, but a crime which may bring capital punishment. In the case of stripes, three. In the name of R. Ishmael, however, it was said: Twenty-three are needed. To the intercalation of a month and to proclaim a leap year, three. So is the decree of R. Meir.

Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel maintains: It begins with three persons and is discussed by five, and the decision is rendered by seven If, however, it was decided by three, their decision holds good.

The elders who had to lay their hands upon sacrifices [Lev. 4:15], and also in the case of the heifer [Deut. 21:3]--according to R. Simeon, three are needed, and according to R. Jehudah, five. At the performance of the ceremony of Halitzah and denial, three; to appraise the value of the plants of the fourth year (which must be redeemed), and the second tithe, of which the value in money is to be appraised, three; to appraise the value of consecrated articles, three; in cases of Arakhin (vows of value, men or articles), if movable property, three--according to R. Jehudah, one of them must be a priest; and if real estate, ten, and one of them a priest; and likewise to appraise the estimated value of men [Lev. 27.].

Crimes (which may bring capital punishment), twenty-three; in the case of Lev. 20:15, twenty-three, as verse 16 reads: "Then shalt thou kill the woman and the beast"; and also in the preceding verse: "The beast also shall ye slay." And the same is the case with the stoning of an ox, of which it reads [Ex. 21:29]: "The ox shall be stoned, and the owner . . . be put to death"--which means, as for the death of its owner twenty-three are needed, so also for the stoning of the ox.

The wolf, the lion, the bear, the tiger, the bardls, 1 and the serpent are killed by the judgement of twenty-three. R. Eliezer, however, maintains: Every one who hastens to kill them is rewarded. But R. Aqiba says: Twenty-three are needed.

A whole tribe, or a false prophet, or a high-priest, if they have to be judged for a crime which may bring capital punishment, a court of seventy-one judges is needed. The same number of judges is needed to decide upon battles which are not commanded by the Scriptures, and also for enlarging the city of Jerusalem by annexing its suburbs or free land; and the same is the case if it is necessary to enlarge the courtyard of the Temple. Also, the same number of judges is needed for appointing supreme councils to each tribe. A misled town [Deut. 12:14] must also be condemned by seventy-one. However, a town which stands on the boundary cannot be condemned; nor three of them at one time at any place, but only one, or two.

The Great (Sanhedrin) consisted of seventy-one, and the small of twenty-three. Whence do we deduce that the great council must be of seventy-one? From [Num. xi. 16]: "Gather unto me seventy men." And add Moses, who was the head of them--hence seventy-one? And whence do we deduce that a small one, must be twenty-three? From [ibid. 35:24 and 25]: "The congregation shall judge"; "And the congregation shall save." We see that one congregation judges, and the other congregation saves-hence there are twenty; as a congregation consists of no less than ten persons, and this is deduced from [ibid. 14:27], "To this evil congregation," which was of the ten spies, except Joshua and Caleb. And whence do we deduce that three more are needed? From [Ex. 23:2]: Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil"--from which we infer that you shall follow them to do good. But if so, why is it written at the end of the same verse, "Incline after the majority, to wrest judgement"? This means, the inclination to free the man must not be similar to the inclination to condemn; as to condemn a majority of two is needed, while to free, the majority of one suffices. And a court must not consist of an even number, as, if their opinion is halved, no verdict can be established; therefore one more must be added. Hence it is of twenty-three.

How many shall a city contain that it shall be fit for a supreme council? One hundred and twenty families. R. Nehemiah, however, maintains: Two hundred and thirty--so that each of them should be the head of ten families, as we do not find in the Bible rulers of less than ten.

GEMARA: Are not robbery and wounds civil cases? Said R. Abuhu: The Mishna means to explain the term "civil cases" by robbery and wounds; but to the admitting of debts or loans, three judges are not needed. And that so it should be understood, both expressions were needed; as, if it stated civil cases only, it would include loans, etc.; and if the expression "robbery," etc., only, one might also say the same is the case with loans, etc.; and the expression "robbery," etc., is because the main point wherein three judges are prescribed by the Scriptures is in cases of robbery [Ex. 22:7]: "Shall the master of the house be brought unto the judges." And concerning wounds, it is the same whether a wound be in one's body or in his pocket (money), and therefore it begins with civil cases, and explains that cases like robbery are meant, and not common ones, etc. But whence are common loans excluded, that they do not need three? Did not R. Abuhu say: If two persons have judged in a matter of civil law, all agree that their judgement is of no value? Therefore we must say that the Mishna means to exclude loans and admission of debts--to exclude from three established judges; but three common men are needed. And the reason is what R. Hanina said: Biblically, investigation is needed of crimes as well as of civil cases. As it is written [Lev. 24:22]: "One manner of judicial law shall ye have." But why was it said that civil cases do not need investigation? In order not to lock the door to borrowers. And Rabha explained this statement as meaning that in two kinds of civil cases--loans, etc.--three common people are needed; but in cases of robbery, etc., three established judges. And R. Aha b. R. Ekha said: Biblically, even one is fit to decide civil cases, as it is written [ibid. 19:15]: "In righteousness shalt thou judge thy neighbour." But the rabbis enacted three, in order to prevent men of the market, who are ignorant of law, to undertake to judge cases. But is it not the same with three common men? Are they not men of the market? If three undertake to judge a case, it is highly probable that at least one of them knows something of law. But if so, let two who should make an error in judging not be responsible? If this should be enacted, then all the market people would undertake to decide upon things.

But what is the difference between Rabha and R. Aha b. R. Ekha (according to both, three common men are needed in cases of common loans, etc.)? They differ in the following, which was said by Samuel: If two commoners have decided upon loan cases, their decision is to be respected; but they are considered an impertinent Beth Din. Rabha does not hold with Samuel, and maintains: Their decision must not be respected. And R Aha holds with him (Samuel).

"Whole damages and half," etc. Are not damages the same as wounds (both are to be paid)? Because it has to state half damages, it mentions also whole damages. Are not half damages also the same? The Mishna teaches concerning money which is to be collected according to the strict law and that which is only a fine. But this is correct only as to him who says that half damages are a fine; but as to him who says damages are strict law, what can be said? Because it has to state about the double amount, and four and five fold, which are more than the amount damaged, it mentions also half damages, which is less; and as half is mentioned, it mentions also the whole.

Whence do we deduce that three are needed? From what the rabbis taught. It treats [Ex. xxii. 7 and 8] three times of judges; hence three are needed. So said R. Yachiha. R. Jonathan, however, maintains: The first expression "judges," as the beginning, must not be taken into consideration, as it is needed for itself, and therefore only the two expressions "judges," mentioned after, are to be counted, and the third one is added only because we do not establish a court of an even number (as said above).

The rabbis taught: Civil cases are to be discussed by three. Rabbi, however, said: It is discussed by five, so that the final decision should be by three. But even when there are three, is not the final decision made by two? He means to say, because the conclusion must be of three judges. This explanation was ridiculed by R. Abuhu, saying: On such a theory, then the great Supreme Council ought to be one hundred and forty-one, to the end that the final conclusion should be made by seventy-one; and of a small council there ought to be forty-five, so that the conclusion should be made by twenty-three. And therefore we must say, as the Scripture reads, "Gather unto me seventy," it means the seventy ought to be at the time established. And the same is it in the case above cited, "the congregation shall judge, and the congregation shall save," meaning that at the time of judging there shall be ten. And in the same way are to be interpreted the just cited verses 7 and 8, that the plaintiff has to bring his case before three only. Therefore it may be said that the reason of Rabbi's decision is that because in the first verse is written, "The judges may condemn," as in the last, three is meant, so is it with the word Elohim, mentioned before, which means judges, also two is meant, which makes four; and one is added, so that they shall not be an even number--hence five. The rabbis do not care for this, as the term which is translated, "They may condemn," is written in the singular, and is only read in the plural.

The rabbis taught: Civil cases are decided by three; but if one is known to the majority of the people as an expert, he alone may decide. Said R. Na'hman: e.g., I decide cases alone, without consulting any other rabbis. And so also said R. Hyya.

The schoolmen propounded a question: What does R. Na'hman mean by saying: As, for instance, I? Does he mean similar to him, who knew the laws traditionally and by common sense, and was also so empowered by the Exilarch; but if there was one who was equal to him in wisdom, but had no permission, his decision must not be respected? Or does he mean to say, if one were equal to him in wisdom he might so do without permission? Come and hear: Mar Zutra, the son of R. Na'hman, made an error in one of his decisions, and came to question R. Joseph whether he must make good the error. To which he answered: If he was appointed by the parties as a judge, he had not to pay; if not, he must pay. Infer from this that he who is appointed by the parties may so do even without permission from a higher court.

Said Rabh: If one wants to decide cases, and not be responsible in case of an error, he shall get permission from the Exilarch. And so also said Samuel.

It is certain that here in Babylon a permission from the Exilarch holds good for the whole country; and the same is the case from the Prince in Palestine, for the whole of Palestine and Syria. And it is also certain that if one has a permission from the Exilarch, he may practise in Palestine. As the following Boraitha states: The sceptre shall not depart from Judah. These are the exilarchs of Babylon, who rule over Israel with their sceptres. "And a lawgiver," etc., [Gen. 49;10] means the grandsons of Hillel, who are teaching the Torah among the majority of the people. The question, however, is, if with the permission of the princes they may judge in Babylon?

Come and hear: Rabba b. Hana had decided a case and erred, and came to question R. Hyya whether he had to pay, To which he answered: If the parties appointed you as a judge, you have nothing to pay; but if not, you have. Now, as Rabba, b. Hana had permission from Palestine, and would be obliged to pay if not appointed, it is to be inferred that the permission from Palestine did not hold good in Babylon. But is it not a fact that Rabba b. R. Huna, when he would quarrel with the house of the Exilarch, used to say: I did not take any permission from you, but from my father, who had it from Rabh, and the latter from R. Hyya, and the latter from Rabbi? This was concerning worldly affairs only. But if the permission of Palestine does not hold good for Babylon, why did Rabba b. Hana take it? For the cities which are situated on the boundary of Palestine. How was the case when he took the permission? When he was about to descend from Palestine to Babylon, R. Hyya said to Rabbi: My brother's son, Rabba b. Hana, descends to Babylon. And Rabbi answered: He may teach the law, decide civil cases, and may also decide upon the blemishes of first-born animals which are prohibited to be slaughtered without a blemish on their body.

When Rabh was about to go to Babylon, R. Hyya said to Rabbi: The son of my sister goes to Babylon. Said Rabbi: He may teach the law, decide cases, but not about blemishes of the first-born of animals.

Why did R. Hyya name the first "my brother's son" and the second "my sister's son"? And lest one say that so was the case, did not the master say: Abu, Hana, Shila, Marta, and R. Hyya all were the sons of Abba b. Aha Kharsala of Khaphri? (Hence Rabh, who was Abu's son, was also his brother's son--why did he say "my sister's"?)

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Rabh, who was his brother's and also his sister's son (on his mother's side), he named him "the son of my sister"; but Rabba b. Hana was the son of his brother only. And if you wish, it may be said that R. Hyya named him "my sister's," because of his great wisdom. As it is written [Prov. vii. 4]: "Say unto wisdom, Thou art my sister." But why should Rabh not be permitted to decide about blemishes? Was he not wise enough for this? Is it not a fact that be was wiser than any of his contemporaries? Or was he not acquainted enough with the kind of blemishes? Did not Rabh say: I have dwelt eighteen months with a pasturer of cattle to learn the blemishes which are temporary, and those which remain forever? This was done that Rabba b. Hana should be respected, as Rabh was highly respected even without that. And if you wish, it might be said that because of the fact itself, that Rabh was an expert concerning blemishes, it was not allowed to him to practise, for the reason that Rabh would allow such blemishes as other experts were not aware of, and people who should see that would act likewise, relying upon Rabh, so that they would finally allow the animal which had a temporary blemish to be slaughtered.

It is said above: "Rabbi said: He shall teach law." To what purpose was this said? Does such a scholar as Rabh need such a permission for teaching? This was said because of the following case: It happened that Rabbi went into a certain place and saw that they kneaded dough without offering a sample for legal purity. And to the question why they did so, their answer was: There was a disciple who taught: Water of Bzein (swamp) does not make articles subject to defilement. In reality, however, the expression was: "Mee Beizim," which means eggs; and they took it for Bzein, and acted accordingly. And therefore it was taught: A decree was enacted that a disciple should not teach unless he had the permission of his master.

Tanchun, the son of R. Ami, happened to be in the city of Hthar, and lectured: One may wet wheat and pound for peeling on Passover. And they said to him: Is not there here R. Mani of the city of Zur, who is a great scholar, and there is a Boraitha: A disciple must not decide a Halakha at the place of his master, unless distant from him three parsas--which distance Israel took when travelling in the desert. And he answered: I was not aware of this.

R. Hyya saw a man standing in a cemetery, and said to him: Are you not the son of so and so, who was a priest? He said: Yea, but my father was one of those who follow their eyes. He saw a divorced woman and married her, and with this he annulled the priesthood.

It is certain, when one takes a permission to give judgement, in part, that it holds good (as so it was with Rabh). But how is it if the permission was conditionally for a certain time? Come and hear what R. Johanan said to R. Shauman: You have our permission until you shall return to us.

The text says: Samuel said: If it was decided by two, their, decision is valid; but they are called an impertinent Beth Din. R. Na'hman repeated this Halakha, and Rabha objected from the following. If two are defending and two are accusing, and one says, "I do not know how to decide," judges must be added; now, if it were as you say, that the decision of two is valid, let, then, the decision of the two hold good? There it is different, as they start with the intention that it should be decided by three. He then objected to him from the following: Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel said: Judgement in accordance with the strict law must be decided by three. In an arbitration, however, two suffice; and the strength of the mediation is greater than that of the law; as, if there were two who had decided a case in accordance with the law, although they were appointed by the parties, they (the parties) may retract. But if a mediation was made by the arbitrators, no retraction can take place. And lest one say that the rabbis differ with R. Simeon, did not R. Abuhu say: All agree that a decision passed by two is valueless? And he answered: Do you oppose one man to another (Abuhu may say so, and Samuel otherwise)?

R. Abba objected to R. Abuhu from the following: If one has decided upon a case--freed the guilty, or pronounced guilty the innocent, or decided unclean a thing which is clean, or vice versa, the act is valid and he must pay from his pocket. (Hence we see that even the decision of one is respected.) This Boraitha speaks of when the parties had appointed him for this purpose. But if so, why must he pay? It means, if they tell him: We appoint you to decide this case in accordance with the biblical law.

Said R. Safras to R. Abba: Let us see what was the error. If the error was that he decided against a Mishna, did not R. Shesheth say in the name of R. Assi that he who made an error as to a Mishna might retract from his decision? Hence such a decision is not valid, and he has not to pay from his pocket. Therefore it must be said that it means he erred in his opinion. How is this to be understood? Said R. Papa: E.g., there were two Tanaim and two Amoraim who differed in a case, and it was not decided with whom the Halakha prevailed. However, the world practised according to one party, and he had decided the case according to the other party; and this could be called erring in one's opinion.

Shall we assume that in that case in which Samuel and R. Abuhu differ, the Tanaim of the following Boraitha also differ: Arbitrating must be done by three persons. So is the decree of R. Meir. The sages, however, maintain: One is sufficient? The schoolmen who heard this thought that all agree that arbitration is similar to a strict law, and therefore they assumed that the point of their difference was: R. Meir holds three are needed, and the sages that two suffice. Nay, all agree that a strict law must be decided by three, and the point of their differing is: Whether arbitration must be similar to a strict law according to one it must, and according to the other it must not.

Shall we assume that there are three Tanaim who differ concerning arbitration? One holds: Three are needed; the second, two; and the third, that even one is sufficient. Said R. Aha b. R. Ekha, according to others R. Yema b. Chlamia: He says two are needed holds that even one is sufficient; and only to the end that they should be able to testify to this case as witnesses did he say two. Said R. Ashi: Infer from this that an arbitration does not need a sudarium; for if it should be necessary, why should not the one who maintains that three are needed be satisfied with two and a sudarium? The Halakha, however, prevails: An arbitration needs a sudarium.

The rabbis taught: Even as a strict law needs three, so is it with arbitration. However, when the decision is already given in accordance with the strict law, an arbitration cannot take place. R. Eliezer, the son of R. Jose the Galilean, used to say: It is prohibited to mediate, and he who should do so sins; and he who praises the mediators despises the law, as it is written [Ps. x. 3]: "The robber blesseth himself when he hath despised the Lord." But it may be taken as a rule that the strict law shall bore the mountain, as it is written [Deut. 1:17]: "The judgement belongs to God." And so was it said by Moses our master. But Aaron (his brother) loved peace, ran after it, and used to make peace among the people, as it is written [Mal. 2:6]: "The law of truth was in his mouth, and falsehood was not found on his lips; in peace and equity he walked with me, and many did he turn away from iniquity." And R. Jehoshua b. Karha also said: Arbitration is a meritorious act, as it is written [Zech. 8:16]: "With truth and the judgement of peace, judge ye in your gates." How is this to be understood? Usually, when there is judgement, there is no peace; and vice versa. It must then be said that an arbitration is a judgement which makes peace. So also was it said about David [2 Sam. 8:16]: "And David did what was just and charitable 1 unto all his people."

Here, also, "just" and "charitable" do not correspond; as if just, it could not be called charitable, and vice versa. Say, then, it means arbitration, which contains both.

The first Tana, however, who said above that arbitration is prohibited, explains the passage thus: He, David, judged in accordance with the strict law--he acquitted him who was right, and made responsible him who was so, according to the law, but when he saw that the culpable one was poor and could not pay, he used to pay from his pocket. Hence he did judgement to one and charity to the other. Rabbi, however, could not agree with such an explanation, because of the expression, unto all his people"; and according to the above explanation, it ought to be "to the poor." Therefore said he: Although he did not pay from his pocket, it was counted as a charitable act that he delivered a theft out of the hands of the defendant.

R. Simeon b. Menasia said: If two persons brought a case before you, before you have heard their claims, and even thereafter, but you are still not aware to whom the strict law inclines, you may say to them: Go and mediate among yourselves. But after you are aware who is right according to the strict law, you must not advise them to mediate, as it is written [Prov. xvii. 14]: "As one letteth loose (a stream) of water, so is the beginning of strife; therefore before it be enkindled, leave off the contest"; which means, before it be enkindled you may advise a mediation, but not after you know with whom the law is. Similar to this is: If two persons came with a case before you, one being mighty (who can harm you) and the other common, you may say to them, "I am not fit to judge between you," so long as you have not heard their claims; or even thereafter, not knowing as yet to whom the law inclines. But you must not say so after you are aware; as it is written [Deut. 1:17]: "Ye shall not be afraid of any man."

R. Jehoshua b. Karha said: Whence do we deduce that if a disciple were present when a case came before his master, and saw a defence for the poor and an accusation for the rich (which his master might overlook), he must not keep silence? From the verse just cited. R. Hanin said: One must not keep in his words out of respect for any one; and witnesses also must be aware for whom they testify, and for whom their testimony goes. And who is he who will punish them for bearing false witness? As it is written [Deut. 19:17]: "Then shall both the men who have the controversy stand before the Lord." And the judge must also be aware of same, as it is written [Ps. 82:1]: "God standeth in the congregation of God; in the midst of judges doth he judge." And so also it reads [2 Chron. 19:6], which was said by the king Jehoshaphat: "Look (well) at what ye are doing; because not for man are ye to judge, but for the Lord."

And should the judge say: Why should I take the trouble and the responsibility to myself?--therefore it is written at the end of this verse: "Who is with you in pronouncing judgement." Hence the judge has to decide according to what he sees with his eyes.

What is to be understood by final judgement? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: When the judge is able to pronounce: You, so and so, are guilty, and you, so and so, are right. Said Rabh: The Halakha prevails with R. Jehoshua b. Karha. Is that so? Was not R. Huna a disciple of Rabh, and his custom was, to question the parties of a case before him: Do you desire strict law, or arbitration? Hence we see that he did not begin with mediation; and R. Jehoshua said that mediation is a meritorious act. R. Jehoshua, with his statement, means also to say: Ask the parties which they like better. But if so, it is the same as what the first Tana said (i.e., it is prohibited to arbitrate after the conclusion, but not before the case is begun)? The difference between them is--according to R. Jehoshua it is a meritorious act; and according to the first Tana it is only a permission for the judge, but not meritorious. But then it is the same as R. Simeon b. Menasia said. There is also a difference, as according to the latter we must not advise an arbitration after hearing the claim, which is not according to the former. All the Tanaim mentioned above differ with R. Thn'hum b. Hnilai, who said: The above-cited verse [Ps. x.] was said concerning the golden calf [Ex. 32:5]: "And when Aaron saw this." What did he see? Said R. Benjamin b. Jeptheth in the name of R. Elazar: He saw Chur, who was killed by the people. And he thought: "If I do not listen to them, they will do likewise with me, and will commit a sin, as written [Lam. 2:20]: 'Shall there be slain in the sanctuary of the Lord the priest and the prophet?' And they will have no remedy. It is better for them that I should make the golden calf, and to that probably there will be a remedy by repenting."

There was one who used to say: It is well for him who is silent while being reproved; and if he is accustomed to do so, it prevents a hundred evil things which he might have to overcome through quarrelling. Said R. Samuel to R. Jehudah: This man only repeats what is already written in the above-cited verse [Prov. 17:141]. There was another who used to say: A thief is not killed for stealing two or three times (i.e., do not wonder if the punishment does not occur at once, as finally it will come). And Samuel said to R. Jehudah: This is also repeating the verse [Amos, 2:5]: "Thus hath said the Lord, For three transgressions of Israel, and for four, will I not turn away their punishment."

There was another who used to say: Into seven pits does the man of peace fall and come out, and the wicked does not come out from the first into which he falls. And to this also said Samuel to R. Jehudah: It is a repetition of the verse, Prov. xxiv. 16: "For though the righteous were to fall seven times, he will rise up again"; and should the wicked fall in one, 1 he will not rise again.

There was another who used to say: If the court levied on one's mantle for a bet to his neighbour, he might chant a song and go on his way. And to this the same said to the same: This also is to be understood from [Ex. 18:23]: "The whole of this people will come to its place in peace."

There was another who used to say: She slumbers, and the basket which was placed on her head fell down. And also to this said Samuel: The same is understood of [Eccl. 10:18]: "Through slothful hands the rafters will sink," etc. And there was another who used to say: The man on whom I relied raises his fist against me. To which Samuel referred [Ps. 41:10]: "Yea, even the man that should have sought my welfare, in whom I trusted, who eateth my bread, hath lifted up his heel against me."

There was one more who used to say: When love was strong, we--I and my wife--could place ourselves on the flat of a sword. Now, when love is gone, a bed of sixty ells is not sufficient for us. To which R. Huna said: We can see this from the Scriptures in [Ex. 25:22]: "I will speak with thee from above the cover." And a Boraitha. states that the ark measured nine spans, and the cover one; hence, altogether, it measured ten. Also in [I Kings 6:2]: ". . . house which was built . . . sixty cubits in length." And finally we read [Is. lxvi. 1]: ". . . where is there a house that ye can build unto me?" (I.e., when the Tabernacle was built, ten spans sufficed, and at the exile no house in the world could be found in which the Shekinah would rest.)

R. Samuel b. Na'hmani in the name of Jonathan said: A judge who judges truth to his fellow-men makes the Shekinah to rest in Israel; as the above-cited Psalm lxxxii. I reads: "God standeth in the congregation of God; in the midst of judges doth he judge." And those who do the contrary influence the Shekinah to leave, as it is written [ibid. xii. 6]: "Because of the oppression of the poor, because of the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord."

The same said again in the name of the same authority: A judge who takes away from one and gives to another, against the law, the Holy One, blessed be He, (in revenge) will take

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souls from his house. Thus it is read [Prov. 22:22, 23]: "Rob not the poor because he is poor, neither crush the afflicted in the gate; for the Lord will plead their cause, and despoil the life of those that despoil them."

And he said again, in the name of the same authority: A judge should always consider as if a sword lay between his shoulders and Gehenna was open under him. As it is written [Solomon's Song, 3:7, 8]: "Behold, it is the bed which is Solomon's; sixty valiant men are round about it, of the valiant ones of Israel. All of them are girded with the sword, are expert in war; every one hath his sword upon his thigh, because of the terror in the night--which means the terror of Gehenna, which is equal to the night.

R. Jashyha, according to others R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak, lectured: It is written [Jer. 21:12]: "O house of David, thus hath said the Lord: Exercise justice on (every) morning, and deliver him that is robbed out of the hand of the oppressor." Do, then, people judge only in the morning, and not during the entire day? It means, if the thing which you decide is clear to you as the morning, then do so; but if not, do not. R. Hyya b. Abba in the name of R. Jonathan, however, said: This is inferred from [Prov. 7:4]: "Say unto wisdom, Thou art my sister," which means, if the thing is as certain to you as that it is prohibited for you to marry your sister, then you may say it, but not otherwise.

R. Jehoshua b. Levi said: If there are ten judges discussing about one case, the collar lies upon the neck of all of them. But is that not self-evident? It means even a disciple who is sitting before his master (although the result does not depend upon him).

R. Huna used to gather ten disciples of the college when a case came before him, saying: In case of error, let them also have sawings of the beam. And R. Ashi, when it happened that there was the carcass of a slaughtered animal to examine if it was legal, used to gather all the slaughterers of the city, for the above-said purpose.

When R. Dimi came from Palestine, he said: R. Na'hman b. Kohen lectured: It is written [ibid. 29:4]: "A king will through the exercise of justice establish (the welfare of) a land; but one that loveth gifts overthroweth it"; meaning, if the judge is like unto a king, who needs not the favour of any one, he is establishing the land; but if like unto a priest who goes around the barns asking for heave-offering, he overthroweth it. The house of the Prince had appointed a judge who was ignorant, and it was said to Jehudah b. Na'hman, the interpreter of Resh Lakish: Go and be his interpreter. He bent himself to hear what was said for interpretation; but the judge said nothing. Jehudah then exclaimed: Woe unto him that saith to the wood, "Awake!" "Rouse up!" to the dumb stone. Shall this teach? Behold, it is overlaid with gold and silver, and no breath whatever is in its bosom [Hab. 2:19]. And the Holy One, blessed be He, will punish his appointer, as the following verse reads: "But the Lord is in his holy temple: be silent before him, all the earth."

Resh Lakish said: If one appoints A judge who is not fit to be such, he is considered as if he were to plant a grove in Israel. As it is written [Deut. 16:18]: "Judges and officers shalt thou appoint unto thyself"; and ibid. 21 it reads: "Thou shalt not plant unto thyself a grove-any tree." R. Ashi added: And if this were done in places where scholars are to be found, it is considered as if one should do it at the altar, as the cited verse continues: "near the altar of the Lord thy God."

It is written [Ex. 20:23]: "Gods of silver and gods of gold," etc. Is it only prohibited from gods of silver, and of wood we may? Said R. Ashi: This means the judge who is appointed by means of silver and gold. Rabh, when he went to sit on the bench, used to say: By my own will I go to be slain (i.e., if I make an error I shall be punished for it), without attending the needs of my house; and I enter, clear the court, and I pray that the departing should be like the entering (as he came without sin, so should he depart). And when he saw the crowd run after him, he used to say: "Though his exaltation should mount up to the heavens, and his head should reach unto the clouds, yet when he but turneth round will he vanish for ever" [Job, 20:6, 71 (to quiet his excitement).

Mar Zutra the Pious, when he was carried on the shoulders of his followers on the Sabbaths before the festivals (each Sabbath before the three festivals they used to preach festival laws), he used to say [Prov. 27:24]: "For property endureth not forever, nor doth the crown remain for all generations."

Bar Kapara lectured: Whence do we deduce what the rabbis said: Be deliberate concerning judgement? From [Ex. 20:23.]: "Neither shalt thou go up by steps upon my altar"; and the next verse is These are the laws of justice."

R. Eliezer said: Whence do we know that the judge should not step upon the heads of the whole people (the hearers of the lectures used to sit on the floor during the lectures, and one who passed among them appeared as if he were stepping on their heads)? From the same cited verse. It treats: Thou shalt set before them the laws of justice; it ought to be: Thou shalt teach them? Said R. Jeremiah, and according to others R. Hyya b. Abba: It means the preparation of things belonging to judgement: the cane, the strap, the cornet, and the sandal. As R. Huna, when he used to go on the bench, used to say: Bring here all the things above mentioned.

It is written [Deut. 1:16]: "And I commanded your judges at that time." This was a warning to the judges that they should be careful with the cane and straps, which were in their hands to punish them who rebelled. Farther on it is written: Hear the causes between your brethren and judge righteously." Said R. Hanina: This is a warning to the court that it shall not listen to the claims of one party in the absence of the other (in civil cases); and the same warning is to one of the parties--he shall not explain his claim in the absence of his opponent. "You shall judge righteously" means, you shall deliberate the case carefully, and make it just in your mind, and only thereafter you may give your decision.

It is written: "Between a man and his brother, and his stranger." Said R. Jehudah: It means, even between a house and its attic. (I.e., if it were an inheritance, the judge must not say: You both need dwellings-what is the difference, if one take the house and one the attic? But he must appraise the value of each and then give his decision. "And his stranger" means, if you hire your house to a stranger for a dwelling, it cannot be said: What is the difference, if I give him an oven or a stove? But you must give him according to the conditions. So R. Jehudah. Farther on it reads: "Ye shall not recognise (respect) persons in judgement." According to R. Jehudah, it means: You shall not recognise him if he is your friend; and according to R. Elazar, it means: You shall not recognise him as strange to you, if he is your enemy.

The host of Rabh had to try a case before Rabh, and when he entered he said to Rabh: Do you remember that you are my guest? And he answered: Yea, but why? And he said: I have a case to try. Rejoined Rabh: I am unfit to be a judge for your case (because you reminded me that you favoured me some time ago). And he appointed R. Kahana to judge the case. R. Kahana, however, had seen that he relied too much upon Rabh, so that he would not listen to him. He then said to him: If you listen to my decision, well and good; and if not, I will put Rabh out of your mind (i.e., I will put you under the ban). It reads farther on "The small as well as the great shall ye hear." Said Resh Lakish: It means, you shall treat a case of one peruta with the same care and mind as you would treat a case involving a hundred manas. To what purpose was this said? Is this not self-evident? It means, if two cases come before you, one of a peruta and one of one hundred manas, you shall not say: It is a small case, and I will see to it after.

"Ye shall not be afraid of any man; for the judgement belongeth to God." Said R. Hama b. R. Hanina: The Holy One, blessed be He, said: "It is the least for the wicked to take away money from one and give it to another illegally"; but they are troubling me that I shall return the money to its owner. "And I commanded you at that time." Above it reads: "I commanded your judges." Said R. Elazar in the name of R. Simlai: This was a warning for the congregation, that they should respect their judges; incidentally, also, a warning to the judges that they should bear with the congregation. To what extent? Said R. Hana, according to others R. Sabbathi: Even [Num. 11:12] "as a nursing father beareth the sucking child."

It treats [Deut. 31:23]: "Thou must bring this people," etc. And in verse 7 it is written: "Thou must go with." Said R. Johanan: Moses said to Joshua: You and the elders shall rule over them; but the Holy One, blessed be He, said: "Thou shalt bring them (i.e., thou alone), because there must be one ruler to a generation, and not two or many.

There is a Boraitha: A summons must be by the consent of three judges. And this is in accordance with Rabha, who said: If the messenger of the court had summoned one in the name of one of the three judges who are in the court, the summons is nothing unless he state it is in the name of all the three judges, provided it was not a court day; but on a court day he has to mention nothing.

"Double amount." R. Na'hman b. R. Hisda sent a message to R. Na'hman b. Jacob: Let the master teach us. In cases of fine, how many persons are needed? [What was the question--does not the Mishna state three? The question was, whether one judge, who is an expert, may do this, or not?] And the answer was: This is stated in our Mishna, in the double amount, and four and five fold-three. And it cannot be said it means three common men; for your grandfather said in the name of Rabh: Even ten commoners are illegal to decide cases of fine. Hence the Mishna means judges, of whom, nevertheless, three are needed.

"It may bring capital punishment." And what is it (meanwhile his claim is money--why should three not be sufficient)? Said Ula: The point of their differing is, if an evil tongue is to be feared (i.e., while he comes to the court complaining about his wife, witnesses may come and testify that she had indeed sinned; and then it is a crime of capital punishment). According to R. Meir, the fear of such is not to be taken into consideration; and according to the rabbis, it is. Rabha, however, maintains: The fear of an evil tongue is not taken into consideration by all of the parties; but the point of their difference is, if the honour of the first should be respected or not. And it treats that twenty-three were gathered for that case, and the husband claimed that he would bring witnesses that his wife had sinned. But thereafter he could not bring witnesses, and the case remained as a claim for money only, and then the twenty departed. And he asked them to decide at least his civil claim. According to R. Meir, this case, as a money matter, might be tried by three; but according to the rabbis, we must respect the honour of the judges gathered, and therefore even in the latter case all the twenty-three have to take part.

An objection was raised from a Boraitha which states: The sages said: If the claim was money, then three suffice; but if a crime which could bring capital punishment, then twenty-three are needed. And this is correct only according to Rabha's statement, viz.: If the beginning of the claim was money, then three; and if the beginning was crime, then twenty-three. But according to Ula's it is contradictory. Said Rabha: I and the lion of our society, who is R. Hyya b. Abbim, have thus explained this: The Mishna treats of a case in which the husband brought witnesses that his wife had sinned, and his father-in-law brought witnesses who proved the first collusive. And his claim against the husband was money; and therefore three sufficed. But in a case where crime is charged, twenty-three are necessary.

Abayi, however, maintains: All agree that an evil tongue is to be feared; and they also agree that the honour of the first must be respected. The Mishna, however, speaks of a case in which the warning was as to capital punishment, but not stoning. (I.e., as will be explained in the proper place, one should not be put to death for a crime of which he was not warned that the punishment for it was death; and according to some, the warning must be: The punishment for such a crime is such and such a death. And as the punishment of adultery is stoning, and she was warned only of death in general, according to him who holds that the warning must state the kind of death, in this case no capital punishment can occur.) And this is in accordance with R. Jehudah, who said elsewhere: One is not put to death unless he was informed in the warning what kind of death he should die.

R. Papa maintains: It speaks of a scholarly woman who was aware of what kind of punishment pertained to such a thing; and the point of their differing is, if to a scholar warning is needed. And R. Ashi maintains: The warning was as to stripes, instead of capital punishment; and the point of their differing is, if a trial involving stripes needs twenty-three, in accordance with the opinion of R. Ishmael, or not. 1 And Rabhina maintains: It speaks of when one of the witnesses was found a relative, or incompetent to be a witness; and the point of their difference is, if the testimony of the other witnesses should be ignored because of the incompetent one, or not (explained at length in Tract Maccoth). And if you wish, it can be said that it speaks of when one was warned by some others, but not by the witnesses; and there are some of the Tanaim who hold that the warning holds good only when it was made by the witnesses. And it might also be said that the witnesses contradicted one another, at the cross-examination, concerning certain unimportant things (e.g., how he and she were dressed when the crime was committed), but they did not contradict each other concerning the important thing (e.g., the date and hour). And there is a difference between Tanaim whether such a contradiction is to be taken into consideration, or not?

R. Joseph said: If the husband brought witnesses that she had sinned, and the father brought witnesses who proved them collusive, the witnesses of the husband are put to death, but do not pay the prescribed fine. If, however, the husband brought a third party of witnesses, who proved collusive the second party, they are to be punished both with death and with payment of fine to the husband.

Rabha said: If witnesses testify that A had sinned with a betrothed woman, and thereafter they be found collusive, they are put to death, but do not pay the fine; if, however, they testified that A had sinned with the daughter of B, who was betrothed, they pay the fine also. And the same is the case if they testify that one had connection with an ox, and they were found collusive; if, however, they testify with the ox of so and so, they have to pay the fine to the owner of the ox also. But to what purpose did he state the other case--is it not the same as the first? Because he himself was in doubt concerning the following case: If one testified that so and so had connection with my ox, should he be trusted or not? Shall we say that only a testimony which incriminates one's self is not to be trusted--because one is kin to himself and cannot make himself wicked, but in a case where one's property is involved, we do not say that he is kin to his money, and therefore he should not be trusted. After deliberating, however, he decided that the testifying concerning his ox should be trusted, as the latter case is not taken into consideration.

"The cases of stripes," etc. Whence is this deduced? Said R. Huna: It is written [Deut. xxv. i]: "And they judge them," which is plural, and no less than two; and as a court must not be of an even number, one is to be added--hence it is three. In the same verse it reads: "And they justify . . . and they condemn," which is also plural, and no less than two -hence

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two and two are four, and with the three mentioned above it is seven?

The latter terms are needed for that which Ula said: Where is to be found a hint in the Scriptures concerning collusive witnesses? [A hint--does it not read (ibid. xix. 19): "Then shall ye do unto him as he had purposed to do unto his brother"? Where is the hint that collusive witnesses are to be punished with stripes?] From the above-cited terms, "and they shall justify . . . condemn the wicked: Then shall it be, if the guilty man deserve to be beaten," etc., which is not to be understood as meaning the court only, as the words, "they shall justify the righteous," would be superfluous in that case. And therefore it is to be explained thus: If there were witnesses who had made the righteous guilty, and thereafter other witnesses came and justified the righteous who were indeed right, and made guilty the witnesses who accused them; then, if the former were to be punished with stripes, if found guilty, the same punishment is to be meted to the guilty witnesses.

But is there not a negative commandment in Ex. xx. 16: "Thou shalt not bear false witness"? This negative commandment is counted among those who do no manual labour; and for the transgression of such, punishment of stripes is not applied.

"In the name of Ishmael it was said," etc. What is his reason? Said Abayi: The analogy of expression, Rosha (guilty). It reads [Deut. 25:2]: "Guilty man," and [Num. xxxv. 31] "Who is guilty of death." As in case of death, twenty-three are needed, the same is the case with stripes. Rabha, however, maintains: His reason is simple, as stripes take the place of that. Said R. Aha, the son of Rabha, to R. Ashi: If so is the case, why must he be examined by the court to see if he can stand the forty stripes? Let him be beaten without any examination; and if he cannot stand them, let him die. And he answered: It reads [Deut. 25:3]: "And thy brother be rendered vile before thy eyes." Hence if you beat, you must beat one who is still alive, but not a dead body. If so (said R. Aha again), why does a Boraitha state that if the examination shows that he can stand only twenty, he is beaten with that number, which can be made a multiple of three, say eighteen only? Let him receive twenty-one; and if be cannot receive the last stripe let him die, as the last stripe was on a body which was still alive (i.e., thrice seven are twenty-one, and as he would not die by twenty according to the examination, the twenty-one would still be on a live body). Rejoined R. Ashi: The verse reads: "Thy brother thus rendered vile before thy eyes," which means that after the stripes he shall still be thy brother, which would not be the case if be died while being beaten.

"To the intercalary month," etc. It does not state for the consideration of the intercalary, nor does it state for the consecration of the month; but for the intercalary itself, why are three needed? Let it be not consecrated at the thirtieth day, and it will become intercalary by itself (i.e., if the thirty-first day be consecrated as the first of the next month, the past month will be intercalary with one day). Said Abayi: Read: For the consecration of the month. And so also we have learned in a Tosephtha: For the consecration of the month and the proclamation of a leap year, three. So is the decree of R. Meir. Said Rabha: You say: Read "for the consecration"; but it is stated "the intercalary." Therefore, he maintains, the consecration in the additional day (e.g., the thirtieth) must be by three; but after the day is over, no consecration is needed. And it is in accordance with R. Elazar b. Zadok, who said (Rosh Hashana.): If the moon was not seen at the usual time, no consecration is needed, as it was already consecrated by heaven. R. Na'hman says: The consecration after the thirtieth day must be by three; but at the thirtieth no consecration takes place at all.

And it is in accordance with Plimi, who says in the following Boraitha: When the moon is seen at her usual time, no consecration is needed; but if not at the usual time, then it must be consecrated. R. Ashi, however, maintains: It is to be understood, the consideration if the month should be intercalary, and the expression "to intercalary" means the consideration of it. And because it needs to teach to proclaim a leap year, it says also intercalary. Hence only to the consideration, but not to the consecration, which is in accordance with R. Eliezer, who said: A month must not be consecrated at any time, as it is written [Lev. 25:10]: "Ye shall hallow the fiftieth year," from which we infer that a year may be consecrated, but not months.

"Rabban Simeon Gamaliel," etc. There is a Boraitha: How was it said by R. Simeon b. Gamaliel that it began with three, was discussed by five, and concluded by seven? Thus: If one of the three says it must be considered, and the other two say it is not needed, then the individual's opinion is abandoned. If, however, vice versa, two more must be added to discuss the matter; and then, if two say it needs, and three say no, the majority is considered. And if vice versa, then two more must be added, and the decision is according to the majority.

The numbers three, five, and seven, to what have they a similarity? R. Itz'hak b. Na'hmani and one of his colleagues, who was R. Simeon b. Pazi, and according to others just the reverse, differ. One said that the three were taken from the three verses specifying the blessings of the priests (Num. 6:24, 25, 26). And the other said: Three from the "three doorkeepers" mentioned in 2 Kings, 25:18; and five, from [ibid. 19]: "The five men of those that could come into the king's presence"; and the seven from "the seven princes of Persia and Media" [Esther, 1:14].

R. Joseph taught the same as the latter, and Abayi questioned him: Why did not the master explain this to us before now? To which he answered: I was not aware that you needed the explanation. Has it happened that you questioned me, and I would not answer?

The rabbis taught: A year must not be intercalated with one month, except by them who are invited for it by the Nashi. It happened with Rabban Gamaliel, who commanded that seven persons should be invited for the morrow in his attic, for the purpose of the intercalation of the year, that on the morrow, when he came, he found eight persons, and said: He who was not invited shall leave. Samuel the Little then arose and said: I am the one who was not invited. I came here, not to take part in the intercalation, but to get experience in the practice of this ceremony. To which the former answered: Sit down, my son; sit down. All the years which have to be intercalated might be done by you. But so was the decision of the sages, that such must be done only by the persons who were invited. (Says the Gemara:) In reality, it was not Samuel the Little, but some other, and he did so only not to bring shame upon his colleague. It happened that as Rabbi was lecturing he perceived the odor of garlic, and he said: He who has eaten garlic shall leave. R. Hyya then rose and left the place; and every one, seeing R. Hyya go out, did the same. On the morrow R. Simeon, the son of Rabbi, met R. Hyya, and questioned him: Was it you who disturbed my father yesterday? And he answered: Save God! Such a thing would not be done in Israel by myself. And from whom did R. Hyya learn this? From R. Meir, as is stated in the following Boraitha: It happened with a woman who came to the college of R. Meir, saying: One of you has betrothed me, but I do not know who it was. Then R. Meir arose and wrote her a divorce, and handed it to her; and after him, all the people in the college did likewise. And from whom did R. Meir learn this? From Samuel the Little; and Samuel the Little from Shechanyah b. Yechiel, who said to Ezra [Ezra, x. 2]: "We have indeed trespassed against our God, and have brought home strange wives of the nations of the land; yet now there is hope in Israel concerning this thing." And he, Shechanyah, learned this from Jehoshua b. Nun, of whom it is said [Josh. 7:10]: "Get thee up; wherefore liest thou upon thy face? Israel hath sinned," etc.

The rabbis taught: Since the death of the last prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, the Holy Spirit has left Israel; nevertheless they were still used to a heavenly voice. It happened once that they had a meeting in the attic of the house of Guriah, in the city of Jericho, and a heavenly voice was heard: Among these people there is one who is worthy that the Shekinah should rest upon him; but his generation is not fit. And the sages turned their eyes on Hillel the Elder. And when he departed, they lamented him. "Woe, pious! Woe, modesty! O thou disciple of Ezra." The same happened again when they had a meeting in an attic in the city of Yamnia, and the heavenly voice said: Among these people is one worthy that the Shekinah should rest upon him, but his generation is not fit. And the rabbis turned their eyes on Samuel the Little. When he departed, he also was lamented: "Woe, pious! Woe, modesty! O thou disciple of Hillel!"

The rabbis taught: A year must not be intercalated without the Prince's consent. It happened once that Rabban Gamaliel went to one ruler in Syria, and remained there longer than was expected; and the sages had intercalated the year on the condition that Rabban Gamaliel should agree; and then, when he came, he said, "I agree," and the year was intercalated without any other ceremony.

The rabbis taught: A leap year should not be made unless necessary, because of the spoiled roads, bridges requiring to be repaired, and because of the ovens where the paschal lambs were to be roasted, and they were not yet dry; and for them who reside in exile, and had left their places for Jerusalem to offer the paschal lamb, but could not reach in such a short time; but not if there was still snow or cold, and also not for them who resided in exile and had not as yet left their places for Jerusalem.

The rabbis taught: A leap year should not be made because of the kids, lambs, and pigeons which are too young. But this may be taken as a support. How so? Said R. Janai in the name of R. Simeon b. Gamaliel: We inform you that the pigeons are still soft, and the lambs still thin, and the time of spring has not yet arrived; and it has pleased me to add to this year thirty days. An objection was raised from the following Boraitha: How much is to be added to a leap year? Thirty days. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said: One month of twenty-nine days. Said R. Papa: If they wish, they can make it with thirty days; and if they wish, with one month of twenty-nine days. Come and see the difference between the old, mighty generation and that of the new, modest one. There is a Boraitha: It happened with Rabban Gamaliel, who used to sit on a step in the court of the Temple, that Johanan his scribe was standing before him, and three pieces of parchment were lying before him. And he told him: Take one parchment, and write to our brethren in Upper Galilee and to our brethren in Lower Galilee: May your peace be increased! We inform you that the time has come to separate tithe of the mounds of olives. And take another piece of parchment, and write to our Southern brethren: May your peace be increased! We inform you that the time has come to separate tithe of the garden sheaves. And take the third one, and write to our brethren in exile in Babylon, and to our brethren in Media, and to all other Israelites who are scattered in exile: May your peace be increased everlastingly! We inform you that the pigeons are soft, and lambs thin, and the time of spring has not yet come, and it pleases me and my colleagues to add to this year thirty days. (Hence Gamaliel wrote: "pleased me and my colleagues"; and Simeon his son did not mention his colleagues.) (Says the Gemara:) Perhaps this happened after R. Gamaliel was discharged and reappointed, as then he became more modest.

The rabbis taught: For the following three things a leap year is made: because of the late arrival of spring; of the unripeness of tree-products; and for the late arrival of Thkhupha (the equinox). 1 When two of the three things occur, the year is made intercalary; but not if one of them. And when one of the reasons is spring, all rejoiced. And R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said: When Thkhupha (the equinox) was the reason. And the schoolmen questioned: How is he to be understood? Does he mean that they rejoiced when the Thkhupha (the equinox) was one of the reasons, or does he mean to say that if it was the reason it suffices to make the year intercalate even without other reasons? The question remains undecided.

The rabbis taught: For the following three lands the leap year was made: Judea, Galilee, and the other side of the Jordan. For two of them, but not for one. If it happened that Judea was one of them, all rejoiced, because the offer of the omer (as the first of the harvest) was brought only from the land of Judea.

The rabbis taught: The year is to be made intercalary only in the land of Judea; but if it was made already in Galilee, their act is valid. However, Hananiah, the man of Anni, has testified that if the leap year was made in Galilee it was not considered. And R. Jehudah b. R. Simeon b. Pazi said: The reason of Hananiah is [Deut. 12:5]: "Even unto his habitation shall ye refrain," which means, all your repairing should be only in the habitation of the Omnipotent.

The rabbis taught: A leap year is to be made only during the day-time, and if it was done in the night it is not intercalate. And the same is the case with the consecration of the month; it holds good in the day-time, and not in the night.

The rabbis taught: A leap year must not be made in the years of famine. And there is a Boraitha: R. Meir used to say: It is written [2 Kings, 4:42]: "And there came a man from Ba'al-shalishah, and brought unto the man of God bread of the firstfruits, twenty loaves of barley-bread," etc. And we know by tradition that the city of Ba'al-shalishah was the most fruitful city in the whole land of Israel, in which the fruit became ripe previous to all other cities; and nevertheless at that time it was not ripe, but only one kind of grain; and not wheat, but barley, as so it reads. And lest one say it was before the time the omer was to be brought, therefore it is written at the end of this verse: "Give it unto the people, that they may eat." Hence, under such circumstances, that year ought to have been intercalary. And why was it not made so by Elisha? Because it was a year of famine, and every one went to the barns in order to get something to eat, and therefore it was not intercalated.

The rabbis taught: The year must not be intercalary before Rosh Hashana (i.e., no meeting must be appointed to discuss upon the necessity of an additional month in the next year). Even if it were so done, it is not to be taken into consideration. However, if circumstances compelled them to do so, they may do it immediately after Rosh Hashana; but the additional month must be no other one than Adar. Is that so? Was not a message sent to Rabha: A couple came from the city of Lecarte, and caught an eagle, and in their hands were found things which were made in the city of Luz (e.g., Thkhalth, for Tshitzith). And by the kindness of the Merciful One, and because of their unripeness, they were redeemed, and left in peace. And the descendants of Na'hshun desired to establish one nazib (ruler) more, but the Aramaic had prevented them. However, the prominent men of the cities held a meeting, and added one ruler (nazib) in that month in which Aaron (the high-priest) died. (Hence we see that a meeting about a leap year was appointed in the month of Ab, as Aaron died in that month?) 1

The discussion, and even the establishment, may be done even before Rosh Hashana; but it must be kept secret until the day of New Year is past. But whence do we know that with the above-mentioned word "nazib" they meant "a month"? From [1 Kings, 4:7]: "And Solomon had twelve superintendents (nazibun) . . . for the king's household, one month in the year"; but ibid. 19 reads: "Besides the one superintendent (nazib) who was in the land?"

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R. Jehudah and R. Na'hman--one said: One manager over all the superintendents. And the other maintains that this nazib was for the intercalary month.

The rabbis taught: A leap year must not be made in one year, for the next; and also three successive years must not be intercalary. R. Simeon, however, said: It happened with R. Aqiba, that he established three leap years, one after the other, while he was in prison. And he was answered: This is no evidence, as the court had established each leap year in its proper time.

The rabbis taught: A leap year must not be appointed, neither in the Sabbatic year nor in the following year. But when were they used to be established? On the eve of the Sabbatic year. The house of Rabban Gamaliel, however, used to appoint it for the year following the Sabbatic.

The rabbis taught: No appointment of a leap year must be because of defilement. R. Jehudah, however, maintains it may, and adds: It happened with King Hezekiah, who had established such because of defilement, and thereafter he prayed for forgiveness. As it is written [2 Chron. 30:18]: "For a large portion of the people, even many out of Ephraim and Manasseh, Issachar, and Zebulun had not cleansed themselves, but ate the Passover not as it is written. However, Hezekiah prayed for them, saying: "The Lord, who is good, will grant pardon for this."

R. Simeon said: If they had established it because of defilement, it is intercalary; and Hezekiah prayed for forgiveness because the law dictates that only the month of Adar shall be intercalary. He, however, intercalated the month Nissin. R. Simeon b. Jehudah, however, said in the name of R. Simeon: He prayed for forgiveness because he seduced Israel to establish a second passover.

The master said: He intercalated the month of Nissin. Did he not hold the tradition [Ex. 12:2]: "This month shall be unto you the chief of months," which means Nissin; and it is written, this is Nissin, but no other month shall be named Nissin? He erred in that which is said in the name of Samuel: In the thirtieth day of Adar no intercalary month must be appointed, because this day was fit that it should be the first of Nissin. And he, Hezekiah, did not hold this theory. There is also a Boraitha which states: In the thirtieth day of Adar no month must be intercalated because it is fit to be the first of Nissin.

But how is it if, notwithstanding this, it was established on that day? Said Ula: Then the month must not be consecrated on that day. But how is it if it was consecrated also? According to Rabha, the consecration abolishes the intercalary; and according to R. Na'hman, both hold good--the intercalary and the consecration. Said Rabba to R. Na'hman: Let us see! From Purim to Passover are thirty days; and on Purim we begin to lecture about the law of Passover. Now, if they should appoint another Adar on the thirtieth day after the lectures of Passover were already heard, people would not believe then that another month was appointed, and so they would use leavened bread on Passover. And he answered: Why, they would believe, as they know the establishment of a leap year depends on counting; and they would say that it was not as yet clear to the rabbis--the reckoning of this year--until the thirtieth day of Adar arrived.

R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said: A leap Year must not be established unless the Thkhupha was less with a greater part of the month, which are sixteen days. So is the decree of R. Jehudah. R. Jose, however, said: Twenty-one days. And both took their reference from [Ex. 34:22]: And the feast of ingathering at the closing (Thkhuphat--equinox) of the year. One holds that the whole feast should be in the new Thkhuphat; and the other holds that it is sufficient if a few days of the feast should occur in the new Thkhuphat. How is this to be understood? If they hold that the day in which the Thkhupha occurs is counted to the past Thkhuphat, why, then, is it necessary for R. Jehudah that the Thkhuphat shall be less with sixteen, and to R. Jose with twenty-one days? Even if it would be less with fifteen days, according to R, Jehudah, and twenty days, according to R. Jose, the whole festival will not be on the new Thkhuphat according to R. Jehudah, as the fifteenth day of Nissin, which is the first day of the feast, and in which the Thkhuphat occurs, is counted to the past Thkhuphat; and also according to R. Jose, if the Thkhuphat occurs on the twenty-first day, which is counted to the past, not one of the festival days would occur on the new Thkhuphat, as the festival begins on the fifteenth, and the seventh ends with the twenty-first. Therefore it must be said, of the day in which the Thkhuphat occurs, both R. Jehudah and R. Jose count it as the beginning of the new Thkhuphat. 1

"Laying the hand of the elders upon sacrifices." The rabbis taught: It is written [Lev. 4:15]: "And the elders of the congregation shall lay their hands," etc. (The expression in Hebrew is, Vsomkhu Ziqnye Hoedha"--literally, "and they shall lay," the elders," "of the congregation.") From the expression Hoedha, which means the congregation, instead of elders of the congregation, it is deduced that it means the prominent of the congregation, and from the plurality of Vsomkhu ("and they shall lay," which means no less than two) and the plurality of the elders who are also two, it is deduced four persons; and as the number of the court must not be even, one is added--hence it makes five. So is the decree of R. Jehudah. R. Simeon, however, maintains: There is only one plurality in the elders, who are two, and one is added for the purpose mentioned above, making three only. And there is a Boraitha: To laying the hand upon the elders, and laying the hands of the elders upon the sacrifices, three are needed. What does this mean? Said R. Johanan: Laying the hand upon the elders means, to give one the degree of Rabbi: Said Abayi to R. Jose: Whence do we deduce this? From [Num. 27:23]: "And he laid his hand upon him," etc. Then let one be sufficient, as Moses was only one person; and lest one say that Moses took the place of the Large Sanhedrin, who were seventy-one, then say that to confer a degree seventy-one are needed? This difficulty remains.

Said R. Aha b. Rabha to R. Ashi: Do we lay the hands upon the man to whom we want to give such a degree? And he answered: We support him with that, that we name him Rabbi and give him the permission to judge about fines upon them who deserve it.

Is it indeed so--that one man cannot bestow a degree? Did not R. Jehudah in the name of Rab say: Behold, the memory of that person shall remain blessed forever--I mean, R. Jehudah b. Baba, as, if not ben Baba, the law of fines would be forgotten from Israel. It happened once that the government passed an evil decree upon Israel, that he who bestowed a degree should be put to death, and the same should be done with him who received the degree. The city where the degree was conferred should be destroyed, and even the boundaries which were used while giving the degree should be torn out. Jehudah b. Baba then went and sat between two great mountains, and between two large cities--between the two suburban limits of the cities of Usha and Sprehen--and conferred the degree of Rabbi on five elders; and they were: R. Meir, R. Jehudah, R. Simeon, R. Jose, and R. Elazar b. Shamuas. According to R. Ivia, there was a sixth: R. Nehomai. When the enemy got wind of it, Jehudah said to them: My children, run away. And to their question: Rabbi, what will become of you? he answered: I shall remain before them as a stone which cannot be moved. It was said that three hundred iron spears were put by the enemy into his body, making it as a sieve. (Hence we see that even one person only is authorized to give a degree?) There were some other persons with him, but they were not mentioned because of the honour of Jehudah b. Baba. Was indeed Meir elevated by Jehuda? Did not Rabha b. Hanah say in the name of Johanan that R. Aqiba gave the degree to R. Meir? Yea, R. Aqiba did so, but it was not accepted; and from R. Jehudah b. Baba he accepted.

R. Jehoshua b. Levi said: The custom of giving degrees must not be used out of Palestine. What does he mean? Shall we assume that loss of fines should not be judged at all out of Palestine? This is not so, as there is a Mishna: Sanhedrins are to be established in Palestine as well as in other places out of Palestine. He means that one must receive his degree in Palestine only.

It is certain that a degree of Rabbi is not considered when the bestower is out of and the receiver is in Palestine. But how is it if the bestower is in Palestine and the receiver is out? Come and hear: R. Johanan was troubled for R. Shaman b. Aba, who was not present and could not receive the degree R. Johanan wished to honour him with. R. Simeon b. Zerud and his colleague Jonathan b. Ekhmai, according to others vice versa--one of them who was present they supported with a degree, and the one who was not did not receive such.

R. Hanina and R. Hoseah were two about whom R. Johanan troubled himself very much, to honour them with the degrees they deserved, but was always prevented, whereat he was very sorry. Said they to him: Let master not worry, as we are descendants of the house of Eli. And R. Samuel b. Na'hman in the name of R. Jonathan said: Whence is it deduced that the descendants of Eli are prevented by Heaven from receiving degrees? From [1 Sam. 2:32]: "And there shall not be an elder in thy house in all times"--which cannot be meant literally--"an old man," as it is written [ibid. 33]: "And all the increase of thy house shall die as (vigorous) men." Hence it means a degree of an elder (scholar).

R. Zera used to hide himself so as not to be honoured with a degree, because of R. Elazar's statement: Be always misty, in order to have a better existence. Thereafter, when he heard another statement of the same authority, "One is not raised to a great authority unless all his sins are forgiven by Heaven," then he went to receive a degree. When he was graduated as a rabbi, his followers sang for him thus: "There is no dyeing, no polishing, no painting, and nevertheless it is handsome and full of grace." When Ami and Assi were graduated as rabbis, likewise people sang of them thus: "Of such men--of such people--appoint rabbis for us, but not from the sermonisers"; and according to others, "not steel-hearted and impudent men"

R. Abuhu, when he came from college in the court of the Zaiser, the matrons of Zaiser's house used to sing for him: "Great man of his people! ruler of his nation! candle of light! may thy coming be welcomed in peace."

"Case of the heifer." The rabbis taught [Deut. 21:2]: Then shall thy elders and thy judges go forth," etc. Elders, two, and judges, two, are four, etc. (will be translated in Tract Souta, as the proper place).

"Plants of the fourth year and second tithe," etc. The rabbis taught: What is to be considered second tithe of which the value is not known? Rotten fruit, sour wine, and rusty coins. They also taught: Such second tithe must be redeemed by the appraisement of three buyers who all know the price of such stock; but not by three laymen who do not know the exact price. Among the buyers maybe a Gentile, and also the owner of the stock. And R. Jeremiah questioned: How is it if the three were partners? Come and hear: One and his two wives may redeem the second tithe of which the value is not known. Hence it is allowed. This is no support, as this Boraitha may speak of such as were apart in business. E.g., R. Papa and his wife, the daughter of Aba of Sura (who used to do business for herself).

"Consecrated articles," etc. Our Mishna is not in accordance with R. Eliezer b. Jacob of the following Boraitha, who said: Even for a small fork of the sanctuary, ten persons are needed to appraise the value for redeeming. Said R. Papa to Abayi: R. Eliezer is correct that it needs ten, as he may hold with the statement of Samuel, who said: Priests are ten times mentioned in the portion which speaks of consecrated things. But whence did the rabbis take three? This difficulty remains.

"Arakhin . . . movable properly." What are they? R. Giddle in the name of Rabh said: If one vows, the value of this utensil is to be consecrated, then it must be appraised for its value, and he must pay. R. Hisda, however, said in the name of Abayi: It means, if one vows his own value, and appoints movable property for the collection. R. Abuhu said: If one vows his own value for the treasurer of the priests, when he came to collect, if he collects from movable property, three suffice to appraise it; but if from real estate, ten are needed. Said R. Aha of Diphthi to Rabhina: It is correct that three are needed to appraise articles which are to be redeemed from the sanctuary; but why are three needed for bringing into the sanctuary? And he answered: It is common sense. What is the difference between bringing in and taking out? The reason of appraisement is because an error can occur by which the sanctuary would suffer; and this can take place in both taking out and bringing in.

"A priest," etc. Said R. Papa to Abayi: It is correct that R. Jehudah requires that one of them should be a Cohen, as in that portion a Cohen is mentioned; but what is the reason of the rabbis, who do not require him--and for what purpose is a Cohen mentioned, according to them? This difficulty remains.

"By ten, and one of them a priest," etc. Whence is all this deduced? Said Samuel: In this portion the word Cohenim is mentioned ten times, and only one of them is needed for itself; and all the others are considered as an exclusion after an exclusion, as to which there is a rule that such comes to add something. And therefore we add nine Israelites to one Cohen. R. Huna b. R. Nathan opposed, saying: Why not say: Add five Israelites to five Cohenim? This difficulty also remains.

"The value of men," etc. But does, then, a man become consecrated? Said R. Abuhu: If one vows, the money he is worth (not according to age, which is prescribed biblically) must be appraised as if he were a slave sold on the market; and a slave is equal to real estate. Therefore it needs ten: R. Abim questioned: How is it if one vows the value of his hair, and it should be cut off? Shall we say that things which ought to be cut off are considered as already cut, and movable, and the appraisement needs three only; or, so long as it is attached to the body, it is considered as the body itself, and ten are needed? Come and hear: If one consecrated his slave, no transgression is committed by using him for work. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said: If one uses his hair, it is a transgression: And we are aware that he speaks when the hair in question is still attached to the body and is ready to be cut off. Hence there is a difference of opinion among the Tanaim.

"The stoning of an ox . . . and the owner put to death." Said Abayi to Rabha: Whence do we know this verse means to equal the judgement of the ox to that of its owner? Perhaps it is meant literally--that its owner also shall be put to death? Said Hezekiah, and so also was it taught by his school: It is written [Num. 35:21]: "He who smites him shall be put to death, for he is a murderer." From which we infer that only when he himself smote is he to be put to death: but he is not to be killed for the death by his ox.

"The wolf, the lion," etc. Said Resh Lakish: This is in case they have killed some one; but if not, it is not a meritorious act to kill them. [Hence we see that he holds that these beasts can be considered the property of one who domesticates them.] R. Johanan, however, maintains: In any case, it is a meritorious act to kill them. [Hence he holds that they cannot be domesticated, and are considered ownerless.]

There is an objection from our Mishna: R. Eliezer says: Every one who hastens to kill them is rewarded--which is correct according to R. Johanan, who may explain the word "rewarded"--with the skin of the animal; but according to Resh Lakish, who said, only when they have killed, there is a rule that when so it was, the rabbis considered them as if they

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were already sentenced to death by the court, and in such a case it is prohibited to derive any benefit from them. What, then, means Eliezer by the expression "he is rewarded"? It means that he will be rewarded by Heaven. There is a Boraitha in accordance with Resh Lakish, as follows: An ox, as well as other animals or wild beasts which kill, must be judged by twenty-three. R. Eliezer, however, maintains: An ox which has killed, by twenty-three; but as to all wild beasts, he who hastens to kill them will be rewarded by Heaven.

"R. Aqiba says," etc. Is it not the same as the first Tana? They differ in the case of a serpent.

"A whole tribe," etc. Let us see what sin a whole tribe may commit. Shall we assume that it has violated the Sabbath? We know that there is a difference between an individual and a majority only in the case of idolatry; but in the other commandments there is no difference, according to the Scripture. And if it means that the whole tribe was accused of idolatry, and they should be judged as a majority, then our Mishna is neither in accordance with R. Jashiah nor with R. Jonathan of the following Boraitha: How many people must be in the city which shall be misled? From ten to one hundred. So is the decree of R. Jashiah. R. Jonathan, however, maintains: From one hundred up to the majority of the tribe. Now we see that even Jonathan says the majority, but not the whole tribe. Said R. Mathna: It means the Prince of the tribe only. As R. Ada b Ahaba explains [Ex. 18:22]: "Every great matter" means: the matter of a great man; so also here, by the whole tribe is meant the head of it. Rabhina, however, said: The Mishna speaks of a case in which the whole tribe was accused of idolatry, your difficulty being, do we then judge them as a majority? We may say, Yea! although their punishment is similar to that of an individual who is to be stoned. And this is in accordance with R. Hama b. Jose, who said in the name of R. Oseah: It is written [Deut. 17:5]: "Then shalt thou bring forth that man or that woman who has committed this wicked thing, unto thy gates"--which means only an individual, but not the whole city, to thy gates. The same is the case with a whole tribe; only an individual can be brought to the gates to be stoned, but not the whole tribe. (Hence they are judged by seventy-one, as a majority.)

"False prophet," etc. Whence is this deduced? Said R. Jose b. Hanina: From an analogy of expression--"presume"--which is to be found in the case of a false prophet [Deut. xviii. 20] and in the case of a rebelling elder [ibid. 17:2]. As in the latter case seventy-two are needed, so also in the former. But is not the expression "presumptuously" used in the cited verse concerning death, of which. the verse reads; and death is judged by seventy-three only? Therefore said Resh Lakish: The analogy is in the expression "Dobhor," which is mentioned in both the verses cited.

"High-priest," etc. Whence is this deduced? Said Ada b. Ahaba: From the above-cited Ex. xviii. 22, which is explained as the matter of a great man.

"To decide upon battles," etc. Whence is this deduced? Said R. Abuhu: From [Num. 27:21]: "And before Elazar the priest shall he stand . . . he and all the children of Israel with him, and all the congregation." "He" means the king. "All Israel with him means the priest who was anointed to be the leader of the war. And all the congregation" means the Sanhedrin. But perhaps the cited verse means that only for the just-mentioned persons the Urim is allowed to be used; but not for common men. And the question, Wherefrom is it taken that seventy-one are needed to decide about battles? remains. Therefore it must be said, as R. Aha b. Bizna in the name of R. Simeon the Pious said: A harp was placed over the bed of David, and when midnight arrived a north wind used to blow in it, so that the harp would play by itself and awake David, who used to get up and occupy himself with the Torah until the morning star arose. And thereafter the sages of Israel used to enter to him, saying: Lord our king, thy nation Israel needs food. And to his answer: Go, then, and make business among yourselves, they answered him: A handful of food can never satisfy a lion, and a pit can never be filled with the earth taken out from it. Whereupon David decided: They shall go to a battle. Then they consulted Achithophel, took also advice from the Sanhedrin, and asked the Urim, etc.

R. Joseph said: Whence do we know from the Scripture that such was the custom? From [1 Chron. 27:34]: "And after Achithophel (came) Yehoyada, the son of Benayahu, and Ebyathar; and the captain of the king's army was Joab. Achithophel was the counsellor, as it reads [II Sam. 16:23]: "And the counsel of Achithophel, which he counselled in those days." Yehoyada means the Sanhedrin, as it is written of his father Benayahu [1 Chron. 18:17]: "And Benayahu, the son of Yehoyada, was over the Kerethites and the Pelethites," which means the Sanhedrin, to whom Yehoyada his son was the head after Benayahu. And why was the Sanhedrin named Kerethites and Pelethites? Because the literal meaning of the two terms in Hebrew is "cutting" and "wonder"; and the Sanhedrin, with their decisions, used to cut off and do wonderful things. "And Ebyathar" means the Urim Vethumim; and then comes "the captain of the king's army, Joab," which means war. And R. Itz'hak b. Ada, and according to others B. Abudimi, said that [Ps. 57:9] "Awake, psaltery and harp, I will wake up the morning dawn," is a support to R. Aha b. Bizna's statement.

"For enlarging, the city," etc. Whence is this deduced? Said R. Shimi b. Hyya: From [Ex. xxv. 9]: "In accordance with all that I show thee, the pattern of the tabernacle, and the pattern of all instruments thereof, even so shall ye make it"--which means, so shall ye do in the later generations. Rabha objected from the following: "All the utensils which were made by Moses, the anointment sanctified them; however, the utensils which were made after him, the using of them for service consecrated them." And why? Apply, "So shall ye do," etc., to the utensils also; they shall need anointment in the later generations also? With this it is different, as [Num. vii. i]: "And had anointed them, and sanctified them," means them with anointment, but not those which should be made in a later generation. But how is it inferred from the passage that for the utensils made in the later generations anointing is prohibited? Said R. Papa: It is written [ibid. 4:12]: "Wherewith they minister in the sanctuary." We see, then, that the passage makes them sanctified by ministering with them.

"Appointing supreme councils," etc, This is taken from Moses, who had established the first Sanhedrin; and the person of Moses is equalised to seventy-one of them.

The rabbis taught: Whence do we know it is a duty to appoint judges? From [Deut. 16:18]: "Judges and officers," etc. But whence do we know that it is a duty to appoint them to each tribe? From [ibid., ibid.]: "Throughout thy tribes." (From this verse is deduced that judges as well as officers are to be appointed to each tribe.) R. Jehudah maintains: It was also necessary to appoint one who should rule over all the judges; as this verse reads, "Shalt thou appoint," which means that the Great Sanhedrin, who ruled all the judges in the lower houses, should be appointed by them. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said: It reads: "Throughout thy tribes, and they shall judge," which means, it is a meritorious act to appoint judges to a tribe from its own people.

"To condemn a misled town," etc. Whence is this deduced? From [ibid. 17:5]. "Then shalt thou bring forth that man," etc. An individual you may bring to thy gates, but not the whole city, as said above by R. Hama b. Joseph (here mentioned Hyya, instead of Hama).

"Town on the boundary," etc. Why so? Because it reads, "From thy midst," but not from a boundary.

"Nor three of them," etc. Because it is written [ibid. 13:13]: "One of thy cities." But why two? Because of the word "cities."

The rabbis taught: One, but not three. But perhaps one, and not two? Because it reads cities, two are meant. Hence with the term one, one, not three, is meant. Rabh used to say at one time that for one court it is not allowed to make three, but for two or three courts it is allowed; and at another time he said that it is not allowed to do so, even in several courts? And the reason is, that Israel must not be made bald-headed. Said Resh Lakish: This is said only in one country; but in several countries, it may. R. Johanan, however, is of the opinion that even then it must not, for the reason that the land should not be bald-headed. There is a Boraitha in accordance with R. Johanan. Three misled cities must not be made in the land of Israel; two, however, may--e.g., one in Judea and one in Galilee; but not two in Judea, nor two in Galilee. And if it were near to the boundary, even one must not be proclaimed misled; for, should it come to the ears of the heathens, they might destroy the whole land of Israel. But why not deduce it from the passage which states "from thy midst," and not from the boundary? This is in accordance with R. Simeon, who used to explain the reasons of what is stated in the Scriptures.

"The Great Sanhedrin," etc. What is the reason of the rabbis, who said that Moses was as head of them? Because it reads [Num. xi. 16]: "And they shall stand there with thee," which means, and thou shalt remain with them. R. Jehudah, who says seventy only, maintains: It was necessary for Moses to remain with them, that the Shekinah should rest upon them.

The rabbis taught: It is written [ibid. xi. 26]: "And there remained two men in the camp." According to some, it means that their names remained in the urn. As, at the time the Holy One, blessed be He, said to Moses: Gather unto me seventy men of the elders of Israel, he thought: How shall I do it? Shall I appoint six of each tribe? Then there will be two more. Or shall I take five of each? Then there will be ten less. Or shall I appoint from two tribes five only, while from the others six each? Then will I bring jealousy among the tribes. So he chose six from each, and wrote on seventy tickets "Zaqan" (elder), and two he left blank; then mixed, and put all of them into the urn. Then he said: Go, each, and take your ticket. To those who drew "elder," he said: You are already sanctified by Heaven. But those who drew the blanks had no claim, as such was their lot.

Similar was the case from [ibid. 3:47]: "Thou shalt take five shekels apiece for the poll." And to this Moses also said: How shall I do it? If I should say to one, "Give the shekels," he may answer, "The Levite has already redeemed me." Therefore he wrote on twenty-two thousand tickets "Levite"; and on two hundred and seventy-three he wrote "five shekels," mixed them, put them in the urn, and told the people: Each shall draw his ticket. To the one who drew "Levite" he said: You are free, as the Levite has redeemed you. And he who drew five shekels was told to pay the amount and go.

R. Simeon, however, said: Not their names remained in the urn, but themselves remained in the camp in doubt, saying: We are not worthy of such a high appointment. And the Holy One, blessed be He, said: Because ye were modest, I will increase your grace. And what grace was increased to them? All the seventy had prophesied once, and ceased; but these two did not cease to prophesy. And what was their prophecy? They said: Moses shall die, and Joshua shall bring Israel to his land. Aba Hanin, however, said in the name of R. Elazar: They prophesied about the quail, saying, "Come up, quail. Come up, quail." And R. Na'hman said:, About Gog and Magog they prophesied, as it is written [Ezek. 38:17]: "Then hath said the Lord Eternal: Art thou (not) he of whom I have spoken in ancient days through means of my servants the prophets of Israel, who prophesied in those days (Shanim) years, that I would bring thee against them?" Do not read Shanim, but Shnaim, which means two. And who were the two who had prophesied at one period, with one and the same prophecy? Eldad and Medad.

It is correct in respect to him who said above that their prophecy was, "Moses shall die," what is written [Num. 11:28]: "My lord Moses, forbid them." But in respect to them who said they prophesied about other things, why, then, should they be forbidden? Because it was not seemly for them thus to prophesy in the presence of Moses. What is meant by the words, "forbid them"? He meant to say: Appoint them, they shall occupy themselves with the needs of the congregation, and they will be destroyed by themselves.

Whence do we know that three more are needed, as, after all, sentence of guilt by a majority of two cannot take place; as, if eleven defend and twelve accuse, then there is only a majority of one; and if ten defend and thirteen accuse, there is a majority of three? Said R. Abuhu: Such a case can be only when there is a necessity to add more judges according to all. (I.e., in case eleven accuse and the same number defend, and one of them says: I am in doubt. And in such a case all agree that judges must be added, as the one who is in doubt cannot be counted; and then two more are to be added. And if the two who were added also accuse, there is a majority of two.) And such also can be found in the Great Sanhedrin, in accordance with R. Jehudah, who said: There was an even number of seventy. R. Abuhu says again: In case more judges are to be added, an even number may be made in the Small Sanhedrin also. Is this not self-evident? Lest one say that the one who says he is in doubt is counted, and if thereafter he gives a reason for his decision after deliberating he may be listened to, he comes to teach us that as from the time he is in doubt he is not to be counted at all, so after the deliberation he may not be listened to.

R. Kahana said: If all the persons of the Sanhedrin are accusing, the defendant becomes free. Why so? Because there is a tradition that such a trial must be postponed for one night. as perhaps some defence may be found for him; but if all accuse him, it is not to be supposed that some will find any defence for him over night, and therefore they are no longer competent to decide in his suit.

R. Johanan said: The persons who are chosen to be members of the Sanhedrin must be tall, men of wisdom, of good appearance, and of a considerable age; and, also, they should understand something in cases of witchcraft; and they must also know seventy languages, so that they shall not need to hear a case through an interpreter. R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh said: In a city in which there are not to be found two persons who can speak seventy languages, and one who can understand them although he cannot speak, Sanhedrin must not be established. In the city of Bethar were three; and in the city of Yamiam were four, namely: R. Eliezer, R. Jehoshua, R. Aqiba, and Simeon of Tehmon their disciple, who was not of age to become a rabbi.

An objection was raised from the following: A Sanhedrin in which three of them could speak seventy languages was considered a wise one; and if four, it was considered the highest one. We see, then, that three who could speak were needed? Rabh holds with the Tana of the following Boraitha: If two, it is a wise one; and if three, it is the highest one.

There is a rule that, where there is to be found throughout the Talmud the expression "the man who learned in the presence of the sages," Levi before Rabbi is meant; and where the expression, "discussed before the sages," Simeon b. Azi, Simeon b. Zoma, Hanan the Egyptian, and Hayanya b. Hkhinai are meant. R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak taught five persons--the four mentioned above, and the fifth was Simeon of Tehmon. Where it is mentioned, "our Masters in Babylon," Rabh and Samuel are meant; "our Masters in Palestine," R. Abbi is meant; "the judges of the Exile," Karna is meant; "the judges of Palestine," R. Ami and R. Assi; "the judges of Pumbeditha," R. Papa b. Samuel; "the judges of Nahardea," R. Ada b. Minumi; "the elders of Sura," R. Huna and R. Hisda; "the elders of Pumbeditha," R. Jehudah and R. Eina;

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"the geniuses of Pumbeditha," Eiphah and Abimi sons of Rabha; "the Amoraim of Pumbeditha," Rabba and R. Joseph; "the Amoraim of Nahardea," R. Hama. If it is said "the Nhardlaien taught," Rami b. Berokha is meant. But was it not said by Huna himself: "It was said in the college"? Therefore it must be said that "Hamnuna" is meant. "It was said in Palestine," R. Jeremiah is meant; "a message was sent from Palestine," R. Jose b. Hanina is meant. And where it is said, "it was ridiculed in Palestine," R. Elazar is meant. But do we not find a message was sent from Palestine: According to R. Jose b. Hanina it is so and so? Hence R. Jose b. Hanina cannot be meant in the expression, "there is a message from Palestine"? Therefore it must be reversed. Where it is said, "a message from Palestine," R. Elazar is meant; and "it was ridiculed in Palestine," R. Jose b. Hanina is meant.

"How many shall a city . . . one hundred and twenty," etc. What is the reason of that number? Twenty-three of the Small Sanhedrin, and three rows of twenty-three each (hearers), make ninety-two; and ten idle men, who must always be in the houses of prayer and learning, make one hundred and two; and two scribes, two sextons, two parties for defendant and plaintiff, two witnesses, and two men who may be able to prove the witnesses collusive, and still two more who could prove the last ones collusive--hence in the total there are one hundred and fourteen. There is a Boraitha that in a city in which the following ten things do not exist, it is not advisable for a scholar to reside, and they are: Five persons to execute what the court decides; a treasury of charity (which is collected by two and distributed by three); a prayer-house, a bath-house, lavatories, a physician, a barber, a scribe, and a teacher for children. And according to others it was said in the name of R. Aqiba: In the city should be several kinds of fruit, as the consuming of fruit enlightens the eyes.

"R. Nehemiah," etc. There is a Boraitha: Rabbi said: Two hundred and seventy-seven. And there is another: Rabbi said: Two-hundred and seventy-eight. And there is no contradiction, as one Boraitha is in accordance with R. Jehudah, who needs only seventy for the Great Sanhedrin.

The rabbis taught: It is written [Ex. 18:21]: "And place these over them, as rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens." Rulers of thousands were six hundred; rulers of hundreds were six thousand; rulers of fifties, twelve thousand; and rulers of tens, sixty thousand. Hence the total number of the officers in Israel were seventy-eight thousand and six hundred.

CHAPTER 2.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE HIGH-PRIEST: IF HE MAY JUDGE AND BE JUDGED, BE A WITNESS AND BE WITNESSED AGAINST; THE LAWS REGARDING A DEATH OCCURRING IN HIS FAMILY AND THE CUSTOM OF THE CONDOLENCE. THE SAME RULES CONCERNING A KING. REGULATIONS AS TO WHAT A KING MAY AND MAY NOT ALLOW HIMSELF: HOW MANY WIVES AND HOW MANY STABLES FOR HORSES HE MAY HAVE; HOW HE MUST BE RESPECTED AND FEARED BY HIS PEOPLE, ETC.

MISHNA I.: The high-priest may judge and may be judged; he may be a witness and may be witnessed against; he may perform the ceremony of Halitzah, and the same may be done to his wife if he dies childless, or his brother may marry his wife in such a case. He, however, must not marry his brother's wife when his brother dies childless--because it is forbidden for a high-priest to marry a widow. If a death occurs in his family, he must not accompany the coffin; but if the coffin with those accompanying it are no longer visible in the street, he goes after them. And so with other streets-when they are not visible, he may enter the street, etc.; and in such manner he may follow the coffin to the gate of the city. So is the decree of R. Meir. R. Jehudah, however, maintains: He must not leave the Temple at all, as it reads [Lev. 21:12]: "And out of the sanctuary shall he not go."

When he, the high-priest, condoled with others, it was usual that the people went one after another, and the superintendent of the priests would place him between himself and the people (so that he could say a word of condolence to every one of them); but when he was being condoled with, the people used to say to him: We shall be your atonement (i.e., to us shall occur what ought to occur to you), and his answer was: You shall be blessed by Heaven. And at the condoling meal, all the people were placed on the floor, but he sat on a chair.

A king must not judge, and he is not judged; he must not be a witness, nor be witnessed against. The ceremony of Halitzah does not exist for him, nor for his wife. He does not marry his childless brother's wife, and his brother must not marry his wife. R. Jehudah, however, maintains: If be was willing to give Halitzah or to marry his brother's wife, he may be remembered among the good. And he was told: Even if he is willing, he must not be listened to.

His widow must not remarry. R. Jehudah said: A king may marry the widow of a king, as so we found with David, who married the widow of Saul; as it reads [2 Sam. 12:8]: "And I gave unto thee the house of thy master, and (put) the wives of thy master into thy bosom."

GEMARA: Is it not self-evident that the high-priest may judge? It was stated, because it was necessary to say that he may be judged. But this is also self-evident; as if it were not permitted to judge him, how could he judge? Is it not written [Zeph. 2:1]: "Gather yourselves," which Resh Lakish explained in Middle Gate: "Correct yourself first, and then correct others"? Therefore we must say, because in the latter part it was necessary to teach that a king must not judge or be judged, it teaches also that the high-priest may judge and be judged. And if you wish, it may be said that it came to teach us what is stated in the following Boraitha: A high-priest who killed a person-if intentionally, he may be killed; and if unintentionally, he may be sent into exile: he transgresses a positive and a negative commandment, and is also, concerning other laws, considered as a commoner in every respect.

Intentionally-he may be killed. Is this not self-evident? It was necessary to state, if unintentionally, he might be sent into exile. But is this also not self-evident? Nay! One may consider, because it reads [Num. 35:28]: "He shall remain until the death of the high-priest," that he who has a remedy to return to his land by the death of the high-priest shall be sent into exile; but he who has no such remedy should not; and there is a Mishna: He who kills a high-priest, or a high-priest who has killed a person, is not returned from the city of refuge for everlasting, and therefore he should not be exiled-it comes to teach us that it is not so. But perhaps it should be so? There is another verse [Deut. 19:3]: "Every man-slayer," which includes a high-priest.

The Boraitha states: He transgresses a positive and negative commandment. Must he, then, transgress? It means to say that if it happened he should transgress a positive and a negative commandment, he is considered a commoner in every respect. "Be a witness, and witnessed against," etc. May he be a witness? Have we not learned in the following, Boraitha: It reads [Deut. 22:1]: "And withdrew thyself." There are cases from which one may withdraw himself, and there are others from which he may not. How so? E.g., a priest who sees a lost thing lying in a cemetery is not obliged to pick it up for the purpose of returning it; or if there were an old, respectable man, and it was not in accordance with his honour to bother with such a thing, or even if one's time is more valuable than the value of the lost thing, he may withdraw himself. Hence it is self-evident that it is not fit for a high-priest to go and witness. Why, then, should he be obliged? Said R. Joseph: He may be a witness in a case that concerns the king. But does not our Mishna state "that a king must not be a witness, and not be witnessed against"? Therefore said R. Zera: He may be witness in the case of a prince, the son of the king. A prince--is he not considered a commoner in all respects concerning the law? Say he may witness before the king. But have we not learned that the king must not be a member of the Sanhedrin; and also that both the king and the high-priest must not take part in the discussion about a leap year? For the honour of the high-priest, the king comes and remains with the Sanhedrin until the testifying of the high-priest ends, and then both depart; and the Sanhedrin themselves deliberate and decide the matter.

The text states that a king must not be a member of the Sanhedrin, nor a king and a high-priest engage in the discussion about a leap year. The first is deduced from [Ex. xxiii. 2]. 1 And the second--a king--because he would not like to add a month to the year, because of the increase of the wages of the military; and a high-priest, because of the cold (i.e., it is prescribed by the Scriptures to take during the Day of Atonement legal baths five times in cold water, and by adding a month, the month of Tishri would fall when in a usual year is the month of Cheshvi, which is much colder than Tishri).

Said R. Papa: Infer from this that the seasons of the year follow the usual months, and not according to the intercalary month. Is that so? We know that it happened, three pasturers were standing and conversing in the presence of rabbis thus: One of them said: If there were enough heat so that the wheat which was sown in the beginning of the month, and the barley which was sown recently, should sprout, the month could be named Adar; and if not, it remains Shbat. The second said: If in the morning there is such a cold that the ox trembles from it, and in the middle of the day he should hide himself in the shadow of a fig tree, the month may be considered Adar; and if not, it remains Shbat. And the third said: If the winter has already lost its strength, and the air you blow from your mouth moderates the cold brought by the east wind, it is Adar; and if not, it remains Shbat. And as that year was not so in any of these cases, the rabbis intercalated it. Hence we see that the intercalary comes because of the cold, and not vice versa?

How can you conceive that the rabbis had relied upon the pasturers to intercalate a year? They relied upon their own reckoning, and the gossip of the pasturers was considered as a support only.

"He may perform the ceremony of Halitzah," etc. The Mishna makes no difference if the widow was from betrothal or from marriage. And this can be correct only with a marriage, as there is a positive commandment that a high-priest must marry a virgin, and a negative commandment that he must not marry a widow; while to marry the wife of his childless brother is a positive commandment only, which cannot invalidate a positive and a negative commandment. But if the widow was from betrothal, she is still a virgin; there remains only one negative commandment, he shall not take a widow. And there is a rule that a positive commandment invalidates a negative commandment? The positive commandment applies only to the first intercourse, but not thereafter, upon which the negative commandments rest. And if the first were allowed, he would come to commit a transgression thereafter, and therefore it is prohibited. And so also a Boraitha states.

"If death happens," etc. The rabbis taught: "He shall not leave the sanctuary" means he shall not go with them, but he may go out after them. How so? "When they are not visible in the street, he may appear," etc.

"To the gate of the city," etc. Is not R. Jehudah correct with his statement? R. Meir may answer: According to your theory, he must not leave the Temple for home? You must then explain this passage, that it means that he must not go out from his sanctuary; and while he goes after them, when they are no longer visible, he will not come in contact with the corpse. R. Jehudah, however, fears that because of his sorrow it may happen that when he shall accompany them he will come in contact with the corpse, and violate his sanctity.

"Condole with others," etc. The rabbis taught: When he goes in the row to condole with others, his vice and the ex-high-priest are placed at his right, and the head of the priest's family at the mourners'; and all other people are placed at his left. But when he stands in the row to be condoled with by others, the vice only is placed at his right, but not the ex-high-priest, as he may be dejected, thinking that the ex-priest sees a revenge in him.

Said R. Papa: From the Boraitha three things are to be inferred: (a) That the vice and superintendent are identical; (b) that the mourners stand and the people pass by; and (c) that the mourners are placed at the left side of the condolers.

The rabbis taught: Formerly the custom was for the mourners to stand and the people to pass by; but there were two families in Jerusalem who had quarrelled, one saying: I must pass first. according to my dignity; and the other said: I must pass first: Therefore it was enacted that the people should stand and the mourners pass. Said Rami b. Aba: R. Jose reëstablished the old custom that the mourners shall stand and people pass, in the city of Sephorias. And he said also: The same enacted in the same city that a woman should not go into the street with her child following her, but that she should follow the child, because of an accident that happened. (Rashi explained: It happened that immoral men had stolen a child who was following its mother, and put it in a house; and while she was crying and searching for it, they said to her: Come with us and we will show it to you. And while doing so, she was assaulted.) He also said: The same enacted in Sephorias that women should talk to each other while they were at their toilet, for the purpose that men should not intrude.

R. Menashia b. Evath said: I questioned R. Jashiah the Great in the cemetery of Huzl, and he told me that a row is not less than ten persons, not counting the mourners, who must not be among them; and there is no difference if the mourners stand and the people pass, or vice versa.

"Being condoled with," etc. The schoolmen questioned: What did he say when he condoled with others? And they were answered from a Boraitha, which states: He used to say: Be comforted.

"A king must not judge," etc. Said R. Joseph: This is concerning the kings of Israel; but the kings of the house of David are judged and judge. As it is written [Jer. 21:12]: "O house of David, thus said the Lord: Exercise justice on every morning." We see that they did judge; and if they were not to be judged, how could they judge?--as is said above by Resh Lakish. And what is the reason it is prohibited to the kings of Israel? Because an unfortunate thing happened as follows: The slave of King Janai murdered a person; and Simeon b. Cheta'h said to the sages: Notwithstanding that he is the slave of the king, he must be tried. They sent to the king: Your slave has killed a man. And Janai sent his slave to them to be tried. However, they sent to him: You also must appear before the court. As it is written [Ex. 21:29]: "Warning has been given to its owner"--which means the owner of the ox must appear at the time the ox is tried. He then came and took a seat. Said Simeon b. Cheta'h: King Janai, arise, so that the witnesses shall testify while you stand; yet not for us do you rise, but for Him who said a word, and the world was created. As it reads [Deut. 10:17]: "Stand before the Lord." And the king answered: It must not be as you say, but as the majority of your colleagues shall decide. Simeon then turned to his right, but his colleagues cast their eyes upon the floor without any answer; and the same did his colleagues at his left. Simeon then exclaimed: You are all troubled in mind (disconcerted)! May the One who rules minds take revenge upon you. Gabriel came then and smote them to the floor, that they died. And at

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that time it was enacted that a king should neither judge nor be judged, neither be a witness nor be witnessed against.

"If he was willing to give Halitzah," etc. This is not so? Did not R. Ashi say: Even he who holds that if a prince has relinquished his honour it holds good, agrees that if a king does so his honour is not relinquished. As it is written [Deut. 17:15]: "Set a king over you"--which means, that respect (fear) for the king should always be before thy eyes (i.e., and in the ceremony of Halitzah the woman takes off his shoe, and spits before him, which is a disgrace for a king, and must not be done even if he is willing)? R. Jehudah, however, maintains: Where there is a biblical commandment, it is different.

"His widow must not remarry," etc. There is a Boraitha: The sages answered R. Jehudah: The verse you refer to means, the woman who was ordained to him by the king, Saul; and they were Merab and Michal, his daughters.

The disciples of R. Jose questioned their master: How could David marry two sisters while they were both living? And he answered them: He married Michal after the death of Merab. And R. Jose said so in accordance with his theory in the following Boraitha, which states: He, R. Jose, used to lecture about passages in the Scriptures which were obscure, namely: It reads [II Sam. 21:8]: "And the king took the two sons of Rizpah, the daughter of Ayah, whom she had born unto Saul, Armoni and Mephibosheth; and the five sons of Michal, the daughter of Saul, whom she had borne l to Adriel, the son of Barzillai the Meholathite." But was Michal given to Adriel? Was she not given to Palti b. Layish? It reads [1 Sam. 25:44]: "But Saul had given Michal his daughter, David's wife, to Palti, the son of Layish." Hence the Scripture equalises the betrothing of Merab to Adriel to the betrothing of Michal to Palti b. Layish; as the betrothing of Michal to Palti was a sin (for she was already the wife of David, and according to the law a second betrothing is not considered at all), so also was the betrothing of Merab to Adriel a sin (for she was already David's wife). R. Jesh b. Karha, however, maintains: The betrothal of Merab to David was by an error. As it is written [2 Sam. 3:14]: "Give up to me my wife Michal, whom I espoused," etc. But what would he say to that passage which reads, "the five sons of Michal, the daughter of Saul"? He might say: Did, then, Michal bear them? Was it not Merab who bore them, whereas Michal merely brought them up? But they bore the name of Michal, because the Scripture considers the one who brings up an orphan as if it were born to him.

R. Hanina says: This is inferred from [Ruth, 4:17]: "There hath been a son born unto Naomi," etc. Did, then, Naomi bear him? Was it not, in fact, Ruth who bore him? Therefore we must say that, though Ruth bore him, he was nevertheless named after Naomi, because she brought him up. R. Eleaser said: From [Ps. 77:16]: "The sons of Jacob and Joseph. Selah." Were they, then, born to Joseph, and not to Jacob? They were born to Jacob, but Joseph fed them, and therefore they were named after him.

R. Samuel b. Nahmeni in the name of R. Jonathan said: He who teaches the Torah to the son of his neighbour, the Scripture considers him as if he were born to him. As it is written [Num. iii. 1]: "And these are the generations of Aaron and Moses"; and the following verse reads: "And these are the names of the sons of Aaron." It is only to say that they were born to Aaron and Moses taught them, and therefore they were named after him.

It is written [Is. 29:22]: "Therefore thus hath said the Lord unto the house of Jacob, he who hath re, deemed Abraham." Where do we find that Jacob redeemed Abraham? Said R. Jehudah. He redeemed him from the affliction of bringing up his children. (I.e., Abraham was promised by the Lord that He would multiply his children, and so the affliction of bringing them up was to lie upon Abraham; but, in fact, it was Jacob who was afflicted by bringing them up.--Rashi.) And this is what is written [ibid.]: "Not now shall Jacob be ashamed, and not now shall his face be made pale"--which means, he shall not be ashamed of his father and his face shall not become pale because of his grandfather.

In the Scripture there is written in some places "Palti," in other places "Paltiel." Said R. Johanan: His name was Palti; and why was he named Palti-El? "For God saved him from sin" (i.e., "Polat" in Hebrew means "to break through" and "El" means God, and according to tradition Palti did not live with Michal [although he slept with her in one bed], because of her betrothal to David). Said R. Johanan: The strength of Joseph was moderation on the part of Boas, and the strength of the latter was moderation on the part of Palti. "The strength of Joseph was moderation on the part of Boas"--as it is written [Ruth, 3:8]: "And it came to pass at midnight, that the man became terrified," etc. And Rabh said: His body became as soft as (boiled) turnip heads. "And the strength of the latter was the moderation of Palti"--as with Boas it occurred only on one night, and with Palti it was continually. The same Said again: It is written [Prov. 31:29]: "Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all." "Many daughters" means Joseph and Boas. "That feareth the Lord shall indeed be praised" [ibid. 30] means Palti b. Layish. R. Samuel b. Nahmeni in the name of R. Jonathan said [ibid. 30]: "False is grace" means Joseph; "and beauty vain "means Boas"; ". . . that feareth the Lord" means Palti b. Layish. According to others, "False is the grace" means the generation of Moses, "and vain is the beauty" means the generation of Joshua; ". . . that feareth the Lord" means the generation of Hezkiah. And still according to others, "False is the grace" means the generation of Moses and Joshua, "and vain is the beauty" means the generation of Hezkiah; ". . fear of the Lord," etc., means the generation of R. Jehudah b. Elii. As it was said: In the time of that rabbi six disciples had covered themselves with one garment (as they were very poor), and occupied themselves with the study of the Torah.

MISHNA 2: If a death occurs in the house of the king, he must not leave the gate of the palace. R. Jehudah, however, maintains: If he is willing to accompany the coffin, he may do so, as we find that David accompanied the coffin of Abner [2 Sam. 3:31]: "And King David walked behind the bier." But he was told that David did so only to appease the spirit of the people. And at the condoling meal all the people are placed on the floor and he is seated on the dais.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: In those places where it is customary for women to follow a coffin, they may do so; and where it is customary for them to precede the coffin, they have to do accordingly. R. Jehudah, however, maintains that women must always precede the coffin, as we find in the case of David, who followed the coffin, as in the above-cited verse in the Mishna. And he was told that this was only to appease the spirit of the people. And they were appeased, because David used to go from the men to the women and from the women to the men for this purpose. As it is written [ibid. 37]: "And all the people and all Israel understood on that day that it had not been of the king." Rabha lectured: It is written [ibid. 35]: "And all the people came to cause David to eat food while it was yet day." (The term "to cause" is expressed in Hebrew Le habroth, and according to him it was written Le hakhbroth. The first term means food and the second means to destroy--Korath); from which it is to be inferred that in the beginning the people came to destroy him because of the death of Abner, but after he had appeased them they caused him to eat. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: Why was Abner punished? Because he ought to have warned Saul he should not kill the priest of Nob, and he did not do so. R. Itz'hak, however, maintains: He did warn, but was not listened to. And both infer this from the following verses [ibid. 33, 34]: "And the king lamented over Abner, and said, O that Abner had to die as the worthless dieth! Thy hands were not bound and thy feet were not put in fetters . . ." The one who said that he did not warn interprets thus: "Thy hands were not bound and thy feet were not put in fetters." Why didst thou not warn? And he who said that he did, but was not listened to, interprets it thus: "O that Abner should die as the worthless dieth! Thy hands were not bound . . ." And thou didst warn Saul. Why, then, "as one falleth before men of wickedness art thou fallen"? But according to the latter, that he did warn--why was Abner punished? Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: Because he postponed the kingdom of David for two years and a half.

MISHNA 3.: And he (the king) declares a war which is not commanded in the Scripture, after consultation with the court of twenty-one judges. He may also establish a way in private property, and nobody has a right to protest against it. The way of a king has no limit. When the military take plunder from the enemy, they must transfer it to the king, and he takes his share first.

GEMARA: Was not this already taught in the first Mishna of this tract: A court of seventy-one judges is needed to decide upon battles which are not commanded, etc.? Because it teaches of other things which belong to the king, this is also repeated. R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said: All which is written in 1 Samuel, viii. in that portion relating to a king, the king is allowed to do. Rabh, however, maintains that the whole portion was not said except to warn them. The above Amoraim differ in the same respect as the Tanaim of the following Boraitha: It is written [Deut. 17:15]: "Set a king over thee," etc. According to R. Jose, all that is written concerning a king in Samuel, the king is allowed to do. R. Jehudah, however, maintains that the whole portion is written only to frighten them, as the expression, "to set a king over thee," means that the fear of the king shall be always upon you. And thus R. Jehudah used to say: There are three positive commandments which Israel was commanded at the time they entered Palestine, viz.: They shall appoint a king; they shall destroy the descendants of Amalek; and they shall build a temple. R. N'hurai, however, says: The whole portion was said only because they murmured against Samuel, requesting a king. As it is written [ibid., ibid. 14]: "And thou sayest, I wish to set a king over me," etc.

There is a Boraitha: R. Eliezer said:, The elders of that generation rightly asked Samuel for a king. As it reads [1 Sam. 8:5]: "Appoint for us a king to judge us like all the nations." But the commoners who were among them degraded the case. As it reads [ibid., ibid. 20]: "That we also may ourselves be like all the nations; and that our king may judge us, and go out before us, and fight our battles."

There is another Boraitha: R. Jose said: Three positive commandments Israel was commanded when they entered Palestine, viz.: They shall appoint a king; they shall destroy the descendants of Amalek; and they shall build a temple. But it was not known which was the first. However, from [Ex. 17:16], "And he said, Because the Lord hath sworn on his throne that the Lord will have war with Amalek from generation to generation," it is to be inferred that the commandment relating to the king was first, because the word "throne" implies a king. As it is written [I Chron. x23]: "Then sat Solomon on the throne of the Lord as king." But it was still unknown which should be first, the case of Amalek or the temple. But from [Deut. xii. 10], "He will give you rest from all your enemies . . . and then shall it be that the place," etc., it is to be inferred that the cutting off of the nation of Amalek was to be first. And so was it with David. As it reads [2 Sam. 7:1]: "And it came to pass, when the king dwelt in his house, and the Lord had given him rest," etc., he spake then to Nathan the prophet about the Temple.

The rabbis taught: The treasures of kings which are plundered in time of war belong to the king only; all other plunder, however, half to the king and half to the people. Said Abayi to R. Dimi, according to others to R. Aha: It is correct that the treasures of kings belong to the king, as so it is customary. But from where do we know that other plunder is half to the king, etc.? From [1 Chron. 29:22]: "And they anointed him unto the Lord as chief ruler, and Zadok as priest." We see, then, that he compares the ruler to Zadok. As in the case of Zadok the high-priest, a half belongs to him and a half to his brother, the same is the case with the ruler. And wherefrom do you know that in the case of Zadok it is so? From the following Boraitha: Rabbi said: It reads [Lev. 24:9]: "And it shall belong to Aaron and to his sons," meaning half to Aaron and half to his sons.

MISHNA 4.: He (the king) must not marry more than eighteen wives. R. Jehudah, however, maintains: He may marry as many as he likes, provided that they shall not turn his heart away. And R. Simeon maintains: Even one wife, should she be liable to turn his heart away, he must not marry her. And the verse which reads, "Neither shall he take to himself many wives," means even when they were similar to Abigail.

GEMARA: Shall we assume that R. Jehudah takes account of the reason mentioned in the Scriptures and R. Simeon does not? Have we not heard elsewhere just the reverse? A widow must not be pledged, no matter if she be rich or poor. As it is written [Deut. 24:17]: "Thou shalt not take in pledge the raiment of a widow." So is the decree of R. Jehudah. R. Simeon, however, maintains: If she be rich she may be pledged, but when she is poor she must not be pledged. And one is obliged to return the pledge to her. And to the question: How is this to be understood? it was said thus: If you take a pledge from her, you are obliged, biblically, to return it every evening, and by this act she will get a bad name, etc. Hence we see that R. Jehudah does not take account of the reason mentioned in the Scriptures (as there it is written: "You shall return to him; as if not, he will not have whereupon to sleep," which treats only of the poor, and R. Jehudah's theory is that even a rich person must not be pledged)? R. Jehudah does not take account of the reason in all other cases. But here it is different, as the verse itself explains the reason--that "his heart shall not be turned away." And R. Simeon may also say: Do we not take account in all other cases of the reason? Why, then, does the Scripture give the reason here? Let it say, "He shall not marry many wives," and we would understand the reason that it is because of his heart. And as the reason is mentioned, it is for the purpose that even if only one, and she is liable to "turn his heart away," he must not marry her.

The number eighteen mentioned in the Mishna, whence is it deduced? From [2 Sam. 3:2-5]: "And there were born unto David sons in Hebron: And his first-born was Amnon, of Achinoam the Yizreelitess; and his second was Kilab, of Abigayil the wife of Nabal the Carmelite; and the third, Abshalom, the son of Maachah the daughter of Thalmai the king of Geshur; and the fourth, Adonijah, the son of Chaggith; and the fifth, Shephatyah, the son of Abital; and the sixth, Yithream by Eglah, David's wife. These were born unto David in Hebron." And the prophet said [ibid., ibid. 12:8]: "And if this be too little, I could bestow on thee yet many more like these."

Now let us see! The number of the wives mentioned in the Scriptures is six. "Like this" is six more, "and like this" is again six more, of which the total is eighteen. But was not Michal his wife, who is not mentioned? Said Rabh: Eglah is identical with Michal. And why was she named Eglah? Because he liked her with the liking of a cow for her new-born calf. And so also it reads in judges, 14:18: "And he said unto them, If he had not ploughed with my heifer," etc. (from which we see that he names the wife heifer or calf). 2 But had, then, Michal children? Is it not written [2 Sam. 6:23]: "And Michal the daughter of Saul had no child," etc.? Said R. Hisda: She had no children after that time (mentioned in the Scripture), but previous to this she had children. But is it not written [ibid. 5:13]: "And David took yet more concubines

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and wives out of Jerusalem." (Hence it is to be supposed that he married more than eighteen.) Nay, he married more, to fulfil the number of eighteen. What are wives, and what are concubines? Said R. Jehudah: Wives are married by betrothal and marriage contract; concubines are without both of them.

R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh says: Four hundred children were born to David by the handsome women whom he took captive (i.e., those mentioned in Deut. xxi. 11). All of them had never cut their hair. They were placed in golden carra. And in time of war they were placed with the chief officers of the military, and they were the mighty soldiers in David's army. The same said again in the name of the same authority: Thamar was a daughter of one of the above-mentioned handsome women. As it reads [2 Sam. 13:13]: "But now, O speak, I pray thee, unto the king; for he will not withhold me from thee." And if she were really his daughter, how could she say that the king would allow a sister to marry her brother? Infer from this that she was one of the children borne by one of the above-mentioned handsome women. It reads [ibid. 3-10]: "But Amnon had a friend . . . and Yonadab was a very shrewd man." Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: He was shrewd to advise evil. It reads [ibid. 19]: "And Thamar put ashes on her head, and the garment of divers colours which was on her she rent." There is a Boraitha in the name of R. Jehoshua b. Karha: From that which happened to Thamar, a great safeguard was decreed by the sages, as it was said: If it so happened to daughters of kings, so much the more could it happen to daughters of commoners; and if to the chaste, so much the more to the lewd. And therefore said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: At that time a decree was made that one must not stay with a married woman alone, nor with a single one. Is that so? Is this not prohibited biblically? As R. Johanan in the name of R. Simeon b. Johozadek said: Where do we find a hint in the Scriptures that one must not stay alone with a married woman? [Deut. 13:7]: "If thy brother, the son of thy mother . . . should entice thee." Does, then, only a brother from the mother's side entice, and not a brother from the father's side? It is but to say that only a son may stay alone with his mother, but it is not allowed for anyone besides to stay alone with a married woman. (Hence it is biblical?) Say that at that time it was decreed that one must not stay alone even with a single woman.

It is written [1 Kings, 1:5]: "And Adoniyah the son of Chaggith exalted himself, saying, I shall be king." Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: Infer from this that he wanted to place the crown on his head and could not. (Rashi explains this that there was a band of gold in the crown which fitted the descendants of David who had an indentation in their heads which Adoniyah had not.) It is written further: "And he procured himself a chariot and horsemen, and fifty men who ran before him." What is there exceptional in this for a prince? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: The milt of all of them was taken out (so that it should be easy for them to run), and also the flesh of the soles of their feet was cut off.

MISHNA 5.: He (the king) must not acquire many horses--only sufficient for his chariots; and also he must not acquire more gold and silver than to pay the military. He must also write the Holy Scrolls for himself; when he goes to war he must bear them with him; when he enters the city they must be with him, and the same when he sits judging the people; and when he takes his meals they must be placed opposite him. As it is written [Deut. 17:19]: "And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life."

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: He shall not acquire many horses, and lest one say even those which arc needed for his chariots, therefore it is written "for himself," from which it is to be inferred that for the chariots he may; but if so, what, then, is meant by "he shall not acquire many horses"? It means horses which should remain idle. And whence do we deduce that even one horse which is idle is under the negative commandment, "He shall not acquire many horses"? For it is written there [ibid., ibid. 16], "in order to acquire many horses." Is it not said above of even one horse, and it is idle, that he transgresses the commandment, "He shall not acquire many horses"? Why is it written "in order to acquire," etc.? That he should be responsible for the transgressing of the above commandment for each horse which is idle. But how would it be if in the Scripture were not mentioned "for himself"--he would not be allowed even for the chariots? Is this possible? Then, it could be explained, he should have the exact number needed, but not more.

"Much gold and silver," etc. The rabbis taught: It is written: "He shall not acquire much gold and silver"--lest one say not even sufficient for paying the military, therefore it is written "for himself." But how would it be if this were not written--he would not be allowed, even for paying the military. Is that possible? Then, it could be explained that he should have the exact amount, but not more. Now, as we see that from the words "for himself" things are inferred, what do you infer from the same words which are written concerning wives? This excludes commoners, who are allowed to take as many as they please.

R. Jehudah propounded a contradiction in the following verses [1 Kings, 5:6]: "And Solomon had forty thousand stalls for the horses for his chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen"; and [2 Chron. 9:25]: "And Solomon had four thousand stalls for horses and chariots, and twelve thousand whom he quartered in the cities for chariots, and near the king at Jerusalem." How is it to be understood? If there were forty thousand stables, every one of them contained four thousand stalls; and if it were only four thousand stables, then each contained forty thousand stalls. R. Itz'hak propounded the following contradiction: It reads [1 Kings, 10:21]. "None were of silver; it was not in the least valued in the days of Solomon"; and [ibid. 27]: "And the king rendered the silver in Jerusalem like stones." (Hence it had some value?) This presents no difficulty. The first verse speaks of before Solomon married the daughter of Pharaoh, and the second after this.

R. Itz'hak said: (Here is repeated from Tract Sabbath, 1st ed., page 109, in the name of R. Jehudah. See paragraph there--same rabbi.)

The same said again: Why does not the Scripture explain the reason of its law? Because in two verses it was so done, and the greatest men of a generation stumbled because of them. They are, "he shall not acquire many wives," for the purpose that they should not "turn his heart away." And King Solomon said: I shall take many wives, and my heart shall not be turned away. However [1 Kings, 11:4]: "And it came to pass . . . that his wives turned away his heart." And the same was the case with the horses, of which he said: I shall acquire many, and shall not return to Egypt. However [ibid. 10:29]: "And a chariot-team came up and went out of Egypt," etc.

"Write the Holy Scrolls." There is a Boraitha: He must not suffice himself with those left by his parents. Rabba said: It is a meritorious act for one to write the Holy Scrolls at his own expense, though they were left to him by his parents. As it is written [Deut. 31:19]: "Now therefore write this song." Abayi objected from our Mishna: "He shall write the Holy Scrolls for himself," and must not suffice himself with those of his parents. And this speaks only of a king, but not of a commoner. Our Mishna treats of two Holy Scrolls, as it is explained in the following Boraitha: It is written [ibid. 17:18]: "He shall write for himself a copy of this law," which means that he must write for himself two Holy Scrolls, one which he must bear with him wherever he goes, and one which shall remain in his treasury. The one he has to bear with him he shall write in the form of an amulet, and place it on his arm. However, he must not enter with it a bath or toilet house. As it is written [ibid., ibid. 19]: "And it shall be with him and he shall read," which means it shall be with him in those places where it is allowed to read it, but not in those where it is not.

Mar Zutra, according to others Mar Uqba, said: "Originally the Torah was given to Israel in Hebrew characters and in the Hebrew language; the second time it was given to Israel in Ezra's time, but in Assyrian characters and in the Aramaic language; finally the Assyrian characters and the Hebrew language were selected for Israel, and the Hebrew characters and the Aramaic language were left to the Hediotim (Idiots). Who are meant by Idiots? Said R. Hisda: The Samaritans. What is meant by Hebrew characters? Said R. Hisda: The Libnuah characters.

There is a Boraitha: R. Jose said: Ezra was worthy that the Torah should be given through him, if Moses had not preceded him. Concerning Moses it reads [Ex. 19:3]: "And Moses went up unto God"; and concerning Ezra it reads [Ezra, 7:6]: "This Ezra went up." The term "went up" concerning Moses means to receive the Torah, the same being meant by the same expression concerning Ezra. Farther on it is written [Deut. 4:14]: "And me the Lord commanded at that time to teach you statutes and ordinances." And it is also written [Ezra, 7:10]: "For Ezra had directed his heart to inquire into the law of the Lord and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and ordinances." And although the Torah was not given through him, the characters of it were changed through him. As it is written [ibid. 4:7]: "And the writing of the letter was written in Aramaic, and interpreted in Aramaic." And it is also written [Dan. v. 8]: "They were not able to read the writing, nor to make its interpretation." (Hence we see that the new characters the Aramaic people could not read.) And why are they named Assyrian? Because they were brought from the country of Assyria.

There is another Boraitha: Rabbi said: In the very beginning the Torah was given to Israel in the Assyrian characters, but after they had sinned it was turned over to them as a dasher. However, after they repented, it was returned to them. As it is written [Zech. 9:12]: "Return you to the stronghold, ye hopeful prisoners: even to-day do I declare that I will recompense twofold unto thee." And why is it named Assyrian? Because the characters are praised above all other characters. ("Ashur" in Hebrew means "praise.") R. Simeon b. Elazar, however, said in the name of R. Eliezer b. Parta, quoting R. Elazar the Modai, that the characters were not changed at all. As it is written [Ex. 27:10]. And it is also written [Book of Esther, 8:9]: "And to the Jews according to their writing, and according to their language." From which it is to be inferred, that as their language was not changed neither was their writing. But if so, what means the term Mishna 1 in the verse in Deuteronomy cited above: "He shall write a copy of this law"--the two copies of the Holy Scrolls which a king has to write, as said above: One for the treasury and one which he must bear attached to his arm. As it is written [Ps. 16:8]: "I have always set the Lord before me, that, being at my right hand, I might not be moved." But he who maintains that the writing was not changed at all, what does he infer from the verse just cited? That which was said by R. Hana b. Bizna: He who praises should always think that the Shekinah is opposite him, as the cited verse reads.

MISHNA 6.: One must not ride on his, the king's horse, and also must not seat himself on his chair, and must not make use of his sceptre. And none must be present when he cuts his hair, and not when he is naked, and not when he is in the bathhouse. As it is written: "Thou shalt set a king over thee," which means that his fear shall be always upon thee.

GEMARA: R. Jacob in the name of R. Johanan said: Abishag was allowed to Solomon but not to Adoniyah, because Solomon was a king; and to a king it is allowed to make use of the sceptre of his predecessor, but not to Adoniyah, who was a commoner. How is to be understood that which is written in 1 Kings, 4: "And she became an attendant on the king"; and to her request that the king should marry her he answered: You are prohibited to me (as I have already eighteen wives). Said R. Shoman b. Aba: Come and see how hard is divorce in the eyes of the sages: So they permitted Abishag to be with David and did not allow him to divorce one of his wives in order to marry her. Said R. Eliezer: He who divorces his first wife, even the altar sheds tears on account of him. As it is written [Mal. 2:13]: "And this do ye secondly, covering the altar of the Lord with tears, with weeping and with loud complaint, so that he turneth not any more his regard to the offering, nor receiveth it with favour at your hand." And immediately after it reads: "Yet ye say, Wherefore? Because the Lord hath been witness between thee and the wife of thy youth, against whom thou hast indeed dealt treacherously: yet is she thy companion, and the wife of thy covenant."

R. Johanan, according to others R. Elazar, said: Frequently, one's wife dies when her husband owes money and has not to pay. As it is written [Prov. 22:27]: "If thou have nothing to pay, why should he take away thy bed from under thee?" The same said again: To him whose first wife dies, it is as if the Temple had been destroyed in his days. As it is written [Ezek. 24:16 and 19]: "I will take away from thee the desire of thy eyes," etc. "And when I had spoken unto the people in the morning, my wife died at evening"; and [ibid. 21]: "I will profane my sanctuary, the pride of your strength, the desire of your eyes." And R. Alexander said: To him whose wife dies, the whole world is dark for him. As it is written [Job, 18:6]: "The light becometh dark in his tent, and his lamp will be quenched above him." And R. Jose b. Hanina adds: Also his steps become shortened, as immediately it reads: "His powerful steps will be narrowed." And R. Abuhu adds. Also his advice is no more of use; as the end of the cited verse reads: "and his own counsel will cast him down."

Rabba b. Bahana said in the name of R. Johanan: It is hard for heaven to appoint marriages as it was to divide the sea; as in Ps. 68:7: "God places those who are solitary in the midst of their families: he bringeth out those who are bound unto happiness."

R. Samuel b. Na'hman said: For everything there may be an exchange, but for the wife of one's youth. As it is written [Is. 54:6]: "And as a wife of one's youth that was rejected." R. Jehudah taught to his son R. Itz'hak: One does not find pleasure only in his first wife, as it is written [Prov. 5:19]: "Thy fountain will be blessed; and rejoice with the wife of thy youth." And to the question of his son, Whom do you mean? he answered: E.g., your mother. Is that so? We are aware that the same read before R. Itz'hak his son [Eccl. 7:26]: "And I find as more bitter than death the woman whose heart is snares and nets," etc. And to the question of his son, Whom do you mean? he answered. E.g., your mother. True, she was hard to him at the start, but finally she overruled herself and did all he pleased. R. Samuel b. Umaya said in the name of Rabh: A wife is similar to a piece of metal, and does not make any covenant but with him who makes her a vessel. As it is written [Is. 54:5]: "For thy husband is thy master," etc. There is a Boraitha: One dies but to his wife, and the wife dies but to her husband. The first is deduced from [Ruth, 1:3]: "Thereupon died Elimelech Naomi's husband"; and the second from [Gen. 48:7]: "And as for me, when I came from Padan, Rachel died by me."

"Cuts his hair." The rabbis taught: The king must cut his hair every day. As it is written [Is. 33:17]: "The king in his beauty shall thy eyes behold." A high-priest every eve of Sabbath, and the commoner priest every thirty days. Why every eve of Sabbath? Said R. Samuel b. Na'hman in the name of R. Johanan: Because the watching priests are relieved every eve of Sabbath. And why for a commoner every thirty days? Because it reads [Ezek. 44:20]: "And their heads shall they not shave close, nor suffer their hair to grow long: they shall only crop (the hair of) their heads." And there is an analogy of expression from a Nazarite [Num. 6:5]. As concerning a Nazarite it is thirty days, the same is the case here. And

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whence do we know that for a Nazarite it is thirty days? Said R. Mathna: It reads: Holy shall he be. Because the generation of Yihiye counts thirty (a Yod counts ten, a He, five, and in the word yihiye there are two Yods and two Hes). Said R. Papa to Abayi: Why not explain the above-cited verse as that they shall not be allowed to let their hair grow at all? And he answered: If it read: "They shall not let their hair grow," your explanation would be correct; but as it reads "to grow long," it must be explained as the rabbis enact: They shall let it grow thirty days. (Said R. Papa again:) If so, in our time, when there is no temple, it is to equalise the cutting of the hair to the partaking of wine, which was prohibited to the priests only when they had to enter the Temple (as after the case of hair-cutting immediately follows the prohibition of the partaking of wine). Is that so? Have we not learned in a Boraitha: Rabbi said: I say that it is prohibited for the priest to drink Wine at any time whatever. But what can I do, in that the destruction of the Temple was their remedy: as they were forbidden to drink wine in order that they should not enter the Temple while drunk, so, now that the Temple no longer exists, they do not care? Said Abayi: According to whom do the priests drink wine in our time? In accordance with Rabbi's statement.

Rabbi was questioned: How was the hair-cutting of the high-priest, which it is told was done very artistically? And he answered: Go and see the hair-cutting of Ben Aleshe. And there is a Boraitha: Rabbi said: Not in vain has B. Aleshe expended his money to learn the art of cutting hair: it was only to show how the high-priests used to cut their hair.

CHAPTER 3.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE QUALIFICATION OR DISQUALIFICATION OF JUDGES AND WITNESSES WHO MAY DECIDE UPON STRICT LAW AND WHO IN ARBITRATION. WHEN A REJECTION AGAINST JUDGES AND WITNESSES MAY OR MAY NOT TAKE PLACE. OF RELATIVES THAT ARE DISQUALIFIED AND THOSE THAT ARE NOT. HOW THE WITNESSES SHOULD BE EXAMINED IN CIVIL CASES. UNTIL WHAT TIME NEW EVIDENCE MAY OR MAY NOT AFFECT A DECISION RENDERED.

MISHNA 1.: Civil cases by three; one party may select one and so the other, and both of them select one more; so is the decree of R. Meir. The sages, however, maintain that the two judges may select the third one. One party may reject the judge of his opponent, according to R. Meir. The sages, however, say: This holds good only when the party brings evidence that the judges selected by his opponent are relatives, or they are unqualified for any other reason. If, however, they were qualified, or they were recognised as judges from a higher court, no rejection is to be considered. The same is the case with the witnesses of each party, according to R. Meir, so that the rejection of each party against the witnesses of its opponent may be taken into consideration. The sages, however, say: Such holds good only in the cases said above concerning the judges, but not otherwise.

GEMARA: How is to be understood the expression of the Mishna: One party selects one, etc.? Does it mean one party may select one court of three judges, and likewise the other; and then both the third court, which would be altogether nine judges? Are, then, three not sufficient? It means, if one party selects one judge its opponent may also do so, and then both may select the third one. And what is the reason of such a selection? It was said in Palestine in the name of R. Zera: Because each party selects its own judge, and both agree in the selection of the third one, the decision will be a just one.

"The sages, however, say," etc. Shall we assume that the point of their difference is what was said by R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: Witnesses may not sign a document unless they are aware who will be the others; and so R. Meir does not hold this theory and the rabbis do? Nay! All hold this theory, and the point of their difference is thus: According to R. Meir, the consent of the parties is also needed; but the rabbis hold that the consent of the judges, but not of the parties, is needed.

The text reads: R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: Witnesses, etc. There is also a Boraitha: Pure-minded people of Jerusalem used not to sign a document unless they were aware who was the other who was to sign it, and also would not sit down to judge unless they were aware who was to be their colleague, and would also not go to a banquet unless they were aware who were invited to it.

"Each party may reject," etc. Has, then, one the right to reject judges? Said R. Johanan: It speaks of the little courts in Syria, where there were Gentile judges who were not recognised by the higher court. But if they were, no objection could be taken into consideration. But does not the latter part state: "and the sages, however, say . . . recognised by the court"? From which it is to be understood that their opponent R. Meir speaks even of them who were recognised? They mean to say: If not disqualified (on account of kinship or bad conduct) they are to be considered as if they were authorized judges against whom no rejection can take place.

Come and hear: The sages said to R. Mair: One cannot be trusted with any right to protest against a judge who was appointed by the majority? Read: One has no right to reject a judge who was appointed by the majority. And so we have learned in the following Boraitha: One may reject the selected judge of his opponent until he has selected a judge who was recognised by a majority. So is the decree of R. Mair. But are not witnesses considered as recognised judges, and nevertheless R. Mair. said that one party may disqualify the witness of his opponent? Aye! But was it not already said by Resh Lakish: How is it possible that a holy mouth like R. Mair's should say such a thing? Therefore it must be supposed that R. Meir did not say "witnesses," but "his witness" (i.e., a single witness). Let us see! What does he mean by one witness? If concerning a civil case, the law itself disqualifies him; and if concerning an oath, he is trusted by the law as if there were two witnesses. It speaks of a civil case, and the case was that previously the parties accepted him, saying that his testimony would be considered as if it were testified by two. But, after all, what news did he come to teach us--that he may retract? This we have learned already in the succeeding Mishna, which states that, according to R. Mair, he may retract, to which R. Dimi b. R. Na'hman b. R. Joseph said that the Mishna speaks of when he has accepted his father as a third judge (and because biblically a father is not fit to judge in a case of his son), he may retract even if he has previously accepted him. Why not say the same in our case, because one is not fit for a civil case he may retract although he had previously accepted him? Both cases were needed, as if the case about his father only were stated one might say that because the same is fit to be a judge in other cases, therefore the rabbis maintain that no retraction is to be considered; but in the case of a commoner, who is not fit to be a judge in any case whatsoever, the retraction would hold good, even in accordance with the rabbis. And if the case of a commoner were stated, one might say that only in that case R. Meir permitted to retract. But in the other case he agrees with the rabbis, therefore both are stated.

But how would the expression of the Mishna be understood? It speaks about the judge in the singular (one may reject the judge, etc.), and concerning witnesses, it speaks in the plural (one may reject the witnesses, etc.). Hence we see that the Mishna is particular in its expression. How, then, can you say that R. Mair maintains a single witness? Said R. Elazar: It means that he-one of the parties, and also another one who does not belong to this case--come to reject this witness, as then they are two against one, and therefore the rejection holds good. But, after all, why should one of the parties have a right to reject? Is he not interested in this case, and there is a rule that the testimony of such is not to be taken into consideration. Said R. Aha b. R. Ika: The case was that he laid before the court the reason of his protest, which can be examined.

Let us see what was the reason. If, e.g., robbery, it must not be listened to, as he is interested in this case. Therefore we must say that the reason was the incompetence of his family--e.g., that he or his father was a bondsman, who was not as yet liberated. According to R. Mair, he may be listened to, as his testimony is against the entire family. The rabbis, however, maintain that even then he must not be listened to because of his interest in this case, and the court has not to consider his testimony at all.

When R. Dimi came from Palestine, he said in the name of R. Johanan that the point of their difference is two parties of witnesses, i.e., e.g., the borrower said: "I have two parties of witnesses who will testify to my right," and brought one party of them against which the lender protests. According to R. Mair, the protest holds good because the opponent himself confessed that he had another party. Hence he may bring the other party, against whom no protest would be considered (and his reason is that a proof is needed to each claim, even if it is not so important that it could injure the case); and according to the rabbis, no protest must be listened to even in such a case, as they do not desire a proof to each claim. But when there was only one party of witnesses, all agree that no rejection is considered.

Said R. Ami and R. Assi to R. Johanan: How is it if the other party of witnesses were found to be his relatives, or incompetent to be witnesses for any other reason, should the testimony of the first party be considered, or because of the incompetence of the other party, the first party also loses credit? Said R. Ashi: The testimony of the first party was already accepted, and therefore there is no basis to ignore their testimony because of the incompetence of the other party. Shall we assume that R. Mair and the rabbis differ the same as Rabbi and R. Simeon b. Gamaliel. differ concerning one who claims that he has bought a document and "hazakah" (Last Gate, p. 377), and in the discussion we come to the conclusion that the point of their difference is, if one must prove his words or not? Nay! According to R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, they do not differ at all, and the point of their difference is according to Rabbi's statement there. R. Mair holds with Rabbi. The rabbis, however, maintain that Rabbi does so only in case of the claim of hazakah, which is based upon the document; but in our case, where the testimony of the witnesses is not based upon that of others, even Rabbi admits that no proof is needed.

When Rabbin came from Palestine, he said in the name of R. Johanan that the first part of our Mishna treats of incompetent witnesses but competent judges, and because they reject the witnesses the judges are also rejected; and the latter part speaks of the reverse--that the judges were incompetent and not the witnesses, and the witnesses are rejected because of the judges. Rabha opposed: It would be correct to say that because of the incompetence of the witnesses one may reject the judges, as the case can be brought before other judges. But how can the witnesses be rejected because of the judges? Then the party would remain without witnesses at all. It speaks of when there was another party of witnesses. But how would it be if there were no other witnesses? Then no rejection is to be considered. Thus Rabbin said the same that R. Dimi said? The theory of "because" is the point of their difference. As to R. Dimi, the theory of because is not to be used at all, while according to Rabbin it is.

The text says: Resh Lakish said: "The holy mouth of R. Mair should say such a thing," etc. Is that so? Did not Ula say that he who saw Resh Lakish in the college saw one uprooting hills and crushing them? (Hence how could he say such a thing, which was objected to?)

Said Rabhina: Was it not said of R. Mair that he who saw him in the college had seen one uprooting mountains and crushing them (and nevertheless he was criticised by Resh Lakish). Therefore he (Ula) meant thus: Come and see how the sages respected each other (though Resh Lakish was such a genius, he nevertheless, in speaking of R. Mair, named him holy mouth). 1

MISHNA 2.: If one says, "I accept as a judge in this case your father or my father," or, "I accept certain three pasturers to judge our case," according to R. Mair he may retract thereafter, and according to the sages he must not. If one owes a note to a party, and the latter said to him, "Swear to me by your life, and I will be satisfied," according to R. Mair he may retract, and according to the sages he may not.

GEMARA: Said R. Dimi b. R. Na'hman b. R. Joseph: It speaks of when he has accepted his father as a third judge. Even then he may retract, according to R. Mair. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: The Tanaim of the Mishna differ in case the creditor said to the debtor: Your or my father may judge this case, and if they should acquit you, I will renounce my claim. But if the debtor said to the creditor: I trust your father, and if they shall hold me liable, I will give you the money--all agree that he may retract. R. Johanan, however,: said that they differ in the latter case.

The schoolmen propounded a question: Does R. Johanan mean to say that they differ only in the latter case, but in the former, "I will renounce my claim," all agree that no retraction is to be considered; or, does he mean to say that they differ in both cases? Come and hear what Rabha, said: They differ only if he said, "I will satisfy your claim," but in case of "I will renounce my claim," all agree that he cannot retract. Now let us sec! If the question of the schoolmen is to be resolved according to Rabha's decision just mentioned, it is correct, as he is in accordance with R. Johanan; but if the question should be resolved that they differ in case of renouncing, etc., according to whom would be Rabha's opinion? Rabha may differ with both, and declare his own opinion. R. Aha b. Tahlipa objected to Rabha from the latter part of our Mishna's statement, that if he told him to swear by his life, according to R. Mair he may retract, etc. Does not the Mishna speak of one who is to be acquitted with an oath, which is equal to "I renounce my claim"? Nay; it speaks of them who ought to swear and collect, which is equal to "I will give you." But this was stated already in the first part? The Mishna teaches both cases, one in which he is dependent upon himself and one in which he is dependent on the mind of others. And both are needed; as, if there were stated the case when he is dependent upon others e.g., "I trust your father," etc.--one might say that only in such a case R. Mair permits to retract, as he has not as yet made up his mind to pay, thinking that probably he will be acquitted; but when he depends upon himself--e.g., "Swear by your life," etc.--R. Mair also admits that he cannot retract. And if this case only were stated, one might say that in such a case only the rabbis hold that he cannot retract; but in case he depends upon others. they agree with R. Mair. Therefore both are needed.

Resh Lakish said: The Tanaim of the Mishna differ in case the decision was not yet rendered; but after it was, all agree that no retraction can take place. R. Johanan, however, maintains that they differ in the latter case.

The schoolmen propounded a question: Does R. Johanan mean to state that they differ in a case where the decision was rendered, but in case the decision was not as yet rendered all agree that a retraction can take place, or does he mean to say that they differ in both cases? Come and hear what Rabha said: If one has accepted a relative or one who is legally disqualified to be a judge, if before the decision, his retraction holds good; but if after, no retraction is to be considered. Now let us see! If the saying of R. Johanan is to be explained that they differ when the retraction took place after the decision--but if

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before, all agree that it holds good--Rabbi's decision is correct, as it is in accordance with R. Johanan's explanation and in accordance with the rabbis. But if it should be explained that they differ also in case it was before the decision, according to whom would be Rabha's decision just mentioned? Infer from this that they differ in the case after the decision but before, all agree that a retraction holds good.

R. Na'hman b. R. Hisda sent a message to R. Na'hman b. to Jacob: Let the master teach us in which case the Tanaim of our Mishna differ--after or before the decision, and with whom the Halakha prevails. And the answer was: After the decision, and the Halakha prevails with the sages. R. Ashi, however, "I said that the question was: Do they differ in case he said, "I will renounce my claim," or in case "I will satisfy your claim"? And the answer was: They differ in the latter case: the Halakha prevails with the sages. So was it taught in the College of Sura. In the College of Pumbeditha, however, it was taught: R. Hanina b. Shlamiha said it was a message from the college, to Samuel: Let the master teach us how is the law if the retraction took place before the decision, but they have made the ceremony of a sudarium? And the answer was that nothing could be changed in such a case.

MISHNA 3.: The following are disqualified to be witnesses: Gamblers (habitual dice-players) and usurers, and those who play with flying doves; and the merchants who do business with the growth of the Sabbatic year. Said R Simeon: In the beginning they were named the gatherers of Sabbatic fruit; i.e., even those who had gathered the fruit, not for business, were disqualified. However, since the demand of the government to pay duties increased, the gatherers of the Sabbatic fruit were absolved from the disqualification, and only those who did business with same were disqualified. Said R. Jehudah: Then the merchants and all the other persons named above were disqualified only when they had no other business or trade than this; but if they had, they were qualified.

GEMARA: What crime is there in dice-playing? Said Rami b. Hama: Because it is only an asmachtha, which does not give title. R. Shesheth, however, maintains that such is not to be considered an asmachtha; but they are disqualified because they do not occupy themselves with the welfare of the world--and the difference between them is if they had another business besides. As we have learned in our Mishna, according to R. Jehudah, if they have some business besides, they are qualified. Hence we see that the reason of the disqualification is because they do not occupy themselves with the welfare of the world--and this contradicts Rami b. Hama's above statement? And lest one say that R. Jehudah's opinion is only of an individual, as the rabbis differ with him, this is not so, as Jehoshua b. Levi said that in every place where R. Jehudah says "this is only," or if he says "provided," he comes only to explain the meaning of the sages, but not to differ with them; and R. Johanan maintains that when he says "this is only," he comes to explain, but when he says "provided," he means to differ. And as in our Mishna he expresses himself "this is only," all agree that he is only explaining.

Hence Rami is contradicted? Do you contradict one man with another man? Each of them may have his opinion. Rami holds that they do differ, and Shesheth that they do not.

Have we not learned in the following Boraitha that it does not matter if he has another business besides; he is nevertheless disqualified? The Boraitha is in accordance with R. Jehudah in the name of Tarphon of the following Boraitha: R. Jehudah said in the name of R. Tarphon, concerning a Nazarite (Tract Nazir, 34a), that wherever there is any doubt he is not deemed a Nazarite. And the same is in our case, as the gambler is not certain that he will win or lose, it cannot be considered a real business, but robbery, and therefore he is disqualified even when he has another business.

"Usurers." Said Rabha: One who borrows to pay usury is also disqualified. But does not our Mishna state "usurers," which means the lenders, and not the borrowers? It means to say a loan which is usurious. There were two witnesses who testified against Bar Benetus. One said: In my presence he has given money at usury; and the other said.. He has loaned to me at usury. And Rabha disqualified b. Benetus from being a witness. But how could Rabha take into consideration the testimony of him who said: I have borrowed from him at usury? Did not Rabha say that the borrower also is disqualified, because, as soon as he has borrowed at usury, he is wicked; and the Torah says: Thou shalt not bring a sinner as a witness. Rabha is in accordance with his theory elsewhere, that one is not trusted to make himself wicked. (Hence his testimony that he himself has bor. rowed at usury is not taken into consideration, but that part, that Benetus has loaned to him at usury, was.) There was a slaughterer who sold illegal meat in his business, and R. Na'hman disqualified him . And he let his hair and nails grow as a sign of repentance; and Na'hman was about to remove the disqualification. Said Rabha to him: Perhaps he is deceiving you. But what remedy can he have? As R. Aidi b. Abin said elsewhere: For him who is suspected of selling illegal meat there is no remedy, unless he goes to a place where he is not known and returns a valuable lost thing, or he recognises the illegality of meat in his business, even if it is of great value.

"Flying doves," etc. What does this mean? In this college it was explained: If your dove should fly farther than mine (such and such a distance), you shall take an amount of money. And Hama b. Oushia said that it means an ἀρυω, one who uses his doves to entice to his cot doves belonging to other cots--and this is robbery. But to him who maintains, "If your dove shall fly farther," etc., is this not gambling? (Why, then, is it repeated?) The Mishna teaches both cases--depending upon himself and depending upon his dove; as if depending upon himself only were stated, one might say that, because he was sure he would win, he offered such an amount, and be has not made up his mind to pay the sum willingly in case of a loss, and therefore it is considered an asmachtha, which does not give title. But in the other case, where he is dependent upon his dove, in which he is not sure, and has nevertheless offered a sum of money, it is to be supposed that he made up his mind to pay willingly in any event, and therefore it is not considered an asmachtha. And if this latter case were stated, one might say that he did so probably because the winning of the race depends on the clapping, and he knew better how to clap (at the pigeon race); but when he depends upon himself, it is different. Therefore both are stated.

An objection was raised from the following: Gamblers are counted those who play with dice; and not only dice, but even with the shells of nuts or pomegranates. And when is their repentance to be considered? When they break the dice and renounce this play entirely, so that they do not play even for nothing. And usurers are counted both the lender and the borrower, and their repentance is to be considered only then when they destroy their documents and renounce this business entirely, so that they do not take usury even from a heathen, from whom it is biblically allowed. And among those who play with doves, those who train doves to fly farther are counted; and not only doves, but even other animals; and their renunciation is considered only when they destroy their snares and renounce the business entirely, so that they do not catch birds even in deserts. Among those who handle Sabbatic fruits are counted those who buy or sell, and their renunciation is considered only when they cease to do so in the next Sabbatic year. Said R. Na'hamia: It is not sufficient that they cease to do so, but they must return the money which they derived from the sale of the fruit. How if one say: I, so and so, have obtained two hundred zuz from the Sabbatic fruit, and I present them for charity? We see, then, that among those who play with doves, those who do so with other animals are also counted; and this can be correct only according to him who explains our Mishna: "If your dove should fly farther than mine," as the same can be done with other animals. But to him who says an ἀρυω, could this be done with other animals? Aye, this can be done with a wild ox; and it is in accordance with him who says that a wild ox may be counted among domesticated animals.

There is a Boraitha: There was added to the disqualified witnesses robbers and forcers (i.e., those who take things by force, although they pay the value for them). But is not a robber disqualified to be a witness biblically? It means even those who do not return a found thing which was lost by a deaf-mute or by minors (which according to the strict law is not to be returned, but it was enacted that it should be returned for the sake of peace--that there should be no quarrel with their relatives), and as this does not occur frequently, they were not counted among the disqualified. Thereafter, however, they were added, as, after all, they take possession of money which does not belong to them. And the same is the case with the forcers, who were not placed among the disqualified, because this does not happen frequently. Thereafter, however, as the rabbis saw that it became a habit, they added them also.

There is another Boraitha: There was secondly added to that category, pasturers, collectors of duty, and contractors of the government. Pasturers were not put in this category previously, because, when it was seen that they led their animals into strange pastures, it was only occasionally; but later, when it was seen that they did it intentionally, they were also added. And the same is the case with the collectors of duty and the contractors, as at first it was thought that they took only what belonged to them; but after investigation, when it was found that they took much more than they ought, they were added. Said Rabha: The pasturer in question--it matters not if he is a pasturer of small cattle or of large ones. Did Rabha indeed say so? Did he not say that a pasturer of small cattle is disqualified only in Palestine, but not outside of it, and pasturers of large cattle even in Palestine are qualified? This was taught of them who raise the cattle for themselves; and if they are small cattle, they are disqualified because it was forbidden to keep small cattle in Palestine, as explained elsewhere. And so it seems to be as the previous Mishna expresses, "three pasturers," and it is to be assumed for witnesses. Nay; it means for judges, and this is to be understood from the number three. As if for witnesses, for what purpose are three needed? But if for judges, why does the Mishna express itself "pasturers"--let it state three laymen who do not know the law? It means to say that even pasturers who spend their time in uninhabited places are nevertheless qualified to judge of the appointment of the parties.

R. Jehudah said: A pasturer of whom it is not heard that he leads his cattle into strange pasture is nevertheless disqualified, but a duty collector of whom it is not said that he takes more than he ought, is qualified.

The father of R. Zera was a collector for thirteen years, and when the governor would come to that city he used to say to the scholars: Go and hide yourselves in the houses, so that the governor shall not see so many people, or he will demand from the city more taxes. And also to the other people, when he saw them crowded in the streets, he used to say: The governor is coming, and he will kill the father in presence of the son, and the son in presence of his father. And they also used to hide themselves. And when the governor came, he used to say to him: You see that there are very few people in this city. From whom, then, shall we collect so much duty? When he departed, he said: There are thirteen maes which are tied in the sheet of my bed; take and return them to so and so, as I took it from him for duty and did not use it.

"They were named gatherers of Sabbatic fruit," etc. What does this mean? Said R. Jehudah thus: Formerly it was said the gatherers of the fruit were qualified, but the merchants were not. But when it was seen that they used to pay the poor that they should gather the fruit for them and bring it to their houses, it was enacted that the gatherers as well as the merchants were disqualified. This explanation, however, was a difficulty to the scholars of the city of Rehaba as to the expression of our Mishna, "since the demand of the government," and according to this explanation it ought to be, "since the increase of buyers," and therefore they explain thus: Since the government has increased their duties [as R. Jani announced, "Go and sow in the Sabbatic year, because of the duties"], it was enacted that the gatherers were qualified, but not the merchants.

Hyie b. Zarssuqi and Simeon b. Jehuzdack went to intercalate a year in Essia, and Resh Lakish met them and said: I will go with them to see how they practise. In the meantime he saw a man who was ploughing in the Sabbatic year, and he said to them: Is this man a priest, who is suspected of doing work in the Sabbatic year? And they answered: Probably he is hired by a Gentile to do so. He saw again a man who was collecting the fluid in a vineyard and putting it back into the bale. And he said again: Is this man a priest, who is suspected, etc.? And they answered: He who trims vines in the Sabbatic year may say: I need the twigs to make a bale for the press. Rejoined Resh Lakish: The heart knows whether it is done for "ekel" (a legitimate purpose) or out of "akalkaloth" (perverseness). And they rejoined: He is a rebel. When they came to their place, they ascended to the attic and moved the steps that he (Resh Lakish) should not ascend with them. The latter then came to R. Johanan and questioned him: Men who are suspected of transgressing the Sabbatic year, are they fit to establish a leap year? After deliberating, however, he said: It presents no difficulty to me, as they may be compared with the three pasturers mentioned above, and the rabbis recommended them to do so, as so it should be according to their reckoning.

Afterward, however, he said to himself: There is no similarity, as, concerning the three pasturers mentioned thereafter, the rabbis selected the right number needed for intercalation. Here, however, they themselves did it, and they are only a society of wicked men who are not at all qualified to intercalate. Said R. Johanan: I am distressed that you called them wicked. When the above-mentioned rabbis came to R. Johanan, complaining that Resh Lakish called them pasturers of cattle in the presence of R. Johanan and he kept silent, he answered: If he were to call you pasturers of sheep, what could I do to him?

1Ula said: One's thought for his maintenance injures him in his study of the law (i.e., because of his sorrow it remains not in his mind for a long time, and he forgets it easily). As it is written [Job, 5:12]: "Who frustrateth the plans of the crafty, so that their hands cannot execute their well-devised counsel." Said Rabba, however: If he occupies himself with the Torah for the sake of Heaven, he is not injured. As it is written [Prov. 19:21]: "There are many thoughts in a man's heart; but the counsel of the Lord alone will stand firm"--which is to be explained: A study which is for the sake of Heaven, no matter in what circumstances one is, it remains forever. 1

"Only then," etc. Said R. Abuhu in the name of R. Elazar: The Halakha prevails with R. Jehudah. And the same said again in the name of the same authority: All the persons mentioned in the Mishna and in the Boraithas are disqualified only then when their crime was announced by the court. However, concerning a pasturer, R. Aha and Rabhina differ. According to one, even concerning him announcement is needed; and according to the other, no announcement is needed for his disqualification. (Says the Gemara:) It is correct, according to him who holds that no announcement is needed, that which R. Jehudah said above, that a pasturer is disqualified even if we are not aware of any crime; but according to him who holds that even a pasturer must be

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announced, why, then, Jehudah's decision? Because he holds that the court has to announce of each pasturer, no matter what he is, that he is disqualified. There was a document for a gift which was signed by two robbers, and R. Papa b. Samuel was about to make it valid because they were not announced by the court. Said Rabha to him: When to a robbery which is only rabbinical an announcement is needed, should we say that the same is needed to a biblical robbery

R. Na'hman said: They who accept charity from idolaters are disqualified to be witnesses, provided they do so publicly, but not if privately; and even publicly, they are disqualified only then when it was possible for them to do same privately and they do not care to disgrace themselves publicly; but if not, one is not disqualified, as he is compelled to get a living. The same said again: He who is suspected of adultery is qualified to be a witness. Said R. Shesheth to him: Master, answer me. Should a man who has forty stripes on his shoulders 2 be qualified? Said Rabha: R. Na'hman admits that concerning a woman he is disqualified to be a witness. And Rabhina, according to others R. Papa, said: This is said only concerning a divorce, but concerning bringing her into the house of her husband, the suspicion does not matter. R. Na'hman said again: If one has stolen in the month of Nissan at the harvest-time, and has stolen again in the month of Tishri, he is not named a thief so that he should be disqualified, provided he was a gardener and stole a thing of little value, and if it was a thing which could be consumed without any preparation. The gardener of R. Zebid stole a kab of barley, and R. Zebid disqualified him. And also another one stole a bunch of dates, and was also disqualified.

There were undertakers who had buried a corpse on the first day of Pentecost, and R. Papa put them under the ban and disqualified them to be witnesses. However, Huna b. R. Jehoshua qualified them, and to the question of R. Papa: Are they not wicked? he answered: They thought they were doing a meritorious act. But were they not put under the ban for this transgression, and nevertheless did it again? They thought that the putting under the ban was only a kind of atonement imposed by the rabbis for violating the holiday. However, the burial act itself is meritorious, though they will have to be under the ban for a few days for violation of a holiday.

An apostate who eats illegal meat, which is identical with carcasses, because it is cheaper, all agree that he is disqualified. But if he does this not because it is cheaper, but for the purpose of angering his former brothers in faith, 1 according to Abayi he is disqualified and according to Rabha he is not. The reason of Abayi is because he is wicked, and the Scripture reads plainly: "Thou shalt not bring a sinner as a witness." Rabha's reason, however, is that it speaks of one wicked in money matters only. An objection was raised from the following: "The meaning of the Scripture concerning the testimony of a sinner means one who is wicked in money matters; as, for instance, robbers and perjurers. No matter if the oath was a vain one (e.g., if one has sworn that a stone is a stone), or if the oath was a false one concerning money matters." Hence we see that even a vain swearer is also disqualified? By the expression "vain swearer" is not meant as explained, but that he has sworn in vain concerning money matters--e.g., A owes money to B, which was not necessary at all, as A has never denied it. An objection was raised from the following: "Thou shalt not bring a sinner as a witness," means one wicked in robbery--namely, robbers and usurers. Hence this Boraitha contradicts Abayi's statement. The objection remains.

Shall we assume that the above Amoraim differ in the same respect as the Tanaim of the following: A collusive witness is disqualified in all law cases. So is the decree of R. Mair. R. Jose, however, maintains: Provided he was made collusive in a case of capital punishment; but if in money matters, he is still qualified to be a witness in criminal cases? Now, shall we say that Abayi holds with R. Mair, who maintains that even from a lenient we disqualify to a rigorous one, and Rabha holds with R. Jose, who maintains that only from a rigorous case we disqualify, even to a lenient one, but from lenient to rigorous we do not? Nay! In accordance with R. Jose's theory, they do not differ. But the point of their difference is concerning R. Mair's theory, as Abayi holds with him, and Rabha maintains that even R. Mair said so only concerning a collusive witness in money matters, which is both wicked against man and wicked against heaven; but in our case, where the wickedness is in heavenly things only, even R. Mair admits that he is qualified to be a witness in money matters. The Halakha, however, prevails with Abayi. But was he not objected to? The Boraitha which contradicts Abayi is in accordance with R. Jose. But even then, is it not a rule, when R. Mair differs with R. Jose, that the Halakha. prevails with the latter? In this case it was different, as the editor of the Mishnayoth taught an anonymous Mishna in accordance with R. Mair's opinion. And where is it? This was, explained in the following case: Bar Hama had slain a man and the Exilarch told Aba b. Jacob to investigate the case; and if he really slew the man, they should make the murderer blind. (Since the Temple was destroyed, capital punishments were abolished by Israel, and therefore to make a man blind was to make him dead to the world.) And two witnesses came to testify that he surely killed the man. The defendant, however, brought two witnesses who testified against one of the witnesses. One of them said: In my presence this man stole a kab of barley; and the other said: In my presence he stole the handle of a borer. And the Exilarch said to him: You wish to disqualify this man to be a witness because of R. Mair's theory, but I know of the rule that the Halakha prevails with R. Jose when he differs with R. Mair; and according to R. Jose, if one was collusive in money matters, he is still qualified in criminal cases. Said R. Papa to him: This is so in other cases; but in this case it is different, as there is an anonymous Mishna in accordance with R. Mair. But which Mishna is it? Shall we assume it to be that which stated that he who is competent to judge criminal cases is competent for civil cases also, which cannot be in accordance with R. Jose, as, according to his theory, there is a witness who was made collusive in civil cases and is still competent in criminal cases? Hence it is in accordance with R. Mair. But perhaps the cited Mishna does not speak about collusive witnesses, but of such as are incompetent to be witnesses because of their family. Therefore we must say that he means our Mishna which states the following are disqualified for witnesses: Players with dice, etc.; and a Boraitha adds: And also slaves. This is the rule in all cases in which women are not allowed to be witnesses--they also are disqualified. And this cannot be in accordance with R. Jose, as he holds that they are qualified to be witnesses in criminal cases, for which women are disqualified. Hence it is in accordance with R. Mair. B. Hama then arose and kissed him, and freed him from paying duties all his life.

MISHNA 4.: The following are counted relatives who may not be witnesses: Brothers, brothers of father or mother, brothers-in-law, uncles by marriage from father's or mother's side, a stepfather, a father-in-law, the husband of one's wife's sister, they and their sons and their sons-in-law, and also a stepson himself--but the latter's children are qualified. Said R. Jose: This Mishna was changed by R. Aqiba. The ancient Mishna, however, was thus: One's uncle, one's first-cousin, and all those who are competent to be one's heirs and also all one's relatives at that time; but if they were relatives and thereafter became estranged, they are qualified. R. Jehudah, however, maintains that even if a daughter dies and leaves children, her husband is still considered a relative. An intimate friend, as well as a pronounced enemy, is also disqualified. Who is considered an intimate friend? The groomsman. And who is considered a pronounced enemy? The one who has not spoken to him for three days because of animosity. And the sages answered R. Jehudah: The children of Israel are not suspected of witnessing falsely because of animosity.

GEMARA: Whence is this deduced? From that which the rabbis taught. It is written [Deut. 24:16]: "Fathers shall not be put to death for the children . . . for his own sin," etc. To what end is this written? If only to teach the meaning of it literally, it would not be necessary, as the end of the verse reads, "for his own sin shall every man be put to death." It must therefore be interpreted, fathers should not die by the witnessing of their children, and vice versa. From this is deduced fathers by sons, and vice versa; and so much the more fathers who are brothers are incompetent to' testify for each other. But whence do we know that grandsons (cousins) are also incompetent to testify for each other? It should read, "parents shall not die because of their son." And why "sons" in the plural? To teach that their sons are not competent to testify for each other. But whence do we know that two relatives are not qualified to testify in one case even for a stranger? It should read in the singular, "and a son for his parents." And why in the plural, "and sons"? To teach that two sons are incompetent to testify in one case, even for a stranger. But from this is deduced the relatives from the. father's side only. Whence, however, do we know that the same is the case with the relatives from the mother's side? From the repetition of the word "fathers" in the same verse. And as it was not necessary for the relatives on the father's side, apply it to the relatives on the mother's side. But this verse speaks of accusation. Whence do we know that the same is the case concerning advantage? From the repetition of the words, "shall not die," which were not necessary in the case of accusation. Apply it, therefore, to cases of advantage. All this, however, is said concerning criminal cases. But whence do we know that it is the same with civil cases? Hence it reads [Lev. 24:22]: "One manner of judicial law," etc., meaning that all cases must be judged equally.

Rabh said: My father's brother shall not witness in my cases; he, his son, and his son-in-law. And similarly, I, for my part, will not witness in his cases, neither my son nor my son-in-law. But why? Is not one's son a grandnephew, who is a third to a father's brother, and our Mishna teaches that only a cousin is not competent, who is second to the party, but not a second-cousin, who is third to the party? The expression in our Mishna, "his son-in-law," means the son-in-law of his son, who is already a third. But if so, why does it not teach "the son of his son" (grandson)? Incidentally, the Mishna teaches us that the husband is equal to his wife. But if so, according to whom would be the following Boraitha, taught by R. Hyya: Eight fathers, which counts twenty-four, including their sons and sons-in-law (i.e., father and brother, two grandfathers, and four great-grand fathers--two from each side--and eight sons and eight sons-in-law)? And if our Mishna means the son's son-in-law, then it ought to be thirty-two, viz.: eight fathers, eight sons, eight sons-in-law, and eight grandsons. Therefore we must say that our Mishna means his son-in-law. And why does Rabh name him the son-in-law of his son? Because he is not a descendant from him, but came from strangers, he is considered not of the second generation but as of the third. But, after all, according to Rabh's saying it is a third to a second-cousin, and we are aware that Rabh holds that such is qualified to be a witness? Therefore we must say that Rabh holds with R. Elazar, who says in the following Boraitha: Even as my father's brother cannot be a witness for me, neither his son nor his son-in-law, the same is the case with the son of my father's brother and with his son and son-in-law. Still, this cannot serve as an answer to the objection that Rabh himself has qualified a third to a second-cousin? Say, Rabh holds with R. Elazar only concerning his son, but differs with him concerning the son of his father's brother. And the reason of Rabh's theory is because it reads: "Fathers shall not die because of their sons; and sons," etc.--which means the addition of one more generation. And the reason of R. Elazar is: "For their children" means that the incompetence of the fathers shall extend to their children also.

R. Na'hman said: The brother of my mother-in-law cannot be a witness for me, and the same is the case with his son, and also with the son of the sister of my mother-in-law. And there is also a Boraitha similar to this, viz.: The husband of one's sister, also the husband of the sister of one's father And the husband of the sister of one's mother, their sons and their sons-in-law, are also excluded from being witnesses. Said R. Ashi: While we were with Ula we questioned him: How is it concerning the brother of one's father-in-law and his son, and also concerning the son of the sister of his father-in-law? And he answered: This we have learned in a Boraitha: One's brothers, the brother of one's father and of one's mother, they, their sons and their sons-in-law--all are incompetent.

It happened that Rabh was going to buy parchments, and he was questioned: May one be a witness to his stepson's wife? The answer to this question was, according to the College of Sura, that the husband is the same as his wife; and according to the College of Pumbeditha, the answer was that the wife is the same as her husband--which means that he is considered as if he were really her father-in-law. And as Huna in the name of Rabh said: Whence do we know that the woman is considered to be the same, as her husband? From [Lev. xviii. 14]: "She is thy aunt." Is she indeed his aunt? Is she not the wife of his uncle only? We see, then, that the wife is considered the same as her husband.

"A stepfather . . . his son and son-in-law." Is not his son a brother of the: party from the mother's side? Said R. Jeremiah: It means the brother of his brother--e.g., the son of his stepfather from another wife. R. Hisda, however, qualified such ~ a person. When he was questioned: Was he not aware of Jeremiah's explanation of our Mishna just mentioned? He answered I do not care for it. But if so, it is his brother. The Mishna teaches concerning a brother from the father's side, and also from the mother's side. R. Hisda said the father of the groom and the father of the bride may be witnesses for each other, as their relation is similar to the relation of a cork to a barrel only, which cannot be counted relationship. Rabba b. b. Hana said: One may be a witness for his betrothed, but not for his wife. Said Rabhina: Provided he testified against her; but if his testimony is in her behalf, he is not trusted. In reality, however, (says the Gemara,) there is no difference: One is not trusted in any case, as the reason concerning witnesses is that one is too near in mind to his relatives; and as she is betrothed to him, he is not fit to be a witness in any case.

The rabbis taught: One's stepson only. R. Jose says: The husband of one's wife's sister only. And there is another Boraitha: The husband of one's wife's sister only. R. Jehudah says: One's stepson only. How is this to be understood? Shall we assume that the Tana of the first Boraitha has mentioned only the stepfather, but that the case is the same with the husband of one's wife's sister? And R. Jose with his statement also does not mean to differ, but he mentioned the latter, and the same is it also with the former. Then our Mishna, which states, "the husband of one's wife's sister, he, his son, and his son-in-law are excluded, would be neither in accordance with R. Jedudah nor with R. Jose. "Or does the Boraitha mean to say that regarding a stepfather only is he excluded, but concerning the husband of the wife's sister, he, with his sons, etc., is excluded; and R. Jose differs, as, according to his opinion, the latter only is excluded, but not his sons, etc.; but a stepfather, with his sons, etc., is excluded? Then the Boraitha of R. Hyya, mentioned above, which states that there are twenty-four, would be neither in accord with R. Jose nor with R. Jehudah. Therefore we must say that the Boraitha is to be explained thus: The stepfather only is to be excluded, but concerning the husband of his wife's sister, his children

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are also excluded. And R. Jose came to teach that even concerning the latter he only is excluded, but not his children, and so much the more a stepfather. And then our Mishna is in accordance with R. Jehudah and the Boraitha in accordance with R. Jose. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: The Halakha prevails with R. Jose.

There was a deed of gift which was signed by two brothers-in law--i.e., two husbands of two sisters--and R. Joseph was about to make it valid, based upon the decision of Samuel that the Halakha prevails with R. Jose. Said Abayi to him: Whence do you know that Samuel meant R. Jose of our Mishna, who qualified the husband of one's wife's sister? Perhaps he meant R. Jose of the Boraitha who disqualified him. This could not be supposed, as Samuel said, e.g., I and Pinchas, who are brothers and brothers-in-law--but if only brothers-in-law, they are qualified. And Abayi rejoined: It is still uncertain, as perhaps Samuel meant to say: Because Pinchas was the husband of his wife's sister. Therefore said R. Joseph to the beneficiary: Acquire title to this gift by the testimony of the witnesses who were present when the gift was transferred to you, in accordance with R. Aba's decision. Said Abayi again: But did not Aba admit that if there was a forgery in the deed while writing, it is invalid even in the latter case? And R. Joseph said to the beneficiary: Go! you see people do not allow me to transfer it to you.

"R. Jehudah said," etc. Said Thn'hum in the name of Tabla in the name of Bruna, quoting Rabha: The Halakha prevails with R. Jehudah. Rabha, however, in the name of R. Na'hman, and also Rabba b. b. Hana in the name of R. Johanan, said: The Halakha does not prevail with him: There were some others who taught the saying of Rabba with regard to the following: Thus lectured R. Jose the Galilean: It is written [Deut. 17:9]: "And to the judge that may be in those days." Was it necessary to state thus? Can it then be supposed that one should go to a judge that is not in his days? Therefore it is to be explained that it means that the judge was previously a relative of his, and that thereafter he became estranged. And to this said Rabba, etc., the Halakha prevails with R. Jose the Galilean.

The sons of Mar Uqba's father-in-law were relatives, and became thereafter estranged. And they had a case, and came, with it to his court. He, however, exclaimed: I am disqualified from being your judge. They then rejoined: Is it because you hold with R. Jehudah? We will bring you a letter from Palestine stating that the Halakha does not prevail with him. Rejoined he: I myself know that I am not attached to you with wax, and my saying that I am disqualified to judge you is because I know that your custom is not to listen to my decision.

"A friend is a groomsman." But how long shall this friendship hold? R. Aba in the name of R. Jeremiah, quoting Rabh, said: All the seven days of the wedding. The rabbis, however, in the name of Rabha said that after the first day the friendship is no longer considered, and he is qualified.

"An enemy," etc. The rabbis taught: It reads [Num. 35:23]: "He was not his enemy and did not seek his harm"--which means, he who is not one's enemy may be a witness and he who does not seek one's harm may be his judge. This is concerning an enemy. And whence do we know that the same is the case with a friend? Read, then, "and he is not his enemy and not his friend"--and then he may be a witness; and if he does not seek his harm and not his welfare, then he may be his judge. But is it, then, written a friend? This is common sense. Why not an enemy? Because his mind is far from doing any good to him; and the same is it with a friend, whose mind is near to do all that he can in his behalf. The rabbis, however, infer from this two things: one concerning a judge and the other that which we have learned in the following Boraitha: R. Jose b. R. Jehudah said: From the verse, "he is not his enemy and does not seek his harm," is to be inferred that if two scholars have animosity toward each other they must not judge in a case together.

MISHNA 5.: How were the witnesses examined? They, were brought into separate chambers and were frightened to tell the truth. And then all except the eldest were told to go out, and he questioned: How do you know that A owes money to B?, And if his answer was: "Because A himself told me that he owes,. him," or, "C told me that such was the case," he said nothing, unless he testified that, in the presence of myself and my colleague, A confessed that he owed to B two hundred zuz: and then the second witness is brought in and they examine him, and if both testimonies correspond the court discusses about the case. If two of the judges acquit and one makes him liable, he is acquitted; and if vice versa, he is liable. If, however, one acquits and the other makes him liable, and the third one says, "I don't know," then judges must be added. And the same is the case if there were five, and two of them were against two, while the fifth was doubtful. After the conclusion of the judges is arrived at, they are told to enter, and the eldest of the judges announces, "You, R, are acquitted," or, "You, A, are liable." And whence do we know that one of the judges must not say: I was in favour of the defendant, but my colleagues were against, and I could not help it, as they were the majority. As to this it reads [Lev. 19:16]: "Thou shalt not go up and down as a talebearer among thy people"; and it reads also [Prov. 11:13] He that walketh about as a talebearer revealeth secrets."

GEMARA: How were the witnesses frightened? Said R. Jehudah. Thus [ibid. 25:14]: "Like clouds and wind without rain, so is a man that vaunteth falsely of a gift" (i.e., that because of false witnesses, even though it is cloudy, the rain is withheld), Said Rabha: This is no frightening, as they may think what people say, even seven years of famine do not pass the gate of a specialist. "Therefore," said he, "it was said to them [ibid., ibid. 18]: 'A battle-axe, and a sword, and a sharpened arrow is a man that testifieth as a false witness against his neighbour.'" And R. Ashi maintains that even this is not sufficient, as they may think, even in time of a pest one does not die before his time. Therefore said he: I was told by Nathan b. Mar Zutra that they were frightened that false witnesses were disgraced even in the eyes of those who hired them. As it reads [1 Kings, 21:10]: "And set two men, sons of Belial, opposite to him, and let them bear false witness against him," etc.

"'A' himself told me," etc. This is a support to R. Jehudah, who said in the name of Rabh: If one wants the case to be recognised by the court, he must insist that the debtor shall say: Ye shall be my witnesses. And so also was taught by Hyya b. Aba in the name of R. Johanan. And there is also a Boraitha as follows: (A said to B:)"I have a mana with you," and he answered, "Yea." On the morrow A asked him, "Give it to me," and B said it was only a joke, he is free. And not this only, but even if A has had two witnesses hidden under a fence (so that B could not see them), and questioned him: "Have I a mana with you?" and B answered, "Yea." And to the question, p. 86 "Would you like to confess before witnesses?" B answers, "I am afraid, if I do so, you will summon me to the court"; and on the morrow A asks B to give him the mana, and his answer is, "It was only a joke," he is not liable. However, one must not defend a seducer. A seducer! Who has mentioned this term? The Boraitha is not complete, and should read thus: If, however, B does not defend himself, the court must not question him; perhaps it was a joke. But in criminal cases, a similar question must be asked by the court, although he has not so defended himself, except in the case of a seducer. And why? Said R. Hama b. Hanina: From the lecture of R. Hyya b. Aba I understand that it is because it reads [Deut. xiii. 9]: "Nor shall thy eye look with pity on him, nor shalt thou conceal it for him."

Said Abayi: All that is said above is, provided the defendant claims, "It was a joke"; but if he claims, "I have never confessed," he must be considered a liar and is liable. R. Papa b R. Aha b. Ada, however, maintains: In the case of a joke, people do not remember their confession, and therefore even such a claim must be investigated.

There was one who had hidden witnesses under the curtains of his bed, and he said to his debtor, "Have I a mana with you?" and he answered, "Yea." And he questioned him again, "May the people who are here sleeping or awake be witnesses?" and he answered, "No." And when the case came before R. Kahana, he said: He cannot be liable, as he said no. A similar case happened with one who had hidden witnesses in a grave, and to the question, "May the living and the dead be witnesses?" he answered, "No." And when the case came before Resh Lakish, he acquitted him. Rabhina, according to others R. Papi, said: The decision of R. Jehudah that it must be said by the party, "Ye are my witnesses," is no matter whether it is said by the lender in the presence of the borrower and he keeps silent, or by the debtor himself. And this is inferred from that which was said above, that the debtor had answered the question with no; but if he should remain silent, he would be liable. There was one who was named by the people "the man who has against him a whole kab of promissory notes." And when he heard this, he exclaimed: Do I owe to anyone but B and C? The latter then summoned him before the court of R. Na'hman, and R. Na'hman decided that the above exclamation could not be taken as evidence, as it might be that he said so for the purpose that people should not think him too rich. There was another one who was named "the mouse who lies on dinars," and at the time he was dying he said: A and B are my creditors. After his death the creditors summoned his heirs before R. Ismael b. R. Jose, and he made the heirs pay, for the reason that, if he said so while in good health, it might be supposed that he did so for the purpose mentioned above, but this could not apply to a man who was dying. The heirs, however, only paid the half, and were summoned for the other half in the court of R. Hyya, who decided, as it is supposed that one may say so for the purpose that he shall not appear too rich, so it may be said that the deceased did so that his children should not appear too rich. The heirs then demanded what they had already paid, to which R. Hyya answered: It was decided long ago by a sage, and the decision must remain.

If one has confessed before two witnesses and they have made the ceremony of a sudarium, they may write it down; but if there was no sudarium, it must not be written. If he has, however, confessed before three without a sudarium, according to Rabh it may, and according to R. Assi it must not be written. However, there was such a case before Rabh, and he took into consideration R. Assi's decision.

R. Ada b. Ahba said: Such a document of confession is dependent upon circumstances. If the people were gathered by themselves and he confessed before them, then it must not be written; but if he himself caused the gathering, it may. Rabha, however, is of the opinion that even in the latter case it must not be written unless he said to them, "I accept you as my judges"; and Mar b. R. Ashi maintains that even then a judgement is not to be written unless they appoint a place, and summon him to the court.

It is certain, when one has confessed with the ceremony of a sudarium in cases of movable property, that a judgement may be written, but not otherwise. But how is it with real estate--without a sudarium? According to Ameimar it may not, and according to Mar Zutra it may be written. And so the Halakha prevails. It happened that Rabhina came to the city of Damhariah, and R. Dimi b. R. Huna of the same city questioned him: How is the law if the confession was for movable property which is still in full possession of the parties? And he answered: Then it is considered as real estate. R. Ashi, however, maintains that so long as the creditor has not collected it, it is to be considered as money, because if the possessor would like to sell it, he could do so even after the confession, which is not the case in real estate.

There was a document of confession in which it was not written: "He (the debtor) has said to us, 'Write a document, sign it, and give it to him' (the creditor)," and both Abayi and Rabha decided that this case was similar to that of Resh Lakish, who decided that witnesses would not sign a document unless they were aware that the person who told them to sign was of age; the same is the case here, they would not sign it unless he said to them, "Sign and give." R. Papi, according to others R. Huna b. Joshua, opposed: Is there a thing of which we, the judges, are not sure, and the scribes are? Therefore the scribes of Abayi and of Rabha were questioned, and they were aware of the law, when it must be written and when not. There was another document of confession in which the memoranda, and all the versions which are needed thereto, were written correctly, but. the words, "in the presence of us three," were missing, and the document was signed by two only. And Rabhina was about to say that this case was similar to that of Resh Lakish mentioned above; but R. Nathan b. Ami said to him: Thus was it said in the name of Rabha: In such a case it may be feared that it was an error by the court--i.e., they thought that such might be done by two. Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: If in the document was written, "we the Beth Din," although it was signed by two, it is valid without any investigation. But perhaps it was written by an impudent Beth Din of two, of which, according to Samuel, the decision is to be considered, but they are named impudent (and the Halakha does not so prevail). The case was that the document read, "the Beth Din appointed by R. Ashi." Still, perhaps the same holds with Samuel. It means that it was written: Our master, Ashi, thus said.

The rabbis taught: If one said I have seen your deceased father hide money in a certain place, saying this belongs to so and so," or, "The money is for second tithe," if this place is to be found in this house, he said nothing. if, however, the place was in a field, where the witness could take it without being prevented, his testimony is to be considered, this being the rule in such a case. If he is able to take it himself without notifying, his word is to be trusted, but not otherwise. Moreover, if they themselves saw their father hide money in a chest, or the like, and he said to them, "This money belongs to so and so," or, "It is for second tithe," if it looks as if he told this as his last will, he is to be trusted; but if it appears that he desires to deceive them, then his words are not to be considered. The same is the case if one became harassed, searching for the money which his father left for him, and he dreamed that the sum was of such and such an amount and was placed in a certain place, but it was for second tithe. Such a case happened, and the sages decided that the caprices of dreams are not to be taken into any consideration.

"If two of the judges acquit," etc. But how is the judgement to be written? According to R. Johanan, "So and so is ac. quitted," and according to Resh Lakish, "Such and such judges acquitted, and such hold him liable." R. Elazar, however, says it should be written, "From the discussion of the judges, the decision is that such is acquitted." And what is the difference? The tale-bearing. According to R. Johanan it must not be written who acquits and who holds liable, as this would appear like tale-bearing; and according to Resh Lakish, it must be written, as, if not, it would appear like a unanimous verdict, and it would look as though they had lied; and R. Elazar's decision is: To prevent vainglory it may be written, "From their discussion, the decision is that the defendant is acquitted," in which there is no tale-bearing and it does not appear unanimous.

"Are told to enter." Who? Shall we assume the parties? It is not stated the parties, but the witnesses, must go out. You must then say that the witnesses are told to enter, and this would not be in accordance with R. Nathan of the following Boraitha: The testimony of the witnesses is not to be

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conjoined unless both witnesses have seen the case together. R. Jehoshua b. Karha, however, maintains that, even if they have seen one after the other, their testimony is not to be approved by the court unless they both testify together. R. Nathan, however, maintains that the court may hear the testimony of one to-day, and on the morrow from the other one, when he appears. Hence, according to him, both witnesses may not be present? The Mishna means the parties, and it is in accordance with R. Nehemiah, who said in the following Boraitha: So was the custom of the pure-minded in Jerusalem. They let the parties enter, listened to their claims, and thereafter let the witnesses enter, listened to their testimony, and told all of them to go out, and then discussed the matter.

The text says that their testimony is not conjoined, etc. What is the point of their difference? If you wish, it may be said common sense. If, for instance, one testifies that he has seen A borrow a mana from B, and on the morrow the other witness testifies that he has seen A borrow a mana from B, one may say, e.g., C has seen one mana and D has seen another mana. Hence their testimony cannot be conjoined according to the first Tana of the Boraitha; but according to R. Jehoshua b. Karha it may be conjoined, as both admit that A owes a mana to B. This is common sense. And if you wish, they differ in the meaning of the verse [Lev. 5:1]: "And he is a witness," etc. And there is a Boraitha: It reads [Deut. 19:15]: "There shall not rise up one single witness against." Why is it written "single"? This is a rule for every case in which is mentioned "a witness," that it means two, and the term single is expressed because their testimony is to be considered only then when they saw it together. So is the explanation of the first Tana. B. Karha, however, gives his attention to the verse cited [Lev. 5.]: "And he is a witness, since he either hath seen or knoweth something." Hence it matters not whether they have seen together or singly. And what is the point of difference between R. Nathan and the first Tana? Also, if you wish, it is common sense; and if you wish, in the explanation of the Scripture. "Common sense"--usually one witness is brought not to make the defendant pay, but to make him liable for an oath. Hence, if their testimony does not come together, it cannot be conjoined to make the defendant pay. Such is the meaning of the first Tana. But Nathan maintains: Even when they come together, does, then, their testimony go out from one mouth? They testify one after the other, and we conjoin them. The same is the case when they come on two days. "In the explanation of the Scripture "[ibid., ibid.]: "If he do not tell it, and thus bear his iniquity." And both the first Tana and Nathan hold with the opponents of B. Karha, that both witnesses have to see the case together. And the point of their difference is, if the testimony is to be similar to the seeing of the case. One holds it is: hence it cannot be conjoined if not seen together; and one holds it is not.

Simeon b. Alyaqim was anxious that the degree of Rabbi should be granted to Jose b. Hanina, but the opportunity did not present itself. One day they were sitting before R. Johanan, and the latter questioned: Is there one here who knows if the Halakha prevails with B. Karha or not? And B. Alyaqim pointed to Jose b. Hanina, saying: He knows. Johanan then said: Then let him tell. But B. Alyaqim, however, rejoined: Let the master give him the degree of Rabbi, and then he will tell. And he did so, and then said to him: My son, tell me just so as you have heard. And he answered: I have heard that B. Karha yielded to R. Nathan. Rejoined R. Johanan: Is that what it was necessary for me to know? Is it not self-evident that B. Karha could not demand that they should testify together, as he does not desire that the seeing shall be together? Nevertheless, since you have already ascended to the degree of Rabbi, it may remain with you. And R. Zera said: Infer from this act that if a great man gives a degree, even conditionally, it remains forever.

Hyya b. Abin in the name of Rabh said: The Halakha prevails with Jehoshua b. Karha concerning real estate, as well as movable property. Ula, however, maintains: It prevails with him concerning real estate only. Said Abayi to Hyya: You say that the Halakha prevails. Is there one who differs with him? 'Did not Aba say in the name of R. Huna, quoting Rabh: The sages yield to B. Karha concerning the testimony as to real estate. And so also taught Idi b. Abin in the Section Damages, taught by the College of Karna: The sages yield to B. Karha concerning the testimony as to a first-born, as to real estate, as to hazakah, and concerning the signs of maturity--for a male as well as for a female? You contradict one person with another. People may hold different opinions. Said R. Joseph: I say in the name of Ula that the Halakha prevails with B. Karha concerning real estate, as well as movable property. However, the rabbis who came from the city of Mehuza say in the name of Zera, quoting Rabh: Concerning real estate, but not concerning movable property. And Rabh is in accordance with his theory elsewhere, that a confession after a confession, or a confession after a loan, may be conjoined; but a loan after a loan, or a loan after a confession, do not conjoin. (I.e., if one says, "In my presence A confessed on Monday that he owed a mana to B"; and the second witness says, "In my presence A confessed on Tuesday that he owed a mana to B," they may be conjoined. And the same is the case if one says, "On Monday A borrowed from B a mana in my presence," and the other witness testifies, "In my presence A confessed on Tuesday that he owed a mana to B." But if one testifies that in his presence A made a loan to B on Monday, and the other testifies that the same was done on Tuesday, they are not to be conjoined, as they may be two different manas. And the same is the case if one testify that A confessed on Monday that he owed a mana to B, and the other testified that B had made a loan to A on Tuesday.)

Na'hman b. Itz'hak met Huna b. R. Jehoshua, and questioned him thus: Let us see why the testimony of a loan after a loan is not to be conjoined. Because the loan which one witness has seen may not be the same which the other saw. Why, then, not say the same concerning a confession? Say, the confession of Tuesday was not the same as that of Monday? The answer was: He speaks of when he said to the last witness, "The mana which I confess before you is the same as that which I confessed yesterday before so and so." But even then, the second witness only knows this, but not the first. It means that after he has confessed before the second he goes again to the first witness, telling him, "The mana which I confessed before you, I did so also before so and so." Rejoined Na'hman: Let your mind be at rest, for you have set my mind at rest. And Huna asked him: What was the trouble? Because I had heard that Rabha, and according to others R. Shesheth, swung an axe at it (i.e., disproved the opinion), saying: Is this not similar to a confession after a loan? Which means that he said in his confession, "I confess before you that I owe a mana to so and so, which I borrowed yesterday in the presence of so and so." Hence it was already said once by Rabh. Why, then, the repetition? Rejoined Huna: This is what I have heard of your people--when they tear out trees, they plant them again (i.e., you answer questions, and then object to them again). The sages of Nahardea, however, say that, no matter if it is a confession after a confession, a loan after a confession, or a loan after a loan, they are to be conjoined, as they hold with B. Karha.

R. Jehudah said: Witnesses in civil cases who contradict one another in unimportant investigations are to be considered. Said Rabha: It seems that he meant that the contradiction was that one said the purse in which the mana was given was a black one and the other said it was a white one. But if one says that the loan was with old coins and the other said it was with new ones, they are not to be conjoined. But is such a contradiction not to be taken into consideration even in criminal cases? Did not R. Hisda say that if one testifies that he killed him with a sword and the other with an axe, it is not to be considered; but if one says the murdered or the murderer was dressed in white, while the other testifies that he was dressed in black, their testimony holds good? And the answer was: Do you contradict one scholar with another? Each may have his own opinion. The Nahardeans, however, maintain that even if one testifies old coins and the other new, they are nevertheless to be conjoined; and this is because they hold with B. Karha. But have you then heard B. Karha say that they may be conjoined even when they contradict each other? Therefore we must say that the Nahardeans hold with the Tana of the following Boraitha: R. Simeon b. Elazar said: The schools of Shamai and Hillel do not differ, if there were two parties of witnesses. If one party testifies that he owes him two hundred, and one party testifies one hundred, the latter amount is to be collected, as in the testimony of two hundred one hundred is certainly included. In what they do differ is that, if among one party of witnesses was this contradiction (i.e., one says that he owes two and the other one hundred), according to the school of Shamai the whole party must be disqualified, because one of them is surely a liar; and according to the school of Hillel they are not, as both admit that he owes one hundred (and so the Nahardeans, be it old or new coins, both admit that he owes a mana). Suppose one testifies that he borrowed a barrel of wine and the other of oil. Such a case came before Ami, and he made him liable to pay the value of a barrel of wine, as a barrel of oil amounts to twice as much as a barrel of wine. But according to whom was his decision? Is it in accordance with R. Simeon b. Elazar? He said so, because in the amount of two hundred a hundred is surely included; but did he say so in such a case as that of the barrels? The case was that they testified not for the barrels themselves, but for the value (i.e., one testified that he owed him the amount of a barrel of wine and the other the amount of a barrel of oil, which is twice as much).

Suppose one of the witnesses says the law was made in the first attic, and the other says in the second attic. Said R. Hanina: Such a case came before a rabbi, and he conjoined their testimony.

"And whence do we know that one of the judges must not say?" The rabbis taught: Whence do we know that one of the judges, when he is going out, must not say, "I was in favour of the defendant, but my colleagues were against, and I could not help it, as they were the majority"? To this it reads [Lev. 19:16]: "Thou shalt not go up and down as a talebearer among thy people"; and it reads also [Prov. 11:13] "He that walketh about as a talebearer revealeth secrets." There was a disciple of whom there was a rumour that he told a secret thing which was taught in the college, after twenty-two years, and R. Ami drove him out of the college, saying: This man is telling secrets.

MISHNA 6.: So long as the defendant brings evidence to'. his advantage, the decision may be nullified by the court. If he was told: "All the evidence which you have, you may bring before the court within thirty days," if he found such within thirty days, it affects the decision, but after that it does not. Exclaimed R. Simeon b. Gamaliel: But what should the man do who could not find such within thirty days, but found it after? If he was told to bring witnesses, and he said, "I have none"; "Bring any other evidence," and he said, "I have none," and after the time had elapsed he brought evidence and found also witnesses, it is as nothing. And to this also R. Simeon b. Gamaliel exclaimed: What should this defendant do if he was not aware that there were witnesses and evidence? However, if, after he said "I have no witnesses," seeing that he is about to be liable, he says, "Bring in so and so to testify in this case," or he takes out from under his girdle a new evidence, it counts nothing (even according to R. Simeon).

GEMARA: Said Rabba b. R. Hana: The Halakha prevails with R. Simeon. And the same says again: The Halakha does not prevail with the sages. Is this not self-evident? If it prevails with R. Simeon, it cannot prevail with the sages? One might say the Halakha prevails with R. Simeon to start with; but if some have done in accordance with the sages, it should remain so. He comes to teach us that even if it was so done, it must be changed.

"If he was told to bring witnesses," etc. Said Rabba b. R. Hana in the name of R. Johanan: The Halakha prevails with the sages. And the same said again: The Halakha does not prevail with R. Simeon b. Gamaliel. Is this not self-evident--that if the Halakha prevails with the sages it cannot prevail with R. Simeon? He comes to teach us that only in this case the Halakha does not prevail with R. Simeon, but in all other cases it does; and this is to deny what Rabba b. b. Hana said in the name, of R. Johanan, that everywhere R. Simeon b. Gamaliel is mentioned in the Mishnayoth the Halakha prevails with him, etc. (Last Gate, p. 388). There was a young man who was summoned to the court before R. Na'hman, and he asked him: "Have you no witnesses?" and he answered: "No." "Have you some other evidence?" and he answered: "No." And R. Na'hman made him liable. The young man went and wept; and some people heard him cry, and said: We know something in your behalf in the case of your father. Said R. Na'hman: "In such a case even the rabbis would admit that the young man was not acquainted with the business of his father and therefore the new evidence is to be taken into consideration." There was a woman with whom a document was deposited and she gave it away to some one, saying: "I am aware that this document is already paid," and R. Na'hman did not believe her. Said Rabha to him: Why should she not be trusted? Should she desire to tell a lie, she could burn it. And R. Na'hman answered: Inasmuch as it was approved by the court and known that it was deposited with her, the supposition that if she wanted to lie she could burn it does not apply. And Rabha objected to R. Na'hman from the following: A receipt which was signed by witnesses may be approved by its signer. If, however, there were no witnesses, but he was coming out from a depository; or the receipt was written on the document after the signature of the witness (which was in the hands of the creditor), it is valid. Hence we see that a depository is to be trusted. This objection remains. When R. Samuel b. Jehudah came from Palestine, he said in the name of R. Johanan: The defendant has always a right to bring evidence against the decision of the court, unless all his claims are concluded and he himself confesses that he has no more witnesses nor any other evidence. However, even after this, if witnesses arrived from the sea countries, or the box of documents of his father was deposited with a stranger who has returned it after he was found liable, it may be taken into consideration to change the first decision. When R. Dimi came from Palestine, he said in the name of R. Johanan: If one is summoning a party who says, "I want my case to be brought before the assembly of sages," while the plaintiff says, "It is sufficient that it be tried in the court of this city," the plaintiff may be compelled to follow the defendant to the assembly. Said R. Elazar: Rabbi, is it right that, if the plaintiff claims one mana from the defendant, he shall spend another mana to go with him to the assembly? Therefore the reverse must be done: The defendant should be compelled to bring the case before the court in that city. It was taught also in the name of R. Saphra: If two men were cruel to one another, and one of them insisted, "We shall try our case here," while the other says, "Let us go to the assembly," the latter must be compelled to try his case in that city. However, if there was a necessity to question the assembly, they might write and send it in writing. And also, if the defendant demands, "Write down the reason why you accused me, and give it to me," he may be listened to. In the case of a widow whose husband dies childless and she has to marry his brother, she is obliged to go to that place where the brother is to be found (that he should marry her or perform the ceremony of Halitzah). And to what distance? Said R. Ami: Even from Tiberias to Sephorius. Said R.

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Kahana: Whence is this deduced? From the Scripture [Deut. 25:8]: "The elders of his city"; of his, but not of hers. Said Ameimar: The Halakha prevails that one may be compelled to go to the assembly (and there try his case). Said R. Ashi to him: But did not R. Elazar say: He maybe compelled to try his case in that city? This is when the borrower said thus to the lender; but if the lender claims so, we apply to him [Prov. 22:7]: "The borrower is servant to the man that lendeth."

A message was sent from Palestine to Mar Uqba: To him to whom the world is light as to the son of Bathiah (it means to Moses), peace may be granted. Uqban the Babylonian complained before us that Jeremiah his brother destroyed his way (i.e., he has treated me badly, through which I have lost my money), and we have decided that he shall be compelled to appear before us in the city of Tiberias. (How is this to be understood? Thus:) They said to him: You may try him. If he will listen to you, well and good; and if not, you must compel him to see us in the city of Tiberias. Said R. Ashi: This was a case of fine, and in Babylon they are not allowed to try cases of fine; and that which they said to Mar Uqba, "You shall try him," etc., was only to honour him.

CHAPTER 4.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING EXAMINATIONS AND CROSS-EXAMINATIONS OF WITNESSES IN CIVIL AND CRIMINAL CASES. THE DIFFERENCE IN JUDGING AND IN DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN CIVIL AND CRIMINAL CASES. HOW THE MEMBERS OF THE SANHEDRIN WERE SEATED. HOW MANY RECORDING SCRIBES WERE NEEDED. HOW JUDGES WERE ADDED IF NEEDED, AND FROM WHAT PEOPLE. HOW WITNESSES SHOULD BE FRIGHTENED IN CRIMINAL CASES. THE REASON WHY ADAM THE FIRST WAS CREATED SINGLY.

MISHNA 1.: Cases coming before the court, be they civil or criminal, the witnesses thereof must be examined and investigated. As it is written [Lev. 4:22]: "One manner of judicial law shall ye have." But what difference is there between civil and criminal cases? It is the following: (a) The former cases are to be tried by three, and the latter by twenty-three judges. (b) In the former the discussion may commence either with the accusation or with the defence, while the latter must commence with the defence and not with the accusation. (c) In the former case one voice suffices either to accuse or to acquit, and in the latter he is acquitted by one voice, while to condemn two are needed. (d) In the former the judge who proclaimed his view either to advantage or to disadvantage may, after deliberating, announce his view to the contrary. In the latter, however, he may do so only to acquit, but not to condemn. (e) In civil cases the whole body of the court may defend or accuse, while in criminal cases all of them may acquit, but the whole body must not accuse. (f) The former may be discussed in the daytime and the decision rendered at night, while in the latter the decision must be in the daytime. But if they did not come to a conclusion on the same day, they have to postpone it to the morrow. (g) The decision concerning the former may be reached on the same day either to one's advantage or to his disadvantage, while in the latter the decision may be rendered on the same day to free him, but not to condemn him until the next day; and, therefore, cases of capital punishment must not be begun on the eve of Sabbath or of a legal holiday. In civil cases, and regarding defilement and purity, they begin by asking the opinion of the eldest, while in criminal cases they begin with those who are sitting on the side.

All are qualified to judge civil cases, but not every one is qualified to judge criminal cases; as to the latter--only priests, Levites, and Israelites who may legally marry daughters of priests.

GEMARA: Are investigation and examination indeed needed in civil cases? If so, there is a contradiction from the following Tosephta: A document of which the date shows the first of Nissan in a Sabbatical year and witnesses came, saying, "How can you testify in favour of this document--were you not with us at the same date mentioned in the document in such and such a place?" The document as well as the witnesses are valid, as it is to be supposed that they might have written the document after the date mentioned therein. Hence if investigation and examination are needed, why should they be valid because of the above reason? Would not the investigation show if it were so or not. But according to this theory, how is to be understood the following Mishna: Promissory notes which were written at an earlier date are invalid. However, if they were written at a later date, they are. Now, if an investigation in civil cases is needed, why should that which was written at a later date be valid? (The investigation would show that the witnesses who signed the document were not present when the loan was made, as it was signed at an earlier date. Hence the loan which was made earlier is to be considered a verbal loan, which does not collect from encumbered estates, and the note should be considered a forgery?) This presents no difficulty, the objection mentioned applying more to the statement of the Boraitha, as it speaks of a Sabbatical year, in which people do not usually lend money because of the law [Deut. 15:2] of that year, and nevertheless it makes valid that which was written in the month of Nissan, because the above-mentioned law concerning promissory notes applies only at the end of the year. However, the contradiction to our Mishna remains!

R. Hanina said: Biblically there is no difference between civil and criminal cases concerning investigations, as it reads, "One manner of judicial law," etc. But why was it enacted that civil cases do not need investigation? So as not to close the door to borrowers. (And our Mishna, which states that it is needed, was taught before the enactment; and the Boraitha cited after the enactment.) But if so, let the judge who made an error in the decision of the case not be responsible? If this should be enacted, so much the more would the door be closed to borrowers. Rabha, however, maintains that our Mishna treats of fine cases and the Boraitha of loan cases. However, both were taught after the above-mentioned enactment. And R. Papa maintains that both treat of loan cases. But our Mishna speaks of a case which appears to the court unfair; and to such, investigation is needed. The Boraitha speaks of non-suspicious cases. And this is in accordance with Resh Lakish, who used to propound a contradiction to the following: It reads [Lev. 19:15]: "In righteousness shalt thou judge thy neighbour"; and Deut. 16:20 reads: "Justice, only justice, shalt thou pursue," from which it is to be understood that an investigation is needed? And he answered that the first verse speaks of an ordinary case and the second of a suspicious one. R. Ashi, however, maintains that the above answer of R. Papa, concerning the contradiction from the Mishna, holds good. However, the supposed contradiction of the verse is to be explained that the first speaks of a strict law and the second of an arbitration, as the following Boraitha states: "Justice, only justice," etc., one word means strict law and the other means arbitration. How so? If, e.g., two boats are plying on a river and they meet each other, if both try to pass where there is not room, both would be lost; but if one passes after the other, both would be saved. And the same is the case with two camels passing the steps of Beth Chorin, which met each other. If both tried to pass together, both would fall; but if one after the other, both would be saved. Then the strict law is that the unloaded one should wait, and the loaded one pass; or, if one was near to the dangerous place and the other far off, the nearer one has to pass; but if both were loaded, or if both were at the same distance, then arbitration must be used as to which one has to pay to the other for loss of time.

The rabbis taught: "Justice, only justice, shalt thou pursue," means that one shall follow to the city of a celebrated judge, e.g., at Luda, after R. Elazar; at Brur-Heil, after Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai. [There is a Boraitha: (At the time the government had forbidden circumcisions and weddings, they made use of handmills to announce a circumcision.) Then, if one heard the sound of a handmill in the city of Burni, he understood that there was a ceremony of circumcision in that city; and if one saw many lights in Bene Heil, he understood that there was a wedding banquet in that city].

There is another Boraitha interpreting the cited verse thus: You should always trouble yourself to follow after the sages in assembly, as, for instance, after R. Elazar at Luda; after R Johanan b. Zakkai at Brur-Heil; after Jehoshua at Pekiein; after Rabban Gamaliel at Jamnia; after Aqiba at Bene Braq; after Matia at Rome; after Hanania b. Thrduin at Sikhni; after Jose at Sephorius; after Jehudah b. Bathyra at Nzibin; after Hanina, the nephew of Jehoshua, in exile; after Rabbi at Beth Shearin; and (when the Temple was in existence) after the sages at their assembly in the chamber of the Temple.

"With the accusation or with the defence." But what has the court first to say to the advantage of the defence in criminal cases? Said R. Jehudah: The court may ask the witness: "Whence do we know that it was as you say?" But from such an interrogation the witness will become dejected, and will refrain from saying anything. [But let him be dejected? Have we not learned in a Boraitha, R. Simon b. Eleazar said: The witnesses may be transferred from one place to another that they shall become dejected and retract from their statement if it was not true? What comparison is this? There they become dejected by themselves; but here, if you say to them, "Whence do we know that what you say is true?" you cause them to be dejected.] Therefore said Ula: The court questioned the other party, "Have you other witnesses to make collusive the witnesses of your opponents?" Said Rabba to him: Is this what you call beginning with the defence? With this saying you begin by accusing witnesses of the other party. Therefore said he: The court may say to the other party, "Have you other witnesses who may contradict the witnesses of your opponent?" R. Kahna says: The court may say, "From your testimony it seems that the defendant may be acquitted"; and thereafter they discuss the matter. Both Abayi and Rabha say: The court may say to the defendant, "Do not fear; if you have not committed the crime, nothing will be done to you." And R. Ashi said: The beginning should be with the announcement of the court: Every one who knows of a defence concerning the defendant may come to tell it before the court. There is a Boraitha in accordance with Abayi and Rabha as follows: It reads [Num. 5:19]: "If thou hast not gone aside to uncleanness behind thy husband, then be thou free." Said Rabbi: Infer from this that in criminal cases the beginning must be with the defence (as it is written first, "then be thou free").

"May after deliberating . . . announce to the contrary." There is a contradiction from the following: If one has tried a case and made liable him who is not, or vice versa; has purified a thing which is unclean, or vice versa, his decision holds good, but he has to pay for his error from his own pocket. (Hence we see that he must not retract?) Said R. Joseph: This presents no difficulty. A judge who was appointed by the court, if he made an error, he must pay for it; but if he was appointed by the parties only, he has not. But is there not a Boraitha: If he was appointed by the court, he has not to pay? Said R. Na'hman: The just cited Boraitha treats of when there was a superior judge to him, who ignores his decision; therefore he is free from paying, as the superior judge decides it properly. But if there is no superior and his decision remains, then he must pay for his error. R. Shesheth, however, maintains: It depends in what the error was made. If he erred in that which is plainly taught in a Mishna, then he has not to pay, because his decision will not be executed; but if he erred in his opinion, then he has to suffer. So did he hear from R. Assi. Rabhina questioned R. Ashi: Is it the same even if he has erred in that which was taught in the Boraithas of R. Hyya and R. Oshia? And he answered: Yea. And how is it if he erred in that which was said by Rabh and Samuel? And he answered: Yea. And how is it if he erred in that which was said by you and me? And he rejoined: What, then, are we? Are we splitting wood or gathering splinters in the forest! How is to be understood, "erred in his opinion"? (See the answer in Chapter 1.)

R. Hamnuna objected to R. Shesheth from the following: It happened that a cow of which the womb had been removed was brought before R. Tarphon, and he made the owner give it to the dogs. However, a similar case came before the sages in Jamnia, and they made it valid, because Tudus the physician testified that not one cow or one swine was sent out from Alexandria in Egypt of which the womb was not removed, Or the purpose that they should not bring forth offspring. And R. Tarphon exclaimed thus: O Tarphon, thy ass is gone! (I.e., I have to sell my ass to pay for the error.) Said R. Aqiba to him: You are free, as there is a rule that a judge who is appointed by the majority h-as not to pay for his error. Now, if an error in that which was taught in a Mishna does not hold good and must be redecided, why does not Aqiba say: You have erred against a Mishna? R. Aqiba meant to say both--first: You have erred against a Mishna; and secondly: Even if you erred in your own opinion you would also be free, because you were chosen by the majority.

Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak to Rabha: How could R. Hamnuna object to Shesheth from the case of the cow? Did not Tarphon give it to the dogs? Hence the cow was no longer in existence, and it could not be redecided. Hamnuna meant to say thus: If the decision should be that the case of one who erred against a Mishna is not to be redecided, it is correct that Tarphon was afraid that he must pay, and R. Aqiba told him that he must not, because he was a recognised judge. But if the Halakha is that in such a case it must be redecided, let Aqiba say to him: How would it be if the cow were still in existence--your decision would not remain and the cow would be declared valid? The same is the case even now that it is not in existence, as you did not yourself give it to the dogs: You had only decided that it was invalid, and as your decision does not count, the owner of the cow, himself, has to suffer for his act.

R. Hisda, however, explains our Mishna that it means: If the judge himself took from the one who was liable in his eyes and gave to his opponent, only then must he pay from his pocket, but not otherwise. But this would be correct in one case only--namely, if he had made liable the just, then we could say that he took from the just and gave to his opponent. But how could this be done in the second case, in which he has acquitted the one who was liable, as he only said to him: You are not liable? His decision, "You are free," is counted as if he would take with his hand and give to him. But if so, how is to be understood the following statement of the Mishna, that the judge may retract from this view, no matter if it is concerning defence or accusation, as this can be explained only in case he said to the just, "You are liable," but did not collect from him, as then he may retract and say, "You are not liable"? But in case he made liable a just man, how could such a case take place, if not by the decision, "You are free"? And it is said above that such a decision is considered as if he would take from one party and give to the other: hence, after such, no retraction can take place. Our Mishna, with its expression, "whether in defence or in accusation," means to say that with the acquittal of one party the other party is accused; namely, a retraction may take place in behalf of one who was erroneously made liable but it was not as yet collected, although it is a disadvantage to his opponent, but in case he has acquitted the one who is liable he has to pay from his pocket. But if so, then in criminal cases a retraction could take place only when it is in behalf of the defendant. but at the same time his opponent is not accused. And this can be said if the criminal case was a violation of Sabbath or a case of

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adultery; but in case of murder, how can such be found? But how, if there is a retraction that he is not guilty of slaying a person, who is accused? It may be said the relatives of the person murdered; as biblically, if the relatives of the person murdered took revenge on the murderer and slew him, he is freed; and by the retraction from guilty to not guilty, if the relative should put his hand on the murderer, he would be accused. But could such a thing be supposed? You mean to say, because perhaps the relative of the person murdered will take revenge, therefore no retraction shall take place and the defendant shall be put to death. And secondly, does not the Mishna state, whether concerning defence or accusation? This difficulty remains. Rabhina, however, says: Even in case he has acquitted the one liable, it may also be found that the judge did it with his hand--namely, in case he had a pledge and the judge took it away from him and transferred it to the borrower.

"Criminal cases," etc. The rabbis taught: Whence do we know that if one was found guilty by the court, and thereafter one came, saying: I know a defence for him, that the case may be retried? Because it reads [Ex. 23:7]: "Him who hath been declared innocent and righteous, thou shalt not slay." Read: Him who was declared innocent even by one person, you shall not slay (without a reinvestigation). And whence do we know concerning the one who was acquitted by the court, and thereafter one says, "I know of a fact which will make him guilty," that he must not be listened to? From the same cited verse: "Him who hath been declared righteous, ye shall not slay." Said R. Shimi b. Ashi. And just the reverse may be done with a seducer, as the Scripture reads [Deut. 13:9]: "You shall not have any pity," etc. R. Kahana infers this from [ibid., ibid. 10]: "You shall surely kill him," etc.

R. Zera questioned R. Shesheth: Whence do we know that the same law applies to them who are to be punished with exile? And the answer was: From an analogy of the expression "murder," which is to be found in both cases. And whence do we know that the same is the case with them that are to be punished with stripes? From an analogy of the expression, "wicked," which, is to be found in both cases. And so also is it plainly stated in a Boraitha.

"But not to condemn." Said Hyya b. Aba in the name of R. Johanan: Provided he has erred in a thing which the Sadduceans oppose; but if they admit, it must read so plainly in the Scripture. And such a decision is not to be taken in consideration at all, as schoolchildren are aware of it; it must be retried. The same Hyya questioned R. Johanan: How is it we err in a case of adultery? And he answered: So loner as the fire in the stove burns, cut off all that you want to roast, and roast it. (I.e., when you are studying a thing, consider it thoroughly to prevent questions. You have heard from me that, a thing which the Sadduceans admit, his decision is not counted. Is not adultery one of these?)

"All of them," etc. Does the Mishna mean that even their witness who had accused him may also thereafter defend him? Then our Mishna is in accordance with R. Jose b. Jehudah, and,, not in accordance with the rabbis of the following Boraitha: It is written [Num. xxxv. 30]: "But one witness shall not testify against any person to cause him to die." It means whether to defend or to accuse. Jose b. Jehudah, however, maintains that he may testify to defend, but not to accuse. (Hence our Mishna is not in accordance with him.) Said R. Papa: Our Mishna with its expression all, means to add one of the disciples who sat in a row before the judges, and such may make use of his opinion according to all.

What is the reason of R. Jose's statement? Because it reads: "to cause him to die," we infer that only to accuse he must not testify, but to defend he may. But if so, why do the rabbis differ? Said Resh Lakish: Because it appears that the witness is interested in this case. And what do the rabbis infer from the words "to cause him to die"? They apply this to one of the disciples, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: If one of the witnesses says: "I have something to say in defence. of the defendant," whence do we know that he must not be listened to? From the verse cited: "One witness shall not testify." And whence do we know, if one of the disciples say, "I have something to say to the disadvantage of the defendant," that he must also not be listened to? From the same: "One shall not testify to cause him to die."

"Only to acquit, but not to condemn." Said Rabh: This is said only at the time they discuss this matter; but at the time of the conclusion he may change his views from defence to accusation also. An objection was raised from the following: "On the morrow they arise early and come to the court. He who defended has to say: I defended yesterday and am of the same opinion to-day. And he who accused has also to say: I accused, and am of the same opinion to-day. However, he who had accused may change his view to defence, while this is not allowed to him who defended." Now, on the morrow it is time for the conclusion, and it nevertheless states that the defendant may not change his view? According to this theory, no discussion is to be prolonged on the morrow; and this is certainly not so. Hence the Boraitha means that he must not do so at the time of discussion.

Come and hear another objection: "All who take part in the discussion may explain their reasons, until one of the accusers shall yield to one of the defenders (and then the majority of one will suffice to acquit)." Now, if you say that one may change his view from defence to accusation, why does not the Boraitha state, "or to the contrary"? It is simply because the Tana of the Boraitha does not care to repeat a matter of accusation.

Come and hear another objection: "R. Jose b. Hanina said: If one of the disciples has defended and dies at the time of the conclusion, his view should be considered as if he were still alive." And why? Let it be said that if he were alive he might retract from his view? This is no objection, as in reality he did not retract. But how can you explain that the decision of R. Jose b. Hanina may correspond with Rabh's statement? Was not a message sent from Palestine as follows: R. Jose's statement denies our master's (Rabh's) statement? Nay, the message was just the contrary: R. Jose's statement does not deny the statement of our master in Babylon.

"Discussed in the daytime," etc. Whence is this deduced? Said R. Aha b. Papa: From [Ex. 18:22]: "And let them judge the people at all times." But how is it to be inferred from this that the conclusion must not be at night, and the discussion may? This is in accordance with Rabha, who has propounded a contradiction from the just cited verse to that of Deut. 21:16: "Then shall it be, on the day 1 when he divideth . . . what he hath"--on the day, "but not at any time"? And the answer was that the beginning of the trial must be in the daytime, but the conclusion may be even at night-time in civil cases. Our Mishna is not in accordance with R. Mair of the following Boraitha: It reads [ibid., ibid. 5]: "Every controversy and every plague." 1 What have plagues to do with controversies? The Scripture compares controversies to plagues, in order to apply the law of the latter to the former. As concerning plagues it must be in the daytime [Lev. 13:14]: "But on the day," etc., the same is the case with controversies. And also as, concerning plagues, it cannot be judged by one who is blind, as the priest must see the signs, the same is the case with controversies. And also the law concerning controversies, which must not be judged by relatives, applies to plagues--that the priest must not be a relative of him who has the plague.

In the neighbourhood of R. Johanan there was one who was blind who used to judge cases, and R. Johanan did not protest. But could R. Johanan be silent in such a matter? Is it not against his own decision? Did not he himself declare that the Halakha always prevails with an anonymous Mishna, and there is one which states: Every one who is qualified to judge is also qualified to be a witness? However, there are some who are qualified to witness, but not to judge; and the same R. Johanan has declared that it means one who is blind of one eye, who is qualified to witness, but not to judge. Hence one who is blind, who is disqualified to be a witness because he cannot see, ought also to be disqualified to judge? R. Johanan found another anonymous Mishna for his basis, namely: "Civil cases may be discussed in the daytime and the conclusion at night," which is the same as a case of one who is blind. But why does he give preference to the latter Mishna, and not to the first? If you wish, it may be said because the latter treats of a majority, while the first treats of an individual. And if you wish, it is because the latter is taught concerning the laws of trying cases.

"If they did not come to a conclusion," etc. Whence is this deduced? Said Shini b. Hyya: From [Num. 25:4]: "Take all the heads of the people and hang them up before the Lord in the face of the sun." If people have sinned, wherein have the heads of the people sinned, that they should be hanged? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: Thus said the Holy One, blessed be He, to Moses: "Take the heads of the people, and set them at separate places, that they shall judge the guilty ones and hang them in the face of the sun (which means in the daytime)." And why in separate places? Shall we assume, because two capital punishments must not be decided on one and the same day? Did not R. Hisda say that this is said only when capital punishments are of different kinds, but if of one kind they may? Therefore it must be said: To hasten the execution of the guilty, that the anger of Heaven shall cease.

"They have to postpone it until the morrow." Whence is this deduced? Said R. Hanina: From [Is. 1:21]: "Righteousness lodged therein; but now murderers"--which means, formerly they used to postpone the condemnation for a night, and now that they are not doing so they are considered murderers.

"Must not be begun on the eve of Sabbath," etc. Why so? Because it could not be done otherwise; as, if they should begin and finish on the eve of Sabbath, perhaps they would need to condemn him, and then they would have to postpone it over night. And to conclude the case on Sabbath and to execute on the same day, the execution does not violate the Sabbath; and should it be executed at night, after Sabbath the law requires, "in the face of the sun"; and should the conclusion be on Sabbath and the execution on the following day, then it would be torture for the guilty one, which is not allowed. Should they begin on the eve of Sabbath and conclude on the day after Sabbath, then they are liable to forget the reasons. Although there were two scribes who used to write down the discussions--the defence as well as the accusation--they wrote only what was said, but could not write the heart of the man. And, therefore, it was impossible otherwise.

"They used to ask the opinion," etc. Said Rabh: I used to be among the judges of the court of Rabbi, and they used to begin the question of opinions with me. But does not the Mishna state that they have to begin with the eldest? Said Rabba b. Rabba, according to others Hillel b. Wals: It was different in the court of Rabbi, as in all cases they used to begin from those who were sitting at the side. The same said again: From the time of Moses until the time of Rabbi we do not find one man who was unique in the possession of wisdom, riches, and glory. Is this so? Was it not so with Jehoshua? Nay, there was Elazar the high-priest, who was equal to him. But was not Pinchas such a man? Nay, there were the elders who ruled with him. But was there not King Saul, of whom the same could be said? Nay, there was Samuel. But did not Samuel die before Saul? It means, all the years of his life. But was not David such a man? There was Era of Ja'ir. He also departed before him. It means, also, all the years of his life. Was not King Solomon such a man? There was Shimi b. Geara. But did not Samuel slay him? It means, all the years of his life. Was there not Hezekiah? There was Shbna. Was there not Ezra? There was Nehemiah. Said R. Ada b. Ahbah: I can add thus: From the time of Rabbi until the time of R. Ashi there is also not to be found a man who was unique in all that is said above. But was there not Huna b. Nathan? R. Huna was under the influence of R. Ashi.

"Criminal cases they began from those sitting at the side." Whence is this deduced? Said R. Aha b. Papa: It is written [Ex. 23:3]: "Neither shalt thou speak in a cause." (The term for "cause" is "rib," literally "quarrel," and "rab" means "great.") Do not read "rib," but "rab," which means: You shall not contradict one who is greater than you. Rabba b. b. Hana in the name of R. Johanan said: This is inferred from [1 Sam. 25:13]: "Gird ye on every man his sword, and they girded on every man his sword; and David also girded on his sword." (We see that first it was done by the people and afterwards by the master.)

Rabh said: One may teach his disciple, and at the same time may judge in association with him in criminal cases. An objection was raised from the following concerning purification and defilement. A father with his son, or a master with his disciple, are counted as two voices. However, in civil cases, in criminal cases concerning stripes, in consecration of the month and in the, establishment of leap year, a father with his son, or a master with his teacher, is counted as one voice only. (Hence we see that the master with his disciple cannot judge together in criminal cases, so that they should be counted two.) Rabh speaks of such disciples as R. Kahana and R. Assi, who needed only Rabh's tradition, but not his sagacity, to equalise things.

R. Abuhu said: In ten things civil cases differ from criminal cases. However, all of them do not apply to the case of an ox which is to be stoned, except as to the number of judges, twenty-three being needed, similar to all other criminal cases. But whence is this deduced? Said R. Aha b. Papa: From [Ex. 23:6]: "Thou shalt not wrest the judgement of thy poor in his cause"; i.e., thou shalt not wrest the case of thy poor, but thou mayst wrest the case of the stoning of an ex. (And as this law does not apply to the stoning of an ox, so do not apply the other laws except the one of the twenty-three, judges mentioned above.) But are there not some other things in which criminal cases differ from civil? Have we not learned in a Boraitha that among the Sanhedrin must not be any one of great seniority, a castrate, and those who have no children? R. Jehudah also adds to these a cruel man.

"All are competent to judge civil cases." What does the Mishna mean by the expression "all"? Said R. Jehudah. To add a bastard. But this was taught already in the above-mentioned Boraitha, that all who are competent to judge criminal cases are competent for civil cases. However, there are those who are competent for civil cases but not for criminal. And in our discussion we have debated: "What does it mean by all who are competent?" The same R. Jehudah said: It means to add a bastard. One means to add a proselyte and the other means to add a bastard; and both cases are necessary to be stated. For if a proselyte only were stated, one might say, it is because he is eligible to marry a daughter of an Israelite; but a bastard, who is not allowed to do so, is not competent. And if a bastard only were stated, one might say, because, after all, he is a descendant of an Israelite; but a proselyte, who is a descendant of a heathen, is not competent. Therefore both statements are necessary.

"But not all of them are competent to judge criminal cases." What is the reason? That which was taught by R. Joseph: As the court must be select in its uprightness, so it must be select in all other things--without any blemish. And R. Ameimar said: Where is there to be found an allusion to this in the Scripture? In [Solomon's Song, 14:7]: "Thou art altogether beautiful, my beloved, and there is no blemish on thee." But perhaps it means literally that the judges shall be without any

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bodily blemish? Said R. Aha b. Jacob: It reads [Num. xi. 16]: "And they shall stand there with thee"--which means those who are equal to thee (i.e., in birth, but not a proselyte and a bastard). But perhaps there is a difference, because of the glory of the Shekinah. Therefore said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: This is inferred from [Ex. 18:22]: "When they shall bear with thee." This means they shall be equal to thee in birth.

MISHNA 2.: The Sanhedrin sat in a half-circle in order that they could see each other. Two scribes of the judges stood before them, one on the right and one on the left, and they wrote down the reasons of the accuser and of the defender. According to R. Jehudah there were three--one who wrote down the reasons of the accuser and one the reasons of the defender, and one the reasons of both. And before them sat three rows of scholars (disciples). To every one of them his seat was known. If it was necessary to add a judge, one from the first row was elevated, and one from the second came and took the latter's place, and one from the third took the place of this one; and for the place in the third row one of the standing people was selected, but he did not take the same seat as the one departed occupied, but that to which he was entitled.

GEMARA: Whence is this deduced? Said R. Aha b. Hanina: From [Solomon's Song, 7:3]: "Thy navel is like a round goblet which lacketh not the mixed wine." By "navel" is meant the Sanhedrin. And why were they named navel? Because they used to sit in the middle of the world (according to the Talmud, Jerusalem was the middle of the world and the Temple was in the centre of Jerusalem), and also protected the whole world. And why were they named a "round goblet"? Because the Sanhedrin sat in a circle: "Which lacketh not the mixed wine "--i.e., if one wished to leave, it must be seen that besides him twenty-three remained, and if there were less, he must not. "Thy body is like a heap of wheat fenced about with lilies," means that as from a heap of wheat all derive benefit, so all were pleased to hear the reasons given by the Sanhedrin in their discussions. "Fenced about with lilies" means that even a fence of lilies was not broken by them to go out of it. This is what was said by a certain Minn to R. Kahana: Your law permits a, man to stay alone with his wife during the days of her menstruation. Is it possible that flax and fire should be together and should not burn? And he answered: The Torah has testified that we are such a kind of people that even a fence of lilies is sufficient for us, and will never be broken. Resh Lakish said: This is inferred from ibid. vi. 72, which means that even thy vain fellows, are full of meritorious acts--like the pomegranate. 1 R. Zera said: From [Gen. xxvii. 27]: "And he smelled the smell of his garments," etc. Do not read "bgadov," which means dress, but "bagdov," which means his transgressor. There were insolent fellows in the neighbourhood of R. Zera, who nevertheless associated with them and showed them respect, to the end that they should repent. The rabbis, however, were not satisfied with this. But after the soul of R. Zera had gone to its resting-place the above-mentioned people took this to heart, saying: Hitherto there was the little man who prayed for us, but now who will do so? And they repented and became good.

"Three rows," etc. Said Abayi: Infer from this that if one left his place, all in the row had to change their places. But could one not protest, saying: Hitherto I have sat in front, and now you place me in the back? Said Abayi: To such a protest he was answered: There is a parable that it is better for one to be the tail of a lion than the head of a fox.

MISHNA 3.: How were the witnesses awestruck in criminal cases? They were brought in and warned: Perhaps your testimony is based only on a supposition, or on hearsay, or on that of another witness, or you have had it from a trustworthy man; or perhaps you are not aware that finally we will investigate the matter by examination and cross-examination. You may also be aware of the fact that there is no similarity between civil and criminal cases. In civil cases one may repay the money damage and he is atoned; but in criminal cases the blood of the person executed, and of his descendants to the end of all generations, clings to the originator of his execution. So do we find in the case of Cain, who slew his brother. It reads [Gen. 4:10]: "The voice of the 'bloods' of thy brother are crying unto me from the ground." It does not read "blood," but "bloods," which means his blood and the blood of his descendants. [According to others it reads "bloods" in the plural, because his blood was scattered all over the trees and stones.] Therefore the man was created singly, to teach that he who destroys one soul of a human being, the Scripture considers him as if he should destroy a whole world, and him who saves one soul of Israel, the Scripture considers him as if he should save a whole world. And also because of peace among creatures, so that one should not say: My grandfather was greater than yours; and also that the heretic shall not say: There are many creators in heaven; and also to proclaim the glory of the Holy One, blessed be He. For a human being stamps many coins with one stamp, and all of them are alike; but the King of the kings of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He, has stamped every man with the stamp of Adam the First, and nevertheless not one of them is like the other. Therefore every man may say: The world was created for my sake, hence I must be upright, just, etc. Should you (witnesses) say: Why should we take so much trouble upon ourselves? To this it is written [Lev. 5:1]: "And he is a witness, since he hath seen or knoweth something; if he do not tell it, and thus bear his iniquity." And should you say: After all, why should the blood of this man cling to us? To this it is written [Prov. 11:10]: "When the wicked perish, there is joyful shouting."

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: What means a supposition? The court may say to them: Although you saw that one ran after his companion to a ruin and you ran after them, and found a sword in his hand from which the blood dripped, and you also saw the one killed move convulsively, you saw nothing (so long as he did not kill him in your presence).

There is a Boraitha: Simeon b. Shetha said: May I not live to see the consolation of our people if I did not see one who ran after his companion to a ruin, and I ran after him, and saw a sword in his hand from which blood dripped, and the one killed moved convulsively, and I said to him: You wicked one, who has slain this man--I or you? But what can I do that your blood is not legally in my hands, as it reads [Deut. 17:6]: "Upon the evidence of two . . . be put to death." But He who knows the thoughts of man shall take revenge on this man who has slain his companion. It was said that both (Simeon and the murderer) had not moved before a snake came and stung the guilty one that he died.

But was this man liable to be killed by a snake? Did not R. Joseph say, and so also taught the disciples of Hiskia: Since the Temple was destroyed, although the court of the Sanhedrin existed no longer, the punishment of the four kinds of death prescribed in the Scripture was not abolished by Heaven--as, e.g., he who is liable to be stoned finds his death by falling from a roof or by being trodden down by a wild beast; he who is liable to be burned finds his death by fire or by the bite of a snake; he who is liable to be slain by the sword falls into the hand of the government, which slays him, or he comes to death by the sword of murderers; and he who ought to be hanged finds his death by drowning in the river or by diphtheritis. (But the murderer is only to be slain, and not burned?) This man was liable to be burned for another, crime; and the master said elsewhere that he who is guilty of two crimes is to be punished by the heavier death.

"Supposition." We see that a supposition does not hold good in the case of crimes. Does it hold good in civil cases? And if yea, it would be in accordance with R. Aha, who said in the "Last Gate" that if there was a biting camel among camels and a killed camel was found at its side, it might be taken for a certainty that it had killed him and its owner was liable. But according to this theory, if there was a witness who heard this by hearsay from another, which is not considered in criminal cases, it should be considered in civil. Does not the Mishna state that if he said, "The defendant has confessed to me that he owes," etc.; or, "So and so told me that he owes him," he said nothing? Hence if such does not hold good in civil cases, why should this be repeated concerning criminal cases? Therefore we must say that, notwithstanding that such a testimony is not considered in civil cases, they nevertheless warned them in criminal cases. The same is the case with the above-mentioned case of supposition.

"You shall be aware," etc. R. Jehudah b. Ahia said: Infer from the verse cited in the Mishna that Cain made wounds and gashes on the body of his brother Abel, as he did not know by what member the soul departed until he reached his neck. The same said again: From that time when the earth opened its mouth to receive the blood of Abel, it has not again opened. As it is written [Is. xxiv. 16]: "From the edge of the earth," etc. Hence it reads "from the edge," but not "from the mouth." Hiskia, his brother, however, objected to him from [Num. 16:32]: "And the earth opened her mouth," etc. And he answered it opened for disadvantage, but not for advantage. The above said again in the name of the same authority: Exile atones for only half of a sin, but not for all of it, as it reads [Gen. 4:14]: "And I shall be a fugitive and vagabond on the earth," etc.; and [ibid. 16]: "And dwelt in the "land of Nod" (vagabond). Hence half of his sin was atoned. 1

"Therefore after them man was created singly." The rabbis taught: Adam the first was created singly, and why? That disbelievers should not say there were many Creators in Heaven. And another reason is because of the upright and the wicked, that the upright should not say: We are descendants of an upright man; and the wicked should not say: We are descendants of a wicked one (hence we are not to be blamed). There is another reason: Because of families, that they should not quarrel, saying Our parents were better than yours. As we see that when only one man was created there are quarrels of rank, how much the more if many original Adams had been created. Still another reason: Because of robbers and forcers. As even now, when he was created singly, there are robbers and forcers although they are all from one father, how much the more would there be robbers and forcers if they were from different parents.

"To save the glory," etc. The rabbis taught: To save the glory of the King of the king of kings, the Holy One, blessed be he! A human being stamps many coins and all are alike, but the Holy One, blessed be He, has stamped every man with the stamp of Adam the First, and nevertheless not One is like his neighbour. As it reads [Job, 38:14]: "She is changed as the sealing-clay; and (all things) stand as though newly clad." And why are not the faces of men alike? Because one might see a nice dwelling or a handsome woman, and say: It is mine. As it reads [ibid. 15]: "And from the wicked is their light withdrawn, and the high-raised arm is broken."

There is a Boraitha: R. Mair used to say: In three things one is different from his neighbour--in voice, in face, and in mind: in voice and in face, because of adultery; and in mind, because of robbers. (I.e., if one were to know the mind of his neighbour, he would know of all his treasures and mysteries and would rob him of them.)

CHAPTER 5.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING PRELIMINARY QUERIES, EXAMINATION, AND CROSS-EXAMINATION IN CRIMINAL CASES. WHAT MAY OR MAY NOT BE CONSIDERED A CONTRADICTION OF WITNESSES. HOW IS IT IF A DISCIPLE NOT BELONGING TO THE JUDGES SAYS: "I HAVE SOMETHING TO SAY TO HIS ADVANTAGE OR DISADVANTAGE"? BY WHAT MAJORITY ONE MAY BE ACQUITTED AND BY WHAT ACCUSED; AND TO WHAT NUMBER JUDGES MAY BE ADDED, IF THEY CANNOT COME TO ANY CONCLUSION.

MISHNA 1.: The court used to examine the witnesses with the following seven inquiries: (a) In what Sabbatic period? (b) In what year of the latter? (c) In what month? (d) On what date of the month? (e) On what day? (f) At what hour? (g) And in what place? R. Jose, however, maintains: "Only on what day? At what hour? In what place?" And also: Did you know this man? Did you warn him?

If the crime was idolatry, they were questioned which idols they worshipped and what kind of worship? He who is more particular and who enlarges the examination is praiseworthy. It happened that Ben Sakkai had examined the witnesses concerning the kind and the size of the figs of a certain fig tree which was connected with the crime.

What is the difference between examination and queries? In the latter, even if only one answered, "I don't know," the complaint is dismissed; while in examination, if one of the witnesses, and even two, claim that they did not know, their testimony holds good. In both cases, however, if they contradict each other, their testimony is ignored. If one says, "It happened on the second of the month," and the second says, "on the third of it," their testimony holds good, as it is to be supposed that to one was known the intercalation of the last month and to the other it was not. However, if one says "on the third" and the other says "on the fifth of the month," their testimony is ignored. If one says "in the second hour" and the other says "in the third," it holds good; but if one says "in the third" and the other "in the fifth hour of that day," it is ignored. R. Jehudah, however, maintains that it still holds good; but if one says "in the fifth hour" and the other says "in the seventh," even according to R. Jehudah it is ignored, as in the fifth hour the sun is in the east, while in the seventh hour it is already in the west.

After one witness was examined they let the second enter and examined him. And if their testimony correspond, the discussion begins with the defence. Should one of the witnesses say, "I have something to say in behalf of the defendant, or one of the disciples, "I have something to say to the disadvantage of the defendant," the court silences him. If, however, one of the disciples says, "I have something to say in his behalf," they take him out of his place, and set him among them, and he remains there the whole day; and if his words are reasonable, he is listened to. Furthermore, if the defendant says, "I have something to say in my behalf," he is to be listened to if there is something in his defence. If the judges find a good reason to acquit him, they do so immediately; and if not, they postpone the trial to the morrow. The judges then go out in pairs, and eat something--not much, but do not drink wine the whole day. They continue their discussion (outside of the court) all night, and on the morrow they come early to the court. He who was among the defenders says: I defended yesterday, and am still of the same opinion. The same is it with the accuser--he has to say: I accused, and am still of the same opinion. The one who has accused may retract from his statement of yesterday, to the advantage of the defendant. This is not allowed to him who has defended. If some of them erred in their statements, the scribes of the judges remind them of it. And again, if the conclusion is to the advantage of the defendant they free him immediately; and if not, they arise to be numbered. If twelve of them acquit and eleven accuse, he is acquitted. But if twelve accuse and eleven acquit, and even if eleven accuse and eleven acquit, but the twenty-third says, "I am in doubt"; even if twenty-two are for acquitting or accusing and one says, "I don't know," judges are to be added. And to what number? Two and two, till the whole number reaches seventy-one. And then if thirty-six acquit and thirty-five condemn, he is acquitted; but if vice

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versa, the discussion is prolonged until one of the accusers accepts the opinion of the acquitters.

GEMARA: Whence is all this deduced? Said R. Jehudah: From Deut. 13:15: "Then shalt thou inquire and make search, and ask diligently." And it reads also [ibid. 17:4]: "And it be told thee, and thou hearest of it, thou shalt inquire diligently"; and also [ibid. 19:18]: "And the judges shall inquire diligently." But perhaps the Scripture does not require seven queries in one case, and it is meant literally (namely, in the crime of a misled town three queries, and concerning idolatry two, and the same also concerning collusive witnesses; as in the former searching is mentioned three. times and in the latter searching is mentioned twice). As if seven in one case were needed, let the Scripture state all the above cases together, and then all other criminal cases would be inferred from this. Because searching is mentioned in all three cases above, we infer one from the other, so as to apply everything which is in one case to the others. But the law concerning those cases is not similar, as the case of a misled town cannot be equalised to the other two cases, as they are punished only in their body, but not in their estate; while in the case of a misled town all its estates must be destroyed. Neither can idolatry be equalised to the two cases, as the latter are put to death by the sword, while an idolater is to be stoned. And the case of collusive witnesses is also in one respect more rigorous than the others, as they are put to death without warning? One is inferred from the other, because of the analogy of the expression "diligently," which is to be found in all the cases, and would be superfluous if it were not written for that purpose. And to such an analogy, which comes from a superfluous expression, an objection is not to be made. Hence we infer the case which is to be punished with hanging by an a fortiori conclusion, from those which are to be punished by stoning or by the sword; and those by burning, by an a fortiori conclusion from those by stoning, etc. But such an a fortiori conclusion would be correct if all of the rabbis agreed that stoning is a more rigorous death than all the others. But there are some who hold that burning is more rigorous. Hence, according to them, the above a fortiori conclusion could not he drawn. Therefore said R. Jehudah: The seven queries of examination are inferred from [ibid. 13:15]: "And behold, if it be true--the thing is certain," which term is again repeated in ibid. 17:4. The words "certain" and "true," which are repeated, make four, and in the above three cases "searching" is mentioned seven times. These altogether make eleven, of which seven are to be taken for the seven queries, three of them for an analogy, and the one which remains applies to that case of which the punishment is burning, in accordance with R. Simeon's theory that burning is more rigorous. And concerning the rabbis, who hold that stoning is more rigorous, it does not matter if a thing which is to be inferred by the drawing of an a fortiori conclusion is nevertheless mentioned in the Scripture.

R. Abuhu ridiculed this statement. Why not say that the superfluous word of the eleven in question is to teach that eight queries arc necessary in the examination? Eight queries! What is this? How many minutes are there in the hour? And so, also, a Boraitha states that queries were used. But such a question is correct, according to Abayi, who said that R. Mair maintains that one is not liable to err in the minutes at all, or in a few minutes. But according to him, after R. Jehudah, who maintains that one is liable to err in a half hour, and according to Rabha, who maintains that one can err even in a whole hour, what should be the eighth query? "What period of the jubilee year?" However, he who maintains that the eleventh word mentioned above is applied to something else, maintains that the latter query is not necessary, as they were already questioned: What period of the Sabbatic year?

"R. Jose said," etc. There is a Boraitha: R. Jose said to the sages: According to your theory, if a witness came before the court testifying, "Yesterday this man killed some one," may he be questioned in what period of the Sabbatic year, or in what year, month, and on what day of the month? And he was answered: The same as, according to your theory, that the queries should be: On what day, at what hour, and in what place? How is it if one testifies before the court, "This man has just killed a man"? Nevertheless the above queries are put to him: On what day, and at what hour? Hence, although not necessary, nevertheless he is to be questioned in accordance with the theory of R. Simeon b. Elazar, who maintains that the examination should be made severe, that the witnesses may lose heart in case they do not tell the truth. The same is the case with the other queries--they have to be put although it is not necessary. R Jose, however, may say: Usually the case is not tried just after the crime is committed, and therefore it is very seldom that the witness has to say: He killed him just now. However, one or a few days after the crime has been committed, it frequently happens that the case is tried.

"Do you know this man?" etc. The rabbis taught: The query was: Do you recognise this man as the murderer of him who was slain? Was he a heathen or an Israelite? Have you warned him? Did he accept the warning? Did he answer in spite of this? Did he commit the crime just after he was warned? And if the crime was idolatry: Which idol has he worshipped--the idol Peor or Markulis? Now did he worship it? Did he sacrifice an animal or incense to it, or pour out wine for it, or bow himself down before it?

Ula said: Whence do we deduce that the warning is prescribed biblically? From [Lev. 20:17]: "And if a man take his sister, the daughter of his father, or the daughter of his mother, and see her nakedness." Is he guilty because he has seen it? It must therefore be said that it means he is aware of the crime (i.e., aware that she is his sister and that it is a crime). Hence the same is it with all other crimes--that he is not to be sentenced unless he was aware that it was a crime; and to be certain that he was aware, it can only be through warning. And as this verse speaks of a crime for which he is punished with "korath," which means through Heaven, to which warning is not applied, apply to it the punishment of stripes. The school of Hiskia deduces it from [Ex. 21:14]: "But if a man come presumptuously upon his neighbour, to slay him with guile," which means it was presumptuously done even after he was warned. The school of R. Ismael inferred this from [Num. 15:33]: "And they that find him gathering sticks," which means that after they warned him he still gathered the sticks. And the school of Rabbi deduced this from [Deut. 22:24]: "Because he had done violence." 1 And all of them are needed; as if it were stated only in the case of his sister, as to which it was explained that it means the punishment of stripes, one might say that this applies only to stripes, but not to capital punishment. Therefore the cited verse in Ex. 21. And if the two only were stated, one might say that it applies only to a kind of death which is more lenient than stoning, but to the punishment of stoning, which is very rigorous, it does not apply. Therefore all are needed.

The Boraitha states: Did he answer in spite of this? Whence do we know this? Said Rabha, and according to others Hiskia: From [ibid. 17:6]: "Shall he that is worthy of death be put to death," which means, provided he answered, "I will do this even should it cause my death."

R. Hanan said: Witnesses who testified in case of a betrothed woman, if they be found collusive, are not to be put to death, as they may say: Our intention was to make it unlawful for her to be his wife only, but not that she should be put to death. But did they not warn her? It speaks of when they did not. But in such a case it is self-evident, as without warning she is not to be put to death. He speaks of a scholarly woman, and this is in accordance with R. Jose b. Jehudah, who said in the following Boraitha: Warning does not apply to a scholar, as the purpose of warning is only to recognise if the perpetrator of the crime did it while he was not aware that such was a crime, or he did it although he was aware; and as a scholar is aware of this crime, no warning is needed. And as they are not to be put to death, she also is exempted from death, as the Scripture requires that the collusive witnesses should be punished with the same punishment as the perpetrator of the crime, if it were true; and as they claim that they intended only to make it unlawful for her to be the wife of her betrothed, such a punishment is not applicable to the witnesses, and therefore she also is acquitted.

R. Hisda said: If one of the witnesses testifies that he slew him with a sword and the other says "with a razor," it is not admissible. But if one says that the murderer or the one murdered was dressed in white, and the other testifies, "He was in black," it is to be considered admissible. An objection was raised from the following: "It should exactly correspond," means that if one testifies that he slew him with a sword and the other with a razor, or if one says that he was dressed in black and the other that he was dressed in white, it does not? R. Hisda explains this Boraitha, that it means if both have testified that he strangled him With a muffler, and one said "It was a white one," and the other said "It was a black one." Come and hear another objection: If one says, "He wore black sandals," and the other says, "white ones," it is not considered corresponding? Also this Boraitha may be explained that he kicked him with his sandals and killed him. Come and hear another objection from our Mishna: It happened that Ben Sakkai examined the witnesses . . . of a certain fig tree? Said R. Jose: Do you want to contradict a man from Ben Sakkai's theory? He was of the opinion that there is no difference between. examination and query, and his theory is individual. Who was Ben Sakkai? Shall we assume that it means Rabban Johanan ben Sakkai? Was he, then, among the Sanhedrin? Is there not a Boraitha that the age of R. Johanan was one hundred and twenty: the first forty years he was engaged in business, the middle forty he studied, and the last forty he taught? And there is another Boraitha: Forty years before the Temple was destroyed, the Sanhedrin was exiled from the chamber of the Temple to a store. And R. Itz'hak b. Abudimi explained that it means that from that time the Sanhedrin did not try cases of capital punishment. And there is also a Mishna which states that after the Temple was destroyed R. Johanan ben Sakkai enacted, etc. Hence we see that during forty years of his life there were no cases of capital punishment in the court of the Sanhedrin, and it cannot be that the examination in question was made by him. Therefore it must be said that this Ben Sakkai was some one else. And so it seems to be, as if it were R. Johanan b. Sakkai, how is it possible that Rabbi, the editor of the Mishnayoth, should name him Ben Sakkai only. But have we not learned in a Boraitha: It happened that R. Johanan b. Sakkai examined . . . the kind of figs? Therefore it must be said that at that time he was a disciple who was sitting in the row before the Sanhedrin, and he said something which was accepted by the Sanhedrin, and therefore it was established in his name. Hence while he was as yet a student he was named Ben Sakkai; and afterwards, when he began to teach, he was named Rabban Johanan. And the Mishna which mentioned him by the name of Ben Sakkai did so because when this happened he was still Ben Sakkai; the Boraitha, however, mentioned him by his name of the latter period.

"What is the difference between examination?" etc. How is to be understood: If two claim, etc.? Is it not self-evident that if the testimony holds good when one says, "I don't know," the same is the case also when two say so? Said R. Shesheth: This statement applies to the first part--namely, if the investigation shows that two of them are aware and the third says, "I don't know," even then their testimony is ignored; and it is in accordance with R. Aqiba, who compares three witnesses to two. As with two, if there is a difference in their testimony, the case is to be dismissed, the same is it with three, if even only one of them says, "I don't know." Said Rabba: How can such an explanation hold good? Does not the Mishna state that their testimony holds good? Therefore said he: It is to be explained just in the reverse. Even concerning queries, if two witnesses are aware, but the third one says, "I don't know," their testimony holds good; and it is not in accordance with R Aqiba.

R. Kahana and R. Saphra used to learn the Tract Sanhedrin in the college of Rabba, and when Rami b. Hama met them, he questioned them: What new have you found in the Tract Sanhedrin, as taught by Rabba? And they rejoined: And how would it be if we had learned Tract Sanhedrin other than at Rabba's college--would you ask us for any news? It must be that there is some difficulty to you in this tract. Tell us, then, what it is. And he answered: The statement of the Mishna, which makes a difference between queries and examination--the reason for which is unknown to me. Are not both prescribed biblically? And they answered: What comparison is this? In the inquiry, if one said, "I do not know," their testimony is annulled, because the witnesses of such a testimony cannot be made collusive. And there is a rule that such a testimony is not to be taken into consideration; while in examination, if one said, "I do not know," their testimony still holds good. Hence they remain legal witnesses who can be made collusive. Rejoined he: If it is so, then you have brought with you very great news, Rejoined they: Because of the kindness of you, master, not to object to us, it may be named good news; but if you were to use your sagacity to object to us, we would have nothing to say.

"The intercalation of the month," etc. Until what date of the current month should the supposition of the ignorance of the intercalation of the last month hold good? Said R. Aha b. Hanina in the name of R. Assi, quoting R. Johanan. Until the greater part of the month is passed (i.e., e.g., if one says, "It was on the twentieth of the month," and the other says, "on the twenty-first," the supposition of the intercalation is not to be taken into consideration, and their testimony is annulled). Said Rabha: This we infer also from our Mishna, which states that, if one says "on the third," and the other "on the fifth," their testimony is ignored. And if the intercalation were taken into consideration, why not say that one of the witnesses was aware of two intercalations (i.e., from the last two months), and the other was not aware of it? Hence the reason must be, because one may not be aware of it during the first half of the month, but in the second half it is impossible that he has not heard of it. (Says the Gemara;) This, however, is not to be taken as a support, as it may be said that one is not aware of it even during the second half of the month. And the reason why the Mishna does not say that he was not aware of two intercalations is because, usually, each intercalation was announced by blowing in the cornet and it could happen that one might overhear one blowing, but not two.

R. Aha b. Hanina said again in the name of the same authority., Until what time may the benediction of the moon be pronounced? Until it becomes more round. But until what date? R. Jacob b. Bibi in the name of R. Jehudah said: Until the seventh. And the sages of Nahardea said: Until the sixteenth. And the basis of both is R. Johanan's statement. They differ, however, in the explanation of it. According to R. Jehudah, his expression, "until it becomes more round," means when it is already half; and according to the others, R. Johanan means a full moon. Said R. Aha of Diphthi to Rabhina: Let one pronounce, after the time of the month's benediction has elapsed, the benediction of "Who is good, and does good to the world," And he answered: Do we then pronounce the benediction of "Blessed is He who judges true" when the moon diminishes, so that we shall pronounce the blessing, "Who is good," etc., after the full moon? But why not pronounce both? Because to a custom no such benedictions are used. The same said again in the name of the same authority: He who pronounces the benediction of the

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moon in time is considered as if he had received the glory of the Shekinah. And this is deduced from the analogy of the expression "zeh" mentioned in Ex. 13:2 and ibid. 15:2.

In the school of R. Ismael it was taught. If Israel should have only the meritorious act of receiving the glory of their heavenly Father once a month, it would be sufficient. Said Abayi: Therefore we must pronounce the above benediction standing. Miramar and Mar Zutra used to stand shoulder to shoulder, pronouncing this benediction. Said R. Aha to R. Ashi: In the West they used to pronounce the benediction, "Blessed be He who renews the moon." And he answered: Such a blessing our women also pronounce. We, however, have adopted that which was composed by R. Jehudah: "Blessed be He who with His words has created the heavens, and with the breath of his mouth all their hosts, to whom he gave order and time, that they should not change His command; and they rejoice and are happy in doing the will of their creator. They work truthfully, and what is done through them is truth." 1 And to the moon He commanded that she renew herself every month, and that she should he a crown and a guide to the people who were selected by Him from their birth. It is a symbol to the children of Israel that, finally, they also will be renewed like unto her (the moon), and they will praise their Creator, his name, and the glory of His kingdom. Blessed be Thou, Eternal, who dost renew the moon.

[R. Aha b. Hanina in the name of R. Assi, quoting R. Johanan, said: With whom can you fight a war of the Torah? With him who posesses bundles of Mishnayoth. And R. Joseph, who was a master in Mishnayoth, applied to himself (Prov. 14:4): "But the abundance of harvests is (only) through the strength of the ox."]

"If one says, 'in the second hour,'" etc. Said R. Shimi b. Ashi: This is only when they differ concerning the hour; but it one says, "It was before sunrise," and the other says, "It was after," their testimony is to be ignored. Is this not self-evident? even if one says, "It was before sunrise," and the other says, "At the sunrise." Is this also not self-evident? Lest one say that the one who says it was before the rising of the sun stood at such a place that he could not see it well, he comes to teach us that it is not so.

"The whole day," etc. The whole day only? Have we not learned in a Boraitha that if they accepted his reasons he remains with them all the time; but if his reasons were not accepted, he nevertheless remains there the whole day to the end that his descent should not be a disgrace to him? Said Abayi, Explain, then, our Mishna that he remains there the whole day if his reasons were not accepted.

"They do not drink wine," etc. And why not? Said R. Aha b. Hanina. Because of [Prov. 31:4]: "Nor for rausnim (princes) strong drink." By "rausnim" is meant that those who occupy themselves with raus (secrets) of the world should not drink strong drinks. "The opinion of the acquitter." But how is it if he does not accept it? Said R. Aha, and so also R. Johanan., They have to acquit him. Said R. Papa to Abayi: if so, why was he not acquitted previously when they (were still twenty-three)? And he answered: So said R. Johanan. Because they should not leave the court disputing, According to others the answer was . R. Jose of the following Boraitha holds with you. As there is no addition to the court of seventy-one, so there is no addition to the court of twenty-three (but if there is no majority for condemning, the defendant is freed).

The rabbis taught.. In civil cases the court may say: The case becomes old. But this cannot be said in criminal cases. What does this mean? If it means it becomes so old that it is hard to reach a conclusion, and that therefore it must be postponed, then the reverse should be the case. It means, in criminal cases they must postpone it, as perhaps they will find some defence, but not in civil. Said Huna b. Monoach in the name of Aha b. Ika. Reverse the Mishna. R. Ashi, however, said., The Mishna must not be reversed, as the expression "become old" means that the matter has received a thorough discussion and may not be further prolonged. An objection was raised from the following "The oldest of the judges may proclaim the case old. And this is correct according to the explanation of R. Ashi, as such a proclamation belongs to the oldest. But according to the first explanation, should the oldest blame himself? Nay, it would be a disgrace if some one else should say this to him. But if he himself proclaims this, there is no disgrace. According to others, it was questioned: How could the oldest praise himself, saying that the matter has become so clear that objection cannot be made? Is it not written [Prov. 27:2]: "Let another man praise thee, and not thy own mouth." With a trial it is different, as it rests upon the shoulders of the oldest; for the Mishna states. After the conclusion, the oldest of the judges proclaims: "You, so and so, are acquitted"; or, "You, so and so, are guilty."

CHAPTER 6.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE EXECUTION BY STONING AND THE MANNER OF HERALDING. HOW THE CRIMINAL WAS URGED TO CONFESS BEFORE DEATH. THE STRIPPING OFF BEFORE DEATH OF THE DRESS OF A MALE AND OF A FEMALE. THE HANGING AFTER STONING, AND HOW IT WAS PERFORMED.

MISHNA 1.: If the conclusion was to condemn, the guilty one was taken out immediately to be stoned. The place where he had to be executed was outside of the court, as it reads [Lev. 24:13]: "Lead forth the blasphemer." One stood at the gate of the court with a flag in his hand, and one who rode on a horse stood so far distant that he could see the signal of the flag in case there were any. And then if one came before the court, saying, "I have something to say in his defence," the man raised up the flag, and he who was on horseback rushed and stopped the procession; and even if the guilty one himself says, "I have something new to say in my defence," he is to be brought back to the court, even four and five times, provided there is something in it which is worthy of consideration. And then, if the court finds that he is not guilty, he is acquitted, and if not, he is taken back to be stoned. And a herald goes before him, heralding: So and so, the son of so and so, is taken to be stoned, because he committed such and such a crime, and A and B are his witnesses. Every one who knows something in his defence may come and tell it before he is executed.

GEMARA: Was, then, the place of execution outside of the court only? Does not a Boraitha state that it was outside of all the three camps (when they were in the desert), and when they were in the cities the place of execution was outside of them? Yea! it is as you say, and the expression of the Mishna, "outside of the court," means that if it happened that the court took its place outside of the three camps or outside of the towns, even then the place of execution must be outside of the court, for the purpose that it should not appear that the court itself executed him, or for the purpose that there should be a procession, to give time to one who might have some defence for the guilty.

Whence is this deduced? From that which the rabbis taught: It reads: "Lead out the blasphemer to without the camp," meaning out of all the three camps. But perhaps only out of one camp? There is an analogy of the expression "camp" which is mentioned here, with that in the case of the burning bullocks [ibid. 4:20]: "And he shall carry forth the bullock to without the camp, and burn him"; and as there it means outside of all three camps, as explained elsewhere, the same is the case here. R. Papa, however, maintains that this is to be inferred from the following: Let us see. Moses sat in the camp of the Levites, and the Merciful One said to him: "Lead out the blasphemer to without the camp." Hence, out of the camp of the Levites. And thereafter it reads [ibid. 24:23]: "And they led forth the blasphemer to without the camp, and they stoned him," which means out of the camp of the Israelites.

But is not the verse necessary in itself, to state that it was done as Moses commanded? This is written plainly farther on: "And the children of Israel did as the Lord had commanded Moses." But to what purpose is it written, "they have stoned him with stones?" It is already written they did it, and it is self-evident that they stoned him? It is needed, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: It reads, "they stoned him with a stone," which means him--his body--but not his garments; i.e., they had to undress him before the execution. "With a stone" means that if he dies by the first stone no others are needed. In Num. 15:35 it reads: "With stones," in the plural. And both expressions are needed, as if it were stated only in the singular, one might say that one stone should be thrown, and should it not cause death, no other stones must be thrown; and if it were mentioned in the plural only, one might say that many stones are needed to start with. Therefore both are stated.

But how could R. Papa differ from the Boraitha mentioned above? Does not the Tana state it was said so? Hence the analogy of expression was traditional, to which an Amora had no right to object. The Tana meant to say that if there were not a verse it could be inferred from the analogy; but inasmuch as there is a verse, the analogy is not necessary. R. Ashi said that from the same cited verse this is inferred. Let us see! Moses was in the camp of the Levites, and the Merciful One commanded him: "Lead out the blasphemer," etc.--meaning from the camp of the Levites. "Out of the camp," means the camp of Israel.

"One stands with flag," etc. R. Huna said: "I am certain that the stone with which the executed was stoned, as well as the tree upon which he was hanged, the sword with which he was slain, and also the cloth with which he was choked must be at the expense of the congregation. However, I doubt who had to bear the cost of the flag and the horse mentioned in the Mishna. The defendant, as they are provided only for his sake, or the congregation, because they are obliged to do all they can to save him? I am in doubt also as to that which was said by R. Hyya to R. Ashi in the name of R. Hisda. When one was going to be killed, they used to put a grain of frankincense in a goblet of wine and gave him to drink, so that he should become dazed. As it is written [Prov. 31:6]: "Give strong drink unto him that is ready to perish, and wine unto those who have an embittered soul." And there is a Boraitha that the wine and the frankincense were donated by the respectable women of Jerusalem. Now, if it happened that they were not donated, who must bear the expense? Says the Gemara concerning the latter: Common sense dictates, at the expense of the congregation, as the verse reads "give," which means the congregation.

R. Aha b. Huna questioned R. Shesheth: How would it be if one of the disciples said, "I have something to say in behalf of the defendant," and thereafter he became dumb? Gestured R. Shesheth, saying: Then we would have to consider that there was some one at the other end of the world who had some defence for him. But, after all, it was said by the disciple that he had a defence, and when he became dumb, would it not be right for the court to investigate again-perhaps they would find out what he meant? Come and hear that which was said above by R. Jose b. Hanina: If one of the disciples who defended him at the time of the discussion dies, it will be seen at the time of the conclusion whether he is still alive and defends him. Hence we see that if he has already defended, and he says: "I have something to say in his defence," and he becomes dumb before he gives his reasons, it is not to be taken into consideration. Rejoined R. Aha: Notwithstanding that it is certain to you that R. Jose meant when his defence was already made by him, but not otherwise, it is still a question to me. For perhaps R. Jose said so because it is usual, if one has something to say, that he says it immediately; but if it happened that he became dumb before telling the reasons, it might be that even R. Jose would admit that the court must look the matter up again.

"Which is worthy of consideration," etc. Does the Mishna mean that for the first two times it must be examined while he is yet at his place--if there is something, etc.? Have we not learned in a Boraitha, that the first two times he is to be brought back to the court, even if he does not give a good reason; and only at the third time it is to be examined if there is something in his defence before he is taken back? Said R. Papa: I interpret it that the Mishna means after the second time. But who decides whether it is a good reason or not? Said Abayi: After the second time the court appoints a pair of the rabbis to follow him, and if he has something to say, they examine him and decide if there is a good reason to take him back or not. But why should not the same rabbis be appointed previously, so that even at the first time he should not be brought back unless the rabbis found a good reason? Because he is affrighted he cannot say at the beginning all he wishes to say.

"Such and such a crime," etc. Said Abayi: "The herald must also proclaim the day, the hour, and the place, for the purpose that perhaps there will be found some people who know that the witnesses were not in that place on that day or at that hour, and they will come to make them collusive.

"The herald goes before him," etc. It means only when he is already sentenced, but not before. R. Jehoshua b. Lev! said. Him who repents and mortifies his passions after they have

taken a firm hold of him, and he confesses before Heaven, the verse considers him as if he should glorify the Holy One, blessed be He, in both this world and the world to come. As it is written [Ps. 1:23]: "Whoso offereth thanksgiving, glorifieth me." The same said again: When the Temple was in existence, if one brought a burnt-offering the reward for such was with him; a meat-offering, the reward of such was with him: but him who is modest, the verse considers him as if he should sacrifice all the sacrifices mentioned in the Scripture. As it reads [ibid. 51:19]: "The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit." Furthermore, his praying is never despised, as it reads farther on: "A broken and a contrite heart, O God, wilt thou not despise."

MISHNA 2.: When he (the guilty one) was far from the place of execution--a distance of ten ells--he was told to confess, as so is the custom, that all who are to be executed should confess, and they who do so have a share in the world to come. And so do we find with Achan, to whom Joshua said: "My son, give . . . and make confession." And [ibid., ibid. 20] Achan answered Jehoshua: "Truly, I have sinned, and thus and thus have I done." And whence do we know that he was atoned after his confession? From [ibid., ibid. 25]: "And Joshua said, How hast thou troubled us! So shall the Lord trouble thee this day." This day--but not in the world to come. However, if the guilty one does not know how to confess, he is told to say. My death shall atone for all my sins. R. Jehudah said: If he knew that he was innocent of this crime, he might say. My death shall atone for all my sins, except this one. And R. Jehudah was answered.. If it were so, all those who were to be executed would say so, to the end that they should be innocent in the eyes of the people.

The rabbis taught: In the verse cited--in what Jehoshua said to Achan--the term "na" is used, and "na" means "I pray." At the time the Holy One, blessed be He, saw [Joshua, 7:11]: "Israel hath sinned," Jehoshua said before Him: "Lord of the Universe, who has sinned?" To which He answered. "Am I a talebarer, to tell you who. Go and draw lots." And he did so,

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and the lot fell on Achan. And he said to him. Joshua, do you accuse me on account of a lot? Thou and Elazar, who are the greatest of this generation, if I were to draw lots between thee and him, to one of you the lot would fall. And Jehoshua rejoined: I pray thee, do not discredit the decision of the lots, as the land of Israel will be divided by lots. As it is written [Num. 26:55]: "Through the lot shall the land be divided." "Give confession!" Said Rabhina: He bribes him with words. We want of you only the confession. Give the confession, and you will be free: And Achan answered Jehoshua, and said: "Truly, I have indeed sinned against the Lord the God of Israel, and thus and thus have I done." Said R. Assi in the name of R. Hanina: Infer from this that Achan had committed a similar crime trice--twice in the days of Moses and once in the day of Jehoshua. As it reads: "And thus and thus I have done." R. Johanan in the name of R. Elazar b. Simeon said: Five times--four in the time of Moses and once in the time of Jehoshua. As it reads. "I have sinned, and thus and thus I have done." But why was he not punished until the last crime? Said R. Johanan in the name of the same authority. Because Israel was not punished for crimes which were committed secretly until they passed the Jordan.

On this point the Tanaim differ. It is written [Deut. 29:28]: "The secret things belong unto the Lord our God, but those things which are publicly known belong unto us and to our children for ever, to do all the words of this law." Why are the words, "unto us and to our children" and the Ayin of the "ad" pointed? To teach that they were not punished for secret crimes until they passed the Jordan. So is the decree of R. Jehudah. Said to him R. Nehemiah. Where is the plain which it is written that they were punished for secret crimes at any time? Is it not written in the cited verse, "forever?" Say, then, as they were not punished for secret crimes, so they were not punished for crimes which were done publicly until they passed the Jordan. But why was Achan punished--his crime was in secret? Because his wife and children were aware of it. "Israel hath sinned!" Said R. Abbah b. Zabda: Although he had sinned he was still called an Israelite. And said R. Abbah: This is what people say: "A myrtle which stands between thorns is still a myrtle," and so it is named. In Joshua, 7:11, five times is "gam" (also) written in the cited verse: Infer from this that he had transgressed all that is written in the five books of Moses.

The Exilarch said to R. Huna: It reads [ibid., ibid. 24]: "And Joshua took Achan the son of Zerach, and the silver, and the mantle, and the wedge of gold, and his sons, and his daughters, and his ox, and his ass, and his sheep, and his tent, and all that he had, and all Israel were with him, and they brought them up unto the valley of Achor." Yea! he had sinned; but wherein had his sons and daughters sinned? And he answered: According to your theory, what had all Israel to do with this? Hence it was only to terrify them. The same was it with his sons and daughters. It reads farther on: "And all Israel burned them with fire and stoned them with stones." 1 Were they, then, punished with both? Said Rabhina: That which was fit for burning, e.g., silver, gold, and garments, was burned, and those which were fit for stoning, e.g., oxen and other cattle--were stoned. It reads [ibid., ibid. 21]: "I saw among the spoil a handsome Babylonish mantle, and two hundred shekels of silver." Rabh said: A silk mantle; and Samuel said: A σαραβαλλα. It reads farther on [ibid., ibid. 23]: "And as they laid them out before the Lord." Said R. Na'hman: Joshua cast them down before the Lord, saying: Lord of the Universe, were these little things worth that the majority of the Sanhedrin should be killed on account of them? It reads [ibid., ibid., 5]: "And the men of Ai smote of them about thirty and six men." There is a Boraitha: Thirty-six men were slain. So said R. Jehudah. Said R. Nehemiah, to him: "Is it, then, written thirty-six? It reads, "about," and it means that only Joer b. Menasseh, who was equal to the majority of the Sanhedrin, was put to death.

R. Na'hman said in the name of Rabh: It reads [Prov. 18:23]: "The poor speaketh entreatingly, but the rich answereth roughly." "The poor speaketh," means Moses; and "the rich," etc., means Joshua: But why? Is it because he cast them down before the Lord and said: "Little things," etc.? Did not Pinchas do the same? As it reads [Ps. 106:30]: "Then stood up Phinehas," etc. It ought to be written, "vayitpalel," which means, "and he prayed," instead of "vayiphalel (debated). Infer from this that he had debated with his Creator. He cast them before the Lord, saying: "Lord of the Universe, were they, then, worthy that on account of them twenty-four thousand persons of Israel should fall?"--as it reads [Num. xxv. 9]. So said R. Elazar. And if because of [Joshua, 7:7]: "Wherefore hast thou caused this people to pass over the Jordan?"--did not Moses say similar to this [Ex. 5.22]: "Wherefore hast thou let so much evil come upon this people?" Therefore it must be said, because Joshua said at the end of the above-cited verse (7): "Would that we had been content, and dwelt on the other side of the Jordan." It reads [ibid., ibid. 10]: "Get the cup," etc. R. Shilla lectured: The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: Thou thyself hast transgressed more than Israel, as I have commanded [Deut. 27:4]: "And it shall be so, as soon as ye are gone above the Jordan, that ye shall set up these stones," and ye went a distance of sixty miles before ye did this.

After Shilla went away, Rabh appointed an interpreter and lectured: It reads [Joshua, xi. 15]: "As the Lord had commanded Moses and his servant, so did Moses command Joshua, and so did Joshua; he left nothing undone of all that the Lord commanded Moses." But why is it written, "Get thee up?" It means that the Lord said to him: "Thou thyself hast caused all the evils, because thou didst excommunicate the goods of Jericho, and no crime would have been committed if thou hadst not done so." And this is what is written [ibid. 8:2]: "Only its spoil and its cattle shall ye take for booty unto yourselves." It reads [ibid. 5:13, 14]: "And it came to pass, when Joshua was by Jericho . . . And he said, No; for as a captain of the host of the Lord, am I now come. And Joshua fell on his face to the earth," etc. How could Joshua do so? Did not R. Johanan say: One must not greet a stranger, with peace in the middle of the night, as perhaps he is a demon, and so much the more must he not bow before him? There it was different, as he said: I am a captain of the Lord. But perhaps he lied? We have a tradition that even the demons do not pronounce the name of the Lord in vain. And then the angel said to him: "Yesterday you abolished the presenting of the daily eve-offering, and to-day you abolished the studying of the law." And to the question, "For which of the two transgressions hast thou come?" he answered: For that of to-day. Hence it reads [ibid. 8:18]: "And Joshua went that night into the midst of the valley." And R. Johanan said: Infer from this that he had occupied himself the whole night with the deepness of Halakhoth. 1 Samuel b. Unya in the name of Rabh. said: The study of the Torah is greater than the sacrifices of the daily offerings, as the angel said: For that of to-day.

Abayi said to R. Dimi: It reads [Prov. 25.]: "Do not proceed to a contest hastily, lest (thou know not) what thou wilt have to do at its end, when thy neighbour has put thee to confusion. Carry on thy cause with thy neighbour; but lay not open the secret of another." How do the people of the West explain this passage? And he answered "At the time the Holy One, blessed be He, said to Ezekiel [Ezek. 16:3]: "And thou shalt say . . . thy father was an Emorite and thy mother was a Hittite," the arguing spirit (Gabriel) before the Holy One, blessed be He, said: "Lord of the Universe, if Abraham and Sarah should come and stand before thee, and thou saidst to them this, they should become ashamed." "Carry on thy cause with thy neighbour; but lay not open the secret of another." Had he, then (Gabriel) a right to say such a thing? Yea! As R. Jose b. Hanina said: Gabriel has three names--Piskon, Aitmun, Zigoron. Piskon means that he argues before Heaven for Israel's sake; Aitmun means that he restrains the sin of Israel; Zigoron means that when he concludes his defence for Israel and it does not have any effect, none of the other angels would attempt any further defence, being certain that none would accomplish anything if Gabriel had not done so.

It reads [Job 36:19]: "Hast thou prepared thy prayer before thy trouble came?" said R. Elazar: One should always proceed with prayer before trouble comes. As if Abraham had not proceeded with his prayer until the trouble between Bith-El and the city of Ai, not one of Israel would have remained alive when the trouble happened at the city of Ai. Resh Lakish said: He who strengthens himself with prayer on the face of the earth has no enemies on the face of Heaven. R. Johanan said: One should always pray mercy, that all shall support his strength to pray, and he should not have enemies to accuse him in Heaven.

"Atoned after confession," etc. The rabbis taught: Whence do we know that his confession has made atonement for him from Joshua: "How hast thou troubled us! so shall the Lord trouble thee this day." This day, but not in the world to come. And it is also written [1 Chron. 2:6]: "And the sons of Zerach: Zimri and Ethan, and Heman and Calcol and Dara, in all five." To what purpose is it written "in all five"? It means all five have a share in the world to come. Here it reads "Zimri," and in Joshua he is named Achan. Rabh and Samuel--according to one, his name was Akhan. And why is he named Zimri? Because his acts were according to Zimri of the Pentateuch. And according to the other his name was Zimri. And why is he named Akhan (circle)? Because he caused the sins of Israel to rest upon them like a circle.

"To the end that they should be innocent," etc. But what harm could he do, if he should say so? He could cast suspicion on the court and the witnesses. The rabbis taught: It happened with one who was going to be executed, that he said: If I am guilty of this crime, my death shall not atone for all my sins. And if I am innocent of this crime, my death shall atone for all my sins, and I have nothing against the court and all Israel; but to the witnesses I do not surrender my innocence, and they shall not be atoned for, for ever. When the sages heard this, they said: It is impossible to bring him back, as the sentence is already rendered; but be shall be executed, and the collar shall rest upon the neck of the witnesses. Is this not self-evident--for who could trust such a man? The case was, that the witnesses retracted from their first statement. But even then, what did it amount to? Is there not a rule that after testimony has been made and accepted no retraction can take place? The case was, that they gave a good reason for their retraction, and nevertheless they were not listened to. (So did it happen with the contractor Bar Mayon.)

MISHNA 3.: When he came to four ells from the place of execution, he was stripped of his garments. If a male, he was covered in front; and if a female, she was covered on both sides. So said R. Jehudah. The sages, however, say: A male was stoned while naked, but not a female.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: If it was a male, he was covered a little in front, but a female was covered in the greater part of the front and back. So said R. Jehudah. But the sages say: Only a male was stoned while naked, but not a female. And what is their reason? [Lev. 24:14]: "And all the congregation shall stone him." And what does it mean? It cannot be said "him," but not "her" (a female), as it reads [Deut. 17:5]: "Then shalt thou bring forth that man or that woman," and therefore it must be said, it means him without his garments, but her with her garments. Hence he is to be stoned while naked, but not a female. R. Na'hman in the name of Rabba b. Abuhu said: (The reason why a woman was not stripped is because it reads [Lev. 19:18]: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," which means, in case he is sentenced to death, select for him a decent death, that he shall not be disgraced.)

MISHNA 4.: The stoning-place was two heights of a man. One of the witnesses pushed him on his thighs (that he should fall with the back to the surface), but if he fell face down, he had to be turned over. If he died from the effects of the first fall, nothing more was to be done. If not, the second witness took a stone and thrust it against his heart. If he died, nothing more was to be done; but if not, all who were standing by had to throw stones on him. Thus [Deut. 17:7]: "The hand of the witnesses shall be first upon him, to put him to death, and the hand of all the people at the last."

GEMARA: There is a Boraitha: With his own height he was thrown down from the height of three men. Was such a height necessary? Does not a Mishna in First Gate state that as a pit which causes death is of ten spans, so all other heights which may cause death must be no less than ten spans. Hence the height of ten spans is sufficient? Said R. Na'hman in the name of Rabba b. Abuhu: From the above-cited verse [Lev. 19.], it is inferred that a decent death must be selected for him. If so, why not from a still higher place? Because his body would be mangled.

"One of the witnesses pushed him," etc. The rabbis taught: Whence do we know that he must be pushed? From [Ex. 19:13]: "But he shall surely be stoned, or shot through." From the term "yorauh yeyoreh," which means pushing. And whence do we know that he must be stoned? From the term "soqueul." And whence do we know with both stoning and pushing? Therefore it reads "soquoul yisoquel auyorauh yeyoreh." And whence do we know that when he died from pushing nothing more was to be done? From "au," which means "or." And because the term is future, we infer that the same shall be in later generations.

"Took a stone," etc. Took! Have we not learned in a Boraitha: R. Simeon b. Elazar said: There was a heavy stone, which two men had to carry, and this he took and thrust against his heart, and if he died he fulfilled his duty. (Hence if two men had to carry it, it could not be taken by one.) He lifted it up with the support of his comrade, and then he alone threw it, that the blow should be stronger.

"To throw stones," etc. Is there not a Boraitha: It never happened that he did not die from the hand of the witnesses, so that one should need to throw another stone? Does, then, the Mishna state that it was so done? It states, "should it be necessary."

The master said: "There was a stone," etc. But does not a Boraitha state that the stone with which he was stoned, as well as the tree upon which he was hanged, or the sword with which he was killed, or the muffler with which he was choked, must be buried with him? It means that before it was buried they prepared another like it, which remained. But is there not another Boraitha which states that the above things were not buried with the one executed? Said R. Papa: It does not mean that it was buried just with him, but near him, at a distance of four ells.

Samuel said: If before the execution the hands of the witnesses were cut off, he becomes free from death, because the commandment, "the hand of the witnesses should be on him first," cannot be fulfilled. But if so, should witnesses who have no hands be disqualified? There it is different, as the verse reads, "the hand of the witnesses," which means that when they testified they had hands. An objection was raised from the following: Every one, of whom two witnesses testify that he was sentenced at such and such a court, and A and B were his witnesses, he is to be put to death. Hence we see that in any case he is executed? Samuel may explain the Boraitha that it means that the witnesses themselves testified that they were witnesses in the former court. But is it indeed needed that it should be done as the verse dictates? Is there not a Boraitha: It reads [Num. 35:21]: "He that smote him shall surely be put to death; (for) he is a murderer." We know that one is to be put to death by that which applies to him; but whence do we

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know that if it is impossible that he should be killed by that which applies to him, he is nevertheless to be executed by any death which is possible? From the verse cited, "he shall surely die," which means in any case? That case is different, as it reads, "he shall surely die." But let all other cases be inferred from it? Because the verse cited, which speaks of a murder, and the verse which speaks of the avenger of the one murdered, are two verses which dictate one and the same thing (death), and there is a rule that from two such verses nothing is to be inferred. What verse of the avenger is meant? [Ibid., ibid., 19]: "The avenger of the blood himself shall slay." Infer from this that it is a meritorious aft for the avenger to do so himself. And whence do we know that if the murdered one had none such, that the court is obliged to appoint one? From the end of the verse, "when he meeteth him, shall he slay him?" Said Mar the elder b. R. Hisda to R. Ashi: How can one say that it is not needed as the verse dictates? Does not Mishna 5 in Chapter 8. of this tract state that it must be done just as the verse dictates, and it is deduced from the Scripture. With the verse cited in the Mishna in question it is different, as that verse is altogether superfluous, and is written only so that it should be done just as it dictates. But does not a Boraitha say in the eleventh chapter, concerning a misled town, that if there was not a main street in this city, according to R. Ismael such is not to be recognised as a misled town, as the verse dictates, "You shall gather all its goods in the main street," and according to R. Aqiba a main street should be made? We see, then, that they differ only if such should be made or not, but both agree that it must be done just as the verse dictates? In this case Tanaim differ, as a Mishna in Tract Negaim (14:9) states. If he (referring to Lev. 14:25) lacked the thumbs of his right hand and foot, or the right ear, he can never be purified. R. Eliezer, however, said: It may be done at the place they are lacking. And R. Simeon said: It shall be placed on the left one.

MISHNA 5.: All who are stoned are also hanged. So is the decree of R. Eliezer. The sages, however said: Only a blasphemer and an idolater are hanged (but no others). A male is hanged with his face toward the people, and a female with her face toward a tree. So R. Eliezer. The sages, however, say: A male is hanged, but not a female. Said R. Eliezer to them: Did not Simeon b. Shetha hang females in the city of Askalon? And he was answered: He hanged eighty women in one day, and there is a rule that even two must not be sentenced in one day, if the punishment is with the same death. (Hence Simeon's act was only temporary, because of the need of that time, and nothing is to be inferred from it.)

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: It reads [Deut. 21:22]: "And he be put to death, and thou hang him on a tree." And lest one say: "All who are put to death must also be hanged," therefore it is written in the second verse [ibid.., ibid. 23]: "For he that is hanged is a dishonour of God" (a blasphemer), and as a blasphemer is to be stoned, the same is the case with all others who are to be stoned. So R. Eliezer. The sages, however, say: that as with a blasphemer who has denied the cardinal principle of our faith (i.e., he does not believe in God), the same is the case with an idolater who denies the might of God, but all others who are stoned are not to be hanged. And what is the point of their difference? According to the rabbis, when there is a general expression and an explicit statement, we infer from the general expression and from the explicit statement which comes after it. And R. Eliezer infers from additions and exclusions. According to the rabbis, "He should be put to death and hanged," is a general expression; "The dishonour of God--hangs," is an explicit statement. And if they were in one verse it might be said, that the general expression applies only to that which is in the explicit statement; viz., only those which are mentioned in that case, but no others. But as they are in two verses, we infer from these an idolater, who is equal to a blasphemer in all particulars. And according to R. Eliezer, "He shall be put to death and hanged," is considered an addition; "the dishonour of God" is considered an exclusion. And if they were in one verse, we would add an idolater only; but, seeing that they are in two verses, all the cases of stoning are to be added.

"A male is to be hanged," etc. What is the reason of the rabbis? It reads, "thou hang him," which means him, but not her. And according to R. Eliezer, it means him, without his garments; and the rabbis also hold this theory, But as it reads, "And if a man has committed," etc., it means a man, but not a woman. And R. Eliezer infers from the word "man," to exclude a stubborn and rebellious son. But is there not a Boraitha which states that, according to R. Eliezer, even a stubborn and rebellious son is stoned and hanged? Therefore said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: R. Eliezer infers from this to include a stubborn son, and his reason is this: It reads, "If a man," meaning a man, but not a son; "committed a sin," means he is put to death, because he has already committed a sin; but a stubborn son is put to death, not because he has sinned, but because in the future he will sin. And this is an exclusion after an exclusion, of which the rule is, that it comes to add.

"Said R. Eliezer to them," etc. Said R. Hisda: Two must not be judged on the same day, provided there are two kinds of death; but if there is only one kind, two may be judged. But was not the case of Simeon b. Shetha one kind of death? And nevertheless it was said to him: Two cases of capital punishment must not be judged on one day. Therefore if it was taught in the name of R. Hisda, it was thus: Provided there is one kind of death applicable to two kinds--namely, for two separate crimes; but if there was only one crime, and only one kind of death, it may. R. Ada b. Ahabah objected from the following: Two must not be judged in one day, even in the case of adultery--the two adulterers, he and she? R. Hisda explained this Boraitha, that it speaks of a daughter of a priest, and her paramour, in which case, according to the law, she is to be burned Hence there are two different kinds of and he is to be stoned. death. There is a Boraitha: R. Eliezer b. Jacob said: I have heard that the court may punish with stripes and even capital punishment, not in accordance with the biblical law--not with the intention to violate the law, but to make a safeguard for it. So it happened with one who rode on a horse on Sabbath, at the time Palestine was under the Greeks, and this man was brought before the court, and stoned, not because he deserved such a punishment, but because it was a necessity of that time, to warn others. And it also happened that one had connection with his wife under a fig tree, and he also was brought to the court, and was punished with stripes, not because he deserved such a punishment, but because of the necessity of that time.

MISHNA 6.: How was one hanged? The beam was put in the earth, and it was fastened at the top, and he tied the hands of the culprit one upon the other, and hung him up. R. Jose said: The beam was not put in the earth, but the top of it was supported by the wall, and he hung him up as the butchers do, and he took him off immediately. And should he leave him over night, he transgressed a negative commandment, as it reads [Deut. 21:23]: "Thou shalt not leave his corpse on the tree over night, but thou shalt surely bury him on that day (for he that is hanged) is a dishonour of God," etc. How so? "Why is this man hanged?" "He is a blasphemer." Hence the name of Heaven is violated. [Said R. Mair: When a man is in trouble, in what language does the Shekinah lament over him? Qalleni meiraushi, qalleni miz'raay. 1 Now, if the Omnipotent grieves over the blood of the wicked which was shed, so much the more about the blood of the upright!] And not only of him who was executed it was said that he should not remain over night? But even every one who leaves unburied his corpse over night transgresses the negative commandment. However, if he left it over night for the sake of its honour, as for instance to prepare for it a coffin or shroud, he does not transgress.

The one executed was not buried in the cemetery of his parents, but two cemeteries were prepared by the court, one for those who were slain with a sword and choked, and one for those who were stoned and burned. After the flesh of the corpse was consumed, the relatives gathered the bones and buried them in their right place. And the relatives came, and greeted in peace the judges, as well as the witnesses, to show they had nothing in their heart against them, as the judgement was just. The relatives also did not lament for him loudly, but mourned in their heart.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: If the verse read, "If a man committed a sin, he shall be hanged," we would say that he should be hanged until death occurs, as the government does; but it reads, "He shall be put to death and hanged," which means he shall be put to death and thereafter hanged. How was it done? They kept him till near sunset, condemned him, killed him, and then hanged him; one hangs him up, and the other immediately loosens the knot, as his hanging was only to fulfil the commandment.

The rabbis taught: It is written, "on a tree," from which ought to be inferred that it makes no difference if the tree was still attached to the ground or not. Therefore is it written, "Thou shalt surely bury him," from which it is to be understood that everything should be already prepared for the burying. And if the tree were still attached to the ground, it could not be considered prepared, as the tree was not as yet cut off. R. Jose, however, maintains that this verse excludes also a beam which is put in the ground, as it is not considered prepared, for the tree was not as yet taken out from the ground. But the sages say that the taking out is not to be considered.

"Why is he hanged? Because he is a blasphemer." There is a Boraitha: R. Mair used to say: There is a parable. To what can this be compared? To two twin brothers, one of whom was selected for a king and the other became a robber, and was hanged at the command of the king. Now, people who saw him hanged would say that the king was hanged, and therefore the king commanded the corpse to be taken off (i.e., as man was created in the image of God).

"And not only for him who was executed," etc. R. Johanan in the name of R. Simeon b. Jochi said: Where is to be found an allusion to this in the Torah? In "thou shalt surely bury him." King Sabur questioned R. Hama: Whence do you deduce from the Torah that one must be buried? And the latter remained silent--without answer. Said R. Aha b. Jacob: The world is transferred into the hands of fools. Why did he not answer from the above-cited verse? Because the above is to be explained that it means a coffin and shroud are to be prepared for him. But let him say: Because all the upright were buried. This is only a custom, and not a command of the Torah. And why not say: Because the Holy One, blessed be He, buried Moses? It may be said that this also was not to change the custom. Come and hear [1 Kings, 14:13]: "And all Israel shall mourn for him, and bury him." This, also, was not to change the custom. But is it not written [Jer. 16:4]: "They shall not be lamented for; nor shall they be buried"? Them Jeremiah cautioned, that with them should be a change of custom.

The schoolmen propounded a question: Is the burying because the corpse shall become disgraced if not buried, or is it because of atonement? And what is the difference? If one says, "I do not wish to be buried," if it is because of the disgrace, he must not be listened to; but if it is for atonement, he should be listened to, as he says, "I don't want any atonement." Come and hear! "Because all the upright were buried." And if the reason should be for atonement, do, then, the upright need atonement? Yea, as it reads [Eccl. 7:20]: "For no man is so righteous upon earth that he should do always good, and never sin." Come and hear the above-cited verse about Jeroboam, in which it reads that only he should be buried. Now, if the reason is atonement, why should not the others also be buried and atoned? He who was upright ought to be buried and atoned, the others who were wicked were not worthy to be atoned. The same is the case with them who were cautioned by Jeremiah that they should not be buried, because they were not worthy of atonement.

The schoolmen propounded another question: Is the lamentation an honour for the living or for the deceased? And what is the difference? If, e.g., one says, "I do not wish to be lamented," if it is an honour for the deceased only, he may be listened to; and if for the living, he may not. Or, on the other hand, if his heirs do not want to pay the mourner, if it is an honour for the deceased, they may be compelled to pay; and if it is for the living, they may not. Come and hear [Gen. 23:2]: "And Abraham came to mourn for Sarah, and to weep for her." Now, if this were only an honour for the living, should the body of Sarah have been kept till Abraham came, for his honour? Nay! Sarah herself was pleased that Abraham should be honoured because of her. Come and hear! "All Israel shall mourn for him." Now, if it is for the honour of the living, were, then, the people of Jeroboam worthy to be honoured? The upright are pleased that any human being should be honoured on their account. But is it not written that they shall not be mourned for and buried? The righteous do not wish that they shall be honoured because of the wicked. Come and hear Jeremiah [24:5]: "In peace shalt thou die; and as burnings were made for thy fathers, the former kings who were before thee so shall they make burnings for thee; and, 'Ah Lord,' shall they lament for thee." Now, if it is to the honour of the living, what good can this do to Zedekiah? The prophet said to him thus: Israel shall be honoured because of thee as they were honoured because of thy parents. Come and hear! It is said elsewhere [Ps. 15:4]: "The despicable is despised," meaning King Hezekiah, who bore the remains of his father on a bed of ropes. Now, if it is for the honour of the living, why did Hezekiah do so? For the purpose that his father should have an atonement. But has he a right to invalidate the honour of Israel because of the atonement of his father? The people themselves were pleased to relinquish their honour, because of the atonement of Achaz. Come and hear what was said by Rabbi in his will: "Ye shall not lament me in the small cities, but in the large ones." Now, if it is for the honour of the living, why such a will? He thought: Let the people be more honoured because of me. Come and hear the statement in our Mishna: If he left it over night for its honour, to prepare for it a coffin and shroud, he does not transgress. Hence we see it is to the honour of the dead? Nay, "for his honour" means for the honour of the living. But has one the right to leave the corpse over night, for the sake of his own honour? Yea, as the commandment not to let the corpse hang was because of the disgrace; but if it is not disgraced, the honour of the living is to be considered. Come and hear another Boraitha: If he left him over night for his honour, that his friends in other cities should hear of his death or bring for him the lamenting-women, or prepare for him a coffin and a shroud, he does not transgress the negative commandment: for all he does is for the honour of the dead? It means to say that all he does for the sake of his own honour is not considered a disgrace for the dead. Come and hear another Boraitha: R. Nathan said: It is a good sign for one deceased if he was punished after his death; namely, if he was not lamented, not buried properly, or a wild beast seized upon his corpse, or if, while carrying him to burial, rain wet the corpse. All these are good signs that it was done for his atonement. Hence we see that all these are to be done for the honour of the dead. Infer from this that so it is.

"But two cemeteries," etc. And why so? Because a wicked person must not be buried with an upright one. As R. Ahha b. Hanina said: "Whence do we know that a wicked person must not be buried with an upright? From [2 Kings, 13:22]: "And it came to pass, as they were burying a man, that, behold, they saw the hand; and they cast down the man into the sepulchre

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of Elisha; and as the man came and touched the bones of Elisha, he revived, and rose up on his feet." Said R. Papa to him: But perhaps this was done to fulfil what is mentioned [ibid. ii. 9]: "Let there be, I pray thee, a double portion of thy spirit upon me." And as Elijahu restored only one man, so did Elisha also restore one while he was alive; and the second was restored after his death. And he answered: If it were so, why, then, does a Boraitha state that the restored only stood upon his feet, but did not go home? And if it were for the purpose said above, he would remain alive. But if, as you say, Elijahu's promise was not fulfilled? As it was said by R. Johanan: This was fulfilled with the cure of Na'hman from his leprosy, for leprosy is equal to death. As it reads [Num. 12:12.]: "Let her not be as a dead-born child." And as it is prohibited to bury an upright person with a wicked, so also it is not allowed to bury a lesser wicked with a greater one. But if so, there should have been four cemeteries. The two cemeteries were traditional. 1

The rabbis taught: They who are put to death by the government, their estates belong to the government; and they who, are killed by the court, their estates belong to their heirs. R. Jehudah, however, maintains that their estates belong to the heirs even when they are killed by the government. Said the sages to him: Is it not written [I Kings, 21:16]: "And it came to pass, when Achab heard that Naboth was dead, that Achab rose up to go down to the vineyard of Naboth, the Yizreelite, to inherit it"? And he answered: Achab was his brother's son. and was a legal heir. But had not Naboth many sons? Rejoined R. Jehudah: He slew him and his sons. As it reads [2 Kings, 9:26]: "Surely I have seen yesterday the blood of Naboth, and the blood of his sons." The rabbis, however, maintain that the expression "sons" means those who would come out from him had he remained alive. It is correct for him who says that the estates belong to the government, as it reads [1 Kings, 21:13]: Naboth hath blasphemed God and the king." But to him who says the estates belong to the heirs, why was it. necessary to add "and the king"? But according to your theory that they belong to the heirs, why was God mentioned? You may say it was done to increase the anger of the people. For the same reason, it was also mentioned, "and the king." It is correct to him that it belongs to the government, as it is written [ibid. 2:30]: "No; but here will I die"--which means: I do not wish to be counted among those who were killed by the government, so that my estate should belong to it. But according to him who says that it belongs to the heirs, what difference did it make to Joab. The simple one of remaining, alive one hour longer. It reads [ibid., ibid. 30]: "And Benayahu brought the king word again, saying, Thus hath Joab spoken, and thus hath he answered me." Joab said to Benayahu thus: Go and tell the king: You cannot do two things with me. If you wish to slay me, you must accept for yourself the curses with which your father cursed me. And if you will not accept them, you will have to leave me alive. Farther on it is said: "Then said the king unto him, Do as he hath spoken, and fall upon him, and bury him." Said R. Jehudah in the, name of Rabh: All the curses with which David cursed Joab fell on the descendants of David. They were [2 Sam. 3:29]: "And may there not fail from the house of Joab one that hath an issue, or that is a leper, or that leaneth on a crutch, or that falleth by the sword, or that lacketh bread." The first fell on Rehoboam (this is inferred from an analogy of expression which we do not deem it necessary to translate); the second--"leper"--on Uzziyahu. As it reads [2 Chr. 26:9]: "The leprosy even broke out on his forehead." "Leaneth on a crutch"--Azza, of whom it reads [1 Kings, 15: 23]: "Nevertheless, in the time of his old age he became diseased in his feet." And R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh said: Podagra caught him. Said Mar Zutra b. Na'hman to R. Na'hman: What kind of a sickness is this? And he answered: It pains like a needle in raw flesh. (Asked the Gemara: Wherefrom did he know this? He himself suffered from this sickness. And if you wish, he had it as a tradition from his master; and also, if you wish, from [Ps. xxv. 14]: "The secret counsel of the Lord is for those that fear him; and his covenant, to make it known to them.") Falleth by a sword--on Josiah, as it reads [2 Chr. 35:23]: "And the archers shot at king Josiah; and the king said to his servants, Carry me away, for I am sorely wounded." And R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: They made his body like a sieve. "Lacketh bread"--fell on Jechonyah [2 Kings, 25:30]: "And his allowance was a continual allowance," etc. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: This is what people say: It is better for one to be cursed than to curse, as usually a curse in vain falls upon the invoker--Rashi. Joab was brought before the court to justify himself for the killing of Abner; and he answered that he was the revenger of the blood of Asahel. But did not Asahel prosecute Abner? And he said: Then he could save himself by striking on one of the members of his body. And to the question: Perhaps he could not do so? he answered: Did he not strike him [2 Sam. 2:23] "On the fifth rib"? to which (according to R. Johanan) the bile and the liver are attached. Now, if he could aim at the fifth rib, could he not do so at some other member? The court then said: Let us leave out Abner. But why did you kill Amassa? And he answered: He was a rebel to the king. As it reads [ibid. 20:5]: "So Amassa . . . he remained longer than the set time." And he was answered: Amassa was not a rebel, as he had a good reason for his delay. 1 But you are indeed a rebel, as you were inclined to Adoniyahu against David's will. It reads [1 Kings, 2:28]: "And the report came to Joab; for Joab had turned after Adoniyahu, though he had not turned after Abshalom." Why is it mentioned here that he had not turned after Abshalom? Said R. Jehudah: He was inclined to turn, but did not. And why? Said R. Elazar: Because the "moisture of David" was still in a good condition. And R. Jose b. Hanina said: Because the active force of David were still in their strength. As it is said above in the name of Rabh: "Four hundred children," etc. All the Amoraim mentioned above differ with R. Abbah b. Kahana, who said: "If not for Joab, David would not have been able to occupy himself with the law; and if not for David, Joab would not have been able to wage the war. As it is written [2 Sam. 8:16 and 17]: "And David did what is just and right unto all his people. And Joab the son of Jeruyah was over the army." It means that, because Joab was over the army, David was able to do justice, etc.; and also vice versa. It reads [ibid. 3:26]: "Who brought him back from the well of Sirah." What does "well of Sirah" mean? Said R. Abbah b. Kahana: The well means the pitcher of water which David took from under the head of Saul; and Sirah--literally "a thorn"--means the piece of cloth which David cut off from the garment of Saul, which were good reasons for Abner to reconcile Saul with David, if he should care to do so; but he did not. It reads farther on [ibid., ibid. 27]: "Joab took him aside in the gate, to speak with him in private." Said R. Johanan: He brought him before the Sanhedrin to try him for having killed his brother Asahel. And to his answer that Ashael was his persecutor, he was told as said above. It reads [1 Kings, 2:32]: "And may the Lord bring back his bloodguiltiness upon his own head, because he fell upon two men more righteous and better than he." Better than he? Because they were commanded verbally (to kill the priests of Nob) and did not listen, and Joab was commanded in a letter to kill Uriah, and he listened. It reads farther on [ibid., ibid. 34]: "And he was buried in his own house in the wilderness." Was, then, his house in the wilderness? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: It was like a wilderness. As a desert is ownerless, and every one who wishes can derive a benefit from it, so was the house of Joab. And also as a desert is free of robbery and adultery, so was the house of Joab. It reads [1 Chr. 11: 8]: "And Joab repaired the rest of the city." Said R. Jehudah: Joab supplied to the poor of that city everything to which they were accustomed, even little things and fishes.

CHAPTER 7.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE FOUR KINDS OF DEATH PRESCRIBED IN THE SCRIPTURE, AND HOW THEY OUGHT TO BE EXECUTED. THE ENUMERATION OF THOSE WHO COME UNDER THE CATEGORY OF STONING. HOW THE EXAMINATION CONCERNING BLASPHEMY SHOULD BE CONDUCTED. CONCERNING THOSE WHO TRANSFER THEIR CHILDREN TO MOLECH; FAMILIAR SPIRITS, ETC. CONCERNING CURSING FATHER AND MOTHER, SEDUCERS AND MISLEADERS, ETC.

MISHNA 1.: Four kinds of capital punishment are prescribed to the court by the Scriptures; viz., stoning, burning, slaying by the sword, and choking. R. Simeon, however, maintains: Their order is: burning, stoning, choking, and slaying by the sword. The laws of stoning are already explained above (in the preceding chapter).

GEMARA: Rabha in the name of R. S'hora, quoting R. Huna, said: Where the sages give an arrangement (plan of action), one must not be particular with it, as it does not matter if one changes the order and acts with the latter before the former, except in the case of the seven dyes with which a spot of menstruum is to be tested, which are mentioned in Chapter IX., Mishna 4, of Tract Nida, of which the Mishna says: If one tested with them not according to the order mentioned, or one mixed all the seven together and tested with them, he has done nothing. R. Papa the Elder in the name of Rabh said: The same is the case in the four kinds of capital punishment mentioned in our Mishna. As R. Simeon differs in their order, it must be understood that the Mishna is particular in their arrangement. But why does not R. Huna mention them? R. Huna speaks of that in which all agree, but where there is dissension he does not. R. Papa himself said: Also concerning the arrangement of worshipping on the Day of Atonement (when the Temple was in existence), as there is a Mishna (Yoma.). All the rites on the Day of Atonement, whose order is prescribed by the Bible . . . if they are performed in a wrong order, one has done nothing. R. Huna, however, did not mention this.

For the reason of not changing the order prescribed by the Scripture is because of the holiness of that day, and not because one act is more rigorous than the other. R. Huna b. R. Jehoshua maintains that the order of the daily offerings is also not changeable, as there is a Mishna (in Tract Thamid): This is the arrangement. However, R. Huna, who did not mention it, maintains that this is only meritorious. And the rule mentioned above in the name of R. Huna excludes also the ceremony of Halitzah, and also the dressing of the priests at their worship in the Temple, as explained elsewhere. 1

"Stoning, burning," etc. Stoning is more rigorous than burning, as blasphemers and idolaters are punished with it. And why are these two crimes considered more rigorous than others? Because the sinners laid their hands on the main principle of the Jewish faith (i.e., disbelief and denying the power of God). But why not say, on the contrary, that burning is more rigorous, as it applies to the daughter of a priest who has sinned? And why should this crime be more rigorous? Because it reads that she violates her father, which means that her father loses his priesthood. The rabbis hold that only a married woman who was the daughter of a priest is to be burned if she sinned; but if betrothed, stoning is applied. And because a betrothed woman is distinguished from a married one, who bears the name of her husband and not of her father, while a betrothed still bears the name of her father, we see that stoning is more rigorous. The same is also more rigorous than slaying by the sword, because of the reason stated above. But why not say that the sword is more rigorous, because it applies to the men of a misled town? And what is the rigor of a misled town--that their property is to be destroyed? It may be answered that a misleader is always considered more criminal than those who are seduced. And there is a Boraitha that the punishment of a misleader is stoning. Stoning is also more rigorous than choking. And lest one say that choking is more rigorous, as it applies to one who strikes his father or mother, and the rigor is because the honour of the parents is equalised with the honour of the Omnipotent, it is inferred from the case of a daughter of a common Israelite, who is excluded from choking, which applies to a married daughter of the same, and is included in the category of stoning; and it is already explained above that a betrothed disgraces her father and his whole family, while the disgrace of a married one belongs more to her husband.

Burning is more rigorous than the sword, as it applies to a sinning daughter of a priest, whose crime is more rigorous for the reason stated above. But why not say, on the contrary: The sword is more rigorous, because it applies to a misled town, the property of which is to be destroyed? We find the term "her father" concerning stoning, and the same term is used concerning burning. And it is to be said: As the term "her father," used concerning. stoning, is more than the sword, the same is it with the term which is used by burning-that burning is also more rigorous than the sword.

Burning is also more rigorous than choking. This is inferred from the fact that a married daughter of a priest is excluded from choking, which applies to a married daughter of a common Israelite, and is included in the category of burning. And lest one say that choking is more rigorous, as it applies to him who has struck his father or mother, the honour of whom is equalised with the honour of the Omnipotent, it is already decided above that they who laid their hands on the main principle, etc., are considered the greatest criminals.

"R. Simeon said," etc. According to him, burning is more rigorous than stoning because it applies to a daughter of a priest who has sinned; and it is considered more criminal because her father loses his- priesthood. And he (Simeon) differs from the rabbis, who make a distinction between a betrothed and a married woman, as according to him both are punished with burning; and because the greatest criminal is punished with burning, it is to be inferred that this punishment is more rigorous than all others. 2

R. Simeon also differs concerning the punishment of misleaders of a misled town, as according to him they also are punished with choking.

R. Johanan used to say: A betrothed young girl, who is the daughter of a priest, is to be stoned if she has sinned; but according to R. Simeon, she must be burned. And the same is the case if she had sinned with her father. (Although, if such a case happened with a commoner, burning is applied, nevertheless she is to be stoned, according to the rabbis); as according to their theory stoning is more rigorous, and there is a rule that he who is guilty of two crimes liable to capital punishment is to be executed with the more rigorous one. And according to R. Simeon, that burning is more rigorous, she is to be put to death by that. And where do we find R. Simeon saying so? In the following Boraitha: R. Simeon said: There are already two general expressions about adultery; viz. [Lev. 20:10]:

"Then shall the adulterer be put to death, "together with the adulteress." And this applies either to a betrothed or to a married woman, with whom the daughter of a priest is certainly included. Why, then, does the Scripture distinguish a daughter of a priest [ibid. xxi. 9]: "And if the daughter of any priest profane herself by committing harlotry, her father doth she profane: with fire shall she be burnt," which makes no difference between a betrothed and a married woman? To exclude her from the punishment of a betrothed commoner, to whom stoning applies; and if married, choking applies, and

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puts her in the category of those who are to be burned. Now, as to the punishment of a married one, which applies to a daughter of a priest, all agree that it is more rigorous than that of a commoner; the same is the case with a betrothed one, whom the Scripture excluded from an easier punishment, for a severer one. Hence burning is more severe than stoning. However, collusive witnesses (to whom, according to the Scripture, the same must be done as to the defendant, if their testimony were true) are not excluded from that punishment which they would have to suffer if they had been found collusive in the case of a daughter of a commoner, and are punished with the death of their accused; no matter if the accused were the daughter of a commoner or of a priest; namely, if they had testified regarding a betrothed one, and thereafter were found collusive; the death which would apply to her, were she a daughter of a commoner, applies to them. And the same is the case if they had testified regarding a married one.

The rabbis taught: It reads: "And if the daughter of any priest profane herself." Lest one say that it means that she profaned herself by violating the Sabbath, Therefore it reads further, "by committing harlotry." But lest one say, even if she were single, it reads here, "her father." And the same expression is used concerning a betrothed woman; as there the sin is because of her bond to a husband, the same is the case here. It is considered a crime liable to capital punishment if she were already betrothed or married. But perhaps it means when she has sinned with her father, and not with some one else? Therefore it reads, "she profane," which means that she has profaned him, and not he her. Hence from the analogy of expression, father, we infer that the sin is because of her husband. But from this analogy of expression it is inferred when she was betrothed. Whence do we know that, if she was not of age and nevertheless married, or of age and betrothed or married, or even if she were already an old woman, that the same is the case? Therefore it is written: "And the daughter of any priest," which means, whatever her condition. But lest one say: It speaks only when she was married to a priest, but if to Levite or to a common Israelite, to a heathen, to a descendant of one who has profaned the priesthood, to a bastard, or to a descendant of the Gibeonites who were temple-servants, it is different? Therefore it is written: "The daughter of any priest," which means, even though she was not the wife of a priest. She is to be burned, but not her paramour. She is to be burned, and not her collusive witnesses.

R. Eliezer said: With her father, burning applies; with her father-in-law, stoning applies. How is this to be understood? Shall we assume that he means she has sinned with her father? Then why only a daughter of a priest? Is not the case the same even when she was a daughter of a common Israelite? Burning applies to committing a crime with a daughter, and stoning to the crime with a daughter-in-law. We must then say that with the expression, "with her father," he means when she was still under the control of her father; and the same is it with the expression, "with her father-in-law." Now, let us see in accordance with whom is his theory. It is not in accordance with the rabbis, as they hold that only a married woman is to be burned, but not a betrothed. It is also not in accordance with R. Simeon, as he holds that there is no difference between betrothed and married--both are to be burned. And also not in accordance with R. Ishmael, as he holds that only a betrothed is to be burned, but not one married. And he also holds that if she had committed a crime with her father-in-law, choking applies. As to this, Rabin sent a message in the name of R. Jose b. Hanina: This Boraitha is to be explained thus: It is in accordance with the rabbis. And the expression of R. Eliezer, "with her father," means thus: If such a crime be punished, with an easier death than if the crime had been committed with her father--e.g., that of a married woman, daughter of a commoner, to whom choking applies, in her case, because she is a daughter of a priest, the death of her father, if he should commit the crime with her, applies to her--viz., burning. And if such a crime by a commoner were punished with a heavier death than if the crime were with her father--e.g., a betrothed daughter of a commoner, to whom stoning applies, no exception is to be made, and the punishment of her sinning with her father-in-law applies--viz., stoning. R. Jeremiah opposed: Does, then, the Boraitha read "easier" and "heavier death," which it should do according to your explanation? "Therefore," said he, "it must be said that R. Eliezer is in accordance with R. Ishmael; and the expression, 'with her father,' means under the control of her father-viz., a betrothed, not yet married, to whom burning applies; and 'with her father-in-law' means, literally, if she had sinned with her father-in-law she is to be stoned, but if with some one else choking applies."

Said Rabha: This explanation is still more complicated than the first one, as both expressions must be explained equally: either both are to be taken literally, or both mean "under the control." And therefore said Rabbhina: R. Eliezer is in accordance with the rabbis, and his decision was just the reverse. "With her father," stoning applies, and "with her father-in-law," burning applies. And both expressions mean "under the control." And although a betrothed woman is no longer considered under the control of her father, he so expressed himself because of the latter expression, "under the control of her father-in-law."

Said R. Na'hman in the name of Rabha b. Abuhu, quoting Rabh: The Halakha prevails according to the message which was sent by Rabbin in the name of R. Jose b. Hanina. Said R. Joseph: Do you come to teach a Halakha which will be used only then when the Messiah shall appear? Said Abayi to him: According to your theory, why should we study the section Holiness (which treats about sacrifices, at the time when the Temple was in existence) at all? Is not the whole for the time when the Messiah shall appear? You must then say that we must study and be rewarded for it by Heaven. The same is the case here. We have to study, although it is not for use to us at this time, and the reward will come from Heaven." Answered R. Joseph: I mean to say, may one name Halakha in the explanation of a Boraitha (i.e., the message of Rabbin was only concerning the explanation of the Boraitha)? To which it may be said, that such an explanation is correct. The expression "Halakha," however, means "law," which does not correspond with his meaning.

Where do we find R. Ishmael's opinion, of which it is said above that Eliezer holds with him? In the following Boraitha: It reads, "the daughter of any priest profane," etc., speaking of a young betrothed maiden. But perhaps it means a married woman? This is not the case, as the law about adultery is already written in Lev. xx., in which a daughter of a priest is included. However, we find that the Scripture has distinguished a daughter of a commoner, and applied stoning to her, if she was betrothed and not married. The same is the case with the distinction of a priest's daughter, to whom the Scripture applies burning, meaning also when she was betrothed only. Her collusive witnesses, however, are to be punished with the same death that applies to her paramour, because it reads [Deut. 19:19]: "Then shall ye do unto him as he had purposed to do unto his brother." "To his brother," but not to his sister. So is the decree of R. Ishmael. R. Aqiba, however, maintains: There is no difference whether she was betrothed or married, as in both cases burning applies. And to the question of R. Ishmael: Why should we make a distinction concerning a daughter of a priest, the expression for which is "Naahra" (a maiden), while the same expression is used concerning a commoner who is betrothed only? R. Aqiba rejoined: Ishmael, my brother, I infer it from the word and, which begins the verse--"and the daughter of any priest." Rejoined R. Ishmael: "Do you desire that this should be burned, because the Vav (which means and) is in your way?

Let us see! R. Ishmael infers the punishment of a priest's daughter from an analogy of expression. How does he explain the above-cited verse, "her father has she profaned"? He explains it as in the following Boraitha: R. Meir used to say: This phrase means that if, until now, their custom was to consider her father holy, from that time they consider him common; if until that time he was honoured, from that time he is disgraced. As people say: "Cursed be such a man who has born such a daughter; cursed is he who has brought her up; cursed is he that he has such an offspring." Said R. Ashi: According to whom do we name a wicked person, "wicked, the son of a wicked," although his father was upright? In accordance with the Tana of the just-mentioned Boraitha.

MISHNA 2.: The prescribed punishment of burning was thus: The sinner was placed in waste knee-deep. Then, placing a twisted scarf of coarse material within a soft one, they wound it around his neck. One (of the witnesses) pulled one end to ward himself, the other doing the same, until he opened his mouth. Meanwhile the executioner lights (heats) the string, and thrusts it into his mouth, so that it flows down through his inwards and shrinks his entrails. To which R. Jehudah said: Should the culprit die before the string is thrust into his mouth, the law of burning has not been properly executed, and there fore his mouth must be opened forcibly with a pair of pincers. Meanwhile, the string having been lighted, is thrust into his mouth so that it may reach his intestines and shrink his entrails. R. Eliezer b. Zadok, however, said: Once a daughter of a priest, having sinned, was surrounded with fagots and burned. He was answered: The court which so decided was ignorant of the exact law.

GEMARA: What kind of a string was it? Said R. Matnah: A string of lead. And whence is this deduced? They infer this burning from the burning of the congregation of Korah. As there the souls only were burned, but the bodies remained, so also here only the soul is to be burned, but the body is to remain. R. Elazar said: They infer this burning from the burning of the sons of Aaron. As there the souls only were burned and the bodies remained, the same is the case here.

Let us see! He who infers it from the congregation of Korah, wherefrom does he know that the soul, and not the body, was burned? From [Num. 17:3]: "The censers of these sinners against their own souls." 1 Which means that the souls only were burned, but the bodies remained. And the other, who infers it from the sons of Aaron, maintains that this phrase means they were burned bodily, and the expression "own souls" means that they were liable to be burned because of their souls. And it is in accordance with Resh Lakish, who said elsewhere: It reads [Ps. 36:16]: "With flattering, babbling mockers, they gnashed upon me with their teeth," which means that, because they had flattered Korah for the sake of entertainments (to which he used to invite them), the ruler of Gehenna gnashed upon them with his teeth. And he who inferred this from the sons of Aaron, wherefrom does he know that their souls only were burned, etc.? From [Lev. 10:2]: "And there went out a fire from before the Lord, and consumed them, and they died before the Lord," which means that, although they died before the Lord, they died as all others-only their corpses remained. And the other maintains that the sons of Aaron were burned bodily, and the expression, "they died," means, that the beginning was from inside the body. As we have learned in a Boraitha: Abba Jose b. Dusthai said: Two fire cords came out from the Holy of Holies chamber, and were divided into four: two of them entered the nostrils of one, and two the nostrils of the other, and burnt them. But is it not written, "and consumed them"? From which it is to be inferred "them," and not something else. Yea--"them," and not their garments.

But why should burning not be inferred from the offerings of the bullocks, which were burned bodily? Common sense dictates that a man must be inferred from man, and not from cattle: as a man sins, and one infers a man who has sinned from another man, and from him whose soul was taken for his sin to him whose soul is to be taken. But he who infers it from Korah's congregation-why did he not infer it from the sons of Aaron? Because he maintains that the sons of Aaron were burned bodily, and to infer from them would not be proper, as R. Na'hman said in the name of Rabha b. Abuhu: From the phrase "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," we deduce that one may select a decent death for the sinner. But as the theory of R. Na'hman is accepted--why, then, the analogy of expressions at all? If not for the analogy, one might say that the burning of the soul, while the body remains, is not called burning at all, and that which is written, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour," etc., could be done by increasing the fire by bundles of fagots so that he should die quickly. Therefore the analogy of expression shows that such a burning, although the body remains, is called burning.

There is a tradition that Moses and Aaron used to walk, and Nadob and Abihu followed them, and all Israel after them. And Nadob said to Abihu: When will the two old men die, and you and I be the leaders of Israel? To which the Holy One, blessed be He, said: Time will show who will bury whom. Said R. Papa: This is what people say: "There are many old camels who are laden with the skins of young ones." R. Elazar said: A scholar, in the eyes of a commoner, at first acquaintance (the scholar) appears to him (the ignorant man) like a golden kithon. However, after he holds conversation with him, he appears like a silver kithon; if he accepts a benefit from him, he appears like an earthen one, which, once broken, cannot be mended.

Aimretha bath Tli was the daughter of a priest, who had sinned, and R. Hama b. Tubiah surrounded her with bundles of twigs and burned her. And R. Joseph, when he heard this, said: He erred twice. In the explanation of the Mishna, in which, according to R. Na'hman, the sinner was burned with lead; and (b) he was not aware of the following Boraitha: It is written [Deut. xvii. 9]: "And thou shalt come unto the priests the Levites, and unto the judge that may be in those days." At that time, when the priests acted, judgements concerning capital punishments might be rendered; but when there were no more acting priests, no such judgement could be rendered.

"Said Elazar b. Zadok," etc. Said R. Joseph: The court in question was of the Sadducees (who take the commandments of the Scripture literally). Did, indeed, Elazar say so? And the answer was as stated in the Mishna? Is there not a Boraitha which states: R. Elazar b Zadok said: I recollect, when I was a child, being carried upon the shoulders of my father, and a daughter of a priest, who was a sinner, was brought, and was surrounded with bundles of twigs and burned? To which the sages answered: At that time you were a child, and we cannot accept any evidence from a child? Two such cases happened in the days of R. Elazar, and when be was answered that no evidence of a child is to be taken into consideration, he related before them the other case which be saw when he was already of age, and to this they answered him: That court was an ignorant one.

MISHNA 3.: The prescribed punishment of slaying was thus: He was decapitated, as was customary with the Roman government. R. Jehudah, however, maintains: Such a death is repulsive. But they put his head on the (executioner's) block and cut it off with a butcher's hatchet. And he was answered: There is not a more detestable death than this.

GEMARA: There is a Boraitha: R. Jehudah said to the sages: I myself am aware that the death I explained is repulsive; but what can we do against the Scripture, which reads [Lev. 18:13]: "And in their customs shall ye not walk," etc.? To which the rabbis answered: As this is written in the Scripture, we are not learning this from them, but they learned it from us. And should one disagree with us, then what would he say to the following Boraitha: Garments and some other valuable things may be burned on the grave of kings, for the sake of

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their honour. And this custom is not considered the custom of the Amalekites. And why? It is because it is mentioned in the Scripture [Jer. 34:5].: "And as burnings were made for thy father," etc., we do not learn from them. The same is the case here.

Let us see! In the succeeding chapter, there is a Mishna: The following are slain with a sword: a murderer, and the men of a misled town. It is correct, "a misled town," as it is plainly written [Deut. xiii. 16], "with the edge of a sword." But whence do we know that the same is the case with a murderer? From the following Boraitha: It reads [Ex. 21:20]: "And if a man smite his servant or maid with a rod, and he die under his hand, it shall be surely avenged." And as we do not know what "revenge" means; therefore it is written [Lev. 26:25]: "And I will bring unto you the sword avenging." Hence avenge means with a sword.

But whence do we know that they decapitated him--perhaps they killed him with the sword in another part of the body? It reads, "with the edge of a sword," which excludes stabbing. But perhaps it means splitting the head. It is already inferred by Rabha b. Abuhu from the phrase: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," that one must select a decent death. But all this speaks of when one has slain a bondman. Whence do we know that the same is the case with a freeman (whose punishment is death in general, and there is a rule that wherever the kind of death is not mentioned, it means choking)? This cannot be, as an a fortiori conclusion is to be drawn: A slave, who is less in value than a freeman, if one kills him, he is punished with slaying by the sword (which is more rigorous than choking); if one kills a freeman, so much the more should he be punished with a more rigorous death. But this would be correct only to him who holds that the sword is more rigorous than choking. But to him who holds the contrary, what can be said? He infers this from another verse, as is stated in the following Boraitha: It is written [Deut. xxi. 9]: "And thou shalt put away (the guilt of) the innocent blood from the midst of thee." From this we see that all shedders of blood are compared to the heifer in that connection. And lest one say that as the heifer is killed with a butcher's knife toward the back part of the neck, the same shall be done with all other shedders of blood, it is already inferred above that a decent death must be selected.

MISHNA 4.: The prescribed punishment of choking was thus: The sinner was placed in waste knee-deep. Then, placing a twisted scarf of coarse material within a soft one, they wound it around his neck. One (of the witnesses) pulled one end toward himself, the other doing the same, until the soul of the culprit departed.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: It reads [Lev. 20:10]: "And if there be a man "--" man" means to exclude a minor, "Who committeth adultery with a man's wife"--"man's wife" means to exclude the wife of a minor (whose marriage is not considered). "With his neighbour's wife" means to exclude those people who live with their wives in common. [Ibid.]: "Then shall the adulterer be put to death" means choking. But perhaps it means some other kind of death which is prescribed by the Scripture? It was said that wherever it is written in the Torah "death," without specifying which, you must not apply a rigorous one, but an easier one (and choking is the easiest of all the kinds of death mentioned in the Torah). So is the decree of R. Jashiah. R. Jonathan, however, maintains: The reason is not because choking is an easier death, but because there is a tradition that in any place where death is mentioned in the Scripture, without specifying which, it is choking. Rabbi said: The reason is because there is mentioned in the Scripture a heavenly death [Gen. 38:10], and there is also mentioned death from human hands. And as a heavenly death does not leave any marks on the body of the man, the same must it be by death from human hands. But perhaps burning is meant, which also does not leave any signs outside of the body? As the Scripture prescribed burning to a daughter of a priest, it is to be understood that all other sinners are not punished with the same.

It is correct that choking is to be used, according to R. Jonathan, who says that it is a tradition; and Rabbi gives the reason. But R. Joshiah, who wants only an easier death--whence does he deduce choking at all? (Such is never mentioned in the Scripture.) And perhaps there is no more than three kinds of death, and from these three the easier one must be selected, which is the sword? Said Rabha: The four kinds of death are known traditionally. And the expression of R. Jonathan, "not because it is easier," shows that he and R. Joshiah differ concerning choking, whether it is an easier death. In the same manner differ R. Simeon and the rabbis.

R. Zera said to Abayi: There are sinners who are punished with stoning, although it is not so mentioned in the Scripture. But they are inferred from an analogy of expression, "from a familiar spirit." I question you which expression of the two following is meant--"put to death," or "their blood shall be upon them"? And he answered: The latter expression, as the first is needed, "to death," which is explained above.

MISHNA 5.: To the following sinners stoning applies: viz., one who has had connection with his mother, with his father's wife, with his daughter-in-law, with a human male, or with cattle; and the same is the case with a woman who uncovers herself before cattle; with a blasphemer; an idolater, he who sacrifices one of his children to Moloch; one that occupies himself with familiar spirits; a wizard; one who violates the Sabbath; one who curses his father or mother; one who has assaulted a betrothed damsel; a seducer who has seduced men to worship idols, and the one who misleads a whole town; a witch (male or female); a stubborn and rebellious son.

One who has had connection with his mother is guilty of transgressing two negative commandments--the negative commandment as to his mother and the negative commandment as to his father's wife. R. Jehudah, however, maintains: He is guilty only for his mother. One who has connection with his stepmother is also guilty in respect to two negative commandments--the commandment of adultery and the separate commandment as to his father's wife. There is no difference if he has done it while his father was still alive or after his death; and there is also no difference if she was only betrothed to his father, or already married. One that commits a crime with his daughter-in-law transgresses also two commandments-adultery and of the separate commandment of his son's wife. And there is also no difference if it was done while his son was still alive or after his death, after her betrothal or after marriage.

GEMARA: There is a Boraitha: R. Jehudah said: "If his father had married his mother illegally; he transgresses only the commandment as to "mother" and not as to "his father's wife." And the expression illegally means that by marrying, he has transgressed a negative commandment which is not punished capitally or with korath. As to such, even according to the rabbis, such a marriage is not considered at all. But to death which is only of a negative commandment--e.g., a widow to a high-priest--according to the rabbis the marriage is considered, and according to R. Jehudah it is not, as he holds with R. Aqiba, who is of the same opinion. R. Oushia objected: There is a Mishna in Yebamoth [Chap. 2, 3]: "Owing to other legal prohibitions, or on account of the holiness of station" [ibid. ix.]. By "legal prohibitions" (to marry as above mentioned) are meant the secondary degrees of relationship prohibited by the rabbins as to intermarriage. Those prohibited to intermarry on account of holiness of station are a widow to a high-priest; a woman who had been divorced or performed the ceremony of Halitzah; who had (unlawfully) been married to an ordinary priest. To which a Boraitha adds: R. Jehudah changes the expression, viz., by "legal prohibition," a widow to a high-priest, etc., is meant; and "on account of holiness of station," the secondary degrees of relationship, etc., are meant. Hence we see that R. Jehudah changes the expression only, but nevertheless the ceremony of Halitzah is required. And if it were in accordance with R. Aqiba (that a marriage within secondary degrees is not considered at all), why, then, the ceremony of Halitzah? R. Jehudah collected only the expressions which ought to be in accordance with the opinion of the first Tana, but he himself does not require anything of that kind.

When R. Itz'hak came from Palestine, he taught just as our Mishna teaches, viz.: R. Jehudah said: He is guilty only concerning the negative commandment as to the mother. And what is the reason? Said Abayi: Because it reads [ibid. 18:7]: "She is thy mother," which means: You have to make him guilty only because of his mother, but not because of the wife of his father. But why do the rabbis make him guilty concerning two commandments? Do they not hold this theory? The rabbis apply this expression to that which was said by R. Shesha b. R. Idi, which is stated farther on. But does not R. Jehudah also hold the theory of R. Shesha? Hence, his theory cannot be inferred from it. Therefore said R. Aha b. Iki: It reads [ibid. 7]: "She is thy mother, thou shalt not uncover her nakedness," meaning, "for one nakedness you can make her guilty, but not for two." But if so, why does not R. Jehudah differ concerning a daughter-in-law, who is guilty, according to our Mishna, as to two commandments? It then must be said, because there is one body, although there are two transgressions, he is culpable only for one, as it reads, "her nakedness." The same should be the case concerning the mother? Therefore said Rabha: R. Jehudah holds: At the beginning of the verse, "the nakedness of thy father" means "thy father's wife." And that it means thus he infers from an analogy of expression, as stated farther on. And "father's wife" means that there is no difference whether she is his mother or not. But whence do we know that it is the same with his mother, who is not his father's wife? Therefore it is written: "She is thy mother, thou shalt not uncover her nakedness." Hence only for the crime as to the mother you make him guilty, but not as to that of his father's wife.

There is a Boraitha according to Rabha: "A man" means to exclude a minor [Lev. xxii.]: "That lieth with his father's wife" means that there is no difference whether she is his mother or not. But whence do we know that the same is the case with his mother who is not his father's wife? Therefore it reads: "His father's nakedness," which is pleonastic, I and is written only for the purpose of an analogy of expression. "Both of them shall be put to death" means by stoning--but perhaps with some other death? It is written here: "Their blood shall be upon them"; and in the case of "familiar spirits" there is also the same expression. And as concerning the latter stoning is plainly applied by the Scripture, the same is the case here. But here we have heard only of the punishment. Whence do we know of the warning? Therefore it is written: "The nakedness of thy father," etc., which means of "thy father's wife." But perhaps it means literally the father himself? It is written here, "The nakedness of thy father thou shalt not uncover," and there it is written, "The nakedness of his father he had uncovered." As the latter means his wife, so does the former. And from the expression "his father's wife," it is inferred, whether his mother or not. But whence do we know as to his mother who is not his father's wife? Therefore it is written, "the nakedness of thy mother," etc. But this is only in the warning in which the Scripture has equalised the mother who is not his father's wife with her who is. But whence do we know that the punishment is also equal? From the analogy of the expressions: "the nakedness of thy father thou shalt not uncover," and it reads also: "He has uncovered the nakedness of his father." And so as in the warning it is equalised with the mother who is the wife of his father and with her who is not, the same holds good concerning the punishment. "She is thy mother" means, you can make her guilty only for the crime as mother, but not for the crime as father's wife. But the rabbis, who do not use the above analogy of expression, whence do they deduce the punishment of a mother who is not the wife of one's father? Said R. Shesha b. R. Idi: It reads: "She is thy mother," which means that the Scripture equalised the mother who is not the wife of his father with her who is.

"Who had connection with his daughter-in-law." But let him be guilty also because of the wife of his son? Said Abayi: The verse begins with his daughter-in-law and ends with the wife of his son--to teach that "daughter-in-law" and "wife of his son" are one and the same.

MISHNA 5.: One who had connection with a human male or with an animal, and also a human female who uncovers herself before a male animal, are punished with stoning. And should one say: If man has sinned, what is the fault of the animal? Because a misfortune has happened to a human being through it, therefore says the verse: "It shall be stoned," There is also another explanation; viz., should it happen that people saw the animal passing the street, they would say: On account of it so and so was stoned.

GEMARA: A human male--whence is deduced? That which the rabbis taught: "A man" means to exclude a minor; with a male," of any age whatever or a minor. "As they lie with a woman" means to say that with a woman there are two kinds of lyings, one usual and one unusual; and one is guilty as to both. Said R. Ishmael: This verse came to teach that which was just mentioned, as if not for this teaching it would be pleonastic, for regarding a male there is only one kind of connection. "Both of them have committed an abomination, they shall be put to death"--by stoning, but perhaps by some other death. Therefore it is written: "Their blood shall be upon them." And the same expression is used concerning "a familiar spirit," etc. And as the punishment of the latter is known to be stoning, the same applies here. From this we have heard the punishment. Whence is the warning? [Ibid. 18:22]: "And with a man shalt thou not lie as with a woman; it is an abomination." But this is a warning only to him who has done so. But whence is the warning to them with whom the connection was made? As to this it reads [Deut. 23:18]: "There shall not be a courtesan of the sons of Israel"; and also [1 Kings, 14:24]: "And courtesans also were in the land . . . the Lord had driven out." So R. Ishmael. R. Aqiba, however, said: "It was not necessary to have another verse warning him with whom the connection was made, as this is inferred from the same verse, which may apply also to the latter by some change in pronunciation.

Concerning animals, whence is this deduced? The rabbis taught: From Lev. 20:15. "A man" excludes a minor; "with an animal," it makes no difference whether it was a large or a small one; "shall be put to death" means stoning--but perhaps some other kind of death? It reads here (ibid.) "thahargu" (ye shall kill), and in Deut. 13:10, "thahargenu" (thou shalt kill). And as there the punishment is stoning, as it reads plainly in ibid. 11, the same is the case here. Here, however, we have learned only the punishment to the man. But whence do we know that the animal with which the crime was done is also to be killed in the same manner? It reads [Ex. 22:18]: "Whosoever lieth with a beast shall surely be put to death," which was not necessary for the man, as there is another verse cited above. Apply it, therefore, to the beast. From this we have learned the punishment for both. But whence is the warning? From the above-cited verse [Lev. 18:23]. But this is only a warning to the man, and whence the warning concerning the animal? From Deut. 23:18. (Here are repeated the cited verses in the name of R. Ishmael, and also in the name of R. Aqiba, that it is not necessary, as in the above verses there is a warning for both.)

MISHNA 6.: A blasphemer is not guilty, unless he mentioned the proper name of God (Jehovah). Said R. Jehoshua b. Karha: Through the entire trial the witnesses are examined pseudonymously--i.e. (the blasphemer said): "Jose

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shall be beaten by Jose." (Rashi explains that the name Jose was selected because it contains four letters, as does the proper name of the Lord.) When the examination was ended, the culprit was not executed on the testimony under the pseudonym; but all are told to leave the room except the witnesses, and the oldest of them is instructed: "Tell what you heard exactly." And he does so. The judges then arise, and rend their garments, and they are not to be mended. The second witness then says: I heard exactly the same as he told. And so also says the third witness.

GEMARA: There is a Boraitha: One is not guilty unless he blesses (i.e., curses) the Holy Name by the Holy Name (as illustrated in the Mishna): "Jose shall be beaten by Jose." And whence is this deduced? Said Samuel: From Lev. 24:16, of which the term in Hebrew is "we-nauquib shem," which means, "when he has cursed with the name." And whence do we know that the term "nauquib" means cursing? From [Num. 24:8]: "How shall I curse," etc. And the warning as to this is [Ex. 22:27]: "Thou shalt not revile Elohim." But does not "nauquib" mean "hole"? Why, then, not so say--i.e., suppose one wrote the Holy Name on a piece of parchment and tore it, the term "we-yiqaub" [2 Kings, 12:10]? meaning he "bored a hole in its lid"--and the warning as to which should be from [Deut. 12:3, 4]: "Ye shall destroy their name out of the same place. Ye shall not do so to the Lord," etc. It was said above if the Name should be cursed by the Name, which is not the case here. But perhaps the term "nauquib is meant as plainly expressed, as the same is used in Num. i. 17, which are expressed by name" (i.e., it was forbidden to express the name Jehovah in any case whatever, except in that of the high-priest in his worshipping on the Day of Atonement when the temple was in existence; and even then, when the people heard this expression, they used to fall upon their faces). And the warnings should be from [Deut. 6:13]: "The Lord thy God shalt thou fear" (which means to pronounce His name). This does not hold good, firstly because, as said above, it must be by the Name; and secondly, a warning of a positive commandment cannot be counted as a warning. And if you wish, it may be said because it is so written plainly [Lev. 24:11]: "The son of the Israelitish woman pronounced (weyiqaub) the holy name and blasphemed." Hence this term is used to blaspheme. But perhaps one is not guilty unless he did both-expressed the name and blasphemed? This cannot be supposed, as farther on it reads [ibid. 14]: "Lead forth the blasphemer," and the expression "nauquib" is not mentioned. Hence it is one and the same.

The rabbis taught: It reads: "any man whatsoever," etc., meaning to include the heathen, who are warned of blasphemy the same as an Israelite. And they are to be executed by the sword, as wherever it is mentioned in the Scripture concerning death to the children of Noah, it means by the sword, and not otherwise. But is this inferred from the verse cited? Is it not stated farther on that such is inferred from a verse in Genesis? Said R. Itz'hak of Navha: This verse is needed to include the pseudonyms. And it is in accordance with R. Mair of the following Boraitha: Any man whatsoever that blasphemeth his God shall bear his sin. To what purpose is this written? It reads earlier [ibid. 16]: "But he that pronounced the name of the Lord (with blasphemy) shall be put to death"? Because from this one might say that he is not guilty, unless he has done so with the unique proper Name, but not with the pseudonyms. Therefore it reads in the cited verse (15), "his God"--no difference between proper and pseudonym. So is the decree of R. Mair. The sages, however, maintain: For the unique proper Name death is the punishment; and for the pseudonyms it is only a warning by a negative commandment, and the punishment is as for the transgression of a negative commandment. (Says the Gemara:) Itz'hak of Navha differs with R. Maisha, who said: One of the children of Noah, who blasphemed God by any of His pseudonyms whatsoever is guilty, and is put to death, even according to the rabbis.

The rabbis taught: Seven commandments were given to the children of Noah, and they are: Concerning judges, blasphemy, idolatry, adultery, bloodshed, robbery, and that they must not eat of the member of a body while the animal is still alive. R. Hananiah b. Gamaliel said: Also of the blood of the same. R. Hidka said: Also castration was forbidden to them. R. Simeon said: Also witchcraft. And R. Jose said: All that is said in: the portion on witchcraft is forbidden to a descendant of Noah. As it reads [Deut. 18:10-12]: "There shall not be found among thee any one who causeth his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, one who useth divination, one who is an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a conjurer, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or who inquireth of the dead. For an abomination unto the Lord are all that do these things; and on account of these abominations the Lord thy God doth drive them out from before thee." And as there is no punishment without preceding warning, hence they were commanded not to do all this. R. Elazar said: Also Kilaim. I mean to say, the descendants of Noah are allowed to dress themselves with a mixture of wool and flax; and also sow different kinds of seeds together (which are forbidden to the Israelites); but they are forbidden to gender different kinds of animals and to graft two kinds of trees together.

Whence is all this deduced? Said R. Johanan: From Genesis ii. 16. 1 Were the descendants of Noah indeed commanded concerning judges? Is there not a Boraitha: Ten commandments were commanded to Israel in Marah; seven of them are those which were accepted by the descendants of Noah, and three were added to them: viz., Judges, Sabbath, and to honour father and mother. Judges--as it is written [Ex. 15:25]: "There he made for them a statute and an ordinance," etc. And concerning Sabbath and the honour of parents it reads [Deut. 5:12 and 16]: "As the Lord thy God hath commanded thee." And R. Jehudah said: "As he hath commanded thee in Marah." Said R. Aha b. Jacob: This means that Israel was commanded to establish courts of justice in every district and city; and the children of Noah were commanded concerning judges in general only. But is there not a Boraitha: As Israel was commanded to establish judges in every city and district, so also were the children of Noah commanded? Said Rabha: The Tana of the Boraitha cited above is in accordance with the school of Manasheh, which excluded from the seven commandments judges and blasphemy, and included castration and kilaim. Thus was it taught in the school of Manasheh: Seven commandments were the descendants of Noah commanded: Concerning idolatry, adultery, bloodshed, robbery, a member of a living animal, castration, and kilaim. R. Jehudah, however, said: Adam the First was commanded as to idolatry only, as it reads [Gen. 2:16]: "And the Lord commanded the man" i.e., the Lord commanded him about the law of God (that he should not be exchanged for another). R. Jehudah b. Bathyra said: Also as to blasphemy. And there are some others who say, also concerning judges.

According to whom is that which was said by R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: God said to Adam: I am God, thou shalt not blaspheme me. I am God, thou shalt not exchange me for an idol. I am God, the fear of me shall be always upon thee? According to the "some others" just mentioned. (The expression "the fear of me," etc., means to appoint judges who shall punish them who transgress my commandments.)

Said R. Joseph: It was said in the college: For transgression of the following three commandments a descendant of Noah is put to death: viz., adultery, bloodshed, and blasphemy. R. Shesheth opposed: It is correct concerning bloodshed, as it reads [Gen. ix. 6]: "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." But whence do you deduce the two others? And should you say that it is inferred from bloodshed, then why not infer all the seven? And if you infer it from "any man whatsoever," then idolatry is also inferred from same? Therefore said he: In the college it was said: For four they are but not put to death? Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: It means ant of Noah indeed put to death because of idolatry? Have we not learned in a Boraitha concerning idolatry, if for such a crime one is put to death by the court of Israel, the descendants of Noah are warned of it? Hence they are only warned, but not put to death? Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: It means that they are warned if they should commit this they will be put to death. R. Huna and R. Jehudah and also all other disciples of Rabh say: For each case of the seven commandments a descendant of Noah is to be killed. As the Scripture prescribed death for one, it shall serve as an example for the others.

When R. Dimi came from Palestine, he said in the name of R. Elazar, quoting R. Hanina: A descendant of Noah who has separated a female slave to one of his male slaves, and thereafter had connection with her, is to be put to death for this crime. A similarity to this in the crime of bloodshed was not taught. Said Abayi: If such a similarity is to be found, it may be in that which we have learned in the following Boraitha: R. Jonathan b. Saul said: If one runs after his neighbour to kill him, and the one who flees could save himself by injuring one of the members of his pursuer, and he did not so, but killed him, it is a crime of bloodshed and he is put to death for it. 1 R. Jacob b. Aha found a writing in a Haggadic book written by the college of Rabh, thus: A descendant of Noah may be put to death by the decision of one judge, by the testimony of one witness, and although he was not warned previously. However, the testimony must be from a man, and not from a woman; and the testimony holds good even if given by one of his relatives. In the name of R. Ishmael it was said: He is put to death even for killing an embryo. Whence is this deduced? Said R. Jehudah: From [Gen. ix. 5]: "Your blood, however, on which your lives depend, will I require," meaning even by one judge. "At the hand of every beast" means even without warning; "at the hand of man" means even with one witness; "at the hand of every man" means of a man but not of a woman; "brother" means even when the witness was a relative. And the reason of R. Ishmael is [ibid. 6]: "Whoso sheddeth man's blood in man, 2 his blood shall be shed." What is meant by "a man in man," if not an embryo, which is in the entrails of his mother? And the first Tana, who holds that a descendant of Noah is not guilty for an embryo, is in accordance with the school of Manasheh, which maintains that every death which is mentioned regarding the descendants of Noah is choking; and he explains the above-cited verse "in man shall his blood be shed," that it means choking, from which death occurs inside of the body as illustrated above. R. Hamnuna objected: Does, then, the commandment of bloodshed not apply to a woman? Is it not written [Gen. 18:19]: "For I know him, that he will command his sons and his household after him"? And by the "household" it means the woman, as the sons are already mentioned? He objected, and he himself answered: It reads farther on, "that they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do righteousness and justice." It means that he shall command his sons to appoint judges for justice and his household to do righteousness and charity.

Said R. Ibiah the Elder to R. Papa: Say, then, that a woman who is a descendant of Noah shall not be put to death if she has killed a man; as it reads "from the hand of a man," which means not from the hand of a woman? And he answered: So said R. Jehudah: It reads, "Whoso sheddeth the blood of a human," etc., which means any human whatsoever. (Said R. Ibiah again: "Say, then, that a female descendant of Noah should not be punished if she sinned, as it reads [ibid. 2:24]: "Therefore doth a man leave his father and his mother"--a man, and not a woman. And he answered: So said R. Jehudah: It reads further, "and they become one flesh"; and with this the verse associates them to be equal in every respect.)

The rabbis taught: It should read "a man." Why is it written "any man whatsoever"? To include heathens in the warning of adultery, as well as Israelites. But was it not said above that in the seven commandments which were given to the descendants of Noah adultery is included? Said R. Johanan: It is needed for such a relationship which they do not recognise, but the Israelites do; e.g., a betrothed woman before marriage, whom they consider as single. And if it happened that a heathen should sin with a woman betrothed of an Israelite, he is to be tried in the courts of the Israelites. But if he sins with a married woman, he may be tried in his own courts--the punishment of which is by the sword, and not choking. But is there not a Boraitha: A heathen who has sinned with a betrothed woman is to be stoned; and if with a married, choked? Hence he is tried in the Israelitish courts, as in his own courts he would be slain by the sword. Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: By the term married woman is meant that the ceremony of marriage was performed, but her husband had not as yet had any connection with her; and such a marriage their courts do not consider, and the bride is still deemed single. Therefore he is to be tried in the courts of Israel, and punished with their prescribed death. And so taught R. Haninah: The law of the heathen considers the wife of a man only after their connection, but not after the ceremony of marriage.

There is a Boraitha in accordance with R. Johanan: Every relationship for which the punishment of the courts of Israel is death, a descendant of Noah is warned of it; but all other relationships, the punishment of which is not death, are permissible to them. So is the decree of R. Mair. The sages, however, say: There are many relationships which in our courts are not punished with death, nevertheless the descendants of Noah are warned of them. If it happens that one of the latter has committed a crime with a daughter of Israel, which is considered adultery in the courts of the Israelites, but not in the courts of the heathens, he is to be tried in the courts of Israel. But if such a crime is considered adultery also in the courts of the heathen, he may be tried in their own courts. However, we do not find a case which would be a crime for Israelites and not for heathens, except that of a betrothed woman (as said above). But why does the Boraitha not count the case of a married woman--by the ceremony of marriage only--which is a crime according to our law, and not according to their law? The Boraitha is in accordance with the school of Manasheh: The death of the descendants of Noah is also choking. Hence it makes no difference in which court he should be tried. 1

Resh Lakish said: He who raises his hand to strike his neighbour, although he has not as yet struck him, is called wicked. As it is written [Ex. 2:13]: "And he said to the wicked one, wherefore smitest thou thy fellow?" It does not read, "why hast thou smitten," but "why smitest thou." Hence he is called wicked even if he only raises his hand to strike. Zeairi in the name of R. Hanina said: He is named sinner. As it reads [1 Sam. 2:16]: "If not, I will take it by force." And immediately after it reads: "The sin of the young men was very great." R. Huna said: If one has the habit of raising his hand against man, his arm may be cut off. As it reads [Job, 38:15]: "And the high-raised arm should be broken." (And R. Huna acted according to his theory, and cut off the arm of a man whose habit was to strike men with it.) R. Elazar said: There is no remedy for such a man, but burial. As it is written [ibid. 22:8]: "But as for the man of a strong arm, for him is the land." He said again: Only one who has a strong arm may obtain land (as usually there is much trouble to keep away cattle and all other animals which harm the growth, and also to preserve it from thieves, etc.). Resh Lakish said again: It reads [Prov. 12:11]: "He that tilleth 1 his ground will be satisfied with

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bread." It means, when one makes himself a slave to the earth, he may be satisfied with bread, but not otherwise.

The Boraitha states: R. Hananiah b. Gamaliel, etc. The rabbis taught: It reads [Gen. 9:4]: "But flesh in which its life is, which is its blood, shall ye not eat." This means any member of the animal, while it is still alive. And Haninah b. Gamaliel said: Also the blood of same. And his reason is that the verse is to be read thus: Flesh in which its life is, ye shall not eat, and blood in which its life is, ye shall not eat. The rabbis, however, maintain that blood is here mentioned to teach that other animals, as reptiles, are allowed to a descendant of Noah. Similar to this, it reads [Deut. 12:23]: "Only be firm, so as not to eat the blood; for the blood is its life," which the rabbis explain as meaning the blood of the veins, by which the soul departs.

For what purpose is it written concerning the descendants of Noah, and thereafter repeated in the laws which were given on Mount Sinai? It is as R. Jose b. Hanina said: Every commandment Which was given to the descendants of Noah, and thereafter repeated in the laws given on Mount Sinai, applies to both Israel and the descendants of Noah. And that which was given to the descendants of Noah, and not repeated, applies to Israel only. However, we have only one case [Gen. 32:33] which was commanded before the laws were given on Mount Sinai, which was not repeated, and applies only to Israel, according to R. Jehudah's theory (in Tracts Chulin, Chap. vii., which will be explained there).

The master said: A commandment which was repeated on Sinai is for both. Why not the contrary-because it was repeated on Sinai, it must be said it was given to Israel only? Although idolatry was repeated on Sinai, as we find that the descendants of Noah were already punished for idolatry, therefore it applies to both. He says further that that which was given to the descendants of Noah and not repeated is for Israel only. Why not the contrary--because it was not repeated, it applies to the descendants of Noah and not to Israel? Because we do not find any case where it is forbidden to the descendants of Noah and allowed to the Israelites, a commandment which was given to the children of Noah and repeated on Sinai applies to both. Is there not circumcision? [Gen. xvii.]: "And God said unto Abraham: But thou, for thy part, shalt keep my covenant"; and it reads also [Lev. 12:3]: "And on the eighth day shall the flesh of his foreskin be circumcised." And nevertheless it applies to Israel only, and not to the descendants of Noah? The verse just cited was needed to permit the circumcision to be done on Sabbath; as the term "on the eighth day" means even on Sabbath. And if you wish, it may be said that circumcision was given to Abraham especially. As it reads [Gen. xvii.]: "But thou, for thy part, shalt keep my covenant: thou, and thy seed after thee, in their generations"--which means "thou and thy children," but not some other man's. But according to this, let the descendants of Ishmael be obliged to circumcise? It reads [ibid. 21:12]: "For in Isaac shall thy seed be called." But if so, let this obligation be for the children of Esau also? It reads "in Isaac," but not the whole of Isaac, which means to exclude the descendants of Esau. R. Oushia opposed: Let, then, the children of Kturah not be obliged to circumcision. And R. Jose b. Abin or R. Jose b. Hanina said: From [ibid. 17:14]: "He hath broken my covenant" is understood even the sons of Kturah.

R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: Adam the First was not permitted to eat meat. As it reads [ibid. 1:29, 30]: "To you it shall be for food, and to every beast of the field," meaning, but not the beasts to you. However, after the descendants of Noah came, he permitted them. As it reads [ibid. ix. 3]: "Every moving thing that liveth shall be yours for food: even as the green herbs have I given you all things." And lest one say that they may be eaten while still alive, therefore it reads: "But flesh in which its life is, which is its blood, shall ye not eat." And lest one say that this forbids also reptiles, the term "but" excludes them. How is this to be understood? Said R. Huna: It reads "his blood," which means of animals in which the blood is separated from the flesh, and excludes reptiles, of which the blood is not separated from their flesh.

There was an objection to that which was said that Adam the First was not allowed to eat meat, from that which Jehudah b. Bathyra said (Vol. 9.): "Adam the First was sitting in the garden of Eden, and the angels served him with roasted meat," etc. Hence he was allowed? And the answer was that with meat which came from heaven it is different. And the question is, was there any meat which came from heaven? It was answered: Yea! As it happened to R. Simeon b. Chalafta, who, being on the road, met lions, which were stirred against him; and a miracle occurred, and two legs fell from heaven, one of which the lions consumed, and the other one remained. Simeon then took it, brought it into the college, and questioned if it was allowed to eat it. And he was answered: An unclean thing never came from heaven. And R. Zera questioned R. Abuhu: How is it if such should come from heaven in the form of an ass? And he was scolded for this question thus: Was it not decided long ago that no unclean thing descends from heaven?

"R. Simeon said: Also witchcraft." What is his reason? It reads [Ex. 22:17]: "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live"; and farther on: "Whosoever lieth with a beast shall surely be put to death"--which applies also to the descendants of Noah. And as this applies to them, the same is the case with the first verse. R. Elazar said: Kilaim! Whence is this deduced? Said Samuel: From [Lev. 19:19]: "My statutes shall ye keep," which means the "statutes which I stated long ago" (long ago, to the descendants of Noah). "Thy cattle shalt thou not let gender with a diverse kind; thy field shalt thou not sow with mingled seeds." And as concerning cattle "gender" is prohibited, so concerning fields grafting is prohibited; and as the prohibition of the first applies to every place--in Palestine and outside of it--the same is the case with the fields. But if so, why not explain [ibid., ibid. 37]: "Ye shall therefore observe all my statutes, and all my ordinances," in the same way: "my statutes which I stated long ago"? Nay! "You shall therefore observe my statutes" means which I have now given to you. But in the above-cited verse, which begins, "my statutes ye shall observe," it must be said the statutes which are already stated.

"Said R. Jehoshua b. Karha," etc. Said R. Aha b. Jacob: Infer from this that one is not guilty unless he blesses (curses) the Name which contains four letters, but not that of two letters (e.g., a Jud and Heh--"Ja"; or Aleph and Lamedh, which is "ehl." But is this not self-evident? Does not the Mishna state, e.g., "Jose . . . by Jose," which contains four letters? Lest one say that this is only an example, but not in particular, he comes to teach us that it is not so. According to others, Aha b. Jacob said: Infer from this that a name which contains four letters is also considered. Is this not self-evident? The example is given, "Jose by Jose," which contains four. Lest one say that one is not guilty, unless he blesses (curses) the great Name (Rashi explains: Which contains forty-two letters--which are not known to us, and the example is not particular, he comes to teach us that it is not so).

"They arise." Whence is this deduced? Said R. Itz'hak b. Ami: From [Judges, 3:20]: "And Ehud came unto him; and he was sitting in the summer upper chamber, which was for himself alone. "And Ehud said: I have a word of God unto thee. And he arose out of his chair." Is there not to be drawn an a fortiori conclusion--Eglon, the king of Moab, who was a heathen, to whom the God of Israel was known only by a pseudonym, rose up from his chair when he heard the Name of God: An Israelite, hearing the great Name, so much the more must he arise?

"Rend," etc. Whence is this deduced? From [2 Kings, 18:37]: "Then came Elyakim the son of Chilkiyah, who was superintendent over the house, and Shebuah the scribe, and Yoach the son of Assaph the recorder, to Hezekiah, with their clothes rent; and they told unto him the words of Rabshakeh."

"Not to be mended." Whence is this deduced? Said R. Abuhu: From an analogy of expression--"rent." It reads here: "With their clothes rent"; and [ibid. 2:12]: "And Elisha saw it, and he cried, My father, my father, the chariot of Israel, and their horsemen. And be saw him no more; and he took hold of his clothes and rent them in two pieces." Why the word "pieces"? Is it not self-evident that when he rent them in two, they became pieces? Hence this term means that they should remain pieces and never be mended. The rabbis taught: There is no difference if one hears it from the blasphemer himself or from the witness who heard it from the blasphemer--he must rend his garments. However, the witnesses themselves are not obliged to rend their garments gain, as they already did so when they heard the blasphemy. But supposing they have already rent? Do they not hear this now? Hence they should rend again? This cannot be supposed, as it reads [Ibid., ibid., 19]: "And it came to pass, when King Hezekiah heard it, that he rent his clothes." Hence Hezekiah rent, but they who told him did not rend again.

R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel: If one hears a blasphemy from the mouth of a heathen, he is not obliged to rend his garments. And should one say: Why did they rend when they heard it from Rabshakeh?--he was not a heathen, but an apostate Jew. The same said again in the name of the same authority: Garments must be rent only upon the unique proper Name, but not upon a pseudonym. And he differs from R. Hyya in both his decisions, as R. Hyya said: If one hears a blasphemy in our times, he is not obliged to rend; for if one should say he is obliged, then all garments would be full of rents. Now, who are the blasphemers--Israelites? Are they so bold as to blaspheme God? Hence he means heathens. And are, then, the heathen aware of the unique proper Name? Hence he means a pseudonym. And nevertheless he says, "in our times," from which we understand that in previous times it was obligatory to rend upon a pseudonym also. Infer from this that so it was.

"The second witness says: I heard exactly the same," etc. Said Resh Lakish: Infer from this that in civil cases, as well as in criminal, if one of the witnesses says: "I have heard just the same," and does not repeat what he has heard, it is lawful. And that which the court used to require from the witnesses, that each of them should explain how the case was, is only a higher standard which the rabbis have enacted. In the case of blasphemy, however, in which it is impossible that the second witness should repeat, they leaned on the biblical law. As, if it were biblically illegal, how could it be supposed that because it is forbidden to repeat, a man should be put to death?

"And so also says the third witness." This anonymous Mishna is in accordance with R. Aqiba, who compares three witnesses to two.

MISHNA 7.: He is considered an idolater who worships it with its proper 1 worship; and even if he only sacrifices, smokes incense, or pours wine. He is also so considered if he bows himself to it, or accepts it as a god, even without any other act. And also if he only says: Thou art my god. However, he who arms, kisses, wipes the dirt, sprinkles water, washes, anoints, dresses, or shoes it, transgresses a negative commandment [Ex. 20:5]. He who vows or determines in its name transgresses also a negative commandment [ibid. 23:13]. He who uncovers himself before Baal Peor, and commits a nuisance (is guilty, for) this is the mode of worshipping him; also, he who casts a stone on a merculis (hermaeon)--that is the way of worshipping it (and he is guilty).

GEMARA: Whence is this deduced? The rabbis taught: It is written [Ex. 22:19]: He that sacrificeth unto any god, save unto the Lord only, shall be utterly destroyed. If the word "any" were omitted from this verse, I would say it speaks of one who sacrifices animals outside of the sanctuary; but as the word is written, it is to explain that it means: who sacrifices to any idol. From this, however, we infer sacrificing only. But whence do we know that the same is the case with smoking incense or pouring wine? From the words "unto the Lord only," which would be superfluous if they do not mean: all the kinds of worshipping the Lord--if he has done it to an idol, he is guilty. Now, as sacrificing is included in the worshipping of the Eternal, and nevertheless specified, it is to be assumed that it comes to teach that one is guilty for that kind of worshipping which takes place inside of the sanctuary. Whence, then, do we know that bowing is also considered? From [Deut. 17:3]: "And he hath gone and served other gods and bowed 2 himself to them"; and [ibid., ibid. 5]: it reads: "Then shalt thou bring forth that man," etc. But from this we know the punishment--whence is the warning? [Ex. 34:14]: "For thou shalt bow thyself to no other god." And lest one say that arming, kissing, shoeing are also included to be crimes subject to capital punishment, as they are to be inferred from bowing, therefore sacrificing was specified, to show that nothing is to be inferred from bowing, and also to teach that as a distinction is made concerning the worshipping inside of the sanctuary, the same is the case with all other worshippings which are used inside--if with such one has worshipped an idol, he is liable to a capital punishment. However, bowing is out of this rule and stands alone.

The master said: If not for the word "any," I would say it speaks of sacrificing out of the sanctuary. But is not such a crime under the category of Korath? Should one say that it is when he was not warned, but if he was, capital punishment applies, he comes to teach us that it is not so.

Said Rabha b. R. Hanan to Abayi: Why not say that from bowing "all kinds of worshipping" is to be inferred, and the specification of sacrificing is needed for itself, to teach that an intention of worshipping an idol with any future act, although one does not intend it by the first act, is considered worship; e.g., if one slaughters a cow with the intention of sprinkling its blood, or of burning its fat before the idol, although with the slaughtering he does not worship it, it is nevertheless considered, and it is prohibited to derive any benefit from the cow, according to Johanan? But according to Resh Lakish the cow is permissible for use, as he does not hold this theory. And the reason of R. Johanan is because he infers it from the worshipping inside, as to which a future intention, e.g., to sprinkle the blood on the morrow--makes invalid the whole sacrifice. The same is the case with an outside act, as illustrated here.

Said R. Aha of Difti to Rabhina: According to Rabha b. R. Hanan, who said to Abayi: Why not say that from bowing all kinds of worshipping are to be inferred? What, then, would he exclude from the passage which reads [Deut. 12:30]: "How did these nations serve their god?" And lest one say that one who uncovers himself for such idols as are worshipped with sacrifices is excluded, this may be inferred from bowing: as the act of bowing is an honour to the idol, so are all kinds of worship which are in order to honour. But uncovering, which is a disgrace, is not considered a worship? Say--to exclude the one who uncovers himself for Merculis. And lest one say that as the kind of worship of Merculis is a disgrace, the same shall be the case with the disgrace of uncovering, it comes to teach us that it is not so. But did not R. Elazar say: Whence do we know that if one sacrifices an animal to Merculis he is guilty? From [Lev. 17:7]: "So that they shall offer no more their sacrifices unto evil spirits," which is not needed for itself, as this is already written elsewhere? Apply it, therefore, to bringing an offering to an idol of which the kind of worshipping is not sacrificing. Now, as from bowing is inferred all kinds of worshipping which are of honour, so one is liable if he did it for any idol, whatsoever be the kind of its

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worship. Why, then, does R. Eliezer need the above-cited verse? He means to say: Even if he had sacrificed to Merculis, not as an honour but for dishonour, he is nevertheless liable for the transgression of the negative commandment cited above.

It happened to Hamnuna that he lost his oxen, and while searching for them Rabha met him, and propounded to him a contradiction from the two following Mishnayoth: In our Mishna it is stated: "He who worships idols," from which is to be inferred only worshipping, but not saying. And there is another Mishna, farther on, which states: He who says: "I will worship," or "I will go to worship," or "We will go to worship"--is already considered an idolater. And he answered: Our Mishna means that he said: I do not accept this idol as a god unless by worshipping. Said R. Joseph to him: You are saying this as if it were your own opinion. Do you ignore the Tanaim who differ on this point in the following Boraitha: If one says: "Come ye and worship me, for I am a god," R. Mair makes him guilty as a seducer, and R. Jehudah frees him. However, if there were some who had already worshipped him, all agree that he is guilty. Thus it reads [Ex. 20:4] Thou shalt not make unto thyself," etc., which means also, "Thou shalt not make thyself for an image." But the point of their difference is that he was not as yet worshipped. R. Mair makes him guilty because, according to his opinion, talking is to be taken into consideration; and according to R. Jehudah it is not. Hence we see that Tanaim differ on this point? After deliberating, however, said R. Joseph: What I said was not correct; as we find in the following Boraitha that R. Jehudah also makes one guilty for talking: R. Jehudah said: One is not guilty unless he says: "I will worship," or "I will go and worship," or "We will go and worship." And the point of their difference in the Boraitha cited above is thus: If one who is a seducer for himself (i.e., "Worship me"), and there were some people who said, "Yea," according to R. Mair he is considered a seducer because there were some people who answered, "Yea"; and according to R. Jehudah this is not considered, as their answer, "Yea," is only a joke. They ridicule him, saying: Are you not a man like us? And the Mishnayoth, which contradict each other, are to be explained thus: Our Mishna, which states "who worshipped," treats if he who was seduced, listened and worshipped him, he is guilty; because if an individual made up his mind to worship him, it is to be presumed that he will not retract. And the other Mishna treats of when many people were seduced and worshipped him, it is not to be considered, as it is to be supposed that they will reconsider, seeing there is nothing in him, and will retract. And R. Joseph said: Whence did I take my theory? From [Deut. 13:9]: "Then shalt thou not consent unto him, nor shalt thou hearken unto him." From which it is to be understood that if he did listen, and consented unto him, he is culpable. Abayi objected to him: Is there indeed a difference between an individual who was seduced and a majority? Is there not a Boraitha: It reads [ibid., ibid. 7]: "If thy brother, the son of thy mother, should entice thee," means that there is no difference between an individual and a majority, if they were seduced? And the verse which excluded an individual from a majority, is to make more rigorous his body--viz., to be stoned--and lenient concerning his property, which remains for his heirs; and excluded also a majority from an individual, to make more lenient their bodies--viz., slaying by the sword--and rigorous concerning their property, which must be burned. Hence we see that only on this point is there a difference between them, but on all other points they are equal. And therefore he explains the two contradictory Mishnayoth, that one speaks of when he has seduced himself--therefore he is not culpable unless he worshipped, as from his talk only, it is supposed that he will retract after deliberating. And that Mishna which makes him culpable for talking only, speaks of when he was seduced by others, as it is not to be supposed that he will retract. On the contrary, as they are many, it is highly probable that he will be inclined to them. And Abayi also infers his theory from the above-cited verse, "If he did not consent," etc., from which it is to be understood that if he did, he is culpable. Rabha, however, maintains that both Mishnayoth speak of when he was seduced by others, but one treats of when the seducers said to him: "So does the idol eat, so does it drink, so does it good, and so does it harm; and the other one treats of when he was not so informed. And he adds: Whence do I deduce my theory? From [ibid., ibid. 8]: "Some of the gods of the nations which are round about you, that are nigh unto thee," etc. To what purpose is it written? Is there a difference if the idols were near to him or far from him? It must be explained that the verse means thus: From the nature of the idols which are near to thee, thou mayst understand the nature of those which are far from thee. (I.e., usually a seducer comes to tell one from such as are not known to him, and relates before him all the good of the idol, and so seduces him to worship. Hence he said to him: "So does it eat, so does it drink," etc.) R. Ashi maintains: The Mishna which makes one guilty for talking treats of an apostate, who is guilty for talking, as such would not retract after it is seen that such is his habit." Rabhina, however, said: Both Mishnayoth speak of an Israelite, not of an apostate, and they do not differ at all, as the first Mishna says, "who worshipped," and the second states not only "worship," but if he says, "I will," he is also culpable.

It was taught: If one worship an idol because he loves it, or because he fears it, according to Abayi he is culpable, and according to Rabha he is free. The former said so because, after all, he has worshipped it, and therefore he is guilty; and the latter maintains: He is guilty only when he accepts it as a god; but when this is no longer the case, he is free.

Said Abayi: I take my theory from our Mishna, which states, "If one worship," etc., "sacrifice," etc. Now, as the Mishna explains farther on all the kinds of worshipping, the term "worshipped," without specifying the kind, means for love or for fear. Rabha, however, maintains that the Mishna is to be explained as by R. Jeremiah. Said Abayi: I may infer my theory from the following Boraitha: It reads: "Thou shalt not bow thyself to them"--but thou mayst bow thyself to a man who is equal to thee. But lest one say, "Even if the man were worshipped like Haman?" therefore it reads: "Thou shalt not worship them." Now, Haman was worshipped for fear. We see, then, that such a worship is considered. Rabha, however, explains the Boraitha: Like Haman, who established himself as an idol, but not like him who was worshipped only for fear. And Abayi said again: I infer my theory from the following Boraitha: The anointed priest for war may bring an offering, if he acted unintentionally concerning idolatry. So is the decree of Rabbi. Now, let us see! What means, "he acted unintentionally"? Shall we assume that he thought, of a house of idolatry, that it was a synagogue, and bowed himself? Then why should he bring an offering--his heart was toward Heaven? We must then say that he saw an image and bowed himself. Now, if he accepted it is a god, then he has acted intentionally and should be put to death. But if he has not accepted it as a god, but bowed himself--e.g., for the honour of the king who was with him? Then it cannot be considered a sin at all, even to the extent of bringing an offering. We must then say that "unintentionally" means for love or for fear. Rabha, however, maintains that his error was that he thought that such a thing was allowed.

R. Zakkai taught in the presence of R. Johanan: If one has sacrificed, smoked incense, poured wine, and bowed himself before an idol, because of one forgetfulness (that the law does not allow it), he is liable for one sin-offering only. And R. Johanan answered him: Go and teach your teaching outside of the college (i.e., it is nonsense). Said R. Abba: As to the theory of R. Zakkai, R. Jose and R. Nathan differ in the following Boraitha: The negative commandment of kindling on Sabbath, which is already included in the negative commandment, "Thou shalt not do any labour," is written for the purpose of teaching that he who kindles transgresses only a negative commandment, which is not under the category of Korath or capital punishment, as for all other labour on Sabbath. And R. Nathan differs from him (see Sabbath). And there is the same difference here concerning bowing. According to R. Jose, bowing was specified for the purpose of showing that he who does so transgresses only a negative commandment, to which capital punishment does not apply. And R. Nathan differs from him with the same theory as concerning kindling.

When R. Samuel b. Jehudah came from Palestine, he said that R. Zakkai had taught before R. Johanan thus: Concerning Sabbath it is more rigorous than all other commandments in one respect, and all other commandments are more rigorous than concerning Sabbath in another respect--viz., concerning Sabbath, if one has done two kinds of labour by one forgetfulness (e.g., he forgot that it was Sabbath), he is liable for two sin-offerings; and in all other commandments--if, for instance, he worshipped with two kinds by one forgetfulness--he is liable to one sin-offering. And in another respect the other commandments are more rigorous than concerning Sabbath; as concerning Sabbath, if he had done any labour unintentionally--i.e., he intended to do another thing and did this--he is not liable at all, while concerning other commandments, if such a thing occurs, he is liable for a sin-offering.

R. Ami said: If one has worshipped by all three worships--viz., sacrificing, smoking, and pouring--in one forgetfulness, he is liable only for one sin-offering. Said Abayi: The reason of R. Ami's theory is: Because it is written, "Ye shall not worship them," hence the Torah has included all kinds of worship into one. Did Abayi indeed say so? Has he not said: There is written in the Scripture three times "bowing," concerning idolatry: once, that one is culpable if the worship of the idol was by bowing; second, that one is culpable even if the worship of the idol was not by bowing; and the third, to distinguish it from all other worships--that one is liable for it to a capital punishment? You say once, when the usage is to worship thus. Is, then, a verse needed as to this? Is it not written plainly [Deut. 12:30]: "How did these nations serve their gods? even so will I do likewise"? Say then, once, for such an idol as is not accustomed to be worshipped by bowing, but only occasionally; and once, for such as before which bowing is not used at all"--e.g., Baal Peor; and once, to separate it for capital punishment? Hence we see that he is not in accordance with R. Ami? He said so to give a reason for R. Ami's theory, but he himself does not agree with him.

"And also if he only says, 'Thou art my god.'" R. Na'hman in the name of Rabba b. Abuhu, quoting Rabh, said: As soon as he has said, "Thou art my god," he is culpable. But what news is this? If he means capital punishment, did not the Mishna say so? He means to say that he is liable to bring a sin-offering, if this was said by an error, even according to the rabbis, who require an act. But does not a Boraitha state: One is not culpable unless by acting--e.g., sacrificing, smoking, pouring, or bowing? To which Resh Lakish said: Who is the Tana who holds that bowing is also an act? R. Aqiba, who does not require a mental act--from which it is to be understood that the rabbis do? Rabh also means to say in accordance with R. Aqiba. But is this not self-evident? Does not R. Aqiba say that even an unintentional blasphemer is also liable for a sin-offering? Lest one say that R. Aqiba holds liable a blasphemer because the punishment of korath is mentioned in the Scripture concerning him, but concerning bowing, which is not mentioned, even R. Aqiba frees him from this obligation, he comes to teach us that they are compared. As it reads [Ex. 32:8]: "They have bowed themselves to it, and have sacrificed unto it," etc.

R. Johanan said: If not for the Vav in the word "he-elukha" (brought thee up) in the above-cited verse (which makes it plural and means that they also took part in the exodus from Egypt), all Israel would be liable to be destroyed. However, in this the following Tanaim differ: Anonymous teachers say: If not for the Vav in the word "he-elukha," etc. Said R. Simeon b. Johai to them: This is still worse, as there is a tradition: He who conjoins the name of Heaven with something else is to be destroyed; and therefore the Vav in "he-elukha," which makes the word plural, shows that they were fond of many gods.

"He who arms, kisses," etc. When Rabbin came from Palestine, he said in the name of R. Elazar that one is not punished with stripes for all them, unless one vows or determines in its name. But let us see! Why is one not punished for all these? Because the negative commandment is not plainly written to this effect, but was included in the negative commandment, "Thou shalt not worship them." And there is a rule that for such a commandment no stripes apply. Why, then, should stripes apply to one who vows? This commandment is also not for mental labour, but for manual. And there is a rule that concerning a commandment in which mental labour is not involved, stripes do not apply. He is in accordance with R. Jehudah, who said that for such a negative commandment stripes do apply. As we have learned in the following Boraitha: It reads [Ex. 12:10]: "And ye shall not let anything of it remain until morning, and that which remaineth of it until morning ye shall burn with fire." Hence the Scripture came to give a positive commandment (ye shall burn) after a negative commandment (ye shall not leave), to say that for the transgression of such a negative commandment stripes do not apply. So R. Jehudah. R. Jacob, however, says: The reason why stripes do not apply is not because of that which is said by R. Jehudah, but because in this commandment no mental labour is involved, and to such no stripes apply. Hence we see that, according to R. Jehudah, even to such stripes do apply.

"He who vows in its name," etc. Whence is this deduced? From [Ex. 23:13]: "And of the name of other gods ye shall make no mention"--which means, one must not say to his neighbour: Await me in such and such a place, where such and such an idol is to be found. "It shall not be heard out of thy mouth" means, one shall not vow or determine in its name, and shall also not cause others to do so. Another explanation to, "It shall not be heard out of thy mouth," is that it is a warning to a seducer and to a misleader. But concerning a seducer is it not written plainly [Deut. 13:12]: "And all Israel shall hear and be afraid"? Therefore it must be said that it is a warning to a misleader, and also that one shall not cause others to vow or determine in its name. And this is a support to Samuel's father, who said that one must not make partnership with an idolater, as it may be that his partner will owe an oath to him, and he will swear by the name of his idol. And the Torah says: "It shall not be heard out of thy mouth," which means: You shall not cause others to vow in its name.

It happened once that Ula lodged in Khalmbu, and when he came to Rabha, he asked him: "Where did the master lodge last night?" And he said: In Khalmbu. Said Rabha to him: Is it not written: "The name of other gods ye shall not mention"? Rejoined Ula: So said R. Johanan: Every idol which is mentioned in the Scripture, one may mention.

R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh said: It happened to a female heathen who was very sick and vowed that if she recovered she would worship all the idols which were to be found. And after her recovery she did so. When she reached Baal Peor she asked how it should be worshipped. And she was told that worshippers ate mangcorn, drank beer, and then uncovered themselves in its face. And she said: "I would rather suffer the same sickness again than perform such a worship." But yet the house of Israel have not done so, as it reads [Num. 25:5]: "That have been joined unto Baal Peor," which means like the cover to a pot. However [Deut. 4:4]:

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"But ye that cleave unto the Lord," etc., as a twin of dates. A Boraitha states. "Joined to Peor," as a ring on the finger of a woman, "cleave to the Lord" means, literally.

The rabbis taught: It happened to Saphta b. Als, who hired his ass to a certain female heathen. And when she reached the place of Baal Peor, she said to him: "Await me here, I will enter only for a while and come out." And when she came out, he also said to her: "Await me here, I will also do the same." And to her question: "Are you not a Jew?" he answered: "What do you care?" He then entered, uncovered himself and put the dirt on the nose of the idol. And the ministers of Peor praised him for this, saying that there was no man who worshipped Peor as properly as he did. The sages, however, made him guilty for the proper worship of the idol, although his intention was to disgrace it. And the same is the case if he throws a stone at Merculis, although with the intention of stoning it, he is nevertheless guilty, for so is the kind of its worship.

R. Menassah went to the city of Turta, and was told that this place is of an idol. And he took up a lump and threw it at it (the idolatrous statue). He was then told that it was Merculis, and he answered that the Mishna states "he who throws a stone at Merculis," i.e., to worship. And when he came to the college he was told that the Mishna means, even if his intention was to stone it. He then said: I will go and take it up. However, he was told that it is the same transgression, for by taking one stone he makes room for another.

MISHNA 8.: If one gives one of his children to Molech, he is not guilty unless he had transferred him to the servants of Molech and let him pass through the fire. If, however, he had transferred and not passed through the fire, or vice versa, he is not guilty.

GEMARA: The Mishna speaks of idols, and mentions Molech. Said R. Abiu: Our Mishna is in accordance with him who says that Molech is not an idol at all. As we have learned in the following Boraitha: There is no difference whether one has given of his children to other idols or to Molech--he is culpable. R. Eliezer b. R. Simeon, however, maintains: Only if he has done it to Molech he is guilty, but not if to another idol. Said Abayi: R. Elazar b. Simeon and Hanina b. Antiguus have said the same--R. Elazar b. Simeon, in the Boraitha cited; and Hanina, who said in the following Boraitha: Why does the Torah use the term Molech? 1 To say of every one whom they have accepted as a king over them--be it even a piece of wood--one is guilty if he had transferred one of his children for it. Hence we see that, according to him, one is guilty only concerning Molech, but not concerning another idol. Rabha, however, maintains that Simeon and Hanina differ concerning a temporary Molech, as according to R. Simeon one is not guilty on account of such.

R. Janai said: One is not guilty unless he transfers a child to the servants of the idol, as it reads [Lev. 18:2]: "And from thy children thou shalt not give to pass through the fire to Molech." And so also we have learned in the following Boraitha: Lest one say that when he passed his child and has not transferred, he should be guilty, therefore it reads, "Thou shalt not give." If he has transferred and not passed through the fire, he is also not guilty, because it reads, "to pass through the fire." And if one has done both, but not for Molech, one might say he is guilty? Therefore it reads, "to Molech." If one has transferred and passed to Molech, but not through fire, he is also not guilty, because it reads, "through fire." And it is written also [Deut. xviii. 10]: "There shall not be found among thee any one who causeth his son or his daughter to pass through the fire." And we infer one from the other. As there it is mentioned plainly "fire," so here also it is meant fire; and as here is meant Molech, so also there is meant Molech. Said R. Aha b. Rabha: If one has transferred all his children to Molech, he is not guilty, as the verse reads, "and from thy children"--but not all. R. Ashi questioned: How is it if one has passed through the fire a son blind or asleep, or one of his grandchildren? The last question may be answered from the following: It reads [Lev. 20:3]: "Because of his seed he has given unto Molech." To what purpose was it written? Because in the above-cited verse in Deuteronomy it reads "son" and "daughter," and one might say, but not of grandchildren. Therefore it is written [ibid., ibid. 4]: "When he giveth of his seed," in which grandchildren are included.

Let us see! The Tana begins with verse 3 and ends with verse 4. He did so because of another teaching. One might say that one is guilty only for legitimate children, but not for illegitimate; therefore it reads in verse four, from his "seeds," which includes all.

Said R. Jehudah: One is not guilty unless he let him pass in the usual manner. What was that? Said Abayi: A row of bricks were placed for passing, and on both sides fire was kindled. Rabha, however, maintains that it was by jumping, as children used to jump on Purim. (Rashi explains that they used to have a pit in which fire was kindled, and the people used to jump over it.)

There is a Boraitha in accordance with Rabha: One is not culpable unless he has passed in the usual manner of worship. However, if he passed it by, not jumping, he is not guilty. He is also culpable only when he passed his descendants; but not if his brother, sisters, father, mother, or even himself. R. Eliezer b. R. Simeon, however, makes guilty him who passed himself. There is no difference whether he has passed to Molech or to any other idol. R. Eliezer b. R. Simeon, however, maintains: To Molech, but not to others.

Said Ula: The reason why R. Elazar makes guilty him who passes himself is because it reads: "bkho"--literally, "in thee," which means "thyself." But do not the rabbis also give attention to the word "bkho"? Is there not a Mishna in Middle Gate: And R. Jehudah said: The reason of it is because it is written "bkho"? There is also another reason--because the verse begins with "although, indeed."

R. Jose b. Hanina said: Three times korath is mentioned concerning idolatry: once for worshipping it as it is done usually; once as not done usually; and once for Molech, although it was not considered an idol. And to him that holds that Molech was also an idol, why is a separate korath needed for it? Is it not included in idolatry? To him who passes his son not in its usual manner (i.e., although he is not put to death by the court, the punishment of korath rests upon him). And to him who holds that he who worships idols--e.g., he sings before one--is also considered blasphemous,--to what purpose is korath mentioned concerning blasphemy? To that which we have learned in the following Boraitha: It reads [Num. 15:31]: "hekorath tekorath"--"hekorath," which means cut off from this world; "tekorath," from the world to come. So R. Aqiba. Said R. Ishmael to him: Is it not written in the preceding verse, "Shall be cut off"? Are there then three worlds? Therefore the expression [in 30] means from this world, and the term "hekorath" means from the world to come; and the expression "tekorath" is not to be considered, as the Torah speaks with the usual language of human beings.

MISHNA 9.: Baal ob (mentioned in the Scripture) is the python that makes the dead speak from his armpit, and Yidoui means one that makes the dead speak from his mouth. These two are to be stoned; and he who queries from them is warned [Lev. 19:31].

GEMARA: Why does our Mishna count both Baal ob and Yidoui, and in Tract Keritoth the Tana mentioned only Baal ob and omitted Yidouim, etc.? (The discussion here is a repetition from Tract Kheritoth, which is the proper place, where it will be translated.)

The rabbis taught: Baal ob is one who ventriloquizes, and a Yidoui is he who puts a certain bone in his mouth, which speaks from itself.

The rabbis taught: There are two kinds of "ob": one who brings up the dead, and one who questions a dead head. He who brings up the dead--it appears before him not in the usual manner, but with its feet on top; and on the Sabbath it does not come up at all. But he who does this with the head of one dead answers as usual, and answers also on Sabbath. Also about this, R. Aqiba was questioned by Turnusrupus: Why is this day (of Sabbath) distinguished from all other days? To which Aqiba answered: Why is this man (Turnusrupus) distinguished from all other men? And he answered: Because it is the will of my master (the king). Rejoined R. Aqiba: Sabbath is also distinguished because it is the will of the Lord of the Universe. Said Turnusrupus: You misunderstand me. My question is: Whence do you know that this day is Sabbath? And he answered: From the river of Sabbation (which rests on this day); and it may also be proved from the fact that he who occupies himself with bringing up the dead cannot do his work on Sabbath; and also the grave of your father may prove that the smoke which comes out of it on all week days does not come out of it on all week days does not come out on Sabbath. Exclaimed Turnusrupus: You have disgraced, ashamed, and insulted me.

Is not he who queries an "ob" the same as one who inquires of the dead? Nay! The latter is as we have learned in the following Boraitha: By "inquire of the dead" is meant he who does not take food all day, and while he suffers hunger he goes to a cemetery, and remains there overnight for the purpose that the unclean spirit should rest upon him. And when R. Aqiba used to read this passage, he would weep, saying: Is not an a fortiori conclusion to be drawn from this passage? If one who makes himself suffer from hunger, for the purpose that the unclean spirit should rest upon him, usually succeeds, and the spirit in question rests upon him, so much the more, if one makes himself suffer hunger for the purpose that the pure spirit should rest upon him, should he succeed in reaching his desire; but what can we do if our sins cause that our desire shall not be reached, as it reads [Is. lix. 2]: "But your iniquities have ever made a separation between you and your God"? Said Rabha: If the upright would take care to be clean from any sin whatsoever, they would be able to create a world (and he infers it from the verse just cited). Rabha created a man and sent him up to R. Zera. The latter spoke to him, and he did not answer. Exclaimed R. Zera: I see that thou wast created by one of our colleagues. It is better that thou shouldst be returned to the earth from which thou wast taken. R. Hanina and R. Oshia were accustomed to sit every eve of Sabbath studying the book of creation, and create a calf like that of the third offspring of a living cow, and they used to consume it on Sabbath.

The rabbis taught: An observer of times is, according to R. Simeon, he who passes the outcome of a certain male over his eye (for the purpose of witchcraft); according to the sages, it is he who dazzles the eyes. R. Aqiba, however, said: The one who reckons times and hours, saying: This day is good to go on the road, such a day is good to buy things, on the eves of the Sabbatic years the wheat is fine, such and such a time is good for picking peas as they will not become verminous.

The rabbis taught: An enchanter is he who says: "My bread has fallen from my mouth to-day, and it is a bad sign"; or, "My cane has fallen from my hands"; or, "My son called me up from my back"; or, "A robin is calling me"; or, "A ram has crossed my way"; or, "A snake is on my right, a fox is on my left, and all this is a bad sign." Or, if one says to a collector: Do not begin with me, as this will be a bad sign for me. And the same is it if he says: "To-day is the first day of the month," or, "It is the Sabbath eve, and if I should pay at this time I will have a bad week" or "a bad month." And the same is the case with them who enchant with cats, birds, and fish (i.e., I will not begin this thing because a cat has crossed my way, etc.). So is the teaching of the rabbis.

MISHNA 10.: He who violates the Sabbath with such a labour as is liable to korath if done intentionally, and to a sin offering if unintentionally.

GEMARA: From this we see that there are violations of Sabbath to which neither korath nor a sin-offering apply. What are they? The limit of the cities (Te'humi), in accordance with R. Aqiba; and kindling, according to R. Jose.

MISHNA 11.: He who curses his father or mother is not punished with a capital punishment, unless he curse them by the proper Name of God. If he has done so with a pseudonym, according to R. Mair he is guilty, and according to the sages he is not.

GEMARA: Who are the sages? R. Mnahem b. Jose of the following Boraitha, who said thus: It reads [Lev. xxiv. 16]: "When he pronounceth the holy name," etc. Why is here repeated "the holy name"? It should read: "If he blaspheme," etc. To teach that in the case of cursing father and mother one is not guilty unless he do so with the Holy Name.

The rabbis taught It reads [ibid., 20:9]: "Every one," instead of "one." This came to include a daughter, or an hermaphrodite, or an andogyn. "That curseth his father and his mother." But whence do we know that the same is the case when he curses his father only, or his mother only? Therefore it reads farther on, "his father and his mother has he cursed." Hence the word "cursed" corresponds with the word mother"; and in the beginning of the verse the word "cursed" corresponds with "father," which is to be explained as that he is equaly guilty if he has cursed his father or his mother. So is the decree of R. Jashia. R. Jonathan, however, said: The beginning of the verse can be explained that it means both together, and also one or the other; and in such a case the applicability is to each of them, unless the verse itself explains that both together are meant. "Shall be put to death"--by stoning! But perhaps with some other kind of death mentioned in the Scripture? It reads here, "His blood shall be upon him," and elsewhere it is written, "Their blood shall be upon them." As there it means stoning, the same is it here. But here we have heard of the punishment. Where is the warning? [Ex. 22:27]: "The judges thou shalt not revile, and a ruler among thy people thou shalt not curse." "If one's father were one of the two, he is included; but if he was neither a judge nor a Nasi, whence do we know that the same is the case? This can be inferred from the construction of the leading rule in both cases (i.e., one who is to be respected must not be cursed, although the nature of respecting them is not equal), as concerning a judge we are commanded to follow his decision, which is not the case with a Nasi; and concerning the latter We are commanded not to rebel against him, which is not the case with a judge. However, in one case they are equal, in that they are of "thy people," and thou must not curse them. The same is the case with the father, who is also of "thy people" and must be respected by thee. Hence you are warned not to curse him. And lest one say that, after all, we can infer nothing from the case in which they are equal, as their dignity is the reason of their equality, which is not the case with a common father, concerning this it reads [Lev. 14:14]: "Thou shalt not curse the deaf"--from which we see that the verse speaks of the unfortunates of "thy people." And lest one say that this is also different, as the misfortune is the reason, the above case of judge and Nasi proves that this is not so. And again, their dignity is the reason? The case of the deaf proves that it is not so. Hence, although the reason of the one is not similar to that of the other, in one thing, however, they are equal, in that they are of "thy people" and must not be cursed. The same is the case with his father. And still, lest one say that, after all, the three above mentioned are distinguished, which is not the case with the father, it may be said that I the reason is because of distinction, it would not be necessary for the Scripture to write all the three, as a judge and a death or a Nasi and a death would suffice. Why, then, all the three? As it is not needed for itself, apply it to a common father. And all this is correct to him who explains the word "Elohim" in the above-cited verse [Ex. 22.] with "judges"; but to him who

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explains the word "Elohim" as meaning God, what can be said? For there is a Boraitha: Elohim in this verse is common, and means "judges." So R. Ishmael. R. Aqiba, however, maintains that Elohim is "holy." And there is another Boraitha: R. Eliezer b. Jacob said that this verse is a warning against blasphemy. He who holds that the word Elohim here is common, must say that the holiness is inferred from this passage (by drawing an a fortiori conclusion--if one is warned not to curse a human judge, so much the more is he warned not to curse the Holiness), as we do not find any other warning besides; and he who holds that the word Elohim is "holy," the case of a commoner may also be inferred--from the double Lamed in the word "tekhalel" (curse), which could be expressed "tekhal" with one Lamed.

MISHNA 11.: He who sins with a betrothed damsel is not guilty to be stoned unless she was a maiden betrothed and still in her father's house. Should it happen that two had sinned with her, the first is to be stoned and the second choked.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: It reads [Deut. 22:23]: "if a damsel"--not a vigaros; "a maiden"--not one who had already known man; "betrothed"--not married. And [ibid., ibid. 21] it reads, "in her father's house," excluding if the father had already transferred her to the messengers of her husband.

Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: This is in accordance with R. Mair. The sages, however, say: A betrothed damsel, even if she is still a minor. Said R. Aha of Diphthi to Rabhina: Whence do you know that the Mishna is in accordance with R. Mair and excludes a minor--perhaps it is in accordance with the rabbis excluding a vigaros only? And he answered: If so, the Mishna should state that he is not guilty but as concerning pression means to exclude a minor also; and about this no more discussion.

R. Jacob b. Adda questioned Rabh: In accordance with R. Mair, if it happened one had sinned with a betrothed minor, does he exclude him from any punishment, or from stoning only? And he answered: Common sense dictates from stoning only. But is it not written [ibid., ibid. 22]: "Shall both of them die," which is explained elsewhere, that it means, provided both were alike concerning age? And Rabh kept silent. Said Samuel: I do not understand why Rabh was silent, and did not refer him to ibid., ibid. 26, which reads: "He shall die alone"?

In this point Tanaim differ. "Both shall die" means, provided both were alike concerning age. So R. Jashia. R. Jonathan, however, said: From the verse [25] is inferred that he alone must be put to death. But what does R. Jashia infer from the verse, "He alone," etc.? That which we have learned from the following Boraitha: If ten men knew her while she was still a virgin, all of them are to be stoned. Rabbi, however, maintains that only the first one is to be stoned, and all the others choked, as thus it reads: "And the man that lay with her shall die alone." What does it mean? Said R. Huna b. R. Jehoshua: Rabbi holds with R. Ishmael that a betrothed damsel is to be burned, but not one married. And the verse which reads about one betrothed is to be explained thus: Only the beginner is to be burned, but all others are to be choked. Said R. Bibi b. Abayi: Our master, R. Joseph, does not say so. But that Rabbi holds with R. Mair, who said that if the daughter of a priest was married to one who was prohibited from marrying her, and she has sinned, her death is choking. And Rabbi meant to say thus: If the beginning of her profanation was sin, then she is to be burned; but if she was already profaned by an illegal marriage, she is to be choked. And his expression, "And so also it reads: 'He shall die alone,'" is not to be taken particularly, but as a remark.

MISHNA 12.: A seducer means one who is himself a commoner and seduces a commoner--e.g., he says: There is an idol in such and such a place which so and so eats, so and so drinks, and so and so does good, and so does harm.

Concerning all who are liable to capital punishment biblically, it is not allowed to hide witnesses except in this case: If, e.g., he said the above to two persons, they are his witnesses--they bring him up to the court, and they themselves stone him. If, however, he said it only to one, he may say: I have some colleagues who will also follow your advice, if you will say the same to them. But if he is shrewd, and does not want to talk in the presence of two persons, they may hide witnesses behind a fence, and he may say to him: Repeat to me what you said at first. And if he repeats, he may say to him: How can we leave our Heavenly Father and go to worship idols of stone and wood? If he retracts--well and good. If, however, he answers: This will be good for us and also is our duty, the witnesses who are hidden behind the fence may bring him to court and stone him.

A seducer is considered he who says: I will worship; I will go and worship; Let us go and worship; I will sacrifice to such and such an idol; or, Let us go and sacrifice; I will smoke incense before it; I will go and smoke; Let us go and smoke; I will pour wine before it; I will go and pour; Let us go and pour; I will bow myself; I will go and bow; Let us go and bow.

GEMARA: The Mishna states: A seducer means a commoner. But how would it be if he should say: I am a prophet, and tell you to do so in the name of the Lord? Choking would apply. And also "he seduces a commoner" (individual). But how if he should seduce many? Then also choking would apply and not stoning. We see, then, that our Mishna is in accordance with R. Simeon of the following Boraitha: To a prophet who had misled, stoning applies. R. Simeon, however, said: Choking. To the misleader of a misled town, stoning applies, according to R. Simeon, choking. How, then, will be understood the succeeding Mishna, which states: A misleader is named he who says, "Let us go and worship idols"? To which R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh said: It speaks of the misleader of a misled town, who is to be stoned, which is in accordance with the rabbis. Hence our Mishna is in accordance with R. Simeon, and the succeeding Mishna in accordance with the rabbis. Said Rabhina: Both are in accordance with the rabbis; and by the expression, "he seduced a commoner," he does not mean to exclude a majority. But it was said in the Mishna, "not only"--i.e., not only is he to be stoned who seduces a majority, but even a single commoner. And R. Papa said: Even the beginning of the Mishna, "the seducer is a commoner," does not mean to exclude a prophet, as it was supposed, but it means to say: He is a commoner idiot, to whom hiding witnesses is allowed, which is not the case with all other criminals. And how used they to do with such a person? They used to light a candle in the inner chamber, engaging him with talk, and the witnesses were placed in the outer chamber so that they should see him and hear his voice, while he could not see them; and there the person whom he attempted to seduce tried to make him repeat, as stated above in the Mishna.

MISHNA 12.: By a misleader is meant one who says: Let us go and worship idols. A conjurer is liable to be stoned only when he did an act, but not if he dazzled the eyes. R. Aqiba said in the name of R. Jehoshua: As, for instance, if there are two who gather cucumbers from a field by enchantment--one of them is liable to a capital punishment and one of them is entirely free. If one has really gathered all of them to one place by witchcraft, he is to be stoned; and the other, who did so only by dazzling the eyes, but in reality the cucumbers remained in their place, is entirely free.

GEMARA: R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh said: The Mishna speaks of the misleader of a misled town. "A conjurer," etc. The rabbis taught: It reads: "A witch." There was no difference whether male or female--why, then, the term "witch"? Because in most cases women used to be engaged in witchcraft. What kind of death applies to them? R. Jose the Galilean said: It reads [Ex. 22:17]: "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live"; and it reads [Deut. xx. 16]: "Shalt thou not let live a single soul." As there it is meant by the sword, the same is the case here. R. Aqiba, however, said: It is to be inferred from [Ex. 19:13]: "It shall not live." As there stoning is meant, the same is the case here. Said R. Jose: My analogy is from "techaiah"--"let not live" (a female), while your analogy is from "yechaiah"--"shall not live" (a male). And he answered: My analogy is to infer Israel from Israel, to whom many kinds of deaths are prescribed, while according to your analogy, Israel from the descendants of Noah should be inferred, and there is only one death prescribed for descendants of Noah. Ben Azai, however said. Ex. 22:17 is to be inferred from the next verse [18] "Whosoever lieth with a beast," etc. As to this stoning applies, the same is the case here. Said R. Jehudah. to him: Because this verse is near to the other, therefore the witch should be stoned? According to my opinion there is another reason. Ob and Yidoui ought to be included in the case of conjurers--why, then, does the Scripture separate them? Only for the purpose of comparing other conjurers to them. As to them stoning applies, so does it to all conjurers.

According to R. Jehudah: Let Ob and Yidoui be considered as two verses which command one and the same. And there is a rule that from such nothing is to be inferred. Said R. Zecharias: Infer from this that R. Jehudah does not hold this theory and maintains that from such it may be inferred. It reads [Deut. 4:35]: "There is none else besides him." Said R. Hanina: Even witchcraft has no effect against a heavenly decree. There was a woman who tried to take earth from beneath the foot of R. Hanina. And he said to her: If you think you will succeed in affecting me with your witchcraft, go on and do so, as I am not afraid. It reads: "There is none else besides Him." Is that so? Did not R. Johanan say: It may happen that witchcraft may affect even against heavenly decrees? With R. Hanina it was different, as his strength was great, being righteous all his life. Aibu b. Nagri in the name of R. Hyya b. Abba said: In Ex. 7:11 it reads, "blahatehem," and in ibid. 8:3 it is written, "blatehem." The latter means by the act of demons, and the former by the act of sorcery. And so also is it expressed in Gen. 3:24, "lahat," or the sword which revolveth (revolveth by itself, which looked like witchcraft). Said Abayi: A conjurer who is particular to use a utensil, it is by a demon, and he who is not particular, it is by witchcraft.

He said again: The Halakhas of witchcraft are similar to the Halakhas of Sabbath. There are some to which stoning applies; there are some which are not allowed to start with, but if, nevertheless, one has done them, he is free; and some are allowed even to start with. To him who did an act by witchcraft, stoning applies. To dazzle the eyes is not allowed to start with, but if one did, he is free. And it is allowed to start with, as said above. R. Hanina and R. Oshia were accustomed to create a calf, etc.

Said R. Ashi: I have seen the father of a certain man Karna scatter strips of silk from his nose. It reads [Ex. 8:15]: "Then said the magicians of Pharaoh, This is the finger of God." Said R. Elazar: Infer from this that a demon is not able to produce a creation the size of which is less than a barley. Said R. Papa: They are not able to create even the size of a camel; but if they needed it, they got it from far places, which they could not do with smaller creations.

Said Rabh to R. Hyya: I have seen a rider of a camel who took his sword, cut off the head of the camel, and thereafter rung a bell, and the camel stood up. Said R. Hyya to him: Did you see after it stood up, that the place was dirty from blood and dust? There was nothing. Hence it was only a dazzling of the eyes.

It happened that Zera was in Alexandria of Egypt, and bought an ass. Afterward, when he carne (to a river) to let the ass drink, it disappeared (the charm was broken), and there stood a landing board. And he was told: If you were not Zera, your money would not be returned, as there is no one who buys something here and does not try it on water. Janai happened to stop at a certain inn and asked for water. And he was supplied with sthitha (water mixed with flour), and he noticed that the woman who brought it mumbled. He poured out a little and a serpent came out of it. And then he said to her: I drank from your water, now you may also drink from mine. She did so and became an ass. He then rode upon her to the market. And her associate, who recognised the witchcraft absolved her, and then every one saw that he was riding on a woman.

It reads [ibid., ibid. 2]: "And the frogs came up." Said R. Elazar: It was only one frog which multiplied over all Egypt with its offspring. In this point Tanaim differ. R. Aqiba said the same as Elazar. Said Elazar b. Azariah to him: Aqiba, what have you to do with Haggadah? Leave it, and show forth thy study in the difficulties of Negaim and Ohaloth. It was only one frog to whose croaking all other frogs were gathered.

"R. Aqiba said," etc. Did R. Aqiba indeed learn this from R. Jehoshua? Is there not a Boraitha: When R. Eliezer became sick, R. Aqiba and his colleagues came to make him a sick-call. He was under a canopy, and they were placed in his palace. That day was an eve of Sabbath, and Hurcanos, his son, entered to undress his phylacteries. His father rebuked him, and he went out as if he had been under the ban, and said to his colleagues: It seems to me that the mind of my father is not clear. And R. Eliezer, who heard this, said to them: And I think that the minds of both his mother and himself are unsound, as they occupy themselves with undressing phylacteries on account of which the Sabbath would not be violated, even if they were to remain upon him the whole Sabbath, while so long as they have not as yet prepared other things for Sabbath, which would be a violation subject to a capital punishment if done on Sabbath.

When the above-mentioned sages saw that his mind was clear, they approached him a distance of four ells, and became seated. He then questioned them: To what purpose is your call? To which they answered: We came to learn Torah from you. And to his question: Why have you not come until now? They answered: We had no time. He then exclaimed: I wonder if these people will die a natural death! Said Aqiba to him: And what will be my lot? And he said: Yours will be still harder than theirs. He then took his two arms, put them on his heart, and said: Woe to ye! my two arms, which are as two parchments of the Holy Scrolls, of which nothing can be read when they are rolled together (he meant that when he should die, all his wisdom would go with him, as there were none to whom to teach it). I have studied much and taught much. I have studied much, and have not diminished from the wisdom of my masters even to the extent of what a dog laps from the sea. I taught much, and my disciples have not diminished from my wisdom--even as the painting pencil which is inserted in a tube. And not this only, but I have learned about three hundred Halakhas as to planting cucumbers, and there was no man who could question me something concerning them except Aqiba b. Joseph. As it once happened, I was on the road with him, and he said to me: Rabbi, teach me something about planting cucumbers. And I said something, and the whole field was filled with cucumbers. And he said to me: Rabbi, with this you taught me the planting of them; now teach me the removing of them. And I said something and all were gathered to one place. Hence we see that he had learned this of R. Eliezer, and not of R. Jehoshua? He learned it from R. Eliezer, but did not understand thoroughly. But thereafter, however, he learned this from R. Jehoshua thoroughly, and it remained in his mind. But how could he do so? Have we not learned in a Mishna that he who does an act with witchcraft deserves a capital punishment? To learn it is different. As the Master said: It reads [Deut. 18:9]: "Thou shalt not learn to do"--which means: Thou must not learn to do, but thou mayst learn it to understand it for the purpose of deciding cases.

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CHAPTER 8.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING A STUBBORN AND REBELLIOUS SON. AT WHAT AGE AND WHAT HAS HE TO DO TO BE CHARGED AS SUCH? HOW IS IT IF e.g., HIS FATHER CONDEMNS HIM, BUT NOT HIS MOTHER, OR vice versa. IF ONE OF HIS PARENTS WERE LAME OR BLIND, ETC. IF HE RUNS AWAY BEFORE THE DECISION WAS RENDERED. CONCERNING BURGLARY AND IF A BURGLAR DESERVES CAPITAL PUNISHMENT, MUST PAY THE DAMAGE CAUSED BY BREAKING IN.

MISHNA 1. A Stubborn and rebellious son--at what age may he be considered such? From the time he brings forth two hairs till they encompass the face: it does not mean the chin, but the bottom (pubes); but the sages used to speak with delicacy.

It reads [Deut. 21:18]: "If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son," etc. A son, and not a daughter; a son, but not a mature man. However, a minor is free from such a charge, as the commandment's obligation does not as yet rest upon him.

GEMARA: Whence do we know that a minor is free? Whence do we know! Does not the Mishna give the reason, "because the commandment's obligation does not as yet rest upon him." And secondly, where do we find that the Scripture has made a minor liable, so that in this case it is necessary to free such? We mean to say thus: Is, then, the punishment of a stubborn son because of his sins? He is punished because of his future (as will be explained farther on). Then it would be supposed that the same. is the case even when he is still a minor. And again, the Mishna itself states, "a son, but not a mature man." And if it Jehudah in the name of Rabh: It reads: "If a man has a son," which means a son who has grown up almost to maturity.

"Till they surround," etc. R. Hisda said: A minor who has born a son--the latter does not become a rebellious son: which means, when a man has a son, but not a son who has a son. But was not what R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh inferred from the same verse? It should read, "If there shall be a son to a man."

And from what is written, "when a man has a son," we infer also what R. Hisda said. However, he differs with Rabha, who said elsewhere that a minor cannot beget children. As it reads [Num. 5:8]: "But if a man have no kinsman." And to the question: Is it possible that a man in Israel should have no kinsman? it was said that the verse speaks about the robbery of a proselyte (who has no kinsman in Israel). But why does the Scripture mention a man? It should read, "if he has no kinsman," to teach that if the proselyte was already a man you have to inquire; for perhaps he has begotten children, and thus has kinsmen. But if he was a minor, you have not to inquire, as a minor cannot beget children. Abayi objected to him from [Lev. xix. 20]: "And if a man lie," etc.--as to which a Boraitha states, "A man!" But whence do we know that the same is the case with a minor after the age of nine years and one day, who is already fit to have connection with a woman? Therefore it is written, "and if a man," to add the minor just mentioned. (Hence we see that such is already fit to beget children.) Rejoined Rabba: He is fit to have connection, but not to beget children, which is equalised to grain which has not as yet grown up to a third of its usual growth; and if such were sown, it would not reproduce. Is this so? Did not the disciples of R. Ishmael teach: It is written, "a son"; but not when he is a father. Now let us see how was the case. Shall we assume that his wife was pregnant just after he grew two hairs, and that he begot the child before the above-mentioned encompassing was completed. Has she, then, so much time? Did not R. Khruspdai say that the prescribed time for a rebellious son is only three months? You must then say she was pregnant before he grew two hairs, and begot a child before the encompassing was complete. Hence we see that a minor begets children? Nay! she was pregnant after he grew two hairs, and begot after the encompassing. And the difficulty about what was said by Khruspdai was explained by R. Dimi after his return from Palestine thus: In the West it was said, "a son," but not one who is fit to be called a father, as he has already a pregnant wife.

The text says: Khruspdai in the name of R. Sabatta said: The time for a rebellious son is only three months. We, however, have learned in a Mishna that the prescribed time is from when he grows two hairs until the encompassing is complete. However, if the completion was before three months, the time has already elapsed; and the same is the case when the encompassing was not completed after the three months had elapsed.

R. Jacob of the city of Nhar Pauqud was sitting before Rabhina, and said in the name of R. Huna b. Jehoshua: From Khruspdai's theory we may infer that a woman who bears in the seventh month cannot be recognised as pregnant after the first third of her pregnancy. For if it were so, why was it said in the West that he is fit to become a father after three months--would not two and a third suffice, as then the pregnancy is already recognisable? Answered Rabhina: This cannot be taken as evident, as the majority do not bear children in the seventh month, but in the ninth. All this was declared to R. Huna b. Jehoshua, and the latter exclaimed: Do we, then, consider a majority in criminal cases? The Torah says: The congregation shall judge, the congregation shall save and you say that we shall go after a majority. His answer was brought back to Rabhina, to which the latter replied: Is it indeed so--that we do not consider a majority in criminal cases? Have we not learned in a Mishna that if one witness says it was in the second of the month and the other says that it was on the third, their testimony is valid, since to one the intercalation of the month was known, but not to the other. Now, if a majority which does not know of the intercalation should not be considered, why should their testimony be valid? Say they are aware of it, but they contradict each other! Hence we must say that the majority is considered.

R. Abiah b. Rabba b. Nahmani in the name of R. Hisda, according to others the latter in the name of Zeeli, said: All agree that a minor of nine years and one day is fit to have connection with a woman, and in a case of adultery it is considered; and they agree also that at less than eight years of age one is not fit, and it is not considered. And the point of their difference is from the age of eight up.

The school of Shammai holds: We may infer from the first generation. And the school of Hillel holds: We may not.

And whence do we know that the first generation produced children at the age of eight? From [Gen. 11:27]: "Now these are the generations of Therach: Therach begat Abram, Nachor, and Charan." Abram was one year older than Nachor, and Nachor was one year older than Charan. And it reads [ibid., ibid. 29]: "And Abram and Nachor took themselves wives: the name of Abram's wife was Sarai; and the name of Nachor's wife was Milcah, the daughter of Charan, the father of Milcah, and the father of Yiscah." And R. Itz'hak said: There is a tradition that Yiscah is identical with Sarai. Now, how much was Abram older than Sarai? Ten years. And how much was he older than her father? Two years. Hence, when Charan bore Sarai he was eight years. But perhaps Abram was the younger, and the enumeration in Scripture is not particular, being according to their wisdom. And that the Scripture used to enumerate according to wisdom, and not age, may be seen from [ibid. 6:10]: "And Noah begat three sons--Shem,, Ham, and Japheth." And from the latter passage it is inferred that Shem was the youngest, and nevertheless he is named first, because of his wisdom. Said R. Kahana: I told this to R. Zebith of Nahardea, and he answered: Ye learned this from the cited passage. We, however, infer this from [ibid. x. 21 "But unto Shem also, the father of all the children of Elier the brother of Japheth the elder." Hence we see that Japheth was the oldest of all the brothers.

Now the question, "Whence do we know that the first generations produced children at eight years?" still remains unanswered. This is to be inferred from the following. It reads [Ex. xxxv. 30]: "And Moses said unto the children of Israel, See, the Lord hath called by name Bezaleel the son of Uri, the son of Chur, of the tribe of Judah"; and in I. Chron. 2:19, 20, it reads: "And when Azubah (the wife of Caleb) died, Caleb took unto himself Ephrath, who bore unto him Chur. And Chur begat Uri, and Uri begat Bezaleel." And when Bezaleel was engaged in building the Tabernacle, he was at least thirteen years old. As it reads [Ex. 36:4]: "Every man from his own work which they were doing"; and one is not called a man before the age of thirteen. And there is a Boraitha: The first year Moses prepared all that was necessary for the Tabernacle, and in the second year he erected it and sent the spies. And it reads [Joshua, 14:7]: "Forty years old was I when Moses the servant of the Lord sent me"; and [ibid., ibid. 10]: "Behold, I am this day eighty and five years old." Now, take off fourteen, the age of Bezaleel from the forty of Joshua when he was sent as a spy, and there remain twenty-six; take off two years for the three pregnancies with Uri, Chur, and Bezaleel, and there remain twenty-four. Hence each of them produced at the age of eight.

"A son, and not a daughter," etc. There is a Boraitha: R. Simeon said: According to common sense, a daughter should be more open to the charges of stubbornness and rebelliousness, as it is to be supposed that her future be to stand in the way and entice men to sin. But so is the decree of the Scripture--"a son, and not a daughter."

MISHNA 2.: When does such become guilty? When he consumes ατρι τημόριον of meat and drinks half a lug of Italian wine. R. Jose, however, maintains: Meat not less than a manna, and wine not less than a whole lug. If, however, he ate at a banquet of a meritorious society, or at the intercalation of a month, or at second tithe in Jerusalem; or he ate carcasses, illegal meat, or reptiles, and second tithe and consecrated things which were not redeemed, or mixed grain of first tithe from which the heave-offering was not separated. There is a rule: If he ate a thing which is meritorious, or, on the contrary, a thing which is a transgression--if he consumes any kind of food but not meat, any kind of beverages but not wine--he cannot be condemned as a stubborn and rebellious son, unless he eats meat and drinks wine. As it reads [Deut. 21:20]: "He is a glutton and a drunkard." And although there is no direct support in the Scripture that gluttony means meat, and drunkenness, means wine, a hint of this is to be found in [Prov. 23:20]: "Be not among those that drink wine, among those that overindulge in eating meat."

GEMARA: R. Zerah said: The term "tertimory" mentioned in the Mishna--I don't know how much it weighs. But from the fact of R. Jose having doubled the measure of wine from half a lug to a lug, I understand that he means also to double the weight of meat. Hence a "tertimory" must be half a manna.

R. Hanan b. Muldha in the name of R. Huna said: He is not guilty unless he consumes the meat and the wine raw. Is that so? Did not both Rabha and R. Joseph say that he who consumes meat and wine raw is not to be condemned as a stubborn and rebellious son? Said Rabhina: By raw wine is meant refined and not refined, and by meat is meant cooked and uncooked, as usually consumed by thieves.

Both Rabha and R. Joseph said: If he consumed salted, meat and drank wine from the press, he cannot be condemned as a stubborn and rebellious son. What is to be considered salted meat? When it has lain in salt for three days. And, what is called wine from the press? When it is still fermenting.

R. Itz'hak said: It reads [Prov. 23:31]: "Do not look on the wine when it looketh red"--meaning that you shall not look for wine which makes red the faces of the wicked in this; world, and makes them pale in the world to come. Rabha said: You shall not look for wine which causes bloodshed.

When R. Dimi came from Palestine, he said: About the verse [ibid., ibid. 29, 30]: "Who hath woe? who hath sorrow? who hath quarrels? who hath complaints? who hath wounds without cause? who hath redness of eyes? They that tarry late over the wine; they that come to seek for mixed drink." It was said in the West that he who tries to explain them from their beginning to their end is correct, and he who tries to explain them from their end to their beginning is also correct.

Eubar the Galilean lectured: Thirteen vavs are enumerated, in the Scripture concerning wine, as in Genesis ix., from 20 to 25, there are thirteen vavs: "And Noah, who was a husbandman, began his work, and he planted a vineyard. And he drank of the wine, and became drunken; and he uncovered, himself within his tent. And Ham, the father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, and told it to his two brothers without. And Shem and Japheth took a garment, and laid it upon the shoulders of both of them, and went backwards, and covered the nakedness of their father; and their faces were turned backwards, and they saw not their father's nakedness. And

Noah awoke from his wine, and discovered what his younger son had done unto him." R. Hisda in the name of Uqba, according to others Mar Uqba in the name of R. Sakkai, said: The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Noah: "Noah, why didst thou not learn from Adam the First that all the troubles he had were caused by wine"? And this is in accordance with R. Mair who maintains that the tree of whose fruit Adam the First partook was a vine. As we have learned in the following Boraitha: R. Mair said that the tree of whose fruit Adam the First partook was a vine, as there is no other thing which causes so much lamentation as wine does. And R. Jehudah said: It was wheat, as a child is not able to call mother or father before it has experienced the taste of wheat. R. Nehemiah said: It was a fig-tree, as their remedy came from the same thing by which they had transgressed. For it reads [Gen. iii. 7]: "And they sewed fig leaves together."

It reads [Prov. 31:1]: "The words of king Lemuel, the prophecy with which his mother instructed him." Said R. Johanan in the name of R. Simeon b. Jochai: Infer from this that his mother tied him to a pillar, saying: "What (hast thou done), O my son? and what, O son of my body? and what, O son of my vows?" "O my son"--all are aware that thy father has feared Heaven, and now that people see thee going in a wrong way, they will say: "It was caused by his mother." "The son of my body" means: All the wives of thy father never saw the king again after their pregnancy, which was not the case with me, as I have troubled myself to see him again after pregnancy, for the purpose that my child should be of good health. "The son of my vows"--all the wives of thy father used to vow to the sanctuary for the purpose that their child should be fit for the throne, and I have vowed that my son should be full of wisdom, and fit for prophecy. "Not for kings, O Lemuel, not for kings (is it fitting) to drink wine, nor for princes (rausnim) strong drink!" She said to him: "What hast thou to do with kings who drink wine, become intoxicated, and say: "For what purpose do we need God" ("Lomo-el"--literally, "why God")? "And to rausnim strong drink." Is it right that be to whom all the mysteries of the world are revealed should drink wine to intoxication--according to others: He to whose door all the princes of the world are hastening, shall he drink wine to intoxication? Said R. Itz'hak: And whence do we know that Solomon repented and confessed to his mother? From [ibid. 30:2]: "Surely I am more brutish than any man, and have not the understanding of a common man." "Than any man" means Noah. As it reads [Gen. 9:20]: "And Noah, who was a husbandman, began his work, and he planted a vineyard." "Of a common man" means Adam the First (the term for this in Hebrew being "adam").

"Of a meritorious society," etc. Said R. Abuhu: He is not guilty unless he consumed the above-mentioned meat and

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wine with a society of reckless persons (as then there is no hope that he will depart from his way after he is bound to such a company). But does not our Mishna state "A meritorious society"--he does not become a stubborn and rebellious son? From which it is to bc understood that if it was not a meritorious one, he is culpable even if not all of the society were reckless men? The Mishna comes to teach us that if it happened that to the meritorious banquet were invited men all reckless, he is nevertheless not culpable, as he was engaged in a meritorious banquet and eating and drinking to excess will not become his habit.

"At the intercalation of the month," etc. Was there then used meat and wine at the meal of intercalation? Does not a Boraitha state only bread and peas? The Mishna comes to teach us that although they were used only to bread and peas, and one in spite of this took for this meal meat and wine, he is not culpable, as the meal was of a meritorious nature and it will not become a habit.

The rabbis taught: To the intercalation meal no less than ten persons were invited, and nothing else was used but bread and peas; and it was prepared only oil the thirtieth day, and not in the daytime but at evening. But is there not a Boraitha, "not at evening but in the day"? As R. Hyya b. Abbah said to his sons: Try to go to this meal when it is yet day, before sunset: and also to leave before sunrise, that people shall know that you were engaged in a meal of intercalation.

"Second tithe," etc. Because he consumed it in the usual way, it will not become a habit.

"Carcasses," etc. Said Rabha: If he has consumed meat of fowls, he is not to be charged as a stubborn son. But does not our Mishna state "carcasses, illegal meat," etc., from which it is to be understood that if it was legal he is to be charged? Our Mishna means that even if he has eaten this to complete the prescribed quantity--e.g., he has eaten a "tertimory" less an eighth, and this eighth he ate from illegal meat--he is also not culpable, for the reason stated farther on.

"A thing which is meritorious," etc.--means a meal of condolence.

"A transgression"--means when he ate on a fast day of the congregation. And what is the reason? It reads [Deut. 21:20]: "He will not hearken to our voice." "Our voice"--but not of him who does not hearken to the voice of the Omnipotent.

"But not meat," etc.--means to add even pressed figs of the city of Kaêla, which cause intoxication.

"But not wine"--means even honey and milk, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: If one consumed pressed figs of Kaêla and drank honey and milk and entered the sanctuary, he is culpable as to [Lev. 10:9] "wine and strong drink," etc.

"He eats meat and drinks wine," etc. The rabbis taught: If he consumes any kind of food, but not meat, any kind of beverages but not wine, he cannot be condemned as a stubborn and rebellious son unless he eats meat and drinks wine. (drinking wine should) not become a habit. In the second case, although there is no direct support the Scripture that gluttony means meat and wine, a hint to this is to be found in--"Be not among those that drink wine, among those that overindulge in eating meat." And it is also written [ibid., ibid. 21]: "For the drunkard and the glutton will come to poverty; and drowsiness clotheth a man in rags Said R. Zerah: He who sleeps in a house of learning, his wisdom is rent to pieces. As it reads: "And drowsiness clotheth a man in rags."

MISHNA 3.: If he has stolen from his father and consumed on his premises, or he has stolen from strangers and has consumed on the premises of still other strangers, or he has stolen from strangers and consumed on the premises of his father, he is not charged as a stubborn and rebellious son unless he stole from his father and consumed on the premises of strangers. R. Jose b. Jehudah maintains: Unless he stole from his mother and father.

GEMARA: In the first case, when he stole from his father and consumed on the premises of the father, because he trembles, it will not become a habit. In the second case, although he does not tremble after stealing, as it cannot be frequently done, it will not become a habit. From strangers, and consumed on the premises of his father, there are both, because this can be done only occasionally and when consuming he trembles for his father. Unless he stole from his father and consumed on the premises of strangers--which includes both, because it can be done frequently and without any trembling.

"From his mother," etc. Where did his mother get this, so that it should belong to her only? Is there not a rule that all a woman buys belongs to her husband? Said R. Jose b. Hanina: He took it from the meal which was prepared for his father and mother. But did not R. Hana b. Mouldha in the name of R. Huna say that he is not culpable unless he buys meat and wine cheap and consumes them? Say that he has stolen the money which was prepared to buy a meal for his father and mother; and if you wish, it might be said that some one else gave it to his mother, with the condition that her husband should have no share in it.

MISHNA 4: If the father is willing to transfer the case of the son in question to the court and the mother is not willing, or vice versa, he cannot be accused as a stubborn and rebellious son, unless both arc willing to do so. Furthermore, R. Jehudah says: If his mother was not fit to be the wife of his father, their son cannot be charged as a stubborn and rebellious son.

GEMARA: What does the Mishna mean by the words "was not fit"? Shall we assume that his father married a woman who was under the liability of the korat, or capital punishment by the court? Why? After all, the father is his father and the mother is his mother. Hence it must mean that she was like to his father. And so also we have learned plainly in the following Boraitha: R. Jehudah said: If his mother was not alike to his father in her voice, in her appearance and her height, he cannot be charged as the son in question. And what is the reason? Because it reads: "He does not hearken to her voice." As we see that their voices must be alike, the same is the case with the appearance and height. According to whom is the following Boraitha? The case of a stubborn and rebellious son never existed and will never occur, and it was written only for the purpose of studying and the reward for it. It is in accordance with R. Jehudah (who requires such things as can never occur). And if you wish, it is in accordance with R. Simeon, who said in the following Boraitha thus: Does the law indeed dictate that because this boy consumed a "tertimory" of meat and drank half a lug of Italian wine his father and mother shall deliver him to be stoned? Hence such a thing neither occurred nor ever will be, and it is written only for studying. R. Jonathan, however, said: I myself have seen such, and have sat on his grave.

According to whom is the Boraitha that a case of a misled town never occurred and will never be--and was written only for studying? In accordance with R. Eliezer, who said in the following Boraitha thus: A misled town in which there is to be found even one mezuza (a piece of parchment on which a portion of the Holy Writ is written to be placed on the doorpost) cannot be condemned as misled town, because it reads [Deut. 13:17]: "And all its spoils shalt thou gather into the midst of the marketplace thereof, and thou shalt burn them with fire." And as there is a mezuza this cannot be done, as it reads [ibid. 12:4]: "ye shall not do so unto the Lord your God." R. Jonathan, however, said: I have seen such and I myself have sat on its heap.

According to whom is the following Boraitha?: A house of leprosy never occurred and will never be, and it is written only for studying, etc. In accordance with R. Elazar b. Simeon, who says in the following Mishna: A house of leprosy cannot be condemned unless the leprosy was of the size of two beans upon two stones at the two walls in the corner--the length of two beans and the width of one.

There is a Boraitha: R. Eliezer b. Zadok said: There was a place within the limit of the city of Azah which was named the "ruin of leprosy." And R. Simeon, head of the village Akhu, said: It happened once that I went to Galilee and saw a place which they used to mark, saying, It was because stones of leprosy were placed there.

MISHNA 5.: If one hand of his father or mother is missing, or they limp, or are dumb, blind, or mute, he cannot be condemned as a stubborn son. As it reads [Deut. 21:19]: "Then shall his father and his mother lay hold on him"--which cannot be done with one hand. "And bring him out." This cannot be when they limp."--And they shall say"--not when they are mutes. "This our son"--not when they are blind. "He will not hearken"--not when they are dumb.

They must first warn him in the presence of two witnesses and then bring him to the court of three judges, who punish him with stripes. And only then when he offends again must he be tried before twenty-three judges, but must not be stoned unless the first three judges are among the twenty-three. As it reads: "This our son"--which means, this is our son who was beaten according to your decision.

GEMARA: Infer from our Mishna that wherever the Scripture commands something, it must be taken literally? (See above, Chapter VI.) With this passage it is different, as it is entirely superfluous. (It should read: "Ye shall deliver him at the gate of that city, to be stoned.") But where is it written that he must first be beaten? Said R. Abuhu: From an analogy of the expressions [Deut. 21:18]: "And they chastise him," which same is to be found in ibid. xxii. 18. And also from the expression "son," which same is to be found in ibid. 25:2, Which speaks of stripes. "This our son." But is not this verse needed for this not when they are blind? It should read: "He our son." Why "this"? To infer both statements.

MISHNA 6.: If he run away before the decision of condemnation is rendered and the encompassing (mentioned in the first Mishna) occurred afterwards, he is free. But if he runs away after the decision was rendered, the encompassing which occurs afterwards does not free him.

GEMARA: R. Hanina said: A descendant of Noah who blasphemed, and thereafter he embraced Judaism, is free from capital punishment, because the law concerning him was changed (for when he was yet a heathen one witness and one judge sufficed, while as au Israelite two witnesses and three judges are needed). And also capital punishment was changed--as to a heathen the sword applies, and to an Israelite stoning; and as he cannot be punished with stoning (for at the commission of the crime he was yet a heathen), he is entirely free.

Shall we assume that our Mishna, which states that if he runs away before the decision is rendered and the encompassing in question occurred afterwards, he is free, is also because, there being a change, the punishment is also changed? Nay, here it is different; because, if he were to commit the crime at the time after the encompassing, capital punishment would not apply at all. Should we say that the second case stated: If he runs away after the decision was rendered, the encompassing in question does not free him--forms an objection to R. Hanina? Do you wish that after the decision was rendered the change should affect the decision? After the decision is rendered he is considered as dead, which changes cannot affect.

Come and hear another objection: A descendant of Noah who killed his neighbour or committed a crime with his neighbour's wife, and afterwards he embraced Judaism, he is free from capital punishment. But if he did the same with an Israelite while he is yet a heathen, he is guilty even if, after the crime, he becomes a Jew. And why? Say, because it was a change, the capital punishment should also be changed? It requires a change in both--in the trial and in the kind of punishment. Here, however, the change is only in the trial (as said above), but not in the punishment, as either to a heathen or an Israelite the sword applies.

MISHNA 7.: A stubborn and rebellious son is tried because of his future. The Scripture prefers that he should die innocent, and not be put to death because of his sins. For the death of the wicked is both a benefit to them and a benefit to the world, while to the upright it is a misfortune for them and for the world. Drinking and sleeping are a benefit to the wicked and to the world, while they are so doing (do they not do harm to the world), and the reverse is it with the upright (because when they are drinking or sleeping they cannot do any good). Separation of the wicked is also a benefit for themselves and for the world; the reverse, however, is the case with the upright. The assembling of the wicked is a misfortune for them as well as for the world, while as to the upright it is a benefit for themselves and for the world. The idleness of the wicked is a misfortune for them and for the world (because in the time of their idleness they will conspire to do harm, but the repose of the upright is a benefit for them as well as for the world).

GEMARA: There is a Boraitha: R. Jose the Galilean said: Is it possible that because this boy ate a "tertimory" of meat and drank half a lug of Italian wine he shall be stoned? But the Torah foreshadows the final thought of the son in question, as in the future he will squander his father's property, and pursuing his habit, which he will find difficult, he will proceed to rob people in the street. Therefore the Torah said: "He shall rather die while he is still innocent than be put to death because of his sins, as the death of the wicked is a benefit," etc., as stated above in the Mishna.

MISHNA 8.: In the case of "breaking in" [Ex. 12:1], for which there is no liability if one is killed by a detector, one is also punished because of his future crimes (i.e., because of his intention to kill his opponent, although no crime involving capital punishment was as yet committed). And therefore, if he broke a barrel while breaking in, if according to the laws he must not be killed when caught (e.g., a father who breaks into the premises of his son, who could not have intended to kill his son if he made opposition, and therefore if his son kills him he is liable to capital punishment, he must pay for damaging the barrel. But with respect to other persons who, if killed by the detector, would not be punished, he is free.

GEMARA: Said Rabha: The reason why the Scripture freed the detector if he killed the burglar, is because it is certain that a man cannot control himself when he sees his property taken. And as the burglar must have had the intention to kill anyone, in such a case, who should oppose him, the Scripture dictates that if one comes to kill you, hasten to kill him first.

Rabh said: A burglar who broke in and succeeded in taking some utensils and escaped, he is free from paying for the utensils. Why so? Because he acquired title to them by his blood. Said Rabha: It seems to me that Rabh's decision was in case he broke the utensils: and as they are no longer in existence, he is free from paying their value. But if he took them and they still exist, he must return them. [Says the Gemara: By God! Rabh's decision was even if they were still in existence, and his reason is that if they were taken by a burglar of that class, the opponent being guilty of shedding his blood, for which the Mishna makes him liable, would he not be responsible if the utensils were broken or taken away by force by someone else? He would be, because they were already under his control. The same is the case with an ordinary burglar, as by his blood he has acquired title to them, and therefore he is not obliged to return them.] However [continued Rabha], it is not so, as the Scripture considers the things stolen by the burglar to be under his control only concerning a contingency--i.e., if they were taken away from him. But the Scripture never meant him to acquire title to

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them when they were still in his possession, for he is considered as a borrower.

It happened that rams were stolen from Rabha by burglary, and thereafter they were returned to him; but he was not willing to accept them because the above decision came from the mouth of Rabh.

The rabbis taught: It reads [Ex. 22:2]: "If the sun be risen upon him, there shall be blood shed for him." What is meant by the sun being risen upon him? Does the sun rise upon him only? It means therefore if it is as clear to you as the sun that it is impossible to be at peace with him, then you may kill him, but not otherwise. There is another Boraitha: If it is as clear to you as the sun that it is possible for you to be at peace with him, then you should not kill him; but if not, you may. Hence the Boraithas contradict each other? It presents no difficulty: one speaks in case a father breaks into his son's house, whose usual intention is not to kill his son, and the other case speaks of the reverse--namely, when the son breaks into the house of his father.

Rabh said: Anyone whatsoever who should break into my house, I would kill him, except R. Hanina b. Shila. If it should happen that he should break in, I would not kill him, as I am sure that he would have mercy upon me as a father for his son.

The rabbis taught: The expression "blood shed" mentioned in ibid., ibid. 1 and 2 means that it makes no difference whether such a case happened on week days or on a Sabbath. Let us see I The teaching that a burglar may be killed even on Sabbath is correct, lest one say as there is a rule that the execution by the court does not violate the Sabbath the same applies here. But why the teaching that the burglar must not be killed, the same being the case if the burglary occurred on Sabbath? Even on week days he is not to be killed?

Said R. Shesheth: The teaching was needed in case it happened that while breaking in on Sabbath a heap of earth covered him. If he is of that class who are to be killed, then the heap must not be removed on Sabbath; if of the other class, it must be done to save the man, if still alive.

The rabbis taught: It reads "to be smitten so"--by any man whatsoever; "he die"--through any kind of death possible. This teaching was necessary. Lest one say, only if he were killed by the owner, who could not control himself; but if he were killed by some other detector, he is liable, it comes to teach us that the burglar is considered a life-seeker, who may be killed by anyone.

The rabbis taught: The text speaks only of breaking in whence can it be proven that the thief found on one's roof, in one's yard, or in any building whatsoever may be killed? Therefore it reads, "If a thief be found," which means in any place whatsoever. But if so, why is the term" breaking in" mentioned?

To say that his breaking in serves the place of warning (for he knew what he might expect). Said R. Huna: Even a minor who seeks one's life may be killed for self-protection. He holds that one who seeks one's life does not need any warning, be he of age or a minor.

R. Hisda objected to him from a Mishna (Ohaloth, 7., 7): If the head of a child were already without the womb, it must not be killed to save the life of its mother in case of danger, as one's life must not be given for that of another. And why not consider the child as the seeker of the life of its mother, so that it shall be killed? There it is different, as the child cannot intend to seek the life of its mother, and the danger in question is decreed by Heaven.

MISHNA 9: The following may be killed for self-protection: He who pursues one to kill him, and he who pursues a betrothed damsel, or pursues a male person to lie with him; but he who pursues an animal for this purpose, or he who intends to commit idolatry or to violate the Sabbath, must not be killed before the crime is committed.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: Whence do we know that one may kill for self-protection? From [Lev. xix. 16]: "Thou shall not stand idly by the blood of thy neighbour." But how can you so infer from this passage? Is it not needed to that of the following Boraitha: Whence do we know that if one sees his neighbour drowning in a river, or a wild beast or robbers seize him, he is obliged to save him? From the verse just cited? Yea, so it is. And that one may be killed in self-protection, is to be inferred by an a fortiori conclusion which is to be drawn from "a betrothed damsel." If in this case, in which one only intended assault, the Torah says he may be killed in self-protection, how much the more a seeker of life. But do we then punish from an a fortiori conclusion? The school of Rabbi taught that this is not only an a fortiori conclusion, but also an analogy. As it reads [Deut. 22:26]: "As a man riseth against his neighbour and striketh him dead, even so is this matter." And what have we to learn from the case of a murder? This passage is intended to throw light (on the case of a violated betrothed) and is at the same time receiving light. 1 He compares a murder to a betrothed damsel. As in case of a damsel one may be killed in self-protection, the same is it in the case of a murder.

And whence do we know that so is the case concerning a betrothed damsel? From what was taught in the school of R. Ismael. It reads [ibid. 21:27]: "There would have been none to aid her"--which means, if there were one he must help her under all circumstances, even to killing her pursuer.

The rabbis taught in addition to what is stated in the Mishna concerning self-protection: However, in the pursuing by a high-priest of a widow, or by a common priest of a divorced woman, or of one with whom the ceremony of Halitah was performed, or even in the pursuing of a betrothed damsel who had already had connection with some one, killing in self-protection is not allowed. And R. Jehudah said: Also, if the damsel herself said to the pursuers of her assaulter: Let him go--although it is to be supposed that she said so, only because of fear lest the pursuers should kill her-he must not be killed before the crime was committed. Whence is all this deduced? From [ibid., ibid. 26]: "But unto the damsel shalt thou not do anything: there is in the damsel no sin worthy of death." It is written "naar" (youth), and it reads "naaro"--from which we infer, both him who is pursuing a male for the purpose of sin and a betrothed damsel. And from the term "sin" we infer crimes of a kind to which the punishment of korath applies; and from "worthy of death," we infer those who are to be executed by the court.

The Boraitha states: R. Jehudah said: Also if the damsel herself said, etc. What is the point of their difference? Said Rabha: They differ in case the damsel cares for her honour, but without sacrificing her life for it. According to the rabbis the Scripture cares for the violation of her honour, and as she also cares for it, though without life-sacrifice, she must be saved even by killing her pursuers. And according to R. Jehudah, the Scripture commands to kill him, only in case the damsel herself is willing to sacrifice her life for her honour, but not otherwise.

Said R. Papa to Abayi: Let us see! In case a high-priest is pursuing a widow, is not this also a violation of her honour? Why, then, is he not to be killed? Is not the Scripture particular about the honour of a woman? And Abayi answered: For the honour of a damsel, who is ruined forever, the Scripture is particular to save her even to the killing of the pursuer, which is not the case with a widow.

It says farther on, "sin"--meaning those who are liable to be punished with death. There is a contradiction from the following: Among the assailants of damsels who must pay a fine besides the bodily punishment, is counted also one who assaults his sister (the punishment for which is korath). Now, if he is to be killed while pursuing, he must be counted in the class subject to capital punishment. And there is a rule that he who commits a crime subject to capital punishment is absolved from paying a fine. Said Abayi: The Boraitha which states that he must pay a fine treats of a case in which, she could be saved by injuring one of the members of her pursuer's body, and it is in accordance with R. Jonathan b. Shaul who said in the following Boraitha thus: A seeker of life whom the pursued killed, although he was able to protect himself by injuring a member of the pursuer's body--it is to be tried as a case of capital punishment. And what is the reason of Jonathan? It reads [Ex. 21:22, 23]: "If men strive . . . and if any mischief follow, then shalt thou give life for life." And R. Elazar said: The cited verses treat about him who intended to kill his opponent. And nevertheless it reads: "And yet no further mischief follow, he shall be surely punished." Now, if you say that the law dictates that the pursuer must not be killed in case his crime could be prevented by injuring one of the members of his body, it is correct that he is to be fined. But should you say that even in the latter case there is no liability if the pursuer was killed--his offence being in the class subject to capital punishment--why, then, is he to be fined? And should you say that he is fined because his intention was to kill another, and the fine belongs to another person, we understand from Rabha's decision 1 (First Gate.) that it is not so.

"He who pursues an animal," etc. There is a Boraitha: R. Simeon b. Jochai said: The one who intends to worship idols may be killed (if there is an impossibility of preventing his crime otherwise). And this is to be drawn by an a fortiori conclusion thus: When the dishonouring of a commoner is to be saved even by killing the pursuer, so much the more because of a heavenly dishonour. But is one to be punished because of an a fortiori conclusion? R. Simeon holds that so it is. There is another Boraitha: R. Eliezar b. Simeon said: The same is the case with one who intends to violate the Sabbath. He holds with his father, that one may be punished from a decision drawn from an a fortiori conclusion. And he infers the violation of Sabbath from the case of idolatry by the analogy of the expression "violation," which is termed in Hebrew "chillul," and is to be found in both cases. Said R. Johanan in the name of R. Simeon b. Jehozadok, in the Ethic of Beth Nithza: "In the city of Suda it was voted and resolved that if one were compelled, under threat of being killed, to commit any one of all the crimes which are mentioned in the Torah, he might commit it and not be killed, except idolatry, adultery, and bloodshed." But is not the case the same with idolatry as the following Boraitha states: R. Ismael said: Whence do we know that, if one were told under threat of being killed, to worship an idol, he should rather worship than be killed? From [Lev. 18:5]: "He shall live in them"; i.e., but not die in them. But lest one say that the same is the case when he is told to do so publicly, therefore it reads [ibid. 22:32]: "And ye shall not profane my holy name; so that I may be sanctified." Hence we see that privately he may rather worship than die? They (R. Johanan and R. Simeon b. Jehozadok) hold with R. Eliezer who said in the following Boraitha thus: It reads [Deut. 6:5]: "And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might." Why, then, with all thy soul and with all thy might--is not one of them sufficient? Because people are of different natures. There are among them some who prize their body more than their money--for them it is written, "with all thy soul." And there are some others who prize their money more than their body, and for them it is written, "with all thy might? And from this we infer that even if one were told to commit idolatry privately, he must not do so, even under threat of being killed. This is concerning idolatry. But whence do we know that the same is the case with adultery and bloodshed. From the following Boraitha: Rabbi said: It reads [ibid. 22:26]: "For as when a man riseth against his neighbour". He compares a murder to the case of a betrothed damsel. As concerning a betrothed damsel one may be killed to save her, the same is it in the case of a murder. And as concerning a murder one is obliged to sacrifice his own life rather than kill another by command, the same is the case with a betrothed damsel--she is held to be killed rather than be ravished. And whence do we know that in a murder case one is obliged to sacrifice his own life, etc. This is common sense. Thus it happened to one who came before Rabha. (See Pesachim.)

When R. Dimi came from Palestine, he said in the name of R. Johanan: All this was said when there was no civil decree by the government to violate religious duties; but if there was, one must sacrifice himself even for a most lenient commandment. And when Rabbin came, he said in the name of the same authority: Even when an evil decree did not exist, he might do so privately; but publicly, one must sacrifice his life, even for a most lenient commandment. What is meant by a most lenient commandment? Said Rabba b. R. Itz'hak in the name of Rabh: (In days of religious persecution you must resist, even to changing the shoe-strap. And what is to be considered publicly? Said R. Jacob in the name of R. Johanan: If this is to be done in the presence of no less than ten Israelites. R. Jeremiah questioned: How is it if there were nine Israelites and one heathen? Come and hear what R. Janai the brother of R. Hyya b. Aba taught: It reads [Lev. 22: 32]: "In the midst of the children of Israel," and [Num. 16:21]: "From the midst of this congregation"; and from the analogy of the expression "midst," we infer that, as in the case of Korach there were no less than ten, and all Israelites, the same is the case with the sanctification in question. But was not Esther compelled to sin with Ahassuerus, in the presence of more than ten Israelites? Said Rabha: In case they do it for their own benefit it is different; as, if this were not the case, how could we lend copper vessels to the Persians for the purpose that they should fill them in their houses of worship with live coals at the time of their holidays? But as this is for their own benefit, it is not considered a transgression; and Rabha is in accordance with his theory elsewhere, that if a heathen commands an Israelite to cut hay on Sabbath for his cattle, with threat of killing him, he shall rather cut the hay than be killed. But if he tells him, "Cut it and put it in the river," from which we see that he wants only to overcome his religious scruples, it is better for him to resist and be killed than to comply with his command.

R. Ami was questioned: Is a descendant of Noah commanded to sanctify the Holy Name, or not? And Abayi answered: Come and hear! "There were seven commandments which were given to the descendants of Noah," etc. Now, if they were commanded to sanctify the Holy Name, there would be eight. Said Rabha to him: From this we can infer nothing, as by the seven commandments is meant all that pertains to them (and sanctifying the Holy Name pertains to the negative commandment of idolatry). However, how should this question be decided? Said Adda b. Ahaba: It was said in the college: It reads [2 Kings 5:18 and 19]: "For this thing may the Lord pardon thy servant, that when my lord goeth into the house of Rimmon to prostrate himself there, and he leaneth on my hand, and I prostrate myself also in the house of Rimmon. . . . and he said unto him, Go in peace." Now, if a descendant of Noah were commanded concerning sanctification, Elisha would not say to him, "Go in peace," but would keep silent. This also is not a support, as Nahman's request was considered privately as no Israelites were present. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: It happened to one that he saw a woman and became sick through his infatuation, and he consulted physicians, who saw that there was no remedy for him unless he had connection with her, and the sages decided that he should rather die than have connection. The physicians, however, said: "Let her stand before him naked; perhaps this may do something in his behalf. But even this the sages did not allow. Let her talk to him behind a fence. Even this the sages forbade. R. Jacob b. Idi and Samuel b. Na'hmani differ. According to one she was a married woman, and according to the other she was single. Single! Why such

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strictness? Said R. Papa: Because of the dishonour of her family, as a daughter of an Israelite must not be sold for prostitution. And R. Ahbah b. R. Ika said: To prevent such becoming a habit among the daughters of Israel. But why did he not marry her? Said R. Itz'hak: This would not satisfy him. As it reads [Prov. 9:17]: "Stolen waters are sweet, and bread of secrecy is pleasant."

CHAPTER 9.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING THOSE TO WHOM BURNING AND THOSE TO WHOM SLAYING APPLIES. WHO IS CONSIDERED A MURDERER DESERVING CAPITAL PUNISHMENT AND WHO IS TO BE EXILED. THOSE WHO RECOVERED AFTER THEY WERE DIAGNOSED TO DIE; KILLING SOME OTHER ONE INSTEAD OF THOSE WHOM HE HAD INTENDED.

MISHNA 1.: To the following the punishment of burning applies: To one who has intercourse with a woman and her daughter, and to a daughter of a priest who has sinned. Under the general rule of a woman and her daughter comes his own daughter, the granddaughters of his daughter and son, the daughter of his wife, her granddaughters of her daughter and her son, his mother-in-law, and the mother of his mother and father-in-law.

GEMARA: The Mishna does not state a woman whose daughter he has married, but "a woman and her daughter," which seems to be that the intercourse with both of them was a sin, and this can only be with his mother-in-law and her mother. And from the expression, "Under the general rule of a woman and her daughter," it is to be assumed that both are mentioned in the Scripture, which is not so, as the mother of his mother-in-law is only inferred from an analogy. Read: If one has had intercourse with a woman whose daughter he has married. Whence is this deduced? From what the rabbis taught: It reads [Lev. 21:4]: "And if a man take a woman and her mother." This is concerning a legal wife and her mother. But whence do we know that the same is the case with the illegal daughter of a ravisher (referring to Deut. 22:28), and her granddaughters from her daughter and her son? From the analogy of the expression "incest" (zimha), which is to be found here in the verse cited and also in Lev. 18:17. And as there it speaks of an ordinary woman, and it is plainly mentioned the granddaughters of her son and daughter, the same is the case here (that all of them must be punished by burning). And whence do we know that the males who have committed the crimes in question are also to be punished by burning, the same as the females? Again from the same analogy of the expression zimha. As there the verse speaks of the male perpetrator of the crime, so also in the case here we are not to make any difference in the punishment between males and females. And whence do we know that the latter generations--i.e., the daughters and the granddaughters--are to be equalised to the earlier generations--i.e., the mothers of one's father and mother-in-law? Again from the analogy of the same expression. As there the Scripture does not make any difference between the expression in verse 15, which speaks of a father with his daughter-in-law, and that of the seventeenth, which speaks of the latter generations, and at the end of which it reads: for they are near kins-"women," which refers to all of them, so here the punishment of the earlier generations is to be equalised to that of the latter.

The father of R. Abbin taught: Because there is no definite commandment in the Scripture concerning the daughter of a ravisher, it was necessary for the scripture to state [Lev. xxi. 9]."And if the daughter of any priest"--"esh cohn," instead of "cohen." From which we infer that, were she a legal or an illegal daughter, if he sins with her, she must be burned.

But if so, let the punishment of burning apply only to the daughter of the abuser, but not to the abuser himself, as so is the case with the daughter of a priest in which the punishment applies only to her, but not to her abuser. Said Abayi: Concerning the daughter of a priest it reads: "Her father does she profane." Exclude this case, in which the father is profaning her. Rabha, however, said: For this no verse is necessary, as it is common sense. In the case of a priest's daughter, if you have excluded her abuser from burning, he is nevertheless left under the category of choking, which applies to any one having intercourse with a married woman. But here, if you exclude the abuser from the punishment which applies to her, under what category can you put him? Should you put him under the category of those who have had intercourse with single women, who are free from any punishment, is it possible that she should be burned for this crime, and he who is the abuser of her mother and the seducer of herself should be free? Now we have had the punishment for such, but where is the warning? It is correct for both Abayi and Rabha as they infer the warning from the same which states the punishment. But according to the father of R. Abbin, whence is deduced? Said R. Ailea, from [Lev. xix. 29]: "Do not profane thy daughter, to cause her to be a prostitute." R. Jacob, the brother of R. Abha b. Jacob, opposed: Is not the verse just cited necessary to that of the following Boraitha: "Thou shalt not profane thy daughter," etc? Lest one say that it speaks of a priest who marries his daughter to a Levite or an Israelite, therefore it reads "to cause her to be a prostitute." Hence it speaks only of him who gives his daughter other than in marriage. From the "ll" in the word "techallel" (profane), instead of "tochal," which would have the same meaning, the warning in question may also be inferred. And both Abayi and Rabha, who have inferred the warning in this case from the same verse mentioning the punishment--what do they infer from the verse just cited? Said R. Mani: Him who marries his daughter to an old man, as the following Boraitha states: "You shall not profane your daughter," etc. According to R. Eliezer: He who marries his daughter to an old man is meant; and according to R. Aqiba, he who leaves his daughter unmarried until she becomes "vigaros."

R. Kahana in the name of R. Aqiba said: There is none poor in Israel, but a shrewd-wicked and he who has left his daughter unmarried until "vigaros." How is this to be understood? Is not one to be called a shrewd-wicked if he left his daughter unmarried for his own benefit, that she should do the housework until "vigaros"? Said Abayi: He means thus: There is none poorer than he who is compelled because of his poverty to leave his daughter unmarried until "vigaros," as then he is equal to a shrewd-wicked.

R. Kahana in the name of R. Aqiba said again: Be careful in your counsellor in order that you shall not listen to him who counsels you for his own benefit.

R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: He who marries his daughter to an old man and he who marries his minor son to a woman of age; to both the verses [Deut. xxix. 18, 19]: "In order that the indulgence of the passions may appease the thirst (for them): The Lord will not pardon him," apply.

The rabbis taught: Concerning the verse Lev. 20;14, in which the words "him and them" are mentioned, R. Ismael and R, Aqiba differ. According to the former it means "him and one of them," and according to the latter, "him and both of them." What is the point of their differences (even R. Ismael agrees that both of them are to be punished)? Said Abayi: They differ only as to the texts from which the law is derived. According to R. Ismael, who maintains "him and one of them," it is because in Greek εν means one, and the expression in the passage is "es'-en." Hence, biblically his mother-in-law is to be burned, while her mother is inferred only rabbinically by an analogy of expression. And according to R. Aqiba both of them are meant in this verse. Hence both, biblically, are to be burned. Rabha, however, maintains that the point of their difference is an intercourse with one's mother-in-law after the death of his wife. According to R. Ismael, even then she must be burned, as in the verse cited it reads "and them," which makes no difference whether his wife is still alive or dead. And according to R. Aqiba, after the death of his wife, it is only a prohibition, but not a crime to which burning applies.

MISHNA 2.: To the following, punishment with the sword applies: To a murderer and the men of a misled town. A murderer who strikes his neighbour with a stone or with an iron so that he dies; if one pressed down a person while he is in water or in fire, preventing him from coming out, until he dies--he is guilty. If, however, he pushes him into water or into fire and he was able to come out, but nevertheless dies without being prevented by him who pushed him, he is not guilty of a capital crime. If he sets a dog or a serpent upon him, he is not guilty of a capital crime. If, however, he applies the snake to his body with his hand, and it bites him to death, R. Jehudah makes him guilty of a capital crime, and the sages free him.

GEMARA: Samuel said: Why is there not mentioned in the Scripture the word "yod" concerning iron in Num. xxxv. 16, as is done concerning stones and wood in ibid., ibid. 17, 18? Because even a fragment of iron brings death. So also we have learned in a Boraitha: Rabbi said: It is known to Him who created the whole world by one word, that a fragment of iron may bring death, and therefore He has not prescribed any size concerning iron. (Says the Gemara:) This is only when he pierced him with it; but if (he struck him with iron), it must be of a size to cause death.

"If he presses down," etc. The first part teaches a preponderance, and so does the second. The preponderance of the first part is that, although he did not push him, but only prevented him from coming out, he is nevertheless guilty of a capital crime. And the preponderance of the second part is that, although he pushed him in, yet, so long as the victim could come out and was not prevented, he is not guilty of a capital crime. But whence do we know that one is guilty for pressing down? Said Samuel: From [ibid., ibid. 21]: "Or if in enmity he have smitten him with his hand," which means to include him who pressed him down.

There was one who urged cattle of his neighbour into the sun until they died. And Rabbini made him liable, but R. A'hal b. Rabh freed him. The former made him liable because of an a fortiori conclusion drawn from a murderer. As concerning a murderer the Scripture makes a difference between intentionally and unintentionally, between accident and premeditation, and nevertheless makes guilty the presser; and as concerning damages, where there is no difference between intentionally and unintentionally, between accident and premeditation, so much the more should a pusher be liable. And as to the reason of R. A'hal, who freed him, said R. Mesharshia: The reason of my grandfather, who freed him, is the above-cited verse: "He that smote him shall surely be put to death, for he is a murderer," meaning only in case of murder is one guilty of pressing, but not in a case of damages.

Rabha said: If one bound a person, and he died thereafter of hunger, he is not guilty of a capital crime. If, however, he bound him and put him in a sunny place, and he dies because of the sun, or he puts him in a cold place and he dies of cold, he is guilty. But if he put him in a sunny or a cold place, where there was not as yet either sun or cold, and thereafter, when it came, it caused his death, he is not guilty of a capital crime.

The same said again: If one bound a person and left him before a lion, he is not guilty of a capital crime. (Rashi explains that he could not save himself from the lion even if he were unbound. Rashi's reasons are not quite clear to us.) But if he bound him in a place where mosquitoes are abundant, he is guilty. R. Ashi, however, maintains that even in the latter case he is not guilty, as the mosquitoes which were on his body at the time he tied him, went away, and others came. Hence he did not cause his death directly.

It was taught: If one places a vat over a person and he dies from heat, or he removes the ceiling to let the cold come in, and he dies from cold-Rabha and R. Zerah--one of them makes him guilty and the other frees him. Says the Gemara: It seems that Rabha is the one who frees him, as it is in accordance with his theory. Said above: If one bound a person and he dies of hunger, he is free. On the contrary, it seems R. Zerah is the one that makes him free, as it is in accordance with his theory elsewhere: He who puts a person in a house closed from all sides so that the air cannot go out, and lights a candle, which causes his death, is guilty. Hence we see that the reason of making him liable is the lighting of the candle, and if this were not done he would be free? Nay! It may be said that the heat which caused his death began with the lighting of the candle. The same is the case with the vat-the heat began just when he turned it over him.

Rabha said again: If one pushed a person into an excavation in which a ladder stood for coming out, and someone came and removed the ladder, or even if he himself removed it after he pushed him in, he is not guilty of a capital crime, as at the time he pushed him in he was able to come out.

The same said again: If one shot an arrow at a person who wore an armor and someone removed the armor, or even if he himself removed it after he shot, he is not guilty of a capital crime, as at the time he shot the arrow it could not injure him.

And he said again: If one shot an arrow at a person who was supplied with spices which could cure the wounds from the arrow, and someone came and scattered them, or even if he himself scattered them before the arrow reached him, he is not guilty, because the victim, at the time he shot, could be healed by the spices. Said R. Ashi: According to this theory he would not be guilty if there should be spices in the market which could cure the wounds? Said R. Ahbah, the son of Rabha, to R. Ashi: How is the law if it happened that spices were brought to him after he was shot, and he did not make use of them? And he answered: In such a case the court would not overlook this, and would accept the defence to his advantage.

Rabha said again: If one throws a stone at a wall, with the intention of killing a person with it, the stone, however, killing the man only by the rebounding, he is guilty of a capital crime. In explanation of this, it was taught, e.g., ball-players--if one threw a ball with the intention of killing someone, he is to be put to death, and if it was unintentionally, he is to be exiled. Is this not self-evident? The teaching that one is to be put to death, if done intentionally, was necessary. Lest one say that such a warning was of a doubtful nature, as who could predict that the ball would kill him by rebounding so that he should be forewarned of it, he comes to teach us that he is nevertheless guilty.

R. Tachlifa of the West taught in the presence of R. Abuhu concerning those who play ball: If the ball killed one by rebounding within a distance of four ells from the wall, he is free from exile, but if it exceeded four ells, he is guilty.

Said Rabhina to R. Ashi: Let us see, how was the case! If the player was pleased with the rebounding of the ball, then let him be guilty if the man was killed even within a nearer distance (as the law of killing a man unintentionally prescribes). And if he was not pleased with the rebounding, let him be free even at a greater distance. And he answered: The greater the distance a ball rebounds, the more is the pleasure of the ball-player.

It was taught: R. Papa said: If one bound a person and turned a stream of water upon him, it is considered as if the man were killed directly by his arrow, and he is guilty of a capital crime. However, this is only when he was killed by the first stream which poured upon him; but if he dies from the continued flow, it is not considered direct killing, but only a cause of death.

The same said again: If one throws a stone on high and it swerves and kills a man, he is guilty. Said Mar. b. R. Ashi to him: Let us see what is the reason of your theory! Because the stone went by his force? But if so, the force must only be

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considered when it went on high; and when his force ends it should fall down vertically. But according to your theory it swerves, hence it is not by his force. It must be said, however, if this cannot be called his exact force, it may nevertheless be considered a part of his force.

The rabbis taught: If one was assaulted by ten different persons, no matter whether at once or at different times, and was killed, none of them has to suffer capital punishment, as according to the Scripture it must be known who was the cause of the death. R. Jehudah b. Bathyra, however, holds: In case the assault was made by one after the other, the last one is guilty, for he hastened his death. Said R. Johanan: Both parties took their theories from one and the same passage [Lev. 24:17]: "And he that taketh the life of all the soul of man." The rabbis hold that all the "soul" means one is not guilty unless he takes the whole soul. And R. Jehudah holds that it means all that was as yet left of the soul.

Said Rabha: All agree that if one kills a person whose windpipe and larynx (gullet) are cut, or whose skull is fractured, he is free (for it is considered as if he had attacked a dead man). And they agree also that, if one killed a person who was struggling with death through sickness caused by Heaven, he is guilty of a capital crime. And the point of their difference in the above Boraitha is, if one killed a man who was struggling with death through sickness caused by man. According to the rabbis, it is similar to him whose windpipe, etc., are cut. But according to R. Jehudah b. Bathyra, it is similar to him who was struggling with death through sickness caused by Heaven.

A disciple taught in the presence of R. Shesheth: The above cited verse, which commences with "and a man," means if one struck a person with an article which can cause death, but the man was not entirely without life, and another came and put an end to him entirely, the latter is responsible, as the ordinary opinion is in accordance with R. Jehudah b. Bathyra.

Rabha said: If one kills a person whose windpipe and larynx are cut he is free; but if the latter killed a person, if this was in the presence of the court, he is guilty. As it reads [Deut. 13:6]: "And thou shalt put the evil away from the midst of thee." But if not in the presence of the court, but in the presence of other witnesses, he is free, as their testimony cannot be taken into consideration, because they cannot be made collusive (as their intention was to kill a man already dead). And there is a rule that such a testimony as was given by those cannot be made collusive is not considered as testimony at all.

And he said again: Although the witnesses who had testified against the man whose windpipe, etc., were cut were thereafter found collusive, they are not to be put to death; if the windpipe, etc., of the witnesses themselves were cut at the time they, testified, and thereafter they were found collusive, they are to be put to death, because of the above-cited verse. R. Ashi, however, maintains that they are not, because the witnesses who made them collusive could not be punished if their testimony were found false, as their intention was to kill men who are considered already dead.

And Rabha said again: An ox of such a kind, if he killed a person, is guilty. But if the ox was a healthy one and his owner was of that kind, he is free; because it reads [Ex. 21:29]: "The ox should be put to death and the owner also." And as in this case the owner is considered already dead, and the expression "he shall also be put to death," does not apply to him, we therefore do not apply to the ox the beginning of the verse. R. Ashi, however, maintains that even if the ox was of that kind, he is also free for if its owner would be such it would be free; therefore it is to be tree when it itself is of this kind.

"If he set a dog or a serpent," etc. Said R. Abbah b. Jacob: If you wish to know the reason of their difference, it may be said thus: According to R. Jehudah, the venom of the serpent is always between its teeth (i.e., with the bite of the serpent the venom is injected into the body, which causes death directly) and, therefore, if he applied the serpent to the body he is to be decapitated, and the serpent is free. And according to the sages, the poisoning comes after the bite, from the venom of the serpent Hence the biting did not cause death directly, and therefore the serpent must be stoned and he who applied it is free from capital punishment.

MISHNA 3.: If one strikes a person with a stone or with his fists, and he was diagnosed (by the physicians of the court) to die, and thereafter he improved, and was diagnosed to live, and then again becomes worse and dies, he is guilty of a capital crime. R. Nehemiah, however, maintains that he is free, because it is reasonable to say that he did not die directly from the blow, but from some other cause.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: The lecture of Nehemiah concerning this matter was thus: It reads [Ex. 21:19]: "If he rise again and walk abroad upon his crutch, then shall he that smote him be acquitted." Can it be supposed that one should be put to death because he struck a person who later walks in the market, if there were not a passage which commands the contrary? We must then say that the passage means that if when he was struck he was diagnosed to die, and thereafter he improved, walked in the street, and was diagnosed to live, and then became worse and died, he is nevertheless free. What do the opponents of R. Nehemiah infer from the words "be acquitted"? That the person who struck must be kept in arrest until the outcome shall be known. R. Nehemiah, however, maintained that no verse is necessary for this, as this is to be inferred from the woodgatherer, who was arrested immediately after committing the crime. Why did not the rabbis also infer from the woodgatherer? (Moses was aware that) he was surely guilty of a capital crime, but did not know what kind of death applied to him. But concerning the murderer in question, it is not known whether he came under the category of capital punishment at all? R. Nehemiah, however, infer this from the blasphemer, of whom Moses did not know whether he came under the category of capital punishment at all, and nevertheless he was imprisoned. The rabbis, however, do not infer this from the blasphemer, as according to their opinions it was only a decision for that time, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: Moses our master was aware that the woodgatherer was guilty of capital crime. As it reads (Ex. 31:14]: "Everyone that defileth it shall be put to death." But he did not know what kind of death; as it reads: [Num. 15:34]: Because it had not been declared what should be done to him." Concerning the blasphemer, however, it is not so written, but "To the decision of the Lord," hence Moses was not aware whether he came under the category of death at all.

The rabbis taught: If one struck a person and he was diagnosed to die, but he nevertheless remained alive, they may free him. And if he was diagnosed to die and he improved, the sick man must be examined again, and appraisement made concerning the money which is to be collected from his smiter; and if thereafter he becomes worse and dies, he must be charged according to the second examination. So is the decree of Nehemiah. The sages, however, maintain that there is no other examination after the first. There is another Boraitha: If he was diagnosed to die, but he did not, he must be examined again. But if the first opinion was that he would live no second examination as to dying may take place (for if it happened that he dies, it is probably not from the previous blow). If, however, he was diagnosed to die, and he becomes better, the sick man must undergo an appraisement concerning money. And if thereafter he becomes worse and dies, his murderer must pay for damages and the suffering of the deceased, to the heirs from the time he was struck till his death. And this anonymous Boraitha is in accordance with R. Nehemiah, who frees such from capital punishment.

MISHNA 4.: To the following, capital punishment does not apply: To one who intended to kill an animal and killed a man, an idolator and killed an Israelite, a miscarried child and killed a mature one. The same is the case with one who intended to strike another on the loins with an article which was not sufficient to cause death, but the blow was made on his heart, for which it was sufficient, and he dies; or if he intended to strike him on the heart with an article which was sufficient to cause death if striking same, but he struck the loins and the man dies, although it was not sufficient to cause death if struck on the heart or even if he intended to strike an adult with an article which was not sufficient for such, but it happened that he struck a minor and he dies, as for a minor it was sufficient; or, on the contrary, if be intended to strike a minor with an article which was sufficient for such, but not for an adult, and it happened that he struck with it an adult and he nevertheless dies. To the following, however, capital punishment does apply: To one who intended to strike a person on the loins with an article which was sufficient for this purpose, and he strikes him to death on his heart, or if he intended to strike an adult with an article which was sufficient to cause his death, but it happens that he strikes to death a minor with it. R. Simeon, however, maintains: Capital punishment does not apply even to him who intended to kill a certain person, and it happened that he killed another.

GEMARA: To which part of the Mishna belongs R. Simeon's, theory? If to the latter part only it should read: And R. Simeon frees him (i.e., him who intended to kill an adult and killed a minor). We must then say that it belongs to the first part, which states: an animal--an idolater--an Israelite--a miscarried child, etc., to which capital punishment does not apply, from which it is to be understood that if there were two resembling persons, and he intended to kill one and killed the other, capital punishment does apply. And to this R. Simeon came to say that even in such a case capital punishment does not apply. Now, let us see! If, e.g., there were Reuben and Simeon, and the murderer said, "I intend to kill Reuben and not Simeon," and finally Simeon was killed, and not Reuben--this is the case in which the first Tana and R. Simeon differ. But how is it if the murderer said, "I intend to kill one of them"; or the murderer mistook Simeon for Reuben? Does R. Simeon differ even in this? Come and hear the following Boraitha: R Simeon said: Capital punishment does not apply, unless one said, "I intended to kill so and so," and he did so. And what is his reason? [Deut. 19:11]: "But if any man be an enemy to his neighbour and lie in wait for him," which means only when he killed the intended person. Said the disciples of Janai: And what do the rabbis say to this verse? It excludes him who throws a stone into an excavation in which men are standing without the intention of killing any particular one. Now, let us see! According to the rabbis, who apply capital punishment to him who killed one person, although he intended to kill another, the verses Ex. 21:22 and 23, "If men strive . . . then shalt thou give life for life," are in accordance with the explanation of R. Elazar, stated above, that the verses speak about him who intends to kill. But how should this passage be explained in accordance to Simeon's theory? In accordance with Rabbi of the following Boraitha: "Thou shalt give life for life" means money (i.e., the value of the woman should be paid to her heirs). You say "money," but perhaps it means literally it life"? The expression here "thou shalt give," is to be explained similarly to ibid., ibid. 22: "He shall give according to the decision," etc. As there it means money, the same is the case here.

Rabha said: The following statements, taught in the school of Hiskia, correspond neither with Rabbi nor with the rabbis mentioned above. Namely: It reads [Lev. 24:21]: "And he that killeth a beast shall make restitution for it, and he that killeth a man shall be put to death." As in the case of a beast there is no difference whether it was intentionally or unintentionally, by an error or by premeditation, while he was ascending or descending, he is always liable and must pay. The same is it in the latter case of a human being: there is no difference whether it was intentionally, etc.,--he is absolved from any money payment.

Now let us see what is meant by the expression "unintentionally" concerning a human being. Shall we assume, i.e., that it was done without any intention? Then it was an error, which has been already mentioned. Why, then, the repetition? You must then say that it means, if he intended to kill one and killed another person, and nevertheless it states that he is absolved from any payment. Now, if he should hold with the rabbis that such is guilty of a capital crime, then such a statement is not necessary, as there is a rule that no payment is required in a case of capital punishment. We must therefore say that it does not agree with them; nor can we say, on the other hand, that it agrees with Rabbi, as the latter requires payment, while Heskia does not.

MISHNA 5.: A murderer mixed up among others--all of them are free. R. Jehudah maintains: All of them must be taken to χυφος; (a life-long prison, to be done with as explained farther on). If it happen that the persons sentenced to deaths of different kinds, and are so mixed that it is not known who comes under this kind of death and who under another, all of them must be executed with the more lenient death, e.g., if those who are to be stoned are mixed up among those who are to be burned, according to the sages all of them must be executed by burning, as stoning is more rigorous; and according to R. Simeon all of them are to be executed by stoning, as burning is more rigorous. Said R. Simeon to the sages: Were burning not more rigorous, it would not apply to a daughter of a priest who had sinned. Answered the sages: Were stoning not more rigorous, it would not apply to a blasphemer and an idolater. If they who are to be slain by the sword are mixed among those who are to be choked, according to R. Simeon they must be decapitated, and according to the sages, they must be choked.

GEMARA: What does the Mishna mean by the words, "among others"? Does it mean others who are innocent? Is it not self-evident that they are all free? And secondly, could R. Jehudah say that such are to be imprisoned? Said R. Abuhu in the name of Samuel: It speaks of a murderer who was not as yet sentenced, and was mixed among those who were already sentenced; and as the verdict of death must be rendered only in the presence of the criminal, therefore all of them are free from execution according to the rabbis. R. Jehudah, however, maintains that such cannot be entirely free, since they are murderers, and therefore, they must be taken to the kyphos.

Resh Lakish said: The Mishna does not mean human beings at all, but oxen--i.e., whether an ox which was not as yet sentenced to death was mixed among others which were already sentenced is the point of their difference. According to the rabbis the ox must be judged the same as its owner. As its owner cannot be sentenced to death if not present, the same is the case with the ox; and as he is now mixed among others, all of them are free. And R. Jehudah maintains that all of them must be taken to the kyphos.

Said Rabha: How can such an explanation be given to the Mishna? Does not a Boraitha add to this: Said R. Jose: Even if among the others was Abbah Halafta (who was known as a great man). How, then, can the Mishna be interpreted that it means other murderers or oxen? Therefore explains he: It means if, e.g., two were standing shoulder to shoulder and an arrow came out from one of them and killed a person, both of them are free. And to this R. Jose said: Even if Abbah Halafta was among the two, and it is certain that Abbah Halafta would not commit such a crime. Nevertheless, the other is free. And the saying of R. Jehudah belongs to another case, as the Mishna is not completed, and should read thus: And if an ox which was sentenced to death was mixed among other innocent oxen, they must all be stoned. R. Jehudah, however, maintains that all of them must be taken to the kyphos, and it is in accordance with the following Boraitha: If a cow has

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killed a human being, and thereafter gave birth, before she was sentenced to death, the offspring is valid; but if it happened after she was sentenced, the offspring is invalid. And if such were mixed among others, and even if some of the others among which it is mixed were mixed with still others, all of them must be taken to the kyphos. R. Elazar b. Simeon, however, maintains: All of them are to be brought to the court and stoned.

"All who were sentenced to death," etc. Infer from this that if one is forewarned of a rigorous crime, it suffices for a lenient one. (This question was not yet solved.) Said R. Jeremiah: The Mishna speaks of a case where the criminal was warned in general; and it is in accordance to the Tana of the following Boraitha: All the crimes to which capital punishment applies, the perpetrators of them are not put to death unless there were witnesses who warned them, and unless they warned them that they were liable to die by the decision of the court. And according to R. Jehudah, only when they notified them by which kind of death they would be executed.

The first Tana, who does not require that they should be notified by which death, infers it from the case of the woodgatherer; and according to R. Jehudah, nothing is to be inferred from the case of the woodgatherer, as it was only a decision of that time.

"Among those who are to be burned," etc. R. Ezekiel taught to Rami his son: If those who are to be burned were mixed among those who are to be stoned, according to R. Simeon, they are to be executed by stoning, as burning is more rigorous. Said R. Jehudah (his older son) to him: Father, do not teach so, for, according to your teaching (as "those who are to be burned were mixed among those who are to be stoned") it seems that the majority of them come under the category of stoning: Hence the reason why they are to be stoned is not because it is more lenient, but because so was it to be done with the majority. And to the question of his father: How, then, shall I teach? The answer was: As our Mishna states: If those who are to be stoned were mixed among those who are to be burned, R. Simeon said, etc. But if so, how is the latter part, "And the sages said that they are to be executed by burning, because burning is more rigorous," to be understood? Also here the reason may be that the majority who are to be executed come under the category of burning? Nay! The expression of the rabbis, "stoning is more rigorous," was not as a reason, but as an answer to R. Simeon. And it is to be explained thus: If they were mixed among those who are to be burned, it must be done with them in accordance with their majority. And your supposition to care about the minority, because we have to select for them a lenient death, does not hold good, as in reality stoning is more rigorous. Said Samuel to R. Jehudah: Genius! do not express yourself in such terms to your father, as there is a Boraitha: If a son saw his father transgressing what is written in the Scripture, he must not say to him, "Father, you have transgressed the law," but, "Father, so and so is written in the Scripture."

But is it not finally one and the same? It means he shall say: "Father, there is a verse in the Scripture which reads so and so," and in such a tone that it shall not seem a rebuke, but an intimation.

MISHNA 6.: If one committed a crime which deserves two kinds of death (e.g., one who has intercourse with his mother-in-law who is married, commits two crimes--with a married woman, to which choking applies, and with his mother-in-law, to which burning applies), he must be tried for the more rigorous one. R. Jose, however, maintains: According to that act, he began first. (Illustrations in the Gemara.)

GEMARA: Is this not self-evident? Should one who has committed another crime which brings an easier punishment be benefited by it? Said Rahba: It speaks of where he was tried for a case which deserved a lenient death, and was sentenced, and then committed a crime to which a more rigorous death applies. Lest one say that this man is to be considered as already killed and not to be tried again, it comes to teach us that he must be tried and punished with the more rigorous death.

The brother of R. Jose b. Hanna questioned Rabba b. Nathan: Whence is this law deduced? (And the answer was:) from Ezek. xviii. 10-13; " . . . Upon the mountains he eateth . . . and his eyes he lifteth up to the idols of the house of Israel . . . and the wife of his neighbour he defileth . . . " To bloodshed the sword applies, to adultery with a married woman choking applies, and to idolatry stoning applies, and it ends with "his blood shall be upon him," which means stoning. Hence he is to be executed with the more rigorous one. R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak opposed: Perhaps all the crimes mentioned in this passage come under the category of stoning, namely, a "dissolute son," means a stubborn and rebellious son, to whom stoning applies; "he defileth the wife of his neighbour" means a betrothed damsel, to whom also the same applies; "to the idols he lifteth up," which is idolatry, to which stoning applies? If it were so, then what came Ezekiel to teach? And lest one say that he was only repeating what is in the Scripture, then he ought to have done as did Moses our master, who said [Deut, 17:18]: "He shall write the repetition of the law."

R. Abhah b. Hanina lectured about the passage [ibid. 6]: Upon the mountains he eateth not," which ends with [ibid. 9]: "He is righteous, he shall surely live." Is it possible that, because he has not committed such crimes, he should be called righteous? Therefore these verses must not be taken literally, but "upon the mountains he eateth not" means that he does not live upon the reward of the meritorious acts done by his parents; "his eyes he lifteth not up to the idols" means that he never walked overbearingly; "and the wife of his neighbour he defileth not," means that he never tried to compete in the special trade of his neighbour; "unto a woman on her separation he cometh not near" means that he never tried to derive any benefit from the treasure of charity--and to this it reads: "He is righteous, he shall surely live."

Rabban Gamaliel, when he came to this passage, used to weep, saying: It seems as if he who has done all of them is righteous, but not he who has done only one. Said R. Aqiba to him: According to your theory, the verse [Lev. 18:24]: "Do not defile yourself with all of these things," also means with all of them, but one of them is allowed? Hence it means to say with "any" of them. The same is to be said here: If one does one of the things mentioned above, he is righteous.

"A crime which deserves two kinds," etc. There is a Boraitha: How is R. Jose's decision in our Mishna to be illustrated?--e.g., if the crime which he committed with this woman was that she became first his mother-in-law and then married. Hence the prohibition of having intercourse with her applied, even before she married again. Then he must be tried under the crime "with a mother-in-law." But if she became his mother-in-law after her marriage, then he must be tried under the crime "with a married woman," as the prohibition against intercourse with her existed already before she became his mother-in-law.

Said R. Adda b. Ahabah to Rabba: In the first case, in which she married after she became his mother-in-law, why should he not also be tried for the crime with a married woman? Did not R. Abuhu say that R. Jose agrees in case a prohibition were added. (E.g., when she was his mother-in-law but unmarried, she was prohibited to him only, but allowed to the whole world, and when married she became prohibited to the whole world. Hence one prohibition was added. And in such a case R. Jose agrees that the second crime must also be taken into consideration.) And Rabha answered: Adda, my son, do you want us to execute him twice? (R. Jose considers the added prohibition to be only concerning sin-offerings, when incurred through error.)

MISHNA 7.: He who receives stripes, and relaxes into the same crime, and is punished again and does not repent, the court takes him to the kyphos, and feeds him with barley until his abdomen bursts.

GEMARA: Because he received stripes twice, should the court imprison him in the kyphos forever? Said Jeremiah in the name of Resh Lakish: The Mishna speaks of crimes to which korath applies, and he was forewarned of stripes, and was punished twice for the same crime. And as this man deserves death by Heaven, but his time has not yet come, and we see that he devotes his life to sin, the court imprisons him to hasten his death. Said R. Jacob to R. Jeremiah b. Tahlifa: Come and I will explain to you the real meaning of Resh Lakish: The Mishna means that he has committed the same crime thrice, for two of which he has received stripes. And as the court does not see any remedy for him, it puts him in the kyphos after the third time. If, however, he has committed different crimes to which korath applies, he is not taken to the kyphos, as he is not considered as devoting his life to this crime, but as one careless concerning prohibitions.

"He who receives stripes twice," etc. Twice, although he was not punished a third time! Shall we assume that our Mishna is not in accordance with R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, who says that until one has repeated the same crime thrice it is not considered a hazakah 1 (habit), Said Rabhina: It may be even in accordance with R. Simeon, as the crime was committed thrice, and he considers it a habit, although he was not beaten thrice.

An objection was raised from the following: He who has committed a crime twice to which the punishment of stripes applies receives the stripes twice; repeating same a third time, the court puts him in the kyphos. Abba Shaul, however, maintains that even to the third time he receives stripes, and only after he has committed the crime a fourth time does the court imprison him. Is it not to be assumed that the Tanaim of this Boraitha differ in the same point as R. Simeon b. Gamaliel and Rabbi differ--namely, whether it should be considered a hazakah after two times, which is the opinion of Rabbi, or after three times, according to R. Simeon? Nay; all agree with R. Simeon. And the point of their difference is that, according to the first Tana, the crimes which were committed thrice counted, and according to Abba Shaul, the stripes, and not the crimes, are to be counted.

Where is to be found an allusion in the Scripture to the kyphos in question? Said Resh Lakish [Ps. 34:22]: "The evil will slay the wicked." And the same said again: It reads [Eccl. 9:12] "For man also knoweth not his time, like the fishes that are caught in an evil net," from which the same is to be inferred.

MISHNA 8.: He who kills a person, not in the presence of witnesses, is taken to the kyphos and is fed on scant bread and water.

GEMARA: But whence do we know if it was not in the presence of witnesses? Said Rabh: If there was only one witness, or even if there were two who saw this from separate places. And Samuel said: If he committed the crime without forewarning. And R. Hisda in the name of Abimi said: Even when the witnesses contradicted themselves in unimportant matters--as, e.g., a Mishna stated above. Ben Sakkai examined them concerning the size of figs, etc., and they were not contradicted in the examination.

"And is fed with scant bread and water." And above it was said that he was fed with barley? Said R. Shesheth: In both cases it is meant that he was first fed with scant bread and water till his abdomen shrank, and afterwards with barley, from which it swelled till it burst.

MISHNA 9.: If one steals a kisvah, or one curses his neighbour, Invoking God as "a carver," or one has intercourse with a female heathen, zealous people (like Pinehas) have a right to strike him when caught in the act. If a priest performed the service in the Temple while he was unclean, his fellow-priests would not bring him to the court, but the youths would take him out of the sanctuary and split his head. If a common Israelite served in the Temple, according to R. Aqiba, he was choked by the court, and according to the sages he would come to his death by Heaven.

GEMARA: What is meant by "kisvah"? Said R. Jehudah: It means service vessels [cf. Num. 4:7]. And where is there to be found an allusion to this in Scripture? [Ibid., ibid., 20]: "That they may not go in to see when the holy things are covered, and die."

"Who curses," etc. R. Joseph taught: May the carver strike his carving. And another explanation by Rabah b. Mari is: May the carver strike him himself, and his creator and his creation.

"One who has intercourse," etc. R. Kahana questioned Rabh: What is this punishment if there were no zealous men? Rabh forgot his traditional answer to this, and it happened that it was read before R. Kahan in a dream, etc. [Mal. 2:11]: "Judah hath dealt treacherously, and an abomination hath been committed in Israel and in Jerusalem; for Judah hath profaned the sanctuary of the Lord which he loveth, and hath married the daughter of a strange god." And he came to Rabh and told him that so was it read to him, and therefrom Rabh recollected that this passage was an answer to his question, as it reads immediately after it: "The Lord will cut off, unto the man that does this, son and grandson, out of the tents of Jacob, and him that bringeth near an offering unto the Lord of hosts"--which means, if he was a scholar, that he should not have a son among the scholars or a grandson among the disciples; and if he was priest, that he should not have a son who should bring an offering, etc. Hyya b. Abuhu said: He who has had intercourse with the daughter of an idolater is considered as if he mingles himself with the idols. As it reads: "He hath married the daughter of a strange god." Has, then, an idol a daughter? Hence it means as is just mentioned above.

When R. Dimi, or Rabbin, came from Palestine, he said that the court of the Maccabees decreed: He who does so transgresses concerning the following four things: Neda (menstruation), Shif'ha (female-slave), Goiye (strangers in faith), and prostitution.

Said R. Hisda: If one comes to the court with the question, "May one take revenge on the criminal mentioned above?" his question must not be answered. And so also said Rabba b. Hana in the name of R. Johanan, and not only this, but if it should happen that Zimri were killed by Phinehas after he separated himself from Cozbi, Phinehas would be put to death for this crime. Furthermore, if Zimri, seeing that Phinehas seeks his life, were to kill him in self-protection, he would not be punished, as Phinehas would be considered a seeker of life.

It reads [Num. 25:5]: "Moses said to the judges of Israel," etc. The tribe of Simeon went to Zimri ben Saul and said: They (the judges) are judging cases of capital punishment, and you keep silent! What did he do? He gathered twenty-four thousand of his tribe and went to Cozbi, pleading with her to listen to him. And to her answer, "I am a princess, the daughter of a king, and my father commanded me not to listen to any one but the greatest of Israel," he said: I myself am a prince of a tribe in Israel, and I am greater than Moses, as I am from the second tribe, while he is from the third. He took her by the locks of her hair, and brought her to Moses, saying: Son of Amram, is this damsel allowed to me, or prohibited? And should you say that she is prohibited, I would ask you, Who allowed to you the daughter of Jethro? Moses, however, had forgotten the traditional Halakha, and he and all who accompanied him wept. As it reads [ibid., ibid. 6]: "And these were weeping by the door of the tabernacle of the congregation."

And farther on it reads: "And Phinehas saw." What did he see? Said Rabh: He saw Zimri's act, from which he recollected

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the traditional Halakha. And he said to Moses: Granduncle, didst thou not teach me, on thy descending from Mount Sinai, that zealous men might take revenge on him who has had intercourse with the daughter of an idolater? To which Moses answered: Let him who reads the letter be the carrier--i.e., let him who gives the advice be its executor.

Samuel, however, said: Phinehas saw [Prov. 21:30]: "There is no wisdom, nor understanding, nor counsel against the Lord--i.e., in a case where there is a violation of the Holy Name the honour of the master must not be considered (and therefore Phinehas did it without the consent of his master Moses).

R. Itz'hak, in the name of R. Elazar said: He saw the angel who destroyed the people. It reads: "Arose and took a javelin in his hand." From this it may be inferred that one must not enter with arms into the house of learning. He took out the javelin from its sheath, sharpened it, and replaced it in the sheath so that it should not be visible; and went to the headquarters of Simeon's tribe, saying: Whence do we know that the tribe of Levi is greater than Simeon's? And the people who were there thought: Phinehas himself is coming to do the same as Zimri has done. Hence the scholars decided that this is allowed.

Said R. Johanan: Six miracles occurred to Phinehas when he came to smite Zimri. One--Zimri has not separated himself, etc (The continuation of the Haggadah will be translated farther on.)

"If a priest performed the service while he is defiled," etc. R. Ahbah b. Huna questioned R. Shesheth: Is a priest who does service, being defiled, deserving of death by Heaven, or not? And he answered: This we have learned in our Mishna: "A priest who does service in the Temple, being defiled, his fellow-priests would not bring him to court, but the youths would take him out and split his head." Now, if it should be supposed that he was guilty of death by Heaven, why did not they leave him to the heavenly punishment? Rejoined he: Do you mean to say that he was not guilty at all? Is there such a thing--that Heaven frees him and we should put him to death? Yea! Does not the court put one who is twice beaten with stripes in the kyphos and cause him to die? (What comparison is this?) Did not R. Jeremiah say that it speaks of crimes of a kind to which korath applies? Hence such an offender deserves death. But is the case not the same with him who steals a kisvah, and with the two other cases mentioned in our Mishna? To all of them it is taught that there are allusions in the Scripture implying that they deserve death, viz., concerning a kisvah [Num. 4:20]: "That they may not go in to see when the holy things are covered, and die," concerning one cursing his neighbour, etc., it was explained by R. Joseph that it looks like blasphemy, and concerning an intercourse with a daughter of an adulterer, Rabh recollected his tradition, as said above.

An objection was raised from a Boraitha which states: And the following are liable to death by Heaven: An unclean priest who served in the Temple, etc. Hence we see that his punishment is death, R. Shesheth being objected to, and the objection remains.

The same Boraitha continues thus, The following deserve death by Heaven: One who eats grain in which the heave-offering is mixed, an unclean priest who eats a heave-offering while defiled, and a commoner who partakes of the heave-offering, a commoner who performs service in the Temple, a priest, while defiled, serving in the Temple, a priest who has had a legal bath after defilement and performs the service in the Temple before sunset, the same is if he performs the service without the prescribed dress, or he who performs service before the prescribed offering after defilement is brought, and also he who serves without the prescribed washing of his hands and feet, or he serves while drunk, or without having cut his hair at the prescribed time. However, one uncircumcised, a mourner while the corpse is not yet buried, and he who worships while sitting, do not come under the category of death by Heaven, but are only forewarned. A priest who has a blemish and he who derives benefit from the sanctuary intentionally--according to Rabbi he comes under the category of death by Heaven, and according to the sages he comes under the category of the forewarned.

Concerning heave-offering mentioned in the Boraitha, said Rabh: A commoner who partakes of heave-offering is to be punished with stripes. Said R. Kabana and R. Assi to him: Let the master say he deserves death by Heaven. And he answered: It reads [Lev. 22:9, 10]: "They die therefore . . . I am the Lord who sanctify them. And no stranger shall eat of a holy thing." Hence between "they will die" and "no stranger shall eat" intervenes "I am the Lord," etc., to teach that the punishment of death does not apply to a stranger. But does not the above Boraitha state that such comes under the category of punishment by Heaven? Do you want to contradict Rabh from a Boraitha? Rabh is a Tana, and has the right to differ. 1

"If a common Israelite served in the Temple," etc. There is a Boraitha: R. Ismael said: It reads [Num. 18:7] "And the stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death"; and [ibid. 17:28] "Everyone that cometh near at all unto the tabernacle of the Lord shall die." As the verse just cited speaks of death by Heaven, the same is the case with the former.

R. Aqiba, however, said: Here the Scripture says: "And die therefore"; and [Deut. xiii. 6]: "And that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams, shall be put to death." And as there it means by stoning, the same is the case here. And R. Johanan b. Nuri said: As a false prophet is punished with choking, the same is the case here. What is the point of their difference? R. Aqiba holds that the expression "put to death" must be analogized with "put to death," and not "put to death" with "shall die." And R. Ismael holds that we should equalise a commoner with a commoner, and not a commoner with a prophet. According to R. Aqiba, however, a prophet who has misled is worse than a commoner.

And the point of difference between R. Aqiba and R. Johanan b. Nuri is the same wherein R. Simeon and the rabbis differ in the following Boraitha: To a prophet who has misled, stoning applies; according to R. Simeon, however, choking applies. But does not a Mishna above state: R. Aqiba said: Choking applies. There are two Tanaim who differ concerning R. Aqiba's statement. Our Mishna mentioned R. Simeon, who said so, in accordance with R. Aqiba's theory; but the Boraitha is in accordance with the rabbis, who are of the opinion, with R. Aqiba. that choking applies.

CHAPTER 10.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING THEM TO WHOM CHOKING APPLIES. CONCERNING A REBELLING JUDGE; WHAT SHALL BE HIS CRIME FOR WHICH HE IS TO BE EXECUTED; AT WHICH PLACE AND WITH WHICH KIND OF DEATH; AND CONCERNING A FALSE PROPHET.

MISHNA 1.: To the following, choking applies: To him who strikes his father or mother, to him who steals a living soul of Israel, to a judge rebelling against the Great Sanhedrin, to a false prophet, to him who prophesies in the name of an idol, to the paramour of a married woman, and to the collusive witnesses of the married daughter of a priest who has sinned, and to her abuser.

GEMARA: Whence do we know that choking applies to the smiter of his father or mother? From [Ex. 21:15]: "Put to death"; and wherever the Scripture mentions death without specifying what kind, choking is meant. But perhaps the verse cited means "when he kills him or her"? How can it be supposed if one who kills a stranger is executed by the sword, that he who kills his father should be executed by choking, which is more lenient? However, this is correct according to him who holds that choking is lenient; but according to him who holds that the sword is lenient, what can be said? Therefore, from [ibid., ibid. 12]: "He that smiteth a man so that he die," and from [Num. 35:21]: "Smitten with his hand that he die," we infer that when it is not mentioned "that he die," it means smitten only. And it was necessary for the Scripture to write both of the following passages, namely [Ex. 21:12]: "He that smiteth a man so that he die," and [Num. xxxv. 30]: "Whoever it be that killeth a person (soul)," for if the first only were written, one might say that one is liable only when he kills an adult, but not a minor; and if the second only were written, one might say that one is liable even if he killed a miscarried child or one who was born in the eighth month, and therefore both are necessary.

But from the above theory it is to be understood that if one smote his father he is guilty of a capital crime even if he did not wound him. Why, then, does the succeeding Mishna state that he is not guilty unless he wounds him? This is inferred from [Lev. 24:21]: "And he that smiteth a beast shall make restitution for it, and he that smiteth a man shall be put to death." 1 As concerning a beast the striker is not liable unless he makes a wound, as in ibid. 18 it reads "nefesh" (soul, blood of it), the same is the case if he smote a person--he is not guilty unless he made a wound. R. Jeremiah opposed: According to this theory, if one has made lean an animal by using it to carry stones, should he not be responsible? Therefore we must say, as verse 30 is not necessary for this case, because of verse 18, apply it to human life. If so, why the analogy? In accordance with what was taught by the school of Hiskia (above.). But this is only correct for him who agrees with the school of Hiskia. But for him who does not agree with this theory, to what purpose is the analogy? To teach that, as there is no liability if one wounds an animal for the purpose of curing it, the same is the case with a human being. A similar question was propounded by the schoolmen: May one bleed his father to cure him? R. Mathna said: From "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" it may be inferred that he may. And R. Dimi b. Henna said: It is inferred from the analogy just mentioned. As there is no liability for wounding an animal to cure, the same is the case with a human being. Rabh did not allow his son to take out a string from his finger, lest he might wound him unintentionally, which is prohibited for one to do to his father; and Mar b. Rabhina did not allow his son to open for him a wound, for the same reason.

R. Shesheth was questioned: May a son be a messenger from the court to punish his father with stripes, or to put him under the ban? 2 Said Rabba b. R. Huna: And so also was it taught by the school of R. Ismael: Concerning all the crimes mentioned in the Torah, the court must not appoint the son of the criminal to strike, to curse his father, etc., except in the case of a seducer, about whom it reads [Deut. 13:9]: "Nor shall thy eye look with pity on him," etc.

MISHNA 2.: A son is not guilty of a capital crime unless he wounds his father by striking him. Cursing is in one respect more rigorous than striking, as for the latter one is guilty when done to his living father only, and for the former he is guilty even if he did it after his father's death.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: It reads [Lev. 20:9]: "His father and mother has he cursed," which means even after his death. And this is repeated only for this purpose, lest one say that one is guilty for striking his father and for cursing him. Hence, as the former applies to a living father only, the same is the case with the latter. But this is correct only for R. Jonathan, as according to him the verse just cited is superfluous; but for R. Jashiah, who uses this verse for inferring father or mother (above.), whence does he deduce the above statement? From [Ex. 21:17]: "And he that curseth his father," etc. But let the Mishna state that in another respect striking is more rigorous than cursing, as concerning the former one is guilty if he did so to his father even if he were of another faith, which is not the case with cursing (according to the opinion of some Tanaim). The Tana of our Mishna holds that cursing is compared to striking even in the latter case; i.e., one is also guilty if he curses his father who is of another faith.

Shall we assume that the Tanaim of our Mishna differ in the same way as the Tanaim of the following Boraithas, one of which states: If one's father was a Samaritan, he is forewarned against striking him, but not against cursing; and the other states: He is forewarned neither against striking nor against cursing? The schoolmen who learned these Boraithas thought: Both Boraithas agree that at the beginning the Samaritans were true proselytes (this refers to 2 Kings, 7:23-34), but at that time they were decadent. Hence the point of their difference is that, according to one Boraitha, striking is equal to cursing, and according to the other it is not? Nay! All agree that they are not equal, consequently the point of their difference is, whether the ancient Samaritans were true proselytes, or only embraced Judaism from fear of the lions. Hence they were not considered Israelites at all, but heathens.

MISHNA 3.: If one steals a person, he is not guilty of a capital crime, unless he brings him upon his own premises. R. Jehudah, however, said: One is not guilty for only bringing him upon his premises, but after he used him for work. As it reads [Deut. 24:7]: "And he treateth him as a slave."

If one steals his own son and sells him, R. Ismael, the son of R. Johanan b. Beroka, makes him guilty; the sages, however, free him. If one steals a person who is half free and half slave, i.e., a slave of two owners, one of whom has freed him, R Jehudah makes him guilty, and the sages free him.

GEMARA: And the first Tana of our Mishna does not require any work (notwithstanding that so it is written in the Scripture)? Said R. Ahbah b. Rabha: They differ if he worked with him to the value of less than a perutha. (According to the first Tana he is guilty, and according to R. Ismael he is not.)

R. Jeremiah questioned: How is the law if one steals a person while asleep and sells him in this condition, or if he stole a pregnant woman for the purpose of selling her embryo, is it considered treating as a slave, or, because he has not done it in the usual manner, is it not so considered? Usual manner! Let him say that there was not any kind of slavery at all? He speaks of when he used the sleeping one as a support and the pregnant woman as a protection against the wind (and as she is more stout because of the embryo, the protection is stronger). And to this was the question: "Is it considered slavery, or, because it was in an unusual manner, is it not? This question is now decided.

The rabbis taught: It reads [Deut. 24:7]: "If a man be found stealing any one of his brethren of the children of Israel." From this we know only concerning a male, but whence do we know concerning the stealing of a female? It reads [Ex. 21:16]: "And he that stealeth a man--whatsoever. However, from both verses we know about a man who stole either a male or a female. But whence do we know that the same is the case when a woman steals a male or female? As to this, it reads in the verse above cited: "Then shall that thief die," meaning what person soever.

There is another Boraitha: The verse just cited means that there is no difference whether he stole a male or a female, a proselyte, or a bondsman who was freed, or a minor. However, if he stole him and did not sell him, or even if he sold him, but he is still on his own premises, he is not condemned to capital punishment. If he sold him to the father or brother of the stolen one, or to some one else of his relatives, capital punishment does apply. However, for stealing slaves it does not. This Boraitha was repeated by one of the disciples before R. Shesheth, and he rejoined: I teach: R. Simeon said: It reads: "From his brethren," which means that he is not guilty unless he took him out from the control of his brother. And you teach: He is guilty of a capital crime if he sold him to his father or brother.

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Go and teach that he is free. (Says the Gemara:) And what is the difficulty? Why not say that the Boraitha is in accordance with the rabbis? This cannot be supposed, as there is a rule that all the anonymous Mishnayoth are in accordance with R. Mair, anonymous Tosephtas in accordance with R. Nehemiah, anonymous Siphra in accordance with R. Jehudah, and anonymous Siphri in accordance with R. Simeon. And all of them are after R. Aqiba's instructions. And the Boraitha above cited is to be found in Siphri.

"If one stole his own son," etc. What is the reason of the rabbis, who free him? Said Abayi: It reads [Deut. 24:7]: "If a man be found 'stealing,'" which means to exclude him who is often with him. Said R. Papa to Abayi: According to your theory [ibid. 22:22]: "If a man be found lying with a woman," etc., is also to be explained to exclude him who is often with her; e.g., in the house of so and so, which is crowded, and men and women are often together--should one not be liable for adultery? And he answered: I call your attention to [Ex. 21:16]: "And he will be found in his hand" (which is not the case with a father, whose son is usually in his hand). Said Rabha: According to this theory, teachers of schoolchildren and masters with their disciples are considered often together, and if it happened that one of the masters stole one of the children, he is free from capital punishment.

"Half a slave," etc. There is a Mishna (First Gate): R. Jehudah says that there is no disgrace for slaves. And ibid. 195 (q.v.), the reason of R. Jehudah is given from [Deut. 25:11]. However, what would be his reason here? Thus: "From his brethren" means to exclude slaves; "children of Israel" means to exclude a half slave; "of the children of Israel" means again an exclusion, and means to exclude the same. And there is a rule that an exclusion after an exclusion comes to add. Hence a person who is half slave and half free is added to those for whom guilt is incurred. The rabbis do not hold his theory that "of his brethren" means to exclude slaves, as a slave is also considered a brother who is obliged to perform all the commandments which are obligatory on a woman. Hence, according to them, "children of Israel" means to exclude a slave, and "of the children of Israel" means to exclude half a slave and half a free man. But whence do we know about the forewarning of stealing a person of Israel? According to R. Jashiah: From [Ex. 20:13]: "Thou shalt not steal." And according to R. Johanan: From [Lev. 25:42]: "They shall not be sold as bondmen are sold." And they do not differ, as one master counts the negative commandment of stealing, and the other the negative commandment of selling.

The rabbis taught: "Thou shalt not steal," in the third commandment, means human beings. But perhaps it means simply money? It may be said: Go and learn it from the thirteen methods by which the Torah is to be explained, one of which is that a word or (passage) is to be explained from its connection or from what follows, 1 and as the connection of this passage speaks of human beings, you must explain also that "stealing" applies to human beings. There is another Boraitha: It reads [Lev. 19:11]: "Ye shalt not steal," meaning money. You say money, but perhaps it means human beings? Go and learn it from the thirteen methods, etc., one of which is that a word or (passage) is to be explained from what follows. And as the continuation of this passage is concerning money [ibid. 13] so also stealing is to be explained as meaning money.

It was taught: If there were two parties of witnesses, and one party testified that one stole a human being and the other testified that he sold him, and thereafter one of the parties, or both, were found collusive, they are not to be put to death, according to Hiskia. According to R. Johanan, however, they are. Hiskia's reason is that he holds in accordance with R. Aqiba, who used to say (Last Gate.): A case, but not half a case. And R. Johanan is in accordance with the rabbis, who said: Even for half a case. R. Papa, however, said, concerning the witnesses of selling: All agree that they are to be put to death. But the point of their difference is concerning the witnesses of the stealing. According to Hiskia they are not to be put to death, because stealing and selling are two separate crimes. R. Johanan, however, is of the opinion that the stealing is the beginning of the selling. The latter, however, agrees that the first witnesses concerning a stubborn and rebellious son are not to be put to death if found collusive, as they could say: Our intention was only that he should be punished with stripes, as it is said above that the son in question is not put to death unless he first received stripes.

Said Abayi: There are three cases concerning a stubborn and rebellious son. In two of them all agree, and in one of them they differ. Namely, concerning the first witnesses in this case, all agree that they are not to be put to death if collusive, as they could say: Our intention was only that he should receive stripes. And their claim must be taken into consideration. And also all agree concerning the second witnesses of same, that they are to be put to death, as the first witnesses are considered as concerning stripes only. Hence the second witnesses only would be the cause of death to the criminal son, if they were not collusive; and they have done the whole case even according to R. Aqiba, who requires the whole, and not half a case.

And the third case in which they differ is, if there were two parties of witnesses, one of which testifies: "In our presence he stole," and the other testified: "In our presence he consumed." And as the law regarding the criminal son dictates that he is not to be put to death unless he stole from his father and consumed on the premises of strangers, both things depend on each other. Hence according to R. Aqiba each of the parties has done only half a case. And if one or both were found collusive, they cannot be put to death for half a case; and according to the rabbis they can, as they make one guilty for half a case.

MISHNA 4.: A judge rebelling against the Great Sanhedrin (to whom, as stated in the first Mishna of this chapter, choking applies) is commanded in the Scripture as in Deut. 17:8-13. There were in Jerusalem (at the time of the Temple) three courts: one was situated at the gate of the Temple Mount (this was the east gate, inside of the surrounding wall, preceding the women's court); and another was situated after the women's court, but preceding the court of the common Israelites; and the third one was situated in the Temple treasury for congregational sacrifices. And in case a judge in the country had a dispute about the law with his colleagues, as to which the Scripture commands to bring their case before the court in Jerusalem, they came to the first court, situated at the above-mentioned gate. And the judge in question related his case before the court: I have lectured thus and thus, and my colleagues have lectured otherwise--thus and thus. I have taught in accordance with my lecture so and so, and my colleagues so and so. And if this court were able to decide it traditionally, they rendered their decision; and if not, they came before the other court, explaining the same again. If this court were able to decide it traditionally, they rendered their decision; and if not, all of them came to the Great Sanhedrin, which was in the Temple treasury, from which the law proceeds to all Israel, wherever found. As it reads [ibid., ibid. 10]: "From that place which the Lord will choose, and thou shalt observe to do according to all that may instruct thee." Then if the judge returns to his own city and continues his lectures as before, he is not culpable. If, however, he gives his decision for practice, he is subject to capital punishment. As it reads [ibid., ibid. 12]: "And the man that will act presumptuously," etc., which means that he is not culpable unless he decides for practice.

A disciple who is not a judge, who decides for practice against the decision of the Great Sanhedrin, is not culpable. Hence the rigorousness which lies upon him, not to give his decision in any law (until he shall be forty years of age), becomes lenient concerning the punishment.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: It reads [ibid., ibid. 8]: "khi j'pola," literally, "if it will wonder." Hence the passage speaks of the wonder (prime) judge of the courts. "Mimcho"--from thee," means a counsellor. As it reads [Nahum, 1:11]: "There is gone forth (mimcho) out of thee he that devised evil against the Lord, the counsellor of infamous things." "Dabhor"--"a matter," means a Halakha; L'michphat means a decision of money matters. "Between blood and blood" means blood of menstruation and the blood of purification after birth (referring to Lev. xii. 4) or blood of infliction. "Between plea and plea" means criminal and civil cases and cases of stripes; "Between lepers and lepers"--bodily leprosy, leprosy of houses, of dress, etc.; "matters"--excommunications, appraisement of things belonging to the sanctuary; "controversy"--a thing which came from a controversy between a husband and wife (ref. to Num. 5:11-25); breaking the neck of the heifer (Deut. 21.)--the purification of men who were afflicted with leprosy; "within thy gates"--about gathering grain of the poor, forgetters of sheaves and peah (corner tithe); "shalt thou arise"--from thy court. "Get thee up" infer from this that the Temple was the highest building in all Jerusalem, and the land of Israel was situated higher than all other countries. "Unto the place"--infer from this that the place is the cause of the situation of the high court.

The rabbis taught: A rebelling judge is not guilty unless he gave his decision in a matter to which, if done intentionally, korath applies; and if unintentionally, a sin-offering. So is the decree of R. Mair R. Jehudah said: As to a matter of which the source is to be found in the Scripture, and the interpretation is by the scribes. R. Simeon, however, maintains: Even as to one observation of the many observations of the scribes.

Said R. Huna b. Hinna to Rabha: Can you explain to me this Boraitha which has enumerated all the cases inferred from Deut. 17:8, in accordance with R. Mair's decree? And Rabha said to R. Papa: Go and explain it to him. And he explained thus: The Boraitha which states a counsellor, means him who is able to establish leap years and to appoint the days of the month. And a difference of opinions may cause the eating of leavened bread on Passover; namely, according to some a leap year may be established during the whole month of Adar, and according to others only until Purim. Hence if the law is in accordance with one of them, and it was done to the contrary, people would eat leaven on Passover. The Halakha which is mentioned in the same Boraitha means the difference of opinion between R. Johanan and Resh Lakish concerning the tenth day of menstruation--whether it is still to be counted menstruation blood or of infliction (explained in Tract Nidda, 72b). Criminal cases means the case concerning the daughter of a coercer mentioned above. Concerning blood of menstruation, Akabia b. Mahalalel and the rabbis differ (Nidda, 19a). Concerning blood of purification, Rabh and Levi differ (ibid. 35b). Concerning blood of infliction, R. Eliezer and R. Jehoshua differ (ibid. 36b). Concerning civil cases, Samuel and R. Abuhu differ. Concerning criminal cases, Rabbi and the rabbis differ; stripes, R. Ismael and the rabbis differ (in the first Mishna of this tract); leprosies, R. Jehoshua and the rabbis differ (Nidda, 19b); leprosy of houses, R. Elazar b. Simeon and the rabbis differ; leprosy of dresses, Jonathan b. Abtulmes and the rabbis (Nidda, 19a); appraisement of men, R. Mair and the rabbis (Arachin, 5a); excommunications, Jehudah b. Bathyra and the rabbis (ibid. 28b); sanctification, Eliezer b. Jacob and the rabbis; controversies concerning a woman who is suspected by her husband, R. Eliezer and R. Jehoshua (Sota, 2a); breaking the neck of the heifer, R. Eliezer and R. Aqiba (ibid. 45b); purification of leprosy, R. Simeon and the rabbis; gathering, the schools of Shamai and Hillel (Tract Negaim, 14. 9); forgotten sheaves (the same, ibid., ibid.); peah, R. Ismael and the rabbis (Themura, 6a). (And of all of them, the sources are in the Scripture and the explanation is by the scribes.)

"There were three courts," etc. Said R. Kahana: If he says, "I have it from a tradition," and they (the Great Sanhedrin) also say the same, he is not put to death. And the same is the case if he says: So is it according to my opinion; and they also say: According to our opinion. And so much the more if he says: I have it from a tradition; and they say: So is it according to our opinion. And only when they say: We have it from a tradition; and he says: According to my opinion it is the contrary--then (if he gives his decision for practice) he is put to death. And an evidence in support of this is that Akabia b. Mehalalel, who decided against the Great Sanhedrin, was not killed. R. Elazar, however, maintains that even if he says, "I have it from a tradition," and they say, "So it is according to our opinion," he is put to death, for the reason that quarrels should not increase in Israel. And your evidence from Akabia b. Mehalalel does not hold good, as he was not killed because his decision was not for practice. An objection was raised from our Mishna: I have lectured, etc. Does not the latter expression mean that he taught so from a tradition? Nay! "I taught so because of my opinion, and they taught so from a tradition."

Come and hear another objection: R. Jashiah said: The following three things I was told by Zeerah, one of the citizens of Jerusalem: A husband who has sacrificed his claim against his wife, it is considered (and his wife is not to be brought to the court); and the same is the case if the parents of a stubborn and rebellious son have sacrificed their claim; and the same is it also if the high court were willing to sacrifice their honour in the case of a rebelling judge. And when I came to my brethren in the South, they yielded to me concerning the first two, but not concerning the third--for the reason that quarrels should not be increased in Israel. Hence the reason as to a rebelling judge is not to increase quarrel, and there is no difference whether he says, "I have it from a tradition" or "from my own opinion." This objection remains.

There is a Boraitha: R. Jose said: Formerly there was no quarrel in Israel, but a court of seventy-one was situated in the Temple treasury, and two courts of twenty-three sat at the gate of the Temple Mount and at the gate of the common Israelites; and the same courts of twenty-three were established in every city of Israel; and if there was a matter of difference concerning which it was necessary to inquire, they used to bring it before the court of their own city. And if they were able to decide from a tradition, they did so; and if not, they brought it to the court of a near-by city; and if also they could not decide it, they brought it before the court which was at the gate of the Temple Mount, and thereafter to that of the common Israelite, and he related to them: So have I lectured, etc., and so have I taught, etc. And if they had any tradition concerning this, they explained it; and if not, all of them came before the court of the Temple treasury, in which the judges sat from the morning daily offering until that of the evening on week days. And on Sabbaths and on holidays they used to take their place in the chamber of the surrounding wall, and the question was laid before them. If they could decide it, they did so; and if not, they stood up to vote, and their decision was according to the majority. However, since the disciples of Shamai and Hillel who had not accomplished their study increased in number, quarrels were increased in Israel, and it seemed as if the law came from two different lawgivers.

From the court of the Great Sanhedrin they used to write and send to all the cities of Israel: Whosoever is wise, modest, and is liked in the eyes of his people may be a judge in his own city. And thereafter, if he deserved it, he was advanced to the court at the gate of the Temple Mount; and farther on, until he reached to be a member in the court of the Temple treasury.

A message was sent from Palestine: Who is the man who has surely a share in the world to come? He who is modest, bends his head when he goes in, and the same when he goes out; is

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always studying the Torah, and does not become proud thereof. And the rabbis gave their attention to R. Ula b. Abba (who possessed all these qualifications).

"Returned to his own city," etc. The rabbis taught: He is not guilty unless he himself practised according to his decision; or, he decided so for others, and they practised. it is correct when he so decided for others, etc., as if he did so before he was not subject to a capital punishment. But if he himself has done according to his decision, he is guilty even before he goes to the higher courts? Previously, if he gave a good reason for his decision, it would be accepted; but after he came from the court, no longer is any reason accepted.

MISHNA 5.: The punishment of him who transgresses the decision of the scribes is more rigorous than for that which is plainly written in the Scriptures, e.g., if one says, "I do not see any commandment in the Torah about tephyilin (phylacteries)," with the intention of transgressing that which is written concerning them (i.e., giving another interpretation to Deut. vi. 8, etc.), he is free. However, if he (the rebelling judge) should decide that the phylacteries must contain five Totaphoth (portions), instead of the four enacted by the scribes, he is guilty.

GEMARA: Said R. Elazar in the name of R. Oshia: One is not considered a rebelling judge unless he decides upon a thing the sources of which are in the Scripture and the explanation is by the scribes, and there is something to add. However, if it is added, it harms the whole matter; and we cannot find such a thing in the whole Scripture but phylacteries, according to E. Jehudah (who maintains the four portions in question are to be attached one to the other.).

MISHNA 5.: (The judge in question) was not put to death by the court of his own city, and also not by the court of the great Sanhedrin which was established temporarily in the city of Jamnia, but was brought to the supreme council in Jerusalem, kept in prison until the feast days, and executed on one of the feast days. As it reads [Deut. 17:13]: "And all the people shall hear and be afraid." So R. Aqiba. R. Jehudah, however, maintains that he must not be tortured by postponing the execution, but must be put to death immediately after being sentenced; and messengers were sent out to all the inhabitants of Israel that the judge so and so was sentenced and executed by the court for such and such a crime.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught concerning what was said by R. Aqiba mentioned in our Mishna: R. Jehudah rejoined: Does the Scripture read: "The people shall see and be afraid?" It reads: "They shall hear and be afraid." Why, then, should this man be tortured? Therefore I say that he is executed immediately, and messengers are sent out to notify the people.

The rabbis taught: The following four crimes must be heralded--of a seducer, a stubborn and rebellious son, a rebelling judge, and collusive witnesses. Concerning the first three it reads: "All the people of Israel (shall hear and be afraid)." And concerning collusive witnesses it reads [Deut. 19:20]: "And those who remain shall hear"--because not all of Israel are qualified to be witnesses.

MISHNA 6.: A false prophet who is to be sentenced by the court is only he who prophesies what he (personally) has not heard and what he was not told at all. However, he who does not proclaim what he was told to do, or did not listen to another prophet, or he who acted against what he himself was instructed by Heaven, his death depends upon Heaven. As it reads [ibid. 18:19]: "I will require it from him."

He who prophesied in the name of an idol, saying, "So and so was said by such and such an idol," although it corresponds exactly with the Hebrew law, he is punished by choking. The same was the case with him who had intercourse with a married woman, as soon as she comes under the control of her husband, even before she has had intercourse with him. The same punishment applies to the collusive witnesses of the married daughter of a priest, and also to her abuser, there is a difference between this case and all other cases of collusive witnesses, who are to be punished with the same death which would apply to the accused if it were true; and also between the adulterer in this case and other adulterers to whom the death of those abused applies.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: Concerning prophecy, there are three who are to be sentenced by the court; viz., he who prophesies what he has not heard, he who prophesies what was not said to him, and he who prophesies in the name of an idol. And there are three whose death is by Heaven; viz., he who does not proclaim his prophecy, he who acts against what he was told by another prophet, and he who acts against his own prophecy.

Whence is this deduced?' Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: It reads [Deut. 18:20]: "But the prophet who may presume to speak a word in my name" means him who has prophesied what he has not heard; "which I have not commanded him"--although it was commanded to his colleague. "Or who may speak in the name of other gods" means in the name of any idol. "That prophet shall die" means by choking, as choking applies to all the deaths which are mentioned in the Scriptures without specifying which. And the other three above mentioned are inferred from the preceding verse [19]: "A man who will not hearken," etc.--which is to be understood both of him who does not make the people hear it and him who himself does not listen to it--which ends: "I will require it of him." (Now the illustrations.) He who prophesies what he has not heard--e.g., Zedekiah ben Kenaanah, of whom it is written [2 Chron. 18:10]: "Made himself horns of iron," etc. But why was he guilty? Did not the spirit of Naboth make him err? As it reads [ibid., ibid. 19 to 21]: "And the Lord said, Who will persuade Achab, the king of Israel, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead? And one spake saying after this manner, and another saying after that manner. Then came forth a spirit, and placed himself before the Lord, and said, I will persuade him. And the Lord said unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth and I will become a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And he said, Thou shalt persuade him, and also prevail; go forth and do so." And to the question: What spirit? R. Johanan said: The spirit of Naboth Haisraeli. And what is meant by "go forth"? R. Jehudah said: Go outside of the fence of my glory (as a liar must not remain in it, hence it was not Zedekiah's fault, as he was deceived by the spirit)? He ought to have given his attention to what was said by R. Itz'hak: The sense of a divine oracle is given by Heaven to many prophets equally; the language, however, by the prophets cannot be identical even in two of them, as each prophet expresses it in his own language--e.g. [Jer. 49:16]: "Thy hastiness hath deceived thee--the presumption of thy heart"; and [Ob. 1:3]. "The presumption of thy heart hath beguiled thee." Here, however, it reads [2 Chron. 18:11]: "And all the prophets so prophesied, saying, Go up against Ramoth-gilead," etc. Hence, as all prophesied in identical language, he ought to have known that it was not a true prophecy. But perhaps Zedekiah did not know what was said by R. Itz'hak? There was Jehoshaphat, who told him that. As it reads [ibid., ibid. 6]: "Is there not a prophet of the Eternal besides?" And to the question of Achab: Are not all these, who prophesy in the name of the Lord, sufficient? Jehoshaphat answered: I have a tradition from my grandfather's house that the sense of a divine oracle is given by Heaven, etc. And here I hear the same version from all of them. He who prophesies what was not said to him--e.g., Chananyah ben Azzur, who said [Jer. 28:2]: "Thus hath said the Lord . . . I have broken the yoke." And this was only by an a fortiori conclusion, drawn from what was said by Jeremiah [ibid. 49]: "Thus hath said the Lord . . . behold, I will break the bow of Elam." And his a fortiori conclusion was thus: Elam, who came only to assist the king of Babylon, should be broken; the king of Babylon, who himself came to destroy the kingdom of Judah, so much the more should be broken. [Said R. Papa to Abayi: But this illustration does not correspond, as such a prophecy was not given to anyone? And he answered: For if such an a fortiori conclusion were to be drawn, it is equal to its having been said to some one else; however, it was not said to him directly.] He who prophesied in the name of an idol--e.g., the prophets of Baal. He who does not proclaim the prophecy--e.g., Jonah b. Amitthai. He who does not listen to what he was told by another prophet--e.g., the colleague of Michah; as its reads [1 Kings, 20:35, 36]: "And a certain man of the sons of the prophets said unto his companion, by the word of the Lord, Smite me, I pray thee. But the man refused to smite. Then said he unto him, Forasmuch as thou hast not obeyed the voice of the Lord . . . " And a prophet who acted against that wherein be himself was instructed by Heaven--e.g., Edah the prophet, of whom it is written [ibid. xiii. 9]: "For so was it charged me by the word of the Lord"; and [ibid., ibid. 18]: "And he said unto him, I also am a prophet like thee." And farther on it is written [19]: "So he returned with him," ending [34]: "And when he was gone, a lion met him on the way and slew him." [A disciple taught in the presence of R. Hisda: He who does not proclaim the prophecy he was told has to receive stripes. And R. Hisda said to him: Should one who ate dates from a sieve receive stripes? Who warned him? And Abayi said: His colleagues, the prophets. And whence did they know this? Said Abayi: From [Amos, 3;7]: "For the Lord Eternal will do nothing, unless he have revealed his secret unto his servants the prophets." But perhaps the decree was changed by Heaven? If it were so, all the prophets would be notified. But was not such the case with Jonah, who was not notified that the decree was changed? There was the prophecy: Nineveh will be overthrown, which had two meanings, to be destroyed, and also to be turned over from evil to righteousness, and he did not understand the real meaning. "Who does not listen to another prophet." But whence is one aware that he is a true prophet, that he should be punished? In case he gives him a sign. But was not Michah, who was punished for not listening to the prophet (as said above), although he did not give any sign? With him who has long been recognised as a true prophet it is different. For if the case were not so, how could Isaac have trusted his father that his prophecy was a true one, since such a commandment was never before heard, and also no sign was given by Abraham. And also, bow could they rely upon Elijah, who commanded them to sacrifice outside of Jerusalem, which was prohibited by the Scripture? Hence, because they were recognised prophets, one must listen to them in any event. 1

The rabbis taught, concerning what was taught by rabbis (above.) as to a prophet who had misled, to whom stoning applies according to the rabbis, and choking according to R. Simeon: Said R. Hisda: The point of their difference is in case one removed the whole portion of the Scripture concerning idolatry, saying: I was so commanded by Heaven. Or even if he said: To perform some of its worship and to abolish the rest. But if he removed a portion which speaks concerning other commandments, all agree that choking applies. And if he told to perform some of them and abolish the others, he is free according to all. R. Hamnuna, however, said: The point of their difference is if he removed a portion of any commandment, be it concerning idolatry or some other; and also in performing some worship of idolatry and abolishing the rest. As it reads: "From the way"--which means even a part of it. But if he prophesied as to performing some of the commandments and abolishing the others, all agree that he is free.

The rabbis taught: If one commands by prophecy to remove a commandment from the Scripture, he is guilty; but if to abolish some of it, and perform the remainder, R. Simeon frees him. However, concerning idolatry, even if he commands "To-day worship," and on the morrow to abolish it, all agree that he is guilty. Hence it contradicts the explanations of both R. Hisda and R. Hamnuna? Abayi, who holds with R. Hisda, explained the Boraitha just cited: According to his theory-viz., if one commands by prophecy to remove a commandment from the Scripture--all agree that be is to be choked. "As to performing some," etc., R. Simeon makes him free, and the same do the rabbis. But concerning idolatry, even if he said: "To-day worship," and on the morrow to abolish, he is subject to a capital punishment--according to the rabbis by stoning, and according to R. Simeon by choking. Rabha, however, who holds with R. Hamnuna, explains according to his theory thus: He who commands by prophecy to remove, etc., either concerning idolatry or some other commandment, is subject to a capital punishment--each of the masters according to his opinion. "As to performing some," etc., R. Simeon makes him free, and so also do the rabbis. Concerning idolatry, however, even if he says: "To-day," etc., he is guilty accordingly--each of the masters according to his opinion.

R. Abuhu in the name of R. Johanan said: In every case mentioned in the Torah, if a true prophet commands you to transgress, you may listen, except as to idolatry, when you must not listen, even if he were to stop the sun for you, as was done by Joshua.

R. Jose the Galilean said: "There is a Boraitha! The Torah foreshadowed the final mind of idolatry and therefore gave force to it, for the purpose that one should not listen to him who commands to commit it, even if he were to stop the sun for him in the middle of the sky. Said R. Aqiba: God forbid that the sun should be stopped for them who are acting against His will. But it means even, e.g., Hananiah b. Azzur, who was a true prophet when he began to prophesy, and became a false one only afterwards.

"Collusive witnesses of the married daughter of a priest," etc. Whence is this deduced? Said Abhah b. R. Ika: From the following Boraitha: R. Jose said: Why is it written: "Then shall ye do unto him . . . unto his brother." (Would it not be sufficient if it should read: "As he purposed to do"?) Because all who are to be put to death biblically, their collusive witnesses and their abusers are punished with the same, except in the case of the married daughter of a priest, where she is to be burned, but not her abuser, who is to be choked. However, concerning her collusive witnesses, it would not be known whether they were to be equalised to him or to her? Therefore the expression, "unto his brother," which means, not unto his sister.

END OF TRACT SANHEDRIN, PART 1. (HALAKHA), AND OF VOL. 7. (15.).

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VOLUME 8. (16.)--TRACT SANHEDRIN. PART 2.--(HAGGADA.)

CHAPTER 11.

THE HAGGADIC PART ABOUT RESURRECTION; SHARES IN THE WORLD TO COME; AND ABOUT THE MESSIAH, ETC.

MISHNA 1.: All Israel has a share in the world to come. As it reads [Is. lx. 21]: "And thy people-they will all be righteous, for ever shall they possess the land, the sprout of my planting, the work of my hands, that I may glorify myself." The following have no share in the world to come: He who says that there is no allusion in the Torah concerning resurrection, and he who says that the Torah was not given by Heaven, and a follower of Epicurus R. Aqiba added, him who reads books of the Hizunim and him who mumbles over a wound, reciting the verse [Ex. 15:26]: "I will put none of those diseases upon thee, which I have brought upon the Egyptians; for I the Lord am thy physician." Abba Shaul said: Also he who speaks out the Holy Name with its vocals. 1 Three kings and four commoners have no share in the world to come. The three

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kings are Jeroboam, Achab, and Menasseh. R. Jehudah, however, said: Menasseh has a share in the world to come. As it reads [2 Chron. 33:13]: "And he prayed unto him and he permitted himself to be entreated by him, and heard his supplication and brought him back to Jerusalem unto his kingdom." And he was answered: He was returned to his kingdom, but not to the world to come. The four commoners are Bileam, Doeg, Achitopel, and Gechazi.

GEMARA: Is he who does not believe that the resurrection is hinted at in the Torah such a criminal that he loses his share in the world to come? It was taught: He denies resurrection therefore he will not have a share in it, as punishment corresponds to the deed; for all retributions of the Holy One, blessed, be He, are in correspondence with man's doing. And R. Samuel b. Na'hmani in the name of R. Jonathan said: Whence do we know that so it is? From [2 Kings, 7:1, 2]: "Then said Elisha, Hear ye the word of the Lord: Thus hath said the Lord, About this time to-morrow a seah of fine flour shall be sold for a shekel, and two seahs of barley for a shekel, in the gate of Samaria. Then answered the lord of the king, on whose hand he used to lean, the man of God, and said, Behold will the Lord make windows in the heavens, that this thing shall be? And he said, Behold, thou shall see it with thy eyes, but thereof shalt thou not eat." And this chapter ends [ibid. 20]: "And it happened unto him so; for the people trod him down in the gate and he died." But perhaps this was because Elisha cautioned him? As R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh said: If a sage cautions some one, even if the one cautioned had not deserved such, it falls upon him nevertheless? If it were so, it should read: "And the people trod on him and he died." Why in the gate? Thus because of his protest which he made at the gate.

Where is resurrection hinted at in the Torah? [It reads, Num. 18:28]: "And ye shall give thereof the heave-offering of the Lord to Aaron the priest." Should, then, Aaron remain alive forever? He did not even enter into the land of Israel. How, then, could Israel give him heave-offering? Infer from this that he would experience resurrection and Israel would give him heave-offering. Hence here is a hint of resurrection. The school of R. Ismael, however, taught: (Nothing is to be inferred from this,) as the words "to Aaron" mean priests who are similar to him--viz., scholar as he was. And from this it is inferred that no gift whatsoever should be given to a priest who is ignorant. Samuel b. Na'hmani in the name of R. Jonathan said: Whence do we know that one must not give heave-offering to a priest who is an ignoramus? From [2 Chron. 31:4]: "To give the portion of the priests and the Levites, in order that they might hold firmly to the law of the Lord." Hence the priest who knows to hold firmly the law has a portion, but not he who is ignorant of the law. R. Johanan said that he who does so causes death to the ignorant priest. As it reads [Lev. 22:9]: "That they may not bear sin through it, and die therefor, if they profane it." The disciples of R. Eliezer b. Jacob taught that [ibid., ibid. 16] also applies to him who gives heave-offering to an ignoramus.

There is a Boraitha: R. Sinai said: The hint of resurrection in the Torah is to be found in [Ex. 6:4]: "And as I did also establish my covenant with them, to give unto them the land of Canaan." It does not read "to you" (as it should, the patriarchs of that time being already dead), but "to them"--hence this is a hint that they would be restored. The Minim questioned Rabban Gamaliel: Whence do you deduce that the Holy One, blessed be He, would restore the dead? And he answered: From the Pentateuch, Prophets, and Hagiographa. However, they did not accept it. From the Pentateuch--[Deut. 31:16]: "Thou shalt sleep with thy parents 've-qom,'" "and arise." 1 And they answered: Perhaps this word ve-qom is connected with its succeeding words.

From the Prophets--[Is. 26:19]: "Thy dead shall live, my dead bodies shall arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust; for a dew on herbs is thy dew, and the earth shall cast out the departed." And they answered: Perhaps the verse cited means those dead who were restored by Ezekiel [chap. 36.]. In the Hagiographa--[Solomon's Song, 7:10]: "And thy palate like the best wine, that glided down for my friend gently, exciting the lips of those that are asleep." And they answered: This cannot be taken as an evidence, for it is not certain that "are asleep" means the dead. [(Says the Gemara:) R. Johanan, in the name of R. Simeon b. Jehozodok, used to cite this verse with his statement that if a Halakha is mentioned in the name of a dead sage the lips of the latter move (mumble) in his grave.] Thereafter, when Gamaliel mentioned to the Minim [Deut. 11:9], "And the Lord hath sworn unto your fathers to give unto them" which does not read "to ye," but "to them"--hence it is a hint of resurrection from the Torah--it was accepted. According to others he mentioned before them [Deut. 4:4]: "But ye that did cleave unto the Lord your God are alive every one of you this day" which means, as this day every one of you is alive, so will it be in the world to come. The officers of Rome questioned R. Jehoshua b. Hananiah: Whence do you know that the Holy One, blessed be He, will restore the dead and that there is also revealed before Him all that will be in the future? And he answered: Both things are inferred from Deut. 31:16, cited above. And to their answer: Perhaps the word "ve-qom" belongs to its succeeding words, he rejoined: Accept at least the half (the second question)--that there is revealed before Him all that will be in the future. The same was taught also by R. Johanan in the name of R. Simeon b. Jehai, that from this verse both the resurrection and that there is revealed before Him all that will be in the future is inferred.

There is a Boraitha: R. Eliezer b. Jose said: I have shown the falsification in the books of the Minim, who used to say that there is no hint about resurrection in the Pentateuch. And I said to them: You have falsified your Torah, but you have nothing in your hand to say that there is no hint of resurrection. Does it not read [Num. 15:31]: "That person shall be cut off, his iniquity is upon him"? Upon him--when? Does it not mean after he shall be cut off? Hence it means even in the world to come. (Questioned the Gemara:) Above, this passage is explained by R. Aqiba and R. Ishmael. But neither of them has explained what means "his iniquity shall be upon him"? They may explain it as in the following Boraitha: Lest one say that he will be cut off even after his repentance, therefore "the iniquity is upon him" means only when it is still upon him, but if he repented it is no more upon him.

Queen Cleopatra questioned R. Mair thus: I am aware that the dead will be restored. As it reads [Ps. 72:16]: "And (men) shall blossom out of the city like herbs of the earth." My question, however, is: When they shall be restored, will they be naked or dressed? And he answered: This may be drawn by an a fortiori conclusion from wheat. A grain of wheat which is buried naked comes out dressed in so many garments: the upright, who are buried in their dress, so much the more shall they come out dressed in many garments.

Caesar questioned Rabbon Gamaliel: You say that the dead will be restored. Does not the corpse become dust? How, then, can dust be restored? And the daughter of Caesar said to R. Gamaliel: Leave the question to me and I myself shall answer it. And she said (to her father): If there were two potters in our city, of whom one should make a pot from water and the other from clay, to which of them would you give preference? And he said: Certainly to him who creates from water; for if he is able to create from water, he is undoubtedly able to create from clay. (And she said: This is an answer to your question.)

The school of R. Ismael taught: One may learn it from glass-wares, which are made by human beings, and if they break there is a remedy for them, as they can be renewed: human beings, who are created by the spirit of the Lord, so much the more shall they be renewed (restored).

There was a Min who said to R. Ami: You say that the dead will be restored. Does not the corpse become dust? How, then, can dust be restored? And he told him: I will give you a parable showing to what this thing is similar. A human king said to his servants: Go and build me a palace in such a place, where there is no earth and no water. And they did so: and after it collapsed he commanded the same to build it for him in a place where there was earth and water. And they answered: We cannot do so. And he became angry, saying: When you could build it in such a place where there was no earth and no water, ought you not to be able to build it where they are? And if you don't believe it, go into a valley and see a mouse, which is half flesh and half earth (it being believed that there is a species of mice developed from earth), and to-morrow it multiplies and becomes all flesh. And should you say that it takes much time till it becomes so, go up into the mountain, and see that to-day you cannot find even one helzun, and on the morrow, after rain, you will find the mountains full of them.

There was another Min who said to Gebiah b. Psisa: Woe to you, wicked, who say that the dead are restored. The living die--should the dead come to life? And he answered: Woe to you, wicked, who say that the dead will not come to life. That which has not existed at all comes to life--shall those who had life once not come to life again? Said the Min to him: You call me wicked. If I arise, I will kick thee and level thy hump from off thee (drive out thy conceit). And he rejoined: If you do so, you will be a specialist physician, and you will receive a great reward.

The rabbis taught: On the twenty-fourth of Nissan the contractors of duty were taken off from Judah and Jerusalem. This was when the Africans summoned Israel before Alexander of Macedonia, claiming that the land of Canaan belonged to them. As it reads [Num. 34:2]: "The land of Canaan according to its boundaries"--and that they were the descendants of Canaan. Said Gbiah b. Psisa to the sages: Permit me, and I will appear before Alexander as advocate of the defendant Israel, and if they defeat me, say to them, "You have defeated an ignoramus among us"; and if I defeat them, say to them, "The law of Moses has defeated you." He got this permission, and did so. Then he said to them: What is your evidence? And their answer was: From your Torah. Then said he: I in defence will also bring my evidence from the same. It reads [Gen. 9:25]: "And he said, Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren." Now, to whom belongs the estate of a slave, if not to his master. And not this only, but I summon you before the king for the many years you have not done any service for us. And Alexander commanded them to give answer, for which they requested from him three days' time. And he gave it to them. And as they could not find any right answer at the appointed time they fled, leaving their fields, which were sown, and their vineyards, which were planted. And this year was a Sabbatical one.

It happened again that the Egyptians summoned Israel before Alexander of Macedonia, demanding from them the gold and silver which they had borrowed from them at the time of their exodus. As it reads [Ex. 12:36]: "And the Lord hath given the people favour in the eyes of the Egyptians, so that they gave unto them what they required; and they emptied out Egypt." And Gbiah b. Psisa requested from the sages permission to be the advocate of the defendant Israel, with the same reason mentioned above. He got this permission, and did so. Then he said to them: What is your evidence? And their answer was: From your Torah. Then said he: I in defence will also bring my evidence from the same, which reads [ibid., ibid. 40]: "Now the time of the residence of the children of Israel, which they dwelt in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years." Hence I demand of you the wages for the labour of six hundred thousand men whom your parents compelled to work for them all the time they were in Egypt. And Alexander decided that the Egyptians should give a proper answer--for which they requested three days' time, which was allowed to them. But they could not find a satisfactory answer, and they fled, leaving their sown fields and their planted vineyards. And also this year was a Sabbatical one.

And it happened again that the descendants of Ishmael and the descendants of Keturah summoned Israel before Alexander, claiming to have a share in the land of Canaan, as they also were descendants of Abraham. And again Gbiah b. Psisa requested for permission to be Israel's advocate, which he received. And the same question of evidence was put to them, and their answer was: From your Torah [Gen. 25:12 and 19], which shows that Ishmael as well as Isaac were Abraham's children. And he then also brought his evidence from the same [ibid., ibid. 5 and 6]: "And Abraham gave all that he had unto Isaac. But unto the sons of the concubines that Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts; and he sent them away from Isaac his son." Now, on a father who made a legatum (bequest) to his children, and separated them while he was still alive, can they have any claim thereafter!

Antoninus said to Rabbi: The body and the soul of a human may free themselves on the day of judgement by Heaven. How so? The body may say: The soul has sinned; for since she has departed I lie in the grave like a stone. And the soul may say: The body has sinned; for since I am separated from it, I fly in the air like a bird. And he answered: I will give you a parable to which this is similar: A human king, who had an excellent garden which contained very fine figs, appointed two watchmen for it--one of whom was blind, and the other had no feet. He who was without feet said to the one who was blind: I see in the garden fine figs. Take me on your shoulders, and I shall get them, and we shall consume them. He did so, and while on his shoulders he took them off, and both consumed them. And when the owner of the garden came and did not find the figs, and questioned them what became of them, the blind one answered: Have I, then, eyes to see them, that you should suspect my taking them? And the lame one answered: Have I, then, feet to go there? The owner then put the lame one on the shoulders of the one who was blind, and punished them together. So also the Holy One, blessed be He--He puts the soul in the body and punishes them together. As it reads [Ps. 1:4]: "He will call to the heavens above, and to the earth beneath, to judge his people." "To the heavens above" means the soul, and, "to the earth beneath" means the body.

Antoninus again questioned Rabbi: Why does the sun rise in the east and set in the west? And he answered: If it were contrariwise, you would also question the same. Rejoined Antoninus: I mean to say, why does he set in the west (let him go around without setting, until he reach the place where he arose)? And he answered: For the purpose of greeting with peace his Creator (as the Shekhina is in the west). Rejoined again Antoninus: Let him then travel to half of the sky, greet the Creator, and set? This would harm the labourer, and those who are on the road.

The same questioned again the same: At what time does the soul come into the body--at the moment of conception, or at the time the embryo is already formed? And the answer was: When it is already formed. Said Antoninus to him: Is it possible that a piece of flesh shall keep three days or more without being salted, and it shall not become stinking? And therefore it must be said: At conception. Said Rabbi: This teaching I accepted from Antoninus, and a support to him is to be found in [Job, 10:12]: "And thy providence watched over my spirit." 1

Antoninus questioned Rabbi again: At what time does the evil spirit reach man? At the time the embryo is formed, when it comes out from the womb? And he was answered: At the time it is formed. Rejoined Antoninus: If so, the embryo would kick the entrails of the mother and go out; therefore it must be from the time it comes out. And Rabbi said: This

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teaching I received from Antoninus, and he is supported by Gen. 4:7: "Sin lieth at the door."

Resh Lakish proposes the following contradiction: It reads [Is. 35:6]: "Then shall the lame leap as a hart, and the tongue of the dumb shall sing"; and [Jer. 31:7]: "Among them the blind and the lame, the pregnant woman and she that travaileth (toil, labour) with child together." (Hence the passages contradict each other.) It must therefore be said: They will be restored with the blemishes they had in their life, and thereafter they will be cured.

Ula advanced another contradiction: It reads [Is. 25:8]: "He will destroy death to eternity; and the Lord Eternal will wipe away the tear from off all faces, and the shame of his people will he remove from off all the earth; for the Lord hath spoken it"; and [ibid. lxv. 20]: "There shall no more come thence an infant . . . for as a lad shall one die a hundred years old"? This presents no difficulty. The former speaks of Israel's self, and the latter of those concerning whom it reads [ibid. 61:5]: "And strangers shall stand and feed your flocks, and the son of the alien shall be your ploughmen and your vintners."

R. Hisda also advanced a contradiction: It reads [ibid. 24:23]: "And the moon shall be put to the blush and the sun be made ashamed; for the Lord of hosts will reign on mount Zion"; and [ibid. 30:26]: "And the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold, as the light of the seven days"? This presents no difficulty. The latter speaks of the time when the Messiah shall appear, and the former, of the world to come. And to Samuel, who maintains that there will be no difference between this time and the time of Messiah, except that Israel will no longer be under the dominion of foreigners, the explanation of these contradictory verses may be thus--that the latter speaks of the camp of the upright and the former of the camp of the Glory of the Shekinah.

Rabha propounded another contradiction: It reads [Deut. 32:39]: "I make one die and I make one alive"; and further on it reads: "I wound and I heal"? It means that the Holy One, blessed be He, says: All that I made to die shall I bring to life again, and thereafter shall I cure what was wounded.

The rabbis taught: Lest one say that the verse just cited means, I make one die and another one shall I bring to life, therefore it reads, "I wound and I cure." As wounding and curing apply to one person only, the same is the case with death and life--they apply to one person. This is an answer to those who say that there is no hint in the Torah about resurrection.

There is a Boraitha: R. Mair said: It reads [Ex. 15:1]: "Then Moses and the children of Israel will sing this song." It does not read "sang," but will sing (yoshir). This is a hint of resurrection in the Torah [resurection is an ancient Egyptian concept; it exists in India. In Hinduism and Buddhism it is translated into the English term "reincarnation".]. Similar to this is [Joshua, 8:30]: "Then Joshua will build an altar." It does not read "did build," but "will build." This is also a hint of resurrection. (Says the Gemara): However, this cannot be taken as a support, as the same expression is to be found in 1 Kings 11:7, and nevertheless it does not mean in the future, but in the past.

R. Jeoshuah b. Levi said: It reads [Ps. 84:5]: "Happy are they who dwell in thy house: they will be continually praising thee." It does not read "praised thee" in the past, but in the future. Hence it is a hint of resurrection.

The same said again: He who sings to his Creator in this world will be rewarded by singing the same in the world to come, as the verse just cited reads.

Hyya b. Abah in the name of R. Johanan said: It reads [Is. 7:8]: "The voice of thy watchmen--they raise their voice, together shall they sing; for eye to eye shall they see, when the Lord returneth unto Zion." It does not read "sung," in the past, but in the future. Hence it is a hint of resurrection.

The same said again in the name of the same authority: In the future all the prophets together will sing a song of praise with one voice, as the verse just cited reads.

R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: He who hesitates in declaring a Halakha to a disciple is considered as if he would rob him of the inheritance of his parents. For it reads [Deut. 33:4]: "The law which Moses commanded us is the inheritance of the congregation of Israel." Hence the law is considered as an inheritance to all Israel since the creation of the world.

R. Hana b. Bizna in the name of R. Simeon the Pious said: He who hesitates in declaring a Halakha to a disciple, even the embryos in the entrails of their mothers denounce him As it reads [Prov. 11:26]: "Him that withholdeth corn, the people 1 will denounce." And what is the reward for declaring such? Said Rabha in the name of R. Shesheth: He will be rewarded with the blessing with which Joseph was blessed, as the end of the verse cited reads: "But blessing will be heaped upon the head of the one that selleth it," which means Joseph; as it reads [Gen. xlii. 6]: "And Joseph, he was the governor over the land, he it was that sold corn to all the people."

R. Shesheth said again: He who teaches the Torah in this world will be rewarded by teaching it in the world to come. As it reads [Prov. 11:25]: "He that refresheth (others) will do same in the future." 1 Rabha said: Resurrection is hinted at in the Torah in [Deut. 33:6]: "May Reüben live, and not die"--which means that he may live in this world, and not die in the world to come. Rabhina, however, maintains that it is hinted at in [Dan. 12:2]: "And many of those that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to disgrace and everlasting abhorrence." And R. Ashi said: From [ibid., ibid. 13]: "But thou, go (thy way) toward the end; and thou shalt rest, and arise for thy lot at the end of the days."

R. Elazar said: A leader of a congregation, who leads them humbly, will be rewarded by leading the same in the world to come. As it reads [Is. 49:10]: "For he that hath mercy on them will lead them, and by springs of water will he guide them."

The same said again: Great is wisdom, as it was placed between two divine names [1 Sam. 2:3]: "For a God of knowledge is the Lord." And he said again: Great is the Temple, as the word "mikdash" (Temple) [Ex. 15:17] is also placed between two divine names.

R. Adda b. Karthinaah opposed: According to this theory "revenge" is also great, as it is also placed [Ps. 94:1] between two divine names. And he was answered: And it is in accordance with Ula. (This will be translated in Berachoth, as the proper place.) R. Elazar said again: Every man who possesses wisdom may consider himself as if the Temple were built in his days, as both "wisdom" and "temple" are placed between two divine names. And he said again: A man who possesses true wisdom will finally become rich. As it reads [Prov. 24:4]: "And thorough knowledge are chambers filled with all manner of precious and pleasant wealth." And he said again: He who does not possess any knowledge does not deserve that one should have mercy with him." As it reads [Is. 27:11]: "For it is not a people of understanding: therefore he that made it will not have mercy on it, and he that formed it will show it no favour." And he said again: He who feeds one who does not possess any knowledge, chastisement will be the reward for it. As it reads [Ob. 1:7]: "They that eat thy bread have struck thee secretly a wound. There is no understanding in him." And he said again: Such a man as has no knowledge will finally be exiled. As it reads [Ps. 5:13]: "Therefore are my people led into exile, for want of knowledge." 1 R. Jehudah said: Exile atones for three things. As it reads [Jer. 21:9]: "He that remaineth in this city shall die by the sword, or by the famine, or by the pestilence [plague.]; but he that goeth out and runneth away to the Chaldeans that besiege you, shall remain alive, and his life shall be unto him as a booty."

R. Johanan, however, said: Exiles atones for everything. As it reads [ibid. xxii. 30]: "Thus hath said the Lord, Write ye down this man as childless, as a man that shall not prosper in his days; for no man of his seed shall succeed to sit upon the throne of David, and to rule any more in Judah." And in 1 Chron. 3:17, it reads: "And the sons of Yechonyah: Assir, Shealthiel his son." And there is a tradition that Assir, Shealthiel is one person, and was Nehemiah b. Chachalyah. And why was he called Assir? Because he was conceived in prison. (The term in Hebrew for prisoner is Azzir.)

R. Elazar said: A house in which the words of the Torah are not heard in the nights will finally be burned. As it reads [Job, 20:26]: "Entire darkness is laid by for his treasures: a fire not urged by blowing will consume him; it will destroy any one left in his tent." The Hebrew term for left is "sharid." As it reads [Joel, 3:5]: "Among the remnant (shridim)." And he said again: He who does not benefit scholars by his estate will never see a sign of blessing: As it reads [Job, 20:21]: "Nothing was spared from his craving to eat; therefore shall his wealth not prosper." (There also the Hebrew term is "sharid," which, according to him, means a scholar, as analogized above.) And from the same passage the same inferred that he who does not leave any bread after his meal will not see any blessing. But did not the same say elsewhere that he who left pieces of bread after his meal is considered as if he were to worship idols? This presents no difficulty. In the latter saying he means, after finishing the meal he puts a whole loaf on the table, which is prohibited. As it reads [Is. 65:11]: "That set out a table for the god of Fortune and that fill for Destiny the drink-offering." On the former saying he speaks of leaving some crumbs of bread for the poor. The same said again: He who changes his word is considered as if he were to worship idols. As Gen. xxvii. 12 reads: "Seem to him as a deceiver"; and as in Jer. 10:15: They are vanity, the work of deception." And he said again: A man shall always be modest, but nevertheless shall be strong in his mind, so that he shall not be overruled by any one. (As then he may be sure that he will exist.) Said R. Zera: A hint of this is to be found in the following Mishna (Negaim 7:3): If there seems to be leprosy in a house which is dark, windows must not be opened for investigation. (Hence if one is strong in his mind, and at the same time modest, his defects cannot be investigated.)

R. Tabi in the name of R. Joshiah said: It reads [Prov. 30:16]: "The nether world, and a barren womb; the earth which is not satisfied with water; and the fire which never saith, Enough." What correspondence is there between the nether world and the womb? This is only to say that as the nature of the womb is, if something be brought in, to give it out, the same is the case with the nether world--it gives out what is brought in. And it is to be inferred by an a fortiori conclusion thus: A womb into which corpses are privately brought gives them out with much noise, the nether world, into which corpses are brought with much noise, so much the more shall they come out with great noise. And this may be an answer to those who say that resurrection is not hinted at in the Torah.

The disciples of Elijah taught: The upright who will be restored in the future by the Holy One, blessed be He, will never return to dust. As it reads [Is. 4:3]: "And it shall come to pass that whoever is left in Zion, and he that remaineth in Jerusalem, shall be called holy, everyone that is written down into life in Jerusalem." And as the Holy One is forever, so also those who are mentioned in this verse will be forever. And lest one say, "What will they do at the time the Holy One, blessed be He, shall renew his world," as it reads [ibid. 2:17]: "And exalted shall be the Lord alone on that day." The upright in question will be supplied with wings similar to the wings of the eagles, and they will fly over the world. As it reads [Ps. xlvi. 3]: "Therefore will we not fear when the earth is transformed, and when mountains are moved into the heart of seas." And lest one may say that they will be inflicted--to this it is written [Is. 40:31]: "Yet they that wait upon the Lord shall acquire new strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run and not be weary; they shall walk and not become faint." But why not infer from the dead who were restored by Ezekiel, and who died again? He (Elijah) holds with him who says that in reality Ezekiel did not restore any dead at all, and the prophecy was only a parable for the Jewish nation that it would be restored again. And this is related in the following Boraitha: The dead whom Ezekiel restored arose on their feet, sang a song, and died again. And what kind of a song was it? The Lord makes one die justly, and mercifully restores him. So R. Eliezer. R Joshua said: The song was from I Sam. ii. 6: "The Lord killeth, and maketh alive; he bringeth down to the grave, and bringeth up." R. Jehudah, however, said: Really, it was only a parable Said R. Nehemiah to him: If really, then it is not a parable; and if a parable, it is not really. Say, then, in reality it was a parable R. Eliezer b. R. Jose the Galilean, however, said: The dead who were restored by Ezekiel went to the land of Israel, married, and brought forth sons and daughters. And R. Jehudah b. Bathyra arose on his feet, saying: I myself am a descendant of them, and these are the phylacteries which I inherited from my grandfather, who told me that they were used by the restored. But who were the restored dead in question? Said Rabh: They were the sons of Ephraim who erred concerning the promised time of redemption from Egypt. As it reads [1 Chron. 7:20-23]: "And the sons of Ephraim: Shuthelach, and Bered his son, and Thachath his son, and Eladah his son, and Thachath his son, and Zabad his son, and Shuthelach his son, and Eser and Elad whom the men of God that were born in that land slew . . . And Ephraim their father mourned many days, and his brethren came to comfort him." Samuel, however, said: They were the men who disbelieved in resurrection. As it reads [Ezek. 37:11]: "Then said he unto me, Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel; behold, they say, Dried are our bones, and lost is our hope; we are quite cut off." R. Jeremiah b. Abah said: They were the bodies of men in whom there was no sap of any meritorious act. As it reads [ibid., ibid. 4]: "O ye dry bones, hear ye the word of the Lord." And R. Itz'hak of Nabhar said: They were the men who did what was mentioned in [ibid. 8:10]: "So I went in and saw; and behold there was every form of creeping things, and cattle, abominations, and all the idols of the house of Israel, engraven upon the wall all round about." And it reads [ibid. 37:2]: "And he caused me to pass by them all round about," etc. And R. Johanan said: They were the dead of the valley of Dura, whom Nebuchadnezzar killed. This is what he said elsewhere, that from the river Achar to the city of Rabath in the valley of Dura there were young men of Israel who were exiled by Nebuchadnezzar the wicked, who were so beautiful that there were none similar to them under the sun; and the women of Chaldea became sick when they looked upon them. The king then commanded to slay them all and to tread down their faces.

The rabbis taught: At the time Nebuchadnezzar threw Chananya, Mishael and Azaryah into the caldron the Holy One, blessed be He, told Ezekiel to go and restore the dead of the valley of Dura, and the vessels which were made from the bones of those who were slain by Nebuchadnezzar kicked him in the face. And to his question, "What is the matter?" he was told that the colleagues of those whom he had thrown into the caldron were engaged in restoring the dead of the valley of Dura. He then said [Dan. 3:33]: "His signs--how great are they! and his wonders--how mighty are they! his kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and his rule is over every generation." Said R. Itz'hak: May hot melted gold be put in the mouth of that wicked, for if an angel had not come and shut his mouth, he would have brought to shame all the songs and praises which were said by David in the Psalms.

The rabbis taught: Six miracles occurred on that day: (a) The caldron floated upwards; (b) it broke; (c) its foundation was crumbled by the heat; (d) the golden image fell upon his face; (e) men from four kingdoms were burned; and (f) Ezekiel

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restored the dead in the valley of Dura. All of them are known tradition. ally. However, concerning the men from the four kingdoms, there is to be found in the Scripture [Dan. 3:2]: "And King Nebuchadnezzar sent to assemble (his) lieutenants, the superintendents and the governors, the judges, the treasurers, the counsellors, those learned in the law, and all rulers of the provinces; and [ibid., ibid. 12]: "There are certain Jewish men," etc., and further on (27) it reads: "And the lieutenants, superintendents and governors, and the king's counsellors, being assembled together, saw these men," etc. (Hence four of those mentioned in verse 2 are missed.)

The disciples of R. Eliezer b. Jacob taught: Even at the time of danger one shall not change the dress belonging to his dignity. As it reads: [ibid., ibid. 21]: "Then were these men bound in their mantles," etc. Said R. Johanan: Upright men are greater than angels, as it reads [ibid., ibid. 25]: "He answered and said, So, I see four men unbound, walking in the midst of the fire, and there is no injury on them; and the appearance of the fourth is like a son of the gods." (Hence the angels are mentioned last.)

R. Tanhin b. Hanilai said: When Chananyah, Mishael, and Azaryah came out of the caldron, the nations came and kicked Israel in their faces, saying: Ye have such a God, and ye bowed yourself to the image! They (Israel) immediately confessed, saying [ibid. 9:7]: "Thine, O Lord, is the righteousness, but unto us belongeth the shame of face, as it is this day."

R. Samuel b. Nah'maine, in the name of R. Jonathan, said: It reads [Solomon's Song, vii. 9]: "I thought, I wish to climb up the palm-tree, I wish to take hold of its boughs." I thought, I will take hold of the whole tree, but now I claim only one branch (of the palm Israel)--that of Hanania, etc. R. Johanan said: It reads [Zech. 1:8]: "I saw this night, and behold there was a man (ish) riding upon a red horse," etc. "This night"--the Lord intended to plunge the whole world into night. "Behold there was a man"--the Holy One, who is named [Ex. 15:31 "ish, lord of war." "Upon a red horse"--he intended to plunge the world into blood, but after looking upon Chananyah, Mishael and Azaryah he gave up his intention. As it reads further on, "And he was standing among the myrtle-trees (hadisin)." And by myrtle-trees are meant the upright. As it reads [Esther, 2:7]: "And he brought up Hadassah." And "deep valley" means Babylon. As Is. 44:27 reads: "That saith to the deep, Be dry, and thy rivers will I dry up." "Behind them were red"--immediately the red which were filled with anger became pale, and the red became white. Said R. Papa: Infer from this that if one sees a white horse in his dream, it is a good sign. But what became of Chananyah, Mishael, and Azaryah after they came out of the caldron (as there is no further mention of them)? According to Rabh, they died from an evil eye; and according to Samuel, they died in order not to bring further shame on Israel. R. Johanan, how. ever, said that they returned to Palestine, married, and begot children. As it reads [Zech. 3:8]: "Do but hear, O Joshua the high-priest, thou and thy fellows that sit before thee, for men of wonder are they." And who were the men to whom wonder was done, if not Chananyah, etc.? But where was Daniel at the time that they were thrown into the caldron? Said Rabh: He went to dig a river in the city of Tiberius. And Samuel said: He was sent by Nebuchadnezzar to bring a certain kind of grass from Palestine, to build it in Babylon. And R. Johanan says: He was sent to bring swans from Alexander of Egypt. But was it not said above by Tudus the physician that no swan left Alexandria without removal of the womb (for the purpose that they should not multiply in other countries)? He brought little ones, and the Egyptians were not aware that he took time for the purpose that they should multiply in Babylon.

The rabbis taught: According to the advice of the following three, Daniel went away before the affair of Chananyah, etc., happened: The Holy One, blessed be He, Daniel himself, and Nebuchadnezzar. The Holy One, for the reason that people should not say they were saved because of Daniel's good deeds. Daniel said: I shall go away that it shall not be done with me as in Deut. 3:25: "The graven images of their gods shall ye burn with fire," And Nebuchadnezzar said: Let Daniel go, in order that people shall not say I have burnt my god in fire. And whence do we know that Nebuchadnezzar worshipped him? From [Dan. 2:46]: "Then did king Nebuchadnezzar fall upon his face, and he bowed down to Daniel."

It reads [Jer. xxix. 21-23]: "Thus hath said the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, concerning Achab the son of Kolayah, and of Zedekiah the son of Maasseyah, who prophesy unto you in my name falsehood . . . And a curse shall be derived from them for all the exiled of Judah who are in Babylon, saying: May the Lord make thee like Zedekiah and like Achab, whom the king of Babylon roasted in the fire." It does not read whom he "burned," but whom he "roasted." And R. Johanan in the name of R. Simeon b. Johai said: Infer from this that they were roasted as people roast grain. It reads farther on [ibid., ibid. 23]: "Because they have done scandalous deeds in Israel, and have committed adultery with the wives of their neighbours." What had they done? They went to the daughter of Nebuchadnezzar. Achab said: The Lord has commanded me to tell thee that thou shalt listen to Zedekiah. And the latter said the same-that she should listen to Achab. And she went and told this to her father. To which he answered: It is known to me that their God abhors incest. When they shall come to you again, send them to me. She did so. And to the question of Nebuchadnezzar: Who told you to do so? they said: The Lord. "But Chananyah and his colleagues told me that such a thing is prohibited." And they answered: We are also prophets as they are, and this command was given to us, of which they were not aware. Then said the king: I would try you as I did Chananyah and his colleagues. And to their claim, "They were three, and we are only two," he gave them the choice of any one they liked, who should be thrown with them into the caldron. And they selected Jehoshua the high-priest, thinking that his merit was so great that it would save them also. Jehoshua was then brought, and all three were thrown into the caldron. They were burned, but Jehoshua was saved; only his garments were singed. And this is what it reads [Zech. 3:1-3]: "And he showed me Jehoshua the high-priest standing before the angel of the Lord. And the Lord said unto the accuser, The Lord rebuke thee, O accuser," etc. Satan said to him: I know that you are an upright man, but why did the fire affect your garments, which was not the case with Chananyah, Mishael and Azaryah? And he answered: They were three, and I one. And to the question: Was not Abraham the patriarch also only one when he was thrown into the caldron? he answered, With Abraham there were no wicked ones whom permission was given to the fire to affect, but with me were two wicked, and permission was given to the fire. And this is what people say: Two dried pieces of charred wood burn the third which is wet.

But why was he punished? Said R. Papa: Because his sons married such as were not fit to be the wives of priests, and he did not object; and this is meant by "filthy garments," mentioned in the verse cited.

R. Tanhun said: Bar Kappara lectured in Ciporias thus: It reads [Ruth. 3:17]: "These six barleys gave he unto me." How is to be understood six barleys? It cannot be meant literally, for would a man like Boas give six grains of barley as a gift? And it also cannot be said "measures of barley," as it is not customary for a woman to carry six measures. Therefore the six barleys were a hint that in the future six sons would come out from her, each of whom would be blessed with six blessings: viz., David, Messiah, Daniel, Chananyah, Mishael, and Azaryah. David--as it reads [1 Sam. 16:18]: "Then answered one of the servants, and said, Behold, I have seen a son of Jesse the Bethlechemite, who is skilful as a player and a mighty valiant man, and a man of war, and intelligent in speech and a person of good form, and the Lord is with him." Messiah--as it reads [Is. 11:2]: "And there shall rest upon him the spirit of the Lord, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord." Daniel, Chananyah, Mishael, and Azaryah--as it reads [Dan. 1:4]: "Lads in whom there should be no kind of blemish, but who should be handsome in appearance, and intelligent in all wisdom and acquainted with knowledge, and understanding science, and such as should have the ability to serve in the king's palace, and that these should be taught the learning and the language of the Chaldeans." (Hence all of them were blessed with six things.)

[Concerning the verse cited about David, said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: The whole verse is a slander, said by Doeg the Edomite. "Who is skilful as a player"--who knows how to propound questions; "mighty valiant man"--who knows how to answer questions; "a man of war"--who understands argument in the disputations of the Torah; "intelligent in speech" 1--he understands from one thing another one; "a person of good form"--who is able to give good reasons for Halakhas; "the Lord is with him"--the Halakha always prevails with him. To all the things mentioned above Saul said: "My son Jonathan possesses all the same qualities. But when he heard that the Halakha prevailed with him, a qualification which he himself did not possess (for concerning Saul it reads [1 Sam. 15:47]: "And whithersoever he turned himself, he caused terror," and about David it is written: "In whatsoever he turned to be he was successful" 2), he was dejected, and began to be jealous. But whence do we know that it was Doeg who said so? From [ibid. 16:18]: "One of the servants"--the most distinguished of them and [ibid. 26:8]: "And his name was Doeg the Edomite, the chief of the herdsmen that belonged to Saul." Concerning the verse cited about Messiah, it reads also farther on "vahari'hu" (animated), from which R. Alexandri infers that he is always overloaded with the divine commandments and chastisements resting upon him as "re'hayim" (a handmill). And Rabha said: The term "vahari'hu" means smelling--i.e., he judges by smelling. As farther on it reads: "And not after the sight of the eyes shall ye judge, and not after the hearing of the ears . . . (but nevertheless) he judges with righteousness the poor and decides with equity for the suffering ones of the earth, and he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breadth of his lips shall he slay the wicked." Hence, if not by the eye and not by the ear, it must be by smelling; and therefore the sages did not recognise Bar Kochba, who claimed to be the Messiah and ruled two and a half years, because he did not judge by smelling. And now concerning the verse cited about Chananyah, Mishael, etc., that they had no blemish. Said R. Haman b. Hanina: Not even a scratch was to be found on their bodies. "The ability to serve in the king's palace"--that they were able to restrain themselves from laughing, sleeping, and dreaming, and even from departing for one's necessity for fear of the king. It reads farther on [ibid. 6]: "Now there were among these, of the children of Judah," etc. According to R. Elazar, all of them were of the tribe of Judah, and according to Samuel b. Na'hmane, Daniel only was of Judah, but Chananyah, Mishael, and Azaryah were of other tribes.

It reads [Is. 56:5]: "I will indeed give unto them . . . an everlasting name." Said R. Tanhun: Bar Kappara lectured in Ciporias that this means the book of Daniel, which is named after him. 1 Let us see! All which is written in the book of Ezra was said by Nehemiah b. Chackhalyah. Why, then, was it not named after him? (The book of Nehemiah in our Bible was not as yet separated from Ezra in the time of the Talmud.) Said R. Nehemiah b. Abah: Because he was proud of it. As it reads [Neh. 5:19]: "Remember for me, my God for good, all that I have done for this people." But did not David also say similar to this [Ps. 56:4]: "Remember me, O Lord, when thou favourest thy people?" This was said only as a prayer.

R. Joseph said: The book was not named after him because he slandered the former governors. As it reads [Neh. 5:15]: "Former governors . . . had made it heavy . . . had taken of them bread and wine, besides forty shekels." And in this slander Daniel, who was greater than he, was also included, as he was of the former governors who made their exodus from Babylon a long time before Nehemiah. And whence do we know that Daniel was greater than he? From [Dan. 10:7]: "And I, Daniel, saw alone this appearance; but the men that were with me did not see the appearance; nevertheless a great terror fell upon them, so that they fled to hide themselves." Who were these men? Said R. Jeremiah, and according to others, R. Hyya b. Abah: Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. In one respect he was better than they, for he saw the appearance, but they did not. And in another respect they were better than he, as they were prophets, while he was not. But why were they shocked when they saw nothing? Though they did not see it, their guardian angels did. Said Rabhina: Infer from this, that if a man is shocked, unaware of the cause, his guardian angel must be aware of it; and his remedy is stepping back four ells, or reading the portion of Shema. And if he stands in a dirty place, where it is not allowed to recite the portion of "Shema Israel," he may say, "The goats of the butcher are stronger than I."

It reads [Is. 9:6]: "For promoting the increase of the government, and for peace without end," etc. Said R. Tan'hun: Bar khapara lectured in Ciporias about this verse thus: Why is the first word of this verse distinguished? In all other words if a "mem" happens to be among its letters, if at the beginning or in the middle, it is an open one מ. Here, however, the "mem," which is the second letter of this word, is closed ם, which is usually only at the end of a word? It is because the Holy One, blessed be He, was about to make Hiskiah the Messiah, and Sanherib who declared war against him as a substitute for Gog and Magog the future nations who will declare war against the Messiah. Said the divine attribute of justice for Him: Lord of the Universe, David, the king of Israel, who recited before Thee so many songs and praises, Thou madest him not a Messiah; Hiskiah to whom Thou hast done so many miracles, and he recited neither songs nor praises--shouldst Thou make him a Messiah? And therefore the "mem" was closed (as a hint to this). The earth, however, opened her mouth and said: Lord of the Universe, I will recite songs before Thee instead of this upright, and Thou, I pray Thee, make him a Messiah. And she did so immediately, as it reads [ibid. 24:16]: "From the edge of the earth have we heard songs 'Glory be to the righteous.'" And the governor of the world also said before Him: O Lord of the Universe, do, I pray Thee, the desire of this upright. Then a heavenly voice was heard saying: "It is my secret, it is my secret! To which the prophet exclaimed: Woe is me! Tell what time will it be postponed? And the heavenly voice answered: "Till the treacherous will have dealt treacherously." And Rabha, and according . to others, R. Itz'hak, explained this: Until disgrace after disgrace will have come upon Israel.

It reads [ibid. 21:11]: "The prophecy concerning Dumah. Unto me one calleth out of Le'ir, Watchman, what of the night? Watchman, what of the night? Said R. Johanan: The angel who rules the souls after their departure from this world, is named Dumah. And the latter said that all spirits gathered themselves to him questioning him: What said the watchman of the world (the Lord) about the exile which is equalised to night? And he answered. So said the watchman: The morning cometh, but previously will be a long, long night. If, however, ye desire to pray that He shall hasten it, try to do so by repenting of your sins, and coming again prepared for redemption.

It was taught in the name of R. Pepiyas: It is a shame for Hiskiah and his associates not to have recited any song until the earth recited hers, as the verse "from the edge of the earth," etc., cited above, reads. Similar to this it reads [Ex.

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18:10]: "Blessed be the Lord who hath delivered you." And it was taught also in the name of Pepiyas: It was a shame for Moses and the six hundred thousand Israelites with him who didn't say this benediction till Jithro came. It reads [ibid., ibid. 9]: "Vayi'had" (rejoiced) Jithro, the Hebrew term "had" means to sharpen. And according to Rabh, it means that he passed a sharp razor upon the flesh of his body. (He performed the ceremony of circumcision). And according to Samuel it means that his whole body pained as if stuck with sharp needles. Said R. Papa: This is what people say: One shall not dare to disgrace any heathen before a descendant of a proselyte, even if he is of the tenth generation.

It reads [Isa. 10:15]: "Therefore will the Lord, the Eternal of hosts, send forth among his 'bmashmanov' (fat ones) leanness." What is meant by the term "bmashmanov"? (in Hebrew shamuno means eight). The Lord said: Hiskiah who has eight names shall take revenge on Sanherib who also has eight names. Hiskia's eight names are enumerated in [Isa. ix. 5]: "For a child is born unto us, a son hath been given unto us, and the government is placed on his shoulders and his name is pele, yaez, el gibaur, abbi, ad, sar, shalaum." And concerning Sanherib it reads [2 Kings, 15:9]: "Thiglash pilesser" [ibid., ibid. 19]: "Pul" [2 Chron. 28:20]: "Pilnesser" [2 Kings, 17:3]: "Shalmanesser" [Isa. 20:1]: "Sargon" and [Ezra, 4:70]: "Assnapper, rabha, v'yaqira." The name Hiskia is not counted, for he was named so because God strengthened him. And the name Sanherib is also not counted, for he was named so because he said vile words against Heaven.

Said R. Johanan: Why was he named Assnapper, the honoured and the great? Because he did not speak evil of the land of Israel, as it reads [2 Kings, 18:32]: "Until I come and take you away to a land like your own," etc.

Rabh and Samuel. According to one he was a clever king, because if he would have said that he would take them in a better land than theirs they would consider him a liar. And according to the other he was a fool, for what use could it be for them to go in a land which is not better than their own? To where did he exile the ten tribes of Israel? According to Mar Sutra to Africa, and according to R. Hanina to the mountains of Slug. However, the ten tribes of Israel slander the land of Israel, for when they reached the city of Sus they said that it was like their own land. And when they came to the city of Elmin they said that it is like our Elmin (Jerusalem). And when they reached the second Sus they said that it was much better than their own land.

It reads [Isa. 10:16]: "And under his glory shall be kindled." According to R. Johanan it means "under his dress garments," as he used to call garments glory. Hence the body was burned, but not the garments. R. Elazar, however, maintains "under his glory" means under the flesh--i.e., only the soul was burned as by the children of Aaron.

There is a Boraitha in the name of R. Joshua b. Kharha: Pharaoh who personally blasphemed Heaven, was also punished by Heaven. Sanherib, who blasphemed though a messenger, was also punished though a messenger. Concerning Pharaoh, it reads [Ex. 5:2]: "And Pharaoh said, Who is the Everlasting, whose voice I am to obey?" And he was punished by Heaven, as it reads [ibid. 14:27]: "And the Lord overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea." And also [Habakkuk, 3:15]: "(But) thou didst pass along over the sea." Concerning Sanherib it reads [2 Kings, 19:23]: "By thy messengers thou has blasphemed the Lord." He was punished through a messenger, as it reads [ibid., ibid. 35]: "And it came to pass . . . that an angel of the Lord smote in the camp of the Assyrians, one hundred eighty and five thousand.

R. Hanina b. Papa propounded a contradiction from [Isa. 37:24]: "I will enter into the height of its summit." [2 Kings, 19:23]: "I will enter into the lodgings of its summit." Thus thought Sanherib: I will first destroy the lower dwelling and thereafter the higher one. R. Jehoshua b. Levi said: It reads [ibid. 18:25]: "Now am I come up without the Lord('s will) against this place to destroy it? The Lord hath said to me, Go up against this land, and destroy it." What is it? He heard the prophet who said [Isa. 8:6-7]: "Forasmuch as this people despiseth the waters of Shiloach that flow softly, and rejoice in Regin and Remalyabu's son," etc. Said R. Joseph: Were it not for the translation of this verse into Chaldaic, we would not understand its meaning. The translation is thus: Because this people despised the kingdom of David, who ruled them gently like the waters of Shiloach which flow gently, and grew fond of Regin and the son of Remalyabu.

R. Johanan said: It reads [Prov. 3:33]: "The curse of the Lord is in the house of the wicked"--Peckach b. Remalyabu, who used to consume forty saas of pigeon as a dessert. "But the habitation of the righteous will he bless"--Hiskia, king of Judah, whose whole meal consisted of a liter of herbs.

It reads [Isa. 8:7 and 8]: "The king of Assyria . . . and he shall penetrate into Judah, overflood and flood over, even to the neck shall he reach. Now as Sanherib acted in accordance with the prophecy, why then was he punished? The prophet prophesied concerning the ten tribes, and he himself made up his mind to go to Jerusalem. Then came the prophet and said [ibid., ibid. 23]: "And no fatigue (befalleth) him that oppresseth them." And R. Elazar b. Breakhya explained the passage thus: A people who are occupied with the study of the law will not be delivered over to their oppressor. "In the first time, he made light of the land of Zebulun and of the land of Naphtali, and at the last he will deal hard, with the way by the sea, on the other side of the Jordan, (up to) the Galilee of the nations"--not like the first, who threw off the yoke of the Thorah, but like the latter, who tolerated the heavy yoke of the Thorah, and therefore deserved that a miracle should happen to them as happened to those who passed the Red Sea and to those who stepped over the Jordan. Hence if he will retract to turn away from Jerusalem, well and good, but if not, I will make him a shame among all other nations.

It reads [2 Chron. 32:1]: "After these things and veritable events came Sanherib the king of Assyria, and invaded Judah, and encamped against the fortified cities, and thought to break them open for himself." Is such a present given to the men of truth? And also what is meant by "after"? Said Rabhina: It means after the Holy One, blessed be He, had sworn, saying, If I would tell Hiskiah that I will bring Sanherib, and deliver him in his hands, he would say I want neither to be scared nor to have him delivered to me. And therefore the Lord swore that he will bring him in, as it reads [Isa. 14:24 and 25]: "Sworn hath the Lord of host, saying, Surely as I have purposed, so doth it come to pass; and as I have resolved, so shall it occur. To break Asshur in my own land, and upon my mountains will I tread him under foot; then shall his yoke be removed from off them, and his burden shall be removed from off their shoulders."

Said R. Johanan: The Holy One, blessed be He, said: Sanherib with his companions shall come and be made a crib for Hiskiah and his associates. It also reads [ibid. 10:27]: "And it shall come to pass in that day, that his burden shall be removed from off thy shoulder, and his yoke from off thy neck, and the yoke shall be broken because of the fatness." Said R. Itz'hak of Nafha: The yoke of Sanherib was broken because of the fats of Hiskia which he used to kindle in the prayer house and in house of learning. He placed a sword on the gate of the house of learning as a sign that he who will not occupy himself with the Thorah shall be slain by the sword. And thereafter a search was made from the city of Dan to the city of Beersheba, and there was not found one ignoramus among them. And also from the city of Gebeth to the city of Antiphras, and there was not found one who was not acquainted with the law of purification, even among the women and children. And to that generation it reads [ibid. 7:21]: "And It shall come to pass on that day, that a man shall nourish (but) one young cow and two sheep." And (23): "And it shall come to pass on that day that every place, where there are (now) a thousand vines worth a thousand silver shekels, shall be--yea, this shall be (given up) to briers and thorns," which means though the vine was so valuable it was left to briers and thorns because all of them occupied themselves with the study of the law.

It reads [ibid. 33:4]: "And your spoil shall be gathered as the cricket gathereth." The prophet said to Israel: Gather your spoils. And to the question: Shall each one gather for himself or shall it be divided into equal shares? the prophet answered: As the cricket gathereth--as the gathering of the cricket is each one for himself, so also shall be your gathering. And when they objected, saying, Is there not among these the property of the ten tribes which was robbed by the Assyrian? he answered; So long as it was mingled among it, it is not considered the property of the ten tribes.

R. Huna said: Ten trips had the wicked made on that day, as it reads [ibid. 10:28 to 32]: "He cometh to Ayath, he passeth on to Migron; at Michmash he layeth up his baggage: They go through the pass; they take up their lodgings at Geba; Rama trembleth; Gib'ah of Saul fleeth. Let thy voice resound, O daughter of Gallim! listen Layshah; O poor Anathoth! Madmenah is in motion (the inhabitants of Gebin)," etc. Are there not enumerated more than ten places? Verse 30 the prophet said to the assembly of Israel thus: Those daughter of Gallim means Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, who performed divine commandments as numerous as the waves of the sea. Layshah means be not afraid of Layshah, which means Sanherib, but of Nebuchadnezzar, who is equalised to a lion, as it reads [Jer. 4:7]: "The lion has come up from his thicket. O poor Anathoth!"--there will come a prophet from Anathoth, Jeremiah, who will prophesy the destruction of Jerusalem.

(Verse 32): "As yet will be remain at Nob." What does this mean? Said R. Huna: There was one day more appointed for the punishment of the iniquity of Nob. And the astrologers told Sanherib that if he could reach Jerusalem on that day he would be victorious. He therefore hastened his march and made a journey of ten days in one. And when he reached Jerusalem a ladder was made for him, upon which he ascended to view the whole city which was visible from that place. And it appeared to him very small, so that he exclaimed: Is this the city of Jerusalem for which I have troubled all my forces? Is she not smaller and weaker than all the great cities and countries which I have besieged with my powerful arm? He nodded his head, and gestured with his hands over the mountain of the Temple in Zion and over the court of the Temple in Jerusalem. And as his army wanted to put their hands on Jerusalem immediately, he told them that they were at present too tired, but on the morrow everyone of them should bring with him a piece of the wall which surrounds it. Concerning that night, however, it reads [II Kings, xix. 35]: "And it came to pass, on that same night, that an angel of the Lord . . . . smote . . . . of the Assyrians one hundred eighty and five thousand men; and when the people arose early in the morning, behold they were all dead corpses."

Said R. Papa: This is what people say: If the judgement is postponed over one night, there is hope that it will be abolished entirely.

It reads [2 Sam. 21:16]: "And Yishbi at Nob, who was of the children of the Raphah, the weight of whose spear was three hundred shekels of copper, he being girded with a new armour, thought to slay David." What is meant by "Yishbi at Nob"? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: It means that this happened because of that which was done to the city of Nob. The Lord said to David: How much longer will the iniquity of Nob rest upon thee? Thou caused the destruction of the priest's city of Nob. Thou caused the iniquity of Doeg the Edomite, and through thee Saul and his three sons were killed. Now thou hast the choice of one of the following two. Either thou shalt not leave any issue, or that thou couldst be delivered over to thy enemies. And he answered: Lord of the Universe, it is better for me to be delivered over to the enemy than my descendants shall be destroyed.

It happened then that David went to a village and the Satan appeared to him in the form of a ram. He shot an arrow at it, but it did not reach it. So he ran after it till he passed the border of the Philistines. And when Yishbi of Nob saw him he said: This is he who killed my brother Goliath. He bound him, gagged him and put him under an olive press. However, a miracle occurred in that the earth under him became soft, and he was not killed. To this it is written [Ps. 18:37]: "Thou enlargest my steps under me, so that my joints do not slip." That day was an eve of Sabbath. And Abishai b. Zeruyah used to wash his head with four pitchers of water, and spots of blood appeared on the water. According to others, a dove flew to him, flapped her wings as if in trouble. And he said the assembly of Israel is equalised to a dove. Hence it must be that David the king of Israel is in trouble. He went to David's house but did not find him there. And he said, I was taught: One must not ride on a king's horse, must not sit on his chair, etc. But how is it at the time of danger? He went to the college and questioned concerning it. To which he was answered that at the time of danger one may. Then he rode upon the king's mule and miraculously the earth jumped towards him. And while riding he saw Arpa, the mother of Yishbi, sitting and spinning. When she saw him she broke the thread of her spindle and threw it at him with the intention of killing him (simulating that it had accidentally slipped). Then she said: Young man, hand me my spindle. And he took the spindle, threw it at her head, and she was killed. When Yishbi of Nob saw Abishai, he said: Now there are two, and they will be able to kill me. He took David and threw him up high, and placed the point of his spear so that David should fall upon it, and be killed. And Abishai mentioned a certain holy name, through which David remained between the sky and the earth. [But why didn't David himself mention such a name? Because a prisoner cannot liberate himself from prison without help.]

Abishai then questioned David what he was doing there. And he narrated before him what the Lord told him and what his answer to it was. Said he to him: Reverse thy prayer. Thy grandson may go and sell wax, but thou thyself must not take any trouble upon thee. Rejoined David: If it must be so, then succor me to pray. For it reads [Sam. 30:17]: "But Abishai the son of Zeruyah succoured him." And R. Jehudah, in the name of Rabh, said that he succored him in prayer. Thereafter Abishai mentioned another holy name and took David up on the knees, and both ran away. And Yishbi ran after them. And when they reached the village of Kubi (situated on the boundary of Palestine) they thought: Let us stop here and fight him. However, they went to the village of Tri and said to themselves that two cubs of a lion are able to kill a big lion. When the fight began they said to him: Go back, and you will see that your mother is dead. And when he heard this he became weak, and then they killed him. And this is what is written [ibid. 17]: "Then swore the men of David unto him, saying: Thou shall go out no more with us to battle, that thou mayest not quench the lamp of Israel."

The rabbis taught: To the following three the earth jumped: To Eliezar the servant of Abraham, to Jacob our father, and to Abishai b. Zeruyah: To the latter, as it was said above. To Eliezar the servant of Abraham, as it reads [Gen. 24:42]: "And I came this day unto the well." "This day" means on the same day he went from home. To Jacob our father, as it reads [ibid. 28:10 and 11]: "And Jacob went out from Beersheba and went towards Charan. And he "vayiphga" (lighted) upon a certain place and tarried there all night, because the sun was set," etc. When he reached Charan he said: Is it right of me not to have prayer when I passed the place my parents passed? He resolved to return, and soon after his resolution the earth jumped and he met Bethel.

And another explanation is that "vayiphga" means praying, as it reads [Jer. 7:16]: "But thou--pray not thou in behalf of

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this people, nor lift up in their behalf entreaty or prayer, nor make an intercession ("al-tiphga") to me, for I will not hear thee." "And tarried there all night," etc. He wanted to return after he prayed, but the Holy One, blessed be He, however, said: This upright came to my inn and he should go away without staying over night. He made, therefore, the sun set immediately. And this is what it reads farther on [ibid. 32:32]: "And the sun rose unto him as he passed by Penuel." Does the sun only rise to him and not to the whole world? Therefore said R. Itz'hak, it means the sun which has set for his sake has risen now for him.

And whence do we know that David's children were destroyed? From II Kings xi. 1: "And when Athalyah the mother of Achazyahn saw that her son was dead, she arose and destroyed all the seed royal. But did not Yoash remain? There in the case of Nob also Ebyathar remained, as it reads [I Sam. 22:20]. And R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: If from Achimelech's family there would not one have remained there would not have remained from David's family a single soul.

R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh said: Sanherib the wicked, when he came to attack, brought with him forty-five thousand princes with their concubines in golden carriages, and eighty thousand valiant men which were clothed in coats of mail, and sixty thousand girded with swords, who ran before the army. And the remainder were riders. Similar to this army was the one that attacked Abraham. And such will come in the future with Gog and Magog. In a Boraitha it was taught: The length of his camp was four hundred parsus, and the width of the necks of his horses were forty parsus. And the total of camp was two hundred and sixty thousand, less one. Questioned Abayi: What is meant by "less one"? Less one thousand, less one hundred, or less, one literally? The question was not decided.

There is a Boraitha: The first part of Sanherib's army passed the Jordan by swimming, as it reads [Is. 8:8]: "He shall penetrate into Judah, overflow," etc.; the middle part standing on their feet, as it reads: "Even to the neck shall he reach." (The water was so diminished by the swimming of the first part, that these had to pass over on foot.) And by the last part (the Jordan was so dry) that the dust whirled up by the tramping of their feet. And they found no water to drink, and they had to bring it from another place; as it reads [ibid. 28:25]: "I have dug and drunk water." But is it not written that the angel smote only one hundred eighty and five thousand, and when they arose early in the morning they were all corpses? Said R. Abuhu: This enumerates only the officers of the army. Said Rabhina: It seems to be so from [2 Chr. 32:21]: "And the Lord sent an angel, who cut off every mighty man of valor and leader and captain in the camp of the king of Assyria, and when he returned with shame of face to his own land, he went into the house of his god, and (those) that were come forth from his own bowels felled him there with the sword."

With what did the angel smite them? R. Eliezar said: With his hand. As it reads [Ex. 14:31]: "And Israel saw that great hand which the Lord had shown," i.e., that which will take revenge on Sanherib. And R. Jehoshua said: With the finger. As it reads [ibid. 8:15]: "Then said the magicians unto Pharaoh, this is a finger of God," "this" means the one which will take revenge on Sanherib. And R. Eliezar b. R. Jose the Galilean said: The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Gabriel: Is thy sickle (of death) polished? And he answered: Lord of the Universe, it is ready, polished, since the six days of the creation. As it reads [Is. 21:15]: "From the drawn sword, from the bent bow." R. Simeon b. Jochai said: That was the time when the fruit became ripe, and the Holy One said to Gabriel: When thou will go to make the fruit ripe, by the way, thou shalt attend to them. As it reads [ibid. 28:19]: "For morning by morning shall it pass by, by day and by night; and the mere understanding of the report shall cause terror." Said R. Papa: This is what people say: When thou passest by the door of thy enemy, look at it. According to others the angel blew into their nostrils till they died. As it reads [ibid. 11:24]: "When he breathed upon them, they withered." R. Jeremiah b. Abah said: They died from the striking of his hands. As it reads [Ezek. 21:22]: "I will strike my hands together, and I will cause my fury to be assuaged."

And Itz'hak of Nafha said: He revealed their ears so that they hear the songs of the angel and become death from it. As it reads [ibid. 33:3]: "When thou liftedst thyself up nations were scattered." And how many remained of them? According to Rabh, ten, as it reads [ibid. 10:19]: "And the rest of the trees of his forest shall be few in number, so that a boy may write them down." And what can a boy write a י (yad) which counts ten. And Samuel said: Nine, as it reads [ibid. 17:6]: "Two or three berries on the top of the uppermost bough, four to five on the outmost branches of a fruitful tree." And R. Jehoshua b. Levi said: Fourteen, as the just cited verse reads two, three . . . four, five. R. Johanan, however, said: Only five, and they were Sanherib and his two sons, Nebuchadnezzar and Nebusaradan, the latter is known by tradition, and concerning Nebuchadnezzar, it reads [Dan. 3:25]: "And the appearance of the fourth is like a son of the gods," and if he would not have seen him first, how would he know how an angel looks? And concerning Sanherib, it reads [2 Kings 19:37]: "And it came to pass, as he was prostrating himself in the house of Nisroch his god, that Adrammelech and Sharezer his sons smite him."

R. Abuhu said: Were it not for the following verse it would be impossible to believe. It reads [Is. 7:20]: "On the same day, will the Lord shave with the razor that is hired, from among those on the other side of the river, with the king of Assyria, the head and the hair of the feet, and also the beard shall it entirely remove." The Lord sent an angel, who appeared before Sanherib as an old man, and questioned him: When thou wilst return to the kings of the East and the West, whose sons thou broughtst with thee, and who were killed, what excuse canst thou give to them? And he answered: I myself am trembling about this. Canst thou advise me what to do? And he rejoined: Go and change thyself that thou mayest not be recognised. And to the question how should this be done, he told him, Bring me scissors and I will cut your hair off. And to the question where he shall take the scissors, he showed him a certain house, telling him to go there and that he will find what he needs. He went there, and found angels who had appeared before him as men, engaged in grinding the kernels of dates. And he asked them for a scissors. To which they answered, grind one kernel and thou wilst get it. He did so and got the requested scissors. But when he returned it grew dark, and he was told to bring light. And while carrying the light, the wind blew and caught his beard, and therefore he was compelled to cut off his hair and his beard. And this is what is written, "and also the beard shall it entirely remove." [Said R. Papa, this is what people say: Then you are engaged in cutting the hair of an Aramaen, cinge his beard, and you will have to laugh for a long time.] When he went away he found a board from the ark of Noah. And he exclaimed, This is the great God, who saved Noah from the flood. I vow that if I will succeed in the future, I will sacrifice my two sons to him. This his sons heard, and therefore they killed him, and this is what is written in the above cited verse [2 Kings, 19:37].

It reads [Gen. 14:15]: "And he divided himself against them, he and his servants by night (lajlha), and smote them." Said R. Johanan: The name of the angel who came to assist Abraham was lajlha (night), as it reads [Job, 3:3]: "And the night when it was said, There hath been a male child conceived," etc. And R. Itz'hak of Nafha said: The term lajlha concerning Abraham means that the stars of the night assisted him in his war as they did in the war with Sissera [Judges, 5:20]: "From heaven they fought--the stars in their courses fought against Sissera." Said Resh Lakish: The explanation of Nafha is better than that of the bar Nafha (Johanan, who is always called bar Nafha).

R. Johanan said: When this upright (Abraham) reached the city of Dan he became weak, as he saw that in the future his children will worship idols in Dan, as it reads [1 Kings, 12:29]: "And the other put he in Dan." And also this wicked (Sanherib) did not feel. strong until he reached Dan, as it reads [Jer. 8:16]: "From Dan was heard the snorting of his horses."

R. Zera said: Although R. Joshua b. Levi sent a message, in which among other things he said be careful with the children of the gentiles, as it happens very often wisdom emanates from them, the following may be nevertheless proclaimed. It reads [ibid., 12:1 to 3]: "(Too) righteous art thou, O Lord, that I could plead with thee; yet must I speak of (the principles of) justice with thee: Wherefore is the way of the wicked happy? Do all those prosper that deal treacherously? Thou hast planted them; they have also taken root; they grow; they also bring forth fruit: thou art near in their mouth, and far from their mind." And he was answered [ibid., ibid. 5]: "If thou hast run with the footmen, and they have wearied thee, how then canst thou contend with the horses? and if in the land of peace, (wherein) thou trusted, (they wearied thee), how then wilt thou do in the swelling of the Jordan?" As a parable to this is: One who proclaims that he is able to run three parsus in front of horses in the swamps. And a pedestrian happened to say to him that he is able to do the same. And he tried to run in front of him three miles and became tired. And then he said, If you become tired by running in front of me, how much the more in front of horses? If only from three miles, how much the more from three parsus? If you become tired on dry land, how much the more would you become so in the swamps! Similar to this was it said to Jeremiah. Thou art wondering that I have rewarded that wicked for the four steps he was running for the sake of my glory: how much more will you wonder when I will come to pay the reward of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, who used to run for me like horses! And this is what is written [ibid. 23:9]: "To the prophets--Broken is my heart within me; all my bones shake; I am like a drunken man, because of the Lord, and because of his holy words."

But what four steps arc meant? Those of [Isa. 39:1]: At that time sent Merodach-baladon, the son of Baladon, the king of Babylon, letters and presents to Hezekiah, for he had heard that he had been sick, and was becoming strong again." And to this it reads also [2 Chron. 32:31]: "And in the same manner in the business of the ambassadors . . . who sent unto him to inquire concerning the wonder that had happened in the land." (And what is it?) What R. Johanan said: That the day on which Achaz died consisted of only two hours. And when Heskiah became sick and thereafter recovered, the Holy One, blessed be He, returned the ten hours to that day, as it reads [Isa. 38:8]: Behold, I will cause the shadow of the degrees, which is gone down on the dial of Achaz by the sun, to return backward ten degrees. So the sun returned ten degrees, by the degrees which he was gone down." Merodach-baladon then questioned why that day is so long. And he was told, because Hiskia was sick and recovered. He said then: If there is such a man, must he not be greeted? Write him a letter of greeting. And they wrote, Peace to the king Hiskiah, peace to the city of Jerusalem, and peace to the great God.

At that time Nebuchadnezzar was Merodach's scribe. But this letter was written in his absence. When he returned and heard of this he asked them what they wrote. And they told him so and so. And he exclaimed: Ye named Him the great God, and greet Him at the end! It ought to have been written, Peace to the great God, peace to the city of Jerusalem, and peace to Hiskiah! And they told him that the dictator of the letter should be the messenger. He then ran after the messenger to make him return. But after he ran four steps Gabriel came and stopped him. And R. Johanan said: If Gabriel would not have stopped there would be no remedy for the people of Israel.

What does the term "ben baladon" mean? It was said that Merodach's father was a king whose appearance was changed to that of a dog. And his son baladon sat on the throne. And when he used to sign his name he did so in conjunction with his father's for the sake of his honour. And to this it reads [Malachi, 1:6]: "A son honoureth his father, and a servant his master." A son honoureth his father, as just mentioned, and a servant his master, as in [Jer., 52:12 and 13]: "And in the fifth month on the tenth day of the month, which was the nineteenth year of King Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, came Nebusaradan, the captain of the guard, (who) served the king of Babylon, unto Jerusalem. And he burnt the house of the Lord," etc. But was Nebuchadnezzar, indeed, at that time in Jerusalem? Is it not written [2 Kings 25:20]: "And Nebusaradan, the captain of the guard, took these, and conducted them to the king of Babylon to Riblah." And R. Abuhu said that Riblah is identical with Autukhia? R. Hisda and R. Itz'hak b. Abudimi: One said that the image of Nebuchadnezzar was engraved on his carriage, and the other that the fear of Nebuchadnezzar rested upon Nebusaradan, so that it always appeared to him that he was standing by him.

Rabha said: Three hundred mules loaded with iron saws which cut iron were given to Nebusaradan by Nebuchadnezzar while going to attack Jerusalem. And all of them were broken at one gate of Jerusalem, as it reads [Ps. 74:6]: "And now they hew in pieces the carver work thereof altogether with hatchets and hammers." Seeing this he thought to return, but a heavenly voice was heard: "Jumper, the son of a jumper, O Nebusaradan, jump now, and thou wilst succeed, as the time for the destruction of the sanctuary and for the burning of the Temple has arrived." And one saw remained with him, and with it he struck the gate, and it opened, as it reads [ibid., ibid. 5]: "(The enemy) is known as one that lifteth up high axes against the thickets of a forest." Then he slew every one coming under his hand till he reached the Temple and kindled it. However, the Temple wanted to fly away, but it was prevented by Heaven and was trodden down, as it reads [Lamentations, 1:15]: "A winepress hath the Lord trodden over the virgin, the daughter of Judah." Nebusaradan became proud of all this, and a heavenly voice was heard saying: "You slew a killed nation, a burnt temple have you burned, grind flour have you grind," as it reads [Isa. 47:2]: "Take the mill and grind meal; Uncover thy locks, lift up the train, uncover the thigh, pass over the rivers." It does not read "and grind wheat," but "grind meal."

He then saw the blood of Zecharyah the prophet, which was boiling. He asked: What is it? And he was told that it is blood of sacrifice which was spilled. And he said: I will bring such blood and see if it will be similar. He did so, but it didn't correspond. Said he to them: Reveal to me this secret, for if not I will scratch your flesh with iron combs. They told him then that it was that of a priest and prophet, who had prophesied the destruction of the Temple and was slain. Said be to them: I will reconcile him. He slew the rabbis over his blood, but it didn't become quiet. He brought then the little school children, slew them, and it didn't effect. He slew then the young priest over it, and it didn't cease to boil. He slew then altogether nine hundred and forty thousand, and still the blood did not rest. He approached the blood, saying: Zecharyah, the best of thy people I slew; dost thou want that I shall slay all of them? And the blood immediately rested. He then repented, thinking they had suffered so much only for one person. I who have shed so much blood, how much will I have to suffer? He then ran away, sent his will to his house, and became a proselyte.

The rabbis taught: Naamani's proselytism was only to perform the seven commandments given to the descendants of Noah. Nebusaradan, however, was a true proselyte, from the descendants of Sissera were such who studied the law in

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Jerusalem, and from the descendants of Sanherib were such who taught the Torah among a majority of Israelites, and they are Shmayah and Abtalia. From the descendants of Haman were such who learned the Torah in the city Bne-Brack. And even the descendants of Nebuchadnezzar, the Holy One, blessed be He, thought to enter them under the wings of the Shekinah. But the angels prayed before Him: Lord of the Universe, he who has destroyed your house, burned your Temple, shouldst thou enter him under the wings of the Skekinah? And this is what reads [Jer. 51:9]: "We would have healed Babylon, but she was not healed." And Ula said this means Nebuchadnezzar. Samuel b. Na'hman, however, said: It means the waters along the (dry, or stony) palms of Babylonia.

Ula said: Amon and Moab were the two bad neighbours of Jerusalem, and when they heard the prophets prophesying the destruction of same, they sent to Nebuchadnezzar, "Come up," and to his answer that he is afraid that they will do to him as they have done with their former enemies, they said to him [Prov. 7:19]: "For the man is not in his house," and by the man is meant the Lord. He, however, sent to them; he is near to them, and will return. They sent again to him, "He is gone on a journey a great way off." Nebuchadnezzar, however, sent to them: I am aware that among them are upright, who will pray for them to Him and He will return; and they answered: The bag of money hath he taken with him, and by a "bag of money," the upright are meant, as it reads [Hosea, 3:2]: "So I bought me such a one for fifteen pieces of silver," etc. He sent again: The wicked of them will repent, pray, and will be listened to. And they answered: He has already appointed a time for repenting, as it reads [Prov. 7:19]: "By the day of kesa only will he return," and the term kesa means "an appointed time," as it reads [Ps. 81:4]: "Blow on the new moon, the cornet at the time appointed (kesa) on the day of our feast." He, however, sent to them: It is winter, and I cannot come up because of snow and rain. And they sent to him: The mountains will protect thee, as it reads [Is. 16:1]: "Send ye the lambs of the ruler of the land from Sela, through the wilderness unto the mount of the daughter of Zion." He (Nebuchadnezzar) sent to them: When I will arrive there I will have no place to reside. And they answered: Their graves are better than your palaces, as it reads [Jer. 8:1 and 2]: "At that time, saith the Lord, shall they bring out the bones of the kings of Judah, and the bones of the princes, and the bones of the priests, and the bones of the prophets, and the bones of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, out of their graves. And they shall spread them out before the sun, and the moon and all the hosts of heaven, which they have loved, and which they have served, and after which they have walked."

R. Na'hman said to R. Itz'hak: Have you heard when the fallen son will come? And to the question, Who is it? He answered: The Messiah. And the Messiah you call "The fallen son"? And he said: Yea, for it reads [Amos, 9:11]: "On that day will I raise up the tabernacle of David, which is fallen." And he answered: Thus said R. Johanan: In the generation in which the son of David will come scholarly men will decrease, and by the remainder their eyes will protrude from sighing and sorrow, many chastisements and many evil decrees will be renewed, one will not cease as yet, while another will have come.

The rabbis taught: In this Sabbatic period in which the son of David will appear in the first year there will be fulfilled what is written, in [Amos, 4:7]: "And I caused it to rain upon one city, and upon another city I caused it not to rain." In the second year, arrows (tokens) of famine will be sent. In the third, a great famine, from which men, women, and children, pious men and men of good deeds will die, and the Torah will be forgotten by their scholars. In the fourth there will be abundance, and not abundance. In the fifth there will be great abundance, and the people will eat, drink, and enjoy themselves, and the Torah will return to her scholars. In the sixth, voices will be heard saying that the Messiah is near. In the seventh, war will be, and at the end of the seventh, ben David will come. Said R. Joseph: Were there not many Sabbatical periods which were like this, but still he did not come? Said Abayi: Were then the above-mentioned voices heard in the sixth? And was there in the seventh war? And secondly, has it then happened in the same order as said above? There is a Boraitha. R. Jehudah said: The generation in which the son of David will come, the houses of assembly will be converted into houses of prostitution. Galilee will be destroyed. The place called Gablan will be astonished. Men of the borders of Palestine will travel from one city to another, but will find no favour. The wisdom of the scribes will be corrupted. Men fearing sin will be hated. The leaders of that generation will have the nature of dogs. And truth will be missing, as it reads [Is. 59:15]: "And thus is the truth missing." What does this mean? It was said in the college that it passes away like flocks. 1 "And he that departeth from evil is regarded as foolish." Said the school of Shila: He who turns away from evil is regarded as foolish in the eyes of the people. Said Rabha: Previously I thought there is no truth in the whole world. However, I met thereafter a certain rabbi named Tubuth, according to others R. Tibumi, and if the whole world filled with gold would be given to him, he would not change his word or tell a lie. It happened once that he came to a city named Kushta (truth). And the inhabitants of that city would not change their word, and it never happened that one should die an untimely death. And he married one of its inhabitants, and she bore him two children. It happened once that his wife washed her head and a female neighbour came to ask for her, and he thought that it was not nice to say that she is washing her head, and therefore said that she is out. And the two children died. And when the inhabitants came to ask him what was the reason that such an unusual thing happened to him, he told them the truth. And they requested him to move away from their city in order not to cause untimely death.

R. Nehuraia taught: The generation in which the son of David will come, young men will make pale the faces of the old, old men will rise before youth, a daughter will rebel against her mother, a daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law, the leaders of the generation will have the nature of dogs, and a son will not be ashamed when his father reproaches him.

There is a Boraitha: R. Nehemiah said: The generation in which ben David will come, insolence will increase, an evil man will be honoured, respect will be missed, the vine will give forth its fruit abundantly; wine, however, will be dear, and all the governments will be turned over to Minuth (will embrace the religion of the Minim), and no preaching will avail. And this is a support to R. Itz'hak, who said that ben David will not come unless all governments will be turned over to Minuth. Where is to be found a hint to this in the Scripture? [Lev. 13:13]: "It is all turned white, he is clean."

The rabbis taught: It reads [Deut. 32:36 and 37]: "For the Lord will espouse the cause of his people, and bethink himself concerning his servants: When he seeth that their power is gone, and the guarded and fortified are no more." Ben David will not come until the denouncers will increase. According to others, unless the disciples will decrease; and still according to others, until the pockets will be empty of aperuthar. And some others also say unless they will renounce their hope to be redeemed. And this is as R. Zera found the rabbis occupying themselves with the question of the Messiah. And he told them, I beg you do not make the thing further than it is, as there is a Boraitha that the following three come suddenly after renouncing all hope for them, viz., the Messiah, found and a bite of a serpent. R. Ktina said: For six thousand years the world will continue, and in the seventh it will be destroyed. As it reads [Isa. 12:11]: "And exalted shall be the Lord alone, on that day." Abayi, however, said two thousand will be destroyed, as it reads [Hosea, 6:2]: "He will revive us after two days. There is a Boraitha in accordance with R. Ktina: As in the Sabbatic period, the seventh year is a release, so will it be with the whole world that one thousand years after six will be a release, as above cited verse [Isa. 12:1] and [Ps. 92:11]: "A Psalm or song for the Sabbath day," which means the day which will be all Sabbath. And as [ibid. 90:4]: "For a thousand years are in thy eyes but as the yesterday when it is passed."

The disciples of Elijah taught: The world will continue for six thousand years, the first two thousand of which were a chaos (Tahu), the second two thousand were of wisdom, and the third two thousand are the days of the Messiah, and because of our sins many, many years of these have elapsed, and still he has not come. Elijah said to R. Jehudah, the brother of R. Sala the Pious: The world will continue for no less than eighty-five jubilaic periods, and in the last jubilaic period ben David will come. And to the question: At its beginning or at its end? he answered: I don't know. Has this passed already, or will it come? He also answered, I don't know. R. Ashi, however, said: Elijah told him thus: Until the above mentioned time will pass you shall not have any hope for him. But after that time, you may hope.

R. Hanan b. Tahlipha sent a message to R. Joseph: I met a man who possessed scrolls written in Assyrian characters and in the holy language. And to my question from where he got it, he answered: I hired myself to the Persian army, and among the treasures of Persia I found it. And it was written therein that after two thousand, two hundred and ninety-one years of the creation, the world will remain an orphan, many years will be the war of whales, and many more years will be the war of Gog and Magog, and the remainder will be the days of the Messiah. But the Holy One, blessed be He, will not renew the world before seven thousand have elapsed. And R. Aha b. R. Rabha said: After five thousand years from to-day.

There is a Boraitha: R. Nashan said: The following passages bore a hole to the depth (i.e., as no one can fathom the depth, so no one can come to the exact meaning of these), viz. [Habukkuk, 2:3]: "For there is yet a vision for the appointed time, and it speaketh of the end, and it will not deceive: Though it tarry, wait for it; because it will surely come, it will not be delayed." It is not as our masters lectured about this from [Dan. 7:25]: "And they will be given up into his hand until a time and times and half a time." And not in accordance with R. Simlai, who used lecture about this form [Ps. 80:6]: "Thou feedest them with the bread of tears, and givest them tears to drink in great measure. And also not in accordance with R. Aqiba, who used to lecture about this from [Haggai, 2:6]: "For thus said the Lord. . . . Yet one thing more (will I do), it is but little, when I will cause to quake the heavens and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land." But the. first kingdom was of seventy years, the second of fifty-two, and the kingdom of Bar Kochba, two years and a half.

What does the verse "Speaketh of the end" to mean? Said R. Samuel b. Na'hman, in the name of R. Jonathan: Blown out shall be the souls of those who are sitting and appointing times for the arrival of the Messiah. Because they usually err, and when the appointed time comes and the Messiah does not appear, they say that he will not come anymore. But everyone has to wait for him, as it reads: "Wait for him, because he will surely come." And lest one say, We are awaiting but He does not wait, therefore it reads [Isa. 30:18:] "And therefore will the Lord wait, to be gracious unto you, and therefore will he exalt himself, to have mercy upon you." But if He and we are awaiting, who prevents Him to come? The divine attribute prevents. But if so, what is the use of our waiting? To receive reward for waiting, as the cited verse ends: "Happy are those that wait for him."

Abayi said: There are no less than thirty-six upright in every generation who receive the appearance of the Shekhina (see Succah, p. 68, and there it reads every day instead of every generation.) Is this so? Did not Rabha say that the row in front of the Holy One, blessed be He, contains eighteen thousand parsus, as it reads [Ezek. 48:35]: "All around it shall be eighteen thousand rods"? This presents no difficulty. Abayi speaks of those who are looking in a "speculare," which gives the right light. And Rabha speaks of those who are looking in such, which does not give the right light. But are there, indeed, so many? Did not R. Simeon b. Jochai say: I see the very greatest men in the world are very few, etc. This presents no difficulty. R. Simeon b. Jochai speaks of those who may enter without permission, and Rabha speaks of those who must have permission. Said Rabh: All the appointed times for the appearance of the Messiah have already ceased. And it depends only on repentance and good deeds. Samuel, however, said: It is sufficient for the mourner to remain with his own sorrow (i.e., the suffering of Israel for such a long time is sufficient that they should be redeemed even without repentance.) And on this point the following Tanaim differ. R. Eliezar said: If the people of Israel will repent they will be redeemed, but not otherwise. Said Jehoshua to him: According to you, if they will not repent they will not be redeemed at all? (Replied R. Eliezar): The Holy One, blessed be He, will appoint, for this purpose, a king whose decrees concerning Israel will be as severe as Haman's were. And this will bring them back to the better side, and they will repent.

There is another Boraitha: R. Eliezar said: If the people of Israel will repent they will be redeemed, as it reads [Jer. 3:14]: "Return, O backsliding children, I will heal your backslidings." Said R. Jehoshua to him: Is it not written [Isa. lii. 3]: "For thus hath said the Lord, for naught were you sold, and without silver shall ye be redeemed," i.e., for naught were you sold to the idolaters, and not because of repentance and good deeds will you be redeemed. Rejoined R. Eliezar: But does it not read [Malachi iii. 7]: "Return unto me, and I will return unto you, said the Lord"? Rejoined he: Does it not read [Jer. iii. 14]: "For I am become your husband, and I will take you one of a city and two of a family, and bring you to Zion"? Said R. Eliezar again: It reads [Isa. 30:15]: "In repose and rest shall ye be helped." And R. Jehoshua answered: I call your attention to [ibid. 49:7]: "Thus hath said the Lord, the Redeemer of Israel, his Holy One, to him who is despised by men, to him who is abhorred by nations, to the servants of rulers, kings shall see it and rise up, princes, and they shall prostrate themselves, for the sake of the Lord who is faithful." And R. Eliezar rejoined: To this it is written [Jer. 4:1]: "If thou wilt return, O Israel, saith the Lord, unto me, must thou return." Said R. Jehoshua to him: I call your attention to [Dan. 12:7]: "Then heard I the man clothed in linen, who was above the waters of the stream; and he lifted up his right hand and his left hand unto the heavens, and swore by the Everliving One that after a time, times and a half, and when there shall be an end to the crushing of the power of the holy people, all these things shall be ended." And R. Eliezar kept silent. Said Rabha: The appointed time for the Messiah cannot be more revealed than in this passage, as it reads [Ez. 36:8]: "But ye, O mountains of Israel, ye shall send forth your boughs, and your fruits shall ye bear for my people Israel." R. Elazar said also from [Zech. 8:10]: "For before those days, there was no reward for man, nor any reward for beast; and for him that went out or came in there was no peace, because of the oppressor." What do the last words in this passage mean? Said Rabh: Also the scholars, of whom it reads [Ps. 109:165]: "Abundant peace have they who love thy law," will also have no peace from the oppressor. Samuel, however, said: The cited verse means the Messiah will not come until high prices will be for all articles of life. R. Hanina said: The son of David will not come unless even a piece of fish will be sought for a sick one and it will not be found, as it reads [Ez. 32:14]: "Then will I make clear their waters, and cause their rivers to flow like oil." And it reads also [ibid. 29:21]: "On that day will I cause to grow a horn for the house of Israel, and unto

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thee will I open the mouth in the midst of them. R. Hana b. Hanina said: Ben David will not appear unless every office of the government, even the least one will be removed from the children of Israel, as it reads [Isa. 18:5]: "He will both cut off the tendrils with pruning-knives, and the sprigs will he remove and cut down." And thereafter it reads [ibid. 7]: "At that time shall be brought as a present unto the Lord of hosts a people pulled and torn." And Zera, in the name of R. Hanina, said: Ben David will not come until the haughty men of Israel will cease to be, as it reads [Zeph. 3:11]: "For then will I remove out of the midst of thee, those that rejoice in thy pride, and thou shall never more be haughty again on my holy mount." And thereafter it reads [12]: "I will leave remaining in the midst of thee an humble and poor people, and they shall trust in the name of the Lord." R. Simlai said, in the name of R. Elazar b. Simeon: Ben David will not come unless there will cease to be judges and officers of Israel, as it reads [Isa. 1:25 and 26]: "And I will turn my hand against thee, and I purge away as with lye thy dross, and remove all thy tin. And I will restore thy judges as at first, and thy counsellors as at the beginning," etc.

Said Ula: Jerusalem will not be redeemed but by charity, as it reads [Isa. 1:27]: "Zion shall be redeemed through justice, and her converts through zdaha" (the meaning of which is both righteousness and charity). Said R. Papa: When insolence shall cease to be in Israel, the magus of the Persians who causes much trouble will also cease to be, as it reads [ibid., ibid. 25]: "And purge away as with lye thy dross, and remove all thy tin." When judges of Israel will cease to be, the brutal executions of the Persian court-servants will be abolished, as it reads [Zeph. 3:15]: "The Lord hath removed mishophtakha (literally "the judges from thee"), he hath cleared away thy enemy." R. Johanan said: When you see that wisdom decreases continually from a generation, you may hope for the Messiah, as it reads [2 Sam. 22: 28]: "And the afflicted people thou wilt save." And he said again: If you see chastisements and evils are increasing in a generation like the waters of the rivers, await the Messiah, as [Isa. 59:19]: "For there shall come distress like a stream." And the next verse reads: "But unto Zion shall come the redeemer." He said again: Ben David will appear either in a generation in which all will be upright or in one in which all shall be wicked. "All upright," from [ibid. 9:21]: "And thy people--they all will be righteous, for ever shall they possess the land." And "all wicked," from [ibid. 59:16]: "And he saw that there was no man, and wondered that there was no intercessor." And [ibid. xlviii. ii]: For my own sake, for my own sake, will I do it."

R. Alexandri said: Jehoshua b. Levi propounded a contradiction: It reads [ibid. 9:22]: "I the Lord will hasten it in its time." "Hasten" and "in its time" contradict each other. And the answer was that if they will be worthy I will hasten it, and if not, they must wait till the right time will come. The same said again that the same authority propounded another contradiction from [Dan. 7:13]: "Behold with the clouds of heaven came one like a son of man . . . " [Zech. 9:9]: "Lowly and riding upon an ass." And the answer was, if they will be worthy he will come with the clouds of heaven, and if not, he. will come upon an ass.

The king Sabur said to Samuel: You say that your Messiah will come upon an ass, let me send him the best horse of my stable. And he answered him: Do you then possess a horse of a hundred colours as the ass of the Messiah? (a joke to a joke). R. Jehoshua b. Levi met Elijah standing at the gate of the cave of R. Simeon b. Jochai and asked him if he will have a share in the world to come. And he answered: If it will be the will of this Lord. Said R. Jehoshua: Two persons have I seen and the voice of the third have I heard. 1 I questioned him further when the Messiah will appear. And he answered: Go and ask him himself. "But where is he to be found?" "At the gate of Rome, among poor people inflicted with wounds." "And how can I recognise him?" All the inflicted poor open the bandages of all their wounds, fix all of them and then dress them. And he opens one bandage, fixes the wound and dresses it, and then goes on to the next one, for the reason that perhaps he will be cold and there will be a delay till all the wounds are dressed. R. Jehoshua went to him, and when he met him he said: Peace be to thee, my master and teacher. And he answered: Peace be with thee, son of Levai. And to Jehoshua's question: When will the master appear? he answered: This day. When Jehoshua met Elijah again, the latter questioned him as to what the Messiah said to him. And he said: Peace be with thee, son of Levai. Said Elijah: He assured you of a share for thyself and for thy father in the world to come. Rejoined Jehoshua: He made a fool of me by saying that he will come this day. And Elijah answered: The expression "this day" means as in [Ps. xcv.] "Yea this day, if you will hearken to his voice."

The disciples of R. Jose b. Kisma questioned him when the son of David will appear. And he answered: I am afraid you will request from me a sign. And they assured him that they would not. He then said to them: When this gate will fall, be rebuilt and fall again, be rebuilt again and fall again. And before it will be rebuilt for the third time the Messiah will appear. The disciples then said: Our master, give us a sign. "Have you not promised that you will not ask of me for any sign?" They answered: Nevertheless we would like to have it. And he said: If it is as I say, the spring of the cave of Paneas shall be converted into blood. And so it happened. While dying he said to his disciples: Put my coffin very deep into the earth, for there will not be one tree in Babylon to which a horse of the Persians will not be tied. And there will not remain one coffin in the land of Israel from which the horses of the Modoites will not eat straw.

Rabh said: Ben David will not arrive until Rome shall have dominated over Israel nine months (see Yomah, where it is said, "over the entire world".). Said Ula: Messiah may appear in the near future; I, however, wish not to see him. And the same said Rabba. R. Joseph, however, said: I pray for his coming in my days, and that I shall have the preference to sit in the shadow of his ass. Said Abayi to Rabba: Why does the master not wish to see the Messiah? Is it because of the lot which will be at that time? Is there not a Boraitha that the disciples of R. Elazer questioned him: What may one do to be saved from the lot of the Messiah? And he answered: He shall occupy himself with the Torah and with bestowing favours to the people, and you, master, are doing both; why then are you afraid? And he answered: Perhaps sin will cause me to suffer by the lot. And this is in accordance with R. Jacob b. Idi, who propounded the following contradiction: It reads [Gen. 28:15]: "And, behold, I am with thee, and will keep thee withersoever thou goest." And [ibid. xxxii. 8]: "Then Jacob was greatly afraid, and he felt distressed." Hence after he was promised by the Lord, he was still afraid? And the answer was that he was afraid perhaps his sins caused what happened, as we have learned in the following Boraitha. It reads [Ex. 15:16]: "Till thy people pass over "--i.e., their first coming to Palestine; "till this people pass over"--i.e., their second coming to Palestine from Babylon; from which we may infer that the second coming ought to be equal in miracles with the first. And why did not miracles occur at the second coming? Because of their sins. R. Johanan also said: The Messiah may come, but I shall not see him. Said Resh Lakish to him: What is your reason? Is it because of [Amos, 5:19]: "As if a man were to flee from a lion, and a bear should meet him; and he enter into the house, and lean his hand against the wall, and a serpent should bite him." Come, and I will show you a similarity to this in the world at this time--e.g., one is going to his field and a bailiff meets him (trying to contest this title to the field): is this not equal as if a lion should meet him? And when he enters the city a collector from the government meets him: is this not equal as if a bear should meet him? And when he enters his house and finds his sons and daughters starving: is this not equal as if a serpent would bite him? It must then be because of [Jer. xxx. 6]: "Ask ye now, and see whether a male doth give birth to a child? Wherefore do I see (gebher) every man with his hands on his loins as a woman in giving birth? and why are all faces turned pale?"

What is meant by "I see every gebher? Said Rabba b. Itz'hak in the name of Rabh: Him (God) from whom all the strength comes. And what is meant by "all faces turned pale"? Said R. Johanan: The heavenly household and the household of the earth, as at the time the Holy One, blessed be He, said: Both Israel and the nations are my work, why then should I destroy the one for the other? Said R. Papa: This is what people say: If the ox which is liked by the owner falls while going on his way, and he is compelled to substitute for it a horse which he does not like very much, when the ox, however, becomes better it is difficult for him to remove the horse because of the ox.

R. Giddel said in the name of Rabh: The years of abundance in the time of the Messiah, will benefit Israel. Said R. Joseph: Is this not self-evident? Who else then should have benefit from them, Hilek and Bilek (as in English Dick and Harry)? This was said by him in order to deny R. Hillel's theory, who said farther on, that Israel has no more to wait for a Messiah, as they have consumed him already at the time of Hezekiah. Said Rabh: The world is created only for such men as David. And Samuel said: For such men as Moses. And R. Johanan said: For such men as the Messiah. But what is his name? The disciples of R. Shilah said: Shilah is his name, as it reads [Gen. 49:10]: "Until Shilah will come." The disciples of R. Janai said Jinun is his name, as it reads [Ps. 72:17]: "In the presence of the sun, Jinun is his name." And the disciples of R. Hanina said: Hanina is his name, as [Jer. 16:13]: "So that I will not grant you Hanina." (Favour.) According to others, Menachem b. Hiskia is his name as in [Sam. 1:16]: "For from me in Menachem (comforter) that should refresh my soul." And the rabbis said: The sufferer of the house of Rabbi is his name, as [Is. 53:4]: "But only our diseases did he bear himself, and our pains he carried: while we indeed esteemed him stricken, smitten of God and afflicted." Said R. Na'hman: If Messiah is among the living he is a man like myself, of whom it reads [Jer. 30:21]: "And their leader shall be of themselves, and their ruler shall proceed from the midst of them." Said Rabh: If he is among the living it is our holy rabbi, and if he was from the death it was Daniel. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: In the future the Holy One, blessed be He, will create for them another David, as it reads [ibid., ibid. 9]: "And David their king, whom I will raise up unto them." It does not read "I raised," but "I will raise." Said R. Papa to Abayi, Does it not read [Ezek. 37:25]: "David my servant shall be prince unto them forever"? As it is now a Caesar and a half Caesar.

R. Simlai lectured: It reads [Amos, 5:18]: "Woe unto you that long for the day of the Lord! for what do you wish the day of the Lord? It is (one of) darkness and not of light." It is similar to a cock and a bat who were waiting for light. The cock said to the bat, I look out for the light, because the light is mine (I see it), but for what purpose do you wait for it? And this is what a Min said to R. Abushu: When will your Messiah appear? When your people will be surrounded with darkness. Rejoined the Min: Do you caution me? And he answered: No, but [Isa. 60:2] reads: "For behold, the darkness shall cover the earth, and a gross darkness the people; but over thee will shine forth the Lord, and his glory will be seen over thee."

There is a Boraitha: R. Eliezar said: Forty years will be the days of the Messiah. As it reads [Ps. 95:10]: "Forty years long did I feel loathing on this generation." R. Elazar b. Azaryah said: Seventy years, as [Isa. 23:15]: "Seventy years like the days of one king." By "one king" the Messiah is meant. Rabbi, however, said: It will continue three generations, as [Ps. 72:5]: "They shall fear thee, as long as the sun shineth, and in the presence of the moon throughout all generations." R. Hillel, however, said: There is no more any Messiah for Israel, as they have consumed him already in the days of Hiskia. Said R. Joseph: May the Lord forgive R. Hillel! Hiskia was at the time of the first Temple, and Zacharyah prophesied at the time of the second Temple, and said [Zech. 9:9]: "Be greatly glad, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem! Behold, thy king will come unto thee, righteous and victorious is he lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of a she-ass.

There is another Boraitha: The days of the Messiah are forty years, as it reads [Deut. 8:3]: "And he afflicted thee, and suffered thee to hunger," and [Ps. 90:15]: "Cause us to rejoice as many days as those wherein thou hast afflicted us," Hence, as their journey in the desert was forty years, so long will be the days of the Messiah; so R. Eliezar. R. Dusa, however, said: Four hundred years, as in [Gen. 15:13]: "And they will afflict them four hundred years." And as the above cited verse reads, "to rejoice as many days as thou afflicted us," hence it is four hundred years. Rabbi said: Three hundred and sixty-five years, according to the days of the year when counted after the sun, as [Isa. 23:4]: "For the days of vengeance was in my heart, and the year of my redeemer was come." What is meant, the day of vengeance is in my heart? Said R. Johanan: I revealed it to my heart, but not to any other member of my body. And R. Simeon b. Lakish said: I revealed it to my heart, but not to the angels. Abimi b. Abuhu taught: Seven thousand years will be the days of Messiah, as it reads [ibid. 62:5]: "And as a bridegroom is glad over the bride, so will be glad over thee thy God," which is seven days, and each day of the Lord is a thousand years.

R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel: The days of the Messiah will be as from the day of creation till now, as it reads [Deut. 11: 21]: "As the days of heaven over the earth." R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak said: As from the day of Noah till now, as [Isa. 54:9]: "For as the waters of Noah is this unto me; as I have sworn," etc.

R. Hyya b. Aba in the name of R. Johanan said: All the prophets have prophesied only for the days of the Messiah, but concerning the world to come it reads [ibid. 64:3]: "No eye (also) had seen a god beside Thee." And he differs with Samuel, who says that there is no difference between this world and the days of the Messiah only concerning the dominion of foreigners over Israel. R. Hyya said again in the name of R. Johanan: The prophets prophesied only to those who have repented, but concerning the entirely upright, it reads: "No eye has seen," etc. And they differ with R. Abuhu, as he said that at the place where those who have repented will be placed, entirely upright cannot be placed, as it reads [Isa. lvii. 19]: "Peace, peace to him that is afar off, and to him that is near." Hence "afar off" is first, and then is "that is near." And what is meant, by "far off"? Who previously was far off and now is near. And what is meant by "near"? He who was first near, and is also now near. R. Johanan, however, explained "far off" means one who was always far off from sin, and "near" means one who was near to sin, but now is far off.

The same said again in the name of the same authority: The prophets prophesied only to him who marries his daughter to a scholar, to him who is in business for a scholar, and to him who benefited the scholars by his estate, but to the scholars themselves "an eye has not seen," etc. What is this? Said R. Jehoshua b. Levi: This is the wine which is preserved in the grapes since the days of the creation. And Resh Lakish said: That is the Eden which no eye has seen. And lest one say that Adam the First was there? Adam dwelt only in the garden. And lest one say that both are one and the same. To this it reads [Gen. ii. 10] And a river went out of Eden to water the garden."

"And he who says that the Torah is not given by Heaven," etc. The Rabbis taught: It reads [Num. 15:31]: "Because the word of the Lord hath he despised and his commandment hath he broken." It means him who says that the Torah is not given

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by Heaven. According to others it means an Epicurean. Still another explanation is that "the word of the Lord hath he despised," means him who explains the Torah against the true law. "His commandment hath he broken"--means circumcision, Hikorath--shall be cut off from this world. Tikorath--from the world to come. Said R. Elazar the Modoi: It is inferred from this that he who profanes the sanctuary, who despises the festivals, he who breaks the covenant of Abraham our father, he who explains the Torah in a wrong way, he who makes pale in public the face of his neighbour, although they possess wisdom and good deeds, have no share in the world to come. There is another Boraitha: "He hath despised the word of God," means him who says that the Torah was not given by Heaven, and even if he says that the Torah is given by Heaven, except such and such, which is not by the Holy One, but by Moses himself. And even if he says that the whole Torah is by Heaven except such and such an explanation, such an a fortiori conclusion, such an analogy of expression, they are considered as despising the word of the Lord.

There is another Boraitha. R. Mair said: The just cited verse means him who learned the Torah but does not teach it. R. Nathan said: It means him who does not care for the Mishna. R. Nehoraim said: It means him who is possible to study the law, but does not. R. Ismael, however, said: It means an idolater. How does he infer this from this passage? As in the following Boraitha: The disciples of R. Ismael taught: "He hath despised the word of the Lord," means him who has despised the words which were said to Moses at Sinai, "I am the Lord thy God, there shall not be any other god before thee."

R. Jehoshua b. Karcha said: He who learns the Torah and does not repeat it, is similar to him who sows but does not harvest. R. Jehoshua said: He who learned the Torah and forgot it, is similar to a woman who bears children and buries them. Said R. Aqiba: One shall systematize his study as a song which is to be sung daily (and this will cause his singing in the world to come). Said R. Itz'hak b. Abudimi: Where is an allusion to be found to this in the Scriptures? [Prov. 16:26]: "The desire of the labourer laboureth for him; for his mouth imposeth it on him," Which means he is labouring here and the Torah labours for him in another place. R. Elazar said: Every man is created to labour, as it reads [Job, 5:7]: "But man is born unto labour." From this, however, we do not know if it means mental or manual labour. As the end of the above-cited verse [Prov. 16:26] ends "for his mouth imposeth it on him," hence mental labour is meant. But still I am not aware if it means wisdom or gossip. But as [Josh. i. 8] reads: "This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth," hence it means for the labour of the Torah. And this is what Rabha said: Every body is a δρνφατο. Well is to him who is a "druphanto" for the Torah. Resh Lakish said: He who occasionally studies the Torah lacks sense, as it reads [Prov, 22:18]: "For it is a pleasant thing if thou keep them within thy bosom, if they be altogether firmly seated upon thy lips."

The rabbis taught: It reads [Num. xv. 30]: "But the person that doth aught with a high hand," means Menasseh b. Hiskia who was offending the legends of the Torah by saying: Has not Moses written something better than in [Gen. 36:22]: "And Lotan's sister was Thimna," or that she was a concubine of Eliphaz b. Esau, or that of [ibid. 13:14]. "And Reuben went in the days of the wheat harvest and found mandrakes in the field." A heavenly voice was then heard [Ps. 1:20]: "Thou sittest and speakest against thy brother, against thy own mother's son thou utterest slander." And to him also applies [Isa. 5:18]: "Woe unto those that draw iniquity with the cords of falsehood, and as with a wagon-rope, sinfulness." What does a "wagon-rope" mean? (See Succah, p. 80, line 3.) But what means in reality the verse "Lotan's sister was Thimna"? Thimna was a princess, as it reads [Gen. 36:40]: "Duke Thimna," and a dukedom is a kingdom without a crown; and she desired to become a proselyte, but Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob did not accept her. And she went and became the concubine of Eliphaz b. Esau, saying it is better to be a servant in this nation than to be a princess of another. And the offspring from her was Amalek, who troubled Israel as a punishment to their parents, who ought not to have driven her out.

"Reuben went in the days of harvest," etc. Said Rabha b. Itz'hak in the name of Rabh: Infer from this that the upright do not stretch their hands out to robbery. What are the dudaim which Reuben found? According to Rabh they were jabruchen, and according to Samuel mandrake flower. R. Alexandri said: Those who occupy themselves with the Torah for her own sake cause peace to reign in the heavenly household and in the household here below, as it reads [Isa. 27:15]: "If he but take hold of my strength, make peace with me, make peace with me." And Rabh said: He is considered as if he had built both palaces of heaven and earth, as it reads [ibid. 51:16]: "And I have placed my words in thy mouth, and with the shadow of my hand have I covered thee: to plant the heavens and to lay the foundations of the earth." R. Johanan said: He is also considered as a protector of the world, as it reads "with the shadow of my hand have I covered thee." Levi said: He makes redemption sooner, as this verse ends "to say to Zion, Thou art my people." Resh Lakish said: He who teaches the Torah to his neighbour's son the verse considers him as if he had created him, as it reads [Gen. xii. 5]: "And the persons they had obtained in Charan." R. Elazar said: He is considered as if he has created the law, as it reads [Deut. 29:8]: "Keep ye therefore the words of the covenant, and do them." And Rabha said: He is considered as if he created himself from the same verse; do not read authom, but athem (ye yourselves). R. Abuhu said: He who hastens his neighbour to do a meritorious act, the verse considers him as if he himself has done it, as it reads [Ex. 17:5]: "And thy staff wherewith thou smotest the river take in thy hand and go." Did he, then, smite the river? Did not Aaron do this? Hence it was written to teach that the verse considers him as if he himself has done it.

"Epicurean," etc. Both Rabh and R. Hanina said: He who disgraces a scholar is meant. And both R. Johanan and R. Jehoshua b. Levi said: He who disgraces his neighbour in the presence of a scholar. It is correct according to them who said that an Epicurean is he who has done as in the latter case, as then he who disgraces a scholar himself is considered as explaining the Torah a wrong way. But according to them who say that he who disgraces a scholar himself is considered only an Epicurean, who then is considered as explaining the Torah wrongly? E.g., Menassah b. Hiskia. There were those who taught the same concerning the latter part of the Mishna, "who explains the Torah not according to the true law." And to this Rabh and R. Hanina said: He who disgraces a scholar. And Johanan and Jehoshua b. Levi said: He who disgraces his neighbour in the presence of a scholar. And the question was, if he who disgraces his colleague in the presence of a scholar is considered as explaining the Torah wrongly, who then is considered an Epicurean? Said R. Joseph: E.g., those who say, What good do the rabbis do to us? They read and study the Torah for their own sake. Said Abayi to him: Such are also considered as explaining the Torah wrongly, as it reads [Jer. 33:25]: "Thus said the Lord, If my covenant be not day and night, I would not have appointed the ordinances of heaven and earth." 1 This is inferred also from [Gen. 18:26]: "Then will I spare all the places for their sake." So R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak. And an epicurean is considered--e.g., if one sits before his master and recollects a Halakha stated somewhere else and says, so and so we have learned there, but does not say: And the master said so. Rabha, however, said: An epicurean is considered--e.g., the disciples of Benjamin the physician, who used to say, What good have the rabbis done for us? They have never permitted us to eat a crow, and they have not prohibited us to eat a dove (hence all remains as it is in the Scriptures). It happened that a question of legal or illegal meat was brought before Rabha from the house of Benjamin the physician, and he saw a reason to permit the use of it, and he said then: See, I have permitted you a crow. The same happened again and he saw a reason to prohibit it, and also said: See, I have prohibited a dove to you. R. Papa said: Even he who speaks of the rabbis in the same language as when he speaks of common people. However, he himself forgot his statement in talking about the rabbis, and thereafter when he recollected it, he fasted. Levi b. Samuel and R. Huna b. Hyya used to prepare mantles for the holy scrolls in the college of R. Jehudah. When they came to the Book of Esther, they said: For this certainly no mantle is needed. Said R. Jehudah to them: Even such a language is as used by the followers of Epicurus. R. Na'hman said: He who named his master by his name without adding "my master." As R. Johanan said: Why was Gechazi punished? Because he named his master by his name [2 Kings, 8:5]: "This is our son whom Elisha restored." R. Jeremiah was sitting in the presence of R. Zera and said: The Holy One, blessed be He, will create a river in the future, which will issue from the holy of holy chamber, and on its edges the best fruit will be grown, as it reads [Ezek. 47:12]: "And by the stream upon its banks, on this side and on that side, shall grow up all kinds of trees for food, the leaves of which shall not fade, and the fruit of which shall not come to an end, every month shall they bring forth new ripe fruit; because its water is that which issueth out of the sanctuary; and their fruit shall serve for food, and their leaves for remedies."

And there was a certain old man who said: Thanks, so also said R. Johanan. Said R. Jeremiah to R. Zera: Is such a language also not used by the epicureans? And he answered: Nay, he is only supporting you, and if you have heard that such a language must not be used, it is what is said in Last Gate (pp. 210 and 211, from "it is written" to "Rabha"). What means "leaves for remedies"? R. Itz'hak b. Abudimi and R. Hisda. One said: To make the dumb speak. And the other: To open the womb when there is a difficulty in bearing the child. And so also was it taught by Hiskia, to open the mouth of the dumb and by Bar khapara, to open the womb. R. Johanan, however, said: It is to be explained literally remedies for everything. R. Samuel b. Na'hmani said: It means a remedy for the appearance of those who have studied with their mouth, as R. Jehudah b. Simon lectured: He who makes his face black by studying the Torah in this world, the Holy One, blessed be He, will make radiant his face in the world to come, as it reads [Sol. Song, 5:15]: "His countenance is as Lebanon, excellent like the cedars." R. Tanhun b. Hanilai said: He who starves because of the words of law in this world, the Holy One, blessed be He, will satiate him in the world to come, as it reads [Ps. 36:9]: "These will be abundantly satisfied with the fatness of thy house: and of the stream of thy delight wilt thou give them to drink." When Abdimi came from Palestine, he said: The Holy One, blessed be He, will give in the future to every upright his handful of reward, as it reads [ibid. 68:20]: "Blessed be the Lord; day by day he loadeth us (with benefits); our God is our salvation." Said Abayi to him: How is it possible to say so? Is it not written [Isa. 11:12]: "Who hath measured in the hollow of his hand the waters, and meted out the heavens with the span"? And he answered: Why are you not used to study Haggadah? It was said in the West in the name of Rabha b. Mari: The Holy One, blessed be He, will give in the future to every upright man, three hundred and ten worlds, as it reads [Prov. 8.]: "That I may cause those that love me יש" etc., and these two letters count 310. (And this is called a handful.)

There is a Boraitha: R. Mair said: The measure with which one measures will be measured out to him--i.e., as man deals, he will be dealt with, as it reads [Isa. xxvii. 8]: "In measure, by driving him forth, thou strivest with him." Said R. Jehoshua to him: How is it possible to say so? E.g., if one gives to a poor man a handful of charity, will then the Holy One, blessed be He, give the donator His handful? Does it not read "he meted out the heavens with a span"? Said he to him: And you do not say so? What measure is greater of good or of evil? You must say that the former is greater than the latter, as concerning good it reads [Ps. 78:23 and 24]: "Then he ordained the skies from above, and the doors of heaven he opened; and he let rain down upon them manna to eat, and the corn of heaven gave he unto them." And concerning evil it reads [Gen. 7:11]: "The windows of heaven were opened." (It is said elsewhere that the size of a door is as the size of four windows.) Now, come and read what is written about chastisement. [Isa. 66:24]: "And they shall go forth and look upon carcasses of the men that have transgressed against me; for their worm shall not die, nor shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be an abhorrence unto all flesh." And how is this to be understood? We know that in this world, if a man puts his finger in the fire, immediately he is burned. You must then say, that as the Holy One, blessed be He, gives strength to the wicked to receive their punishment. The same is the case with the upright; he gives them strength to be able to accept their reward.

"The books of the Hizumni." In a Boraitha it was taught: In the books of the atheists. R. Joseph said: One must not read even in the book of Ben Sirra. Said Abayi to him: Is it because it reads: Thou shalt not take off the skin of a fish, even that of the ear, as the skin will be damaged, but roast it in fire, and eat with it two loaves of bread? Is not similar to this also written in the Scripture [Deut. xx. 19]: "Thou shalt not destroy the trees thereof," etc.? And if because it reads: "A daughter to a father is a false treasure, as because he is afraid of her, he does not sleep in the night. When she is a minor, perhaps she will be seduced. When she becomes of age, perhaps she will sin, when she becomes vigaros, perhaps she will not marry. If she is married, perhaps she will have no children. And when she becomes old, perhaps she will become a witch?" Similar to this, the rabbis also said: The world cannot be without males and females, however happy are those who have male children, etc. And if because there is written "Thou shalt not bring worry in thy heart," as such has killed strong men. This was also said by Solomon [Prov. 12:25]: "If there be care in the heart of a man, let him suppress it." (See Yomah, p. 140, for explanation.) And if because it reads: "Prevent many people to enter thy house," as not all of them are fit to come into it; this was said also by Rabbi in a Boraitha elsewhere. Therefore we must say, because it reads there, "He who has a long and thin beard is shrewd." And he who has a thick one is a fool. He who blows off the foam, it is sign that he is not thirsty. And he who says with what he shall eat his bread, take the bread away from him. And he whose beard is parted in two, the whole world will not overrule him.

Said R. Joseph: However, the good teachings which are in this book may be proclaimed. It reads there: A good woman is a good gift, she may be given to one who fears God. A bad woman is leprosy to her husband, and there is no remedy for him till he divorces her, and be cured. A beautiful woman, happy is her husband, the numbers of his days are doubled. Turn away thy eyes from a beautiful woman, as thou canst be easily caught in her net. Abstain thyself from drinking beer and wine with her husband, as by the appearance of a beautiful woman many were destroyed. And numerous are those who were killed by such.

A great number of pedlars were wounded by the husbands who found them trading with their wives. As a spark kindles a coal, or like a coop full of birds, so are their houses full of deceit. Many may be who wish you peace, however thy secrets you may reveal only to one from thousand. Be careful with words even with her that lies on thy bosom. Don't worry of

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the morrow, as thou knowest not what the morrow may bring. For perhaps thou wilt not exist any more to-morrow, and thou hast worried for a world which belongs not to thee. All the days of a poor are bad. Ben Sirra said: Also the nights, as his roof is lower than others, the rain from these falls on his. And his vineyard is usually on the top of the mountain, and the manure which he brings up for it is blown off to the other vineyards which are lower. (Here is repeated from Last Gate, p. 328, paragraph commencing with R. Zera in the name of Rabh said, till Mishna 6. See there also footnote.)

The rabbis taught: If one reads a verse of the Songs of Solomon in a different manner than it is written, and makes a song of it; or any other verse in the drinking-places not in its proper time, causes evil to the world, because the Torah, dressed in a sack, stands before the Holy One, blessed be He, and says: Lord of the Universe, thy children have made of me a fiddle on which frivolous persons play. And He said to her: My daughter, with what else, then, shall they occupy themselves while they are eating and drinking? And she said before Him: Lord of the Universe, if they are masters in the Scriptures, they may occupy themselves with the Pentateuch, Prophets, and Hagiographa; if they understand Mishnayoth, they may study Mishna, Halakha, and Haggadah, and if they are Talmudists they may study Halakhas in time of Passover on Pesach. Of Pentecost at that time. And the Halakhas of Feast of Tabernacle at that time. R. Simeon b. Elazar in the name of R. Simeon b. Hanania testified: If one reads a verse in its proper time, he benefits the world, as it reads [Prov. 15:23]: "And a word spoken at the proper time, how good is it."

"He who mumbles over a wound," etc. Said R. Johanan: Provided he also spits, as the name of Heaven must not be mentioned by spitting. It was taught: Rabh said: Even a verse which does not contain the name of Heaven--e.g., a plague, if it will be on a man. And R. Hanina said: Even the words: And He has called to Moses.

The rabbis taught: One may ask the fortune tellers who tell fortunes by certain oils or eggs. But it is not advisable to do so, because they often lie. They usually mumble over the oil in a utensil, but not over that which is in the hand, and therefore one may use the oil from the hand, but not that in a utensil. R. Itz'hak b. Samuel b. Marta happened to be in a certain inn. They brought him oil in a utensil, and he anointed himself with it, and blisters came out on his face. When he went to the market a certain woman saw him, and said: I see on your face a sickness caused by witchcraft. And she did something for him and he was cured.

Abba said to Rabba b. Mari: It reads [Ex. 15:26]: "I will put none of those diseases upon thee . . . as I the Lord will heal thee." Now if he did not put any, why the cure? Said R. Johanan: This verse explains itself. "If thou wilt diligently hearken," etc., I will not put disease upon thee, but if thou wilt not hearken, I will. However, at any rate, I will heal thee.

Rabba b. b. Hana said: When R. Eliezar became sick his disciples came to make him a sick call, and he said to them, I have high fever, and they began to weep. R. Aqiba, however, smiled. And to the question: Why are you smiling? he returned the question: Why are you weeping? And they answered: Is it possible not to weep when we see the Holy Scrolls are in such a distress? Rejoined he: And therefore I smile, for so long as I have seen our master's wine does not become sour, his flocks undamaged, his oil unspoiled, and his honey unfermented, I was afraid that perhaps he received all his reward in this world, now as I see him in trouble, I rejoice. Said he to him: Aqiba, have I failed to perform or transgressed anything of that what is written in the whole Torah? And he answered: You, master, yourself taught us [Ecc. 7:20]: "For no man is so righteous upon earth, that he should do always good and never sin."

The rabbis taught: When R. Eliezar became sick four elders entered to make him a sick call--R. Tarphun, R. Jehoshua, R. Elazar b. Asaryah, and R. Aqiba. Exclaimed R. Tarphun: You are better to Israel than drops of rain, as the latter are only in this world, While you are in both, in this and in the world to come. Exclaimed R. Jehoshua: You are better to Israel than the planet of the sun, which is only in this world, while you are in both. And R. Elazar b. Asaryah exclaimed: You are better to Israel than a father and mother, who are only in this world, etc. R. Aqiba, however, exclaimed: Pleased are chastisements. And R. Eliezar answered: Support me, and I will hear the statement of Aqiba, my disciple, who says: "Pleased are chastisements." And he said: Aqiba, whence is this known to you? And he answered: From the following: It reads [2 Kings, 21:1 and 2]: "Twelve years old was Menasseh when he became king, and fifty and five years did he reign in Jerusalem . . . and he did what is evil in the eyes of the Lord." It reads also [Prov. 25:1]: "Also these are the proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah, the king of Judah, have collected." Could it be possible that Hiskia taught the law to the whole world, but not to his son Menasseh? It must then be said that of all the troubles which Hiskia has troubled himself to bring him, and from all his toil to correct him nothing was done, and only until chastisement had turned him over to the better side, as it reads [2 Chron. 33:10-14]: "And the Lord spoke to Menasseh, and to his people; but they listened not. Wherefore the Lord brought over them captains of the army belonging to the king of Assyria; and they took Menasseh prisoner with chains, and bound him with fetters, and led him off to Babylon. And when he was in distress he besought the Lord his God, and humbled himself greatly before the God of his fathers. And he prayed unto Him, and He permitted Himself to be entreated by him, and heard his supplication and brought him back to Jerusalem unto his kingdom. Then did Menasseh feel conscious that the Lord is indeed the (true) God." Learn from this that chastisements are pleased.

The rabbis taught: Three men (biblical personages) came with indirectness (instead of praying in a straightforward manner), and they were Cain, Esau, and Menasseh. Cain who says [Gen. 4:13]: "My sin is greater than I can bear." He said before Him: Lord of the Universe, is then my sin greater than that of the six hundred thousand Israelites who will sin before Thee in the future, and Thou wilt forgive them? Esau said [Ex. xxvii. 38]: "Hast thou then but one blessing, my father?" And Menasseh, who at the beginning called to many gods, and only finally called to the God of his parents.

"Abba Shaul," etc. There is a Boraitha: Provided he does so out of the sanctuary in a profane language.

"Three kings," etc. The rabbis taught: Jeroboam means who made Israel quarrel among themselves. According to others, who has made a controversy between them and their Heavenly Father. Ben Nebat means the son of him who had a vision, but did not see (interpret it properly). As the following Boraitha Nebat is identical with Michah and with Sheba ben Bichri Nebat because of the reason said above. And Michah, because he became poor while occupying himself with building. And his real name was Sheba ben Bichri.

The rabbis taught: There were three who had a vision, but have not seen it properly. Nebat Achitopel and the astrologers of Pharaoh. Nebat saw that some light will come out from him. He thought he himself will become a king, and he erred, as this was his son Jeroboam. Achitopel saw also the same. He thought that he himself will become a king, but he erred, as it was his daughter, Bath Sheba, from whom Solomon came out. And the astrologers of Pharaoh, who saw that the redeemer of Israel will be beaten through water, and therefore advised Pharaoh to command. [Ex. 1:22]: "Every son that is born ye shall cast into the river." And they erred, as this was [Num. 20:13]: "These are the waters of Meribah where the children of Israel quarreled." But whence do we know that Jeroboam has no share in the world to come? From [1 Kings, 13:34]: "Blotted out, and destroyed from the face of the earth. Blotted out from this world and destroyed from the world to come. Said R. Johanan: What has Jeroboam done that he was rewarded to be king? Because he rebuked Solomon. And why was he punished? Because he rebuked him in public, as it reads [ibid. 11:27]: "And this was the occasion that he lifteth up his hand against the king: Solomon built up the Milo and closed up the breach of the city of David his father." He said to 'him: David, thy father hath broken in holes in the surrounding wall of Jerusalem, for the purpose that it shall be easier for Israel to enter the city. And thou hast fenced it for the purpose to make an angaria to Pharaoh's daughter. What means "and he lifteth up his hands"? Said R. Na'hman: He took off his phylacterious in his presence. 1 R. Na'hman said again: The insolence of Jeroboam destroyed him from the world, as it reads [ibid. 12:26-28]: "And Jeroboam said in his heart, Now may the kingdom return to the house of David. If this people go up to prepare sacrifices in the house of the Lord at Jerusalem, then may the heart of this people turn again. unto their lord, even unto Rehoboam, the king of Judah, and they might kill me, and return to Rehoboam, the king of Judah." He said: We have a tradition that in the Temple there are no seats except for the kings of the house of David. Now if they see that Rehoboam, the king, is sitting and I am standing, then they will say that he is the king and I am his servant. And if I will sit, Rehoboam's people will say that I am a rebel, and they will kill me, and therefore (28): "Whereupon the king took counsel, and he made two calves of gold, and saith unto the people, You have been long enough going up to Jerusalem; behold here are thy gods, O Israel, which have brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." What is meant by "the king took counsel"? Said R. Jehudah: He has conjoined an upright to a wicked, and said to them: Will you sign your name to all what I will command you? And they said: Yea. "Even to worship an idol"? The upright answered: God forbid. But the wicked saith to him: Do you think a man like Jeroboam will worship idols? He wants only to try us. And in this thing even Achiyah, the Shilonite, erred and signed his name. As Jehu, who was one of the greatest of upright about whom it reads [2 Kings, 10:30]: "Forasmuch as thou hast acted well in doing what is right in my eyes, and hast done in accordance with all that was in my heart unto the house of Achab: children of the fourth generation after thee shall sit upon the throne of Israel." And thereafter it reads (31): "And Jehu took no heed to walk in the law of the Lord the God of Israel with all his heart: he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam, who induced Israel to sin." But what caused him to sin? Said Abayi: There is a covenant to one's lips. He said [ibid., ibid. 18]: "Achab hath served Baal a little: Jehu will serve him much." And Rabha said: He saw the signature of Achiyah the Shilonite and he erred, as reads [Hosea, 5:2]: "And for murdering they who had rebelled (against God) concealed themselves in deep places; but I will inflict correction on them all." Said R. Johanan: The Holy One, blessed be He, said: They laid deeper plans than that of mine: I said: He who does not ascend to Jerusalem for the festivals transgresses a positive commandment only, and they say that he who will ascend to Jerusalem shall be slain by the sword.

It reads [1 Kings, 11:29]: "And it came to pass at that time when Jeroboam went out of Jerusalem, that the prophet Achiyah the Shilonite found him on the way; and he had clad himself with a new garment; and these two were alone by themselves in the field." It was taught in the name of R. Jose: "At that time" means the time which was designated for chastisement. [Jer. 2:18]: "In the time of their punishment shall they vanish," was also taught in the name of the same authority, means at the time designated for chastisement. [Isa. xlix. 8]: "In the time of favour have I answered thee," according to the same authority: The time which is designated for doing good [Ex. 32:8]: "But on the day when I visit I will visit their sins upon them," according to the same, at the time which is designated for chastisement. And the same is with Gen. xxxviii. i: "And it came to pass at that time." It reads [1 Kings, 12:1]: "And Rehoboam went to Shechem (. . .) to make him king." It was taught in the name of R. Jose. That place was designated for trouble. In Shechem, Dina was assaulted in the same place, Joseph was sold by his brothers, and in the same place the kingdom of David was divided. And (ibid. 29) "Jeroboam went out of Jerusalem." Said R. Hanina b. Papa: It means he went out of the destiny of Jerusalem (i.e., was to have no share in the welfare of Jerusalem). "And the prophet Achiyah . . . with a new garment," what does it mean? Said R. Na'hman: As a new garment has no spots so also the wisdom of Jeroboam was clean, without any error. According to others: They renewed things which no ear has ever heard of. And what is meant by "The two were alone in the field"? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: All other scholars were like the plants of the field in comparison with them. According to others: All the reasons for the commandment of the Torah were revealed to them as a field.

It reads [Michah, 1:14]: "Therefore shalt thou have to give presents to Moreshe thgath: the houses of Achzib shall become a deception to the kings of Israel." Said R. Hanina b. Papa: A heavenly voice was heard saying: "To him who has killed Goliath the Philistine and inherited to you the city of Gath, should ye send away his descendants?" Therefore the house of Achzib shall be a deception to the kings of Israel. It reads [2 Kings, 17:21]: "And Jeroboam misled Israel from following the Lord, and caused them to commit a great sin." Said R. Hanina: As one throws a stick by means of another stick--i.e., he makes Israel to sin against their will. Said R. Aushia: Until Jeroboam came, Israel had to bear the iniquity of one golden calf, and from that time farther on for two and three. Said R. Itz'hak: Every evil dispensation which came upon Israel contained in it a twenty-fourth part as punishment for the golden calf, as the above cited verse [Ex. xxxii.] states. Said R. Hanina: After twenty-four generations this verse was fulfilled, as it reads [Ezek, 9:1]: "The 'pkudas' of the city came already at an end." It reads [1 Kings, 13:33]: After this event Jeroboam returned not from his evil way. After what! Said R. Abba: After the Holy One, blessed be He, held Jeroboam by his garment, saying: Repent, and I and David Ben Yishai and thou will walk in the Garden of Eden. And to Jeroboam's questions: Who will have the preference? he said: Ben Yishai. And he rejoined: If so I don't want it.

R. Abuhu used to lecture about the three kings and became sick, and he made up his mind not to lecture about them, and he was cured. However, he lectured about them as before, and to the question of his disciples: Have you not made up your mind not to lecture any more about them? he answered: Did they then repent that I shall do so?

R. Ashi appointed a time for lecturing about the three kings, and said: On the morrow we will begin our lecture about our colleague Menasseh. He then appeared to him in a dream, and said to him: You call me a colleague and a colleague of your father? Answer me the question: Where must one begin to cut the bread by the benediction of thamotzi? And he said: I don't know. Rejoined Menasseh: If you are not aware to answer even that what I questioned you how can you call me a colleague? Rejoined R. Ashi: Teach this to me, and tomorrow I will proclaim it in your name in the college. And he said: From that part where it begins to bake when in the oven. Said R. Ashi again: If you are so wise, why did you worship idols? And Menasseh answered: If you would have been at that time you would have lifted up the edges of your dress, that they shall not impede you to run after me to worship the idols. On the morrow said R. Ashi to the rabbis: Let us lecture about the great men. Achab--means "Ach," a thorn to Heaven, and "ab," a father to idolatry, as it reads [1 Kings, 16:31]: "And it came to pass as if it had been too light a thing for him to walk in the sins of Jeroboam." Said R. Johanan: The lenient things which were done by Achab were more rigorous than the rigorous things done by Jeroboam. And why then does the

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Scripture make Achab dependent on Jeroboam, because Jeroboam was the beginner and all his followers were dependent upon him.

It reads [Hosea 12:12]: "Their altars also are as stone heaps." Said R. Johanan: There was not one heap in the land of Israel upon which Achab had not placed an idol and bowed himself to it. And whence do we know that he has no share in the world to come? From [1 Kings, 21:21]: "Behold, I will bring evil upon thee, and I will sweep out after thee and will cut off from Achab every male and the guarded and fortified in Israel." "Guarded" means in this world, and "fortified" in the world to come.

R. Johanan said: For which good deeds was Omri (Achab's father) rewarded that he obtained the kingdom? Because he added one great city to the land of Israel, as it reads [ibid. 16:24]: "And he bought the mount Samaria of Shemer for two talents of silver, and built on the mount, and called the name of the city which he had built, after the name of Shemer, the lord of the mount, Samaria."

R. Johanan said again: Why was Achab rewarded by the prolongation of his kingdom for twenty-two years? Because he respected the Torah which is written with the twenty-two letters of the alphabet, as it reads [ibid. 20:2, 7, and 9]: "And he sent messengers to Achab, the king of Israel, into the city. And he said unto him: Thus hath said Ben-hadad, Thy silver and thy gold are mine; thy wives also and thy children, even the best are mine. And the king of Israel answered and said, According to thy word, my lord, O king, thine am I, and all that I have. And the messenger returned and said: Thus hath said Ben-hadad, to say (to thee) I have indeed sent unto thee, saying, 'Thou shalt give unto me thy silver, and thy gold, and thy wives, and thy children. Nevertheless, about this time to-morrow will I send my servants unto thee, and they will search through thy house, and the houses of thy servants, and it shall be, that whatsoever is pleasant in thy eyes, they shall place it in their hand, and take it away.' Then did the king of Israel call for all the elders of the land, and said, Mark, I pray you, and see that this man seeketh mischief, for he hath sent unto me for my wives, and for my children, and for my silver, and for my gold, and I have not refused them to him. Wherefore he said unto the messengers of Ben-hadad: Say to my lord the king, all that thou didst send for to thy servants at the first will do; but this thing I am not able to do. And the messengers went away, and brought him word again." What is meant by "pleasant in thy eyes" if not the holy-scrolls? But perhaps it means an idol. This cannot be supposed, as it reads farther on (8): "And all the elders, and all the people said unto him, Thou must not hearken nor consent." But perhaps it means the elders of the same kind as was Achab, as we find such in [2 Sam. 17:4], that they are also named the elders of Israel. There it does not read "all the people," but here it does; and it is impossible that among them were no righteous, as it reads [1 Kings 19:18]: "And I will leave in Israel seven thousand, all the knees which have not bent unto Baal and every mouth which has not kissed him." Said R. Na'hman: Achab's sins and good deeds were just equal, as it reads [ibid. 22:20]: "Who will persuade Achab," hence it is difficult to punish him, as his sins did not overweigh his good deeds. R. Joseph opposed: He of whom it reads [ibid. 21:25]: "But indeed there was none like unto Achab," etc., etc. And you say that his sins and good deeds were equal? The reason, however, that it was necessary to persuade him, is because he was liberal with his money and assisted many scholars from his estate, and therefore half his sins were atoned. And there came out a spirit," etc. (see above). It reads [ibid. 16:33]: "And Achab made a grove; and Achab did yet more, so as to provoke the Lord the God of Israel to anger, than all the kings of Israel that had been before him." Said R. Johanan: He wrote on the gates of Shemer: Achab denies the God of Israel, and therefore he has no share in Him.

Menasseh means "he has forgotten the Lord." According to others it means that he made Israel to forget their Heavenly Father. And whence do we know that he has no share in the world to come? From [2 Kings, 21:3]: "And he built up again the high places which Hezekiah hath destroyed and he reared up altars for Baal and made a grove as Achab the king of Israel hath done." As Achab has no share in the world to come the same is the case with Menasseh.

"R. Jehudah said Menasseh has a share," etc. Said R. Johanan: Both infer their theory from one and the same passage [Jer. 15:4]: "And I will cause them to become a horror unto all the kingdoms of the earth on account of Menasseh the son of Hezekiah." According to one: Because Menasseh has repented and the other kings have not. And according to others: Because be himself had not repented. Said R. Johanan: He who said that Menasseh has no share in the world to come weakens the hands of those who are repenting. As a disciple taught before. R. Johanan: Menasseh repented thirty-three years, as it reads [2 Kings, 21:1-3]: "And fifty-five years did he reign in Jerusalem . . . and he made a grove as Achab did." How long did Achab rule? Twenty-two years; take off the twenty-two from the fifty-five years which Menasseh reigned, there remains thirty-three years.

R. Johanan said in the name of R. Simeon b. Jo'hai: It reads [2 Chron. 13]: "And he prayed unto Him, and He permitted himself v'ychtar 1 instead of voyethar. Infer from this that the Lord made for him an opening like a machteres (opening) in the Heaven to receive him; because of the opposition of the divine attribute.

The same said again in the name of the same authority: In [Jer. 26, 27 and 28, the first verses]: "In the beginning of the reign of Yehoyakim. . . . The beginning of the reign of Zedekiah." Were there not rulers before them? But this signifies that the Lord was about to return the world to tahu vebahu because of Yehoyakim. But when he looked upon his generation who were upright, he reconsidered it. And the reverse was the case with Zedekiah. He wanted to destroy the world because of his generation, but when he looked upon him he reconsidered it.

But does it not also read about Zedekiah [2 Kings, 24:18]: "And he did what was evil in the eyes of the Lord"? This was because he had to warn them, but did not do so.

The same said again in the name of the same authority: It reads [Prov. 29:9]: "If a wise man contend with a foolish man, whether he be angry or whether he laugh, he will have no rest." The Holy One, blessed be He, said: I became angry with Achaz and delivered him to the king of Damascus. What had he done? He sacrificed and smoked incense to their gods, as [2 Chron. 28:2]: "And he sacrificed unto the gods of the people of Damascus, who had smitten him; and he said, "Because the gods of the kings of Syria do help them (therefore) will I sacrifice unto them, that they may help me." But they only became to him a stumbling-block for him and for all Israel. I smiled on Amazia and had delivered the kings of Edom to his hand. And what has he done? He brought their gods and bowed himself to them, as it reads [2 Chron. 25:14]: "After Amasyahu was come home from smiting [striking with heavy blows] the Edomites he brought the gods of the children of Le'ir, and set them up unto himself as gods, and before them he used to prostrate himself and unto them he used to burn incense." Said R. Papa: This is what people say: You can do nothing with the ignoramus; weep before him, laugh with him, he does not care. Woe is to him who does not understand between good and evil. It reads [Jer. 39:3]: "In the middle gate." Said R. Johanan in the name of R. Simeon b. Jo'hai: This was the place the Sanhedrin decided upon Halakhas. Said R. Papa: This is what people say: Should the hook which was used by the herd, etc. (see Middle Gate, p. 216, line 14 from the bottom). R. Hisda said in the name of R. Jeremiah b. Aba: It reads [Prov. 24:30-31]: "By the field of a slothful man I once passed along, and by the vineyard of a man void of sense: And, lo, it was all grown over with thorns, nettles had covered its surface, and its stone wall was broken down." "By the field of a slothful man," etc., means Achaz, "void of sense" means Menasseh, "with thorns" means Amon, "nettles had covered," etc., means Yehoyakim, "broken down"--Zedekiah, in whose days the temple was destroyed.

The same said again in the name of the same authority: Four sects will not receive the glory of the Shekhina; viz., the scorners, as it reads [Hosea, 7:5]: "He groweth his land with scorners"; liars, as it reads [Ps. 101:7]: "He that speaketh falsehood shall not succeed in my eyes"; hypocrites, as [Job, 13:16]: "For a hypocrite cannot come before Him," and slanderers, as [Ps. 2:5]: "For thou art not a God that hath pleasure in wickedness. Evil cannot abide with thee," and thereafter it reads [7 and 10] "Thou wilt destroy those that speak lies . . . For there is not in their mouth any sincerity."

The rabbis taught: Menasseh used to learn fifty-five arguments (ways of interpretation) concerning the book of Leviticus, as many as the years of his reign. Achab, eighty-five, and Jeroboam, one hundred and three.

There is a Boraitha: R Mair used to say: Absalom has no share in the world to come, as it reads [2 Sam. 18:15]: "Smote Absalom"--in this world, and "slew him"--in the world to come.

R. Simeon b. Elazar said in the name of R. Mair: Achaz, Achazyah and all the kings of Israel about whom it is written, and he did evil in the eyes of the Lord," will not be restored at the time of resurrection, but are also not sentenced to Gehinem.

It reads [2 Kings, 21:16]: "And also innocent blood, did Menasseh shed in very great abundance, till he had filled (therewith) Jerusalem from one end to another; beside his sin wherewith he induced Judah to sin, to do what is evil in the eyes of the Lord." Here in this college it was explained because he had slain Isaiah. In the West it was explained that he made an image the weight of a thousand persons. And those who were engaged in carrying it from one place to another would die because of the great exertions.

According to whom is what Rabba b. b. Hana said? One soul of an upright is equalised to the whole world--i.e., if one kills an upright, he is considered as if he would slay the whole world. It is in accordance with him who says that Menasseh has killed Isaiah.

Achaz placed the images in the attics of the Temple, as it reads [2 Kings, 23:12]: "Altars that were on the upper chamber of Achaz." And Menasseh placed them in the Temple, as it reads [ibid. 21:7]: "And he placed a hewn image of the Asherah that he had made, in the house of which the Lord had said to David, and to Solomon, his son, In this house, and in Jerusalem, which I have chosen out of all tribes of Israel will I put my name forever." And Amon placed them in the holy of holy chamber, as it reads [Isa. 28:20]: "For the bed shall be," etc. (See Yomah.)

Achaz abolished the worship and sealed the Torah, as it reads [ibid. viii. 16]: "Bind up the testimony, seal up the law among my disciples." Menasseh cut the divine names out (of the Scriptures) and destroyed the altar. Amon burned the Torah and caused spider-webs to be on the place where the altar stood, as it reads [2 Chron. 33:23]: "For he, Amon, made his guiltiness great."

Questioned Rabba, Rabba b. Mari: Why did not the Mishna also count Yehoyakim, of whom it reads [ibid. 34:8]: "And the rest of the acts of Yehoyakim, and his abominable deeds which he did, and which was found upon him," which, according to one of the sages, means that he engraved the name of the idol upon his body? And he answered: Concerning kings I have not heard, but I have heard concerning common men thus: Why did not the Mishna count Michah? Because his house was open to travellers (who used to eat and drink there without being charged).

It reads [Zech. 10:11]: "And he will pass through the sea (with) distress, and he will smite in the sea the waves." Said R. Johanan: This is the image which Michah had made in Egypt and which passed with him the Red Sea. There is a Boraitha: R. Nathan said: From the city of Grab to the city of Shilah (where the tabernacle was temporarily) is a distance of three miles, and the smoke from the altar in Shilah used to mix itself with the smoke from the altars which were made for the image of Michah. And the angels wanted to put Michah aside, but the Holy One, blessed be He, said to them: Leave him alone because his house is open to travellers. And for this were punished the men who took revenge in the case of the concubine of Gibah (Judges, 19 and 20.). And the Holy One said to them: Ye took revenge for the honour of a man, but did not act so for my honour-i.e., they did not care to destroy the image of Michah, etc.

R. Johanan said in the name of R. Jose b Kisma: Great are λυνμος entertainments, for a little refreshment plays an essential part, for its refusal estranged two tribes from Israel (Ammon and Moab), as it reads [Deut. 23:5]: "For the reason that they met you not with bread and with water, on the way." And R. Johanan himself said: It estranges relatives and brings near strangers; shuts the eye not to look upon the wicked, makes the Shekhina rest on the prophets of Baal, and even an error in this affair is considered as if it would be done intentionally. (Now the illustrations.) It estranges relatives--e.g., Ammon and Moab (who were relatives to Israel). It brings near strangers--e.g., Jithro, as he said elsewhere that the reward for [Ex. 2:20]: "Call him that he may eat bread" was that his descendants were rewarded to sit among the Sanhedrin in the chambers of the Temple, as it reads [1 Chron. 2:55]: "And the families of the scribes who dwelt at Jabez; the Thirathites, the Shimathites and the Suchathites. These are the Kenites that came from Chammoth, the father of the house of Rechab, and [Judges, i. 16]: "And the children of the Kenite, the father-in-law of Moses, went up out of the city of palm-trees with the children of Judah into the wilderness of Judah, which is south of Arad, and they went and dwelt with the people." Shuts the eye not to look upon the evil deeds of the wicked, e.g., Michah, as said above. Makes the Shekhina to rest upon the prophets of Baal, as [1 Kings, 13:20]: "And it came to pass as they were sitting at the table, That the word of the Lord came unto the prophets, who had brought him back." And even an error is considered as if done intentionally, as R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh said: If Jonathan would have supplied David with some loaves of bread the priests of the city of Nob would not have been slain, Doeg, the Edomite would not have been lost, and Saul and his three sons would not have been killed.

Why does not the Mishna count Achaz among those who have no share in the world to come? Said R. Jeremiah b. Aba: Because he was placed between two uprights (Jotham, his father, and Hezekiah, his son).

And R. Joseph said: Because he was ashamed before the prophet Isaiah, as [Isa. 7:3]: "And the Lord said unto Isaiah, Go forth now to meet Achaz, thou with Shear Yashub, thy son, to the end of the aqueduct of the upper pool, on the highway of the washers' field." Why is mentioned the washers' field"? Because Achaz was ashamed to look at Isaiah, and to put upon his face the αβλυο of the washers when he passed Isaiah in order not to be recognised.

And why was Amon not counted? Because of the honour of his son, Yeshiyahu. If so, let them not count Menasseh, because of the honour of Hezekiah? There is a tradition that a son can save his father, but not a father his son, as it reads [Deut. 32:39]: "And no one can deliver out of my hands," which means Abraham cannot save Ishmael, and Isaac, Esau. Now, when we come to this theory it may be said that Achaz was not counted because of the honour of Hezekiah. However, the above question, why Yehoyakim was not counted is as yet

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unanswered. It is because of what was said by Hyya b. Abuiha that on the head of Yehoyakim was written "This and something else"--i.e., one revenge more will be taken from it. The grandfather of R. Praida found a skull in the gates of Jerusalem upon which was engraved: "This and something else." He buried it once and twice, but it came out again. He then said that it must be the skull of Yehoyakim, of whom it reads [Jer. 22:19]: "With the burial of an ass shall he be buried, dragged about and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem." He then said: It is the skull of a king, and it must be nicely treated. He wrapped it in a silk garment and put it in a bag. When his wife saw this she thought it was the skull of his first wife, whom be does not want to forget. And she heated the oven and burned it. This was what was engraved upon it: "This and nothing else."

There is a Boraitha: R. Simeon b. Elazar said: Hiskia praised himself [2 Kings, 20:3]: "And have done what is good in thy eyes" caused what is said [ibid., ibid. 8]: "What sign," etc., and this caused that idolaters were invited to his table [ibid., ibid. 13]. And these altogether caused the exile of his descendants [ibid., ibid. 17]. This is a support to Hiskia, who said that he who invites an idolater to his house and serves on him, causes exile to his children, as it reads [ibid., ibid. 18]: "And of thy sons . . . they shall be court servants in the palace," etc.

Lamentation I. begins with aichoh (O'how). Said Rabha in the name of R. Johanan: Why was Israel beaten with aichoh? Because they transgressed thirty-six things to which Korath applies, and the word aicho counts 36. And he said again: Why is Lamentations written according to the alphabet? Because they have transgressed what is written in the Torah, which is written with the letters of the alphabet.

"Doth she sit solitary?" said Rabha in the name of R. Johanan: The Holy One, blessed be He, said: I said [Deut. 33:28]: "And then dwelt Israel in safety, alone, the fountain of Jacob; in a land of corn and wine; also, its heavens shall drop down dew." And now solitary is their sitting. "The city that was full of people." Said Rabha again in the name of the same authority. They used to marry a minor to an adult and vice versa, for the purpose that they shall have many children. "Is become like a widow." Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: Like a widow, but not a widow. Like a woman whose husband has departed to the cities of the countries of the sea, who intends to return. "She that was so great among the nations, the princess among the provinces." Said Rabba in the name of R. Johanan: Everywhere they came they became masters of their masters, as the rabbis taught: It happened with two men who were captured in the mountain of Carmel, and their capturer was walking behind them. Said one of the captured to his colleague: The camel which walks in front of us is blind in one eye and carries two bags, one of wine and the other of oil. And the men who lead it, one of them is an Israelite, and the other is a heathen. Said the capturer to them: Hard-necked people, whence do you know this? And they answered: From the grass which is in front of the camel that is consumed only from one side, hence from the side on which he sees he consumes, and on the other side on which he is blind he leaves it. It carries two bags of wine and oil; because drops of wine sink, and drops of oil float. And the leaders, one of them is an Israelite and the other a heathen; because an Israelite when he needs to do his necessity, usually turns aside, and the heathen does it on the way. The capturer then ran after them and found that it was as they said. He then kissed them on their heads, brought them to his house, prepared for them a great meal, danced before them, saying: "Blessed be He who chose the descendants of Abraham and gave them of his wisdom, and everywhere they go they become masters of their masters." He freed them, and they went in peace to their home.

"Weeping, are they weeping?" Why two weepings? Said Rabba in the name of R. Johanan: One for the first Temple, and the other for the second Temple.

"In the night," means because of what happened in a former night [Num. xiv. 1]: "And the people wept that night." And Rabba in the name of R. Johanan said: This day was the ninth of Ab, and the Holy One, blessed be He, said: "Ye have cried on this night in vain, and I shall ordain it that your generations shall lament on this day forever." (See Taanith.) According to others: In the night, because he who weeps in the night, it looks like the stars and planets are weeping with him. And so also with human beings. He who hears one weeping in the night, weeps with him, as it happened with Rabban Gamaliel, whose female neighbour wept because her son died, and he wept with her until the eyelids dropped. On the morrow his disciples recognised it, and they made her move away from his neighbourhood. "And her tears are on her checks." Said Rabba in the name of R. Johanan: As a woman weeps for the husband of her youth, as it reads [Joel, 1:8]: "Lament like a woman girded with sackcloth for the betrothed of her youth." "Her adversaries are become chiefs." Said Rabba in the name of R. Johanan: Every one who oppresses Israel becomes a chief, as it reads [Isa. 8:3]: "For no fatigue befalleth him that oppresseth them." And the same said again in the name of the same authority: That from the same verse is inferred that an oppressor of Israel never becomes tired.

"Not for you, ye travellers, behold and see," etc. Said Rabba in the name of R. Johanan: From this may be inferred that the Scripture is particular that if one tells his troubles to his neighbour, he should add, "May it not happen to you." "All that pass this way." Said R. Amram in the name of Rabh: They (the nations) have made of me the perpetrator of a crime to whom burning applies, as about Sodom it reads [Gen. 19:24]: "And the Lord rained upon Sodom." And here it reads [13]: "From on high hath he sent a fire into my bones."

It reads [ibid. iv. 6]: "For greater is the iniquity of the daughter of my people than the sin of Sodom." Said Rabba in the name of R. Johanan: Jerusalem was punished with such that even Sodom was not. As concerning Sodom, it reads [Ezek. xvi. 49]: "Behold, this was the iniquity of thy sister Sodom: Pride, abundance of food . . . but the hand of the poor and needy did she not strengthen." And concerning Jerusalem, it reads [Sam. 4:10]: "The hands of merciful women choked their own children." [Ibid. 1:15]: "The Lord hath trodden under foot all my mighty men in the midst of me." As one says to his neighbour: This coin is already out of current.

[Ibid. 2:16]: "All thy enemies open wide their mouth against thee." (The whole portion is in alphabetical order). Here, however, the peh is before the ayin, and why? Said Rabba in the name of R. Johanan: Because of the spies, who said with their mouths (peh) what they had not seen with their eyes (ayin).

It reads [Ps. 14:4]: "Who eat up my people, as they eat bread (while), they do not call on the Lord." Said Rabba in the name of R. Johanan: It is so the custom of Israel's enemies that he who robs Israel and consumes his bread feels a good taste, while he does not feel any taste if he has not done so. "They do not call on the Lord," means the judges. So Rabh. And Samuel said that it means the teachers of children who are doing their work falsely. (However, what was said in the Mishna) of having and not having a share in the world to come? Who were they who have decided so? Said R. Ashi: The men of the great assembly. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: They wanted to count one king more, and the appearance of his father's face came and spread itself before them, but they did not care. And then a fire from heaven came and charred the benches on which they were sitting, but they did not care. Then a heavenly voice said to them [Prov. 20:29]: "Seest thou a man that is diligent in his work? Before kings may he place himself: let him not place himself before obscure men." He has built his house during thirteen years, and my house during seven years. But not this only, but he built first my house and then his house. Should he have such luck? And still they did not care. Then came another heavenly voice [Job, 34:33]: "Should He then according to thy view send a recompense, because thou hast rejected him? Because thou must choose and not I?"

However, the interpreters of notes said that all of them have a share in the world to come, as it reads [Ps. 60:9 and 10]: "Mine is Gilead," which means Achab, who fell at Ramoth Gilead. "Menasseh"--literally, "Ephraim the stronghold of my head," means Jeroboam, who was an outcome of the tribe Ephraim. "Judah are my chiefs," means Achitopel, who was of the tribe of Judah. "Moab my washpot," means Gechazi, who was beaten because of the business of washing. "Upon Edom will I cast my shoe," means Doeg the Edomite. "Philistia, triumph thou but over me." The angels said before the Holy One, blessed be He: Lord of the Universe, if David, who has killed the Philistines, would come before Thee and would complain to that what Doeg and Achitopel shared in the world to come, what wilst Thou say to him? And He answered: It is for me to make them friends.

It reads [Jer. 8:5]: "A perpetual backsliding." Said Rabh: A victorious answer has the assembly of Israel given to the prophets. The prophet said to Israel: Repent ye of your sins, as you may look upon your parents who have sinned, where are they? And they answered: And your prophets who have not sinned, where are they? As it reads [Zech. 1:5]: "Your fathers, where are they? and the prophets, could they live forever?" He then said to them: But your parents have repented and confessed, as it reads [ibid., ibid. 6]: "But my words and my decrees, which I commanded my servants, the prophets, behold, they did overtake your fathers: and (then) they returned and said, just as the Lord of hosts had purposed to do unto us, in accordance with our ways, and in accordance with our doings, so hath he dealt with us." Samuel said: The victorious answer was thus: Ten men came to the prophet and sat down. And the prophet said to them: Repent of your sins. And they answered: A slave whom his master has sold, and a woman whom her husband has divorced, has then one something to do with the other? Said the Holy One to the prophet: Go and say to them [Isa 1:1]: "Where is your mother's bill of divorcement, wherewith I have sent her away? or who of my creditors, is it to whom I have sold you? Behold, for your iniquities were ye sold, and for your transgressions was your mother sent away?" And this is what Resh Lakish said: This is what is written [Jer. 43:10]: "Nebuchadnezzar my slave." It was known before Him, who said a word and the world was created, that Israel will claim so in the future, and therefore He said in advance, "Nebuchadnezzar my slave." And to whom, then, belongs the property of a slave, if not to his master?

It reads [Ezek. 20:32-34]: "And that which cometh up into your mind shall not at all come to pass (namely), that ye say, We will be like the nations, like the families of the other countries to serve wood and stone. As I live, saith the Lord Eternal, surely, with a mighty hand, and with an outstretched arm and with fury poured out, will I rule over you." Said R. Na'hman: With such an anger may the Merciful One be angry with us and redeem us.

[Isa. 28:26]: "For his God had instructed him rightly, taught him (so to do)." Said Rabba b. b. Hanna: The prophet said to Israel: Repent. And they answered: We cannot, as we are under the dominion of the evil spirit. And he said to them: Overrule him. To which they answered: This can be done only by his God.

It reads concerning Bil'am [Num. 22:5]: "The son of Beor." And [Num. 24:3]: "Bil'am, his son Beor." Said R. Johanan: His father was a son to him what concerns prophecy. The Mishna says that Bil'am has no share in the world to come, but other nations will have. Our Mishna is in accordance with R. Jehoshua of the following Boraitha: It reads [Ps. 9:18]: "The wicked shall return into hell, all the nations that are forgetful of God." "The wicked" means the transgressors in Israel. "All the nations," means idolaters. So R. Eliezar. Said R. Jehoshua to him: Does it read, "And all the nations"? It reads "All the nations." This passage is to be explained thus: The wicked shall return to hell, means all the nations that are forgetful of God. And even Bil'am gave a sign concerning himself with his saying [Num. 23:10]: "May my soul die the death of the righteous, and may my last end be like his." If I will die a death of the righteous, then will be my end like his, and if not [ibid. 24:14]: "I am going with my people."

It reads [Num. 22:7]: "And the elders of Moab and the elders of Midian departed." There is a Boraitha: Midian and Moab were always enemies with each other. This is a parable to two watch-dogs who were jealous of each other. But it happened that a wolf came to fight one of them. Said the other: If I will not help him the wolf will kill him to-day, and to-morrow he will kill me. And they therefore conjoined together and killed the wolf. Said R. Papa: This is what people say: The χρεχος and the cat (who are always enemies with each other) made a wedding meal of the fat of Bichgada.

It reads [ibid., ibid. 8]: "And the princess of Moab abode with Bil'am." And what became of the princess of Midian? As soon as they heard that Bil'am told them to stay there over night, they thought: Does then exist a father who dislikes his son? (The Holy One is the father of Israel, and will certainly not advise him to curse Israel.)

Said R. Na'hman: Impudence affects even Heaven, as [ibid., ibid. 12] reads: "Thou shalt not go with him," and finally [20]: "Go with them." Said R. Shesheth: Impudence is a kingdom without a crown, as [2 Sam. 3:39]: "And I am this day yet weak, and just anointed king; and these men, the sons of Zeruyah, are too strong for me."

R. Johanan said: Bil'am was lame on one foot and blind on one eye, as [Num. 24:3]: "Whose one eye is open."

[Num. 34:16]: "Knoweth the knowledge of the Most High." Is it possible for him, who does not know the knowledge of his ass, to be aware of the knowledge of the Most High? It means he was aware of that moment when the Holy One, blessed be He, became angry. And this is what the prophet said to Israel [Michah, 6:5]: "O my people, do but remember what Balak the king of Moab resolved, and what Bil'am the son of Beor answered him, from Shittim unto Gilgal, in order that ye may know the gracious benefits of the Lord." What do the last words mean? The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Israel: Beware of the gracious benefits I have done to ye, that I have not become angry on that day in the time of Bil'am, for if I would have done so, there would not remain one living soul from ye. And this is what Bil'am said to Balak: What is the use of my anger when God was not angry these days in spite of what he used to do every day, as it reads [Prov. 7:12]: "God is indignant (with the wicked) every day." How long is the duration of the anger? One second, as it reads [Ps. 30:6]: "For his anger is momentary." And if you wish, it is from [Isa. 26:20]: "Go, my people, enter thou into thy chamber, and shut thy door behind thee: hide thyself for a little moment, until the indignation be passed away." And at what time in the day does He become angry? In the first three hours when the comb of a cock becomes white. But is the comb not white at any other time of the day? At any other time there are red points in the white, and at that time it is white without any points.

There was a Min in the neighbourhood of R. Jehoshua b. Levi who caused him great trouble. And on a certain day Jehoshua tied a cock on the posts of his beds, thinking that when the comb will become white I will caution him. However, when that time arrived he slumbered. He said then: I understand from this that such a thing must not be done, even to Minnim.

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There is a Boraitha in the name of R. Mair: When the sun rises and the kings put their crowns on their head, and bow themselves down to the sun, the Lord immediately becomes angry.

It reads [Num. 24:21]: "And Bil'am rose up in the morning and saddled his ass." There is a Boraitha in the name of R. Simeon b. Elazar: Love abandons the custom of great men, and the same animosity does. Love abandons their custom, as we have seen by Abraham, who himself saddled his ass (because of his love to the Creator), and the same we saw by Bil'am, who himself saddled his ass, because of his animosity to Israel.

R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: One shall always occupy himself with the Torah and divine commandments, even not for the sake of heaven, as finally he will come to do so for its sake. This can be inferred from Balak, who offered forty-two sacrifices, and was rewarded by that what Ruth was the outcome from him. As R. Jose b. Huna said: Ruth was the daughter of Eglon, the grandson of Balak, king of Moab. Rabha said to Rabba b. Mari: It reads [1 Kings, 1:47]: "May God make the name of Solomon more famous than thy name, and make his throne greater than thy throne." Is it the usual way of saying to a king thus? And he answered: It is not to be taken literally; they meant to say "similar to thy name," as if you would not say so, how is to be understood [Judges, 5:24]: "Dwelling in the tent may she be blessed"? Who is meant by "dwelling in the tent," if not Sarah, Rebekha, Rachel, and Leah? Does, then, this passage mean that Ja'el shall be more blessed than they? Hence it is not to be taken literally; and it means "similar to them"; and the same is the case here. However, Rabba b. Mari differs with R. Jose b. Huni, who said that usually one becomes jealous of every one but of his son and disciple. Of his son, as we see from the above-cited verse concerning Solomon. And of his disciple [2 Kings, 2:9]: "And Elisha said, Let there be, I pray thee, a double portion of thy spirit upon me," and if you wish, from [Num. 27:23]: "And he laid his hands upon him," though he was commanded [ibid., ibid. 18]: "Thou shalt lay thy hand upon him."

It reads [ibid. 28:16]: "And put a word in his mouth." Said R. Johanan: From all the blessings of that wicked you may learn what he intended to say, if he would not have been prevented. He wanted to say: Israel shall not possess any houses of assembly and of learning. And what was he compelled to say [ibid., ibid. 5]: "How beautiful are thy tents, O Jacob." He intended to say that the Shekhina shall not rest upon them, and said, "Thy dwellings, O Israel."

He intended to say that their kingdom shall not be prolonged, and said, "As streams are they spread forth." He intended to say that they shall not possess olives and vineyards, and said, "As gardens by the river's side." They shall have a bad odor, and said, "As aloe-trees which the Lord had planted." They shall not have kings of nice appearance, and said, "And cedar-trees beside the waters." Their kings shall not be descendants of kings, and said, "Water runneth out of His buckets." Their kingdom shall not rule over other nations, and said, "That his seed may be moistened by abundance of waters." Their kingdom shall not be strong enough, and said, "And exalted above Agag shall be his king." And their kingdom shall not be feared, and said, "And raised on high shall be his kingdom." Said R. Abba b. Kahana: All Bil'am's blessings were overturned to cautions, except concerning houses of assembly and of learning, as [Deut. xxiii. 6]: "And the Lord thy God changed unto thee the curse into a blessing, because the Lord thy God loved thee." It reads "curse," singular, but not "curses," plural.

Samuel b. Na'hman in the name of R. Jonathan said: It reads [Prov. 27:6]: "Faithful are the wounds of a friend; but deceptive are the kisses of an enemy." The caution that Achiyah the Shilonite cautioned Israel is better for them than the blessings that Bil'am has blessed them. The former cautioned Israel with a reed, as it reads [1 Kings, 14:15]: "As the reed is shaken in the water." As this reed stands in water-places, the branches of it change, but its roots are many, and even all the winds of the world when blowing upon it are not able to uproot it, but it bends in every direction of the wind. However, when the wind ceases it remains straight in its place. But Bil'am, the wicked, blessed them with a cedar, Which does not stand in water-places, does not change its branches, and its roots are few, and although no winds can affect it, however, as soon as a south wind comes it uproots it and turns it over on its face. Moreover, a pen for writing the Holy Scrolls, Prophets, and Hagiographa was made from a reed.

Farther on it reads [Num. 24:21]: "And he looked on the Kenites. . . . Strong is thy dwelling-place," etc. Bil'am said to Jithro: Kenite, wast thou not with us at the time we consulted to destroy Israel? How, then, does it come that thou art placed now among the strongest of the world? And this is what R. Hyya b. Aba in the name of R. Simlai said: The following three--Bil'am, Job, and Jithro--were the advisers of Pharaoh, concerning his command of throwing in the river the children of Israel. Bil'am, who gave this advice, was killed; Job, who kept silent, was punished with chastisement; and Jithro, who ran away, was rewarded by having his descendants placed among the Sanhedrin, in the chamber of the Temple, as the above-cited verse [of 1 Chron. 2:55] reads: "And he took up his parable, and said, Alas, who shall live when God doth appoint this one?" [Num. 24:23]. Said R. Johanan: Woe will be to that nation which will try to prevent the redemption of Israel, when the Holy One, blessed be He, will do it to his children. Who can prevent a lion to come together with his lioness at the time they are both free?

It reads [ibid., ibid. 14]: "And now, behold, I am going unto my people: come, I will advise thee against what this people will do to thy people in the end of days." This people to thy people! It ought to be the reverse: "I will advise thee against what thy people will do to this people." Said R. Abah b. Kahana: It is similar to one who intends to caution himself, and does it by cautioning his neighbour. (Rashi explains this that Bil'am said as it ought to be, but the verse changed its language.) Bil'am said to Balak: The God of this nation hates incest, and they, I am aware, are fond of linen dresses. Put up shops for them, and place therein prostitutes, an old woman outside, and a young one inside, and they shall sell them linen dresses. He put up shops from Har Shelek to the place of Beth Hayishimon, and placed therein prostitutes accordingly. And when Israel were eating, drinking, and rejoicing themselves and taking a walk, the old woman said to him: Do you want to buy a linen dress for a reasonable price? But the young woman from inside offers it to him thrice cheaper, and finally she says to him: You are at home, choose what you like. And there stood a pitcher full of Ammonite wine, which was not as yet prohibited. And she treats him with a goblet of wine. And after he drinks it, it kindles him as a fire, and he makes his proposition to her. She, however, takes out her idol from her bosom, saying: Worship it. And to his answer: I am a Jew, she said: What is it, it is required only of you to uncover yourself before it. While he was not aware that so was the custom of its worship, as it reads [Hosea, 9:10]: "But they, too, went to Baal Peor, and devoted themselves unto that shameful idol, and became abominations as those they loved."

It reads [Num. 25:1]: "And Israel dwelt in Shittim." Said R. Johanan: Everywhere such an expression is to be found it brings infliction. Here the people began to commit incest. [Gen. xxxvii. 1]: "And Jacob dwelt in the land of his fathers sojourning," and (2) "Joseph brought evil reports of them to his father." [Ibid. 47:27]: "And Israel dwelt in the land of Egypt, in the country of Goshen," and [ibid. 29]: "And the days of Israel drew near that he was to die." [1 Kings, 5:5]: "And every man dwelt in safety," and [ibid. 11:14]: "And the Lord stirred up an adversary unto Solomon, Hadad the Edomite."

It reads [Num. 31:8]: "And the kings of Midian they slew, besides the rest of their men that were slain . . . and Bil'am, the son of Beor, they slew with the sword." What hath Bil'am to do there? Said R. Johanan: He went to take the reward for the twenty-four thousand Israelites who were killed through his advice. Said Mar Zutra b. Tubia in the name of Rabh: This is what people say: A camel wanted to get horns, and therefore the ears he possessed were cut off.

[Josh. 13:22]: "And Bil'am, the son of Beor, the soothsayer." The soothsayer! Was he not a prophet? Said R. Johanan: At the beginning he was a prophet, but thereafter became a soothsayer.

A Sadducaer said to R. Hanina: Are you aware of Bil'am's age when he was slain? And he answered: There is nothing written about it, but from [Ps. 4:24]: "Let not the men of blood and deceit live out half their days," I understand that he must have been thirty-two or thirty-three when he was killed. And the Sadducaer answered: Thou sayest well, as I saw the record of Bil'am, and it was written therein thirty-three years was Bil'am when he was killed by Pinehas, the murderer.

Said Mar b. Rabhina to his son: About all the commoners who are mentioned in the Mishna, you have not to be anxious to lecture of them to their disadvantage, except Bil'am, about whom you may lecture as much as you like.

About Doeg is found in the Scripture this word differently, in some places with an aleph and in others with double yods instead of an aleph. Said R. Johanan: At the beginning Heaven was worrying that perhaps this man will go out in a wrong way, and after it happened so, it was exclaimed that this man is lost by his bad habits.

R. Itz'hak said: It reads [Ps. 52:3]: "What vauntest thou thyself of wickedness, O mighty man? the kindness of God endureth all the time." The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Doeg: Art thou, then, not mighty in the Torah? Why art thou fond of slandering?

And the same said again: It reads [Ps. 1:16]: "But unto the wicked God saith, What hast thou to do to relate my statutes?" The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Doeg the wicked: What hast thou to relate my statutes when thou reachest the portion of murderers and the portion of slanderer (which thou hast done both)? How wouldst thou explain them?

"Why bearest thou my covenant upon thy mouth? [ibid.]. Said R Ami: Infer from this that the study of Doeg was only with his mouth, but not with his heart.

R. Itz'hak said: It reads [Job, 20:15]: "The wealth which he hath swallowed, will he have to vomit up again: God will drive it out of his belly." David said before the Holy One, blessed be He: Let Doeg die. And he was answered: Thou must wait until he will have forgotten the Torah, which he has swallowed. And he prayed again: Let God drive it out of his belly.

R. Itz'hak said again: It was said before David: Let Doeg have a share in the world to come. And he answered [Ps. 52:7]: "Therefore God will also destroy thee forever." Let there at least a Halakha be mentioned in his name in the college. And he answered: "Pluck thee out of his tent." Let his descendants be rabbis. "And root thee out of the land of life."

The same said again: It reads [Isa. 33:18]: "Where is he who wrote down? where is he that weighed? where is he that counted the towers?" (All this passage is concerning Doeg.) Where is he who counted the letters of the Torah? Where is he who weighs the lenient and rigorous things mentioned therein? Where is he who counted three hundred decided Halakhas (about Levitical cleanness) concerning a turret flying in the air? Said R. Ami: Four hundred questions had Doeg and Achitophel asked concerning turrets flying in the air, and not one of them could be decided. Said Rabha: Is it also a great thing to ask questions?

In the years of R. Jehudah all their studies were confined to the Section of Damages, etc. (See Taanith, from line 12 to the end of that chapter.) However, here the answer is: The Holy One, blessed be He, wants the heart of one, but not his mouth, as it reads [1 Sam. 14:7]: "But the Lord looketh on the heart." Said R. Ami: Doeg was not dead before he had forgotten all his studies, as it reads [Prov. 5:23]: "He will indeed die for want of correction; and through the abundance of his folly will he sink into error." Said R. Johanan: Three angels of destruction attended to Doeg: one who had made him forget his study, and one who burned his soul, and the third who scattered his ashes in prayer and learning houses.

The same said again: Doeg and Achitophel did not see each other, as Doeg was in the days of Saul and Achitophel in the days of David.

And he said again: Both Doeg and Achitophel have not lived half of their days. So also we have learned in the following Boraitha: All the years of Doeg were only thirty-four, and those of Achitophel thirty-three. R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: One shall not bring himself into temptation, as David i king of Israel, placed himself in the power of a trial and stumbled. He said before Him: Lord of the Universe, why is it said the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and not the God of David? And he was answered: Because they were tried by Me, and thou wast not. And he said before Him: Lord of the Universe, try me, as it reads [Ps. 26:2]: "Try me, O Lord, and prove me." And he was answered: You will be tried, and, furthermore, I will do with thee a thing which I have not done with the patriarchs, as them I have not informed that I will try, and thee I inform that thou wilt be tried with a case of adultery. And this is what it reads [2 Sam. 11:2]: "And it happened at evening tide that David arose," etc. Said R. Jehudah: He did in the daytime what is usually done at night. And he overlooked a Halakha: There is a small member in the body of a man which is always hungry if one is trying to satisfy it, and is always satisfied if one starves it. "And he walked upon the roof of the king's house; and he saw from the roof a woman bathing herself, and the woman was of a very beautiful appearance." Bath Sheba used to wash her head under a bee-hive. The Satan then appeared before David as a bird, and he shot an arrow at it, and the arrow fell on the bee-hive and broke it, so that Bath Sheba was visible to David. And immediately [ibid., ibid. 3 and 4]: "David sent and inquired after the woman; and some one said, Behold, this is the Bath Sheba, the daughter of Eliam, the wife of Uriyah the Hittite. And David sent messengers and took her; and she came in unto him, and he lay with her, and she had just purified herself from her uncleanness: and she returned unto her house." And this is what it reads [Ps. 17:3]: "Thou hast proved my heart; thou hast thought of me in the night; thou hast refined me--thou couldst find nothing; my zamuthi (purpose) doth not pass beyond (the words of) my mouth," which means it would be better for me that a zmama (a bit) should have been put in my mouth than to have prayed: Try me.

Rabha lectured [Ps. 51:6]: "To thee, thee only, have I sinned, and what is evil in thy eyes have I done; in order that thou mightest be righteous when thou speakest, be justified when thou judgest." David said before the Holy One, blessed be He: It is known before Thee, that if I would want to overrule my impulse (concerning Bath Sheba) I would be able to do so. But I didn't, so people shall not say that the slave has conquered his master. He lectured again: It reads [Ps. 11:1]: "In the Lord have I put my trust; how can ye say to my soul, Flee to your mountain as a bird?" David said before the Holy One, blessed be He: Lord of the Universe, forgive me this sin for the purpose that people shall not say that your mountain was lost through a bird (as said, above that the Satan appeared to David as a bird). He lectured again: It is written [ibid. 38:18]: "For I am prepared for (my) downfall, and my pain is continually before me." From the six days of creation Bath Sheba was destined for David; however, she came to him only by infliction. And so also taught the disciples of R.

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Ishmael: Bath Sheba, the daughter of Eliam, was destined to David, but he enjoyed her as an unripe fruit (did not wait until she was his legitimate wife). (repeated from Middle Gate from.)

R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: David was about to worship idols, as it reads [2 Sam. 15:32]: "When David was come to the head where he used to bow himself to God." By "head" is meant an idol, as it is to be found in Daniel that the head of the image was of gold. "Behold, Chushai, the Arkite, came to meet him with his coat rent, and earth upon his head." And he said to him: Is it proper that a king like thyself shall be an idolater? And he answered: Is it proper that a king like myself should be slain by his son? It is better for me to worship an idol privately than that the Holy Name should be profaned publicly. Said Chushai to him: Why, then, hast thou married a handsome woman? And to his answer: The Merciful One has allowed to marry such. Rejoined Cushai: Why have you not given your attention to the interpretation founded on the facts of local junction of texts, as after "A woman of handsome form is near" [Deut. 21:11], the 18th verse, which speaks of "A stubborn son "?

R. Dusthai, of the city of Biri, lectured: David's following prayer is similar to a peddler who wanted to sell out his stock little by little. He said before the Holy One, blessed be He [Ps. 19:13-15]: "Lord of the Universe, who can guard against errors?" And he was answered: They will be forgiven to you. "From secrets (faults) do thou cleanse me," and the same answer was given. "Also from presumptuous sins withhold thy servants," and he was also answered that it will be forgiven. "Let them not have dominion over me"--the rabbis shall not talk about me, and he was also promised that so it will be. "Then shall I be blameless"--my sins shall not be written. And he was answered: This is impossible as the Jod which I took away from the name of Sarai complained before me several years, until Joshua came and I added it to his name, as it reads [Deut. 13:16]: "And Moses called Hoshea, the son of Nun, Joshua." How then can I omit a whole portion of the Torah? "Clear from any great transgression"--He said before Him: Lord of the Universe, forgive me the whole sin. And he was answered: It is revealed before Me what Solomon, thy son, will say by his wisdom in the future [Prov. 6:27-30]: "Can a man gather up fire in his lap, and shall his clothes not be burnt? Can a man walk along hot coals, and shall his feet not be burnt?" So it is with him that goeth in to his neighbour's wife: no one that toucheth her shall remain unpunished. He then exclaimed: If so, I am lost. And he was answered: Accept chastisements upon thyself. And he did so.

Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: Six months was David afflicted with leprosy; the Shekhina left him, and the Sanhedrin separated themselves from him. "Inflicted with leprosy" [Ps. 51:9]: "Cleanse me from sin with hyssop," etc. "The Shekhina left him" [ibid., ibid. 14]: "Restore unto me the gladness of thy salvation." "The Sanhedrin separated themselves" [ibid. cxix. 79]: "Let those that fear thee return unto me and those that know thy testimonies." And whence do we know that all this lasted full six months? From [1 Kings, 2:11]: "And the days that David reigned over Israel were forty years; in Hebron he reigned seven years, and in Jerusalem he reigned thirty and three years. And in [2 Sam. 5:5]: "In Hebron he reigned over Judah seven years and six months, and in Jerusalem he reigned thirty-three years over all Israel and Judah." Hence we see that the six months more which are counted in 2 Samuel are not counted in 1 Kings, and this was because the six months in which he was inflicted with leprosy were not counted. (repeated from Minor Festivals.) Now about Gechazi. It reads [2 Kings, 8:7]: "And Elisha came to Damascus." What did he do there? Said R. Johanan: He went to make Gechazi repent of his sins. He tried to do so, but he did not want, saying: I have a tradition from thee, that he who sins and causes others to sin, Heaven gives no opportunity to him to repent. But what has he done to cause others to sin? According to some he put a magnet over the casts made by Jeroboam, and they were suspended in the air. And according to others, he engraved a holy name on its mouth, and it heralded: "I am the God," etc. And according to still others, he drove away disciples from Elisha's college, as it reads [ibid. 6:1]: "Behold now the place where we dwell before thee is too narrow for us." (And this was after the departure of Gechazi, hence it was not narrow when he was there, because he drove away many disciples.)

The rabbis taught: Exclusion shall always be with the left hand, and inclusion with the right hand, i.e., if one is compelled to repudiate some one, he shall do it easy as with his left hand, and at the same time try to admit him again with his right hand. And not as Elisha has done with Gechazi, whom he rejected with both hands, as it reads [2 Kings, 5:23, 27]: "And Naaman said, Give thy assent, take two talents. And he urged him. . . . Whence comest thou, Gechazi?" And he said, Thy servant went not hither or thither. And he said unto him, "My mind was not gone when the man turned around from his chariot to meet thee. Is it time to take money, and to take garments, and oliveyards, and vineyards, and sheep, and oxen, and men-servants, and maid-servants?" Hath then Gechazi taken all this? He took only silver and garments. Said R. Itz'hak: At that time Elisha was occupied with the study of the chapter of eight reptiles (the 14th chap. of Tract Sabbath). Naaman, the captain of the king of Syria, was inflicted with leprosy, and his servant girl, who was captured from Israel, told him that if he will go to Elisha he will be cured. And when he came and was told to dip himself in the Jordan, he said: They ridicule me. But the men with him induced him to do so. He followed their advice and he was cured. And he brought all what he had with him to Elisha, but he did not want to accept it from him. Gechazi, however, departed from Elisha, took what he took, and hid it, 1 and when he came before Elisha again he saw that the leprosy was flying over his head. Then he said to him: Has then the time come that you should be rewarded for my studying of the chapter of eight reptiles, as you took from him the value of the eight things mentioned in this passage? And therefore he went out of his presence a leper (as white) as snow. It reads [ibid. vii. 3]: "And there were four leprous men at the entrance of the gate." Said R. Johanan: These were Gechazi and his three sons. There is a Boraitha: The animal impulses of man, a child and a woman, should always be repulsed with the left hand, and at the same time embraced with the right hand. The rabbis taught: Thrice Elisha became sick, etc. (See Middle Gate.)

MISHNA 2.: The generation of the flood have no share in the world to come, and are also not judged, as it reads [Gen. 6:3]: "Lau jodun ruchiy bheodom," literally "My spirit shall not judge in man"--no judgement and no spirit. The generation of dispersion (cf. to ibid., chap. 11) have also no share in the world to come, as it reads [ibid. 8]: "And the Lord scattered them abroad"; and it reads also (9): "From there the Lord scattered them"--"scattered them" in this world, and "from there the Lord scattered them"--in the world to come. The men of Sodom have also no share in the world to come, as it reads [ibid., ibid. 13]: "For the men of Sodom were wicked, and sinners before the Lord exceedingly"--"wicked" in this world, and "sinners" in the world to come. However, they are standing for judgement. R. Nehemiah said: Both of the following are not standing for judgement, as it reads [Ps. 1:5]: "Therefore shall the wicked not be able to stand in the judgement"--the generation of the flood. And "sinners in the congregation of the upright"--men of Sodom. But he was told by the sages: The latter do not stand up among the congregation of the upright, but they stand among the congregation of the wicked. The spies have no share in the world to come, as it reads [Num. 14:37]: "Died by the plague before the Lord." "Died"--in this world, "plague"--in the world to come. The generation of the desert has no share in the world to come, as it reads [ibid., ibid. 35]: "In this wilderness shall they be spent"--in this world, and therein shall they die"--in the world to come. So R. Aqiba. R. Eliezar, however, maintains: To them is written [Ps. 1:5]: "Gather together unto me my pious servants, who make a covenant with me by sacrifice." The congregation of Korah will not be restored at the time of resurrection, as it reads [Num. 16:33]: "And the earth closed over them"--in this world, and "they disappeared from the midst of the congregation"--in the world to come. So R. Aqiba. R. Eliezar, however, maintains: To them it reads [1 Sam. 2:6]: "The Lord killeth and maketh alive: he bringeth down to the grave, and bringeth up."

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: The generation of the flood has no share in the world to come, as it reads [Gen. 7:23]: "And it swept off every living substance"--in this world, "and they were swept from the earth"--in the world to come. So R. Aqiba. R. Jehudah b. Bathyra said: They will neither be restored nor judged, as it reads in the cited verse of the Mishna: "No judgement and no spirit." R. Menahem b. Jose said: Even at the time the Holy One, blessed be He, will return the souls to the corpses, the souls of the generation in question will still be judged hard in the Gehenim, as it reads [Isa. 33:11]: "Ye shall be pregnant with hay, (and) ye shall bring forth stubble: your breath is a fire, which shall devour you."

The rabbis taught: The generation of the flood were exalted only because of the overflowing goodness, the Holy One, blessed be He, overflooded them, as concerning them it reads [Job, 21:9-14]: "Their houses are at peace without any dread, and no rod of God (cometh) over them. The bull of each one gendereth and disappointeth not: the cow of each one calveth, and casteth not her young. They send forth their little ones like a flock, and their children skip about (with joy). They sing to the timbrel and harp, and rejoice at the sound of the pipe. They wear out their days in happiness." The verse continues, and "in a moment they go down to the nether world." This was caused by what they said, "Depart from us and the knowledge of thy ways we desire not," etc. They said: We need the Almighty only for the drops of rain with which He supplies us; however, we possess springs and rivers, of which we can make use. Said the Lord: With the same good I have overflooded them they anger me, I will therefore punish them with the same, I will bring a flood of water, etc.

R. Jose said: The generation of the flood were exalted because the sclerotic coat of the eye which resembles water, as it reads [ibid., ibid. 2]: "And they took themselves wives of all whom they chose," and therefore they were punished with water, which resembles the eye, as [ibid. 7:11]: "On the same day, were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened."

R. Johanan said: The generation in question sinned with the word rabbha. [ibid. 6:5]: "God saw that rabbha the wickedness of men, and they were punished with the same word [ibid. 7:11]: "All--the fountains of the deep rabbha." And he said again: Three of the hot springs of that time remained forever, and they are, of Gedda, of Tiberius and the great springs of Biram.

It reads [ibid. 6:12]: "For all flesh has corrupted his way upon the earth." Said R. Johanan: Infer from this that cattle, beast and men had intercourse with each other. Said R. Aba b. Kahana: All of them returned to their usual manner of propagation, except the bird Thushl'mi. It reads [ibid., ibid. 13]: "The end of all the flesh is come before me." Said. R. Johanan: Come and see how severe is the force of robbery, as the generation of the flood had committed all kinds of crimes and their evil decree was not sealed until they stretched out their hand to robbery, as it reads (13) "for all the earth is filled with violence through them, and I will destroy them with the earth," and also [Ezek. 7:11]: "The violence is grown up into the staff of wickedness: nothing is left of them, and nothing of their multitude and nothing of theirs; and there shall be no lamenting for them." Said R. Elazar: Infer from this passage that the violence itself has grown up as a cane and placed itself before the Lord, saying: Lord of the Universe; nothing shall be left of them, etc.

The disciples of R. Ismael taught: In that evil decree Noah was included, but found favour in the eyes of the Lord, as it reads [Gen. 6:7 and 8]: "For it repenteth me that I have made them. But Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord."

It reads [ibid., ibid. 6]: "And it repenteth the Lord that he had made man on the earth." When R. Dime came from Palestine, he said: (The Lord said) I have not done well that I prepared for them graves in the earth. (As it might be that if I would leave them alive, they would repent.) And this is inferred from the analogy of the expression "and it repented," which is to be found here and in [Ex. 32:14]: "And the Lord bethought himself."

It reads [Gen. 6:9]: "Noah was a just, perfect man in his generation;" according to R. Johanan in his generation, but not in others who were more righteous. And according to Resh Lakish: In his generation, which was wicked, so much the more in other generations. Said R. Hanina: As a parable to that of R. Johanan, may be, e.g., if one places a barrel of wine among barrels of vinegar. In that place, the good smell of wine is marked, which would not be the case if placed among other barrels of wine, And a parable to that of Resh Lakish, said R. Oshia, may be, e.g., a glass of perfume which was placed in a filthy place, and the smelling was marked, so much the more would it be marked if placed among spices.

It reads further on [Gen. 7:23]: "And it swept off," etc. If man sinned, what were the sins of the animals? It was taught in the name of R. Jehoshua b. Kar'ha: It is similar to one who made a canopy for his son, and prepared all kinds of delicacies for the wedding-meal, but his son dies before the wedding and he destroys all what he prepared, saying: All this was done only because of my son; now, as he is dead, to what purpose do I need the canopy and all what I prepared? So the Holy One, blessed be He, said: To what purpose have I created cattle and beast, only for the sake of man; now, when man has sinned and is to be destroyed, to what purpose do I need all other creatures? [Gen. 6:22]: "All that were on dry land died," but not the fishes in the sea.

R. Jose of Tesarius lectured: It reads [Job, 24:18]: "Swift are such men (to flee) on the face of the water; accursed is their field on the land." Infer from this that Noah, the upright, warned them, saying: Repent and pray to God, for if not He will bring the flood upon you and will make your corpses swim upon the water like bags filled with air; and not only this, but ye will be accursed to future generations (i.e., one will curse this enemy that his lot shall be like yours). And they answered: Let him do so, who prevents him? And he answered: There is one pigeon among ye which must be taken away from this evil (i.e., Methushelech, the upright, who must depart, not to see the evil). And they answered: If it is so, then we will continue on our way and will not hide ourselves in the vineyards.

Rabha lectured: It reads [Job, 12:5]: "To the unfortunate there is given contempt--according to the thoughts of him that is at ease--prepared (also) for those whose foot slippeth." Infer from this that Noah, the upright, warned them in hard words. But they scorned him, saying: Thou old man, why buildest thou the ark? And to his answer: The Lord will bring the flood, they said: A flood of what? If a flood of fire, then we have an animal by the name of Elita which extinguishes fire. And if of water, we have iron plates with which we can pave the ground (to prevent water coming up). And if of the sky, we have a thing named Akeb or Ikosh, which can prevent it. And Noah answered: He will bring you (the flood) from under your heels, as the just cited verse reads, "prepared for those whose foot slippeth."

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Said R. Hisda: With their hot blood have they sinned, and they were punished with hot water, and it is inferred from ah analogy of the expression [Gen. 8:3]: "And the water was appeased," and [Esther, 7:10]: "And the fury of the king was appeased."

It reads [Gen. 7:10]: "And it came to pass after the seven days that the waters of the flood were upon the earth." Seven days of what? Said Rabh: The seven days' mourning for Methushelech. From this you may learn that the lamentation of uprights delays the chastisement to come. Another explanation: The Lord appointed for them at first a long time for repenting, and thereafter a short time. And still another explanation: The seven days in which was given them a taste of the world to come, for the purpose that they shall know what good they are losing.

[Ibid., ibid. 2]: "Of every clean heart thou shalt take to thee seven pair of each, the male and his female." Have these animals wives? Said Samuel b. Na'hman in the name of R. Jonathan: It means from those with whom a crime was not committed. And whence did he know this? Said R. Hisda: He passed them by the ark, and those who were accepted by the ark he was certain that no crime was committed, and those who were not, he was certain that a crime was committed. R. Abubu said: It means from those animals which came by themselves.

[Ibid. 6:14]: "An ark of gopherwood." What is meant by gopher? R. Adda, in the name of the school of Shila, said: It means an oak tree, and according to others, a cedar tree.

[Ibid., ibid. 16]: "A window shalt thou make." Said R. Johanan: The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Noah: Put there diamonds and pearls, that they shall give you light as the middle of the day.

"With lower second and third stories shalt thou make it." The lower for manure, the second for animals and the third for man.

[Ibid. 8:7]: "He sent forth a raven." Said Resh Lakish: A victorious answer has the raven given Noah: Thy master hates me and thou doest the same. Thy master hates, as from the clean he took seven and from the unclean only two, and thou hatest me as thou sends a creature of which you have only two, while from others you have seven. If I would be killed by heat or by cold would not the world be lacking my creation?

[Ibid., ibid. 8] "He then sent forth a dove from him." Said R. Jeremiah: Infer from this that clean fowls may be kept in the residence of uprights.

[Ibid., ibid. 11]: "And the dove came in to him at the time of evening." Said R. Elazar: The dove said before the Holy One, blessed be He: Lord of the Universe, may my food be bitter like an olive, but I shall receive it from thy hand rather than that it should be sweet like honey, and I shall receive from beings of blood and flesh.

"Plucked off tereph." And whence do we know that tereph means food? From [Prov. 30:8]: Let me eat the bread," in which the same term tereph is used.

It reads farther on [Gen. 8:19]: "After their families." Infer from this that each family was placed separate. R. Hana b. Bisna said: Eliezar, the servant of Abraham, questioned Shem the Great: As all the animals were placed separately, where was your family placed? And he answered: We had great trouble in the ark to feed all the animals. The creature whose habit it is to eat in the daytime we had to feed in the day, and those whose habit it is to eat in the night, we have to feed in the night. A chameleon, my father did not know what its food is. It happened one day that he cut a pomegranate and a worm fell out of it, and the above consumed it, and from that time prepared its food from the worms found in rotten apples. The lion was fed by his fever, as Rabh said: No less than six and no more than twelve months one can live in fever without taking any food. The Aurshina my father found that it slept in a corner of the ark; and to his question: Dost thou need any food, it answered: I saw thou art very busy, and I thought I would not trouble thee. And he blessed her that it shall never die, and this is what it reads [Job, 29:18]: "As the chaul (aurshina) shall I have many days."

R. Hana b. Levai said: Shem the Great questioned Eliezar, the servant of Abraham: When the kings of the West and East came to fight you, what have you done? And he answered: The Holy One, blessed be He, took Abraham, sat him down to His right, and we, however, took earth, threw it, and they became swords. Straw and they became arrows, as it reads [Ps. 110:1]: "Sit thou at my right hand, until I place thy enemies a stool for thy feet." And also [Isa. 41:2]: "Who waketh up from the east the man whom righteousness met in his steps? He giveth up nations before him, and maketh him rule over kings. That his sword may render them as the dust, as driven stubble his bow." (repeated from Taanith.)

"The generation of dispersion has no share," etc. What had they done? The school of R. Shila said: They wanted to build a tower to ascend to the sky and split it with hatchets, so that the contained water shall pour down. This legend was ridiculed in the West. If they intended to ascend to the sky they ought to have built the tower on a mountain, and not in a valley. Therefore, said R. Jeremiah b. Elazar: They were divided into three parties. The first party said: Let us go there to dwell; the second: Let us go there and worship their idols, and the third: Let us go there to fight. The party that said, Let us go there to dwell, were scattered all over the world, and the party that said, Let us go there and fight, became demons, devils, etc. And the party that said, Let us go there and worship their idols, were scattered to Babylon, to which it reads [Gen. 11:9]: "Therefore is the name Babel, because the Lord did there confound the language."

Said R. Johanan: From the tower, a third of it was burned, the second was swallowed and a third is still in existence.

"Men of Sodom," etc. The rabbis taught: Men of Sodom have no share in the world to come, as the verse cited in the Mishna. And in addition to it, said R. Jehudah: They were wicked with their bodies and sinners with their money. With their bodies, as it reads [ibid. xxxix. 9]: "How then can I do this great evil and sin against God?" and sinners with their money, as it reads [Deut. 15:9]: "It will be sin in thee." Before the Lord means blasphemy. "Exceedingly"--all their sins were intentionally. In a Boraitha it was taught the reverse: wicked with their money, as it reads [ibid., ibid. 9] "And thy eye be thus evil against thy needy brother," and sinners with their bodies [Gen. 39:9]: "And sin against God." "Before the Lord" means blasphemy, and "Exceedingly" means bloodshed, as it reads [2 Kings, 21:16] "And also innocent blood did Menasseh shed exceedingly." The rabbis taught: The men of Sodom were exalted because of the overflowing goodness of the Lord. Concerning them it reads [Job, xxviii. 58]: "The earth out of which cometh forth bread, is under its surface turned up as it were with fire. Her stones are the place whence the sapphire cometh; and golden dust is also there. On the path which no bird of prey knoweth, and which the vulture's eye hath not surveyed," etc. And they said: As our land supplies us with sufficient bread, why shall we leave in travellers who come only to lessen our money? Let our land forget that there is a foot of stranger, as it reads [ibid., ibid. 4].

He said again: It reads [Ps. 57:2]: "How long will ye devise mischief against a man? Will ye all assault him murderously, as though he were a falling wall, a tottering fence?" Infer from this that they used to place a wealthy man under a tottering wall and pushed the wall over him, and robbed him of his money.

He said again: It reads [Job, 24:16]: "They break into houses in the dark, in the daytime they lock themselves in: they know not the light." Infer from this that when they saw a wealthy man they used to deposit with him balsam, which usually the depositories placed in their treasure box, and in the night they scent the balsam and rob him.

R. Jose lectured the same in Ciporias. And the night after that three hundred burglaries were committed through the smell of balsam, the town-men troubled him, saying: "You have shown a way to the thief." And he answered them: How could I know that all of you are thieves?

The following was enacted in Sodom. He who possessed one ox had to pasture all the cattle of the city one day, but he who possessed none at all had to pasture them two days. There was an orphan, the son of a widow, to whom they gave their oxen to pasture, and he killed them, saying: Who has one ox shall take one skin, and he who has none at all shall take two skins. And to the question: What is this? he said to them: The final trial must be at the beginning of it. You enacted that he who has one ox shall pasture them one day, and he who has none at all shall pasture them two days. The same is the case with the skins.

He who passed the river on a boat had to pay one zuz. And he who passed the river on foot had to pay two. If one had a row of bricks, every one of them came and took one, saying: I am not causing you any damage by taking one. The same they used to do when one scattered garlic or onions to dry. There were four judges in Sodom. Every one of them had a name which meant false, lie, etc. If it happened that one struck a woman and she miscarried, they used to decide that the woman should be given to the striker, and he shall return her when she will be pregnant again. If it happened that one cut off the ear of his neighbour's ass, they used to decide that the ass should be delivered to the striker, till it shall be cured. If one wounds his neighbour, they decided that the striker shall be paid for bleeding him. He who passed the river on a bridge had to pay four zuz. And he who passed it with one foot had to pay eight zuz. It happened once that a washer came there and they required of him four zuz. And to his claim that he had passed the water on foot, they required eight. And because he didn't pay they wounded him, and when he came to the judge, he decided that he shall pay for bleeding and eight zuz for passing the water.

Eliezar, the servant of Abraham, happened to be there, and was wounded, and when he came to the judge to complain he said: "You must pay for bleeding." And he took a stone and wounded the judge, saying: The payment for bleeding which you owe to me pay them, and my money shall remain with me. They made a condition that he who invites one to a wedding shall be stripped of his garments. There was a wedding at the same time Eliezar happened to be in the city, and none of them wanted to sell him any bread for a meal. He then went to the wedding and took a place at the very end of the table. And when he was asked who had invited him, he said to him who was sitting near by, Thou hast invited me. And for fear that they will believe that he has invited him and that he will be stripped of his garment, he hurried to take his mantle and run away. And so he did to the remainder, and they all ran away, and he ate the whole meal. They had a bed for strangers. If he was too long for this bed they made him shorter, and if too short they stretched him. When Eliezar was there they told him to sleep in the bed, to which he answered: Since my mother is dead I vowed not to sleep in a bed. When a poor man happened to be there every one used to give him a dinar, on which his name was engraved, but they did not sell him any bread until he died. And then each one took his dinar back. There was a girl who used to supply a poor man with bread, which she used to hide in a pitcher while going for water. And when this was found out they smeared her body with honey, put her on the roof of the surrounding wall, and bees came and killed her, and this is what it reads [Gen. 18:20]: "Because the sin against Sodom and Gomorrah is great," etc.

"Spies . . . and the congregation of Korah," etc. The rabbis taught: The congregation of Korah has no share in the world to come, as it reads: "And the earth covered them "in this world, and "they disappeared from the midst of the congregation"--in the world to come. So R. Aqiba. R. Jehudah b. Bathyra said: They are as a lost thing for which the loser inquires, as it reads [Ps. 119:176]: "I have gone erringly astray, like a lost sheep; seek thy servant, for thy commandments have I not forgotten." It reads [Num. 16:1]: "And Korah took (vayikah)." Said Resh Lakish: He purchased for himself a very bad undertaking. "Korah" means, he has made Israel bald-headed. "Ben Yizhar," he who made the world hot as in the middle of the day. "Ben Kehath," he who made blunt the teeth of his parents. "Ben Levi," he who became a companion to the Gehenna. But why is not also written "ben Jacob"? Said R. Samuel b. Itz'hak: Jacob prayed [Gen. 49:6]: Unto their secret shall my soul not come," means the spies. Unto their assembly my glory shall not be united," means the congregation of Korah. Rabh said: "The wife of On ben Peleth" saved him from being among the congregation of Korah. She said to him: What is the difference to you? If Moses will be master, you are only a disciple, and the same will be for you if Korah will be the master. And to his answer: What shall I do, I was with them in consultation, and swore to take part with them? she said: I know that the whole congregation is holy, as it reads [Num. 16:3]: "For the whole of the congregation are all of them holy;" remain in your house and I will save you. She made him drink wine to intoxication, and she made him sleepy in the house, and she herself sat outside at the entrance of the house, uncovered her head and dishevelled her hair. And every one coming to his house, to call upon On, when he saw the uncovered head of the woman, he returned. She, however, continued to sit there, till the congregation was swallowed. On the other hand, the wife of Korah said to him: See what Moses did. He proclaimed himself as a king, his brother he made high-priest, the sons of his brother for adjuncts of the high-priests. Heave-offering he commanded to give to the priests, and even from tithes, which are for the Levites, he commands to give again one-tenth to the priest. And not only this, he made of you fools by commanding all the Levites to shave off all their hair. And to his answer: He himself also did so, she said: As all the glory belongs to him, he does not care, etc. And this is what it reads [Prov. 14:1]: "The wise among women buildeth her house"--the wife of On ben Peleth. But the foolish pulleth it down with her own hands--the wife of Korah.

It reads farther on [Num. 16:2]: "So that they rose up before Moses, with certain men of the children of Israel, in number two hundred and fifty"--the distinguished of the congregation. "Called to the assembly"--who were able through their wisdom to intercalate months and establish leap years. "Men of renown"--whose name was renowned through all the world. "And Moses heard it, and fell upon his face." What had he heard? Said Samuel b. Na'hman in the name of R. Jonathan: That they suspect him of adultery, as it reads [Ps. 106:16]: "Moreover, they envied Moses."

"And Moses went to Dathan and Abiram." Said Resh Lakish: Infer from this that one must do all that he can not to strengthen a quarrel (as he himself who was a king went to Dathan and Abiram [Num. 16:25]). As Rabh said: He who strengthens a quarrel transgresses a negative commandment. [Ibid. 17:5]: "That he become not as Korah and as his company." R. Ashi said: Such is worthy to be punished with leprosy, as here it reads "by the hand of Moses," and [Ex. 4:6]: "And he put his hand into his bosom, and when he took it out, behold, his hand was leprous, white as snow."

R. Jose said: He who fights against the kingdom of David deserves to be bitten by a snake, as [1 Kings, 1:9]: "By the stone Zoheleth," and [Deut. 32:24]: "With the poison of Zochle aphar (serpents)."

R. Hisda said: He who quarrels with his master is considered as if he would quarrel with the Shekhina, as it reads [Num. 26:9]: "At the time they quarrelled against the Lord." R. Hama b. Hanina said: He who has a controversy

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with his master is considered as if he would do so against the Shekhina, as it reads [ibid. 20:13]: "These are the waters of Meribah, where the children of Israel quarrelled with the Lord." And R. Hanina b. Papa said: He who murmurs against his master is considered as if he would do so against the Shekhina, as it reads [Ex. 16:8]: "Not against us are your murmurings, but against the Lord." And R. Abuhu said: Even one whose thoughts are against his master is considered as if his thoughts would be against the Shekhina, as it reads [Num. 21:5]: "And the people spoke against God and against Moses."

It reads [Eccl. 5:12]: "Riches reserved for their owner to his own hurt." Said Resh Lakish: This means the riches of Korah. It reads [Deut. 11:6]: "And all . . . on their feet." 1 Said R. Elazar: It means the money which makes one stand on his feet. And R. Levi said: The keys of Korah's treasure were of such a weight that three hundred white mules had to carry them. R. Hama b. Hanina said: Three treasures were hidden by Joseph in Egypt, one was found by Korah, and the second by Antoninus ben Arsirus, and the third is still hidden for the upright in the future. R. Johanan said: Korah was not from those who were swallowed and not from those who were burned. Not those from who were swallowed, as [Num. 16:32]: "And all the men that appertained unto Korah," but not Korah himself. And not from the burned. [Ibid. 26:10]: "The fire devoured the two hundred and fifty men, but not Korah." In a Boraitha, however, it is stated that Korah was both burned and swallowed. "Swallowed," as in the just-cited verse, "And swallowed them up together with Korah," and "burned," as [ibid. 16:35]: "And there came out a fire . . . and consumed two hundred and fifty," and Korah was among them.

Rabha said: It reads [Habakkuk, 3:1]: "At the light of thy arrows they walked along." Infer from this that the sun and the moon ascended to Zebul (one of the seven heavens mentioned elsewhere), and said: Lord of the Universe, if thou wilst take revenge for Ben Amram we will go out to our work, and if not, we will not. And they were standing until he shot arrows at them, saying, When my own glory is affected (by that People are worshipping ye) ye did not protest; and for the honour of a being of blood and flesh ye do.

Rabha lectured [Num. 16:30]: "But if the Lord do create a new thing, and the earth open her mouth." Moses said before the Holy One, blessed be He: If such is already created, well and good, but if not, the Lord shall create. Shall create! Does it not read [Eccl. 1:9]: "And there is nothing new under the sun"? to bring the opening of the Gehenna near to them.

It reads [Num. 26:11]: "But the sons of Korah did not die." In the name of Rabbi it was taught: A place was prepared for them in Gehenna, in which they sat and sung a song.

"The generation of the desert has no share," etc. The rabbis taught (in addition to the verse cited in the Mishna) [Ps. 95:11]: "So that I swore in my wrath, that they should not enter into my rest." So R. Aqiba. R. Eliezar, however, said they have a share, as it reads, "Gather unto me my pious servants." And the verse "I swore in my wrath" is therefore to be explained: I retract from it because it was sworn while I was in anger. R. Jehoshua b. Karha said: The verse cited by R. Eliezar was said only for the future generations. "Gather together unto me my pious servants," means the righteous which are to be found in every generation. "Who make a covenant," means Hanania, Meshael and Asaryah, who delivered themselves to the caldron. "By sacrifice," means R. Aqiba and his colleagues, who had delivered themselves to be slain because of the words of the Torah. R. Simeon b. Menasia said: They will have a share in the world to come, as it reads [Isa. 35:10]: "And come to Zion with song!" Said Rabba b. b. Hana in the name of R. Johanan: R. Aqiba's saying is against his piety, as it reads [Jer. 2:2]: "I remember unto thee the kindness of thy youth, the love of thy espousals, thy going after me in the wilderness, through a land that is not sown." Hence we see that from their reward even their descendants will be benefited, so much more they themselves.

MISHNA 3.: The ten tribes who were exiled will not be returned, as it reads [Deut. 29:27]: "And he cast them into another land, as this day." As that day will not return, so will they not return. So R. Aqiba. R. Eliezar said: As this day means as usually a day becomes clouded and thereafter lights up again, so the ten tribes, who are now in darkness, the future will lighten upon them.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: The ten tribes have no share in the world to come, as it reads: "And the Lord plucked them out of their land of anger, and in wrath and in great indignation," means in this world, "and he cast them into another land," means in the world to come. So R. Aqiba. R. Simeon b. Jehudah, the head of the village of Aku, said in the name of R. Simeon: If their acts will be as on that day, they will not return, but if they will repent, they will. Rabbi, however, said: They will have a share in the world to come, and they will return, as it reads [Isa. 27:13]: "And then shall come those who are lost in the land of Asshur," etc. Said Rabba b. b. Hana in the name of R. Johanan: R. Aqiba's saying is against his piety, as [Jer. 3:12]: reads: "Go and proclaim these words towards the north, and say, Return, thou backsliding Israel, saith the Lord; I will not cause my anger to fall upon you, for I am full of kindness, saith the Lord, I will not bear grudge forever." What is the kindness? As in the following Boraitha: The minors of the wicked of Israel will not have a share in the world to come, as it reads [Malachi, 3:19]: "For behold, the day is coming which shall burn as an oven; and all the presumptuous, yea, and all who practice wickedness shall be stubble; and the day that is coming shall set them on fire, saith the Lord of hosts, who will not leave them root or bough." "Root," in this world, and "bough," in the world to come. So Rabban Gamaliel.

R. Aqiba, however, said: They will have a share in the world to come, as it reads [Ps. 106:1]: "The Lord preserveth pethayim (fool)." And in the countries of the sea (Arabia), a child is called pathia. And also [Dan. 4:11 and 12]: "Hew down the tree and lop off its branches, strip off its leaves and scatter its fruit; let the beasts flee away from under it, and the fowls from among its branches. Nevertheless leave the body of its root in the earth." But what is meant in the former verse, and "he shall not leave them a root or bough"? It means that he shall not leave one commandment or a part of it which they will observe unrewarded, however they will be rewarded for it in this world, but will have no share in the world to come. Another explanation, "root" means the soil, and "bough" the body. However, the minors, children of idolaters, all agree that they will not have a share in the world to come.

It was taught: From what age has a minor a share in the world to come? R. Hyya and R. Simeon b. Rabbi differ. According to one, immediately after birth, and according to the other, from the time he commences to speak. The former infers it from [Ps. 22:32]: "Will tell his righteousness to a people just born," and the latter infers it from the previous, "Sera (children) shall serve him; there shall be related of the Lord unto future generations."

It was taught: Rabhina said: From the time he is formed; and R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak said: From the time he was circumcised, as it reads [Ps. 88:16]: "I am inflicted and perishing from my youth up." There is a Boraitha in the name of R. Mair: From the time he can answer "Amen," as it reads [Isa. 26:2]: "Open ye the gates, that there may enter in the righteous nation which guardeth the truth (amunim). Do not read amunim, but amen. What is meant by "amen"? It is an abbreviation of El melech neman (literally, God, King of Truth).

It reads [Isa. 5:14]: "Therefore hath the deep enlarged her desire, and opened her mouth without measure (chok)." Said Resh Lakish: It means him who failed to perform even one (chok) law of the Torah. Said R. Johanan to him: Your saying is not satisfactory to their creator. Say the reverse, even he who has studied but one law does not belong to the Gehenna.

[Zech. 13:8]: "And it shall come to pass that in all the land, saith the Lord, two parts (of those) therein shall perish, but the third part shall be left therein." Said Resh Lakish: It means a third of Shem's descendants. And R. Johanan said to him: Your saying is not satisfactory for their Lord. And even if you should say: A third of Noah's children will remain and two-thirds will be destroyed, it would also not satisfy Him, but it means one-third of the wicked will remain. 1

[Jer. 3:14]: "I will take you one of a city and two of a family, and bring you to Zion." Said Resh Lakish: It means literally. And R. Johanan said again to him: Their Lord is not pleased with such an interpretation, but it means one righteous in a city saves the whole city, and two from a family save the whole family. And the very same said Rabh to R. Kahana when he was sitting before him interpreting the just-cited verses literally.

Rabh saw R. Kahana washing his head and improving his complexion, and thereafter came to study in Rabh's college. And he read to him [Job, 28:13]: "And she is not to be found in the land of the living." And to the questions of R. Kahana: Do you caution me? he replied: I only tell you the interpretation of this Passage. The Torah cannot be found with him who adorns himself before studying.

There is a Boraitha: R. Simai said: It reads [Ex. 6:7]: "I will take you to me as a people," and (ibid. 8): "I will bring you in unto the land." The Scripture compares their exodus from Egypt to the coming in their land. As in entering the land only two from six hundred thousand who made their exodus from Egypt, viz., Joshua and Kaleb, had entered, but all others from the age of twenty to sixty died in the desert, so also from those who made their exodus from Egypt were only two from every six hundred thousand, notwithstanding that they numbered six hundred thousand.

Said Rabha: And so it will be in the time of the Messiah, as it reads [Hosea, 2:17]: "She shall be inflicted there, as in the days of her youth and as on the day of her coming up out of the land of Egypt."

There is a Boraitha: R. Elazar b. Jose said: It happened once that I was in Alexandria of Egypt, and I found a certain old Gentile who said to me: Come, and I will show you what my great-grandfathers have done to yours. A part of them they threw in the sea, a part they slew with the sword and a part they have crushed in the buildings. Says the Gemara: And for this evil Moses, our master, was punished, as it reads [Ex. 5:23]: "He hath done more evil to this people." To which the Holy One, blessed be He, answered: Woe for those who are lost, as such are not to be found now. Several times I have revealed myself to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob by the name Almighty God, and they have never thought against my retribution, and did not question me for my proper name. I said to Abraham [Gen. 13:17]: "Arise, walk through the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it, for unto thee will I give it." And thereafter when he was searching for a grave for his wife Sarah, he could not get it until he bought one for four hundred silver shekels, and, nevertheless, his thoughts were not against my retribution. I said to Isaac [ibid. 26:3]: "Sojourn in this land, and I will be with thee and bless thee," and thereafter when his bondmen wanted to drink water they could not get it without quarrel, as [ibid., ibid. 20]: "And the herdsmen of Gerar did strive with Isaac's herdsmen, saying, The water is ours," and he also had no thought against my retribution. I said to Jacob [ibid. 28:13]: "The land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it," and thereafter when he wanted to spread a tent for himself, he could not get it until he paid a hundred kessitah, and his thoughts were not against my retribution and he did not ask for my proper name. Thou, however, first hast asked for my proper name, and now thou sayest to me [Ex. 5:23]: "Thou hast in nowise saved thy people." And therefore [ibid. 6:1]: "Now shalt thou see what I will do to Pharaoh," but thou wilst not live to see the war with the thirty-one kings in the time of Joshua.

It reads [ibid. 34:8]: "And Moses made haste, and bowed his head." What had he seen that he bowed himself? R. Hanina b. Gamla. said: He saw the words "long-suffering." And the rabbis say: He saw the word "truth." There is a Boraitha in accordance with him, who said he had seen long-suffering, viz., When Moses ascended to heaven, he found the Holy One, blessed be He, writing the words "long-suffering." And he said before Him: Lord of the Universe, does this mean long-suffering for the righteous ones? And he was answered: Even for the wicked. And to Moses' exclamation: May the wicked be lost! he answered: In the future thou wilst see that my previous words will be necessary for thee. Thereafter when Israel sinned, the Lord said to Moses: Didst thou not say long-suffering for the righteous? And Moses said before Him: Lord of the Universe, but hast Thou not said to me also to the wicked"? And to this it is written [Num. 14:17]: "And now, I beseech thee, let the greatness of the power of the Lord be made manifest as Thou hast spoken."

R. Hagga, ascending the steps of the school of Rabba b. Shila, heard a child saying [Ps. 93:5]: "Thy testimonies are exceedingly steadfast. In thy house abideth holiness, O Lord, to the utmost length of days." And immediately he began [ibid. 90:1]: "A prayer of Moses." And he then said: I infer from this that Moses has seen the words "long-suffering."

R. Elazar, in the name of R. Hanina, said, etc. (repeated from Tract Megilla.) It reads [Isa. viii. 12]: "Call ye not a conspiracy all that this people may call a conspiracy." What conspiracy does it mean? The conspiracy of Shebna, as his college had thirteen great men, and Hiskia's college had only eleven. When Sanherib came to attack Jerusalem, Shebna wrote a note that he and his society are willing to make peace, however Hiskia and his society are not. And this note he put in an arrow and shot it into the camp of Sanherib, as it reads [Ps. 11:2]: "For lo, the wicked bend their bow, they arrange their arrow upon the string." And Hiskia was afraid, that perhaps the inclination of Heaven will be towards the majority, whose desire was to deliver themselves to the enemy. The prophet then came to him, saying: "Call ye not a conspiracy," etc., i.e., this conspiracy is wicked, and a conspiracy of the wicked is not counted. The same Shebna wanted also to hew out a cave for a grave for himself among the kings of David's house, and this is what the prophet said to him [ibid., ibid. 16 and 17]: "What hast thou here? and whom hast thou here, that thou hast hewn out for thyself here a sepulchre? . . . Behold, the Lord will thrust thee about with a mighty throw. Oh, man!" Said Rabh: From this is to be inferred that travelling is harder for a man than for a woman, as, from the expression of the last word of this verse, R. Jose b. Hanina infers that Shebna was punished with leprosy, as the same expression is to be found concerning leprosy [Lev. 13:45].

"He will roll thee up as a bundle, and (toss thee) like a ball into a country of ample space." There is a Boraitha: His (Shebna's) desire was to disgrace the house of his master, and therefore his own honour was turned over to disgrace, for when he came out to Sanherib with his society, Gabriel shut the door in the face of his society. And when Sanherib questioned him: Where is thy society? he answered: They have retracted. Exclaimed Sanherib: I see thou hast ridiculed us. And they bored holes in his heels, tied them to the tails of their horses, and dragged his body over thorns.

In the interpretation of [Ps. 11:3]: "For (if) the foundations be torn down, what would the upright do?" R. Jehudah and R. Eina differ. According to one it means, if his kin and his association would be destroyed, how would the promise of the Lord be? And according to the other, should the Temple be destroyed by Sanherib, in accordance with the advice of Shebna, what would become of the wonderful miracles of the

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Lord? And according to Ula, this passage is to be explained negatively. If the thoughts of that wicked (Shebna) would not have been destroyed, what would have become of the upright, Hiskia? It is correct, the explanation of Ula, and of him who explains the word "foundation" to mean the Temple, as according to the former, it means the previous verse (2) which was the basis of his thoughts. And also concerning the Temple we found in Mishna, which states that a stone was placed in the Temple from the time of the first prophets, with the name shethiha (foundation). But he who explains the passage to mean Hiskia and his society, where is to be found that by the word foundation the upright are meant? [1 Sam. 2:8]: "For the Lord's are the pillars of the earth, on which he hath set the world." "Pillars" are the upright, "on which he hath set"--the foundation.

The rabbis taught: Man was created on the eve of Sabbath. And why? The Minnim shall not say that he was a partner to the Lord, in the creation of the world. Another explanation is, if a man becomes haughty it may be said to him: At the time of creation even a fly was created before thou wert. Still another explanation is that his first act should be meritorious, in keeping the Sabbath, and also he shall partake of the Sabbath meal immediately. This is similar to a human king who built a palace, accomplished it, prepared a banquet and thereafter invited guests, as it reads [Prov. 9:1-4]: "Wisdom hath built her house; she hath hewn out her seven pillars. She hath killed her cattle; she hath mingled her wine; she hath also set in order her table. She hath sent forth her maidens; she invited (her guests) upon the top of the highest places of the town." "Wisdom hath built her house"--it is one of the divine affairs of the Holy One, blessed be He, who has created the whole world with wisdom. "Seven pillars"--"the seven days of the creation." Killed her cattle," etc.--means the seas, the rivers, and all what was necessary for the world. "She sent forth her maidens"--Adam and Eve upon the top of the highest places.

Rabba b. b. Hana propounded a contradiction from ibid. 3, which reads, "on the top of the height," to ibid. (14), on the chair in the high places. And he himself answered: First they were placed on the top, and thereafter on a chair. "Void of sense," the Holy One, blessed be He, said: Who made a fool of Adam the first? The woman who told him, etc., as it reads [ibid. 6:32]: "Whoso committed adultery with a woman lacketh sense." There is a Boraitha: R. Mair used to say: From the whole world was gathered the earth, from which Adam the first was created, as it reads [Ps. 139:16]: "My undeveloped substance did thy eyes see." R. Oshia said in the name of Rabh: The body of Adam the first was taken from Babylon, his head from Palestine, and all other members, hands, feet, etc., from all other countries, and the earth for his rump, said R. Aha, was taken from Akra of Agma. R. Johanan b. Hanina said: A day consisted of twelve hours, the first hour the earth for his creation was gathered, the second hour it became an unformed body, and in the third his limbs were shaped; in the fourth the soul entered the body, in the fifth he arose on his feet, in the sixth he named all his beasts and animals, in the seventh Eve was brought to him, in the eighth they went to bed, two persons, and four persons came out of it; in the ninth he was commanded not to eat of the tree, in the tenth he sinned, in the eleventh he was tried, and in the twelfth he was driven out of the Garden of Eden, as it reads [Ps. 49:13]: "And Adam though in his splendor endureth not."

R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: At the time the Holy One, blessed be He, was about to create a man, He created a coetus of angels, and said to them: Would ye advise me to create a man? And they asked Him: What will be his deeds? And He related before them such and such. They explained before Him: Lord of the Universe, what is the mortal, that Thou rememberest him, and the son of men, that Thou thinkest of him? [Ps. 7:5]. He then put His little finger among them and they were all burnt. And the same was with the second coetus. The third one, however, said before Him: O Creator of the world! the first angels who protested, did they effect? The whole world is Thine, and all what it is pleased before Thee Thou mayest do. Thereafter at the time of the generation of the flood and the generation of dispersion whose deeds were criminal, the same angels said before Him: Creator of the Universe, were not the first angels right with their protest? And He answered: "And even unto old age I am the same, and even unto the time of hoary hairs will I hear" [Isa. 46:4].

R. Jehudah said again in the name of the same authority: Adam the first was from one end of the world to the other, as it reads [Deut. 4:32]: "Since the day that God created Adam upon the earth, and from the one end of the heavens unto the other end." After he had sinned, the Holy One, blessed be He, laid His hand upon him and reduced him [Ps. 139:5]. "Behind and before hast Thou hedged me in, and Thou placest upon me Thy hand." R. Elazar said: Adam the first was tall from the earth to the sky, as the above cited verse: "The day Adam was created upon the earth and to one end of the heaven." And when he sinned He laid His hand upon him, and diminished him, as the cited verse [Ps. 139.] reads.

R. Jehudah said again in the name of Rabh: Adam the first spoke with the Aramaic language, as [ibid., ibid. 17]: "And how precious are unto me thy thoughts," and the terms in the original Psalm are Aramaic. And this is what Resh Lakish said: It reads [Gen. 5:1]: "This is the book of the generation of Adam." Infer from this that the Holy One, blessed be He, showed to Adam every generation with its scholars, every generation with its lecturers. And when Adam saw the generation of R. Aqiba, he was pleased with his wisdom, but was dejected seeing his death, and said: "How precious are unto me thy thoughts."

The same said again in the name of the same authority: The Minnim 1 of this generation say that Adam the first was also of their sect. And they infer it from [Gen. iii. 9]: "And the Lord God called unto Adam and said unto him: Where art thou?" i.e., to what is thy heart inclined?

Said R. Johanan: Every place where the Minnim gave their wrong interpretation, the answer of annulling it is to be found in the same place--e.g., they claim from [Gen. i. 26]: "Let us make man." Hence it is in plural. However, in [ibid. 27] it reads: "And God created man in his image" (singular). [Ibid. 11:7]: "Let us go down" (plural); however, [ibid., ibid. 5]: "And the Lord came down" (singular). [Ibid. 35:7]: "And there God appeared" (the term in Hebrew is plural); however [ibid., ibid. 3]: "Unto the Lord who answered me" (singular). [Deut. iv. 7]: "For what great nation is there that hath gods so nigh unto it?" However, it reads farther on, "as is the Lord our God every time we call upon him." [2 Lam. 7:23]: "Which God went?" (the term in Hebrew is plural). However [Dan. 7:9]: "I was looking down until chairs were set down, and the Ancient of days seated himself" (singular). But why are all the above-mentioned written in plural? This is in accordance with R. Johanan, who said elsewhere that the Holy One, blessed be He, does not do anything until he consults the heavenly household, as it reads [ibid. 4:14]: "Through the resolve of the angels is this decree, and by the order of the holy ones is this decision." However, this answer is for all the plurals mentioned, except the last one, "the chairs." Why are they in plural? One for Him and one for David. So R. Aqiba in a Boraitha. Said R. Elazar b. Azaryah to him: Aqiba, how do you dare to make the Shekhina common? It means one chair for judgement and one for mercy. Did Aqiba accept this, or not? Come and hear the following Boraitha: One for judgement and one for mercy. So R. Aqiba. Said R. Elazar b. Azaryah to him: Aqiba, what hast thou to do with Haggada? Give thy attention to Negain and Ohaloth. It means one for a chair to sit upon and one for a footstool.

Said R. Na'hman. He who knows to give a right answer to the Minnim like R. Aidith may discuss with them, but he who is not able to do so, it is better for him that he discuss not with them at all. There was a Min who said to R. Aidith: It reads [Ex. 24:1]: "Come up unto the Lord." It ought to be, "Come up to me." (And when God said to him: Come up to the Lord, there must be one lord more?) And he answered: That is the angel Mattatron (name of the chief of the angels) about whom ibid. 23:20 speaks, as he bears the name of his master [ibid., ibid. 21]: "Because my name is in him." If so, rejoined the Min, let us worship him. It reads, ibid., ibid., ibid., al tamer be, and this term means also "exchange." Hence it means thou shalt not exchange him for Me.

Said the Min again: But does it not read "he will not pardon your transgression"? And Aidith answered: Believe me, that even as a guide we refused to accept him, as it reads [ibid. 33:15]: "If thy presence go not (with us), carry us not up from here."

A Min asked Ismael b. R. Jose: It reads [Gen. 19:24]: "And the Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire. From the Lord," etc. From the Lord! It ought to be from Him (hence there was one more lord). And a certain washer said to Rabban Gamaliel, Let me answer him. It reads [Gen. 4:23]: "And Lemech said unto his wives, Adah and Zellah, Hear my voice, ye wives of Lemech," etc. Wives of Lemech! "My wives," it ought to be? You must then say that so is it customary in the language of the verse, the same is the case here. And to question of R. Ismael to the washer: Whence do we know this? he answered: From the lectures of R. Mair. As R. Johanan used to say, R. Mair's lectures consisted always of a third Halakha, a third Haggadah, and the last third parables. And he said also: From R. Mair's three hundred fox fables we have only three: (a) [Ezek. 18:2]: "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the teeth of the children have become blunt;" (b) [Lev. 19:36]: "just balances, just weights," and (c) [Prov. 11:8]: "The righteous is delivered out of distress, and the wicked cometh in his stead."

There was an atheist who said to Rabban Gamaliel: Your God is a thief, as it reads [Gen. 2:21]: "Lord God caused a deep sleep . . . and he slept; and he took one of his ribs." Said R. Gamaliel's daughter to him: Let me answer him. And she said to him: Would you assist me to take revenge on a thief who robbed me this night, by stealing a silver pitcher, however he left a golden one instead? And he said to her: I would like that such thief would come to me every day. Then she said: Was it not better for Adam that one bone was taken from him, and in its stead was given a woman to him, who shall serve him? Rejoined the atheist: I mean why stealing; could He not take it from Adam when he was awake? She then took a piece of meat, put it in glowing ashes, and when roasted took it out and gave it to him to eat. To which he said: It is repulsive to me. Rejoined she: Eve would also have been repulsive to Adam if he could have seen how she was formed.

The same atheist said to Rabban Gamaliel: I am aware of what your God is doing now. R. Gamaliel sighed deeply. And to the question: Why are you sighing? he said: I lost every information of my son who is now in the sea countries. Can you perhaps assist me by informing me where he is? And he rejoined: Where shall I know this from? Rejoined Rabban Gamaliel: You don't know what is in this world, and you claim to know what is in heaven?

At another time the same said to Rabban Gamaliel: It reads [Ps. 147:4]: "Who counted the number of the stars," etc. What prerogative is this? I also can do this. R. Gamaliel took some grain, put it in a sieve, and while straining told him to count the grain. And he rejoined: Let the sieve stand and I will count it. Rejoined R. Gamaliel: The stars are also always moving. According to others R. Gamaliel answered him: Can you tell me how many teeth are in your mouth? And he put his hand in his mouth and began to count them. Rejoined R. Gamaliel: You are not aware of the number of teeth in your mouth, and you claim to know how many stars there are in heaven?

A Min said to R. Gamaliel: He who created the mountains has not created the wind, as it reads [Amos, 4:13]: "He that formed the mountains and created the wind." And he answered: If so, then concerning a man, of whom it reads [Gen. 1:27]: "And God created," and [ibid. 2:7]: "And the Lord God formed," should also mean that he who has formed has not created, and vice versa. There is in the body of man one span square, in which two holes are to be found--one in the nose and one in the ear. It must be also that he who created one of them did not create the other, as it reads [Ps. 94:9]: "He that hath planted the ear, shall he not hear? Or he that hath formed the eye, shall he not see?" And the Min said: Yea, I am of this opinion. Rejoined Gamaliel: How is it, then, when death comes? Are both creators reconciled, to kill their creation together?

A magician said to Rabban Gamaliel: The lower half of your body is created by ahermes (God), but the upper half by Hermes (Mercury). And he answered: If it is so, why does then ahernes leave the dirty water coming from the upper half to pass the lower half?

The Caesar said to R. Tanhum: Let us unite and be a people of one and the same creed. And he answered: Very well; but we who are circumcised cannot be like your people. However, ye are able to be like us if ye will circumcise yourself. And the Caesar answered: Your answer is right. However, it is a rule that he who conquers the king must be thrown in the vivarius to be devoured by the beasts. He was thrown in the vivarius and was not touched. And there was a Min who said to the king: They did not devour him, because they were not hungry. And they then threw him in the vivarius and he was devoured.

Another atheist said to R. Gamaliel: You say that upon every ten Israelites the Shekhina rests. How many Shekhina have you then? Gamaliel then called the servant of the atheist, struck him with a whip, saying: Why didst thou leave the sun enter the house of your master? His master, however, answered: Every one is pleased with the sun. Rejoined Gamaliel: The sun, which is only one of the hundredth millions servants of the Lord, is pleasant to every one, so much the more the Shekhina of the Holy One, blessed be He, Himself.

A Min said to R. Abuhu: Your God is a jester. He commands Ezekiel to lie on his left side and then on his right side [Ezek. 4:4-6]: "At the same time a disciple came and questioned him: What is the reason of the Sabbatic year?" And Abuhu answered: I will now say something which will be an answer to both of you. The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Israel: Work up the earth for six years and release the seventh for the purpose that you shall be aware that the earth is mine. However, they did not do so, but sinned, and were exiled. It is custom of a human king if a country has rebelled against him to kill all of them if he is a tyrant, and to kill half of them if he is merciful. But if he is full of mercy he chastises the leaders only; so was it with Ezekiel, the Holy One, blessed be He, chastised him for the sin of Israel.

There was a Min who said to R. Abuhu: Your God is a priest, as it reads [Ex. 25:2]: "Bring Me a therumah." Now when He buried Moses where did He dip Himself? (Took the legal bath prescribed for him who touches a corpse.) You cannot say that He did so in the water, as it reads [Isa. 40:12]: "Who hath measured in the hollow of his hand the waters." And he answered (a joke to a joke): He dipped Himself in fire, as it reads [ibid. 66:15]: "For behold, the Lord will come in fire." And to the question of the Min: Is it legal to dip in fire? he answered: On the contrary, the principal dipping is in fire, as it reads [Num. 31:23]: "And whatsoever doth not come into the fire shall ye cause to go through water."

There was a Min who said to R. Abina: It reads [2 Sam. 7:23]: "And who is like thy people, like Israel, the only nation

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on the earth?" What is your proudness about? Are you not mingled among other nations, of whom it reads [Isa. 40:17]: "All the nations are as naught before him"? And he answered: A prophet of nations themselves has testified concerning us [Num. 23:9]: "And among the nations it shall not be reckoned."

R. Elazar propounded a contradiction from [Sam. 3:25]: The Lord is good unto those that hope in him" to [Ps. 145:9]: "The Lord is good to all"? This question may be answered with the following parable to one who possesses a fruit garden. When he waters it, he waters all of them. And when he hoes to cover tip the roots, he does so only to the best of them, i.e., when He feeds, He feeds the whole world with discriminating, but to save from trouble He helps only those who hope in Him.

It reads [I Kings, 22:36]: "And there went a rinah (song) throughout the camp." Said R. Aha b. Hanina: This is what is written [Prov. 11:10]: "And when the wicked perish there is rinah," means when Achab, the son of Omri, perished, there was rinah. Is this so? Is it then pleasant for the Holy One, blessed be He, the ruin of the wicked? Is it not written [2 Chron. 20:21]: "As they went out before the armed array and said: Give thanks unto the Lord; for unto everlasting endureth His kindness"? And R. Johanan said: Why is it not written here: "He is good," as [Ps. 118;1]: Because the Holy One, blessed be He, is not rejoicing over the ruin of the wicked, as R. Samuel b. Na'hman said in the name of R. Jonathan: It reads [Ex. 14:20]: "And the one came not near unto the other all the night." At that time the angels wanted to sing their song before the Holy One, blessed be He, but He said to them: "My creatures are sinking in the sea, and ye want to sing." 1

It reads [1 Kings, 18:3]: "And Rehab called Obadiah, who was the superintendent of the house;--now Obadiah feared the Lord greatly." To what purpose does the passage relate that Obadiah feared the Lord? Said R. Itz'hak: Achab said to him, concerning Jacob, it reads [Gen. 30:27]: "The Lord hath blessed me for thy sake." And concerning Joseph it reads [ibid. 39:5]: "The Lord blessed the Egyptian's house for the sake of Joseph." I, however, keep thee and my house is not blessed. Perhaps thou art not fearing God? To this a heavenly voice was heard, saying: Obadiah fears the Lord greatly, but the house of Achab is not fit for blessings. Said R. Abah: It is more conspicuous What is said of Obadiah than of Abraham, as about Abraham it reads, "he feared God," and about Obadiah it adds "greatly." Said R. Itz'hak: For what deeds was Obadiah rewarded with prophecy? Because he hid one hundred prophets in a cave, as it reads [1 Kings, 8:4]: "And it happened when Isabel cut off the prophets of the Lord that Obadiah took a hundred prophets, and hid them fifty in one cave, and provided them with bread and water." Why fifty? Said R. Elazar: He learned this from Jacob, who divided his camp into two parts, for the reason that if it should happen that one would be lost the other would be saved. And R. Abuhu said: Because the cave could not hold more than fifty.

It reads [Ob. 1:1]: "The vision of the Lord . . . concerning Edom." And why? The Holy One, blessed be He, said: Obadiah, who lived among two wicked (Achab and his wife) and did not learn from them, shall prophesy to Esau who lived among two upright (Isaac and Rebecca) and did not learn from them. And Ephraim of Kashaha, a disciple of R. Mair, said in the name of his master: Obadiah was an Edomite proselyte. And this is what people say that the handle of the hatchet to cut the forest is taken from the wood of the same forest. And this also applies to David, who was a descendant of Moab (according to R. Johanan, in the name of Simeon b. Jo'hai), who smote them [2 Sam. 8:2].

It reads [2 Kings, 3:27]: "Then took he his eldest son that should have reigned in his stead, and offered him for a burnt-offering upon the wall. And there was great indignation against Israel." Rabh and Samuel. According to one, he sacrificed him to Heaven, and according to the other, to an idol. But if to an idol, why was there great indignation against Israel? It is in accordance with R. Jehoshua b. Levi, who propounded a contradiction from [Ez. 5:7]: "According to the ordinances of the nations have ye not acted," to [ibid. 11:12]: "But according to the ordinances of the nations ye have acted." And he himself answered: Ye have not acted according to their good deeds, but ye have acted according to their crimes.

It reads [1 Kings, 1:4]: "The maiden was ad meod exceedingly." Said R. Hanina b. Papa: She did reach even half the beauty of Sarah, of whom it reads [Gen. 12:14]: "Behold the woman that she was very fair (meod).

1It reads [Gen. 22:1]: "And it came to pass after these things, that God did tempt Abraham," After what? Said R. Johanan in the name of R. Jose b. Senira: After the words of the Satan to those of [ibid. 21:8]: "And the child grew, and was weaned," etc. The Satan said before the Holy One, blessed be He, thus: Lord of the Universe, Thou hast favoured this old man with an offspring at his hundredth birthday, and from all the great meals which he prepared for the people he did not sacrifice for Thee even one dove or pigeon. And he was answered: Does he not prepare all this only for the sake of his son? If I would tell him to sacrifice his son to me, he will do it immediately. Hence God tempted Abraham.

And He said: "Take na thy son," etc. Said. R. Simeon b. Aba: The expression "na" means request. This is similar to the fable of a human king who had to fight many wars, and who had one hero who was victorious in all of them. Finally a war was declared to the same king by a king with a very strong army, and he said to his hero: I pray thee be victorious also in this war; people shall not say that the former wars were not worthy of consideration. So the Holy One, blessed be He, said to Abraham: I proved thee with many temptations, and thou withstood all of them. I request thee withstand also this temptation, in order people shall not say that the former were not worthy of consideration. "Thy son." But Abraham said: I have two sons. "Thy only one." But Abraham said: Both of them are the only ones to their mothers, "whom thou lovest," but I love both of them, even Isaac. And why so many words? For the purpose that he shall not become insane from such a sudden command.

The Satan preceded him on the way, saying [Job, 4:2-6]: "If we essay to address a few words to thee, wilt thou be wearied? . . . Behold, thou hast (ere this) corrected many, and weak hands thou was wont to strengthen. Him that stumbled thy words used to uphold, and to sinking knees thou gavest vigor. Yet now, when it cometh to thee, thou art wearied; it toucheth even thee, and thou art terrified." And Abraham answered him [Ps. 24:11]: "But as for me, I will walk in my integrity." And the Satan said again: "Is not then thy fear of God a stupidity?" And Abraham answered: Remember . . . whoever perished being innocent. When the Satan saw that Abraham did not listen to him, he said to him [ibid. 12]: "But to me a word came by stealth." I have heard from behind the paraganda (the heavenly curtains) that the ram will be for a burnt-offering, but not Isaac. Rejoined Abraham: This is the punishment of liars, that even when they tell the truth, nobody believes them.

R. Levi, however, said: The above cited verse "after these things" means after the exchange of words between Ismael and Isaac. Ismael said to Isaac: I am greater than thee in performing the commandments of the Lord, as I was circumcised when I was thirteen years of age, and thou when thou wert only eight days. To which Isaac answered: Thou art proud against me because of only one member of thy body; if the Holy One, blessed be He, should command me to sacrifice my whole body to Him I would do it immediately, hence, "and God has tempted Abraham."

MISHNA IV.: The men of a misled town have no share in the world to come, as it reads [Deut. 13:14]: "There have gone forth men, Belial, from the midst of thee, and have misled the inhabitants of their city." However, they are not killed, unless the misleaders are from the same city and from the same tribe And also not unless the majority are misled. And the misleaders also must be men; if, however, they were misled by women or minors, or a majority of the city were misled, or the misleaders were outsiders, they are to be considered as individuals, and each of them must have two witnesses and be forewarned.

There is more rigorousness with individuals than with the majority in that respect, that individuals are to be stoned, therefore their property is saved for their heirs. And the majority are to be decapitated, therefore their property is also lost, as it reads [ibid., ibid. 16]: "Then shalt thou smite the inhabitants of that city with the edge of the sword." A caravan with asses or camels, who are travelling from one place to another, who took their rest in a city which was guilty of idolatry, and the caravan while being there was persuaded and worshipped idols, and counting them to those people of the city who were misled, it will be a majority they save the money of the innocent inhabitants of the city, for the guilty ones are still considered individuals, as the caravan is not counted to complete a majority, as it reads, "Devoting it utterly, and all that is therein, and the cattle thereof, to the edge of the sword" (but not of strangers passing by). From this it was also said that the properties which are found in the city belonging to the innocent individuals are also lost in case the majority were misled, but their properties which are placed outside of the city are saved, while by the property of guilty there is no difference wheresoever it is found it must be destroyed, as it reads [17]: "And all its spoils shalt thou gather into the midst of its main street," etc.

If it happened that the city had no main street, such must be established. If there was one outside of the city, it must be taken in, as it reads, "Thou shalt burn with fire the city, and all its spoil entirely." "Its spoil," but not the spoil belonging to Heaven. From this it was said that if there were some goods belonging to the sanctuary, they are to be redeemed. If there was heave-offering, it must remain till it becomes rotten. Second tithe and books of the Holy Writ must be hidden. "Entirely unto the Lord thy God." Said R. Simeon: The Holy One, blessed be He, said: If ye will take judgement on a misled town, I will consider it as if ye would bring to me a burnt-offering. "A ruinous heap forever" means that from that place gardens and vineyards should not be made. So R. Jose the Galilean. R. Aqiba, however, maintains: It reads: "It shall not be built again," means it shall not be built as it was, but gardens and vineyards may be made from it. "There shall not cleave to thy hand aught of the devoted things," for as long as the wicked exist the heavenly anger lasts. And when the wicked perish the heavenly anger ceases.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: There have gone forth men, but not their messengers. "Men" (plural) no less than two. And according to others "men" and not "women," "men" and not "minors," "sons of Belial," sons who took off the yoke of Heaven from their necks. "From the midst of thee," but not if they were from the boundary. "The inhabitants of their city," but not of another one. "Saying"--infer from this that (if not a majority) witnesses and warning are needed for every one of them. It was taught: When the land was divided among Israel, it was allowed to divide one city for two tribes, according to R. Johanan. Resh Lakish, however, said: It was not. And R. Johanan objected to Resh Lakish from our Mishna: However, they are not guilty unless the misleaders are from the same city and from the same tribe. It is not to be assumed that even if the misleaders were from the same city they are guilty when they were men of their own tribe; hence we see that one city can be divided for two tribes? Nay, it may be said that his share in this city fell to him from an inheritance, or some one had made him a present of it. He objected to him again from [Joshua 21:16]: "Nine cities from those two tribes." Does it not mean four and a half for one tribe and four and a half for the other? Hence, one city was divided for two tribes. Nay, it means four from one and five from the other. But if so, let the Scripture say from which tribe five and from which tribe four. This difficulty remains.

The schoolmen propounded a question: How is it if they were misled by themselves without any seducer? Shall we say it reads "and they misled," but not if they were misled by themselves, or there is no difference? Come and hear. Our Mishna states: "If they were misled by women and minors," etc., they are to be judged as individuals. And why? If misled by themselves is the same as by leaders, let the misleading by women and minors be considered as if they were misled by themselves? Nay, these cannot be equalised, for when they were misled by themselves they acted according to their own deliberations, but if they were misled by women and minors, they acted according to the seducer's mind, which was not worthy of consideration.

"Unless the majority was misled." How is it to be done? According to R. Jehudah, when they saw two, three, or more guilty of idolatry, they were tried, sentenced, and kept in prison. And so the others, until they formed a majority of the city, and then they are decapitated and their property destroyed. Said Ula to him: By such an act the prisoners are tortured. And therefore said he in such a case those who are sentenced are also stoned, but their property is not to be destroyed until they number a greater part of the city. And only then if more cases happen they are slain, and the property of all who were executed till now is destroyed.

It was taught: R. Johanan was of the same opinion as Ula. Resh Lakish, however, said that if such a case happened courts who investigate all cases must be increased, and all of them turn it over to the supreme council, who sentences them, and they are then slain.

"Then shalt thou smite the inhabitants of the city," etc. The rabbis taught: A caravan with asses or camels, etc. (repeated from Last Gate.)

"Devoting it utterly," etc. The rabbis taught: Devoting it and that is therein excludes the property of the innocent which is found out of town, and includes the property of them which is inside of the city.

"All the spoils," etc. Includes the property of the guilty, which is outside of the town. Said R. Simeon: Why does the Torah say that the property of the innocent, which is inside of the city, is to be destroyed? Because the reason of their residence in this city was their property, and therefore it must be destroyed. The master said: To include the property of the guilty which is outside. Said R. Hisda: Provided they are near by, so that they can be gathered in on the same day. And he said again: The deposits of a misled town are to be saved. Let us see how was the case. If it was deposited by another city in this city, it is self-evident that they are to be saved, as such deposits do not belong to this city at all. And if the men of this city had deposited in another city, why are they to be saved if they are placed near by, so that they can be gathered together on the same day? And if he speaks of those which are far away and cannot be gathered, why then the repetition, he said it already once? It means deposits of another city which are found in this city, but the depositors took the responsibility for them. And lest one say that in such a case it is considered as if it would be their own property, he comes to teach us that it is not so.

R. Hisda said again: If there was an animal, a half of which belongs to one city and the other half to one of another city, it is invalid. However, if there was dough, half of which belongs to one of another city, it is valid; because it can be divided it is considered as already divided, which is not the case with a living animal. He (R. Hisda), however, was doubtful if the slaughtering of a cattle from a misled town effects to put it out of the category of a carcass. Shall we assume that "with the edge of a sword" there is no difference; if it was killed or

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legally slaughtered it is considered as any carcass, or the legal slaughtering effects that it is not so considered, and if one touches it he does not become unclean, while he does by touching other carcasses? This question was not decided.

"In its main street," etc. The rabbis taught: If there was no main street, it does not become a misled town. So R. Ismael. R. Aqiba, however, said that if there was none, one must be established. And what is the point of difference? One holds that the Scriptures mean a main street which existed already when it became misled, and the other holds that there is no difference if one existed before or was established after.

"Belonging to the sanctuary," etc. The rabbis taught: If there were cattle sanctified to the altar, they must be put to death. Sanctified things for improving the Temple must be redeemed. Heave-offering must be left till it becomes rotten. Second tithe and books of the Holy Writ must be hidden. R. Simeon said: "The cattle thereof," but not cattle of a first-born, and the tenth of cattle (cf. to Lev. 27:30 and 32). "And all that is therein" excludes sanctified money, and money with which tithe is to be redeemed. But why should cattle sanctified to the altar be put to death? Said R. Johanan: Because it reads [Prov. 21:27]: "The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination." And Resh Lakish said: It speaks of when the owners where they were found responsible for it, and it is then considered as if they would be the property of the owners according to R. Simeon.

The text reads: R. Simeon said: "The cattle thereof," etc. Let us see how was the case. If they were without any blemish it is self-evident, as it belongs to the sanctuary, and if they had a blemish, why then should they be different? Said Rabhina: It speaks of when they were blemished; but "cattle thereof" means those which are consumed in the usual manner of cattle, but not those which were the property of Heaven, and only because of their blemish become the property of men and may be consumed; hence they cannot be considered as property belonging to the city. And he differs with Samuel, who said. An animal which is to be sacrificed when it is without blemish, and redeemed when with a blemish, is excluded from "the cattle thereof." And if it is to be sacrificed while without a blemish, and is not to be redeemed when with a blemish--e.g., a first-born and the tenth of a cattle, it is included in "the cattle thereof."

"Heave-offering . . . till it become rotten," etc. Said R. Hisda: Provided the heave-offering was in the hand of the priest already, but if it was still in the hand of an Israelite, it may be given to a priest of another city.

"The books of Holy Writ," etc. Our Mishna is not in accordance with R. Elazar of the Boraitha mentioned above, that even if there was one mezuza it cannot be called a misled town.

"Garden and vineyards," etc. Shall we assume that the point of their difference is what was said by R. Abin in the name of R. Ilaa: Everywhere you find a general expression in a positive commandment, and the explicit specification to it in a negative commandment, it must not be judged, as in other cases, that there is nothing in the general expression but what is specified in the explicit specification. The one who does not allow to make gardens of it does not hold this theory. And he who allows it holds this theory? Nay, all hold the theory of R. Abin. And the difference of their opinion is the expression "again." According to one "again" means again as it was built, and according to the other "again" means it shall not build for whatsoever. The rabbis taught: If there were uprooted trees, they are invalid, and if they are still attached they are valid. From another city, however, they are invalid even if they were attached. What does "another city" mean? Said R. Hisda: It means Jericho, as it reads [Josh. 26]:: "And Joshua adjured (the people) at that time, saying, Cursed be the man before the Lord that will rise up and build this city of Jericho: with his first-born shall he lay its foundation, and with his youngest shall he set up its gates."

There is a Boraitha: Any other city must not be built under the name of Jericho, and also Jericho shall not be rebuilt under another name, as it reads [1 Kings, 16:34]: "In his days did Chiel the Bethelite build Jericho; with Abiram, his first-born, laid he the foundation thereof, and with Segub, his youngest son, set he up the gates thereof." There is a Boraitha: From Abiram, his first-born, this wicked has to learn. What does it mean? Thus: To what purpose is it written that Abiram was his first-born and Segub his youngest son? To learn that he buried all his children, beginning from Abiram, the oldest, to Segub, his youngest son. And this wicked should have learned not to continue the building after burying Abiram. Achab was his friend, and both he and Elijah came to condole Chiel. Said the latter to Elijah: Perhaps Joshua's caution was to those who will rebuild Jericho even under another name, or any other city under the name of Jericho? And Elijah answered: Yea. Said Achab: How can it be supposed that Chiel's troubles were because of Joshua's caution, when even the caution of Moses his master does not effect, as it reads [Deut. 11:16]: "Take heed to yourselves," etc., " . . . and serve other gods, . . that there be no rain," etc. And I am worshipping idols on every flower bed, and nevertheless rain did not cease to fall. Is it possible that the caution of Moses should not stand good while that of Joshua should? To this it is written [1 Kings, 17:1]: "Then said Elijah the Tishbite, who was one of the inhabitants of Gilad, unto Achab, As the Lord God of Israel liveth, before whom I have stood, there shall not be in these years dew or rain, except according to my words." He prayed and the key of rain was transferred to him. It reads farther on (3) and (6): "Go away from here . . . and the ravens brought him bread and flesh in the morning." Where did they take it? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: From the kitchen of Achab. "And it came to pass . . . that the brook dried up," etc. When he saw that the whole world is in trouble he went to Zarephath according to the Heavenly command, and it happened (17) "that the son . . . fell sick," etc. And Elijah prayed again that the key of resurrection shall be given to him. And he was answered: Thou knowest that there are three keys in heaven which are not entrusted to a messenger--the key of birth, of rain, and of resurrection. Now when the key of resurrection shall also be given to thee, thou wilst have two keys and heaven only one. Bring, therefore, the key of rain, and then thou wilt receive the key of resurrection. And this is what it reads [ibid. 18:1]: "Go, show thyself to Achab, and I will give rain." A certain Galilean lectured in the presence of R. Hisda: The parable of Elijah, to what is it similar? To one who shut his door and lost the key from it. (So Elijah has shut the door of rain and had to depend upon Heaven.)

R. Jose lectured in Ciporias: Father Elijah is sensitive (hot-tempered), dealing with Achab too severely. Elijah, however, who used to visit R. Jose every day, disappeared for three days. And thereafter when he appeared and was questioned by R. Jose: Why have I not seen the master three days? he answered: Because you called me sensitive. Rejoined R. Jose: Is this not true? Hast not thou, master, become angry because of my expression?

"As long as the wicked exist," etc. Whom does it mean? Said R. Joseph: The thieves (who steal from the things which are legally to be devoted). The rabbis taught: With the appearance of a wicked anger comes to the world, as it reads [Prov. 18:3]: "When the wicked cometh, then cometh also contempt, and with dishonourable acts disgrace." And when the wicked perish good comes to the world, as it reads [Prov. 11:10]: "And when the wicked perish there is joyful shouting." When an upright departs from this world evil comes to the world, as it reads [Isa. 57:1]: "The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart: and pious men are taken away without one considering that before the evil the righteous is taken away." And when an upright comes to the world goodness comes with him, as it reads [Gen. 5:29]: "This one shall comfort us concerning our work and the toil of our hands."

END OF TRACT SANHEDRIN, PART 2. (HAGGADA),
END OF BOOK 9 (8)

THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD Book 10 (formerly 9) (Vols. 17. and 18.)

Tracts: Maccoth, Shebuoth, Eduyoth, Abuda Zara, and Horioth

VOLUME 17

Tract Maccoth Tract Shebuoth (Oaths) Tract Eduyoth (Testimonies) Tract Abuda Zara Tract Horioth (Decisions)

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SYNOPSIS OF SUBJECTS OF TRACT MACCOTH (STRIPES).

CHAPTER 1.

MISHNA 1. TO 10. How should witnesses be made collusive? There are another sort of witnesses who are not subject to the punishment of collusive ness but who are to suffer stripes instead. Where do we find a hint in the Scripture that collusive witnesses shall be punished with stripes? There are four points concerning collusive witnesses, etc. And they are not sold as Hebrew slaves. As it reads: "He shall be sold for his theft, but not for his collusiveness." A collusive witness pays his share. What does this mean? We testify that so and so has divorced his wife and has not paid the amount mentioned in her marriage contract, etc. We testify that so and so owes to his neighbour a thousand zuz, etc. If one says I will make you a loan with the stipulation that the Sabbathic year shall not release me, it nevertheless releases. If one loans money to his neighbour without a fixed term of return, he has no right to demand it before the elapse of thirty days. We testify that so and so owes 200 zuz to his neighbour, and they were found collusive, etc. To a negative commandment that does not contain manual labour, stripes does not apply. The fine of money may be divided into two or three shares; however, this is not to be done with stripes. Witnesses cannot be made collusive unless the falsehood lies in their bodies. A woman once brought witnesses, and they were found false. She then brought another party, who were also found false; she then brought another party, etc. Because she is suspicious should all Israel be suspected of testifying falsely? Collusive witnesses are not to be killed unless the sentence of capital punishment for the defendant is rendered. There is no punishment on the ground of a fortiori conclusions. May I not live to see the consolation of our nation, if I have not killed a collusive witness for the purpose of removing from the mind of the saducier, etc. The verse punishes one, an accomplice who conjoins himself to transgressors with the same punishment, etc. And we may learn from this; that so much the more will he who conjoins himself to those who are engaged in meritorious acts, be rewarded, etc. There is no capital punishment, unless two witnesses have warned this culprit. If both of the witnesses have seen him who warned them, they are considered conjoined, The court of Sanhedrin is to be established in Palestine as well as in the countries outside of it. In the large cities but not in the small ones.

CHAPTER 2.

MISHNA 1. TO 5. The following are exiled, he who kills a person unintentionally. The act of one who thought that such is allowed is not to be considered an accident, but almost intentional. If one has climbed a ladder and the step under him broke and killed, one Boraitha declares him guilty, etc. If the iron of a hatchet slipped off and killed. One threw a lump of brittle stone at a date tree, and the dates fell off and killed (a child). What is considered second force according to Rabbi? If one throws a stone in a public ground and it kills, he is to be exiled. The punishment of exile attaches but to a private set. Is hewing wood always considered a private affair? All kinds of human beings are exiled when they killed by accident an Israelite. A father is exiled if he killed his son accidentally. A heathen or a slave is to be exiled or punished with stripes through an Israelite and vice versa. A stranger or an idolator who has killed even unintentionally is put to death. Only then when, thinking that such is allowed; "For he is a prophet." How is this to be understood? Because he is a prophet she has to be returned, but if a layman, she would not, etc. Exile does not apply to a blind one. An enemy is not exiled (as such a punishment does not suffice). If the rope to which the man's instrument was attached, broke--then he is exiled; but if the instrument slips out of his hand, exile is not sufficient. Whither are they to be exiled? To the cities of refuge, etc. They were also obliged to prepare roads from one city to the other. Formerly all murderers, accidental as well as intentional, used to flee to the cities of refuge, etc. "Giliad is become a city of workers of wickedness," etc. What does this expression mean? The city of refuge must neither be too large nor too small, but middle-sized ones. Be situated in places where there is water and markets. If a disciple is exiled, his master is exiled with him; because the expression, "and live," means you shall supply him with the sources of moral life. He who loves the abundance of scholars possesses the fruit of knowledge. I learned much from my masters, more, however, from my colleagues, and still more from my disciples. The Holy One, blessed be He, appoints them into one inn, and he who had killed intentionally is placed under a ladder, while the other, who killed unintentionally, descends the steps, falls and kills him. According to one he wrote only the eight verses, which begin with. "And Moses died," etc.

MISHNA 6. TO 10. There is no difference between the high priests who were anointed with the holy oil, etc. Therefore the mothers of the priests used to support the murderers with food and clothes, etc. It is counted as a sin to the priest who should pray that no accident might happen in that generation. If a sage has put some one under the ban conditionally, etc. The forty years during which Israel was in the desert, the remains of Judah were dismembered in his coffin until Moses prayed for him, etc. If after the decision has been rendered, the high priest dies, he is not exiled, etc. If it happens that a murderer goes outside of the limit, etc. What has the high priest done that the murderer's fate should depend upon his death? Joab erred twice in so acting: (a) he thought that the horns of the altar protect, etc. The cities of refuge are not given for cemeteries. If one killed accidentally in the city of refuge, he is to be exiled, etc. If a murderer was exiled, the townsmen like to honour him, he has to say to them "I am a murderer".

CHAPTER 3.

MISHNA I. TO V. To the following stripes apply: Crimes under the category of Korath, as well as under that of capital

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punishment, are also punished with stripes if they were so warned. To a negative command, which is preceded by a positive one, stripes apply. The culprit does not get stripes unless he abolishes the succeeding positive command. R. Simeon b. Lakish, however, differs, and says: He is free from stripes only when he has fulfilled the succeeding one. He who took the mother-bird with her children gets, according to R. Jehudah, stripes. It happened with a children teacher who struck too much the children, and R. A'ha excommunicated him; Rabbma, however, returned him because he could not find as good a teacher. Stripes also apply to him who partook of the first fruit before the ceremony of reading was performed. If a positive succeeds a negative, no stripes apply. A stranger who had consumed sin and transgression offerings before their blood was sprinkled is free from any punishment. Concerning the first fruit, placing it in the temple is the main thing, and not the ceremony of reading. The culpability for second tithe arises only after it has seen the face of the wall of Jerusalem. He who makes a baldness in the hair of his head, or rounds it, etc., is liable. The culpability arises only, then, when he took it off with a razor. What should be the size of the bald spot which would make him culpable? If one made an incision with an instrument he is culpable. For dead he is culpable at all courts whether by hand or instrument. The culpability for etching-in arises only when he has done both, wrote and etched-in with dye, etc. A Nazarite who was drinking wine the whole day is culpable only for one negative. There is an instance that one may plough only one bed and shall be culpable for eight negatives. The number of stripes is forty less one.

MISHNA 6.-9. The examination as to the number of stripes he can receive and remain alive must be such that can be equally divided by three. If one commits a sin to which two negatives apply, etc. How is the punishment with stripes to be performed? The striker strikes him with one hand so that the strokes shall become weaker. If, after he has been tied, he succeeds to run away from the Court, he is free. As he was already disgraced, he is not taken to be disgraced again. The Lord wanted to make Israel blissful and therefore he multiplied to them his commands. At three places the Holy Spirit appeared. At the court of Shem, etc. Six hundred and thirteen commands were said to Moses, etc. Isaiah reduced them to six. Michah came and reduced them to three. Isaiah (the second) again reduced them to two. "Keep ye justice and do equity." Amos reduced them to one. "Seek ye for me, and ye shall live".

APPENDIX.

He who speaks ill of his neighbour, he who listens to such evil-speaking, finally, he who bears false testimony deserves to be thrown to the dogs.

TRACT MACCOTH (STRIPES).

The Sanhedrin who executes a person once in seven years, is considered pernicious. R. Eliezar b. Azariach said: Even one who does so once in seventy years is considered such. Both R. Tarphon and R. Aqiba said: If we were among the Sanhedrin, a death sentence would never occur." (Mishna X.)

CHAPTER 1.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING COLLUSIVE WITNESSES IN BOTH CRIMINAL AND CIVIL CASES, AND THE APPLICATION THERETO OF CORPOREAL AND OTHER PUNISHMENTS.

MISHNA 1.: How should witnesses be made collusive (so that they should be punished)? If, e.g., they testify that so and so (who is a priest) is a son of a divorced woman (whom his father had illegally married, wherefore he lost his priesthood), the court has not to decide that the witness who has falsely testified shall be regarded such (and shall lose his priesthood if he is a priest), but he should be punished with forty stripes; likewise if one testifies that so and so is to be exiled for an unintentional murder, the court has not to decide that he, the witness, be exiled for false witnessing, but he is punished with forty stripes.

GEMARA: How should the text of the Mishna be understood? It states, "how should witnesses be made collusive," and according to the illustration hereafter adduced it ought to be: How should the witnesses not be made collusive (as the punishment of a collusive witness is according to the Scripture that the same which is to be inflicted upon the defendant if the accusation prove true, and it states that such a punishment does not apply to the witness; it furthermore states concerning the case of collusive witnesses, that they are considered collusive only, then, when another party of witnesses come and say that the witnesses in question were with them at another place on the same date on which, according to their testimony, the alleged crime was done. Hence, only in such cases they are considered collusive, but not otherwise. The Tana of the Mishna refers to this passage (Sanhedrin): "Because all who are to be put to death biblically, their collusive witnesses and their abuses are punished with the same, except in the case of the married daughter of a priest," etc. And he (the Tana) adds that there are another sort of witnesses who are not subject to the punishment of collusiveness, but who are to suffer stripes instead, and this are those who testify that so and so is a son of a divorced woman or of such who has performed the ceremony of chalitza.

Whence is this deduced? Said R. Jeoshia b. Levy: From here [Deut. 19:19]: "Then shall ye do unto him as he had purposed to do unto his brother; to him but not to his descendants" (and if the decision were that he should lose his priesthood, then even his children would be affected). But let the court affect him only and not his descendants? This cannot be done, as the law dictates that it shall be done just the same to him as to the alleged defendant, and if such be the case his descendants would necessarily be affected. B. Pada, however, says: This is to be drawn by a fortiori reasoning--viz.: he who has transgressed (by illegal marriage of a divorced woman) does not lose his priesthood, and only his descendants from this marriage lose it. Much less so should the witness who falsely testified lose his priesthood. Rabbina opposed: Were we to use such theory the whole case of collusiveness would be made illusory. As the same a fortiori method could be applied thus: He through whose false testimony a man was already stoned, is not to be stoned; so much less so if the accused man was not as yet stoned? Therefore the best is as it is answered above.

"Is to be exiled." Whence is all this deduced? Said Resh Lakish: From here [Deut. xix. 5]: "This one shall flee unto one of these cities," etc., i.e., this one, but not his collusive witnesses. R. Jochanan, however, said: This is to be drawn by a fortiori reasoning. He who has done such a crime intention. ally does not become exiled; so much less so he who is only testifying to such a crime. This statement, however, cannot be taken into consideration, as the reason why an intentional murderer is not to be exiled is that he shall not be atoned. But the witnesses who have not perpetrated such a crime should be exiled, so that they should expiate; therefore, the best interpretation is that of Resh Lakish given above.

Ula said: Where do we find a hint in the Scripture that collusive witnesses shall be punished with stripes (quoted from Tract Sanhedrin.). The rabbis taught, "there are four points concerning collusive witnesses: (a) they are not made sons of a divorced woman or of such who has performed the ceremony of chalitza; (b) they are not exiled to the cities of refuge; (c) they do not pay the atoned money, and (d) they are not sold as Hebrew slaves." In the name of R. Aqiba it was said that: Nor do they pay on self-confession. They are not made sons of a divorced woman, etc., as said above, nor are they to be exiled as said above, and they do not pay atoned money, because the rabbis hold that the money which one has to pay in case his ox has killed a person is not considered as a recompense for damages, but as an atonement, and collusive witnesses are not under the category of atonement. And who is the Tana who holds this? Said R. Hisda: It is R. Ismael, the son of Johanan b. Brokah. (See Baba Kama.)

"And they are not sold as Hebrew slaves." R. Hamnuna was about to say that this is only in the case when he, the alleged defendant, has money to pay for the theft, or if the witnesses have money to pay; but in case both have not they are to be sold. Said Rabba to him: It reads [ibid. 22:2], "he shall be sold for his theft, but not for his collusiveness." The text says in the name of R. Aqiba, etc.: What is his reason? He holds that this is only a fine, and one does not pay fine upon his self-confession. Said Rabba: There is a support to R. Aqiba's theory in the fact that a collusive witness, though he has not committed the crime manually, is nevertheless responsible, and is to be killed in case his testimony caused a death-sentence; and likewise in civil cases he has to pay, although he has done no damage. And similarly said R. Na'hman.

R. Jehuda in the name of Rabh said: A collusive witness pays his share. What does this mean? Shall we assume that in the case where two witnesses were found collusive each of them pays half? This is already stated further on in a Mishna. Or does it mean that if one of them was found collusive, he has to pay half? This is not so, as there is a Boraitha which states that there is no payment imposed unless both are found collusive. Said Rabha: He speaks of the case when one came before the court testifying: I, together with so and so, have testified before such and such a court, and we, having been found collusive, the court has decided that we have to pay such and such an amount. And lest one say that, as his testimony does not make liable his colleague, he himself should not be responsible either, he comes to teach us that this is not so.

MISHNA 2.: We testify that so and so has divorced his wife and has not paid the amount mentioned in her marriage contract (and that testimony was false). Although they have not done any damage, as the husband has to pay the marriage contract at some time, they are nevertheless not free from the following payment--namely, it is to be appraised how much one would risk for her marriage contract in case she should remain a widow or be divorced. However, if she died while her husband is still alive, he would inherit her (and such an amount they have to pay).

GEMARA: How should the appraisement be made? (here are two kinds of risks, one can risk to buy the inheritance of a woman from her husband, who would inherit her in case of her death when he is still alive; and one can also risk to buy this from the woman in case her husband die first. However, there is a great difference concerning the amount one would risk. As a rule, one would give much more when buying it from the husband than from the wife). According to R. 'Hisda the appraisement must be of the husband's, and according to R. Nathan b. Oshia, of the wife's estate. Said R. Papa: It prevails that the appraisement should be as of the wife's, and only to the amount mentioned in her marriage contract, without, however, touching the benefit which her husband has in the fruit of her estate while she is yet alive.

MISHNA 3.: We testify that so and so owes to his neighbour a thousand zuz on the condition to pay him this debt after thirty days from to-day. He, however, claims that he has to pay the amount at the expiration of ten years: and such was found to be the case. It remains, then, to appraise how much one would give for keeping a thousand zuz ten years instead of thirty days, and such an amount they have to pay.

GEMARA: R. Jehuda in the name of Samuel said: If one made a loan to his neighbour for ten years the Sabbathic year does not annul it, and although when the Sabbathic year will arrive, he would transgress the negative commandment. "He shall not exact it of his neighbour" [Deut. 15:2], yet at present this commandment does not exist, and we do not care for the later time. Said R. Kahana: This we have also learned in our Mishna, which states that the witnesses have to pay only the difference between thirty days and ten years. And if the Sabbathic year released the whole debt, they would have to pay the whole thousand zuz. Said Rabha: The Mishna may refer to one who lends his money on a pledge, or to one who transfers his documents to the court; and there is a Mishna teaching that in such cases the Sabbathic year has no effect.

R. Jehuda said again in the name of the same authority: "If one says I will make you a loan with the stipulation that the Sabbathic year shall not release me, it nevertheless releases." Shall we assume that Samuel holds that such is considered a condition against the biblical law, and it therefore does not hold good? Is it not taught (Baba Metzia.) if one says: I sell this article to you on the condition that you shall not claim any cheating against me, etc.? According to Samuel the condition holds good, though such a condition is against the written law? Yea, but to this it was added by R. Anan that Samuel himself has explained it to him; and according to this explanation there is no contradiction here. Now as the case here is analogous, it follows that he made the condition: "The Sabbathic year shall not release me, it releases nevertheless. But if he says in the condition that you shall not release it, then his condition holds good."

There is a Boraitha to the effect that if one loans money to his neighbour without a fixed term of return, he has no right to demand it before the elapse of thirty days. And Raba b. b. 'Hana was about to interpret this Boraitha in the presence of Rabh that such is the case only when he lends on a document, as one would not trouble himself to write a document for less than thirty days; but if it was a verbal loan, he may demand it at any time. Said Rabh to him: So said my uncle that there is no difference between a verbal and a written loan as regards the thirty days, so long as the loan was made without any term. Similarly we have learned in a Boraitha. Samuel said to R. Mathna.. You shall not sit down before you have explained me the courses wherefrom is based the Halakha that one shall not demand a loan no matter whether it be verbal or written before the elapse of thirty days? And he answered from [ibid., ibid. 9]: "The seventh year, the year of release," etc. Is it not self-evident that the seventh year is the year of release? why then the apposition? To tell that there is another release similar, and this is a loan without a term which cannot be demanded before thirty days, as the master said that thirty days, a fragment of a year, is considered a whole year.

MISHNA 4.: We testify that so and so owes 200 zuz to his neighbour, and they were found collusive; they have to suffer both stripes and payment, because the negative commandment for the trespass of which they have to receive stripes does not, make them pay. And only another verse concerning collusiveness makes them to pay. Such is the decree of R. Mair. The sages, however, maintain that he who pays is not to be punished with stripes. If they testify that so and so has deserved forty stripes, and are found collusive, they are to be punished with twice forty stripes, once on the basis of the negative commandment: "Thou shalt not bear false witness," and, secondly, on that of the commandment: "Shall ye do unto him as he had purposed to do unto his brother"; such is the decree of R. Mair. The sages, however, say: they suffer stripes only once.

GEMARA: This is in accord with the rabbis' theory, which reads [ibid. 25:2]: "According to the degree of his fault," which statement is to be explained that he is made responsible for one fault, and not for two. But what is the reason of R. Mair's decree? Said Ula: He bases it upon the case of an evil name, for which crime the law prescribes the double punishment of stripes and payment, and analogous is the case here treated. But is not the payment for an evil name

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considered a fine? He, R. Mair, holds with R. Aqiba that the payment of collusive witnesses is also required as a fine.

There are others who refer the saying of Ula to the following Boraitha: It reads [Ex. 12:10]; (see Sanhedrin.), and to the question, whence is it known that to a negative commandment that does not contain manual labour, the punishment of stripes does not apply, Ula answered from the case of an evil name stated above. What, then, do the rabbis who do not hold that they shall be beaten twice infer from "Thou shalt not bear false witness"? They need this for a warning to the case of collusiveness. And where is to be found such a warning according to R. Mair? Said R. Jeramaia in [Deut. 19:20]: "And those who remain shall hear and be, afraid, and shall henceforth," etc. The rabbis, however, infer from this passage that such a case must be heralded (see Sanhedrin.). As to R. Mair, he, too, infers from here heralding, as according to him the words "and shall be afraid" would be superfluous, if heralding were not inferred therefrom.

MISHNA 5.: The fine of money may be divided into two or three shares; however, this is not to be done with stripes. How so? If they have falsely testified that one owes to his neighbour 200 zuz, and they were two or three persons, each of them has to pay his share to complete that amount. But if they have falsely testified that one deserves forty stripes, each of them is to get forty stripes in full.

GEMARA: Whence is all this deduced? Said Abaye: Concerning stripes, it reads [Deut. xxv. 2]: "Wicked"; and [Numb. 35:31] it reads also "wicked" concerning capital punishment, and as that cannot be divided, so stripes are not to be divided either. Rabha, however, said: The reason is this: The punishment ought to be done to him as he had the purpose to do it to his brother. And as each one of them intended that the defendant be beaten with forty stripes, he has to get just the same. But why should not the same be concerning money fine? Because money if counted together completes the amount he should suffer, which is not the case with stripes.

MISHNA 6.: Witnesses cannot be made collusive unless the falsehood lies in their bodies; how so? If, e.g., they testify that so and so has killed a person and another party of witnesses came to contradict them, saying: How can you testify so? The killed one or the alleged murderer was with us at that date in such and such a place. They are, nevertheless, not considered collusive (so that they should be killed instead); but if the other party say you yourself were with us at that date in such a place, consequently you could see neither the murderer nor the killed one, then they are considered collusive and are to be killed upon such a testimony. If, thereafter, a third party of witnesses came and made collusive the second party, and a fourth party made collusive the third party, even if the number reach to 100 parties they all are to be killed. R. Jehuda, however, maintains that such parties of witnesses are to be considered στασις, and only the first party is to be killed.

GEMARA: Whence is this deduced? Said R. Ada: From [Deut. xix. 18]: "And, behold, if the witness be a false witness, he hath testified a falsehood against his brother," which means that the body of the witness should be found false. The disciples of R. Ismael taught, it reads [ibid., ibid. xix. 16]: "Testify against him for any deviation," 1 which means the testifying itself should be a deviation.

Rabha said: "If two persons testify that one has killed a man in the east side of such and such a palace, and another party of witnesses come, saying that the same witnesses were with them in the west of the same, it is to be investigated if, while standing on the west side, one can see what is going on in the east side, they are not to be considered collusive, otherwise they are." Is this not self-evident? Lest one say that we have to investigate, perhaps their sight is better than the usual one, so that they could see, he comes to teach us that this does not matter. The same said again: "If two have testified that one has killed a person in the City of Sura Sunday morning, and another party came and testified that the same persons were with them in the City of N'hardaia Sunday evening, an investigation is to be made, if it is possible.

If the investigation shows that it is possible for one to walk during that time from Sura to N'hardaia, then they are not collusive; otherwise they are." Is this not self-evident? Lest one say it is to be feared perhaps the man went to the latter city in a flying camel 2 he comes to teach us that such fear must not be taken into consideration.

And he said again: If they testify that on Sunday one has killed a person and are contradicted by another party that on Sunday they were with them, however it is a fact that the same person has killed a man on Monday; or even if they said that this man killed a person on Friday, the collusive witnesses are to be put to death, because at the time they testified the defendant was not as yet sentenced to death. But if they testified that the death sentence occurred on Sunday, and the other party testifies that they were with them at that time, the sentence, however, having occurred on Friday, or even on Monday, the first party is not to be considered collusive, because at the time they testified, the defendant was already sentenced to death. And the same is the case concerning fines. If, for instance, they testify that so and so has stolen an ox, slaughtered him or sold, on Sunday (for which he has to pay four and five fold), and the other party says that on Sunday they were with them, but the defendant did so on Monday, the first party is subject to the fine, because on Sunday the defendant was not as yet liable. However, if they say that the accused has done so on Friday; or even if they say that the decision of the court occurred on Monday the first party is not considered collusive, because at the time they testified, the man was already sentenced to a fine.

"R. Jehuda, however, said," etc. But according to him that all the parties are staçis, why should the first party be put to death? Said Rabha: He means to say that if there was only one party of witnesses. But did he not say the first party only? This difficulty remains. A woman once brought witnesses, and they were found false. She then brought another party, who were also found false. She then brought a third party. Said Resh Lakish: This woman is to be considered suspicious whose purpose is to use false witnesses. Said R. Alazar to him: Because she is suspicious should all Israel be suspected of testifying falsely? Such a case happened also before the court of R. Johanan, and Resh Lakish said the same as above. But R. Johanan exclaimed: "If she is suspicious should all Israel be suspected?" He (Resh Lakish) looked at R. Alazar rebukingly, saying: You have heard your statement from Bar Naf'ha (R. Johanan), and you have not mentioned his name! Shall we assume that R. Johanan is in accordance with the rabbis of our Mishna, and Resh Lakish is in accordance with R. Jehuda? Nay. Resh Lakish may say: "I am in accordance even with the rabbis, as in that case there was no one who searched for witnesses. In this case, however, the woman was searching for them." And R. Johanan may say: "I am in accordance with R. Jehuda"; however, this case is different, as she may have thought that the first parties were aware of her case, and she erred. The third party, however, may be aware of it.

MISHNA 7.: Collusive witnesses are not to be killed unless the sentence of capital punishment for the defendant is rendered. As only the Saducier declare that the collusive witnesses are put to death after the defendant was executed. Because it reads [Ex. 21:23]: "Life for life," to which the sages answered: Is it not written: "It shall be done to him as he had purposed to do unto his brother"? which means that his brother is still alive. Why, then, is it written "Life for life"? Lest one say that they should be executed as soon as their testimony was accepted, therefore it reads, "Life for life," to teach that they are to be put to death only, then, when the death sentence for the defendant was already rendered.

GEMARA: There is a Boraitha Biribi says: If the man who was accused by them was not executed as yet, the collusive witnesses are put to death; but if he was already executed, they are not. Said his father: "My son, can this not be argued by a fortiori reasoning that they should be put to death, if the accused was executed?" And he answered: "My master, have you not taught me that there is no punishment on the ground of a fortiori conclusions?" And this we have learned in the following Boraitha: It reads [Lev. 20:17]: "If a man take his sister, the daughter of his father, or the daughter of his mother," from this we know only about the daughter of his father, not of his mother, and vice versa. But where do we know that he is guilty when she was the daughter both of his father and mother? To this it reads at the end of this verse, "The nakedness of his sister hath he uncovered." And this is written only for the purpose that one should not say that such is to be drawn by a fortiori conclusion, thus: If he is guilty for his sister who was only from one side, his father's or mother's, how much the more should he be guilty when she was his sister from both sides? Hence, from this we have to learn, that there is no punishment based on a fortiori conclusions. Thus far concerning punishment; but whence do we know that the same is the case concerning warning? To this it reads [ibid. 18:9]: "The nakedness of thy sister, the daughter of thy father, or the daughter of thy mother." And it is also repeated [ibid., ibid. 2.]: "She is a sister," etc. Also for this purpose one shall not base this on a fortiori conclusion. All this is concerning capital punishment. But whence do we know that the same is the case with stripes? From an analogy of the expression "wicked" stated above and whence do we know that the same is the case concerning exile? From the analogy of expression "murder" as stated above. There is a Boraitha. R. Jehuda b. Tabai said: "May I not live to see the consolation of our nation, if I have not killed a collusive witness for the purpose of removing from the mind of the Saducier, who say that, collusive witnesses are not put to death, unless their accused were executed. Said Simeon ben Shata'h to him: I, too, swear by the consolation of our nation that you had shed innocent blood, as the law dictates that witnesses should not be put to death unless both of them are found collusive. Then Jehuda ben Tabai decided that he shall not render any decision before consulting Simeon ben Shatah. And all his lifetime he used to prostrate himself upon the grave of that witness. And a voice was heard. People thought that this was the voice of the dead one. But Jehuda told them that it was his own voice, saying, "You will see that after my death no voice will be heard."

MISHNA 8.: It reads [Deut. 17:6]: "Upon the evidence of two or of three witnesses, shall he that is worthy of death," etc. If the evidence of two persons is sufficient, why does the Scripture mention three? To compare the evidence of three to that of two in the case of collusiveness, as another party of two, make the first party of two collusive, so they make them collusive even if the first is of three. And whence do we know that, even if they were a hundred persons, the evidence of two persons is sufficient? To this it reads: "Witnesses." R. Simeon, however, maintains that as two cannot be put to death, unless both of them are found collusive, so is it if they were three, all of them must be found collusive. And even if their number reaches a hundred, all of them must be found collusive before sentencing one of them to death. R. Aqiba, however, maintains that the third witness mentioned in the Scripture was not for the purpose to make for him the punishment more lenient, but, on the contrary, to make it more rigorous--viz., lest one say as the testimony of the third one was superfluous, because the evidence of two suffices, and, therefore, he should not be punished at all. The Scripture terms the third one in order to make him equal with the former two. From this we see that the verse punishes one, an accomplice who conjoins himself to transgressors, with the same punishment to be inflicted upon the transgressors themselves. And we may learn from this: That so much the more will he who conjoins himself to those who are engaged in meritorious acts, be rewarded equally with them. Three witnesses are also equal to two in case one of them was found a relative or legally unfit for witnessing, as it is in the case of two when the testimony is invalidated, so it is in the case when one of the three was found such. And the same law applies even when their number reaches a hundred, from the expression "Witnesses." Said R. Jose: This is said concerning criminal cases only, but in civil cases, if one was found a relative or unfit, the evidence of the remainder is to be taken into consideration. Rabh, however, said, that as regards this there is no difference between civil and criminal cases. However, this rule holds good only when the relatives took part in warning the trespasser; but if they did not, the evidence of the others must be taken into consideration, since, if not, what could two brothers do when both saw that some one has killed a person (and there were also some other ones who have seen the murder, should then the testimony of the others be eliminated as void because there were also two brothers)?

GEMARA: Rabha said: The Mishna treats of a case where all of them have testified at once. Said R. A'ha of Difti to Rabbina: How could such a thing be possible with a hundred persons; could all of them testify at once? And he answered: It means that every one of them has testified just as his colleague has finished his testimony.

"What could two brothers do?" But how shall the court examine them? Said Rabha: They are to be questioned for what purpose they came here: to testify, or merely to see? If they say, we came to testify, then, if there was a relative or an unfit among them, their testimony is void; but if they say that merely to see, then must be taken into consideration the testimony of the others, since what could two brothers do, etc., as illustrated in Mishna.

It was taught: R. Jehuda in the name of Samuel said: The Halakha rules in accordance with R. Jose. And R. Nachman said: It rules in accordance with Rabbi. [R. Na'hman b. R. 'Hisda lectured: A fowl burnt-offering must not be bought from the money of the treasury. Said Rabha: This is nonsense! Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak to him: Why nonsense? I said it to R. Na'hman b. 'Hisda, in the name of R. Shimi of Nahardea, and the reason is that for the remaining money of the treasury burnt-offerings for the congregation are bought, and there is no fowl-offering for the congregation. In like manner Samuel holds what was said in the name of R. Johanan concerning daily offerings; as R. Jehudah said in his name that all the offerings of the congregation are prepared for what they are intended by the application of the knife to them (and no knife is used to a fowl-offering). So also we have learned in the following Boraitha: R. Simeon admits concerning a he-goat that was not offered on the festival, that he may be offered on the new-moon or day of atonement, on the feast of Tabernacles, and may as well remain for the next holidays, since originally he was intended as an offering to be brought on the exterior altar.]

MISHNA 9.: If two persons have seen the crime from one window and two others have seen it from another window, and there was one standing in the middle and warning the criminal, if the two parties could see each other, all of them are considered as one party of witnesses. But if not, they are considered two parties. And therefore if one of the parties was found collusive, he (the accused) and they (the collusive) are put to death, and the other party is free. R. Jose, however, maintains that there is no capital punishment unless two witnesses have warned this culprit, as it reads: "Upon the mouth of two witnesses." 1 Another explanation of the words upon the mouth is that the Sanhedrin must not hear the evidence from a demonstrator (but they themselves must understand the language of the witness).

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GEMARA: R. Zuthra b. Tubia in the name of Rabh said: Whence do we know that one witness is not relied upon? From [ibid., ibid. 6]: "He shall not be put to death upon the evidence of one witness." What does the expression, "one witness," mean? If it means that the testimony of one witness does not suffice, this is already stated above, "two witnesses"; hence it means that if two witnesses saw the crime separately, each from another place, and if they themselves could not see each other, such witnesses are not considered conjoined, so that their testimony should be taken into consideration. Furthermore, even if this was from one window, but one has seen it first, and then the other, they are likewise not to be considered conjoined. Said R. Papa to Abayi: Was it necessary to state this after the former statement, that even if each of them has seen the whole crime they are not to be conjoined if they do not see each other? So much the less so if each of them has seen but half of the act. And he answered: He speaks of an adultery case. Rabha said: If both of the witnesses have seen him who warned them, they are considered conjoined. And he said again that the warning suffices even if it comes from the mouth of the killed one. And even if a voice of warning was heard without their knowing whom it is from. R. Na'hman said: The individual witnesses in question are fit for civil cases, as it reads: "He shalt not be put to death upon the evidence of one witness," from which we learn about criminal cases only, but in civil cases they are to be considered.

"R. Jose said," etc.: Said R. Papa to Abayi: does R. Jose really hold such a theory? Have we not learned in a Mishna that if an enemy has killed unintentionally, he may be put to death because he is considered vicious, and warned? And he answered: This is not R. Jose from our Mishna, but R. Jose b. Jehuda from the following Boraitha, who said: A scholar needs no warning, for the warning is on the whole only for the purpose, that the court know whether it was done intentionally or unintentionally.

"From a demonstrator," etc. There were two foreigners who appeared in the court of Rabha, and he appointed an interpreter for them. But why did he do so? Is it not stated that the judges must not hear the case through an interpreter? Rabha understood what they said, but he could not answer them in that language.

Ailea and Tubia were relatives of a surety, and R. Papa was about to say that they are fit to be witnesses, because they are not relatives of the lender and borrower. Said R. Huna b. R. Joshua to him: If the borrower should not pay would not the lender demand the debt from the surety? Hence they are considered relatives in this case, and are not fit to be witnesses.

MISHNA 10.: If, after the decision had been rendered the guilty one ran away, and thereafter he returned to the same court, his case must not be reconsidered. Everywhere, if two persons standing at any place testify that a decision was rendered for so and so by such and such a court, according to the testimony of the witnesses, so and so, the accused may be put to death upon their testimony.

The court of Sanhedrin is to be established in Palestine as well as in the countries outside of it. The Sanhedrin who executes a person once in seven years, is considered pernicious. R. Eliezar b. Azariach said: Even one who does so once in seventy years is considered such. Both R. Tarphon and R. Aqiba said: If we were among the Sanhedrin, a death sentence would never occur. To which R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said: Such scholars would only increase bloodshed in Israel.

GEMARA: The Mishna states if he return to the same court his case must not be reconsidered. From which it is to be understood that if he returns to another court, it is to be reconsidered. And in the latter part it states that if two testify that such a decision was rendered, etc., he is to be put to death without any reconsideration? Said Abayi: This presents no difficulty. If he runs away to a court in Palestine from outside, it is to be reconsidered. As it is stated in the following Boraitha, R. Jehuda b. Dusthai said in the name of R. Simeon b. Shatah: That if one runs from the Palestine court to an outside court, his case must not be reconsidered. But if vice versa, it is to be reversed, because of the privilege Palestine has.

"Sanhedrin are to be established," etc. Whence is this deduced? From what the rabbis taught. It reads (Numb. 35:29]: "For a statute of justice throughout your generations, in all your dwellings." From this it is inferred that Sanhedrin are to be established in Palestine as well as in the countries outside. But why is it written elsewhere "in thy gates"? To say that "in thy gates" in Palestine, you have to establish courts in every principal city, as well as in the small cities; but in the countries out of Palestine, you have to establish them in the large cities but not in the small ones.

CHAPTER 2.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING UNINTENTIONAL MURDER AND EXILE WHICH IS THE PUNISHMENT THEREFOR.--WHO IS AND WHO IS NOT SUBJECT TO EXILE.--THE CITIES OF EXILE AND THEIR PREPARATIONS.--THE REDEEMING OF THE EXILED BY THE DEATH OF THE HIGH-PRIEST.

MISHNA 1.: The following are exiled: He who kills a person unintentionally. If, e.g., one fixes his roof with a machine and the latter falls from his hand and kills a man, or if he takes off a barrel from the roof and it falls from his hand and kills, or if he himself falls from the ladder while descending and kills, he is to be exiled. However, if, while carrying the machine up to the roof, or pulling a barrel on a rope up to the roof, the rope breaks and the barrel falls and kills, or if he himself, while ascending to the roof, falls and kills, there is no exile. As there is a rule that for killing while descending, he is exiled, but not while ascending.

GEMARA: Whence is this deduced? Said Samuel: From [Numb. 35:23]: "And he have let it fall upon him, that he died," which means that it fell in the usual manner. The rabbis taught [ibid., ibid. 15]: "Unawares" means to exclude the case when it was done intentionally; [Deut. 19:4] "without knowledge" to exclude him who intends to do so. But is it not self-evident that he who kills a person intentionally is to be put to death? Said Rabha: It excludes even him who thought that such is allowed. Said Abayi to him: Is the act of one who thought that such is allowed not to be considered an accident? Answered Rabha: I hold that such is to be considered almost intentional.

Further on it is stated "without knowledge to exclude him who intended to do so." Is this not self-evident? Said Rabha, i.e., to exclude him who intended to kill an animal, and killed a man, or miscarried and killed a full term child.

The rabbis taught: It reads [Numb. 35:22]: "If he have pushed against him accidentally "means to exclude a corner (where the injured one has entered, while the murderer was going from the opposite with a knife in his hand and wounded the former). "Without enmity" excludes the case where the murderer was his enemy. "Pushed" means with his body. "Or have cast upon him" includes the one who injured while bending himself for the purpose of raising his instrument to land the blow harder. "Without lying in wait" excludes him who intended to strike in one side, but struck in the opposite. [Ex. 21:13] "And if he did not lie in wait" excludes the one who intended to throw it as far as two and threw it four yards. [Deut. xix. 5] "And he that goeth into the forest with his neighbour" means as the entrance into a forest is permitted to every one, so also must the place be open where the accident happened--be open to every one--to the injurer as well as to the injured. R. Abuhu questioned R. Johanan: What is the law in this case: If one was climbing a ladder and, a step having been broken under him, he fell down and killed; is this to be considered on ascending, for which one is not liable, or on descending; for which he is? And he answered: It is already explained above: That a descending for the purpose of ascending is included. He (Abuhu) objected to him from the following: "This is the rule, that if while descending he is to be exiled, but if while ascending, he is not." Does not the expression "while ascending" include a similar case to that about which I questioned you) And be answered: According to your theory, the expression "while descending" must also include something. And what is it? You must then say that it means to include chopping, e.g., a butcher that chops meat and kills a man (by a slip of the hatchet, etc.); similarly it may be said that the expression "while ascending" means to exclude same. As we have learned in the following Boraitha: "A butcher who has chopped meat," etc. One Boraitha declares him guilty if the killing was in front of him, but not if it happened behind. And another Boraitha asserts the contrary. A third one, however, declares him free at any rate. And they are not contradictory, since one of them speaks of the case that, while he was bending himself, the accident took place in front of him, he is then responsible. And if through his rising the accident happened behind, he is free. And the other two Boraithas speak of cases which happened to be in the contrary and otherwise.

Shall we assume that in this case the Tanaim of the following Boraitha differ--viz.: If one has climbed a ladder and the step under him broke and killed, one Boraitha declares him guilty, and another free. Is it not because one considered his climbing as ascending and the other as descending? Nay, according, to both, it is considered as ascending. But that which declares him liable means in respect of damages, and that which declares him free means from exile.

MISHNA 2.: If the iron of a hatchet slipped off and killed, according to Rabbi he is not to be exiled, and according to the sages he is. The same differ also as regards the case where a piece of wood split off from the felled tree and kills; according to Rabbi he is, and according to the sages he is not exiled.

GEMARA: There is a Boraitha. Rabbi said to the sages: Does it read [Deut. 19:5]: "The iron slippeth from its tree"? It reads, "from the tree." And secondly, in the beginning of the verse the expression is "to hew (etz) trees," and herewith "the iron slippeth," the same word, etz, is used, whence, as above, it means that a chip slipped from the tree, so by the expression "from the etz" is meant a piece of wood split from the tree. Hence, he is to be exiled. Said R. Hiye b. Ashe in the name of Rabh: Both (the sages and Rabbi) took their opinion from one and the same passage cited above. Rabbi holds that the law must be decided in accordance with the Masora writing, which is "v'nishshel," i.e., and the iron chips off a part of the wood. And the rabbis hold that the attention must be called to the traditional reading which is v'nashal, i.e., "and the iron slips off the helve." But does Rabbi indeed hold that attention must be given to the Masora? Did not R. Itz'hak b. Joseph in the name of R. Jo'hanan say: Rabbi, R. Jehuda b. Roietz, the school of Shamai, R. Simeon and R. Aqiba all hold that the attention must be given to the traditional reading? For this purpose Rabbi added in his discussion "and secondly," etc.

R. Papa said: If one threw a lump of brittle stone at a date tree and the dates fell off and killed (a child), we come to the differing of Rabbi and the sages mentioned in our Mishna.

Is this not self-evident? Lest one say that Rabbi would consider this as a secondary force (i.e., the killing was not the result of the direct force of the man who struck the tree, but of the second force of the tree), he came to teach us that it is not so. What then is considered second force according to Rabbi? If, e.g., he struck a bare branch of the tree, and it struck the branch upon which the dates were growing, and the dates fell and killed.

MISHNA 3.: If one throws a stone in a public ground and it kills, he is to be exiled. R. Eliezer b. Jacob, however, maintains: If after the stone had been thrown one bent his head and received it, the thrower is free. If one throws a stone in his yard and kills a person, he is guilty if the killed one had a right to enter it, otherwise he is not. Because concerning this case a forest is mentioned in the Scripture, that the place of injuring should be similar to a forest into which every one is allowed to enter; excluding a private yard into which every one is not permitted to enter. Aba Shaul said: As the hewing of wood (mentioned in the Scripture in this case) is a private thing, so also the punishment of exile attaches but to a private act; excluding, e.g., a father who struck his son, or a teacher his pupil, or the messenger of the court who was on duty.

GEMARA: In public ground! Then he must be considered an intentional murderer? Said R. Samuel b. Itz'hak: It speaks that the accident occurred while he was removing his wall.

"R. Eliezer b. Jacob said," etc. The rabbis taught: It reads [Deut. xix. 5]: "And find 1 his neighbour," to exclude him who causes himself to be found under the stone. And from this R. Eliezer b. Jacob inferred his theory, that if after the stone was already thrown, one has put his head under it and was killed, the thrower is free.

"As hewing wood," etc. One of the rabbis questioned Rabha: Is hewing wood always considered a private affair? Is there not a meritorious act to hew wood for making a Sukka or for the purpose of burning it upon the altar? Hence, if an accident happened by such an act, let him be free. And he answered: This cannot be considered so, as a Sukka can be prepared from hewed wood, and the same it is with the altar. Hence, such an act cannot be considered meritorious.

MISHNA 3.: A father is exiled if the accident happened to his son, and vice versa. All kinds of human beings are exiled when they killed by accident an Israelite; and same is exiled if he killed one of them accidentally, except a proselyte (who accepted upon himself only the seven commandments which were given to the descendants of Noah) who is to be exiled only, then, when he killed accidentally a proselyte like himself.

GEMARA: The Mishna states: A father is exiled if he killed his son accidentally. Was it not taught above that a father who struck his son is excluded? It speaks of a case where the son was already a learned one; or of a father who taught a trade to his son, who had had already another trade.

"And the son may be exiled," etc. There is a contradiction from the following. It reads [Numb. 35:15]: "That killeth any person unintentionally." "Any person" means to exclude him who struck his father? Said R. Ka'hana: This presents no difficulty; the cited Boraitha is in accordance with R. Simeon, who holds that choking, which applies to killing one's father, is more rigorous, and such cannot be atoned. And our Mishna is in accordance with the rabbis, who hold that the sword is more rigorous than choking. And therefore the sword applies to parricide; however, an error in a crime to which the sword applies, can be atoned.

"All kinds of human being," etc. What does the expression "all" mean to add? If a heathen and a slave, this was taught by the rabbis: A heathen or a slave is to be exiled or punished with stripes through an Israelite and vice versa. But how is this to be understood? It is correct that they are to be exiled in case an Israelite was accidentally killed by them, and by stripes it they cursed an Israelite. But how can this be done with an Israelite? It is correct that he is exiled when he killed one of them accidentally; however, how can he be beaten if he cursed one of them? Is it not written [Ex. 22:27]: "And a ruler among thy people thou shalt not curse." And it was explained that it speaks of him who acts according to the rules of thy people. Said R. A'ha b. R. Aika: It speaks of a case that one of the above-mentioned has hit an Israelite in such a manner as could not be appraised with payment. As R. Ami said in the name of R. Jo'hanan, that in such a case the heathen gets stripes. And the same is the case when an Israelite hits a heathen. And we do not compare the case of hitting with the case of cursing.

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"Except a proselyte," etc. There are some who presented a question of contradiction in the following passages--viz. [Numb. 35:15]: "For the children of Israel, and for the stranger and for the sojourner among them, shall these six cities," etc., while [ibid., ibid. 12] "And these cities shall be unto you for a refuge," which means to exclude strangers. Said R. Kahana: "This presents no difficulty; verse 12 means in case the stranger killed an Israelite, while verse 15 speaks of a stranger who killed one of his like." But there is a contradiction from the following: "And therefore a stranger, or an idolator who has killed even unintentionally is put to death; hence, it compares a stranger to an idolator, as in the case of an idolator there is no difference whether he kills a person of his like, or any person. The same is the case with a stranger." Said R. 'Hisda: "This presents no difficulty, as one Boraitha speaks of him who killed while descending, and the other while ascending. He who killed while descending, in which case an Israelite is to be exiled, is also exiled; but if he killed while ascending, in which case an Israelite is free, is put to death." Said Rabha to him: "Is it not to be drawn by a fortiori argument that in such a case he is to be free; namely, if while descending, in which case an Israelite is exiled, he is also exiled only; in case of ascending, in which an Israelite is free, so much the more he should not be put to death?" and therefore, says Rabha, that only then when the stranger has killed intentionally, thinking that such is allowed; and this is in accordance with his foregoing theory that such is to be considered almost intentional. Abayi and R. 'Hisda, however, consider such a case an accident. Rabha objected to them from the following [Gen. 20:3]: "Behold, thou shalt die for the sake of the woman whom thou hast taken." Does this not mean that he will die upon the decision of a human court? (Hence, although Abimelech thought she is single, nevertheless the court would sentence him to death)? Nay, it means he deserves death by Heaven. And as evidence to this can be adduced, the expression [ibid., ibid. 6] "against me." But how can this theory be taken as evidence? Is it not written [ibid. 39:9] "and sin against God"? Does this mean and not against men? It surely means that for such a sin against God he will be tried by the human court (which punishes adultery with death).

Abayi objected to Rabha from [ibid. 20:4]: "Lord, wilt thou then slay also a righteous nation?" (Hence we see that his uncertainty is considered accidentally.) Nay, this objection was already met as follows: It reads [ibid., ibid. 7]: "For he is a prophet." How is this to be understood? Because be is a prophet she has to be returned, but if a layman, she would not have to be returned? We must then say that this passage is to be interpreted in accordance with R. Samuel b. Na'hman thus: "Thou shalt return the wife at any rate, and to thy question, 'Lord, wilt thou then slay also a righteous nation? . . . . She is my sister,' etc., the answer is, he is a prophet, and has learned to say so from thyself." Usually, when a guest comes to a house, he is questioned about eating and drinking, but not whether the woman accompanying him is his wife or sister. (In his country, however, Abraham said that she is his sister only because he was questioned.) From all this it is to be inferred that a descendant of Noah is put to death because he had to learn and did not.

MISHNA 4.: Exile does not apply to a blind one. So says R. Jehuda. R. Meyer maintains that it does. An enemy is not exiled (as such a punishment does not suffice). R. Simeon, however, maintains: An enemy is to be put to death, for he is considered vicious. To which R. Simeon said: "It depends upon circumstances; sometimes such is exiled, and at other times he is not. For this is the rule: If there is a possibility to think that he killed intentionally, exile is not sufficient; but if such is not the case, he is exiled."

GEMARA: The rabbis taught [Numb. 35:23]: "Without seeing" means to exclude a blind one who cannot see at all. So R. Jehuda. R. Meyer, however, maintains that this includes him; and their reasons are as follows [Deut. 19:5]: "Into the forest," where, as usually, also the blind go; therefore the expression "without seeing" excludes him. Such is the reason of R. Jehuda. And R. Meyer's is: Because "without seeing" is an exclusion, and there being another expression "without knowledge," which is also an exclusion, we have two exclusions, and there is a rule that an exclusion after an exclusion comes to add something; hence it adds a blind one. R. Jehuda, however, explained the last expression to mean the exclusion of an intentional murder.

"An enemy is to be put to death." Why, he was not warned? Our Mishna is in accordance with R. Jose b. Jehuda, who says above that no such warning is needed.

"R. Simeon said," etc.: There is a Boraitha: How does R. Simeon illustrate his theory? If, e.g., the rope, to which the man's instrument was attached, broke--then he is exiled; but if the instrument slips out of his hand, exile is not sufficient, as he was the enemy of the killed, it is to be supposed that he did it intentionally. But have we not learned in another Boraitha: R. Simeon said. He is not exiled "until the entire ramming machine slips out of his hands"? Hence it contradicts in both cases: in case the rope broke, and in case the instrument slips. Nay, there is no contradiction in case of the rope; as one speaks of an enemy and the other of a friend. There is also no contradiction in case of the slipping of the instrument; as one Boraitha is in accordance with Rabbi (who says: If such a case happen to a friend he is exiled), while the other is in accordance with the rabbis who do not agree with him. 1

MISHNA .: Whither are they to be exiled? To the cities of refuge, three of which are situated on the other side of the Jordan and three in the land of Cana'an. As [Numb. xxxv. 14]: "Three of these cities shall ye give on this side of the Jordan, and the three other cities shall ye give in the land of Cana'an." However, until the latter three were selected, those on this side of the Jordan have not protected as yet; as it reads [ibid., ibid. 13]: "six cities of refuge," which means none of them protects unless all the six are selected.

They were also obliged to prepare roads from one city to the other; as it reads [Deut. xix. 3]: "Thou shalt put in order for thyself the (way to them), and divide into three." Two scholars are to accompany the exile on the road to protect him, so that he shall not be killed by the relatives of the deceased, and they are to reconcile them. R. Meyer, however, said: He himself has to reconcile them, as it reads [ibid., ibid. 4]: "And this is the talk 2 of man-slayer." R. Jose b. Jehuda, however, said: Formerly all murderers, accidental as well as intentional, used to flee to the cities of refuge; the court then sends after them and tries them. He who was found guilty was executed, otherwise he was freed; and him who was to be exiled they returned to the city of which he was taken; as it reads [Numb. 35:25]: "The congregation shall restore him to the city of his refuge."

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: Three cities Moses separated on this side of the Jordan, and opposite them Joshua separated out in the land of Cana'an, and they were right opposite: one against the other, as two rows in a vineyard." Namely [Joshua 20:7] "Hebron in Judah," opposite [Deut. 4:43] "Bezer in the wilderness," "Shechem in the mountain of Ephraim", "Ramoth in Gil'ad," "Kedesh in Galilee in the mountain of Naphthali," "Golan in Bashan." "And divide into three" means there shall be the same distance from South Palestine to Hebron as from Hebron to Shechem; and from Hebron to Shechem as from the latter to Kedesh, and from Shechem to Kedesh as from the latter to North Palestine. Now let us see: three were needed on the other side of the Jordan, and only three for the whole land of Israel? Said Abayi: In Gil'ad there were many murderers, as it reads [Hosea 6:8]: "Gil'ad is become a city of workers of wickedness, is full of traces of blood." What does this expression mean? Said R. Elazar: They were thirsty to shed blood. Why were the cities on both sides of the Jordan far from the boundary, and the middle one was near? Said Abayi: Because Shechem was also full of murderers; as it reads [ibid., ibid. 9]: "And troops that lie in wait for a man, like the band of priests, they murder on the way to Shechem." 1 "Band of priests"--what does it mean? Said R. Elazar: They conjoin themselves to kill as the priests conjoin themselves to receive the heave-offering from the barns. But were there not more cities of refuge? Is it not written [Numb. 36:6]: "And in addition to them shall ye give forty and two cities"? Said Abayi: The former protect the refugee at any rate, whether he is aware of that city being a place of refuge or not; while the latter accept him only when he was aware.

Was then the city of Hebron indeed a city of refuge? Does it not read [Judges 1:20]: "And they gave Hebron," etc. Said Abayi: It was only the suburb of it, as it reads [Joshua 21:12]: "But the fields of the city, and its villages, they gave to Caleb." Was Kedesh one of them? Does it not read [ibid. 19:37]: "And Kedesh, and Edre'i," etc.? And there is a Boraitha that the city of refuge must neither be too large nor too small, but middle-sized ones. (The cities mentioned there were, however, all large ones?) Said R. Joseph: "There were two cities of the same name." Said R. Ashi: As, for instance, Sliquus and Aquri of Sliquus.

The text says: Middle ones. To this is added: They must be situated in places where there is water, and also where there are markets; and if such are not found, the same must be established. Also must they be situated near the army, and if the army was diminished, it must be added. If the dwellings in such cities become vacated, there must be brought new people composed of priests, Levites, and Israelites; and ammunition must not be sold in such cities, according to R. Ne'hamayi. The sages, however, allow this. But both agree that neither snares (for catching beasts) nor rope factories must there be established. All this is to prevent the relatives from coming to the cities in question. And R. Itz'hak said: This is inferred from [Deut. 4:42]: "And that he should flee unto one of these cities and live," which means you shall prepare for him all the necessities of life. And there is a Boraitha that if a disciple is exiled, his master is exiled with him; because the expression "and live" means you shall supply him with the sources of moral life. And R. Zera said: From this we infer that one shall not teach a disciple of bad character. R. Johanan says: If it happens that the head of a college is exiled, the whole college is exiled with him. Is that so? Did not R. Johanan say that the study of the Torah relieves one; for immediately after the verse "in the wilderness" stated above, is written "and this is the law"? This presents no difficulty: it relieves only at the time he is occupied with it, but not otherwise. And if you wish, it may be said that it relieves from the Angel of Death; as it happened with R. Hisda, who was studying continuously, so that the Angel of Death could not come near him until he caused the cedar in the yard of the college to break, the noise of which stopped his studying, and the Angel of Death took hold of him. R. Tan'hum b. Hanilaye said: Why is the tribe of Reuben mentioned first among the cities of safety? Because he was the first to save Joseph from his brothers, as it reads [Gen. 37:21]: "And when Reuben heard it, he delivered him out of their hand."

R. Simlae lectured: It reads [Deut. 4:41]: "Then Moses set aside three cities on this side of the Jordan, toward the rising of the sun." The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Moses: "Thou hast made the sun shining toward the murderers."

R. Simaye lectured: It reads [Eccl. 5:9]: "He that loveth money will never be satisfied with money; but he that loveth abundance, will finally have income." He that loveth money

means Moses, our Master, who was aware that the three cities on the other side of the Jordan do not accept until the other three cities are selected; nevertheless he selected them, saying: I shall not fail to perform a meritorious act which came to my hand. And "he that loveth abundance"--who is fit to lecture before a crowd, he who possesses the fruits of knowledge (of Bible, Mishna, Halakha and Hagada). And this is what R. Elazar said. It reads [Psalm 106:2]: "Who can utter the mighty acts of the Lord? He who can publish all his praise." (He takes the latter not as a question, but as answer to the former.) The rabbis, according to others, Rabba b. Mari explained this passage thus: He who loves the abundance of scholars possesses the fruit of knowledge; and the rabbis looked upon Rabha b. Rabba who possessed such a quality. R. Ashi said: He who likes to learn among a crowd of scholars possesses the fruit of their knowledge. And this is what R. Jose bar Hanina said: It reads [Jer. 1:36]: "The sword on the badim means the sword may cut the necks of the scholars who are studying separately each for himself; and not only this, but they become also foolish and also commit a crime thereby." 1 Rabina said: He who loves to teach many, has the fruit of knowledge. And this is what Rabbi said: I learned much from my masters, more, however, from my colleagues, and still more from my disciples.

R Jehoshua b. Levi said: It reads [Psalm 122:2]: "Our feet are now standing within thy gates, O Jerusalem." Who caused that our feet shall conquer the enemy and stand within the gates of Jerusalem? The same gates in which the Law was studied. He said again: It reads [ibid., ibid. 1]: "I was rejoiced when they said unto me, Unto the house of the Lord let us go." David said before the Holy One, blessed be He, Lord of the Universe, I have heard people say, When will this man die, so that Solomon, his son, shall build the Holy Temple and we will rejoice? And He answered [ibid. 84:11]: "For better is a day in thy courts than a thousand." I like one day in which thou art occupied with the Law better than the thousand burnt-offerings which Solomon, thy son, will sacrifice before me in the future.

"To prepare roads," etc. There is a Boraitha. R. Eliezer b. Jacob said: "The word 'refuge' was written at every crossing for the purpose that the murderer shall recognise the way to take. Said R. Kahana: This is inferred from the above-cited verse [Deut. 19:3], which means you shall establish all preparations needed on this way.

R. Hamma b. Hanina, when he wanted to lecture on this case, used to begin with [Psalm xxv. 8]: "Good and upright is the Lord: therefore he pointeth out to sinners the right way," saying, If He puts the sinners in the right way, so much the more the upright.

Resh Lakish used to begin his lecture on this case with [Ex. 21:13 and 1 Sam. 24:14]: "From the wicked proccedeth wickedness." The Scripture speaks about two men each of whom killed a person: one of them intentionally, and the other unintentionally, but there were no witnesses in either of these cases. The Holy One, blessed be He, appoints them into one inn, and be who had killed intentionally is placed under a ladder, while the other, who killed unintentionally, descends the steps, falls and kills him (the one under the ladder). Hence the outcome is: he who has killed intentionally was killed; and the unintentional killer was exiled.

Rabba b. R. Huna in the name of his father, according to others the latter in the name of R. Elazar, said: From the Pentateuch, Prophets, and Hagiographa it is inferred that the way the man likes to follow, he is led upon by Heaven. From the Pentateuch [Numb. 22:12]: "Thou shalt not go with them," and [ibid., ibid. 20]: "Rise up, go with them"; from the Prophets [Is. 48:17]: "Who teach thee for thy profit, who lead thee by the way thou shouldst go"; and from Hagiographa [Prov. 3:34]: "If (it concern) the scornful, he will himself render them a scorn; but unto the lowly doth he give grace."

R. Huna said: If a relative killed the murderer who had already been in the city of refuge, he is nevertheless free; because he holds. that the expression "he deserveth not a judgement of death" [Deut. 19:6] applies to the relative. An objection was raised from the following: The just-cited verse

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speaks of the murderer; but perhaps it speaks of the relative of the dead? For this purpose it reads [ibid., ibid. 4]: "When he hath not been an enemy to him in time past." Hence the verse in question speaks of the murderer? He (R. Huna) holds with the Tana of the following: The verse in question speaks of the relative; but perhaps of the murderer? For this it reads (4) "enemy" hence the verse in question necessarily concerns the relative.

Another objection was raised from our Mishna which states: "Two scholars have to accompany him." Was it not for the purpose of warning the relatives, that, in case they would attempt to slay, the same will be done to them? Nay, only to reconcile them; they should not consider him as a blood-shedder, for he has done it by error. And to the opinion of R. Mair that the murderer himself could do so, it was answered: "Outside defence is more considered."

R. Elazar said: A city, the majority of which are murderers, does not protect; as it reads [Joshua 20:4]: "And speak in the ears of the elders of that city his words," but not the words which they (the elders) had to speak for themselves some time ago. The same said again that a city in which there are no elders does not protect. In this case, however, R. Ami and R. Assi differ. According to one it does, and according to the other it does not. The same differ concerning a stubborn and rebellious son, and also concerning breaking the neck of the heifer [Deut. xxi.], as in all the cases the elders are mentioned, and they are not found; however, he who holds that it does not matter maintains that it was written only because it is usual that a city should have its elders, but not to prevent if there are none.

R. Hama b. Hanina said: Why is the portion of murderer., with a strong language [Joshua 20:1]: "And the Lord spoke to Joshua" instead of said; and also at the end of the verse (2), "Whereof I have spoken"? Because this command was the only one which the Lord commanded Joshua to fulfil what had been already written in the Pentateuch. And whence do we know that spoke is stringent language? From [Gen. 42:30]: "Spoke roughly." However, concerning this subject R. Jehudah and the rabbis differ: according to the one it was because Jeshuah delayed to establish them, and according to the others the reason is as said above.

It reads [josh. 24:26]: "And Joshua wrote these words in the book of the law of God." R. Jehudah and R. Ne'hamiah differ: according to one he wrote only the eight verses, which begin with "And Moses died"; according to the other he wrote the portion of the cities of refuge. And the latter explains the expression "in the book of the law of God" thus: Joshua wrote in his book that which had been already written in the book of the law of God.

In case the Holy Scrolls were sewn with thread of flax, R. Jehuda and R. Meyer differ: according to the one it is valid; according to the other it is not. The latter's reason is [Ex. xiii. 9]: "In order that the Law of the Lord may be in thy mouth," we see, then, that the Law is compared to Tephilin, and as the Tephilin are to be sewn with thread of a calf, the same is the case with the Holy Scrolls. And according to the other it is compared only as regards the hide of such cattle which is allowed to the mouth, but not concerning other laws. Said Rabh: I have seen the Tephilin of my uncle and they were sewn with thread of flax. (Says the Gemara): The Halakha, however, does not prevail with him.

MISHNA 6.: There is no difference between the high-priests who were anointed with the holy oil (in the first Temple) and those who were sanctified by the holy dress (in the second Temple), and even him who has temporarily substituted the high-priest in case of sickness--they all release the murderer by their death. R. Jehudah said: Even the priest who was anointed for the war only. Therefore the mothers of the priests used to support the murderers with food and clothes that they shall not pray death to their sons.

GEMARA: Whence is this deduced? Said R. Kahana: From [Numb. 35:25-28], where the death of the high-priest is mentioned three times, from which we infer the three kinds of priests in the Mishna. And R. Jehudah, who adds also the anointed for the war, infers it from verse (32), where the priest is mentioned the fourth time. The rabbis, however, do not care to add same, because the word high is not mentioned there, hence it means one of the above-mentioned.

"The mothers of the priests," etc. They shall not pray, but what if they should, would it effect? Does it not read [Prov. 26:2]: "As the bird (cometh) to flit away, as the swallow, to fly off: so will an undeserved curse not come (to fulfilment)"? Said a certain elder: I understood from the lecture of Rabha that it is counted as a sin to the priest, who should pray that no accident might happen in that generation, and he did not. As it happened with one whom a lion has consumed a distance of three passas from R. Jehoshua b. Levi's dwelling, and Elisha did not talk to him for three days. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: The curse of a sage and be it for nothing, is realised; and this we see to have been the case with Achithaphel. When David was digging under the altar a hole to reach the watery depth of the earth (-Shithin), the water came up and menaced to inundate the world; whereupon David asked: Is it allowed to inscribe the Holy name upon a piece of broken clay and drop it into the water; and as no answer came from the people present, he exclaimed: Whoever amongst ye knows and abstains from answering, shall be suffocated! Then Achithaphel concluded a fortiori thus: If the Lord has allowed His name to be erased by water in order to make peace between husband and wife, so much the more so when the peace of the whole world is concerned. Accordingly he decided that it is allowed; David then following this decision dropped the bit of clay with the name on into the water, and the water turned back into its depths. Nevertheless Achithaphel choked himself [2 Sam. 17, 23]; all which corroborates Rabh's saying quoted above by R. Jehudah.

R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh said: If a sage has put some one under the ban conditionally, a release must take place at any rate by the same sage or by some other one. And this is inferred from the case of Judah, of whom it reads [Gen. 43:9]: "If I bring him not unto thee," etc. R. Samuel b. Na'hamoni in the name of Jonathan said: It reads [Deut. xxxiii. 6-7]: "May Reuben live . . . this is the blessing of Judah." (Why, then, is Judah mentioned just after Reuben and also his blessing distinguished with the expression "and this"?) Because all the forty years during which Israel was in the desert, the remains of Judah were dismembered in his coffin until Moses arose and prayed for him, saying: Lord of the universe! Who caused Reuben to confess if not Judah? Hear, Lord, the voice of Judah!" Immediately, then, the members of his body were placed in their order. However, he was not allowed to enter the heavenly college until Moses prayed: "And bring him unto his people." Still he could not discuss with the rabbis; to this Moses said: "Let the power of his hand contend for him!" Still he could not answer questions; thereupon Moses said: "And be thou a help to him from his adversaries."

The schoolmen propounded a question: When is the murderer released? Does the release of the murderer require the death of all those priests mentioned in the Mishna or the death of one of them suffices? Come and hear: If his decision was rendered at the time when a high-priest did not exist, he remains there forever. Now, if he is released by the death of one of them, let him be returned by the death of a substitute? Hence he must wait until the death of them all. However, perhaps the Mishna speaks of a case where there was no substitute?

MISHNA 7.: If after the decision had been rendered the high-priest dies, he is not exiled. If, however, the priest dies before it was rendered and another priest was appointed and the decision was then rendered, he returns on the death of the second one. If, however, his decision was rendered while a high-priest did not exist, or he was to be exiled, because be killed a high-priest, or a high-priest who himself killed accidentally, he never returns from his exile.

The murderer is never to go out from his place of exile even if he was a witness to a meritorious or to a civil, or even to a criminal case. And even if Israel needs him and should he be a captain in Israel, like Johab b. Zeruiah, he must not go out all his life; as it reads [ibid., ibid. 25]: "To the city of his refuge, whither he had fled," which means there shall be his dwelling, there shall be his death, there his burial.

As the city itself protects, so does its limit; therefore, if it happens that a murderer goes outside of the limit and the relatives of the deceased meet him, according to R. Jose, the Galilean, it is a meritorious act for the relatives to kill him; and if a stranger kills him he is not responsible. R. Aqiba, however, maintains that a relative is not responsible, but it is not meritorious; while a stranger is responsible for his death.

GEMARA: What is the reason of the first statement in the Mishna? Said Abayi: This is to be drawn by a fortiori reasoning: he who was already exiled is released, so much the more is he who is only sentenced to it. But perhaps he who was already in exile is atoned, but not he who was not there as yet? Does, then, the exile atone? The death of the high-priest atones.

"Dies before it was rendered," etc. Whence is this deduced? Said R. Kahana: From [Numb. 35:25]: "And he shall abide in it until the death of the high-priest, who hath been anointed with the holy oil." Who has anointed him? Certainly not the murderer! It, therefore, means: He who was anointed in his days. But what has the high-priest done that the murderer's fate should depend upon his death? He ought to have prayed that the decision of the court be in behalf of the defendant, which he did not.

Abayi said: We have a tradition that if after the decision was rendered the defendant dies, his remains must be carried to the city of refuge; as it reads [ibid., ibid. 32]: "That he should come again to dwell in the earth 1 until the death of the priest." Dwelling in the earth means the grave. There is a Boraitha: If he dies in the city of refuge before the death of the high-priest, his remains may be carried to his native place; as it reads [ibid., ibid. 28]: The manslayer may return unto the earth of his possession. What is meant by "the earth of his possession"? The grave. In the case when after the decision had been rendered, the high-priest was found unfit for his dignity, e.g., he was the son of a married, or of one who performed the ceremony of Halitzah, R. Ami and R. Itz'hak of Nafha differ: one holds that the priesthood is dead, and it is equivalent to the death of the high-priest; while the other holds that it is abolished, hence he was never a priest and the decision against the murderer was rendered when a high-priest did not exist; accordingly, he must remain there forever.

"And a high-priest did not exist," etc. R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: It reads [I Kings ii. 28]: "And Joab fled unto the tabernacle." Joab erred twice in so acting. (a) he thought that the horns of the altar protect, while the roof of the Temple protects; and (b) he thought that the altar of the tabernacle of Shila protects; in reality, however, the altar of the Temple, only, protects. Said Abayi: He erred also in this: he thought that it protects every one, while in reality it protects only a priest on duty, which was not the case with him.

Resh Lakish said: It reads [Isaiah 63:1]: "Who is this that cometh from Edom, dyed red in his garments from Bozrah?" The heavenly ruler of Rome will err thrice in the future. (a) He will think Bozrah protects, while only Bezer does so; (b) that it protects even an intentional criminal, while it does so only an unintentional; and (c) it protects only a man, but not an angel as he was.

R. Abuhu said: The cities of refuge are not given for cemeteries, as it reads [Numb. 35:3]: "And their open spaces shall be for their cattle, and for their goods, and for all their requirements," i.e., requirements for life, but not for death; and the statement above that the murderer must be buried in the city is no objection, as concerning him the Scripture dictates a separate law.

"So does its limit." There is a contradiction from the following: It reads [ibid., ibid. 25]: "And he shall abide in it," but not in its limit? Said Abayi: This presents no difficulty; concerning protection it does, but to dwell he is not allowed.

"Outside of the limit." The rabbis taught: It reads [ibid., ibid. 27]: "And the avenger of the blood should kill the manslayer: he shall not be guilty of blood." It is a meritorious act of the avenger to do so; and every stranger may do so if there is no relative. Such is the decree of R. Jose the Galilean. R. Aqiba, however, maintains that if the relative likes to do so, he may; but it is not meritorious. A stranger, however, if he did so, is guilty. The reason of the former is: it does not read "if he will kill him;" and the reason of the latter is: it does not read "he shall kill him." Mar Zutra b. Tubiah in the name of Rabh, however, said that if the relative has killed him while he was out of the limit, he is to be killed if he did it intentionally. But this is not in accordance with R. Jose, nor with R. Aqiba. In accord with whom, then, is his theory? With the Tana of the following Boraitha: R. Eliezer said [ibid., ibid. 12]: "Until he have stood before the congregation for trial." To what purpose is this written (is it not self-evident that he is not to be executed without a trial)? Because (27) reads "should kill . . . not guilty of blood"; lest one say that so it is even if the avenger had killed him before he was tried and found guilty, therefore it reads "until he have stood . . . for trial." R. Jose and R. Aqiba, however, infer from the just-cited passage that if the Sanhedrin themselves have seen one killing a man, they must not execute him unless he has been tried before another court and found guilty.

The rabbis taught: It reads (26): "Should at any time pass the boundary," etc., which means intentionally, but whence do we know as to if he pass unintentionally? Therefore, "at any time," which would be superfluous if not signifying this case. But is there not a Boraitha to the effect that if one has killed intentionally he is put to death, etc.? This presents no difficulty: the Boraitha cited is in accordance with him who holds that the Scripture speaks in accordance with human language, while the rabbis do not hold so. Said Abayi: It seems to me that he who holds that the Scripture speaks in accordance with human language is correct in this case, because his final case should not be more rigorous than the beginning. In the beginning if he had killed a man intentionally he is put to death, and if unintentionally he is exiled; and the same is to be his final case: if he goes out of the limit intentionally, he is killed; but if unintentionally, he must be returned to his exile.

If a father has killed a son unintentionally, his other son may be considered the avenger in accordance with one Boraitha; another Boraitha, however, states that he must not be so considered. Shall we assume that one is in accordance with R. Jose and the other with R. Aqiba? How can such be borne in mind? Is it not decided (Sanhedrin.) that a son must not be appointed by the court to punish his father with whatsoever punishment, etc.? Therefore, we must say that one Boraitha speaks of his son, and the other of his grandson.

MISHNA 8.: A tree placed in the limit, but its branches extending outside of it or vice versa, in any case the inclination of the branch must be considered.

GEMARA: There is a contradiction from the following: A tree which stands inside but is inclined outside, or vice versa if from opposite the surrounding wall and inside, it is considered as inside; and if the same were inclined outside it is considered as outside? 1 Do you contradict tithe with cities of refuge? Concerning tithe the Scripture relies upon the surrounding wall of the city, but concerning the cities in

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question it relies upon the dwelling, and one can use his dwelling under the branch but not upon the root of a tree. Rabh Ashi explains the expression of the Mishna, "the inclination of the branch must be considered," with also, i.e., the inclination must also be considered, and so much the more the root of it.

MISHNA 9.: If one killed accidentally in the city of refuge, he is to be exiled from one neighbourhood to another; and if such happen to a Levite, he is to be exiled from one city to another.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: It reads [Ex. 21:13]: "Will I appoint thee a place," etc., i.e., while thou art still alive. "Whither he shall flee" signifies that if such happen while Israel was still in the desert, they were exiled. And where to?--to the camp of the Levites. From this it was said that if it happen to a Levi that he killed, he is exiled from one district to another; and even if he was exiled to the district in which he resides, it protects him. And R. A'ha b. R. Aika said:

This may be inferred from [Numb. 35:28]: "Because in the city of his refuge shall he remain," i.e., "his refuge" means which was his before he was exiled.

MISHNA 10.: Similarly, if a murderer was exiled to the city of refuge and the townsmen like to honour him, he has to say to them: "I am a murderer"; and if they say it does no-t matter, he may accept. The exiled have to pay to the Levites rent for their dwellings. So R. Jehudah. R. Mair, however, said: They have not. If, after the high-priest's death, he returns to his city, he is returned to that office which he occupied before (e.g., head of a college), according to R. Mair. R. Jehudah, however, maintains: He must not occupy the same.

GEMARA: Said R. Kahana: The Tanaim of the Mishna differ concerning the rent in the six cities in question only, for one explains the expression "unto you" to mean for protection only, and the other one explains it "unto all Your necessities." However, on the addition Of 42 cities all agree that they have to pay rent. Said Rabha to him: There cannot be any doubt in the explanation of "unto you," which certainly means to all your necessities, and therefore it is the contrary: they differ concerning the 42 cities; the one holds they were added only for protection, and the other holds they were added on equal terms with the six; but concerning the six themselves all agree that there was no rent.

"He returns to his office." The rabbis taught: It reads [Lev. 25:41]: "And he shall return unto his own family, and unto the possessions of his father shall he return," i.e., he may return only to his family, but not to the office which his parents occupied. So R. Jehudah. R. Mair, however, said he may return to the offices of his parents, and the same is the case with exile. And this is inferred from the pleonastic words, "shall he return." What does it mean, "the same is with exile"? As the following Boraitha: The murderer shall return to the land of his possession, i.e., he may return only to the land, but not to the office of his parents. So R. Jehuda. R. Mair, however, maintains: He may also occupy the place of his parents, because of the analogy of expression "return," which is mentioned in both places, Ex. xxi. and Numb. xxv.

CHAPTER 3.

WHO IS SUBJECT TO THE PUNISHMENT BY STRIPES.--THE DETAILS OF THE PROCEDURE REGARDING THE EXECUTION THEREOF.--WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES FREE THE CULPRIT THEREFROM.--THE RESPECTIVE DUTIES OF THE THREE JUDGES WHO MUST WITNESS THE EXECUTION.

MISHNA 1.: To the following stripes apply: He who had intercourse with his own sister, with his sister of his father or his mother, or the sister of his wife, with the wife of his brother or his father's brother, or with a woman while menstruating. (To each of these crimes Korath--shortened life--applies, and according to this Mishna the human court has a right to punish them also with stripes.) The same is the case if a high-priest marries a widow; a common priest--a divorced or her who performed the ceremony of Halitzah; an Israelite--a bastard or a descendant of the Gibeonites; and the same is, if a daughter of an Israelite marries the just-mentioned persons. If a high-priest marries a widow who was previously divorced, he is to be beaten twice, because of two names ("widow" and "divorced"); if, however, a common priest marries a widow who has previously performed the ceremony of Halitzah, he is liable only for the violation of one negative. A high-priest who was unclean and partook of things belonging to the sanctuary or entered the sanctuary while unclean; and he who consumed illegal fat, blood, or meat left overnight from the sacrifice, or piggul, 1 or unclean meat, and also of such which was slaughtered and brought outside of the Temple; he who ate leaven on Passover, ate or laboured on the Day of Atonement; who compounded oil similar to that of the Temple, or compounded the frankincense of the Temple, or anointed himself with the oil used in the Temple; who ate carcasses or animals preyed by beasts, or reptiles--to all of them stripes apply.

It applies also to him who partook of mixture, of first tithe of which the heave-offering was not separated as yet, of second tithe and eatables belonging to the sanctuary which were not redeemed yet. How much has one to partake of the mixture to make him liable? According to R. Simeon, whatsoever; while to the rabbis, not less than the size of an olive. Said R. Simeon to the sages: Do you not admit that if one consumed an ant--minute as it is--he is culpable? And he was answered: Because it is a creature in itself. Rejoined he: One grain of wheat is also complete as to its creation.

GEMARA: The Mishna treats of those crimes to which Korath applies, but not of those under the category of capital punishment. Hence it is in accordance with R. Aqiba of the following Boraitha: Crimes under the category of Korath, as well as under that of capital punishment, are also punished with stripes if they were so warned. So R. Ismael. R. Aqiba, however, maintains: Only that of Korath; because if they repent after the punishment with stripes, the heavenly court forgives them; but if they are under capital punishment the human court cannot forgive them even though they repent. 1 What is the reason of Ismael's theory? [Deut. xxviii. 59]: "Then will the Lord render peculiar thy plagues," etc. What the peculiarity is, is not stated; however, from [ibid. 25:2]: "The judge shall cause him to lie down" (the expression of which has a similarity), we understand that the peculiarity is stripes; and in [ibid. xxviii. 58] it reads: "If thou wilt not observe," etc.; hence the violation of all negative commands is punished by stripes. But if so, let them apply also to the violation transgression of a positive commandment? It reads: "If thou wilt not observe." R. Aqiba's reason is: concerning stripes the expression is "according to the degree of his fault," which means for one fault, but not for two faults, to which capital punishment applies. 2

"Things belonging to the sanctuary," etc. It is correct, the transgression of entering the sanctuary of which the punishment as well as the warning is stated--viz.: the punishment [Numb. 19:13]: "Hath defiled the tabernacle of the Lord; and that soul shall be cut off from Israel," and the warning [ibid. 5:3]: "That they defile not their camp"; but concerning eating sanctity, we find the punishment [Lev. 7:20]: "The flesh . . . his uncleanness upon him . . . shall be cut off." But where is the warning to it? According to Resh Lakish from [ibid. 12:4]: "Any thing hallowed shall she not touch"; and R. Jehanan said: Bardelah taught: From an analogy of expression "his uncleanness" here, and the same expression is found in the above quotation [Numb. 19.]. As there the punishment and the warning are stated, the same also applies to this case.

There is a Boraitha in accordance with Resh Lakish: "Hallowed shall she not touch" is a warning to the consumer. You say consumer, but perhaps it means literally (touching); therefore it reads further on, "into the sanctuary shall she not come," etc. Hence hallowed is compared to the sanctuary. As to the transgression of the sanctuary Korath applies, so also the warning concerning the hallowed must speak of a similar punishment (i.e., consuming). But not of touching, to which Korath does not apply.

Rabba b. b. Hanna in the name of R. Jehanan said: To a negative command which is preceded by a positive one, stripes apply. There were people who questioned R. Johanan whether he said so, and he answered: Nay! Said Rabba: I swear that he said so, and it is also written and taught; "written" [Numb. 5:3]: "Shall ye send out . . . that they defile not their camps"; and "taught" in our Mishna: A defiled person who enters the sanctuary gets stripes. But why did R. Johanan retract his previous statement? Because the case of a seducer was difficult to him--namely, a seducer who had divorced his seduced wife, if he is a common Israelite, remarries her, but is not punished with stripes; if he, however, was a priest (who is forbidden to marry a divorced woman), he gets stripes and does not remarry. Now, as in this case, the negative command: "That he must not divorce her all his life" is succeeded by the positive command: "That he shall marry her," why, then, should not a common Israelite be punished with stripes for divorcing her? Said Rabha: The reason why he does not get stripes is that the positive "He shall remarry her" rests upon him all his life. (This is inferred from the words "all his days," which, if they were not explained that in case he has divorced her he shall remarry her, would be superfluous; with the explanation, however, the command, "He shall remarry her," is attached to the negative "He shall not divorce her"; and there is a rule that to a negative command which is succeeded by a positive, no stripes apply.) And when Rabbin came from Palestine he said the same in the name of R. Johanan. Said Rabh Papa to Rabha: Why did R. Jehanan say above that he gets stripes? The negative in question is not similar to the negative of "muzzling" (which was said that it is placed there to teach that only to such which is not succeeded by a positive stripes apply)? Rejoined Rabh Papa: Should the negative become weaker because of the succeeding positive? Answered Rabha: According to your theory stripes should apply to each negative which is succeeded by a positive, which is not the case. Said Rabh Papa again: There it is different, as the positive usually comes to remove the negative (i.e., one shall not do so, but if he did, shall he do so and so). But Rabha's explanation holds good only according to him who holds that the culprit does not get stripes unless he abolishes the succeeding positive command. (Le., the seducer who has divorced his wife may always say: "I will remarry her." Hence the positive is not abolished, and therefore he is not liable. But according to him who holds that only then is he free from stripes when he fulfils the command (i.e., if he comes to the court, which commands him to marry her immediately, and if he does not listen he gets stripes). Hence, you cannot say that this positive rests upon all his life, and consequently it does not modify its preceding negative? Let us see: this objection applies only to Johanan's foregoing theory, and he said to the disciple who has repeated before the Boraitha concerning a positive which succeeds a negative: "Go and teach thus: Only when he has abolished the succeeding one, but not otherwise." R. Simeon b. Lakish, however, differs, and says: He is free from stripes only when he has fulfilled the succeeding one.

What is their point of difference? A doubtful warning--e.g., in the case in question, if he was warned that he shall not divorce her, it was still doubtful whether after divorcing he will not remarry her; hence such a warning is not considered certain. But, nevertheless, according to R. Johanan it suffices, so that he may be punished; but according to Resh Lakish he is not. And both differ in the explanation of R. Jehudah's theory in the following Boraitha: It reads [Ex. 12:10]: "And ye shall not let anything of it remain until morning; and that which remaineth of it until morning ye shall burn." We see, then, that the verse comes to place a positive after a negative for the purpose that if one did leave he shall not be punished, and has only to burn it. Such is the decree of R. Jehudah. R. Johanan explains R. Jehudah's words thus: The reason why he does not get stripes is the succeeding positive, but if it were not he would be punished, although the warning was doubtful, as he could thereafter burn it. Resh Lakish, however, explains it thus: The reason why he does not get stripes is the succeeding, but if it were not he would get stripes, as to a negative command that does not contain manual labour, stripes do apply. But let us see: Resh Lakish cannot deny that such a warning was a doubtful one, and R. Johanan cannot deny that such a negative does not concern manual labour; what, then, is the use of their explanation? Both agree that, if not for the succeeding, stripes would apply; notwithstanding that there were both a doubtful warning and a positive of no manual labour. Resh Lakish shares the opinion of R. Jehudah of another Boraitha (Chulin 82, b.), in which R. Jehudah admits that a doubtful warning is not considered; and R. Johanan holds with R. Jehudah of the following: R. Idi b. Abin in the name of R. Amram and R. Itz'hak, quoting R. Johanan, said: R. Jehudah in the name of R. Jose the Galilean declared that for the violation of all the negatives of the Torah, if there be manual labour implied, the transgressor is punished with stripes, but not if mental, except in the cases of an oath, exchanging, 1 and cursing his neighbour by the Holy name. But if so, then, R. Johudah contradicts himself? Resh Lakish may say that there are two Tanaim who said in the name of R. Jehudah differently, and R. Jehanan may say that in the latter Boraitha R. Jehudah declared the theory of his master, but his own opinion he declared in the former Boraitha.

There is a Mishna: He who took the mother-bird with her children gets, according to R. Jehudah, stripes, but is not obliged to send away the mother-bird; and according to the sages, he sends away, but is not punished with stripes; as the rule is: for a negative which is conjoined with a positive there is no liability. Said R. Johanan: There is only one more case similar to this. And to the question of R. Elazar, What is it? he rejoined: Go and find out! He did so and found the following: "If a seducer has divorced," etc., v. above. But this can be correct only with him who holds that he is released from stripes after the fulfilment of the positive only. But according to him who holds that stripes do not apply unless the positive is abolished, such can be done only with the former mother-bird by killing her, as then the positive he "shall send her away" is abolished. But how can such be found in the case of the divorce in question; and should you say that he killed her, then he deserves capital punishment; and there is a rule that stripes do not apply to him who is to be executed? Said R. Simi of 'Huznah: "E.g., he accepted betrothal money for her from some one else, hence she becomes the wife of another, and the positive "he shall remarry" is abolished. Said Rabh: Such cannot be considered; as in case she made him her messenger to accept the above, she may ignore the message; and, if he did it without asking her who gave him the right to such that it should be considered? Therefore said R. Simi of Nehardea: If, e.g., he has made a vow publicly that he must not derive any benefit from her (and such a vow cannot be absolved), hence the positive is abolished and he is liable. Are there indeed no more similar cases to those by R. Johanan stated? Is there not robbery to which it reads, "Thou shalt not steal," and the positive "He shall return it," and also concerning a pledge to which the negative is, "Thou shalt not come to pledge," and the positive is "Thou shalt return the pledge at sunset"? And these two cases also can be explained in both ways: Fulfilled the positives or not, abolished the positives or not? With these cases it is different, for he has to pay, and there is a rule: He who pays does not get stripes. But

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is there not "Peah," the negative of which "thou shalt not cut . . . the corners" and the positive "unto the poor . . . leave" [Lev. 23:22], which also may be explained in both ways as said above? Therefore we must say that R. Jehanan by his statement, There is only one similar case, meant "Peah" and not a seducer; since concerning the latter the Law dictates that even if there were a vow on the mind of the public 1 it can be absolved when such absolution is necessary to a meritorious act; as it happened with a children-teacher who struck too much the children and R. A'ha excommunicated him, Rabbina, however, returned him, because he could not find as good a teacher.

"Carcasses preyed," etc. Said R. A'ha: He who neglects nature's duties when called, transgresses the negative "ye shall not make your souls abominable" [Lev. 20:25]. And R. Bibi b. Abayi said: He who drinks water from the horn of a barber transgresses the same.

"Partook of mixture, first tithe," etc. R. Bibi in the name of Resh Lakish said: They differ only in case he take a grain of it, but as regards flour all agree that the size of an olive is needed., R. Jeremei in the name of same authority, however, said: As they differ in respect of wheat so they do in that of flour too. An objection was raised from our Mishna. R. Simeon said to them: Do you not agree if he ate an ant, etc., and to the answer of the rabbis "because it is a creature" he rejoined, A wheat grain is also complete in its creation, hence we see that they only differ in respect of the grain, but not in that of flour? R. Simeon meant to say thus: According to my opinion it is the same with flour, but to your theory, admit that if he ate a grain of it he shall be culpable, because of its completeness. The rabbis, however, maintain: We cannot compare a grain to a living creature. There is a Boraitha in accordance with R. Jeremei: R. Simeon said concerning stripes: Size does not count; it counts only concerning sacrifices.

MISHNA 2.: Stripes also apply to the following: To him who partook of the first fruit before the ceremony of reading 1 was performed; of the sacrifices under the category of the most holy outside of the curtains, and of those under the category of a minor grade or of second tithe outside of the surrounding wall; and also to him who breaks a bone in the Paschal Lamb if it was a clean one. However, if he left from a fit one, or broke a bone of an unfit one, stripes do not apply.

To him who takes a mother-bird with her children from her coop according to R. Jehudah stripes apply, but he is not obliged to send the mother away, and according to the sages he must send her away and stripes do not apply, according to the rule: If a positive succeeds a negative, no stripes apply.

GEMARA: Said Rabba b. b. Hana in the name of R. Johanan: Our Mishna is in accordance with R. Aqiba, whose name is omitted, as it is one of the many anonymous Mishnayoth which bear his opinion without mentioning his name. The sages, however, maintain that concerning first fruits, their placing on the Temple is the main thing, but the ceremony of reading is no obstacle. But why not say that it is in accordance with R. Simeon, to whose opinion, also, most of the Mishnayoth were composed anonymously? This comes to teach that R. Aqiba is in this respect in accordance with R. Simeon. Which R. Simeon? Of the following Boraitha: It reads [Deut. 12:17]: "And the heave-offering of thy hand," which means the first fruits; said R. Simeon: What does this come to teach us? If only that they must not be eaten outside the surrounding wall, it was not necessary at all, as this could be inferred from tithe, regarding which the law is more lenient, by drawing a fortiori conclusion: If one consumes tithe regarding which the law is lenient, outside of the wall, he gets stripes, so much the more when he consumes first fruits, concerning which case the law is more rigorous; therefore we must say that the verse means to include him who had consumed them before the ceremony of reading was performed. And "thy freewill-offering" [ibid., ibid.], means thanks and peace-offerings. R. Simeon, however, said: The verse does not mean them, as it was not necessary to teach that they must not consume outside of the wall, for the same reason that they could be inferred from the leniency in tithe by the same a fortiori reasoning. Therefore it means him who consumed of same sacrifices before their blood was sprinkled. And "first born" means literally. Said R. Simeon: If it meant so, it was not necessary either, as this could likewise be inferred by a fortiori reasoning from tithe; and if it means: who commanded them before blood-sprinkling, it was also not necessary, as it could be inferred from the above-mentioned sacrifices by a fortiori reasoning, as they are more lenient than the first born. Therefore we must say that it means to include him who consumes a first born even after its blood was sprinkled. "Thy herds or of thy flocks" means sin and transgression-offerings. R. Simeon, however, said: That if it meant them, it would not be necessary, as they could be inferred by a fortiori reasoning from tithe; thanks and peace-offerings, and first born, all of which are more lenient than that of sin and transgression. Therefore it means to include him who consumed from the latter even after sprinkling outside of the curtain. "Nor any of thy vows" means burnt-offerings. Said R. Simeon: It would not be necessary, as they could be inferred by a fortiori reasoning from all those cases mentioned above, and therefore it means to include him who consumes from a burnt-offering after sprinkling even inside the curtains, that he get stripes. Said Rabha: Every mother should bear a son like R. Simeon; although his theory can be objected to.

It was taught: R. Gidel in the name of Rabh said: A stranger who had consumed sin- and transgression-offerings before their blood was sprinkled, is free from any punishment, because it reads [Ex. 29:33]: "And they shall eat those things wherewith the atonement was made to consecrate them, and to sanctify them; but a stranger shall not eat thereof, because they are holy." Now as the sprinkling of blood only atones, they can be considered holy only after the sprinkling w performed, but before this act they are not considered as yet holy; so that the negative "one shall not eat because they are holy" does not rest upon the consumer.

R. Elazar said in the name of Hosea: Concerning the first fruit, placing it in the Temple is the main thing, and not the ceremony of reading, as it is not considered the final act. In this case the following Tanaim differ [Deut. 26:10]: "Thou shalt set it down before the Lord," i.e., lift it up (before the Lord in all four directions). But perhaps it means literally, to place it? This is already written in verse (9). So R. Jehudah. R. Eliezer b. Jacob, however, maintains: This means literally (hence, this is the main act which completes the ceremony prescribed to first fruit); lifting up, however, he infers from [ibid., ibid. 4]: "And the priest shall take the basket out of thy hand," i.e., that the priest shall lift it up towards all four directions. His reason is based on the analogy of expression "hand," which is also mentioned concerning peace-offering [Lev. vii. 30]: "His own hands shall bring it." And as there lifting up is needed by both the ripest and the owner of the offering, so also here the hands of both are needed. How so? The priest places his hand under those of the owner, and the two lift it up together.

Rabha b. Ada in the name of R. Itz'hak said: One is culpable for the first fruits immediately after they have seen the face of the Temple; and it is in accordance with the Tana of the following Boraitha: R. Eliezer said: Of the first fruit, a part of which was outside and a part inside, that of outside is considered common in all respects, while that of inside is considered holy in all respects. And R. Shesheth said: Only the placing is the main act of the ceremony and not the reading.

"Most holy," etc. But why the repetition? It has been already stated with regard to second tithe and things of the sanctuary which were not as yet redeemed? Said R. Jose b. Hanina: The second part of the Mishna treats of a case when both were pure--and the man and the second tithes which were consumed outside of the wall, and the first part speaks of the case when both were defiled, and that he consumed them within the city. And whence do we know that one is culpable because of defilement? From the following Boraitha: R. Simeon said [Deut. 26:14]: "Neither have I removed thereof while unclean," means neither when I was unclean and they were clean, nor vice versa. R. Eliezer said: Whence do we know that second tithe which became defiled may be redeemed even within Jerusalem! From [Deut. 14:24]: "Not able to carry it," which means also when it was not fit for eating, as the expression for carrying is "sheath" and in [Gen. xliii. 34], a similar expression is used for eatables. R. Bibbi in the name of R. Assi said: From the just-cited verse is to be also inferred that even one step outside the wall one may redeem the second tithe, if it is too heavy for him to carry it further. R. Hanina and R. Hosea, while sitting together propounded the following question: How is it if he was already within the gate of the wall in such a position that he was already inside but his load was outside--may he redeem it at that place or not? A certain old man then taught them in the name of R. Simeon b. Jo'hai: It reads [Deut. xiv. 24]: "Is too far from thee," means from the full extent of your capacity (and as he is already within the gate it can, not be considered far any longer, etc., and is not to be redeemed). R. Assi said in the name of R. Jehanan: The culpability for second tithe arises only after it has seen the face of the wall of Jerusalem, and the reason is [ibid. 12:12]: "But before the Lord thy God must thou eat them," and (17): "Thou mayest not eat within thy gates"; hence, only at that time when the positive "before thy Lord must thou eat them "can be fulfilled, the negative: "Thou mayest not eat," etc., applies, but not otherwise.

MISHNA 3.: He who makes a baldness in the hair of his head, or rounds it; he who destroys the corners of his beard, or makes incisions in his flesh for his dead, is liable. There is no difference whether he made one incision for five dead bodies or five incisions for one dead body, as in either case he is liable for five negatives. For rounding his hair he is also liable for two (one for one corner on one side, and another for the other corner on the other side; and for his beard five, for there are five corners. R. Eliezer, however, maintains that if he took off the whole beard at one time he is culpable only for one. The culpability arises only, then, when he took it off with a razor. R. Eliezer, however, maintains that the same is the case if he took it off with snuffers or a scraper (an instrument with which the hairs are removed singly).

GEMARA: The rabbis taught [Lev. 21:5]: "They shall not make any baldness," lest one say that if one made several baldnesses in his head he is culpable only for one, therefore it reads, "any baldness" (i.e., culpable for each one). And to what purpose is it written "upon their head"? Because [Deut. 14:1], "Ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead." Lest one say that be is culpable only when he did so between the eyes, therefore "their head" to include any place of the head. From here, however, we know that priests only are forbidden to do so, as they are subject to many commands which do not apply to a common Israelite; whence do we know that the same is the case with the latter? From the analogy of expression "baldness" in both verses; as in the first he is culpable for each baldness in the head as for that between the eyes, the same is the case with an Israelite. And as in [Deut. 14.] it says plainly "for the dead," so also in [Lev.] it means for the dead only.

What should be the size of the bald spot which would make him culpable? The size of a bean according to R. Jehanan in the name of R. Eliezer b. R. Simeon. R. Huna, however, said: Such a size which could be discerned. R. Jehudah b. 'Habibah said: In this three Tanaim differ. According to one it is the size of a bean, according to the other it is a discernible size, and the third, however, maintains that he is culpable even for two hairs. Some, however, say: Instead of two hairs, it must be of the size of a lentil.

"He who rounds," etc. The rabbis taught [Lev. xix. 27]: "Ye shall not cut round the corners of your head" means the end of his head, i.e., who makes his temple as hairless as the spot back of his cars to the nape of his neck. A disciple taught before R. Hisda: Both are culpable, he who rounds, and the rounded one. To which R. Hisda answered: Should he who eats dates from a sieve be culpable? Your Boraitha is in accordance with R. Jehudah, who holds that to a negative which does not contain manual labour, stripes apply (with whom the Halakha does not prevail). Rabha, however, says: It speaks that he himself has rounded his hair, which case all agree that he is culpable. And R. Ashi said: Even if he only assists the one who rounds his hair.

"And he who destroys the corners of his beard." The rabbis taught: "The corners of his beard," means the end of it; and what is meant by the end? The Shibboleth (sheaves).

"Incisions," etc. The rabbis taught [Lev. 19:28]: "For the dead . . . any incision," lest one say that he made such because of the fall of his house or because the ship sank, therefore "for the dead," to teach that he is culpable only if he did so for a dead. And whence do we know that if he made five incisions for one dead he is culpable for each one? From "any incision" which makes him culpable for each of them. R. Jose said: Whence do we know that if he made one incision for five dead he is culpable for five? From the expression "l'Nefesh" 1 (soul) i.e., he is culpable for each soul. But does not the same passage exclude the case when he did so for "his house" or "ship," etc.?

R. Jose holds that "cut" in Deut. iv. and incision is one and the same, and there also reads "for the dead," hence this also may be inferred.

Samuel said: If one made an incision with an instrument he is culpable. An objection was raised from the following: Incision and cutting is one and the same (but incision means with the hand and cutting with an instrument), hence for an incision with an instrument he should not be culpable? Samuel holds in this respect with R. Jose that there is no difference at all.

A disciple taught before R. Jehanan: For dead he is culpable at all courts whether 'by hand or instrument, but if for an idol, by an instrument he is culpable, but not by hand; as it reads [I Kings,. xviii 28]: "And cut themselves after their custom with knives."

"Culpable only for one," because he holds that he transgressed only one negative command. "With a razor." The rabbis taught [Lev. 21:5]:"The corner of their beard shall they not shave off," i.e., with a razor. But lest one say even with scissors he shall be culpable, therefore it reads [ibid. xix.], "thou shalt not destroy." But if so let him be culpable for destroying it even with snuffers or scrapers? therefore the expression "shave off," and destroying by shaving is brought about by a razor.

"R. Eliezer," etc. From whatever opinion he start: if he cares for the analogy of expression, then it is with a razor only; and if he does not, let him be culpable even if he did it with scissors? He cares for the analogy, but to his opinion snuffers and scrapers are equivalent to a razor.

MISHNA 4.: The culpability for etching-in [Lev. 19:28] arises only when he has done both, wrote and etched-in with dye or any other indelible thing, but to one of them no culpability attaches. R. Simeon b. Jehudah in the name of R. Simeon said: He is not culpable unless he etched-in the holy name; as the above-cited verse reads, "and any etched-in writing shall you not fix on yourselves: I am the Lord."

GEMARA: Said R. Aha b. Rabha to R. Ashi: Does it mean unless he etch-in the words "I am the Lord"? And he answered, Nay! It is as Bar Kapara taught: "He is not culpable unless he writes the name of an idol, as the words "I am the Lord" mean I am the Lord, but not another one.

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R. Malkhiya in the name of R. Ada b. Ahaba said: One is forbidden to put ashes upon his wound in the flesh, because it looks like a tattooing. [Said R. Papa: Throughout both Mishna and Boraitha, the name Malkhiya when mentioned is Malkhiyah, but in Halakhas it is Malkhiyoo]. R. Ashi, however, said: It does not matter, as the wound shows there is no tattooing.

MISHNA 5.: A Nazarite who was drinking wine the whole day, is culpable only for one negative. If, however, he was warned, Do not drink, do not drink! he is culpable for each time he does not listen to. The same is the case if he had defiled himself by touching dead the whole day, he is culpable for one only; but if he was warned, You must not do so! etc., he is culpable for each one. The same is also the case with shaving himself. If he did so the whole day without warning he is culpable for one only, if with warning, for each time warned. A similar case this: If one was dressed with Kelaim, he is culpable for the whole day only once; but if he was told not to dress himself with it, and he undresses and redresses, he is liable for each time. There is an instance that one may plough only one bed and shall be culpable for eight negatives--viz: If he ploughs with an ox and an ass both of which were from the sanctuary, if there was Kelaim in a vineyard, if that occurs in the Sabbatical year and on a legal holiday, and, finally, if he is a priest or a Nazarite in a legally unclean place. Hanania b. 'Hakhinai said: It can be added to that "who at the same time was dressed with Kelaim." And he was answered: This is not under the category of ploughing. Rejoined he: Does, then, a Nazarite belong to this category?

GEMARA: Said R. Bibi in the name of Rabh Assi: Not only when he undresses and redresses himself entirely, but even when he put his sleeve in and out. And R. Aha b. R. Aika has shown that he puts in the sleeve and puts it out. But R. Ashi maintains that it means the time during which he could put in and out.

"Ploughing one bed," etc. Said R. Yanai: At a meeting there was voted and resolved that he who protects Kelaim is liable to stripes. Said R. Jehanan to him: Is this not explained in our Mishna, which mentions that there was Kelaim in the vineyard? And if one were not culpable for protection what would have the ploughing to do with it? You must, then, say that while ploughing he protects it, and the Mishna makes him culpable. Rejoined R. Yanai: If I had not uncovered for you the broken clay pot, you would surely not have the pearl which was lying under it. Said Resh Lakish to R. Jehanan: Would not such a great man praise your statement? I would say that our Mishna is in accordance with R. Aqiba, who holds that one is liable even for keeping it. Said Ula to R. Na'hman: After it was decided that protecting is the same transgression as sowing, let him also be culpable for sowing on a legal holiday? And he answered: It was left out by the Tana of the Mishna. Rejoined he (Ula): It numbers eight, consequently nothing was left. Said Rabha: The different kinds of labour in one article are considered with respect to Sabbath only, but not to holidays. And Ula said: (I also think) so it is.

MISHNA 6.: The number of stripes is forty less one, as it reads [Deut. 25:2, 3]: "By a number, forty," i.e., near forty. R. Jehudah, however, said: Forty in full, and the fortieth is between his shoulders. The examination (by the physicians of the court) as to the number of stripes he can receive and remain alive, must be such that can be equally divided by three. If the decision was that he is able to receive forty, but after receiving a part of them they saw he cannot stand any more, he is free. However, if the decision was, he can stand eighteen only, and after he was stricken they saw he is able to receive more, he is nevertheless free.

GEMARA: The reason of the statement of the Mishna is the expression "number," which is before the word "forty," and is to be interpreted "about" forty; for if it meant forty in full, it would state forty in number. Said Rabha: How foolish are those who arise before the Holy Scrolls, but do not do so before a great man. We see that in the Holy Scrolls it reads forty, and the rabbis came and reduced one.

"R. Jehudah said," etc. What is his reason? Said R. Itz'hak [Zech. xiii. 6]: "What are these wounds between thy hands," etc. The rabbis, however, maintain that this passage speaks of school-children.

"After he was stricken," etc. Is that so? Does not a Boraitha state that if the first decision of the physicians was that he can receive forty and thereafter they decided again that he can not, or the first decision was for eighteen, and the second states that he is able to receive forty, he is free. (Hence we see that even if he was not stricken but only examined, he is free.)

Said R. Shesheth: This presents no difficulty. Our Mishna speaks of the decision rendered on the very same day on which he ought to be beaten, and by acting accordingly it was found that they erred; hence in the first instance he is freed because he cannot stand, and in the second, because he was already disgraced and freed we do not care to disgrace him again. The Boraitha, however, speaks that the examination was several days before, and when the day of punishment came, the decision was changed because of his health.

MISHNA 7.: If one commits a sin to which two negatives apply, if the decision was rendered once for both negatives, he is punished once only, but if for one negative, he is punished again after he has recovered.

GEMARA: Is there not a Boraitha that one must not be appraised for two negatives? Said R. Shesheth: It presents no difficulty. Our Mishna speaks, if he was appraised for forty-one, i.e., for two negatives, and because it cannot be divided into three, their appraisement is annulled, and he receives only thirty-nine for both; and the Boraitha speaks of the case when be was appraised to receive forty-two for two negatives, and as it can be divided into three, the three over the thirty-nine are counted for the second negative. Hence he is beaten once, and after recovery is to be appraised again and beaten accordingly.

MISHNA 8.: How is the punishment with stripes to be performed? He ties his both hands to the pillar, and the messenger of the court takes hold of his clothes, without care whether they tear or disjoin, until he uncovers the breast. The stone on which the messenger is to stand is placed behind him, upon which he stands with a strap of calf leather compounded of two, which, folded again, constitutes four, with two small stripes attached to it.

The size of its handle was a span, and of the same size was the width of it, and the top of it reaches his belly. He strikes him one-third in front and two-thirds on the back. He is not beaten while standing nor sitting, but while bending; as it reads [Deut. 25:2]: "The judge shall cause him to lie down," and the striker strikes him with one hand with all his force. And the reader reads from [ibid. 28:58-59]: "If thou wilt not. . . . Then will the Lord render peculiar thy plagues," etc., to the end of the verse. And if the striker has not finished yet, he begins [ibid. xxix. 8]: "Keep ye therefore," etc., and finishes with [Psalm 78:38]: "But he, being merciful, forgave the iniquity." And if the act was not finished as yet, he returns to the beginning. If it happens that he dies under the messenger's hand, the latter is free. If, however, he added one stripe which caused death, he is exiled. If while beaten he collapsed and became incontinent of urine or excrement, he is freed. R. Jehudah maintains: A male, when incontinent of feces; and a female, of urine.

GEMARA: What is the reason that he shall be freed if he collapsed, etc.? His having been already disgraced.

R. Shesheth said in the name of R. Eliezer b. Azaria: Whence do we know that the strap must be of calf leather? Because immediately after "forty stripes" it reads, "thou shalt muzzle the ox."

"Two small stripes," etc. In a Boraitha it is written from ass leather, and it is as a certain Galilean preached in the presence of R. Hisda [Isaiah, 1:3]: "The ox knoweth his owner and the ass his master's crib: Israel doth not," etc. The Holy One, blessed be He, said: "He that knoweth the master's crib shall take revenge from him who does not want to know it."

"One-third in front," etc. Whence is this deduced? Said be beaten before his face according to R. Kahana: From "to the degree of his fault," which means for one fault in the front and for two in the back.

"The striker strikes him with one hand," etc. The rabbis taught: The court appoints messengers who are weak in force but strong in wisdom. R. Jehudah, however, said: Even vice versa. Said Rabha: It seems to me that R. Jehudah is correct, because it reads "not more"; now if the messenger were weak in wisdom he must be warned, but if strong in wisdom, why warning? The rabbis, however, maintain the contrary, that warning is of consequence only to him who is learned to be careful. There is a Boraitha: When he lifts up, he does it with both hands, but strikes with one hand, so that the strokes shall become weaker.

"And the reader reads," etc. The rabbis taught: The chief of the judges reads; the second numbers, and the third says, strike! When the stripes are many he prolongs, and when less he shortens. But does not the Mishna state "he returns to the beginning of the passage"? It is better that the reading should be finished with the stripes; but if it was not, he returns. The rabbis taught: It reads [Deut. 25:3]: "Too many stripes"; but lest one say that one or two does not matter? Therefore is "not more"--not even one. But if so, to what purpose "too many stripes"? To teach that if it happen so, even the stripes which were given rightly are to be considered too many (in force).

"Collapsed," etc. The rabbis taught: A male as well as a female "in feces," but not "in urine." So R. Mair. R. Jehuda said: A male "in feces" and a female "in urine." The sages, however, maintain: There is no difference between male and female, and between feces and urine; at all events the beaten is to be freed. But is there not a Boraitha: R. Jehudah said: Male and female in feces? He meant to say that in such a case all agree, but concerning incontinence of urine there is a difference of opinion.

Samuel said: If after he has been tied, he succeeds to run away from the court, he is free. An objection was raised from the following: Collapsing frees one whether it happen at the first stroke or the second, but if the strap broke he is free only if it happened at the second, but not at the first. Now, why should this not be equivalent to running away, which frees even before the first strike? This is no objection, when he runs away he could not be beaten (and as he was already disgraced, he is not taken to be disgraced again), but here he is still present.

The rabbis taught: If it was concluded by the examination that he will collapse in case he is beaten, he is to be freed; but if the conclusion is that he will collapse after having been beaten, it does not free him. Furthermore, if it happen that he collapse before he was taken to be beaten, it does not prevent after recovery; because it reads [Deut. 25:2, 3]: "And to be beaten . . . and . . . thus rendered vile," but not rendered vile before beaten.

MISHNA 9.: All who are liable to Korath, if beaten, are freed from it, as it reads [ibid., ibid. 3]: "Thy brother rendered vile," i.e., as soon as he was rendered vile, he is thy brother. So R. Hananye b. Gamaliel; the same also said: If one loses his soul for one sin, so much the more his soul should be saved because of one meritorious act! Said R. Simeon: This may be inferred from the very place which treats of Korath [Lev. xviii. 29]: "Even the souls that commit them shall be cut off," and [ibid., ibid. 5]: "Ordinances, which, if a man do, he shall live in them." As the whole portion is of negative commands, it is to be inferred that if one only abstains from committing a crime, he is rewarded as if he acted meritoriously. R. Simeon b. Rabbi said: It reads [Deut. xii. 23]: "Be firm so as not to eat the blood; for the blood is the life." Now, for rejecting blood which is disgusting to one, he is rewarded; from money and women, to which the nature of man is inclined, so much the more should he be rewarded if he separates himself; and not only he, but all his descendants to the end of the generations, may be rewarded. R. Hanania b. Akasiha said: The Holy One, blessed be He, wanted to make Israel blissful and therefore he multiplied to them his commands in the Torah, as it reads [Isaiah, 42:21]: "The Lord willed (to do this) for the sake of his righteousness: (therefore) he magnifieth the law, and maketh it honourable."

GEMARA: Said R. Jehanan: The colleagues of R. 'Hananye differ with him (as according to them stripes do not substitute Korath). Said R. Ada b. A'haba in the name of Rabh: The Halakha nevertheless prevails with R. Hananye. Said R, Joseph: Who, then, ascended to heaven, returned, saying that the Halakha prevails with him? Said Abayi to him: According to You, that which was said by R. Jehoshua b. Levi, "three things were done by the human court, and the heavenly court agreed with it," is also to be questioned: who ascended to heaven and convinced himself that it was so? but such is inferred from the Scripture; well, the same is here, too. What are the three things in question? The following: The reading of the Book of Esther on Purim, greeting with the Holy Name, and placing the tithe belonging to the Levites in the treasury of the sanctuary. The first (Book of Esther) from [Esther, 9:27]: "The Jews took it upon themselves as a duty and accepted," means, they took upon themselves in their human court, and it was accepted in the heavenly court. "Greeting" from [Ruth, 2:4]: "And he said unto the reapers, the Lord be with you," and also [Judges, 6:12]: "The Lord is with thee." To what purpose is the second quotation? Lest one say that Boas did it according to his own opinion and without the admission by heaven, therefore the other quotation which was said by an angel. And concerning tithe from [Malachi, iii. 10]: "Bring ye all the tithes into the storehouse, that there may be provision in my house, and prove me but herewith, saith the Lord of hosts, if I will not open for you the windows of heaven, and pour out for you a blessing, until it be more than enough."

R. Elazar said: At three places the Holy Spirit appeared: At the court of Shem, of the prophet Samuel, and in the court of King Solomon. At the court of Shem [Gen. 38:26]: "And Judah acknowledged them and said, She hath been more righteous than I." And whence did he know it? Perhaps as he was with her, so was some one else? Therefore a heavenly voice was heard: I have decided that so is it to be. In the court of Samuel [I Samuel, 12:5]: "And he 1 answered, He is witness." He? they ought to be! Hence a heavenly voice was heard, I witness that so it is. And [1 Kings, 3:27]: "The king then answered and said, Give her the living child and do not slay it. she is its mother." And whence do we know it is so; perhaps she nevertheless deceived him? Hence the last words, "she is its mother," were said by a heavenly voice. Said Rabha: If it were inferred from the Scripture only, all of them could be objected to, but this is known by tradition.

R. Simlayi lectured: Six hundred and thirteen commands were said to Moses; three hundred and sixty-five of them negatives, corresponding to the number of days in a year counting according to sunrise; and two hundred and forty-eight positives, corresponding to the members of a man's body. Said R. Hamnunah: Where is there an allusion thereto in the Scripture? [Deut. 33:4]: "The Torah which Moses commanded us." The letters of the word Torah number six hundred and eleven (Tav is 400; Vov, 6; Reish, 200, and Hei, 5), and the two first commandments, however, of the ten, we ourselves have heard from Heaven. However, David came and reduced their number to eleven [Psalm 15:2-5]: "He that walketh uprightly" means Abraham, to whom such an expression was

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said in [Gen. 17:1]: "Worketh righteously" means Aba A'helqiah (see Tainith, p. 66-68). "Speaketh the truth" as, e.g., R. Saphra. "Uttereth no calumny," i.e., Jacob, our father. "That doth no evil to his neighbour," i.e., he who takes care not to compete with his neighbour's business. "No reproach on his fellow man" means him who approaches his relatives. "Despicable is despised" means the king, who carried his father's bones on a bed of ropes. "Honoureth those who fear the Lord" means King Jehoshofath, who used to arise from his throne on seeing a scholar, kissed him, and called him, my father, my master, etc. "That sweareth to his own injury, and changeth not," i.e., as R. Jehanan said: If one says I will fast until I will come home, it is to be considered. "Money for interest," i.e., him who does not accept usury even from an idolator. "Taketh no bribe" means, e.g., R. Ismael b. Jose, who does not accept even his own goods from his gardener for the purpose that he shall try his case. "He that doth these things shall not be moved to eternity." [When R. Gamaliel used to come to this passage, he used to weep, saying: Who performed all this shall not be moved, but one of them does not suffice (see Sanhedrin.).]

Isaiah, then came and reduced them (the 613 commands) to six [33:15]: "He that (a) walketh in righteousness, (b) speaketh uprightly, (c) despiseth the gain of oppressions, (d) shaketh his hands against taking hold of bribes, (e) stoppeth his ears against hearing of blood, and (f) shutteth his eyes against looking on evil." (a) Means Abraham, of whom it reads [Gen. xviii. 19]: "For I know him, that he will command," etc. (b) Means him who does not anger his colleague in public. (c) Means R. Ishmael b. Elisha. (d) R. Ishmael b. Jose. (e) R. Eliezar b. Simeon, and (f) means as R. Hiya b. Aba said: Who does not look on women washing near the bank of the river. (See last gate, p. 137.)

Michah came and reduced them to three [6:8]: "He hath told thee, O man, what is good; and what the Lord doth re quire of thee: (nothing) but to do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with thy God." "To do justice" means judgement; "love kindness" bestowing of favours; and "walk humbly," providing for burial of the dead and marriage of poor maidens.

Isaiah (the second) again reduced them to two [56:1]: "Thus hath said the Lord, Keep ye justice and do equity."

Amos then came and reduced them to one [5:4]: "Seek ye for me, and ye shall live."

R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak opposed: Perhaps he means seek for me to perform everything that is written in the Law? Therefore Habakkuk was the one who reduced them to one [2:4]: "The righteous should live with his faith." Said R. Jose b. Hanina: Four decrees Moses has decreed upon Israel, and four prophets came and abolished them. Moses said [Deut. xxxiii. 28]: "And then dwelt Israel in safety, alone," etc. Amos abolished it [vii. 5]: "How should Jacob be able to endure," then immediately in (6) "The Lord bethought . . . this shall not be." Moses said [Deut. 28:65]: "And among these nations shalt thou find no ease." Jeremiah abolished it, saying [31:2]: "He is going to give rest to Israel." 1 Moses said [Ex. 34:7]: "Visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children." Ezekiel abolished it by saying [18:4]: "The soul which sinneth, that alone shall die." Moses said [Lev. 26:38]: "And ye shall be lost among the nations." Isaiah abolished it by saying [27:13]: "The great cornet shall be blown," etc. Said Rabh, I am nevertheless afraid of the passage "ye shall be lost among the nations," and of the end of same, "the land of your enemies shall consume you." Marzutrah opposed, relating the following: It happened with Rabban Gamaliel, R. Elazar b. Azariah, R. Jehoshua, and R. Aqiba, who were on the road, and heard the noise of the city of Rome at Patlus, a distance of 120 miles, and they began to weep; but R. Aqiba smiled. And to the question, Why are you smiling, he returned the question, Why do you weep; rejoined they: Those idolators who bow themselves to images and smoke frankincense to the idols are resting in peace, the contrary is with us, that even our holy Temple is burned by fire, and we should not weep? Rejoined he: For the same reason I am smiling. If such is done to them who act against His will so much the more will be done in the future to them who act in accordance with His will. It happened again that the same were going to Jerusalem, when they arrived to the Mount Zerphim, they tore their garments; and when they approached the Mount of the Temple and saw a fox running from the place where the Holy of Holies had been situated, they began to weep; but R. Aqiba smiled. To their question why he smiled, he answered: It reads [Isaiah, 8:2]: "Witnesses, Uriyah the priest, and Zecharyahu," etc. Why is Uriyah conjoined with Zecharyahu? Was not the former at the first Temple and the latter at the second? It was because the passage bases the prophecy of Zecharyahu upon the prophecy of Uriyah. Uriyah said [Micha 3:12]: "Therefore for your sake shall Zion be ploughed up as a field," etc. Zechariah said [8:4]: "Again shall there sit old men and old women in the streets of Jerusalem," etc. Until the prophecy of Uriyah was not fulfilled I feared lest the prophecy of Zechariah will come to be realised but now since I see that Uriyah's prophecy is fulfilled I am sure that Zechariah's prophecy will also be fulfilled in the near future. Upon this version they said to him: Aqiba, thou hast condoled us, thou hast condoled us!

APPENDIX TO PAGE 50.

R. Shesheth said in the name of R. Eliezer b. Azariah: He who disgraces the festivals is regarded as if he worshipped idols, as it reads [Exod. 34:17]: "Thou shall not make unto thyself any molten gods," and immediately follows the verse "The feast," etc, The same said again in the name of the said authority: He who speaks evil of his neighbour, he who listens to such evil-speaking, finally he who bears false testimony deserves to be thrown to the dogs, as [ibid. 22:30] "to the dogs shall ye cast it," is immediately followed by [23:1] "Ye shall not spread (thisso) false report," which should be read also thassi, i.e., ye shall not excite one against the other.

SYNOPSIS OF SUBJECTS OF TRACT SHEBUOTH (OATHS).

CHAPTER 1.

MISHNA 1. There are two kinds of oaths which are subdivided into four. The he-goat makes it pending. How is this to be understood? If it does not atone, what is the use of making it pending? It means, i.e., if the transgressor dies then it may be considered that if he dies before he becomes aware of it, this sin is not reckoned to him any more. Said Rabha to him: "In case he dies, the death itself completes the atonement; it is the he-goat that saves him from chastisement before he becomes aware by making it pending. All the above-mentioned persons are atoned for by the exported he-goats for all other transgressions without any difference, etc. Such is the custom of the divine attribute of justice, that the righteous atone for the wicked and not that the wicked atone for another wicked.

CHAPTER 2.

MISHNA 1. The cognition of uncleanness is of two kinds subdivided into four. The courtyard was sanctified with the remains of a meal-offering only, in order to make it equal to the City of Jerusalem itself, etc. The orchestra of the thanks-offering consisted of violins, fifes, trumpets on every corner as well as on every elevated stone in Jerusalem, and used to play, etc. It was taught, R. Huna says: "All the details in the Mishna were essential in the construction, etc. If one enters a leprous house backwards, although all his body was already in the house except his nose, he remains clean. And ye shall separate the children of Israel from their uncleanness," whence you derive the warning that the children of Israel should separate themselves from their wives near the period of menstruation, etc. If there were two paths one of which was unclean (but it was not certain which one), and one passed through one of them entering, etc.

CHAPTER 3.

MISHNA 1. TO 7. There are two kinds of oaths subdivided into four. I swear that I will eat, or I will not eat, etc. Where do we find that one must bring an offering for mere talk, as this one does talk and brings an offering. What is Issor mentioned in the Torah? If one says: "I take upon myself not to eat meat," etc. Vain (Shakve) and false (Shekker) are identical. Stripes apply to all negatives of the Torah implying manual labour, but not to those without manual labour, excepting, however, an oath. There is a moth, which is but a minimum in size, and yet one is liable for consuming it. I swear that I will not eat, and thereafter eats and drinks, he is guilty but once. I will drink neither wine, oil nor honey, and then drinks, he is guilty for each severally. If he swore not to eat and thereafter ate carcasses or illegal cattle, reptiles and vermin, he is guilty. R. Simeon declares him free. The reason of him who holds that one is liable for an inclusion is that he compares it to an additional prohibition. It is immaterial whether the things sworn off concern himself or others, whether they are or are not of some essential nature. One is guilty only for an oath made with reference to the future, etc. I swear that I know something to testify for you, and it is found hereafter that he knows nothing, etc. There is a rule that, if to something that was included in the general a new law be applied, only by the new one must guide one's self, etc. To exclude compulsion what could illustrate this? As it happened to R. Kahana and R. Assi after the lectures at Rabh's college, etc. Suppose one swear not to eat this bread, and then he is in danger if he does not eat it, how is it, etc.? If one swears to ignore some commandment and does not carry out his oath, etc. If one says I swear not to eat this bread, in case I eat the other, etc. Which is false swearing? If one swears that something is different from what it is known by everybody to be. The provisions regarding uttered swearing apply to males, females, to kindred, non-kindred, etc.

CHAPTER 4.

MISHNA 1. TO 6. The witness-oath applies to men but not to women, to unrelated but not to kindred, etc. If a scholar was aware of a case, but it was a humiliation to him to go to that particular court he may remain at home, etc., concerning civil cases only. The many things inferred from Exod. xxiii. 7. Keep thyself far from a false speech. How does a witness-oath come about? If some one said to two, etc. If there were two parties of witnesses and both denied successively, etc. There is also a case concerning a witness who refuses to testify to the death of a husband, etc. If one of them denies and the other confesses, etc. I adjure you that you come and bear me witness, that I have in the possession of so and so, etc. I adjure you to testify that so and so has spread abroad an evil name on my daughter, etc. We swear that we know nothing for you, while in reality they do know, etc. I adjure you, I impose upon you, I bind you (by oath) so they are guilty, etc. If one writes Aleph Lamed (the first letters from Eloim), etc. It must not be erased, etc. All the divine names found in the Torah in connection with Abraham are holy, etc. Amen embraces oath, acceptance and confidence, etc. Nay means oath and yea means also an oath, etc. R. Kama, while sitting before R. Jehudah, repeated the Mishna in its own language, and he said to him: "Change the language and use it in the third person.

CHAPTER 5.

MISHNA 1. TO 6. The depository oath concerns men and women non-kindred and kindred, those fit to testify and those unfit, etc. What is the law, when one has intentionally made a depository oath in spite of a warning, is he liable to a sin-offering or not? If the depository claims that the deposit has been stolen from him, swears, but thereafter confesses, etc. If one denies money when there are witnesses, he is subject to an oath, but is free from such if there is a document. How is it if five persons claim the four articles and he says to one of them I swear that thou hast not with me a deposit, etc., and not thou and not thou, etc.

CHAPTER 6.

MISHNA 1. TO 3. In the case of an oath before court, the claim must amount to two silver, and the confession to one peruta, etc. If one requires movables and real estate, and the other admits movables but denies real estate or vice versa, he is free, etc. One must stand when taking the oath; a scholar, however, may do it while sitting. An oath taken by one before the court must be uttered in a language he understands, and the court must say to him the following introduction. Be aware that the whole world was trembling when the Lord spake on the Mount Sinai: "Thou shalt not bear the name of the Lord thy God falsely." I have with you a gold dinar in gold. Nay you have with me only a silver dinar, he is liable. If one was about to claim wheat, and the defendant hastened to confess barley, etc. What is the difference between a biblical and a rabbinical oath. I have a mana with you. Yea, you shall not return it to me without the presence of witnesses, etc. In another case one demanded a hundred zuz, etc. A borrower said to the lender: "You are trusted so long as you will say that I have not paid you"; thereafter he paid him in the presence of witnesses, etc. One does not swear to the following: To slaves written documents, etc. One swears but to things capable of being measured, weighed and counted. How so? If one lends to his neighbour on a pledge, and the pledge got lost, etc. If one lends to his neighbour 1,000 zuz, and pledges them the handle of a scythe only, etc.

CHAPTER 7.

MISHNA 1. All those who are subject to a biblical oath swear and do not pay, etc. Give me change for a dinar. Give the dinar. I have given it to you already, etc. You have hired me for two zuz to repair something, while the employer says that he hired him only for one zuz, etc. If witnesses saw one concealing utensils under his garments when coming out from a house, and he claims that he had bought them, etc. The oath returns to its place--the Mount Sinai. If there were two parties of witnesses contradicting each other, each party may appear and testify for itself. Let the master conjoin with us in nullifying the statement of Rabh and Samuel. It once happened that B, who had borrowed money of A through a surety and on a document died, etc.

CHAPTER 8.

MISHNA 1. There are four kinds of bailees, gratuitous, on hire, borrower and hirer, etc. This is the rule: "Whoever tends to commutate, by his oath liability to liability, unliability to unability, or unability to liability is free, etc. Appendix,

TRACT SHEBUOTH (OATHS).

CHAPTER 1.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING OATHS TO WHICH IS ATTACHED THE LIABILITY OF A SIN-OFFERING OR STRIPES.--THE CONDITIONS OF LIABILITY AS DETERMINED BY THE TIME OF REMEMBERING OR FORGETTING THE OATH.--WHICH OATHS ARE OR ARE NOT ATONED FOR BY PRIVATE AND CONGREGATIONAL SACRIFICES AND ALSO BY THE DAY OF ATONEMENT.--ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE TWO KINDS OF OATHS SUBDIVIDED INTO FOUR.

MISHNA 1.: There are two kinds of oaths which are subdivided into four. The cognition of uncleanness is of two

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kinds subdivided into four. The carrying in and out on the Sabbath day is of two kinds subdivided into four, and also aspects of leprosy are in kind two and subdivided into four.

If one was originally cognisant of his being unclean, and (after he had consumed of the holy food or entered the sanctuary) presently became aware of this fact anew (that he committed this or that while being unclean), but was not conscious of it during the act, so he is obliged to bring a rich or poor offering. If, however, he had the knowledge at the start but not at the end of the act, so the he-goat, the blood of which is interiorly to be sprinkled on the day of atonement as well as the day itself, will effect a delay of the punishment until he gets to know his transgression, and then he is to bring the above-mentioned offering.

If there was no antecedent knowledge, but he became conscious of it after, his expiation is effected by the he-goat sacrificed exteriorly on the day of atonement as well as that day itself; for it reads: "Except the sin-offering of the atonement," i.e., what this atones for the other one does, too; just as the exterior he-goat propitiates only where there was one knowing, so propitiates the interior one, only where one knowing took place. But where there was no knowledge either before or after, the propitiation is effected by the he-goats sacrificed on (the) holidays and new-moon days. So R. Jehudah; R. Simeon, however, says: The he-goats of the holidays atone, but not those of the new-moon days, which propitiate only him who ate something polluted while being himself clean. R. Mair says: All goat sacrifices are equivalent as to propitiating (the) pollution of the holy temple and its holy sacrifice. R. Simeon would say: The he-goats of the new-moon days propitiate for the clean who ate something polluted; those of the holidays, for cases where there was no knowing either before or after; and that of the day of atonement, for cases where there is no antecedent but a subsequent knowing. And when he was asked: May one of them be sacrificed instead of the other? he answered: Aye! Whereupon they retorted: Since they are not all equivalent as to their capacity of propitiating, how can they substitute one another? To which he replied: They all possess this in common that they propitiate for polluting the holy temple and its offerings. R. Simeon b. Jehudah, however, said in his name: The he-goats of the new-moon days propitiate for a clean one who has eaten defiled food; those of the holidays possess a greater power, as they propitiate for the clean who has eaten defiled, and for the case of polluting where there was neither antecedent nor subsequent knowledge; those of the day of atonement are superior to the others in that they propitiate not only for the clean one who has received defiled food and for the case of neither antecedent nor subsequent knowledge, but also for the case where there is no antecedent but a subsequent knowledge. Hereupon he was questioned: May the one he-goat be offered as substitute for the other? And he answered: Yea. To which the others rejoined: It may be admitted that the goats of the day of atonement be offered on the new-moon days, but how can the reverse take place, i.e., that the goats of the new-moon days propitiate for what they are not capable of doing? And his answer was: They all have this in common that they propitiate defilement of the holy temple and of its holy viands.

For wanton pollution of the holy temple and of its holy offerings the interior he-goat of the day of atonement as well as this day itself atones for all other transgressions of the Law both lenient and rigorous, intentional and unintentional, the foreknown and unforeknown, the positive and negative commandments, those entailing koreth or judicial death-punishment, for all these the exported goat atones. Herein are equal Israelites, priests, and the anointed high-priest. What difference does, then, exist between Israelite and priest and anointed high-priest? That the blood of the bullock propitiates for the pollution of the sanctuary and of the holy viands by the priests. R. Simeon, however, says: Even as the blood of the goat prepared in the interior propitiates for the Israelites, so does the blood of the bullock for the priest; even as the confession of sins over the kid to be exported propitiates for the Israelite, so does the confession of sins over the bullock propitiate for the priest.

GEMARA: Let us see in accordance with whom is our Mishna's statement. It is not in accordance with R. Ismael and also not with R. Aqiba, as according to the former, one is not liable to a sin-offering, only if the oath concerns the future (this is explained in Chap. 3. of this tract), and according to the latter, one is liable only for forgetting that the object is defiled, but not if he forgot that this is the sanctuary? The Mishna can be explained in accordance with both. With R. Ismael, as he may say that the expression of the Mishna, two subdivided into four, means that for some of them one is liable, and for some of them one is not. The same can be said concerning R. Aqiba. But how can R. Aqiba's statement be explained so? Does not the Mishna include leprosy in which there is not a single case for which one is not liable to a sin-offering, consequently all the cases mentioned in the Mishna are of the same kind? We must, therefore, say that it is in accordance with R. Ismael only, and to the question that R. Ismael does not make one liable for the past, it may be answered that he frees him from the liability of a sin-offering only, but not from the punishment of stripes, as he holds that stripes apply even to such a negative command in which there is no manual labour, and this is, as Rabha explained elsewhere (Chap. 3.), that such is R. Ismael's opinion. But if so, then R. Johanan's statements would contradict each other--namely, at one place he declared that the Halakha prevails according to an anonymous Mishna (our Mishna, which is anonymous, and is in accordance with R. Ismael), and elsewhere it was thought if one says: I swear to eat this loaf of bread to-day, the day, however, has passed and he did not eat it, according to both Johanan and Resh Lakish stripes do not apply. However, their reasons are different. The reason of the former is that there is no manual act, and the reason of the latter is that the warning to this transgression could not be of a certain, but of a doubtful kind (as perhaps he will still keep to his oath), hence, we see that R. Johanan's decision is that there are no stripes to a non-manual act, though contrary to the decision of the Mishna? R. Johanan's above decision is in accordance with his rule, for it is in accordance with another anonymous Mishna, as follows: "I swear that I will not eat this loaf, I swear again that I will not eat it," and thereafter he did eat, he is liable only for the oath first which had made this bread illegal to him. (The second oath, however, is considered but an oath to keep his word according to the law, and such an oath is not subject to punishment.) This is an utterance oath, to whose intentional transgression stripes apply, and to an unintentional, a rich or poor offering. Now, the expression of the Mishna, this is, means that only to such a transgression which is of a past nature stripes apply, but not to a transgression of a future nature, e.g., I will eat, etc., hence this Mishna, which is also anonymous, is in accordance with R. Johanan's opinion.

But let us see; both Mishnaioth are anonymous, why, then, should R. Johanan choose the last one and not the first? According to this question, you also may ask: Why did Rabbi (editor of the Mishna) insert such two contradictory Mishnaioth? You must say, then, that formerly, Rabbi's opinion was that a negative command of non-manual act is under the category of stripes, but after reconsideration he came to the conclusion that it is not, and therefore inserted the last, but did not care to strike out the first.

Let us see; after all, you have explained the Mishna in accordance with R. Ismael and as concerning stripes, but does not the Mishna mention four kinds of leprosy, to all of which stripes by no means apply? Nay; there is a case to which stripes do apply--viz.: when cuts off the leprosy (before the priest saw it), and this is in accordance with R. Abin in the name of R. Elai, who said that wherever the Scripture uses one of these expressions, "Take heed to thyself, lest ahl" (the negative particle of the imperative mood) is a negative commandment. But does not the Mishna mention the violation of Sabbath to which also stripes do not apply, for, it is under the category of capital punishment, to which stripes cannot apply? R. Ismael holds that even to such, stripes do apply, and therefore the Mishna is explained in accordance with him.

R. Joseph, however, says: Our Mishna is in accordance with Rabi's own opinion, and he composed it in accordance with different Tanaim, concerning knowing and not knowing, he took R. Ismael's opinion, and concerning oaths he took R. Aqiba's.

Said R. Ashi: I have related this explanation before R. Kahana, and he said to me: Do not say that Rabi inserted the above Mishna in accordance with the above Tanaim, and he himself did not approve of them, for in reality, in this Mishna he explains his own opinion, as we find he did so in the following: Whence do we know that one is not culpable for a transgression of which he was aware both at the start and at the end, but unaware during the act? From [Lev. 5:2-3]: "Escaped his recollection," two times repeated. So R. Aqiba. Rabbi, however, maintains it to be unnecessary, as from the expression "escaped" it is self-evident that he was once aware of it, and further on it reads, "he becometh aware," i.e., twice aware, once at the start and again at the end. But should you ask to what purpose "escaped" is written twice (I say) once to make one liable for the forgetting the defilement, and the second for the forgetting the sanctuary.

(Says the Gemara): From this we find that Rabbi has declared his own opinion concerning known and unknown. Where is such to be found concerning oaths? It is common sense. Why, then, does R. Aqiba make one liable for the transgression of a past oath? Because he considers extensions and limitations (mentioned in the Scripture), and the same did also Rabbi as we have learned in the following Boraitha. Rabbi said: Our first-born male may be redeemed with everything but documents; the rabbis, however, maintain that slaves and real estate are also excluded (and the reasons are there given thus: Rabbi considers extensions and limitations, and the rabbis consider generals and particulars in the Scripture).

Said Rabina to Amamar: Does indeed Rabbi consider extensions, etc., and not generals, etc.? In the following Boraitha we find the reverse; it reads [Deut. 15:17]: "Then shalt thou take an awl," but whence do we know that one may do it with a thorn, prick, borer, needle or pencil? Therefore it reads: "Shalt thou take," i.e., everything that is to be taken in hand for this purpose. So R. Jose b. Jehudah. Rabbi, however, maintains that since an awl is of metal, so must every instrument for this purpose be of metal. And to the question, what is the point of their difference, we answered that Rabbi considers generals and particulars (awl is of metal, etc.), and the R. Jose considers extensions, etc., hence, we see that Rabbi considers generals and not extensions? Yea; in all other cases Rabbi considers generals, but here he considers also extensions for the reason explained in the following: The disciples of R. Ismael taught [Lev. xi. 9]. In the "water" is mentioned twice; this is not to be taken as a general and a particular, but as an extension and a limitation (this paragraph will be explained in the following tracts). But do not the rabbis hold the above theory? Said Rabina: In the west it was said in every place in the Scripture where the expression of two generals are to be found near each other, one may put a particular between them, and derive the law of general and particular.

But now that we come to the conclusion that Rabbi considers extensions, etc., there will remain a difficulty concerning oaths; we must, therefore, say that Rabbi inserted in this Mishna the opinion of R. Aqiba, with which he himself does not agree.

The text said: From the expression "escaped" it is self-evident that he was aware. Why is it self-evident? We find elsewhere the same expression, and no awareness is therein implied. Said Abayi: Rabbi holds that elementary knowledge is considered, i.e., the knowledge one learns in school when yet a child (e.g., he learned that he who toucheth an unclean thing becomes defiled). Said R. Papa to him: According to this theory, how can we find a case in which he was unaware before? And he answered: It may be found with him who was captured by heathens while he was still an infant, and was brought up by them. 1

"Originally cognisant." The rabbis taught: Whence do we know that the verse speaks of the defilement of the temple and its holy offerings? This maybe learned from an inference. The Scripture warns: One shall not make himself unclean, and he who does so shall be punished, and is liable to a sin-offering (for unintentional), and both the warning and the punishment speak about the temple and its holiness. The same is the case when it makes him liable to a sin-offering, it is only in case of entering the temple. But perhaps it means heave-offering, to which there is also warning and punishment? Nay; we do not find a transgression which is under the category of capital punishment, to which the liability of a sin-offering attaches, when done unintentionally. However, such is the case with a special offering; but let him bring a rich and poor offering which is to be brought for utterance or witness oath? It reads [Lev. v. 3]: Boh, literally in it 1 to exclude all other things. But perhaps it means to exclude the sanctuary to which a rich or poor offering does not suffice, and only a special is needed? Said Rabha: I apply to Rabbi the saying, "He draws water from very deep wells," as we have learned in the following Boraitha. Rabbi said. I read in the Scripture (in concern with a rich or poor offering) a beast; to what purpose, then, is also written a cow? (is it not included in the term beast?) It is for an analogy of expressions. Here it reads, "an unclean cattle," and further on [Ibid. 7:22] the very same expression, which speaks particularly about the defilement of the holy offerings; hence, as here it speaks of the holy offerings, so does the former expression, too. But this concerns the holy offerings only; whence do we know that the same is the case with the sanctuary itself?

From [ibid. 12:4]: "Anything hallow shall she not touch, and into the sanctuary," etc.; we see, then, that the sanctuary is compared to its holiness.

The sages of Nahardea said in the name of Rabha: There is mentioned in relation to peace-offerings three times, defilement. And why? One for a general, one for a particular, and one for the expression defilement with regard to a rich or poor offering, but it does not explain the kind of a defilement; and not knowing what it means, we assumed it to mean the defilement of holiness; but now as Rabbi above inferred this from another place, we apply this defilement to the sanctuary itself.

"Originally cognisant . . . became aware anew." The rabbis taught [Lev. 16:16]: "Shall make an atonement for the holy place because of the uncleanness," etc. In this case there can be three kinds of defilement: by idolatry, licentiousness, and bloodshed, for we find, in regard to idolatry [ibid. 20:3]: "In order to defile my sanctuary"; concerning licentiousness [ibid. 18:30]: "Ye shall not defile yourselves therewith"; finally, concerning bloodshed [Numb. 35:34]: "Ye shall not render unclean." Lest one say that for all these three defilements the he-goat atones, therefore [Lev. 16:16]: "Mitumoth," literally, from the uncleanness of the children of Israel, but not all of them; and as we saw elsewhere that the Scripture has separated the defilement of the sanctuary and its holiness from all other defilements, we must say that here, also, it means the sanctuary, etc. So R. Jehudah. R. Simeon, however, maintains that this theory is inferred from the very same place, as it

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reads, "he shall make an atonement for the holy place from the uncleanness (mitumoth)," consequently it means from the uncleanness of the holy place. But lest one say that for every defilement which happens to be in the sanctuary the he-goat atones, therefore, further on, "because in all their transgressions, in all their sins," it compares intentional transgressions to sin. As to the former, offerings do not apply, so, also, does it not to sins, which are not under the category of offerings (and which of them are under this category? That of which he was aware at the start and at the end, but forgot during the act). And whence do we know that in a case of which he was aware at the start, but not at the end, that the same he-goat makes it pending? From "in all their sin," i.e., all sins which are under the category of a sin-offering.

The master said: There are three kinds of defilement, etc. Let us see how was the case; e.g., idolatry, if intentional, is under capital punishment; if unintentional, then the transgressor is liable to a sin-offering. The same is the case with licentiousness: for intentional, capital punishment, and unintentional, a sin-offering; and the same with bloodshed: intentional, by capital punishment; unintentional is punished with exile. It may be said that in the first two it means that it was done intentionally but without warning; and concerning bloodshed, if committed unintentionally by such a person who cannot be exiled, e.g., a high-priest of whom it is said in tract Sanhedrin that he cannot be exiled.

The master said: The he-goat makes it pending. How is this to be understood? If it does not atone, what is the use of making it pending? Said R. Zera: It means, i.e., if the transgressor dies then it may be considered that if he dies before he becomes aware of it, this sin is not reckoned to him any more. Said Rabha to him: In case he dies, the death itself completes the atonement; it is the he-goat that saves him from chastisement before he becomes aware by making it pending.

"If he had no antecedent knowledge . . . by the he-goat sacrifice exteriorly," etc. Let us see; both he-goats are considered equal. Why, then, should the inner he-goat not atone also for the things the exterior one atones for? And the difference would be that if the exterior happened not to be sacrificed at all, the interior would do also his atoning? It reads [Exod. 30:10]: "Upon its horns once," i.e., it atones only one atonement, but not two. Why should not the exterior atone for itself and for the interior also, and the difference would be that a defilement happened during the time between the sacrifice of the interior and that of the exterior? The verse says "once in a year," i.e., once, and not twice in a year. But according to R. Ismael, who said that to such a case offerings apply, what then does the exterior he-goat atone for? For such a case in which there was no knowledge at either start or the end, but does not for such atone the festival and the new-moon goats? He holds with R. Mair, who said that the atonement of all the goats are equivalent, as they atone for defilements in the sanctuary and its holiness, and the equality of the interior and exterior goats lies that both do not atone for other transgressions outside of the sanctuary with its holiness.

"So R. Jehudah." Said Jehudah in the name of Samuel: The reason why R. Jehudah of the Mishna so maintains is [Numb. 28:15]: "And one he-goat for a sin-offering unto the Lord,--i.e., for such a sin of which none is aware but the Lord, this he-goat atones.

The schoolmen propounded a question: Does R. Jehudah speak only of such a case which could never be known, but not such which must come to knowledge at the end (e.g., if there were witnesses who saw him entering the sanctuary while he was defiled, of which they are bound to inform him thereafter) and which is atoned by the exterior he-goat on the day of atonement; or even of such a case which so long as it is not known to him at the present time, is considered that nobody knows of it but the Lord? Come and hear the following: For such a case in which there was no knowledge at the start and the end, and also for such a transgression that finally the transgressor must be informed of, the festival and new-moon he-goats atone; such is the decree of R. Jehudah.

"But not of the new-moon." Said R. Elazar in the name of R. Oshia: The reason of R. Simeon's theory is thus [Lev. 10:17]: "And he had given it to you to bear the iniquity," etc., which applies to the new-moon he-goat, and by an analogy of the expression "iniquity," which is also found concerning the golden plate on the forehead of the high-priest [Exod. 28:38], it may be said that as the latter atones only for bodily defilement, so also the he-goat in question does. And lest one say that as the golden plate of the high-priest atones only for such things which come on the altar, so also should the he-goat in question; it reads here, "the iniquity of the congregation," 1 but not of the things of the altar.

"R. Meier says: All goat-sacrifices are equivalent," etc. Said R. Hama b. R. Hanina: The reason of R. Meier's theory is that in some places it is written "the he-goat," and in others "and the he-goat" (the letter vahve, prefixed to he-goat, means and), and this intends to signify all the he-goats with regard to their atoning power. But this is correct only where the vahve is written, but how is it concerning the day of Pentecost and the day of atonement where the word he-goat is not written with a vahve? Therefore said R. Jonah, it reads [Numb. 29:39]: "These shall ye prepare unto the Lord on your appointed festivals, "whence all the festivals on which a he-goat is sacrificed are equal to one another. But is not there the he-goat on new-moon, which is not a festival? In reality the new-moon is also called festival, as Aabayi said elsewhere: The month of Thamuz in the year when the temple was destroyed, was a full month of thirty days, as it reads [Lament. 1:15]: "He hath called an assembly (moëd)," which moëd means literally festival (and the thirtieth day of the month is new-moon).

R. Johanan said: R. Mair admits that the interior he-goat does not atone for what all other he-goats do, nor do the latter atone for what it does; it does not atone for what the others do, because it is written "once," which signifies that it atones but for one sin and not for two; on the other hand, they do not atone for what it does, as it reads "once a year," which signifies that such an atonement takes place only once a year. There is a Boraitha in support to this: For the case where there was no knowledge at either start or end, and for that where there was none at the start but at the end, also for that where a clean one has consumed defiled food, the he-goats of the festivals, of the new-moons, and the exterior he-goat of the day of atonement atone; so R. Meier. We see here that he left out the interior he-goat and also what it atones for.

"R. Simeon used to say: He-goats of the new-moons," etc. It is correct that the new-moon's he-goat does not atone for what the festival's do, as it reads "a sin," which means one sin, but not two, but why should not that of the festivals atone for what the new-moon's does? Because of the expression "its," which signifies its iniquity but not that of another. Furthermore, the festival's (goats) do not atone for what that of the day of atonement does, because it reads "once a year," which means such be only once; nor does that of the day of atonement atone for what the festivals' do, because it is written "once," which means it atones once but not twice; and although this is written but concerning the interior he-goat, yet there is another place where it is called the sin-offering of the day of atonement in which the interior is included; and it has been already said above that in this respect the exterior is equalled to the interior. And R. Simeon b. Jehudah, who said that the he-goat of the festivals does atone for what the new-moon's atones, does not hold the extension "it" mentioned above.

Ula said in the name of R. Johanan: Daily offerings which were not necessary for the congregation any more, may be redeemed, although they have no blemish; Rabba sat down and repeated this Halakha. Said R. 'Hisda to him: Who will listen to you and to R. Johanan your master, for, whereto vanished their sanctity? And his answer was: Where, indeed, do you think it went to? Is not there a Mishna (Shekalim, 4, e): The sanctification of the incense on hand was then transferred to money, etc., and there was no question raised as to where the sanctity went to? Whereupon R. 'Hisda rejoined: Incense is incomparable, as it was not sanctified in a holy vessel, but by the money paid. (See Appendix.)

"For intentional defiling," etc. Whence is this deduced? From what the rabbis taught [Lev. xvi. 16]:"And he shall make an atonement for the holy place, because of the uncleanness of the children of Israel, and because of their transgressions in all their sins." Transgressions (P'shaim) imply intention, as [2 Kings, 3:7]: "King of Moab hath rebelled (Pasha) against me," and [ibid. 8:22]: "Then did Libnah revolt"; on the other hand, sin implies unintention, as [Lev. 4:7]: "If any person do sin (Techtah) through ignorance."

"For other transgressions, etc. . . . lenient and rigorous." Let us see; does not lenient mean positive and negative commandments, while rigorous, such to which korath and capital punishment apply? And again, "known" means intentional, unknown, erroneous; why then the repetition? Said R. Jehudah: It intends to say that for all other transgressions found in the Torah, be they lenient or rigorous, be they committed intentionally or unintentionally and in latter case with knowledge or ignorance thereof, atonement is effected by the he-goat. And lenient are the positive and negative commandments, and the rigorous are those to which Korath and capital punishment apply. But again, how can there be a transgression of a positive commandment? If the transgressor has not repented [Prov. 21:27]: "The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination"; and if he has, why the specific on the day of atonement, when any day is good, as the Boraitha teaches: When one transgresses a positive commandment and repents it, he is atoned for before yet leaving the place. Hereupon said R. Zera: It speaks of no repentance, and our Mishna is in accordance with Rabbi, who holds that the day of atonement atones for each of the transgressions found in the Torah, regardless of antecedent repentance; except him who shakes off the yoke, explains the Torah not according to its real meaning and destroys the covenant in his flesh; as for him, the day of atonement atones, provided he first repented, otherwise it does not. Rabbi bases this, his opinion, on [Numb. 15:31]: "Because the word of the Lord hath he despised," which means, he who has shaken off the yoke of, and misinterpreted, the Torah, "and His commandments hath he broken," which means, he who has destroyed the covenant in his flesh [ibid. 30]: "Hicoreth Ticoreth," meaning literally "cut off, shall be cut off," i.e., cut off before, shall be cut off after, the day of atonement; but lest one say the same is the case with him who has repented, it reads "the iniquity is therein," whence it is to infer that only in case the iniquity is upon him (but not after the repentance when the iniquity is gone). The rabbis, however, explain this verse thus: "Cut off" in this world and "shall be cut off" in the world to come; and as to the iniquity, it means if he die upon repenting, the death completes the atonement.

But how can this Mishna be in accordance with Rabbi, when the second part, "There is no difference between the Israelite, priest and anointed high-priest," is only the view of R. Jehudah; hence, the first part should, too, rather be in accordance with the latter? Said R. Joseph: The whole Mishna is the opinion of Rabbi who agrees with R. Jehudah concerning the latter part only. Said Abayi to him: Does the master mean to say that Rabbi agrees with R. Jehudah, while R. Jehudah does not agree with Rabbi, or he does agree, and that you say the former is only because it is customary that the disciple agrees with his master? And he answered: I am very specific in this expression; Rabbi upholds R. Jehudah, while R. Jehudah does not agree with him with regard to the first part of the Boraitha; as we have learned in the following Boraitha: Lest one say that the day of atonement atones for both repenters and non-repenters, there is an analogy in the following. A sin and trespass offerings atone as well as the day of atonement, and as the former atones for but them who repent, so does also the day of atonement; but lest one say there is a considerable difference between them, as the said offerings atone only for sinning by error, while the day of atonement atones even for an intentional act, whence it might atone also for non-repenters, therefore it reads [Lev. 23:27]: "But . . . it," which excludes non-repenters. Now, this Boraitha is found in Siphrah, and according to tradition all the anonymous Boraithas of Siphrah are in accordance with R. Jehudah. 1

"No difference between an Israelite," etc. Does not the Mishna contradict itself by saying here there is no difference, etc., and immediately hereafter asking what is the difference between, etc.? Said R. Jehudah: It is to be explained thus, all the above-mentioned persons are atoned for by the exported he-goats for all other transgressions without any difference; a difference between person and person arises, however, with regard to the bullock that atones only for the priests in the case of defilement of the temple and its holiness; and this is only in accordance with R. Jehudah of the following Boraitha; it reads [Lev. xvi. 31]: "And he shall make an atonement for the sanctum sanctissimum" means the innermost holy chamber; "and for the tabernacle of the congregation" means the whole temple; "and for the altar," literally; "shall he make an atonement" means the courtyards of the temple; "and also for the priests," literally; "and for all the people of the congregation", means Israelite; "shall he make the atonement" means the Levites; hence, they all are equally atoned for by the exported he-goat for all transgressions but that of defilement. Such is the dictum of R. Jehudah; R. Simeon, however, maintains that as the blood of the interior he-goat atones for the defilement of the temple by the Israelites, so does the blood of the bullock atone for the defilement of the temple by the priests; likewise, as the confession of sins over the exported he-goat atones for all other transgressions by Israelites, so does the confession over the bullock atone for the priests in all other transgressions. And as to the above deduction that all are equally atoned for, it means that they are equal, in as much as the category of atonement is concerned.

Who is the Tana of the following Boraitha? It reads [ibid. 16:15]: "He shall kill the goat of the sin-offering of the people," which means that which does not atone for the priests; but what does atone for them? Aaron's own bullock, because it is assigned to atone for his house also. And lest one say that they should not be atoned for even thereby, as the phrase "of him" is used concerning Aaron's bullock, then the priests who must be atoned for would remain without all atonement, we say it is better they should be atoned for by Aaron's bullock, which, atoning for all the house of Aaron, is eo facto no longer "of him" individually, than to be atoned for by the interior he-goat, which does not include any other thing. As to the possible objection that "his house" is meant to exclude other priests, there is a verse [Ps. 135:19, 20]: "O house of Aaron, bless the Lord; O house of Levi. . . . ye that fear the Lord, bless the Lord," and this includes all the priesthood. There is a Boraitha relating that the disciples of R. Ismael taught: Such is the custom of the divine attribute of justice that the righteous atone for the wicked and not that the wicked atone for another wicked.

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CHAPTER 2.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE COGNITION OF DEFILEMENT; ITS TWO KINDS, SUBDIVIDED INTO FOUR, AND THEIR ILLUSTRATIONS. -- THE CEREMONIAL ACCOMPANYING THE CONSECRATION OF THE EXTENSIONS BUILT IN THE COURT-YARD OF THE TEMPLE, AND IN JERUSALEM IN GENERAL.--ILLUSTRATIONS OF POSITIVE COMMANDMENTS THAT DO OR DO NOT ENTAIL LIABILITY.

MISHNA 1.: The cognition of uncleanness is of two kinds subdivided into four--viz.: when one after having become unclean perceives it and then forgets all about it, knowing, however, that what he eats is holy; or when he was ignorant of the fact that the food is holy, being, however, aware of his uncleanness; or, finally, when both facts having escaped his memory he ate from the holy food without being cognisant thereof, but learning it after he had eaten, he is to bring a rich or poor offering. If he became unclean and knew it, forgot it afterward, but was fully conscious that he was in the sanctuary or he forgot that it was the sanctuary but knew his uncleanness; or, both facts having escaped his cognition, he enters the sanctuary without knowing it to be such and learns this fact only after he has gone out, he is to bring a foregoing offering.

It is immaterial whether the unclean one enters the courtyard (of the temple) or its extension, since extensions are added to both city and courtyard (of the temple) only in the presence of a king, prophet, Urim and Tumim, and of the grand Sanhedrim consisting of seventy-one, two thanks-offerings and the chorus; the whole court of justice steps forth, followed by the two thanks-offerings and then all Israel; the inner bread is consumed, the outer one is burnt. But whatever has not been constructed in this manner, does not entail guilt upon him who being unclean enters it.

If one having become unclean in the courtyard of the temple forgot it, remembering, however, that he is in the holy temple; or forgot that he is in the temple but was aware of his uncleanness; or, both facts having escaped his cognition, he made a bow or was lingering there for an interval taken up by the making of a bow, or went out by the longer way, he is guilty; but if by the short way, be is not guilty. This is a positive command concerning the holy temple, for disobeying of which one is not guilty.

And which is the positive command concerning menstruation that entails guilt? If one being in relation with a clean woman is told by her: I have just become unclean, and thereupon immediately interrupts his relation with her, he is guilty, for separation from her affords him as much pleasure as his coming to her. R. Eliezar says: One is guilty for forgetting the cause of his uncleanness to have been a reptile, but is not guilty for forgetting (that he is in) the holy temple. R. Aquiba says (it reads): If he has become ignorant of being unclean, whence it follows that he is guilty of obliviousness as regards uncleanness but not as regards the holy temple. R. Ismael says: The phrase "it will escape his memory" is repeated twice to declare one guilty in both cases: for forgetting his uncleanness as well as for forgetting the sanctuary.

GEMARA: Said R. Papa to Abayi: It states "two divided into four," whereas it ought to be "into six"--viz.: the cognition of defilement of the holy food, and of the sanctuary, in each case antecedent and subsequent. Answered Abayi: According to your theory there ought to be eight subdivisions, as cognition of defilement may be accompanied with ignorance of holy food and of the sanctuary. Rejoined R. Papa: In reality there are eight; the Mishna, however, does not count the first four, which are not at all found in the Scripture (i.e., the Scripture finds one liable, e.g., for eating illegal fat irrespective of his antecedent cognition or ignorance of its being illegal; he must then bring a sin-offering after becoming aware of the fact, hence, of the preceding cognition there is no mention in the Scripture).

"It is immaterial . . . enters the courtyard," etc. Whence is this ceremony attending the extension of courtyards deduced? Said R. Shimi b. Hyye, from [Exod. xxv. 9]: "In accordance with all that I show thee, the pattern of the tabernacle, and the pattern of all the instruments thereof, even so shall ye make it," which last phrase means for the future generations (otherwise this phrase would be superfluous).

"When two thanks-offerings," etc. There is a Boraitha that the two thanks-offerings mean their bread and not flesh. Whence is this deduced? Said R. 'Hisda, from [Neh. 12:31]: "And I have prepared two large thanks-offerings." Now, what signifies the attribute "large"? Shall we assume that it means literally, then it should read bullocks! Or should it indicate merely that of their kind they were the large ones; now, does it make a difference before heaven? Does not a Boraitha state: Concerning a cattle burnt-offering it reads [Lev. 1:13]: "Sweet savor unto the Lord"; the same expression concerns a fowl burnt-offering [ibid., ibid. 17]; likewise concerning a meal offering the same term is used [ibid. 2:2], which is intended to teach that before heaven all offerings, liberal as well as poor, are equal, provided they are offered to gratify the heavenly Father? It remains, therefore, to assume that the attribute, large, means simply the greater part of the thanks-offerings, i.e., the leaven bread, as there is a Mishna teaching that the thanks-offering was five Jerusalem saahs large, which are equal to six country saahs, making two eiphas each of three saahs, altogether twenty tens, ten of which were leaven and the other ten of matzah. The matzah, however, consisted of three kinds: cakes, wafers, and of what was sodden (hence, the leaven cakes were threefold those of the matzah).

Rami b. 'Hama said: The courtyard was sanctified with the remains of a meal-offering only, in order to make it equal to the City of Jerusalem itself--viz.: as the rule about the things, eatable within the city renders them invalid if carried outside the city, so also with things eatable within the courtyard, they become invalid out side of this yard (and a meal-offering was to be eaten only within the courtyard). Now, lest one say that as the city is to be sanctified with the leaven cakes of the thanks-offering, so also the remains of the meal offering sanctifying the courtyard be of leaven, the answer would be that there can be no meal offering of leaven, since it reads [Lev. 6:10]: "It shall not be baked leaven, as their portion," etc., which Resh Lakish interprets to mean that not even a portion thereof be baked leaven; hence, the above supposition is impossible. But again, why not sanctify with the two breads of Pentecost which are leaven? Nay; this cannot be admitted either; because how can this be carried out? Supposing the courtyard to be built before Pentecost, then the breads becoming holy only upon the slaughtering of the two lambs, are not yet capable of sanctifying; furthermore, the sanctification must take place on the day of completing the building, hence, the sanctification on the holiday is out of question; nor can it be supposed that the temple be finished on the holiday, since there is a rule that the temple must not violate holidays; finally, to leave the two breads for the morrow of the holiday is not feasible, for they would become invalid in being left over night. But why not leave the finishing until sunset, when the lambs are slaughtered and the breads become holy, so that the sanctification could be carried out? There is a tradition that building the temple must not take place in the night time; as Abayi said: We know that the building of the temple must not be completed in the night, from [Numb. 9:15]: "And on the day that tabernacle," etc., hence on the day but not on the night.

"By the chorus," etc. The rabbis taught: The orchestra of the thanks-offering consisted of violins, fifes, trumpets on every corner as well as on every elevated stone in Jerusalem and used to play [Psalm 30:2]: "I will extol thee, O Lord, for thou hast lifted me," etc., and also [ibid., 91]. Some call this latter song Negaim (plagues) because of verse [ibid., 10] in which it reads, "Nor shall any plague," etc; others call it Pegaim, because of verse [ibid., 7]: "There shall fall at thy side a thousand." They used to sing this song from verse 1 to 10 inclusive, and also the whole of Chap. 3. of Psalms.

R. Jehoshua b. Levi used to say all the verses mentioned above before going to bed. But this seems hardly credible, as he himself said somewhere that none should cure one's self with the verses of the Torah. The answer is that protecting and curing are two different things, and he prohibited to say such verses over a wound.

"Followed by the two thanks-offerings," etc. Shall we assume that the thanks-offerings follow the court, when we read [Ne'hem. 12:31, 32]: "Two thanks-offerings . . . after them walked Hosha'yah," etc.? Nay; it means thus: They were all walking, the court being behind the offerings. In what order were the two offerings carried? R. 'Hyye and R. Simeon b. Rabbi differ concerning this: according to one they were one opposite the other, while according to the other they were placed one behind the other. According to the former opinion the one offering that was to be sacrificed on the inner altar was brought near the wall, while according to the latter opinion the one that was near to the people of the court was sacrificed. R. Johanan, however, said: It was left to the prophet to decide which of the offerings was to be burnt and which to be eaten.

"But whatever has not been constructed," etc. It was taught: R. Huna says: All the details were essential in the construction, while R. Na'hman said: Whatever was not constructed with one of them, etc. R. Huna bases his theory on the fact that the first sanctification sanctified for the future, too, while Ezra's sanctification was but a kind of memorial. On the other hand R. Na'hman holds that the first sanctification was confined only to the present and Ezra sanctified for his time although there were no Urim and Tumim. Rabba objected to R. Na'hman from our Mishna which plainly states, "in this manner," i.e., with all the details specified there; whereupon he answered: Read there "whatever was not constructed with one of them."

Come and hear another objection: Aba Saul said, there were two Bitzin on the olive mountain, an upper and a lower one; the lower one was sanctified strictly in the manner prescribed by the Mishna, while the upper one was sanctified only by the ascendants from the exile, in the absence of both king and Urim and Tumim. The lower one, whose sanctification was complete, common people used to enter and consume there their lenient holy food, but not second tithe; scholars, however, used to consume there both. In the upper one of the incomplete sanctification the common people used to consume the lenient holiness, while the scholars did not partake there of anything. But why did not they sanctify it completely? Because the complete sanctification needs a king, etc., as prescribed by the Mishna, and such were not at that time. But why, then, was it at all considered a part of Jerusalem? Because being a suburb of Jerusalem it was easily accessible (hence, it is obvious that sanctification cannot be complete unless performed in the manner prescribed by the Mishna)? Concerning this matter the Tanaim of the following Boraitha differ. Ismael b. josh said: To what purpose did the rabbis enumerate all the cities surrounded by walls from the time of Jehoshua, b. Nun? Because the ascendants of the exile being placed in these cities, sanctified them; the first sanctification, however, was abolished when the land ceased to be that of Israel. R. Ismael thus holds that the first sanctification was good only for the present, but not for the future, and this would meet with a contradiction in the following. R. Ismael b. Josh said: Were, then, only these cities?

Is it not written [Deut. 6:4, 5]: "Sixty cities . . . all these were fortified cities," why, then, had the sages enumerated them? Because the ascendants of the exile were placed in them; and not only to these cities, but also to all cities which were, according to tradition, surrounded with walls at the time of Jehoshua, apply all the commandments imposed upon such cities; for the first sanctification has sanctified them for the future also; whence it is evident that R. Ismael contradicts himself. The answer is that one of these Boraithas was said not by R. Ismael, but by R. Elazar b. josh, as the following Boraitha states, it reads [Levit. 25:30]: "Lo choma," meaning literally no wall; but according to the traditional reading it is Lo-choma, meaning "it has a wall," i.e., though it has no wall now but was walled at the time Israel entered Palestine.

"In the courtyard and forgot it," etc. Whence is this deduced? Said R. Elazar [Numb. 19:20]: "Because the sanctuary of the Lord hath he defiled," and [ibid., 13]: "Hath defiled the tabernacle of the Lord"; now, as there in so necessity of two verses for the inner defilement, one should be applied to the outer one. But are, indeed, the two verses superfluous? Are they not both needed for what we have learned in the following Boraitha in the name of R. Elazar: Why have two verses to mention both sanctuary and tabernacle, was not one sufficient? The answer is: If only tabernacle were mentioned, it could be accounted for by the fact of its being annointed with the holy oil, which was not the case with the temple, and therefore no liability is attached to defilement of latter, on the other hand, if only the holy temple were mentioned, the reason would be that it was sanctified once forever, which was not the case with the tabernacle; hence, the necessity of both the verses? R. Elazar found difficulty to see the reason for using two names, sanctuary and tabernacle, since elsewhere these two names arc used synonymously; be, therefore, infers therefrom his two foregoing conclusions. His statement, however, that the temple is called tabernacle is correct, from [Lev. 25:11]: "And will set my tabernacle (mishkoni) among you"; but where is it found that tabernacle is called temple? In [Exod. 25:8]: And they shall make me a sanctuary and I will dwell in it and verse 9 says: "I show thee the pattern of the tabernacle."

"He made a bow or was lingering," etc. From this it may be said that the bowing must also take a certain time. Said Rabba: This is so only when, while bowing, he turned his face to the outside, but not if to the inside of the temple; and the Mishna is to be interpreted thus: if he made the bow toward the inside or turned his face toward the outside for a certain interval; and here is an illustration: Suppose he kneels only, then no time is needed; but if he bows, i.e., falls down and stretches his hands and feet, then a certain time must be taken up. And how long is this time interval? R. Itz'hak b. Na'hmeni, with whom was Simeon b. Pazi, according to others vice versa, or Simeon b. Na'hmeni, one says, it is so long as would take to say this verse [2 Chron. 7:3]: "And all the children of Israel were looking on as the fire came down, and the glory of the Lord was resting upon the house; and they kneeled down with their faces to the ground upon the pavement, and prostrated themselves, and gave thanks unto the Lord for he is good; because unto everlasting endureth his kindness"; while the other says: Only from "they kneeled" until the end of the verse. The rabbis taught: Kidah is bowing to the ground face to the earth, as [1 Kings, 1:31]: "Then did Bath-sheba bow," etc.; kneeling is to stand upon the knees, as [ibid. 8:54]: "From kneeling on his knees"; finally, bowing is prostrating one's self, as [Gen. 37:10]: "To bow down ourselves to thee to the earth."

"If by the short way he is not guilty." Rabha said: On the short way even if he kept on going the whole day the toe of one foot touching the heel of the other, he is free. He, however, propounded a question: If his walk was interrupted every time, must these intervals be added and counted or not? Now, why does not Rabha decide his question by his own doctrine from above? Because above he treats of the case done without interruption. Abayi asked Rabba: If he walked through the long way so quickly, as it takes no longer than by the short

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way, what then? Is the time essential and then he is free, or is the way essential and then he is liable? He answered: The long way cannot be made shorter by contracting the time of walking it.

R. Oshia said: I would like to say something, but am afraid of my colleagues; if one enters a leprous house backwards, although all his body was already in the house except his nose, he remains clean, as [Lev. 14:46]: "And he who goeth into the house," etc., means going in in the ordinary way, but not backwards; now, the reason of my hesitating is that my colleagues may, on the basis of the latter quotation, say that even when all his body, nose, too, is already in the house he is clean.

Said Rabba: If the whole body was in, he should not be worse than vessels In such a house, of which it reads [ibid. 36] ."That all shall not be made unclean." There is a Boraitha supporting R. Oshia: On the roofs of the temple no holy of holy food must be consumed, no lenient holies must be slaughtered there, and he who, while unclean, enters the temple by these roofs is not culpable, as [ibid. 12:4]: "And into the sanctuary shall she not come" means the coming in in the ordinary way.

"This is a positive command concerning, the holy temple," etc. What is the standpoint of the Tana from which he says "this is"? He refers to a statement in the Mishna in Horioth (Mishna, I.): There is no liability attached to a positive and negative commandment, etc., regarding which our Tana says. This is the positive commandment to which liability is not attached; but where, then, is a positive command entailing liability? It is "the having of intercourse with a woman" mentioned in the Mishna.

It was taught: Abayi said in the name of R. Hyya b. Rabh, in this last case the transgressor is liable to twice stripes: one for the intercourse, and one for the separation. So also said Rabha in the name of Samuel b. Shila, quoting R. Huna. Rabba, however, deliberating on this point, said: Let us see how was the case; if it treats of a scholar who had relation with his wife at the time she usually gets her menses, then he is justly culpable for the intercourse as for an unintentional offence, as he thought he will finish before, and for the separation, which act is with him as a scholar an intentional one, he is not liable to stripes (as such an act entails Korath); on the other hand, if it treats of an ignorant, why should he be liable twice? Is this not a case analogous to that where one consumed twice illegal fat the size of an olive in one forgetfulness, when he is culpable only once? And should you say that the transgressor acted so not at the usual time of menstruation, then, if he be a scholar he is not liable at all, since the intercourse was had innocently, while as regards separation it is here, too, an intentional act; if, however, he be an ignorant, he is culpable only once, i.e., for the separation! Said Rabha: It treats of a time near to the menstruation, and of him who is a scholar and is aware that one must not have intercourse at such a time, but not that separation is prohibited (he is culpable twice: for the intercourse, because though aware that he must not have, he may none the less have thought that he will finish it before the menses ensue; and for the separation, the prohibition of which was unknown to him). Rabha said further: Both the acts we find treated of in Mishnaioth; concerning separation in our Mishna, and concerning the intercourse in Tract Nidah, as follows; If blood be found on his shirt the two are unclean and liable to a sin-offering.

The master says: Immediate separation entails culpability. How then should he behave? Said R. Huna in the name of Rabh: He should support himself on the tips of his fingers until phallus moretur and then separate himself.

It was taught: R. Jonathan b. Lequnia asked his brother, R. Simeon, where is the warning against having intercourse with a menstruant woman? In answer he took some dry mud and threw it upon him, saying: Is it not plainly stated in [Lev. 18:19]? Whereupon he rejoined: I mean to ask where is the warning against separating one's self from her who gets her menses in the time of intercourse? Said 'Hiskia, from [ibid. 15:24]: "And if any man should lie with her, and the uncleanness of her separation come upon him," etc., which means even when he separates from her when the menses ensue during the intercourse. But again, here we find only the positive command: "He shall be unclean seven days" [ibid.]; when, then, is the negative command against separating one's self? Said R. Papa: The above-cited verse [ibid. xviii. 19]: "Shalt thou not approach (Tikrab)"means also thou shalt not separate thyself, as [Isa. 65:5] uses the word K'rab' to mean separating, so does there tikrab' mean separate.

The rabbis taught [Lev. 5:31]: "And ye shall separate the children of Israel from their uncleanness," whence you derive the warning that the children of Israel should separate themselves from their wives near the period of menstruation; so R. Jashia. And for how long? Said Rabha: For twelve hours. R. Johanan said in the name of R. Simeon b. Jo'hai: He who does not separate from his wife at the said period, his children even if equal to the sons of Aaron, will die; as after the above-cited verse and verse 33 follows the mention of the death of Aaron's children. R. 'Hyya b. Aha said in the name of R. Johanan: He who does separate himself for that period will be rewarded with male children, as [ibid. 11:47]: "To distinguish between the clean and unclean," is followed by [ibid. 12:2]: "If a woman . . . and born a male child." R. Jehoshua b. Levi added: He will be rewarded with sons who will be fit to decide law questions, as it reads [ibid. 10:10, 11]: "So that ye maybe able to distinguish. . . . to teach." R. Benjamin b. Japheth said in the name of R. Elazar: He who sanctifies himself during the intercourse will be rewarded with male children, as [ibid. 11:44]: "Ye shall sanctify yourselves," etc., which chapter is followed by verse [ibid. 12:2].

"A reptile," etc. What is the point of their difference? Said 'Hiskia: A reptile and a carcass; according to R. Eliezer he must exactly know the cause of his defilement, whether reptile or carcass, while R. Aqiba maintains that the knowledge, and not the exact cause, of his defilement is necessary. And so also was this point explained by Ula.

The rabbis taught: "If there were two paths one of which was unclean (but it was not certain which one), and one passed through one of them entering, however, the temple after passing through the other path, too, he is liable; if, however, after passing the first path he entered the temple by forgetting and on becoming aware therof he performed the sprinkling and took a legal bath, and then passed the other path and again entered the sanctuary by forgetting, he is liable. R. Simeon, however, declares him free. On the other hand, R. Simeon b. Jehudah holds him, in the name of R. Simeon, free even in the first case." How is this last decision to be understood? In the first case where he passes the two paths there is no doubt that be passed an unclean one, how, then, can he be free? Said Rabha: The decision concerns a case where he, having passed both paths, forgets, enters the temple, and thereafter recollects his passing through but one of the paths; and the point of difference here is that the first Tana quotes R. Simeon as holding that partial cognition is considered as the whole, which R. b. Jehudah in his name denies. But why does the Boraitha hold liable him who has performed sprinkling, etc.? Is not here the cognition concerning a doubtful case and hence he should not be liable? Said R. Johanan: Here the Tana regards the doubtful cognition as a certain one. Resh Lakish, however, said: This Boraitha is in accordance with R. Ismael, who holds that antecedent cognition is not requisite.

CHAPTER 3.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE OATH-TRANSGRESSION CONSIDERED AS REFERRING TO BOTH PAST AND FUTURE.--THE DETERMINATION OF THE SIZE OR QUANTITY OF THE OBJECT REGARDING WHICH THE OATH IS MADE.--THE WORDING OF THE OATH.--IS OR IS NOT DRINKING INCLUDED IN EATING (TO WHICH THE OATH REFERS) AND vice versa.--DOES OR DOES NOT THE REPEATED STATING OF THE OATH ENTAIL A SEPARATE LIABILITY.--TO WHAT ACTS OR WORDS THE OATH RELATES.--OATHS MADE BY COMPULSION.--OATHS CONCERNING THE FULFILLING OR IGNORING OF A COMMANDMENT.

MISHNA 1.: There are two kinds of oaths subdivided into four--viz.: I swear that I will eat or will not eat; that I did or did not eat. If upon making the oath, I will not eat, he does eat, and be it but a minimum, he is guilty; so R. Aqiba. Whereupon he was questioned: Where do we find a similar case that one be guilty for a minimum, so that this one be declared guilty? He replied: Where do we find that one must bring an offering for mere talk, as this one does talk and brings an offering?

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: "The expression Mib'ta of [Numb. 37.] is considered an oath, and also the word Issor is considered such; and what prohibition attaches to this last form of an oath? If you decide that Issor is an oath, liability is attached to its transgression." Now, how is this to be understood? Does not the Boraitha state expressly that Issor is an oath? Said Abayi: It means to say thus: The expression Mib'ta is an oath, and if one says: This object is Issor to me as the first, and this third object be to me as the second, it is in such a case that, if it be decided that the making of an oath on a thing by comparing it to the first one is an oath, the second one is prohibited (e.g., if one says: I swear not to eat this meat, then pointing to a bread he says: This bread be for me equal to the said meat; and then again: This fish be equal to this bread. In such a case if swearing by comparing one object to another is an oath, each thing is prohibited). 1

But whence do we know that the expression Mib'ta is an oath? From [Lev. 5:4]: "Or if any person swear, by pronouncing with his lips (Leb'ata); now, it reads [Numb. 30:3]: "Or he swear an oath to bind his soul with an Issor (obligation)," hence, Issor is obviously also an oath? Therefore said Abayi: That Mib'ta is an oath, is inferred from [ibid., ibid. 7]: "Or what she may have uttered (Mib'ta), wherewith she hath bound (Assro)"; from here we see that "she has bound," not sworn, and it is with Mib'ta that she has bound herself. Rabha, however, said: There is no necessity of Abayi's explanation, as swearing by comparing is not considered; and as to the above Boraitha, it may be simply explained, as follows: Mib'ta is an oath, Issor is also an oath; however, Issor is found used between vow and oath, and this is what the Boraitha says: If one expresses Issor as a vow, it is a vow, and if as an oath, it is an oath. And where is it found in such connection? [Ibid., ibid. 11]: "And if she had vowed in her husband's house, or had bound her soul by an obligation (Issor) with an oath." And the explanations of Abayi and Rabha are respectively in accordance with their theories elsewhere; as it was taught: If one swears by comparing, it is, according to Abayi, the same as swearing directly with the word oath, while according to Rabha it is not so.

An objection was raised from the following: What is Issor mentioned in the Torah? If one says, I take upon myself not to eat meat, not to drink wine just as on the day of the death of my father or of a certain man, e.g., Gedaliuhu b. Achikom, or as on the day when I have seen Jerusalem destroyed, it is an Issor; and Samuel adds: Provided he has previously vowed already not to consume these objects on those days. Now, according to this, Abayi's theory is correct, as we see here that one may make a vow by comparing, hence, he may also make an oath by comparing; but Rabha's theory remains open to objection? Nay; Rabha may say that the cited Boraitha should read thus: "What is an Issor of a vow mentioned in the Torah"? "If one says," etc.; and to this Samuel makes his addition, by reason of [ibid., ibid. 3]: "If a man vows a vow," which means:

He vows on a thing on which he has already vowed. Moreover, Gedaliuh's day is specifically mentioned in the Boraitha in order to teach that, notwithstanding that it is a general fast-day, one's vow is only then a vow if he has previously vowed especially for this day; and again, lest one say, this being a general fast-day a vow referring thereto is not considered at all, consequently such a vow is not even one by comparing, and hence should be wholly disregarded, it comes to teach us that it is not so.

R. Johanan, too, upholds Rabha's theory, as Rabin, on coming from Palestine, said in his name: If one says, Mib'ta, I will not eat, or Issor, I will not eat, it is considered an oath. However, when R. Dimi came from Palestine, he said in the name of the same authority: The oath for a future, e.g., I will or will not eat, is considered false, and the warning against it is in [Lev. 19:12]: "And ye shall not swear by my name falsely." Furthermore, the oath for the past, e.g., I have or have not eaten, is considered vain, and the warning against it is in [Exod. 20:73] "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain," and against a vow the warning is found in [Numb. 30:3]: "He shall not profane his word."

An objection was raised from the following: Vain (Shahve) and false (Shekker) are identical. Does not this mean that just as vain refers to a past, so does false, too, refer to the post? Why, vain and false are identical in respect of another point, but each of them has its signification as above; as there is a Boraitha: Zachor, ye shall remember (in the first ten commandments) and Shamar, ye shall observe the Sabbath (in the last ten commandments) were uttered by the Lord in one word, which transcends the power of the human mouth and ear. 1 But what does this Boraitha teach us thereby? The following: just as stripes are applied to a false, so they are also to a vain oath. But is not this self-evident, as both are negatives? Lest one say that it is as R. Papa- said to Abayi (further on), it comes to teach us that the Halakha prevails with Abayi.

When Rabin came, he said in the name of R. Jeremiah that R. Abuhu said in the name of R. Johanan that an oath for the past is a false one, and the warning against it is as cited above; and an oath for the future is merely a transgression of "He shall not profane his word," as above; and a vain oath is when one swears, e.g., that a man is a woman. Said R. Papa: R. Abuhu's statement was not explicitly stated, but inferred from the following: It was taught, Aidi b. Abin said in the name of Amram that R. Itz'hak said in the name of R. Johanan that R. Jehudah, quoting R. Jose the Galilean said: Stripes apply to all negatives of the Torah implying manual labour, but not to those without manual labour; excepting, however, an oath, an exchange and a curse upon one's neighbour by the holy name, to which three, though not implying manual labour, stripes apply. And whence do we know that it is so concerning an oath? Said R. Johanan in the name of R. Simeon b. Jo'hai, it reads [Exod. 20:7]: "For the Lord will not hold guiltless," etc., which means only the heavenly court, but the worldly court will make him guiltless by punishing him with stripes.

Said R. Papa to Abayi: But maybe it means that no one can make him guiltless? And he answered: It would be so if it were not predicated of the Lord; but as it is, it can but mean that not the Lord but the earthly court will. All this concerns a vain oath, but whence do we know that the same is the case with a false one? Said R. Johanan, his own opinion: In the cited verse "vain" is mentioned twice, and as the second is not needed for itself, apply it to a false oath. R. Abuhu, however, deliberated as to how should be the case? If one swears, I will not eat and did eat, then there is an act done, hence it is in the category of negatives with manual act; again, if he swears, I will eat but did not eat, it is a case to which stripes do not apply according to both R. Johanan and Resh Lakish? Upon due deliberation, however, R. Abuhu decided that it means an

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oath referring to the past, e.g., I swear that I have eaten, and be did not eat, or vice versa; and though there is no manual labour here stripes apply, as Rabha said: The Torah has expressly extended the provision of the vain oath to the false one, to teach that just as a vain refers to the past, so also a false oath.

"And be it a minimum," etc. The schoolmen questioned: Does R. Aqiba hold with R. Simeon who declares one liable for a minimum with regard to all biblical transgressions? As we have learned in the following: Stripes apply even to a minimum, and the size of an olive is prescribed only concerning an offering. And why does R. Aqiba differ here, when he does not differ in any other places? Is it in order to let you know the power of his opponents, the rabbis, who say that if one swears not to eat even a minimum and did eat such, he is nevertheless not liable! Or, in all other cases he agrees with the rabbis, while here he differs; because if one swore not to eat a minimum be would certainly be liable if he did eat, hence he is also liable if he swore generally, without mentioning the word minimum? Come and hear. R. Aqiba said: A Nazarite who has soaked his bread in wine and consumed it, is liable provided wine of the size of an olive entered the bread; now, should he bold with R. Simeon, why does he require the size of an olive? And also from the next Mishna, concerning reptiles which the Gemara explains in accordance with R. Aqiba, that a man may impose upon one's self the prohibition of even a minimum, it is inferred that he agrees with the rabbis in all cases.

"Where do we find," etc. But is there not a moth, which is but a minimum in size, and yet one is liable for consuming it? It is different with living creatures. Again, is not one liable in the case of the sanctuary? Here also there must be no less than the value of a Peruta. But does not he himself say that if one expresses a "minimum" he is liable? The expression raises it to the value of a creature. But is there not a case regarding earth, where no definite quantity is requisite? And should you say that it is, then solve the following question propounded by Rabha: If one swore that he will not eat, and thereafter ate earth, what quantity thereof makes him liable, by saying that the quantity of an olive is required! Nay; because earth is not eatable, you cannot very well assign to it a definite quantity. But is not such the case with vows? A vow is equivalent to the expressions "minimum" used in an oath.

"As this one does talk and brings an offering," etc. But is not such the case with the blasphemer who is liable for mere talk? Here a case is looked for where one imposes upon one's self a prohibition by talk, while the blasphemer sins with his talk. But is not the case of a Nazarite, who brings an offering for mere talk, analogous? Nay; the Nazarite brings the offering, that wine become allowed to him. But does one not impose a prohibition by saying: "This should be sanctified?" We look for a case where one imposes the prohibition only upon one's self, while in this case the prohibition is general. But does not one prohibit a thing to one's self by saying: "This is a vow for me?" (And if he uses the thing unintentionally he must bring an offering.) The Tana of the Mishna holds that to this case an offering does not apply. Said Rabha: They differ only regarding the case where he did not express the word "minimum," but if he did, the expression raises it to the value of a creature. He said again: They differ only when he said, "I will not eat," but if he said, I will not taste, all agree that he is liable. And Rabha says this lest one say that with the expression "taste" one intended to mean "eat." Said R. Papa: They differ only concerning vows, while as regards oaths all agree that liability attaches even to a minimum, because by saying "this is a vow for me" he does not mention eating.

MISHNA 2.: (If one says): I swear that I will not eat, and thereafter eats and drinks, he is guilty but once. But if he says: I swear that I will neither eat nor drink and did both, he is guilty twice. If he says: I swear not to eat and then eats wheat bread, barley bread and rye bread, he is guilty but once; if he swears: I will not eat either wheat bread, barley bread or rye bread and then eats, he is guilty for each one severally. I swear that I will not drink, and thereafter drinks varied beverages, he is guilty but once; I swear I will drink neither wine, oil, nor honey, and then drinks, he is guilty for each severally. I swear not to eat, and then ate things not suitable to eat, and drank something not suitable as a drink, he is free. If he swore not to eat and thereafter ate carcasses or illegal cattle, reptiles and vermin, he is guilty. R. Simeon declares him free. If one said: I swear to abstain from deriving any benefit from my wife if I have eaten to-day, and he did eat carcasses, etc., his wife is prohibited to him for all benefit.

GEMARA: R. Hyya b. Abin said in the name of Samuel: If one swears not to eat and thereafter drank, he is guilty. If you wish, this is mere common sense, since ordinarily a man inviting the other one to have a bite, the two go in and eat and drink: or if you wish, it is found in the Scripture that the expression eat includes also drinking--viz.: in [Deut. xiv. 16]: "In cattle, sheep, wine . . . and thou shalt eat these." But perhaps it means there an aino garum (a dish in which wine is mixed)? The verse says further Shechor 1 (old wine), which means an intoxicating beverage. Neither can it here be spoken of a date of the City of Kehilla, which when eaten intoxicates and regarding which a Boraitha says that one who had eaten it and then entered the sanctuary is culpable, as the word shechor here is analogous with the same word used concerning a Nazarite where it surely means only wine for which he is culpable. Said Rabha. This is implied also in our Mishna: If one swears not to eat, and then eats and drinks, he is culpable but once, which signifies that the drinking is included in the eating; for if this were not the case, to what purpose would the express teaching be? Would it be necessary, e.g., for the Tana to teach expressly that the oath regarding eating makes one culpable only for the eating and not for performed labour? Said Abayi to him: According to your doctrine that eating includes drinking, how is the second part of the Mishna "I will neither eat nor drink" to be understood? As eating includes drinking, why is he culpable twice? And he answered: Because of the expression; the addition "nor drink" shows clearly that his "I will neither eat" was not yet in his mind including drinking. Said R. Ashi: It seems to me, too, that the teaching of the Mishna implies drinking in eating, hence, "I swear not to eat and then ate things not eatable and drank things not suitable to drink," which implies that if the things he drank were suitable, he would be liable, hence we see that drinking is included in eating. However, this is hardly evidence, as the Mishna here may mean that he said in his oath both eat and drink.

"I will not eat either wheat bread . . . he is guilty for each." But perhaps he intends by mentioning expressly bread merely to exclude other things which to eat he shall be free? If such were the case, he would not repeat the word bread with each kind separately. But again, maybe he uses repeatedly the word bread in order to prevent the belief that he swears with regard to wheat bread not to eat, while with regard to the others not to chew? If this were his intention, he would say: I will not eat wheat bread, nor barley, nor rye, without repeating bread each time. But if he said so, his oath could be understood to concern a mixture of all these, but not each singly and severally? Then let him say: I will not eat bread of wheat, of barley, or of rye, without repeating bread. Hence, the repetition must have been intended to emphasize that he makes an oath for each severally.

"I will drink neither wine, oil . . . he is guilty," etc. Here again the question arises, maybe he intends to exclude other beverages, as here the above argumentation cannot be advanced, since the beverages are here specified. Said R. Papa: It speaks of a case where all these liquids were standing before him, so that he could by pointing to them swear not to drink them; why, then, are they specified? To indicate that he makes an oath for each one. But if so, it could be said that he must not partake only of these before him, but of other wine, etc., he may? Let him then say: I will not drink of these before me nor of their kind in general. Hence, it must be said that the specification is intended to make the oath for each severally. R. Aha b. R. Aika said: The Mishna speaks of one invited by his neighbour to drink with him wine, oil and honey, to which he could answer: I will not drink with you (without repeating wine, oil and honey); hence, his repeating the liquids makes him liable for each one separately.

"I will not eat and then ate things not eatable," etc. Does not the Mishna contradict itself? It states that on eating an unsuitable thing he is free, and hereafter it declares him culpable for eating carcass? What are the reasons to account for these two parts respectively? This presents no difficulty. The first part speaks of the case when he says in general: I will not eat; while the second part speaks of the case when he expressly says: I will not eat anything. But even if this be so, why should the oath hold regarding reptiles, where an oath (not to eat such) lies on him already from the Mount Sinai? Rabh, Samuel and R. Johanan all three said: It speaks of the case when one includes in his oath the permissible with the forbidden--viz.: I will not eat legal and illegal things. Resh Lakish, however, says: A case like that of the Mishna cannot take place, unless he stated plainly not to eat even a half of the prescribed quantity; in which case according to the rabbis, who hold one liable only for the whole quantity, the oath concerns a half-quantity, and according to R. Aqiba, who says that liability attaches even to a minimum, the oath here concerns a half-quantity provided he has not plainly specified anything.

But why does not Resh Lakish agree with R. Johanan? He may say that R. Johanan's theory of inclusion can be applied only to prohibitions in themselves, such as, eating carcasses on the day of atonement, where the carcass is prohibited even if not on the day of atonement, nevertheless the rabbis make him liable also for the day of atonement, because as one is prohibited from eating legal food on that day, he is likewise prohibited from eating carcass, for the prohibition to eat includes legal as well as illegal food; however, where a prohibition is imposed by man upon one's self, no one can make him liable for inclusion. Said Rabha: The reason of him who holds that one is liable for an inclusion is that he compares it to an additional prohibition; while the reason of him who holds that such is not the case is that an additional prohibition holds good when concerning one and the same piece, but not when concerning separate pieces; i.e., an inclusive prohibition is, e.g., a carcass on the day of atonement, where the day itself adds nothing to the prohibition of the carcass as such, but does add a prohibition upon the man (viz: that be must not eat it on that day); while if, e.g., illegal fat, which is prohibited to eat, but allowed for the altar, remains over night, it is prohibited also for the altar, hence, there is on it an additional prohibition (for its having remained over night), but this additional prohibition can be only on one and the same piece, but not on separate pieces.

Rabha said further that to him who holds the theory of inclusive prohibition, he who swears not to eat figs and hereafter swears not to eat figs and grapes, is liable for the figs twice; for the second oath resting upon the grapes, rests again upon the figs, too. But is not this self-evident? Lest one say that this theory applies only to prohibitions in themselves, and not to such made by man upon himself, he comes to teach us that there is no difference between the two cases.

MISHNA 3.: It is immaterial whether the things sworn off concern himself or others; whether they are or are not of some essential nature. E.g., he says: I swear that I will or will not give something to this or that person; that I did or did not give him something; that I will or will not sleep; that I did or did not sleep; that I will or will not throw a stone into the sea; that I did or did not throw it. R. Ismael says: One is guilty only for an oath made with reference to the future, for it is written: To do evil or to do good. Said to him R. Aqiba: According to this view I know but about oaths concerning things that are intrinsically either evil or good, but whence do I learn about those regarding things that entail neither evil nor good doing? Retorted the former: From the addition in the Scripture; to this rejoined the latter: If the Scripture widens the notion in this respect, it does it likewise in the other (case).

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: In some respects vows are more rigorous than oaths, in others oaths are more rigorous than vows. Vows are more rigorous in that their liability attaches even to commandments, e.g.: If one says, I vow not to make a sukkah, and hereafter he makes one, he is liable for transgressing the vow; which is not the case with an oath (as an oath rests upon him from the Mount Sinai). On the other hand, oaths are more rigorous than vows in that their liability attaches also to things not essential, which is not the case with vows.

"I will or will not give," etc. What does it mean, "I will give"? If charity to the poor, it is obligatory for him by oath on the Mount Sinai? Nay; it means a present to a rich man.

"I will or will not sleep," etc. But has not R. Johanan said that if one swears not to sleep for three days in succession, he gets stripes and is put to sleep immediately (because one cannot keep from sleeping for three days)? This is no difficulty, as in the case of the Mishna no number of days is specified.

"I will throw a stone," etc. It was taught: If one said, I swear that so and so has or has not thrown a stone into the sea, according to Rabh he is culpable, as he transgressed a negative; according to Samuel he is not, for such an oath can not be made with reference to the future. Shall we assume that the above differ in the same in which R. Aqiba and R. Ismael differ in our Mishna: R. Ismael said, one is liable only for the future, as it reads: To do evil or to do good; whereupon said R. Aqiba: If it were as you say, the liability would apply but to things that are intrinsically either evil or good; and he answered: From the addition in the Scripture: To every thing uttered with his lips; whereto R. Aqiba rejoined, etc. Whence it would appear that Rabh is in accordance with Aqiba, and Samuel in accordance with R. Ismael? Nay; according to R. Ismael, who frees one for the past even in a case where a future is possible, there can be no doubt that in the case illustrated above, one should be culpable; but where they do differ is concerning the interpretation of R. Aqiba's view. According to Rabh, R. Aqiba holds one liable for transgressing a negative immaterial whether such an oath can or can not apply to a future; while Samuel maintains that R. Aqiba's view applies only to a case where an oath for the future is possible, but not to other cases.

Said Abayi: Rabh admits that if one says, I swear that I know something to testify for you, and it is found hereafter that he knows nothing, there is no liability in this case because the negative, I swear that I do not know, etc., is not possible here (as this is not considered an utterance, but belongs to the category of testimony). But regarding the oath, I was or was not aware of testimony in your case, or, I have or have not testified, Rabh and Samuel still differ. (Says the Gemara): According to Samuel's theory it is correct that the law has excluded the witness-oath from the category of uttered oaths, as there is a rule that where there is no future possible, no liability attaches to the past; but according to Rabh who disregards this rule, why were the witness-oaths excluded? Said the rabbis before Abayi: in order to make one liable twice (i.e., if one is fit to testify, knows the case, and nevertheless denied it before the court, he is liable twice, for the witness-oath and for an uttered oath). Said Abayi to them: It is impossible to make one liable twice, as it reads plainly [Lev. v. 4]: "That he hath incurred guilt by one 1 of these,"

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which means, he can be punished once but not twice. But, then, to what other purpose have the witness-oaths been excluded, according to Abayi? To what we have learned in the following: Concerning all oaths it reads "escaped his memory," except the oath of a witness, to make him liable (to a sin-offering) for an intentional oath just as for an unintentional one. Said the rabbis to Abayi: Say, then, that for an intentional he is liable to one, and for an unintentional he should be liable to two, viz.: for a witness and an uttered oath? And he answered: Have I not said that the above-cited verse prevents it from making one liable to two? And as to an intentional, the liability of an uttered oath does not exist there.

Rabha, however, said: The reason why there can be no two liabilities is this: There is a rule that, if to something that was included in the general a new law be applied, only by the new one must guide one's self (i.e., the witness-oath as an oath is included in the general uttered oaths, and when the Scripture makes for it a new special law of liability, you cannot any more apply to it also the liability attached to the uttered oath). But how is it according to Abayi? Does be hold that there is such an oath at all? Has he not declared above that Rabh admits that if one swears: I know testimony for you, etc., there is no liability here, as such oath cannot be made in the negative, whence it would seem that such in the negative does not exist at all? He has retracted his above statement, or, if you wish, one of the above statements was not said by Abayi but by R. Papa. "One is guilty only . . . with reference to the future." The rabbis taught, it reads [Lev. v. 4]: "To do evil, or to do good," whence we infer only those that are in themselves either good or evil; but whence do we know about oaths concerning other things? From [ibid., ibid.]: "Pronouncing with his lips," etc. But all this is concerning the future; whence do we know the same concerning the past? From [ibid., ibid.]: "In whatsoever it be"; so R. Aqiba. R. Ismael, however, says: "To do evil, or to do good" means only oaths for the future. Said to him R. Aqiba: If such be the case, we know only about oaths concerning things intrinsically good or evil, but whence do we know about those regarding other things? Retorted the former: From the addition in the Scripture ("whatsoever"), whereupon rejoined R. Aqiba: If the Scripture widens the notion in this respect, it does it likewise in all other respects. Now, is not R. Aqiba's statement perfectly correct? Said R. Johanan: R. Ismael, who was a disciple of R. Ne'hunia b. Hakana, who was in the habit of interpreting the Scripture by generals and particulars, proceeds in the same manner as his master; while R. Aqiba, who was the disciple of Na'hum of Gimzu, whose method of interpretation was extensions and limitations, follows his master's method. And this is as stated in the following Boraitha: "If any person swear" is an extension; "To do evil or good" is a limitation; "In whatsoever it be" is again an extension, and there is a rule that such an extension includes everything, while a limitation is excluding a commandment. This is in accordance with R. Aqiba; while R. Ismael, whose method is the generals and particulars, interprets the verse thus: "If any person," etc., is a general; "To do evil or good" is a particular; "In whatsoever" is again a general, and there is a rule that wherever there is a particular between two generals, the latter must be interpreted in the sense of the particular; now, as the particular here refers expressly to the future, so also everything relates to the future; the generals, however, affect in the same way all other things relating to the future, but not implying either good or evil, while the particular affects things relating to the past, that they be excluded. (Says the Gemara): And why not the reverse? Said R. Itz'hak: They must be similar to the particular (of to do evil, etc.), which is prohibited because of the above-cited [Numb. xxx.]: "He shall not profane his word," excluded the past to which the prohibition is "He shall not lie." R. Itz'hak b. Abin, however, said: This is inferred from the cited verse, "If any person swear by pronouncing," which signifies that the oath was before the act, but not the past where the act was before the oath.

The rabbis taught: "If any person swear," etc., intends to exclude compulsion; "Escaped" to exclude intention; "From his memory" to signify that the oath escaped his memory but not the thing in question; hence, one is culpable only for forgetting the oath, but not for forgetting the object.

The master says: "To exclude compulsion," what could illustrate this? As it happened to R. Kahana and R. Assi after the lectures at Rabh's college had ceased; one would say, I swear that Rabh said so and so, and the other would say, I swear that Rabh said the contrary, and when they came to ask Rabh on the point, he certainly said as one of them; and to the question of the other, Have I sworn false, Rabh answered: You were compelled by your conscience and the verse "Escaped (from) his memory" means the oath but not the object.

This statement was ridiculed in the west. An oath and not the object is to be found, e.g., in: I swear not to eat wheat bread, and thereafter he thinks that he swore to eat, and accordingly eats it, hence, he forgot the oath but not the object; but where do you find a case where the object is forgotten and not the oath? As, e.g., in: I will not eat wheat bread, and thereafter ate it thinking it to be of barley, hence, he has the oath in mind and not the object; but as he forgot the object, is it not as if he forgot the oath? Therefore, decided R. Elazar that it makes no difference what one forgets. R. Joseph opposed: Is it indeed so, that the object cannot be forgotten without the oath? May it not happen that one swear not to eat wheat bread, and then stretch his hand to the basket where there was both barley and wheat bread with the intention to take that of barley, but takes that of wheat, and eats it up in the belief that it is of barley? In this case he had the oath clearly in mind, but he did not recognise the object. Said Abayi to him: But when he brings the offering, why does he bring it, for the bread he has eaten? Surely because of the oath (hence, they were right in the west). R. Joseph, however, insists on his statement for the reason that if he actually recognised that this is wheat bread, he would certainly abstain from it, hence, here is the ignorance of the object.

Rabha questioned R. Na'hman: How is it if he forgot both? And he answered: As soon as he became ignorant of the oath he is culpable. Rejoined Rabha: Why not the contrary? Here is the ignorance of the object, and hence he should be free? Said R. Ashi: In such a case we have to examine the nature of the case; if he abstained from the object by recollecting the oath, then the ignorance of the oath is the main thing, and he is culpable; but if he abstained by recollecting the object, then the ignorance of the object is the main point, and he is free. Said Rabina to him: I do not see any difference here; if his abstention is caused by the recollection of the oath, is not here also the recollection of the object brought about? And the same may be asked vice versa,. hence, there can be no difference here.

Rabha questioned again R. Na'hman: How can an unintentional uttered oath take place for the past? If he (who swears) is while swearing aware that it is false, then it is intentional; and if he is not aware, then it is a case of compulsion. And he answered: Take the case where he is aware that such an oath is prohibited, but is not aware that the liability of a sin-offering is attached thereto. Is this in accordance with Munbaz, who holds that such an ignorance be considered, and not in accordance with the rabbis, his opponents? Nay; this may even accord with the latter, as they differ with him only in all other cases of the Torah, but not in this case, for it is a novelty, as we do not find anywhere in the Scripture that one should be liable to a sin-offering for a negative except in this case, in which, therefore, the rabbis, too, agree with Munbaz.

Rabina (the elder) questioned Rabha: Suppose one swear not to eat this bread, and then he is in danger if he does not eat it, how is it? In danger! then he is certainly allowed to eat it! Said Rabina: I mean to say that suppose he ate this bread while impelled by hunger and having forgotten his oath not to eat it. And Rabha answered: Concerning this we have learned elsewhere, a sin-offering applies only to such a case where he would abstain from eating if he recollected his oath, but not otherwise; while here, being, as he is, impelled by hunger, he would not abstain, it cannot be considered unintentional. Samuel said: It is not sufficient that one make up his mind, he must pronounce it with his lips, as it reads "By pronouncing with his lips."

MISHNA 4.: If one swears to ignore some commandment and does not carry out his oath, he is free; if he swears to fulfill a commandment and fails to realise his oath, he is free. It appears on the first glance that he should rather be guilty, as R. Jehudah b. Battina argues thus: Since one is guilty for oaths regarding voluntary acts not provided for from the Mount Sinai, so much the more is it so in the case of oaths regarding commandments, to which he is sworn in from the Mount Sinai. Whereupon he was retorted: If you declare him guilty in voluntary acts where affirmation and negation are both alike indifferent, you can by means do the same in oaths concerning commandments where affirmation and negation are not equivalent; since one is free, if he swears to, but does not, violate a commandment.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: Lest one say that one who swore to ignore a commandment and did not, should be culpable, it reads, "To do evil or good"; just as to do good unto one's self is a voluntary act, so also an evil act must be voluntary, and this excludes him who swore to ignore a commandment. Furthermore, lest one say that he who swore to fulfill a commandment and did not, should be culpable for the oath, we again compare the good to the evil act: just as latter is voluntary in this case, so must former be voluntary, and this excludes the case of an oath to fulfill a commandment. Again, lest one say that if one swore to do evil unto himself and did not, he should be free, we again compare evil to good; just as the latter means voluntary, so also the former, hence, it includes the case where one swore to do evil to himself, which he was at liberty to do, and he is culpable. Finally, lest one say that the same is the case if he swore to do evil to others and did not, we compare evil to good, which latter is voluntary, while in the case of strangers he is not at liberty to do evil, hence he is free. But whence do we know that he who swore to do good to others and did not, is culpable? From "or to do good." What is an evil doing to others? E.g., one says: I will strike so and so, and split his head.

(Says the Gemara): But whence is it known that the above-cited verse treats of a voluntary act, perhaps it has in view a meritorious act? This cannot be borne in mind, as the two, the evil and the good, must be compared with each other; and as doing good cannot be spoken of concerning the ignoring of a commandment, so also doing evil cannot treat of ignoring a commandment, hence, this expression of doing evil would be in this respect good, as it does not apply to the ignoring of commandments; on the other hand, the good-doing is compared to the evil-doing: just as the former cannot treat of the fulfilling of a commandment, so also the latter cannot; hence, in this respect the good-doing would be evil (therefore, the expression in question cannot treat of meritorious acts). But in the light of these considerations, this expression cannot treat of voluntary acts, either, where good and evil means to do good and evil unto one's self respectively, hence, here, too, good would in some respects be evil (as, e.g., the oath not to eat a harmful thing) and vice versa? 1 Therefore we must say that, because it was needful to the Scripture to use the disjunction "or" in order to indicate doing good to others, it must treat of voluntary acts; since if it treated of commandments, the "or" would not be necessary, as it would be self-evident, for as the doing evil to others is included here, so much the more the doing good!

"R. Jehudah b. Bathira," etc. Is not the argument of the rabbis against R. Jehudah b. Bathira correct? He may say thus: Let us see; was it then necessary for the Scripture to add that if one swore to do good to others and did not, he is culpable; is this not self-evident, since one is not culpable for an oath to do evil to others, being as he is not free to do so, he is culpable when he is free to do so; and nevertheless the Scripture did add, hence, the same is the case with the oath to fulfill a commandment, where, although it is self-evident that he is culpable in this case because he is not culpable when he swore to ignore a commandment, yet the Scripture adds it. To all which the rabbis might say: These two cases are by no means analogous, as when one swears not to do good to so and so, he is culpable, while if one swears not to fulfill a commandment, and thereafter he does fulfill, he cannot be culpable.

MISHNA 5.: If one swears, I will not eat this loaf of bread, I swear I will not eat it, I swear I will not eat it, and eats it nevertheless, he is guilty but once. This is an uttered oath for the intentional violation of which one is subject to stripes, and for whose unintentional violation to a poor or rich offering. Vain swearing, if wilfully done, is punished with stripes, but if committed unintentionally, is free from punishment.

GEMARA: To what purpose does the Mishna vary the language? It comes to teach us that only when making the oath in such expressions he is culpable but once; but if he said first: I will not eat it, and then, I will not eat this loaf, he would be culpable twice; as Rabha explains elsewhere that the expression "I will not eat this bread" makes one culpable when he ate of it the size of an olive; but if one says, "I will not eat it," he is not culpable unless he has consumed the whole of it; hence, if the Mishna stated first "I will not eat it," and then "I will not eat this loaf of bread" he would be culpable twice (as here were two distinct oaths: the former on the whole bread, the latter on the size of an olive; and the latter does not do away with the former, while the former if stated last would do away with the latter).

"I will not eat it, and eats it none the less," etc. For what purpose is this repetition, since one oath does not rest upon the other, as we have seen it to be the case with the second one, and it is surely so with the third one, too? It comes to teach us that, though there is no liability, yet the oath is not ignored, and that in case there will be place for it, it may rest; this illustration is as Rabha said: In case he asked a sage to nullify the first oath, the next comes to take its place.

Rabba said: If one says, I swear not to eat this bread in case I eat the other, and it happened that he ate the first 1 (1) erroneously and the second intentionally, he is free (2); if vice versa, he is culpable (3); furthermore, if he ate both unintentionally, he is free (4); if both intentionally, it depends on the following: if he had eaten the conditional one first and thereafter the one he prohibited to himself, he is liable (5), and if vice versa it is under the category of cases concerning which R. Johanan and Resh Lakish differ; according to him who holds that a doubtful warning is considered, he is culpable (6), while according to the other, who holds that such is not considered, he is free (7). If, however, continues Rabha, he made the two breads dependent on each other--viz.: I will not eat the one if I eat the other. I will not eat the other if I eat this, and thereafter he consumed one intentionally (i.e., he has in mind the oath that he must not eat this in case he eats the other one, but he forgot that he swore the same with regard to the other bread) then he consumed the other one also intentionally (the same as before, but he forgot that he has already consumed the first one), he is free; if, however, he has consumed the first unintentionally (i.e., he forgot that the conditional oath is on this bread, though aware of the oath itself and therefore he consumes the second one in the same

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manner, he is culpable (8); but if he consumed both unintentionally (having forgotten all about the oath), he is free; both intentionally, he is, all agree, culpable for the second one; the first, however, falls into the foregoing category concerning which R. Johanan and Resh Lakish differ. Said R. Mari: there are vows by error and vows by compulsion; how so? If one says: I vow this object if I have eaten or drunk such and such, and then recollects that he did; in like manner if he vows for the future and on forgetting the vow eats or drinks, to such a vow no liability attaches; and there is a Boraitha that just as there are vows by error, there are also oaths by error.

Eipha taught the Tract Sheb'noth at Rabba's college, and Abimi, his brother, asked him: How is it if one swears twice, I have not eaten, I have not eaten, while he did eat? He answered: He is culpable but once; whereupon he said: You are mistaken, since the first oath was already a lie, and the second one is again a lie. He asked further: How is it if one swears not to eat nine and ten (articles), and thereafter he eats ten, without recollecting his oath in between? And he answered: He is culpable for each one severally. Said the other: You are again mistaken, for the oath for the ten does not rest at all, as ten presupposes nine and for the nine he has made a separate oath; but how is it if he swear not to eat ten, and then not to eat nine? Here he is culpable only once. The other rejoined: You are again mistaken, for as soon as he ate nine he broke one oath, and by eating the tenth he breaks the other oath. Said Abayi: In this last case, then, may be a case that Eipha is right --viz.: if one swear not to eat ten, and thereafter not to eat nine; then he ate nine and recollected his transgression, brought a sin-offering and then consumed the tenth; the tenth is then considered but a half-quantity, and for such one is not liable.

MISHNA 6.: Which is false swearing? If one swears that something is different from what it is known by everybody to be, e.g., that a stone column is of gold, that a man is a woman, that a woman is a man; or if he swears to an impossibility--viz.: If I have not seen a camel flying in the air; If I did not see a serpent of the shape of an oil-press; so! . . . If one asks some witnesses: Come to testify for me, and they answer, We swear that we shall not bear you witness; or if someone swears to ignore a commandment, as, e.g., not to make a Sukka, not to take Lulab'be, or not to put on phylacteries; so it is a false swearing punishable with stripes if committed intentionally, and unpunishable if made by error. If he swears, to one and the same loaf of bread, I will not eat it, then, I will not eat it, the former is a vain oath, and the latter an uttered oath; so that by eating it he is liable for uttered swearing; by not eating it he is liable for a vain oath.

GEMARA: Said Ula: Provided it was acknowledged by three persons that this pillar was of stone.

"If he swore to an impossibility, "etc. Why does the Mishna use a negative and not a positive expression? Said Abayi: Read it in the positive, if you prefer. Rabha, however, said: It speaks thus: If he says, all the fruit in the world be forbidden to me, if I have not, 1 etc.

"I will eat, I will not eat," etc. Let us see: since he is liable for the uttered oath, shall he not be liable for the vain one? He has pronounced such and why shall he not be liable? Said R. Jeremiah: Read in the Mishna, he is liable for the uttered oath also.

MISHNA 7.: The provisions regarding uttered swearing apply to males, females; to kindred, non-kindred; to those legally fit to testify as well as to those unfit; to cases before as well as outside the court. The oath, however, must come forth from his own mouth, and its intentional violation is punished with stripes, and its unintentional with a poor and rich-offering. Vain swearing takes place by men as well as by women; by kindred and non-kindred; by those fit to testify and by those unfit; before and outside the court, and the oath must issue from one's own mouth; its intentional violation is attended with stripes, while its unintentional is unpunishable. In both cases one is guilty if made to swear by others, thus: If he says, I ate nothing to-day, I put on no phylacteries, and another interposes: I adjure you, to which he answers: Amen, he is guilty.

GEMARA: Said Samuel: He who answers amen after an oath is considered as if he pronounced the oath with his lips, as it reads [Numb. 5:22]: "And the women say amen, amen." Said R. Papa in the name of Rabha: There are a Mishna and a Boraitha which seem to teach the same. The Mishna is the next following (viii.): The witness-oath . . . unless they deny before the court; such is R. Mair's view. Then the illustration in the Boraitha: If one said to the witnesses, Come and testify for me, and they answer: We swear that we know of no testimony for you, or, We do not know any testimony, whereto he says, I adjure you, and they answered: Amen, they are liable when they deny it, immaterial in the presence or absence of the court; so R. Mair. Hence, the Boraitha apparently contradicts the Mishna; however, as we said, the Mishna means that they did not answer amen, while in the Boraitha he did so, hence, the answer, amen, is equivalent to pronouncing with one's lips.

Said Rabina in the name of Rabha: From our own Mishna we may infer the same; as in the first part it requires that he must utter it himself, whence it is to be inferred that not through others, and in its last part it states that in both cases if sworn through another, he is liable; does the last part contradict the first? Nay; the last part means when they answered Amen, while the first part does not mean so. But if so, what comes Samuel to tell us? He comes to teach that the Mishna is particular in its statements concerning an uttered oath--viz.: if made by himself, he must pronounce it with his lips, and if by others, he must also utter with his lips Amen.

CHAPTER 4.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE WITNESS-OATH: WHO IS OR IS NOT RESPONSIBLE THEREFOR; HOW THE PLACE WHERE SUCH IS MADE (WITHIN OR WITHOUT THE COURT) DETERMINES ITS LIABILITY; IF MADE INTENTIONALLY.--THE LAWS OF ADJURATION.--TWO PARTIES OF WITNESSES CONTRADICTING EACH OTHER.--FOR WHICH OF THE DIVINE NAMES AND ATTRIBUTES (WHEN USED IN AN OATH) ONE IS CULPABLE.

MISHNA 1.: The witness-oath applies to men but not to women, to unrelated but not to kindred, to legally fit to testify but not to those unfit, as such an oath is given only to those fit to testify in the presence as well as in the absence of the court; provided it comes forth from one's own lips, but if from the mouth of others, they are liable only when they deny it before the court; such is R. Mair's view; the sages, however, maintain: Whether it comes forth from one's own mouth or from that of others, they are not liable unless they deny it before the court. Again, the witnesses are liable for an intentional oath, and for an error in the oath made while intentionally testifying, but are not guilty when made in error. And what is their fine for intentional swearing? A poor and rich offering.

GEMARA: Whence is this deduced? From what the rabbis taught, it reads [Deut. 19:17]: "Then shall the two men, who have the controversy, stand before the Lord," etc.; this means the witnesses; but perhaps it means the contending parties themselves? As it reads: "Who have the controversy," hence, the parties are already indicated, consequently, "the men" indicate the witnesses. And should you like to object to this deduction, then we may refer to the analogy of expression "two" mentioned here, and also found in [ibid. 15]: "Upon the evidence of two," where it expressly means witnesses, hence, also here witnesses are meant. [And what would be the objection? Lest one say that because it is not written "and who have the controversy," the whole verse speaks only of the parties, hence, the analogy of expression.]

There is another Boraitha: "The two men shall stand means the witnesses; but perhaps it means the parties? This cannot be, for do only men and not women come to court? And should you like to object, we may refer you to an analogy of expression; as there "two" means witnesses, so also here [and what would be the objection? Lest one say that it is not customary for a woman to go to court, as it reads [Psalm, 45:14]: "Awaiteth the king's daughter in the inner chamber"; wherefore, the analogy of expression].

The rabbis taught: "The two men shall stand" signifies that it is a meritorious act that both parties declare their grievances standing. Said R. Jehudah: I have heard that if the court allows both parties to sit, they may do so, since it is forbidden only that one stand and the other sit; or that one party be allowed freedom in speaking, and the other he asked to speak briefly.

The rabbis taught, it reads [Lev. 19:15]: "In righteousness thou shalt judge thy neighbour," which means no preference is to be given to either party, as said above. Another explanation of the just-cited verse is: Try always to judge everybody from his better side. R. Joseph taught: This verse signifies that him who is your equal in wisdom and deeds, you shall try to judge fairly.

It happened that Ula b. Eilai had a case in the court of R. Na'hman, and R. Joseph sent word to R. Na'hman: Ula, our colleague, is equal to us in wisdom and deeds; and R. Na'hman wondered what the purpose of the message was; does he mean: I shall flatter him? After some deliberation he said: He must mean I shall give preference to Ula's case over some other cases, or if in his case the evidence will be equally balanced on the two sides, and the opinion of the judges will be decisive.

Ula said: The point of difference above concerns only the contending parties, while concerning the witnesses all agree that they must stand, as the above-cited verse, "The two men shall stand," signifies; and R. Huna said: The difference concerns only the time of the trial, while at its conclusion the judges, all agree, should sit and the parties stand, as the conclusion is equalled to witnesses and as they are standing according to the above-cited verse, so also must the parties stand.

The wife of R. Huna had once a case before R. Na'hman, and the latter deliberated with himself as to how to proceed. Shall I rise to honour her, then her opponent will remain stupefied, and should I not rise, there is a rule that the wife of a scholar must be treated in the same manner as the scholar himself. He then helped himself out of the difficulty by instructing his servant, thus: Throw a duckling upon my head as soon as the wife Huna enters, so that I will have to rise anyhow. But did not the master say that at the conclusion of the trial the judges, all agree, are to sit while the parties must stand? (And how could R. Na'hman remain standing when she enters to hear the conclusion)? The answer is: He then sits halfways, as though untying his shoe-laces, and pronounces the verdict.

Rabba b. R. Huna said: If a scholar has a case with one of the common people, the court may invite both to sit down, and if the common man remain standing, it is not necessary to repeat the invitation.

Rabh b. R. Shrabia had a case with an Amharetz (a common) before R. Papa, and the latter invited both to sit down; the messenger of the court, however, came and made the Amharetz to stand up, to which R. Papa said nothing. But why was R. Papa indifferent, could not this stupefy the opposing party? R. Papa thought: I, myself, invited the two to sit, and the act of the messenger the Amharetz may explain as due to the fact that he has not gratified him (the messenger).

Rabba b. Huna said again: If a young scholar has a case with an Amharetz, the former must not sit down before the judge appears, in order that the Amharetz should not think that the scholar came there to prepare his own case and send it to the judge; provided, however, the scholar was not usually appointed to sit in court for some other purpose, but if he was, he may sit down, as his opponent will think that he is there for a purpose other than the case.

The same said again in the name of the same authority: If a scholar was aware of a case to which he could be a witness, but it was a humiliation to him to go to that particular court where the judge was inferior to him, he may remain at home. Said R. Sheshah b. R. Idi: This we have also learned in a Mishna, if one finds a sack or a basket on the way and it is a humiliation to him to carry it, he may leave it (in spite of the commandment to return a loss to its owner); but all this, he says, concerns civil cases; as to criminal cases, it reads [Prov. xxi. 30]: "There is no wisdom nor understanding, nor counsel against the Lord," which means wherever there is a case of profaning the holy name, no distinction or honour must be given to any rabbi.

R. Yenai was witness to a case where Mar Zutra was one of the contending parties, in the court of Amemar; and latter invited all, parties and witnesses, to sit down. Said R. Ashi to him: Did not Ula say that only concerning the parties there is a difference of opinion, but concerning the witnesses all agree that they must stand? And he answered: This is a positive commandment; and to honour a scholar is also a positive commandment (inferred by R. Aqiba from the particle Eth, the sign of the accusations, written in "Eth the Lord thy God thou shalt fear," which means to add the scholar) and the latter commandment is to me of greater value.

The rabbis taught, it reads [Exod. xxiii. 7]: "Keep thyself far from a false speech"; this signifies that the judge must not with his speech advocate either party, furthermore that he shall not enter discussion with an ignorant disciple in a case (so that he might not be mislead by the latter); again, that the judge, being aware that the party is a robber and there being only one witness, must not conjoin with the latter, for in this case the robber may be right; nor must this (conjoining) be done by any other person; that, if the judge notices the witnesses to testify falsely, he shall not say to himself: I will decide the case in accordance with their evidence according to the law and the "collar remain on their neck."

From this verse is further to infer: That if a disciple saw his master err in his judgement, he must not say, "I will wait until he issues his verdict and then I will disclose the error, thereby causing the issue of another verdict, which will have to be done with the acknowledgement of my authority" (but must call his attention immediately). That the master shall not tell to his disciple: It is known to all that I will not lie even if offered 100 manas, but there is one who owes me a mana, and I have only one witness, it is but right that you appear in court, so that the defendant might think you, too, a witness, and I will thus get my mana, although he does not instruct his disciple to tell a lie, but begs him to stand and say nothing, yet the verse reads, "Keep thyself far from false." Furthermore, if the plaintiff claims a mana, he must not claim two, thinking that thereby he will cause the defendant to confess one, which partial confession will make him liable to a biblical oath, so that there will be possible for the plaintiff to include here in the oath also other claims he may have against the defendant; this, too, is prohibited, because "Keep thyself far from false." For the same reason the defendant must not say: Since the plaintiff claims two, and will therefore not confess even the one I owe him in order to avoid the biblical oath in which the plaintiff may include some other claims. From the said verse is further inferred: That, when three persons claim one mana from one party, and there are no witnesses, they shall not institute one of themselves as the plaintiff and the other two as witnesses, thereby recovering the mana and dividing it among themselves. Again: If two appear before the court,, one richly dressed in a cloak worth 100 mana, and the other clad in rags,

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the court must instruct the former to go and dress like his contestant, or to dress him richly like one's self (this, too, is inferred from the verse, because the contrast between the rich and the poor would stupefy latter and also possibly influence the judge). l

It reads [Ezek. 18:19]:"And did that which is not good in the midst of his people," which according to Rabh means him who conies to court with a power of attorney, and according to Samuel, him who buys a field on which there are several claims.

"Such an oath . . . only to those fit," etc. To exclude whom? Said R. Papa: To exclude a king, and R. Aha b. Jacob said: To exclude a gambler. To him who says "a gambler," so much the more a king, and to him who says "a king" a gambler is not excluded, since biblically he is fit, and only the rabbis have declared him unfit.

"In the presence as well as in the absence of the court." What is their point of difference? The rabbis said in the presence of R. Papa: The theory "Deduce from it, and again from it," in case one thing is deduced from another (i.e., any further provision connected with A may be transferred to B) is the theory of R. Mair (as explained further on). The opponents of R. Mair, however, hold the theory of "Deduce from it, the rest, however, leave in its place" (i.e., after having transferred the main provision of A to B, we are to let B retain its own character); thus the case of witnesses is inferred from the case of a deposit; as in a deposit one is liable only when swearing himself, so also in the case of witness; again, as in the former case it is indifferent the presence or absence of the court, so also with witnesses; and this is R. Mair's theory just mentioned. The rabbis, however, who uphold the other theory, argue thus: As in a deposit, he is liable when swearing himself, so also in the case of witnesses; but if one is sworn by others which case can take place only in the presence of the court but not otherwise, we have a case that must retain its own characteristics; and the same is the case when he swears himself, it must be in the presence of the court. Said R. Papa to them: If the rabbis of the Mishna inferred this from the case of a deposit, they would certainly adopt also R. Mair's theory above mentioned; the reason, however, why the rabbis do not adopt it is that they proceed by an inference a fortiori--viz.: since one is liable when sworn by others, so much the more he is liable, if he himself swore; and concerning this there is a rule: "It is sufficient that the result derived from inference be equivalent to the law from which it is drawn;" and since the case of being sworn by others must take place only in the court, the same is in the case of swearing himself.

"Guilty for an intentional oath," etc. Whence is this deduced? From what the rabbis taught: In all other cases (concerning an offering) it reads "Escaped his recollection," except this case; hence, this teaches that one is liable for an intentional oath, just as for an unintentional.

"For an error in intentional testifying," etc. What instance could illustrate this? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: If one says, I know this oath to be prohibited, but I do not know that the liability therefor is an offering.

"But they are not liable when made in error." Shall we assume that this Mishna decides the question discussed above by R. Kahana and R. Assi, concerning the saying of Rabh made in the college? Nay; it was necessary for Rabh to teach them that, since otherwise one might say that the decision of the Mishna. concerns only that case with regard to which the Scripture does not mention "Escaped," etc. (i.e., the case concerning witnesses), but it does not apply to an uttered oath regarding which "Escaped" is mentioned, so that any error entails liability; therefore he came to teach that even in such case there is no liability.

MISHNA 2.: How does a witness-oath come about? If someone said to two: Come and bear witness for me, and they say, We swear that we know no testimony for you, or they said, We know nothing to testify for you, whereupon he answers, Do you swear, and they say, Amen, they are liable. If he repeated this five times outside of court, and upon coming before the court they confessed and testified, they are free; but if they deny it also here, they are guilty for each time severally. If, however, he repeated his adjuration five times in presence of the court and they denied, they are liable but once. Said R. Simeon: What is the reason? Because they are not able to retract the previous statement and to testify. If the two denied simultaneously, they both are guilty, but if successively, only he who denied first is guilty, while the second one is free. If one of them denies and the other confesses the truth, the denier is guilty. If there were two parties of witnesses and both denied successively, the two are guilty, since the testimony could have been established by either one.

GEMARA: Said Samuel: If the witnesses saw one running after them and said to him: What are you running for, we swear that we know no testimony for you, they are free, as liability attaches only to the case when they heard him adjuring them.

What news does Samuel come to teach us? Is this not plainly stated in the last part of Mishna 5.--viz.: "They must hear it from the mouth of the plaintiff"? Samuel finds it necessary to teach the case where he runs after them, lest one say that running he considered equivalent to direct asking. But even this point is already stated in our Mishna--viz.: "If one said," which renders it obvious that if he did not say it is not considered? Nay; if not for Samuel's statement, it could be said that the expression of the Mishna is merely usual language; and it seems, indeed, to be no more than that, for the same expression is used in the next chapter concerning the oath of a depositary, and there the "said" can be meant only said, as it reads [Lev. 5:21]: "If he lie unto his neighbour," where there can be no difference whether one is asked or not; hence, the expression there is not particular (therefore Samuel teaches that in our Mishna the language is particular).

There is a Boraitha in accordance with Samuel: If they, seeing someone coming after them, exclaimed: What are you following us for, we know no testimony for you, they are free; however, when this took place with regard to a deposit, they are liable.

"If he repeated this adjuration five times," etc. Whence is it deduced that liability attaches only to a denial made in the presence of the court, Said Abayi, from [ibid., ibid. 1]: "If he do not tell it, and thus bear iniquity," which implies only such a place where the telling is effective, so as to make one pay upon it, but not if told in any other place. Said R. Papa to Abayi: According to your theory no oath should be considered if made outside the court! This could not be borne in mind as there is a Boraitha: From the expression [ibid., ibid. 4]: "To anyone," which makes one liable for each oath; now, if an oath made outside the court be not considered, how could one be liable for each, after it has been stated in our Mishna that even for five times he is liable but once, and R. Simeon gave the reason therefor? Infer then therefrom that an oath is considered even when made outside the court, but a denial-only when in the court.

"If the two denied simultaneously," etc. But how is it possible to ascertain with precision the simultaneity of their minds? Said R. 'Hisda: It is in accordance with R. Jose the Galilean, who says that it is possible. R. Johanan, however, maintains that this may also be in accordance with the rabbis, who hold that such is not possible, but our Mishna treats of the case where the two denied in an interval of a single word. Said R, Aha of Diphti to Rabina: Let us see; the length of an interval of a single word is estimated as the interval it takes a disciple to greet his master, and here they have to say: We swear that we know no testimony for you, which sentence consists of several words; and he answered: It means that each of the witnesses begins his testimony yet before his preceding witness has completed his.

"Both denied successively," etc. Our Mishna is not in accordance with the Tana of the following Boraitha: If one adjured one witness, he is free; R. Elazar b. R. Simeon, however, holds him liable. Now, shall we assume that the point of difference here is that one holds one witness serves only to cause an oath to the other party, and that the other holds that he can also cause the payment of money? But how can you reason thus? Does not Abayi say further on that all agree that only one witness is necessary in the case where the defendant is suspicious regarding an oath? Therefore, it must be said that all agree that one witness can cause only an oath but not payment, and the point of their difference is as follows: One holds that a thing which causes payment is itself considered as money, and according to the other it is not considered such.

What has Abayi said? He said as follows: All agree concerning one witness in the case of a suspected wife; likewise all agree concerning two witnesses in same; and furthermore there is a difference of opinion concerning the same case. All agree concerning the law of one witness, as well as concerning the law regarding the case where the opposing party is suspicious of perjury. All agree concerning one witness in the case of a suspected wife that he is liable in case he was aware of the fact that the woman has sinned and refused to testify, as here the law trusts him to testify [Numb. 5:13]: "And there be no witness against her," hence, his refusal makes the husband pay; and all agree concerning witnesses that they are free, if they refused to testify that he warned his wife against staying alone with so and so; as their testimony would only cause not a direct payment, since apart from their testimony there must be yet another testimony by two witnesses that she has actually stayed with another one. And there is a difference concerning witnesses in such a case; if they were witnesses regarding her staying alone with so and so and they refused to testify; in which case if they did testify, they would only necessitate the drinking by her of the bitter water, when for fear she may confess, and only then the husband would be free from paying her marriage contract; it is regarding this that one holds that a thing causing the payment of money is itself considered as money, and therefore they are liable to pay, while the other does not consider it such, therefore they are free. Furthermore, all agree concerning a case where there is but one witness and one of the parties is suspected of perjury, that the witness is liable; likewise they all agree concerning one witness in a case similar to that, which happened in the court of R. Aha, where one of the parties robbed a piece of metal (Last Gate.).

(Says the Gemara): Let us see how was the case where one party is suspected of perjury? Who was suspected? If the borrower was so, and the lender says to the witness: If you would testify I should surely get the money, for my opponent is not fit to swear, hence, the oath will return to me so that I would swear and get the money; then the witness could retort: Who is sure that you will swear? Therefore we must say that both the parties were suspected, and the Master said elsewhere that in such a case the oath applies to him who has to swear first, and as he is not fit to swear he must pay.

R. Papa said: There is also a case concerning a witness who refuses to testify to the death of a husband; in one case all agree that he is liable, and in another case all agree that he is free; the latter is illustrated thus: If he told the fact to the widow, but refused to testify before the court, he is free; because there is a Mishna: If a woman said that her husband is dead, she is trusted and may remarry (hence, his refusal to testify is not harmful to her); while the former case is illustrated: If he refused to tell the fact even to the wife herself. Now, shall we infer from this that he who makes witnesses to swear in a case of real estate, it is considered, and they have to pay (as a marriage contract is collected from real estate only, and there is further on a question concerning this point)? Nay; perhaps in the hands of this woman it was already movable property, in which case she may collect her contract therefrom.

"If one of them denies and the other confesses," etc. To what purpose is this stated? It has been said already above, that even if the second denied after the first he is free, so much the more so if he confessed? It means when both have denied, but one has instantly thereafter retracted and confessed; and it comes to teach us that the confession made in an interval of one word is considered as though no denial was made. But this is correct only according to R. 'Hisda, who has explained our Mishna in accordance with Jose the Galilean; then the first part teaches that exact ascertainment is possible, and the second part teaches that the one-word interval is equivalent to a word. But according to R. Johanan both parts teach the same? It was necessary, as the last case speaks of denial and confession, while the first, only of denial.

"If there were two parties," etc. It is correct that the second party be liable, because it denied after the first had done so (hence, its refusal is a direct harm); but why should the first party be liable, when there is yet a second party who is fit to testify? Said Rabina: It speaks of a case where the witnesses of the second party were related to one another on their wives' lines, and at that time when the first party denied, the wives of the other party were in the agony of death; and lest one say that in such a condition they are considered dead and hence their husbands are fit to be witnesses and consequently the first party is free, it comes to teach us; that the agony of death is not to be taken into account, as they may yet recover.

MISHNA 3.: If one says: I adjure you that you come and bear me witness that I have in the possession of so and so a deposit, a loan, a stolen or lost object, to which they reply: We swear that we know no testimony to you, they are guilty but once. But if their reply be: We swear that we are ignorant of your having in the possession of so and so a deposit, etc., they are guilty for each severally. I adjure you that you testify for me that I have deposited by so and so wheat, barley and rye, to which they answer: We swear that we know no testimony for you, so they are guilty but once. But if their answer be: We swear that we are ignorant of your having deposited by so and so wheat, barley and rye, they are guilty for each one severally. I swear you to witness that so and so owes me damages, half damages, double payment, or four and five-fold payment; that so and so insulted my daughter, seduced my daughter; that my son struck me, that my neighbour wounded me; set fire to my stag on the day of atonement, they are guilty (in case they deny).

GEMARA: The schoolmen propounded a question: How is the law, if one adjure witnesses in a case of fine? This question is not according to R. Elazar b. R. Simeon, who says elsewhere that such witnesses are considered even after the defendant has confessed that he was fined; but is according to the rabbis, who declare the defendant free even when, after his confession, witnesses testified; and it seems that the rabbis of that statement are in accordance with the rabbis of the Mishna said above, that a thing causing money is not itself considered money. Now, shall we say that the refusal of the witnesses is not of direct harm, since the defendant has the choice to confess and then be is free; or, as he has not yet confessed, there is a claim of money and their refusal is of direct harm? Come and bear the statement of our Mishna: "To testify half-damages," which is a fine and nevertheless he is liable. But is there not one who says that even half-damages are according to law and not fine? (Hence, nothing can be inferred from here.) But again, does not the Mishna mention double-amount, which is surely fine? Yea; but the fine here is the doubling, while the Mishna finds him liable because in the doubling is included the amount stolen; and the same may be the case with four and five-fold. But is not the money which a seducer or insulter has to pay, not a fine, and yet the Mishna treats of it? Maybe the Mishna exacts this as indemnity for the shame and loss of value, and this indemnity is not a fine. But if

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all in the Mishna is money and not mere fine why should it repeat all these cases? The Mishna comes in its first part to teach us by the way that half-damages are considered money, and in its last part that if one set fire to a stag on the day of atonement, he is liable to pay, although his act is in the category of Korath, which is against R. Neheunia b. Hakana (and all the other things are treated of only on account of this connection).

Come and hear the following: I adjure you to testify that so and so has spread abroad an evil name on my daughter [Deut. 22:14], they are liable (if they refuse to do so); but if the man who has spread the evil name, confessed before the court that he did so falsely, he is free from paying the 100 shekkels (as according to the law he who confesses in a case subject to fine is free), hence, we see that this money is fine and they are liable none the less? It maybe said that this Mishna is in accordance with R. Elazar b. Simeon, quoted above, who holds one liable even when the witnesses testify after his confession. But is not the last part which holds one free if he confessed on his own accord, in accordance with the rabbis? Nay; the whole Mishna is in accordance with R. Elazar, and it means to say that there can be found no case where one be free from payment (of the 100 shekkels) unless there were no witnesses at all and be confessed.

MISHNA 4.: If one says: I adjure you to bear me witness that I am a priest, a Levite, not the son of a divorced woman, nor one who has performed Chalitzah; that so and so is a priest, a Levite, not the son of an aforesaid woman; that so and so insulted or seduced someone's daughter; that my son wounded me, that my neighbour wounded me or set fire to my stag on Sabbath, they are free.

GEMARA: They are free because his claim concerns a third person; but how is it if he made them to swear that so and so owes a mana to someone, they would be liable? And does not the Mishna state that they are not liable unless made to swear by the plaintiff himself? Said Samuel: It means that be has from the latter a power of attorney. But did not the sages of Nahardea say that a judgement is not given on movables? Yea; but this is in case he denies, but if he does not deny, a judgement is given.

The rabbis taught: Whence do we know that the verse [Lev. v. 1], quoted above, speaks of a money-claim only? Said R. Eliezar: From the analogy of expression "or" and "no" found here, and also in the case of a deposit, and as there it treats of a civil case, so also here. But is not the same expression found in [Numb. xxxv.] concerning a murder, i.e., a criminal and not a civil case? We infer from these expressions, a case which implies an oath, while in that (of Numb.) there is no oath. But again, are not such expressions used in connection with a suspected woman in which case there is an oath, and yet it is not a civil case? There is used in this last case a priest, wherefor we infer but like cases where there is an oath but not a priest. R. Aqiba, however, said: It is inferred from [Lev. v. 5]: "By any one of these," which means for some of them he is, while for others he is not, liable. How so? If it was a civil claim, he is liable, but not for something else. R. Jose the Galilean said, it reads [Lev. v. 1]: "And he is a witness, since he hath either seen or knoweth," which signifies such cases where he may be liable by seeing only or by knowing only; how so? I have lent you a mana in the presence of such and such witnesses, who may come and testify, this is a case of seeing only; and by knowing only, as in case one claims that so and so has confessed in the presence of such and such witnesses that he owes me a mana. R. Simeon said: We infer this from the case of deposit: as there it is only civil, so also here; furthermore we may draw this by an inference a fortiori--viz.: a deposit, with regard to which male and female, relatives and unrelated, fit and unfit to testify, are equal, and there is a liability for each oath, be it made in the presence or absence of the court, is nevertheless but a civil case--the case of witnesses where the foregoing classes are not equal and where the liability attaches to but one oath and only when made in the presence of the court, should so much the more be only civil. And lest one say: The case of witnesses is more rigorous, as there is here a liability for an intentional and for being sworn by others which is not the case concerning a deposit, to this there is an analogy of expression: "Sin" found here and also in the case of a deposit, which justifies the inference that as the latter is civil, so also is the other case.

R. Hamnuna was once in the presence of R. Jehudah, who propounded a question. If one says: I have lent you a mana in the presence of so and so and so, and the witnesses saw the parties from the outside without being seen by the defendant, how is the case? Said R. Hamnuna: It depends on the form of the defendant's answer; if he says that such has never occurred, he must be recognised as a liar; but if he says that he did take money but it was his own, then there will be no use in the witnesses' testifying to have seen this! Rejoined R. Jehudah: Your place may be in the college, as you enlighten your master.

There was one claiming: I lent you a mana here near this pillar; and the answer was: I have never in my life passed near this pillar. Witnesses, however, came and testified that he once urinated near that pillar; said R. Na'hman: He is then to be regarded a liar. Said Rabha to him: From a thing where one is not particular, his attention may wander away; this may have been the case with this defendant; he paid in that case no attention to the pillar.

R. Simeon said: As in the case of the deposit, etc., this statement was ridiculed in the west. Why? When R. Papa and R. Jehudah b. R. Jehoshua came from college, they said: The people of the west have ridiculed R. Simeon's last statement--viz.: Lest one say that the case of witnesses is more rigorous, etc.; saying: To what purpose did he need this after he had used an analogy of expression? But why should it be ridiculed? Perhaps he had put this point before, but not after, he established the said analogy? 1 Because it was known that the Scripture has made mention of a witness-oath in connection both with an uttered oath, and with the case of defiling the Temple and its holiness in order to indicate that concerning a witness-oath "Escaped his recollection" is not stated (whereas it is stated regarding the others) in order to make one liable to a sin-offering even for such an intentional oath.

MISHNA 5.: If one says: I adjure you to bear me witness that so and so has promised to give me (as a present) 200 zuz, and did not, they are free, as they are guilty only in the case when money is required as a deposit. I adjure you that as soon as you become cognisant of testimony for me, you come and testify for me, they are free, since the oath preceded the act of testifying. When one says while standing in synagogue: I adjure you to bear me witness if you are cognizant thereof, so they are free unless he especially address his challenge to them. When one says to two: I adjure you so and so that, if you are cognisant of testimony in my favour, come and do so, to which they say: We swear that we know nothing for you, while in reality they do know, but only indirectly, or one of them is found to be a relative or an unfit, they are free. If one sends his servant to adjure them; or the defendant says to the witnesses:-- I adjure you to testify for him if you know any testimony, they are free, for they must hear it from the mouth of the plaintiff.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: I adjure you to bear me witness that so and so promised me as a present 100 zuz and did not give them to me, they are free; lest one say that they should be liable, the analogy of expression "sin" used both concerning a deposit and here, teaches that as in the former the deposit was given, so also in this case.

"As soon as you become cognisant," etc. The rabbis taught: Lest one say that in such a case they should be liable, it reads, "If he is a witness, or hath seen or knoweth," which signifies that the act of testifying must precede the oath and not vice versa.

"While standing in synagogue," etc. Said Samuel: Even if his witnesses were among them. Is this not self-evident? He means to say: Even if he was standing beside them, and lest one say that in such a case it is considered as though he talked directly to them, he comes to teach us that it is not so.

There is a Boraitha in support of Samuel: If one saw a crowd standing, among whom he recognised his witnesses and said: I adjure you to come and testify for me, lest one say that they are liable, it reads, "And he is a witness," which signifies that the witnesses must be directly addressed, which he did not do. If, however, he said: I adjure you all who are standing here, to testify for me, they are liable, as here he addresses the witnesses directly.

"When one says to two," etc. The rabbis taught: Lest one say that in such a case they should be liable, it read, "He shall bear his iniquity," which signifies that only then when they are fit to tell (on their own knowledge).

"If one sends his servant," etc. The rabbis taught: Lest one say that in such a case they should be liable, therefore the just-cited verse. But how is this to be understood? Said R. Elazar: The word "not" (Hebrew, Lo) is spelled here with a redundant vahve and lo (with a vahve) means him (dativus) which is to be interpreted thus: If he will not tell to him, to the party himself, he bears iniquity; but if he will not tell to a stranger, he is free.

MISHNA 6.: If one says: I adjure you, I impose upon you, I bind you (by oath), so they are guilty. If, however, he says: By heaven and earth, they are free; by any of the divine names, or by some other divine attribute, so they are guilty. Blaspheme applies to them all, according to R. Mair, but not according to the sages. Whoever curses his father or mother by any of the above divine names, is guilty, so holds R. Mair, while the sages declare him free. Whoever curses himself or his neighbour by any of these transgresses a negative command. (If one says to the witness): Smite you God, or: May the Lord God smite you, so is this a biblical swearing. If he says (on your testifying): God smite you not, but bless you, may He bestow but good upon you (and they say: Amen), R. Mair finds them guilty, while the sages declare them free.

GEMARA: "I adjure you," etc. How is this to be understood? Said R. Jehudah: Thus, I adjure you with the oath written in the Torah, I impose upon you with the commands of the Torah, I bind you with the bonds of the Torah. Said Abayi to him: According to you, how should be understood the Boraitha of R. Hyya: "For I chain you" they are liable! Do we find "chaining" in the Torah? Therefore, said Abayi, it means to say thus: I adjure you with an oath, I impose upon you with an oath, I bind you with an oath, I chain you with an oath.

"Adonai," etc. Shall we assume that chanun and rachum (mentioned in the Mishna among the names to swear by) are also divine names? If so, then there is a contradiction from the following: There are names that may be erased, and others that must not; the latter are: Eil, Eloëchu, Eloîm, Eloëchem, Eiëh asher Eieh, Aleph Daleth, Yah, Shadai and Zebaoth; but Hagodal, Hayibor, Hanora, Haädir, Hachazak, Haämatz, Haäzaz, Chanun, Rachum, Erech-apäim, Rabh-chessed 1 may be erased; we see thus that chanun and rachum are not divine names? Said Abayi: The Mishna means to say, I adjure you by him who is all favour, or: all merciful. Said Rabha to him: If so, let him be liable for adjuring one by heaven and earth, as you could explain it to mean: by him to whom heaven and earth belong? This is no comparison; if you say, "by him who is all favour," etc., so as there is none but the Almighty who is such, it certainly means Him, but heaven and earth as separate existences, cannot be explained as belonging.

The rabbis taught, If one writes Aleph lamed (the first letters from Eloîm), or Yah from Jehova, it must not be erased; but Shin daleth from Shadai, or Aleph daleth from Adonai, Zadik beth from Zebaoth, may be erased. Said R. Jose: The whole word Zebaoth may be erased, for this name applies only to Israel, as it reads [Exod. vii. 4]: "And bring forth my armies (Zebaothai), my people, the children of Israel." Said Samuel: The Halakha does not prevail with R. Jose.

The rabbis taught: All the prefixes and suffixes of the divine names may be erased, e.g., in b'adonai, badonai, meadonai, the initial letters (which are prefixes) may be erased; in like manner in Eloêchu, Eloênu Eloëêm the last syllables (which are suffixes) may be erased. Anonymous teachers. however, say: They must not be so, for they are already sanctified by the holy name. Said R. Hana: And so the Halakha prevails.

All the divine names found in the Torah in connection with Abraham, are holy, except that of [Gen. 18:3]: "And he said, my Lord," which was addressed to an angel. 'Hanina, the nephew of R. Jehoshua, and R. Elazar b. Azaria in the name of Elazar the Madai say that even this name, too, is holy. (Now, what was said in the name of R. Jehudah b. Rabh that hospitality is considered greater than the reception of the glory of the Shechina, is in accordance with these two.) Furthermore, all the names found in connection with Lot, are common, except [ibid. xix. 18, 19]: "Oh, not so, my Lord; (Adonai) thy servant hath found grace in thy eyes, and thou hast magnified thy kindness," etc., and who but God can save? Again, all names in connection with Nob'oth. 1 are holy, those in connection with Micha [Jud. xvii.] are common. R. Elazar, however, said that the names with Nob'oth are holy, but those with Micha are partly holy and partly common, namely El is common and Yah is holy, except [ibid., ibid. 31]: "Eloïm," which though beginning with El, is holy. All the names in connection with the Vale of Benjamin [ibid. xx.] are according to R. Eliezar common, and according to R. Jehoshua they are holy. Said R. Eliezar to him: How can they be holy when He has not fulfilled his promise? Said R. Jehoshua: He has fulfilled His promise, but the people there did not understand what was said to them; a proof to this you find in the fact that after they had comprehended it, they conquered, as it reads [ibid., ibid. 28]: "And Phineahas, the son of Elazar . . . stood," etc. The name Shelomah wherever mentioned in Solomon's Songs is holy [Song, i. 1]: "Le-Shelomah" means, to the king to whom peace belongs; except [ibid. vii. 12]: "Thine, O Solomon." According to others [ibid. iii. 7]: "The bed which is Solomon's," is also common. Wherever in Daniel the word king is mentioned, it is common except [Sam. 2:37]: "Thou, O king, art a king of kings, to whom the God of heaven hath given kingdom, power, and strength, and honour." According to others also [ibid. 4:16]: "My Lord! . . . for those who hate thee"; for, to whom did Daniel address this? Surely not to Nebuchadnezzar, because by so doing he would curse Israel, who were the haters of the same; hence, he must have addressed it to God. The first Tana, however, maintains that enemies exist only to Israel, but other nations have no enemies.

"Or by some other attributes," etc. There is a contradiction [Numb. 5:21]: "The Lord then make thee a curse (olah) and an oath"; to what purpose is this repeated, after the beginning of the verse reads: "And the priest shall charge the woman with an oath of imprecation (olah)"? Because, it reads [Lev. 5:1]: "The voice of adjuration (olah)," where it means an oath, so also here it means an oath; and as there it means "with the holy name," so here, too, it means so. Hence we see that olah means an oath, and the Mishna says that "Smite you. God" is an olah written in the Torah? Said Abayi: This presents no difficulty, the cited discussion is in accordance with R. Hanina b. Aidi, which our Mishna is in accordance with the rabbis, as we have learned in the following Boraitha. R. Hanina b. Aidi said: As it reads "Swear and not swear, curse and not curse," we must compare curse to swearing; just as an oath means by the holy name, so also not to swear means by the holy name, and the same is with curse and not curse. But let us see; what is the reason of the rabbis' view? If they uphold this analogy,

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then let them require the unique holy name (i.e., Jehovah) to any oath; and if they do not uphold this analogy, whence do they deduce that olah means an oath? From the following Boraitha: The expression olah means an oath, and it likewise reads in the above-cited verse "And the priest shall charge the woman with an oath of olah." But as it reads here "with the oath of olah," must we not say that olah itself is not an oath? It means to say that the word olah comes together with an oath only. And whence do we know that oath alone should be treated as if conjoined with olah? From [Lev. 5:1]: "The voice of an olah" (which word voice would be superfluous, as olah alone means also an oath), therefore it is to be interpreted thus: He hears either a voice alone (without an olah), or an olah alone (without an oath).

R. Abuhu said: Whence do we know that olah means an oath? From [Ezek. 17:13]: "And bound him with an oath (olah)"; furthermore, it reads [2 Chron. 36:13]: "Who had made him swear by God." There is a Boraitha: The word orar embraces ban (nidui), curse (kelabah), and oath (sheb'uah); ban--from [Jud. 5:23]: "Curse (orur) ye Meroz," etc., concerning which Ula said: He placed Meroz under ban with 400 trumpets; curse--from [Deut. 28:13]: "And these shall stand for the sake of the curse (kelabah)," and [ibid., ibid. if]: "Cursed (orur) be the man"; finally, oath--from [Josh. 6:26]: "And Joshua adjured . . . saying cursed," etc.; and also from [I Sam. 14:24]: "And Saül adjured the people, saying, cursed. "

R. Jose b. Hanina said: Amen embraces oath, acceptance, and confidence; oath--from [Numb. 5:22]: "And the woman shall say amen, amen"; acceptance--from [Deut. 27:26]: "Cursed be he that accepteth not this law . . . and all the people shall say, amen"; and confidence--from [Jerem. 28:6]: "Said Jeremiah the Prophet, amen, may the Lord do so."

R. Elazar said: Nay means an oath, and yea means also an oath. (Says the Gemara): It is correct that Nay means an oath, as it reads [Gen. 9:15]: "And the waters shall no more (V'lo) become a flood," and [Isa. 54:9]: "As I have sworn that the waters of Noah should no more (V'lo)"; but whence do we know that yea is an oath? This is merely common sense: if Nay is an oath yea is one, too. Said Rabha: Provided he says each twice; nay, nay, or yea, yea; and this is inferred from the above cited verse [Gen. 9.] where no (V'lo) is written twice, and as Nay must be said twice to become an oath, so also yea. 1

"Curses himself or his neighbour," etc. Said R. Janai: Concerning this statement, all agree that he transgress thereby a negative commandment; concerning one's self it reads [Deut. 4:9]: "Only take heed to thyself, and guard thy soul"; and we have seen above that such an expression means a negative commandment; and concerning his neighbour, it reads [Lev. 19:14]: "Thou shalt not curse the deaf." "Smite you God," etc. R. Kahana, while sitting before R. Jehudah, repeated the Mishna in its own language, and he said to him: Change the language and use it in the third person. It again happened that one of the rabbis while sitting before R. Kahana read [Psalms, 52:7]: "God will also destroy thee," etc., the whole verse, and R. Kahana said to him: Read it in the third person. And the two cases are cited here, lest one say that in a Mishna it is allowed to change the language but not in the Scripture.

"God smite you not," etc. But we know that according to R. Mair's theory we do not infer from a negative rule a positive one; reverse then the order of the names in the Mishna. However, when R. Itz'hak came from Palestine he taught the Mishna as it is. Said R. Joseph: Now that we see that in Palestine, too, the Mishna is taught as by us, the foregoing difficulty must be resolved thus: R. Mair's theory that we are not to infer yeas from nays, concerns only civil cases, but concerning criminal cases he, too, holds that we do. But is not the case of a suspected woman a crime, and R. Tan'hum b. 'Hakhinui said: In this case it reads [Numb. 5:19]: "Then be thou free" to show that if it were not expressly stated we would not infer? Hence, even in criminal cases we do not infer, wherefor we must say that R. Mair's theory applies also to crimes and the order of the names in the Mishna is to be reversed. Rabina opposed from a Mishna that places under the category of capital punishment him who enters the sanctuary while he is intoxicated, and this is inferred only from the Scripture's prohibiting one to enter in such a condition, and R. Mair does not oppose in this case? Therefore we must say that concerning crime he holds his theory, and the difficulty regarding the suspected woman is to be resolved, thus: it is a case where money, i.e., a civil matter, is also concerned--viz.: in connection with her marriage contract.

CHAPTER 5.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE DEPOSITORY-OATH: WHO IS OR IS NOT FIT TO TAKE IT; WHERE THE DENIAL OF THE DEPOSIT BY OATH MUST TAKE PLACE; THE CONDITIONS DETERMINING THE LIABILITY TO BE EITHER ONE OR FOR EACH ARTICLE SEPARATELY; IN WHICH RESPECT SUCH OATH IS MORE RIGOROUS THAN THE WITNESS OATH.

MISHNA 1.: The depository oath concerns men and women, non-kindred and kindred, those fit to testify and those unfit, cases within the court and outside thereof, provided it comes forth from one's own mouth, but if through that of others, he is not liable unless he denies it before the court; such is R. Mair's view, while the sages teach: Regardless of whether it comes from one's own mouth or from that of others, he is guilty so long as he denies it. But one is guilty for willful perjury and willful denial of the deposit when ignorant of the liability; not so, however, if he was mistaken concerning the oath only. And what is the fine attached to a willful oath? A transgression offering in the value of two shekkels. How does the oath concerning deposits take place? When one says: Give me my deposit that I have in your possession, and latter replies thereto: I swear you have nothing with me, or merely You have nothing with me, whereupon the former says: I adjure you, and this answers: Amen, and so he is guilty. If the plaintiff adjured him five times either before court or outside and be denied it by oath every time, so he is guilty for each time severally. R. Simeon said: The reason is that he had ample possibility to confess the truth. If five people require of him in the same time, saying: Give us the deposit we have in your possession, and he says: I swear ye have nothing with me, so he is guilty but once. But if he says: I swear that thou hast nothing with me, nor thou you, nor thou, so he is guilty for each one severally. R Eliezar says: Provided he make the oath last. R. Simeon says. Provided he accompany each statement with the words I swear.

If one says: Give me the deposit, the loan, the stolen and lost, that I have in your possession, he replies: I swear that you have nothing with me, he is guilty but once. If, however, his reply be: I swear that you have nothing with me, either deposit, or loan, or the robbed and lost, so he is guilty for each one severally. The same is the case with wheat, barley, and if he denies all with one oath he is guilty but once, and if he repeated "I swear" with each one, he is liable for each. R. Mair says: Even if he required the things in the singular, the other one is guilty for each one severally. If one says: You have violated or seduced my daughter and he replies: I have done neither the one nor the other, I adjure you whereto he says: Amen, so he is guilty. R. Simeon holds him free, for one does not pay fine on his own confession. To which it was objected: Although upon self-confession one pays no fine, yet he must pay indemnity for shame and loss of value. You have stolen my ox; I have not stolen him; I adjure you, the other one: Amen, so he is guilty. But if the latter says: True, I have stolen your ox, but not slaughtered nor sold him; I adjure you; Amen, so he is free. Your ox has killed mine; He did not; I adjure you; Amen, so he is guilty. Your ox has killed my slave; He did not; I adjure you; Amen, so he is free. You have bruised me and wounded me; I have neither bruised nor wounded you; I adjure you; Amen, so he is guilty. But if the slave says to his master: You have blown out my eye or tooth, and latter replies: I have done to you neither the one nor the other; I adjure you; Amen, so he is free. This is the general rule: Whenever one has to pay damages on self-confession, he is (in case of perjury) guilty, but whenever he has not to pay on self-confession, he is free.

GEMARA: R. A'hra b. Huna, R. Samuel b. Rabba b. b. 'Hana and R. Itz'hak b. R. Jehudah have been learning the Tract Shebaoth at Rabba's college; and when R. Kahana met them he asked: What is the law when one has intentionally made a depository oath in spite of a warning, is he liable to a sin-offering or not? Shall we assume that, as this law to bring a sin-offering for an intentional oath is novel, there is no difference whether there was warning or not, or this law holds good only when there was no warning, and if there was, he is subject to stripes and not to a sin-offering, or to both? And they answered: This we have learned in our Mishna; the depository oath is more rigorous, as stripes apply to it when intentional, and a trespass-offering for two shekkels when unintentional. Now, as it states stripes, it must be that he was warned, and no offering is mentioned; and concerning the rigorousness it may be said that one is pleased to bring a sin-offering instead of getting stripes. Said Rabba b. Eithi to them: This is in accordance with R. Simeon, who holds that an intentional depository-oath cannot be atoned for, but according to the rabbis who maintain that it can, he must bring an offering also. Said R. Kahana to them: Leave out the Boraitha cited by you, as I taught it Thus; it makes no difference whether it was intentional or unintentional, he is liable to a trespass-offering for two shekkels; and the rigorousness is that for any other oath he may bring a sin-offering in the value of a δανικος, while here it must be in the value of two shekkels. But then, why did R. Kahana resolve his question from here? Because this may be a case where there was no warning.

According to another version R. Kahana adduced the following Boraitha: No liability attaches to an unintentional oath; and what is the liability of an intentional? A trespass-offering for two shekkels. Does it not mean a case where there was warning? Nay; it may mean one without warning. Come and hear another Boraitha: The comparison with the offering of a Nazarite cannot be drawn here, as a Nazarite who defiles himself gets stripes in addition, while to a depository-oath stripes do not apply; now, since it states that he does get stripes he must have been warned, and nevertheless it states that to a depository-oath stripes do not apply, whence it is to be understood that an offering is required in this case? Nay; it may be said that it means that stripes do not suffice without an offering. But if such be the case, the Nazarite who gets stripes must not bring an offering any more; is it not expressly written that he is liable to an offering? His offering is not for his transgression, but for enabling him to continue in his state of a Nazarite in purity.

R. Kahana's question from above was recited before Rabba and he said: From this it may be inferred that, if he was not warned by the witnesses, and they testify, he is nevertheless liable to a sin-offering; but if such a case happens in civil law, his denial would count for nothing, and there are witnesses and he must pay; why then shall he in this case be liable to a sin-offering? (Says the Gemara): From Rabba's question we may conclude that his opinion is that he who denies a debt in spite of witnesses is not subject to a biblical oath. Said R. 'Hanina to Rabba. The following Boraitha supports your opinion. It reads [Lev. 5:22]: "And lie concerning it" to exclude the case when he confesses this to one of the brothers or partners, "swear falsely" to exclude the case where there were documents or witnesses. And he answered: If you have in the Boraitha no other support but this, it is no support to me at all, as this Boraitha is to be interpreted thus: If the defendant says, I have borrowed from you but not in the presence of witnesses, or not on any document (hence, the Boraitha has in view not denial but confession); and this interpretation is necessitated by the expression of this Boraitha "To one of the brothers"; because how was the case? If he confessed the half of the amount, then there is a complete denial of the other half; thus we must say that the confession to one of the brothers means that the denial was not concerning the amount, but springing from his assertion that he made the loan of one of the brothers only, so that it is but a denial of words, and as the first part of the Boraitha means a denial of words and not of the amount, so also the second part.

Come and hear. It was said above: He is not liable for its unintentional; and what is the liability for an intentional? A trespass-offering, etc. Shall we not assume that it means a case where there were witnesses warning him? Nay, it means that there were no witnesses. Come and hear another objection. If the depository claims that the deposit has been stolen from him, swears, but thereafter confesses, and there are also witnesses to this effect, it depends on the following: if the witnesses come after he has sworn, he must pay double amount and bring a trespass-offering; but if he has confessed before the appearance of the witnesses he has to pay the amount plus one-fifth of it and bring a trespass-offering. (We see then that he is liable to a trespass-offering in any case)? This may be explained also as Rabina stated above--viz.: At the time he takes the oath the wives of the witnesses find themselves in agony, etc. (see above.), but in case of simple witnesses no offering is necessary. Said Rabina to R. Ashi: Come and hear: a depository oath is more rigorous, since for an intentional he is liable to stripes and for an unintentional to a trespass-offering in shekkels; now, stripes presuppose a warning by witnesses, and nevertheless it says that for an unintentional a trespass-offering (which signifies by implication that no offering applies to an intentional)? Said R. Mordachai: Leave alone this Boraitha, as R. Kahana said. This Boraitha I taught and it states that a trespass-offering must be brought, immaterial whether for an intentional or unintentional one. Finally, come and hear the following objection: In the discussion (above.) concerning an inference a fortiori it is stated that there is a difference regarding a Nazarite defiling himself, as he gets stripes, which is not the case with a depository oath; now, a Nazarite does not get stripes unless there were witnesses, and as it says that it is not the case with a depository-oath, it signifies that even if here were witnesses stripes do not apply, but an offering does apply, hence Rabba's statement is objected.

R. Johanan, however, said: If one denies money where there are witnesses, he is subject to an oath but is free from such if there is a document. Said R. Papa: The reason of R. Johanan is that witnesses are subject to death (then the denial would be considered, which is not the case with a document. Said R. Huna b. R. Jehoshua to R. Papa: May it not happen also to a document to be lost? Therefore, R. Johanan's reason is that to a document real estate is encumbered, and there is no oath concerning the denying of real estate.

It was taught: If one adjures witnesses in a case of real estate, R. Johanan and R. Elazar differ: according to one they are liable, according to the other they are not; now, from what R. Johanan has said above it is to conclude that he is the one who declares them free, and his reason is that advanced by R. Huna b. Jehoshua.

Said R. Jeremiah to R. Abuhu: Shall we assume that R. Johanan and R. Elazar differ in what R. Eliezar and the rabbis differ (First Gate, Mishna 7, see Mishna and Gemara), and he who makes him liable agrees with R. Eliezar of that Mishna, while he who frees him agrees with the rabbis? And

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he answered: Nay; as he who makes him free may say that in such a case even R. Eliezar admits since here concerning a false oath it reads [Lev. 5:22]: "In any one of all," but not all, which excludes real estate. Said R. Papa in the name of Rabha: It seems to be so also from our Mishna, which illustrates it by the theft of an ox and not by that of a slave, and this is because a slave is considered real estate to which an offering does not apply.

"How does the oath concerning deposits take place," etc. The rabbis taught: "When the oath was made in general, he is liable but for one; but when in particular, he is liable for each severally"; so R. Mair. R. Jehudah, however, said: If he says, I swear I have it not from thee, and not from thee, and not from thee, he is liable for each one; R. Eliezar, however, maintains that he is liable for each one only then when the words "I swear" were said last; but R. Simeon said that to be liable for each one he must mention "I swear" with each one separately. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: The general of R. Mair is the particular of R. Jehudah (i.e., "and not from thee, and not from thee," which is considered by R. Mair as a general, R. Jehudah considers a particular), and the general of R. Jehudah (i.e., the same statement but without "and") is the particular of R. Mair. R. Johanan, however, said: Concerning "and not from" all agree that it is a particular; where they differ is regarding "not from thee" (without "and"), which is to R. Mair a particular, and to R. Jehudah a general. What then is a general to R. Mair? "I swear that you all have nothing with me." But what is the point they differ in? Samuel bases his view upon the just-cited Boraitha in which R. Jehudah says "and not from thee" is a particular, and this must be taken as an. answer to R. Mair, who maintains that such statement is a general. On the other hand, R. Johanan bases his view upon our Mishna in which R. Mair says that for swearing "you all have nothing with" he is guilty but for one, whence it follows that if he states in his swearing "not from thee, not from thee" he is culpable for each. As to the Boraitha, R. Johanan explains it thus: R. Jehudah, answering R. Mair, says: concerning the phrase "and not from thee" I agree with you that it is a particular, but I do not agree with you concerning the phrase "not from thee, not from thee" (without and); to which Samuel cannot agree, as, he thinks, if this were the case R. Jehudah would state only in what he differs. As to the Mishna, Samuel does not agree with R. Johanan, as according to Samuel the phrase "and not from thee" is identical with "not from you all." (Here follow objections to the above, from our Mishna, where in all the cases it is stated with a vahve (-and) and the answer is: read it without "and." And to the question: Is it possible that all the "ands" are mistakes, it answers that the whole Mishna is in accordance with Rabbi's view in Tract Zebachim, where he plainly says that there is no difference whether the conjunction "and" was said or not.

"R. Mair says: Even," etc. Said R. A'ha b. R. Aika: It means that even if he says wheat in the singular, it none the less means a measure of the same (as we find in [Exod. 9:32] the word for wheat in the singular, and it denotes the whole kind of wheat).

"Give me the wheat," etc. Said R. Johanan: The value of a Peruta from all of them counts to make him liable for each severally, and R. A'ha and Rabina differ in their explaining this point. According to one he is liable only for three particulars, but not for the oath as such, which is a general; while the other maintains that he is liable for four: for the three particulars, and for the oath as a general. But has not R. Hyya taught that he is liable to fifteen sin-offerings (if he swore to five persons), so that the Tana of the Boraitha counts only the particulars and not the five generals (for, with the generals it would make up 20: 3 x 5 = 15 for the particulars, and five for the oaths in general)? The Tana counts only the particulars, and he does not count the generals, though he holds one liable for a general. But again, there is another Boraitha by the same R. Hyya in which the liability counts twenty? This second Boraitha refers to the previous statement in the Mishna, "Give me the deposit, the loan," etc., which amount to four particulars.

Rabha questioned R. Na'hman: How is it if five persons claim the four articles just mentioned, and he says to one of them: I swear that thou hast not with me a deposit, a loan, a robbed, a lost article, and not thou, and not thou, and not thou, and not thou, he is liable with regard to the last four only to one sin-offering (so that all in all he should be liable to eight), or because be said to each one, "and not thou," the particulars must be counted in each case, and hence he is liable to twenty? Come and hear what R. Hyya taught above: Twenty sin-offerings; now, if R. Hyya had in view that all particulars were mentioned in the oath, would it be necessary for him to specify the number of the sin-offerings? Hence, he surely has in view a case illustrated by you, and makes one liable for all the particulars.

"You violated," etc. Said R. Hyya b. Aba in the name of R. Johanan: The reason of R. Simeon is that the main claim in this case is fine. Said Rabha: We may illustrate R. Simeon's view as follows: If one says, "Give me the wheat, barley and rye which I have with you," and the answer is, "I swear that you have no wheat with me," and it was found that he really had no wheat, but had barley and rye, he is free, because the oath for the wheat was true; said Abayi to him: This illustration does not answer the purpose, since when swearing about wheat he did not deny barley and rye. But R. Simeon's view may be illustrated thus: one answers "I swear you have nothing with me," whereupon it was found that he had no wheat, but barley and rye, in which case he is culpable? Therefore, when Rabin came he said in the name of R. Johanan: Their point of difference is that according to R. Simeon the plaintiff demands only the fine, but not the indemnity for the shame and loss of value which is not fine, while according to the sages he demands also the latter. And their respective reasons are explained by R. Papa thus: According to R. Simeon one would not demand an amount that has to be appraised as yet, while the fine is an amount established in the Scripture; on the other hand, the rabbis maintain that, on the contrary, one would not demand a fine, the admission of which by the offender makes him free, while the indemnity for shame, etc. he must pay at all events.

CHAPTER 6.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH THE COURT GIVES AN OATH TO ONE OF THE CONTESTANTS.--THE NATURE OF THE CLAIM AND OF ITS PARTIAL ADMISSION.--WHICH ADMISSION IS OR IS NOT REGARDED AS CORRESPONDING WITH THE CLAIM.--THE CASES WHERE THE CLAIM IS FOR MOVEABLES AND THE ADMISSION FOR IMMOVABLES, OR vice versa.--WHO ARE OR ARE NOT FIT TO ENTER A CLAIM WHICH ENTAILS AN OATH.--THE FORM OF THE OATH AND THE INTRODUCTION THERETO USED BY THE COURT, AS WELL AS THE KIND OF SACRED OBJECT ONE MUST HOLD WHEN TAKING THE OATH.--ARTICLES THE CLAIM TO WHICH ENTAILS NO OATH.--THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH EITHER AN OATH MUST BE TAKEN FOR A LOST PLEDGE OR THE VALUE THEREOF MUST BE PAID.

MISHNA 1.: In the case of an oath before court, the claim must amount to two silver, and the confession, to one peruta; and if the confession is not of the same kind with the claim, he is free. How so? I have with you two silver. You have by me only one peruta; he is free. I have with you two silver and one peruta. You have by me but one peruta; he is liable. I have with you one mana. You have nothing by me; he is free. I have one mana with you. You have by me only fifty dinar; he is liable. My father has a mana with you. You have by me only fifty dinar; he is free, for he is in this case like to him who returns a thing lost. I have with you a mana. Yea. Next day the plaintiff says: Give it to me. I have given it to you already; he is free; but if his answer be: You have nothing by me, he is liable. I have with you a mana. Yea. Give it to me only in presence of witnesses. Next day he requires the money, whereupon the defendant says: I have given it to you already; he is liable, as he was to pay it before witnesses. I have in your possession a litra of gold. Nay; you have by me only a litra of silver; he is free. But if plaintiff says: I have with you a gold dinar. Nay; you have by me only a silver dinar, a trecissis, a fundion and a perutah, he is liable, since all the mentioned coins are of the same kind. I have in your possession a kur of grain. Nay; you have only a lethech of legume; he is free. I have with you a kur of fruit. Nay; you have by me only a lethech of legume; he is liable, since legume is in the category of fruit. If the claim was wheat and the defendant admits barley, he is free. Raban Gamaliel, however, finds him liable. If one requires from another tankards of oil, and latter admits pitchers, he must, according to Admon, take the oath, since it is a case of partial admission; but the sages say: The confession is not of the same kind with the claim. Said R. Gamaliel: Admon's decision appears to me to be correct. If one requires movables and real estate and the other admits movables but denies real estate or vice versa, he is free. If he admits but a part of the real estate he is likewise free; but if he admits but a part of the movables, he is liable, for property that is not subject to loss necessitates the taking of the oath with reference to property that is subject thereto. There is no oath to the claim of a deaf-mute, an imbecile, or a minor; nor is a minor to take an oath, but there is an oath to the claim of a minor or of the sanctuary.

GEMARA: How is an oath given? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: One is made to swear with the oath of the Scripture [Gen. 24:3]: "And he will make thee swear by the Lord, the God of heaven." Said Rabina to R. Ashi: Is this in accordance with R. Hanina b. Aidi, who said that the unique holy name is required?" Answered he: Nay; this may be even in accordance with the rabbis, who say that a divine attribute is sufficient, and the difference between the two is that he (who takes the oath) must keep in his hand a holy object; and this is in accordance with Rabha, who said that a judge who gives one the oath in the name of the Lord the God of heaven should be considered as he who erred in what was written plainly in a Mishna, so that the oath must be given again. And R. Papa says that a judge who gives one the oath by making him keep the Tephilin, is likewise considered erring, as the object kept must be the holy scrolls. (Says the Gemara): The Halakha prevails with Rabha, as there is no oath made without one's holding some holy object; and not with R. Papa, as after all there was a holy object in the hand of the one who took the oath.

One must stand when taking the oath; a scholar, however, may do it while sitting. Furthermore. the oath must originally be performed with the holy scrolls; a scholar, however, may take the oath even originally with Tephilin.

The rabbis taught: Also an oath taken by one before the court must be uttered in a language he understands, and the court must say to him the following introduction to the oath: Be aware that the whole world was trembling when the Holy One, blessed be He, spake on the Mount Sinai: "Thou shalt not bear the name of the Lord thy God falsely"; likewise concerning all transgressions mentioned in the Torah it reads: "Venakkei" (literally, he will forgive), and concerning a false oath it reads further, "Lo ienakei" (literally, he will not forgive); again, for all other transgressions only the sinner himself is punished, while here (in case of oath) the punishment extends also to his family, as it reads [Eccl. 5:5]: "Suffer not thy mouth to cause thy flesh to sin," and by the expression "flesh" one's family is meant, as [Isa. 58:7]: "From thy own flesh." Furthermore, for all other transgressions the sinner himself is alone punished, while here the whole world is punished, as [Hosea, 4:2, 3]: "There is false swearing, etc. . . . therefore shall the land mourn." (But perhaps it means that only when the sinner committed all the transgressions mentioned here in Hosea? This cannot be borne in mind, as it reads in [Jerem. xxiii. 10]: "For because of false swearing mourneth the land.") Again, the punishment for all other transgression is, because of the merits of the sinner's forefathers, postponed for some two or three generations, but here he is punished immediately, as it reads [Zech. 5:4]: "I bring it forth, saith the Lord of hosts, and it shall enter into the house of the thief, and in to the house of him that sweareth falsely by my name: and it shall remain in the midst of his house, and shall consume it with its timber and its stones"; "I bring it forth" means immediately; "it shall enter into the house of the thief" means who steal the mind of the people, e.g., he who has no money with his neighbour, claims such and makes latter swear; "into the house of him who sweareth falsely" means literally; "it shall remain in the midst of his house," etc., to learn from this that things indestructible by fire or water are destroyed by false swearing. If after having listened to all this introduction, he says: "I will not take the oath," the court sends him away immediately (that he might not reconsider and take it); but if he says: "I will nevertheless swear," the people present say [Numb. xvi. 26]: "Depart, I pray you, from the tents of these wicked."

Again, when he is ready to take the oath, the court says again to him: Be aware that the oath which you take is not according to your own mind, but to the mind of the Omnipotent and of the court, as we find by Moses, our master, when he made the Israelites swear, he said: You shall be aware that your oath is not by your own mind, but by that of the Omnipotent, as it reads [Deut. 29:13, 14]: "And not with you alone, etc. . . . But with him that is standing here," etc., and it is not meant only those were at the Mount Sinai, but all future generations, and all proselytes who will embrace Judaism in the future; and not only regarding the commandments given on that Mount, but also regarding all commandments that will be established in the future and be they lenient, such as the reading of the Book of Esther, as it reads there [Est. 9:27]: "The Jews confirmed it as a duty," etc., which means they confirmed a duty imposed upon them in the past.

The text above states "also an oath," etc. Why also? It is an addition to a Mishna in Tract Benedictions--viz.: the following are uttered in any language: The portion said to a suspected woman, the confession on tithe, the reading of Shema, the saying of the prayer, of the benediction after meals, the witness-oath, and the oath of a depository. So that the "also" from here comes to add yet the oath given by the court.

The master says: The whole world was trembling, etc. But why? Was it because it was ordained on Sinai? Then, all the ten commandments were given there; and if because it is more rigorous, is it indeed so? Is there not a Mishna: Lenient means positive and negative, except "Thou shalt not bear the holy name," etc.; rigorous are those under the category of capital punishment and Korath, and the commandment "Thou shalt not bear," etc. belongs to these (hence, we see that it belongs to the same category with these)? The answer is that to all other transgressions Venakkei applies, while here Lo ienakkei applies, as above. But does it not read together Venakkei lo ienakkei? This is explained by R. Elazar, who said: It is impossible to say Venakkei (he will forgive) as it is followed by lo ienakkei (he will not forgive), nor is it possible to say "he will not forgive" after it reads "he will forgive," therefore it must mean, he will forgive the repenters, but not those who do not repent. (The master says there) further: For all transgressions, etc., while here (in the case of oath) the punishment extends also to his family. But does it not read

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[Lev. 20:5]: "Then I will set my face against this man and against his family." And there is a Boraitha: R. Simeon says, If he has sinned, what has his family done; to teach that a family, where there is a contractor or a robber, is all considered robbers because it supports him? There he is punished with the punishment attached to his transgression, but the family with a lenient one; while here the family suffers the same punishment with the perjuror. As we have learned in the following Boraitha: Rabbi said, to what purpose is it written in the above-cited verse, "I will cut him off," after it reads "I will set my face," etc,? To teach that only him I will cut off but not the whole family.

Concerning the punishment of the whole world (mentioned before), does it not read [ibid. 26:37]: "And they shall stumble one over the other," which is explained elsewhere to mean "one because of the sin of the other," as all the children of Israel are mutually responsible one for the other? The reason then is that they could have prevented the sin by protesting, but did not do so. But is not one's family included in the "whole world"? There is a difference in the nature of the punishment--viz.: his family is punished more rigorously than the rest of the world.

The text says: If he says, "I will swear, the people say: Depart," etc. Why are both the parties called wicked? Let only him who swears have this name. It is in accordance with R. Simeon b. Tarfon, who says in the following Boraitha [Exod. 22:10]: "Then shall an oath of the Lord be between them both," infer from this that the oath rests upon them both. It states there further on: "Not according to your own mind." To what purpose is this? Because of a case that happened in Rabha's court (where the defendant put up the money claimed from him in a case and, while going to swear, he gave it to the plaintiff to hold, and swore then that he has returned the money, thus convinced that he had made a true oath).

"I have with you two silver," etc. According to Rabh the denial must be for two silver; according to Samuel the claim must amount to two silver, while the denial or the confession may be even for one peruta. Said Rabha: Our Mishna seems to be in accordance with Rabh, as it states that the claim must amount to two silver and the confession to one peruta, but it does not state the denial to be of one peruta; the Scripture, however, seems to be in accordance with Samuel, as it reads [ibid. ibid. 6]: "If a man do deliver unto his neighbour money or vessels to keep," and as "vessels" is used in the plural, so is money (silvers) here in the plural; and as silver is a valuable, so everything that is a valuable; and [ibid. 8]: "Of which he can says this it is" signifies however little it may be, hence, the confession must be to a claim that is no less than two silver.

There is an objection from the following Mishna: I have with you two silver. Nay; you have only one peruta; he is free from an oath. Now, is it not because the denial here is less than of two silver, and it is an objection to Samuel? Nay; it means particularly: He claims two silver, and the answer is, peruta, which is in copper, consequently the confession was not of the same kind with the claim. But if so, how is the second part to be understood--viz.: I have with you two silver and a peruta. Nay; you have with me only one peruta; he is liable. Now, if the claim was for the value of two silver, it is correct that he is liable, for the confession concerned the same kind as the claim; but if it is a claim particular on silver, then the other confessed to what was not claimed, and what this one claimed was not confessed? But is not the objection concerning Samuel, and R. Na'hman said that Samuel holds one liable for confessing one of the articles embraced in the claim; and it seems to be that the Mishna was particular regarding the kind, and not the value, of the metal, as it states in its last part: I have with you a litra gold. Nay; you have with me a litra silver; he is free. Now, if it is particular with regard to the kind of metal, then it is correct; but if it means the value of the metal, why should he be free, when the value of gold is so many times more than that of the same quantity of silver? Hence, as this last part is indisputably particular with regard to the kind of metal, so also is the first part. But if so, let this be an objection to Rabh? Rabh may say: All the Mishna treats of the value, but in the case of the litra gold it is different, as here the main point is the weight; and a support to this view may be found in its concluding part, which states: "I have with you a golden dinar." Nay; you have with me only a silver dinar, a trissis, a pundium and a peruta, he is liable, as they all are coins. Now, if it speaks of value, it is right that he is liable, as the claim was for coins and the confession, too, was for coins; but if it is particular, why should he be liable when he confesses to silver or copper, the claim being for gold? Said R. Elazar: It treats of a claim that is made for coins amounting to the value of a dinar, and this is stated to teach that a peruta is also considered a coin. And so it seems to be, since it adds that "they all are each a kind of coin." But Rabh reads the Mishna to mean "to them all the law of a coin applies."

Come and hear: "I have with you a gold dinar in gold." Nay; you have with me only a silver dinar; he is liable. Now, we see that only because the claimant added specifically "in gold," the kind of the metal is particular; but if this were not added, the value of the metal would be understood? Said R. Ashi.. Nay; the Boraitha intends to teach that if one says "a gold dinar," it means a dinar in gold.

R. Hyya taught a Boraitha in support of Rabh: I have with you a sela. Nay; a sela less two silver; he is liable. But if the answer is. A sela less a maäh (= 2½ silver), he is free (because the denial was for more than two silver).

Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak in the name of Samuel: All that was said hitherto concerns only the claim of the lender and the confession of the borrower, but if there was one witness, the borrower is liable even if the claim amounted only to one peruta; as it reads [Deut. 19:15]: "There shall not be one witness to any sin or transgression," which signifies that to a transgression one witness shall not be considered, but concerning an oath one witness may be considered; and there is a Boraitha that whereever two witnesses cause the payment of money, one witness causes an oath.

R. Na'hman said again in the name of the same authority: If the claim was for wheat and barley, and the confession was to either one, he is liable. Said R. Itz'hak to him: Thanks, so also said R. Johanan. Was he thanking because someone differed with R. Johanan? Yea., it was Resh Lakish who kept silent when R. Johanan said so, only because he was drinking at that time.

An objection was raised; come and hear: If the claim comprised both personal and real estate, and the confession was to either, he is free; if, however, the confession was regarding but a part of the real estate, he is free; but if to a part of the personal estate, he is liable. We see, then, that only in a case of real estate to which an oath does not apply, he is free; but if the claim were for vessels of two kinds similar to personal and real estate respectively, and he would confess to either kind he would be liable? Nay; he would be free in this case also; and the case of personal and real estate is to teach that, when the confession was only to a part of the personal, he has to swear even for the real estate, too. But what is there new in this teaching: that one can include in the oath also another claim? This has been already stated in Middle: Gate? Here is the main teaching, while in Middle Gate the point is touched on merely by the! way. R. Hyya b. Aba, however, said in the name of R. Johanan: If the claim was wheat and barley, and the confession was only to either of them, he is free. But has not R. Itz'hak expressed his thanks to one for quoting R. Johanan as saying the very opposite? The Amoraim differ regarding R. Johanan's statement.

R. Aba b. Mamal objected to R. Hyya: If the claim was for an ox, and the confession was for a lamb or vice versa, he is free; but if the claim was for an ox and a lamb, and the confession only for one of them, he is liable? And he answered: This Boraitha is in accordance with Admon; and you shall not take this answer as mere argument, since it is a fact that R. Johanan taught so explicitly.

R. Anan said in the name of Samuel: If one was about to claim wheat and the defendant hastened to confess barley, if it seems to the court that he did so with a view to elude the court, thereby escaping an oath, he is liable; but if only to justify the claim, he is free. He said further in the name of the same authority: If the claim was for two needles, and the confession was to one, he is liable; as for this purpose the Scripture mentions vessels, that they remain what they are. R. Papa said: If the claim was for vessels and a peruta and the confession was for the vessels and the denial for the peruta, he is free; but if vice versa he is liable. The one case is in accordance with Rabh, who holds that the denial must be of a claim of two silver, while the other case is in accordance with Samuel, who holds that of the claim comprised two articles and the confession was to but one, he is liable.

"I have a mana with you," etc. Said R. Na'hman: He is free from a biblical oath, but he is subject to a rabbinical one. (Here follows a repetition from Middle Gate and also from First Gate concerning the law that he who denies a loan is fit to be a witness, while he who denies a deposit is unfit.) According to others the saying of R. Na'hman concerned the latter part of the Mishna--viz.: I have a mana with you. Yea. And the next day when he refuses it, he says: "I have already given it to you"; he is free, to which R. Na'hman said: He must, however, take a rabbinical oath. To him who teaches this regarding the first part of the Mishna, is obvious that it belongs also to its latter part; but he who limits this to the latter part reasons thus: In this latter part money was avowedly involved, but in the first it is doubtful.

What is the difference between a biblical and a rabbinical oath? The reversibility of the oath: a biblical oath we do not transfer from one contestant to the other, while a rabbinical we do. And according to Mar b. R. Ashi, who says that a biblical oath is also reversible, what is the difference between the two oaths? The collecting from the property: where there is a biblical oath, the collection may be made from his property, which is not the case with a rabbinical oath if he refuses to take such.

And according to R. Jose who says that a rabbinical oath is also attended with collection, what is the difference between the two? In the case where one of the parties was suspected of an oath: if this was a biblical oath it is transferable to the other party, but if it is a rabbinical oath, which is only an enactment by the sages, it is not transferable, for the transferring is itself but an enactment and we do not impose one enactment upon another.

Now, what is to be done according to the rabbis, the opponents of R. Jose, who hold that in case of a rabbinical oath no collecting from the property takes place? We place him under ban. Said Rabina to R. Ashi: This is like holding one up for his throat till he takes off his clothes (i.e., it is still worse than collecting from his estate, as he remains under ban until he pays)! But what shall be done? Place him under ban for one month, and if he does not come then for absolving he is, as it is customary, punished according to Rabh's practice, after which punishment he is left alone.

R. Papa said: If one holds a document in his hand and the defendant says: the document is already paid up, he is not trusted and must pay. But if he requires that the plaintiff take an oath that it has not been paid, the court is to give him an oath. Said R. A'ha b. Rabha to R. Ashi: Why should this case be different from a marriage contract where she has to take an oath only when she impairs the contract (i.e., she claims that only one mana has been paid on it)? And he answered: In that case where the document is impaired, and the defendant does not require an oath, the court requires such; in this case, however, the court would tell him to an oath; and if the plaintiff was a scholar no oath is to be given. Said R. Yemer to R. Ashi: Is a young scholar given the liberty to strip men of their clothes? Say only that if he was a scholar, we do not compel him to swear, so that it should not seem that the court suspects him, and on the other hand if he refuses to swear we do not collect his claim from the defendant.

Again: "I have a mana with you." Said R. Jehudah in the name of R. Assi: If one has made a loan in the presence of witnesses, he must also return it in presence of witnesses. And when, he continued, I recited this before Samuel, he told me that the defendant can claim, "I have paid you in the presence of such and such witnesses, who are now away in the sea-countries." An objection was raised from our Mishna: "I have with you a mana. Yea. . . . I have returned it to you," he is free; now, if he required the money in presence of witnesses, it is a case similar to making a loan in the presence of witnesses, and nevertheless he is free, which contradicts R. Assi's statement? R. Assi may say: This is no comparison, as I speak of a case where the plaintiff has never reposed on confidence in the defendant, as he did not trust him without witnesses; but here he trusted him money without witnesses.

R. Joseph taught the same in the name of the above, as follows: If one makes a loan in presence of witnesses, the borrower is not obliged to return it in presence of witnesses, unless he was told not to repay otherwise than in presence of witnesses; and it is to this that Samuel told me: the defendant may none the less claim to have paid the debt in presence of such and such who are now in the sea-countries.

An objection was raised from the following. I have a mana with you. Yea. You shall not return it to me without the presence of witnesses. The next day, on being asked to return the money, he answered: I have returned it, the defendant is liable, for he had to return it as he was told, i.e., in the presence of witnesses; and this contradicts Samuel's statement? Samuel may say that concerning this law Tanaim differ in the following Boraitha: I have given to you my money in presence of witnesses, and you must return it under the same conditions; then the defendant must either pay or adduce evidence that he has paid already; R. Jehudah b. Bathina, however, says: He may claim to have returned the money in presence of witnesses that are now in the sea-countries. R. A'ha (one of the Saburaërs) overthrew all this argument by saying: Whence do we know that the above Tanaim differ in case he lent him before witnesses, perhaps it means in case of demanding when he says to him: Have I not lent you in presence of witnesses, so that you ought to pay me also in the presence of witnesses; but in case he told him when making the loan that he should return it in presence of witnesses, all agree that he is liable? Said R. Papi in the name of Rabha: The Halakha prevails that he who borrows in the presence of witnesses must pay also in the same manner. R. Papa, however, said in the name of the same authority that be is not obliged to do so, unless he was expressly told not to pay otherwise but in the presence of witnesses; and if the defendant claims to have paid it in the presence of such and such who are now in the sea-countries, he is trusted (Maimanides, however, reads: He is not trusted).

There was one who told his neighbour: When you will pay me my debt, you shall do so in the presence of Rubin and Simon; he, however, has paid it in presence of two other witnesses (and thereafter the plaintiff says that they are false witnesses). Said Abayi: What is the difference, he was told to pay before two witnesses, and so he did? Said Rabha to him: The plaintiff has purposely specified two witnesses by name that the defendant may not be able to say that he paid in presence of some other witnesses!

There was one who said to the borrower: You shall pay me only before two persons who are able to learn Halakhas; he, however, paid him without any witnesses present. It then happened that this money was violently taken away from the

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plaintiff, and he came to R. Na'hman saying: It is true, I have received. the money not as a return of the loan, but as a deposit, until there will happen two witnesses who learn Halakhas and then he will repay me. Said R. Na'hman to him: As soon as you admit to have taken the money it is a repayment, and if you want the defendant to comply with the stipulation regarding the -witnesses, go and bring the money here in the presence of myself and R. Sheshith, who are learned not only in Halakhas but also, in Siphra, Siphri, Tosephtha and in all the Gemara.

In another case one demanded a 100 zuz* which he lent to him, to which the defendant answered that such a case has never taken place; the other party, however, brought witnesses that the loan took place, but that it was returned; said Abayi: What is to be done, as the same witnesses who testify that the loan took place, testify also that it has been returned? Said Rabba to him (follow this rule): If one asserts not to have borrowed, it means he asserts not to have paid (hence, as the statement "that it has never taken place" is false, according to the evidence of these witnesses, we must take his word as though meaning: "I have never paid," which must be taken for granted in spite of all witnesses).

[A Zuz (plural zuzzim) was an ancient Jewish silver coin struck during the Bar Kochba revolt (the 3rd Roman-Jewish War 132-135 AD), as well as a Jewish name for the various types of non-Jewish small silver coinage, used before and after the period of the revolt. The name was used from the Greek era of drachmas, through the Roman era of Denarius, and then as the quarter denomination of Bar Kochba coinage. The Jewish Messianic Movement made zussim by overstrucking Roman Imperial denarii or Roman provincial drachmas of Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Trajan and Hadrian. Four Zuzzim, denarii or drachmas make a Shekel, a Sela or a Tetradrachm.

The word zuzu is of Akkadian origin from Akkadian zuze, meaning half, division, unit of weight, from the verb zazu, meaning to divide. Akkadian is an extinct East Semitic language that was spoken in ancient Mesopotamia (Akkadian Empire c. 2334–2154 BC, Old Assyrian Empire 2025–1378 BC, Babylonian Empire 1895–539 BC, Middle Assyrian Empire 1392–934 BC, Neo-Assyrian Empire 911–609 BC) from the third millennium BC until its gradual replacement by Akkadian-influenced Aramaic by the 8th century BC. Akkadian was used in the entire Middle East as Lingua Franca and became also the daily language of all Jewish people in the Holy Land. It was written in cuneiform script on clay tablets which are the origin of many stories and laws found in the Tanakh (Old Testament). Mesopotamia was also the origin of Abraham.

In Hebrew, the word "zuz" means "move", or "to move", so it was called "zuzzim" to show that it was constantly moving around like the English word "currency". In the Talmud, the Zuz and the dinar are used interchangeably, the difference being that the Zuz originally referred to the Greek Drachma (which was a quarter of the Greek Tetradrachm weighing approximately 17 grams) while the Dinar referred to the later Roman Denarius (which was a quarter of the Tyrian shekels and had the same weight as the Jerusalem Shekels and the Roman provincial Tetradrachms at approximately 14 grams).]

In still another case the plaintiff claimed 100 zuz, and the defendant answered: Have I not paid you in the presence of so and so? And so an so upon being quoted said: They know of no such case; and R. Sheshith was about to say that this defendant must be declared a liar; said Rabha to him: He was not obliged to repay in the presence of witnesses, and therefore he was not heedful enough to know the names of them in whose presence he repaid.

In another case the plaintiff was claiming 600 zuz, and the defendant answered: Have I not repaid this claim with 100 kabs of gall-nut, the value of each kab being six zuz? To which the plaintiff said: Nay; each was worth only four zuz, and brought witnesses to this effect, demanding the remaining 200 zuz. The defendant, however, said: I have paid you all the same, if not with this said stuff, then I gave you 200 zuz in cash. Rabha decided that the defendant in this case be recognised as a liar. Said Rami b. Hama to him: Have you not said that a thing to which one pays little attention, may easily escape one's memory (why not say that he paid him the 600 zuz but did not remember the price)? Whereupon Rabha answered: A fixed price can never be forgotten.

In another case one demanded 100 zuz on a document, whereto the defendant answered: "Have I not paid you"? Whereupon the plaintiff claimed that this payment was made to meet another claim. According to R. Na'hman the document lost its value, according to R. Papa, it did not. But why should R. Papa's decision here differ from what he decided in the following similar case, where the defendant's answer was: Have you not given me that money to buy oxen for slaughtering, and I returned you that money in the slaughter-house? And where the plaintiff asserts that this was for another debt; in which case R. Papa declared the document invalid? In this case R. Papa thus, decided, because the money was actually taken to buy oxen and then received in that very place where they were slaughtered; in our case, however, the plaintiff may be right in his claim. But how should such a case be ultimately decided? According to R. Papi the document is valid, and according to R. Sheshith b. R. Aidi it is invalid, and so the Halakha prevails, provided the defendant paid in presence of witnesses and the document was not mentioned at all; but if the payment was made between themselves, the plaintiff may be trusted when he says that it was to cover another debt, because were he willing to tell a lie he would simply deny the payment.

A borrower said to the lender: "You are trusted so long as you will say that I have not paid you"; thereafter he paid him in the presence of witnesses, but the plaintiff continued his claim, saying that this payment was for another debt. Both Abayi and Rabha said that the defendant himself has trusted him, hence, he is to be trusted; R. Papa, however, opposed, saying: The defendant trusted in this case more to the plaintiff than to one's self, but did he trust him more than two witnesses?

In another case the defendant said to the plaintiff: "You are trusted like two so long you say that I have not paid you;" thereafter he paid in the presence of three, and the plaintiff still claimed his debt; in which case R. Papa said: He was trusted as two, whereas here there are three witnesses. R. Huna b. R. Jehoshua, however, opposed, saying that concerning witnesses their number whether two or 100 matters not (according to the biblical law); however, if he said to him: "You are trusted like three," and then paid him in the presence of four, it is different, as the number three was intended here not for witnesses but for the minds, and in this respect four minds are more than three.

"There is no oath to the claim of a deaf-mute," etc. For [Exod. xxii. 6]: "Unto his neighbours," etc.; and the delivery by a minor is not considered.

"But there is an oath to the claim of a minor." But has it not just been said that there is no oath to such? Said Rabh: It means the minor claims that his father has given this or that to the defendant, and it is in accordance with R. Eliezar b. Jacob, who said in the following Boraitha: There is a case where one has to swear for his own claim--viz.: "Your father had with me a mana, but I paid him a half," then he has to swear for his own claim; the sages, however, say that here he is but returning a lost thing, hence, he is free. And to the question, Does not R. Eilezar agree that the defendant here is returning a lost thing, Rabh said: It treats here of a claim made by a minor after the death of his father. But again, the Mishna states expressly that there is no oath to the claim of minors? Rabh meant to say: He was as a minor in his father's business, but already of age when putting in the claim. But then how is the expression above "for his own claim" to be understood, as here it is not his claim but that of the plaintiff? It must, therefore, be said that they differ concerning what was said by Rabha (Middle Gate.) with regard to a biblical oath that "one is not so bold as to deny the whole," etc.: R. Eliezar holds that one is not bold concerning the son (of the deceased) also, and therefore he is not regarded as returning a loss, while the rabbis hold that one is not bold only in face of the party himself, but is so with relation to the son of same, and therefore he is considered as returning a loss.

But how can you explain the Mishna in accordance with R. Eliezar b. Jacob, does not the Mishna state in its first part: If one claims, my father had with you a mana, and the answer is, I have no more than 50 dinar, he is free because he only returns a loss? There it speaks of a case when the heir did not claim: "I am certain," while in the case of our Mishna the minor is supposed to claim that he is certain. Samuel, however, says: Our Mishna's case is when the minor has real estate and one puts in a claim that his father owes him money, in this case even if the plaintiff has a document, he must swear that the minor's father has not paid it; the same is the case with the sanctuary.

MISHNA 2.: One does not swear to the following: To slaves, written documents, arable lands, and sanctified objects; nor is thereto applied the payment of double amount, or of four and five-fold. The gratuitous bailee need not swear, the bailee on payment need not pay damages. R. Simeon holds that one is obliged to swear to objects of the sanctuary, for whose security he is liable, but not to those for which he is not responsible. R. Mair says: There are things attached to the land and yet not considered land; but the sages do not agree with him therein. How so? I have transferred to you ten vines laden with grapes. Nay; there were only five; and he must swear according to R. Mair, while the sages hold that everything attached to the soil is to be regarded as the land itself.

One swears but to things capable of being measured, weighed, and counted. How so? I have transferred to you a house full of fruit, or, I have handed you a purse full of money. I know not how much there was, but you are at liberty to take back whatever you left there; he is free; but if plaintiff says: They were reaching the cornice, and the defendant rejoins: Only up to the window, latter is liable.

GEMARA: Whence is this deduced? From [Exod. 22:8]: "For all manner of trespass": general, "ox, ass, lamb, raiment"; particulars, "for any manner of lost thing"; again general, and there is a rule that wherever particulars appear between generals. it must be judged in the sense of the particulars: and as these are movables each having in body a value, so also all other cases must be equal to these; except real estate, which is not movable, slave, who are equalled to real estate, documents which though movable are in body of no value, and finally the sanctuary which is excluded because of the verse "his neighbour."

"Double-amount, four and five-fold," etc. The reason here is that the Scripture speaks of four and five-fold, and as in the case of double-amount an oath does not apply; it remains only the case of three and four-fold which is not mentioned in the Scripture.

"A gratuitous bailee need not swear." Whence is this deduced? From what the rabbis taught [Exod. 22:9]: "If a man deliver unto his neighbour": general, "an ass," etc.; particular, "to keep"; general, and on the basis of the above-mentioned rule the particulars appearing between generals render the whole to be judged in their sense: as the particulars here are movables each having in body a value, etc. (as above).

"A bailee on pay." Also this is deduced from the just-cited verse and on the basis of the same rule regarding particulars appearing between generals.

"R. Mair says: There are things attached," etc. From this we see that R. Mair does not hold that what is attached to the land is itself considered land. Now, why is here the point of difference illustrated by laden vines, and not by vines as such? Said R. Jose b. Hanina: The Mishna speaks of grapes that were ready for the press. R. Mair holds: As they are ready for pressing they are no longer considered attached to the soil, but as already pressed in which case an oath applies, while the sages do not share this opinion.

"One swears but to things capable of being measured," etc. Said Abayi: Provided he says "a house full," etc., but if he says, "this house was full," then his claim is definite and recognised. Said Rabha to him: If this were so, why the illustration in the last part of the Mishna with "cornice" and "window" stated by plaintiff and defendant respectively, and not with it a house "and" this house"? Therefore, says Rabba, there is no liability of an oath unless the claim concerned a certain measure or weight, and the confession was made also to measure or weight. There is a Boraitha in accordance with Rabba: "I have a kur of grain with you." Nay; you have nothing with me; he is free. "I have with you a big chandelier." Nay; you have only a small one; he is free. However, if he says: "I have with you a kur of grain," and the answer is: Only a lethech; "or a chandelier of ten pounds," and the answer is: One of only five pounds, he is liable. Because the rule underlying this judging is: One is not liable unless the claim was for a certain measure, weight or number, and the confession was to the same effect. Now, what is the addition of the rule for in the Boraitha? To indicate that "this house full" means also a measure. But why is it not a partial confession if he confesses to a small chandelier when the claim is for a big one? Because to the claim as it is, there is here no confession, nor is the claim made for what is confessed (as the big and small chandelier are two different things); but is not the same the case when the claim is for one of ten pounds, and the confession for one of five pounds? Said R. Samuel b. R. Itz'hak: It speaks of a chandelier made of separable pieces, and the confession was to five pounds of the same chandelier; why, then, is not the same the case with the girdle that may have been of separable pieces? And as this is not so, we must say that it does not speak of pieces in the other case of the chandelier either! Therefore, said R. Aba b. Mama], it speaks of a whole chandelier, but when the claim is for a big and the confession for a small one, then are two wholly different things involved; but if it speaks of the weight, one could by rubbing reduce the weight of such from ten to five pounds, the only object thus remaining the same.

MISHNA 3.: If one lends to his neighbour on a pledge, and the pledge got lost, whereupon the plaintiff says: I lent you on it a sela, but it was worth only a shekkel; the other party says: No, truly, you lent me a sela. on it, but it was worth a sela, he is free. But if the plaintiff claims: I lent you on it a sela, but it was worth only a shekkel; whereto the other replies: Nay; you did lend me on it a sela, and it was worth three dinar, he is liable. If the debtor says: You lent me on it a sela, while it was worth two selas, whereto the creditor: Nay; I gave you on it one sela, its value only, he is free. But if the former says: You lent me a sela on it, it was, however, worth two, and latter says: Nay; I lent you thereon a sela, and it was worth only five dinar, he is liable. Who is to take the oath? The depository, as he could meanwhile produce the pledge if the other one were to swear.

GEMARA: The concluding sentence of the Mishna belongs to which part? If to the last, there is a rule that the oath rests with the lender? Said Samuel and also R. Hyya b. Rabh and also R. Johanan, it belongs to the middle part: I lent you a sela and it was worth a shekkel, and the other says it was worth three dinars, in which case the borrower confesses to owe yet one dinar, hence, it is a partial admission to which an oath applies; the rabbis, however, have transferred this oath from the borrower to the lender. 1 And now that R. Ashi has

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decided that both depositor and depositary must each take an oath, he latter: that he does not have the pledge any more, and the former: that its value amounted to so and so much, the Mishna is to be explained thus: Who is to take the oath first? The depositary, since if the depositor swore first the other could meanwhile reconsider and produce the pledge.

Samuel said: 2 If one lends to his neighbour 1,000 zuz, and pledges for them the handle of a scythe only, if the handle is lost the 1,000 zuz are lost, but if the pledge consisted of such two handles the case is different, as we do not assume that he gave 500 zuz for each handle, but for the whole, and as only one of them was lost the lender loses nothing; R. Na'hman, however, maintains that the same is the case with two, i.e., if one is lost the lender loses 500 zuz, and if both are lost he loses the whole 1,000; but the same is not the case if the pledge consisted of a scythe handle and a piece of metal. The opinion of the sages from Nahardea is that the same is the case with the last mentioned pledge: If either the metal or the handle is lost, 500 zuz are lost, and the loss of both entails the loss of all the 1,000.

An objection was raised from our Mishna--viz.: From the case where defendant says it was worth but three dinar. Why is he liable in this case? Let the depositor say: You have taken it for a sela? The Mishna has in view the case where the depositary expressly took upon him responsibility for its value only, which is not so in Samuel's case.

Concerning the last mentioned case shall we assume that the following Tanaim differ: If one had made a loan on a pledge and the Sabbathic year entered, the pledge, though worth only the half value of the loan, the year does not release the loan [Deut. xv. 2]; R. Jehudah the Nassi, however, maintains that if the pledge amounted to the value of the whole debt, the year does not release, but if not to this value, the year does release. Now, let us see what does the first Tana mean by his saying "it does not release"? If he means, it does not release the half debt and R. Jehudah comes to teach that it releases even this half, then of what use is a pledge? We must then say that the first Tana means it releases the entire debt, as he agrees with Samuel's theory that as soon as it was accepted for this amount it must be considered only as such, while R. Jehudah differs! Nay; they differ with regard to the worth of the pledge and still R. Jehudah maintains that the entire debt is released, for the pledge which is not worth the amount of the debt he considers as mere memorandum.

CHAPTER 7.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE OATH IS GIVES TO THE PLAINTIFF OR TO THE DEFENDANT.--REGARDING A SUSPECT OF PERJURY.--THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A BIBLICAL AND A RABBINICAL OATH.--IS OR IS NOT A RABBINICAL OATH TRANSFERABLE?--THE OATH OF ORPHANS (PLAINTIFF OR DEFENDANT), PARTNERS, GARDENERS.--THE CASES WHEN THE SABBATHIC YEAR RELEASES ONE FROM AN OATH.

MISHNA 1.: All those who are subject to a biblical oath swear and do not pay. The following, however, swear in order to receive pay: The employee, the robbed, the bruised, he whose adversary is suspicious of perjury, and the store-keeper on his business book. The employee, how so? Give me my wages which I have with you, and the employer answers. I have given them to you already, and the former claims: I have received nothing; he swears and gets his claim. R. Jehudah, however, says: Unless there be a partial. confession (the oath is not effective)--viz.: the employed says.. Give me my fifty dinar wages you have in your hands, and the employer replies: You received on this account one gold dinar.

How is it with the robbed? If witnesses testify that one entered his house to seize a pledge without permission, now the householder says: You have seized one of my utensils, and he denies, plaintiff swears and takes it. R. Jehudah, however, says: Unless a partial confession takes place there--viz.: You took two utensils, and he answers: I took but one.

How is it with the bruised? If witnesses testify that one entered the premises of so and so unhurt and went out in wounds, now the plaintiff says to the defendant: You bruised my body, and he says: I did not, former swears and receives pay. R. Jehudah says. Unless a partial confession took place --viz.: plaintiff says: You wrought upon me two bruises, and the defendant says: Only one.

How is the adversary suspicious of perjury? As follows: Be it that he became suspicious while under oath as a witness, or under oath for a deposit, or even for merely vain swearing. If one of them is a gambler in dice, a usurer, a dove hunter, or one who is doing business with the fruit of the Sabbathical year, his adversary swears and obtains his claim. In case, however, both were suspicious, the oath returns to its place; such is R. Jose's opinion; R. Mair holds that they divide.

The store-keeper on his book, how so? Not that he say to somebody: It is stated in my book that you owe me 200 zuz, but that when one says to the store-keeper: Give my son two saah of wheat, or: Give my labourer a sela in money, whereupon the store-keeper claims: So I did give, and the others say: We have received nothing, the two swear; he swears and gets paid, and they likewise swear and get paid by the employer. Said b. Nanan: How is that? Either party will necessarily be committed to false swearing! But both parties receive their respective claims rather without swearing. If one said to the storekeeper: Give me fruit for one dinar, and he, having given him, says: Give me the dinar, whereupon this replies: I have given it to you already and you put it into the cash-drawer, the purchaser is to swear. If, however, the customer gave the dinar and said: Give me the fruit, and the store-keeper says: I have given them to you already and you brought them over to your house, the store-keeper is to swear. R. Jehudah says: He who has the fruit in his possession has the preference.

If one says to the money-changer: Give me change for a dinar, and he was given it, whereupon the changer says to him: Give the dinar, and he answers: I have given it to you already and you have put it into the cash-drawer, the customer has to swear. But if he gave him the dinar and says: Give me the change, and the other one replies: I have given it to you already and you have put it into your purse, the money-changer has to swear. R. Jehudah says: It is not customary with a moneychanger to give out an issar before he has received his dinar.

As it has been established that a woman who damaged her marriage contract can obtain payment only on oath; that, when a single witness testifies that she was paid, she can receive payment only on oath; that she can get paid from encumbered estates or from the estates of the orphans only on oath; and that when she is to be paid in her husband's absence, she is so only on oath: so likewise should orphans be paid only on oath--viz.: We swear that our father had not willed to us nor told us, and that we have not found among the documents of our father that this note has been paid. R. Johanan b. Buoka says: Even if the son was born after his father's death, he may swear and collect. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel says: If there are witnesses to the effect that the father said while dying: This note has not been paid, the heir collects without an oath. The following have to swear also in the case when there is no claim: Partners, gardeners, guardians, a woman business-manager, and the son of the house. When one of these parties says: What is your claim against me? and the other one answers: My only desire is that you swear, he must swear. If the partners or gardeners have already divided, they are no longer liable to take an oath. However, if an oath is imposed upon one of them from some other source, all other claims may be included. The Sabbathic year releases from an oath.

GEMARA: "Swear and do not pay." Whence is this deduced? From [Exod. xxii. 10]: "An oath of the Lord, . . . the owner of it shall accept this," etc.; which signifies that the oath rests upon him who has to pay.

"The following, however, swear in order to receive pay." Why have the rabbis enacted the law that the labourer must swear? (For the answer see Middle Gate, p. 300 f.; par. But it is correct.) Said R. Na'hman in the name of Samuel: This law holds good, provided he was hired in presence of witnesses, but if without witnesses, the employer is to be trusted, since if he would he could say that he has never hired him. Said R. Itz'hak to him: Thanks, so also said R. Johanan. (Says the Gemara): From this it appears that Resh Lakish differed with the latter; and why is it not mentioned? Some say: Resh Lakish was drinking at that time, according to others R. Itz'hak was then absent from college. The same was taught also by R. Menashia b. Zebid in the name of Rabh. Said Rami b. Hama: How fair is this Halakha! Said Rabha to him: I do not see its fairness, since according to its theory the four kinds of bailees to whom a biblical oath applies find no practical illustration, for as any of them may say that such a thing (as claimed by the plaintiff) has never occurred, he may be trusted also in case when asserting that the thing has been robbed; and should you say that the object was deposited with such a bailee in the presence of witnesses, he could still say that he has returned it, and as he would be trusted when claiming that he has returned it ` he may likewise be trusted when he says that it has been robbed; hence there can be here no case unless the plaintiff took a document on his deposit, as only in this case the bailee cannot assert that he has returned the object, for if he had done so he would have taken back the document. [(Says the Gemara): From Rabha's objection we see that both Rabha and Rami b. Hama hold that if one deposits an article in the presence of witnesses, the depositary is not bound to return it in presence of witnesses, while if deposited on a document the depositary must possess evidence that he has returned the deposit.]

Concerning this Rami b. Hama applied to R. Sheshith [1 Sam. 21:13]: "And David took these words to his heart"; as R. Sheshith, when meeting Rabba b. Samuel, questioned him: Has the master learned something concerning an employee? And he answered: Yea; an employee, at the time of getting his pay, is to take an oath and then receive his pay. How so? If the employee claims: You hired me and did not pay; while the employer says: I hired you and paid you. However, if the former's claim is: You hired me for two zuz and gave me only one; while the employer says that he hired him only for one, then it is incumbent upon the plaintiff to bring evidence. Now, as in the last case the plaintiff is to bring evidence, it is to be assumed that in the first case there was no evidence required (hence, the above theory of Rabh and Samuel is overthrown). Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak (this is no objection at all): It may be that even in the first case there was some evidence, and the evidence in the last case is only required with regard to the collection of the payment from the employer, but concerning the oath the Boraitha did not care to teach.

R. Jeremiah b. Aba said: The college sent a message to Samuel, thus: Let the master teach us as to who is to swear in a case where the specialist says, "You have hired me for two zuz to repair something," while the employer says that he hired him only for one zuz; and Samuel answered: In such a case the employer is to swear and the employee loses the case, for as regards price once fixed people remember it well. But has not Rabba b. Samuel said above that in such a case the burden of proof lies upon the plaintiff, and as here he possesses no evidence he should lose the case even without any oath on the part of the employer? Said R. Na'hman: The above Boraitha is to be interpreted as teaching alternatively, i.e., either the employee is to bring evidence and receive his pay, or the employer is to swear and former loses.

An objection was raised from the following Boraitha: If one has given his garment to a specialist for repair and thereafter they contradict each other concerning the price for labour and services, the law is thus: so long as the article is with the specialist the burden of proof lies on owner; and if it was delivered, the time of payment not yet elapsed, the specialist is to swear and then collect, but if that time has already elapsed, it remains for him as plaintiff to bring evidence. Thus we see that if within the time, the specialist is to swear and collect. Why let the owner swear and the specialist lose? Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: This Boraitha is in accordance with R. Jehudah, who holds that so long as the oath seems to rest upon the owner (and there is a partial admission on his part) the rabbis' enactment is that the employer shall swear and thereupon collect. But let us see which R. Jehudah is meant here? It can not be the R. Jehudah of our Mishna, as he plainly requires a partial admission; it must, then, be the R. Jehudah of the following Boraitha: So long as the time of payment has not elapsed, it is the employee that swears and collects, but after the expiration of said time it is for the employer to swear. Said R. Jehudah: Provided the employee claims fifty dinar for his work, and the employer claims to have already paid one gold dinar (= 20 silver dinar), or they contradict each other regarding the price; but if the employer claims that he has never hired him, or that he has paid his wages to the last pesuta, the burden of proof rests upon the plaintiff.

R. Sheshith b. R. Aidi, however, opposed thus: Would you say that a contradiction regarding the price is in accordance with R. Jehudah and not with the rabbis; bear in mind that where R. Jehudah is in our Mishna more rigorous (as he demands a partial admission) the rabbis are lenient; should the rabbis be more rigorous in the Boraitha where R. Jehudah is more lenient? But is it possible to explain the Boraitha in accordance with the rabbis, has not Rabba b. Samuel taught, in case of contradiction regarding the price, that the plaintiff is to bring evidence, which teaching could be neither in accordance with the rabbis nor with R. Jehudah? Therefore said Rabha: Their point of difference is as follows: R. Jehudah holds that, concerning a biblical oath which applies to the employer, the rabbis have enacted for the sake of the employee to reverse the oath to the latter, so that he may, upon swearing, collect; but where there is a rabbinical oath (as where there is no partial admission) which is itself merely an enactment, they do not impose another enactment upon it; the rabbis, however, are of the opinion that the said enactment (that the employee swear) applies also to the case of a rabbinical oath, and as to the contradiction about the price, it may be said that, as a price usually remains in memory, the rabbis leave in this case the oath to the employer.

"Entered his house to seize," etc. But perhaps he has not taken any pledge? Has not R. Na'hman said that he who, hatchet in hand, says, "I will go to cut down the tree belonging to so and so," and thereafter the tree is found cut down, we nevertheless do not say that he did cut it down? Hence we see that a man may sometimes merely exaggerate or affect to do something and in reality does not do it; why then not say the same in our case? Read, then, in the Mishna that he actually did seize a pledge. But if so, let the witness testify as to what the pledge was? Said Rabba b. b. 'Hana in the name of R. Johanan: The Mishna speaks of the pledger as claiming that the defendant seized some small utensils which he concealed under his garments (so that the witnesses could not see them, according to Rashi; according to Tasspheth, however, plaintiff claims that the defendant took more than the part the witnesses could see).

R. Jehudah said: If witnesses saw one concealing utensils under his garments when coming out from a house, and he claims that he had bought them, he is not trusted (in case the owner of said house claims that he only loaned them to the defendant), provided the owner of the house was not wont to sell his utensils, but if he was so, the defendant may be trusted;

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and even in this case he is not trusted if such utensils are not as a rule to be concealed, but if they are so he may, again, be trusted; and even when they are not ordinarily hidden, but the defendant was of such a standing as would not allow him to carry things publicly, it may be assumed that such is his usage and therefore he may be trusted. All this refers only to a claim of hiring and loaning; if, however, the claim concerns stealing, the plaintiff is not trusted when he makes one a thief who is not suspicious of being such (but the defendant has to swear that he bought them). Furthermore, even in the case where the defendant is not reliable he is not to be trusted only with regard to utensils not used for loan and hire, but in case the utensils are loaned or hired out, he is trusted; as concerning this R. Huna b. Abin once sent a message (see Middle Gate.).

Rabha said: In case one was going to seize the goods of another, even the watchman of the house or his wife is trusted on an oath, and the defendant must pay. Questioned R. Papa: Is a labourer who was doing some work in the house at that time trusted in this case on an oath? This question remains undecided.

R. Yemar said to R. Ashi: If the claim is for a silver goblet, may the defendant be trusted with an oath or not? (and R. Ashi answered: We have to inquire into the position of the man; if he is wealthy or so much respected that people deposit with him valuables of this kind, he is trusted, otherwise he is not trusted).

"How is it with the bruised," etc. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: The oath applies only in such a case when the plaintiff could himself cause a wound, but if it was not possible for him to do so, he recovers his claim without an oath. But why not fear that he may have hurt himself against a wall or a stone? Taught R. Hyya: It speaks of this case, the wound is found on his shoulder or under the arm. But it may have been inflicted by someone other than the defendant? There was nobody else in the house.

"Even for merely vain swearing." Why even? It means to say: not only; i.e., not only if suspicious of an oath where denial of money is involved, but also even if suspicious of such where only a denial of words is involved, he is not trusted. But if so, let an uttered oath, too, be taught? The Mishna teaches but oaths which are made falsely, while an uttered oath may be made for the future and may therefore be fulfilled. But again, let it include an uttered oath for the past? In teaching vain swearing it indeed includes all that is equal thereto.

"A gambler in dice," etc. To what purpose is this statement? The Mishna classifies first those who are unfit biblically and then also the rabbinically unfit.

"In case both are suspicious," etc. Rabha questioned R. Na'hman: How should we read in the Mishna, R. Mair holds, they divide or R. Jose holds so? Answered he: I do not know. How then shall the Halakha prevail? Answered he again: I do not know. However, it was taught that R. Joseph b. Miniumi said in the name of R. Na'hman that R. Jose was the one who said they divide; likewise taught R. Zebid b. Oshia, or R. Zebid in the name of Oshia. And R. Joseph b. Miniumi said that such a case happened in the court of R. Na'hman and the decision was to divide.

"The oath returns to its place." To which place? Said R. Ami: According to our masters in Babylon, it returns to its place, the Mount Sinai; and our masters in Palestine said: It returns to him who was obliged to take it (and as he cannot swear, he must pay). Said R. Papa: "Our masters in Babylon" means Rabh and Samuel--viz.: our Mishna states that orphans shall not pay without an oath, and it was discussed as to what it means: shall we assume that the orphans cannot recover from the borrower unless they take an oath; is this possible, since their father, if alive, could recover without an oath, why should they swear? It must then be explained to mean orphans that have to recover from other orphans; and both Rabh and Samuel said provided the lender died while the borrower was still alive, but if the borrower died first the lender was already obliged to swear in order to recover from the orphans of the borrower the latter's debt, and as a man cannot bequeath an oath to his children the oath returns to the Mount Sinai (i.e., there is no oath here); as to the masters of Palestine, it is R. Aba in the case of a robbed piece of metal mentioned above and tried before him when he decided that as the defendant is obliged to swear but cannot, he must pay. Said Rabha: The Halakha seems to prevail with R. Aba; as it reads [Exod. 20:10]: "The oath of the Lord be between them," etc., but not between their heirs. Now, let us see the nature of the case: if the heirs of the plaintiff claim that their father had a mana with the defendants' father and the others answer: We are aware that he had only fifty dinar, then it is a partial admission; what difference then is there whether the plaintiff himself or his heirs appear in the case? We must then say that the defendant orphans say that they are aware of fifty dinar, but are not aware of the other fifty dinar; now, if you say that such answer if put in by the defendant himself would oblige him to an oath, it is correct that the above-cited verse is needed to free the heirs from an oath; but if the defendant would not have to swear, then what is the verse for? Hence, whoever is obliged to swear but cannot swear (as in the case of the orphans) he must pay, as R. Aba decided in the case before him.

But what do Rabh and Samuel infer from the above-cited verse? What was said above by Simeon b. Tarfon: The verse comes to indicate that the oath rests upon both the contestants.

"The storekeeper," etc. There is a Boraitha: Rabbi said, why should these be troubled with an oath? Said R. Hyya to him: We have learned that both the storekeeper and employees have to swear (the employees that they have not received goods in the value of such and such an amount on account of their employer; and the storekeeper that he has not yet been paid for the goods), and both storekeeper and employees collect from the employer. Has Rabba accepted R. Hyya's theory or not? Come and hear the following: Rabba said that the labourer has to take an oath that he has received nothing from the storekeeper; now, if Rabba had accepted R. Hyya's theory, it would have been stated here that the oath must be taken with reference to the employer. Said Rabha: This Boraitha intends to say thus: the labourer takes an oath with reference to the employer and in the presence of the storekeeper that he (the labourer) has taken nothing from the latter.

It was taught: If there were two parties of witnesses contradicting each other, each party may, according to R. Huna, appear and testify for itself (although either of the parties is surely false, for the court in default of evidence cannot decide which one is true or false). R. 'Hisda, however, maintains that we have nothing to do with false witnesses (and consequently neither party be trusted). Illustration: If there were two cases with two lenders, two borrowers, and two documents, and one witness of each of the two parties of witnesses was signed on the document of the other contestant, R. Huna and R. 'Hisda differ: according to former both the documents are valid, and according to R. 'Hisda they are both invalid as they are both false. On the other hand, if there was but one lender with two documents against one borrower, all agree that the lender has to suffer; but if there were two lenders with two documents against one borrower, it is a case treated of in our Mishna--(viz.: the employees say they have received nothing and claim their pay from the employer, and the storekeeper asserts to have given goods to the employers and claims his pay also from the employer, in which case the Mishna decides that both the claimants swear and recover from the employer); but what is the law in case there were two borrowers and one lender with two documents signed by the two mutually contradicting parties of witnesses, according to R. Huna? Shall we assume that as there are two borrowers we should regard each of the documents as though it were the right one and collect thereupon the two, or as one of the documents is doubtless false the two should be regarded invalid? This question remains undecided.

"If he said to the storekeeper: Give me fruit for a dinar." There is a Boraitha: R. Jehudah said, provided the fruit is lying there in a heap and each of the parties is claiming that it is his, but if the customer has the fruit in his basket and put latter upon his shoulders the burden of proof lies upon the plaintiff.

"If he says to the money changer," etc. These two cases are necessary, since if only the former is stated, one might say that because fruit decays the storekeeper was in haste to put it into the basket for his customer before yet receiving the money; therefore he may be trusted; while, this not being the case with money, it is usual not to give the change before receiving the money, hence, the rabbis, too, would agree with R. Jehudah. On the other hand, if only the second case were stated one might say that only for this reason R. Jehudah differs with the rabbis, while concerning fruit he agrees with them, therefore the two cases are necessary.

"And also the orphans," etc. (This has been explained above to mean orphans versus orphans, and what Rabh and Samuel have to say on this point is all recapitulated.) This statement was sent to R. Elazar accompanied with the question as to the purpose of this oath, and he answered: The heirs have to take the usual oath of heirs (explained further on), and thereupon to collect the bequest. This statement was then again sent to R. Ami, who said: They do not cease sending questions again and again! If I found something worthy of notice in it, would I not notify you thereof, without waiting for your messages? However, continued he, as this question has reached us already yet we have to say something thereabout viz.: If the lender was already summoned and it was decided that he has to take an oath, and he died in between, so that he was already obliged to swear to the orphans of the borrower, and as one cannot bequeath an oath to one's children, they are free from oath; if, however, he has not yet been summoned, and hence not yet obliged to take an oath, the orphans of the lender have to swear the oath of heirs and thereupon collect the debt.

R. Na'hman opposed: Does the court find one liable to an oath? With the death of the borrower the lender is by law liable to an oath with relation to the heirs; therefore, said he, it depends on whether or no the law, laid down above by Rabh and Samuel, is established; if yes, they are free, if not, they have to take an oath and collect. We see from this that R. Na'hman was in doubt; but has not R. Joseph b. Miniumi said above: that R. Na'hman decided in a similar case that the contestants divide? R. Na'hman's explanation here is in accordance with R. Mair, who holds, the oath returns to its place, but he himself holds with R. Jose: if one upon the death of his wife remarries and then dies, the widow and her heirs have the preference over the heirs of the first wife concerning their respective marriage contracts. We see then that the heirs collect without an oath? It speaks of the case they swore before dying. Come and hear the second part: But his heirs may adjure the widow, her heirs, and all empowered by her. (We see then that as his heirs may give an oath to her heirs, the widow who has not sworn has bequeathed, as it were, to her heirs the power of taking an oath, and this is objecting to Rabh and Samuel?) Said R. Shmaia: The Boraitha here speaks alternatively--viz.: his heirs adjure her if she was a widow, and they adjure her heirs if she was but a divorced woman (his heirs may adjure her though he himself could not have done so, as he gave her a document freeing her from all oaths). R. Nathan b. Hoshia, however, objected from the following: Preference was given to the son over his father, in that the son may collect from the orphans if he holds a document against the borrower, provided he has evidence that his father before dying told him that the document has not yet been paid, and if he has no evidence he has to swear to this effect; on the other hand, his father can under no circumstances collect without an oath; hence, the son may collect without an oath in relation to the defendant orphans, if the borrower died when the lender was still alive? Thus we see that it is in accordance with R. Simeon b. Gamaliel from our Mishna? Said R. Joseph: This Boraitha is in accordance with the school of Shamai, who holds that a document which is to be collected is to be regarded as already collected (as the estate is encumbered to the document), hence: the rule that the son collects upon presenting evidence of his father's statement.

R. Na'hman happened to be in Tura; both R.' Hisda and Raaba b. R. Huna came to visit him, and asked him thus: Let the master conjoin with us in nullifying the statement of Rabh. and Samuel; whereupon he answered: Have I troubled myself to make a journey of so many parsas to nullify the statement of these sages! It will suffice if I will agree with you not to add to their statement (i.e., not to deduce therefrom any other cases). (Asks the Gemara): What other cases? E.g., such as were decided by R. Papa: He who impairs his document (by saying that he collected a part thereof), and thereafter dies, his heirs may take the oath of heirs and collect the money (which oath could not be taken according to Rabh and Samuel).

It once happened that B, who had borrowed money of A through a surety and on a document, died, A being still alive; thereafter A also died and his heirs claimed the debt from the surety. R. Papa, before whom the case was tried, was about to say that this is a case included in the decision of R. Na'hman that nothing be added to Rabh and Samuel's ruling, and in this case the heirs are to collect not from the orphans but from the surety. Said R. Huna b. R. Jehoshua to him: Are they indeed collecting from the surety for his debt and not for that of the orphans?

In another case the lender died childless, leaving a brother, and Rami b. Hama was about to say that R. Na'hman's decision includes this case, too. Said Rabha to him: Is there any difference between the heir's saying "my father told me" or "my brother told me"? Said R. Hama: As there is no ultimate decision as to whether the Halakha prevails with Rabh and Samuel or not, we should leave it to the judges; he who decides in accordance with Rabh and Samuel should not be objected, nor should protest be raised against him who follows R. Elazar's decision as a precedent. Said R. Papa: If such a case happens in our court, we shall not destroy the document, nor collect it, for fear the Halakha may prevail with Rabh and Samuel; however, not destroy it, in order to give the contestant the benefit of doubt and enable him to bring his case in another court.

Once a judge followed in his decision R. Elazar; a young scholar interested in this problem came to the judge and told him that he is able to produce a letter from the west attesting that the Halakha does not prevail with R. Elazar; and the judge said to him: Well, produce the letter and we will then see. The scholar, however, came to complain in the court of R. Hama, and latter answered that it is already decided thus: He who follows R. Elazar's ruling as a precedent cannot be protested against.

"The following have to swear," etc. Does the Mishna speak of idiots? It means to say that these persons have to swear if they say they are not certain of the claim.

There is a Boraitha: The son of the house mentioned in the Mishna is not he who frequents the house, but he who is taking care if the estate: he engages and discharges labourers, buys and sells, etc. And why should such persons take an oath? Because as a rule they allow themselves more than what is due to them. Said R. Joseph b. Miniumi in the name of R. Na'hman: Provided there was a denial made to the claim of two silver, according to the decision of Rabh.

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"If the partners and gardeners," etc. The schoolmen propounded a question: May one include in a rabbinical oath a claim from another business? Come and hear: If one has borrowed on the eve of the Sabbathic year and at the end of the year he become the partner or gardener of the lender, no inclusion can take place in the partner-oath if he has to take such. Thus we see the reason here to be that he borrowed on the eve of the Sabbathic year as this year released him from the oath also, but in a simple year such an oath may be inclusive? Nay; do not say that in a simple year the oath may be inclusive, but if he becomes a partner or a gardener (of the lender) on the eve of the Sabbathic year and at the end of the same he borrowed money from him, he may in his oath include also the partner-oath from the Sabbathic year; as the second part of the Boraitha states it so plainly, hence, a rabbinical oath is inclusive.

R. Huna said: All the oaths are inclusive except the oath of an employee, as this oath is given merely for the purpose of gratifying the employer. R. 'Hisda said: No oaths are to be made lenient in this respect except the oath of an employee, toward which we have to act leniently. And what is the difference between these two opinions? The requiring by the court: according to R. Huna the court itself may declare the oath inclusive independently of the plaintiff, while according to R. 'Hisda the court has no jurisdiction unless the plaintiff requires so.

"The Sabbathic year releases." Whence is this deduced? From [Deut. 15:2]: "And this is the verbum (debar) of the release," i.e., it releases even words.

CHAPTER 8.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE FOUR KINDS OF BAILEES: THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THEY ARE TO PAY OR TO TAKE AN OATH.--WHAT IS AN UTTERED OATH, A VAIN OATH, A FALSE OATH.--CASES ILLUSTRATING THE VARIOUS CLAIMS REGARDING THE FOUR KINDS OF BAILEES.

MISHNA 1.: There are four kinds of bailees: gratuitous, on hire, borrower, and hirer. The gratuitous bailee swears to every claim; the borrower pays every claim; the paid bailee as well as the hirer swears in case the cattle broke its leg or was seized or died, but both pay when it got lost or stolen. If one asks his gratuitous bailee: Where is my ox? He is dead, while in reality he is only leg-broken, or seized, or stolen, or lost; or he answers: He is leg-broken,, while in fact he is dead, seized or lost; or he answers: He is seized, while he is dead, leg-broken, stolen or lost; or he answers: He is lost, while in fact he is dead, leg-broken, seized or stolen, to which the other rejoins: I adjure you; and the answer is: Amen, he is free. Where is my ox? And the other one answers: I know not what you talk about, while in reality the ox is dead, leg-broken, seized, stolen or lost. I adjure you. Amen, he is free. But if he asks: Where is my ox? Lost. I adjure you. Amen, but witnesses appear to testify that he consumed him, he must pay the full value; if he confesses it of his own will he must pay the value plus one-fifth, and is to bring a trespass-offering. If he asks: Where is my ox? And the answer is: Stolen. I adjure you. Amen, and witnesses appear to testify that he himself stole the ox, he must pay double amount; on self-confession, however, he pays the value plus one-fifth, and brings an offering.

If one says to a man in the street: Where is my ox that you have stolen? And the answer is: I have not stolen, but witnesses testify that he did steal. him, he is to pay double amount; and if he has slaughtered or. sold him, he must pay four and five-fold. However, if, on noticing the approach of witnesses against him, he says: I have stolen him, but not slaughtered or sold, he is to pay but the principal amount. If one asks the borrower: Where is my ox? And he answers: He died, while in reality he is leg-broken, seized, stolen or lost; or: Leg-broken, while he is dead, seized, stolen or lost; seized, while he is dead, leg-broken, stolen or lost; stolen, while he is dead, leg-broken, seized or lost; Lost, while he is dead, leg-broken, seized or stolen, whereupon the other one says: I adjure you, and the answer is: Amen, he is free. Where is my ox? I know not what you are talking about, while in fact the ox is dead, leg-broken, seized; stolen or lost. I adjure you. Amen, he is liable. If one says to a paid bailee or to a hirer: Where is my ox, and he answers: He is dead, while he is leg-broken or seized; Leg-broken, while he is dead or seized; seized, while he is dead or leg-broken; stolen, when he is lost or seized; lost, while he has been stolen, whereupon former: I adjure you. Amen, he is free. But if the answer be: He is dead, leg-broken or seized, while he has been stolen or lost, former: I adjure you. Amen, he is liable. But if he says: he has been stolen, or: lost, while he is dead, leg-broken or seized; I adjure you. Amen, he is free. This is the rule: Whoever tends to commutate, by his oath, liability to liability, unliability to unliability, or unliability to liability, is free; but if liability to unliability, he is liable. This is the rule in brief: Whoever takes an oath in order to make his case lenient, is liable; but if vice versa, he is free.

GEMARA: Who is the Tana of the four classes of bailees? Said R. Na'hman in the name of Rabba b. Abuhu: It is R. Mair. Said Rabha to him: Is then there a Tana who does not hold so? And the answer was: I mean to say who is the Tana that maintains that the hirer of a thing is under the same rule with a bailee for pay? and this is R. Mair, according to Rabba b. Abuhu. But is there not a Boraitha that R. Mair holds a hirer under the law of a gratuitous bailee, and R. Jehudah is, the one who places him under the law of a paid bailee? Rabba b. Abuhu has reversed in the Mishna the order of the names (by tradition). But after all, according to both R. Mair and R. Jehudah there are but three classes of bailees, why then four in the Mishna? Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak, the Mishna means to say: There are four classes of bailees but their laws are three.

"I know not what you talk about." Said Rabh: All the expressions "free" used in the Mishna free only from the liability of a trespass-offering, attaching to a depositary, but not from that of a sin-offering, attaching to an uttered oath. Samuel, however, maintains that it frees them even from the last. mentioned liability.

And what is here the point of difference? Samuel holds that as such an oath can not refer to the future, one is not liable even for the past; while Rabh does not share this opinion. But this their difference has already been pointed out above in connection with the oath made by A that B threw a stone into the sea, why then again? It was necessary, as in the case of throwing a stone Rabh holds A liable because he takes the oath on his own accord, but here, where the court compels him to swear, one might say that Rabh agrees with Samuel, which would be in accordance with R. Ami, who said elsewhere that one is not liable for an uttered oath when made by the judges, to swear; on the other hand, if only this were stated one could say that only in this case Samuel differs with Rabh, but in the other one he agrees with him.

What is the reason of R. Ami's statement? It is the verse [Lev. v. 4]: "Or any person swear," which means he swears voluntarily.

R. Elazar, however, said with reference to the expression "free" the Mishna uses: all are free from a depositary-oath but are liable for an uttered oath, excepting, however, the following: a borrower answering "I know not what you talk about," the paid bailee who claims stolen or lost, the hirer claiming stolen or lost, in which cases the Mishna makes them liable to depositary-oath, because here a denial of cash money is involved.

END OF TRACT SHEBUOTH.

TRACT EDUYOTH (TESTIMONIES).

INTRODUCTION.

THERE is no Gemara to this Tract. However, it forms a part of the section Jurisprudence, and is usually printed with the commentaries of both Maimanides and Rabad.

Although these Mishnaioth are almost each of them repeated in some of the six sections of the Talmud (thus a number of them already translated by us), yet we could not omit them because of the significance they attain in view of the fact that the contents of them all were testified before the Assembly of the sages. The first chapter, however, of this Tract, which was not testified, is significant for its showing (a) the cases wherein the sages establish the Halakha without adopting the views of either Shamai or Hillel though expressed by each of them personally; (b) wherein the school of Hillel after deliberations abandoned their view to adopt that of the school of Shamai; (c) the reasons for the rule that the opinion of an individual is mentioned though the Halakha prevails with the majority; (d) where the school of Shamai do not agree with Shamai, their master.

We have translated this Tract almost literally, referring the reader who may be confronted with some difficulties to places where detailed explanations are found, as to explain these here would necessitate a whole volume for itself.

TRACT EDUYOTH (TESTIMONIES).

CHAPTER 1.

MISHNA 1.: Shamai says: For all women suffices their perceiving the menses (to make unclean whatever one of them may happen to touch; but not before this perceiving). Hillel, however, says: The time is to be counted between two consecutive examinations regardless of the length of the interval and be it of many days (and all she touches at that time is unclean). The sages, however, say: The Halakha prevails with neither Shamai nor Hillel; but one day (night included) reduces the interval between the said examinations; on the other hand, the moment of examination reduces the allowance of the day (and night). (However, all agree) that for every woman who has a regular periodic menstruation the perceiving suffices. She who uses sheets to examine herself before and after intercourse, reduces thereby both the time of the previous examination and the above-said day of allowance. 1

MISHNA 2.: Shamai says: One must separate Chalah (first dough) from one Kab; Hillel says from no less than two, while the sages set the minimum at one and a half Kab, lowering it, however, to five-fourths of a Kab when the measures were increased. R. Jose says: Not exactly five-fourths, but a trifle above.

MISHNA 3.: Hillel says: One Hin-ful of drawn water renders a legal bath, 2 when poured therein, unfit. (A Hin-ful is not the exact quantity, but is stated here as it is one's duty to use the teacher's language.) Shamai says: Nine Kab, while the sages, disagreeing with either view, uphold the two weavers that came from the gates-of-refuse in Jerusalem and testified in the name of Shemai and Abtalion that three Lugs of drawn water render the aforesaid bath unfit, and decided that Halakha to prevail so.

MISHNA 4.: Why, then, are the theories of Shamai and Hillel stated at all, if without avail? To teach to posterity that one must not insist upon one's statements, since the distinguished masters of the world did not persist in their views.

MISHNA 5.: And why is mention made of the opinion of a single person in connection with that of many, when the final decision is invariably with the majority? In order that when a court should happen to approve of some one's opinion it might base its decision thereon, for no court may annul the decision of another court, unless it be superior to latter both in erudition and number. If, however, it be superior only in one respect: in either erudition or number, it cannot annul; as it must be superior in both.

MISHNA 6.: Said R. Jehudah: If this be the case, why is mention made of the opinion of an individual in connection with that of the majority to no purpose? In order that if one were to base his argument on tradition he could be answered that his tradition is in accordance with the opinion of that and that individual.

MISHNA 7.: Beth Shamai says: A quarter Kab of the bones of the dead (defiles one in the tent) be it from two or three dead; Beth Hillel says: A quarter Kab from one corpse, from the quarter part of the entire structure, or of the number of bones. Shamai himself says: One bone suffices.

MISHNA 8.: Vetch terumah may, according to Beth Shamai, be soaked and peeled in a state of cleanness, but in that of uncleanness the cattle may be fed on it. Beth Hillel, however, hold that in the former state it may be soaked only, while peeling and feeding may be done in the latter. Beth Shamai says: It must be very dry when given to the cattle; R. Aqiba holds that in a state of uncleanness all actions may be performed on it.

MISHNA 9.: If one desires a sela in exchange for copper coin of the second tithe, he must, according to Beth Shamai, exchange the whole coin for a sela, while the Beth Hillel maintain that he may take but one shekkel in silver and the other have in copper coin. 1 (R. Mair says): One must not redeem fruit and silver by other silver, while the sages allow it.

MISHNA 10.: When one exchanges a sela of second tithe in Jerusalem, he must, according to Beth Shamai exchange the entire sela for copper coin; Beth Hillel hold as above; the experts 1 of the sages say: For three dinar in silver and one dinar coin. R. Aqiba's opinion is: Three dinar in silver and of the fourth one a quarter in coin. R. Tarfon says: Four aspers in silver. Shamai himself says: Let him leave the sela in the store till he gradually consumes its worth in goods.

MISHNA 11.: The bride's chair, when stripped of its adornments is declared by the Beth Shamai as subject to defilement, but not so by Beth Hillel. Former holds that even the seat alone of that chair is unclean. Similar are the respective opinions of the Beth Shamai and the Beth Hillel with reference to a chair put into a trough, the former declaring in addition the chair unclean if even only made in a trough. (Will be explained in Tract Kelim.)

MISHNA 12.: Following are the cases wherein the Beth Hillel have altered their views in favour of those advanced by the Beth Shamai: The woman who upon coming from the sea-countries asserts that her husband died may, according to the Beth Shamai, remarry or enter a levirat marriage; while the Beth Hillel contended: We heard this as holding good only concerning a woman who comes from the harvest; whereupon the Beth Shamai retorted: It is immaterial whether she comes from the harvest, olive gathering or from a sea-country; and the expression "harvest" as used by the sages in this matter was one of fact; thereupon the Beth Hillel conceded. Furthermore, according to Beth Shamai such woman is allowed to marry and to obtain her marriage contract, which latter right the Beth Hillel denied her, whereupon the Beth Shamai argued: You allow a possible adultery, a rigorous transgression, and prohibit a money matter, a (lenient) misdemeanor? Whereto the B. Hillel rejoined: For we find that the heirs of the deceased cannot enter inheritance upon her statement alone. And Beth Shamai replied: But we are informed directly from her marriage contract, where the husband writes: If you get married to another one you should get what is here devised to you; thereupon the B. Hillel conceded to them.

MISHNA 13.: He who is half slave and half free works, according to Beth Hillel, one day for his master and one for himself. Hereto objected the Beth Shamai: You amply provide for his master but not for him; he has no right to marry either a slave or a free woman, nor should he remain single, for the world has been created for propagation, as it reads [Isa. xlv. 18]: "Not for naught did he create it; to be inhabited did he

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form it." Accordingly, for the sake of a better organisation of the world his master is compelled to wholly free him, and the slave writes him a note on the half of his value; and the Beth Hillel accepted this opinion.

MISHNA 14.: An earthen vessel when covered protects (against tent-uncleanness) according to Beth Hillel all (it contains), while the Beth Shamai holds that it protects only food, beverages and earthen vessels. Asked Beth Hillel: Why? And they answered: Because it is unclean in the opinion of the Amharetz, and no clean vessel is protective; and B. Hillel's question as to why have you declared it protective of food and beverages, they meet thus: We declare these clean only for the Amharetz, but if you were to declare the vessel as such clean, it would be so in general; hereupon the B. Hillel agreed.

CHAPTER 2.

MISHNA 1.: R. 'Hanina the segan of the priests testified the following four statements--viz.: The priests have never hesitated to burn meat defiled in a secondary degree together with meat defiled in a primary degree, though latter augments the uncleanness of the former; R. Aqiba added: Nor have they ever hesitated to burn oil, that has become unusable through a defiled one though bathed during the day, in a lamp defiled through contact with one who touched a corpse, though the uncleanness of the oil is thereby augmented.

MISHNA 2.: Furthermore, he said: During all my life I have not seen a hide (of a sacrificed animal found internally injured) brought out to the fireplace. Said R. Aqiba: We learn therefrom that when the first-born cattle on being stripped of its hide is found internally injured, the priests may use its hide. The sages, however, say: "We have not seen" is no evidence, so that the hide must be removed to the fireplace.

MISHNA 3.: The same R. 'Hanina testified that there was an old man in a little village near Jerusalem, who was lending money to all the villagers, writing himself the notes and having others to sign them; when this case came before the sages, they declared fit proper. From here is to infer that both woman and man may write she her divorce and he the receipt respectively, since the validity of a divorce is effected only by the undersigned thereon.

He finally testified that, when an (unclean) needle was found in the flesh (of a sacrifice), the knife and the hands are clean, but the flesh is uncle-an; but if found in the paunch everything is clean.

MISHNA 4.: R. Ismael propounded three things before the sages at Iabnah in the vineyard: (a) a cracked egg put upon a colewort of Terumah forms a combination except when put on like a hat; (b) an ear of corn left standing in the crop with its point toward the yet unreaped corn, belongs to the landowner provided it be capable of being cut off with the standing corn, otherwise it belongs to the poor (as forgotten); (c) a small garden fenced with creeping vine may be sowed (with seeds) if it has enough room, so that the vine-dresser with his basket can stand on all its sides, but not otherwise.

Three things have been propounded in the presence of R. Ismael, and as he did not express himself either for or against, R. Jehoshua b. Mathia interpreted them: (a) One who inflicts upon one's self a sore on the Sabbath day is guilty if he did it in order to make a permanent orifice, but is free if his purpose was to remove the pus; (b) one is free for hunting a snake on Sabbath in order to escape its bites, but is liable if for medicinal purposes; (c) earthen dishes used in cities are clean when in the tent of a corpse, but become unclean when carried by him who is possessed of a running issue, in which latter case R. Eliezar b. Zadok declares them also clean since their work has not yet been completed.

MISHNA 6.: R. Ismael declared three things which R. Aqiba has not agreed in: Garlick, sour grapes, and unripe corn-ears ground (on Friday) before twilight may, according to R. Ismael, be finished after sunset, while R. Aqiba does not allow it.

MISHNA 7.: Of the following three statements cited before R. Aqiba the first two were in the name of R. Eliezar, and the third one in that of R. Jehoshua: (a) A woman may go out on Sabbath in her gold city-crown; (b) hunters after another's doves are unfit as witnesses; (c) when a weasel with a worm in its mouth runs over the breads of Terumah and it remains dubious as to whether or not the worm touched the breads they are clean.

MISHNA 8.: R. Aquiba has made statements, of which only the first two found the approval of the sages: (a) A sandal of the lime-burners is subject to defilement by the steps of him who has a running issue; (b) the remnants of an (unclean) oven are unclean when four hand-widths high, which height was thought before to be only three; (c) a chair, from whose seat two consecutive boards have been removed is, according to R. Aqiba only, subject to defilement.

MISHNA 9: He (R. Aqiba) was wont to say: The father conditions in his son beauty, force, wealth, wisdom, longevity, and the reward to be bestowed on (his) posterity; and herein lies the end of destiny, as it reads [Is. xli. 4]: "He predetermines from the beginning of fate of the generations to come," and though it reads [Gen. 16:13]: "They will enslave them and torture them for 400 years," yet we read further [ibid. 16.]: "The fourth generation will return again unto here."

MISHNA 10: Furthermore, he was saying: There are five things of a twelve months' duration--viz.: the punishment of the generation of the flood, that of job, of the Egyptians, of Gog and Magog in time to come [Ezek. 35:2], and of the wicked in the infernum, for it reads [Isa. xv. 6]: "It will take place (chodesh bechodsho) every month," i.e., from the month he died next year the same month renewed. R. Johanan b. Nari says (regarding the last point): It lasts only from Passover till Azereth, for it reads [ibid.]: "From one festival to the other."

CHAPTER 3.

MISHNA 1.: All objects that defile within the tent are, according to R. Dohssa b. Horkinoss, clean when they were brought into the house after having been divided in smaller parts; but the sages declare them unclean. How so? If one touches or carries two pieces of a carcass each of the size of half an olive, or touches of a corpse the size of a half an olive (and his body covers such a size) and such a size shelters him, or he covers as much as two halves of an olive, or only of a half an olive but is roofed by such a size, R. Dohssa b. Horkinass declares him clean and the sages declare him unclean. But if he touches the size of half an olive while another thing covers both him and of a corpse the size of half an olive (or he covers such size and another thing covers him and such a size), he is clean (also according to the sages). R. Mair, however, said: Also herein the sages and R. Dohssa differ as above. (They declare) that all combine to render unclean except touching with carrying, and carrying with roofing. This is the rule: What bears one and the same name is index of uncleanness, two different names is one of cleanness. (All the Mishna is explained in third chapter of Tract Oholoth (Tents).

MISHNA 2.: Food consisting of sundry parts does not, according to R. Dohssa b. Horkinass, combine (to the measure of an egg), while according to the sages it does so. R. Dohssa holds that it is allowed to exchange second tithe for uncoined money, while according to the sages it is not. Finally, he holds that it suffices to bathe one's hands to be allowed to touch the sin-cleansing water, while the sages say that (in this case) with the uncleanness of his hands the entire body is unclean.

MISHNA 3.: The interior of a melon, as well as the peel strips of a colewort is as terumah allowed to laymen (non-priests), so R. Dohssa, while the sages do not allow it. He further holds that it is only then obligatory to separate the first-cut wool of five shorn sheep when each of them furnishes one and a half mana worth of wool, while in the opinion of the sages even when the wool of the five sheep is however little. (Is further explained in Tract Chulin, Chapter 11.)

MISHNA 4.: According to R. Dohssa, all mats are getting unclean only when touched by a corpse, but according to the sages, also by (mere) pressure. He says further that all woven work remains clean except a girdle, but according to the sages all are subject to defilement, except, however, those of the wool-traders.

MISHNA 5.: A sling whose handle is embroidered is subject to defilement. But if it is of leather R. Dohass declares it clean, and the sages, unclean. If its finger-hole has been severed from it, it is clean, but also is unclean if only its end is severed.

MISHNA 6.: The wife (of a priest) that was in captivity is, according to R. Dohssa, allowed to eat terumah, while the sages say: There is a difference between one captive and another. How so? If she says: I was in captivity, but am clean, she may eat, for the mouth that prohibits also allows, but if her captivity is attested by witnesses and she asserts thereupon to be clean, she is not allowed to eat. (Explained in Tract Kethuboth, Chapter 2.)

MISHNA 7.: There are four doubtful cases where R. Jehoshua declares the thing unclean and the sages, clean--viz.: (a) while the unclean is standing the clean one is passing, or (b) vice versa; (c) when something unclean is in the private ground, while something clean in the public grounds, or (d) vice versa, in which cases it is doubtful whether or not one touched, roofed, or was moved by, the other. (Tract Taharoth, Chapter 2.)

MISHNA 8.: Three things are declared unclean by R. Zadok and clean by the sages--viz.: (a) The exchanger's nail; (b) the trunk of the bean-grinders, and (c) the screw of the stone sun-clock. (Kelim, Chapter 12.)

MISHNA 9: Four things are held unclean by R. Gamaliel and clean by the sages: (a) The cover of a metallic basket used in households; (b) the handle of a (bathing) scraper; (c) the unfinished metallic vessels, and (d) a board broken in two (equal) parts; in the last-named case, however, if the parts be unequal, the sages concur with R. Gamaliel in that the bigger part is unclean and the smaller, clean. (Ibid., ibid., Mishna 6.)

MISHNA 10: In the decision of the following three R. Gamaliel is as rigorous as Beth Shamai: It is not allowed: (a) to keep warm on a holiday cooked food for Sabbath; (b) to put together the parts of a chandelier on a holiday, and (c) to bake (on a holiday) big loaves of bread, but only small ones. He said: During all the time they were baking in my father's house only thin loaves, and he was answered: We can make no conclusion from your father's house, who have always been rigorous to themselves, but lenient to all others, allowing them to bake not only big loaves but even big cakes on coal.

MISHNA 11.: In the following three things, however, his decisions are lenient: It is allowed (a) to sweep (on holidays) between the bedsteads; (b) to put upon coals the fumigation, and (c) to roast a prepared kid on the first Easter evening, all which the sages forbid.

MISHNA 12.: Three things R. Elazar b. Azaria allows and the sages forbid: (a) His cow was allowed to walk out (on Sabbath) with the strap between her horns; (b) he allows to curry the cattle on holidays, and (c) to grind pepper in hand-mills adapted thereto. R. Jehudah maintains that point sub (b) is not allowable, as one could while currying make a sore, but allows to do it with a wooden comb, while the sages forbid both. (The last two Mishnas are explained in Tract Beitzah.)

CHAPTER 4.

MISHNA 1.: In the following cases the decisions of Beth Shamai are lenient, and those of Beth Hillel rigorous. An egg laid on a holiday is, according to Beth Shamai, allowed to eat on that day, but is not so according to Beth Hillel. Regarding the removal of leaven (before Passover) Beth Shamai hold it must be of the size of an olive and leavened bread of that of a date, while the Beth Hillel fix the size of each at that of an olive.

MISHNA 2.: All agree in that a cattle born on a holiday is allowed, but a fowl out of the eggs is not. If one slaughter game or fowl on a holiday he is allowed by Beth Shamai to dig up loose ground (the spade already struck in) and cover the blood, while Beth Hillel do not allow to kill unless there be earth prepared, admitting, however, that after one has killed, he may use with the spade the loose ground, and that ashes from the hearth be regarded as prepared earth.

MISHNA 3.: The Beth Shamai consider ownerless everything left to the poor, while according to Beth Hillel, only that is ownerless which is abandoned to the rich as well, instance Shmitah. If all the sheaves of a field contain each a Kab and one of them containing four Kab is left, the Beth Shamai do not regard it forgotten, and Beth Hillel do so. (Tract Peah, Chapter 6.)

MISHNA 4.: Likewise do not Beth Shamai regard forgotten a sheaf left near a wall, a stag, a bull, or implements; while Beth Hillel do.

MISHNA 5.: The four-year-old vine is, according to Beth Shamai, not subject to either the additional fifth or destruction, while according to Beth Hillel it is. Furthermore, the former hold that it is subject to both Peret and oilleloth [Lev. 19:10], and that the poor are to redeem it themselves; while the latter say it all goes to the winepress.

MISHNA 6.: A cask with preserved olives need not have a hole, so Beth Shamai, while. Beth Hillel find it obligatory, admitting, however, that if there had been one, but was stopped by the dregs, the cask is clean. If one, having besmeared his body with sweet oil, became unclean and then took a legal bath, Beth Shamai declare him clean even when the oil is dripping, but according to Beth Hillel he is not clean, unless there be left on him no more oil than would be necessary to besmear a small organ, which last condition the Beth Shamai require when the oil used before the bath was unclean, while Beth Hillel in this case require that there be only an inconsiderable moisture. Said R Jehudah in the name of Beth Hillel: That there be a moisture sufficient to moist some other thing. (All this will be explained in Tract Taharath.)

MISHNA 7.: According to Beth Shamai one dinar or its worth is consideration in the marrying of a wife; the Beth Hillel set it down at a Perutah or its worth, which is one-eighth of the Italic Saar. The former hold further that one may dismiss his wife on the basis of the old divorce bill, i.e., a divorce after whose consummation he remained yet alone with his wife, while the Beth Hillel say he cannot. Similarly, if a wife who had been divorced, happened to pass a night in the same inn with her (former) husband, she needs no other bill of divorce according to Beth Shamai, but the Beth Hillel say she needs one if she was divorced after they had been wedded, but not after they had been only betrothed to each other, for in the latter case they were not yet intimate with each other.

MISHNA 8.: Beth Shamai allow brothers to enter levirate marriage with their rival-wives (of prohibited kinship degrees), which the Beth Hillel forbid. If they have performed Chalitzah, Beth Shamai declares them unmarriageable to a priest and Beth Hillel allows them. The two schools change their views regarding the case when the wives become widows after they had been taken in levirate marriage. Notwithstanding that the one school prohibits what the other allows, the disciples of the two schools have never refrained from intermarriage with one another. Likewise as regards cleanness and uncleanness where the two hold opposite opinions, they have none the less never hesitated to loan one another objects declared clean by both schools.

MISHNA 9.: If of three brothers two are married to two sisters and the third one is single; if, now, one of the married

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brothers died and the unmarried promises the widow to marry her, whereupon the second of the brothers died, Beth Shamai say: The single brother is to keep his wife and the other one is to go free as the wife's sister; while Beth Hillel hold that he must dismiss his wife with both divorce and Chalitzah, and his sister-in-law with Chalitzah; as the proverb goes: He is to be pitied for both his wife and his sister-in-law! (Tract Yebamoth, Chapter 4.)

MISHNA 10.: If one abstain by vow from sexual intercourse with his wife, he is allowed by Beth Shamai to keep the vow for two weeks, by Beth Hillel for but one. A woman who bears a miscarriage on the eve of eighty-one days (after the birth of a daughter) Beth Shamai free from an offering, and Beth Hillel hold liable. Beth Shamai say a quadrangular sheet needs no tzitzis, Beth Hillel hold it needs. A basket with figs prepared for Sabbath is, according to Beth Shamai free from the tithe, according to Beth Hillel it is not.

MISHNA 11.: If one vowed to remain a Nazarite for some time, and after the expiration of the term comes to the land (of Israel), Beth Shamai hold he must continue in the state of Nazarite for another thirty days, while Beth Hillel make him begin the whole term anew. If two parties of witnesses testify, the one that so and so has vowed to be a Nazarite twice, the other, five times, Beth Shamai declare this testimony invalid as conflicting, and he must not be a Nazarite at all, while Beth Hillel say: Five contains two, hence he must be a Nazarite twice. (Nazir, Chapter 3.)

MISHNA 12.: The man who finds himself underneath a crevisse does not, according to Beth Shamai, transfer the uncleanness from one side to the other, while Beth Hillel regard the man as hollow, so that his upper side does transfer the uncleanness (as roofing). (Oheloth, Chapter 11.)

CHAPTER 5.

MISHNA 1.: R. Jehudah attested six cases where the decisions of the Beth Shamai are lenient, and those of Beth Hillel rigorous. The blood of a carcass is, according to the former, clean, but unclean, according to Beth Hillel. The egg of a fowl carcass, if it looks like the ordinary egg sold in market, is allowed by Beth Shamai, but not otherwise, while the Beth Hillel prohibit it in all cases. However, both prohibit the egg of an internally injured, for it was formed in a prohibited stage. The menses of a heathen woman as well as the clean blood of a leprous woman in confinement, Beth Shamai declare clean and Beth Hillel consider it to be like her spittle or urine. The fruit of the Sabbathic year one may enjoy with or without reward, according to Beth Shamai, the Beth Hillel hold that one may eat it and reward somehow the owner. A leather bag is subject to defilement, according to Beth Shamai, if it is bound and fastened, and the Beth Hillel hold so even when it is not bound. (Shebieth, 4.)

MISHNA 2.: R. Jose quotes also similar decisions of six cases. Beth Shamai allow to serve on the table, but not to eat, poultry together with cheese, while Beth Hillel forbid the one as well as the other. Likewise allow the former to separate Terumah from olives for their oil and for the wine from grapes, and the latter prohibit it. According to Beth Shamai he who sows seeds within four ells in the vineyard has thereby sanctified one row, while according to Beth Hillel, two rows (i.e., the rows in question must not be sown). Flour put into boiling water is, Beth Shamai say, free from Chalah, and the Beth Hillel say it is not. The Beth Shamai allow to use rain-water (running down hill) as a legal bath, the Beth Hillel do not. Finally, Beth Shamai allow a proselyte, who underwent circumcision on the eve of Passover, to immerse himself and then partake in the Passover-offering, while Beth Hillel declare that he who parts with his prepuce is like one returning from the grave.

MISHNA 3.: R. Ismael cites to the same effect the decisions of the following three cases: The book Ecclesiastæ does not, according to Beth Shamai, render unclean the hands, while it does so according to Beth Hillel. Sin-cleansing water that has already performed its destination is declared clean by former and unclean by latter. The same divergence of opinion the two schools show with regard to the cleanness and uncleanness of black cumin and its tithe. (Negaim, Mishna 3. Chapter 5.)

MISHNA 4.: R. Elazar quotes two cases to the same effect. The blood of a woman lying-in, who has not bathed (as prescribed) is considered by Beth Shamai as her spittle and urine, while Beth Hillel declare it defiling always, moist or dry. The former agree, however, with the latter view when the woman in question bore in a state of running issue, then the issue defiles immaterial whether dry or moist. (Tract Nidah 2., Mishna 6.)

MISHNA 5.: If of four brothers two who are married to two sisters die, the latter perform Chalitzah but cannot enter the levirate marriage; and if such marriage has been hastily concluded, divorce must follow. R. Eliezar quotes the Beth Shamai as declaring this marriage to remain, and Beth Hillel as requiring divorce.

MISHNA 6.: Aqavia b. Mehallalel testified four things, which the sages persuaded him to retract, promising him therefor the chair of presiding justice in Israel, to this he responded: I shall prefer to hear the name fool all my life to becoming a wicked even for one hour before the Omnipresent; but let nobody say "He retracted for the sake of an office!" Here are his rules: He declared unclean the white hair (left from a previous case of leprosy) as well as the yellow blood (of a woman), both which the sages declare clean; he allowed to make use of the faded hair of a blemished first-born cattle slaughtered immediately after the hair has been put into a (wall) niches, while the sages forbid it; finally, he prohibited to give the jealousy-water to a female proselyte or to a freed maid-slave, which the sages allow.

The following episode was thereupon presented to him: A certain Karkmith, a freed maid-slave in Jerusalem, was made to drink the aforesaid water by Shmaia and Ahtalion, to which he replied: They did it only in a "make-believe" way. (They, being themselves proselytes, did it.) And they placed him under ban, and when he died the court stoned his coffin. R. Jehudah remonstrated: That Aqavia b. Mehallalel, who among all Israel on whom the doors of the temple court-yard closed, was unequalled in both erudition and piety, should have been placed under ban? Impossible! It was Eliezar b. 'Hanoch that was excommunicated for his trifling with the rule concerning hand-cleaning; and when he died the court sent to put a stone on his coffin; whence it may be inferred that the coffin of him who dies while under ban is to be stoned.

MISHNA 7.: While on his death-bed he (Aqavia b. Mehallalel) thus spoke to his son: Reject the four rules I have been teaching; I adhered to them because I had received them from a majority, and the others likewise had them from a similar source; we both, therefore, remained true to our traditions; but you have learned them of an individual and then of a majority, now it is more advisable to abandon the opinion of the individual and to follow that of the majority. Then the son's request to commend him to his friends he refused, saying: It is not because I find fault with you, but let your own conduct be your recommendation. (Explained at length in Pessachim. 5., Mishna 4.)

CHAPTER 6.

MISHNA 1.: R. Jehudah b. Baba attested five cases. Girls underage are made to express their refusal; a woman is allowed to remarry on the testimony of one witness; in Jerusalem a cock that had killed a person was stoned; wine only forty days old was brought upon the altar as a drink-offering; and finally, the daily morning sacrifice was (once) offered at the fourth hour (in the morning).

MISHNA 2.: R. Jehoshua and R. Nehunia b. Elinathan of the Babylonian village attested that an organ (even if not an olive big) of the dead is defiling, as against R. Eliezar, who asserts that the sages taught thus only in reference to an organ of alive body; and the others rejoined: Is it not an inference a fortiori--viz.: since the organ of a live body which latter is clean is, if severed, unclean, so much the more so that of a dead body, which latter is of itself unclean? His answer was: And yet the sages taught so only in respect of an organ of a live body. According to others the answer was this: The uncleanness of the living is more extensive than that of the dead, for the living (who has a running issue) renders all that he lies or sits on capable of defiling man as well as garments, and all that rests above him, by his exhalation capable of defiling food and beverage, all which the dead does not.

MISHNA 3.: Flesh of the size of an olive severed from an organ dismembered from a living (person) is unclean according to R. Eliezar, but clean according to R. Jehoshua and Nehunia. On the other hand, a bone the size of a barley-corn severed from said organ R. Nehunia declares unclean, and R. Jehoshua with R. Eliezar, clean. R. Eliezar was then asked: What prompts you to vindicate the former decision? He replied: We find that a severed live organ is regarded as a whole corpse; hence, as from a dead severed flesh of the size of an olive is unclean, severed flesh of such size from the living must be unclean, too! I, therefore, base my decision on this analogy. Whereupon it was rejoined: While you justly declare unclean flesh of an olive size severed from a corpse, for a barley-corn-sized bone of a, corpse is likewise unclean, you commit yourself to a discrepancy in your decision regarding the flesh and the bone of a severed organ of a living body respectively, whereby your analogy is annihilated! Similarly was R. Nehunia asked to base his view, which he did by a like analogy, thus: We find that a severed organ of the living is like an entire corpse and a barley-corn-sized bone of the latter is unclean, whence my decision. Whereupon he was answered: If you justly declare unclean so small a bone severed from a corpse by reason of holding unclean flesh the size of an olive severed from a corpse, you cannot on this basis declare unclean a bone the size of a barley-corn severed from the dismembered organ of a living body, since you hold clean the flesh even of an olive-size severed therefrom!

R. Eliezar was then asked: Why have you divided your views? Declare either both unclean or both clean? And he, answered: The uncleanness of the flesh is more extensive than that of the bones, because the flesh of carcasses and reptiles is defiling while bones of these are not. Another explanation according to others: An organ that has yet enough of its flesh on causes uncleanness through touching, carrying or sheltering it, and remains yet unclean even if it misses some of its flesh, while if some of its bone is wanting it is clean.

R. Nehunia was asked: Why have you divided your views? Declare either both unclean or both clean? And he answered: The uncleanness of bones is more extensive than that of flesh, for flesh severed from the living body is clean, while the organ, if severed from it in its natural state, is unclean. Another explanation: Flesh the size of an olive defiles by being touched, carried or sheltered, in like manner do bones defile in their majority; if some of the flesh misses it is clean none the less, if some of the majority of the bones lacks it is still unclean by touch and carriage, though not by shelter. Or thus: All the flesh of a corpse is clean when it does not all in all measure the size of an olive, while the greater part of its body or of its bones are unclean even when they do not make up a quarter of a Kab.

R. Jehoshua answered the question as to why he decides in both cases "clean," thus: The analogy between the dead and the living does not hold good, for to the former apply the requisite of majority, quarter-Kab, and spoonful of decomposed stuff, while to the living all this does not apply.

CHAPTER 7.

MISHNA 1.: R. Jehoshua and R. Zadok attested that the priest has no claim to the assigned redemption of a first-born donkey that died, as against R. Eliezar, who said: The owner is obliged to indemnify it, as the five sela redemption of the first-born son. The sages, however, maintain that there is here no more obligation of indemnifying than in the case of redemption for the second tithe. (Tract Bechoroth 50, Mishna 6.)

MISHNA 2.: R. Zadok attested that the brine of the prohibited locusts is itself clean. For, the preceding Mishna reads: If unclean locusts have been pressed together with clean ones, they do not render the brine forbidden.

MISHNA 3.: The same attested further that if flowing water exceeds in quantity the rain-water with which it is mingled, it is proper. Such a case occurred in the capital of Plia and the sages declared it proper.

MISHNA 4.: He attested, finally, that flowing water remains proper as such when made to rush through the green peel of a walnut. A case to this effect happened at Ohlia and, when brought before the court in the Hall of hewed stones in the temple, was found proper.

MISHNA 5.: R. Jehoshua and R. Jakin from Hadar attested that an earthen pitcher with sin-cleansing ashes placed upon a reptile is unclean, while R. Eliezar declares it clean. R. Papies attests that he who, having vowed to be a Nazarite twice, had his hair cut the first time on the thirtieth day, may have his hair cut the second time on the sixtieth day; and if he cut his hair on the fifty-ninth day, he kept sufficiently his vow, since the thirtieth day is counted both ways. (Nazir, Chapter 3.)

MISHNA 6.: R. Jehoshua and R. Papies attested that the offspring of a peace-offering may be offered as a peace-offering; now, as the sages hold so against R. Eliezar who maintains the opposite, said R. Papies: I attest that we ourselves had a cow of a peace-offering which we ate on Passover, and whose offspring we consumed the next Tabernacle likewise as a peace-offering. (Themura, Chapter 3.)

MISHNA 7.: The same two attested that the flat boards of the bakers are unclean, as against R. Eliezar, who declared them clean; furthermore that a baking oven cut in parts between which mortar has been put, is subject to defilement, as against R. Eliezar, who finds it clean; that the court of justice has time to declare the year to be a leap-year during the entire month Ador, for formerly the Purim feast was thought to be the time limit for this declaration; finally, that the year may be declared a leap-year on condition. So it once happened that when R. Gamaliel, having gone to ask leave of the Hegemon of Syria, tarried on his way, the year was declared a leap-year on the condition that R. Gamaliel consent to it on his return, which he did upon returning and the year remained a leap-year. (Kelim, Chapter XV.)

MISHNA 8.: Mena'hem b. Signai attested that the enameled brim of the (metallic) kettle used by the olive-boilers is subject to defilement, but that of the painters is clean, for, formerly the converse was held.

MISHNA 9: R. Nehunia b. Gudgada attested that a deaf-mute girl married off (while under age) by her father may receive a divorce; that a minor (orphaned) Israel-girl married to a priest may eat Terumah, and that in case she dies her husband is her heir; furthermore, that the owner of a beam robbed and immured in a palace can claim only its value; finally, that a robbed sin-offering not known to the majority is regarded as atoning for its owner when offered on the altar (in order not to make the altar unclean).

CHAPTER 8.

MISHNA 1.: R. Jehoshua b. Bathyra attested that the blood of carcasses is clean. R. Simeon b. Bathyra attested that the ashes of the sin-cleansing red cow, if touched even in part by an unclean one, become all unclean; to which R. Aqiba added that he who has bathed for cleansing himself (and hence is not yet wholly clean) renders improper the whole of the

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holy flour, the frankincense, the incense and the coal on touching them only in part.

MISHNA 2.: R. Jehudah b. Baba and R. Jehudah the priest attested that an (orphaned) Israel-daughter married under age to a priest is entitled to eat terumah soon after she was led under the canopy, though before cohabitation. R. Jose the priest and R. Zecharia the son of a butcher related the following: It happened that a small girl had been kidnapped by the heathens of Ashkalon; her kinfolks wanted to reject her from the family notwithstanding the assurance of the witnesses that she was not hiding with anybody nor dishonoured, and the sages interfered, saying: If you believe her witnesses that she was kidnapped, there is no reason for you not to believe that she was not hiding with anybody nor dishonoured; on the other hand, if you distrust the latter part, don't believe the former, either.

MISHNA 3.: R. Jehoshua and R. Jehudah b. Bathyra attested that the widow of a priest of a doubtful pedigree may yet marry a priest, that such a doubtful family may enquire after the purity or impurity of its members, in order to separate itself from, or to approach them. Thereupon remarked R. Simeon b. Gamaliel: We accept your attestation, but what shall we do now that R. Johanan b. Zakkai has decreed not to call any jury on this point? The priests will surely follow you when a case of separation, but not when such of approaching, is concerned!

MISHNA 4.: R. Jose b. Joezer, the man of Zereda, attested that the locust Ail Kamza is allowed, that all liquids in the slaughter-house of the temple are not subject to defilement, and finally that only he is unclean who has surely touched a corpse. He received on this account the name, Jose the allower.

MISHNA 5.: R. Aqiba attested in the name of Nehemia from Beth D'lee, that the testimony of one witness suffices to allow a woman to remarry. R. Jehoshua attested that regarding bones found in the wood-barn (of the women's courtyard in the temple) which are yet unclean, the sages say: Pick them out singly, bone by bone, and all remains clean.

MISHNA 6.: Said R. Eliezar: I heard that when the central hall of the temple was being built, curtains were put up before both the hall and the courtyards, with the difference, however, that in the former the wall was built outside, while in the latter inside, of the curtains. R. Jehoshua said: I heard that it is allowed to offer sacrifices also when there is no temple, that the all-holiest offerings may be eaten also when there is no curtain; that leniently-holy offerings as well as second tithe may be eaten even if there be no city walls (around Jerusalem), for the first consecration has rendered her (the city) holy for her times as well as for all time to come.

MISHNA 7.: R. Jehoshua said: I have it by tradition from R. Johanan b. Zakkai, who heard it in direct line from his teacher, to be a Halakha from Sinai to Moses that Elijah is not coming in the future to declare certain families clean or unclean, to separate or to reconcile them, but to remove those who were reconciled by force, and to bring together those who were segregated by force. A family of the name Bethz'repha was across the Jordan, excluded by a certain Ben Zion with the use of force; another family (of impure blood) was in the same manner accepted by the same Ben Zion. It is to declare cases of this kind clean or unclean, to remove or to accept that Elijah is coming. R. Jehudah says: Only to accept, but not to remove. R. Simeon says: His mission is only to settle certain disputes. The sages, however, say: His advent will have for its purpose not the removing or accepting of the mentioned cases but the establishing of peace in the world, for it is written [Malachi, 3:23, 24]: "Behold, I send unto you the prophet Elijah. . . . and he shall turn back the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers."

END OF TRACT EDUYOTH AND OF VOLUME 17.

THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD
VOLUME 10. (18.)
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SYNOPSIS OF SUBJECTS OF TRACT ABUDA ZARA (IDOLATRY).

CHAPTER. 1.

MISHNA 1. Three days before the festival of the heathen, it is forbidden to have any business with them. In the future the Lord will take the Holy Scroll in hand, saying, "He who was occupied with it shall appear and receive his reward." The kingdom of Rome will then enter first, etc. After Rome has departed, Persia enters, etc. We have constructed many bridges, conquered many great cities, we were engaged in many wars, all for the sake of Israel to enable them to study the law, etc. "Have we then accepted the Torah, and not fulfilled its commandments?" A Gentile who is occupied with the study of the law is likened to a High-priest, etc. "Lord of the Universe, has then Israel, who has accepted the Torah, observed it?" "Men of ye nations may come and testify that Israel has observed the Torah. Nimrod may testify, etc. There are twelve hours in a day, three hours of which the Lord is occupied with the Torah, etc. There is no smiling by the Lord, since the temple was destroyed. But in the fourth three hours He teaches, etc. There is no Gehenna in the future. But the Lord will take out the sun from its sheath, etc. If not for the fear for government the stronger would swallow the weaker, etc. Concerning the explanation of (Amos, iii. 2) said R. Abuhuh, I will do it in the form of a parable. There was once a creditor of two persons, one a friend and the other an enemy of his. It is advisable for one not to pray singly the additional benediction in the first three hours at the first day of new year. When one performs a meritorious act in this world it precedes him in the world to come. "Three days," etc. Is such a long time needed? is this forbidden because a Jew must not interfere with the idols, or because "Thou shalt not put a stone for the blind"? The prohibition to do business with them refers only to a thing which can be kept in good order until the festival day. It is advisable for one to always arrange the praises of the Omnipotent first, and thereafter to recite the daily eighteen benedictions. The following are the festivals of the heathens: Kalends, Saturnalia, Kratsin, etc. Adam the first, on the first day of his creation, when he saw the sun set, cried: "Woe is to me, the world is to be returned to chaos, etc." Thirty-two battles the Romans fought with the Greeks, etc. Twenty-six years the Romans kept their promise to Israel, and thereafter they failed. The twenty-six years are not counted. The world will continue for six thousand years, the first two thousand of which were a chaos (Tahu), etc. It happened with Antoninus (the Caesar of Rome), who said to Rabbi, etc. Unklus b. Klenimus embraced Judaism, and the Caesar sent militia to take him, etc. There was still another festival in Rome which occurs once in seventy years, on which they would make a well man ride on a lame man, etc.

MISHNA 4. In a city where the idol is placed, interfering is forbidden inside, but not outside. If, during an idol festival in the city, some stores were there decorated, one must not buy, etc. The following are forbidden to be sold to the heathens; Fir-cones, etc. We have a tradition that the tract Aboda Zara of Abraham the patriarch contained four hundred chapters, etc. Where it is customary to sell small cattle to heathens it is lawful to do so, etc. One must not sell to them bears, lions, and all such things, by which the people can be injured, etc. I walked in the upper market of Ciporas, and I met one of the minim, named Jacob, of the village of Sachania. So taught Josa B. Southyra, etc. The legend of Eliazer ben Durdaya (28). The leech hath two daughters (crying), "Give, give," i.e. minunism--and the government, which are never satisfied, etc. Raba sold an ass to an Israelite who was suspected of selling it to a heathen, etc. He who occupies himself with the Torah, but does not observe bestowing of favours, is similar to him who denies God. The Legend of Eliezer b. Sarta and Chanina b. Tradion when captured by government. How Chanina was burned together with the holy scrolls, and what became of his wife and daughter. The redeeming of latter by R. Mair (Baal Hanes). Happy is he who conquers his evil spirit, as a heroic man, etc. It is advisable to divide one's years into three parts, one-third for the study of Scripture, the second Mishna, and the third Talmud, etc. R. Aqiba when he saw the wife of Tornus Rupers, he laughed and wept, etc. Houses must not be rented to the heathens in Palestine, etc. One must not rent his bath-house to a heathen, but how is it to a Samaritan? etc.

CHAPTER 2.

MISHNA 2. Cattle must not be placed in the inns of the heathens. "And the cows went straight forward," etc. What does this expression mean? It reads (Jos. 10:13): "And the sun stood still, written in the book of Yasher." What is the book of Yasher? One must not stay alone even with two women. If an Israelite while on the road, happened to be accompanied by a heathen, etc, One must not confine a heathen because she brought up a person to idolatry, etc. A city in which there is no Jewish physician, but a Samaritan and a heathen, the heathen shall circumcise and not the Samaritan. One may employ their (the heathens') services for curing his personal property, etc. Ben Dama was bitten by a snake, Jacob come to heal him with the name of Jesus, but R. Ismael did not allow. With R. Johanan it is different, as he himself was an established physician. Medicines and other remedies for different sickness by different men and women. The following things of the heathens are prohibited, and the prohibition extends even to the deriving of any benefit therefrom--viz: wine, vinegar, etc. No benefit is to be derived from the dead. Samuel and Ablat, the latter who was a heathen, were sitting together, and cooked wine was brought for them, etc. To fermenting wine no uncovery applies. One, must not pour water which has been uncovered, in the public streets, and also not water cattle with it. The sages forbid date-beer of the heathens, as a safeguard against inter-marriage. The sick heathens who become swollen, and whom uncovered water does not harm, surely ate reptiles, so that their bodies contain poison which prevent the harming effects of the snake-poison. A heathen pilgrim is prohibited only when on his way to the idol, etc. Enamelled vessels, no matter what colour, are permissable. Fish oil made by a heathen specialist is permissable. Why did the sages forbid the cheese of Anugiki? Sweet are to me the words of thy friends (the sages who are explaining the law), more than the essence of the Torah. Compress your lips, one upon the other, and hasten not to propound question.

MISHNA 5. The following are prohibited, but not from deriving benefit from them: Milk, etc. What is the reason for the prohibition of milk? etc. Concerning oil, Daniel has decreed the prohibition according to Rabh, etc. To everything which is not served on the table of noblemen to relish the bread, the prohibition of "cooked by a heathen" does not apply. All that may be eaten in a raw state, may also be eaten when cooked by a heathen. The sea-donkey is allowed, but not the sea-ox; and you remember this by the following mark: the unclean (on earth?) is clean, while the clean is unclean. We are to trust the wife of a scholar as we have trusted her husband. Meat, wine, blue wool that are to be forwarded through a heathen, require each two seals. The following things are allowed to eat, milk milked by a heathen in the presence of an Israelite, honey and honey-cake, etc. Fish entrails as well as fish-rye you may buy only of a specialist, etc. If the vender says, I have pickled the fish and know them to be clean, he is trusted. Praised be the Omnipotent, who puts this world in the hands of guardians!

CHAPTER 3.

MISHNA 1. TO 6. All images are prohibited, for they are worshipped at least once a year. The staff in the hand of the idol. The bird in its hand of the idol. Finally, the sphere is to indicate that it sacrifices itself for the whole globe. If one finds fragments of images, he is allowed to use them, etc. It is taught that a heathen can profane the idol of his fellow heathen as well as his own, while an Israelite cannot profane the idol of a heathen. If one finds vessels with the image of the sun, moon, etc., he must throw them into the salt lake. The human image and that of a nurse are, however, prohibited only when having respectively a measure in the hand and a son in the arms whom she is nursing. One may grind the images and scatter them to the wind, or sink them into the sea, etc. Peroklas, the son of a philosopher, asked once R. Gamaliel at Ako, who was then bathing in the bath of the goddess Aphrodite, etc. R. Gamaliel gave Peroklas an evasive answer; but I (Hama) say it was not evasive, etc., etc,

The mountains and hills worshipped by heathens are allowed to use, but not the things, brought upon them, etc. Wherever you find a high mountain, an elevated hill, a leafy tree, there is surely an idol there. A town or place bearing the name of an idol should be renamed. If stones absolved fortuitously from a mountain rock, that was worshipped, is their use allowed or not?

MISHNA 7. TO 15. If a house situated, close by a worship-house of an idol crumbles down, its owner is prohibited from rebuilding it, etc. There are three kinds of houses. There are three kinds of stones. There are three kinds of groves, etc. What is a grove? A tree with an idol under it. R. Simion said: "Any tree that is worshipped. It is not allowed to sit down in the shade of such a tree." Under such a tree is allowed to sow herbs in the winter, but not in summer, etc. To derive any benefit of wood obtained from an idol-grove is prohibited. How is the idol worship of a tree profaned, etc.?

CHAPTER 4.

MISHNA 1. TO 6. Three stones near one another and beside the Merkules are prohibited. The son of the saints treads on them, should we abstain therefrom? Who was this son, etc.? One is not liable for slaughtering a blemished animal to an idol, etc. Money, garments, utensils found on the head of an idol are allowed, etc. The use of a garden or bathing place belonging to an idol is allowed when it is gratis, etc. It is common sense that that idol of an Israelite should be forbidden from the very beginning, etc. Whether or no food offered to an idol, if profaned, loses thereby its defilement? There was a pantry in the temple, where the Macabees heaped up the stones of the altar defiled by the Greeks. A heathen can profane his idol as well as that of his neighbour, etc. How is an idol to be profaned? If an Israelite erects a brick to worship it, but does not worship, and a heathen comes, and worships it, it is prohibited, etc. An idol abandoned by its worshippers in time of peace is allowed. My respect for Rabh and Samuel is so great that I should readily fill my eyes with the ashes of

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their corpses; none the less, etc. An animal resting in the proximity of an idol becomes unallowable, etc. The animal obtained by the idol-worshippers in exchange for an idol is forbidden.

MISHNA 7. TO 9. If God is displeased with idol-worship, why does he not destroy the idols, etc.? If the heathens worshipped but things not needful to the world, He would surely annihilate them; but they worship the sun, moon, stars and the planets. How is it that so many cripples are cured by the idols in their temples? If one comes to defile himself, the door is opened to him, while when one comes to cleanse himself, he is supported. It is forbidden both to tread and to gather with an Israelite, who prepares the wine while he is unclean, etc. They further warned against contributing toward the conditions defiling the fruit in Palestine, etc. It once happened that an Israelite and a heathen jointly hired and worked a wine-press in the City of Nahardea, etc. A heathen once happened to enter the house of a Jewish wine-seller, etc. R. Johanan b. Arza and R. Jose b. Nehorai were once sitting together indulging a little in wine, when a man came in, etc. Does a heathen render the wine prohibited by pouring water into it? Whether it is allowed to hire a heathen for conveying grapes to the wine-press of an Israelite, etc.? A heathen standing near the wine reservoir renders the wine forbidden, provided he has a lien on it, etc. If an Israelite, who has cleansed the wine of a heathen, left it on the latter's premises, etc. When and Israelite buys or rents a house in the courtyard of a heathen, etc. It once happened that Israelites bought of Sarsik, the viceroy, the grapes of a vineyard, etc.

CHAPTER 5.

MISHNA 1. TO 5. The wages of a labourer hired by a heathen to work with him, wine for libation are prohibited. How is it when the heathen hires a Jewish labourer to prepare wine in general? Whether or no the use of the money obtained by a heathen from the sale of an idol is all forbidden to an Israelite. Can a citizen- proselyte, a heathen settled down in the land of Israel, on having taking upon himself not to practice idol-worship only, etc. "Jews in prospect such pleasures in your paradise? Do you really mean," said the other, "that there are greater pleasures than this?" If offered wine he poured on grapes, etc. In the case when beer vinegar was intermixed with wine vinegar, or oaten yeast with wheat yeast, etc. The rule is: "a prohibited thing renders another one forbidden," etc. It once happened that a mouse was found in a barrel of beer, and Rabh prohibited the beer. Wine known as being watched, is allowed when transported from place to place by a heathen, etc. "When an Israelite leaves his wine in the wagon," etc. Jewish wine was once stored up in a house where a heathen and an Israelite lived in the lower and upper floors: respectively, etc, An Israelite and a heathen were once at an inn sitting and drinking wine, etc. In the city of Sumbeditha thieves once intruded into a house, etc. When an army enters a town in time of peace etc. He who sells his wine to a heathen is allowed to use the money, etc. Rabh told the Jewish wine-dealers to have their heathen customers pay in advance, etc. Once an Israelite said to his neighbour: "When I make up my mind to sell this field, I will sell it to you." Later on he sold it to a third party, etc. An Israelite once said to his neighbour: "When I make up mind to sell this field, I will sell it to you for a hundred suz, etc. If the funnel was first used to measure through it into the heathens flask, etc. Devoted wine is prohibited, and renders unallowable even by a minimal quantity. If forbidden wine falls into a reservoir, and simultaneously a pitcher of water, etc. This is the rule: "When the two are of the same kind; a minimal quantity suffices", etc. For how long must the utensils remain glowing in fire, etc. "A knife is cleansed even by grinding it."

TRACT ABUDA ZARA (IDOLATRY).

CHAPTER 1.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING TRANSACTION OF BUSINESS WITH HEATHENS ON THEIR FESTIVAL DAYS; WHICH FESTIVALS ARE CONSIDERED, AND WHAT REAL ESTATE MAY BE SOLD AND RENTED, AND AT WHAT PLACES.

MISHNA 1.: Three days before the festivals 1 of the heathens it is forbidden to have any business with them. One must not lend them anything (which can be useful to them) nor borrow such from them. And the same is the case with cash money, even to pay or to receive payment is forbidden. R. Jehuda, however, maintains: To receive payment is allowed, because it is a displeasure to the payers. And he was answered: Although it is now a displeasure, it pleases them, in the future.

GEMARA: R. Hanina b. Papa, according to others, R. Simlai, lectured: In the future, the Holy One, blessed be He, will take the Holy Scroll in hand, saying: "He who was occupied with it shall appear and receive his reward." The nations then at once will gather themselves and come motley crowded as it reads [Is. xliii. 9]: "All the people were gathered together." The Holy One, blessed be He, however, tells them: "Do not enter in such confusion, but let each nation with her scribes enter Separately," as it reads further on: "Let the people 2 be assembled." And by the term people kingdoms are meant. [Can there be such a thing as motley before the Holy One, blessed be He? It means they themselves shall not come in confusion, so that they shall understand what will be said to them.] The kingdom of Rome will then enter first on account of its greatness. As concerning it [Dan. 7:23]: "And will devour all the earth, and will tread it down, and grind it up." And R. Jochanan said: Rome is thereby meant, whose fame is respected throughout the whole world. But whence do we know that the more distinguished come first to judgement? It is as R. Hisda said (Rosh Hashana.). The Holy One, blessed be He, questioned her: "What was your occupation in the world?" To which she answered: "Lord of the Universe! we have established many markets, we have constructed many bath-houses, we have multiplied in great mass gold and silver, and all this was done for the sake of Israel, to enable them to study the Law." The Lord's answer will be: It is foolish of ye to state that all you have done was for the sake of Israel, while in reality it was but for yourselves. The construction of markets was for the purpose of prostitution. The establishment of bath-houses was for your own pleasure, and as to gold and silver, it is mine, as [Hos. 2:8]: "Mine is the silver, mine," etc. But, are there, then, among ye those who have studied the Law? They went out in despair.

After Rome has departed, Persia enters. Because she is considered second to Rome, as [Dan. vii. 5]: "And behold, there was another, a second beast, like a bear." To which R. Joseph taught: Thereby, Persia is meant, the people of which are fleshy like bears, eat and drink like bears, are overgrown with hair, and have no rest, like bears. And to the question of the Holy One, "What was your occupation?" They will answer: We have constructed many bridges, conquered many great cities, we were engaged in many wars, all for the sake of Israel to enable them to study the Law. The reply to which will be: "All that was done by you was for your own sake." Bridges, for the collection of duties. Great cities, to establish angaria. And as to wars, I have conducted them. As it reads [Ex. 15:3.]: "The Eternal is the lord of war." But are there among ye those who have studied this Law? And they also went out in despair. [But, why did Persia enter, after seeing that Rome was disappointed? They thought: We may have more chance than Rome, as the latter has destroyed the holy Temple, while we have rebuilt it.] And a similar answer will be given to the other nations. But why should the other nations enter after seeing the disappointment of the first two? They thought: The first two made slaves of Israel, which was not the case with them. But, if so, why should Rome and Persia be more honoured than the other nations? They are distinguished by the permanence of their kingdoms, which will exist until the time of Messia. Finally they will say before Him: Lord of the Universe, didst thou give us the Torah and we did not accept it? But how could they say so? Is it not written [Deut. 33:2]: "The Lord came from Sinai, and rose up from Sa'ir unto them: he shone forth from Mount Paran." And it also reads [Habak. 3:3]: "(When) God from Theman came, and the Holy One from Mount Paran." And to the question: What has the Law to do in Sa'ir and Paran? Said R. Jochanan: From this it is inferred that the Lord has presented his Torah to every nation, but it was not accepted until it came to Israel. Therefore, it is supposed that they said to Him: "Have we then accepted the Torah, and not fulfilled its commandments?" [But what answer is this. Could they not be accused because they have not accepted it?] They said thus: Lord of the Universe, hast thou inclined the mountain toward us as thou didst toward the children of Israel? (See Sabbath.) To this the answer will come: "Let the former things shew us." [Isaiah 43:9] The Holy One, blessed be He, will say to them: "The seven commandments which were given to the descendants of Noah, have ye observed them?" And whence do we know that they have not? From that which R. Joseph taught. It reads [Hab. 3:6]: "He stood forward, and made the earth tremble; he looked, and dispersed nations." What did He see? That the seven commandments accepted by the descendants of Noah, were not observed. And therefore He absolved the nations of them. Absolved. Should then the sinner be benefited? Said Mar b. Rabbina: It means that even should they absolve them, they would not be rewarded. Is that so? Did not R. Mair say: "Whence do we know that even a Gentile who is occupied with the study of the Law, is likened to a high-priest from [Levit. xviii. 5] "Which if a man do, shall live on it," where it does not specify priest, Levite, or Israelite, but states in general if a man, whence it may be inferred that a Gentile, too, who occupies himself with the study of the Law is equal to a high-priest." It means that they will not be rewarded for the observance equally with those who observe in accordance with the commandments. As R. Hanina said: The reward for him who observes that which he is commanded, is greater than to him who observes same without being commanded. The nations will then exclaim: "Lord of the Universe, has then Israel, who has accepted the Torah, observed it?" And to the answer of the Holy One: "I testify that he did," they exclaim: "Lord of the Universe, is then a father fit to be a witness in the case of his son? Is not Israel called the son of the Eternal [Ex. 4:22] "My son, my first-born, is Israel." He will then say: "Let heaven and earth testify that the Torah was observed by Israel." They, however, object in saying that heaven and earth are interested in this case, and therefore are not fit to be witnesses--viz: [Jer. xxxiii. 25]: "If my covenant be not . . . the appointment with heaven and earth, would not be established." And Resh Lakish said: It reads [Gen. 1:31]: "And it was evening, and it was morning," and this justifies the inference that the Lord made a stipulation with all that had been created in the six days to the effect that if Israel will accept the Torah, well and good, but if not I will return all of you to chaos and ruin. Then the Holy One, blessed be He, will say: "Men of ye nations may come and testify that Israel has observed the Torah. Nimrod may testify that Abraham has not worshipped idols. Laban may testify that Jacob was not suspected of robbery. The wife of Potiphar may testify that Joseph was not suspicious of sin. Nebuchadnezzar may testify that Chananyah, Mishaël and Azaryah had not bowed themselves to the image; Darius of Daniel, that he had not abolished prayer; Eliphaz the Themanite, and Bildad the Shuchite, and Zophar the Na'amathite may say of all Israel that they have observed all the Laws." They will then exclaim: "Lord of the Universe, give it to us now, and we will observe it." To which they will be answered: "He who has prepared on the Eve of Sabbath, for the Sabbath, will have what to eat. But he who has not prepared, what then will he have to eat on Sabbath? However, I have one easy, meritorious act, it is the Sukka, go and perform it. [Why is it called easy? Because it requires no expense.] Everyone of them will then prepare a Sukka on his roof, but as soon as the sun heats it, they abandon it, and go away. But did not Rabha say that he who is afflicted by performing the command of Sukka, is free from this obligation? Yea, but not to reject. The Holy One, blessed be He, will then smile upon them. Said R. Itzchak: "There is no smiling with the Holy One, but on that day."

There are others who taught the saying of R. Itzchak in the following connection: R. Jose said: In the future heathens will come to convert themselves with the Tephilin on their heads and arms, tchitches on their dresses, mazuzas on their doors. But, as soon as they will see the war of Gog and Magog, and will question them: "With whom do you want to fight?" Whereto the answer will be: With the Lord and his Messiah [as it reads [Psalm 2:2]: "Against the Lord and his anointed"], each of the nations will remove the above, and go away; and the Holy One will smile upon them. It is here that R. Itzchak said: There is no smiling with the Lord, but on that day. But did not R. Jehudah say in the name of Rabh: There are twelve hours in a day, three hours of which the Holy One, blessed be He, is occupied with the Torah. The next three hours, He judges the whole world, and seeing that it is liable to be destroyed, He rises from the chair of judgement and sits down on the chair of mercy. The third three hours, He supports the whole world with food, from the very largest creature to the smallest one. And the last three hours, He plays 1 with the leviathan, as it reads [Psalm 104:26]: "Leviathan, whom thou hast made to sport therein." Said R. Nachman b. Itzchak: "With His creatures He smiles, but not upon them." R. Aha said to R. Nachman: There is no smiling by the Holy One, since the Temple was destroyed. As it reads [Is. 42:14]. But in the fourth three hours, he teaches the Torah to the school-children. As it reads [ibid. 28:9]: "Whom shall he teach knowledge? And whom shall he give to understand doctrine? (to) those that are weaned from the milk, (to) those that are taken from the breasts." And what does He do in the night-time? If you wish, it may be said that He does the same as in the day-time. And if you wish, it may be said that He rides upon His light cloud and moves in all directions upon 18,000 worlds. As it reads [Psalm 68:18]: "The chariots of God are two myriads; thousands of angels (follow him)." And if you wish, it may be said that He is sitting and listening to the song of the angels, as [ibid. xlii. 9]: "And in the night his song shall be with me."

R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel: It reads [Hab. 1:14]: "And (why) makest thou men as the fishes of the sea, as the creeping things, that have no ruler over them?" Why are men compared with fish of the sea? To wit: even as the fish die as soon as they are taken on land, so do men die when they separate themselves from the law of the Torah. Another explanation: as fish die from the strong heat of the sun, so also do men. If you wish it may be said in this world, and this would be in accordance with R. Hanina, who said: "Everything is decreed by heaven, except cold" (see Middle Gate.). And if you wish it may be said, in the world to come, and this is in accordance with Resh Lakish, who says: There is no Gehenna in the future. But the Holy One, blessed be He, will take out the sun from its sheath. The wicked will be punished with its heat, and the upright be cured by it. As it reads [Malachi, iii. 19]: "For, behold, the day is coming, which shall burn as an oven; and all the presumptuous, yea, and all who practice wickedness shall be stubble: and the day that is coming shall see them on fire, . . . who will not leave them root or bough. (20) But there shall rise unto you that fear my name, the sun of righteousness with healing in his wings." Furthermore, the latter will have pleasure and become fat from it, as the end reads, "And ye will go forth, and grown fat as calves of the stall."

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There is another explanation, "as fish in the sea," the larger one swallows the smaller, so also is it with men, since if not for the fear for government the stronger would swallow the weaker. And this is what a Mishna states: "Pray for the peace of the government," etc. (See Aboth, p. 72.)

R. Hinna b. Papa propounded a contradiction to the following [Job, 37:23]: "The Almighty we do not find him out excellent in power." And [Ex. 15:6]: "Thy right hand, O Lord, is become glorious in power." And also [Psalm 147:5]: "Great is our Lord, and abundant in power"? This presents no difficulty: At the time of judgement, He does not use his might; but in time of war, He uses it.

Rabha said [Job, 30:24]: "But doth not a man stretch out his hand among ruins? or doth one not cry out therefrom when he meeteth his downfall?" So said the Holy One, blessed be He, to Israel. By judging Israel, I do not treat them in the same manner as I do heathens, which is mentioned in [Is. 21:32]: "Overthrown, overthrown. . . . I will render it." But I punished them as the picking of a chicken. And according to others: "Even if Israel do but small good deeds, as the picking of chickens in the dunghill, I will combine them into one large sum." Another explanation: "I help them because of their praying to me. And this is what R. Aba said: It reads [Hos. 7:13]: "Though I desired to redeem them, they yet spoke lies against me." I.e., I thought: I will redeem them by loss of money in this world, for the purpose of rewarding them in the world to come. And they told lies about me. And the same said R. Papa in the name of Rabha: The inferring it from [ibid., ibid. 15].

R. Abuhuh introduced R. Safra to the minim (who were appointed by the government to collect duties) as a great man. And they freed him from duty for thirteen years. Once they met him and asked him to explain the following [Amos, 3:2]: "Only you have I loved out of all the families of the earth: therefore will I visit upon you all your iniquities." If one is in bad humor, will he let it out on his friend? He kept silent, as he was ignorant of the answer. And they inflicted upon him. R. Abuhuh then met them, to ask for the reason. And they answered: You introduced him as a great man, while he does not even know the explanation of a passage. Rejoined he: "I told you he was a scholar, but did I say that he was a master in the study of the Bible?" And to their question: Why are you familiar with it? He answered: "Because we have to discuss with you frequently, we give our attention to it." They say: It is for you, then, to explain the above-mentioned passage. And he answered thus: I will do it in the form of a parable. There was once a creditor of two persons, one a friend, and the other an enemy of his. From his friend, he demands to be paid in small sums, while from his enemy he demands the whole debt at once. (And the same is the case with Israel: He clears them of all their iniquities by small punishments in this world, so that they shall not have to suffer in the world to come.)

The rabbis taught: The Lord becomes angry every day, but only during one instant, which is the fifty-three thousand eight hundred and forty-eighth part in one hour; and there is no creature in the world who is able to guess this moment, except Bil'am, about whom it reads [Numb. 24:16]: "Knoweth the knowledge of the Most High." Which means that he knew how to guess the second in which the Lord becomes angered. (See Sanhedrin.)

R. Joseph said: It is advisable for one not to pray singly the additional benediction in the first three hours at the first day of new year, for, the heavenly judgement takes place at that time, and because of his praying attention may be given to his deeds, and he may get an unfavourable decree. But if so, one should not do it even with the congregation together? With the congregation is different, as the attention is given to their deeds in average. But was it not said above that in the first three hours the Lord is engaged in the Law? Yea, however, by the Torah, in which truth is mentioned [Prov. 23:23]: "Buy the truth," judgement cannot be modified. But concerning judgement, truth is not mentioned, and therefore the Holy One, blessed be He, modifies it.

R. Joshua b. Levi said [Deut. 7:11]: "Which I command thee this day, to do them," means to do it to-day, but not to be rewarded for it to-day. He said again: "All the performance of the commandments which Israel observed in this world, will come and testify for them in the world to come." He said again: The crime of the golden calf was committed only to give a chance to the repenter. As it reads [ibid. 5:26]: "Who would grant that this their heart might remain in them to fear me at all times." (Hence, they were not fit to commit a crime.) Similarly said Johanan in the name of R. Simeon b. Jo'hai: David was not fit to commit the crime with Bath Shaba, as concerning him it reads [Psalm, 108:22]: "My heart is deeply wounded within me." And also Israel was not fit for the above crime, for the reason said above. And why was it committed? For the benefit of sinners. If it happens to be an individual, it may be said to him: Repent, as the individual David did. And if it happens to be a congregation, they also may be told to repent, as the congregation of the desert did. And this is what R. Samuel b. Nachman in the name of Jonathan said: It reads [2 Sam. 23:1]: "And thus saith the man who was raised up on high" (the term in Hebrew for high is ol, which means also yoke), and is to be interpreted thus: The man who had raised the yoke of repentance The same said again in the name of the same authority: When one performs a meritorious act in this world, it precedes him in the world to come. As it reads [Is. lviii. 8]: "And before thee shall go thy righteousness, the glory of the Lord shall be thy reward." And the same is the case with him who commits a crime in this world, that it clings to him and goes before him on the day of judgement. As it reads [Job, 6:18].

The rabbis taught: Concerning the above-cited verse [Deut. 5:26]: Moses said to Israel: Ye are ungrateful my children, as at the time, the Holy One, blessed be He, said to you: "Who would grant," etc., ye ought to say: Thou, Lord, grant it to us. Your ungratefulness is also marked from [Numb. 21:5]: "And our soul loathed this miserable bread." Ye are also children of an ungrateful, as it reads [Gen. 3:12]: "The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree," etc. Moses, however, hinted this to Israel only after the forty years in which he led them in the desert. As in respect of that time it reads [Deut. xxix. 3]: "And yet the Lord gave you not a heart to perceive," etc. Said Rabba: "Infer from this that one cannot know the real mind of his master, until the elapse of forty years."

R. Johanan said in the name of R. B'naha: It reads [Is. 32:20]: "Happy are ye that sow beside all waters, freely sending forth the feet of the ox and the ass." Happy is Israel at the time when he is occupied with the Torah and with bestowing of favours; as his evil spirit is then transferred into his hands, and not vice versa. And this is inferred from the just-cited verse, "that sow," which means charity, as [Hos. x. 12]. And "by water" it means the Torah, as in [Is. 4:1] means the Torah. And "by freely sending forth," etc., is meant, what the disciple of Elijah taught. One should always consider himself in his relation to the laws of the Torah, as an ox to its yoke, and an ass to its load.

"Three days," etc. Is such a long time needed? Does not a Mishna state: At four periods in the year, he who sells a cow to his neighbour must notify him thus: I have sold her mother or her daughter to be slaughtered. (It is biblically forbidden to slaughter the mother and her child on one and the same day), and they are: the Eve of the second festival of Tabernacles, the Eve of the first day of Passover, the Eve of Pentecost, and the Eve of New Year. According to R. Jose the Galilean: Also the Eve of the day of Atonement in Galilee. (Hence, we see that only one day is sufficient.) Where eating is treated of, one day suffices, but where sacrificing is treated of three days are needed. Are, then, three days sufficient for sacrificing? Is there not a rule that thirty days before Passover are needed to study the laws of this festival? Concerning our sacrifices, which even a blemish in the eye-lash makes invalid, thirty days are needed for studying the Law. But concerning the heathens, that only a missing limb of an animal makes it invalid. But not a blemish, three days suffice.

The schoolman propounded a question as to whether or not the statement of the Mishna, "three days," include the festival day also? Come and hear. R. Ismael said: "Three days before and three days after their festivals." Now, should it mean to include the festival day, would, then, R. Ismael count it twice, to the first and to the last days? This is no objection, as the number three, mentioned last, may be used merely because of the first. Come and hear the following: R. Tachlipha b. Abdimi in the name of Samuel said: If their festival occurs in the middle of the week, it is forbidden to do business with them the whole week. Now, if that day were included, one day of the week would be allowed. There is no question, according to R. Ismael, as he certainly excludes that day, but how is it the question is according to the rabbis? Come and hear: The following are the festivals of the heathens: kalends, Saturnalia and kratsim. And R. Hanin b. Rabha said: Kalends occurs eight days after the solstice, and the Saturnalia eight days before. Now, if the festivals were included, it would be said ten days? Perhaps the Tana counts the whole festival of kalends for one day. Said R. Ashi: From the expression of the Mishna, "before," it may be inferred that it means to exclude the day in question. For if not, it would state three days of their festivals, etc. Infer from this that so it is.

The schoolmen propounded a question: Is this forbidden because a Jew must not interfere with the idols, or because of the commandment, "Thou shalt not put a stone for the blind"? And the difference is in whether or not the heathen has his own animal for sacrificing. If because of interfering, it is forbidden, but if because of the latter, it is not, as he has his own. But even if he has his own, the above negative rests upon him, as R. Nathan states in a Boraitha: Whence do we know that one must not serve a goblet of wine to a Nazerite nor a member of a live animal to a descendant of Noah? from [Levit. 19:14], "Nor put a stumbling-block before the blind." We see then, that though these two would each take the forbidden even if not offered, nevertheless he who serves therewith commits a transgression, it speaks of a case when the two, giver and receiver, are separated, by e.g., a river, so that if not served he could not take it himself; and the word serve instead of give seems to corroborate this view. The schoolman propounded another question: How is it if he had done business with him in the prohibited days? According to R. Johanan: The benefit which he derived from the business is forbidden, and according to Resh Lakish, it is not. Resh Lakish objected to R. Jochanan from the following: In the festivals of heathens, if one had business with them, the derived benefit is forbidden. We see that thus the festivals, as such are meant, but not the time before. R. Jochanan, however, maintains: That in the expression "festivals" the days before are also meant.

There is a Boraitha in accordance with Resh Lakish: The prohibition to do business with them refers only to a thing which can be kept in good order until the festival day, but not otherwise. And even concerning the former, if it was already done, the benefit is allowed.

R. Zabid taught in a Boraitha of R. Osia: A thing which cannot be kept in good order may be sold to, but not bought from, them. There was a minn who, in his festival, sent a new dinar to R. Jehudah the second. Resh Lakish was then at the latter's house, and Jehudah consulted him as to the acceptance of it. If he accepted he would transgress the rule of interfering, while his refusal would cause animosity. Said Resh Lakish to him: Accept, and throw it away in the presence of the donor. To which R. Jehudah rejoined: Then I will cause still more animosity. Rejoined Resh Lakish: I mean that you should throw it in such a manner that he should think it was done unintentionally.

"To lend them or to borrow." The prohibition to lend them is correct, because it pleases them. But why is it forbidden to receive payment from them; does it not diminish their property? Said Abai: If it were permitted to receive from them, one would be led also to lend them. Rabha, however, maintains: Both are prohibited only because of interfering.

"Because it is a displeasure." Does not R. Jehudah hold the view: That it pleases him in the future. We have heard him say elsewhere that he upholds such a theory concerning Jewish festivals? Said R. Na'hman b. Itzchak: Leave alone the Halakhas of minor festivals, as they are allowed only upon the basis of "it pleases him in the future, although it is a displeasure to him while performing it." Rabbina, however, maintains: A heathen is always displeased at a payment.. Our Mishna is not in accordance with R. Joshua b. Karcha of the following Boraitha, who said: If the lender had a document, he must not receive payment at that day. But if it was a verbal loan, he may, as it is a rescue. (Here is repeated from the First Gate.)

MISHNA. 2.: R. Ismael said: Three days before and three days after it is prohibited. The sages, however, say: Before the festivals, but not after them.

GEMARA: What new views do the sages of this Mishna advance. Was same not said by the first Tana of the first Mishna? They differ in what was said by Samuel: "In exile, the prohibition refers to the day of the festival only." The first Tana upholds the theory of Samuel, which the sages of the latter Mishna do not. It may also be said that they differ in that which was said by Na'hum the Modaite. The prohibition is imposed only upon one day before their festival. And in this case, the Tana of the first Mishna does not agree with him, while the sages of the second do. There is a Boraitha which states that as regards the decision of Na'hum the Modaite, it was said: It is better that such should be dropped and not repeated. There is another Boraitha; Na'hum the Modaite said: An old male horse may be sold to them in case of war. And he was also answered: Such may be dropped, etc. And there is another Boraitha: That the same declared a Halakha concerning tithe, seeds and herbs, and was also answered: It may be dropped, etc. Said R. Aha b. Minumi to Abai: Is it right that everything declared by so great a man who comes into our country be annulled by mere exclamation such as above? And he answered: There is one thing of the following Boraitha, on which we act according to his decision--namely, Na'hum the Modaite says: One may pray for his necessities the benediction of, "He listens to prayer." Rejoined R. Aba: Leave alone this Halakha which relies not upon Na'hum the Modaite only, but upon the discussion of great men in the following Boraitha: R, Eliezar said: One should beg for his necessities first, and thereafter he shall recite the daily benediction. As [Psalms, 102:1]: "A prayer of the afflicted, when he is overwhelmed, and poureth out before the Lord his complaint." R. Joshua, however, maintains: One has to recite his benediction previously, and thereafter pray for his necessities. As [Psalms, 142:2]: "I poured out my shicho before him, I relate before him my trouble." (Hence, the trouble is related after the benediction.)

Let us see: The passages do not correspond with either of them; hence, there must be some other reason. Wherein, then, is their point of difference? In that which was lectured upon by R. Simlai: It is advisable for one to always arrange the praises of the Omnipotent first, and thereafter to recite the daily eighteen benedictions. And this can be inferred from Moses, our master [Deut. 3:24]: "Thou hast begun to show," etc., and thereafter (25): "Let me go over, I pray thee." R. Joshua maintains: We may learn it from Moses, but R. Eliezar holds that we cannot compare ourselves to Moses, and must not dare to do like him. The sages, however, maintain

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differently from both: As according to them, one may pray for his necessities in the benediction of, "He listens to prayer." Said R. Jehudah b. R. Samuel b. Shilath in the name of Rabh: Although it was decided that one may pray for his necessities in the benediction of "listen to prayer," yet if he understands how to express his desire at the end of each benediction (conjoined in the daily eighteen benedictions), he may do so.

MISHNA 3.: The following are the festivals of the heathens: Kalends, Saturnalia, kratsin. The accession of their kings upon the throne, their birthday, and the day of their death. So R. Mair. The sages, however, maintain that only such a death on which burning (dresses) is used, is conjoined with worshipping the idols. But in such on which it is not used, there is no .idolatry. All, however, agree concerning the following days: That of shaving his beard and hair, that in which he lauds, that on which he was released from prison, and that on which is celebrated a marriage of his son that the prohibition concerns only one day, and the only one man engaged in this affair.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: Adam the first, when he saw that each day of the week became shortened, cried: Woe is to me, the world becomes dark to me because of my sin, and it seems to be returned to chaos and ruin. And this is my death which was decreed by heaven. He arose and fasted and prayed eight days. Thereafter, when he lived to see the solstice of the month of Tabit, when the days become longer, he understood that such is the cycle of the world, and therefore established eight holidays. The next year, he also proclaimed the eight days on which he had fasted as holidays. He has established them to laud heaven; his descendants, however, made them holidays for the idols.

The rabbis taught: Adam the first, on the first day of his creation, when he saw the sun set, cried: Woe is to me, the world is to be returned to chaos, because of my sin, etc. He wept all night, and Eve did the same opposite him. However, when the morning star appeared, he understood that such was the order of the world. He arose and sacrificed an ox, whose horns were like its hoofs.

R. Mathna questioned: Are the small towns under the dominion of Rome and near to the capital, prohibited, at the time Rome celebrates its kalends, or not? According to R. Jehoshua b. Levi, the festival kalandes is forbidden to everyone. And according to R. Johanan, it is forbidden to interfere with those who worship her only. There is a Boraitha in accordance with R. Johanan as follows: Although it was said that if Rome established a kalandes, and all the near cities which are under her dominion supported her, the prohibition of interfering concerns only its worshippers. On Saturnalia, kratsin, the day of the throne and the day in which he ascends to reign, only one day before, interfering is prohibited; but not the day after. During the celebration of the son's marriage the interfering is forbidden to this man, and on that day only. Said R. Ashi: The statement of R. Johanan is also hinted at in our Mishna by the expression "and that man," which excludes those who are under his dominion. (Here is repeated from Aboth, p. 94. R. Simeon b. Eliezar said the whole par.; here, however, it is said in the name of R. Ismael. (The Gemara adds): It is therefore decided that if a heathen invites one during thirty days from his son's wedding, the invitation being special to the wedding, or anonymous, it is considered a wedding day, and the interfering is not allowed. At the elapse of thirty days, if the invitation was specific of the wedding, it is so considered; and if anonymous, it is not. Until what time is it considered wedding time in the case of a special invitation? Said R. Papa: Twelve months. And previous to the wedding, at what time is to be considered? From the time when they put the barley in the pestle for preparing beer.

"Kratsin." What festival is this? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: It is the day on which Rome has established her kingdom. But is there not a Boraitha: Kratsin and the day on which Rome has established her kingdom? (Hence kratsin must be something else.) Said R. Joseph: Rome has established her kingdom twice. Once in the days of the Queen Cleopatra and the second time in the day of the Greeks. As R. Dimi told when he came from Palestine: Thirty-two battles the Romans fought with the Greeks, and could not conquer them until they had conjoined the Israelites with them, under the stipulation that if the kings were of one nation, the great officers of the government should be taken from the others. And then the Romans sent a message to the Greeks: Until now we have tried to conquer you by battles, but now we will try to do it by a discussion. We may ask you, if one likes to conjoin a pearl with a diamond, which of them shall be the basis? And they answered: The pearl to the diamond. A diamond and an onyx? The diamond as a basis, was the answer. An onyx and the Holy Scrolls? The onyx to the Holy Scrolls, was the answer. Then they sent to them: "Now, the Holy Scrolls with the Israelites are with us." (And the Greeks were conquered.) Twenty-six years the Romans kept their promise to Israel, and thereafter they failed, and took the Israelites under their dominion. Whence do we know that they were true to their promise twenty-six years? From what was said by R. Ka'hana. When R. Ismael b. Jose was sick, it was sent to him that he should recite a few things which he related in the name of his father. And his answer was this: A hundred and eighty years before the Temple was destroyed, Rome had thrust her dominion upon Israel. Eighty years before the destruction, it was decreed by the sages that the land of the nations outside of Palestine should be subject to defilement. Forty years before, the Sanhedrin were exiled from their place and settled in shops. (Here is repeated from Sanhedrin, concerning the establishment of fine.) The text says 180 years, and not more? Does not a Boraitha state in the name of R. Jose the great: Palestine was under the dominion of Persia 430 years; under the Greek, 180 years; the house of the Makabaius [Maccabee] reigned 103 years and the house of Herod reigned likewise 103 years. Now, according to this chronology there will be 206 years for the dominion of Rome over Israel. Therefore, we must say that the 26 years in which they were true to their promise are not counted under their dominion. There is a Tosephtha: The disciples of Elijah taught: The world will continue for six thousand years, the first two thousand of which were a chaos (Tahu), the second two thousand were of Torah, and the third two thousand are the days of the Messiah, and because of our sins many years of these have elapsed, and still he has not come. Let us see from what time the two thousand of Torah are reckoned. Shall we assume it to be the time when the Torah was given to Israel? Two thousand years have not elapsed as yet since. We must therefore say that it means the time mentioned in [Gen. xii. 5]: "And the persons that they had obtained in Charan." And it is known by tradition that Abraham was then fifty-two years of age. And from his fifty-second year until the Torah was given, 448 years elapsed, and that number will complete the number of 2,000 which were less at the time the Tana taught about the 2,000 years of wisdom.

"The accession to the throne." Whose accession? If it means the king's, how should the following Boraitha be understood? "The ascending to the throne, and the day on which they select the king," which seems to be one and the same. We must say therefore, that by accession that of the king's son is meant. And the objection that it was not customary in Rome the son should inherit the throne, may be thus meant: That upon the request of the king, they were now to affiliate it to the son. As it happened with Antoninus (the Caesar of Rome), who said to Rabbi: I would like that Asurius, my son, should reign after me, and also that Tiberius should be free from duty. But I am aware that if I will ask my people to do me one favour, they will, but not two. What have I to do? Rabbi, who did not want to answer his question in words, told a man to mount upon the shoulders of another one, and having given him a dove, said to the other one, tell him who is mounted upon you to let the dove free. From this Antoninus understood that he had to request his people to proclaim his son king after him, and to instruct his son that he should set Tiberius free. Once the same said to Rabbi: The officers of Rome irritate me. (What shall I do?) Rabbi asked him to walk with him in the garden, and began to tear out the large radishes of the beds, planting smaller ones instead, by which Antoninus understood that he intimates the necessity of removing the old officers little by little and not all at once, so as to prevent a rebellion. But why did not Rabbi answer him in words? He was afraid that the officers of Rome would get wind of it and would harm him. The same Caesar had a daughter by the name Girah, and it happened that she sinned. Antoninus then sent to Rabbi white mustard, which is called in Aramaic gargira (whence Rabbi understood that something happened with Girah). He sent him in answer a seed by the name of khusbratha, the meaning of which in Aramaic is khus bratha (remove the daughter). Antoninus again sent him garlic, named in Aramaic karthi, from which Rabbi understood that he questioned him: Shall I cut off my child? And in answer he sent him lettuce, which is named chassa, which means have mercy with her.

Antoninus used to send to Rabbi frequently pieces of pure gold in leather sacks covered with wheat. And to the objection of Rabbi: I have too much of my own, he exclaimed: Leave them to him who will substitute thee, that he shall spend it to please those who will reign after me. From the house of Antoninus, there was a cave which reached the house of Rabbi, and each time that he went to the house of Rabbi through this cave, he would take with him two slaves. One he used to kill at the gate of Rabbi, and the other when he returned, at his own gate. He, however, told Rabbi that at the time of his visit no one should be found with him. It once happened that he found Hanina b. Hamana with him, and to his question: Did not I say that no one should be found with you during my visit? Rabbi answered: This is not a human being. Said Antoninus to Hanina: Go and call for me the slave who sleeps at the gate.

Hanina, however, found him dead, and he deliberated what to do: shall he go to tell him that he is dead? There is a rule that one must not answer with degradation; should he leave him and go away? This would be a disgrace to a king. He therefore prayed, and the dead became alive, and he then sent him to his master. Said Antoninus to Rabbi: I am aware that even the smallest of you is able to bring the dead to life. However, I want that when I come here, I should not find a living soul with you. He used to serve Rabbi in all his needs, and he once questioned him if he would have a share in the world to come. To which Rabbi answered, "yea." Said he: Does it not read [Ab. 1:18]: "And there shall not be anyone remaining of the house of 'Eseau." It means he who acts like 'Eseau. But, it reads [Ezek. 32:29]: "There are Edom, her kings, and all her princes," etc. The answer was, it reads kings, but not all her kings. Princes, but not all of them. So also we have learned in the following: "Her kings, and not all of them, i.e., exclude Antoninus b. Asudius. Her princes and not all of them, excluding K'tiha b. Shalum."

What happened with the latter? There was a Caesar who disliked the Jews, and he asked the advice of his officers: Should he who has a fibre in his foot cut it off and be at ease, or should he leave it and be afflicted? And the advice of them all was, that he should cut it off and remain at rest. K'tiha, however, who was one of them, objected, saying: First you cannot get rid of all the Jews, as it reads [Zech. 2:10]: "For as the four winds of the heaven have I spread you abroad, saith the Lord." 1 And secondly, your kingdom will be considered mutilated, and one that kills its own subjects. The king then said: Thy advice is true, but there is a law that he who concurs the king, must be thrown into the furnace. When they took him to be slain, he said: I bequeath all my property to R. Aqiba and his colleagues. A heavenly voice was then heard: K'tiha b. Shalum has a share in the world to come. Rabbi then wept and said: Here we have a man who has bought his world in one moment, while another one has to work for it all his life.

Antoninus served Rabbi; Adarkhan (a Persian Prince) served Rabh. When Antoninus departed, said Rabbi: Our union broke, and the same said Rabh when Adarkhan departed.

Unklus b. Klenimus embraced Judaism, and the Caesar sent militia to take him. He, however, persuaded them, and they also became proselytes. He then sent other militia, warning them that they should not converse with him. When they took him and were going, he said to them: I will tell you something; usually the torch-bearer carries the light in front of the litter, the chief lecticarius (behind the litter, carries the light) for the dux, the dux for the hegemon, the hegemon for the comes; but does the comes carry the light before the people? And they answered, No. Said he: The Holy One, blessed be He, carries light before Israel as it reads [Ex. 13:21]: "And the Lord went before them in a pillar of cloud," etc. And they also became proselytes. The Caesar then sent other ones after him, telling them not to talk to him at all. But when they took him, he saw a mazuzah on the doorpost, and said to them: Do you know what this is? They answered: No, but you may tell us. He then said: It is customary with a human king that while he is sitting inside of his palace his servants guard him outside. With the Holy One, blessed be He, it is the contrary. His servants are inside, and He guards them from the outside, as it reads [Psalm 121:8]: "The Lord will guard thy going out and thy coming in," etc. Then these became proselytes, too, and the Caesar did not send any more after him. It reads [Gen. 25:23]: "And the Lord said to her, two nations are in thy womb." Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: This means Antoninus and Rabbi, upon whose tables were not missing lettuces, cucumbers and radishes, summer as well as winter. As the master said: The radishes masticate the food in the stomach, lettuces overturn it, and cucumbers extend the gut. But have not the disciples of Ismael taught that cucumbers are as harmful to the body as swords? This presents no difficulty, as one speaks of large ones, and the other of small ones.

"The day of death," etc. From this we see that R. Mair makes no difference between a death, to which burning is, and that to which it is not, used; in both cases as according to him, idols are worshipped there. Hence the burning is not a custom of the Amorites, which the Israelites are prohibited from. And the rabbis who oppose R. Mair hold that it is a custom. Why then do we use burning? As there is a Boraitha that one may burn things for the death of kings. Therefore, as to burning, we must say, all agree that it is not considered a custom, but an act of honour. The rabbis, however, hold that worship of idols takes place only in cases where there is burning. While according to R. Mair, it is worship in both cases. Where do we find that burning is used for kings? [Jer. 34:5]: "In peace shalt thou die and as burnings were made for thy fathers," etc. And as they burn for kings, so also do they for princes. What they used to burn upon kings? Their beds and all the utensils which were used by the deceased. And it happened on the death of Raban Gamaliel the elder, that Unclus the proselyte burned clothing worth seventy manas coined in Zur.

"The day of shaving his beard," etc. The schoolman propounded a question: Does the Mishna mean the shaving of his beard and the surrounding of the hair (which they used as a worship for the whole year, and at the end they used to remove for the same purpose) or do they mean the removing of the hair? Come and hear the following: The day of shaving the beard and leaving the hair and also the day of removing it.

R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said: There was still another festival in Rome which occurs once in seventy years,

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on which they would make a well man ride on a lame man, dress him in the garments of Adam, and place on his head the scalp of R. Ismael, etc.; on his neck was suspended gold of the weight of four zuz. And they cover the markets with it, heralding before him: sakh quiriphlaster. 1 The brother of our Lord is a deceiver. (They mean Jacob, the brother of Eseau, who deceived the latter by taking away the blessing of Isaac to himself.) He who saw this now may be rejoiced, as if not to-day, he will not see it any more (because it was once in seventy years), and they would finish with: Woe will be to him at the time the other will arise. But why does not the Tana of our Mishna count this feast? Because he counts only what is usual each year, and not what happens once in seventy.

R. Hanan b. R. 'Hisda or R. Hanan b. Rabha in the name of Rabh said: There are five houses of idols; the house of Beil in Babylon, the house of Nebu in Khursi, of Tharetha in Mapag, Zripha in Askkilon, and Nishra in Arabia. When R. Dimi came, he said: It was added to them the yared of An Bekhi of Ekha of the town of N'dbkah. All these houses were standard, and were worshipped the whole year. So said R. 'Hisda in the name of his father-in-law.

It is said above, that according to Samuel: In exile it is forbidden only the very day of the festival, not the day before and after. But even on that day did not R. Jehudah allow R. Brona to buy wine and R. Giddle to buy wheat in the festival of the merchants? Such a festival is different, as it is not standard.

MISHNA 4.: In a city where the idol is placed, interfering is forbidden inside, but not outside. And if outside, the inside is not forbidden. May one go to the city at that time? If the way leads to the idol only, it is forbidden, but if it leads also to another place, it is not.

GEMARA: What is meant by outside is, e.g., the bazaar of Gaza. Resh Lakish questioned R. Hanina: Is indeed the bazaar of Gaza permitted? And he answered: Did it not happen to you to be in Zur where you could see an Israelite and a Gentile putting their pots upon -one stove, and the sages did not object. The same is the case with the bazaar of Gaza; the sages did not care to forbid this because of these festivals.

"May one go to the city," etc. The rabbis taught: A city in which an idol is placed, one must not enter, nor pass from it into another city. So R. Mair. The sages, however, say: The prohibition lies when the way is specified to that place only, but not otherwise. If a thorn sticks in one's foot at that place where the idol is standing, he must not bend to take it out, because it would seem as bowing to the idol; but if it does not seem so, he may. And the same is the case if one's money scattered near that place. From a spring which runs before the idol, one must not bend to drink for the same reason, unless it does not seem as if bowing to the idol. If an aqueduct is placed in the idol, one must not put his mouth to it, as it would seem like kissing it. However, it is not advisable to put one's mouth to any duct, as one may swallow a leech.

The rabbis taught: One may not drink water from rivers or ponds either with his mouth or with one hand (as he cannot discern anything in it with both hands; however, he can keep the water, and examine it). And if he did so, he would be responsible in case he swallowed a leech, which is dangerous, and this is a support to R. Hanina, who said: That for such an accident it is allowed to violate the Sabbath by warming water; and also R. Ne'hamaia allowed to do same in such a case. And R. Huna b. Jehoshua said: That if such happened, he may drink vinegar until the water is warmed. R. Idi b. Abin said: He who has swallowed a bee, cannot be cured. However, he may drink some strong vinegar, perhaps this will give him time to make his will.

MISHNA 5.: If, during an idol festival in the city, some stores were there decorated, one must not buy from these stores, while he may from the others, as such a case happened in the city of Beth Shean, and the sages have so decided.

GEMARA: Said Resh Lakish: The prohibition lies only on those which are decorated with roses and myrtles, because the odor pleases him, but not to those which were decorated with some other fruit. And the reason is [Deut. 13:18]: "And there shall not cleave to thy hand aught of the devoted things." Which signifies that it is prohibited only to derive any benefit for himself, but not to benefit others. R. Johanan, however, maintains that the prohibition lies also on those which are decorated with fruit, as such conclusion can be drawn a fortiori. If deriving benefit from them is forbidden, so much the more should it be, to benefit them. An objection was raised from the following: R. Nathan said: It is usual in the day of the idol to herald: everyone who will decorate his head and the heads of his animals for the honour of the idol will be freed from duties for such and such a time. What had then a Jew to do? Should he decorate, then he derives benefit from the idols; should he not, then he benefits them. From this it was said: He who is doing business in the market established for the idol, his property must be destroyed in such a manner that no one should be able to derive any benefit of it. We see, then, that to benefit is also prohibited, and this contradicts Resh Lakish's above statement. Said R. Mesharshia b. R. Idi: Resh Lakish hold that the rabbis differ with R. Nathan, and the Halakha prevails with the majority, while R. Johanan holds that they do not differ. (Here is repeated from tract Minor Festivals and Abel Rabbathi, which we deem not necessary to translate.)

R. Jacob bought shoes on such a market day, and R. Jeremiah bought bread. Each of them bought from a private man, not from a storekeeper. However, each one thought that his colleague bought from a storekeeper, and rebuked each other because of the statement of Aba b. R. 'Higya b. Aba: That the prohibition to buy lies only from a storekeeper, but not from a private, as a private does not pay any duties. He also said that if R. Johanan were in such a place where they take duties from a private also, he would forbid to buy even from a private. The above-mentioned sages, however, bought their goods from such a private who was not established at that city, and, therefore, they were sure that he does not pay duties,

MISHNA 6.: The following are forbidden to be sold to the heathens: Fir-cones, white figs on their stems, frankincense, and a white cock. R. Jehudah, however, said: That a white cock may be sold among other cocks, and if singly, he has to cut off a finger of it, because the heathens do not sacrifice an animal of which an organ is missing. All other things may be sold anonymously, but if they say that they buy it for worshipping, one must not sell. R. Mair, however, forbids to sell them fine date trees, sugar-canes, and a variety of dates.

GEMARA: "Frankincense," said R. Itzchak in the name of Resh Lakish: Only the best frankincense which is used for worshipping, and there is a Boraitha: That from all the things mentioned above, one bundle may be sold; and what is to be considered a bundle? Explained R. Jehudah b. Bathyra: No less than three manas worth. But why not fear perhaps the buyer will sell of it for worshipping? Said Abayi: We are told not to put a stone before the blind, ourselves, but we are not told that we should fear some other one should do same with our stone. (The prohibition is, because one must not assist a sinner, and worshipping idols is a sin even to the heathens.)

"A white cock," etc. R. Jonna in the name of R. Zara according to others quoting R. Zebid, said: If the buyer is searching for a cock anonymously, even a white one may be sold to him. But if he asks for a white cock, then such must not be sold. There is an objection from our Mishna. R. Jehudah said: It may be sold among others. Now, let us see the nature of the case. If the buyer ask for a white cock, then certainly it must not be sold even among others; we must then say that he asks for a cock in general, and notwithstanding this, is allowed to sell it among the others, but not singly, even according to R. Jehudah. And according to the first Tana, not even among the others? Said R. Nahman b. Itzhak: The Tanaim of our Mishna speaks of a case when the buyer mentioned a black, red and white one. According to the first Tana, as soon as white is mentioned, it must not be sold even among others, and according to R. Jehudah, it may, on the supposition that as the other colours are not for sacrificing, the white is not either. But if colour was not mentioned at all, even according to the first Tana, the white may be sold among other colours. And there is a Boraitha in accordance with R. Na'hman b. Itzchak, as follows: R. Jehudah said: The prohibition is in force only when the buyer says, Sell me this white cock; but if he said, Sell me this and other colours you have, it is not. And even in the former case, if the buyer has a sick person in his house; or he is preparing a banquet for his son, it is permitted. But does not our Mishna state above: That in such a case that man as well as that day is prohibited? Said R. Itzchak b. R. Mesharshia: R. Jehudah, by the word banquet means a dancing banquet, on which sacrificing is not used, and not a wedding banquet. R. Ashi propounded a question: If the buyer asks for a blemished white cock (which is not used for sacrificing), may one sell him a good white cock, or is it to be feared that because he knows that an Israelite would not sell him a white cock, he deceives him by asking for a blemished one; and should you decide that such is prohibited? Furthermore, how is the law in case he asks for a white one and, nevertheless, takes also a black and a red one; may one then sell him a white one also, as it is to be supposed that he does not take them for sacrificing; or here, also, it may be feared that he bought the other colours only because he needs the white one? This question remains undecided.

"R. Mair said," etc. Said R. 'Hisda to Abimi: We have a tradition that the tract Aboda Zara of Abraham the patriarch contained four hundred chapters. We, however, have only five of them, and even these we do not quite understand. What is the difficulty? R. Mair said: "A fine date tree," from which it is to be understood that a simple one may be sold. And there is a Mishna: Nothing must be sold of that which is attached to the ground. Answered Abimi: By a "fine date tree" the fruit of it is meant; and so also said R. Huna: e.g., ('Hazal nkshba nklas) the species or variety of dates. When R. Dimi came from Palestine, he said in the name of Hamma b. Joseph: Quryti (that which is fit for a drink, made of cariota [cariotum]). Said Abayi to him: We have learned nklas, and we do not know what it is, and now you say quryti, and we do not know what it is either. Of what use is it, then, to us? And he answered: If you happened to be in Palestine and say nklas, no one would understand you, but if you said there quryti, they would understand, and show you what it means.

MISHNA 7.: In places where it is customary to sell small cattle (sheep, goats, etc.) to heathens, it is lawful to do so, but not in places where this is not customary. Large cattle must not be sold to them at all, nor calves nor foals of asses, either sound or broken-legged. R. Jehudah permits the sale of the latter, and Ben Bathyra permits the sale of a horse.

GEMARA: From this Mishna it seems that it relies only upon a custom, but there is no prohibition, and in the first Mishna of the second chapter, we see that one must not place an animal in the inns of the heathens, etc. Said R. Eleazar: Even at those places where it is forbidden to place the animals in their inns, it is allowed to sell them. As usual the heathen takes care that his animals should riot be uprooted. And so also said R. Tachlipha in the name of Shila b. Abimi, quoting Rabh. As the latter retracted his first statement "that it must not."

"Large cattle," etc. R. Ada permitted to sell an ass through a middleman (also an Israelite). R. Huna sold a cow to a heathen. Said R. 'Hisda to him: Why did the master do so? And he answered: Because it seems to me that he bought it for the purpose of slaughtering. And whence do we know that such is permitted? From (Shebüth, 5. 8), where the school of Shamai says: One must not sell a ploughing cow on the Sabbathical year. The school of Hillel, however, permits it, because one may buy it for slaughtering.

Said Rabba: What comparison is this? Concerning the Sabbathical year, there is no obligation that cattle shall rest then, while on the Sabbath one is obliged to give his cattle rest. Said Abayi to him. But where do we find that such is forbidden, even when there is an obligation? There is a Tosephta: The school of Hillel permits to sell a ploughing field in the Sabbathic year, because it may be supposed that one buys it to rest this year, but to plough it the next, and one is certainly obliged not to plough his field on the Sabbathic year. R. Ashi opposed: On the contrary, there is a Mishna [Shebüth, 5. 6]: "Ploughing vessels must not be sold on the Sabbathic year," and we know of no obligation that one must give rest to his ploughing vessels. And therefore, says he: When there is a supposition that it can be used for another purpose, we may do so, even, when there is an obligation; but when there is no such supposition, it must not be done, even when there is no obligation.

Rabba sold an ass to an Israelite, who was suspected of selling it to a heathen. Said Abayi to him: Why have the masters done so? And he answered: I sold it to an Israelite. And to Abayi's question: But he will sell it to a heathen, he answered: Does he sell to heathens only, if an Israelite will give him a good price will he not sell it? Abayi then objected to him from the following: In places where it is customary to sell small cattle to Samaritans, one may do so, but not in places where it is not customary; and this is only because they are suspected of selling it to the heathens, as all other reasons advanced were denied. (Hence, we see that one must not sell to a suspected one.) Rabba then ran after him three miles to return him, but failed to overtake him. Said R. Dimi b. Aba: As it is not allowed to sell to a heathen, so it is not allowed to sell to an Israelite either, who is a robber. What does the expression "robber" mean? If he is suspected that in case of an opposition, he would slay, then it is self-evident, for he is worse than a heathen; and if he is not suspected of such, why not sell to him? It speaks of one who is suspected of slaying only, then, when the owner runs after him to persecute. The rabbis taught: Shields must not be sold to those; others, however, taught they may. The reason of those who forbid is, that if they are short in weapons they use the shields instead; and the reason of those who permit is, that if they are short in weapons they run away. Said R. Na'hman in the name of Rabba b. Abuhu: The Halakha prevails with the latter. R. Ada b. Aba said: Lumps of wrought iron must not be sold to them, because they make weapons of it; but if so, should not spades be forbidden, too? Said R. Zabid: It means of Indian iron, which is useful for weapons. And now that we do sell to them is because the Persians are protecting us with their weapons. So said R. Ashi.

MISHNA 8.: One must not sell to them bears, lions, and all such things by which the people can be injured. One must not conjoin himself in building their court houses (from the roofs of which they usually throw the one who is sentenced to death, to be killed), gradus, arenas and scaffolds. However, in building monuments and bath-houses, one may. But when they reached that chamber in which their idols should be placed, be must stop.

GEMARA: Rabbina propounded a contradiction. Our Mishna states: That only things which may be injurious to the people, whence it is to be understood that if not injurious, it does not matter, from the following: As one must not sell to them large cattle, so also must he not do with large beasts.

And even in those places where small cattle may be sold, large beasts must not. (We see, then, that even such that are harm. less must not be sold either.) And he explains that our Mishna speaks of a lame lion, and it is in accordance with R. Jehudah, who holds that such may be sold. R. Na'hman

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opposed: Who can say that the lion is placed under the category of large beasts; perhaps he is placed under the category of small ones.

"Himself in building." Said Rabba b. b. Hanna in the name of R. Johanan: There were three such palaces: for kings, for bath-houses, and for treasuries. Said Rabba: All of them are permitted.

The rabbis taught: When R. Eleazar was captured by the government, accusing him of being a min, he was brought to the gradus, and the hegemon (chief judge) said to him: A sage like yourself should engage himself in such a valueless thing. And he answered: The judge himself may testify that such is not the case. [The hegemon thought that he means him; he, however, meant the heavenly judge.] And he said: Because you trust in me, I swear by Dimus (his idol) that you are free from this accusation. When R. Eleazar returned home, his disciples surrounded him to condole him, but he did not accept it. Said R. Aqiba to him: "Rabbi, allow me to say before you one of the things you taught me," and he allowed him. Said he to him: "Rabbi, probably some explanations of the minim pleased you and you have accepted them, and therefore you were suspected and captured." Answered he: "Aqiba, you have reminded me; it happened once that I walked in the upper market of Ciporas, and I met one of the minim, named Jacob, of the village of Zachania and he said to me": It reads [Deut. xxiii. 19]: "Thou shalt not bring the hire of a harlot," etc. May then a retiring room for the high priest be built from such money? And I kept silent. Said he to me: So taught Jeshu. b. Panthyra. 2 It reads [Mich. 1:7]: "For from harlot's wages she gathered them, and for harlot's wages shall they be used again"; hence, money that comes from a dirty place, may be expended on a dirty place, which explanation pleased me. It is for this that I was suspected and captured. And I confess that I have transgressed [Prov. v. 8]: "Remove far from her thy way, and come not nigh to the door of her house." "Remove from her," means from minunism and "come not nigh" means to government. Others, however, interpret same "remove far" etc. as to mean minunism, and "come not nigh" etc., prostitution, which place, according to R. 'Hisda, is prohibited to approach from a distance of four yards.

Mar. Uqba said: it reads [Ps. 30:15]: "The leech hath two daughters (crying) Give, give," i.e., minunism and the government, which are never satisfied, the first of catching men to her belief, and the second, duties. R. 'Hisda in the name of Mar. Uqba said: The Gehenna cries, saying, "bring me in the two daughters, who always cry in this world": "Bring in to me, bring in to me." It reads [Prov. 2:19]: "All that come unto her return not again, and they will not reach the paths of life." If they do not return again, they will certainly not reach the paths of life? It means, therefore, that they who repent and return from minunism, die that they might not return to minunism again. Does one die who repents minunism only and not other sins; is there not a Boraitha: It was said of Elazar b. Durdia who left not out one prostitute. He was once informed that there was a prostitute in one of the sea countries, who received a pocketful of dinars in reward, and he took this amount and passed seven rivers until he reached her. She, however, caused him to repent. He then placed himself between two mountains saying; "O ye mountains, pray for me," to which they answered: "Instead of praying for thee, we must pray for ourselves" [Is. 54:10]: For the mountain may depart, and the hills may be removed. He then said: "Heaven and earth, pray for me," and they also answered: "We have to pray for ourselves," as it reads [ibid. 51:6]: "For the heavens shall vanish," etc. The same answer he got from the sun and the moon of which it reads [ibid. 24:23]: "And the moon shall be put to the blush and the sun be made ashamed." A similar answer he got from the stars and planets of which it reads in [ibid. 34:4]: "And all the host of heaven shall be dissolved." He then exclaimed: "I see that I can rely only upon myself," and having put his head between his knees, he wept until his soul departed. A heavenly voice was then heard, saying, "R. Elazar b. Durdia is prepared for life in the world to come." Rabbi, when he heard this, wept, saying, "there is again one who bought his world in one moment while another one must work for it all his life." And again, it is not enough for those who repent, that they get a share in the world to come, but they are named also rabbis, as the heavenly voice said: Rabbi Eliazar, etc. [hence we see that he who has repented from sin, also died? Because he, Elazar was involved in such, it is similar to minunism].

R. Hanina and R. Jonathan were on the road and they met two thoroughfares, one leading to the gate of an idol and the other to the gate of the prostitutes. Said one to his colleague: Let us go on that which leads to the idol as the evil spirit of idolators is killed. Answered his colleague: On the contrary, let us go on to that which leads to the prostitute so that we should overrule the evil spirit, and be rewarded. When they arrived to the prostitutes, the latter ran away to their homes. And his colleague asked him: "What was the reason you relied upon--[Prov. 2:11]: 'Discretion 1 will watch over thee, understanding will keep thee.'"

The rabbis taught: When R. Elazar b. Partha and R. Hanina b. Tradian were captured by the government, said the former to the latter: "Happy are you, that you were captured because of one thing only, and woe is to me that I am captured for five things." Said he: Happy are you who are accused of five things and will be saved, woe is to me who am accused only of one thing shall be sentenced. The reason is, that you were occupied with both the Torah and with bestowing of favours, while I was occupied with the Torah only. This is in accordance with R. Huna who said elsewhere: He who is occupied with the Torah only, is similar to him who denies God. As it reads [2 Chron. 15:3]: "And many days (had elapsed) for Israel, (they being) without the true God." What does the expression "without the true God" mean? He who occupies himself with the Torah, but does not observe bestowing of favours, which is the main point of humanity. Was indeed R. Hanina b. Tradial not occupied in bestowing of favours? Is it not stated further on that he did? Yea, but not so as it was fit for his dignity. Elazar b. Partha was brought before the judges and they asked: "Why are you studying, and stealing? And he answered: If one is a scholar, he is no warrior (robber) and if a warrior, he is no scholar, and as it is not true that I am a warrior, so is it also untrue that I am a scholar. Why then are you named master? And he answered: "I am the master of embroidering." They brought two coils before him and said to him: "Which is warp and which is woof?" A miracle occurred and a female bee set on the warp while a male bee on the woof and he said: This is a warp and this is a woof. "Why did you not visit the Bee abidon (the house of discussion)?" And he answered: "I am too old, and feared perhaps I would be trodden down under the feet of the crowd." "Has it ever happened that old men should be trodden down in the mentioned house? Again a miracle occurred, and just at that time they were notified that an old man was trodden down in the house in question. "And why then have you freed your slave (which is forbidden)?" This never occurred. One of the crowd, however, arose to testify against him. Elijah then disguised himself as one of the consuls of the government and said to the witness: As in all the other things a miracle occurred, the same would occur also in this case and you would be considered an enemy of his and a liar. The alleged witness, however, did not listen and rose to bear his testimony. Meanwhile, a letter from one of the great officers which was to be sent to the Caesar was handed to this man as messenger. While he was going, Elijah caught and threw him four hundred parsas, so that he did not return any more. Hanina b. Tradian was then brought before them and questioned why he occupied himself with the Torah, and he answered: Because I am so commanded by the Lord my God. The decree was then rendered that he should be burned, his wife killed, and his daughter to be taken to the house of prostitutes. [He to be burned, because he used to express the name Jehovah as it is written (and not Adonai as it is to be read instead), but why did he so? Did not Aba Shaul say (Sanhedrin, p. 265) that he who does so has no share in the world to come? He did so to learn which is allowed privately, but he did it also publicly. His wife to be killed, because she has not prevented his doing so by protesting; from this it is to be inferred that he who feels that his protests would effect and does not protest, is punished therefor. And his daughter to prostitution; because, according to R. Johanan, it happened once that she walked in the presence of the great people of Rome, and they exclaimed: How nice are the steps of this girl!

And from that time she took care of her steps to please the spectators.] When all the three went out from the court, they justified the decrees upon them. Hanina said [Deut. 32:4]: "He is the Rock, his work is perfect," etc. His wife said: "The God of truth and without iniquity"; and his daughter said [Jer. 32:19]: "Great in council, and mighty in execution (thou) whose eyes are open over all the ways of the sons of man." Said Rabbi: How great are these upright that to justify their decrees, the three verses of justification came to their mouths, at the time of so great a trouble.

The rabbis taught: When R. Jose b. Kisma became sick, R. Hanina b. Tradian called on him; the former said to him: Hanina, my brother, are you not aware that this nation is reigning by heavenly decree, and notwithstanding that she has destroyed the Temple, burned the palaces, killed the pious and put out of the way all the best of Israel, she is still in force. About you, however, I heard that notwithstanding the decree of the government, you occupy yourself with the Torah publicly, and you bear with you the Holy Scrolls at all time. Hanina then answered: The heavens shall have mercy with us. Exclaimed Jose: I am relating to you reasons, and you say, the heavens shall have mercy. I wonder whether the government will not burn you with the Holy Scrolls on fire? Hanina then said: Rabbi, what will become of me in the world to come? And Jose asked him: Did not some of the meritorious acts come to your hand? And he answered: The money which I prepared to celebrate Purim, I erred, thinking that it was of the charity treasury; I have distributed it to the poor, and thereafter I have not collected from the charity. If so, answered Jose, I wish that my share should be like yours, and my fate similar.

It was said that a few days later R. Jose ben Kisma departed, and all the great men of Rome were going after his coffin, lamenting him greatly. On their return, they found Hanina b. Tradian studying the Torah publicly with the Holy Scrolls in his bosom; he was enwrapped in the Holy Scrolls and surrounded with branches of trees, which were kindled. And two woollen towels, soaked in water, were placed on his heart that his soul might not depart so quickly, and when his daughter said to him: Father, is it just, what I see done with you? He answered: If I were burned alone, it would be hard for me, but now that I am burned in conjunction with the Holy Scrolls, I am sure that He who will take revenge for the Holy Scrolls will take revenge for me also. His disciples questioned him: What do you see now? And he answered: I see the letters are flying away from the parchment while they burned. They said to him: Rabbi, open your mouth, so that the fire should catch you, and he answered: It is better that my soul be taken by Him who gave it and not I myself shall cause it an earlier death. The executioner then said to him: Rabbi, if I will increase this fire and will take off the woollen towels from your heart, would you bring me to life in the world to come? To which he answered, Yea. He then asked him to swear, which he did. Immediately he increased the fire, took off the towels, and his soul departed. The executioner himself then jumped into the fire. A heavenly voice was then heard: Hanina and the executioner are prepared for life in the world to come. Rabbi then wept, saying: There is one again who bought his world in one moment, etc.

Bruria, the wife of R. Mair, was a daughter of Hanina b. Tradian, and she said to her husband: It is a disgrace for me that my sister should be in the house of prostitution. He then took with him a τριχαβος; full with dinars, and said: I will go there, and if she is yet pure, a miracle will occur. He disguised himself as a military rider, visited her, asking her to listen to him. She, however, gives him many reasons, and finally tells him that in this place he will find many who are more beautiful than she. He then convinced himself that she answered the same to everyone, and went to her guardian asking him to accept the money he brought for transferring her to him, saying: The half of the dinars will be sufficient to bribe the officers of the government, and the other half will remain for you. And to his question: What should I do when the half will be spent and they will still persecute me? he answered: You will then say, God of Mair, help me, and you will be saved. And whence do I know that so it is? Mair answered: I will convince you immediately. There were dogs who devoured people, and the guard stimulated them upon Mair, and he pronounced God of Mair, answer me, and they kept aloof from him. The guard then delivered to Mair his sister-in-law. Finally, the government got wind of it, and the guardian was brought to the gallows to be hanged, and as soon as he pronounced, God of Mair, help me, he was thrown down uninjured. And to the question, What is it? he related before all what happened. The government then engraved the picture of R. Mair on the gate of Rome, commanding that he who should see such a face should deliver him to the officers. It happened that he was once seen, and they ran after him; he then ran away to a place of prostitution, and Elijah disguised himself as one of the prostitutes and embraced him. The officers then said that it must be someone else, as Mair would not do so. Thereafter, Mair ran away to Babylon, according to some, because of this occasion, and according to others, because of that which happened to Brura.

(Concerning arenas and circuses) Tanaim differ in the following: An Israelite must not visit arenas, because they are considered a place of scorners. R. Nathan, however, permits it for two reasons: first, one should be able to save an Israelite if it happened that he was placed there by animosity; and secondly, if it happened that an Israelite should die there, the visitor may then be a witness, so that the widow of the deceased should be allowed to remarry.

The rabbis taught: One must not go to the theatres and circuses, because at those places they gather up money for the idols; so R. Mair. The sages, however, say: In the places where they gather, it is prohibited because of the suspicion of idolatry. And in those where they are not gathering, it is prohibited, because they are considered places of scorners. R. Simeon b. Pazi lectured [Psalm i. 1]: "Happy is the man who walketh not in the council of the wicked, and standeth not in the way of sinners, and sitteth not in the seat of scorners." If he had not walked how could he stand, and if he did not stand how could he sit, and if he did not sit, how could he scorn? It means as follows: That if he had walked, he will finally stand, and if stood, he will finally sit and scorn, and concerning him it is said [Prov. 9:12]: "But if thou art a scorner, thou alone will have to bear it." Said R. Eliezar: He who scorns brings chastisements upon himself as [Is. 28:22]: "And now be ye no longer scornful, lest your bonds be made strong." And Rabha said to the rabbis (his disciples): I beg you not to scorn so that chastisements shall not come upon ye. And R. Ktina said: Even his food becomes lessened, as it reads [Hos. 7:5]: "(Because) he joineth his hand with scorners." (Here is repeated about the same matter from Last Gate.) R. Simeon b. Pazi lectured again: "Happy is the man who walketh not" to the theatres and circuses of the heathens, "standeth not in the way of sinners," that is, he who does not stand as a spectator

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at bestial contests (arranged by the Romans). And "the sitting of scorners" beget contention. And lest one say: As all the above I have not done, I may engage my time in sleeping, therefore, "But whose delight is in the law of the Lord."

R. Samuel b. Na'hman in the name of R. Jonathan said: "Happy is the man who walketh not," etc., means Abraham our father, who was not conjoined with the generation of separation, who were wicked, as [Gen. 11:3]: "Let us make bricks," etc. "In the way of sinners," etc.--he did not stand with Sodomites of whom it reads [ibid. 13:13]: "But the men of I Sodom were wicked and sinners," etc.--"with scorners"--he did not associate himself with the Philistines, who were "scorners," as [Judges 16:25]: "Call for Samson that he may make sport of us."

It reads [Psalms, 112:1]: "Happy is the man that feareth the Lord." Man, and not woman? Said R. Amram in the name of Rabh: Happy is he who repents when he is still young. And R.. Jehoshua b. Levi said: Happy is he who conquers his evil spirit, as a heroic man; "that greatly delighteth in his commandments." Said R. Eliezar: In his commandments, but not in the reward for them. And this is what a Mishna in Aboth states: Be not like slaves who serve their master because of reward, but as the one who serves him not to receive any reward. "In the law of the Lord is his delight," said Rabh: i.e., one should always study the law to which his heart is inclined. Levi and R. Simeon, the son of Rabbi, were sitting before Rabbi reading one book of the Bible, and after finishing Levi said: Bring us "Proverbs." And R. Simeon said: Bring us "Psalms." He overruled Levi, and "Psalms" was brought. When they came to the verse, "In the law of the Lord is his delight," Rabbi stopped and said: One has to study only what his heart is inclined to. Said Levi to him: Rabbi, with this you have given us permission to stop studying. R. Abdimi b. Hama said: Him who occupies himself with the Torah, the Holy One, blessed be He, grants his desire. Rabha said: At the time one begins to study, the Torah is named the Holy One's, but after studying, it is considered to be his (the student's); as first it is written the law of the Lord, and thereafter, in his law. And be said again: One shall first study, and thereafter deliberate, as the above-cited verse reads. The same said again: One shall study, although he forgets; shall study, although he does not understand it well. (Here is repeated from Sanhedrin, and from Erubin.) It reads [Psalm 1:3]: "And he shall be like a tree replanted by rivulets," etc. Said the disciple of Janai: "Replanted and not planted" signifies that he who receives his knowledge from one master, does not see any blessing in his studies. Said R. 'Hisda to his disciples: I would like to tell you something, but I am afraid you will leave me: He who studies always from one master, does not see any blessing. They then left him and went to the college of Rabba, who, when he heard the above reason, said to them: This is true only concerning reasons and ingenuity; but as for traditions, it is better to learn them from one master, so that they should not be metamorphosed in different versions. Tanhum b. Hanilai said: It is advisable to divide one's years into three parts: one-third for the study of Scripture, the second, Mishna, and the third, Talmud. But does one know how long he has to live? It means, he should do it every day.

"The fruit in its season . . . does not wither," said Rabha: It signifies that if the fruit is given in its season, then its leaves will not wither; but if not, the succeeding verse (4) applies to both the teacher and pupil.

R. Aba in the name of R. Hunna, quoting Rabh, said [Prov. 7:26]: "For many deadly wounded hath she caused to fall," means a disciple who, though not as yet fit, decides questions; "very numerous were slain by her," means the contrary: he who is fit to do so and does not. And until what age? Till he reaches his fortieth year. But has not Rabha decided questions in his youth? It was because there was no greater scholar than he. Aba b. Ada in the name of Rabh, or b. Aba in the name of R. Hamnuna, quoting Rabh, said: Even the gossip of a scholar is to be studied, as it reads: "And its leaves shall not wither."

R. Joshua b. Levi said: The following is written in the Pentateuch, repeated in the Prophets, and thirdly in the Hagiographa: He who occupies himself with the Torah is prosperous in all his undertakings. In the Pentateuch [Deut. 29:8]: "Keep ye therefore the words of this covenant, and do them, that ye may prosper in all that ye do," repeated in Prophets [Jos. 1:8]: "This book of the book shall not depart out of thy mouth; but thou shalt mediate therein day and night, in order that thou mayest observe to do according to all that is written therein; for then shalt thou make thy way prosperous, and then shalt thou have good success." And thirdly in Hagiographa [Psalm 1:2, 3]: "But whose delight is in the law of the Lord, and who doth meditate in his law by day and night. (3) And he shall be like a tree planted by rivulets of water, that yieldeth its fruit in its season, and the leaf of which doth not wither; and all that he may do shall prosper."

R, Alexander heralded: Who wants to live, who wants to live? And a big crowd surrounded him. He then referred them to [ibid. 34:14-16].

"Where the idols should be placed," etc. Said R. Eliezar in the name of R. Johanan: If however, he has built, the reward of it is valid. Is this not self-evident? It is only the preparation for the idol to which both R. Ismael and R. Aqiba agree that they are not forbidden, unless the idol is already worshipped? Said R. Jeremiah: The Mishna means that even if he has made the idol itself, the reward is valued. But this is correct only to him, who holds that when an Israelite made an idol for himself, it is forbidden even before it was worshipped; but of a heathen, it is not, unless worshipped. But to him who holds that the same is the case with the idol of a heathen, what can be said? Said Rabba b. Ula: The Mishna refers to the finishing touch, which completes the idol, and the reason is: what made the idol ready? The last touch, which in itself is not worth the smallest coin (a perutha), and therefore it is not forbidden. From this it may be inferred that the Tana holds the obligation to pay a labourer, counts from the beginning till the very end of the labour, and not only after its completion.

MISHNA 9.: One must not manufacture ornaments for an idol--e.g., necklaces, nose-bands and rings. R. Eliezar, however, maintains that for reward one may. Nothing must be sold to them while attached to the ground, but after it was cut off, one may. R. Jehudah said: He may also sell with the stipulation to cut it off afterward.

GEMARA: Whence is this deduced? Said R. Jose, from [Deut. 7:2]: "Nor favour them," 1 means, he shall not give him a rest in the land; we have learned similarly in a Boraitha, with the addition that it also means: You shall not give him such which shall make them merciful in the eyes of others. (Here is repeated from Chulin.) The above statement is a support to that which Rabh said: It is forbidden to say: How nice is this female heathen? An objection was raised. R. Simeon b. Gamalien, being once on the steps of the Temple mountain, happened to see a female heathen who was a great beauty, and he exclaimed: "How great is thy work O Lord!" And it happened also to R. Aqiba that, when he saw the wife of Tornus Rupus, he laughed and wept. Laughed, because he saw that she would become a proselyte, and he would marry her; wept, that such a beauty must be buried under earth? This does not contradict Rabh, as it was only a benediction, which one has to recite by seeing nice creatures. 1 R. Joshua b. Levi said: Modesty is the greatest of them all, as it reads [Is. 61:1]: "Hath anointed me to announce good tidings unto the meek," it does not read to announce pious men, but meek; hence modesty is greatest.

"One must not sell." The rabbis taught: One may sell them a tree with the stipulation to cut it off, and he cuts it immediately, so R. Jehudah. R. Mair, however, says: Only that which is already cut. The same is the case with hay, and also with flour. According to R. Jehudah, it may be sold to harvest, and according to R. Mair that which is already harvested. It was necessary to learn their points of differing in all the three, as one from the other could not be inferred (we omit the reasons, as of little importance). The schoolman propounded a question.. May one sell them a cow with the stipulation to slaughter it? Shall we assume that the above things R. Jehudah permits, because they are not under the control of the heathen so that he is not able to prolong time? But in the case of a cow which he takes immediately, he may prolong the time a good deal until slaughtering, and this even R. Jehudah will not allow. Come and hear the following: One may sell a cow with the stipulation of slaughtering, and the heathen has to do it immediately. So R. Jehudah, while R. Mair permits only the sale of the slaughtered.

MISHNA 10: Houses must not be rented to the heathens in Palestine, not to speak of fields. In Syria, however, houses are permitted to be sold, but not fields, and out of Syria houses may be sold and fields rented. So R. Mair. R. Jose, however, said: In Palestine, houses may be rented, but not fields, in Syria houses sold, and fields rented; out of Syria, everything may be sold. However, even in the places where renting is allowed, it must not be for residence, as the idol is brought there, which is against [Deut. 7:26]: "And thou shalt not bring an abomination in thy house." A bath-house must not be rented at any place because it is named after the owner, who is an Israelite (and he can be suspected of heating it himself on the Sabbath).

GEMARA: What is meant by the expression "not to speak of fields"; is it because two things would be neglected, resting the fields and tithe from the growth? The same would be with the houses also, resting, and the neglect of a mazuza? Said R. Mesharshia: The mazuza is not an obligation upon the house, but upon him who lives in it.

"In Syria houses," etc. Let us see; why is selling forbidden? Because it is considered as the land of Israel. Why, then, is renting permitted? Renting even in Palestine is only as a safeguard that one should not come to sell; and a safeguard to a safeguard we do not decree. But is not renting fields in Syria also a safeguard to a safeguard, and is nevertheless forbidden? This is not considered a safeguard, as the Tana holds that the land which was taken away by an individual (not by the people of Israel at large) is considered, nevertheless, to be the land of Israel. Hence, against fields upon which two things would be neglected, as said above, the rabbis decreed; but this is not the case with houses.

"In Syria houses are permitted," etc. For the just-mentioned reasons. "R. Jose . . . in Palestine, houses," etc. Also for the same reason.

"In Syria houses sold," etc. It is because he holds that the land which was taken by an individual is not considered the land of Israel, and, therefore, only against fields they decreed for the reasons adduced above, but not against houses.

"Everything maybe sold," etc. Because it is far from Palestine, no decree was rendered. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: The Halakha prevails with R. Jose. Said R. Joseph: Provided it does not make a whole neighbourhood of heathens, And there is a Boraitha: That less than three families is not considered a neighbourhood.

"Where renting is allowed," etc. From this we infer that not in every place renting is allowed. Hence, the unnamed Mishna is according to R. Mair; as according to R. Jose, renting is permitted in every place.

"Put not a bath-house," etc. There is a Boraitha: R. Simeon b. Gimalia said: One must not rent his bath-house to a heathen because the bath is named after the owner and the heathen does his labour on Sabbath and holidays (and people may think that the Israelites themselves do this). But how is it to a Samaritan? It may be rented, although he works on the minor festivals? On minor festivals, we Israelites also are permitted to heat baths. But let us see why it is permitted to rent a field to a heathen, although he does labour on Sabbath? Because people know that the gardener is doing work for himself. Why not say the same concerning a bath-house? It is because usually a field is hired to a gardener, which is not the case with bathhouses. There is another Boraitha: R. Simeon b. Eliezar: One must not rent his field to a Samaritan because it is named after him, and the Samaritan works the field during the minor festivals. But how is it with a heathen? It is allowed, because people know that he does it for himself; why not say the same concerning a Samaritan? R. Simeon b. Eliezar does not consider the reason of a gardener at all, and his reason why it is allowed to a heathen is that if we tell him that be should not work, he will listen to, which is not the case with a Samaritan, who thinks that he knows better than woe do. There were fields of safran in partnership of an Israelite and a heathen; the heathen worked on Sabbath and the Israelite on Sunday, and Rabha has permitted to do so. Rabbina questioned him from the following: "An Israelite and a heathen who have hired a field in partnership, the Israelite must not say to the heathen: You take your share on Sabbath and I on a week day, unless it was so stipulated at the time they started. However, when they come to make their accounts, it is not permitted to the Israelite that he should take his share from the Sabbath labour." Rabha became ashamed; thereafter, however, it was announced that such was stipulated when the partnership was started.

The schoolman propounded a question: How is it if there was no stipulation? Come and hear: "If such a stipulation was made at the time when started, it is allowed"; whence it may be inferred, that if there was no stipulation, it is prohibited. But if so, how is the latter part to be understood? "When they come to make the account, the Israelite must not take his share of Sabbath," from which it may be inferred that without an account, he may accept it, although there was no stipulation. In view of this, from this Boraitha nothing can be taken for a support.

CHAPTER 2.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING PLACING OF CATTLE WITH HEATHENS, ACCEPTING CURE FROM THEM, AND CONCERNING THINGS WHICH MAY AND MAY NOT BE BOUGHT FROM THEM.

MISHNA 1.: Cattle must not be placed in the inns of the heathens because they are suspicious of having sexual intercourse with them. 1 And for the same reason a female must not stay alone with them, because they are suspected of insult; nor should a male stay with them alone, because they are suspected of bloodshed.

GEMARA: There is a contradiction from the following: One may buy from them cattle for sacrificing without fear that it was instrumental in the committing of a crime or that it was separated as a sacrifice to an idol, or that it was itself worshipped. Now it is correct that there is no fear of its being separated or worshipped, for if such were the case, he would not sell it. But why should not be feared its said relation to a crime, and they not suspected? Said R. Ta'hlipha in the name of R. Shila b. Abina, quoting Rabh: With his own cattle, the heathen is not suspected, because of his economy that the cattle should not become uprooted. This, however, can apply only to female cattle; what can be said concerning male cattle? Said R. Kahana: Here, also, the same reason may apply, as the cattle become meagre from such employment. But why must one not place female cattle in the inns which are under the control of females? Said Mar Uqua b. Hama: Because the heathens are wont to visit the wives of their neighbours, and if such visitor happened not to find the hostess, he may

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substitute the cattle. And to the question of the schoolmen: How is the law with fowls? R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel, quoting R. Hannina, said: I have seen a heathen who bought a goose in the market, sexually intercoursed with it, chopped, roasted and consumed it, and R. Jeremiah of Diphte said that he had witnessed a similar affair by an Arabian.

Rabbina said: There is no contradiction between the Boraitha cited, which does not consider suspicion, and the Mishna which does, as the Mishna speaks of starting, which is forbidden and the Boraitha speaks of a case which was already done, where suspicion is no sufficient basis for forbidding. And whence do we know that such difference is considered? From a Mishna which states that a woman captured by a heathen because of a civil case is allowed to her husband, but not if captured because of a criminal case. We see, then, that although our Mishna forbids a woman to stay alone with a heathen, yet the act having taken place, she is allowed to return (hence there is a difference between starting an act and an act done). But perhaps the reason why she is allowed to her husband when captured because of a civil case, is that the heathen was afraid to touch her lest he lose his money? And such seems to be the case, as the second part states: If because of a criminal case, she is not allowed; and to this discussion nothing is to be added. R. Pdath said: The difference between our Mishna and the Boraitha is to be explained thus: The former is in accordance with R. Eliezer of a Mishna (par. II. i), and the Boraitha is in accordance with the rabbis thereof, as according to the former, the red cow must not be bought from a heathen; and according to the latter, it may. And the reason is the above suspicion which, according to one, is considered, and according to the other, it is not. But perhaps there is another reason, as Shila explained. The reason of R. Eliezer is, in the following [Numb. 19:2]: "Speak unto the children of Israel that they bring unto thee a completely red cow," which signifies that the children of Israel shall bring, but not other nations? This cannot scarcely be the reason, as the latter part states: "And so has Eliezer invalidated all the sacrifices which were bought from heathens," to which the above reason cannot apply, as concerning them such an expression is not used. But perhaps the rabbis differ with R. Eliezer concerning the red cow only because of its great value, which the heathens would not like to lose; but concerning other sacrifices, would they agree with R. Eliezer? Nay; in the first place there is a Boraitha: One may buy from them cattle for the purpose of sacrificing, which would be neither in accordance with the rabbis, nor with R. Eliezer; and secondly, it states there plainly: The rabbis have answered to R. Eliezer with [Is. 60:7]: "All the flocks of Kedar . . . upon my altar." But is, indeed, "suspicion" the reason of R. Eliezer's statement; is there not a Boraitha: The sages then said to R. Eliezer: We know of a case that the red cow was bought from a heathen by the name of Dama or Remetz; and he answered: This is no evidence, as the Israelites had watched over it from the time it was created? R. Eliezer's reason was both--the expression concerning a red cow cited above, and also "suspicion."

R. Ami and R. Itz'hak of Naf'ha were sitting on the balcony at the latter's. One of them began with the last part cited above, "so has R. Eliezer invalidated all the sacrifices," etc., to which the other quoted that which his colleagues answered him, with the above-cited verse, "all the flocks of Kedar," etc., and R. Eliezer rejoined: This is no evidence either, as the nations about whom the cited verse reads will all become proselytes in the future. R. Joseph infers this from [Zeph. 3:9]: "Yea, then will I change unto the people a pure language, that they may all call on the name of the Lord." And to the opposition of Abayi R. Joseph: Perhaps it means that they will repent from idolatry only? Abayi R. Joseph answered: The verse ends with: "To serve Him with one accord." So taught R. Papa. R. Zebid, however, reverses the order of Abayi R. Joseph, adding that both quoted the verse of Zeph.

It reads [I Sam. 6:12]: "And the cows went straight forward," 1 etc. What does this expression mean? Said R. Johanan in the name of R. Mair: They sang a song. And R. Zuthra b. Tubiah, in the name of Rabh: They have straightened their faces to look upon the ark, and sang a song. What song was it? R. Johanan in the name of R. Mair [Ex. 15:1]: "Then sang Moses," etc. And R. Johanan himself said [Is. xii. 4]: "And ye shall say on that day, Give thanks unto the Lord, call on his name," etc. And R. Simeon b. Lakish said [Psalm 98:1, 2]: "Oh sing unto the Lord a new song; for he hath done wonderful things; his right hand and his holy arm have gotten him the victory. (2) The Lord hath made known his salvation, before the eyes of the nations hath he revealed his Righteousness." And R. Elazar said [ibid. xcix. 1]: "The Lord reigneth," etc. And R. Samuel b. Na'hmani [ibid. 93:1]; and R. Itzchak of Naf'ha said: They sang: Sing, sing, thou ark, arise in this great journey thou that art decorated with golden embroidery which is placed in the great palace, adorned with the best ornaments. R. Ashi taught the saying of R. Itz'hak to [Numb. 10:35]: "And it came to pass, when the ark set forward that Moses said," etc. And what did Israel say? The above that R. Itz'hak said: It reads [Jos. 10:13]: "And the sun stood still . . . written in the book of Yashar." What is the book of Yashar? Said R. Hyya b. Aba in the name of R. Johanan: The book in which the birth of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, who are named Josharim (the upright) is meant, as it reads [Numb. xxiii. 10]: "May my soul die the death of the righteous." And where is the hint to be found there [Gen. 48:19]: "And his seed shall become a multitude of nations." This occurred when Jehoshua "stopped the sun." [Jos. 10:13]: "And the sun stood still in the midst of the heavens, and hastened not to go down about a whole day." How many hours? Said R. Jehoshua b. Levi: Twenty-four; it was running six and stopped six, running six, and stopped six, four times; R. Elazar said: Thirty-six, it ran six and stopped twelve, etc. Samuel b. Na'hmani said: Forty-eight, it ran six and stopped twelve; ran six and stopped twenty-four. According to others, the above differ in the additional hours of that day. There is a Boraitha: As the sun stopped for Joshua, so did it stop for Moses, etc. (See Taanith.) An objection was raised from [ibid., ibid. 14]: "And there was no day like that before it or after it"? If you wish, in the time of Moses it stopped for fewer hours, or if you wish, it may be said that in Moses' time there were no hailstones mentioned [ibid., ibid. ii].

It reads [2 Sam. 1:18]: "The bow, behold it is written in the book of Yashar." (What does Yashar mean? Said R. 'Hyye b. Aba in the name of R. Johanan: "Genesis" as said above.) And where the allusion? [Gen. 49:8]: "Thy hand shall be on the neck of thy enemies." Which is the weapon that needs the hand against the neck? It is the bow. R. Eliezer, however, maintains that the book of Yashar means Deuteronomy. And why is it named Yashar? Because there is written [6:18]: "And thou shalt do that which is right (Yashar) and good in the eyes of the Lord." And where is the allusion? [33:7]: "Let the power of his hands." And which is the weapon to which both hands are needed? The bow. R. Samuel b. Na'hmani said: It is the book of Judges in which [17:6]: "Every man did what seemed right (Yashar) in his eyes. And where is the allusion? [3:2]: "To teach them war." And to which weapon, teaching is needed? The bow.

"A woman must not stay alone," etc. Let us see how is the case? If it means she must not stay alone with one heathen, is this, then, allowed with an Israelite? Is there not a Mishna: One must not stay alone even with two women? And if it means she should not stay with even three of them, is there a similar case allowed with three licentious Israelites? Is there not a Mishna: A woman may stay with two persons? And Jehuda, in the name of Samuel said: Provided they are righteous men, but, if they were licentious, even if they would be ten, she must not, as it once happened that a woman was alone with ten and was insulted. It means even when his wife is with him. As to Israelite's, his wife guards him, which is not the case with a heathen. But why not say that because they are suspected of bloodshed? Said R. Jeremiah: It speaks of a respectable woman whom they feared to kill. R. Idi, however, maintains that there is no fear of bloodshed, even with any woman, for usually her weapons are upon her (they insult, but do not kill). And what is the difference between the two reasons? If the woman was respected by the government, but not among her colleagues, then, according to R. Jeremiah, there is no fear for bloodshed, but of insult, and according to R. Idi the same is the case with any woman. And there is a Boraitha in accordance with R. Idi--viz.: A woman, although her weapon is usually with her, must nevertheless not stay alone with heathens, because they are suspected of insult.

"A male must not stay alone," etc. The rabbis taught: If an Israelite while on the road, happened to be accompanied by a heathen, he should so manage that the heathen should be on his right hand. Ismael b. R. Johanan b. Broka, however, said: If the heathen was provided with a sword, the Israelite shall manage that he shall be on his right side, and if with a cane, on his left side (so that it shall be easier for the Israelite to protect himself). If they have to ascend or to descend, the Israelite must not be on the bottom and the heathen on the top, but the contrary. Nor shall the Israelite bend himself in the heathen's presence, for fear the heathen may break his skull. If the heathen question him to what place he goes, he shall make the distance longer as did Jacob our father to Esau the wicked [Gen. 33:14]: "Until I come unto my Lord to Se'ir." And (17) reads: "And Jacob journeyed to Succoth" (which was much nearer than Se'ir). It happened to the disciples of R. Aqiba while on the road, to meet robbers, who questioned them, Where are you going? And they answered, To Akhau. However, when they reached the City of Khzib they separated. The robbers then questioned them, Whose disciples are you? And they answered, Of R. Akiba. To which the robbers rejoined, Well is to Akiba with his disciples, who are careful not to be afflicted by bad men. R. Mnashi was on the road to the City of Thurtha and he met thieves, who asked him where he was going, and be said, To Pumbadithe. When they reached Thurtha he separated from them. Said they, You must be a disciple of Jehuda the deceiver. To which he rejoined, Do you know him (R. Jehuda) and dare to call him deceiver? I put you under ban. The thieves then engaged in thievery for thirty-two years, but did not succeed, so that they were afterward compelled to come to R. Mnashi asking for a release. One of them, who was a weaver, did not care to come to ask for a release, and was finally devoured by a lion. Come and see the difference between the thieves of Babylon and the robbers of Palestine (the latter had praised the disciples who separated from them, and the former scolded him).

MISHNA 2.: A daughter of an Israelite must not confine a heathen, because she confines a person to idolatry; however, a heathen may confine an Israelite. The same is the case with nursing, an Israelite must not nurse the child of a heathen, while the latter, being under the control of the former, may do so.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: One must not confine a heathen because she brought up a person to idolatry, nor must a heathen confine an Israelite, because they are suspected of bloodshed; so R. Mair. The sages, however, say: The latter may, in the presence of others, but not when she is alone in the confinement. R. Mair, however, does not allow this because she may put her hand on the skull of the child and kill it, while the others standing by would not notice it. As it happened, a heathen woman who reproached her colleague of being a Jew--confiner--daughter of a Jew confiner, and she answered: Is it not sufficient the injury I have done to the Jews by decreasing them, killing their children at the birth, and I shed their blood like water. The rabbis, however, maintained that this counts for nothing, as she boasted only.

"An Israelite must not nurse," etc. The rabbis taught: One must not nurse a child of a heathen, because she brings up a person to idolatry, neither must a heathen woman nurse a Jewish child, because she is suspected of bloodshed; so R. Mair. The sages, however, say the latter might do so in the presence of others, but not when she is alone with the child. R. Mair, however, maintains that even in the presence of others she may smear the breasts with poison and kill the child, while the others present will not notice it. A contradiction was raised from the following: A Jewess may confine a heathen for the reward but not gratuitously? Said R. Joseph: For reward it is permissible, in order to avoid animosities. The rabbis taught: An Israelite may circumcise the child of a heathen for the purpose of proselytism, but not for the purpose of curing, and a heathen must not do so to an Israelite because he is suspected of bloodshed. The sages, however, maintain that the latter may do so in the presence of Israelites, but not when he is alone with the child. Does indeed R. Mair hold that a heathen must not circumcise an Israelite? Is there not a Boraitha: A city in which there is no Jewish physician but a Samaritan and a heathen, the heathen shall circumcise and not the Samaritan; so R. Mair. R. Jehuda, however, maintains the converse, that the Samaritan should have the preference? Reverse the names in the cited Boraitha; but how can you say that Jehuda permits a heathen to do the circumcision? Is there not a Boraitha: R. Jehuda said: Whence do we know that a circumcision which was performed by a heathen is invalid? From [Gen. xvii. 9]: "But thou, for thy part, shalt keep my covenant" (which means thou and not a heathen). Therefore, the names in the above-cited Boraitha are correctly placed and must not be reversed, as it speaks of an established physician, who would not spoil his reputation by doing harm to an Israelite, as R. Dimi, when he came from Palestine, said in the name of R. Johanan: That an established heathen physician may be trusted to do everything for an Israelite. But how can you say that R. Jehuda permits a Samaritan to circumcise an Israelite? Is there not a Boraitha: An Israelite may circumcise a heathen, but a Samaritan must not do so to an Israelite, because he is doing this in the name of his idol in the Mount Gerism. And R. Jose said to him: Where do we find that circumcision must be done in the name of Heaven, etc. (hence, we see that R. Jehuda does not permit a Samaritan). Therefore we must say that the names of the Boraitha in question are to be reversed, and the contradiction from one statement of R. Jehuda, to the other presents no difficulty, as R. Jehuda, of the contradictory Boraitha means R. Jehuda, the prince, whom we heard stating elsewhere just the same as the Boraitha teaches.

It was taught: Whence do we know that a circumcision made by a heathen is invalid? Daru b. Papa in the name of Rabh said: From the above-cited verse [Gen. 17:9], and R. Johanan maintains from [ibid., ibid. 13]. And what is the difference between them? If a woman is commanded to circumcise her child, according to Rabh she is not, and according to R. Johanan she is. But is there one who holds that a woman is not commanded to circumcise, does it not read [Ex. 4:25]: "Then took Zipporah a sharp instrument," etc.? Well, she has done this through a messenger; or, if you wish, it may be said that she began and Moses himself finished.

MISHNA 3.: One may employ their (the heathens') services for curing his personal property, but not for curing the body. However, cutting hair by them is prohibited at any place; so R. Mair. The sages, however, maintain: One may do so in a public place, but not when he is alone with him.

GEMARA: What do personal property and body mean? The former is, e.g., his cattle, and body means human being. And this is what R. Jehudah said: No imperfection, not even so much as the mark of bleeding, must be taken from them. Said R. Hisda in the name of Mar Uqba: If, however, the heathen said to him that such and such a medicine is good, and such and such is bad, he may use his advice, since the

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heathen thinks: as he asks me, so will he ask some other one, and should I give him wrong advice, I would be ridiculed. Rabba, according to others, R. 'Hisda, in the name of R. Johanan said: If there is a doubt as to whether the sick will recover or die, the heathen must not be taken for curing, but if it is certain that he will die, it is allowed. But why let it be feared, perhaps he will foster his death? This is not to be taken in consideration. And whence do we know that so it is? From [2 Kings, 7:9]: "If we say, We will enter into the city, then is the famine in the city, and we will die"; and they did not take into consideration that should they fall in the hands of the enemy, they would be killed immediately. An objection was raised from the following: One must not interfere with the Minim and must not cure himself by them, even to delay death for but a few hours.

As it happened to ben Dama, the son of Ismael's sister, to be bitten by a snake, Jacob, of the village of Skhania, came to heal him with the name of Jesus, but R. Ismael did not allow. The patient, however, said to him: Ismael, my brother, let him cure me and I will bring you evidence from the Scripture that such is allowed. But ere he finished his soul departed, and R. Ismael exclaimed: Well is to thee, ben Dama, that thy body was pure and thy soul left thee in purity, and thou hast not transgressed the decision of thy colleagues, who say [Eccles. 7]: "Him who breaketh down a fence--a serpent will bite him." With Minismus it is different, as it is attractive and "he may be induced to follow them." But what has ben Dama to say? [Lev. xviii, 5]: "And he shall live with them," but not he shall die with them. R. Ismael, however, maintains that such is allowed only privately, but not in public; as we have learned in the following Boraitha: R. Ismael used to say: Whence do we know that if one is told to worship idols, under the threat of being killed, that he may worship and not be killed? From the above-cited verse--"he shall live," etc. But lest one say that this may be done publicly also, therefore it is written [ibid. 22:32]: "And ye shall not profane my holy name." Rabba b. b. Hanna in the name of R. Johanan said: A wound inside the body must not be cured by them. R. Johanan, however, when he suffered from scurvy, went to a matron of Rome for a cure (see Tract Yomah.). But how did R. Johanan do so? Was it not said that an infliction which is inside the body must not be cured, etc? With a well-known man, like R. Johanan, it is different, as they will fear to barm him. But was not R. Abuhu a well-known man, and Jacob the Minn prepared a medicine for him to place on his shoulder, and if not for R. Ami and R. Assi, who burnt (cauterized) his shoulder to get the poison out, he would have died? Yet with R. Johanan it is different, as he himself was an established physician. But was not R. Abuhu also the same? As the latter was very much respected by the government, and was badly annoying the Minim by his frequent discussions, he (Jacob the Min) made up his mind to do with him what Samson did [Judges, xvi. 30]: "Let me die with the Philistines."

Samuel said: An open wound (sabre cut) is dangerous, and one may violate the Sabbath for the purpose of curing it. The remedy to stop the blood is, cress-dishes mixed with vinegar, of which the patient shall partake. R. Saphra said: An enabta (carbuncle?) is a forerunner of the angel of death. How is it cured? Put upon it a rue (plant) with honey, or radishes with strong wine. While these remedies are being prepared, put meanwhile on the sore a white or red grape according as the sore is white or red. Rabba said: A tumor is a sure symptom of inflammation. And what is the remedy against the tumor? Hit upon it with the fingers sixty times, then open it crosswise. If, however, the tumor has a white spot on the top, all this is not necessary, as it is not dangerous then.

R. Jacob suffered from pain in the abdomen, and R. Ami, according to others R. Assi, advised him to take seven red grains usually found in the wash-houses, to put them in the linen collar of an old shirt, which he should bind with a cord made of the hair of a cattle; then he should immerse it in white pitch and burn it, the ashes thereof he should apply to the sore place and relief will ensue. While the preparation of this is going on, he may meanwhile apply the kernels of blackberries. This remedy, however, is effective only in case of external pains; for internal abdominal pains grease the sore place with the molten fat of a goat that has not yet born any offspring, or burn three pumpkin leaves dried in the shade and apply the ashes; also almond-worms or olive-oil and wax may be applied, in summer on linen, in winter on cotton.

R. Abuhu suffered once from an ear-ache, and R. Johanan advised him, according to others he was told in the college, what R. Abayi, too, heard later from his mother, that the loins have been created only for curing ear-ache. In like manner said Rabba: I was told by the physician, Miniumi, that all fluids are injurious to the ear, except the water from the loins. Thus, take the kidney of a woolless sheep, cut it crosswise, place it on burning coals and collect the water that begins then to flow from it. This water, when it is neither too cold nor too warm, syringe into the ears. Or one may rub in the cars with the molten fat of a big chafer. The following is another good remedy for ear-ache: Fill the sick ear with olive-oil, then make of wheat-straw seven wicks, and with the hairs of a cattle attach to them the peel of garlic; kindle these wicks and put them into the olive-oil in the ear, taking, of course, precautions against burning the patient; when one wick has been thus burnt to the end, take the next one, etc., until the pains cease. However, seven ordinary wicks would also do, if dipped in hayseed-oil (?); but in this case one must be heedful of the wind. Here is yet another remedy: Put into the ear dyed unbeaten cotton and, taking heed of the wind, keep the ear over the fire. Also this remedy is recommendable: Take a rush that was cut down one hundred years ago, fill it with mineral salt, burn all this and strew the ashes in the ears. It must also be noted that for secreting cars the remedies must be dry, while for aching ears that do not secrete, moist remedies must be used.

Rabha b. Zutra said in the name of R. Hanina: It is allowed to straighten the ears on Sabbath. Observed R. Samuel b. Jehudah: Provided it is done with the hand and not with medicine. According to others the converse is allowed, i.e., to straighten the ears on Sabbath by means of medicine and not by the hands, for it is to be feared that with the hand one may make a wound.

R. Zutra b. Tubia said in the name of Rabh: He who is in danger of losing an eye is allowed to accept cure on Sabbath. This, however, was understood to be allowed only when the medicine was prepared before Sabbath; but to prepare it on Sabbath and carry it through the public grounds is not allowed. Hereupon said one of the rabbis, named R. Jacob: I have heard it from R. Jehudah that it is allowed under the said circumstances to prepare the medicine on Sabbath and carry it through the public streets. R. Jehudah allowed to cure eye-diseases on Sabbath. Thereupon said R. Samuel b. Jehudah: Who will listen to this R. Jehudah who thus profanes the Sabbath? But it happened that he himself got sore eyes, and he sent to consult the same (R. Jehudah) as to whether or no it is allowed (to cure them on Sabbath)? And the answer came back: Everybody is allowed, but not you (who were so indignant at my decision); was it, you think, my own opinion? Nay; it was the master, Samuel, whose servant got an inflamed eye on Sabbath; she cried the whole day and none paid attention to her, and on the morrow her eye jumped out of its orbit; then said the master, Samuel, in his sermon: It is allowed to cure on Sabbath eye-diseases if there be danger of losing one's eye; and why? Because the optic nerves are dependent on the heart. What kind of eye-diseases is allowed to cure on Sabbath? Said R. Jehudah: A secreting eye, a wounded eye, an eye covered with blood, and an inflamed eye. In the beginning of the sickness as well as during its becoming better, it is not allowed to apply medicine on Sabbath; nor is it allowed to use on Sabbath such medicine as would tend to sharpen the eye-sight.

R. Jehudah said: The sting of a wasp, the pricking of thorns, if the wounds caused by either are swelling, likewise an eye-disease complicated with fever, are all dangerous. The high temperature in these cases must, therefore, be reduced by the application of radishes, while low temperature is banished by that of sea-radishes; to apply the one for the other entails danger. The sting of a lizard must be cured with warm medicines, while that of a hornet with cold ones; to reverse the medicines, the one for the other, also here entails danger. Likewise are recommendable warm medicines for the pricks of thorns, and cold ones for the chapped skin; to reverse is dangerous.

He who had his blood let should not eat almonds, nor sit near the fire. He who has diseased eyes should not have his blood let, for it is in this condition dangerous. After eating fish one should wait two days before having his blood let; and after bleeding one should not eat fish for two days. Fish on the third day after bleeding is harmful.

The rabbis taught: After bleeding one should not eat milk, cheese, onions, almonds; but if one has carelessly eaten some of these, he should, according to Abaye, drink a little wine mixed with vinegar. But in this case, one must go outside of the city for his natural exigencies, and notably toward the east, in order that the ill odor might not reach the city (being carried off by the east wind).

R. Jehoshua b. Levi said: It is allowed to cure on Sabbath the onkly. What is onkly? Said R. Aba: It is the stomachus of the heart (or the fleshy valve of the heart, called nibla). And how is this disease cured? By an ointment prepared. of cumin, soap, mint (fern), wormwood, cedar-blossom and hyssop. All these are to be dissolved in wine, and is good for the heart; your sign is [Psalm, 104:15]: "Wine gladdens the human heart." Against flatulence (mach) use the same, but dissolved in water; your sign is [Gen. i. 3]: "And the wind (mach) of the Lord flits over the water." Against pains in the uterus (kuda) use the same dissolved in beer, and your sign is [ibid. 24:15]: She had her pitcher (kuadah) on her shoulder." R. Aha b, Rabba prepared of the above herbs a powder of which he dissolved about a handful and drank it. R. Asha used to prepare a powder of each of these herbs and drink a dose from each. Said R. Papa: I had tried all this but without avail, until an Arabian merchant advised me to fill a new pitcher with water, put therein a spoonful of honey, leave, then, all this in the open air over night and drink it next morning; I have done so, and it really helped me.

The sages taught: Six things are good for all diseases, and they are as follows: green colewort, sea-radishes, the water from dry sisin (a Syrian plant), the stomach, the uterus (of cattle), and the raw meat of a cow. Other sages add yet small fishes, which possess besides medicinal yet the property of making one fecund and robust. Furthermore, ten things there are that are detrimental to the sick--viz.: meat of an ox, fat, roasted meat, poultry, roasted eggs, almonds, a hair-cut, a bath, cheese, and liver. Others add yet nuts and gourds.

The disciples of R. Ismael taught: Why are gourds called keshuin (heavy)? Because they are as harmful and heavy to the human body as daggers.

"And cutting hair." The Rabbis taught: An Israelite who cuts his hair by a heathen, may look in the looking-glass (so that the heathen shall be afraid to kill him). An Israelite who cuts the hair of a heathen, when reaching the surrounding of his hair, which is usually for the purpose of worshipping the idol, may drop his work. The master said: An Israelite who cuts his hair by a heathen shall look in the looking-glass. Let us see how is the case: If it was in public then to what purpose is the looking-glass, and if privately, what can the looking-glass help (if the heathen would like to kill him suddenly)? It means privately; but as soon as he has a looking-glass in his work-shop, it seems to be a respectable place, so that there is no fear of killing. R. 'Hana b. Bizna used to cut his hair by a heathen, in the by-streets of N'hardea. At one time he said to him, 'Hana, 'Hana, thou hast a fine neck for the shears. Said he: I may take this as a punishment for not following R. Mair's decision. (Says the Gemara): Did he then follow the decision of the rabbis? The rabbis also permitted in public only, but not privately. He thought that the sideways of Nahardea are considered public, as many people pass there.

MISHNA 4.: The following things of the heathens are prohibited, and the prohibition extends even to the deriving of any benefit therefrom--viz.: wine, vinegar, and pieces of wine extract, and skins in which there are holes opposite the heart. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel adds: Provided the hole is made round, but not if lengthwise. Meat which is entered for the idol is not prohibited, but which comes out of it is prohibited, as it is equivalent to the offerings of the dead. Such is the decree of R. Aqiba. With pilgrims while going for worship one must not interfere, but with those who are coming from, one may.

The bags of the heathens, the pitchers which contain wine of an Israelite, are forbidden to derive any benefit from them. So R. Mair. The sages, however, maintain: They are forbidden, but not to derive benefit. The pressed grapes of which wine was made as well as their kernels are prohibited for any benefit. So R. Mair. The sages, however, forbid only the wet ones, but not the dry ones. Fish-oil and cheese of the village Aunyiki made by the heathens are, according to R. Mair, prohibited for any benefit, and according to the sages the using is prohibited, but not the benefit. Said R. Jehudah: R. Ismael questioned R. Jehoshua while they were on the road: Why have the sages prohibited the cheese of the heathens, and he answered: Because they use the rennet of a carcass to curdle milk. Said he to him: The rennet of a burnt-offering is more rigorous than of a carcass, and nevertheless a priest, who is not so particular, consumes it while raw. This, however, the sages did not admit, but even they allow no benefit therefrom, although its use, when made, is no transgression. Answered R. Jehoshua: The prohibition was because they curdle their milk with the rennet of the calves, which was sacrificed to the idol. Thereupon rejoined R. Ismael: If such is the case, why was not prohibited all benefit thereof? R. Jehoshua, however, was not prepared to answer him this question, and called his attention to another thing: Ismael, my brother, how do you read ([Solomon's song, 1, 2]) Thy caresses? And he answered: I read thy as masculine. To which Jehoshua answered: It is not so, as further on (3) it reads feminine, and this is evidence that also verse 2d uses thy in the feminine.

GEMARA: Whence is it deduced that wine is prohibited? Said Rabba b. Abuhu from [Deut. 32:38]: "They that ate the fat of their sacrifices, and drank the wine of their drink-offerings," i.e., as from a sacrifice no benefit must be derived, the same is the case with wine. And whence do we know that such is the case with a sacrifice itself? From [Psalm 106:28]: "And they joined themselves unto Ba'-al-pe'or, and ate the sacrifice of the dead," hence, as from a dead one no benefit must be derived, so is it with a sacrifice. But whence does it follow that no benefit is to be derived from a dead? From the analogy of expression "there," which is to be found in [Numb. 20:1]: "And Miriam died there," and in [Deut. xxi. 4]: "And shall break there," hence, as from the latter no benefit must be derived, the same is the case with a dead. But whence do we know that so is the case with the heifer? Said the disciples of R. Janai, in verse 8 of that passage it is mentioned: "Atone for thy people," etc., and from the sacrifices which atone, it is known no benefit must be derived.

"Wine-vinegar," etc. Is this not self-evident, that because the wine becomes sour the prohibition no longer holds? Said R. Ashi: It comes to teach that if there was sour vinegar in the hands of the heathens, there is no necessity to seal it with two seals, one on the top of the other as it is necessary for wine;

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and the reason is that the heathens do not offer vinegar to the idols, nor is the fear, perhaps they will change it, to be taken into consideration, as it is to be supposed that the heathen will not trouble himself to break the seal for this purpose. Said R. Ilai: We have learned elsewhere that cooked wine of the heathens is prohibited, and to the objection that this is self-evident, as the prohibition is not annulled by cooking, R. Ashi said: It means to teach us that our cooked wine seals with one seal, and in the possession of a heathen is valid for the reason stated above.

The rabbis taught: Cooked wine and aluntith (oil wine) of the heathens are prohibited; however, an aluntith of an Israelite when in the possession of a heathen is allowed. As we have learned concerning Sabbath the difference between oil-wine and honey wine (see Sabbath, p. 316, par. "One may make honey wine"). Rabba and R. Joseph both said: Wine mixed with water is not affected when it remains uncovered overnight, and to cooked wine, the prohibition of offering-wine does not apply.

The schoolman propounded a question: How is it with cooked wine? Does the uncovering affect it or not? Come and hear: Jacob b. Ibi has testified that the case of uncovering does not apply to cooked wine.

R. Janai b. Ismael once took sick and R. Ismael b. Zirud and the rabbis came to make him a sick-call, and while sitting there they questioned if the case of uncovery applies to cooked wine. Said Ismael b. Zirud to them: Resh Lakish said in the name of a great man, who is R. Hyye, that to such the case of uncovery does not apply. And to their question as to the validity of this Halakha, R. Janai b. Ismael made a gesture with his hand as if saying, "upon me and my neck."

Samuel and Ablat were sitting together, and cooked wine was brought for them. The latter, who was a heathen, removed his hand in order not to touch the wine and make it unvalid. Said Samuel to him: It was already said that concerning cooked wine no fear of offering is to be entertained.

The servant of R. Hyye had uncovered cooked wine and she came to ask her master, to which he answered, it was decided: to cooked wine no uncovering applies. The servant of Ada b. A'habah had uncovered the mixture of wine and came to ask his master if it is valid, to which he answered: It is decided that the case of uncovering does not apply to mixed wine. Said R. Papa to him: Provided the wine is mixed with much water, but if not, the snake drinks of it, hence such is affected by uncovery. Is that so? It happened with Rabba b. R. Huna, who was on a boat and had wine with him. Once, perceiving a snake coming to partake of it, he said to his servant: Blind the eye of this by making the wine unfit. And he took a little water and put it in the wine; the snake then turned back. The answer is that for raw wine the snake usually risks his life to get it, which he does not do for mixed wine.

But was it not told of R. Janai or Bar Hedia who, while in the City of Akhburi, saw the people there drink mixed wine, the remainder of which they put in a pitcher, covered it with cloth, and put it aside; then they saw a snake putting water into the pitcher until it became full, and then drinking the wine which was coming up to the top of the water (hence you see that a snake drinks out of mixed). The explanation is that it may drink from that which is mixed by itself, but not from that which is mixed by some one else. Said R. Ashi, according to others, Mesharshia: Should one rely upon suppositions in a case which is dangerous? (Therefore there is no difference between mixed and raw wine; neither must be used if it was uncovered, for fear that a snake drank from it.) Said Rabba: The Halakha prevails thus: to mixed wine both uncovering and offering apply, while to cooked wine neither applies.

The servant of R. 'Helkiha b. Tubi had uncovered a kista of water and fell asleep nearby; when he came to ask his master if this water may be used, he answered: The snakes are said to fear a sleeping man, provided it is in the day-time, but not at night. (Said the Gemara): In reality it is not so. The supposition that a snake fears a sleeping man is not substantiated, and the time makes no difference, whether day or night. Rabh vowed not to drink water at the house of Gentiles, saying: They are not careful to cover the water, but in the house of a widow he drank, saying that although she does not know the Halakha of uncovering, she nevertheless uses it, because she did so while her husband was alive. Samuel, however, used to do the contrary. At a widow's house he would not drink, saying that, as she is without her husband, she usually does not care to cover; while the Gentiles, although not particular in covering, are at least particular in cleanliness, and they cover the water that nothing should fall in and spoil it. According to others Samuel did not drink even from the last. R. Jehoshua b. Levy said: There are three kinds of wine to which the case of uncovering does not apply--viz.: (a) wine that is both sweet and bitter; (b) that is so strong that it breaks each leather bag, and (c) wine that will become sweet when warmed in the sun. Rabha said: To wine which begins to become sour the first three days, both cases of uncovery and offering apply, but if after three days, neither case applies. The sages of Nahardea said that even in the latter case uncovery applies, as it happens sometimes that a snake drinks such.

The rabbis taught: To fermenting wine no uncovery applies; and for how many days is it considered fermented? For three days. Nor does it apply to cress-dish (chopped cress mixed with wine or oil). However, the men of exile consider uncovering also here, provided in the mixture vinegar was not used. To Babylonian Khutha'h it does not apply; however, the men of exile do apply it.

Said R. Menashi: If there are traces of snake bites in it, it must not be used. Hyah b. Ashi in the name of Samuel said: To dripping water uncovering does not apply. Added R. Ashi: Provided the dripping is constant. Samuel said: To the opening of a fig when it is torn off, uncovering does not apply, and this is in accordance with R. Eliezer in the following Boraitha, who says: One may eat grapes and figs at night without fear, as it reads [Psalm cxvi. 6]: "The Lord preserveth the simple." R. Saffra said in the name of R. Jehoshua of Rome: There are three kinds of poison coming from the mouth of the snake: that of a young one sinks, of a middle-aged, remains in the middle, and of an old one, floats on the top. Shall we assume that the snake becomes weaker as it grows older, in spite of this Boraitha: There are three who become stronger as they grow older--viz: a fish, a snake, and a pig? Yea, their strength is stronger, but the poison is weaker. But to what purpose is the teaching that "from a young one it sinks," etc.? To that we have learned in the following Boraitha: From a barrel which became uncovered, although nine persons drank from it and remained alive, the tenth person must not drink, as it once happened that nine men drank from such and did not die, the tenth, however, drank and died; and R. Jeremiah said: That was because the poison sank and was at the bottom. The same is the case with a melon, which became uncovered; one must not partake of it even if nine persons before him partook of it and were not harmed, as it once happened that nine were not harmed and the tenth, who partook of it, died.

The rabbis taught: One must not pour water which has been uncovered in the public streets, and must not water cattle with it. The rabbis taught: One must not pour uncovered water into public grounds, nor wetten therewith one's own house, nor knead clay, or water one's own or the neighbour's cattle therewith, nor wash his face, hands, or feet therewith. But, have we not learned in another Boraitha that he may water his own cattle with it? This means but his cat, as the poison of a snake does not barm a cat, which devours a snake. But if so, why not water with it the cat of his neighbour? Because it becomes meagre, and his neighbour might want to sell it at that time. His own, however, be may, because in time it recovers and becomes fat again.

R. Assi in the name of R. Johanan, quoting R. Jehudah b. Bathyra, said: There are three kinds of wine which are prohibited:

From that which was sacrificed to the idol, one must derive no benefit, and its size of an olive defiles a rigorous defilement him who touches it. Wine of the heathen in general (about which it is not certain that it was sacrificed) is also forbidden to derive any benefit, and the size of a quarter of a "lug" defiles just as other beverages which do not defile men and vessels by touching. But from the wine which was deposited with a heathen by an Israelite benefit may be derived, but to drink it is forbidden. But is there not a Mishna: Fruit deposited with a heathen are considered as the heathen's, concerning tithe on the Sabbathical year? It speaks of the case when the heathen has separated a corner for the wine deposited. But if so, why is it forbidden to drink? We are aware of the following: R. Johanan happened to be in the city Prud (the place where Bar Kapahara was residing), and he asked: Is someone aware of the teaching of Bar Kapahara which would be new to me? And R. Tau'hum of the same city taught before him: If one has deposited his wine with a heathen, he may drink it. To which R. Johanan applied [Eccles. 11:3]: "On the place where the tree falleth, it will remain," i.e., although the sage is dead, his fruit (teaching) remains. Hence we see that even to drink the wine is allowed? Said R. Zera: This presents no difficulty. R. Johanan is in accordance with R. Eliezer, who permits the drinking also (Sabbath.), while the Boraitha is in accordance with the sages who do not. R. Hiya b. R. Hiya b. Na'hmani in the name of R. Hisda, quoting Rabh, or quoting Zebra, according to others R. Hisda, said: Abba b. Hama told me that Zehri said: The Halakha prevails with R. Elezer. R. Elazar said: Everything which is deposited with a heathen is preserved if it was scaled with two seals, except wine, which is not considered preserved even with two seals. R. Johanan, however, maintains that two seals preserve wine, too. Both, however, are in accordance with the rabbis. One holds that the rabbis differ with R. Elezer in case it only had one seal, and the other holds they differ with him, even regarding two seals. What is meant by a seal within a seal? Said Rabha: If the cork in the opening of a barrel was besmeared with clay and scaled, it is considered a seal within a seal, but not if there was only one of the two.

["Pieces of wine extract." The Mishna speaks of Hadrianic potsherds. What are these potsherds? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: It is meant thereby the potsherds of the King Hadrianus; and R. Dimi on his return from Palestine explained the nature of these potsherds as follows: The Romans were wont to find a plot of virgin soil, which they would work out and plant with grapes; the wine thus obtained they used to pour into new white earthern pitchers and leave it therein until the pitchers would absorb as much of the wine as they could; then the Romans would empty the pitchers of the remaining wine and break them into pieces; which potsherds they used to take along with them on their military expeditions, and whenever they wanted some wine they would pour water on such potsherds and these would turn the water to wine. R. Jehoshua b. Levi added with reference to this that our best wine is not so good as the third pouring of these potsherds.

It was asked whether it is allowed to fasten with such potsherds the legs of a bedstead, since here the potsherds are wanted not for the wine they contain but for another purpose? Come and hear: R. Eliezar and R. Johanan who were asked on this point, expressed contrary opinions; the one allowing the potsherds for this use and the other forbidding them (which latter opinion prevails as the Halakha).

An objection was raised from the following: Wine poured into pitchers or leather bags of a heathen is forbidden to drink, any other benefit, however, may be derived from it. And Simeon b. Guda said to the son of R. Gamaliel, that even his father, R. Gamaliel. himself, drank at Ako such wine, which story found, however, no belief. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said in the name of R. Jehoshua b. Kapusai: The leather bags of a heathen are absolutely prohibited, so that even a cover for an ass is not allowed to make of them. Thus you see that here the leather bags are wanted not for the wine they contain, but for making a saddle or so for an ass, and yet they are forbidden? But again, how is then the Boraitha to be understood? Why then are not all vessels, earthen as well, prohibited to sell to, or buy from, a heathen? What difference is there between leather bags and earthen pitchers? Said Rabha: The following was the cause why leather bags were prohibited: it was namely feared that the Israelite might mend his own leather bag with the leather of the heathen's bag.

But how can he who prohibits to derive any benefit from the heathen's leather bag, account for the fact that the selling and buying of pitchers was not forbidden? He may say that as regards pitchers one can easily detect whether there was wine in them; hence, if it is found that such contained no wine, one is allowed to buy them. But as to Hadrianic potsherds, it is certain that they contain wine, hence they are absolutely prohibited.]

If there was a basket over the barrel attached to it, it is considered a seal within a seal, but not otherwise.

If one leather bag full of wine was placed in another, mouth downward, it is considered two seals, but not, if mouth upward. However, if the opening was placed inside, and the outer bag was tied and scaled, it is considered a seal within a seal.

It was taught: Why did the sages forbid date-beer of the heathens? Rami b. Hama in the name of R. Itz'hak said: As a safeguard against intermarriage. R. Na'hman, however, said: Because of uncovering. Uncovering what? If the barrel, we, too, do uncover, and if during the process of brewing, we also do the same. It speaks of those places where they used to clear the water before using it for the beer, and at that time they usually uncovered it. But if so, let, then, old beer be permitted, as there is no fear of poisoning (which would not have let it become old)? The old is forbidden as a safeguard, lest one use the new.

R. Papa used to stand outside of the store of the heathen and drink his beer; R. Abayi drank it when it was brought to his house, but not elsewhere; and the reason of both was the safeguard against intermarriage. The latter, however, was more particular, and did not wish to at all interfere with the heathens. Samuel b. Bisna happened to be in the City of Marguan (the Israelites of which were suspected of drinking wine of the heathens), and he drank neither wine nor beer, which was brought to him. It is correct that he did not drink wine, because of the suspicion that it was sacrificed, but why not beer? As a safeguard to wine.

Said Rabh: The beer in question is permissible to everyone, but Hyia, my son, must not drink of it, because he is sick, and it may harm him. Said Samuel: All the reptiles have poison, but their poison does not kill, that of a snake excepted.

The same said to Hyia b. Rabh: Come and I will tell you the good things which were said by your father. The sick heathens who become swollen, and whom uncovered water does not harm, surely ate reptiles, so that their bodies contain poison, which prevents the harming effects of the snake poison. R. Joseph said: The beer-vinegar is forbidden, because they mix into it the dregs of wine which was sacrificed. Said R. Ashi: If it was brought from the storehouse, it is permissible, for if it were mixed with dregs it would be spoiled. (See appendix.)

"The sages did not admit." There is a contradiction from the following: The wine which was placed in the bags of goatskins by the heathens must not be consumed, but one may derive benefit from it. R. Simeon b. Guda, however, testified

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before the son of Rabban Gamaliel that his father drank of such, in the City of Akuh, and they (the sages) admitted it? The expression not admitted in the Mishna means the other sages, but his son has admitted. And if you wish, it may be said that to one Tana by the name of Gudah, he has not admitted, but to the Tana Gudeah he has admitted.

"Skins in which there are holes." The rabbis taught: What is considered a holed skin? If it is torn opposite the heart, and is round, and if there is a "Kartub" (a small liquid measure equal to 1/64 of a lug) it is prohibited, but not if such was not found. Said R. Huna: Provided it was not salted, but if salted it may be supposed that the salt has absorbed the blood.

"R. Simon b. Gamaliel," etc. Said R. Joseph in the name of R. Jehudah, quoting Samuel: The Halakha prevails with him.

"Meat entering for the idol," etc. Who is the Tana that holds thus? Said Hyia b. Abba in the name of R. Johanan: It is not in accordance with R. Elazar, who said elsewhere that in general the thought of a heathen is directed to his idol.

"Meat which comes out," etc. And what is the reason? Because if it was already with the idol, it is impossible that there was no sacrifice. And this is in accordance with R. Jehuda b. Bathyra of the following Boraitha: Whence do we know that a sacrifice to the idol defiles in a tent? From [Psalms, 106:28]: "And they joined themselves unto Ba'al-pe'or, and ate the sacrifices of the dead," and as a dead defiles in a tent, so does the same the sacrifice of an idol.

"With pilgrims," etc. Said Samuel: A heathen pilgrim is prohibited only when on his way to the idol, because he goes to worship the idol, but when here turns there is nothing the matter, as no consideration should be paid to what was done. The reverse is the case with an Israelite. When he goes there, one may interfere in hope to induce him to retract, but when he returns one must not, because as he is enthusiastic he will go again. But is there not a Boraitha to the effect that with an Israelite pilgrim one must not interfere either when he goes or returns? Said R. Ashi: That Boraitha speaks of an apostate Jew, of whom it is sure that he will not retract.

"Coming from," etc. Said Resh Lakish: Provided they are not conjoined, but if they are, it is supposed that they will return there.

"The bags of the heathens," etc. The rabbis taught: New bags, which are not pitched as yet, are permissible, but those which are pitched are prohibited (if they have absorbed the wine). If, however, the heathen has pitched them and put in wine in the presence of an Israelite, the wine is permissible.

But if the heathen puts the wine in, what is the Israelite's presence good for? Explained R. Papa: The heathen pitched it, and an Israelite put in the wine in the presence of another Israelite. But to what purpose is the other Israelite's presence? Perhaps the Israelite, while busy with pouring in the wine, would not notice that the heathen meanwhile devotes it. R. Zebid, however, said: R. Papa's explanation is not necessary, as it is said before, the heathen that pours in the wine, but the wine loses its identity when mixed with the pitch, just as water does when poured into clay. Said R. Papa: We may infer from R. Zebid's statement that if a heathen puts wine in an Israelite's salt, it is permissible. R. Ashi, however, opposed, saying that there is no comparison, as in the pitch the wine is list, but not in the salt, as the taste of it remains. There was a merchant, Bar Abi, who took away pitchers of R. Itzchak b. Joseph, kept wine in them, and thereafter returned them, and he asked in the college what to do with them? Said R. Jeremiah to him: In such a case R. Ami has decided for practice one shall fill them with water for three days and after the water is poured out he may use them. Said Rabha: He must change the water every day. The schoolmen understand that this was said only concerning our bags, but not if the bags were the heathen's. However, when Rabbin came from Palestine he said that there is no difference between ours and theirs. R. Aha b. Rabha meant to say, in the presence of R. Ashi, that this is only concerning bags and not pitchers. Said R. Ashi to him: There is no difference between bags and pitchers. R. Jehudah the second questioned R. Ami: How is it if he has returned the pitchers to the pottery, and they were burned there. May they be used or not? And he answered: Brine extracts what is absorbed by them, so much the more does fire. So, also, was it taught by R. Johanan, according to others by R. Assi, in the name of the former: Pitchers of the heathens, which were returned to the pottery, as soon as the pitch falls off from them, are permissible. Said R. Ashi: Don't teach until it falls off, but even when it weakens so as to fall off they are allowed.

If this was done by burning them out simply with pieces of wood R. Aha and Rabbina differ. According to one it is permissible, and according to the other it is not, and the Halakha prevails with the latter. The schoolman propounded a question: How is it to keep beer in the same? R. Na'hman and R. Jehudah prohibit it, and Rabha permits. Rabbina permitted Hyia b. Itzchak to put beer in them. He, however, put wine in them. Nevertheless, Rabinna did not care to forbid him, saying that this occurred only unintentionally, and he would not do it again. R. Itzchak b. Bisna had vessels made of clay and ordure, in which there was once sacrificed wine, and he filled them with water, put them in the sun, and they burst. Said R. Abba to him: You have lost them in vain. True, the rabbis said to fill them with water, but did they say to put them in the sun? R. Yusna said in the name of R. Ami: Vessels of natron, in which there was wine, have no remedy. What is meant by natron vessels? Said R. Jose b. Abin: Vessels made of alum crystal. Rupila took away such pitchers from Pumbedith, kept wine in them, then returned them; and when R. Jehudah was questioned as to what to do with them, he said: He kept wine in them only temporarily, therefore he may rinse them with water and they are allowed. Said R. Evira: The pitchers of red earth which do not absorb much, he may rinse with water, and they are allowed. Said R. Papa: The same is the case with the clay pitchers of Michsi. Clay buchals R. Asi prohibits and R. Ashi permits. In case the heathen drank from them the first and second time, all agree that they are forbidden; they differ, however, with regard to the third time (i.e., when the first two times an Israelite drank from them; and the Halakha prevails, that if the heathen drank the first and second times, they are prohibited, but if the third, they are not). Said R. Zebid.: Vessels enamelled with white and black are permissible, but if with green, they are not, because they contain alum crystal. However, if there were splits in them they all are forbidden.

Maremar lectured: Enamelled vessels, no matter of what colour, are permissible. But why is wine different from leaven on Passover, concerning which a similar question was propounded to Maremar, and he prohibited them all? Because leaven is usually used hot, while wine is usually used cold. R. Aqiba happened to be in Ginzek, and he was questioned the following: Fasting a couple of hours only, is it considered or not? And he did not know the answer. Pitchers of heathens are allowed or prohibited? Finally, in what garments did Moses worship the seven days before he consecrated Aaron to the high priesthood? And he, not knowing the answers, came with these questions to college. He was told: A fasting of hours is considered, and if one finished his fasting at sunset, he may recite the prayer of fasting. The pitchers of heathens, after they were empty for twelve months, are permissible. Moses has worshipped the seven days in a white gown. R. Kahanah taught: In a white shirt which had no seam.

"The pressed grapes," etc. The rabbis taught: The pressed grapes of which wine was made, with their kernel, are forbidden when they are still wet, but not when they are dry. And which are to be considered wet? Before twelve months has elapsed, and thereafter they are considered dry. So R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel. It was taught: Rabba b. b. Hanna in the name of R. Johanan said: The prohibition of them extends even to the deriving of any benefit from them, and when they are allowed, they may even be consumed. R. Zebid said: The dregs of wine of the heathens, after twelve months, are allowed. Their enamelled pitchers, after twelve months of non-usage have elapsed, are allowed according to R. Habiba b. Rabha. R. Habiba said: And the same is the case with their thick leather bags. R. Aha b. R. Aika said: The same is also the case with their pomace of grapes. And R. Aha b. Rabha said: The same is also the case with their enamelled white and black pitchers.

"Fish-oil," etc. The rabbis taught: Fish-oil made by a heathen specialist is permissible. R. Jehudah b. Gamaliel, in the name of R. Hanina his brother, said: The same is the case with Hillek (small fish, which have no fins or scales) if they come from a heathen specialist. R. Abimi b. R. Abuhu taught: Fish-oil from a specialist is allowed. He taught it, and he himself explained it thus: The first and the second time when there is considerable fat in it he has to use no wine, so it is allowed, but not in the third time, when wine must be used. There was a boat with fish-oil, which came to the port of Akhu, and R. Aba of the same city appointed a watchman to guard it. Said Rabha to him: Who, then, watched it until now? And he rejoined: Until now? for what purpose was it necessary to watch? surely not for fear perhaps they would put wine in it, as in their place wine costs four-fold as does fish-oil, while here it is the reverse. Said R. Jeremiah to R. Zera: But perhaps while this boat passed the City of Zur, where wine is cheap, they have poured wine in it? And he answered: It would have been a difficulty for this boat to reach Zur, as there are (along the coast from Zur to Akhu) bays formed by protruding rocks and shallow waters caused by melting snows.

"Cheese of Anuyiki." Said Resh Lakish: Why did the sages forbid the cheese of Anuyiki? Because most of their calves are slaughtered for the sake of their idols. (Says the Gemara): Why the most, when even if the minority were slaughtered for that purpose, the same would be the case, as R. Mair considers the minority also? The expression "the most" was necessary in order to indicate that only a minority are slaughtered not for this purpose, but if it were said "the minority," then it would be understood that the majority are slaughtered not for this purpose, and as the cattle are also slaughtered not for this purpose, the minority then would be a minority of a minority, to which even R. Mair does not pay any attention. Said R. Simeon b. Elyakim to Resh Lakish: Your reason that the calves are slaughtered for the sake of the idol contradicts your own statement made elsewhere--viz.: that the slaughtering for the sake of the idol is not to be taken into consideration (in opposition to R. Johanan, who says that it is), and he answered: May you in the future be more successful in distinguishing matters. I speak of him who expressly says: I am worshipping the idol with this slaughtering.

"Calls his attention to another thing." [Solomon's Song, 1, 2.] What does this passage mean? When R. Dimi came he said thus: The assembly of Israel said before the Holy One, blessed be He: Lord of the Universe, sweet are to me the words of thy friends (the sages who are explaining the law) more than the essence of the Torah. But what was the reason that he called his attention to this passage? Said R. Simeon b. Pazi, according to others, b. Ami: He called his attention to the beginning of this chapter, "He may kiss me," etc., and the meaning was this: Ishmael, my brother, compress your lips, one upon the other, and hasten not to propound questions. But why? Said Ulah, according to others, R. Samuel b. Aba: This was a new decree, to which the reason could not be given at that time. And what is the reason? Said R. Simeon b. Pazi in the name of R. Joshua b. Levi: It is that perhaps it was uncovered and was poisoned by a snake. If so, why did he not tell him so? This is as Ula said elsewhere. When a new decree was promulgated in the west, they did not give the reason until twelve months had elapsed, for fear there may be one who would not care for such a reason, and would not accept the decree. R. Jeremiah ridiculed this statement, since, according to it, old cheese should be allowed, as R. Hanina said: A dry or an old one is permissible, because poison would not have allowed it to become old or dry. Said R. Hanina: The reason was that there is no cheese in which some skimmed milk does not remain, and this is forbidden, because the heathen mixes all milk with milk of such cattle that is forbidden to eat. Samuel, however, said: Because they curdle the milk with the skin of the rennet of a carcass. But how is it if with the rennet itself, would it be allowed? Did indeed Samuel say so? Is there not a Mishna: The rennet belonging to a Gentile as well as that of a carcass, is forbidden, and the question: What does a Gentile's rennet mean. Samuel explained: The rennet of those cattle which the heathen has slaughtered is considered as one of a carcass. Hence, the rennet itself is also prohibited? This presents no difficulty, as Samuel's explanation had been made before R. Jehoshua retracted his statement, that the rennet itself is to be considered. And his statement cited above was after the retraction of R. Jehoshua was known, and that Mishna in tract Chulin remained uncorrected.

R. Malchia in the name of R. Aba b. Ahaba said: The reason is that they besmear the top of the cheese with the fat of swine. R. Hisda said: Because they curdle it with vinegar. And R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak said: Because they curdle it with the juice of the trees of "Orlah." But, according to R. Hisda and R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak, it should be forbidden to derive any benefit from them? This difficulty remains unsolved.

R. Na'hman b. R. Hisda lectured: It reads [Songs of Solomon, 1-3]: "To the smell are thy fragrant oils pleasant," a scholar is equalled to a glass of perfume, which, if uncovered, gives forth a good odor, while it does not if covered. And not only this, but matters the reasons of which were sealed from him, finally become apparent [ibid., ibid.]: "The maidens ("alomoth") love thee." Do not read "alomoth" (maidens), but "alumuth" (hidden things). Furthermore, the angel of death becomes his lover, as the word alomoth is to be divided into two words, al-moveth, which means death. And furthermore, he inherits two worlds: this world, and the world to come, as the same word may be read "olumuth," which means "worlds."

MISHNA 5.: The following things of the heathens are prohibited, but not for deriving benefit from them: Milk which the heathen himself milked not in the presence of an Israelite, their bread and oil. Rabbi in his court, however, permitted the consumption of their oil. Cooked and soaked herbs, in which they usually pour wine, and small salted fish (which is called trith), the brine of fish in which there is no fish, and 'hillek, the brine of 'hilteth, and sal-condire--all these are forbidden to eat, but one may derive benefit from them.

GEMARA: What is the reason for the prohibition of milk? If, e.g., that the heathen might substitute for the milk of a cow that of an ass, there is no fear, for from a cow it is white, while from an ass it is green; and if because he may mix it with above, let him curdle it; and, as the Master said, the milk of an ass cannot be curdled? Yea; this is when he needs it for cheese, but how shall he test it when he needs it as it is? Even then he can test it by taking part thereof for curdling?

This cannot prove, as there is some bad milk of a cow, which cannot be curdled. And if you wish, it can be said that even for cheese curdling is no test that the milk was not contaminated, as the unclean milk remains in the holes of the cheese (as said above).

"And bread." Said R. Kahanah in the name of R. Johanan: Bread was not permitted by Rabbi and his court, as it was with oil. But is there one who says that it was? Yea; as R. Dimi, when back from Palestine, related: It once happened that Rabbi went to a field, and a heathen brought him fine bread, the size of a "saah," and Rabbi exclaimed: How nice

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this bread is! Why should the sages forbid it? And by this exclamation the people thought that Rabbi had permitted it. In reality, however, he did not. R. Joseph, according to others, R. Samuel b. Jehudah, said: It was not as R. Dimi related, but it once happened that Rabbi went to a certain place, and seeing that there was a difficulty to obtain Jewish bread for the disciples, he exclaimed, "Is there no baker here!" People thought that he meant a heathen baker, but he probably meant a Jewish one. Said R. 'Helbu: Even if he meant a heathen baker, it is permitted only when there is no Jewish baker, otherwise it is not. And R. Johanan said: Even if he meant a heathen baker, it is permissible only in the field, but not in the city, by reason of the fear of intermarriage. Aiban used to bite and consume heathen bread at the boundaries of the field, and Rabha or R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak told his disciples not to have any conversation with him, because he eats heathen bread.

"And their oil." Concerning oil, Rabh said: Daniel has decreed the prohibition, and Samuel said: Because they are boiled in forbidden vessels. Said Samuel to Rabh: According to my theory, it is correct that R. Itz'hak b. Samuel b. Martha related about R. Simlayi, who preached in the City of Nezibin, that concerning oil R. Jehudah (Rabbi and his court voted and permitted it). Their reason may have been that the absorbed fat in the vessels which spoils the oil does not affect its validity, and therefore they permitted. But according to your theory that Daniel had so decreed, is it possible that R. Jehudah the prince, should abolish the decree of Daniel? Is there not a Mishna: A court must not abolish the decree of another, unless it is greater in wisdom and in number? And he answered: You speak of Simlayi the Ludian, such people do not care to observe the decrees of the rabbis. Said Samuel: Then allow me to send this message to him (Simlayi), and Rabh became confused. Thereupon he said: If they have not given proper attention to that which is written concerning Daniel in the Scripture, should we do the same? Does it not read [Daniel, i. 8]: "Nor the wine of his banquets." 1 Hence we see that the Scripture speaks of two banquets, one of wine and one of oil. However, he differs with Samuel in the explanation of "resolved in his heart," as according to him (Rabh) "he resolved in his heart, and decreed same for all Israel." Samuel, however, explains it: He so resolved for himself, but not for Israel. But how can we say that Daniel decreed so, after Bali-Abimi of Nirtah said in the name of Rabh: The decrees, concerning their bread, wine, oil, and their daughters were included in the eighteen decrees (which are mentioned in Tract Sabbath). Now, should you say that Daniel's decree was not accepted until after the disciples of Hillel and Shamai came, decreed so, and it was then accepted? Then, how is to be understood the testimony that Daniel has thus decreed? Rabh has testified that Daniel's decree was only for the cities where other oils are to be found, but not for the field. And the rabbis mentioned above decreed that the same should be even in the field. But after all, how could Rabbi abolish their decree despite the Mishna cited above: That one court must not abolish the decree of another, etc.? And, secondly, did not Rabba b. b. Hanna say in the name of R. Johanan, that even in cases where one court may change the decree of another, it cannot do so with regard to the above eighteen decrees, as concerning them, even if Elijah with his court should come and abolish them, he must not be heeded? Said R. Mesharshia: The reason is that the decrees in question were spread among the majority of Israel; as to oil, however, its decree was not accepted by the majority of Israel. As so said Samuel b. Aba in the name of R. Johanan: Our masters investigated concerning oil, and found that the prohibition was not accepted by the majority, therefore, adhere to the rule declared by R. Simeon b. Gamaliel and R. Eliezer b. Zadok, that a court must not enact anything which the majority of the congregation could not possibly follow.

R. Jehudah the second leaned upon the shoulder of R. Simlayi when walking in the street, and said: Simlayi, you were not in college yesterday, at the time we permitted oil of the heathens. And he answered: I hope that you will soon permit their bread also. Rejoined R. Jehudah: Then the people would name us the all-permitting court, as so they named R. Josh (Tract Idioth Mishna). Then to Simlayi's remark: R. josh has permitted three things, and you, master, have only permitted one, and should you permit one more, it will be only two. Jehudah answered: I have already permitted another thing concerning the validity a divorce attains after twelve months had elapsed before the husband returns; and it happened that before the elapse of such period the man died, and I have permitted the woman to remarry. 2

"Cooked," etc. Whence is this deduced? Said R. Hyia b. Aba in the name of R. Johanan, from [Deut. 2:28]: "Food shalt thou sell me for money, that I may eat; and water for money shalt thou give me, that I may drink," which means, like water, which does not, since its creation, change by fire, eatables are not changed since their creation, by fire. (But that which was changed is not permissible.) But as there is not mentioned "fire" in the Scripture, this is but a decree of the rabbis, and the verse is brought only as a hint to this. R. Samuel b. Itz'hak said in the name of Rabh: To everything which can be consumed raw, the prohibition of cooked by a heathen does not apply. So it was taught in the college of Sura. In the college of Pumbeditha, however, it was taught as follows: R. Samuel b. R. Itz'hak in the name of Rabh said: To everything which is not served on the table of noblemen to relish the bread, the prohibition of "cooked by a heathen" does not apply. And what is the difference between the two versions? Small fish, mushroom and disa (a thickly cooked barley or meal). All these three cannot be consumed raw, but they are not served on the tables of noblemen. Hence, according to the first version, if prepared by a heathen, must not be consumed, and according to the second, it is permissible.

R. Assi said in the name of Rabh: To small salt fish cooking of a heathen does not apply. Said R. Joseph: If the heathen roasted it, an Israelite may rely upon it for aneb tabshilin. 1 But if he has prepared from this a mush of harsana (a dish of small fish with flour) it is forbidden. Is this not self-evident? Lest one say that the fish is the main thing of this dish, it comes to teach us that the flour is the main thing. R. Johanan said: If a heathen singed the head of an animal, it is permissible to partake of it even from the ear (although the ear is nearly cooked by the singeing). Said Rabbina: From this we may infer that if he threw a tent-pin in the stove (to dry it), and an Israelite has deposited upon it a pumpkin, it may be used. Is this not self-evident? Lest one say that the heathen intended to cook the tent-pin (hence the pumpkin would be cooked by him), he came to teach us that his intention was only to dry and not to cook it. R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel said: If an Israelite placed meat upon live coals and a heathen came and turned it, it is permissible. But let us examine the case. If without turning, it would not be cooked, then it was cooked by the heathen, and must not be permissible; on the other hand, if it would be cooked without turning, then its permission is self-evident. It speaks of the fact that if he did not turn it, it would cook in two hours, but by turning, it was cooked in one hour; and lest one say that the hastening of the cooking be taken into consideration, he teaches us that it is not so.

But did not R. Assi say in the name of R. Johanan that, when the food has been cooked to the extent that Ben Drusai 2 habitually eats it, the heathen may then complete its cooking, but not otherwise, and should not the above-mentioned fried meat be accordingly prohibited? This quotation intends to say as follows: If the meat was put into the pot by the Israelite and then placed upon the fire by a heathen, it is permissible. There is a Boraitha to this effect: The Israelite may put the meat upon the coals and let the heathen do the turning till he returns from the synagogue or college. Similarly, a Jewish woman may place the pot upon the fire and then leave the heathen woman do the skimming till she returns from the synagogue or bath-house. In these cases there is nothing to fear. The schoolmen propounded a question whether that meat is permissible which was put upon the coals by a heathen and turned about by an Israelite? Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: The answer thereto can be inferred a fortiori--viz.: if the completion of the cooking by the heathen's hand is allowed, so much the more is it so, if by the hand of Israelite. It was taught so, too: Rabba b. 'Hana, according to others, R. A'ha b. b. 'Hana, said in the name of R. Johanan: It is only then prohibited when the heathen prepares the food all alone, without the aid of the Israelite. As to bread, Rabbina said: The Halakha, is thus: When the Israelite heats the oven and the heathen places the bread therein, or vice versa, or, finally, the heathen does both the things and the Israelite was but fixing a little the fire during the heating, the bread is allowed. However, fish salted by heathens are allowed by 'Hiskia, but prohibited by R. Johanan; and an egg roasted by a heathen Bar Kapara allows, but not R. Johanan. But when R. Dimi came from Palestine, he said that in both fish and egg 'Hiskia and Bar Kapara allow, and R. Johanan does not. R. Hyye Parvah called once on the Exilearch, where he was asked whether it is allowed to eat an egg roasted by a heathen, and he replied that 'Hiskia and Bar Kapara allow it and R. Johanan prohibits it; the rule "The majority rules" is to be followed. Thereupon exhorted R. Zebid: Do not listen to R. Hyye, for Ahayi says that in this case the Halakha prevails according to R. Johanan. The Exilearch's servants became therefore so enraged that they poisoned R. Zebid with a drink of vinegar, from which he died.

The rabbis taught: Kaprises, Kaplututh, Hamtlia, warm water and roasted ears of corn coming from the heathens are allowed; roasted eggs are prohibited. Oil was allowed by R. Jehudah, the prince, and his court by vote. There is a Boraitha: Hamtlia is called also Peshlia and Shietta. But what, indeed, is it? Rabha b. b. Mana said in the name of R. Johanan: It is now forty years since it was imported from Egypt; he himself said, it is already sixty years. In reality, both concur, for R. Johanan made his statement twenty years ago. The preparation thereof is as follows: Take parsley-seed, glue-seed, juice of fenugreek; keep them all in lukewarm water until the seed coats burst; then fill with water new earthern pots, and, on putting therein some red earth, plant in it the seeds; now go to bathe, and no sooner do you come back than the planted seeds will have borne their fruit, which is highly refreshing, so that on eating thereof you are cooled up from top to toe. Said R. Ashi: I was told by R. 'Hanina that all this is but a mere fable.

The rabbis taught: If dates of which beer was already once brewed be warmed anew in other vessels, the question arises as to whether these vessels are big or small: if big, the dates in question are prohibited; if small, they are allowed, for in small vessels the heathen surely cooks nothing unclean. What determines the size of vessel? R. Janai said: A vessel is said to be small when through its mouth the swallow is not able to pass. But could not the bird be cut into pieces and then made to pass through the opening of the vessel? Well, the foregoing determination is to be understood as follows: The opening of the vessel must be so small that the head of the said bird could not enter. But is there not a Boraitha: Dates are allowed regardless of the size of the vessel they are in? Yea; nevertheless there is no implicit contradiction here, for he who prohibits the big vessels is of the opinion that if the taste left by the old vessel were even injurious to the food, it is nevertheless prohibited; while the others who allowed it maintain that if the flavour left by the old vessels be favourable to the food, it is prohibited, but if unfavourable, it is allowed; therefore they have also allowed in this case the big vessels of the heathens. R. Sheshith said: A heathen's cooked oil is prohibited. Wondered R. Saphra: Why, there is nothing to fear in this case, for were the heathen to put into the said oil fat he would thereby impart to it an insipid odor; nor can the prohibition be based upon the mere fact that it was cooked by a heathen, as we have learned above: All that may be eaten in a raw state, may also be eaten when cooked by a heathen, and oil is eatable uncooked; as for the absorption by the vessel, it makes the taste of the oil bad, and hence it cannot be prohibited therefor. R. Assi was asked whether dates cooked by a heathen are permissible. Sweet dates, that are eatable when raw, are certainly allowed, but not bitter ones, which are not eatable when raw. The chief point here is: What about dates that are neither sweet nor bitter (and are, in case of necessity, eatable when raw)? And he answered: A distinguished man, Levi, has already prohibited them. Shthithah (a dish prepared from young ears of corn) of a heathen, Rabh allows, the father of Samuel and Levi prohibits. (Says the Gemara): If prepared of wheat or barley flour, all agree that it is al. lowed. A food of peas and vinegar is declared prohibited also by Rabh. Their point of difference concerns solely a food of flour and water, which the father of Samuel and Levi prohibits, fearing that, if this were allowed, people would later eat also foods prepared with vinegar; Rabh, on the other hand, does not entertain this fear. Others word this discussion as follows: Pea flour prepared by the heathen with water is prohibited by Rabh, who fears lest food with vinegar be eaten; only foods prepared of wheat or barley flour are permissible, as for their preparation no vinegar is required. The other party, however, prohibits also these foods, fearing lest one might then allow oneself also peas prepared with vinegar.

Rabh said: Barsillai sent to David two kinds of this Shthithah, as it reads [2 Sam. 17:28]: "Bedstead, pans, earthen pots, wheat, barley, flour, ears of corn, beans, lentils, oatmeal." That nowadays we buy of the heathens in the markets of Nahardea these articles in the basketfuls, is a sign that Samuel and Levi's prohibition is disregarded.

"And pressed preserves into which they habitually put wine." Its benefit is, according to R. Hiskia, only then allowed when it is not known that there is wine in it. But if it is definitely known that there is wine in it, it is prohibited. Why then do the rabbis allow the use of muries which, we know, all prepare with wine? Because here wine is used merely to destroy the fishlime of the muries, while in the above it is used to render the preserves more palatable. However, R. Johanan said that even when it is known that there is wine in the preserves their benefit is none the less permitted. What difference is there between muries and preserves, that R. Mair prohibits the use of the former, but allows that of the latter? In case of the muries which is taken with bread, one cats the wine contained therein, while in the case of preserves you consume only the preserved fruits, the wine remaining in the vessel.

"Pressed fish cut in small pieces and Hilac are forbidden." What is Hilac? R. Na'hman Hanan b. Aba said in the name of Rabh: Hilac is Sulthenuth. This fish, though it has the marks of the clean fish, is prohibited, because it so closely resembles the other unclean fish with which it is drawn out that it becomes impossible to distinguish it.

The rabbis taught: Those fishes which, when young, do not exhibit their signs of clean fish, but grow them later, as is the case with the Sulthenuth and the Epitz, are allowed to eat. Such fishes that show the signs of the clean order when fished out, but lose them later, such as the Akunas and Apunas, Chotospeteis, Achspeteis and Utanas, are allowed. R. Abuhu heralded at Caesaria that it is permitted to buy of anybody the fish oil and rye, for it is imported only from Pelusium and Aspamia (Spain), where there are no fishes of the unclean order. Abayi likewise allows to buy of heathens the fish

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Zachanthra from the river Dahab. Why is this permitted? Presumably because the bed of the river is of such a composition that fish of the unclean order can not live there. Said Rabbina: Now that the two rivers Gusa and Ganda have been united with the Dahab river the Zachanthra is again prohibited (as the former two shelter unclean fish). Abayi said: The sea-donkey is allowed, but not the sea-ox; and you remember this by the following mark: the unclean (on earth?) is clean, while the clean is unclean. R. Ashi said: Separnuna is allowed, Kadeshnuna is not; according to others he said that Kaharnuna is forbidden. R. Aqiba, when in Ginsek, was offered a fish that resembled the Hipusha, which is of the unclean order; he took a basket, put therein the fish, then, upon removing it from the basket, he found scales there, and allowed the fish. R. Ashi applied on a similar occasion in Matduria the following test: he held out the fish, which resembled the unclean Zehrpeha, against the sun-rays, and perceived scales, whereupon he allowed it. He happened to be once in another town, where he was offered a fish similar to the unclean Separnuna, so he had it covered with a white vessel, and, as he discovered scales on the walls of the vessel, allowed the fish. Rabba b. 'Hana came once to Arka Dagma, where he was given the fish Zachanthra; but as he heard the house servants call it Bati, he thought it may be an unclean fish, and refrained from touching it; in the morning, on examining the fishes, he found among them some of the unclean order, whereupon he applied to himself the verse: "No wrong can come unawares to the righteous" [Prov. 12:21].

"And the berries of the Chalthith are forbidden." This prohibition is based upon the following fact: These berries must be cut off with a knife from which they imbibe what may have penetrated it from some prohibited food, although the master says that if by the withdrawal the food loses in taste, such food is permitted; here, however, the strong sap of the Chalthith berries restore the fat possibly extracted from the knife, hence they are forbidden. R. Levi's slave used to sell Chalthith; upon the death of R. Levi, R. Johanan was asked whether it was allowed henceforth to buy of the slave the Chalthith, to which he replied: We always repose in the slave the same confidence which we showed his master (we must thus trust also after the death of his master that he will not sell unclean for clean things). R. Huna b. Miniumi, having bought once blue wool for tshitzes from the house of R. Amram the pious who was dead already, betook himself to R. Joseph to ask him whether the use of the said wool is allowed; as he was unable to give a satisfactory answer, R. Huna went away, when he chanced to meet Hanan the tailor, to whom he disclosed his perplexity and the tailor said: How could the poor Joseph know this? I, myself, bought once such blue wool for the same purpose in the house of Rabnah, the brother of R. Hyys b. Aba; it was after the death of Rabnah, so I asked R. Mathna whether or not the use of the wool is allowed, and he knew no answer; I then went to R. Jehudah of Hagruna, and he said: At last you resort to me with a question. So said Samuel: We are to trust the wife of a scholar as we have trusted her husband. Such is the opinion also of the rabbis, who teach that the wife enjoys our confidence on the same basis with her husband, which relation holds good also with regard to master and slave; upon the death of the man his house claims our confidence until sufficient reason appears to call for the withdrawing of it therefrom. The same is the case with a stationery selling blue wool for tzitzes, you may buy here so long as there is no just reason for not buying.

The rabbis taught: The widow or daughter of an Amharez, who is to marry a scholar, likewise the slave of such who is to be sold to a scholar, must take the oral oath that they will observe the commandments and prohibitions of the sages. On the other hand, if the converse is the case, they are each free from this oath, since they are now as trustworthy as ever before; this, however, is but R. Meir's view, while R. Jehuda finds the oath necessary also in this second case. R. Simeon b. Elazar said: I knew a woman who would aid her husband, who was a scholar, to put on his Tephilis; upon his death she married a contractor, 1 whom she would aid in putting on his amulet. Rabh said: Fat, meat, wine, and blue wool for tzitzes should when sealed with only one seal, never be forwarded through a heathen; but Chilthith, bread, muries and cheese may be forwarded with one seal. In case of bread, the heathen will surely not replace it, as this could be easily discovered, the difference between fresh and stale bread, between wheat or barley bread, being too salient, and there is no reason to believe that as there is one seal he will exchange a bread for its equal. But why in the case of cheese Rabh finds one seal sufficient, while for fat, which is not dearer than cheese, he requires two? Said R. Kahana: Rabh did not mean fat, but fish cut in pieces and lacking the marks by which they might be discerned from meat. But if such be the case, they could indeed be taken and exchanged for meat? Rabh considers two sorts of meat: fish-meat and meat proper. Samuel, however, put it thus: Meat, wine, blue wool that are to be forwarded through a heathen, require each two seals; muries, Chilthith and cheese, only one seal; fish is like meat, hence needs no special mention (and bread he does not quote at all, for here is nothing to fear).

The rabbis taught: One should not buy of a tradesman in Syria wine, muries, milk, salcondrit salt, Chilthith, cheese, unless the seller is positively known to be a specialist, otherwise he is suspicious of mixing something forbidden into the said articles. However, if an Israelite is visiting such a tradesman in Syria, he is allowed to eat everything served at the host's table, for in the house nothing forbidden is used there. This corroborates what R. Jehoshua b. Levis said--viz.: An Israelite may accept one of the foregoing articles as a present from a Syrian tradesman, provided he gives it from his household stock, because in the house nothing unclean is used there. What is salcondrit salt mentioned above? R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel: It is the salt used by all the nobles of Rome. The rabbis taught: Black salcondrit is prohibited, but not the white sort. So R. Meier; R. Jehudah said the contrary: White is forbidden and black is allowed. R. Jehudah b. Gamaliel in the name of R. Hanina b. Gamaliel said: Both the sorts are forbidden. Said Rabba b. b. 'Hana in the name of R. Johanan: He who prohibits the use of the white salt is prompted thereto by the fact that some put into it the white parts of the intestines of unclean fish; on the other hand, that some put into the black salt the black parts of unclean fish, is sufficient reason to him who forbids it, while these two facts justify the third party to prohibit the use of both salts. R. Abuhu said in the name of R. Hanina b. Gamaliel: There once lived an old man, a heathen, in our street, and he used to grease with pork-fat this salt which he was selling. "Is forbidden." The word enumerated is calculated to exclude other articles; which, then, are these? According to Hiskia, preserves into which the majority are known to omit wine, is excluded even for benefit; and according to R. Johanan, also muries and cheese from Beth-Unirka. R. Meier's opinion is cited here without the mention of his name.

MISHNA 6.: The following things are allowed to eat, too: Milk milked by a heathen in the presence of an Israelite, honey and honey-cake from the beehive. Others think grapes, even when trickling, are not capable of defiling, not even as moisture; preserves into which as a rule wine and vinegar are not entering; pressed fish that is not all cut, fish-brine in which there is a fish, the leaves of Chalthith; soft olives closely packed in a barrel. R. Jose prohibits them if their kernels fall out easily. The locusts are forbidden when coming from the grocer's basket, but are allowed when they come from the pantry; the same is the case with heave-offering.

GEMARA: This Mishna bears out what the rabbis teach elsewhere--viz.: An Israelite sitting near the herd of a heathen who is milking milk, may drink it without any fear that the heathen has adulterated it. How was the case? If there is in the herd no milk-giving animal of the unclean order, it is obvious that the milk is allowed, but if there be one why should the milk be allowed now that the Israelite is unable to see which animal the heathen is milking? The rabbis intend to teach thus: The Israelite must occupy such a position that upon rising he could see the heathen milking, in which case it is allowed, for the heathen will be afraid to mix in unclean milk, as the Israelite might at any moment rise and see what he is doing. The rabbis emphasize this in order to dispel the belief that the milk is forbidden by reason of the Israelite's sitting position; the possibility, they hold, of his rising and observing the heathen's doings renders the milk allowed.

"The honey is allowed." This could not possibly be forbidden, as there is not reasonable fear that the heathen will mix in it foreign stuff which would surely spoil the honey. Nor is there any reason to fear that the honey may be cooked, for even if this be the case, the honey is allowed, as the basis of the previously established rule that whatever is eatable in its raw state is allowed also when cooked by a heathen. Finally, there can be no fear that the honey having been possibly kept in forbidden vessels may have absorbed the vapour imbibed by the latter, since this would spoil the flavour of the honey.

"Also grapes even when trickling," etc. This is apparently contradicted by the following: Shamai says, if one gathers grapes for the wine-press, they are, when trickling, subject to defilement to an extent as if water has been poured upon them. Hillel, who was at first inclined to hold the contrary, agreed at last with Shamai's opinion; hence, the moisture is defiling? This is no contradiction; when one puts the grapes into the press it is for the purpose of making wine, and if the grapes are moist, it is readily seen; while here it is a case of eating grapes when one intently looks for dry ones, and when these trickle too, no heed is taken, since they are used for eating and not for making wine.

"Pressed not all cut," etc. The rabbis taught: When the head and backbone are whole, it is not all cut; "Fish-brine in which the fish is," means, when there are in the brine one or two worms called Chilbith, it is allowed. Now, if this is allowed with one Chilbith in it, why does the statement read: one or two? In a closed barrel one is sufficient, while in an open one two are required (because it may be supposed that one fell in from some other vessel). It was taught: R. Huna says it is allowed only when its head and backbone are recognisable. R. Na'hman said: Only when either of the two is recognisable. Whereupon R. Uqha b. Hama objected: We know that fish with scales and fins are allowed to eat; now, how is it possible to recognise an allowed fish by its head or backbone? Said Abayi: The fishes here in question are the Arah and Palmuda, which are of the clean order, but whose heads resemble those of the unclean. R. Jehudah said in the name of Ula: R. Huna and R. Na'hman have here in view the fish-brine, and not at all the fish, so that the one says: The fish-lac is allowed when the head of its fish is seen, while the other one maintains that the backbone, too, must be recognised. R. Seia said: I was in the habit of eating fish-brine with bread upon recognising in it either the head or the backbone of its fish; now that I heard what R. Jehudah says in the name of Ula, I began to eat it only when I recognised both. Said R. Papa: The Halakha prevails: The said fishes are allowed only when both head and backbone are recognisable. To this an objection was raised from the following Thosephtha: Fishes cut in pieces and cooked are allowed in all their parts if the marks of the clean order were found, and be it only on one part of a piece or on one piece among hundreds. A heathen brought once to market a barrelful of cut fish where a piece was found with marks of the clean order on it, and R. Simeon b. Gamaliel allowed the whole barrelful, which case all but corroborates the foregoing objection. R.]Papa gave then this interpretation: All the pieces of that barrel were equal. But if so, entire statement would appear superfluous? Lest one say it should be feared perhaps another kind of fish happened to be in there, it teaches us that it is not so. A boatful of Zahontha was once brought to a fish-pond; R. Huna betook himself there to inspect them, and upon perceiving some scales in the boat, he allowed the whole. Rabha, finding it astounding that by reason of a few scales one should allow all the fish, regardless of the possibility that there might be among them fish void of scales, heralded that these fish are forbidden. R. Huna b. Hanina heralded the contrary. Said R. Jeremiah of Diphthi: I was told by R. Papa that R. Huna allowed only the fish-brine and not the fish itself. R. Ashi, however, said: I was told by R. Papa that R. Huna, allowed the fish, too. As to myself, I cannot prohibit the fish after hearing from R. Papa that R. Huna allows them; nor can I allow them, however, after having learned from R. Jehudah in the name of Ula that only such fish are allowable of which both head and backbone are recognised. R. Hinna Hanina b. Aida, while once at the house of R. Ada b. 'Ahbah, said: If a ship-cargo consisting of barrels with fish-brine is brought to Israelites and the Chalbith is found in one of the barrels, they all are allowed if they were open (for it is plausible to assume that there was Chalbith in the other barrels as well, but, they being open, crept out). But if the barrels were tightly covered up, only the one with the Chilbith in it is allowed. Thereupon R. Ada asked him: Whence do you know this? From three men of great erudition: Rabh, Samuel and R. Johanan.

R. Bruna said in the name of Rabh: Fish-entrails as well as fish-rye you may buy only of a specialist. Said Ula to R. Dusthai of Biri: Since Rabh speaks of entrails and rye, it is manifest that also unclean fish have rye, otherwise he would not treat of the two in the same connection. But I am able to prove the contrary from the following: The unclean fish are viviparous, while the clean ones are rye-bearing. Well, was the reply, strike the word rye from Rabh's statement. Hereupon said R. Zera: It is not necessary to strike it out, for the fact is that unclean fish are also rye-bearing, but so that their offspring is mature in the rye before it is ejected out of the body, while that of the clean fish is brought about by the sand. But why is it requisite that rye be bought only of a specialist now that we have signs whereby to distinguish the clean from the unclean? Have we not learned that the marks which serve to distinguish the clean from the unclean eggs of birds, are also distinctive of clean and unclean eggs of fish? But how is this possible when according to law the signs of fish are the scales and fins? The above is then to be thus understood: When the eggs are elongated, with one end pointed and the other round, it is a mark of clean ones, but if the sides are both pointed or both round, it is of the unclean order. If the yolk of the egg is on the surface and the white in the middle, it is a sign of uncleanness; the converse is a sign of cleanness. If, however, the yolk and white are intermingled, it is a sign that it comes from reptiles, and is therefore unclean. Rabha said that Rabh's view must be thus interpreted: If the fish-rye is entirely squeezed so that the said signs are no longer discernible.

And if there be no specialist, what then? Said R. Jehudah: If the vendor says, I have pickled the fish and know them to be clean, he is trusted. R. Na'hman adds: He must show the sort of fish pickled by him and their entrails. R. Jehudah instructed the waiter Ada: The vendor who says, I have pickled these fish, is to be trusted.

"The leaves of Chalthith are allowed to eat." This, being, as it is, self-evident, since these leaves are not cut with a knife, is stated here in order to indicate that such a leaf is allowed even when a bit of the root is on it. If not for this specific statement, it would be plausible to think that a leaf with a piece of root on be forbidden by reason of the apparently rational

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supposition that the root may have come from some other vessel where it possibly was cut with a knife.

"Very soft olives." Although this is likewise self-evident, its statement is none the less necessary in order to prevent the belief that, since the olives are soft, wine may have been put in them to bring about this softness.

R. Jose said: What kind of olives are these? Said R. Jose b. 'Hanina: Olives whose kernels fall out when you merely keep them in your hand, it is thus manifest that the olives were kept in wine in order to make them so soft.

"The locusts," etc. The rabbis taught: Locusts, Kaprises, Kapluthuth brought from the store or from the locality where they are prepared, or from a boat, are allowed; but those that are sold by the small tradesmen are forbidden, for they spill wine upon them. The same is the case with apple-cider, which is allowed when coming from the store, but forbidden when bought of the small tradesmen, who mix wine in it.

The rabbis taught: Rabbi suffered once from pains in the stomach, so he asked if one could tell him whether the apple-cider of the heathen is prohibited or not; said R. Ismael b. R. Jose: My father had once suffered likewise from such pains, and having taken some apple-cider seventy years old, bought of heathens, he felt relieved. Said Rabbi: You knew this and let me suffer so long! Thereupon apple-cider was sought for and found by a heathen in the quantity of 300 pitchers seventy years old already; Rabbi drank therefrom and was cured. Whereupon he said: Praised be the Omnipotent who put his world in the hands of the guardians!

"The same is the case with it." How is this to be understood? As R. Sheshith said: When a priest is suspected of selling heave-offering under the pretense that it is not terumah, one is prohibited from buying of him whatever he sells; but what he brings from the pantry, or in baskets, or from the place of production, is allowed to buy of him; for here he is afraid to falsify, lest the rabbis, on being informed thereabout, deprive him of everything.

CHAPTER 3.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE DERIVING OF BENEFIT FROM PROFANED IDOLS AND IMAGES OF HEATHENS AND ISRAELITES.--CONCERNING UTENSILS ON WHICH ARE ENGRAVED THE SUN, THE MOON AND OTHER PLANETS.

MISHNA 1.: All images are prohibited, for they are worshipped at least once a year, so says R. Mair. The sages, however, say: Only those that have in their hand a staff, a bird or a sphere. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel says: And that has something in its hand.

GEMARA: If it be true that these images are worshipped at least once during the year, why do the rabbis allow their use at all? Said R. Itz'hak b. Joseph in the name of R. Johanan: At the native place of R. Mair the heathens had the custom of worshipping each image once a year, in other places this was not the custom, and as R. Mair lays down his precept on the basis of the minority of cases (in order to exclude misconceptions), he accordingly prohibits the images; while the rabbis who do not follow this principle, allow to derive benefit from them. R. Jehudah, however, said in the name of Samuel: The Mishna here is concerned not with ordinary images, but with such as are wrought to honour kings. Rabba b. b. 'Hana said in the name of Johanan: R. Mair's prohibition concerns images erected in the gates of the place. It was taught, Rabba said: The rabbis allow only the use of city images, as these are but ornaments and not idols, but they prohibit the images of the villages which are worshipped idols.

"The sages say," etc. This prohibition is based upon the following reasons: The staff in the hand of the idol is an indication that it submits itself to the whole world. The bird in the hand of the idol indicates that, like the bird, it sacrifices itself for the world. Finally, the sphere is to indicate that it sacrifices itself for the whole globe. Later on the prohibition was extended also to idols with a sword in hand, a crown on the head, or a seal-ring on the finger. Formerly the belief was current

that the sword is no divine emblem, but that of a robber; but it was learned later that an image with a sword symbolizes him who has sacrificed himself for the whole world. As for the crown, it was regarded an insignificant wreath, but later experience showed it to represent a king's diadem. Finally, the seal-ring was always believed to be the token of a slave, but later experience taught that an image with such a ring represents him who resolved to die for the whole world.

MISHNA 2.: If one finds fragments of images, he is allowed to use them. However, if he finds fragments in form of a hand or a foot, they are prohibited, for such are worshipped.

GEMARA: Samuel said: Even fragments of a worshipped idol are allowed. But does not the Mishna call for fragments of images? The Mishna appends the prohibition as regards even the hand or foot of an image, wherefor it uses the word image also before; but in fact implies the allowance of fragments of an idol, too. But why should these be prohibited, being, as they are, only fragments, and such are allowed by Samuel? Samuel explains this prohibition of the Mishna thus: If one finds a hand or a foot which he perceives is not broken off an idol, but has the form of objects specially prepared for worship, it is then prohibited, for the heathens erect a kind of altar for such objects, where they put them for worship.

It was taught: R. Johanan prohibits an idol that was broken by itself (i.e., without the coöperation of a human being), while R. Simeon b. Lakish allows it. The former advances the reason that the broken idol was not yet profaned by any one, while according to the latter, the breaking is sufficient profanation, for people would say: How could this idol save others when it cannot save itself? R. Johanan objected to Resh Lakish, it reads [I Sam. v. 4, 5]: "And the head of Dagon and both the palms of his hands were cut off upon the threshold. . . . Therefore do the priests of Dagon . . . not step on the threshold of Dagon," etc. (whence it is obvious that an idol, even when broken by itself, is still held sacred by the heathens!) Hereupon the other replied: This proves nought against my opinion; the heathen, in the cited case, said that the supreme god has abandoned the Dagon, dragged up to the threshold of the temple, and only then he was reconciled, wherefore they regard the threshold as sacred, but not more the Dagon. Then R. Johanan went on to object: The Mishna allows the using of fragments from images, whence it follows that fragments from images but not from actual idols are allowed; and R. Simeon b. Lakish rejoined: Thus, you must needs infer that only broken images are allowed to the exclusion of whole images that are forbidden, since the Mishna here is not concerned with idols; and this is R. Mair's opinion, quoted without the mention of his name. This admitted, the following may be advanced against R. Johanan's view, remembering that we conclude from the words of R. Mair to those of the rabbis: R. Mair prohibits whole images, but allows fragments therefrom; hence we say: The rabbis prohibit whole idols, but fragments therefrom they, too, allow. Why, then, does R. Johanan forbid idol fragments? Simply because images do not have the same relations as idols and are not, therefore, comparable with them, for as to images it is wholly uncertain whether or not they were worshipped. Assuming, then, that they had been worshipped and we afterward found a broken image, are we not justified in further assuming that some one has broken it purposely, whereby it has been indeed profaned, and thus its use is allowed? On the other hand, regarding real idols, it is certain that they were worshipped; what is uncertain here is whether the found broken idol was of itself broken or by the coöperation of a human being. Now, it is well known that an uncertainty cannot negate a certainty; and it is on the basis of these considerations that broken images are allowed and broken idols are forbidden. R. Johanan was further arguing: It is taught that a heathen can profane the idol of his fellow heathen as well as his own, while an Israelite cannot profane the idol of a heathen. Why, then, should we not consider an idol profaned by an Israelite as one broken of itself? Said Abayi, The foregoing teaching is to be thus understood: Only then is the idol not profaned, when the Israelite by means of hammer exerted pressure upon its face. But have we not learned that such pressure, even if not attended with breaking, suffices to profane the idol? Well, this is to say that when the heathen does it, but not when an Israelite, who, in order to profane an idol, must break off a piece therefrom. Rabba, however, said: Properly speaking, the idol is profaned when the Israelite presses in its face; however, the rabbis feared, lest the Israelite should preserve such an idol before its face is pressed in by him, and then, upon becoming the possession of an Israelite, it cannot be any longer profaned. R. Johanan advanced yet another objection: It was taught: When a heathen uses the stones of Markuliss to pave therewith a street or a theatre, an Israelite is allowed to tread upon such pavement; but he is prohibited therefrom if an Israelite paved with these stones. Why should not the stones be regarded like an idol that breaks of itself? This prohibition was promulgated for the same reason indicated above by Rabha. He made a further objection from the following: If a heathen breaks off a piece from an idol for his own use, the idol is thereby profaned and the Israelite is therefore allowed to use it as well as the severed piece. If, however, the heathen did it with a view to embellish the idol, it is not profaned thereby, and is consequently prohibited; the piece, however, is allowed. But if this be done by an Israelite, both idol and piece are forbidden; because this case is considered analogous to that of an idol broken of itself? This prohibition is likewise based upon the foregoing declaration of Rabha.

Then R. Simeon b. Lakish raised the following objection to R. Johanan's opinion: A bird's nest on the top of a tree belonging to the temple is prohibited to derive benefit therefrom, but if one has derived such, no sin-offering is obligatory. However, such a nest when on a tree of a grove is allowed to be pulled down by a pipe and to be made use of; now, as in all probability the birds use for their nests the wood of the tree they inhabit, these nests are allowed, whence it would follow that the use of a self-broken idol is likewise allowed? Nay, not at all: Here, in the case of the bird's nest that is allowed, such nests are spoken of for the building of which it is known with certainty the birds take the materials from other trees and not from the idol grove. R. Abuhu in the name of R. Johanan, however, said: In the Boraitha it is not the nests, but rather the young birds of the nests that are concerned. The young birds are allowed, provided their nest is pulled down by a pipe (since climbing upon the tree, if allowed, may lead also to the using of the forbidden tree itself). Said R. Jacob to R. Jeremiah b. To'hlipha: Let me explain to you the Halakha in question: The birds in the nests of trees belonging to the temple as well as groves, are allowed, for they fly around; but the eggs in these are forbidden, for they, remaining as they do in the place, derive use from the tree; hence, if I take the eggs, I likewise derive some use from the tree indirectly. Said R. Ashi: Young birds unable to fly are subject to the same rule with the eggs.

MISHNA 3.: If one finds vessels with the image of the sun, moon, or of a dragon on them, he must throw them into the salt lake. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said: Only when these vessels are of a distinguished character they are forbidden, while insignificant vessels with such images on are allowed.

GEMARA: This Mishna would lead to the conclusion that the heathens worship only the sun, the moon, and the dragon. However, I am in a position to prove that they worship yet other objects. There is a Thosephtha: If one slaughter an animal in the name of the sea, the rivers, the desert, the sun, the moon, stars, planets, or the name of the archangel Michael, or even in that of the smallest gnat, it is considered an offering to the dead. Abayi solved this difficulty thus: The heathens, it is true, are worshipping many an object, but as regards images they worship only those of the objects mentioned in the Mishna; other images serve but to decorate houses and towns. R. Sheshith, who was gathering Mishnaioth for explaining them, taught thus: The images of all the planets are allowed, excepting those of the sun and the moon. All statues are allowed, excepting those of a human being. All pictures are allowed, excepting the image of a dragon.

The master said: The images of all the planets are allowed, etc. How is the case? If to make these images, this is expressly prohibited, as it reads [Exod. 20:23]: "You shall not make beside me"--that is to say, not to make any representations of my servants in heaven. Hence, what is allowed by the master is not the making, but the finding of such images, which is in accord with the Mishna inasmuch as it prohibits only those of the sun and moon. But again, is not the finding of a statue of a person allowed in the Mishna by implication, while he forbids it? Must we not say, then, that it is the making that is concerned here and is in accord with R. Huna b. Jehoshua? Assuming then that the allowance concerns the making, we are confronted with another difficulty: The last statement prohibits the reproduction of a dragon, which is by law allowed; we should then of necessity have to teach that it is the finding that is allowed, which is in accordance with the Mishna, so that of the three statements in the Boraitha the first and third refer to the finding, while the middle one to the making? Thereupon said Abayi that it is so. Rabha, however, asserted that the three statements have all reference to the finding, and as for the statue of a person, he says, the Boraitha is in accordance with the following: R. Jehudah prohibits also found vessels with the image of a nurse or of a serapis on them. The nurse signifies Eva, who was nurse to the whole world; serapis signifies Joseph, who was a prince and supplied the whole world with bread, thereby appeasing mankind. The human image and that of a nurse are however, prohibited only when having respectively a measure in the hand and a son in the arms whom she is nursing. The rabbis taught: How does the prohibited dragon image look? Said R. Simeon b. Elazar, it has scales between the joints. R. Assi confines these to the neck joints only. Said R. 'Hama b. Chanina: The Halakha prevails with R. Simeon b. Elazar. Rabbah b. b. 'Hama said in the name of R. Jehoshua b. Levi: I was walking with Eliezer Hakaphar the great, when he happened to find a ring with the image of a dragon on it. While standing still before the ring he noticed a heathen boy pass, and spoke not to him; later an adult heathen came passing by, and to him he said: profane this ring (break a piece off it), and as the heathen did not obey, he hit him till he profaned the ring. This incident taught him three things: (1) A heathen may profane his own idol as well as that of a stranger; (2) only he is capable of profaning an idol, who knows the nature of idol and idol worship, and (3) one may compel the heathen to profane an idol. R. Hanina, however, ridiculed this, saying: Was not R. Eliezer aware of the following Boraitha: When one saves something from a lion, a bear, a leopard, or from the hands of burglars, from a river, or picks up what the sea-waves thrust upon the shore, or while crossing a stream, or simply in the street, the theatre, or generally in a place where many people pass, all this, be it what it may, he can consider his own, for the owner having lost his property in this manner or in such a place, has surely abandoned the idea of finding it. In the light of this consideration it is obvious that the heathen owner of the ring, having lost it in the street, has renounced the hope to find it, and thereby profaned it as an idol; why, then, was it according to R. Eliezer necessary to profane it again? Abaye explained it thus: The owner of this ring has, it is true, given up the idea of getting it back as property, but continues to

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consider it an idol which, if found by a heathen, will be worshipped, and if by an Israelite, he will surely sell it to a heathen; hence the fact of being lost does not Profane the idol, and R. Eliezer was in the right.

"R. Simeon b. Gamaliel says," etc. Which objects are the distinguished and which the insignificant ones? Said Rabh: Vessels that are not made wet are of the former sort; Samuel, however, maintains that vessels used to eat in are of the insignificant, while those used as ornaments are of the distinguished kind. Yea, it was taught, there is a Boraitha in accordance with Samuel: Distinguished are the vessels found on arm-bands, nose-bands and finger-rings, while of the insignificant sort are, kettles, pans, pitchers, bed-clothes, towels (and the images found thereon are allowed).

MISHNA 4.: R. Jose said: One may grind the images and scatter them to the wind, or sink them into the sea. Thereupon it was objected: They might turn into dung, and it reads [Deut. xii. 18]: "And there shall not cleave to thy hand aught of the devoted things."

GEMARA: There is a Boraitha: R. Jose met the objection by quoting [ibid. 9:21]: "And your work of sin, which ye have made, the calf, I took and burnt it in fire, and stamped it, grinding it very small, until it was as fine as dust: and I cast the dust thereof into the brook that descendeth from the mount." The rabbis, however, rejoined: This does not corroborate your view. Moses cast the dust of the golden calf into the water not to destroy it thus, but in order that he might give this mixed water to the Israelites to drink, thus testing who of them worshipped the calf, in the same manner as the test of the bitter water was applied by the priest to detect whether a woman has committed adultery (conf. Numb. v. 18). This is clearly shown from the following [Exod. 32:20]: ". . . be strewed it upon the water and made the children of Israel drink of it." Thereupon replied R. Jose, quoting as follows [2 Chron. 15:16]: ". . . he removed Ma'chah his mother from being queen, because she had made a scandalous image for the grove, and Assa cut down her scandalous image and had it ground up, and burnt it by the brook Kidron," which passage clearly shows that it is allowed to grind up the idol and scatter it to the wind. In the vale of Kidron, he was answered, there is no vegetation. But have we not learned that the blood of the sacrifices from both the inner and outer altar after uniting in the aqueduct was flowing into the vale of Kidron, where it was being sold as dung for the gardens; when one took some of this blood without paying therefor he was to bring a sin-offering; hence, there were gardens in the vale of Kidron? Yea, but there are there also great expanses void of all vegetation. R. Jose was then further arguing, it reads [II Kings, 18:4]: ". . . and stamped in pieces the copper serpent that Moses had made," etc. And it was retorted: This is no corroboration of your view, for it reads [Numb. 21:9]: "And the Lord said unto Moses, Make (to) thyself a serpent"; here the word (to) 'thyself' indicates that Moses was to make the serpent of his own metal, whence it follows that when in later times the Israelites began to worship it, the serpent did not become an idol whose use is forbidden, for others' property, even when worshipped, cannot become an idol whose use is prohibited; accordingly, King Hiskia was not obliged to destroy the serpent in question, but had in some way or other to render it impossible to be the object of worship for the Israelites. Rejoined R. Jose, hence [2 Sam. 5:21]: "And they left their idols there; but David and his men scattered them"; hence, scattering suffices (and that R. Jose interpreted the word Vaissuom = scattered them--correctly, may be shown yet from R. Joseph's interpretation of [Is. 41:16]: "Scatter them so that the wind carry them off.") He was again answered: Nor does this quotation bear you out, for it reads [1 Chron. 14:12]: "And they left their idols there, and David had them burn with fire." Now that the first-cited verse is from "Samuel, and this one from I Chronicles, the two cannot be understood literally; but the right inference is that word vaissuom means: he picked them up, i.e., he carried them off in order to make use of them. The apparent contradictions of the two quoted verses are explained by R. Huna thus: At first David ordained to burn the idols, since the Israelites could not possibly profane them; but before this order was executed, the heathen, Ithai the Gethite, had come and profaned the idols, whereupon their use became permitted, and therefore David had them carried away. Similarly we find [2 Sam. 12:30]: "And he took the Crown of Malkam from off his head; its weight was a talent of gold and had precious stones, and had it put upon the head of David"; now, how could he make use of the crown of an idol? It was again Ithai the Gethite who, according to R. Na'hman, had first profaned it. But look here, how could David's head carry a crown of a talent? R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh explains this figuratively to mean: The crown was worthy of adorning the head of David. However, R. Jose b. 'Hanina said that the crown was kept in the air by the force of a magnet, and David was sitting beneath it, so that it looked as if he had it on. But R. Elazar said: David actually had the crown on his head, but it was not of a talent weight, as it consisted only of precious stones, its worth amounted to that of a talent in gold.

It reads [Psalm, 119:56]: "This was accorded to me, because I observed thy commands." What is the word "this" to emphasize here? David wants to point out this testimonial he obtained for the said observance. What testimonial? Said R. Jehoshua b. Levi: This is the crown which had the peculiarity to fit only (to) him who possessed the kingdom, and the fitting was on the spot where the Thephelin are carried. [2 Kings, 11:12]: "And he brought forth the King's son, and put the crown upon him, and (gave him) the testimony." The crown is the princely diadem, but what is the "testimony"? Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: This crown was itself testimony in the same time, as it fitted only him to whom the kingdom belonged, i.e., to the house of David.

It reads [1 Kings, 1:5]: "And Adoniyah, the son of Chaggith, exalted himself, saying, I shall be king, and he procured himself a chariot and horsemen and fifty men who ran before him." Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: Adoniyah imagined that the crown will fit him, but this was not the case. What kind of distinctive marks had the mentioned forerunners? We were told that their spleens were cut out, and the flesh was removed from their footsoles in order that they might run with greater speed.

MISHNA 5.: Peroklas, the son of a philosopher, asked once R. Gamaliel at Ako, who was then bathing in the bath of the goddess Aphrodite: Your law prescribes [Deut. 13:17]: "Let nothing of the devoted objects cleave to thy hands"; why, then, do you bathe in the bath of Aphrodite? And he answered: Such questions are not answered--at a bathing place. After he had left the bath he said: I am not come into her domain, but it is she that is come into mine; truly, people do not say: The bath is erected to adorn the Aphrodite, but the Aphrodite is to ornate the bath; moreover, you would not agree for any amount of money to appear before your idol when you are naked or urinating. The Aphrodite, however, stands on the channel, and everybody urinates in front of her. The law says their gods, i.e., to say such toward whom one behaves with dignity inspired by something divine; while whatever does not inspire such a behavior, is allowed.

GEMARA: Why did R. Gamaliel at all answer in the bath? Has not Rabba b. b. Hana said in the name of R. Johanan: Everywhere but in the bath and toilet it is allowed to speculate upon subjects of the Law? Is it, you think, because be answered him not in the holy tongue? Has not Abayi said that indifferent matters may be spoken of in the holy tongue and be it in the bath or toilet room, while holy subjects must not be discussed in these places, not even in another tongue (than the holy one)? There is a Boraitha: R. Gamaliel gave, indeed, no answer, until he had left the bath, when he said: In a bathing place one is not to answer. R. 'Hama b. Joseph said in the name of R. Oshia: R. Gamaliel gave Peroklas an evasive answer; but I (Hama) say it was not evasive. The evasiveness of the answer apparently consisted in that he said, this (Aphrodite) stands on the channel, and everybody urinates in front of her; thereby R. Gamaliel wanted to prove that the Aphrodite is profaned and he may, therefore, use her, which is not the case; because Rabha said: The front site of the very idol Peor is used as a toilet-room, and yet it is not profaned thereby; consequently, the Aphrodite is not profaned either by the fact of urinating before her. None the less, I am about to prove that R. Gamaliel's answer was, after all, not evasive. The Peor and the Aphrodite are incomparable; the worship of the former consists in excrementing before it, while that of Aphrodite was not of this kind, wherefore she is actually profaned thereby. Abayi, however, said: The evasiveness lies in his saying, I am not come into her domain, but she is come into mine, whereby he surely meant that if he came into her domain, she would be prohibited, which is not the case, since we have learned that a garden or a bath-house belonging to an idol, is allowed when offered gratis, but not for pay. Thus R. Gamaliel was allowed to bathe there even if the place belonged to the Aphrodite, hence, the evasiveness of his answer; but I say this was not evasive because assuming that the bath belonged to the Aphrodite, R. Gamaliel could not go in there, for the heathens would have considered it a honour if so distinguished a personage had gone to their bath and be it gratis. R. Simi b. 'Hyye said: The evasiveness in the answer did not consist in what has been here recited, but in what R. Gamaliel said further: It stands on the channel and everybody, etc., whereby he intends to indicate that the Aphrodite is profaned, whereas we have learned that by spitting or urinating before the idol, or by dragging it in the dirt, one does not profane it; but I (Simi) say it was not evasive, as such act as described here one may have committed once when moved perhaps by anger, but then he might become reconciled; while there, in the case of the Aphrodite, this takes place daily and is therefore a real profanation. Rabba b. Ula said: R. Oshia thought to have found the evasive point in what R. Gamaliel said: People do not say that the bath-house is erected to adorn the Aphrodite, but, etc., whence it would follow that if the reverse were the case, the visiting of the bath would be forbidden, whereas we have learned: When one says, this house or this goblet be devoted to the idol, he said nothing, for only such objects as are actually sacrificed to the idol, are forbidden. Hence, the bath in question would not be prohibited. And I, Rabba, say: R. Gamaliel's answer was after all not evasive, because admitting that the bath-house is not offered as a sacrifice to the idol, it is none the less put up as a decoration for it, and then it would indeed be prohibited.

MISHNA 6.: The mountains and hills worshipped by heathens are allowed to use, but not the things brought upon them, for it reads [Deut. 7:25]: "Thou shalt not covet the silver or gold that is on them, so that thou wouldst take it unto thyself." R. Jose the Galilean says, it reads [ibid. 12:2]: "Their gods on the mountains," but not their mountains as gods; "their gods on the hills," but not their hills as gods. Why, then, is a grove prohibited? Because it is established by the hand of man, and whatever is made by human hand is forbidden. Hereupon said R. Aqiba: I should explain and interpret this statement thus: Wherever you find a high mountain, an elevated hill, a leafy tree, there is surely an idol there.

GEMARA: What is the point of difference between the opinion expressed by the first Tana of the Mishna and that of R. Jose? Said Rami b. 'Hama in the name of Resh Lakish: It concerns the covering of mountains, which the former prohibits by reason of its having been brought up on the mountain, while the latter allows it because, being, as it is, fastened to the mountain, it is to be treated as the mountain itself. R. Sheshith, however, said: Nay; R. Jose, too, prohibits it, and their point of difference is in the following: A tree worshipped after it has been planted and grown to be big, is, according to the first Tana of the Mishna, allowed by reason of its being worshipped after it has taken root on the mountain, while R. Jose prohibits it because it was planted by human hands. This view is shared also by R. Jose b. Jehudah, who says, it reads [Deut. 12:2]: "Ye shall utterly destroy all the places whereon . . . (they) served their gods, upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree," whence it follows that the gods on the mountains, and not the mountains themselves, are forbidden; similarly with the hills. Lest the inference be drawn that what is put under the tree is forbidden but not the tree itself, it reads in the next verse: "Their groves ye shall burn with fire," i.e., the tree is likewise prohibited. But why is it stated: "Under every green tree"? This is explained in the sense of R. Aqiba's statement in the Mishna. Now, how does the first Tana of the Mishna, who allows the tree, explain the verse, Their groves, etc.? He understands this to mean such groves that were originally planted for worship, and they are forbidden, but trees not purposely planted for worship are allowed even when worshipped later. On what does R. Jose b. Jehudah base this, his view, if not on the verse "Their groves," etc.? On the following [ibid. 7:5]: "Their groves ye shall cut down," whence it is obvious that only what is cut down is forbidden, but not the roots, and this can be only with a tree worshipped after it has been planted. Now the question arises, how does the first Tana of the Mishna infer from this last verse? What R. Jehoshua b. Levi said: As the Israelites came into the promised land, they were ordained to cut down all the groves they might find before, and to burn the trees after the conquest of the land had been completed. Wherefore the one verse speaks of hewing down, and the other of burning, the groves. As R. Joseph reads [ibid. vii. 5]: "Ye shall tear down their altars," and there is here no call for carrying them off, hence they must be left where they are; "Ye shall break their pillars," and no mention is made of carrying them off. But how can R. Joseph say that these objects be left in their places, when it is obligatory to burn all things belonging to the idol? R. Huna said: Prosecute first and then burn. Whence is this order of events known to R. Joseph? From [ibid. xii. 2]: "Abedtbeabdun," the one meaning literally: to destroy, ye shall destroy, hence it is a reference to two successive events. As to the first Tana, he understands this redundancy as calculated to indicate that both idol and all its belongings, the subterranean included, be utterly annihilated. While R. Jose b. Jehudah infers this radical destruction from [ibid. xii. 3]: "And ye shall annihilate their names from the same place." The first Tana, however, explains this as to mean: A town or place bearing the name of an idol should be renamed. Here is a Boraitha to this effect. R. Eliezer says: The verse, Ye shall annihilate their name, etc., means that while annihilating an idol it is obligatory to search also under the ground for its belongings. Said R. Aqiba to him: This obligation is inferred from the foregoing redundancy of "to destroy and you shall destroy," while the last-mentioned verse is to indicate that a town bearing the name of an idol must be renamed. As to the nature of the new name, it must not be indifferent, i.e., neither a honour nor a disgrace to the idol, for it reads [ibid. 7]: "Thou shalt utterly detest it and thou shalt utterly abhor it for it is accursed,". hence, the name must always be either a detest or abhorrence. E.g., if the name was originally Beth Galia, i.e., House of revelation change it to Beth Karia, i.e., House of concealing; Ein Kol, i.e., The all. seeing eye, change to Ein Kotz, i.e., the thorn-eye.

The schoolmen propounded the following doctrine in the presence of R. Sheshith: Mountains and hills worshipped by heathens are allowed, but the worshippers should be executed by sword. Worshipped shrubs and ferns are forbidden and

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their worshippers are to be executed. Said R. Sheshith: Your doctrine is in accordance with R. Jose b. Jehudah, who said: A tree even if not planted with the purpose of worshipping it, is forbidden if worshipped afterward; in like manner are worshipped ferns and shrubs prohibited, though not destined for worship when planted. But what prompts R. Sheshith to interpret the schoolmens' proposition regarding shrubs and ferns as meaning that these were not planted expressly for worship? Because as they are treated of together, he finds it more natural to say: just as mountains and hills have not been created for worship, in like manner have not the ferns and shrubs been sowed and planted for worship.

It was taught: If stones absolved fortuitously from a mountain rock that was worshipped, is their use allowed or not? Two opinions, one affirmative, the other negative, are held as regards this question, the contending parties being the sons of R. 'Hyye and R. Johanan. However, the affirmative side contends that the stones are treated as the mountain which, if worshipped, is allowed by reason of its not being made by man. The objection that the mountain is immovable while the stone is movable, may be met thus: Worshipped cattle, though movable, is, except for the temple, allowed, for it does not owe its origin to man, hence the same may apply to the stone in question? If you were to dispute the comparison, one of the terms compared being possessed of life while the other one not, it may be answered that the mountain is also a lifeless being, but is allowed; the conclusion returns, for a mountain is not like cattle and vice versa; but their common point is that they are not made by man, hence the inference that all objects not made by man are allowed, and the stones here are of this category.

Asked Rami b. 'Hama: Is it allowed to use the stones of a worshipped mountain for an altar, or it is here a case analogous to that of a worshipped cattle which cannot be offered as sacrifice, though it is allowed to slaughter it and to eat the meat thereof? The two are hardly analogous: the cattle is itself sacrificed, while here the stones are first blasted off, and besides they are not sacrificed as such. Therefore the two cases cannot follow the same rules. Rabha decides the case by an a fortiori argument--viz: The law permits to make common use of a prostitute's remuneration, regardless of whether it is of a movable or immovable nature, but it is prohibited to use even the latter for God, as it reads [Deut. 23:88]: "Thou shalt not bring unto the house of the Lord either the reward of a prostitute nor the exchange for a dog"; whence the conclusion: since the movable worshipped object is forbidden even for common use, the more so will an immovable worshipped object be forbidden for God. Said R. Huna b. R. Jehoshua to Rabha: Since the provision of the Law with reference to the immovable remuneration of the prostitute is not specific, the process of your a fortiori argument may rather be reversed, i.e., we may reason from the rigorous to the lenient thus: We know that worshipped movable objects are prohibited even to man, and yet the immovable is allowed for the temple, because it reads: "Their gods on the mountains" to exclude the mountains which are not regarded as gods and which are therefore allowed; consequently, since the prostitute's reward, which is not treated so rigorously as worshipped mountains, is even if movable allowed to man, the more should it be allowed, in its immovable form, for the case of the temple. This, my view, can by no means be objected to from the phrase into the house of the foregoing verse, which you might attempt to interpret thus: If one give to the prostitute as her reward a tree or a stone grave, these objects are not to be used for the amelioration of the temple; because the said phrase has a totally different meaning, as is shown from the following Boraitha: "Thou shalt not bring it into the house of thy Lord," whence it follows that it is allowed to purchase for the prostitute's reward a red cow, for such one is not brought into the Lord's house, but was burnt outside the city; so said R. Eliezar, while the sages held: The phrase into the house teaches that it is prohibited to take the said reward in order to buy for it gold wherewith to decorate the walls of the temple. Rejoined Rabha: As in this case the reasoning may be pursued both from the rigorous to the lenient and from the lenient to the rigorous, we must take account of the established rule to reason from the rigorous to the lenient, and not vice versa. Said R. Papa to Rabha: Ye cannot prove the foregoing rule to be inconvertible, as we find a case where it was proposed to reason from the lenient to the rigorous: when the day of preparation to Passover happens to he on a Sabbath and there was one who, having become unclean through contact with a dead body, counts on this Sabbath the last day of his uncleanness, so that, in order to cleanse him, the water of ashes of the red cow must be sprinkled upon him, an act which is not otherwise allowed to perform on Sabbath, R. Eliezer allows the performance of this act in this case in order that the unclean one receive his cleansing, as it was his duty to eat from the Easter lamb. R. Aqiba, however, forbids it. Thus you see that while R. Eliezer reasons from the rigorous to the lenient (compelling thereby the unclean to eat from the Easter lamb), R. Aqiba reasons from the lenient to the rigorous (freeing thereby the unclean from this duty). Hereupon rejoined Rabha: This case is not apt to prove anything; the opinion of neither one is correct; it was R. Eliezer himself who once taught to R. Aqiba that sprinkling of the ashes on Sabbath is forbidden, but he then forgot all about it, so that his disciple, R. Aqiba, attempted to gently remind him in the above controversy; but as he did retract his view, R. Aqiba said to him: All your reasoning cannot convince me, for you told me yourself that the sprinkling on Sabbath is in this case forbidden.

MISHNA 7.: If a house situated close by a worship-house of an idol crumbles down, its owner is prohibited from rebuilding it, but he must recede four ells into his property and then build; but if the house and the said worship-place have the wall in common he should count in a half of the thickness of the wall. Stones, wood, and rubbish thereof are defiling as reptiles; for it reads [Deut. 7:26:] "Thou shalt detest it." R. Aqiba said, it is defiling like a menstruant woman, for it reads [Isa. 30:22]: "Thou wilt cast them away like Dovoh (menstruation)," i.e., as a menstruant woman defiles by carrying, so an idol, too.

GEMARA: But if the wall recedes four ells the idol will thereby become more spacious! Said R. 'Hanina of Sura: This space should be made a toilet-room, or a hedge of thorns be fenced between the idol and the vacant space.

MISHNA 8.: There are three kinds of houses: (i) a house originally built for idol worship is prohibited; (2) if calcimined, repaired or somewhat renewed for idol-worship, then it -is necessary to take off it only the new additions; (3) a house into which an idol was placed but thereafter removed from it, is allowed.

GEMARA: Rabh said: A house that is worshipped is prohibited; whence it is manifest that he shared the opinion that a movable object rendered immovable (like a house that is made up of movable materials) and then worshipped, must be treated as if it were still movable, and is therefore forbidden. And when the Mishna limits the prohibition only to a house originally built for idol-worship, thus allowing by implication a house built without such express purpose, it is because it treats of a house which was immediately upon its completion destined for idol-worship, but has not yet been worshipped, and prohibits it none the less; while Rabh forbids it after it has been worshipped. But if such be the case, the Mishna would have four points to treat of instead of three! The answer is that a house originally destined for idol-worship and a house that was already worshipped are treated of alike, hence the Mishna regards but three laws.

MISHNA 9.: There are three kinds of stones: (1) a stone originally hewn for a statue is prohibited; (2) if calcimined and decorated, or otherwise somewhat renewed for idol-worship, then only the new additions must be taken away; (3) if one had placed an idol upon it but it was afterward removed, it is allowed.

GEMARA: R. Ami said: A calcimined and decorated stone is forbidden only when the lime penetrates it through its crevices. However, since the provisions of the houses precede those of the stones, and a calcimined house is forbidden it would appear natural to prohibit a stone, too, even when the lime has not penetrated it. But the fact is that the house is forbidden also because the lime penetrates its walls; otherwise it would not be forbidden. However, as the Mishna makes no mention of this circumstance, we could suppose thus: When a house once calcimined is afterward again calcimined and only thereafter used for idol-worship, the lime could not penetrate such a house, and yet it is prohibited; hence, R. Ami's words must be understood as follows: The stone is allowed provided the lime that penetrated its crevices when calcimined has been afterward removed. And if not for this, R. Ami's statement, it would have been plausible to believe that such a stone, the lime having penetrated it, must be treated as one originally hewn for a statue and is therefore forbidden.

MISHNA 10.: There are three kinds of groves: (1) a tree originally planted for idol-worship is prohibited; (2) if it was clipped and trimmed or somehow otherwise altered for the idol, only the alterations must be removed; (3) a tree under which an idol was put, but thereafter destroyed, is allowed.

GEMARA: Said the disciples of R. Janai: The clipped and trimmed tree spoken of in the Mishna is prohibited only when branches were engrafted thereon, but not when it was merely trimmed. Now that the Mishna makes no mention of this restriction, the foregoing statement must be thus understood: If branches are engrafted in such a tree but then removed, it is allowed; and if not for this statement one could entertain the opinion that a tree in this condition must be treated as one originally planted for idol-worship, and is therefore forbidden.

R. Samuel said: When a worshipped tree sends forth, after being worshipped, new twigs, they, too, are prohibited. R. Elazar objected thereto on the ground that the Mishna prohibits the tree only when clipped and trimmed or somehow otherwise altered, without mentioning aftergrowth. This apparent contradiction (between Samuel and the Mishna) is thus explained: The Mishna gives the opinion of the rabbis, who allow a tree not purposely planted, but afterward used, for worship; the Mishna accordingly allows all that grew on the tree after its being worshipped; while Samuel shares the opinion of R. Jose b. Jehuda, who forbids such a tree unconditionally, and therefore he prohibits its aftergrowth, too. This explanation R. Ashi opposed: Is it at all necessary to assume that Samuel differs with the rabbis? Maybe they, too, hold that the branches growing after the worshipping are forbidden? The point of difference in the respective opinions of the rabbis and R. Jose consists in that the former allow the roots of the worshipped tree on the basis of the verse, "Their groves ye shall cut down," hence, only this is forbidden that can be cut down, but not the roots; while R. Jose prohibits also the roots on the ground of "Their groves ye shall burn with fire"; hence, wholly destroy, root as well as stem. And lest one say: The rabbis based their opinion upon the verse referred to by R. Jose, who himself made use of the rabbis' verse, whence it would follow that he, thus allowing the roots, too, differs with the rabbis only in respect of the aftergrowth, which he forbids, while they allow it, R. Ashi would meet this objection as follows: This cannot be proven, since R. Jose has never positively cited the verse "Their groves ye shall cut down," the imputation is therefore unfounded; hence, we may say that it is not his opinion. However, the above-quoted verses admit of an explanation in a reversed manner, notably: R. Jose prohibits the roots which the rabbis allow, but as for the branches, newly grown after the worship, the rabbis, too, prohibit them; hence, Samuel is of the same opinion with the rabbis. Also this argument was objected to thus: If such be the case, according to whom is the statement that prohibits the trimmed and clipped tree, thus allowing by implication the aftergrowth? It is not according to the rabbis prohibited, as they prohibit it even if the tree is not trimmed; nor is it in accordance with R. Jose, the author, as he prohibits not only the aftergrowth, but also the roots. (Said R. Ashi): The Mishna can indeed be explained in the sense of either party; for R. Jose forbids the roots of the tree only when they are not cut and trimmed; but as soon as the tree has been clipped and trimmed, it is manifest that the tree was the object of worship, not in its present shape, but only in that appearing after the trimming; this R. Jose forbids, but the roots in such case he, too, declares allowed. Now, in the sense of the rabbis, the Mishna says: "If it was clipped and trimmed," and it was thought that this statement runs contrary to the opinion of the rabbis, who prohibit aftergrowth. But the fact is that the Mishna uses this expression, lest the belief be entertained that the clipping and trimming cause also the roots to be forbidden; hence the expression of the Mishna: "Only the alterations must be removed, all the rest is allowed."

MISHNA 11.: What is a grove? A tree with an idol under it. R. Simeon said: Any tree that is worshipped. In Cidon there was once a tree that was worshipped, and a heap was found under it. R. Simeon said: Search this heap. The heap was searched and an image was found underneath; whereupon he decided: As they worship only the image, we may allow the tree.

GEMARA: The Mishna asks now what is an idol-grove; have we not learned in the preceding Mishna that there are three sorts of idol-groves? This is true; however, in reference to the first two kinds, all agree, while with regard to the last kind, the other sages differ with R. Simeon, who upholds that it cannot be at all called an idol-grove. What, then, is the criterion whereby to distinguish a tree as an idol-grove? Said Rabh: When priests sitting under a tree abstain from eating its fruit, it must be an idol tree. Samuel said: A date tree is to be regarded an idol when priests who are picking its dates say: "These dates are for the house of Nezraphi"; because they prepare of these dates beer in which they indulge in the said house. Said Amemar: I have heard from the elders of Pumbeditha that the Halakha prevails with Samuel.

MISHNA 12.: It is not allowed to sit down in the shade of such a tree; if, however, one chanced to sit there, he is clean. Nor is it allowed to pass under it, and if one did pass he is unclean. If its branches inclined upon the public grounds and one passes under it, he is clean.

GEMARA: "If one chanced to sit down he is clean." Is not this self-evident, since he did not touch the tree? Said Rabba b. b. Hana in the name of R. Johanan: This is merely to state that sitting in the shade of the height of the tree does not defile. Shall we assume that he is allowed to sit down? Nay; it comes to teach us that even if he sat down under the tree itself, he is also clean.

"Nor is it allowed," etc. The reason of this uncleanness is this: It is positively to be assumed that under such a tree there are always remnants of idol sacrifices which are, according to R. Jehudah b. Bethira, capable of defiling him who is with them under the same shelter. As in the following Boraitha, R. Jehuda b. Bethira said: We know that idol sacrifices defile whatever is with them under the same shelter, from [Psalm, 106:28]: "And they joined themselves unto Ba'al Pe'or, and ate the sacrifices of the dead." Here the sacrifice to the idol is compared to that of the dead; hence, as latter is defiling, so is former.

"If its branches," etc. The schoolmen propounded the following question: How should this expression be understood, as meaning he already passed, or that all going is allowed? Said R. Iz'hak b. Elazar in the name of 'Hiskia: The

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latter is intended by the Mishna, while R. Johanan thinks the former meaning is the proper one. These two views may, however, be reconciled thus: R. Iz'hak has in view the case where there is no other road, hence, necessity allows all going under the tree, while R. Johanan has in view the case where there was yet another one.

In the place where R. Sheshith lived there was such a tree, and whenever he had to pass by it he, being blind, said to his guide: Pass me by as quickly as possible. (Says the Gemara): If there was yet another road he was not allowed there, and if not, he had the right to pass by here. What was, then, the speeding by necessary? The answer is that there was but this only road, and R. Sheshith, who was a prominent scholar, wanted (on his own account) to pass it as quickly as he could.

MISHNA 13.: Under such a tree is allowed to sow herbs in the winter, but not in summer. Lettuce is not allowed to sow in either winter or summer. R. Jose said: Even herbs must not be sowed in winter either, for their leaves, when falling down, would turn dung for the tree.

GEMARA: The statement of R. Jose makes it manifest that he is of the opinion that two causes of which one is allowed and the other one prohibited do, when working together, bring about a forbidden effect. (In the case before us there are two causes fostering the growth of the herbs: the dung and the soil; former is forbidden, latter allowed; hence, he prohibits the effect.) On the other hand, the rabbis who do not share this opinion allow the herbs. However, in another place (iv. Mishna of this chap.) we find these two contending parties interchange their respective views. It is true, the apparently contradictory tenets of R. Jose may be reconciled thus: He allows where the idols were ground down, as the effect here cannot even become dung, but in the present case the falling leaves surely turn into dung, hence his prohibition. But how should we explain the rabbis' contradiction? It may be explained as R. Mari b. R. Kahana said: "In proportion as the hide rises in price, one loses on the meat." In like manner it can be said here of the herbs: What the dung promotes, the shade of the tree hinders; hence, as there is no use of the leaves, the rabbis allow. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: The Halakha prevails with R. Jose.

Once a garden was ameliorated with the dung of an idol; R. Amram let interrogate R. Joseph as to how one should behave with regard to the fruit of this garden, and the answer was: R. Jehudah said in the name of Samuel, the Halakha prevails with R. Jose.

MISHNA 14.: To derive any benefit of wood obtained from an idol-grove is prohibited. The stove heated therewith must be destroyed if new yet, but if old already, it must be cooled off. Bread baked therewith is prohibited for any benefit; if it was mingled with other bread, they are all forbidden. R. Eliezar says: The worth of its benefit should be cast into the salt lake. However, the rabbis responded: There is no redemption in case of idol-worship. The same is the case with a loom made of this wood and with the garment wrought therewith. If such a garment was mixed up with other garments and these again with others the benefit of them all is forbidden. R. Eliezar, however, said: Cast their worth into the salt lake, and he was answered: There is no redemption from idol-worship.

GEMARA: The Mishna must lay down both the cases of the benefit of wood, for bread-baking and for garment-making; for if the former case alone were stated, there would be reason to think that R. Eliezar allows the use of the bread only when its worth has been cast into the sea, for as soon as the bread is entered in the oven, the prohibited object, the wood, is, properly speaking, no more, having been consumed by the fire; while in the case of a garment made with the aid of such wood, his prohibition is absolute, since the wood is all the time in existence. On the other hand, if the Mishna treated only the garment-making, there might rise the belief that the garment is forbidden by reason of the perennial existence of its instrument, while bread, where the wood was consumed by the fire, the rabbis agree with him. Hence, the establishment of both the cases. Said R. 'Hisda: I was told by Abba b. R. 'Hisda that Siera said, the Halakha prevails with R. Eliezar. Said R. Ada b. Ahaba: R. Eliezar, notwithstanding this his doctrine, prohibits the use of the wine in all the barrels if one cask of forbidden wine was mingled among them. R. 'Hisda, however, asserts that this wine, too, is allowed by R. Eliezar, provided its worth has been cast into the sea. It once happened that a cask of forbidden wine was mixed among other casks of allowed wine; whereupon R. 'Hisda was interrogated as to how to behave in. this case, and his answer was to cast four zuz into the river and then we will allow the wine.

MISHNA 15.: How is the idol-worship of a tree profaned? If the heathen cuts down from it dry twigs or fresh branches, a staff or a rod., or even if he takes from it only a leaf, it is profaned. If, however, all this be done in the interest of the tree, it remains forbidden; and if not in its interest, it is allowed.

GEMARA: The question as to how to behave toward the dry twigs and other pieces cut off the tree is discussed by R. Huna and R. Hyya b. Rabh. The one allows and the other forbids the use of these objects. This positive view is borne out also in the following Boraitha: When a heathen trims his idol, the question arises, does he do it in order to use the thus obtained wood, or in order to adorn the idol? If former be the case, both the wood cut down and the idol itself are allowed, while in the latter case the wood is allowed but not the idol. If, however, the trimming was done by an Israelite, all is forbidden, irrespective of the aim in view, because the idol of an Israelite can never be profaned. It was taught: If an idol broke down by itself, what is to be done? Rabh said: Each and every piece of it must be singly and severally profaned before its use is allowed, while Samuel maintains that an idol can be profaned only in its ordinary shape. But how is this to be understood; does not the contrary seem to be the case? Samuel means to say, then, that only an idol that is in its ordinary shape needs be profaned. The point of difference, however, here is concerning an idol not broken by itself but one that is made of small pieces, such that even a layman could put together or take apart. It is of such an idol that Rabh says it is not profaned when out of its joints, because even a layman can restore it, while according to Samuel it is not considered as an idol as soon as it loses its shape.

CHAPTER 4.

CONCERNING OBJECTS USED FOR IDOLS.--THE MANNER IN WHICH AN IDOL IS PROFANED SO AS TO BE ALLOWED FOR USE.--THE DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE ELDERS OF ROME ON THE ONE HAND AND R. LAMALIEL, THE PRINCE, ON THE OTHER.--HOW TO PREPARE WINE IN THE POSSESSION OF A HEATHEN FOR ISRAELITES.

MISHNA 1.: R. Ismael says: Three stones near one another and beside the Merkules are prohibited; two stones in this position are allowed. The sages;, however, said: Only the stones that are close by it are prohibited, but those that do not appear to be so are allowed.

GEMARA: The opinion of the sages is easily explained, as they hold that the heathens worship also the fragments of their idols, accordingly they prohibit only the stones that are perceptibly near the idol. But R. Ismael's opinion presents some difficulty--viz: If he upholds the view that pieces are also worshipped, he should forbid also two stones; on the other hand, if he believes that the heathens do not worship broken idols, he should consistently allow also three stones near the Merkules! Said R. Itz'hak b. Joseph in the name of R. Johanan: The limit of proximity required in the Mishna is set down at four ells; now, R. Ismael believes that the heathen might make of the three stones a small Merkules beside the big one, but not of two stones; while the sages who do not entertain this belief merely regard these stones as fragments of the Merkules, hence they forbid only those that are visibly belonging to it irrespective of their number.

It once happened that the palace of King Janai was destroyed; thereupon came heathens and erected therein a Merkules; later on others came who did not worship the Merkules, took the stones and paved a street therewith. Some of the sages abstained then from treading upon these stones, while others were passing there; hereupon said R. Johanan: The son of the saints treads on them, should we abstain therefrom?

Who was this son? R. Menahem b. Simai, so called because he would refrain from even looking upon the face of a coin. But why, this notwithstanding, were some shunning that street? Because they guided themselves by the opinion of R. Gidel, who said in the name of R. 'Hyya b. Joseph, quoting Rabh: Though the idol is capable of being profaned, yet the idol-sacrifice is not, and this admits of proof from here: "They clung to the Baal Peor and ate sacrifices of the dead idols," where a comparison is drawn between an idol-sacrifice and a corpse, to indicate that just as the latter remains but a corpse, so does the sacrifice remain unalterably an idol-sacrifice. In accordance with this, those sages who regarded these stones as idol-sacrifices, refrained from treading thereon, while the others held that stones cannot be regarded as sacrifices, since only those objects are regarded as sacrifices that were actually offered in the temple, which has never been the case with stones.

R. Joseph b. Aba narrated: Once Rabba b. Jeremiah, when visiting us propounded the following Boraitha: If a heathen takes stones from a Merkules and paves therewith the street, the Israelites are allowed to walk thereon; if, however, an Israelite did it, they are prohibited therefrom. And there is no artisan that could set right this Boraitha. (The difficulty is explained further on.) Said R. Sheshith: I, though not an artisan, will nevertheless attempt to explain it: The intricacy here implied is what R. Gidel said concerning the incapacity of an idol-sacrifice to be profaned, and is removed by reminding what has been shown above--viz: that these stones cannot be considered sacrifices.

R. Na'hman says in the name of Rabba b. Abuhu, quoting Rabh: If the worship of an idol consists in the rapping before it with a cane, and one breaks a cane before the idol in its honour, he is liable; furthermore, if it was yet a new idol never before worshipped, this act is considered a worship and renders the idol forbidden as well as the broken stick which is regarded a sacrifice. If, however, one threw a stick before an idol the worship of which consists in the throwing of sticks, the stick is not forbidden, but the thrower is liable. Thereupon said Rabha to R. Na'hman: The stick broken before the idol resembles the slaughtering in the temple, and is therefore forbidden; why, then, should not the cane thrown before the idol resemble the blood sprinkling in the temple, and be also forbidden? And he answered: Nay; the blood separates into drops through the sprinkling, while the stick, even when thrown, remains whole. If such be the case, why should, then, rejoined Rabha, stones be prohibited when thrown before the Merkules? Answered R. Na'hman: I myself, knowing no answer to this, inquired of Rabba b. Abuhu, who, likewise ignorant of it, asked R. 'Hyya b. Rabh, who addressed this question to his father, Rabh, and he said: These stones are forbidden because when thrown before the Merkules they enlarge it, thereby themselves becoming idols. Said Rabha: This explanation is plausible if we admit that the idol is prohibited immediately upon its completion, i.e., before it was worshipped; but, as we know, there is yet the other opinion prohibiting it only after it was worshipped. How, then, according to this latter view, can the stone be forbidden? Said R. Na'hman: A stone thrown to Markules is, while being thrown, considered a sacrifice, and, upon falling in heap with the other stones, an idol; wherefor it renders prohibited also the stones lying there from before, for they were worshipped by its being thrown, and the stone itself is forbidden as soon as another was cast upon it in token of honour and worship. Rejoined Rabha: According to this explanation, the last stone would be allowed, inasmuch as it has not yet been worshipped. Said R. Na'hman: When you are only able to recognise the last one, go freely and take it. R. Asha, however, explained the matter thus: Each stone, by the fact of being thrown, is (as it is not worshipped otherwise) itself a sacrifice, and in the same time an idol for the other stone following; hence these stones are all forbidden.

R. Abuhu said in the name of R. Johanan: That one is not liable for slaughtering a blemished animal to an idol is deduced hence [Exod. xx. 20]: "Whoever offers to the gods beside the Lord be excommunicated," whence it follows that liability attaches only to such objects as are fit to be sacrificed to the Lord. Said Rabha: What kind of blemish has R. Abuhu in view? Hardly that of the eyebrows, since an animal with such a defect was accepted by the descendants of Noah for a sacrifice in the temple of the Lord; hence he has in view such animals that lack a limb, and agrees in this respect with R. Eliezar, who said: Whence do we know that the desendants of Noah are prohibited from offering an animal that lacks one of its limbs? From [Gen. 6:19]: "And of every living thing, of all flesh, too," etc. Living thing means such living being that wants none of its limbs, for from such animals sacrifices shall be offered in times to come. Thereto was objected: The expression "living" means to exclude but such animals that have a defect wherewith they cannot survive a full year. (Rejoined R. Eliezar): Such have already been excluded implicitly by the expression [ibid. 7:3]: "To keep seed alive upon the face of all the earth," since they can neither bear nor produce offspring. But, was retorted, how is it according to those who do not share this opinion as to the reproductive incapacity? To them the word, ihtoch, with thee, sufficiently indicates that Noah was ordered to take only animals resembling him in organisation, and, i.e., without defects. And for aught we know, Noah may have been himself defective? By no means; the Scripture calls him tamim, perfect; and that this attribute does not refer to his conduct is shown by the fact that he is called also zadik, upright. But maybe that he was perfect in conduct and upright in his dealings? Nay; this is no convincing argument that Noah may have been defective, for, had he been such, he, following the order, would have surely taken in only animals resembling him. But now that you make use of the ihtoch to prove that Noah's animals were of necessity normal, what is the other phrase, To keep seed, etc., good for? This was meant to remind Noah that the animals are not for keeping him company, but for reproducing their species; hence he must not take in old or castrated ones.

R. Elazar said: If one slaughter an animal to Markules, he is liable, notwithstanding that Markules is worshipped by stone-throwing; for it reads [Lev. 17:7]: "They shall offer no more their sacrifices unto evil spirits, after which they have gone astray," hence no blood sacrifices even to such "evil spirits" that are worshipped otherwise; as the usual worship is prohibited already in [Deut. 12:30], "How did these nations serve their gods? even so will I do likewise."

MISHNA 2.: Money, garments, utensils found on the head of an idol are allowed; vine with grapes on, wreaths of corn ears, wine, oil, fine flour, and whatever is offered upon the altar, is prohibited.

GEMARA: Whence is this deduced? said R. Hyya b. Joseph in the name of R. Oshia: from [Deut. xxix. 16]: "And you saw their abominations, and their idols of wood and stone, silver and gold which they had with them"; and again [ibid. 7:2 5]: "Thou shalt not covet the silver or gold that is on them." From the two wordings, "with them" and "on them" we

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conclude that whatever is found with or on the idol without being an ornament thereof is allowed, but is not, if an ornament. But why not draw the conclusion that, just as all that is with the idol is forbidden, so also is all that is on it, regardless of its being an ornament or not? If such be the case, the "on them" would be superfluous. But why does the Mishna allow money which is then, doubtless, for decorating purposes? Said the disciples of R. Janai: It is allowed only when it is hung in a sack round the neck of the idol, which makes the latter look like a carrier, and this is surely no ornament; furthermore, as to garments, they are allowed only when they lie folded on the head of the idol, which makes it look like a washwoman. Regarding utensils, R. Papa said: It means here that they lie on the head so as to disfigure the idol. R. Assi b. Hyya said: All objects within the curtain of the idol are prohibited, even water and salt; while outside the curtain only decorating objects are forbidden.

MISHNA 3.: The use of a garden or bathing-place belonging to an idol is allowed when it is gratis, but is forbidden when it is for remuneration. If they belong to both the idol and some people, their use is allowed unconditionally, whether gratis or for pay. The idol of a heathen is forbidden from the very beginning, while that of an Israelite is not forbidden until after it has been actually worshipped.

GEMARA: "Their use is allowed unconditionally," etc. Said Abayi: "For pay" means that the idol-worshipper and not the priest is remunerated, while "gratis" means that neither is getting anything.

"The idol of a heathen is forbidden from the very beginning," etc. The Mishna expresses here the opinion of R. Aqiba without, however, mentioning his name. For we have learned, it reads [Deut. 12:2]: "Ye shall utterly destroy all the places whereon the nations you are about to drive out," etc.; this verse has reference to all the utensils employed by the heathens in their worship. If this be so, one could conclude that even such vessels are forbidden that were begun for idol-worship, but are not yet finished, or such that though finished, have not as yet been brought into the temple of the idol; wherefore it says in the quoted verse "in their worship," whence it follows that only what was employed at the worship is forbidden. It is in view of this that the sages prohibit the idol of a heathen not until after it was worshipped, and that of an Israelite from the very beginning. So said R. Ismael; R. Aqiba, however, said the very contrary of what the sages maintain--viz: an idol of a heathen is prohibited as soon as prepared, while that of an Israelite only when already worshipped.

The master said: The verse [Deut. 12:2] has reference only to utensils employed by the heathens in their worship. But does the verse speak of utensils when it speaks of places? The answer is this: The verse in question cannot possibly refer to the places, as it is stated right after: "To their gods on the mountains," whence it was concluded that the gods but not the mountains are forbidden; consequently, neither can here be meant the places, hence it is the objects in the places that are meant, and such objects can be no other than the utensils in question. But further above it is said: The sages prohibit the idol of a heathen not until after it was worshipped. How could the sages commit themselves to such an inference from a verse where the vessels, and not at all the idol, are concerned? The answer is that the verse says, "All places where the nations worshipped their gods." Now, as previously explained, "the places" mean the vessels on them, hence, just as the vessels are not prohibited until after they were employed in idol worship, so also the idols are forbidden only after they were worshipped. On the other hand, R. Aqiba, who does not compare the vessels to the idols, may say that the particle eth divides the verse into two distinct parts. As to R. Ismael, he explains his position thus: As the idol of a heathen is forbidden only after its being worshipped, it is common sense that that of an Israelite should be forbidden from the very beginning; otherwise what difference would there be between the two? Surely not that the idol of an Israelite be altogether allowed, as it reads [Deut. 27:15]: "Cursed be the man who maketh a carved or molten image," etc.; hence the curse is imposed upon the making of an idol. Well and good, but this verse does not prove as yet that the use of the idol is forbidden! It was answered that it is further expressly stated: "The idol is detestable to the Lord," hence, prohibited. Now, how does R. Aqiba assert his position? Said Ula, from [ibid. 7:25]: "The graven images of their gods ye shall burn with fire," etc., which "images" surely means the likeness of the idol as soon as it is graved. As to R. Ismael, he understands this verse in the sense given to it by R. Joseph, who said: Whence do we know that a heathen may profane his idol? From "The images of their gods," etc., which means that the idol is prohibited so long as the heathen treats it as a god, but becomes allowed as soon as he no longer treats it so, i.e., breaks up some piece thereof. On the other hand, R. Aqiba proves that the heathen can profane the idol from the same source used by Samuel--viz. [ibid.]: "Thou shalt not covet the silver or gold that is on them," and ends, "Thou shouldst take it unto thyself"; this apparent contradiction he explains thus: Do not covet before the idol is profaned, but after its profanation you may take it.

But again, whence does R. Aqiba know that the idol of an Israelite is not prohibited until after worship? Said R. Jehudah, it reads [ibid. xxvii. 15]: "Cursed be it, and putteth it in a secret place." This phrase, "in secret place," means, pours out before the idol his secret thoughts; hence, R. Aqiba concludes that it is forbidden only after such worship. R. Ismael, on the other hand, explains this phrase in the sense of R. Iz'hak, who says: This phrase teaches us that the idol of an Israelite must be wholly destroyed and put in a secret place; while R. Aqiba endeavors to prove this obligation by what R. 'Hisda said in the name of Rabh [Deut. 16:21]: "Thou shalt not plant unto thyself a grove, any tree near the altar of thy Lord," signifies that just as an altar that becomes out of use must be removed out of sight by being buried under ground, so also the groves (that are spoken of here in connection with the altar) must be put in secrecy. R. Ismael, however, infers from this verse what is said by Resh Lakish (Sanhedrin.).

R. Hamnuna questioned: What is the law concerning a vessel that, after a piece had been broken off it, was again made fit for use and then dedicated to idol-worship? Before proceeding to answer this question, one must know to whose idol this vessel was devoted; if to that of a. heathen, both R. Ismael and R. Aqiba consider such vessels as serving vessels, which are forbidden not until after they have actually been used in the worship. Thus, the question must refer to the idol of an Israelite, and, since R. Aqiba, who prohibits the idol of an Israelite only after worship, will doubtless do the same as regards the serving vessel in question, it can be treated only in the light of R. Ismael's opinion, so that it is necessary to know in the first place whether such serving vessels are subject to the same rules as the vessels of a heathen's idol are. If yes, they are forbidden after the use; but if they follow the rules of an Israelite's idol, they are forbidden from the very beginning. But why does R. Hamnuna ask concerning a repaired and not a newly-made vessel? The answer is that his question has, in fact, reference to the problem of old defilement. As the following Mishna (Kelim, 11:1): "Of metallic vessels the flat and hollowed ones are subject to defilement; if, however, they were defiled and broke they become clean. But if they were again made into vessels, the old defilement returns." Now, R. Hamnuna was in doubt as to whether this Mishna is concerned with biblical defilements only, or also with rabbinical defilements. But if so, why does not R. Hamnuna put his question regarding rabbinical defilements in general? His desire was that his question, embrace also the other point--viz: Does a rabbinical defilement return? And should you decide that it does not, then the question arises: How is the case with idolatry? Shall we assume that, because of the rigorousness of idolatry, a rabbinical be equivalent to a biblical or not? This question remains undecided.

R. Johanan asked R. Janai: I should like to know whether or no food offered to an idol, if profaned, loses thereby its defilement (which lay therein by reason of its being of the idol)? But why does he ask about food and not about vessels? Because he knew that the remedy for devoted vessels is a legal bath, which abolishes also the defilement. Furthermore, R. Johanan does not ask whether or no an idolized food, if worshipped and then profaned, still defiles; because he knows that a profaned idol is no longer forbidden, hence, its defilement is also abolished. But he put up the foregoing question merely because R. Gidel said somewhere above that all objects sacrificed to idols can never be profaned, so he wants to know now whether R. Gidel's theory applies to the prohibition which is biblical, but not to the defilement which is rabbinical, or to both? Also this question remains undecided.

R. Jose b. Saul asked Rabbi whether the vessels used (in the temple of Egypt) in the house of Chania, are allowed for use also in the temple of Jerusalem? This question suggests that R. Jose shared the opinion of those who say: The temple of Egypt was not considered an idol temple. It was, however, taught that the priests who served in the Chania temple are not allowed to serve in that of Jerusalem, the less so are those who served at idol-worships. He thus wanted to know whether the vessels follow the same rules as the priests; or since the priests are endowed with intelligence they were fined. But the vessels destitute of intelligence should not be fined, or there is no difference? Hereupon said Rabbi: Yea; they are prohibited and there is a verse from Scripture to corroborate this, but I forgot it. R. Jose thus objected, it reads [2 Chron. 29:19]: "All the vessels which King Achez had cast aside . . . have we put in order and sanctified." Does not "put in order" mean a legal bath and "sanctify" to bring back to sacredness, whence it is obvious that even such vessels that were used in idol-worship are allowed to be brought into the temple for use, after passing through the legal bath (the more so are allowed the vessels of the Egyptian temple)? Thereupon said Rabbi: The blessing of the Lord upon you: you have recalled to my memory the forgotten verse! "Put in order" means to hide them, and "sanctify" to substitute them by other vessels. Is Rabbi's interpretation supported by the following Mishna (Midath, 1:6): There was a pantry in the temple, where the Maccabees heaped up the stones of the altar defiled by the Greeks; and R. Sheshith said: The Greeks have defiled the altar by their idol-worship, and though these stones are allowed for private use, yet they were not used in the temple. (Similar was the case with the vessels of the Egyptian temple, which were allowed only for private use)? Said R. Papa: From the case of the Maccabees is no support at all, since the stones there were prohibited even for private use, the Maccabees guiding themselves by [Ezek. 7:21]: "And I will give it up into the hands of the strangers . . . and they shall pollute it"; so that they could not do otherwise, for, in order that the stones be again allowed, they must be first profaned by breaking them, which is not permitted to do, as by law "whole stones must be used to build an altar"; nor could the stones be sawed into two (thereby becoming profaned), since the law forbids "to bring iron thereon"; so that as there was no means to profane the said stones, they were of necessity set aside. But why did not the Maccabees have the stones profaned by a heathen and make of them private use? They could not do even this, for as R. Oshia said: The sages wanted once to forbid all use of gold and silver, because the enemy carried off the gold and silver of the temple, it was, namely, feared that the money coined therefrom might reach the Israelites, and by law it is prohibited to make use of what belongs to the sanctuary. It was, however, objected: How could the sages have conceived such a wish, the gold and silver of Jerusalem forming but an infinitesimal part of those in the whole world, and the smallest can never render prohibited the greatest part. Abayi explained the words of R. Oshia thus: The sages wanted to forbid not all the gold and silver, but only the gold and silver dinars issued by both the kings Hadrian and Traion, on which the image has become of late undiscernible, and which were surely coined of the gold and silver of the temple. However, when their attention was called to the verse, "And will give it into the hands of strangers, etc., they abandoned the idea, seeing that an object once profaned is allowed for private use. Now, as to the altar, it was a sacred place to bring offerings to God, which is not the case with the gold and silver; hence it is below dignity to use its stones in private.

MISHNA 4.: A heathen can profane his idol as well as that of his neighbour. An Israelite cannot profane that of a heathen. The idol once profaned, all that pertains to its service is abolished; on the contrary, if only the pertainings were profaned, they alone are allowed, but not the idol.

GEMARA: Rabbi taught to Simeon his son: A heathen may profane his idol as well as that of his neighbour; said he to him: Master, in your youth you used to teach that a heathen profanes his idol as well as that of an Israelite. (Says the Gemara): Can then an Israelite's idol be profaned? Was it not said above that such can never be profaned? Said R. Hillel b. R. Wells: He spoke then of the case where the heathen owned the idol with the Israelite in partnership. But let us see what was the reason of both his statement in his youth and in his advanced age. In his youth he thought that if an Israelite worships an idol, he does it with the knowledge of the heathen, hence the heathen, when profaning his part, profanes also that of the Israelite; while in his later days he came to the conclusion that the Israelite is worshipping on his own account, hence the heathen profanes only his own part, that of the Israelite remaining unprofaned.

There were others who taught the statement of R. Hillel. as concerning the latter part of our Mishna: An Israelite cannot profane that of a heathen. And to the question, is this not self-understood? Said R. Hillel b. Wells: It refers to a case where an Israelite and a heathen are the joint owners of the idol, in which case the former can profane neither his nor the heathen's part, while the latter may his own part but not that of the Israelite. Others, however, bring this, R. Hillel's explanation, in connection, not with the Mishna, but with the Boraitha following. R. Simeon b. Menasia said: The idol of an Israelite can never be profaned; and this "never" R. Hillel b. Wells interpreted to mean that, when an Israelite and a heathen are the joint owners of an idol, the latter, by profaning his own part, does by no means profane the other's part, though it may be assumed here that the Israelite is a partner to the idol only out of complacence to the heathen. And he comes thereby to teach us that an Israelite worships an idol not on the knowledge of the heathen, but on his own.

MISHNA 5.: How is an idol to be profaned? By cutting off the tip of its ear, the point of the nose, or the ends of the fingers, or by disfiguring its face with a hammer, even if thereby nothing is broken off. But if he only spat or urinated before it, dragged it about in the dirt, or cast such upon it, it is not profaned. If a heathen sold or pawned his idol it is profaned according to Rabbi, but not according to the sages.

GEMARA: "Disfiguring its face with a hammer," etc. Why should it be profaned when nothing of it was lost thereby? Said R. Zera: Because it has thus been made unrecognisable.

"But if he only spat," etc. Whence is this deduced? Said 'Hiskia, from [Is. 8:21, 22]: "And when they shall be hungry, they will become enraged and curse their king and their god . . . and they will look unto the earth," etc., which means: Though the heathen curse his king and god and look up to the true God, he will still turn his eye back to the earth to worship his idol.

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"If a heathen sold," etc. In respect of this part of the Mishna Zeera in the name of R. Johanan and Jeremiah b. Abba in the name of Rabh expressed thus their respective opinions. The one says: The decision of the sages regards only the case when the heathen sold or pawned the idol to a heathen jeweller, but if to a Jewish one all agree that it is profaned; while the other holds that they differ also regarding the latter case. The schoolmen asked: According to the latter view, how should the Mishna be interpreted? Does Rabbi mean here that the idol in question is profaned only or even when sold or pawned to a Jewish jeweller, but if to a heathen he agrees with the sages? Come and hear. Rabbi said: My view is correct in case the idol is sold to be destroyed, and that of my colleagues, if to be worshipped. But broken and worshipped must have here some specific meaning, for otherwise we should obviously have no two opinions on the subject. And indeed, Rabbi intends to say: An idol sold to an Israelite who will surely not worship, but break it, while the sages speak of an idol sold to a heathen who will surely not break, but worship it; hence they differ in both cases? Nay; it may be said that Rabbi's statement means this: My view is accepted by my colleagues, when the idol was sold to be destroyed, as they differ only when sold for worship--to a heathen jeweller.

The rabbis taught: If an idol is pawned by a heathen, or it is buried under the ruins of an old fallen house, or is stolen by burglars, or, finally, is left standing alone by the heathen, who went to the sea-countries, the question arises whether or no the heathen had in mind to come back to it, as such was the case in t e time when Jehoshua had war with the Amorites; if he had, the idol is not profaned. It is obvious that all the four cases must needs be stated. The first case implies that the heathen wants to have the idol back, while in the second, the idol being left under the ruins, the heathen may be thought as renouncing it, whereby it is profaned; hence the second statement. In like manner does the third case imply something different from the contents of the preceding cases: The ruins can possibly be removed, but a burglary is less likely to be returned. Finally, the fourth case teaches us again something new--viz: while in the third case the heathen may yet think that the idol fell into the hands of heathen thieves and they will worship it, or even if they be Israelites, they will sell it to heathens, they themselves, having no use of it; in the fourth case he abandons the idol of his own will, since he has not taken it along with him. Hence all the four cases must be taught. Now, the concluding sentence of the Boraitha must be thus understood: If the heathen has his mind to come back as the Amorites did, it is necessary to treat the idol in the same way as it was treated at those times--namely: Not to regard it as profaned, but rather to annihilate it altogether. But did the Amorites ever return? There was nothing of the kind! The answer is that if he has in mind to return, his idol must be treated as in the war of Jehoshua (though the Amorites have not returned). But if so, why the comparison with Jehoshua's times? The Boraitha intends to teach by the way yet what R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: If an Israelite erects a brick to worship it, but does not worship, and a heathen comes and worships it, it is prohibited, notwithstanding the rule that no one can render a thing unallowable that is not his own; here the motive of the Israelite is determining. How does R. Jehudah substantiate this his opinion? Said R. Elazor: He bases it on the proceedings of the Israelites upon their entering the promised land; for it reads: "Their groves ye shall burn with fire"; here, too, one could then wonder and say: The holy land, having been promised by God to Abraham and his descendants, belonged to the Israelites and not to the Amorites; how, then, could the latter have rendered unallowable these groves that were not their own? If you are ready to assume that these groves had sprung up before the promise, then you must regard them as the idol of a heathen, whose profanation, as we have seen above, suffices! Why then did not the Israelites compel the heathens to profane it and then use it? Why were they ordered to burn it down? In view of all this the verse, "Their groves," etc., must be thus explained: The promised land is indeed regarded the ownership of the Jews, and as Israel, by his worship of the golden calf in the wilderness, exhibited his inclination toward idol-worship, the grove is considered the idol of a Jew, worshipped by heathens only in accord with the Jews, and as such can by no means be profaned, but must be annihilated. And the case here with the brick is perfectly analogous. However, is the conclusion from the golden calf to the grove warranted? The Israelites might have been inclined exclusively toward calf-worship? Nay; they declaimed at that time before the calf: These are your gods, O Israel! whereby they must have meant a variety of gods, toward which they felt disposed. Finally, that the prohibition was extended to all groves and not only to those that were the contemporaries of the calf and which the Israelites repented, is due to the fact that there was no possibility to distinguish between old and newly-planted groves.

MISHNA 6.: An idol abandoned by its worshippers in time of peace is allowed, but is forbidden when abandoned in time of war. Altars erected for kings are allowed, for the idol is put on them only when the kings pass.

GEMARA: R. Jeremiah b. Abba said in the name of Rabh: The House Nimrod has the same regulations regarding idols as those abandoned by the owner in time of peace, because, though scattered all the world over as if driven about by war, it had the choice to return home and get its idols, and by not doing so it showed a lack of interest in them, hence they are allowed.

"Altars erected for kings," etc. Are they not, after all, altars of the idol? Said Rabba b. b. 'Hana in the name of R. Johanan: It means to say that the priests prepare the altars for the king, but he takes another road, so that no idols nor offerings come upon these altars. Ula, on his return from Palestine, alighted on one of such altars that was broken; R. Jehudah, on noticing this, asked him why he acted thus after both Rabh and Samuel had forbidden all use of such an altar when broken; and even he who says that broken idols are no longer worshipped and hence are allowed, does not assert the same with regard to altars, as it would be disgraceful to worship a broken idol, but upon a broken altar an idol may always be put. Hereupon replied Ula: My respect for Rabh and Samuel is so great that I should readily fill my eyes with the ashes of their corpses; none the less I cannot help refuting this opinion, for R. Johanan and Resh Lakish said: An altar upon which idols are habitually placed is, when broken, allowable; furthermore, even he who holds that fragments are worshipped allows such an altar, as he namely says: The broken idol is always, even when broken, worshipfully regarded by the heathen, while no godliness is even imputed to an altar--it is but a mere stand for idols--so that as soon as it is broken, it is set aside without any regard. The, following Boraitha expresses the same view of R. Johanan and Resh Lakish: An altar used as a stand for idols is, when partly broken, allowable; however, an altar used for sacrifices is, when broken, forbidden, until most of its stones fall apart.

Which are the marks distinguishing the altar for sacrifices from that used as a stand? R. Jacob b. Aidi said in the name of R. Johanan: The latter kind consists of but one stone, while the former of several stones. 'Hiskia adduces a verse to this effect [Is. 27:27, 9]: "When he maketh all the stones of the altar as limestones, that are beaten in pieces, when there shall notarise again any groves and sun images," i.e., only when they are turned to lime no image is put on them, nor sacrifice, then only is their use allowable.

There is a Boraitha: If one worships one's own animal, it is prohibited from being used as a sacrifice in the temple, but not if it is his neighbour's. There is a contradiction from the following Thosephtha: All cattle is regarded as worshipped, immaterial whether the worship took place by mistake or intention, by compulsion or free will. Now, what other could be the meaning of compulsion than that one forces into his house an animal of a stranger and worships it? Hence, cattle of a stranger is prohibited, too, through worship. Thereupon said Rami b. 'Hamma: The word compulsion means that heathens compelled him to worship his own animal.

R. Zera opposed: Does not the Scripture free a culprit by compulsion? [Deut. xxii. 26]: "And to the damsel ye shall do nothing," etc. Therefore said Rabha: The prohibition of worship was general, but from the expression [Levit. 18:5]: "He shall live in them," whence the rabbis infer but not "he shall die in them," compulsion was excluded; however, thereafter it reads again, "He shall not profane my holy name," whence the rabbis infer that even if compelled, which, too, would apparently contradict each other. The explanation is that compulsion imposed privately is excused, but if publicly, one must not yield to it. Said the rabbis to Rabha: There is a Boraitha that supports your opinion: The altars of idols remain prohibited even after the evil decrees of the government have ceased. Rejoined Rabha: If only this, it cannot be a support to my opinion, for there may have been an apostate Jew who worshipped it willingly. Said R. Ashi: Do not say "may have been," as it is certain that there was such, and therefore the prohibition remains forever. 'Hiskia, however, said that the above-mentioned forcing of the neighbour's animal to worship means if he pours wine between its horns for the idol, and not worshipped by bowing to it. R. Adda b. Ahaba, however, opposed: Can, then, this be called worship? One can worship an idol, while by pouring wine on the animal for the idol he makes it only for an altar, and a living creature is not forbidden when used in the service to the idol.

Therefore said R. Adda b. Ahaba: 'Hiskia must have meant: When the animal is itself made some idol and then the wine poured to honour it, it is forbidden, which view coincides with what Ula said in the name of R. Johanan when returning from Palestine: Although strange cattle is rendered forbidden by worship, yet it is prohibited as soon as some act has been performed on its body. Said R. Na'hman: Go tell Ula that R. Huna taught us this, having explained this Halakha long ago in Babylon: An animal resting in the proximity of an idol becomes unallowable, as soon as one cuts through its gullet or windpipe for the sake of the idol, and be it the ownership of another one. Now, upon what can this view be based? The report of the Boraitha concerning the barring of priests, who were compelled to become such of an idol, from services in the Jerusalem temple, contains hardly an analogy of compulsion; because a priest could flee and thus save himself, while an animal destitute of intelligence could not. Nor can the Mishna, treating of the Maccabees, who set aside the altar-stones upon which the Greeks committed some act to honour an idol, be adduced as a basis, for R. Papa explained it already, saying [Ezek. 7:22]: "I turn my face from them, that they may pollute my treasure," shows that the temple was profaned by the arrival of the Greeks, and hence was no longer the ownership of God, but considered as that of the Greeks. Thus, the view in question can be based but on this passage [2 Chron. 29:19]: "And all the vessels which King Achaz had cast aside . . . have we put in order and sanctified"; and the master said that they were hidden and substituted by others, i.e., they were prohibited. Now, these vessels were not the ownership of Ahaz, and hence by his worship he could not possibly profane them; we must thus assume that he committed with them some act of honour to the idols, whereby he rendered them forbidden, and here is applied the same rule in respect of cattle.

R. Dimi, on his return from Palestine, said in the name of R. Johanan: Although the sages taught that, when one bows to uncultivated ground, saying: This be my god, the ground is thereby not forbidden; yet if he dug graves, pits or caves as an idol, the ground is prohibited. R. Samuel b. Jehudah, on his return from Palestine, said in the name of R. Johanan: It is true the sages said that an animal worshipped by others than its proprietor is not forbidden; yet the animal obtained by the idol-worshippers in exchange for an idol is forbidden. Rabin, when back from Palestine, said: Concerning this topic R. Ismael b. R. Jose and the sages have expressed two opinions, but it is not known who said which. The one prohibits an animal exchanged for an idol, but allows the second animal obtained in exchange for the first. The other opinion prohibits the second animal, too, basing itself upon [Deut. 7:26]: ". . . lest thou become accursed like it"; hence, it appears that whatever comes from the accursed is like it, and is accordingly forbidden.

MISHNA 7.: The Jewish elders were asked by the philosophers at Rome: If God is displeased with idol-worship, why does he not destroy the idols? And they replied: If the heathens worshipped but things not needful to the world, he would surely annihilate them; but the fact is that they worship the sun, moon, stars and planets; should then God destroy his world on account of these fools? Then retorted the others: Let God destroy the unnecessary objects and leave the other? that are needed for the preservation of the world. Replied the elders: If he did so, the idol-worshippers would but be confirmed in their belief and say: Here you see that these are gods, for they are indestructible.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: The philosophers once questioned the elders at Rome: If your God is displeased with idol-worship, why does he not destroy the idols? And they replied: If the heathens worshipped but things not needful to the world, he would surely annihilate them; but they worship the sun, moon, stars and the planets; shall he destroy the world because of the fools? But the Lord allows the world its natural course, and as to these fools who spoil it, they will not escape punishment--in other words, when some one steals wheat and sows it, the seed should not bear fruit by reason of its being stolen; but nay, God lets nature her course, while to the thief will be meted his due. In like manner, adultery is not barren on its own account, but the culprit is not spared. Resh Lakish says something to this effect: The Holy One, blessed be he, says: Not only do the wicked of this earth forfeit my coin, but they force me yet to put my stamp thereon.

A philosopher once asked Raban Gamaliel: Your law says [Deut. 4:24]: "For the Lord thy God is a consuming fire, yea, a watchful God"; why is it that he is so watchful with regard to the worshipper and not to the idol? Said Raban Gamaliel: I will answer your question by a metaphor: Suppose a king's son names his dog with the father's name and swears, whenever he does, by the life of this dog; the father, once informed about this, will he get angry at his son or at the dog? Naturally enough, at the son. Thereupon said the philosopher: You call the idol dog, which is not feasible, since the idol has loftier gifts. You ask which are these? Why, once a conflagration consumed all our city, and the idol temple remained intact. Answered R. Gamaliel: I shall use again a metaphor: A province once revolted against the king; against whom do you suppose he used his weapons, against the living or against the dead? Naturally enough, against the former. Said the philosopher: You style our gods dogs and dead; well, then, when they really are so worthless why does not God annihilate them altogether? Yea, he would surely do it, was the reply, were they not of objects useful to the preservation of the world, such as are the sun, moon, stars, planets, mountains and valleys, for it reads [Zeph. 1:2, 3]: "I will remove utterly all things from off the face of the earth, saith the Lord. I will remove man and beast; I will remove the fowls of the heaven, and the fishes of the sea, and the stumbling blocks of the wicked." That is to say: The Lord wonders, shall I do this when the heathens worship man, too? I should have then to destroy the whole universe!

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Agrippus, the general of Rome, said to Raban Gamaliel: "The Lord, thy God, is a consuming fire," etc. In our everyday life we find it to be the rule that a potentate is but jealous of his equal, a sage of another sage, a hero of another hero, a rich of another rich; now, then, if God is jealous of an idol, the idol must be of some power! R. Gamaliel explained it to him with the following metaphor: If one who has a wife, takes yet another one, the former will not be jealous unless the new wife be a nothing compared with herself.

An Israelite named Zunan said to R. Aqiba: I know just as well as you do that the idols are nothing, yet I should like to know, how is it that so many cripples are cured by the idols in their temples? Replied R. Aqiba: Listen to the following parable. There lived once in a town a pious man who enjoyed the unlimited confidence of his fellow townsmen so that they would deposit with him money and were it without any witness, with the exception, however, of one who would leave with him nothing without witness. It once happened, however, that this exceptional man left something in the hands of the other without any security; thereupon said the wife of the latter: Now we shall revenge on that distrustful man his mistrust to us, let us deny that he has a deposit with us; retorted her husband: Because of the short-comings of his understanding shall I put my reputed name on stake? No; this I shall never do! The same is the case with debility, disease and pains visited upon man; they are under oath assigned a certain time, no more, no less, during which to torture a man; it is further predestined by what man or what medicine the disease be eliminated. Now, when its time is off, the afflicted goes to the idol-temple; the disease protests, saying: because the man takes recourse to the idol, I should not abandon him, but as I am bound by oath I should not break it on account of this foolish man; thus the disease leaves him and he believes that it was the work of the idol. R. Johanan explained it from [Deut. 28:59]: "Then will the Lord render peculiar thy plagues . . . and sicknesses sore and neemonim" (literally trustful); sore, for the man suffers therefrom, and trustful, for it never breaks its oath.

Rabha b. R. Itz'hak said to R. Jehudah: There is an idol in our town, and whenever there is drought by us, it comes in dream to the priests, saying: Sacrifice a human being to me and you shall have rain; and this condition fulfilled, it in reality begins to rain. Thereupon said R. Jehudah: You may esteem yourselves fortunate that I am yet among the living, for were I dead, I should not be in a position to communicate to you what Rabh said thereabout--viz.: it reads [ibid. 4:19]: "And that thou lift not up thy eyes unto the heavens, and thou seest the sun, and the moon and the stars, all the host of heaven, and be misled to bow down to them . . . which Lord thy God hath assigned unto all nations it"; you see from here that God has given some power to some worshipped objects for the purpose of barring their worshippers from the world to come. And this is what Resh Lakish says elsewhere, it reads [Prov. 3:34]: "If it concern the scornful, he will himself render them a scorn, but unto the lowly lives he gives grace," whence, if one comes to defile himself, the door is opened to him, while when one comes to cleanse himself, he is supported.

MISHNA 8.: It is allowable to buy a wine-press from a heathen even while he takes grapes therefrom and puts them into the heap of grapes. The wine is not considered offered ere it reaches the reservoir, while upon reaching it all that is in it is (provided the heathen touches it) forbidden, the rest is allowed. It is allowed to tread but not to gather the grapes jointly with a heathen. It is forbidden both to tread and to gather with an Israelite who prepares the wine while he is unclean; it is, however, allowed to help him convey empty casks to, and then filled ones back from, the press. It is forbidden to assist a baker, who, in a state of uncleanness, prepares his bread, in kneading or ordering, but one may help him carry the bread to the dealer.

GEMARA: R. Huna said: As soon as the wine trickles from the grapes, the touch of a heathen renders it unallowable. It was objected thereto from the Mishna: "It is allowed to buy a wine-press," etc., whence it is manifest that the wine on beginning to trickle is not forbidden. Whereupon it was rejoined: R. Huna. understands that the press in question is propped up at the bottom, and that an Israelite filled it first with grapes, the heathen having added some not until later. Come and hear another objection! The Mishna goes on to say: . . . while upon reaching the reservoir all the wine that is in it is forbidden, the rest is allowed, whence, only the wine that flows down is forbidden; said R. Huna, the sages have afterward retracted this Mishna, as in the following Boraitha: The rabbis held originally that it is not allowed to gather grapes jointly with a heathen, for what the latter gathers is unclean and defiles by touch the grapes gathered by the Israelite, which are considered wine. They further warned against contributing toward the conditions defiling the fruit in Palestine, as well as against assisting an Israelite who defies the rules of cleanness, in treading the wine-press, because one must not help a transgressor in his work; while the heathen may be aided, for he is not bound by the rules of clean and unclean. Finally, the wine does not become offered by the sole fact of treading, for R. Huna's opinion on this point has been rejected. However, the sages, as said above, retracted this view, asserting: Assistance to a heathen in treading is forbidden, for the grape-juice is offered wine immediately upon trickling, so that the assisting Israelite would get remunerated for working on what is not allowed; Such is also R. Huna's opinion. Nor is it allowable to gather or tread grapes with an Israelite who defies the rules of cleanness, for every Israelite is obliged to give from his fruit Teruma to the priest, and here the clean grapes are rendered unclean by the others, thus defiling also the Teruma, which is not allowed as to a heathen, it is allowed to gather with him, as he is free from Teruma, and fruits exempted from Teruma may be caused to be defiled even in Palestine.

"The wine is not considered offered ere," etc. Concerning tithe, however, there is a Mishna that it is obligatory as soon as the grape-pits swim up, since this is an index of wine. Said Rabha: This presents no difficulty; as regards tithe we have the opinion of R. Aqiba, while the Mishna is in accordance with the other sages; as a Mishna states: In the case of tithe, the index of wine is its flowing into the reservoir. R. Aqiba, however, says: It is the swimming up of the grape-pits. Hereupon it was asked: How should this swimming up of the pits be understood? Does it refer to the case when the wine, after filling the reservoir to a certain point, causes the pits to rise to the surface, or to the case when the wine is already in the casks, and during its fermentation the pits come up to the surface? Come and hear the following Boraitha: It is called wine when the pits swim up; accordingly, it is allowed to drink the wine from the press as well as from the pipe connecting it with the reservoir, whence it is obvious that the first of the two cases is referred to. But has not R. Zebid taught this Boraitha in the name of the disciples of R. Oshia, as follows: It is called wine when poured into the reservoir and when the pits swim up, while R. Aqiba requires its being put yet into the casks; from here it is apparent that the sages as well as R. Aqiba are involved in a contradiction, from which to extricate them is necessary to interpret the former version of the Boraitha in the light of R. Zebid's Boraitha. Now, taking account of the Mishna, we shall have three opinions regarding the here-disputed point. The Mishna declares it wine when it reaches the reservoir; the sages when, the wine being therein, the pits swim up; finally, R. Aqiba, not before it is in the casks? The answer is that the Mishna may be so interpreted as to agree with both the other views, since the sages and R. Aqiba differ only in as far as the index of wine for tithe is concerned, while the Mishna treats of the index of wine to become offered which is very rigorous. As to Rabha, however, he must rest satisfied with the three opinions as opposed to one another, as he makes no difference between the said cases.

"What is in it is forbidden, and the rest is allowed." R. Huna explains this as follows: The rest in the press is allowed only when the cleansing basket through which the wine passes on its way from the press to the reservoir in order to be cleaned of the husks, is not again emptied into the press. But why should the contents of the basket be forbidden, the heathen having touched only the wine in the reservoir? There can hardly be another reason than that the wine of the upper vessel and flowing into the lower one be considered as a whole, and that the flow thus connects the two wines into one? And yet this question, as to whether or no the flow be a connecting link between the two wines in the above sense, propounded elsewhere, has found no satisfactory answer. And as our foregoing discussion has not been resorted to in this connection, it must not be assumed that the flow is no connecting link, but as R. 'Hyya explains it: When the two vessels are full of wine so that, their mouths being near, the wines touch each other, they are regarded as one wine. Accordingly in our case the reservoir must be so full of wine as to touch the basket, so that when the contents thereof are emptied into the press, what is in the latter also becomes forbidden.

It is related of a boy who in his sixth year was well versed in the Tract Idolatry. Once he was asked whether an Israelite and a heathen may jointly tread a wine-press? His answer was in the affirmative, notwithstanding R. Huna's negative view. And to the objection that the heathen renders the wine forbidden by his touching the grapes, the boy retorted: Have the hands of the heathen wrapped up with cloth, so that he might not touch the grapes with bare hands. Finally, upon being further asked that the heathen may touch the grapes with his feet, he replied that touching by foot is not considered.

It once happened that an Israelite and a heathen jointly hired and worked a wine-press in the City of Nahardea; R. Samuel, asked as to how to behave with regard to this wine, hesitated to answer until after three festivals during which the sages were in assembly; for he wanted to first propound this question to them. The question arises, why was he anxious to hear the opinion of the sages? If because he expected to find one of them entertaining the opinion of R. Nathan, then we must say that he wanted to prohibit all benefit of this wine; for it was taught: If the heathen measures out the wine with the hand or foot, Israelites must not drink it, but it may be sold to heathens; while R. Nathan prohibits all benefit of wine measured by hand. But now that R. Nathan makes no reference to the measure by foot, it must be assumed that Samuel was not waiting for his opinion, but he rather expected to find one of the sages in favour of R. Shimon's view, which allows the wine, even to consume, provided it was not touched by the heathen intentionally.

It once happened at Biram that a certain heathen climbed up a palm-tree to get down some branches. On coming down he unwittingly touched with one of the branches a cask of wine. Rabh was asked on the point, and he prohibited Israelites from drinking this wine, allowing, however, its sale to heathens. Thereupon R. Kahana and R. Assi interposed: I-lave you, master, not yourself taught that even a one-day-old child of a heathen renders the wine prohibited when touching it? And in this case there is surely no intention involved! Answered Rabh: I prohibited only to drink it, but not to sell it and use the money thereof.

The text says: Rabh holds "that even a one-day-old child of a heathen," etc. R. Shimi b. Hyya advanced the following objection: When one buys slaves from a heathen, has them circumcised but not bathed in the legal bath, the place they tread on as well as what they spit out, is unclean. Precisely the same is the case with the acquired children of a female slave; but according to others the children are clean. In the case of wine the same rule holds: Adults render it forbidden by touch, but not children. What is an adult? When already familiar with the nature of idol-worship, and is considered a child before that period. We see, then, from this Boraitha, that contrary to Rabh's position, a child does not make the wine unallowable by mere touch? The answer is that the "child" spoken of in this Boraitha is one born of a female slave in the house of an Israelite; as to other children, inclusive of slaves bought of a heathen, Rabh's precept holds good. But here is another question. The Boraitha says: The same is the case with the children of a female slave, which would suggest the inference that there is no difference between a slave bought, or one brought up in the house of an Israelite. The answer is that this phrase refers only to their spittle and the place trodden on by them. However, this explanation is correct according to him who says that these are unclean, but what according to him who declares them clean? He comes to teach us that adult slaves bought, circumcised and then legally bathed, do not make the wine forbidden by touch, just as the children of a female slave. The Boraitha states this in order to exclude the opinion cited by R. Na'hman in the name of R. Samuel to the effect that when an Israelite buys slaves from a heathen, has them circumcised and legally bathed, they none the less render the wine forbidden all the time, till they cease to mention the name of the idol and wholly forget it. And how long is this time? R. Jehoshua b. Levi set the limit of this period at twelve months.

In the town Mechusa a heathen once happened to enter the house of a Jewish wine-seller, who answered his question as to whether he sells wine, in the negative. The heathen, noticing on the table a little wine in a vessel with which the Jew used to serve wine, put his hand right into it, saying: Is not this wine? The host, excited over this misdeed, emptied the vessel back into the cask; so that he had to consult Rabha what to do with the wine? He advised him to sell it to heathens. When R. Huna b. 'Hinna and R. Huna b. R. Na'hman heard of this incident, they said that all benefit of this wine is forbidden. Thereupon, Rabha heralded that the wine may be sold to heathens; while the both Hunas let herald the opposite. Some time after, R. Huna b. R. Na'hman happened to be in Mechusa where Rabha resided; so Rabha instructed his servant not to admit anybody at the time when Huna will be by him, since they, two, will be busied with the settlement of an important dispute. R. Huna, on coming to him, opened, indeed, the foregoing question, and, to his great astonishment, Rabha said that all use of that wine is forbidden. And to the question: Has not the master allowed such a case, he answered: In this particular case it was the wine in the cask that I allowed, but the wine touched by the heathen and poured back into the cask I prohibited, requiring rather that its worth be cast into the sea. It is true, I once allowed also the other wine, but during my sojourn at Pumbedita, Nahmani (Abayi) adduced so many Boraithas and conclusions of other sages against my tenet, that I withdrew my former opinion, and now I prohibit the wine poured back; for among others, Nahmani told me of such a case in Nahardea, and Samuel prohibited the wine; in another case at Tiberia, R. Johanan has likewise forbidden. I attempted to argue: Samuel and R. Johanan may have been led to such stringency by the fact that at those places the population is ignorant, in which case rigorous legislation is commendable; but he replied: Do you think that Mechusa is more enlightened than Nahardea and Tiberia? He also called my attention to the following Thosephtha: It once happened that the excise collectors poured back into the cask the wine left after they had had a drink; one of them drew also some wine with a lever, putting the lever back in the cask, and the sages prohibited this wine for all benefit.

R. Johanan b. Arza and R. Jose b. Nehorai were once sitting together indulging a little in wine, when a man came

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in. They told him to pour in for them; but no sooner had he fulfilled their order than they discovered that he was a heathen. Thereupon one of the two said: The wine is absolutely forbidden, while the other asserted that it is even allowable to drink. Said R. Jehoshua b. Levi: Both had their respective opinions well grounded; the former must have reasoned thus: The man knew us to be of the sages, and he could easily notice that we were going to drink wine, which, when ordered by us to pour in, he would, in his thought, render prohibited. While the other one must have reasoned the other way--viz.: The man, knowing us to be of the sages, surely thought that we drank no wine, since otherwise we should not order him, a heathen, to pour in for us, hence the wine is allowed. But, against the latter it may be asked: Did not the heathen see that it was wine? Nay, it all took place in the evening. Neither could he discern it by smell, as it was new wine, which has no smell. That he did not touch it is certain, for the wine was in a bottle; and the shaking of the wine by a heathen is prohibited only when done intentionally, which was not here the case.

R. Assi questioned R. Johanan: Does a heathen render the wine prohibited by pouring water into it? Yea, was the answer; for a Nazarite must be told: Go around, go around, but do not approach the vineyard in order not to yield to temptation and eat from its fruit. R. Jeremiah, when once in Sabatta, noticed that the heathens there are wont to dilute the wine that the Jews drink, and he reminded them of the foregoing warning to a Nazarite. It was taught likewise in the name of R. Johanan, according to others R. Assi, in his name: Wine diluted by a heathen is forbidden by reason of temptation as above.

Resh Lakish was once in Bozrah (a town conquered by the King David in the province of Moab). He saw the Jews there eat fruit without having separated the tithe thereof, and he told them that this is not allowed. He further noticed that the Jews were wont to drink the water consecrated by the heathens, and prohibited it, too. Later he happened to visit R. Johanan to whom he related his observations and prohibitions, and R. Johanan told him: Go right back and allow all you have prohibited, because you mistook Bozrah for Betzer which was conquered by Moses, and where the tithe is thus obligatory; and as to the water there, it is public ownership which, as such, cannot be prohibited at all.

R. Hyya b. Abba made once a journey to Gabla, where he observed that Jewesses were pregnant from heathens, who, though circumcised, were not yet legally bathed. He further saw that the Jews were drinking the wine diluted by the heathens; he also noticed that Jews were eating Turmus (fig-bean) cooked by heathens. He, however, did not interfere. When he later reported this to R. Johanan, the latter said: Go right back and have it publicly announced that their children are bastards, the wine is to be regarded nessech (idolatrous libation), and the Turmus is forbidden like all other things cooked by heathens, because the inhabitants of Galba are uneducated. With reference to the children, R. Johanan expressed the same opinion elsewhere, saying that one is not considered a proselyte unless he is both circumcised and legally bathed, hence the above are still considered heathens; and Rabba b. 'Hana said in the name of R. Johanan: When a heathen or a slave seduces a Jewish girl, the offspring is regarded as a bastard. The wine he prohibited by reason of temptation as said above, and the Turmus, because they are there uneducated, otherwise it would be allowed.

R. Kahana was once asked whether it is allowed to hire a heathen for conveying grapes to the wine-press of an Israelite; hi s answer was in the negative, by reason of the temptation above-mentioned. R. Yemer objected to him from this Tosephtha: The grapes carried by a heathen to the press, be it in a basket or any other vessel, are allowed even when trickling. Said R. Kahana: This is no weighty objection, for here it treats of grapes already carried, which I, too, should allow, but not to hire one originally for such work.

Once a citron chanced to fall into a cask of wine; a heathen seeing this, hurried to take it out with his hand, and R. Ashi ordered to hold his arm fast in order to prevent it from moving, then to open the faucet and have the wine flow into another vessel, when it will be allowed for sale. The same R. Ashi said that wine made prohibited by the touch of a heathen is not allowed to be sold to other heathens; the heathen, however, who touched it, may be made to pay for the wine by considering the thing in a manner as if the heathen had spilled or in some other way destroyed the wine, when it would be legitimate to recover the loss. This, his opinion, he corroborates by the following Boraitha: If a heathen renders the wine prohibited by touch, not however, in the presence of an idol, all benefit of it is forbidden. But R. Jehudah b. Baba and R. Jehudah b. Bethira say it is allowed, and on the following grounds: In the first place, because the act was done not in the presence of an idol, and secondly because the Israelite may say to the heathen: The wine is not your ownership, hence you cannot make it forbidden. Now, though we do not agree with the two Jehudahs, the inference is nevertheless justified that the Israelite may make the heathen pay.

It once happened that the bung burst out of the hole of a cask with wine, and a heathen ran by, put his hand upon the bung-hole to stop the escape of the wine. Thereupon said R. Papa: The wine above the bung is forbidden, the rest is allowed. R. Papa was further teaching: The wine of leather bags carried by a heathen who is followed by a supervising Israelite, is allowed if it so fills the bags that it cannot shake at all, but if not so full, it is forbidden. If, however, the wine be in open pitchers, the converse is the case, because out of a full pitcher the wine may overflow upon the hands of the heathen, and then touch back the wine inside the pitcher, while with the pitcher that is not full this cannot be feared. R. Ashi maintains that even the wine in a leather bag that is not full cannot be made prohibited by shaking, for it is not customary to offer wine by shaking. If the heathen put wood upon the grapes in the press in order to squeeze the wine out by this pressure, R. Papa allows the wine, while R. Ashi, according to others R. Simi b. Ashi, prohibits it; all, however, agree in that the wine is allowed when the wood is pressed down by means of a wheel, for the work is done but by a derivative of his force, but when the heathen exerts the pressure by his feet, only R. Papa allows, while the others forbid the wine.

Once a heathen pressed the wine by means of a wheel, yet R. Jacob from Nahar Pekod declared the wine prohibited. At another time a cask with wine happened to burst, and a heathen was holding it together until the wine was emptied into another barrel; Raphran b. Papa, according to others R. Huna b. R. Jehoshua, allowed to sell the wine to heathens. It was prohibited to drink it, because the cask burst lengthwise, so that it was necessary to hold it together, but if it had burst crosswise it could have been held together by pressing the upper part; in this case the wine would have been allowed even to drink, because the pressure of a stone could have done the same service.

Once a heathen was found in the press of an Israelite; though there was no wine in it, yet it was moist, and the question came up as to what to do with the press? R. Ashi decided it thus: If the humidity of the press was so great that an object could therein become so moist as to moisten another object, the press must be first rinsed with water and then scrubbed with ashes two times, while by a smaller degree of humidity one rinsing suffices.

MISHNA 9: A heathen standing near the wine reservoir renders the wine forbidden, provided he has a lien on it, but not otherwise. When a heathen falls into a wine-reservoir. and is then brought up (dead), or when a heathen measured the wine with a pipe, dragged therewith a hornet out of the wine, or, finally, tapped his hand on the cask against the ebullitions of the fermenting wine--all which cases have actually occurred--the wine should, according to the rabbis, be sold; R. Simeon allows to drink it. If the heathen, while enraged, cast the cask into the reservoir, as it once happened, the sages allowed the wine.

GEMARA: Said Samuel: The lien spoken of in the Mishna must be had on the wine itself; and R. Ashi proved this by quoting another Mishna, which says: When one works a heathen's wine in accordance with the rules of cleanness (so that he might sell it to Israelites), leaves it then in the premises of the heathen, but under the supervision of an Israelite, and the heathen writes a note to him stating, "I have received of you money," the wine is allowed; if, however, the affair takes place this way: The Israelite attempts to take out the wine and the heathen refuses it until he get the money, which case once occurred at Beth-Shean, the sages declare this wine prohibited, because it is yet the ownership of the heathen. But if the lien had been on the Israelite's property, even the wine included, it does not matter.

"When a heathen falls," etc. According to R. Papa this means that the heathen is brought up dead, otherwise all benefit of the wine is forbidden, because the heathen celebrates his escape, and thanks on this account his idol, wherefore the wine is considered offered.

"When a heathen measured the wine with a pipe, etc., the rabbis allow to sell it, R. Simeon also to drink it." Said R. Ada b. Ahba: Blessed be the head of R. Simeon who, unlike the rabbis, goes to extremes--viz: If he prohibits, he prohibits to derive all benefit therefrom, and if he allows, he allows it even to drink. Said R. 'Hisda: I was told by Abba b. 'Hannan that so said Zera, that the Halakha prevails with R. Simeon. (Says the Gemara): After all, the Halakha does not prevail with him.

MISHNA 10.: If an Israelite, who had cleansed the wine of a heathen, left it in the latter's premises, in a house opening into a public ground, in a town where heathens and Jews live, the wine is allowable; but if there live only heathens, the wine is not allowed, unless a Jewish watchman take care of it. However, the watchman must not continually stay there, but may go and come. R. Simeon b. Elazar says: All heathen premises are of the same account. If one cleanses the wine of a heathen, leaves it in his premises (as above), and the latter writes him a note stating, "I have received money from you," the wine is allowed. But if the case be such that when the Israelite wants to take out the wine the heathen refuses, requiring to be paid first (as it once occurred at Beth-Shean), the sages prohibit the wine.

GEMARA: Why should the Mishna forbid the wine in a town where Jews do not reside, since in any town you find Jews coming there now and then for traffic? Says Samuel: The Mishna has in view but such towns that are provided with walls and gates, so that no one can enter it without special permission, and the heathen is thus in a position to know whether or no there is an Israelite in town. R. Joseph said: It suffices that the wine be so kept in a house that any Israelite could see from his window into the heathen's yard, and the house must not needs be opening into a public place. In like manner it is sufficient that there be in the proximity of the house a little elevation where people are wont to assemble, or that a date-tree be there, since in this case the heathen may fear lest someone should climb up the tree for dates and descry his doings in the same time; but if the top of the tree be cut off, its influence is discussed by R. Acha and Rabina, the one saying that the tree, now that it bears no fruit, exerts no influence upon the heathen, who, thinking that nobody will climb it up now, may break the seal and take out some of the wine; while the other says: People are still now and then climbing upon such tree in order to look for their strayed cattle, and hence it is yet fear-inspiring to the heathen.

The rabbis taught: When an Israelite buys or rents a house in the courtyard of a heathen, where also an Israelite lives, and puts there his wine, it is allowed even if not sealed and locked up. But if the other Israelite lives in the same town only, the wine is allowed only when sealed and locked. However, if a heathen hires Jews to prepare wine for sale to Jews, and this wine remains in the premises of the heathen, a Jew living in the same house where the wine is kept, it is allowed, provided it be sealed and locked by a Jew who should himself have charge of the key and seal. Said R. Johanan to him who cited before him this Boraitha, read the last passage thus: The wine is allowed even when not sealed and locked, provided only an Israelite lives in the same house. If, however, an Israelite lives in the same city but not in the same yard, the wine is forbidden even when sealed and locked; so says R. Meier, while the rabbis say: An Israelite must either sit there and watch, or come there at certain times. The question now arises, to which case the rabbis refer, as there are four cases in the Boraitha? To assume that they refer to the last case would be to assume a redundance, since R. Mair said the same; nor can it be assumed that they refer to the third case, where the wine, when sealed and locked by a Jew, is allowed; because, as R. Johanan allows it even when not sealed and locked, there would be no reason to account for the exceptional rigor of the rabbis in this case. Hence, it is manifest that they refer to the second case, which allows the wine put up in the house of a heathen, when both there lives a Jew in the same town and also when the wine is sealed and locked; and it is here that the rabbis add the limitation that ail Israelite watch the wine, or come to it at certain times. But what is gained by the last point? When the Jew is to come there only at certain times, the heathen will know it and find his time to break the seal and do what he pleases? The answer is this: We must assume that the Jew is to come there at times and not at certain times, so that the heathen will know nothing definite.

"R. Simeon b. Elazar says, all heathen premises," etc. The schoolmen propounded a question: What does R. Simeon intend with this doctrine, to make the regulations of wine more rigorous or more lenient? R. Jehudah said in the name of Zeira, the latter is the case, while R. Na'hman said in the name of the same authority the former was intended. In order to make R. Jehudah's opinion plausible, it is necessary to insert the following in the Mishna: The same prohibition is imposed upon wine brought into the house of another heathen, because of fear lest the latter should go to the proprietor and say: You are free to come to my house and do with your wine as you please; I will not betray you provided, however, you promise to serve me in the same way in case I will have Jews prepare wine; it is in this connection that R. Simeon b. Elazar said: Are, then, all premises of the same account? We see that if the wine is left in the premises of the proprietor, an Israelite must watch it; if, however, the wine is stored with another heathen, this watch is not requisite, as I do not believe that the heathens would enter such mutual agreements with one another. On the other hand, in order to make R. Na'hman's view of R. Simeon's position plausible, the following wording must be given to the inserted passage: The prohibition is only then in force when the wine is left in the premises of the proprietor with a Jew watching it; but if the wine is left with another heathen, the additional watch is unnecessary, as we do not believe in the mutual agreement of the heathens. To which R. Simeon b. Elazar says: All heathen premises account alike, hence as the watching by a Jew is there requisite, it is so here, too, for I fear, indeed, that the heathen may enter some mutual understanding. There is a Boraitha in accordance with R. Na'hman: R. Simeon b. Elazar says, all premises of heathens are of the same account, for we fear lest they deceive us.

It once happened that Israelites bought of Parsik, the viceroy, the grapes of a vineyard in order to prepare wine

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therefrom; they then left the wine with Parsik's gardeners without having paid for it. Hereupon the disciples of Rabha's college wanted to allow the wine on the ground that there cannot possibly be a mutual agreement between the viceroy and his gardeners. Said Rabha to them: just in this case there is much to fear, because if Parsik wants to falsify the wine, he will meet no barrier.

Once a few casks of wine belonging to an Israelite were lying in the street, and a heathen was found standing among them; Rabha, upon being asked what is to be done with the wine, said: If this man is known to be a thief, the wine is allowed, for he will fear to touch the wine in the open street, lest he be suspected of stealing it; but if he is an honest man the wine is forbidden, because of the reasonable fear, maybe he touched it.

CHAPTER 5.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING WAGES AND LIBATION WINE.--EFFECTS OF SUCH WINE WHEN FALLING ON FRUIT OR MIXING WITH OTHER WINE.--UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES WINE MAY BE LEFT WITH A HEATHEN.--CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH JEWISH WINE IS SOLD TO HEATHENS.--DETERMINATION OF QUANTITY OF LIBATION WINE MIXED WITH OTHER WINE.-HOW VESSELS OF HEATHEN ARE TO BE ALTERED TO MAKE THEM FIT FOR A JEWISH TABLE.

MISHNA 1.: The wages of a Jewish labourer hired by a heathen to work with him wine for libation are prohibited. But if he was hired for some other work and was then told: Bring this cask of offered wine from one place to another, the wages are allowed. If a heathen hires of a Jew an ass to carry on it such wine, the reward is forbidden; if, however, he hired it to sit thereon, it is allowed even if he had with him his wine-flask.

GEMARA: The reason why the wages are prohibited is hardly that all the benefit of offered wine is forbidden, because the following speaks against such a reason--viz.: Although arlah (the fruit growing on a tree within the first three years after it has been planted) is prohibited, likewise the fruit of a field sowed in a vineyard kelaim (variegated seeds); yet if one sells these fruits and with the money thus obtained betroths himself to a girl, she is regarded his legitimate wife. Nor can it be said that the wages follow the same rules with the wine, just as the money obtained from the sale of an idol is subject to the regulations governing the latter; because, as it is known, the money gotten for the fruits growing on the Sabbathic year is subject to the rules of the fruits themselves, and yet we learned that, if one invites the labourer, saying: Take this dinar and gather herbs for me to-day, this reward is forbidden; but if the invitation is made thus: Gather for me herbs to-day, the reward is allowed when this case takes place on the Sabbathic year. Hence, wages are allowed after all! Said R. Abuhu in the name of R. Johanan: This is a fine which the sages find necessary to impose upon driver and offered wine. In the case of wine, as said above in the Mishna, and in the case of drivers in the following Boraitha: The reward obtained by drivers for transporting fruits; grown on the Sabbathic year is considered Sabbathic. Now, what does this mean: The reward is Sabbathic? It cannot possibly mean that the reward is made in fruit of the Sabbathic year, for the proprietor of the fruit would thus meet a debt with fruit which is by law allowed [Levit. 25:6]: "For food," but not to traffic with. Neither can this expression be interpreted to mean: The reward is as holy as the fruit of the Sabbathic year, because of the Mishna cited above: If one says: Gather for me fruit to-day, the reward is allowed. Said Abayi: It speaks of a reward paid with the Sabbathic fruit; and as to the difficulty of "food and not for traffic" it can be answered that he gives him the fruit as a present, and not as reward, as we find a similar case in the following Mishna: One must not say to his neighbour: Carry this fruit for me to Jerusalem, of which take a part as your reward; but he may say: Carry it to be eaten in Jerusalem, and there they present each other the fruit as a present. Rabha, however, said: It means that the reward becomes holy like the Sabbathic fruit itself, and the difficulty that it is allowed to a labourer is not considered, for the rabbis do not care to fine him for such a trifle.

The schoolmen propounded a question: How is it when the heathen hires a Jewish labourer to prepare wine in general? Shall we assume that, since all use of this wine is prohibited just as that of offered wine, the wages are by implication not allowable, or that the wine in general is not so rigorously treated by reason of its differing from the offered wine in that it does not defile an Israelite by touch, while the latter does so, and hence, that the wages in this case be allowed? Come and hear! A heathen once hired a Jewish boatman to convey for him some wine to a certain place and paid him for the labour in wheat. The labourer appeared then before R. 'Hisda asking him what is to be done with the wheat? The answer was: You must burn it and bury the ashes; hence, such wages, too, are prohibited. The disciples of R. Janai were wont to borrow on the Sabbathic year fruit from the poor and to pay them back in fruit the succeeding year. R. Johanan was interrogated as to the legitimacy of this act, and he found it in accord with the law. 1

R. Na'hman, Ula, Abimi b. Papa, and R. Hyya b. Ammi were once sitting together and discussing the following point: If an Israelite is hired to break the casks that contained offered wine of which some remnant may now flow yet, is he allowed to receive payment for his work or not? The possible reason for a negative answer is that the labourer desirous to get work wishes for the existence of whole casks, and thereby also for that of the prohibited wine left therein; while on the other hand the reason for a positive answer is that he by his labour destroys the wine. Thereupon decided R. Na'hman: The labourer may without any scruples break the casks and get paid therefor; in addition to it, he may yet earn the blessing of Heaven! The following Boraitha corroborates R. Nahman's decision: The Israelite is prohibited from assisting a heathen in ploughing a field sowed with kelaim (variegated seeds), but he is allowed to weed out various seeds so that only one kind be left, for he thereby diminishes the unallowed.

At some other time the same sages were together discussing the question as to whether or no the use of the money obtained by a heathen from the sale of an idol is all forbidden to an Israelite (just as it is in case the Israelite sells an idol)? Said R. Na'hman: It seems to be allowable, because once there came some heathens to Rabba b. Abuhu and declared themselves willing to embrace Judaism, whereupon he replied: If this is your intention, it is incumbent on you first to sell out all you have, for as soon as you have become Israelites, your wine and idols are prohibited to sell. Whence it follows that they are allowed, even after they become Israelites, to use the money gotten from selling the idols when yet heathens. The others objected to this inference, saying: In this case the intention of becoming an Israelite renders surely their idols profaned. Hereupon R. Na'hman recited the following Boraitha: If a heathen pays his debt to an Israelite in money, which he obtained from the sale of an idol or offered wine, the Israelite is allowed to accept it; if, however, the heathen asks his creditor to wait until after he has sold his idol or offered wine, the Israelite is prohibited to accept the money. Hence, in the former case, the money is allowed. And why is it forbidden in the latter case? Because, said R. Sheshith, the Israelite would then apparently wish for the existence of a prohibited object till it gets sold. But is there not a Mishna that, a proselyte and a heathen having inherited their father, a heathen, the former may say: You take the idols and I the money, you the wine and I the other fruit in exchange; but as soon as an object enters the control of the proselyte all exchange is forbidden? Now, you see that, though the proselyte doubtless wishes for the existence of the prohibited objects, the exchange is originally allowed. Said R. Papa: The sages treated exceptionally this case of a proselyte with leniency in order not to encourage his return to heathendom. Yea, there is a Boraitha to this effect: The decision in favour of the proselyte is limited only to the case of inheritance, but does not concern partnership.

The above-mentioned sages happened to be once more together and to discuss the following question: Can a citizen-proselyte, a heathen settled down in the land of Israel, on having taken upon himself not to practise idol-worship only, profane an idol, or only an actual idol-worshipper can do this? R. Na'hman said: In all probability the latter is the case. An objection was raised from the following Tosephtha: An Israelite who found an idol in the market, may, before taking possession thereof, ask a heathen to profane it, but not after he had taken possession of it; and the reason is that the sages have established a rule that a heathen may profane his own idol as well as that of his neighbour immaterial whether he worships it or not. Now let us see what does the last expression "whether he worships or not" mean; if it means a heathen, it is superfluous, as it was already stated that a heathen may profane his neighbour's idol although he has not worshipped it; we must then say that it means a citizen-proselyte, hence the latter can profane? Nay; it may speak only of a heathen, and as to the apparently superfluous expression, it may be said that the first part speaks of the idols of one kind, e.g., both of the kind Peor or Markules, while the last part has in view two different idols, e.g., one of Peor and the other of Markules, and nevertheless the heathen may profane even the one in whose worship he does not believe. Another objection was raised: Who is called a citizen-proselyte? He who took upon himself before three scholars not to practise any idol-worship, so said R. Mair; while the sages define him to be one who binds himself to observe the seven commandments accepted by the descendants of Noah. According to some anonymous teachers, such proselyte is only he who accepts all the commandments of the Torah except eating the meat of carcasses. Such a proselyte may be left alone for some short while in a room where Jewish wine is kept; however, it is not allowable to store such wine in his house even when the majority of the city inhabitants be Israelites. He may be employed as watchman of such wine even where the heathens make up the majority of the population. His oil is subject to the same regulations. But can oil be prohibited by itself? Nay; reverse the statement and read: Wine is subject to the same regulations with oil; while with regard to all other things this proselyte is on equal terms with the heathen. R. Simeon, however, holds that the wine of such a proselyte is regarded as offered wine. According to others, however, R. Simeon allows the wine even to drink. Now that this Boraitha declares this proselyte on equal terms with the heathen in all other respects, it is indicated that he can profane an idol, which contradicts R. Na'hman's view. Retorted R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: This equalization refers but to the law regulating both the transferring and renouncing of his ownership (explained in Erubin).

R. Jehudah sent once a present to the heathen Abidrana on one of the heathen feast-days, justifying this his action thus: I know that Abidrana does not worship idols. Said to him R. Joseph: Your reasoning appears fallacious, because of the above-cited Boraitha that he, a proselyte, must take upon himself before three scholars to renounce all idol-worship, which condition is wanting in your case. Rejoined R. Jehudah: This Boraitha intends but to say that this one condition binds the Jewish community to support this proselyte in case he becomes poor. Thereupon the other objected: Has not Rabba b. b. 'Hana said in the name of R. Johanan that a citizen-proselyte who fails to let himself circumcise during twelve months is to be regarded as a heathen heretic? Accordingly, you should not have given a present to Abidrana, who is not circumcised. Answered R. Jehudah: R. Johanan surely meant that a proselyte who fails to keep his promise to be circumcised within twelve months is a heretic.

Once Rabha wanted to give on a heathen feast-day a present to the heathen Bar Sheshach, who he knew was no idol-worshipper. But when he came into his house he saw him sitting in a bath of rosewater, and surrounded by indecent and disgraceful girls. Upon noticing Rabha, the heathen exclaimed: Have you Jews in prospect such pleasures in your paradise? And Rabha answered: Much better than these. Do you really mean, said the other, that there are greater pleasures than this? Retorted Rabha: In the heat of all your voluptuousness you can't help fearing lest the king disturb you and mar your pleasure; while we expect to be free from such fear in paradise! Well, said the heathen, if others do, I, for my part, do not fear the king. No sooner had he uttered this than a messenger came from the sovereign and said to Bar Sheshach: Go in all haste to the king, as he wants to speak to you! Then Bar Sheshach, addressing himself to Rabha, said: May the eye that wishes to see evil jump out of its orbit; whereupon Rabha said: Amen! And the eye of Bar Sheshach jumped out immediately. R. Papi said: Rabha should have applied this verse in answer to Bar Sheshach--viz. [Ps. 45:10]: "Kings' daughters are among those dear to thee: the queen standeth on thy right hand in fine gold of Ophir." R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak would have preferred this verse [Is. 64:4]: "No eye had seen a god beside thee, who could do [the like] for the one that waiteth for him."

"But if he was hired for some other work," etc. It is apparent from here that the wages are allowable even when the labourer had been ordered to carry the wine before he finished the other work; and yet there is a Tosephtha: When the heathen tells his Jewish labourer, after he has finished his day's work, to carry a cask of offered wine from one place to another, the wages are allowed, but the remuneration for the carrying is not; but if the heathen ordered him to do this sometime during the day's work, the whole pay is forbidden. Hence this apparently contradicts the Mishna? Said Abayi: The Mishna, too, implies the same limitation. Rabha, however, interprets the Mishna to allow the wages even when the carrying was done in the middle of the other work, and meets the apparent contradiction thus: The Tosephtha teaches: When a heathen tells his Jewish labourer: Carry 100 casks from this to that place and I will pay you 100 perutoth, and it was then found that ninety-nine of the casks were with oil while one was with offered wine, all the wages are prohibited, for it is the last forbidden cask that completes the claim for wages. The Mishna, however, intends to teach that, when the labourer works per cask, he is allowed to receive the wages and to reject the pay for so many forbidden casks he had to carry. This exposition of the subject coincides with the following Boraitha: A Jewish labourer hired to carry 100 casks among which one was found to contain offered wine is prohibited from all his wages; if, however, he was hired to be paid per each cask, he should cast away the pay for this one prohibited cask, while the other pay is allowed.

"If a heathen hires of a Jew an ass," etc. This rule, which is obviously implied in the first statement, is mentioned by the Mishna merely for the sake of its second part--viz.: If, however, he hired it in order to sit thereon, the reward is allowed even when he had along with him the wine-flask. 1

The father of R. A'ha b. R. Ika, who was a wine-dealer, sold once wine to heathens. He had to bring it over across a river and empty it into their casks, retaining his for his trouble. This subject was brought before Abayi, and he said: What R. A'ha's father is doing is certainly allowed, for the wine is not prohibited unless already in the casks of the heathens.

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MISHNA 2.: If offered wine be poured on grapes, they must only be washed and are allowed. If, however, they were cracked, they are prohibited. Again, when such wine be poured on dates and figs, they are forbidden if the wine impart them a pleasant flavour. Bithus b. Zonan brought once dried figs in a ship, and a cask of offered wine happened to burst, the wine spilling upon the figs, but the sages who were asked on this point declared them allowable. The rule is: A prohibited thing renders another one forbidden if it imparts to it a pleasant flavour, but if not, it is allowed, e.g., vinegar poured over grit.

GEMARA: The decision of the sages in the case of Bithus is apparently in contradiction with the prohibition immediately preceding it. The explanation, however, is that the Mishna is not complete, and must read as follows: If the wine imparts them a good flavour they are forbidden; but when it causes them to become insipid, they are allowed; which latter took place in the case of Bithus.

Once such wine was spilt on a heap of wheat, and Rabha, when asked on the point, allowed to sell the wheat to heathens and to use the money thereof. Rabba b. Levi objected to this decision by reason of the following: When a linen thread is woven into a woollen cloth or vice versa, a wool thread into a linen cloth, the Israelite is forbidden to make thereof either a garment or a saddle, or to sell it to heathens; he is allowed to make of it only shrouds for the dead. That these things are not sellable to heathens, can be accounted for only by the assumption that the heathens may thereafter resell them to Israelites who, not knowing that there is a prohibited thread in the doth, will make garments of it. Now, then, we have in the wheat a perfectly analogous case. Rabha, on hearing the objection, ordered the wheat to be first ground, then to bake of its flour bread, which may be sold to heathens, provided no Israelite notices it, lest he might buy the bread of the heathens. But again, why should not the wheat present the same case as the grapes of the Mishna, which must be only washed in order to be allowed? Because, said R. Papa, the wheat grain has a slit in the middle which makes it similar to cracked grapes. Abayi and Rabha are of the same opinion: When old prohibited wine is poured on grapes and they get therefrom an agreeable taste, they are prohibited. But concerning new wine, Abayi prohibits all the grapes as soon as one drop fell on them; while Rabha prohibits them not until after so much wine has fallen upon them as to change perceptibly their taste. Abayi's reason is this: All objects of like taste belong, he believes, to one class, and as soon as a particle, however small, of the prohibited falls upon an object, and be this very big, it, too, becomes prohibited (so, e.g., a drop of forbidden wine falling into a cask renders the wine therein forbidden), and grapes he regards of the one class with wine. On the other hand, Rabha takes for his basis of classification not the taste but the name of the objects, so that homonymous objects will render each other prohibited if 1/60 of the one falls into 59/60 of the other, when a perceptible change in taste may occur, but not if 1/60 falls into 60/60 or more of the other.

In the case when beer-vinegar was intermixed with wine-vinegar, or oaten yeast with wheat yeast, of which in both cases one was allowed and the other forbidden, Abayi prohibits the whole mixture only when the forbidden ingredient tastes perceptibly, while Rabha would prohibit it even when but a drop of the forbidden fell into a whole cask of vinegar; likewise with the yeast Abayi defends his position by his theory: As the ingredients here being of different tastes are not of the same class, the resulting mixture is forbidden only when the prohibited substance is discernible by taste. Rabha, on the other hand, recurs to his name-theory: The vinegars and so the yeasts are homonymous, hence of the same class, consequently a drop of the prohibited suffices to render the whole so. Furthermore, Abayi endeavors to justify his name-theory by the following argumentation. We learn: When spices, forbidden with the same prohibition, of the same kind but of three different names, such as, e.g., pepper, white, black and long, or when spices of three different prohibitions but of the same kind and name, all mix in some meal, it is prohibited, for they are counted together. Thereupon said 'Hiskia: This Mishna speaks of spices possessing equal properties so as to sweeten the meal, when they can be counted together, but not otherwise. Now you see, then, that this, 'Hiskia's explanation, is in the light of my considerations quite plausible, as he guides himself by the taste, while viewed from Rabha's standpoint how can the three spices be counted together now that each has a different name. Hereupon Rabha rejoined: This does not prove your opinion at all, since this Mishna expresses not R. 'Hiskia's view but that of R. Mair of the following Boraitha: R. Jehudah said in the name of R. Mair: When different forbidden things mix with one that is allowed, they may be added to count as one whole, for it reads [Deut. xiv. 3]: "Thou shalt not eat any abomination," etc., i.e., whatever is detestable by the law, is forbidden to eat. Hence, whatever is forbidden, and be it of neither equal name nor taste, can, according to R. Mair, be counted together. Concerning wine into which forbidden vinegar fell in, so that its taste is discernible in that of the wine, all agree that it is prohibited; but if the vinegar is not discernible, the wine is allowed. In the case when prohibited wine mixed in vinegar, Abayi forbids latter even if only one drop fell into it, since the smell of the wine is changed when in proximity with the vinegar and it assumes that of the latter, hence, it is as if vinegar fell into vinegar and makes it forbidden even by a drop. Rabha, on the other hand, holds that only then is the vinegar forbidden when the taste of the wine in it is perceptible, otherwise they remain two separate classes even if the smell of the wine is changed to that of vinegar. Rabha and Abayi said: A heathen may put his nose to the ventilatory orifice of a cask with wine in order to smell the state of the wine, and be it the wine of an Israelite it is not rendered prohibited thereby. An Israelite, however, is not allowed, according to Abayi, to do the like on the wine of heathens, its smell, like itself, being prohibited; while Rabha allows the smell.

"The rule is: a prohibited thing renders another one forbidden," etc. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: This rule is the prevailing Halakha. Furthermore, the grit spoken of in the Mishna is allowed only when it was hot at the time the forbidden vinegar fell upon it, for since vinegar imparts a good odor to cold grit, latter is prohibited even if it be boiled after in order to eliminate the good odor. Rabin, on his return from Palestine, said in the name of Rabba b. b. Hana, quoting R. Johanan as interpreting the Mishna in the very same sense. R. Dimi, too, quoted R. Johanan to the same effect, adding yet that the people of Ciporias are in the habit of preparing on Fridays a meal consisting of cold grit mixed with vinegar and called shichlaim. Resh Lakish interprets this point of the Mishna as follows: That the spoiling of taste by a forbidden thing leaves the mixture allowed, intends to teach that even if this bad taste has been subsequently ameliorated by pepper, salt or other spices, the mixture remains allowed.

R. Abuhu says in the name of R. Johanan: A forbidden object dropped into a food and both visible and smellable therein, renders it unallowable to eat; whoever eats it is liable to stripes, provided, however, be ate of the forbidden object the size of an olive and for so long that one could consume in this time a food equivalent in size to four eggs. But if the forbidden object be only tastable and not visible, the food is prohibited, and the consumption thereof is not attended with stripes. On the other hand, if this object heightens the already bad savor of the food, it is allowed. Why does not R. Johanan say: If this object renders the taste of the food insipid, it is allowed? He intends to indicate that the intrinsic bad taste of the food is a condition for its being allowed after the adulteration with a forbidden object, even when its taste is capable of being improved upon by the use of various spices; and this shows that the prevailing Halakha is in accordance with Resh Lakish. R. Kahana said: From this entire discussion it is evident that a forbidden object dropped into a food and rendering it more insipid, leaves it allowed. Hereupon said Abayi: All the participants of this discussion have unambiguously expressed their respective opinions, with the exception of Resh Lakish, who only interprets the Mishna, reserving to himself his own opinion on the point. Now that the Halakha allows the food in question, it is manifest that there were some sages who thought it unallowable; which is, indeed, the case, as we have learned in the following Boraitha: R. Mair prohibits a food or a beverage rendered either more palatable or more insipid by a forbidden object mixed with it, while R. Simeon prohibits it only when rendered more palatable. Said Ula: They differ only in case when the forbidden object renders the food first more palatable, but then insipid; but when it renders it immediately more insipid, all agree that it is allowed. R. 'Haga objected to Ula from the following: If prohibited wine or vinegar poured upon lentils or grits respectively, each renders the food forbidden; R. Simeon, however, allows both by reason of their becoming thereby more insipid. Now, this former opinion can be only that of R. Mair's, who prohibits it though immediately rendered insipid. Ula answered: A man like 'Haga, who has no notion of what the sages ever say, ventures upon raising objections! The Boraitha adduced by him speaks of cold lentils and cold grits, which become more palatable by the wine or vinegar, but when put on fire they become more insipid, and it is this case that R. Mair forbids. R. Johanan, however, said: It is the case where a forbidden object renders a food more insipid right after mixing with it, that R. Mair prohibits and R. Simeon allows.

It once happened that a mouse was found in a barrel of beer and Rabh prohibited the beer. Whereupon the rabbis said in the presence of R. Sheshith: From this decision of Rabh we see that he prohibits anything that is rendered more insipid by a forbidden object mixed with it. Said R. Sheshith: Nay; this is far from being the case; this decision is but an exceptional with Rabh. Indeed, a mouse is so detestable a creature that no one would think of eating, and yet the law specifically prohibits it. It is this circumstance that induced Rabh to the above decision. However, R. Simi from Nahardea said: A mouse is by no means so abominable a creature; as a matter of fact, the field-mouse is being served even on princely tables, but in the case of the beer it was a house-mouse, and house-mice are not eaten. Rabha said: The Halakha is that a forbidden object rendering the food more insipid leaves it allowed, and as to Rabh, his reason is not obvious; if he thought the insipidness of no account, the Halakha is against him, or maybe he thought that the mouse contributes toward bettering the taste of the beer!

The schoolmen propounded a question: How is it when a mouse falls into vinegar? Said R. Hillel to R. Ashi: Such an incident occurred in the presence of R. Kahana and he prohibited the vinegar. R. Ashi remarked: This decision of R. Kahana hardly admits of generalization, for the mouse there was already wholly decomposed and he rationally feared lest something of the mouse would be consumed together with the vinegar. Rabina was about to allow the vinegar, provided its bulk was 100 fold that of the mouse, basing this upon the same law regarding Teruma, but R. Tachlipha b. Gisa reminded him to draw rather the comparison with the spices of the Teruma, where a portion of 101 fold is requisite. According to the calculation of R. Ashi the bulk of the vinegar in order to be allowed must be to that of the mouse in the ratio of fifty to one. R. Samuel b. Aika finds the ratio of sixty to one necessary to declare allowable the beer. This ratio remains as the prevailing Halakha with regard to all contamination by forbidden objects (e.g., when into a pot containing sixty pounds of allowed meat one pound of pork meat is mixed in, the whole mixture is allowed to eat).

MISHNA 3.: Wine known as being watched is allowed when transported from place to place by a heathen and an Israelite, even if the latter absent himself. However, if he notifies the heathen that he is taking leave, and be it only for as short an interval as to enable one to bore a hole, close it up and have it dried, the wine is forbidden. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel says: This interval must be so long, that he could open the bunghole, close it again and have it dried.

When an Israelite leaves his wine on the wagon or boat of a heathen and himself takes a shorter road, the wine is allowed even if he succeeded to reach first the destination and to have a bath meanwhile. But if he notified the heathen of his leave, and be it for only as short an interval as to enable one to bore a hole, close it, and have it dried, the wine is prohibited. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel says: As long as to open the bunghole, close it and have it dried. When an Israelite admits a heathen into his wine store, the wine is allowed, even if the Israelite is only coming in and out; if, however, he says that he is going to absent himself, and be it only for as short an interval as to enable one to bore a hole, close it and have it dried, the wine is forbidden. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel says: As long as to open the bung, close it again and have it dried.

When an Israelite dines with a heathen at the same table, puts a bottle of wine on the table and another one on the by-table (δελφικος) and goes out, what is on the table is prohibited, what on the by-table is allowed; but if he said to the heathen: You only help yourself to the wine and drink, the bottle on the by-table is forbidden, too. If he leaves open casks they are prohibited; closed ones, they are only then forbidden when the heathen could unbung them, close again and have them dried.

GEMARA: "Wine known as being watched," etc. This seems to express the same idea of the following Boraitha: When he who accompanies his drivers leaves them to convey the clean objects from one place to another, himself going away from them even a whole mile, the objects remain clean; if, however, he told them: You go ahead and I shall follow you, the objects are unclean, as soon as he loses sight thereof. R. Itz'hak interpreted this Boraitha to mean in its first half that the owner had first to cleanse both his driver and animals with water.

"When an Israelite leaves his wine in the wagon," etc. These two cases, though seemingly identical, are providing for different points. Indeed, the latter case could not be so generalized as to include the former, for here it may be assumed that the heathen is under the influence of constant fear lest the proprietor come in at any moment, while the condition on the wagon or boat is different. On the other hand, the former case cannot include the other one, for on the wagon there is yet a possibility left for the heathen to fear, lest he be overtaken by surprise and looked after from another direction, while in the store be could presumably lock the door, thus securing himself against surprise and doing what he pleases. Hence, the Mishna states both these cases. Rabba b. b. 'Hana in the name of R. Johanan: The Mishna prohibits the wine only when the bunghole of the cask was closed up with lime, but if with clay, an interval so long as to enable the heathen to open the hole, close it again and let it dry is necessary to prohibit it. Whereupon it was objected: A Boraitha teaches that R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said to the sages: When the heathen broaches the cask and then closes it up again, this is recognisable on the outward as well as on the inner surface of the bung. Now, if the stuff of which the bung is made be clay, R. Simeon's idea is clear, for clay when old becomes brighter in colour, wherefor the new in it is easily distinguishable by the colour, because the new clay cannot combine with the old one, since the hand cannot reach the inner sides. But if, as you incline to think, the sages speak of a lime bung, the new lime is not recognised, having as it does

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the same colour as the old one. This objection was met thus: R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, ignorant of whether the sages spoke of a lime and a clay bung, was endeavoring to show that even in the case of lime a change produced by breaking is discernible though only on the inward side; so that the sages answered this point, contending that so long as it is not recognisable on the outward, the wine is prohibited, for it is to be feared that the inner side of the bung might perchance become difficult of recognising, or that it was altogether forgotten to examine it. Said Rabha: It seems that the Halakha prevails with R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, for the end of the Mishna gives his opinion without mentioning his name. And Rabha did well to remind of this, for otherwise it could be thought that the whole of the concluding paragraph (i.e., beginning with R. Simeon till the end) was said by R. Simeon b. Gamaliel. But now that the Halakha here prevails with R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, i.e., that there is no fear lest the heathen should break the cask, and above in Chap. II. it prevails with R. Eliezar, i.e., the cask being well bunged, there is no fear of the heathen's opening it, why are we still refraining from keeping our wine in the house of a heathen? The answer is this: Every cask has a small orifice for ventilation, and it is feared lest the heathen should somehow get at the wine through it.

Rabha said: Though Israelites that come into the house of a heathen prostitute may not resist the sexual impulse, yet the wine which they chance to bring there is allowed, for they will surely prevent the prostitute from touching it. If, however, heathens visit a Jewish prostitute, her wine becomes prohibited, for it is safe to conclude that since she lowers herself so much as to have intercourse with heathens, she will admit them to touch her wine, too.

A heathen once happened to enter the wine-store of an Israelite, where he himself had some wine; he closed the door which had, however, a crevice, and through it he was seen standing among the Israelite's casks. Rabha decided this case thus: Only the casks visible through the crevice are allowed.

Jewish wine was once stored up in a house where a heathen and an Israelite lived in the lower and upper floors respectively. One day the two, alarmed by a sudden noise in the street, went out to see what was the matter; the heathen was then the first to return, and locked the door. In this case Rabha allowed the wine, for, he argued, the heathen may think that the Israelite entered first and might surprise him any minute. In another case where a heathen was found among casks of Jewish wine at an inn, Rabha decided thus: If the heathen is suspicious of being a thief, the wine is allowed, for he will be afraid to touch it; but if this is not the case, the wine is forbidden, for once be approached it he must have touched it.

There was another case where a heathen was found among the casks and Rabha decided it again conditionally--viz.: If the heathen has good reasons to account for his being in the cellar the wine is prohibited, because the fear of being surprised is counterbalanced by the said reasons, and he will surely touch the wine; but if he has no such reasons, the wine is allowed, because of his fearing to be surprised. An objection was raised from the following: Unguarded Jewish wine in a public inn in which Israelites always come and go, but which happened to be closed so that it became inaccessible to Israelites; or wine left in the inn by an Israelite who requested a heathen from outside to watch it, is in both cases forbidden. In the latter case the heathen has sufficient ground to believe that the Israelite, who of his own accord made him the watchman of the wine, will not return so soon, so that there is ample time to touch the wine; this wine, we see, is indeed forbidden, though the heathen, if taken by surprise, would have no reasons to account for his being near it! Now, Rabha would allow the wine under these conditions. The Boraitha, then, must, therefore, be so interpreted as to mean that the heathen would have reasons for approaching the wine.

An Israelite and a heathen were once at an inn sitting and drinking wine. As the hour of prayer arrived, the Israelite went to pray, leaving the wine where it was. Rabha allowed this wine on the basis of the heathen's fearing to be surprised.

Once an Israelite was with his wine in a boat where a heathen, too, embarked. On hearing the trumpet announcing the approach of Sabbath, the Israelite went on land to enjoy there the Sabbath day. Also in this case Rabha allowed the wine left alone on the boat with the heathen, on the above basis. The possible objection here--viz.: The heathen, knowing that the Israelite will not on Sabbath come back to the boat, will have no fear of being surprised, Rabha meets by saying that the heathens do not believe the Israelites to keep the Sabbath so strictly, and he corroborates this view by citing the words of the proselyte, Issur, who told him that, when yet a heathen, he was sharing in the general conviction of all other heathens that the Jews merely pretend to observe the Sabbath day, because if they actually kept it, there would be found the pocket-books lost in the streets, since the Jews are prohibited from picking them up on Sabbath. However, the proselyte went on: Since he became an Israelite he has learned to know better the law laid down on this point by R. Itz'hak--viz.: When an Israelite finds on Sabbath a pocket-book, he must stop for a while, then move on for a distance less than four ells, stop again, etc., till he reaches his house, where he may leave it, and this is the reason why there are no pocket-books in the streets on the day of Sabbath. An Israelite once happened to leave his wine in the press. Meanwhile a heathen, who heard the roaring of a lion, ran into the press among the casks of wine for his life. Rabha allowed this wine, because the heathen will surely think that some Israelite, too, may chance to save himself here from the lion, and thus take him by surprise, were he to attempt at touching the wine.

In the city of Pumbeditha thieves once intruded into a house, and it was afterward feared that the casks of wine had been opened by them. As it was not certain whether the thieves were Jews or heathens, the case was brought before Rabha, who allowed the wine on the ground that the majority of thieves in that city are Jews. In a similar case that occurred in Nahardea, Samuel, too, allowed the wine.

A heathen girl was once found among the casks of Jewish wine, holding in her hands wine froth. Rabha allowed the wine, for she might have gotten the froth on the outside of the cask, which, though now no longer noticeable there, might have come out before by chance.

Soldiers once arrived at Nahardea and opened quite a number of Jewish casks. R. Dimi tells of a similar case that occurred in Palestine, and R. Elazar allowed the wine, with no definite reasons, however, to base this decision; he either guided himself by the opinion of R. Eliezar, who holds that a doubt as to whether or no a heathen came near the wine found open is a reason to allow it; or he assumed that the majority of the soldiers were Jews.

A Jewish woman, dealing in wine, once left her keys in charge of a heathen, and the question came up as to whether her wine she has in the tavern is allowed? Said R. Itz'hak in the name of R. Elazar: A similar case was once cited before the sages assembled in college, and they allowed the wine; because entrusting one with the taking care of the key by no means allows him into the room. Abayi said: A like decision is pronounced in the following Boraitha: When one leaves to the care of an ignoramus the keys of his barn where fruit is stored up, the fruit is not defiled, because the keeper of the key is only appointed to watch the key. It is thus obvious that, since in the case of an ignoramus who is ignorant of the rules regarding cleanness the fruit is none the less allowed, the more so in case of the wine. It must, moreover, be concluded from here that the provisions of wine are not so stringent as those of cleanness. The like was, indeed, taught, as follows: When a Jewish scholar lives in the same house with an ignoramus, each having his own courtyard separated from the other's by a low partition, so that one can look over into the other one's yard, and the scholar stores up in his yard something capable of being defiled, and goes away, these things are rendered unclean on the assumption that his ignorant neighbour has touched them. But if the scholar's neighbour is a heathen and the former deposited wine in his own yard, this is, according to Rabh, allowed. R. Johanan, however, holds that the former, too, remains clean.

MISHNA 4.: When an army enters a town in time of peace, the open wine-casks are forbidden, the closed ones are allowed; but if in time of war, both are allowed, for there is no leisure then to make libations.

GEMARA: This Mishna was contradicted from the following: When a city is conquered by a besieging army, the wives of the priests are prohibited to their husbands. Whence it follows that the soldiers find time for debauchery. Thereupon replied R. Mari that they do not find time for offering wine, but they find it for satisfying their voluptuous inclinations.

MISHNA 5.: Artisans who are offered by a heathen a cask of offered wine as their remuneration, are allowed to ask of him its worth in money; if, however, the wine has already entered their possession, they are forbidden to ask it.

GEMARA: R. Jehudah said in the name of Rabh: A Jew may say to a heathen, Go and pay for me the government taxes, without becoming liable, even if the heathen gave to the treasury wine instead of money. The following Boraitha was, however, adduced as objecting to this view: A Jew is not allowed to ask a heathen: Go and gratify for me this or that officer. Hereupon Rabh answered: The two cases are incomparable; I allow a Jew to pay his taxes through a heathen, while the Boraitha prohibits him from asking the heathen to do such a thing for which doing the Jew is himself responsible.

MISHNA 6.: He who sells his wine to a heathen is allowed to use the money, provided he has fixed the price before measuring the wine, but if he had first measured out and then determined the price, the money is forbidden.

GEMARA: Amemer said: The law governing the transition of title in an object with the object itself extends to non-Israelites as well; instance the Persians, who are in the habit of sending presents to one another; they can never get back the present which once reached the possession of the other one, since ex facto the title passes to the latter and the present is regarded his ownership. R. Ashi, however, questioned this positive extension of the law, and rejected the adduced instance as not convincing, because the fact that the Persians do not return presents is due merely to the pride they take in not asking back whatever they have once given away (but if they were asking it back, it would have to be returned). This view can be further substantiated by the following: Rabh was instructing the Jewish winesellers to take of the heathen the money before giving him the wine, and to rather lend him money for which he might buy his wine, than to give him wine on credit, for by the fact of getting the wine he does not yet obtain title therein, hence, he renders it as Jewish wine unallowable for use. This shows convincingly that the law mentioned at the outset is not extended to non-Israelites. Thereupon it was further argued that Rabh would prohibit the wine only when it has been measured out to the heathen in his vessels, which fact, apart from the question of ownership, renders of itself the wine forbidden. But, was again contended, admitting this argument, we can none the less say that the question of ownership is concerned here--viz.: The wine becomes unallowable as soon as it reaches the bottom of the heathen's vessel, but it becomes his property as soon as the Israelite begins to pour it, i.e., before it reaches the bottom of the heathen's vessel and when it is yet allowed, and still Rabh instructs the wineseller to take the money first. Whence it may be inferred that the flow is considered a connecting link.

Shall we assume that Rabh. told the Jewish winedealears to have their heathen customers pay in advance, because he holds that the jet between the two vessels unites them so as to be regarded one, wherefore the wine becomes forbidden as soon as the first drop of it touches the heathen's vessel? However, the adduced is not at all evidence that the said law is not extended to the non-Jews, for if the heathen kept the vessel in his hand while the Israelite is pouring Rabh would not prohibit the money, as he prohibits only when the vessel stands on the ground while the pouring is being done. It can, however, be shown that, notwithstanding this, it is evidence against the extension of the said law. For, the wine is the heathen's property as soon as it enters his vessel, and yet it is not forbidden, unless he touches it; and the Israelite would be allowed to take the money also after, were this law extended to the non-Jews, too. Now that Rabh requires the payment to be made in advance, it is clearly shown that the law is not extended beyond the Jews.

Or shall we assume that Rabh. holds that so long as the object sold is in the vendors' house, though in the purchasers' vessel, it is not regarded as received until after the purchaser takes it into his hand? But this would speak neither for nor against the extension of the law. The fact is that Rabh. requires payment in advance for an entirely different reason, viz.: he fears lest the vessel brought by the heathen to the Israelite have some wine drops on its brim, so that as soon as the wine poured in touches them it gets all prohibited.

If we admit this to be the case, it would seem that Rabh. differs with R. Simeon b. Gamaliel who said: When forbidden wine is entered into allowed one, it is not allowed to drink, but it is allowed to sell it and derive benefit from its money, excepting however the worth of the admixed forbidden wine, which should be cast into the sea. Nay, Rabh. does not differ with, but holds that R. Simeon allows the benefit of the wine only when there was mixed among many casks one of forbidden wine; then all casks may be sold and the worth of the one forbidden should be cast into the sea: but if wine is mixed with wine, also he prohibits all benefit thereof.

The following objection was raised against Amemer: When an Israelite buys of a heathen old silver where he finds an idol, he should, upon receiving title in, and paying money for, the silver, throw the idol into the sea; if, however, he has not yet paid the money for, though already received, the silver, he should return the same, saying: I do not buy it. Now, if the law were extended to non-Jews, how could here the Israelite return the silver already received by him? Said Abayi: This is no objection, as in this case the transaction is made merely by error, the Israelite believing all the time that he receives old silver and not an idol; hence, as he had not in mind to buy an idol, he may return it. But, rejoined Rabha, if you consider this but an erroneous transaction, why should the Israelite cast the idol into the sea, once he has paid the money? Why should he not rather return it also here and disclose the error? The answer is that the Israelite may, indeed, regard the transaction erroneous, but lest it should appear as if the Israelite is getting money for an idol, the sages prohibited him to return it.

Mar, the elder son of R. 'Hisda, said to R. Ashi: But it is expressly stated in the Mishna that if one sells his wine to a heathen and has determined the price before he measures out the wine, the money is allowed. Now, if according to your opinion the foregoing law is not extended to non-Israelites, how should we understand this Mishna? Here of necessity the wine would have to be considered the' Jew's property, until after he has received the money; but as the wine becomes prohibited when touched by the heathen, the Jew should not be allowed to take the money therefor? Hence we must say that the law is extended, and the wine (of the Mishna) is regarded property of the heathen as soon as he has received it, so that by touching it he renders prohibited his property, and therefore the Jew is allowed to take the money. Hereupon said

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R. Ashi. The Mishna may be understood also without your explanation, viz.: He had received the money before the heathen took possession of the wine. But, retorted the other, if so, how is the concluding sentence of the Mishna to be understood, viz.: If he had measured out the wine before he determined the price, the benefit of the money is forbidden? Said R. Ashi: And according to your opinion the wine belongs to the heathen as soon as he has received it, why then is here the money forbidden? You see then that the main point here is the fixing of the price. It is namely the fixing of the price that conditions the passing of the title: if the price was fixed before the measuring, the wine is the heathen's and its money is, therefore, allowed; but if after, it is not yet the heathen's and its money is forbidden.

Said Rabina to R. Ashi: Come and bear what R. 'Hyya b. Aba said in the name of R. Johanan, if a descendant of Noah steals an object worth even less than a peruta, his sentence is death, and the law of returning (the stolen) is not applied here. Now, why is this law not applied here? presumably because the object in question is of so little value that no one will care to require it. Assuming now that the previously discussed law is not extended to non-Israelites, why should a descendant of Noah be subject to capital punishment for stealing from a Jew, when the object is here always to be regarded as remaining the property of the Jew? Hereupon said R. Ashi: It is so indeed, and he is not put to death for the theft, but for his intention to kill the Jew if be attempted to resist. Retorted Rabina: If such be the case, how do you understand the non-applicability in this case of the law of returning? And be answered: As the descendant of Noah causes by said intention a state which he can neither annul nor reward, the said law is not applicable here. (Says the Gemara): If so, how is to be understood the last part that when his comrade robs from the first thief the stolen object, he is to be put to death; now, according to your opinion, the second robber who has nothing to do here with the Jew, should pot be put to death! Hence it is shown that the law regarding the passing of title in an object (by merely touching it) does extend to non-Israelites.

Once an Israelite said to his neighbour: When I make up my mind to sell this field I will sell it to you. Later on he sold it to a third party. R. Joseph decided that the first one is entitled to the field, provided he gives the same price offered by the other purchaser. Abayi, however, disputed this decision on the ground that the owner did not fix a price when making the promise to the first party; and, as it is evident from our Mishna, a sale is determined by the fixing of the price, I should like to know if the Mishna concerns itself only with wine because of its being very rigorous, or also with all other sales? Come and hear. Aidi b. Abin said: A case similar to that of the fore. going sale of the field was once brought up before R. 'Hisda, and he consulted R. Huna about it. R. Huna decided it from the following Mishna: When one brings to market fruit on animals or men, and a purchaser, asking him to convey this fruit to his house, himself leads the men or animals with the fruit to his house, the fruit is not yet thereby considered his own, and it is immaterial whether the price was determined upon before or after the measuring of the fruit. The two, purchaser and vendor, may yet withdraw. But if the fruit was unloaded and carried into the house, the following conditions are determining: If the price had been fixed before the measuring began, the sale is a sale and neither vendor nor purchaser can withdraw; if, however, the measuring takes place before the fixing of the price, either party may nullify the transaction. It is thus obvious that (the time of) fixing the price is a condition precedent to a valid transaction.

An Israelite once said to his neighbour: When I make up my mind to sell this field, I will sell it to you for a hundred zuz. Sometime later he sold it to another one for 120 zuz, and R. Kahana decided the case in favour of the first party (to whom the owner made the promise). R. Jacob from Naharpakod disputed this decision, contending that the owner, while making his promise, had no desire yet to sell the field; it was only the high price of 120 that induced him to the sale, while for a hundred zuz he would not sell it yet. And the Halakha prevails with R. Jacob from Naharpakod; e.g., if one offers to sell to his fellowman an article for a price estimated by three people and then two of them find the article to be worth 100 zuz and the third estimated it at 120 zuz, the estimate of the two prevails. But if the condition of the offerer was that the price be determined by three people, all the three must agree in their determination of the price. (The reason of this distinction is that in the former case the three persons who are to estimate constitute a jury, and hence the majority rules, while in the latter case the three are to determine the price, which can be done by persons not on the jury, and hence the determination must be unanimous.) However, if the offerer put up the condition that the price of the article be either estimated or determined by four, unanimity is a requisite in both the cases (because by leaving the matter to four people the vendor clearly indicates that he does not want a jury, as a jury never consists of four). Again, if the vendor after empowering three men to estimate the article refuses afterward to abide by their estimate, requiring to choose another three men who, he thinks, better understand the value of such articles, R. Papa says: He has the right to do so, while R. Huna b. R. Jehoshua denies him such right on the ground that with such a right the vendor would be enabled to drag the transaction ad infinitum. And the Halakha prevails with R. Huna b. R. Jehoshua.

MISHNA 7.: If the funnel was first used to measure through it into the heathen's flask and then into that of an Israelite, the wine of the latter is forbidden when there has been left in the funnel a drop or so from the heathen's wine. Furthermore, wine left in the vessel after some of it has been poured into a heathen's vessel, is allowed, but the wine poured out is forbidden.

GEMARA: An objection was raised from the following Mishna: The jet formed by the pouring, the streaming flow and the moisture form no connecting link for either defiling or purification, while a cellar does form a connection for both; and according to R. Huna the let, etc., form also such a connection with regard to wine.

R. 'Hisda once said to the Jewish wine-dealers: When pouring your wine into the cask of a heathen, you either do it abruptly, bending each time your vessel backward, or do it all at once--all this in order that the jet may not connect the two vessels. Rabha said to the wine-pourers: Do not allow a heathen to assist you in pouring, for it may happen that a heathen, supporting all alone a vessel, would empty its contents without the aid of the Israelite, and this would render the thus emptied wine forbidden.

An Israelite was once emptying wine from one cask to another by means of a siphon, when a heathen came and touched the siphon. Rabha prohibited the wine in both casks. Hereupon R. Papa, according to others R. Ada b. Mathna, or to still others, Rabina, said to Rabha: Shall we assume that the jet forms a connection, and that on this your decision is based? And the answer was: Nay; this case is of a different nature; the heathen's touching the syphon is equivalent to his touching the cask itself. Mar Zutra b. R. Na'hman said: An Israelite may drink with a heathen from one decanter called kanishkanin (having several pipes), provided the former is the first to stop drinking; for if the heathen were the first to stop, the wine left in the pipe would flow back into the decanter and render unallowed the whole wine therein. Rabha b. R. Huna, when at the house of the Exilearch, said the same, and according to others, he himself drank from a kanishkanin.

MISHNA 8.: Devoted wine is prohibited and renders unallowable even by a minimal quantity; the same is the case with devoted wine or water mixed with other wine or water respectively, and be it in a minimal quantity, likewise wine with water or vice versa, provided the quantity be such as to impart a flavour to other ingredients. This is the rule: When the two ingredients are of the same kind, a minimal quantity suffices; if, however, they are of various kinds, the imparting of flavour determines.

GEMARA: On his return from Palestine, R. Dimi said in the name of R. Johanan: When an Israelite empties prohibited wine into a reservoir with allowed wine even for as long a time as the entire day, the whole of the wine is allowable, because the allowed wine of the reservoir being every time sixty fold bigger than the first drops of the prohibited wine, keeps the entire wine allowable, i.e., inclusive of the whole prohibited wine emptied into it. Now, how can this view be reconciled with the dictum of the Mishna that a minimal quantity of prohibited wine renders other things forbidden? Not otherwise than by reversing the order of its statement, thus: When allowed wine is emptied into forbidden one, and be it in a minimal quantity, the former is rendered forbidden. Come and hear another objection: Our Mishna further establishes "the imparting of flavour" as criterion; does it not mean that the forbidden fell into the allowed? Nay; it means vice versa. But if the water spoken of in the first part means forbidden water, we must say that the same is the case with the water mentioned in the second part when it falls into the wine, and the "imparting of flavour" is here the criterion? R. Dimi may say that the entire Mishna speaks of the permissible falling into the forbidden; but in the first it is the water that is the forbidden, and in the second the wine is the forbidden and the water the permissible. R. Itz'hak b. Joseph on returning from Palestine said that R. Dimi's version of R. Johanan's view was faulty, and corrected it thus: When an Israelite empties forbidden wine from a vessel with a narrow mouth into a reservoir with allowed wine, even the whole day long, the forbidden wine is rendered allowable by the wine in the reservoir on the basis of the sixty to one ratio. Whence it is manifest that R. Johanan allows to do this only from a narrow-mouthed vessel, which makes but a very thin jet, but not from a barrel that has a thick flow. Rabin, however, when he came from Palestine, declared this version, too, as inexact, and formulated R. Johanan's opinion as follows: When forbidden wine falls into the said reservoir and simultaneously a pitcher of water also falls in, the allowed wine of the reservoir is not taken account of; only the water must be reckoned in relation to the forbidden wine, and if it be sixty fold the latter, the whole is allowed. R. Samuel b. Jehudah, on coming from Palestine, said that to Rabin's version R. Johanan adds. Provided the water fell in first into the allowed wine in the reservoir, the incoming forbidden wine becomes allowed; if, however, the forbidden wine first fell into the reservoir and then the water, all remains prohibited, because the wine has met with its own kind and asserts itself. According, however, to another opinion, R. Samuel b. Jehudah explains not Rabin's version, but our Mishna, where it says that wine mixed with wine, even in a minimal quantity, renders it prohibited. This, he says, R. Johanan understands as follows: If wine meets wine only, then a minimum renders prohibited; but if a pitcher of water falls also at the same time, the allowed wine is not counted at all, and the water, greater in quantity than the wine, abolishes it. And it is by far not a matter of indifference whether Samuel's explanation is concerned as relating to the said Mishna or to the foregoing version of Rabin. If it refers to the Mishna, he must be understood to allow the wine regardless of the question whether the water was first added to the allowed wine and then the forbidden wine or vice versa. On the other hand, if his explanation applies to Rabin's version, he presumably holds that the water must come first and then the forbidden wine.

It was taught: If forbidden wine falls into a reservoir, and simultaneously a pitcher of water, 'Hiskia prohibits it, provided the forbidden increased the quantity; but if the water increased the quantity, then he allows it. R. Johanan, however, allows also in the case when the quantity was increased by the forbidden. R. Jeremiah asked R. Zera whether the difference of opinion exhibited by 'Hiskia and R. Johanan is the same as that shown by the respective opinions of R. Eliezar and the sages in the following Mishna: In a case when both ordinary and Teruma leaven fell into a dough and neither of the two would of itself cause fermentation, but together they would do so, R. Eliezar guides himself by that which fell in last, while the sages hold that the Teruma leaven does not render prohibited, unless it suffices to cause by itself fermentation, and it is immaterial whether it fell in first or last. Replied R. Zera: How can this be borne in mind? Did not Abayi say that R. Eliezar allows the dough only when the Teruma leaven was put in first, then taken out and the other leaven put in; but if the Teruma leaven remained, the dough is prohibited? 'Hiskia allows the wine even when the forbidden one remains. The difference in the opinions of 'Hiskia and R. Johanan concerns only the consideration (i.e., whether the allowed wine may be considered as non-existent). R. Johanan holds this theory of consideration, while 'Hiskia does not.

The following was taught in support of this: R. Ami, according to others R. Assi, said in the name of R. Johanan: Suppose two goblets, one containing ordinary, the other Teruma wine, each diluted with water; if now the two wines be mixed into one goblet, the ordinary wine is not considered as existing at all, hence, if the water is to the Teruma wine in the ratio of sixty to one, the wine is negligible.

"This is the rule: When the two are of the same kind, a minimal quantity suffices; if, however, they are of various kinds the imparting of flavour determines." Rabh and Samuel say that all objects biblically forbidden, render by minimal quantity prohibited all other objects of the same kind; but if of a different kind, they are made unallowable only when the flavour of the forbidden is perceptibly imparted to them. And this is inferred from the expression of the Mishna "this is the rule," which expression would be superfluous if not for generalizing this biblical prohibition. On the other hand, R. Johanan and Resh Lakish both decide all such cases of biblical prohibition by the rule of "imparting flavour", irrespective of identity or diversity of kinds; and the expression of the Mishna "this is the rule" they explain as including a mixture of grain from which it is not known whether Teruma and tithe were separated.

There are two Boraithas, one held in the sense of Rabh and Samuel, the other in that of R. Johanan and Resh Lakish: (1) All objects biblically forbidden render objects of the same kind prohibited by minimal quantity, objects of another kind by the imparting of flavour. (2) All objects biblically forbidden render all other objects prohibited by the imparting of flavour irrespective of kind; the mixture mentioned above and the wine form the only two exceptions: A mixture from which Teruma has not been separated, as well as offered wine, renders objects of the same kind forbidden by minimal quantity; objects of a diverse kind, by imparting flavour. The rigorousness of the wine regulation is readily justified, when we remember that here idol-worship is concerned; but why is it applied also to the mixture? The answer is that as regards the separating of Teruma the same law holds good--viz.: When the owner separates as Teruma but a single grain from a heap of 1,000 measures, it is, according to Samuel, sufficient; hence, when from such a heap of 1,000 measures, from which no Teruma has as yet been separated, a single grain comes to another heap of like magnitude, the latter is rendered prohibited. And there is also a Mishna to the same effect: According to the sages an object renders prohibited other objects by minimal quantity when they are of the same kind, but if they are of various kinds, the imparting of flavour is the deciding factor.

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MISHNA 9.: The following objects are forbidden and render prohibited by minimal quantity: Offered wine, an idol-image, holed hides, an ox sentenced to be stoned, the heifer destined for breaking off her neck, the fowl sacrifices of the leper, the hair of a Nazarite, the first-born of an ass, meat cooked in milk, the kid exported on the Day of Atonement, and ordinary cattle slaughtered in the courtyard of the temple. All these objects are themselves forbidden and render prohibited by their minimal quantity.

GEMARA: If the Mishna classifies these objects on the basis of their perceptible number, why does it not include here pieces of a carcass? Or if it enumerates only objects of which all benefit is forbidden, why does it not include leaven on Passover? Said R. 'Hyya b. Abba, according to others, R. Itz'hak of Naph'ha: The Mishna enumerates here objects that are both perceptible in number and prohibited for all benefit.

"All these objects." What does this expression exclude? Objects whose number is a matter of indifference, their benefit, though, being forbidden; or vice versa, objects allowed for benefit and perceptible in number; it is such objects that render prohibited not by minimal quantity, but by imparting flavour.

MISHNA 10.: When offered wine flows down into a reservoir of wine, the benefit of the whole wine is forbidden. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, however, says: The whole is allowed to be sold to heathens, excepting the worth of the offered wine therein.

GEMARA: Said Rabh: The Halakha prevails with R. Simeon b. Gamaliel only in the case when a cask of devoted wine was mingled among casks of Jewish wine; but when devoted wine is mixed with other wine, the whole is forbidden. Samuel, however, says: The opinion of R. Simeon b. Gamaliel prevails as the Halakha concerning wine also. With Samuel agree Rabba b. b. 'Hana in the name of R. Johanan, R. Samuel b. Nathan in the name of R. Na'hman in the name of Rabba b. Abuhu. R. Na'hman himself, however, said that for practice it should be decided thus: If it is definitely known that the admixed wine was devoted wine, Rabh's procedure is the right one; but if the case is doubtful, Samuel's view is to be followed.

MISHNA 11.: A stone wine-press waxed by a heathen must only be washed to remain clean; but if it is of wood, Rabbi says it must only be washed, while the sages say that the wax must be wholly removed. Finally, if it is a clay press it is forbidden even when the wax has been removed.

GEMARA: Rabha interprets the Mishna thus: The washing suffices only when the heathen waxed the press, but if he pressed his own wine therein, the entire wax must be removed. Is not this self-evident from the fact that the Mishna does not mention the pressing? Lest one say that the expression of the Mishna is not exclusive of the other case, hence his interpretation. Here is a case to this effect. An Israelite once appeared before R. 'Hyya asking him thus: Send a man with me to investigate whether my wine-press is in legal order, so that I might press my wine therein. Hereupon R. 'Hyya said to Rabh: Go and examine the man's press, but state your opinion in a manner as not to excite any dispute in the college. Upon examining the press, Rabh. found it smooth, and thought it need only be washed. However, further examination revealed to him a fissure in which some wine, though dried up, was noticeable; then he decided that washing is not sufficient, but that the wax must be wholly removed, adding: I now understand the apprehension of my uncle regarding a possible dispute in the college consequent upon my decision; indeed, had I but relied upon my first superficial examination, my decision would have been disputed.

The rabbis taught: A press, a ladle, and an earthen funnel that belong to a heathen and are not waxed Rabbi allows to use, provided they have first received a washing, while the sages prohibit them. As to the use of earthen wine-pitchers, Rabbi, too, forbids it, for such pitchers are used for a greater length of time, while the foregoing vessels are used but temporarily; but again, if these vessels are of wood or stone they are, after being washed, allowed if not waxed, but if waxed they are forbidden. Now, this last prohibition seems to conflict with the Mishna which declares clean a stone press waxed by a heathen, provided it be washed before using it? The answer is that the press of the Mishna is, though waxed, yet not used by the heathen, while the Boraitha speaks of a press where the heathen pressed wine.

The master says: A press, a ladle and an earthen funnel that belong to a heathen, are allowed to use upon being washed first, while the Mishna prohibits an earthen press even after the wax thereof has been removed? Said Rabha: In the Boraitha it is Rabbi that allows, while the sages forbid here as well as in the Mishna.

Rabha lectured: When an Israelite wishes to use a heathen's wine-press, he must first wash it with boiling water. When Rabha once sent his wine-pitchers to Harpania through a heathen, he put each pitcher-mouth downward into a sack and sealed the latter, thereby effecting a double sealing; for he was of the opinion that the sages prohibit such vessels as used to preserve wine for a long time, even if they have been but for a short time in the hands of a heathen.

How should the washing prescribed in both Boraitha and Mishna be done? Rabh says, with water; while Rabba b. b. 'Hana says, with ashes--that is to say, the two require the washing to be done with both water and ashes, and differ only as regards the order, Rabh requiring the water first, and Rabba the ashes first; not is their point of difference one of essence, as the former has in view dry vessels and the latter moist ones. The disciples of Rabh at Suro said in his name that the washing is done as follows: To dry vessels apply first water, then ashes, and then again water; to moist vessels, first ashes, and then water. The same disciples said in the name of Samuel: To moist vessel apply in this order: ashes, water, ashes; to dry ones, in this order: water, ashes, water, ashes. The disciples of Rabh at Pumbeditha quoted him as holding the just-cited view of Samuel, and Samuel as requiring this procedure: To moist vessels, ashes, water, ashes, water, i.e., four; to dry vessels, water, ashes, water, ashes, water, i.e., five processes; hence, Rabh and Samuel are of the same opinion, with the only difference that the former does not count the last water, which Samuel does.

R. Abuhu on being once asked how the cover of a heathen's press should be cleaned, answered with the following Boraitha: Wine or oil-presses of an Israelite that have become unclean must be cleaned in the following manner: The sideboard of the press, the press itself and the brooms must be washed with water; the press cover, however, if made of hemp stalks or osier, must be washed according to the directions of Rabh and Samuel; but if it is of reed or thin wood, it must be left unused for a year; R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, however, finds the period between two consecutive press-seasons sufficient, which period is sometimes more sometimes less than a year. Said R. Jose: If the cover is needed for immediate use it should be put in boiling water or passed through the boiler where are roasted the olives from which the oil is pressed. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said in his name: The cover may be put under the water of a cascade or of a spring. And for how long? For an Onah. The same laws which the sages have established with regard to clean and unclean, are also concerning the question of devoted wine.

How long is an Onah? R. Hyya b. Abba said in the name of R. Johanan: An Onah is the length of either a day or a night. R. Hana b. Sheina, according to others, R. Hana b. Sheina, said in the name of Rabba b. b. 'Hana that R. Johanan makes an Onah equal to the length of a half a day and night. However, according to each version, the Onah equals twelve hours, since the one refers to the equinox and the other to the solstice season.

R. Jehudah says: The bags of the heathens through which the wine is filtered of its dregs, are subject to the following regulations: If they are made of human hair, they must first be washed with water before an Israelite may use them; if of wood, they must pass through water and ashes; finally, if of linen, they must be set aside for twelve months, and if they have knots they must be unravelled. Baskets and beehives used by the heathens in working the wine, are under these rules: If woven of palm-twigs, they should be washed with water before the Israelite uses them; if of reed, the washing should be with water and ashes; linen sieves must be put aside for twelve months, and if they have a knot it must be opened.

What must be done when an ignoramus thrust his hand into the wine-press and touches the grapes and the wine? Of the two sages, Rabbi and R. 'Hyya, one says only the grape touched by him and whatever is immediately adjacent thereto is unclean and must be removed from the press, but not the rest; while the other says: All that the press contains is defiled by his touch. The former opinion seems to conflict with the following Mishna: A reptile found in an oil-mill renders unclean only the place touched by it, but if there be a flowing liquid, all becomes unclean. The answer is that the grapes are on the twigs of the cluster, so that wood intervenes between the place touched and the fluid, and wood is not receptive of uncleanness.

The sages taught to R. Jeremiah, according to others, to his son, that the Halakha prevails with him who says that only the part touched by the Amharetz and its immediate environment are unclean, while all the rest in the press is clean.

MISHNA 12.: Utensils bought of a heathen must be cleansed according to usages: if they are customarily immersed in water, they must be cleansed so; if boiled, by boiling; if glowed, by glowing in fire. A spit or a gridiron must be glowed; a knife is cleansed even by grinding it.

GEMARA: There is a Boraitha: The objects mentioned in the Mishna, upon being cleansed in the prescribed manner, must be again immersed in a tank holding forty saäh of water. Whence is this deduced? Said Rabha, from [Numb. 31:23]: "Everything that cometh into the fire, shall ye make go through the fire, and it shall be clean." The apparently redundant phrase "and it shall be clean" calls for another cleansing, which is the last immersing.

Bar-Kapara taught: The last sentence of the verse is introduced by "yet" in order not to give rise to the belief that the said objects must on the third and seventh day be besprinkled with the sprinkling water. Moreover, the term mei nidah (i.e., the waters where the menstruant woman bathes) is used with a view toward emphasizing the necessity of immersing them not merely in water, but in a tank holding forty saäh thereof. Again, it is also evident that both the sentences, that "it shall be clean," and the next one, "yet it," are necessary: the former alone would merely indicate the necessity of an additional immersing in general (and not in forty saäh); while the other sentence alone would give ground to assume that the rules regulating the said utensils are identical with those providing for the woman's cleansing of her menses, which is, besides the immersing, yet conditioned by the sunset; hence, the former sentence serves to prevent such an assumption. R. Nahman said in the name of Rabba b. Abuhu: New utensils, too, bought of a heathen, must be cleansed, just as vessels passed through fire must none the less be also immersed; whereto, R. Sheshith opposed, saying that according to this opinion scissors bought of a heathen would also need immersing, to which R. Na'hman replied that it is only kitchen utensils that are concerned here. R. Nahman said again in the name of Rabba b. Abuhu: The rule of immersing applies only to utensils bought as it was in Midian, but not to those borrowed of a heathen.

R. Itz'hak b. Joseph happened once to buy of a heathen an earthen vessel and wanted to immerse it, when R. Jacob said to him: I have heard from R. Johanan that only metallic vessels need immersing. R. Ashi said: Vessels of glass, too, must be immersed, for they can, after being broken, be restored to their former state, wherefore they equal those of metal. As to glazed vessels R. A'ha and Rabina express their opinions as follows: One holds that as these vessels are of earth they need not be immersed; while the other maintains that since in glazing lead is used, these vessels are regarded as metallic, and need immersing; and so the Halakha prevails.

The schoolmen propounded a question: Is it allowed to use without immersion a new vessel received of a heathen as a pledge? Said Mar b. R. Ashi: A heathen once left with my father a silver goblet as a pledge, and he had first immersed and then used it; however, I am not in a position to tell whether my father was of the opinion that a pledge is in general regarded as bought, wherefore immersion thereof is obligatory, or he knew in that particular case that the heathen was not going to redeem the goblet, so that it surely remained his property.

The rabbis taught: New kitchen utensils bought of a heathen need immersion; furthermore, vessels already used by a heathen, but merely for preserving cold articles, such as goblets, small wine-pitchers and glasses, must be first washed with, and then immersed in, water; vessels, however, already used by the heathen to preserve warm food, etc., such as kettles, pans and water-boilers, must first be passed through boiling water and then immersed; finally, vessels used by the heathen only on fire, such as spits and gridirons, must first be glowed and then immersed. In case, however, an Israelite made use of such utensils without having submitted them to the prescribed process of cleansing, all that was kept or prepared in them is, according to one Boraitha, forbidden, and according to another, allowed; the one basing itself upon the opinion that all forbidden objects, even if they make a food when mixed to it insipid, render it prohibited, while the other Boraitha guides itself by the opposite opinion. But, may be asked in this connection, how does he who leaves an object allowable provided the admixed forbidden thing augmented its insipidness, interpret the Scripture's prescribing to the Israelites to cleanse the vessels they acquired through their conquest of the Midianites? Said R. 'Hyya b. R. Huna: The prescription of Scripture just alluded to concerns only such kitchen utensils in which food was prepared during the very day of the conquest, as they were not capable yet to render other things more insipid. And the Scripture did not allow to leave these vessels for a day or so when they would render food insipid, fearing lest one would be tempted to use them on the very day of the conquest.

R. Amram said to R. Sheshith: The Mishna says that "spits and gridirons must be glowed," whereas we learned with regard to such utensils that if meat of a sacrifice was roasted on them, they must be passed through boiling water before other such meat may be roasted on them? Said R. Sheshith: Amram, my son, the two cases are incomparable: Here the utensils absorb an allowed object, while the vessels of heathens absorb forbidden things, and can be, therefore, cleansed only by glowing. Rabba, however, finds the two cases comparable, because as soon as the meat of the sacrifice remains on the spit or gridiron for an interval longer than the one prescribed for eating it, its vapour, which is already unallowed, is absorbed by the vessel, therefore "boiling" includes also scouring and rinsing. Hereupon said Abayi: Such cannot be the case, for the scouring and rinsing take place in cold water; while in the case of sacrificed meat the vessels are passed through boiling water; it must then be understood that both the spit and gridiron of the heathen and those used to roast sacrificed meat on must, in order to be used again, first be glowed and then passed through hot water. As to the Mishna, it mentions only glowing, for the passing through boiling water is seen from the Boraitha; in like manner does not the latter mention the glowing which is clearly stated in the Mishna. Rabha,

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however, finds this explanation incorrect; for, he says, if this were the reason of the omission, either the Mishna or the Boraitha would have to state both methods of cleansing; then in the other one, where only one method is given, the inference as to the second method, too, could be justly made, but as the case is now, the two are not mutually supplementary (but rather exclusive). R. Papa, however, reconciles the two (Mishna and Boraitha) as follows: The utensils of the heathens retain all they absorb, as they are not used daily; while those on which the sacrificed meat is roasted are used continually and are, therefore, not left to cool off and to absorb the vapours. Said R. Ashi: The most plausible explanation is that offered above by R. Sheshith, and as to Rabba's objection there, that the utensils will, when next used, evapourate the previously absorbed vapours that have become forbidden, it can be met thus: The evapouration is considered merely as odor and deserves of no attention.

For how long must the utensils remain glowing in fire? Said R. Mani: Until their surface is peeled off. In cleansing vessels by passing them through boiling water, the water must all cover them, according to R. Huna. But if the vessel is very big? Come and hear: It once happened at R. Akabia's that a big kettle needed cleansing, and be had the kettle brimmed high with dough, so that the water poured into it reached above the kettle; this water was made to boil and the kettle was cleansed therewith. Said Rabba: Who can equal R, Aqabia in wisdom, so as to invent so ingenious a device! for the brim of the kettle which was unclean only by reason of the forbidden prepared therein and the drops spouting upward, is now cleansed by the drops of the boiling water spouting upward upon the brim.

"A knife is cleansed even by grinding it." R. Ukba b. 'Hama said: It means the knife should be ten times stuck into the earth in and out. Added R. Hunab. Jehoshua: It must be earth that has not been yet cultivated. R. Kahana remarked: The knife which is to be thus cleansed must have no hole on its surface. There is a Boraitha in support of this: A knife wholly smooth on its surface may be cleaned by sticking it in the ground ten times. Said R. Huna b. Jehoshua: But then you can eat with it only cold food; and if you want to use it also for warm food, you must first pass it through boiling water. As it once happened that Mar Jehudah and Bati b. Tubi were guests at the table of King Sabur when a citron was served; the king took a piece from it for himself and another piece he tendered to Bati b. Tubi; then he took the knife, stuck it in the ground ten times, cut off another piece, and gave it to Mar Jehudah. Thereupon said Bati b. Tubi: Am I not an Israelite that you thus cleanse the knife for him and not for me? And the king answered: I am convinced of Mar Jehudah's profound piety, but not of yours. According to others, however, the king's answer was this: Recall what you committed last night. (See Rashi's explanation of this last answer.)

END OF TRACT ABODA ZARA.

TRACT HORIOTH (DECISIONS).

SYNOPSIS OF SUBJECTS OF TRACT HORIOTH (DECISIONS).

CHAPTER 1.

MISHNA 1. TO 5. If, after the court had decreed the transgression of one of all the commandments prescribed in the Torah, an individual guided by this decree acted erroneously, etc. If upon issuing the decree the court becomes aware of its being conceived in error and retracts, and mean while an individual commits a transgression upon their decree, etc. If while the court was deciding, one of its members who perceived their error drew their attention to it, etc. If causing the whole people to act erroneously, etc. If upon the erroneous decree of the court the whole people, or its majority, acted, etc.

CHAPTER II.

MISHNA 1. TO 7. If an anointed priest has erroneously rendered an unlawful decision against himself and acted accordingly by mistake, etc. If he (the said priest) both decided and acted for himself, etc. The court is not liable unless the issued decree concerns Korath and sin-offering respectively. It is also not liable for a decree concerning a command or a prohibition with regard to (polluting) the sanctuary. There is no liability when the decree concerns an adjuring challenge to testify, a hastily made vow, etc. Concerning a ruler and the high priest's offerings for their sin.

CHAPTER III.

MISHNA 1. TO 7. An anointed priest who has sinned and was removed from his office, etc. If they were appointed to their respective positions after they had sinned, etc. Who is the anointed priest? He who was consecrated to priesthood by the holy ointment, etc. The high priest rends his garment from below; the common priest, from the top, etc. What is more common precedes the less common. The man has the preference over the woman, etc. In captivity his master has the preference over his father. His mother, however, has the preference over all. The following precede one another in order of arrangement, etc. Why does the dog know his master, and the cat does not? Why do all reign over the mice? Five objects are conducive to one's forgetting his studies, etc. Five are apt to strengthen one's memory, etc. The following ten objects are cumbrous to one's studies, etc. When the prince enters, all the people present in college rise to their feet, without again taking their seats until he tells them to do so. When the chief justice enters, the people occupying two rows of seats facing the entrance rise, etc. The legend which happened to Raban Simon b. Gamaliel with R. Mair and R. Nathan. How the latter were removed from the college. An erudite scholar and a dialectician, who has the preference? How Abaye rose to be the chief of the College of Sura.

TRACT HORIOTH (DECISIONS).

CHAPTER 1.

MISHNA 1.: If, after the court had decreed the transgression of one of all the commandments prescribed in the Torah, an individual guided by this decree acted erroneously, either simultaneously with the judges, or after they had acted, or altogether independently, the court not having acted yet at all, he is free, for he followed the decree of the court. If, however, the transgressor was one of the members of the court and knew the decree to be erroneous, or a scholar already qualified to himself decide, he is in any of the aforementioned conditions liable (to bring a sin offering), as he has not based his transgression upon the decree of the court. This is the rule: Whoever relies upon his own judgement is liable, but whoever follows the decision of the court is free.

GEMARA: Samuel said: The court is not liable unless its decree read thus: You are all-owed to practise so and so. R. Dimi of Nahardea, however, said: The phrase "to practice" is not necessary, the statement "you are allowed" being sufficient; which view was, however, objected to by Abaye, R. Aba, and Rabima from Mishnaioth that oppose it and it was accordingly overthrown without any further discussions.

"An individual . . . acted erroneously," etc. Said Rabha: This is so only when he acted ac-cording to the decree of the court, but if he ate, e. g., illegal fat in the belief that it was legal, he is liable. This view of the case so certain to Rabha was doubtful to Rami b. Hama, as he propounded the same question and Rabha answered it from the expression "guided by this decree" (the Gemara, however, says) that in this case Rabh R. Johanan differ, viz.: in case the court has decreed that this fat is allowed to use and has consumed illegal fat thinking it legal, according to the former he is free, and according to the latter he is liable. And. R. Papa explained R. Johanan's reason to be that the transgressor is still considered as having acted in accordance with the decree, as if the court became aware that it has erred it would retract and so would the transgressor abstain from eating, hence R. Johanan's decision. And Rabha said: Rabh admits that the transgressor in question does not complete the majority, because it reads "erroneously," which means that all must err with regard to the same thing but not to different things.

"Either simultaneously with the judges," etc. This is stated in order to teach that he is free, not only when he acted simultaneously with, but also when after, the judges had acted.

"A scholar qualified," etc. To what purpose are both the conditions stated? Rabha: To teach that even such a person who is learned but who lacks discriminating power, or vice versa, is also culpable. Said Abaye to him: But from the statement of the Mishna, "who is already qualified to decide," obviously follows that he is both learned and strong is discrimination? Answered Rabha: I mean to say that if the Mishna stated not the last phrase, it could be said that in order to make him liable he must possess the two qualifications, hence the Mishna states it to indicate that its first phrase refers to him who possesses even but one qualification.

Again: "Qualified himself to decide," etc. Who is meant thereby? Said Rabha, such, e.g., as Simeon b. Azai and Simeon b. Zoma. Said Abaye to him: An act of such great men may be considered intentional; we must, therefore, say that such a case can take place only if he was aware that such is prohibited, but he committed an error by thinking that it is meritorious to follow the decree of sages even when they err.

"This is the rule," etc. What does this sentence intend to add? Him who does not care at all to guide himself by the decision of the court. Said R. Jehudah in the name of Samuel: The whole Mishna is in accordance with R. Jehudah (the Jana), but according to the sages one is liable for acting upon the decree of the court as his guidance. Which R. Jehudah is this? From the following Boraitha. It reads [Lev. 4:27]: "If any person . . . sin through ignorance, by his doing," where there are three extensions, to teach that he is liable by his doing it himself, but if by doing it upon the decree of the court, he is free. And which sages are there spoken of? From Torath Kohanim, section i., Leviticus. But let us see, our Mishna as well as that of Torath Kohanim is each taught anonymously; hence, then, do we know that our Mishna is in accordance with R. Jehudah and the Boraitha with the rabbis, may be the converse is the case? Nay, as of no other have you heard to consider such extensions than of R. Jehudah, who said in the following Boraitha: it reads [ibid. 6:2]: "This is the law of the burnt-offering," where there are three extensions. However, the Mishna can not be in accordance with R. Jehudah, for the reason that according to him the congregation is liable to bring a bullock in case its majority have sinned erroneously, while according to the sages the court must bring it. Therefore, our Mishna must be interpreted to mean that the court has decreed and only the minority has acted thereupon, and the point of their difference is that according to one an individual acting on the basis of the court's decree is free, while according to the other he is liable. R. Papa, however, said: All agree that in such a case the transgressor is free, and their point of difference is that one holds. The court is completing the majority of the congregation, while the other does not hold so.

R. Assi said: In a decision for practising, it is not the majority of the congregation but that of all the population that must be considered, as [1 Kings 8:65], "And Solomon held at that time the feast, and all Israel with him, a great assembly, from the entrance of Chamath unto the river of Egypt, before the Lord our God, seven days and seven days, even fourteen days," now, as it is written, "and all Israel with him," what for, then, yet the description, "great assembly from the entrance of Chamath unto the river of Egypt"? To teach that in such a decision (as to abolish the day of atonement) the population of the whole land is considered the assembly.

R. Jonathan said: If there were one hundred assembled to decide some point, there is no liability (attached to the transgression of the decision) unless the decree was made unanimously, as it reads [Lev. 4:13]: "And if the whole congregation of Israel sin," which means that all sin by error, and that the decision be brought about unanimously. Said R. Huna b. R. Ashia: It seems to be so, since with regard to all the laws of the Torah there is a tradition that the majority is equivalent to the whole, and here it reads, "the whole congregation," i.e., it must be the whole of the body, so that if there were one hundred their decision must be unanimous.

An objection was raised from our Mishna which states that he is liable if "he has not based his transgression upon the decree of the court," whence it follows by implication that if another one (not so qualified) acted thus he would be free; why so, since in this the decree was no longer unanimous (as one of the members deviates)? It means here that this one member has also nodded his head affirmatively (while the vote was taken).

R. Mesharshia objected from the following: Our masters have relied upon R. Simeon b. Gamaliel and R. Elazar b. Zadok, who have decided that no decree must be promulgated unless the majority of the congregation is able to comply with it; and R. Ada b. Aba said: Where is there an allusion thereto in the Scripture? [Mal. 3:9]: "With curse are ye cursed, and yet me do ye rob, O ye entire nation." Now, here is written the entire nation and nevertheless the majority is equivalent to the whole; hence, R. Jonathan's view is wholly overthrown, and the expression in the Scripture (cited above), "the whole congregation" means: if the whole is able to comply with the decree it is considered, but not otherwise.

MISHNA 2.: If upon issuing the decree the court becomes aware of its being conceived in error and retracts, and meanwhile an individual commits a transgression upon that decree either before or after the court succeeded to bring its atoning offering, he is free according to R. Simeon, while R. Elazar classes it among the doubtful cases. In what sense is it doubtful? He may have stayed at his home, then he is liable; but if he was in the sea countries he is free. Said R. Aqiba: I agree that in the latter case he is rather free than liable. Whereupon Ben Azai asked: What difference is there between the two cases? It consists in that he who stays at home can possibly hear (of the retraction), while to the other one this is impossible.

If the court decided to annihilate a law in its very essence, by saying, e.g., that there is not in the Torah the law of menses, of Sabbath, of idolatry, the members of the court are free (from an offering); but if it decided to abolish only one part of a law retaining in force the other part, they are liable. How so? If it decided, e.g., that, though the law of menses is in the Torah, a man who has sexual relations with a woman in her watching days is free; or, that he who transports something from private to public grounds is free though the law of Sabbath is in the Torah; or, that the Torah truly forbids idol worship, yet he who bows to the idol is free--the court is liable, for it reads (Lev. 4:13): "And the thing be hidden," i.e., something, but not the whole essence.

GEMARA: Said R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh: R. Simeon used to say that if one acted upon a decision issued by the majority of the congregation, he is free; because a decision discriminates between intentional and unintentional acting, and here the transgressor, guided in his act by the decision, sins unintentionally (though he acts intentionally), and according to Rabh R. Simeon is consistent with his own theory elsewhere that the bullock for the forgetting by the congregation, and the he-goat for idolatry, are to be brought from the treasury of the temple.

There is a Boraitha. In the case mentioned in the Mishna, R. Mair makes him liable, and R. Simeon holds him free, while R.

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Elazar finds this case to be doubtful; and in the name of Symachos such was said to be a pending case. Said R. Johanan: They differ concerning a pending-offering. Said R. Zera: R. Elazar's decision is like that regarding the case where one consumes fat doubtful whether it is legal or illegal, and thereafter he became aware that it was doubtful, he is to bring a pending offering; and not only according to him who obliges the congregation to bring such an offering, as such an act is known to every one, hence, if the transgressor has acted after the congregation brought its atoning offering, in which case it cannot possibly be said that he in his act guided himself by the court's decree,--but even according to him who obliges the court to such an offering, which may be not known to everybody, the transgressor is also liable, since he could find this out upon investigating.

R. Jose b. Abin, according to others b. Zebida, likens Symachos' decision to that regarding the case where one brings his atoning offering at twilight, which makes the atonement doubtful, since if it was yet day he is atoned, but if night he is not, and none the less he is not obliged to bring another offering.

"Ben Azai asked," etc. Is not Ben Azai right? The difference between them is the case when the transgressor has just set out on his journey; according to Ben Azai he is liable, while according to R. Aqiba he is free as soon as he starts on his way.

"If the court decided to annihilate," etc. Said R. Jehudah, in the name of Samuel: The court is not liable unless it has decided upon a point which the Sadducees do not admit, but where they do, it is not considered an error, since even a child knows such a point, and the court is accordingly free.

MISHNA 3.: If while the court was deciding, one of its members who perceived their error drew their attention to it, or if the presiding judge was absent, or one of them was a proselyte, a bastard, a nation, or an aged man who had no children, they are free; on the ground of the following analogy [Lev. iv. 3]: the expression congregation is used and [Numb. xxxv. 24] the same expression, it is inferred thus: just as there the expression means a congregational meeting whose members are singly and severally qualified to decide law questions, in the latter case it means the same.

GEMARA: "The presiding judge," etc. Whence is this deduced? Said R. Sheshith: It is likewise found in a Boraitha of the disciples of R. Ismael, viz.: Why was it said that if the court decides on a point which the Sadducees admit, it is free? Because this is not considered an error but a fact of ignorance, as the members of the court ought to have learned; the same is the case here where the presiding justice was absent, some one of the members ought to substitute him, and as there was none competent to do so they are ignorants who ought to learn.

"The expression congregation," etc. And whence do we know that there they are fit to decide questions? Said R. Na'hman b. Itz'hak: It reads [Ex. 18:22]: "With thee," i.e., such as are equal to you.

MISHNA 4.: If the court decided in error, causing the whole people to act erroneously, a bullock is to be offered; but if the court decided intentionally (against the law) and the people acted in error, a sheep or goat is to be sacrificed (by each individual transgressor). If, however, the reverse was the case, all are free.

GEMARA: It states: If the court decided unintentionally and the people acted intentionally, they are all free, whence it follows by implication that if the unintentional act was equal to an intentional one, i.e., done independently of the court's decree, one is liable; and what case would illustrate this? E.g., the court decided that fat is legal and one has consumed such in the belief that it is legal, whence could be solved the question propounded above by Rami b. Hama? Nay, it may be said that because in the first part it speaks of an intentional decision and of subsequent unintentional act, it expresses in the last part the reverse.

MISHNA 5.: If upon the erroneous decree of the court the whole people, or its majority, acted, a bullock is to be brought; or, in case the decree referred to idol worship, a bullock and a he-goat; so holds R. Mair, while R. Jehudah says: Twelve tribes bring 12 bullocks, and in the case of idol worship yet 12 he-goats in addition. R. Simeon says: 13 bullocks in the one and 13 bullocks plus 13 he-goats in the other case respectively, thus making one bullock with one he-goat to each tribe, and one such pair for the court. If but seven tribes or the majority (of the people) acted upon the decree, the court members must bring a bullock, and in case of idolatry also a he-goat, so holds R. Mair, while according to R. Jehudah, the 7 tribes that sinned should bring 7 bullocks, and the innocent remaining tribes also sacrifice one bullock for the sinners. R. Simeon maintains his foregoing view, reducing the number of the sacrifices from 13 to 8.

If a tribal court caused by its erroneous decision the tribe to act accordingly, only this tribe is liable, while all the others are free, so holds R. Jehudah; the sages, however, maintain that only those are liable who act on the decree of the supreme court, for it reads [Lev. 4:13]: "If the whole congregation of Israel sin through ignorance," hence not that of a single tribe.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: If the court was aware that its decision was erroneous, lest one say that it is liable, it reads [Lev. 4:14]: "The sin becometh known," but not the sinner, "through which they have sinned," i.e., if there were two tribes they bring two bullocks; three, three bullocks, and so forth. But perhaps it means: If two individuals have sinned, they must bring two bullocks, and if three, three, and so on? To this it reads: "The congregation shall offer," i.e., each congregation, as well as the congregation at large, is liable; how so? If there were two tribes, they bring two, and if seven tribes, they bring seven, and all other tribes who have not sinned should also each of them bring a bullock, since, though they have not sinned, they must conjoin themselves to the sinning tribes, as for this purpose it reads "the congregation," to make liable each of them. So R. Jehudah. R. Simeon, however, said: The seven tribes that have sinned bring seven, and the court brings one bullock in addition, for, as here congregation is used and there the same term, hence, just as there the court with the congregation is meant, the same is the case here. R. Mair, however, said: If the seven tribes have sinned, the court brings only one bullock, and all are free for the same reason, as congregation mentioned above means only the court, the same is the case here. And R. Simeon b. Elazar said, in the name of R. Mair: If six tribes have sinned, and they formed the majority of all Israel, or seven tribes, though not forming the majority of Israel, only one bullock must be brought.

"If a tribal court," etc. The school-men propounded a question: If one tribe has sinned, guided by the decree of the supreme court, may the other tribes conjoin with it to bring bullocks or not? Shall we assume that only to seven tribes conjoining takes place, but not to one, which does not form majority, or since it acted upon the decree of the court there is no difference whether one or seven? Come and hear: R. Jehudah said: If one tribe has acted in accordance with its court, it alone is liable, but if it acted according to the decision of the supreme court, all the other tribes are also liable. Said R. Ashi: It seems to be so also from our Mishna, which states, "only this tribe is liable, while all the others are free"; to what purpose does it add, "while all the others," etc., after it states "only this tribe," etc? To teach us, thus: Only in the case of its own court, but if it is a case of the supreme court, all the others are also liable.

But let us see, whence do both R. Jehudah and R. Simeon deduce that one tribe is also called Kahal, i.e., congregation (of all Israel)? From [2 Chron. 20:5]: "And Jehoshaphat stood forward in the Kahal of Judah and Jerusalem." R. A'ha b. Jacob opposed: Perhaps there it was Kahal, because the tribe Benjamin, too, was there, hence more than one tribe? Therefore, says he, it is deduced from [Gen. 48:4]: "And I will make of thee a Kahal of people"; now, at that time Benjamin was born, and you infer from here that so said the Merciful One to Jacob: one Kahal more is born to you. Said Shba to R. Kahana: But perhaps the Merciful meant, now as Benjamin is born, and you have twelve tribes you are called a Kahal? And he answered: Do you mean to say that eleven tribes are not called Kahal?

The rabbis taught: If one member of the congregation dies, the liability does not cease, but if one member of the court dies, it does cease. According to what Tana is this Said R, 'Hisda, in the name of R. Zera, in the name of R. Jeremiah, quoting Rabh: It is in accordance with R. Mair, who said that the court and not the congregation brings the offering; hence, if a member of the court dies, it means one of the partners to the sin-offering died, and in such a case the sin-offering can not be brought.

R. Joseph opposed: Why not say on the same reasoning lines that it is in accordance with R. Simeon, who says that the court with the congregation must bring the offering? Said Abaye to him: We have heard R. Simeon saying elsewhere that a sin-offering of partners is not put to death: If the bullock and he-goat of the day of atonement upon being lost were substituted by others, and thereafter the first were found, they all are put to death (because none of them is fit for the altar); so R. Jehudah. R. Elazar and R. Simeon, however, maintain that they must be kept until they become blemished, as there is a rule that a sin-offering of a congregation is not put to death. Rejoined R. Joseph: You speak of priests, an entirely different case, as they are themselves called Kahal [Lev. 16:33]: "For all the priests and for all the people of the Kahal." Answered Abaye: According to this they ought to bring a bullock for an erroneous decision by their own court; and should you say that such is the case, then there will be more than twelve tribes! Thereupon said R. A'ha b. Jacob that the tribe of Levi is not called Kahal at all, as from the above cited verse [Gen.], it is to be understood that they who inherited landed property in Jerusalem are called a tribe, but not the Levites, who had no such inheritance. But if so there are fewer than twelve tribes? Said Abaye: It reads there [ibid.] that Ephraim and Menashah (the two sons of Joseph) are considered as Rubin and Simion: i.e., as two tribes. Said Rabha: Does it not read [ibid., ibid. 6]: "After the name of their brothers shall they be called"? The answer is: They are called after the brothers' name only in respect of inheritance, but not in other respects. But are they not all divided into flag-division? This was only to honour the flags, as the division of the inheritance took place in accordance with the flag-divisions. But are they not divided according to their respective princes? This also was done to honour the princes; as we have learned in the following Boraitha: Solomon has celebrated seven days the dedication of the temple; why did Moses celebrate twelve days the tabernacle? To honour the princes.

CHAPTER 2.

MISHNA 1.: If an anointed priest has erroneously rendered an unlawful decision against himself and acted accordingly by mistake, he must sacrifice a bullock. But if the decision was conceived in error and the act performed intentionally or vice versa, he is free; for the decision of an anointed priest with regard to himself is equivalent to a decision of the court for the people.

GEMARA: "Erroneously . . . acted accordingly by mistake," Is this not self-evident? Said Ahaye: It speaks of a case where he forgot the reason of his decision, and when he acted he said that he acts in accordance with the decision, lest one say that in such a case it is considered an intentional act, since if he remembered the reason of the decision he would not act, it comes to teach that it is not so.

"But if the decision . . . in error and the act performed intentionally," etc. Whence is this deduced? From what the rabbis taught: it reads [Lev. 4:3] "to bring guiltiness on the people," which seems superfluous in this connection, but comes to teach that he [the priest] is equal to the congregation; a fact that could be inferred without a special verse, i.e. the congregation is exempt from the laws governing the individual, and so is the anointed priest; hence, as the congregation is liable but for forgetting and for acting erroneously, the same should be with the anointed priest; or, on the other hand, a prince is exempt from the laws of an individual, and so is an anointed priest: as the former is liable for erroneous acting without forgetting, the same should be with the latter; it thus remains to see to whom is he [the priest] equal as regards his offering: the congregation brings a bullock, but not a pending trespass offering, and the same does the anointed priest bring; hence, as the congregation is liable but for forgetting and erroneous acting, so also is the anointed priest. But why not say: As in case one acts in accordance with the congregation's decree, he is liable, the same should be if one acts according to the decision of the anointed priest? It reads [ibid.]: "For his sin, and not for the sin of another." And whence is it deduced that the anointed priest does not bring a pending trespass offering? From [ibid. 5:18] "concerning his sin of ignorance," which signifies: only for him whose sin and erroneous act are considered equal (i.e. where both decision and acting were performed in error), exclude the anointed priest, who is liable but for forgetting and for erroneous acting.

MISHNA 2.: If he (the said priest) both decided and acted for himself, he brings his atoning sacrifice separately. If, however, he both decided and acted jointly with the congregation, he brings with latter a joint atoning sacrifice. Like the court, that is liable only when it effects a decision partly annulling partly confirming the law, so also the anointed priest, and even if the law in question be one regarding idol worship.

GEMARA: Whence is this deduced? from what the rabbis taught: if he has both decided and acted together with the congregation, lest one say he is to bring a bullock separately, we infer from the case of a prince: as a prince is exempt from the laws governing an individual and so is the anointed priest, too, the same is the case here, viz.: as the prince is to bring a separate offering when he sins separately, but when he sins with the congregation he is atoned for by its offering, the same is the case with the anointed priest; on the other hand, a prince is atoned for together with the congregation on the day of atonement, which is not the case with the anointed priest, and as he (priest) needs a separate offering on the day of atonement, the same should be the case if he has sinned together with the congregation;--against this the afore-cited verse [Lev. 4:3], which signifies that if he sins separately, he brings a separate offering, and if he sins with the congregation he need not bring a separate offering.

But let us see the nature of the case: if he was the presiding justice, then only his decision must be taken into consideration, as the opinion of the rest counts for nothing, and it is obvious that the atonements must be separate; and if he was not presiding, why should he be atoned for separately when his opinion in this case does not count? Said R. Papa: it means that he was equal to the others.

Abaye was about to say that "he sinned separately" means: in a different place; but Rabha said to him: does the difference in place cause the separation? it may be even in one and the same place but concerning different prohibitions, and then it is considered separate sinning.

"Partly annulling," etc. Whence is this deduced? From what was said in the Chapter I: by forgetting something and not the whole, and whence is it deduced that the same is the case with the anointed priest? from what is discussed above: "To bring guiltiness on the people." Finally, whence is deduced that the same is the case concerning idolatry? From

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what the rabbis taught: lest one say that because concerning idolatry there is a special verse, it should hence be treated differently,--there is an analogy of expression: "From the eyes," found in both cases (idolatry and other sins) to teach that they are equal in all respects.

MISHNA 3.: The conditions determining the liability of both the courts and the anointed priest are: Their ignorance of the thing during the rendering of the decision, and the subsequent erroneous acting. The same conditions hold in decisions regarding idol worship.

GEMARA: Whence is this deduced? From what the rabbis taught: it reads [Lev. 4:13] "Through ignorance, and a thing be hidden," whence we see that both ignorance and forgetting are necessary. The deduction of the case of the anointed priest is again as above. As to idolatry, lest one say: it was separately taught, hence it requires different treatment, comes the analogy of expression to teach as above. Thus we see that it does not teach concerning the anointed priest regarding idolatry; whence it may be said that our Mishna is in accordance with Rabbi of the following Boraitha: If the anointed priest has sinned in a case of idolatry, according to Rabbi, he is liable for erroneous acting, and, according to the rabbis, for forgetting; all, however, agree that his offering must be a she-goat and that he is not under the category of those who bring a pending trespass offering, and Rabbi's reason is from [Num. 15:28]: "And the priest shall make an atonement for the person that hath erred"; "for the person" means the anointed priest; "that hath erred" means the prince; "in his sinning through ignorance" means according to Rabbi that the sinning of each of the two must be through ignorance, while according to the rabbis this part applies only to him who sins through ignorance, exclude the anointed priest who sins through forgetting; and whence do they deduce that he like any other individual must bring a she-goat? From the above-cited verse [ibid., ibid. 27]: "And if any person sin," i.e., any one: common, priest, prince, etc.

And whence is it deduced that he does not bring a pending trespass-offering? From [ibid. 5:18] "for his ignorance," which can not mean the priest in question who sins by forgetting. On the other hand, according to the rabbis, it intends to exclude the anointed who sins in any case whatsoever not by erroneous acting alone, but when such is accompanied by forgetting.

MISHNA 4.: The court is not liable unless the issued decree concerns a command the intentional and unintentional violation of which entail Korath and sin-offering respectively; the same is the case with the anointed priest. The same refers to the case of idol worship.

GEMARA: Whence is this deduced? As stated in the following Boraitha: Rabbi said: It reads [Levi. 5:5]: "Alehu" [ibid. 18:18]: "Olehu," as there it is a case of Korath and a sin-offering, the same is the case here. And the deduction that the same applies to the anointed priest is made as above. As to a prince, it is inferred from the analogy of expression [ibid. 4:22]: "Prohibitions" (Mitzvoth), found also [ibid. ibid. 13] concerning the congregation; now, as the latter treats of things the transgression of which is, if intentional under Korath, and if unintentional under sin-offering, the same is the case with a prince; while concerning a common individual it reads [ib. ibid. 27]: "If any person" to infer this last from the previous one.

"The same refers to the case of idol worship." Whence is this deduced? From what the rabbis taught: because idolatry is mentioned specially, hence it should be treated differently, so that one be culpable even when the sin is not under the category of Korath, etc., therefore the analogy of expression "from his eyes," as there it is under the category of Korath, so also here.

But this is concerning the congregation; whence do we know this with regard to the anointed priest, prince, individual? From [ibid. ib. 27]: "Any person," i.e., any: be he priest, prince, etc. But again, all this is correct according to him who holds the analogy of expression Olehu; but to the rabbis who do not hold so, whence is this deduced? From what R. Jehoshua b. Levi taught to his son [Num. 15:29, 30]: "One law shall be for you, for him that acteth through ignorance. But the person that doth aught with a high hand," etc., this compares all the laws of the Torah to idolatry: as latter is under both Korath and sin-offering, so also all other cases of the same category. But from here you infer only an individual, a ruler, and an anointed priest; whence do we know that the same is the case with the congregation? Infer the first verse [13] from the last [27]. We thus see that according to all, the cited verses [Num. 15:29, 30] speak of idolatry, how is it so understood? Said Rabha, according to others, R. Jehoshua b. Levi; according to still others, Khdi: it reads [ibid. ib. 22]: "and do not observe all these commandments"; now, a negative commandment that is in importance equal to all other negatives is, you must say, idolatry.

The disciples of Rabbi infer this from the same verse [22 and 23] "which the Lord hath spoken unto Moses, all that the Lord hath commanded you by the hand of Moses," and a commandment said, in the words of the Holy One, blessed be He, and commanded again by the hand of Moses is of idolatry; as the disciples of R. Ismael taught that the commandment "I am the Lord; thou shalt have no other gods before me," we have heard from the Almighty Himself; and thereafter it was commanded through Moses in many other places.

MISHNA 5.: The court is not liable for a decree concerning a command or a prohibition with regard to (polluting) the sanctuary. Nor must one bring a pending offering for a doubtful violation of the said command or prohibition. But in case of erroneous teaching and of doubt, each regarding a command or prohibition with reference to a woman in her menses, a bullock and a pending offering are required respectively. The command in the case is: Keep away from a woman in her menses. The prohibition is: Have no sexual intercourse with her.

GEMARA: Whence is it deduced that the congregation is not liable to any offering, while the individual is not liable to a pending offering either? Said R. Itz'hak b. R. Dimi, it reads [Lev. 4:27]: "and become guilty" concerning a sin and pending offering, and also [ibid., ibid. 13]: "and they become guilty," which signifies: as the guiltiness of an individual is attended with a sin offering established for all, so also the guiltiness of the congregation is attended with such an offering; and as the latter's offering is an established one, so also the pending offering must be brought only for the doubt about a transgression to which an established offering applies, but not about that of the sanctuary to which a rich and poor offering applies.

MISHNA 6.: There is no liability when the decree concerns an adjuring challenge to testify, a hastily made vow, the defilement of the temple and its holy objects; the same is the case with the ruler, so R. Jose the Galilean. R. Aqiba, however, says: The ruler is liable in all these cases but the first one, for the king can neither judge nor be judged, neither testify for others nor have others testify for him.

GEMARA: Said Ula: What is the reason of R. Jose the Galilean? [Lev. v. 5] "And it shall be, if he have incurred guilt by any one of these [things], that he shall confess that concerning which he hath sinned," which speaks of all that are treated of in the Mishna, and which signifies that he who may be guilty for one of these may be guilty also for the others, but who is not guilty for one of these is not so for the others either. But perhaps the verse means that if he incur guilt even for one of these? Therefore it must be said that the reason of R. Jose the Galilean is the following Boraitha: R. Jeremian used to say: It reads [ibid., ibid. 7], "And if his means be not sufficient," and then [ibid., ibid. 11], "If he can not afford." All this speaks of persons that can be classed as poor and rich, which is not the case with either priest or ruler, as concerning the latter it reads [ibid., ibid. 22], "of the Lord his God," which signifies him who has for his superior only his God; and concerning the former it reads [ibid. 21:10]: "And the priest that is highest among his brethren," meaning that he is highest in beauty, in might, in wisdom and in wealth; and the anonymous teachers say: whence is it deduced that if he [priest] is not rich his people should make him the richest: from same verse: "that is highest among his brethren," signifying that his brethren make him highest.

MISHNA 7.: As regards all commandments of the Torah, whose intentional and unintentional violations entail respectively Korath and sin offering, a private individual brings offers (in the latter case) a (female) sheep or goat, the ruler, a he-goat; the high priest or the supreme court, a bullock. In matters of idol worship the private individual, ruler and priest bring a she-goat, while the court (that has erroneously decided) a bullock and a he-goat, former as burnt offering, latter as a sin offering. The pending offering (for a doubtful malfeasance) is imposed upon the ruler and private persons, the anointed priest and the court are free therefrom. The trespass offering (for a sure misdeed) is imposed besides the first two also upon the high priest, while the court is exempt therefrom. For challenging by oath to testify, for a hastily made vow, for defiling the temple and the holy objects thereof, the erroneously decreeing court is free; while private individuals, the ruler, the high priest are liable; with the exception, however, that the last one is according to R. Simeon not liable in the said case of defilement. And what is the sacrifice they bring? A poor and rich offering. R. Eliezar says: The ruler brings (for temple defilement) a he-goat.

GEMARA: There is a Boraitha: R. Simeon laid down this rule: In whatever an individual is liable to a pending offering, the ruler is equal to him, while the anointed priest and the court are free; on the other hand, in whatever a trespass offering applies the ruler and the anointed priest are equal, while the court is free, viz.: for a witness-oath, an uttered oath and the defilement of the sanctuary and its holy objects the ruler and the anointed are liable, and the court is free; however, the ruler is not liable for a witness-oath and the anointed for the defilement of the sanctuary, etc.; and in an act where a rich and poor offering applies the ruler is equal, while the anointed and the court are free.

Now, is not the Boraitha involved in a contradiction concerning the liability of the ruler and the priest? Said R. Huna b. R. Jehoshua: this presents no difficulty; as one Tana speaks of poverty, while the other, of extreme poverty, and R. Simeon holds with R. Agiqa concerning extreme poverty when the ruler is free from that offering, but differs with him concerning poverty, in which case he holds the ruler, too, liable.

CHAPTER 3.

MISHNA 1.: An anointed priest who has sinned and thereafter was removed from his office, and a ruler who has sinned and was removed from his dignity, the former brings a bullock and the latter a he-goat. However, if both have sinned after they were removed from their offices, the priest in question brings a bullock and the ex-ruler is considered as a common man.

GEMARA: To what purpose is it needed for the Mishna to state that when he has sinned before the removal from his office he is to bring a bullock, as the same is the case even if he did so after the removal? It was necessary because of the law that a ruler after the removal of his dignity is considered common.

Whence is this deduced? From what the rabbis taught [Lev. 4:3]: "Shall he bring near for his sin," which signifies that he has to bring an offering for his previous sin. While concerning a ruler it reads [ibid. 22]: "If a ruler should sin," which signifies that if he has sinned while he is still a ruler, but not when he becomes common.

MISHNA 2.: If they were appointed to their respective positions after they had sinned, they are treated as private persons. R. Simeon, however, says: If they become cognizant of their malfeasance before their appointment, they are liable; but if after, they are free. What is meant by ruler? A king, for it is stated [Lev. 4:22]: "If a prince sins and performs one of the commandments of the Lord his God," etc.; hence, a prince who has above him no one but the Lord his God.

GEMARA: Whence is this deduced? From what the rabbis taught [ibid., ibid. 3]: "If the anointed priest do sin to bring guiltiness," which excludes the transgressions he had committed before he was anointed. This could be deduced by a fortiori argument, thus: A ruler who is liable to a sin-offering for an erroneous act is not liable for his acts before he became a ruler. The anointed who is liable for forgetting an erroneous act, so much the less should he be liable for his previous acts. And should you say that with a ruler it is different, as he is not liable after his removal from office, to a sin-offering for his sin while he was still a ruler, which is not the case with the anointed? To this it reads in the above-cited verse "the anointed has sinned," which signifies only for that sin which he committed while he was already in his office. On the other hand, on a fortiori argument could be used to make a ruler liable for his sin before he ascended the throne, if not for the verse cited above concerning him.

The rabbis taught: "A ruler who will sin," lest one say that such is the heavenly decree that he shall sin, to this it reads, "If the anointed will sin," which means if it will happen so, and the same is with the ruler.

The rabbis taught: "A ruler should sin" to exclude him who was sick with leprosy, as it reads [2 Kings, 15:5]: "And the Lord afflicted the king with leprosy, and he was a leper unto the day of his death, and he dwelt in the free-house. 1 And Jotham the king's son," etc. What does it mean, free-house? Was he until that time a servant or a slave? Yea; as it happened with Raban Gamaliel and R. Yehoshua, who were on a boat; the former has prepared bread for food, and the latter prepared bread and fine flour for food. And when the bread of R. Gamaliel was consumed by him he relied upon the fine flour of Yehoshua. And to the question of the former: Were you aware that there will be a delay in the journey, that you took with you so much food, he answered: There is a star which appears once in seventy years that makes the captains of the ships err, and I thought perhaps it will appear now and make us err, I therefore prepared more food. Said Gamaliel: You possess so much wisdom and still you are compelled to go on a ship to make your living. And he rejoined: You are wondering about myself, how would you be surprised if you knew about two disciples of yours who are on the land--viz.: R. Elasar Chasma and Johanan b. Goodgada, who can imagine how many drops of water there are in the sea and nevertheless have no bread to eat and no garment for dress. R. Gamaliel then made up his mind to make them officers in the best places of the congregation, and when he returned home he sent for them, but they did not appear; be sent again for them, and when they came he said to them: Do you think that the appointment to such high offices which I am about to confer on you, will make you rulers? Nay; slavery I give to you, as it reads [I Kings, 12:7]: "If thou wilt this day be a servant unto this people," etc.

R. Na'hman b. R. 'Hisda lectured; it reads [Eccl. 8:14]: "There is a vanity which is done upon the earth, that there are righteous men"; happy are the righteous whose fate is like that of the wicked in the world to come; and woe is to the wicked whose fate is in this world like that of the righteous in the world to come. Said Rabha: May not the righteous be rewarded in both this and the world to come? Therefore, said he, "Happy are the righteous whose fate is like the fate of the

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wicked in this world, and woe is to the wicked whose fate is like that of the righteous in this world."

R. Papa and R. Huna b. R. Jehoshua came to Rabha and the latter questioned them if they have learned thoroughly such and such tracts of the Talmud, to which they answered: "Yea." And to his question: Have you become a little rich so that you have time to study properly? They rejoined: Yea; as we bought little grounds. He then applied to them the above-cited verse.

Rabha b. b. 'Hana said, in the name of R. Johanan, it reads [Hos. 14:10]:"For righteous are the ways of the Lord; and the just shall walk in them; but the transgressors will stumble through them"; whereby Lot and his two daughters are meant. To the latter who intended to do a meritorious act, the verse "the just shall walk in them" is applied, and to him who intended to commit a crime, the last words of the same verse are applied. And whence do we know that he has intended to commit a crime? Was he not compelled to this action? It was taught in the name of R. Jose b. R. 'Huni: Why is the vav of the word bkumah [Gen. 19:33] pointed? Because he (Lot) was not aware at the start, but when she got up he became aware of his act. But what could he do; there was no remedy to what has already passed? He ought to have drunk the second evening.

Rabba lectured [Prov. xviii. 19]: "A brother offended is harder than a strong town"; by this Lot is meant, who separated himself from Abraham. "And quarrels [among brothers] are like the bars of a castle"; it is Lot who made Israel to quarrel with the nation of Amon [Deut. 23:4].

Rabha or R. Itz'hak lectured [Prov. 18:1]: "He that separateth himself [from God] seeketh his own desires: at every sound wisdom is he enraged"; by the first part of this verse Lot is meant, who separated himself from Abraham; and by the second half the punishment of Amon and Moab is meant, of whom a Mishna states the prohibitions of mingling with them are forever lasting. Ula said: Tammar sinned, and kings and prophets were her issues. Zimri sinned and tens of thousands of Israel fell. (How great a difference!)

"What is meant by ruler," etc. The rabbis taught: It reads "A prince." Lest one say a prince of a tribe as, e.g., Na'hshan b. Aminodob, it reads: the above-cited verse [Lev. iv.] and [Deut. xvii. 19], concerning a king, it reads: "He shall fear the Lord his God"; now, as there no one but his God is his superior, so also here.

Rabbi questioned R. Hyye: I, who am a prince, am I liable to a he-goat? And he answered: There are your rivals in Babylon; Rabha objected to him from the following: Kings of Israel and the kings of the house of David have to bring their offerings separately? And he answered: They were not dependent each upon the other, while we are dependent on those in Babylon.

R. Safra taught the above as follows: Rabbi questioned Hyye: I, e.g., who am a prince, am I liable to a he-goat? And he answered: In Babylon there is a tribe (Shebet), etc. (See Sanhedrin).

MISHNA. 3.: And who is the anointed priest? He who was consecrated to priesthood by the holy ointment and not merely by the many (8) raiments. However, between these two kinds of priests there exists no other difference except the bullock-sacrifice attending the violations of any of the commandments. Nor is there any difference between the priest in office and the retired priest except the bullock of the day of atonement and the tenth of the Eifah. Both are equal as regards the services on the day of atonement, the command to marry a virgin, the prohibition from marrying a widow, from defiling themselves to a dead relative, from wild-growing of the hair, from tearing their garments; finally both effect through their respective deaths the return of the homicide from exile.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: In the oil for anointing which was made by Moses, they used to soak the roots, so R. Jehudah, etc. (Here it is repeated from Tract Kherithoth, 5 b. to 6 b., and as there is its proper place, we omit it here.)

The rabbis taught: The anointed, and lest one say it means the king, it adds "the priest." And lest one say, that also be who was sanctified by his dress only, therefore "the anointed." But still one may say that it means the priest anointed for the war time, therefore and "the anointed priest," i.e., the distinguished one who has no one anointed over him.

"There is no difference between the anointed," etc. Our Mishna is not in accordance with R. Nair, as he holds that he who was sanctified by the eight dresses, has to bring a bullock for the transgression of all the negative commandments which are to be found in the Scripture; while the sages did not agree with him. But how can you say that our Mishna is in accordance with the rabbis? Does not the latter part state, "There is no difference between a priest who is still in his office and one retired, but concerning the bullock of the day of atonement and the tenth of Eipha," all which can be only in accordance with R. Nair, as we have learned in the following: If it happened to the high-priest a thing which makes him temporarily unfit for service, so that he was substituted by another priest, then the former returns to his office and his substitute remains with all the obligations of a high-priest, so R. Nair; R. Jose, however, maintains that the substitute is no more fit either as a high-priest or as a simple one. And he added: It happened to Joseph b. Ailim of Ceporas that something made him temporarily unfit, to serve as high-priest, and another one was substituted, and his brethren the priests did not allow his substitute to be either a high-priest or a common one: a high-priest because of animosity, and a common one because of the rule that one may be raised in sanctification but not lowered; hence, we see that the first part of the Mishna is in accordance with the rabbis, and the second with R. Mair. Said R. 'Hisda: So it is. But R. Jose said: It is in accordance with Rabbi, who edited the Mishna in question in accordance with different Tanaim. Rabha, however, said: It is in accordance with R. Simeon, who holds with R. Mair in one case, but differs with him in the other. (The difference of opinion of the above Tanaim is translated already in Tract Joma.)

The Mishna states: "Except the five things which are said in the portion regarding a high-priest." Whence is this deduced? From what the rabbis taught [Lev. 21:10]: "And the priest that is highest among his brethren," means the high. priest. "Upon whose head anointing oil hath been poured," means that who was appointed for the war. "And who hath been consecrated to put on the garments," means that who was sanctified by the garments only; and to all them it says, "Shall not let the hair of his head grow long, and his garments shall he not rend. Neither shall he go in to any dead body," etc. And lest one says that they all may perform the holy service in the first day in which death occurs in his family, it reads, "For the crown of the anointing oil of his God is upon him," which means, upon him but not upon his appointed colleague, i.e., the appointed for the war, and as the latter was separated from the above, one might say that he is also commanded to take a virgin; therefore [ibid. 13]: "And he shall take a wife in her virgin state," he and not some other one. However, in the latter case Tanaim differ.

MISHNA 4.: The high-priest rends his garment from below; the common priest, from the top. The former, while in mourning, may offer sacrifices but not eat thereof; the latter, if in mourning, must do neither the one nor the other.

Said Rabh: From below means literally he shall tear from the bottom of the garment. Samuel, however, says: From the bottom of the seam, and on top means on the top of the seam. But both must be on the bottom of the collar.

MISHNA 5.: What is more common precedes the less common; the more holy precedes the less sanctified. If the bullock of the anointed priest and that of the congregation are simultaneously ready as sacrifices, the former precedes the latter in all respects.

GEMARA: Whence is this deduced? Said Abaye [Numb. 28:23]: "Besides the burnt-offering of the morning, which is for a continual burnt-offering, shall ye prepare these." Now, as it reads already the burnt-offering of the morning, why was it necessary to state which is for a continual offering? To teach that what is more common precedes the less. And whence do we know that what is more sanctified precedes the less one? From what was taught by the disciples of R. Ismael: "Thou shallst sanctify him," means to every sanctification he shall begin first, he shall make the benediction first, and he shall be the first to take the best share.

"The bullock of the anointed," etc. Whence is this deduced? From [Lev. 4:21]: "And he shall burn him as he has burned the first bullock." To what purpose was the "first" necessary? To teach that he must make precede the bullock of the congregation in all respects.

The rabbis taught: If the bullock of the anointed priest and that of the congregation were standing, the former precedes the latter in all respects, because as the anointed one atones and the congregation is atoned, it is but right that be who atones shall precede the atoned one in all respects. And so also it reads [ibid. 16:17]: "So shall he make an atonement for himself, and for his household, and for the whole congregation of Israel.

MISHNA 6.: The man has the preference over the woman in respect of preservation of life and of returning a loss. The woman has the preference in respect of dressing and of being ransomed from captivity. If two persons of different sex are menaced with being (sexually) disgraced, the man must be protected first.

GEMARA: The rabbis taught: if it happened that he, his master and his father were in captivity (and he was able to redeem one of them), he himself has the preference over the latter, and his master has the preference over his father. His mother, however, has the preference over all. A sage has the preference over a king of Israel, as if a sage dies we have no equal to him, but if a king dies all Israel are fit for the throne. A king has the preference over a high priest, as [1 Kings 1:33]: "Take with you the servants of your lord," etc. A high priest has the preference to a prophet, as [ibid. 34]: "And let Zadek the priest with Nathan the prophet," hence the priest precedes the prophet. The priest anointed with the anointed oil precedes him who was sanctified by his garments. The latter precedes the one appointed for the war, and he precedes him who was removed from office on being blemished, and he precedes segan (vice high priest), and he precedes the Amarkhal. (What does Amarkhal mean? said R. 'Hisda: the head officer of the temple.) The last one precedes the treasurer, and he precedes the head of the watching officer. He (the head) precedes the head of the family priest, and the latter precedes a common priest.

MISHNA 7.: The following precede one another in order of arrangement: the priest, Levite (simple), Israelite, bastard, nathin, proselyte, a freed slave; provided, however, they are equally qualified in learning; but if, e.g., the bastard be a learned man in the Law, while the high priest is an ignorant, the preference is on the part of the former.

GEMARA: "Equally qualified," etc. Whence is this deduced? Said R. A'ha b. R. 'Hanina, from [Prov. 3:15], "She is more precious than pearls"; (pninim), which means from the high priest who enters the sanctum sanctissimum. There is a Boraitha: R. Simeon b. Ia'hai said that it is but right that a free slave have the preference over a proselyte, as the former was brought up with us in sanctity, which is not the case with the latter; however, as a slave has been placed in the category of the "cursed" [Genes. 9:25], a proselyte has the preference.

The disciples of R. Elazar b. Zadok questioned their master: Why is one more anxious to marry a female proselyte than a freed female slave? and he answered as a reason the slave's being in the category of the "cursed," and also because the proselyte is supposed to have kept herself in chastity, which, as a rule, is not the case with the slave.

They further questioned: Why does the dog know his master, and the cat does not? and his answer was: It is certain that he who eats from what is left by a mouse is apt to have a poor memory, so much the more so the cat that himself consumes the mouse. They questioned again: Why do all these animals (i.e. dogs, cats, and the like) reign over the mice? and he answered: Because the mice are instinctively mischievous, since, says Rabha, they tear even garments; and R. Papa says: They gnaw through even the handle of a pick-ax.

The rabbis taught the following five objects are conducive to one's forgetting his studies: The eating up of the remnants of the mice's or cat's food, of the heart of a cow, the frequent consuming of olives, the drinking of the water left from one's own washing, and, finally, the bathing of one's feet one kept on the other. According to others add yet this: the putting of one's clothes under one's head while sleeping,

The following five are apt to strengthen one's memory: Bread baked on coals, and particularly the consuming of the coals themselves, soft eggs without salt, the frequent drinking of olive oil, of wine flavoured with spices, of water left after its use for a dough. According to others add yet this: to dip the finger in salt and consume the latter. According to others add this: the consuming of wheat bread and particularly of the wheat itself.

This Boraitha furnishes a support to R. Johanan who was wont of saying that as an olive causes one to forget one's studies acquired during a period of 70 years, so the oil thereof calls back to one's memory the studies of such a period.

Concerning the consuming of salt on one's finger, according to Resh Lakish this must be done with one finger; while Tanaim differ: according to R. Jehudah it is with one finger and not two, according to R. Jose two and not three fingers, and the negative sign of it is Kuritzah, i.e. taking a fistful of the meal-offering (done always with three fingers).

The following ten objects are cumbrous to one's studies: passing under the rope of a camel and particularly under the camel itself; passing between two camels, between two women, the passing of a woman between two men, passing through the obnoxious odor of a carcass, passing under a bridge where nature was not running for 40 days, the eating of half-baked bread, of meat taken out with the ϑωμηρατρος (spoon with which the scumming is done), drinking from a well streaming through a cemetery, looking on the face of a corpse. According to others add yet, reading the inscriptions on a tombstone.

The rabbis taught: when the prince enters, all the people present in college rise to their feet, without again taking their seats until he tells them to do so. When the chief justice enters. the people occupying two rows of seats facing the entrance rise and remain standing until he takes his seat. If the sage enters, the occupants of one row rise and remain standing until he takes his place. The children as well as the disciples of the sages, if their help in the studies is needful, are allowed to pass over the heads of the people (seated on the floor), but not when their help is not wanted. The children of such scholars who superintend the congregation, if they comprehend the subjects treated of, may enter, sit down with their faces to their fathers and backs to the people; but if not, they have to sit in the opposite order. R. Elicar b. R. Zadok said that also at a banquet these children may be invited for the sake of their parents. If one of them has to go out for physiological requirements he may return, Said Rabha, this is so only when their fathers are still alive and also present.

Said R. Johanan: This Mishna was taught in the time of R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, when he was the prince, R. Nathan the president, and R. Mair the sage of the college. When R. Simeon would enter, the people rose; likewise when either R.

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Mair or R. Nathan entered the people would rise; said then the prince: If so, there is no difference between me and the others, whereas I should like that a difference be made; and he accordingly enacted the rules laid down in the Mishna. However, this was carried out in the absence of R. Mair and R. Nathan, so that on the morrow when they came and saw the people behind the 2 rows remaining in their seats, they asked the reason thereof, in answer to which they were told of the prince's enactment. There. upon said R. Mair to R. Nathan: I am the sage and you are the president, let us enact something in our behalf; let us ask R. Simeon to teach us Tract Uktzin (stalks of fruit), and as we are aware that he is not versed therein, we will say unto him [Psal. 106:2] "Who can utter the mighty acts of the Lord?" he "who can publish all his praise!" Thereupon we will depose him and you will take his place and I yours. R. Jacob b. Oarshi (Rabbi's master) overheard this plan and was embarrassed as to how he could prevent R. Simeon's reputation from being marred; he then hid himself in back of R. Simeon's attic and began to study aloud Uktzin over again and again, until R. Simeon has noticed it and the idea struck him that something must have happened in the college, to which Jacob would like to draw his attention; he accordingly was quick enough to take up the study of Uktzin, and, indeed, succeeded in acquiring close familiarity with this Tract. On the morrow he was asked in the college, according to the premeditated plan, to lecture on Uktzin which he did, and after he was through he said to them: If my attention had not been called to this Tract, I should have been put to public shame by your plan. On his command, then, R. Mair and R. Nathan were removed from the college. They, however, were circulating in writing, questions and objections and throwing them in to the college; to those that could not be resolved in college, they would themselves write the answers and send them again to college. Said R. Jose to the college: The whole Torah is outside and we should remain inside the college? This pressure urged R. Simeon to allow the relegated to return under the penalty, however, that the Halakhas be not proclaimed in their names. Therefore R. Mair's Halakhas were henceforth classed with the anonymous teachers, and R. Nathan's were given as "according to some." It once happened that both had dreams commanding them to reconcile R. Simeon; whereupon R. Nathan did so, while R. Mair said that he does not yield to dreams as they are nonsense. When R. Nathan came to reconcile him, R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said: Because thy father's (official) belt helped the to be president of the court, must we make thee Nasi (prince)?

Rabbi taught to R. Simeon his son: The anonymous teachers say so and so; interrupted him his son; who are they whose water we imbibe and whose names we do not mention? And he answered: They were the men who conspired to destroy your glory and that of your father's house, rejoined he; [Eccl. 9:6.] "Also their love, and their hatred, and their envy are now already lost," answered the Rabbi paraphrasing. (Psal. 9.): The enemy is lost, but his ruinous deeds are still existing; said R. Simeon: this would be right if the deeds of the rabbis in question remained effective, but they whom you have in view had only an intention, and one that has never been realised. Thereupon Rabbi taught to him again; so and so was said in the name of R. Mair. Said Rabha: Rabbi, though modest in nature, yet refrained from saying I it was said by R. Mair,' but taught it was said in the name of R. Mair.

Said R. Johanan: R. Simeon C. Gamaliel and the rabbis differed with regard to the following: according to one the erudite scholar, while according to the other, the dialectician, has the preference. A message concerning this point was sent to the west, and the answer thereto was: the erudite has the preference, since every one is in need of the owner of the stored-up wheat. R. Joseph was the erudite, and Rabha was the dialectician, and though the answer of the west was in favour of the former, he did not accept the position of head of the college for 22 years, until Rabha who accepted this position died. During all this time R. Joseph did not invite to his house even a barber, but was himself going wherever he needed.

Abaye and Rabha, R. Zero and Rabha C. Mathma were sitting together at the time when the presidency of the college was vacant, and they have decided that he who will recite a point that will meet no objection be elected to this office. The sayings of them all were objected, excepting that of Abaye which was not; thereupon Rabha noticing that Abaye was raising his head, said to him: Wa'hmeni, begin your lecture (you are the head of the college).

The schoolmen questioned regarding R. Zera who was a genius and in the habit of raising objections, and Rabha C. Mathma who was slow, careful and considerate in drawing conclusions, which of the two types has the preference. This question remained undecided.

END OF TRACT HORIOTH AND OF THE VOL. 18

AND ALSO OF THE WHOLE SECTION JURISPRUDENCE.

THE END OF THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD

LAW AND ORGANISATION
CHRISTIAN LAWS

THE DIDACHE
The teaching of the Lord to the Nations
or: The Lord's Teaching Through the Twelve Apostles to the Nations
Translation: Charles H. Hoole, 1885
Estimated range of dating: 90-150 AD

(The Didache (Greek: Didakhe, lit. "Teaching"), also known as "The Lord's Teaching Through the Twelve Apostles to the Nations", is a brief anonymous early Christian treatise written in Greek. Lost for centuries, a Greek manuscript of the Didache was rediscovered in Constantinople [Istanbul] in 1873 by Philotheos Bryennios, the Metropolitan of Nicomedia. He found it in the Codex Hierosolymitanus. A Latin version of the first five chapters was discovered in 1900 by J. Schlecht. The Codex Hierosolymitanus (also called the Bryennios manuscript or the Jerusalem Codex, often designated simply "H" in scholarly discourse) is an 11th-century Greek manuscript, written by an otherwise unknown scribe named Leo, who dated it 1056. The codex contained also the Epistle of Barnabas, the First Epistle of Clement and the Second Epistle of Clement, the long version of the letters of Ignatius of Antioch and a list of books of the Bible following the order of John Chrysostom. Hitchcock and Brown produced the first English translation in March 1884. Adolf von Harnack produced the first German translation in 1884, and Paul Sabatier produced the first French translation and commentary in 1885.

The first line of this treatise is "The teaching of the Lord to the Gentiles (or Nations) by the twelve apostles". The text, parts of which constitute the oldest extant written catechism, has three main sections dealing with Christian ethics, rituals such as baptism and Eucharist, and Church organisation. A catechism, from Ancient Greek katecheo, "to teach orally", is a summary of Christian doctrine and serves as a doctrinal manual – often in the form of questions followed by answers to be memorised.

The Didache is a relatively short text with only some 2,300 words. The contents may be divided into four parts, which most scholars agree were combined from separate sources by a later redactor: the first is the Two Ways, the Way of Life and the Way of Death (chapters 1–6); the second part is a ritual dealing with baptism, fasting, and Communion (chapters 7–10); the third speaks of the ministry and how to treat apostles, prophets, bishops, and deacons (chapters 11–15); and the final section (chapter 16) is a prophecy of the Antichrist and the Second Coming.

The opening chapters describe the virtuous Way of Life and the wicked Way of Death. The Lord's Prayer is included in full. Baptism is by immersion, or by affusion if immersion is not practical. Fasting is ordered for Wednesdays and Fridays. Two Eucharistic prayers are given. Church organisation was at an early stage of development. Itinerant apostles and prophets are important, serving as "chief priests". Meanwhile, local bishops and deacons also have authority and seem to be taking the place of the itinerant ministry.

The Didache is considered the first example of the genre of Church Orders. The Didache reveals how Jewish Christians saw themselves and how they adapted their practice for Gentile Christians. The Didache is similar in several ways to the Gospel of Matthew, either because it was considered the first gospel or the other gospels were not written yet. The opening chapters, which also appear in other early Christian texts, are likely derived from an earlier Jewish source.

The Didache is considered part of the group of second-generation Christian writings known as the "Apostolic Fathers". The work was considered by some Church Fathers to be a part of the New Testament, while being rejected by others as spurious or non-canonical, In the end, it was not accepted into the New Testament canon. However, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church "broader canon" includes the Didascalia, a work which draws on the Didache.

The Didache was most likely written in the first half of the second century AD. The document is a composite work, and the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, with its Manual of Discipline, has provided evidence of development over a considerable period of time, developing from a Jewish catechetical work into a church manual. The teaching is anonymous, a pastoral manual which reveals more about how Jewish-Christians saw themselves and how they adapted their Judaism for gentiles than any other book in the Christian Scriptures. The Two Ways section is likely based on an earlier Jewish source. The community that produced the Didache could have been based in Syria, as it addressed the Gentiles but from a Judaic perspective, at some remove from Jerusalem, and shows no evidence of Pauline influence. Alan Garrow claims that its earliest layer may have originated in the decree issued by the Apostolic council of AD 49–50, that is by the Jerusalem assembly under James the Just [the brother of Jesus].)

DIDACHE CHAPTER 1

1 There are two paths, one of life and one of death, and the difference is great between the two paths.

2 Now the path of life is this -- first, thou shalt love the God who made thee, thy neighbour as thyself, and all things that thou wouldest not should be done unto thee, do not thou unto another.

3 And the doctrine of these maxims is as follows. Bless them that curse you, and pray for your enemies. Fast on behalf of those that persecute you; for what thank is there if ye love them that love you? Do not even the Gentiles do the same? But do ye love them that hate you, and ye will not have an enemy.

4 Abstain from fleshly and worldly lusts. If any one give thee a blow on thy right cheek, turn unto him the other also, and thou shalt be perfect; if any one compel thee to go a mile, go with him two; if a man take away thy cloak, give him thy coat also; if a man take from thee what is thine, ask not for it again, for neither art thou able to do so.

5 Give to every one that asketh of thee, and ask not again; for the Father wishes that from his own gifts there should be given to all. Blessed is he who giveth according to the commandment, for he is free from guilt; but woe unto him that receiveth. For if a man receive being in need, he shall be free from guilt; but he who receiveth when not in need, shall pay a penalty as to why he received and for what purpose; and when he is in tribulation he shall be examined concerning the things that he has done, and shall not depart thence until he has paid the last farthing.

6 For of a truth it has been said on these matters, let thy almsgiving abide in thy hands until thou knowest to whom thou hast given.

DIDACHE CHAPTER 2

1 But the second commandment of the teaching is this.

2 Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt not corrupt youth; thou shalt not commit fornication; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not use soothsaying; thou shalt not practise sorcery; thou shalt not kill a child by abortion, neither shalt thou slay it when born; thou shalt not covet the goods of thy neighbour;

3 thou shalt not commit perjury; thou shalt not bear false witness; thou shalt not speak evil; thou shalt not bear malice;

4 thou shalt not be double-minded or double-tongued, for to be double tongued is the snare of death.

5 Thy speech shall not be false or empty, but concerned with action.

6 Thou shalt not be covetous, or rapacious, or hypocritical, or malicious, or proud; thou shalt not take up an evil design against thy neighbour;

7 thou shalt not hate any man, but some thou shalt confute, concerning some thou shalt pray, and some thou shalt love beyond thine own soul.

DIDACHE CHAPTER 3

1 My child, fly from everything that is evil, and from everything that is like to it.

2 Be not wrathful, for wrath leadeth unto slaughter; be not jealous, or contentious, or quarrelsome, for from all these things slaughter ensues.

3 My child, be not lustful, for lust leadeth unto fornication; be not a filthy talker; be not a lifter up of the eye, for from all these things come adulteries.

4 My child, be not an observer of omens, since it leadeth to idolatry, nor a user of spells, nor an astrologer, nor a travelling purifier, nor wish to see these things, for from all these things idolatry ariseth.

5 My child, be not a liar, for lying leadeth unto theft; be not covetous or conceited, for from all these things thefts arise.

6 My child, be not a murmurer, since it leadeth unto blasphemy; be not self-willed or evil-minded, for from all these things blasphemies are produced;

7 but be thou meek, for the meek shall inherit the earth;

8 be thou longsuffering, and compassionate, and harmless, and peaceable, and good, and fearing alway the words that thou hast heard.

9 Thou shalt not exalt thyself, neither shalt thou put boldness into thy soul. Thy soul shall not be joined unto the lofty, but thou shalt walk with the just and humble.

10 Accept the things that happen to thee as good, knowing that without God nothing happens.

DIDACHE CHAPTER 4

1 My child, thou shalt remember both night and day him that speaketh unto thee the Word of God; thou shalt honour him as thou dost the Lord, for where the teaching of the Lord is given, there is the Lord;

2 thou shalt seek out day by day the favour of the saints, that thou mayest rest in their words;

3 thou shalt not desire schism, but shalt set at peace them that contend; thou shalt judge righteously; thou shalt not accept the person of any one to convict him of transgression;

4 thou shalt not doubt whether a thing shall be or not.

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5 Be not a stretcher out of thy hand to receive, and a drawer of it back in giving.

6 If thou hast, give by means of thy hands a redemption for thy sins.

7 Thou shalt not doubt to give, neither shalt thou murmur when giving; for thou shouldest know who is the fair recompenser of the reward.

8 Thou shalt not turn away from him that is in need, but shalt share with thy brother in all things, and shalt not say that things are thine own; for if ye are partners in what is immortal, how much more in what is mortal?

9 Thou shalt not remove thine heart from thy son or from thy daughter, but from their youth shalt teach them the fear of God.

10 Thou shalt not command with bitterness thy servant or thy handmaid, who hope in the same God as thyself, lest they fear not in consequence the God who is over both; for he cometh not to call with respect of persons, but those whom the Spirit hath prepared.

11 And do ye servants submit yourselves to your masters with reverence and fear, as being the type of God.

12 Thou shalt hate all hypocrisy and everything that is not pleasing to God;

13 thou shalt not abandon the commandments of the Lord, but shalt guard that which thou hast received, neither adding thereto nor taking therefrom;

14 thou shalt confess thy transgressions in the Church, and shalt not come unto prayer with an evil conscience. This is the path of life.

DIDACHE CHAPTER 5

1 But the path of death is this. First of all, it is evil, and full of cursing; there are found murders, adulteries, lusts, fornication, thefts, idolatries, soothsaying, sorceries, robberies, false witnessings, hypocrisies, double-mindedness, craft, pride, malice, self-will, covetousness, filthy talking, jealousy, audacity, pride, arrogance;

2 there are they who persecute the good -- lovers of a lie, not knowing the reward of righteousness, not cleaving to the good nor to righteous judgement, watching not for the good but for the bad, from whom meekness and patience are afar off, loving things that are vain, following after recompense, having no compassion on the needy, nor labouring for him that is in trouble, not knowing him that made them, murderers of children, corrupters of the image of God, who turn away from him that is in need, who oppress him that is in trouble, unjust judges of the poor, erring in all things. From all these, children, may ye be delivered.

DIDACHE CHAPTER 6

1 See that no one make thee to err from this path of doctrine, since he who doeth so teacheth thee apart from God.

2 If thou art able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou wilt be perfect; but if thou art not able, what thou art able, that do.

3 But concerning meat, bear that which thou art able to do. But keep with care from things sacrificed to idols, for it is the worship of the infernal deities.

DIDACHE CHAPTER 7

1 But concerning baptism, thus baptise ye: having first recited all these precepts, baptise in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, in running water;

2 but if thou hast not running water, baptise in some other water, and if thou canst not baptise in cold, in warm water;

3 but if thou hast neither, pour water three times on the head, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.

4 But before the baptism, let him who baptiseth and him who is baptised fast previously, and any others who may be able. And thou shalt command him who is baptised to fast one or two days before.

DIDACHE CHAPTER 8

1 But as for your fasts, let them not be with the hypocrites, for they fast on the second and fifth days of the week, but do ye fast on the fourth and sixth days.

2 Neither pray ye as the hypocrites, but as the Lord hath commanded in his gospel so pray ye: Our Father in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done as in heaven so on earth. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debt, as we also forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil: for thine is the power, and the glory, for ever.

3 Thrice a day pray ye in this fashion.

DIDACHE CHAPTER 9

1 But concerning the Eucharist, after this fashion give ye thanks.

2 First, concerning the cup. We thank thee, our Father, for the holy vine, David thy Son, which thou hast made known unto us through Jesus Christ thy Son; to thee be the glory for ever.

3 And concerning the broken bread. We thank thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which thou hast made known unto us through Jesus thy Son; to thee be the glory for ever.

4 As this broken bread was once scattered on the mountains, and after it had been brought together became one, so may thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth unto thy kingdom; for thine is the glory, and the power, through Jesus Christ, for ever.

5 And let none eat or drink of your Eucharist but such as have been baptised into the name of the Lord, for of a truth the Lord hath said concerning this, Give not that which is holy unto dogs.

DIDACHE CHAPTER 10

1 But after it has been completed, so pray ye.

2 We thank thee, holy Father, for thy holy name, which thou hast caused to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which thou hast made known unto us through Jesus thy Son; to thee be the glory for ever.

3 Thou, Almighty Master, didst create all things for the sake of thy name, and hast given both meat and drink, for men to enjoy, that we might give thanks unto thee, but to us thou hast given spiritual meat and drink, and life everlasting, through thy Son.

4 Above all, we thank thee that thou art able to save; to thee be the glory for ever.

5 Remember, Lord, thy Church, to redeem it from every evil, and to perfect it in thy love, and gather it together from the four winds, even that which has been sanctified for thy kingdom which thou hast prepared for it; for thine is the kingdom and the glory for ever.

6 Let grace come, and let this world pass away. Hosanna to the Son of David. If any one is holy let him come (to the Eucharist); if any one is not, let him repent. Maranatha. Amen.

7 But charge the prophets to give thanks, so far as they are willing to do so.

DIDACHE CHAPTER 11

1 Whosoever, therefore, shall come and teach you all these things aforesaid, him do ye receive;

2 but if the teacher himself turn and teach another doctrine with a view to subvert you, hearken not to him; but if he come to add to your righteousness, and the knowledge of the Lord, receive him as the Lord.

3 But concerning the apostles and prophets, thus do ye according to the doctrine of the Gospel.

4 Let every apostle who cometh unto you be received as the Lord.

5 He will remain one day, and if it be necessary, a second; but if he remain three days, he is a false prophet.

6 And let the apostle when departing take nothing but bread until he arrive at his resting-place; but if he ask for money, he is a false prophet.

7 And ye shall not tempt or dispute with any prophet who speaketh in the spirit; for every sin shall be forgiven, but this sin shall not be forgiven.

8 But not every one who speaketh in the spirit is a prophet, but he is so who hath the disposition of the Lord; by their dispositions they therefore shall be known, the false prophet and the prophet.

9 And every prophet who ordereth in the spirit that a table shall be laid, shall not eat of it himself, but if he do otherwise, he is a false prophet;

10 and every prophet who teacheth the truth, if he do not what he teacheth is a false prophet;

11 and every prophet who is approved and true, and ministering in the visible mystery of the Church, but who teacheth not others to do the things that he doth himself, shall not be judged of you, for with God lieth his judgement, for in this manner also did the ancient prophets.

12 But whoever shall say in the spirit, Give me money, or things of that kind, listen not to him; but if he tell you concerning others that are in need that ye should give unto them, let no one judge him.

DIDACHE CHAPTER 12

1 Let every one that cometh in the name of the Lord be received, but afterwards ye shall examine him and know his character, for ye have knowledge both of good and evil.

2 If the person who cometh be a wayfarer, assist him so far as ye are able; but he will not remain with you more than two or three days, unless there be a necessity.

3 But if he wish to settle with you, being a craftsman, let him work, and so eat;

4 but if he know not any craft, provide ye according to you own discretion, that a Christian may not live idle among you;

5 but if he be not willing to do so, he is a trafficker in Christ. From such keep aloof.

DIDACHE CHAPTER 13

1 But every true prophet who is willing to dwell among you is worthy of his meat,

2 likewise a true teacher is himself worthy of his meat, even as is a labourer.

3 Thou shalt, therefore, take the firstfruits of every produce of the wine-press and threshing-floor, of oxen and sheep, and shalt give it to the prophets, for they are your chief priests;

4 but if ye have not a prophet, give it unto the poor.

5 If thou makest a feast, take and give the firstfruits according to the commandment;

6 in like manner when thou openest a jar of wine or of oil, take the firstfruits and give it to the prophets;

7 take also the firstfruits of money, of clothes, and of every possession, as it shall seem good unto thee, and give it according to the commandment.

DIDACHE CHAPTER 14

1 But on the Lord's day, after that ye have assembled together, break bread and give thanks, having in addition confessed your sins, that your sacrifice may be pure.

2 But let not any one who hath a quarrel with his companion join with you, until they be reconciled, that your sacrifice may not be polluted,

3 for it is that which is spoken of by the Lord. In every place and time offer unto me a pure sacrifice, for I am a great King, saith the Lord, and my name is wonderful among the Gentiles.

DIDACHE CHAPTER 15

1 Elect, therefore, for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men who are meek and not covetous, and true and approved, for they perform for you the service of prophets and teachers.

2 Do not, therefore, despise them, for they are those who are honoured among you, together with the prophets and teachers.

3 Rebuke one another, not in wrath but peaceably, as ye have commandment in the Gospel; and, but let no one speak to any one who walketh disorderly with regard to his neighbour, neither let him be heard by you until he repent.

4 But your prayers and your almsgivings and all your deeds so do, as ye have commandment in the Gospel of our Lord.

DIDACHE CHAPTER 16

1 Watch concerning your life; let not your lamps be quenched or your loins be loosed, but be ye ready, for ye know not the hour at which our Lord cometh.

2 But be ye gathered together frequently, seeking what is suitable for your souls; for the whole time of your faith shall profit you not, unless ye be found perfect in the last time.

3 For in the last days false prophets and seducers shall be multiplied, and the sheep shall be turned into wolves, and love shall be turned into hate;

4 and because iniquity aboundeth they shall hate each other, and persecute each other, and deliver each other up; and then shall the Deceiver of the world appear as the Son of God, and shall do signs and wonders, and the earth shall be delivered into his hands; and he shall do unlawful things, such as have never happened since the beginning of the world.

5 Then shall the creation of man come to the fiery trial of proof, and many shall be offended and shall perish; but they who remain in their faith shall be saved by the rock of offence itself.

6 And then shall appear the signs of the truth; first the sign of the appearance in heaven, then the sign of the sound of the trumpet, and thirdly the resurrection of the dead

7 -- not of all, but as it has been said, The Lord shall come and all his saints with him;

8 then shall the world behold the Lord coming on the clouds of heaven.

{The End of the Didache}

THE DIDASCALIA APOSTOLORUM

or: The Catholic Teaching of the Twelve Apostles and Holy Disciples of Our Saviour

Translation: R. Hugh Connolly, 1929

Estimated Range of Dating: 200 - 250 A.D.

(Didascalia Apostolorum, or just Didascalia, is a Christian treatise which belongs to the genre of the Church Orders. It presents itself as being written by the Twelve Apostles at the time of the Council of Jerusalem; however, scholars agree that it was actually a composition of the 3rd century, perhaps around 230 AD. The Didascalia was clearly modeled on the earlier Didache. The author is unknown, but he was probably a bishop. The provenance is usually regarded as Northern Syria, possibly near Antioch.

The Didascalia, or the Catholic Teaching of the Twelve Apostles and Holy Disciples of Our Saviour, is a Church Order, composed, according to recent investigations, in the first part, perhaps even the first decades, of the third century, for a community of Christian converts from paganism in the northern part of Syria. The work is modelled on the Didache

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(cf. vol. I, pp. 29-39) and forms the main source of the first six books of the Apostolic Constitutions.

The unknown author of the Didascalia seems to have been of Jewish descent. A bishop with a considerable knowledge of medicin, he lacked special theological training. He makes ample use of Holy Scripture and borrows from the Didache, Hermas, Irenaeus, the Gospel of Peter and the Acts of Paul.

The text can be reconstructed from the Apostolic Constitutions, a few Greek fragments, a complete Syriac translation, an old Latin translation of about half, and the Arabic and Ethiopic Didascalia that depend on the Didascalia Apostolorum.

This document shows by what means the clergy, in the early centuries of the Christian movement, obtained for themselves, whether for good or evil, the unquestioning obedience of Christian people. To this end, the Didascalia Apostolorum must have been a potent instrument of Church rule. The title implicates that it had the authority of Jesus' apostles although that treatise was written during the reign of Flavius Constantinus, 10 generations after Jesus and when the real aspostles were long gone.

The Latin title Didascalia Apostolorum means Teaching of the Apostles, and the full title given in Syriac is: "Didascalia, that is, the teaching of the twelve Apostles and the holy disciples of our Lord". The text never touches upon dogma but concerns itself entirely with practice. In comparison with the Didache, the Didascalia moved the main focus from the moral issues to empty and and plain belief of liturgical practice and church organisation, away from the original teachings of Jesus..

The earliest mention of the work is by Epiphanius of Salamis, who believed it to be truly Apostolic. He found it in use among the Audiani, Syrian heretics. The few extracts Epiphanius gives do not quite tally with our present text, but he is notoriously inexact in his quotations. At the end of the fourth century the Didascalia was used as the basis of the first six books of the Apostolic Constitutions. At the end of the 4th century it is quoted in the Pseudo-Chrysostom's Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum. But the Didascalia never had a great vogue, and it was superseded by the Apostolic Constitutions.

The Didascalia Apostolorum, whose lost original was in Greek, was first published in 1854 in Syriac by Paul de Lagarde. In 1900 Edmund Hauler published the Verona Palimpsest which includes a Latin translation of the Didascalia, perhaps of the fourth century, more than half of which has perished. In 1906 Franz Xaver von Funk published the texts, printed side by side, of both the Didascalia and the Apostolic Constitutions, in order to show the similarities A short fragment of chapter 15 has been found in Greek, and in 1996 another probable fragment in Coptic.

Margaret Dunlop Gibson was the first person to translate the work into English in 1903. It was published by C. J. Clay & Sons in Cambridge. R. Hugh Connolly translated the work into English in 1929. It was published by Clarendon Press, Oxford. It included an extensive introduction by Connolly. In the same year of 1929 G. Homer also did a translation, also in Oxford.)

Presentation of text in brackets:
{words} probably to be restored
[words] probably to be omitted
(words) supplied for translation sense

THE CATHOLIC DIDASCALIA
THAT IS, THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE HOLY APOSTLES AND DISCIPLES OF OUR SAVIOUR

DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 1
On the simple and natural Law.

GOD'S planting and the holy vineyard of His Catholic Church, the elect, who rely on the simplicity of the fear of the Lord, who by their faith inherit His everlasting kingdom, who have received the power and fellowship of His Holy Spirit, and by Him are armed and made firm in the fear of Him, who are become partakers in the sprinkling of the pure and precious blood of the Great God, Jesus Christ, who have received boldness to call the Almighty God Father, as joint heirs and partakers with His Son and His beloved hear the Didascalia of God, you that hope and wait for His promises, which hath been written after the command of our Saviour and is in accord with His glorious words.

Give heed, children of God, and do all things so that you be obedient to God; and be you pleasing in all things to the Lord our God. For if any man run after iniquity and be contrary to the will of God, the same shall be accounted unto God as heathen and ungodly. Flee therefore and depart from all avarice and evil dealing. And you shall not desire that which is any man's, for it is written in the Law: Thou shalt not desire aught of that which is thy neighbour's: neither his field, nor his wife, nor his servant, nor his maidservant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing of his possessions. For all these desires are from the Evil One. For he that desires the wife of his companion, or his servant, or his maidservant, is already an adulterer and a thief, and is condemned of uncleanness, as they that lie with males, by our Lord and Teacher Jesus Christ: to whom (is) glory and honour for ever and ever, Amen. As also in the Gospel He renews and confirms and fulfils the Ten Words of the Law, (saying): For it is written in the Law: Thou shalt not commit adultery: but I say unto you this,--who in the Law spake through Moses, but now myself say unto you: Whosoever shall look upon the wife of his neighbour to desire her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart. And thus was he who desired condemned as an adulterer. He also that desires the ox or the ass of his neighbour, it is to steal and to lead it away that he is minded. And he again that desires the field of his companion, does he not seek to straiten him in his boundary, and contrive that he may sell it to him for nothing? For this cause therefore come slayings and deaths and condemnations from God upon these persons.

But for men who obey God there is one law, simple and true and mild -- without question, for Christians -- this, that what thou hatest that it should be done to thee by another, thou do not to another. Thou wouldst not that a man should look upon thy wife evilly to corrupt her: neither look thou upon the wife of thy companion with evil intent. Thou wouldst not that a man should take away thy garment: neither do thou take away that of another. Thou wouldst not be reviled and insulted, or beaten: neither do thou to another anyone of these things.

But if a man revile thee, do thou bless him; for it is written in the Book of Numbers: He that blesseth is blessed, and he that curseth is cursed. And in the Gospel also it is written again: Bless them that curse you. And to them that do you evil, do not you evil; and do good to them that hate you, and be patient and endure, for the Scripture saith: Thou shalt not say: I wilt render to mine enemy evil, even as he hath done to me: but be patient, and the Lord will be thy helper, and will bring a recompense upon him that doeth thee evil. And again He saith in the Gospel: Love them that hate you, and pray for them that curse you, and ye shall have no enemy. Let us attend then, our beloved, and understand these commandments and keep them, that we may be sons of the light.

DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 2
Teaching every man that he should please his wife alone; and that he should not adorn himself and become a cause of stumbling to women; and that he should not love idleness; and that he should occupy himself with the Scriptures of life, and avoid profane writings and the bonds of the Second Legislation; and that he should not bathe in a bath with women; and that he should not give himself to the vice of harlots.

Bear with one another, O servants and sons of God. Let not a man despise or contemn his wife, nor be lifted up against her; but let him be merciful, and let his hand be open to give. And let him please his wife alone, and cherish her with honour; and let him study to be loved by her alone, and by none other. Adorn not thyself that a strange woman may see and desire thee. And if indeed thou be constrained by her and sin with her, death in fire shall come upon thee of a surety from God, even that which abides for ever, which is in sore and bitter fire; and thou shalt know and understand when thou art grievously tormented. But if thou do not this uncleanness, but put her from thee and deny her: in this only hast thou sinned, that by thy adornment thou hast caused the woman to be taken with the desire of thee; for thou hast caused her, to whom it so happened by reason of thee, to commit adultery through her desire. But not so art thou under sin, because thou didst not desire her: but there shall be mercy upon thee from the Lord, because thou didst not deliver thyself to her nor consent to her when she sent unto thee, neither in thought didst thou turn thyself to that woman who was taken with the desire of thee: but she on a sudden encountered thee, and was stricken in her thought and sent unto thee; but thou as a godfearing man didst deny her and avoid her, and didst not sin with her; but she was stricken in her heart, because thou art young and fair and comely, and didst adorn thyself and cause her to desire thee: and thou art found to be guilty of the sin of her to whom it so happened by reason of thy adornment. But entreat of the Lord God that sin be not ascribed to thee on this account. And if thou wouldst please God and not men, and lookest and hopest for the life and rest everlasting, adorn not thy natural beauty which is given thee from God, but with humility of neglect make it mean before men. In like manner also thou shalt not nourish the hair of thy head, but do thou shear it off; and thou shalt not comb and adorn it, nor anoint it, lest thou bring upon thee such women as ensnare, or are ensnared, by lust. Neither shalt thou put on fine raiment, nor be shod on thy feet with shoes which are fashioned according to the lust of folly; nor shalt thou put upon thy fingers rings of gold device: for all these things are the wiles of harlotry, and every thing that thou dost apart from nature. For to thee, a faithful man of God, it is not permitted to nourish the hair of thy head and to comb and smooth it, which is a wantonness of lust; neither shalt thou arrange and adorn it, nor adjust it so that it may be beautiful. And thou shalt not destroy the hairs of thy beard, nor alter the natural form of thy face and change it to other than God created it, because that thou desirest to please men. But if thou do these things, thy soul shall be deprived of life, and thou shalt be rejected before the Lord God. As a man therefore who would please God, take heed thou do no such things; and avoid all those things which the Lord hateth.

And thou shalt not stray and go about idly in the streets and see the vain spectacle of those who behave themselves evilly; but be thou always attending to thy craft and thy work, and be willing to do those things that are pleasing to God; and thou shalt be meditating constantly upon the words of the Lord.

But if thou art rich and hast no need of a craft whereby to live, thou shalt not stray and go about vacantly; but be ever constant in drawing near to the faithful and to them that are like-minded with thee, and be meditating and learning with them the living words. And if not, sit at home and read the Law, and the Book of Kings and the Prophets, and the Gospel the fulfilment of these.

But avoid all books of the heathen. For what hast thou to do with strange sayings or laws or lying prophecies, which also turn away from the faith them that are young For what is wanting to thee in the word of God, that thou shouldst cast thyself upon these fables of the heathen? If thou wouldst read historical narratives, thou hast the Book of Kings; but if wise men and philosophers, thou hast the Prophets, wherein thou shalt find wisdom and understanding more than that of the wise men and philosophers; for they are the words of the one God, the only wise. And if thou wish for songs, thou hast the Psalms of David; but if (thou wouldst read of) the beginning of the world, thou hast the Genesis of the great Moses; and if laws and commandments, thou hast the glorious Law of the Lord God. All strange (writings) therefore, which are contrary (to these), wholly avoid.

Yet when thou readest the Law, beware of the Second Legislation, that thou do but read it merely; but the commands and warnings that are therein much avoid, lest thou lead thyself astray and bind thyself with the bonds which may not be loosed of heavy burdens. For this cause therefore, if thou read the Second Legislation, consider this alone, that thou know and glorify God who delivered us from all these bonds. And have this set before thine eyes, that thou discern and know what [in the Law] is the Law, and what are the bonds that are in the Second Legislation, which after the Law were given to those who, in the Law and in the Second Legislation, committed so many sins in the wilderness. For the first Law is that which the Lord God spoke before the people had made the calf and served idols, which consists of the Ten Words and the Judgements. But after they had served idols, He justly laid upon them the bonds, as they were worthy. But do not thou therefore lay them upon thee; for our Saviour came for no other cause but to fulfil the Law, and to set us loose from the bonds of the Second Legislation. For He set loose from those bonds and thus called those who believe in Him, and said: Come unto me, all ye that toil and are laden with heavy burdens, and I will give you rest. Do thou therefore, without the weight of these burdens, read the simple Law, which is in accord with the Gospel; and moreover the Gospel itself, and the Prophets; and the Book of Kings likewise, that thou mayest know that as many kings as were righteous were both advanced by the Lord God in this world, and continued in God's promise of everlasting life; but those kings who turned aside from God and served idols did justly, by a summary judgement, perish miserably, and were deprived of the kingdom of God, and instead of (obtaining) rest are punished. When therefore thou readest these things, thou wilt grow the more in faith and be improved.

And afterwards rise up, go forth to the market-place and bathe in a bath of men: but not in one of women, lest, when thou hast stripped thyself and shewn the nakedness of thy bare body, either thou be ensnared, or thou constrain another and she slip and be ensnared by thee. Beware of these things therefore, and thou shalt live unto God.

Learn, then, what saith the holy word in Wisdom: My Son, keep my words, and my commandments hide within thee. My son, honour the Lord, and be strengthened; and beside him thou shalt fear none other. Keep my commandments, and live well, and my laws as the apple of thine eye; and bind them upon thy fingers. and write them on the tables of thy heart. And say to wisdom: Thou art my sister, and make known to thy soul understanding: that she may keep thee from a strange and adulterous woman, whose words are flattering. For from the window of her house and from the porch she looked forth into the streets; and whomsoever she saw of the youths that are simple and lack understanding, that pass in the street beside the corners of the paths of her house, and speak in the darkness, at even and in the gloom of the stillness of the night: then the woman went forth and met him, in the harlot's dress that fluttereth the heart of youths. And she is wanton and bold and dissolute: and her feet cannot be quiet in her house; but now she roameth abroad, and now she lurketh in the streets and in the corners. And she caught him and kissed him, and made her face impudent, and said to him: Sacrifices I have,

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even peace offerings, today do I pay my vows: therefore am I come forth to meet thee; for I was looking to see thee, and I have found thee. I have spread my couch with a coverlet, and with rugs of Egypt have I overlaid it: I have sprinkled saffron upon my couch, and cinnamon in my house. Come, let us take our pleasure with love until morning, and let us embrace each other with desire, For my husband is not at home: he is gone a long journey, and hath taken a bag of money in his hand; and after many days will he come to his house. And she beguiled him with her many words, and with the flattery of her lips she drew him unto her. And he went after her like a simpleton, and as an ox that goeth to the slaughter, and as a dog to the leash, and as a hart stricken with an arrow; and he maketh haste [and] as a bird to the snare: and he knew not that he went to the death of his soul. Now therefore, hear me, my son, and hearken tothe words of my mouth. Let not thy heart incline to her ways, and draw not nigh to the door of her house, and go not astray in her path; for many slain hath she cast down, and there is no number to them that are slain by her. The ways of her house are the ways of Sheol, which bring down to the chambers of death. My son, hearken to my wisdom, and to mine understanding bend thy mind: that my counsel may keep thee, and the knowledge of my lips which I command thee. For the lips of an adulterous woman drop honey, and with her flatteries she maketh sweet thy palate: but the latter end of them is more bitter than wormwood, and sharper than a two-edged sword. For the feet of a foolish (woman) lead down to the chambers of Sheol them that cleave unto her: for there is no standing for her footsteps, nor treading in the land of life: for her paths are error, and they are not known. Now therefore, my son, hear me, and turn not aside from the words of my mouth. Keep thy way far from her, and draw not nigh to the door of her house; lest thou give thy life to others, and thy years to them that have no mercy; and lest strangers be satisfied of thy strength, and thy revenues go into the houses of others: and in thine old age thy soul repent thee, when the flesh of thy body is consumed, and thou say: Why then did I hate correction, and my heart reject reproof; and hearkened I not to the voice of my teachers, and to them that admonished me inclined not mine ears I am come well-nigh into every evil.

And that we prolong not and extend the admonition of our teaching with many (words), if we have left anything, do you as wise men choose for yourselves those things that are good from the holy Scriptures and from the Gospel of God, that you may be made firm, and may put away and cast from you all evil, and be found blameless in life everlasting with God.

DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 3

An instruction to women, that they should please and honour their husbands alone, caring diligently and wisely for the work of their houses with attention; and that they should not bathe with men; and that they should not adorn themselves and become a cause of stumbling to men and ensnare them; and that they should be chaste and quiet, and not quarrel with their husbands.

And let a woman also be subject to her husband; because the head of the woman is the man, and the head of a man that walks in the way of justice is Christ. After the Lord Almighty, our God and the Father of the worlds, of the present and of that which is to come, and the Lord of every breath and of all powers, and His living and Holy Spirit -- to whom is glory and honour for evermore, Amen -- woman, fear thy husband and reverence him, and please him alone, and be ready to minister to him; and let thy hands be (put forth) to the wool, and thy mind be upon the spindle, as He saith in Wisdom: A valiant woman who shall find? For she is more worth than goodly stones of great price; 11and the heart of her husband relieth upon her, and provision is not wanting to her, For she is a helper to her husband in all things, and causeth that nothing be wanting to him in his living. She made wool and linen with her ready hands. She is become a good provider, as a merchant ship, and hath gathered all her riches from afar. She rose up in the night and gave victuals to her household, and work to her handmaids. She looked upon a field, and bought it; and of the fruits of her hands she planted a possession. She girded her loins with strength, and made firm her arms, and tasted that it is good to work: and her lamp was not put out all the night long. Her arms she stretched forth with diligence, and her hands to the spindle. Her hands she extended to the poor, and of her fruits she gave to the needy. And her husband hath no anxiety for the house; for all his household have been clothed with a double raiment. She made for her husband garments of fine linen and scarlet: her husband is notable in the gates, when he sitteth in the seat of the elders. She made in her house linen cloths and girdles , and sold to the Canaanites. Strength and comeliness are her raiment:? and she shall rejoice in the last day. She opened her mouth with wisdom and with prudence, and her tongue speaketh orderly. The ways of her house are strict: and bread she hath not eaten slothfully. She opened her mouth in wisdom, rightly: and the law of mercy is upon her tongue. Her sons rose up and were enriched, and praised he: and she shall rejoice in them in her last days. Her husband also congratulated her: and her many daughters have gotten riches. And many great things she did, and she was exalted above all the women: for a woman that feareth God shall be blessed, and the fear of the Lord shall glorify her. Give unto her of her fruits, which are worthy of her lips, and let her be praised in the gates: and in every place let her husband be praised. And again: A valiant woman is the crown of her husband.

You have heard, then, how great praise a chaste woman and one that loves her husband receives of the Lord God, one that is found faithful and is minded to please God. Thou therefore, O woman, shalt not adorn thyself that thou mayest please other men; and thou shalt not be plaited with the tresses of harlotry, nor put on the dress of harlotry, nor be shod with shoes so that thou resemble them that are such; lest thou bring upon thee those who are ensnared by these things. And if thou sin not thyself in this work of uncleanness, yet in this thou wilt have sinned, that thou hast constrained and caused that (man) to desire thee. But if thou also sin, thou hast destroyed thy life from God, and art become guilty also of the soul of that (man). And moreover, when thou hast sinned with one, thou wilt grow reckless and go also to others; as in Wisdom He said: When the wicked is come to the depth of evil, he contemneth and groweth reckless: and there cometh upon him dishonour and reproach. For one who is such that she is wholly stricken in her soul and taken with desire, leads captive the souls of them that lack understanding. But let us learn concerning these also, how the holy word in Wisdom exposes them; for it saith thus: As a ring of gold in a swine's snout, so is beauty to a woman that doeth evil. And again: As a worm in wood, so doth an evil woman destroy a man. And again: A woman void of understanding and boastful cometh to want bread, and knoweth no shame. For she sitteth in the street, by the door of her house, upon a high chair, and calleth to them that pass by the way, and to them that walk in her paths, and saith: Whoso among you is a simpleton, let him draw nigh to me; and to him that wanteth understanding I will say: Touch lovingly the hidden bread, and stolen waters that are sweet. And he knoweth not that valiant men perish with her, and come even to the depth of Sheol. But flee thou, and tarry not in that place; and lift not up thine eyes to look upon her. And again: It is better to sit upon a corner of the roof than to dwell with a prating and quarrelsome woman within the house.

Thou therefore that art a Christian, do not imitate such women; but if thou wouldst be a faithful woman, please thy husband only. And when thou walkest in the street, cover thy head with thy robe, that by reason of thy veil thy great beauty may be hidden. And adorn not thy natural face; but walk with downcast looks, being veiled.

And take heed that thou bathe not in a bath with men. For when there is a women's bath in the city or in the village, a believing woman may not bathe in a bath with men. For if thou coverest thy face from strange men with a veil of modesty, how then canst thou go in with strange men to a bath? But if there is no women's bath, and thou art constrained to bathe in a bath of men and women, -- which indeed is unfitting -- bathe with modesty and shame, and with bashfulness and moderation: and not at all times, nor every day, and not at midday; but let there be an appointed season for thee to bathe at, (to wit) at the tenth hour. For it behoves thee, as a believing woman, by every means to fly from the vain and curious gaze of the many which is met with in a bath.

And thy strife with all, and especially with thy husband, check and restrain as a believing woman; lest thy husband, if he be a heathen, be offended by reason of thee and blaspheme against God, and thou receive a Woe from God: for, Woe to them, by reason of whom the name of God is blasphemed among the gentiles; or (lest) again, if thy husband be a believer, he be constrained, as one who knows the Scriptures, and say to thee the word from Wisdom: It is better to sit upon a corner of the roof than to dwell with a prating and quarrelsome woman within the house. For it behoves women by a veil of modesty and humility to shew (their) fear of God, for the conversion and the increase of faith of them that are without, (both) of men and women.

Now if we have admonished and instructed you in brief, our sisters and our daughters and our members, do you as wise women seek and choose out for yourselves those things that are good and honourable and without reproach in worldly conversation; and learn and know those things whereby you may arrive at the kingdom of our Lord, and may find rest, pleasing Him with good works.

DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 4

Teaching what manner of man he is that is chosen for the Bishopric, and of what sort his conduct should be.

But concerning the bishopric, hear ye. The pastor who is appointed bishop and head among the presbytery in the Church in every congregation, it is required of him that he be blameless, in nothing reproachable, one remote from all evil, a man not less than fifty years of age, who is now removed from the manners of youth and from the lusts of the Enemy, and from the slander and blasphemy of false brethren, which they bring against many because they understand not that word which is said in the Gospel: Every one that shall say an idle word, shall give an answer concerning it to the Lord in the day of judgement: for from thy words thou shalt be justified, and from thy words thou shalt be condemned. But if it be possible, let him be instructed and apt to teach; but if he know not letters, let him be versed and skilled in the word, and let him be advanced in years.

But if the congregation be a small one, and there be not found a man advanced in years of whom they give testimony that he is wise and suitable to stand in the bishopric: but there be found there one who is young, of whom they that are with him give testimony that he is worthy to stand in the bishopric, and who, though he is young, yet by meekness and quietness of conduct shows maturity: let him be proved whether all give testimony concerning him, and so let him sit in peace. For Solomon also at the age of twelve years reigned over Israel; and Josiah at the age of eight years reigned with righteousness; and Joash likewise reigned when seven years old. Wherefore, even though he be young, yet let him be meek and fearful and quiet; for the Lord God said in Isaiah: On whom shall I look and take pleasure (in him), but on the quiet and meek, that trembleth at my words? And in the Gospel also He spoke thus: Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth. And let him be merciful; for He said again in the Gospel thus: Blessed are the merciful, for upon them there shall be mercy. And again let him be a peacemaker; for He saith : Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the sons of God. And let him be clear of all evil and wrong and iniquity; for He saith again: Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. And let him be watchful and chaste and staid and orderly; and let him not be turbulent, and let him not be one that exceeds in wine ; and let him not be a backbiter; but let him be quiet, and not be quarrelsome; and let him not be money-loving. And let him not be youthful in mind, lest he be lifted up and fall into the judgement of Satan: for everyone that exalteth himself shall be humbled. But it is required that the bishop be thus: a man that hath taken one wife, that hath governed his house well. And thus let him be proved when he receives the imposition of hands to sit in the office of the bishopric: whether he be chaste, and whether his wife also be a believer and chaste; and whether he has brought up his children in the fear of God, and admonished and taught them; and whether his household fear and reverence him, and all of them obey him. For if his household in the flesh withstand him and obey him not, how shall they that are without his house become his, and be subject to him?

And let him be proved whether he be without blemish in the things of the world, and likewise in his body; for it is written: See that there be no blemish in him that standeth up to be priest. But let him be also without anger; for the Lord saith: Anger destroyeth even the wise. And let him be merciful and gracious and full of love; for the Lord saith: Love covereth a multitude of sins. And let his hand be open to give; and let him love the orphans with the widows, and be a lover of the poor and of strangers. And let him be alert in his ministry, and constant in ministration; and let him be afflicting his soul, and not be one that is put to confusion. And let him know who is the more worthy to receive; for if there be a widow who has (some- what), or is able to nourish herself with that which she needs for her bodily sustenance; and there be another who, though she is not a widow, is in want, whether by reason of sickness, or of the rearing of children, or of bodily infirmity: to this (latter) rather let him stretch out his hand. But if there be any man who is dissolute, or drunken, or idle, and he be in straits for bodily nourishment, the same is not worthy of an alms, neither of the Church.

And let the bishop be also without respect of persons, and let him not defer to the rich nor favour them unduly; and let him not disregard or neglect the poor, nor be lifted up against them. And let him be scant and poor in his food and drink, that he may be able to be watchful in admonishing and correcting those who are undisciplined. And let him not be crafty and extravagant, nor luxurious, nor pleasure-loving, nor fond of dainty meats. And let him not be resentful, but let him be patient in his admonition; and let him be assiduous in his teaching, and constant in reading the divine Scriptures with diligence, that he may interpret and expound the Scriptures fittingly. And let him compare the Law and the Prophets with the Gospel, so that the sayings of the Law and the Prophets may be in accord with the Gospel. But before all let him be a good discriminator between the Law and the Second Legislation, that he may distinguish and show what is the Law of the faithful, and what are the bonds of them that believe not; lest anyone of those under thy authority take the bonds for the Law, and lay upon himself heavy burdens, and become a son of perdition. Be diligent therefore and attentive to the word, O bishop, so that, if thou canst, thou explain every saying: that with much doctrine thou mayest abundantly nourish and give drink to thy people; for it is written in Wisdom: Be careful of the herb of the field, that thou mayest shear thy flock: and gather the grass of summer, that thou mayest have sheep for thy clothing: give attention and care to thy pasture, that thou mayest have lambs. Let not the bishop therefore be a lover of filthy lucre, and especially

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from the heathen. Let him be suffering a wrong, and not doing a wrong; and let him not love riches. And let him not think ill of any man, nor bear false witness; and let him not be wrathful, nor quarrelsome; and let him not love the presidency; and let him not be double-minded nor double-tongued, nor given to incline his ear to words of slander and murmuring; and let him be no respecter of persons. And let him not love the festivals of the heathen, nor occupy himself with vain error. And let him not be lustful, nor money-loving: for all these things are of the agency or demons.

Now all these things let the bishop command and enjoin upon all the people. And let him be wise and lowly; and let him be admonishing and teaching with the doctrine and discipline of God. And let him be of a noble mind, and aloof from all the evil artifices of this world, and from all the evil lust of the heathen. And let his mind be keen to discern, that he may know beforehand them that are evil: and do you keep yourselves from them. But let him be the friend of all, being a righteous judge. And whatever of good there be that is found in men, let the same be in the bishop. For when the pastor shall be remote from all evil, he will be able to constrain his disciples also and encourage them by his good manners to be imitators of his good works; as the Lord has said in the Twelve Prophets: The people shall be even as the priest. For it behoves you to be an example to the people, for you also have Christ for an example. Be you therefore also a good example to your people, for the Lord said in Ezekiel: And the word of the Lord came unto me, saying: Son of man, speak to the sons of thy people, and say unto them: When I bring the sword upon a land, let the people of that land take one man from among them and make him their watchman: and he shall see the sword coming upon the land, and shall blow the trumpet and warn the people, and everyone that heareth the sound of the trumpet shall give ear. And if he take not warning, and the sword come and take him away, his blood shall be upon his head. Because he heard the sound of the trumpet, and took not warning, his blood shall be upon his head. But he that took warning hath delivered his soul. But if the watchman see the sword coming, and blow not the trumpet, and the people be not warned, and the sword come and take away a soul from them: he hath been taken away in his sins, and his blood will I require at the hands of the watchman. Now the sword is the judgement, and the trumpet is the Gospel, but the watchman is the bishop who is set over the Church.

DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 5

A teaching on judgement.

It behoves thee therefore, O bishop, when thou preachest, to testify and affirm concerning the judgement according as it is (found) in the Gospel. For to thee also has the Lord said: And thee, son of man, I have set as a watchman to the house of Israel; that thou mayest hear a word from my mouth, and give warning and preach it as from me. And when I say to the ungodly: The ungodly shall surely die, and thou preach not and say that the ungodly should depart from his iniquity: the ungodly shall die in his iniquity, and at thy hands will I require his blood. But if thou warn the ungodly from his way, and he take not warning: the ungodly shall die in his iniquity, and thou shalt deliver thy soul. Wherefore you also, since to your account is laid the blame of them that sin in ignorance, do you preach and testify; and those who behave themselves without discipline admonish and rebuke openly. Now whereas we speak and repeat these things often, we are not blameworthy; for through much teaching and hearing it happens that a man is put to shame, and does good and avoids evil. For the Lord also said in the Law: Hear, O Israel; and unto this day they have not heard. And in the Gospel likewise He often proclaims and says; Every one that hath ears to hear, let him hear. But not even they have heard who thought that they heard; for they cast themselves swiftly into the dire destruction of heresy: upon whom the word of sentence is about to go forth. For we believe not, brethren, that when a man has (once) gone down into the water he will do again the abominable and filthy works of the ungodly heathen. For this is manifest and known to all, that whosoever does evil after baptism, the same is already condemned to the Gehenna of fire.

And we think indeed that the heathen also will blaspheme on this account, that we do not mix with them nor hold communication with them. But through the falsehood of the heathen our brethren have the rather attained to the truth; for in the Gospel He saith thus: Blessed are ye when they shall revile you, and persecute you, and speak against you every evil word for my sake, falsely. But do ye rejoice and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven: for so did their fathers persecute the prophets. If therefore they shall blaspheme against any man falsely, blessed is he, even because that he is tempted; for the Scripture has said: A man that is not tempted, neither is he approved. But if a man be convicted of doing the works of iniquity, he is no Christian but a liar, and he holds the fear of the Lord in hypocrisy. Wherefore these persons, when they have been exposed and convicted by the truth openly, let ,the bishop who is without offence and without hypocrisy avoid.

But if the bishop himself is not of a clean conscience, and accepts persons for the sake of filthy lucre, or for the sake of the presents which he receives, and spares one who impiously sins, and suffers him to remain in the Church: such a bishop has polluted his congregation with God; yea, and with men also, and with many of the receivers who are young in their minds, or with the hearers; and youths and maidens beside he destroys with him. For by reason of the lewdness of an ungodly man, when they have seen such a one in their midst they too will doubt in their soul, and will imitate him, and themselves also will stumble and be taken with the same malady, and will perish with him. But if he who sins sees that the bishop and the deacons are clear of reproach, and the whole flock pure: first of all he will not dare to enter the congregation, because he is reproved by his conscience; but if it should happen that he is bold, and comes to the Church in his arrogance, and he is reproved and rebuked by the bishop, and looking upon all (present) finds no offence in any of them, neither in the bishop nor in those who are with him: he will then be put to confusion, and will go forth quietly, in great shame, weeping and in remorse of soul; and so shall the flock remain pure. Moreover, when he is gone out he will repent of his sin and weep and sigh before God, and there shall be hope for him. And the whole flock itself also, when it sees the weeping and tears of that man, will fear, knowing and understanding that everyone who sins perishes.

Wherefore, O bishop, strive to be pure in thy works. And know thy place, that thou art set in the likeness of God Almighty, and holdest the place of God Almighty; and so sit in the Church and teach as having authority to judge them that sin in the room of God Almighty. For to you bishops it is said in the Gospel: That which ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven.

DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 6

Concerning transgressors, and concerning those who repent.

Judge therefore, O bishop, strictly as God Almighty; and those who repent receive with mercy as God Almighty. And rebuke and exhort and teach; for the Lord God also with an oath promised forgiveness to them that have sinned, as He said in Ezekiel: And thou, son of man, say to the house of Israel: Ye have said thus: Our crimes and our sins are upon us, and in them we are wasted away: how then can we live? Say unto them: As I live, saith the Lord Adonai, desire not the death of the sinner, but that the wicked return from his evil way and live. Return, therefore, and be converted from your evil ways, and ye shall not die, O house of Israel. Here, then, He gave hope to them that sin, when they shall have repented, that they may have salvation by their repentance, and may not despair of themselves and continue in their sins and further add to them, but may repent and sigh and weep for their sins, and be converted with all their heart.

But let them that have not sinned continue without sin, lest they also come to have need of weeping and sighs and sorrow, and of forgiveness. For whence knowest thou, O man that sinnest, how many are the days of thy life in this world, that thou mayest repent? For thou knowest not thy exit from the world, whether haply thou die in thy sins and there be no more repentance for thee; as it is said in David: In Sheol who shall confess to thee? Wherefore he remains without danger, whosoever spares his soul and remains without sin: so that the righteousness also which was done by him in time past may be preserved to him.

Do thou therefore, O bishop, thus judge: first of all strictly; and afterwards receive (the sinner) with mercy and compassion, when he promises to repent. And rebuke and afflict him, and (afterwards) be entreated of him, because of the word which is spoken in David thus: Deliver not up the soul that confesseth to thee. And in Jeremiah again He speaks thus concerning the repentance of them that sin: Shall he that is fallen not rise up or he that is turned away not return? Wherefore are my people turned away with a shameless perversion, and are held fast in their own devices, and have refused to repent and to return? For this cause, then, receive him that repents without hesitating ever so little; and be not hindered by those who are without mercy, who say: ' It is not fitting that we should be defiled with these.' For the Lord God has said: The fathers shall not die for the sons, nor the sons for the fathers. And again in Ezekiel He speaketh thus: And the word of the Lord came unto me saying: Son of man, if a land sin against me, and do iniquity before me, I will stretch forth my hand against her, and will destroy out of her the staff of bread, and will send a famine upon her, and will destroy out of her men and beasts. But if there be in her these three men, Noah and Daniel and Job, they by their righteousness shall deliver their souls, saith the Lord Adonai. The Scripture, then, has shown clearly that if there be found a righteous man with an ungodly, he shall not perish with him, but every man shall be saved by his righteousness: and if he is hindered, it is by his own sins that he is hindered. And again in Wisdom He saith: Every man is tied with the cord of his sins. Each one therefore of the laity is to render an account of his own sins; and a man is not hurt by reason of the sins of others. For neither did Judas harm us at all when he was praying with us, but he alone perished. And in the ark, Noah and his two sons who were saved alive, they were blessed; but Ham, his other son, was not blessed, but his seed was cursed; and the animals that went in, animals they came forth.

It behoves you not therefore to hearken to those who desire (to put to) death, and hate their brethren and love accusations, and are ready to slay on any pretext: (for one shall not die for another). But do you help them that are sore sick and exposed to danger and are sinning, that you may deliver them from death; and (do) not according to the hardness of heart and the word and thought of men, (but according to the will and command of the Lord our God). For it behoves thee not, O bishop, that being the head thou shouldst obey the tail, that is a layman, a contentious man who desires the destruction of another; but do thou regard only the word of the Lord God. And concerning this, that (men) are not to suppose that they perish or are defiled by the sins of others, He again cut off their evil thought, and by Ezekiel also the Lord our God spoke thus: And the word of the Lord came unto me, saying: Son of man, why use ye this proverb in the land of Israel, and say: The fathers do eat sour grapes, and their sons' teeth are on edge. As I live, saith the Lord Adonai, there shall no more be any that useth this proverb in Israel. For all the souls are mine: as the soul of the father is mine, so also the soul of the son is mine. The soul that sinneth, the same shall die. And a man, if he be righteous, and do judgement and righteousness, and eat not upon the mountains, and lift not up his eyes to the idols of the house of Israel, and defile not the wife of his neighbour, and come not near to a woman in her menstruation, and treat no man with violence, and restore the pledge of his debtor which he hath taken, and clothe the naked with a garment, 8and give not out his money on usury, and receive not (back) with overcharge, and turn away his hand from iniquity, and judge right judgement betwixt a man and his neighbour, and walk in my laws, and keep my judgements and do them: this man is righteous, he shall surely live, saith the Lord Adonai, And if he beget an evil son, that sheddeth blood and doeth iniquity, and walketh not in the way of his righteous father, and eateth upon the mountains, and defileth his neighbour's wife, and evil entreateth the poor and needy, and committeth robbery, and restoreth not the pledge which he hath taken, and lifteth up his eyes to idols, and doeth iniquity, and giveth out his money on usury, and receiveth (back) with overcharge: this man shall not live: because he hath done all this iniquity, he shall surely die, and his blood shall be upon him. But if he beget a son, and he see those sins which his father did, and fear and do not the like of them, and eat not upon the mountains, and lift not up his eyes to the idols of the house of Israel, and defile not his neighbour's wife, and evil entreat no man, and take not a pledge, and commit not robbery, and give his bread to the hungry, and clothe the naked with a garment, and turn away his hand from iniquity, and receive not usury and overcharge, and do righteousness and walk in my laws: this man shall not die for the iniquity of his father, but he shall surely live. But his father, because he indeed committed oppression and robbery, and did not good to my people, shall die for his iniquity. And ye say: Wherefore is not the son requited for the iniquity of his father? Because the son did righteousness and mercy, and kept all my commandments and did them, he shall surely live: the soul that sinneth, the same shall die. A son shall not be requited for the sins of his father; and a father shall not be requited for the sins of his son. The righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him; and the iniquity of the ungodly shall be upon him. And if the ungodly shall turn away from all his iniquity which he did, and keep all my commandments, and do judgement and righteousness, he shall surely live and not die; and all the iniquity which he did shall not be remembered unto him: for the righteousness which he did, for the same he shall live. For I desire not the death of the sinner, saith the Lord Adonai: but everyone that shall turn from his evil way shall live. And if the righteous turn away from his righteousness, and do iniquity according to all the iniquity which the ungodly did: all his righteousness which he did shall not be remembered unto him, but for the iniquity which he did, and for the sins which he sinned, for the same he shall die. And they have said: The way of the Lord is not well. Hear ye, house of Israel: my way is well, but your own ways are not well. And if the righteous shall turn away from his righteousness and do iniquity: for the iniquity which he hath done he shall die. And if the ungodly shall turn away from his iniquity which he did, and shall do judgement and righteousness: this man hath delivered his soul. Because he turned away from all the iniquity which he did, he shall surely live and not die. And the house of Israel say: The way of the Lord is not well. My way is well, O house of Israel, but your own ways are not well. Therefore will I judge every man of you according to his ways, saith the Lord Adonai. Return and be converted from all your iniquity and your wickedness, lest these things be unto you for an evil torment. And cast away and put from you all the wickedness which ye have done, and make to yourselves a new heart and a new spirit, and ye shall not die, O house of Israel: for I desire not the death of the sinner, saith the Lord Adonai : but do ye return and live.

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You see, beloved and dear children, how abundant are the mercies of the Lord our God and His goodness and loving-kindness towards us, and (how) He exhorts them that have sinned to repent. And in many places He speaks of these things; and He gives no place to the thought of those who are hard of heart and wish to judge strictly and without mercy, and to cast away altogether them that have sinned as though there were no repentance for them. But God (is) not so, but even sinners He calls to repentance and gives them hope; and those who have not sinned He teaches, and tells them that they should not suppose that we bear or partake in the sins of others. Simply, then, receive them that repent, rejoicing. For He spoke again in the same prophet concerning repentance thus: And thou, son of man, say to the sons of thy people: The righteousness of the righteous shall not deliver him in the day that he doeth wickedly; and the iniquity of the ungodly shall not hurt him in the day that he returneth from his iniquity: and the righteous cannot live in the day that he sinneth. And when I shall say to the righteous that he shall surely live, and he rely upon his righteousness and do iniquity: all his righteousness shall not be remembered unto him, but for the iniquity which he hath done, for the same he shall die. And when I shall say to the ungodly: Thou shalt surely die; and he turn from his sin and do judgement and righteousness, and return the pledge which he hath taken, and restore that which he hath robbed, and walk in the judgements and commandments of life so that he do no iniquity: he shall surely live and not die, and all his sins which he sinned shall not be remembered unto him: he hath done judgement and righteousness, he shall surely live. And the sons of thy people say: The way of the Lord Adonai is not well. Say unto them: It is your own ways are not well: for if the righteous shall turn away from his righteousness and do iniquity, he shall surely die for his iniquity; and if the ungodly shall turn away from his iniquity and do judgement and righteousness, for the same he shall live.

It behoves you then, O bishops, to judge according to the Scriptures those who sin, with gentleness and with mercy. For if, when a man is walking by the brink of a river and is ready to slip, thou by suffering him (to slip) hast thrust (and) cast him into the river, thou hast also committed murder. But if a man were to slip on the brink of a river and be near to perish, thou wouldst quickly reach out a hand to him and draw him out, lest he perish altogether. So do therefore (with the sinner); that both thy people may learn and understand, and he also that sins may not utterly perish.

But when thou hast seen one who has sinned, be stern with him, and command that they put him forth; and when he is gone forth let them be stern with him, and take him to task, and keep him without the Church; and then let them come in and plead for him. For our Saviour Himself also was pleading with His Father for sinners, as it is written in the Gospel: My Father, they know not what they do, neither what they speak: but if it be possible, do Thou forgive them. And then do thou, O bishop, command him to come in, and examine him whether he be repentant. And if he is worthy to be received into the Church, appoint him days of fasting according to his offence, two or three weeks, or five, or seven; and so dismiss him that he may depart, saying to him whatever is right for admonition and instruction; and rebuke him, and say to him that he be by himself in humiliation, and that he beg and beseech during the days of his fast that he may be found worthy of the forgiveness of sins:? as it is written in Genesis: Hast thou sinned be silent: thy repentance shall be with thee, and thou shalt have power over it. To Mary the sister of Moses also, when she had spoken against Moses, and afterwards repented and was held worthy of forgiveness, it was said of the Lord: If her father had but spit in her face, it were right for her to be ashamed, and to be separate seven days without the camp, and then to come in. So it behoves you also to do: to put forth from the Church those who promise to repent of their sins (for a space) proportionate to their offences: and afterwards do you receive them as merciful fathers.

But if the bishop be in himself a (cause of) offence, how can he stand up and make inquisition of any man's misdeeds, or rebuke him and give sentence upon him? For by reason of partiality, or of the presents which they receive -- either he or the deacons, whose conscience is not pure -- they (the deacons) cannot exert themselves to help the bishop; for they are afraid lest they should hear (from the sinner), as from an insolent man, that word which is written in the Gospel: Why seest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, and perceivest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, cast out first the beam from thine eye; and then shalt thou perceive to cast the mote out of thy brother's eye. The reason, then, that the bishop, with his deacons, is afraid, (is) lest they should hear from the sinner, as from an insolent man, that word of the Lord. For he knows not that it is a perilous thing for a man to speak against the bishop, and that he (the bishop) may be made an offence throughout the whole of that district. For one who has been sinning lacks understanding, and no more spares his soul. Hence, for whatever cause it be that the bishop is afraid, he feigns not to have knowledge of him who sins, and passes him over and rebukes and corrects him not. And hence Satan, when he has found him an occasion by means of one, gets power over others also -- which God forbid that it should come about -- and so it happens that the flock becomes such that it can no longer be set right. For when there are found many that sin, evil waxes strong; and whereas they that sin are not corrected and reproved that they should repent, this becomes to all an inducement to sin:? and that which is said is fulfilled: My house is called a house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves. But if the bishop keeps not silent from them that sin, but rebukes and reproves and corrects and admonishes and afflicts him that sins, he casts dread and fear upon others also. For it behoves the bishop to be by his doctrine a restrainer of sins and an example and encourager of righteousness, and by the admonition of his teaching a director of good works, and one who lauds and magnifies the good things which are to come and are promised by God in the place of life everlasting: a proclaimer also of the wrath to come in the judgement of God, with threatening of the grievous fire which is unquenchable and intolerable. And let him know the meaning of God's will, that he despise no man; because our Saviour has said: See that ye despise not any of these little ones that believe in me.

Let the bishop therefore be careful of all, both of them that have not sinned, that they may continue as they are without sin, and of them that have sinned, that they may repent, and that he may grant them forgiveness of sins, as it is written in Isaiah that the Lord saith: Loose every bond of iniquity, and sever all bands of violence and extortion.

DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 7

To Bishops.

Do thou therefore, O bishop, teach and rebuke, and loose by forgiveness. And know thy place, that it is that of God Almighty, and that thou hast received authority to forgive sins. For to you bishops it was said: All that ye shall bind on earth, it shall be bound in heaven; and all that ye shall loose, it shall be loosed. As therefore thou hast authority to loose, know thyself and thy manners and thy conversation in this life, that they be worthy of thy place. But without sin there is none among men, for it is written: There is no man pure of defilement, not even though his life in the world be but one day. Therefore the life and manner of conversation of the just men and patriarchs was written, that it might be known that in each one of them there was found at least some small sin; that it might be understood that the Lord God alone is without sin, as He said in David: That thou mayest be justified in thy words, and prevail in thy judgements. For the little defilement of the just is to us a solace and an encouragement, and a (source of) trust that we also, if we sin but a little, have a hope of obtaining forgiveness.

There is no man, then, without sin. But do thou strive according to thy power to be in nothing reproachable. And have a care of all, that none may stumble and perish by reason of thee. For a layman has the care of himself alone, but thou carriest the burden of all. And very great is the load that thou bearest; for to whom the Lord hath given much, much also will he require at his hand. As therefore thou carriest the burden of all, be watchful; for it is written: The Lord said unto Moses: Thou and Aaron shall take upon you the sins of the priesthood. For as thou art to render an account for many, so be careful of all; for those that are sound thou shalt preserve, but those that have sinned do thou admonish and rebuke and afflict; and (afterwards) ease them with forgiveness. And when he that sinned has repented and wept, receive him; and while the whole people prays over him, lay hand upon him, and suffer him henceforth to be in the Church. But those who are drowsy and slack do thou bring back and stir up and make firm, and exhort them and make them sound: for thou knowest what reward thou hast if thou do thus; but if thou neglect it, danger shall come upon thee; for the Lord spoke thus in Ezekiel concerning those bishops who neglect their people: And the word of the Lord came unto me, saying: Son of man, prophesy against the shepherds of Israel, and say to them: Thus saith the Lord Adonai: Woe unto the shepherds of Israel, who feed themselves; and my sheep the shepherds have not fed. The milk ye eat, and with the wool ye are clothed, and that which is fat ye kill and the sheep ye feed not. That which was sick ye healed not, and that which was weak ye strengthened not, and that which was broken ye bound not up, and that which was gone astray ye brought not back, and that which was lost ye sought not out; but with force and with derision ye have subdued them. And my sheep were scattered for lack of a shepherd, and became meat for every beast of the field. And my sheep were scattered and gone astray on an the high mountains and on an the high hills, and on an the face of the land were my sheep scattered, and there was none to require and seek. Wherefore, ye shepherds, hear the word of the Lord Adonai. Forasmuch as my sheep are become a spoil and meat to every beast of the field for lack of a shepherd, and the shepherds have not sought my sheep, but the shepherds have fed themselves, and my sheep the shepherds have not fed: therefore, ye shepherds, hear the word of the Lord. Thus saith the Lord Adonai: Behold, I am against the shepherds, and I wilt seek my sheep at their hands; and I will cause them to cease, that henceforth they feed not my sheep: and the shepherds shalt no more feed themselves; but I will deliver my sheep out of their hands, and they shall no more be to them for meat. For thus saith the Lord Adonai: Therefore, behold, I wilt seek my sheep and visit them: as a shepherd visiteth his sheep in the day of tempest, when he is in their midst, so will I visit my sheep. And I will gather them together from all places wherein they were scattered in the day of cloud and thick darkness, and I will bring them forth from the peoples, and gather them from the lands, and bring them into their land; and I will feed them in the mountains of Israel, and in all the waste places of the land. And in a good and fat pasture will I feed them, and in the mountains of the Most High of Israel shall be the glory of their beauty. There shall they be encamped in a good encampment, and in a fat pasture shall they be fed in the mountains of Israel. I will feed my sheep, and I will stablish them, saith the Lord Adonai: that which is lost will I seek, and that which is gone astray will I bring back, and that which is broken will I bind up, and that which is sick will I strengthen, and that which is fat and sound will I keep: and I will feed them in judgement. And ye, my sheep, the sheep of my flock, thus saith the Lord Adonai: Behold, I will judge between ewe and ewe, and between ram and ram. Is this a small thing to you, that ye devour a good and fat pasture, and the residue of your pasture ye trample upon with your feet, and my sheep did drink that which was trodden with your feet. Wherefore thus saith the Lord Adonai: Behold, I will judge between ewe and ewe, and between them that are sick: because that ye were thrusting them with your sides and with your shoulders, and with your horns ye were butting all the sick ones, until ye had scattered them abroad. And I will deliver my sheep, and they shall no more be for a spoil: and I will judge between ewe and ewe. And I will set over them one shepherd, and he shall feed them, and he shall be their shepherd; and David my servant shall be their ruler in their midst: I the Lord have spoken it. And I will make for them a covenant of peace, and will cause evil beasts to cease from the land; and they shall dwell in the wilderness securely, and sleep in the woods. And I will give to them round about my mountain a blessing; and I will send down rain in its season, and it shall be rain of blessing. And the trees of the field shall give their fruits, and the land shall give its increase. And they shall dwell in their land securely: and they shall know that I am the Lord, when I shall cut the thongs of their yoke. And I will deliver them from the hand of them that subdued them, and they shall no more be for a prey to the peoples, and the beasts of the field shall no more devour them; but they shall lie down securely, and there shall be none to make them afraid. And I will establish for them a plantation for renown; and they shall no more be few and forsaken in the land, and they shall no more bear the shame of the peoples. And they shall know that I am the Lord their God with them, and they are my people of the house of Israel, saith the Lord Adonai. And ye my sheep, the sheep of my flock, are men, and I am your God, saith the Lord Adonai.

Hear, then, ye bishops, and hear, ye laymen, how the Lord saith: I will judge between ram and ram, and between ewe and ewe; that is, between bishop and bishop, and between layman and layman: whether layman loves layman, and whether again the layman loves the bishop and honours and fears him as father and lord, and (as) God after God Almighty; for to the bishop it was said through the apostles: Everyone that heareth you, heareth me; and everyone that rejecteth you rejecteth me, and him that sent me: and again, whether the bishop loves the laity as his children, and cherishes and keeps them warm with loving care, as eggs from which young birds are to come; or broods over them and cherishes them as young birds, for the rearing up of winged fowl. Teach, then, and admonish all; and them that deserve rebuke, rebuke and afflict: but unto conversion and not unto destruction; and admonish unto repentance and correct them, so that thou make their ways straight and fair, and order well the conduct of their life in the world.

That which is whole preserve: that is, him that is established in the faith guard watchfully; and shepherd the whole people in peace. And that which is weak strengthen: that is, him that is tempted confirm with admonition. And that which is sick heal: that is, him that is sick with doubting of his faith, heal with doctrine. And that which is broken bind up: that is, him that is stricken or buffeted or broken by his sins, and halts from the right way, bind up; that is, with the exhortation of admonition cure him, and lighten him of his transgressions, and comfort him and show him that there is hope for him; and bind him up and heal him and bring him into the Church. And that which is gone astray bring back: that is, him that was left in sins and was put forth for reproof, leave not without, but teach and admonish him, and bring him back and receive him into thy flock, that is, into the people of the Church. And that which is lost seek out: that is, him who by reason of the multitude of his transgressions has despaired and abandoned himself to destruction, suffer not to perish altogether, lest through utter neglect and indifference he fall asleep, and under the weight of his sleep forget his life, and

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hold aloof and depart from his flock, that is from the Church, and come to perdition. For when he shall be without the fold and removed from the flock, wolves will devour him while he is astray, and he will perish utterly. But do thou seek him out, and admonish and teach him, and bring him back; and visit him, and encourage him to be wakeful, and let him know that there is hope for him. And cut away this from men's thought, that they should say or imagine that which has already been rehearsed: Our crimes and our sins are upon us, and in them we are wasted away: how then can we live? For they ought not to say or to imagine these things; and they are not to think that their hope is cut off by reason of the multitude of their sins; but they are to know that the mercies of God are many, for that with an oath and with gracious intent He has promised forgiveness to them that sin.

But if a man sin and know not the Scriptures, and is not aware of the patience and mercy of God, and knows not the limit of forgiveness and repentance: by this very thing, that he is ignorant, he perishes. Do thou therefore as a compassionate shepherd, full of love and mercy and careful of his flock, visit and count thy flock, and seek that which is gone astray; as said the Lord God, Jesus Christ our good Teacher and Saviour: (p. 26) 'Leave the ninety and nine upon the mountains, and go seek that one which is gone astray. And when thou hast found it, bear it upon thy shoulders, rejoicing because thou hast found that which was gone astray; and bring it and let it mix with the flock.' So be thou also obedient, O bishop, and search out him that is lost, and seek him that is gone astray, and bring back him that is holding aloof. For thou hast authority to forgive sins to him that offendeth; for thou hast put on the person of Christ. Wherefore our Saviour also said to him that had sinned: Thy sins are forgiven thee: thy faith hath saved thee alive: go in peace. Now 'peace' is the Church of tranquillity and rest, into which He restored those whom He loosed from sins, sound (and) without blemish, having a good hope and earnest in exercises of labours and afflictions. For as a wise and compassionate physician He was healing all, and especially those who were gone astray in their sins; for they that are whole have no need of a physician, but they that are sick. And thou also, O bishop, art made the physician of the Church: do not therefore withhold the cure whereby thou mayest heal them that are sick with sins, but by all means cure and heal, and restore them sound to the Church. And be not reproached with this word which the Lord spoke: With force and with derision ye were subduing them. Do not then use force, and be not violent, and pass not sentence sharply, and be not unmerciful; and deride not the people that is under thy charge, nor hide from them the word of repentance. For this is that, With force and with derision ye were subduing them, if thou deal harshly with thy lay folk, and correct them with force, and thrust and drive out and receive not (back) them that sin, but harshly and without mercy hide away repentance from them, and become a helper for the return of evil, and for the scattering of the flock for meat to the beasts of the field, that is, to evil men of this world: nay, not to men in truth, but to beasts, to the heathen and to heretics. For to him who goes forth from the Church they presently join themselves, and like evil beasts devour him as meat. And by reason of thy harshness, he who goes forth from the Church will either depart and enter among the heathen, or will be sunk in the heresies; and he will become an alien altogether, and will depart from the Church and from the hope of God, And of the perdition of that (man) thou wilt be guilty, because thou art ready to drive out and cast away them that sin, and when they have repented and been converted thou wilt not receive them again. And thou hast fallen under the condemnation of that word of the Lord which He spoke: Their feet are swift to evil, and they hasten to shed blood. Affliction and misery are in their ways; and the way of peace they have not known. Now the way of peace is our Saviour Himself, as He said:? Forgive ye the sins of them that sin, that to you also your sins may be forgiven: give, and it shall be given unto you; which means: Give forgiveness of sins, that you also may receive forgiveness. And again He taught us that we should be constantly praying at all times and saying: Forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors. But if thou forgive not them that sin, how shalt thou receive forgiveness? Lo, is not thine own mouth against thee, and dost not thou condemn thyself in that thou hast said, 'I have forgiven,' when thou hast not forgiven, but in sooth hast slain? For he who drives a man out of the Church without mercy, what does he else but cruelly slay and shed blood without pity For if by any a righteous man is unjustly slain with the sword, with God he shall be received into rest; but he who drives a man out of the Church and receives him not again, has committed everlasting murder, evilly and bitterly, and [God] gives for food to the grievous fire eternal him that is driven out from the Church, and regards not the mercy of God, and remembers not His goodness towards penitents, and takes not the example of Christ, nor considers those who repented of their many transgressions and received of Him forgiveness.

It behoves thee then, O bishop, to have before thine eyes those things which happened of old time, that from them thou mayest learn by comparison the healing of souls, and the admonition and reproof and exhortation of them that repent and have need of exhortation. And when thou judgest any persons, do thou with diligence and much investigation compare and follow out God's will: and as He did, so ought you also to do in your judgements. Hear then, O bishops, in regard to these things an apt and helpful example. It is written in the fourth Book of Kingdoms, and likewise in the second Book of Chronicles, thus: In those days reigned Manasseh, being twelve years old; and fifty years he reigned in Jerusalem: and the name of his mother was Hephzibah. And he did that which was evil before the Lord, after the uncleanness of those peoples which the Lord destroyed from before the children of Israel. And he turned again and built the shrines which Hezekiah his father had thrown down; and he set up pillars to Baal, and made abominations, as Ahab king of Israel had done. And he made altars for all the service of heaven, and worshipped all the hosts of heaven. And he built altars to demons in the house of the Lord, whereof the Lord had said: In the house of the Lord in Jerusalem, there will I set my name. And Manasseh served the shrines, and said: My name shall endure for ever. And he built altars for all the service of heaven in the two courts of the house of the Lord; 6and he made his sons to pass through the fire in the valley of Bar-Hinnom. And he practised augury and used magic; and he made soothsayers and enchanters and diviners, and did much evil before the eyes of the Lord to provoke him to anger. And he set the molten and graven image of abomination, which he had made, in the house of the Lord, whereof the Lord had said to David and to Solomon his son: In this house and in Jerusalem, which I have chosen out of all the tribes of Israel, will I set my name for ever; and I will no more withhold my feet from the land of Israel, which I gave to their fathers: yet only if they will keep all that I have commanded them, according to all the commandments which my servant Moses commanded them. And they hearkened not: and Manasseh seduced them to do that which was evil before the eyes of the Lord, after the works of those peoples which the Lord destroyed from before the children of Israel. And the Lord spake against Manasseh and against his people by the hand of his servants the prophets, and said: Because Manasseh king of Judah hath done these evil abominations, as did the Amorites which were before him, and hath made Judah also to sin with his idols: therefore, thus saith the Lord the God of Israel: Behold, I bring such evils upon Jerusalem and upon Judah that everyone that heareth of them, both his ears shalt tingle. And I will stretch over Jerusalem the measuring line of Samaria and the plummet of the house of Ahab; and I will wipe Jerusalem as a water-pot is wiped, when it is overturned and falleth upon its face. And I wilt give the residue of mine inheritance to the sword, and wilt deliver them into the hand of their enemies; and they shall be for a prey and a spoil to all them that hate them, because they have done evil before mine eyes: for they are a provoking (people), from the day that I brought out their fathers from Egypt even unto this day. Moreover Manasseh shed much innocent blood, till he had filled Jerusalem from one end to the other with slain: by reason of the sins which he sinned, and caused Judah also to sin, in doing that which was evil before the Lord. And the Lord brought against them the chieftains of Assyria; and they took Manasseh and fettered him and cast ropes about him, and led him away to Babylon, and shut him up in prison all bound and fettered with iron? And there was given him bran-bread by weight, and water mingled with gall in small measure, that he might be alive and be sore afflicted and vexed. And when he was afflicted exceeding much, he entreated the face of the Lord his God, and humbled himself exceedingly before the God of his fathers; and he prayed before the Lord God and said:

THE PRAYER OF MANASSEH.? O Lord God of my fathers, the God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob and of their righteous seed, who madest the heaven and the earth with all the adornment thereof; who didst bind the sea and fix it by the commandment of thy word; who didst shut up the abyss and seal it with thy fearful and glorious name; before whose power all things fear and tremble: for unsupportable is the exceeding beauty of thy glory, and none can endure to stand before thine anger and thy wrath against sinners: without bound and without measure are the mercies of thy promises; for thou art a Lord long-suffering and merciful and very gracious, and dost repent thee of the evil of men. And thou, O Lord, according to the gentleness of thy goodness hast promised forgiveness to them that repent of their sins, and in the multitude of thy mercies hast appointed repentance for the salvation of sinners. If then, O Lord God of the righteous, thou didst not appoint repentance to the righteous, to Abraham and to Isaac and to Jacob: for neither did they sin against thee: yet hast thou appointed repentance to me a sinner. For more than the sands of the sea are my sins multiplied, and I have no respite to lift up my head for the multitude of mine iniquities. And now, O Lord, behold, I am justly afflicted; and as I am worthy, (so) am I vexed. For lo, I am bound and bowed down with (these) many bands of iron, so that I may not lift up my head: for neither am I worthy to lift up mine eyes and behold and see the height of heaven, by reason of the exceeding malice of my wickedness. For I have done evil before thee, and provoked thy wrath, and have set up idols and multiplied abominations. And now, behold, I bend the knees of my heart before thee, and beseech thy kindness: I have sinned, O Lord, I have sinned; and because that I know my sins, I make supplication before thee. Forgive me, O Lord, and destroy me not with mine offences, and be not angry with me for ever, nor keep against me mine evil (deeds), neither condemn and cast me into the nether parts of the earth. For thou art the God of penitents: wherefore in me also, O Lord, show thy goodness, that whereas I am unworthy, thou deliverest me after the multitude of thy mercies. And for this will I praise thee ever and all the days of my life: for thee do all the hosts of heaven praise, and unto thee do they sing for evermore.

And the Lord hearkened to the voice of Manasseh, and had mercy on him. And there was made over him a flame of fire, and all the iron (bands) that were upon him were melted and dissolved. And the Lord delivered Manasseh from his afflictions, and caused him to return to Jerusalem over his kingdom. And Manasseh knew the Lord, and said: He is the Lord God alone. And he served the Lord only, with all his heart and with all his soul, all the days of his life: and he was accounted righteous. And he slept with his fathers; and Amon his son reigned after him.

You have heard, beloved children, how Manasseh served idols evilly and bitterly, and slew righteous men; yet when he repented God forgave him, albeit there is no sin worse than idolatry. Wherefore, there is granted a place for repentance. But concerning one who says: I shall have good (success) when I shall walk in the perverse desire of my heart, thus saith the Lord: I will stretch out my hand against him, and he shall be for a byword and a parable. For Amon also the son of Manasseh, when he conceived a design that he should transgress the Law, and said: 'My father from his youth did exceeding wickedly, and in his old age he repented: I also will walk in all the desires of my soul, and in the end will return to the Lord,' and did that which was evil before the Lord: he reigned but two years, because the Lord God quickly destroyed him from (his) good land. Beware therefore, you that are without faith, lest any man of you establish in his heart the thought of Amon, and perish suddenly and swiftly. Wherefore, O bishop, so far as thou canst, keep those that have not sinned, that they may continue without sinning; and those that repent of (their) sins heal and receive. But if thou receive not him who repents, because thou art without mercy, thou shalt sin against the Lord God; for thou obeyest not our Saviour and our God, to do as He also did with her that had sinned, whom the elders set before Him, and leaving the judgement in His hands, departed. But He, the Searcher of hearts, asked her and said to her: Have the elders condemned thee, my daughter? She saith to him: Nay, Lord. And he said unto her: Go thy way: neither do I condemn thee. In Him therefore, our Saviour and King and God, be your pattern, O bishops, and do you imitate Him, that you may be quiet and meek, and merciful and compassionate, and peacemakers, and without anger, and teachers and correctors and receivers and exhorters; and that you be not wrathful, nor tyrannical; and that you be not insolent, nor haughty, nor boastful.

DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 8

Warnings to Bishops; how they ought to conduct themselves.

You shall not be lovers of wine, nor drunken; and you shall not be extravagant, nor luxurious, nor spending money improperly. You shall make use of the gifts of God not {as alien (funds), but} as your own, as being appointed good stewards of God, who is ready to require at your hands an account of the discharge of the stewardship entrusted to you. Let that suffice you therefore which is enough for you, food and clothing and whatsoever is necessary. And you shall not make use of the revenues (of the Church) improperly, as alien (funds), but with moderation; and you shall not procure pleasure and luxury from the revenues of the Church: for sufficient for the labourer is his clothing and his food. As good stewards of God, therefore, dispense well, according to the command, those things that are given and accrue to the Church, to orphans and widows and to those who are in distress and to strangers, as knowing that you have God who will require an account at your hands, who delivered this stewardship unto you. Divide and give therefore to all who are in want.

But be you also nourished and live from the revenues of the Church; yet do not devour them by yourselves, but let them that are in want be partakers with you, and you shall be without offence with God. For God upbraids those bishops who greedily and by themselves make use of the revenues of the Church, and make not the poor to be partakers with them, saying thus: The milk ye eat, and with the wool ye are clothed. For the bishops ought to be nourished from the revenues of the Church, but not to devour them; for it is written: Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out (the corn). As then the ox which works unmuzzled in the threshing floor eats,

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indeed, but does not consume the whole, so do you also, who work in the threshing floor which is the Church of God, be nourished from the Church, after the manner of the Levites who ministered in the tabernacle of witness, which in all things was a type of the Church: for even by its name it declares (this), for the tabernacle 'of witness' foreshowed the Church. Now the Levites who ministered therein were nourished from those things which were given as offerings to God by all the people -- gifts, and part-offerings, and first fruits, and tithes, and sacrifices, and offerings, and holocausts -- without restraint, they and their wives and their sons and their daughters; because their work was the ministry of the tabernacle alone; and therefore they received no inheritance of land among the children of Israel, because the inheritance of Levi and his tribe was the produce of the people.

You also then to-day, O bishops, are priests to your people, and the Levites who minister to the tabernacle of God, the holy Catholic Church, who stand continually before the Lord God. You then are to your people priests and prophets, and princes and leaders and kings, and mediators between God and His faithful, and receivers of the word, and preachers and proclaimers thereof, and knowers of the Scriptures and of the utterances of God, and witnesses of His will, who bear the sins of all, and are to give an answer for all. You are they who have heard how the word sternly threatens you if you neglect and preach not God's will, who are in sore peril of destruction if you neglect your people. You again are they to whom is promised from God the great reward which is not falsified nor withheld, and grace unspeakable in great glory, when you shall minister well to the tabernacle of God, His Catholic Church. As then you have undertaken the burden of all, so also ought you to receive from all your people the ministration of food and clothing, and of other things needful. And so again, from these same gifts that are given you by the people which is under your charge, do you nourish the deacons and widows and orphans, and those who are in want, and strangers. For it behoves thee, O bishop, as a faithful steward to care for all; for as thou bearest the sins of all those under thy charge, so shalt thou beyond all men receive more abundant glory of God. For thou art an imitator of Christ: and as He took upon Him the sins of us all, so it behoves thee also to bear the sins of all those under thy charge; for it is written in Isaiah concerning our Saviour thus: We saw him having no splendour nor beauty, but as one whose aspect was marred and dejected beyond that of men; and as a man that suffereth, and knoweth to bear infirmities. For his face was changed: he was despised, and was nothing accounted in our eyes. But he endured our sins, and for our sake did sigh. But we accounted him as one smitten and plagued and brought low. Yet for our sins was he smitten, and, was made sick for our iniquities: and by his stripes all we are healed. And again He saith: He bare the sins of many, and for their iniquity was delivered up. And in David and in all the prophets, and in the Gospel also, our Saviour makes intercession for our sins, whereas He is without sin. Therefore, as you have Christ for a pattern, so be you also a pattern to the people under your charge; and as He took upon Him (our) sins, so do you also take upon you the sins of the people. For you are not to think that the burden of the bishopric is light or easy. Wherefore, as you have taken up the burden of all, so the fruits also which you receive from all the people shall be yours, for all things of which you have need. And do you nourish well them that are in want, as being to render an account to Him who will require it, who can make no mistake nor be evaded. For as you administer the office of the bishopric, so from the same office of the bishopric ought you to be nourished, as the priests and Levites and ministers who serve before God, according as it is written in the Book of Numbers: The Lord spake with Aaron and said: Thou and thy sons and thy father's house shall take upon you the sins of the sanctuary; and thou and thy sons shall take upon you the sins of your priesthood. And thy brethren the sons of thy father, the tribe of Levi, bring nigh unto thee, and let them be added to thee and minister unto thee. And thou and thy sons with thee shall minister before this tabernacle of witness. Howbeit the sons of Levi shall not come nigh unto the vessels of the sanctuary and unto the altar, lest they die, they and you; but let them be added unto thee, and let them keep the charges of the tabernacle of witness, according to all the ministry of the tabernacle: and a stranger shall not come nigh unto thee. And ye shall keep the charges of the sanctuary and the charges of the altar: and there shall be no wrath against the children of Israel. And I, behold, I have taken your brethren the sons of Levi from among the children of Israel: as a gift they are given unto the Lord, that they may perform the ministry of the tabernacle of witness. And do thou and thy sons with thee keep your priesthood, according to all the ministry of the altar and of that which is within the veil; and perform your ministry as that which is given to your priesthood. But the stranger that cometh near shall die the death. And the Lord spake with Aaron and said: Behold, I have given to you the charges of the firstfruits, of every thing which is hallowed unto me by the children of Israel: to thee have I given them for a ministry, and to thy children after thee: (it is) an everlasting ordinance. And this shall be yours, of every holy thing which is hallowed of their fruits and of their offerings, and of all their sacrifices, and of all their trespass offerings, and of all their sin offerings: all that they shall offer to me of things hallowed shall be for thee and for thy sons. In the holy place ye shall eat thereof: every male of you shall eat thereof, thou and thy sons: it shall be for thee a holy thing. And these shall be for thee the firstfruits of their gifts, of all the part-offerings of the children of Israel: to thee have I given them, and to thy sons and thy daughters with thee: (it is) an everlasting ordinance: every one that is clean in thy house shall eat thereof. All the firstfruits of oil, and all the firstfruits of wine, and the firstfruits of corn, even all things that they shall give to the Lord, shall be thine: everyone that is clean in thy house shall eat thereof. And every devoted thing of the children of Israel shall be thine; and all that openeth the womb of all flesh, even all which they offer to the Lord, from men even unto beasts, shall be thine. Howbeit the firstborn of men and the firstlings of unclean beasts which shall be offered, shall be redeemed. And the redemption of them (shall be on this wise): from a month old and upward thou shalt redeem with a price, five shekels according to the shekel of the sanctuary, which are twenty shekels of silver. But the firstlings of oxen, and the firstlings of sheep and of goats, thou shalt not redeem: they are holy: their blood thou shalt pour out before the altar, and the fat of them thou shalt offer up for an offering of a sweet savour unto the Lord; and their flesh shall be clean to thee. And the top of the breast of the part-offering, and the right shoulder shall be thine. All part-offerings of the sanctuary, which the children of Israel shall set apart unto the Lord, to thee have I given them and to thy sons and to thy daughters with thee: an ordinance for ever and an everlasting covenant is it before the Lord unto thee and unto thy seed after thee. And the Lord spake with Aaron and said: In their land thou shalt receive no inheritance, and thou shalt have no portion among them; for I am thy portion and thine inheritance among the children of Israel. And to the sons of Levi, behold, I have given all the tithes of the children of Israel for an inheritance, in return for their ministry which they minister in the tabernacle of witness. And the children of Israel shall no more come nigh to the tabernacle of witness, lest they contract a sin of death; but the Levites shall perform the ministry of the tabernacle of witness, and they shall take upon them their sins: it is an everlasting ordinance unto their generations. And among the children of Israel they shall receive no inheritance; because the tithes of the children of Israel, even all that they shall set apart as part-offerings to the Lord, I have given to the Levites for an inheritance. For which cause I said unto them: Among the children of Israel they shall receive no inheritance. And the Lord spake with Moses and said unto him: Speak to the Levites and say to them: When ye receive of the children of Israel the tithes which I have given you from them for an inheritance, set by thereof, ye also, a part-offering unto the Lord, a tithe of the tithes: and your part-offering shall be accounted unto you as the corn from the threshing floor, and as the part-offering of the winepress. So shall ye set apart, ye also, a part-offering unto the Lord of all your tithes which ye receive from all the children of Israel; and ye shall give thereof a part-offering for the Lord unto Aaron the priest. Of all your gifts ye shall set by a part-offering unto the Lord, even of the firstfruits, (part) whereof he halloweth unto himself. And say thou unto them: When ye have set apart his firstfruits therefrom, it shall be reckoned unto the Levites as the produce of the threshing floor and as the produce of the winepress:? 31and do ye eat thereof in every place, ye and your households, because it is your reward in return for your ministry in the tabernacle of witness:? 32and ye shall contract no sin by reason thereof, when ye shall set apart the firstfruits thereof. And the holy things of the children of Israel ye shall not profane, lest ye die.

DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 9

An admonition to the People, that they should honour the Bishop.

Hear these things then, ye laymen also, the elect Church of God. For the former People also was called a church; but you are the Catholic Church, the holy and perfect, a royal priesthood, a holy multitude, a people for inheritance, the great Church, the bride adorned for the Lord God. Those things then which were said beforetime, hear thou also now. Set by part-offerings and tithes and first fruits to Christ, the true High Priest, and to His ministers, even tithes of salvation (to Him) the beginning of whose name is the Decade. Hear, thou Catholic Church of God, that wast delivered from the ten plagues, and didst receive the Ten Words, and didst learn the Law, and hold the faith, (and know the Decade,) and believe in the Yod in the beginning of the Name, and art established in the perfection of His glory: instead of the sacrifices which then were, offer now prayers and petitions and thanksgivings. Then were first fruits and tithes and part-offerings and gifts; but to-day the oblations which are offered through the bishops to the Lord God. For they are your high priests; but the priests and Levites now are the presbyters and deacons, and the orphans and widows: but the Levite and high priest is the bishop. He is minister of the word and mediator; but to you a teacher, and your father after God, who begot you through the water. This is your chief and your leader, and he is your mighty king. He rules in the place of the Almighty: but let him be honoured by you as God, for the bishop sits for you in the place of God Almighty. But the deacon stands in the place of Christ; and do you love him. And the deaconess shall be honoured by you in the place of the Holy Spirit; and the presbyters shall be to you in the likeness of the Apostles; and the orphans and widows shall be reckoned by you in the likeness of the altar. And as it was not lawful for a stranger, that is for one who was not a Levite, to draw near to the altar or to offer aught without the high priest, so you also shall do nothing without the bishop. But if any man do aught without the bishop, he does it in vain, for it shall not be accounted to him for a work; for it is not fitting that any man should do aught apart from the high priest.

Do you therefore present your offerings to the bishop, either you yourselves, or through the deacons; and when he has received he will distribute them justly. For the bishop is well acquainted of those who are in distress, and dispenses and gives to each one as is fitting for him; so that one may not receive often in the same day or in the same week, and another receive not even a little. For whom the priest and steward of God knows to be the more in distress, him he succours according as he requires. And to those who invite widows to suppers let him send frequently her whom he knows to be in the more distress. [And again, if anyone gives bounties to widows, let him send her the rather who is in want.] But let the portion of the pastor be separated and set apart for him according to rule at the suppers or the bounties, even though he be not present, in honour of Almighty God. But how much (soever) is given to one of the widows, let the double be given to each of the deacons in honour of Christ, (but) twice twofold to the leader for the glory of the Almighty. But if anyone wish to honour the presbyters also, let him give them a double (portion), as to the deacons; for they ought to be honoured as the Apostles, and as the counsellors of the bishop, and as the crown of the Church; for they are the moderators and councillors of the Church. But if there be also a lector, let him too receive with the presbyters. To every order, therefore, let everyone of the laity pay the honour which is befitting him, with gifts and presents and with the respect due to his worldly condition.

But let them have very free access to the deacons, and let them not be troubling the head at all times, but making known what they require through the ministers, that is through the deacons. For neither can any man approach the Lord God Almighty except through Christ. All things therefore that they desire to do, let them make known to the bishop through the deacons, and then do them. For neither formerly in the temple of the sanctuary was anything offered or done without the priest. And moreover, even the idol-temples of the impure and abhorred and reprobate heathen to this day imitate the sanctuary. Far indeed in comparison be the house of abomination from the sanctuary: nevertheless, even in their absurd rites they neither offer nor do anything without their unclean priest; but so they imagine, that the unclean priest is the mouthpiece of the stones; and they wait for what he will command them to do. And in all that they purpose to do they consult their unclean priest, and without him do nothing, And because they imagine that what they do is acceptable, they honour him and worship him, as it were for the honour of the dumb stones that are fixed in the walls, and for the service of the foul and evil and cruel demons. If then those who are vain, and their customs false, and who have no hope, but are deceived by an empty hope, study and desire to imitate the sanctuary, and bestow all honour upon those who stand before their absurd idols: you who manifestly and openly believe in the truth, and hold fast to the hope that is not belied, and wait for the glorious promise which shall never pass away nor be made void -- why should not you rather honour the Lord God through those who preside over you?

Do you therefore esteem the bishop as the mouth of God. For if Aaron, because he interpreted to Pharaoh the words which were given through Moses, was called a prophet, as the Lord said to Moses: Behold, I have given thee as a god to pharaoh and Aaron thy brother shall be to thee a prophet: why then should not you also reckon them as prophets who are for you the mediators of the word, and worship them as God? But for us now, Aaron is the deacon, and Moses is the bishop. Now if Moses was called a god by the Lord, let the bishop also be honoured by you as God, and the deacon as a prophet. Wherefore, for the honour of the bishop, make known to him all things that you do, and let them be performed through him. And if thou know of one who is in much distress, and the bishop know not of him, do thou inform him; and without him do not, to his discredit, anything, lest thou bring a reproach upon him as one who neglects the poor. For he who sets abroad an evil report against the bishop, whether by word or by deed, sins against God Almighty. And again, if any man speaks evil of a deacon, whether by word or deed, he offends against Christ,

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Wherefore in the Law also it is written: Thou shalt not revile thy gods; and thou shalt not speak evil of a prince of thy people. Now let no man think that the Lord speaks (here) of idols of stone; but he calls 'gods' those who preside over you. Moses also saith in the Book of Numbers, when the people had murmured against him and against Aaron: Not against us do ye murmur, but against the Lord God. And our Saviour likewise said: Everyone that rejecteth you, rejecteth me, and him that sent me. For what hope at all is there for him who speaks evil of the bishop, or of the deacon? For if one call a layman fool, or raca, he is liable to the assembly, as one of those who rise up against Christ: because that he calls 'empty' his brother in whom Christ dwells, who is not empty but fulfilled; or (calls) him 'fool' in whom dwells the Holy Spirit of God, fulfilled with all wisdom: as though he should become a fool by the very Spirit that dwells in him! If then one who should say any of these things to a layman is found to fall under so great condemnation, how much more if he should dare to say aught against the deacon, or against the bishop, through whom the Lord gave you the Holy Spirit, and through whom you have learned the word and have known God, and through whom you have been known of God, and through whom you were sealed, and through whom you became sons of the light, and through whom the Lord in baptism, by the imposition of hand of the bishop, bore witness to each one of you and uttered His holy voice, saying: Thou art my son: this day have begotten thee.

Wherefore, O man, know thy bishops, through whom thou wast made a son of God, and the right hand, thy mother; and love him who is become, after God, thy father and thy mother: for whosoever shall revile his father or his mother, shall die the death. But do you honour the bishops, who have loosed you from sins, who by the water regenerated you, who filled you with the Holy Spirit, who reared you with the word as with milk, who bred you up with doctrine, who confirmed you with admonition, and made you to partake of the holy Eucharist of God, and made you partakers and joint heirs of the promise of God. These reverence, and honour them with all honour; for they have received from God the authority of life and death: not as judging those who sin and condemning them to death in fire everlasting, by cutting off and casting away those who are judged, which God forbid, but that they may receive and save alive those who return and repent.

Let them be your rulers therefore, and let them be accounted of by you as kings; and do you offer them tribute in service as to kings; for by you they ought to be sustained, and those who are with them: for thus is it written in the first Book of Kingdoms: Samuel spake all the words of the Lord unto the people, which had asked of him a king, and said to them: This is the law of the king that shall reign over you: your sons he will take, and will set them upon his chariots; and he will make of them runners before him, and will make him captains of thousands and captains of hundreds. And they shall reap his harvest, and gather his vintage, and fashion the instruments of his chariots. And your daughters he will take to be weavers, and to be the ministers of his house. And your fields, and your vineyards, and your oliveyards, even the best (of them), he will take away and give to his servants. And he will take the tenth of your seed and of your vineyards, and give to his servants and to his eunuchs.? And your servants and your handmaids, and the best of your cattle, and your asses, he will take and tithe for the service of his work; and he will take the tenth of your sheep: and ye also shall be his servants. Now in like case is also the bishop. For if the king who reigned over so numerous a people -- as it is written in Hosea: The people of the children of Israel was numerous as the sand which is upon the seashore, which may not be measured nor numbered -- took also from the people the ministrations which he required according to the multitude of that people:? so now does the bishop also take for himself from the people those whom he accounts and knows to be worthy of him and of his office, and appoints him presbyters as counsellors and assessors, and deacons and subdeacons, as many as he has need of in proportion to the ministry of the house. And what can we say more? For the king who wears the diadem reigns over the body alone, and binds and looses it but on earth; but the bishop reigns over soul and body, to bind and to loose on earth with heavenly power. For great power, heavenly, almighty, is given to him. Therefore love the bishop as a father, and fear him as a king, and honour him as God. Your fruits and the works of your hands present to him, that you may be blessed; your firstfruits and your tithes and your vows and your part-offerings give to him; for he has need of them that he may be sustained, and that he may dispense also to those who are in want, to each as is just for him. And so shall thine offering be acceptable to the Lord thy God for a sweet savour, in the heights of heaven before the Lord thy God; and He will bless thee and multiply for thee the good things of His promise. For it is written in Wisdom: Every simple soul shall be blessed: and a blessing shall be upon the head of him that giveth.

Wherefore be constantly doing work, and be labouring and [[98]] offering an oblation. For the Lord has lightened the weight from you, and has loosed from you the collar-bands, and lifted from you the yoke of burden; and He has put away from you the Second Legislation after the abundance of His mercy; as it is written in Isaiah: Say to them that are in bonds, Go forth; and again: To bring forth the prisoners from bonds. And in David he said: His prisoners he hath not despised. And likewise in the Gospel He said: Come unto me, all ye that toil and are laden with heavy burdens, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am gentle and lowly in heart: and ye shalt find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is pleasant, and my burden is light.

If then the Lord, by the gift of His grace, has set you loose and given you rest, and brought you out into refreshment, that you should no more be bound with sacrifices and oblations, and with sin offerings, and purifications, and vows, and gifts, and holocausts, and burnt offerings, and (Sabbath) idlings, and shewbread, and the observing of purifications; nor yet with tithes and firstfruits, and part-offerings, and gifts and oblations, -- for it was laid upon them to give all these things as of necessity, but you are not bound by these things, -- it behoves you to know the word of the Lord, who said: Except your righteousness abound more than that of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shalt not enter into the kingdom of heaven. Now thus shall your righteousness abound more than their tithes and first fruits and part-offerings, when you shall do as it is written: Sell all thou hast, and give to the poor. So do, therefore, and keep the command through (him who is) bishop and priest and thy mediator with the Lord God. For thou art commanded to give, but he to dispense. And thou shalt require no account of the bishop, nor observe him, how he dispenses and discharges his stewardship, or when he gives, or to whom, or where, or whether well or ill, or whether he gives fairly; for he has One who will require, even the Lord God, who delivered this stewardship into his hands and held him worthy of the priesthood of so great an office. Wherefore, that thou observe not the bishop, nor require an account of him, nor speak ill of him and oppose God, nor offend the Lord, let that be set before thine eyes which is said to thee in Jeremiah: Shall the clay say to the potter: Thou workest not, and hast not hands as one who should say to his father or his mother: Why bearest thou me? But do thou work and labour simply in the house of God; and let that saving word of the renewing of the Law be ever written and laid up in thy heart, and remember it, as the Lord said: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy soul, and with all thy strength. Now thy strength is thy worldly substance. And not with the lips only shall you love the Lord, as did that People, to whom upbraiding them He saith: This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is very far from me; but do thou love and honour the Lord with all thy strength, and offer His oblations ever at all times. And hold not aloof from the Church; but when thou hast received the Eucharist of the oblation, that which comes into thy hands cast (in), that thou mayest share it with strangers: for this is collected (and brought) to the bishop for the entertainment of all strangers. Wherefore lay up and set by as much as thou canst, for the Lord has said in the Law: Thou shalt not appear before me empty. Be doing good works therefore, and laying up to thyself treasure everlasting in heaven, where the moth corrupteth not, neither do thieves steal. And in so doing thou shalt not judge thy bishop nor thy fellow layman; for to you laymen it is said: Judge not, that ye be not judged. For if thou judge thy brother and condemn him, thou hast reckoned thy brother guilty: that is, thou hast condemned thyself; for thou shalt be judged with them that are guilty. For it is lawful for the bishops to judge, because to them it is said: Be ye approved money-changers [Agraphon]: so that it behoves the bishop, as one who proves money, to separate the bad from the good, and to reject and cast away those that are altogether bad, and to leave in the melting-pot those that are hard, and for whatever reason faulty, like faulty (coins). But to the layman it is not permitted to judge his neighbour, nor to lay upon himself a burden that is not his. For the weight of this burden is not for laymen, but for the bishop. Wherefore, being a layman, thou shalt not lay snares for thyself; but leave judgement in the hand of those who will have to render an account, and do thou study to work peace with all men; and love thy members, thy fellow laymen, for the Lord saith: Love thy neighbour as thyself.

DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 10

Of False Brethren

But if there be false brethren who, through envy or jealousy of the Enemy and Satan, who works in them, bring an accusation against any of the brethren falsely, or even truly, let them know that everyone who searches out such things for the purpose of accusing or slandering any man, is a son of wrath: and where wrath is, God is not; for wrath is of Satan, and through these false brethren he never suffers peace to be in the Church. Wherefore, when you have known those who are thus void of understanding, first of all believe them not; and secondly, do you the bishops and deacons be wary of them; and when you hear them saying anything against one of the brethren, take knowledge of him against whom they bring the accusation, and make inquiry prudently, and weigh his conduct; and if he is found blameworthy, do according to the teaching of our Lord which is written in the Gospel: Reprove him between thyself and him; and save him when he repenteth and returneth. But if he be not persuaded, reprove him among two or three; that that may be fulfilled which is said: At the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall be established. Now why, brethren, is it required that a testimony be established at the mouth of two or three witnesses? Because the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit bear witness to the works of men. For where there is the admonition of doctrine, there also is correction and conversion of them that err. Wherefore, at the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall be established. But if he obey not, reprove him before the whole church. But if he obey not even the church, let him be accounted by thee as the heathen and as the publican. For the Lord has commanded you, O bishops, that you should not henceforth receive such a one into the Church as a Christian, nor communicate with him. For neither dost thou receive the evil heathen or publicans into the Church and communicate with them except they first repent, professing that they believe and henceforth will do no more evil works: for to this end did our Lord and Saviour grant a place for repentance to those who have sinned. For I Matthew also, who am one of the twelve Apostles who speak to you in this Didascalia, was formerly a publican; but now, because that I believed, I have obtained mercy, and have repented of my former deeds, and have been counted worthy also to be an apostle and preacher of the word. And the prophet John likewise preached in the Gospel to publicans; and he deprived them not of hope, but taught them how they should order themselves; and when they asked him for advice, he said to them: Exact no more than that which is commanded and appointed you. And Zacchaeus, too, the Lord received unto repentance when he besought Him. Nor do we withhold life even from the heathen, if they will repent and put away and reject their error.

As a heathen, then, and as a publican let him be accounted by you who has been convicted of evil deeds and falsehood; and afterwards, if he promise to repent -- even as when the heathen desire and promise to repent, and say 'We believe' we receive them into the congregation that they may hear the word, but do not communicate with them until they receive the seal and are fully initiated: so neither do we communicate with these until they show the fruits of repentance. But let them by all means come in, if they desire to hear the word, that they may not wholly perish; but let them not communicate in prayer, but go forth without. For they also, when they have seen that they do not communicate with the Church, will submit themselves, and repent of their former works, and strive to be received into the Church for prayer; and they likewise who see and hear them go forth like the heathen and publicans, will fear and take warning to themselves not to sin, lest it so happen to them also, and being convicted of sin or falsehood they be put forth from the Church. But thou shalt by no means forbid them to enter the Church and hear the word, O bishop; for neither did our Lord and Saviour utterly thrust away and reject publicans and sinners, but did even eat with them. And for this cause the Pharisees murmured against Him, and said: He eateth with publicans and sinners. Then did our Saviour make answer against their thoughts and their murmuring, and say: They that are whole have no need of a physician, but they that are sick. Do you therefore consort with those who have been convicted of sins and are sick, and attach them to you, and be careful of them, and speak to them and comfort them, and keep hold of them and convert them. And afterwards, as each one of them repents and shows the fruits of repentance, receive him to prayer after the manner of a heathen. And as thou baptisest a heathen and then receivest him, so also lay hand upon this man, whilst all pray for him, and then bring him in and let him communicate with the Church. For the imposition of hand shall be to him in the place of baptism: for whether by the imposition of hand, or by baptism, they receive the communication of the Holy Spirit.

Wherefore, as a compassionate physician, heal all those who sin; and go about with all skill, and bring healing to bear for the succour of their lives. And thou shalt not be ready to cut off the members of the Church; but employ the bandages of the word, and the fomentations of admonition, and the compress of exhortation. But if the sore be sunken and lack flesh, nourish it and level it up with healing drugs; and if there be dirt in it, cleanse it with a pungent drug, that is with the word of rebuke. But if the flesh be over swollen, wear it down and level it with a violent drug, that is with the threat of judgement. But if gangrene should set in, cauterize it with burnings, that is, with incisions of much fasting cut away and clear out the rottenness of the sore. But if the gangrene assert itself and prevail even over the burnings, give judgement:? and then, whichever member it be that is putrified, with advice and much consultation with other physicians, cut off that putrefied member, that it may not corrupt the whole body. Yet be not ready to amputate straightway, and be not in haste to have recourse at once to the saw (p. 46) of many teeth; but use first the knife and cut the sore, that it may be

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clearly seen, and that it may be known what is the cause of the disease that is hidden within; so that the whole body may be kept uninjured. But if thou see that a man will not repent, but has altogether abandoned himself, then with grief and to sorrow cut him off and cast him out of the Church. But if it be found that the hostile charge is false, and you the pastors, with the deacons, accept the falsehood as truth -- whether through respect of persons, or by reason of the presents which you receive -- and pervert judgement because you desire to do the will of the Evil One, and expel and cast out from the Church him that is accused, whereas he is innocent of this charge: you shall render an account in the day of the Lord; for it is written: Thou shalt not respect persons in judgement; and again the Scripture saith: A bribe blindeth the eyes of them that see, and perverteth right words; and again it hath said: Deliver ye the oppressed, and judge the fatherless, and acquit the widows; and: Judge right judgement in the gates.

Give heed therefore that you be not respecters of persons and incur the judgement of the Lord's word, which He spoke thus: Woe to them that make bitter sweet, and sweet bitter; and call light darkness, and darkness light; and acquit the wicked for his bribe, and turn away the innocency of the innocent. But beware that you condemn not a man wrongfully, nor abet them that are evil; for when you judge others, you judge your own selves, as the Lord said: With the judgement that ye judge, ye shall be judged; and as ye condemn, ye shall be condemned. Wherefore, remember and have ready by you this saying: Forgive, and it shall be forgiven you; and condemn not, that ye may not be condemned.

But if your judgement be without respect of persons, O bishops, observe him that accuses his brother, whether he be not a false brother, and has brought the accusation out of envy or jealousy, that he may disturb the Church of God and slay him who is accused by him through his expulsion from the Church and his delivery over to the sword of fire. Judge him therefore, thou, sternly, because he has brought evil upon his brother. For as regards his own intent, if he had been able to catch beforehand the judge's ear, he would have slain his brother in fire. It is written: Whoso sheddeth man's blood, his own blood shall be shed for the blood which he hath shed. If then he is found to be such, expel him from the Church with great denunciation as a murderer; and after a time, if he promise to repent, warn him and correct him sternly; and then lay hand upon him and receive him into the Church. And be wary and guard such a one, that he no more disturb any other. But if, after he is come in, you see that he is still contentious and minded to accuse others also, and mischievous and designing, and making false complaints against many: drive him out, that he may no further disturb and trouble the Church. For such a one, though he be within, yet because he is unseemly to the Church, he is superfluous to her, and there is no profit in him. For we see that there are some men born with superfluous members to their bodies, as fingers or other excessive flesh; but these, though they pertain to the body, are a reproach and a disgrace both to the body and to the man, because they are superfluous to him. Yet when they are removed by the surgeon, that man recovers the comeliness and beauty of his body; and he suffers no defect by the removal from it of that which was superfluous, but is even the more conspicuous in his beauty.

In like manner then do you also act, O pastors. For since the Church is a body, and the members are we who believe in God and abide in love in the fear of the Lord, even as we have received command to be perfect: therefore, one who contrives evil against the Church, and troubles her members, and loves the complaints and fault-findings of the Enemy, to wit, disturbances, quarrels, slanders, murmurings, contentions, controversies, accusations, charges, vexations: he that loves and does these things -- rather it is the Enemy that works in him -- and remains within the Church, the same is alien to the Church and a domestic of the Enemy; for to him he ministers that he may be working through him and may thwart and harass the Church. Such a one therefore, if he remain within, is a disgrace to the Church by reason of his blasphemies and his manifold disorder; for through him the Church of God comes in danger of being scattered. Deal with him therefore as it is written in Wisdom: Put forth an evil man from the assembly, and his contention will go out with him; and make an end of strife and ignominy: lest, if he sit in the assembly, he dishonour you all. For when he has gone forth twice from the Church, he is justly cut off; and the Church is the more beautiful in her proper form, forasmuch as peace has been restored to her, which (before) was wanting to her: for from that hour the Church remains free from blasphemy and disorder. But if your mind be not pure -- whether it be through respect of persons, or the gifts of filthy lucre which you receive -- and you endure that an evil person should remain among you; or again, (if) you thrust away and expel from the Church them that are of good conversation, and foster among you many that are evil, contentious persons and scatterers (of the flock) and riotous:? you will bring blasphemy upon the assembly of the Church, and will run the risk of scattering her through these persons; and you will have put yourselves in deadly peril of forfeiting eternal life -- because you have pleased men, and have turned back from the truth of God, through respect of persons and the habit of receiving empty gifts: and you will have scattered the Catholic Church, the beloved daughter of the Lord God.

DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 11

An Exhortation to Bishops and Deacons

Strive therefore, O bishops, together with the deacons, to be right with the Lord; for the Lord has said: If ye will be right with me, I also will be right with you; and if ye will walk perversely with me, I also will walk perversely with you, saith the Lord of Hosts. Be right therefore, that you may deserve to receive praise of the Lord, and not blame (from him who is) of the contrary part.

Let the bishops and the deacons, then, be of one mind; and do you shepherd the people diligently with one accord. For you ought both to be one body, father and son; for you are in the likeness of the Lordship. And let the deacon make known all things to the bishop, even as Christ to His Father. But what things he can, let the deacon order, and all the rest let the bishop judge. Yet let the deacon be the hearing of the bishop, and his mouth and his heart and his soul; for when you are both of one mind, through your agreement there will be peace also in the Church.

Now for a Christian this is becoming praise, that he have no evil word with any man. But if by the agency of the Enemy some temptation befall a man, and he have a lawsuit, let him strive to be quit of it, even though he be to suffer some loss: and at all events let him not go to the tribunals of the heathen. And you shall not admit a testimony from the heathen against any of our own people; for through the heathen the Enemy contrives against the servants of God. Wherefore, because the heathen are to stand on the left, He called them 'the left hand;' for our Saviour spoke thus to us: Let not your left hand know what your right hand doeth. For the heathen are not to know of your lawsuits, and you shall not admit a testimony from them against yourselves, nor go to law before them: as also in the Gospel He saith: Give what is Caesar's to Caesar, and what is God's to God. Be thou willing therefore to suffer a loss, and striving rather to make peace. For when thou shalt suffer any worldly loss for the sake of peace, with God it shall be gain to thee, because that thou fearest God and doest according to His commandment.

But if there be brethren who have a quarrel one with another -- which God forbid -- you the leaders should know forthwith that it is no work of brotherhood in the Lord that they perform who have dared so to do. But if one of them be found to be of the sons of God, being meek and yielding, he is a son of the light. But one who is hard and froward, and overreaching and blasphemous, is a hypocrite, and the Enemy works in him. Reprove him therefore, and rebuke and upbraid him, and put him forth for correction; and afterwards, as we have already said, receive him, that he may not utterly perish. For when such are corrected and reproved, you will not have many lawsuits. But if they know not the word which was spoken by our Lord in the Gospel, which saith: How many times, if my brother offend against me, shall I forgive him? but are angry one with another and become enemies, teach them, you, and reprove them, and make peace between them; for the Lord has said: Blessed are the peacemakers. And know that it behoves the bishop and the presbyters to judge warily: as our Saviour said when we asked Him, How many times, if my brother offend against me, shall I forgive him?? unto seven times? But our Lord taught us and said to us: Not seven times, I say, only, but even unto seventyfold seven. For so the Lord desires, that they who are His in truth should never have anything at all against any man, and should not be angry with any man:? how much less does He desire that men should have lawsuits one with another? But if aught should happen to come about through the agency of the Enemy, so let them be judged before you as you also are surely to be judged.

First, then, let your judgements be held on the second day of the week, that if perchance anyone should contest the sentence of your words, you may have space until the Sabbath to compose the matter, and may make peace between them that are at odds and reconcile them on the Sunday. Now let the presbyters and the deacons be ever present in all judgements with the bishops. Judge without respect of persons.

When therefore the two parties who have the suit or quarrel one with another shall come and stand together in the judgement, as the Scripture saith, after you have heard them, pass sentence righteously. And give diligence to keep them in friendship before the sentence is pronounced upon them, lest there go forth from you against one of them, being a brother, a condemnation of earthly judgement. And so judge as you also are surely to be judged, even as you have Christ for partner and assessor and counsellor and spectator with you in the same cause. But if there be any who are accused by some one, it being charged against them that they conduct themselves not well in the way of the Lord: again, hearing both parties, make diligent inquiry, as being to give sentence in a matter of everlasting life or cruel and bitter death. For if a man is truly convicted, and he be condemned and go forth from the Church, he has been cast out from life and glory everlasting, and is become reprobate among men and guilty before God. Judge therefore, according to the magnitude of the charge, whatever it be, with much mercy; and incline rather to save alive without respect of persons than to destroy, by condemning, those who are judged.

But if there be one who is innocent, and he be condemned by the judges through respect of persons, the judgement of unjust judges shall do him no hurt with God, but shall rather profit him; for but for a little while is he unjustly judged by men, but afterwards, in the day of judgement, because he has been unjustly condemned, he shall be the judge of (his) unjust judges. For you have been the arbiters of an unjust judgement, and therefore shall be requited by God accordingly, and cast out of the Catholic Church of God. And that shall be fulfilled in your case: With what judgement ye judge, ye shall be judged.

Wherefore, when you sit to judge, let both parties -- for we do not call them brothers until peace has been made between them -- come and stand together; and do you make prudent and diligent inquiry as between those who have the suit and quarrel one with another. And learn first concerning him who makes the accusation, whether there be any accusation against him also, or whether perchance he has brought charges against others as well; and again, whether he has brought his accusation out of any former enmity or quarrel, or out of envy; and (inquire) also of what manner his conversation is -- whether he is meek, and without anger, and not given to slander, and whether he loves the widows and the poor and strangers, and is not greedy of filthy lucre; and whether he is quiet, and friendly to all and a lover of all; whether he is merciful and open-handed to give, and not a glutton and greedy, nor grasping, nor drunken, nor intemperate, nor slothful: for the perverse heart contriveth evil, and the same disturbeth cities at all times; and whether no such evil has been committed by him as is (done) in the world. And if he that makes the accusation is free from all these things, it is already evident and manifest that he is trustworthy, and that his accusation is true. But if he is known to be perverse and contentious, and his conduct not right, this (also) is evident, that he brings false witness against your brother. When therefore he is found and known to be an injurious person, rebuke him and put him forth for a time, until he repent and be converted and weep: lest perchance he again blaspheme against some other of our brethren who is of good conversation; or lest, while he sits in your congregation, some other like him, seeing him unreproved, should himself dare to do in like manner to one of our brethren, and should perish before God. But if he who has sinned is rebuked and corrected and put forth for a season, he also who was ready to imitate him and to do as he did, having seen him put forth, will fear lest it happen to him in like manner, and will submit himself: and he shall live before God, and in no wise be put to shame among men.

And concerning him again who is judged take counsel and thought among you in like manner:? and observe his manners and conduct in the world, whether perchance you have heard many charges against him, or whether he has committed many crimes. For if he is found to have committed crimes, it is likely that this charge also which they prefer against him is true. But again, it may happen that he had formerly committed some sin, but is innocent of this present charge. Wherefore, make diligent investigation of these things, that you may give sentence with great caution and surety; and do you judge rightfully concerning him who is found to be guilty, and pass judgement upon him. But let anyone of them who will not abide by your judgement be reproved and put forth from the congregation until he repent and make entreaty of the bishop or of the Church, and confess that he has sinned, and is penitent. And thus shall advantage accrue to many: lest at any time some other, seeing him sit in the Church unrebuked and uncorrected, should himself dare to do as he did, thinking him alive among men, whereas with God he is lost. But if you hear one party alone, while the other is not present to make his defence to the charge which they bring against him, and you pass sentence hastily, without counsel and without inquiry, and, in accordance with the falsehoods which you have believed, condemn him while he is not present to defend himself: you shall be partners before God of him that brought the false witness, and with him you shall be punished by God. For the Lord has said in Proverbs: He that meddleth in a quarrel that is not his own, is as he that taketh hold of a dog's tail; and again in another place He has said: Judge right judgement; and again He has said: Judge the fatherless, and justify the widows; and again He saith:? Deliver the oppressed, and sever every bond of iniquity But if you resemble those elders who were in Babylon, who bore false witness against Susanna and wickedly condemned her to death, you also shall be partners of their judgement and of their condemnation; for the Lord by Daniel saved Susanna from the hand of the ungodly, and those elders who were guilty of her blood He condemned to fire.

Now very far apart do we set the things of the sanctuary from those of the world; nevertheless (this) we say: You see,

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brethren, how, when murderers are brought before the (civil) authority, the judges question diligently those who bring them, and learn from them what they have done. And then again they ask the criminal whether these things are so; and though he himself confess and say, 'Yea' they do not send him straightway to death, but question him again for many days, and drawing the curtain take thought and counsel much together. And then at length they pass upon him the sentence of death, and lifting up their hands to heaven protest that they are innocent of the man's blood. And these things they do though they are heathens and know not God nor the requital they receive from God for those whom they judge and condemn unjustly. And do you, who know who is our God and what His judgements, dare to give sentence upon one who is not guilty? We counsel you therefore that you make inquiry with diligence and much caution. For the word of sentence which you decree ascends straightway to God; and if you have justly judged, you shall receive of God the reward of justice, both now and hereafter; but if you have judged unjustly, again you shall receive of God a recompense accordingly. Strive therefore, brethren, that you be worthy to receive praise from God, and not blame; for praise from God is everlasting life to men, but blame from God is eternal death to men.

Have a care therefore, O bishops, that you be not in haste to sit in judgement forthwith, lest you be constrained to condemn a man; but before they come and stand in the judgement, admonish them and make peace between them. And admonish those who have the suit and quarrel one with another, and teach them in the first place that it is not right for any man to be angry, because the Lord has said: Every one that is angry with his brother is liable to the judgement; and secondly, that if it should happen through the agency of the Enemy that some anger arise, they ought at once, that very day, to be reconciled and appeased, and to be at peace with one another. For it is written: Let not the sun go down upon thine anger against thy brother; and in David also He saith: Be angry, and sin not; that is, be speedily reconciled, lest, if anger continue, malice arise and beget sin. He saith in Proverbs: The soul that keepeth malice shall die. And our Lord and Saviour also said: If thou offer thy gift upon the altar, and there remember that thy brother keepeth any malice against thee, leave thy gift before the altar, and go, first be reconciled with thy brother: and then come, offer thy gift. Now the gift of God is our prayer and our Eucharist. If then thou keep any malice against thy brother, or he against thee, thy prayer is not heard and thy Eucharist is not accepted ; and thou shalt be found void (both) of prayer and Eucharist by reason of the anger which thou keepest. A man ought to pray diligently at all times; but those who bear anger and malice towards their brethren God does not hear; and though thou pray three times in one hour, thou shalt gain nothing, for thou art not heard by reason of thine enmity against thy brother. Wherefore, if thou carest and strivest to be a Christian, follow the saying of the Lord which saith: Loose all ties of iniquity; and sever the bands of violence and oppression. For upon thee has our Saviour laid this power, that thou shouldst forgive thy brother who has offended against thee unto seventyfold seven time, that is, four hundred and ninety. How many times then hast thou forgiven thy brother, that thou wilt no more forgive him, but keepest malice and maintainest enmity, and desirest to go to law? Therefore is thy prayer hindered. But even if thou hast forgiven the full four hundred and ninety times, add still more for thine own sake, and of thy bounty, without anger, forgive thy brother. And if thou do it not for thy brother's sake, bethink thee and do it at least for thine own; and forgive thy neighbour, that thou mayest be heard when thou prayest, and mayest offer an acceptable oblation to the Lord.

Wherefore, O bishops, that your oblations and your prayers may be acceptable, when you stand in the Church to pray let the deacon say with a loud voice: 'Is there any man that keepeth aught against his fellow?' that if there be found any who have a lawsuit or quarrel one with another, thou mayest entreat them and make peace between them. They who enter a house and say, Peace be in this house, both are proclaimers of peace and do bring peace. If then thou preach peace to others, still more does it behove thee to have peace with thy brethren. As a son of light and peace therefore, be thou light and peace to all men; and contend with no man, but be in quiet and peace with all men. And be a helper with God that (the number of) those who are saved may be increased; for this is the will of the Lord God. But they who love enmity and quarrels, and contentions and lawsuits, are enemies of God. For the Lord from the beginning, through the prophets and righteous men, called all generations to repentance and salvation; and we, moreover, the Apostles, who have been accounted worthy to be the witnesses of His manifestation and preachers of His divine word, have heard from the mouth of the Lord Jesus Christ, and do know of a surety and say what is His will, and the will of His Father, that no man should perish, but that all men should believe and be saved. For this is that which He taught us to say when we pray: Thy will be done in earth, as in heaven; that as the angels of heaven and the hosts and all (His) ministers praise God, so too on earth all men should praise God. It is His will, then, to save all; and this is His pleasure, that they who are saved should be many.

He who is contentious, or makes himself an enemy to his neighbour, diminishes the people of God. For either he drives out of the Church him whom he accuses, and diminishes her and deprives God of the soul of a man which was being saved, or by his contention he expels and ejects himself from the Church, and so again he sins against God. For God our Saviour spoke thus: Everyone that is not with me, is against me; and everyone that gathereth not with me, scattereth. Wherefore thou art no helper with God for the gathering together of the people, because thou art a disturber and a scatterer of the flock, and an adversary and enemy of God. Be not therefore forever embroiled in contentions and quarrels, or wrangling, or enmity, or lawsuits, lest thou scatter some one from the Church. For we by the power of the Lord God have gathered (men) from all peoples and from all tongues, and have brought them to the Church with much labour and toil and in daily peril, that we might do the will of God and fill the house with guests, that is His holy Catholic Church, that they might be glad and rejoicing, and be praising and glorifying God who called them to life.

Be you then, O laymen, peaceable one with another, and strive like wise doves to fill the Church, and to convert and tame those that are wild and bring them into her midst. And (for) this is the great reward that is promised by God: if you deliver them from fire, and present them to the Church firmly established and faithful.

DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 12

To Bishops: that they should be peaceable.

And you the bishops, be not hard, nor tyrannical, nor wrathful, and be not rough with the people of God which is delivered into your hands. And destroy not the Lord's house nor scatter His people; but convert all, that you may be helpers with God; and gather the faithful with much meekness and long-suffering and patience, and without anger, and with doctrine and exhortation, as ministers of the kingdom everlasting.

And in your congregations in the holy churches hold your assemblies with all decent order, and appoint the places for the brethren with care and gravity. And for the presbyters let there be assigned a place in the eastern part of the house; and let the bishop's throne be set in their midst, and let the presbyters sit with him. And again, let the lay men sit in another part of the house toward the east. For so it should be, that in the eastern part of the house the presbyters sit with the bishops, and next the lay men, and then the women that when you stand up to pray, the rulers may stand first, and after them the lay men, and then the women also. For it is required that you pray toward the east, as knowing that which is written: Give ye glory to God, who rideth upon the heaven of heavens toward the east.

But of the deacons let one stand always by the oblations of the Eucharist; and let another stand without by the door and observe them that come in; and afterwards, when you offer, let them minister together in the Church. And if anyone be found sitting out of his place, let the deacon who is within reprove him and make him to rise up and sit in a place that is meet for him. For our Lord likened the Church to a fold; for as we see the dumb animals, oxen and sheep and goats, lie down and rise up, and feed and chew the cud, according to their families, and none of them separate itself from its kind; and (see) the wild beasts also severally range with their like upon the mountains: so likewise in the Church ought those who are young to sit apart, if there be room, and if not to stand up; and those who are advanced in years to sit apart. And let the children stand on one side, or let their fathers and mothers take them to them; and let them stand up. And let the young girls also sit apart; but if there be no room, let them stand up behind the women. And let the young women who are married and have children stand apart, and the aged women and widows sit apart. And let the deacon see that each of them on entering goes to his place, that no one may sit out of his place. And let the deacon also see that no one whispers, or falls asleep, or laughs, or makes signs. For so it should be, that with decency and decorum they watch in the Church, with ears attentive to the word of the Lord.

But if any brother or sister come from another congregation, let the deacon question her and learn whether she is married, or again whether she is a widow (who is) a believer; and whether she is a daughter of the Church, or belongs perchance to one of the heresies; and then let him conduct her and set her in a place that is suitable for her. But if a presbyter should come from another congregation, do you the presbyters receive him with fellowship into your place. And if it be a bishop, let him sit with the bishop; and let him accord him the honour of his rank, even as himself. And do thou, O bishop, invite him to discourse to thy people; for the exhortation and admonition of strangers is very profitable, especially as it is written: There is no prophet that is acceptable in his own place. And when you offer the oblation, let him speak. But if he is wise and gives the honour to thee, and is unwilling to offer, at least let him speak over the cup. But if, as you are sitting, some one else should come, whether a man or a woman, who has some worldly honour, either of the same district or of another congregation: thou, O bishop, if thou art speaking the word of God, or hearing, or reading, shalt not respect persons and leave the ministry of thy word and appoint them a place; but do thou remain still as thou art and not interrupt thy word, and let the brethren themselves receive them. And if there be no place, let one of the brethren who is full of charity and loves his brethren, and is one fitted to do an honour, rise and give them place, and himself stand up. But if, while younger men or women sit, an older man or woman should rise and give up their place, do thou, O deacon, scan those who sit, and see which man or woman of them is younger than the rest, and make them stand up, and cause him to sit who had risen and given up his place; and him whom thou hast caused to stand up, lead away and make him to stand behind his neighbours: that others also may be trained and learn to give place to those more honourable than themselves. But if a poor man or woman should come, (whether of the same district) or of another congregation, and especially if they are stricken in years, and there be no place for such, do thou, O bishop, with all thy heart provide a place for them, even if thou have to sit upon the ground; that thou be not as one who respects the persons of men, but that thy ministry may be acceptable with God.

DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 13

An Instruction to the People to be constant in assembling in the Church.

Now when thou teachest, command and warn the people to be constant in assembling in the Church, and not to withdraw themselves but always to assemble, lest any man diminish the Church by not assembling, and cause the body of Christ to be short of a member. For let not a man take thought of others only, but of himself as well, hearkening to that which our Lord said: Everyone that gathereth not with me, scattereth. Since therefore you are the members of Christ, do not scatter yourselves from the Church by not assembling. Seeing that you have Christ for your head, as He promised -- for you are partakers with us -- be not then neglectful of yourselves, and deprive not our Saviour of His members, and do not rend and scatter His body. And make not your worldly affairs of more account than the word of God; but on the Lord's day leave every thing and run eagerly to your Church; for she is your glory. Otherwise, what excuse have they before God who do not assemble on the Lord's day to hear the word of life and be nourished with the divine food which abides for ever? For you are eager to receive temporal things and those that are but for a day and an hour, (but) those that are eternal you neglect; and you are anxious about baths, and to be fed with the meat and drink of the belly, and about other things, but for the things eternal you have no care, but neglect your soul and have no zeal for the Church, to hear and receive the word of God. And in comparison of them that err what excuse have you? For the heathen, when they daily rise from their sleep, go in the morning to worship and minister to their idols; and before all their works and undertakings they go first and worship their idols. Neither at their festivals and their fairs are they wanting, but are constant in assembling: not only they who are of the district, but even those who come from afar; and all likewise assemble and come to the spectacle of their theatre.? And so in like manner they who are vainly called Jews, they remain idle one day after six, and assemble in their synagogue; and never do they withdraw themselves or neglect their synagogue, nor disregard their (days of) idleness -- even they who by reason of their unbelief are made void of the power of the word, and of the very name by which they call themselves Jews: for 'Jew' is interpreted 'confession' but these are no confessors, since they do not confess the passion of Christ, which by transgression of the Law they caused, that they should repent and be saved. If then they who are not saved bestow care at all times on things wherein there is no profit and which avail them nothing, what excuse has he before the Lord God who withdraws himself from the assembly of the Church, and does not even imitate the gentiles, but by reason of his non-attendance grows indifferent and careless, and stands aloof and does evil to whom the Lord said by Jeremiah: My laws ye have not kept but neither have ye conversed after the laws of the gentiles; and ye have well nigh surpassed them in evildoing; and: Do the gentiles exchange their gods, which yet be no gods? But my people have exchanged their honour for that which is without profit. How then shall he excuse himself who is indifferent and has no zeal for the assembly of the Church? But if there be anyone who takes occasion of worldly business to withdraw himself, let him know this, that the trades of the faithful are called works of superfluity; for their true work is religion. Pursue your trades therefore as a work of superfluity, for your sustenance, but let your true work be religion.

Have a care therefore that you never withdraw yourselves from the assembly of the Church. But if any man leave the assembly of the Church of God and go to the assembly of the gentiles, what shall he say, and what excuse can he make to

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God in the day of judgement? seeing that he has left the holy Church, and the words of the living God, which are living and lifegiving and able to redeem and to deliver from fire and to save alive, and has gone to the assembly of the gentiles, because he has lusted after the spectacle of the theatre. Therefore shall he be accounted as one of them that go in thither; because he has lusted to hear and receive their fables, which are those of dead men and are from the spirit of Satan: for they are dead and deadly, and turn away from the faith and bring to everlasting fire. Nay, but the things of the world are your care, and you attend to the affairs of this life and scorn to betake yourselves to the Catholic Church, the beloved daughter of the Lord God Most High, that you may receive the teaching of God which endures for ever and is able to save them that receive the word of life.

Be constant therefore in coming together with the faithful who are being saved in your mother the Church, the living and lifegiving.

And beware of assembling with them that are perishing in the theatre, which is the assembly of the heathen, of error and of destruction. For he who enters an assembly of the gentiles shall be accounted as one of them, and shall receive the Woe. For to such the Lord God said by Isaiah: Woe, woe to them that come from the spectacle. And again He saith: Ye women that come from the spectacle, come: for it is a people without understanding. 'Women' then, He called the Churches, which He called and redeemed and brought forth from the spectacle of the theatre, and took and received; and He taught us from henceforth to go thither no more. For He saith in Jeremiah: Ye shall not learn according to the ways of the gentiles. And He saith again in the Gospel: In the way of the gentiles ye shall not go; {and into the cities of the Samaritans ye shall not enter}. Here then He commands and warns us wholly to avoid all heresies, which are the cities of the Samaritans; and furthermore, that we should keep far away from the assemblies of the gentiles, and not enter strange congregations; and that we should utterly avoid the theatre, and their fairs which are held for the sake of idols. A believer must not even come near to a fair, except to buy him nourishment for body ?and soul?. Therefore, avoid all vain shows of the idols, and the festivals of their fairs.

And let those who are young in the Church be ministering diligently, without sloth, in all things that are needful, with much reverence and modesty. Do you the faithful therefore, all of you, daily and hourly, whenever you are not in the Church, devote yourselves to your work; so that in all the conduct of your life you may either be occupied in the things of the Lord or engaged upon your work, and may never be idle. For the Lord has said: Imitate the ant, O sluggard, and emulate her ways, and be wiser than she. For she hath no husbandry, nor any to compel her, nor is she under authority: yet she gathereth her bread in summer, and storeth up for her much food in the harvest. And again He saith: Go to the bee, and learn how she worketh. For her work she performeth in wisdom: band there is brought of her labour to be food for rich and poor. Beloved and praiseworthy is she: and albeit she is little in strength, she honoureth wisdom, and is commended (thereby). How long wilt thou sleep, thou sluggard? When wilt thou arise from thy sleep? Thou shalt slumber a little, and sleep a little, and sit a little, and lay thy hand upon thy bosom a little: and poverty shall overtake thee as a runner, and want as a lusty man. But if thou wilt not be slothful, thine increase shall abound and overflow as a fountain; and poverty as a feeble runner shall depart from thee. Therefore, be always working, for idleness is a blot for which there is no cure. But if any man among you will not work, let him not eat: for the Lord God also hateth sluggards; for it is not possible for a sluggard to be a believer.

DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 14

On the time for the appointment of Widows.

Appoint as a widow one that is not under fifty years old, who in some sort, by reason of her years, shall be remote from the suspicion of taking a second husband. But if you appoint one who is young to the widows' order, and she endure not widowhood because of her youth, and marry, she will bring a reproach upon the glory of widowhood; and she shall render an account to God, first, because she has married a second husband; and again, because she promised to be a widow unto God, and was receiving (alms) as a widow, but did not continue in widowhood. But if there be one who is young, who has been a short time with her husband, and her husband die, or for any other cause there be a separation, and she continue by herself alone, having the honour of widowhood: she shall be blessed of God; for she is likened to the widow of Sarepta of Sidon with whom rested the holy angel, the prophet of God. Or again, she shall be like Anna, who hailed the coming of Christ and received a (good) testimony; and she shall be honoured for her virtue, winning honour on earth from men, and praise from God in heaven.

But let not young widows be appointed to the widows' order:? yet let them be taken care of and helped, lest by reason of their being in want they be minded to marry a second time, and some harmful matter ensue. For this you know, that she who marries one husband may lawfully marry also a second; but she who goes beyond this is a harlot. Wherefore, assist those who are young, that they may persevere in chastity unto God. And do thou accordingly, O bishop, bestow care upon these. And be mindful also of the poor, and assist and support them, even though there be among them those who are not widowers or widows, yet are in need of help through want or sickness or the rearing of children, and are in distress. It behoves thee to be careful of all and heedful of all. And hence it is that they who give gifts do not themselves with their own hands give them to the widows, but bring them to thee, that thou who art well acquainted of those who are in distress mayest, like a good steward, make distribution to them of those things which are given to thee: for God knows who it is that gives, even though he does not chance to be present. And when thou makest distribution, tell them the name of him who gave, that they may pray for him by name. For in all the Scriptures the Lord makes mention of the poor, and gives command concerning them; ...and even if they be married persons. And he adds further by Isaiah and says thus: Break thy bread to the hungry: and the poor man, that hath no roof, bring into thine house; and when thou seest the naked, cover him: and thou shalt not despise one that is of thine own flesh. By all means therefore be careful of the poor.

DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 15

How Widows ought to deport themselves.

Every widow therefore ought to be meek and quiet and gentle. And let her also be without malice and without anger; and let her not be talkative or clamorous, or forward in tongue, or quarrelsome. And when she sees anything unseemly done, or hears it, let her be as though she saw and heard it not. For a widow should have no other care save to be praying for those who give, and for the whole Church. And when she is asked a question by anyone, let her not straightway give an answer, except only concerning righteousness and faith in God; but let her send them that desire to be instructed to the rulers. And to those who question them let them (the widows) make answer only in refutation of idols and concerning the unity of God. But concerning punishment and reward, and the kingdom of the name of Christ, and His dispensation, neither a widow nor a layman ought to speak; for when they speak without the knowledge of doctrine, they will bring blasphemy upon the word. For our Lord likened the word of His tidings to mustard; but mustard, unless it be skilfully tempered, is bitter and sharp to those who use it. Wherefore our Lord said in the Gospel, to widows and to all the laity: Cast not your pearls before swine, lest they trample upon them and turn against you and rend you. For when the Gentiles who are being instructed hear the word of God not fittingly spoken, as it ought to be, unto edification of eternal life -- and all the more in that it is spoken to them by a woman -- how that our Lord clothed Himself in a body, and concerning the passion of Christ: they will mock and scoff, instead of applauding the word of doctrine; and she shall incur a heavy judgement for sin.

It is neither right nor necessary therefore that women should be teachers, and especially concerning the name of Christ and the redemption of His passion. For you have not been appointed to this, (p. 64) O women, and especially widows, that you should teach, but that you should pray and entreat the Lord God. For He the Lord God, Jesus Christ our Teacher, sent us the Twelve to instruct the People and the Gentiles; and there were with us women disciples, Mary Magdalene and Mary the daughter of James and the other Mary; but He did not send them to instruct the people with us. For if it were required that women should teach, our Master Himself would have commanded these to give instruction with us. But let a widow know that she is the altar of God; and let her sit ever at home, and not stray or run about among the houses of the faithful to receive. For the altar of God never strays or runs about anywhere, but is fixed in one place.

A widow must not therefore stray or run about among the houses. For those who are gadabouts and without shame cannot be still even in their houses; for they are no widows, but wallets, and they care for nothing else but to be making ready to receive. And because they are gossips and chatterers and murmurers, they stir up quarrels; and they are bold and shameless. Now they that are such are unworthy of Him who called them; for neither in the common assembly of rest of the Sunday, when they have come, are such women or men watchful, but they either fall asleep or prate about some other matter: so that through them others also are taken captive by the enemy Satan, who suffers not such persons to be watchful unto the Lord. And they who are such, coming in empty to the Church, go out more empty still, since they hearken not to that which is spoken or read to receive it with the ears of their hearts. Such persons, then, are like those of whom Isaiah said: Hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing ye shall see, and shall not see. For the heart of this people is waxed gross, and with their ears they hear heavily, and their eyes they have shut: lest at any time they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears. So in like manner the ears of such widows' hearts are stopped, because they will not sit beneath the roof of their houses and pray and entreat the Lord, but are impatient to be running after gain; and by their chattering they execute the desires of the Enemy. Now such a widow does not conform to the altar of Christ; for it is written in the Gospel: If two shall agree together, and shall ask concerning any thing whatsoever, it shall be given them. And if they shall say to a mountain that it be removed and fall into the sea, it shall so be done.

Now we see that there are widows who esteem the matter as one of traffic, and receive greedily; and instead of doing good (works) and giving to the bishop for the entertainment of strangers and the refreshment of those in distress, they lend out on bitter usury; and they care only for Mammon, whose god is their purse and their belly:? for where their treasure is, there is also their heart. For she who is in the habit of roaming abroad and running about to receive takes no thought for good works, but serves Mammon and ministers to filthy lucre. And she cannot please God, nor is she obedient to His ministry, so as to be constantly praying and making intercession, because her mind is quite taken captive by the greed of avarice. And when she stands up to pray, she remembers whither she may go to receive somewhat; or else that she has forgotten to tell some matter to her friends. And when she stands (in prayer), her mind is not upon her prayer, but upon that thought which has occurred to her mind. Now the prayer of such a one is not heard in regard to any thing. But she soon interrupts her prayer by reason of the distraction of her mind; for she does not offer prayer to God with all her heart, but goes off with the thought suggested by the Enemy, and talks with her friends about some unprofitable matter. For she knows not ?how she has believed?, or of what order she has been accounted worthy.

But a widow who wishes to please God sits at home and meditates upon the Lord day and night, and without ceasing at all times offers intercession and prays with purity before the Lord. And she receives whatever she asks, because her whole mind is set upon this. For her mind is not greedy to receive, nor has she much desire to make large expenses; nor does her eye wander, that she should see aught and desire it, and her mind be withdrawn; nor does she hear evil words to give heed to them, because she does not go forth and run about abroad. Therefore her prayer suffers no hindrance from any thing; and thus her quietness and tranquillity and modesty are acceptable before God, and whatsoever she asks of God, she presently receives her request. For such a widow, not loving money or filthy lucre, and not avaricious nor greedy, but constant in prayer, and meek and unperturbed, and modest and reverent, sits at home and works at (her) wool, that she may provide somewhat for those who are in distress, or that she may make a return to others, so that she receive nothing from them. For she bethinks her of that widow of whom our Lord gave testimony in the Gospel, who came and cast into the treasury two mites, which is one dinar: whom when our Lord and Teacher, the trier of hearts, saw, He said to us: O my disciples, this poor widow hath cast in more alms than anyone; for everyone hath cast in of that which was superfluous to him: but this, of all that she possessed she hath laid her up treasure.

Widows ought then to be modest, and obedient to the bishops and the deacons, and to reverence and respect and fear the bishop as God. And let them not act after their own will, nor desire to do any thing apart from that which is commanded them, or without counsel to speak with any one by way of making answer, or to go to anyone to eat or drink, or to fast with anyone, or to receive aught of anyone, or to lay hand on and pray over anyone without the command of the bishop or the deacon. But if she do aught that is not commanded her, let her be rebuked for having acted without discipline. For whence knowest thou, O woman, from whom thou receivest, or from what ministry thou art nourished, or for whom thou fastest, or upon whom thou layest hand? For knowest thou not that concerning everyone of these thou shalt render an account to the Lord in the day of judgement, seeing that thou communicatest in their works? But thou, O widow who art without discipline, seest thy fellow widows or thy brethren in sickness, and hast no care to fast and pray over thy members, and to lay hand upon them and to visit them, but feignest thyself to be not in health, or not at leisure; but to others, who are in sins or are gone forth from the Church, because they give much, thou art ready and glad to go and to visit them. You then who are such ought to be ashamed; for you wish to be wiser and to know better, not only than the men, but even than the presbyters and the bishops. Know then, sisters, that whatsoever the pastors with the deacons command you, and you obey them, you obey God; and with whomsoever you communicate by the command of the bishop, you are without blame before God; and so is every brother of the laity who obeys the bishop and submits to him:? for they (the bishops) are to render an account for all. But if you obey not the mind of the bishops and deacons, they indeed will be quit of your offences, but you shall render an account of all that you do of your own will, whether men or women.

Now whosoever prays or communicates with one that is expelled from the Church, must rightly be reckoned with him; for these things lead to the undoing and destruction of souls.

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For if one communicate and pray with him who is expelled from the Church, and obey not the bishop, he obeys not God; and he is defiled with him (that is expelled). And moreover he suffers not that man to repent. For if no one communicate with him, he will feel compunction and weep, and will ask and beseech to be received (again); and he will repent of what he has done, and will be saved.

That a woman should baptise, or that one should be baptised by a woman, we do not counsel, for it is a transgression of the commandment, and a great peril to her who baptises and to him who is baptised. For if it were lawful to be baptised by a woman, our Lord and Teacher Himself would have been baptised by Mary His mother, whereas He was baptised by John, like others of the people. Do not therefore imperil yourselves, brethren and sisters, by acting beside the law of the Gospel.

But concerning envy or jealousy, or slander and fault-finding, or contention and ill-will, and carping or rivalry, we have already told you that these things ought not to be found in a Christian; but among widows it is not fitting that anyone of them should so much as be named. Yet because the author of evil has many wiles and devices, he enters into those who are no widows and boasts himself in them. For there are some indeed who profess themselves widows, but do not works worthy of their name. For not for the name of widowhood are they found worthy to enter into the kingdom, but for faith and works. For if one practise good works, she shall be praised and accepted; but if she practise evil works and do the works of the Evil One, she shall be blamed and cast out of the kingdom everlasting: because she has left the things eternal and desired and loved those that are temporal. Now we see and hear that there are widows in whom there is envy one towards another. For when thy fellow aged woman has been clothed, or has received somewhat from some one, thou oughtest, O widow, on seeing thy sister refreshed -- if thou be a widow of God -- to say: 'Blessed be God, who hath refreshed my fellow aged woman,' and to praise God; and afterwards (to praise) him that ministered, and say: 'May his work be acceptable in truth,' and: 'Remember him, Lord, for good in the day of Thy recompense, and my bishop who hath ministered well before Thee and hath dispensed the alms fairly; for my fellow aged woman was naked, and hath been provided: and add unto him glory, and give him also a crown of glory in the day of the manifestation of Thy coming.' And likewise also the widow who has received an alms of the Lord, let her pray for him that provided this ministration, suppressing his name like a wise woman, that his righteousness may be with God and not with men, -- as He said in the Gospel: When thou doest an alms, let not thy left hand know what thy rtght hand doeth -- lest, when thou pronounce and reveal his name in praying for him that gave, his name be disclosed and come to the ears of a heathen, and the heathen, being a man of the left hand, know it. Or it may even chance that one of the faithful, hearing thee, will go out and talk:? and it is not expedient that those things which are done or spoken in the Church should come abroad and be revealed; for he that divulges and speaks of them disobeys God, and becomes a betrayer of the Church. But do thou in praying for him suppress his name; and so shalt thou fulfil that which is written, thou and the widows who are such (as thou): for you are the holy altar of God, (even of) Jesus Christ.

But now we hear that there are widows who do not behave according to the commandment, but care only for this, that they may stray and run about asking questions. And moreover she who has received an alms of the Lord -- being without sense, in that she discloses (the matter) to her that asks her -- has revealed and declared the name of the giver; and the other, hearing it, murmurs and finds fault with the bishop who has dispensed, or with the deacon, or with him who has made some gift, saying: 'Knewest thou not that I was nearer to thee and in more distress than she?' And she knows not that it was not by man's will that this was done, but by the command of God. For if thou protest and say to him: 'I was nearer to thee, and thou knewest that I was more naked than she:' it behoved thee to know who it was that commanded, and to be silent and not find fault with him that ministered, but to go into thy house and fall upon thy face and give thanks to God for thy fellow widow; and to pray likewise for him that gave and for him that ministered, and to beseech the Lord that He would open to thee also the door of His favour. And the Lord would presently have heard thy prayer bountifully, and have sent thee more favour than thy fellow widow, from whence thou never thoughtest to receive a ministry; and (such) proof of thy patience would have been praiseworthy. Or know you not that it is written in the Gospel: When thou doest an alms, sound not the trumpet before men to be seen of them, as the hypocrites do. For verily I say unto you, they have received their reward.

Now if God has commanded that a ministry be ministered in secret, and he that ministered did so minister: why then dost thou, who hast received in secret, proclaim it openly? Or thou, again (who hast not received), why dost thou question it? For thou not only findest fault and murmurest, as one who is no widow, but even utterest a curse like the heathen. Or hast thou not heard what the Scripture saith: Everyone that blesseth, is blessed; and everyone that curseth, is cursed. And again in the Gospel He saith: Bless them that curse you; and again: When ye enter into a house, say: Peace be in this house. And if that house be worthy of peace, your peace shall come upon it; but if it be not worthy, your peace shall return unto you. If then peace returns to them that send it, much more will a curse return upon those who utter it idly: because that he upon whom it was sent does not merit to receive a curse. For everyone who curses a man idly, curses himself, since it is written in Proverbs: As birds and fowl fly, so do idle curses return. And again He saith: They that utter curses are void of understanding. For we are set forth in a parable by the example of the bee, as the Lord saith: Go to the bee, and learn how she worketh. For her work she performeth in wisdom; and there is brought of her labour to be food for rich and poor. Beloved and praiseworthy is she, albeit she is little in strength. As then the bee is little in strength, and when she has stung a man she loses her sting, and becomes barren and presently dies; so also we the faithful in like manner: whatever evil we do to another, we do it to ourselves; for, Whatsoever thou hatest that it should be done to thee, thou shalt not do to another. Wherefore, everyone that blesseth is blessed.

Do you therefore admonish and rebuke those (widows) who are undisciplined and likewise exhort and encourage and help forward those who conduct themselves rightly. And let widows keep themselves from cursing, for they have been appointed to bless. Wherefore, let not the bishop, nor a presbyter, nor a deacon, nor a widow utter a curse out of their mouth, that they may not inherit a curse but a blessing. And let this also be thy care, O bishop, that not even one of the laity utter from his mouth a curse: for thou hast the care of all.

DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 14

On the appointment of Deacons and Deaconesses.

Wherefore, O bishop, appoint thee workers of righteousness as helpers who may co-operate with thee unto salvation. Those that please thee out of all the people thou shalt choose and appoint as deacons:? a man for the performance of the most things that are required, but a woman for the ministry of women. For there are houses whither thou canst not send a deacon to the women, on account of the heathen, but mayest send a deaconess. Also, because in many other matters the office of a woman deacon is required. In the first place, when women go down into the water, those who go down into the water ought to be anointed by a deaconess with the oil of anointing; and where there is no woman at hand, and especially no deaconess, he who baptises must of necessity anoint her who is being baptised. But where there is a woman, and especially a deaconess, it is not fitting that women should be seen by men:? but with the imposition of hand do thou anoint the head only. As of old the priests and kings were anointed in Israel, do thou in like manner, with the imposition of hand, anoint the head of those who receive baptism, whether of men or of women; and afterwards -- whether thou thyself baptise, or thou command the deacons or presbyters to baptise -- let a woman deacon, as we have already said, anoint the women. But let a man pronounce over them the invocation of the divine Names in the water.? And when she who is being baptised has come up from the water, let the deaconess receive her, and teach and instruct her how the seal of baptism ought to be (kept) unbroken in purity and holiness. For this cause we say that the ministry of a woman deacon is especially needful and important. For our Lord and Saviour also was ministered unto by women ministers, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the daughter of James and mother of Jose, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee, with other women beside. And thou also hast need of the ministry of a deaconess for many things; for a deaconess is required to go into the houses of the heathen where there are believing women, and to visit those who are sick, and to minister to them in that of which they have need, and to bathe those who have begun to recover from sickness.

And let the deacons imitate the bishops in their conversation: nay, let them even be labouring more than he. And let them not love filthy lucre; but let them be diligent in the ministry. And in proportion to the number of the congregation of the people of the Church, so let the deacons be, that they may be able to take knowledge (of each) severally and refresh all; so that for the aged women who are infirm, and for brethren and sisters who are in sickness -- for every one they may provide the ministry which is proper for him.

But let a woman rather be devoted to the ministry of women, and a male deacon to the ministry of men. And let him be ready to obey and to submit himself to the command of the bishop. And let him labour and toil in every place whither he is sent to minister or to speak of some matter to anyone. For it behoves each one to know his office and to be diligent in executing it. And be you (bishop and deacon) of one counsel and of one purpose, and one soul dwelling in two bodies. And know what the ministry is, according as our Lord and Saviour said in the Gospel: Whoso among you desireth to be chief, let him be your servant: even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many. So ought you the deacons also to do, if it fall to you to lay down your life for your brethren in the ministry which is due to them. For neither did our Lord and Saviour Himself disdain (to be) ministering to us, as it is written in Isaiah: To justify the righteous, who hath performed well a service for many. If then the Lord of heaven and earth performed a service for us, and bore and endured everything for us, how much more ought we to do the like for our brethren, that we may imitate Him. For we are imitators of Him, and hold the place of Christ. And again in the Gospel you find it written how our Lord girded a linen cloth about his loins and cast water into a wash-basin, while we reclined (at supper), and drew nigh and washed the feet of us all and wiped them with the cloth. Now this He did that He might show us (an example of) charity and brotherly love, that we also should do in like manner one to another. If then our Lord did thus, will you, O deacons, hesitate to do the like for them that are sick and infirm, you who are workmen of the truth, and bear the likeness of Christ? Do you therefore minister with love, and neither murmur nor hesitate; otherwise you will have ministered as it were for men's sake and not for the sake of God, and you will receive your reward according to your ministry in the day of judgement. It is required of you deacons therefore that you visit all who are in need, and inform the bishop of those who are in distress; and you shall be his soul and his mind; and in all things you shall be taking trouble and be obedient to him.

DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 17

On the upbringing of Orphan Children

Now if anyone of the children of Christians be an orphan, whether boy or girl, it is well that, if there be one of the brethren who has no children, he should adopt the child in the place of children. And whoever has a son, let him adopt a girl; and when her time is come, let him give her to him to wife, that his work may be completed in the ministry of God. But if there be any who are unwilling to do thus because they would please men, and by reason of their riches are ashamed of orphan members: they who are such shall arrive at this very pass, and therein shall spend what they have spared; and that which the saints have not eaten, the Assyrians shall eat: and their land strangers shall devour before their eyes.

Do you therefore, O bishops, take pains over their upbringing, so that nothing may be wanting to them. And when a virgin's time is come, give her in marriage to one of the brethren. But when a boy is being brought up, let him learn a craft; and when he is become a man, let him receive the wage that is worthy of his craft, and let him fashion for himself the implements required for his craft, and not henceforth be a burden upon the love of the brethren, which was shown him without guile and without partiality.

And truly blessed is every one that is able to help himself, and shall not straiten the place of the orphan and the widow and the stranger. For woe from God to them that have, and receive in falsehood, {or are able to help themselves and (yet) receive;} for everyone of those who receive shall give an account to the Lord God in the day of judgement, how he received. If a man has received on account of a fatherless childhood, or on account of indigence in old age, or on account of infirmity and sickness, or on account of the rearing of children, he shall even be praised: for he is esteemed as the altar of God, therefore shall he be honoured of God. For he did not receive idly; because he was praying diligently (and) unremittingly at all times for those who give; for his prayer, which is his strength, he offered as his payment. Those then who are such shall be declared blessed by God in the life everlasting.

But those who have, and receive under pretence, or else are slothful, and instead of working and helping others rather themselves receive, shall be held to account for that which they receive, because they have straitened the place of the faithful poor. For everyone who has some possession, and neither gives to others nor uses it himself, lays up for himself a perishable treasure on earth; and he has inherited the place of the snake lying upon the treasure, and will come in danger of being reckoned with him. For whoever has, and receives in falsehood, puts his faith not in God but in the Mammon of iniquity; and for the gain of avarice he holds the word in hypocrisy, and he is fulfilled in unbelief. Now such a one will come in danger of being reckoned with the unbelievers. But he who gives simply to every man, does well in giving, and he is innocent. He also who receives on account of distress, and uses sparingly those things which he has received, has received well; and he shall be praised by God in the life and rest everlasting.

DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 18

That it is not right to receive gifts of alms from reprehensible persons.

Do you the bishops and the deacons be constant therefore in the ministry of the altar of Christ, -- we mean the widows and the orphans, -- so that with all care and with all diligence you make it your endeavour to search out concerning the things that are given, (and to learn) of what manner is the conversation of him, or of her, who gives for the nourishment

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-- we say again -- of 'the altar.' For when widows are nourished from (the fruits of) righteous labour, they will offer a holy and acceptable ministry before Almighty God through His beloved Son and His holy Spirit:? to whom be glory and honour for evermore.

Make it your care and endeavour therefore to minister to widows out of the ministry of a clean conscience, that what they ask and request may be granted them at once upon their praying for it. But if there be bishops who are careless and give no heed to these matters, through respect of persons, or for the sake of filthy lucre, or because they neglect to mak inquiry; they shall render no ordinary account. For they receive, forsooth, to administer for the nourishment of orphans and widows, from rich persons who keep men shut up in prison, or ill-treat their slaves, or behave with cruelty in their cities, or oppress the poor; or from the lewd, and those who abuse their bodies; or from evildoers; or from forgers; or from dishonest advocates, or false accusers; or from hypocritical lawyers; or from painters of pictures; or from makers of idols; or from workers of gold and silver and bronze (who are) thieves; or from dishonest tax-gatherers; or from spectators of shows; or from those who alter weights or measure deceitfully; or from inn-keepers who mingle water (with their wine); or from soldiers who act lawlessly; or from murderers; or from spies who procure condemnations; or from any Roman officials, who are defiled with wars and have shed innocent blood without trial:? perverters of judgement who, in order to rob them, deal unjustly and deceitfully with the peasantry and with all the poor; and from idolaters; or from the unclean; or from those who practise usury, and extortioners. Now they who nourish widows from these (sources) shall be found guilty in judgement in the day of the Lord; for the Scripture has said: Better is a supper of herbs with love and amity than the slaughter of fatted oxen with hatred. For if a widow be nourished with bread only from the labour of righteousness, it shall even be abundant for her; but if much be given her from (the proceeds) of iniquity it shall be insufficient for her. But again, if she be nourished from (the proceeds) of iniquity, she cannot offer her ministry and her intercession with purity before God; and even though she be righteous and pray for the wicked, her intercession for them will not be heard, but that for herself alone; for God makes trial of the hearts in judgement, and receives intercessions with discernment. But if they pray for those w ho have sinned and repent, their prayers will be heard. But those who are in sin, and do not repent, not only are they not heard when they pray, but they even call to remembrance their transgressions before the Lord.

Wherefore, a bishops, fly and avoid such ministrations; for it is written:There shall not go up upon the altar of the Lord (that which cometh) of the price of a dog, or of the hire of a harlot. For if widows pray for fornicators and transgressors through your blindness, and be not heard, not receiving their requests, you will perforce bring blasphemy upon the word through your evil management, as though God were not good and ready to give.

Take good heed therefore that you minister not to the altar of God out of the ministrations of transgression. For you have no pretext to say, 'We do not know;' for you have heard that which the Scripture saith:? Depart from an evil man, and thou shalt not fear; and trembling shall not come nigh unto thee. But if you say: 'These are they alone who give alms; and if we receive not of them, from whence shall the orphans and widows and those in distress be provided?' God saith to you: 'To this end did you receive the gifts of the Levites, the first fruits and offerings of your people, that you might be sustained and even have over and above, that you might not be constrained to receive from evil persons.' But if the Churches are so poor that those in want must needs be supported by such, it were better for you rather to be wasted with famine than to receive from evil persons.

Search out and make trial, therefore, that you may be receiving from the faithful, who communicate with the Churches and conduct themselves well, (wherewithal) to nourish those in distress, and may not receive from those who are expelled from the Church until they are found worthy to be members of the Church. But if you are in want, tell the brethren, and let them treat together and give; and thus perform your ministrations in righteousness. And teach your people and tell them that it is written: Honour the Lord with (the fruits of) righteous labour, and with the chiefest of all your increase. Wherefore, nourish and clothe those in want from the righteous labour of the faithful; and those things which are given by them, as we have already said, bestow for the ransom of the faithful; and redeem slaves and captives and prisoners, and those who are treated with violence, and those condemned by the mob, and those sentenced to fight with beasts, or to the mines, or to exile, and those condemned to the games. And let the deacons go in to those who are in distress, and let them visit each one and provide him with what he lacks.

But if ever it should happen that you are constrained and receive unwillingly some pieces of money from any evil person, you shall not employ them for (the purchase of) food; but if they be few, spend them on firewood for yourselves and for the widows, lest a widow, receiving of them, be forced to buy her some food with them. And so, unsullied by iniquity, the widows will pray and receive from God all good things for which they ask and make petition, all of them together and each one severally: and you also will not be reproached with these sins.

DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 19

That it is a duty to take care of those who for the name of Christ suffer affliction as Martyrs.

You shall not turn away your eyes from a Christian who for the name of God and for His faith and love is condemned to the games, or to the beasts, or to the mines; but of your labour and of the sweat of your face do you send to him for nourishment, and for a payment to the soldiers that guard him, that he may have relief and that care may be taken of him, so that your blessed brother be not utterly afflicted. For let him that is condemned for the name of the Lord God be esteemed of by you as a holy martyr, an angel of God, or God upon earth, even one that is spiritually clothed with the Holy Spirit of God; for through him you see the Lord our Saviour, inasmuch as he has been found worthy of the incorruptible crown, and has renewed again the witness of (His) passion. To those therefore who are bearing witness it is the duty of all you the faithful to minister with care, and to refresh them out of your possessions through your bishop. But if there be a man who has nothing, let him fast, and that which would have been spent by him that day let him give for his brethren. But if thou art rich, thou must minister to them according to thy power, or even give thy whole possession and redeem them from bonds; for they it is who are worthy of God, and the sons who perform His will; as the Lord has said: Every one that shall confess me before men, I also will confess him before my Father. And you shall not be ashamed to go to them where they are imprisoned. And when you do these things, you shall inherit everlasting life, for you become sharers of their martyrdom. For let us learn how our Lord said in the Gospel: Come unto me, all ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom which was prepared for you from before the foundations of the world. For I was hungry, and ye gave me to eat; and I was thirsty, and ye gave me to drink. I was a stranger, and ye gathered me; and I was naked, and ye covered me. I was sick, and ye visited me; and I was in prison, and ye came unto me. Then will the righteous answer and say: Our Lord, when saw we thee hungry, and gave thee to eat or thirsty, and gave thee to drink or naked, and covered thee or sick, and did visit thee or a stranger, and gathered thee or in prison, and came unto thee. And he will answer and say to them: All that ye did to one of these little and mean ones, ye did it to me. And then shall they go into life everlasting.

But if there be one who is called a Christian, and he fall away and be tempted by Satan, and be convicted of evil deeds and condemned for (his) deeds, whether of theft or murder: avoid such persons, lest anyone of you be put on trial by those who seize him. For if one seize thee and question thee, and say to thee: 'Art thou also a Christian, like this man?' thou canst not deny that thou art a Christian, but must needs confess it. But thou wilt not be condemned as a Christian, but punished as a malefactor. For he asks thee whether thou art 'like this man:' and thy confession is rendered void. But if thou deny, thou hast also denied the Lord. Therefore avoid them, that you may be without offence. But the faithful who are violently and unjustly seized and imprisoned as evildoers, or even bound, help (as) your members with abundant care and with much pains, that you may deliver them from the hand of evil men. But if any man come near to them and be seized with them, and for no offence suffer affliction for his brother's sake, blessed is he in being called a Christian; for he has confessed the Lord, and he shall live before God. For if a man come near to those who are bound for the name of the Lord and be seized with them, he shall be blessed in being found worthy of such company.

And those again who are persecuted for the faith and pass from city to city, according to the Lord's command, do you receive and refresh; and when you receive them, rejoice, for you are made sharers of their persecution, For our Lord spoke concerning them in the Gospel thus: Blessed are ye, when they shall persecute you and revile you for my name's sake. For when a Christian is persecuted and bears witness and is slain for the faith, he becomes a man of God; and he is now no more persecuted by any man, for he has won him approval of the Lord. But if he deny, and say that he is not a Christian, he shall be called an offence; and (though) not persecuted by men, yet is he cast off by God for his denial; and he shall receive henceforth no portion with the saints in the kingdom everlasting, according to the Lord's promise, but his inheritance shall be with the ungodly. For the Lord God has said: Whosoever shall deny me and my words before men, or shall be ashamed of me: I also will be ashamed of him, and will deny him before my Father who is in heaven, when I come with power and glory to judge the dead and the living. And again you find it written: Every one that loveth his father or his mother more than me, is not worthy of me " and everyone that loveth his son or his daughter more than me, is not worthy of me; and every one that taketh not up his cross rejoicing and glad and cometh after me, is not worthy of life; and every one that shall lose his life for my sake, shall find it; and every one that shall save his life, by denying, shall lose it. For what shall a man be profited if he acquire the whole world, and forfeit his soul? or what shall he give in exchange for his soul? And again: Fear not them that kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but fear me rather, that am able to destroy soul and body in hell.

Now everyone who learns any craft watches his master and sees how by his skill and his knowledge he executes the work of his craft; and he himself copies him and executes the work which he has set him, that he may not be ill spoken of by him. But if he abate anything of the (tasks) set him, he is not perfect. We, then, who have our Lord for master and teacher, why do not we imitate His teaching and His conversation? For He left riches and favour, and power and glory, and came thus in poverty; and moreover He parted with Mary His blessed mother, and with His brethren, and with His life itself, and endured persecution even unto the cross. And these things He endured for our sake, that He might redeem us, who are of the People, from the bonds of the Second Legislation, of which we have already spoken, and might redeem you also, who are of the Gentiles, from the worship of idols and from all ungodliness, and get you for an inheritance. If then He suffered thus for our sake, to redeem us who believe in Him, and was not ashamed, why do not we also imitate His sufferings, while He gives us endurance? -- and this for our own sake, that we may be delivered from the death of fire. For He endured for our sake, but we for our own sake. Or has our Lord any need that we should suffer for Him? Rather it is this alone that He desires, to make proof of the love of our faith, and of our free will. Let us then part with our parents and our kinsfolk, and with all that is in this world, and even with our life.

We must indeed pray that we come not into temptation; yet if we be called to martyrdom, let us confess when we are interrogated, and when we suffer let us endure, and when we are afflicted let us rejoice, and when we are persecuted let us not grieve; for so doing, not only shall we deliver ourselves from hell, but we shall also teach those who are young in the faith, and the hearers, to do the like:? and they shall live before God. But if we fail in faith towards the Lord, and deny through the infirmity of the body -- as our Lord said:? The spirit is willing and ready, but the body is weak -- we shall not only destroy ourselves, but shall kill also our brethren with us. For when they see our denial, they will think that they have been made disciples of an erring doctrine; and when they stumble, we shall render an account for them as well as for ourselves, everyone of us, to the Lord in the day of judgement.

But if thou be taken and brought before the authority, and deny the hope that thou hast towards the Lord by thy holy faith, and thou be set at large to-day, but to-morrow fall sick of a fever and take to thy bed; or if thy stomach ail thee and retain no food, but vomit it out with grievous pains; or thou be afflicted with a disease of the belly, or with a disease in one of thy members; or thou bring up blood and bile from within thee by reason of dire disorders; or thou have an ulcer in one of thy members and be cut by the hands of physicians, and die in manifold afflictions and torments: what then will thy denial have availed thee which thou hast denied, O man? For behold, thy soul has inherited pains and afflictions, and thou hast destroyed thy life for ever before God; and thou shalt burn and be tormented without respite everlastingly: even as the Lord has said: Everyone that loveth his life, shall lose it; and everyone that shall lose his life for my sake, shall find it. Now a Christian who denies, loves his life for a little while in this world, that he may not die for the name of the Lord God; but he has destroyed himself for ever in fire, for he has fallen of himself into Gehenna. For Christ has denied him, as He said in the Gospel: Whosoever shall deny me before men, I also will deny him before my Father who is in heaven; but those whom the Lord has denied they put forth and cast into the outer darkness: and there is their weeping and their gnashing of teeth. For He said: Everyone that loveth his life more than me, is not worthy of me.

Let us be earnest then to commit ourselves to the Lord God; and if any man be found worthy of martyrdom, let him accept of it with joy, seeing that he has been counted worthy of so great a crown, and that his departure from this world is by martyrdom. For the Lord our Saviour has said: There is no disciple better than his master: but everyone shall be perfected as his master. Now our Lord consented to all these His sufferings that He might save us; and He submitted to be beaten, and that men should blaspheme Him and spit in His face, and to drink vinegar and gall; and at last He endured even to be hanged upon the cross. Let us therefore, who are His disciples, be also His imitators. For if He bore and endured all things for us, even to the sufferings (of His passion), how much more ought we, for our own sakes, to be patient when we suffer? And we ought not to doubt; for so He has promised us, that if we should be burned with coals of fire, while we believe in our Lord Jesus Christ and in God His

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Father, the Lord God Almighty, and in His Holy Spirit, -- to whom be glory and honour for evermore, Amen. --

DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 20

Concerning the Resurrection of the Dead.

God Almighty will raise us up through God our Saviour, as He has promised. And He will raise us up from the dead even as we are -- in this form in which we now are, but in the great glory of everlasting life, with nothing wanting to us. For though we be cast into the depths of the sea, or be scattered by the winds like chaff, we are still within the world; and the whole world itself is inclosed beneath the hand of God. From within His hand therefore will He raise us up: as the Lord our Saviour has said: A hair of your head shall not perish; but in your patience ye shall possess your souls.

Now concerning the resurrection, and concerning the glory of the martyrs, the Lord spoke in Daniel thus: Many that sleep in the breadth of the earth shall rise up in that day: some unto life everlasting, and some unto reproach and shame and dispersion. But they that understand shall shine as the luminaries which are in the heaven; and they that have been strengthened by the word, as the stars of heaven. As (of) the sun, then, and the moon, the luminaries of heaven, (such) glorious light has He promised to give to them that understand, and confess His holy name, and bear witness.

But not to the martyrs alone has He promised the resurrection, but to all men; for He speaks thus in Ezekiel: The hand of the Lord came upon me: and the Lord brought me forth in the spirit, and set me in the midst of a valley: and it was full of bones. And he caused me to pass over against them: and they were many, and they were exceeding dry. And he said unto me: Son of man, shall these bones live? And I said: Thou knowest, Lord Adonai. And the Lord said unto me: Prophesy unto these bones, and say to them: Ye dry bones, hear the word of the Lord. Thus saith the Lord Adonai unto these bones: Behold, I will cause the spirit to enter into you, and ye shall live; and I will put sinews upon you, and will build up flesh upon you, and will clothe you with skin; and I will give the spirit in you, and ye shall live: and ye shall know that I am the Lord. And I prophesied as he spake unto me. And as I prophesied, there was made a sound and a movement; and the bones drew nigh, bone unto bone. And I saw that there came upon them sinews and flesh, and skin was stretched over them above: but there was no spirit in them. And the Lord said unto me: Prophesy unto the spirit, and say: Thus saith the Lord Adonai: Come, spirit, from the four winds, and enter into these dead, and they shalt live. And I prophesied, as he spake unto me: and the spirit entered into them, and they lived: and they stood upon their feet in a great army. And the Lord said unto me: Son of man, these bones are the house of Israel; for they say: Our bones are dried up, and our hope is perished, and we are not. Thus saith the Lord Adonai: Behold, I open your graves, and I will bring you forth from thence, O my people, and wilt bring you in to the land of Israel; and ye shall know that I am the Lord, when I shall open your graves, to bring up my people from the graves. And I will give my spirit in you, and ye shall live. And I will cause you to dwell in your land: and ye shall know that I am the Lord, that have spoken and have performed it.

And all the inhabitants of the earth shall be silent, saith the Lord. And again by Isaiah He said: All they that sleep and are dead shall rise; and all they that are in the graves shall awake: for thy dew is a dew of healing unto them. But the land of the wicked shalt perish. And many other things also He said by Isaiah and by all the prophets concerning the resurrection and the life everlasting, and concerning the glory of the righteous; and as touching the wicked also, concerning their dishonour and exposure and downfall, and concerning their undoing and overthrow and condemnation. For that which He said, the land of the wicked shall fall, He speaks concerning their body; because it is of the earth, and shall be reckoned unto the earth in dishonour. Because they served not God, they shall fall into fire and torment. And in the Twelve Prophets again He speaks thus: Behold, ye wicked, and see, and understand marvels: and return to corruption. For I do a work in your days, the which if a man recount it unto you, ye will not believe. Now these things, and many more than these, are spoken concerning those who believe not in the resurrection, and concerning those who deny God, and those who serve not God, and concerning transgressors of the law and the heathen; and when they shall see the glory of the faithful, they will be turned back to be destroyed in fire, because they believed not.

But we have learned and have believed; and by our Lord's resurrection from the dead is made sure to us the resurrection which God, who lies not, has promised us. For our Saviour, by rising Himself first, was made an earnest also of our resurrection. And those also who are called from the Gentiles, and even the heathen, read and hear concerning the resurrection that which is spoken and proclaimed to them by the Sibyl thus: When all things have been made dust and ashes, God Most High will allay the fire, even he that kindled it. And then again will God himself raise up the bones and the ashes of men, and will clothe them with their form. For he will raise up men as they were before: and then shall be the judgement, wherein God will judge in the world to come. And the wicked and the ungodly the earth will cover again; (but) the just and the righteous shall live in the living world. And God will give them spirit and grace and life: and then shall they all see one another. And not only by the Sibyl, brethren, was the resurrection preached to the Gentiles, but by the holy Scriptures also our Lord proclaimed beforehand, to the Jews and the heathen and Christians at once, and announced the resurrection of the dead which is to be for men; and even by a dumb bird, we mean the Phoenix. which is but one alone, by means whereof God gives us again abundant demonstration of the resurrection. For if he had a mate, many would be seen by men; but now one only is seen, once in five hundred years. which enters Egypt and comes to the altar which is called 'of the Sun' bringing cinnamon. And as he prays toward the East, a fire is kindled of itself and burns him up, and he is reduced to ashes. And from the ashes again there is formed a worm; and it grows in his form and becomes a perfect Phoenix. And then he departs and goes away whence he came.? If then by means of a dumb animal God shows us concerning the resurrection, we who believe in the resurrection and in the promise of God ought much more, as men deemed worthy of so great glory that we should receive an incorruptible crown in the life everlasting, to rejoice, if martyrdom come to us, in the great grace and in the honour and glory of martyrdom for God, and to accept of it joyfully with all our soul, and to believe in the Lord God who will raise us up in glorious light. As in the beginning God commanded by a word, and the world was made, and said: Let there be light, and night and day, and heaven and earth and sea, and birds and living creatures of the sea, and creeping things of the earth and fourfooted beasts, and trees; and everything was made by His word and established in its nature, as the Scripture has said: these works themselves, which came into being through the obedience which they rendered Him, bear witness to God who made them that by Him they were made from that which was not; and they also show a sign of the resurrection. As then He made every thing, so will He the more rather quicken and raise up man, who is of His own forming. For if from that which was not He fashioned and established the world, much easier is this, that from that which is He should quicken and raise up man, who is the formation of His hands: even as also, in the human seed, He clothes man in the womb with a form and causes him to grow.

If then He raises up all men, -- as He said by Isaiah: All flesh shall see the salvation of God, -- much more will He quicken and raise up the faithful; and (yet more) again will He quicken and raise up the faithful of the faithful, who are the martyrs, and establish them in great glory and make them His counsellors. For to mere disciples, those who believe in Him, He has promised a glory as of the stars; but to the martyrs He has promised to give an everlasting glory, as of the luminaries which fail not, with more abundant light, that they may be shining for all time.

As disciples of Christ, therefore, let us believe that we shall receive from Him all the good things which He has promised us in the life everlasting; and so let us imitate all His teaching and His patience. For as touching His birth from a virgin, and His coming, and the will of His passion, we have assurance through His holy Scriptures, even as the prophets foreannounced and foretold all things concerning His coming, and all have been accomplished and established in our hearts: for even the demons, trembling before His name, lauded His advent. Concerning those, therefore, which have come to pass of the things we have already mentioned, you also have believed and have been fully assured; but we yet more, who were with Him and have seen Him with our eyes, and have eaten with Him, and have been made the associates and witnesses of His coming. As touching also His great and unspeakable gifts which He is yet to give us, according as He has promised, let us believe and hope that we shall receive them; for (by this) is all our faith put to the proof, if we believe in (those) His promises which are yet to be (fulfilled). If then we are called to martyrdom for His name, and go forth from the world confessing (Him), we shall be pardoned all sins and offences, and shall be found pure. For He spoke in David concerning the martyrs thus: Blessed are they whose iniquity is forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord shall not impute his sins. Blessed therefore are the martyrs, and clear of all offences; for they have been removed and taken away from all iniquity: as He said in Isaiah of Christ and of His martyrs: Behold, the righteous (man) is perished, and there is none that understandeth; and godly men are taken away, and no man layeth it to heart. For the righteous is gathered up from the presence of evil: and his burial shall be in peace. Now these things are said of those who bear witness for the name of Christ.

But again, sins are forgiven by baptism also to those who from the Gentiles draw near and enter the holy Church of God. Let us inquire also, to whom sins are not imputed. To such as Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and all the patriarchs, as also to the martyrs. Let us hear then, brethren, for the Scripture saith: Who shall boast himself and say: I am clear of sins? Or who shall be confident and say: I am innocent? And again: There is no man pure of defilement: not though his life be but one day. To everyone therefore who believes and is baptised his former sins have been forgiven; but after baptism also, provided that he has not sinned a deadly sin nor been an accomplice (thereto), but has heard only, or seen, or spoken, and is thus guilty of sin. But if a man go forth from the world by martyrdom for the name of the Lord, blessed is he; for brethren who by martyrdom have gone forth from this world, of these the sins are covered.

DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 21

Concerning the Pascha and the Resurrection of Christ our Saviour.

Wherefore, a Christian ought to keep himself from vain speech and from words of levity and profanity. For not even on Sundays, in which we rejoice and make good cheer, is it permitted to anyone to speak a word of levity or one alien to religion: as our Lord also teaches us in the Psalm by David, saying thus: And now, ye kings, understand; and be instructed, all ye judges of the earth, Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice unto him with trembling. Give ye heed to discipline, lest the Lord be angry, and ye perish from the way of justice: for his wrath will shortly be kindled against you. Blessed are all they that trust on him. We must conduct our festivals and our rejoicings, then, with fear and trembling; for a faithful Christian, it saith, must not sing the songs of the heathen, nor have anything to do with the laws and doctrines of strange assemblies; for it may happen that through (their) songs he will make mention also of the name of idols, which God forbid that it should be done by the faithful; for the Lord by Jeremiah upbraids certain folk and speaks thus: They have left me, and have sworn by them that be no gods. And again He saith: If Israel will return, let him return unto me, saith the Lord; and if he will put away his abominations out of his mouth, and will fear before my face, and swear, As the Lord liveth. And again He saith: I will take away the name of idols out of your mouth. And by Moses again He saith to them: They have provoked me to jealousy by that which is no god; and with their idols they have angered me. And in all the Scriptures He speaks of these things.

And not by idols only is it not lawful for the faithful to swear, but neither by the sun, nor by the moon; for the Lord God speaks by Moses thus: My people, if ye shall see the sun and the moon, ye shall not be led astray by them, and ye shall not serve them: for these have been given you for light upon the earth. And by Jeremiah again He saith: Ye shall not learn according to the ways of the gentiles; and ye shall not fear the signs of heaven. And by Ezekiel He speaks thus: And he brought me in to the court of the house of the Lord, between the porch and the altar. And I saw there men whose backs were toward the temple of the Lord, and their faces toward the east: and they were worshipping the sun. And the Lord said unto me: Son of man, is this a light thing to the house of Judah to do these abominations which they do here, that they have filled the earth with iniquity, and have turned again to provoke me to anger? And they are become as scoffers: but I will deal (with them) in wrath; and mine eye shall not spare, and I will not have mercy. And they shall cry in mine ears with a loud voice, and I will not hear them. You see, our beloved, how sternly and bitterly sentence is passed on those who worship the sun or swear thereby, that the Lord should deal in His wrath. Therefore it is not lawful for a believer to swear, neither by the sun nor by any other of the signs of heaven or the elements; nor to make mention with his mouth of the name of idols; nor to utter a curse out of his mouth, but rather blessings and psalms and (words from) the dominical and divine Scriptures, which are the firm foundation of our faith: and especially in the days of the Pascha, wherein all the faithful throughout the world fast; as our Lord and Teacher said when they asked Him: Why do John's disciples fast, but thine fast not? And he answered and said to them: The sons of the bridechamber cannot fast, as long as the bridegroom is with them. But the days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them: and then they shall fast in those days. But now by His working is He with us, but visibly He is absent, because He has ascended to the heights of heaven and sat at the right hand of His Father.

Wherefore, when you fast, pray and intercede for them that are lost; as we also did when our Saviour suffered. For while He was yet with us before He suffered, as we were eating the Passover with Him, He said to us: To-day, in this night, one of you will betray me. And we said unto Him, each one of us: Is it I, Lord? And he answered and said to us: He that putteth forth his hand with me into the dish. And Judas Iscariot, who was one of us, rose up and went his way to betray Him. Then our Lord said to us: Verily I say unto you, a little while and ye will leave me; for it is written: I will strike the shepherd, and the lambs of his flock shall be scattered. And Judas came with the scribes and with the priests of the people, and betrayed our Lord Jesus.

Now this was done on the fourth day of the week. For when we had eaten the passover on the third day of the week at even, we went forth to the Mount of Olives; and in the night they seized our Lord Jesus. And the next day, which was the fourth

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of the week, He remained in ward in the house of Caiaphas the high priest. And on the same day the chiefs of the people were assembled and took counsel against Him. And on the next day again, which was the fifth of the week, they brought Him to Pilate the governor. And He remained again in ward with Pilate the night after the fifth day of the week. But when it drew on (towards day) on the Friday, they accused him much before Pilate; and they could show nothing that was true, but gave false witness against Him. And they asked Him of Pilate to be put to death; and they crucified Him on the same Friday.

He suffered, then, at the sixth hour on Friday. And these hours wherein our Lord was crucified were reckoned a day. And afterwards, again, there was darkness for three hours; and it was reckoned a night. And again, from the ninth hour until evening, three hours, (reckoned) a day. And afterwards again, (there was) the night of the Sabbath of the Passion. -- But in the Gospel of Matthew it is thus written: At even on the sabbath, when the first day of the week drew on, came Mary Magdalene and the other Mary to see the tomb. And there was a great earthquake: for an angel of the Lord came down and rolled away the stone. -- And again (there was) the day of the Sabbath; and then three hours of the night after the Sabbath, wherein our Lord slept. And that was fulfilled which He said: The Son of man must pass three days and three nights in the heart of the earth, as it is written in the Gospel. And again it is written in David: Behold, thou hast set my days in measure. Now because those days and nights came short, it was so written.

In the night, therefore, when the first day of the week drew on, He appeared to Mary Magdalene and to Mary the daughter of James; and in the morning of the first day of the week He went in to (the house of) Levi; and then He appeared also to us ourselves. And He said to us, teaching us: Are ye fasting for Me these days? or have I any need that ye should afflict yourselves? But it is for your brethren that ye have done this; and do ye the same in these days when ye fast, and on the fourth of the week and on the Friday always, as it is written in Zechariah: The fourth fast, and the fifth fast, which is the Friday. For it is not lawful to you to fast on the first of the week, because it is My resurrection; wherefore the first of the week is not counted in the number of the days of the Fast of the Passion, but they are counted from the second day of the week, and are five days. Wherefore, The fourth fast, and the fifth fast, and the seventh fast, and the tenth fast shall be to the house of Israel. Fast then from the second day of the week, six days wholly, until the night after the Sabbath; and it shall be reckoned to you as a week. But the tenth, -- because the beginning of My name is Yod, -- wherein was made the inception of the fasts. But (fast) not after the custom of the former People, but according to the new testament which I have appointed you: that you may be fasting for them on the fourth day of the week, because on the fourth of the week they began to destroy their souls, and apprehended Me. -- For the night after the third of the week belongs to the fourth of the week, as it is written: There was evening and there was morning, one day. The evening therefore belongs to the following day: for on the third of the week at even I ate My Pascha with you, and in the night they apprehended Me. -- But fast for them also on the Friday, because thereon they crucified Me, in the midst of their festival of unleavened bread, as it is said of old in David: In the midst of their festivals they set their signs, and they knew not.

'And be ye constant in fasting during these days always, and especially you who are of the Gentiles. For because the People was not obedient, I delivered them (the Gentiles) from blindness and from the error of idols and received them: that through your fast and theirs who are of the Gentiles, and your service during those days, when you pray and intercede for the error and destruction of the People, your prayer and intercession may be accepted before My Father who is in heaven, as though from one mouth of all the faithful on earth; and (that) all things which they did unto Me may be forgiven them. For this cause also I have already said to you in the Gospel: Pray for your enemies, and: Blessed are they that mourn, over the destruction of them that believe not.'

Know therefore, our brethren, that (as regards) our fast which we fast in the Pascha, it is on account of the disobedience of our brethren that you are to fast. For even though they hate you, yet ought we to call them brethren; for we have it written in Isaiah thus: Call them brethren that hate and reject you, that the name of the Lord may be glorified, For their sake therefore, and for the judgement and destruction of the (holy) place, we ought to fast and to mourn, that we may be glad and take our pleasure in the world to come; as it is written in Isaiah: Rejoice, all ye that mourn over Zion; and again He saith: To comfort all them that mourn over Zion: instead of ashes, the oil of gladness; and instead of a spirit afflicted with pain, a vesture of glory.

We ought then to take pity on them, and to have faith and to fast and to pray for them. For when our Lord came to the People, they did not believe Him when He taught them, but put away His teaching from their ears. Therefore, because this People was not obedient, He received you, the brethren who are of the Gentiles, and opened your ears that your heart might hear; as our Lord and Saviour Himself said by the prophet Isaiah: I appeared unto them that asked not after me, and I was found of them that sought me not; and I said, Behold, I am here, to a people that called not (upon) my name. Now of whom did He speak thus? Was it not of the Gentiles, because that they had never known God, and because that they were serving idols? But when our Lord came to the world and taught you, you believed, you who have believed in Him, that God is one; and they also who are worthy shall believe, until the number is filled up of them that are to be saved, a thousand thousand, and ten thousand times ten thousand, as it is written in David.

But concerning the People, who believed not in Him, He said thus: I spread forth my hands all the day long to a people that obey not and resist, and walk in a way that is not good, and go after their sins: a people that is provoking before me. See, then, that the People provoked our Lord in that they believed not in Him. Wherefore he saith: They provoked the holy Spirit; and he was turned to enmity unto them. And again He speaks otherwise of them by Isaiah the prophet: Land of Zebulun, land of Naphtali, the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, Galilee of the nations, a people that sitteth in darkness: ye have seen a great light; and they that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, light is risen upon them. They that sit in darkness He said concerning those who have believed in our Lord Jesus from (among) the People. For by reason of the blindness of the People a great darkness was round about them. For they saw Jesus, but that He is the Christ they knew not; and they understood Him not, neither from the writings of the prophets nor from His works and His healings. But to you of the People who have believed in Jesus we say: Learn how the Scripture bears witness to us and saith, they have seen a great light. You then who have believed in Him have seen a great light, even Jesus Christ our Lord; and they also shall see who are (yet) to believe in Him, But they that sit in the shadow of death are you who are of the Gentiles; for you were in the shadow of death, because you had set your hope on the worship of idols, and knew not God. But when Jesus Christ our Lord and Teacher appeared to us, light rose upon you, for you beheld and set your hope on the promise of the kingdom everlasting; and you have departed from the customs and practices of (your) former error, and no more serve idols as you were wont to serve them, but have already believed and been baptised in Him: and a great light is risen upon you.

Thus then, because the People were not obedient, they were made darkness; but the hearing of the ear of you who are of the Gentiles was made light. Wherefore, do you pray and intercede for them, and especially in the days of the Pascha, that by your prayers they may be found worthy of forgiveness, and may return to our Lord Jesus Christ.

It behoves you then, our brethren, in the days of the Pascha to make inquiry with diligence and to keep your fast with all care. And do you make a beginning when your brethren who are of the People keep the Passover. For when our Lord and Teacher ate the Passover with us, He was betrayed by Judas after that hour; and immediately we began to be sorrowful, because He was taken from us. By the number of the moon, as we count according to the reckoning of the believing Hebrews, on the tenth of the moon, on the second day of the week, the priests and elders of the people assembled and came to the court of Caiaphas the high priest; and they took counsel to apprehend Jesus and put him to death: but they feared, saying: Not in the festival, lest the people make a tumult; for all men were hanging upon Him, and they held him for a prophet on account of His miracles of healing which He did among them. But Jesus was that day in the house of Simon the leper, and we together with Him, and He related to us that which was about to happen to Him. But Judas went out privily from us, thinking that he would evade our Lord, and went to the house of Caiaphas where the chief priests and elders were assembled, and said to them: What will ye give me, and I will betray Him to you when I have found an occasion? But they appointed and gave him thirty pieces of silver. And he said to them: 'Make ready young men armed, because of His disciples, that if He go forth by night to a desert place I may come and lead you.' And they made ready the young men and prepared to seize Him. And Judas was watching, when he might find him an occasion to betray him.

But by reason of the multitudes of all the people, from every city and from all the villages, who were coming up to the temple to keep the Passover in Jerusalem, the priests and elders took counsel and commanded and appointed that they should keep the festival straightway, that they might seize Him without disturbance. For the inhabitants of Jerusalem were engaged with the sacrifice and the eating of the Passover; and moreover, all the people that were without were not yet come, for they had deceived them as to the days. That they might be convicted before God of erring utterly in all things, therefore they anticipated the Passover by three days, and kept it on the eleventh of the moon, on the third day of the week. For they said: 'Because the whole people is gone astray after Him, now that we have an occasion let us seize Him; and then, when all the people are come, let us put Him to death before all, that this may be known openly, and all the people may turn back from after Him.'

And so in the night when the fourth day of the week drew on, (Judas) betrayed our Lord to them. But they made the payment to Judas on the tenth of the month, on the second day of the week; wherefore they were accounted by God as though on the second day of the week they had seized Him, because on the second of the week they had taken counsel to seize Him and put Him to death; and they accomplished their malice on the Friday: as Moses had said concerning the Passover, thus: It shall be kept by you from the tenth until the fourteenth: and then all Israel shall sacrifice the passover.

Therefore you shall fast in the days of the Pascha from the tenth, which is the second day of the week; and you shall sustain yourselves with bread and salt and water only, at the ninth hour, until the fifth day of the week. But on the Friday and on the Sabbath fast wholly, and taste nothing. You shall come together and watch and keep vigil all the night with prayers and intercessions, and with reading of the Prophets, and with the Gospel and with Psalms, with fear and trembling and with earnest supplication, until the third hour in the night after the Sabbath; and then break your fasts. For thus did we also fast, when our Lord suffered, for a testimony of the three days; and we were keeping vigil and praying and interceding for the destruction of the People, because that they erred and confessed not our Saviour. So do you also pray that the Lord may not remember their guilt against them unto the end for the guile which they used against our Lord, but may grant them a place of repentance and conversion, and forgiveness of their wickedness.

For he who was a heathen and of a foreign people, Pilate the judge, did not consent to their deeds of wickedness, but took water and washed his hands, and said: I am innocent of the blood of this man. But the People answered and said: His blood be upon us, and upon our children; and Herod commanded that He should be crucified; and our Lord suffered for us on the Friday. Especially incumbent on you therefore is the fast of the Friday and of the Sabbath; and likewise the vigil and watching of the Sabbath, and the reading of the Scriptures, and psalms, and prayer and intercession for them that have sinned, and the expectation and hope of the resurrection of our Lord Jesus, until the third hour in the night after the Sabbath. And then offer your oblations; and thereafter eat and make good cheer, and rejoice and be glad, because that the earnest of our resurrection, Christ, is risen. And this shall be a law to you for ever, unto the end of the world. For to those who have not believed in our Saviour He is dead, because their hope in Him is dead; but to you who believe, our Lord and Saviour is risen, because your hope in Him is immortal and living for ever.

Fast then on the Friday, because thereon the People killed themselves in crucifying our Saviour; and on the Sabbath also, because it is the sleep (p. 94) of our Lord; for it is a day which ought especially to be kept with fasting: even as blessed Moses also, the prophet of all (things touching) this matter, commanded. For because he knew by the Holy Spirit and it was commanded him by Almighty God, who knew what the People were to do to His Son and His beloved Jesus Christ, -- as even then they denied Him in the person of Moses, and said: Who hath appointed thee head and judge over us? -- therefore he bound them beforehand with mourning perpetually, in that he set apart and appointed the Sabbath for them. For they deserved to mourn, because they denied their Life, and laid hands upon their Saviour and delivered Him to death. Wherefore, already from that time there was laid upon them a mourning for their destruction.

But let us observe and see, brethren, that most men in their mourning imitate the Sabbath; and they likewise who keep Sabbath imitate mourning. For he that mourns kindles no light: neither do the People on the Sabbath, because of the commandment of Moses; for so it was commanded them by him. He that mourns takes no bath: nor yet the People on the Sabbath. He that mourns does not prepare a table: neither do the People on the Sabbath, but prepare and lay for themselves the evening before; because they have a presentiment of mourning, seeing that they were to lay hands on Jesus. He that mourns does no work, and does not speak, but sits in sorrow: so too the People on the Sabbath; for it was said to the People concerning the mourning of the Sabbath thus: Thou shalt not lift thy foot to do any work, and thou shalt speak no word out of thy mouth. Now who testifies that the Sabbath is a mourning for them? The Scripture testifies, and saith: Then shall the people lament, family over against family: the family of the house of Levi apart, and their women apart; the house of Judah apart, and their women apart: even as, after the mourning of Christ until now, on the ninth of the month of Ab (August) they come together and read the Lamentations of Jeremiah? and wail and lament. Now nine represents Theta; but Theta denotes God. For God therefore they lament, even for Christ who suffered -- rather, on account of God our Saviour, but over themselves and their own destruction. Does any man lament, brethren, except he have a grief? Therefore do you also mourn for them on the day of the Sabbath of the Pascha until the third hour in the night

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following; and thereafter, in the Resurrection of Christ, rejoice and make good cheer for their sake, and break your fast; and the surplus of your fast of six days offer to the Lord God, And let those of you who have abundance or worldly possessions minister diligently to those who are poor and needy and refresh them, that the reward of your fast may be received.

Wherever, then, the Fourteenth of the Pascha falls, so keep it; for neither the month nor the day squares with the same season every year, but is variable. When therefore that People keeps the Passover, do you fast; and be careful to perform your vigil within their (feast of) unleavened bread. But on the first day of the week make good cheer at all times; for he is guilty of sin, whosoever afflicts his soul on the first of the ac week. And hence it is not lawful, apart from the Pascha, for anyone to fast during those three hours of the night between the Sabbath and the first of the week, because that night belongs to the first of the week; but in the Pascha alone you are to fast these three hours of that night, being assembled together, you who are Christians, in the Lord.

DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 22

That Children should be taught Crafts.

And teach your children crafts that are agreeable and befitting to religion, lest through idleness they give themselves to wantonness. For if they are not corrected by their parents, they will do those things that are evil, like the heathen. Therefore spare not to rebuke and correct and teach them; for you will not kill them by chastising them, but rather save them alive: as our Lord also teaches us in Wisdom, saying thus: Chasten thy son, that there may be hope for him: for thou shalt strike him with a rod, and deliver his soul from Sheol. And He saith again: Whosoever spareth his rod, hateth his son. Now our rod is the Word of God, Jesus Christ: even as Jeremiah also saw Him (as) an almond rod. Every man accordingly who spares to speak a word of rebuke to his son, hates his son. Therefore teach your sons the word of the Lord, and punish them with stripes, and bring them into subjection from their youth by your word of religion. And give them no liberty to set themselves up against you their parents; and let them do nothing without your counsel, lest they go with those of their own age and meet together and carouse; for in this way they learn mischief, and are caught and fall into fornication. Now, whether this happen to them without their parents, their parents themselves will be accountable before God for the judgement of their souls; or whether again by your licence they are undisciplined and sin, you their parents will likewise be guilty on their account before God. Therefore be careful to take wives for them, and have them married when their time is come, lest in their early age by the ardour of youth they commit fornication like the heathen, and you have to render an account to the Lord God in the day of judgement.

DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 23

On Heresies and Schisms.

Before all things beware of all abominable and evil and bitter heresies, and fly from them as from a blazing fire, and from those who adhere to them. For if when a man makes a schism, he condemns himself to fire together with those who go astray after him, how much more if one go and sink himself in the heresies. For know this, that if any of you covet the primacy and dare to make a schism, he shall inherit the place of Korah and Dathan and Abiram, he and they that are with him, and with them he shall be condemned to fire. For even the adherents of Korah were Levites, and ministered in the tabernacle of witness; but they coveted the primacy, and desired the high priesthood; and they began to speak evil of the great Moses, because, said they, he is married to a heathen woman -- for he had an Ethiopian wife -- and is defiled with her; and many others, and they of the following of Zimri, who committed fornication with the Midianite women, are with him. And the people, said they, that are with him are defiled; and his brother Aaron, too, was the author of idolatry, who made for his people the molten and graven image.

And they spoke evil of Moses, who wrought so many mighty works and signs from God for the People; who did these excellent and marvellous works for their benefit; who brought the ten plagues upon the Egyptians; who divided the Red Sea that the waters stood up as a wall on this side and on that, and caused the People to pass over as in the dry desert, and drowned their enemies and them that evil entreated them, and all that were with them; who made sweet for them the fountain of water, and brought them forth streams from the flinty rock, so that they drank and were satisfied; who brought them down manna from heaven, and with the manna gave them also flesh ; who gave them a pillar of fire by night for light and guidance, and a cloud by day for a covert, and in the desert stretched forth the hand to them for the dispensation of the Law, and gave them the Ten Words of God. And they spoke evil against the friend and good servant of the Lord God, as men glorying in righteousness, and boasting of holiness, and making a show of purity, and in hypocrisy making a display of service.

And thus, as puritans and sticklers for holiness, they said: 'Let us not be polluted with Moses and the people that is with him, because they are defiled.' And there rose up two hundred and fifty men, and they (Korah, &c.) led them astray to forsake the great Moses, that (men) might suppose concerning them that they were giving God more glory and ministering to Him more zealously. For among that multitude of the people aforesaid but one censer of incense was offered to the Lord God; but they who were in the schism, two hundred and fifty men with their leaders, offered each one a censer of incense, two hundred and fifty censers, as though forsooth they were far more religious and pure and zealous than Moses and Aaron and the people that was with them. But the more numerous ministry of those in the schism availed them nothing, but fire was kindled from before the Lord, and devoured them; and those two hundred and fifty men were burned up, holding the censers in their hands. And the earth opened her mouth and swallowed up Korah and Dathan and Abiram, and their tents and their vessels, and all that were with them: and they went down alive to Sheol unto punishment. And thus were the error-leaders of the schism swallowed up by the earth; and those two hundred and fifty men who went astray were burned with fire while the whole people beheld it. But the most of the people the Lord spared, among whom were many sinners, whom the Lord would judge each according to his works. And the most of the people He spared; but those who supposed that they were pure and holy, and performing a better ministry, the fire devoured, because that they were in the schism. And the Lord said to Moses and to Aaron: Take the censers of brass from the midst of the burning, and make (of) them fine plates, and overlay the altar therewith; that the children of Israel may see, and no more do so. And scatter the strange fire there; because it hath sanctified the censers of (them that were) sinners in their souls.

Let us regard therefore and see, beloved, the end of the schismatics, what befell them. For though they should appear pure and holy and chaste, their last end is given unto fire and burning everlasting. Let this then inspire you with fear, that even the fire of the schismatics was judged with fire: not because it sanctified the censers, but because they in their souls sanctified them; that is, forasmuch as the fire was performing its work, they also supposed in their heart, and in their souls, that their censers were holy. For it behoved the fire, which was employed for the ministry of transgression and the provocation of God, not to obey them but to cease from its operation, or to be quenched, and not to devour or burn or consume that which was put upon it. But now, because it did not the will of the Lord God, but obeyed the schismatics, therefore it was said: And scatter also the strange fire there; that is, with fire the Lord judgeth the fire.

If therefore upon those schismatics, who supposed that they were glorifying God, this threat and judgement was laid, what will happen to these heretics who blaspheme Him? Do you then, when you see from the Scriptures with the eyes of faith the plates of brass laid over the altar, beware of making schisms. For the adherents of Korah, Dathan and Abiram were made a monument and example of the destruction of schismatics; and everyone who imitates them shall perish even as they. As men therefore who believe and know, keep yourselves far from schisms, and go not near them in any wise: as Moses said concerning them to the people: Separate yourselves from among these stubborn men, and come not near to any thing that is theirs, lest ye perish with them in all their sins. And when the anger of the Lord had burned against the schismatics, it is written that the people fled from them, and said: Lest the earth swallow us also with them. So then do you also, as men contending for their lives, flee from schisms; and those who would do any such thing reject, for you know the place of their condemnation.

But as for heresies, be unwilling even to hear their names, and defile not your ears (with them); for not only do they in no wise glorify God, but they verily blaspheme against Him. Wherefore, the heathen are judged because they have not known, but the heretics are condemned because they withstand God: as also our Lord and Saviour Jesus said: There shall be heresies and schisms: and again: Woe unto the world because of scandals. For it must needs be that scandals and schisms come: yet woe to the man by whom they come.

Then indeed we did but hear, but now we have also seen, even as the Scripture declares by Jeremiah saying: Defilement is gone forth in all the earth. Now these defilements, of heresies, are gone forth; and they have come about for the persuasion of our hearts, and for the confirming of our belief that those things which were foretold are true; for behold, they have come to pass and are accomplished. For all the working of the Lord our God has passed from the People to the Church through us the Apostles; and He has withdrawn Himself and left the People, as it is written in Isaiah: He hath left his people the house of Jacob; and: Jerusalem is deserted, and Judah is fallen. And their tongues are (busy) with iniquity, and they obey not the Lord; and: I will leave (my) vineyard; and: Behold, your house is left to you desolate.

He has left that People, therefore, and has filled the Church; and He has accounted her a mountain of habitation, and throne of glory, and lofty house, as He said in David: The mount of the Lord is a mountain of fatness, a mountain of peaks. What think ye of the mountain of peaks? It is the mountain which the Lord hath chosen him to dwell therein: the Lord shall abide therein for ever. You see then how He saith to others: What think ye? even to those who err (in thinking) that there are other churches: for one is she that is the mountain of God's sanctuary. And by Isaiah He said again: In the last days the mountain of the house of the Lord, the God of Jacob, shall be established on the top of the mountains, and higher than the hills; and all nations shall look unto it; and many peoples shall go and say: Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob; and he shall teach us his way, and we will go therein. And again He said: There shall be signs and wonders in the midst of the people from the Lord of Sabaoth, and him that dwelleth in Mount Zion. And again by Jeremiah He said: A high throne is our sanctuary. As then He left the People, so did He leave their temple to them desolate; and He rent the veil, and took away from it the Holy Spirit, and shed Him upon them that believed from among the Gentiles, as He said by Joel: I will pour out of my spirit upon all flesh. For He took away the Holy Spirit, and the power of the word, and all the ministry from that People, and set it in His Church. Now in like manner did Satan also, the tempter, depart from that People and come against the Church. And he now no longer tempts that People, because by their evil works they have fallen into his hands, but he has set about to tempt the Church and to exercise his agency in her. And he has raised up against her afflictions and persecutions, and blasphemies and heresies and schisms.

Formerly indeed, in that time, there were heresies and schisms in that People; but now Satan by his evil agency has driven forth (some) that were of the Church, and has made heresies and schisms.

Now the beginning of heresies was on this wise. Satan clothed himself in a certain Simon, one that was a magician and his minister of old; and when we, by the gift of the Lord our God and by the power of the Holy Spirit, were working miracles of healing in Jerusalem, and by the laying on of our hand the fellowship of the Holy Spirit was given to those who drew nigh (to the faith), then he offered us much money, and desired that, as he had deprived Adam of the knowledge of life through eating of the tree, so by the gift of money he might deprive us also of the gift of God, and might take captive our minds with the bestowal of possessions, to the end that we should barter away and give to him for money the power of the Holy Spirit. Hereupon were we all stirred up; then Peter looked upon Satan, who was dwelling in Simon, and said to him: Thy money go with thee to perdition: but thou shalt have no part in this word.

But when we had divided the whole world into twelve parts, and were gone forth among the Gentiles into all the world to preach the word, then Satan set about and stirred up the People to send after us false apostles for the undoing of the word. And he sent out from the People one whose name was Cleobius, and joined him to Simon, and others also after them.

Now the party of Simon followed hard upon me Peter, and came to corrupt the word. And when he was in Rome he disturbed the Church much and subverted many; and he even made a show as though he would fly. And he was capturing the Gentiles, moving them by the power and agency of his magic arts. And on a certain day I went and saw him flying in the air; then I stood still, and said: 'By the power of the name of Jesus I cut off thy powers.' And he fell and broke the ankle-bone of his foot. And then many turned back from him; but others, worthy of him, continued with him. And thus was that his heresy first established. And by other false prophets beside was the enemy working.

And they all had one law upon earth, that they should not employ the Torah and the Prophets, and that they should blaspheme God Almighty, and should not believe in the resurrection. And in other respects they were teaching and disturbing (men) with many opinions. For many of them taught that a man should not marry, saying that if one did not marry, this was holiness; and in the name of holiness they were commending the tenets of their heresies. Others again of them taught that a man might not eat flesh, saying that no one might eat any thing wherein there is a soul. But others said that one was bound to abstain from swine's flesh only, but might eat those things which the Law pronounces clean, and that he should be circumcised according to the Law. And some taught this, and some that, causing contentions and disturbing the Churches.

DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 24

On the ordering of the Church: showing also that the Apostles came together for the correction of abuses. Now already we had rightly preached the holy word of the Catholic Church; and we returned once more to come to the Churches, and found men occupied with other opinions. For some forsooth were observing holiness; and some abstained from flesh and from wine, and some from swine's flesh; and they

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were observing (some or other) of all the bonds which are in the Second Legislation.

When therefore the whole Church was in peril of falling into heresy, all we the twelve Apostles came together to Jerusalem and took thought what should be done. And it seemed good to us, being all of one accord, to write this Catholic Didascalia for the confirming of you all. And we have established and set down therein that you worship God Almighty and Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit; that you employ the holy Scriptures, and believe in the resurrection of the dead; and that you make use of all His creatures with thanksgiving; and that men should marry: for He saith in Proverbs: Of God is a woman betrothed to a man; and in the Gospel again our Lord saith: He that created from the beginning the male, said that he created also the female. Therefore a man shall leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave to his wife: and they two shall be one body. What therefore God hath coupled, let not man separate. But sufficient for the faithful is the circumcision of the heart, (which is) spiritual, as He said by Jeremiah: Light you a lamp, and sow not among thorns. Be circumcised unto the Lord your God, and circumcise the foreskin of your heart, ye men of Judah. And again in Joel He saith: Rend your hearts, and not your garments. And as for baptism also, one is enough for you, even that which has perfectly forgiven you your sins. For Isaiah said not (only) Wash, but Wash, and be cleansed.

Now we had much questioning, as men contending for life; and not we the Apostles only, but also the people, together with James the bishop of Jerusalem, who is our Lord's brother after the flesh, and with his presbyters and deacons and all the Church. For also some days before, certain men had come down from Judaea to Antioch, and were teaching the brethren, (saying): Except ye be circumcised and conduct yourselves according to the law of Moses, and keep yourselves clean from meats, and all the rest, ye cannot be saved; and they had much conflict and questioning, And when the brethren of Antioch knew that we were all assembled and come to make inquiry of these matters, they sent to us certain men (that were) believers and had knowledge of the Scriptures to learn concerning this question, And when they were come to Jerusalem, they related to us the controversy which they had in the Church of Antioch, And there rose up certain (men) who had believed from the sect of the Pharisees, saying: Ye ought to be circumcised and to keep the law of Moses. And others also were crying out and saying in like manner. Then I Peter rose up and said to them:? 'Men, brethren, ye yourselves know that from the first days when I was among you, God made choice that by my hands the gentiles should hear the gospel and believe. And God, who proveth the hearts, gave witness of them; for to Cornelius, a certain centurion, there had appeared an angel and told him of me; and he sent for me. But when I was ready to go to him, it was shown me concerning the Gentiles that they were about to believe, and concerning all meats. For I had gone up to a housetop to pray; and I saw the heavens opened, and a certain vessel, that was tied by its four corners, being lowered and let down upon the earth; and there were therein all manner of fourfooted beasts and creeping things of the earth and fowls of the heaven.? And there came to me a voice? saying: Simon, arise, slay and eat. But I said: God forbid, Lord, for I have never eaten any thing defiled and profane.

And there came to me again another voice, the second time, saying: W hat God hath made clean, do not thou make profane. 16Now this was done thrice: and the vessel was taken up to heaven. Thereupon I bethought me, and understood the word of the Lord, how that He had said: Rejoice, ye gentiles, with the people, and that everywhere He had spoken of the calling of the Gentiles; and I rose up and went my way. And when I was entered into his house and had begun to speak the word of the Lord, the Holy Spirit lighted down upon him and upon all the Gentiles that were there present. God, then, hath given the Holy Spirit to them even as to us, and hath made no distinction between us and them in the faith, and he hath cleansed their hearts. Now therefore, why tempt ye God, that ye should lay a yoke upon the necks of the disciples which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear? But by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ we believe that we shall be saved even as they also. For our Lord came and released us from those bonds, and said: Come unto me, all ye that toil and are laden with heavy burdens, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am gentle and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is pleasant, and my burden is light. If then our Lord has released and unburdened us, why will ye lay snares for your own selves?'

Then all the people was silent; and I James answered and said: Men, brethren, hear me. Simon hath told how formerly God said that he would choose him out a people from the gentiles to his name: 15whereunto agree the words of the prophets, as it is written: Hereafter will I raise up and build the tabernacle of David, that is fallen; and the ruins thereof will I build and raise up; that the residue of men may seek the Lord, and all the gentiles upon whom my name is called, saith the Lord who maketh known these things from everlasting. Wherefore I say, that no man vex them that turn to God from among the gentiles, but that word be sent them on this wise: that they abstain from evil (practices), and from idols, and from that which is sacrificed, and from that which is strangled, and from blood. Then we the apostles and the bishops and the elders, together with the whole church, thought it well to choose out men front amongst them and send them (to Antioch) in company with Barnabas and Paul, who were come thence. And we chose and appointed Judas, who was called Barsabbas, and Silas, notable men among the brethren, and wrote by them as followeth: --The apostles and elders and brethren to the brethren who are of the gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia, greeting. Forasmuch as we have heard that some have troubled you with words, that they might corrupt your souls, whom we sent not: we have determined, being all assembled together, to choose out and send men unto you with our beloved Barnabas and his companions, whom ye sent (hither). And we have sent Judas and Silas, who themselves will tell you of these things by word (of mouth). For it hath seemed good to the Holy Spirit, and to us, that no further burden be laid upon you, save that ye abstain from (these) necessary things: from that which is sacrificed, and from blood, and from that which is strangled, and from fornication. And from these keep yourselves, and do well. Fare ye well. Now the epistle we sent; but we ourselves remained in Jerusalem many days; and we were consulting and ordering together those things which were for the advantage of all the people, and writing also this Catholic Didascalia.

DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 25

Showing that the Apostles returned once more to the Churches and set them in order.

Now the decision which we reached with counsel and thought concerning those who have already gone astray, we have thus affirmed and established. And we will return yet again and go to the Churches a second time, as in the beginning of the preaching, and will confirm the faithful that they may avoid the offences aforesaid, and may not receive those who come deceitfully in the name of apostles, but may know them by the changeableness of their words and by the performance of their works. For these are they of whom our Lord said: There shall come unto you men having on the clothing of lambs, but inwardly ravening wolves: and by their fruits ye shall know them. Beware of them therefore. Now there shall arise false Christs and lying prophets, and lead many astray; and by reason of manifold iniquity the love of many shall wax cold. But he that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved.

Now let those who have not erred, and those also who repent of their error, be left in the Church. But as for those who are still held fast in error and repent not, we have decreed and enjoined that they be put forth from the Church and be separated and removed from the faithful, because they are become heretics; and that the faithful be commanded wholly to avoid them, and not to communicate with them either in speech or in prayer. For these are enemies and spoilers of the Church; for concerning these our Lord commanded us and said to us: Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees; and: Into the cities of the Samaritans ye shall not enter. Now the cities of the Samaritans are those of the heresies, which go in a perverse way, concerning which He said in Proverbs: There is a way which men think right: but the end thereof leadeth to the bottom of Sheol. These are they concerning whom our Lord sternly and bitterly gave sentence and said: It shall not be forgiven them, neither in this world nor in the world to come. For as regards the People, who believed not in Christ and laid hands upon Him, it is against the Son of Man, on whom they laid hands, that they blaspheme; and our Lord said: It shall be forgiven them; and again our Lord said of them: My Father, they know not what they have done, nor what they speak: if it be possible, forgive them. And as for the Gentiles again, it is against the Son of Man also that they blaspheme, by reason of the cross; and for these there shall come forth forgiveness. For to those w ho have believed, from the People or from the Gentiles, forgiveness of their evil works has been granted through baptism; as the Lord Christ said: Wherefore I say unto you: All sins and blasphemies shall be forgiven to men: but blasphemy against the Holy Spirit shall not be forgiven, neither in this world nor in the world to come. And everyone that shall say a word against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him; but everyone that shall say (it) against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world nor in the world to come. But those who blaspheme the Holy Spirit, those who lightly and in hypocrisy blaspheme God Almighty, those heretics who receive (not) His holy Scriptures, or receive them ill, in hypocrisy with blaspheming, who with evil words blaspheme the Catholic Church which is the receptacle of the Holy Spirit: it is they who, before the judgement to come and before ever they can make a defence, are already condemned by Christ. For that which He said, It shall not be forgiven them, is the stern sentence of condemnation which goes forth for them.

And when we had ordained and affirmed and set down (these things) together with one accord, we set forth to go each one to his former province, confirming the Churches. For those things which were foretold have been fulfilled, and the hidden wolves are come, the false Christs and lying prophets have appeared. And this is evident and manifest, that when the times draw near and the Advent is at hand, there will be yet many more and worse than these: from whom the Lord God will deliver you.

Those then who have repented of the error of (their) godless apostasy we have healed with much admonition and with the word of doctrine (and) exhortation, and have made them whole and have suffered them to remain in the Churches; but those who are smitten unto death with the perverse word of error, and for whom there is no cure, we have driven out, that they may not contaminate the holy Catholic Church, the pure Church of God: that (the evil) may not creep like a leprosy and travel to all like a putrid gangrene, but that pure and without stain or blemish or scar the Church may remain sound unto the Lord God. And these things we so do in every place and in every city, and throughout the whole world; and we have given (our) testimony, and have left this Catholic Didascalia justly and rightly to the Catholic Church for a memorial and for the confirming of the faithful.

DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 26

On the bonds of the Second Legislation of God.

But you who have been converted from the People to believe in God our Saviour Jesus Christ, do not henceforth continue in your former conversation, brethren, that you should keep vain obligations, purifications and sprinklings and baptisms and distinction of meats; for the Lord has said to you: Remember not the former things; and: Behold, I make all things new: the which I now declare, that ye may know them. And I will make in the desert a way. Now deserts the Churches formerly were, in which there is now a highway and the knowledge of religion, (a way) wherein there is no erring, but new and evident, even Jesus Christ and all His dispensation which was from the beginning. For you know that He gave a simple and pure and holy law, (a law) of life, wherein our Saviour set His name. For whereas He spoke the Ten Words, He signified Jesus: for Ten represents Yod; but Yod is the beginning of the name of Jesus. Now concerning the Law the Lord testifies in David, saying thus: The law of the Lord is without blemish, and converting souls. And many other things are said on this wise everywhere; for in completion of the writings of the Prophets the Lord spoke at the end by Malachi the Angel and said thus: Remember the law of Moses the servant of the Lord, how he commanded you commandments and judgements. And our Saviour also, when He cleansed the leper, sent him to the Law, and said to him : Go, show thyself to the high priests, and offer the gifts of thy cleansing, as Moses commanded, for a testimony unto them; that He might show that He does not undo the Law, but teaches what is the Law and what the Second Legislation. For He said thus: I am not come to undo the law, nor the prophets, but to fulfil them. The Law therefore is indissoluble; but the Second Legislation is temporary, and is dissoluble. Now the Law consists of the Ten Words and the Judgements; to which (Law) Jesus bore witness and said thus: One Yod letter shall not pass away from the law. Now it is the Yod which passes not away from the Law, even that which may be known from the Law itself through the Ten Words, which is the name of Jesus. But the letter is the extension of the wood of the cross. And in the mount also Moses and Elias appeared with our Lord: that is, the Law and the Prophets.

The Law then consists of the Ten Words and the Judgements, which God spoke before that the People made the calf and served idols. For also that it is called the Law, (is) truly on account of the Judgements. This is the simple and light Law, wherein is no burden, nor distinction of meats, nor incensings, nor offerings of sacrifices and burnt offerings. In this Law accordingly He shows concerning the dispensation of the Church and concerning the uncircumcision of the flesh only. For He spoke concerning sacrifices thus:? If thou shalt make me an altar, make it of earth: but if of stones, thou shalt make it of whole and unwrought, and not of wrought stones. Forasmuch as thou hast laid an iron (tool) upon it, thou hast also polluted it: not (as speaking) concerning (the axe, but concerning) the iron of the knife which is the physician's knife, with which he circumcises the foreskin. Wherefore He does not say, 'Make for me' but, If thou shalt make an altar. He did not impose this as a necessity, but showed what was about to be. For God had no need of sacrifices; as neither of old was it commanded Cain and Abel, but they of their own accord presented offerings: and their offering achieved a brother's murder. And Noah likewise offered, and was blamed. Wherefore He signified here: 'If thou desire to sacrifice, whereas I need it not thou sacrificest unto me.' So then the Law is easy and light, ?of no weak voice?. But when the People denied God, who by Moses visited them in their afflictions, who wrought signs by his hand and through his rod, who smote the Egyptians with the ten plagues and divided the Red Sea in two, who led them in the midst of the sea on dry land as in the desert, who drowned their enemies and them that hated them, who with wood made sweet the fountain of the bitter waters of Marah, who made water to

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flow for them in abundance from the rock that they might be satisfied, who with a pillar of cloud and a pillar of fire overshadowed and guided them, who brought them down manna from heaven, and gave them flesh from the sea, who ordained the Law for them in the mount: Him they denied and said : We have no God to go before us; and they made them a molten calf and worshipped it and sacrificed to a graven image. Therefore the Lord was angry; and in His hot anger -- (yet) with the mercy of His goodness -- He bound them with the Second Legislation, and laid heavy burdens upon them, and a hard yoke upon their neck. And He says now no longer: If thou shalt make, as formerly; but He said: 'Make an altar, and sacrifice continually' as though He had need of these things. Wherefore He laid upon them continual burnt offerings with a necessity, and caused them to abstain from meats by means of distinctions of meats. For from that time were animals discerned, and clean and unclean flesh; from that time were separations, and purifications, and baptisms, and sprinklings; from that time were sacrifices, and offerings, and tables; from that time were burnt offerings, and oblations, and shewbread, and the offering up of sacrifices, and firstlings, and redemptions, and he-goats for sin, and vows, and many other things marvellous. For because of manifold sins there were laid upon them customs unspeakable; but by none of them did they abide, but they again provoked the Lord. Wherefore He yet added to them by the Second Legislation a blindness worthy of their works, and spoke thus: If there be found in a man sins worthy of death, and he die, and ye hang him upon a tree; his body shall not remain the night upon the tree, but ye shall surely bury him the same day: for cursed is every one that is hanged upon a tree; that when Christ should come they might not be able to help Him, but might suppose that He was guilty of a curse. For their blinding therefore was this spoken, as Isaiah said: Behold, I show my righteousness, and thine evils: and they shall not help thee at all. For the Lord judged them with a just judgement, and dealt thus with them because of their wickedness, and hardened their heart like Pharaoh's; as the Lord said to them by Isaiah: Hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing ye shall see, and shall not know. For the heart of this people is waxed gross; and their eyes they have shut, and their ears they have stopped, that they may not be converted: lest at any time they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears. And in the Gospel again He said: This people's heart is waxed gross; and their eyes they have shut, and their ears they have stopped, lest at any time they should be converted. But blessed are your eyes that see, and your ears that hear. For you have been released from the bonds, and relieved of the Second Legislation, and set free from bitter slavery, and the curse has been taken off and put away from you.

For the Second Legislation was imposed for the making of the calf and for idolatry. But you through baptism have been set free from idolatry, and from the Second Legislation, which was (imposed) on account of idols, you have been released. For in the Gospel He renewed and fulfilled and affirmed the Law; but the Second Legislation He did away and abolished. For indeed it was to this end that He came, that He might affirm the Law, and abolish the Second Legislation, and fulfil the power of men's liberty, and show forth the resurrection of the dead. For even before His coming He foretold His coming through the prophets, and together with His coming He signified also the disobedience of the People, and preached the undoing of the Second Legislation; as He said by Jeremiah: Why bring ye me frankincense from Sheba, and cinnamon from a far country? Your burnt offerings are not acceptable unto me, and your sacrifices delight me not, And again He said: Bring together your burnt offerings with your sacrifices, and eat flesh. For I gave you no command, when I brought you out from the land of Egypt, neither concerning burnt offerings nor concerning sacrifices. Yea, verily, in the Law He gave no command, but in the bonds of the Second Legislation, after that they had served idols. And again by Isaiah also He said: To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord, I am sated with burnt offerings of rams; and the fat of lambs and the blood of oxen I desire not. And when ye come to see my face, who hath required these things at your hands? Trample my courts no more. If ye will bring me fine flour, it is a vain oblation; and your new moons and your sabbaths and solemn days are rejected of me: your fasts and your restings are not acceptable unto me, and your festivals my soul hateth. And in all the Scriptures He speaks thus; and through the sacrifices He abolishes the Second Legislation; for, as we have already said, it is in the Second Legislation that sacrifices are prescribed. If, then, even before His coming He made known and revealed His coming, and the disobedience of the People, and spoke of the abolition of the Second Legislation, much more, being come, did He fully and completely abolish the Second Legislation. For He did not use sprinklings, or baptisms, or other wonted rites; nor did He offer sacrifices or burnt offerings, or any thing that it is written in the Second Legislation to offer. And what else did He (hereby) signify but the abolition of the Second Legislation? as also He loosed you and called you from the bonds, and said: Come unto me, all ye that toil and are laden with heavy burdens; and I will give you rest. Now we know that our Saviour did not say (this) to the Gentiles, but He said it to us His disciples from among the Jews, and brought us out from burdens and a heavy load.

Those therefore who do not obey Him, that He may lighten and deliver them from the bonds of the Second Legislation, obey not God, who has called them to come forth unto release and rest and refreshment; and they bind themselves with the heavy burdens of the Second Legislation, which are of no avail.

For our Lord and Saviour Himself, who gave the Law and the Second Legislation, bears witness concerning the Law that it is life to them that keep it; (but) concerning the Second Legislation He testifies and shows that it is a bond and a blindness. For He everywhere makes a distinction; and He bears witness to the Law, and admonishes and commands us that we be under the Law: for every one who is not under law is lawless. And therefore He thus bears witness to the Law: In the law of the Lord shall be his pleasure, and in his law will he meditate day and night. Not so the wicked. We see then, beloved, how the righteous are declared blessed on account of righteousness and the keeping of the Law. But not so the wicked; for they have no pleasure either in the righteous or in the Law, and they do not mediate therein. Wherefore He calls 'the wicked' those who do not converse according to the Law. For in the Gospel also He affirms the Law, and calls and brings us out from (the burden of the bonds and from the Second) Legislation. But that the Law is other than the Second Legislation, in David likewise He shows by a distinction, speaking thus: Let us sever their cords, and loose their yoke from us. You see how the Holy Spirit speaks as it were out of the mouth of the world and reveals its thought, and says that the Law is a 'yoke' but the Second Legislation 'cords.' For the Law is a yoke, because like the plough-yoke of oxen it is laid upon the former People and upon the present Church of God; even as now in the Church it is upon us who are called from the People, and upon you who from among the Gentiles have obtained mercy: it has? gathered and held us both together in one accord. But He well calls the Second Legislation 'bonds;' for when the People served idols, there was added to them the weight of the Second Legislation. For the bonds were justly imposed, as it befell the People then; but the Church has not been bound. For to Ezekiel He explains and makes known that the Law of life is one, but the second Law, of death, is another; for He spoke thus: I brought them forth from the land of Egypt, and brought them into the wilderness, and gave them my commandments, and made known to them my judgements: that if a man should do them, he might live by them. And afterwards, upbraiding them because they had sinned and had not kept the Law of life, He repeats to them and saith thus: I have given them commandments that are not good, and judgements whereby they may not live. Now the judgements which do not give life are those of the bonds. Hence also the word aforesaid in the Second Legislation was for the blinding of a blind people, to wit: Cursed is everyone that is hanged upon a tree. For thus did they think of Him who gives and distributes blessings to them that are worthy, that He is under a curse. Wherefore, (because) they knew Him not, even after the signs that were done by Him in the world: when He suffered, justly in accordance with their works that word was set down for the blinding of the People; and it was a bar that they might not believe and be saved. Whence also by Isaiah He speaks thus: Who is blind, but my servants? and the servants of God are blinded. And I have brought out a blind people, that have eyes, and see not: and their ears also are deaf. For by this word, because of their works, their eyes were blinded, and their ears made deaf like Pharaoh's. Hence with this word the Second Legislation also was imposed, which Moses appointed. And it is the Second Legislation that He called judgements that are not good; and it cannot save alive.

They therefore who bring upon themselves those things which were imposed for the worship of idols, shall inherit the Woes; for Woe to them that prolong their sins as a long rope, and their iniquity as the band of a heifer's yoke. For the yoke of the bonds is the heifer's yoke -- the bonds of the (Second) Legislation (now) upon the People, which like a long rope is laid upon them by reason of other men's sins which from former times and generations they bring upon themselves. Everyone who strives to be under the (Second) Legislation becomes guilty of the calf-worship; for the Second Legislation was imposed for nothing else but for idolatry. For the bonds were decreed because of idolatry; they therefore who regard them are bondsmen and idolaters. Wherefore, every one who binds himself becomes guilty of the Woe, and ought likewise to profess idolatry. Now one who is such asserts also the curse against our Saviour; for if thou uphold the Second Legislation, thou also assertest the curse against our Saviour, and thou art held fast in the bonds and made guilty of the Woe -- an enemy of the Lord God.

Cease therefore, beloved brethren, you who from among the People have believed, yet desire (still) to be tied with the bonds, and say that the Sabbath is prior to the first day of the week because that the Scripture has said: In six days did God make all things; and on the seventh day he finished all his works, and he sanctified it. We ask you now, which is first, Alaf or Tau? For that (day) which is the greater is that which is the beginning of the world, even as the Lord our Saviour said by Moses: In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. But the earth was invisible and unshapen. And again He said: And there was one day: and as yet the seventh day was unknown. But what say you? Which is greater, that which had come into being, and existed, or that which was yet unknown, and of which there was no expectation that it should come to be? But again we ask you: Are your last children blessed, or the firstborn? as the Scripture also saith: Jacob shall be blessed among the firstborn; and: My son, my firstborn (is) Israel; and: Every male that openeth the womb of his mother is blessed to the Lord.

But that we may make you firm in the faith, hear ye. The first day and the last are equal; for learn how you find it written, that In his kingdom the day of the Lord is as a thousand years: the day of yesterday which is past; and as a watch of the night. {One day therefore is a thousand years in the kingdom of Christ, wherein also will be the judgement. For a watch of the night} He said concerning the judgement, which is a dark prison to them that are condemned. A day therefore is to be revealed in which the sun will stand in his mid-course, and the moon likewise, following the sun. For He said: Behold, I make the first things as the last, and the last as the first; and: The last shall be first, and the first last; and: Remember no more the former things, and let them not come to your mind. Behold, I make things new, which now shall be revealed; and: In those days and in that time they shall no more say: The ark of the covenant; neither shall it come to mind, nor be visited, nor any more be made. But the Sabbath itself is counted even unto the Sabbath, and it becomes eight (days); thus an ogdoad is (reached), which is more than the Sabbath, even the first of the week.

Wherefore, brethren, every day is the Lord's; for the Scripture has said: The earth is the Lord's with the fullness thereof: the world that is under heaven, and all that dwell therein. For if God willed that we should be idle one day for six, first of all the patriarchs and righteous men, and all they that were before Moses, would have remained idle (upon it), and God Himself also with all His creatures. But now all the governance of the world is carried on ever continually; and the spheres do not cease even for a moment from their course, but at God's command (their universal and perpetual motion proceeds.) For if He would say: Thou shalt be idle, and thy son, and thy servant, and thy maidservant, and thine ass, how does He (continue to) work, causing to generate, and making? the winds to blow?, and fostering and nourishing us His creatures? On the Sabbath day He causes (the winds) to blow, and (the waters) to flow, and (thus) works. But this (the Sabbath) has been set as a type for the times, even as many other things have been set for a type. The Sabbath therefore is a type of the (final) rest, signifying the seventh thousand (-years), But the Lord our Saviour, when He was come, fulfilled the types and explained the parables, and He showed those things that are life-giving, and those that cannot help He did away, and those that cannot give life He abolished.

And not only in His own person did He show this, but He wrought also by the Romans; and He overthrew the temple, and caused the altar to cease, and made an end of sacrifices, and all the commands and bonds that are in the Second Legislation He abolished, For the Romans also hold the Law, but they refuse the Second Legislation: therefore is their dominion strong. Thou, therefore, who desirest to-day to be under the Second Legislation, whilst the Romans rule thou canst not perform aught that is written in the Second Legislation. For thou canst not stone the wicked, nor kill idolaters, nor discharge the ministry of sacrifices, nor perform the libations and sprinklings (with the ashes) of a heifer; nor canst thou fulfil aught else of those things which are in the Second Legislation, nor observe them. For it is written: Cursed is every one that keepeth not these words to do them; and this is a thing impossible, to fulfil the Second Legislation while dispersed among the Gentiles. Wherefore, everyone that touches it falls under a curse, and binds himself, and inherits a Woe; and he asserts the curse against our Saviour, and as an enemy of God he is condemned.

But if thou follow Christ, thou shalt inherit the blessings. For there is no disciple better than his master: but when thou conformest to Him, through the Gospel thou conformest to the Law, and thou wilt entirely avoid the Second Legislation: even as the Lord Himself, who gave the kingdom to men, declared also that His commands ought justly to be kept; for in every age there is of right a legislation (given). Now having the Gospel, [thou conformest to the Law,] the renewal of the Law and the seal, beyond the Law and the Prophets seek nothing else. For the Second Legislation is undone, but the Law is made firm. And those who would be without the Law, against their will come under the Law; for He said in the Law: Thou shalt not kill; but if a man kill, he is condemned by the law of the Romans, and he comes under the Law. But if you follow and conform to the truth of the Church and the power of the Gospel, your hope in the Lord shall not be frustrated.

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Do you therefore avoid all heretics, who follow not the Law and the Prophets, and obey not Almighty God, but are His enemies; and who abstain from meats, and forbid to marry, and believe not in the resurrection of the body; who moreover will not eat and drink, but would fain rise up demons, unsubstantial spirits, who shall be damned everlastingly and punished in unquenchable fire. Fly and avoid them therefore, that you may not perish with them.

But if there be any who are precise and desire, after the Second Legislation, to observe the wonted courses of nature and issues and marriage intercourse: first let them know that, as we have already said, together with the Second Legislation they affirm the curse against our Saviour and condemn themselves to no purpose. And again, let them tell us, in what days or in what hours they keep themselves from prayer and from receiving the Eucharist, or from reading the Scriptures -- let them tell us whether they are void of the Holy Spirit. For through baptism they receive the Holy Spirit, who is ever with those that work righteousness, and does not depart from them by reason of natural issues and the intercourse of marriage, but is ever and always with those who possess Him, and keeps them; as the Lord said in Proverbs: If thou sleep. he keepeth thee; and when thou awakest, he will speak with thee. And in the Gospel also our Lord said: Everyone that hath, there shall be given to him, and shall be added unto him; but from him that hath not, even that which he thinketh he hath shall be taken away. To those therefore who have, yea, it shall be added unto them; but from those who think that they have not, even that which they think they have shall be taken away.

For if thou think, O woman, that in the seven days of thy flux thou art void of the Holy Spirit; if thou die in those days, thou wilt depart empty and without hope. But if the Holy Spirit is always in thee, without (just) impediment dost thou keep thyself from prayer and from the Scriptures and from the Eucharist. For consider and see, that prayer also is heard through the Holy Spirit, and the Eucharist through the Holy Spirit is accepted and sanctified, and the Scriptures are the words of the Holy Spirit, and are holy. For if the Holy Spirit is in thee, why dost thou keep thyself from approaching to the works of the Holy Spirit? as those who say: Whosoever sweareth by the altar, sinneth not; but whosoever sweareth by the gift that is upon it, sinneth. As our Lord said: Fools and blind, whether is greater, the gift, or the altar that sanctifieth the gift? Everyone therefore that sweareth by the altar, sweareth by it, and by all that is upon it, And every one that sweareth by the temple, sweareth by it, and by him that dwelleth therein. And every one that sweareth by the heaven, sweareth by the throne of God, and by him that sitteth thereon. If therefore thou possess the Holy Spirit, but keep thyself from His fruits so that thou approach not to them, thou also shalt hear from our Lord Jesus Christ: 'Fool and blind, whether is greater, the bread, or the Spirit that {sanctifieth the bread?' Therefore, if the Holy Spirit} thou possessest: fool, thou keepest vain observances. But if the Holy Spirit is not in thee, how canst thou work righteousness? For the Holy Spirit continues ever with those who possess Him; but from whom He departs, to him an unclean spirit joins himself. For the unclean spirit, when he is gone out from a man, departeth and goeth about in waterless places -- that is, men who go not down into the water (of baptism) -- and when he hath found him no rest, he saith: I will return to my former house, whence I came out. If therefore he come and find it empty and swept and garnished, then he goeth and taketh with him seven other spirits worse than himself, and they come and dwell in that man; and his last state is made worse than the first.

Learn now, why, when the unclean spirit is gone out, he finds him no rest in any place: because every man soever is filled with a spirit, one with the Holy Spirit, and one with an unclean spirit. A believer is filled with the Holy Spirit, and an unbeliever with an unclean spirit: and his nature does not receive an alien spirit. He therefore who has withdrawn and separated himself and departed from the unclean spirit by baptism, is filled with the Holy Spirit; and if he do good works, the Holy Spirit continues with him, and he remains fulfilled; and the unclean spirit finds no place with him, for he who is filled with the Holy Spirit does not receive him. For all men are filled with their own spirit; and the unclean spirits depart not even a little from the heathen, while yet they are heathens, even though they imagine that they do good works; for there is no other power whereby the unclean spirit may depart save by the pure and holy Spirit of God. Thus, then, when he has nowhere found him a place to enter, he returns and comes to him from whom he went forth; because one who is filled with the Holy Spirit does not receive him.

Thou then, O woman, according as thou sayest, (if) in the days of thy flux thou art void, thou shalt be filled with unclean spirits. For when the unclean spirit returns to thee and finds him a place, he will enter and dwell in thee always: and then will there be entering in of the unclean spirit and going forth of the Holy Spirit, and perpetual warfare. Wherefore, O foolish (women), these misfortunes befall you because of your imaginings; and because of the observances which you keep, and on account of your imaginings, you are emptied of the Holy Spirit and filled with unclean spirits: and you are cast out from life into the burning of everlasting fire. But again I will say to thee, O woman: In the seven days of thy flux thou accountest thyself unclean according to the Second Legislation: after seven days, therefore, how canst thou be cleansed without baptism? But if thou be baptised for that which thou supposest, thou wilt undo the perfect baptism of God which wholly forgave thee thy sins, and wilt be found in the evil plight of thy former sins; and thou shalt be delivered over to eternal fire. But if thou be not baptised, according to thine own supposition thou remainest unclean, and the vain observing of the seven days has availed thee nothing, but is rather hurtful to thee; for according to thy supposition thou art unclean, and as unclean thou shalt be condemned.

Be thus minded therefore concerning all those who observe issues and the intercourse of marriage; for all these observances are foolish and hurtful. For if, when a man use matrimony, or a blood come forth from him, he be baptised, let him also wash his couch: and he will have this labour and vexation incessantly; he will be baptizing and will be washing his clothes and his couch, and will be able to do nothing else. Now if thou be baptised from an issue and from marriage intercourse according to the Second Legislation, thou owest it also to be baptised when thou treadest upon a mouse: and thou shalt never be clean. For even as to the shoes of thy feet, with the skin of dead (animals) and with the hides of those that are sacrificed thou art shod; and as to clothes also, with the wool of the like (animals) thou art clothed. And if thou tread upon a bone, or enter a tomb, thou oughtest to be baptised: and thou shalt never be clean. And thou wilt undo the baptism of God, and thou renewest thy offences, and art found in thy former sins, and affirmest the Second Legislation, and takest upon thee the idolatry of the calf, -- for if thou take upon thee the Second Legislation, take also idolatry, for because of idolatry the Second Legislation was imposed, -- and the former sins of others, as a long rope, and as the band of a heifer; thou drawest and bringest upon thee. Moreover, thou bringest upon thee the Woe; for when thou affirmest the Second Legislation, thou consentest to the curse against our Saviour; and thou settest at naught Christ the King, who distributes blessings to them that are worthy. Wherefore thou shalt inherit a curse; for every one that shall curse a man is cursed [and every one that blesseth is blessed]. To what curses, therefore, and to what judgement or to what condemnation shall they be delivered who affirm a curse against our Saviour and our Lord and our God!

Wherefore, beloved, flee and avoid such observances: for you have received release, that you should no more bind yourselves; and do not load yourselves again with that which our Lord and Saviour has lifted from you. And do not observe these things, nor think them uncleanness; and do not refrain yourselves on their account, nor seek after sprinklings, or baptisms, or purification for these things. For in the Second Legislation, if one touch a dead man or a tomb, he is baptised; but do you, according to the Gospel and according to the power of the Holy Spirit, come together even in the cemeteries, and read the holy Scriptures, and without demur perform your ministry and your supplication to God; and offer an acceptable Eucharist, the likeness of the royal body of Christ, both in your congregations and in your cemeteries and on the departures of them that sleep -- pure bread that is made with fire and sanctified with invocations -- and without doubting pray and offer for them that are fallen asleep. For they who have believed in God, according to the Gospel, even though they should sleep, they are not dead; as our Lord said to the Sadducees: Concerning the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read that which is written: I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? And he is not the God of the dead, but of the living. And Elisha the prophet also, after he had slept and was a long while (dead), raised up a dead man; for his body touched the body of the dead and quickened and raised it up. But this could not have been were it not that, even when he was fallen asleep, his body was holy and filled with the Holy Spirit.

For this cause therefore do you approach without restraint to those who are at rest, and hold them not unclean. In like manner also you shall not separate those (women) who are in the wonted courses; for she also who had the flow of blood was not chidden when she touched the skirt of our Saviour's cloak, but was even vouchsafed the forgiveness of all her sins. And when (your wives) suffer those issues which are according to nature, have a care that, in a manner that is right, you cleave to them; for you know that they are your members, and do you love them as your soul: as it is written in the Twelve Prophets, (in) Malachi who was called the Angel: The Lord hath borne witness between thee and the wife of thy youth, whom thou hast left, thy partner, and she the wife of thy covenant. And did not he make her and they (fem.) are the residue of his spirit. And ye have said: What else doth God seek but pure seed? Give heed in your spirits: and the wife of thy youth thou shalt not leave. Wherefore, a woman when she is in the way of women, and a man when an issue comes forth from him, and a man and his wife when they consort and rise up one from another: let them assemble without restraint, without bathing, for they are clean. But if a man should corrupt and defile another's wife after baptism, or be polluted with a harlot, and rising up from her should bathe in all the seas and oceans and be baptised in all the rivers, he cannot be made clean.

Do you therefore, our beloved, avoid all such foolish observances, and come not near them. And be careful to abide in the wedded company of one wife, and to keep your bodies unspotted and unsullied; that you may receive life, that you may be partakers of the kingdom of God, and that you may receive that which the Lord God has promised, and may have rest for evermore.

Now with many other demonstrations similar to these we might the more clearly declare to you the Didascalia; but not to extend and prolong the writing, already we conclude the discourse and lay it aside, lest by reason of the severity of the truth the teaching of our discourse should remain but a short time with you. Wherefore, take not amiss those things which have been said; for our Lord and Saviour also spoke with severity to those who were worthy of condemnation, and said: Take and cast them into the outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth ; and: Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, which my Father hath prepared for the evil one and his angels. That the word is likened to fire and a sword, He has said also in Jeremiah: Behold, my words go forth as fire, and as iron that cutteth stone -- yet sword and fire and constraint, not to those who hearken to the truth, but (He means) that word which the People heard not with pleasure when our Lord and Teacher reproved them; for they were unwilling to hearken to it because they esteemed it hard like iron. For they hearkened not to that which He said to them, for He appeared to them to speak harshly and severely. Wherefore He said to them: Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and that which I say ye do not? And so in like manner this our writing also appears to some to speak harshly and severely by reason of its truth. For if we had written indulgently for the gratification of men, many would grow weak and melt away from the faith, and we should be guilty of their blood. For as a physician, when he has not been able to conquer and heal an ulcer with drugs and fomentations, comes to a severer remedy and to surgical cuttings, that is to iron and cauteries, by which alone the physician is able to overcome and conquer (the sore) and presently heal the sick man: even so is the word; to those who hear and do it it is as a compress and an emollient and a plaster, but by those who hear and do it not it is esteemed as iron and fire.

Now to Him who is able to open the ears of your hearts to receive the incisive words of the Lord through the Gospel and the teaching of Jesus Christ the Nazarene, who was crucified in the days of Pontius Pilate, and slept, that He might announce to Abraham and to Isaac and to Jacob and to all His saints the end of the world and the resurrection that is to be for the dead; and rose from the dead, that He might show and give to us, that we might know Him, a pledge of the resurrection; and was taken up to heaven by the power of God His Father and of the Holy Spirit, and sat on the right hand of the throne of God Almighty upon the Cherubim; to Him who cometh with power and glory to judge the dead and the living: to Him (be) dominion and glory and majesty and kingdom, and to His Father and to the Holy Spirit: who was, and is, and abideth, both now and unto all generations and ages.

Amen.

THE APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS

or Constitutions of the Holy Apostles
From: Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 7
Translation: James Donaldson, 1885
Edited by Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, 1886
Estimated Range of Dating: 375 - 380 A.D.

(The Apostolic Constitutions or Constitutions of the Holy Apostles (Latin: Constitutiones Apostolorum) is a Christian collection of eight treatises which belongs to the Church Orders, a genre of early Christian literature, that offered authoritative "apostolic" prescriptions on moral conduct, liturgy and Church organisation. In other words, this is a text collection on law, precepts, commandments, and moral behavour.

The work can be dated from 375 to 380 AD. The place of origin is usually regarded as Syria, probably Antioch. The author is considered unknown, although we can see the name Clement in the doxology. Which Clement it refers to is unknown. Clement of Rome seem unlikely, Clement of Alexandria has a greater likelihood, but most scientists think, it was perhaps the 4th-century Eunomian bishop Julian of Cilicia.

The Apostolic Constitutions contains treatises on Early Christian discipline, worship, and doctrine, intended to serve as a manual of guidance for the clergy, and to some extent for the laity. It purports to be the work of the Twelve Apostles, whose instructions, whether given by them as individuals or as a body.

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The structure of the Apostolic Constitutions can be summarised:

Books 1 to 6 are a free re-wording of the earlier Didascalia Apostolorum

Book 7 is partially based on the Didache. Chapters 33-45 of book 7 contain prayers similar to Jewish prayers used in synagogues.

Book 8 is composed as follows:

Chapters 1-2 contain an extract of a Lost Treatise On The Charismata

Chapters 3-46 are based on the Apostolic Tradition, greatly expanded, along with other material

Chapter 47 is known as the Canons of the Apostles and it had a wider circulation than the rest of the book.

The best manuscript has Arian leanings, which are not found in other manuscripts because this material would have been censured as heretical.

The Apostolic Constitutions is an important source for the history of the liturgy in the Antiochene rite. It contains an outline of an anaphora in book two, a full anaphora in book seven (which is an expansion of the one found in the Didache), and the complete Liturgy of the eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions, which is the oldest known form that can be described as a complete divine liturgy.

The Church seems never to have regarded this work as of undoubted Apostolic authority. The Apostolic Constitutions were rejected as canonical by the Decretum Gelasianum. The Quinisext Council in 692 rejected most part of the work on account of the interpolations of heretics. Only that portion of it to which has been given the name Canons of the Apostles was received in the Eastern Christianity. Even if not regarded as of certain Apostolic origin, however, in antiquity the Apostolic Constitutions were held generally in high esteem and served as the basis for much ecclesiastical legislation. The Apostolic Constitutions were accepted as canonical by John of Damascus and, in a modified form, included in the 81 book canon of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

Even if the text of the Apostolic Constitutions was extant in many libraries during the Middle Age, it was almost unknown. In 1546 a Latin version of a text was found in Crete and published. The first complete edition of the Greek text was printed in 1563 by Turrianus.

William Whiston, the 18th century translator of all works by Titus Flavius Josephus, devoted the third volume of his Primitive Christianity Revived to prove that "they are the most sacred of the canonical books of the New Testament; "for "these sacred Christian laws or constitutions were delivered at Jerusalem, and in Mount Sion, by our Saviour to the eleven apostles there assembled after His resurrection."

Today the Apostolic Constitutions are of the highest value as a historical document, as they reveal the moral and religious conditions, as well as the liturgical observances of 3rd and 4th centuries. They are part of the Ante-Nicene Fathers collection.

The forty-seventh and last chapter of the eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions contains the eighty-five "Canons of the Apostles", which present themselves as being from an apostolic Council at Antioch. These canons were later approved by the Eastern Council in Trullo in 692 but rejected by Pope Constantine. In the Western Church only fifty of these canons circulated, translated to Latin by Dionysius Exiguus on about 500 AD, and included in the Western collections and afterwards in the Corpus Juris Canonici.

Canon n. 85 is a list of canonical books: a 46-book Old Testament canon which essentially corresponds to that of the Septuagint, 26 books of what is now the New Testament (excludes Revelation), two Epistles of Clement, and the Apostolic Constitutions themselves, also here attributed to Clement, at least as compiler.

The Epitome Of The Eighth Book of the Apostolic Constitutions (or sometime titled The Constitutions of the Holy Apostles concerning ordination through Hippolytus or simply The Constitutions through Hippolytus) contains a re-wording of chapters 1-2, 4-5, 16-28, 30-34, 45-46 of the eighth book. The text was first published by Paul de Lagarde in 1856 and later by Franz Xaver von Funk in 1905. This epitome could be a later extract even if in parts it looks nearer to the Greek original of the Apostolic Tradition, from which the 8th book is derived, than the Apostolic Constitutions themselves.)

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS BOOK 1

Concerning The Laity.

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS SECTION 1.
General Commandments

The apostles and elders to all those who from among the Gentiles have believed in the Lord Jesus Christ; grace and peace from Almighty God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied unto you in the acknowledgment of Him.

The Catholic Church is the plantation of God and His beloved vineyard; Isaiah 5:7, 2 containing those who have believed in His unerring divine religion; who are the heirs by faith of His everlasting kingdom; who are partakers of His divine influence, and of the communication of the Holy Spirit; who are armed through Jesus, and have received His fear into their hearts; who enjoy the benefit of the sprinkling of the precious and innocent blood of Christ; who have free liberty to call Almighty God, Father; being fellow-heirs and joint-partakers of His beloved Son: hearken to this holy doctrine, you who enjoy His promises, as being delivered by the command of your Saviour, and agreeable to His glorious words. Take care, you children of God, to do all things in obedience to God; and in all things please Christ our Lord. For if any man follows unrighteousness, and does those things that are contrary to the will of God, such a one will be esteemed by God as the disobedient heathen.

Concerning Covetousness.

1. Abstain, therefore, from all unlawful desires and injustice. For it is written in the law, "You shall not covet your neighbour's wife, nor his field, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is your neighbour's;" Exodus 20:17 for all coveting of these things is from the evil one. For he that covets his neighbour's wife, or his man-servant, or his maid-servant, is already in his mind an adulterer and a thief; and if he does not repent, is condemned by our Lord Jesus Christ: through whom glory be to God for ever, Amen. For He says in the Gospel, recapitulating, and confirming, and fulfilling the ten commandments of the law: "It is written in the law, You shall not commit adultery: but I say unto you, that is, I said in the law, by Moses. But now I say unto you myself, Whosoever shall look on his neighbour's wife to lust after her, has committed adultery with her already in his heart." Such a one is condemned of adultery, who covets his neighbour's wife in his mind. But does not he that covets an ox or an ass design to steal them? To apply them to his own use, and to lead them away? Or, again, does not he that covets a field, and continues in such a disposition, wickedly contrive how to remove the landmarks, and to compel the possessor to part with somewhat for nothing? For as the prophet somewhere speaks: "Woe to those who join house to house, and lay field to field, that they may deprive their neighbour of somewhat which was his." Wherefore he says: "Must you alone inhabit the earth? For these things have been heard in the ears of the Lord of hosts." And elsewhere: "Cursed be he who removes his neighbour's landmarks: and all the people shall say, Amen." Deuteronomy 27:17 Wherefore Moses says: "You shall not remove your neighbour's landmarks Deuteronomy 19:14 which your fathers have set ." Upon this account, therefore, terrors, death, tribunals, and condemnations follow such as these from God. But as to those who are obedient to God, there is one law of God, simple, true, living, which is this: "Do not that to another which you hate another should do to you." Tobit 4:16 You would not that any one should look upon your wife with an evil design to corrupt her; do not, therefore, look upon your neighbour's wife with a wicked intention. You would not that your garment should be taken away; do not, therefore, take away another's. You would not be beaten, reproached, affronted; do not, therefore, serve any other in the like manner.

That We Ought Not to Return Injuries, Nor Revenge Ourselves on Him that Does Us Wrong.

2. But if any one curse you, bless him. For it is written in the book of Numbers: "He that blesses you is blessed, and he that curses you is cursed." Numbers 24:9 In the same manner it is written in the Gospel: "Bless those who curse you." Luke 6:28 Being injured, do not avenge yourselves, but bear it with patience; for the Scripture speaks thus: "Say not, I will avenge myself on my enemy for what injuries he has offered me; but acquiesce under them, that the Lord may right you, and bring vengeance upon him who injures you." Proverbs 20:22 For so says He again in the Gospel: "Love your enemies, do good to those who hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you; and you shall be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for He makes His sun to shine on the evil and on the good, and rains on the just and unjust." Matthew 5:44-45 Let us therefore, beloved, attend to these commandments, that we may be found to be the children of light by doing them. Bear, therefore, with one another, you servants and sons of God.

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS SECTION 2.
Commandments To Men

Concerning The Adornment Of Ourselves, And The Sin Which Arises From Thence.

Let the husband not be insolent nor arrogant towards his wife; but compassionate, bountiful, willing to please his own wife alone, and treat her honourably and obligingly, endeavouring to be agreeable to her;

3. not adorning yourself in such a manner as may entice another woman to you. For if you are overcome by her, and sinnest with her, eternal death will overtake you from God; and you will be punished with sensible and bitter torments. Or if you do not perpetrate such a wicked act, but shakest her off, and refusest her, in this case you are not wholly innocent, even though you are not guilty of the crime itself, but only in so far as through your adorning you enticed the woman to desire you. For you are the cause that the woman was so affected, and by her lusting after you was guilty of adultery with you: yet are you not so guilty, because you did not send to her, who was ensnared by you; nor did you desire her. Since, therefore, you did not deliver up yourself to her, you shall find mercy with the Lord your God, who has said, "You shall not commit adultery," and, "You shall not covet." For if such a woman, upon sight of you, or unseasonable meeting with you, was smitten in her mind, and sent to you, but you as a religious person refused her, if she was wounded in her heart by your beauty, and youth, and adorning, and fell in love with you, you will be found guilty of her transgressions, as having been the occasion of scandal to her, Matthew 18:7 and shall inherit a woe. Wherefore pray to the Lord God that no mischief may befall you upon this account: for you are not to please men, so as to commit sin; but God, so as to attain holiness of life, and be partaker of everlasting rest. That beauty which God and nature has bestowed on you, do not further beautify; but modestly diminish it before men. Thus, do not permit the hair of your head to grow too long, but rather cut it short; lest by a nice combing your hair, and wearing it long, and anointing yourself, you draw upon yourself such ensnared or ensnaring women. Neither do you wear over-fine garments to seduce any; neither do you, with an evil subtlety, affect over-fine stockings or shoes for your feet, but only such as suit the measures of decency and usefulness. Neither do you put a gold ring upon your fingers; for all these ornaments are the signs of lasciviousness, which if you be solicitous about in an indecent manner, you will not act as becomes a good man: for it is not lawful for you, a believer and a man of God, to permit the hair of your head to grow long, and to brush it up together, nor to suffer it to spread abroad, nor to puff it up, nor by nice combing and platting to make it curl and shine; since that is contrary to the law, which says thus, in its additional precepts: "You shall not make to yourselves curls and round rasures." Nor may men destroy the hair of their beards, and unnaturally change the form of a man. For the law says: "You shall not mar your beards." For God the Creator has made this decent for women, but has determined that it is unsuitable for men. But if you do these things to please men, in contradiction to the law, you will be abominable with God, who created you after His own image. If, therefore, you will be acceptable to God, abstain from all those things which He hates, and do none of those things that are unpleasing to Him.

That We Ought Not To Be Over-Curious About Those Who Live Wickedly, But To Be Intent Upon Our Own Proper Employment.

4. You shall not be as a wanderer and drifter abroad, rambling about the streets, without just cause, to spy out such as live wickedly. But by minding your own trade and employment, endeavour to do what is acceptable to God. And keeping in mind the oracles of Christ, meditate in the same continually. For so the Scripture says to you: "You shall meditate in His law day and night; when you walk in the field, and when you sit in your house, and when you lie down, and when you rise up, that you may have understanding in all things." Joshua 1:8; Deuteronomy 6:7 Nay, although you are rich, and so do not want a trade for your maintenance, be not one that wanders about, and walks abroad at random; but either go to some that are believers, and of the same religion, and confer and discourse with them about the lively oracles of God: —

What Books Of Scripture We Ought To Read.

5. Or if you stay at home, read the books of the Law, of the Kings, with the Prophets; sing the hymns of David; and peruse diligently the Gospel, which is the completion of the other.

That We Ought To Abstain From All The Books Of Those That Are Out Of The Church.

6. Abstain from all the heathen books. For what have you to do with such foreign discourses, or laws, or false prophets, which subvert the faith of the unstable? For what defect do you find in the law of God, that you should have recourse to those heathenish fables? For if you have a mind to read history, you have the books of the Kings; if books of wisdom or poetry, you have those of the Prophets, of Job, and the Proverbs, in which you will find greater depth of sagacity than in all the heathen poets and sophisters, because these are the words of the Lord, the only wise God. If you desire something to sing, you have the Psalms; if the origin of things, you have Genesis; if laws and statutes, you have the glorious law of the Lord God. Therefore utterly abstain from all strange and diabolical books. Nay, when you read the law, think not yourself bound to observe the additional precepts; though not all of them, yet some of them. Read those barely for the sake of history, in order to the knowledge of them, and

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to glorify God that He has delivered you from such great and so many bonds. Propose to yourself to distinguish what rules were from the law of nature, and what were added afterwards, or were such additional rules as were introduced and given in the wilderness to the Israelites after the making of the calf; for the law contains those precepts which were spoken by the Lord God before the people fell into idolatry, and made a calf like the Egyptian Apis — that is, the ten commandments. But as to those bonds which were further laid upon them after they had sinned, do not draw them upon yourself: for our Saviour came for no other reason but that He might deliver those that were obnoxious thereto from the wrath which was reserved far them, that He might fulfil the Law and the Prophets, and that He might abrogate or change those secondary bonds which were superadded to the rest of the law. For therefore did He call to us and say, "Come unto me, all you that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." Matthew 11:28 When, therefore, you have read the Law, which is agreeable to the Gospel and to the Prophets, read also the books of the Kings, that you may thereby learn which of the kings were righteous, and how they were prospered by God, and how the promise of eternal life continued with them from Him; but those kings which went a-whoring from God did soon perish in their apostasy by the righteous judgement of God, and were deprived of His life, inheriting, instead of rest, eternal punishment. Wherefore by reading these books you will be mightily strengthened in the faith, and edified in Christ, whose body and member you are. Moreover, when you walk abroad in public, and have a mind to bathe, make use of that bath which is appropriated to men, lest, by discovering your body in an unseemly manner to women, or by seeing a sight not seemly for men, either you get ensnared, or you ensnare and entice to yourself those women who easily yield to such temptations. Take care, therefore, and avoid such things, lest you admit a snare upon your own soul.

Concerning A Bad Woman.

7. For let us learn what the sacred word says in the book of Wisdom: "My son, keep my words, and hide my commandments with you. Say unto Wisdom, You are my sister; and make understanding familiar with you: that she may keep you from the strange and wicked woman, in case such a one accost you with sweet words. For from the window of her house she looks into the street, to see if she can espy some young man among the foolish children, without understanding, walking in the market-place, in the meeting of the street near her house, and talking in the dusk of the evening, or in the silence and darkness of the night. A woman meets him in the appearance of an harlot, who steals away the hearts of young persons. She rambles about, and is dissolute; her feet abide not in her house: sometimes she is without, sometimes in the streets, and lies in wait at every corner. Then she catches him, and kisses him, and with an impudent face says unto him, I have peace-offerings with me; this day do I pay my vows: therefore came I forth to meet you; earnestly I have desired your face, and I have found you. I have decked my bed with coverings; with tapestry from Egypt have I adorned it. I have perfumed my bed with saffron, and my house with cinnamon. Come, let us take our fill of love until the morning; come, let us solace ourselves with love," etc. To which he adds: "With much discourse she seduced him, with snares from her lips she forced him. He goes after her like a silly bird." And again: "Do not hearken to a wicked woman; for though the lips of an harlot are like drops from an honey-comb, which for a while is smooth in your throat, yet afterwards you will find her more bitter than gall, and sharper than any two-edged sword." And again: "But get away quickly, and tarry not; fix not your eyes upon her: for she has thrown down many wounded; yea, innumerable multitudes have been slain by her." "If not," says he, "yet you will repent at the last, when your flesh and your body are consumed, and will say, How have I hated instruction, and my heart has avoided the reproofs of the righteous! I have not hearkened to the voice of my instructor, nor inclined mine ear to my teacher. I have almost been in all evil." But we will make no more quotations; and if we have omitted any, be so prudent as to select the most valuable out of the Holy Scriptures, and confirm yourselves with them, rejecting all things that are evil, that so you may be found holy with God in eternal life.

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS SECTION 3
Commandments To Women

Concerning The Subjection Of A Wife To Her Husband, And That She Must Be Loving And Modest.

8. Let the wife be obedient to her own proper husband, because "the husband is the head of the wife." 1 Corinthians 11:3 But Christ is the head of that husband who walks in the way of righteousness; and "the head of Christ is God," even His Father. Therefore, O wife, next after the Almighty, our God and Father, the Lord of the present world and of the world to come, the Maker of everything that breathes, and of every power; and after His beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom glory be to God, you fear your husband, and reverence him, pleasing him alone, rendering yourself acceptable to him in the several affairs of life, that so on your account your husband may be called blessed, according to the Wisdom of Solomon, which thus speaks: "Who can find a virtuous woman? For such a one is more precious than costly stones. The heart of her husband does safely trust in her, so that she shall have no need of spoil: for she does good to her husband all the days of her life. She buys wool and flax, and works profitable things with her hands. She is like the merchants' ships, she brings her food from far. She rises also while it is yet night, and gives meat to her household, and food to her maidens. She considers a field, and buys it; with the fruit of her hands she plants a vineyard. She girds her loins with strength, and strengthens her arms. She tastes that it is good to labour; her lamp goes not out all the whole night. She stretches out her arms for useful work, and lays her hands to the spindle. She opens her hands to the needy; yea, she reaches forth her hands to the poor. Her husband takes no care of the affairs of his house; for all that are with her are clothed with double garments. She makes coats for her husband, clothings of silk and purple. Her husband is eminent in the gates, when he sits with the elders of the land. She makes fine linen, and sells it to the Phœnicians, and girdles to the Canaanites. She is clothed with glory and beauty, and she rejoices in the last days. She opens her mouth with wisdom and discretion, and puts her words in order. The ways of her household are strict; she eats not the bread of idleness. She will open her mouth with wisdom and caution, and upon her tongue are the laws of mercy. Her children arise up and praise her for her riches, and her husband joins in her praises. Many daughters have obtained wealth and done worthily, but you surpass and excellest them all. May lying flatteries and the vain beauty of a wife be far from you. For a religious wife is blessed. Let her praise the fear of the Lord: give her of the fruits of her lips, and let her husband be praised in the gates." And again: "A virtuous wife is a crown to her husband." And again: "Many wives have built a house." You have learned what great commendations a prudent and loving wife receives from the Lord God. If you desire to be one of the faithful, and to please the Lord, O wife, do not superadd ornaments to your beauty, in order to please other men; neither affect to wear fine broidering, garments, or shoes, to entice those who are allured by such things. For although you do not do these wicked things with design of sinning yourself, but only for the sake of ornament and beauty, yet will you not so escape future punishment, as having compelled another to look so hard at you as to lust after you, and as not having taken care both to avoid sin yourself, and the affording scandal to others. But if you yield yourself up, and commit the crime, you are both guilty of your own sin, and the cause of the ruin of the other's soul also. Besides, when you have committed lewdness with one man, and beginnest to despair, you will again turn away from your duty, and follow others, and grow past feeling; as says the divine word: "When a wicked man comes into the depth of evil, he becomes a scorner, and then disgrace and reproach come upon him." Proverbs 18:3 For such a woman afterward being wounded, ensnares without restraint the souls of the foolish. Let us learn, therefore, how the divine word triumphs over such women, saying: "I hated a woman who is a snare and net to the heart of men worse than death; her hands are fetters." Ecclesiastes 7:26 And in another passage: "As a jewel of gold in a swine's snout, so is beauty in a wicked woman." Proverbs 11:22 And again: "As a worm in wood, so does a wicked woman destroy her husband." And again: "It is better to dwell in the corner of the house-top, than with a contentious and an angry woman." You, therefore, who are Christian women, do not imitate such as these. But you who design to be faithful to your own husband, take care to please him alone. And when you are in the streets, cover your head; for by such a covering you will avoid being viewed of idle persons. Do not paint your face, which is God's workmanship; for there is no part of you which wants ornament, inasmuch as all things which God has made are very good. But the lascivious additional adorning of what is already good is an affront to the bounty of the Creator. Look downward when you walk abroad, veiling yourself as becomes women.

That A Woman Must Not Bathe With Men.

9. Avoid also that disorderly practice of bathing in the same place with men; for many are the nets of the evil one. And let not a Christian woman bathe with an hermaphrodite; for if she is to veil her face, and conceal it with modesty from strange men, how can she bear to enter naked into the bath together with men? But if the bath be appropriated to women, let her bathe orderly, modestly, and moderately. But let her not bathe without occasion, nor much, nor often, nor in the middle of the day, nor, if possible, every day; and let the tenth hour of the day be the set time for such seasonable bathing. For it is convenient that you, who are a Christian woman, should ever constantly avoid a curiosity which has many eyes.

Concerning A Contentious And Brawling Woman.

10. But as to a spirit of contention, be sure to curb it as to all men, but principally as to your husband; lest, if he be an unbeliever or an heathen, he may have an occasion of scandal or of blaspheming God, and you be partaker of a woe from God. For, says He, "Woe to him by whom My name is blasphemed among the Gentiles;" and lest, if your husband be a Christian, he be forced, from his knowledge of the Scriptures, to say that which is written in the book of Wisdom: "It is better to dwell in the wilderness, than with a contentious and an angry woman." You wives, therefore, demonstrate your piety by your modesty and meekness to all without the Church, whether they be women or men, in order to their conversion and improvement in the faith. And since we have warned you, and instructed you briefly, whom we do esteem our sisters, daughters, and members, as being wise yourselves, persevere all your lives in an unblameable course of life. Seek to know such kinds of learning whereby you may arrive at the kingdom of our Lord, and please Him, and so rest for ever and ever. Amen.

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS BOOK 2
Of Bishops, Presbyters, And Deacons.

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS SECTION 1.
On Examining Candidates For The Episcopal Office

That A Bishop Must Be Well Instructed And Experienced In The Word.

1. But concerning bishops, we have heard from our Lord, that a pastor who is to be ordained a bishop for the churches in every parish, must be unblameable, unreprovable, free from all kinds of wickedness common among men, not under fifty years of age; for such a one is in good part past youthful disorders, and the slanders of the heathen, as well as the reproaches which are sometimes cast upon many persons by some false brethren, who do not consider the word of God in the Gospel: "Whosoever speaks an idle word shall give an account thereof to the Lord in the day of judgement." Matthew 12:36 And again: "By your words you shall be justified, and by your words you shall be condemned." Matthew 12:37 Let him therefore, if it is possible, be well educated; but if he be unlettered, let him at any rate be skilful in the word, and of competent age. But if in a small parish one advanced in years is not to be found, let some younger person, who has a good report among his neighbours, and is esteemed by them worthy of the office of a bishop — who has carried himself from his youth with meekness and regularity, like a much elder person, — after examination, and a general good report, be ordained in peace. For Solomon at twelve years of age was king of Israel, and Josiah at eight years of age reigned righteously, 2 Kings 22:1 and in like manner Joash governed the people at seven years of age. 2 Chronicles 24:1; 2 Kings 11:3-4 Wherefore, although the person be young, let him be meek, gentle, and quiet. For the Lord God says by Esaias: "Upon whom will I look, but upon him who is humble and quiet, and always trembles at my words?" Isaiah 66:2 In like manner it is in the Gospel also: "Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth." Matthew 5:5 Let him also be merciful; for again it is said: "Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy." Matthew 5:7 Let him also be a peacemaker; for again it is said: "Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the sons of God." Let him also be one of a good conscience, purified from all evil, and wickedness, and unrighteousness; for it is said again: "Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God." Matthew 5:8

What Ought To Be The Characters Of A Bishop And Of The Rest Of The Clergy.

2. Let him therefore be sober, prudent, decent, firm, stable, not given to wine; no striker, but gentle; not a brawler, not covetous; "not a novice, lest, being puffed up with pride, he fall into condemnation, and the snare of the devil: for every one that exalts himself shall be abased." 1 Timothy 3:6; Luke 14:11 Such a one a bishop ought to be, who has been the "husband of one wife," 1 Timothy 3:2 who also has herself had no other husband, "ruling well his own house." 1 Timothy 3:4 In this manner let examination be made when he is to receive ordination, and to be placed in his bishopric, whether he be grave, faithful, decent; whether he has a grave and faithful wife, or has formerly had such a one; whether he has educated his children piously, and has "brought them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord;" Ephesians 6:4 whether his domestics do fear and reverence him, and are all obedient to him: for if those who are immediately about him for worldly concerns are seditious and disobedient, how will others not of his family, when they are under his management, become obedient to him?

In What Things A Bishop Is To Be Examined Before He Is Ordained.

3. Let examination also be made whether he be unblameable as to the concerns of this life; for it is written: "Search diligently for all the faults of him who is to be ordained for the priesthood."

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APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS SECTION 2.
On The Character And Teaching Of The Bishop

On which account let him also be void of anger; for Wisdom says: "Anger destroys even the prudent." Let him also be merciful, of a generous and loving temper; for our Lord says: "By this shall all men know that you are my disciples, if you love one another." John 13:35 Let him be also ready to give, a lover of the widow and the stranger; ready to serve, and minister, and attend; resolute in his duty; and let him know who is the most worthy of his assistance.

That Charitable Distributions Are Not To Be Made To Every Widow, But That Sometimes A Woman Who Has A Husband Is To Be Preferred: And That No Distributions Are To Be Made To Any One Who Is Given To Gluttony, Drunkenness, And Idleness.

4. For if there be a widow who is able to support herself, and another woman who is not a widow, but is needy by reason of sickness, or the bringing up many children, or infirmity of her hands, let him stretch out his hand in charity rather to this latter. But if any one be in want by gluttony, drunkenness, or idleness, he does not deserve any assistance, or to be esteemed a member of the Church of God. For the Scripture, speaking of such persons, says: "The slothful hides his hand in his bosom, and is not able to bring it to his mouth again." Proverbs 19:24 And again: "The sluggard folds up his hands, and eats his own flesh." Ecclesiastes 4:5 "For every drunkard and whoremonger shall come to poverty, and every drowsy person shall be clothed with tatters and rags ." And in another passage: "If you give your eyes to drinking and cups, you shall afterwards walk more naked than a pestle." For certainly idleness is the mother of famine.

That A Bishop Must Be No Accepter Of Persons In Judgement; That He Must Possess A Gentle Disposition, And Be Temperate In His Mode Of Life.

5. A bishop must be no accepter of persons; neither revering nor flattering a rich man contrary to what is right, nor overlooking nor domineering over a poor man. For, says God to Moses, "You shall not accept the person of the rich, nor shall you pity a poor man in his cause: for the judgement is the Lord's." Leviticus 19:15; Exodus 23:3 And again: "You shall with exact justice follow that which is right." Let a bishop be frugal, and contented with a little in his meat and drink, that he may be ever in a sober frame, and disposed to instruct and admonish the ignorant; and let him not be costly in his diet, a pamperer of himself, given to pleasure, or fond of delicacies. Let him he patient and gentle in his admonitions, well instructed himself, meditating in and diligently studying the Lord's books, and reading them frequently, that so he may be able carefully to interpret the Scriptures, expounding the Gospel in correspondence with the prophets and with the law; and let the expositions from the law and the prophets correspond to the Gospel. For the Lord Jesus says: "Search the Scriptures; for they are those which testify of me." John 5:39 And again: "For Moses wrote of me." John 5:46 But, above all, let him carefully distinguish between the original law and the additional precepts, and show which are the laws for believers, and which the bonds for the unbelievers, lest any should fall under those bonds. Be careful, therefore, O bishop, to study the word, that you may be able to explain everything exactly, and that you may copiously nourish your people with much doctrine, and enlighten them with the light of the law; for God says: "Enlighten yourselves with the light of knowledge, while we have yet opportunity." Hosea 10:12

That A Bishop Must Not Be Given To Filthy Lucre, Nor Be A Surety Nor An Advocate.

6. Let not a bishop be given to filthy lucre, especially before the Gentiles, rather suffering than offering injuries; not covetous, nor rapacious; no purloiner; no admirer of the rich, nor hater of the poor; no evil-speaker, nor false witness; not given to anger; no brawler; not entangled with the affairs of this life; not a surety for any one, nor an accuser in suits about money; not ambitious; not double-minded, nor double-tongued; not ready to hearken to calumny or evil-speaking; not a dissembler; not addicted to the heathen festivals; not given to vain deceits; not eager after worldly things, nor a lover of money. For all these things are opposite to God, and pleasing to demons. Let the bishop earnestly give all these precepts in charge to the laity also, persuading them to imitate his conduct. For, says He, "Make the children of Israel pious." Leviticus 15:31 Let him be prudent, humble, apt to admonish with the instructions of the Lord, well-disposed, one who has renounced all the wicked projects of this world, and all heathenish lusts; let hint be orderly, sharp in observing the wicked, and taking heed of them, but yet a friend to all; just, discerning; and whatsoever qualities are commendable among men, let the bishop possess them in himself. For if the pastor be unblameable as to any wickedness, he will compel his own disciples, and by his very mode of life press them to become worthy imitators of his own actions. As the prophet somewhere says, "And it will be, as is the priest, so is the people;" Hosea 4:9 for our Lord and Teacher Jesus Christ, the Son of God, began first to do, and then to teach, as Luke somewhere says: Acts 1:1 "which Jesus began to do and to teach ." Wherefore he says: "Whosoever shall do and teach, he shall be called great in the kingdom of God." Matthew 5:19 For you bishops are to be guides and watchmen to the people, as you yourselves have Christ for your guide and watchman. You should therefore become good guides and watchmen to the people of God. For the Lord says by Ezekiel, speaking to every one of you: "Son of man, I have given you for a watchman to the house of Israel; and you shall hear the word from my mouth, and shall observe, and shall declare it from me. When I say unto the wicked, You shall surely die; if you do not speak to warn the wicked from his wickedness, that wicked man shall die in his iniquity, and his blood will I require at your hand. But if you warn the wicked from his way, that he may turn from it, and he does not turn from it, he shall die in his iniquity, and you have delivered your soul." "In the same manner, if the sword of war be approaching, and the people set a watchman to watch, and he see the same approach, and does not forewarn them, and the sword come and take one of them, he is taken away in his iniquity; but his blood shall be required at the watchman's hand, because he did not blow the trumpet. But if he blew the trumpet, and he who heard it would not take warning, and the sword come and take him away, his blood shall be upon him, because he heard the trumpet and took not warning. But he who took warning has delivered his soul; and the watchman, because he gave warning, shall surely live." The sword here is the judgement; the trumpet is the holy Gospel; the watchman is the bishop, who is set in the Church, who is obliged by his preaching to testify and vehemently to forewarn concerning that judgement. If you do not declare and testify this to the people, the sins of those who are ignorant of it will be found upon you. Wherefore do you warn and reprove the uninstructed with boldness, teach the ignorant, confirm those that understand, bring back those that go astray. If we repeat the very same things on the same occasions, brethren, we shall not do amiss. For by frequent hearing it is to be hoped that some will be made ashamed, and at least do some good action, and avoid some wicked one. For says God by the prophet: "Testify those things to them; perhaps they will hear your voice." And again: "If perhaps they will hear, if perhaps they will submit." Moses also says to the people: "If hearing you will hear the Lord God, and do that which is good and right in His eyes ." Exodus 15:26 And again: "Hear, O Israel; the Lord our God is one Lord." Deuteronomy 6:4; Mark 12:29 And our Lord is often recorded in the Gospel to have said: "He that has ears to hear, let him hear." And wise Solomon says: "My son, hear the instruction of your father, and reject not the laws of your mother." Proverbs 1:8 And, indeed, to this day men have not heard; for while they seem to have heard, they have not heard aright, as appears by their having left the one and only true God, and their being drawn into destructive and dangerous heresies, concerning which we shall speak again afterwards.

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS SECTION 3.
How The Bishop Is To Treat The Innocent, The Guilty, And The Penitent

What Ought To Be The Character Of The Initiated.

7. Beloved, be it known to you that those who are baptised into the death of our Lord Jesus are obliged to go on no longer in sin; for as those who are dead cannot work wickedness any longer, so those who are dead with Christ cannot practice wickedness. We do not therefore believe, brethren, that any one who has received the washing of life continues in the practice of the licentious acts of transgressors. Now he who sins after his baptism, unless he repent and forsake his sins, shall be condemned to hell-fire.

Concerning A Person Falsely Accused, Or A Person Convicted.

8. But if any one be maliciously prosecuted by the heathen, because he will not still go along with them to the same excess of riot, let him know that such a one is blessed of God, according as our Lord says in the Gospel: "Blessed are you when men shall reproach you, or persecute you, or say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for your reward is great in heaven." Matthew 5:11-12 If, therefore, any one be slandered and falsely accused, such a one is blessed; for the Scripture says, "A man that is a reprobate is not tried by God." But if any one be convicted as having done a wicked action, such a one not only hurts himself, but occasions the whole body of the Church and its doctrine to be blasphemed; as if we Christians did not practice those things that we declare to be good and honest, and we ourselves shall be reproached by the Lord, that "they say and do not." Matthew 23:3 Wherefore the bishop must boldly reject such as these upon full conviction, unless they change their course of life.

That A Bishop Ought Not To Receive Bribes.

9. For the bishop must not only himself give no offense, but must be no respecter of persons; in meekness instructing those that offend. But if he himself has not a good conscience, and is a respecter of persons for the sake of filthy lucre, and receiving of bribes, and spares the open offender, and permits him to continue in the Church, he disregards the voice of God and of our Lord, which says, "You shall exactly execute right judgement." "You shall not accept persons in judgement: you shall not justify the ungodly." "You shall not receive gifts against any one's life; for gifts do blind the eyes of the wise, and pervert the words of the righteous." Exodus 23:8 And elsewhere He says: "Take away from among yourselves that wicked person." And Solomon says in his Proverbs: "Cast out a pestilent fellow from the congregation, and strife will go out along with him." Proverbs 22:10

That A Bishop Who By Wrong Judgement Spares An Offender Is Himself Guilty.

10. But he who does not consider these things, will, contrary to justice, spare him who deserves punishment; as Saul spared Agag, and Eli his sons, "who knew not the Lord." Such a one profanes his own dignity, and that Church of God which is in his parish. Such a one is esteemed unjust before God and holy men, as affording occasion of scandal to many of the newly baptised, and to the catechumens; as also to the youth of both sexes, to whom a woe belongs, add "a mill-stone about his neck," Matthew 18:6-7 and drowning, on account of his guilt. For, observing what a person their governor is, through his wickedness and neglect of justice they will grow sceptical, and, indulging the same disease, will be compelled to perish with him; as was the case of the people joining with Jeroboam, and those which were in the conspiracy with Corah. But if the offender sees that the bishop and deacons are innocent and unblameable, and the flock pure, he will either not venture to despise their authority, and to enter into the Church of God at all, as one smitten by his own conscience: or if he values nothing, and ventures to enter in, either he will be convicted immediately, as Uzza at the ark, when he touched it to support it; and as Achan, when he stole the accursed thing; and as Gehazi, when he coveted the money of Naaman, and so will be immediately punished: or else he will be admonished by the pastor, and drawn to repentance. For when he looks round the whole Church one by one, and can spy no blemish, neither in the bishop nor in the people who are under his care, he will be put to confusion, and pricked at the heart, and in a peaceable manner will go his way with shame and many tears, and the flock will remain pure. He will apply himself to God with tears, and will repent of his sins, and have hope. Nay, the whole flock, at the sight of his tears, will be instructed, because a sinner avoids destruction by repentance.

How A Bishop Ought To Judge Offenders.

11. Upon this account, therefore, O bishop, endeavour to be pure in your actions, and to adorn your place and dignity, which is that of one sustaining the character of God among men, as being set over all men, over priests, kings, rulers, fathers, children, teachers, and in general over all those who are subject to you: and so sit in the Church when you speak, as having authority to judge offenders. For to you, O bishops, it is said: "Whatsoever you shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever you shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." Matthew 18:18

Instruction As To How A Bishop Ought To Behave Himself To The Penitent.

12. Therefore, O bishop, judge with authority like God, yet receive the penitent; for God is a God of mercy. Rebuke those that sin, admonish those that are not converted, exhort those that stand to persevere in their goodness, receive the penitent; for the Lord God has promised with an oath to afford remission to the penitent for what things they have done amiss. For He says by Ezekiel: "Speak unto them, As I live, says the Lord, I would not the death of a sinner, but that the wicked turn from his evil way, and live. Turn therefore from your evil ways; for why will you die, O house of Israel?" Ezekiel 33:11 Here the word affords hope to sinners, that if they will repent they shall have hope of salvation, lest otherwise out of despair they yield themselves up to their transgressions; but that, having hope of salvation, they may he converted, and may address to God with tears, on account of their sins, and may repent from their hearts, and so appease His displeasure towards them; so shall they receive a pardon from Him, as from a merciful Father.

That We Ought To Beware How We Make Trial Of Any Sinful Course.

13. Yet it is very necessary that those who are yet innocent should continue so, and not make an experiment what sin is, that they may not have occasion for trouble, sorrow, and those lamentations which are in order to forgiveness. For how do you know, O man, when you sin, whether you shall live any number of days in this present state, that you may have time

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to repent? For the time of your departure out of this world is uncertain; and if you die in sin, there will remain no repentance for you; as God says by David, "In the grave who will confess to You?" It behooves us, therefore, to be ready in the doing of our duty, that so we may await our passage into another world without sorrow. Wherefore also the Divine Word exhorts, speaking to you by the wise Solomon, "Prepare your works against your exit, and provide all beforehand in the field," Proverbs 24:27 lest some of the things necessary to your journey be wanting; as the oil of piety was deficient in the five foolish virgins mentioned in the Gospel, when they, on account of their having extinguished their lamps of divine knowledge, were shut out of the bride-chamber. Wherefore he who values the security of his soul will take care to be out of danger, by keeping free from sin, that so he may preserve the advantage of his former good works to himself. Therefore, so judge as executing judgement for God. For, as the Scripture says, "the judgement is the Lord's." Deuteronomy 1:17 In the first place, therefore, condemn the guilty person with authority; afterwards try to bring him home with mercy and compassion, and readiness to receive him, promising him salvation if he will change his course of life, and become a penitent; and when he does repent, and has submitted to his chastisement, receive him: remembering that our Lord has said, "There is joy in heaven over one sinner that repents." Luke 15:7

Concerning Those Who Affirm That Penitents Are Not To *Be Received Into The Church. That A Righteous Person, Although He Converse With A Sinner, Will Not Perish With Him. That No Person Is Punished For Another, But Every One Must Give An Account Of Himself. That We Must Assist Those Who Are Weak In The Faith; And That A Bishop Must Not Be Governed By Any Turbulent Person Among The Laity.*

14. But if you refuse to receive him that repents, you expose him to those who lie in wait to destroy, forgetting what David says: "Deliver not my soul, which confesses to You, unto destroying beasts." Wherefore Jeremiah, when he is exhorting men to repentance, says thus: "Shall not he that falls arise? Or he that turns away, cannot he return? Wherefore have my people gone back by a shameless backsliding? And they are hardened in their purpose. Jeremiah 8:4-5 Turn, you backsliding children, and I will heal your backslidings." Jeremiah 3:22 Receive, therefore, without any doubting, him that repents. Be not hindered by such unmerciful men, who say that we must not be defiled with such as those, nor so much as speak to them: for such advice is from men that are unacquainted with God and His providence, and are unreasonable judges, and unmerciful brutes. These men are ignorant that we ought to avoid society with offenders, not in discourse, but in actions: for "the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him." Ezekiel 18:20 And again: "If a land sins against me by trespassing grievously, and I stretch out my hand upon it, and break the staff of bread upon it, and send famine upon it, and destroy man and beast therein: though these three men, Noah, Job, and Daniel, were in the midst of it, they shall only save their own souls by their righteousness, says the Lord God." Ezekiel 14:13-14 The Scripture most clearly shows that a righteous man that converses with a wicked man does not perish with him. For in the present world the righteous and the wicked are mingled together in the common affairs of life, but not in holy communion: and in this the friends and favourites of God are guilty of no sin. For they do but imitate "their Farther which is in heaven, who makes His sun to rise on the righteous and unrighteous, and sends His rain on the evil and on the good;" Matthew 5:45 and the righteous man undergoes no peril on this account. For those who conquer and those who are conquered are in the same place of running, but only those who have bravely undergone the race are where the garland is bestowed; and "no one is crowned, unless he strive lawfully." 2 Timothy 2:5 For every one shall give account of himself, and God will not destroy the righteous with the wicked; for with Him it is a constant rule, that innocence is never punished. For neither did He drown Noah, nor burn up Lot, nor destroy Rahab for company. And if you desire to know how this matter was among us, Judas was one of us, and took the like part of the ministry which we had; and Simon the Magician received the seal of the Lord. Yet both the one and the other proving wicked, the former hanged himself, and the latter, as he flew in the air in a manner unnatural, was dashed against the earth. Moreover, Noah and his sons with him were in the ark; but Ham, who alone was found wicked, received punishment in his son. But if fathers are not punished for their children, nor children for their fathers, it is thence clear that neither will wives be punished for their husbands, nor servants for their masters, nor one relation for another, nor one friend for another, nor the righteous for the wicked. But every one will be required an account of his own doing. For neither was punishment inflicted on Noah for the world, nor was Lot destroyed by fire for the Sodomites, nor was Rahab slain for the inhabitants of Jericho, nor Israel for the Egyptians. For not the dwelling together, but the agreement in their sentiments, alone could condemn the righteous with the wicked. We ought not therefore to hearken to such persons who call for death, and hate mankind, and love accusations, and under fair pretences bring men to death. For one man shall not die for another, but "every one is held with the chains of his own sins." Proverbs 5:22 And, "behold, the man and his work is before his face." Isaiah 62:11 Now we ought to assist those who are with us, and are in danger, and fall, and, as far as lies in our power, to reduce them to sobriety by our exhortations, and so save them from death. For "the whole have no need of the physician, but the sick;" Matthew 9:12 since "it is not pleasing in the sight of your Father that one of these little ones should perish." Matthew 18:14 For we ought not to establish the will of hard-hearted men, but the will of the God and Father of the universe, which is revealed to us by Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be glory forever. Amen.

For it is not equitable that you, O bishop, who art the head, should submit to the tail, that is, to some seditious person among the laity, to the destruction of another, but to God alone. For it is your privilege to govern those under you, but not to be governed by them. For neither does a son, who is subject by the course of generation, govern his father; nor a slave, who is subject by law, govern his master; nor does a scholar govern his teacher, nor a soldier his king, nor any of the laity his bishop. For that there is no reason to suppose that such as converse with the wicked, in order to their instruction in the word, are defiled by or partake of their sins, Ezekiel, as it were on purpose preventing the suspicions of ill-disposed persons, says thus: "Why do you speak this proverb concerning the land of Israel? The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge. As I live, says the Lord God, you shall not henceforth have occasion to use this proverb in Israel. For all souls are mine, in like manner as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine: the soul that sins, it shall die. But the man who is righteous, and does judgement and justice" (and so the prophet reckons up the rest of the virtues, and then adds for a conclusion, "Such a one is just"), "he shall surely live, says the Lord God. And if he beget a son who is a robber, a shedder of blood, and walks not in the way of his righteous father" (and when the prophet had added what follows, he adds in the conclusion), "he shall certainly not live: he has done all this wickedness; he shall surely die; his blood shall be upon him. Yet they will ask you, Why? Does not the son bear the iniquity of the father; or his righteousness, having exercised righteousness and mercy himself? And you shall say unto them, The soul that sins, it shall die. The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, and the father shall not bear the iniquity of the son. The righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him." And a little after he says: "When the righteous turns away from his righteousness, and commits iniquity, all his righteousness, by reason of all his wickedness which he has committed, shall not be mentioned to him: in his iniquity which he has committed, and in his sin which he has sinned, in them shall he die." And a little after he adds: "When the wicked turns away from his wickedness which he has committed, and does judgement and justice, he has preserved his soul, he has turned away from all his ungodliness which he has done; he shall surely live, he shall not die." And afterwards: "I will judge every one of you according to his ways, O house of Israel, says the Lord God."

That A Priest Must Neither Overlook Offences, Nor Be Rash In Punishing Them.

15. Observe, you who are our beloved sons, how merciful yet righteous the Lord our God is; how gracious and kind to men; and yet most certainly "He will not acquit the guilty:" Nahum 1:3 though He welcomes the returning sinner, and revives him, leaving no room for suspicion to such as wish to judge sternly and to reject offenders entirely, and to refuse to vouchsafe to them exhortations which might bring them to repentance. In contradiction to such, God by Isaiah says to the bishops: "Comfort, comfort my people, you priests: speak comfortably to Jerusalem." It therefore behooves you, upon hearing those words of His, to encourage those who have offended, and lead them to repentance, and afford them hope, and not vainly to suppose that you shall be partakers of their offenses on account of such your love to them. Receive the penitent with alacrity, and rejoice over them, and with mercy and bowels of compassion judge the sinners. For if a person was walking by the side of a river, and ready to stumble, and you should push him and thrust him into the river, instead of offering him your hand for his assistance, you would be guilty of the murder of your brother; whereas you ought rather to lend your helping hand as he was ready to fall, lest he perish without remedy, that both the people may take warning, and the offender may not utterly perish. It is your duty, O bishop, neither to overlook the sins of the people, nor to reject those who are penitent, that you may not unskilfully destroy the Lord's flock, or dishonour His new name, which is imposed on His people, and you yourself beest reproached as those ancient pastors were, of whom God speaks thus to Jeremiah: "Many shepherds have destroyed my vineyard; they have polluted my heritage." Jeremiah 12:10 And in another passage: "My anger is growing hot against the shepherds, and against the lambs shall I have indignation." Zechariah 10:3 And elsewhere: "You are the priests that dishonour my name." Malachi 1:6

Of Repentance, The Manner Of It, And Rules About It.

16. When you see the offender, with severity command him to be cast out; and as he is going out, let the deacons also treat him with severity, and then let them go and seek for him, and detain him out of the Church; and when they come in, let them entreat you for him. For our Saviour Himself entreated His Father for those who had sinned, as it is written in the Gospel: "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do." Luke 23:34 Then order the offender to come in; and if upon examination you find that he is penitent, and fit to be received at all into the Church when you have afflicted him his days of fasting, according to the degree of his offense — as two, three, five, or seven weeks — so set him at liberty, and speak such things to him as are fit to be said in way of reproof, instruction, and exhortation to a sinner for his reformation, that so he may continue privately in his humility, and pray to God to be merciful to him, saying: "If You, O Lord, should mark iniquities, O Lord, who should stand? For with You there is propitiation." Of this sort of declaration is that which is said in the book of Genesis to Cain: "You have sinned; be quiet;" that is, do not go on in sin. For that a sinner ought to be ashamed for his own sin, that oracle of God delivered to Moses concerning Miriam is a sufficient proof, when he prayed that she might be forgiven. For says God to him: "If her father had spit in her face, should she not be ashamed? Let her be shut out of the camp seven days, and afterwards let her come in again." We therefore ought to do so with offenders, when they profess their repentance, — namely, to separate them some determinate time, according to the proportion of their offense, and afterwards, like fathers to children, receive them again upon their repentance.

That A Bishop Must Be Unblameable, And A Pattern For Those Who Are Under His Charge.

17. But if the bishop himself be an offender, how will he be able any longer to prosecute the offense of another? Or how will he be able to reprove another, either he or his deacons, if by accepting of persons, or receiving of bribes, they have not all a clear conscience? For when the ruler asks, and the judge receives, judgement is not brought to perfection; but when both are "companions of thieves, and regardless of doing justice to the widows," Isaiah 1:23 those who are under the bishop will not be able to support and vindicate him: for they will say to him what is written in the Gospel, "Why do you behold the mote that is in your brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in your own eye?" Luke 6:41 Let the bishop, therefore, with his deacons, dread to bear any such thing; that is, let him give no occasion for it. For an offender, when he sees any other doing as bad as himself, will be encouraged to do the very same things; and then the wicked one, taking occasion from a single instance, works in others, which God forbid: and by that means the flock will be destroyed. For the greater number of offenders there are, the greater is the mischief that is done by them: for sin which passes without correction grows worse and worse, and spreads to others; since "a little leaven infects the whole lump," Galatians 5:9 and one thief spreads the abomination over a whole nation and "dead flies spoil the whole pot of sweet ointment;" Ecclesiastes 10:1 and "when a king hearkens to unrighteous counsel, all the servants under him are wicked." Proverbs 29:12 So one scabbed sheep, if not separated from those that are whole, infects the rest with the same distemper; and a man infected with the plague is to be avoided by all men; and a mad dog is dangerous to every one that he touches. If, therefore, we neglect to separate the transgressor from the Church of God, we shall make the "Lord's house a den of thieves." Matthew 21:13 For it is the bishop's duty not to be silent in the case of offenders, but to rebuke them, to exhort them, to beat them down, to afflict them with fastings, that so he may strike a pious dread into the rest: for, as He says, "make the children of Israel pious." Leviticus 15:31 For the bishop must be one who discourages sin by his exhortations, and sets a pattern of righteousness, and proclaims those good things which are prepared by God, and declares that wrath which will come at the day of judgement, lest he contemn and neglect the plantation of God; and, on account of his carelessness, hear that which is said in Hosea: "Why have you held your peace at impiety, and have reaped the fruit thereof?"

That A Bishop Must Take Care That His People Do Not Sin, Considering That He Is Set For A Watchman Among Them.

18. Let the bishop, therefore, extend his concern to all sorts of people: to those who have not offended, that they may continue innocent; to those who offend, that they may repent. For to you does the Lord speak thus: "Take heed that you offend not one of these little ones." Matthew 18:10 It is your duty also to give remission to the penitent. For as soon as ever one who has offended says, in the sincerity of his soul, "I have

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sinned against the Lord," the Holy Spirit answers, "The Lord also has forgiven your sin; be of good cheer, you shall not die." Be sensible, therefore, O bishop, of the dignity of your place, that as you have received the power of binding, so have you also that of loosing. Having therefore the power of loosing, know yourself, and behave yourself in this world as becomes your place, being aware that you have a great account to give. "For to whom," as the Scripture says, "men have entrusted much, of him they will require the more." Luke 12:48 For no one man is free from sin, excepting Him that was made man for us; since it is written: "No man is pure from filthiness; no, not though he be but one day old." Upon which account the lives and conduct of the ancient holy men and patriarchs are described; not that we may reproach them from our reading, but that we ourselves may repent, and have hope that we also shall obtain forgiveness. For their blemishes are to us both security and admonition, because we hence learn, when we have offended, that if we repent we shall have pardon. For it is written: "Who can boast that he has a clean heart? And who dare affirm that he is pure from sin?" Proverbs 20:9 No man, therefore, is without sin. Therefore labour to the utmost of your power to be unblameable; and be solicitous of all the parts of your flock, lest any one be scandalised on your account, and thereby perish. For the layman is solicitous only for himself, but you for all, as having a greater burden, and carrying a heavier load. For it is written: "And the Lord said to Moses, You and Aaron shall bear the sins of the priesthood." Numbers 18:1 Since, therefore, you are to give an account of all, take care of all. Preserve those that are sound, admonish those that sin; and when you have afflicted them with fasting, give them ease by remission; and when with tears the offender begs readmission, receive him, and let the whole Church pray for him; and when by imposition of your hand you have admitted him, give him leave to abide afterwards in the flock. But for the drowsy and the careless, endeavour to convert and confirm, and warn and cure them, as sensible how great a reward you shall have for doing so, and how great danger you will incur if you are negligent therein. For Ezekiel speaks thus to those overseers who take no care of the people: "Woe unto the shepherds of Israel, for they have fed themselves; the shepherds feed not the sheep, but themselves. You eat the milk, and are clothed with the wool; you slay the strong, you do not feed the sheep. The weak you have not strengthened, neither have you healed that which was sick, neither have you bound up that which was broken, neither have you brought again that which was driven away, neither have you sought that which was lost; but, violently you chastised them with insult: and they were scattered, because there was no shepherd; and they became meat to all the beasts of the forest." And again: "The shepherds did not search for my sheep; and the shepherds fed themselves, but they fed not my sheep." And a little after: "Behold, I am against the shepherds, and I will require my sheep at their hands, and cause them to cease from feeding my sheep, neither shall the shepherds feed themselves any more; and I will deliver my sheep out of their hands, and they shall not be meat for them." And he also adds, speaking to the people: Behold, I will judge between sheep and sheep, and between rams and rams. Seemed it a small thing unto you to have eaten up the good pasture, and to have trodden down with your feet the residue of your pasture, and that the sheep have eaten what was trodden down with your feet? And a little after He adds: "And you shall know that I am the Lord, and you the sheep of my pasture; you are my men, and I am your God, says the Lord God."

That A Shepherd Who Is Careless Of His Sheep Will Be Condemned, And That A Sheep Which Will Not Be Led By The Shepherd Is To Be Punished.

19 . Hear, O you bishops; and hear, O you of the laity, how God speaks: "I will judge between ram and ram, and between sheep and sheep." And He says to the shepherds: "You shall be judged for your unskilfulness, and for destroying the sheep." That is, I will judge between one bishop and another, and between one lay person and another, and between one ruler and another (for these sheep and these rams are not irrational, but rational creatures): lest at any time a lay person should say, I am a sheep and not a shepherd, and I am not concerned for myself; let the shepherd look to that, for he alone will be required to give an account for me. For as that sheep that will not follow its good shepherd is exposed to the wolves, to its destruction; so that which follows a bad shepherd is also exposed to unavoidable death, since his shepherd will devour him. Wherefore care must be had to avoid destructive shepherds.

How The Governed Are To Obey The Bishops Who Are Set Over Them.

20. As to a good shepherd, let the lay person honour him, love him, reverence him as his lord, as his master, as the high priest of God, as a teacher of piety. For he that hears him, hears Christ; and he that rejects him, rejects Christ; and he who does not receive Christ, does not receive His God and Father: for, says He, "He that hears you, hears me; and he that rejects you, rejects me; and he that rejects me, rejects Him that sent me." Luke 10:16 In like manner, let the bishop love the laity as his children, fostering and cherishing them with affectionate diligence; as eggs, in order to the hatching of young ones; or as young ones, taking them in his arms, to the rearing them into birds: admonishing all men; reproving all who stand in need of reproof; reproving, that is, but not striking; beating them down to make them ashamed, but not overthrowing them; warning them in order to their conversion: chiding them in order to their reformation and better course of life; watching the strong, that is, keeping him firm in the faith who is already strong; feeding the people peaceably; strengthening the weak, that is, confirming with exhortation that which is tempted; healing that which is sick, that is, curing by instruction that which is weak in the faith through doubtfulness of mind; binding up that which is broken, that is, binding up by comfortable admonitions that which is gone astray, or wounded, bruised, or broken by their sins, and put out of the way; leasing it of its offenses, and giving hope: by this means restore it in strength to the Church, bringing it back into the flock. Bring again that which is driven away, that is, do not permit that which is in its sins, and is cast out by way of punishment, to continue excluded; but receiving it, and bringing it back, restore it to the flock, that is, to the people of the undefiled Church. Seek for that which is lost, that is, do not suffer that which desponds of its salvation, by reason of the multitude of its offenses, utterly to perish. Search for that which is grown sleepy, drowsy, and sluggish, and that which is unmindful of its own life, through the depth of its sleep, and which is at a great distance from its own flock, so as to be in danger of falling among the wolves, and being devoured by them. Bring it back by admonition, exhort it to be watchful; and insinuate hope, not permitting it to say that which was said by some: "Our impieties are upon us, and we pine away in them; how shall we then live?" As far as possible, therefore, let the bishop make the offense his own, and say to the sinner, Do thou but return, and I will undertake to suffer death for you, as our Lord suffered death for me, and for all men. For "the good shepherd lays down his life for the sheep; but he that is an hireling, and not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, sees the wolf coming, that is, the devil, and he leaves the sheep, and flees, and the wolf seizes upon them." John 10:11-12 We must know, therefore, that God is very merciful to those who have offended, and has promised repentance with an oath. But he who has offended, and is unacquainted with this promise of God concerning repentance, and does not understand His long-suffering and forbearance, and besides is ignorant of the Holy Scriptures, which proclaim repentance, inasmuch as he has never learned them from you, perishes through his folly. But — like a compassionate shepherd, and a diligent feeder of the flock — search out, and keep an account of your flock. Seek that which is wanting; Matthew 18:12 as the Lord God our gracious Father has sent His own Son, the good Shepherd and Saviour, our Master Jesus, and has commanded Him to "leave the ninety-nine upon the mountains, and to go in search after that which was lost, and when He had found it, to take it upon His shoulders, and to carry it into the flock, rejoicing that He had found that which was lost." In like manner, be obedient, O bishop, and seek that which was lost, guide that which has wandered out of the right way, bring back that which is gone astray: for you have authority to bring them back, and to deliver those that are broken-hearted by remission. For by you does our Saviour say to him who is discouraged under the sense of his sins, "Your sins are forgiven you: your faith has saved you; go in peace." But this peace and haven of tranquillity is the Church of Christ, into which do you, when you have loosed them from their sins, restore them, as being now sound and unblameable, of good hope, diligent, labourious in good works. As a skilful and compassionate physician, heal all such as have wandered in the ways of sin; for "they that are whole have no need of a physician, but they that are sick. For the Son of man came to save and to seek that which was lost." Matthew 9:12; Luke 19:10 Since you are therefore a physician of the Lord's Church, provide remedies suitable to every patient's case. Cure them, heal them by all means possible; restore them sound to the Church. Feed the flock, "not with insolence and contempt, as lording it over them," Ezekiel 34:4 but as a gentle shepherd, "gathering the lambs into your bosom, and gently leading those which are with young." Matthew 20:25; Isaiah 40:11

That It Is A Dangerous Thing To Judge Without Hearing Both Sides, Or To Determine Of Punishment Against A Person Before He Is Convicted.

21. Be gentle, gracious, mild, without guile, without falsehood; not rigid, not insolent, not severe, not arrogant, not unmerciful, not puffed up, not a man-pleaser, not timorous, not double-minded, not one that insults over the people that are under you, not one that conceals the divine laws and the promises to repentance, not hasty in thrusting out and expelling, but steady, not one that delights in severity, not heady. Do not admit less evidence to convict any one than that of three witnesses, and those of known and established reputation; inquire whether they do not accuse out of ill-will or envy: for there are many that delight in mischief, forward in discourse, slanderous, haters of the brethren, making it their business to scatter the sheep of Christ; whose affirmation if you admit without nice scanning the same, you will disperse your flock, and betray it to be devoured by wolves, that is, by demons and wicked men, or rather not men, but wild beasts in the shape of men — by the heathen, by the Jews, and by the atheistic heretics. For those destroying wolves soon address themselves to any one that is cast out of the Church, and esteem him as a lamb delivered for them to devour, reckoning his destruction their own gain. For he that is "their father, the devil, is a murderer." John 8:44 He also who is separated unjustly by your want of care in judging will be overwhelmed with sorrow, and be disconsolate, and so will either wander over to the heathen, or be entangled in heresies, and so will be altogether estranged from the Church and from hope in God, and will be entangled in impiety, whereby you will be guilty of his perdition: for it is not fair to be too hasty in casting out an offender, but slow in receiving him when he returns; to be forward in cutting off, but unmerciful when he is sorrowful, and ought to be healed. For of such as these speaks the divine Scripture: "Their feet run to mischief; they are hasty to shed blood. Destruction and misery are in their ways, and the way of peace have they not known. The fear of God is not before their eyes." Now the way of peace is our Saviour Jesus Christ, who has taught us, saying: "Forgive, and you shall be forgiven. Give, and it shall be given to you;" Luke 6:37-38 that is, give remission of sins, and your offenses shall be forgiven you. As also He instructed us by His prayer to say unto God: "Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors." Matthew 6:12 If, therefore, you do not forgive offenders, how can you expect the remission of your own sins? Do not you rather bind yourselves faster, by pretending in your prayers to forgive, when you really do not forgive? Will you not be confronted with your own words, when you say you forgive and do not forgive? For know that he who casts out one who has not behaved himself wickedly, or who will not receive him that returns, is a murderer of his brother, and sheds his blood, as Cain did that of his brother Abel, and his "blood cries to God," Genesis 4:10 and will be required. For a righteous man unjustly slain by any one will be in rest with God forever. The same is the case of him who without cause is separated by his bishop. He who has cast him out as a pestilent fellow when he was innocent, is more furious than a murderer. Such a one has no regard to the mercy of God, nor is mindful of His goodness to those that are penitent, nor keeping in his eye the examples of those who, having been once great offenders, received forgiveness upon their repentance. Upon which account, he who casts off an innocent person is more cruel than he that murders the body. In like manner, he who does not receive the penitent, scatters the flock of Christ, being really against Him. For as God is just in judging of sinners, so is He merciful in receiving them when they return. For David, the man after God's own heart, in his hymns ascribes both mercy and judgement to Him.

That David, The Ninevites, Hezekiah, And His Son Manasseh, Are Eminent Examples Of Repentance, The Prayer Of Manasseh King Of Judah.

22. It is also your duty, O bishop, to have before your eyes the examples of those that have gone before, and to apply them skilfully to the cases of those who want words of severity or of consolation. Besides, it is reasonable that in your administration of justice you should follow the will of God; and as God deals with sinners, and with those who return, that you should act accordingly in your judging. Now, did not God by Nathan reproach David for his offense? And yet as soon as he said he repented, He delivered him from death, saying, "Be of good cheer; you shall not die." 2 Samuel 12:13 So also, when God had caused Jonah to be swallowed up by the sea and the whale, upon his refusal to preach to the Ninevites, when yet he prayed to Him out of the belly of the whale, He retrieved his life from corruption. And when Hezekiah had been puffed up for a while, yet, as soon as he prayed with lamentation, He remitted his offense. But, O you bishops, hearken to an instance useful upon this occasion. For it is written thus in the fourth book of Kings and the second book of Chronicles: "And Hezekiah died; and Manasseh his son reigned. He was twelve years old when he began to reign, and he reigned fifty and five years in Jerusalem; and his mother's name was Hephzibah. And he did evil in the sight of the Lord: he did not abstain from the abominations of the heathen, whom the Lord destroyed from the face of the children of Israel. And Manasseh returned and built the high places which Hezekiah his father had overthrown; and he reared pillars for Baal, and set up an altar for Baal, and made groves, as did Ahab king of Israel. And he made altars in the house of the Lord, of which the Lord spoke to David and to Solomon his son, saying, Therein will I put my name. And Manasseh set up altars, and by them served Baal, and said, My name shall continue forever. And he built altars to the host of heaven in the two courts of the house of the Lord; and he

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made his children pass through the fire in a place named Ge Benennom; and he consulted enchanters, and dealt with wizards and familiar spirits, and with conjurers and observers of times, and with teraphim. And he sinned exceedingly in the eyes of the Lord, to provoke Him to anger. And he set a molten and a graven image, the image of his grove, which he made in the house of the Lord, wherein the Lord had chosen to put His name in Jerusalem, the holy city, for ever, and had said, I will no more remove my foot from the land of Israel, which I gave to their fathers; only if they will observe to do according to all that I have commanded them, and according to all the precepts that my servant Moses commanded them. And they hearkened not. And Manasseh seduced them to do more evil before the Lord than did the nations whom the Lord cast out from the face of the children of Israel. And the Lord spoke concerning Manasseh and concerning His people by the hand of His servants the prophets, saying, Because Manasseh king of Judah has done all these wicked abominations in a higher degree than the Amorite did which was before him, and has made Judah to sin with his idols, thus says the Lord God of Israel, Behold, I bring evils upon Jerusalem and Judah, that whosoever hears of them, both his ears shall tingle. And I will stretch over Jerusalem the line of Samaria, and the plummet of the house of Ahab; and I will blot out Jerusalem as a table-book is blotted out by wiping it. And I will turn it upside down; and I will give up the remnant of my inheritance, and will deliver them into the hands of their enemies, and they shall become a prey and a spoil to all their enemies, because of all the evils which they have done in my eyes, and have provoked me to anger from the day that I brought their fathers out of the land of Egypt even until this day. Moreover, Manasseh shed innocent blood very much, till he had filled Jerusalem from one end to another, beside his sins wherewith he made Judah to sin in doing evil in the sight of the Lord. And the Lord brought upon him the captains of the host of the king of Assyria, and they caught Manasseh in bonds, and they bound him in fetters of brass, and brought him to Babylon; and he was bound and shackled with iron all over in the house of the prison. And bread made of bran was given unto him scantily, and by weight, and water mixed with vinegar but a little and by measure, so much as would keep him alive; and he was in straits and sore affliction. And when he was violently afflicted, he besought the face of the Lord his God, and humbled himself greatly before the face of the Lord God of his fathers. And he prayed unto the Lord, saying, O Lord, almighty God of our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of their righteous seed, who has made heaven and earth, with all the ornament thereof, who has bound the sea by the word of Your commandment, who has shut up the deep, and sealed it by Your terrible and glorious name, whom all men fear and tremble before Your power; for the majesty of Your glory cannot be borne, and Your angry threatening towards sinners is insupportable. But Your merciful promise is unmeasurable and unsearchable; for You are the most high Lord, of great compassion, long-suffering, very merciful, and repentest of the evils of men. You, O Lord, according to Your great goodness, have promised repentance and forgiveness to those who have sinned against You, and of Your infinite mercy have appointed repentance unto sinners, that they may be saved. You therefore, O Lord, that art the God of the just, has not appointed repentance to the just as to Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, which have not sinned against You; but You have appointed repentance unto me that am a sinner: for I have sinned above the number of the sands of the sea. My transgressions, O Lord, are multiplied; my transgressions are multiplied, and I am not worthy to behold and see the height of heaven for the multitude of mine iniquity. I am bowed down with many iron bands; for I have provoked Your wrath, and done evil before You, setting up abominations, and multiplying offenses. Now, therefore, I bow the knee of mine heart, beseeching You of grace. I have sinned, O Lord, I have sinned, and I acknowledge mine iniquities; wherefore I humbly beseech You, forgive me, O Lord, forgive me, and destroy me not with mine iniquities. Be not angry with me for ever, by reserving evil for me; neither condemn me into the lower part of the earth. For You are the God, even the God of those who repent, and in me You will show Your goodness; for You will save me that am unworthy, according to Your great mercy. Therefore I will praise You for ever all the days of my life; for all the powers of the heavens do praise You, and Yours is the glory for ever and ever. Amen. And the Lord heard his voice, and had compassion upon him. And there appeared a flame of fire about him, and all the iron shackles and chains which were about him fell off; and the Lord healed Manasseh from his affliction, and brought him back to Jerusalem unto his kingdom: and Manasseh knew that the Lord He is God alone. And he worshipped the Lord God alone with all his heart, and with all his soul, all the days of his life; and he was esteemed righteous. And he took away the strange gods and the graven image out of the house of the Lord, and all the altars which he had built in the house of the Lord, and all the altars in Jerusalem, and he cast them out of the city. And he repaired the altar of the Lord, and sacrificed thereon peace-offerings and thank-offerings. And Manasseh spoke to Judah to serve the Lord God of Israel. And he slept in peace with his fathers; and Amon his son reigned in his stead. And he did evil in the sight of the Lord according to all things that Manasseh his father had done in the former part of his reign. And he provoked the Lord his God to anger."

You have heard, our beloved children, how the Lord God for a while punished him that was addicted to idols, and had slain many innocent persons; and yet that He received him when he repented, and forgave him his offenses, and restored him to his kingdom. For He not only forgives the penitent, but reinstates them in their former dignity.

Amon May Be An Example To Such As Sin With An High Hand.

23. There is no sin more grievous than idolatry, for it is an impiety against God: and yet even this sin has been forgiven, upon sincere repentance. But if any one sin in direct opposition, and on purpose to try whether God will punish the wicked or not, such a one shall have no remission, although he say with himself, "All is well, and I will walk according to the conversation of my evil heart." Such a one was Amon the son of Manasseh. For the Scripture says: "And Amon reasoned an evil reasoning of transgression, and said, My father from his childhood was a great transgressor, and repented in his old age; and now I will walk as my soul lusts, and afterwards I will return unto the Lord. And he did evil in the sight of the Lord above all that were before him. And the Lord God soon destroyed him utterly from His good land. And his servants conspired against him, and slew him in his own house, and he reigned two years only."

That Christ Jesus Our Lord Came To Save Sinners By Repentance.

24. Take heed, therefore, you of the laity, lest any one of you fix the reasoning of Amon in his heart, and be suddenly cut off, and perish. In the same manner, let the bishop take all the care he can that those which are yet innocent may not fall into sin; and let him heal and receive those which turn from their sins. But if he is pitiless, and will not receive the repenting sinner, he will sin against the Lord his God, pretending to be more just than God's justice, and not receiving him whom He has received, through Christ; for whose sake He sent His Son upon earth to men, as a man; for whose sake God was pleased that He, who was the Maker of man and woman, should be born of a woman; for whose sake He did not spare Him from the cross, from death, and burial, but permitted Him to die, who by nature could not suffer, His beloved Son, God the Word, the Angel of His great council, that he might deliver those from death who were obnoxious to death. Him do those provoke to anger who do not receive the penitent. For He was not ashamed of me, Matthew, who had been formerly a publican; and admitted of Peter, when he had through fear denied Him three times, but had appeased Him by repentance, and had wept bitterly; nay, He made him a shepherd to His own lambs. Moreover, He ordained Paul, our fellow-apostle, to be of a persecutor an apostle, and declared him a chosen vessel, even when he had heaped many mischiefs upon us before, and had blasphemed His sacred name. He says also to another, a woman that was a sinner: "Your sins, which are many, are forgiven, for you love much." Luke 7:47 And when the elders had set another woman which had sinned before Him, and had left the sentence to Him, and had gone out, our Lord, the Searcher of the hearts, inquiring of her whether the elders had condemned her, and being answered No, He said to her: "Go your way therefore, for neither do I condemn you." John 8:11 This Jesus, O you bishops, our Saviour, our King, and our God, ought to be set before you as your pattern; and Him you ought to imitate, in being meek, quiet, compassionate, merciful, peaceable, without passion, apt to teach, and diligent to convert, willing to receive and to comfort; no strikers, not soon angry, not injurious, not arrogant, not supercilious, not wine-bibbers, not drunkards, not vainly expensive, not lovers of delicacies, not extravagant, using the gifts of God not as another's, but as their own, as good stewards appointed over them, as those who will be required by God to give an account of the same.

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS SECTION 4.
On The Management Of The Resources Collected For The Support Of The Clergy, And The Relief Of The Poor

Let the bishop esteem such food and raiment sufficient as suits necessity and decency. Let him not make use of the Lord's goods as another's, but moderately; "for the labourer is worthy of his reward." Luke 10:7 Let him not be luxurious in diet, or fond of idle furniture, but contented with so much alone as is necessary for his sustenance.

Of First-Fruits And Tithes, And After What Manner The Bishop Is Himself To Partake Of Them, Or To Distribute Them To Others.

25. Let him use those tenths and first-fruits, which are given according to the command of God, as a man of God; as also let him dispense in a right manner the free-will offerings which are brought in on account of the poor, to the orphans, the widows, the afflicted, and strangers in distress, as having that God for the examiner of his accounts who has committed the disposition to him. Distribute to all those in want with righteousness, and yourselves use the things which belong to the Lord, but do not abuse them; eating of them, but not eating them all up by yourselves: communicate with those that are in want, and thereby show yourselves unblameable before God. For if you shall consume them by yourselves, you will be reproached by God, who says to such unsatiable people, who alone devour all, "You eat up the milk, and clothe yourselves with the wool;" Ezekiel 34:3 and in another passage, "Must you alone live upon the earth"? Isaiah 5:8 Upon which account you are commanded in the law, "You shall love your neighbour as yourself." Leviticus 19:18 Now we say these things, not as if you might not partake of the fruits of your labours; for it is written, "You shall not muzzle the mouth of the ox which treads out the grain;" Deuteronomy 25:4; 1 Corinthians 9:9 but that you should do it with moderation and righteousness. As, therefore, the ox that labours in the threshing-floor without a muzzle eats indeed, but does not eat all up; so do you who labour in the threshing-floor, that is, in the Church of God, eat of the Church: which was also the case of the Levites, who served in the tabernacle of the testimony, which was in all things a type of the Church. Nay, further, its very name implied that that tabernacle was fore-appointed for a testimony of the Church. Here, therefore, the Levites also, who attended upon the tabernacle partook of those things that were offered to God by all the people — namely, gifts, offerings, and first-fruits, and tithes, and sacrifices, and oblations, without disturbance, they and their wives, and their sons and their daughters. Since their employment was the ministration to the tabernacle, therefore they had not any lot or inheritance in the land among the children of Israel, because the oblations of the people were the lot of Levi, and the inheritance of their tribe. You, therefore, O bishops, are to your people priests and Levites, ministering to the holy tabernacle, the holy Catholic Church; who stand at the altar of the Lord your God, and offer to Him reasonable and unbloody sacrifices through Jesus the great High Priest. You are to the laity prophets, rulers, governors, and kings; the mediators between God and His faithful people, who receive and declare His word, well acquainted with the Scriptures. You are the voice of God, and witnesses of His will, who bear the sins of all, and intercede for all; whom, as you have heard, the word severely threatens if you hide the key of knowledge from men, who are liable to perdition if you do not declare His will to the people that are under you; who shall have a certain reward from God, and unspeakable honour and glory, if you duly minister to the holy tabernacle. For as yours is the burden, so you receive as your fruit the supply of food and other necessaries. For you imitate Christ the Lord; and as He "bare the sins of us all upon the tree" at His crucifixion, the innocent for those who deserved punishment, so also you ought to make the sins of the people your own. For concerning our Saviour it is said in Isaiah, "He bears our sins, and is afflicted for us." Isaiah 53:4 And again: "He bare the sins of many, and was delivered for our offenses." Isaiah 53:12 As, therefore, you are patterns for others, so have you Christ for your pattern. As, therefore, He is concerned for all, so be you for the laity under you. For do you not imagine that the office of a bishop is an easy or light burden. As, therefore, you bear the weight, so have you a right to partake of the fruits before others, and to impart to those that are in want, as being to give an account to Him, who without bias will examine your accounts. For those who attend upon the Church ought to be maintained by the Church, as being priests, Levites, presidents, and ministers of God; as it is written in the book of Numbers concerning the priests: "And the Lord said to Aaron, You, and your sons, and the house of your family, shall bear the iniquities of the holy things of priesthood." Numbers 18:1 "Behold, I have given unto you the charge of the first-fruits, from all that are sanctified to me by the children of Israel; I have given them for a reward to you, and to your sons after you, by an ordinance forever. This shall be yours out of the holy things, out of the oblations, and out of the gifts, and out of all the sacrifices, and out of every trespass-offering, and sin-offerings; and all that they render unto me out of all their holy things, they shall belong to you, and to your sons: in the sanctuary shall they eat them." And a little after: "All the first-fruits of the oil, and of the wine, and of the wheat, all which they shall give unto the Lord, to you have I given them; and all that is first ripe, to you have I given it, and every devoted thing. Every first-born of man and of beast, clean and unclean, and of sacrifice, with the breast, and the right shoulder, all these appertain to the priests, and to the rest of those belonging to them, even to the Levites."

Hear this, you of the laity also, the elect Church of God. For the people were formerly called "the people of God," Exodus 19:5-6 and "an holy nation." Hebrews 12:23 You, therefore, are the holy and sacred "Church of God, enrolled in heaven, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people," a bride adorned for the Lord God, a great Church, a faithful Church. Hear attentively now what was said formerly:

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oblations and tithes belong to Christ our High Priest, and to those who minister to Him. Tenths of salvation are the first letter of the name of Jesus. Hear, O Holy Catholic Church, who has escaped the ten plagues, and has received the ten commandments, and has learned the law, and has kept the faith, and has believed in Jesus, and has known the decad, and has believed in the iota which is the first letter of the name of Jesus, and art named after His name, and art established, and shinest in the consummation of His glory. Those which were then the sacrifices now are prayers, and intercessions, and thanksgivings. Those which were then first-fruits, and tithes, and offerings, and gifts, now are oblations, which are presented by holy bishops to the Lord God, through Jesus Christ, who has died for them. For these are your high priests, as the presbyters are your priests, and your present deacons instead of your Levites; as are also your readers, your singers, your porters, your deaconesses, your widows, your virgins, and your orphans: but He who is above all these is the High Priest.

According To What Patterns And Dignity Every Order Of The Clergy Is Appointed By God.

26. The bishop, he is the minister of the word, the keeper of knowledge, the mediator between God and you in the several parts of your divine worship. He is the teacher of piety; and, next after God, he is your father, who has begotten you again to the adoption of sons by water and the Spirit. He is your ruler and governor; he is your king and potentate; he is, next after God, your earthly god, who has a right to be honoured by you. For concerning him, and such as he, it is that God pronounces, "I have said, You are gods; and you are all children of the Most High." And, "You shall not speak evil of the gods." Exodus 22:28 For let the bishop preside over you as one honoured with the authority of God, which he is to exercise over the clergy, and by which he is to govern all the people. But let the deacon minister to him, as Christ does to His Father; and let him serve him unblameably in all things, as Christ does nothing of Himself, but does always those things that please His Father. Let also the deaconess be honoured by you in the place of the Holy Ghost, and not do or say anything without the deacon; as neither does the Comforter say or do anything of Himself, but gives glory to Christ by waiting for His pleasure. And as we cannot believe in Christ without the teaching of the Spirit, so let not any woman address herself to the deacon or bishop without the deaconess. Let the presbyters be esteemed by you to represent us the apostles, and let them be the teachers of divine knowledge; since our Lord, when He sent us, said, "Go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." Matthew 28:19 Let the widows and orphans be esteemed as representing the altar of burnt-offering; and let the virgins be honoured as representing the altar of incense, and the incense itself.

That It Is A Horrible Thing For A Man To Thrust Himself Into Any Sacerdotal Office, As Did Corah And His Company, Saul And Uzziah.

27. As, therefore, it was not lawful for one of another tribe, that was not a Levite, to offer anything, or to approach the altar without the priest, so also do you do nothing without the bishop; for if any one does anything without the bishop, he does it to no purpose. For it will not be esteemed as of any avail to him. For as Saul, when he had offered without Samuel, was told, "It will not avail for you;" 1 Samuel 13:13 so every person among the laity, doing anything without the priest, labours in vain. And as Uzziah the king, who was not a priest, and yet would exercise the functions of the priests, was smitten with leprosy for his transgression; so every lay person shall not be unpunished who despises God, and is so mad as to affront His priests, and unjustly to snatch that honour to himself: not imitating Christ, "who glorified not Himself to be made an high priest;" Hebrews 5:5 but waited till He heard from His Father, "The Lord swore, and will not repent, You are a priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek." If, therefore, Christ did not glorify Himself without the Father, how dare any man thrust himself into the priesthood who has not received that dignity from his superior, and do such things which it is lawful only for the priests to do? Were not the followers of Corah, even though they were of the tribe of Levi, consumed with fire, because they rose up against Moses and Aaron, and meddled with such things as did not belong to them? And Dathan and Abiram went down quick into hell; and the rod that budded put a stop to the readiness of the multitude, and demonstrated who was the high priest ordained by God. You ought therefore, brethren, to bring your sacrifices and your oblations to the bishop, as to your high priest, either by yourselves or by the deacons; and do you bring not those only, but also your first-fruits, and your tithes, and your free-will offerings to him. For he knows who they are that are in affliction, and gives to every one as is convenient, that so one may not receive alms twice or oftener the same day, or the same week, while another has nothing at all. For it is reasonable rather to supply the wants of those who really are in distress, than of those who only appear to be so.

Of An Entertainment, And After What Manner Each Distinct Order Of The Clergy Is To Be Treated By Those Who Invite Them To It.

28. If any determine to invite elder women to an entertainment of love, or a feast, as our Saviour calls it, Luke 14:13 let them most frequently send to such a one whom the deacons know to be in distress. But let what is the pastor's due, I mean the first-fruits, be set apart in the feast for him, even though he be not at the entertainment, as being your priest, and in honour of that God who has entrusted him with the priesthood. But as much as is given to every one of the elder women, let double so much be given to the deacons, in honour of Christ. Let also a double portion be set apart for the presbyters, as for such who labour continually about the word and doctrine, upon the account of the apostles of our Lord, whose place they sustain, as the counsellors of the bishop and the crown of the Church. For they are the Sanhedrin and senate of the Church. If there be a reader there, let him receive a single portion, in honour of the prophets, and let the singer and the porter have as much. Let the laity, therefore, pay proper honours in their presents, and utmost marks of respect to each distinct order. But let them not on all occasions trouble their governor, but let them signify their desires by those who minister to him, that is, by the deacons, with whom they may be more free. For neither may we address ourselves to Almighty God, but only by Christ. In the same manner, therefore, let the laity make known all their desires to the bishop by the deacon, and accordingly let them act as he shall direct them. For there was no holy thing offered or done in the temple formerly without the priest. "For the priest's lips shall keep knowledge, and they shall seek the law at his mouth," as the prophet somewhere says, "for he is the messenger of the Lord Almighty." Malachi 2:7 For if the worshippers of demons, in their hateful, abominable, and impure performances, imitate the sacred rules till this very day (it is a wide comparison indeed, and there is a vast distance between their abominations and God's sacred worship), in their mockeries of worship they neither offer nor do anything without their pretended priest, but esteem him as the very mouth of their idols of stone, waiting to see what commands he will lay upon them. And whatsoever he commands them, that they do, and without him they do nothing; and they honour him, their pretended priest, and esteem his name as venerable in honour of lifeless statues, and in order to the worship of wicked spirits. If these heathens, therefore, who give glory to lying vanities, and place their hope upon nothing that is firm, endeavour to imitate the sacred rules, how much more reasonable is it that you, who have a most certain faith and undoubted hope, and who expect glorious, and eternal, and never-failing promises, should honour the Lord God in those set over you, and esteem your bishop to be the mouth of God!

What Is The Dignity Of A Bishop And Of A Deacon.

29. For if Aaron, because he declared to Pharaoh the words of God from Moses, is called a prophet; and Moses himself is called a god to Pharaoh, on account of his being at once a king and a high priest, as God says to him, "I have made you a god to Pharaoh, and Aaron your brother shall be your prophet;" Exodus 7:1 why do you not also esteem the mediators of the word to be prophets, and reverence them as gods?

After What Manner The Laity Are To Be Obedient To The Deacon.

30. For now the deacon is to you Aaron, and the bishop Moses. If, therefore, Moses was called a god by the Lord, let the bishop be honoured among you as a god, and the deacon as his prophet. For as Christ does nothing without His Father, so neither does the deacon do anything without his bishop; and as the Son without His Father is nothing, so is the deacon nothing without his bishop; and as the Son is subject to His Father, so is every deacon subject to his bishop; and as the Son is the messenger and prophet of the Father, so is the deacon the messenger and prophet of his bishop. Wherefore let all things that he is to do with any one be made known to the bishop, and be finally ordered by him.

That The Deacon Must Not Do Anything Without The Bishop.

31. Let him not do anything at all without his bishop, nor give anything without his consent. For if he gives to any one as to a person in distress without the bishop's knowledge, he gives it so that it must tend to the reproach of the bishop, and he accuses him as careless of the distressed. But he that casts reproach on his bishop, either by word or deed, opposes God, not hearkening to what He says: "You shall not speak evil of the gods." Exodus 22:28 For He did not make that law concerning deities of wood and of stone, which are abominable, because they are falsely called gods, but concerning the priests and the judges, to whom He also said, "You are gods, and children of the Most High."

That The Deacon Must Not Make Any Distributions Without The Consent Of The Bishop, Because That Will Turn To The Reproach Of The Bishop.

32. If therefore, O deacon, you know any one to be in distress, put the bishop in mind of him, and so give to him; but do nothing in a clandestine way, so as may tend to his reproach, lest you raise a murmur against him; for the murmur will not be against him, but against the Lord God: and the deacon, with the rest, will hear what Aaron and Miriam heard, when they spoke against Moses: "How is it that you were not afraid to speak against my servant Moses?" Numbers 12:8 And again, Moses says to those who rose up against him: "Your murmuring is not against us, but against the Lord our God." Exodus 16:8 For if he that calls one of the laity Raka, Matthew 5:22 or fool, shall not be unpunished, as doing injury to the name of Christ, how dare any man speak against his bishop, by whom the Lord gave the Holy Spirit among you upon the laying on of his hands, by whom you have learned the sacred doctrines, and have known God, and have believed in Christ, by whom you were known of God, by whom you were sealed with the oil of gladness and the ointment of understanding, by whom you were declared to be the children of light, by whom the Lord in your illumination testified by the imposition of the bishop's hands, and sent out His sacred voice upon every one of you, saying, "You are my son, this day have I begotten you?" By your bishop, O man, God adopts you for His child. Acknowledge, O son, that right hand which was a mother to you. Love him who, after God, has become a father to you, and honour him.

After What Manner The Bishops Are To Be Honoured, And To Be Reverenced As Our Spiritual Parents.

33. For if the divine oracle says, concerning our parents according to the flesh, "Honour your father and your mother, that it may be well with you;" Exodus 20:12 and, "He that curses his father or his mother, let him die the death;" Exodus 21:17 how much more should the word exhort you to honour your spiritual parents, and to love them as your benefactors and ambassadors with God, who have regenerated you by water, and endued you with the fullness of the Holy Spirit, who have fed you with the word as with milk, who have nourished you with doctrine, who have confirmed you by their admonitions, who have imparted to you the saving body and precious blood of Christ, who have loosed you from your sins, who have made you partakers of the holy and sacred eucharist, who have admitted you to be partakers and fellow-heirs of the promise of God! Reverence these, and honour them with all kinds of honour; for they have obtained from God the power of life and death, in their judging of sinners, and condemning them to the death of eternal fire, as also of loosing returning sinners from their sins, and of restoring them to a new life.

That Priests Are To Be Preferred Before Rulers And Kings.

34. Account these worthy to be esteemed your rulers and your kings, and bring them tribute as to kings; for by you they and their families ought to be maintained. As Samuel made constitutions for the people concerning a king, in the first book of Kings, and Moses did so concerning priests in Leviticus, so do we also make constitutions for you concerning bishops. For if there the multitude distributed the inferior services in proportion to so great a king, ought not therefore the bishop much more now to receive of you those things which are determined by God for the sustenance of himself and of the rest of the clergy belonging to him? But if we may add somewhat further, let the bishop receive more than the other received of old: for he only managed the affairs of the soldiery, being entrusted with war and peace for the preservation of men's bodies; but the other is entrusted with the exercise of the priestly office in relation to God, in order to preserve both body and soul from dangers. By how much, therefore, the soul is more valuable than the body, so much the priestly office is beyond the kingly. For it binds and looses those that are worthy of punishment or of remission. Wherefore you ought to love the bishop as your father, and fear him as your king, and honour him as your lord, bringing to him your fruits and the works of your hands, for a blessing upon you, giving to him your first-fruits, and your tithes, and your oblations, and your gifts, as to the priest of God; the first-fruits of your wheat, and wine, and oil, and autumnal fruits, and wool, and all things which the Lord God gives you. And your offering shall be accepted as a savour of a sweet smell to the Lord your God; and the Lord will bless the works of your hands, and will multiply the good things of the land. "For a blessing is upon the head of him that gives." Proverbs 11:26

That Both the Law and the Gospel Prescribe Offerings.

35. Now you ought to know, that although the Lord has delivered you from the additional bonds, and has brought you out of them to your refreshment, and does not permit you to

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sacrifice irrational creatures for sin-offerings, and purifications, and scapegoats, and continual washings and sprinklings, yet has He nowhere freed you from those oblations which you owe to the priests, nor from doing good to the poor. For the Lord says to you in the Gospel: "Unless your righteousness abound more than that of the scribes and Pharisees, you shall by no means enter into the kingdom of heaven." Matthew 5:20 Now herein will your righteousness exceed theirs, if you take greater care of the priests, the orphans, and the widows; as it is written: "He has scattered abroad; he has given to the poor; his righteousness remains forever." And again: "By acts of righteousness and faith iniquities are purged." Proverbs 16:6 And again: "Every bountiful soul is blessed." Proverbs 11:25 So therefore shall you do as the Lord has appointed, and shall give to the priest what things are due to him, the first-fruits of your floor, and of your wine-press, and sin-offerings, as to the mediator between God and such as stand in need of purgation and forgiveness. For it is your duty to give, and his to administer, as being the administrator and disposer of ecclesiastical affairs. Yet shall you not call your bishop to account, nor watch his administration, how he does it, when, or to whom, or where, or whether he do it well or ill, or indifferently; for he has One who will call him to an account, the Lord God, who put this administration into his hands, and thought him worthy of the priesthood of so great dignity.

The Recital Of The Ten Commandments, And After What Manner They Do Here Prescribe To Us.

36. Have before your eyes the fear of God, and always remember the ten commandments of God — to love the one and only Lord God with all your strength; to give no heed to idols, or any other beings, as being lifeless gods, or irrational beings or daemons. Consider the manifold workmanship of God, which received its beginning through Christ. You shall observe the Sabbath, on account of Him who ceased from His work of creation, but ceased not from His work of providence: it is a rest for meditation of the law, not for idleness of the hands. Reject every unlawful lust, everything destructive to men, and all anger. Honour your parents, as the authors of your being. Love your neighbour as yourself. Communicate the necessaries of life to the needy. Avoid swearing falsely, and swearing often, and in vain; for you shall not be held guiltless. Do not appear before the priests empty, and offer your free-will offerings continually. Moreover, do not leave the church of Christ; but go there in the morning before all your work, and again meet there in the evening, to return thanks to God that He has preserved your life. Be diligent, and constant, and labourious in your calling. Offer to the Lord your free-will offerings; for says He, "Honour the Lord with the fruit of your honest labours." Proverbs 3:9 If you are not able to cast anything considerable into the Corban, yet at least bestow upon the strangers one, or two, or five mites. "Lay up to yourself heavenly treasure, which neither the moth nor thieves can destroy." Matthew 6:20 And in doing this, do not judge your bishop, or any of your neighbours among the laity; for if you judge your brother, you become a judge, without being constituted such by anybody, for the priests are only entrusted with the power of judging. For to them it is said, "Judge righteous judgement;" and again "Approve yourselves to be exact money-changers." Zechariah 7:9 For to you this is not entrusted; for, on the contrary, it is said to those who are not of the dignity of magistrates or ministers: "Judge not, and you shall not be judged."

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS SECTION 5.
On Accusations, And The Treatment Of Accusers

Concerning Accusers And False Accusers, And How A Judge Is Not Rashly Either To Believe Them Or Disbelieve Them, But After An Accurate Examination.

37. But it is the duty of the bishop to judge rightly, as it is written, "Judge righteous judgement;" John 7:24 and elsewhere, "Why do you not even of yourselves judge what is right?" Luke 12:57 Be therefore as skilful dealers in money: for as these reject bad money, but take to themselves what is current, in the same manner it is the bishops's duty to retain the unblameable, but either to heal, or, if they be past cure, to cast off those that are blameworthy, so as not to be hasty in cutting off, nor to believe all accusations; for it sometimes happens that some, either through passion or envy, do insist on a false accusation against a brother, as did the two elders in the case of Susanna in Babylon, and the Egyptian woman in the case of Joseph. Therefore, as a man of God, do not rashly receive such accusations, lest you take away the innocent and slay the righteous; for he that will receive such accusations is the author of anger rather than of peace. But where there is anger, there the Lord is not; for that anger, which is the friend of Satan— I mean that which is excited unjustly by the means of false brethren — never suffers unanimity to be in the Church. Wherefore, when you know such persons to be foolish, quarrelsome, passionate, and such as delight in mischief, do not give credit to them; but observe such as they are, when you hear anything from them against their brother: for murder is nothing in their eyes, and they cast a man down in such a way as one would not suspect. Therefore consider diligently the accuser, wisely observing his mode of life, what, and of what sort it is; and in case you find him a man of veracity, do according to the doctrine of our Lord, Matthew 18:15 and taking him who is accused, rebuke him, that he may repent, when nobody is by. But if he be not persuaded, take with you out or two more, and so show him his fault, and admonish him with mildness and instruction; for "wisdom will rest upon an heart that is good, but is not understood in the heart of the foolish." Proverbs 14:32

That Sinners Are Privately To Be Reproved, And The Penitent To Be Received, According To The Constitution Of Our Lord.

38. If, therefore, he be persuaded by the mouth of you three, it is well. But if any one hardens himself, "tell it to the Church: but if he neglects to hear the Church, let him be to you as an heathen man and a publican;" Matthew 18:17 and receive him no longer into the Church as a Christian, but reject him as an heathen. But if he be willing to repent, receive him. For the Church does not receive an heathen or a publican to communion, before they every one repent of their former impieties; for our Lord Jesus, the Christ of God, has appointed place for the acceptance of men upon their repentance.

Examples Of Repentance.

39 . For I Matthew, one of those twelve which speak to you in this doctrine, am an apostle, having myself been formerly a publican, but now have obtained mercy through believing, and have repented of my former practices, and have been vouchsafed the honour to be an apostle and preacher of the word. And Zacchæus, whom the Lord received upon his repentance and prayers to Him, was also himself in the same manner a publican at first. And, besides, even the soldiers and multitude of publicans, who came to hear the word of the Lord about repentance, heard this from the prophet John, after he had baptised them: "Do nothing more than that which is appointed you." Luke 3:13 In like manner, life is not refused to the heathen, if they repent and cast away their unbelief. Esteem, therefore, every one that is convicted of any wicked action, and has not repented, as a publican or an heathen. But if he afterward repents, and turns from his error, then, as we receive the heathen, when they wish to repent, into the Church indeed to hear the word, but do not receive them to communion until they have received the seal of baptism, and are made complete Christians; so do we also permit such as these to enter only to hear, until they show the fruit of repentance, that by hearing the word they may not utterly and irrecoverably perish. But let them not be admitted to communion in prayer; and let them depart after the reading of the law, and the prophets, and the Gospel, that by such departure they may be made better in their course of life, by endeavouring to meet every day about the public assemblies, and to be frequent in prayer, that they also may be at length admitted, and that those who behold them may be affected, and be more secured by fearing to fall into the same condition.

That We Are Not To Be Implacable To Him Who Has Once Or Twice Offended.

40 . But yet do not you, O bishop, presently abhor any person who has fallen into one or two offenses, nor shall you exclude him from the word of the Lord, nor reject him from common intercourse, since neither did the Lord refuse to eat with publicans and sinners; and when He was accused by the Pharisees on this account, He said: "They that are well have no need of the physician, but they that are sick." Matthew 9:12 Do you, therefore, live and dwell with those who are separated from you for their sins; and take care of them, comforting them, and confirming them, and saying to them: "Be strengthened, you weak hands and feeble knees." Isaiah 35:3 For we ought to comfort those that mourn, and afford encouragement to the fainthearted, lest by immoderate sorrow they degenerate into distraction, since "he that is fainthearted is exceedingly distracted."

After What Manner We Ought To Receive A Penitent; How We Ought To Deal With Offenders, And When They Are To Be Cut Off From The Church.

41. But if any one returns, and shows forth the fruit of repentance, then do you receive him to prayer, as the lost son, the prodigal, who had consumed his father's substance with harlots, who fed swine, and desired to be fed with husks, and could not obtain it. This son, when he repented, and returned to his father, and said, "I have sinned against Heaven, and before you, and am no more worthy to be called your son;" Luke 15:21 the father, full of affection to his child, received him with music, and restored him his old robe, and ring, and shoes, and slew the fatted calf, and made merry with his friends. Therefore, O bishop, act in the same manner. And as you receive an heathen after you have instructed and baptised him, so do you let all join in prayers for this man, and restore him by imposition of hands to his ancient place among the flock, as one purified by repentance; and that imposition of hands shall be to him instead of baptism: for by the laying on of our hands the Holy Ghost was given to believers. And in case some one of those brethren who had stood immoveable accuse you, because you are reconciled to him, say to him: "You are always with me, and all that I have is yours. It was meet to make merry and be glad: for this your brother was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found." For that God does not only receive the penitent, but restores them to their former dignity, holy David is a sufficient witness, who, after his sin in the matter of Uriah, prayed to God, and said: "Restore unto me the joy of Your salvation, and uphold me with Your free Spirit." And again: "Turn Your face from my sins, and blot out all mine offenses. Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit in my inward parts. Cast me not away from Your presence, and take not Your Holy Spirit from me." Therefore, as a compassionate physician, heal all that have sinned, making use of saving methods of cure; not only cutting and searing, or using corrosives, but binding up, and putting in tents, and using gentle healing medicines, and sprinkling comfortable words. If it be an hollow wound, or great gash, nourish it with a suitable plaister, that it may be filled up, and become even with the rest of the whole flesh. If it be foul, cleanse it with corrosive powder, that is, with the words of reproof. If it have proud flesh, eat it down with a sharp plaister — the threats of judgement. If it spreads further, sear it, and cut off the putrid flesh, mortifying him with fastings. But if, after all that you have done, you perceive that from the feet to the head there is no room for a fomentation, or oil, or bandage, but that the malady spreads and prevents all cure, as a gangrene which corrupts the entire member; then, with a great deal of consideration, and the advice of other skilful physicians, cut off the putrefied member, that the whole body of the Church be not corrupted. Be not therefore ready and hasty to cut off, nor do you easily have recourse to the saw, with its many teeth; but first use a lancet to lay open the wound, that the inward cause whence the pain is derived being drawn out, may keep the body free from pain. But if you see any one past repentance, and he has become insensible, then cut off the incurable from the Church with sorrow and lamentation. For: "Take out from among yourselves that wicked person." Deuteronomy 17:7 And: "You shall make the children of Israel to fear." Leviticus 15:31 And again: "You shall not accept the persons of the rich in judgement." Deuteronomy 1:17; Leviticus 19:15 And: "You shall not pity a poor man in his cause: for the judgement is the Lord's." Exodus 23:3

That A Judge Must Not Be A Respecter Of Persons.

42. But if the slanderous accusation be false, and you that are the pastors, with the deacons, admit of that falsehood for truth, either by acceptance of persons or receiving of bribes, as willing to do that which will be pleasing to the devil, and so you thrust out from the Church him that is accused, but is clear of the crime, you shall give an account in the day of the Lord. For it is written: "The innocent and the righteous you shall not slay." Exodus 23:7-8 "You shall not take gifts to smite the soul: for gifts blind the eyes of the wise, and destroy the words of the righteous." And again: "They that justify the wicked for gifts, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him." Isaiah 5:23 Be careful, therefore, not to condemn any persons unjustly, and so to assist the wicked. For "woe to him that calls evil good, and good evil; bitter sweet, and sweet bitter; that puts light for darkness, and darkness for light." Isaiah 5:20 Take care, therefore, lest by any means you become acceptors of persons, and thereby fall under this voice of the Lord . For if you condemn others unjustly, you pass sentence against yourselves. For the Lord says: "With what judgement you judge, you shall be judged; and as you condemn, you shall be condemned." Matthew 7:2; Luke 6:37 If, therefore, you judge without respect of persons, you will discover that accuser who bears false witness against his neighbour, and will prove him to be a sycophant, a spiteful person, and a murderer, causing perplexity by accusing the man as if he were wicked, inconstant in his words, contradicting himself in what he affirms, and entangled with the words of his own mouth; for his own lips are a dangerous snare to him: whom, when you have convicted him of speaking falsely, you shall judge severely, and shall deliver him to the fiery sword, and you shall do to him as he wickedly proposed to do to his brother; for as much as in him lay he slew his brother, by forestalling the ears of the judge. Deuteronomy 19:19 Now it is written, that "he that sheds man's blood, for that his own blood shall be shed." Genesis 9:6 And: "You shall take away that innocent blood, which was shed without cause, from you." Deuteronomy 19:13

After What Manner False Accusers Are To Be Punished.

43. You shall therefore cast him out of the congregation as a murderer of his brother. Some time afterwards, if he says that he repents, mortify him with fastings, and afterwards you shall lay your hands upon him and receive him, but still securing him, that he does not disturb anybody a second time. But if, when he is admitted again, he be alike troublesome,

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and will not cease to disturb and to quarrel with his brother, spying faults out of a contentious spirit, cast him out as a pernicious person, that he may not lay waste the Church of God. For such a one is the raiser of disturbances in cities; for he, though he be within, does not become the Church, but is a superfluous and vain member, casting a blot, as far as in him lies, on the body of Christ. For if such men as are born with superfluous members of their body, which hang to them as fingers, or excrescences of flesh, cut them away from themselves on account of their indecency, whereby the unseemliness vanishes, and the man recovers his natural good shape by the means of the surgeon; how much more ought you, the pastors of the Church (for the Church is a perfect body, and sound members; of such as believe in God, in the fear of the Lord, and in love), to do the like when there is found in it a superfluous member with wicked designs, and rendering the rest of the body unseemly, and disturbing it with sedition, and war, and evil-speaking; causing fears, disturbances, blots, evil-speaking, accusations, disorders, and doing the like works of the devil, as if he were ordained by the devil to cast a reproach on the Church by calumnies, and mighty disorders, and strife, and division! Such a one, therefore, when he is a second time cast out of the Church, is justly cut off entirely from the congregation of the Lord. And now the Church of the Lord will be more beautiful than it was before, when it had a superfluous, and to itself a disagreeable member. Wherefore henceforward it will be free from blame and reproach, and become clear of such wicked, deceitful, abusive, unmerciful, traitorous persons; of such as are "haters of those that are good, lovers of pleasure," 2 Timothy 3:3-4 affecters of vainglory, deceivers, and pretenders to wisdom; of such as make it their business to scatter, or rather utterly to disperse, the lambs of the Lord.

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS SECTION 6.
The Disputes Of The Faithful To Be Settled By The Decisions Of The Bishop, And The Faithful To Be Reconciled

Therefore, O bishop, together with your subordinate clergy, endeavour rightly to divide the word of truth. For the Lord says: "If you walk cross-grained to me, I will walk cross-grained to you." Leviticus 26:27-28 And elsewhere: "With the holy You will be holy, and with the perfect man You will be perfect, and with the froward You will be froward." Walk therefore holily, that you may rather appear worthy of praise from the Lord than of complaint from the adversary.

That The Deacon Is To Ease The Burden Of The Bishops, And To Order The Smaller Matters Himself.

44. Be of one mind, O you bishops, one with another, and be at peace with one another; sympathize with one another, love the brethren, and feed the people with care; with one consent teach those that are under you to be of the same sentiments and to be of the same opinions about the same matters, "that there may be no schisms among you; that you may be one body and one spirit, perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgement," 1 Corinthians 1:10; Ephesians 4:4 according to the appointment of the Lord. And let the deacon refer all things to the bishop, as Christ does to His Father. But let him order such things as he is able by himself, receiving power from the bishop, as the Lord did from His Father the power of creation and of providence. But the weighty matters let the bishop judge; but let the deacon be the bishop's ear, and eye, and mouth, and heart, and soul, that the bishop may not be distracted with many cares, but with such only as are more considerable, as Jethro did appoint for Moses, and his counsel was received.

That Contentions And Quarrels Are Unbecoming Christians.

45. It is therefore a noble encomium for a Christian to have no contest with any one; but if by any management or temptation a contest arises with any one, let him endeavour that it may be composed, though thereby he be obliged to lose somewhat; and let it not come before an heathen tribunal. Nay, indeed, you are not to permit that the rulers of this world should pass sentence against your people; for by them the devil contrives mischief to the servants of God, and occasions a reproach to be cast upon us, as though we had not "one wise man that is able to judge between his brethren," or to decide their controversies.

That Believers Ought Not To Go To Law Before Unbelievers; Nor Ought Any Unbeliever To Be Called For A Witness Against Believers.

46. Let not the heathen therefore know of your differences among one another, nor do you receive unbelievers as witnesses against yourselves, nor be judged by them, nor owe them anything on account of tribute or fear; but "render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's," Matthew 22:21 as tribute, taxes, or poll-money, as our Lord by giving a piece of money was freed from disturbance. Choose therefore rather to suffer harm, and to endeavour after those things that make for peace, not only among the brethren, but also among the unbelievers. For by suffering loss in the affairs of this life, you will be sure not to suffer in the concerns of piety, and will live religiously, and according to the command of Christ. But if brethren have lawsuits one with another, which God forbid, you who are the rulers ought thence to learn that such as these do not do the work of brethren in the Lord, but rather of public enemies; and one of the parties will be found to be mild, gentle, and the child of light; but the other unmerciful, insolent, and covetous. Let him, therefore, who is condemned be rebuked, let him be separated, let him undergo the punishment of his hatred to his brother. Afterwards, when he repents, let him be received; and so, when they have learned prudence, they will ease your judicatures. It is also a duty to forgive each other's trespasses — not the duty of those that judge, but of those that have quarrels; as the Lord determined when I Peter asked Him, "How oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? Till seven times?" He replied, "I say not unto you, Until seven times, but until seventy times seven." Matthew 18:21-22 For so would our Lord have us to be truly His disciples, and never to have anything against anybody; as, for instance, anger without measure, passion without mercy, covetousness without justice, hatred without reconciliation. Draw by your instruction those who are angry to friendship, and those who are at variance to agreement. For the Lord says: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." Matthew 5:9

That The Judicatures Of Christians Ought To Be Held On The Second Day Of The Week.

47. Let your judicatures be held on the second day of the week, that if any controversy arise about your sentence, having an interval till the Sabbath, you may be able to set the controversy right, and to reduce those to peace who have the contests one with another against the Lord's day. Let also the deacons and presbyters be present at your judicatures, to judge without acceptance of persons, as men of God, with righteousness. When, therefore, both the parties have come, according as the law says, Deuteronomy 19:17 those that have the controversy shall stand severally in the middle of the court; and when you have heard them, give your votes holily, endeavouring to make them both friends before the sentence of the bishop, that judgement against the offender may not go abroad into the world; knowing that he has in the court the Christ of God as conscious of and confirming his judgement. But if any persons are accused by any one, and their fame suffers as if they did not walk uprightly in the Lord, in like manner you shall hear both parties — the accuser and accused; but not with prejudice, nor with hearkening to one part only, but with righteousness, as passing a sentence concerning eternal life or death. For says God: "He shall prosecute that which is right justly." Deuteronomy 16:20 For he that is justly punished and separated by you is rejected from eternal life and glory; he becomes dishonourable among holy men, and one condemned of God.

That The Same Punishment Is Not To Be Inflicted For Every Offence, But Different Punishments For Different Offenders.

48. Do not pass the same sentence for every sin, but one suitable to each crime, distinguishing all the several sorts of offenses with much prudence, the great from the little. Treat a wicked action after one manner, and a wicked word after another; a bare intention still otherwise. So also in the case of a contumely or suspicion. And some you shall curb by threatenings alone; some you shall punish with fines to the poor; some you shall mortify with fastings; and others you shall separate according to the greatness of their several crimes. For the law did not allot the same punishment to every offense, but had a different regard to a sin against God, against the priest, against the temple, or against the sacrifice; from a sin against the king, or ruler, or a soldier, or a fellow-subject; and so were the offenses different which were against a servant, a possession, or a brute creature. And again, sins were differently rated according as they were against parents and kinsmen, and those differently which were done on purpose from those that happened involuntarily. Accordingly the punishments were different: as death either by crucifixion or by stoning, fines, scourgings, or the suffering the same mischiefs they had done to others. Wherefore do you also allot different penalties to different offenses, lest any injustice should happen, and provoke God to indignation. For of what unjust judgement soever you are the instruments, of the same you shall receive the reward from God. "For with what judgement you judge you shall be judged." Matthew 7:2

What Are To Be The Characters Of Accusers And Witnesses.

49. When, therefore, you are set down at your tribunal, and the parties are both of them present (for we will not call them brethren until they receive each other in peace), examine diligently concerning those who appear before you; and first concerning the accuser, whether this be the first person he has accused, or whether he has advanced accusations against some others before, and whether this contest and accusation of theirs does not arise from some quarrel, and what sort of life the accuser leads. Yet, though he be of a good conscience, do not give credit to him alone, for that is contrary to the law; but let him have others to join in his testimony, and those of the same course of life. As the law says: "At the mouth of two or three witnesses everything shall be established." Deuteronomy 19:15 But why did we say that the character of the witnesses was to be inquired after, of what sort it is? Because it frequently happens that two and more testify for mischief, and with joint consent prefer a lie; as did the two elders against Susanna in Babylon, and the sons of transgressors against Naboth in Samaria, and the multitude of the Jews against our Lord at Jerusalem, and against Stephen His first martyr. Let the witnesses therefore be meek, free from anger, full of equity, kind, prudent, continent, free from wickedness, faithful, religious; for the testimony of such persons is firm on account of their character, and true on account of their mode of life. But as to those of a different character, do not receive their testimony, although they seem to agree together in their evidence against the accused; for it is ordained in the law: "You shall not be with a multitude for wickedness; you shall not receive a vain report; you shall not consent with a multitude to pervert judgement." Exodus 23:2 You ought also particularly to know him that is accused; what he is in his course and mode of life; whether he have a good report as to his life; whether he has been unblameable; whether he has been zealous in holiness; whether he be a lover of the widows, a lover of the strangers, a lover of the poor, and a lover of the brethren; whether he be not given to filthy lucre; whether he be not an extravagant person, or a spendthrift; whether he be sober, and free from luxury, or a drunkard, or a glutton; whether he be compassionate and charitable.

That Former Offences Do Sometimes Render After Accusations Credible.

50. For if he has been before addicted to wicked works, the accusations which are now brought against him will thence in some measure appear to be true, unless justice do plainly plead for him. For it may be, that though he had formerly been an offender, yet that he may not be guilty of this crime of which he is accused. Wherefore be exactly cautious about such circumstances, and so render your sentences, when pronounced against the offender convicted, safe and firm. And if, after his separation, he begs pardon, and falls down before the bishop, and acknowledges his fault, receive him. But neither do you suffer a false accuser to go unpunished, that he may not calumniate another who lives well, or encourage some other person to do like him. Nor, to be sure, do you allow a person convicted to go off clear, lest another be ensnared in the same crimes. For neither shall a witness of mischiefs be unpunished, nor shall he that offends be without censure.

Against Judging Without Hearing Both Sides.

51. We said before that judgement ought not to be given upon hearing only one of the parties; for if you hear one of them when the other is not there, and so cannot make his defense to the accusation brought against him, and rashly give your votes for condemnation, you will be found guilty of that man's destruction, and partaker with the false accuser before God, the just Judge. For "as he that holds the tail of a dog, so is he that presides at unjust judgement." Proverbs 26:17 But if you become imitators of the elders in Babylon, who, when they had borne witness against Susanna, unjustly condemned her to death, you will become obnoxious to their judgement and condemnation. For the Lord by Daniel delivered Susanna from the hand of the ungodly, but condemned to the fire those elders who were guilty of her blood, and reproaches you by him, saying: "Are you so foolish, you children of Israel? Without examination, and without knowing the truth, have you condemned a daughter of Israel? Return again to the place of judgement, for these men have borne false witness against her."

The Caution Observed at Heathen Tribunals Before the Condemnation of Criminals Affords Christians a Good Example.

52. Consider even the judicatures of this world, by whose power we see murderers, adulterers, wizards, robbers of sepulchres, and thieves brought to trial; and those that preside, when they have received their accusations from those that brought them, ask the malefactor whether those things be so. And though he does not deny the crimes, they do not presently send him out to punishment; but for several days they make inquiry about him with a full council, and with the veil interposed. And he that is to pass the final decree and suffrage of death against him, lifts up his hands to the sun, and solemnly affirms that he is innocent of the blood of the man. Though they be heathens, and know not the Deity, nor the vengeance which will fall upon men from God on account of those that are justly condemned, they avoid such unjust judgements.

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That Christians Ought Not To Be Contentious One With Another.

53. But you who know who our God is, and what are His judgements, how can you bear to pass an unjust judgement, since your sentence will be immediately known to God? And if you have judged righteously, you will be deemed worthy of the recompenses of righteousness, both now and hereafter; but if unrighteously, you will partake of the like. We therefore advise you, brethren, rather to deserve commendation from God than rebukes; for the commendation of God is eternal life to men, as is His rebuke everlasting death. Be therefore righteous judges, peacemakers, and without anger. For "he that is angry with his brother without a cause is obnoxious to the judgement." Matthew 5:22 But if it happens that by any one's contrivance you are angry at anybody, "let not the sun go down upon your wrath;" Ephesians 4:26 for says David, "Be angry and sin not;" that is, be soon reconciled, lest your wrath continue so long that it turn to a settled hatred, and work sin. "For the souls of those that bear a settled hatred are to death," says Solomon. But our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ says in the Gospels: "If you bring your gift to the altar, and there rememberest that your brother has anything against you, leave there your gift before the altar, and go your way; first be reconciled to your brother, and then come and offer your gift to God." Matthew 5:23-24 Now the gift to God is every one's prayer and thanksgiving. If, therefore, you have anything against your brother, or he has anything against you, neither will your prayers be heard, nor will your thanksgivings be accepted, by reason of that hidden anger. But it is your duty, brethren, to pray continually. Yet, because God hears not those which are at enmity with their brethren by unjust quarrels, even though they should pray three times an hour, it is our duty to compose all our enmity and littleness of soul, that we may be able to pray with a pure and unpolluted heart. For the Lord commanded us to love even our enemies, and by no means to hate our friends. And the lawgiver says: "You shall not hate any man; you shall not hate your brother in your mind. You shall certainly reprove your brother, and not incur sin on his account." Leviticus 19:17 "You shall not hate an Egyptian, for you were a sojourner with him. You shall not hate an Idumæan, for he is your brother." Deuteronomy 23:7 And David says: "If I have repaid those that requited me evil." Wherefore, if you will be a Christian, follow the law of the Lord: "Loose every band of wickedness;" Isaiah 58:6 for the Lord has given you authority to remit those sins to your brother which he has committed against you as far as "seventy times seven," Matthew 18:22 that is, four hundred and ninety times. How oft, therefore, have you remitted to your brother, that you are unwilling to do it now, when you also have heard Jeremiah saying, "Do not any of you impute the wickedness of his neighbour in your hearts?" Zechariah 8:17 But you remember injuries, and keepest enmity, and comest into judgement, and art suspicious of His anger, and your prayer is hindered. Nay, if you have remitted to your brother four hundred and ninety times, multiply your acts of gentleness still more, to do good for your own sake. Although he does not do so, yet, however, endeavour to forgive your brother for God's sake, "that you may be the son of your Father which is in heaven," Matthew 5:45 and when you pray, may be heard as a friend of God.

That The Bishops Must By Their Deacon Put The People In Mind Of The Obligation They Are Under To Live Peaceably Together.

54. Wherefore, O bishop, when you are to go to prayer after the lessons, and the psalmody, and the instruction out of the Scriptures, let the deacon stand near you, and with a loud voice say: Let none have any quarrel with another; let none come in hypocrisy; that if there be any controversy found among any of you, they may be affected in conscience, and may pray to God, and be reconciled to their brethren. For if, upon coming into any one's house, we are to say, "Peace be to this house," Matthew 10:12 like sons of peace bestowing peace on those who are worthy, as it is written, "He came and preached peace to you that are near, and those who are far off, whom the Lord knows to be His," much more is it incumbent on those that enter into the Church of God before all things to pray for the peace of God. But if he prays for it upon others, much more let himself be within the same, as a child of light; for he that has it not within himself is not fit to bestow it upon others. Wherefore, before all things, it is our duty to be at peace in our own minds; for he that does not find any disorder in himself will not quarrel with another, but will be peaceable, friendly, gathering the Lord's people, and a fellow-worker with him, in order to the increasing the number of those that shall be saved in unanimity. For those who contrive enmities, and strifes, and contests, and lawsuits, are wicked, and aliens from God.

An Enumeration Of The Several Instances Of Divine Providence, And How In Every Age From The Beginning Of The World God Has Invited All Men To Repentance.

55. For God, being a God of mercy from the beginning, called every generation to repentance by righteous men and prophets. He instructed those before the flood by Abel and Sem, and Seth, also by Enos, and by Enoch that was translated; those at the flood by Noah; the inhabitants of Sodom by hospitable Lot; those after the flood by Melchizedek, and the patriarchs, and Job the beloved of God; the Egyptians by Moses; the Israelites by him, and Joshua, and Caleb, and Phineas, and the rest; those after the law by angels and prophets, and the same by His own incarnation of the Virgin; those a little before His bodily appearance by John His forerunner, and the same by the same person after Christ's birth, saying, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand;" Matthew 3:2 those after His passion by us, the twelve apostles, and Paul the chosen vessel. We therefore, who have been vouchsafed the favour of being the witnesses of His appearance, together with James the brother of our Lord, and the other seventy-two disciples, and his seven deacons, have heard from the mouth of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by exact knowledge declare "what is the will of God, that good, and acceptable, and perfect will" Romans 12:2 which is made known to us by Jesus; that none should perish, but that all men with one accord should believe in Him, and send unanimously praise to Him, and thereby live forever.

That It Is The Will Of God That Men Should Be Of One Mind In Matters Of Religion, In Accord With The Heavenly Powers.

56. For this is that which our Lord taught us when we pray to say to His Father, "Your will be done, as in heaven, so upon earth;" Matthew 6:10 that as the heavenly natures of the incorporeal powers do all glorify God with one consent, so also upon earth all men with one mouth and one purpose may glorify the only, the one, and the true God, by Christ His only-begotten. It is therefore His will that men should praise Him with unanimity, and adore Him with one consent. For this is His will in Christ, that those who are saved by Him may be many; but that you do not occasion any loss or diminution to Him, nor to the Church, or lessen the number by one soul of man, as destroyed by you, which might have been saved by repentance; and which therefore perishes not only by its own sin, but also by your treachery besides, whereby you fulfil that which is written, "He that gathers not with me, scatters." Matthew 12:30 Such a one is a disperser of the sheep, an adversary, an enemy of God, a destroyer of those lambs whose Shepherd was the Lord, and we were the collectors out of various nations and tongues, by much pains and danger, and perpetual labour, by watchings, by fastings, by lyings on the ground, by persecutions, by stripes, by imprisonments, that we might do the will of God, and fill the feast-chamber with guests to sit down at His table, that is, the holy and Catholic Church, with joyful and chosen people, singing hymns and praises to God that has called them by us to life. And you, as much as in you lies, have dispersed them. Do you also of the laity be at peace with one another, endeavouring like wise men to increase the Church, and to turn back, and tame, and restore those which seem wild. For this is the greatest reward by His promise from God, "If you fetch out the worthy and precious from the unworthy, you shall be as my mouth." Jeremiah 15:19

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS SECTION 7.
On Assembling In The Church

An Exact Description Of A Church And The Clergy, And What Things In Particular Every One Is To Do In The Solemn Assemblies Of The Clergy And Laity For Religious Worship.

57. But be, O bishop, holy, unblameable, no striker, not soon angry, not cruel; but a builder up, a converter, apt to teach, forbearing of evil, of a gentle mind, meek, long-suffering, ready to exhort, ready to comfort, as a man of God.

When you call an assembly of the Church as one that is the commander of a great ship, appoint the assemblies to be made with all possible skill, charging the deacons as mariners to prepare places for the brethren as for passengers, with all due care and decency. And first, let the building be long, with its head to the east, with its vestries on both sides at the east end, and so it will be like a ship. In the middle let the bishop's throne be placed, and on each side of him let the presbytery sit down; and let the deacons stand near at hand, in close and small girt garments, for they are like the mariners and managers of the ship: with regard to these, let the laity sit on the other side, with all quietness and good order. And let the women sit by themselves, they also keeping silence. In the middle, let the reader stand upon some high place: let him read the books of Moses, of Joshua the Son of Nun, of the Judges, and of the Kings and of the Chronicles, and those written after the return from the captivity; and besides these, the books of Job and of Solomon, and of the sixteen prophets. But when there have been two lessons severally read, let some other person sing the hymns of David, and let the people join at the conclusions of the verses. Afterwards let our Acts be read, and the Epistles of Paul our fellow-worker, which he sent to the churches under the conduct of the Holy Spirit; and afterwards let a deacon or a presbyter read the Gospels, both those which I Matthew and John have delivered to you, and those which the fellow-workers of Paul received and left to you, Luke and Mark. And while the Gospel is read, let all the presbyters and deacons, and all the people, stand up in great silence; for it is written: "Be silent, and hear, O Israel." Deuteronomy 27:9 And again: "But stand there, and hear." Deuteronomy 5:31 In the next place, let the presbyters one by one, not all together, exhort the people, and the bishop in the last place, as being the commander. Let the porters stand at the entries of the men, and observe them. Let the deaconesses also stand at those of the women, like shipmen. For the same description and pattern was both in the tabernacle of the testimony and in the temple of God. But if any one be found sitting out of his place, let him be rebuked by the deacon, as a manager of the foreship, and be removed into the place proper for him; for the Church is not only like a ship, but also like a sheepfold. For as the shepherds place all the brute creatures distinctly, I mean goats and sheep, according to their kind and age, and still every one runs together, like to his like; so is it to be in the Church. Let the young persons sit by themselves, if there be a place for them; if not, let them stand upright. But let those that are already stricken in years sit in order. For the children which stand, let their fathers and mothers take them to them. Let the younger women also sit by themselves, if there be a place for them; but if there be not, let them stand behind the women. Let those women which are married, and have children, be placed by themselves; but let the virgins, and the widows, and the elder women, stand or sit before all the rest; and let the deacon be the disposer of the places, that every one of those that comes in may go to his proper place, and may not sit at the entrance. In like manner, let the deacon oversee the people, that nobody may whisper, nor slumber, nor laugh, nor nod; for all ought in the church to stand wisely, and soberly, and attentively, having their attention fixed upon the word of the Lord. After this, let all rise up with one consent, and looking towards the east, after the catechumens and penitents are gone out, pray to God eastward, who ascended up to the heaven of heavens to the east; remembering also the ancient situation of paradise in the east, from whence the first man, when he had yielded to the persuasion of the serpent, and disobeyed the command of God, was expelled. As to the deacons, after the prayer is over, let some of them attend upon the oblation of the Eucharist, ministering to the Lord's body with fear. Let others of them watch the multitude, and keep them silent. But let that deacon who is at the high priest's hand say to the people, Let no one have any quarrel against another; let no one come in hypocrisy. Then let the men give the men, and the women give the women, the Lord's kiss. But let no one do it with deceit, as Judas betrayed the Lord with a kiss. After this let the deacon pray for the whole Church, for the whole world, and the several parts of it, and the fruits of it; for the priests and the rulers, for the high priest and the king, and the peace of the universe. After this let the high priest pray for peace upon the people, and bless them, as Moses commanded the priests to bless the people, in these words: "The Lord bless you, and keep you: the Lord make His face to shine upon you, and give you peace." Let the bishop pray for the people, and say: "Save Your people, O Lord, and bless Your inheritance, which You have obtained with the precious blood of Your Christ, and hast called a royal priesthood, and an holy nation." After this let the sacrifice follow, the people standing, and praying silently; and when the oblation has been made, let every rank by itself partake of the Lord's body and precious blood in order, and approach with reverence and holy fear, as to the body of their king. Let the women approach with their heads covered, as is becoming the order of women; but let the door be watched, lest any unbeliever, or one not yet initiated, come in.

Of Commendatory Letters In Favour Of Strangers, Lay Persons, Clergymen, And Bishops; And That Those Who Come Into The Church Assemblies Are To Be Received Without Regard To Their Quality.

58. If any brother, man or woman, come in from another parish, bringing recommendatory letters, let the deacon be the judge of that affair, inquiring whether they be of the faithful, and of the Church? Whether they be not defiled by heresy? And besides, whether the party be a married woman or a widow? And when he is satisfied in these questions, that they are really of the faithful, and of the same sentiments in the things of the Lord, let him conduct every one to the place proper for him. And if a presbyter comes from another parish, let him be received to communion by the presbyters; if a deacon, by the deacons; if a bishop, let him sit with the bishop, and be allowed the same honour with himself; and you, O bishop, shall desire him to speak to the people words of instruction: for the exhortation and admonition of strangers is very acceptable, and exceeding profitable. For, as the Scripture says, "no prophet is accepted in his own country." You shall also permit him to offer the Eucharist; but if, out of reverence to you, and as a wise man, to preserve the honour belonging to you, he will not offer, at least you shall compel him to give the blessing to the people. But if, after the congregation is sat down, any other person comes upon you of good fashion and character in the world, whether he be a

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stranger, or one of your own country, neither do you, O bishop, if you are speaking the word of God, or hearing him that sings or reads, accept persons so far as to leave the ministry of the word, that you may appoint an upper place for him; but continue quiet, not interrupting your discourse, nor your attention. But let the brethren receive him by the deacons; and if there be not a place, let the deacon by speaking, but not in anger, raise the junior, and place the stranger there. And it is but reasonable that one that loves the brethren should do so of his own accord; but if he refuse, let him raise him up by force, and set him behind all, that the rest may be taught to give place to those that are more honourable. Nay, if a poor man, or one of a mean family, or a stranger, comes upon you, whether he be old or young, and there be no place, the deacon shall find a place for even these, and that with all his heart; that, instead of accepting persons before men, his ministration towards God may be well-pleasing. The very same thing let the deaconess do to those women, whether poor or rich, that come unto them.

That Every Christian Ought To Frequent The Church Diligently Both Morning And Evening.

59. When you instruct the people, O bishop, command and exhort them to come constantly to church morning and evening every day, and by no means to forsake it on any account, but to assemble together continually; neither to diminish the Church by withdrawing themselves, and causing the body of Christ to be without its member. For it is not only spoken concerning the priests, but let every one of the laity hearken to it as concerning himself, considering that it is said by the Lord: "He that is not with me is against me, and he that gathers not with me scatters abroad." Matthew 12:30 Do not you therefore scatter yourselves abroad, who are the members of Christ, by not assembling together, since you have Christ your head, according to His promise, present, and communicating to you. Be not careless of yourselves, neither deprive your Saviour of His own members, neither divide His body nor disperse His members, neither prefer the occasions of this life to the word of God; but assemble yourselves together every day, morning and evening, singing psalms and praying in the Lord's house: in the morning saying the sixty-second Psalm, and in the evening the hundred and fortieth, but principally on the Sabbath day. And on the day of our Lord's resurrection, which is the Lord's day, meet more diligently, sending praise to God that made the universe by Jesus, and sent Him to us, and condescended to let Him suffer, and raised Him from the dead. Otherwise what apology will he make to God who does not assemble on that day to hear the saving word concerning the resurrection, on which we pray thrice standing in memory of Him who arose in three days, in which is performed the reading of the prophets, the preaching of the Gospel, the oblation of the sacrifice, the gift of the holy food?

The Vain Zeal Which The Heathens And Jews Show In Frequenting Their Temples And Synagogues Is A Proper Example And Motive To Excite Christians To Frequent The Church.

60. And how can he be other than an adversary to God, who takes pains about temporary things night and day, but takes no care of things eternal? Who takes care of washings and temporary food every day, but does not take care of those that endure for ever? How can such a one even now avoid hearing that word of the Lord, "The Gentiles are justified more than you?" Ezekiel 16:52 as He says, by way of reproach, to Jerusalem, "Sodom is justified rather than you." For if the Gentiles every day, when they arise from sleep, run to their idols to worship them, and before all their work and all their labours do first of all pray to them, and in their feasts and in their solemnities do not keep away, but attend upon them; and not only those upon the place, but those living far distant do the same; and in their public shows all come together, as into a synagogue: in the same manner those which are vainly called Jews, when they have worked six days, on the seventh day rest, and come together into their synagogue, never leaving nor neglecting either rest from labour or assembling together, while yet they are deprived of the efficacy of the word in their unbelief, nay, and of the force of that name Judah, by which they call themselves — for Judah is interpreted Confession, — but these do not confess to God (having unjustly occasioned the suffering on the cross), so as to be saved on their repentance;— if, therefore, those who are not saved frequently assemble together for such purposes as do not profit them, what apology will you make to the Lord God who forsakest His Church, not imitating so much as the heathen, but by such your absence growest slothful, or turnest apostate, or actest wickedness? To whom the Lord says by Jeremiah: "You have not kept my ordinances; nay, you have not walked according to the ordinances of the heathen, and you have in a manner exceeded them." And again: "Israel has justified his soul more than treacherous Judah." Jeremiah 3:11 And afterwards: "Will the Gentiles change their gods which are not gods? Wherefore pass over to the isles of Chittim, and behold, and send to Kedar, and observe diligently whether such things have been done. For those nations have not changed their ordinances; but," says He, "my people has changed its glory for that which will not profit." How, therefore, will any one make his apology who has despised or absented himself from the church of God?

That We Must Not Prefer The Affairs Of This Life To Those Which Concern The Worship Of God.

61. But if any one allege the pretence of his own work, and so is a despiser, "offering pretences for his sins," let such a one know that the trades of the faithful are works by the by, but the worship of God is their great work. Follow therefore your trades as by the by, for your maintenance, but make the worship of God your main business; as also our Lord said: "Labour not for the meat which perishes, but for that which endures unto everlasting life." John 6:27 And again: "This is the work of God, that you believe in Him whom He has sent." John 6:29 Endeavour therefore never to leave the Church of God; but if any one overlooks it, and goes either into a polluted temple of the heathens, or into a synagogue of the Jews or heretics, what apology will such a one make to God in the day of judgement, who has forsaken the oracles of the living God, and the living and quickening oracles, such as are able to deliver from eternal punishment, and has gone into a house of demons, or into a synagogue of the murderers of Christ, or the congregation of the wicked?— not hearkening unto him that says: "I have hated the congregation of the wicked, and I will not enter with the ungodly. I have not sat with the assembly of vanity, neither will I sit with the ungodly." And again: "Blessed is the man that has not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners, and has not sat in the seat of the scornful; but his delight is in the law of the Lord, and in His law will he meditate day and night." But you, forsaking the gathering together of the faithful, the Church of God, and His laws, hast respect to those "dens of thieves," calling those things holy which He has called profane, and making such things unclean which He has sanctified. And not only so, but you already run after the pomps of the Gentiles, and hasten to their theatres, being desirous to be reckoned one of those that enter into them, and to partake of unseemly, not to say abominable words; not hearkening to Jeremiah, who says, "O Lord, I have not sat in their assemblies, for they are scorners; but I was afraid because of Your hand;" Jeremiah 15:17 nor to Job, who speaks in like manner, "If I have gone at any time with the scornful; for I shall be weighed in a just balance." Job 31:5-6 But why will you be a partaker of the heathen oracles, which are nothing but dead men declaring by the inspiration of the devil deadly things, and such as tend to subvert the faith, and to draw those that attend to them to polytheism? Therefore, you who attend to the laws of God should esteem those laws more honourable than the necessities of this life, and pay a greater respect to them, and run together to the Church of the Lord, "which He has purchased with the blood of Christ, the beloved, the first-born of every creature." For this Church is the daughter of the Highest, which has been in travail of you by the word of grace, and has "formed Christ in you," of whom you are made partakers, and thereby become His holy and chosen members, "not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; but as being holy and unspotted in the faith, you are complete in Him, after the image of God that created you." Ephesians 5:27

That Christians Must Abstain From All The Impious Practices Of The Heathens.

62. Take heed, therefore, not to join yourselves in your worship with those that perish, which is the assembly of the Gentiles, to your deceit and destruction. For there is no fellowship between God and the devil; for he that assembles himself with those that favour the things of the devil, will be esteemed one of them, and will inherit a woe. Avoid also indecent spectacles: I mean the theatres and the pomps of the heathens; their enchantments, observations of omens, soothsayings, purgations, divinations, observations of birds; their necromancies and invocations. For it is written: "There is no divination in Jacob, nor soothsaying in Israel." Numbers 23:23 And again: "Divination is iniquity." And elsewhere: "You shall not be soothsayers, and follow observers of omens, nor diviners, nor dealers with familiar spirits. You shall not preserve alive wizards." Leviticus 19:26; Deuteronomy 18:10 Wherefore Jeremiah exhorts, saying: "Walk not according to the ways of the heathen, and be not afraid of the signs of heaven." So that it is the duty of a believer to avoid the assemblies of the ungodly, of the heathen, and of the Jews, and of the rest of the heretics, lest by uniting ourselves to them we bring snares upon our own souls; that we may not by joining in their feasts, which are celebrated in honour of demons, be partakers with them in their impiety. You are also to avoid their public meetings, and those sports which are celebrated in them. For a believer ought not to go to any of those public meetings, unless to purchase a slave, and save a soul, and at the same time to buy such other things as suit their necessities. Abstain, therefore, from all idolatrous pomp and state, all their public meetings, banquets, duels, and all shows belonging to demons.

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS SECTION 8.
On The Duty Of Working For A Livelihood

That A Christian Who Will Not Work Must Not Eat, As Peter And The Rest Of The Apostles Were Fishermen, But Paul And Aquila Tentmakers, Jude The Son Of James An Husbandman.

63. Let the young persons of the Church endeavour to minister diligently in all necessaries: mind your business with all becoming seriousness, that so you may always have sufficient to support yourselves and those that are needy, and not burden the Church of God. For we ourselves, besides our attention to the word of the Gospel, do not neglect our inferior employments. For some of us are fishermen, some tentmakers, some husbandmen, that so we may never be idle. So says Solomon somewhere: "Go to the ant, you sluggard; consider her ways diligently, and become wiser than she. For she, having neither field, overseer, nor ruler, prepares her food in the summer, and lays up a great store in the harvest. Or else go to the bee, and learn how labourious she is, and her work how valuable it is, whose labours both kings and mean men make use of for their health. She is desirable and glorious, though she be weak in strength, yet by honouring wisdom she is improved, etc. How long will you lie on your bed, O sluggard? When will you wake out of your sleep? You sleep awhile, you lie down awhile, you slumber awhile, you fold your hands on your breast to sleep awhile. Then poverty comes on you like an evil traveller, and want as a swift racer. But if you are diligent, your harvest shall come as a fountain, and want shall fly from you as an evil renegade." And again: "He that manages his own land shall be filled with bread." Proverbs 12:11 And elsewhere he says: "The slothful has folded his own hands together, and has eaten his own flesh." Ecclesiastes 4:5 And afterwards: "The sluggard hides his hand; he will not be able to bring it to his mouth." Proverbs 19:24 And again: "By slothfulness of the hands a floor will be brought low." Ecclesiastes 10:18 Labour therefore continually; for the blot of the slothful is not to be healed. But "if any one does not work, let not such a one eat" 2 Thessalonians 3:10 among you. For the Lord our God hates the slothful. For no one of those who are dedicated to God ought to be idle.

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS BOOK 3

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS SECTION 1.
Concerning Widows

The Age At Which Widows Should Be Chosen.

1. Choose your "widows not under sixty years of age," that in some measure the suspicion of a second marriage may be prevented by their age. But if you admit one younger into the order of widows, and she cannot bear her widowhood in her youth, and marries, she will procure indecent reflections on the glory of the order of the widows, and shall give an account to God; not because she married a second time, but because she has "grown wanton against Christ," 1 Timothy 5:11 and not kept her promise, because she did not come and keep her promise with faith and the fear of God. Wherefore such a promise ought not to be rashly made, but with great caution: "for it is better for her not to vow, than to vow and not to pay." Ecclesiastes 5:5 But if any younger woman, who has lived but a while with her husband, and has lost him by death or some other occasion, and remains by herself, having the gift of widowhood, she will be found to be blessed, and to be like the widow of Sarepta, belonging to Sidon, with whom the holy prophet of God, Elijah, 1 Kings 17:9 lodged. Such a one may also be compared to "Anna, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Aser, which departed not from the temple, but continued in supplications and prayers night and day, who was fourscore years old, and had lived with an husband seven years from her virginity, who glorified the coming of Christ, and gave thanks to the Lord, and spoke concerning Him to all those who looked for redemption in Israel." Such a widow will have a good report, and will be honoured, having both glory with men upon earth, and eternal praise with God in heaven.

That We Must Avoid The Choice Of Younger Widows, Because Of Suspicion.

2. But let not the younger widows be placed in the order of widows, lest, under pretence of inability to contain in the flower of their age, they come to a second marriage, and become subject to imputation. But let them be assisted and supported, that so they may not, under pretence of being deserted, come to a second marriage, and so be ensnared in an unseemly imputation. For you ought to know this, that once marrying according to the law is righteous, as being according to the will of God; but second marriages, after the promise, are wicked, not on account of the marriage itself, but because of the falsehood. Third marriages are indications of incontinency. But such marriages as are beyond the third

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are manifest fornication, and unquestionable uncleanness. For God in the creation gave one woman to one man; for "they two shall be one flesh." Genesis 2:24 But to the younger women let a second marriage be allowed after the death of their first husband, lest they fall into the condemnation of the devil, and many snares, and foolish lusts, which are hurtful to souls, and which bring upon them punishment rather than rest.

What Character The Widows Ought To Be Of, And How They Ought To Be Supported By The Bishop.

3. But the true widows are those which have had only one husband, having a good report among the generality for good works; widows indeed, sober, chaste, faithful, pious, who have brought up their children well, and have entertained strangers unblameably, which are to be supported as devoted to God. Besides, O bishop, be mindful of the needy, both reaching out your helping hand and making provision for them as the steward of God, distributing seasonably the oblations to every one of them, to the widows, the orphans, the friendless, and those tried with affliction.

That We Ought To Be Charitable To All Sorts Of Persons In Want.

4. For what if some are neither widows nor widowers, but stand in need of assistance, either through poverty or some disease, or the maintenance of a great number of children? It is your duty to oversee all people, and to take care of them all. For they that give gifts do not of their own head give them to the widows, but barely bring them in, calling them free-will offerings, that so you who know those that are in affliction may as a good steward give them their portion of the gift. For God knows the giver, though you distribute it to those in want when he is absent. And he has the reward of well-doing, but you have the blessedness of having dispensed it with a good conscience. But tell them who was the giver, that they may pray for him by name. For it is our duty to do good to all men, not fondly preferring one or another, whoever they be. For the Lord says: "Give to every one that asks of you." It is evident that it is meant of every one that is really in want, whether he be friend or foe, whether he be a kinsman or a stranger, whether he be single or married. For in all the Scripture the Lord gives us exhortations about the needy, saying first by Isaiah: "Deal your bread to the hungry, and bring the poor which have no covering into your house. If you see the naked, cover him; and you shall not overlook those which are of your own family and seed." And then by Daniel He says to the potentate: "Wherefore, O king, let my counsel please you, and purge your sins by acts of mercy, and your iniquities by bowels of compassion to the needy." And He says by Solomon: "By acts of mercy and of faith iniquities are purged." And He says again by David: "Blessed is he that has regard to the poor and needy; the Lord shall deliver him in the evil day." And again: "He has dispersed abroad, he has given to the needy, his righteousness remains forever." And Solomon says: "He that has mercy on the poor lends to the Lord; according to his gift it shall be repaid him again." Proverbs 19:17 And afterwards: "He that stops his ear, that he may not hear him that is in want, he also shall call himself, and there shall be none to hear him." Proverbs 21:13

That The Widows Are To Be Very Careful Of Their Behavior.

5. Let every widow be meek, quiet, gentle, sincere, free from anger, not talkative, not clamorous, not hasty of speech, not given to evil-speaking, not captious, not double-tongued, not a busybody. If she see or hear anything that is not right, let her be as one that does not see, and as one that does not hear. And let the widow mind nothing but to pray for those that give, and for the whole Church; and when she is asked anything by any one, let her not easily answer, excepting questions concerning the faith, and righteousness, and hope in God, remitting those that desire to be instructed in the doctrines of godliness to the governors. Let her only answer so as may tend to the subversion of the error of polytheism, and let her demonstrate the assertion concerning the monarchy of God. But of the remaining doctrines let her not answer anything rashly, lest by saying anything unlearnedly she should make the word to be blasphemed. For the Lord has taught us that the word is like "a grain of mustard seed," Matthew 13:31 which is of a fiery nature, which if any one uses unskilfully, he will find it bitter. For in the mystical points we ought not to be rash, but cautious; for the Lord exhorts us, saying: "Cast not your pearls before swine, lest they trample them with their feet, and turn again and rend you." Matthew 7:6 For unbelievers, when they hear the doctrine concerning Christ not explained as it ought to be, but defectively, and especially that concerning His incarnation or His passion, will rather reject it with scorn, and laugh at it as false, than praise God for it. And so the aged women will be guilty of rashness, and of causing blasphemy, and will inherit a woe. For says He, "Woe to him by whom my name is blasphemed among the Gentiles." Isaiah 52:5

That Women Ought Not To Teach, Because It Is Unseemly; And What Women Followed Our Lord.

6. We do not permit our "women to teach in the Church," 1 Corinthians 14:34 but only to pray and hear those that teach; for our Master and Lord, Jesus Himself, when He sent us the twelve to make disciples of the people and of the nations, did nowhere send out women to preach, although He did not want such. For there were with us the mother of our Lord and His sisters; also Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Martha and Mary the sisters of Lazarus; Salome, and certain others. For, had it been necessary for women to teach, He Himself had first commanded these also to instruct the people with us. For "if the head of the wife be the man," 1 Corinthians 11:3 it is not reasonable that the rest of the body should govern the head. Let the widow therefore own herself to be the "altar of God," and let her sit in her house, and not enter into the houses of the faithful, under any pretence, to receive anything; for the altar of God never runs about, but is fixed in one place. Let, therefore, the virgin and the widow be such as do not run about, or wander to the houses of those who are alien from the faith. For such as these are wanderers and impudent: they do not make their feet to rest in one place, because they are not widows, but purses ready to receive, triflers, evil-speakers, counsellors of strife, without shame, impudent, who being such, are not worthy of Him that called them. For they do not come to the common station of the congregation on the Lord's day, as those that are watchful; but either they slumber, or trifle, or allure men, or beg, or ensnare others, bringing them to the evil one; not suffering them to be watchful in the Lord, but taking care that they go out as vain as they came in, because they do not hear the word of the Lord either taught or read. For of such as these the prophet Isaiah says: "Hearing you shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing you shall see, and not perceive: for the heart of this people is waxen gross, Isaiah 6:9-10 and they hear heavily with their ears ."

What Are The Characters Of Widows Falsely So Called.

7. In the same manner, therefore, the ears of the hearts of such widows as these are stopped, that they will not sit within in their cottages to speak to the Lord, but will run about with the design of getting, and by their foolish prattling fulfil the desires of the adversary. Such widows, therefore, are not affixed to the altar of Christ: for there are some widows which esteem gain their business; and since they ask without shame, and receive without being satisfied, render the generality more backward in giving. For when they ought to be content with their subsistence from the Church, as having moderate desires, on the contrary, they run from one of their neighbours' houses to another, and disturb them, heaping up to themselves plenty of money, and lend at bitter usury, and are only solicitous about mammon, whose bag is their god; who prefer eating and drinking before all virtue, saying, "Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die;" who esteem these things as if they were durable and not perishing things. For she that uses herself to nothing but talking of money, worships mammon instead of God — that is, is a servant to gain, but cannot be pleasing to God, nor resigned to His worship; not being able to intercede with Him continuously on account that her mind and disposition run after money: for "where the treasure is, there will the heart be also." For she is thinking in her mind whither she may go to receive, or that a certain woman her friend has forgot her, and she has somewhat to say to her. She that thinks of such things as these will no longer attend to her prayers, but to that thought which offers itself; so that though sometimes she would pray for anybody, she will not be heard, because she does not offer her petition to the Lord with her whole heart, but with a divided mind. But she that will attend to God will sit within, and mind the things of the Lord day and night, offering her sincere petition with a mouth ready to utter the same without ceasing. As therefore Judith, most famous for her wisdom, and of a good report for her modesty, "prayed to God night and day for Israel;" so also the widow who is like to her will offer her intercession without ceasing for the Church to God. And He will hear her, because her mind is fixed on this thing alone, and is not disposed to be either insatiable, or covetous, or expensive; when her eye is pure, and her hearing clean, and her hands undefiled, and her feet quiet, and her mouth prepared for neither gluttony nor trifling, but speaking the things that are fit, and partaking of only such things as are necessary for her maintenance. So, being grave, and giving no disturbance, she will be pleasing to God; and as soon as she asks anything, the gift will come to her: as He says, "While you are speaking, I will say, Behold, I am here." Let such a one also be free from the love of money, free from arrogance, not given to filthy lucre, not insatiable, not gluttonous, but continent, meek, giving nobody disturbance, pious, modest, sitting at home, singing, and praying, and reading, and watching, and fasting; speaking to God continually in songs and hymns. And let her take wool, and rather assist others than herself want from them; being mindful of that widow who is honoured in the Gospel with the Lord's testimony, who, coming into the temple, "cast into the treasury two mites, which make a farthing. And Christ our Lord and Master, and Searcher of hearts, saw her, and said, Verily I say unto you, that this widow has cast into the treasury more than they all: for all they have cast in of their abundance, but this woman of her penury has cast in all the living that she had."

The widows therefore ought to be grave, obedient to their bishops, and their presbyters, and their deacons, and besides these to the deaconesses, with piety, reverence, and fear; not usurping authority, nor desiring to do anything beyond the constitution without the consent of the deacon: as, suppose, the going to any one to eat or drink with him, or to receive anything from anybody. But if without direction she does any one of these things, let her be punished with fasting, or else let her be separated on account of her rashness.

That The Widows Ought Not To Accept Of Alms From The Unworthy No More Than The Bishop, Or Any Other Of The Faithful.

8. For how does such a one know of what character the person is from whom she receives? Or from what sort of ministration he supplies her with food, whether it does not arise from rapine or some other ill course of life? While the widow does not remember that if she receives in a way unworthy of God, she must give an account for every one of these things. For neither will the priests at any time receive a free-will offering from such a one, as, suppose, from a rapacious person or from a harlot. For it is written, "You shall not covet the goods that are your neighbour's;" and, "You shall not offer the hire of an harlot to the Lord God." From such as these no offerings ought to be accepted, nor indeed from those that are separated from the Church. Let the widows also be ready to obey the commands given them by their superiors, and let them do according to the appointment of the bishop, being obedient to him as to God; for he that receives from such a one who is worthy of blame, or from one excommunicated, and prays for him, while he purposes to go on in a wicked course, and while he is not willing at any time to repent, holds communion with him in prayer, and grieves Christ, who rejects the unrighteous, and confirms them by means of the unworthy gift, and is defiled with them, not suffering them to come to repentance, so as to fall down before God with lamentation, and pray to Him.

That Women Ought Not To Baptise, Because It Is Impious, And Contrary To The Doctrine Of Christ.

9. Now, as to women's baptizing, we let you know that there is no small peril to those that undertake it. Therefore we do not advise you to it; for it is dangerous, or rather wicked and impious. For if the "man be the head of the woman," and he be originally ordained for the priesthood, it is not just to abrogate the order of the creation, and leave the principal to come to the extreme part of the body. For the woman is the body of the man, taken from his side, and subject to him, from whom she was separated for the procreation of children. For says He, "He shall rule over you." Genesis 3:16 For the principal part of the woman is the man, as being her head. But if in the foregoing constitutions we have not permitted them to teach, how will any one allow them, contrary to nature, to perform the office of a priest? For this is one of the ignorant practices of the Gentile atheism, to ordain women priests to the female deities, not one of the constitutions of Christ. For if baptism were to be administered by women, certainly our Lord would have been baptised by His own mother, and not by John; or when He sent us to baptise, He would have sent along with us women also for this purpose. But now He has nowhere, either by constitution or by writing, delivered to us any such thing; as knowing the order of nature, and the decency of the action; as being the Creator of nature, and the Legislator of the constitution.

That A Layman Ought Not To Do Any Office Of The Priesthood: He Ought Neither To Baptise, Nor Offer, Nor Lay On Hands, Nor Give The Blessing.

10. Neither do we permit the laity to perform any of the offices belonging to the priesthood; as, for instance, neither the sacrifice, nor baptism, nor the laying on of hands, nor the blessing, whether the smaller or the greater: for "no one takes this honour to himself, but he that is called of God." Hebrews 5:4 For such sacred offices are conferred by the laying on of the hands of the bishop. But a person to whom such an office is not committed, but he seizes upon it for himself, he shall undergo the punishment of Uzziah.

That None But A Bishop And Presbyter, None Even Of The Inferior Ranks Of The Clergy, Are Permitted To Do The Offices Of The Priests; That Ordination Belongs Wholly To The Bishop, And To Nobody Else.

11. Nay, further, we do not permit to the rest of the clergy to baptise — as, for instance, neither to readers, nor singers, nor porters, nor ministers, — but to the bishops and presbyters alone, yet so that the deacons are to minister to them therein. But those who venture upon it shall undergo the punishment of the companions of Corah. Numbers xvi We

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do not permit presbyters to ordain deacons, or deaconesses, or readers, or ministers, or singers, or porters, but only bishops; for this is the ecclesiastical order and harmony.

The Rejection Of All Uncharitable Actions.

12. Now, as concerning envy, or jealousy, or evil-speaking, or strife, or the love of contention, we have said already to you, that these are alien from a Christian, and chiefly in the case of widows. But because the devil, who works in men, is in his conduct cunning, and full of various devices, he goes to those that are not truly widows, as formerly to Cain (for some say they are widows, but do not perform the injunctions agreeable to the widowhood; as neither did Cain discharge the duties due to a brother: for they do not consider how it is not the name of widowhood that will bring them to the kingdom of God, but true faith and holy works). But if any one possesses the name of widowhood, but does the works of the adversary, her widowhood will not be imputed, but she will be thrust out of the kingdom, and delivered to eternal punishment. For we hear that some widows are jealous, envious calumniators, and envious at the quiet of others. Such widows as these are not the disciples of Christ, nor of His doctrine; for it becomes them, when one of their fellow widows is clothed by any one, or receives money, or meat, or drink, or shoes, at the sight of the refreshment of their sister to say:—

How The Widows Are To Pray For Those That Supply Their Necessities.

13. You are blessed, O God, who hast refreshed my fellow widow. Bless, O Lord, and glorify him that has bestowed these things upon her, and let his good work ascend in truth to You, and remember him for good in the day of his visitation. And as for my bishop — who has so well performed his duty to You, and has ordered such a seasonable alms to be bestowed on my fellow-widow, who was naked — increase his glory, and give him a crown of rejoicing in the day of the revelation of Your visitation. In the same manner, let the widow who has received the alms join with the other in praying for him who ministered to her.

That She Who Has Been Kind To The Poor Ought Not To Make A Stir And Tell Abroad Her Name, According To The Constitution Of The Lord.

14. But if any woman has been good, let her, as a prudent person, conceal her own name, not sounding a trumpet before her, that her alms may be with God in secret, as the Lord says: "You, when you do your alms, let not your left hand know what your right hand is doing, that your alms may be in secret." Matthew 6:3-4 And let the widow pray for him that gave her the alms, whosoever he be, as being the holy altar of Christ; and "the Father, who sees in secret, will render to him that did good openly." But those widows which will not live according to the command of God, are solicitous and inquisitive what deaconess it is that gives the charity, and what widows receive it. And when she has learned those things, she murmurs at the deaconess who distributed the charity, saying, Do you not see that I am in more distress, and want of your charity? Why, therefore, have you preferred her before me? She says these things foolishly, not understanding that this does not depend on the will of man, but the appointment of God. For if she is herself a witness that she was nearer, and, upon inquiry, was in greater want, and more naked than the other, she ought to understand who it is that made this constitution, and to hold her peace, and not to murmur at the deaconess who distributed the charity, but to enter into her own house, and to cast herself prostrate on her face to make supplication to God that her sin may be forgiven her. For God commanded the deaconess who brought the charity not to proclaim the same, and this widow murmured because she did not publish her name, that so she might know it, and run to receive; nay, did not only murmur, but also cursed her, forgetting Him that said: "He that blesses you is blessed, and he that curses you is cursed." Genesis 27:29 But the Lord says: "When you enter into a house, say, Peace be to this house. And if the son of peace be there, your peace shall rest upon it; but if it be not worthy, your peace shall return to you." Luke 10:5-6; Matthew 10:12-13

That It Does Not Become Us To Revile Our Neighbours, Because Cursing Is Contrary To Christianity.

15. If, therefore, peace returns upon those that sent it, nay, upon those that before had actually given it, because it did not find persons fit to receive it, much rather will a curse return upon the head of him that unjustly sent it, because he to whom it was sent was not worthy to receive it: for all those who abuse others without a cause curse themselves, as Solomon says: "As birds and sparrows fly away, so the curse causeless shall not come upon any one." Proverbs 26:2 And again he says: "Those that bring reproaches are exceeding foolish." Proverbs 10:18 But as the bee, a creature as to its strength feeble, if she stings any one, loses her sting, and becomes a drone; in the same manner you also, whatsoever injustice you do to others, will bring it upon yourselves. "He has graven and dug a pit, and he shall fall into the same ditch that he has made." And again: "He that digs a pit for his neighbour, shall fall into it." Proverbs 26:27 Wherefore he that avoids a curse, let him not curse another; for "what you hate should be done to you, do not do to another." Tobit 4:16 Wherefore admonish the widows that are feeble-minded, strengthen those of those who are weak, and praise such of them as walk in holiness. Let them rather bless, and not calumniate. Let them make peace, and not stir up contention.

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS SECTION 2.
On Deacons And Deaconesses,
The Rest Of The Clergy, And On Baptism

Let not therefore either a bishop, or a presbyter, or a deacon, or any one else of the sacerdotal catalogue, defile his tongue with calumny, lest he inherit a curse instead of a blessing; and let it also be the bishop's business and care that no lay person utter any curse: for he ought to take care of all — of the clergy, of the virgins, of the widows, of the laity. For which reason, O bishop, ordain your fellow-workers, the labourers for life and for righteousness, such deacons as are pleasing to God, such whom you prove to be worthy among all the people, and such as shall be ready for the necessities of their ministration. Ordain also a deaconess who is faithful and holy, for the ministrations towards women. For sometimes he cannot send a deacon, who is a man, to the women, on account of unbelievers. You shall therefore send a woman, a deaconess, on account of the imaginations of the bad. For we stand in need of a woman, a deaconess, for many necessities; and first in the baptism of women, the deacon shall anoint only their forehead with the holy oil, and after him the deaconess shall anoint them: for there is no necessity that the women should be seen by the men; but only in the laying on of hands the bishop shall anoint her head, as the priests and kings were formerly anointed, not because those which are now baptised are ordained priests, but as being Christians, or anointed, from Christ the Anointed, "a royal priesthood, and an holy nation, the Church of God, the pillar and ground of the marriage-chamber," 1 Peter 2:9; 1 Timothy 3:15 who formerly were not a people, but now are beloved and chosen, upon whom is called His new name as Isaiah the prophet witnesses, saying: "And they shall call the people by His new name, which the Lord shall name for them."

Concerning The Sacred Initiation Of Holy Baptism.

16. You therefore, O bishop, according to that type, shall anoint the head of those that are to be baptised, whether they be men or women, with the holy oil, for a type of the spiritual baptism. After that, either you, O bishop, or a presbyter that is under you, shall in the solemn form name over them the Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit, and shall dip them in the water; and let a deacon receive the man, and a deaconess the woman, that so the conferring of this inviolable seal may take place with a becoming decency. And after that, let the bishop anoint those that are baptised with ointment.

What Is The Meaning Of Baptism Into Christ, And On What Account Everything Is There Said Or Done.

17. This baptism, therefore, is given into the death of Jesus: the water is instead of the burial, and the oil instead of the Holy Ghost; the seal instead of the cross; the ointment is the confirmation of the confession; the mention of the Father as of the Author and Sender; the joint mention of the Holy Ghost as of the witness; the descent into the water the dying together with Christ; the ascent out of the water the rising again with Him. The Father is the God over all; Christ is the only-begotten God, the beloved Son, the Lord of glory; the Holy Ghost is the Comforter, who is sent by Christ, land taught by Him, and proclaims Him.

Of What Character He Ought To Be Who Is Initiated.

18. But let him that is to be baptised be free from all iniquity; one that has left off to work sin, the friend of God, the enemy of the devil, the heir of God the Father, the fellow-heir of His Son; one that has renounced Satan, and the demons, and Satan's deceits; chaste, pure, holy, beloved of God, the son of God, praying as a son to his father, and saying, as from the common congregation of the faithful, thus: "Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be Your name; Your kingdom come; Your will be done on earth, as it is in heaven; give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one: for Yours is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever. Amen."

What Are The Characters Of A Deacon.

19. Let the deacons be in all things unspotted, as the bishop himself is to be, only more active; in number according to the largeness of the Church, that they may minister to the infirm as workmen that are not ashamed. And let the deaconess be diligent in taking care of the women; but both of them ready to carry messages, to travel about, to minister, and to serve, as spoke Isaiah concerning the Lord, saying: "To justify the righteous, who serves many faithfully." Let every one therefore know his proper place, and discharge it diligently with one consent, with one mind, as knowing the reward of their ministration; but let them not be ashamed to minister to those that are in want, as even our "Lord Jesus Christ came not to be ministered unto, but to minister and to give His life a ransom for many." Matthew 20:28 So therefore ought they also to do, and not to scruple it, if they should be obliged to lay down their life for a brother. For the Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ did not scruple to "lay down His life," as Himself says, "for His friends." John 15:13 If, therefore, the Lord of heaven and earth underwent all His sufferings for us, how then do you make a difficulty to minister to such as are in want, who ought to imitate Him who underwent servitude, and want, and stripes, and the cross for us? We ought therefore also to serve the brethren, in imitation of Christ. For says He: "He that will be great among you, let him be your minister; and he that will be first among you, let him be your servant." Matthew 20:26-27 For so did He really, and not in word only, fulfil the prediction of, "serving many faithfully." Isaiah 53:11 For "when He had taken a towel, He girded Himself. Afterward He puts water into a bason; and as we were sitting at meat, He came and washed the feet of us all, and wiped them with the towel." John 13:4-5 By doing this He demonstrated to us His kindness and brotherly affection, that so we also might do the same to one another. If, therefore, our Lord and Master so humbled Himself, how can you, the labourers of the truth, and administrators of piety, be ashamed to do the same to such of the brethren as are weak and infirm? Minister therefore with a kind mind, not murmuring nor mutinying; for you do not do it on the account of man, but on the account of God, and shall receive from Him the reward of your ministry in the day of your visitation. It is your duty who are deacons to visit all those who stand in need of visitation. And tell your bishop of all those that are in affliction; for you ought to be like his soul and senses — active and attentive in all things to him as to your bishop, and father and master.

That A Bishop Ought To Be Ordained By Three Or By Two Bishops, But Not By One; For That Would Be Invalid.

20. We command that a bishop be ordained by three bishops, or at least by two; but it is not lawful that he be set over you by one; for the testimony of two or three witnesses is more firm and secure. But a presbyter and a deacon are to be ordained by one bishop and the rest of the clergy. Nor must either a presbyter or a deacon ordain from the laity into the clergy; but the presbyter is only to teach, to offer, to baptise, to bless the people, and the deacon is to minister to the bishop, and to the presbyters, that is, to do the office of a ministering deacon, but not to meddle with the other offices.

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS BOOK 4

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS SECTION 1.
On Helping The Poor

Those Who Have No Children Should Adopt Orphans, And Treat Them As Their Own Children.

1. When any Christian becomes an orphan, whether it be a young man or a maid, it is good that some one of the brethren who is without a child should take the young man, and esteem him in the place of a son; and he that has a son about the same age, and that is marriageable, should marry the maid to him: for they which do so perform a great work, and become fathers to the orphans, and shall receive the reward of this charity from the Lord God. But if any one that walks in the way of man-pleasing is rich, and therefore is ashamed of orphans, the Father of orphans and Judge of widows will make provision for the orphans, but himself shall have such an heir as will spend what he has spared; and it shall happen to him according as it is said: "What things the holy people have not eaten, those shall the Assyrians eat." As also Isaiah says: "Your land, strangers devour it in your presence." Isaiah 1:7

How The Bishop Ought To Provide For The Orphans.

2. You should therefore, O bishops, be solicitous about their maintenance, being in nothing wanting to them; exhibiting to the orphans the care of parents; to the widows the care of husbands; to those of suitable age, marriage; to the artificer, work; to the unable, commiseration; to the strangers, a house; to the hungry, food; to the thirsty, drink; to the naked, clothing; to the sick, visitation; to the prisoners, assistance. Besides these, have a greater care of the orphans, that nothing may be wanting to them; and that as to the maiden, till she arrives at the age of marriage, and you give her in marriage to a brother: to the young man assistance, that he may learn a trade, and may be maintained by the advantage arising from it; that so, when he is dextrous in the management of it, he may thereby be enabled to buy himself the tools of his trade, that so he may no longer burden any of the brethren, or their sincere love to him, but may support himself: for certainly he is a happy man who is able to support

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himself, and does not take up the place of the orphan, the stranger, and the widow.

Who Ought To Be Supported According To The Lord's Constitution.

3. Since even the Lord said: "The giver was happier than the receiver." Acts 20:35 For it is again said by Him: "Woe to those that have, and receive in hypocrisy; or who are able to support themselves, yet will receive of others: for both of them shall give an account to the Lord God in the day of judgement." But an orphan who, by reason of his youth, or he that by the feebleness of old age, or the incidence of a disease, or the bringing up of many children, receives alms, such a one shall not only not be blamed, but shall be commended: for he shall be esteemed an altar to God, and be honoured by God, because of his zealous and constant prayers for those that give to him; not receiving idly, but to the uttermost of his power recompensing what is given him by his prayer Such a one therefore shall be blessed by God in eternal life. But he that has, and receives in hypocrisy or through idleness, instead of working and assisting others, shall be obnoxious to punishment before God, because he has snatched away the morsel of the needy.

Of The Love Of Money.

4. For he that has money and does not bestow it upon others, nor use it himself, is like the serpent, which they say sleeps over the treasures; and of him is that scripture true which says, "He has gathered riches of which he shall not taste;" and they will be of no use to him when he perishes justly. For it says, "Riches will not profit in the day of wrath." For such a one has not believed in God, but in his own gold; esteeming that his God, and trusting therein. Such a one is a dissembler of the truth, an accepter of persons, unfaithful, cheating, fearful, unmanly, light, of no value, a complainer, ever in pain, his own enemy, and nobody's friend. Such a one's money shall perish, and a man that is a stranger shall consume it, either by theft while he is alive, or by inheritance when he is dead. "For riches unjustly gotten shall be vomited up."

With What Fear Men Ought To Partake Of The Lord's Oblations.

5. We exhort, therefore, the widows and orphans to partake of those things that are bestowed upon them with all fear, and all pious reverence, and to return thanks to God who gives food to the needy, and to lift up their eyes to Him. For, says He, "Which of you shall eat, or who shall drink without Him? For He opens His hand, and fills every living thing with His kindness: giving wheat to the young men, and wine to the maidens, and oil for the joy of the living, grass for the cattle, and green herb for the service of men, flesh for the wild beasts, seeds for the birds, and suitable food for all creatures." Wherefore the Lord says: "Consider the fowls of heaven, that they sow not, neither do they reap nor gather into barns, and your Father feeds them. Are you not much better than they? Be not therefore solicitous, saying, What shall we eat? Or what shall we drink? For your Father knows that you have need of all these things." Since you therefore enjoy such a providential care from Him, and are partakers of the good things that are derived from Him, you ought to return praise to Him that receives the orphan and the widow, to Almighty God, through His beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord; through whom glory be to God in spirit and truth forever. Amen.

Whose Oblations Are To Be Received, And Whose Not To Be Received.

6. Now the bishop ought to know whose oblations he ought to receive, and whose he ought not. For he is to avoid corrupt dealers, and not receive their gifts. "For, a corrupt dealer shall not be justified from sin." For of them it was that Isaiah reproached Israel, and said, "Your corrupt dealers mingle wine with water." He is also to avoid fornicators, for "you shall not offer the hire of an harlot to the Lord." Deuteronomy 23:18 He is also to avoid extortioners, and such as covet other men's goods, and adulterers; for the sacrifices of such as these are abominable with God. Also those that oppress the widow and overbear the orphan, and fill prisons with the innocent, and abuse their own servants wickedly, I mean with stripes, and hunger, and hard service, nay, destroy whole cities — O bishop, avoid such as these, and their odious oblations. You shall also refuse rogues, and such pleaders that plead on the side of injustice, and idol-makers, and thieves, and unjust publicans, and those that deceive by false balances and deceitful measures, and a soldier who is a false accuser and not content with his wages, but does violence to the needy, a murderer, a cut-throat, and an unjust judge, a subverter of causes, him that lies in wait for men, a worker of abominable wickedness, a drunkard, a blasphemer, a sodomite, an usurer, and every one that is wicked and opposes the will of God. For the Scripture says that all such as these are abominable with God. For those that receive from such persons, and thereby support the widows and orphans, shall be obnoxious to the judgement-seat of God; as Adonias the prophet, in the book of Kings, when he disobeyed God, and both "eat bread and drank water in the place which the Lord had forbid him," 1 Kings 13 because of the impiety of Jeroboam, was slain by a lion. For the bread which is distributed to the widows from labour is better, though it be short and little, than that from injustice and false accusation, though it be much and fine. For the Scripture says: "Better is a little to the righteous, than much riches of the sinners." Now, although a widow, who eats and is filled from the impious, pray for them, she shall not be heard. For God, who knows the heart, with judgement has declared concerning the impious, saying, "If Moses and Samuel stand before my face in their behalf, I will not hear them;" Jeremiah 15:1 and, "Pray not for this people, and do not ask mercy for them, and do not intercede with me for them, for I will not hear you." Jeremiah 7:16

That The Oblations Of The Unworthy, While They Are Such, Do Not Only Not Propitiate God, But On The Contrary Provoke Him To Indignation.

7. And not these only, but those that are in sin and have not repented, will not only not be heard when they pray, but will provoke God to anger, as putting Him in mind of their own wickedness. Avoid therefore such ministrations, as you would the price of a dog and the hire of an harlot; for both of them are forbidden by the laws. For neither did Elisha receive the presents which were brought by Hazael, nor Ahijah those from Jeroboam; 1 Kings 14 but if the prophets of God did not admit of presents from the impious, it is reasonable, O bishops, that neither should you. Nay, when Simon the Magician offered money to me Peter and John, Acts viii and tried to obtain the invaluable grace by purchase, we did not admit it, but bound him with everlasting maledictions, because he thought to possess the gift of God, not by a pious mind towards God, but by the price of money. Avoid therefore such oblations to God's altar as are not from a good conscience. For says He: "Abstain from all injustice, and you shall not fear, and trembling shall not come near you." Isaiah 54:14

That It Is Better To Afford, Though It Be Inconsiderable And Few, Contributions To The Widows From Our Own Labours, Than Those Which Are Many And Large Received From The Ungodly; For It Is Better To Perish By Famine Than To Receive An Oblation From The Ungodly.

8. But if you say that those who give alms are such as these, and if we do not receive from them, whence shall we administer to the widows? And whence shall the poor among the people be maintained? You shall hear from us, that therefore have you received the gift of the Levites, the oblations of your people, that you might have enough for yourselves, and for those that are in want; and that you might not be so straitened as to receive from the wicked. But if the churches be so straitened, it is better to perish than to receive anything from the enemies of God, to the reproach and abuse of His friends. For of such as these the prophet speaks: "Let not the oil of a sinner moisten my head." Therefore examine such persons, and receive from such as walk holily, and supply the afflicted. But receive not from those that are excommunicated, until they are thought worthy to become the members of the Church. But if a gift be wanting, inform the brethren, and make a collection from them, and thence minister to the orphans and widows in righteousness.

That The People Ought To Be Exhorted By The Priest To Do Good To The Needy, As Says Solomon The Wise.

9. Say unto the people under you what Solomon the wise says: "Honour the Lord out of your just labours, and pay your first-fruits to Him out of your fruits of righteousness, that your garners may be filled with fullness of wheat, and your presses may burst out with wine." Therefore maintain and clothe those that are in want from the righteous labour of the faithful. And such sums of money as are collected from them in the manner aforesaid, appoint to be laid out in the redemption of the saints, the deliverance of slaves, and of captives, and of prisoners, and of those that have been abused, and of those that have been condemned by tyrants to single combat and death on account of the name of Christ. For the Scripture says: "Deliver those that are led to death, and redeem those that are ready to be slain, do not spare."

A Constitution, That If Any One Of The Ungodly By Force Will Cast Money To The Priests, They Spend It In Wood And Coals, But Not In Food.

10. But if at any time you be forced unwillingly to receive money from any ungodly person, lay it out in wood and coals, that so neither the widow nor the orphan may receive any of it, or be forced to buy with it either meat or drink, which it is unfit to do. For it is reasonable that such gifts of the ungodly should be fuel for the fire, and not food for the pious. And this method is plainly appointed by the law, when it calls a sacrifice kept too long a thing not fit to be eaten, and commands it to be consumed with fire. For such oblations are not evil in their nature, but on account of the mind of those that bring them. And this we ordain, that we may not reject those that come to us, as knowing that the common conversation of the pious has often been very profitable to the ungodly, but religious communion with them is alone hurtful. And so much, beloved, shall suffice to have spoken to you in order to your security.

SECTION 2. ON DOMESTIC AND SOCIAL LIFE

Of Parents and Children.

11. You fathers, educate your children in the Lord, bringing them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; and teach them such trades as are agreeable and suitable to the word, lest they by such opportunity become extravagant, and continue without punishment from their parents, and so get relaxation before their time, and go astray from that which is good. Wherefore be not afraid to reprove them, and to teach them wisdom with severity. For your corrections will not kill them, but rather preserve them. As Solomon says somewhere in the book of Wisdom: "Chasten your son, and he will refresh you; so will you have good hope of him. You verily shall smite him with the rod, and shall deliver his soul from death." And again, says the same Solomon thus, "He that spares his rod, hates his son;" and afterwards, "Beat his sides while he is an infant, lest he be hardened and disobey you." He, therefore, that neglects to admonish and instruct his own son, hates his own child. You should therefore teach your children the word of the Lord. Bring them under with cutting stripes, and make them subject from their infancy, teaching them the Holy Scriptures, which are Christian and divine, and delivering to them every sacred writing, "not giving them such liberty that they get the mastery," and act against your opinion, not permitting them to club together for a treat with their equals. For so they will be turned to disorderly courses, and will fall into fornication; and if this happen by the carelessness of their parents, those that begot them will be guilty of their souls. For if the offending children get into the company of debauched persons by the negligence of those that begot them, they will not be punished alone by themselves; but their parents also will be condemned on their account. For this cause endeavour, at the time when they are of an age fit for marriage, to join them in wedlock, and settle them together, lest in the heat and fervour of their age their course of life become dissolute, and you be required to give an account by the Lord God in the day of judgement.

Of Servants And Masters.

12. But as to servants, what can we say more than that the slave bring a good will to his master, with the fear of God, although he be impious and wicked, but yet not to yield any compliance as to his worship? And let the master love his servant, although he be his superior. Let him consider wherein they are equal, even as he is a man. And let him that has a believing master love him both as his master, and as of the same faith, and as a father, but still with the preservation of his authority as his master: "not as an eye-servant, but as a lover of his master; as knowing that God will recompense to him for his subjection." In like manner, let a master who has a believing servant love him as a son or as a brother, on account of their communion in the faith, but still preserving the difference of a servant.

In What Things We Ought To Be Subject To The Rulers Of This World.

13. Be subject to all royal power and dominion in things which are pleasing to God, as to the ministers of God, and the punishers of the ungodly. Render all the fear that is due to them, all offerings, all customs, all honour, gifts, and taxes. For this is God's command, that you owe nothing to any one but the pledge of love, which God has commanded by Christ.

Of Virgins.

14. Concerning virginity we have received no commandment; but we leave it to the power of those that are willing, as a vow: exhorting them so far in this matter that they do not promise anything rashly; since Solomon says, "It is better not to vow, than to vow and not pay." Ecclesiastes 5:5 Let such a virgin, therefore, be holy in body and soul, as the temple of God, 1 Corinthians 7:34 as the house of Christ, as the habitation of the Holy Spirit. For she that vows ought to do such works as are suitable to her vow; and to show that her vow is real, and made on account of leisure for piety, not to cast a reproach on marriage. Let her not be a wanderer abroad, nor one that rambles about unseasonably; not double-minded, but grave, continent, sober, pure, avoiding the conversation of many, and especially of those that are of ill reputation.

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APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS BOOK 5

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS SECTION 1. CONCERNING THE MARTYRS

That It is Reasonable for the Faithful to Supply the Wants of Those Who are Afflicted for the Sake of Christ by the Unbelievers, According to the Constitution of the Lord.

1. If any Christian, on account of the name of Christ, and love and faith towards God, be condemned by the ungodly to the games, to the beasts, or to the mines, do not overlook him; but send to him from your labour and your very sweat for his sustenance, and for a reward to the soldiers, that he may be eased and be taken care of; that, as far as lies in your power, your blessed brother may not be afflicted: for he that is condemned for the name of the Lord God is an holy martyr, a brother of the Lord, the son of the Highest, a receptacle of the Holy Spirit, by whom every one of the faithful has received the illumination of the glory of the holy Gospel, by being vouchsafed the incorruptible crown, and the testimony of Christ's sufferings, and the fellowship of His blood, to be made conformable to the death of Christ for the adoption of children. For this cause do you, all you of the faithful, by your bishop, minister to the saints of your substance and of your labour. But if any one has not, let him fast a day, and set apart that, and order it for the saints. But if any one has superfluities, let him minister more to them according to the proportion of his ability. But if he can possibly sell all his livelihood, and redeem them out of prison, he will be blessed, and a friend of Christ. For if he that gives his goods to the poor be perfect, supposing his knowledge of divine things, much more is he so that does it on account of the martyrs. For such a one is worthy of God, and will fulfil His will by supplying those who have confessed Him before nations and kings, and the children of Israel; concerning whom our Lord declared, saying: "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father." Matthew 10:32 And if these be such as to be attested to by Christ before His Father, you ought not to be ashamed to go to them in the prisons. For if you do this, it will be esteemed to you for a testimony, because the real trial was to them a testimony; and your readiness will be so to you, as being partakers of their combat: for the Lord speaks somewhere to such as these, saying: "Come, you blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For I was an hungry, and you gave me meat; I was thirsty, and you gave me drink; I was a stranger, and you took me in; naked, and you clothed me; I was sick, and you visited me; I was in prison, and you came unto me. Then shall the righteous answer, and say, Lord, when saw we You an hungered, and fed You? Or thirsty, and gave You drink? When saw we You naked, and clothed You? Or sick, and visited You? When saw we You a stranger, and took You in? Or in prison, and came unto You? And He will answer and say unto them, Inasmuch as you have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, you have done it unto me. And these shall go away into life everlasting. Then shall He say unto them on His left hand, Depart from me, you cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels. For I was hungry, and you gave me no meat; I was thirsty, and you gave me no drink; I was a stranger, and you took me not in; naked, and you clothed me not; sick, and in prison, and you visited me not. Then shall they also answer and say, Lord when saw we You hungry, or thirsty, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister unto You? Then shall He answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as you have not done it unto one of the least of these, neither have you done it unto me. And these shall go away unto everlasting punishment."

That We Are To Avoid Intercourse With False Brethren When They Continue In Their Wickedness.

2. But if any one who calls himself a brother is seduced by the evil one, and acts wickedness, and is convicted and condemned to death as an adulterer, or a murderer, depart from him, that you may be secure, and none of you may be suspected as a partner in such an abominable practice; and that no evil report may be spread abroad, as if all Christians took a pleasure in unlawful actions. Wherefore keep far from them. But do you assist with all diligence those that for the sake of Christ are abused by the ungodly and shut up in prison, or who are given over to death, or bonds, or banishment, in order to deliver your fellow-members from wicked hands. And if any one who accompanies with them is caught, and falls into misfortune, he is blessed, because he is partaker with the martyr, and is one that imitates the sufferings of Christ; for we ourselves also, when we oftentimes received stripes from Caiaphas, and Alexander, and Annas, for Christ's sake, "went out rejoicing that we were counted worthy to suffer such things for our Saviour." Do you also rejoice when you suffer such things, for you shall be blessed in that day.

That We Ought To Afford An Helping Hand To Such As Are Spoiled For The Sake Of Christ, Although We Should Incur Danger Ourselves.

3. Receive also those that are persecuted on account of the faith, and who "fly from city to city" Matthew 10:23 on account of the Lord's commandment; and assist them as martyrs, rejoicing that you are made partakers of their persecution, as knowing that they are esteemed blessed by the Lord; for Himself says: "Blessed are you when men shall reproach you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad, because your reward is great in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before us." Matthew 5:11-12 And again: "If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you." John 15:20 And afterwards: "If they persecute you in this city, flee to another. For in the world you have tribulation: for they shall deliver you into the synagogues; and you shall be brought before rulers and kings for my sake, and for a testimony to them." And, "He that endures unto the end, the same shall be saved." Matthew 10:22 For he that is persecuted for the sake of the faith, and bears witness in regard to Him, Christ, and endures, is truly a man of God.

That It Is An Horrible And Destructive Thing To Deny Christ.

4. But he that denies himself to be a Christian, that he may not be hated of men, and so loves his own life more than he does the Lord, in whose hand his breath is, is wretched and miserable, as being detestable and abominable, who desires to be the friend of men, but is the enemy of God, having no longer his portion with the saints, but with those that are accursed; choosing instead of the kingdom of the blessed, that eternal fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels: not being any longer hated by men, but rejected by God, and cast out from His presence. For of such a one our Lord declared, saying: "Whosoever shall deny me before men, and shall be ashamed of my name, I also will deny and be ashamed of him before my Father which is in heaven." Matthew 10:33; Luke 9:26 And again He speaks thus to us ourselves, His disciples: "He that loves father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that loves son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that takes not his cross, and follows after me, is not worthy of me. He that finds his life, shall lose it; and he that loses his life for my sake, shall find it. For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? Or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" And afterwards: "Fear not those who kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear Him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell." Matthew 10:28

That We Ought To Imitate Christ In Suffering, And With Zeal To Follow His Patience.

5. Every one therefore who learns any art, when he sees his master by his diligence and skill perfecting his art, does himself earnestly endeavour to make what he takes in hand like to it. If he is not able, he is not perfected in his work. We therefore who have a Master, our Lord Jesus Christ, why do we not follow His doctrine? — since He renounced repose, pleasure, glory, riches, pride, the power of revenge, His mother and brethren, nay, and moreover His own life, on account of His piety towards His Father, and His love to us the race of mankind; and suffered not only persecution and stripes, reproach and mockery, but also crucifixion, that He might save the penitent, both Jews and Gentiles. If therefore He for our sakes renounced His repose, was not ashamed of the cross, and did not esteem death inglorious, why do not we imitate His sufferings, and renounce on His account even our own life, with that patience which He gives us? For He did all for our sakes, but we do it for our own sakes: for He does not stand in need of us, but we stand in need of His mercy. He only requires the sincerity and readiness of our faith, as the Scripture says: "If you are righteous, what do you give to Him? Or what will He receive at your hand? Your wickedness is to a man like yourself, and your righteousness to a son of man."

That A Believer Ought Neither Rashly To Run Into Danger Through Security, Nor To Be Over-Timorous Through Pusillanimity, But To Fly Away For Fear; Yet That If He Does Fall Into The Enemy's Hand, To Strive Earnestly, Upon Account Of The Crown That Is Laid Up For Him.

6. Let us therefore renounce our parents, and kinsmen, and friends, and wife, and children, and possessions, and all the enjoyments of life, when any of these things become an impediment to piety. For we ought to pray that we may not enter into temptation; but if we be called to martyrdom, with constancy to confess His precious name, and if on this account we be punished, let us rejoice, as hastening to immortality. When we are persecuted, let us not think it strange; let us not love the present world, nor the praises which come from men, nor the glory and honour of rulers, according as some of the Jews wondered at the mighty works of our Lord, yet did not believe in Him, for fear of the high priests and the rest of the rulers: "For they loved the praise of men more than the praise of God." John 12:43 But now, by confessing a good confession, we not only save ourselves, but we confirm those who are newly illuminated, and strengthen the faith of the catechumens. But if we remit any part of our confession, and deny godliness by the faintness of our persuasion, and the fear of a very short punishment, we not only deprive ourselves of everlasting glory, but we shall also become the causes of the perdition of others; and shall suffer double punishment, as affording suspicion, by our denial that that truth which we gloried in so much before is an erroneous doctrine. Wherefore neither let us be rash and hasty to thrust ourselves into dangers, for the Lord says: "Pray that you fall not into temptation: the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak." Nor let us, when we do fall into dangers, be fearful or ashamed of our profession. For if a person, by the denial of his own hope, which is Jesus the Son of God, should be delivered from a temporary death, and the next day should fall dangerously sick upon his bed, with a distemper in his bowels, his stomach, or his head, or any of the incurable diseases, as a consumption, or gangrene, or looseness, or iliac passion, or dropsy, or colic, and has a sudden catastrophe, and departs this life; is not he deprived of the things present, and loses those eternal? Or rather, he is within the verge of eternal punishment, "and goes into outer darkness, where is weeping and gnashing of teeth." Matthew 8:12 But let him who is vouchsafed the honour of martyrdom rejoice with joy in the Lord, as obtaining thereby so great a crown, and departing out of this life by his confession. Nay, though he be but a catechumen, let him depart without trouble; for his suffering for Christ will be to him a more genuine baptism, because he does really die with Christ, but the rest only in a figure. Let him therefore rejoice in the imitation of his Master, since is it thus ordained: "Let every one be perfect, as his Master is." Luke 6:40 Now his and our Master, Jesus the Lord, was smitten for our sake: He underwent reproaches and revilings with long-suffering. He was spit upon, He was smitten on the face, He was buffeted; and when He had been scourged, He was nailed to the cross. He had vinegar and gall to drink; and when He had fulfilled all things that were written, He said to His God and Father, "Into Your hands I commend my spirit." Luke 23:46 Wherefore let him that desires to be His disciple earnestly follow His conflicts: let him imitate His patience, knowing that, although he be burned in the fire by men, he will suffer nothing, like the three children; Daniel iii or if he does suffer anything, he shall receive a reward from the Lord, believing in the one and the only true God and Father, through Jesus Christ, the great High Priest, and Redeemer of our souls, and rewarder of our sufferings. To whom be glory forever. Amen.

Several Demonstrations Concerning The Resurrection, Concerning The Sibyl, And What The Stoics Say Concerning The Bird Called The Phoenix.

7. For the Almighty God Himself will raise us up through our Lord Jesus Christ, according to His infallible promise, and grant us a resurrection with all those that have slept from the beginning of the world; and we shall then be such as we now are in our present form, without any defect or corruption. For we shall rise incorruptible: whether we die at sea, or are scattered on the earth, or are torn to pieces by wild beasts and birds, He will raise us by His own power; for the whole world is held together by the hand of God. Now He says: "An hair of your head shall not perish." Luke 21:18 Wherefore He exhorts us, saying: "In your patience you possess your souls." Luke 21:19 But as concerning the resurrection of the dead, and the recompense of reward for the martyrs, Gabriel speaks to Daniel: "And many of them that sleep shall arise out of the dust of the earth, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. And they that understand shall shine as the sun, and as the firmament, and as the stars." Daniel 12:2-3 Therefore the most holy Gabriel foretold that the saints should shine like the stars: for His sacred name did witness to them, that they might understand the truth. Nor is a resurrection only declared for the martyrs, but for all men, righteous and unrighteous, godly and ungodly, that every one may receive according to his desert. For God, says the Scripture, "will bring every work into judgement, with every secret thing, whether it be good or whether it be evil." Ecclesiastes 12:14 This resurrection was not believed by the Jews, when of old they said, "Our bones are withered, and we are gone." To whom God answered, and said: "Behold, I open your graves, and will bring you out of them; and I will put my Spirit into you, and you shall live: and you shall know that I the Lord have spoken it, and will do it." And He says by Isaiah: "The dead shall rise, and those that are in the graves shall be raised up. And those that rest in the earth shall rejoice, for the dew which is from You shall be healing to them." Isaiah 26:19 There are indeed many and various things said concerning the resurrection, and concerning the continuance of the righteous in glory, and concerning the punishment of the ungodly, their fall, rejection, condemnation, shame, "eternal fire, and endless worm." Isaiah 66:24 Now that, if it had pleased Him that all men should be immortal, it was in His power, He showed in the examples of Enoch and Elijah, while He did not suffer them to have any experience of death. Or if it had pleased Him in every generation to raise those that died, that this also He was able to do He has made manifest both by Himself and by others; as when He raised the widow's

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son 1 Kings xvii by Elijah, and the Shunammite's son 2 Kings iv by Elisha. But we are persuaded that death is not a retribution of punishment, because even the saints have undergone it; nay, even the Lord of the saints, Jesus Christ, the life of them that believe, and the resurrection of the dead. Upon this account, therefore, according to the ancient practice, for those who live in the great city, after the combats He brings a dissolution for a while, that, when He raises up every one, He may either reject him or crown him. For He that made the body of Adam out of the earth will raise up the bodies of the rest, and that of the first man, after their dissolution, (to pay what is owing to the rational nature of man; we mean the continuance in being through all ages. He, therefore, who brings on the dissolution, will Himself procure the resurrection. And He that said, "The Lord took dust from the ground, and formed man, and breathed into his face the breath of life, and man became a living soul," Genesis 2:7 added after the disobedience, "Earth you are, and unto earth shall you return;" Genesis 3:19 the same promised us a resurrection afterwards.) For says He: "All that are in the graves shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live." John 5:25 Besides these arguments, we believe there is to be a resurrection also from the resurrection of our Lord. For it is He that raised Lazarus, when he had been in the grave four days, John 11 and Jairus' daughter, Mark v and the widow's son. Luke vii It is He that raised Himself by the command of the Father in the space of three days, who is the pledge of our resurrection. For says He: "I am the resurrection and the life." John 11:25 Now He that brought Jonas Jonah ii in the space of three days, alive and unhurt, out of the belly of the whale, and the three children out of the furnace of Babylon, and Daniel out of the mouth of the lions, does not want power to raise us up also. But if the Gentiles laugh at us, and disbelieve our Scriptures, let at least their own prophetess Sibylla oblige them to believe, who says thus to them in express words:—

"But when all things shall be reduced to dust and ashes,
And the immortal God who kindled the fire shall have quenched it,
God shall form those bones and that ashes into a man again,
And shall place mortal men again as they were before.
And then shall be the judgement, wherein God will do justice,
And judge the world again. But as many mortals as have sinned through impiety
Shall again be covered under the earth;
But so many as have been pious shall live again in the world.
When God puts His Spirit into them, and gives those at once that are godly both life and favour,
Then shall all see themselves."

If, therefore, this prophetess confesses the resurrection, and does not deny the restoration of all things, and distinguishes the godly from the ungodly, it is in vain for them to deny our doctrine. Nay, indeed, they say they can show a resemblance of the resurrection, while they do not themselves believe the things they declare: for they say that there is a bird single in its kind which affords a copious demonstration of the resurrection, which they say is without a mate, and the only one in the creation. They call it a phœnix, and relate that every five hundred years it comes into Egypt, to that which is called the altar of the sun, and brings with it a great quantity of cinnamon, and cassia, and balsam-wood, and standing towards the east, as they say, and praying to the sun, of its own accord is burnt, and becomes dust; but that a worm arises again out of those ashes, and that when the same is warmed it is formed into a new-born phoenix; and when it is able to fly, it goes to Arabia, which is beyond the Egyptian countries. If, therefore, as even themselves say, a resurrection is exhibited by the means of an irrational bird, wherefore do they vainly disparage our accounts, when we profess that He who by His power brings that into being which was not in being before, is able to restore this body, and raise it up again after its dissolution? For on account of this full assurance of hope we undergo stripes, and persecutions, and deaths. Otherwise we should to no purpose undergo such things if we had not a full assurance of these promises, whereof we profess ourselves to be the preachers. As, therefore, we believe Moses when he says, "In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth;" Genesis 1:1 and we know that He did not want matter, but by His will alone brought those things into being which Christ was commanded to make; we mean the heaven, the earth, the sea, the light, the night, the day, the luminaries, the stars, the fowls, the fishes, and four-footed beasts, the creeping things, the plants, and the herbs; so also will He raise all men up by His will, as not wanting any assistance. For it is the work of the same power to create the world and to raise the dead. And then He made man, who was not a man before, of different parts, giving to him a soul made out of nothing. But now He will restore the bodies, which have been dissolved, to the souls that are still in being: for the rising again belongs to things laid down, not to things which have no being. He therefore that made the original bodies out of nothing, and fashioned various forms of them, will also again revive and raise up those that are dead. For He that formed man in the womb out of a little seed, and created in him a soul which was not in being before — as He Himself somewhere speaks to Jeremiah, "Before I formed you in the womb I knew you;" Jeremiah 1:5 and elsewhere, "I am the Lord who established the heaven, and laid the foundations of the earth, and formed the spirit of man in him," Zechariah 12:1 — will also raise up all men, as being His workmanship; as also the divine Scripture testifies that God said to Christ, His only-begotten, "Let us make man after our image, and after our likeness. And God made man: after the image of God made He him; male and female made He them." Genesis 1:26-27 And the most divine and patient Job, of whom the Scripture says that it is written, that "he was to rise again with those whom the Lord raises up," speaks to God thus: "Have you not milked me like milk, and curdled me like cheese? You have clothed me with skin and flesh, and hast fenced me with bones and sinews. You have granted me life and favour, and Your visitation has preserved my spirit. Having these things within me, I know that You can do all things, and that nothing is impossible with You." Job 10:10 Wherefore also our Saviour and Master Jesus Christ says, that "what is impossible with men is possible with God." Luke 18:27 And David, the beloved of God, says: "Your hands have made me, and fashioned me." And again: "You know my frame." And afterward: "You have fashioned me, and laid Your hand upon me. The knowledge of You is declared to be too wonderful for me; it is very great, I cannot attain unto it." "Your eyes did see my substance, being yet imperfect; and all men shall be written in Your book." Nay, and Isaiah says in his prayer to Him: "We are the clay, and You are the framer of us." Isaiah 64:8 If, therefore, man be His workmanship, made by Christ, by Him most certainly will he after he is dead be raised again, with intention either of being crowned for his good actions or punished for his transgressions. But if He, being the legislator, judges with righteousness; as He punishes the ungodly, so does He do good to and saves the faithful. And those saints who for His sake have been slain by men, "some of them He will make light as the stars, and make others bright as the luminaries," Daniel 12:3 as Gabriel said to Daniel. All we of the faithful, therefore, who are the disciples of Christ, believe His promises. For He that has promised it cannot lie; as says the blessed prophet David: "The Lord is faithful in all His words, and holy in all His works." For He that framed for Himself a body out of a virgin, is also the Former of other men. And He that raised Himself from the dead, will also raise again all that are laid down. He who raises wheat out of the ground with many stalks from one grain, He who makes the tree that is cut down send forth fresh branches, He that made Aaron's dry rod put forth buds, will raise us up in glory; He that raised Him up that had the palsy whole, and healed him that had the withered hand, He that supplied a defective part to him that was born blind from clay and spittle, will raise us up; He that satisfied five thousand men with five loaves and two fishes, and caused a remainder of twelve baskets, and out of water made wine, and sent a piece of money out of a fish's mouth by me Peter to those that demanded tribute, will raise the dead. For we testify all these things concerning Him, and the prophets testify the other. We who have eaten and drunk with Him, and have been spectators of His wonderful works, and of His life, and of His conduct, and of His words, and of His sufferings, and of His death, and of His resurrection from the dead, and who associated with Him forty days after His resurrection, Acts 1:3 and who received a command from Him to preach the Gospel to all the world, and to make disciples of all nations, Matthew 28:19 and to baptise them into His death by the authority of the God of the universe, who is His Father, and by the testimony of the Spirit, who is His Comforter, — we teach you all these things which He appointed us by His constitutions, before "He was received up in our sight into heaven," Acts 1:9 to Him that sent Him. And if you will believe, you shall be happy; but if you will not believe, we shall be found innocent, and clear from your incredulity.

Concerning James The Brother Of The Lord, And Stephen The First Martyr.

8. Now concerning the martyrs, we say to you that they are to be had in all honour with you, as we honour the blessed James the bishop, and the holy Stephen our fellow-servant. For these are reckoned blessed by God, and are honoured by holy men, who were pure from all transgressions, immoveable when tempted to sin, or persuaded from good works, without dispute deserving encomiums: of whom also David speaks, "Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His holy ones;" and Solomon says, "The memory of the just is with encomiums:" Proverbs 10:7 of whom also the prophet speaks, "Righteous men are taken away."

Concerning False Martyrs.

9. These things we have said concerning those that in truth have been martyrs for Christ, but not concerning false martyrs, concerning whom the oracle speaks, "The name of the ungodly is extinguished." Proverbs 10:7 For "a faithful witness will not lie, but an unjust witness inflames lies." Proverbs 14:5 For he that departs this life in his testimony without lying, for the sake of the truth, is a faithful martyr, worthy to be believed in such things wherein he strove for the word of piety by his own blood.

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS SECTION 2.
All Association With Idols Is To Be Avoided

A Moral Admonition, That We Are To Abstain From Vain Talking, Obscene Talking, Jesting, Drunkenness, Lasciviousness, And Luxury.

10. Now we exhort you, brethren and fellow-servants, to avoid vain talk and obscene discourses, and jestings, drunkenness, lasciviousness, luxury, unbounded passions, with foolish discourses, since we do not permit you so much as on the Lord's days, which are days of joy, to speak or act anything unseemly; for the Scripture somewhere says: "Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice unto Him with trembling." Even your very rejoicings therefore ought to be done with fear and trembling: for a Christian who is faithful ought neither to repeat an heathen hymn nor an obscene song, because he will be obliged by that hymn to make mention of the idolatrous names of demons; and instead of the Holy Spirit, the wicked one will enter into him.

An Admonition Instructing Men To Avoid The Abominable Sin Of Idolatry.

11. You are also forbidden to swear by them, or to utter their abominable names through your mouth, and to worship them, or fear them as gods; for they are not gods, but either wicked demons or the ridiculous contrivances of men. For somewhere God says concerning the Israelites: "They have forsaken me, and sworn by them that are no gods." Jeremiah 5:7 And afterwards: "I will take away the names of your idols out of their mouth." Zechariah 13:2 And elsewhere: "They have provoked me to jealousy with them that are no gods; they have provoked me to anger with their idols." And in all the Scriptures these things are forbidden by the Lord God.

That We Ought Not To Sing An Heathen Or An Obscene Song, Nor To Swear By An Idol; Because It Is An Impious Thing, And Contrary To The Knowledge Of God.

12. Nor do the legislators give us only prohibitions concerning idols, but also warn us concerning the luminaries, not to swear by them, nor to serve them. For they say: "Lest, when you see the sun, and the moon, and the stars, you should be seduced to worship them." And elsewhere: "Do not learn to walk after the ways of the heathen, and be not afraid of the signs of heaven." For the stars and the luminaries were given to men to shine upon them, but not for worship; although the Israelites, by the perverseness of their temper, "worshipped the creature instead of the Creator," and acted insultingly to their Maker, and admired the creature more than is fit. And sometimes they made a calf, as in the wilderness; sometimes they worshipped Baalpeor; another time Baal, and Thamuz, Ezekiel 8:14 and Astarte of Sidon; 1 Kings 11:5 and again Moloch and Chamos; 1 Kings 11:7 another time the sun, Ezekiel 8:16 as it is written in Ezekiel; nay, and besides, brute creatures, as among the Egyptians Apis, and the Mendesian goat, and gods of silver and gold, as in Judea. On account of all which things He threatened them, and said by the prophet: "Is it a small thing to the house of Judah to do these abominations which they have done? For they have filled the land with their wickedness, to provoke me to anger: and, behold, they are as those that mock. And I will act with anger. My eye shall not spare, neither will I have mercy; and they shall cry in mine ears with a great voice, and I will not hearken unto them." Ezekiel 8:17-18 Consider, beloved, how many things the Lord declares against idolaters, and the worshippers of the sun and moon. Wherefore it is the duty of a man of God, as he is a Christian, not to swear by the sun, or by the moon, or by the stars; nor by the heaven, nor by the earth, by any of the elements, whether small or great. For if our Master charged us not to swear by the true God, that our word might be firmer than an oath, nor by heaven itself, for that is a piece of heathen wickedness, nor by Jerusalem, nor by the sanctuary of God, nor the altar, nor the gift, nor the gilding of the altar, nor one's own head, for this custom is a piece of Judaic corruption, and on that account was forbidden; and if He exhorts the faithful that their yea be yea, and their nay, nay, and says that "what is more than these is of the evil one," how much more blameable are those who appeal to deities falsely so called as the objects of an oath, and who glorify imaginary beings instead of those that are real, whom God for their perverseness "delivered over to foolishness, to do those things that are not convenient!" Romans 1:28

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APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS SECTION 3.
On Feast Days And Fast Days

A Catalogue Of The Feasts Of The Lord Which Are To Be Kept, And When Each Of Them Ought To Be Observed.

13. Brethren, observe the festival days; and first of all the birthday which you are to celebrate on the twenty-fifth of the ninth month; after which let the Epiphany be to you the most honoured, in which the Lord made to you a display of His own Godhead, and let it take place on the sixth of the tenth month; after which the fast of Lent is to be observed by you as containing a memorial of our Lord's mode of life and legislation. But let this solemnity be observed before the fast of the passover, beginning from the second day of the week, and ending at the day of the preparation. After which solemnities, breaking off your fast, begin the holy week of the passover, fasting in the same all of you with fear and trembling, praying in them for those that are about to perish.

Concerning The Passion Of Our Lord, And What Was Done On Each Day Of His Sufferings; And Concerning Judas, And That Judas Was Not Present When The Lord Delivered The Mysteries To His Disciples.

14. For they began to hold a council against the Lord on the second day of the week, in the first month, which is Xanthicus; and the deliberation continued on the third day of the week; but on the fourth day they determined to take away His life by crucifixion. And Judas knowing this, who for a long time had been perverted, but was then smitten by the devil himself with the love of money, although he had been long entrusted with the purse, John 12:6 and used to steal what was set apart for the needy, yet was he not cast off by the Lord, through much long-suffering; nay, and when we were once feasting with Him, being willing both to reduce him to his duty and instruct us in His own foreknowledge, He said: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, that one of you will betray me;" and every one of us saying, "Is it I?" And the Lord being silent, I, who was one of the twelve, and more beloved by Him than the rest, arose up from lying in His bosom, and besought Him to tell who it should be that should betray Him. Yet neither then did our good Lord declare His name, but gave two signs of the betrayer: one by saying, "he that dips with me in the dish;" a second, "to whom I shall give the sop when I have dipped it." Nay, although he himself said, "Master, is it I?" the Lord did not say Yes, but, "You have said." And being willing to affright him in the matter, He said: "Woe to that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed! good were it for him if he had never been born. Who, when he had heard that, went his way, and said to the priests, What will you give me, and I will deliver Him unto you? And they bargained with him for thirty pieces of silver." Matthew 26:15 And the scripture was fulfilled, which said, "And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of Him that was valued, whom they of the children of Israel did value, and gave them for the house of the potter." Matthew 27:9-10 And on the fifth day of the week, when we had eaten the passover with Him, and when Judas had dipped his hand into the dish, and received the sop, and had gone out by night, the Lord said to us: "The hour has come that you shall be dispersed, and shall leave me alone;" John 16:32; Matthew 26:31 and every one vehemently affirming that they would not forsake Him, I Peter adding this promise, that I would even die with Him, He said, "Verily I say unto you, Before the cock crows, you shall thrice deny that you know me." Luke 22:34 And when He had delivered to us the representative mysteries of His precious body and blood, Judas not being present with us, He went out to the Mount of Olives, near the brook Cedron, where there was a garden; John 18:1 and we were with Him, and sang an hymn according to the custom. Matthew 26:30 And being separated not far from us, He prayed to His Father, saying: "Father, remove this cup away from me; yet not my will, but Yours be done." And when He had done this thrice, while we out of despondency of mind were fallen asleep, He came and said: "The hour has come, and the Son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners. And behold Judas, and with him a multitude of ungodly men," Luke 22:47; Matthew 26:47 to whom he shows the signal by which he was to betray Him — a deceitful kiss. But they, when they had received the signal agreed on, took hold of the Lord; and having bound Him, they led Him to the house of Caiaphas the high priest, wherein were assembled many, not the people, but a great rout, not an holy council, but an assembly of the wicked and council of the ungodly, who did many things against Him, and left no kind of injury untried, spitting upon Him, cavilling at Him, beating Him, smiting Him on the face, reviling Him, tempting Him, seeking vain divination instead of true prophecies from Him, calling Him a deceiver, a blasphemer, a transgressor of Moses, a destroyer of the temple, a taker away of sacrifices, an enemy to the Romans, an adversary to Caesar. And these reproaches did these bulls and dogs in their madness cast upon Him, till it was very early in the morning, and then they lead Him away to Annas, who was father-in-law to Caiaphas; and when they had done the like things to Him there, it being the day of the preparation, they delivered Him to Pilate the Roman governor, accusing Him of many and great things, none of which they could prove. Whereupon the governor, as out of patience with them, said: "I find no cause against Him." Luke 23:14; John 18:38 But they bringing two lying witnesses, wished to accuse the Lord falsely; but they being found to disagree, and so their testimony not conspiring together, they altered the accusation to that of treason, saying, "This fellow says that He is a king, and forbids to give tribute to Caesar." Luke 23:2 And themselves became accusers, and witnesses, and judges, and authors of the sentence, saying, "Crucify Him, crucify Him;" Luke 23:21 that it might be fulfilled which is written by the prophets concerning Him, "Unjust witnesses were gathered together against me, and injustice lied to itself;" and again, "Many dogs compassed me about, the assembly of the wicked laid siege against me;" and elsewhere, "My inheritance became to me as a lion in a wood, and has sent forth her voice against me." Jeremiah 12:8 Pilate therefore, disgracing his authority by his pusillanimity, convicts himself of wickedness by regarding the multitude more than this just person, and bearing witness to Him that He was innocent, yet as guilty delivering Him up to the punishment of the cross, although the Romans had made laws that no man unconvicted should be put to death. But the executioners took the Lord of glory and nailed Him to the cross, crucifying Him indeed at the sixth hour, but having received the sentence of His condemnation at the third hour. After this they gave to Him vinegar to drink, mingled with gall. Then they divided His garments by lot. Then they crucified two malefactors with Him, on each side one, that it might be fulfilled which was written: "They gave me gall to eat, and when I was thirsty they gave me vinegar to drink." And again: "They divided my garment among themselves, and upon my vesture have they cast lots." And in another place: "And I was reckoned with the transgressors." Isaiah 53:12 Then there was darkness for three hours, from the sixth to the ninth, and again light in the evening; as it is written: "It shall not be day nor night, and at the evening there shall be light." All which things, when those malefactors saw that were crucified with Him, the one of them reproached Him as though He was weak and unable to deliver Himself; but the other rebuked the ignorance of his fellow and turning to the Lord, as being enlightened by Him, and acknowledging who He was that suffered, he prayed that He would remember him in His kingdom hereafter. He then presently granted him the forgiveness of his former sins, and brought him into paradise to enjoy the mystical good things; who also cried out about the ninth hour, and said to His Father: "My God! My God! Why have You forsaken me?" And a little afterward, when He had cried with a loud voice, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do," and had added, "Into Your hands I commit my spirit," He gave up the ghost, and was buried before sunset in a new sepulchre. But when the first day of the week dawned He arose from the dead, and fulfilled those things which before His passion He foretold to us, saying: "The Son of man must continue in the heart of the earth three days and three nights." And when He was risen from the dead, He appeared first to Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, then to Cleopas in the way, and after that to us His disciples, who had fled away for fear of the Jews, but privately were very inquisitive about Him. But these things are also written in the Gospel.

Of The Great Week, And On What Account They Enjoin Us To Fast On Wednesday And Friday.

15. He therefore charged us Himself to fast these six days on account of the impiety and transgression of the Jews, commanding us withal to bewail over them, and lament for their perdition. For even He Himself "wept over them, because they knew not the time of their visitation." But He commanded us to fast on the fourth and sixth days of the week; the former on account of His being betrayed, and the latter on account of His passion. But He appointed us to break our fast on the seventh day at the cock-crowing, but to fast on the Sabbath day. Not that the Sabbath day is a day of fasting, being the rest from the creation, but because we ought to fast on this one Sabbath only, while on this day the Creator was under the earth. For on their very feast-day they apprehended the Lord, that oracle might be fulfilled which says: "They placed their signs in the middle of their feast, and knew them not." You ought therefore to bewail over them, because when the Lord came they did not believe in Him, but rejected His doctrine, judging themselves unworthy of salvation. You therefore are happy who once were not a people, but are now an holy nation, delivered from the deceit of idols, from ignorance, from impiety, who once had not obtained mercy, but now have obtained mercy through your hearty obedience: for to you, the converted Gentiles, is opened the gate of life, who formerly were not beloved, but are now beloved; a people ordained for the possession of God, to show forth His virtues, concerning whom our Saviour said, "I was found of them that sought me not; I was made manifest to them that asked not after me. I said, Behold me, to a nation which did not call upon my name." For when you did not seek after Him, then were you sought for by Him; and you who have believed in Him have hearkened to His call, and have left the madness of polytheism, and have fled to the true monarchy, to Almighty God, through Christ Jesus, and have become the completion of the number of the saved — "ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands;" Daniel 7:10 as it is written in David, "A thousand shall fall beside you, and ten thousand at your right hand;" and again, "The chariots of God are by tens of thousands, and thousands of the prosperous." But unto unbelieving Israel He says: "All the day long have I stretched out mine hands to a disobedient and gainsaying people, which go in a way that is not good, but after their own sins, a people provoking me before my face." Isaiah 65:2

An Enumeration Of The Prophetical Predictions Which Declare Christ, Whose Completion Though The Jews Saw, Yet Out Of The Evil Temper Of Their Mind They Did Not Believe He Was The Christ Of God, And Condemned The Lord Of Glory To The Cross.

16. See how the people provoked the Lord by not believing in Him! Therefore He says: "They provoked the Holy Spirit, and He was turned to be their enemy." Isaiah 63:10 For blindness is cast upon them, by reason of the wickedness of their mind, because when they saw Jesus they did not believe Him to be the Christ of God, who was before all ages begotten of Him, His only-begotten Son, God the Word, whom they did not own through their unbelief, neither on account of His mighty works, nor yet on account of the prophecies which were written concerning Him. For that He was to be born of a virgin, they read this prophecy: "Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a Son, and they shall call His name Emanuel." "For to us a Child is born, to us a Son is given, whose government is upon His shoulders; and His name is called the Angel of His Great Council, the Wonderful Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Potentate, the Prince of Peace, the Father of the Future Age." Now, that because of their exceeding great wickedness they would not believe in Him, the Lord shows in these words: "Who has believed our report? And to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed?" And afterward: "Hearing you shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing you shall see, and shall not perceive: for the heart of this people has grown gross." Wherefore knowledge was taken from them, because seeing they overlooked, and hearing they heard not. But to you, the converted of the Gentiles, is the kingdom given, because you, who knew not God, have believed by preaching, and "have known Him, or rather are known of Him," through Jesus, the Saviour and Redeemer of those that hope in Him. For you are translated from your former vain and tedious mode of life and have contemned the lifeless idols, and despised the demons, which are in darkness, and have run to the "true light," John 1:9 and by it have "known the one and only true God and Father," John 17:3 and so are owned to be heirs of His kingdom. For since you have "been baptised into the Lord's death," Romans 6:3 and into His resurrection, as "new-born babes," 1 Peter 2:2 you ought to be wholly free from all sinful actions; "for you are not your own, but His that bought you" 1 Corinthians 6:19-20 with His own blood. For concerning the former Israel the Lord speaks thus, on account of their unbelief: "The kingdom of God shall be taken from them, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof;" Matthew 21:43 that is to say, that having given the kingdom to you, who were once far estranged from Him, He expects the fruits of your gratitude and probity. For you are those that were once sent into the vineyard, and did not obey, but these they that did obey; but you have repented of your denial, and you work therein now. But they, being uneasy on account of their own covenants, have not only left the vineyard uncultivated, but have also killed the stewards of the Lord of the vineyard, — one with stones, another with the sword; one they sawed asunder, another they slew in the holy place, "between the temple and the altar;" nay, at last they "cast the Heir Himself out of the vineyard, and slew Him." And by them He was rejected as an unprofitable stone, Matthew 21:42 but by you was received as the corner-stone. Wherefore He says concerning you: "A people whom I knew not have served me, and at the hearing of the ear have they obeyed me."

How The Passover Ought To Be Celebrated.

17. It is therefore your duty, brethren, who are redeemed by the precious blood of Christ, to observe the days of the passover exactly, with all care, after the vernal equinox, lest you be obliged to keep the memorial of the one passion twice in a year. Keep it once only in a year for Him that died but once.

Do not you yourselves compute, but keep it when your brethren of the circumcision do so: keep it together with them; and if they err in their computation, be not you concerned. Keep your nights of watching in the middle of the days of unleavened bread. And when the Jews are feasting, do you fast and wail over them, because on the day of their feast they crucified Christ; and while they are lamenting and eating unleavened bread in bitterness, do you feast. But no longer be careful to keep the feast with the Jews, for we have now no

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communion with them; for they have been led astray in regard to the calculation itself, which they think they accomplish perfectly, that they may be led astray on every hand, and be fenced off from the truth. But do you observe carefully the vernal equinox, which occurs on the twenty-second of the twelfth month, which is Dystros (March), observing carefully until the twenty-first of the moon, lest the fourteenth of the moon shall fall on another week, and an error being committed, you should through ignorance celebrate the passover twice in the year, or celebrate the day of the resurrection of our Lord on any other day than a Sunday.

A Constitution Concerning The Great Passover Week.

18. You should therefore fast on the days of the passover, beginning from the second day of the week until the preparation, and the Sabbath, six days, making use of only bread, and salt, and herbs, and water for your drink; but do you abstain on these days from wine and flesh, for they are days of lamentation and not of feasting. You who are able should fast the day of the preparation and the Sabbath day entirely, tasting nothing till the cock-crowing of the night; but if any one is not able to join them both together, at least let him observe the Sabbath day; for the Lord says somewhere, speaking of Himself: "When the bridegroom shall be taken away from them, in those days shall they fast." In these days, therefore, He was taken from us by the Jews, falsely so named, and fastened to the cross, and "was numbered among the transgressors." Isaiah 53:12

Concerning The Watching All The Night Of The Great Sabbath, And Concerning The Day Of The Resurrection.

19. Wherefore we exhort you to fast on those days, as we also fasted till the evening, when He was taken away from us; but on the rest of the days, before the day of the preparation, let every one eat at the ninth hour, or at the evening, or as every one is able. But from the even of the fifth day till cock-crowing break your fast when it is daybreak of the first day of the week, which is the Lord's day. From the even till cock-crowing keep awake, and assemble together in the church, watch and pray, and entreat God; reading, when you sit up all night, the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, until cock-crowing, and baptizing your catechumens, and reading the Gospel with fear and trembling, and speaking to the people such things as tend to their salvation: put an end to your sorrow, and beseech God that Israel may be converted, and that He will allow them place of repentance, and the remission of their impiety; for the judge, who was a stranger, "washed his hands, and said, I am innocent of the blood of this just person: see to it. But Israel cried out, His blood be on us, and on our children." Matthew 27:24-25 And when Pilate said, "Shall I crucify your king? They cried out, We have no king but Caesar: crucify Him, crucify Him; for every, one that makes himself a king speaks against Caesar." And, "If you let this man go, you are not Caesar's friend." And Pilate the governor and Herod the king commanded Him to be crucified; and that oracle was fulfilled which says, "Why did the Gentiles rage, and the people imagine vain things? The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord, and against His Christ;" and, "They cast away the Beloved, as a dead man, who is abominable." Isaiah 14:19 And since He was crucified on the day of the Preparation, and rose again at break of day on the Lord's day, the scripture was fulfilled which says, "Arise, O God; judge the earth: for You shall have an inheritance in all the nations;" and again, "I will arise, says the Lord; I will put Him in safety, I will wax bold through Him;" and, "But You, Lord, have mercy upon me, and raise me up again, and I shall requite them." For this reason you should also, now that the Lord is risen, offer your sacrifice, concerning which He made a constitution by us, saying, "Do this for a remembrance of me;" Luke 22:19 and thenceforward leave off your fasting, and rejoice, and keep a festival, because Jesus Christ, the pledge of our resurrection, is risen from the dead. And let this be an everlasting ordinance till the consummation of the world, until the Lord come. For to Jews the Lord is still dead, but to Christians He is risen: to the former, by their unbelief; to the latter, by their full assurance of faith. For the hope in Him is immortal and eternal life. After eight days let there be another feast observed with honour, the eighth day itself, on which He gave me Thomas, who was hard of belief, full assurance, by showing me the print of the nails, and the wound made in His side by the spear. John 20:25 And again, from the first Lord's day count forty days, from the Lord's day till the fifth day of the week, and celebrate the feast of the ascension of the Lord, whereon He finished all His dispensation and constitution, and returned to that God and Father that sent Him, and sat down at the right hand of power, and remains there until His enemies are put under His feet; who also will come at the consummation of the world with power and great glory, to judge the quick and the dead, and to recompense to every one according to his works. And then shall they see the beloved Son of God whom they pierced; Zechariah 12:10; John 19:37 and when they know Him, they shall mourn for themselves, tribe by tribe, and their wives apart.

A Prophetic Prediction Concerning Christ Jesus.

20. For even now, on the tenth day of the month Gorpiæus, when they assemble together, they read the Lamentations of Jeremiah, in which it is said, "The Spirit before our face, Christ the Lord was taken in their destructions;" Lamentations 4:20 and Baruch, in whom it is written, "This is our God; no other shall be esteemed with Him. He found out every way of knowledge, and showed it to Jacob His son, and Israel His beloved. Afterwards He was seen upon earth, and conversed with men." And when they read them, they lament and bewail, as themselves suppose, that desolation which happened by Nebuchadnezzar; but, as the truth shows, they unwillingly make a prelude to that lamentation which will overtake them. But after ten days from the ascension, which from the first Lord's day is the fiftieth day, keep a great festival: for on that day, at the third hour, the Lord Jesus sent on us the gift of the Holy Ghost, and we were filled with His energy, and we "spoke with new tongues, as that Spirit did suggest to us;" Acts 2:4 and we preached both to Jews and Gentiles, that He is the Christ of God, who is "determined by Him to be the Judge of quick and dead." Acts 10:42 To Him did Moses bear witness, and said: "The Lord received fire from the Lord, and rained it down." Genesis 19:24 Him did Jacob see as a man, and said: "I have seen God face to face, and my soul is preserved." Him did Abraham entertain, and acknowledge to be the Judge, and his Lord. Him did Moses see in the bush; concerning Him did he speak in Deuteronomy: "A Prophet will the Lord your God raise up unto you out of your brethren, like me; Him shall you hear in all things, whatsoever He shall say unto you. And it shall be, that every soul that will not hear that Prophet, shall be destroyed from among his people." Deuteronomy 18:15 Him did Joshua the Son of Nun see, as the captain of the Lord's host, in armour, for their assistance against Jericho; to whom he fell down, and worshipped, as a servant does to his master. Joshua 5:14 Him Samuel knew as the "Anointed of God," 1 Samuel 12:3 and thence named the priests and the kings the anointed. Him David knew, and sung an hymn concerning Him, "A song concerning the Beloved;" and adds in his person, and says, "Gird Your sword upon Your thigh, O You who are mighty in Your beauty and renown: go on, and prosper, and reign, for the sake of truth, and meekness, and righteousness; and Your right hand shall guide You after a wonderful manner. Your darts are sharpened, O You that are mighty; the people shall fall under You in the heart of the king's enemies. Wherefore God, Your God, has anointed You with the oil of gladness above Your fellows." Concerning Him also spoke Solomon, as in His person: "The Lord created me the beginning of His ways, for His works: before the world He founded me, in the beginning before He made the earth, before the fountains of waters came, before the mountains were fastened; He begot me before all the hills." Proverbs 8:22-25 And again: "Wisdom built herself a house." Proverbs 9:1 Concerning Him also Isaiah said: "A Branch shall come out of the root of Jesse, and a Flower shall spring out of his root." And, "There shall be a root of Jesse; and He that is to rise to reign over the Gentiles, in Him shall the Gentiles trust." And Zechariah says: "Behold, your King comes unto you, just, and having salvation; meek, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt, the foal of an ass." Him Daniel describes as "the Son of man coming to the Father," and receiving all judgement and honour from Him; and as "the stone cut out of the mountain without hands, and becoming a great mountain, and filling the whole earth," dashing to pieces the many governments of the smaller countries, and the polytheism of gods, but preaching the one God, and ordaining the monarchy of the Romans. Concerning Him also did Jeremiah prophesy, saying: "The Spirit before His face, Christ the Lord, was taken in their snares: of whom we said, Under His shadow we shall live among the Gentiles." Ezekiel also, and the following prophets, affirm everywhere that He is the Christ, the Lord, the King, the Judge, the Lawgiver, the Angel of the Father, the only-begotten God. Him therefore do we also preach to you, and declare Him to be God the Word, who ministered to His God and Father for the creation of the universe. By believing in Him you shall live, but by disbelieving you shall be punished. For "he that is disobedient to the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abides on him." John 3:36 Therefore, after you have kept the festival of Pentecost, keep one week more festival, and after that fast; for it is reasonable to rejoice for the gift of God, and to fast after that relaxation: for both Moses and Elijah fasted forty days, and Daniel for "three weeks of days did not eat desirable bread, and flesh and wine did not enter into his mouth." And blessed Hannah, when she asked for Samuel, said: "I have not drunk wine nor strong drink, and I pour out my soul before the Lord." 1 Samuel 1:15 And the Ninevites, when they fasted three days and three nights, Jonah 3:5 escaped the execution of wrath. And Esther, and Mordecai, and Judith, by fasting, escaped the insurrection of the ungodly Holofernes and Haman. And David says: "My knees are weak through fasting, and my flesh fails for want of oil." You should therefore fast, and ask your petitions of God. We enjoin you to fast every fourth day of the week, and every day of the preparation, and the surplusage of your fast bestow upon the needy; every Sabbath day excepting one, and every Lord's day, hold your solemn assemblies, and rejoice: for he will be guilty of sin who fasts on the Lord's day, being the day of the resurrection, or during the time of Pentecost, or, in general, who is sad on a festival day to the Lord. For on them we ought to rejoice, and not to mourn.

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS BOOK 6

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS SECTION 1.
On Heresies

Who They Were That Ventured To Make Schisms, And Did Not Escape Punishment.

1. Above all things, O bishop, avoid the sad and dangerous and most atheistical heresies, eschewing them as fire that burns those that come near to it. Avoid also schisms: for it is neither lawful to turn one's mind towards wicked heresies, nor to separate from those of the same sentiment out of ambition. For some who ventured to set up such practices of old did not escape punishment. For Dathan and Abiram, who set up in opposition to Moses, were swallowed up into the earth. But Corah, and those two hundred and fifty who with him raised a sedition against Aaron, were consumed by fire. Miriam also, who reproached Moses, was cast out of the camp for seven days; for she said that Moses had taken an Ethiopian to wife. Nay, in the case of Azariah and Uzziah, 2 Chronicles xxvi the latter of which was king of Judah, but venturing to usurp the priesthood, and desiring to offer incense, which it was not lawful for him to do, was hindered by Azariah the high priest, and the fourscore priests; and when he would not obey he found the leprosy to arise in his forehead, and he hastened to go out, because the Lord had reproved him.

That It is Not Lawful to Rise Up Either Against the Kingly or the Priestly Office.

2. Let us therefore, beloved, consider what sort of glory that of the seditious is, and what their condemnation. For if he that rises up against kings is worthy of punishment, even though he be a son or a friend, how much more he that rises up against the priests! For by how much the priesthood is more noble than the royal power, as having its concern about the soul, so much has he a greater punishment who ventures to oppose the priesthood, than he who ventures to oppose the royal power, although neither of them goes unpunished. For neither did Absalom nor Abdadan 2 Samuel xviii.-xx escape without punishment; nor Corah and Dathan. Numbers xvi The former rose against David, and strove concerning the kingdom; the latter against Moses, concerning pre-eminence. And they both spoke evil; Absalom of his father David, as of an unjust judge, saying to every one: "Your words are good, but there is no one that will hear you, and do you justice. Who will make me a ruler?" 2 Samuel 15:3 But Abdadan: "I have no part in David, nor any inheritance in the son of Jesse." 2 Samuel 20:1 It is plain that he could not endure to be under David's government, of whom God spoke: "I have found David the son of Jesse, a man after my heart, who will do all my commands." Acts 13:22 But Dathan and Abiram, and the followers of Corah, said to Moses: "Is it a small thing that you have brought us out of the land of Egypt, out of a land flowing with milk and honey? And why have you put out our eyes? And will you rule over us?" And they gathered together against him a great congregation; and the followers of Corah said: "Has God spoken alone to Moses? Why is it that He has given the high-priesthood to Aaron alone? Is not all the congregation of the Lord holy? And why is Aaron alone possessed of the priesthood?" And before this, one said: "Who made you a ruler and a judge over us?" Exodus 2:14

Concerning The Virtue Of Moses And The Incredulity Of The Jewish Nation, And What Wonderful Works God Did Among Them.

3. And they raised a sedition against Moses the servant of God, the meekest of all men, Numbers 12:3 and faithful, and affronted so great a man with the highest ingratitude; him who was their lawgiver, and guardian, and high priest, and king, the administrator of divine things; one that showed as a creator the mighty works of the Creator; the meekest man, freest from arrogance, and full of fortitude, and most benign in his temper; one who had delivered them from many dangers, and freed them from several deaths by his holiness; who had done so many signs and wonders from God before the people, and had performed glorious and wonderful works for their benefit; who had brought the ten plagues upon the Egyptians; who had divided the Red Sea, and had separated the waters as a wall on this side and on that side, and had led the people through them as through a dry wilderness, and had drowned Pharaoh and the Egyptians, and all that were in company with them; and had made the fountain sweet for them with

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wood, and had brought water out of the stony rock for them when they were thirsty; and had given them manna out of heaven, and had distributed flesh to them out of the air; and had afforded them a pillar of fire in the night to enlighten and conduct them, and a pillar of a cloud to shadow them in the day, by reason of the violent heat of the sun; and had exhibited to them the law of God, engraven from the mouth, and hand, and writing of God, in tables of stone, the perfect number of ten commandments; "to whom God spoke face to face, as if a man spoke to his friend;" of whom He said, "And there arose not a prophet like Moses." Against him arose the followers of Corah, and the Reubenites, and threw stones at Moses, who prayed, and said: "Accept not their offering." And the glory of God appeared, and sent some down into the earth, and burnt up others with fire; and so, as to those ringleaders of this schismatical deceit which said, "Let us make ourselves a leader," the earth opened its mouth, and swallowed them up, and their tents, and what appertained to them, and they went down alive into hell; but he destroyed the followers of Corah with fire.

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS SECTION 2.
History And Doctrines Of Heresies

That Schism Is Made, Not By Him Who Separates Himself From The Ungodly, But Who Departs From The Godly.

4. If therefore God inflicted punishment immediately on those that made a schism on account of their ambition, how much rather will He do it upon those who are the leaders of impious heresies! Will not He inflict severer punishment on those that blaspheme His providence or His creation? But you, brethren, who are instructed out of the Scripture, should take care not to make divisions in opinion, nor divisions in unity. For those who set up unlawful opinions are marks of perdition to the people. In like manner, you of the laity should not come near to such as advance doctrines contrary to the mind of God; nor should you be partakers of their impiety. For says God: "Separate yourselves from the midst of these men, lest you perish together with them." And again: "Depart from the midst of them, and separate yourselves, says the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you."

Upon What Account Israel, Falsely So Named, is Rejected by God, Demonstrated from the Prophetic Predictions.

5. For those are most certainly to be avoided who blaspheme God. The greatest part of the ungodly, indeed, are ignorant of God; but these men, as fighters against God, are possessed with a wilful evil disposition, as with a disease. For from the wickedness of these heretics "pollution is gone out upon all the earth," as says the prophet Jeremiah. For the wicked synagogue is now cast off by the Lord God, and His house is rejected by Him, as He somewhere speaks: "I have forsaken mine house, I have left mine inheritance." And again, says Isaiah: "I will neglect my vineyard, and it shall not be pruned nor dug, and thorns shall spring up upon it, as upon a desert; and I will command the clouds that they rain no rain upon it." Isaiah 5:6 He has therefore "left His people as a tent in a vineyard, and as a garner in a fig or olive yard, and as a besieged city." Isaiah 1:8 He has taken away from them the Holy Spirit, and the prophetic rain, and has replenished His Church with spiritual grace, as the "river of Egypt in the time of first-fruits;" and has advanced the same "as a house upon an hill, or as an high mountain; as a mountain fruitful for milk and fatness, wherein it has pleased God to dwell. For the Lord will inhabit therein to the end." And He says in Jeremiah: "Our sanctuary is an exalted throne of glory." Jeremiah 17:12 And He says in Isaiah: "And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord shall be glorious, and the house of the Lord shall be upon the top of the mountains, and shall be advanced above the hills." Isaiah 2:2 Since, therefore, He has forsaken His people, He has also left His temple desolate, and rent the veil of the temple, and took from them the Holy Spirit; for says He, "Behold, your house is left unto you desolate." Matthew 23:38 And He has bestowed upon you, the converted of the Gentiles, spiritual grace, as He says by Joel: "And it shall come to pass after these things, says God, that I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons shall prophesy, and your daughters shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams." Joel 2:28 For God has taken away all the power and efficacy of His word, and such like visitations, from that people, and has transferred it to you, the converted of the Gentiles. For on this account the devil himself is very angry at the holy Church of God: he is removed to you, and has raised against you adversities, seditions, and reproaches, schisms, and heresies. For he had before subdued that people to himself, by their slaying of Christ. But you who have left his vanities he tempts in different ways, as he did the blessed Job. For indeed he opposed that great high priest Joshua the son of Josedek; Zechariah 3:1 and he oftentimes sought to sift us, that our faith might fail. But our Lord and Master, having brought him to trial, said to him: "The Lord rebuke you, O devil; and the Lord, who has chosen Jerusalem, rebuke you. Is not this plucked out of the fire as a brand?" And who said then to those that stood by the high priest, "Take away his ragged garments from him;" and added, "Behold, I have taken your iniquities away from you;" He will say now, as He said formerly of us when we were assembled together, "I have prayed that your faith may not fail." Luke 22:32

That Even Among the Jews There Arose the Doctrine of Several Heresies Hateful to God.

6. For even the Jewish nation had wicked heresies: for of them were the Sadducees, who do not confess the resurrection of the dead; and the Pharisees, who ascribe the practice of sinners to fortune and fate; and the Basmotheans, who deny providence, and say that the world is made by spontaneous motion, and take away the immortality of the soul; and the Hemerobaptists, who every day, unless they wash, do not eat — nay, and unless they cleanse their beds and tables, or platters and cups and seats, do not make use of any of them; and those who are newly risen among us, the Ebionites, who will have the Son of God to be a mere man, begotten by human pleasure, and the conjunction of Joseph and Mary. There are also those that separate themselves from all these, and observe the laws of their fathers, and these are the Essenes. These, therefore, arose among the former people. And now the evil one, who is wise to do mischief, and as for goodness, knows no such good thing, has cast out some from among us, and has wrought by them heresies and schisms.

Whence the Heresies Sprang, and Who Was the Ringleader of Their Impiety.

7. Now the original of the new heresies began this way: the devil entered into one Simon, of a village called Gitthæ, a Samaritan, by profession a magician, and made him the minister of his wicked design. Acts viii For when Philip our fellow-apostle, by the gift of the Lord and the energy of His Spirit, performed the miracles of healing in Samaria, insomuch that the Samaritans were affected, and embraced the faith of the God of the universe, and of the Lord Jesus, and were baptised into His name; nay, and that Simon himself, when he saw the signs and wonders which were done without any magic ceremonies, fell into admiration, and believed, and was baptised, and continued in fasting and prayer — we heard of the grace of God which was among the Samaritans by Philip, and came down to them; and enlarging much upon the word of doctrine, we laid our hands upon all that were baptised, and we conferred upon them the participation of the Spirit. But when Simon saw that the Spirit was given to believers by the imposition of our hands, he took money, and offered it to us, saying, "Give me also the power, that on whomsoever I also shall lay my hand, he may receive the Holy Ghost;" Acts 8:19 being desirous that as the devil deprived Adam by his tasting of the tree of that immortality which was promised him, so also that Simon might entice us by the receiving of money, and might thereby cut us off from the gift of God, that so by exchange we might sell to him for money the inestimable gift of the Spirit. But as we were all troubled at this offer, I Peter, with a fixed attention on that malicious serpent which was in him, said to Simon: "Let your money go with you to perdition, because you have thought to purchase the gift of God with money. You have no part in this matter, nor lot in this faith; for your heart is not right in the sight of God. Repent therefore of this your wickedness, and pray to the Lord, if perhaps the thought of your heart may be forgiven you. For I perceive you are in the gall of bitterness and the bond of iniquity." But then Simon was terrified, and said: "I entreat you, pray to the Lord for me, that none of those things which you have spoken come upon me." Acts 8:24

Who Were the Successors of Simon's Impiety, and What Heresies They Set Up.

8. But when we went forth among the Gentiles to preach the word of life, then the devil wrought in the people to send after us false apostles to the corrupting of the word; and they sent forth one Cleobius, and joined him with Simon, and these became disciples to one Dositheus, whom they despising, put him down from the principality. Afterwards also others were the authors of absurd doctrines: Cerinthus, and Marcus, and Menander, and Basilides, and Saturnilus. Of these some own the doctrine of many gods, some only of three, but contrary to each other, without beginning, and ever with one another, and some of an infinite number of them, and those unknown ones also. And some reject marriage; and their doctrine is, that it is not the appointment of God; and others abhor some kinds of food: some are impudent in uncleanness, such as those who are falsely called Nicolaitans. And Simon meeting me Peter, first at Caesarea Stratonis (where the faithful Cornelius, a Gentile, believed on the Lord Jesus by me), endeavoured to pervert the word of God; there being with me the holy children, Zacchæus, who was once a publican, and Barnabas; and Nicetas and Aquila, brethren of Clement the bishop and citizen of Rome, who was the disciple of Paul, our fellow-apostle and fellow-helper in the Gospel. I thrice discoursed before them with him concerning the true Prophet, and concerning the monarchy of God; and when I had overcome him by the power of the Lord, and had put him to silence, I drove him away into Italy.

How Simon, Desiring to Fly by Some Magical Arts, Fell Down Headlong from on High at the Prayers of Peter, and Brake His Feet, and Hands, and Ankle-Bones.

9 . Now when he was in Rome, he mightily disturbed the Church, and subverted many, and brought them over to himself, and astonished the Gentiles with his skill in magic, insomuch that once, in the middle of the day, he went into their theatre, and commanded the people that they should bring me also by force into the theatre, and promised he would fly in the air; and when all the people were in suspense at this, I prayed by myself. And indeed he was carried up into the air by demons, and did fly on high in the air, saying that he was returning into heaven, and that he would supply them with good things from thence. And the people making acclamations to him, as to a god, I stretched out my hands to heaven, with my mind, and besought God through the Lord Jesus to throw down this pestilent fellow, and to destroy the power of those demons that made use of the same for the seduction and perdition of men, to dash him against the ground, and bruise him, but not to kill him. And then, fixing my eyes on Simon, I said to him: "If I be a man of God, and a real apostle of Jesus Christ, and a teacher of piety, and not of deceit, as you are, Simon, I command the wicked powers of the apostate from piety, by whom Simon the Magician is carried, to let go their hold, that he may fall down headlong from his height, that he may be exposed to the laughter of those that have been seduced by him." When I had said these words, Simon was deprived of his powers, and fell down headlong with a great noise, and was violently dashed against the ground, and had his hip and ankle-bones broken; and the people cried out, saying, "There is one only God, whom Peter rightly preaches in truth." And many left him; but some who were worthy of perdition continued in his wicked doctrine. And after this manner the most atheistical heresy of the Simonians was first established in Rome; and the devil wrought by the rest of the false apostles also.

How the Heresies Differ from Each Other, and from the Truth.

X . Now all these had one and the same design of atheism, to blaspheme Almighty God, to spread their doctrine that He is an unknown being, and not the Father of Christ, nor the Creator of the world; but one who cannot be spoken of, ineffable, not to be named, and begotten by Himself; that we are not to make use of the law and the prophets; that there is no providence and no resurrection to be believed; that there is no judgement nor retribution; that the soul is not immortal; that we must only indulge our pleasures, and turn to any sort of worship without distinction. Some of them say that there are many gods, some that there are three gods without beginning, some that there are two unbegotten gods, some that there are innumerable Æons. Further, some of them teach that men are not to marry, and must abstain from flesh and wine, affirming that marriage, and the begetting of children, and the eating of certain foods, are abominable; that so, as sober persons, they may make their wicked opinions to be received as worthy of belief. And some of them absolutely prohibit the eating of flesh, as being the flesh not of brute animals, but of creatures that have a rational soul, as though those that ventured to slay them would be charged with the crime of murder. But others of them affirm that we must only abstain from swine's flesh, but may eat such as are clean by the law; and that we ought to be circumcised, according to the law, and to believe in Jesus as in an holy man and a prophet. But others teach that men ought to be impudent in uncleanness, and to abuse the flesh, and to go through all unholy practices, as if this were the only way for the soul to avoid the rulers of this world. Now all these are the instruments of the devil, and the children of wrath.

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS SECTION 3.
The Heresies Attacked By The Apostles

An Exposition of the Preaching of the Apostles.

XI. But we, who are the children of God and the sons of peace, do preach the holy and right word of piety, and declare one only God, the Lord of the law and of the prophets, the Maker of the world, the Father of Christ; not a being that caused Himself, or begot Himself, as they suppose, but eternal, and without original, and inhabiting light inaccessible; not two or three, or manifold, but eternally one only; not a being that cannot be known or spoken of, but who was preached by the law and the prophets; the Almighty, the Supreme Governor of all things, the All-powerful Being; the God and Father of the Only-begotten, and of the First-born of the whole creation; one God, the Father of one Son, not of many; the Maker of one Comforter by Christ, the Maker of the other orders, the one Creator of the several creatures by Christ, the same their Preserver and Legislator by Him; the cause of the resurrection, and of the judgement, and of the retribution which shall be made by Him: that this same Christ was pleased

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to become man, and went through life without sin, and suffered, and rose from the dead, and returned to Him that sent Him. We also say that every creature of God is good, and nothing abominable; that everything for the support of life, when it is partaken of righteously, is very good: for, according to the Scripture, "all things were very good." Genesis 1:31 We believe that lawful marriage, and the begetting of children, is honourable and undefiled; for difference of sexes was formed in Adam and Eve for the increase of mankind. We acknowledge with us a soul that is incorporeal and immortal — not corruptible as bodies are, but immortal, as being rational and free. We abhor all unlawful mixtures, and that which is practised by some against nature as wicked and impious. We profess there will be a resurrection both of the just and unjust, and a retribution. We profess that Christ is not a mere man, but God the Word, and man the Mediator between God and men, the High Priest of the Father; nor are we circumcised with the Jews, as knowing that He has come "to whom the inheritance was reserved," Genesis 49:10 and on whose account the families were kept distinct — "the expectation of the Gentiles," Jesus Christ, who sprang out of Judah, the Son from the branch, the flower from Jesse, whose government is upon His shoulder.

For Those that Confess Christ, But are Desirous to Judaise.

12. But because this heresy did then seem the more powerful to seduce men, and the whole Church was in danger, we the twelve assembled together at Jerusalem (for Matthias was chosen to be an apostle in the room of the betrayer, and took the lot of Judas; as it is said, "His bishopric let another take"). We deliberated, together with James the Lord's brother, what was to be done; and it seemed good to him and to the elders to speak to the people words of doctrine. For certain men likewise went down from Judea to Antioch, and taught the brethren who were there, saying: "Unless you are circumcised after the manner of Moses, and walk according to the other customs which he ordained, you cannot be saved." Acts 15:1 When, therefore, there had been no small dissension and disputation, the brethren which were at Antioch, when they knew that we were all met together about this question, sent out unto us men who were faithful and understanding in the Scriptures to learn concerning this question. And they, when they had come to Jerusalem, declared to us what questions were arisen in the church of Antioch — namely, that some said men ought to be circumcised, and to observe the other purifications. And when some said one thing, and some another, I Peter stood up, and said to them: "Men and brethren, you know how that from ancient days God made choice among you that the Gentiles should hear the word of the Gospel by my mouth, and believe; and God, which knows the hearts, bare them witness. Acts 15:7-8 For an angel of the Lord appeared on a certain time to Cornelius, Acts x who was a centurion of the Roman government, and spoke to him concerning me, that he should send for me, and hear the word of life from my mouth. He therefore sent for me from Joppa to Caesarea Stratonis; and when I was ready to go to him, I would have eaten. And while they made ready I was in the upper room praying; and I saw heaven opened, and a vessel, knit at the four corners like a splendid sheet, let down to the earth, wherein were all manner of four-footed beasts, and creeping things of the earth, and fowls of the heaven. And there came a voice out of heaven to me, saying, Arise, Peter; kill, and eat. And I said, By no means, Lord: for I have never eaten anything common or unclean. And there came a voice a second time, saying, What God has cleansed, call not common. And this was done thrice, and the vessel was received up again into heaven. But as I doubted what this vision should mean, the Spirit said to me, Behold, men seek you; but rise up, and go your way with them, nothing doubting, for I have sent them. These men were those which came from the centurion, and so by reasoning I understood the word of the Lord which is written: 'Whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved.' And again: 'All the ends of the earth shall remember, and turn unto the Lord, and all the families of the heathen shall worship before Him: for the kingdom is in the Lord's, and He is the governor of the nations.' And observing that there were expressions everywhere concerning the calling of the Gentiles, I rose up, and went with them, and entered into the man's house. And while I was preaching the word, the Holy Spirit fell upon him, and upon those that were with him, as it did upon us at the beginning; and He put no difference between us and them, purifying their hearts by faith. And I perceived that God is no respecter of persons; but that in every nation he that fears Him, and works righteousness, will be accepted with Him. But even the believers which were of the circumcision were astonished at this. Now therefore why do you tempt God, to lay an heavy yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear? But by the grace of the Lord, we believe we shall be saved, even as they. For the Lord has loosed us from our bonds, and has made our burden light, and has loosed the heavy yoke from us by His clemency." While I spoke these things, the whole multitude kept silence. But James the Lord's brother answered and said: "Men and brethren, hearken unto me; Simeon has declared how God at first visited to take out a people from the Gentiles for His name. And to this agree the words of the prophets; as it is written: 'Afterwards I will return, and will raise again and rebuild the tabernacle of David, which is fallen down; and I will rebuild its ruins, and will again set it up, that the residue of men may seek after the Lord, and all the nations upon whom my name is called, says the Lord, who does these things.' Known unto God are all His works from the beginning of the world. Wherefore my sentence is, that we do not trouble those who from among the Gentiles turn unto God: but to charge them that they abstain from the pollutions of the Gentiles, and from what is sacrificed to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication; which laws were given to the ancients who lived before the law, under the law of nature, Enos, Enoch, Noah, Melchizedek, Job, and if there be any other of the same sort." Then it seemed good to us the apostles, and to James the bishop, and to the elders, with the whole Church, to send men chosen from among our own selves, with Barnabas, and Paul of Tarsus, the apostle of the Gentiles, and Judas who was called Barsabbas, and Silas, chief men among the brethren, and wrote by their hand, as follows: "The apostles, and elders, and brethren, to the brethren of Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia of the Gentiles, send greeting: Since we have heard that some from us have troubled you with words, subverting your souls, to whom we gave no such commandment, it has seemed good to us, when we were met together with one accord, to send chosen men to you, with our beloved Barnabas and Paul, men that have hazarded their lives for our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom you sent unto us. We have sent also with them Judas and Silas, who shall themselves declare the same things by mouth. For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay no other burden upon you than these necessary things; that you abstain from things offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication: from which things if you keep yourselves, you shall do well. Fare well." We accordingly sent this epistle; but we ourselves remained in Jerusalem many days, consulting together for the public benefit, for the well ordering of all things.

That We Must Separate from Heretics.

13. But after a long time we visited the brethren, and confirmed them with the word of piety, and charged them to avoid those who, under the name of Christ and Moses, war against Christ and Moses, and in the clothing of sheep hide the wolf. For these are false Christs, and false prophets, and false apostles, deceivers and corrupters, portions of foxes, the destroyers of the herbs of the vineyards: "for whose sake the love of many will wax cold. But he that endures steadfast to the end, the same shall be saved." Matthew 24:12-13 Concerning whom, that He might secure us, the Lord declared, saying: "There will come to you men in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. You shall know them by their fruits; take care of them. For false Christs and false prophets shall arise and shall deceive many."

Who Were the Preachers of the Catholic Doctrine, and Which are the Commandments Given by Them.

14. On whose account also we, who are now assembled in one place — Peter and Andrew; James and John, sons of Zebedee; Philip and Bartholomew; Thomas and Matthew; James the son of Alphæus, and Lebbæus who is surnamed Thaddæus; and Simon the Canaanite, Matthew 10:2 and Matthias, who instead of Judas was numbered with us; and James the brother of the Lord and bishop of Jerusalem, and Paul the teacher of the Gentiles, the chosen vessel, having all met together, have written to you this Catholic doctrine for the confirmation of you, to whom the oversight of the universal Church is committed: wherein we declare unto you, that there is only one God Almighty, besides whom there is no other, and that you must worship and adore Him alone, through Jesus Christ our Lord, in the most holy Spirit; that you are to make use of the sacred Scriptures, the law, and the prophets; to honour your parents; to avoid all unlawful actions; to believe the resurrection and the judgement, and to expect the retribution; and to use all His creatures with thankfulness, as the works of God, and having no evil in them; to marry after a lawful manner, for such marriage is unblameable. For "the woman is suited to the man by the Lord;" Proverbs 19:14 and the Lord says: "He that made them from the beginning, made them male and female; and said, For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife: and they two shall be one flesh." Matthew 19:4-5 Nor let it be esteemed lawful after marriage to put her away who is without blame. For says He: "You shall take care to your spirit, and shall not forsake the wife of your youth; for she is the partner of your life, and the remains of your spirit. I and no other have made her." For the Lord says: "What God has joined together, let no man put asunder." For the wife is the partner of life, united by God unto one body from two. But he that divides that again into two which has become one, is the enemy of the creation of God, and the adversary of His providence. In like manner, he that retains her that is corrupted is a transgressor of the law of nature; since "he that retains an adulteress is foolish and impious." For says He, "Cut her off from your flesh;" for she is not an help, but a snare, bending her mind from you to another. Nor be circumcised in your flesh, but let the circumcision which is of the heart by the Spirit suffice for the faithful; for He says, "Be circumcised to your God, and be circumcised in the foreskin of your heart."

That We Ought Not to Rebaptise, Nor to Receive that Baptism Which is Given by the Ungodly, Which is Not Baptism, But a Pollution.

15. Be likewise contented with one baptism alone, that which is into the death of the Lord; not that which is conferred by wicked heretics, but that which is conferred by unblameable priests, "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost:" Matthew 28:19 and let not that which comes from the ungodly be received by you, nor let that which is done by the godly be disannulled by a second. For as there is one God, one Christ, and one Comforter, and one death of the Lord in the body, so let that baptism which is unto Him be but one. But those that receive polluted baptism from the ungodly will become partners in their opinions. For they are not priests. For God says to them: "Because you have rejected knowledge, I will also reject you from the office of a priest to me." Nor indeed are those that are baptised by them initiated, but are polluted, not receiving the remission of sins, but the bond of impiety. And, besides, they that attempt to baptise those already initiated crucify the Lord afresh, slay Him a second time, laugh at divine and ridicule holy things, affront the Spirit, dishonour the sacred blood of Christ as common blood, are impious against Him that sent, Him that suffered, and Him that witnessed. Nay, he that, out of contempt, will not be baptised, shall be condemned as an unbeliever, and shall be reproached as ungrateful and foolish. For the Lord says: "Unless a man be baptised of water and of the Spirit, he shall by no means enter into the kingdom of heaven." John 3:5 And again: "He that believes and is baptised shall be saved; but he that believes not shall be damned." Mark 16:16 But he that says, When I am dying I will be baptised, lest I should sin and defile my baptism, is ignorant of God, and forgetful of his own nature. For "do not delay to turn unto the Lord, for you know not what the next day will bring forth." Do you also baptise your infants, and bring them up in the nurture and admonition of God. For says He: "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not." Matthew 19:14

Concerning Books with False Inscriptions.

16. We have sent all these things to you, that you may know our opinion, what it is; and that you may not receive those books which obtain in our name, but are written by the ungodly. For you are not to attend to the names of the apostles, but to the nature of the things, and their settled opinions. For we know that Simon and Cleobius, and their followers, have compiled poisonous books under the name of Christ and of His disciples, and do carry them about in order to deceive you who love Christ, and us His servants. And among the ancients also some have written apocryphal books of Moses, and Enoch, and Adam, and Isaiah, and David, and Elijah, and of the three patriarchs, pernicious and repugnant to the truth. The same things even now have the wicked heretics done, reproaching the creation, marriage, providence, the begetting of children, the law, and the prophets; inscribing certain barbarous names, and, as they think, of angels, but, to speak the truth, of demons, which suggest things to them: whose doctrine eschew, that you may not be partakers of the punishment due to those that write such things for the seduction and perdition of the faithful and unblameable disciples of the Lord Jesus.

Matrimonial Precepts Concerning Clergymen.

17. We have already said, that a bishop, a presbyter, and a deacon, when they are constituted, must be but once married, whether their wives be alive or whether they be dead; and that it is not lawful for them, if they are unmarried when they are ordained, to be married afterwards; or if they be then married, to marry a second time, but to be content with that wife which they had when they came to ordination. We also appoint that the ministers, and singers, and readers, and porters, shall be only once married. But if they entered into the clergy before they were married, we permit them to marry, if they have an inclination thereto, lest they sin and incur punishment. But we do not permit any one of the clergy to take to wife either a courtesan, or a servant, or a widow, or one that is divorced, as also the law says. Let the deaconess be a pure virgin; or, at the least, a widow who has been but once married, faithful, and well esteemed. Leviticus 21:7, 14; 1 Timothy 5:9

An Exhortation Commanding to Avoid the Communion of the Impious Heretics.

18. Receive the penitent, for this is the will of God in Christ. Instruct the catechumens in the elements of religion, and then

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baptise them. Eschew the antheistical heretics, who are past repentance, and separate them from the faithful, and excommunicate them from the Church of God, and charge the faithful to abstain entirely from them, and not to partake with them either in sermons or prayers: for these are those that are enemies to the Church, and lay snares for it; who corrupt the flock, and defile the heritage of Christ, pretenders only to wisdom, and the vilest of men; concerning whom Solomon the wise said: "The wicked doers pretend to act piously." For, says he, "there is a way which seems right to some, but the ends thereof look to the bottom of hell." Proverbs 14:12 These are they concerning whom the Lord declared His mind with bitterness and severity, saying that "they are false Christs and false teachers;" Matthew 24:24 who have blasphemed the Spirit of grace, and done despite to the gift they had from Him after the grace of baptism, "to whom forgiveness shall not be granted, neither in this world nor in that which is to come;" Matthew 12:32 who are both more wicked than the Jews and more atheistical than the Gentiles; who blaspheme the God over all, and tread under foot His Son, and do despite to the doctrine of the Spirit; who deny the words of God, or pretend hypocritically to receive them, to the affronting of God, and the deceiving of those that come among them; who abuse the Holy Scriptures, and as for righteousness, they do not so much as know what it is; who spoil the Church of God, as the "little foxes do the vineyard;" whom we exhort you to avoid, lest you lay traps for your own souls. "For he that walks with wise men shall be wise, but he that walks with the foolish shall be known." For we ought neither to run along with a thief, nor put in our lot with an adulterer; since holy David says: "O Lord, I have hated them that hate You, and I am withered away on account of Your enemies. I hated them with a perfect hatred: they were to me as enemies." And God reproaches Jehoshaphat with his friendship towards Ahab, and his league with him and with Ahaziah, by Jonah the prophet: "Are you in friendship with a sinner? Or do you aid him that is hated by the Lord?" "For this cause the wrath of the Lord would be upon you suddenly, but that your heart is found perfect with the Lord. For this cause the Lord has spared you; yet are your works shattered, and your ships broken to pieces." Eschew therefore their fellowship, and estrange yourselves from their friendship. For concerning them did the prophet declare, and say: "It is not lawful to rejoice with the ungodly," says the Lord. For these are hidden wolves, dumb dogs, that cannot bark, who at present are but few, but in process of time, when the end of the world draws near, will be more in number and more troublesome, of whom said the Lord, "Will the Son of man, when He comes, find faith on the earth?" Luke 18:8 and, "Because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold;" and, "There shall come false Christs and false prophets, and shall show signs in the heaven, so as, if it were possible, to deceive the elect:" from whose deceit God, through Jesus Christ, who is our hope, will deliver us. For we ourselves, as we passed through the nations, and confirmed the churches, curing some with much exhortation and healing words, restored them again when they were in the certain way to death. But those that were incurable we cast out from the flock, that they might not infect the lambs, which were found with their scabby disease, but might continue before the Lord God pure and undefiled, sound and unspotted. And this we did in every city, everywhere through the whole world, and have left to you the bishops and to the rest of the priests this very Catholic doctrine worthily and righteously, as a memorial or confirmation to those who have believed in God; and we have sent it by our fellow-minister Clement, our most faithful and intimate son in the Lord, together with Barnabas, and Timothy our most dearly beloved son, and the genuine Mark, together with whom we recommend to you also Titus and Luke, and Jason and Lucius, and Sosipater. Romans 16:21

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS SECTION 4.
Of The Law

By whom also we exhort you in the Lord to abstain from your old conversation, vain bonds, separations, observances, distinction of meats, and daily washings: for "old things are passed away; behold, all things have become new." 2 Corinthians 5:17

To Those that Speak Evil of the Law.

19. For since you have known God through Jesus Christ, and all His dispensation, as it has been from the beginning, that He gave a plain law to assist the law of nature, such a one as is pure, saving, and holy, in which His own name was inscribed, perfect, which is never to fail, being complete in ten commands, unspotted, converting souls; which, when the Hebrews forgot, He put them in mind of it by the prophet Malachi, saying, "Remember the law of Moses, the man of God, who gave you in charge commandments and ordinances." Which law is so very holy and righteous, that even our Saviour, when on a certain time He healed one leper, and afterwards nine, said to the first, "Go, show yourself to the high priest, and offer the gift which Moses commanded for a testimony unto them;" and afterwards to the nine, "Go, show yourselves to the priests." Luke 17:14 For He nowhere has dissolved the law, as Simon pretends, but fulfilled it; for He says: "One iota, or one tittle, shall not pass from the law until all be fulfilled." For says He, "I come not to dissolve the law, but to fulfil it." For Moses himself, who was at once the lawgiver, and the high priest, and the prophet, and the king, and Elijah, the zealous follower of the prophets, were present at our Lord's transfiguration in the mountain, and witnesses of His incarnation and of His sufferings, as the intimate friends of Christ, but not as enemies and strangers. Whence it is demonstrated that the law is good and holy, as also the prophets.

Which is the Law of Nature, and Which is that Afterwards Introduced, and Why It Was Introduced.

20. Now the law is the decalogue, which the Lord promulgated to them with an audible voice, before the people made that calf which represented the Egyptian Apis. And the law is righteous, and therefore is it called the law, because judgements are thence made according to the law of nature, which the followers of Simon abuse, supposing they shall not be judged thereby, and so shall escape punishment. This law is good, holy, and such as lays no compulsion in things positive. For He says: "If you will make me an altar, you shall make it of earth." It does not say, "Make one," but, "If you will make." It does not impose a necessity, but gives leave to their own free liberty. For God does not stand in need of sacrifices, being by nature above all want. But knowing that, as of old, Abel, beloved of God, and Noah and Abraham, and those that succeeded, without being required, but only moved of themselves by the law of nature, did offer sacrifice to God out of a grateful mind; so He did now permit the Hebrews, not commanding, but, if they had a mind, permitting them; and if they offered from a right intention, showing Himself pleased with their sacrifices. Therefore He says: "If you desire to offer, do not offer to me as to one that stands in need of it, for I stand in need of nothing; for the world is mine, and the fullness thereof." But when this people became forgetful of that, and called upon a calf as God, instead of the true God, and to him did ascribe the cause of their coming out of Egypt, saying, "These are your gods, O Israel, which have brought you out of the land of Egypt;" and when these men had committed wickedness with the "similitude of a calf that eats hay;" and denied God who had visited them by Moses in their afflictions, and had done signs with his hand and rod, and had smitten the Egyptians with ten plagues; who had divided the waters of the Red Sea into two parts; who had led them in the midst of the water, as a horse upon the ground; who had drowned their enemies, and those that laid wait for them; who at Marah had made sweet the bitter fountain; who had brought water out of the sharp rock till they were satisfied; who had overshadowed them with a pillar of a cloud on account of the immoderate heat, and with a pillar of fire which enlightened and guided them when they knew not which way they were to go; who gave them manna from heaven, and gave them quails for flesh from the sea; who gave them the law in the mountain; whose voice He had vouchsafed to let them hear; Him did they deny, and said to Aaron, "Make us gods who shall go before us;" and they made a molten calf, and sacrificed to an idol;— then was God angry, as being ungratefully treated by them, and bound them with bonds which could not be loosed, with a mortifying burden and a hard collar, and no longer said, "If you make" but, "Make an altar," and sacrifice perpetually; for you are forgetful and ungrateful. Offer burnt-offerings therefore continually, that you may be mindful of me. For since you have wickedly abused your power, I lay a necessity upon you for the time to come, and I command you to abstain from certain meats; and I ordain you the distinction of clean and unclean creatures, although every creature is good, as being made by me; and I appoint you several separations, purgations, frequent washings and sprinklings, several purifications, and several times of rest; and if you neglect any of them, I determine that punishment which is proper to the disobedient, that being pressed and galled by your collar, you may depart from the error of polytheism, and laying aside that, "These are your gods, O Israel," may be mindful of that, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord your God is one Lord;" and may run back again to that law which is inserted by me in the nature of all men, "that there is only one God in heaven and on earth, and to love Him with all your heart, and all your might, and all your mind," and to fear none but Him, nor to admit the names of other gods into your mind, nor to let your tongue utter them out of your mouth. He bound them for the hardness of their hearts, that by sacrificing, and resting, and purifying themselves, and by similar observances, they might come to the knowledge of God, who ordained these things for them.

That We Who Believe in Christ are Under Grace, and Not Under the Servitude of that Additional Law.

21. "But blessed are your eyes, for they see; and your ears, for they hear." Matthew 13:16 Yours, I say, who have believed in the one God, not by necessity, but by a sound understanding, in obedience to Him that called you. For you are released from the bonds, and freed from the servitude. For says He: "I call you no longer servants, but friends; for all things that I have heard of my Father have I made known unto you." John 15:15 For to them that would not see nor hear, not for the want of those senses, but for the excess of their wickedness, "I gave statutes that were not good, and judgements whereby they would not live;" Ezekiel 20:25 they are looked upon as not good, as burnings and a sword, and medicines are esteemed enemies by the sick, and impossible to be observed on account of their obstinacy: whence also they brought death upon them being not obeyed.

That the Law for Sacrifices is Additional, Which Christ When He Came Took Away.

22. You therefore are blessed who are delivered from the curse, For Christ, the Son of God, by His coming has confirmed and completed the law, but has taken away the additional precepts, although not all of them, yet at least the more grievous ones; having confirmed the former, and abolished the latter, and has again set the free-will of man at liberty, not subjecting him to the penalty of a temporal death, but giving laws to him according to another constitution. Wherefore He says: "If any man will come after me, let him come." Matthew 16:24 And again: "Will you also go away?" John 6:67 And besides, before His coming He refused the sacrifices of the people, while they frequently offered them, when they sinned against Him, and thought He was to be appeased by sacrifices, but not by repentance. For thus He speaks: "Why do you bring to me frankincense from Saba, and cinnamon from a remote land? Your burnt-offerings are not acceptable, and your sacrifices are not sweet to me." And afterwards: "Gather your burnt-offerings, together with your sacrifices, and eat flesh. For I did not command you, when I brought you out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings and sacrifices." Jeremiah 7:21-22 And He says by Isaiah: "To what purpose do you bring me a multitude of sacrifices? Says the Lord. I am full of the burnt-offerings of rams, and I will not accept the fat of lambs, and the blood of bulls and of goats. Nor do you come and appear before me; for who has required these things at your hands? Do not go on to tread my courts any more. If you bring me fine flour, it is vain: incense is an abomination unto me: your new moons, and your Sabbaths, and your great day, I cannot bear them: your fasts, and your rests, and your feasts, my soul hates them; I am over-full of them." And He says by another: "Depart from me; the sound of your hymns, and the psalms of your musical instruments, I will not hear." And Samuel says to Saul, when he thought to sacrifice: "Obedience is better than sacrifice, and hearkening than the fat of rams. For, behold, the Lord does not so much delight in sacrifice, as in obeying Him." And He says by David: "I will take no calves out of your house, nor he-goats out of your flock. If I should be hungry, I would not tell you; for the whole world is mine, and the fullness thereof. Shall I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats? Sacrifice to God the sacrifice of praise, and pay your vows to the Most High." And in all the Scriptures in like manner He refuses their sacrifices on account of their sinning against Him. For "the sacrifices of the impious are an abomination with the Lord, since they offer them in an unlawful manner." And again: "Their sacrifices are to them as bread of lamentation; all that eat of them shall be defiled." If, therefore, before His coining He sought for "a clean heart and a contrite spirit" more than sacrifices, much rather would He abrogate those sacrifices, I mean those by blood, when He came. Yet He so abrogated them as that He first fulfilled them. For He was both circumcised, and sprinkled, and offered sacrifices and whole burnt-offerings, and made use of the rest of their customs. And He that was the Lawgiver became Himself the fulfilling of the law; not taking away the law of nature, but abrogating those additional laws that were afterwards introduced, although not all of them neither.

How Christ Became a Fulfiller of the Law, and What Parts of It He Put a Period To, or Changed, or Transferred.

23. For He did not take away the law of nature, but confirmed it. For He that said in the law, "The Lord your God is one Lord;" the same says in the Gospel, "That they might know You, the only true God." John 17:3 And He that said, "You shall love your neighbour as yourself," Leviticus 19:18 says in the Gospel, renewing the same precept, "A new commandment I give unto you, that you love one another." John 13:34 He who then forbade murder, does now forbid causeless anger. Matthew 5:22 He that forbade adultery, does now forbid all unlawful lust. He that forbade stealing, now pronounces him most happy who supplies those that are in want out of his own labours. Acts 20:35 He that forbade hatred, now pronounces him blessed that loves his enemies. Matthew 5:7 He that forbade revenge, now commands long-suffering; Matthew 5:43 not as if just revenge were an unrighteous thing, but because long-suffering is more excellent. Nor did He make laws to root out our natural passions, but only to forbid the excess of them. Matthew 5:38

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He who had commanded to honour our parents, was Himself subject to them. Luke 2:51 He who had commanded to keep the Sabbath, by resting thereon for the sake of meditating on the laws, has now commanded us to consider of the law of creation, and of providence every day, and to return thanks to God. He abrogated circumcision when He had Himself fulfilled it. For He it was "to whom the inheritance was reserved, who was the expectation of the nations." Genesis 49:10 He who made a law for swearing rightly, and forbade perjury, has now charged us not to swear at all. Matthew 5:33 He has in several ways changed baptism, sacrifice, the priesthood, and the divine service, which was confined to one place: for instead of daily baptisms, He has given only one, which is that into His death. Instead of one tribe, He has appointed that out of every nation the best should be ordained for the priesthood; and that not their bodies should be examined for blemishes, but their religion and their lives. Instead of a bloody sacrifice, He has appointed that reasonable and unbloody mystical one of His body and blood, which is performed to represent the death of the Lord by symbols. Instead of the divine service confined to one place, He has commanded and appointed that He should be glorified from sunrising to sunsetting in every place of His dominion. He did not therefore take away the law from us, but the bonds. For concerning the law Moses says: "You shall meditate on the word which I command you, sitting in your house, and rising up, and walking in the way." And David says: "His delight is in the law of the Lord, and in His law will he meditate day and night." For everywhere would he have us subject to His laws, but not transgressors of them. For says He: "Blessed are the undefiled in the way, who walk in the law of the Lord. Blessed are they that search out His testimonies; with their whole heart shall they seek Him." And again: "Blessed are we, O Israel, because those things that are pleasing to God are known to us." Baruch 4:4 And the Lord says: "If you know these things, happy are you if you do them." John 13:17

That It Pleased the Lord that the Law of Righteousness Should Be Demonstrated by the Romans.

24. Nor does He desire that the law of righteousness should only be demonstrated by us; but He is pleased that it should appear and shine by means of the Romans. For these Romans, believing in the Lord, left off their polytheism and injustice, and entertain the good, and punish the bad. But they hold the Jews under tribute, and do not suffer them to make use of their own ordinances.

How God, on Account of Their Impiety Towards Christ, Made the Jews Captives, and Placed Them Under Tribute.

25. Because, indeed, they drew servitude upon themselves voluntarily, when they said, "We have no king but Caesar;" John 19:15 and, "If we do not slay Christ, all men will believe in Him, and the Romans will come and will take away both our place and nation." John 11:48 And so they prophesied unwittingly. For accordingly the nations believed on Him, and they themselves were deprived by the Romans of their power, and of their legal worship; and they have been forbidden to slay whom they please, and to sacrifice when they will. Wherefore they are accursed, as not able to perform the things they are commanded to do. For says He: "Cursed be he that does not continue in all things that are written in the book of the law to do them." Now it is impossible in their dispersion, while they are among the heathen, for them to perform all things in their law. For the divine Moses forbids both to rear an altar out of Jerusalem, and to read the law out of the bounds of Judea. Let us therefore follow Christ, that we may inherit His blessings. Let us walk after the law and the prophets by the Gospel. Let us eschew the worshippers of many gods, and the murderers of Christ, and the murderers of the prophets, and the wicked and atheistical heretics. Let us be obedient to Christ as to our King, as having authority to change several constitutions, and having, as a legislator, wisdom to make new constitutions in different circumstances; yet so that everywhere the laws of nature be immutably preserved.

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS SECTION 5.
The Teaching Of The Apostles In Opposition To Jewish And Gentile Superstitions, Especially In Regard To Marriage And Funerals

That We Ought to Avoid the Heretics as the Corrupters of Souls.

26. You should therefore, O bishops, and you of the laity, avoid all heretics who abuse the law and the prophets. For they are enemies to God Almighty, and disobey Him, and do not confess Christ to be the Son of God. For they also deny His generation according to the flesh; they are ashamed of the cross; they abuse His passion and His death; they know not His resurrection; they take away His generation before all ages. Nay, some of them are impious after another manner, imagining the Lord to be a mere man, supposing Him to consist of a soul and body. But others of them suppose that Jesus Himself is the God over all, and glorify Him as His own Father, and suppose Him to be both the Son and the Comforter; than which doctrines what can be more detestable? Others, again, of them do refuse certain meats, and say that marriage with the procreation of children is evil, and the contrivance of the devil; and being ungodly themselves, they are not willing to rise again from the dead on account of their wickedness. Wherefore also they ridicule the resurrection, and say, We are holy people, unwilling to eat and to drink; and they fancy that they shall rise again from the dead demons without flesh, who shall be condemned for ever in eternal fire. Fly therefore from them, lest you perish with them in their impieties.

Of Some Jewish and Gentile Observances.

27. Now if any persons keep to the Jewish customs and observances concerning the natural emission and nocturnal pollutions, and the lawful conjugal acts, Leviticus xv let them tell us whether in those hours or days, when they undergo any such thing, they observe not to pray, or to touch a Bible, or to partake of the Eucharist? And if they own it to be so, it is plain they are void of the Holy Spirit, which always continues with the faithful. For concerning holy persons Solomon says: "That every one may prepare himself, that so when he sleeps it may keep him, and when he arises it may talk with him." Proverbs 6:22 For if you think, O woman, when you are seven days in your separation, that you are void of the Holy Spirit, then if you should die suddenly you will depart void of the Spirit, and without assured hope in God; or else you must imagine that the Spirit always is inseparable from you, as not being in a place. But you stand in need of prayer and the Eucharist, and the coming of the Holy Ghost, as having been guilty of no fault in this matter. For neither lawful mixture, nor child-bearing, nor the menstrual purgation, nor nocturnal pollution, can defile the nature of a man, or separate the Holy Spirit from him. Nothing but impiety and unlawful practice can do that. For the Holy Spirit always abides with those that are possessed of it, so long as they are worthy; and those from whom it is departed, it leaves them desolate, and exposed to the wicked spirit. Now every man is filled either with the holy or with the unclean spirit; and it is not possible to avoid the one or the other, unless they can receive opposite spirits. For the Comforter hates every lie, and the devil hates all truth. But every one that is baptised agreeably to the truth is separated from the diabolical spirit, and is under the Holy Spirit; and the Holy Spirit remains with him so long as he is doing good, and fills him with wisdom and understanding, and suffers not the wicked spirit to approach him, but watches over his goings. You therefore, O woman, if, as you say, in the days of your separation you are void of the Holy Spirit, you are then filled with the unclean one; for by neglecting to pray and to read you will invite him to you, though he were unwilling. For this spirit, of all others, loves the ungrateful, the slothful, the careless, and the drowsy, since he himself by ingratitude was distempered with evil mind, and was thereby deprived by God his dignity; having rather chosen to be a devil than an archangel. Wherefore, O woman, eschew such vain words, and be ever mindful of God that created you, and pray to Him. For He is your Lord, and the Lord of the universe; and meditate in His laws without observing any such things, such as the natural purgation, lawful mixture, child-birth, a miscarriage, or a blemish of the body; since such observations are the vain inventions of foolish men, and such inventions as have no sense in them. Neither the burial of a man, nor a dead man's bone, nor a sepulchre, nor any particular sort of food, nor the nocturnal pollution, can defile the soul of man; but only impiety towards God, and transgression, and injustice towards one's neighbour; I mean rapine, violence, or if there be anything contrary to His righteousness, adultery or fornication. Wherefore, beloved, avoid and eschew such observations, for they are heathenish. For we do not abominate a dead man, as do they, seeing we hope that he will live again. Nor do we hate lawful mixture; for it is their practice to act impiously in such instances. For the conjunction of man and wife, if it be with righteousness, is agreeable to the mind of God. "For He that made them at the beginning made them male and female; and He blessed them, and said, Increase and multiply, and fill the earth." Matthew 19:4; Genesis 1:28 If, therefore, the difference of sexes was made by the will of God for the generation of multitudes, then must the conjunction of male and female be also acceptable to His mind.

Of the Love of Boys, Adultery, and Fornication.

28. But we do not say so of that mixture that is contrary to nature, or of any unlawful practice; for such are enmity to God. For the sin of Sodom is contrary to nature, as is also that with brute beasts. But adultery and fornication are against the law; the one whereof is impiety, the other injustice, and, in a word, no other than a great sin. But neither sort of them is without its punishment in its own proper nature. For the practisers of one sort attempt the dissolution of the world, and endeavour to make the natural course of things to change for one that is unnatural; but those of the second sort — the adulterers — are unjust by corrupting others' marriages, and dividing into two what God has made one, rendering the children suspected, and exposing the true husband to the snares of others. And fornication is the destruction of one's own flesh, not being made use of for the procreation of children, but entirely for the sake of pleasure, which is a mark of incontinency, and not a sign of virtue. All these things are forbidden by the laws; for thus say the oracles: "You shall not lie with mankind as with womankind." "For such a one is accursed, and you shall stone them with stones: they have wrought abomination." "Every one that lies with a beast, slay him: he has wrought wickedness in his people." "And if any one defile a married woman, slay them both: they have wrought wickedness; they are guilty; let them die." And afterwards: "There shall not be a fornicator among the children of Israel, and there shall not be an whore among the daughters of Israel. You shall not offer the hire of an harlot to the Lord your God upon the altar, nor the price of a dog." "For the vows arising from the hire of an harlot are not clean." These things the laws have forbidden, but they have honoured marriage, and have called it blessed, since God has blessed it who joined male and female together. And wise Solomon somewhere says: "A wife is suited to her husband by the Lord." And David says: "Your wife is like a flourishing vine in the sides of your house; your children like olive-branches round about your table. Behold, thus shall the man be blessed that fears the Lord." Wherefore "marriage is honourable" and comely, and the begetting of children pure, for there is no evil in that which is good. Therefore neither is the natural purgation abominable before God, who has ordered it to happen to women within the space of thirty days for their advantage and healthful state, who do less move about, and keep usually at home in the house. Nay, moreover, even in the Gospel, when the woman with the perpetual purgation of blood touched the saving border of the Lord's garment in hope of being healed, He was not angry at her, nor did complain of her at all; but, on the contrary, He healed her, saying, "Your faith has saved you." When the natural purgations do appear in the wives, let not their husbands approach them, out of regard to the children to be begotten; for the law has forbidden it, for it says: "You shall not come near your wife when she is in her separation." Leviticus 18:19; Ezekiel 18:6 Nor, indeed, let them frequent their wives' company when they are with child. For they do this not for the begetting of children, but for the sake of pleasure. Now a lover of God ought not to be a lover of pleasure.

How Wives Ought to Be Subject to Their Own Husbands, and Husbands Ought to Love Their Own Wives.

29. You wives, be subject to your own husbands, and have them in esteem, and serve them with fear and love, as holy Sarah honoured Abraham. For she could not endure to call him by his name, but called him lord, when she said, "My lord is old." In like manner, you husbands, love your own wives as your own members, as partners in life, and fellow-helpers for the procreation of children. For says He, "Rejoice with the wife of your youth. Let her conversation be to you as a loving hind, and a pleasant foal; let her alone guide you, and be with you at all times: for if you are every way encompassed with her friendship, you will be happy in her society." Love them therefore as your own members, as your very bodies; for so it is written, "The Lord has testified between you and between the wife of your youth; and she is your partner, and another has not made her: and she is the remains of your spirit;" and, "Take heed to your spirit, and do not forsake the wife of your youth." An husband, therefore, and a wife, when they company together in lawful marriage, and rise from one another, may pray without any observations, and without washing are clean. But whosoever corrupts and defiles another man's wife, or is defiled with an harlot, when he arises up from her, though he should wash himself in the entire ocean and all the rivers, cannot be clean.

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS SECTION 6
Conclusion Of The Work

That It is the Custom of Jews and Gentiles to Observe Natural Purgations, and to Abominate the Remains of the Dead; But that All This is Contrary to Christianity.

30. Do not therefore keep any such observances about legal and natural purgations, as thinking you are defiled by them. Neither do you seek after Jewish separations, or perpetual washings, or purifications upon the touch of a dead body. But without such observations assemble in the dormitories, reading the holy books, and singing for the martyrs which are fallen asleep, and for all the saints from the beginning of the world, and for your brethren that are asleep in the Lord, and offer the acceptable Eucharist, the representation of the royal body of Christ, both in your churches and in the dormitories; and in the funerals of the departed, accompany them with singing, if they were faithful in Christ. For "precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints." And again: "O my soul, return unto your rest, for the Lord has done you good." And elsewhere: "The memory of the just is with

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encomiums." Proverbs 10:7 And, "The souls of the righteous are in the hands of God." Wisdom 3:1 For those that have believed in God, although they are asleep, are not dead. For our Saviour says to the Sadducees: "But concerning the resurrection of the dead, have you not read that which is written, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? God, therefore, is not the God of the dead, but of the living; for all live to Him." Exodus 3:6; Luke 20:38 Wherefore, of those that live with God, even their very relics are not without honour. For even Elisha the prophet, after he was fallen asleep, raised up a dead man who was slain by the pirates of Syria. For his body touched the bones of Elisha, and he arose and revived. Now this would not have happened unless the body of Elisha were holy. And chaste Joseph embraced Jacob after he was dead upon his bed; and Moses and Joshua the Son of Nun carried away the relics of Joseph, and did not esteem it a defilement. Whence you also, O bishops, and the rest, who without such observances touch the departed, ought not to think yourselves defiled. Nor abhor the relics of such persons, but avoid such observances, for they are foolish. And adorn yourselves with holiness and chastity, that you may become partakers of immortality, and partners of the kingdom of God, and may receive the promise of God, and may rest for ever, through Jesus Christ our Saviour.

To Him, therefore, who is able to open the ears of your hearts to the receiving the oracles of God administered to you both by the Gospel and by the teaching of Jesus Christ of Nazareth; who was crucified under Pontius Pilate and Herod, and died, and rose again from the dead, and will come again at the end of the world with power and great glory, and will raise the dead, and put an end to this world, and distribute to every one according to his deserts: to Him that has given us Himself for an earnest of the resurrection; who was taken up into the heavens by the power of His God and Father in our sight, who ate and drank with Him for forty days after He arose from the dead; who is sat down on the right hand of the throne of the majesty of Almighty God upon the cherubim; to whom it was said, "Sit on my right hand, until I make Your enemies Your footstool;" whom the most blessed Stephen saw standing at the right hand of power, and cried out, and said, "Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing at the right hand of God," Acts 7:56 as the High Priest of all the rational orders — through Him, worship, and majesty, and glory be given to Almighty God, both now and for evermore. Amen.

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS BOOK 7

Concerning The Christian Life, And The Eucharist, And The Initiation Into Christ.

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS SECTION 1. On The Two Ways, — The Way Of Life And The Way Of Death

That There are Two Ways — The One Natural, of Life, and the Other Introduced Afterwards, of Death; And that the Former is from God, and the Latter of Error, from the Snares of the Adversary.

1. The lawgiver Moses said to the Israelites, "Behold, I have set before your face the way of life and the way of death;" and added, "Choose life, that you may live." Elijah the prophet also said to the people: "How long will you halt with both your legs? If the Lord be God, follow Him." 1 Kings 18:21 The Lord Jesus also said justly: "No one can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other." Matthew 6:24 We also, following our teacher Christ, "who is the Saviour of all men, especially of those that believe," 1 Timothy 4:10 are obliged to say that there are two ways — the one of life, the other of death; which have no comparison one with another, for they are very different, or rather entirely separate; and the way of life is that of nature, but that of death was afterwards introduced — it not being according to the mind of God, but from the snares of the adversary.

Moral Exhortations of the Lord's Constitutions Agreeing with the Ancient Prohibitions of the Divine Laws. The Prohibition of Anger, Spite, Corruption, Adultery, and Every Forbidden Action.

2. The first way, therefore, is that of life; and is this, which the law also does appoint: "To love the Lord God with all your mind, and with all your soul, who is the one and only God, besides whom there is no other;" "and your neighbour as yourself." And whatsoever you would not should be done to you, do not do to another. Tobit 4:15 "Bless them that curse you; pray for them that despitefully use you." Matthew 5:44 "Love your enemies; for what thanks is it if you love those that love you? For even the Gentiles do the same." Luke 6:32; Matthew 5:46-47 "But love those that hate you, and you shall have no enemy." For says He, "You shall not hate any man; no, not an Egyptian, nor an Edomite;" for they are all the workmanship of God. Avoid not the persons, but the sentiments, of the wicked. "Abstain from fleshly and worldly lusts." "If any one gives you a stroke on your right cheek, turn to him the other also." Not that revenge is evil, but that patience is more honourable. For David says, "If I have made returns to them that repaid me evil." "If anyone compels you to go one mile, go with him two." And, "He that will sue you at the law, and take away your coat, let him have your cloak also." Matthew 5:40; Luke 6:29 "And from him that takes your goods, require them not again." Luke 6:30 "Give to him that asks you, and from him that would borrow of you do not shut your hand." Matthew 5:42 For "the righteous man is pitiful, and lends." For your Father would have you give to all, who Himself "makes His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sends His rain on the just and on the unjust." Matthew 5:45 It is therefore reasonable to give to all out of your own labours; for says He, "Honour the Lord out of your righteous labours," but so that the saints be preferred. "You shall not kill;" that is, you shall not destroy a man like yourself: for you dissolve what was well made. Not as if all killing were wicked, but only that of the innocent: but the killing which is just is reserved to the magistrates alone. "You shall not commit adultery:" for you divide one flesh into two. "They two shall be one flesh:" Genesis 2:24 for the husband and wife are one in nature, in consent, in union, in disposition, and the conduct of life; but they are separated in sex and number. "You shall not corrupt boys:" Leviticus 18:22 for this wickedness is contrary to nature, and arose from Sodom, which was therefore entirely consumed with fire sent from God. Genesis 19 "Let such a one be accursed: and all the people shall say, So be it." Deuteronomy xxvii "You shall not commit fornication:" for says He, "There shall not be a fornicator among the children of Israel." Deuteronomy 23:17 "You shall not steal:" for Achan, when he had stolen in Israel at Jericho, was stoned to death; Joshua vii and Gehazi, who stole, and told a lie, inherited the leprosy of Naaman; 2 Kings v and Judas, who stole the poor's money, betrayed the Lord of glory to the Jews, John 12:6 and repented, and hanged himself, and burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out; Matthew 27:5; Acts 1:18 and Ananias, and Sapphira his wife, who stole their own goods, and "tempted the Spirit of the Lord," were immediately, at the sentence of Peter our fellow-apostle, struck dead. Acts v

The Prohibition of Conjuring, Murder of Infants, Perjury, and False Witness.

3. You shall not use magic. You shall not use witchcraft; for He says, "You shall not suffer a witch to live." You shall not slay your child by causing abortion, nor kill that which is begotten; for "everything that is shaped, and has received a soul from God, if it be slain, shall be avenged, as being unjustly destroyed." "You shall not covet the things that belong to your neighbour, as his wife, or his servant, or his ox, or his field." You shall not forswear yourself; for it is said, "You shall not swear at all." Matthew 5:34 But if that cannot be avoided, you shall swear truly; for "every one that swears by Him shall be commended." "You shall not bear false witness;" for "he that falsely accuses the needy provokes to anger Him that made him." Proverbs 14:31

The Prohibition of Evil-Speaking and Passion, of Deceitful Conduct, or Idle Words, Lies, Covetousness, and Hypocrisy.

4. You shall not speak evil; for says He, "Love not to speak evil, lest you beest taken away." Nor shall you be mindful of injuries; for "the ways of those that remember injuries are unto death." You shall not be double-minded nor double-tongued; for "a man's own lips are a strong snare to him," Proverbs 6:2 and "a talkative person shall not be prospered upon earth." Your words shall not be vain; for "you shall give an account of every idle word." Matthew 12:36; Leviticus 19:11 You shall not tell lies: for says He, "You shall destroy all those that speak lies." You shall not be covetous nor rapacious: for says He, "Woe to him that is covetous towards his neighbour with an evil covetousness." Habakkuk 2:9

The Prohibition of Malignity, Acceptation of Persons, Wrath, Malice, and Envy.

5. You shall not be an hypocrite, lest your "portion be with them." You shall not be ill-natured nor proud: for "God resists the proud." "You shall not accept persons in judgement; for the judgement is the Lord's." "You shall not hate any man; you shall surely reprove your brother, and not become guilty on his account;" and, "Reprove a wise man, and he will love you." Eschew all evil, and all that is like it: for says He, "Abstain from injustice, and trembling shall not come near you." Be not soon angry, nor spiteful, nor passionate, nor furious, nor daring, lest you undergo the fate of Cain, and of Saul, and of Joab: for the first of these slew his brother Abel, because Abel was found to be preferred before him with God, and because Abel's sacrifice was preferred; the second persecuted holy David, who had slain Goliah the Philistine, being envious of the praises of the women who danced; the third slew two generals of armies — Abner of Israel, and Amasa of Judah.

Concerning Augury and Enchantments.

6. Be not a diviner, for that leads to idolatry; for says Samuel, "Divination is sin;" 1 Samuel 15:23 and, "There shall be no divination in Jacob, nor soothsaying in Israel." Numbers 23:23 You shall not use enchantments or purgations for your child. You shall not be a soothsayer nor a diviner by great or little birds. Nor shall you learn wicked arts; for all these things has the law forbidden. Be not one that wishes for evil, for you will be led into intolerable sins. You shall not speak obscenely, nor use wanton glances, nor be a drunkard; for from such causes arise whoredoms and adulteries. Be not a lover of money, lest you "serve mammon instead of God." Matthew 6:24 Be not vainglorious, nor haughty, nor high-minded. For from all these things arrogance does spring. Remember him who said: "Lord, my heart is not haughty, nor my eyes lofty: I have not exercised myself in great matters, nor in things too high for me; but I was humble."

The Prohibition of Murmuring, Insolence, Pride, and Arrogance.

7. Be not a murmurer, remembering the punishment which those underwent who murmured against Moses. Be not self-willed, be not malicious, be not hard-hearted, be not passionate, be not mean-spirited; for all these things lead to blasphemy. But be meek, as were Moses and David, since "the meek shall inherit the earth." Matthew 5:5

Concerning Long-Suffering, Simplicity, Meekness, and Patience.

8. Be slow to wrath; for such a one is very prudent, since "he that is hasty of spirit is a very fool." Be merciful; for "blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy." Matthew 5:7 Be sincere, quiet, good, "trembling at the word of God." Isaiah 66:2 You shall not exalt yourself, as did the Pharisee; for "every one that exalts himself shall be abased," Luke 18:14 and "that which is of high esteem with man is abomination with God." Luke 16:15 You shall not entertain confidence in your soul; for "a confident man shall fall into mischief." You shall not go along with the foolish, but with the wise and righteous; for "he that walks with wise men shall be wise, but he that walks with the foolish shall be known." Proverbs 13:20 Receive the afflictions that fall upon you with an even mind, and the chances of life without over-much sorrow, knowing that a reward shall be given to you by God, as was given to Job and to Lazarus.

That It is Our Duty to Esteem Our Christian Teachers Above Our Parents — The Former Being the Means of Our Well-Being, the Other Only of Our Being.

9. You shall honour him that speaks to you the word of God, and be mindful of him day and night; and you shall reverence him, not as the author of your birth, but as one that is made the occasion of your well-being. For where the doctrine concerning God is, there God is present. You shall every day seek the face of the saints, that you may acquiesce in their words.

That We Ought Not to Divide Ourselves from the Saints, But to Make Peace Between Those that Quarrel, to Judge Righteously, and Not to Accept Persons.

10. You shall not make schisms among the saints, but be mindful of the followers of Corah. You shall make peace between those that are at variance, as Moses did when he persuaded them to be friends. You shall judge righteously; for "the judgement is the Lord's." You shall not accept persons when you reprove for sins; but do as Elijah and Micaiah did to Ahab, and Ebedmelech the Ethiopian to Zedekiah, and Nathan to David, and John to Herod.

Concerning Him that is Double-Minded and Desponding.

11. Be not of a doubtful mind in your prayer, whether it shall be granted or no. For the Lord said to me Peter upon the sea: "O you of little faith, wherefore did you doubt?" Matthew 14:31 "Be not ready to stretch out your hand to receive, and to shut it when you should give." Sirach 4:31

Concerning Doing Good.

12. If you have by the work of your hands, give, that you may labour for the redemption of your sins; for "by alms and acts of faith sins are purged away." Proverbs 16:6; Daniel 4:27 You shall not grudge to give to the poor, nor when you have given shall you murmur; for you shall know who will repay you your reward. For says he: "He that has mercy on the poor man lends to the Lord; according to his gift, so shall it be repaid him again." Proverbs 19:17 You shall not turn away from him that is needy; for says he: "He that stops his ears, that he may not hear the cry of the needy, himself also shall call, and there shall be none to hear him." Proverbs 21:13 You shall communicate in all things to your brother, and shall not say your goods are your own; for the common participation of the necessaries of life is appointed to all men by God. You shall not take off your hand from your son or from your daughter, but shall teach them the fear of God

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from their youth; for says he: "Correct your son, so shall he afford you good hope." Proverbs 19:18

How Masters Ought to Behave Themselves to Their Servants, and How Servants Ought to Be Subject.

XIII. You shall not command your man-servant, or your maid-servant, who trust in the same God, with bitterness of soul, lest they groan against you, and wrath be upon you from God. And, you servants, "be subject to your masters," Ephesians 6:5 as to the representatives of God, with attention and fear, "as to the Lord, and not to men." Ephesians 6:7

Concerning Hypocrisy, and Obedience to the Laws, and Confession of Sins.

14. You shall hate all hypocrisy; and whatsoever is pleasing to the Lord, that shall you do. By no means forsake the commands of the Lord. But you shall observe what things you have received from Him, neither adding to them nor taking away from them. "For you shall not add unto His words, lest He convict you, and you become a liar." Proverbs 30:6 You shall confess your sins unto the Lord your God; and you shall not add unto them, that it may be well with you from the Lord your God, who wills not the death of a sinner, but his repentance.

Concerning the Observance Due to Parents.

15. You shall be observant to your father and mother as the causes of your being born, that you may live long on the earth which the Lord your God gives you. Do not overlook your brethren or your kinsfolk; for "you shall not overlook those nearly related to you." Isaiah 58:7

Concerning the Subjection Due to the King and to Rulers.

16. You shall fear the king, knowing that his appointment is of the Lord. His rulers you shall honour as the ministers of God, for they are the revengers of all unrighteousness; to whom pay taxes, tribute, and every oblation with a willing mind.

Concerning the Pure Conscience of Those that Pray.

17. You shall not proceed to your prayer in the day of your wickedness, before you have laid aside your bitterness. This is the way of life, in which may you be found, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

That the Way Which Was Afterward Introduced by the Snares of the Adversary is Full of Impiety and Wickedness.

18. But the way of death is known by its wicked practices: for therein is the ignorance of God, and the introduction of many evils, and disorders, and disturbances; whereby come murders, adulteries, fornications, perjuries, unlawful lusts, thefts, idolatries, magic arts, witchcrafts, rapines, false-witnesses, hypocrisies, double-heartedness, deceit, pride, malice, insolence, covetousness, obscene talk, jealousy, confidence, haughtiness, arrogance, impudence, persecution of the good, enmity to truth, love of lies, ignorance of righteousness. For they who do such things do not adhere to goodness, or to righteous judgement: they watch not for good, but for evil; from whom meekness and patience are far off, who love vain things, pursuing after reward, having no pity on the poor, not labouring for him that is in misery, nor knowing Him that made them; murderers of infants, destroyers of the workmanship of God, that turn away from the needy, adding affliction to the afflicted, the flatterers of the rich, the despisers of the poor, full of sin. May you, children, be delivered from all these.

That We Must Not Turn from the Way of Piety Either to the Right Hand or to the Left. An Exhortation of the Lawgiver.

19. See that no one seduce you from piety; for says He: "You may not turn aside from it to the right hand, or to the left, that you may have understanding in all that you do." For if you do not turn out of the right way, you will not be ungodly.

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS SECTION 2.
On The Formation Of The Character Of Believers, And On Giving Of Thanks To God

That We Ought Not to Despise Any of the Sorts of Food that are Set Before Us, But Gratefully and Orderly to Partake of Them.

20. Now concerning the several sorts of food, the Lord says to you, "You shall eat the good things of the earth;" and, "All sorts of flesh shall you eat, as the green herb;" but, "You shall pour out the blood." For "not those things that go into the mouth, but those that come out of it, defile a man;" I mean blasphemies, evil-speaking, and if there be any other thing of the like nature. But "eat the fat of the land with righteousness." For "if there be anything pleasant, it is His; and if there be anything good, it is His. Wheat for the young men, and wine to cheer the maids." For "who shall eat or who shall drink without Him?" Wise Ezra does also admonish you and say: "Go your way, and eat the fat, and drink the sweet, and be not sorrowful." Nehemiah 8:10

That We Ought to Avoid the Eating of Things Offered to Idols.

21. But abstain from things offered to idols; 1 Corinthians 10:20 for they offer them in honour of demons, that is, to the dishonour of the one God, that you may not become partners with demons.

A Constitution of Our Lord, How We Ought to Baptise, and into Whose Death.

22. Now concerning baptism, O bishop, or presbyter, we have already given direction, and we now say, that you shall so baptise as the Lord commanded us, saying: "Go, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost (teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you):" Matthew 28:19 of the Father who sent, of Christ who came, of the Comforter who testified. But you shall beforehand anoint the person with the holy oil, and afterward baptise him with the water, and in the conclusion shall seal him with the ointment; that the anointing with oil may be the participation of the Holy Spirit, and the water the symbol of the death of Christ, and the ointment the seal of the covenants. But if there be neither oil nor ointment, water is sufficient both for the anointing, and for the seal, and for the confession of Him that is dead, or indeed is dying together with Christ . But before baptism, let him that is to be baptised fast; for even the Lord, when He was first baptised by John, and abode in the wilderness, did afterward fast forty days and forty nights. But He was baptised, and then fasted, not having Himself any need of cleansing, or of fasting, or of purgation, who was by nature pure and holy; but that He might testify the truth to John, and afford an example to us. Wherefore our Lord was not baptised into His own passion, or death, or resurrection — for none of those things had then happened — but for another purpose. Wherefore He by His own authority fasted after His baptism, as being the Lord of John. But he who is to be initiated into His death ought first to fast, and then to be baptised. For it is not reasonable that he who has been buried with Christ, and is risen again with Him, should appear dejected at His very resurrection. For man is not lord of our Saviour's constitution, since one is the Master and the other the servant.

Which Days of the Week We are to Fast, and Which Not, and for What Reasons.

23. But let not your fasts be with the hypocrites; for they fast on the second and fifth days of the week. But do you either fast the entire five days, or on the fourth day of the week, and on the day of the Preparation, because on the fourth day the condemnation went out against the Lord, Judas then promising to betray Him for money; and you must fast on the day of the Preparation, because on that day the Lord suffered the death of the cross under Pontius Pilate. But keep the Sabbath, and the Lord's day festival; because the former is the memorial of the creation, and the latter of the resurrection. But there is one only Sabbath to be observed by you in the whole year, which is that of our Lord's burial, on which men ought to keep a fast, but not a festival. For inasmuch as the Creator was then under the earth, the sorrow for Him is more forcible than the joy for the creation; for the Creator is more honourable by nature and dignity than His own creatures.

What Sort of People Ought to Pray that Prayer that Was Given by the Lord.

24. Now, "when you pray, be not as the hypocrites;" but as the Lord has appointed us in the Gospel, so pray: "Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be Your name; Your kingdom come; Your will be done, as in heaven, so on earth; give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; for Yours is the kingdom forever. Amen." Pray thus thrice in a day, preparing yourselves beforehand, that you may be worthy of the adoption of the Father; lest, when you call Him Father unworthily, you be reproached by Him, as Israel once His first-born son was told: "If I be a Father, where is my glory? And if I be a Lord, where is my fear?" Malachi 1:6 For the glory of fathers is the holiness of their children, and the honour of masters is the fear of their servants, as the contrary is dishonour and confusion. For says He: "Through you my name is blasphemed among the Gentiles." Isaiah 52:5

A Mystical Thanksgiving.

25. Be always thankful, as faithful and honest servants; and concerning the eucharistical thanksgiving say thus: We thank You, our Father, for that life which You have made known to us by Jesus Your Son, by whom You made all things, and takest care of the whole world; whom You have sent to become man for our salvation; whom You have permitted to suffer and to die; whom You have raised up, and been pleased to glorify, and hast set Him down on Your right hand; by whom You have promised us the resurrection of the dead. O Lord Almighty, everlasting God, gather together Your Church from the ends of the earth into Your kingdom, as this grain was once scattered, and is now become one loaf. We also, our Father, thank You for the precious blood of Jesus Christ, which was shed for us and for His precious body, whereof we celebrate this representation, as Himself appointed us, "to show forth His death." 1 Corinthians 11:26 For through Him glory is to be given to You forever. Amen. Let no one eat of these things that is not initiated; but those only who have been baptised into the death of the Lord. But if any one that is not initiated conceal himself, and partake of the same, "he eats eternal damnation;" because, being not of the faith of Christ, he has partaken of such things as it is not lawful for him to partake of, to his own punishment. But if any one is a partaker through ignorance, instruct him quickly, and initiate him, that he may not go out and despise you.

A Thanksgiving at the Divine Participation.

26. After the participation, give thanks in this manner: We thank you, O God and Father of Jesus our Saviour, for Your holy name, which You have made to inhabit among us; and that knowledge, faith, love, and immortality which You have given us through Your Son Jesus. You, O Almighty Lord, the God of the universe, hast created the world, and the things that are therein, by Him; and hast planted a law in our souls, and beforehand prepared things for the convenience of men. O God of our holy and blameless fathers, Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, Your faithful servants; You, O God, who art powerful, faithful, and true, and without deceit in Your promises; who sent upon earth Jesus Your Christ to live with men, as a man, when He was God the Word, and man, to take away error by the roots: even now, through Him, be mindful of this Your holy Church, which You have purchased with the precious blood of Your Christ, and deliver it from all evil, and perfect it in Your love and Your truth, and gather us all together into Your kingdom which You have prepared. Let this Your kingdom come. "Hosanna to the Son of David. Blessed be He that comes in the name of the Lord" — God the Lord, who was manifested to us in the flesh. If any one be holy, let him draw near; but if any one be not such, let him become such by repentance. Permit also to your presbyters to give thanks.

A Thanksgiving About the Mystical Ointment.

27. Concerning the ointment give thanks in this manner: We give You thanks, O God, the Creator of the whole world, both for the flagrancy of the ointment, and for the immortality which You have made known to us by Your Son Jesus. For Yours is the glory and the power forever. Amen. Whosoever comes to you, and gives thanks in this manner, receive him as a disciple of Christ. But if he preach another doctrine, different from that which Christ by us has delivered to you, such a one you must not permit to give thanks; for such a one rather affronts God than glorifies Him.

That We Ought Not to Be Indifferent About Communicating.

28. But whosoever comes to you, let him be first examined, and then received: for you have understanding, and are able to know the right hand from the left, and to distinguish false teachers from true teachers. But when a teacher comes to you, supply him with what he wants with all readiness. And even when a false teacher comes, you shall give him for his necessity, but shall not receive his error. Nor indeed may you pray together with him, lest you be polluted as well as he. Every true prophet or teacher that comes to you is worthy of his maintenance, as being a labourer in the word of righteousness. Matthew 10:41

A Constitution Concerning Oblations.

29. All the first-fruits of the winepress, the threshing-floor, the oxen, and the sheep, shall you give to the priests, Numbers xviii that your storehouses and garners and the products of your land may be blessed, and you may be strengthened with grain and wine and oil, and the herds of your cattle and flocks of your sheep may be increased. You shall give the tenth of your increase to the orphan, and to the widow, and to the poor, and to the stranger. All the first-fruits of your hot bread, of your barrels of wine, or oil, or honey, or nuts, or grapes, or the first-fruits of other things, shall you give to the priests; but those of silver, and of garments, and of all sort of possessions, to the orphan and to the widow.

How We Ought to Assemble Together, and to Celebrate the Festival Day of Our Saviour's Resurrection.

30. On the day of the resurrection of the Lord, that is, the Lord's day, assemble yourselves together, without fail, giving thanks to God, and praising Him for those mercies God has bestowed upon you through Christ, and has delivered you from ignorance, error, and bondage, that your sacrifice may be unspotted, and acceptable to God, who has said concerning His universal Church: "In every place shall incense and a pure

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sacrifice be offered unto me; for I am a great King, says the Lord Almighty, and my name is wonderful among the heathen."

What Qualifications They Ought to Have Who are to Be Ordained.

31. Do you first ordain bishops worthy of the Lord, and presbyters and deacons, pious men, righteous, meek, free from the love of money, lovers of truth, approved, holy, not accepters of persons, who are able to teach the word of piety, and rightly dividing the doctrines of the Lord. 2 Timothy 2:15 And honour such as your fathers, as your lords, as your benefactors, as the causes of your well-being. Reprove one another, not in anger, but in mildness, with kindness and peace. Observe all things that are commanded you by the Lord. Be watchful for your life. "Let your loins be girded about, and your lights burning, and you like men who wait for their Lord, when He will come, at even, or in the morning, or at cock-crowing, or at midnight. For at what hour they think not, the Lord will come; and if they open to Him, blessed are those servants, because they were found watching. For He will gird Himself, and will make them to sit down to meat, and will come forth and serve them." Luke 12:35, 37; Mark 13:35 Watch therefore, and pray, that you do not sleep unto death. For your former good deeds will not profit you, if at the last part of your life you go astray from the true faith.

A Prediction Concerning Futurities.

32. For in the last days false prophets shall be multiplied, and such as corrupt the word; and the sheep shall be changed into wolves, and love into hatred: for through the abounding of iniquity the love of many shall wax cold. For men shall hate, and persecute, and betray one another. And then shall appear the deceiver of the world, the enemy of the truth, the prince of lies, 2 Thessalonians ii whom the Lord Jesus "shall destroy with the spirit of His mouth, who takes away the wicked with His lips; and many shall be offended at Him. But they that endure to the end, the same shall be saved. And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven;" Isaiah 11:4; Matthew xxiv and afterwards shall be the voice of a trumpet by the archangel; and in that interval shall be the revival of those that were asleep. And then shall the Lord come, and all His saints with Him, with a great concussion above the clouds, with the angels of His power, Matthew 16:27 in the throne of His kingdom, to condemn the devil, the deceiver of the world, and to render to every one according to his deeds. "Then shall the wicked go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous shall go into life eternal," Matthew 25:46 to inherit those things "which eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of man, such things as God has prepared for them that love Him;" 1 Corinthians 2:9 and they shall rejoice in the kingdom of God, which is in Christ Jesus. Since we are vouchsafed such great blessings from Him, let us become His suppliants, and call upon Him by continual prayer, and say:—

A Prayer Declarative of God's Various Providence.

33. Our eternal Saviour, the King of gods, who alone art almighty, and the Lord, the God of all beings, and the God of our holy and blameless fathers, and of those before us; the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob; who art merciful and compassionate, long-suffering, and abundant in mercy; to whom every heart is naked, and by whom every heart is seen, and to whom every secret thought is revealed: to You do the souls of the righteous cry aloud, upon You do the hopes of the godly trust, You Father of the blameless, You hearer of the supplication of those that call upon You with uprightness, and who know the supplications that are not uttered: for Your providence reaches as far as the inmost parts of mankind; and by Your knowledge You search the thoughts of every one, and in every region of the whole earth the incense of prayer and supplication is sent up to You. O You who hast appointed this present world as a place of combat to righteousness, and hast opened to all the gate of mercy, and hast demonstrated to every man by implanted knowledge, and natural judgement, and the admonitions of the law, how the possession of riches is not everlasting, the ornament of beauty is not perpetual, our strength and force are easily dissolved; and that all is vapour and vanity; and that only the good conscience of faith unfeigned passes through the midst of the heavens, and returning with truth, takes hold of the right hand of the joy which is to come. And withal, before the promise of the restoration of all things is accomplished, the soul itself exults in hope, and is joyful. For from that truth which was in our forefather Abraham, when he changed his way You guided him by a vision, and taught him what kind of state this world is; and knowledge went before his faith, and faith was the consequence of his knowledge; and the covenant did follow after his faith. For You said: "I will make your seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sand which is by the seashore." Moreover, when You had given him Isaac, and knew him to be like him in his mode of life, You were then called his God, saying: "I will be a God to you, and to your seed after you." Genesis 26:3 And when our father Jacob was sent into Mesopotamia, You showed him Christ, and by him speak, saying: "Behold, I am with you, and I will increase you, and multiply you exceedingly." And so You spoke to Moses, Your faithful and holy servant, at the vision of the bush: "I am He that is; this is my name for ever, and my memorial for generations of generations." Exodus 3:14-15 O You great protector of the posterity of Abraham, You are blessed forever.

A Prayer Declarative of God's Various Creation.

34. You are blessed, O Lord, the King of ages, who by Christ hast made the whole world, and by Him in the beginning reduced into order the disordered parts; who divided the waters from the waters by a firmament, and put into them a spirit of life; who fixed the earth, and stretch out the heaven, and disposed every creature by an accurate constitution. For by Your power, O Lord, the world is beautified, the heaven is fixed as an arch over us, and is rendered illustrious with stars for our comfort in the darkness. The light also and the sun were begotten for days and the production of fruit, and the moon for the change of seasons, by its increase and diminutions; and one was called Night, and the other Day. And the firmament was exhibited in the midst of the abyss, and You commanded the waters to be gathered together, and the dry land to appear. But as for the sea itself, who can possibly describe it, which comes with fury from the ocean, yet runs back again, being stopped by the sand at Your command? For You have said: "Thereby shall her waves be broken." Job 38:11 You have also made it capable of supporting little and great creatures, and made it navigable for ships. Then did the earth become green, and was planted with all sorts of flowers, and the variety of several trees; and the shining luminaries, the nourishers of those plants, preserve their unchangeable course, and in nothing depart from Your command. But where You bid them, there do they rise and set for signs of the seasons and of the years, making a constant return of the work of men. Afterwards the kinds of the several animals were created — those belonging to the land, to the water, to the air, and both to air and water; and the artificial wisdom of Your providence does still impart to every one a suitable providence. For as He was not unable to produce different kinds, so neither has He disdained to exercise a different providence towards every one. And at the conclusion of the creation You gave direction to Your Wisdom, and formed a reasonable creature as the citizen of the world, saying, "Let us make man after our image, and after our likeness;" Genesis 1:26 and hast exhibited him as the ornament of the world, and formed him a body out of the four elements, those primary bodies, but had prepared a soul out of nothing, and bestowed upon him his five senses, and set over his sensations a mind as the conductor of the soul. And besides all these things, O Lord God, who can worthily declare the motion of the rain clouds, the shining of the lightning, the noise of the thunder, in order to the supply of proper food, and the most agreeable temperature of the air? But when man was disobedient, You deprived him of the life which should have been his reward. Yet You did not destroy him for ever, but laid him to sleep for a time; and You by oath called him to a resurrection, and loosened the bond of death, O You reviver of the dead, through Jesus Christ, who is our hope.

A Prayer, with Thanksgiving, Declarative of God's Providence Over the Beings He Has Made.

35. Great are you, O Lord Almighty, and great is Your power, and of Your understanding there is no number. Our Creator and Saviour, rich in benefits, long-suffering, and the bestower of mercy, who does not take away Your salvation from Your creatures: for You are good by nature, and sparest sinners, and invitest them to repentance; for admonition is the effect of Your bowels of compassion. For how should we abide if we were required to come to judgement immediately, when, after so much long-suffering, we hardly get clear of our miserable condition? The heavens declare Your dominion, and the earth shakes with earthquakes, and, hanging upon nothing, declares Your unshaken steadfastness. The sea raging with waves, and feeding a flock of ten thousand creatures, is bounded with sand, as standing in awe at Your command, and compels all men to cry out: "How great are Your works, O Lord! In wisdom have You made them all: the earth is full of Your creation." And the bright host of angels and the intellectual spirits say to Palmoni, "There is but one holy Being;" and the holy seraphim, together with the six-winged cherubim, who sing to You their triumphal song, cry out with never-ceasing voices, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts! heaven and earth are full of Your glory;" Isaiah 6:3 and the other multitudes of the orders, angels archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities, authorities, and powers cry aloud, and say, "Blessed be the glory of the Lord out of His place." Ezekiel 3:12 But Israel, Your Church on earth, taken out of the Gentiles, emulating the heavenly powers night and day, with a full heart and a willing soul sings, "The chariot of God is ten thousandfold thousands of them that rejoice: the Lord is among them in Sinai, in the holy place." The heaven knows Him who fixed it as a cube of stone, in the form of an arch, upon nothing, who united the land and water to one another, and scattered the vital air all abroad, and conjoined fire therewith for warmth, and the comfort against darkness. The choir of stars strikes us with admiration, declaring Him that numbers them, and showing Him that names them; the animals declare Him that puts life into them; the trees show Him that makes them grow: all which creatures, being made by Your word, show forth the greatness of Your power. Wherefore every man ought to send up an hymn from his very soul to You, through Christ, in the name of all the rest, since He has power over them all by Your appointment. For You are kind in Your benefits, and beneficent in Your bowels of compassion, who alone art almighty: for when You will, to be able is present with You; for Your eternal power both quenches flame, and stops the mouths of lions, and tames whales, and raises up the sick, and overrules the power of all things, and overturns the host of enemies, and casts down a people numbered in their arrogance. You are He who art in heaven, He who art on earth, He who art in the sea, He who art in finite things, Yourself unconfined by anything. For of Your majesty there is no boundary; for it is not ours, O Lord, but the oracle of Your servant, who said, "And you shall know in your heart that the Lord your God He is God in heaven above, and on earth beneath, and there is none other besides You:" Deuteronomy 4:39 for there is no God besides You alone, there is none holy besides You, the Lord, the God of knowledge, the God of the saints, holy above all holy beings; for they are sanctified by Your hands. You are glorious, and highly exalted, invisible by nature, and unsearchable in Your judgements; whose life is without want, whose duration can never alter or fail, whose operation is without toil, whose greatness is unlimited, whose excellency is perpetual, whose habitation is inaccessible, whose dwelling is unchangeable, whose knowledge is without beginning, whose truth is immutable, whose work is without assistants, whose dominion cannot be taken away, whose monarchy is without succession, whose kingdom is without end, whose strength is irresistible, whose army is very numerous: for You are the Father of wisdom, the Creator of the creation, by a Mediator, as the cause; the Bestower of providence, the Giver of laws, the Supplier of want, the Punisher of the ungodly, and the Rewarder of the righteous; the God and Father of Christ, and the Lord of those that are pious towards Him, whose promise is infallible, whose judgement without bribes, whose sentiments are immutable, whose piety is incessant, whose thanksgiving is everlasting, through whom adoration is worthily due to You from every rational and holy nature.

A Prayer Commemorative of the Incarnation of Christ, and His Various Providence to the Saints.

36. O Lord Almighty You have created the world by Christ, and hast appointed the Sabbath in memory thereof, because that on that day You have made us rest from our works, for the meditation upon Your laws. You have also appointed festivals for the rejoicing of our souls, that we might come into the remembrance of that wisdom which was created by You; how He submitted to be made of a woman on our account; He appeared in life, and demonstrated Himself in His baptism; how He that appeared is both God and man; He suffered for us by Your permission, and died, and rose again by Your power: on which account we solemnly assemble to celebrate the feast of the resurrection on the Lord's day, and rejoice on account of Him who has conquered death, and has brought life and immortality to light. For by Him You have brought home the Gentiles to Yourself for a peculiar people, the true Israel beloved of God, and seeing God. For You O Lord, brought our fathers out of the land of Egypt, and delivered them out of the iron furnace, from clay and brick-making, and redeemed them out of the hands of Pharaoh, and of those under him, and led them through the sea as through dry land, and bore their manners in the wilderness, and bestowed on them all sorts of good things. You gave them the law or decalogue, which was pronounced by Your voice and written with Your hand. You enjoined the observation of the Sabbath, not affording them an occasion of idleness, but an opportunity of piety, for their knowledge of Your power, and the prohibition of evils; having limited them as within an holy circuit for the sake of doctrine, for the rejoicing upon the seventh period. On this account was there appointed one week, and seven weeks, and the seventh month, and the seventh year, and the revolution of these, the jubilee, which is the fiftieth year for remission, that men might have no occasion to pretend ignorance. On this account He permitted men every Sabbath to rest, that so no one might be willing to send one word out of his mouth in anger on the day of the Sabbath. For the Sabbath is the ceasing of the creation, the completion of the world, the inquiry after laws, and the grateful praise to God for the blessings He has bestowed upon men. All which the Lord's day excels, and shows the Mediator Himself, the Provider, the Lawgiver, the Cause of the resurrection, the First-born of the whole creation, God the Word, and man, who was born of Mary alone, without a man, who lived holily, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and died, and rose again from the dead. So that the Lord's day commands us to

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offer unto You, O Lord, thanksgiving for all. For this is the grace afforded by You, which on account of its greatness has obscured all other blessings.

A Prayer Containing the Memorial of His Providence, and an Enumeration of the Various Benefits Afforded the Saints by the Providence of God Through Christ.

37. You who has fulfilled Your promises made by the prophets, and has had mercy on Zion, and compassion on Jerusalem, by exalting the throne of David, Your servant, in the midst of her, by the birth of Christ, who was born of his seed according to the flesh, of a virgin alone; do You now, O Lord God, accept the prayers which proceed from the lips of Your people which are of the Gentiles, which call upon You in truth, as You accepted of the gifts of the righteous in their generations. In the first place You respected the sacrifice of Abel, Genesis iv and accept it as You accepted of the sacrifice of Noah when he went out of the ark; Genesis viii of Abraham, when he went out of the land of the Chaldeans; Genesis 12 of Isaac at the Well of the Oath; of Jacob in Bethel; of Moses in the desert; of Aaron between the dead and the living; Numbers xvi of Joshua the Son of Nun in Gilgal; Joshua v of Gideon at the rock, and the fleeces, before his sin; of Manoah and his wife in the field; of Samson in his thirst before the transgression; of Jephtha in the war before his rash vow; of Barak and Deborah in the days of Sisera; of Samuel in Mizpeh; 1 Samuel vii of David in the threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite; of Solomon in Gibeon and in Jerusalem: of Elijah in Mount Carmel; 1 Kings xviii of Elisha at the barren fountain; 2 Kings ii of Jehoshaphat in war; of Hezekiah in his sickness, and concerning Sennacherib; of Manasseh in the land of the Chaldeans, after his transgression; 2 Chronicles xxxiii of Josiah in Phassa; of Ezra at the return; Ezra viii of Daniel in the den of lions; of Jonah in the whale's belly; Jonah ii of the three children in the fiery furnace; Daniel iii of Hannah in the tabernacle before the ark; 1 Samuel i of Nehemiah at the rebuilding of the walls; of Zerubbabel; of Mattathias and his sons in their zeal; of Jael in blessings. Now also do You receive the prayers of Your people which are offered to You with knowledge, through Christ in the Spirit.

A Prayer for the Assistance of the Righteous.

38. We give You thanks for all things, O Lord Almighty, that You have not taken away Your mercies and Your compassions from us; but in every succeeding generation You save, and deliver, and assist, and protect: for You assisted in the days of Enos and Enoch, in the days of Moses and Joshua, in the days of the judges, in the days of Samuel and of Elijah and of the prophets, in the days of David and of the kings, in the days of Esther and Mordecai, in the days of Judith, in the days of Judas Maccabeus and his brethren, and in our days have You assisted us by Your great High Priest, Jesus Christ Your Son. For He has delivered us from the sword, and has freed us from famine, and sustained us; has delivered us from sickness, has preserved us from an evil tongue. For all which things do we give You thanks through Christ, who has given us an articulate voice to confess withal, and added to it a suitable tongue as an instrument to modulate withal, and a proper taste, and a suitable touch, and a sight for contemplation, and the hearing of sounds, and the smelling of vapours, and hands for work, and feet for walking. And You form all these members from a little drop in the womb; and after the formation You bestow on it an immortal soul, and produce it into the light as a rational creature, even man. You have instructed him by Your laws, improved him by Your statutes; and when You bring on a dissolution for a while, You have promised a resurrection. Wherefore what life is sufficient, what length of ages will be long enough, for men to be thankful? To do it worthily it is impossible, but to do it according to our ability is just and right. For You have delivered us from the impiety of polytheism, and from the heresy of the murderers of Christ; You have delivered us from error and ignorance; You have sent Christ among men as a man, being the only begotten God; You have made the Comforter to inhabit among us; You have set angels over us; You have put the devil to shame; You have brought us into being when we were not. You take care of us when made; You measure out life to us; You afford us food; You have promised repentance. Glory and worship be to You for all these things, through Jesus Christ, now and ever, and through all ages. Amen. Meditate on these things, brethren; and the Lord be With you upon earth, and in the kingdom of His Father, who both sent Him, and has "delivered us by Him from the bondage of corruption into His glorious liberty;" Romans 8:21 and has promised life to those who through Him have believed in the God of the whole world.

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS SECTION 3.
On The Instruction Of Catechumens, And Their Initiation Into Baptism

Now, after what manner those ought to live that are initiated into Christ, and what thanksgivings they ought to send up to God through Christ, has been said in the foregoing directions. But it is reasonable not to leave even those who are not yet initiated without assistance.

How the Catechumens are to Be Instructed in the Elements.

39. Let him, therefore, who is to be taught the truth in regard to piety be instructed before his baptism in the knowledge of the unbegotten God, in the understanding of His only begotten Son, in the assured acknowledgment of the Holy Ghost. Let him learn the order of the several parts of the creation, the series of providence, the different dispensations of Your laws. Let him be instructed why the world was made, and why man was appointed to be a citizen therein; let him also know his own nature, of what sort it is; let him be taught how God punished the wicked with water and fire, and did glorify the saints in every generation — I mean Seth, and Enos, and Enoch, and Noah, and Abraham and his posterity, and Melchizedek, and Job, and Moses, and Joshua, and Caleb, and Phineas the priest, and those that were holy in every generation; and how God still took care of and did not reject mankind, but called them from their error and vanity to the acknowledgment of the truth at various seasons, reducing them from bondage and impiety unto liberty and piety, from injustice to righteousness, from death eternal to everlasting life. Let him that offers himself to baptism learn these and the like things during the time that he is a catechumen; and let him who lays his hands upon him adore God, the Lord of the whole world, and thank Him for His creation, for His sending Christ His only begotten Son, that He might save man by blotting out his transgressions, and that He might remit ungodliness and sins, and might "purify him from all filthiness of flesh and spirit," 2 Corinthians 7:1 and sanctify man according to the good pleasure of His kindness, that He might inspire him with the knowledge of His will, and enlighten the eyes of his heart to consider of His wonderful works, and make known to him the judgements of righteousness, that so he might hate every way of iniquity, and walk in the way of truth, that he might be thought worthy of the laver of regeneration, to the adoption of sons, which is in Christ, that "being planted together in the likeness of the death of Christ," Romans 6:5 in hopes of a glorious communication, he may be mortified to sin, and may live to God, as to his mind, and word, and deed, and may be numbered together in the book of the living. And after this thanksgiving, let him instruct him in the doctrines concerning our Lord's incarnation, and in those concerning His passion, and resurrection from the dead, and assumption.

A Constitution How the Catechumens are to Be Blessed by the Priests in Their Initiation, and What Things are to Be Taught Them.

40. And when it remains that the catechumen is to be baptised, let him learn what concerns the renunciation of the devil, and the joining himself with Christ; for it is fit that he should first abstain from things contrary, and then be admitted to the mysteries. He must beforehand purify his heart from all wickedness of disposition, from all spot and wrinkle, and then partake of the holy things; for as the skilfullest husbandman does first purge his ground of the thorns which are grown up therein, and does then sow his wheat, so ought you also to take away all impiety from them, and then to sow the seeds of piety in them, and vouchsafe them baptism. For even our Lord did in this manner exhort us, saying first, "Make disciples of all nations;" Matthew 28:19 and then He adds this, "and baptise them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Let, therefore, the candidate for baptism declare thus in his renunciation: —

The Renunciation of the Adversary, and the Dedication to the Christ of God.

41. I renounce Satan, and his works, and his pomps, and his worships, and his angels, and his inventions, and all things that are under him. And after his renunciation let him in his consociation say: And I associate myself to Christ, and believe, and am baptised into one unbegotten Being, the only true God Almighty, the Father of Christ, the Creator and Maker of all things, from whom are all things; and into the Lord Jesus Christ, His only begotten Son, the First-born of the whole creation, who before the ages was begotten by the good pleasure of the Father, by whom all things were made, both those in heaven and those on earth, visible and invisible; who in the last days descended from heaven, and took flesh, and was born of the holy Virgin Mary, and did converse holily according to the laws of His God and Father, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and died for us, and rose again from the dead after His passion the third day, and ascended into the heavens, and sits at the right hand of the Father, and again is to come at the end of the world with glory to judge the quick and the dead, of whose kingdom there shall be no end. And I am baptised into the Holy Ghost, that is, the Comforter, who wrought in all the saints from the beginning of the world, but was afterwards sent to the apostles by the Father, according to the promise of our Saviour and Lord, Jesus Christ; and after the apostles, to all those that believe in the Holy Catholic Church; into the resurrection of the flesh, and into the remission of sins, and into the kingdom of heaven, and into the life of the world to come. And after this vow, he comes in order to the anointing with oil.

A Thanksgiving Concerning the Anointing with the Mystical Oil.

42. Now this is blessed by the high priest for the remission of sins, and the first preparation for baptism. For he calls thus upon the unbegotten God, the Father of Christ, the King of all sensible and intelligible natures, that He would sanctify the oil in the name of the Lord Jesus, and impart to it spiritual grace and efficacious strength, the remission of sins, and the first preparation for the confession of baptism, that so the candidate for baptism, when he is anointed may be freed from all ungodliness, and may become worthy of initiation, according to the command of the Only-begotten.

A Thanksgiving Concerning the Mystical Water.

43. After this he comes to the water, and blesses and glorifies the Lord God Almighty, the Father of the only begotten God; and the priest returns thanks that He has sent His Son to become man on our account, that He might save us; that He has permitted that He should in all things become obedient to the laws of that incarnation, to preach the kingdom of heaven, the remission of sins, and the resurrection of the dead. Moreover, he adores the only begotten God Himself, after His Father, and for Him, giving Him thanks that He undertook to die for all men by the cross, the type of which He has appointed to be the baptism of regeneration. He glorifies Him also, for that God who is the Lord of the whole world, in the name of Christ and by His Holy Spirit, has not cast off mankind but has suited His providence to the difference of seasons: at first giving to Adam himself paradise for an habitation of pleasure, and afterwards giving a command on account of providence, and casting out the offender justly, but through His goodness not utterly casting him off, but instructing his posterity in succeeding ages after various manners; on whose account, in the conclusion of the world, He has sent His Son to become man for man's sake, and to undergo all human passions without sin. Him, therefore, let the priest even now call upon in baptism, and let him say: Look down from heaven, and sanctify this water, and give it grace and power, that so he that is to be baptised, according to the command of Your Christ, may be crucified with Him, and may die with Him, and may be buried with Him, and may rise with Him to the adoption which is in Him, that he may be dead to sin and live to righteousness. And after this, when he has baptised him in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, he shall anoint him with ointment, and shall add as follows:—

A Thanksgiving Concerning the Mystical Ointment.

44. O Lord God, who is without generation, and without a superior, the Lord of the whole world, who has scattered the sweet odour of the knowledge of the Gospel among all nations, grant at this time that this ointment may be efficacious upon him that is baptised, that so the sweet odour of Your Christ may continue upon him firm and fixed; and that now he has died with Him, he may arise and live with Him. Let him say these and the like things, for this is the efficacy of the laying on of hands on every one; for unless there be such a recital made by a pious priest over every one of these, the candidate for baptism does only descend into the water as do the Jews, and he only puts off the filth of the body, not the filth of the soul. After this let him stand up, and pray that prayer which the Lord taught us. But, of necessity, he who is risen again ought to stand up and pray, because he that is raised up stands upright. Let him, therefore, who has been dead with Christ, and is raised up with Him, stand up. But let him pray towards the east. For this also is written in the second book of the Chronicles, that after the temple of the Lord was finished by King Solomon, in the very feast of dedication the priests and the Levites and the singers stood up towards the east, praising and thanking God with cymbals and psalteries, and saying, "Praise the Lord, for He is good; for His mercy endures forever." 2 Chronicles 5:13

A Prayer for the New Fruits.

45. But let him pray thus after the foregoing prayer, and say: O God Almighty, the Father of Your Christ, Your only begotten Son, give me a body undefiled, a heart pure, a mind watchful, an unerring knowledge, the influence of the Holy Ghost for the obtaining and assured enjoying of the truth, through Your Christ, by whom glory be to You, in the Holy Spirit, forever. Amen. We have thought it reasonable to make these constitutions concerning the catechumens.

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS SECTION 4.
Enumeration Ordained By Apostles

Who Were They that the Holy Apostles Sent and Ordained?

46. Now concerning those bishops which have been ordained in our lifetime, we let you know that they are

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these:— James the bishop of Jerusalem, the brother of our Lord; upon whose death the second was Simeon the son of Cleopas; after whom the third was Judas the son of James. Of Caesarea of Palestine, the first was Zacchæus, who was once a publican; after whom was Cornelius, and the third Theophilus. Of Antioch, Euodius, ordained by me Peter; and Ignatius by Paul. Of Alexandria, Annianus was the first, ordained by Mark the evangelist; the second Avilius by Luke, who was also an evangelist. Of the church of Rome, Linus the son of Claudia was the first, ordained by Paul; 2 Timothy 4:21 and Clemens, after Linus' death, the second, ordained by me Peter. Of Ephesus, Timotheus, ordained by Paul; and John, by me John. Of Smyrna, Aristo the first; after whom Stratæas the son of Lois; 2 Timothy 1:5 and the third Aristo. Of Pergamus, Gaius. Of Philadelphia, Demetrius, by me. Of Cenchrea, Lucius, by Paul. Of Crete, Titus. Of Athens, Dionysius. Of Tripoli in Phœnicia, Marathones. Of Laodicea in Phrygia, Archippus. Of Colossæ, Philemon. Of Borea in Macedonia, Onesimus, once the servant of Philemon. Of the churches of Galatia, Crescens. Of the parishes of Asia, Aquila and Nicetas. Of the church of Æginæ, Crispus. These are the bishops who are entrusted by us with the parishes in the Lord; whose doctrine keep always in mind, and observe our words. And may the Lord be with you now, and to endless ages, as Himself said to us when He was about to be taken up to His own God and Father. For says He, "Lo, I am with you all the days, until the end of the world. Amen." Matthew 28:20

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS SECTION 5.
Daily Prayers

A Morning Prayer.

47. "Glory be to God in the highest, and upon earth peace, good-will among men." Luke 2:14 We praise You, we sing hymns to You, we bless You; we glorify You, we worship You by Your great High Priest; You who art the true God, who art the One Unbegotten, the only inaccessible Being. For Your great glory, O Lord and heavenly King, O God the Father Almighty, O Lord God, takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer. Thou who sittest at the right hand of the Father, have mercy upon us, for Thou only art holy; Thou only art Christ, Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father. Amen."}--> the Father of Christ the immaculate Lamb, who takes away the sin of the world, receive our prayer, You that sits upon the cherubim. For You alone are holy, You alone are the Lord Jesus, the Christ of the God of all created nature, and our King, by whom glory, honour, and worship be to You.

An Evening Prayer.

48. "You children, praise the Lord: praise the name of the Lord." We praise You, we sing hymns to You, we bless You for Your great glory, O Lord our King, the Father of Christ the immaculate Lamb, who takes away the sin of the world. Praise becomes You, hymns become You, glory becomes You, the God and Father, through the Son, in the most holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen. "Now, O Lord, let Your servant depart in peace, according to Your word; for my eyes have seen Your salvation, which You have prepared before the face of all people, a light for the revelation to the Gentiles, and the glory of Your people Israel."

A Prayer at Dinner.

49. You are blessed, O Lord, who nourishest me from my youth, who givest food to all flesh. Fill our hearts with joy and gladness, that having always what is sufficient for us, we may abound to every good work, in Christ Jesus our Lord, through whom glory, honour, and power be to You forever. Amen.

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS BOOK 8
Concerning Gifts, and Ordinations, and the Ecclesiastical Canons.

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS SECTION 1.
On The Diversity Of Spiritual Gifts

On Whose Account the Powers of Miracles are Performed.

I1 Jesus Christ, our God and Saviour, delivered to us the great mystery of godliness, and called both Jews and Gentiles to the acknowledgment of the one and only true God His Father, as Himself somewhere says, when He was giving thanks for the salvation of those that had believed, "I have manifested Your name to men, I have finished the work You gave me;" John 17:6, 4 and said concerning us to His Father, "Holy Father, although the world has not known You, yet have I known You; and these have known You." With good reason did He say to all of us together, when we were perfected concerning those gifts which were given from Him by the Spirit: "Now these signs shall follow them that have believed in my name: they shall cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall by no means hurt them: they shall lay their hands on the sick, and they shall recover." Mark 16:17-18 These gifts were first bestowed on us the apostles when we were about to preach the Gospel to every creature, and afterwards were of necessity afforded to those who had by our means believed; not for the advantage of those who perform them, but for the conviction of the unbelievers, that those whom the word did not persuade, the power of signs might put to shame: for signs are not for us who believe, but for the unbelievers, both for the Jews and Gentiles. For neither is it any profit to us to cast out demons, but to those who are so cleansed by the power of the Lord; as the Lord Himself somewhere instructs us, and shows, saying: "Rejoice not because the spirits are subject unto you; but rejoice, because your names are written in heaven." Luke 10:20 Since the former is done by His power, but this by our good disposition and diligence, yet (it is manifest) by His assistance. It is not therefore necessary that every one of the faithful should cast out demons, or raise the dead, or speak with tongues; but such a one only who is vouchsafed this gift, for some cause which may be advantage to the salvation of the unbelievers, who are often put to shame, not with the demonstration of the world, but by the power of the signs; that is, such as are worthy of salvation: for all the ungodly are not affected by wonders; and hereof God Himself is a witness, as when He says in the law: "With other tongues will I speak to this people, and with other lips, and yet will they by no means believe." Isaiah 28:11; 1 Corinthians 14:21 For neither did the Egyptians believe in God, when Moses had done so many signs and wonders; nor did the multitude of the Jews believe in Christ, as they believed Moses, who yet had healed every sickness and every disease among them. Nor were the former shamed by the rod which was turned into a living serpent, nor by the hand which was made white with leprosy, nor by the river Nile turned into blood; nor the latter by the blind who recovered their sight, nor by the lame who walked, nor by the dead who were raised. The one was resisted by Jannes and Jambres, the other by Annas and Caiaphas. Thus signs do not shame all into belief, but only those of a good disposition; for whose sake also it is that God is pleased, as a wise steward of a family, to appoint miracles to be wrought, not by the power of men, but by His own will. Now we say these things, that those who have received such gifts may not exalt themselves against those who have not received them; such gifts, we mean, as are for the working of miracles. For otherwise there is no man who has believed in God through Christ, that has not received some spiritual gift: for this very thing, having been delivered from the impiety of polytheism, and having believed in God the Father through Christ, this is a gift of God. And the having cast off the veil of Judaism, and having believed that, by the good pleasure of God, His only begotten Son, who was before all ages, was in the last time born of a virgin, without the company of a man, and that He lived as a man, yet without sin, and fulfilled all that righteousness which is of the law; and that, by the permission of God, He who was God the Word endured the cross, and despised the shame; and that He died, and was buried, and rose within three days; and that after His resurrection, having continued forty days with His apostles, and completed His whole constitutions, He was taken up in their sight to His God and Father, who sent Him: he who has believed these things, not at random and irrationally, but with judgement and full assurance, has received the gift of God. So also has He who is delivered from every heresy. Let not, therefore, any one that works signs and wonders judge any one of the faithful who is not vouchsafed the same: for the gifts of God which are bestowed by Him through Christ are various; and one man receives one gift, and another another. For perhaps one has the word of wisdom, and another the word of knowledge; another, discerning of spirits; another, foreknowledge of things to come; another, the word of teaching; another, long-suffering; another, continence according to the law: for even Moses, the man of God, when he wrought signs in Egypt, did not exalt himself against his equals: and when he was called a god, he did not arrogantly despise his own prophet Aaron. Nor did Joshua the Son of Nun, who was the leader of the people after him, though in the war with the Jebusites he had made the sun stand still over against Gibeon, and the moon over against the valley of Ajalon, because the day was not long enough for their victory, insult over Phineas or Caleb. Nor did Samuel, who had done so many surprising things, disregard David the beloved of God: yet they were both prophets, and the one was high priest, and the other was king. And when there were only seven thousand holy men in Israel who had not bowed the knee to Baal, 1 Kings 19:18; Romans 11:4 Elijah alone among them, and his disciple Elisha, were workers of miracles. Yet neither did Elijah despise Obadiah the steward, who feared God, but wrought no signs; nor did Elisha despise his own disciple when he trembled at the enemies. 2 Kings vi Moreover, neither did the wise Daniel who was twice delivered from the mouths of the lions, nor the three children who were delivered from the furnace of fire, despise the rest of their fellow Israelites: for they knew that they had not escaped these terrible miseries by their own might; but by the power of God did they both work miracles, and were delivered from miseries. Wherefore let none of you exalt himself against his brother, though he be a prophet, or though he be a worker of miracles: for if it happens that there be no longer an unbeliever, all the power of signs will thenceforwards be superfluous. For to be pious is from any one's good disposition; but to work wonders is from the power of Him that works them by us: the first of which respects ourselves; but the second respects God that works them, for the reasons which we have already mentioned. Wherefore neither let a king despise his officers that are under him, nor the rulers those who are subject. For where there are none to be ruled over, rulers are superfluous; and where there are no officers, the kingdom will not stand. Moreover, let not a bishop be exalted against his deacons and presbyters, nor the presbyters against the people: for the subsistence of the congregation depends on each other. For the bishops and the presbyters are the priests with relation to the people; and the laity are the laity with relation to the clergy. And to be a Christian is in our own power; but to be an apostle, or a bishop, or in any other such office, is not in our own power, but at the disposal of God, who bestows the gifts. And thus much concerning those who are vouchsafed gifts and dignities.

Concerning Unworthy Bishops and Presbyters.

2. We add, in the next place, that neither is every one that prophesies holy, nor every one that casts out devils religious: for even Balaam the son of Beor the prophet did prophesy, though he was himself ungodly; as also did Caiaphas, the falsely-named high priest. Nay, the devil foretells many things, and the demons, about Him; and yet for all that, there is not a spark of piety in them: for they are oppressed with ignorance, by reason of their voluntary wickedness. It is manifest, therefore, that the ungodly, although they prophesy, do not by their prophesying cover their own impiety; nor will those who cast out demons be sanctified by the demons being made subject to them: for they only mock one another, as they do who play childish tricks for mirth, and destroy those who give heed to them. For neither is a wicked king any longer a king, but a tyrant; nor is a bishop oppressed with ignorance or an evil disposition a bishop, but falsely so called, being not one sent out by God, but by men, as Ananiah and Samœah in Jerusalem, and Zedekiah and Achiah the false prophets in Babylon. And indeed Balaam the prophet, when he had corrupted Israel by Baal-peor, suffered punishment; and Caiaphas at last was his own murderer; and the sons of Sceva, endeavouring to cast out demons, were wounded by them, and fled away in an unseemly manner; and the kings of Israel and of Judah, when they became impious, suffered all sorts of punishments. It is therefore evident how bishops and presbyters, also falsely so called, will not escape the judgement of God. For it will be said to them even now: "O you priests that despise my name, I will deliver you up to the slaughter, as I did Zedekiah and Achiah, whom the king of Babylon fried in a frying-pan," as says Jeremiah the prophet. We say these things, not in contempt of true prophecies, for we know that they are wrought in holy men by the inspiration of God, but to put a stop to the boldness of vainglorious men; and add this withal, that from such as these God takes away His grace: for "God resists the proud, but gives grace to the humble." Now Silas and Agabus prophesied in our times; yet did they not equal themselves to the apostles, nor did they exceed their own measures though they were beloved of God. Now women prophesied also. Of old, Miriam the sister of Moses and Aaron, Exodus 15:20 and after her Deborah, Judges 4:4 and after these Huldah 2 Kings 22:14 and Judith Judith 8 — the former under Josiah, the latter under Darius. The mother of the Lord did also prophesy, and her kinswoman Elisabeth, and Anna; and in our time the daughters of Philip; Acts 21:9 yet were not these elated against their husbands, but preserved their own measures. Wherefore if among you also there be a man or a woman, and such a one obtains any gift, let him be humble, that God may be pleased with him. For says He: "Upon whom will I look, but upon him that is humble and quiet, and trembles at my words?" Isaiah 66:2

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS SECTION 2.
Election And Ordination Of Bishops:
Form Of Service On Sundays

That to Make Constitutions About the Offices to Be Performed in the Churches is of Great Consequence.

3. We have now finished the first part of this discourse concerning gifts, whatever they be, which God has bestowed upon men according to His own will; and how He rebuked the ways of those who either attempted to speak lies, or were moved by the spirit of the adversary; and that God often employed the wicked for prophecy and the performance of wonders. But now our discourse hastens as to the principal part, that is, the constitution of ecclesiastical affairs, that so, when you have learned this constitution from us, you who are ordained bishops by us at the command of Christ, may perform all things according to the commands delivered you, knowing that he that hears us hears Christ, and he that hears

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Christ hears His God and Father, Luke 10:16 to whom be glory forever. Amen.

Concerning Ordinations.

4. Wherefore we, the twelve apostles of the Lord, who are now together, give you in charge those divine constitutions concerning every ecclesiastical form, there being present with us Paul the chosen vessel, our fellow-apostle, and James the bishop, and the rest of the presbyters, and the seven deacons. In the first place, therefore, I Peter say, that a bishop to be ordained is to be, as we have already, all of us, appointed, unblameable in all things, a select person, chosen by the whole people, who, when he is named and approved, let the people assemble, with the presbytery and bishops that are present, on the Lord's day, and let them give their consent. And let the principal of the bishops ask the presbytery and people whether this be the person whom they desire for their ruler. And if they give their consent, let him ask further whether he has a good testimony from all men as to his worthiness for so great and glorious an authority; whether all things relating to his piety towards God be right; whether justice towards men has been observed by him; whether the affairs of his family have been well ordered by him; whether he has been unblameable in the course of his life. And if all the assembly together do according to truth, and not according to prejudice, witness that he is such a one, let them the third time, as before God the Judge, and Christ, the Holy Ghost being also present, as well as all the holy and ministering spirits, ask again whether he be truly worthy of this ministry, that so "in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established." Matthew 18:16 And if they agree the third time that he is worthy, let them all be demanded their vote; and when they all give it willingly, let them be heard. And silence being made, let one of the principal bishops, together with two others, stand near to the altar, the rest of the bishops and presbyters praying silently, and the deacons holding the divine Gospels open upon the head of him that is to be ordained, and say to God thus :—

The Form of Prayer for the Ordination of a Bishop.

5. O You the great Being, O Lord God Almighty, who alone art unbegotten, and ruled over by none; who always is, and was before the world; who stands in need of nothing, and art above all cause and beginning; who only art true, who only art wise; who alone art the most high; who art by nature invisible; whose knowledge is without beginning; who only art good, and beyond compare; who know all things before they are; who art acquainted with the most secret things; who art inaccessible, and without a superior; the God and Father of Your only begotten Son, of our God and Saviour; the Creator of the whole world by Him; whose providence provides for and takes the care of all; the Father of mercies, and God of all consolation; 2 Corinthians 1:3 who dwellest in the highest heavens, and yet lookest down on things below: You who appointed the rules of the Church, by the coming of Your Christ in the flesh; of which the Holy Ghost is the witness, by Your apostles, and by us the bishops, who by Your grace are here present; who hast fore-ordained priests from the beginning for the government of Your people — Abel in the first place, Seth and Enos, and Enoch and Noah, and Melchisedec and Job; who appointed Abraham, and the rest of the patriarchs, with Your faithful servants Moses and Aaron, and Eleazar and Phineas; who chose from among them rulers and priests in the tabernacle of Your testimony; who chose Samuel for a priest and a prophet; who did not leave Your sanctuary without ministers; who delighted in those whom You chose to be glorified in. Pour down, by us, the influence of Your free Spirit, through the mediation of Your Christ, which is committed to Your beloved Son Jesus Christ; which He bestowed according to Your will on the holy apostles of You the eternal God. Grant by Your name, O God, who search the hearts, that this Your servant, whom You have chosen to be a bishop, may feed Your holy flock, and discharge the office of an high priest to You, and minister to You, unblameably night and day; that he may appease You, and gather together the number of those that shall be saved, and may offer to You the gifts of Your holy Church. Grant to him, O Lord Almighty, through Your Christ, the fellowship of the Holy Spirit, that so he may have power to remit sins according to Your command; to give forth lots according to Your command; to loose every bond, according to the power which You gave the apostles; that he may please You in meekness and a pure heart, with a steadfast, unblameable, and unreprovable mind; to offer to You a pure and unbloody sacrifice, which by Your Christ You have appointed as the mystery of the new covenant, for a sweet savour, through Your holy child Jesus Christ, our God and Saviour, through whom glory, honour, and worship be to You in the Holy Spirit, now and always, and for all ages. And when he has prayed for these things, let the rest of the priests add, Amen; and together with them all the people. And after the prayer let one of the bishops elevate the sacrifice upon the hands of him that is ordained, and early in the morning let him be placed in his throne, in a place set apart for him among the rest of the bishops, they all giving him the kiss in the Lord . And after the reading of the Law and the Prophets, and our Epistles, and Acts, and the Gospels, let him that is ordained salute they Church, saying, The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ , the love of God and the Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all; and let them all answer, And with Your Spirit. And after these words let him speak to the people the words of exhortation; and when he has ended his word of doctrine (I Andrew the brother of Peter speak), all standing up, let the deacon ascend upon some high seat, and proclaim, Let none of the hearers, let none of the unbelievers stay; and silence being made, let him say:—

(Oxford Manuscript:)

5. God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies and the God of all consolation, who know all things before they take place; You who appointed the rules of the Church through the word of Your grace; who appointed beforehand the race righteous from the beginning that came from Abraham to be rulers, and constituted them priests, not leaving Your sanctuary without ministers; who from the foundation of the world delighted in those whom You chose to be glorified in; and now pour down the influence of Your free Spirit, which through Your beloved Son Jesus Christ You have bestowed on Your holy apostles, who set up the Church in the place of the sanctuary, to unending glory and praise of Your name: O You, who knows the hearts of all, grant that this Your servant whom You have chosen to the holy office of Your bishop, may discharge the duty of a high priest to You, and minister to You unblameably night and day; that he may appease You unceasingly, and present to You the gifts of Your holy Church, and in the spirit of the high-priesthood have power to remit sins according to Your commandment, to give lots according to Your injunction, to loose every bond according to the power which You have given to the apostles, and be well-pleasing to You, in meekness and a pure heart offering a smell of sweet savour through Your Son Jesus Christ our Lord, with whom to You be glory, power, and honour, along with the Holy Spirit, now and forever. Amen.

The Divine Liturgy, Wherein is the Bidding Prayer for the Catechumens.

6. You catechumens, pray, and let all the faithful pray for them in their mind, saying: Lord, have mercy upon them. And let the deacon bid prayers for them, saving: Let us all pray unto God for the catechumens, that He that is good, He that is the lover of mankind, will mercifully hear their prayers and their supplications, and so accept their petitions as to assist them and give them those desires of their hearts which are for their advantage, and reveal to them the Gospel of His Christ; give them illumination and understanding, instruct them in the knowledge of God, teach them His commands and His ordinances, implant in them His pure and saving fear, open the ears of their hearts, that they may exercise themselves in His law day and night; strengthen them in piety, unite them to and number them with His holy flock; vouchsafe them the laver of regeneration, and the garment of incorruption, which is the true life; and deliver them from all ungodliness, and give no place to the adversary against them; "and cleanse them from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, and dwell in them, and walk in them, by His Christ; bless their goings out and their comings in, and order their affairs for their good." Let us still earnestly put up our supplications for them, that they may obtain the forgiveness of their transgressions by their admission, and so may be thought worthy of the holy mysteries, and of constant communion with the saints. Rise up, you catechumens, beg for yourselves the peace of God through His Christ, a peaceable day, and free from sin, and the like for the whole time of your life, and your Christian ends of it; a compassionate and merciful God; and the forgiveness of your transgressions. Dedicate yourselves to the only unbegotten God, through His Christ. Bow down your heads, and receive the blessing. But at the naming of every one by the deacon, as we said before, let the people say, Lord, have mercy upon him; and let the children say it first. And as they have bowed down their heads, let the bishop who is newly ordained bless them with this blessing: O God Almighty, unbegotten and inaccessible, who only art the true God, the God and Father of Your Christ, Your only begotten Son; the God of the Comforter, and Lord of the whole world; who by Christ appointed Your disciples to be teachers for the teaching of piety; do Thou now also look down upon Your servants, who are receiving instruction in the Gospel of Your Christ, and "give them a new heart, and renew a right spirit in their inward parts," that they may both know and do Your will with full purpose of heart, and with a willing soul. Vouchsafe them a holy admission, and unite them to Your holy Church, and make them partakers of Your divine mysteries, through Christ, who is our hope, and who died for them; by whom glory and worship be given to You in the Holy Spirit forever. Amen. And after this, let the deacon say: Go out, you catechumens, in peace. And after they are gone out, let him say: You energumens, afflicted with unclean spirits, pray, and let us all earnestly pray for them, that God, the lover of mankind, will by Christ rebuke the unclean and wicked spirits, and deliver His supplicants from the dominion of the adversary. May He that rebuked the legion of demons, and the devil, the prince of wickedness, Mark 5:9; Zechariah 3:2 even now rebuke these apostates from piety, and deliver His own workmanship from his power, and cleanse those creatures which He has made with great wisdom. Let us still pray earnestly for them. Save them, O God, and raise them up by Your power. Bow down your heads, you energumens, and receive the blessings. And let the bishop add this prayer, and say:—

For the Energumens.

7. You, who has bound the strong man, and spoiled all that was in his house, who has given us power over serpents and scorpions to tread upon them, and upon all the power of the enemy; Matthew 12:29; Luke 10:19 who has delivered the serpent, that murderer of men, bound to us, as a sparrow to children, whom all things dread, and tremble before the face of Your power; who has cast him down as lightning from heaven to earth, not with a fall from a place, but from honour to dishonour, on account of his voluntary evil disposition; whose look dries the abysses, and threatening melts the mountains, and whose truth remains for ever; whom the infants praise, and nursing babies bless; whom angels sing hymns to, and adore; who looks upon the earth, and makes it tremble; who touches the mountains, and they smoke; who threatens the sea, and dries it up, and makes all its rivers as desert, and the clouds are the dust of His feet; who walks upon the sea as upon the firm ground; You only begotten God, the Son of the great Father, rebuke these wicked spirits, and deliver the works of Your hands from the power of the adverse spirit. For to You is due glory, honour, and worship, and by You to Your Father, in the Holy Spirit, forever. Amen. And let the deacon say: Go out, you energumens. And after them, let him cry aloud: You that are to be illuminated, pray. Let all us, the faithful, earnestly pray for them, that the Lord will vouchsafe that, being initiated into the death of Christ, they may rise with Him, and become partakers of His kingdom, and may be admitted to the communion of His mysteries; unite them to, number them among, those that are saved in His holy Church. Save them, and raise them up by Your grace. And being sealed to God through His Christ, let them bow down their heads, and receive this blessing from the bishop:—

For the Baptised.

8. You who has formerly said by Your holy prophets to those that be initiated, "Wash and become clean," Isaiah 1:16 and hast appointed spiritual regeneration by Christ, do Thou now also look down upon these that are baptised, and bless them, and sanctify them, and prepare them that they may become worthy of Your spiritual gift, and of the true adoption of Your spiritual mysteries, of being gathered together with those that are saved through Christ our Saviour; by whom glory, honour, and worship be to You, in the Holy Ghost, forever. Amen. And let the deacon say: Go out, you that are preparing for illumination. And after that let him proclaim: You penitents, pray; let us all earnestly pray for our brethren in the state of penitence, that God, the lover of compassion, will show them the way of repentance, and accept their return and their confession, and bruise Satan under their feet suddenly, Romans 16:20 and redeem them from the snare of the devil, and the ill-usage of the demons, and free them from every unlawful word, and every absurd practice and wicked thought; forgive them all their offenses, both voluntary and involuntary, and blot out that handwriting which is against them, Colossians 2:13-14 and write them in the book of life; Philippians 4:3 cleanse them from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, 2 Corinthians 7:1 and restore and unite them to His holy flock. For He knows our frame. For who can glory that he has a clean heart? And who can boldly say, that he is pure from sin? Proverbs 20:9 For we are all among the blameworthy. Let us still pray for them more earnestly, for there is joy in heaven over one sinner that repents, Luke 15:7 that, being converted from every evil work, they may be joined to all good practice; that God, the lover of mankind, will suddenly accept their petitions, will restore to them the joy of His salvation, and strengthen them with His free Spirit; that they may not be any more shaken, but be admitted to the communion of His most holy things, and become partakers of His divine mysteries, that appearing worthy of His adoption, they may obtain eternal life. Let us all still earnestly say on their account: Lord, have mercy upon them. Save them, O God, and raise them up by Your mercy. Rise up, and bow your heads to God through His Christ, and receive the blessings. Let the bishop then add this prayer:—

Imposition of Hands; Prayer for PenItents.

9. Almighty, eternal God, Lord of the whole world, the Creator and Governor of all things, who hast exhibited man as the ornament of the world through Christ, and gave him a law both naturally implanted and written, that he might live according to law, as a rational creature; and when he had

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sinned, You gave him Your goodness as a pledge in order to his repentance: Look down upon these persons who have bended the neck of their soul and body to You; for You desire not the death of a sinner, but his repentance, that he turn from his wicked way, and live. Ezekiel 18 and 33 You who accepted the repentance of the Ninevites, who wills that all men be saved, and come to the acknowledgment of the truth; Jonah 3; 1 Timothy 2:4 who accepted of that son who had consumed his substance in riotous living, Luke xv with the bowels of a father, on account of his repentance; accept now the repentance of Your supplicants: for there is no man that will not sin; for "if You, O Lord, mark iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand? For with You there is propitiation." And restore them to Your holy Church, into their former dignity and honour, through Christ our God and Saviour, by whom glory and adoration be to You, in the Holy Ghost, forever. Amen. Then let the deacon say, Depart, you penitents; and let him add, Let none of those who ought not to come draw near. All we of the faithful, let us bend our knee: let us all entreat God through His Christ; let us earnestly beseech God through His Christ.

The Bidding Prayer for the Faithful.

10. Let us pray for the peace and happy settlement of the world, and of the holy churches; that the God of the whole world may afford us His everlasting peace, and such as may not be taken away from us; that He may preserve us in a full prosecution of such virtue as is according to godliness. Let us pray for the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church which is spread from one end of the earth to the other; that God would preserve and keep it unshaken, and free from the waves of this life, until the end of the world, as founded upon a rock; and for the holy parish in this place, that the Lord of the whole world may vouchsafe us without failure to follow after His heavenly hope, and without ceasing to pay Him the debt of our prayer. Let us pray for every episcopacy which is under the whole heaven, of those that rightly divide the word of Your truth. And let us pray for our bishop James, and his parishes; let us pray for our bishop Clement, and his parishes; let us pray for our bishop Euodius, and his parishes; let us pray for our bishop Annianus, and his parishes: that the compassionate God may grant them to continue in His holy churches in health, honour, and long life, and afford them an honourable old age in godliness and righteousness. And let us pray for our presbyters, that the Lord may deliver them from every unreasonable and wicked action, and afford them a presbyterate in health and honour. Let us pray for all the deacons and ministers in Christ, that the Lord may grant them an unblameable ministration. Let us pray for the readers, singers, virgins, widows, and orphans. Let us pray for those that are in marriage and in child-bearing, that the Lord may have mercy upon them all. Let us pray for the eunuchs who walk holily. Let us pray for those in a state of continence and piety. Let us pray for those that bear fruit in the holy Church, and give alms to the needy. And let us pray for those who offer sacrifices and oblations to the Lord our God, that God, the fountain of all goodness, may recompense them with His heavenly gifts, and "give them in this world an hundredfold, and in the world to come life everlasting;" Matthew 19:29 and bestow upon them for their temporal things, those that are eternal; for earthly things, those that are heavenly. Let us pray for our brethren newly enlightened, that the Lord may strengthen and confirm them. Let us pray for our brethren exercised with sickness, that the Lord may deliver them from every sickness and every disease, and restore them sound into His holy Church. Let us pray for those that travel by water or by land. Let us pray for those that are in the mines, in banishments, in prisons, and in bonds, for the name of the Lord. Let us pray for those that are afflicted with bitter servitude. Let us pray for our enemies, and those that hate us. Let us pray for those that persecute us for the name of the Lord, that the Lord may pacify their anger, and scatter their wrath against us. Let us pray for those that are without, and are wandered out of the way, that the Lord may convert them. Let us be mindful of the infants of the Church, that the Lord may perfect them in His fear, and bring them to a complete age. Let us pray one for another, that the Lord may keep us and preserve us by His grace to the end, and deliver us from the evil one. and from all the scandals of those that work iniquity, and preserve us unto His heavenly kingdom. Let us pray for every Christian soul. Save us, and raise us up, O God, by Your mercy. Let us rise up, and let us pray earnestly, and dedicate ourselves and one another to the living God, through His Christ. And let the high priest add this prayer, and say:—

The Form of Prayer for the Faithful.

11. O Lord Almighty, the Most High, who dwellest on high, the Holy One, that restest among the saints, without beginning, the Only Potentate, who hast given to us by Christ the preaching of knowledge, to the acknowledgment of Your glory and of Your name, which He has made known to us, for our comprehension, do Thou now also look down through Him upon this Your flock, and deliver it from all ignorance and wicked practice, and grant that we may fear You in earnest, and love You with affection, and have a due reverence of Your glory. Be gracious and merciful to them, and hearken to them when they pray unto You; and keep them, that they may be unmoveable, unblameable, and unreprovable, that they may be holy in body and spirit, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that they may be complete, and none of them may be defective or imperfect. O our support, our powerful God, who does not accept persons, be the assister of this Your people, which You have redeemed with the precious blood of Your Christ; be their protector, aider, provider, and guardian, their strong wall of defense, their bulwark and security. For "none can snatch out of Your hand:" John 10:29 for there is no other God like You; for on You is our reliance. "Sanctify them by Your truth: for Your word is truth." John 17:17 You who does nothing for favour, You whom none can deceive, deliver them from every sickness, and every disease, and every offense, every injury and deceit, "from fear of the enemy, from the dart that flies in the day, from the mischief that walks about in darkness;" and vouchsafe them that everlasting life which is in Christ Your only begotten Son, our God and Saviour, through whom glory and worship be to You, in the Holy Spirit, now and always, and for ever and ever. Amen. And after this let the deacon say, Let us attend. And let the bishop salute the church, and say, The peace of God be with you all. And let the people answer, And with your spirit; and let the deacon say to all, Salute one another with the holy kiss. And let the clergy salute the bishop, the men of the laity salute the men, the women the women. And let the children stand at the reading-desk; and let another deacon stand by them, that they may not be disorderly. And let other deacons walk about and watch the men and women, that no tumult may be made, and that no one nod, or whisper, or slumber; and let the deacons stand at the doors of the men, and the sub-deacons at those of the women, that no one go out, nor a door be opened, although it be for one of the faithful, at the time of the oblation. But let one of the sub-deacons bring water to wash the hands of the priests, which is a symbol of the purity of those souls that are devoted to God .

The Constitution of James the Brother of John, the Son of Zebedee.

12. And I James, the brother of John, the son of Zebedee, say, that the deacon shall immediately say, Let none of the catechumens, let none of the hearers, let none of the unbelievers, let none of the heterodox, stay here . You who have prayed the foregoing prayer, depart. Let the mothers receive their children; let no one have anything against any one; let no one come in hypocrisy; let us stand upright before the Lord with fear and trembling, to offer. When this is done, let the deacons bring the gifts to the bishop at the altar; and let the presbyters stand on his right hand, and on his left, as disciples stand before their Master. But let two of the deacons, on each side of the altar, hold a fan, made up of thin membranes, or of the feathers of the peacock, or of fine cloth, and let them silently drive away the small animals that fly about, that they may not come near to the cups. Let the high priest, therefore, together with the priests, pray by himself; and let him put on his shining garment, and stand at the altar, and make the sign of the cross upon his forehead with his hand, and say: The grace of Almighty God, and the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. And let all with one voice say: And with your spirit. The high priest: Lift up your mind. All the people: We lift it up unto the Lord. The high priest: Let us give thanks to the Lord. All the people: It is meet and right so to do. Then let the high priest say: It is very meet and right before all things to sing an hymn to You, who art the true God, who art before all beings, "from whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named;" Ephesians 3:15 who only art unbegotten, and without beginning, and without a ruler, and without a master; who standest in need of nothing; who art the bestower of everything that is good; who art beyond all cause and generation; who art always and immutably the same; from whom all things came into being, as from their proper original. For You are eternal knowledge, everlasting sight, unbegotten hearing, untaught wisdom, the first by nature, and the measure of being, and beyond all number; who brought all things out of nothing into being by Your only begotten Son, but begot Him before all ages by Your will, Your power, and Your goodness, without any instrument, the only begotten Son, God the Word, the living Wisdom, "the First-born of every creature, the angel of Your Great Counsel," and Your High Priest, but the King and Lord of every intellectual and sensible nature, who was before all things, by whom were all things. For You, O eternal God, made all things by Him, and through Him it is that You vouchsafe Your suitable providence over the whole world; for by the very same that You bestowed being, did You also bestow well-being: the God and Father of Your only begotten Son, who by Him made before all things the cherubim and the seraphim, the æons and hosts, the powers and authorities, the principalities and thrones, the archangels and angels; and after all these, by Him made this visible world, and all things that are therein. For You are He who framed the heaven as an arch, and "stretch it out like the covering of a tent," and founded the earth upon nothing by Your mere will; who fixed the firmament, and prepare the night and the day; who brought the light out of Your treasures, and on its departure brought on darkness, for the rest of the living creatures that move up and down in the world; who appointed the sun in heaven to rule over the day, and the moon to rule over the night, and inscribed in heaven the choir of stars to praise Your glorious majesty; who made the water for drink and for cleansing, the air in which we live for respiration and the affording of sounds, by the means of the tongue, which strikes the air, and the hearings which co-operates therewith, so as to perceive speech when it is received by it, and falls upon it; who made fire for our consolation in darkness, for the supply of our want, and that we might be warmed and enlightened by it; who separated the great sea from the land, and rendered the former navigable and the latter fit for walking, and replenished the former with small and great living creatures, and filled the latter with the same, both tame and wild; furnished it with various plants, and crown it with herbs, and beautify it with flowers, and enrich it with seeds; who ordained the great deep, and on every side made a mighty cavity for it, which contains seas of salt waters heaped together, Job xxxviii yet You every way bounded them with barriers of the smallest sand; Jeremiah 5:22 who sometimes raises it to the height of mountains by the winds, and sometimes smooths it into a plain; sometimes enrages it with a tempest, and sometimes stills it with a calm, that it may be easy to seafaring men in their voyages; who encompassed this world, which was made by You through Christ, with rivers, and water it with currents, and moisten it with springs that never fail, and bound it round with mountains for the immoveable and secure consistence of the earth: for You have replenished Your world, and adorned it with sweet-smelling and with healing herbs, with many and various living creatures, strong and weak, for food and for labour, tame and wild; with the noises of creeping things, the sounds of various sorts of flying creatures; with the circuits of the years, the numbers of months and days, the order of the seasons, the courses of the rain clouds, for the production of the fruits and the support of living creatures. You have also appointed the station of the winds, which blow when commanded by You, and the multitude of the plants and herbs. And You have not only created the world itself, but hast also made man for a citizen of the world, exhibiting him as the ornament of the world; for You said to Your Wisdom: "Let us make man according to our image, and according to our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowls of the heaven." Genesis 1:26 Wherefore also You have made him of an immortal soul and of a body liable to dissolution — the former out of nothing, the latter out of the four elements — and hast given him as to his soul rational knowledge, the discerning of piety and impiety, and the observation of right and wrong; and as to his body, You have granted him five senses and progressive motion: for You, O God Almighty, by Your Christ planted a paradise in Eden, Genesis 2:8 in the east, adorned with all plants fit for food, and introduced him into it, as into a rich banquet. And when You made him, You gave him a law implanted within him, that so he might have at home and within himself the seeds of divine knowledge; and when You had brought him into the paradise of pleasure, You allowed him the privilege of enjoying all things, only forbidding the tasting of one tree, in hopes of greater blessings; that in case he would keep that command, he might receive the reward of it, which was immortality. But when he neglected that command, and tasted of the forbidden fruit, by the seduction of the serpent and the counsel of his wife, You justly cast him out of paradise.

Yet of Your goodness You did not overlook him, nor allow him to perish utterly, for he was Your creature; but You subjected the whole creation to him, and granted him liberty to procure himself food by his own sweat and labours, while You caused all the fruits of the earth to spring up, to grow, and to ripen. But when You had laid him asleep for a while, You with an oath called him to a restoration again, loosed the bond of death, and promise him life after the resurrection. And not this only; but when You had increased his posterity to an innumerable multitude, those that continued with You You glorified, and those who did apostatize from You You punished. And while You accepted of the sacrifice of Abel Genesis iv as of an holy person, You rejected the gift of Cain, the murderer of his brother, as of an abhorred wretch. And besides these, You accepted of Seth and Enos, Sirach 49:16 and translated Enoch: for You are the Creator of men, and the giver of life, and the supplier of want, and the giver of laws, and the rewarder of those that observe them, and the avenger of those that transgress them; who brought the great flood upon the world by reason of the multitude of the ungodly, and delivered righteous Noah from that flood by an ark, 1 Peter 3:20 with eight souls, the end of the foregoing generations, and the beginning of those that were to come; who kindled a fearful fire against the five cities of Sodom, and "turned a fruitful land into a salt lake for the wickedness of

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them that dwelt therein," but snatched holy Lot out of the conflagration. You are He who delivered Abraham from the impiety of his fore-fathers, and appointed him to be the heir of the world, and discovered to him Your Christ; who aforehand ordained Melchisedec an high priest for Your worship; who rendered Your patient servant Job the conqueror of that serpent who is the patron of wickedness; who made Isaac the son of the promise, and Jacob the father of twelve sons, and increased his posterity to a multitude, and bring him into Egypt with seventy-five souls. You, O Lord, did not overlook Joseph, but granted him, as a reward of his chastity for Your sake, the government over the Egyptians. You, O Lord, did not overlook the Hebrews when they were afflicted by the Egyptians, on account of the promises made unto their fathers; but You delivered them and punish the Egyptians. And when men had corrupted the law of nature, and had sometimes esteemed the creation the effect of chance, and sometimes honoured it more than they ought, and equalled it to the God of the universe, You did not, however, suffer them to go astray, but raised up Your holy servant Moses, and by him gave the written law for the assistance of the law of nature, and showed that the creation was Your work, and banished away the error of polytheism. You adorned Aaron and his posterity with the priesthood, and punished the Hebrews when they sinned, and receive them again when they returned to You. You punished the Egyptians with a judgement of ten plagues, and divided the sea, and bring the Israelites through it, and drown and destroy the Egyptians who pursued after them. You sweetened the bitter water with wood; You brought water out of the rock of stone; You rained manna from heaven, and quails, as meat out of the air; You afforded them a pillar of fire by night to give them light, and a pillar of a cloud by day to overshadow them from the heat; You declared Joshua to be the general of the army, and overthrew the seven nations of Canaan by him; You divided Jordan, and dry up the rivers of Etham; You overthrew walls without instruments or the hand of man. For all these things, glory be to You, O Lord Almighty. You do the innumerable hosts of angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities, authorities, and powers, Your everlasting armies, adore. The cherubim and the six-winged seraphim, with two covering their feet, with two their heads, and with two flying, say, together with thousand thousands of archangels, and ten thousand times ten thousand of angels, incessantly, and with constant and loud voices, and let all the people say it with them: "Holy, holy, holy, Lord of hosts, heaven and earth are full of His glory: be blessed forever. Amen." Isaiah 6:3; Romans 1:25 And afterwards let the high priest say: For You are truly holy, and most holy, the highest and most highly exalted forever. Holy also is Your only begotten Son our Lord and God, Jesus Christ, who in all things ministered to His God and Father, both in Your various creation and Your suitable providence, and has not overlooked lost mankind. But after the law of nature, after the exhortations in the positive law, after the prophetical reproofs and the government of the angels, when men had perverted both the positive law and that of nature, and had cast out of their mind the memory of the flood, the burning of Sodom, the plagues of the Egyptians, and the slaughters of the inhabitant of Palestine, and being just ready to perish universally after an unparalleled manner, He was pleased by Your good will to become man, who was man's Creator; to be under the laws, who was the Legislator; to be a sacrifice, who was an High Priest; to be a sheep, who was the Shepherd. And He appeased You, His God and Father, and reconciled You to the world, and freed all men from the wrath to come, and was made of a virgin, and was in flesh, being God the Word, the beloved Son, the first-born of the whole creation, and was, according to the prophecies which were foretold concerning Him by Himself, of the seed of David and Abraham, of the tribe of Judah. And He was made in the womb of a virgin, who formed all mankind that are born into the world; He took flesh, who was without flesh; He who was begotten before time, was born in time; He lived holily, and taught according to the law; He drove away every sickness and every disease from men, and wrought signs and wonders among the people; and He was partaker of meat, and drink, and sleep, who nourishes all that stand in need of food, and "fills every living creature with His goodness;" "He manifested His name to those that knew it not;" John 17:6, 4 He drove away ignorance; He revived piety, and fulfilled Your will; He finished the work which You gave Him to do; and when He had set all these things right, He was seized by the hands of the ungodly, of the high priests and priests, falsely so called, and of the disobedient people, by the betraying of him who was possessed of wickedness as with a confirmed disease; He suffered many things from them, and endured all sorts of ignominy by Your permission; He was delivered to Pilate the governor, and He that was the Judge was judged, and He that was the Saviour was condemned; He that was impassible was nailed to the cross, and He who was by nature immortal died, and He that is the giver of life was buried, that He might loose those for whose sake He came from suffering and death, and might break the bonds of the devil, and deliver mankind from his deceit. He arose from the dead the third day; and when He had continued with His disciples forty days, He was taken up into the heavens, and is sat down on the right hand of You, who art His God and Father.

Being mindful, therefore, of those things that He endured for our sakes, we give You thanks, O God Almighty, not in such a manner as we ought, but as we are able, and fulfil His constitution: "For in the same night that He was betrayed, He took bread" 1 Corinthians 11:23 in His holy and undefiled hands, and, looking up to You His God and Father, "He broke it, and gave it to His disciples, saying, This is the mystery of the new covenant: take of it, and eat. This is my body, which is broken for many, for the remission of sins." In like manner also "He took the cup," and mixed it of wine and water, and sanctified it, and delivered it to them, saying: "Drink all of this; for this is my blood which is shed for many, for the remission of sins: do this in remembrance of me. For as often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, you do show forth my death until I come." Being mindful, therefore, of His passion, and death, and resurrection from the dead, and return into the heavens, and His future second appearing, wherein He is to come with glory and power to judge the quick and the dead, and to recompense to every one according to his works, we offer to You, our King and our God, according to His constitution, this bread and this cup, giving You thanks, through Him, that You have thought us worthy to stand before You, and to sacrifice to You; and we beseech You that You will mercifully look down upon these gifts which are here set before You, O God, who standest in need of none of our offerings. And accept them, to the honour of Your Christ, and send down upon this sacrifice Your Holy Spirit, the Witness of the Lord Jesus' sufferings, that He may show this bread to be the body of Your Christ, and the cup to be the blood of Your Christ, that those who are partakers thereof may be strengthened for piety, may obtain the remission of their sins, may be delivered from the devil and his deceit, may be filled with the Holy Ghost, may be made worthy of Your Christ, and may obtain eternal life upon Your reconciliation to them, O Lord Almighty. We further pray unto You, O Lord, for your holy Church spread from one end of the world to another, which You have purchased with the precious blood of Your Christ, that You will preserve it unshaken and free from disturbance until the end of the world; for every episcopate who rightly divides the word of truth. We further pray to You for me, who am nothing, who offer to You, for the whole presbytery, for the deacons and all the clergy, that You will make them wise, and replenish them with the Holy Spirit. We further pray to You, O Lord, "for the king and all in authority," 1 Timothy 2:2 for the whole army, that they may be peaceable towards us, that so, leading the whole time of our life in quietness and unanimity, we may glorify You through Jesus Christ, who is our hope. We further offer to You also for all those holy persons who have pleased You from the beginning of the world — patriarch, prophets, righteous men, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, presbyters, deacons, sub-deacons, readers, singers, virgins, widows, and lay persons, with all whose names You know. We further offer to You for this people, that You will render them, to the praise of Your Christ, "a royal priesthood and an holy nation;" 1 Peter 2:9 for those that are in virginity and purity; for the widows of the Church; for those in honourable marriage and child-bearing; for the infants of Your people, that You will not permit any of us to "become castaways." We further beseech You also for this city and its inhabitants; for those that are sick; for those in bitter servitude; for those in banishments; for those in prison; for those that travel by water or by land; that You, the helper and assister of all men, will be their supporter. We further also beseech You for those that hate us and persecute us for Your name's sake; for those that are without, and wander out of the way; that You will convert them to goodness, and pacify their anger. We further also beseech You for the catechumens of the Church, and for those that are vexed by the adversary, and for our brethren the penitents, that You will perfect the first in the faith, that You will deliver the second from the energy of the evil one, and that You will accept the repentance of the last, and forgive both them and us our offenses. We further offer to You also for the good temperature of the air, and the fertility of the fruits, that so, partaking perpetually of the good things derived from You, we may praise You without ceasing, "who gave food to all flesh." We further beseech You also for those who are absent on a just cause, that You will keep us all in piety, and gather us together in the kingdom of Your Christ, the God of all sensible and intelligent nature, our King that You would keep us immoveable, unblameable, and unreprovable: for to You belongs all glory and worship, and thanksgiving, honour and adoration, the Father, with the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, both now and always, and for everlasting, and endless ages forever. And let all the people say, Amen. And let the bishop say, "The peace of God be with you all." And let all the people say, "And with your spirit." And let the deacon proclaim again:—

The Bidding Prayer for the Faithful After the Divine Oblation.

13. Let us still further beseech God through His Christ, and let us beseech Him on account of the gift which is offered to the Lord God, that the good God will accept it, through the mediation of His Christ, upon His heavenly altar, for a sweet-smelling savour. Let us pray for this church and people. Let us pray for every episcopate, every presbytery, all the deacons and ministers in Christ, for the whole congregation, that the Lord will keep and preserve them all. Let us pray "for kings and those in authority," that they may be peaceable toward us, "that so we may have and lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty." 1 Timothy 2:2 Let us be mindful of the holy martyrs, that we may be thought worthy to be partakers of their trial. Let us pray for those that are departed in the faith. Let us pray for the good temperature of the air, and the perfect maturity of the fruits. Let us pray for those that are newly enlightened, that they may be strengthened in the faith, and all may be mutually comforted by one another. Raise us up, O God, by Your grace. Let us stand up, and dedicate ourselves to God, through His Christ. And let the bishop say: O God, who art great, and whose name is great, who art great in counsel and mighty in works, the God and Father of Your holy child Jesus, our Saviour; look down upon us, and upon this Your flock, which You have chosen by Him to the glory of Your name; and sanctify our body and soul, and grant us the favour to be "made pure from all filthiness of flesh and spirit," 2 Corinthians 7:1 and may obtain the good things laid up for us, and do not account any of us unworthy; but be our comforter, helper, and protector, through Your Christ, with whom glory, honour, praise, doxology, and thanksgiving be to You and to the Holy Ghost forever. Amen. And after that all have said Amen, let the deacon say: Let us attend. And let the bishop speak thus to the people: Holy things for holy persons. And let the people answer: There is One that is holy; there is one Lord, one Jesus Christ, blessed for ever, to the glory of God the Father. Amen. "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will among men. Hosanna to the son of David! Blessed be He that comes in the name of the Lord," being the Lord God who appeared to us, "Hosanna in the highest." Luke 2:14; Matthew 21:9 And after that, let the bishop partake, then the presbyters, and deacons, and sub-deacons, and the readers, and the singers, and the ascetics; and then of the women, the deaconesses, and the virgins, and the widows; then the children; and then all the people in order, with reverence and godly fear, without tumult. And let the bishop give the oblation, saying, The body of Christ; and let him that receives say, Amen. And let the deacon take the cup; and when he gives it, say, The blood of Christ, the cup of life; and let him that drinks say, Amen . And let the thirty-third psalm be said, while the rest are partaking; and when all, both men and women, have partaken, let the deacons carry what remains into the vestry. And when the singer has done, let the deacon say:—

The Bidding Prayer After the Participation.

14. Now we have received the precious body and the precious blood of Christ, let us give thanks to Him who has thought us worthy to partake of these His holy mysteries; and let us beseech Him that it may not be to us for condemnation, but for salvation, to the advantage of soul and body, to the preservation of piety, to the remission of sins, and to the life of the world to come. Let us arise, and by the grace of Christ let us dedicate ourselves to God, to the only unbegotten God, and to His Christ. And let the bishop give thanks:—

The Form of Prayer After the Participation.

15. O Lord God Almighty, the Father of Your Christ, Your blessed Son, who hear those who call upon You with uprightness, who also know the supplications of those who are silent; we thank You that You have thought us worthy to partake of Your holy mysteries, which You have bestowed upon us, for the entire confirmation of those things we have rightly known, for the preservation of piety, for the remission of our offenses; for the name of your Christ is called upon us, and we are joined To You. O You who has separated us from the communion of the ungodly, unite us with those that are consecrated to You in holiness; confirm us in the truth, by the assistance of Your Holy Spirit; reveal to us what things we are ignorant of, supply what things we are defective in, confirm us in what things we already know, preserve the priests blameless in Your worship; keep the kings in peace, and the rulers in righteousness, the air in a good temperature, the fruits in fertility, the world in an all-powerful providence; pacify the warring nations, convert those that are gone astray, sanctify Your people, keep those that are in virginity, preserve those in the faith that are in marriage, strengthen those that are in purity, bring the infants to complete age, confirm the newly admitted; instruct the catechumens, and render them worthy of admission; and gather us all together into Your kingdom of heaven, by Jesus Christ our Lord, with whom glory, honour, and worship be to You, in the Holy Ghost, forever. Amen. And let the deacon say: Bow down to God

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through His Christ, and receive the blessing . And let the bishop add this prayer, and say: O God Almighty, the true God, to whom nothing can be compared, who art everywhere, and present in all things, and art in nothing as one of the things themselves; who art not bounded by place, nor grown old by time; who art not terminated by ages, nor deceived by words; who art not subject to generation, and wantest no guardian; who art above all corruption, free from all change, and invariable by nature; "who inhabitest light inaccessible;" 1 Timothy 6:16 who art by nature invisible, and yet art known to all reasonable natures who seek You with a good mind, and art comprehended by those that seek after You with a good mind; the God of Israel, Your people which truly see, and which have believed in Christ: Be gracious to me, and hear me, for Your name's sake, and bless those that bow down their necks unto You, and grant them the petitions of their hearts, which are for their good, and do not reject any one of them from Your kingdom; but sanctify, guard, cover, and assist them; deliver them from the adversary and every enemy; keep their houses, and guard "their comings in and their goings out." For to You belongs the glory, praise, majesty, worship, and adoration, and to Your Son Jesus, Your Christ, our Lord and God and King, and to the Holy Ghost, now and always, for ever and ever. Amen. And the deacon shall say, Depart in peace . These constitutions concerning this mystical worship, we, the apostles, do ordain for you, the bishops, presbyters, and deacons .

SECTION 3. ORDINATION AND DUTIES OF THE CLERGY

Concerning the Ordination of Presbyters — The Constitution of John, Who Was Beloved by the Lord.

16. Concerning the ordination of presbyters, I who am loved by the Lord make this constitution for you the bishops: When you ordain a presbyter, O bishop, lay your hand upon his head, in the presence of the presbyters and deacons, and pray, saying: O Lord Almighty, our God, who hast created all things by Christ, and in like manner takes care of the whole world by Him; for He who had power to make different creatures, has also power to take care of them, according to their different natures; on which account, O God, You take care of immortal beings by bare preservation, but of those that are mortal by succession — of the soul by the provision of laws, of the body by the supply of its wants. Do Thou therefore now also look down upon Your holy Church, and increase the same, and multiply those that preside in it, and grant them power, that they may labour both in word and work for the edification of Your people. Now look down also upon this Your servant, who is put into the presbytery by the vote and determination of the whole clergy; and replenish him with the Spirit of grace and counsel, to assist and govern Your people with a pure heart, in the same manner as You looked down upon Your chosen people, and commanded Moses to choose elders, whom You filled with Your Spirit. Do Thou also now, O Lord, grant this, and preserve in us the Spirit of Your grace, that this person, being filled with the gifts of healing and the word of teaching, may in meekness instruct Your people, and sincerely serve You with a pure mind and a willing soul, and may fully discharge the holy ministrations for Your people, through Your Christ, with whom glory, honour, and worship be to You, and to the Holy Ghost, forever. Amen.

Concerning the Ordination of Deacons — The Constitution of Philip.

17. Concerning the ordination of deacons, I Philip make this constitution: You shall ordain a deacon, O bishop, by laying your hands upon him in the presence of the whole presbytery, and of the deacons, and shall pray, and say:—

The Form of Prayer for the Ordination of a Deacon.

18. O God Almighty, the true and faithful God, who art rich unto all that call upon You in truth, who art fearful in counsels, and wise in understanding, who art powerful and great, hear our prayer, O Lord, and let Your ears receive our supplication, and "cause the light of Your countenance to shine upon this Your servant," who is to be ordained for You to the office of a deacon; and replenish him with Your Holy Spirit, and with power, as You replenished Stephen, who was Your martyr, and follower of the sufferings of Your Christ. Render him worthy to discharge acceptably the ministration of a deacon, steadily, unblameably, and without reproof, that thereby he may attain an higher degree, through the mediation of Your only begotten Son, with whom glory, honour, and worship be to You and the Holy Spirit forever. Amen.

Concerning the Deaconess — The Constitution of Bartholomew.

19. Concerning a deaconess, I Bartholomew make this constitution: O bishop, you shall lay your hands upon her in the presence of the presbytery, and of the deacons and deaconesses, and shall say:—

The Form of Prayer for the Ordination of a Deaconess.

20. O Eternal God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Creator of man and of woman, who replenished with the Spirit Miriam, and Deborah, and Anna, and Huldah; who did not disdain that Your only begotten Son should be born of a woman; who also in the tabernacle of the testimony, and in the temple, ordained women to be keepers of Your holy gates — do Thou now also look down upon this Your servant, who is to be ordained to the office of a deaconess, and grant her Your Holy Spirit, and "cleanse her from all filthiness of flesh and spirit," 2 Corinthians 7:1 that she may worthily discharge the work which is committed to her to Your glory, and the praise of Your Christ, with whom glory and adoration be to You and the Holy Spirit forever. Amen.

Concerning the Sub-Deacons — The Constitution of Thomas.

21. Concerning the sub-deacons, I Thomas make this constitution for you the bishops: When you ordain a subdeacon, O bishop, you shall lay your hands upon him, and say: O Lord God, the Creator of heaven and earth, and of all things that are therein; who also in the tabernacle of the testimony appointed overseers and keepers of Your holy vessels; do Thou now look down upon this Your servant, appointed a subdeacon; and grant him the Holy Spirit, that he may worthily handle the vessels of Your ministry, and do Your will always, through Your Christ, with whom glory, honour, and worship be to You and to the Holy Spirit forever. Amen.

Concerning the Readers — The Constitution of Matthew.

22. Concerning readers, I Matthew, also called Levi, who was once a tax-gatherer, make a constitution: Ordain a reader by laying your hands upon him, and pray unto God, and say: O Eternal God, who art plenteous in mercy and compassions, who hast made manifest the constitution of the world by Your operations therein, and keepest the number of Your elect, do Thou also now look down upon Your servant, who is to be entrusted to read Your Holy Scriptures to Your people, and give him Your Holy Spirit, the prophetic Spirit. You who instructed Esdras Your servant to read Your laws to the people, do Thou now also at our prayers instruct Your servant, and grant that he may without blame perfect the work committed to him, and thereby be declared worthy of an higher degree, through Christ, with whom glory and worship be to You and to the Holy Ghost forever. Amen.

Concerning the Confessors — The Constitution of James the Son of Alpheus.

23. And I James, the son of Alphæus, make a constitution in regard to confessors: A confessor is not ordained; for he is so by choice and patience, and is worthy of great honour, as having confessed the name of God, and of His Christ, before nations and kings. But if there be occasion, he is to be ordained either a bishop, priest, or deacon. But if any one of the confessors who is not ordained snatches to himself any such dignity upon account of his confession, let the same person be deprived and rejected; for he is not in such an office, since he has denied the constitution of Christ, and is "worse than an infidel." 1 Timothy 5:8

The Same Apostle's Constitution Concerning Virgins.

24. I, the same, make a constitution in regard to virgins: A virgin is not ordained, for we have no such command from the Lord; 1 Corinthians 7:25 for this is a state of voluntary trial, not for the reproach of marriage, but on account of leisure for piety .

The Constitution of Lebbæus, Who Was Surnamed Thaddæus, Concerning Widows.

25. And I Lebbæus, surnamed Thaddæus, make this constitution in regard to widows: A widow is not ordained; yet if she has lost her husband a great while, and has lived soberly and unblameably, and has taken extraordinary care of her family, as Judith and Anna — those women of great reputation— let her be chosen into the order of widows. But if she has lately lost her yokefellow, let her not be believed, but let her youth be judged of by the time; for the affections do sometimes grow aged with men, if they be not restrained by a better bridle .

The Same Apostle Concerning the Exorcist.

26. I the same make a constitution in regard to an exorcist. An exorcist is not ordained. For it is a trial of voluntary goodness, and of the grace of God through Christ by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. For he who has received the gift of healing is declared by revelation from God, the grace which is in him being manifest to all. But if there be occasion for him, he must be ordained a bishop, or a presbyter, or a deacon .

Simon the Canaanite Concerning the Number Necessary for the Ordination of a Bishop.

27. And I Simon the Canaanite make a constitution to determine by how many a bishop ought to be elected. Let a bishop be ordained by three or two bishops; but if any one be ordained by one bishop, let him be deprived, both himself and he that ordained him. But if there be a necessity that he have only one to ordain him, because more bishops cannot come together, as in time of persecution, or for such like causes, let him bring the suffrage of permission from more bishops.

The Same Apostle's Canons Concerning Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and the Rest of the Clergy.

28. Concerning the canons I the same make a constitution. A bishop blesses, but does not receive the blessing. He lays on hands, ordains, offers, receives the blessing from bishops, but by no means from presbyters. A bishop deprives any clergyman who deserves deprivation, excepting a bishop; for of himself he has not power to do that. A presbyter blesses, but does not receive the blessing; yet does he receive the blessing from the bishop or a fellow presbyter. In like manner does he give it to a fellow presbyter. He lays on hands, but does not ordain; he does not deprive, yet does he separate those that are under him, if they be liable to such a punishment. A deacon does not bless, does not give the blessing, but receives it from the bishop and presbyter: he does not baptise, he does not offer; but when a bishop or presbyter has offered, he distributes to the people, not as a priest, but as one that ministers to the priests. But it is not lawful for any one of the other clergy to do the work of a deacon. A deaconess does not bless, nor perform anything belonging to the office of presbyters or deacons, but only is to keep the doors, and to minister to the presbyters in the baptizing of women, on account of decency. A deacon separates a subdeacon, a reader, a singer, and a deaconess, if there be any occasion, in the absence of a presbyter. It is not lawful for a subdeacon to separate either one of the clergy or laity; nor for a reader, nor for a singer, nor for a deaconess, for they are the ministers to the deacons.

SECTION 4. CERTAIN PRAYERS AND LAWS

Concerning the Blessing of Water and Oil — The Constitution of Matthias.

29. Concerning the water and the oil, I Matthias make a constitution. Let the bishop bless the water, or the oil. But if he be not there, let the presbyter bless it, the deacon standing by. But if the bishop be present, let the presbyter and deacon stand by, and let him say thus: O Lord of hosts, the God of powers, the creator of the waters, and the supplier of oil, who art compassionate, and a lover of mankind, who hast given water for drink and for cleansing, and oil to give man a cheerful and joyful countenance; do Thou now also sanctify this water and this oil through Your Christ, in the name of him or her that has offered them, and grant them a power to restore health, to drive away diseases, to banish demons, and to disperse all snares through Christ our hope, with whom glory, honour, and worship be to You, and to the Holy Ghost, forever. Amen.

The Same Apostle's Constitution Concerning First-Fruits and Tithes.

30. I the same make a constitution in regard to first-fruits and tithes. Let all first-fruits be brought to the bishop, and to the presbyters, and to the deacons, for their maintenance; but let all the tithe be for the maintenance of the rest of the clergy, and of the virgins and widows, and of those under the trial of poverty. For the first-fruits belong to the priests, and to those deacons that minister to them.

The Same Apostle's Constitutions Concerning the Remaining Oblations.

31. I the same make a constitution in regard to remainders. Those eulogies which remain at the mysteries, let the deacons distribute them among the clergy, according to the mind of the bishop or the presbyters: to a bishop; four parts; to a presbyter, three parts; to a deacon, two parts; and to the rest of the sub-deacons, or readers, or singers, or deaconesses, one part. For this is good and acceptable in the sight of God, that every one be honoured according to his dignity; for the Church is the school, not of confusion, but of good order.

Various Canons of Paul the Apostle Concerning Those that Offer Themselves to Be Baptised — Whom We are to Receive, and Whom to Reject.

32. I also, Paul, the least of the apostles, do make the following constitutions for you, the bishops, and presbyters, and deacons, concerning canons . Those that first come to the mystery of godliness, let them be brought to the bishop or to the presbyters by the deacons, and let them be examined as to the causes wherefore they come to the word of the Lord; and let those that bring them exactly inquire about their character, and give them their testimony. Let their manners and their life be inquired into, and whether they be slaves or freemen. And if any one be a slave, let him be asked who is his master. If he be slave to one of the faithful, let his master be asked if he

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can give him a good character. If he cannot, let him be rejected, until he show himself to be worthy to his master. But if he does give him a good character, let him be admitted. But if he be household slave to an heathen, let him be taught to please his master, that the word be not blasphemed. If, then, he have a wife, or a woman has an husband, let them be taught to be content with each other; but if they be unmarried, let them learn not to commit fornication, but to enter into lawful marriage. But if his master be one of the faithful, and knows that he is guilty of fornication, and yet does not give him a wife, or to the woman an husband, let him be separated; but if anyone has a demon, let him indeed be taught piety, but not received into communion before he be cleansed; yet if death be near, let him be received. If any one be a maintainer of harlots, let him either leave off to prostitute women, or else let him be rejected. If a harlot come, let her leave off whoredom, or else let her be rejected. If a maker of idols come, let him either leave off his employment, or let him be rejected. If one belonging to the theatre come, whether it be man or woman, or charioteer, or dueller, or racer, or player of prizes, or Olympic gamester, or one that plays on the pipe, on the lute, or on the harp at those games, or a dancing-master or an huckster, either let them leave off their employments, or let them be rejected. If a soldier come, let him be taught to "do no injustice, to accuse no man falsely, and to be content with his allotted wages:" Luke 3:14 if he submit to those rules, let him be received; but if he refuse them, let him be rejected. He that is guilty of sins not to be named, a sodomite, an effeminate person, a magician, an enchanter, an astrologer, a diviner, an user of magic verses, a juggler, a mountebank, one that makes amulets, a charmer, a soothsayer, a fortune-teller, an observer of palmistry; he that, when he meets you, observes defects in the eyes or feet of the birds or cats, or noises, or symbolic sounds: let these be proved for some time, for this sort of wickedness is hard to be washed away; and if they leave off those practices, let them be received; but if they will not agree to that, let them be rejected. Let a concubine, who is slave to an unbeliever, and confines herself to her master alone, be received; but if she be incontinent with others, let her be rejected. If one of the faithful has a concubine, if she be a bond-servant, let him leave off that way, and marry in a legal manner: if she be a free woman, let him marry her in a lawful manner; if he does not, let him be rejected. Let him that follows the Gentile customs, or Jewish fables, either reform, or let him be rejected. If any one follows the sports of the theatre, their huntings, or horse-races, or combats, either let him leave them off, or let him be rejected. Let him who is to be a catechumen be a catechumen for three years; but if any one be diligent, and has a good-will to his business, let him be admitted: for it is not the length of time, but the course of life, that is judged. Let him that teaches, although he be one of the laity, yet, if he be skilful in the word and grave in his manners, teach; for "they shall be all taught of God." John 6:45 Let all the faithful, whether men or women, when they rise from sleep, before they go to work, when they have washed themselves, pray; but if any catechetic instruction be held, let the faithful person prefer the word of piety before his work. Let the faithful person, whether man or woman, treat servants kindly, as we have ordained in the foregoing books, and have taught in our epistles.

Upon Which Days Servants are Not to Work.

33. I Peter and Paul do make the following constitutions. Let the slaves work five days; but on the Sabbath day and the Lord's day let them have leisure to go to church for instruction in piety. We have said that the Sabbath is on account of the creation, and the Lord's day of the resurrection. Let slaves rest from their work all the great week, and that which follows it — for the one in memory of the passion, and the other of the resurrection; and there is need they should be instructed who it is that suffered and rose again, and who it is permitted Him to suffer, and raised Him again. Let them have rest from their work on the Ascension, because it was the conclusion of the dispensation by Christ. Let them rest at Pentecost, because of the coming of the Holy Spirit, which was given to those that believed in Christ. Let them rest on the festival of His birth, because on it the unexpected favour was granted to men, that Jesus Christ, the Logos of God, should be born of the Virgin Mary, for the salvation of the world. Let them rest on the festival of Epiphany, because on it a manifestation took place of the divinity of Christ, for the Father bore testimony to Him at the baptism; and the Paraclete, in the form of a dove, pointed out to the bystanders Him to whom testimony was borne. Let them rest on the days of the apostles: for they were appointed your teachers to bring you to Christ, and made you worthy of the Spirit. Let them rest on the day of the first martyr Stephen, and of the other holy martyrs who preferred Christ to their own life.

At What Hours, and Why, We are to Pray.

34. Offer up your prayers in the morning, at the third hour, the sixth, the ninth, the evening, and at cock-crowing: in the morning, returning thanks that the Lord has sent you light, that He has brought you past the night, and brought on the day; at the third hour, because at that hour the Lord received the sentence of condemnation from Pilate; at the sixth, because at that hour He was crucified; at the ninth, because all things were in commotion at the crucifixion of the Lord, as trembling at the bold attempt of the impious Jews, and not bearing the injury offered to their Lord; in the evening, giving thanks that He has given you the night to rest from the daily labours; at cock-crowing, because that hour brings the good news of the coming on of the day for the operations proper for the light. But if it be not possible to go to the church on account of the unbelievers, you, O bishop, shall assemble them in a house, that a godly man may not enter into an assembly of the ungodly. For it is not the place that sanctifies the man, but the man the place. And if the ungodly possess the place, avoid it, because it is profaned by them. For as holy priests sanctify a place, so do the profane ones defile it. If it be not possible to assemble either in the church or in a house, let every one by himself sing, and read, and pray, or two or three together. For "where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." Let not one of the faithful pray with a catechumen, no, not in the house: for it is not reasonable that he who is admitted should be polluted with one not admitted. Let not one of the godly pray with an heretic, no, not in the house. For "what fellowship has light with darkness?" Let Christians, whether men or women, who have connections with slaves, either leave them off, or let them be rejected.

The Constitution of James the Brother of Christ Concerning Evening Prayer.

35. I James, the brother of Christ according to the flesh, but His servant as the only begotten God, and one appointed bishop of Jerusalem by the Lord Himself, and the Apostles, do ordain thus: When it is evening, you, O bishop, shall assemble the church; and after the repetition of the psalm at the lighting up the lights, the deacon shall bid prayers for the catechumens, the energumens, the illuminated, and the penitents, as we have formerly said. But after the dismission of these, the deacon shall say: So many as are of the faithful, let us pray to the Lord. And after the bidding prayer, which is formerly set down, he shall say:—

The Bidding Prayer for the Evening.

36. Save us, O God, and raise us up by Your Christ. Let us stand up, and beg for the mercies of the Lord, and His compassions, for the angel of peace, for what things are good and profitable, for a Christian departure out of this life, an evening and a night of peace, and free from sin; and let us beg that the whole course of our life may be unblameable. Let us dedicate ourselves and one another to the living God through His Christ. And let the bishop add this prayer, and say:—

The Thanksgiving for the Evening.

37. O God, who art without beginning and without end, the Maker of the whole world by Christ, and the Provider for it, but before all His God and Father, the Lord of the Spirit, and the King of intelligible and sensible beings; who hast made the day for the works of light, and the night for the refreshment of our infirmity — for "the day is Yours, the night also is Yours: You have prepared the light and the sun," — do Thou now, O Lord, Thou lover of mankind, and Fountain of all good, mercifully accept of this our evening thanksgiving. You who has brought us through the length of the day, and hast brought us to the beginnings of the night, preserve us by Your Christ, afford us a peaceable evening, and a night free from sin, and vouchsafe us everlasting life by Your Christ, through whom glory, honour, and worship be to You in the Holy Spirit forever. Amen. And let the deacon say: Bow down for the laying on of hands. And let the bishop say: O God of our fathers, and Lord of mercy, who formed man of Your wisdom a rational creature, and beloved of God more than the other beings upon this earth, and gave him authority to rule over the creatures upon the earth, and ordained by Your will rulers and priests— the former for the security of life, the latter for a regular worship, — do Thou now also look down, O Lord Almighty, and cause Your face to shine upon Your people, who bow down the neck of their heart, and bless them by Christ; through whom You have enlightened us with the light of knowledge, and have revealed Yourself to us; with whom worthy adoration is due from every rational and holy nature to You, and to the Spirit, who is the Comforter, forever. Amen. And let the deacon say: "Depart in peace." In like manner, in the morning, after the repetition of the morning psalm, and his dismission of the catechumens, the energumens, the candidates for baptism, and the penitents, and after the usual bidding of prayers, that we may not again repeat the same things, let the deacon add after the words, Save us, O God, and raise us up by Your grace: Let us beg of the Lord His mercies and His compassions, that this morning and this day may be with peace and without sin, as also all the time of our sojourning; that He will grant us His angel of peace, a Christian departure out of this life, and that God will be merciful and gracious. Let us dedicate ourselves and one another to the living God through His Only-begotten. And let the bishop add this prayer, and say:—

The Thanksgiving for the Morning.

38. O God, the God of spirits and of all flesh, who is beyond compare, and stands in need of nothing, who has given the sun to have rule over the day, and the moon and the stars to have rule over the night, do Thou now also look down upon us with gracious eyes, and receive our morning thanksgivings, and have mercy upon us; for we have not "spread out our hands unto a strange God;" for there is not among us any new God, but You, the eternal God, who is without end, who has given us our being through Christ, and given us our well-being through Him. Vouchsafe us also, through Him, eternal life; with whom glory, and honour, and worship be to You and to the Holy Spirit forever. Amen. And let the deacon say: Bow down for the laying on of hands. And let the bishop add this prayer, saying:—

The Imposition of Hands for the Morning.

39. O God, who art faithful and true, who "has mercy on thousands and ten thousands of them that love You," the lover of the humble, and the protector of the needy, of whom all things stand in need, for all things are subject to You; look down upon this Your people, who bow down their heads to You, and bless them with spiritual blessing. "Keep them as the apple of an eye," preserve them in piety and righteousness, and vouchsafe them eternal life in Christ Jesus Your beloved Son, with whom glory, honour, and worship be to You and to the Holy Spirit, now and always, and for ever and ever. Amen. And let the deacon say: "Depart in peace." And when the first-fruits are offered, the bishop gives thanks in this manner:—

The Form of Prayer for the First-Fruits.

40. We give thanks to You, O Lord Almighty, the Creator of the whole world, and its Preserver, through Your only begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord, for the first-fruits which are offered to You, not in such a manner as we ought, but as we are able. For what man is there that can worthily give You thanks for those things You have given them to partake of? The God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob, and of all the saints, who made all things fruitful by Your word, and commanded the earth to bring forth various fruits for our rejoicing and our food; who hast given to the duller and more sheepish sort of creatures juices — herbs to them that feed on herbs, and to some flesh, to others seeds, but to us grain, as advantageous and proper food, and many other things — some for our necessities, some for our health, and some for our pleasure. On all these accounts, therefore, are You worthy of exalted hymns of praise for Your beneficence by Christ, through whom glory, honour, and worship be to You, in the Holy Spirit, forever. Amen. Concerning those that are at rest in Christ: After the bidding prayer, that we may not repeat it again, the deacon shall add as follows:—

The Bidding Prayer for Those Departed.

41. Let us pray for our brethren that are at rest in Christ, that God, the lover of mankind, who has received his soul, may forgive him every sin, voluntary and involuntary, and may be merciful and gracious to him, and give him his lot in the land of the pious that are sent into the bosom of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, with all those that have pleased Him and done His will from the beginning of the world, whence all sorrow, grief, and lamentation are banished. Let us arise, let us dedicate ourselves and one another to the eternal God, through that Word which was in the beginning. And let the bishop say: O You who is by nature immortal, and has no end of Your being, from whom every creature, whether immortal or mortal, is derived; who made man a rational creature, the citizen of this world, in his constitution mortal, and added the promise of a resurrection; who did not suffer Enoch and Elijah to taste of death: "the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, who art the God of them, not as of dead, but as of living persons: for the souls of all men live with You, and the spirits of the righteous are in Your hand, which no torment can touch;" Matthew 22:32; Wisdom 3:1 for they are all sanctified under Your hand: do Thou now also look upon this Your servant, whom You have selected and received into another state, and forgive him if voluntarily or involuntarily he has sinned, and afford him merciful angels, and place him in the bosom of the patriarchs, and prophets, and apostles, and of all those that have pleased You from the beginning of the world, where there is no grief, sorrow, nor lamentation; but the peaceable region of the godly, and the undisturbed land of the upright, and of those that therein see, the glory of Your Christ; by whom glory, honour, and worship, thanksgiving, and adoration be to You, in the Holy Spirit, forever. Amen. And let the deacon say: Bow down, and receive the blessing. And let the bishop give thanks for them, saying as follows: "O Lord, save Your people, and bless Your inheritance," which You have purchased with the precious blood of Your Christ. Feed them under Your right hand, and cover them under Your wings, and grant that they may "fight

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the good fight, and finish their course, and keep the faith" 2 Timothy 4:7 immutably, unblameably, and unreprovably, through our Lord Jesus Christ, Your beloved Son, with whom glory, honour, and worship be to You and to the Holy Spirit forever. Amen.

How and When We Ought to Celebrate the Memorials of the Faithful Departed, and that We Ought Then to Give Somewhat Out of Their Goods to the Poor.

42. Let the third day of the departed be celebrated with psalms, and lessons, and prayers, on account of Him who arose within the space of three days; and let the ninth day be celebrated in remembrance of the living, and of the departed; and the fortieth day according to the ancient pattern: for so did the people lament Moses, and the anniversary day in memory of him. And let alms be given to the poor out of his goods for a memorial of him.

That Memorials or Mandates Do Not at All Profit the Ungodly Who are Dead.

43. These things we say concerning the pious; for as to the ungodly, if you give all the world to the poor, you will not benefit him at all. For to whom the Deity was an enemy while he was alive, it is certain it will be so also when he is departed; for there is no unrighteousness with Him. For "the Lord is righteous, and has loved righteousness." And, "Behold the man and his work." Isaiah 62:11

Concerning Drunkards.

44. Now, when you are invited to their memorials, do you feast with good order, and the fear of God, as disposed to intercede for those that are departed. For since you are the presbyters and deacons of Christ, you ought always to be sober, both among yourselves and among others, that so you may be able to warn the unruly. Now the Scripture says, "The men in power are passionate. But let them not drink wine, lest by drinking they forget wisdom, and are not able to judge aright." Wherefore both the presbyters and the deacons are those of authority in the Church next to God Almighty and His beloved Son. We say this, not they are not to drink at all, otherwise it would be to the reproach of what God has made for cheerfulness, but that they be not disordered with wine. For the Scripture does not say, Do not drink wine; but what says it? "Drink not wine to drunkenness;" and again, "Thorns spring up in the hand of the drunkard." Nor do we say this only to those of the clergy, but also to every lay Christian, upon whom the name of our Lord Jesus Christ is called. For to them also it is said, "Who has woe? Who has sorrow? Who has uneasiness? Who has babbling? Who has red eyes? Who has wounds without cause? Do not these things belong to those that tarry long at the wine, and that go to seek where drinking meetings are?" Proverbs 23:29-30

Concerning the Receiving Such as are Persecuted for Christ's Sake.

45. Receive those that are persecuted on account of the faith, and who fly from city to city, Matthew 10:23 as mindful of the words of the Lord. For, knowing that though "the spirit be willing, the flesh is weak," Matthew 26:41 they fly away, and prefer the spoiling of their goods, that they may preserve the name of Christ in themselves without denying it. Supply them therefore with what they want, and thereby fulfil the commandment of the Lord.

SECTION 5. ALL THE APOSTLES URGE THE OBSERVANCE OF THE ORDER OF THE CHURCH

That Every One Ought to Remain in that Rank Wherein He is Placed, But Not Snatch Such Offices to Himself Which are Not Entrusted to Him.

46. Now this we all in common do charge you, that every one remain in that rank which is appointed him, and do not transgress his proper bounds; for they are not ours, but God's. For says the Lord: "He that hears you, hears me; and he that hears me, hears Him that sent me." And, "He that despises you, despises me; and he that despises me, despises Him that sent me." For if those things that are without life do observe good order, as the night, the day, the sun, the moon, the stars, the elements, the seasons, the months, the weeks, the days, and the hours, and are subservient to the uses appointed them, according to that which is said, "You have set them a bound which they shall not pass;" and again, concerning the sea, "I have set bounds thereto, and have encompassed it with bars and gates; and I said to it, Hitherto shall you come, and you shall go no farther;" Job 38:10-11 how much more ought you not to venture to remove those things which we, according to God's will, have determined for you! But because many think this a small matter, and venture to confound the orders, and to remove the ordination which belongs to them severally, snatching to themselves dignities which were never given them, and allowing themselves to bestow that authority in a tyrannical manner which they have not themselves, and thereby provoke God to anger (as did the followers of Corah and King Uzziah, who, having no authority, usurped the high-priesthood without commission from God; and the former were burnt with fire, and the latter was struck with a leprosy in his forehead); and provoke Christ Jesus to anger, who has made this constitution; and also grieve the Holy Spirit, and make void His testimony: therefore, foreknowing the danger that hangs over those who do such things, and the neglect about the sacrifices and eucharistical offices which will arise from their being impiously offered by those who ought not to offer them; who think the honour of the high-priesthood, which is an imitation of the great High Priest Jesus Christ our King, to be a matter of sport; we have found it necessary to give you warning in this matter also. For some are already turned aside after their own vanity. We say that Moses the servant of God ("to whom God spoke face to face, as if a man spoke to his friend;" to whom He said, "I know you above all men;" to whom He spoke directly, and not by obscure methods, or dreams, or angels, or riddles) — this person, when he made constitutions and divine laws, distinguished what things were to be performed by the high priests, what by the priests, and what by the Levites; distributing to every one his proper and suitable office in the divine service. And those things which are allotted for the high priests to do, those might not be meddled with by the priests; and what things were allotted to the priests, the Levites might not meddle with; but every one observed those ministrations which were written down and appointed for them. And if any would meddle beyond the tradition, death was his punishment. And Saul's example does show this most plainly, who, thinking he might offer sacrifice without the prophet and high priest Samuel, drew upon himself a sin and a curse without remedy. Nor did even his having anointed him king discourage the prophet. But God showed the same by a more visible effect in the case of Uzziah, 2 Chronicles xxvi when He without delay exacted the punishment due to this transgression, and he that madly coveted after the high-priesthood was rejected from his kingdom also. As to those things that have happened among us, you yourselves are not ignorant of them. For you know undoubtedly that those that are by us named bishops, and presbyters, and deacons, were made by prayer, and by the laying on of hands; and that by the difference of their names is showed the difference of their employments. For not every one that will is ordained, as the case was in that spurious and counterfeit priesthood of the calves under Jeroboam; 1 Kings 13:33 but he only who is called of God. For if there were no rule or distinction of orders, it would suffice to perform all the offices under one name. But being taught by the Lord the series of things, we distributed the functions of the high-priesthood to the bishops, those of the priesthood to the presbyters, and the ministration under them both to the deacons; that the divine worship might be performed in purity. For it is not lawful for a deacon to offer the sacrifice, or to baptise, or to give either the greater or the lesser blessing. Nor may a presbyter perform ordination; for it is not agreeable to holiness to have this order perverted. For "God is not the God of confusion," that the subordinate persons should tyrannically assume to themselves the functions belonging to their superiors, forming a new scheme of laws to their own mischief, not knowing that "it is hard for them to kick against the pricks;" for such as these do not fight against us, or against the bishops, but against the universal Bishop and the High Priest of the Father, Jesus Christ our Lord. High priests, priests, and Levites were ordained by Moses, the most beloved of God. By our Saviour were we apostles, thirteen in number, ordained; and by the apostles I James, and I Clement, and others with us, were ordained, that we may not make the catalogue of all those bishops over again. And in common, presbyters, and deacons, and sub-deacons, and readers, were ordained by all of us. The great High Priest therefore, who is so by nature, is Christ the only begotten; not having snatched that honour to Himself, but having been appointed such by the Father; who being made man for our sake, and offering the spiritual sacrifice to His God and Father, before His suffering gave it us alone in charge to do this, although there were others with us who had believed in Him. But he that believes is not presently appointed a priest, or obtains the dignity of the high-priesthood. But after His ascension we offered, according to His constitution, the pure and unbloody sacrifice; and ordained bishops, and presbyters, and deacons, seven in number: one of which was Stephen, that blessed martyr, who was not inferior to us as to his pious disposition of mind towards God; who showed so great piety towards God, by his faith and love towards our Lord Jesus Christ, as to give his life for Him, and was stoned to death by the Jews, the murderers of the Lord. Yet still this so great and good a man, who was fervent in spirit, who saw Christ on the right hand of God, and the gates of heaven opened, does nowhere appear to have exercised functions which did not appertain to his office of a deacon, nor to have offered the sacrifices, nor to have laid hands upon any, but kept his order of a deacon unto the end. For so it became him, who was a martyr for Christ, to preserve good order. But if some do blame Philip our deacon, and Ananias our faithful brother, that the one did baptise the eunuch, and the other me Paul, these men do not understand what we say. For we have affirmed only that no one snatches the sacerdotal dignity to himself, but either receives it from God, as Melchisedec and Job, or from the high priest, as Aaron from Moses. Wherefore Philip and Ananias did not constitute themselves, but were appointed by Christ, the High Priest of that God to whom no being is to be compared.

The Ecclesiastical Canons of the Same Holy Apostles.

47.

1 Let a bishop be ordained by two or three bishops.

2 A presbyter by one bishop, as also a deacon, and the rest of the clergy.

3 If any bishop or presbyter, otherwise than our Lord has ordained concerning the sacrifice, offer other things at the altar of God, as honey, milk, or strong beer instead of wine, any necessaries, or birds, or animals, or pulse, otherwise than is ordained, let him be deprived; excepting grains of new grain, or ears of wheat, or bunches of grapes in their season.

4 For it is not lawful to offer anything besides these at the altar, and oil for the holy lamp, and incense in the time of the divine oblation.

5 But let all other fruits be sent to the house of the bishop, as first-fruits to him and to the presbyters, but not to the altar. Now it is plain that the bishop and presbyters are to divide them to the deacons and to the rest of the clergy.

6 Let not a bishop, a priest, or a deacon cast off his own wife under pretence of piety; but if he does cast her off, let him be suspended. If he go on in it, let him be deprived.

7 Let not a bishop, a priest, or deacon undertake the cares of this world; but if he do, let him be deprived.

8 If any bishop, or presbyter, or deacon shall celebrate the holiday of the passover before the vernal equinox with the Jews, let him be deprived.

9 If any bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, or any one of the catalogue of the priesthood, when the oblation is over, does not communicate, let him give his reason; and if it be just, let him be forgiven; but if he does not do it, let him be suspended, as becoming the cause of damage to the people, and occasioning a suspicion against him that offered, as of one that did not rightly offer.

10 All those of the faithful that enter into the holy church of God, and hear the sacred Scriptures, but do not stay during prayer and the holy communion, must be suspended, as causing disorder in the church.

11 If any one, even in the house, prays with a person excommunicate, let him also be suspended.

12 If any clergyman prays with one deprived as with a clergyman, let himself also be deprived.

13 If any clergyman or layman who is suspended, or ought not to be received, goes away, and is received in another city without commendatory letters, let both those who received him and he that was received be suspended. But if he be already suspended, let his suspension be lengthened, as lying to and deceiving the Church of God.

14 A bishop ought not to leave his own parish and leap to another, although the multitude should compel him, unless there be some good reason forcing him to do this, as that he can contribute much greater profit to the people of the new parish by the word of piety; but this is not to be settled by himself, but by the judgement of many bishops, and very great supplication.

15 If any presbyter or deacon, or any one of the catalogue of the clergy, leaves his own parish and goes to another, and, entirely removing himself, continues in that other parish without the consent of his own bishop, him we command no longer to go on in his ministry, especially in case his bishop calls upon him to return, and he does not obey, but continues in his disorder. However, let him communicate there as a layman.

16 But if the bishop with whom they are undervalues the deprivation decreed against them, and receives them as clergymen, let him be suspended as a teacher of disorder.

17 He who has been twice married after his baptism, or has had a concubine, cannot be made a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, or indeed any one of the sacerdotal catalogue.

18 He who has taken a widow, or a divorced woman, or an harlot, or a servant, or one belonging to the theatre, cannot be either a bishop, priest, or deacon, or indeed any one of the sacerdotal catalogue.

19 He who has married two sisters, or his brother's or sister's daughter, cannot be a clergyman.

20 Let a clergyman who becomes a surety be deprived.

21 Let an eunuch, if he be such by the injury of men, or his virilia were taken away in the persecution, or he was born such, and yet is worthy of episcopacy, be made a bishop.

22 Let not him who has disabled himself be made a clergyman; for he is a self-murderer, and an enemy to the creation of God.

23 If any one who is of the clergy disables himself, let him be deprived, for he is a murderer of himself.

24 Let a layman who disables himself be separated for three years, for he lays a snare for his own life.

25 Let a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon who is taken in fornication, or perjury, or stealing, be deprived, but not

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suspended; for the Scripture says: "You shall not avenge twice for the same crime by affliction."

26 In like manner also as to the rest of the clergy.

27 Of those who come into the clergy unmarried, we permit only the readers and singers, if they have a mind, to marry afterward.

28 We command that a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon who strikes the faithful that offend, or the unbelievers who do wickedly, and thinks to terrify them by such means, be deprived, for our Lord has nowhere taught us such things. On the contrary, "when Himself was stricken, He did not strike again; when He was reviled, He reviled not again; when He suffered, He threatened not."

29 If any bishop, or presbyter, or deacon who is deprived justly for manifest crimes, does venture to meddle with that ministration which was once entrusted to him, let the same person be entirely cut off from the Church.

30 If any bishop obtains that dignity by money, or even a presbyter or deacon, let him and the person that ordained him be deprived; and let him be entirely cut off from communion, as Simon Magus was by me Peter.

31 If any bishop makes use of the rulers of this world, and by their means obtains to be a bishop of a church, let him be deprived and suspended, and all that communicate with him.

32 If any presbyter despises his own bishop, and assembles separately, and fixes another altar, when he has nothing to condemn in his bishop either as to piety or righteousness, let him be deprived as an ambitious person; for he is a tyrant, and the rest of the clergy, whoever join themselves to him. And let the laity be suspended. But let these things be done after one, and a second, or even a third admonition from the bishop.

33 If any presbyter or deacon be put under suspension by his bishop, it is not lawful for any other to receive him, but for him only who put him under suspension, unless it happens that he who put him under suspension die.

34 Do not receive any stranger, whether bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, without commendatory letters; and when such are offered, let them be examined. And if they be preachers of piety, let them be received; but if not, supply their wants, but do not receive them to communion: for many things are done by surprise.

35 The bishops of every country ought to know who is the chief among them, and to esteem him as their head, and not to do any great thing without his consent; but every one to manage only the affairs that belong to his own parish, and the places subject to it. But let him not do anything without the consent of all; for it is by this means there will be unanimity, and God will be glorified by Christ, in the Holy Spirit.

36 A bishop must not venture to ordain out of his own bounds for cities or countries that are not subject to him. But if he be convicted of having done so without the consent of such as governed those cities or countries, let him be deprived, both the bishop himself and those whom he has ordained.

37 If any bishop that is ordained does not undertake his office, nor take care of the people committed to him, let him be suspended until he do undertake it; and in the like manner a presbyter and a deacon. But if he goes, and is not received, not because of the want of his own consent, but because of the ill temper of the people, let him continue bishop; but let the clergy of that city be suspended, because they have not taught that disobedient people better.

38 Let a synod of bishops be held twice in the year, and let them ask one another the doctrines of piety; and let them determine the ecclesiastical disputes that happen — once in the fourth week of Pentecost, and again on the twelfth of the month Hyperberetæus.

39 Let the bishop have the care of ecclesiastical revenues, and administer them as in the presence of God. But it is not lawful for him to appropriate any part of them to himself, or to give the things of God to his own kindred. But if they be poor, let him support them as poor; but let him not, under such pretences, alienate the revenues of the Church.

40 Let not the presbyters and deacons do anything without the consent of the bishop, for it is he who is entrusted with the people of the Lord, and will be required to give an account of their souls. Let the proper goods of the bishop, if he has any, and those belonging to the Lord, be openly distinguished, that he may have power when he dies to leave his own goods as he pleases, and to whom he pleases; that, under pretence of the ecclesiastical revenues, the bishop's own may not come short, who sometimes has a wife and children, or kinsfolk, or servants. For this is just before God and men, that neither the Church suffer any loss by the not knowing which revenues are the bishop's own, nor his kindred, under pretence of the Church, be undone, or his relations fall into lawsuits, and so his death be liable to reproach.

41 We command that the bishop have power over the goods of the Church; for if he be entrusted with the precious souls of men, much more ought he to give directions about goods, that they all be distributed to those in want, according to his authority, by the presbyters and deacons, and be used for their support with the fear of God, and with all reverence. He is also to partake of those things he wants, if he does want them, for his necessary occasions, and those of the brethren who live with him, that they may not by any means be in straits: for the law of God appointed that those who waited at the altar should be maintained by the altar; since not so much as a soldier does at any time bear arms against the enemies at his own charges.

42 Let a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon who indulges himself in dice or drinking, either leave off those practices, or let him be deprived.

43 If a subdeacon, a reader, or a singer does the like, either let him leave off, or let him be suspended; and so for one of the laity.

44 Let a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon who requires usury of those he lends to, either leave off to do so, or let him be deprived.

45 Let a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon who only prays with heretics, be suspended; but if he also permit them to perform any part of the office of a clergyman, let him be deprived.

46 We command that a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon who receives the baptism, or the sacrifice of heretics, be deprived: "For what agreement is there between Christ and Belial? Or what part has a believer with an infidel?"

47 If a bishop or presbyter rebaptises him who has had true baptism, or does not baptise him who is polluted by the ungodly, let him be deprived, as ridiculing the cross and the death of the Lord, and not distinguishing between real priests and counterfeit ones.

48 If a layman divorces his own wife, and takes another, or one divorced by another, let him be suspended.

49 If any bishop or presbyter does not baptise according to the Lord's constitution, into the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, but into three beings without beginning, or into three Sons, or three Comforters, let him be deprived.

50 If any bishop or presbyter does not perform the three immersions of the one admission, but one immersion, which is given into the death of Christ, let him be deprived; for the Lord did not say, "Baptise into my death," but, "Go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Therefore, O bishops, baptise thrice into one Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost, according to the will of Christ, and our constitution by the Spirit.

51 If any bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, or indeed any one of the sacerdotal catalogue, abstains from marriage, flesh, and wine, not for his own exercise, but because he abominates these things, forgetting that "all things were very good," Genesis 1:31 and that "God made man male and female," Genesis 1:26 and blasphemously abuses the creation, either let him reform, or let him be deprived, and be cast out of the Church; and the same for one of the laity.

52 If any bishop or presbyter does not receive him that returns from his sin, but rejects him, let him be deprived; because he grieves Christ, who says, "There is joy in heaven over one sinner that repents." Luke 15:7

53 If any bishop, or presbyter, or deacon does not on festival days partake of flesh or wine, let him be deprived, as "having a seared conscience," 1 Timothy 4:2 and becoming a cause of scandal to many.

54 If any one of the clergy be taken eating in a tavern, let him be suspended, excepting when he is forced to bait at an inn upon the road.

55 If any one of the clergy abuses his bishop unjustly, let him be deprived; for says the Scripture, "You shall not speak evil of the ruler of your people." Exodus 22:28

56 If any one of the clergy abuses a presbyter or a deacon, let him be separated.

57 If any one of the clergy mocks at a lame, a deaf, or a blind man, or at one maimed in his feet, let him be suspended; and the like for the laity.

58 Let a bishop or presbyter who takes no care of the clergy or people, and does not instruct them in piety, be separated; and if he continues in his negligence, let him be deprived.

59 If any bishop or presbyter, when any one of the clergy is in want, does not supply his necessity, let him be suspended; and if he continues in it, let him be deprived, as having killed his brother.

60 If any one publicly reads in the Church the spurious books of the ungodly, as if they were holy, to the destruction of the people and of the clergy, let him be deprived.

61 If there be an accusation against a Christian for fornication, or adultery, or any other forbidden action, and he be convicted, let him not be promoted into the clergy.

62 If any one of the clergy for fear of men, as of a Jew, or a Gentile, or an heretic, shall deny the name of Christ, let him be suspended; but if he deny the name of a clergyman, let him be deprived; but when he repents, let him be received as one of the laity.

63 If any bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, or indeed any one of the sacerdotal catalogue, eats flesh with the blood of its life, or that which is torn by beasts, or which died of itself, let him be deprived; for this the law itself has forbidden. But if he be one of the laity, let him be suspended.

64 If any one of the clergy be found to fast on the Lord's day, or on the Sabbath day, excepting one only, let him be deprived; but if he be one of the laity, let him be suspended.

65 If any one, either of the clergy or laity, enters into a synagogue of the Jews or heretics to pray, let him be deprived and suspended.

66 If any one of the clergy strikes one in a quarrel, and kills him by that one stroke, let him be deprived, on account of his rashness; but if he be one of the laity, let him be suspended.

67 If any one has offered violence to a virgin not betrothed, and keeps her, let him be suspended. But it is not lawful for him to take another to wife; but he must retain her whom he has chosen, although she be poor.

68 If any bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, receives a second ordination from any one, let him be deprived, and the person who ordained him, unless he can show that his former ordination was from the heretics; for those that are either baptised or ordained by such as these, can be neither Christians nor clergymen.

69 If any bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, or reader, or singer, does not fast the fast of forty days, or the fourth day of the week, and the day of the Preparation, let him be deprived, except he be hindered by weakness of body. But if he be one of the laity, let him be suspended.

70 If any bishop, or any other of the clergy, fasts with the Jews, or keeps the festivals with them, or accepts of the presents from their festivals, as unleavened bread or some such thing, let him be deprived; but if he be one of the laity, let him be suspended.

71 If any Christian carries oil into an heathen temple, or into a synagogue of the Jews, or lights up lamps in their festivals, let him be suspended.

72 If any one, either of the clergy or laity, takes away from the holy Church an honeycomb, or oil, let him be suspended, and let him add the fifth part to that which he took away.

73 A vessel of silver, or gold, or linen, which is sanctified, let no one appropriate to his own use, for it is unjust; but if any one be caught, let him be punished with suspension.

74 If a bishop be accused of any crime by credible and faithful persons, it is necessary that he be cited by the bishops; and if he comes and makes his apology, and yet is convicted, let his punishment be determined. But if, when he is cited, he does not obey, let him be cited a second time, by two bishops sent to him. But if even then he despises them, and will not come, let the synod pass what sentence they please against him, that he may not appear to gain advantage by avoiding their judgement.

75 Do not receive an heretic in a testimony against a bishop; nor a Christian if he be single. For the law says, "In the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall be established."

76 A bishop must not gratify his brother, or his son, or any other kinsman, with the episcopal dignity, or ordain whom he pleases; for it is not just to make heirs to episcopacy, and to gratify human affections in divine matters. For we must not put the Church of God under the laws of inheritance; but if any one shall do so, let his ordination be invalid, and let him be punished with suspension.

77 If any one be maimed in an eye, or lame of his leg, but is worthy of the episcopal dignity, let him be made a bishop; for it is not a blemish of the body that can defile him, but the pollution of the soul.

78 But if he be deaf and blind, let him not be made a bishop; not as being a defiled person, but that the ecclesiastical affairs may not be hindered.

79 If any one has a demon, let him not be made one of the clergy. Nay, let him not pray with the faithful; but when he is cleansed, let him be received; and if he be worthy, let him be ordained.

80 It is not right to ordain him bishop presently who is just come in from the Gentiles, and baptised; or from a wicked mode of life: for it is unjust that he who has not yet afforded any trial of himself should be a teacher of others, unless it anywhere happens by divine grace.

81 We have said that a bishop ought not to let himself into public administrations, but to attend on all opportunities upon the necessary affairs of the Church. Either therefore let him agree not to do so, or let him be deprived. For, "no one can serve two masters," Matthew 6:24 according to the Lord's admonition.

82 We do not permit servants to be ordained into the clergy without their masters' consent; for this would grieve those that owned them. For such a practice would occasion the subversion of families. But if at any time a servant appears worthy to be ordained into an high office, such as our Onesimus appeared to be, and if his master allows of it, and gives him his freedom, and dismisses him from his house, let him be ordained.

83 Let a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, who goes to the army, and desires to retain both the Roman government and the sacerdotal administration, be deprived. For "the things of Caesar belong to Caesar, and the things of God to God."

84 Whosoever shall abuse the king or the governor unjustly, let him suffer punishment; and if he be a clergyman, let him be deprived; but if he be a layman, let him be suspended.

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85 Let the following books be esteemed venerable and holy by you, both of the clergy and laity. Of the Old Covenant: the five books of Moses— Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy; one of Joshua the Son of Nun, one of the Judges, one of Ruth, four of the Kings, two of the Chronicles, two of Ezra, one of Esther, one of Judith, three of the Maccabees, one of Job, one hundred and fifty psalms; three books of Solomon — Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs; sixteen prophets. And besides these, take care that your young persons learn the Wisdom of the very learned Sirach. But our sacred books, that is, those of the New Covenant, are these: the four Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; the fourteen Epistles of Paul; two Epistles of Peter, three of John, one of James, one of Jude; two Epistles of Clement; and the Constitutions dedicated to you the bishops by me Clement, in eight books; which it is not fit to publish before all, because of the mysteries contained in them; and the Acts of us the Apostles.

Let these canonical rules be established by us for you, O you bishops; and if you continue to observe them, you shall be saved, and shall have peace; but if you be disobedient, you shall be punished, and have everlasting war one with another, and undergo a penalty suitable to your disobedience.

Now, God who alone is unbegotten, and the Maker of the whole world, unite you all through His peace, in the Holy Spirit; perfect you unto every good work, immoveable, unblameable, and unreprovable; and vouchsafe to you eternal life with us, through the mediation of His beloved Son Jesus Christ our God and Saviour; with whom glory be to You, the God over all, and the Father, in the Holy Spirit the Comforter, now and always, and for ever and ever. Amen.

The end of the Constitutions of the Holy Apostles by Clement, which are the Catholic doctrine.

THE DIDESQELYA
or The Ethiopic Didascalia
or The Apostolical Constitutions Of Abyssinia
Translation: Thomas Pell Platt, 1834
Estimated range of dating: 300-350 AD

(The Didesqelya, or The Ethiopic Didascalia, is a book of Church order in 22 chapters, distinct from the Didascalia Apostolorum, but similar to books 1–7 of the Apostolic Constitutions, where it most likely finds its origins. It is translated from the Ethiopic Ge'ez language and contains the earliest and most faithful summary of precepts and traditions since the Apostle Phillip went to Ethiopia, as recorded in the Acts Of The Apostles [8, 26–39]).

The Doctrine Of The Didascalia
Of The Fathers.
The Holy Apostles In The Name Of God
The Father Almighty, And His Only
Begotten Son Jesus Christ,
And The Paraclete The Holy Ghost.
Estimated Range of Dating: 300 - 400 A.D.

PROLOGUE

We the Twelve Apostles, Messengers of the only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, being assembled together in Jerusalem, the city of the Great King, and with us our good and holy brother Paul, the Apostle of all the Gentiles, and James the brother of our Lord, Bishop of this same city of Jerusalem, have ordained this the right faith. We have appointed thus degrees and offices in the Church according to the example of that which is in heaven. We charge you, each and eveiy one of you, giving thanks that our Lord Jesus Christ hath called us unto his glory. The Bishop is in the hkeness of the shepherd of the sheep, and the Priest in the likeness of a reprover, and the Deacon the likeness of a minister, and the Sub-deacon, behold, he is as the same ; and the Reader, and the skilful Singers and the rest of the people, as those who listen to the voice of the Gospel, and understand the word of reproof. For thus have we framed and ordained the law of the Church, which we have written in this book of instruction; and we have sent it, by Clemens our brother and messenger, into the world, that men may walk according to the ordinances of the Churches which are under heaven; and that they may understand it accurately, that, having heard that which is written therein, they may obtain everlasting life; and glory and praise from our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath graciously given to us this mystery which is from Himself. And those who keep not his law shall be cast into fire which is not quenched, yea, their dwelling shall be in hell-fire for ever, as it is written. But Apostles and Priests, and all the people that believe in our Lord Jesus Christ and work righteousness and peace, shall find mercy and compassion from God the Father, the Ruler of the whole world, and his Son Jesus Christ, and shall come in the knowledge of Him into the Holy Church of God. And those who obey Him shall become a pure, good, and holy vineyard, and shall find life everlasting, by this faith, and victory by the Holy Ghost, and shall prevail, in the might of Jesus Christ and in the fear of Him who hath redeemed them by the sprinkling of his holy and precious blood ; and hath granted to them the glory that they should call upon the Almighty, and that He should be to them their Father and their God and their Friend, and that they should be fellow-heirs and partakers with his Holy Son. Hear this sacred charge, ye that receive the voice of the Gospel at the command of our Saviour, and the glad tidings of his word, which are full of glory! O ye Children of God, keep his Word and his Commandments, and do his Law and his Will! And if there be any man that will follow sin, and do all things that are not pleasing to the Lord, he shall be numbered with those who rebel against his Law and his Commandments. And now I say unto you, depart from violence and wrong, and desire not to take for yourselves the larger portion, and leave for your neighbours the less. For it is written in the Law, saying. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his field, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing; none of the possessions of thy brother, nor any thing like this; for this is evil desire. And if there be any one who will do after this manner in the desire of his heart, he shall be driven far from God and our Lord Jesus Christ; to whom be glory, with his Father and the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen. For He teaches us, and makes us to vmderstand, and strengthens us by the Holy Spirit, that he may accomphsh the Prophecy, and the Law ; wherein it is written. Thou shalt not commit adultery; but I say unto you, that whosoever looketh upon a woman and lusteth after her hath committed adultery already in his heart. And in like manner, he who will do these things shall be condemned with the adulterers. And, behold, he that thinketh in his heart, and desireth to take by violence his neighbour's ox or his ass or his field, and continues through his hfe doing after this manner, he shall be numbered with the adulterers. For the prophet saith. Woe unto them that join house to house, and add field to field, and wall to wall, that they may seize upon that which is not their own ! And again he saith. Know ye that dwell upon the earth, that this matter hath been heard in the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. And in the Law He saith. Cursed be he that stealeth his neighbour's land-mark: and the people shall say. So be it. And for this cause Moses said. Desire not the boundary of thy neighbour, and remove not the law which thy fathers have ordained. Through these things come fear and death and confusion; and judgement shall overtake them fiom the Lord, against those who do these things. But they who hear the word of the Lord, and keep his enlightening law with faith, these shall find loving-kindness and mercy. For He saith. That which thou hatest for thyself, do not against thy neighbour. And as thou wouldest not that another, no, not any man, should look upon thy wife, to turn her aside unto evil, so likewise do not thou look upon the wife of another with evil thoughts. As thou wouldest not that another should take thy garment, in like manner thou, too, take not the garment of another. And as thou desirest not for thyself curses and reproaches and beating, so likewise do not thou thus unto thy neighbour. And if any man have cursed thee, do thou bless him; for it is written in the Book of Numbers, Blessed shall they be that bless thee; and cursed shall they be that curse thee. And moreover it is written in the Gospel, Bless them that curse you, and pray for them that wrongfully oppress you. Do good unto them that hate you; and return not evil to them that wrongfully oppress you, but bear them patiently. For the Scripture saith. Thou shalt not avenge thyself upon thine enemy for the evil that he hath done against thee. And for this cause the Lord will help thee, and will bring judgement upon thine enemy. For he saith in the Gospel, Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven; for He maketh the sun to rise upon the evil and the good, and sendeth rain upon the just and the unjust. O beloved! let us keep in mind these commandments, that we may be the children of light. Bear with one another, O children of light, and children of God ! And let a man, too, bear with his wife, and not be haughty or false; but let him be compassionate and upright, and cherish her alone in love and gentleness. And let him not take pleasure in or desire another woman, to lead her aside unto evil. And if thou hast committed adultery, and hast done thus, thou shalt die the death; and the judgement of God shall come upon thee, and thou shalt be condemned with a bitter condemnation. Moreover, if thou thinkest evil in thy heart, and hast not committed adultery with her, it shall be sin unto thee. And if thou preparest and adornest thyself that the wife of thy neighbour may love thee, thou hast sinned, and art become unto her a stumbling-block, and hast made her commit adultery. And for this cause shall judgement come upon thee; for God hath said. Desire not, and commit not adultery. But if thou hast drawn her aside by the beauty of thy youth and the fairness of thy face, that she should love thee, through this hast thou partaken with her in the work of sin and the curse. And for this cause it behoveth thee to pray to the Lord thy God that all this sin overtake thee not. But thou oughtest in purity to please the Lord, that thou mayest find rest and life everlasting in the presence of the Lord. For He saith. Make not the hair or thy head long, but cut it, and make thyself pure, that thou mayest be obedient unto the Lord, and not depart from Him. And do not thou anoint thyself with perfumed ointment, and put not on gay apparel, to draw women aside; and be not vain, nor become an occasion of sin, but follow after purity and doing good. Thou then, O man of God! make not the hair of thy head long, neither plait it nor curl it, for all these things are the arts of impurity and fornication. For it is written in the Book of Deuteronomy, saying, Put not on a garment that is woven with wool and with flax; and thou shalt make for thyself a spun fringe. Moreover, it is not lawful for us to shave our beard, nor to change the nature of man into another form. And if thou doest thus, thou art become cast out from the Law, and far from God, who created thee in His image and in His likeness. But, if thou desirest to please the Lord, do not that which is bad; and put far from thee evil, and all that thy God hateth. And be not a drunkard, and walk not in the streets with the adulterers, without wisdom and understanding; but be thou obedient, and hve by the work of thine hands, and seek to do every thing that is pleasing to God, and remember the word of our Lord Jesus Christ, and follow him at all times. For the Scripture speaketh of him who meditates in His Law day and night, whether on the way or in the house, and even when thou sleepest, love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength, that thou mayest find from Him mercy and compassion.

ETHIOPIC DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 1

That It Is The Duty Of The Rich To Search Into The Profit Ofthe Scriptures At All Times, (In The Strength Of) The Holy Spirit.

If then thou art rich, and needest not the art and labour of thy hands, with which to get thy bread and to live, be not slothful and sit not idle; but go to the faithful, and sit with them, with those that are united with thee in the faith; and talk of the word of life, and read that which is in the Scriptures, the Law, the Kings, and the Prophets; and sing a Psalm of praise, and listen to the word of the Gospel, which is the completion of the whole. And be far from all subjection to the gods of the Gentiles; and be not engaged in vain words which profit not; and seek not another law, nor false prophets, who change and corrupt the faith. What then is there that thou canst not find in the Law of the Lord, that thou shouldst seek after the learning of the Gentiles? If thou desirest to know the force of the interpretation of the Scriptures, search the Book of Kings: and if thou desirest to know the power of the wise and their doctrine, thou hast the Prophets, Job, and Solomon ; these are they who are filled with wisdom, and with them thou shalt find knowledge. These shall increase understanding more than all teachers; for their words are the voice of the Lord God, who alone is Most Wise. And if thou desirest a song, thou hast the Psalms of David. If again thou desirest to understand the creation of the world, and the generation of the ancient Fathers, thou hast the Books of Moses. And if thou desirest to know wisdom and doctrine, thou hast the Book of the Law, which is full of the glory of the Lord God. Keep far, then, from every evil work and doctrine of Satan, and every vain word which is not in the Law. But read what is in the Law of Ceremonies, that thou mayest understand and know certainly the glory of the Lord, who hath saved thee from the many snares of Satan. For the Saviour came not to destroy the Law and the Prophets, but to fulfil them, and to loose the bonds which are in the Law of Ceremonies and bring men into a spiritual doctrine. And for this cause he invites us, saying, " Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy-laden! and I will give you rest." And thou, when thou hast read the Law, and the Prophets, and the Kings, and the Gospel, shalt understand how many have been the good men who have reigned in righteousness and pleased the Lord in their lives, and for this cause have obtained life everlasting. And moreover thou shalt know the number of evil kings who have transgressed the commandment of the Lord, in their want of understanding. But these have perished, and come to an end by the stroke of the Lord's judgement, and have lost eternal life. Being then acquainted with these things, thou shalt abide in the right faith, and find grace and favour with Jesus Christ; for thou art become one of his members.

Thou moreover, when thou wilt bathe thyself, enter not into the bath where the women wash themselves, lest they see the beauty of thy youth and the fairness of thy flesh, and thou be a stumbling-block to them, and thyself also shouldst sin and fall into error with them. My children, let us hear and understand the voice of the holy man, who said, "Observe ye my commandment. Say unto Wisdom, Thou art my sister; and make Knowledge thy familiar friend, that she may keep thee from the strange and evil woman, though she bring unto thee enticing words. For she looketh out from the windows of her house into the streets; and if she seeth one of the foolish children, a young man void of understanding, who walketh in the corners of the paths of her house, and talketh at even in the darkness of night, when the quietness and darkness of night is come on, then the woman cometh upon him, having the ornaments of adultery, which she puts on to make the

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hearts of young men flutter. She is rambling and wanton, and her feet rest not in her house: at times she wanders about out of doors a little, and at times is in the streets and in every corner, and waits. Then she takes hold of him and kisses him, and with a shameless face says to him, "I have a peace-offering; to-day I pay my vows; therefore came I out to meet thee, desiring thy countenance, and have found thee. I have spread my bed with fine hnen, I have spread out carpets from Egypt; I have sprinkled my bed with saffron and my house with cinnamon. Come, let us enjoy ourselves with kisses till the morning, and wanton in love: for my husband is not in the house; he is gone on a far journey, taking his bag of gold in his hand, for many days ere he return into the house.' Thus she deceiveth him with many words, and draweth him in with the net of her lips ; and he foUoweth her, in the evil desire of his soul, and in the blindness of his heart."

And again he saith, " Look not on the evil woman; for honey floweth from the lips of the adulterous woman, which for a time is sweet to thy throat, but afterward thou shalt find that it is more bitter than gall, and sharper than a two-edged sword."

And again he saith, "Turn thy way far from her; draw not near to the door of her house; lest thou give thy life to strangers, and thy substance to them that are without mercy; lest strangers be satisfied with thy strength, and thy labour enter into the house of a stranger. Then shalt thou repent afterwards, when the flesh of thy body faileth, and say. How have I hated instruction, and mine ear hath turned away from reproof, and I have not heard the voice of them that rebuked me and instructed me, and have not caused mine ear to listen : almost

have I been in all evil." And now I say to you, choose for yourselves all good things, which are written in the Holy Scriptures, that we may not neglect this testimony, and turn away into a multitude of words, but may abide in the right faith, and in doing that which is good. And let us be far from every evil work, and clean from all impurity before the Lord, that we may obtain everlasting life.

ETHIOPIC DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 2

That It Is The Duty Of Women To Obey Their Husbands, And To Walk In Wisdom And Virtue.

Let the Woman be subject to her Husband; for the head of the woman is the man; and the head of the man, who walketh in the right way, is Christ; and the head of Christ is God the Father, who is above all, who was and is to come, the Creator of all things, together with his son Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom belong majesty and praise and glory. Ye women then be obedient to your husbands, and be subject in humility and in the fear of the Lord. And please your husbands with good service, that ye may find favour with them, as we have said before. For thus saith the wisdom of Solomon, "If any man have found a virtuous woman, she is more precious than a pearl of great price. She that is thus, the heart of her husband trusteth in her: she that is thus, is a good prize of spoil. She ceaseth not to help her husband with good in that which is good, and not evil in that which is evil, through all her life. Spinning wool and flax, she maketh what is good with her hands. She is as a ship which brings merchandise from afar; she gathereth together for herself all riches: she riseth up at night, and giveth food to her house, and their work to her maidens.

She seeth a field, and purchaseth it; with the finiit of her hands she planteth her possession. Strongly girding up her loins, she putteth forth her hands to work; she tasteth that labour is good, and her lights are not put out. She stretcheth forth her hands to that which is profitable, and strengtheneth her arm to spin; she stretcheth out her hands to the poor, and her hand is open to the needy. Her husband is not troubled about his house, if he tarrieth long any where. All her men are clothed with double cloaks: she maketh for her husband clothing of fine linen and purple; she maketh for herself garments. Her husband is looked upon in the gates, when he sitteth in the council with the elders of the land. She maketh fine Hnens, and selleth them, and girdles for the Canaanites. She openeth her mouth according to the law, and setteth a rule to her tongue: she is clothed with strength and beauty, and rejoiceth in the latter days. Many are they that enter into her house; she eateth not her bread in idleness. She openeth her mouth with wisdom, and according to the ordinances of the law of compassion. She bringeth up children, and they become rich; and her husband praiseth her. Many women have done virtuously; but thou excellest, and surpassest them all. Knowledge is deceitful, and beauty is despised; but the vnse woman shall be blessed, and she that feareth the Lord shall be praised. Give her of the fruit of her lips, and let her husband be praised in the gates," that women may learn wisdom: for the woman that loveth her husband shall find glory and blessing, and mercy from the Lord God. Take heed and understand, O woman that desirest to be faithful and to please the Lord, make no vain show, and deck not thyself out for another man. Put not on ornamented garments; and put not sandals on thy feet for vain glory, as the adulterous women do, to lead astray : but keep thyself from every evil work and adultery, that others may not be offended in thee. And be obedient to thy husband, and carry thyself well towards him. But if thou wilt walk about in the midst of the streets, to entrap the souls of many, then judgement shall come upon thee from the Lord, and thou shalt be as one without hope, as when a wicked man falls into great tribulation and brings upon his head disgrace and sorrow. Even so shall a wicked woman draw down upon her head reproach. And as a lion that lieth in wait and devoureth, so doth she entrap the foolish. As it is written, saying. As a moth to a garment and a canker to a tree, so doth sorrow waste away the heart of a man. And again it is said. It is better to dwell in a wilderness, than with a quarrelsome and babbling and angry woman. And now I say to you too, O Christian people, look not after and follow not adulterous women. But it is right for faithful women to veil their heads vdth purity, not ornamenting their faces with paints, and adding coUyrium and ornaments, which are unprofitable, to the form which God hath created: let them not do thus. But when they walk in the way, let them turn their faces downward, being veiled. Take heed to yourselves, O faithful women, and talk not contentiously with any one, and above all not with your husbands. O ye good and humble and virtuous women, worship the Lord with joy and rejoicing. And you also, our brethren, and our children and kinsmen, and well-beloved, search into that glorious wisdom which directeth our minds aright, and enlighteneth our hearts, and bringeth us near unto the Lord, and giveth us entrance into the kingdom of heaven, into everlasting rest.

ETHIOPIC DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 3

Concerning The Bishop, The Priest, And The Deacon.

Concerning Bishops, we have heard thus from our Lord Jesus Christ: The Shepherd of the sheep who is appointed a Bishop in all the churches, must be without spot, good and pure, one who thinks not on the cares of this world; who is not younger than fifty years of age, who has passed the strength of his youth; who speaks not that which is false among the brethren. For He saith in the Gospel, Every word that a man shall speak idly and without thought, by it shall he be condemned in the day of judgement. And again He saith. By thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned. Wherefore it behoveth him to be full of all things that are good; and if he be not learned, let him be discreet, and understanding, and of middle age. And if the city be small, and there be not found in it such a man fit for the Bishop's office, but of the younger men there be found one who understandeth and is wise, whose years are fewer, and to whom those who know him bear witness that he is worthy to be appointed Bishop; if he have lived from his youth in the works of the Holy Fathers, perfect and humble, walking in the right way, tried in every work, of whom they witness that he is perfect, let him be appointed in peace. For Solomon also, when he was but twelve years old, reigned over the people of Israel. And Ozias was made a ruler when he had attained seven years, and then in the eighth year he reigned in righteousness.

For the Lord God spake by the mouth of Isaiah the prophet, and said. To whom shall I look, but to him that is meek and lowly and quiet, that trembleth at my word? And again he saith in the Gospel, Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth. Let him then be merciful; for he saith. Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy. Let him be a peace-maker; for he saith. Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the sons of God. Let him be pure in heart, without malice and evil and unrighteousness; for he saith. Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. Let him be a spiritual man, ready to do good, without covetousness and without wrath; not a drunkard, not revengeful, without hatred and strife, not vain-glorious, nor a lover of gold, nor an evil-speaker. Neither let him be puffed up, lest he fall into the snare of the devil: for every one that exalteth himself shall be abased, and he that humbleth himself shall be made honourable.

Let such a man then be made a Bishop, a man that hath married one wife, a woman befitting him, who can govern his house as a good teacher and reprover, who hath brought up his children in purity. And let his wife be faithful, one who nurtureth her children in the true worship and in the fear of the Lord. It is right regarding a Bishop, that the men of his household should be obedient to him, with humility and fear; and let him also be a master: as it is written. Let them try him, that he be a man without spot: neither let him be an angry man, for thus saith Wisdom; An angry man destroyeth wisdom. But let him be merciful, and a giver of alms. For our Lord saith. And by this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another. Let him be, therefore, a lover of mankind, one who receiveth strangers, who accepteth not persons, a judge who favoureth neither the rich nor the poor, who is ready to serve others, whose hands are open to give, who receiveth widows, a lover of the poor, the fatherless, and the desolate. And, moreover, let him feed those who have children. But if there be a slothful man, who hath wasted his substance in drunkenness and fornication, and desireth that men should give him alms, let not the Bishop shew any care towards him, and let him not suffer him to enter the church. For the Scripture saith to those who do thus. How long wilt thou sleep, O sluggard! and when wilt thou awake from thy slumber? A little thou wilt sleep, and a little thou wilt sit still, a little thou wilt slumber, and a little thou wilt fold thy hand in thy bosom. And then poverty shall come upon thee like an evil messenger; and want, as a swift runner.

It is not good for a Bishop, when he judgeth, to accept the person of the rich, and to neglect the poor. For the Lord said unto Moses, When thou judgest, accept not the person of the rich, and turn not aside the judgement of the poor; for judgement belongeth unto the Lord. But it behoveth him to judge uprightly. Let the food of the Bishop be meat seasoned with moderation, that he may be able to teach and rebuke the multitude, and to turn them to the Lord. And let him be far from all evil, and read the Scriptures at all times, and be a lover of wisdom, that he may be able to interpret the Scriptures, through the Holy Spirit, both the word of the Gospel, the Law, and the Prophets. For our Lord said. Understand ye the voice of the Scriptures, for they are witnesses concerning me. It becomes a Bishop to think upon searching into and expounding the Scriptures, in order that he may satisfy the people with doctrine, and water them from the light of the Law of the Lord, with much admonition. As the Lord said. Light up upon you the light of wisdom, for it is time. Thus then it behoveth the Bishop to labour and toil and wrestle for righteousness' sake; and so much the more in the presence of the people, that they, seeing his works, may be ready to receive his teaching.

And, moreover, let him not become surety for any man, nor make friendship with the great, nor let him be of a double heart or of a double tongue; neither let him follow after princes, but let him fear the Lord: neither let him hear false accusation against his neighbour. And let him not neglect to fast, nor make pretexts for eating, and say. To-day is a feast, as the Gentiles do, to eat and to drink and to take their pleasure; but let him cast away from himself every idle desire, in which there is no profit; for all this is despised and hated in the sight of the Lord, and well-pleasing to the devils. It becomes the Bishop, therefore, to command and exhort the people, that they put away from themselves all these doings. But let him teach them, and turn them, that they may become like himself, and follow his way in uprightness. For the Lord said to the Children of Israel, Observe my Law, and my covenant, and my commandments. And Jesus Christ himself, our Lord and our God, first did all things, and then taught us to become hke himself; and therefore he saith, that he who shall teach and do, shall be great in the kingdom of heaven.

It is your office, O Bishops! to teach the people, and preserve them from error, according as Christ hath given you grace. For the Lord spake by the mouth of the Prophet Ezekiel, and said. Son of man, I have set thee as a watchman to the House of Israel; and thou shalt hear the word from my mouth, and shalt rebuke them with my word. When I say unto the sinner. Thou shalt surely die; and he hath not repented, and thou hast not told him, nor reproved him, that he may repent and turn from his way and live, that sinner shall die in his sin, but his blood will I require at thy hand. But if thou hast rebuked the sinner, and he hath not turned from his sin, he shall die in his iniquity, but thou hast saved thyself. And if the righteous man hath turned from his righteousness and committed iniquity, while I shew him judgement before his face, he shall surely die in his iniquity, neither will I remember his righteousness which he hath done; but his blood will I require at thy hand. But if thou reprove the righteous man, that he sin not, that righteous man shall surely live, and thou also hast saved thy soul. In Hke manner as when there ariseth a war and fighting in the midst of the people, and they search out a watchman, to give them word, that they may take heed to themselves; if he do not tell them before, that they may be saved from destruction, his blood shall be upon his head, for they heard not the voice of the trumpet. But if he see the sword coming against the land, and blow the trumpet for a sign to the armies, and any man hear the sound of the trumpet and get him not away, and the sword come and overtake him, his blood shall come upon his own head; for he heard the voice of the trumpet and gat him not away, and his blood shall be poured out upon him. But he that gat him away saved his life: so shall it be also with the Bishop, if he teach the word of everlasting life. For the sword is Judgement, and the voice of the trumpet is the Holy Gospel. And the watchmen are the Bishops of the Holy Church. The Bishop must feed the flock, and teach, and hold fast the word of Scripture, and make men fear because of judgement. And therefore let him rebuke them that walk without knowledge, and guide them plainly; let him teach them that know not, and confirm them that know. And let him gather in those that are lost, and speak to them at all times concerning their salvation, that when they hear these things they may receive instruction and do that which is good. For the Lord saith by the prophet. Testify against this people, and tell them their sins, if so be they will turn and repent and be saved from their transgression. And Moses moreover saith unto the people. Hear, O Israel! the Lord our God is one. And again it is said in the Gospel, He that hath ears to hear, let him hear! And Solomon also saith. Hear, my son, the

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instruction of thy father; and despise not the commandment of thy mother. Yet they have not heard, even unto this day; but have left the Lord, the only true God, and He hath called them a perverse and adulterous generation; of whom we have spoken before.

And now know ye, O beloved! who have been baptised into the death of our Lord Jesus Christ, that it becometh not you to transgress, who have received such grace as this. Understand, brethren; for they that, after having received baptism, turn back to the works of iniquity, go down into the condemnation of hell. And there are others, also, who have not been believers; but afterwards, when they have been baptised, they become blessed before the Lord; as our Lord said in the Gospel, Blessed are ye when men shall persecute you, and revile you, and speak all evil against you falsely, for my sake: rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. If there be any one against whom men have spoken falsely, he is blessed. For it is written, saying. Every man who is not tried, is not chosen before the Lord. If any man have departed from the Law, and men curse him, he hath brought the curse upon his own head. And so we also, if we obey not the commandments of the Lord, and do not His will, shall bring upon ourselves a curse, and moreover shall be driven far from the Lord. For those who do not what themselves teach, neither turn from following their own ways, such men the Bishop ought to reprove and put to shame. But he must teach them, in the love of Christ, how they ought to be obedient. The Bishop ought to seek after righteousness, and not honour transgressors, nor shew partiality in judgement, nor receive gifts from any one; for a gift blindeth the eyes of the wise: nor must he pervert the right cause. And, moreover, it is said in a certain place. Remove from yourselves all evil. And Solomon also saith. Go not to the place where they pitch their tents; come not thither; remove from them, and turn back. For they sleep not, unless they do evil; sleep is taken away from them, and they sleep not who devour iniquity. But if the Bishop hath not wisdom, but walketh in deceit and vileness, doing as Saul did to Agag, and as Eli the priest, who reproved not his sons when they departed from the commandment of the Lord—and behold how he lost his honour, and, moreover, the holy tabernacle of his city!—then doth he commit iniquity in the sight of the Lord, and becometh a stumbling-block and cause of offence to many, both to the new converts, to those who are receiving baptism, and moreover to the young believers, to men and women alike. And if the Bishop teach not, nor reprove, and walk not in the right way, but depart from the commandments of the Lord, for this cause he shall receive excommunication, and the judgement of the Lord shall come upon him; for he hath perverted the way of the people, in like manner as the people erred in the days of Jeroboam, and as those who were destroyed with Korah. But if any man offend against the Bishop and against those who are ordained, while there is no offence in them, and they are guiltless, he is not worthy to enter into the Church of the Lord, for he hath been without shame, and hath walked in folly, and after the lust of his own mind. Therefore shall that come upon him which came upon those who mocked at Noah; and as Achan, who received the curse upon himself; or as Gehazi, who took the substance of Naaman the Syrian. Behold then, the shepherd of the sheep must teach and reprove in humiUty and in the fear of the Lord, and turn them to repentance; inquiring into the Ufe of each one, that he may regulate their manner of hving as it is fit, in peace; that the people may lead good lives, and turn from their sins. This is that which is acceptable in the sight of the Lord: for when a man turneth away from his sin, and returneth to repentance, then others, seeing him, are taught the true service of God. Therefore ought the Bishop to be watchful to do good, that his good conversation may be known to all; for he is the guide of the people, and the shepherd of the chiefs and rulers and teachers, and of all those who are under him. It becomes the Bishop, therefore, that he should sit in the church with the priests, and that they should give judgement for every man, as it is fitting; for to them the Lord hath given power, and commanded them, saying. Whatsoever ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.

It becomes the Bishop to turn the people to the knowledge of the Lord, and to receive the repentance of those who turn to the Lord, to teach and comfort them in humility and love and lowliness and joy of heart; for the Lord God himself is merciful. For He saith by the Prophet Ezekiel, As I live, saith the Lord God, I desire not the death of a sinner, but that he should repent, and turn from his evil way: why will ye die in your sins, O House of Israel? Thou, son of man, say unto the children of thy people. The righteousness of the righteous shall not save him when he transgresseth, neither shall the wickedness of the sinner afflict him when he repenteth from his transgression; nor shall the righteous man be saved when he sinueth. And when I speak to the righteous man, if he trust in his righteousness and commit sin, all his righteousness that he hath done I will not remember unto him: in his sin that he hath committed shall he die. And if I say unto the sinner, thou shalt surely die, and he repent of his sin, and do that which is just and right, and return the pledge of his debt, and restore that which he hath taken by violence, and walk in the way of life, and commit not sin, he shall surely live, and not die in his sin that he hath sinned, neither will I remember unto him his transgression: for he hath done that which is just and right, and in it shall he live. And therefore is there hope for sinners, when they turn from their sins and repent, that they shall find a good hope; and they shall inherit the earth. And let them that have not transgressed take heed that they fall not into condemnation, and affliction, and sorrow, and weeping. Know and understand, O man, if thou hast transgressed in this world and hast committed sin, and hast not repented, thou shalt surely die, and hast not Ufe. Repent, therefore, while thou art alive; for David saith. There is none that remembereth thee in death; and in the grave who trusteth in thee? For after men are dead, there is no repentance. It is right therefore, brethren, that we should stand ready in doing good, and should walk in the right way, in which there is no sorrow. Let us hear, then, and understand that which he saith. Direct my way and my goings, according to Thy word: and let us not fall behind in any good work, but observe the holy word that is written in the Gospel concerning the five wise virgins, neither let us be as the five foolish virgins, with whom the oil of good works was spent, and they were cast out firom the heavenly marriage. Therefore ought we to keep ourselves, and be diligently watchful over ourselves, and observe the time of the bridegroom, that we fall not into sin; but he that doeth righteousness, let him take heed to do it unto the end.

It behoveth the Bishop, therefore, to understand, and to judge with righteousness; for judgement is the Lord's. Let him rebuke sinners that they walk in the right way; and when they turn, let him receive their repentance with compassion and mercy. Remember what our Lord saith. There is great joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth. But if thou receivest not them that repent, but rejectest them, thou hast dispersed thy flock, and hast not understood what David saith. Give not up unto the fierce beasts the soul that confesseth unto thee. For thus hath the Lord said, That which falleth, shall it not arise? and that which hath erred, shall it not be brought back? Wherefore have the people rebelled with an evil rebellion, and confirmed their purpose, and refused to leave it? Hearken now, and hear, say they not thus? Is there not a man that repenteth of his evil, and saith. What have I done? Turn, O ye children that are gone afar off, and I will heal your wound. Receive them that repent, O Bishop! and be not of a double heart, neither harden thy heart as those that have no pity. For he that doeth thus feareth not the Lord; but let him rather consider to direct the concerns of the people, as it is fitting. Let us keep ourselves therefore; and have thou no communion with sinners and wicked men, who do thus. The righteousness of the righteous shall be for himself; and he that doeth sin after this manner without law, his transgression shall come upon his own head. For He saith by the Prophet Ezekiel, If a land sin against me and err and transgress, and I lift up my hand against it and cut off the strength of its bread, and send against it famine, and destroy from it man and beast, though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in the midst of it, they (only) shall be saved in their righteousness, saith the Lord God. And if I send evil beasts against and upon that land and punish it, and destroy it, and there be left none that moveth before those beasts, though these three men were in the midst of it, as I live, saith the Lord God, they shall save neither their sons, nor their little ones, nor their daughters; but they only themselves shall be saved, and that land shall be destroyed. As it is written, if there be in this world a righteous man and a sinner, the righteous shall not perish with the sinner. But He causeth his rain to fall upon the good and the evil. And if there be any one that thinketh and saith otherwise, yet is judgement equal towards all; for in battle also there is a strong man, and there is another stronger than he; and he that conquereth receiveth his crown of victory openly. For the Lord condemneth not the righteous man with the sinner. Noah was not drowned in the water of the flood; and Lot was not burnt in the fire; and Rahab the harlot perished not. And if ye will know that which hath happened among us: Judas Iscariot, though he was united with us in the same ministry, perished; and Simon the sorcerer also received the seal of the Lord; yet inasmuch as these two were evil, their wickedness was made known openly. Judas strangled himself; and Simon, flying up into the air, fell upon the earth. And while Noah was in the ark with his sons. Ham, by his wickedness, brought a curse upon his children. And, therefore, he hath taught us that the fathers are not recompensed for the sin of their children, nor the children for the sin of their fathers. And this thing is manifest, that women are not condemned for their husbands, nor young men for their wives; nor servants for their masters, nor masters for their servants; nor relations for their relations, nor friends for their friends ; nor the just for sinners, but every one shall be recompensed according to his doings. For Noah also perished not in the sin of the people, nor was Lot burnt in the fire of Sodom, nor did Rahab perish in the sin of Jericho, nor the Children of Israel on account of the Egyptians. We must not, therefore, follow the way and the works of the violent and unjust and deceitful, and adulterers and murderers, who make pretexts for evil, men full of hatred, who are ready for violence and death; for every man shall be recompensed according to his deeds; as David saith. For thou wilt recompense to every man according to his works. And therefore it is right that we should help the afflicted, and visit the sick, and convert sinners, who have been wounded by their sinful deeds. Let us teach them, and instruct them with the voice of reproof, that they may be saved from the death of sin. For the whole need not a physician, but they that are sick: for our Father who is in heaven willeth not that one of these little ones should perish. O Brethren! let us not hear the voice of the foolish, and of them whose hearts are darkened; but let us perform the will of God the Father, the Creator of the whole world by our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever! Amen.

The Bishop ought not to hear the word of accusation from the evil man who speaketh falsely against his neighbour. But do thou put thy trust in the Lord, and direct the people as is right. And let not the son exalt himself against his father, nor the servant against his master, nor the disciple against his teacher, nor the officer of the Court against the King, nor the layman against the Bishop.

For a teacher must not have communion with the wicked; for the sinner desireth not the voice of reproof. Ezekiel the Prophet saith. As I live, saith the Lord God, they shall not again speak this proverb in Israel: for the soul of every man is mine. As the soul of the father, so the soul of his children, and so the soul of every man is mine; and the soul that sinneth, it shall die. But the man that doeth that which is just and right, and hath not eaten upon the mountains, nor lifted up his eyes to the imagination of the House of Israel, nor hath defiled his neighbour's wife, nor come near to a woman in her uncleanness, nor hath done violence to his neighbour; and hath returned the pledge of his debt, and hath not taken by violence, nor oppressed, and hath given of his substance to the poor, and clothing from his garments to the naked, and hath not lent his money upon usury, nor hath taken unjustly, but hath turned his hand from violence and sin, and hath done judgement and righteousness and justice between a man and his neighbour, and hath walked in my commandments and kept my law, and done righteousness, he shall surely live, saith the Lord God. But if he beget a son who is a sinner and a murderer and doeth violence, and hath not walked in the way of his righteous father, hath eaten upon the mountains and hath defiled his neighbour's wife, hath oppressed the poor and needy and hath committed violence and injustice, hath not restored the pledge of his debt, hath turned his eyes towards idols, and hath done iniquity, hath lent his money upon usury, and oppressed, and taken that which was stolen, he that doeth thus shall not live: in all his sin that he hath done he shall surely die, and his blood shall come upon his own head, if he repent not and turn. But if he beget a son, who seeth all the sin of his father that he doeth, and feareth and doeth not likewise, but ceaseth from it, and hath not eaten upon the mountains, nor lifted up his eyes to the imagination of the House of Israel, neither hath defiled his neighbour's wife, nor committed violence against any man ; and hath returned the pledge of his debt, and turned his eyes from evil, neither hath oppressed nor taken violently, and hath given of his substance to the hungry to eat, and hath clothed the naked with his garments, and hath turned his hands from violence, and hath taken no usury, nor the substance of another wrongfully, but hath done righteousness and walked in my commandments, he shall not die for the sin of his father; he shall surely live: but his father, because he committed violence and wrong, and plundered and oppressed, and did that which ought not to be done in the midst of my people, he shall die in his transgression. Yet ye say. How is it that the son is recompensed for the sin of his father? But if the son be righteous, and shew mercy, and keep all my Law, he shall surely live; and the soul that sinneth, it shall die. For the son shall not be recompensed for the sin of his father: the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the sin of the sinner shall be upon him. And if the sinner turn from all the sin that he hath done, and keep all my Law and Commandments, and do righteousness and shew mercy, he shall surely live, he shall not die: all his sin that he hath done will I not remember unto him, but in his righteousness that he hath done shall he live. Do I at all desire that the sinner should die, saith the Lord, and not rather that he should turn from his way and live? But if the righteous man turn from his righteousness and commit sin, in his transgression that he hath committed shall he die; and all his righteousness that he hath done I will not remember unto him, but in his sin that he hath sinned, in it shall he die. Yet ye say, It is not just. When the righteous man turneth away from his righteousness and committeth iniquity, in his transgression that he hath done he shall die. And if the sinner turn from his sin that he hath committed, and do that which is just and right, he that doeth thus hath saved his soul: he hath seen and turned from all his sin that he hath done; he shall surely live; he shall not die. Yet the House of Israel say. The way of the Lord is not just. Are not my ways just, O House of Israel? Are not your ways unjust, O House of Israel? Therefore will I judge you all according to

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your ways, O House of Israel! saith the Lord God. Turn ye, and repent you of your sins, and let not the punishment of your sin come upon you. Cast away from off you all your transgression in which ye have sinned against me, saith the Lord, and make you a new heart and a new spirit: why will ye die in your sins, O House of Israel? For I desire not that ye should die, saith the Lord God; but that ye should repent and live, saith the Lord God. Turn ye, and repent you of your evil, that ye may live.

ETHIOPIC DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 4

Concerning The Duty Of Bishops To Receive The Repentance Of Those Who Turn, In Love And Meekness.

See then, beloved brethren, the greatness of the mercy of the Lord God; who is good and just, and loveth mankind; merciful and compassionate to those who turn unto repentance. For He delighteth not in hardness and deceitfiilness of heart, without compassion; but willeth that a man should turn sinners, and receive again those who have transgressed, into the true religion, that they may be able to return unto repentance. And if Bishops teach not and do not thus, the Lord shall require at their hands the sin of the people; as the Prophet Isaiah saith: Exhort my people, saith the Lord; and ye priests, speak unto Jerusalem, unto her heart. It becometh the Bishop to examine into the Ufe of the people; and if there be any man that hath sinned, let them turn him unto repentance, that they may obtain for themselves a good reward. But if they do not teach, nor turn the people unto godliness, they shall obtain condemnation. And now, then, let us receive with joy and love the repentance of those that turn unto the Lord: and upon those who have sinned let us pass sentence with mercy and compassion, as is meet toward the penitent. And if thou see a man who committeth sin, and is slipping into error, raise him up from his fall; but if thou make his way pleasant to him, behold, thou hast killed thy brother. But it becometh thee to raise up him that slippeth from his fall, that he perish not, and that others seeing it may be instructed and understand, and receive the word of reproof.

The Bishop must not delay with respect to the sin of the people, nor neglect the desire of those who seek for repentance, lest the flock of Christ perish through his slothfulness. For concerning them hath the Lord spoken, by the mouth of Jeremiah the prophet, saying. Many shepherds have destroyed my vineyard and polluted my portion; and have made my portion, which I love, a desolation, and it is become a ruin and destruction: through me all the land is destroyed, through me it hath perished. And thou, when thou seest a man who sinneth, command the deacons to take him away, and put him forth without, and instruct him, and reprove him, that others, seeing him, may fear. But if he turn and repent, let them ask and entreat for him with the Bishop, that he may teach and instruct him: for the Saviour prayed to His Father for sinners; as it is written in the Gospel, Father, forgive them this, and lay not this sin to their charge; for they know not what they do. And then let them examine him that hath sinned, whether he leaveth his evil way: and if he confess his sins and turn unto repentance, let them bring him in, and give him power to enter the Church; and let them command him to fast, according to the sin that he hath done, two weeks, or three weeks, or five weeks, or seven. It is right to teach the sinner and instruct him, and reprove him, without anger or partiality, that he may humble himself, and pray unto the Lord, that he may find mercy and compassion when he standeth before the Lord. For he saith. If Thou, O Lord, shouldst strictly observe sin, O Lord, who should stand before Thee! for forgiveness is from Thee, and mercy is in Thine hand. Thus then do, and make a difference. For the Lord said to Cain, Thou hast sinned: be silent therefore, and lift not up thy hand. But it is right that the sinner should sorrow and grieve, and abhor himself. Let us understand the word which the Lord spake to Moses, concerning Miriam: If her father had spit in her face, should she not be ashamed seven days? Let her remove without from the camp seven days, and then let her enter in. And Miriam removed without from the camp seven days. And the people moved not forward, until Miriam was cleansed. And after this the people moved. Let us speak thus, therefore, unto those who desire to repent for their sins. Let us appoint unto them a set time of days, according to their sin, in which they may repent; and when they have repented, let us receive them, as fathers have compassion upon their children.

But if Bishops, and other ordained persons, have a stain or spot upon them, and are brought to shame on account of it, and judge not what is right for the poor and the orphan and the widow, but judge with partiality, that they may get lucre and gifts, these shall perish with the hypocrites. As it is written in the Gospel, saying. Why dost thou regard the mote that is in thy neighbour's eye, and seest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Let the Bishops, therefore, and Priests, take heed that there be not found with them deeds of this sort, lest others be offended, seeing these evil doings. For the wicked seek occasion to destroy others, and to scatter the flock. And a httle leaven leaveneth much meal. Thus sin foUoweth after those who commit it, and goeth on to destroy many more. As when a thief is found in the treasure-house, and bringeth an evil name upon his whole family through his evil deeds; and as when the stinking flesh of the dead is put into ointment, its whole savour is corrupted; and as when a king is violent and cruel without justice, so are also his rulers. And as when a scabbed sheep feedeth in the midst of the sheep, they all become scabbed if it be not separated from them; and as a mad dog that biteth every one that he findeth, if they kill him not, those whom he biteth become mad together with him; so if there be a scorner, and mocker, and contentious man, and transgressor of the commandments of the law, let them put him forth from the Church, lest he corrupt the House of the Lord, and make it a den of thieves. We must not be silent concerning sinners and wicked men ; but must reprove them, that they may leave their evil doings, and put away from themselves corrupt practices. But let us exhort them to fast and pray and give alms, that they may be taught to fear the Lord. For the Lord said unto the Children of Israel, Fear ye me, and keep my commandments. The Bishop should have anxious care concerning the sin of the people, and consider the life of each of them, that he may become to them a guide of salvation into vporks of righteousness; that so they may be prepared for the Lord, that they may be saved from the condemnation that shall overtake sinners in the day of judgement. And let those who are negligent hear what He saith: Wherefore have ye been silent concerning the transgressors, and have gathered their fruits?

The Bishop must feed the people in peace. Those who have not sinned, let him not leave to fall; and those who have sinned, let him turn unto repentance. Hear what the Lord saith unto you, O Bishops, Offend ye not one of these little ones. But it is right that they should pardon and forgive him that hath sinned. And if the sinner confess his sin, and cry unto the Lord from the bottom of his heart, in weeping and groaning, with humility, the Holy Spirit will answer him, saying. The Lord hath pardoned thee all thy sin. Understand then, O Bishop, how much glory and honour the Lord hath bestowed upon thee, who hath given thee power to bind and to loose. Take heed to thyself, and keep the flock of Christ, and walk in the right way, while thou Uvest in this world: for it shall be required of thee in the day of judgement. For to whom men have committed much, of him will they require much: and there is no man that liveth even one day without sin, but one, who became man for our sakes, even the Lord, the Word. And for this cause the deeds and the lives of the just men who have kept themselves have been committed to writing. For he saith: My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me; and I give unto them life everlasting. He answered and said unto the people: Lo, I judge between sheep and sheep. Know, then, that ye are fed in the good pasture. And that which was left of the pasture ye have trodden under your feet, and my sheep have eaten it. And again he saith: Now shall ye know that I am the Lord. And ye my sheep, are the sheep of my pasture; and I the Lord am your God, saith the Lord. Hear, O ye Bishops, and hear, O people, what the Lord saith. Behold, I will judge between the flock and the goats. And moreover He saith, I will judge the shepherds of the sheep, that have destroyed my sheep by their slothfulness. And again He saith, I will judge between the Bishop and his fellow, between people and people, between ruler and rulers; for my sheep are reasonable creatures, and not without reason. And for this cause let not the people say, We are sheep, and not shepherds, what is this to us? As the sheep that follows the good shepherd of the sheep, that he may save it from the ravening wolf that destroys, is safe, so he that followeth a foolish and wicked shepherd of the sheep, the wolf shall swallow him up before his face. And therefore we must keep far from evil and destructive shepherds, who spare not, nor save their flocks. For the people love a good shepherd, and fear him, as a father, and a lord, and a priest, and a chief of the priests of the Lord ; for he reproveth them, and guideth them unto godliness. For he that obeyeth him, obeyeth Christ; and he that heareth his voice, heareth the voice of Christ. And he that obeyeth Christ, obeyeth God the Father. And moreover he saith. He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that refuseth you, refuseth me; and he that refuseth me, refuseth Him that sent me. And thus it becomes the Bishop to love the people as his children, for they are his sons; and let him nourish them with love and instruction, as a bird which broodeth over her eggs, and cherisheth her young ones until they fly. So let him teach the people the word of the Lord; and feed them with spiritual doctrine, and give their desire unto all who wish to receive of him. And let him not be harsh upon them; but reprove them by the word of wisdom, and put them in fear, that they turn not unto sin; but let him rather exhort them to walk in the right way and keep the faith, and let him feed the people in peace. And moreover let him raise the fallen, and strengthen the weak, and gather in the scattered, and heal the wounded, and comfort the faint-hearted, and set right the lame in heart, that they maybe strengthened by the word of instruction; and let him lighten the heavy burden of their sin, that they may attain unto good hope. And as to them, let them receive instruction in the law of the Church, and turn to repentance: and if a man be cast out through not understanding the word of the Scriptures, despise him not, neither leave him to fall into sin; but help him, and heal him from the wound of sin, and turn him unto thee, and bring him again into the flock of the Church. But he who refuseth to return, shall be cast out from the flock, and become food for the beasts of the field : and his portion shall be with those who say. Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die; who consider not their latter end. And if the Bishop see any man who doeth thus, he should say to him, I will bear thy sins for thee, and die in thy stead, as Christ died for the sin of the world. And then let him toil and labour with him, until he return unto repentance. For the good shepherd giveth his life a ransom for the sheep; but the hireUng, who is not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the sheep, and the wolf teareth them and scattereth them; for he is an hirehng, he careth not for the sheep. We ought to know that the Lord is merciful, and desireth not the death of a sinner, but his conversion and returning to repentance. And if a man transgress, understanding not the commandments that the Lord hath set forth for repentance, but walk in the deceit of his heart, and remember not his sin and his evil that he hath done, understanding not the word of Holy Scripture which proclaimeth mercy to him, that man shall perish and be without hope. But do thou search out the good shepherd, and the humble and patient teacher and reprover, and the merciful, and peace-maker, that goeth round about and feedeth his sheep and seeketh that which is lost, like the Lord our God. For our Father which is in heaven sent his beloved Son, our Saviour, the Good Shepherd, our Teacher, Jesus Christ, who left the ninety and nine in the wilderness, and went to seek the one sheep that was lost: and when he had found it, he laid it upon his shoulder, and brought it into the flock with joy; for He had found that which was lost. Hear this, O Bishop! guide them that have erred, and gather in again them that are scattered, and search out them that are lost; for thou hast power for the turning of men to bind and to loosen. So the Lord said to the paralytic, I have forgiven thee thy sin; thy faith hath saved thee ; go in peace. Now the peace which we have received is the Church of Christ, into which thou shouldst bring back those that have repented of their sins, who have repented and done that which is right and good, and have found the hope of hfe. The Bishop ought to heal the afflicted, who are sick through the deeds of sin; to visit them, and comfort them, and heal their wounds. For the whole need not a physician, but they that are sick; for the Son of Man came to seek and to succour that which was lost. Inasmuch as thou art a physician in the Church of the Lord, give to every one healing according as it is fit, and feed them with spiritual food, that they may stand fast in the Holy Church. Feed the flock of Christ with humility and love, and reproof, without anger; not puffed up with the power of thy office, for thou art the shepherd of the sheep of the flock of Christ. And gather thou the lambs into thy bosom; and be good and merciful and just, without deceit, or revenge, or jealousy, or accusings, or calumny, or hatred, or partiality, or blasphemy, or pride, or vain-glory. Despise not the people that are under thee, and hide not from them the commandments of the Lord; neither turn thyself away from their repentance, nor bring pretexts against them, to drive them out from the church of the Lord.

Be of good understanding, therefore, in judgement; and receive not the witness of one against any man, but only the witness of three men, good and true, concerning whom others witness that they are good and true, who have no hatred or revenge or jealousy. For there are many that speak falsely, that have two tongues or three, who rejoice in evil deeds, haters of their brethren, who desire to scatter the flock of Christ. And if thou hast heard their voice, and believed those who do thus, behold thou hast scattered thy flock without judgement, and hast delivered them to evil and ravening wolves, which are wicked men. Or rather, they are not men, but beasts in the likeness of men, transgressors and heretics and unbelievers, who know not the Lord. These are they that lie in wait by the way; like a devouring wolf, they tear them that depart from the law of the Church; and when they see one that is gone out of the way, they think they have found for themselves great gain. For their father the devil is a murderer; and they that are separated from the Church, and depart from the law, the devils shall be their shepherds, and shall afiiict them with torment and distress and sorrow of heart. And they shall follow the way of the transgressors, and shall lose their hope, and depart farther and farther from the Lord; and the Bishop too, if he judge not according to right, his portion shall be with them.

It is not right, therefore, to reject the sinner, nor to despise him that turneth; neither be thou wanting in mercy, that thou mayest heal the wound of sin and have no communion with the bloody man. For concerning such the Scripture saith. Their feet are swift to shed blood, shame and destruction are in their ways, they know not the way of peace, and there is no fear of God before their eyes. But the way of peace is our Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath taught us, saying. Forgive, that he may forgive you; give, that he may give unto you: that is to say. Forgive men their trespasses, that your Heavenly Father may forgive you your trespasses. And, moreover, he hath taught us in his prayer, saying, But ye, when ye pray, say

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thus: Our Father which art in heaven. Hallowed be thy name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done, as in heaven, so also upon earth: Give us this day our daily bread; Forgive us our trespasses and sins, as we also forgive him that hath trespassed against us. And if, then, ye cannot forgive the trespass of your neighbour, how shall ye find forgiveness of your trespasses? But if there be any one that hath been driven forth without transgression, and then returning asketh pardon, and the Bishop receiveth him not, such an one is the murderer of his brother and a shedder of blood; like Cain, who shed the blood of Abel his brother; and his blood cried unto the Lord. And if any Bishop expel a man without transgression, he is become, like Cain, a murderer.

ETHIOPIC DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 5

That It Is Not Lawful For Us To Enforce Discipline Against Any Man, Unless Testimony Be Established Against Him, That He Hath Sinned.

For he that casteth out a man who hath not transgressed, is worse than a murderer. Neither perceiveth he the mercy of God; for he remembereth not the commandments of Christ, how he said. There is joy in heaven on account of one sinner that repenteth. And he that doeth thus shall not attain to the salvation of his soul: for he erreth, and falleth into great sin ; seeing that he reproveth not, nor converteth those who commit many sins, but scattereth the flock of Christ; nay, even fighteth against it. For just is the Lord, and just is the judgement that he judgeth unto all, to the righteous man and to the sinner: he is merciful unto all them that turn unto him in righteousness and mercy and humility, in the love of God. It becometh the Bishop, therefore, to judge rightly, and to follow Christ, and do his will; even as the Lord judgeth the sinners that turn unto him. Dost thou not remember David, when he sinned, and Nathan said unto him. Wherefore hast thou done thus? and he said, I have sinned, and I repent thereof: when he confessed his transgression, he was saved from death; and Nathan said unto him. Be of good courage, and doubt not; thou shalt not die. And the prophet Jonas also, when he would not preach to the men of Nineveh, was cast into the sea, and the whale swallowed him up, yet afterwards he came forth from the belly of the whale, and was saved from death. And Hezekiah also, although, when he lifted up his heart, chastisement came upon him, yet, when he humbled himself, and departed from the exaltation of his heart, and wept before the Lord, then He had mercy upon him. Hear, O ye Bishops, that which is profitable in this matter: for it is written in the Fourth Book of Kings, And Manasseh his son reigned in his stead; twelve years old was Manasseh when he began to reign, and fifty and five years reigned he over Israel in Jerusalem; and his mother's name was Haphsaba ; and he did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord. Moreover, it is written in the Second Book of Chronicles, saying. And he did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, above all the abominations of the Gentiles whom the Lord rooted out before the Children of Israel. And he turned and built on the high places the altars which Hezekiah his father had pulled down, and raised pillars to Baalim, and made groves, and worshipped all the host of heaven and served them, and built an altar in the House of the Lord at Jerusalem, of which He had said. My name shall be there for ever. And he built an altar to all the stars of heaven in the two courts of the House of the Lord ; and himself made his son to serve in the fire, in the land of Benonim, and he used signs, and made himself like an ass, and used magic, and set up diviners and soothsayers, and wrought much evil in the sight of the Lord, to sin against him; and he set up the graven image and the molten image which he had made, in the House of the Lord; of which the Lord had said to David and to Solomon his son. In this House, and in Jerusalem, which I have chosen out of all the tribes of Israel, will I set my name for ever. And I will no more move the foot of Israel out of the land which I gave unto their fathers: only let them observe all that I have commanded them in my Law and my covenant and my judgements, by the hand of Moses. And Manasseh corrupted Judah, and them that dwelt in Jerusalem, to do evil above all the nations that the Lord had removed from before the face of the Children of Israel: and the Lord spake against Manasseh and against his people, but they hearkened not unto him. And the Lord sent against them the captains of the host of the king of Assyria; and they took Manasseh in bonds, and bound him in fetters, and led him away to Babylon. And when he was afflicted, he sought the face of the Lord his God, and humbled himself greatly before the face of the God of his fathers. And Manasseh the son of king Hezekiah prayed, and said thus: O Lord, Ruler of the whole world, God of our fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of all their offspring that are righteous, who didst make heaven and earth with all the host of them, who didst rebuke the sea with the voice of thy commandment, who didst shut up the depths and seal them up fearfully, and that by thy glorious name; whom every thing feareth with trembling, quaking before the face of thy power, for there is no end of the greatness of thy glory; fearful is the chastisement of thy wrath against sinners, but there is no number nor measure of the mercy of thy commandments, for thou alone art the Lord Most High. Thou art merciful, slow to anger, and of great compassion, and repentest thee toward the sins of men. And now, O Lord God of the righteous! for it is not for the righteous man that thou hast appointed repentance; not for Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, who sinned not against thee; but turn thyself at the repentance of me a sinner, for my transgressions are more in number than the sand of the sea, and my sins are many! Neither am I worthy to look upward, and to behold the height of heaven, for the multitude of my transgressions. I have laboured in fetters of iron, that I might obtain for myself rest from sin; and by this also I have not been refreshed: for I have stirred up thine anger, and have done evil before thee, while I observed vanities, and multiplied that which profited me not. And now I bow upon the knees of my heart, beseeching thy mercy. I have sinned, O Lord, I have sinned; and I confess my sin. I entreat and beseech thee, have mercy upon me, O Lord, have mercy upon me, and deliver me not up to my sin! And remember not my transgression against me for ever, neither take vengeance upon me in the depths of the earth! For thou, O Lord, art the God of them that repent, and thy goodness shall be shewed upon me; inasmuch as when there was no worthiness in me, thou didst save me in the multitude of thy mercy. I will praise thee at all times, and all the days of my life; for all the host of heaven praise thee; and unto thee be glory for ever. Amen.

And when the Lord saw that Manasseh repented of the evil of his doings that he had done in his foolishness, the Lord pardoned him, and heard his prayer, and answered the voice of his petition. And immediately a flame of fire shone round about him, and the bonds of his iron fetters were loosened. And afterward the Lord saved Manasseh from all his affliction, and brought him back to Jerusalem, into his kingdom. And Manasseh knew that the Lord was his God; and he served the Lord with all his heart, and with all his soul, all the days of his life; and he was numbered with the righteous. And afterward he put away the strange gods out of the House of the Lord, which were made with the hands of man. And he raised the wall very much, and appointed chiefs of the forces in all the provinces over the walls of Judah. And all the altars that he had built in the mountain of the House of the Lord, and in Jerusalem, he cast out of the city; and set up the altar of the Lord, and sacrificed sacrifices upon the altar of the Lord, and offered praise. And Manasseh spake vmto Judah, to serve the Lord God of Israel. And Manasseh slept with his fathers in peace, and Amon his son reigned in his stead. And he did evil in the sight of the Lord, as Manasseh his father did, and he provoked the Lord God to anger.

Behold then, ye have heard, O our children! how he served and sacrificed unto idols, and slew many without law; and the Lord God afflicted him for a little space. But when he repented, he forgave him his sin, and brought him back into his kingdom; for the Lord receiveth the repentance of them that turn unto him, even so that he bringeth them back into their former honour. For there is no greater sin than the worshipping of idols; for that is rebellion against the Lord; yet men are saved from it by true repentance. But if any man transgress and commit sin, and say in his heart. What will the Lord do unto me for this ? such an one is rebellious before the Lord. For he doth not first try and examine himself, but walketh in his own will, and doeth the desire of his soul, and saith. This is good. He that doeth thus, and repenteth not, hath not forgiveness before the Lord. Now thus did Amon the son of Manasseh. For the Holy Scripture saith. And Amon conceived rebellion in his heart, and did evil before the Lord, as Manasseh his father did. And he multiplied proud words, and said. My father did much sin in his youth; but when he grew old he turned and repented. And I also will do likewise, and will walk in my own will, and follow the desire of my soul; and when I am old, I will turn and repent before the Lord. Then Amon did evil before the Lord, and did evil exceedingly, above them that were before him. Then the Lord brought judgement upon him, and destroyed him from off the good land, and his servants set upon him and slew him in his house; and the people of the land slew those that had set upon King Amon. And he reigned two years.

Understand therefore, O ye people! and think not to do evil as Amon did, lest ye perish. And in like manner let the Bishop feed and convert the people, and teach and instruct them, and reprove them that have sinned, and heal them from their infirmities, and receive their repentance, as far as he can. But if he be without compassion, and receive not the repentance of sinners that turn unto the Lord, such an one is not worthy of esteem and honour, and shall be condemned before the Lord his God. But if he receive the repentance of them that turn unto the Lord, he shall find compassion and mercy with the Lord God, who sent his only Son into the world; who was pleased to be born of a woman, and became man for our sakes, and endured suffering upon the cross, his side being pierced unto death; who being God the Word, the Angel of the great and fearful counsel, took upon him our sicknesses and bare our sorrows, and by his wounds our wounds are healed: so let us also endure sorrow and affliction, and let us receive the repentance of those who have sinned.

See now the mercy of the Lord toward Matthew, who was a publican; but when he turned unto Him, he made him an Evangelist. And Peter too, who denied him three times through fear, when he repented and wept bitterly. He received his repentance, and made him a shepherd of his sheep. And Paul our brother, who was before a persecutor, who blasphemed against the Holy Ghost, when he turned unto him. He made him an apostle. Unto the woman who was a sinner, who gave of her substance unto many, he said. Thy sins are forgiven thee. The other also, the adulteress, whom the priests placed before him, that they might try Jesus, He saved, and said unto her. Go, and henceforth sin not again.

It is right that ye, O Bishops, should put your trust and hope in the Lord, our Lord and our Saviour, our God, and our King, even Jesus Christ, the Saviour of your souls. Draw near unto him in humility and gentleness; make peace without contention and anger; convert the sinners, raise the fallen; and return not evil for evil. And, moreover, be not railers, nor angry, nor blasphemous, nor boasters, nor acceptors of persons, nor drinkers of much wine or strong drink; nor dancers; nor thieves, nor murderers; nor receivers of bribes; neither seek glory from strange gods, but keep far from them ; for ye have been called to this work, that ye should serve the Lord. Thus let the life of the Bishop be, let his garments and his food be in moderation and purity, as much as is sufficient for him, that he transgress not after any other law. For he that laboureth is worthy of his meat, even the tithes and first-fruits which they bring into the Church, according to the commandment of the Lord. The Bishop ought to give unto the afflicted, and the poor, and the widows and orphans, and to the needy and strangers who possess nothing, according to their wants. But if the Bishop give them not their due care, the Lord shall require it of him on their behalf; for he has power to appoint for every one, according as it is right. And ye who are ordained in the Church, if ye have need, take out of the store; but if ye have not poverty, it is not right that ye should take from it. And if ye do thus, ye shall be saved before the Lord. But if the Bishops take for themselves alone, and are insatiable to devour, and lay up for themselves and give not to the poor, for this cause the Lord shall call them to account, and they shall be clothed with reproach and dishonour. And therefore he saith. Ye have drunk milk, and have clothed yourselves with wool, and have killed bulls; ye have not raised that which was fallen, nor helped that which was lost. Must ye indeed live alone upon the earth? Therefore hath he commanded you in the Law, saying. Love your neighbour as yourselves. And moreover he saith. Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox, while he treadeth out the corn. And seek not ye to take any thing but that which is in proportion to your labour and toil, as it is right. For the holy threshing-floor is the Church of the Lord. And eat ye in it, as the Levites, who serve in the tabernacle of the covenant, which is the image of the Holy Church.

It is right, then, that the priests should eat the offerings, with their wives and their sons and their daughters, when men have brought their offering unto the Lord, whether a vow that they have vowed, or fruits, or tithes, or sacrifices or oblation; for they have no other occupation, nor any portion of land with the Children of Israel, but only to do the service of the tabernacle; for the offering that the people bring, that is the portion of the Levites. And now ye, O Bishops, are the similitude of the Priests and Levites, as those who were from the beginning. It is right that ye should entreat and pray for the people; for ye are ordained for the service of this Holy and Blessed Church, who stand before the altars of the Lord our God, who offer up pure and reasonable sacrifices, without blood, unto Jesus Christ, the Great High Priest. For ye are prophets, and chiefs, and nilers, and kings, who have power over all the people that are under you. And you it becometh to preach and to speak, and to cause the people to hear the word of the Lord, and not to hide the keys of the teaching of wisdom and knowledge. And if ye hide them, ye shall find condemnation, which is prepared for you with the Lord. But if ye preach and teach the people, ye shall find recompence and glory and favour with the Lord, because ye have endured patiently, and borne all the burden. And therefore shall ye find your hope fulfilled in every thing; for ye are become like Jesus Christ, who took upon him our sicknesses, and bare our infirmities upon the cross. For, for our sake He was crucified who had no sin: in like manner should ye also bear the sins of his people. For the prophet Isaiah saith concerning our Saviour, He took upon him our sicknesses, and bare our sorrows, and for our sakes he was afflicted. And again he saith. He was crucified for our sins, and was afiiicted for our transgressions. In like manner should ye also save the people, as Christ saved you. Think not that it is a light burden which the Bishops bear. As they bear a heavy burden, so shall they receive the first-fruits; and let them give thereof to the needy. For He will call you to account, with whom ye cannot strive nor contend. It is right, then, that they who serve the Holy Church should obtain their due care, and receive the offerings, even as the Priests and Levites, the ministers; as it is written in the Book of Numbers concerning the Priests: And the Lord said unto Aaron, Behold I have given unto you to keep all the

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first-fruits that they shall offer of all that is sanctified unto me by the Children of Israel; unto thee have I given it, until thou growest old; and after thee to thy children, by an ordinance for ever. And this shall be yours of their holy things which are sanctified, of the sacrifices, of all their offerings, and of all their sacrifices, and of their offerings of repentance, and of all their sin-offerings, and of all that they shall bring unto me of all their holy things, unto thee shall it be, and to thy children. In the most holy place eat ye it, let every male eat of it, thou and thy children; for it is holy unto thee. And this shall be yours of their first gifts, and of all that the Children of Israel shall offer; unto thee have I given it, and unto thy sons and thy daughters with thee, by an ordinance for ever. Every one that is clean in thy house shall eat of it. And the first-fruits of oil, and all the first-fruits of wine and of wheat, all their first-fruits, and all that they shall offer unto the Lord, unto thee I have given it. And all the first-fruits that shall be in all their land, and all that they shall bring unto the Lord, unto thee have I given it; every one that is clean in thy house shall eat of it. Every thing that they shall consecrate among the Children of Israel, shall be thine. And every thing that openeth the womb, of all flesh, every thing that they shall bring unto the Lord, from man even unto beast, shall be thine; save those that shall be ransomed with a ransom: even the first-born of men, and the firstling of unclean beasts, shall ye ransom. And the ransom shall be, for that which is a month old, the price of fifty shekels, according to the shekel of the holy things, which is twenty oboli. But the firstling of cows, and the firsthng of sheep, and the firstling of goats, thou shalt not ransom, for they are holy; and thou shalt pour out their blood upon the altar, and their fat thou shalt make a sacrifice unto the Lord, for a sweet savour. And their flesh shall be for thee, as the breast which they offer and as the right shoulder, so shall every holy offering be thine, every thing that the Children of Israel shall separate unto the Lord. I have given it unto thee, and to thy sons and thy daughters with thee, by an everlasting law, and a perpetual ordinance, which shall be for ever before the Lord, and unto thy seed after thee.

ETHIOPIC DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 6

Concerning The Duty Of The People To Bring Offerings To The Church, According To Their Ability.

Hear now also, ye people of the elect Church of God; for of old time the Hebrews were called the People of the Lord, a holy people: and now ye are a chosen generation, your names are written in heaven for a kingdom and a priesthood; ye are a holy people, a bride adorned for the Lord God, a glorious and faithful Church. Hear how it was ordered at the beginning what should be given to those who are ordained over the Church of Christ, even vows and first-fruits and tithes, for the salvation of men's souls.

The beginning of the name of Jesus is Iota, according to the number of the testimony of the Holy Church, the congregation of people which is founded upon Iota, which hath knowledge of the Law, and hath kept the faith, and believed in the Lord Jesus Christ, and hath guided men unto the knowledge of the word of Iota, and hath stood fast in the perfection of his glory. In old time they brought offerings, and sacrifices, and thank-offerings, and tithes and first-fruits, which was their oblation in those days. And now also let the Bishops and Priests offer up sacrifices and oblations to the Lord our God, the Lord Jesus Christ, who died for us. He it is who appointed High-Priests, and Priests, and Deacons, and Sub-deacons, and Readers, and Singers, and Door-keepers, and Deaconesses; and moreover, widows, and virgins, and orphans; and over all these hath the Bishop authority, for he is the teacher and instructor of those who obey the Lord in the right faith, and for their sakes does he deliver the word. It is right that they should obey him, for he is the teacher of the Law to them all: and, moreover, he is their father, who hath begotten them by water and by the Spirit. For he is your ruler, and guide, and strength; and your God upon earth, under the true God; and it is right that ye should magnify him and glorify him, and others also who are like him ; as the Lord spake by the mouth of David the Prophet, saying, I have said, ye are Gods, and aU of you are children of the Most High. Speak not evil against the Gods, which are the Bishops; but let the Bishops sit first among you; for unto them is given glory and honour before the Lord God, that they may feed His people in peace. And let the Deacon minister in purity, without spot; and let him do nothing without the authority of the Bishop, his father. Neither let the Deaconess do any thing without the authority of the Deacon. And let not any other woman go to the Deacon, except in company with the Deaconess; and, in hke manner, let no woman go to the Bishop, except in company with the Deacon. Honour therefore the Priests; for they admonish you and teach you the way of the Lord, and receive from them the word in the right faith. For He sent them that they should preach, and teach, and admonish, and baptise in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and that they should teach men to keep all things whatsoever I have commanded them. And honour ye also the widows and orphans, as the Church; and virgins also, as the altar and the offering of incense. For, in old time, no one could offer sacrifice, unless he were of the Children of Levi; nor could any one of the people go in unto the altar, except with the Priest. And so ye also, do not ye any thing without the counsel of the Bishop; for he who doeth any thing without the authority of the Bishop, laboureth for nought, and his occupation is vain and without profit. As Saul offered up sacrifice without Samuel the Prophet, and heard a voice saying unto him. Thy sacrifice is vain; in like manner, if one of the people do any thing without the Priest, it also is vain. So King Ozias also, when, not being a Priest, he performed the office of the priesthood, became a leper. And if there be any one of the people who usurpeth the Priest's office, and doeth not the commandments of the Lord, he shall not escape condemnation; for he hath taken an honour which hath not been given unto him, and hath insulted the priesthood; neither hath he been like unto Christ, who glorified not himself to be made a great High Priest, but endured patiently; for he heard the voice of the Father, saying. The Lord sware, and repented not. Thou art a Priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedec. But if Christ glorified not himself, but his Father, who was equal with him, how then can he who is only a man take the honour of the priesthood to himself, if he who has authority over him have not given it to him? For the sons of Korah were of the tribe of Levi; yet when they rose up against Moses and Aaron, the fire devoured them, inasmuch as they sought to take what belonged not to them; and Dathan, and Abiram, and Korah, went down alive into the pit. The rod that budded destroyed the counsel of many foolish men, and he shewed by its means the great High Priest who was ordained before the Lord. It is fit then, Brethren, that ye should bring your offerings and incense to the Bishop, for he is the High Priest: your first-fruits and tithes, and all your vows, bring ye unto him, that he may give to every one their due care, even to the needy who have nothing. Let him set them in order as it is fitting, that no one take advantage of his neighbour in the receiving of alms. It behoveth the Bishop to take care of all the poor, and examine into their lives, and know their condition.

Moreover, when the faithful desire to call the poor and widows and orphans to a feast, as God, even our Lord, hath commanded, it is fitting that the Deacons should minister; and let them inquire into their lives, let them call them in, and place them each one in his seat, as is fitting. Let them divide portions unto them, and give thereof to the Shepherd also apart, for the honoxir of the Lord, seeing that the priesthood hath been given unto him. And when there hath been given unto the widows, then let the Deacons take thereof, two portions; and so also the Priests, who watch, and teach the word of exhortation: let them receive double honour, for they are the apostles of the Lord Jesus Christ; they are the counsellors of the Bishop, and the crown of the Church, who judge in it righteously. And let the Reader take one portion; and, in hke manner, let the Singers and the Door-keepers receive, each one according to the ordinance of the Church. And let the people render unto each such honour as becometh him, and not overlook the Bishop, nor delay to give unto him; but let them send quickly to him, together with the ministers, the Deacons. Now it is fitting that the Deacons should report to the Bishop all the matters of the people, that he may command the people to do what is right. For, in old time, there was no one who entered into the temple, or did any thing therein, but the Priest. The

Prophet Malachi saith. For the Ups of the priest keep counsel, and search out the Law. For they who serve idols, and do according to their own will, and make as though they were righteous, while they are polluted and tlieir deeds are evil and they have no good work, though they make themselves like the Saints;—men indeed, seeing their doings, will laugh at them and despise them—yet now even these cannot accomplish or do any thing vdthout the counsel of the priests of their gods: but they lift up their eyes unto them, and listen to what their voice commandeth them, and do every thing that it saith to them; they give glory to the priests of their gods, and put confidence in them, and trust in their gods. But if these trust in things that have not life, and are subject to evil spirits in whom is no profit, and hope in vanity, while they make as though they were righteous, how then should we, who have received the grace of the Holy Spirit, and have enUghtened faith, and a perfect hope, in which is no iniquity, which is not deceit—how ought we to trust in the preaching of the Gospel, which is full of glory, and without fear, that we may be pleasing unto the Lord our God! For the ancient Fathers, and the Bishops, doubtless they are the mouth of the Lord. They are the mouth of the Lord, in like manner as Aaron spake to Pharaoh while he was a helper mito Moses. And for this cause he was called the God of Pharaoh, as a King and an High Priest; as the Lord said to Moses, Behold I have made thee to be a God unto Pharaoh, and Aaron thy brother to be a Minister and Prophet. And how is it, then, that ye do not trust in them, seeing that they intercede for you, and deliver the word? Be subject to them; for they are Prophets and the Servants of the Lord; the Deacon after the simihtude of Aaron, and the Bishop after the simihtude of Moses. If, then, Moses was called a God before the Lord, it is right that ye also should honour the Bishops as the Lord, and the Deacon as a Prophet. As Christ did not any thing but by the Father, so also let not the Deacon do any thing without the counsel of the Bishop. The Son does nothing but by the Father: and as the Son is subject to his Father, so let the Deacon be subject to the Bishop.

ETHIOPIC DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 7

That It Is Not Lawful For The Deacon To Do Any Thing Hut By Authority Of The Bishop.

As the Son is the good pleasure of the Father, and his Messenger of Counsel, and his Prophet, so the Deacon also is the Messenger and Prophet of the Bishop: wherefore it is not right that he should do any thing without the counsel of the Bishop. And if he give secretly to the needy without the knowledge of the Bishop, he causes him to be reproached, and occasions a charge against him of despising and neglecting the poor and needy and destitute and afflicted. But he who utters reproachful words, or doeth any thing evil against the Bishop, hath transgressed against the Lord; not understanding that which He hath said. Thou shalt not speak evil of the Ruler of thy People. For this law was not ordained with respect unto stocks and stones which the Gentiles worship, but for the sake of the Priests, the Teachers, and Wise Men. For unto them he said. Ye are Gods, and all of you are the children of the Most High. Understand then, O Deacon, if thou see a poor man, and he be ashamed to ask, tell the Bishop secretly concerning him ; and reveal not nor tell to others his poverty, lest he be ashamed and murmur. But if thou reveal his secrets, thou bringest sorrow upon thy brother; and for his sake the Lord shall be angry with thee. And the Lord said unto them. Wherefore have ye not been ashamed to speak evil against my servant Moses? and the judgement of the wrath of the Lord came upon them. And Moses said unto them who murmured against him. And we, what are we? in this your murnmring, it is not against me that ye murmur, but against your Maker. And if any one say against one of the people, Thou fool! he shall be condemned; for he hath blasphemed against the name of Christ. And if this be so, how then shall it be with them who blaspheme against the Bishop? For when he stretcheth out his hands upon any one, the Holy Spirit cometh down upon him: and by him ye are taught the spiritual covenant, and know the Lord, and have believed in Christ, by whom also ye are saved; and are anointed with the oil of joy, and with the holy unction, and become the children of light. For when the Bishop layeth his hands upon you in the holy baptism, the Lord sendeth His Holy Word upon you, which saith. Ye are my Children, and this day have I begotten you. Understand therefore, O man, that through the prayer of the Bishop thou wast called a Child of God. And now acknowledge this grace which is given thee; and love him who hath loved thee and called thee into this glory and honour. Bow down unto him who is thy father, under God. For ye have heard the word which saith concerning those who have begotten you according to the flesh. Honour thy father and thy mother; and thereby thou shalt find good; and. He that speaketh evil against his father or his mother, let him die the death. But if these things be so, how is it that ye do not magnify and honour them who have begotten you again by water and by the Holy Spirit, who have fed you with spiritual milk, and nourished you by the word of exhortation, and strengthened you by the Eucharist, and made you prepared to receive the holy flesh and the precious blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ? These are they who have loosed you from the bonds of sin; and have made you partakers of the Holy Eucharist, and of the love of God, that ye should be partakers of the inheritance and joint-heirs with his Son. Fear them therefore, and honour them in every thing; for they have the grace of life from the Lord, that they may be judges over them that have transgressed, and may save them from the fire of hell, and absolve them that turn from their sins. It is right that ye should fear these as Princes and Rulers, and be obedient unto them as Kings, and receive them into your houses. Even as Samuel the Prophet gave commandment to the people concerning the King, in the First Book of Kings; and moreover, Moses gave commandment concerning the Priests. And thus we also command you concerning the Bishops, that ye give them their due respect, as it is ordained. For in old time Moses and Samuel commanded the people to honour Kings and Priests, who minister for the affairs of this world; but if this be so, much more is it fitting that ye should give their due respect and maintenance unto the Bishops and Priests, who watch and minister for your sakes, and are your guides unto the kingdom of Heaven. And if from the beginning Kings have raised annies to make war and fight, that they may defend and save the bodies of men, how much more, then, are those worthy of honour who have received the ordination of the Priesthood from the Lord, who heal both soul and body from condemnation! For the soul is greater than the body, and the Priest's office is greater than the King's; for this is the office that bindeth those who deserve condemnation, and looseth those who seek forgiveness. And therefore it is right that ye should love the Bishop as a Father, and fear him as a King, and trust in him as in the Lord. Bring

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unto him your fruits of the earth, and the labour of your hands, and your first-fruits and tithes and oblations, and the first of corn and wine, and oil, and wool. And then shall he give a blessing upon you, that your offering may be well-pleasing and accepted, as incense of a sweet savour before the Lord your God; and the Lord shall bless the works of your hands, and multiply the good fruits of your land; for the Lord giveth his blessing upon the heads of the righteous who shew mercy.

Behold, then, and know that the Lord hath delivered us from the curse of the Law, and brought us into life, while we were scattered and lost as sheep that have no shepherd, and as the brute beast that cannot reason. He hath turned us from our sins, and cleansed us from our transgressions, and commanded us to bring our oblations to the Priests, and to give alms to the poor who have nothing. For our Lord saith in the Gospel, Except your righteousness exceed that of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of God. Let it then be your care to give to the Priests and widows and orphans; as it is written, saying. He hath dispersed and given to the poor, and his righteousness remaineth for ever; for by righteousness and uprightness and mercy sin is pardoned, for a pure and blessed soul pleaseth the Lord. Do then righteousness thus, as the Lord hath commanded; give to the Priests, as is fitting, the first-fruits of thy wine-press and of thy threshing-floor; for they have power to give to every one that is in need, and they have authority over every matter of the Church. Resist not therefore the Bishops, in any of their doings; saying. When did he do it? or, To whom did he give? or, When did he spend this ? and. Where did he receive that? nor judge whether he do what is good or evil, whether with justice or without justice: for the Lord God shall call them to account for these things, who hath given them the oflice of the priesthood, and hath granted unto them a higher degree.

But do thou set the fear of the Lord before thine eyes; and remember always the word that saith. Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy mind and with all thy strength, and follow not the way which leadeth unto other gods, nor any thing hke unto them, who have not hfe; neither follow the doctrine of devils, nor any other devices, which Christ hath not commanded. But do thou seek unto the reading of the Scriptures, which are the Law of God; and cease not from the reading of the Scriptures at every opportunity. And put away from thee all evil which opposeth itself, which is not commanded in the Law, mocking, and anger. But honour thy father and thy mother who begat thee according to the flesh, and love thy neighbour as thyself, and be a guide to the poor ; and keep far from a false oath, which is without profit. But keep not thou far from the Church of Christ; go early unto it at all times; and worship humbly at all times with the watchful, who sleep not day nor night, who give thanks unto the Lord for life, and for all that he has bestowed upon them. Live, then, by labour, and the work of thine hands; and offer unto the Lord of that which thou hast, according to thine ability; and be a friend of the poor, and obtain possession of the kingdom of Heaven, where there is neither moth nor rust, and where the thief doth not find. And if thou wilt save thyself, strive not in judgement with the Bishop, nor with him who is of the people, thy brother, nor with thy companion, wrongfully: but if thou strive with them wrongfully, thou hast drawn thyself into injustice and sin, seeing that no man hath appointed thee to this office, for judgement was given to the Priests, and not to him who is of the people. For the Lord saith. Judge in righteousness and justice; be of understanding, and give judgement unto every man with discernment. But ye, O people, it is not permitted unto you to judge any man. For he saith to them who have not the ordination of the priesthood. Judge not, for your judgement shall not be accepted. But let the Bishop judge in righteousness ; as it is written saying. Judge the poor and the fatherless, and do right to him that is wronged, and to the poor; and save the desolate and needy. And moreover he saith. Why do ye not judge between yourselves in justice and righteousness?

ETHIOPIC DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 8

That It Is The Duty Of The Bishop To Try And Inquire Into Every Matter In Justice And Uprightness.

Be ye therefore pure, as the Fathers of old, good and wise and faithful; and put away from you the evil law and the corrupt custom. But choose for yourselves the way of life. It is the duty of the Bishop to walk in this right way, and to depart from every evil work, and to do good; and to heal also the poor who have need of repentance, and to cast out them that refuse to turn. For there are that make pretences, and use lying devices, and bring accusations through envy and malice; as did the two Elders against Susanna in Babylon, and as the Egyptian woman did against Joseph. But thou, O man of God, do not as these do ; but be good and merciful, and receive them that repent. Favour not the sinner, neither slay the just. For he that receiveth not the penitent, nor restoreth the sinners, he is a Father of wrath, and bringeth not peace. And where wrath is, there the Lord dwelleth not; but wrath is the companion of Satan, who waJketh about among false brethren, who hath no peace, and stirreth up contention in the Church. Understand therefore, and follow not the way of fools, who rejoice in evil; neither hear ye their voice in that which is evil, but keep yourselves from them; for they have no fear of God before their eyes, but only revenge and envy. For evil men accuse the good, in whom there is no fault; and bring upon them an evil report, and bring them down into great affliction and tribulation. But thou, O Bishop, understand, and inquire of those who come to thee to tell their cause; and judge between them with wisdom, discerning how and what the matter is. And if a man be found to have transgressed, reprove him, as the Lord hath commanded; take him with thee alone, and exhort him to turn to repentance. And if he refuse, take with thee one or two, and tell him of his negligence and folly, and teach him in meekness and wisdom; and say unto him. Wisdom dwelleth in the heart of the good, and maketh her rest in the bosom of the instructors. And if he hear the word of you three, he hath saved himself, and gained his soul. But if he refuse to hear, tell it to the Church; and if he refuse to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a Gentile, a heathen and a publican. Receive him not, neither bring him into the Church; nor number him with the Christian people. But as for those who repent of their sins, and turn to our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the Living God, He will receive their repentance.

Behold, I, Matthew, one of the Twelve, declare unto you the doctrine of this Didascalia, who was before a publican, but when I repented and believed with a right faith, I became an Apostle, and a preacher of the word of the Holy Gospel; for by faith shall a man be saved. And thus Zacchasus also, who was before a publican, when he returned and prayed unto the Lord, he received his repentance, and despised him not. And so with those soldiers and pubhcans who entered into the Church, and heard the word of repentance from John the Baptist, after their baptism he saith unto them. Do no more than that which is commanded you. Be not heavy upon your brethren, nor upon the heathen that turn to the Lord, lest they rebel against the faith. Thus we command you: Them that return unto the Lord bring into the Church, that they may hear the voice of the Scriptures, and bring forth fruits meet for repentance; that they despise not instruction. But stand ye not together with them in prayer; but let them put them forth, after the reading of the Scriptures of the Law, the Prophets, and the Gospel. And then let them stand at all times prepared to worship in the Church, that others seeing them may fear, and receive instruction and learn godliness.

O Bishop, help the sinners, and strengthen them by the word of the Lord; and despise them not, neither refuse to eat with sinners and publicans. For when the Pharisees said to His disciples. Wherefore doth your master eat with sinners and publicans? he answered and said unto them. The sick need the physician, and not they that are whole: I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. And for this cause it is right that thou shouldst visit them and comfort them, and eat with them in love ; and shouldst be careful for their salvation, and help them, and say unto them. Be strong, and clap your hands, and dance with your feet. It behoveth you, therefore, to comfort them that are sorrowful in heart, and bear patiently with them that are angry, that they turn not again unto folly: for the angry man is ever a fool.

But if any man turn, and shew the fruit of repentance, straightway receive him; as it was with the prodigal son, who spent all his father's substance in riotous living. And he consumed all his substance. And there came a great famine in that land, and he began to be in want ; and he went and joined himself to one of the men of that country. And he sent him to his farm-yard to feed swine; and he desired to fill himself with the husks which the swine did eat; and no man gave unto him. And he thought in his heart, and said. How many servants of my father have bread enough and to spare, and I die of hunger in this place! I will arise and go unto my Father, and will say unto him. Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee, and am not worthy to be called thy son: make me as one of thy servants. And he arose, and went to his Father. And his Father saw him afar oif, and had compassion upon him, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him. And his son said unto him, I have sinned against heaven and before thee, and am not worthy to be called thy son. And his Father said unto his servants. Bring out quickly the best garments, and put them on him; and put a ring on his hand, and shoes on his feet; and bring out the fatted calf, and kill, and let us eat and make meiTy: for this my son was dead and is alive again, was lost and is found. Do thus, O Bishop, when the new Converts are baptised, and receive them, and lay thy hands upon them and over them, for they are purified by repentance; and, after that thou hast prayed over them, baptise them, and bring them into the good flock. For when the Bishop layeth his hand upon them, they receive the Holy Spirit from our Lord Jesus Christ. And if there be one of the believing brethren that asketh thee, and saith unto thee. Wherefore hast thou slain the sinner? shouldst not thou rejoice with him, and say unto him. For this thy brother was dead and is alive again, was lost and is found ? For the Lord is merciful, and pardoneth the sin of him that hath transgressed, when he repenteth and doeth that which is right. Hear what David did, when he sinned concerning the wife of Uriah. After he had confessed his transgression, he repented, and said. Turn thy face from my sin, O Lord, and blot out all my transgressions! Create in me a clean heart, O Lord, and renew a right spirit within me! Cast me not out from before thy face, and take not away thy Holy Spirit from me! Restore unto me thy joy and thy salvation, and strengthen me with thy powerful spirit! And thou too, O Bishop, heal them as a wise physician, and as a faithful friend who anxiously seeketh the salvation of his neighbour: so also do thou help them, and save them, and heal from the wounds of sin those who turn unto the Lord, that they may be saved from condemnation. And if their disorder be great, give them the remedy which blotteth out iniquity; and anoint them with the ointment of Hfe, that destroyeth the poison of the disease, that is, prayer and fasting: and bind up the deformity of those whose hmbs are broken, by entreaty and supphcation. And if, though thou hast done all this, thou be not yet able to heal them, be not against them as a saw which cutteth asunder, and as a hatchet which breaketh in pieces, but as a wise physician, who cutteth gently with the lancet and driveth out the uncleanness of the disorder which is concealed within, and so shall all the body be made whole. But if thou see a deceitful and talkative man, who refuseth to return unto repentance, but liveth in folly and error, cut him off from the Church. For He hath said. Put away evil from amongst you. It is right that thou shouldst reprove him, but account him not as thine enemy, for he is one of thy members. And respect not persons in judgement, neither favour the rich or the poor.

For ye, O Shepherds of the sheep, and Deacons, must not hear the word of falsehood and accusation against a man that is innocent, in whom is no transgression, to put him out of the Church, devising that ye may receive gifts, and respecting persons: for those who do thus are companions of the Devil. Know, then, that ye shall be recompensed for this before the judgement-seat of God; for it is written, saying, Thou shalt not slay the righteous with the wicked, neither shalt thou receive a bribe to destroy life: for a bribe blindeth the eyes of the wise, and perverteth the word of justice. Neither honour thou the transgressor for the sake of a gift, nor change right for wrong ; but keep thyself, and do not any such thing. Judge not unrighteously, neither be partaker with the workers of iniquity; for it is said by the Prophet Esaias, Woe unto them that call good evil, and evil good, who call light darkness and darkness light, who call sweet bitter and bitter sweet! Woe unto them who are wise to do evil, and say. We are wise! And if ye pervert judgement by iniquity, know that ye shall bring upon yourselves condemnation. For our Lord saith. As ye have judged, so shall ye be judged; and with the measure by which ye measure, shall it be measured unto you. But if ye understand and inquire into the word of judgement, ye will discern the evil, and the false, and the calumniators, who slay their neighbours by unjust accusations. These are they that bring in contention, and observe words of vanity, and make a snare for themselves by the words of their lips: those that do thus, drive ye far from the Church, that they pollute not the Church of God. But if they turn and repent and leave their wickedness, and do that which is right, let them be received, to enter into the Church; for they have received the body of Christ. But if a man be born having a superfluity in his members, will he not cut off the superfluous member, lest it be a reproach upon him ? And in like manner, ye, the shepherds of the sheep, drive out of the Church of the Lord the apostates and heretics ; for it is a reproach, if those live among you who believe not in our Lord Jesus Christ. Cut them off for ever from the Church : for ye are truly members of Christ, and sons of the Church, But if there be found among you a superfluous member, who deviseth evil, and walketh up and down among you, and bringeth in murder and slander and blasphemy, he, who doeth thus, hath perfected all the devices of Satan, and blasphemed against the Church. Those who do thus, drive ye out; and let them be cast forth from the Church, and be recompensed according to their works, and be cut off" for ever from the people of the Lord. And when ye do thus, behold, the Church of God is beautified; for the evil member is gone out of her which dwelt in her and disturbed her. These are the destroyers, the haters of that which is good, the lovers of wealth and vain-glory, who are wise to do evil, and scatter the sheep of the flock of Christ.

It behoveth Bishops to judge the people in righteousness; for the Lord saith. If ye walk in a crooked way, I also will walk with you in a crooked way. Moreover he saith in a certain place. With the just thou wilt be just, and with the pure man thou wilt be pure; and with the excellent thou wilt be excellent, and with the froward thou wilt be froward. Walk then in the way of purity, that thou mayest find glory and favour with the Lord. Be of one mind, and love one another. And ye also, O Bishops, feed the people diligently with one mind, in unity, that ye may praise the Lord in one faith. Be then one body and one spirit, and one faith, as the Lord hath given you grace. It is right that the Deacon should tell the Bishop every thing that hath been done; as Christ also did not any thing, but by the Father: for there is one will of the

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Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. And when the Deacon hath received ordination from the Bishop, let him be as an ear and an eye and a mouth to the Bishop, and tell the Bishop the matters of the people, as is fitting; even as Jethro told Moses the Prophet, and he received his word. This is an honour which becometh a Christian people. Let not him who is of the people judge, neither the Rulers, but those only who are ordained over the Church. For Satan bringeth a snare upon the servants of the Lord from the unbelievers, and teacheth them reproaches and blasphemies. Is there not a man of understanding among us, who can judge between us with justice? Suffer not then the heathen to know your hidden secrets; neither receive the testimony against you of those who behave not, but keep that which hath been given to you. For He saith. Give unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's. But if thou hast a debt to pay, delay not to give it, saying, I will pay it to my brother who is a believer, but to him who beheveth not, I wll not pay it: but do as did our Lord, when he paid tribute. And ye, O servants of the Lord, keep the commandments of Christ; and if ye see among the brethren a contention or dispute, bring word concerning them to those who are ordained. If they be men of evil habits, and makers of strife, and haters of that which is good, and walk not in the right way, them that are such reprove, and put them to shame. But if they repent, receive them. And if ye do thus, ye have made peace between brethren, and have saved them from sin. It behoveth you also to overlook and forgive the trespasses of your neighbour; as the Lord commanded Peter, when he said unto him. If my neighbour sin against me, how often shall I forgive him? seven times? And Jesus said unto him, I say not unto thee seven times, but even seventy times seven. Thus then the Lord willeth that his disciples should do, and that they should never suffer revenge to dwell in their hearts, nor anger, nor evil desires; but that they should make peace between brethren, that they may live in one mind: for he saith. Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the sons of God.

Moreover, it is not fitting on the Sabbath to make debates, but rather peace: let judgement therefore be given on other days. And it is right, O ye Bishops, that the Priests and Deacons should sit with you in judgement : and judge ye not with partiality, and accepting of persons ; but judge in righteousness and truth, as the servants of the Lord. And if there be any one who hath a controversy with his neighbour, let them come both of them together, and stand in the court; as it is written in the Law, Judge ye between them in righteousness and truth. And take heed, and quickly reconcile them, and make peace between them, before the judgement of death proceed from the Bishop upon him that hath transgressed. For with you, in the court of judgement, sitteth Christ, the Son of God. And if any man say. Such an one hath blasphemed the name of the Lord, and walketh not in the right way, be not hasty to give judgement against the one, without his neighbour's appearing also. And when they are come together, judge between them. For the judgement that cometh forth from you leadeth on the one hand unto Life; and on the other, it leadeth unto condemnation. For our Lord saith. Follow righteousness and truth. And he whose sin becomes known, and who is justly brought up to judgement, shall be driven far from everlasting life, and shall not see the glory of the Lord, but shall be made ashamed before the Saints. But if ye judge with iniquity, ye shall find condemnation, and shall be recompensed before the Lord according to your deeds; as the Lord recompensed unto the two Elders who spake falsely against Susanna. Take heed, then, of speaking falsely; for he that speaketh falsely shall have great condemnation. Be not as the men who transgressed the Law, who spake falsely against Naboth in Samaria; and as the Council of the Jews, who spake falsely against our Lord in Jerusalem; and as those who spake falsely against Stephen, the first martyr. They that bear witness then must be meek men, in whom is no anger, pure, good, loving the Lord, humble, faithful, worshippers of the Lord, men without evil. Those who are of this sort are worthy to bear witness, being pure, without evil or stain; and inquire thou diligently into their testimony. But as for those who live not thus, receive not their testimony. And if many false witnesses agree in one counsel, yet hear not their voice; for he saith. Let me not be joined unto their bloody assembly. And, moreover, it is commanded in the Law, Receive not a false accusation, neither sit with him who doeth unjustly, lest thou become an unjust witness; and. Join not thyself with a multitude to do iniquity. And when a man cometh before you in judgement, inquire into his manner of life, and what are his disposition and habits; and if ye find witnesses concerning him, that there is no depravedness in him, but that he followeth after righteousness, that he loveth the Lord, receiveth strangers, loveth the poor, is a lover of the brethren, one that loveth not gain, no extortioner, no drunkard, nor idle, a merciful man, who openeth not his hand for oppression; him whose doings are thus, judge ye in righteousness and truth. But him that speaketh falsely against his neighbour reprove, for he is the murderer of his brother; that others seeing it, may fear, and not follow his way. And if there be any man whose transgression is made known in the judgement, reprove him, and put him to shame. As we have said before, if any man bring a charge against another, give not judgement for the one without their being both together in the court. But if ye judge for the one wrongfully, without the other's standing up in the court of judgement, ye are become speakers of that which is false; as the Priests who spake falsely against Susanna in Babylon, and brought her down into the court of controversy, unto the judgement of death. And ye in like manner, if ye judge not in justice and righteousness, shall find condemnation, and the punishment of the wrath of the Lord shall come upon you. But if ye judge in righteousness and justice, ye shall find a good recompence, and Life everlasting.

Take heed, then, beloved brethren; do that which is good at all times, that ye may find glory before the Lord, with the Holy Fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven, in life everlasting; for that is right before the Lord. Judge in righteousness and peace, without anger. For he that maketh his neighbour angry without a cause, shall have his portion in hell. For he saith. Before the sun go down, cool your wrath, and give not place to the Devil. And again David saith. Be angry and sin not ; have love among one another. Remove evil from your hearts, and let peace be among you; and hear what our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ said and taught in the Holy Gospel: When thou bringest thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy offering before the altar, and go, first be reconciled with thy brother, and then return and offer thy gift. The offering of the Lord is a meek heart and humble spirit, prayer, and thanksgiving; but if thou hast made thy neighbour angry and grieved his heart, the Lord will not receive thy offering and prayer. It is right, O beloved brethren, that ye should offer prayer and supplication at all times, and tell all your petitions to the Lord, that he may remove from you indignation and anger. Praise the Lord at all times, always, in every season; and make mention of His name, vs^hich is Most High, that he may take away from you hatred and anger and revenge, that ye may be able to pray with a pure heart, without iniquity; for the Lord hath commanded us to love our enemies, and much more then our friends. And again he saith. Hate no man, but reprove some, and instruct; neither hate thy brother with thy whole heart, nor hear an accusation against him, lest thou be offended concerning him. Oppress not the stranger that dwelleth with thee; for thou also wast a stranger in the land of Egypt: neither hate the Edomite, for he is thy brother. And David also saith. If I have repaid them that have requited me evil, let my enemies cause me to fall down naked.

ETHIOPIC DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 9

That Christians Ought To Forgive The Trespasses Of Their Neighbours, And Not Let Revenge Dwell In Their Hearts, Nor Think Evil.

If ye vrill be Christians in truth, walk in the way of the Lord, and loose every bond of sin; for the Saviour hath commanded you to forgive the trespasses of your neighbours, even unto seventy times seven. And if ye will not forgive them, hear what Jeremiah the Prophet saith. Moreover, if thou hast thought evil in thine heart, and hast kept hatred, and judged in anger, thy prayer cannot ascend unto the Lord; for thou hast not done the commandments of the Lord, inasmuch as thou hast not forgiven the trespasses of thy brother four hundred and ninety times. Be therefore slow to anger and of much compassion, that thou mayest save thyself. And if thou do thus, thou shalt be the child of thy Father which is in heaven; and when thou entreatest him, he shall hear thy prayer, as a faithful friend. Wherefore, O Bishops, when ye are gathered together for prayer and praise and worship, and hearing the reading of the word of exhortation from the Holy Scriptures, let the Deacon stand in the midst of you, crying out with a loud voice, and saying. If there be in the heart of any man revenge or envy or deceit, or any malice, let him speedily be reconciled: and then the Lord shall receive their prayer. And when ye enter into an house, say thus. The peace of the Lord be in this house! and if the son of peace be there, your peace shall rest upon it. As it is written. He is peace to them that are afar off, and salvation to them that are nigh; even to the people that believe in Christ. It behoveth all that enter into the Church of the Lord to ask of him to send His mercy and peace upon the people.

ETHIOPIC DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 10

It Is The Duty Of Bishops To Be Peace-Makers, Merciful, Pardoning Him Who Hath Transgressed Against Them, And That They Should Receive The Repentance Of Those Who Return Unto The Lord: And If They Do Not Thus, They Shall Not Be Called Bishops, But They Shall Be Called Evil-Doers.

If the Bishop pray for peace upon others, how then shall he himself not be peaceable, that he may be called a Son of peace? For if he himself have not peace, how can he give peace to others? Wherefore it is requisite, before all things, that he be peaceable, without malice or hatred; but in love and peace let him reconcile and feed the sheep of Christ; yea moreover let him watch over them as a faithful friend, that they may be saved together, and become one flock. But evil men, who do iniquity and bring in hatred and disturbance, are far from the Lord. For the Lord is a God of mercy, who desireth to gather in men unto repentance, by the teaching of the just, even of all the generations of the Prophets. For before the Flood, the people lived walking according to the exhortations of Abel, and Seth, and Enoch, who was taken up into heaven. And them that were after the Flood, Noah taught; and them of Sodom, Lot taught, the hospitable entertainer of strangers. And after Lot were Melchisedec, the Patriarchs, and Job, the lover of the Lord. The Egyptians and the Children of Israel were taught by the commands of Moses, and Joshua the son of Nun, and Caleb, and Phinehas, and those that came after them ; and after the Law, by the reproofs of Angels and Prophets; and after these was our Lord, who was made man of the Holy Virgin Mary. For after John the Baptist had been put in prison, he preached, saying. Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand. And after that he had suffered on the Cross, he commanded us, even us the twelve Apostles, to preach, together with our good brother Paul. We are they who have received this grace of God, that we should be witnesses for his Son our Lord Jesus Christ. And with us, moreover, are James the brother of the Lord, and the seven Deacons. We have heard from the mouth of our Lord the word of life, and we believe and know that he is Jesus the Christ, in whom the Father is well pleased. We declare unto you perfectly that which we have heard from him, that none may perish. To him let us offer praises with one voice, that we may obtain life everlasting. And thus the Lord hath commanded us, when we pray to the Father, saying. Thy will be done, as in heaven, so in earth. As all the hosts of heavenly and spiritual beings sing praises, so let every creature on earth praise the one God, through his only Son, our Lord God and Saviour, Jesus Christ. This is his will, that we should praise him and bless him with one mind, and worship him with one spirit; for it is the will of Christ, that those who are saved should be multiplied, and that not one of them should perish, nor the Church be diminished. Slay not the soul which hath been made alive through repentance; for it hath been saved from indignation and wrath: but do ye, in goodness and patience, fulfil all the words of Scripture. But if thou scatter the sheep of the flock of Christ, thou art become an enemy of Christ. Destroy not the lambs, which Christ feedeth. Take heed therefore, O Bishop, lest through thy means the sheep of Christ's flock be scattered, whom we have gathered together by the preaching of tongues from every quarter, by toil and labour and sorrow, by watching, by hunger and thirst, by labour in journeyings, by persecution, and affliction, and imprisonment. Behold, thus have we done the will of the Lord; and have filled His vineyard, which is the Holy Congregation, the Church of the Lord. Let them that are called into it rejoice and be glad, praising and blessing the Lord, even they that are called unto life everlasting. And ye, O people, keep among you love and peace, that ye may go unto the House of the Lord with one heart: and for this ye shall find great and good recompence from the Lord.

But thou, O Bishop, be without spot, and do not that which is not fitting; and be not angry, nor deceitful, nor of an evil disposition; but be an instructor, a helper of them that perish, counselling that which is good; and confirm the people, as a man of God. And when ye are gathered together in the church, command them to walk in the right way, as a wise ship-master. And command the Deacons to be as the sailors; and let them cause the brethren to sit each one in his place, as it is fitting, in righteousness and purity; for they are together with you in one ship. Let then the length of the church be towards the east and let there be two porches in its sides, after the Hkeness of a ship ; and let the throne of the Bishop be set in the midst. And then let the Priests sit on his right-hand and on his left; and the Deacons stand ready to minister, having their garments girt up, as sailors. But let the people sit in their places, with fear and trembling; and in like manner let the women sit by themselves in silence. And let the Reader stand up in a high place, and read the Books of Moses, and of Joshua the son of Nun, and of the Judges, and the Kings and Chronicles, and the writings after the Captivity, after the return from Babylon, Job also, and Solomon, and the Fifteen Prophets. And then let them read in the Scriptures by two; and let one rise up and sing praises in the words of David, and let the people answer in praises. Then let them read the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles of Paul, our beloved fellow-labourer, which he wrote and sent to all the Churches, by the help of the Holy Spirit. And after this, let the Priest or Deacon read the Gospel, which we have given you, even I Matthew, and John, or that which Luke and Mark have set forth, the fellow-labourers with Paul, even that which they have set in order for you. And when he stands up, while the Gospel is read, let the Priests and Deacons and all the people stand up with great fear. For it is written. Be silent, O Israel, and hear ! And then let the Priests stand up one by one and confirm the people; and afterwards the Bishop, that he may save them by an exhortation. Let the door-keepers stand where the men come in, and put them in their places; and so let the Deaconesses likewise make the women stand in their places. And if any be

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found standing in places which are not their own, let the Deacons put them to shame, and bring them back to their places: for the Deacons are as the sailors, and the church as a ship. Yet is it not a ship, but a flock of sheep. But the shepherds separate the sheep from the goats, and place them each according to their kind, and on their own side. And thus let the people also, when they meet in the church, be placed together according to their class. Let the young men stand by themselves; but if there be not room to contain them, let them stand with the rest of the people. And let the old men also stand by themselves; but let the children be placed before their fathers, who may take them under their care. And let the young women also be set by themselves; but if there be not room, let them stand behind the married women. And let those that have husbands and children be by themselves. It is the duty of the Deacon to arrange them one by one; that no one trespass into the seat of his neighbour. And let him mark carefully the manners and behaviour of the people in the church, that they may not sleep, nor neglect to pray; but let him keep watch over them; and if any be found laughing or talking fooHshly, let him reprove them, and cause them to be silent. It behoveth us then to stand in the church with fear and trembling, and to set our thoughts upon hearing the word of the Scriptures. And when he who speaks to the Catechumens cries aloud, let the teachers, and those who are under penance, and all the people, rise up and look towards the east, and pray unto the Lord, who is in every place, that He would bring them into the former place, into the Garden of joy, from whence the first man was cast forth, when he consented to the counsel of the serpent, and transgressed the commandment of the Lord. And afterwards let the Priest arise; and let them offer up a sacrifice unto the Lord with fear and trembling. And then let the Deacons arise, and command them to be silent; and let the Deacon who stands with the Bishop say thus to the people, that no man let revenge dwell in his heart, unto hatred or envy against his neighbour. And then let the people salute one another with a holy kiss; and in like manner let the women also salute each other: but salute not one another deceitfully, as Judas Iscariot, who kissed our Lord. And afterwards let the Deacon pray and make supplication for all that are in the church, for the fruits of the earth, and for the King, and for the Priests, for the Rulers and Chief Priests, and for peace upon the Holy Apostolic Church. And after this, let the Chief Priest pray and offer supplication that peace may be upon the people. And then let him bless them, as Moses commanded that the Priests should bless the people, saying thus. The Lord bless thee and keep thee, and make his face to shine upon thee, and save thee, and give thee peace, and have mercy upon thee ! And after this let the Bishop pray, and say. Save thy people, and bless thine inheritance! feed them, and lift them up for ever! for it is thy Holy Church, which thou hast purchased by thy name, and redeemed by thy blood, by oiir Lord Jesus Christ, who hath called her to be an assembly of Kings and Priests, a pure generation, a holy people ! And after that the Priests have taken into their hands the Mysteries, let them take heed that none enter who are not believers. And then let the people stand up, and let the women also, by themselves, veil their heads, and let them stretch out their hands, and pray for pardon, and receive His flesh and precious blood. And if any brother or sister come from a distant place, let the Deacon inquire into their lives, and understand their faith. And if they have the true tokens of faith, let him receive them to enter into the church. But if they be unsound in the faith, let him not receive them to enter in. And if a Priest come from a place afar off, let the Priests receive him, and in like manner let it be done with the Deacons. And if a Bishop come, a stranger, let the Bishop, who is in the same station, receive him, and let him sit with him, and let him give him honour. And then let them request him to teach, and reprove, and exhort, and comfort them; for He saith, A Prophet is without honour in his own country. Entreat him therefore that he offer up the sacrifice. And if, through fear, he will not offer up the sacrifice, let them entreat him the more earnestly to give at least a blessing to the people. And if any man come unto thee, whether a stranger or one of the men of the place, clothed in a goodly robe, full of grace and dignity, do thou, O Bishop, proclaim unto him the word of the Lord. And while thou hearest them singing and reading the Scriptures, neglect not thy ministry and the work of thine hands. It is right that the brethren should receive strangers, and magnify and honour them. And if there be any haughty man, who honoureth not the stranger, let the Deacon, when he cometh, rebuke him, and place him behind the rest of the people, that others, seeing him, may fear. And if there come unto you a poor man, whether old or young, let the Deacon receive such with a joyful heart, and put each one in his own place, as it is fitting: let there be no respect of persons, but let your service be that which is pleasing unto the Lord. And let the Deaconess also do likewise with the women, with the rich and the poor.

Exhort thy people, O Bishop, and command them to come to the church day and night, and never to be away from it, and that the people in it be not diminished in number, for they are the members of Christ. And it is not concerning the Priests alone that we say this, but concerning all the people, that each one of them may understand the word of the Lord. For our Lord saith. He that is not with me is mine adversary; and he that gathereth not with me, scattereth. Be not slothful, therefore, for ye are the members of Christ: separate not yourselves from His body, neither prefer the cares of this world before the commandments of the Lord. Assemble yourselves together in the church, evening and morning ; offer up praises, and sing; and read the Psalms of David, the sixty-second, and moreover the hundred and fortieth. And especially on the Jewish Sabbath, and on the first day of the week, the Christian Sabbath, which is the day of His holy resurrection, offer up praises and thanksgivings and glory to the Lord, who hath created all things by his Son Jesus Christ, whom he sent unto us, who was pleased to suffer according to his will, and was buried in the tomb, and rose again from the dead. But if ye come not into the Church, what plea will ye make, or what will ye answer unto the Lord? For on this day, the Christian Sabbath, it behoveth us to hear the preaching of His holy resurrection, and to call to mind His sufferings, and to make remembrance of Him, and read the Scriptures of the Prophets, and the Gospel, and the service of the Holy Eucharist, and to offer up the oblation, and receive the spiritual food. And if ye watch not day and night, and do not as we command, ye shall be accounted transgressors of the Law, and enemies of the Lord; for ye have chosen rather your own pleasures, to eat and to drink, and to enjoy delights which wax old and vanish away. And to those who do such things, the Lord saith. The Gentiles are better than you; as He spake to Jerusalem, and said, Sodom is better than thou. Behold, then, let us look at the foolish Gentiles! every day, when they awake and arise from sleep, they hasten away to their gods, that save not, nor profit, and worship them, and lay before them in prayer all their cares ; and on the days of their feasts they gather themselves together, small and great; and not they alone, but others also, come from places far off, to worship and serve them. And in like manner the foolish Jews, apostates and unbelievers as they are, yet work six days, and rest on the seventh day. And then they assemble together in their synagogues, and keep a feast to idols, and magnify and honour them, even them that have no life nor spirit, who profit not any thing; yet they boast themselves, and say. We are Jews. But if these men, who do thus, yet continually assemble themselves together, while they are serving in their folly those in whom is no profit, how then is it that ye, who have received grace from the Lord God, are idle and negligent in the service of the Church? For, indeed, if ye forsake the Church, ye lose your hope, and give up your salvation, and become apostates. Depart not from that which is good, neither do evil. Behold, the Lord saith, by the mouth of the Prophet Jeremiah, My people have deserted my law which I set before their face, neither have they heard my voice: but they are gone, and have followed the way of their own hearts; and have followed idols, as their fathers have taught them. And moreover he saith. Rebellious Israel hath justified herself more than treacherous Judah. Their shepherds have led them into the mountains, and driven them away; and they have caused them to wander among the hills. What excuse can they make, who delay to go into the church, and go out of it at the time of prayer? When can they hear of the salvation of their souls? and what will they answer unto the Lord? Understand, then, that the employment of the faithful which abideth with them, and their work in truth and substance, is this, the worship of the Lord. Let not your work and labour be for the cares of this passing world, which waxeth old and vanisheth away, and its pleasures remain not; but let your thoughts be towards the Lord : as our Lord saith. Take no thought for the meat which perisheth, but for the meat that abideth unto everlasting life. And moreover he saith. The work that pleaseth the Lord is, that ye believe in Him whom He hath sent unto you. Take heed, therefore, that ye leave not the Church of the Lord; neither follow the steps of transgressors and unbelievers and worshippers of idols, nor the assembhes of the Jews; neither go to the house of devils, nor have fellowship with the murderers of Christ, nor enter into the assembly of the transgressors. Hast thou not heard what he saith, I sat not in the assembly of vanity, and went not in with the workers of iniquity; I have hated the congregation of evil men, and will not sit with the deceivers? And again he saith. Blessed is the man who hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners, nor sat in the seat of the scornful; but the law of the Lord is his delight, and in His law will he meditate day and night. But behold, thou hast deserted the assembly of the faithful, and hast despised the Church of the Lord; neither hast thou kept his law and his ordinance; but hast followed the way of thieves, and hast accounted the polluted as the pure, and art become a companion of those who were separated from thee, and hast taken thy station with the adulterers and idolaters, and hast caused thine ear to hear the voice of the players, which is full of all impurity and vain words, wherein is no profit. And thou hast refused to hear the voice of Jeremiah, who saith. Lord, I have not sat on the judgement-seat of wickedness, but I fear before thy face. Why desirest thou to hear the words of the dead Gentiles, who are wounded through sin, even through the works of the devil, and slay the man who followeth them, and draw him away from the right faith, and make him to serve many gods? Do not ye thus therefore, but keep the commandments of the Lord; and choose for yourselves life, and especially seek after the law of the Church of the Lord, which Christ, his beloved Son, who was before the creation of the world, purchased with His precious blood. For the Church is the daughter of the Most High; she it is that strengtheneth our hearts, and bringeth us near unto the Lord, that we may find a place before him; for we are His members, and His friends. Let us be good and pure, without pollution, continuing in the right faith, and in all good works, which are pleasing unto the Lord.

ETHIOPIC DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 11

That It Is Not Lawful For Christians To Enter Into The Assemblies Of The Heathen, Nor To See The Playing, Nor To Hear The Singing.

Take heed therefore, and keep yourselves from deeds like these, neither associate with the assemblies of the Gentiles; but keep far from the devices of Satan; for the devil hath no fellowship with the Lord; and he who joineth himself with the singer, to do the pleasure of the enemy, shall be numbered with the devil, and shall inherit a curse. Keep far, therefore, from evil doings, in which there is no profit, such as plays, the worshipping of idols, and resorting to soothsayers, and magicians, and enchanters, and diviners by birds, and necromancers. As it is written. Let there not be evil upon Jacob, nor reproach upon Israel. Depart, therefore, from such customs as these, which the idolaters follow, to lead men astray, which are the works of the devil. It behoveth the faithful to separate themselves from the assemblies of the wicked, and not to unite to keep a feast with them. And let us then likewise keep far from them, and not enter into their houses, nor eat nor drink with them; for these things are done amidst deeds of Satan. Let us separate ourselves from the worship of idols, and from error; from their social meetings, and vows to their gods.

Ye also, O young men! discharge all duties that are fitting towards the Holy Church, without idleness ; and live by the fruit of your labour, in purity, that ye may not be in want of any thing, nor be a burden to the Church of Christ; that we may be without care, except for the preaching of the Holy Gospel; and that we may not be negligent to work with the labour of our hands, nor be idle. For there are some among us, fishermen, and some tent-makers, and some cultivators of the earth. Solomon saith. Turn to the ant, thou sluggard, and, seeing her ways, imitate her, and become wiser than she. For she, having no field, and none that compelleth her, having no master, prepareth her meat in the summer; in the time of harvest she laboureth much. Or go to the bee, and learn how she laboureth, and how good is her work; whose labour kings and people aUke take, for health: she is desirable and honourable with all, yet in strength is she weak; by honouring wisdom, she is become honourable. How long, O sluggard! wilt thou sleep? and when wilt thou awake up from thy sleep? A little while thou sleepest, a little while thou sittest; and a little thou wilt dose, and a little thou wilt fold thy hands upon thy breast: and then poverty shall come upon thee as an evil messenger, and want as a swift runner. But if thou be not slothful, thy harvest shall come as a spring of water; and poverty, like an evil runagate, shall depart far from thee. A foolish and violent man walketh in ways that are not good. And again he saith. He that tilleth the land shall be filled with bread. And yet again he saith. The slothful man hideth his hand in his bosom, and it troubleth him to lift it to his mouth. The wise man provideth for himself. The foolish sluggard foldeth his hands together, and eateth his own flesh; for the doings of the sluggard are without remedy. If any man will not work, neither let him eat; and let not the idle man sit with you. Fear the slothful therefore, at all times, and depart far from them; for the Lord God hateth all the slothful. Let not the slothful man sit with those that are obedient unto God the Father; unto whom be praise and glory for ever. Amen.

ETHIOPIC DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 12

Of Widows.

Let her be appbinted who is of threescore years, who hath good works, chosen, and pure, who desireth not again a husband ; but let not the younger widows be appointed. And if thou appoint a young widow, who cannot endure as the aged widows, but desireth to marry again, tnist her not, for she will bring reproach and disgrace and a stain upon the Church, and shall be condemned before the Lord; because she hath married a second husband, and hath not kept the command of the Scripture. Wherefore it is not right to appoint them hastily, without inquiring into their lives, and examining them, whether they have continence. And if they cannot persevere, it is better not to name them; for they keep not that which they have promised. But if there be a young widow, who hath had a husband and hath been separated from him for a little while by death, and then she live alone, and keep the observance of widows, she that doeth thus is

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blessed: for she is like the widow at Sarepta of Sidon, to whom Elijah the holy Prophet of the Lord came, and she received him: and like the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Aser, who lived in the House of the Lord day and night, always ready for prayer and supplication, though her years were so many. At seven years did she enter into the Temple, and she remained fifty-seven years, continuing a virgin; looking for the coming of Christ, and giving thanks unto the Lord, and proclaiming concerning Him to all that looked for the coming of the salvation of Israel. Now the widow who doeth after this manner, shall find favour and honour and praise in this world, and in that also which is to come, before the Lord, in the Kingdom of Heaven. But let not the younger widows be appointed into the institutions of the Church: for they cannot contain with respect to marriage, while they are in the strength of their youth; and they will marry a second husband. Now as to these, their youth is given to the devil: but rather let them take heed, for the saving of themselves, that they marry not a second husband. It behoveth you to understand this, that a first marriage is pm-e before the Lord: but they who marry a second time are transgressors of the Law ; yet not on account of their being joined in marriage, but because they have been false against God the Creator. And they who marry a third time are not to be numbered with the flock of Christ. But as to those who marry a fourth time, their lasciviousness is yet more evident, and they shall find reproach and dishonour. For in the first creation the Lord gave one woman to one man, and for this cause they two became one flesh. Thus we command the young women: if their first husbands die, and they cannot contain, let them marry again, lest they fall into the snare of the devil and his devices, and into evil desires, that destroy the soul, and they themselves go down into the everlasting condemnation of hell, where there is no rest nor refreshment. But widows who are known for righteousness, women who have married one man, and to whom many bear witness that they have lived in purity, let these be numbered with the faithful widows, even those who bring up their children without spot: such as are of this kind it is right to help, and to make due provision for them, for their trust is in the Lord.

And thou moreover, O Bishop, stretch forth thine hand to give, and remember the poor and needy, and give to every one his desire, according as they stand in need ; and visit the widows and orphans, and the afflicted. It behoveth the Bishop then to help such, and save them, and make due provision for them, even for all the needy and afflicted; and to feed all the people in the good flock, who bring their offering of alms. And when they have brought it unto thee, give to every one according as it is fit, as a good and merciful steward; for this is acceptable with the Lord. For every one that giveth to the poor shall find a good reward; and thou that hast laboured for the Lord shalt receive a recompence. And say thus unto those to whom thou givest. That which I give unto you, such an one hath offered; that they may pray and make supplication for him. It is right that we should do good to all men; and say not. To this man I will give, and that man I will refuse. Do not thou make a difference between any. For our Lord saith. To every one that asketh thee, give; whether he be a friend or an enemy, and whether he be of thy kindred or a stranger, whether he be married or have not a wife, whether it be a widow or an orphan, even to all the needy do good. For our Lord hath commanded in the Scriptures, that we should have compassion upon the poor: for he saith, by the mouth of the Prophet Isaiah, Break thy bread to the hungry; and bring in the poor, and cause him to dwell under the shadow of thine house. And when thou seest the naked, clothe him, and hide not thine eyes from the seed of thine house.

And Daniel also saith. Wherefore let my counsel please thee, O King, and by almsgiving in righteousness thou shalt be saved; and purge out thy sin also by shewing pity unto the poor, until the Lord pardon thy transgression. And again he saith. For by mercy and faith shall sin be blotted out. And again he saith. Blessed be he that considereth the poor and needy: the Lord shall deliver him from the day of evil. And again he saith. He hath scattered abroad, and given to the poor, and his righteousness endureth for ever and ever. And moreover Solomon saith again. He that hath pity on the poor, lendeth unto the Lord; and he shall be recompensed according as he hath given. For he that stoppeth his ears, that he hear not the cry of the poor, against him the Lord also will stop his ears. And he that shutteth his eyes, that he see not the oppressed, unto him also the Lord will stop His ears, and will not hear him.

It behoveth the widows to be meek and quiet, no talkers, without malice or anger; but pure and humble, and worshipping the Lord in righteousness. And if they see evil doings, or hear unseemly words, let them be silent, as though they saw not and heard not. And let there be no care upon the widow for any thing, but for prayer and supplication on behalf of them that give alms and bring offerings unto the Church. And if there be any man who seeketh idle words of vanity, let them not answer him, but let them receive such as seek after the word of faith, and deeds of righteousness, and a good hope before the Lord. And let those who desire to be taught go to the Ordained Ministers, to hear the word of exhortation; and let them not hear slanderous reports, nor follow after other Gods; but let them worship the one Lord, who hath created all things. For the Lord hath compared the kingdom of heaven to a grain of mustard-seed, which is less than all seeds; and yet, when a man tasteth it, it burneth him. And so is the doctrine of the word of faith, it burneth the devil. It is not right that we should transgress the word of the Prophets, nor reveal mysteries to them that rebel against the faith; but let us be firm in believing: for our Lord hath commanded us, saying. Cast not your pearls before swine; neither give your holy things unto dogs, lest they turn and tear you; nor unto swine, lest they trample your pearls under their feet. For when unbelievers know the doctrine of the mysteries, they will despise it, and make it a reproach and shame, through their folly. But teach them rather to understand the word of the Law and the Prophets, who prophesied concerning the coming of Christ. For our Lord Jesus Christ sent us twelve, to teach all nations; but he commanded not women to teach, nor to speak in the church unto the people. Let them rather receive instruction, and abstain from deeds of fornication, and be obedient, with fasting and prayer, to hear the word of Scripture. For there were with us His mother and sisters, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the sister of Lazarus, and Martha, and Salome, and others also; yet these he commanded not to teach with us, and neither is it right that other women should teach. For if the man be the head of the woman, it is not right that the members should be greater than the head. It is not becoming, then, for the widows and virgins to walk up and down in the streets, or enter into public assemblies. And they who do after this manner are not widows or virgins, but become a stumbling-block to men: they who cleave not unto the Church, are idle and wanton, and seek other men's goods, and take men captive, and become seducers of others, and cause souls to fall; and they who follow them are far from the Lord. And as to those who enter into the Church, and consider not the word of Scripture, neither listen to the word of exhortation, of those who do after this manner the Prophet Isaiah saith. Hearing they shall hear and not understand, and seeing they shall see and not perceive : for the heart of this people is darkened. Unto such widows as these show thou not the sacrifice of Christ. But let her, who desireth to please the Lord, dwell in her house quietly, and praise him day and night, with a mouth that keepeth not silence; and let her pray unto the Lord with a pure heart, like wise Judith, who prayed to the Lord for Israel, day and night. So will the compassionate widow pray unto the Lord, neglecting not to go to the church; for all her thoughts are ever ready for His service, neither doth she turn to the desire of worldly pleasures. Her eyes are pure, and her ears holy; neither doth she stretch out her hand unto violence. Her feet run in the way of peace; neither doth her mouth speak falsely; and her manner of living is with moderation. Now as for her who doeth thus, the Lord will hear her prayer and supplication: for he saith. In the day when I call upon thee, hear me speedily. Let such a widow as this be appointed of the number, one who loveth not money, who hath no vanity nor wantonness, who is not a lover of gain, but is well-pleasing and prudent, and sitteth in her house, praising and singing, and reading the Scriptures, and observeth the times of the hours day and night, and fasteth and prayeth unto the Lord at all times, and giveth from the labour of her hands unto the poor, and hath no possessions; remembering the widow who brought two mites into the sanctuary of the Lord. And concerning her our Lord Jesus Christ hath testified in the Gospel, and said. Verily I say unto you, that this widow hath brought in more than all they that have brought into the treasury of alms: for all they that brought in, have brought in of their substance; but she hath brought in of her poverty, even all her living.

It behoveth the widows, then, to be pure, and to be in subjection with fear, and more especially to the Bishops and Priests, and Deacons and Deaconesses. And let them do nothing without the counsel of the Deacon, not going after pleasant meats, or vain conversation; and if they be found doing thus, let them be reproved by the Deacon, and let him command them to fast. And so the Priests likewise, let them not receive gain from robbers and adulterers. Receive thou nothing from those who do such things, neither bring in their offering unto the Lord thy God. It behoveth the widows then to be ready to hear the voice of those that are over them, and to do all that they command them, and to observe the word of the Bishop, and to honour him as the Lord. And if any one receive alms of the unbelievers and unjust, he falleth himself into their error, and dieth in their transgression. And if he pray for them, he grieveth Christ. But rather let him turn them to repentance; for those who convert not the unjust and sinners, and them that are in error, shall be accounted partakers in their, evil deeds.

ETHIOPIC DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 13

That It Is Not Lawful For Women To Baptise.

Behold, we declare unto you, that great is the condemnation of those who do after this manner. We command you therefore not to do this deed; for this thing is a transgression of the Law. For the head of the woman is the man, who is also appointed to the Priesthood. It is not right, therefore, that we should transgress against the Creator; that we should leave the Head, and follow the members. For the woman is a member of the man, and came out from him; and from her, children are born. For the Lord hath said, as we have before declared. Suffer not the women to reprove, or teach, or to do the works of the Priesthood, which is not commanded in the Law. And he who doeth thus, hath transgressed against the Lord, and is become as those that are without knowledge, who appoint women to be Priestesses to graven images of women. Them that are such, put away far from the Law of the Lord. Wherefore it is not lawful for women to baptise any one. If it had been lawful for women to baptise, our Lord Jesus Christ would have been baptised by his mother, and not by John: neither would he have sent us into the world to baptise, but would have sent women to baptise with us. We then also command that women do no such thing; even though they be very vdse, and have faith, and know the Scriptures, yet do we not suffer them to teach, and baptise, and preach the Gospel.

ETHIOPIC DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 14

That It Is Not Lawful For The Layman To Do Any Work Belonging To The Priesthood.

We command then that no Layman do any work belonging to the Priesthood, neither offer up incense, nor baptise, nor lay on hands, nor give the bread of blessing. For no man receiveth this grace, unless it be given to him of the Lord. But it behoveth them to receive the grace and honour at the hands of the Bishop. And he to whom the ordination of the Priesthood hath not been given, if he transgress, shall find condemnation, even as King Ozias. Moreover, we do not command all that are ordained in the Church to baptise, neither the Reader, nor the Chanters, nor the Door-keepers, but only the Bishops and Priests, and the Deacons who minister with them. And they who transgress and do any such thing shall receive the condemnation which came upon the sons of Korah. Behold, we command the Priests not to ordain Deacons, or Readers, or Chanters, or Door-keepers; but let the Bishops alone ordain, according to the Institution of the Church, who have no revenge, or jealousy, or slandering, or hatred, or malice. Behold, we have before told you, that they who do such things are ahens from the congregation of Christians; and most especially widows.

ETHIOPIC DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 15

Of Widows.

For Satan searcheth an opportunity to ensnare, as he did, at the beginning, against Cain. For there are who say, We are widows, and do not works fitting for widows; as Cain, who did that which was not right toward his brother. But such have no knowledge; for it is not by being called widows that they shall inherit the kingdom of heaven, but by patience and good works. And she who taketh the name of a widow, and doeth the works of the devil, is a deceiver, insomuch that she shall receive condemnation from the Lord, even for ever. Behold, we hear that there are among the widows those that are evil, and envious, that cause strife among brethren: these are not of Christ, for they have not kept the word of exhortation. If there be any one of the sisters, and others of them see men give her alms, whether gold, or garments, whatever they be, or meat and drink, and then she rejoice and find rest, it is fitting that they should say thus: Blessed be the Lord God, who hath given joy to the widow, our beloved sister! O Lord, bless him who hath given to this widow, and multiply his substance, in righteousness and purity ; and remember him for good in thy compassion and mercy! And give thou double honour unto the Bishop, who hath taught and exhorted them that have given to us; give unto him a crown of glory, when he shall depart from this life. And in like manner let the widow herself also pray, and make supplication together with them, for those that have had mercy upon her. And let her also give to the poor of what she hath received; so shall her deeds be acceptable with the Lord. As it is written. Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth, and let thine alms be in secret. Thus shall the widow pray for them that have given her alms, for she is as the sanctuary of the Lord; and thy Father, who seeth thee in secret, shall reward thee openly. But widows who walk not in the commandments of the Lord, are jealous against him who hath given alms to the widow their sister, and ask and say. Who hath shown mercy unto this woman? And then, when they understand and know, they go to him who hath given alms to their sister, to trouble him, and say to him. How is it that thou hast first given to her, when we are much more in need than she is? They are foolish who say thus, thinking it is a gift from man; whereas the gift of favour cometh from the Lord. Certainly she was in want. It is not lawful that they should, go and trouble him who hath shown mercy; but rather let them remain in their houses, and fall down upon their faces, and repent, and pray unto the Lord. For the Lord showeth mercy to them that proclaim his goodness; for our

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Lord saith. When ye enter into an house, say. Peace be unto this house! And if the son of peace be there, your peace shall rest upon it; and if not, your peace shall return to you again. Now if Peace find not any place prepared for her where she may rest, she remaineth not there, but returneth to him that sent her ; and so the unjust curse shall not come upon him that hath not sinned, but shall return back upon him that hath cursed. For he that curseth another without cause, hath cursed himself, as Solomon saith.

ETHIOPIC DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 16

That It Is Not Lawful That Ye Should Do Evil Against Your Neighbours.

In like manner ye also, as ye have done unto others, so shall ye be recompensed. For he saith. He hath digged a pit, and hollowed it out, and he shall fall into the pit that he hath made ; and his labour shall return upon his own head, and his wickedness shall come down upon his own pate. For he that diggeth a pit for his neighbour shall fall into it himself. What he hateth for himself, let him not do against his neighbour. And for this cause, do thou also, O Bishop, teach and exhort them that despise the widows; and be patient with the angry, and visit the sick, and rejoice over the chosen ones, who bless and curse not; and command them not that which is evil, but that they do good, and make peace. And whether it be a Bishop, or Priest, or Deacon, or whosoever it be of them that are ordained, let there not come forth from the mouth of such an one cursing instead of blessing. It is fit that the Bishop should teach and reprove and command the people, and that there go not out of his mouth the voice of cursing, but that he be careful for them, both over the Priests, and the Deacons who minister, and the virgins and widows, and the people. And for this cause, O Bishop, try and examine the Deacons, who minister with thee ; and help them in doing good, that they may be prepared to minister unto the people. And let a chosen and pure woman also, without spot, be appointed a Deaconess, to minister unto the women. For it is not lawful for a Deacon to minister to the women, lest there arise a reproach among them that believe not. Wherefore let there be a Deaconess to minister unto the women; and let her anoint them with oil, and put on their garments after baptism. But thou, O Bishop, anoint on the forehead them that are baptised, both men and women, with holy oil, according to the institution of the holy baptism. And after this, ye, O Bishops and Priests, pray for them that are put under you, and baptise them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. And then let the Deacon take the men, and the Deaconess the women, that the seal which they receive, and which no man can break, may be holy and pure. And after that they are baptised, let the Bishop anoint them with oil of balsam; for they are baptised into the death of Christ. The oil of balsam is the confirmation of faith. For when a man cometh up out of the water . . . .

(Text missing)

. . . . among each other, and hath taught us that we should love our neighbour. And if our Lord and Saviour humbled himself for our sakes, and did all these things, how is it then that ye are puffed up, and are slow to do good among the poor and afflicted? Serve each other then with perfect love, without murmuring and accepting of persons. Only do not this for the outward appearance, but for the sake of the Lord, that ye may receive the reward of your labour from him in the Last Day. It is right that the Deacons should seek to accomplish the desires of the poor, even before they ask them. And moreover let them minister unto the Bishop, and be one soul with him, and make him their father, and teacher, and reprover.

And behold, we command that a Bishop be ordained by three Bishops; or at the least, by two. But from one Bishop he cannot receive ordination: for by the testimony of two or three witnesses shall every word be established. And the Priests and Deacons, and other persons ordained in the Church, shall be ordained by one Bishop. And unto the Priests and Deacons it is not given that they should ordain one who is of the people; but let the Priest teach and baptise and bless the people, and burn incense and offer oblations: and the Deacon must do nothing without the authority of the Bishop, and he is for the Priest also, to minister unto him; and let him perform it with a good ministry.

ETHIOPIC DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 17

Concerning Orphans.

It behoveth Christian people who have not children to take up the children of the departed, whether youths or virgins, and to make them as their own children, and love them yet more. And if any man have a son that is come to the ripe age of youth, let him marry the orphan virgin. And if ye do after this manner, ye shall perform a great work, and shall become fathers of the fatherless, and shall find a reward, in recompence for this your service, from the Lord God. But if any man be lifted up, and despise the fatherless, and say, I indeed will not marry the poor orphan; let him understand who it is that is the Father of the fatherless and the Avenger of the widow. For he who thinketh to do thus, shall scatter his wealth to another; and the Scripture shall be fulfilled against him, which saith. That which the Saints have not eaten, the Pharisees shall eat: as Isaiah saith. Your land, strangers and enemies shall devour it before your face.

ETHIOPIC DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 18

That It Is Required Of Bishops To Provide For Widows And Orphans.

Ye also, O Bishops, provide for the sustenance of the poor, and take care for the orphans, and give them the substance of their fathers for an inheritance; and to the widows also, the substance of their husbands: and for the young men and virgins provide marriages, as it is fitting: and to them that work give their recompence; and find a dweUing for the poor stranger; and atisfy the hungry, and give drink to the thirsty, and clothe the naked, and visit the sick, and help the prisoners. Think on these things, and do thus for the fatherless and widows, day and night. For he that can do thus, blessed is he ! Behold, he hath saved himself, for he hath received the widow, the fatherless, and the stranger. Wherefore also our Lord saith. It is better to give than to receive. They that oppress the poor shall receive condemnation for that which they have done, before the Lord, in the Last Day. If a man bestow alms of that which he hath received, and give to the fatherless, and to the old man, or to the poor, or to the sick, or whether it be to the poor man that hath children, him that doeth thus reproach not, but commend him ; for he is an altar unto the Lord. It is right that a man should pray at all times for them that have given him alms. But he that receiveth alms while he possesseth any thing, with him the Lord shall reckon ; for he hath snatched away the bread of the poor ; and he hath not done that which is good toward himself and toward others. And he who hath substance, and giveth not to the poor, is like the rich man who gathered and filled his barns in vain, and he shall be destroyed from before the Lord ; for his substance shall not profit him, in the day of the wrath of the Lord. For he that doeth thus, believeth not in the Lord, but maketh a God of his substance, and trusteth in it, and seeketh not after that which is right : he hath no mercy, neither setteth he the fear of the Lord before his eyes ; he is without love, he is his own enemy, and hath no friend. Now as for him who doeth thus, his substance shall perish; and an enemy and stranger shall devour it, either while he is living, or after that he is dead. For he saith. He that gathereth riches by violence, they shall be taken from him.

ETHIOPIC DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 19

That It Is Required Of The Unmarried Women, And Widows, That They Receive That Which Is Bestowed Upon Them Thankfully.

Let us exhort the unmarried women and widows to receive that which the Lord giveth them, with thanksgiving, with fear and trembhng ; and let them give thanks unto the Lord, who giveth food to the hungry. Who is there of you that eateth and drinketh in moderation? Is it not the Lord that hath given it to him ? He stretcheth out his hand, and multiplieth good things according to his will ; He giveth corn to the young men, and wine to the maidens, and the oil of gladness to all that live; He giveth food to the cattle, and liberty to the servants, and flesh to the beasts of the field, and fruits to the birds, and food to all, such as is fitting for them. Wherefore also our Lord saith. Be ye like unto the birds, which sow not, neither reap, nor gather into barns; yet your Father which is in heaven feedeth them: and far better are ye than many birds. Take no thought, saying. What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed? for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But if ye desire to receive his good things, and inherit his kingdom, offer unto Him praises and thanksgiving and blessing. And unto those who receive the widow and the fatherless, God the Father shall give joy in the kingdom of His beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ, unto whom be praise and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

ETHIOPIC DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 20

That It Is Required Of Bishops To Be Discreet In Receiving Offerings From Those Only Who Are Worthy.

It behoveth the Bishop to make a difference, receiving offerings from those who are worthy; but that which it is not right to receive, let him not receive. Take heed of the seller of strong drink; for his salvation from sin is far off. And for this cause he saith. Woe unto them that mingle wine with water! Let us flee, therefore, from drunkenness and fornication: for the Lord God saith. Bring not offerings from the wages of fornication, from plunder, and from them that lend their substance for usury, and from the impure in spirit: they that make offerings thus, are not accepted before the Lord. It behoveth the Bishop to be far from those that plunder widows and orphans, from those that fill prisons with the pure who have done no wrong, and from those that oppress their servants with heavy and evil servitude, and torment them with hunger and thirst. The offering of such men is polluted: receive it not of them ; for every one who doeth evil, and speaketh iniquity, is rejected before the Lord. Let us be far from thieves and pubhcans, and from them that make idols, and from seducers, and such as use false balances, and wicked soldiers, who plunder the houses of the poor and needy, and seize their goods by violence. Take heed of murderers, and those that lie in wait by the way; and of such as overthrow good works; of impure vdzards, and all such persons ; of blasphemers ; and especially of those that take usury; for it is written, saying, A little with righteousness is better than great riches of the sinner. And again it is written, saying. Thou, O Lord, hatest all the workers of iniquity, and shalt cast off all them that speak falsehood. And he that neglecteth to feed the vddow and orphan shall be condemned before the Lord. For that which Adonias did is written in the Book of Kings, how he transgressed against the Lord, and eat bread and drank water in the place of which the Lord commanded that he should not eat in it, because of the transgression of Jeroboam the son of Nebat; and for this cause he was slain.

For that which a man obtaineth by his labour for the maintenance of the widow, whether it be much or httle, is acceptable with the Lord, seeing that it is not gotten by iniquity ; for a little with righteousness is better than great riches of the sinner. But if a widow eat that which cometh from the transgressors and be filled, and pray for them, the Lord will not hear her prayer ; for the Lord trieth the doings, and what is in the heart and the reins. For the Lord saith concerning transgressors and unbelievers. Though Moses, Elias, and Samuel stood and prayed for them, I would not hear their prayer, nor pardon their sin. Now he spake not concerning these only, but concerning others also, who have sinned and refuse to turn unto repentance. When they pray, he will not hear their prayer for them that do such things; but they provoke the Lord, not remembering the evil of their doings. Flee then from deeds of this sort; for all who do such things depart from the law. For Ehas received not the offering of Hazael who reigned over Syria, neither did Ahijah receive the offering of Jeroboam; and if the Prophets of the Lord received not offerings from unbelievers, in like manner let the Bishops fear to do so. Simon also, the magician, brought to us a gift, even to us Peter and John, purposing to obtain the honour which is above every honour ; but we received not the gift from him, but bound him with everlasting bonds. So did he desire to pervert the honour which was not given to him from the Lord. Flee, therefore, from the polluted offerings which they bring into the House of the Lord. And again he saith. Depart from iniquity, vnth fear and trembling. And if ye say. If we receive not offerings from transgressors, what shall we give to the widows and orphans, and the poor who have no maintenance?—if ye do thus, it becometh sin unto you; for the Lord hath done and appointed for you, as he did in the beginning for the Levites, that they should receive offerings from the people. And seeing that all this hath been appointed for the Church, it is right that ye should endure patiently hunger and thirst, rather than that ye should receive the offerings of the enemies of the Lord, and become a mocking and a laughing-stock. For concerning such persons, the prophet saith. Let not my head be anointed with the oil of sinners. Take heed to receive offerings from such as do that which is good; but from the transgressors receive them not. And if thou be poor, tell the faithful brethren that love the Lord, that they may give thee thy desire. And when thou hast received from them, give unto the widows and orphans according to righteousness. As Solomon saith unto the people. Give unto the Lord of thy labour in righteousness, that thy bams may be filled with corn, and thy wine-press may burst out as a fountain. And from the labour of the faithful clothe the naked, and entertain them from the offerings that they bring unto you, and minister unto them, according to the institution of the saints ; redeem the captives, and visit the prisoners, and dehver them that are appointed unto death, that ye may find life from the Lord. Behold, we command that ye follow not the way of the ungodly and unbeUevers, nor receive their offerings, for they are prepared as fuel for the fire; neither be ye partakers with them, for the offering of sinners is polluted before the Lord. These things have we spoken unto you, O Brethren, for the profit of your souls.

ETHIOPIC DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 21

That It Is Required Of Fathers To Keep Their Children Under Discipline.

And ye also, O Fathers, reprove and instruct your children, that they keep the commandment of the Lord, and follow the way of Christ. And command them that they learn some art and labour of the hands, and that they sit not idle; for so will their hearts be lifted up, and they will depart from doing that which is good. Wherefore instruct them diligently, and spare not to correct them; for children die not by correction, but are thereby saved from condemnation. For he saith. Keep not back thy rod from thy son, for thy hope is good: if thou beat him with the rod, thou hast saved his soul from death. And moreover he saith. He that correcteth not his son, is a fool. Beat thy son, and scourge his sides, while he is young; lest he become hardened, and go astray from thee. He that correcteth not his son, hateth him. Teach then your children the word of the Lord; and correct them from their youth with sharp

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correction, that they may become humble, and obedient to every one. Teach them to write, and to read the Holy Scriptures; and leave them not to live' in idleness, lest they neglect and transgress your commandments. Neither suffer them to enter the house of the seller of strong drink; lest they be polluted, and corrupted with fornication. For if the fathers neglect to teach them, they will become partakers in sin with their children. And when they come to the maturity of youth, let each take unto him a wife in a pure union, lest the desires of youth and of fornication assault them, and they fall into transgression; for the Lord will for this require the sin at the hand of their fathers, in the day of recompence.

ETHIOPIC DIDASCALIA CHAPTER 22

That It Is Required Of Servants That They Be Subject Unto Their Masters In All Purity, Whether They Be Faithful Or Unbelievers.

What then say ye concerning servants? Let them be of good understanding, and serve their masters in the fear of the Lord. For although the servant be a Christian, and his master an unbeliever, yet is it required that he serve him in every thing; only let him have no communion with him in faith. And in like manner let masters also love their servants. But if a man's master be a believer, let him serve him, and fear him as the Lord, and esteem him as a father and a good master; and for this cause he shall receive a good recompence in return for that he hath served his master. And if a master have a believing servant, who doeth the will of his master, let him love him as a son, and esteem him as a brother, for the love of the faith.

Submit yourselves and be obedient unto Rulers, and to . . . . .

(The end of the text is missing)

THE CHRISTIAN CREEDS

First Counsel of Nicaea
First Counsel of Constantinople
Authors. Anonymus
Translation: Anonymus
Estimated Range of Dating. 4th to 6th centuries A.D.

(The earliest creed in Christianity, "Jesus is Lord", originated in the writings of Paul the Apostle which is no surprise as today's Christianity is a creation of Paul whose real name was Saul of Tarsos.

"Jesus is Lord" is the shortest credal affirmation found in the New Testament, one of several slightly more elaborate variations. It serves as a statement of faith for the majority of Christians who regard Jesus as both fully man and God. It is the motto of the World Council of Churches.

In antiquity, in general use, the term "Lord" was a courtesy title for social superiors, but its root meaning was "ruler". Kings everywhere were styled "Lord" and often considered divine beings so the word acquired a religious significance. After the murder of Julius Caesar, his adopted son Caesar Octavianus, let the Senate of Rome declare Caesar a God, thus Octavian, as Caesar's legal heir, became the son of God. When in 27 B.C. Roman Emperor Caesar Octavianus received the title of "Augustus" it made him a God in his own right. The Roman Calendar, whose names of the months represent gods, bears witness to this fact still today: The July is dedicated to the God "Iulius" Caesar, the August to the God "Augustus". For Paul the Roman citizen, who knew about deification in Rome, it was clear that Jesus was "the Christ", the "anointed One", "the Lord".

In Pauline Christianity, creed-like slogans attributed to Paul the Apostle in Galatians, 2 Thessalonians, Romans and 1 Corinthians, though never standardised, became forerunners of the Christian Creeds. The most popular and briefest was "Jesus is Lord" found in 1 Corinthians 12:3; Romans 10:9 and 1 Cor 6:11 since their being described as "in the name of the Lord Jesus" [which is a Roman phrase] certainly seems to imply that "the formula 'Jesus is Lord' had a place in the rite". The phrase might be extended as "Jesus Christ is Lord" as in Philippians 2:11. The affirmation "Jesus is the Son of God" has become a long-term significance. The Christian creed "Jesus is Lord" became widespread among Christians during the second and third centuries and has continued to be proclaimed enthusiastically among Christians throughout history.

The following passages show the probable origins of the Christian Creeds:

"No one can say Jesus is Lord except by the Holy Spirit." [1 Corinthians 12:3]; "If with your mouth you confess Jesus is Lord and believe in your heart that God raised Him from the dead, you will be saved. . . . For whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved." [Romans 10:9-13]; "and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father." [Philippians 2:11]; "For I passed on to you in the first place what I had myself received, that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, and that he was buried, that he was raised on the third day according to the Scriptures, and that he appeared to Cephas, then to the Twelve, then to more than five hundred brothers at once ... then he appeared to James, then to all the apostles ..." [1 Corinthians 15:3-7]; "Concerning His Son, Who was born of David's seed by natural descent, Who was declared Son of God with power by the Spirit of Holiness when he was raised from the dead, Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom we have received grace." [Romans 1:3-4].)

THE CREED OF NICAEA / NICENE CREED, 325 AD

The Nicene Creed (Latin: Symbolum Nicaenum) is a statement of belief widely used in Christian liturgy. The original Nicene Creed was first adopted on 19 June 325 at the First Council of Nicaea. At that time, the text ended with the words "We believe in the Holy Spirit", after which various anathemas against Arian propositions were added. The Nicene creed may well have been the local creed of Caesarea (an important centre of Early Christianity) recited in the council by Eusebius of Caesarea. It is called Nicene because it was originally adopted in the city of Nicaea (present day Iznik, Turkey).

The Creed of Nicaea was created during a vicious power struggle in which the Pauline Christians, i.e., the Roman Christians [who would become the Roman Catholic Church, the state Church of the Roman Empire.] fought for gaining the upper hand in political power against Arians, Nestorians, Gnostics, Jewish Christians [Ebionites], Mandaeans, Manichaeans, and others.

Arianism is a doctrine that came from Arius (c. 260–336 AD), an influential priest who taught in Alexandria, Egypt. Arius lived as an ascetic, in a lifestyle that was similar to Jesus' lifestyle which was characterised by abstinence from sensual pleasures, mainly for the purpose of pursuing redemption, salvation or spirituality.

Arianism simply teaches that Jesus was not God. For this reason, Arianism opposes the dogma of the Holy Trinity. In 325 AD, the Nicene Creed was made, which the early Christians used to defeat Arianism, with the statement: "We believe in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God . . . begotten, not made, consubstantial with the Father."

In the Christian religion, the Trinity is an idea used to explain that three different persons are called God: "God the Father", "God the Son", and "God the Holy Spirit" (also called the Holy Ghost). The Trinity says that each of these three entities be forms of the same God. The Apostle Paul and his gentile [non-Jewish] followers wanted to make Jesus devine and copied the Roman Imperial Cult whose leader, the Roman emperor, was recognised as God and his son and heir as the "son of god". The Jews under the first bishop of Jerusalem, James the brother of Jesus, were furious. Knowing that this concept is blasphemy against God, the early Pauline Christians have tried to disguise their deification of Jesus in a weird explanation to which they have added also the so-called "Holy Spirit" or "Holy Ghost" that would have been represented the entire Pantheon of the empire's Roman Imperial Cult, the Ministry of Religion. Due to Jesus deification, Jews have looked down on Christians as heretics, blasphemers, liers and traitors as the first 3 of the 10 Commandments clearly state: 1. I am the Lord thy God, thou shalt have no other gods before me [You must not worship any other gods except me.]; 2. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image [Do not worship or serve idols of any kind.]; 3. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain [You must not use the name of the Lord your God to make empty promises.]. The 3rd Commandment points to the concept of salvation only by believing in Jesus alone. Most Christians have not been aware that this concept is taken from Mithraism, a cult of Persian origin; this includes also the Eucharist.

Judaism and Gnosticism still oppose the heretic teachings of the Trinity. And so does Islam which teaches that God can not be divided. For this reason, several verses of the Koran teach that the doctrine of Trinity is blasphemous (against God).

The actual purpose of a creed is to provide a doctrinal statement of correct belief or orthodoxy. The creeds of Christianity have been drawn up at times of conflict about doctrine: acceptance or rejection of a creed served to distinguish believers and deniers of particular doctrines. For that reason, a creed was called in Greek a symbolon, which originally meant half of a broken object which, when fitted to the other half, verified the bearer's identity. The Greek word passed through Latin symbolum into English "symbol", which only later took on the meaning of an outward sign of something.

The Nicene Creed was adopted to resolve the Arian controversy, whose leader, Arius, a clergyman of Alexandria, "objected to Alexander's (the bishop of the time) apparent carelessness in blurring the distinction of nature between the Father and the Son by his emphasis on eternal generation". In reply, Alexander accused Arius of denying the divinity of the Son and also of being too "Jewish" and "Greek" in his thought. Alexander and his supporters created the Nicene Creed to clarify the key tenets of the Pauline Christian faith in response to the widespread adoption of Arius' doctrine, which was henceforth marked as heresy.

The Nicene Creed of 325 explicitly affirms the co-essential divinity of the Son, applying to him the term "consubstantial". The 381 version speaks of the Holy Spirit as worshipped and glorified with the Father and the Son. The later Athanasian Creed (not used in Eastern Christianity) describes in much greater detail the relationship between Father, Son and Holy Spirit. The earlier Apostles' Creed does not explicitly affirm the divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit, but in the view of many who use it, this doctrine is implicit in it.

THE CREED OF CONSTANTNOPLE, 381 AD

In 381, it was amended at the First Council of Constantinople, and the amended form is referred to as the Nicene or the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed. The Apostles' Creed is also used in the Latin West, but not in the Eastern liturgies. On Sundays and solemnities, one of these two creeds is recited in the Roman Rite Mass after the homily. The Nicene Creed is also part of the profession of faith required of those undertaking important functions within the Catholic Church. In the Eastern Roman Rite, the Nicene Creed is sung or recited at the Divine Liturgy, immediately preceding the Anaphora (Eucharistic Prayer), and is also recited daily at compline.

The Oriental Orthodox and Assyrian churches use this profession of faith with the verbs in the original plural ("we believe"), but the Eastern Orthodox and Catholic churches convert those verbs to the singular ("I believe"). The Anglican and many Protestant denominations generally use the singular form, sometimes the plural.

What is known as the "Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed" or the "Nicene–Constantinopolitan Creed" received this name because of a belief that it was adopted at the Second Ecumenical Council held in Constantinople in 381 as a modification of the original Nicene Creed of 325. In that light, it also came to be very commonly known simply as the "Nicene Creed". It is the only authoritative ecumenical statement of the Christian faith accepted by the Catholic Church, the Eastern Orthodox Church, Oriental Orthodoxy, the Church of the East, much of Protestantism including the Anglican communion. (The Apostles' and Athanasian creeds are not as widely accepted.)

Comparison between creed of 325 and creed of 381

Although church officials seem to downplay it, the difference between the text of 325 and the text of 381 is quite significant. The following comparison makes that clear. The square brackets [. .] of the following Necene Creed, indicates portions of the 325 text that were omitted or moved in the Creed of Constantinople from 381 AD, and uses round brackets (. .) to indicate what phrases, absent in the text from 325 AD, were added in the text from 381 AD.

The Creed of Nicaea (325 AD)

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible.

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father [the only-begotten; that is, of the essence of the Father, God of God,] Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father;

By whom all things were made [both in heaven and on earth];

Who for us men, and for our salvation, came down and was incarnate and was made man;

He suffered, and the third day he rose again, ascended into heaven;

From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

And in the Holy Ghost.

[But those who say: 'There was a time when he was not;' and 'He was not before he was made;' and 'He was made out of nothing,' or 'He is of another substance' or 'essence,' or 'The Son of God is created,' or 'changeable,' or 'alterable'— they are condemned by the holy catholic and apostolic Church.]

The Creed of Constantinople (381 AD)

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of (heaven and earth, and of) all things visible and invisible.

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the (only-begotten) Son of God, begotten of the Father (before all worlds (æons), Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father; by whom all things were made; who for us men, and for our salvation, came down (from heaven,) and was incarnate (by the Holy Ghost and of the Virgin Mary,) and was made man; he (was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, and) suffered, (and was buried,) and the third day he rose again, (according to the Scriptures,) and ascended) into heaven, (and sitteth on the right hand of the Father;)

from thence he shall come (again, with glory,) to judge the quick and the dead; (whose kingdom shall have no end.)

And in the Holy Ghost, (the Lord and Giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son

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together is worshiped and glorified, who spake by the prophets.

In one holy catholic and apostolic Church; we acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins; we look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen.)

The Filioque Interpolation

The Filioque ("and from the Son") is a Latin term that some Latin Churches added to the original Creed of Constantinople (also known as Constantinopolitan Creed or even as Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed) in the late 6th century AD. It has been the subject of aggravated controversy between Eastern and Western Christianity. It is a term that refers to the Son, Jesus Christ, as an additional origin point of the Holy Spirit. The controversy referring to the term Filioque involves four separate disagreements: • about the term Filioque itself

• about the orthodoxy of the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son, to which the term refers

• about the legitimacy of inserting the term into the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed,

• about the authority of the Pope to define the orthodoxy of the doctrine or to insert the term into the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed.

The term Filioque is not in the original text of the Creed, attributed to the First Council of Constantinople (381 AD), the second ecumenical council, which says that the Holy Spirit proceeds "from the Father", without additions of any kind, such as "and the Son" or "alone". Eastern [Orthodox] Christians have argued that this interpolation is a violation of Canon VII of the Council of Ephesus, since the words were not included in the text by either the Council of Nicaea or that of Constantinople. This was incorporated into the liturgical practice of Rome in 1014, but was rejected by Eastern Christianity. Differences over this doctrine and the question of papal primacy have been and remain primary causes of schism between the Eastern Orthodox and Western churches.

It differs in a number of respects, both by addition and omission, from the creed adopted at the First Council of Nicaea. The most notable difference is the additional section "And [we believe] in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver-of-Life, who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the prophets. And [we believe] in one, holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church. We acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins, [and] we look for the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come. Amen."

The Filioque interpolation here in the Latin text shown with transcriptions and translations:

1. Roman original: "[...] et in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum et vivificantem, qui ex Patre Filioque procedit [...]"
2. Greek translation: "[...] Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, τὸ Κύριον, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον, [...]"
3. Greek transliteration: "[...] Kaì eis tò Pneũma tò Hágion, tò Kúrion, tò ek toũ Patròs kaì toũ Uhioũ ekporeuómenon, [...]"
4. English translation: "[...] and [we believe] in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the giver of life, who proceeds from the Father, who proceeds from the Father and the Son, [...]"
5. German translation: "[...] und [wir glauben] an den Heiligen Geist, der Herr ist und lebendig macht, der aus dem Vater und dem Sohn hervorgeht [...]"

In the original Greek text, however, we find this formulation:

1. Greek original: "[...] καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, τὸ κύριον, τὸ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον [...]"
2. Greek transcription: "[...] kaì eis tò Pneũma tò Hágion, tò kúrion, tò zōopoión, tò ek toũ Patròs ekporeuómenon [...]"
3. Roman translation: "[...] Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum et vivificantem, qui ex Patre procedit, qui cum Patre, et Filio simul adoratur, et cum glorificatur, [...]"
4. English translation: "[...] and [we believe] in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the giver of life, who proceeds from the Father, who with the Father and the Son is adored and glorified, [...]"
5. German translation: "[...] und [wir glauben] an den Heiligen Geist, den Herrn, den Lebendigmacher, der aus dem Vater hervorgeht [...]"

Since the end of the 19th century, scholars have questioned the traditional explanation of the origin of this creed, which has been passed down in the name of the council, whose official acts have been lost over time. A local council of Constantinople in 382 and the third ecumenical council (Ephesus, 431) made no mention of it, with the latter affirming the 325 creed of Nicaea as a valid statement of the faith and using it to denounce Nestorianism. Though some scholarship claims that hints of the later creed's existence are discernible in some writings, no extant document gives its text or makes explicit mention of it earlier than the fourth ecumenical council at Chalcedon in 451. Many of the bishops of the 451 council themselves had never heard of it and initially greeted it skeptically, but it was then produced from the episcopal archives of Constantinople, and the council accepted it "not as supplying any omission but as an authentic interpretation of the faith of Nicaea". In spite of the questions raised, it is considered most likely that this creed was in fact adopted at the 381 second ecumenical council.

On the basis of evidence both internal and external to the text, it has been argued that this creed originated not as an editing of the original Creed proposed at Nicaea in 325, but as an independent creed (probably an older baptismal creed) modified to make it more like the Nicene Creed. Some scholars have argued that the creed may have been presented at Chalcedon as "a precedent for drawing up new creeds and definitions to supplement the Creed of Nicaea, as a way of getting round the ban on new creeds in Canon 7 of Ephesus". It is generally agreed that the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed is not simply an expansion of the Creed of Nicaea, and was probably based on another traditional creed independent of the one from Nicaea.

The third Ecumenical Council (Council of Ephesus of 431 AD) reaffirmed the original 325 version of the Nicene Creed and declared that "it is unlawful for any man to bring forward, or to write, or to compose a different faith as a rival to that established by the holy Fathers assembled with the Holy Ghost in Nicaea" (i.e., the 325 AD creed). The word ἑτέραν is more accurately translated as used by the Council to mean "different", "contradictory", rather than "another". This statement has been interpreted as a prohibition against changing this creed or composing others, but not all accept this interpretation. This question is connected with the controversy whether a creed proclaimed by an Ecumenical Council is definitive in excluding not only excisions from its text but also additions to it.

In one respect, the Eastern Orthodox Church's received text of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed differs from the earliest text, which is included in the acts of the Council of Chalcedon of 451: The Eastern Orthodox Church uses the singular forms of verbs such as "I believe", in place of the plural form ("we believe") used by the council. The Rite in Eastern Roman Catholic Churches use exactly the same form of the Creed, since the Catholic Church teaches that it is wrong to add "and the Son" to the Greek verb "ἐκπορευόμενον", though correct to add it to the Latin "qui procedit", which does not have precisely the same meaning. The form generally used in Western churches does add "and the Son" and also the phrase "God from God", which is found in the original 325 Creed.

THE [PSEUDO-] ATHANASIAN CREED

The Athanasian Creed, also called the Pseudo-Athanasian Creed and sometimes known as Quicumque Vult is the first creed in which the equality of the three persons of the Trinity is explicitly stated. It differs from the Nicene-Constantinopolitan and Apostles' Creeds in the inclusion of anathemas, or condemnations of those who disagree with the creed (like the original Nicene Creed).

The creed has never gained acceptance in liturgy among Eastern Christians since it was considered as one of many unorthodox fabrications that contained the Filioque clause. Today, the Athanasian Creed is rarely used even in the Western Church. When used, one common practice is to use it once a year on Trinity Sunday.

The use of the creed in a sermon by Caesarius of Arles, as well as a theological resemblance to works by Vincent of Lérins (died c. 445 AD), point to Southern Gaul [France] as its origin. The most likely time frame is in the late fifth or early sixth century AD, at least 100 years after Athanasius lived. The discovery of a lost work by Vincent of Lérins in 1940, which bears a striking similarity to much of the language of the Athanasian Creed, has led to the conclusion that the creed originated with Vincent or his students.

It has since been widely accepted by modern scholars that the creed was not authored by Athanasius, that it was not originally called a creed at all and that Athanasius's name was not originally attached to it. Athanasius's name seems to have become attached to the creed as a sign of its strong declaration of Trinitarian faith. The reasoning for rejecting Athanasius as the author usually relies on a combination of the following:

1. The creed originally was most likely written in Latin, but Athanasius composed in Greek.
2. Neither Athanasius nor his contemporaries ever mention the Creed.
3. It is not mentioned in any records of the ecumenical councils.
4. It appears to address theological concerns that developed after Athanasius died (including the filioque).
5. It was most widely circulated among Western Christians.

The oldest surviving manuscripts of the Athanasian Creed date from the late 8th century. The Athanasian Creed is usually divided into two sections: lines 1–28 address the doctrine of the Trinity, and lines 29–44 address the doctrine of Christology. Enumerating the three persons of the Trinity (Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit), the first section of the creed ascribes the divine attributes to each individually. Thus, each person of the Trinity is described as uncreated (increatus), limitless (Immensus), eternal (æternus) and omnipotent (omnipotens).

The [Pseudo-] Athanasian Creed is a medieval account credited Athanasius of Alexandria, the famous defender of Nicene theology, as the author of the Creed. Athanasius of Alexandria (c. 296–373 AD), also called Athanasius the Great, Athanasius the Confessor or, primarily in the Coptic Orthodox Church, Athanasius the Apostolic, was the 20th bishop of Alexandria (as Athanasius I). Athanasius of Alexandria (c. 298–373 AD), also called Athanasius the Great, Athanasius the Confessor or, primarily in the Coptic Orthodox Church, Athanasius the Apostolic, was the 20th bishop of Alexandria (as Athanasius I). His episcopacy spanned 45 years (c. 328–373), Athanasius was a Christian theologian, a Church Father, the chief defender of Trinitarianism against Arianism, and a noted Egyptian leader of the fourth century.

Text of the Athanasian Creed, 6th century AD:

Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the catholic faith. Which faith unless every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly. And the catholic faith is this: that we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity; neither confounding the Persons, nor dividing the Essence. For there is one Person of the Father; another of the Son; and another of the Holy Ghost. But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one; the Glory equal, the Majesty coeternal. Such as the Father is; such is the Son; and such is the Holy Ghost. The Father uncreated; the Son uncreated; and the Holy Ghost uncreated. The Father unlimited; the Son unlimited; and the Holy Ghost unlimited. The Father eternal; the Son eternal; and the Holy Ghost eternal. And yet they are not three eternals; but one eternal. As also there are not three uncreated; nor three infinites, but one uncreated; and one infinite. So likewise the Father is Almighty; the Son Almighty; and the Holy Ghost Almighty. And yet they are not three Almighties; but one Almighty. So the Father is God; the Son is God; and the Holy Ghost is God. And yet they are not three Gods; but one God. So likewise the Father is Lord; the Son Lord; and the Holy Ghost Lord. And yet not three Lords; but one Lord. For like as we are compelled by the Christian verity; to acknowledge every Person by himself to be God and Lord; So are we forbidden by the catholic religion; to say, There are three Gods, or three Lords. The Father is made of none; neither created, nor begotten. The Son is of the Father alone; not made, nor created; but begotten. The Holy Ghost is of the Father and of the Son; neither made, nor created, nor begotten; but proceeding. So there is one Father, not three Fathers; one Son, not three Sons; one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts. And in this Trinity none is before, or after another; none is greater, or less than another. But the whole three Persons are coeternal, and coequal. So that in all things, as aforesaid; the Unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity, is to be worshipped. He therefore that will be saved, let him thus think of the Trinity.

Furthermore, it is necessary to everlasting salvation; that he also believe faithfully the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ. For the right Faith is, that we believe and confess; that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man; God, of the Substance [Essence] of the Father; begotten before the worlds; and Man, of the Substance [Essence] of his Mother, born in the world. Perfect God; and perfect Man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting. Equal to the Father, as touching his Godhead; and inferior to the Father as touching his Manhood. Who although he is God and Man; yet he is not two, but one Christ. One; not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh; but by assumption of the Manhood into God. One altogether; not by confusion of Substance [Essence]; but by unity of Person. For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man; so God and Man is one Christ; Who suffered for our salvation; descended into hell; rose again the third day from the dead. He ascended into heaven, he sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, from whence he will come to judge the living and the dead. At whose coming all men will rise again with their bodies; And shall give account for their own works. And they that have done good shall go into life everlasting; and they that have done evil, into everlasting fire. This is the catholic faith; which except a man believe truly and firmly, he cannot be saved.

THE OLD ROMAN SYMBOL FROM 340 AD

The Old Roman Symbol (Latin: vetus symbolum romanum), or Old Roman Creed, is an earlier and shorter version of the

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Apostles' Creed. It was based on the 2nd-century Rule of Faith and the interrogatory declaration of faith for those receiving Baptism (3rd century or earlier), which by the 4th century was everywhere tripartite in structure, following Matthew 28:19 ("baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit"), which is part of the Great Commission.

According to the Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, the first text attesting it is a letter to Pope Julius I in 340 or 341, and it has recently been argued that it developed in the context of the Arian controversy. Bettenson and Maunder further comment on this that Marcellus had been exiled from his diocese through Arian influence, thus spending two years at Rome, and finally left his creed with Julius, Bishop of Rome.

Additionally, at c. 400 AD, Rufinus, a priest of Aquileia, left a Latin version in his Commentarius in Symbolum Apostolorum (P.L. xxi. 335B). He believed this to be the Roman creed as the "rule of faith" written by the Apostles at Jerusalem. About at the same time also Nicetas of Remesiana wrote an Explanatio Symboli (P.L. Lii. 865-874B) based on the Old Roman Symbol, but including also the communion of saints.

Though the name "Apostles' Creed" appears in a letter of Saint Ambrose (c. 390), what is now known as the Apostles' Creed is first quoted in its present form in the early 8th century. It developed from the Old Roman Symbol, and seems to be of Hispano-Gallic origin, being accepted in Rome some time after Charlemagne imposed it throughout his dominions.

Differences between the Latin and the Greek text

The Latin (Rufinus) and the Greek (Marcellus) versions are faithful, literal, verbatim translations of each other. The only outstanding difference is the concluding clause in the Greek text, ζωὴν αἰώνιον ("life everlasting"), which has no equivalent in the Latin text. This clause is present in the Apostles' Creed.

The Latin version of Nicetas of Remesiana also follows quite closely the version of Rufinus (usually verbatim) but also includes the vitam eternam, as Marcellus, and the communionem sanctorum, omitted by the other two.

The Old Roman Creed, English translation
I believe in God the Father almighty;
and in Christ Jesus His only Son, our Lord,
Who was born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary,
Who under Pontius Pilate was crucified and buried,
on the third day rose again from the dead,
ascended to heaven,
sits at the right hand of the Father,
whence He will come to judge the living and the dead;
and in the Holy Spirit,
the holy Church,
the remission of sins,
the resurrection of the flesh
(the life everlasting).

APOSTLES' CREED FROM 390 AD

The Apostles' Creed (Latin: Symbolum Apostolorum or Symbolum Apostolicum), sometimes titled the Apostolic Creed or the Symbol of the Apostles, is an early statement of Christian belief—a creed or "symbol".[a] It is widely used by a number of Christian denominations for both liturgical and catechetical purposes, most visibly by liturgical Churches of Western tradition, including the Roman Catholic Church, Lutheranism and Anglicanism. It is also used by Presbyterians, Moravians, Methodists and Congregationalists.

The Apostles' Creed is trinitarian in structure with sections affirming belief in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit. The Apostles' Creed was based on Christian theological understanding of the canonical gospels, the letters of the New Testament and to a lesser extent the Old Testament. Its basis appears to be the old Roman Creed known also as the Old Roman Symbol.

Because of the early origin of its original form, it does not address some Christological issues defined in the Nicene and other Christian creeds. It thus says nothing explicitly about the divinity of either Jesus or the Holy Spirit. Nor does it address many other theological questions which became objects of dispute centuries later.

The earliest known mention of the expression "Apostles' Creed" occurs in a letter of AD 390 from a synod in Milan and may have been associated with the belief, widely accepted in the 4th century, that, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, each of the Twelve Apostles contributed an article to the twelve articles of the creed.

International Consultation on English Texts

The International Consultation on English Texts (ICET), a first inter-church ecumenical group that undertook the writing of texts for use by English-speaking Christians in common, published Prayers We Have in Common (Fortress Press, 1970,1971,1975). Its version of the Apostles' Creed was adopted by several churches.

I believe in God, the Father almighty,
creator of heaven and earth.
I believe in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord.
He was conceived by the power of the Holy Spirit
and born of the virgin Mary.
He suffered under Pontius Pilate,
was crucified, died, and was buried.
He descended to the dead.
On the third day he rose again.
He ascended into heaven,
and is seated at the right hand of the Father.
He will come again to judge the living and the dead.
I believe in the Holy Spirit,
the holy catholic Church,
the communion of the saints,
the forgiveness of sins,
the resurrection of the body,
and the life everlasting. Amen.

English Language Liturgical Consultation

The English Language Liturgical Consultation (ELLC), a successor body to the International Consultation on English Texts (ICET), published in 1988 a revised translation of the Apostles' Creed. It avoided the word "his" in relation to God and spoke of Jesus Christ as "God's only Son" instead of "his only Son". In the fourth line, it replaced the personal pronoun "he" with the relative "who", and changed the punctuation, so as no longer to present the Creed as a series of separate statements. In the same line it removed the words "the power of". It explained its rationale for making these changes and for preserving other controverted expressions in the 1988 publication Praying Together, with which it presented its new version:

I believe in God, the Father almighty,
creator of heaven and earth.
I believe in Jesus Christ, God's only Son, our Lord,
who was conceived by the Holy Spirit,
born of the Virgin Mary,
suffered under Pontius Pilate,
was crucified, died, and was buried;
he descended to the dead.
On the third day he rose again;
he ascended into heaven,
he is seated at the right hand of the Father,
and he will come to judge the living and the dead.
I believe in the Holy Spirit,
the holy catholic Church,
the communion of saints,
the forgiveness of sins,
the resurrection of the body,
and the life everlasting. Amen.

Roman Catholic Church

The initial (1970) English official translation of the Roman Missal of the Roman Catholic Church adopted the ICET version, as did catechetical texts such as the Catechism of the Catholic Church.

In 2008 the Catholic Church published a new English translation of the texts of the Mass of the Roman Rite, use of which came into force at the end of 2011. It included the following translation of the Apostles' Creed:

I believe in God,
the Father almighty,
Creator of heaven and earth,
and in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord,
who was conceived by the Holy Spirit,
born of the Virgin Mary,
suffered under Pontius Pilate,
was crucified, died and was buried;
he descended into hell;
on the third day he rose again from the dead;
he ascended into heaven,
and is seated at the right hand of God the Father almighty;
from there he will come to judge the living and the dead.
I believe in the Holy Spirit,
the holy catholic Church,
the communion of saints,
the forgiveness of sins,
the resurrection of the body,
and life everlasting.
Amen.

Traditional twelve articles of the Creed

In its discussion of the contents of the Creed, the Catechism of the Catholic Church presents it in the traditional division into twelve articles:

1. I believe in God the Father almighty, creator of heaven and earth.
2. I believe in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord.
3. He was conceived by the power of the Holy Spirit and born of the Virgin Mary.
4. Under Pontius Pilate, He was crucified, died, and was buried.
5. He descended to the dead. On the third day he rose again.
6. He ascended into heaven and is seated at the right hand of the Father.
7. He will come again to judge the living and the dead.
8. I believe in the Holy Spirit,
9. the holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints,
10. the forgiveness of sins,
11. the resurrection of the body,
12. and the life everlasting.

The same division into twelve articles is found also in Anabaptist catechesis:

Leonhart: Which of the articles of the creed deal with baptism?

Hans: The ninth and tenth articles, where we confess the universal Christian church, the fellowship of the saints and forgiveness of sins, just as the Lord's Supper is also included there.

Pelbartus Ladislaus of Temesvár gives a slightly different division, assigning one phrase to each apostle: Peter (No. 1), John (No. 2), James, son of Zebedee (No. 3), Andrew (No. 4), Philip (No. 5a: descendit ad infernos...), Thomas (No. 5b: ascendit ad caelos...), Bartholomew (No. 6), Matthew (No. 7), James, son of Alphaeus (No. 8), Simon (No. 9), Jude (No. 10), Matthias (No. 11–12).

Church of England

In the Church of England there are currently two authorised forms of the creed: that of the Book of Common Prayer (1662) and that of Common Worship (2000).

Book of Common Prayer, 1662:
I believe in God the Father Almighty,
Maker of heaven and earth:
And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord,
Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost,[b]
Born of the Virgin Mary,
Suffered under Pontius Pilate,
Was crucified, dead, and buried:
He descended into hell;
The third day he rose again from the dead;
He ascended into heaven,
And sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty;
From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.
I believe in the Holy Ghost;
The holy Catholick Church;
The Communion of Saints;
The Forgiveness of sins;
The Resurrection of the body,
And the Life everlasting.
Amen.

Common Worship:

I believe in God, the Father almighty,
creator of heaven and earth.
I believe in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord,
who was conceived by the Holy Spirit,
born of the Virgin Mary,
suffered under Pontius Pilate,
was crucified, died, and was buried;
he descended to the dead.
On the third day he rose again;
he ascended into heaven,
he is seated at the right hand of the Father,
and he will come to judge the living and the dead.

I believe in the Holy Spirit,
the holy catholic Church,
the communion of saints,
the forgiveness of sins,
the resurrection of the body,
and the life everlasting.
Amen.

Lutheran Church

The publication Evangelical Lutheran Worship published by Augsburg Fortress, is the primary worship resource for the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, the largest Lutheran denomination in the United States, and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada. It presents the official ELCA version, footnoting the phrase "he descended to the dead" to indicate an alternative reading: "or 'he descended into hell,' another translation of this text in widespread use".

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The text is as follows:

I believe in God, the Father almighty,
creator of heaven and earth.

I believe in Jesus Christ, God's only Son, our Lord,
who was conceived by the Holy Spirit,
born of the virgin Mary,
suffered under Pontius Pilate,
was crucified, died, and was buried;
he descended to the dead.*
On the third day he rose again;
he ascended into heaven,
he is seated at the right hand of the Father,
and he will come to judge the living and the dead.
I believe in the Holy Spirit,
the holy catholic church,
the communion of saints,
the forgiveness of sins,
the resurrection of the body,
and the life everlasting. Amen.

United Methodist Church

The United Methodists commonly incorporate the Apostles' Creed into their worship services. The version which is most often used is located at No. 881 in the United Methodist Hymnal, one of their most popular hymnals and one with a heritage to brothers John Wesley and Charles Wesley, founders of Methodism. It is notable for omitting the line "he descended into hell", but is otherwise very similar to the Book of Common Prayer version. The 1989 Hymnal has both the traditional version and the 1988 ecumenical version,[40] which includes "he descended to the dead."

The Apostles' Creed as found in The Methodist Hymnal of 1939 also omits the line "he descended..." The Methodist Hymnal of 1966 has the same version of the creed, but with a note at the bottom of the page stating, "Traditional use of this creed includes these words: 'He descended into hell.'"

However, when the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in the United States in 1784, John Wesley sent the new American Church a Sunday Service which included the phrase "he descended into hell" in the text of The Apostles' Creed. It is clear that Wesley intended American Methodists to use the phrase in the recitation of the Creed.

The United Methodist Hymnal of 1989 also contains (at #882) what it terms the "Ecumenical Version" of this creed which is the ecumenically accepted modern translation of the International Committee on English Texts (1975) as amended by the subsequent successor body, the English Language Liturgical Consultation (1987). This form of the Apostles' Creed can be found incorporated into the Eucharistic and Baptismal Liturgies in the Hymnal and in The United Methodist Book of Worship, and hence it is growing in popularity and use. The word "catholic" is intentionally left lowercase in the sense that the word catholic applies to the universal and ecumenical Christian church.

I believe in God the Father Almighty,
maker of heaven and earth;
And in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord,
who was conceived by the Holy Spirit,
born of the Virgin Mary,
suffered under Pontius Pilate,
was crucified, died, and was buried;
he descended to the dead.
On the third day he rose again;
he ascended into heaven,
is seated at the right hand of the Father,
and will come again to judge the living and the dead.
I believe in the Holy Spirit,
the holy catholic church,
the communion of saints,
the forgiveness of sins,
the resurrection of the body
and the life everlasting. Amen.[45]

Liturgical use in Western Christianity

The Apostles' Creed is used in its direct form or in interrogative forms by Western Christian communities in several of their liturgical rites, in particular those of baptism and the Eucharist.

Rite of Baptism

The Apostles' Creed, whose present form is similar to the baptismal creed used in Rome in the third and fourth centuries, actually developed from questions addressed to those seeking baptism. The Catholic Church still today uses an interrogative form of it in the Rite of Baptism (for both children and adults). In the official English translation (ICEL, 1974) the minister of baptism asks:

Do you believe in God, the Father almighty, creator of heaven and earth?

Do you believe in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord, who was born of the Virgin Mary, was crucified, died, and was buried, rose from the dead, and is now seated at the right hand of the Father?

Do you believe in the Holy Spirit, the holy catholic Church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and life everlasting?

To each question, the catechumen, or, in the case of an infant, the parents and sponsor(s) (godparent(s)) in his or her place, answers "I do." Then the celebrant says:

This is our faith. This is the faith of the Church. We are proud to profess it, in Christ Jesus our Lord.

And all respond: Amen.

The Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand uses the Apostles' Creed in its baptism rite in spite of the reservations of some of its members regarding the phrase "born of the virgin Mary".

The Episcopal Church in the United States of America uses the Apostles' Creed as part of a Baptismal Covenant for those who are to receive the Rite of Baptism. The Apostles' Creed is recited by candidates, sponsors and congregation, each section of the Creed being an answer to the celebrant's question, "Do you believe in God the Father (God the Son, God the Holy Spirit)?" It is also used in an interrogative form at the Easter Vigil in The Renewal of Baptismal Vows.

The Church of England likewise asks the candidates, sponsors and congregation to recite the Apostles' Creed in answer to similar interrogations, in which it avoids using the word "God" of the Son and the Holy Spirit, asking instead: "Do you believe and trust in his Son Jesus Christ?", and "Do you believe and trust in the Holy Spirit?" Moreover, "where there are strong pastoral reasons", it allows use of an alternative formula in which the interrogations, while speaking of "God the Son" and "God the Holy Spirit", are more elaborate but are not based on the Apostles' Creed, and the response in each case is: "I believe and trust in him."[50] The Book of Common Prayer may also be used, which in its rite of baptism has the minister recite the Apostles' Creed in interrogative form. asking the godparents or, in the case "of such as are of Riper Years", the candidate: "Dost thou believe in God the Father ..." The response is: "All this I stedfastly believe."

Lutherans following the Lutheran Service Book (Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod and the Lutheran Church–Canada), like Catholics and Anglicans, use the Apostles' Creed during the Sacrament of Baptism:

Do you believe in God, the Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth?

Do you believe in Jesus Christ, His only son, our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died and was buried; He descended into hell; the third day He rose again from the dead; He ascended into heaven and sits at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence He will come to judge the living and the dead?

Do you believe in the Holy Spirit, the holy Christian Church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting?

Following each question, the candidate answers: "Yes, I believe". If the candidates are unable to answer for themselves, the sponsors are to answer the questions.

For ELCA Lutherans who use the Evangelical Lutheran Worship book, the Apostles' Creed appears during the Sacrament of Holy Baptism Rite on p. 229 of the hardcover pew edition.

Methodists use the Apostles' Creed as part of their baptismal rites in the form of an interrogatory addressed to the candidate(s) for baptism and the whole congregation as a way of professing the faith within the context of the Church's sacramental act. For infants, it is the professing of the faith by the parents, sponsors, and congregation on behalf of the candidate(s); for confirmands, it is the professing of the faith before and among the congregation. For the congregation, it is a reaffirmation of their professed faith.

Do you believe in God?

I believe in God, the Father Almighty, creator of heaven and earth.

Do you believe in Jesus Christ?

I believe in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, and was buried; he descended to the dead. On the third day he rose again; he ascended into heaven, is seated at the right hand of the Father, and will come again to judge the living and the dead.

Do you believe in the Holy Spirit?

I believe in the Holy Spirit, the holy catholic church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting.

Christians without creeds

Some Christian denominations do not profess a creed. This stance is often referred to as "non-creedalism". The Religious Society of Friends, also known as the Quakers, consider that they have no need for creedal formulations of faith. The Church of the Brethren and other Schwarzenau Brethren churches also espouse no creed, referring to the New Testament, as their "rule of faith and practice." Jehovah's Witnesses contrast "memorizing or repeating creeds" with acting to "do what Jesus said". Unitarian Universalists do not share a creed.

THE 13 JEWISH PRINCIPLES OF FAITH

There is no established formulation of principles of faith that are recognized by all branches of Judaism. Central authority in Judaism is not vested in any one person or group - although the Sanhedrin, the supreme Jewish religious court, would fulfill this role if it were re-established - but rather in Judaism's sacred writings, laws, and traditions.

Judaism affirms the existence and uniqueness of God, and stresses performance of deeds or commandments alongside adherence to a strict belief system. In contrast to traditions such as Christianity which demand a more explicit identification of God, faith in Judaism requires one to honour God through a constant struggle with God's instructions (Torah) and the practice of their mitzvot.

Orthodox Judaism stresses a number of core principles in its educational programs, most importantly a belief that there is one single, omniscient, transcendent, non-compound God, who created the universe, and continues to be concerned with its governance. Traditional Judaism maintains that God established a covenant with the Jewish people at Mount Sinai, and revealed his laws and 613 commandments to them in the form of the Written and Oral Torah. In Rabbinic Judaism, the Torah consists of both the written Torah (Pentateuch) and a tradition of oral law, much of it later codified in sacred writings (see: Mishna, Talmud).

Traditionally, the practice of Judaism has been devoted to the study of Torah and observance of its laws and commandments. In normative Judaism, the Torah, and hence Jewish law itself, is unchanging, but interpretation of the law is more open. It is considered a mitzvah (commandment) to study and understand the law.

Judaism is based on a strict monotheism, and a belief in one single, indivisible, non-compound God. Judaism emphatically rejects any concept of plurality with respect to God, explicitly rejecting polytheism, dualism, and trinitarianism, which are incompatible with monotheism as Judaism understands it.

The unity of God is stated many times in Jewish tradition. It is the second of Maimonides's 13 principles of faith; Maimonides wrote that, "This God is One, not two or more than two, but One whose unity is different from all other unities that there are. He is not one as a genus, which contains many species, is one. Nor is He one as a body, containing parts and dimensions, is one. But His is a unity that which there is no other anywhere" (Yad, Yesode Ha-Torah 1:7). In Jewish tradition, dualistic and trinitarian conceptions of God are generally referred to as Shituf ("partnership"), meaning an incorrect, but not an idolatrous, view.

Moses ben Maimon (c. 1138-1204 AD), commonly known as Maimonides and also referred to by the acronym Rambam, was a Sephardic Jewish rabbi, physician, astronomer and philosopher who became the personal physician of Saladin. Born in Córdoba, Almoravid Empire (present-day Spain) he worked in Morocco and Egypt and he was one of the most prolific and influential Torah scholars of the Middle Ages. His fourteen-volume Mishneh Torah still carries significant canonical authority as a codification of Talmudic law. Under influence of Christianity and Islam, Maimonides formulated his 13 Principles of Faith, here presented in its summary:

1. I believe with perfect faith that the Creator, Blessed be His Name, is the Creator and Guide of everything that has been created; He alone has made, does make, and will make all things.

2. I believe with perfect faith that the Creator, Blessed be His Name, is One, and that there is no unity in any manner like His, and that He alone is our God, who was, and is, and will be.

3. I believe with perfect faith that the Creator, Blessed be His Name, has no body, and that He is free from all the properties of matter, and that there can be no (physical) comparison to Him whatsoever.

4. I believe with perfect faith that the Creator, Blessed be His Name, is the first and the last.

5. I believe with perfect faith that to the Creator, Blessed be His Name, and to Him alone, it is right to pray, and that it is not right to pray to any being besides Him.

6. I believe with perfect faith that all the words of the prophets are true.

7. I believe with perfect faith that the prophecy of Moses our teacher, peace be upon him, was true, and that he was the chief of the prophets, both those who preceded him and those who followed him.

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8. I believe with perfect faith that the entire Torah that is now in our possession is the same that was given to Moses our teacher, peace be upon him.

9. I believe with perfect faith that this Torah will not be exchanged, and that there will never be any other Torah from the Creator, Blessed be His Name.

10. I believe with perfect faith that the Creator, Blessed be His Name, knows all the deeds of human beings and all their thoughts, as it is written, "Who fashioned the hearts of them all, Who comprehends all their actions" (Psalms 33:15).

11. I believe with perfect faith that the Creator, Blessed be His Name, rewards those who keep His commandments and punishes those that transgress them.

12. I believe with perfect faith in the coming of the Messiah; and even though he may tarry, nonetheless, I wait every day for his coming.

13. I believe with perfect faith that there will be a revival of the dead at the time when it shall please the Creator, Blessed be His name, and His mention shall be exalted for ever and ever.-Maimonides [See Birnbaum at p. 157]

THE CREED OF ISLAM

In Islamic theology, the term most closely corresponding to "creed" is ʿaqīdah The first such creed was written as "a short answer to the pressing heresies of the time" is known as Al-Fiqh Al-Akbar and ascribed to Abū Ḥanīfa. Two well known creeds were the Fiqh Akbar II "representative" of the al-Ash'ari, and Fiqh Akbar III, "representative" of the Ash-Shafi'i.

Iman in Islamic theology denotes a believer's religious faith. Its most simple definition is the belief in the six articles of faith, known as arkān al-īmān. (1. Belief in God, 2. Belief in the Angels, 3. Belief in Divine Books, 4. Belief in the Prophets, 5. Belief in the Day of Judgment, 6. Belief in God's predestination

Recitation of the Shahadah is the most common statement of faith for all Mohammedans. It is considered as the first of the Five Pillars of Islam (which are: 1st: Shahada (Profession of Faith), 2nd: Salat (Prayer), 3rd: Zakat (Almsgiving), 4th: Sawm (Fasting), 5th: Hajj (Pilgrimage), while the Shi'i Twelvers and Isma'ilis also have the Shahada as among their pillars of faith. The five canonical daily prayers each include a recitation of the Shahada.

Learn the entire following Arabic sentence in Pinyin transcription (a is spoken as a long a as in father): Ash hadu an: "La ilaha ill Allah". Wa ash hadu an: "Muhammadun rasul Allah" = I testify, that: "There is no god but Allah". And I testify, that: "Muhammad is the messenger of Allah".

Another form of the Shahada tan' sounds like: "Ash-hadu an: "La ilaha ill-Allah". Wa ash hadu an na "Muhammadan 'abd-ullahi wa rasolah." Meaning: I testify that there is no true god except Allah, and I testify that Muhammad is His slave and Messenger.

This text may be important for you one day as it can safe your life when you are captured or threatened by islamo-fascist terrorists because the Recitation of the Shahada in front of witnesses is the first and only formal step in conversion to Islam. To harm such a convert is considered the worst crime in the Islamic world and muslims believe that the soul of such a criminal will burn in hell for all eternity. In addition, the perpetrator of such a crime is liable to the harshest punishment the Islamic law (the Sharia) can offer.

IMAN

Iman (Arabic) in Islamic theology denotes a believer's religious faith. Its most simple definition is the belief in the six articles of faith, known as arkān al-īmān.

1. Belief in God
2. Belief in the Angels
3. Belief in Divine Books
4. Belief in the Prophets
5. Belief in the Day of Judgement
6. Belief in God's predestination

• The Koran is the central religious text of Islam, which Muslims believe to be a revelation from God (Allah). The Koran is a kind of notebook, for which one has to read the full narratives given in the Sira and the Hadith in order to understand the often brief verses recorded in the Koran.

• The Torah (Arabic: Tawrat, Tawrah or Taurat). According to the Koran, the Torah was revealed to Moses (Musa) but the Quran argues that the current Torah has suffered corruption over the years, and is no longer reliable.

• The Koran mentions the Zabur (also Zaboor = "book" "inscription," or "writing."), often interpreted as being the Book of Psalms, as being the holy scripture revealed to King David (Dawud in Islam).

• The Injil (probably the Gospel of Didymos Judas Thomas, the Gospel of the Ebionites or the Gospel of the Hebrews) was the holy book revealed to Jesus (Isa), according to the Koran. The current canonical Gospels, in the belief of Muslim scholars, are not divinely revealed but rather are stories of the life of Jesus, as written by various authors not belonging to Jesus original Jewish Messianic movement (with which they are possibly right as the 4 canonical gospels were written by Roman citizens, not by messianic Hebrews. The Arabs, as well as their Islam, were heavily influenced by the uncompromising messianc Judaism that we can find among the Dead Sea Scrolls).

• The Scrolls of Abraham (Arabic: Ṣuḥufi ʾIbrāhīm and/or Aṣ-Ṣuḥufi l-Ula - "Books of the Earliest Revelation"): The Scrolls of Abraham are believed to have been one of the earliest bodies of scripture, which were given to Abraham (Ibrāhīm), and later used by Ishmael (Ismāʿīl) and Isaac (Isḥāq). Some scholars have identified them with the Testament of Abraham, an apocalyptic piece of literature available in Arabic at the time of Muhammad. The verse mentioning the "Scriptures" is in Koran 87:18-19 where they are referred to "Books of the Earliest Revelation".

• The Book of John the Baptist (Kitāb Yaḥyā): There is an allusion [Koran 19:12] to a Book (Kitāb) of John the Baptist (Yaḥyā). It is possible that portions of its text appear in some of the Mandæan scriptures such as the Ginza Rba or the Draša ḏ-Iahia "The Book of John the Baptist". Yahya is revered by the Mandæans and by the Sabians. The Sabians were identified by early writers with the ancient Jewish Christian group the Elcesaites, and with gnostic groups such as the Hermeticists and the Manichaens. At Mohammed's time, they might have lived among descendants of the Sabaeans who had a Christian Kingdom in Yemen.

• The Scrolls of Moses (Arabic: Ṣuḥufi Mūsā and/or Aṣ-Ṣuḥufi l-Ūlā - "Books of the Earliest Revelation"): These scrolls, containing the revelations of Moses, which were perhaps written down later by Moses, Aaron and Joshua, are understood by Muslims to refer not to the Torah but to revelations aside from the Torah. Some scholars have stated that they could possibly refer to the Book of the Wars of the Lord [Abdullah Yusuf Ali, The Holy Qur'an: Text, Translation and Commentary], a lost text spoken of in the Old Testament or Tanakh in the Book of Numbers. The verse mentioning the "Scriptures" is in Quran 87:18-19 where they are referred to "Books of the Earliest Revelation".

IMPORTANT WRITINGS OF MARTIN LUTHER

(Martin Luther (1483–1546) was a German professor of theology, monk, priest, composer, and translator. He became the most important single factor in starting the Protestant Reformation. Luther came to reject several teachings and practices of the Roman Catholic Church. He strongly opposed the Catholic view on selling indulgence letters. It was this form of corruption that brought Luther close to the thoughts of Jesus, as Jesus wanted to get rid of corrupt practices in the Great Temple of Jerusalem for the very same reasons. Luther proposed an academic discussion of the practice and efficacy of indulgences in his Ninety-five Theses of 1517. His refusal to renounce all of his writings at the demand of Pope Leo X in 1520 and the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V at the Diet of Worms in 1521 resulted in his excommunication by the Pope and condemnation as an outlaw by the Holy Roman Emperor.

Luther found in the New Testament that salvation and, consequently, eternal life are not earned by payment for the believer's sins but are received only as the free gift of God's grace through the believer's faith in God and the teachings of Jesus as well as the faith in Christ as redeemer from sin. His theology challenged the authority and office of the Pope by teaching that the Bible is the only source of divinely revealed knowledge from God and opposed sacerdotalism by considering all baptised Christians to be a holy priesthood. As the Catholic Church and ther leaders did not want to give up their currupt practices, Luther's ideas were starting the Protestant Reformation. He started the Lutheran Church, the first Protestant church. More and more Protestant churches split from the Roman Catholic church. The following five writings give us an insight what Luther thought. See: Introduction to the Koran by Martin Luther; Grand Bible.)

THE NINETY-FIVE THESES

or: Disputation Of Doctor Martin Luther
On The Power And Efficacy Of Indulgences

October 31, 1517

Out of love for the truth and the desire to bring it to light, the following propositions will be discussed at Wittenberg, under the presidency of the Reverend Father Martin Luther, Master of Arts and of Sacred Theology, and Lecturer in Ordinary on the same at that place. Wherefore he requests that those who are unable to be present and debate orally with us, may do so by letter.

In the Name our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

1 Our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, when He said Poenitentiam agite, willed that the whole life of believers should be repentance.

2 This word cannot be understood to mean sacramental penance, i. e., confession and satisfaction, which is administered by the priests.

3 Yet it means not inward repentance only; nay, there is no inward repentance which does not outwardly work divers mortifications of the flesh.

4 The penalty [of sin], therefore, continues so long as hatred of self continues; for this is the true inward repentance, and continues until our entrance into the kingdom of heaven.

5 The pope does not intend to remit, and cannot remit any penalties other than those which he has imposed either by his own authority or by that of the Canons.

6 The pope cannot remit any guilt, except by declaring that it has been remitted by God and by assenting to God's remission; though, to be sure, he may grant remission in cases reserved to his judgement. If his right to grant remission in such cases were despised, the guilt would remain entirely unforgiven.

7 God remits guilt to no one whom He does not, at the same time, humble in all things and bring into subjection to His vicar, the priest.

8 The penitential canons are imposed only on the living, and, according to them, nothing should be imposed on the dying.

9 Therefore the Holy Spirit in the pope is kind to us, because in his decrees he always makes exception of the article of death and of necessity.

10 Ignorant and wicked are the doings of those priests who, in the case of the dying, reserve canonical penances for purgatory.

11 This changing of the canonical penalty to the penalty of purgatory is quite evidently one of the tares that were sown while the bishops slept.

12 In former times the canonical penalties were imposed not after, but before absolution, as tests of true contrition.

13 The dying are freed by death from all penalties; they are already dead to canonical rules, and have a right to be released from them.

14 The imperfect health [of soul], that is to say, the imperfect love, of the dying brings with it, of necessity, great fear; and the smaller the love, the greater is the fear.

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15 This fear and horror is sufficient of itself alone (to say nothing of other things) to constitute the penalty of purgatory, since it is very near to the horror of despair.

16 Hell, purgatory, and heaven seem to differ as do despair, almost-despair, and the assurance of safety.

17 With souls in purgatory it seems necessary that horror should grow less and love increase.

18 It seems unproved, either by reason or Scripture, that they are outside the state of merit, that is to say, of increasing love.

19 Again, it seems unproved that they, or at least that all of them, are certain or assured of their own blessedness, though we may be quite certain of it.

20 Therefore by "full remission of all penalties" the pope means not actually "of all," but only of those imposed by himself.

21 Therefore those preachers of indulgences are in error, who say that by the pope's indulgences a man is freed from every penalty, and saved;

22 Whereas he remits to souls in purgatory no penalty which, according to the canons, they would have had to pay in this life.

23 If it is at all possible to grant to any one the remission of all penalties whatsoever, it is certain that this remission can be granted only to the most perfect, that is, to the very fewest.

24 It must needs be, therefore, that the greater part of the people are deceived by that indiscriminate and high-sounding promise of release from penalty.

25 The power which the pope has, in a general way, over purgatory, is just like the power which any bishop or curate has, in a special way, within his own diocese or parish.

26 The pope does well when he grants remission to souls [in purgatory], not by the power of the keys (which he does not possess), but by way of intercession.

27 They preach man who say that so soon as the penny jingles into the money-box, the soul flies out [of purgatory].

28 It is certain that when the penny jingles into the money-box, gain and avarice can be increased, but the result of the intercession of the Church is in the power of God alone.

29 Who knows whether all the souls in purgatory wish to be bought out of it, as in the legend of Sts. Severus and Paschal.

30 No one is sure that his own contrition is sincere; much less that he has attained full remission.

31 Rare as is the man that is truly penitent, so rare is also the man who truly buys indulgences, i. e., such men are most rare.

32 They will be condemned eternally, together with their teachers, who believe themselves sure of their salvation because they have letters of pardon.

33 Men must be on their guard against those who say that the pope's pardons are that inestimable gift of God by which man is reconciled to Him;

34 For these "graces of pardon" concern only the penalties of sacramental satisfaction, and these are appointed by man.

35 They preach no Christian doctrine who teach that contrition is not necessary in those who intend to buy souls out of purgatory or to buy confessionalia.

36 Every truly repentant Christian has a right to full remission of penalty and guilt, even without letters of pardon.

37 Every true Christian, whether living or dead, has part in all the blessings of Christ and the Church; and this is granted him by God, even without letters of pardon.

38 Nevertheless, the remission and participation [in the blessings of the Church] which are granted by the pope are in no way to be despised, for they are, as I have said, the declaration of divine remission.

39 It is most difficult, even for the very keenest theologians, at one and the same time to commend to the people the abundance of pardons and [the need of] true contrition.

40 True contrition seeks and loves penalties, but liberal pardons only relax penalties and cause them to be hated, or at least, furnish an occasion [for hating them].

41 Apostolic pardons are to be preached with caution, lest the people may falsely think them preferable to other good works of love.

42 Christians are to be taught that the pope does not intend the buying of pardons to be compared in any way to works of mercy.

43 Christians are to be taught that he who gives to the poor or lends to the needy does a better work than buying pardons;

44 Because love grows by works of love, and man becomes better; but by pardons man does not grow better, only more free from penalty.

45 Christians are to be taught that he who sees a man in need, and passes him by, and gives [his money] for pardons, purchases not the indulgences of the pope, but the indignation of God.

46 Christians are to be taught that unless they have more than they need, they are bound to keep back what is necessary for their own families, and by no means to squander it on pardons.

47 Christians are to be taught that the buying of pardons is a matter of free will, and not of commandment.

48 Christians are to be taught that the pope, in granting pardons, needs, and therefore desires, their devout prayer for him more than the money they bring.

49 Christians are to be taught that the pope's pardons are useful, if they do not put their trust in them; but altogether harmful, if through them they lose their fear of God.

50 Christians are to be taught that if the pope knew the exactions of the pardon-preachers, he would rather that St. Peter's church should go to ashes, than that it should be built up with the skin, flesh and bones of his sheep.

51 Christians are to be taught that it would be the pope's wish, as it is his duty, to give of his own money to very many of those from whom certain hawkers of pardons cajole money, even though the church of St. Peter might have to be sold.

52 The assurance of salvation by letters of pardon is vain, even though the commissary, nay, even though the pope himself, were to stake his soul upon it.

53 They are enemies of Christ and of the pope, who bid the Word of God be altogether silent in some Churches, in order that pardons may be preached in others.

54 Injury is done the Word of God when, in the same sermon, an equal or a longer time is spent on pardons than on this Word.

55 It must be the intention of the pope that if pardons, which are a very small thing, are celebrated with one bell, with single processions and ceremonies, then the Gospel, which is the very greatest thing, should be preached with a hundred bells, a hundred processions, a hundred ceremonies.

56 The "treasures of the Church," out of which the pope grants indulgences, are not sufficiently named or known among the people of Christ.

57 That they are not temporal treasures is certainly evident, for many of the vendors do not pour out such treasures so easily, but only gather them.

58 Nor are they the merits of Christ and the Saints, for even without the pope, these always work grace for the inner man, and the cross, death, and hell for the outward man.

59 St. Lawrence said that the treasures of the Church were the Church's poor, but he spoke according to the usage of the word in his own time.

60 Without rashness we say that the keys of the Church, given by Christ's merit, are that treasure;

61 For it is clear that for the remission of penalties and of reserved cases, the power of the pope is of itself sufficient.

62 The true treasure of the Church is the Most Holy Gospel of the glory and the grace of God.

63 But this treasure is naturally most odious, for it makes the first to be last.

64 On the other hand, the treasure of indulgences is naturally most acceptable, for it makes the last to be first.

65 Therefore the treasures of the Gospel are nets with which they formerly were wont to fish for men of riches.

66 The treasures of the indulgences are nets with which they now fish for the riches of men.

67 The indulgences which the preachers cry as the "greatest graces" are known to be truly such, in so far as they promote gain.

68 Yet they are in truth the very smallest graces compared with the grace of God and the piety of the Cross.

69 Bishops and curates are bound to admit the commissaries of apostolic pardons, with all reverence.

70 But still more are they bound to strain all their eyes and attend with all their ears, lest these men preach their own dreams instead of the commission of the pope.

71 He who speaks against the truth of apostolic pardons, let him be anathema and accursed!

72 But he who guards against the lust and license of the pardon-preachers, let him be blessed!

73 The pope justly thunders against those who, by any art, contrive the injury of the traffic in pardons.

74 But much more does he intend to thunder against those who use the pretext of pardons to contrive the injury, of holy love and truth.

75 To think the papal pardons so great that they could absolve a man even if he had committed an impossible sin and violated the Mother of God — this is madness.

76 We say, on the contrary, that the papal pardons are not able to remove the very least of venial sins, so far as its guilt is concerned.

77 It is said that even St. Peter, if he were now Pope, could not bestow greater graces; this is blasphemy against St. Peter and against the pope.

78 We say, on the contrary, that even the present pope, and any pope at all, has greater graces at his disposal; to wit, the Gospel, powers, gifts of healing, etc., as it is written in I. Corinthians xii.

79 To say that the cross, emblazoned with the papal arms, which is set up [by the preachers of indulgences], is of equal worth with the Cross of Christ, is blasphemy.

80 The bishops, curates and theologians who allow such talk to be spread among the people, will have an account to render.

81 This unbridled preaching of pardons makes it no easy matter, even for learned men, to rescue the reverence due to the pope from slander, or even from the shrewd questionings of the laity.

82 To wit:—"Why does not the pope empty purgatory, for the sake of holy love and of the dire need of the souls that are there, if he redeems an infinite number of souls for the sake of miserable money with which to build a Church? The former reasons would be most just; the latter is most trivial."

83 Again:—"Why are mortuary and anniversary masses for the dead continued, and why does he not return or permit the withdrawal of the endowments founded on their behalf, since it is wrong to pray for the redeemed?"

84 Again:—"What is this new piety of God and the pope, that for money they allow a man who is impious and their enemy to buy out of purgatory the pious soul of a friend of God, and do not rather, because of that pious and beloved soul's own need, free it for pure love's sake?"

85 Again:—"Why are the penitential canons, long since in actual fact and through disuse abrogated and dead, now satisfied by the granting of indulgences, as though they were still alive and in force?"

86 Again:—"Why does not the pope, whose wealth is to-day greater than the riches of the richest, build just this one church of St. Peter with his own money, rather than with the money of poor believers?"

87 Again:—"What is it that the pope remits, and what participation does he grant to those who, by perfect contrition, have a right to full remission and participation?"

88 Again:—"What greater blessing could come to the Church than if the pope were to do a hundred times a day what he now does once, and bestow on every believer these remissions and participations?"

89 "Since the pope, by his pardons, seeks the salvation of souls rather than money, why does he suspend the indulgences and pardons granted heretofore, since these have equal efficacy?"

90 To repress these arguments and scruples of the laity by force alone, and not to resolve them by giving reasons, is to expose the Church and the pope to the ridicule of their enemies, and to make Christians unhappy.

91 If, therefore, pardons were preached according to the spirit and mind of the pope, all these doubts would be readily resolved; nay, they would not exist.

92 Away, then, with all those prophets who say to the people of Christ, "Peace, peace," and there is no peace!

93 Blessed be all those prophets who say to the people of Christ, "Cross, cross," and there is no cross!

94 Christians are to be exhorted that they be diligent in following Christ, their Head, through penalties, deaths, and hell;

95 And thus be confident of entering into heaven rather through many tribulations, than through the assurance of peace.

LETTER TO THE ARCHBISHOP ALBRECHT OF MAINZ

From: 31st of October, 1517

To the Most Reverend Father in Christ and Most Illustrious Lord, Albrecht of Magdeburg and Mainz, Archbishop and Primate of the Church, Margrave of Brandenburg, etc., his own lord and pastor in Christ, worthy of reverence and fear, and most gracious.

JESUS

The grace of God be with you in all its fulness and power! Spare me, Most Reverend Father in Christ and Most Illustrious Prince, that I, the dregs of humanity, have so much boldness that I have dared to think of a letter to the height of your Sublimity. The Lord Jesus is my witness that, conscious of my smallness and baseness, I have long deferred what I am now shameless enough to do,—moved thereto most of all by the duty of fidelity which I acknowledge that I owe to your most Reverend Fatherhood in Christ. Meanwhile, therefore, may your Highness deign to cast an eye upon one speck of dust, and for the sake of your pontifical clemency to heed my prayer.

Papal indulgences for the building of St. Peter's are circulating under your most distinguished name, and as regards them, I do not bring accusation against the outcries of the preachers, which I have not heard, so much as I grieve over the wholly false impressions which the people have conceived from them; to wit,—the unhappy souls believe that if they have purchased letters of indulgence they are sure of their salvation;[38] again, that so soon as they cast their contributions into the money-box, souls fly out of purgatory; furthermore, that these graces [i. e., the graces conferred in the indulgences] are so great that there is no sin too great to be absolved, even, as they say — though the thing is impossible—if one had violated the Mother of God; again, that a man is free, through these indulgences, from all penalty and guilt.

O God, most good! Thus souls committed to your care, good Father, are taught to their death, and the strict account, which you must render for all such, grows and increases. For

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this reason I have no longer been able to keep quiet about this matter, for it is by no gift of a bishop that man becomes sure of salvation, since he gains this certainty not even by the "inpoured grace" of God, but the Apostle bids us always "work out our own salvation in fear and trembling," and Peter says, "the righteous scarcely shall be saved." Finally, so narrow is the way that leads to life, that the Lord, through the prophets Amos and Zechariah, calls those who shall be saved "brands plucked from the burning," and everywhere declares the difficulty of salvation.

Why, then, do the preachers of pardons, by these false fables and promises, make the people careless and fearless? Whereas indulgences confer on us no good gift, either for salvation or for sanctity, but only take away the external penalty, which it was formerly the custom to impose according to the canons.

Finally, works of piety and love are infinitely better than indulgences, and yet these are not preached with such ceremony or such zeal; nay, for the sake of preaching the indulgences they are kept quiet, though it is the first and the sole duty of all bishops that the people should learn the Gospel and the love of Christ, for Christ never taught that indulgences should be preached. How great then is the horror, how great the peril of a bishop, if he permits the Gospel to be kept quiet, and nothing but the noise of indulgences to be spread among his people! Will not Christ say to them, "straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel"

In addition to this. Most Reverend Father in the Lord, it is said in the Instruction to the Commissaries which is issued under your name. Most Reverend Father (doubtless without your knowledge and consent), that one of the chief graces of indulgence is that inestimable gift of God by which man is reconciled to God, and all the penalties of purgatory are destroyed. Again, it is said that contrition is not necessary in those who purchase souls [out of purgatory] or buy confessionalia.

But what can I do, good Primate and Most Illustrious Prince, except pray your Most Reverend Fatherhood by the Lord Jesus Christ that you would deign to look [on this matter] with the eye of fatherly care, and do away entirely with that treatise[56] and impose upon the preachers of pardons another form of preaching; lest, perchance, one may some time arise, who will publish writings in which he will confute both them and that treatise, to the shame of your Most Illustrious Sublimity. I shrink very much from thinking that this will be done, and yet I fear that it will come to pass, unless there is some speedy remedy.

These faithful offices of my insignificance I beg that your Most Illustrious Grace may deign to accept in the spirit of a Prince and a Bishop, i. e., with the greatest clemency, as I offer them out of a faithful heart, altogether devoted to you, Most Reverend Father, since I too am a part of your flock.

May the Lord Jesus have your Most Reverend Fatherhood eternally in His keeping. Amen.

From Wittenberg on the Vigil of All Saints, MDXVII.

If it please the Most Reverend Father he may see these my Disputations, and learn how doubtful a thing is the opinion of indulgences which those men spread as though it were most certain.

To the Most Reverend Father,
Brother Martin Luther.

LETTER TO JOHN STAUPITZ ACCOMPANYING THE "RESOLUTIONS" TO THE 95 THESES, 1518

To his Reverend and Dear Father
John Staupitz, Professor of Sacred Theology, Vicar of the Augustinian Order,

Brother Martin Luther,
his pupil, sendeth greeting.

I remember, dear Father, that once, among those pleasant and wholesome talks of thine, with which the Lord Jesus ofttimes gives me wondrous consolation, the word poenitentia was mentioned. We were moved with pity for many consciences, and for those tormentors who teach, with rules innumerable and unbearable, what they call a modus confitendi. Then we heard thee say as with a voice from heaven, that there is no true penitence which does not begin with love of righteousness and of God, and that this love, which others think to be the end and the completion of penitence, is rather its beginning.

This word of thine stuck in me like a sharp arrow of the mighty, and from that time forth I began to compare it with the texts of Scripture which teach penitence. Lo, there began a joyous game! The words frollicked with me everywhere! They laughed and gamboled around this saying. Before that there was scarcely a word in all the Scriptures more bitter to me than "penitence," though I was busy making pretences to God and trying to produce a forced, feigned love; but now there is no word which has for me a sweeter or more pleasing sound than "penitence," For God's commands are sweet, when we find that they are to be read not in books alone, but in the wounds of our sweet Saviour.

After this it came about that, by the grace of the learned men who dutifully teach us Greek and Hebrew, I learned that this word is in Greek metanoia and is derived from meta and noun, i. e., post and mentem, so that poenitentia or metanoia is a "coming to one's senses," and is a knowledge of one's own evil, gained after punishment has been accepted and error acknowledged; and this cannot possibly happen without a change in our heart and our love. All this answers so aptly to the theology of Paul, that nothing, at least in my judgement, can so aptly illustrate St. Paul.

Then I went on and saw that metanoia cap be derived, though not without violence, not only from post and mentem, but also from trans and mentem, so that metanoia signifies a changing of the mind and heart, because it seemed to indicate not only a change of the heart, but also a manner of changing it, i. e., the grace of God. For that "passing over of the mind," which is true repentance, is of very frequent mention in the Scriptures. Christ has displayed the true significance of that old word "Passover"; and long before the Passover, Abraham was a type of it, when he was called a "pilgrim," i. e., a "Hebrew," that is to say, one who "passed over" into Mesopotamia, as the Doctor of Bourgos learnedly explains. With this accords, too, the title of the Psalm in which Jeduthun, i. e., "the pilgrim," is introduced as the singer.

Depending on these things, I ventured to think those men false teachers who ascribed so much to works of penitence that they left us scarcely anything of penitence itself except trivial satisfactions[98] and laborious confession, because, forsooth, they had derived their idea from the Latin words poenitentiam agere, which indicate an action, rather than a change of heart, and are in no way an equivalent for the Greek metanoia.

While this thought was boiling in my mind, suddenly new trumpets of indulgences and bugles of remissions began to peal and to bray all about us; but they were not intended to arouse us to keen eagerness for battle. In a word, the doctrine of true penitence was passed by, and they presumed to praise not even that poorest part of penitence which is called "satisfaction," but the remission of that poorest part of penitence; and they praised it so highly that such praise was never heard before. Then, too, they taught impious and false and heretical doctrines with such authority (I wished to say "with such assurance") that he who even muttered anything to the contrary under his breath, would straightway be consigned to the flames as a heretic, and condemned to eternal malediction.

Unable to meet their rage half-way, I determined to enter a modest dissent, and to call their teaching into question, relying on the opinion of all the doctors and of the whole Church, that to render satisfaction is better than to secure the remission of satisfaction, i. e., to buy indulgences. Nor is there anybody who ever taught otherwise. Therefore, I published my Disputation; in other words, I brought upon my head all the curses, high, middle and low, which these lovers of money (I should say "of souls") are able to send or to have sent upon me. For these most courteous men, armed, as they are, with very dense acumen, since they cannot deny what I have said, now pretend that in my Disputation I have spoken against the power of the Supreme Pontiff.

That is the reason. Reverend Father, why I now regretfully come out in public. For I have ever been a lover of my corner, and prefer to look upon the beauteous passing show of the great minds of our age, rather than to be looked upon and laughed at. But I see that the bean must appear among the cabbages, and the black must be put with the white, for the sake of seemliness and loveliness.

I ask, therefore, that thou wilt take this foolish work of mine and forward it, if possible, to the most Excellent Pontiff, Leo X, where it may plead my cause against the designs of those who hate me. Not that I wish thee to share my danger! Nay, I wish this to be done at my peril only. Christ will see whether what I have said is His or my own; and without His permission there is not a word in the Supreme Pontiff's tongue, nor is the heart of the king in his own hand. He is the Judge whose verdict I await from the Roman See.

As for those threatening friends of mine, I have no answer for them but that word of Reuchlin's—"He who is poor fears nothing; he has nothing to lose." Fortune I neither have nor desire; if I have had reputation and honor, he who destroys them is always at work; there remains only one poor body, weak and wearied with constant hardships, and if by force or wile they do away with that (as a service to God), they will but make me poorer by perhaps an hour or two of life. Enough for me is the most sweet Saviour and Redeemer, my Lord Jesus Christ, to Whom I shall always sing my song; if any one is unwilling to sing with me, what is that to me? Let him howl, if he likes, by himself.

The Lord Jesus keep thee eternally, my gracious Father!
Wittenberg, Day of the Holy Trinity, 1518.

LETTER TO POPE LEO X, ACCOMPANYING THE "RESOLUTIONS" TO THE 95 THESES, 1518

To the
Most Blessed Father,
LEO X.

Martin Luther,
Augustinian Friar,
wisheth everlasting welfare.

I have heard evil reports about myself, most blessed Father, by which I know that certain friends have put my name in very bad odor with you and yours, saying that I have attempted to belittle the power of the keys and of the Supreme Pontiff. Therefore I am accused of heresy, apostasy, and perfidy, and am called by six hundred other names of ignominy. My ears shudder and my eyes are astounded. But the one thing in which I put my confidence remains unshaken—my clear and quiet conscience. Moreover, what I hear is nothing new. With such like decorations I have been adorned in my own country by those same honorable and truthful men, i. e., by the men whose own conscience convicts them of wrongdoing, and who are trying to put their own monstrous doings off on me, and to glorify their own shame by bringing shame to me. But you will deign, blessed Father, to hear the true case from me, though I am but an uncouth child.

It is not long ago that the preaching of the Jubilee indulgences was begun in our country, and matters went so far that the preachers of indulgences, thinking that the protection of your name made anything permissible, ventured openly to teach the most impious and heretical doctrines, which threatened to make the power of the Church a scandal and a laughing-stock, as if the decretals De abusionibus quaestorum did not apply to them.

Not content with spreading this poison of theirs by word of mouth, they published tracts and scattered them among the people. In these books—to say nothing of the insatiable and unheard of avarice of which almost every letter in them vilely smells—they laid down those same impious and heretical doctrines, and laid them down in such wise that confessors were bound by their oath to be faithful and insistent in urging them upon the people. I speak the truth, and none of them can hide himself from the heat thereof. The tracts are extant and they cannot disown them. These teachings were so successfully carried on, and the people, with their false hopes, were sucked so dry that, as the Prophet says, "they plucked their flesh from off their bones";<ref>Mic. 3:2<ref> but they themselves meanwhile were fed most pleasantly on the fat of the land.

There was just one means which they used to quiet opposition, to wit, the protection of your name, the threat of burning at the stake, and the disgrace of the name "heretic." It is incredible how ready they are to threaten, even, at times, when they perceive that it is only their own mere silly opinions which are contradicted. As though this were to quiet opposition, and not rather to arouse schisms and seditions by sheer tyranny!

None the less, however, stories about the avarice of the priests were bruited in the taverns, and evil was spoken of the power of the keys and of the Supreme Pontiff, and as evidence of this, I could cite the common talk of this whole land. I truly confess that I was on fire with zeal for Christ, as I thought, or with the heat of youth, if you prefer to have it so; and yet I saw that it was not in place for me to make any decrees or to do anything in these matters. Therefore I privately admonished some of the prelates of the Church. By some of them I was kindly received, to others I seemed ridiculous, to still others something worse; for the terror of your name and the threat of Church censures prevailed. At last, since I could do nothing else, it seemed good that I should offer at least a gentle resistance to them, i. e., question and discuss their teachings. Therefore I published a set of theses, inviting only the more learned to dispute with me if they wished; as should be evident, even to my adversaries, from the Preface to the Disputation.

Lo, this is the fire with which they complain that all the world is now ablaze! Perhaps it is because they are indignant that I, who by your own apostolic authority am a Master of Theology, have the right to conduct public disputations, according to the custom of all the Universities and of the whole Church, not only about indulgences, but also about God's power and remission and mercy, which are incomparably greater subjects. I am not much moved, however, by the fact that they envy me the privilege granted me by the power of your Holiness, since I am unwillingly compelled to yield to them in things of far greater moment, viz., when they mix the dreams of Aristotle with theological matters, and conduct nonsensical disputations about the majesty of God, beyond and against the privilege granted them.

It is a miracle to me by what fate it has come about that this single Disputation of mine should, more than any other, of mine or of any of the teachers, have gone out into very nearly the whole land. It was made public at our University and for

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our University only, and it was made public in such wise that I cannot believe it has become known to all men. For it is a set of theses, not doctrines or dogmas, and they are put, according to custom, in an obscure and enigmatic way. Otherwise, if I had been able to foresee what was coming, I should have taken care, for my part, that they would be easier to understand.

Now what shall I do? I cannot recant them; and yet I see that marvelous enmity is inflamed against me because of their dissemination. It is unwillingly that I incur the public and perilous and various judgement of men, especially since I am unlearned, dull of brain, empty of scholarship; and that too in this brilliant age of ours, which by its achievements in letters and learning can force even Cicero into the corner, though he was no base follower of the public light. But necessity compels me to be the goose that squawks among the swans.

And so, to soften my enemies and to fulfil the desires of many, I herewith send forth these trifling explanations of my Disputation; I send them forth in order, too, that I may be more safe under the defense of your name and the shadow of your protection. In them all may see, who will, how purely and simply I have sought after and cherished the power of the Church and reverence for the keys; and, at the same time, how unjustly and falsely my adversaries have befouled me with so many names. For if I had been such a one as they wish to make me out, and if I had not, on the contrary, done everything correctly, according to my academic privilege, the Most Illustrious Prince Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Imperial Elector, etc., would never have tolerated such a pest in his University, for he most dearly loves the Catholic and Apostolic truth, nor could I have been tolerated by the keen and learned men of our University. But what has been done, I do because those most courteous men do not fear openly to involve both the Prince and the University in the same disgrace with myself.

Wherefore, most blessed Father, I cast myself at the feet of your Holiness, with all that I have and all that I am. Quicken, kill, call, recall, approve, reprove, as you will. In your voice I shall recognise the voice of Christ directing you and speaking in you. If I have deserved death, I shall not refuse to die. For the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof. He is blessed forever. Amen.

May He have you too forever in His keeping. Amen.

ANNO MDXVIII.

ANOTHER LETTER OF MARTIN LUTHER TO POPE LEO X

From: 6th of September, 1520.
Translation: by Erika Bullmann Flores

Letter of Martin Luther to Pope Leo X

Among those monstrous evils of this age with which I have now for three years been waging war, I am sometimes compelled to look to you and to call you to mind, most blessed father Leo. In truth, since you alone are everywhere considered as being the cause of my engaging in war, I cannot at any time fail to remember you; and although I have been compelled by the causeless raging of your impious flatterers against me to appeal from your seat to a future council—fearless of the futile decrees of your predecessors Pius and Julius, who in their foolish tyranny prohibited such an action—yet I have never been so alienated in feeling from your Blessedness as not to have sought with all my might, in diligent prayer and crying to God, all the best gifts for you and for your see. But those who have hitherto endeavoured to terrify me with the majesty of your name and authority, I have begun quite to despise and triumph over. One thing I see remaining which I cannot despise, and this has been the reason of my writing anew to your Blessedness: namely, that I find that blame is cast on me, and that it is imputed to me as a great offence, that in my rashness I am judged to have spared not even your person.

Now, to confess the truth openly, I am conscious that, whenever I have had to mention your person, I have said nothing of you but what was honourable and good. If I had done otherwise, I could by no means have approved my own conduct, but should have supported with all my power the judgement of those men concerning me, nor would anything have pleased me better, than to recant such rashness and impiety. I have called you Daniel in Babylon; and every reader thoroughly knows with what distinguished zeal I defended your conspicuous innocence against Silvester, who tried to stain it. Indeed, the published opinion of so many great men and the repute of your blameless life are too widely famed and too much reverenced throughout the world to be assailable by any man, of however great name, or by any arts. I am not so foolish as to attack one whom everybody praises; nay, it has been and always will be my desire not to attack even those whom public repute disgraces. I am not delighted at the faults of any man, since I am very conscious myself of the great beam in my own eye, nor can I be the first to cast a stone at the adulteress.

I have indeed inveighed sharply against impious doctrines, and I have not been slack to censure my adversaries on account, not of their bad morals, but of their impiety. And for this I am so far from being sorry that I have brought my mind to despise the judgements of men and to persevere in this vehement zeal, according to the example of Christ, who, in His zeal, calls His adversaries a generation of vipers, blind, hypocrites, and children of the devil. Paul, too, charges the sorcerer with being a child of the devil, full of all subtlety and all malice; and defames certain persons as evil workers, dogs, and deceivers. In the opinion of those delicate-eared persons, nothing could be more bitter or intemperate than Paul's language. What can be more bitter than the words of the prophets? The ears of our generation have been made so delicate by the senseless multitude of flatterers that, as soon as we perceive that anything of ours is not approved of, we cry out that we are being bitterly assailed; and when we can repel the truth by no other pretence, we escape by attributing bitterness, impatience, intemperance, to our adversaries. What would be the use of salt if it were not pungent, or of the edge of the sword if it did not slay? Accursed is the man who does the work of the Lord deceitfully.

Wherefore, most excellent Leo, I beseech you to accept my vindication, made in this letter, and to persuade yourself that I have never thought any evil concerning your person; further, that I am one who desires that eternal blessing may fall to your lot, and that I have no dispute with any man concerning morals, but only concerning the word of truth. In all other things I will yield to any one, but I neither can nor will forsake and deny the word. He who thinks otherwise of me, or has taken in my words in another sense, does not think rightly, and has not taken in the truth.

Your see, however, which is called the Court of Rome, and which neither you nor any man can deny to be more corrupt than any Babylon or Sodom, and quite, as I believe, of a lost, desperate, and hopeless impiety, this I have verily abominated, and have felt indignant that the people of Christ should be cheated under your name and the pretext of the Church of Rome; and so I have resisted, and will resist, as long as the spirit of faith shall live in me. Not that I am striving after impossibilities, or hoping that by my labours alone, against the furious opposition of so many flatterers, any good can be done in that most disordered Babylon; but that I feel myself a debtor to my brethren, and am bound to take thought for them, that fewer of them may be ruined, or that their ruin may be less complete, by the plagues of Rome. For many years now, nothing else has overflowed from Rome into the world—as you are not ignorant—than the laying waste of goods, of bodies, and of souls, and the worst examples of all the worst things. These things are clearer than the light to all men; and the Church of Rome, formerly the most holy of all Churches, has become the most lawless den of thieves, the most shameless of all brothels, the very kingdom of sin, death, and hell; so that not even antichrist, if he were to come, could devise any addition to its wickedness.

Meanwhile you, Leo, are sitting like a lamb in the midst of wolves, like Daniel in the midst of lions, and, with Ezekiel, you dwell among scorpions. What opposition can you alone make to these monstrous evils? Take to yourself three or four of the most learned and best of the cardinals. What are these among so many? You would all perish by poison before you could undertake to decide on a remedy. It is all over with the Court of Rome; the wrath of God has come upon her to the uttermost. She hates councils; she dreads to be reformed; she cannot restrain the madness of her impiety; she fills up the sentence passed on her mother, of whom it is said, "We would have healed Babylon, but she is not healed; let us forsake her." It had been your duty and that of your cardinals to apply a remedy to these evils, but this gout laughs at the physician's hand, and the chariot does not obey the reins. Under the influence of these feelings, I have always grieved that you, most excellent Leo, who were worthy of a better age, have been made pontiff in this. For the Roman Court is not worthy of you and those like you, but of Satan himself, who in truth is more the ruler in that Babylon than you are.

Oh, would that, having laid aside that glory which your most abandoned enemies declare to be yours, you were living rather in the office of a private priest or on your paternal inheritance! In that glory none are worthy to glory, except the race of Iscariot, the children of perdition. For what happens in your court, Leo, except that, the more wicked and execrable any man is, the more prosperously he can use your name and authority for the ruin of the property and souls of men, for the multiplication of crimes, for the oppression of faith and truth and of the whole Church of God? Oh, Leo! in reality most unfortunate, and sitting on a most perilous throne, I tell you the truth, because I wish you well; for if Bernard felt compassion for his Anastasius at a time when the Roman see, though even then most corrupt, was as yet ruling with better hope than now, why should not we lament, to whom so much further corruption and ruin has been added in three hundred years?

Is it not true that there is nothing under the vast heavens more corrupt, more pestilential, more hateful, than the Court of Rome? She incomparably surpasses the impiety of the Turks, so that in very truth she, who was formerly the gate of heaven, is now a sort of open mouth of hell, and such a mouth as, under the urgent wrath of God, cannot be blocked up; one course alone being left to us wretched men: to call back and save some few, if we can, from that Roman gulf.

Behold, Leo, my father, with what purpose and on what principle it is that I have stormed against that seat of pestilence. I am so far from having felt any rage against your person that I even hoped to gain favour with you and to aid you in your welfare by striking actively and vigorously at that your prison, nay, your hell. For whatever the efforts of all minds can contrive against the confusion of that impious Court will be advantageous to you and to your welfare, and to many others with you. Those who do harm to her are doing your office; those who in every way abhor her are glorifying Christ; in short, those are Christians who are not Romans.

But, to say yet more, even this never entered my heart: to inveigh against the Court of Rome or to dispute at all about her. For, seeing all remedies for her health to be desperate, I looked on her with contempt, and, giving her a bill of divorcement, said to her, "He that is unjust, let him be unjust still; and he that is filthy, let him be filthy still," giving myself up to the peaceful and quiet study of sacred literature, that by this I might be of use to the brethren living about me.

While I was making some advance in these studies, Satan opened his eyes and goaded on his servant John Eccius, that notorious adversary of Christ, by the unchecked lust for fame, to drag me unexpectedly into the arena, trying to catch me in one little word concerning the primacy of the Church of Rome, which had fallen from me in passing. That boastful Thraso, foaming and gnashing his teeth, proclaimed that he would dare all things for the glory of God and for the honour of the holy apostolic seat; and, being puffed up respecting your power, which he was about to misuse, he looked forward with all certainty to victory; seeking to promote, not so much the primacy of Peter, as his own pre-eminence among the theologians of this age; for he thought it would contribute in no slight degree to this, if he were to lead Luther in triumph. The result having proved unfortunate for the sophist, an incredible rage torments him; for he feels that whatever discredit to Rome has arisen through me has been caused by the fault of himself alone.

Suffer me, I pray you, most excellent Leo, both to plead my own cause, and to accuse your true enemies. I believe it is known to you in what way Cardinal Cajetan, your imprudent and unfortunate, nay unfaithful, legate, acted towards me. When, on account of my reverence for your name, I had placed myself and all that was mine in his hands, he did not so act as to establish peace, which he could easily have established by one little word, since I at that time promised to be silent and to make an end of my case, if he would command my adversaries to do the same. But that man of pride, not content with this agreement, began to justify my adversaries, to give them free licence, and to order me to recant, a thing which was certainly not in his commission. Thus indeed, when the case was in the best position, it came through his vexatious tyranny into a much worse one. Therefore whatever has followed upon this is the fault not of Luther, but entirely of Cajetan, since he did not suffer me to be silent and remain quiet, which at that time I was entreating for with all my might. What more was it my duty to do?

Next came Charles Miltitz, also a nuncio from your Blessedness. He, though he went up and down with much and varied exertion, and omitted nothing which could tend to restore the position of the cause thrown into confusion by the rashness and pride of Cajetan, had difficulty, even with the help of that very illustrious prince the Elector Frederick, in at last bringing about more than one familiar conference with me. In these I again yielded to your great name, and was prepared to keep silence, and to accept as my judge either the Archbishop of Treves, or the Bishop of Naumburg; and thus it was done and concluded. While this was being done with good hope of success, lo! that other and greater enemy of yours, Eccius, rushed in with his Leipsic disputation, which he had undertaken against Carlstadt, and, having taken up a new question concerning the primacy of the Pope, turned his arms unexpectedly against me, and completely overthrew the plan for peace. Meanwhile Charles Miltitz was waiting, disputations were held, judges were being chosen, but no decision was arrived at. And no wonder! for by the falsehoods, pretences, and arts of Eccius the whole business was brought into such thorough disorder, confusion, and festering soreness, that, whichever way the sentence might lean, a greater conflagration was sure to arise; for he was seeking, not after truth, but after his own credit. In this case too I omitted nothing which it was right that I should do.

I confess that on this occasion no small part of the corruptions of Rome came to light; but, if there was any offence in this, it was the fault of Eccius, who, in taking on him a burden beyond his strength, and in furiously aiming at credit for himself, unveiled to the whole world the disgrace of Rome.

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Here is that enemy of yours, Leo, or rather of your Court; by his example alone we may learn that an enemy is not more baneful than a flatterer. For what did he bring about by his flattery, except evils which no king could have brought about? At this day the name of the Court of Rome stinks in the nostrils of the world, the papal authority is growing weak, and its notorious ignorance is evil spoken of. We should hear none of these things, if Eccius had not disturbed the plans of Miltitz and myself for peace. He feels this clearly enough himself in the indignation he shows, too late and in vain, against the publication of my books. He ought to have reflected on this at the time when he was all mad for renown, and was seeking in your cause nothing but his own objects, and that with the greatest peril to you. The foolish man hoped that, from fear of your name, I should yield and keep silence; for I do not think he presumed on his talents and learning. Now, when he sees that I am very confident and speak aloud, he repents too late of his rashness, and sees—if indeed he does see it—that there is One in heaven who resists the proud, and humbles the presumptuous.

Since then we were bringing about by this disputation nothing but the greater confusion of the cause of Rome, Charles Miltitz for the third time addressed the Fathers of the Order, assembled in chapter, and sought their advice for the settlement of the case, as being now in a most troubled and perilous state. Since, by the favour of God, there was no hope of proceeding against me by force, some of the more noted of their number were sent to me, and begged me at least to show respect to your person and to vindicate in a humble letter both your innocence and my own. They said that the affair was not as yet in a position of extreme hopelessness, if Leo X., in his inborn kindliness, would put his hand to it. On this I, who have always offered and wished for peace, in order that I might devote myself to calmer and more useful pursuits, and who for this very purpose have acted with so much spirit and vehemence, in order to put down by the strength and impetuosity of my words, as well as of my feelings, men whom I saw to be very far from equal to myself—I, I say, not only gladly yielded, but even accepted it with joy and gratitude, as the greatest kindness and benefit, if you should think it right to satisfy my hopes.

Thus I come, most blessed Father, and in all abasement beseech you to put to your hand, if it is possible, and impose a curb to those flatterers who are enemies of peace, while they pretend peace. But there is no reason, most blessed Father, why any one should assume that I am to utter a recantation, unless he prefers to involve the case in still greater confusion. Moreover, I cannot bear with laws for the interpretation of the word of God, since the word of God, which teaches liberty in all other things, ought not to be bound. Saving these two things, there is nothing which I am not able, and most heartily willing, to do or to suffer. I hate contention; I will challenge no one; in return I wish not to be challenged; but, being challenged, I will not be dumb in the cause of Christ my Master. For your Blessedness will be able by one short and easy word to call these controversies before you and suppress them, and to impose silence and peace on both sides—a word which I have ever longed to hear.

Therefore, Leo, my Father, beware of listening to those sirens who make you out to be not simply a man, but partly a god, so that you can command and require whatever you will. It will not happen so, nor will you prevail. You are the servant of servants, and more than any other man, in a most pitiable and perilous position. Let not those men deceive you who pretend that you are lord of the world; who will not allow any one to be a Christian without your authority; who babble of your having power over heaven, hell, and purgatory. These men are your enemies and are seeking your soul to destroy it, as Isaiah says, "My people, they that call thee blessed are themselves deceiving thee." They are in error who raise you above councils and the universal Church; they are in error who attribute to you alone the right of interpreting Scripture. All these men are seeking to set up their own impieties in the Church under your name, and alas! Satan has gained much through them in the time of your predecessors.

In brief, trust not in any who exalt you, but in those who humiliate you. For this is the judgement of God: "He hath cast down the mighty from their seat, and hath exalted the humble." See how unlike Christ was to His successors, though all will have it that they are His vicars. I fear that in truth very many of them have been in too serious a sense His vicars, for a vicar represents a prince who is absent. Now if a pontiff rules while Christ is absent and does not dwell in his heart, what else is he but a vicar of Christ? And then what is that Church but a multitude without Christ? What indeed is such a vicar but antichrist and an idol? How much more rightly did the Apostles speak, who call themselves servants of a present Christ, not the vicars of an absent one!

Perhaps I am shamelessly bold in seeming to teach so great a head, by whom all men ought to be taught, and from whom, as those plagues of yours boast, the thrones of judges receive their sentence; but I imitate St. Bernard in his book concerning Considerations addressed to Eugenius, a book which ought to be known by heart by every pontiff. I do this, not from any desire to teach, but as a duty, from that simple and faithful solicitude which teaches us to be anxious for all that is safe for our neighbours, and does not allow considerations of worthiness or unworthiness to be entertained, being intent only on the dangers or advantage of others. For since I know that your Blessedness is driven and tossed by the waves at Rome, so that the depths of the sea press on you with infinite perils, and that you are labouring under such a condition of misery that you need even the least help from any the least brother, I do not seem to myself to be acting unsuitably if I forget your majesty till I shall have fulfilled the office of charity. I will not flatter in so serious and perilous a matter; and if in this you do not see that I am your friend and most thoroughly your subject, there is One to see and judge.

In fine, that I may not approach you empty-handed, blessed Father, I bring with me this little treatise, published under your name, as a good omen of the establishment of peace and of good hope. By this you may perceive in what pursuits I should prefer and be able to occupy myself to more profit, if I were allowed, or had been hitherto allowed, by your impious flatterers. It is a small matter, if you look to its exterior, but, unless I mistake, it is a summary of the Christian life put together in small compass, if you apprehend its meaning. I, in my poverty, have no other present to make you, nor do you need anything else than to be enriched by a spiritual gift. I commend myself to your Paternity and Blessedness, whom may the Lord Jesus preserve for ever. Amen.

Wittenberg, 6th September, 1520.

ADDRESS TO THE CHRISTIAN NOBILITY

of the German Nation Respecting
the Reformation of the Christian Estate
by Martin Luther
From: "The Harvard Classics", Volume 36,
(New York: P. F. Collier & Son, 1910)
Estimated Range of Dating: 1520 A.D.

(To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation (German: An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation) is the first of three tracts written by Martin Luther in 1520. In this work, he defined for the first time the signature doctrines of the priesthood of all believers and the two kingdoms. The work was written in the vernacular language German and not in Latin. Luther deliberately composed this text in order to reach the powerful German nobles and princes in the Holy Roman Empire because he needed them to support his religious reforms.

The Disputation of Leipzig (1519) brought Luther into contact with the humanists, particularly Melanchthon, Reuchlin, Erasmus, and associates of the knight Ulrich von Hutten, who, in turn, influenced the knight Franz von Sickingen. Von Sickingen and Silvester of Schauenburg wanted to place Luther under their protection by inviting him to their fortresses in the event that it would not be safe for him to remain in Saxony because of the threatened papal ban. Between the Edict of Worms in April 1521 and Luther's return from the Wartburg in March 1522 a power struggle developed of who was to lead the Reformation through its competing possibilities and how the Reformers should follow their teachings. In Wittenberg each interested party – prince, town council and commune – wished to expand its influence on the governance of the church in accord with its own values and needs. Through this the question of authority appeared. The church made a strong attempt at drawing distinct lines on saying who had authority in the spiritual sphere and its matters. This division of Christians into spheres motivated Luther to write on the "three walls" the "Romanists" created to protect themselves from reform, this was the letter "to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation"

Under these circumstances, complicated by the crisis then confronting the German nobles, Luther issued his To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation (Aug. 1520), committing to the laity, as spiritual priests, the reformation required by God but neglected by the pope and the clergy. This treatise, which has been called a "cry from the heart of the people" and a "blast on the war trumpet," was the first publication Luther produced after he was convinced that a break with Rome was both inevitable and unavoidable. In it he attacked what he regarded as the "three walls of the Romanists": (1st) that secular authority has no jurisdiction over them; (2nd) that only the pope is able to explain Scripture; (3rd) that nobody but the Pope himself can call a general church council.

The First Wall: Spiritual Power over Temporal

The first wall of the "Romanists" that Luther criticized was that of the division of the spiritual and temporal state. Through this criticism Luther states how there is no difference among these states beyond that of office. He elaborates further by quoting Saint Peter and the Book of Revelation stating that through baptism we were consecrated as priests. Through this statement he attempts to diminish the Church's authority significantly and describes priests as nothing more than "functionaries". Luther provides the example of "if ten brothers, co-heirs as king's sons, were to choose one from among them to rule over their inheritance, they would all still remain kings and have equal power, although one is ordered to govern." From this statement Luther calls for religious office to be held by elected officials, stating that "if a thing is common to all, no man may take it to himself without the wish and command of the community." Therefore, through this criticism of the first wall one can see Luther taking authority from the Church by saying that everyone is a priest and giving more authority to govern to the temporal sphere. The problem that arises out of this can be found in a letter written by an anonymous Nürnberger, "Whether Secular Government has the Right to Wield the Sword in Matters of Faith." This article raises the question of how much governing control was acceptable for the temporal authorities to have over the spiritual sphere. From Luther's letter temporal authorities took too much control and were executing and banishing for reasons of faith, but at the same time the papists were burning and hanging "everyone who is not of their faith." Thus, the question of who was to have authority to govern the spiritual sphere.

The Second Wall: Authority to Interpret Scripture

In the second part of the letter to the Christian nobility of the German nation, Luther debates the point that it is the Pope's sole authority to interpret, or confirm interpretation of, scriptures, the large problem being that there is no proof announcing this authority is the Pope's alone and thus assuming this authority for themselves. Through this criticism, Luther allows the laity to have a standard to base their faith on and not an official's interpretation, thus detracting more from the Church's control over the sphere. This criticism, unlike in the first wall, supported a strong base of the reformation, the break away from the rules and traditions of the Catholic Church. The Reformation was based on setting the standard on the Scriptures, not on church dogma. Through this reformers were able to have a standard to look to for laws and regulations concerning their faith.

The Third Wall: Authority to Call a Council

This final part to Luther's letter is the largest demonstration of his desire to see authority in control over the spiritual sphere shift to the temporal sphere. The Church was able to protect itself by preventing anyone other than the Pope from calling a council to discuss spiritual affairs. To this, Luther states that anyone should have the ability to call a council if they find a problem or issue of the spiritual sphere. Further, Luther delegates the "temporal authorities" to be best suited for calling a council as they are "fellow-Christians, fellow-priests, sharing one spirit and one power in all things, and thus they should exercise the office that they received from God." This shift in power to the temporal authorities in faith matters became a larger problem later in the Reformation. Confrontations arose as to who had the right to interfere in matters of faith, such as at what point is it acceptable for the government to stop a new religion from forming. An example of this confrontation can be found in a document by an unknown Nürnberger entitled "Whether Secular Government has the Right to Wield the Sword in Matters of Faith." Wayback Machine This document asked if military force employed to stop uprising violence, whether applied by the government or the church, is the Christian thing to do. Some believed that violence begot more violence, that "those that lived by the sword would die by the sword;" others believed it was the secular sphere's duty to protect its people and stop new faiths from forming. They made use of the Old Testament as proof for their statements, thus relying on old tradition and papal interpretation.

Therefore, it was through criticisms of these walls that Luther broke down the spiritual sphere's influence as a separate sphere that was more important than the temporal sphere; thus he was able to shift its power to the temporal authorities. This letter broke down the barrier between the spiritual and the temporal sphere and thus had a large impact on the laity, giving them control over their own faith and detracted control from the pope and the church. The statement that everyone was their own priest sent shock waves through the reformation which gave Luther his push for a faith based on the standard of the scripture which allowed people to interpret the scripture themselves. There were reactions to the shift of power to the temporal authorities, and questions of how much governing power they should receive, but this shift was the beginning of a new reformation controlled by the state and based on accessible scripture that every Christian was able to interpret. Above all, one thing is very clear, Luther stood for liberty of conscience.)

INTRODUCTION

To his most Serene and Mighty Imperial Majesty and to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation. Dr. Martinus Luther.

The grace and might of God be with you, Most Serene Majesty, most gracious, well-beloved gentlemen!

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It is not out of mere arrogance and perversity that I, an individual poor man, have taken upon me to address your lordships. The distress and misery that oppress all the Christian estates, more especially in Germany, have led not only myself, but every one else, to cry aloud and to ask for help, and have now forced me too to cry out and to ask if God would give His Spirit to any one to reach a hand to His wretched people. Councils have often put forward some remedy, but it has adroitly been frustrated, and the evils have become worse, through the cunning of certain men. Their malice and wickedness I will now, by the help of God, expose, so that, being known, they may henceforth cease to be so obstructive and injurious. God has given us a young and noble sovereign [Emperor Charles V. was at that time not quite twenty years of age.], and by this has roused great hopes in many hearts; now it is right that we too should do what we can, and make good use of time and grace.

The first thing that we must do is to consider the matter with great earnestness, and, whatever we attempt, not to trust in our own strength and wisdom alone, even if the power of all the world were ours; for God will not endure that a good work should be begun trusting to our own strength and wisdom. He destroys it; it is all useless, as we read in Psalm 33, "There is no king saved by the multitude of a host; a mighty man is not delivered by much strength." And I fear it is for that reason that those beloved princes the Emperors Frederick, the First and the Second, and many other German emperors were, in former times, so piteously spurned and oppressed by the popes, though they were feared by all the world. Perchance they trusted rather in their own strength than in God; therefore they could not but fall; and how would the sanguinary tyrant Julius II. have risen so high in our own days but that, I fear, France, Germany, and Venice trusted to themselves? The children of Benjamin slew forty-two thousand Israelites, for this reason: that these trusted to their own strength (Judges 20, etc.).

That such a thing may not happen to us and to our noble Emperor Charles, we must remember that in this matter we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against the rulers of the darkness of this world (Ephesians 6:12), who may fill the world with war and bloodshed, but cannot themselves be overcome thereby. We must renounce all confidence in our natural strength, and take the matter in hand with humble trust in God; we must seek God's help with earnest prayer, and have nothing before our eyes but the misery and wretchedness of Christendom, irrespective of what punishment the wicked may deserve. If we do not act thus, we may begin the game with great pomp; but when we are well in it, the spirits of evil will make such confusion that the whole world will be immersed in blood, and yet nothing be done. Therefore let us act in the fear of God and prudently. The greater the might of the foe, the greater is the misfortune, if we do not act in the fear of God and with humility. If popes and Romanists have hitherto, with the devil's help, thrown kings into confusion, they may still do so, if we attempt things with our own strength and skill, without God's help.

The Three Walls Of The Romanists

The Romanists have, with great adroitness, drawn three walls round themselves, with which they have hitherto protected themselves, so that no one could reform them, whereby all Christendom has fallen terribly.

Firstly, if pressed by the temporal power, they have affirmed and maintained that the temporal power has no jurisdiction over them, but, on the contrary, that the spiritual power is above the temporal.

Secondly, if it were proposed to admonish them with the Scriptures, they objected that no one may interpret the Scriptures but the Pope.

Thirdly, if they are threatened with a council, they pretend that no one may call a council but the Pope.

Thus they have secretly stolen our three rods, so that they may be unpunished, and intrenched themselves behind these three walls, to act with all the wickedness and malice, which we now witness. And whenever they have been compelled to call a council, they have made it of no avail by binding the princes beforehand with an oath to leave them as they were, and to give moreover to the Pope full power over the procedure of the council, so that it is all one whether we have many councils or no councils, in addition to which they deceive us with false pretences and tricks. So grievously do they tremble for their skin before a true, free council; and thus they have overawed kings and princes, that these believe they would be offending God, if they were not to obey them in all such knavish, deceitful artifices.

Now may God help us, and give us one of those trumpets that overthrew the walls of Jericho, so that we may blow down these walls of straw and paper, and that we may set free our Christian rods for the chastisement of sin, and expose the craft and deceit of the devil, so that we may amend ourselves by punishment and again obtain God's favour.

(a) The First Wall

That the Temporal Power has no Jurisdiction over the Spirituality

Let us, in the first place, attack the first wall.

It has been devised that the Pope, bishops, priests, and monks are called the spiritual estate, princes, lords, artificers, and peasants are the temporal estate. This is an artful lie and hypocritical device, but let no one be made afraid by it, and that for this reason: that all Christians are truly of the spiritual estate, and there is no difference among them, save of office alone. As St. Paul says (1 Cor. xii.), we are all one body, though each member does its own work, to serve the others. This is because we have one baptism, one Gospel, one faith, and are all Christians alike; for baptism, Gospel, and faith, these alone make spiritual and Christian people.

As for the unction by a pope or a bishop, tonsure, ordination, consecration, and clothes differing from those of laymen-all this may make a hypocrite or an anointed puppet, but never a Christian or a spiritual man. Thus we are all consecrated as priests by baptism, as St. Peter says: "Ye are a royal priesthood, a holy nation" (1 Peter ii. 9); and in the book of Revelations: "and hast made us unto our God (by Thy blood) kings and priests" (Rev. v. 10). For, if we had not a higher consecration in us than pope or bishop can give, no priest could ever be made by the consecration of pope or bishop, nor could he say the mass, or preach, or absolve. Therefore the bishop's consecration is just as if in the name of the whole congregation he took one person out of the community, each member of which has equal power, and commanded him to exercise this power for the rest; in the same way as if ten brothers, co-heirs as king's sons, were to choose one from among them to rule over their inheritance, they would all of them still remain kings and have equal power, although one is ordered to govern.

And to put the matter even more plainly, if a little company of pious Christian laymen were taken prisoners and carried away to a desert, and had not among them a priest consecrated by a bishop, and were there to agree to elect one of them, born in wedlock or not, and were to order him to baptise, to celebrate the mass, to absolve, and to preach, this man would as truly be a priest, as if all the bishops and all the Popes had consecrated him. That is why in cases of necessity every man can baptise and absolve, which would not be possible if we were not all priests. This great grace and virtue of baptism and of the Christian estate they have quite destroyed and made us forget by their ecclesiastical law. In this way the Christians used to choose their bishops and priests out of the community; these being afterwards confirmed by other bishops, without the pomp that now prevails. So was it that St. Augustine, Ambrose, Cyprian, were bishops.

Since, then, the temporal power is baptised as we are, and has the same faith and Gospel, we must allow it to be priest and bishop, and account its office an office that is proper and useful to the Christian community. For whatever issues from baptism may boast that it has been consecrated priest, bishop, and pope, although it does not beseem every one to exercise these offices. For, since we are all priests alike, no man may put himself forward or take upon himself, without our consent and election, to do that which we have all alike power to do. For, if a thing is common to all, no man may take it to himself without the wish and command of the community. And if it should happen that a man were appointed to one of these offices and deposed for abuses, he would be just what he was before. Therefore a priest should be nothing in Christendom but a functionary; as long as he holds his office, he has precedence of others; if he is deprived of it, he is a peasant or a citizen like the rest. Therefore a priest is verily no longer a priest after deposition. But now they have invented characteres indelebiles*, and pretend that a priest after deprivation still differs from a simple layman. They even imagine that a priest can never be anything but a priest-that is, that he can never become a layman. All this is nothing but mere talk and ordinance of human invention. [* In accordance with a doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, the act of ordination impresses upon the priest an indelible character; so that he immutably retains the sacred dignity of priesthood.]

It follows, then, that between laymen and priests, princes and bishops, or, as they call it, between spiritual and temporal persons, the only real difference is one of office and function, and not of estate; for they are all of the same spiritual estate, true priests, bishops, and popes, though their functions are not the same-just as among priests and monks every man has not the same functions. And this, as I said above, St. Paul says (Romans 12; 1 Corinthians 12), and St. Peter (1 Peter 2): "We, being many, are one body in Christ, and severally members one of another." Christ's body is not double or twofold, one temporal, the other spiritual. He is one Head, and He has one body.

We see, then, that just as those that we call spiritual, or priests, bishops, or popes, do not differ from other Christians in any other or higher degree but in that they are to be concerned with the word of God and the sacraments-that being their work and office-in the same way the temporal authorities hold the sword and the rod in their hands to punish the wicked and to protect the good. A cobbler, a smith, a peasant, every man, has the office and function of his calling, and yet all alike are consecrated priests and bishops, and every man should by his office or function be useful and beneficial to the rest, so that various kinds of work may all be united for the furtherance of body and soul, just as the members of the body all serve one another.

ow see what a Christian doctrine is this: that the temporal authority is not above the clergy, and may not punish it. This is as if one were to say the hand may not help, though the eye is in grievous suffering. Is it not unnatural, not to say unchristian, that one member may not help another, or guard it against harm? Nay, the nobler the member, the more the rest are bound to help it. Therefore I say, Forasmuch as the temporal power has been ordained by God for the punishment of the bad and the protection of the good, therefore we must let it do its duty throughout the whole Christian body, without respect of persons, whether it strikes popes, bishops, priests, monks, nuns, or whoever it may be. If it were sufficient reason for fettering the temporal power that it is inferior among the offices of Christianity to the offices of priest or confessor, or to the spiritual estate-if this were so, then we ought to restrain tailors, cobblers, masons, carpenters, cooks, cellarmen, peasants, and all secular workmen, from providing the Pope or bishops, priests and monks, with shoes, clothes, houses or victuals, or from paying them tithes. But if these laymen are allowed to do their work without restraint, what do the Romanist scribes mean by their laws? They mean that they withdraw themselves from the operation of temporal Christian power, simply in order that they may be free to do evil, and thus fulfil what St. Peter said: "There shall be false teachers among you, . . . and in covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you" (2 Peter 2:1, etc.).

Therefore the temporal Christian power must exercise its office without let or hindrance, without considering whom it may strike, whether pope, or bishop, or priest: whoever is guilty, let him suffer for it.

Whatever the ecclesiastical law has said in opposition to this is merely the invention of Romanist arrogance. For this is what St. Paul says to all Christians: "Let every soul" (I presume including the popes) "be subject unto the higher powers; for they bear not the sword in vain: they serve the Lord therewith, for vengeance on evildoers and for praise to them that do well" (Romans 13:1-4). Also St. Peter: "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, . . . for so is the will of God" (1 Peter 2:13, 15). He has also foretold that men would come who should despise government (2 Peter 2), as has come to pass through ecclesiastical law.

Now, I imagine, the first paper wall is overthrown, inasmuch as the temporal power has become a member of the Christian body; although its work relates to the body, yet does it belong to the spiritual estate. Therefore, it must do its duty without let or hindrance upon all members of the whole body, to punish or urge, as guilt may deserve, or need may require, without respect of pope, bishops, or priests, let them threaten or excommunicate as they will. That is why a guilty priest is deprived of his priesthood before being given over to the secular arm; whereas this would not be right, if the secular sword had not authority over him already by Divine ordinance.

It is, indeed, past bearing that the spiritual law should esteem so highly the liberty, life, and property of the clergy, as if laymen were not as good spiritual Christians, or not equally members of the Church. Why should your body, life, goods, and honour be free, and not mine, seeing that we are equal as Christians, and have received alike baptism, faith, spirit, and all things? If a priest is killed, the country is laid under an interdict*: why not also if a peasant is killed? Whence comes this great difference among equal Christians? Simply from human laws and inventions. [* By the Interdict, or general excommunication, whole countries, districts, or towns, or their respective rulers, were deprived of all the spiritual benefits of the Church, such as Divine service, the administering of the sacraments, etc.]

It can have been no good spirit, either, that devised these evasions and made sin to go unpunished. For if, as Christ and the Apostles bid us, it is our duty to oppose the evil one and all his works and words, and to drive him away as well as may be, how then should we remain quiet and be silent when the Pope and his followers are guilty of devilish works and words? Are we for the sake of men to allow the commandments and the truth of God to be defeated, which at our baptism we vowed to support with body and soul? Truly we should have to answer for all souls that would thus be abandoned and led astray.

Therefore it must have been the arch-devil himself who said, as we read in the ecclesiastical law, If the Pope were so perniciously wicked, as to be dragging souls in crowds to the devil, yet he could not be deposed. This is the accursed and devilish foundation on which they build at Rome, and think that the whole world is to be allowed to go to the devil rather

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than they should be opposed in their knavery. If a man were to escape punishment simply because he is above the rest, then no Christian might punish another, since Christ has commanded each of us to esteem himself the lowest and the humblest (Matthew 18:4; Luke 9:48).

Where there is sin, there remains no avoiding the punishment, as St. Gregory says, We are all equal, but guilt makes one subject to another. Now let us see how they deal with Christendom. They arrogate to themselves immunities without any warrant from the Scriptures, out of their own wickedness, whereas God and the Apostles made them subject to the secular sword; so that we must fear that it is the work of antichrist, or a sign of his near approach.

(b) The Second Wall

That no one may interpret the Scriptures but the Pope

The second wall is even more tottering and weak: that they alone pretend to be considered masters of the Scriptures; although they learn nothing of them all their life. They assume authority, and juggle before us with impudent words, saying that the Pope cannot err in matters of faith, whether he be evil or good, albeit they cannot prove it by a single letter. That is why the canon law contains so many heretical and unchristian, nay unnatural, laws; but of these we need not speak now. For whereas they imagine the Holy Ghost never leaves them, however unlearned and wicked they may be, they grow bold enough to decree whatever they like. But were this true, where were the need and use of the Holy Scriptures? Let us burn them, and content ourselves with the unlearned gentlemen at Rome, in whom the Holy Ghost dwells, who, however, can dwell in pious souls only. If I had not read it, I could never have believed that the devil should have put forth such follies at Rome and find a following.

But not to fight them with our own words, we will quote the Scriptures. St. Paul says, "If anything be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace" (1 Corinthians 14:30). What would be the use of this commandment, if we were to believe him alone that teaches or has the highest seat? Christ Himself says, "And they shall be all taught of God." (John 6:45). Thus it may come to pass that the Pope and his followers are wicked and not true Christians, and not being taught by God, have no true understanding, whereas a common man may have true understanding. Why should we then not follow him? Has not the Pope often erred? Who could help Christianity, in case the Pope errs, if we do not rather believe another who has the Scriptures for him?

Therefore it is a wickedly devised fable-and they cannot quote a single letter to confirm it-that it is for the Pope alone to interpret the Scriptures or to confirm the interpretation of them. They have assumed the authority of their own selves. And though they say that this authority was given to St. Peter when the keys were given to him, it is plain enough that the keys were not given to St. Peter alone, but to the whole community. Besides, the keys were not ordained for doctrine or authority, but for sin, to bind or loose, and what they claim besides this from the keys is mere invention. But what Christ said to St. Peter: "I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not" (Luke 22:32), cannot relate to the Pope, inasmuch as the greater part of the Popes have been without faith, as they are themselves forced to acknowledge; nor did Christ pray for Peter alone, but for all the Apostles and all Christians, as He says, "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on Me through their word" (John 17). Is not this plain enough?

Only consider the matter. They must needs acknowledge that there are pious Christians among us that have the true faith, spirit, understanding, word, and mind of Christ: why then should we reject their word and understanding, and follow a pope who has neither understanding nor spirit? Surely this were to deny our whole faith and the Christian Church. Moreover, if the article of our faith is right, "I believe in the holy Christian Church," the Pope cannot alone be right; else we must say, "I believe in the Pope of Rome," and reduce the Christian Church to one man, which is a devilish and damnable heresy. Besides that, we are all priests, as I have said, and have all one faith, one Gospel, one Sacrament; how then should we not have the power of discerning and judging what is right or wrong in matters of faith? What becomes of St. Paul's words, "But he that is spiritual judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man" (1 Corinthians 2:15), and also, "we having the same spirit of faith"? (2 Corinthians 4:13). Why then should we not perceive as well as an unbelieving pope what agrees or disagrees with our faith?

By these and many other texts we should gain courage and freedom, and should not let the spirit of liberty (as Paul has it) be frightened away by the inventions of the popes; we should boldly judge what they do and what they leave undone by our own believing understanding of the Scriptures, and force them to follow the better understanding, and not their own. Did not Abraham in old days have to obey his Sarah, who was in stricter bondage to him than we are to any one on earth? Thus, too, Balaam's ass was wiser than the prophet. If God spoke by an ass against a prophet, why should He not speak by a pious man against the Pope? Besides, St. Paul withstood St. Peter as being in error (Galatians 2). Therefore it behoves every Christian to aid the faith by understanding and defending it and by condemning all errors.

(c) The Third Wall

That no one may call a council but the Pope

The third wall falls of itself, as soon as the first two have fallen; for if the Pope acts contrary to the Scriptures, we are bound to stand by the Scriptures, to punish and to constrain him, according to Christ's commandment, "Moreover, if thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone; if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the Church; but if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican" (St. Matthew 18:15-17). Here each member is commanded to take care for the other; much more then should we do this, if it is a ruling member of the community that does evil, which by its evil-doing causes great harm and offence to the others. If then I am to accuse him before the Church, I must collect the Church together. Moreover, they can show nothing in the Scriptures giving the Pope sole power to call and confirm councils; they have nothing but their own laws; but these hold good only so long as they are not injurious to Christianity and the laws of God. Therefore, if the Pope deserves punishment, these laws cease to bind us, since Christendom would suffer, if he were not punished by a council. Thus we read (Acts 15) that the council of the Apostles was not called by St. Peter, but by all the Apostles and the elders. But if the right to call it had lain with St. Peter alone, it would not have been a Christian council, but a heretical conciliabulum. Moreover, the most celebrated council of all-that of Nicaea-was neither called nor confirmed by the Bishop of Rome, but by the Emperor Constantine; and after him many other emperors have done the same, and yet the councils called by them were accounted most Christian. But if the Pope alone had the power, they must all have been heretical. Moreover, if I consider the councils that the Pope has called, I do not find that they produced any notable results.

Therefore when need requires, and the Pope is a cause of offence to Christendom, in these cases whoever can best do so, as a faithful member of the whole body, must do what he can to procure a true free council. This no one can do so well as the temporal authorities, especially since they are fellow-Christians, fellow-priests, sharing one spirit and one power in all things, and since they should exercise the office that they have received from God without hindrance, whenever it is necessary and useful that it should be exercised. Would it not be most unnatural, if a fire were to break out in a city, and every one were to keep still and let it burn on and on, whatever might be burnt, simply because they had not the mayor's authority, or because the fire perchance broke out at the mayor's house? Is not every citizen bound in this case to rouse and call in the rest? How much more should this be done in the spiritual city of Christ, if a fire of offence breaks out, either at the Pope's government or wherever it may! The like happens if an enemy attacks a town. The first to rouse up the rest earns glory and thanks. Why then should not he earn glory that descries the coming of our enemies from hell and rouses and summons all Christians?

But as for their boasts of their authority, that no one must oppose it, this is idle talk. No one in Christendom has any authority to do harm, or to forbid others to prevent harm being done. There is no authority in the Church but for reformation. Therefore if the Pope wished to use his power to prevent the calling of a free council, so as to prevent the reformation of the Church, we must not respect him or his power; and if he should begin to excommunicate and fulminate, we must despise this as the doings of a madman, and, trusting in God, excommunicate and repel him as best we may. For this his usurped power is nothing; he does not possess it, and he is at once overthrown by a text from the Scriptures. For St. Paul says to the Corinthians "that God has given us authority for edification, and not for destruction (2 Corinthians 10:8). Who will set this text at nought? It is the power of the devil and of antichrist that prevents what would serve for the reformation of Christendom. Therefore we must not follow it, but oppose it with our body, our goods, and all that we have. And even if a miracle were to happen in favour of the Pope against the temporal power, or if some were to be stricken by a plague, as they sometimes boast has happened, all this is to be held as having been done by the devil in order to injure our faith in God, as was foretold by Christ: "There shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall show great sings and wonders, insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect" (Matthew 24:23); and St. Paul tells the Thessalonians that the coming of antichrist shall be "after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders" (2 Thessalonians 2:9).

Therefore let us hold fast to this: that Christian power can do nothing against Christ, as St. Paul says, "For we can do nothing against Christ, but for Christ" (2 Corinthians 13:8). But, if it does anything against Christ, it is the power of antichrist and the devil, even if it rained and hailed wonders and plagues. Wonders and plagues prove nothing, especially in these latter evil days, of which false wonders are foretold in all the Scriptures. Therefore we must hold fast to the words of God with an assured faith; then the devil will soon cease his wonders.

And now I hope the false, lying spectre will be laid with which the Romanists have long terrified and stupefied our consciences. And it will be seen that, like all the rest of us, they are subject to the temporal sword; that they have no authority to interpret the Scriptures by force without skill; and that they have no power to prevent a council, or to pledge it in accordance with their pleasure, or to bind it beforehand, and deprive it of its freedom; and that if they do this, they are verily of the fellowship of antichrist and the devil, and having nothing of Christ but the name.

Of The Matters To Be Considered In The Councils

Let us now consider the matters which should be treated in the councils, and with which popes, cardinals, bishops, and all learned men should occupy themselves day and night, if they love Christ and His Church. But if they do not do so, the people at large and the temporal powers must do so, without considering the thunders of their excommunications. For an unjust excommunication is better than ten just absolutions, and an unjust absolution is worse than ten just excommunications. Therefore let us rouse ourselves, fellow-Germans, and fear God more than man, that we be not answerable for all the poor souls that are so miserably lost through the wicked, devilish government of the Romanists, and that the dominion of the devil should not grow day by day, if indeed this hellish government can grow any worse, which, for my part, I can neither conceive nor believe.

1. It is a distressing and terrible thing to see that the head of Christendom, who boasts of being the vicar of Christ and the successor of St. Peter, lives in a worldly pomp that no king or emperor can equal, so that in him that calls himself most holy and most spiritual there is more worldliness than in the world itself. He wears a triple crown, whereas the mightiest kings only wear one crown. If this resembles the poverty of Christ and St. Peter, it is a new sort of resemblance. They prate of its being heretical to object to this; nay, they will not even hear how unchristian and ungodly it is. But I think that if he should have to pray to God with tears, he would have to lay down his crowns; for God will not endure any arrogance. His office should be nothing else than to weep and pray constantly for Christendom and to be an example of all humility.

However this may be, this pomp is a stumbling-block, and the Pope, for the very salvation of his soul, ought to put if off, for St. Paul says, "Abstain from all appearance of evil" (1 Thessalonians 5:21), and again, "Provide things honest in the sight of all men" (2 Corinthians 8:21). A simple mitre would be enough for the pope: wisdom and sanctity should raise him above the rest; the crown of pride he should leave to antichrist, as his predecessors did some hundreds of years ago. They say, He is the ruler of the world. This is false; for Christ, whose vicegerent and vicar he claims to be, said to Pilate, "My kingdom is not of this world" (John 18:36). But no vicegerent can have a wider dominion than this Lord, nor is he a vicegerent of Christ in His glory, but of Christ crucified, as St. Paul says, "For I determined not to know anything among you save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified" (2 Corinthians 2:2), and "Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus, who made Himself of no reputation, and took upon Himself the form of a servant" (Philemon 2:5, 7). Again, "We preach Christ crucified" (1 Corinthians 1). Now they make the Pope a vicegerent of Christ exalted in heaven, and some have let the devil rule them so thoroughly that they have maintained that the Pope is above the angels in heaven and has power over them, which is precisely the true work of the true antichrist.

2. What is the use in Christendom of the people called "cardinals"? I will tell you. In Italy and Germany there are many rich convents, endowments, fiefs, and benefices, and as the best way of getting these into the hands of Rome, they created cardinals, and gave them the sees, convents, and prelacies, and thus destroyed the service of God. That is why Italy is almost a desert now: the convents are destroyed, the sees consumed, the revenues of the prelacies and of all the churches drawn to Rome; towns are decayed, the country and the people ruined, because there is no more any worship of God or preaching; why? Because the cardinals must have all the wealth. No Turk could have thus desolated Italy and overthrown the worship of God.

Now that Italy is sucked dry, they come to Germany and begin very quietly; but if we look on quietly Germany will soon be brought into the same state as Italy. We have a few cardinals already. What the Romanists mean thereby the drunken Germans* are not to see until they have lost everything - bishoprics, convents, benefices, fiefs, even to their

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last farthing. Antichrist must take the riches of the earth, as it is written (Daniel 11:8, 39, 43). They begin by taking off the cream of the bishoprics, convents and fiefs; and as they do not dare to destroy everything as they have done in Italy, they employ such holy cunning to join together ten or twenty prelacies, and take such a portion of each annually that the total amounts to a considerable sum. The priory of Würzburg gives one thousand guilders; those of Bamberg, Mayence, Treves, and others also contribute. In this way they collect one thousand or ten thousand guilders, in order that a cardinal may live at Rome in a state like that of a wealthy monarch. [* The epithet "drunken" was formerly often applied by the Italians to the Germans.]

After we have gained this, we will create thirty or forty cardinals on one day, and give one St. Michael's Mount*, near Bamberg, and likewise the see of Würzburg, to which belong some rich benefices, until the churches and the cities are desolated; and then we shall say, We are the vicars of Christ, the shepherds of Christ's flocks; those mad, drunken Germans must submit to it. I advise, however, that there be made fewer cardinals, or that the Pope should have to support them out of his own purse. It would be amply sufficient if there were twelve, and if each of them had an annual income of one thousand guilders. [* Luther alludes here to the Benedictine convent standing on the Mönchberg, or St. Michael's Mount, Lower Franconia (Unterfranken) in Bavaria, Germany.]

What has brought us Germans to such a pass that we have to suffer this robbery and this destruction of our property by the Pope? If the kingdom of France has resisted it, why do we Germans suffer ourselves to be fooled and deceived? It would be more endurable if they did nothing but rob us of our property; but they destroy the Church and deprive Christ's flock of their good shepherds, and overthrow the service and word of God. Even if there were no cardinals at all, the Church would not perish, for they do nothing for the good of Christendom; all they do is to traffic in and quarrel about prelacies and bishoprics, which any robber could do as well.

3. If we took away ninety-nine parts of the Pope's Court and only left one hundredth, it would still be large enough to answer questions on matters of belief. Now there is such a swarm of vermin at Rome, all called papal, that Babylon itself never saw the like. There are more than three thousand papal secretaries alone; but who shall count the other office-bearers, since there are so many offices that we can scarcely count them, and all waiting for German benefices, as wolves wait for a flock of sheep? I think Germany now pays more to the Pope than it formerly paid the emperors; nay, some think more than three hundred thousand guilders are sent from Germany to Rome every year, for nothing whatever; and in return we are scoffed at and put to shame. Do we still wonder why princes, noblemen, cities, foundations, convents, and people grow poor? We should rather wonder that we have anything left to eat.

Now that we have got well into our game, let us pause a while and show that the Germans are not such fools as not to perceive or understand this Romish trickery. I do not here complain that God's commandments and Christian justice are despised at Rome; for the state of things in Christendom, especially at Rome, is too bad for us to complain of such high matters. Nor do I even complain that no account is taken of natural or secular justice and reason. The mischief lies still deeper. I complain that they do not observe their own fabricated canon law, though this is in itself rather mere tyranny, avarice, and worldly pomp, than a law. This we shall now show.

Long ago the emperors and princes of Germany allowed the Pope to claim the annates* from all German benefices; that is, half of the first year's income from every benefice. The object of this concession was that the Pope should collect a fund with all this money to fight against the Turks and infidels, and to protect Christendom, so that the nobility should not have to bear the burden of the struggle alone, and that the priests should also contribute. The popes have made such use of this good simple piety of the Germans that they have taken this money for more than one hundred years, and have now made of it a regular tax and duty; and not only have they accumulated nothing, but they have founded out of it many posts and offices at Rome, which are paid by it yearly, as out of a ground-rent. [* The duty of paying annates to the Papacy was established by Pope John XXII. in 1319.]

Whenever there is any pretence of fighting the Turks [Muslims], they send out some commission for collecting money, and often send out indulgences under the same pretext of fighting the Turks. They think we Germans will always remain such great and inveterate fools that we will go on giving money to satisfy their unspeakable greed, though we see plainly that neither annates, nor absolution money, nor any other-not one farthing-goes against the Turks, but all goes into the bottomless sack. They lie and deceive, form and make covenants with us, of which they do not mean to keep one jot. And all this is done in the holy name of Christ and St. Peter.

This being so, the German nation, the bishops and princes, should remember that they are Christians, and should defend the people, who are committed to their government and protection in temporal and spiritual affairs, from these ravenous wolves in sheep's clothing that profess to be shepherds and rulers; and since the annates are so shamefully abused, and the covenants concerning them not carried out, they should not suffer their lands and people to be so piteously and unrighteously flayed and ruined; but by an imperial or a national law they should either retain the annates in the country, or abolish them altogether. For since they do not keep to the covenants, they have no right to the annates; therefore bishops and princes are bound to punish this thievery and robbery, or prevent it, as justice demands. And herein should they assist and strengthen the Pope, who is perchance too weak to prevent this scandal by himself, or, if he wishes to protect or support it, restrain and oppose him as a wolf and tyrant; for he has no authority to do evil or to protect evil-doers. Even if it were proposed to collect any such treasure for use against the Turks, we should be wise in future, and remember that the German nation is more fitted to take charge of it than the Pope, seeing that the German nation by itself is able to provide men enough, if the money is forthcoming. This matter of the annates is like many other Romish pretexts.

Moreover, the year has been divided among the Pope and the ruling bishops and foundations in such wise that the Pope has taken every other month-six in all-to give away the benefices that fall in his month; in this way almost all the benefices are drawn into the hands of Rome, and especially the best livings and dignities. And those that once fall into the hands of Rome never come out again, even if they never again fall vacant in the Pope's month. In this way the foundations come very short of their rights, and it is a downright robbery, the object of which is not to give up anything again. Therefore it is now high time to abolish the Pope's months and to take back again all that has thereby fallen into the hands of Rome. For all the princes and nobles should insist that the stolen property shall be returned, the thieves punished, and that those who abuse their powers shall be deprived of them. If the Pope can make a law on the day after his election by which he takes our benefices and livings to which he has no right, the Emperor Charles should so much the more have a right to issue a law for all Germany on the day after his coronation* that in future no livings and benefices are to fall to Rome by virtue of the Pope's month, but that those that have so fallen are to be freed and taken from the Romish robbers. This right he possesses authoritatively by virtue of his temporal sword. [* At the time when the above was written - June, 1520 - the Emperor Charles had been elected, but not yet crowned.]

But the see of avarice and robbery at Rome is unwilling to wait for the benefices to fall in one after another by means of the Pope's month; and in order to get them into its insatiable maw as speedily as possible, they have devised the plan of taking livings and benefices in three other ways:

First, if the incumbent of a free living dies at Rome or on his way thither, his living remains for ever the property of the see of Rome, or I rather should say, the see of robbers, though they will not let us call them robbers, although no one has ever heard or read of such robbery.

Secondly, if a "servant" of the Pope or of one of the cardinals takes a living, or if, having a living, he becomes a "servant" of the Pope or of a cardinal, the living remains with Rome. But who can count the "servants" of the Pope and his cardinals, seeing that if he goes out riding, he is attended by three or four thousand mule-riders, more than any king or emperor? For Christ and St. Peter went on foot, in order that their vicegerents might indulge the better in all manner of pomp. Besides, their avarice has devised and invented this: that in foreign countries also there are many called "papal servants", as at Rome; so that in all parts this single crafty little word "papal servant" brings all benefices to the chair at Rome, and they are kept there for ever. Are not these mischievous, devilish devices? Let us only wait a while, Mayence, Magdeburg, and Halberstadt will fall very nicely to Rome, and we shall have to pay dearly for our cardinal*. Hereafter all the German bishops will be made cardinals, so that there shall remain nothing to ourselves. [* Luther alludes here to the Archbishop Albert of Mayence, who was, besides, Archbishop of Magdeburg and administrator of the bishopric of Halberstadt. In order to be able to defray the expense of the archiepiscopal tax due to Rome, amounting to thirty thousand guilders, he had farmed the sale of the Pope's indulgences, employing the notorious Tetzel as his agent and sharing the profits with the Pope. In 1518 Albert was appointed cardinal. See Ranke, Deutsche Geschichte, etc., Vol. 1., p. 309, etc.]

Thirdly, whenever there is any dispute about a benefice; and this is, I think, well-nigh the broadest and commonest road by which benefices are brought to Rome. For where there is no dispute numberless knaves can be found at Rome who are ready to scrape up disputes, and attack livings wherever they like. In this way many a good priest loses his living, or has to buy off the dispute for a time with a sum of money. These benefices, confiscated by right or wrong of dispute, are to be for ever the property of the see of Rome. It would be no wonder, if God were to rain sulphur and fire from heaven and cast Rome down into the pit, as He did formerly to Sodom and Gomorrah. What is the use of a pope in Christendom, if the only use made of his power is to commit these supreme villainies under his protection and assistance? Oh noble princes and sirs, how long will you suffer your lands and your people to be the prey of these ravening wolves?

But these tricks did not suffice, and bishoprics were too slow in falling into the power of Roman avarice. Accordingly our good friend Avarice made the discovery that all bishoprics are abroad in name only, but that their land and soil is at Rome; from this it follows that no bishop may be confirmed until he has bought the "Pall"* for a large sum, and has with a terrible oath bound himself a servant of the Pope. [* The Pallium was since the fourth century the symbol of archiepiscopal power, and had to be redeemed from the Pope by means of a large sum of money and a solemn oath of obedience.] That is why no bishop dare oppose the Pope. This was the object of the oath, and this is how the wealthiest bishoprics have come to debt and ruin. Mayence, I am told, pays twenty thousand guilders. These are true Roman tricks, it seems to me. It is true that they once decreed in the canon law that the Pall should be given free, the number of the Pope's servants diminished, disputes made less frequent, that foundations and bishops should enjoy their liberty; but all this brought them no money. They have therefore reversed all this: bishops and foundations have lost all their power; they are mere ciphers, without office, authority, or function; all things are regulated by the chief knaves at Rome, even the offices of sextons and bell-ringers in all churches. All disputes are transferred to Rome; each one does what he will, strong through the Pope's power.

What has happened in this very year? The Bishop of Strasburg, wishing to regulate his see in a proper way and reform it in the matter of Divine service, published some Divine and Christian ordinances for that purpose. But our worthy Pope and the holy chair at Rome overturn altogether this holy and spiritual order on the requisition of the priests. This is what they call being the shepherd of Christ's sheep-supporting priests against their own bishops and protecting their disobedience by Divine decrees. Antichrist, I hope, will not insult God in this open way. There you have the Pope, as you have chosen to have him; and why? Why, because if the Church were to be reformed, there would be danger that it would spread further, so that it might also reach Rome. Therefore it is better to prevent priests from being at one with each other; they should rather, as they have done hitherto, sow discord among kings and princes, and flood the world with Christian blood, lest Christian unity should trouble the holy Roman see with reforms.

So far we have seen what they do with the livings that fall vacant. Now there are not enough vacancies for this delicate greed; therefore it has also taken prudent account of the benefices that are still held by their incumbents, so that they may become vacant, though they are in fact not vacant, and this they effect in many ways.

First, they lie in wait for fat livings or sees which are held by an old or sick man, or even by one afflicted by an imaginary incompetence; him the Roman see gives a coadjutor, that is an assistant without his asking or wishing it, for the benefit of the coadjutor, because he is a papal servant, or pays for the office, or has otherwise earned it by some menial service rendered to Rome. Thus there is an end of free election on the part of the chapter, or of the right of him who had presented to the living; and all goes to Rome.

Secondly, there is a little word: commendam, that is, when the Pope gives a rich and fat convent or church into the charge of a cardinal or any other of his servants, just as I might command you to take charge of one hundred guilders for me. In this way the convent is neither given, nor lent, nor destroyed, nor is its Divine service abolished, but only entrusted to a man's charge, not, however, for him to protect and improve it, but to drive out the one he finds there, to take the property and revenue, and to install some apostate* runaway monk, who is paid five or six guilders a year, and sits in the church all day and sells symbols and pictures to the pilgrims; so that neither chanting nor reading in the church goes on there any more. [* Monks who forsook their order without any legal dispensation were called "apostates."] Now if we were to call this the destruction of convents and abolition of Divine service we should be obliged to accuse the Pope of destroying Christianity and abolishing Divine service-for truly he is doing this effectually-but this would be thought harsh language at Rome; therefore it is called a commendam, or an order to take charge of the convent. In this way the Pope can make commendams of four or more convents a year, any one of which produces a revenue of more than six thousand guilders. This is the way Divine service is advanced and convents kept up at Rome. This will be introduced into Germany as well.

Thirdly, there are certain benefices that are said to be incompatible; that is, they may not be held together according to the canon law, such as two cures, two sees, and

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the like. Now the Holy See and avarice twists itself out of the canon law by making "glosses," or interpretations, called Unio, or Incorporatio; that is, several incompatible benefices are incorporated, so that one is a member of the other, and the whole is held to be one benefice: then they are no longer incompatible, and we have got rid of the holy canon law, so that it is no longer binding, except on those who do not buy those glosses of the Pope and his Datarius*. [* The papal office for the issue and registration of certain documents was called Dataria, from the phrase appended to them, Datum apud S. Petrum. The chief of that office, usually a cardinal, bore the title of Datarius, or Prodatarius.] Unio is of the same kind: a number of benefices are tied together like a bundle of faggots, and on account of this coupling together they are held to be one benefice. Thus there may be found many a "courtling" at Rome who alone holds twenty-two cures, seven priories, and forty-four prebends, all which is done in virtue of this masterly gloss, so as not to be contrary to law. Any one can imagine what cardinals and other prelates may hold. In this way the Germans are to have their purses emptied and their conceit taken out of them.

There is another gloss called Administratio; that is, that besides his see a man holds an abbey or other high benefice, and possesses all the property of it, without any other title but administrator. For at Rome it is enough that words should change, and not deeds, just as if I said, a procuress was to be called a mayoress, yet may remain as good as she is now. Such Romish rule was foretold by St. Peter, when he said, "There shall be false teachers among you, . . . and through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you" (2 Peter 2:1, 3).

This precious Roman avarice has also invented the practice of selling and lending prebends and benefices on condition that the seller or lender has the reversion, so that if the incumbent dies, the benefice falls to him that has sold it, lent it, or abandoned it; in this way they have made benefices heritable property, so that none can come to hold them unless the seller sells them to him, or leaves them to him at his death. Then there are many that give a benefice to another in name only, and on condition that he shall not receive a farthing. It is now, too, an old practice for a man to give another a benefice and to receive a certain annual sum, which proceeding was formerly called simony. And there are many other such little things which I cannot recount; and so they deal worse with the benefices than the heathens by the cross dealt with Christ's clothes.

But all this that I have spoken of is old and common at Rome. Their avarice has invented other device, which I hope will be the last and choke it. The Pope has made a noble discovery, called Pectoralis Reservatio, that is, "mental reservation"-et proprius motus, that is, "and his own will and power." The matter is managed in this way: Suppose a man obtains a benefice at Rome, which is confirmed to him in due form; then comes another, who brings money, or who has done some other service of which the less said the better, and requests the Pope to give him the same benefice: then the Pope will take it from the first and give it him. If you say, that is wrong, the Most Holy Father must then excuse himself, that he may not be openly blamed for having violated justice; and he says "that in his heart and mind he reserved his authority over the said benefice," whilst he never had heard or thought of the same in all his life. Thus he has devised a gloss which allows him in his proper person to lie and cheat and fool us all, and all this impudently and in open daylight, and nevertheless he claims to be the head of Christendom, letting the evil spirit rule him with manifest lies.

This wantonness and lying reservation of the popes has brought about an unutterable state of things at Rome. There is a buying and a selling, a changing, blustering and bargaining, cheating and lying, robbing and stealing, debauchery and villainy, and all kinds of contempt of God, that antichrist himself could not rule worse. Venice, Antwerp, Cairo, are nothing to this fair and market at Rome, except that there things are done with some reason and justice, whilst here things are done as the devil himself could wish. And out of this ocean a like virtue overflows all the world. Is it not natural that such people should dread a reformation and a free council, and should rather embroil all kings and princes, than that their unity should bring about a council? Who would like his villainy to be exposed?

Finally, the Pope has built a special house for this fine traffic-that is, the house of the Datarius at Rome. Thither all must come that bargain in this way, for prebends and benefices; from him they must buy the glosses and obtain the right to practise such prime villainy. In former days it was fairly well at Rome, when justice had to be bought, or could only be put down by money; but now she has become so fastidious that she does not allow any one to commit villainies unless he has first bought the right to do it with great sums. If this is not a house of prostitution, worse than all houses of prostitution that can be conceived, I do not know what houses of prostitution really are.

If you bring money to this house, you can arrive at all that I have mentioned; and more than this, any sort of usury is made legitimate for money; property got by theft or robbery is here made legal. Here vows are annulled; here a monk obtains leave to quit his order; here priests can enter married life for money; here bastards can become legitimate; and dishonour and shame may arrive at high honours; all evil repute and disgrace is knighted and ennobled; here a marriage is suffered that is in a forbidden degree, or has some other defect. Oh, what a trafficking and plundering is there! one would think that the canon laws were only so many money-snares, from which he must free himself who would become a Christian man. Nay, here the devil becomes a saint, and a god besides. What heaven and earth might not do may be done by this house. Their ordinances are called compositions - compositions, forsooth! confusions rather*. Oh, what a poor treasury is the toll on the Rhine** compared with this holy house! [* Luther uses here the expressions compositiones and confusiones as a kind of pun.]; [** Tolls were levied at many places along the River Rhine.]

Let no one think that I say too much. It is all notorious, so that even at Rome they are forced to own that it is more terrible and worse than one can say. I have said and will say nothing of the infernal dregs of private vices. I only speak of well-known public matters, and yet my words do not suffice. Bishops, priests, and especially the doctors of the universities, who are paid to do it, ought to have unanimously written and exclaimed against it. Yea, if you will turn the leaf you will discover the truth.

I have still to give a farewell greeting. These treasures, that would have satisfied three mighty kings, were not enough for this unspeakable greed, and so they have made over and sold their traffic to Fugger* at Augsburg, so that the lending and buying and selling sees and benefices, and all this traffic in ecclesiastical property, has in the end come into the right hands, and spiritual and temporal matters have now become one business. [* The commercial house of Fugger was in those days the wealthiest in Europe.] Now I should like to know what the most cunning would devise for Romish greed to do that it has not done, except that Fugger might sell or pledge his two trades, that have now become one. I think they must have come to the end of their devices. For what they have stolen and yet steal in all countries by bulls of indulgences, letters of confession, letters of dispensation*, and other confessionalia, all this I think mere bungling work, and much like playing toss with a devil in hell. [* Luther uses the word Butterbriefe, 'Butter letters', i. e., letters of indulgence allowing the enjoyment of butter, cheese, milk, etc., during Lent. They formed part only of the confessionalia, which granted various other indulgences.] Not that they produce little, for a mighty king could support himself by them; but they are as nothing compared to the other streams of revenue mentioned above. I will not now consider what has become of that indulgence money; I shall inquire into this another time, for Campofiore [Place in Rome.] and Belvedere [Part of the Vatican.] and some other places probably know something about it.

Meanwhile, since this devilish state of things is not only an open robbery, deceit, and tyranny of the gates of hell, but also destroys Christianity body and soul, we are bound to use all our diligence to prevent this misery and destruction of Christendom. If we wish to fight the Turk, let us begin here, where they are worst. If we justly hang thieves and behead robbers, why do we leave the greed of Rome so unpunished, that is the greatest thief and robber that has appeared or can appear on earth, and does all this in the holy name of Christ and St. Peter? Who can suffer this and be silent about it? Almost everything that they possess has been stolen or got by robbery, as we learn from all histories. Why, the Pope never bought those great possessions, so as to be able to raise well-nigh ten hundred thousand ducats from his ecclesiastical offices, without counting his gold mines described above and his land. He did not inherit it from Christ and St. Peter; no one gave it or lent it him; he has not acquired it by prescription. Tell me, where can he have got it? You can learn from this what their object is when they send out legates to collect money to be used against the Turk.

TWENTY-SEVEN ARTICLES

Respecting The Reformation Of The Christian Estate

PART 1

Now though I am too lowly to submit articles that could serve for the reformation of these fearful evils, I will yet sing out my fool's song, and will show, as well as my wit will allow, what might and should be done by the temporal authorities or by a general council.

1. Princes, nobles, and cities should promptly forbid their subjects to pay the annates to Rome and should even abolish them altogether. For the Pope has broken the compact, and turned the annates into robbery for the harm and shame of the German nation; he gives them to his friends; he sells them for large sums of money and founds benefices on them. Therefore he has forfeited his right to them, and deserves punishment. In this way the temporal power should protect the innocent and prevent wrong-doing, as we are taught by St. Paul (Rom. xiii.) and by St. Peter (1 Peter 2) and even by the canon law (16. q. 7. de Filiis). That is why we say to the Pope and his followers, Tu ora! "Thou shalt pray"; to the Emperor and his followers, Tu protege! "Thou shalt protect"; to the commons, Tu labora! "Thou shalt work." Not that each man should not pray, protect, and work; for if a man fulfils his duty, that is prayer, protection, and work; but every man must have his proper task.

2. Since by means of those Romish tricks, commendams, coadjutors, reservations, expectations, pope's months, incorporations, unions, Palls, rules of chancellery, and other such knaveries, the Pope takes unlawful possession of all German foundations, to give and sell them to strangers at Rome, that profit Germany in no way, so that the incumbents are robbed of their rights, and the bishops are made mere ciphers and anointed idols; and thus, besides natural justice and reason, the Pope's own canon law is violated; and things have come to such a pass that prebends and benefices are sold at Rome to vulgar, ignorant asses and knaves, out of sheer greed, while pious learned men have no profit by their merit and skill, whereby the unfortunate German people must needs lack good, learned prelates and suffer ruin-on account of these evils the Christian nobility should rise up against the Pope as a common enemy and destroyer of Christianity, for the sake of the salvation of the poor souls that such tyranny must ruin. They should ordain, order, and decree that henceforth no benefice shall be drawn away to Rome, and that no benefice shall be claimed there in any fashion whatsoever; and after having once got these benefices out of the hands of Romish tyranny, they must be kept from them, and their lawful incumbents must be reinstated in them to administer them as best they may within the German nation. And if a courtling came from Rome, he should receive the strict command to withdraw, or to leap into the Rhine, or whatever river be nearest, and to administer a cold bath to the Interdict, seal and letters and all. Thus those at Rome would learn that we Germans are not to remain drunken fools forever, but that we, too, are become Christians, and that as such we will no longer suffer this shameful mockery of Christ's holy name, that serves as a cloak for such knavery and destruction of souls, and that we shall respect God and the glory of God more than the power of men.

3. It should be decreed by an imperial law that no episcopal cloak and no confirmation of any appointment shall for the future be obtained from Rome. The order of the most holy and renowned Nicene Council must again be restored, namely that a bishop must be confirmed by the two nearest bilhops or by the archbishop. If the Pope cancels the decrees of these and all other councils, what is the good of councils at all? Who has given him the right thus to despise councils and to cancel them? If this is allowed, we had better abolish all bishops, archbishops and primates, and make simple rectors of all of them, so that they would have the Pope alone over them as is indeed the case now; he deprives bishops, archbishops, and primates of all the authority of their office, taking everything to himself, and leaving them only the name and the empty title; more than this, by his exemption he has withdrawn convents, abbots, and prelates from the ordinary authority of the bishops, so that there remains no order in Christendom. The necessary result of this must be, and has been, laxity in punishing and such a liberty to do evil in all the world that I very much fear one might call the Pope "the man of sin" (2 Thess. ii. 3). Who but the Pope is to blame for this absence of all order, of all punishment, of all government, of all discipline, in Christendom? By his own arbitrary power he ties the hands of all his prelates, and takes from them their rods, while all their subjects have their hands unloosed, and obtain licence by gift or purchase.

But, that he have no cause for complaint, as being deprived of his authority, it should be decreed that in cases where the primates and archbishops are unable to settle the matter, or where there is a dispute among them, the matters shall then be submitted to the Pope, but not every little matter, as was done formerly, and was ordered by the most renowned Nicene Council. His Holiness must not be troubled with small matters, that can be settled without his help; so that he may have leisure to devote himself to his prayers and study and to his care of all Christendom, as he professes to do, as indeed the Apostles did, saying, "It is not reason that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables.... But we will give ourselves continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the word" (Acts 6:2, 4). But now we see at Rome nothing but contempt of the Gospel and of prayer, and the service of tables, that is the service of the goods of this world; and the government of the Pope agrees with the government of the Apostles as well as Lucifer with Christ, hell with heaven, night with day; and yet he calls himself Christ's vicar and the successor of the Apostles.

4. Let it be decreed that no temporal matter shall be submitted to Rome, but all shall be left to the jurisdiction of the temporal authorities. This is part of their own canon law, though they do not obey it. For this should be the Pope's office: that he, the most learned in the Scriptures and the most holy, not in name only, but in fact, should rule in matters

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concerning the faith and the holy life of Christians; he should make primates and bishops attend to this, and should work and take thought with them to this end, as St. Paul teaches (1 Corinthians 6), severely upbraiding those that occupy themselves with the things of this world. For all countries suffer unbearable damage by this practice of settling such matters at Rome, since it involves great expense; and besides this, the judges at Rome, not knowing the manners, laws, and customs of other countries, frequently pervert the matter according to their own laws and their own opinions, thus causing injustice to all parties. Besides this, we should prohibit in all foundations the grievous extortion of the ecclesiastical judges; they should only be allowed to consider matters concerning faith and good morals; but matters concerning money, property, life, and honour should be left to temporal judges. Therefore, the temporal authorities should not permit excommunication or expulsion except in matters of faith and righteous living. It is only reasonable that spiritual authorities should have power in spiritual matters; spiritual matters, however, are not money or matters relating to the body, but faith and good works.

Still we might allow matters respecting benefices or prebends to be treated before bishops, archbishops, and primates. Therefore when it is necessary to decide quarrels and strifes let the Primate of Germany hold a general consistory, with assessors and chancellors, who would have the control over the signaturas gratiae and justitiae* and to whom matters arising in Germany might be submitted by appeal. [* At the time when the above was written the function of the signatura gratiae was to superintend the conferring of grants, concessions, favours, etc., whilst the signatura justitiae embraced the general administration of ecclesiastical matters.] The officers of such court should be paid out of the annates, or in some other way, and should not have to draw their salaries, as at Rome, from chance presents and offerings, whereby they grow accustomed to sell justice and injustice, as they must needs do at Rome, where the Pope gives them no salary, but allows them to fatten themselves on presents; for at Rome no one heeds what is right or what is wrong, but only what is money and what is not money. They might be paid out of the annates, or by some other means devised by men of higher understanding and of more experience in these things than I have. I am content with making these suggestions and giving some materials for consideration to those who may be able and willing to help the German nation to become a free people of Christians, after this wretched, heathen, unchristian misrule of the Pope.

5. Henceforth no reservations shall be valid, and no benefices shall be appropriated by Rome, whether the incumbent die there, or there be a dispute, or the incumbent be a servant of the Pope or of a cardinal; and all courtiers shall be strictly prohibited and prevented from causing a dispute about any benefice, so as to cite the pious priests, to trouble them, and to drive them to pay compensation. And if in consequence of this there comes an interdict from Rome, let it be despised, just as if a thief were to excommunicate any man because he would not allow him to steal in peace. Nay, they should be punished most severely for making such a blasphemous use of excommunication and of the name of God, to support their robberies, and for wishing by their false threats to drive us to suffer and approve this blasphemy of God's name and this abuse of Christian authority, and thus to become sharers before God in their wrong-doing, whereas it is our duty before God to punish it, as St. Paul (Romans 1) upbraids the Romans for not only doing wrong, but allowing wrong to be done. But above all that lying mental reservation (pectoralis reservatio) is unbearable, by which Christendom is so openly mocked and insulted, in that its head notoriously deals with lies, and impudently cheats and fools every man for the sake of accursed wealth.

6. The cases reserved* (casus reservati) should be abolished, by which not only are the people cheated out of much money, but besides many poor consciences are confused and led into error by the ruthless tyrants, to the intolerable harm of their faith in God, especially those foolish and childish cases that are made important by the bull In Coena Domini**, and which do not deserve the name of daily sins, not to mention those great cases for which the Pope gives no absolution, such as preventing a pilgrim from going to Rome, furnishing the Turks with arms, or forging the Pope's letters. They only fool us with these gross, mad, and clumsy matters: Sodom and Gomorrah, and all sins that are committed and that can be committed against God's commandments, are not reserved cases; but what God never commanded and they themselves have invented - these must be made reserved cases, solely in order that none may be prevented from bringing money to Rome, that they may live in their lust without fear of the Turk, and may keep the world in their bondage by their wicked useless bulls and briefs. [* "Reserved cases" refer to those great sins for which the Pope or the bishops only could give absolution.]; [** The celebrated papal bull known under the name of In Coena Domini, containing anathemas and excommunications against all those who dissented in any way from the Roman Catholic creed, used until the year 1770 to be read publicly at Rome on Maundy Thursday.]

Now all priests ought to know, or rather it should be a public ordinance, that no secret sin constitutes a reserved case, if there be no public accusation; and that every priest has power to absolve from all sin, whatever its name, if it be secret, and that no abbot, bishop, or pope has power to reserve any such case; and, lastly, that if they do this, it is null and void, and they should, moreover, be punished as interfering without authority in God's judgment and confusing and troubling without cause our poor witless consciences. But in respect to any great open sin, directly contrary to God's commandments, there is some reason for a "reserved case"; but there should not be too many, nor should they be reserved arbitrarily without due cause. For God has not ordained tyrants, but shepherds, in His Church, as St. Peter says (1 Peter 5:2).

7. The Roman See must abolish the papal offices, and diminish that crowd of crawling vermin at Rome, so that the Pope's servants may be supported out of the Pope's own pocket, and that his court may cease to surpass all royal courts in its pomp and extravagance; seeing that all this pomp has not only been of no service to the Christian faith, but has also kept them from study and prayer, so that they themselves know hardly anything concerning matters of faith, as they proved clumsily enough at the last Roman Council [held at Rome from 1512 to 1517], where, among many childishly trifling matters, they decided "that the soul is immortal," and that a priest is bound to pray once every month on pain of losing his benefice*. [* Luther's objection is not, of course, to the recognition of the immortality of the soul; what he objects to is (1st) that it was thought necessary for a council to decree that the soul is immortal, and (2nd) that this question was put on a level with trivial matters of discipline.] How are men to rule Christendom and to decide matters of faith who, callous and blinded by their greed, wealth, and worldly pomp, have only just decided that the soul is immortal? It is no slight shame to all Christendom that they should deal thus scandalously with the faith at Rome. If they had less wealth and lived in less pomp, they might be better able to study and pray that they might become able and worthy to treat matters of belief, as they were once, when they were content to be bishops, and not kings of kings.

8. The terrible oaths must be abolished which bishops are forced, without any right, to swear to the Pope, by which they are bound like servants, and which are arbitrarily and foolishly decreed in the absurd and shallow chapter Significasti [a title of a chapter in the Corpus Juris Canonici.]. Is it not enough that they oppress us in goods, body, and soul by all their mad laws, by which they have weakened faith and destroyed Christianity; but must they now take possession of the very persons of bishops, with their offices and functions, and also claim the investiture* which used formerly to be the right of the German emperors, and is still the right of the King in France and other kingdoms? This matter caused many wars and disputes with the emperors until the popes impudently took the power by force, since which time they have retained it, just as if it were only right for the Germans, above all Christians on earth, to be the fools of the Pope and the Holy See, and to do and suffer what no one beside would suffer or do. Seeing then that this is mere arbitrary power, robbery, and a hindrance to the exercise of the bishop's ordinary power, and to the injury of poor souls, therefore it is the duty of the Emperor and his nobles to prevent and punish this tyranny. [* The right of investiture was the subject of the dispute between Gregory VII. and Henry IV., which led to the Emperor's submission at Canossa.]

9. The Pope should have no power over the Emperor, except to anoint and crown him at the altar, as a bishop crowns a king; nor should that devilish pomp be allowed that the Emperor should kiss the Pope's feet or sit at his feet, or, as it is said, hold his stirrup or the reins of his mule, when he mounts to ride; much less should he pay homage to the Pope, or swear allegiance, as is impudently demanded by the popes, as if they had a right to it. The chapter Solite [a chapter of the Corpus Juris Canonici.], in which the papal authority is exalted above the imperial, is not worth a farthing, and so of all those that depend on it or fear it; for it does nothing but pervert God's holy words from their true meaning, according to their own imaginations, as I have proved in a Latin treatise.

All these excessive, over-presumptuous, and most wicked claims of the Pope are the invention of the devil, with the object of bringing in antichrist in due course and of raising the Pope above God, as indeed many have done and are now doing. It is not meet that the Pope should exalt himself above temporal authority, except in spiritual matters, such as preaching and absolution; in other matters he should be subject to it, according to the teaching of St. Paul (Romans 13) and St. Peter (1 Peter 3), as I have said above. He is not the vicar of Christ in heaven, but only of Christ upon earth. For Christ in heaven, in the form of a ruler, requires no vicar, but there sits, sees, does, knows, and commands all things. But He requires him "in the form of a servant" to represent Him as He walked upon earth, working, preaching, suffering, and dying. But they reverse this: they take from Christ His power as a heavenly Ruler, and give it to the Pope, and allow "the form of a servant" to be entirely forgotten (Phil. 2:7). He should properly be called the counter-Christ, whom the Scriptures call antichrist; for his whole existence, work, and proceedings are directed against Christ, to ruin and destroy the existence and will of Christ.

It is also absurd and puerile for the Pope to boast for such blind, foolish reasons, in his decretal Pastoralis, that he is the rightful heir to the empire, if the throne be vacant. Who gave it to him? Did Christ do so when He said, "The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, but ye shall not do so" (Luke 22:25, 26)? Did St. Peter bequeath it to him? It disgusts me that we have to read and teach such impudent, clumsy, foolish lies in the canon law, and, moreover, to take them for Christian doctrine, while in reality they are mere devilish lies. Of this kind also is the unheard-of lie touching the "donation of Constantine." [In order to legalise the secular power of the Pope, the fiction was invented during the latter part of the eighth century, that Emperor Flavius Constantinus I, Constantine the Great, had made over to the popes the dominion over Rome and over the whole of Italy.] It must have been a plague sent by God that induced so many wise people to accept such lies, though they are so gross and clumsy that one would think a drunken boor could lie more skilfully. How could preaching, prayer, study, and the care of the poor consist with the government of the empire? These are the true offices of the Pope, which Christ imposed with such insistence that He forbade them to take either coat or scrip (Matt. x. 10), for he that has to govern a single house can hardly perform these duties. Yet the Pope wishes to rule an empire and to remain a pope. This is the invention of the knaves that would fain become lords of the world in the Pope's name, and set up again the old Roman empire, as it was formerly, by means of the Pope and name of Christ, in its former condition.

10. The Pope must withdraw his hand from the dish, and on no pretence assume royal authority over Naples and Sicily. He has no more right to them than I, and yet claims to be the lord-their liege lord. They have been taken by force and robbery, like almost all his other possessions. Therefore the Emperor should grant him no such fief, nor any longer allow him those he has, but direct him instead to his Bibles and Prayer-books, so that he may leave the government of countries and peoples to the temporal power, especially of those that no one has given him. Let him rather preach and pray! The same should be done with Bologna, Imola, Vicenza, Ravenna, and whatever the Pope has taken by force and holds without right in the Ancontine territory, in the Romagna, and other parts of Italy, interfering in their affairs against all the commandments of Christ and St. Paul. For St. Paul says "that he that would be one of the soldiers of heaven must not entangle himself in the affairs of this life" (2 Timothy 2:4). Now the Pope should be the head and the leader of the soldiers of heaven, and yet he engages more in worldly matters than any king or emperor. He should be relieved of his worldly cares and allowed to attend to his duties as a soldier of heaven. Christ also, whose vicar he claims to be, would have nothing to do with the things of this world, and even asked one that desired of Him a judgment concerning his brother, "Who made Me a judge over you?" (St. Luke 12:14). But the Pope interferes in these matters unasked, and concerns himself with all matters, as though he were a god, until he himself has forgotten what this Christ is whose vicar he professes to be.

11. The custom of kissing the Pope's feet must cease. It is an unchristian, or rather an anti-Christian, example that a poor sinful man should suffer his feet to be kissed by one who is a hundred times better than he. If it is done in honour of his power, why does he not do it to others in honour of their holiness? Compare them together: Christ and the Pope. Christ washed His disciples' feet and dried them, and the disciples never washed His. The Pope, pretending to be higher than Christ, inverts this, and considers it a great favour to let us kiss his feet; whereas, if any one wished to do so, he ought to do his utmost to prevent him, as St. Paul and Barnabas would not suffer themselves to be worshipped as gods by the men at Lystra, saying, "We also are men of like passions with you" (Acts 14:14 seq.). But our flatterers have brought things to such a pitch that they have set up an idol for us, until no one regards God with such fear or honours Him with such marks of reverence as he does the Pope. This they can suffer, but not that the Pope's glory should be diminished a single hair's-breadth. Now if they were Christians and preferred God's honour to their own, the Pope would never be pleased to have God's honour despised and his own exalted, nor would he allow any to honour him until he found that God's honour was again exalted above his own.

It is of a piece with this revolting pride that the Pope is not satisfied with riding on horseback or in a carriage, but though he be hale and strong, is carried by men, like an idol in unheard-of pomp. My friend, how does this Lucifer-like pride agree with the example of Christ, who went on foot, as did also all His Apostles? Where has there been a king who

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has ridden in such worldly pomp as he does, who professes to be the head of all whose duty it is to despise and flee from all worldly pomp-I mean, of all Christians? Not that this need concern us for his own sake, but that we have good reason to fear God's wrath, if we flatter such pride and do not show our discontent. It is enough that the Pope should be so mad and foolish; but it is too much that we should sanction and approve it.

For what Christian heart can be pleased at seeing the Pope when he communicates, sit still like a gracious lord and have the Sacrament handed to him on a golden reed by a cardinal bending on his knees before him? Just as if the Holy Sacrament were not worthy that a pope, a poor miserable sinner, should stand to do honour to his God, although all other Christians, who are much more holy than the Most Holy Father, receive it with all reverence! Could we be surprised if God visited us all with a plague for that we suffer such dishonour to be done to God by our prelates, and approve it, becoming partners of the Pope's damnable pride by our silence or flattery? It is the same when he carries the Sacrament in procession. He must be carried, but the Sacrament stands before him like a cup of wine on a table. In short, at Rome Christ is nothing, the Pope is everything; yet they urge us and threaten us, to make us suffer and approve and honour this anti-Christian scandal, contrary to God and all Christian doctrine. Now may God so help a free council that it may teach the Pope that he too is a man, not above God, as he makes himself out to be.

12. Pilgrimages to Rome must be abolished, or at least no one must be allowed to go from his own wish or his own piety, unless his priest, his town magistrate, or his lord has found that there is sufficient reason for his pilgrimage. This I say, not because pilgrimages are bad in themselves, but because at the present time they lead to mischief; for at Rome a pilgrim sees no good examples, but only offence. They themselves have made a proverb, "The nearer to Rome, the farther from Christ," and accordingly men bring home contempt of God and of God's commandments. It is said, "The first time one goes to Rome, he goes to seek a rogue; the second time he finds him; the third time he brings him home with him." But now they have become so skilful that they can do their three journeys in one, and they have, in fact, brought home from Rome this saying: "It were better never to have seen or heard of Rome."

And even if this were not so, there is something of more importance to be considered; namely, that simple men are thus led into a false delusion and a wrong understanding of God's commandments. For they think that these pilgrimages are precious and good works; but this is not true. It is but a little good work, often a bad, misleading work, for God has not commanded it. But He has commanded that each man should care for his wife and children and whatever concerns the married state, and should, besides, serve and help his neighbour. Now it often happens that one goes on a pilgrimage to Rome, spends fifty or one hundred guilders more or less, which no one has commanded him, while his wife and children, or those dearest to him, are left at home in want and misery; and yet he thinks, poor foolish man, to atone for this disobedience and contempt of God's commandments by his self-willed pilgrimage, while he is in truth misled by idle curiosity or the wiles of the devil. This the popes have encouraged with their false and foolish invention of Golden Years*, by which they have incited the people, have torn them away from God's commandments and turned them to their own delusive proceedings, and set up the very thing that they ought to have forbidden. But it brought them money and strengthened their false authority, and therefore it was allowed to continue, though against God's will and the salvation of souls. [* The Jubilees, during which plenary indulgences were granted to those who visited the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome, were originally celebrated every hundred years and subsequently every twenty-five years. Those who were unable to go to Rome in person could obtain the plenary indulgences by paying the expenses of the journey to Rome into the papal treasury.]

That this false, misleading belief on the part of simple Christians may be destroyed, and a true opinion of good works may again be introduced, all pilgrimages should be done away with. For there is no good in them, no commandment, but countless causes of sin and of contempt of God's commandments. These pilgrimages are the reason for there being so many beggars, who commit numberless villainies, learn to beg without need and get accustomed to it. Hence arises a vagabond life, besides other miseries which I cannot dwell on now. If any one wishes to go on a pilgrimage or to make a vow for a pilgrimage, he should first inform his priest or the temporal authorities of the reason, and if it should turn out that he wishes to do it for the sake of good works, let this vow and work be just trampled upon by the priest or the temporal authority as an infernal delusion, and let them tell him to spend his money and the labour a pilgrimage would cost on God's commandments and on a thousandfold better work, namely, on his family and his poor neighbours. But if he does it out of curiosity, to see cities and countries, he may be allowed to do so. If he have vowed it in sickness, let such vows be prohibited, and let God's commandments be insisted upon in contrast to them; so that a man may be content with what he vowed in baptism, namely, to keep God's commandments. Yet for this once he may be suffered, for a quiet conscience' sake, to keep his silly vow. No one is content to walk on the broad high-road of God's commandments; every one makes for himself new roads and new vows, as if he had kept all God's commandments.

13. Now we come to the great crowd that promises much and performs little. Be not angry, my good sirs; I mean well. I have to tell you this bitter and sweet truth: Let no more mendicant monasteries be built! God help us! there are too many as it is. Would to God they were all abolished, or at least made over to two or three orders! It has never done good, it will never do good, to go wandering about over the country. Therefore my advice is that ten, or as many as may be required, be put together and made into one, which one, sufficiently provided for, need not beg. Oh! it is of much more importance to consider what is necessary for the salvation of the common people, than what St. Francis, or St. Dominic, or St. Augustine [Patrons of the well-known mendicant orders: Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustines.], or any other man, laid down, especially since things have not turned out as they expected. They should also be relieved from preaching and confession, unless specially required to do so by bishops, priests, the congregation, or other authority. For their preaching and confession has led toGnought but mere hatred and envy between priests and monks, to the great offence and hindrance of the people, so that it well deserves to be put a stop to, since its place may very well be dispensed with. It does not look at all improbable that the Holy Roman See had its own reasons for encouraging all this crowd of monks: the Pope perhaps feared that priests and bishops, growing weary of his tyranny, might become too strong for him, and begin a reformation unendurable to his Holiness.

Besides this, one should also do away with the sections and the divisions in the same order which, caused for little reason and kept up for less, oppose each other with unspeakable hatred and malice, the result being that the Christian faith, which is very well able to stand without their divisions, is lost on both sides, and that a true Christian life is sought and judged only by outward rules, works, and practices, from which arise only hypocrisy and the destruction of souls, as every one can see for himself. Moreover, the Pope should be forbidden to institute or to confirm the institution of such new orders; nay, he should be commanded to abolish several and to lessen their number. For the faith of Christ, which alone is the important matter, and can stand without any particular order, incurs no little danger lest men should be led away by these diverse works and manners rather to live for such works and practices than to care for faith; and unless there are wise prelates in the monasteries, who preach and urge faith rather than the rule of the order, it is inevitable that the order should be injurious and misleading to simple souls, who have regard to works alone.

Now, in our own time all the prelates are dead that had faith and founded orders, just as it was in old days with the children of Israel: when their fathers were dead, that had seen God's works and miracles, their children, out of ignorance of God's work and of faith, soon began to set up idolatry and their own human works. In the same way, alas! these orders, not understanding God's works and faith, grievously labour and torment themselves by their own laws and practices, and yet never arrive at a true understanding of a spiritual and good life, as was foretold by the Apostle, saying of them, "Having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof, . . . ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge" of what a true spiritual life is (2 Timothy 3:2-7). Better to have no convents which are governed by a spiritual prelate, having no understanding of Christian faith to govern them; for such a prelate cannot but rule with injury and harm, and the greater the apparent holiness of his life in external works, the greater the harm.

It would be, I think, necessary, especially in these perilous times, that foundations and convents should again be organised as they were in the time of the Apostles and a long time after, namely when they were all free for every man to remain there as long as he wished. For what were they but Christian schools, in which the Scriptures and Christian life were taught, and where folk were trained to govern and to preach? as we read that St. Agnes went to school, and as we see even now in some nunneries, as at Quedlinburg and other places. Truly all foundations and convents ought to be free in this way: that they may serve God of a free will, and not as slaves. But now they have been bound round with vows and turned into eternal prisons, so that these vows are regarded even more than the vows of baptism. But what fruit has come of this we daily see, hear, read, and learn more and more.

I dare say that this my counsel will be thought very foolish, but I care not for this. I advise what I think best, reject it who will. I know how these vows are kept, especially that of chastity, which is so general in all these convents. [Luther alludes here of course to the vow of celibacy, which was curiously styled the 'vow of chastity'; thus indirectly condemning marriage in general.] and yet was not ordered by Christ, and it is given to comparatively few to be able to keep it, as He says, and St. Paul also (Colossians 2:20). I wish all to be helped, and that Christian souls should not be held in bondage, through customs and laws invented by men.

PART 2

14. We see also how the priesthood is fallen, and how many a poor priest is encumbered with a woman and children and burdened in his conscience, and no one does anything to help him, though he might very well be helped. Popes and bishops may let that be lost that is being lost, and that be destroyed which is being destroyed, I will save my conscience and open my mouth freely, let it vex popes and bishops or whoever it may be; therefore I say, According to the ordinances of Christ and His Apostles, every town should have a minister or bishop, as St. Paul plainly says (Titus 1), and this minister should not be forced to live without a lawful wife, but should be allowed to have one, as St. Paul writes, saying that "a bishop then must be blameless, the husband of one wife,...having his children in subjection with all gravity" (1 Timothy 3). For with St. Paul a bishop and a presbyter are the same thing, as St. Jerome also confirms. But as for the bishops that we now have, of these the Scriptures know nothing; they were instituted by common Christian ordinance, so that one might rule over many ministers.

Therefore we learn from the Apostle clearly, that every town should elect a pious learned citizen from the congregation and charge him with the office of minister; the congregation should support him, and he should be left at liberty to marry or not. He should have as assistants several priests and deacons, married or not, as they please, who should help him to govern the people and the congregation with sermons and the ministration of the sacraments, as is still the case in the Greek Church. Then afterwards, when there were so many persecutions and contentions against heretics, there were many holy fathers who voluntarily abstained from the marriage state, that they might study more, and might be ready at all times for death and conflict. Now the Roman see has interfered of its own perversity, and has made a general law by which priests are forbidden to marry. This must have been at the instigation of the devil, as was foretold by St. Paul, saying that "there shall come teachers giving heed to seducing spirits, . . . forbidding to marry," etc. (1 Timothy 4:1, 2, seq.). This has been the cause of so much misery that it cannot be told, and has given occasion to the Greek Church to separate from us, and has caused infinite disunion, sin, shame, and scandal, like everything that the devil does or suggests. Now what are we to do?

My advice is to restore liberty, and to leave every man free to marry or not to marry. But if we did this we should have to introduce a very different rule and order for property; the whole canon law would be overthrown, and but few benefices would fall to Rome. I am afraid greed was a cause of this wretched, unchaste chastity, for the result of it was that every man wished to become a priest or to have his son brought up to the priesthood, not with the intention of living in chastity-for this could be done without the priestly state-but to obtain his worldly support without labour or trouble, contrary to God's command, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread" (Genesis 3); and they have given a colour to this commandment as though their work was praying and reading the mass. I am not here considering popes, bishops, canons, clergy, and monks who were not ordained by God; if they have laid burdens on themselves, they may bear them. I speak of the office of parish priest, which God ordained, who must rule a congregation with sermons and the ministration of the sacraments, and must live with them and lead a domestic life. These should have the liberty given them by a Christian council to marry and to avoid danger and sin. For as God has not bound them, no one may bind them, though he were an angel from heaven, let alone the Pope; and whatever is contrary to this in the canon law is mere idle talk and invention.

My advice further is, whoever henceforth is ordained priest, he should in no wise take the vow of chastity, but should protest to the bishop that he has no authority to demand this vow, and that it is a devilish tyranny to demand it. But if one is forced, or wishes to say, as some do, "so far as human frailty permits," let every man interpret that phrase as a plain negative, that is, "I do not promise chastity"; for "human frailty does not allow men to live an unmarried life," but only "angelic fortitude and celestial virtue." In this way he will have a clear conscience without any vow. I offer no opinion, one way or the other, whether those who have at present no wife should marry, or remain unmarried. This must be settled by the general order of the Church and by each man's discretion. But I will not conceal my honest counsel, nor withhold comfort from that unhappy crowd who now live in trouble with wife and children, and remain in shame, with a heavy conscience, hearing their wife called a priest's harlot, and the children bastards. And this I say frankly, in virtue of my good right.

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There is a many poor priest free from blame in all other respects, except that he has succumbed to human frailty and come to shame with a woman, both minded in their hearts to live together always in conjugal fidelity, if only they could do so with a good conscience, though as it is they live in public shame. I say, these two are surely married before God. I say, moreover, that when two are so minded, and so come to live together, they should save their conscience; let the man take the woman as his lawful wife, and live with her faithfully as her husband, without considering whether the Pope approve or not, or whether it is forbidden by canon law, or temporal. The salvation of your soul is of more importance than their tyrannous, arbitrary, wicked laws, which are not necessary for salvation, nor ordained by God. You should do as the children of Israel did who stole from the Egyptians the wages they had earned, or as a servant steals his well-earned wages from a harsh master; in the same way do you also steal your wife and child from the Pope.

Let him who has faith enough to dare this only follow me courageously: I will not mislead him. I may not have the Pope's authority, yet I have the authority of a Christian to help my neighbour and to warn him against his sins and dangers. And here there is good reason for doing so.

(a) It is not every priest that can do without a woman, not only on account of human frailty, but still more for his household. If therefore he takes a woman, and the Pope allows this, but will not let them marry, what is this but expecting a man and a woman to live together and not to fall? Just as if one were to set fire to straw, and command it should neither smoke nor burn.

(b) The Pope having no authority for such a command, any more than to forbid a man to eat and drink, or to digest, or to grow fat, no one is bound to obey it, and the Pope is answerable for every sin against it, for all the souls that it has brought to destruction, and for all the consciences that have been troubled and tormented by it. He has long deserved to be driven out of the world, so many poor souls has he strangled with this devil's rope, though I hope that God has shown many more mercy at their death than the Pope did in their life. No good has ever come and can ever come from the papacy and its laws.

(c) Even though the Pope's laws forbid it, still, after the married state has been entered, the Pope's laws tre superseded, and are valid no longer, for God has commanded that no man shall put asunder husband and wife, and this commandment is far above the Pope's laws, and God's command must not be cancelled or neglected for the papal commands. It is true that mad lawyers have helped the Pope to invent impediments, or hindrances to marriage, and thus troubled, divided, and perverted the married state, destroying the commandments of God. What need I say further? In the whole body of the Pope's canon law, there are not two lines that can instruct a pious Christian, and so many false and dangerous ones that it were better to burn it.

But if you object that this would give offence, and that one must first obtain the Pope's dispensation, I answer that if there is any offence in it, it is the fault of the see of Rome, which has made unjust and unholy laws. It is no offence to God and the Scriptures. Even where the Pope has power to grant dispensation for money by his covetous tyrannical laws, every Christian has power to grant dispensation in the same matter for the sake of Christ and the salvation of souls. For Christ has freed us from all human laws, especially when they are opposed to God and the salvation of souls, as St. Paul teaches (Galatians 5:1 and 1 Corinthians 8:9, 10).

15. I must not forget the poor convents. The evil spirit, who has troubled all estates of life by human laws, and made them unendurable, has taken possession of some abbots, abbesses, and prelates, and led them so to rule their brothers and sisters that they do but go soon to hell, and live a wretched life even upon earth, as is the case with all the devil's martyrs. For they have reserved in confession all, or at least some, deadly sins, which are secret, and from these no brother may on pain of excommunication and on his obedience absolve another. Now we do not always find angels everywhere, but men of flesh and blood, who would rather incur all excommunication and menace than confess their secret sins to a prelate or the confessor appointed for them; consequently they receive the Sacrament with these sins on their conscience, by which they become irregular* and suffer much misery. Oh blind shepherds! Oh foolish prelates! [* Luther uses the expression irregulares, which was applied to those monks who were guilty of heresy, apostacy, transgression of the vow of chastity, etc.] Oh ravenous wolves! Now I say that in cases where a sin is public and notorious it is only right that the prelate alone should punish it, and such sins, and no others, he may reserve and except for himself; over private sins he has no authority, even though they may be the worst that can be committed or imagined. And if the prelate excepts these, he becomes a tyrant and interferes with God's judgment.

Accordingly I advise these children, brothers and sisters: If your superiors will not allow you to confess your secret sins to whomsoever you will, then take them yourself, and confess them to your brother or sister, to whomsoever you will; be absolved and comforted, and then go or do what your wish or duty commands; only believe firmly that you have been absolved, and nothing more is necessary. And let not their threats of excommunication, or irregularity, or what not, trouble or disturb you; these only apply to public or notorious sins, if they are not confessed: you are not touched by them. How canst thou take upon thyself, thou blind prelate, to restrain private sins by thy threats? Give up what thou canst not keep publicly; let God's judgment and mercy also have its place with thy inferiors. He has not given them into thy hands so completely as to have let them go out of His own; nay, thou hast received the smaller portion. Consider thy statutes as nothing more than thy statutes, and do not make them equal to God's judgment in heaven.

16. It were also right to abolish annual festivals, processions, and masses for the dead, or at least to diminish their number; for we evidently see that they have become no better than a mockery, exciting the anger of God and having no object but money-getting, gluttony, and carousals. How should it please God to hear the poor vigils and masses mumbled in this wretched way, neither read nor prayed? Even when they are properly read, it is not done freely for the love of God, but for the love of money and as payment of a debt. Now it is impossible that anything should please God or win anything from Him that is not done freely, out of love for Him. Therefore, as true Christians, we ought to abolish or lessen a practice that we see is abused, and that angers God instead of appeasing Him. I should prefer, and it would be more agreeable to God's will, and far better for a foundation, church, or convent, to pull all the yearly masses and vigils together into one mass, so that they would every year celebrate, on one day, a true vigil and mass with hearty sincerity, devotion, and faith for all their benefactors. This would be better than their thousand upon thousand masses said every year, each for a particular benefactor, without devotion and faith. My dear fellow-Christians, God cares not for much prayer, but for good prayer. Nay, He condemns long and frequent prayers, saying, "Verily I say unto you, they have their reward" (Matt. vi. 2, seq.). But it is the greed that cannot trust God by which such practices are set up; it is afraid it will die of starvation.

17. One should also abolish certain punishments inflicted by the canon law, especially the interdict, which is doubtless the invention of the evil one. Is it not the mark of the devil to wish to better one sin by more and worse sins? It is surely a greater sin to silence God's word, and service, than if we were to kill twenty popes at once, not to speak of a single priest or of keeping back the goods of the Church. This is one of those gentle virtues which are learnt in the spiritual law; for the canon or spiritual law is so called because it comes from a spirit, not, however, from the Holy Spirit, but from the evil spirit.

Excommunication should not be used except where the Scriptures command it, that is, against those that have not the right faith, or that live in open sin, and not in matters of temporal goods. But now the case has been inverted: each man believes and lives as he pleases, especially those that plunder and disgrace others with excommunications; and all excommunications are now only in matters of worldly goods, for which we have no one to thank but the holy canonical injustice. But of all this I have spoken previously in a sermon.

The other punishments and penalties-suspension, irregularity, aggravation, reaggravation, deposition*, thundering, lightning, cursing, damning, and what not-all these should be buried ten fathoms deep in the earth, that their very name and memory may no longer live upon earth. [* Luther enumerates here the various grades of punishment inflicted on priests. The aggravation consisted of a threat of excommunication after a thrice-repeated admonition, whilst the consequence of reaggravation was immediate excommunication.] The evil spirit, who was let loose by the spiritual law, has brought all this terrible plague and misery into the heavenly kingdom of the holy Church, and has thereby brought about nothing but the harm and destruction of souls, that we may well apply to it the words of Christ, "But woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for you shut up the kingdom of heaven against men, for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in" (Matthew 23:13).

18. One should abolish all saints' days, keeping only Sunday. But if it were desired to keep the festivals of Our Lady and the greater saints, they should all be held on Sundays, or only in the morning with the mass; the rest of the day being a working day. My reason is this: with our present abuses of drinking, gambling, idling, and all manner of sin, we vex God more on holy days than on others. And the matter is just reversed; we have made holy days unholy, and working days holy, and do no service; but great dishonour, to God and His saints will all our holy days. There are some foolish prelates that think they have done a good deed, if they establish a festival to St. Otilia or St. Barbara, and the like, each in his own blind fashion, whilst he would be doing a much better work to turn a saint's day into a working day in honour of a saint.

Besides these spiritual evils, these saints' days inflict bodily injury on the common man in two ways: he loses a day's work, and he spends more than usual, besides weakening his body and making himself unfit for labour, as we see every day, and yet no one tries to improve it. One should not consider whether the Pope instituted these festivals, or whether we require his dispensation or permission. If anything is contrary to God's will and harmful to men in body and soul, not only has every community, council, or government authority to prevent and abolish such wrong without the knowledge or consent of pope or bishop, but it is their duty, as they value their soul's salvation, to prevent it, even though pope and bishop (that should be the first to do so) are unwilling to see it stopped. And first of all we should abolish church wakes, since they are nothing but taverns, fairs, and gaming places, to the greater dishonour of God and the damnation of souls. It is no good to make a talk about their having had a good origin and being good works. Did not God set aside His own law that He had given forth out of heaven when He saw it was abused, and does He not now reverse every day what He has appointed, and destroy what He has made, on account of the same perverse misuse, as it is written in Psalm 18 (verse 26), "With the perverse Thou wilt show Thyself froward"?

19. The degrees of relationship in which marriage is forbidden must be altered, such as so-called spiritual relations [Those, namely, between sponsors at baptism and their god-children.]. in the third and fourth degrees; and where the Pope at Rome can dispense in such matters for money, and make shameful bargains, every priest should have the power of granting the same dispensations freely for the salvation of souls. Would to God that all those things that have to be bought at Rome, for freedom from the golden snares of the canon law, might be given by any priest without payment, such as indulgences, letters of indulgences, letters of dispensation, mass letters, and all the other religious licences and knaveries at Rome by which the poor people are deceived and robbed! For if the Pope has the power to sell for money his golden snares, or canon nets (laws, I should say), much more has a priest the power to cancel them and to trample on them for God's sake. But if he has no such power, then the Pope can have no authority to sell them in his shameful fair.

Besides this, fasts must be made optional, and every kind of food made free, as is commanded in the Gospels (Matthew 15:11). For whilst at Rome they laugh at fasts, they let us abroad consume oil which they would not think fit for greasing their boots, and then sell us the liberty of eating butter and other things, whereas the Apostle says that the Gospel has given us freedom in all such matters (1 Corinthians 10:25, seq.). But they have caught us in their canon law and have robbed us of this right, so that we have to buy it back from them; they have so terrified the consciences of the people that one cannot preach this liberty without rousing the anger of the people, who think the eating of butter to be a worse sin than lying, swearing, and unchastity. We may make of it what we will; it is but the work of man, and no good can ever come of it.

20. The country chapels and churches must be destroyed, such as those to which the new pilgrimages have been set on foot: Wilsnack, Sternberg, Treves, the Grimmenthal, and now Ratisbon, and many others. Oh, what a reckoning there will be for those bishops that allow these inventions of the devil and make a profit out of them! They should be the first to stop it; they think that it is a godly, holy thing, and do not see that the devil does this to strengthen covetousness, to teach false beliefs, to weaken parish churches, to increase drunkenness and debauchery, to waste money and labour, and simply to lead the poor people by the nose. If they had only studied the Scriptures as much as their accused canon law, they would know well how to deal with the matter.

The miracles performed there prove nothing, for the evil one can show also wonders, as Christ has taught us (Matthew 24:24). If they took up the matter earnestly and forbade such doings, the miracles would soon cease: or if they were done by God, they would not be prevented by their commands. And if there were nothing else to prove that these are not works of God, it would be enough that people go about turbulently and irrationally like herds of cattle, which could not possibly come from God. God has not commanded it; there is no obedience, and no merit in it; and therefore it should be vigorously interfered with, and the people warned against it. For what is not commanded by God and goes beyond God's commandments is surely the devil's own work. In this way also the parish churches suffer: in that they are less venerated. In fine, these pilgrimages are signs of great want of faith in the people; for if they truly believed, they would find all things in their own churches, where they are commanded to go.

But what is the use of my speaking. Every man thinks only how he may get up such a pilgrimage in his own district, not caring whether the people believe and live rightly. The rulers are like the people: blind leaders of the blind. Where pilgrimages are a failure, they begin to glorify their saints, not to honour the saints, who are sufficiently honoured without them, but to cause a concourse, and to bring in money. Herein pope and bishops help them; it rains

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indulgences, and every one can afford to buy them: but what God has commanded no one cares for; no one runs after it, no one can afford any money for it. Alas for our blindness, that we not only suffer the devil to have his way with his phantoms, but support him! I wish one would leave the good saints alone, and not lead the poor people astray. What spirit gave the Pope authority to "glorify" the saints? Who tells him whether they are holy or not holy? Are there not enough sins on earth as it is but we must tempt God, interfere in His judgement, and make money-bags of His saints? Therefore my advice is to let the saints glorify themselves. Nay, God alone should be glorified, and every man should keep to his own parish, where he will profit more than in all these shrines, even if they were all put together into one shrine. Here a man finds baptism, the Sacrament, preaching, and his neighbour, and these are more than all the saints in heaven, for it is by God's word and sacrament that they have all been hallowed.

Our contempt for these great matters justifies God's anger in giving us over to the devil to lead us astray, to get up pilgrimages, to found churches and chapels, to glorify the saints, and to commit other like follies, by which we are led astray from the true faith into new false beliefs, just as He did in old time with the people of Israel, whom He led away from the Temple to countless other places, all the while in God's name, and with the appearance of holiness, against which all th prophets preached, suffering martyrdom for their words. But now no one preaches against it; for if he did, bishops, popes, priests, and monks would perchance combine to martyr him. In this way Antonius of Florence and many others are made saints, so that their holiness may serve to produce glory and wealth, which served before to the honour of God and as a good example alone.

Even if this glorification of the saints had been good once, it is not good now, just as many other things were good once and are now occasion of offence and injurious, such as holidays, ecclesiastical treasures and ornaments. For it is evident that what is aimed at in the glorification of saints is not the glory of God nor the bettering of Christendom, but money and fame alone; one Church wishes to have an advantage over another, and would be sorry to see another Church enjoying the same advantages. In this way they have in these latter days abused the goods of the Church so as to gain the goods of the world; so that everything, and even God Himself, must serve their avarice. Moreover, these privileges cause nothing but dissensions and worldly pride; one Church being different from the rest, they despise or magnify one another, whereas all goods that are of God should be common to all, and should serve to produce unity. This, too, is much liked by the Pope, who would be sorry to see all Christians equal and at one with one another.

Here must be added that one should abolish, or treat as of no account, or give to all Churches alike, the licences, bulls, and whatever the Pope sells at his flaying-ground at Rome. For if he sells or gives to Wittenberg, to Halle, to Venice, and above all, to his own city of Rome, permissions, privileges, indulgences, graces, advantages, faculties, why does he not give them to all Churches alike? Is it not his duty to do all that he can for all Christians without reward, solely for God's sake, nay, even to shed his blood for them? Why then, I should like to know, does he give or sell these things to one Church and not to another? Or does this accursed gold make a difference in his Holiness' eyes between Christians who all alike have baptism, Gospel, faith, Christ, God, and all things? Do they wish us to be blind, when our eyes can see, to be fools, when we have reason, that we should worship this greed knavery, and delusion? He is a shepherd, forsooth-so long as you have money, no further; and yet they are not ashamed to practise all this knavery right and left with their bulls. They care only for that accursed gold, and for nought besides.

Therefore my advice is this: If this folly is not done away with, let all pious Christians open their eyes, and not be deceived by these Romish bulls and seals and all their specious pretences; let them stop at home in their own churches, and be satisfied with their baptism, Gospel, faith, Christ, and God (who is everywhere the same), and let the Pope continue to be a blind leader of the blind. Neither pope nor angel can give you as much as God gives you in your own parish; nay, he only leads you away from God's gifts, which you have for nothing, to his own gifts, which you must buy, giving you lead for gold, skin for meat, strings for a purse, wax for honey, words for goods, the letter for the spirit, as you can see for yourselves though you will not perceive it. If you try to ride to heaven on the Pope's wax and parchment, your carriage will soon break down, and you will fall into hell, not in God's name.

Let this be a fixed rule for you: Whatever has to be bought of the Pope is neither good, nor of God. For whatever comes from God is not only given freely, but all the world is punished and condemned for not accepting it freely. So is it with the Gospel and the works of God. We have deserved to be led into these errors, because we have despised God's holy word and the grace of baptism; as St. Paul says, "And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie, that they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness" (2 Thessalonians 2:11, 12).

21. It is one of the most urgent necessities to abolish all begging in Christendom. No one should go about begging among Christians. It would not be hard to do this, if we attempted it with good heart and courage: each town should support its own poor and should not allow strange beggars to come in, whatever they may call themselves, pilgrims or mendicant monks. Every town could feed its own poor; and if it were too small, the people in the neighbouring villages should be called upon to contribute. As it is, they have to support many knaves and vagabonds under the name of beggars. If they did what I propose, they would at least know who were really poor or not.

There should also be an overseer or guardian who should know all the poor, and should inform the town-council, or the priest, of their requirements; or some other similar provision might be made. There is no occupation, in my opinion, in which there is so much knavery and cheating as among beggars; which could easily be done away with. This general, unrestricted begging is, besides, injurious for the common people. I estimate that of the five or six orders of mendicant monks each one visits every place more than six or seven times in the year; then there are the common beggars, emissaries, and pilgrims; in this way I calculate every city has a blackmail levied on it about sixty times a year, not counting rates and taxes paid to the civil government and the useless robberies of the Roman see; so that it is to my mind one of the greatest of God's miracles how we manage to live and support ourselves.

Some may think that in this way the poor would not be well cared for, and that such great stone houses and convents would not be built, and not so plentifully, and I think so too. Nor is it necessary. If a man will be poor he should not be rich; if he will be rich, let him put his hand to the plough, and get wealth himself out of the earth. It is enough to provide decently for the poor, that they may not die of cold and hunger. It is not right that one should work that another may be idle, and live ill that another may live well, as is now the perverse abuse, for St. Paul says, "If any would not work, neither should he eat" (2 Thessalonians 3:10). God has not ordained that any one should live of the goods of others, except priests and ministers alone, as St. Paul says (1 Corinthians 9:14), for their spiritual work's sake, as also Christ says to the Apostles, "The labourer is worthy of his hire" (Luke 10:7).

22. It is also to be feared that the many masses that have been founded in convents and foundations, instead of doing any good, arouse God's anger; wherefore it would be well to endow no more masses and to abolish many of those that have been endowed; for we see that they are only looked upon as sacrifices and good works, though in truth they are sacraments like baptism and confession, and as such profit him only that receives them. But now the custom obtains of saying masses for the living and the dead, and everything is based upon them. This is the reason why there are so many, and that they have come to be what we see.

But perhaps all this is a new and unheard-of doctrine, especially in the eyes of those that fear to lose their livelihood, if these masses were abolished. I must therefore reserve what I have to say on this subject until men have arrived at a truer understanding of the mass, its nature and use. The mass has, alas! for so many years been turned into means of gaining a livelihood, that I should advise a man to become a shepherd, a labourer, rather than a priest or monk, unless he knows what the mass is.

All this, however, does not apply to the old foundations and chapters, which were doubtless founded in order that since, according to the custom of Germany, all the children of nobles cannot be landowners and rulers, they should be provided for in these foundations, and these serve God freely, study, and become learned themselves, and help others to acquire learning. I am speaking only of the new foundations, endowed for prayers and masses, by the example of which the old foundations have become burdened with the like prayers and masses, making them of very little, if of any, use. Through God's righteous punishment, they have at last come down to the dregs, as they deserve-that is, to the noise of singers and organs, and cold, spiritless masses, with no end but to gain and spend the money due to them. Popes, bishops, and doctors should examine and report on such things; as it is they are the guiltiest, allowing anything that brings them money; the blind ever leading the blind. This comes of covetousness and the canon law.

It must, moreover, not be allowed in future that one man should have more than one endowment or prebend. He should be content with a moderate position in life, so that others may have something besides himself; and thus we must put a stop to the excuses of those that say that they must have more than one office to enable them to live in their proper station. It is possible to estimate one's "proper station" in such a way that a whole kingdom would not suffice to maintain it. So it is that covetousness and want of faith in God go hand in hand, and often men take for the requirements of their "proper station" what is mere covetousness and want of faith.

23. As for the fraternities, together with indulgences, letters of indulgence, dispensations for Lent, and masses, and all the rest of such things, let them all be drowned and abolished; there is no good in them at all. If the Pope has the authority to grant dispensation in the matter of eating butter and hearing masses, let him allow priests to do the same; he has no right to take the power from them. I speak also of the fraternities in which indulgences, masses, and good works are distributed. My friend, in baptism you joined a fraternity of which Christ, the angels, and saints, and all Christians are members; be true to this, and satisfy it, and you will have fraternities enough. Let others make what show they wish; they are as counters compared to coins. But if there were a fraternity that subscribed money to feed the poor or to help others in any way, this would be good, and it would have its indulgence and its deserts in heaven. But now they are good for nothing but gluttony and drunkenness.

First of all we should expel from all German lands the Pope's legates, with their faculties, which they sell to us for much money, though it is all knavery-as, for instance, their taking money for making goods unlawfully acquired to be good, for freeing from oaths, vows, and bonds, thus destroying and teaching others to destroy truth and faith mutually pledged, saying the Pope has authority to do so. It is the evil spirit that bids them talk thus, and so they sell us the devil's teaching, and take money for teaching us sins and leading us to hell.

If there were nothing else to show that the Pope is antichrist, this would be enough. Dost thou hear this, O Pope! not the most holy, but the most sinful? Would that God would hurl thy chair headlong from heaven, and cast it down into the abyss of hell! Who gave you the power to exalt yourself above your God; to break and to loose what He has commanded; to teach Christians, more especially Germans, who are of noble nature, and are famed in all histories for uprightness and truth, to be false, unfaithful, perjured, treacherous, and wicked? God has commanded to keep faith and observe oaths even with enemies; you dare to cancel this command, laying it down in your heretical, anti-Christian decretals that you have power to do so; and through your mouth and your pen Satan lies as he never lied before, teaching you to twist and pervert the Scriptures according to your own arbitrary will. O Lord Christ, look down upon this; let Thy day of judgment come and destroy the devil's lair at Rome. Behold him of whom St. Paul spoke (2 Thessalonians 2:3, 4) that he should exalt himself above Thee and sit in Thy Church, showing himself as God-the man of sin and the child of damnation. What else does the Pope's power do but teach and strengthen sin and wickedness, leading souls to damnation in Thy name?

The children of Israel in old times were obliged to keep the oath that they had sworn, in ignorance and error, to the Gibeonites, their enemies; and King Zedekiah was destroyed utterly, with his people, because he broke the oath that he had sworn to the King of Babylon; and among us, a hundred years ago, the noble King Ladislaus V. of Poland and Hungary, was slain by the Turk, with so many of his people, because he allowed himself to be misled by papal legates and cardinals and broke the good and useful treaty that he had made with the Turk. The pious Emperor Sigismond had no good fortune after the Council of Constance, in which he allowed the knaves to violate the safe-conduct that he had promised to John Huss and Jerome; from this has followed all the miserable strife between Bohemia and ourselves. And in our own time, God help us! how much Christian blood has been shed on account of the oath and bond which Pope Julius made and unmade between the Emperor Maximilian and King Louis of France! How can I tell all the misery the popes have caused by such devilish insolence, claiming the power of breaking oaths between great lords, causing a shameful scandal for the sake of money? I hope the day of judgment is at hand; things cannot and will not become worse than the dealings of the Roman chair. The Pope treads God's commandments under foot and exalts his own; if this is not antichrist, I do not know what is. But of this, and to more purpose, another time.

24. It is high time to take up earnestly and truthfully the cause of the Bohemians, to unite them with ourselves and ourselves with them, so that all mutual accusations, envy, and hatred may cease. I will be the first, in my folly, to give my opinion, with all due deference to those of better understanding.

First of all, we must honestly confess the truth, without attempting self-justification, and own one thing to the Bohemians, namely that John Huss and Jerome of Prague were burnt at Constance in violation of the papal, Christian, and imperial oath and safe-conduct, and that thus God's commandment was broken and the Bohemians excited to great anger. And though they may have deserved such great wrong and disobedience to God on our part, they were not obliged to approve it and think it right. Nay, even now they should run any danger of life and limb rather than own that it is right to break an imperial, papal, Christian safe-conduct and act faithlessly in opposition to it. Therefore, though the

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Bohemians may be to blame for their impatience, yet the Pope and his followers are most to blame for all the misery, all the error and destruction of souls, that followed this council of Constance.

It is not my intention here to judge John Huss' belief and to defend his errors, although my understanding has not been able to find any error in him, and I would willingly believe that men who violated a safe-conduct and God's commandment (doubtless possessed rather by the evil spirit than by the Spirit of God) were unable to judge well or to condemn with truth. No one can imagine that the Holy Ghost can break God's commandments; no one can deny that it is breaking God's commandments to violate faith and a safe-conduct, even though it were promised to the devil himself, much more then in the case of a heretic; it is also notorious that a safe-conduct was promised to John Huss [Jan Hus, 1372–1415] and the Bohemians, and that the promise was broken and Huss was burnt. I have no wish to make a saint or a martyr of John Huss (as some Bohemians do), though I own that he was treated unjustly, and that his books and his doctrines were wrongfully condemned; for God's judgments are inscrutable and terrible, and none but Himself may reveal or explain them.

All I say is this: Granting he was a heretic, however bad he may have been, yet he was burnt unjustly and in violation of God's commandments, and we must not force the Bohemians to approve this, if we wish ever to be at one with them. Plain truth must unite us, not obstinacy. It is no use to say, as they said at the time, that a safe-conduct need not be kept, if promised to a heretic; that is as much as to say, one may break God's commandments in order to keep God's commandments. They were infatuated and blinded by the devil, that they could not see what they said or did. God has commanded us to observe a safe-conduct; and this we must do though the world should perish: much more then where it is only a question of a heretic being set free. We should overcome heretics with books, not with fire, as the old Fathers did. If there were any skill in overcoming heretics with fire, the executioner would be the most learned doctor in the world; and there would be no need to study, but he that could get another into his power could burn him.

Besides this, the Emperor and the princes should send to Bohemia several pious, learned bishops and doctors, but, for their life, no cardinal or legate or inquisitor, for such people are far too unlearned in all Christian matters, and do not seek the salvation of souls; but, like all the papal hypocrites, they seek only their own glory, profit, and honour; they were also the leaders in that calamitous affair at Constance. But those envoys should inquire into the faith of the Bohemians, to ascertain whether it would be possible to unite all their sects into one. Moreover, the Pope should (for their souls' sake) for a time abandon his supremacy and, in accordance with the statutes of the Nicene Council, allow the Bohemians to choose for themselves an archbishop of Prague, this choice to be confirmed by the Bishop of Olmutz in Moravia or of Gran in Hungary, or the Bishop of Gnesen in Poland, or the Bishop of Magdeburg in Germany. It is enough that it be confirmed by one or two of these bishops, as in the time of St. Cyprian. And the Pope has no authority to forbid it, if he forbids it, he acts as a wolf and a tyrant, and no one should obey him, but answer his excommunication by excommunicating him.

Yet if, for the honour of the chair of St. Peter, any one prefers to do this with the Pope's knowledge, I do not object, provided that the Bohemians do not pay a farthing for it, and that the Pope do not bind them a single hair's-breadth, or subject them to his tyranny by oath, as he does all other bishops, against God and justice. If he is not satisfied with the honour of his assent being asked, leave him alone, by all means, with his own rights, laws, and tyrannies; be content with the election, and let the blood of all the souls that are in danger be upon his head. For no man may countenance wrong, and it is enough to show respect to tyranny. If we cannot do otherwise, we may consider the popular election and consent as equal to a tyrannical confirmation; but I hope this will not be necessary. Sooner or later some Romans, or pious bishops and learned men, must perceive and avert the Pope's tyranny.

I do not advise that they be forced to abandon the Sacrament in both kinds, for it is neither unchristian nor heretical. They should be allowed to continue in their present way; but the new bishop must see that there be no dissensions about this matter, and they must learn that neither practice is actually wrong, just as there need be no disputes about the priests not wearing the same dress as the laity. In the same way, if they do not wish to submit to the canon laws of the Roman Church, we must not force them, but we must content ourselves with seeing that they live in faith and according to the Scriptures. For Christian life and Christian faith may very well exist without the Pope's unbearable laws; nay, they cannot well exist until there are fewer of those laws or none. Our baptism has freed us and made us subject to God's word alone; why then should we suffer a man to make us the slaves of his words? As St. Paul says, "Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage" (Galatians 5:1).

If I knew that the only error of the Hussites was that they believe that in the Sacrament of the altar there is true bread and wine, though under it the body and the blood of Christ-if, I say, this were their only error, I should not condemn them; but let the Bishop of Prague see to this. For it is not an article of faith that in the Sacrament there is no bread and wine in substance and nature, which is a delusion of St. Thomas and the Pope; but it is an article of faith that in the natural bread and wine there is Christ's true flesh and blood. We should accordingly tolerate the views of both parties until they are at one; for there is not much danger whether you believe there is or there is not bread in the Sacrament. For we have to suffer many forms of belief and order that do not injure the faith; but if they believe otherwise, it would be better not to unite with them, and yet to instruct them in the truth.

All other errors and dissensions to be found in Bohemia should be tolerated until the Archbishop has been reinstated, and has succeeded in time in uniting the whole people in one harmonious doctrine. We shall never unite them by force, by driving or hurrying them. We must be patient, and use gentleness. Did not Christ have to walk with His disciples, suffering their unbelief, until they believed in His resurrection? If they had but once more a regular bishop and good government without Romish tyranny, I think matters would mend.

The temporal possessions of the Church should not be too strictly claimed; but since we are Christians and bound to help one another, we have the right to give them these things for the sake of unity, and to let them keep them, before God and the world; for Christ says, "Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them." Would to God we helped on both sides to bring about this unity, giving our hands one to the other in brotherly humility, not insisting on our authority or our rights! Love is more, and more necessary, than the papacy at Rome, which is without love, and love can exist without the papacy. I hope I have done my best for this end. If the Pope or his followers hinder this good work, they will have to give an account of their actions for having, against the love of God, sought their own advantage more than their neighbours'. The Pope should abandon his papacy, all his possessions and honours, if he could save a soul by so doing. But he would rather see the world go to ruin than give up a hair's-breadth of the power he has usurped; and yet he would be our most holy father. Herewith I am excused.

PART 3

25. The universities also require a good, sound reformation. I must say this, let it vex whom it may. The fact is that whatever the papacy has ordered or instituted is only designed for the propagation of sin and error. What are the universities, as at present ordered, but, as the book of Maccabees says, "schools of 'Greek fashion' and 'heathenish manners" (2 Maccabees 4:12, 13), full of dissolute living, where very little is taught of the Holy Scriptures of the Christian faith, and the blind heathen teacher, Aristotle, rules even further than Christ? Now, my advice would be that the books of Aristotle, the Physics, the Metaphysics, Of the Soul, Ethics, which have hitherto been considered the best, be altogether abolished, with all others that profess to treat of nature, though nothing can be learned from them, either of natural or of spiritual things. Besides, no one has been able to understand his meaning, and much time has been wasted and many noble souls vexed with much useless labour, study, and expense. I venture to say that any potter has more knowledge of natural things than is to be found in these books. My heart is grieved to see how many of the best Christians this accursed, proud, knavish heathen has fooled and led astray with his false words. God sent him as a plague for our sins.

Does not the wretched man in his best book, Of the Soul, teach that the soul dies with the body, though many have tried to save him with vain words, as if we had not the Holy Scriptures to teach us fully of all things of which Aristotle had not the slightest perception? Yet this dead heathen has conquered, and has hindered and almost suppressed the books of the living God; so that, when I see all this misery I cannot but think that the evil spirit has introduced this study.

Then there is the Ethics, which is accounted one of the best, though no book is more directly contrary to God's will and the Christian virtues. Oh that such books could be kept out of the reach of all Christians! Let no one object that I say too much, or speak without knowledge. My friend, I know of what I speak. I know Aristotle as well as you or men like you. I have read him with more understanding than St. Thomas or Scotus, which I may say without arrogance, and can prove if need be. It matters not that so many great minds have exercised themselves in these matters for many hundred years. Such objections do not affect me as they might have done once, since it is plain as day that many more errors have existed for many hundred years in the world and the universities.

I would, however, gladly consent that Aristotle's books of Logic, Rhetoric, and Poetry, should be retained, or they might be usefully studied in a condensed form, to practise young people in speaking and preaching; but the notes and comments should be abolished, and, just as Cicero's Rhetoric is read without note or comment, Aristotle's Logic should be read without such long commentaries. But now neither speaking nor preaching is taught out of them, and they are used only for disputation and toilsomeness. Besides this, there are languages-Latin, Greek, and Hebrew-the mathematics, history; which I recommend to men of higher understanding: and other matters, which will come of themselves, if they seriously strive after reform. And truly it is an important matter, for it concerns the teaching and training of Christian youths and of our noble people, in whom Christianity still abides. Therefore I think that pope and emperor could have no better task than the reformation of the universities, just as there is nothing more devilishly mischievous than an unreformed university.

Physicians I would have to reform their own faculty; lawyers and theologians I take under my charge, and say firstly that it would be right to abolish the canon law entirely, from beginning to end, more especially the decretals. We are taught quite sufficiently in the Bible how we ought to act; all this study only prevents the study of the Scriptures, and for the most part it is tainted with covetousness and pride. And even though there were some good in it, it should nevertheless be destroyed, for the Pope, having the canon law in scrinio pectoris [In the shrine of his heart], all further study is useless and deceitful. At the present time the canon law is not to be found in the books, but in the whims of the Pope and his sycophants. You may have settled a matter in the best possible way according to the canon law, but the Pope has his scrinium pectoris, to which all law must bow in all the world. Now this scrinium is oftentimes directed by some knave and the devil himself, whilst it boasts that it is directed by the Holy Ghost. This is the way they treat Christ's poor people, imposing many laws and keeping none, forcing others to keep them or to free themselves by money.

Therefore, since the Pope and his followers have cancelled the whole canon law, despising it and setting their own will above all the world, we should follow them and reject the books. Why should we study them to no purpose? We should never be able to know the Pope's caprice, which has now become the canon law. Let it fall then in God's name, after having risen in the devil's name. Let there be henceforth no doctor decretorum, but let them all be doctores scrinii papalis, that is, the Pope's sycophants. They say that there is no better temporal government than among the Turks, though they have no canon nor civil law, but only their Koran; we must at least own that there is no worse government than ours, with its canon and civil law, for no estate lives according to the Scriptures, or even according to natural reason.

The civil law, too, good God! what a wilderness it is become! It is, indeed, much better, more skilful, and more honest than the canon law, of which nothing is good but the name. Still there is far too much of it. Surely good governors, in addition to the Holy Scriptures, would be law enough; as St. Paul says, "Is it so that there is not a wise man among you, no, not one that shall be able to judge between his brethren?" (1 Corinthians 6:5). I think also that the common law and the usage of the country should be preferred to the law of the empire and that the law of the empire should only be used in cases of necessity. And would to God, that, as each land has its own peculiar character and nature, they could all be governed by their own simple laws, just as they were governed before the law of the empire was devised, and as many are governed even now! Elaborate and far-fetched laws are only burdensome to the people, and a hindrance rather than a help to business. But I hope that others have thought of this, and considered it to more purpose than I could.

Our worthy theologians have saved themselves much trouble and labour by leaving the Bible alone and only reading the Sentences. [Luther refers here to the "Sentences" of Petrus Lombardus, the so-called magister sententiarum, which formed the basis of all dogmatic interpretation from about the middle of the twelfth century down to the Reformation.] I should have thought that young theologians might begin by studying the Sentences, and that doctors should study the Bible. Now they invert this: the Bible is the first thing they study; this ceases with the Bachelor's degree; the Sentences are the last, and these they keep forever with the Doctor's degree, and this, too, under such sacred obligation that one that is not a priest may read the Bible, but a priest must read the Sentences; so that, as far as I can see, a married man might be a doctor in the Bible, but not in the Sentences. How should we prosper so long as we act so perversely, and degrade the Bible, the holy word of God? Besides this, the Pope orders with many stringent words that his laws be read and used in schools and courts; while the law of the Gospel is but little considered. The result is that in schools and courts the Gospel lies dusty underneath the benches, so that the Pope's mischievous laws may alone be in force.

Since then we hold the name and title of teachers of the Holy Scriptures, we should verily be forced to act according to our title, and to teach the Holy Scriptures and nothing else. Although, indeed, it is a proud, presumptuous title for a man

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to proclaim himself teacher of the Scriptures, still it could be suffered, if the works confirmed the title. But as it is, under the rule of the Sentences, we find among theologians more human and heathenish fallacies than true holy knowledge of the Scriptures. What then are we to do? I know not, except to pray humbly to God to give us Doctors of Theology. Doctors of Arts, of Medicine, of Law, of the Sentences, may be made by popes, emperors, and the universities; but of this we may be certain: a Doctor of the Holy Scriptures can be made by none but the Holy Ghost, as Christ says, "They shall all be taught of God" (John 6:45). Now the Holy Ghost does not consider red caps or brown, or any other pomp, nor whether we are young or old, layman or priest, monk or secular, virgin or married; nay, He once spoke by an ass against the prophet that rode on it. Would to God we were worthy of having such doctors given us, be they laymen or priests, married or unmarried! But now they try to force the Holy Ghost to enter into popes, bishops, or doctors, though there is no sign to show that He is in them.

We must also lessen the number of theological books, and choose the best, for it is not the number of books that makes the learned man, nor much reading, but good books often read, however few, makes a man learned in the Scriptures and pious. Even the Fathers should only be read for a short time as an introduction to the Scriptures. As it is we read nothing else, and never get from them into the Scriptures, as if one should be gazing at the signposts and never follow the road. These good Fathers wished to lead us into the Scriptures by their writings, whereas we lead ourselves out by them, though the Scriptures are our vineyard, in which we should all work and exercise ourselves.

Above all, in schools of all kinds the chief and most common lesson should be the Scriptures, and for young boys the Gospel; and would to God each town had also a girls' school, in which girls might be taught the Gospel for an hour daily, either in German or Latin! In truth, schools, monasteries, and convents were founded for this purpose, and with good Christian intentions, as we read concerning St. Agnes and other saints; then were there holy virgins and martyrs; and in those times it was well with Christendom; but now it has been turned into nothing but praying and singing. Should not every Christian be expected by his ninth or tenth year to know all the holy Gospels, containing as they do his very name and life? A spinner or a seamstress teaches her daughter her trade while she is young, but now even the most learned prelates and bishops do not know the Gospel.

Oh, how badly we treat all these poor young people that are entrusted to us for discipline and instruction! and a heavy reckoning shall we have to give for it that we keep them from the word of God; their fate is that described by Jeremiah: "Mine eyes do fail with tears, my bowels are troubled, my liver is poured upon the earth, for the destruction of the daughter of my people, because the children and the sucklings swoon in the streets of the city. They say to their mothers, Where is corn and wine? when they swooned as the wounded in the streets of the city, when their soul was poured out into their mothers' bosom" (Lamentations 2:11,12). We do not perceive all this misery, how the young folk are being pitifully corrupted in the midst of Christendom, all for want of the Gospel, which we should always read and study with them.

However, even if the high schools studied the Scriptures diligently we should not send every one to them, as we do now, when nothing is considered but numbers, and every man wishes to have a Doctor's title; we should only send the aptest pupils, well prepared in the lower schools. This should be seen to by princes or the magistrates of the towns, and they should take care none but apt pupils be sent. But where the Holy Scriptures are not the rule, I advise no one to send his child. Everything must perish where God's word is not studied unceasingly; and so we see what manner of men there are now in the high schools, and all this is the fault of no one but of the Pope, the bishops, and the prelates, to whom the welfare of the young has been entrusted. For the high schools should only train men of good understanding in the Scriptures, who wish to become bishops and priests, and to stand at our head against heretics and the devil and all the world. But where do we find this? I greatly fear the high schools are nothing but great gates of hell, unless they diligently study the Holy Scriptures and teach them to the young people.

26. I know well the Romish mob will object and loudly pretend that the Pope took the holy Roman empire from the Greek emperor and gave it to Germany, for which honour and favour he is supposed to deserve submission and thanks and all other kinds of returns from the Germans. For this reason they will perhaps assume to oppose all attempts to reform them, and will let no regard be paid to anything but those donations of the Roman empire. This is also the reason why they have so arbitrarily and proudly persecuted and oppressed many good emperors, so that it were pity to tell, and with the same cleverness have they made themselves lords of all the temporal power and authority, in violation of the holy Gospel; and accordingly I must speak of this matter also.

There is no doubt that the true Roman empire, of which the prophets (Numbers 24:24 and Daniel 2:44) spoke, was long ago destroyed, as Balaam clearly foretold, saying, "And ships shall come from the coast of Chittim, and shall afflict Asshur, and shall afflict Eber, and he also shall perish for ever" (Numbers 24:24). [Footnote 37: Luther here follows the Vulgate, translating the above verse: "Es werden die Romer kommen und die Juden verstoren: und hernach werden sie auch untergehen."] And this was done by the Goths, and more especially since the empire of the Turks was formed, about one thousand years ago, and so gradually Asia and Africa were lost, and subsequently France, Spain, and finally Venice arose, so that Rome retains no part of its former power.

Since then the Pope could not force the Greeks and the emperor at Constantinople, who is the hereditary Roman emperor, to obey his will, he invented this device to rob him of his empire and title, and to give it to the Germans, who were at that time strong and of good repute, in order that they might take the power of the Roman empire and hold it of the Pope; and this is what actually has happened. It was taken from the emperor at Constantinople, and the name and title were given to us Germans, and therewith we became subject to the Pope, and he has built up a new Roman empire on the Germans. For the other empire, the original, came to an end long ago, as was said above.

Thus the Roman see has got what it wished: Rome has been taken possession of, and the German emperor driven out and bound by oaths not to dwell in Rome. He is to be Roman emperor and nevertheless not to dwell in Rome, and, moreover, always to depend on the Pope and his followers, and to do their will. We are to have the title, and they are to have the lands and the cities. For they have always made our simplicity the tool of their pride and tyranny, and they consider us as stupid Germans, to be deceived and fooled by them as they choose.

Well, for our Lord God it is a small thing to toss kingdoms and principalities hither and thither; He is so free with them that He will sometimes take a kingdom from a good man and give it to a knave, sometimes through the treachery of false, wicked men, sometimes by inheritance, as we read concerning Persia, Greece, and nearly all kingdoms; and Daniel says. "Wisdom and might are His; and He changes the times and the seasons, and He removeth kings and setteth up kings" (Daniel 2:20, 21). Therefore no one need think it a grand matter if he has a kingdom given to him, especially if he be a Christian; and so we Germans need not be proud of having had a new Roman empire given us. For in His eyes it is a poor gift, that He sometimes gives to the least deserving, as Daniel says, "And all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing; and He does according to His will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth" (Daniel 4:35).

Now, although the Pope has violently and unjustly robbed the true emperor of the Roman empire, or its name, and has given it to us Germans, yet it is certain that God has used the Pope's wickedness to give the German nation this empire and to raise up a new Roman empire, that exists now, after the fall of the old empire. We gave the Pope no cause for this action, nor did we understand his false aims and schemes; but still, through the craft and knavery of the popes, we have, alas! all too dearly, paid the price of this empire with incalculable bloodshed, with the loss of our liberty, with the robbery of our wealth, especially of our churches and benefices, and with unspeakable treachery and insult. We have the empire in name, but the Pope has our wealth, our honour, our bodies, lives, and souls and all that we have. This was the way to deceive the Germans, and to deceive them by shuffling. What the popes wished was to become emperors; and as they could not do this, they put themselves above the emperors.

Since, then, we have received this empire through God's providence and the schemes of evil men, without our fault, I would not advise that we should give it up, but that we should govern it honestly, in the fear of God, so long as He is pleased to let us hold it. For, as I have said, it is no matter to Him how a kingdom is come by, but He will have it duly governed. If the popes took it from others dishonestly, we at least did not come by it dishonestly. It was given to us through evil men, under the will of God, to whom we have more regard than the false intentions of the popes, who wished to be emperors and more than emperors and to fool and mock us with the name.

The King of Babylon obtained his kingdom by force and robbery; yet God would have it governed by the holy princes Daniel, Ananias, Asarias, and Misael. Much more then does He require this empire to be governed by the Christian princes of Germany, though the Pope may have stolen, or robbed, or newly fashioned it. It is all God's ordering, which came to pass before we knew of it.

Therefore the Pope and his followers have no reason to boast that they did a great kindness to the German nation in giving them this Roman empire; firstly, because they intended no good to us, in the matter, but only abused our simplicity to strengthen their own power against the Roman emperor at Constantinople, from whom, against God and justice, the Pope has taken what he had no right to.

Secondly, the Pope sought to give the empire, not to us, but to himself, and to become lord over all our power, liberty, wealth, body and soul, and through us over all the world, if God had not prevented it, as he plainly says in his decretals, and has tried with many mischievous tricks in the case of many German emperors. Thus we Germans have been taught in plain German: whilst we expected to become lords, we have become the servants of the most crafty tyrants; we have the name, title, and arms of the empire, but the Pope has the treasure, authority, law, and freedom; thus, whilst the Pope eats the kernel, he leaves us the empty shells to play with.

Now may God help us (who, as I have said, assigned us this kingdom through crafty tyrants, and charged us to govern it) to act according to our name, title, and arms, and to secure our freedom, and thus let the Romans see at last what we have received of God through them. If they boast that they have given us an empire, well, be it so, by all means; then let the Pope give up Rome, all he has of the empire, and free our country from his unbearable taxes and robberies, and give back to us our liberty, authority, wealth, honour, body, and soul, rendering to the empire those things that are the empire's, so as to act in accordance with his words and pretences.

But if he will not do this, what game is he playing with all his falsehoods and pretences? Was it not enough to lead this great people by the nose for so many hundred years? Because the Pope crowns or makes the Emperor, it does not follow that he is above him; for the prophet, St. Samuel, anointed and crowned King Saul and David, at God's command, and was yet subject to them. And the prophet Nathan anointed King Solomon, and yet was not placed over him; moreover, St. Elisha let one of his servants anoint King Jehu of Israel, yet they obeyed him. And it has never yet happened in the whole world that any one was above the king because he consecrated or crowned him, except in the case of the Pope.

Now he is himself crowned pope by three cardinals; yet they are subject to him, and he is above them. Why, then, contrary to his own example and to the doctrine and practice of the whole world and the Scriptures, should he exalt himself above the temporal authorities, and the empire, for no other reason than that he crowns, and consecrates the Emperor? It suffices that he is above him in all divine matters-that is, in preaching, teaching, and the ministration of the Sacrament-in which matters, however, every priest or bishop is above all other men, just as St. Ambrose in his chair was above the Emperor Theodosius, and the prophet Nathan above David, and Samuel above Saul. Therefore let the German emperor be a true free emperor, and let not his authority or his sword be overborne by these blind pretences of the Pope's sycophants, as if they were to be exceptions, and be above the temporal sword in all things.

27. Let this be enough about the faults of the spiritual estate, though many more might be found, if the matter were properly considered; we must now consider the defects of the temporal estates. In the first place, we require a general law and consent of the German nation against profusion and extravagance in dress, which is the cause of so much poverty among the nobles and the people. Surely God has given to us, as to other nations, enough wool, fur, flax, and whatever else is required for the decent clothing of every class; and it cannot be necessary to spend such enormous sums for silk, velvet, cloth of gold, and all other kinds of outlandish stuff. I think that even if the Pope did not rob us Germans with his unbearable taxes, we should be robbed more than enough by these secret thieves, the dealers in silk and velvet. As it is, we see that every man wishes to be every other man's equal, and that this causes and increases pride and envy among us, as we deserve, all which would cease, with many other misfortunes, if our self-will would but let us be gratefully content with what God has given us.

It is similarly necessary to diminish the use of spices, which is one of the ships in which our gold is sent away from Germany. God's mercy has given us more food, and that both precious and good, than is to be found in other countries. I shall probably be accused of making foolish and impossible suggestions, as if I wished to destroy the great business of commerce. But I am only doing my part; if the community does not mend matters, every man should do it himself. I do not see many good manners that have ever come into a land through commerce, and therefore God let the people of Israel dwell far from the sea and not carry on much trade.

But without doubt the greatest misfortune of the Germans is buying on usury. But for this, many a man would have to leave unbought his silk, velvet, cloth of gold, spices, and all other luxuries. The system has not been in force for more than one hundred years, and has already brought poverty, misery, and destruction on almost all princes, foundations, cities, nobles, and heirs. If it continues for another hundred years Germany will be left without a farthing, and we shall be reduced to eating one another. The devil invented this system, and the Pope has done an injury to the whole world by sanctioning it.

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My request and my cry therefore is this: Let each man consider the destruction of himself and his family, which is no longer at the door, but has entered the house; and let emperors, princes, lords, and corporations see to the condemnation and prohibition of this kind of trade, without considering the opposition of the Pope and all his justice and injustice, nor whether livings or endowments depend upon it. Better a single fief in a city based on a freehold estate or honest interest, than a hundred based on usury; yea, a single endowment on usury is worse and more grievous than twenty based on freehold estate. Truly this usury is a sign and warning that the world has been given over to the devil for its sins, and that we are losing our spiritual and temporal welfare alike; yet we heed it not.

Doubtless we should also find some bridle for the Fuggers and similar companies. Is it possible that in a single man's lifetime such great wealth should be collected together, if all were done rightly and according to God's will? I am not skilled in accounts, but I do not understand how it is possible for one hundred guilders to gain twenty in a year, or how one guilder can gain another, and that not out of the soil, or by cattle, seeing that possessions depend not on the wit of men, but on the blessing of God. I commend this to those that are skilled in worldly affairs. I as a theologian blame nothing but the evil appearance, of which St. Paul says, "Abstain from all appearance of evil" (1 Thessalonians 5:22). All I know is that it were much more godly to encourage agriculture and lessen commerce; and that they do the best who, according to the Scriptures, till the ground to get their living, as we are all commanded in Adam: "Cursed is the ground for thy sake. . . . Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee. . . . In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread" (Genesis 3:17-19). There is still much ground that is not ploughed or tilled.

Then there is the excess in eating and drinking, for which we Germans have an ill reputation in foreign countries, as our special vice, and which has become so common, and gained so much the upper hand, that sermons avail nothing. The loss of money caused by it is not the worst; but in its train come murder, adultery, theft, blasphemy, and all vices. The temporal power should do something to prevent it; otherwise it will come to pass, as Christ foretold, that the last day shall come as a thief in the night, and shall find them eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, planting and building, buying and selling (Matthew 24:38; Luke 17:26), just as things go on now, and that so strongly that I apprehend lest the day of judgement be at hand, even now when we least expect it.

Lastly, is it not a terrible thing that we Christians should maintain public brothels, though we all vow chastity in our baptism? I well know all that can be said on this matter: that it is not peculiar to one nation, that it would be difficult to demolish it, and that it is better thus than that virgins, or married women, or honourable women should be dishonoured. But should not the spiritual and temporal powers combine to find some means of meeting these difficulties without any such heathen practice? If the people of Israel existed without this scandal, why should not a Christian nation be able to do so? How do so many towns and villages manage to exist without these houses? Why should not great cities be able to do so?

In all, however, that I have said above, my object has been to show how much good temporal authority might do, and what should be the duty of all authorities, so that every man might learn what a terrible thing it is to rule and to have the chief place. What boots it though a ruler be in his own person as holy as St. Peter, if he be not diligent to help his subjects in these matters? His very authority will be his condemnation; for it is the duty of those in authority to seek the good of their subjects. But if those in authority considered how young people might be brought together in marriage, the prospect of marriage would help every man and protect him from temptations.

But as it is every man is induced to become a priest or a monk; and of all these I am afraid not one in a hundred has any other motive but the wish of getting a livelihood and the uncertainty of maintaining a family. Therefore they begin by a dissolute life and sow their wild oats, (as they say), but I fear they rather gather in a store of wild oats. I hold the proverb to be true, "Most men become monks and priests in desperation." That is why things are as we see them.

But in order that many sins may be prevented that are becoming too common, I would honestly advise that no boy or girl be allowed to take the vow of chastity or to enter a religious life before the age of thirty years. For this requires a special grace, as St. Paul says. Therefore, unless God specially urge any one to a religious life, he will do well to leave all vows and devotions alone. I say further, If a man has so little faith in God as to fear that he will be unable to maintain himself in the married state, and if this fear is the only thing that makes him become a priest, then I implore him, for his own soul's sake, not to become a priest, but rather to become a peasant, or what he will. For if simple trust in God be necessary to ensure temporal support, tenfold trust in God is necessary to live a religious life. If you do not trust to God for your worldly food, how can you trust to Him for your spiritual food? Alas! this unbelief and want of faith destroys all things, and leads us into all misery, as we see among all conditions of men.

Much might be said concerning all this misery. Young people have no one to look after them, they are left to go on just as they like, and those in authority are of no more use to them than if they did not exist, though this should be the chief care of the Pope, of bishops, lords, and councils. They wish to rule over everything, everywhere, and yet they are of no use. Oh, what a rare sight, for these reasons, will a lord or ruler be in heaven, though he might build a hundred churches to God and raise all the dead!

But this may suffice for the present. For of what concerns the temporal authority and the nobles I have, I think, said enough in my tract on Good Works. For their lives and governments leave room enough for improvement; but there is no comparison between spiritual and temporal abuses, as I have there shown. I daresay I have sung a lofty strain, that I have proposed many things that will be thought impossible, and attacked many points too sharply. But what was I to do? I was bound to say this: if I had the power, this is what I would do. I had rather incur the world's anger than God's; they cannot take from me more than my life. I have hitherto made many offers of peace to my adversaries; but, as I see, God has forced me through them to open my mouth wider and wider, and, because they do not keep quiet, to give them enough cause for speaking, barking, shouting, and writing. Well, then, I have another song still to sing concerning them and Rome; if they wish to hear it, I will sing it to them, and sing with all my might. Do you understand, my friend Rome, what I mean?

I have frequently offered to submit my writings for inquiry and examination, but in vain, though I know, if I am in the right, I must be condemned upon earth and justified by Christ alone in heaven. For all the Scriptures teach us that the affairs of Christians and Christendom must be judged by God alone; they have never yet been justified by men in this world, but the opposition has always been too strong. My greatest care and fear is lest my cause be not condemned by men, by which I should know for certain that it does not please God. Therefore let them go freely to work, pope, bishop, priest, monk, or doctor; they are the true people to persecute the truth, as they have always done. May God grant us all a Christian understanding, and especially to the Christian nobility of the German nation true spiritual courage, to do what is best for our unhappy Church. Amen!

At Wittenberg, in the year 1520.

AN OPEN LETTER ON TRANSLATING

By Dr Martin Luther, 1483-1546
From: Martin Luthers Werke,
Weimar: Hermann Boehlaus Nachfolger, 1909,
Band 30, Teil II, pp. 632-646
Translation: Gary Mann, 1995

(His translation of the Bible into the German vernacular (instead of Latin) made it accessible to any common person who could read and understand German, an event that had a tremendous impact on both the church and German culture. It fostered the development of a standard version of the German language, added several principles to the art of translation, and influenced the writing of an English translation, the Tyndale Bible

The Luther Bible is a German language Bible translation from the Hebrew Old Testament and ancient Greek New Testament by Martin Luther. The New Testament was first published in 1522 and the complete Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments and Apocrypha, in 1534.

The project absorbed Luther's later years. Thanks to the then recently invented printing press, the result was widely disseminated and contributed significantly to the development of today's modern High German language.

The Luther Bible was not the first translation of the Bible into German. The previous German translation from 1350, printed by Johann Mentelin in 1466, was linguistically clumsy, partially incomprehensible, and translated from the Vulgate.

He adapted the words to the capacity of the Germans, often at the expense of accuracy. He cared more for the substance than the form. He turned the Hebrew shekel into a Silberling, (32) the Greek drachma and Roman denarius into a German Groschen, the quadrans into a Heller, the Hebrew measures into Scheffel, Malter, Tonne, Centner, and the Roman centurion into a Hauptmann.

Luther's version is an idiomatic reproduction of the Bible in the very spirit of the Bible. It brings out the whole wealth, force, and beauty of the German language. It is the first German classic, as King James's version follows this example being the first English classic.

The German language was divided into as many dialects as tribes and states, and none served as a bond of literary union. Saxons and Bavarians, Hanoverians and Swabians, could scarcely understand each other. Each author wrote in the dialect of his district, Zwingli in his Schwyzerdütsch. "I have so far read no book or letter," says Luther in the preface to his version of the Pentateuch (1523), "in which the German language is properly handled. Nobody seems to care sufficiently for it; and every preacher thinks he has a right to change it at pleasure, and to invent new terms."

As Luther grew up and lived right in the middle of the German language border, where southern High German meets northern Low German, he had the abilty to converse in both German languages equally well. By using Saxon Chancery German as basis together with common and spoken phrases from the north as well as from the south, Luther brought harmony out of this German language and dialect confusion. As a matter of fact, he created an entire new language, and turned this modernised High German into the common book language which is still in use today.

Luther was not the first, but by far the greatest translator of the German Bible, and is as inseparably connected with it as Jerome is with the Latin Vulgate. He threw the older translation into the shade and out of use, and has not been surpassed or even equalled by a successor. There are more accurate versions for scholars (as those of De Wette and Weizsäcker), but none that can rival Luther's for popular authority and use. William Tyndale, who also lived in Germany at that time, recognised Luther's new power language and used his principles to translate the Bible into English. The result was the same success so that we can say that the existence of modern German and English are based on Luther's relentless efforts. The following letter clearly shows what Luther thought.)

Preface

Wenceslas Link to all believers in Christ:

The wise Solomon says in Proverbs 11: "The people who withhold grain curse him. But there is a blessing on those who sell it." This verse speaks truly concerning all that can serve the common good or the well-being of Christendom. This is the reason the master in the gospel reprimands the unfaithful servant like a lazy scoundrel for having hidden and buried his money in the ground. So that this curse of the Lord and the entire Church might be avoided, I must publish this letter which came into my possession through a good friend. I could not withhold it, as there has been much discussion about the translating of the Old and New Testaments. It has been charged by the despisers of truth that the text has been modified and even falsified in many places, which has shocked and startled many simple Christians, even among the educated who do not know any Hebrew or Greek. It is devoutly hoped that with this publication the slander of the godless will be stopped and the scruples of the devout removed, at least in part. It may even give rise to more writing on such matters and questions such as these. So I ask all friends of the Truth to seriously take this work to heart and faithfully pray to God for a proper understanding of the divine Scriptures towards the improvement and increase of our common Christendom. Amen.

Nuremberg 15, Sept. 1530.

To the Honorable and Worthy N., my favourite lord and friend.

Grace and peace in Christ, honorable, worthy and dear Lord and friend. I received your writing with the two questions or queries requesting my response. In the first place, you ask why I, in the 3rd chapter of Romans, translated the words of St. Paul: "Arbitramur hominem iustificari ex fide absque operibus" as "We hold that the human will be justified without the works of the law but only by faith." You also tell me that the Papists are causing a great fuss because St. Paul's text does not contain the word sola (alone), and that my changing of the words of God is not to be tolerated. Secondly, you ask if the departed saints intercede for us. Regarding the first question, you can give the papists this answer from me—if you so desire.

On the first hand, if I, Dr. Luther, had thought that all the Papists together were capable of translating even one passage of Scripture correctly and well, I would have gathered up enough humility to ask for their aid and assistance in translating the New Testament into German. However, I spared them and myself the trouble, as I knew and still see with my own eyes that not one of them knows how to speak or translate German. It is obvious, however, that they are learning to speak and write German from my translations. Thus, they are stealing my language from me—a language they had little knowledge of before this. However, they do not thank me for this but instead use it against me. Yet I readily grant them this as it tickles me to know that I have taught my ungrateful students, even my enemies, to speak.

Secondly, you might say that I have conscientiously translated the New Testament into German to the best of my ability, and that I have not forced anyone to read it. Rather I have left it open, only doing the translation as a service to those who could not do it as well. No one is forbidden to do it better. If someone does not wish to read it, he can let it lie, for I do not ask anyone to read it or praise anyone who does! It is

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my Testament and my translation—and it shall remain mine. If I have made errors within it (although I am not aware of any and would most certainly be unwilling to intentionally mistranslate a single letter) I will not allow the papists to judge for their ears continue to be too long and their hee-haws too weak for them to be critical of my translating. I know quite well how much skill, hard work, understanding and intelligence is needed for a good translation. They know it less than even the miller's donkey for they have never tried it.

It is said, "The one who builds along the pathway has many masters." It is like this with me. Those who have not ever been able to speak correctly (to say nothing of translating) have all at once become my masters and I their pupil. If I were to have asked them how to translate the first two words of Matthew "Liber Generationis" into German, not one of them would have been able to say "Quack!" And they judge all my works! Fine fellows! It was also like this for St. Jerome when he translated the Bible. Everyone was his master. He alone was entirely incompetent as people, who were not good enough to clean his boots, judged his works. This is why it takes a great deal of patience to do good things in public for the world believes itself to be the Master of Knowledge, always putting the bit under the horse's tail, and not judging itself for that is the world's nature. It can do nothing else.

I would gladly see a papist come forward and translate into German an epistle of St Paul's or one of the prophets and, in doing so, not make use of Luther's German or translation. Then one might see a fine, beautiful and noteworthy translation into German.

We have seen that bungler from Dresden play master to my New Testament. (I will not mention his name in my books as he has his judge and is already well-known). He does admit that my German is good and sweet and that he could not improve it. Yet, anxious to dishonor it, he took my New Testament word for word as it was written, and removed my prefaces and glosses, replacing them with his own. Then he published my New Testament under his name! Dear Children, how it pained me when his prince in a detestable preface condemned my work and forbid all from reading Luther's New Testament, while at the same time commending the Bungler's New Testament to be read—even though it was the very same one Luther had written!

So no one thinks I am lying, put Luther's and the Bungler's New Testaments side by side and compare them. You will see who did the translation for both. He has patched it in places and reordered it (and although it does not all please me) I can still leave it be for it does me no particular harm as far as the document is concerned. That is why I never intended to write in opposition to it. But I did have a laugh at the great wisdom that so terribly slandered, condemned and forbade my New Testament, when it was published under my name, but required its reading when published under an other's name! What type of virtue is this that slanders and heaps shame on someone else's work, and then steals it, and publishes it under one's own name, thereby seeking glory and esteem through the slandered work of someone else! I leave that for his judge to say. I am glad and satisfied that my work (as St. Paul also boasts) is furthered by my enemies, and that Luther's work, without Luther's name but that of his enemy, is to be read. What better vengeance?!

Returning to the issue at hand, if your Papist wishes to make a great fuss about the word "alone" (sola), say this to him: "Dr Martin Luther will have it so and he says that a papist and an ass are the same thing." Sic volo, sic iubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas. (I will it, I command it; my will is reason enough) For we are not going to become students and followers of the papists. Rather we will become their judge and master. We, too, are going to be proud and brag with these blockheads; and just as St. Paul brags against his madly raving saints, I will brag over these asses of mine! They are doctors? Me too. They are scholars? I am as well. They are philosophers? And I. They are dialecticians? I am too. They are lecturers? So am I. They write books? So do I.

I will go even further with my bragging: I can exegete the psalms and the prophets, and they cannot. I can translate, and they cannot. I can read Holy Scriptures, and they cannot. I can pray, they cannot. Coming down to their level, I can do their dialectics and philosophy better than all of them put together. Plus I know that not one of them understands Aristotle. If, in fact, any one of them can correctly understand one part or chapter of Aristotle, I will eat my hat! No, I am not overdoing it for I have been educated in and have practiced their science since my childhood. I recognize how broad and deep it is. They, too, know that everything they can do, I can do. Yet they handle me like a stranger in their discipline, these incurable fellows, as if I had just arrived this morning and had never seen or heard what they know and teach. How they do so brilliantly parade around with their science, teaching me what I grew beyond twenty years ago! To all their shouting and screaming I join the harlot in singing: "I have known for seven years that horseshoe nails are iron."

So this can be the answer to your first question. Please do not give these asses any other answer to their useless braying about that word "sola" than simply "Luther will have it so, and he says that he is a doctor above all the papal doctors." Let it remain at that. I will, from now on, hold them in contempt, and have already held them in contempt, as long as they are the kind of people that they are—asses, I should say. And there are brazen idiots among them who have never learned their own art of sophistry—like Dr. Schmidt and Snot-Nose, and such like them. They set themselves against me in this matter, which not only transcends sophistry, but as St. Paul writes, all the wisdom and understanding in the world as well. An ass truly does not have to sing much as he is already known for his ears.

For you and our people, however, I shall show why I used the word "sola"—even though in Romans 3 it wasn't "sola" I used but "solum" or "tantum". That is how closely those asses have looked at my text! However, I have used "sola fides" in other places, and I want to use both "solum" and "sola". I have continually tried translating in a pure and accurate German. It has happened that I have sometimes searched and inquired about a single word for three or four weeks. Sometimes I have not found it even then. I have worked Meister Philip and Aurogallus so hard in translating Job, sometimes barely translating three lines after four days. Now that it has been translated into German and completed, all can read and criticize it. One can now read three or four pages without stumbling one time—without realizing just what rocks and hindrances had once been where now one travels as as if over a smoothly-cut plank. We had to sweat and toil there before we removed those rocks and hindrances, so one could go along nicely. The plowing goes nicely in a clear field. But nobody wants the task of digging out the rocks and hindrances. There is no such thing as earning the world's thanks. Even God cannot earn thanks, not with the sun, nor with heaven and earth, or even the death of his Son. It just is and remains as it is, in the devil's name, as it will not be anything else.

I also know that in Rom. 3, the word "solum" is not present in either Greek or Latin text—the papists did not have to teach me that—it is fact! The letters s-o-l-a are not there. And these knotheads stare at them like cows at a new gate, while at the same time they do not recognise that it conveys the sense of the text—if the translation is to be clear and accurate, it belongs there. I wanted to speak German since it was German I had spoken in translation—not Latin or Greek. But it is the nature of our language that in speaking about two things, one which is affirmed, the other denied, we use the word "solum" only along with the word "not" (nicht) or "no" (kein). For example, we say "the farmer brings only (allein) grain and no money"; or "No, I really have no money, but only (allein) grain"; "I have only eaten and not yet drunk"; "Did you write it only and not read it over?" There are a vast number of such everyday cases.

In all these phrases, this is a German usage, even though it is not the Latin or Greek usage. It is the nature of the German tongue to add "allein" in order that "nicht" or "kein" may be clearer and more complete. To be sure, I can also say "The farmer brings grain and no (kein) money", but the words "kein money" do not sound as full and clear as if I were to say, "the farmer brings allein grain and kein money." Here the word "allein" helps the word "kein" so much that it becomes a clear and complete German expression.

We do not have to ask about the literal Latin or how we are to speak German—as these arses do. Rather we must ask the mother in the home, the children on the street, the common person in the market about this. We must be guided by their tongue, the manner of their speech, and do our translating accordingly. Then they will understand it and recognise that we are speaking German to them.

For instance, Christ says: Ex abundatia cordis os loquitur. If I am to follow these asses, they will lay the original before me literally and translate it as: "Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks." Is that speaking with a German tongue? What German could understand something like that? What is this "abundance of the heart?" No German can say that; unless, of course, he was trying to say that someone was altogether too magnanimous, or too courageous, though even that would not yet be correct, as "abundance of the heart" is not German, not any more than "abundance of the house", "abundance of the stove" or "abundance of the bench" is German. But the mother in the home and the common man say this: "What fills the heart overflows the mouth." That is speaking with the proper German tongue of the kind I have tried for, although unfortunately not always successfully. The literal Latin is a great barrier to speaking proper German.

So, as the traitor Judas says in Matthew 26: "Ut quid perditio haec?" and in Mark 14: "Ut quid perditio iste unguenti facta est?" Subsequently, for these literalist asses I would have to translate it: "Why has this loss of salve occurred?" But what kind of German is this? What German says "loss of salve occurred"? And if he does understand it at all, he would think that the salve is lost and must be looked for and found again; even though that is still obscure and uncertain. Now if that is good German why do they not come out and make us a fine, new German testament and let Luther's testament be? I think that would really bring out their talents. But a German would say "Ut quid, etc.." as "Why this waste?" or "Why this extravagance?" Even "it is a shame about the ointment"—these are good German, in which one can understand that Magdalene had wasted the salve she poured out and had done wrong. That was what Judas meant as he thought he could have used it better.

Now when the angel greets Mary, he says: "Greetings to you, Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with you." Well up to this point, this has simply been translated from the simple Latin, but tell me is that good German? Since when does a German speak like that—being "full of grace"? One would have to think about a keg "full of" beer or a purse "full of" money. So I translated it: "You gracious one". This way a German can at last think about what the angel meant by his greeting. Yet the papists rant about me corrupting the angelic greeting—and I still have not used the most satisfactory German translation. What if I had used the most satisfactory German and translated the salutation: "God says hello, Mary dear" (for that is what the angel was intending to say and what he would have said had he even been German!). If I had, I believe that they would have hanged themselves out of their great devotion to dear Mary and because I have destroyed the greeting.

Yet why should I be concerned about their ranting and raving? I will not stop them from translating as they want. But I too shall translate as I want and not to please them, and whoever does not like it can just ignore it and keep his criticism to himself, for I will neither look at nor listen to it. They do not have to answer for or bear responsibility for my translation. Listen up, I shall say "gracious Mary" and "dear Mary", and they can say "Mary full of grace". Anyone who knows German also knows what an expressive word "dear"(liebe) is: dear Mary, dear God, the dear emperor, the dear prince, the dear man, the dear child. I do not know if one can say this word "liebe" in Latin or in other languages with so much depth of emotion that it pierces the heart and echoes throughout as it does in our tongue.

I think that St. Luke, as a master of the Hebrew and Greek tongues, wanted to clarify and articulate the Greek word "kecharitomene" that the angel used. And I think that the angel Gabriel spoke with Mary just as he spoke with Daniel, when he called him "Chamudoth" and "Ish chamudoth, vir desiriorum", that is "Dear Daniel." That is the way Gabriel speaks, as we can see in Daniel. Now if I were to literally translate the words of the angel, and use the skills of these asses, I would have to translate it as "Daniel, you man of desires" or "Daniel, you man of lust". Oh, that would be beautiful German! A German would, of course, recognize "Man", "Lueste" and "begirunge" as being German words, although not altogether pure as "lust" and "begir" would be better. But when those words are put together you get "you man of desires" and no German is going to understand that. He might even think that Daniel is full of lustful desires. Now wouldn't that be a fine translation! So I have to let the literal words go and try to discover how the German says what the Hebrew "ish chamudoth" expresses. I discover that the German says this, "You dear Daniel", "you dear Mary", or "you gracious maiden", "you lovely maiden", "you gentle girl" and so on. A translator must have a large vocabulary so he can have more words for when a particular one just does not fit in the context.

Why should I talk about translating so much? I would need an entire year were I to point out the reasons and concerns behind my words. I have learned what an art and job translating is by experience, so I will not tolerate some papal ass or mule as my critic, or judge. They have not tried the task. If anyone does not like my translations, they can ignore it; and may the devil repay the one who dislikes or criticizes my translations without my knowledge or permission. Should it be criticized, I will do it myself. If I do not do it, then they can leave my translations in peace. They can each do a translation that suits them—what do I care?

To this I can, with good conscience, give witness—that I gave my utmost effort and care and I had no ulterior motives. I have not taken or wanted even a small coin in return. Neither have I made any by it. God knows that I have not even sought honor by it, but I have done it as a service to the blessed Christians and to the honor of the One who sits above who blesses me every hour of my life that had I translated a thousand times more diligently, I should not have deserved to live or have a sound eye for even a single hour. All I am and have to offer is from his mercy and grace—indeed of his precious blood and bitter sweat. Therefore, God willing, all of it will also serve to his honor, joyfully and sincerely. I may be insulted by the scribblers and papists but true Christians, along with Christ, their Lord, bless me. Further, I am more than amply rewarded if just one Christian acknowledge me as a workman with integrity. I do not care about the papists, as they are not good enough to acknowledge my work and, if they were to bless me, it would break my heart. I may be insulted by their highest praise and honor, but I will still be a doctor, even a distinguished one. I am certain that they shall never take from me until the final day.

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Yet I have not just gone ahead, ignoring the exact wording in the original. Instead, with great care, I have, along with my helpers, gone ahead and have kept literally to the original, without the slightest deviation, wherever it appeared that a passage was crucial. For instance, in John 6 Christ says: "Him has God the Father set his seal upon (versiegelt)." It would be more clear in German to say "Him has God the Father signified (gezeiehent)" or even "God the Father means him." But rather than doing violence to the original, I have done violence to the German tongue. Ah, translating is not every one's skill as some mad saints think. A right, devout, honest, sincere, God-fearing Christian, trained, educated, and experienced heart is required. So I hold that no false Christian or divisive spirit can be a good translator. That is obvious given the translation of the Prophets at Worms which although carefully done and approximating my own German quite closely, does not show much reverence for Christ due to the Jews who shared in the translation. Aside from that it shows plenty of skill and craftsmanship there.

So much for translating and the nature of language. However, I was not depending upon or following the nature of language when I inserted the word "solum" (alone) in Rom. 3 as the text itself, and St. Paul's meaning, urgently necessitated and demanded it. He is dealing with the main point of Christian doctrine in this passage—namely that we are justified by faith in Christ without any works of the Law. In fact, he rejects all works so completely as to say that the works of the Law, though it is God's law and word, do not aid us in justification. Using Abraham as an example, he argues that Abraham was so justified without works that even the highest work, which had been commanded by God, over and above all others, namely circumcision, did not aid him in justification. Instead, Abraham was justified without circumcision and without any works, but by faith, as he says in Chapter 4: "If Abraham is justified by works, he may boast, but not before God." However, when all works are so completely rejected—which must mean faith alone justifies—whoever would speak plainly and clearly about this rejection of works would have to say "Faith alone justifies and not works." The matter itself and the nature of language necessitates it.

"Yet", they say, "it has such an offensive tone that people infer from it that they need not do any good works." Dear, what are we to say? IS it not more offensive for St. Paul himself to not use the term "faith alone" but spell it even more clearly, putting the finishing touches on it by saying "Without the works of the Law?" Gal. 1 [2.16] says that "not by works of the law" (as well as in many other places) for the phrase "without the works of the law" is so ever offensive, and scandalous that no amount of revision can help it. How much more might people learn from "that they need not do any good works", when all they hear is preaching about the works themselves, stated in such a clear strong way: "No works", "without works", "not by works"! If it is not offensive to preach "without works", "not by works", "no works", why is it offensive to preach "by faith alone"?

Still more offensive is that St. Paul does not reject just ordinary works, but works of the law! It follows that one could take offense at that all the more and say that the law is condemned and cursed before God and one ought only do what is contrary to the law as it is said in Rom. 3: "Why not do evil so that there might be more good?" which is what that one divisive spirit of our time was doing. Should one reject St. Paul's word because of such 'offense' or refrain from speaking freely about faith? Gracious, St. Paul and I want to offend like this for we preach so strongly against works, insisting on faith alone for no other reason than to offend people that they might stumble and fall and learn that they are not saved by good works but only by Christ's death and resurrection. Knowing that they cannot be saved by their good works of the law, how much more will they realize that they shall not be saved by bad works, or without the law! Therefore, it does not follow that because good works do not help, bad works will; just as it does not follow that because the sun cannot help a blind person see, the night and darkness must help him see.

It astounds me that one can be offended by something as obvious as this! Just tell me, is Christ's death and resurrection our work, what we do, or not? It is obviously not our work, nor is it the work of the law. Now it is Christ's death and resurrection alone which saves and frees us from sin, as Paul writes in Rom. 4: "He died for our sin and arose for our righteousness." Tell me more! What is the work by which we take hold of Christ's death and resurrection? It must not be an external work but only the eternal faith in the heart that alone, indeed all alone, which takes hold of this death and resurrection when it is preached through the gospel. Then why all this ranting and raving, this making of heretics and burning of them, when it is clear at its very core, proving that faith alone takes hold of Christ's death and resurrection, without any works, and that his death and resurrection are our life and righteousness? As this fact is so obvious, that faith alone gives, brings, and takes a hold of this life and righteousness—why should we not say so? It is not heretical that faith alone holds on to Christ and gives life; and yet it seems to be heresy if someone mentions it. Are they not insane, foolish and ridiculous? They will say that one thing is right but brand the telling of this right thing as wrong—even though something cannot be simultaneously right and wrong.

Furthermore, I am not the only one, nor the first, to say that faith alone makes one righteous. There was Ambrose, Augustine and many others who said it before me. And if one is to read and understand St. Paul, the same thing must be said and not anything else. His words, as well, are blunt—"no works"—none at all! If it is not works, it must be faith alone. Oh what a marvelous, constructive and inoffensive teaching that would be, to be taught that one can be saved by works as well as by faith. That would be like saying that it is not Christ's death alone that takes away our sin but that our works have something to do with it. Now that would be a fine way of honoring Christ's death, saying that it is helped by our works, and that whatever it does our works can also do—that we are his equal in goodness and power. This is the devil itself for he cannot ever stop abusing the blood of Christ.

Therefore the matter itself, at its very core, necessitates that one say: "Faith alone makes one righteous." The nature of the German tongue teaches us to say it in the same way. In addition, I have the examples of the holy fathers. The dangers confronting the people also compel it so they do not continue to hang onto works and wander away from faith, losing Christ, especially at this time when they have been so accustomed to works they have to be pulled away from them by force. It is for these reasons that it is not only right but also necessary to say it as plainly and forcefully as possible: "Faith alone saves without works!" I am only sorry I did not add "alle" and "aller", and said "without any (alle) works or any (aller) laws." That would have stated it most effectively. Therefore, it will remain in the New Testament, and though all the papal asses rant and rave at me, they shall not take it away from me. Let this be enough for now. I will have to speak more about this in the treatise "On Justification" (if God grants me grace).

On the other question as to whether the departed saints intercede for us. For the present I am only going to give a brief answer as I am considering publishing a sermon on the beloved angels in which I will respond more fully on this matter (God willing).

First, you know that under the papacy it is not only taught that the saints in heaven intercede for us—even though we cannot know this as the Scripture does not tell us such—but the saints have been made into gods, and that they are to be our patrons to whom we should call. Some of them have never existed! To each of these saints a particular power and might has been given—one over fire, another over water, another over pestilence, fever and all sorts of plagues. Indeed, God must have been altogether idle to have let the saints work in his place. Of this atrocity the papists themselves are aware, as they quietly take up their pipes and preen and primp themselves over this doctrine of the intercession of the saints. I will leave this subject for now—but you can count on my not forgetting it and allowing this primping and preening to continue without cost.

And again, you know that there is not a single passage from God demanding us to call upon either saints or angels to intercede for us, and that there is no example of such in the Scriptures. One finds that the beloved angels spoke with the fathers and the prophets, but that none of them had ever been asked to intercede for them. Why even Jacob the patriarch did not ask the angel with whom he wrestled for any intercession. Instead, he only took from him a blessing. In fact, one finds the very opposite in revelation as the angel will not allow itself to be worshipped by John. [Rev. 22] So the worship of saints shows itself as nothing but human nonsense, our own invention separated from the word of God and the Scriptures.

As it is not proper in the matter of divine worship for us to do anything that is not commanded by God (and that whoever does is putting God to the test), it is therefore also not advisable or tolerable for one to call upon the saints for intercession or to teach others to do so. In fact, it is to be condemned and people taught to avoid it. Therefore, I also will not advise it and burden my conscience with the iniquities of others. It was difficult for me to stop from worshipping the saints as I was so steeped in it to have nearly drowned. But the light of the gospel is now shining so brightly that from now on no one has an excuse for remaining in the darkness. We all very well know what we are to do.

This is itself a very risky and blasphemous way to worship for people are easily accustomed to turning away from Christ. They learn quickly to trust more in the saints than in Christ himself. When our nature is already all too prone to run from God and Christ, and trust in humanity, it is indeed difficult to learn to trust in God and Christ, even though we have vowed to do so and are therefore obligated to do so. Therefore, this offense is not to be tolerated whereby those who are weak and of the flesh participate in idolatry, against the first commandment and our baptism. Even if one tries nothing other than to switch their trust from the saints to Christ, through teaching and practice, it will be difficult to accomplish, that one should come to him and rightly take hold of him. One need not paint the Devil on the door—he will already be present.

We can finally be certain that God is not angry with us, and that even if we do not call on the saints for intercession, we are secure for God has never commanded it. God says that God is a jealous God granting their iniquities on those who do not keep his commandments [Ex.20]; but there is no commandment here and, therefore, no anger to be feared. Since, then, there is on this side security and on the other side great risk and offense against the Word of God, why should we go from security into danger where we do not have the Word of God to sustain, comfort and save us in the times of trial? For it is written, "Whoever loves danger will perish by it" [Ecclus. 3], and God's commandment says, "You shall not put the Lord your God to the test" [Matt. 4].

"But," they say, "this way you condemn all of Christendom which has always maintained this—until now." I answer: I know very well that the priests and monks seek this cloak for their blasphemies. They want to give to Christendom the damage caused by their own negligence. Then, when we say, "Christendom does not err," we shall also be saying that they do not err, since Christendom believes it to be so. So no pilgrimage can be wrong, no matter how obviously the Devil is a participant in it. No indulgence can be wrong, regardless of how horrible the lies involved. In other words, there is nothing there but holiness! Therefore to this you reply, "It is not a question of who is and who is not condemned." They inject this irrelevant idea in order to divert us from the topic at hand. We are now discussing the Word of God. What Christendom is or does belongs somewhere else. The question here is: "What is or is not the Word of God? What is not the Word of God does not make Christendom."

We read that in the days of Elijah the prophet there was apparently no word from God and no worship of God in Israel. For Elijah says, "Lord, they have killed your prophets and destroyed your altars, and I am left totally alone" [1 Kings 19]. Here King Ahab and others could have said, "Elijah, with talk like that you are condemning all the people of God." However God had at the same time kept seven thousand [1 Kings 19]. How? Do you not also think that God could now, under the papacy, have preserved his own, even though the priests and monks of Christendom have been teachers of the devil and gone to hell? Many children and young people have died in Christ. For even under the anti-Christ, Christ has strongly sustained baptism, the bare text of the gospel in the pulpit, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed. By this means he sustained many of his Christians, and therefore also his Christendom, and said nothing about it to these devil's teachers.

Now even though Christians have done some parts of the papal blasphemy, the papal asses have not yet proved that they did it gladly. Still less does it prove that they even did the right thing. All Christians can err and sin, but God has taught them to pray in the Lord's Prayer for the forgiveness of sins. God could very well forgive the sins they had to unwillingly, unknowingly, and under the coercion of the Antichrist commit, without saying anything about it to the priests and monks! It can, however, be easily proven that there has always been a great deal of secret murmuring and complaining against the clergy throughout the world, and that they are not treating Christendom properly. And the papal asses have courageously withstood such complaining with fire and sword, even to the present day. This murmuring proves how happy Christians have been over these blasphemies, and how right they have been in doing them!

So out with it, you papal asses! Say that this is the teaching of Christendom: these stinking lies which you villains and traitors have forced upon Christendom and for the sake of which you murderers have killed many Christians. Why each letter of every papal law gives testimony to the fact that nothing has ever been taught by the counsel and the consent of Christendom. There is nothing there but "districte precipiendo mandamus" ["we teach and strictly command"]. That has been your Holy Spirit. Christendom has had to suffer this tyranny. This tyranny has robbed it of the sacrament and, not by its own fault, has been held in captivity. And still the asses would pawn off on us this intolerable tyranny of their own wickedness as a willing act and example of Christendom—and thereby acquit themselves!

But this is getting too long. Let this be enough of an answer to your questions for now. More another time. Excuse this long letter. Christ our Lord be with us all. Amen.

Martin Luther,
Your good friend.
The Wilderness, 8th of September, 1530

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THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION (1530)
or the Confession of Faith of Augsburg
Latin: Confessio Augustana
by Philipp Melanchthon,
Translation Gerhard Friedrich Bente (1858–1930)
Estimated Range of Dating: 1530 A.D.

(The Augsburg Confession, also known as the Augustan Confession or the Augustana from its Latin name, Confessio Augustana, is the primary confession of faith of the Lutheran Church and one of the most important documents of the Protestant Reformation. The Augsburg Confession was written in both German and Latin and was presented by a number of German rulers and free-cities at the Diet of Augsburg on 25 June 1530.

The Holy Roman Emperor Charles V had called on the Princes and Free Territories in Germany to explain their religious convictions in an attempt to restore religious and political unity in the Holy Roman Empire and rally support against the Turkish invasion. It is the fourth document contained in the Lutheran Book of Concord.

Philipp Melanchthon, Martin Luther and Justus Jonas had already drafted a statement of their theological views in the Articles of Schwabach in 1529, when on 21 January 1530, Emperor Charles V issued letters from Bologna, inviting the Imperial Diet to meet in Augsburg on 8 April for the purpose of discussing and deciding various important questions. Although the writ of invitation was couched in very peaceful language, it was received with suspicion by some of the Protestants. Landgrave Philip of Hesse hesitated to attend the diet, but the Elector John of Saxony, who received the writ 11 March, on 14 March directed Martin Luther, Justus Jonas, Johannes Bugenhagen and Philipp Melanchthon to meet in Torgau, where he was, and present a summary of the Lutheran faith to be laid before the Holy Roman Emperor at the diet. [*Beginning in July 1529, Philipp Melanchthon, along with Martin Luther and probably Justus Jonas, wrote the Articles of Schwabach (so named because they were presented at the Convention of Schwabach on 16 October of the same year), as a confession of faith with other Wittenberg theologians. Material from this document was later incorporated into the Augsburg Confession written by Philipp Melanchthon in 1530.]*

This summary has received the name of the "Torgau Articles". On 3 April, the elector and reformers started from Torgau, and reached Coburg on 23 April. There, Luther was left behind because he was an outlaw according to the Diet of Worms. The rest reached Augsburg on 2 May. On the journey, Melanchthon worked on an "apology", using the Torgau articles, and sent his draft to Luther at Coburg on 11 May, who approved it. Several alterations were suggested to Melanchthon in his conferences with Jonas, the Saxon chancellor Christian Beyer, the conciliatory Christopher von Stadion, bishop of Augsburg, and the imperial secretary Alfonso de Valdes.

On 23 June, the final form of the text was adopted in the presence of the Elector John of Saxony, the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, the Margrave George of Brandenburg, the Dukes Ernest and Francis of Lüneburg, the representatives of Nuremberg and Reutlingen, and other counselors, besides twelve theologians. After the reading, the confession was signed by the Elector John of Saxony, Margrave George of Brandenburg, Duke Ernest of Lüneburg, the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, the Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, the representatives of Nuremberg and Reutlingen, and probably also the electoral prince John Frederick and Duke Francis of Lüneburg.

During the diet, the cities of Weißenburg in Bayern, Heilbronn, Kempten, and Windesheim also expressed their concurrence with the confession. The emperor had ordered the confession to be presented to him at the next session, 24 June. When the Protestant princes asked that it be read in public, their petition was refused, and efforts were made to prevent the public reading of the document altogether. The Protestant princes declared that they would not part with the confession until its reading should be allowed.

The 25th was then fixed for the day of its presentation. In order to exclude the people, the little chapel of the episcopal palace was appointed in place of the spacious city hall, where the meetings of the diet were held. The two Saxon chancellors Christian Beyer and Gregor Bruck, the former with the plain German copy, the other in traditional Latin language, against the wish of the emperor stepped into the middle of the assembly. The reading of the German version of the text by Christian Beyer lasted two hours and was so distinct that every word could be heard outside. The reading being over, the copies were handed to the emperor. The German copy he gave to the imperial chancellor, the Elector of Mainz. The Latin copy he took away. Neither of the copies is now extant.

The first official publication (Editio princeps) was edited by Philipp Melanchthon, a professor at the University of Wittenberg and a close colleague and friend of Martin Luther.

The 28 articles

The Augsburg Confession consists of 28 articles presented by Lutheran princes and representatives of "free cities" at the Diet of Augsburg that set forward what the Lutherans believed, taught and confessed in positive (theses) and negative (antitheses) statements. The theses are 21 Chief Articles of Faith describing the normative principles of Christian faith held by the Lutherans; the antitheses are seven statements describing what they viewed as abuses of the Christian faith present in the Roman Catholic church.

THE CHIEF ARTICLES OF FAITH (THESES) IN SHORT:

Article Title Description

1 God: Christians believe in the Triune God and reject other interpretations regarding the nature of God.

2 Original Sin: Lutherans believe that the nature of man is sinful, described as being without fear of God, without trust of God and with concupiscence. Sin is redeemed through Baptism and the Holy Spirit.

3 The Son of God: Lutherans believe in the incarnation, that is, the union of the fully human with the fully divine in the person of Jesus. Jesus Christ alone brings about the reconciliation of humanity with God.

4 Justification By Faith: Man cannot be justified before God through our own abilities; we are wholly reliant on Jesus Christ for reconciliation with God. (This is often described as the one article by which the "Lutheran church stands or falls".)

5 The Office of Preaching: Lutherans believe that to ensure that the gospel of Jesus Christ is proclaimed throughout the world, Christ has established His office of the holy ministry.

6 Of The New Obedience: Lutherans believe that good deeds of Christians are the fruits of faith and salvation, not a price paid for them.

7 Of The Church: Lutherans believe that there is one holy Christian church, and it is found wherever the gospel is preached in its truth and purity and the sacraments are administered according to the gospel.

8 What The Church Is: Despite what hypocrisy may exist in the church (and among men), the Word and the Sacraments are always valid because they are instituted by Christ, no matter what the sins may be of the one who administers them.

9 Of Baptism: Lutherans believe that Baptism is necessary, and that through Baptism is offered the grace of God. Children are baptised as an offering to them of God's grace.

10 Of the Lord's Supper: Lutherans believe that Christ's body and blood is truly present in, with, and under the bread and wine of the sacrament and reject those that teach otherwise.

11 Of Confession: Lutherans believe that private absolution should remain in the church, though a believer does not need to enumerate all of his sins as it is impossible for a man to enumerate all of the sins for which he should be forgiven.

12 Of Repentance: Repentance comes in two parts: in contrition for sins committed according to the Law and through faith offered through the Gospel. A believer can never be free from sin, nor live outside of the grace of God.

13 Of the Use of the Sacraments: The Sacraments (Baptism and the Eucharist) are physical manifestations of God's Word and His commitment to us. The Sacraments are never just physical elements, but have God's word and promises bound to them.

14 Of Ecclesiastical Order: Lutherans allow only those who are "properly called" to publicly preach or administer the Sacraments.

15 Of Ecclesiastical Usages: Lutherans believe that church holidays, calendars and festivals are useful for religious observance, but that observance and ritual is not necessary for salvation. Human traditions (such as observances, fasts, distinctions in eating meats) that are taught as a way to "merit" grace work in opposition to the Gospel.

16 Of Civil Affairs: Secular governments and vocations are considered to be part of God's natural orders; Christians are free to serve in government and the military and to engage in the business and vocations of the world. Laws are to be followed unless they are commandments to sin.

17 Of Christ's Return to Judgement: Lutherans believe that Christ will return to raise the dead and judge the world; the godly will be given everlasting joy, and the ungodly will be "tormented without end". This article rejects notions of a millennial kingdom before the resurrection of the dead.

18 Of Free Will: Lutherans believe that we, to some extent, have free will in the realm of "civil righteousness" (or "things subject to reason"), but that we do not have free will in "spiritual righteousness". In other words, we have no free choice when it comes to salvation. Faith is not the work of men, but of the Holy Spirit.

19 Of the Cause of Sin: Lutherans believe that sin is caused not by God but by "the will of the wicked", turning away from God.

20 Of Good Works: The Lutheran notion of justification by faith does not somehow condemn good works; faith causes them to do good works as a sign of our justification (or salvation), not a requirement for salvation.

21 Of the Worship of the Saints: Lutherans keep the saints, not as saviours or intercessors to God, but rather as examples and inspirations to our own faith and life.

ABUSES CORRECTED

Article Title Description

22 Of Both Kinds: In The Sacrament (Eucharist); It is proper to offer communicants the consecrated bread and wine, not just the bread.

23 Of the Marriage of Priests: Lutherans permit their clergy to enter the institution of marriage, for the reasons that the early Church bishops were married, that God blesses marriage as an order of creation, and because marriage and procreation is the natural outlet for human sexual desire.

24 Of the Mass: Lutherans retain the practice of the Mass, but only as a public gathering for the purposes of community worship and the receiving of the Eucharist. Lutherans reject the practice of using the Mass as a "work" for both salvation and worldly (monetary) gain.

25 Of Confession: Lutherans uphold the need for confession and absolution, but reject the notion that Confession should induce guilt or anxiety to the Christian. Absolution is offered for all sin, not just sins that can be recounted in a confession, as it is impossible for a man to know all of his transgressions.

26 Of the Distinction of Meats: Human traditions that hold fasting and special observances with dietary restrictions as a means of gaining the favour of God are contrary to the gospel. While fasting and other practices are useful spiritual practices, they do not justify man nor offer salvation.

27 Of Monastic Vows: Man cannot achieve purity in community or isolation from the rest of the world, and perfection cannot be attained by any vow taken or actions of man alone.

28 Of Ecclesiastical Power: The only power given to priests or bishops is the power offered through Scripture to preach, teach and administer the sacraments. The powers given to the clergy in issues of government or the military are granted and respected only through civil means; they are not civil rulers of governments and the military by divine right.

Conclusion: "That in doctrine and ceremonies nothing has been received on our part against Scripture or the Church Catholic."

Signatures of several secular leaders in Saxony.)

[The Latin text is from the editio princeps, 1531, as printed in the best editions of the 'Book of Concord,' and especially (with all the various readings) in the Corpus Reformatorum, ed. Bindseil, Vol. XXVI. (1858), pp. 263–336. I have inserted in brackets the most important additions of the German text, and marked in foot-notes the chief alterations of the edition of 1540. The English translation (in the style of the sixteenth century) was prepared (1868), and at my request carefully revised for this work (1874), by my friend, The Rev. Dr. Charles P. Krauth, Vice-Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, and Professor of Theology in the Evangelical Lutheran Seminary, Philadelphia. First English translation by Richard Taverner, London, 1536; recent translations, more or less complete, by S. S. Schmucker (1834): E. Hazelius (1841), Ambrose and Socrates Henkel (1851 and 1854). See Vol. I. § 41, pp. 225 sqq.].)

Text:
Presented to the Invincible Emperor Charles V., Caesar Augustus, at the Diet of Augsburg, Anno Domini 1530.

"I will speak of Thy testimonies also before kings, and will not be ashamed." — Psalms 119, 46.

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Most Invincible Emperor, Cæsar Augustus, Most Clement Master: Inasmuch as Your Imperial Majesty has summoned a Convention of the Empire at Augsburg, to deliberate in regard to aid against the Turk, the most atrocious, the hereditary, and ancient enemy of the Christian name and religion, in what way, to wit, resistance might be made to his rage and assaults, by protracted and perpetual preparation for war: Because, moreover, of dissensions in the matter of our holy religion and Christian faith, and in order that this matter of religion the opinions and judgments of diverse parties may be heard in each other's presence, may be understood and weighed among one another, in mutual charity, meekness, and gentleness, that those things which in the writings on either side have been handled or understood amiss, being laid aside and corrected, these things may be harmonized and brought back to the one simple truth and Christian concord; so that hereafter the one unfeigned and true religion may be embraced and preserved by us, so that as we are subjects and soldiers of the one Christ, so also, in unity and concord, we may live in the one Christian Church: And inasmuch as we, the Elector and Princes, whose names are subscribed, together with others who are conjoined with us, in common with other Electors, and Princes, and States, have been called to the aforenamed Diet,—we have, in order to render most humble obedience to the Imperial Mandate, come early to Augsburg, and, with no desire to boast, would state that we were among the very first to be present.

When, therefore, Your Imperial Majesty, among other things, has also at Augsburg, at the very beginning of these sessions, caused the proposition to be made to the Princes and States of the Empire, that each of the States of the Empire, in virtue of the Imperial Edict, should propose and offer in the German and in the Latin language its opinion and decision; after discussion on Wednesday we replied to Your Imperial Majesty, that on the following Friday we would offer on our part the Articles of our Confession:

Wherefore, in order that we may do homage to the will of Your Imperial Majesty, we now offer in the matter of religion the Confession of our preachers and of ourselves, the doctrine of which, derived from the Holy Scriptures and pure Word of God, they have to this time set forth in our lands, dukedoms, domains, and cities, and have taught in the churches. If the other Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire, should in similar writings, to wit, in Latin and German, according to the aforementioned Imperial proposition, produce their opinions in this matter of religion: we here, in the presence of Your Imperial Majesty, our most Clement Lord, offer ourselves, prepared, in conjunction with the Princes and our friends already designated, to compare views in a kindly manner in regard to mode and ways which may be available, so that, as far as may honorably be done, we may agree, and the matter between us of both parts being peacefully discussed, with no hateful contention, by God's help the dissension may be removed, and brought back to one true accordant religion (as we are all subjects and soldiers under one Christ, so also we ought to confess one Christ, in accordance with the tenor of the decree of Your Imperial Majesty), and all things should be brought back to the truth of God, which with most fervent prayers we beseech God to grant.

But if, as regards the rest of the Electors, Princes, and States, those of the other party, this treatment of the matter of religion, in the manner in which Your Imperial Majesty has wisely thought fit it should be conducted and treated, to wit, with such a mutual presentation of writings and calm conference between us, should not go on, nor be attended by any result; yet shall we leave a clear testimony that in no manner do we evade any thing which can tend to promote Christian concord (any thing which God and a good conscience allow); and this Your Imperial Majesty and the other Electors and States of the Empire, and all who are moved by a sincere love of religion and concern for it, all who are willing to give an equitable hearing in this matter, will kindly gather and understand from the Confession of ourselves and of ours.

Since, moreover, Your Imperial Majesty has not once only, but repeatedly signified to the Electors, Princes, and other States of the Empire; and at the Diet of Spires, which was held in the year of our Lord 1526, caused to be recited and publicly proclaimed, in accordance with the form of Your Imperial instruction and commission given and prescribed: That Your Imperial Majesty in this matter of religion for certain reasons, stated in the name of Your Majesty, was not willing to determine, nor was able to conclude touching any thing, but that Your Imperial Majesty would diligently endeavor to have the Roman Pontiff, in accordance with his office, to assemble a General Council; as also the same matter was more amply set forth a year ago in the last public Convention, which was held at Spires, where through His Highness Ferdinand, King of Bohemia and Hungary, our friend and clement Lord, afterward through the Orator and the Imperial Commissioners, Your Imperial Majesty, among other propositions, caused these to be made: that Your Imperial Majesty had known and pondered the resolution to convene a Council, formed by the Representatives of Your Imperial Majesty in the Empire, and by the Imperial President and Counselors, and by the Legates of other States convened at Ratisbon, and this Your Imperial Majesty also judged that it would be useful to assemble a Council; and because the matters which were to be adjusted at this time between Your Imperial Majesty and the Roman Pontiff were approaching agreement and Christian reconciliation, Your Imperial Majesty did not doubt that, but that the Pope could be induced to summon a General Council: Wherefore Your Imperial Majesty signified that Your Imperial Majesty would endeavor to bring it to pass that the Chief Pontiff, together with Your Imperial Majesty, would consent at the earliest opportunity to issue letters for the convening of such a General Council.

In the event, therefore, that in this matter of religion the differences between us and the other party should not be settled in friendship and love, we here present ourselves before Your Imperial Majesty in all obedience, as we have done before, ready to appear and to defend our cause in such a general, free, and Christian Council, concerning the convening of which there has been concordant action and a determination by agreeing votes on the part of the Electors, Princes, and the other States of the Empire, in all the Imperial Diets which have been held in the reign of Your Imperial Majesty To this Convention of a General Council, as also to Your Imperial Majesty, we have in the due method and legal form before made our protestation and appeal in this greatest and gravest of matters. To which appeal both to Your Imperial Majesty and a Council we still adhere; nor do we intend, nor would it be possible for us to forsake it by this or any other document, unless the matter between us and the other party should, in accordance with the tenor of the latest Imperial citation, be adjusted, settled, and brought to Christian concord, in friendship and love; concerning which appeal we here also make our solemn and public protest.

ARTICLE 1.—Of God.

The churches, with common consent among us, do teach that the decree of the Nicene Synod concerning the unity of the divine essence and of the three persons is true, and without doubt to be believed: to wit, that there is one divine essence which is called and is God, eternal, without body, indivisible [without part], of infinite power, wisdom, goodness, the Creator and Preserver of all things, visible and invisible; and that yet there are three persons of the same essence and power, who also are co-eternal, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. And they use the name of person in that signification in which the ecclesiastical writers [the fathers] have used it in this cause, to signify, not a part or quality in another, but that which properly subsists.

They condemn all heresies which have sprung up against this Article, as the Manichees, who set down two principles, good and evil; in the same manner the Valentinians, Arians, Eunomians, Mohammedans, and all such like. They condemn also the Samosatenes, old and new;5 who, when they earnestly contend that there is but one person, do craftily and wickedly trifle, after the manner of rhetoricians, about the Word and Holy Ghost, that they are not distinct persons, but that the Word signifieth a vocal word, and the Spirit a motion created in things.

ARTICLE 2.—Of Original Sin.

Also they teach that, after Adam's fall, all men begotten after the common course of nature are born with sin; that is, without the fear of God, without trust in him, and with fleshly appetite; and that this disease, or original fault, is truly sin, condemning and bringing eternal death now also upon all that are not born again by baptism and the Holy Spirit.

They condemn the Pelagians, and others, who deny this original fault to be sin indeed; and who, so as to lessen the glory of the merits and benefits of Christ, argue that a man may, by the strength of his own reason, be justified before God.

ARTICLE 3.—Of the Son of God.

Also they teach that the Word, that is, the Son of God, took unto him man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin Mary, so that there are two natures, the divine and the human, inseparably joined together in unity of person; one Christ, true God and true man: who was born of the Virgin Mary, truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, that he might reconcile the Father unto us, and might be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for all actual sins of men.

The same also descended into hell, and truly rose again the third day. Afterward he ascended into the heavens, that he might sit at the right hand of the Father; and reign forever, and have dominion over all creatures; might sanctify those that believe in him, by sending the Holy Spirit into their hearts, who shall rule [sanctify, purify, strengthen], comfort, and quicken them, and shall defend them against the devil, and the power of sin.

The same Christ shall openly come again, to judge the quick and the dead, according as he Apostles' Creed declareth these and other things.

ARTICLE 4.—Of Justification.

Also they teach that men can not be justified [obtain forgiveness of sins and righteousness] before God by their own powers, merits, or works; but are justified freely [of grace] for Christ's sake through faith, when they believe that they are received into favor, and their sins forgiven for Christ's sake, who by his death hath satisfied for our sins. This faith doth God impute for righteousness before him. Rom. iii. and iv.

ARTICLE 5.—Of the Ministry of the Church.

For the obtaining of this faith, the ministry of teaching the Gospel and administering the Sacraments was instituted.

For by the Word and Sacraments, as by instruments, the Holy Spirit is given: who worketh faith, where and when it pleaseth God, in those that hear the Gospel, to wit, that God, not for our merit's sake, but for Christ's sake, doth justify those who believe that they for Christ's sake are received into favor.

They condemn the Anabaptists and others,10 who imagine that the Holy Spirit is given to men without the outward word, through their own preparations and works.

ARTICLE 6.—Of New Obedience.

Also they teach that this faith should bring forth good fruits, and that men ought to do the good works commanded of God, because it is God's will, and not on any confidence of meriting justification before God by their works.

For remission of sins and justification is apprehended by faith, as also the voice of Christ witnesseth: 'When ye have done all these things, say, We are unprofitable servants.'

The same also do the ancient writers of the Church teach; for Ambrose saith: 'This is ordained of God, that he that believeth in Christ shall be saved, without works, by faith alone, freely receiving remission of sins.'

ARTICLE 7.—Of the Church.

Also they teach that one holy Church is to continue forever. But the Church is the congregation of saints [the assembly of all believers], in which the Gospel is Rightly taught [purely preached] and the Sacraments rightly administered [according to the Gospel].

And unto the true unity of the Church, it is sufficient to agree concerning the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments. Nor is it necessary that human traditions, rites, or ceremonies instituted by men should be alike every where, as St. Paul saith: 'There is one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all.'

ARTICLE 8.—What the Church is.

Though the Church be properly the congregation of saints and true believers, yet seeing that in this life many hypocrites and evil persons are mingled with it, it is lawful to use the Sacraments administered by evil men, according to the voice of Christ (Matt. xxiii. 2): 'The Scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat,' and the words following. And the Sacraments and the Word are effectual, by reason of the institution and commandment of Christ, though they be delivered by evil men.

They condemn the Donatists and such like, who denied that it was lawful to use the ministry of evil men in the Church, and held that the ministry of evil men is useless and without effect.

ARTICLE 9.—Of Baptism.

Of Baptism they teach that it is necessary to salvation, and that by Baptism the grace of God is offered, and that children are to be baptised, who by Baptism, being offered to God, are received into God's favour.

They condemn the Anabaptists who allow not the Baptism of children, and affirm that children are saved without Baptism.

ARTICLE 10.—Of the Lord's Supper.

Of the Supper of the Lord they teach that the [true] body and blood of Christ are truly present [under the form of bread and wine], and are [there] communicated to those that eat in the Lord's Supper [and receive]. And they disapprove of those that teach otherwise [wherefore also the opposite doctrine is rejected].

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ARTICLE 11.—Of Confession.

Concerning confession, they teach that private absolution be retained in the churches, though enumeration of all offenses be not necessary in confession. For it is impossible; according to the Psalm: 'Who can understand his errors?"

ARTICLE 12.—Of Repentance.

Touching repentance, they teach that such as have fallen after baptism may find remission of sins, at what time they are converted [whenever they come to repentance], and that the Church should give absolution unto such as return to repentance.

Now repentance consisteth properly of these two parts: One is contrition, or terrors stricken into the conscience through the acknowledgment of sin; the other is faith, which is conceived by the Gospel, or absolution, and doth believe that for Christ's sake sins be forgiven, and comforteth the conscience, and freeth it from terrors. Then should follow good works, which are fruits of repentance.

They condemn the Anabaptists, who deny that men once justified can lose the Spirit of God, and do contend that some men may attain to such a perfection in this life that they can not sin. [Here are rejected those who teach that those who have once been holy can not fall again.] The Novatians are also condemned, who would not absolve such as had fallen after baptism, though they returned to repentance. They also that do not teach that remission of sins is obtained by faith, and who command us to merit grace by satisfactions, are rejected.

ARTICLE 13.—Of the Use of Sacraments.

Concerning the use of the Sacraments, they teach that they were ordained, not only to be marks of profession among men, but rather that they should be signs and testimonies of the will of God towards us, set forth unto us to stir up and confirm faith in such as use them. Therefore men must use Sacraments so as to join faith with them, which believes the promises that are offered and declared unto us by the Sacraments.

Wherefore they condemn those that teach that the Sacraments do justify by the work done, and do not teach that faith which believes the remission of sins is requisite in the use of Sacraments.

ARTICLE 14.—Of Ecclesiastical Orders.

Concerning Ecclesiastical Orders [Church Government], they teach that no man should publicly in the Church teach, or administer the Sacraments, except he be rightly called [without a regular call].

ARTICLE 15.—Of Ecclesiastical Rites.

Concerning Ecclesiastical rites [made by men], they teach that those rites are to be observed which may be observed without sin, and are profitable for tranquility and good order in the Church; such as are set holidays, feasts, and such like. Yet concerning such things, men are to be admonished that consciences are not to be burdened as if such service were necessary to salvation.

They are also to be admonished that human traditions, instituted to propitiate God, to merit grace, and make satisfaction for sins, are opposed to the Gospel and the doctrine of faith. Wherefore vows and traditions concerning foods and days, and such like, instituted to merit grace and make satisfaction for sins, are useless and contrary to the Gospel.

ARTICLE 16.—Of Civil Affairs.

Concerning civil affairs, they teach that such civil ordinances as are lawful are good works of God; that Christians may lawfully bear civil office, sit in judgments, determine matters by the imperial laws, and other laws in present force, appoint just punishments, engage in just war, act as soldiers, make legal bargains and contracts, hold property, take an oath when the magistrates require it, marry a wife, or be given in marriage. They condemn the Anabaptists who forbid Christians these civil offices. They condemn also those that place the perfection of the Gospel, not in the fear of God and in faith, but in forsaking civil offices, inasmuch as the Gospel teacheth an everlasting righteousness of the heart. In the mean time, it doth not disallow order and government of commonwealths or families, but requireth especially the preservation and maintenance thereof, as of God's own ordinances, and that in such ordinances we should exercise love. Christians, therefore, must necessarily obey their magistrates and laws, save only when they command any sin; for then they must rather obey God than men (Acts v. 29).

ARTICLE 17.—Of Christ's Return to Judgement.

Also they teach that, in the consummation of the world [at the last day], Christ shall appear to judge, and shall raise up all the dead, and shall give unto the godly and elect eternal life and everlasting joys; but ungodly men and the devils shall he condemn unto endless torments.

They condemn the Anabaptists who think that to condemned men and the devils shall be an end of torments. They condemn others also, who now scatter Jewish opinions, that, before the resurrection of the dead, the godly shall occupy the kingdom of the world, the wicked being every where suppressed [the saints alone, the pious, shall have a worldly kingdom, and shall exterminate all the godless].

ARTICLE 18.—Of Free Will.

Concerning free will, they teach that man's will hath some liberty to work a civil righteousness, and to choose such things as reason can reach unto; but that it hath no power to work the righteousness of God, or a spiritual righteousness, without the Spirit of God; because that the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God (1 Cor. ii. 14). But this is wrought in the heart when men do receive the Spirit of God through the Word.

These things are in as many words affirmed by St. Augustine, Hypognosticon, lib. iii.: 'We confess that there is in all men a free will, which hath indeed the judgment of reason; not that it is thereby fitted, without God, either to begin or to perform any thing in matters pertaining to God, but only in works belonging to this present life, whether they be good or evil. By good works, I mean those which are of the goodness of nature; as to will to labor in the field, to desire meat or drink, to desire to have a friend, to desire apparel, to desire to build a house, to marry a wife, to nourish cattle, to learn the art of divers good things, to desire any good thing pertaining to this present life; all which are not without God's government, yea, they are, and had their beginning from God and by God. Among evil things, I account such as these: to will to worship an image; to will manslaughter, and such like.'

They condemn the Pelagians and others, who teach that by the powers of nature alone, without the Spirit of God, we are able to love God above all things; also to perform the commandments of God, as touching the substance of our actions. For although nature be able in some sort to do the external works (for it is able to withhold the hands from theft and murder), yet it can not work the inward motions, such as the fear of God, trust in God, chastity, patience, and such like.

ARTICLE 19.—Of the Cause of Sin.

Touching the cause of sin, they teach that, although God doth create and preserve nature, yet the cause of sin is the will of the wicked; to wit, of the devil and ungodly men; which will, God not aiding, turneth itself from God, as Christ saith: 'When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own' (John viii. 44).

ARTICLE 20.—Of Good Works.

Ours are falsely accused of forbidding good works. For their writing extant upon the Ten Commandments, and others of the like argument, do bear witness that they have to good purpose taught concerning every kind of life, and its duties; what kinds of life, and what works in every calling, do please God. Of which things preachers in former times taught little or nothing: only they urged certain childish and needless works; as, keeping of holidays, set fasts; fraternities, pilgrimages, worshiping of saints, the use of rosaries, monkery, and such like things. Whereof our adversaries having had warning, they do now unlearn them, and do not preach concerning these unprofitable works, as they were wont. Besides, they begin now to make mention of faith, concerning which there was formerly a deep silence. They teach that we are not justified by works alone; but they conjoin faith and works, and say we are justified by faith and works. Which doctrine is more tolerable than the former one, and can afford more consolation than their old doctrine.

Whereas, therefore, the doctrine of faith, which should be the chief one in the Church, hath been so long unknown, as all men must needs grant, that there was the deepest silence about the righteousness of faith in their sermons, and that the doctrine of works was usual in the churches; for this cause our divines did thus admonish the churches:

First, that our works can not reconcile God, or deserve remission of sins, grace, and justification at his hands, but that these we obtain by faith only, when we believe that we are received into favor for Christ's sake, who alone is appointed the Mediator and Propitiatory, by whom the Father is reconciled. He, therefore, that trusteth by his works to merit grace, doth despise the merit and grace of Christ, and seeketh by his own power, without Christ, to come unto the Father; whereas Christ hath said expressly of himself, 'I am the way, the truth, and the life' (John xiv. 6).

This doctrine of faith is handled by Paul almost every where: 'By grace ye are saved through faith, and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God, not of works' (Eph. ii. 8, 9). And lest any here should cavil, that we bring in a new-found interpretation, this whole cause is sustained by testimonies of the Fathers. Augustine doth in many volumes defend grace, and the righteousness of faith, against the merit of works. The like doth Ambrose teach in his book, De Vocatione Gentium, and elsewhere; for thus he saith of the calling of the Gentiles: 'The redemption made by the blood of Christ would be of small account, and the prerogative of man's works would not give place to the mercy of God, if the justification which is by grace were due to merits going before; so as it should not be the liberality of the giver, but the wages or hire of the labourer.'

This doctrine, though it be contemned of the unskillful, yet godly and fearful consciences find by experience that it bringeth very great comfort: because that consciences can not be quieted by any works, but by faith alone, when they believe assuredly that they have a God who is propitiated for Christ's sake; as St. Paul teacheth, 'Being justified by faith, we have peace with God' (Rom. v. 1). This doctrine doth wholly belong to the conflict of a troubled conscience; and can not be understood, but where the conscience hath felt that conflict. Wherefore, all such as have had no experience thereof, and all that are profane men, who dream that Christian righteousness is naught else but a civil and philosophical righteousness, are poor judges of this matter.

Formerly men's consciences were vexed with the doctrine of works; they did not hear any comfort out of the Gospel. Whereupon conscience drove some into the desert, into monasteries, hoping there to merit grace by a monastical life. Others devised other works, whereby to merit grace, and to satisfy for sin. There was very great need, therefore, to teach and renew this doctrine of faith in Christ; to the end that fearful consciences might not want comfort, but might know that grace, and forgiveness of sins, and justification, are received by faith in Christ.

Another thing, which we teach men, is that in this place the name of Faith doth not only signify a knowledge of the history, which may be in the wicked, and in the devil, but that is signifieth a faith

Which believeth, not only the history, but also the effect of the history; to wit, the article of remission of sins; namely, that by Christ we have grace, righteousness, and remission of sins. Now he that knoweth that he hath the Father merciful to him through Christ, this man knoweth God truly; he knoweth that God hath a care of him; he loveth God, and calleth upon him; in a word, he is not without God, as the Gentiles are. For the devils and the wicked can never believe this article of the remission of sins; and therefore they hate God as their enemy; they call not upon him, they look for no good thing at his hands. After this manner doth Augustine admonish the reader touching the name of Faith, and teacheth that this word Faith is taken in Scriptures, not for such a knowledge as is in the wicked, but for a trust, which doth comfort and lift up disquieted minds.

Moreover, ours teach that it is necessary to do good works; not that we may trust that we deserve grace by them, but because it is the will of God that we should do them. By faith alone is apprehended remission of sins and grace. And because the Holy Spirit is received by faith, our hearts are now renewed, and so put on new affections, so that they are able to bring forth good works. For thus saith Ambrose: 'Faith is the begetter of a good will and of good actions.' For man's powers, without the Holy Spirit, are full of wicked affections, and are too weak to perform any good deed before God. Besides, they are in the devil's power, who driveth men forward into divers sins, into profane opinions, and into heinous crimes; as was to be seen in the philosophers, who, assaying to live an honest life, could not attain unto it, but were defiled with many heinous crimes. Such is the weakness of man, when he is without faith and the Holy Spirit, and hath no other guide but the natural powers of man.

Hereby every man may se that this doctrine is not to be accused, as forbidding good works; but rather is much to be commended, because it showeth after what sort we must do good works. For without faith the nature of man can by no means perform the works of the First or Second Table. Without faith, it can not call upon God, hope in God, bear the cross; but seeketh help from man, and trusteth in man's help. So it cometh to pass that all lusts and human counsels bear sway in the heart so long as faith and trust in God are absent.

Wherefore, also, Christ saith, 'Without me ye can do nothing' (John xv. 5), and the Church singeth, 'Without thy power is naught in man, naught that is innocent.'

ARTICLE 21.—Of the Worship of Saints.

Touching the worship of saints, they teach that the memory of saints may be set before us, that we may follow their faith and good works according to our calling; as the Emperor may follow David's example in making war to drive away the [Islamic] Turks from his country; for either of them is a king. But the Scripture teacheth not to invocate saints, or to ask help of saints, because it propoundeth unto us one Christ the Mediator, Propitiatory, High-Priest, and Intercessor. This Christ is to be invocated, and he hath promised that he will hear our prayers, and liketh this worship especially, to wit, that he be invocated in all afflictions. 'If any man sin, we have an advocate with God, Jesus Christ the righteous' (1 John ii. 1).

This is about the sum of doctrine among us, in which can be seen that there is nothing which is discrepant with the

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Scriptures, or with the Church Catholic, or even with the Roman Church, so far as that Church is known from writers [the writings of the Fathers]. This being the case, they judge us harshly who insist that we shall be regarded as heretics. But the dissension is concerning certain [traditions and] abuses, which without any certain authority have crept into the churches; in which things, even if there were some difference, yet would it be a becoming lenity on the part of the bishops that, on account of the Confession which we have now presented, they should bear with us, since not even the Canons are so severe as to demand the same rites every where, not were the rites of all churches at any time the same. Although among us in large part the ancient rites are diligently observed. For it is a calumnious falsehood, that all the ceremonies, all the things instituted of old, are abolished in our churches. But the public complaint was that certain abuses were connected with the rites in common use. These, because they could not with good conscience be approved, have to some extent been corrected.

ARTICLES IN WHICH ARE RECOUNTED THE ABUSES WHICH HAVE BEEN CORRECTED.

Inasmuch as the churches among us dissent in no article of faith from [the holy Scriptures, or] the Church Catholic [the Universal Christian Church], and only omit a few of certain abuses, which are novel [in part have crept in with time, in part have been introduced by violence], and, contrary to the purport of the Canons, have been received by the fault of the times, we beg that Your Imperial Majesty would clemently hear both what ought to be changed and what are the reasons that the people ought not to be forced against their consciences to observe those abuses.

Nor should Your Imperial Majesty have faith in those who, that they may inflame the hatred of men against us, scatter amazing slanders among the people. In this way, the mind of good men being angered at the beginning, they gave occasion to this dissension, and by the same art they now endeavor to increase the discords. For beyond doubt your Imperial Majesty will find that the form, both of doctrines and of ceremonies, among us is far more tolerable than that

which these wicked and malicious men describe. The truth, moreover, can not be gathered from common rumors and the reproaches of enemies. But it is easy to judge this, that nothing is more profitable to preserve the dignity of ceremonies and to nurture reverence and piety among the people than that the ceremonies should be rightly performed in the churches.

ARTICLE 22.—Of both Kinds [in the Lord's Supper].

Both kinds of the Sacrament in the Lord's Supper are given to the laity, because that this custom hath the commandment of the Lord: 'Drink ye all of this' (Matt. xxvi. 27); where Christ doth manifestly command concerning the cup that all should drink. And that no man might cavil that this doth only pertain to the priests, the example of Paul to the Corinthians witnesseth that the whole Church did use both kinds in common (1 Cor. xi. 28). And this custom remained a long time in the Church; neither is it certain when or by what authority it was changed; although the Cardinal de Cusa relates when it was approved. [And this custom remained a long time in the churches, as may be proved from history and the writings of the Fathers.] Cyprian in certain places doth witness that the blood was given to the people; the same thing doth Jerome testify, saying, 'The priests do minister the Eucharist, and communicate the blood of Christ to the people.' Nay, Pope Gelasius commandeth that the Sacrament be not divided (Dist. II., De Consecr. Cap. Comperimus). Only a custom, not thus ancient, doth otherwise. But it is manifest that a custom, brought in contrary to the commandments of God, is not to be approved, as the Canons do witness (Dist. VIII., Cap. Veritate) with the words which follow. Now this custom has been received, not only against the Scripture, but also against the ancient Canons and the example of the Church. Therefore if any would rather use both kinds in the Sacrament, they are not to be compelled to do otherwise with the offense of their conscience. And because that the division of the Sacrament doth not agree with the institution of Christ, among us it is the custom to omit that procession which hitherto hath been in use.

ARTICLE 23.—Of the Marriage of Priests.

There was a common complaint of the examples of such priests as were not continent. For which cause Pope Pius is reported to have said, that 'there were certain causes for which marriage was forbidden to priests, but there were many weightier causes why it should be permitted again;' for so Platina writeth. Whereas, therefore, the priests among us seek to avoid these public offenses, they have married wives, and have taught that it is lawful for them to enter into marriage. First, because that Paul saith, 'To avoid fornication, let every man have his wife;' again, 'It is better to marry than to burn' (1 Cor vii. 2, 9). Secondly, Christ saith, 'All men can not receive this word' (Matt. xix. 11); where he showeth that all men are not fit for a single life, because that God created mankind male and female (Gen. i. 28). Nor is it in man's power, without a special gift and work of God, to alter his creation. Therefore such as are not meet for a single life ought to contract marriage. For no law of man, no vow, can take away the commandment of God and his ordinance. By these reasons the priest do prove that they may lawfully take wives. And it is well known that in the ancient churches priests were married. For Paul saith, 'That a bishop must be chosen which is a husband' (1 Tim. iii. 2).

And in Germany, not until about four hundred years ago, were the priests by violence compelled to live a single life; who then were so wholly bent against the mater, that the Archbishop of Mentz, being about to publish the Pope of Rome's decree to that effect, was almost murdered in a tumult by the priests in their anger. And the matter was handled so rudely, that not only were marriages forbidden for the time to come, but also such as were then contracted were broken asunder, contrary to all laws divine and human, contrary to the Canons themselves, that were before made not only by Popes, but also by most famous Councils. And seeing that, as the world decayeth, man's nature by little and little waxeth weaker, it is well to look to it, that no more vices do overspread Germany. Furthermore, God ordained marriage to be a remedy for a man's infirmity. The Canons themselves do say that the old rigor is now and then in latter times to be released because of the weakness of men. Which it were to be wished might be done in this matter also. And if marriage be forbidden any longer, the churches may at length want pastors.

Seeing, then, that there is a plain commandment of God; seeing the use of the Church is well known; seeing that impure single life bringeth forth very many offenses, adulteries, and other enormities worthy to be punished by the godly magistrate, it is a marvel that greater cruelty should be showed in no other thing than against the marriage of priests. God had commanded to honor marriage; the laws in all well-ordered commonwealths, even among the heathen, have adorned marriage with very great honors. But now men are cruelly put to death, yea, and priests also, contrary to the mind of the Canons, for no other cause but marriage. Paul calleth that 'a doctrine of devils' which forbiddeth marriage (1 Tim. iv. 1, 3); which may now very well be seen, since the forbidding of marriage is maintained by such punishments.

But as no law of man can take away the law of God, no more can any vow whatsoever. Therefore Cyprian also giveth counsel, that those women should marry who do not keep their vowed chastity. His words are these, in the 1st Book, the 2d Epistle: 'If they will not or are not able to endure, it is far better they should marry than that they should fall into the fire by their importunate desires. In any wise let them give no offense to their brethren or sisters.'

Yea, even the Canons show some kind of justice towards such as before their ripe years did vow chastity, as hitherto the use hath for the most part been.

ARTICLE 24.—Of the Mass.23

Our churches are wrongfully accused to have abolished the Mass. For the Mass is retained still among us, and celebrated with great reverence; yea, and almost all the ceremonies that are in use, saving that with the things sung in Latin we mingle certain things sung in German at various parts of the service, which are added for the people's instruction. For therefore alone we have need of ceremonies, that they may teach the unlearned.

This is not only commanded by St. Paul, to use a tongue that the people understand (1 Cor. xiv. 9), but man's law hath also appointed it. We accustom the people to receive the Sacrament together, if so be any be found fit thereunto; and that is a thing that doth increase the reverence and due estimation of the public ceremonies. For none are admitted, except they be first proved. Besides, we put men in

mind of the worthiness and use of the Sacrament, how great comfort it bringeth to timid consciences; that they may learn to believe God, and to look for and crave all good things at his hands.

This worship doth please God; such a use of the Sacrament doth nourish piety towards God. Therefore it seemeth not that Masses be more religiously celebrated among our adversaries than with us.

But it is evident that of long time this hath been the public and most grievous complaint of all good men, that Masses are basely profaned, being used for gain. And it is not unknown how far this abuse hath spread itself in all churches; of what manner of men Masses are used, only for a reward, or for wages; and how many do use them against the prohibition of the Canons. But Paul doth grievously threaten those who treat the Lord's Supper unworthily, saying, 'He that eateth this bread or drinketh this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord' (1 Cor. xi. 27). Therefore, when the priests among us were admonished of this sin, private Masses were laid aside among us, seeing that for the most part there were no private Masses but only for lucre's sake. Neither were the bishops ignorant of these abuses, and if they had amended them in time, there had now been less of dissensions. Heretofore, by their dissembling, they suffered much corruption to creep into the Church; now they begin, though it be late, to complain of the calamities of the Church; seeing that this tumult was raised up by no other mean than by those abuses, which were so evident that they could no longer be tolerated. There were many dissensions, concerning the Mass, concerning the Sacrament. And perhaps the world is punished for so long a profaning of Masses, which they, who both could and ought to have amended it, have so many years tolerated in the churches. For in the Ten Commandments it is written, 'He that taketh in vain the name of the Lord shall not be held guiltless' (Exod. xx. 7). And from the beginning of the world there neither was nor is any divine thing which seems so to have been employed for gain as the Mass.

There was added an opinion, which increased private Masses infinitely: to wit, that Christ by his passion did satisfy for original sin, and appointed the Mass, wherein an oblation should be made for daily sins, both mortal and venial. Hereupon a common opinion was received, that the Mass is a work that taketh away the sins of the quick and the dead, and that for the doing of the work. Here men began to dispute whether one Mass said for many were of as great force as particular Masses said for particular men. This disputation hath brought forth that infinite multitude of Masses. Our preachers have admonished concerning these opinions that they do depart from the holy Scriptures, and diminish the glory of the passion of Christ. For the passion of Christ was an oblation and satisfaction, not only for original sin, but also for all other sins; as it is written in the Epistle to the Hebrews (x. 10): 'We are sanctified by the oblation of Jesus Christ once made;' also, 'By one oblation he hath perfected forever them that are sanctified' (Heb. x. 14). The Scripture also teacheth that we are justified before God through faith in Christ, when we believe that our sins are forgiven for Christ's sake. Now, if the Mass do take away the sins of the quick and the dead, even for the work's sake that is done, then justification cometh by the work of Masses, and not by faith; which the Scripture can not endure. But Christ commandeth us 'to do it in remembrance of himself' (Luke xxii. 19), therefore the Mass has been instituted that faith in them which use the Sacrament may remember what benefits it receiveth by Christ, and that it may raise and comfort the fearful conscience. For this is to remember Christ, to wit, to remember his benefits, and to feel and perceive that they be indeed imparted unto us. Nor is it sufficient to call to mind the history; because that the Jews also and the wicked can do. Therefore the Mass must be used to this end, that there the Sacrament may be reached unto them that have need of comfort as Ambrose saith, 'Because I do always sin, therefore I ought always to receive the medicine.'

And seeing that the Mass is such a communion of the Sacrament, we do observe one common Mass every holy day, and on other days, if any will use the Sacrament, at which times it is offered to them that desire it. Neither is this custom newly brought into the Church. For the ancients, before Gregory's time, make no mention of any private Mass; of the common Mass they speak much. Chrysostom saith that 'the priest doth daily stand at the altar, and call some unto the Communion, and put back others.' And by the ancient Canons I is evident that some one did celebrate the Mass, of whom the other elders and deacons did receive the body of the Lord. And Paul, concerning the Communion, commandeth, 'that one tarry for another' (1 Cor. xi. 33), that so there may be a common participation.

Seeing, therefore, that the Mass amongst us hath the example of the Church, out of the Scripture, and the Fathers, we trust that it can not be disapproved; especially since our public ceremonies are kept, the most part, like unto the usual ceremonies; only the number of Masses is not alike, the which, by reason of very great and manifest abuses, it were certainly far better to be moderated. For in times past also, in the churches whereunto was greatest resort, it was not the use to have Mass said every day, as the Tripartite History, lib. ix. cap. 38, doth witness. 'Again,' saith it, 'in Alexandria, every fourth and sixth day of the week, the Scriptures are read, and the doctors do interpret them; and all other things are done also, expect only the celebration of the Eucharist.'

ARTICLE 25.—Of Confession.

Confession is not abolished in our churches. For it is not usual to communicate the body of our Lord, except to those who have been previously examined and absolved. And the people are taught most carefully concerning the faith required to absolution, about which before these times there has been a deep silence. Men are taught that they should highly regard absolution, inasmuch as it is God's voice, and pronounced by God's command.

The power of the keys is honored, and mention is made how great consolation it brings to terrified consciences, and the God requires faith that we believe that absolution as a voice sounding from heaven, and that this faith in Christ truly obtains and receives remission of sins.

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Aforetime satisfactions were immoderately extolled; of faith, and the merit of Christ, and justification by faith, no mention was made. Wherefore on this point our churches are by no means to be blamed. For this even our adversaries are compelled to concede in regard to us, that the doctrine of repentance is most diligently treated and laid open by us.

But of Confession our churches teach that the enumeration of sins is not necessary, nor are consciences to be burdened with the care of enumerating all sins, inasmuch as it is impossible to recount all sins, as the Psalm (xix. 12) testifies: 'Who can understand his errors?' So also Jeremiah (xvii. 9): 'The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked. Who can know it?' But if no sins were remitted except what were recounted, consciences could never find peace, because very many sins they neither see nor can remember.

The ancient writers also testify that the enumeration is not necessary. For in the Decrees Chrysostom is cited, who speaks thus: 'I do not say to thee that thou shouldst discover thyself in public, or accuse thyself before others, but I would have thee obey the prophet when he says: "Reveal thy way unto the Lord." Therefore with prayer confess thy sins before God the true Judge. Pronounce thine errors, not with the tongue, but with the memory of thy conscience.' And the Gloss (Of Repentance, Dist. V., Chap. Consideret), admits that Confession is of human right only [is not commanded in Scripture, but has been instituted by the Church].

Nevertheless, on account of the very great benefit of absolution, as well as for other uses to the conscience, Confession is retained among us.

ARTICLE 26.—Of the Distinction of Meats, and of Traditions.

It hath been a general opinion, not of the people alone, but also of such as are teachers in the churches, that the differences of meats, and such like human traditions, are works available to merit grace, and are satisfactions for sins. And that the world thus thought is apparent by this—that daily new ceremonies, new orders, new holidays, new fasts, were appointed; and the teachers in the churches did exact these works as a service necessary to deserve grace; and they did greatly terrify men's consciences, if aught were omitted.

Of this persuasion concerning traditions many disadvantages have followed in the Church. For first the doctrine of grace is obscured by it, and also the righteousness of faith, which is the principal part of the Gospel, and which it behooveth most of all to stand forth and to have the pre-eminence in the Church, that the merit of Christ may be well known, and faith, which believeth that sins are remitted for Christ's sake, may be exalted far above works. For which cause also Paul lays much stress on this point: he removeth the law and human traditions, that he may show that the righteousness of Christ is a far other thing than such works as these be, namely, a faith, which believeth that sins are freely remitted for Christ's sake. But this doctrine of Paul is almost wholly smothered by traditions, which have bred an opinion, that, by making difference in meats, and such like services, a man should merit grace and justification. In their doctrine of repentance there was no mention of faith; only these works of satisfaction were spoken of: repentance seemed to consist wholly in these.

Secondly, these traditions obscured the commandments of God, because traditions were preferred far above the commandments of God. All Christianity was thought to be an observation of certain holidays, rites, fasts, and attire. These observations were in possession of a most goodly title, that they were the spiritual life and the perfect life. In the mean time God's commandments, touching every man's calling, were of small estimation: that the father brought up his children, that the mother nurtured them, that the prince governed the commonwealth. These were reputed worldly affairs, and imperfect, and far inferior to those glittering observances. And this error did greatly torment pious consciences, which were grieved that they were held by an imperfect kind of life, in marriage, in magistracy, or in other civil functions. They had the monks, and such like, in admiration, and falsely imagined that the observances of these men were more grateful to God than their own.

Thirdly, traditions brought great danger to men's consciences, because it was impossible to keep all traditions, and yet men thought the observation of them to be necessary services. Gerson writeth that 'many fell into despair, and some murdered themselves, because they perceived that they could not keep the traditions;' and all this while they never heard the comfort of the righteousness of faith, or of grace. We see the Summists and Divines gather together the traditions, and seek qualifications of them, to unburden men's consciences; and yet all will not serve, but meantime they bring more snares upon the conscience. The schools and pulpits have been so busied in gathering together the traditions, that they had not leisure to touch the Scripture, and to seek out a more profitable doctrine—of faith, of the cross, of hope, of the dignity of civil affairs, of the comfort of conscience in arduous trials. Wherefore Gerson and some other Divines have made grievous complaints, that they were hindered by these strifes about traditions, so that they could not be occupied in some better kind of doctrine. And Augustine forbiddeth that men's consciences should be burdened with observations of this kind, and doth very prudently warn Januarius to know that they are to be observed as things indifferent; for he so speaketh.

Wherefore our ministers must not be thought to have touched this matter rashly, or from hatred of the bishops, as some do falsely surmise. There was great need to admonish the churches of those errors, which did arise from mistaking of traditions; for the Gospel compelleth men to urge the doctrine of grace and of the righteousness of faith in the Church; which yet can never be understood if men suppose that they can merit remission of sins and justification by observances of their own choice. Thus, therefore, they teach us that we can not merit grace or justification by the observation of man's traditions; and therefore we must not think that such observations are necessary service.

Hereunto they add testimonies out of the Scriptures. Christ excuseth his Apostles who kept not the received tradition (which yet seemed to be about a matter not unlawful, but indifferent, and to have some affinity with the baptisms of the law), and saith, 'They worship me in vain with the commandments of men' (Matt. xv. 9). Christ, therefore, exacteth no unprofitable service. And a little after, he addeth: 'Whatsoever entereth in at the mouth defileth not the man' (ver. 11). So also (Paul): 'The kingdom of God is not meat and drink' (Rom. xv. 17). 'Let no man judge you in meat or drink, or in respect of the Sabbath-days, or of a holiday' (Col. ii. 16). Again: 'If ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though ye lived in the world, are ye subject to traditions: Touch not, taste not, handle not?' (ver. 20, 21).

Peter saith, 'Why tempt ye God, laying a yoke upon the necks of the disciples, which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear? But we believe that through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ we shall be saved, even as they' (Acts xv. 10, 11). Here Peter forbiddeth to burden the consciences with many rites, whether they be of Moses' or of any others' appointing. And he (Paul) calleth the forbidding of meats 'a doctrine of devils' (1 Tim. iv. 1), because that it is against the Gospel to appoint or do such works, to the end that by them we may merit grace or justification, or as though Christianity could not exist without such service.

Here our adversaries object against us, that our ministers hinder all good discipline and mortification of the flesh, as Jovinian did. But the contrary may be seen by our men's writings. For they have always taught, touching the cross, that Christians ought to bear afflictions. This is the true, earnest, and unfeigned mortification, to be exercised with divers afflictions, and to be crucified with Christ. Moreover they teach that every Christian must so by bodily discipline, or bodily exercises and labor, exercise and keep himself under, that plenty and sloth do not stimulate him to sin; not that he may by such exercises merit grace, or satisfy for sins. And this corporal discipline should be used always, not only on a few and set days; according to the commandment of Christ: 'Take heed lest your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting' (Luke xxi. 34). Again: 'This kind (of devils) goeth not out but by prayer and fasting' (Matt. xvii. 21). And Paul saith, 'I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection' (1 Cor. ix. 27), where he plainly showeth that he did therefore chastise his body; not that by that discipline he might merit remission of sins, but that his body might be apt and fit for spiritual things, and to do his duty according to his calling. Therefore we do not condemn fasts themselves, but the traditions which prescribe certain days and certain meats, with danger to the conscience, as though such works as these were a necessary service.

Yet most of the traditions are observed among us which tend unto this end, that things may be done orderly in the Church; as, namely, the order of Lessons in the Mass and the chiefest holidays. But, in the mean time, men are admonished that such a service doth not justify before God, and that it is not to be supposed there is sin in such things, if they be left undone, without scandal. This liberty in human rites and ceremonies was not unknown to the Fathers. For in the East they kept Easter at another time than they did in Rome; and when they of Rome accused the East of schism for this diversity, they were admonished by others that such customs need not be alike every where. And Irenæus saith: 'The disagreement about fasting doth not break off the agreement of faith.' Besides, Pope Gregory, in the 12th Distinction, intimates that such diversity doth not hurt the unity of the Church; and in the Tripartite History, lib. 9, many examples of dissimilar rites are gathered together, and these words are there rehearsed: 'The mind of the Apostles was, not to give precepts concerning holidays, but to preach godliness and a holy life [faith and love].'

ARTICLE 27.—Of Monastic Vows.

What is taught among us touching the Vows of Monks will be better understood if one call to mind what was the state of monasteries, and how many things were every day committed in the monasteries contrary to the Canons. In Augustine's time cloister-fraternities were free; but afterwards, when discipline was corrupted, vows were every where laid upon them, that, as it were in a newly devised prison, the discipline might be restored again.

Over and besides vows, many other observances by little and little were added. And these bands and snares were cast upon many, before they came to ripe years, contrary to the Canons.

Many through error fell into this kind of life unawares, who, though they wanted not years, yet they wanted discretion to judge of their strength and ability. They who were once got within these nets were constrained to abide in them, though, by the benefit of the Canons, some might be set at liberty. And that fell out rather in the monasteries of nuns than of monks; although the weaker sex ought more to have been spared.

This rigour and severity displeased many good men heretofore, when they saw young maids and young men thrust into monasteries, there to get their living. They saw what an unhappy issue this counsel had, what offenses it bred, and what snares it laid upon consciences. They were grieved that the authority of the Canons was wholly neglected and contemned in a thing most dangerous.

To all these evils there was added such a persuasion concerning vows, as, it is well known, did in former times displease the monks themselves, if any of them were somewhat wiser than the rest. They taught that vows were equal to baptism; they taught that by this kind of life they merited remission of sins and justification before God; yea, they added that the monk's life did not only merit righteousness before God, but more than that, because it observed not only the commandments, but also the counsels of the Gospel. And thus they taught that the monk's profession was better than baptism; that the monk's life did merit more than the life of magistrates, of pastors, and such like, who, in obedience to God's commandment, followed their calling without any such religions of man's making.

None of these things can be denied: they are to be seen in their writings.

What occurred afterwards in the monasteries? In old time they were schools for the study of sacred letters, and other branches of knowledge, which were profitable to the Church; and thence were pastors and bishops taken: but now the case is altered. It is needless to rehearse what is notorious. In old time they came together into such places to learn; but now they feign that it is a kind of life taken up to merit remission of sins and justification; yea, they say it is a state of perfection, and prefer it to all other kinds of life, the kinds that God ordained.

We have therefore mentioned these things, not to excite odium, exaggerating nothing, to the end that the doctrine of our churches touching this matter might be understood.

First, concerning such as contract marriage, thus they teach among us: that it is lawful for any to marry that are not adapted for a single life; forasmuch as vows can not take away God's ordinance and commandment. The commandment of God is, 'To avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife' (1 Cor. vii. 2). And not only the commandment, but also the creation and ordinance of God, compelleth such unto marriage as without the special work of God are not exempted; according to that saying, 'It is not good for man to be alone' (Gen. ii. 18). They, therefore, that are obedient to this commandment and ordinance of God do not sin.

What can be said against these things? Let a man exaggerate the bond of a vow as much as he will, yet can he never bring to pass that the vow shall take away God's commandment. The Canons teach, 'that in every vow the right of the superior is excepted:' much less, therefore, can these vows, which are contrary to God's commandment, be of force.

If so be that the obligation of vows has no causes why it might be changed, then could not the Roman Pontiffs have dispensed therewith. For neither is it lawful for man to disannul that bond which doth simply belong to the law of God. But the Roman Pontiffs have judged very prudently, that in this obligation there must equity be used; therefore they often, as we read, have dispensed with vows. The history of the King of Arragon, being called back out of a monastery, is well known; and there are examples in our own time.

Secondly, why do our adversaries exaggerate the obligation or the effect of the vow; when in the mean time they speak not a word of the very nature of a vow, that it ought to be in a thing possible, ought to be voluntary, and taken up of a man's own accord, and with deliberation? But it is not unknown how far perpetual chastity is in the power of a man. And how many a one amongst them is there that doth vow of his own accord and well advised? Maidens and youths, before they know how to judge, are persuaded, yea, sometimes also compelled to vow.

Wherefore it is not meet to dispute so rigorously of the obligation, seeing that all men confess that it is against the nature of a vow, that it is not done of a man's own accord, nor advisedly.

The Canons for the most part disannul vows which are made before fifteen years of age; because that before one come to that age there seemeth not to be so much judgment that determination may be made concerning a perpetual life. Another Canon, permitting more to the weakness of men,

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doth add some years more; for it forbiddeth a vow to be made before one be eighteen years of age. But which of these shall we follow? The greatest part have this excuse for forsaking monasteries, because most of them vowed before they came to this age.

Last of all, even though the breaking of a vow were to be reprehended, yet it seems not to follow directly that the marriages of such persons are to be dissolved. For Augustine, in his 27th quest. 1st chap. Of Marriages, doth deny that they ought to be dissolved; and his authority is not lightly to be esteemed, although others afterwards have thought otherwise.

And although the commandment of God touching wedlock doth free most men from vows; yet our teachers do also bring another reason concerning vows, to show that they are void: because that all the worship of God, instituted of men without the commandment of God, and chosen to merit remission of sins and justification, is wicked; as Christ saith: 'In vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men' (Matt. xv. 9). And Paul doth every where teach that righteousness is not to be sought of our own observances, and services which are devised by men; but that it cometh by faith to those that believe that they are received into favour by God for Christ's sake.

But it is evident that the monks did teach that these counterfeited religions satisfy for sins, and merit grace and justification. What else is this than to detract from the glory of Christ, and to obscure and deny the righteousness of faith? Wherefore it followeth that these common vows were wicked services, and are therefore void. For a wicked vow, and that which is made against the commandments of God, is one of no force; neither, as the Canon saith, ought a vow to be a bond of iniquity.

Paul saith, 'Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the law; ye are fallen from grace' (Gal. v. 4). They, therefore, who wish to be justified by vows, are made void of Christ, and fall from grace. For they also who attribute justification to their vows, attribute to their own works what properly belongs to the glory of Christ. Nor truly can it be denied that the monks taught that they are justified by their vows and observances, and merit the remission of sins; nay, they invented yet greater absurdities, and said they could transfer their good works to others. If any man wished to expand these things, so as to excite odium, how many things might he rehearse whereof the monks themselves are now ashamed!

Moreover, they would persuade men that these invented religious orders are a state of Christian perfection. Or is this not attributing justification to works? It is no light offense in the Church to propound unto the people a certain service devised by men, without the commandment of God, and to teach that such a service doth justify men; because that the righteousness of faith, which ought especially to be taught in the Church, is obscured when those marvelous religions of angels, the pretense of poverty and humility, and of celibacy, are cast before men's eyes.

Moreover, the commandments of God, and the true worship of God, are obscured when men hear that monks alone are in that state of perfection; because that Christian perfection is this, to bear God sincerely, and again, to conceive great faith, and to trust assuredly that God is pacified towards us, for Christ's sake; to ask, and certainly to look for, help from God in all our affairs, according to our calling; and outwardly to do good works diligently, and to attend to our vocation. In these things doth true perfection and the true worship of God consist: it doth not consist in singleness of life, in beggary, or in vile apparel.

The people doth also conceive many pernicious opinions from these false commendations of the monastic life. They hear celibacy praised above measure; therefore with offense of conscience they live in marriage. They hear that mendicants only are perfect; therefore with offense of conscience they keep their possessions, and buy and sell. They hear that the Gospel only giveth counsel not to take revenge; therefore some in private life are not afraid to avenge themselves; for they hear that it is a counsel, not a commandment. Others do think that all magistracy and civil offices are unworthy of Christian men.

We read examples of men who, forsaking wedlock, and leaving the government of the commonwealth, have hid themselves in monasteries. This they called flying out of the world, and seeking a kind of life which is more acceptable to God: neither did they see that God is to be served in those commandments which he himself hath delivered, not in the commandments which are devised by men. That is a good and perfect kind of life which hath the commandment of God for it. It is necessary to admonish men of these things. And before these times Gerson did reprehend this error of the monks concerning perfection; and witnesseth, that in his time this was a new saying, that the monastical life is a state of perfection.

Thus many wicked opinions do cleave fast unto vows: as that they merit remission of sins and justification, that they are Christian perfection, that they do keep the counsels and commandments, that they have works of supererogation. All these things (seeing they be false and vain) do make vows to be of none effect.

ARTICLE 28.—Of Ecclesiastical Power.

There have been great controversies touching the power of Bishops; in which many have incommodiously mingled together the Ecclesiastical power and the power of the sword.

And out of this confusion there have sprung very great wars and tumults, while that the Pontiffs, trusting in the power of the keys, have not only appointed new kinds of service, and burdened men's consciences by reserving of cases, and by violent excommunications; but have also endeavored to transfer worldly kingdoms from one to another, and to despoil emperors of their power and authority.

These faults did godly and learned men long since reprehend in the Church; and for that cause our teachers were compelled, for the comfort of men's consciences, to show the difference between the ecclesiastical power and the power of the sword. And they have taught that both of them, because of God's commandment, are dutifully to be reverenced and honoured, as the chiefest blessings of God upon earth.

Now their judgement is this: that the power of the keys, or the power of the Bishops, by the rule of the Gospel, is a power or commandment from God, of preaching the Gospel, of remitting or retaining sins, and of administering the Sacraments.

For Christ doth send his Apostles with this charge: 'As the Father hath sent me, even so send I you. Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained' (John xx. 21–23). 'Go and preach the Gospel to every creature,' etc. (Mark xvi. 15).

This power is put in execution only by teaching or preaching the Word and administering the Sacraments, either to many or to single individuals, in accordance with their call. For thereby not corporal things, but eternal, are granted; as an eternal righteousness, the Holy Ghost, life everlasting. These things can not be got but by the ministry of the Word and of the Sacraments, as Paul saith, 'The Gospel is the power of God to salvation to every one that believeth' (Rom. i. 16).

Seeing, then, that the ecclesiastical power concerneth things eternal, and is exercised only by the ministry of the Word, it hindereth not the political government any more than the art of singing hinders political government. For the political administration is occupied about other matters than is the Gospel. The magistracy defends not the minds, but the bodies, and bodily things, against manifest injuries; and coerces men by the sword and corporal punishments, that it may uphold civil justice and peace.

Wherefore the ecclesiastical and civil powers are not to be confounded. The ecclesiastical power hath its own commandment to preach the Gospel and administer the Sacraments. Let it not by force enter into the office of another; let it not transfer worldly kingdoms; let it not abrogate the magistrates' laws; let it not withdraw from them lawful obedience; let it not hinder judgments toughing any civil ordinances or contracts; let it not prescribe laws to the magistrate touching the form of the republic; as Christ saith, 'My kingdom is not of this world' (John xviii. 36). Again, 'Who made me a judge or a divider over you?' (Luke xii. 14). And Paul saith, 'Our conversation [citizenship] is in heaven' (Phil. iii. 20). 'The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but might through God, casting down imaginations,' etc. (2 Cor. x. 4). In this way do our teachers distinguish between the duties of each power one from the other, and do warn all men to honor both powers, and to acknowledge both to be the [highest] gift and blessing of God.

If so be that the Bishops have any power of the sword, they have it not as Bishops by the commandment of the Gospel, but by man's law given unto them of kings and emperors, for the civil government of their goods. This, however, is a kind of function diverse from the ministry of the gospel.

Therefore, when the question touches the jurisdiction of Bishops, government must be distinguished from ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Again, by the Gospel, or, as they term it, by divine right, Bishops, as Bishops—that is, those who have the administration of the Word and Sacraments committed to them—have no other jurisdiction at all, but only to remit sin, also to take cognisance of [to judge in regard to] doctrine, and to reject doctrine inconsistent with the Gospel, and to exclude from the communion of the Church, without human force, but by the Word [of God], those whose wickedness is known. And herein of necessity the churches ought by divine right to render obedience unto them; according to the saying of Christ, 'He that heareth you heareth me' (Luke x. 16).

But when they teach or determine any thing contrary to the Gospel, then have the churches a commandment of God, which forbiddeth obedience to them: 'Beware of false prophets' (Matt. vii. 15). 'If an angel from heaven preach any other Gospel, let him be accursed' (Gal. i. 8). 'We can not do any thing against the truth, but for the truth' (2 Cor. xiii. 8). Also, 'This power is given us to edify, and not to destroy' (2 Cor. xiii. 10). So do the Canons command (II. Quæst. 7, Cap. Sacerdotes, and Cap. Oves). And Augustine, in his Treatise against Petilian's Epistle, saith, 'Neither must we subscribe to Catholic Bishops, if they chance to err, or determine any thing contrary to the canonical divine Scriptures.'

If so be that they have any other power or jurisdiction, in hearing and understanding certain cases, as namely, of Matrimony, and Tithes, etc., they hold it by human right. But when the ordinaries fail [to attend to this office], princes are constrained, whether they wish to do so or not, to declare the law to their subjects, for maintaining of peace.

Besides these things, there is a controversy whether Bishops or Pastors have power to institute ceremonies in the Church, and to make laws concerning meats, and holidays, and degrees, or orders of ministers, etc. They that ascribe this power to the Bishops allege this testimony for it: 'I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye can not bear them now; but when that Spirit of truth shall come, he shall teach you all truth' (John xvi 12, 13). They allege also the examples of the Apostles, who commanded to abstain from blood, and that which was strangled (Acts xv. 29). They allege the change of the Sabbath into the Lord's day, contrary, as it seemeth, to the Decalogue; and they have no example more in their mouths than the change of the Sabbath. They will needs have the Church's power to be very great, because it hath dispensed with a precept of the Decalogue.

Sed de hac quæstione nostri sic docent, quod Episcopi non habent poststatem statuendi aliquid contra Evangelium, ut supra ostensum est, docent idem Canones IX. Distinct. Porro contra Scripturam est, traditiones condere aut exigere, ut per eam observationem satis faciamus pro peccatis, aut mereamur gratiam et justitiam. Leditur enim Gloria meriti Christi, cum talibus observationibus conamur mereri justificationem. Constat autem propter hanc persuasionem, in Ecclesia pene in infinitum crevisse traditiones, oppressa interim doctrina de fide

But of this question ours do thus teach: that the Bishops have no power to ordain any thing contrary to the Gospel, as was showed before. The same also do the Canons teach: Distinct. 9. Moreover, it is against the Scripture to ordain or require the observation of any traditions, to the end that we may merit remission of sins, and satisfy for sins by them. For the glory of Christ's merit suffers when we seek by such observances to merit justification. And it is very apparent, that through this persuasion traditions grew into an infinite number in the Church. In the mean while, the doctrine concerning faith, and the righteousness of faith, was quite suppressed, for thereupon there were new holidays made, new fasts appointed, new ceremonies, new worships for saints, instituted; because that the authors of such things supposed by these works to merit grace. After the same manner heretofore did the Penitential Canons increase, whereof we still see some traces in satisfactions.

Moreover, the authors of traditions do contrary to the command of God when they find matters of sin in foods, in days, and like things, and burden the Church with the servitude of the law, as if there ought to be among Christians, in order to merit justification, a service like the Levitical, the ordination of which God has committed to the Apostles and Bishops. For this some of them write, and the Pontiffs in some measure seem to be misled by the example of the Law of Moses. From hence are those burdens, that it is mortal sin, even without offense to others, to do manual labor on the festivals, that it is a mortal sin to omit the Canonical Hours, that certain foods defile the conscience, that fastings are works which appease God; that sin, in a reserved case, can not be pardoned, but by the authority of him that reserved it: whereas the Canons speak only of reserving of ecclesiastical penalty, and not of the reserving of the fault.

Whence, then, have the Bishops power and authority of imposing these traditions upon the churches, for the ensnaring of men's consciences, when Peter forbids (Acts xv. 10) 'to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples,' and St. Paul says (2 Cor. xiii. 10) that the power given him was to edification, not to destruction? Why, therefore do they increase sins by these traditions?

For there are divers clear testimonies which prohibit the making of such traditions, either to merit grace, or as things necessary to salvation. Paul saith to the Colossians, 'Let no man judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a holiday, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath days' (Col. ii. 16). Again, 'If ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances (Touch not, taste not, handle not; which all are to perish with the using) after the commandments and doctrines of men? Which things indeed have a show of wisdom' (Col. ii. 20–23). And to Titus he doth plainly forbid traditions; for he saith, 'Not giving heed to Jewish fables, and to commandments of men, that turn from the truth' (Tit. i. 14). And Christ saith of them which urge traditions, 'Let them alone; they be blind leaders of the blind' (Matt. xv. 14). And he condemneth such services: 'Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up' (ver. 13).

If Bishops have authority to burden the churches with innumerable traditions, and to snare men's consciences, why doth the Scripture so oft forbid to make and to listen to

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traditions? Why doth it call them the doctrines of devils? (1 Tim. iv. 1.) Hath the Holy Ghost warned us of them to no purpose?

It remaineth, then, that (seeing ordinances, instituted as necessary, or with the opinion of meriting grace, are repugnant to the Gospel) it is not lawful for any Bishops to institute or exact such worship. For it is necessary that the doctrine of Christian liberty should be maintained in the church [Christendom]: that the bondage of the law is not necessary unto justification, as it is written to the Galatians: 'Be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage' (Gal. v. 1). It necessary that the chiefest point of all the Gospel should be holden fast, that we do freely obtain grace, by faith in Christ, not because of certain observances, or of services devised by men.

What is, then to be thought of the Lord's day, and of like rites of temples? Hereunto they [ours] answer, that it is lawful for Bishops or Pastors to make ordinances, whereby things may be done in order in the Church; not that by them we may merit grace, or satisfy for sins, or that men's consciences should be bound to esteem them as necessary services, and think that they sin when they violate them, without the offense of others. So Paul ordained, 'that women should cover their heads in the congregation' (1 Cor. xi. 6); 'that the interpreters of Scriptures should be heard in order in the Church' (1 Cor. xiv. 27), etc.

Such ordinances it behooveth the churches to keep for charity and quietness' sake, so that one offend not another, that all things may be done in order, and without tumult in the churches (1 Cor. xiv. 40 and Phil. ii. 14), but so that consciences be not burdened, so as to account them as things necessary to salvation, and think they sin when they violate them, without offense of others; as no one would say that a woman sins if she went into public with her head uncovered, provided it were without the offence of men.

Such is the observation of the Lord's day, of Easter, of Pentecost, and like holidays and rites. For they that think that the observation of the Lord's day was appointed by the authority of the Church, instead of the Sabbath, as necessary, are greatly deceived. The Scripture, which teacheth that all the Mosaical ceremonies can be omitted after the Gospel is revealed, has abrogated the Sabbath. And yet, because it was requisite to appoint a certain day, that the people might know when they ought to come together, it appears that the [Christian] Church did for that purpose appoint the Lord's day: which for this cause also seemed to have been pleasing, that men might have an example of Christian liberty, and might know that the observation, neither of the Sabbath, nor of another day, was of necessity.

There are certain marvelous disputations touching the changing of the law, and the ceremonies of the new law, and the change of the Sabbath: which all arose from the false persuasion, that there should be a service in the Church, like to the Levitical; and that Christ committed to the Apostles and Bishops the devising new ceremonies, which should be necessary to salvation. These errors crept into the Church, when the righteousness of faith was not plainly enough taught. Some dispute that the observation of the Lord's day is not indeed of the law of God, but as it were of the law of God; and touching holidays, they prescribe how far it is lawful to work in them. What else are such disputations but snares for men's consciences? For though they seek to moderate traditions, yet the equity of them can never be perceived so long as the opinion of necessity remaineth; which must needs remain, where the righteousness of faith and Christian liberty are not know.

The Apostles commanded 'to abstain from blood' (Acts xv. 20). Who observeth that nowadays? And yet they do not sin that observe it not. For the Apostles themselves would not burden men's consciences with such a servitude; but they forbade it for a time, because of scandal. For in the decree, the will of the Gospel is always to be considered

Scarcely any canons are precisely kept; and many grow out of use daily, yea, even among them that do most busily defend traditions. Neither can there be sufficient care had of men's consciences, except this equity be kept, that men should know that such rites are not to be observed with any opinion of necessity, and that men's consciences are not hurt, though traditions grow out of use.

The Bishops might easily retain lawful obedience, if they would not urge men to observe such traditions as can not be kept with a good conscience. Now they command single life; and they admit none, except they will swear not to teach the pure doctrine of the Gospel. The churches do not desire of the Bishops that they would repair peace and concord with the loss of their honor (which yet good pastors ought to do): they only desire that they would remit unjust burdens, which are both new and received contrary to the custom of the Catholic [Christian Universal] Church. It may well be that some constitutions had some probable reasons when they began, which yet will not agree to latter times. It is evident that some were received through error. Wherefore it were a matter for the pontifical gentleness to mitigate them now; for such a change would not overthrow the unity of the Church. For many human traditions have been changed in time, as the Canons themselves declare. But if it can not be obtained that those observances may be relaxed which can not be kept without sin, then must we follow the Apostles' rule, which willeth 'to obey God rather than men' (Acts v. 29).

Peter forbiddeth Bishops to be lords, and to be imperious over the churches (1 Pet. v. 3). Now our meaning is not to have rule taken from the Bishops; but this one thing only is requested at their hands, that they would suffer the Gospel to be purely taught, and that they would relax a few observances, which can not be held without sin. But if they will remit none, let them look how they will give account to God for this, that by their obstinacy they afford cause of schism [division and schism, which it were yet fit they should aid in avoiding].

Conclusion.

These are the principal articles which seem to be matters of controversy. For although we might speak of more abuses, yet that we may avoid undue length we have embraced a few, whereby it is easy to judge of the others. Great have been the complaints about indulgences, about pilgrimages, about the abuse of

The parishes have been vexed in manifold ways by the stationarii. Endless contentions have arisen between the pastors and the monks about parochial law, about confession, about burials, about sermons on extraordinary occasions, and about other things without number. Things of this sort we pass over, that those which are chief in this matter, being briefly set forth, may more easily be noted. Nor has any thing been here said or adduced for the purpose of casting reproach on any one. Those things only have been enumerated which it seem necessary to say, that it might be understood that in doctrine and ceremonials among us there is nothing received contrary to Scripture or to the Catholic [Universal Christian] Church, inasmuch as it is manifest that we have diligently taken heed that no new and godless doctrines should creep into our churches.

In accordance with the Edict of His Imperial Majesty, we wish to present these articles above written, in which is our Confession, and in which is seen a summary of the doctrine of those who teach among us. If any thing be lacking in this Confession, we are prepared, God willing, to present ampler information, in accordance with the Scriptures.

Cæsareæ Majestatis Vestræ,
Your Imperial Majesty's
most faithful and humble,
John, Duke of Saxony, Elector.
George, Margrave of Brandenburg.
Ernest, Duke of Luneburg.
Philip, Landgrave of Hesse.
John Frederick, Duke of Saxony.
Francis, Duke of Luneburg.
Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt.

Senate and Magistracy of Nuremberg.
Senate of Reutlingen.

THE ARTICLES OF RELIGION

The Thirty-nine Articles of Religion
The XXXIX Articles or The 39 Articles
Estimated Range of Dating: 1536-1571 A.D.

(The Thirty-nine Articles of Religion (commonly abbreviated as the Thirty-nine Articles or the XXXIX Articles) are the historically defining statements of doctrines and practices of the Church of England with respect to the controversies of the English Reformation. The Thirty-nine Articles form part of the Book of Common Prayer used by both the Church of England and the Episcopal Church.

King Henry VIII was most attracted by three things: dangerous games (such as jousting and hunting), political and personal power, and intelligent women. And it was such a woman who changed the course of history forever: Anne Boleyn. Compared to most women of her time, Anne was unusually well-educated. And she was a Protestant Christian. She kept her religious sympathies for herself, the Roman Catholic Church would have hunted her to death. She grew up abroad, and it was there that she was introduced to a movement to religious reform which sought to renew Christianity by return to its sources in scripture. One of those reformers was Martin Luther in Germany. He questioned the legitimacy of the papacy as well as the Latin Bible. Due to the Black Death in the 14th century, the Church had lost almost all educated people. A decline in Bible knowledge was inevitable, corruption of Church representatives was rampant. Islam was on the March in eastern Europe. The medieval stubbornness and greed brought the reputation of the Roman Church down.

Henry was married to Catherine of Aragon. The marriage began to cause a problem the older Henry grew, it did not produce a male heir, at that time a requirement for a dynasty that wants to survive. Henry tried to annul the marriage in order to marry Anne Boleyn. The Pope in Rome did not agree. Anne Boleyn had convinced Henry more and more to have his own way against the Roman Church. Henry started to cut off Rome's power over England and over him. His eloquent treatise "A Glasse of the Truthe", published in 1531, bears witness to his theological and political expertise.

When Henry VIII broke with the Catholic Church and was excommunicated, he began the reform of the Church of England, which would be headed by the monarch (himself) rather than the pope. At this point, he needed to determine what its doctrines and practices would be in relation to the Roman Catholic Church and the new Protestant movements in continental Europe. A series of defining documents were written and replaced over a period of 30 years as the doctrinal and political situation changed from the excommunication of Henry VIII in 1533, to the excommunication of Elizabeth I in 1570. These positions began with the Ten Articles in 1536, and concluded with the finalisation of the Thirty-nine articles in 1571. The Thirty-nine articles ultimately served to define the doctrine of the Church of England as it related to Calvinist doctrine and Roman Catholic practice.

The articles went through at least five major revisions prior to their finalisation in 1571. The first attempt was the Ten Articles in 1536, which showed some slightly Protestant leanings – the result of an English desire for a political alliance with the German Lutheran princes. The next revision was the Six Articles in 1539 which swung away from all reformed positions, and then the King's Book in 1543, which re-established most of the earlier Roman Catholic doctrines. During the reign of Edward VI, Henry VIII's son, the Forty-two Articles were written under the direction of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer in 1552. It was in this document that Calvinist thought reached the zenith of its influence in the English Church. These articles were never put into action, due to Edward VI's death and the reversion of the English Church to Roman Catholicism under Henry VIII's elder daughter, Mary I.

Finally, upon the coronation of Elizabeth I and the re-establishment of the Church of England as separate from the Roman Catholic Church, the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion were initiated by the Convocation of 1563, under the direction of Matthew Parker, the Archbishop of Canterbury. The articles pulled back from some of the more extreme Calvinist thinking and created the distinctive English reformed doctrine.

The 10 Articles (1536)

The Church of England's break with Rome inaugurated a period of doctrinal confusion and controversy as both conservative and reforming clergy attempted to shape the church's direction, the former as "Catholicism without the Pope" and the latter as Protestant. In an attempt "to establish Christian quietness and unity", the Ten Articles were adopted by clerical Convocation in July 1536 as the English Church's first post-papal doctrinal statement. The Ten Articles were crafted as a rushed interim compromise between conservatives and reformers. Historians have variously described it as a victory for Lutheranism and a success for Catholic resistance. Its provisions have also been described as "confusing".

The five principal doctrines were the Bible and ecumenical creeds, baptism, penance, the Eucharist and justification. The core doctrine in the Ten Articles was justification by faith. Justification – which was defined as remission of sin and accepting into God's favour – was through "the only mercy and grace of the Father, promised freely unto us for his Son's sake Jesus Christ, and the merits of his blood and passion". Good works would follow, not precede, justification. However, the Lutheran influence was diluted with qualifications. Justification was attained "by contrition and faith joined with charity". In other words, good works were "necessarily required to the attaining of everlasting life".

The Anglican Church was trying to pacify the conflict-ridden English society by choosing a "middle way". The Articles defended therefore the use of a number of Catholic rituals and practices opposed by Protestants, such as kissing the cross on Good Friday, while mildly criticizing popular abuses and excesses. The use of religious images was permitted, but people were to be taught not to kneel before them or make offerings to them. Prayer to Mary, mother of Jesus, and all the other saints was permitted as long as superstition was avoided.

In summary, the Ten Articles asserted:

1. The Bible and the three ecumenical creeds are the basis and summary of true Christian faith.

2. Baptism imparts remission of sins and regeneration and is necessary for salvation, even in the case of infants. It condemns the opinions of Anabaptists and Pelagians as heresy.

3. The sacrament of penance, with confession and absolution, is necessary to salvation.

4. That the body and blood of Christ are really present in the Eucharist.

5. Justification is by faith, but good works are necessary.

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6. Images can be used as representations of virtue and good example and also to remind people of their sins but are not objects of worship.

7. Saints are to be honoured as examples of life and as furthering the prayers of the faithful.

8. Praying to saints is permitted, and holy days should be observed.

9. The observance of various rites and ceremonies, such as clerical vestments, sprinkling of holy water, bearing of candles on Candlemas, giving of ashes on Ash Wednesday, is good and laudable. However, none of these has power to forgive sin.

10. It is a good and charitable deed to pray for the dead. However, the doctrine of purgatory is biblically uncertain. Abuses related to purgatory, such as the claim that papal indulgences or masses for the dead offered at certain localities (such as the scala coeli mass) can deliver immediately from purgatory, are to be rejected.

The 6 Articles (1539)

The failure of the Ten Articles to settle doctrinal controversy led Thomas Cromwell, the King's vicegerent in spirituals, to convene a national synod of bishops and high-ranking clergy for further theological discussion in February 1537. This synod produced a book called The Institution of the Christian Man (popularly called The Bishops' Book), the word institution being synonymous with instruction. The Bishops' Book preserved the semi-Lutheranism of the Ten Articles, and the articles on justification, purgatory, and the sacraments of baptism, the Eucharist and penance were incorporated unchanged into the new book.

When the synod met, conservatives were still angry that four of the traditional seven sacraments (confirmation, marriage, holy orders and extreme unction) had been excluded from the Ten Articles. In the end, the missing sacraments were restored but placed in a separate section to emphasise "a difference in dignity and necessity." Only baptism, the Eucharist and penance were "instituted of Christ, to be as certain instruments or remedies necessary for our salvation".

England was in religious turmoil. Impatient Protestants took it upon themselves to further reform – More and more bishops refused compulsory clerical celibacy and some priests said mass in English rather than Latin and married without authorisation (Archbishop Cranmer was himself secretly married). Protestants themselves were divided between establishment reformers who held Lutheran beliefs upholding the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist and radicals who held Anabaptist and Sacramentarian views denying real presence. In May 1539, a new Parliament met, and Lord Chancellor Audley told the House of Lords that the King desired religious uniformity. A committee of four conservative and four reformist bishops was appointed to examine and determine doctrine. On 16 May, the Duke of Norfolk noted that the committee had not agreed on anything and proposed that the Lords examine six controversial doctrinal questions that became the basis of the Six Articles:

1. whether the Eucharist could be the true body of Christ without transubstantiation,

2. whether it needed to be given to the laity under both kinds,

3. whether vows of chastity needed to be observed as part of divine law,

4. whether clerical celibacy should be compulsory,

5. whether private masses were required by divine law,

6. whether auricular confession (that is, confession to a priest) was necessary as part of divine law?

Over the next month, these questions were argued in Parliament and Convocation with the active participation of the King. The final product was an affirmation of traditional teachings on all questions. Communion in one kind, compulsory clerical celibacy, vows of chastity and votive masses were acceptable by divine law. Protestants achieved a minor victory on auricular confession, which was declared "expedient and necessary to be retained" but not required by divine law. In addition, although the real presence was affirmed in traditional terminology, the word transubstantiation itself did not appear in the final version.

The Act of Six Articles became law in June 1539, which, unlike the Ten Articles, gave the Six Articles statutory authority. Harsh penalties were attached to violations of the Articles. Denial of transubstantiation was punished by burning without an opportunity to recant. Denial of any of the other articles was punished by hanging or life imprisonment. Married priests had until 12 July to put away their wives, which was likely a concession granted to give Archbishop Cranmer time to move his wife and children outside of England. After the act's passage, bishops Latimer and Shaxton, outspoken opponents of the measure, were forced to resign their dioceses. The Act of Six Articles was repealed in 1547 during the reign of Henry's son, Edward VI.

The 42 Articles (1553)

The Forty-two Articles were intended to summarise Anglican doctrine, as it now existed under the reign of Edward VI, who favoured a Protestant faith. Largely the work of Thomas Cranmer, they were to be short formularies that would demonstrate the faith revealed in Scripture and the existing ecumenical creeds. Completed in 1552, they were issued by Royal Mandate on 19 June 1553. The articles were claimed to have received the authority of a Convocation, although this is doubtful. With the coronation of Mary I and the reunion of the Church of England with the Catholic Church, the Articles were never enforced. However, after Mary's death, they became the basis of the Thirty-nine Articles. In 1563, Convocation met under Archbishop Parker to revise the articles. Convocation passed only 39 of the 42, and Elizabeth reduced the number to 38 by throwing out Article 29 to avoid offending her subjects with Catholic leanings. In 1571, despite the opposition of Bishop Edmund Gheast, Article 29 was re-inserted, declaring that the wicked do not eat the Body of Christ. This was done following the queen's excommunication by the Pope Pius V in 1570. That act destroyed any hope of reconciliation with Rome and it was no longer necessary to fear that Article 29 would offend Catholic sensibilities. The Articles, increased to Thirty-nine, were ratified by the Queen, and the bishops and clergy were required to assent.

The Thirty-nine Articles were finalised in 1571, and incorporated into the Book of Common Prayer. Although not the end of the struggle between Catholic and Protestant monarchs and citizens, the book helped to standardise the English language, and was to have a lasting effect on religion in the United Kingdom and her many colonies elsewhere through its wide use.)

The 39 Articles (1571)

The Articles highlight the Anglican positions with regard to orthodox Catholic teachings, to Puritanism, and to Anabaptist thought. They are divided, in compliance with the command of Queen Elizabeth, into four sections: Articles 1–8, "The Catholic Faith"; Articles 9–18, "Personal Religion"; Articles 19–31, "Corporate Religion"; and Articles 32–39, "Miscellaneous." The articles were issued both in English and in Latin, and both are of equal authority.

Articles 1–8: The Catholic Articles: The first five articles articulate the Catholic credal statements concerning the nature of God, manifest in the Holy Trinity. Articles 6 and 7 deal with scripture, while Article 8 discusses the essential creeds.

Articles 9–18: The Protestant and Reformed Articles: These articles dwell on the topics of sin, justification, and the eternal disposition of the soul. Of particular focus is the major Reformation topic of justification by faith.

Articles 19–31: The Anglican Articles: This section focuses on the expression of faith in the public venue – the institutional church, the councils of the church, worship, ministry, and sacramental theology.

Articles 32–39: Miscellaneous: These articles concern clerical celibacy, excommunication, traditions of the Church, and other issues not covered elsewhere. Article 37 additionally states among other things that the Bishop of Rome (the Pope) has no jurisdiction in the realm of England.)

A Table of the 39 Articles
1. Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.
2. Of Christ the Son of God.
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39. Of a Christian man's Oath.
The Ratification.

1. Of faith in the Holy Trinity.

There is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions; of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the maker and preserver of all things both visible and invisible. And in unity of this Godhead there be three Persons, of one substance, power, and eternity; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

2. Of the Word, or Son of God, which was made very man.

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, and of one substance with the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance: so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and manhood, were joined together in one person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very man, who truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile His Father to us, and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for all actual sins of men.

3. Of the going down of Christ into Hell.

As Christ died for us, and was buried, so also is it to be believed that He went down into Hell.

4. Of the Resurrection of Christ.

Christ did truly rise again from death, and took again His body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, wherefore He ascended into heaven, and there sitteth until He return to judge all men at the last day.

5. Of the Holy Ghost.

The Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one substance, majesty, and glory with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

6. Of the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation.

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation. In the name of Holy Scripture, we do understand those Canonical books of the Old and New testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church.

Of the names and number of the Canonical Books.
Genesis.
Exodus.
Leviticus.
Numbers.
Deuteronomy.
Joshua.
Judges.
Ruth.
The First Book of Samuel.
The Second Book of Samuel.
The First Book of Kings.
The Second Book of Kings.
The First Book of Chronicles.
The Second Book of Chronicles.
The First Book of Esdras.
The Second Book of Esdras.
The Book of Esther.
The Book of Job.
The Psalms.
The Proverbs.
Ecclesiastes, or the Preacher.
Cantica, or Songs of Solomon.
Four Prophets the Greater.
Twelve Prophets the Less.

And the other books (as Hierome saith) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine; such are these following:
The Third Book of Esdras.
The Fourth Book of Esdras.
The Book of Tobias.
The Book of Judith.
The rest of the Book of Esther.
The Book of Wisdom.
Jesus the Son of Sirach.
Baruch the Prophet.
The Song of the Three Children.
The Story of Susanna.
Of Bel and the Dragon.

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The Prayer of Manasses.
The First Book of Maccabees.
The Second Book of Maccabees.

All the books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive, and account them canonical.

7. Of the Old Testament.

The Old Testament is not contrary to the New; for both in the Old and New Testament everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and man, being both God and man. Wherefore there are not to be heard which feign that the old fathers did look only for transitory promises. Although the law given from God by Moses, as touching ceremonies and rites, do not bind Christian men, nor the civil precepts thereof ought of necessity to be received in any commonwealth; yet, notwithstanding, no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the commandments which are called moral.

8. Of the Three Creeds.

The three Creeds, Nicene Creed, Athanasius' Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed; for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture.

9. Of Original or Birth Sin.

Original sin standeth not in the following of Adam (as the Pelagians do vainly talk), but it is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit; and therefore in every person born into this world, it deserveth God's wrath and damnation. And this infection of nature doth remain, yea, in them that are regenerated, whereby the lust of the flesh, called in Greek phronema sarkos (which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh), is not subject to the law of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the Apostle doth confess that concupiscence and lust hath itself the nature of sin.

10. Of Free Will.

The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith and calling upon God. Wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us that we may have a good will, and working with us when we have that good will.

11. Of the Justification of Man.

We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith, and not for our own works or deservings. Wherefore that we are justified by faith only is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort; as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification.

12. Of Good Works.

Albeit that good works, which are the fruits of faith and follow after justification, cannot put away our sins and endure the severity of God's judgement, yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith, insomuch that by them a lively faith may be as evidently known as a tree discerned by the fruit.

13. Of Works before Justification.

Works done before the grace of Christ and the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the School authors say) deserve grace of congruity: yea, rather for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.

14. Of Works of Supererogation.

Voluntary works besides, over and above, God's commandments which they call Works of Supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety. For by them men do declare that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for His sake than of bounden duty is required: Whereas Christ saith plainly, When ye have done all that are commanded to do, say, We be unprofitable servants.

15. Of Christ alone without Sin.

Christ in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things, sin only except, from which He was clearly void, both in His flesh and in His spirit. He came to be the lamb without spot, Who by sacrifice of Himself once made, should take away the sins of the world: and sin, as S. John saith, was not in Him. But all we the rest, although baptized and born again in Christ, yet offend in many things: and if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.

16. Of Sin after Baptism.

Not every deadly sin willingly committed after Baptism is sin against the Holy Ghost, and unpardonable. Wherefore the grant of repentance is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after Baptism. After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given and fall into sin, and by the grace of God we may arise again and amend our lives. And therefore they are to be condemned, which say they can no more sin as long as they live here, or deny the place of forgiveness to such as truly repent.

17. Of Predestination and Election.

Predestination to life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby, before the foundations of the world were laid, He hath constantly decreed by His counsel secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom He hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation as vessels made to honour. Wherefore they which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God be called according to God's purpose by His Spirit working in due season; they through grace obey the calling; they be justified freely; they be made sons of God by adoption; they be made like the image of His only-begotten Son Jesus Christ; they walk religiously in good works; and at length by God's mercy they attain to everlasting felicity.

As the godly consideration of Predestination and our Election in Christ is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons and such as feeling in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh and their earthly members and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things, as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal salvation to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God: so for curious and carnal persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's Predestination is a most dangerous downfall, whereby the devil doth thrust them either into desperation or into wretchlessness of most unclean living no less perilous than desperation.

Furthermore, we must receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth in Holy Scripture; and in our doings that will of God is to be followed which we have expressly declared unto us in the word of God.

18. Of obtaining eternal salvation only by the name of Christ.

They also are to be had accursed that presume to say that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law and the light of nature. For Holy Scripture doth set out to us only the name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved.

19. Of the Church.

The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure word of God is preached and the sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same. As the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred: so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith.

20. Of the Authority of the Church.

The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies and authority in controversies of faith; and yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything contrary to God's word written, neither may it so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the Church be a witness and a keeper of Holy Writ: yet, as it ought not to decree anything against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce anything to be believed for necessity of salvation.

21. Of the authority of General Councils.

Gereral Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes. And when they be gathered together, forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and word of God, they may err and sometime have erred, even in things pertaining to God. Wherefore things ordained by them as necessary to salvation have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared that they be taken out of Holy Scripture.

22. Of Purgatory.

The Romish doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons, worshipping and adoration as well of Images as of Relics, and also Invocation of Saint, is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture; but rather repugnant to the word of God.

23. Of Ministering in the Congregation.

It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching or ministering the sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard.

24. Of speaking in the Congregation in such a tongue as the people understandeth.

IT is a thing plainly repugnant to the word of God and the custom of the primitive Church, to have public prayer in the Church, or to minister the sacraments in a tongue not understanded of the people.

25. Of the Sacraments.

Sacraments ordained of Christ be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace and God's good will towards us, by the which He doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm, our faith in Him.

There are two Sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord.

Those five commonly called Sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction, are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures; but yet have not the like nature of Sacraments with Baptism and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.

The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them. And in such only as worthily receive the same, have they a wholesome effect or operation: but they that receive them unworthily, purchase to themselves damnation, as Saint Paul saith.

26. Of the unworthiness of the Ministers, which hinders not the effect of the Sacraments.

Although in the visible Church the evil be ever mingled with the good, and sometime the evil have chief authority in the ministration of the word and sacraments; yet forasmuch as they do not the same in their own name, but in Christ's, and do minister by His commission and authority, we may use their ministry both in hearing the word of God and in the receiving of the sacraments. Neither is the effect of Christ's ordinance taken away by their wickedness, nor the grace of God's gifts diminished from such as by faith and rightly do receive the sacraments ministered unto them, which be effectual because of Christ's institution and promise, although they be ministered by evil men.

Nevertheless it appertaineth to the discipline of the Church that inquiry be made of evil ministers, and that they be accused by those that have knowledge of their offences; and finally, being found guilty by just judgement, be deposed.

27. Of Baptism.

Baptism is not only a sign of profession and mark of difference whereby Christian men are discerned from other that be not christened, but is also a sign of regeneration or new birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the Church; the promises of the forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God, by the Holy Ghost are visibly signed and sealed; faith is confirmed, and grace increased by virtue of prayer unto God. The baptism of young children is in any wise to be retained in the Church as most agreeable with the institution of Christ.

28. Of the Lord's Supper.

The Supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves, one to another, but rather it is a sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death: insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the body of Christ, and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the blood of Christ.

Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of bread and wine) in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ, but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.

The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is Faith.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.

29. Of the wicked which do not eat the body of Christ, in the use of the Lord's Supper.

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The wicked and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth (as S. Augustine saith) the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ, but rather to their condemnation do eat and drink the sign or sacrament of so great a thing.

30. Of Both Kinds.

The Cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the lay people; for both parts of the Lord's sacrament, by Christ's ordinance and commandment, ought to be ministered to all Christian men alike.

31. Of the one oblation of Christ finished upon the Cross.

The offering of Christ once made is the perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual, and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said that the priests did offer Christ for the quick and the dead to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits.

32. Of the Marriage of Priests.

Bishops, Priests, and Deacons are not commanded by God's laws either to vow the estate of single life or to abstain from marriage. Therefore it is lawful also for them, as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness.

33. Of Excommunicated Persons, how they are to be avoided.

That persons which by open denunciation of the Church is rightly cut off from the unity of the Church and excommunicated, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful as an heathen and publican, until he be openly reconciled by penance and received into the Church by a judge that hath authority thereto.

34. Of the Traditions of the Church.

It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one or utterly alike; for at all times they have been diverse, and may be changed according to the diversity of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's word. Whosoever through his private judgement willingly and purposely doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the Church which be not repugnant to the word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly that other may fear to do the like, as he that offendeth against common order of the Church, and hurteth the authority of the magistrate, and woundeth the conscience of the weak brethren.

Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying.

35. Of Homilies.

The second Book of Homilies, the several titles whereof we have joined under this Article, doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine and necessary for these times, as doth the former Book of Homilies which were set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth: and therefore we judge them to be read in Churches by the ministers diligently and distinctly, that they may be understanded of the people.

Of the Names of the Homilies.

1. Of the right Use of the Church.
2. Against peril of Idolatry.
3. Of the repairing and keeping clean of Churches.
4. Of good Works: first of Fasting.
5. Against Gluttony and Drunkenness.
6. Against Excess of Apparel.
7. Of Prayer.
8. Of the Place and Time of Prayer.
9. That Common Prayers and Sacraments ought to be ministered in a known tongue.
10. Of the reverend estimation of God's Word.
11. Of Alms-doing.
12. Of the Nativity of Christ.
13. Of the Passion of Christ.
14. Of the Resurrection of Christ.
15. Of the worthy receiving of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.
16. Of the Gifts of the Holy Ghost.
17. For the Rogation-days.
18. Of the state of Matrimony.
19. Of Repentance.
20. Against Idleness.
21. Against Rebellion

36. Of Consecration of Bishops and Ministers.

The Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops and ordering of Priests and Deacons, lately set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth and confirmed at the same time by authority of Parliament, doth contain all things necessary to such consecration and ordering; neither hath it anything that of itself is superstitious or ungodly. And therefore whosoever are consecrate or ordered according to the rites of that book, since the second year of King Edward unto this time, or hereafter shall be consecrated or ordered according to the same rites, we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated or ordered.

37. Of the Civil Magistrates.

The Queen's Majesty hath the chief power in this realm of England and other her dominions, unto whom the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes doth appertain, and is not nor ought to be subject to any foreign jurisdiction.

Where we attribute to the Queen's Majesty the chief government, by which titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended, we give not to our princes the ministering either of God's word or of sacraments, the which thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our Queen doth most plainly testify: but that only prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly princes in Holy Scriptures by God himself, that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil-doers. The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England.

The Laws of the Realm may punish Christian men with death for heinous and grievous offences.

It is lawful for Christian men at the commandment of the Magistrate to wear weapons and serve in the wars.

38. Of Christian men's goods which are not common.

The riches and goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession of the same, as certain Anabaptists do falsely boast; notwithstanding every man ought of such things as he possesseth liberally to give alms to the poor, according to his ability.

39. Of a Christian man's Oath.

As we confess that vain and rash swearing is forbidden Christian men by our Lord Jesus Christ, so we judge that Christian religion doth not prohibit but that a man may swear when the magistrate requireth in a cause of faith and charity, so it be done according to the Prophet's teaching in justice, judgement, and truth.

The Ratification.

This Book of Articles before rehearsed, is again approved, and allowed to be holden and executed within the Realm, by the assent and consent of our Sovereign Lady ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c. Which Articles were deliberately read, and confirmed again by the subscription of the hands of the Archbishop and Bishops of the Upper-house, and by the subscription of the whole Clergy of the Nether-house in their Convocation, in the Year of our Lord 1571.

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

THE FIRST BOOK OF ADAM AND EVE

1 Adam and Eve
The Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan
Language: Ethiopic and Arabic
Translation: S. C. Malan, 1882
Estimated Range of Dating: 500-700 A.D.

(In the Sixth Book of The Apostolic Constitutions, we find a severe censure of certain early works, among which are reckoned "The apocryphal Books of Moses, of Enoch, of Adam, as well as those of Isaiah and David," etc. Those works, however, do not deserve all that the Apostles are made to say of them. The apocryphal "Book of Moses," there alluded to, is probably the "The Lesser Genesis," known as having existed of old in Greek, under that name; and also under that of "The Apocalypse of Moses," or "The Book of Jubilees," quoted by S. Epiphanius, George Syncellus, George Cedrenus, and others. As to "The Book of Adam," mentioned in the passage above given from the Apostolic Constitutions, if it is not the Sidra l'Adam, also called "The Book of Adam," of the Mandaeans, it may be "The Life of Adam," alluded to by George Syncellus, as distinct from "The Little Genesis". It is also said to exist in Syriac and in Arabic, in the Vatican Library.

The present interesting work, however, has little in common with those apocrypha; among which it has no right to take place. Whereas they all are apparently of Jewish origin, this "Conflict of Adam" is altogether a Christian work, and of a later date than those writings. It is probably the work of some pious and orthodox Egyptian of the fifth or sixth century, who tell his stories—some of which are also found in the Talmud and thence in the Koran and elsewhere—as they were then believed; adding here and there a good deal of his own. Yet all is told in the simple Western taste of those days. The author's devout faith runs throughout his narrative; he seems willing and ready to believe much rather than to doubt; to take things for granted, rather than to question the truth of them. His object then, is to connect the first Adam with Jesus.

Although considered to be pseudepigraphic by some, the text carries significant meaning and insight into events of that time. It is doubtful that these writings could have survived all the many centuries if there were no substance to them. This book is simply a version of an account handed down by word of mouth, from generation to generation, linking the time that the first human life was created to the time when somebody finally decided to write it down. This particular version is the work of unknown Egyptians. The lack of historical allusion makes it difficult to precisely date the writing.

This Book of Adam and Eve was probably first written in Coptic or Egyptian Greek and later translated into Ethiopic, or to be precise into Amharic written with the Ge'ez script. Some scholars suspect Syriac Aramaic or Arabic as the language of the original text.

The present translation was made on the accurate and Scholarly Ethiopic edition lately published by the Orientalist E. Trumpp. He had an Arabic manuscript from which he frequently quotes in his notes. The Ethiopic text is irregularly divided in sections, some of great length, owing to the subject in hand, some of which have the same headings as those given in the text. S. C. Malan suggested that it might be first written in Arabic, this collides a bit with Dillmann, who in the preface to his German translation, seems to think this "Book of Adam and Eve" may date from the fifth or sixth century AD. However, this was a time when Arabic as a literary language just began to emerge. It seems certain that it must have been written before the ninth century; judging from the numerous extracts from it, given word for word, by Said ibn-Batrik, or Eutychus, physician, and also Melkite Patriarch, who lived in the ninth century; when he wrote his Nazam al-jawdhir, or "String of Gems" as he called his "Annals of the World," from the creation to his own time.

Book 1 takes in the whole life of Adam and Eve, from the day they left Eden; their dwelling in the Cave of Treasures; their trials and temptations; Satan's manifold apparitions to them, and the Word of God coming to comfort and help them. The punished Serpent attempts to kill Adam and Eve, but is prevented by God, who again punishes the Serpent by rendering it mute and casting it to India. Satan also attempts to deceive and kill Adam and Eve several times. In one of his attempts on their life, he throws a boulder which ends up encompassing Adam and Eve. God also predicts several other future Biblical events, including Noah and the flood. Then the birth of Cain, of Abel, and of their twin sisters Cain's love for his own twin sister, Luluwa, whom Adam and Eve wished to join to Abel; hence Cain's hatred and murder of his brother; and Adam's sorrow and death.

Contradiction with the Bible: 1st Adam and Eve 78:16 says "Then on the morrow Adam said unto Cain his son, 'Take of thy sheep, young and good, and offer them up unto thy God; and I will speak to thy brother, to make unto his God an

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offering of corn.'" while Genesis 4:2–3 says "And in process of time it came to pass, that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the LORD. And Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his flock and of the fat thereof. And the LORD had respect unto Abel and to his offering:".

Book 2 gives the history of the patriarchs who lived before the Flood; the dwelling of the children of Seth on the Holy Mountain—Mount Hermon—until they were lured by Genun and by the daughters of Cain, to come down from the mountain and as "fallen angels," to lose God's love for them. Then Cain's death, when slain by Lamech the blind; and the lives of the other patriarchs, until the birth of Noah. The Cainites, descended from Cain the first murderer, are described as exceedingly wicked, being prone to commit murder and incest. After seducing the Sethites, their offspring become the Nephilim, the "mighty men" of Gen. 6 who are all destroyed in the deluge, as also detailed in other works such as 1 Enoch and Jubilees.

Contradiction with the Bible: Book 2 has discrepancies with Old Testament saint lifetimes:

1. Enos lived 985 years (2nd Adam and Eve XIV:4) whereas the Bible says that he lived 905 years (Genesis 5:11).

2. Mahalaleel lived 870 years (2nd Adam and Eve 16:2) whereas the Bible says that he lived 895 years (Genesis 5:17).

3. Jared lived 989 years (2nd Adam and Eve 21:13) whereas the Bible says that he lived 962 years (Genesis 5:20).

Book 3 gives the history of the building of the ark; of the Flood, of the settlement of Noah and his family; and of the carrying of the body of Adam to "the Middle of the Earth;" the growth of idolatry under Nimrud; the destruction of idols; and the call of Abraham.

Book 4 gives a short history of the patriarchs, judges and kings, from Abraham to the coming of Christ.

The first three Books are by far the most interesting. The fourth professes to give genealogies that were irretrievably lost; yet somehow, discovered and given in detail by the author. Most of the names are of Ethiopic origin, and others are so disfigured that they cannot be recognised.)

Text:

IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER, AND OF THE SON, AND OF THE HOLY GHOST: ONE GOD.

We begin, with the help of God, to whom be glory, the writing of the Conflict of Adam and Eve, that befell them after they had come out of the garden, and while they dwelt in the Cave of Treasures, by command of God the Creator. [The Ethiopic translator adds here:—"their Creator and Ruler, to Him by name, the living God, endowed with reason and speech, Creator of all creatures—be glory."]

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 1

The crystal sea. God commands Adam, expelled from Eden, to dwell in the Cave of Treasures.

1 On the third day, God planted the garden in the east of the earth, on the border of the world eastward, beyond which, towards the sun-rising, one finds nothing but water, that encompasses the whole world, and reaches unto the borders of heaven.

2 And to the north of the garden there is a sea of wafer, clear and pure to the taste, like unto nothing else; so that, through the clearness thereof, one may look into the depths of the earth.

3 And when a man washes himself in it, becomes clean of the cleanness thereof, and white of its whiteness--even if he were dark.

4 And God created that sea of His own good pleasure, for He knew what would come of the man He should make; so that after he had left the garden, on account of his transgression, men should be born in the earth, from among whom righteous ones should die, whose souls God would raise at the last day; when they should return to their flesh; should bathe in the water of that sea, and all of them repent of their sins.

5 But when God made Adam go out of the garden, He did not place him on the border of it northward, lest he should draw near to the sea of water, and he and Eve wash themselves in it, be cleansed from their sins, forget the transgression they had committed, and he no longer reminded of it in the thought of their punishment.

6 Then, again, as to the southern side of the garden, God was not pleased to let Adam dwell there; because, when the wind blew from the north, it would bring him, on that southern side, the delicious smell of the trees of the garden.

7 Wherefore God did not put Adam there, lest he should smell the sweet smell of those trees forget his transgression, and find consolation for what he had done, take delight in the smell of the trees, and not be cleansed from his transgression.

8 Again, also, because God is merciful and of great pity, and governs all things in a way He alone knows--He made our father Adam dwell in the western border of the garden, because on that side the earth is very broad.

9 And God commanded him to dwell there in a cave in a rock--the Cave of Treasures below the garden.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 2

Adam and Eve faint upon leaving the Garden. God sends His word to encourage them.

1 But when our father Adam, and Eve, went out of the garden, they trod the ground on their feet, not knowing they were treading.

2 And when they came to the opening of the gate of the garden, and saw the broad earth spread before them, covered with stones large and small, and with sand, they feared and trembled, and fell on their faces, from the fear that came upon them; and they were as dead.

3 Because--whereas they had hitherto been in the garden-land, beautifully planted with all manner of trees--they now saw themselves, in a strange land, which they knew not, and had never seen.

4 And because at that time they were filled with the grace of a bright nature, and they had not hearts turned towards earthly things.

5 Therefore had God pity on them; and when He saw them fallen before the gate of the garden, He sent His Word unto father Adam and Eve, and raised them from their fallen state.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 3

Concerning the promise of the great five days and a half.

1 God said to Adam, "I have ordained on this earth days and years, and thou and thy seed shall dwell and walk in it, until the days and years are fulfilled; when I shall send the Word that created thee, and against which thou hast transgressed, the Word that made thee come out of the garden and that raised thee when thou wast fallen.

2 Yea, the Word that will again save thee when the five days and a half are fulfilled."

3 But when Adam heard these words from God, and of the great five days and a half, he did not understand the meaning of them.

4 For Adam was thinking that there would be but five days and a half for him, to the end of the world.

5 And Adam wept, and prayed God to explain it to him.

6 Then God in His mercy for Adam who was made after His own image and similitude, explained to him, that these were 5,000 and 500 years; and how One would then come and save him and his seed.

7 But God had before that made this covenant with our father, Adam, in the same terms, ere he came out of the garden, when he was by the tree whereof Eve took the fruit and gave it him to eat.

8 Inasmuch as when our father Adam came out of the garden, he passed by that tree, and saw how God had then changed the appearance of it into another form, and how it withered.

9 And as Adam went to it he feared, trembled and fell down; but God in His mercy lifted him up, and then made this covenant with him.

10 And, again, when Adam was by the gate of the garden, and saw the cherub with a sword of flashing fire in his hand, and the cherub grew angry and frowned at him, both Adam and Eve became afraid of him, and thought he meant to put them to death. So they fell on their faces, and trembled with fear.

11 But he had pity on them, and showed them mercy; and turning from them went up to heaven, and prayed unto the Lord, and said:--

12 "Lord, Thou didst send me to watch at the gate of the garden, with a sword of fire.

13 "But when Thy servants, Adam and Eve, saw me, they fell on their faces, and were as dead. O my Lord, what shall we do to Thy servants?"

14 Then God had pity on them, and showed them mercy, and sent His Angel to keep the garden.

15 And the Word of the Lord came unto Adam and Eve, and raised them up.

16 And the Lord said to Adam, "I told thee that at the end of five days and a half, I will send my Word and save thee.

17 "Strengthen thy heart, therefore, and abide in the Cave of Treasures, of which I have before spoken to thee."

18 And when Adam heard this Word from God, he was comforted with that which God had told him. For He had told him how He would save him.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 4

Adam laments the changed conditions. Adam and Eve enter the Cave of Treasures.

1 But Adam and Eve wept for having come out of the garden, their first abode.

2 And, indeed, when Adam looked at his flesh, that was altered, he wept bitterly, he and Eve, over what they had done. And they walked and went gently down into the Cave of Treasures.

3 And as they came to it Adam wept over himself and said to Eve, "Look at this cave that is to be our prison in this world, and a place of punishment!

4 "What is it compared with the garden? What is its narrowness compared with the space of the other?

5 "What is this rock, by the side of those groves? What is the gloom of this cavern, compared with the light of the garden?

6 "What is this overhanging ledge of rock to shelter us, compared with the mercy of the Lord that overshadowed us?

7 "What is the soil of this cave compared with the garden-land? This earth, strewed with stones; and that, planted with delicious fruit-trees?"

8 And Adam said to Eve, "Look at thine eyes, and at mine, which afore beheld angels in heaven, praising; and they, too, without ceasing.

9 "But now we do not see as we did: our eyes have become of flesh; they cannot see in like manner as they saw before."

10 Adam said again to Eve, "What is our body to-day, compared to what it was in former days, when we dwelt in the garden?"

11 After this Adam did not like to enter the cave, under the overhanging rock; nor would he ever have entered it.

12 But he bowed to God's orders; and said to himself, "Unless I enter the cave, I shall again be a transgressor."

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 5

In which Eve makes a noble and emotionable intercession, taking the blame on herself.

1 Then Adam and Eve entered the cave, and stood praying, in their own tongue, unknown to us, but which they knew well.

2 And as they prayed, Adam raised his eyes, and saw the rock and the roof of the cave that covered him overhead, so that he could see neither heaven, nor God's creatures. So he wept and smote heavily upon his breast, until he dropped, and was as dead.

3 And Eve sat weeping; for she believed he was dead.

4 Then she arose, spread her hands towards God, suing Him for mercy and pity, and said, "O God, forgive me my sin, the sin which I committed, and remember it not against me.

5 "For I alone caused Thy servant to fall from the garden into this lost estate; from light into this darkness; and from the abode of joy into this prison.

6 "O God, look upon this Thy servant thus fallen, and raise him from his death, that he may weep and repent of his transgression which he committed through me.

7 "Take not away his soul this once; but let him live that he may stand after the measure of his repentance, and do Thy will, as before his death.

8 "But if Thou do not raise him up, then, O God, take away my own soul, that I be like him; and leave me not in this dungeon, one and alone; for I could not stand alone in this world, but with him only.

9 "For Thou, O God, didst cause a slumber to come upon him, and didst take a bone from his side, and didst restore the flesh in the place of it, by Thy divine power.

10 "And Thou didst take me, the bone, and make me a woman, bright like him, with heart, reason, and speech; and in flesh, like unto his own; and Thou didst make me after the likeness of his countenance, by Thy mercy and power.

11 "O Lord, I and he are one and Thou, O God, art our Creator, Thou are He who made us both in one day.

12 "Therefore, O God, give him life, that he may be with me in this strange land, while we dwell in it on account of our transgression.

13 "But if Thou wilt not give him life, then take me, even me, like him; that we both may die the same day."

14 And Eve wept bitterly, and fell upon our father Adam; from her great sorrow.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 6

God's admonition to Adam and Eve in which he points out how and why they sinned.

1 But God looked upon them; for they had killed themselves through great grief.

2 But He would raise them and comfort them.

3 He, therefore, sent His Word unto them; that they should stand and be raised forthwith.

4 And the Lord said unto Adam and Eve, "You transgressed of your own free will, until you came out of the garden in which I had placed you.

5 "Of your own free will have you transgressed through your desire for divinity, greatness, and an exalted state, such as I have; so that I deprived you of the bright nature in which you then were, and I made you come out of the garden to this land, rough and full of trouble.

6 "If only you had not transgressed My commandment and had kept My law, and had not eaten of the fruit of the tree, near which I told you not to come! And there were fruit trees in the garden better than that one.

7 "But the wicked Satan who continued not in his first estate, nor kept his faith; in whom was no good intent towards Me, and who though I had created him, yet set Me at naught, and sought the Godhead, so that I hurled him down from heaven,--he it is who made the tree appear pleasant in your eyes, until you ate of it, by hearkening to him.

8 "Thus have you transgressed My commandment, and therefore have I brought upon you all these sorrows.

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9 "For I am God the Creator, who, when I created My creatures, did not intend to destroy them. But after they had sorely roused My anger, I punished them with grievous plagues, until they repent.

10 "But, if on the contrary, they still continue hardened in their transgression, they shall be under a curse for ever."

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 7

The beasts are reconciled.

1 When Adam and Eve heard these words from God, they wept and sobbed yet more; but they strengthened their hearts in God, because they now felt that the Lord was to them like a father and a mother; and for this very reason, they wept before Him, and sought mercy from Him.

2 Then God had pity on them, and said: "O Adam, I have made My covenant with thee, and I will not turn from it; neither will I let thee return to the garden, until My covenant of the great five days and a half is fulfilled."

3 Then Adam said unto God, "O Lord, Thou didst create us, and make us fit to be in the garden; and before I transgressed, Thou madest all beasts come to me, that I should name them.

4 "Thy grace was then on me; and I named every one according to Thy mind; and Thou madest them all subject unto me.

5 "But now, O Lord God, that I have transgressed Thy commandment, all beasts will rise against me and will devour me, and Eve Thy handmaid; and will cut off our life from the face of the earth.

6 "I therefore beseech Thee, O God, that, since Thou hast made us come out of the garden, and hast made us be in a strange land, Thou wilt not let the beasts hurt us."

7 When the Lord heard these words from Adam, He had pity on him, and felt that he had truly said that the beasts of the field would rise and devour him and Eve, because He, the Lord, was angry with them two on account of their transgression.

8 Then God commanded the beasts, and the birds, and all that moves upon the earth, to come to Adam and to be familiar with him, and not to trouble him and Eve; nor yet any of the good and righteous among their posterity.

9 Then the beasts did obeisance to Adam, according to the commandment of God; except the serpent, against which God was wroth. It did not come to Adam, with the beasts.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 8

The "Bright Nature" of man is taken away.

1 Then Adam wept and said, "O God, when we dwelt in the garden, and our hearts were lifted up, we saw the angels that sang praises in heaven, but now we do not see as we were used to do; nay, when we entered the cave, all creation became hidden from us."

2 Then God the Lord said unto Adam, "When thou wast under subjection to Me, thou hadst a bright nature within thee, and for that reason couldst thou see things afar off. But after thy transgression thy bright nature was withdrawn from thee; and it was not left to thee to see things afar off, but only near at hand; after the ability of the flesh; for it is brutish."

3 When Adam and Eve had heard these words from God, they went their way; praising and worshipping Him with a sorrowful heart.

4 And God ceased to commune with them.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 9

Water from the Tree of Life. Adam and Eve near drowning.

1 Then Adam and Eve came out of the Cave of Treasures, and drew near to the garden gate, and there they stood to look at it, and wept for having come away from it.

2 And Adam and Eve went from before the gate of the garden to the southern side of it, and found there the water that watered the garden, from the root of the Tree of Life, and that parted itself from thence into four rivers over the earth.

3 Then they came and drew near to that water, and looked at it; and saw that it was the water that came forth from under the root of the Tree of Life in the garden.

4 And Adam wept and wailed, and smote upon his breast, for being severed from the garden; and said to Eve:--

5 "Why hast thou brought upon me, upon thyself, and upon our seed, so many of these plagues and punishments?"

6 And Eve said unto him, "What is it thou hast seen, to weep and to speak to me in this wise?"

7 And he said to Eve, "Seest thou not this water that was with us in the garden, that watered the trees of the garden, and flowed out thence?

8 "And we, when we were in the garden, did not care about it; but since we came to this strange land, we love it, and turn it to use for our body."

9 But when Eve heard these words from him, she wept; and from the soreness of their weeping, they fell into that water; and would have put an end to themselves in it, so as never again to return and behold the creation; for when they looked upon the work of creation, they felt they must put an end to themselves.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 10

Their bodies need water after they leave the Garden.

1 Then God, merciful and gracious, looked upon them thus lying in the water, and nigh unto death, and sent an angel, who brought them out of the water, and laid them on the seashore as dead.

2 Then the angel went up to God, was welcome, and said, "O God, Thy creatures have breathed their last."

3 Then God sent His Word unto Adam and Eve, who raised them from their death.

4 And Adam said, after he was raised, "O God, while we were in the garden we did not require, or care for this water; but since we came to this land we cannot do without it."

5 Then God said to Adam, "While thou wast under My command and wast a bright angel, thou knewest not this water.

6 "But after that thou hast transgressed My commandment, thou canst not do without water, wherein to wash thy body and make it grow; for it is now like that of beasts, and is in want of water."

7 When Adam and Eve heard these words from God, they wept a bitter cry; and Adam entreated God to let him return into the garden, and look at it a second time.

8 But God said unto Adam, "I have made thee a promise; when that promise is fulfilled, I will bring thee back into the garden, thee and thy righteous seed."

9 And God ceased to commune with Adam.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 11

A recollection of the glorious days in the Garden.

1 Then Adam and Eve felt themselves burning with thirst, and heat, and sorrow.

2 And Adam said to Eve, "We shall not drink of this water, even if we were to die. O Eve, when this water comes into our inner parts, it will increase our punishments and that of our children, that shall come after us."

3 Both Adam and Eve then withdrew from the water, and drank none of it at all; but came and entered the Cave of Treasures.

4 But when in it Adam could not see Eve; he only heard the noise she made. Neither could she see Adam, but heard the noise he made.

5 Then Adam wept, in deep affliction, and smote upon his breast; and he arose and said to Eve, "Where art thou?"

6 And she said unto him, "Lo, I am standing in this darkness."

7 He then said to her, "Remember the bright nature in which we lived, while we abode in the garden!

8 "O Eve! remember the glory that rested on us in the garden. O Eve! remember the trees that overshadowed us in the garden while we moved among them.

9 "O Eve! remember that while we were in the garden, we knew neither night nor day. Think of the Tree of Life, from below which flowed the water, and that shed lustre over us! Remember, O Eve, the garden-land, and the brightness thereof!

10 "Think, oh think of that garden in which was no darkness, while we dwelt therein.

11 "Whereas no sooner did we come into this Cave of Treasures than darkness compassed us round about; until we can no longer see each other; and all the pleasure of this life has come to an end."

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 12

How darkness came between Adam and Eve.

1 Then Adam smote upon his breast, he and Eve, and they mourned the whole night until dawn drew near, and they sighed over the length of the night in Miyazia.

2 And Adam beat himself, and threw himself on the ground in the cave, from bitter grief, and because of the darkness, and lay there as dead.

3 But Eve heard the noise he made in falling upon the earth. And she felt about for him with her hands, and found him like a corpse.

4 Then she was afraid, speechless, and remained by him.

5 But the merciful Lord looked on the death of Adam, and on Eve's silence from fear of the darkness.

6 And the Word of God came unto Adam and raised him from his death, and opened Eve's mouth that she might speak.

7 Then Adam arose in the cave and said, "O God, wherefore has light departed from us, and darkness come over us? Wherefore dost Thou leave us in this long darkness? Why wilt Thou plague us thus?

8 "And this darkness, O Lord, where was it ere it came upon us? It is such, that we cannot see each other.

9 "For, so long as we were in the garden, we neither saw nor even knew what darkness is. I was not hidden from Eve, neither was she hidden from me, until now that she cannot see me; and no darkness came upon us, to separate us from each other.

10 "But she and I were both in one bright light. I saw her and she saw me. Yet now since we came into this cave, darkness has come upon us, and parted us asunder, so that I do not see her, and she does not see me.

11 "O Lord, wilt Thou then plague us with this darkness?"

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 13

The fall of Adam. Why night and day were created.

1 Then when God, who is merciful and full of pity, heard Adam's voice, He said unto him:--

2 "O Adam, so long as the good angel was obedient to Me, a bright light rested on him and on his hosts.

3 "But when he transgressed My commandment, I deprived him of that bright nature, and he became dark.

4 "And when he was in the heavens, in the realms of light, he knew naught of darkness.

5 "But he transgressed, and I made him fall from heaven upon the earth; and it was this darkness that came upon him.

6 "And on thee, O Adam, while in My garden and obedient to Me, did that bright light rest also.

7 "But when I heard of thy transgression, I deprived thee of that bright light. Yet, of My mercy, I did not turn thee into darkness, but I made thee thy body of flesh, over which I spread this skin, in order that it may bear cold and heat.

8 "If I had let My wrath fall heavily upon thee, I should have destroyed thee; and had I turned thee into darkness, it would have been as if I killed thee.

9 "But in My mercy, I have made thee as thou art; when thou didst transgress My commandment, O Adam, I drove thee from the garden, and made thee come forth into this land; and commanded thee to dwell in this cave; and darkness came upon thee, as it did upon him who transgressed My commandment.

10 "Thus, O Adam, has this night deceived thee. It is not to last for ever; but is only of twelve hours; when it is over, daylight will return.

11 "Sigh not, therefore, neither be moved; and say not in thy heart that this darkness is long and drags on wearily; and say not in thy heart that I plague thee with it.

12 "Strengthen thy heart, and be not afraid. This darkness is not a punishment. But, O Adam, I have made the day, and have placed the sun in it to give light; in order that thou and thy children should do your work.

13 "For I knew thou shouldest sin and transgress, and come out into this land. Yet would I not force thee, nor be heard upon thee, nor shut up; nor doom thee through thy fall; nor through thy coming out from light into darkness; nor yet through thy coining from the garden into this land.

14 "For I made thee of the light; and I willed to bring out children of light from thee and like unto thee.

15 "But thou didst not keep one day My commandment; until I had finished the creation and blessed everything in it.

16 "Then I commanded thee concerning the tree, that thou eat not thereof. Yet I knew that Satan, who deceived himself, would also deceive thee.

17 "So I made known to thee by means of the tree, not to come near him. And I told thee not to eat of the fruit thereof, nor to taste of it, nor yet to sit under it, nor to yield to it.

18 "Had I not been and spoken to thee, O Adam, concerning the tree, and had I left thee without a commandment, and thou hadst sinned--it would have been an offence on My part, for not having given thee any order; thou wouldst turn round and blame Me for it.

19 "But I commanded thee, and warned thee, and thou didst fall. So that My creatures cannot blame me; but the blame rests on them alone.

20 "And, O Adam, I have made the day for thee and for thy children after thee, for them to work, and toil therein. And I have made the night for them to rest in it from their work; and for the beasts of the field to go forth by night and seek their food.

21 "But little of darkness now remains, O Adam; and daylight will soon appear."

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 14

The earliest prophecy of the coming of Christ.

1 Then Adam said unto God: "O Lord, take Thou my soul, and let me not see this gloom any more; or remove me to some place where there is no darkness."

2 But God the Lord said to Adam, "Verily I say unto thee, this darkness will pass from thee, every day I have determined for thee, until the fulfilment of My covenant; when I will save thee and bring thee back again into the garden, into the abode of light thou longest for, wherein is no darkness. I will bring thee, to it--in the kingdom of heaven."

3 Again said God unto Adam, "All this misery that thou hast been made to take upon thee because of thy transgression, will not free thee from the hand of Satan, and will not save thee.

4 "But I will. When I shall come down from heaven, and shall become flesh of thy seed, and take upon Me the infirmity from which thou sufferest, then the darkness that came upon thee in this cave shall come upon Me in the grave, when I am in the flesh of thy seed.

5 "And I, who am without years, shall be subject to the reckoning of years, of times, of months, and of days, and I shall be reckoned as one of the sons of men, in order to save thee."

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6 And God ceased to commune with Adam.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 15

1 Then Adam and Eve wept and sorrowed by reason of God's word to them, that they should not return to the garden until the fulfilment of the days decreed upon them; but mostly because God had told them that He should suffer for their salvation.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 16

The first sunrise. Adam and Eve think it is a fire coming to burn them.

1 After this Adam and Eve ceased not to stand in the cave, praying and weeping, until the morning dawned upon them.

2 And when they saw the light returned to them, they restrained from fear, and strengthened their hearts.

3 Then Adam began to come out of the cave. And when he came to the mouth of it, and stood and turned his face towards the east, and saw the sun rise in glowing rays, and felt the heat thereof on his body, he was afraid of it, and thought in his heart that this flame came forth to plague him.

4 He wept then, and smote upon his breast, and fell upon the earth on his face, and made his request, saying:--

5 "O Lord, plague me not, neither consume me, nor yet take away my life from the earth."

6 For he thought the sun was God.

7 Inasmuch as while he was in the garden and heard the voice of God and the sound He made in the garden, and feared Him, Adam never saw the brilliant light of the sun, neither did the flaming heat thereof touch his body.

8 Therefore was he afraid of the sun when flaming rays of it reached him. He thought God meant to plague him therewith all the days He had decreed for him.

9 For Adam also said in his thoughts, as God did not plague us with darkness, behold, He has caused this sun to rise and to plague us with burning heat.

10 But while he was thus thinking in his heart, the Word of God came unto him and said:--

11 "O Adam, arise and stand up. This sun is not God; but it has been created to give light by day, of which I spake unto thee in the cave saying, 'that the dawn would break forth, and there would be light by day.'

12 "But I am God who comforted thee in the night."

13 And God ceased to commune with Adam.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 17

The Chapter of the Serpent.

1 Then Adam and Eve came out at the mouth of the cave, and went towards the garden.

2 But as they drew near to it, before the western gate, from which Satan came when he deceived Adam and Eve, they found the. serpent that became Satan coming at the gate, and sorrowfully licking the dust, and wriggling on its breast on the ground, by reason of the curse that fell upon it from God.

3 And whereas aforetime the serpent was the most exalted of all beasts, now it was changed and become slippery, and the meanest of them all, and it crept on its breast and went on its belly.

4 And whereas it was the fairest of all beasts, it had been changed, and was become the ugliest of them all. Instead of feeding on the best food, now it turned to eat the dust. Instead of dwelling, as before, in the best places, now it lived in the dust.

5 And, whereas it had been the most beautiful of all beasts, all of which stood dumb at its beauty, it was now abhorred of them.

6 And, again, whereas it dwelt in one beautiful abode, to which all other animals came from elsewhere; and where it drank, they drank also of the same; now, after it had become venomous, by reason of God's curse, all beasts fled from its abode, and would not drink of the water it drank; but fled from it.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 18

The mortal combat with the serpent.

When the accursed serpent saw Adam and Eve, it swelled its head, stood on its tail, and with eyes blood-red, did as if it would kill them.

2 It made straight for Eve, and ran after her; while Adam standing by, wept because he had no stick in his hand wherewith to smite the serpent, and knew not how to put it to death.

3 But with a heart burning for Eve, Adam approached the serpent, and held it by the tail; when it turned towards him and said unto him:--

4 "O Adam, because of thee and of Eve, I am slippery, and go upon my belly." Then by reason of its great strength, it threw down Adam and Eve and pressed upon them, as if it would kill them.

5 But God sent an angel who threw the serpent away from them, and raised them up.

6 Then the Word of God came to the serpent, and said unto it, "In the first instance I made thee glib, and made thee to go upon thy belly; but I did not deprive thee of speech.

7 "Now, however, be thou dumb; and speak no more, thou and thy race; because in the first place, has the ruin of my creatures happened through thee, and now thou wishest to kill them."

8 Then the serpent was struck dumb, and spake no more.

9 And a wind came to blow from heaven by command of God that carried away the serpent from Adam and Eve, threw it on the sea shore, and it landed in India.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 19

Beasts made subject to Adam.

1 But Adam and Eve wept before God. And Adam said unto Him:--

2 "O Lord, when I was in the cave, I said this to Thee, my Lord, that the beasts of the field would rise and devour me, and cut off my life from the earth."

3 Then Adam, by reason of what had befallen him, smote upon his breast, and fell upon the earth like a corpse; then came to him the Word of God, who raised him, and said unto him,

4 "O Adam, not one of these beasts will be able to hurt thee; because when I made the beasts and other moving things come to thee in the cave, I did not let the serpent come with them, lest it should rise against you, make you tremble; and the fear of it should fall into your hearts.

5 "For I knew that that accursed one is wicked; therefore would I not let it come near you with the other beasts.

6 "But now strengthen thy heart and fear not. I am with thee unto the end of the days I have determined on thee."

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 20

Adam wishes to protect Eve.

1 Then Adam wept and said, "O God, remove us to some other place, that the serpent may not come again near us, and rise against us. Lest it find Thy handmaid Eve alone and kill her; for its eyes are hideous and evil."

2 But God said to Adam and Eve, "Henceforth fear not, I will not let it come near you; I have driven it away from you, from this mountain; neither will I leave in it aught to hurt you."

3 Then Adam and Eve worshipped before God 'and gave Him thanks, and praised Him for having delivered them from death.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 21

Adam and Eve attempt suicide.

1 Then Adam and Eve went in search of the garden.

2 And the heat beat like a flame on their faces; and they sweated from the heat, and wept before the Lord.

3 But the place where they wept was nigh unto a high mountain, facing the western gate of the garden.

4 Then Adam threw himself down from the top of that mountain; his face was tom and his flesh was flayed; much blood flowed from him, and he was nigh unto death.

5 Meanwhile Eve remained standing on the mountain weeping over him, thus lying.

6 And she said, "I wish not to live after him; for all that he did to himself was through me."

7 Then she threw herself after him; and was torn and scotched by stones; and remained lying as dead.

8 But the merciful God, who looks upon His creatures, looked upon Adam and Eve as they lay dead, and He sent His Word unto them, and raised them.

9 And said to Adam, "O Adam, all this misery which thou hast wrought upon thyself, will not avail against My rule, neither will it alter the covenant of the 5500 years."

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 22

Adam in a chivalrous mood.

1 Then Adam said to God, "I wither in the heat; I am faint from walking, and am loth of this world. And I know not when Thou wilt bring me out of it, to rest."

2 Then the Lord God said unto him, "O Adam, it cannot be at present, not until thou hast ended thy days. Then shall I bring thee out of this wretched land."

3 And Adam said to God, "While I was in the garden I knew neither heat, nor languor, neither moving about, nor trembling, nor fear; but now since I came to this land, all this affliction has come upon me."

4 Then God said to Adam, "So long as thou wast keeping My commandment, My light and My grace rested on thee. But when thou didst transgress My commandment, sorrow and misery befell thee in this land."

5 And Adam wept and said, "O Lord, do not cut me off for this, neither smite me with heavy plagues, nor yet repay me according to my sin; For we, of our own will, did transgress Thy commandment, and forsook Thy law, and sought to become gods like unto Thee, when Satan the enemy deceived us."

6 Then God said again unto Adam, "Because thou hast borne fear and trembling in this land, languor and suffering treading and walking about, going upon this mountain, and dying from it, I will take all this upon Myself in order to save thee."

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 23

Adam and Eve gird themselves and make the first altar ever built.

1 Then Adam wept more and said, "O God, have mercy on me, so far as to take upon Thee, that which I will do."

2 But God took His Word from Adam and Eve.

3 Then Adam and Eve stood on their feet; and Adam said to Eve "Gird thyself, and I also will gird myself." And she girded herself, as Adam told her.

4 Then Adam and Eve took stones and placed them in the shape of an altar; and they took leaves from the trees outside the garden, with which they wiped, from the face of the rock, the blood they had spilled.

5 But that which had dropped on the sand, they took together with the dust wherewith it was mingled and offered it upon the altar as an offering unto God.

6 Then Adam and Eve stood under the altar and wept, thus entreating God, "Forgive us our trespass 1 and our sin, and look upon us with Thine eye of mercy. For when we were in the garden our praises and our hymns went up before Thee without ceasing.

7 "But when we came into this strange land, pure praise was no longer ours, nor righteous prayer, nor understanding hearts, nor sweet thoughts, nor just counsels, nor long discernment, nor upright feelings, neither is our bright nature left us. But our body is changed from the similitude in which it was at first, when we were created.

8 "Yet now look upon our blood which is offered upon these stones, and accept it at our hands, like the praise we used to sing unto Thee at first, when in the garden."

9 And Adam began to make more requests unto God.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 24

A vivid prophecy of the life and death of Christ.

1 Then the merciful God, good 'and lover of men, looked upon Adam and Eve, and upon their blood, which they had held up as an offering unto Him; without an order from Him for so doing. But He wondered at them; and accepted their offerings.

2 And God sent from His presence a bright fire, that consumed their offering.

3 He smelt the sweet savour of their offering, and showed them mercy.

4 Then came the Word of God to Adam, and said unto him, "O Adam, as thou hast shed thy blood, so will I shed My own blood when I become flesh of thy seed; and as thou didst die, O Adam, so also will I die. And as thou didst build an altar, so also will I make for thee an altar on the earth; and as thou didst offer thy blood upon it, so also will I offer My blood upon an altar on the earth.

5 "And as thou didst sue for forgiveness through that blood, so also will I make My blood forgiveness of sins, and blot out transgressions in it.

6 "And now, behold, I have accepted thy offering, O Adam, but the days of the covenant, wherein I have bound thee, are not fulfilled. When they are fulfilled, then will I bring thee back into the garden.

7 "Now, therefore, strengthen thy heart; and when sorrow comes upon thee, make Me an offering, and I will be favourable to thee."

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 25

God represented as merciful and loving. The establishing of worship.

1 But God knew that Adam had in his thoughts, that he should often kill himself and make an offering to Him of his blood.

2 Therefore did He say unto him, "O Adam, do not again kill thyself as thou didst, by throwing thyself down from that mountain."

3 But Adam said unto God, "It was in my mind to put an end to myself at once, for having transgressed Thy commandments, and for my having come out of the beautiful garden; and for the bright light of which Thou hast deprived me; and for the praises which poured forth from my mouth without ceasing, and for the light that covered me.

4 "Yet of Thy goodness, O God, do not away with me altogether; but be favourable to me every time I die, and bring me to life.

5 "And thereby it will be made known that Thou art a merciful God, who willest not that one should perish; who lovest not that one should fall; and who dost not condemn any one cruelly, badly, and by whole destruction."

6 Then Adam remained silent.

7 And the Word of God came unto him, and blessed him, and comforted him, and covenanted with him, that He would save him at the end of the days determined upon him.

8 This, then, was the first offering Adam made unto God; and so it became his custom to do.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 26

A beautiful prophecy of eternal life and joy (v. 15). The fall of night.

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1 THEN Adam took Eve, and they began to return to the Cave of Treasures where they dwelt. But when they neared it and saw it from afar, heavy sorrow fell upon Adam and Eve when they looked at it.

2 Then Adam said to Eve, "When we were on the mountain we were comforted by the Word of God that conversed with us; and the light that came from the east, shone over us.

3 "But now the Word of God is hidden from us; and the light that shone over us is so changed as to disappear, and let darkness and sorrow come upon us.

4 "And we are forced to enter this cave which is like a prison, wherein darkness covers us, so that we are parted from each other; and thou canst not see me, neither can I see thee."

5 When Adam had said these words, they wept and spread their hands before God; for they were full of sorrow.

6 And they entreated God to bring the sun to them, to shine on them, so that darkness return not upon them, and they come not again under this covering of rock. And they wished to die rather than see the darkness.

7 Then God looked upon Adam and Eve and upon their great sorrow, and upon all they had done with a fervent heart, on account of all the trouble they were in, instead of their former well-being, and on account of all the misery that came upon them in a strange land.

8 Therefore God was not wroth with them; nor impatient with them; but He was longsuffering and forbearing towards them, as towards the children He had created.

9 Then came the Word of God to Adam, and said unto him, "Adam, as for the sun, if I were to take it and bring it to thee, days, hours, years and months would all come to naught, and the covenant I have made with thee, would never be fulfilled.

10 "But thou shouldest then be turned and left in a long plague, and no salvation would be left to thee for ever.

11 "Yea, rather, bear long and calm thy soul while thou abidest night and day; until the fulfilment of the days, and the time of My covenant is come.

12 "Then shall I come and save thee, O Adam, for I do not wish that thou be afflicted.

13 "And when I look at all the good things in which thou didst live, and why thou camest out of them, then would I willingly show thee mercy.

14 "But I cannot alter the covenant that has gone out of My mouth; else would I have brought thee back into the garden.

15 "When, however, the covenant is fulfilled, then shall I show thee and thy seed mercy, and bring thee into a land of gladness, where there is neither sorrow nor suffering; but abiding joy and gladness, and light that never fails, and praises that never cease; and a beautiful garden that shall never pass away."

16 And God said again unto Adam, "Be long-suffering and enter the cave, for the darkness, of which thou wast afraid, shall only be twelve hours long; and when ended, light shall arise."

17 Then when Adam heard these words from God, he and Eve worshipped before Him, and their hearts were comforted. They returned into the cave after their custom, while tears flowed from their eyes, sorrow and wailing came from their hearts, and they wished their soul would leave their body.

18 And Adam and Eve stood praying, until the darkness of night came upon them, and Adam was hid from Eve, and she from him.

19 And they remained standing in prayer.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 27

The second tempting of Adam and Eve. The devil takes on the form of a beguiling light.

1 When Satan, the hater of all good, saw how they continued in prayer, and how God communed with them, and comforted them, and how He had accepted their offering--Satan made an apparition.

2 He began with transforming his hosts; in his hands was a flashing fire, and they were in a great light.

3 He then placed his throne near the mouth of the cave because he could not enter into it by reason of their prayers. And he shed light into the cave, until the cave glistened over Adam and Eve; while his hosts began to sing praises.

4 And Satan did this, in order that when Adam saw the light, he should think within himself that it was a heavenly light, and that Satan's hosts were angels; and that God had sent them to watch at the cave, and to give him light in the darkness.

5 So that when Adam came out of the cave and saw them, and Adam and Eve bowed to Satan, then he would overcome Adam thereby, and a second time humble him before God.

6 When, therefore, Adam and Eve saw the light, fancying it was real, they strengthened their hearts; yet, as they were trembling, Adam said to Eve:--

7 "Look at that great light, and at those many songs of praise, and at that host standing outside that do not come in to us, do not tell us what they say, or whence they come, or what is the meaning of this light; what those praises are; wherefore they have been sent hither, and why they do not come in.

8 "If they were from God, they would come to us in the cave, and would tell us their errand."

9 Then Adam stood up and prayed unto God with a fervent heart, and said:--

10 "O Lord, is there in the world another god than Thou, who created angels and filled them with light, and sent them to keep us, who would come with them?

11 "But, lo, we see these hosts that stand at the mouth of the cave; they are in a great light; they sing loud praises. If they are of some other god than Thou, tell me; and if they are sent by Thee, inform me of the reason for which Thou hast sent them."

12 No sooner had Adam said this, than an angel from God appeared unto him in the cave, who said unto him, "O Adam, fear not. This is Satan and his hosts; he wishes to deceive you as he deceived you at first. For the first time, he was hidden in the serpent; but this time he is come to you in the similitude of an angel of light; in order that, when you worshipped him, he might enthrall you, in the very presence of God."

13 Then the angel went from Adam, and seized Satan at the opening of the cave, and stripped him of the feint he had assumed, and brought him in his own hideous form to Adam and Eve; who were afraid of him when they saw him.

14 And the angel said to Adam, "This hideous form has been his ever since God made him fall from heaven. He could not have come near you in it; therefore did he transform himself into an angel of light."

15 Then the angel drove away Satan and his hosts from Adam and Eve, and said unto them, "Fear not; God who created you, will strengthen you."

16 And the angel went from them.

17 But Adam and Eve remained standing in the cave; no consolation came to them; they were divided in their thoughts.

18 And when it was morning they prayed; and then went out to seek the garden. For their hearts were towards it, and they could get no consolation for having left it.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 28

The Devil pretends to lead Adam and Eve to the water to bathe.

1 But when the wily Satan saw them, that they were going to the garden, he gathered together his host, and came in appearance upon a cloud, intent on deceiving them.

2 But when Adam and Eve saw him thus in a vision, they thought they were angels of God come to comfort them about their having left the garden, or to bring them back again into it.

3 And Adam spread his hands unto God, beseeching Him to make him understand what they were.

4 Then Satan, the hater of all good, said unto Adam, "O Adam, I am an angel of the great God; and, behold the hosts that surround me.

5 "God has sent me and them to take thee and bring thee to the border of the garden northwards; to the shore of the clear sea, and bathe thee and Eve in it, and raise you to your former gladness, that ye return again to the garden."

6 These words sank into the heart of Adam and Eve.

7 Yet God withheld His Word from Adam, and did not make him understand at once, but waited to see his strength; whether he would be overcome as Eve was when in the garden, or whether he would prevail.

8 Then Satan called to Adam and Eve, and said, "Behold, we go to the sea of water," and they began to go.

9 And Adam and Eve followed them at some little distance.

10 But when they came to the mountain to the north of the garden, a very high mountain, without any steps to the top of it, the Devil drew near to Adam and Eve, and made them go up to the top in reality, and not in a vision; wishing, as he did, to throw them down and kill them, and to wipe off their name from the earth; so that this earth should remain to him and his hosts alone.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 29

God tells Adam of the Devil's purpose. (v. 4).

1 But when the merciful God saw that Satan wished to kill Adam with his manifold devices, and saw that Adam was meek and without guile, God spake unto Satan in a loud voice, and cursed him.

2 Then he and his hosts fled, and Adam and Eve remained standing on the top of the mountain, whence they saw below them the wide world, high above which they were. But they saw none of the host which anon were by them.

3 They wept, both Adam and Eve, before God, and begged for forgiveness of Him.

4 Then came the Word from God to Adam, and said unto him, "Know thou and understand concerning this Satan, that he seeks to deceive thee and thy seed after thee."

5 And Adam wept before the Lord God, and begged and entreated Him to give him something from the garden, as a token to him, wherein to be comforted.

6 And God looked upon Adam's thought, and sent the angel Michael as far as the sea that reaches unto India, to take from thence golden rods and bring them to Adam.

7 This did God in His wisdom, in order that these golden rods, being with Adam in the cave, should shine forth with light in the night around him, and put an end to his fear of the darkness.

8 Then the angel Michael went down by God's order, took golden rods, as God had commanded him, and brought them to God.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 30

Adam receives the first worldly goods.

1 After these things, God commanded the angel Gabriel to go down to the garden, and say to the cherub who kept it, "Behold, God has commanded me to come into the garden, and to take thence sweet smelling incense, and give it to Adam."

2 Then the angel Gabriel went down by God's order to the garden, and told the cherub as God had commanded him.

3 The cherub then said, "Well." And Gabriel went in and took the incense.

4 Then God commanded His angel Raphael to go down to the garden, and speak to the cherub about some myrrh, to give to Adam.

5 And the angel Raphael went down and told the cherub as God had commanded him, and the cherub said, "Well." Then Raphael went in and took the myrrh.

6 The golden rods were from the Indian sea, where there are precious stones. The incense was from the eastern border of the garden; and the myrrh from the western border, whence bitterness came upon Adam.

7 And the angels brought these three things to God, by the Tree of Life, in the garden.

8 Then God said to the angels, "Dip them in the spring of water; then take them and sprinkle their water over Adam and Eve, that they be a little comforted in their sorrow, and give them to Adam and Eve.

9 And the angels did as God had commanded them, and they gave all those things to Adam and Eve on the top of the mountain upon which Satan had placed them, when he sought to make an end of them.

10 And when Adam saw the golden rods, the incense and the myrrh, he was rejoiced and wept because he thought that the gold was a token of the kingdom whence he had come, that the incense was a token of the bright light which had been taken from him, and that the myrrh was a token of the sorrow in which he was.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 31

They make themselves more comfortable in the Cave of Treasures on the third day.

1 After these things God said unto Adam, "Thou didst ask of Me something from the garden, to be comforted therewith, and I have given thee these three tokens as a consolation to thee; that thou trust in Me and in My covenant with thee.

2 "For I will come and save thee; and kings shall bring me when in the flesh, gold, incense and myrrh; gold as a token of My kingdom; incense as a token of My divinity; and myrrh as a token of My suffering and of My death.

3 "But, O Adam, put these by thee in the cave; the gold that it may shed light over thee by night; the incense, that thou smell its sweet savour; and the myrrh, to comfort thee in thy sorrow."

4 When Adam heard these words from God, he worshipped before Him. He and Eve worshipped Him and gave Him thanks, because He had dealt mercifully with them.

5 Then God commanded the three angels, Michael, Gabriel and Raphael, each to bring what he had brought, and give it to Adam. And they did so, one by one.

6 And God commanded Suriyel and Salathiel to bear up Adam and Eve, and bring them down from the top of the high mountain, and to take them to the Cave of Treasures.

7 There they laid the gold on the south side of the cave, the incense on the eastern side, and the myrrh on the western side. For the mouth of the cave was on the north side.

8 The angels then comforted Adam and Eve, and departed.

9 The gold was seventy rods; the incense, twelve pounds; and the myrrh, three pounds.

10 These remained by Adam in the House of Treasures; therefore was it called "of concealment." But other interpreters say it was called the "Cave of Treasures," by reason of the bodies of righteous men that were in it.

11 These three things did God give to Adam, on the third day after he had come out of the garden, in token of the three days the Lord should remain in the heart of the earth.

12 And these three things, as they continued with Adam in the cave, gave him light by night; and by day they gave him a little relief from his sorrow.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 32

Adam and Eve go into the water to pray.

1 And Adam and Eve remained in the Cave of Treasures until the seventh day; they neither ate of the fruit of the earth, nor drank water.

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2 And when it dawned on the eighth day, Adam said to Eve, "O Eve, we prayed God to give us somewhat from the garden, and He sent His angels who brought us what we had desired.

3 "But now, arise, let us go to the sea of water we saw at first, and let us stand in it, praying that God will again be favourable to us and take us back to the garden; or give us something; or that He will give us comfort in some other land than this in which we are."

4 Then Adam and Eve came out of the cave, went and stood on the border of the sea in which they had before thrown themselves, and Adam said to Eve:--

5 "Come, go down into this place, and come not out of it until the end of thirty days, when I shall come to thee. And pray to God with fervent heart and a sweet voice, to forgive us.

6 "And I will go to another place, and go down into it, and do like thee."

7 Then Eve went down into the water, as Adam had commanded her. Adam also went down into the water; and they stood praying; and besought the Lord to forgive them their offence, and to restore them to their former state.

8 And they stood thus praying, unto the end of the five-and-thirty days.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 33

Satan falsely promises the "bright light!'

1 But Satan, the hater of all good, sought them in the cave, but found them not, although he searched diligently for them.

2 But he found them standing in the water praying and thought within himself, "Adam and Eve are thus standing in that water beseeching God to forgive them their transgression, and to restore them to their former estate, and to take them from under my hand.

3 "But I will deceive them so that they shall come out of the water, and not fulfil their vow."

4 Then the hater of all good, went not to Adam, but be went to Eve, and took the form of an angel of God, praising and rejoicing, and said to her--

5 "Peace be unto thee! Be glad and rejoice! God is favourable unto you, and He sent me to Adam. I have brought him the glad tidings of salvation, and of his being filled with bright light as he was at first.

6 "And Adam, in his joy for his restoration, has sent me to thee, that thou come to me, in order that I crown thee with light like him.

7 "And he said to me, 'Speak unto Eve; if she does not come with thee, tell her of the sign when we were on the top of the mountain; how God sent His angels who took us and brought us to the Cave of Treasures; and laid the gold on the southern side; incense, on the eastern side; and myrrh on the western side.' Now come to him."

8 When Eve heard these words from him, she rejoiced greatly. And thinking that Satan's appearance was real, she came out of the sea.

9 He went before, and she followed him until they came to Adam. Then Satan hid himself from her, and she saw him no more.

10 She then came and stood before Adam, who was standing by the water and rejoicing in God's forgiveness.

11 And as she called to him, he turned round, found her there and wept when he saw her, and smote upon his breast; and from the bitterness of his grief, he sank into the water.

12 But God looked upon him and upon his misery, and upon his being about to breathe his last. And the Word of God came from heaven, raised him out of the water, and said unto him, "Go up the high bank to Eve." And when he came up to Eve he said unto her, "Who said to thee 'come hither'?"

13 Then she told him the discourse of the angel who had appeared unto her and had given her a sign.

14 But Adam grieved, and gave her to know it was Satan. He then took her and they both returned to the cave.

15 These things happened to them the second time they went down to the water, seven days after their coming out of the garden.

16 They fasted in the water thirty-five days; altogether forty-two days since they had left the garden.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 34

Adam recalls the creation of Eve. He eloquently appeals for food and drink.

1 And on the morning of the forty-third day, they came out of the cave, sorrowful and weeping. Their bodies were lean, and they were parched from hunger and thirst, from fasting and praying, and from their heavy sorrow on account of their transgression.

2 And when they had come out of the cave they went up the mountain to the west of the garden.

3 There they stood and prayed and besought God to grant them forgiveness of their sins.

4 And after their prayers Adam began to entreat 'God, saying, "O my Lord my God, and my Creator, thou didst command the four elements to be gathered together, and they were gathered together by Thine order.

5 "Then Thou spreadest Thy hand and didst create me out of one element, that of dust of the earth; and Thou didst bring me into the garden at the third hour, on a Friday, and didst inform me of it in the cave.

6 "Then, at first, I knew neither night nor day, for I had a bright nature; neither did the light in which I lived ever leave me to know night or day.

7 "Then, again, O Lord, in that third hour in which Thou didst create me, Thou broughtest to me all beasts, and lions, and ostriches, and fowls of the air, and all things that move in the earth, which Thou hadst created at the first hour before me of the Friday.

8 "And Thy will was that I should name them all, one by one, with a suitable name. But Thou gavest me understanding and knowledge, and a pure heart and a right mind from Thee, that I should name them after Thine own mind regarding the naming of them.

9 "O God, Thou madest them obedient to me, and didst order that not one of them break from my sway, according to Thy commandment, and to the dominion which Thou hast given me over them. But now they are all estranged from me.

10 "Then it was in that third hour of Friday, in which Thou didst create me, and didst command me concerning the tree, to which I was neither to draw near, nor to eat thereof; for Thou saidst to me in the garden, 'When thou eatest of it, of death thou shalt die.'

11 "And if Thou hadst punished me as Thou saidst, with death, I should have died that very moment.

12 "Moreover, when Thou commandedst me regarding the tree, I was neither to approach nor to cat thereof, Eve was not with me; Thou hadst not Yet created her, neither hadst Thou yet taken her out of my side; nor had she yet heard this order from Thee.

13 "Then, at the end of the third hour of that Friday, O Lord, Thou didst cause a slumber and a sleep to come over me, and I slept, and was overwhelmed in sleep.

14 "Then Thou didst draw a rib out of my side, and created it after my own similitude and image. Then I awoke; and when I saw her and knew who she was, I said, 'This is bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh; henceforth she shall be called woman.'

15 "It was of Thy good will, O God, that Thou broughtest a slumber and a sleep over me, and that Thou didst forthwith bring Eve out of my side, until she was out, so that I did not see how she was made; neither could I witness, O my Lord, how awful and great are Thy goodness and glory.

16 "And of Thy goodwill, O Lord, Thou madest us both with bodies of a bright nature, and Thou madest us two, one; and Thou gavest us Thy grace, and didst fill us with praises of the Holy Spirit; that we should be neither hungry nor thirsty, nor know what sorrow is, nor yet faintness of heart; neither suffering, fasting, nor weariness.

17 "But now, O God, since we transgressed Thy commandment and broke Thy law, Thou hast brought us out into a strange land, and has caused suffering, and faintness, hunger and thirst to come upon us.

1S "Now, therefore, O God, we pray Thee, give us something to eat from the garden, to satisfy our hunger with it; and something wherewith to quench our thirst.

19 "For, behold, many days, O God, we have tasted nothing and drunk nothing, and our flesh is dried up, and our strength is wasted, and sleep is gone from our eyes from faintness and weeping.

20 "Then, O God, we dare not gather aught of the fruit of trees, from fear of Thee. For when we transgressed at first Thou didst spare us, and didst not make us die.

21 "But now, we thought in our hearts, if we eat of the fruit of trees, without God's order, He will destroy us this time, and will wipe us off from the face of the earth.

22 "And if we drink of this water, without God's order, He will make an end of us, and root us up at once.

23 "Now, therefore, O God, that I am come to this place with Eve, we beg Thou wilt give us of the fruit of the garden, that we may be satisfied with it.

24 "For we desire the fruit that is on the earth, and all else that we lack in it."

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 35

God's reply.

1 Then God looked again upon Adam and his weeping and groaning, and the Word of God came to him, and said unto him:--

2 "O Adam, when thou wast in My garden, thou knewest neither eating nor drinking; neither faintness nor suffering; neither leanness of flesh, nor change; neither did sleep depart from thine eyes. But since thou transgressedst, and camest into this strange land, all these trials are come upon thee."

. . . (text missing) . . .

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 37

Forty-three days of penance do not redeem one hour of sin (v. 6).

1 Then Adam said to Eve, "Seest thou not these figs and their leaves, with which we covered ourselves when we were stripped of our bright nature? But now, we know not what misery and suffering may come upon us from eating them.

2 "Now, therefore, O Eve, let us restrain ourselves and not eat of them, thou and I; and let us ask God to give us of the fruit of the Tree of Life."

3 Thus did Adam and Eve restrain themselves, and did not eat of these figs.

4 But Adam began to pray to God and to beseech Him to give him of the fruit of the Tree of Life, saying thus: "O God, when we transgressed Thy commandment at the sixth hour of Friday, we were stripped of the bright nature we had, and did not continue in the garden after our transgression, more than three hours.

5 "But on the evening Thou madest us come out of it. O God, we transgressed against Thee one hour, and all these trials and sorrows have come upon us until this day.

6 "And those days together with this the forty-third day, do not redeem that one hour in which we transgressed!

7 "O God, look upon us with an eye of pity, and do not requite us according to our transgression of Thy commandment, in presence of Thee.

8 "O, God, give us of the fruit of the Tree of Life, that we may eat of it, and live, and turn not to see sufferings and other trouble, in this earth; for Thou art God.

9 "When we transgressed Thy commandment, Thou madest us come out of the garden, and didst send a cherub to keep the Tree of Life, lest we should eat thereof, and live; and know nothing of faintness after we transgressed.

10 "But now, O Lord, behold, we have endured all these days, and have borne sufferings. Make these forty-three days an equivalent for the one hour in which we transgressed."

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 38

"When 5500 years are fulfilled . . . ."

1 After these things the Word of God came to Adam, and said unto him:--

2 "O Adam, as to the fruit of the Tree of Life, for which thou askest, I will not give it thee now, but when the 5500 years are fulfilled. Then will I give thee of the fruit of the Tree of Life, and thou shalt eat, and live for ever, thou, and Eve, and thy righteous seed.

3 "But these forty-three days cannot make amends for the hour in which thou didst transgress My commandment.

4 "O Adam, I gave thee to eat of the fig-tree in which thou didst hide thyself. Go and eat of it, thou and Eve.

5 "I will not deny thy request, neither will I disappoint thy hope; therefore, bear up unto the fulfilment of the covenant I made with thee."

6 And God withdrew His Word from Adam.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 39

Adam is cautious--but too late.

1 Then Adam returned to Eve, and said to her, "Arise, and take a fig for thyself, and I will take another; and let us go to our cave."

2 Then Adam and Eve took each a fig and went towards the cave; the time was about the setting of the sun; and their thoughts made them long to eat of the fruit.

3 But Adam said to Eve, "I am afraid to eat of this fig. I know not what may come upon me from it."

4 So Adam wept, and stood praying before God, saying, "Satisfy my hunger, without my having to eat this fig; for after I have eaten it, what will it profit me? And what shall I desire and ask of Thee, O God, when it is gone?"

5 And he said again, "I am afraid to eat of it; for I know not what will befall me through it."

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 40

The first Human hunger.

1 Then the Word of God came to Adam, and said unto him, "O, Adam, why hadst thou not this dread, neither this fasting, nor this care ere this? And why hadst thou not this fear before thou didst transgress?

2 "But when thou camest to dwell in this strange land, thy animal body could not be on earth without earthly food, to strengthen it and to restore its powers."

3 And God withdrew His Word from Adam.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 41

The first Human thirst.

1 Then Adam took the fig, and laid it on the golden rods. Eve also took her fig, and put it upon the incense.

2 And the weight of each fig was that of a water-melon; for the fruit of the garden was much larger than the fruit of this land.

3 But Adam and Eve remained standing and fasting the whole of that night, until the morning dawned.

4 When the sun rose they were at their prayers, and Adam said to Eve, after they had done praying:--

5 "O Eve, come, let us go to the border of the garden looking south; to the place whence the river flows, and is parted into four heads. There we will pray to God, and ask Him to give us to drink of the Water of Life.

6 "For God has not fed us with the Tree of Life, in order that we may not live. We will, therefore, ask him to give us of

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the Water of Life, and to quench our thirst with it, rather than with a drink of water of this land."

7 When Eve heard these words from Adam, she agreed; and they both arose and came to the southern border of the garden, upon the brink of the river of water at some little distance from the garden.

8 And they stood and prayed before the Lord, and asked Him to look upon them this once, to forgive them, and to grant them their request.

9 After this prayer from both of them, Adam began to pray with his voice before God, and said:--

10 "O Lord, when I was in the garden and saw the water that flowed from under the Tree of Life, my heart did not desire, neither did my body require to drink of it; neither did I know thirst, for I was living; and above that which I am now.

11 "So that in order to live I did not require any Food of Life, neither did I drink of the Water of Life.

12 "But now, O God, I am dead; my flesh is parched with thirst. Give me of the Water of Life that I may drink of it and live.

13 "Of Thy mercy, O God, save me from these plagues and trials, and bring me into another land different from this, if Thou wilt not let me dwell in Thy garden."

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 42

A promise of the Water of Life. The third prophecy of the coming of Christ.

1 Then came the Word of God to Adam, and said unto him:--

2 "O Adam, as to what thou sayest, 'Bring me into a land where there is rest,' it is not another land than this, but it is the kingdom of heaven where alone there is rest.

3 "But thou canst not make thy entrance into it at present; but only after thy judgement is past and fulfilled.

4 "Then will I make thee go up into the kingdom of heaven, thee and thy righteous seed; and I will give thee and them the rest thou askest for at present.

5 "And if thou saidst, 'Give me of the Water of Life that I may drink and live'--it cannot be this day, but on the day that I shall descend into hell, and break the gates of brass, and bruise in pieces the kingdoms of iron.

6 "Then will I in mercy save thy soul and the souls of the righteous, to give them rest in My garden. And that shall be when the end of the world is come.

7 "And, again, as regards the Water of Life thou seekest, it will not be granted thee this day; but on the day that I shall shed My blood upon thy head in the land of Golgotha.

8 "For My blood shall be the Water of Life unto thee, at that time, and not to thee alone, but unto all those of thy seed who shall believe in Me; that it be unto them for rest for ever."

9 The Lord said again unto Adam, "O Adam, when thou wast in the garden, these trials did not come to thee

10 "But since thou didst transgress My commandment, all these sufferings have come upon thee.

11. "Now, also, does thy flesh require food and drink; drink then of that water that flows by thee on the face of the earth."

12 Then God withdrew His Word from Adam.

13 And Adam and Eve worshipped the Lord, and returned from the river of water to the cave. It was noon-day; and when they drew near to the cave, they saw a large fire by it.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 43

The Devil attempts arson.

1 Then Adam and Eve were afraid, and stood still. And Adam said to Eve, "What is that fire by our cave? We do nothing in it to bring about this fire.

2 "We neither have bread to bake therein, nor broth to cook there. As to this fire, we know not the like, neither do we know what to call it.

3 "But ever since God sent the cherub with a sword of fire that flashed and lightened in his hand, from fear of which we fell down and were like corpses, have we not seen the like.

4 "But now O Eve, behold, this is the same fire that was in the cherub's hand, which God has sent to keep the cave in which we dwell.

5 "O Eve, it is because God is angry with us, and will drive us from it.

6 "O Eve, we have again transgressed His commandment in that cave, so that He had sent this fire to burn around it, and to prevent us from going into it.

7 "If this be really so, O Eve, where shall we dwell? And whither shall we flee from before the face of the Lord? Since, as regards the garden, He will not let us abide in it, and He has deprived us of the good things thereof; but He has placed us in this cave, in which we have borne darkness, trials and hardships, until at last we found comfort therein.

8 "But now that He has brought us out into another land, who knows what may happen in it? And who knows but that the darkness of that land may be far greater than the darkness of this land?

9 "Who knows what may happen in that land by day or by night? And who knows whether it will be far or near, O Eve? Where it will please God to put us, may be far from the garden, O Eve! or where God will prevent us from beholding Him, because we have transgressed His commandment, and because we have made requests unto Him at all times?

10 "O Eve, if God will bring us into a strange land other than this, in which we find consolation, it must be to put our souls to death, and blot out our name from the face of the earth.

11 "O Eve, if we are farther estranged from the garden and from God, where shall we find Him again, and ask Him to give us gold, incense, myrrh, and some fruit of the fig-tree?

12 "Where shall we find Him, to comfort us a second time? Where shall we find Him, that He may think of us, as regards the covenant He has made on our behalf T'

13 Then Adam said no more. And they kept looking, he and Eve, towards the cave, and at the fire that flared up around it.

14 But that fire was from Satan. For he had gathered trees and dry grasses, and had carried and brought them to the cave, and had set fire to them, in order to consume the cave and--what was in it.

15 So that Adam and Eve should be left in sorrow, and he should cut off their trust in God, and make them deny Him.

16 But by the mercy of God he could not burn the cave, for God sent His angel round the cave to guard it from such a fire, until it went out.

17 And this fire lasted from noon-day until the break of day. That was the forty-fifth day.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 44

The power of fire over man.

1 Yet Adam and Eve were standing and looking at the fire, and unable to come near the cave from their dread of the fire.

2 And Satan kept on bringing trees and throwing them into the fire, until the flame thereof rose up on high, and covered the whole cave, thinking, as he did in his own mind, to consume the cave with much fire. But the angel of the Lord was guarding it.

3 And yet he could not curse Satan, nor injure him by word, because he had no authority over him, neither did he take to doing so with words from his mouth.

4 Therefore did the angel bear with him, without saying one bad word until the Word of God came who said to Satan, "Go hence; once before didst thou deceive My servants, and this time thou seekest to destroy them.

5 "Were it not for My mercy I would have destroyed thee and thy hosts from off the earth. But I have had patience with thee, unto the end of the world."

6 Then Satan fled from before the Lord. But the fire went on burning around the cave like a coal-fire the whole day; which was the forty-sixth day Adam and Eve had spent since they came out of the garden.

7 And when Adam and Eve saw that the heat of the fire had somewhat cooled down, they began to walk towards the cave to get into it as they were wont; but they could not, by reason of the heat of the fire.

8 Then they both took to weeping because of the fire that made separation between them and the cave, and that drew towards them, burning. And they were afraid.

9 Then Adam said to Eve, "See this fire of which we have a portion in us: which formerly yielded to us, but no longer does so, now that we have transgressed the limit of creation, and changed our condition, and our nature is altered. But the fire is not changed in its nature, nor altered from its creation. Therefore has it now power over us; and when we come near it, it scorches our flesh."

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 45

Why Satan didn't fulfil his promises.

1 Then Adam rose and prayed unto God, saying, "See, this fire has made separation between us and the cave in which Thou hast commanded us to dwell; but now, behold, we cannot go into it."

2 Then God heard Adam, and sent him His Word, that said:--

3 "O Adam, see this fire! how different the flame and heat thereof are from the garden of delights and the good things in it!

4 "When thou wast under My control, all creatures yielded to thee; but after thou hast transgressed My commandment, they all rise over thee."

5 Again said God unto him, "See, O Adam, how Satan has exalted thee! He has deprived thee of the Godhead, and of an exalted state like unto Me, and has not kept his word to thee; but, after all, is become thy foe. It is he who made this fire in which he meant to burn thee and Eve.

6 "Why, O Adam, has he not kept his agreement with thee, not even one day; but has deprived thee of the glory that was on thee--when thou didst yield to his command?

7 "Thinkest thou, Adam, that he loved thee when he made this agreement with thee? Or, that he loved thee and wished to raise thee on high?

8 "But no, Adam, he did not do all that out of love to thee; but he wished to make thee come out of light into darkness, and from an exalted state to degradation; from glory to abasement; from joy to sorrow; and from rest to fasting and fainting."

9 God said also to Adam, "See this fire kindled by Satan around thy cave; see this wonder that surrounds thee; and know that it will encompass about both thee and thy seed, when ye hearken to his behest; that he will plague you with fire; and that ye shall go down into hell after ye are dead.

10 "Then shall ye see the burning of his fire, that will thus be burning around you and your seed. There shall be no deliverance from it for you, but at My coming; in like manner as thou canst not now go into thy cave, by reason of the great fire around it; not until My Word shall come that will make a way for thee on the day My covenant is fulfilled.

11 "There is no way for thee at present to come from hence to rest, not until My Word comes, who is My Word. Then will He make a way for thee, and thou shalt have rest." Then God called with His Word to that fire that burned around the cave, that it part itself asunder, until Adam had gone through it. Then the fire parted itself by God's order, and a way was made for Adam.

12 And God withdrew His Word from Adam.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 46

"How many times have I delivered thee out of his hand . . ."

1 Then Adam and Eve began again to come into the cave. And when they came to the way between the fire, Satan blew into the fire like a whirlwind, and made on Adam and Eve a burning coal-fire; so that their bodies were singed; and the coal-fire scorched them.

2 And from the burning of the fire Adam and Eve cried aloud, and said, "O Lord, save us! Leave us not to be consumed and plagued by this burning fire; neither require us for having transgressed Thy commandment."

3 Then God looked upon their bodies, on which Satan had caused fire to bum, and God sent His angel that stayed the burning fire. But the wounds remained on their bodies.

4 And God said unto Adam, "See Satan's love for thee, who pretended to give thee the Godhead and greatness; and, behold, he burns thee with fire, and seeks to destroy thee from off the earth.

5 "Then look at Me, O Adam; I created thee, and how many times have I delivered thee out of his hand? If not, would he not have destroyed thee?"

6 God said again to Eve, "What is that he promised thee in the garden, saying, 'At the time ye shall eat of the tree, your eyes will be opened, and you shall become like gods, knowing good and evil.' But lo! he has burnt your bodies with fire, and has made you taste the taste of fire, for the taste of the garden; and has made you see the burning of fire, and the evil thereof, and the power it has over you.

7 "Your eyes have seen the good he has taken from you, and in truth he has opened your eyes; and you have seen the garden in which ye were with Me, and ye have also seen the evil that has come upon you from Satan. But as to the Godhead he cannot give it you, neither fulfil his speech to you. Nay, he was bitter against you and your seed, that will come after you."

8 And God withdrew His Word from them.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 47

The Devil's own Scheming.

1 Then Adam and Eve came into the cave, yet trembling at the fire that had scorched their bodies. So Adam said to Eve:--

2 "Lo, the fire has burnt our flesh in this world; but how will it be when we are dead, and Satan shall punish our souls? Is not our deliverance long and far off, unless God come, and in mercy to us fulfil His promise?"

3 Then Adam and Eve passed into the cave, blessing themselves for coming into it once more. For it was in their thoughts, that they never should enter it, when they saw the fire around it.

4 But as the sun was setting the fire was still burning and nearing Adam and Eve in the cave, so that they could not sleep in it. After the sun had set, they went out of it. This was the forty-seventh day after they came out of the garden.

5 Adam and Eve then came under the top of hill by the garden to sleep, as they were wont.

6 And they stood and prayed God to forgive them their sins, and then fell asleep under the summit of the mountain.

7 But Satan, the hater of all good, thought within himself: Whereas God has promised salvation to Adam by covenant, and that He would deliver him out of all the hardships that have befallen him-but has not promised me by covenant, and will not deliver me out of my hardships; nay, since He has promised him that He should make him and his seed dwell in the kingdom in which I once was--I will kill Adam.

8 The earth shall be rid of him; and shall be left to me alone; so that when he is dead he may not have any seed left to inherit the kingdom that shall remain my own realm; God will then be in want of me, and He will restore me to it with my hosts.

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1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 48

Fifth apparition of Satan to Adam and Eve.

1 After this Satan called to his hosts, all of which came to him, and said unto him:--

2 "O, our Lord, what wilt thou do?"

3 He then said unto them, "Ye know that this Adam, whom God created out of the dust, is he who has taken our kingdom. Come, let us gather together and kill him; or hurl a rock at him and at Eve, and crush them under it."

4 When Satan's hosts heard these words, they came to the part of the mountain where Adam and Eve were asleep.

5 Then Satan and his hosts took a huge rock, broad and even, and without blemish, thinking within himself, "If there should be a hole in the rock, when it fell on them, the hole in the rock might come upon them, and so they would escape and not die."

6 He then said to his hosts, "Take up this stone, and throw it flat upon them, so that it roll not from them to somewhere else. And when ye have hurled it, flee and tarry not."

7 And they did as he bid them. But as the rock fell down from the mountain upon Adam and Eve, God commanded it to become a kind of shed over them, that did them no harm. And so it was by God's order.

8 But when the rock fell, the whole earth quaked with it, and. was shaken from the size of the rock.

9 And as it quaked and shook, Adam and Eve awoke from sleep, and found themselves under a rock like a shed. But they knew not how it was; for when they fell asleep they were under the sky, and not under a shed; and when they saw it, they were afraid.

10 Then Adam said to Eve, "Wherefore has the mountain bent itself, and the earth quaked and shaken on our account? And why has this rock spread itself over us like a tent?

11 "Does God intend to plague us and to shut us up in this prison? Or will He close the earth upon us?

12 "He is angry with us for our having come out of the cave without His order; and for our having done so of our own accord, without consulting Him, when we left the cave and came to this place."

13 Then Eve said, "If, indeed, the earth quaked for our sake, and this rock forms a tent over us because of our transgression, then woe be to us, O Adam, for our punishment will be long.

14 "But arise and pray Ito God to let us know concerning this, and what this rock is, that is spread over us like a tent."

15 Then Adam stood up and prayed before the Lord, to let him know about this strait. And Adam thus stood praying until the morning.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 49

The first prophecy of the Resurrection.

1 Then the Word of God came and said:--

2 "O Adam, who counselled thee, when thou earnest out of the cave, to come to this place?"

3 And Adam said unto God, "O Lord, we came to this place because of the heat of the fire, that came upon us inside the cave."

4 Then the Lord God said unto Adam, "O Adam, thou dreadest the heat of fire for one night, but how will it be when thou dwellest in hell?

5 "Yet, O Adam, fear not, neither say in thy heart that I have spread this rock as an awning over thee, to plague thee therewith.

6 "It came from Satan, who had promised thee the Godhead and majesty. It is he who threw down this rock to kill thee under it, and Eve with thee, and thus to prevent you from living upon the earth.

7 "But, in mercy for you, just as that rock was falling down upon you, I commanded it to form an awning over you; and the rock under you, to lower itself.

8 "And this sign, O Adam, will happen to Me at My coming upon earth: Satan will raise the people of the Jews Jo put Me to death; and they will lay Me in a rock, and seal a large stone upon Me, and I shall remain within that rock three days and three nights.

9 "But on the third day I shall rise again, and it shall be salvation to thee, O Adam, and to thy seed, to believe in Me. But, O Adam, I will not bring thee from under this rock until three days and three nights are passed."

10 And God withdrew His Word from Adam.

11 But Adam and Eve abode under the rock three days and three nights, as God had told them.

12 And God did so to them because they had left their cave and had come to this same place without God's order.

13 But, after three days and three nights, God opened the rock and brought them out from under it. Their flesh was dried up, and their eyes and their hearts were troubled from weeping and sorrow.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 50

Adam and Eve seek to cover their nakedness.

1 Then Adam and Eve went forth and came into the Cave of Treasures, and they stood praying in it the whole of that day, until the evening.

2 And this took place at the end of fifty days after they had left the garden.

3 But Adam and Eve rose again and prayed to God in the cave the whole of that night, and begged for mercy from Him.

4 And when the day dawned, Adam said unto Eve, "Come! let us go and do some work for our bodies."

5 So they went out of the cave, and came to the northern border of the garden, and they sought something to cover their bodies withal. But they found nothing, and knew not how to do the work. Yet their bodies were stained, and they were speechless from cold and heat.

6 Then Adam stood and asked God to show him something wherewith to cover their bodies.

7 Then came the Word of God and said unto him, "O Adam, take Eve and come to the seashore, where ye fasted before. There ye shall find skins of sheep, whose flesh was devoured by lions, and whose skins were left. Take them and make raiment for yourselves, and clothe yourselves withal."

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 51

"What is his beauty that you should have followed him?"

1 When Adam heard these words from God, he took Eve and removed from the northern end of the garden to the south of it, by the river of water, where they once fasted.

2 But as they were going in the way, and before they reached that place, Satan, the wicked one, had heard the Word of God communing with Adam respecting his covering.

3 It grieved him, and he hastened to the place where the sheep-skins were, with the intention of taking them and throwing them into the sea, or of burning them with fire, that Adam and Eve should not find them.

4 But as he was about to take them, the Word of God came from heaven, and bound him by the side of those skins until Adam and Eve came near him. But as they neared him they were afraid of him, and of his hideous look.

5 Then came the Word of God to Adam and Eve, and said to them, "This is he who was hidden in the serpent, and who deceived you, and stripped you of the garment of light and glory in which you were.

6 "This is he who promised you majesty and divinity. Where, then, is the beauty that was on him? Where is his divinity? Where is his light? Where is the glory that rested on him?

7 "Now his figure is hideous; he is become abominable among angels; and he has come to be called Satan.

8 "O Adam I he wished to take from you this earthly garment of sheep-skins, and to destroy it, and not let you be covered with it.

9 "What, then, is his beauty that you should have followed him? And what have you gained by hearkening to him? See his evil works and then look at Me; at Me, your Creator, and at the good deeds I do you.

10 "See, I bound him until you came and saw him and beheld his weakness, that no power is left with him."

11 And God released him from his bonds.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 52

Adam and Eve sew the first shirt.

1 After this Adam and Eve said no more, but wept before God on account of their creation, and of their bodies that required an earthly covering.

2 Then Adam said unto Eve, "O Eve, this is the skin of beasts with which we shall be covered. But when we have put it on, behold, a token of death shall have come upon us, inasmuch as the owners of these skins have died, and have wasted away. So also shall we die, and pass away."

3 Then Adam and Eve took the skins, and went back to the Cave of Treasures; and when in it, they stood and prayed as they were wont.

4 And they thought how they could make garments of those skins; for they had no skill for it.

5 Then God sent to them His angel to show them how to work it out. And the angel said to Adam, "Go forth, and bring some palm-thorns." Then Adam went out, and brought some, as the angel had commanded him.

6 Then the angel began before them to work out the skins, after the manner of one who prepares a shirt. And he took the thorns and stuck them into the skins, before their eyes.

7 Then the angel again stood up and prayed God that the thorns in those skins should be hidden, so as to be, as it were, sewn with one thread.

8 And so it was, by God's order; they became garments for Adam and Eve, and He clothed them withal.

9 From that time the nakedness of their bodies was covered from the sight of each other's eyes.

10 And this happened at the end of the fifty-first day.

11 Then when Adam's and Eve's bodies were covered, they stood and prayed, and sought mercy of the Lord, and forgiveness, and gave Him thanks for that He had had mercy on them, and had covered their nakedness. And they ceased not from prayer the whole of that night.

12 Then when the mom dawned at the rising of the sun, they said their prayers after their custom; and then went out of the cave.

13 And Adam said unto Eve, "Since we know not what there is to the westward of this cave, let us go forth and see it to-day." Then they came forth and went towards the western border.

. . . (text missing) . . .

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 55

The Conflict of Satan.

1 Then came the Word of God to Adam and Eve, and raised them from their dead state, saying unto them, "Why came ye up hither? Dr, you intend to go into the garden, from which I brought you out? it can not be to-day; but only when the covenant I have made with you is fulfilled."

2 Then Adam, when he heard the Word of God, and the fluttering of the angels whom he did not see, but only heard the sound of them with his ears, he and Eve wept, and said to the angels:--

3 "O Spirits, who wait upon God, look upon me, and upon my being unable to see you! For when I was in my former bright nature) then I could see you. I sang praises as you do; and my heart was far above you.

4 "But now, that I have transgressed, that bright nature is gone from me, and I am come to this miserable state. And now am I come to this, that I cannot see you, and you do not serve me As you were wont. For I am become animal flesh.

5 "Yet now O angels of God, ask God with me, to restore me to that wherein I was formerly; to rescue me from this misery, and to remove from me the sentence of death He passed upon me, for having trespassed against Him."

6 Then, when the angels heard these words, they all grieved over him; and cursed Satan who had beguiled Adam, until he came from the garden to misery; from life to death; from peace to trouble; and from gladness to a strange land.

7 Then the angels said unto Adam, "Thou didst hearken to Satan, and didst forsake the Word of God who created thee; and thou didst believe that Satan would fulfil all he had promised thee.

8 "But now, O Adam, we will make known to thee, what came upon us through him, before his fall from heaven.

9 "He gathered together his hosts, and deceived them, promising them to give them a great kingdom, a divine nature; and other promises he made them.

10 "His hosts believed that. his word was true, so they yielded to him, and renounced the glory of God.

11 "He then sent for us according to the orders in which we were-to come under his command, and to hearken to his vain promise. But we would not, and we took not his advice.

12 "Then after he had fought with God, and had dealt forwardly with Him, he gathered together his hosts, and made war with us. And if it had not been for God's strength that was with us, we could not have prevailed against him to hurl him from heaven.

13 "But when he fell from among us, there was great joy in heaven, because of his going down from us. For had he continued in heaven, nothing, not even one angel would have remained in it.

14 "But God in His mercy, drove him from among us to this dark earth; for he had become darkness itself and a worker of unrighteousness.

15 "And he has continued, O Adam, to make war against thee, until he beguiled thee and made thee come out of the garden, to this strange land, where all these trials have come to thee. And death, which God brought upon him he has also brought to thee, O Adam, because thou didst obey him, and didst transgress against God."

16 Then a the angels rejoiced and praised God, and asked Him not to destroy Adam this time, for his having sought to enter the garden; but to bear with him until the fulfilment of the promise; and to help him in this world until he was free from Satan's hand.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 56

A chapter of divine comfort.

1 Then came the Word of God to Adam, and said unto him:--

2 "O Adam, look at that garden of joy and at this earth of toil, and behold the angels who are in the garden-that is full of them, and see thyself alone on this earth, with Satan whom thou didst obey.

3 "Yet, if thou hadst submitted, and been obedient to Me, and hadst kept My Word, thou wouldst be with My angels in My garden.

4 "But when thou didst transgress and hearken to Satan, thou didst become his guest among his angels, that are full of wickedness; and thou camest to this earth, that brings forth to thee thorns and thistles.

5 "O Adam, ask him who deceived thee, to give thee the divine nature he promised thee, or to make thee a garden as I had made for thee; or to fill thee with that same bright nature with which I had filled thee.

6 "Ask him to make thee a body like the one I made thee, or to give thee a day of rest as I gave thee; or to create within thee a reasonable soul, as I did create for thee; or to remove thee hence to some other earth than this one which I gave thee.

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But, O Adam, he will not fulfil even one of the things he told thee.

7 "Acknowledge, then, My favour towards thee, and My mercy on thee, My creature; that I have not requited thee for thy transgression against Me, but in My pity for thee I have promised thee that at the end of the great five days and a half I will come and save thee."

8 Then God said again to Adam and Eve, "Arise, go down hence, lest the cherub with a sword of fire in his hand destroy you."

9 But Adam's heart was comforted by God's words to him, and he worshipped before Him.

10 And God commanded His angels to escort Adam and Eve to the cave with joy, instead of the fear that had come upon them.

11 Then the angels took up Adam and Eve, and brought them down from the mountain by the garden, with songs and psalms, until they brought them to the cave. There the angels began to comfort and to strengthen them, and then departed from them towards heaven, to their Creator, who had sent them.

12 But, after the angels were gone from Adam and Eve, came Satan, with shamefacedness, and stood at the entrance of the cave in which were Adam and Eve. He then called to Adam, and said, "O Adam, come, let me speak to thee."

13 Then Adam came out of the cave, thinking he was one of God's angels that was come to give him some good counsel.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 57

"Therefore did I fall. . .

1 But when Adam came out and saw his hideous figure, he was afraid of him, and said unto him, "Who art thou?"

2 Then Satan answered and said unto him, "It is I, who hid myself within the serpent, and who talked to Eve, and beguiled her until she hearkened to my command. I am he who sent her, through the wiles of my speech, to deceive thee, until thou and she ate of the fruit of the tree, and ye came away from under the command of God."

3 But when Adam heard these words from him, he said unto him, "Canst thou make me a garden as God made for me? Or canst thou clothe me in the same bright nature in which God had clothed me?

4 "Where is the divine nature thou didst promise to give me? Where is that fair speech of thine, thou didst hold with us at first, when we were in the garden?"

5 Then Satan said unto Adam, "Thinkest thou, that when I have spoken to one about anything, I shall ever bring it to him or fulfil my word? Not so. For I myself have never even thought of obtaining what I asked.

6 "Therefore did I fall, and did I make you fall by that for which I myself fell; and with you also, whosoever accepts my counsel, falls thereby.

7 "But now, O Adam, by reason of thy fall thou art under my rule, and I am king over thee; because thou hast hearkened to me, and hast transgressed against thy God. Neither will there be any deliverance from my hands until the day promised thee by thy God."

8 Again he said, "Inasmuch as we do not know the day agreed upon with thee by thy God, nor the hour in which thou shalt be delivered, for that reason will we multiply war and murder upon thee and thy seed after thee.

9 "This is our will and our good pleasure, that we may not leave one of the sons of men to inherit our orders in heaven.

10 "For as to our abode, O Adam, it is in burning fire; and we will not cease our evil doing no, not one day nor one hour. And I, O Adam, shall sow fire upon thee when thou comest into the cave to dwell there."

11 When Adam heard these words he wept and mourned, and said unto Eve, "Hear what he said; that he will not fulfil aught of what he told thee in the garden. Did he really then become king over us?

12 "But we will ask God, who created us, to deliver us out of his hands."

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 58

"About sunset on the 53rd day . . . ."

1 Then Adam and Eve spread their hands unto God, praying and entreating Him to drive Satan away from them; that he do them no violence, and do not force them to deny God.

2 Then God sent to them at once His angel, who drove away Satan--from them. This happened about sunset, on the fifty-third day after they had come out of the garden.

3 Then Adam and Eve went into the cave, and stood up and turned their faces to the earth, to pray to God.

4 But ere they prayed Adam said unto Eve, "Lo, thou hast seen what temptations have befallen us in this land. Come, let us arise, and ask God to forgive us the sins we have committed; and we will not come out until the end of the day next to the fortieth. And if we die herein, He will save us."

5 Then Adam and Eve arose, and joined together in entreating God.

6 They abode thus praying in the cave; neither did they come out of it, by night or by day, until their prayers went up out of their mouths, like a flame of fire.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 59

Eighth apparition of Satan to Adam and Eve.

1 But Satan, the hater of all good, did not allow them to end their prayers. For he called to his hosts, and they came, all of them. He then said to them, "Since Adam and Eve, whom we beguiled, have agreed together to pray to God night and day, and to entreat Him to deliver them, and since they will not come out of the cave until the end of the fortieth day.

2 "And since they will continue their prayers as they have both agreed to do, that He will deliver them out of our hands, and restore them to their former state, see what we shall do unto them." And his hosts said unto him, "Power is thine, O our Lord, to do what thou listest."

3 Then Satan, great in wickedness, took his hosts and came into the cave, in the thirtieth night of the forty days and one; and he smote Adam and Eve, until he left them dead.

4 Then came the Word of God unto Adam and Eve, who raised them from their suffering, and God said unto Adam, "Be strong, and be not afraid of him who has just come to thee."

5 But Adam wept and said, "Where wast Thou, O my God, that they should smite me with such blows, and that this suffering should come upon us; upon me and upon Eve, Thy handmaid?"

6 Then God said unto him, "O Adam, see, he is lord and master of all thou hast, he who said, he would give thee divinity. Where is this love for thee? And where is the gift he promised?

7 "For once has it pleased him, O Adam, to come to thee, to comfort thee, and to strengthen thee, and to rejoice with thee, and to send his hosts to guard thee; because thou hast hearkened to him, and hast yielded to his counsel; and hast transgressed My commandment but has followed his behest?"

8 Then Adam wept before the Lord, and said, "O Lord because I transgressed a little, Thou hast sorely plagued me in return for it, I ask Thee to deliver me out of his hands; or else have pity on me, and take my soul out of my body now in this strange land."

9 Then God said unto Adam, "If only there had been this sighing and praying before, ere thou didst transgress! Then wouldst thou have rest from the trouble in which thou art now."

10 But God had patience with Adam, and let him and Eve remain in the cave until they had fulfilled the forty days.

11 But as to Adam and Eve, their strength and flesh withered from fasting and praying, from hunger and thirst; for they had not tasted either food or drink since they left the garden; nor were the functions of their bodies yet settled; and they had no strength left to continue in prayer from hunger, until the end of the next day to the fortieth. They were fallen down in the cave; yet what speech escaped from their mouths, was only in praises.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 60

The Devil appears like an old man. He offers "a place of rest."

1 Then on the eighty-ninth day, Satan came to the cave, clad in a garment of light, and girt about with a bright girdle.

2 In his hands was a staff of light, and he looked most awful: but his face was pleasant and his speech was sweet,

3 He thus transformed himself in order to deceive Adam and Eve, and to make them come out of the cave, ere they had fulfilled the forty days.

4 For he said within himself, "Now that when they had fulfilled the forty days' fasting and praying, God would restore them to their former estate; but if He did not do so, He would still be favourable to them; and even if He had not mercy on them, would He yet give them something from the garden to comfort them; as already twice before."

5 Then Satan drew near the cave in this fair appearance, and said:--

6 "O Adam, rise ye, stand up, thou and Eve, and come along with me, to a good land; and fear not. I am flesh and bones like you; and at first I was a creature that God created.

7 "And it was so, that when He had created me, He placed me in a garden in the north, on the border of the world.

8 "And He said to me, 'Abide here!' And I abode there according to His Word, neither did I transgress His commandment.

9 "Then He made a slumber to come over me, and He brought thee, O Adam, out of my side, but did not make thee abide by me.

10 "But God took thee in His divine hand, and placed thee in a garden to the eastward.

11 "Then I grieved because of thee, for that while God had taken thee out of my side, He had not let thee abide with me.

12 "But God said unto me: 'Grieve not because of Adam, whom I brought out of thy side; no harm will come to him.

13 "'For now I have brought out of his side a help-meet for him; and I have given him joy by so doing.'"

14 Then Satan said again, "I did not know how it is ye are in this cave, nor anything about this trial that has come upon you-until God said to me, 'Behold, Adam has transgressed, he whom I had taken out of thy side, and Eve also, whom I took out of his side; and I have driven them out of the garden; I have made them dwell in a land of sorrow and misery, because they transgressed against Me, and have hearkened to Satan. And lo, they are in suffering unto this day, the eightieth.'

15 "Then God said unto me, 'Arise, go to them, and make them come to thy place, and suffer not that Satan come near them, and afflict them. For they are now in great misery; and lie helpless from hunger.'

16 "He further said to me, 'When thou hast taken them to thyself, give them to eat of the fruit of the Tree of Life, and give them to drink of the water of peace; and clothe them in a garment of light, and restore them to their former state of grace, and leave them not in misery, for they came from thee. But grieve not over them, nor repent of that which has come upon them.'

17 "But when I heard this, I was sorry; and my heart could not patiently bear it for thy sake, O my child.

18 "But, O Adam, when I heard the name of Satan, I was afraid, and I said within myself, I will not come out, lest he ensnare me, as he did my children, Adam and Eve.

19 "And I said, 'O God, when I go to my children, Satan will meet me in the way, and war against me, as he did against them.'

20 "Then God said unto me, 'Fear not; when thou findest him, smite him with the staff that is in thine hand, and be not afraid of him for thou art of old standing, and he shall not prevail against thee.'

21 "Then I said, 'O my Lord, I am old, and cannot go. Send Thy angels to bring them.'

22 "But God said unto me, 'Angels, verily, are not like them; and they will not consent to come with them. But I have chosen thee, because they are thy offspring, and like thee, and will hearken to what thou sayest.'

23 "God said further to me, 'If thou hast not strength to walk, I will send a cloud to carry thee and alight thee at the entrance of their cave; then the cloud will return and leave thee there.

24 "'And if they will come with thee, I will send a cloud to carry thee and them.'

25 "Then He commanded a cloud, and it bare me up and brought me to you; and then went back.

26 "And now O my children, Adam and Eve, look at my hoar hairs and at my feeble estate, and at my coming from that distant place. Come, come with me, to a place of rest."

27 Then he began to weep and to sob before Adam and Eve, and his tears poured upon the earth like water.

28 And when Adam and Eve raised their eyes and saw his beard, and heard his sweet talk, their hearts softened towards him; they hearkened unto him, for they believed he was true.

29 And it seemed to them that they really were his offspring, when they saw that his face was like their own; and they trusted him.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 61

They begin to follow Satan.

1 Then he took Adam and Eve by the hand, and began to bring them out of the cave.

2 But when they were come a little way out of it, God knew that Satan had overcome them, and had brought them out ere the forty days were ended, to take them to some distant place, and to destroy them.

3 Then the Word of the Lord God again came and cursed Satan, and drove him away from them.

4 And God began to speak unto Adam and Eve, saying to them, "What made you come out of the cave, unto this place?"

5 Then Adam said unto God, "Didst thou create a man before us? For when we were in the cave there suddenly came unto us a good old man who said to us, 'I am a messenger from God unto you, to bring you back to some place of rest.'

6 "And we did believe, O God, that he was a messenger from Thee; and we came out with him; and knew not whither we should go with him."

7 Then God said unto Adam, "See, that is the father of evil arts, who brought thee and Eve out of the Garden of Delights. And now, indeed, when he saw that thou and Eve both joined together in fasting and praying, and that you came not out of the cave before the end of the forty days, he wished to make your purpose vain, to break your mutual bond; to cut off all hope from you, and to drive you to some place where he might destroy you.

8 "Because he was unable to do aught to you, unless he showed himself in the likeness of you.

9 "Therefore did he come to you with a face like your own, and began to give you tokens as if they were all true.

10 "But I in mercy and with the favour I had unto you, did not allow him to destroy you; but I drove him away from you.

11 "Now, therefore, O Adam, take Eve, and return to your cave, and remain in it until the morrow of the fortieth day.

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And when ye come out, go towards the eastern gate of the garden."

12 Then Adam and Eve worshipped God, and praised and blessed Him for the deliverance that had come to them from Him. And they returned towards the cave. This happened at eventide of the thirty-ninth day.

13 Then Adam and Eve stood up and with great zeal, prayed to God, to be brought out of their want for strength; for their strength had departed from them, through hunger and thirst and prayer. But they watched the whole of that night praying, until morning.

14 Then Adam said unto Eve, "Arise, let us go towards the eastern gate of the garden as God told us."

15 And they said their prayers as they were wont to do every day; and they went out of the cave, to go near to the eastern gate of the garden.

16 Then Adam and Eve stood up and prayed, and besought God to strengthen them, and to send them something to satisfy their hunger.

17 But when they had ended their prayers, they remained where they were by reason of their failing strength.

18. Then came the Word of God again, and said unto them, "O Adam, arise, go and bring hither two figs."

19 Then Adam and Eve arose, and went until they drew near to the cave.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 62

Two fruit trees.

1 But Satan the wicked was envious, because of the consolation God had given them.

2 So he prevented them, and went into the cave and took the two figs, and buried them outside the cave, so that Adam and Eve should not find them. He also had in his thoughts to destroy them.

3 But by God's mercy, as soon as those two figs were in the earth, God defeated Satan's counsel regarding them; and made them into two fruit-trees, that overshadowed the cave. For Satan had buried them on the eastern side of it.

4 Then when the two trees were grown, and were covered with fruit, Satan grieved and mourned, and said, "Better were it to have left those figs as they were; for now, behold, they have become two fruit-trees, whereof Adam will eat all the days of his life. Whereas I had in mind, when I buried them, to destroy them entirely, and to hide them for aye.

5 "But God has overturned my counsel; and would not that this sacred fruit should perish; and He has made plain my intention, and has defeated the counsel I had formed against His servants."

6 Then Satan went away ashamed, of not having wrought out his design.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 63

The first joy of trees.

1 But Adam and Eve, as they drew near to the cave, saw two fig-trees, covered with fruit, and overshadowing the cave.

2 Then Adam said to Eve, "It seems to me we have gone astray. When did these two trees grow here? It seems to me that the enemy wishes to lead us astray, Sayest thou that there is in the earth another cave than this?

3 "Yet, O Eve, let us go into the cave, and find in it the two figs; for this is our cave, in which we were. But if we should not find the two figs in it, then it cannot be our cave."

4 They went then into the cave, and looked into the four corners of it, but found not the two figs.

5 And Adam wept and said to Eve, "Are we come to a wrong cave, then, O Eve? It seems to me these two fig-trees are the two figs that were in the cave." And Eve said, "I, for my part, do not know."

6 Then Adam stood up and prayed and said, "O God, Thou didst command us to come back to the cave, to take the two figs, and then to return to Thee.

7 "But now, we have not found them. O God, hast Thou taken them, and sown these two trees, or have we gone astray in the earth; or has the enemy deceived us? If it be real, then, O God, reveal to us the secret of these two trees and of the two figs."

8 Then came the Word of God to Adam, and said unto him, "O Adam, when I sent thee to fetch the figs, Satan went before thee to the cave, took the figs, and buried them outside, eastward of the cave, thinking to destroy them; and not sowing them with good intent.

9 "Not for his mere sake, then, have these trees grown up at once; but I had mercy on thee and I commanded them to grow. And they grew to be two large trees, that you be overshadowed by their branches, and find rest; and that I make you see My power and My marvellous works.

10 "And, also, to show you Satan's meanness, and his evil works, for ever since ye came out of the garden, he has not ceased, no, not one day, from doing you some harm. But I have not given him power over you."

11 And God said, "Henceforth, O Adam, rejoice on account of the trees, thou and Eve; and rest under them when ye feel weary. But eat not of their fruit, nor come near them."

12 Then Adam wept, and said, "O God, wilt Thou again kill us, or wilt Thou drive us away from before Thy face, and cut our life from off the face of the earth?

13 "O God, I beseech Thee, if Thou knowest that there be in these trees either death or some other evil, as at the first time, root them up from near our cave, and wither them; and leave us to die of the heat, of hunger and of thirst.

14 "For we know Thy marvellous works, O God, that they are great, and that by Thy power Thou canst bring one thing out of another, without one's wish. For Thy power can make rocks to become trees, and trees to become rocks."

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 64

Adam and Eve partake of the first earthly food.

1 Then God looked upon Adam and upon his strength of mind, upon his endurance of hunger and thirst, and of the heat. And he changed the two fig-trees into two figs, as they were at first, and then said to Adam and to Eve, "Each of you may take one fig." And they took them, as the Lord commanded them.

2 And he said to them, "Go ye into the cave, and eat the figs, and satisfy your hunger, lest ye die."

3 So, as God commanded them, they went into the cave, about the time when the sun was setting. And Adam and Eve stood up and prayed at the time of the setting sun.

4 Then they sat down to eat the figs; but they knew not how to eat them; for they were not accustomed to eat earthly food. They feared also lest, if they ate, their stomach should be burdened and their flesh thickened, and their hearts take to liking earthly food.

5 But while they were thus seated, God, out of pity for them, sent them His angel, lest they should perish of hunger and thirst.

6 And the angel said unto Adam and Eve, "God says to you that ye have not strength to fast until death; eat, therefore, and strengthen your bodies; for ye are now animal flesh, that cannot subsist without food and drink."

7 Then Adam and Eve took the figs and began to eat of them. But God had put into them a mixture as of savoury bread and blood.

8 Then the angel went from Adam and Eve, who ate of the figs until they had satisfied their hunger. Then they put by what remained; but by the power of God, the figs became full as before, because God blessed them.

9 After this Adam and Eve arose, and prayed with a joyful heart and renewed strength, and praised and rejoiced abundantly the whole of that night. And this was the end of the eighty-third day.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER r 65

Adam and Eve acquire digestive organs. Final hope of returning to the Garden is quenched.

1 And when it was day, they rose and prayed, after their custom, and then went out of the cave.

2 But as they felt great trouble from the food they had eaten, and to which they were not used, they went about in the cave saying to each other:--

3 "What has happened to us through eating, that this pain should have come upon us? Woe be to us, we shall die! Better for us to have died than to have eaten; and to have kept our bodies pure, than to have defiled them with food."

4 Then Adam said to Eve, "This pain did not come to us in the garden, neither did we eat such bad food there. Thinkest thou, O Eve, that God will plague us through the food that is in us, or that our inwards will come out; or that God means to kill us with this pain before He has fulfilled His promise to us?"

5 Then Adam besought the Lord and said, "O Lord, let us not perish through the food we have eaten. O Lord, smite us not; but deal with us according to Thy great mercy, and forsake us not until the day of the promise Thou hast made us."

6 Then God looked upon them, and at once fitted them for eating food; as unto this day; so that they should not perish.

7 Then Adam and Eve came back into the cave sorrowful and weeping because of the alteration in their nature. And they both knew from that hour that they were altered beings, that their hope of returning to the garden was now cut off; and that they could not enter it.

8 For that now their bodies had strange functions; and all flesh that requires food and drink for its existence, cannot be in the garden.

9 Then Adam said to Eve, "Behold, our hope is now cut off; and so is our trust to enter the garden. We no longer belong to the inhabitants of the garden; but henceforth we are earthy and of the dust, and of the inhabitants of the earth, We shall not return to the garden, until the day in which God has promised to save us, and to bring us again into the garden, as He promised us."

10 Then they prayed to God that He would have mercy on them; after which, their mind was quieted, their hearts were broken, and their longing was cooled down; and they were like strangers on earth. That night Adam and Eve spent in the cave, where they slept heavily by reason of the food they had eaten.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 66

Adam does his first day's work.

1 When it was morning, the day after they had eaten food, Adam and Eve prayed in the cave, and Adam said unto Eve, "Lo, we asked for food of God, and He gave it. But now let us also ask Him to give us a drink of water."

2 Then they arose, and went to the bank of the stream of water, that was on the south border of the garden, in which they had before thrown themselves. And they stood on the bank, and prayed to God that He would command them to drink of the water.

3 Then the Word of God came to Adam, and said unto him, "O Adam, thy body is become brutish, and requires water to drink. Take ye, and drink, thou and Eve; give thanks and praise."

4 Adam and Eve then drew near, and drank of it, until their bodies felt refreshed. After having drunk, they praised God, and then returned to their cave, after their former custom. This happened at the end of eighty-three days.

5 Then on the eighty-fourth day, they took two figs and hung them in the cave, together with the leaves thereof, to be to them a sign and a blessing from God. And they placed them there until there should arise a posterity to them, who should see the wonderful things God had done to them.

6 Then Adam and Eve again stood outside the cave, and besought God to show them some food wherewith to nourish their bodies.

7 Then the Word of God came and said unto him, "O Adam, go down to the westward of the cave, as far as a land of dark soil, and there thou shalt find food."

8 And Adam hearkened unto the Word of God, took Eve, and went down to a land of dark soil, and found there wheat growing, in the ear and ripe, and figs to eat; and Adam rejoiced over it.

9 Then the Word of God came again to Adam, and said unto him, "Take of this wheat and make thee bread of it, to nourish thy body withal." And God gave Adam's heart wisdom, to work out the corn until it became bread.

10 Adam accomplished all that, until he grew very faint and weary. He then returned to the cave; rejoicing at what he had learned of what is done with wheat, until it is made into bread for one's use.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 67

"Then Satan began to lead astray Adam and Eve. . . ."

1 But when Adam and Eve went down to the land of black mud, and came near to the wheat God had showed them, and saw it ripe and ready for reaping, as they had no sickle to reap it withal--they girt themselves, and began to pull up the wheat, until it was all done.

2 Then they made it into a heap; and, faint from heat and from thirst, they went under a shady tree, where the breeze fanned them to sleep.

3 But Satan saw what Adam and Eve had done. And he called his hosts, and said to them, "Since God has shown to Adam and Eve all about this wheat, wherewith to strengthen their bodies--and, lo, they are come and have made a heap of it, and faint from the toil are now asleep--come, let us set fire to this heap of corn, and burn it, and let us take that bottle of water that is by them, and empty it out, so that they may find nothing to drink, and we kill them with hunger and thirst.

4 "Then, when they wake up from their sleep, and seek to return to the cave, we will come to them in the way, and will lead them astray; so that they die of hunger and thirst; when they may, perhaps, deny God, and He destroy them. So shall we be rid of them."

5 Then Satan and his hosts threw fire upon the wheat and consumed it.

6 But from the heat of the flame Adam and Eve awoke from their sleep, and saw the wheat burning, and the bucket of water by them, poured out.

7 Then they wept and went back to the cave.

8 But as they were going up from below the mountain where they were, Satan and his hosts met them in the form of angels, praising God.

9 Then Satan said to Adam, "O Adam, why art thou so pained with hunger and thirst? It seems to me that Satan has burnt up the wheat." And Adam said to him, "Ay."

10 Again Satan said to Adam, "Come back with us; we are angels of God. God sent us to thee, to show thee another field of corn, better than that; and beyond it is a fountain of good water, and many trees, where thou shalt dwell near it, and work the corn-field to better purpose than that which Satan has consumed."

11 Adam thought that he was true, and that they were angels who talked with him; and he went back with them.

12. Then Satan began to lead astray Adam and Eve eight days, until they both fell down as if dead, from hunger, thirst, and faintness. Then he fled with his hosts, and left them.

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1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 68

How destruction and trouble is of Satan when he is the master. Adam and Eve establish the custom of worship.

1 Then God looked upon Adam and Eve, and upon what had come upon them from Satan, and how he had made them perish.

2 God, therefore, sent His Word, and raised up Adam and Eve from their state of death.

3 Then, Adam, when he was raised, said, "O God, Thou hast burnt and taken from us the corn Thou hadst given us, and Thou hast emptied out the bucket of water. And Thou hast sent Thy angels, who have waylaid us from the corn-field. Wilt Thou make us perish? If this be from Thee, O God, then take away our souls; but punish us not."

4 Then God said to Adam, "I did not burn down the wheat, and I did not pour the water out of the bucket, and I did not send My angels to lead thee astray.

5 "But it is Satan, thy master who did it; he to whom thou hast subjected thyself; My commandment being meanwhile set aside. He it is, who burnt down the corn, and poured out the water, and who has led thee astray; and all the promises he has made you, verily are but feint, and deceit, and a lie.

6 "But now, O Adam, thou shalt acknowledge My good deeds done to thee."

7 And God told His angels to take Adam and Eve, and to bear them up to the field of wheat, which they found as before, with the bucket full of water.

8 There they saw a tree, and found on it solid manna; and wondered at God's power. And the angels commanded them to eat of the manna when they were hungry.

9 And God adjured Satan with a curse, not to come again, and destroy the field of corn.

10 Then Adam and Eve took of the corn, and made of it an offering, and took it and offered it up on the mountain, the place where they had offered up their first offering of blood.

11 And they offered this oblation again on the altar they had built at first. And they stood up and prayed, and besought the Lord saying, "Thus, O God, when we were in the garden, did our praises go up to Thee, like this offering; and our innocence went up to thee like incense. But now, O God, accept this offering from us, and turn us not back, reft of Thy mercy."

12 Then God said to Adam and Eve, "Since ye have made this oblation and have offered it to Me, I shall make it My flesh, when I come down upon earth to save you; and I shall cause it to be offered continually upon an altar, for forgiveness and for mercy, unto those who partake of it duly."

13 And God sent a bright fire upon the offering of Adam and Eve, and filled it with brightness, grace, and light; and the Holy Ghost came down upon that oblation.

14 Then God commanded an angel to take fire-tongs, like a spoon, and with it to take an offering and bring it to Adam and Eve. And the angel did so, as God had commanded him, and offered it to them.

15 And the souls of Adam and Eve were brightened, and their hearts were filled with joy and gladness and with the praises of God.

16 And God said to Adam, "This shall be unto you a custom, to do so, when affliction and sorrow come upon you. But your deliverance and your entrance into the garden, shall not be until the days are fulfilled, as agreed between you and Me; were it not so, I would, of My mercy and pity for you, bring you back to My garden and to My favour for the sake of the offering you have just made to My name."

17 Adam rejoiced at these words which he heard from God; and he and Eve worshipped before the altar, to which they bowed, and then went back to the Cave of Treasures.

18 And this took place at the end of the twelfth day after the eightieth day, from the time Adam and Eve came out of the garden.

19 And they stood up the whole night praying until morning; and then went out of the cave.

20 Then Adam said to Eve, with joy of heart, because of the offering they had made to God, and that had been accepted of Him, "Let us do this three times every week, on the fourth day Wednesday, on the preparation day Friday, and on the Sabbath Sunday, all the days of our life."

21 And as they agreed to these words between themselves, God was pleased with their thoughts, and with the resolution they had each taken with the other.

22 After this, came the Word of God to Adam, and said, "O Adam, thou hast determined beforehand the days in which sufferings shall come upon Me, when I am made flesh; for they are the fourth Wednesday, and the preparation day Friday.

23 "But as to the first day, I created in it all things, and I raised the heavens. And, again, through My rising again on this day, will I create joy, and raise them on high, who believe in Me; O Adam, offer this oblation, all the days of thy life."

24 Then God withdrew His Word from Adam.

25 But Adam continued to offer this oblation thus, every week three times, until, the end of seven weeks. And on the first day, which is the fiftieth, Adam made an offering as he was wont, and he and Eve took it and came to the altar before God, as He had taught them.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 69

Twelfth apparition of Satan to Adam and Eve, while Adam was praying over the offering upon the altar; when Satan smote him.

1 Then Satan, the hater of all good, envious of Adam and of his offering through which he found favour with God, hastened and took a sharp stone from among sharp iron-stones; appeared in the form of a man, and went and stood by Adam and Eve.

2 Adam was then offering on the altar, and had begun to pray, with his hands spread unto God.

3 Then Satan hastened with the sharp iron-stone he had with him, and with it pierced Adam on the right side, when flowed blood and water, then Adam fell upon the altar like a corpse. And Satan fled.

4 Then Eve came, and took Adam and placed him below the altar. And there she stayed, weeping over him; while a stream of blood flowed from Adam's side upon his offering.

5 But God looked upon the death of Adam. He then sent His Word, and raised him up and said unto him, "Fulfil thy offering, for indeed, Adam, it is worth much, and there is no shortcoming in it."

6 God said further unto Adam, "Thus will it also happen to Me, on the earth, when I shall be pierced and blood shall flow blood and water from My side and run over My body, which is the true offering; and which shall be offered on the altar as a perfect offering."

7 Then God commanded Adam to finish his offering, and when he had ended it he worshipped before God, and praised Him for the signs He had showed him.

8 And God healed Adam in one day, which is the end of the seven weeks; and that is the fiftieth day.

9 Then Adam and Eve returned from the mountain, and went into the Cave of Treasures, as they were used to do. This completed for Adam and Eve, one hundred and forty days since their coming out of the garden.

10 Then they both stood up that night and prayed to God. And when it was morning, they went out, and went down westward of the cave, to the place where their corn was, and there rested under the shadow of a tree, as they were wont.

11 But when there a multitude of beasts came all round them. It was Satan's doing, in his wickedness; in order to wage war against Adam through marriage.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 70

Thirteenth apparition of Satan to Adam and Eve, to make war against him, through his marriage with Eve.

1 After this Satan, the hater of all good, took the form n angel, and with him two others, so that they looked like the three angels who had brought to Adam gold, incense, and myrrh.

2 They passed before Adam and Eve while they were under the tree, and greeted Adam and Eve with fair words that were full of guile.

3 But when Adam and Eve saw their comely mien, and heard their sweet speech, Adam rose, welcomed them, and brought them to Eve, and they remained all together; Adam's heart the while, being glad because he thought concerning them, that they were the same angels, who had brought him gold, incense, and myrrh.

4 Because, when they came to Adam the first time, there came upon him from them, peace and joy, through their bringing him good tokens; so Adam thought that they were come a second time to give him other tokens for him to rejoice withal. For he did not know it was Satan; therefore did he receive them with joy and companied with them.

5 Then Satan, the tallest of them, said, "Rejoice, O Adam, and be glad. Lo, God has sent us to thee to tell thee something."

6 And Adam said, "What is it?" Then Satan answered, "It is a light thing, yet it is a word of God, wilt thou hear it from us and do it? But if thou hearest not, we will return to God, and tell Him that thou wouldest not receive His word."

7 And Satan said again to Adam, "Fear not, neither let a trembling come upon thee; dost not thou know us?"

8 But Adam said, "I know you not."

9 Then Satan said to him, "I am the angel who brought thee gold, and took it to the cave; this other one is he who brought thee incense; and that third one, is he who brought thee myrrh when thou wast on the top of the mountain, and who carried thee to the cave.

10 "But as to the other angels our fellows, who bare you to the cave, God has not sent them with us this time; for He said to us, 'You suffice.'"

11 So when Adam heard these words he believed them, and said to these angels, "Speak the word of God, that I may receive it."

12 And Satan said unto him "Swear, and promise me that thou wilt receive it."

13 Then Adam said, "I know not how to swear and promise."

14 And Satan said to him, "Hold out thy hand, and put it inside my hand."

15 Then Adam held out his hand, and put it into Satan's hand; when Satan said unto him, "Say, now--so true as God is living, rational, and speaking, who raised the heavens in the space, and established the earth upon the waters, and has created me out of the four elements, and out of the dust of the earth--I will not break my promise, nor renounce my word."

16 And Adam swore thus.

17 Then Satan said to him, "Lo, it is now some time since thou camest out of the garden, and thou knowest neither wickedness nor evil. But now God s says to thee, to take Eve who came out of thy side, and to wed her, that she bear thee children, to comfort thee, and to drive from thee trouble and sorrow; now this thing is not difficult, neither is there any scandal in it to thee."

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 71

Adam is troubled by his wedding with Eve.

1 But when Adam heard these words from Satan, he sorrowed much, because of his oath and of his promise, and said, "Shall I commit adultery with my flesh and my bones, and shall I sin against myself, for God to destroy me, and to blot me out from off the face of the earth?

2 "Since, when at first, I ate of the tree, He drove me out of the garden into this strange land, and deprived me of my bright nature, and brought death upon me. If, then, I should do this, He will cut off my life from the earth, and He will cast me into hell, and will plague me there a long time.

3 "But God never spoke the words thou hast told me; and ye are not God's angels, nor yet sent from Him. But ye are devils, come to me under the false appearance of angels . Away from me; ye cursed of God!"

4 Then those devils fled from before Adam. And he and Eve arose, and returned to the Cave of Treasures, and went into it.

5 Then Adam said to Eve, "If thou sawest what I did, tell it not; for I sinned against God n swearing by His great name, and I have placed my hand another time into that of Satan." Eve, then, held her peace, as Adam told her.

6 Then Adam arose, and spread his hands unto God, beseeching and entreating Him with tears, to forgive him what he had done. And Adam remained thus standing and praying forty days and forty nights. He neither ate nor drank until he dropped down upon the earth from hunger and thirst.

7 Then God sent His Word unto Adam, who raised him up from where he lay, and said unto him, "O Adam, why hast thou sworn by My name, and why hast thou made agreement with Satan another time?"

8 But Adam wept, and said, "O God, forgive me, for I did this unwittingly; believing they were God's angels."

9 And God forgave Adam, saying, to him, "Beware of Satan."

10 And He withdrew His Word from Adam.

11 Then Adam's heart was comforted; and he took Eve, and they went out of the cave, to make some food for their bodies.

12 But from that day Adam struggled in his mind about his wedding Eve; afraid as he was to do it, lest God should be wroth with him.

13 Then Adam and Eve went to the river of water, and sat on the bank, as people do when they enjoy themselves.

14 But Satan was jealous of them; and would destroy them.

. . . (text missing) . . .

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 73

The betrothal of Adam and Eve.

1 Then God looked upon the words of Adam that they were true, and that he could long await His order, respecting the counsel of Satan.

2 And God approved Adam in what he had thought concerning this, and in the prayer he had offered in His presence; and the Word of God came unto Adam and said to him, "O Adam, if only thou hadst had this caution at first, ere thou earnest out of the garden into this land!"

3 After that, God sent His angel who had brought gold, and the angel who had brought incense, and the angel who had brought myrrh to Adam, that they should inform him respecting his wedding Eve.

4 Then those angels said to Adam, "Take the gold and give it to Eve as a wedding gift, and betroth her; then give her some incense and myrrh as a present; and be ye, thou and she, one flesh."

5 Adam hearkened to the angels, and took the gold and put it into Eve's bosom in her garment; and bethrothed her with his hand.

6 Then the angels commanded Adam and Eve, to arise and pray forty days and forty nights; and after that, that Adam should come in to his wife; for then this would be an act pure and undefiled; and he should have children who would multiply, and replenish the face of the earth.

7 Then both Adam and Eve received the words of the angels; and the angels departed from them.

8 Then Adam and Eve began to fast and to pray, until the end of the forty days; and then they came together, as the angels had told them. And from the time Adam left the garden until he wedded Eve, were two hundred and twenty-three days, that is seven months and thirteen days.

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9 Thus was Satan's war with Adam defeated.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 74

The birth of Cain and Luluwa. Why they received those names.

1 And they dwelt on the earth working, in order to continue in the well-being of their bodies; and were so until the nine months of Eve's childbearing were ended, and the time drew near when she must be delivered.

2 Then she said unto Adam, "This cave is a pure spot by reason of the signs wrought in it since we left the garden; and we shall again pray in it. It is not meet, then, that I should bring forth in it; let us rather repair to that of the sheltering rock, which Satan hurled at us, when he wished to kill us with it; but that was held up and spread as an awning over us by the command of God; and formed a cave."

3 Then Adam removed Eve to that cave; and when the time came that she should bring forth, she travailed much. So was Adam sorry, and his heart suffered for her sake; for she was nigh unto death; that the word of God to her should be fulfilled: "In suffering shalt thou bear a child, and in sorrow shalt thou bring forth thy child."

4 But when Adam saw the strait in which Eve was, he arose and prayed to God, and said, "O Lord, look upon me with the eye of Thy mercy, and bring her out of her distress."

5 And God looked at His maid-servant Eve, and delivered her, and she brought forth her first-born son, and with him a daughter.

6 Then Adam rejoiced at Eve's deliverance, and also over the children she had borne him. And Adam ministered unto Eve in the cave, until the end of eight days; when they named the son Cain, and the daughter Luluwa.

7 The meaning of Cain is "hater," because he hated his sister in their mother's womb; ere they came out of it. Therefore did Adam name him Cain.

8 But Luluwa means "beautiful," because she was more beautiful than her mother.

9 Then Adam and Eve waited until Cain and his sister were forty days old, when Adam said unto Eve, "We will make an offering and offer it up in behalf of the children."

10 And Eve said, "We will make one offering for the firstborn son; and afterwards we shall make one for the daughter."

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 75

The family revisits the Cave of Treasures. Birth of Abel and Aklemia.

1 Then Adam prepared an offering, and he and Eve offered it up for their children, and brought it to the altar they had built at first.

2 And Adam offered up the offering, and besought God to accept his offering.

3 Then God accepted Adam's offering, and sent a light from heaven that shone upon the offering. And Adam and the son drew near to the offering, but Eve and the daughter did not approach unto it.

4 Then Adam came down from upon the altar, and they were joyful; and Adam and Eve waited until the daughter was eighty days old; then Adam prepared an offering and took it to Eve and to the children; and they went to the altar, where Adam offered it up, as he was wont, asking the Lord to accept his offering.

5 And the Lord accepted the offering of Adam and Eve. Then Adam, Eve, and the children, drew near together, and came down from the mountain, rejoicing.

6 But they returned not to the cave in which they were born; but came to the Cave of Treasures, in order that the children should go round it, and be blessed with the tokens brought from the garden.

7 But after they had been blessed with these tokens, they went back to the cave in which they were born.

8 However, before Eve had offered up the offering, Adam had taken her, and had gone with her to the river of water, in which they threw themselves at first; and there they washed themselves. Adam washed his body and Eve hers also clean, after the suffering and distress that had come upon them.

9 But Adam and Eve, after washing themselves in the river of water, returned every night to the Cave of Treasures, where they prayed and were blessed; and then went back to their cave where the children were born

10 So did Adam and Eve until the children had done sucking. Then, when they were weaned, Adam made an offering for the souls of his children; other than the three times he made an offering for them, every week.

11 When the days of nursing the children were ended, Eve again conceived, and when her days were accomplished she brought forth another son and daughter; and they named the son Abel, and the daughter Aklia.

12 Then at the end of forty days, Adam made an offering for the son, and at the end of eighty days he made another offering for the daughter, and did by them, as he had done before by Cain and his sister Luluwa.

13 He brought them to the Cave of Treasures, where they received a blessing, and then returned to the cave where they were born. After the birth of these, Eve ceased from childbearing.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 76

Cain becomes jealous because of his sisters.

1 And the children began to wax stronger, and to grow in stature; but Cain was hardhearted, and ruled over his younger brother.

2 And oftentimes when his father made an offering, he would remain behind and not go with them, to offer up.

3 But, as to Abel, he had a meek heart, and was obedient to his father and mother, whom he often moved to make an offering, because he loved it; and prayed and fasted much.

4 Then came this sign to Abel. As he was coming into the Cave of Treasures, and saw the golden rods, the incense and the myrrh, he inquired of his parents Adam and Eve concerning them, and said unto them, "How did you come by these?"

5 Then Adam told him all that had befallen them. And Abel felt deeply about what his father told him.

6 Furthermore his father Adam, told him of the works of God, and of the garden; and after that, he remained behind his father the whole of that night in the Cave of Treasures.

7 And that night, while he was praying, Satan appeared unto him under the figure of a man, who said to him, "Thou hast oftentimes moved thy father to make an offering, to fast and to pray, therefore I will kill thee, and make thee perish from this world."

8 But as for Abel, he prayed to God, and drove away Satan from him; and believed not the words of the devil. Then when it was day, an angel of God appeared unto him, who said to him, "Shorten neither fasting, prayer, nor offering up an oblation unto thy God. For, lo, the Lord has accepted thy prayer. Be not afraid of the figure which appeared unto thee in the night, and who cursed thee unto death." And the angel departed from him.

9 Then when it was day, Abel came to Adam and Eve, and told them of the vision he had seen. But when they heard it, they grieved much over it, yet said nothing to him about it; they only comforted him.

10 But as to hard-hearted Cain, Satan came to him by night, showed himself and said unto him, "Since Adam and Eve love thy brother Abel much more than they love thee, and wish to join him in marriage to thy beautiful sister, because they love him; but wish to join thee in marriage to his ill-favoured sister, because they hate thee;

11 "Now, therefore, I counsel thee, when they do that, to kill thy brother; then thy sister will be left for thee; and his sister will be cast, away."

12 And Satan departed from him. But the wicked One remained behind in the heart of Cain, who sought many a time, to kill his brother.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 77

Cain, 15 years old, and Abel 12 years old, grow apart.

1 But when Adam saw that the elder brother hated the younger, he endeavoured to soften their hearts, and said unto Cain, "Take, O my son, of the fruits of thy sowing, and make an offering unto God, that He may forgive thee thy wickedness and thy sin."

2 He said also to Abel, "Take thou of thy sowing and make an offering and bring it to God, that He may forgive thy wickedness and thy sin."

3 Then Abel hearkened unto his father's voice, and took of his sowing, and made a good offering, and said to his father, Adam, "Come with me, to show me how to offer it up."

4 And they went, Adam and Eve with him, and showed him how to offer up his gift upon the altar. Then after that, they stood up and prayed that God would accept Abel's offering.

5 Then God looked upon Abel and accepted his offering. And God was more pleased with Abel than with his offering, because of his good heart and pure body. There was no trace of guile in him.

6 Then they came down from the altar, and went to the cave in which they dwelt. But Abel, by reason of his joy at having made his offering, repeated it three times a week, after the example of his father Adam.

7 But as to Cain, he took no pleasure in offering; but after much anger on his father's part, he offered up his gift once; and when he did offer up, his eye was on the offering he made, and he took the smallest of his sheep for an offering, and his eye was again on it. '

8 Therefore God did not accept his offering, because his heart was full of murderous thoughts.

9 And they all thus lived together in the cave in which Eve had brought forth, until Cain was fifteen years old, and Abel twelve years old.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 78

Jealousy overcomes Cain. He makes trouble in the family. How the first murder was planned.

1 Then Adam said to Eve, "Behold the children are grown up; we must think of finding wives for them."

2 Then Eve answered, "How can we do it?"

3 Then Adam said to her, "We will join Abel's sister in marriage to Cain, and Cain's sister to Abel."

4 Then said Eve to Adam, "I do not like Cain because he is hard-hearted; but let them bide until we offer up unto the Lord in their behalf."

5 And Adam said no more.

6 Meanwhile Satan came to Cain in the figure of a man of the field, and said to him, "Behold Adam and Eve have taken counsel together about the marriage of you two; and they have agreed to marry Abel's sister to thee, and thy sister to him.

7 "But if it was not that I love thee, I would not have told thee this thing. Yet if thou wilt take my advice, and hearken to me, I will bring: thee on thy wedding day beautiful robes, gold and silver in plenty, and my relations will attend thee."

8 Then Cain said with joy, "Where are thy relations?"

9 And Satan answered, "My relations are in a garden in the north, whither I once meant to bring thy father Adam; but he would not accept my offer.

10 "But thou, if thou wilt receive my words and if thou wilt come unto me after thy wedding, thou shalt rest from the misery in which thou art; and thou shalt rest and be better off than thy father Adam."

11 At these words of Satan Cain opened his ears, and leant towards his speech.

12 And he did not remain in the field, but he went to Eve, his mother, and beat her, and cursed her, and said to her, "Why are ye about taking my sister to wed her to my brother? Am I dead""

13 His mother, however, quieted him, and sent him to the field where be had been.

14 Then when Adam came, she told him of what Cain had done.

15 But Adam grieved and held his peace, and said not a word.

16 Then on the morrow Adam said unto Cain his son, "Take of thy sheep, young and good, and offer them up unto thy God; and I will speak to thy brother, to make unto his God an offering of corn."

17 They both hearkened to their father Adam, and they took their offerings, and offered them up on the mountain by the altar.

18 But Cain behaved haughtily towards his brother, and thrust him from the altar, and would not let him offer up his gift upon the altar; but he offered his own upon it, with a proud heart, full of guile, and fraud.

19 But as for Abel, he set up stones that were near at hand, and upon that, he offered up his gift with a heart humble and free from guile.

20 Cain was then standing by the altar on which he had offered up his gift; and he cried unto God to accept his offering; but God did not accept it from him; neither did a divine fire come down to consume his offering.

21 But he remained standing over against the altar, out of humour and wroth, looking towards his brother Abel, to see if God would accept his offering or not.

22 And Abel prayed unto God to accept his offering. Then a divine fire came down and consumed his offering. And God smelled the sweet savour of his offering; because Abel loved Him and rejoiced in Him.

23 And because God was well pleased with him He sent him an angel of light in the figure of man who had partaken of his offering, because He had smelled the sweet savour of his offering, and they comforted Abel and strengthened his heart.

24 But Cain was looking on all that took place at his brother's offering, and was wroth on account of it.

25 Then he opened his mouth and blasphemed God, because He had not accepted his offering.

26 But God said unto Cain, "Wherefore is thy countenance sad? Be righteous, that I may accept thy offering. Not against Me hast thou murmured, but against thyself."

27 And God said this to Cain in rebuke, and because He abhorred him and his offering.

28 And Cain came down from the altar, his colour changed and of a woeful countenance, and came to his father and mother and told them all that had befallen him. And Adam grieved much because God had not accepted Cain's offering.

29 But Abel came down rejoicing, and with a gladsome heart, and told his father and mother how God had accepted his offering. And they rejoiced at it and kissed his face.

30 And Abel said to his father, "Because Cain thrust me from the altar, and would not allow me to offer my gift upon it, I made an altar for myself and offered my gift upon it."

31 But when Adam heard this he was very sorry, because it was the altar he had built at first, and upon which he had offered his own gifts.

32 As to Cain, he was so sullen and so angry that he went into the field, where Satan came to him and said to him, "Since thy brother Abel has taken refuge with thy father Adam, because thou didst thrust him from the altar, they have kissed his face, and they rejoice over him, far more than over thee."

33 When Cain heard these words of Satan, he was filled with rage; and he let no one know. But he was laying wait to

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kill his brother, until he brought him into the cave, and then said to him:--

34 "O brother, the country is so beautiful, and there are such beautiful and pleasurable trees in it, and charming to look at! But brother, thou hast never been one day in the field to take thy pleasure therein.

35 "To-day, O, my brother, I very much wish thou wouldest come with me into the field, to enjoy thyself and to bless our fields and our flocks, for thou art righteous, and I love thee much, O my brother! but thou hast estranged thyself from me."

36 Then Abel consented to go with his brother Cain into the field.

37 But before going out, Cain said to Abel, "Wait for me, until I fetch a staff, because of wild beasts."

38 Then Abel stood waiting in his innocence. But Cain, the forward, fetched a staff and went out.

39 And they began, Cain and his brother Abel, to walk in the way; Cain talking to him, and comforting him, to make him forget everything.

1 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 79

A wicked plan is carried to a tragic conclusion. Cain is frightened. "Am I my brother's keeper?" The seven punishments. Peace is shattered.

1 And so they went on, until they came to a lonely place, where there were no sheep; then Abel said to Cain, "Behold, my brother, we are weary of walking; for we see none of the trees, nor of the fruits, nor of the verdure, nor of the sheep, nor any one of the things of which thou didst tell me. Where are those sheep of thine thou didst tell me to bless?"

2 Then Cain said to him, "Come on, and presently thou shalt see many beautiful things. but go before me, until I come up to thee."

3 Then went Abel forward, but Cain remained behind him.

4 And Abel was walking in his innocence, without guile; not believing his brother would kill him.

5 Then Cain, when he came up to him, comforted him with his talk, walking a little behind him; then he hastened, and smote him with the staff, blow upon blow, until he was stunned,

6 But when Abel fell down upon the ground, seeing that his brother meant to kill him, he said to Cain, "O, my brother, have pity on me. By the breasts we have sucked, smite me not! By the womb that bare us and that brought us into the world, smite me not unto death with that staff! If thou wilt kill me, take one of these large stones, and kill me outright."

7 Then Cain, the hard-hearted, and cruel murderer, took a large stone, and smote his brother with it upon the head, until his brains oozed out, and he weltered in his blood, before him.

8 And Cain repented not of what he had done.

9 But the earth, when the blood of righteous Abel fell upon it, trembled, as it drank his blood, and would have brought Cain to naught for it.

10 And the blood of Abel cried mysteriously to God, to avenge him of his murderer.

11 Then Cain began at once to dig the earth wherein to lay his brother; for he was trembling from the fear that came upon him, when he saw the earth tremble on his account.

12 He then cast his brother into the pit he made, and covered him with dust. But the earth would not receive him; but it threw him up at once.

13 Again did Cain dig the earth and hid his brother in it; but again did the earth throw him up on itself; until three times did the earth thus throw up on itself the body of Abel.

14 The muddy earth threw him up the first time, because he was not the first creation; and it threw him up the second time and would not receive him, because he was righteous and good, and was killed without a cause; and the earth threw him up the third time and would not receive him, that there might remain before his brother a witness against him.

15 And so did the earth mock Cain, until the Word of God, came to him concerning his brother.

16 Then was God angry, and much displeased at Abel's death; and He thundered from heaven, and lightnings went before Him, and the Word of the Lord God came from heaven to Cain, and said unto him, "Where is Abel thy brother?"

17 Then Cain answered with a proud heart and a gruff voice, "How, O God? am I my brother's keeper?"

18 Then God said unto Cain, "Cursed be the earth that has drunk the blood of Abel thy brother; and thou, be thou trembling and shaking; and this will be a sign unto thee, that whosoever finds thee, shall kill thee."

19 But Cain wept because God had said those words to him; and Cain said unto Him "O God, whosoever finds me shall kill me, and I shall be blotted out from the face of the earth."

20 Then God said unto Cain, "Whosoever shall find thee shall not kill thee;" because before this, God had been saying to Cain, "I shall forego seven punishments on him who kills Cain." For as to the word of God to Cain, "Where is thy brother?" God said it in mercy for him, to try and make him repent.

21 For if Cain had repented at that time, and had said, "O God, forgive me my sin, and the murder of my brother," God would then have forgiven him his sin.

22 And as to God saying to Cain, "Cursed be the ground that has drunk the blood of thy brother" that also, was God's mercy on Cain. For God did not curse him, but He cursed the ground; although it was not the ground that had killed Abel, and had committed iniquity.

23 For it was meet that the curse should fall upon the murderer; yet in mercy did God so manage His thoughts as that no one should know it, and turn away from Cain.

24 And He said to him, "Where is thy brother?" To which he answered and said, "I know not." Then the Creator said to him, "Be trembling and quaking."

25 Then Cain trembled and became terrified; and through this sign did God make him an example before all the creation, as the murderer of his brother. Also did God bring trembling and terror upon him, that he might see the peace in which he was at first, and see also the trembling and terror he endured at the last; so that he might humble himself before God, and repent of his sin, and seek the peace he enjoyed at first.

26 And in the word of God that said, "I will forego seven punishments on whomsoever kills Cain," God was not seeking to kill Cain with the sword, but He sought to make him die of fasting, and praying and weeping by hard rule, until the time that he was delivered from his sin.

27 And the seven punishments are the seven generations during which God awaited Cain for the murder of his brother.

28 But as to Cain, ever since he had killed his brother, he could find no rest in any place; but went back to Adam and Eve, trembling, terrified, and defiled with blood. . . .

. . . (text missing) . . .

THE SECOND BOOK OF ADAM AND EVE

2 Adam and Eve
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2 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 1

The grief stricken family. Cain marries Luluwa and they move away.

1 When Luluwa heard Cain's words, she wept and went to her father and mother, and told them how that Cain had killed his brother Abel.

2 Then they all cried aloud and lifted up their voices, and slapped their faces, and threw dust upon their heads, and rent asunder their garments, and went out and came to the place where Abel was killed.

3 And they found him lying on the earth, killed, and beasts around him; while they wept and cried because of this just one. From his body, by reason of its purity, went forth a smell of sweet spices.

4 And Adam carried him, his tears streaming down his face; and went to the Cave of Treasures, where he laid him, and wound him up with sweet spices and myrrh.

5 And Adam and Eve continued by the burial of him in great grief a hundred and forty days. Abel was fifteen and a half years old, and Cain seventeen years and a half.

6 As for Cain, when the mourning for his brother was ended, he took his sister Luluwa and married her, without leave from his father and mother; for they could not keep him from her, by reason of their heavy heart.

7 He then went down to the bottom of the mountain, away from the garden, near to the place where he had killed his brother.

8 And in that place were many fruit trees and forest trees. His sister bare him children, who in their turn began to multiply by degrees until they filled that place.

9 But as for Adam and Eve, they came not together after Abel's funeral, for seven years. After this, however, Eve conceived; and while she was with child, Adam said to her "Come, let us take an offering and offer it up unto God, and ask Him to give us a fair child, in whom we may find comfort, and whom we may join in marriage to Abel's sister."

10 Then they prepared an offering and brought it up to the altar, and offered it before the Lord, and began to entreat Him to accept their offering, and to give them a good offspring.

11 And God heard Adam and accepted his offering. Then, they worshipped, Adam, Eve, and their daughter, and came down to the Cave of Treasures and placed a lamp in it, to burn by night and by day, before the body of Abel.

12 Then Adam and Eve continued fasting and praying until Eve's time came that she should be delivered, when she said to Adam: "I wish to go to the cave in the rock, to bring forth in it."

13 And he said, "Go and take with thee thy daughter to wait on thee; but I will remain in this Cave of Treasures before the body of my son Abel."

14 Then Eve hearkened to Adam, and went, she and her daughter. But Adam remained by himself in the Cave of Treasures.

2 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 2

A third son is born to Adam and Eve.

1 And Eve brought forth a son perfectly beautiful in figure and in countenance. His beauty was like that of his father Adam, yet more beautiful.

2 Then Eve was comforted when she saw him, and remained eight days in the cave; then she sent her daughter unto Adam to tell him to come and see the child and name him. But the daughter stayed in his place by the body of her brother, until Adam returned. So did she.

3 But when Adam came and saw the child's good looks, his beauty, and his perfect figure, he rejoiced over him, and was comforted for Abel. Then he named the child Seth, that means, "that God has heard my prayer, and has delivered me out of my affliction." But it means also "power and strength."

4 Then after Adam had named the child, he returned to the Cave of Treasures; and his daughter went back to her mother.

5 But Eve continued in her cave, until forty days were fulfilled, when she came to Adam, and brought with her the child and her daughter.

6 And they came to a river of water, where Adam and his daughter washed themselves, because of their sorrow for Abel; but Eve and the babe washed for purification.

7 Then they returned, and took an offering, and went to the mountain and offered it up, for the babe; and God accepted their offering, and sent His blessing upon them, and upon their son Seth; and they came back to the Cave of Treasures.

8 As for Adam, he knew not again his wife Eve, all the days of his life; neither was any more offspring born of them; but only those five, Cain, Luluwa, Abel, Aklia, and Seth alone.

9 But Seth waxed in stature and in strength; and began to fast and pray, fervently.

2 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 3

Satan appears as a beautiful woman tempting Adam, telling him he is still a youth. "Spend thy youth in mirth and pleasure." (12) The different forms which Satan takes (15).

1 As for our father Adam, at the end of seven years from the day he had been severed from his wife Eve, Satan envied him, when he saw him thus separated from her; and strove to make him live with her again.

2 Then Adam arose and went up above the Cave of Treasures; and continued to sleep there night by night. But as soon as it was light every day he came down to the cave, to pray there and to receive a blessing from it.

3 But when it was evening he went up on the roof of the cave, where he slept by himself, fearing lest Satan should overcome him. And he continued thus apart thirty-nine days.

4 Then Satan, the hater of all good, when he saw Adam thus alone, fasting and praying, appeared unto him in the form of a beautiful woman, who came and stood before him in the night of the fortieth day, and said unto him:--

5 "O Adam, from the time ye have dwelt in this cave, we have experienced great peace from you, and your prayers have reached us, and we have been comforted about you.

6 "But now, O Adam, that thou hast gone up over the roof of the cave to sleep, we have had doubts about thee, and a great sorrow has come upon us because of thy separation from Eve. Then again, when thou art on the roof of this cave, thy prayer is poured out, and thy heart wanders from side to side.

7 "But when thou wast in the cave thy prayer was like fire gathered together; it came down to us, and thou didst find rest.

8 "Then I also grieved over thy children who are severed from thee; and my sorrow is great about the murder of thy son Abel; for he was righteous; and over a righteous man every one will grieve.

9 "But I rejoiced over the birth of thy son Seth; yet after a little while I sorrowed greatly over Eve, because she is my sister. For when God sent a deep sleep over thee, and drew her out of thy side, He brought me out also with her. But He raised her by placing her with thee, while He lowered me.

10 "I rejoiced over my sister for her being with thee. But God had made me a promise before, and said, 'Grieve not; when Adam has gone up on the roof of the Cave of Treasures, and is separated from Eve his wife, I will send thee to him, thou shalt join thyself to him in marriage, and bear him five children, as Eve did bear him five.'

11 "And now, lo! God's promise to me is fulfilled; for it is He who has sent me to thee for the wedding; because if thou wed me, I shall bear thee finer and better children than those of Eve.

12 "Then again, thou art as yet but a youth; end not thy youth in this world in sorrow; but spend the days of thy youth in mirth and pleasure. For thy days are few and thy trial is great. Be strong; end thy days in this world in rejoicing. I shall take pleasure in thee, and thou shall rejoice with me in this wise, and without fear.

13 "Up, then, and fulfil the command of thy God," she then drew near to Adam, and embraced him.

14 But when Adam saw that he should be overcome by her, he prayed to God with a fervent heart to deliver him from her.

15 Then God sent His Word unto Adam, saying, "O Adam, that figure is the one that promised thee the Godhead, and

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majesty; he is not favourably disposed towards thee; but shows himself to thee at one time in the form of a woman; another moment, in the likeness of an angel; on another occasions, in the similitude of a serpent; and at another time, in the semblance of a god; but he does all that only to destroy thy soul.

16 "Now, therefore, O Adam, understanding thy heart, I have delivered thee many a time from his hands; in order to show thee that I am a merciful God; and that I wish thy good, and that I do not wish thy ruin."

2 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 4

Adam sees the Devil in his true colors.

1 Then God ordered Satan to show himself to Adam in plainly, in his own hideous form.

2 But when Adam saw him, he feared, and trembled at the sight of him.

3 And God said to Adam, "Look at this devil, and at his hideous look, and know that he it is who made thee fall from brightness into darkness, from peace and rest to toil and misery.

4 And look, O Adam, at him, who said of himself that he is God! Can God be black? Would God take the form of a woman? Is there any one stronger than God? And can He be overpowered?

5 "See, then, O Adam, and behold him bound in thy presence, in the air, unable to flee away! Therefore, I say unto thee, be not afraid of him; henceforth take care, and beware of him, in whatever he may do to thee."

6 Then God drove Satan away from before Adam, whom He strengthened, and whose heart He comforted, saying to him, "Go down to the Cave of Treasures, and separate not thyself from Eve; I will quell in you all animal lust."

7 From that hour it left Adam and Eve, and they enjoyed rest by the commandment of God. But God did not the like to any one of Adam's seed; but only to Adam and Eve.

8 Then Adam worshipped before the Lord, for having delivered him, and for having layed his passions. And he came down from above the cave, and dwelt with Eve as aforetime.

9 This ended the forty days of his separation from Eve.

2 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 5

The devil paints a brilliant picture for Seth to feast his thoughts upon.

1 As for Seth, when he was seven years old, he knew good and evil, and was consistent in fasting and praying, and spent all his nights in entreating God for mercy and forgiveness.

2 He also fasted when bringing up his offering every day, more than his father did; for he was of a fair countenance, like unto an angel of God. He also had a good heart, preserved the finest qualities of his soul: and for this reason he brought up his offering every day.

3 And God was pleased with his offering; but He was also pleased with his purity. And he continued thus in doing the will of God, and of his father and mother, until he was seven years old.

4 After that, as he was coming down from the altar, having ended his offering, Satan appeared unto him in the form of a beautiful angel, brilliant with light; with a staff of light in his hand, himself girt about with a girdle of light.

5 He greeted Seth with a beautiful smile, and began to beguile him with fair words, saying to him, "O Seth, why abidest thou in this mountain? For it is rough, full of stones and of sand, and of trees with no good fruit on them; a wilderness without habitations and without towns; no good place to dwell in. But all is heat, weariness, and trouble."

6 He said further, "But we dwell in beautiful places, in another world than this earth. Our world is one of light and our condition is of the best; our women are handsomer than any others; and I wish thee, O Seth, to wed one of them; because I see that thou art fair to look upon, and in this land there is not one woman good enough for thee. Besides, all those who live in this world, are only five souls.

7 "But in our world there are very many men and many maidens, all more beautiful one than another. I wish, therefore, to remove thee hence, that thou mayest see my relations and be wedded to which ever thou likest.

8 "Thou shalt then abide by me and be at peace; thou shalt be filled with splendour and light, as we are.

9 "Thou shalt remain in our world. and rest from this world and the misery of it; thou shalt never again feel faint and weary; thou shalt never bring up an offering, nor sue for mercy; for thou shalt commit no more sin, nor be swayed by passions.

10 "And if thou wilt hearken to what I say, thou shalt wed one of my daughters; for with us it is no sin so to do; neither is it reckoned animal lust.

11 "For in our world we have no God; but we all are gods; we all are of the light, heavenly, powerful, strong and glorious."

2 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 6

Seth's conscience helps him. He returns to Adam and Eve.

1 When Seth heard these words he was amazed, and inclined his heart to Satan's treacherous speech, and said to him, "Saidst thou there is another world created than this; and other creatures more beautiful than the creatures that are in this world?"

2 And Satan said, "Yes; behold thou hast heard me; but I will yet praise them and their ways, in thy hearing."

3 But Seth said to him, "Thy speech has amazed me; and thy beautiful description of it all.

4 "Yet I cannot go with thee to-day; not until I have gone to my father Adam and to my mother Eve, and told them all thou hast said to me. Then if they give me leave to go with thee, I will come."

5 Again Seth said, "I am afraid of doing any thing without my father's and mother's leave, lest I perish like my brother Cain, and like my father Adam, who transgressed the commandment of God. But, behold, thou knowest this place; come, and meet me here to-morrow."

6 When Satan heard this, he said to Seth, "If thou tellest thy father Adam what I have told thee, he will not let thee come with me.

7 But hearken to me; do not tell thy father and mother what I have said to thee; but come with me to-day, to our world; where thou shalt see beautiful things and enjoy thyself there, and revel this day among my children, beholding them and taking thy fill of mirth; and rejoice ever more. Then I shall bring thee back to this place to-morrow; but if thou wouldest rather abide with me, so be it."

8 Then Seth answered, "The spirit of my father and of my mother, hangs on me; and if I hide from them one day, they will die, and God will hold me guilty of sinning against them.

9 "And except that they know I am come to this place to bring up to it my offering, they would not be separated from me one hour; neither should I go to any other place, unless they let me. But they treat me most kindly, because I come back to them quickly."

10 Then Satan said to him, "What will happen to thee if thou hide thyself from them one night, and return to them at break of day?"

11 But Seth, when he saw how he kept on talking, and that he would not leave him-ran, and went up to the altar, and spread his hands unto God, and sought deliverance from Him.

12 Then God sent His Word, and cursed Satan, who fled from Him.

13 But as for Seth, he had gone up to the altar, saying thus in his heart. "The altar is the place of offering, and God is there; a divine fire shall consume it; so shall Satan be unable to hurt me, and shall not take me away thence."

14 Then Seth came down from the altar and went to his father and mother, where he found in the way, longing to hear his voice; for he had tarried a while.

15 He then began to tell them what had befallen him from Satan, under the form of an angel.

16 But when Adam heard his account, he kissed his face, and warned him against that angel, telling him it was Satan who thus appeared to him. Then Adam took Seth, and they went to the Cave of Treasures, and rejoiced therein.

17 But from that day forth Adam and Eve never parted from him, to whatever place he might go, whether for his offering or for any thing else.

18 This sign happened to Seth, when he was nine years old.

2 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 7

Seth marries Aklia. Adam lives to see grand children and great-grand-children.

1 When our father Adam saw that Seth was of a perfect heart, he wished him to marry; lest the enemy should appear to him another time, and overcome him.

2 So Adam said to his son Seth, "I wish, O my son, that thou wed thy sister Aklia, Abel's sister, that she may bear thee children, who shall replenish the earth, according to God's promise to us.

3 "Be not afraid, O my son; there is no disgrace in it. I wish thee to marry, from fear lest the enemy overcome thee."

4 Seth, however, did not wish to marry; but in obedience to his father and mother, he said not a word.

5 So Adam married him to Aklia. And he was fifteen years old.

6 But when he was twenty years of age, he begat a son, whom he called Enos; and then begat other children than him.

7 Then Enos grew up, married, and begat Cainan.

8 Cainan also grew up, married, and begat Mahalaleel.

9 Those fathers were born during Adam's life-time, and dwelt by the Cave of Treasures.

10 Then were the days of Adam nine hundred and thirty years, and those of Mahalaleel one hundred. But Mahalaleel, when he was grown up, loved fasting, praying, and with hard labours, until the end of our father Adam's days drew near.

2 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 8

Adam's remarkable last words. He predicts the Flood. He exhorts his offspring to good. He reveals certain mysteries of life.

1 When our father Adam saw that his end was near, he called his son Seth, who came to him in the Cave of Treasures, and he said unto him:--

2 "O Seth, my son bring me thy children and thy children's children, that I may shed my blessing on them ere I die."

3 When Seth heard these words from his father Adam, he went from him, shed a flood of tears over his face, and gathered together his children and his children's children, and brought them to his father Adam.

4 But when our father Adam saw them around him, he wept at having to be separated from them.

5 And when they saw him weeping, they all wept together, and fell upon his face saying, "How shalt thou be severed from us, O our father? And how shall the earth receive thee and hide thee from our eyes?" Thus did they lament much, and in like words.

6 Then our father Adam blessed them all, and said to Seth, after he had blessed them:--

7 "O Seth, my son, thou knowest this world--that it is full of sorrow, and of weariness; and thou knowest all that has come upon us, from our trials in it. I therefore now command thee in these words: to keep innocency, to be pure and just, and trusting in God; and lean not to the discourses of Satan, nor to the apparitions in which he will show himself to thee.

8 But keep the commandments that I give thee this day; then give the same to thy son Enos; and let Enos give it to his son Cainan; and Cainan to his son Mahalaleel; so that this commandment abide firm among all your children.

9 "O Seth, my son, the moment I am dead take ye my body and wind it up with myrrh, aloes, and cassia, and leave me here in this Cave of Treasures in which are all these tokens which God gave us from the garden.

10 "O my son, hereafter shall a flood come and overwhelm all creatures, and leave out only eight souls.

11 "But, O my son, let those whom it will leave out from among your children at that time, take my body with them out of this cave; and when they have taken it with them, let the oldest among them command his children to lay my body in a ship until the flood has been assuaged, and they come out of the ship.

12 Then they shall take my body and lay it in the middle of the earth, shortly after they have been saved from the waters of the flood.

13 "For the place where my body shall be laid, is the middle of the earth; God shall come from thence and shall save all our kindred.

14 "But now, O Seth, my son, place thyself at the head of thy people; tend them and watch over them in the fear of God; and lead them in the good way, Command them to fast unto God; and make them understand they ought not to hearken to Satan, lest he destroy them.

15 "Then, again, sever thy children and thy children's children from Cain's children; do not let them ever mix with those, nor come near them either in their words or in their deeds."

16 Then Adam let his blessing descend upon Seth, and upon his children, and upon all his children's children.

17 He then turned to his son Seth, and to Eve his wife, and said to them, "Preserve this gold, this incense, and this myrrh, that God has given us for a sign; for in days that are coming, a flood will overwhelm the whole creation. But those who shall go into the ark shall take with them the gold, the incense, and the myrrh, together with my body; and will lay the gold, the incense, and the myrrh, with my body in the midst of the earth.

18 "Then, after a long time, the city in which the gold, the incense, and the myrrh are found with my body, shall be plundered. But when it is spoiled, the gold the incense, and the myrrh shall be taken care of with the spoil that is kept; and naught of them shall perish, until the Word of God, made man shall come; when kings shall take them, and shall offer to Him, gold in token of His being King; incense, in token of His being God of heaven and earth; and myrrh, in token of His passion.

19 "Cold also, as a token of His overcoming Satan, and all our foes; incense as a token that He will rise from the dead, and be exalted above things in heaven and things in the earth; and myrrh, in token that He will drink bitter gall; and feel the pains of hell from Satan.

20 "And now, O Seth, my son, behold I have revealed unto thee hidden mysteries, which God had revealed unto me. Keep my commandment, for thyself, and for thy people,"

2 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 9

The death of Adam.

1 When Adam had ended his commandment to Seth, his limbs were loosened, his hands and feet lost all power, his mouth became dumb, and his tongue ceased altogether to speak. He closed his eyes and gave up the ghost.

2 But when his children saw that he was dead, they threw themselves over him, men and women, old and young, weeping.

3 The death of Adam took place at the end of nine hundred and thirty years that be lived upon the earth; on the fifteenth

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day of Barmudeh, after the reckoning of an epact of the sun, at the ninth hour.

4 It was on a Friday, the very day on which be was created, and on which he rested; and the hour at which he died, was the same as that at which he came out of the garden.

5 Then Seth wound him up well, and embalmed him with plenty of sweet spices, from sacred trees and from the Holy Mountain; and be laid his body on the eastern side of the inside of the cave, the side of the incense; and placed in front of him a lamp-stand kept burning.

6 Then his children stood before him weeping and wailing over him the whole night until break of day.

7 Then Seth and big son Enos, and Cainan, the son of Enos, went out and took good offerings to present unto the Lord, and they came to the altar upon which Adam offered gifts to God, when he did offer.

8 But Eve said to them "Wait until we have first asked God to accept our offering, and to keep by Him the Soul of Adam His servant, and to take it up to rest."

9 And they all stood up an prayed.

2 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 10

"Adam was the first...."

1 And when they had ended their prayer, the Word of God came and comforted them concerning their father Adam.

2 After this, they offered their gifts for themselves and for their father.

3 And when they had ended their offering, the Word of God came to Seth, the eldest among them, saying unto him, "O Seth, Seth, Seth, three times. As I was with thy father, so also shall I be with thee, until the fulfilment of the promise I made him-thy father saying, I will send My Word and save thee and thy seed.

4 But as to thy father Adam, keep thou the commandment he gave thee; and sever thy seed from that of Cain thy brother."

5 And God withdrew His Word from Seth.

6 Then Seth, Eve, and their children, came down from the mountain to the Cave of Treasures.

7 But Adam was the first whose soul died in the land of Eden, in the Cave of Treasures; for no one died before him, but his son Abel, who died murdered.

8 Then all the children of Adam rose up, and wept over their father Adam, and made offerings to him, one hundred and forty days.

2 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 11

Seth becomes head of the most happy and just tribe of people who ever lived.

1 After the death of Adam and of Eve, Seth severed his children, and his children's children, from Cain's children. Cain and his seed went down and dwelt westward, below the place where he had killed his brother Abel.

2 But Seth and his children, dwelt northwards upon the mountain of the Cave of Treasures, in order to be near to their father Adam.

3 And Seth the elder, tall and good, with a fine soul, and of a strong mind, stood at the head of his people; and tended them in innocence, penitence, and meekness, and did not allow one of them to go down to Cain's children.

4 But because of their own purity, they were named "Children of God," and they were with God, instead of the hosts of angels who fell; for they continued in praises to God, and in singing psalms unto Him, in their cave--the Cave of Treasures.

5 Then Seth stood before the body of his father Adam, and of his mother Eve, and prayed night and day, and asked for mercy towards himself and his children; and that when he had some difficult dealing with a child, He would give him counsel.

6 But Seth and his children did not like earthly work, but gave themselves to heavenly things; for they had no other thought than praises, doxologies, and psalms unto God.

7 Therefore did they at all times hear the voices of angels, praising and glorifying God; from within the garden, or when they were sent by God on an errand, or when they were going up to heaven.

8 For Seth and his children, by reason of their own purity, heard and saw those angels. Then, again, the garden was not far above them, but only some fifteen spiritual cubits.

9 Now one spiritual cubit answers to three cubits of man, altogether forty-five cubits.

10 Seth and his children dwelt on the mountain below the garden; they sowed not, neither did they reap; they wrought no food for the body. not even wheat; but only offerings. They ate of the fruit and of trees well flavoured that grew on the mountain where they dwelt.

11 Then Seth often fasted every forty days, as did also his eldest children. For the family of Seth smelled the smell of the trees in the garden, when the wind blew that way.

12 They were happy, innocent, without sudden fear, there was no jealousy, no evil action, no hatred among them. There was no animal passion; from no mouth among them went forth either foul words or curse; neither evil counsel nor fraud. For the men of that time never swore, but under hard circumstances, when men must swear, they swore by the blood of Abel the just.

13 But they constrained their children and their women every day in the cave to fast and pray, and to worship the most High God. They blessed themselves n the body of their father Adam, and anointed themselves with it.

14 And they did so until the end of Seth drew near.

2 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 12

Seth's family affairs. His death. The headship of Enos. How the outcast branch of Adam's family fared.

1 Then Seth, the just, called his son Enos, and Cainan, son of Enos, and Mahalaleel, son of Cainan, and said unto them:--

2 "As my end is near, I wish to build a roof over the altar on which gifts are offered."

3 They hearkened to his commandment and went out, all of them, both old and young, and worked hard at it, and built a beautiful roof over the altar.

4 And Seth's thought in so doing, was that a blessing should come upon his children on the mountain; and that he should present an offering for them before his death.

5 Then when the building of the roof was completed, he commanded them to make offerings. They worked diligently at these, and brought them to Seth their father who took them and offered them upon the altar; and prayed God to accept their offerings, to have mercy on the souls of his children, and to keep them from the hand of Satan.

6 And God accepted his offering, and sent His blessing upon him and upon his children. And then God made a promise to Seth, saying, "At the end of the great five days and a half, concerning which I have made a promise to thee and to thy father, I will send My Word and save thee and thy seed."

7 Then Seth and his children, and his children's children, met together, and came down from the altar, and went to the Cave of Treasures--where they prayed, and blessed themselves in the body of our father Adam, and anointed themselves with it.

8 But Seth abode in the Cave of Treasures, a few days, and then suffered--sufferings unto death.

9 Then Enos, his first-born son, came to him, with Cainan, his son, and Mahalaleel, Cainan's son, and Jared, the son of Mahalaleel, and Enoch, Jared's son, with their wives and children to receive a blessing from Seth.

10 Then Seth prayed over them, and blessed them, and adjured them by the blood of Abel the just, saying, "I beg of you, my children, not to let one of you go down from this Holy and pure Mountain.

11 Make no fellowship with the children of Cain the murderer and the sinner, who killed his brother; for ye know, O my children, that we flee from him, and from all his sin with all our might because he killed his brother Abel."

12 After having said this, Seth blessed Enos, his first-born son, and commanded him habitually to minister in purity before the body of our father Adam, all the days of his life; then, also, to go at times to the altar which he Seth had built. And he commanded him to feed his people in righteousness, in judgement and purity all the days of his life.

13 Then the limbs of Seth were loosened; his hands and feet lost all power; his mouth became dumb and unable to speak; and he gave up the ghost and died the day after his nine hundred and twelfth year; on the twenty-seventh day of the month Abib; Enoch being then twenty years old.

14 Then they wound up carefully the body of Seth, and embalmed him with sweet spices, and laid him in the Cave of Treasures, on the right side of our father Adam's body, and they mourned for him forty days. They offered gifts for him, as they had done for our father Adam.

15 After the death of Seth Enos rose at the head of his people, whom he fed in righteousness, and judgement, as his father had commanded him.

16 But by the time Enos was eight hundred and twenty years old, Cain had a large progeny; for they married frequently, being given to animal lusts; until the land below the mountain, was filled with them.

2 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 13

"Among the children of Cain there was much robbery, murder and sin."

1 In those days lived Lamech the blind, who was of the sons of Cain. He had a son whose name was Atun, and they two had much cattle.

2 But Lamech was in the habit of sending them to feed with a young shepherd, who tended them; and who, when coming home in the evening wept before his grandfather, and before his father Atun and his mother Hazina, and said to them, "As for me, I cannot feed those cattle alone, lest one rob me of some of them, or kill me for the sake of them." For among the children of Cain, there was much robbery, murder, and sin.

3 Then Lamech pitied him, and he said, "Truly, he when alone, might be overpowered by the men of this place."

4 So Lamech arose, took a bow he had kept ever since he was a youth, ere he became blind, and he took large arrows, and smooth stones, and a sling which he had, and went to the field with the young shepherd, and placed himself behind the cattle; while the young shepherd watched the cattle. Thus did Lamech many days.

5 Meanwhile Cain, ever since God had cast him off, and had cursed him with trembling and terror, could neither settle nor find rest in any one place; but wandered from place to place.

6 In his wanderings he came to Lamech's wives, and asked them about him. They said to him, "He is in the field with the cattle."

7 Then Cain went to look for him; and as he came into the field, the young shepherd heard the noise he made, and the cattle herding together from before him.

8 Then said he to Lamech, "O my lord, is that a wild beast or a robber?"

9 And Lamech said to him, "Make me understand which way he looks, when he comes up."

10 Then Lamech bent his bow, placed an arrow on it, and fitted a stone in the sling, and when Cain came out from the open country, the shepherd said to Lamech, "Shoot, behold, he is coming."

11 Then Lamech shot at Cain with his arrow and hit him in his side. And Lamech struck him with a stone from his sling, that fell upon his face, and knocked out both his eyes; then Cain fell at once and died.

12 Then Lamech and the young shepherd came up to him, and found him lying on the ground. And the young shepherd said to him, "It is Cain our grandfather, whom thou hast killed, O my lord!"

13 Then was Lamech sorry for it, and from the bitterness of his regret, he clapped his hands together, and struck with his flat palm the head of the youth, who fell as if dead; but Lamech thought it was a feint; so he took up a stone and smote him, and smashed his head until he died.

2 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 14

Time, like an ever-rolling stream, bears away another generation of men.

1 When Enos was nine hundred years old, all the children of Seth, and of Cainan, and his first-born, with their wives and children, gathered around him, asking for a blessing from him.

2 He then prayed over them and blessed them, and adjured them by the blood of Abel the just saying to them, "Let not one of your children go down from this Holy Mountain, and let them make no fellowship with the children of Cain the murderer."

3 Then Enos called his son Cainan and said to him, "See, O my son, and set thy heart on thy people, and establish them in righteousness, and in innocence; and stand ministering before the body of our father Adam, all the days of thy life."

4 After this Enos entered into rest, aged nine hundred and eighty-five years; and Cainan wound him up, and laid him in the Cave of Treasures on the left of his father Adam; and made offerings for him, after the custom of his fathers.

2 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 15

The offspring of Adam continue to keep the Cave of Treasures as a family shrine.

1 After the death of Enos, Cainan stood at the head of his people in righteousness and innocence, as his father had commanded him; he also continued to minister before the body of Adam, inside the Cave of Treasures.

2 Then when he had lived nine hundred and ten years, suffering and affliction came upon him. And when he was about to enter into rest, all the fathers with their wives and children came to him, and he blessed them, and adjured them by the blood of Abel, the just, saying to them, "Let not one among you go down from this Holy Mountain; and make no fellowship with the children of Cain the murderer."

3 Mahalaleel, his first-born son, received this commandment from his father, who blessed him and died.

4 Then Mahalaleel embalmed him with sweet spices, and laid him in the Cave of Treasures, with his fathers; and they made offerings for him, after the custom of their fathers.

2 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 16

The good branch of the family is still afraid of the children of Cain.

1 Then Mahalaleel stood over his people, and fed them in righteousness and innocence, and watched them to see they held no intercourse with the children of Cain.

2 He also continued in the Cave of Treasures praying and ministering before the body of our father Adam, asking God for mercy on himself and on his people; until he was eight hundred and seventy years old, when he fell sick.

3 Then all his children gathered unto him, to see him, and to ask for his blessing on them all, ere he left this world.

4 Then Mahalaleel arose and sat on his bed, his tears streaming down his face, and he called his eldest son Jared, who came to him.

5 He then kissed his face, and said to him, "O Jared, my son, I adjure thee by Him who made heaven and earth, to watch over thy people, and to feed them in righteousness and in innocence; and not to let one of them go down from this Holy Mountain to the children of Cain, lest he perish with them.

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6 "Hear, O my son, hereafter there shall come a great destruction upon this earth on account of them; God will be angry with the world, and will destroy them with waters.

7 "But I also know that thy children will not hearken to thee, and that they will go down from this mountain and hold intercourse with the children of Cain, and that they shall perish with them.

8 "O my son! teach them, and watch over them, that no guilt attach to thee on their account."

9 Mahalaleel said, moreover, to his son Jared, "When I die, embalm my body and lay it in the Cave of Treasures, by the bodies of my fathers; then stand thou by my body and pray to God; and take care of them, and fulfil thy ministry before them, until thou enterest into rest thyself."

10 Mahalaleel then blessed all his children; and then lay down on his bed, and entered into rest like his fathers.

11 But when Jared saw that his father Mahalaleel was dead, he wept, and sorrowed, and embraced and kissed his hands and his feet; and so did all his children.

12 And his children embalmed him carefully, and laid him by the bodies of his fathers. Then they arose, and mourned for him forty days.

2 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 17

Jared turns martinet. He is lured away to the land of Cain where he sees many voluptuous sights. Jared barely escapes with a clean heart.

1 Then Jared kept his father's commandment, and arose like a lion over his people. He fed them in righteousness and innocence, and commanded them to do nothing without his counsel. For he was afraid concerning them, lest they should go to the children of Cain.

2 Wherefore did he give them orders repeatedly; and continued to do so until the end of the four hundred and eighty-fifth year of his life.

3 At the end of these said years, there came unto him this sign. As Jared was standing like a lion before the bodies of his fathers, praying and warning his people, Satan envied him, and wrought a beautiful apparition, because Jared would not let his children do aught without his counsel.

4 Satan then appeared to him with thirty men of his hosts, in the form of handsome men; Satan himself being the elder and tallest among them, with a fine beard.

5 They stood at the mouth of the cave, and called out Jared, from within it.

6 He came out to them, and found them looking like fine men, full of light, and of great beauty. He wondered at their beauty and at their looks; and thought within himself whether they might not be of the children of Cain.

7 He said also in his heart, "As the children of Cain cannot come up to the height of this mountain, and none of them is so handsome as these appear to be; and among these men there is not one of my kindred--they must be strangers."

8 Then Jared and they exchanged a greeting and he said to the elder among them, "O my father, explain to me the wonder that is in thee, and tell me who these are, with thee; for they look to me like strange men."

9 Then the elder began to weep, and the rest wept with him; and he said to Jared: "I am Adam whom God made first; and this is Abel my son, who was killed by his brother Cain, into whose heart Satan put to murder him.

10 "Then this is my son Seth, whom I asked of the Lord, who gave him to me, to comfort me instead of Abel.

11 "Then this one is my son Enos, son of Seth, and that other one is Cainan, son of Enos, and that other one is Mahalaleel, son of Cainan, thy father."

12 But Jared remained wondering at their appearance, and at the speech of the elder to him.

13 Then the elder said to him, "Marvel not, O my son; we live in the land north of the garden, which God created before the world. He would not let us live there, but placed us inside the garden, below which ye are now dwelling.

14 "But after that I transgressed, He made me come out of it, and I was left to dwell in this cave; great and sore troubles came upon me; and when my death drew near, I commanded my son Seth to tend his people well; and this my commandment is to be handed from one to another, unto the end of the generations to come.

15 "But, O Jared, my son, we live in beautiful regions, while you live here in misery, as this thy father Mahalaleel informed me; telling me that a great flood will come and overwhelm the whole earth.

16 "Therefore, O my son, fearing for your sakes, I rose and took my children with me, and came hither for us to visit thee and thy children; but I found thee standing in this cave weeping, and thy children scattered about this mountain, in the heat and in misery.

17 "But, O my son, as we missed our way, and came as far as this, we found other men below this mountain; who inhabit a beautiful country, full of trees and of fruits, and of all manner of verdure; it is like a garden; so that when we found them we thought they were you; until thy father Mahalaleel told me they were no such thing.

18 "Now, therefore, O my son, hearken to my counsel, and go down to them, thou and thy children. Ye will rest from all this suffering in which ye are. But if thou wilt not go down to them, then, arise, take thy children, and come with us to our garden; ye shall live in our beautiful land, and ye shall rest from all this trouble, which thou and thy children are now bearing."

19 But Jared when he heard this discourse from the elder, wondered; and went hither and thither, but at that moment he found not one of his children.

20 Then he answered and said to the elder, "Why have you hidden yourselves until this day?"

21 And the elder replied, "If thy father had not told us, we should not have known it."

22 Then Jared believed his words were true.

23 So that elder said to Jared, "Wherefore didst thou turn about, so and so?" And he said, "I was seeking one of my children, to tell him about my going with you, and about their coming down to those about whom thou hast spoken to me."

24 When the elder heard Jared's intention, he said to him, "Let alone that purpose at present, and come with us; thou shalt see our country; if the land in which we dwell pleases thee, we and thou shall return hither and take thy family with us. But if our country does not please thee, thou shalt come back to thine own place."

25 And the elder urged Jared, to go before one of his children came to counsel him otherwise.

26 Jared, then, came out of the cave and went with them, and among them. And they comforted him, until they came to the top of the mountain of the sons of Cain.

27 Then said the elder to one of his companions, "We have forgotten something by the mouth of the cave, and that is the chosen garment we had brought to clothe Jared withal."

28 He then said to one of them, "Go back, thou, some one; and we will wait for thee here, until thou come back. Then will we clothe Jared and he shall be like us, good, handsome, and fit to come with us into our country."

29 Then that one went back.

30 But when he was a short distance off, the elder called to him and said to him, "Tarry thou, until I come up and speak to thee."

31 Then he stood still, and the elder went up to him and said to him, "One thing we forgot at the cave, it is this--to put out the lamp that burns inside it, above the bodies that are therein. Then come back to us, quick."

32 That one went, and the elder came back to his fellows and to Jared. And they came down from the mountain, and Jared with them; and they stayed by a fountain of water, near the houses of the children of Cain, and waited for their companion until he brought the garment for Jared.

33 He, then, who went, back to the cave, put out the lamp, and came to them and brought a phantom with him and showed it them. And when Jared saw it he wondered at the beauty and grace thereof, and rejoiced in his heart believing it was all true.

34 But while they were staying there, three of them went into houses of the sons of Cain, and said to them, "Bring us to-day some food by the fountain of water, for us and our companions to eat."

35 But when the sons of Cain saw them, they wondered at them and thought: "These are beautiful to look at, and such as we never saw before." So they rose and came with them to the fountain of water, to see their companions.

36 They found them so very handsome, that they cried aloud about their places for others to gather together and come and look at these beautiful beings. Then they gathered around them both men and women.

37 Then the elder said to them, "We are strangers in your land, bring us some good food and drink you and your women, to refresh ourselves with you."

38 When those men heard these words of the elder, every one of Cain's sons brought his wife, and another brought his daughter, and so, many women came to them; every one addressing Jared either for himself or for his wife; all alike.

39 But when Jared saw what they did, his very soul wrenched itself from them; neither would he taste of their food or of their drink.

40 The elder saw hint as he wrenched himself from them, and said to him, "Be not sad; I am the great elder, as thou shalt see me do, do thyself in like manner."

41 Then he spread his hands and took one of the women, and five of his companions did the same before Jared, that he should do as they did.

42 But when Jared saw them working infamy he wept, and said in his mind,--My fathers never did the like.

43 He then spread his hands and prayed with a fervent heart, and with much weeping, and entreated God to deliver him from their hands.

44 No sooner did Jared begin to pray than the elder fled with his companions; for they could not abide in a place of prayer.

45 Then Jared turned round but could not see them, but found himself standing in the midst of the children of Cain.

46 He then wept and said, "O God, destroy me not with this race, concerning which my fathers have warned me; for now, O my Lord God, I was thinking that those who appeared unto me were my fathers; but I have found them out to be devils, who allured me by this beautiful apparition, until I believed them.

47 "But now I ask Thee, O God, to deliver me from this race, among whom I am now staying, as Thou didst deliver me from those devils. Send Thy angel to draw me out of the midst of them; for I have not myself power to escape from among them."

48 When Jared had ended his prayer, God sent His angel in the midst of them, who took Jared and set him upon the mountain, and showed him the way, gave him counsel, and then departed from him.

2 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 18

Confusion in the Cave of Treasures. Miraculous speech of the dead Adam.

1 Tth children of Jared were in the habit of visiting him hour after hour, to receive his blessing and to ask his advice for every thing they did; and when he had a work to do, they did it for him.

2 But this time when they went into the cave they found not Jared, but they found the lamp put out, and the bodies of the fathers thrown about, and voices came from them by the power of God, that said, "Satan in an apparition has deceived our son, wishing to destroy him, as he destroyed our son Cain."

3 They said also, "Lord God of heaven and earth, deliver our son from the hand of Satan, who wrought a great and false apparition before him," They also spake of other matters, by the power of God.

4 But when the children of Jared heard these voices they feared, and stood weeping for their father; for they knew not what had befallen him.

5 And they wept for him that day until the setting of the sun.

6 Then came Jared with a woeful countenance, wretched in mind and body, and sorrowful at having been separated from the bodies of his fathers.

7 But as he was drawing near to the cave, his children saw him, and hastened to the cave, and hung upon his neck, crying, and saying to him, "O father, where hast thou been, and why hast thou left us, as thou wast not wont to do?" And again, "O father, when thou didst disappear, the lamp over the bodies of our fathers went out, the bodies were thrown about, and voices came from them."

8 When Jared heard this he was sorry, and went into the cave; and there found the bodies thrown about, the lamp put out, and the fathers themselves praying for his deliverance from the hand of Satan.

9 Then Jared fell upon the bodies and embraced them, and said, "O my fathers, through your intercession, let God deliver me from the hand of Satan! And I beg you will ask God to keep me and to bide me from him unto the day of my death."

10 Then all the voices ceased save the voice of our father Adam, who spake to Jared by the power of God, just as one would speak to his fellow, saying, "O Jared, my son, offer gifts to God for having delivered thee from the hand of Satan; and when thou bringest those offerings, so be it that thou offerest them on the altar on which I did offer. Then also, beware of Satan; for he deluded me many a time with his apparitions, wishing to destroy me, but God delivered me out of his hand.

11 "Command thy people that they be on their guard against him; and never cease to offer up gifts to God."

12 Then the voice of Adam also became silent; and Jared and his children wondered at this. Then they laid the bodies as they were it first; and Jared and his children stood praying the whole of that night, until break of day.

13 Then Jared made an offering and offered it up on the altar, as Adam had commanded him. And as he went up to the altar, he prayed to God for mercy and for forgiveness of his sin, concerning the lamp going out.

14 Then God appeared unto Jared on the altar and blessed him and his children, and accepted their offerings; and commanded Jared to take of the sacred fire from the altar, and with it to light the lamp that shed light on the body of Adam.

2 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 19

The children of Jared are led astray.

1 Then God revealed to him again the promise He had made to Adam; He explained to him the 5500 years, and revealed unto him the mystery of His coming upon the earth.

2 And God said to Jared, "As to that fire which thou hast taken from the altar to light the lamp withal, let it abide with you to give light to the bodies; and let it not come out of the cave, until the body of Adam comes out of it.

3 But, O Jared, take care of the fire, that it burn bright in the lamp; neither go thou again out of the cave, until thou receivest an order through a vision, and not in an apparition, when seen by thee.

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4 "Then command again thy people not to hold intercourse with the children of Cain, and not to learn their ways; for I am God who loves not hatred and works of iniquity."

5 God gave also many other commandments to Jared, and blessed him. And then withdrew His Word from him.

6 Then Jared drew near with his children, took some fire, and came down to the cave, and lighted the lamp before the body of Adam; and he gave his people commandments as God had told him to do.

7 This sign happened to Jared at the end of his four hundred and fiftieth year; as did also many other wonders, we do not record. But we record only this one for shortness sake, and in order not to lengthen our narrative.

8 And Jared continued to teach his children eighty years; but after that they began to transgress the commandments he had given them, and to do many things without his counsel. They began to go down from the Holy Mountain one after another, and to mix with the children of Cain, in foul fellowships.

9 Now the reason for which the children of Jared went down the Holy Mountain, is this, that we will now reveal unto you.

2 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 20

Ravishing music; strong drink loosed among the sons of Cain. They don colorful clothing. The children of Seth look on with longing eyes. They revolt from wise counsel; they descend the mountain into the valley of iniquity. They can not ascend the mountain again.

1 After Cain had gone down to the land of dark soil, and his children had multiplied therein, there was one of them, whose name was Genun, son of Lamech the blind who slew Cain.

2 But as to this Genun, Satan came into him in his childhood; and he made sundry trumpets and horns, and string instruments, cymbals and psalteries, and lyres and harps, and flutes; and he played on them at all times and at every hour.

3 And when he played on them, Satan came into them, so that from among them were heard beautiful and sweet sounds, that ravished the heart.

4 Then he gathered companies upon companies to play on them; and when they played, it pleased well the children of Cain, who inflamed themselves with sin among themselves, and burnt as with fire; while Satan inflamed their hearts, one with another, and increased lust among them.

5 Satan also taught Genun to bring strong drink out of com; and this Genun used to bring together companies upon companies in drink-houses; and brought into their hands all manner of fruits and flowers; and they drank together.

6 Thus did this Genun multiply sin exceedingly; he also acted with pride, and taught the children of Cain to commit all manner of the grossest wickedness, which they knew not; and put them up to manifold doings which they knew not before.

7 Then Satan, when he saw that they yielded to Genun and hearkened to him in every thing he told them, rejoiced greatly, increased Genun's understanding, until he took iron and with it made weapons of war.

8 Then when they were drunk, hatred and murder increased among them; one man used violence against another to teach him evil taking his children and defiling them before him.

9 And when men saw they were overcome, and saw others that were not overpowered, those who were beaten came to Genun, took refuge with him, and he made them his confederates.

10 Then sin increased among them greatly; until a man married his own sister, or daughter, or mother, and others; or the daughter of his father's sister, so that there was no more distinction of relationship, and they no longer knew what is iniquity; but did wickedly, and the earth was defiled with sin, and they angered God the Judge, who had created them.

11 But Genun gathered together companies upon companies, that played on horns and on all the other instruments we have already mentioned, at the foot of the Holy Mountain; and they did so in order that the children of Seth who were on the Holy Mountain should hear it.

12 But when the children of Seth heard the noise, they wondered, and came by companies, and stood on the top of the mountain to look at those below; and they did thus a whole year.

13 When, at the end of that year, Genun saw that they were being won over to him little by little, Satan entered into him, and taught him to make dyeing-stuffs for garments of divers patterns, and made him understand how to dye crimson and purple and what not.

14 And the sons of Cain who wrought all this, and shone in beauty and gorgeous apparel, gathered together at the foot of the mountain in splendour, with horns and gorgeous dresses, and horse races, committing all manner of abominations.

15 Meanwhile the children of Seth, who were on the Holy Mountain, prayed and praised God, in the place of the hosts of angels who had fallen; wherefore God had called them "angels," because He rejoiced over them greatly.

16 But after this, they no longer kept His commandment, nor held by the promise He had made to their fathers; but they relaxed from their fasting and praying, and from the counsel of Jared their father. And they kept on gathering together on the top of the mountain, to look upon the children of Cain, from morning until evening, and upon what they did, upon their beautiful dresses and ornaments.

17 Then the children of Cain looked up from below, and saw the children of Seth, standing in troops on the top of the mountain; and they called to them to come down to them.

18 But the children of Seth said to them from above, "We don't know the way." Then Genun, the son of Lamech, heard them say they did not know the way, and he bethought himself how he might bring them down.

19 Then Satan appeared to him by night, saying, "There is no way for them to come down from the mountain on which they dwell; but when they come to-morrow, say to them, 'Come ye to the western side of the mountain; there you will find the way of a stream of water, that comes down to the foot of the mountain, between two hills; come down that way to us.'"

20 Then when it was day, Genun blew the horns and beat the drums below the mountain, as he was wont. The children of Seth heard it, and came as they used to do.

21 Then Genun said to them from down below, "Go to the western side of the mountain, there you will find the way to come down."

22 But when the children of Seth heard these words from him, they went back into the cave to Jared, to tell him all they had heard.

23 Then when Jared heard it, he was grieved; for he knew that they would transgress his counsel.

24 After this a hundred men of the children of Seth gathered together, and said among themselves, "Come, let us go down to the children of Cain, and see what they do, and enjoy ourselves with them."

25 But when Jared heard this of the hundred men, his very soul was moved, and his heart was grieved. He then arose with great fervour, and stood in the midst of them, and adjured them by the blood of Abel the just, "Let not one of you go down from this holy and pure mountain, in which our fathers have ordered its to dwell."

26 But when Jared saw that they did not receive his words, he said unto them, "O my good and innocent and holy children, know that when once you go down from this holy mountain, God will not allow you to return again to it."

27 He again adjured them, saying, "I adjure by the death of our father Adam, and by the blood of Abel, of Seth, of Enos, of Cainan, and of Mahalaleel, to hearken to me, and not to go down from this holy mountain; for the moment you leave it, you will be reft of life and of mercy; and you shall no longer be called 'children of God,' but 'children of the devil.'"

28 But they would not hearken to his words.

29 Enoch at that time was already grown up, and in his zeal for God, be arose and said, "Hear me, O ye sons of Seth, small and great--when ye transgress the commandment of our fathers, and go down from this holy mountain--ye shall not come up hither again for ever."

30 But they rose up against Enoch, and would not hearken to his words, but went down from the Holy Mountain.

31 And when they looked at the daughters of Cain, at their beautiful figures, and at their hands and feet dyed with colour, and tattooed in ornaments on their faces, the fire of sin was kindled in them.

32 Then Satan made them look most beautiful before the sons of Seth, as he also made the sons of Seth appear of the fairest in the eyes of the daughters of Cain, so that the daughters of Cain lusted after the sons of Seth like ravenous beasts, and the sons of Seth after the daughters of Cain, until they committed abomination with them.

33 But after they had thus fallen into this defilement, they returned by the way they had come, and tried to ascend the Holy Mountain. But they could not, because the stones of that holy mountain were of fire flashing before them, by reason of which they could not go up again.

34 And God was angry with them, and repented of them because they had come down from glory, and had thereby lost or forsaken their own purity or innocence, and were fallen into the defilement of sin.

35 Then God sent His Word to Jared, saying, "These thy children, whom thou didst call 'My children,'--behold they have transgressed My commandment, and have gone down to the abode of perdition, and of sin. Send a messenger to those that are left, that they may not go down, and be lost."

36 Then Jared wept before the Lord, and asked of Him mercy and forgiveness. But he wished that his soul might depart from his body, rather than hear these words from God about the going down of his children from the Holy Mountain.

37 But he followed God's order, and preached unto them not to go down from that holy mountain, and not to hold intercourse with the children of Cain.

38 But they heeded not his message, and would not obey his counsel.

2 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 21

Jared dies in sorrow for his sons who had gone astray. A prediction of the Flood.

1 After this another company gathered together, and they went to look after their brethren; but they perished as well as they. And so it was, company after company, until only a few of them were left.

2 Then Jared sickened from grief, and his sickness was such that the day of his death drew near.

3 Then he called Enoch his eldest son, and Methuselah Enoch's son, and Lamech the son of Methuselah, and Noah the son of Lamech.

4 And when they were come to him he prayed over them and blessed them, and said to them, "Ye are righteous, innocent sons; go ye not down from this holy mountain; for behold, your children and your children's children have gone down from this holy mountain, and have estranged themselves from this holy mountain, through their abominable lust and transgression of God's commandment.

5 "But I know, through the power of God, that He will not leave you on this holy mountain, because your children have transgressed His commandment and that of our fathers, which we had received from them.

6 "But, O my sons, God will take you to a strange land, and ye never shall again return to behold with your eyes this garden and this holy mountain.

7 "Therefore, O my sons, set your hearts on your own selves, and keep the commandment of God which is with you. And when you go from this holy mountain, into a strange land which ye know not, take with you the body of our father Adam, and with it these three precious, gifts and offerings, namely, the gold, the incense, and the myrrh; and let them be in the place where the body of our father Adam shall lay.

8 "And unto him of you who shall be left, O my sons, shall the Word of God come, and when he goes out of this land he shall take with him the body of our father Adam, and shall lay it in the middle of the earth the place in which salvation shall be wrought."

9 Then Noah said unto him, "Who is he of us that shall be left?"

10 And Jared answered, "Thou art he that shall be left. And thou shalt take the body of our father Adam from the cave, and place it with thee in the ark when the flood comes.

11 "And thy son Shem, who shall come out of thy loins, he it is who shall lay the body of our father Adam in the middle of the earth, in the place whence salvation shall come."

12 Then Jared turned to his son Enoch, and said unto him, "Thou, my son, abide in this cave, and minister diligently before the body of our father Adam all the days of thy life; and feed thy people in righteousness and innocence."

13 And Jared said no more. His hands were loosened, his eyes closed, and he entered into rest like his fathers. His death took place in the three hundred and sixtieth year of Noah, and in the nine hundred and eighty-ninth year of his own life; on the twelfth of Takhsas on a Friday.

14 But as Jared died, tears streamed down his face by reason of his great sorrow, for the children of Seth, who had fallen in his days.

15 Then Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech and Noah, these four, wept over him; embalmed him carefully, and then laid him in the Cave of Treasures. Then they rose and mourned for him forty days.

16 And when these days of mourning were ended, Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech and Noah remained in sorrow of heart, because their father had departed from them, and they saw him no more.

2 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 22

Only three righteous men left in the world. The evil conditions of men prior to the Flood.

1 But Enoch kept the commandment of Jared his father, and continued to minister in the cave.

2 It is this Enoch to whom many wonders happened, and who also wrote a celebrated book; but those wonders may not be told in this place.

3 Then after this, the children of Seth went astray and fell, they, their children and their wives. And when Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech and Noah saw them, their hearts suffered by reason of their fall into doubt full of unbelief; and they wept and sought of God mercy, to preserve them, and to bring them out of that wicked generation.

4 Enoch continued in his ministry before the Lord three hundred and eighty-five years, and at the end of that time he became aware through the grace of God, that God intended to remove him from the earth.

5 He then said to his son, "O my son, I know that God intends to bring the waters of the Flood upon the earth, and to destroy our creation.

6 "And ye are the last rulers over this people on this mountain; for I know that not one will be left you to beget children on this holy mountain; neither shall any one of you rule over the children of his people; neither shall any great company be left of you, on this mountain."

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7 Enoch said also to them, "Watch over your souls, and hold fast by your fear of God and by your service of Him, and worship Him in upright faith, and serve Him in righteousness, innocence and judgement, in repentance and also in purity."

8 When Enoch had ended his commandments to them, God transported him from that mountain to the land of life, to the mansions of the righteous and of the chosen, the abode of Paradise of joy, in light that reaches up to heaven; light that is outside the light of this world; for it is the light of God, that fills the whole world, but which no place can contain.

9 Thus, because Enoch was in the light of God, he found himself out of the reach of death; until God would have him die.

10 Altogether, not one of our fathers or of their children, remained on that holy mountain, except those three, Methuselah, Lamech, and Noah. For all the rest went down from the mountain and fell into sin with the children of Cain. Therefore were they forbidden that mountain, and none remained on it but those three men.

THE THIRD BOOK OF ADAM AND EVE

3 Adam and Eve
Language: Ethiopic and Arabic
Translation: S. C. Malan, 1882
Estimated Range of Dating: 500-700 A.D.

(Ophir (Hebrew Aramaic: Ofer) is a port and region, famous for its wealth, mentioned in the Third Book of Adam and Eve as well as in canonical books of the Bible. This is interesting because it appears in several places of the Bible and because the text refers to India which was not a faraway region but an important trading partner of Mediterranean countries in Antiquity already since the times of the Sumerians.

The texts say that King Solomon received a cargo from Ophir every three years (1 Kings 10:10-11) which consisted of gold, silver, sandalwood, pearls, ivory, apes, and peacocks. The name Ophir throws some light on the activities of Jewish or Judaean people and what they have to do with India. When we check geographical names, the names of people and nations, documents from India and China, coins from Persia, Bactria and India, the antique influence as well as the whereabouts of Jewish communities in modern India, then we can discover mind-bogling facts.

Earlier in the 19th century the Orientalist Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1900) and other scholars identified Ophir with Abhira [Avir / Ahir], near the Indus River in modern-day state of Gujarat, India. He already found strong indications of Greek-Roman-Persian-Indian-Chinese culture links to which we have to add also the Phoenician-Aramaic-Hebrew links. His discoveries in ancient text triggered him and dozens of his colleagues to create and publish a massive 50-volume work on all kinds of sacred texts from all parts of Asia translated into English.

From them as well as from Roman-Jewish texts, we can extract some interesting facts. The name "Yadav" is of Jewish origin and refers to several communities or castes in [the northwest of] India that have claimed descent from the mythological king Yadu [Yudah / Yehuda]. The Ahir, Aheer or Avir identify themselves as being of the Indian Yadav community because they consider the two terms to be synonymous. The Ahirs are variously described as a caste, a clan, a community, a race, a tribe and a nation.

There is still a small Jewish community centred around the Magen Abraham Synagogue today. The Zoroastrians, also known in India as Parsi, Parsee or Irani, are believed to have migrated to Gujarat to escape adverse conditions and religious persecution from Islam in Persia in order to maintain their faith and traditions.

The Bene Israel ("Sons of Israel", also the "Shanivar Teli" caste (Saturday Oil Presser caste) or "Native Jew Caste") are a community of Jews in India. It has been suggested that it is made up of descendants of one of the disputed Lost Tribes and ancestors who had settled there centuries ago. In the 19th century, after the people were taught about normative (Ashkenazi Jews/Sephardi Jews) Judaism, they tended to migrate from villages in the Konkan area to the nearby cities, primarily Mumbai, but also to Pune, Ahmedabad, India; and Karachi, in today's Pakistan. Many gained positions with the British colonial authority of the period.

The history of the Jews in India reaches back to ancient times. Judaism was one of the first foreign religions to arrive in India in recorded history. Indian Jews are only a religious minority of India today, but, unlike many parts of the world, have historically lived in India without any instances of anti-Semitism from the local majority populace, and thei activities had a massive impact on Indian civilisation that equals the impact of Greece on India. The better-established ancient communities have assimilated many local traditions through cultural diffusion. While some Jews state their ancestors arrived in India during the time of the Kingdom of Judah, others identify themselves as descendants of Israel's Ten Lost Tribes. It is estimated that India's Jewish population peaked at around 20,000 in the mid-1940s, and began to rapidly decline due to their emigration to Israel after its creation in 1948. In the early part of the twentieth century, many Bene Israel became active in the new film industry, as actresses and actors, producers and directors. After India gained its independence in 1947, and Israel was established in 1948, most Bene Israel emigrated to Israel, Canada and other Commonwealth countries and the United States. Pen has a small Jewish community, the Bene Israel. The centre of the community is the Beth-Ha-Elohim Synagogue. The town of Pen is located on the outskirts of Bombay [Mumbai] Metropolitan Region. The question is, "How did Jewish people come to India in the first place, and why?" There are speculations that Jewish captives were resettled from the Assyians or Babylonians to the East. The ancient texts, however, give us another clue: trade. Already with the expansion of [the Canaanite] Phoenicians that began at around 1200 BC, their cousins, the Jews accompanied them not only across the Mediterranean but also to the East, to India.

In Jewish tradition, Ophir is often associated with a place in India, named for one of the sons of Joktan. Joktan was the second of the two sons of Eber (Gen. 10:25; 1 Chr. 1:19) mentioned in the Hebrew Bible.

The Book of Genesis 10:21–31 tells us about the people first and who is who :— "21 To Shem also, the father of all the children of Eber, the elder brother of Japheth, children were born. 22 The sons of Shem: Elam, Asshur, Arpach'shad, Lud, and Aram. 23 The sons of Aram: Uz, Hul, Gether, and Mash. 24 Arpach'shad became the father of Shelah; and Shelah became the father of Eber. 25 To Eber were born two sons: the name of the one was Peleg, for in his days the earth was divided, and his brother's name was Joktan. 26 Joktan became the father of Almo'dad, Sheleph, Hazarma'veth, Jerah, 27 Hador'am, Uzal, Diklah, 28 Obal, Abim'a-el, Sheba, 29 Ophir, Hav'ilah, and Jobab; all these were the sons of Joktan. 30 The territory in which they lived extended from Mesha (Moab in modern Jordan) in the direction of Sephar (Zafar in Yemen) to the hill country of the east (in the northwest of India). 31 These are the sons of Shem, by their families, their languages, their lands, and their nations."

Then in the following passages Ophir is mentioned as name of a location. 1 Kings 9:27-28 [and 2 Chronicles 8:18; 2 Chronicles 9:10; also shortly mentioned in Job 22:24; Job 28:16; Psalms 45:9; Isaiah 13:12] says :— "27 And Hiram sent in the navy his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea (the Indian Ocean), with the servants of Solomon. 28 And they came to Ophir [Abhira / Avir], and fetched from thence gold, four hundred and twenty talents, and brought it to king Solomon."

1 Kings 10:10-11 has :— "10 And she (the Queen of Sheba, i.e. of the Yemenite Sabaeans) gave the king (Solomon, 970-931 BC) an hundred and twenty talents of gold, and of spices very great store, and precious stones: there came no more such abundance of spices as these which the queen of Sheba gave to king Solomon. 11 And the navy also of Hiram (or Huram; King Hiram I of Tyre / Tyrus, 980–947 BC, Phoenicia), that brought gold from Ophir, brought in from Ophir great plenty of almug trees [Red Sandalwood grows only in India and Ceylon], and precious stones [gems]."

1 Kings 22:47-48 :— "47 There was then no king in Edom: a deputy was king. 48 Jehoshaphat made ships of Tharshish to go to Ophir for gold: but they went not; for the ships were broken at Eziongeber. [Ezion-Geber or Etzyon Gever, also Asiongaber, was a city of Idumea / Edom, Petra / Arabia Petraea, an ancient seaport on the northern extremity of the Gulf of Aqaba, in the area of modern Eilat in Paran; Tarshish or Tartessos in Greek, was a Phoenician trading port in southern Spain, but this name could also refer to Tarsos in southern Turkey, which was another Phoenician trading port more closely situated to Phoenicia itself.]"

1 Chronicles 1:23 :— 19 And unto Eber were born two sons: the name of the one was Peleg (for in his days the earth was divided): and his brother's name was Joktan. 20 And Joktan begat Almodad, and Sheleph, and Hazarmaveth, and Jerah, 21 Hadoram also, and Uzal, and Diklah, 22 And Ebal, and Abimael, and Sheba, 23 And Ophir, and Havilah, and Jobab. All these were the sons of Joktan. 24 Shem, Arphaxad, Shelah, 25 Eber, Peleg, Reu, 26 Serug, Nahor, Terah, 27 Abram; the same is Abraham. 28 The sons of Abraham; Isaac, and Ishmael.

1 Chronicles 29:4 :— "3 Moreover, because I have set my affection to the house of my God, I have of mine own proper good, of gold and silver, which I have given to the house of my God, over and above all that I have prepared for the holy house, 4 Even three thousand talents of gold, of the gold of Ophir, and seven thousand talents of refined silver, to overlay the walls of the houses withal: 5 The gold for things of gold, and the silver for things of silver, and for all manner of work to be made by the hands of artificers. And who then is willing to consecrate his service this day unto the Lord?"

The Yadavas or Yadav (literally, descended from Yadu) were a cowherd clan of ancient Indian people [probably one of the lost ten Tribes of Israel that do not live in the Holy Land.] who believed themselves to be descended from Yadu (Yudah the 4th son of Jacob), a legendary king. The community was formed of four clans, being the Abhira (Ahir), Andhaka, Vrishni, and Satvatas, who all worshipped Krishna. They are listed in ancient Indian literature as the segments of the lineage of Yadu (Yaduvamsha). Yaudheya or Yoddheya Gana (Yoddheya Republic = the Republic of "Judaea") was an ancient militant confederation south of Taxila and the Punjab. The word Yaudheya is a derivative of the word from yodha in India a sysnym meaning warriors refering to the fighting spirit of Jewish people over the centuries. And it were these Jews who introduced writing to India. Bactrian coins with Aramaic-Karoshti on them and the rock inscriptions of Emperor Ashoka with Jewish-Aramaic script on them confirm this. Brahmi, the first Indian script [created by Emperor Ashoka], a mix of Aramaic and Greek, became the ancestor of all Indian, Hindu, and Buddist alphabets.

Krishna is a major deity in Hinduism and is one of the most popular and widely revered among Indian divinities. The name "Krishna" originates from the Sanskrit and is primarily an adjective meaning "black", "dark", "dark blue" or "the all attractive" like the luxuriant Ebony wood from southern India. His hometown was Dwarka, Dvaraka or Dvarika, also known as Dvaravati (Sanskrit for "the gated [city]", meaning having gates, or being the gate to the Indian Ocean and the western World beyond, because Dwarka was a main trade port.). Dwarka was given this name by Krishna and it is a sacred historic city in Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism. Its location is at the entrace to the Gulf of Kutch on the west coast of India, in the state of Gujarat. The Gulf of Kutch is referred to in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, a travelogue written in about 50 AD, as the Gulf of Baraca.

In 1980s, archaeologists found the remains of earthen pots and other artifacts of Late Harappan period were found near Sidi Bawa Peer Dargah. In 1982, a 580 meter long protection wall dated 1500 BC was found which believed to be damaged and submerged following seastorm. The artifacts recovered include a Late Harappan seal, an inscribed jar and the mould of coppersmith, a copper fishhook. The shipwrecks and stone anchors found during excavation campaigns revealed historic trade relation with Romans.

Up to this very day, here in the region of Gujarat, the god Krishna, one of its earliest rulers is most frequently called Yashoda Nandana, "Child of Yashoda" [Yehuda] and Yadunandana, "Son of the Yadu Dynasty" [the Dynasty of Yudah].)

3 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 1.

1 Noah noticed from his youth up, how sin had multiplied, how wickedness prevailed; how generations of men perished, how sorrow increased, how righteous men diminished. [Lit. father.] Therefore did he afflict his soul; he restrained his members, and retained his virginity; and grieved over the ruin wrought by the generations of men.

2 And this Noah habitually mourned and wept and was of a sad countenance; and thus he held his soul in fasting, so that the enemy had no advantage over him, and did not come near him.

3 This Noah also, ever since he was a child with his parents, never made them angry, never transgressed against them; nor ever did a thing without their advice. And when he was away from them, if he wished to pray or to do aught else; he would ask of God, to guide him aright therein; wherefore God watched over him.

4 And while he was on the mountain, he did not transgress against God in any one evil thing, nor did he wilfully depart from what pleased God; neither did he ever anger God. Many were the wonderful things which happened to him, more than to any of his fathers before him, about the time of the Flood.

5 And Noah continued in his virginity and in his obedience to God five hundred years; but after that it pleased God to raise him a seed; He therefore spake unto him, saying, "Arise, O Noah, and take unto thyself a wife, that of her thou mayest have children that may be a comfort to thee; for thou art left alone, and thou shalt go out of this country unto a strange land; for the earth shall be peopled with thy posterity."

6 Then when Noah heard this from God, he did not transgress His commandment, but took unto himself a wife, whose name was Haikal, the daughter of Abaraz, who was of the children of Enos's children, that went into perdition. And she bare unto him three sons. Sham, Ham, and Japhet.

3 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 2.

1 After these things, God spake unto Noah about the Flood; that it should come upon the earth, and destroy all creatures, so as not to let one of them be seen.

2 And God said unto Noah, "Guard thy children; command them and make them understand not to have intercourse with the children of Cain, lest they perish with them." And Noah hearkened to God's words, and kept his children on the mountain, and would not let them go down to the children of Cain.

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3 Then God spake again unto Noah, saying, "Make unto thyself an ark of wood that will not rot; to be a deliverance to thee and to the men of thy house."

4 "But begin to build it in the low land of Eden, in presence of the children of Cain, that they may see thee working at it; and if they will not repent they shall perish ; and the blame shall rest on them.

5 "But cut on this holy mountain, the trees whereof thou shalt make the ark; let the length of the ark be three hundred cubits, the breadth thereof fifty cubits, and the height thereof thirty cubits.^

6 "And when thou hast made and finished it, let there be in it ons door above, and three compartments ;* and every compartment ten cubits high.

7 "The first story shall be for lions, and beasts, animals and ostriches all together. The second story shall be for birds, and creeping things.

8 "And the third story shall be for thee and thy wife, and for thy sons and their wives.

9 "And make in the ark wells for water, and openings to them, to draw water thereat, for drink to thee and to those that are with thee. And thou shalt line those wells with lead, both in and out.

10 "And make in the ark store-houses for corn ; for food to thee and to those that are with thee.

11 "Then make also unto thyself a trumpet* of ebony wood, three cubits long, one and a half cubit wide, with a mouthpiece of the same wood.

12 "And thou shalt blow it three times; the first time in the morning, that the workmen [working] at the ark may hear it, and gather to their work. Then thou shalt blow it the second time, and when the workmen hear it, they will gather to their meal. And thou shall blow it a third time in the evening, for the workmen to go and rest from their labour."

13 And God said unto Noah, " Go about among the people and tell them that a flood shall come and shall overwhelm them; and make the ark before their eyes.

14 "And when they question thee about the making of the ark, tell them: God has commanded me to make it, that we may get into it, I and my children, and be saved from the waters of the Flood."

15 But when Noah went about among them and told them, they laughed at him, and only committed adultery and revelled together all the more, and said, "That twaddling old man! Whence will ever the waters come, above the tops of high mountains? We never saw water rise above mountains; and this old man says, a flood is coming!"

16 But Noah did all his works, as God had told him concerning them.

3 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 3.

1 And Noah begat his three sons, during the first hundred years he worked at the ark.

2 During these hundred years he ate no food, whence blood flows; the shoes on his feet were neither changed, nor worn, nor grown old.

3 During these hundred years also, he did not change his garments from off him, neither did they wear out, in the least; he did not change the staff in his hand, nor did the cloth about his head grow old; and the hair of his head neither increased nor grew less.

4 As to those three sons of Noah, the first of them is Shem the next is Ham; and the third is Japhet. They married wives from among the daughters of Methuselah; as the wise 5 interpreters have told us; as it is written in the first [sacred] book of the Greeks.

6 The life also of Lamech, Noah's father, was five hundred and fifty-three years; and when he drew nigh unto death, he called unto him his father Methuselah and his son Noah, and he wept before his father Methuselah and said unto him, "Dismiss me, O my father, and bless me."

7 Then Methuselah blessed his son Lamech, and said, "Not one of all our fathers died before his father, but the father [died] before his son, in order that there should be his son to bury him in the earth. Now, however, my son, thou diest before me, and I shall drink [the cup of] sorrow on thy account, ere I go out of the flesh.

8 "Henceforth, my son, behold the world is changed, and the [order] of deaths of men is changed : for from to-day the son shall die before his father ; and the father shall not rejoice in his son, nor be satisfied with him. So also shall the son not be satisfied with his father, nor rejoice in him."

9 Then Lamech died, and they embalmed him, and laid him in the Cave of Treasures. His death took place seven years before the Flood came; and his father Methuselah and his son Noah remained alone on the Holy Mountain.

10 But Noah went down every day to work at the ark, and came up at eventide. And he instructed his sons and their wives not to come down after him, and not to hold intercourse with the children of Cain.

11 For Noah was anxious about his sons, and said in his mind, "They are young and might be overcome by passion." So he went down by night; and gave old Methuselah directions about them.

3 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 4.

1 But Noah preached repeatedly to the children of Cain, saying, "The flood will come and destroy you, if we do not repent." But they would not hearken to him; they only laughed at him.^

2 When the children of Seth went down from the Holy Mountain, and dwelt with the children of Cain, and defiled themselves with their abominations, there were born unto them children called Garsina [A corruption of the Arabic term.], who were giants, mighty men of valour, such as no other giants were of equal might.

3 Certain wise men of old wrote concerning them, and say in their [sacred] books, that angels came down from heaven, and mingled with the daughters of Cain, who bare unto them these giants.

4 But those [wise men] err in what they say. God forbid such a thing, that angels who are [Angelic] spirits, should be found committing sin with human beings. Never; that cannot be. And if such a thing were of the nature of angels, or Satans, that fell, they would not leave one woman on earth, undefiled. For Satans are very wicked and infamous. Moreover, they are not male and female by nature; but they are small, subtle spirits, that have been black ever since they transgressed.

5 But many men say, that angels came down from heaven, and joined themselves to women, and had children by them. This cannot be true [See Matthew 22, 30, and the same in Mark and in Luke. See also the Koran. Sura 6, 37, and 53, etc.]. But they were children of Seth, who were of the children of Adam, that dwelt on the mountain, high up [or suspended], while they preserved their virginity, their innocence and their glory like angels; and were then called "angels of God."

6 But when they transgressed and mingled with the children of Cain, and begat children, ill-informed men said, that angels had come down from heaven, and mingled with daughters of men, who bare them giants.

3 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 5.

7 Then the ancient old man Methuselah who remained on the mountain with Noah's sons, lived nine hundred and eightyseven years and then sickened; and his sickness was such that, on account of it, he must depart [from this world].

8 When Noah and his sons, Shem, Ham and Japhet, became aware of it, they came to him with their wives, and wept before him, and said, "our father, and [our] elder, bless us, and pray God to have mercy on us when thou art gone from us."

9 Then Methuselah said to them with a sorrowful heart, "Hear me, my dear children; for none of our fathers are left, but you, eight souls.

10 "The Lord God created our father Adam and our mother Eve, and from them filled the earth [with] people in the neighbourhood of the garden, and multiplied their seed.

11 "But they have not kept His commandment, and He will destroy them. But had they kept His commandment. He would then have filled heaven and earth with them.

12 "Yet will I ask the Lord my God to bless you, to multiply you, and to spread your race in a strange land, to which ye shall go.

13 "And now, my children, behold, God will bring you inside an ark unto a land to which ye have never been. And the Lord God of all our pure fathers, be with you !

14 "And the glorious gifts God bestowed on our father Adam from the garden in this blessed Cave of Treasures, may He bestow them on you also !

15 "These are the three glorious gifts which God made to Adam. The first is—kingdom wherein God made Adam king over His works. The second glorious gift is—priesthood, in that God breathed into his face a spirit of life. And the third glorious gift is—prophecy, for Adam prophesied concerning what God thought [of doing].

16 "But I will ask the Lord my God, to bestow those three glorious gifts on your posterity."

Then Methuselah said also to Noah, "Noah, thou art blessed of God. I warn thee and tell thee that I am going from thee to [be with] all our fathers that have gone before me.

17 "But thou, who shalt be left alone with thy children on this holy mountain, keep the commandment I give thee, and forsake not anything of what I have told thee.

18 "Behold my God shall quickly bring a flood upon the earth; embalm my body, and lay it in the Cave of Treasures.

19 "Then take thy wife with thy sons and their wives, and go down from this holy mountain, and take with thee the body of our father Adam; go into the ark and lay it there, until the waters of the Flood are assuaged from off the face of the earth.

20 "O my son, when about to die, command thy first-born son Shem, to take Melchizedec, son of Cainan, and grandson of Arphaxad;^ for that Melchizedec is priest of the Most High God; and to take with them the body of our father Adam from within the ark, and remove it and lay it in the earth.

21 "And Melchizedec shall stand ministering on that mountain that is in the middle of the earth, before the body of our father Adam for ever. For from that place, Noah my son, God shall work salvation for Adam and for all of his seed that believe in God."

22 Methuselah said also to Noah and to his sons, "The angel of God will go with you, until you come to that place in the middle of the earth."

23 Again Methuselah said to Noah, "my son, let him who ministers unto God and before the body of our father Adam, have a clothing of skin, and be girt about his loins with leather. Let him wear no ornament, but let his raiment be poor; let him be alone [or: single], and stand praying our Lord God to watch over the body of our father Adam; for it is a body of great value before God.

24 "And let him continue in his ministry, he the priest of the Most High God; for he is well pleasing unto God, and so is the ministry he fulfils before God."

25 After this, Methuselah commanded Noah [saying], "Mind, then, all these commandments, and keep them." Then Methuselah's hands were loosened; he ceased speaking; he gradually closed his eyes, and entered into rest like all his fathers; his tears the time streaming down his cheeks, and his heart grieving at being separated from them [all]; bat mostly because of that mountain of the garden, on which not one of them was left; for God was purposed to destroy all creatures, and to blot them out from the face of the earth.

26 The rest of Methuselah took place when he was nine hundred and sixty-seven years old, on the twelfth of Magabit on a Sunday. Then Noah and his sons embalmed him, weeping and sorrowing over him, and laid him in the Cave of Treasures.

27 And they wailed over him with a great wailing, they and their wives, forty days. And when mourning and grief over Methuselah were ended, Noah and his sons began to do as Methuselah had commanded them.

3 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 6.

1 After his death, Noah, his sons, and their wives came to the bodies of our fathers, worshipped them, and blessed themselves in them, weeping and being in the deepest grief.

2 But Noah had finished the ark, and not one workman was left in it. And he, with his sons, continued in prayer to God, asking Him to show them the way of safety.

3 When Noah and his sons had ended their prayers, God said unto him, "Go thou into the Cave of Treasures, thou and thy sons, and take the body of our father Adam and lay it in the ark; likewise take the gold, the incense, and the myrrh, and lay them in the ark together with his body."

4 And Noah hearkened to God's voice, and went into the Cave of Treasures, he and his sons; they worshipped the bodies of our fathers, and then Noah took the body of our father Adam, and carried it in the strength of God, not requiring the help of any one [Lit. and would (or wished) not that one should help him.].

5 Then Shem his son, took the gold with him, and Ham carried the myrrh, and Japhet carried the incense; and they brought them out of the Cave of Treasures, their tears the while streaming down their cheeks.

6 But as they were bringing them out, the bodies among which Adam had been laid, cried out, "Are we then to be separated from thee, our father Adam?"

7 Then Adam's body answered, "Oh, that I must part from you my sons, from this holy mountain! Yet do I know, my sons, that God will gather all our bodies together another time.

"But wait patiently until our Saviour have pity on us." And the other bodies went on talking together, by the power of God's Word.

8 Then Adam asked God that the divine fire might remain in the lamp, before his sons, until the time when bodies shall rise again.

9 And God left the divine fire by them, to shed light on them. He then closed the cave upon them, and left not a trace to show [where it is] until the day of the Resurrection, when He will raise them up, like all other bodies.

10 But the discourse Adam held, and that too, he being dead, was by the command of God, who would show His wonders among the dead and the living.

11 After this let none of you say, that Adam's soul had already been under Satan's judgment. It was not so; but God commanded the souls of the dead, to come from under His hand; and to speak of the wonders of God from within their bodies." Then they returned to their places until the day of the sure deliverance that shall be unto them all.

3 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 7.

1 But when Noah and his sons heard these voices from those dead bodies, they wondered greatly, and their faith in God was strengthened.

2 Then they went out of the cave and began to go down from the Holy Mountain, weeping and wailing with a fervent

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heart, for their being thus parted from the holy mountain, the abode of their fathers.

3 And Noah and his sons went back and sought the cave, but could not find it. Then they broke out into bitter lamentation and deep sorrow; for they saw that from that day forth, they should have neither existence nor abode in it.

4 Then once more they raised their eyes and looked at the garden and at the trees [that were] in it, and they lifted up their voices in weeping and in loud crying, and said, "We salute thee in worship, garden of joy! abode of brilliant beings, a place for the righteous! We salute thee, place of joy that was the abode of our father Adam, the chief of creation; who, when he had transgressed, fell from thee; and then saw his body in life, naked and disgraced.

5 "And we, behold, we depart from the Holy Mountain to the lower side of thee; neither shall we dwell in it, nor yet behold thee so long as we live. We wish God would remove theg with us to the country to which we shall go; but God would not remove thee into a cursed land.

6 "But God will take us, and will bring us into that land with our children, until He has ended the punishment for our transgression of His commandment."

7 Noah and his sons said also, "We salute thee, cave, abode of the bodies of our holy fathers; we salute thee, pure spot, hidden from our eyes, yet fit to have those bodies laid within thee! The Lord God preserve thee, for the sake of the bodies of our fathers!

8 Again they said, "We greet you, O our fathers, righteous judges, and we ask you to pray for us before God, that He will have pity on us, and deliver us out of this passing world. "We ask you to pray for us—for us, the only ones left of your seed; We give you a greeting of peace!

9 "O Seth, great master, among the fathers, we greet thee with peace! O Holy Mountain abode of our fathers, we give thee a greeting of peace!"

10 Then Noah and his sons wept again, and said, "Alas, for us eight souls that are left! Behold we are taken away from the sight of the garden."

11 And as they were coming down the mountain they greeted the stones, took them in their hands and put them upon their shoulders; they stroked down the trees, and did so weeping. And they continued coming down from the mountain, until they came to the door of the ark.

12 Then Noah and his sons turned their faces to the east, and requested the Lord to have mercy on them, to save them, and to command them where to lay the body of our father Adam. Then the Word of God came to Noah, saying," Lift up the body of Adam to the third story [of the ark], and lay it there on the eastern side; and the gold, the incense and the myrrh together with him.

13 "And thou and thy sons shall stand before him praying. But thy wife, and the wives of thy sons, shall be on the western side of the ark; and they and their wives shall not come together."

14 Then when Noah heard these words from God, he and his sons went into the ark, and laid the body of our father Adam on the eastern side, and the three offerings together with him. And Noah brought into the ark the body of Adam, on a Friday, at the second hour, on the twenty-seventh of the month of Gembot.

3 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 8.

1 Then God said unto Noah, "Go upon the top of the ark and blow the trump three times, that all beasts gather together unto the ark."

2 But Noah said, "Shall the sound of the trump reach unto the ends of the earth to gather together the boasts and the birds?"

3 Then God said unto him, "It is not the sound of this trump alone that shall go forth, but My power shall go with it, to make it come into the ears of the beasts and of the birds. [All these beasts, birds, and creeping things, shall come to thee by the hand of the angel who shall take and bring them to thee to keep them alive. Targ. Jonathan, in Genesis 7.]

4 "And when thou blowest thy trump, I will command My angel to blow the horn from heaven; and all these animals shall be gathered unto thee."

5 Then Noah made haste and blew the trump, as God had told him. Then the angel blew the horn from heaven, until the earth quaked, and all creatures on it trembled.

6 Then all the beasts, birds and creeping things were gathered together at the third hour, on a Friday; when all the beasts, lions and ostriches went into the lower story at the third hour.

7 Then at midday, came the birds and creeping things into the middle story; and Noah and his sons went into the third story, at the ninth hour of the day.

8 And when Noah, with his wife, his sons and their wives came into the upper story, he commanded the women to dwell on the western side; but Noah and his sons, with the body of our father Adam, dwelt on the eastern side.

3 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 9.

1 And Noah stood asking God to save him from the waters of the Flood.

2 Then God talked to Noah, and said to him, "Of every kind of birds, take one pair, male and female of the clean; and of the unclean also one pair, male and female. But also of the clean

take six [more] pairs, male and female."

3 And Noah did all this. Then when they all had got into the ark, God shut to the door of the ark upon them by His power.

4 He then commanded the windows of heaven to open wide, and to pour down from them cataracts of water. And so it was; by God's order.

5 And He commanded all fountains to burst open, and the depths to pour forth water, upon the face of the earth. So that the sea all round rose above the whole world, and surged, and the deep waters arose.

6 But when the windows of heaven opened wide, all stores [of water] and depths were opened, and all the stores [Lit. locks.] of the winds, and the whirlwind, thick mist, gloom and darkness spread abroad. The sun and moon and stars, withheld their light. It was a day of terror, such as had never been.

7 Then the sea all round, began to raise its waves on high like mountains; and it covered the whole face of the earth. But when the sons of Seth, who were fallen into wickedness and adultery with the children of Cain, saw this, they then knew that God was angry with them; and that Noah had told them the truth.

8 Then they all ran round the ark, to Noah, begging and entreating him to open for them the door of the ark; inasmuch as they could not climb the Holy Mountain, by reason of the stones thereof, that were like fire.

9 But as to the ark, it was closed and sealed by the power of God. An angel of God sat upon the ark, and was like a captain to Noah, to his sons, and to all inside the ark.

10 And the waters of the flood increased on the children of Cain and overwhelmed them; and they began to sink, and the words of Noah were fulfilled, which he preached to them [saying], the waters of the Flood should come and drown them.

11 And the waters continued above and below over Noah and his sons, until they were suspended in the ark; and by the strength of the water, the ark rose from the earth; and the flesh of every moving thing perished.

12 And the water rose until it covered the earth, and until it covered all high mountains; and the waters rose above them, and above the tops of high mountains fifteen cubits, by the cubit of the Holy Ghost, which is equal to [Lit rendered by.] three cubits [of man]. So that the number of these were forty-five cubits [above the highest mountains].

13 And the water increased and bare the ark, and brought it to the lower side of the garden, which the waters, the rain, the whirlwind and all that went about on the earth—did worship. As did also Noah and his sons and all that was in the ark—they bowed in worship to the holy garden.

14 And the water returned to its former state, and destroyed every thing that was upon the earth and under heaven.

15 But the ark was floating on the waters and rose up before the winds; while the angel of God steered and led it from east to west. And the ark thus moved about on the face of the waters a hundred and fifty days.

16 After that, the ark stood upon the mountains of Ararat, on the twenty-seventh day of the month of Tkarnt.

3 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 10.

1 Then God sent again His order to Noah, saying, "Be quiet and wait until the waters are assuaged."

2 Then the waters parted asunder and returned every water to its own place, where it was at first; the fountains ceased to pour fortht over the earth; the depths that are on the face of the earth, ceased to rise; and the windows of heaven were closed. For floods of rain fell from heaven at the beginning of the Flood forty days and forty nights.

3 But on the first day of the eleventh month the tops of high mountains were seen; and Noah waited yet forty days, and then opened the window he had made on the western side of the ark, and let go a raven, to see if the waters were assuaged from the face of the earth or not, Then the raven went forth, but returned no more to Noah; for the harmless dove is the sign of the mystery of the Christian Church, But Noah waited yet a little while after the waters were assuaged, and then sent out a dove, to see if the water had retired or not.

4 But when the dove went out, she found not a place whereon to rest her foot, and no abode; and she returned to Noah. Then Noah waited seven days more, and sent out the dove to see if the water had retired or not. And the dove came back to Noah, about eventide; and in her mouth was an olive leaf. [Plucked on the Mount of Olives. Targ. Jonathan, in Genesis 8.] The meaning of the dove is, that she is taken as a figure of the old and of the new [covenants]. The first time when she went out, and found nowhere to rest her feet, that is, a place of rest [is a figure of] the stiff-necked Jews, in whom no grace remained, nor any mercy whatever. Wherefore Christ, the meek one, who is figured in the dove, did not find among them rest for the sole of His feet.

5 But the second time when the dove found a place of rest [is a figure of] the nations that have received the glad tidings of the holy Gospel, and among whom Christ has found a restingplace.

3 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 11.

1 In the six hundred and seventh year of Noah^s life, on the second day of the month Barmudeh, the water dried from off the earth. And in the next month, which is Gembot, on the twenty-seventh day thereof, which is the day on which Noah went into the ark, on that self-same day did Noah also come out of the ark, on a Sunday.

2 But when Noah, his wife, his sons aod their wives went out of the ark, they again came together, and did not part asunder one from another; at first, when they went into the ark, the men and the women remained apart, Noah fearing lest they should come together. But when the Flood was over, they again came together, the husband with his wife.

3 God also had sent great quietness over the beasts, the lions that were in the ark, and over the birds and creeping things, not to disagree among themselves.

4 Then Noah came out of the ark, and built an altar upon the mountain. And he stood, and requested the Lord to show him of what sacrifices he ought to take, and bring them unto Him in offerings.

5 Then God sent His Word to Noah, saying, "Noah, take of the clean kind, and offer of them upon the altar before me; and let the animals go out of the ark."

6 Then Noah went into the ark, and took of clean birds as many as God had commanded him; and offered them up in offerings upon the altar before the Lord.*

3 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 12.

1 Pattern of the covenant God made with Noah, when He showed him, the bow on the cloud in heaven.

2 And God smelled the smell of Noah's offerings, and He made a covenant with him, that the waters of the flood should not again come upon the earth, henceforth and for ever. And this is the covenant God made with Noah:—God said unto Noah, "I will make the bow of My covenant come out in the cloud; and when it appears, then men shall know that it is done in truth.

3"And if I was wroth, when the bow was seen in the cloud, then [it would show] that My anger and the punishment I meant to bring upon men were over.

4 "Then, again, O Noah, I have made this bow of My covenant to be seen in heaven, in order that all creatures should see it, and think of the trials and afflictions that came upon them at first, and repent, and turn from their evil ways."

5 And God accepted Noah's offering, and blessed him and his sons, and said unto them, "Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the face of the earth."

6 Then God commanded the earth to bring forth herb as it did of old, for beasts, for birds, and for all that moves on the earth. Then Noah worshipped before God, with his sons and their wives; and they praised Him for the salvation He had wrought for them.

3 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 13.

1 After this Noah took his sons, and built them a city and called it Semanan; as they were eight souls that came out of the ark.

2 And Noah and his sons dwelt on that mountain about a hundred years, until he had children and children's children. And Noah took a root of vine and planted it, and dressed it nntU. it yielded fruit. It was sweet, and Noah took some of it, and pressed wine out of it, and took it one night and drank of it, and was drunk. And he came in to his wife unawares.

3 Then Ham, his son, came into the house in the morning and saw his father uncovered, and drunk with wine, and without sense to know anything.

4 Then Ham his son kept on laughing at him, and said, "What is this thou hast done, thou old man?"

5 But the old man understood not what he said; only Noah's wife understood it well.

6 Then Ham went out laughing at his father, and told his brothers Shem and Japhet what his father had done; and laughed at his parents.

7 But his brothers were angry with him, and rebuked bim well for so doing; because they were afraid of him, as regards the old man; for Ham was rough and hard in his talk.

8 Then Shem and Japhet rose quickly, and took with them a coverlet, and put behind their backs that coverlet that reached unto their feet; and they walked backwards, and turned their face towards the way they had gone, until they came to their parents. Then they threw the coverlet over them, and went from them in haste, so as not to see them.

9 But on the morrow after this, Noah's wife told him what Ham had said and what he had done.

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10 Then was Noah very angry with his son Ham [* See the Koran, sura 5] for what he had done; and he cursed him, and made him servant of his brothers.

11 But Noah blessed Shem and Japhet, his sons, because they had behaved well to him.

12 Then Noah married another wife, who bare him seven cbildren. And he continued to dwell on that mountain until the days drew near when he must depart [this life]. And Noah lived three hundred and fifty years after he came out of the ark.

13 Then he called his first-born son Shem, and conversed with him, saying, "O my son, hearken unto what I command thee."

14 "Behold [what] I command thee now [is], to hold good until I die and ye bury me. Then, when ye have ended mourning for me, go into the ark in which we were saved from the flood; then bring out of it the body of our father Adam; but let no one know of it but one that is of thy seed. Then make a beautiful case for it, and lay it therein.

15 "Then take with thee some bread to be for provision unto thee by the way, and wine whereof to drink on thy way; for the land to which thou shalt go is rough and hungry.

16 "Then take Melchizedec the youngest son of Cainan [Here the Arabic has Arphaxad, instead of Cainan.], thy son; for God has chosen him from all generations of men, to stand before Him to worship and to minister unto Him, by the body of our father Adam.

17 "Then lay the body of Adam in the midst of the earth; and set Melchizedec to stand by it; and show him how to fulfil his ministry before God."

18 Moreover Noah said unto Shem his son, "If ye will keep my commandment and go [as I tell you], an angel of the Lord will go with you, and show you the way, until ye come to the place where ye shall lay the body [of Adam] in the midst of the earth; for in that self-same place shall God work salvation for the whole world.

19 "But, O my son, I know that our children forsook this good commandment, and went down the Holy Mountain, and mingled with the children of Cain, and that they perished with them in the waters of the Flood.

20 "Know, O my son, that from Adam until this day, every one of the ancients, gave commandments to one of the rest, at the time of his resting from the flesh, and that they taught [these commandments] anjong themselves.

21 "The first, O my son, who taught this commandment and made it plain, was our father Adam; he gave it to his son Seth, who received it.

22 "Then Seth handed it to his son Enos who kept it. And Enos gave it to his son Cainan who kept it. Then Cainan gave it to his son Mahalaleel, who kept it, and handed it to his son Jared.

23 "And Jared kept it and gave it to his son Enoch, who also kept this commandment and gave it to his son Methuselah, who kept it, and gave it to his son Lamech who kept it, and who gave it to me, his son ; and I have kept it.

24 "But my grandfather Methuselah also gave me a great commandment which I have kept; and which I give thee likewise. So, then, receive my commandment, and hold fast my words; and hide this mystery within thy heart; but reveal it not to one of all thy kindred. But go, and lay the body of our father Adam in the earth 3 and let it remain there unto the day of salvation."

3 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 14.

1 But the ark was closed during the days of Noah; neither was any one allowed to touch it. Yet they went to it, blessed themselves in it, and talked about it.

2 Noah, however, went into it every evening, to light the lamp which he had made before our father Adam, and blessed himself in that body.

3 And he did not neglect his office regarding the lamp, as it was at first in the Cave of Treasures.

4 But as Noah knew that after him, the ark would not remain whole, and that his children would part asunder and not return to look after the body of our father Adam, and that wickedness would increase in the earth and abominations among men, therefore did he command his son Shem to hasten to take the body of our father Adam, and to remove it unto the middle of the earth; according to God's order.

3 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 15.

1 Then when Noah had ended giving orders to his son Shem, concerning the body of our father Adam, Noah said to his son Shem, "Bring hither to me thy brothers, and make them come near me."

2 Then when they came to Noah, he looked at them and said unto them, "O my sons, after my death ye shall part asunder, and sore troubles shall happen to your race.

3 "But I will from now, divide among you the earth into three portions; as every one of you shall be settled in his own portion.

4 "Unto Shem my first-born son, shall his lot be from Jerusalem which is a great city, as far as Qardayun and Andika [That is, Bactria and India.]. It takes in the border mountain that reaches unto Gefur, between the land of Egypt and that of the Philistines.

5 "Unto my next son Ham, his portion shall be from Aris towards the south, unto Fardundan and unto Gaduriun, and unto the borders of the west.

6 "And unto my third son Japhet, his portion shall be from the corner of the west towards the south unto Damatha, a large tract of country; and all the north also as far as Aris."

7 He then said to them, "Let every one of you take a portion different from that of his brothers; and let every one of you dwell in his own portion." And they settled in it, as he commanded them.

8 And they all had sons and daughters during their father Noah^s lifetime. And Noah divided the earth among them by God's order, in order that there should be no enmity between the three brothers.

9 Then when Noah had ended his commandments to Shem and to his brothers, his hands dropped, his tongue became dumb, his eyes closed and he died, like his fathers. He died aged nine hundred and fifty years, on a Wednesday, the second day of the month Gembot, on the mountain on the which was the ark; and there he will remain until the day God reveals [his resting-place]. And they mourned for him forty days.

3 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 16.

1 After they had ended mourning for Noah, an angel of God appeared unto Cainan father of Melchizedec, and said unto him in a vision, "Knowest thou me?" And Cainan answered, "No, my Lord."

2 Then the angel said to him, "I am the angel whom God has sent unto thee, to give thee this commandment. And transgress not the command of God."

3 When Cainan heard this from the angel of God, he wondered and said unto him, " Speak, my Lord!"

4 And the angel of God said unto him," I am the angel who brought gold to thy father Adam, when he was below the garden; I am the angel who entreated God together with him, when he offered his own blood upon the altar.

5 "I am Michael the angel who received the soul of Abel the just; I am the angel who was with Seth when he was born in the cave.

6 "I am the angel who was with Enos and Cainan, and Mahalaleel and Jared and Enoch, and Methuselah and Lamech, and with Noah. But since he entered into rest, I stand by his first-born son Shem.

7 "And, behold, God has sent me to thee, to take thy son Melchizedec, and to remove him to the land, in which God shall lay the body of our father Adam, and that he may be high exalted before God. Let not thy heart be grieved at his going away."

8 When Cainan heard these words from the angel, he worshipped before him; and said unto him, "The will of God be done! Behold, I and my son are in His hands. Let Him do what He pleases."

9 This angel appeared unto Cainan, not on account of Cainan'a righteousness and purity, but on account of Melchizedec [Which is reflected in his very name as zedek / zaddik is Hebrew Aramaic for "righteous"], and of his righteousness and purity. Then the angel said unto Cainan, "Commit not this mystery to any one but to Shem alone." And the angel departed from him.

3 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 17.

1 Then the angel of God came unto Melchizedec that night while he was lying on his bed.

2 And he appeared unto him in the figure of a youth like him, who smote him on the side, and awoke him out of his sleep. When Melchizedec heard it, he rose up, and saw the house full of light, and a figure standing before him. And he was afraid, for he was not accustomed to see angels, but this once only.

3 But the angel prevented fear from overcoming him, and anointed him on the head and on the breast, and said unto him, "Fear not, I am an angel of God; and He has sent me to thee with this message, that thou fulfil it unto thy God."

4 Melchizedec then said unto him, "What is that message?" For he was a youth of a perfect heart.

5 And the angel said unto him, "It is that thou go with the body of our father Adam, unto the middle of the earth; and that thou stand ministering before it there; and that thou serve God; for He has chosen thee from thy childhood. For thou art of the seed of the blessed."

6 Then Melchizedec said unto him, "Who will bring the body of my father Adam, and me with it, unto the middle of the earth?"

7 And the angel said unto him, "Shem, the son of Noah thy father's grandfather."

8 Then the angel strengthened his heart, and comforted him tenderly one whole hour, and then said unto him, "Commit not these hidden words to any but to Shem only; lest the report of it spread abroad ; and they hang on to the body of Adam, and not let it go to the land, to which God has commanded [it to be taken] ." And the angel departed from him.

3 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 18.

1 Then the angel went to Shem the son of Noah and said unto him, " Arise, and take the body of Adam, as thy father Noah gave thee commandment ; and take with thee Melchizedec and go with them to the place ordered by God ; and tarry not."

2 When it was day, Shem made a beautiful case and hid it close to the ark. He then prepared bread and wine and provisions, and came to Cainan; and inquired for his son Melchizedec. Then Cainan began to tell him all that the angel had said unto himj and he gave him up his son Melchizedec, with a good heart.

3 Then Shem said to Cainan, "Keep this mystery secret, and reveal it to no one."

4 Then Shem took Melchizedec and they saddled an ass between them, and they went to the ark. But they had no key wherewith to open the ark; for Noah had fastened it with a padlock, after he had come out of it.

5 When, therefore, they came to the ark, they bethought themselves how to open it. Then came Shem to the door, and said to Melchizedec, "Come, open it, thou great God."

6 Then came Melchizedec to the door when he heard [Shem's voice], and seized the padlock; and at once the door was opened.

7 But a voice cried from within the ark, and said, "Rejoice, O thou priest of the Most High God, for that thou hast been found meet to enter upon the office of priest of God; the first created by Him in the world." This voice was from the Holy Ghost.

8 And Melchizedec knew that voice when it breathed into his face; he knew it also through great grace that was in him. He then marvelled, and said to Shem, "O my Lord, I know by the breathing in my face, though I saw no form, and heard no voice speaking to me; for I saw no one. This voice is from the body of our father Adam." And Shem remained trembling, not knowing what to say to him.

9 But while they were wondering at the door of the ark, the Word of God came, that said, "I am He that made thee priest and that breathed ofMy Spirit into thee. Thou art My righteous priest; and thou art worthy to bear the body of Adam whom I created, and into whom I breathed of My Spirit. And I made him priest and a king, and a prophet. Go in first, and bring

out his body."

10 Then Melchizedec went into the ark, and bowed in worship to the body of our father Adam; he blessed himself in it, and brought it out; the angel Michael, helping him the while to carry it.

11 And Shem went in also, and brought out the gold, the incense and the myrrh, and laid them together with the body of our father Adam; he then placed the body within the case, and shut it upon the body. And then he shut the door of the ark, as it was at first.

3 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 19.

1 Then Shem and Melchizedec took the body of Adam, and went on their way; and the angel of God went with them and showed them whither to go. And so they went on that day until the evening; and alighted at a certain place to rest.

2 Then Shem and Melchizedec stood up to pray; and while they prayed there came a voice from inside the coffin of Adam, that said, "Glory to God who created me, who gave me life, who made me die; and who again returns me to the earth out of which He took me!"

3 And the voice blessed the youth Melchizedec and said unto him, "Of all our race, God chose no one but thee; neither did He anoint any one of them priest with His own hand, but thee; neither did He breathe into the face of any one His pure Spirit as He breathed it into thee; and I rejoice, my son, that thou hast been found worthy of such honour from God."

4 Then the voice withdrew from Melchizedec, who wondered at this voice that came forth from a dead man. But it was done by the power of God.

5 But when Shem saw this first wonder wrought on Melchizedec, he kissed his face, and rejoiced greatly on his account. But as for Melchizedec, he tasted nothing that night, for the joy that filled his heart; but he continued standing before the coffin of Adam, praising God and praying until morning. This vision happened to Melchizedec in the fifteenth year of his age.

6 Then Shem and Melchizedec put the coffin upon the ass, and went on their way; and the angel of God went with them. And it was so that when they came to rough places, the angel bare them up by the power of God, and made them pass over them, whether they were lands or mountains.

7 And so they went on their way until the evening of the second day, when they alighted to rest, after their custom. Then Shem and Melchizedec stood up to pray; and as they were praying, behold a great light shone over them, wherefore Melchizedec did' not feel [Lit. know.] aught of fatigue, by reason of the strength of God, that was in him; but he rejoiced like one that is going to his wedding.

8 But they stood praying as they were wont before the coffin of our father Adam. Then came a voice from the top of

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the coffin, that said to Melchizedec and to Shem, "Behold, we are drawing near to the place our Lord has decreed for us."

9 And the voice said unto Melchizedec, " Upon the land to which we are going, shall the Word of God come down; and suffer and be crucified on the place in which my body is laid.

10 "The crown of my head shall be baptized with His blood; and then shall my salvation be wrought; and He shall restore me to my kingdom, and shall give me my priesthood and my gift of prophecy."

11 Then the voice was silent by the power of God. But Melchizedec and Shem marvelled at the voice that talked with them. And Melchizedec remained the whole of that night praying joyfully until the day dawned. Then they put the body of Adam on the ass, and went on their way. And the augel of God went with them, until they neared the place.

12 Then he went before them, and stood before the ass, and took down from her the coffin, himself alone; and not as on the two former occasions, when Melchizedec took it down [from the ass (the donkey)].

13 But when the coffin reached the rock, the rock split asunder into two parts,—that was the place for the coffin; and Melchizedec and Shem knew thereby that it was the place God had appointed.

14 Then the angel went up from them into heaven, while saying unto God, "Behold, the body of our father Adam has arrived and is come to the place Thou didst choose. I have done that

which Thou didst command me."

15 Then came the Word of God to the angel, saying, "Go down to Melchizedec and strengthen his heart; and command him to abide by the body of Adam. And when Shem enters into rest, tell Melchizedec to go, and to take from Shem the bread and wine he has with him, and to preserve them."

3 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 20.

1 Then the angel came down from God, in the figure of a man, who appeared to Melchizedec and to Shem, and strengthened their hearts.

2 He then laid the body of our father Adam in its place; and said to Melchizedec, "Take from Shem the bread and the wine." And he took them, as the angel told him [to do].

But Melchizedec and Shem stood praying by the body of our father Adam until the evening, when a great light came down upon the body, and angels ascended and descended in that place upon the body of our father Adam.

3 They were rejoicing, and praising, and saying, "Glory be to Thee, O God, who didst create the worlds; and madest men of the dust of the earth, to exalt them above heavenly beings."

4 And the angels thus praised God over the body of our father Adam, the whole of that night, until the dawn of day.

5 But as the sun rose, the Word of God came to Melchizedec, and said to him, "Arise, and take twelve of these stones; make of them an altar, and offer upon it of the bread and wine that was with Shem; and offer them, thou and he."

6 Then when Melchizedec heard the Word of God, he worshipped between his hands; and he hastened, and did as God commanded him.

7 And at the time he was offering the gift upon the altar, and asked God to sanctify it, the Holy Ghost came down upon the offering; and the mountain was filled with light.

8 And angels said unto him, "This offering is acceptable unto God. Glory be to him who created earthly men, and has revealed great mysteries unto them!"

9 Then the Word of God appeared to Melchizedec, and said unto him, "Behold, I have made thee priest; and thou and Shem shall offer this offering thou didst make first; and in like manner as thou didst set up these twelve solid foundation stones, will I raise twelve apostles to be the pillars of the world. And they are firm.

10 "In like manner also, as thou didst make this altar, will I make thee an altar in the world; and like as thou didst make an offering of bread and wine, will I also present the offering of My Body and Blood, and make it [to be] unto forgiveness of sins.

11 "And this place on which thou art standing and in which the body of Adam is laid, will I make a holy place; all creatures on earth shall be blessed in it; and in it I will grant forgiveness unto all who come hither."

12 Then the Word of God, blessed Melchizedec—named him priest—and then went up from him into heaven in glory and rejoicing with His angels.

3 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 21

1 Then Melchizedec praised God; and he and Shem made an offering. And Shem stayed with him that day, to rest from the toil of the journey. But when the day dawned, it seemed good to Shem to depart. Then Melchizedec wished him God speed, and blessed him, and said unto him, "The Lord God who led us to this place, be with thee; and guide thee until thou come to thine own place."

2 Melchizedec said also to him, "When they inquire of thee about me, direct them not in the way; that they come not to me. And when my father and my mother ask thee about me, say to them, 'He has departed [on a pilgrimage]; and I do not know the place of his pilgrimage'."

3 "So that, when thou sayest so to them, their hope of me will be cut short; and they will feel it is of no use thinking of me; so that they will not press thee, and make thee come to me." Shem, then departed, and returned to his kindred; while Melchizedec remained standing before the body of our father Adam, ministering unto God, and worshipping Him evermore.

4 And an angel abode with him, who protected him and brought him food, until the time of Abraham the patriarch. And the raiment of this Melchizedec was of skins, with a leathern girdle around his loins. And he ministered unto God, with much praying and fasting.

3 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 22.

1 But Shem and his brothers, multiplied abundantly upon the earth; and begat sons and daughters; and went on this way, until Shem was five hundred and fifty years old, when he died.

2 Then they embalmed him, and continued mourning for him forty days.

3 After this, Arphaxad, son of Shem, lived four hundred and eighty-five years, and then died; and they embalmed him and mourned for him forty days.

4 Then after him was Cainan, son of Arphaxad and father of Melchizedec, who lived five hundred and eighty-nine years, and then died.

5 After him Saleh, son of Cainan, and brother of Melchizedec lived four hundred and eight years, and then died.

6 After him Eber* his son, lived four hundred and thirty-four years, and then died. [* Eber took to wife Azurad Nebrud's (Nimrud's) daughter. Kufale,c. 8, p. 34.]

7 Then Phalek was bom when his father was two hundred and seven years old. In the days of Phalek, the earth was divided a second time among the three sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japhet.

8 Wherefore were they much aggrieved through this division among themselves; because during their father's life-time, they were gathered together. But now they were divided asunder, and much affliction befell them on that account.

9 But Phalek died, and they buried him in his own city Phalek. For they had built a city, and had called it after his name.

10 But after his death, which happened when he was four hundred and thirty years old, there were great disturbances, and men gathered together within fenced cities.

11 And after this, tongues (there are seventy-two) were divided; for God divided them when men built the tower [Ziggurat, a large temple pyramid with a temple on its top, like in Babylon other other cities in Mesopotamia] in Sennaar*; but it was destroyed over them. [* Nimrud provided them with food from his hunt. Abul-pharaj. Dyn. Arab., p. 18; and Syr., p. 9.] And God divided their languages; and what remained of them He dispersed over the earth; because they built without a fixed plan. Therefore God dispersed them and scattered them, and brought upon them the division of their languages; until if one of them spake, no other understood what he said. And the number of languages is seventy-two.

12 And when they were thus divided, they had over them seventy-two rulers, one to every tongue, and to every country, by way of a king. And of the seed of Japhet were six peoples.

3 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 23.

1 Then Ragu, Phalek's son, lived two hundred and thirty-two years, and died. But when Ragu, Phalek's first-bom son, was one hundred and thirty years old, there reigned one of the first kings that ever reigned on the earth, whose name was Nimrud, a giant.

2 That Nimrud saw a cloud of light under heaven; a mere apparition of Satan. And he inclined his heart to it, and coveted its beauty; and then called to one whose name was Santal, a carver, and said to him, "Carve me a crown of gold, after the pattern of that cloud!"

3 Then Santal made him a crown [of gold] which Nimrud took and placed upon his own head. Wherefore was it said that a cloud had come [down] from heaven, and overshadowed him. And he became so wicked, as to think within himself that he was God.

4 And in those days Ragu was one hundred and eighty years old, and in his one hundred and fortieth year, Yanuf* reigned over the land of Egypt. [* Called Panophis [Apop, Apophis] by Bar. Hebr., Syr., p. 8.]

5 He is the first king that reigned over it; and he built the city of Memphis, and named it after his own name. That is Misr [Arabic for Egypt.]; whose name is rendered Masrin.

6 This Yanuf died; and in his stead, in the days of Ragu, one from the land of India reigned, whose name was Sasen; and who built the city of Saba. And all the kings who reigned over that country were called Sabaeans [Yemen], after the name of the city. And it was so, until the days of Solomon, son of David.

7 Then again Phar'an reigned over the children of Saphir, and built the city of Saphir* with stones of gold; and that is the land of Sar'ania, and because of these stones of gold, they say that the mountains of that country and the stones thereof are all of gold. [* Sophir (Ophir) is the Coptic word for "India."; Sephar (Zafar) is an ancient trading port in Yemen that build a connexion to Ophir (Abhira / Avir) in modern Gujarat, India]; See the Introduction to 1 Adam and Eve] Then the children of Lebensa of the country of India, made king over them, one named Bahlul, who built the city of Bahlu. Then Ragu died in his two hundred and eighty-ninth year.

3 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 24.

1 After [him] came Serok his son, in whose days idol-gods of stone, were openly worshipped in the world. The children of men began to make idols of stone, the first of which, were Kahthon and Helodon.

2 And the children of men multiplied upon the earth, and their wickedness increased also; for they had neither law nor order; and no teachers to guide them in the way of righteousness nor any one to be judge among them.

3 Wherefore they grew worse and worse, and wandered farther from the way of God; every one of them did what he himself listed; and they made for themselves idol-gods, which they worshipped.

4 They had no hope in the resurrection of the dead. But whenever one of them died, they buried him, and set up an idol over his grave; and said, that was his god, that would show him mercy in his grave. They said also, as regards the dead, that when his god was set up over his grave, the remembrance of him, would not be cut off from the face of the earth. This was a common saying brought out by Satan; and the earth was thus filled with idols; and those idols were of divers kinds, men and women.

5 After this Serok died two hundred and thirty years old; and they embalmed him in Sar'ania his city, that was built in his name.

6 After that Nahor, when twenty-nine years old begat Terah. And when Nahor was eighty-six years of age, God looked down upon the children of men, [and saw] that they were ruined and worshipped idols.

7 Then God sent forth winds, and the whirlwind, and earthquakes on the earth, until the idols were broken one against another. Yet the children of men did not repent of their sins, neither did they turn to God from their iniquities that He might save them; but rather increased in wickedness.

8 And in the twentieth year of Terah's life, the worship of idols spread over the earth in the city of Aarat, which Barwin, the son of Eber, had built.

9 And at that time there was a rich man living in it, who died; and his son made an idol of gold in the likeness of his father, and set it up on his [father's] grave. He then ordered one of his servants, to stand by the idol, and to minister unto it; to sweep the ground around it, to pour water to it and to burn incense.

10 But when Satan saw this he entered into the idol of gold, and talked to the servant, like his master's father that was dead ; and said to him, "Thou doest well thus,"

11 After this a thief took by surprise the house of the youth, son of the man who was dead; who then came to his father's grave, weeping. And he said, " my father, they have carried away all my goods."

12 Then Satan answered him from within the idol, and said, "Do not stay here, but go and bring thy son, and offer him up in oblation to me, and then I will return to thee all thy goods."

Then that youth went, and did with his son, as Satan had commanded him. And at that time Satan entered into him, and taught him to practise enchantments, and magic, the mixture of drugs, and divination.

13 That was the first evil example [of the kind] set to men, to take their children and to offer them up in oblation to idols and to devils.

3 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 25.

1 Then in the hundredth year of Nahor, God looked down upon the children of men [and saw] that they sacrificed their children to idols.

2 Then God commanded the stores of winds to open, and to send forth the whirlwind, and gales, and darkness upon the whole face of the earth, until all the idols and images, and figures wero brought together [by the winds] in mountains upon mountains high. "And the idols remained buried under them until this day."

3 Many wise men have written about this wind, that it was the wind of the Flood; and many of them say it was the water of the Flood that thus brought together these mountains [of idols].

4 But they erred, and said what is false concerning it; because ere the water of the Flood came upon the earth, there were no idols in it. But the Flood came upon the men at that time because of their adulteries, and of the sins which they committed among themselves; both the children of Cain, and those who followed them.

5 Moreover at that time the whole earth was not filled with people; but only the land of the garden, in which dwelt the

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children of Seth; and the place inhabited by the children of Cain; besides that, the whole earth was bare [of inhabitants].

But when the Flood came, it bare the ark, and brought it to this land of trouble. And this earth was filled with people; and that land was laid waste.

6 Then in those days, king Nimrud saw a flaming fire in the east, which arose from the earth. [Titus Flavius Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, Book 1, chapter 4, 2-3]

7 Then said Nimrud, "What is that fire?" He then went towards it; and when he saw it, he bowed to it in worship, and appointed a priest to minister before it, to burn incense to it, and to sacrifice victims to it. From that day the men of Fars began to fill the earth.

8 Then Satan the worker of idols saw a fountain of water near the fire-pit, and he came to it, and looked at it, and made a horse of gold, and set it up on the edge of the fountain of water; and it so happened that all those who came to wash in that fountain of water, bowed in worship to that golden horse; and from that time, the people of Fars began to worship horses.

9 But the priest* whom Nimrud appointed to minister to the fire and to bum incense to it, wished to be a teacher, and wise of the same wisdom as Nimrud, whom Barwin, Noah's fourth son had taught. [* That priest was called Ardeshan. Nazam al-j., p.65.]

10 That priest, therefore, kept on asking Satan, while standing before the fire, to teach him this evil ministry and abominable wisdom. So, when Satan saw him doing his best in the service [of the fire], he talked to him, and said, "No man can become a teacher, or wise, or great before me, unless he hearkens to me, and goes and weds his mother, his sister and his daughter."

11 Then that priest hearkened to Satan in all that he commanded him, and taught him all manner of wisdom and of wickednesses. And from that time, the people of Fars have committed like sins unto this day.

12 And Nimrud built great cities in the east; and wrought all manner of iniquities in them.

THE FOURTH BOOK OF ADAM AND EVE

4 Adam and Eve
Language: Ethiopic and Arabic
Translation: S. C. Malan, 1882
Estimated Range of Dating: 500-700 A.D.

(The following stories can be seen as allusion. Abraham was from Sumer in southern Mesopotamia. The name Abraham comes from Hebrew Aramaic abraʿham, ab = "father of" + haʿmon = "multitude of" [short form: Abram]. This name refers to a multitude of tribes and their "fathers" from the Sumerian kingdom of Ur. Genesis 11:26-31 reads: "26 And Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran. 27 Now these are the generations of Terah: Terah begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran; and Haran begat Lot. 28 And Haran died before his father Terah in the land of his nativity, in Ur of the Chaldees [Sumerians]. 29 And Abram and Nahor took them wives: the name of Abram's wife was Sarai [Sarah]; and the name of Nahor's wife, Milcah, the daughter of Haran, the father of Milcah, and the father of Iscah. 30 But Sarai was barren; she had no child. 31 And Terah took Abram his son, and Lot the son of Haran his son's son, and Sarai his daughter in law, his son Abram's wife; and they went forth with them from Ur of the Chaldees, to go into the land of Canaan; and they came unto Haran, and dwelt there. 32 And the days of Terah were two hundred and five years: and Terah died in Haran." To expand on this: The wife of Abraham and mother of Isaac was Sarah [which is Hebrew for 'princess']."

According to biblical narrations he had also a child, Ismael, with Hagar [meaning: stranger] the daughter of the Egyptian king [Pharao]. Of everything we know about customs in Antiquity, the Egyptian princess Hagar could only live in Abraham's household if she was his [second] wife and only if Abraham was a prince himself. This obviously means that Abraham was a member of the Royal Family of the Kingdom of Ur. The product of this union was Abraham's firstborn, Ishmael, the progenitor of the Ishmaelites, generally taken to be the Arabians.

As for Abraham's place of origin, his place of birth and upbringing or his hometown if you will, there is uncertainty whether it was Ur or Uruk. Here are some facts to think about: Uruk (Sumerian: Unug-Ki, Akkadian: Uruk [or Uruung]; Aramaic: Uruk; Hebrew: Erek; Arabic: Warka or Auruk; Ancient Greek: Orkhoe, Orekh, Orugeia) was an ancient city of Sumer (and later of Babylonia) situated east of the present bed of the Euphrates River on the dried-up ancient channel of the Euphrates 30 km (19 mi) east of modern Samawah, Al-Muthannā, Iraq. In myth and literature, Uruk was famous as the capital city of Gilgamesh, hero of the Epic of Gilgamesh in which we also find the oldest flood story. Its harbour was most likely the starting point for trading relations to Elam and the Indus cultures of Harappa and Mohenjo Daro as numerous artefacts from them were found in Sumer. It is believed that Uruk is the biblical Erech (Genesis 10:10), the second city founded by Nimrod in Shinar. Even the Arabic name of the present-day country, al-Iraq, can be traced back to the name Uruk via Middle Persian Eraq and then back to late Syriac Aramaic Yreg and its Hebrew form Erek which has in the Old Testament the spelling form Erech but nevertheless the same pronunciation.

Uruk is the type site for the Uruk period. Uruk played a leading role in the early urbanisation of Sumer in the mid-4th millennium BC. By the final phase of the Uruk period around 3100 BC, the city may have had 40,000 residents, with 80,000-90,000 people living in its environs making it the largest urban area in the world at the time. The legendary king Gilgamesh, according to the chronology presented in the Sumerian king list, ruled Uruk in the 27th century BC. It is possible that Uruk was the capital of an entity which we could call the "Kingdom of Ur". The city lost its prime importance around 2000 BC in the context of the struggle of Babylonia against Elam in western Persia, but it remained inhabited throughout the Seleucid (312–63 BC) and Parthian (227 BC to 224 AD) periods until it was finally abandoned shortly before or after the Islamic conquest of 633–638. It was William Kennett Loftus who visited the site of Uruk in 1849 and identified it as "Erech", known as "the second city of Nimrod", and led the first excavations from 1850 to 1854.

It seems that the Bible narrations mentioning Sumer and Egypt want to tell us that the Jewish nation, or more precisely Judaism, originated from Mesopotamia as well as from Egypt. This finds its confirmation when we compare Sumerian texts [such as the Instructions of Shuruppak or the Gilgamesh Epic] and texts from Egypt [such as the Teaching of Kagemna or the Teachings of Ptah-Hotep] with texts from the Tanakh [The Old Testament] such as the Genesis and others. Just like Hagar, Moses was also of Egyptian origin, the son of the daughter of the Pharao who called him Mose which is Egyptian for "son".)

4 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 1.

1 Then when Terah was two hundred and thirty years old, he fell sick, and called Abraham his son, and said unto him, "my son, I wish to die." But Abraham stood up and comforted him, paid him all due honour, and did not aggrieve him about his being a maker of idols. For Abraham his son, was a righteous man, and could not bear idols; but he paid him all due respect, as being his father.

2 Then Terah died; and Abraham and Nahor buried him in a mountain. But when Abraham was grown up, God said unto him, "Abraham, come out of thy land, of thy kindred and of thy father's house, and go to the land that I will show thee."

Then Abraham arose, and took Sarah his wife, and Lot his brother's son,* and they came to the land of the Amorites. [* Lot was the son of Haran, Abraham's brother, who perished in trying to put out the fire set by Abraham to the idol temple at Ur. Abul-pharaj., Dyn. Arab, p.20. Cedrenus, Hist. Comp., p.48.]

3 And Abraham was seventy years old when he saw this vision; and this was his first wandering from the land of the east, to the western side of the river Euphrates. So Abraham came, and dwelt among kings; and those kings rose up against his brother's son, and carried him away captive.* Then Abraham took his servants, and all those who were about him, and came to his brother's son, and delivered him out of their hands. [* Og, King of Bashan, who had been saved by sitting on the top of Noah's ark, and who was among those kings, came and told Abraham that they had taken Lot captive. Targ. Jonathan, in Genesis 14.] At that time Abraham was eighty years old, and no son was born to him, because that Sarah his wife, was barren.

4 Then as he was returning from the war with those kings, the grace of God drew him, until he had passed over the hill of Nablus; and from the hill of Nablus, he came near to Jerusalem,

ere it was built. [The Kufale dwells at great length on the history of Abraham, borrowed chiefly from the Scripture account. But whether by accident or otherwise, it makes no mention of Melchizedec, but only of priests and of tithe, as an institution of God for ever.]

Then Melchizedec, priest of the Most High God, came out, and welcomed him with joy. And Abraham, when he saw Melchizedec, made haste and bowed to him in worship, and kissed him on the face; and Melchizedec gave him a good blessing.

5 Then Abraham gave Melchizedec a tenth of all he had with him. After that Abraham communed with Melchizedec of the holy mysteries which Melchizedec had consecrated with

his own hand. For that was an exalted place, not by man's hand, but God Himself had anointed it.

6 But after Abraham had communed with Melchizedec, God said unto Abraham, "Fear not, great is thy reward with Me; and in like manner as Melchizedec My high priest blessed thee, and made thee partaker with himself of Holy Mysteries, so will I make thee partaker with him of heavenly grace." Again did God say to Abraham, "In blessing will I bless thee, and in multiplying will I multiply thy seed upon the face of the earth."

4 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 2.

1 After this there was a famine in the land of Palestine; and Abraham went down into the land of Egypt.

2 And Sarah his wife was with him, and she was good-looking. So Abraham said to her, "Say not, I am Abraham's wife, lest they kill me, and take thee from me. But say, I am his sister."

Then when they came into the land of Egypt, men spake to Pharaoh king of Egypt, and said to him, "Behold a man has come hither; and with him is his beautiful sister."

3 Then Pharaoh sent and took her from Abraham, who remained weeping. But God in His mercy sent an angel who smote Pharaoh, and said to him, "Send back to Abraham his wife, lest God kill thee."

4 Then in the morning, Pharaoh called Abraham, and said unto him, "Forgive me." He then gave him his wife Sarah; and gave to Sarah, Hagar the Egyptian, and gave her many presents.

After this Abraham took Sarah his wife, with Hagar her maid-servant, and returned to Palestine.

5 And after that, Abraham took to himself Hagar to wife,* who bare him Ishmael, when Abraham was eighty-seven years old. [* She was the daughter of Pharaoh, son of Nimrud who had cast Abram into the fiery furnace. Targ. Jonathan, in Genesis 16.]

6 But in that Abraham said, "Sarah is my sister," he did not lie; inasmuch as Terah, his father, married two wives; one of which was called Tona [Called Yuna, Eutych., Nazam al-j., p. 65.], the mother of Abraham, who died shortly after he was born.

7 Then Terah married again another wife whose name was Tahdif [Called Tohwait, Eutych., ibid.], who bare him Sarah, whom Abraham married, and who, for that reason, said, "She is my sister "—on my father's side, but not on my mother's.

8 After this, when Abraham was dwelling in tents, the Lord came to him with angels of His, and gave him a sign of the birth of his son Isaac, who was born to him when he was a hundred years old. The Lord showed him also many mysteries.

9 Then days after this, God said to Abraham, when Isaac was fourteen years old, "Offer unto me thy son Isaac, in oblation."

10 Then Abraham fortified himself and took courage for this trial; and brought his son to offer him in oblation to God. But God redeemed Isaac with a lamb that was tied to a bush.

11 And the bush to which the lamb was tied, is the very place into which the tree of the Cross was planted. And the lamb that saved Isaac from death, was a figure of the Lamb of God who saved us all from death.

12 That mountain also, on which king David saw an angel standing with a sharp sword of fire in his hand, as if going to smite Jerusalem with it—is the place where Abraham saw with the eye of the Holy Ghost, the Son of God, hanging on it. For this reason did the Lord say to the Jews, "Abraham, your father, rejoiced and longed to see my day, and he did see it, and was glad."

13 Again, this is the place, as the blessed Paul [Saul of Tarsos] said, "For the sake of Jesus Christ my Lord am I minister of the circumcision "—where Christ was circumcised on the eighth day. That is also the place where the patriarch Abraham offered up an oblation to God.

14 And again, as it was in the days of Moses, when they offered up a lamb for the sins of the people, to cleanse them from their sins—so also did the Lamb of God offer up Himself in oblation for us, to set us free from our sins.

4 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 3.

1 After this Melchizedec showed himself to men, who saw him, and who were comforted by his words, everywhere.

2 The kings of the earth and peoples, when they heard his voice, did gather together; a multitude of creatures and of kings [They were twelve in number.]; that numbered twelve hosts.

3 They came to him and bowed to him in worship, and were blessed by him, and asked him, saying, "Come, let us make thee king over us." But Melchizedec king of Salem, and priest of the Most High God, would not.

4 And the kings wondered at his beauty; their hearts were drawn to him by his discourse, and they fell down at his feet in worship; and they asked God, that Melchizedec might dwell among them in their palaces. But Melchizedec would not, and said unto them, "I cannot leave this place, and go to another one."

5 So those kings said among themselves, " Let every one of us who can, come, and let us build a city on this mountain for Melchizedec." They all took pleasure in the work, brought together materials in abundance, and built the City of Jerusalem, that means "the middle of the earth."

6 Then Melchizedec continued to dwell in it, at that place; and the kings came, and were blessed by him, until the day of his departure, when his life ended in this world.

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4 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 4.

1 After this, Abraham ordered one of his servants [Eliezer, of Damascus, son of Mesek, one of Abraham's servants, Kufale, c. 14., p.55.], to take a wife for his son Isaac; and adjured him not to marry Isaac, but to one of his own kindred. And Abraham entered into rest when one hundred and seventy-five years old; and Isaac and Ishmael his sons buried him.

2 Then Isaac married when he was forty years old; and Esau and Jacob his sons, were bom unto him when he was about sixty years of age*. [* Rebecca, when with child and before the birth of Esan and Jacob, went to consult Melchizedec, who told her she had two nations in her womb, and that the elder should serve the younger. Eutych., Nazam al-j., p.77.] And God blessed Isaac greatly.

3 Then after this Jacob went to the land of Haran, to Laban, his mother's brother, and married his two daughters Leah and Rachel. He had by Leah, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun; and by Rachel he had Joseph and Benjamin.

4 Then he had also by Zilpah, Leah's maid-servant. Gad and Aser; and by Bilhah, Rachel's maid-servant, he had Dan and Naphtali.

5 And about twenty years after Jacob's return from the land of Haran, before his father Isaac died, Joseph was sold by his brothers, because they were jealous of him. But when Isaac died, his two sons Esau and Jacob came to him, embalmed him, and laid him in the sepulchre of his father.

6 Then six years after the death of Isaac, Rebecca died; and they buried her by Sarah, Abraham's wife. And when, after that Leah, Jacob's wife died, they buried her by the side of them.

7 Then after this Judah took to himself a wife whose name was Habwadiya, that means, "house-wife;" [And in the Arabic original it is rendered, "Sahaniyeh," that means a black linen girdle.] but in the law her name is Sewa.

8 She was of a Canaanitish family, and Jacob's heart suffered much on that account; and he said to Judah his son who had married that wife, "The God of Abraham and of Isaac will not allow the seed of this Canaanitish woman to mingle with my seed."

9 But some days after this, Sewa bare three sons unto Judah, whose names were Er, Onan, and Selah. And when Er was grown up, Judah married him, his first-born son, unto a woman named Tamar, daughter of Kadesh Levi.

10 And Er continued with her a long time, and behaved after the manner of the men of Sodom and Gomorrah. But God looked down upon his evil deeds and killed him.

11 Then Judah married his son Onan to Tamar, saying, "He shall raise seed unto his brother." But him also did God kill because of his evil deeds; on account of Jacob's curse, "That no Canaanitish seed should mingle with his own." So God would not let any of it mingle with that of Jacob the righteous.

12 Therefore did Tamar go to Judah her father-in-law, who had intercourse with her, not knowing she was his son's wife; and she bare unto him twins, Pharez and Zarah.

4 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 5.

1 After this Jacob went to Joseph, and continued fourteen years in the land of Egypt, where he died at the age of one hundred and fifty-seven; when the good Joseph was fifty-three years old.

2 Then when he was dead, Joseph called cunning Egyptian embalmers, who embalmed him beautifully; and then Joseph carried his body to the land of Canaan, and buried him in the sepulchre of his fathers Abraham and Isaac.

3 After this Pharez begat Judah, and Judah begat Ezrom, and Ezrom begat Aram; and Aram begat Aminadab; and Aminadab begat Naasson.

4 And this Naasson was great among the sons of Judah; and the daughter of Aminadab married Eleazar the son of Aaron, who prayed to God, until His wrath abated.

Thus, my son, have I told thee in detail the genealogies from the first until now.

4 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 6.

1 After this, there began to issue a race from Naasson, who was great among the sons of Judah; and from him began a kingdom and a priesthood, and the Jews became celebrated through him.

2 Then Naasson begat Salmon, and Salmon begat Boaz of Rahab. And thou must know that from Boaz and Ruth the Moabitess, began the kingdom whereby Lot, the son of Abraham's brother, obtained a share [in the generations] of the kingdom [of Judah].

3 For God denied not seed to Lot, neither would He cut it short. For this Lot was righteous, and shared all Abraham's troubles with him; and received the angels of God in Sodom and Gomorrah.

4 Therefore did God give to Lot's children fellowship in the kingdom, and that was [reckoned] for righteousness unto Lot the righteous. For this reason also were [Lot's children] mentioned among the genealogies of the kingdom of Abraham and of Lot; for Christ was born of their seed.

5 Then, again, Obed, Ruth's son, was of Lot's seed, on his mother's [side]; and Obed begat Jesse; and Jesse begat David the king. And king David begat Solomon; all these are of Ruth the Moabitess.

6 Again, Amnan [Naamah. 1 Kings, 14:21, 31.], the daughter of [Dan], king of the Ammonites, was of Lot's seed; and Solomon the king took this daughter of Dan to wife; and had by her, Rehoboam, who reigned after Solomon. But king Solomon took to himself many wives, seven hundred daughters of kings, three hundred concubines, one thousand in number.

7 But although Solomon took to himself these many wives, they did not bare him a single male child, but Rehoboam, of Amnan, the daughter of Dan, king of Ammon; who was of a blessed race.

8 Thus, again, God would not allow the seed of Canaanites to mingle with that of strange peoples, which God had made strangers. And this shows that Christ came of the seed of Abraham the blessed father, and of Lot his brother's son.

9 And all the families of the children of Israel in the land of Egypt, were Levi, Amram, Moses, Joshua, and Caleb, son of Jephunneh; all these were great chiefs over their peoples.

4 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 7.

1 As to Moses, when they had thrown him into the river, Sephurah, the daughter of Pharaoh, took him up thence, and brought him up. She it is, whom the Hebrews call Mariam, the mother of Moses.

2 And Moses abode forty years in Pharaoh's house; and other forty years in the land of Midian, ere God spake to him. Then, again, when God spake to Moses from within the bush his tongue faltered; and [his] tongue was—as God said, "From the time that I spake to My servant Moses, he was of a faltering tongue."

3 And Moses dwelt forty years in the land of Egypt, and forty years in the land of Midian, with the priest Jethro, his father-in-law; then forty years more in the wilderness; when Moses died, aged one hundred and twenty years.

4 Then after him arose Joshua, the ton of Nun. He was twenty-seven years judge over the children of Israel, and exorcised judgement over them; he was prophet among them, and kept them, and led them in the right way; and he entered into rest and died, when sixty years old.

Then after him arose Kusarat the judge, eight years, and he died; and after him Phutamiral, the son of Kaba, judged the children of Israel forty years, and died.

5 After him Naod, son of Phuru, judged the children of Israel eighty years. But in the twenty-fifth year of Naod, ended four thousand years since Adam. Naod died, and Sikar judged the children of Israel. But in his days a king of Canaan rose against Sikar, wishing to make war against him. But God gave Sikar victory over him, whom he defeated; and Sikar judged forty years.

6 After him Yarod was judge over the people of Israel, forty years; and after him Abimelec judged ten years, and died.

7 And after him Banu, son of Yuorani, judged twenty-three years, and died. After him Yar of Phila, judged twenty-two years, and died.

8 After him the son of Aminadab, judged fifty-eight years, and died. And after him the daughter of Nasyamu judged seven years, and died.

9 After her, Ansyus judged seven years, and died; and after him the Philistine judged forty years. But God gave him into the hands of the champion Samson, who slew him.

10 Then the champion Samson arose and was judge over the children of Israel twenty years, and then died.

11 Then the children of Israel were left without a judge twelve years, when Eli the priest began to judge; and judged them forty years, and then died. After him Samuel was judge over the children of Israel forty years, and. died. Then after him, Saul reigned over them forty years, and died.

12 Then after him, David reigned over the children of Israel forty years, and then died. And after him, his son Solomon arose, who also reigned forty years over the children of Israel, and then died.

13 He wrought more wonders in the earth than all other kings, who were before him. For he was the first whom God filled with wisdom. So that he made [and did] many things peculiar to him; so far as to make a ship, and go in it to the city of Saphir; [where] he wrought gold in ornaments, and brought it to Jerusalem.

14 During his reign, there was great peace; there was no trouble; but there was peace between him and Hiram king of Tyre; who reigned five hundred years over the city of Tyre, and whose kingdom lasted from the reign of Solomon, to that of Zedekiah; until, from the length of his days and of his years, and from the greatness of his kingdom, he exalted himself and said, "I am God, and no man."

15 God was wroth against him because of his evil deed; and God looked down upon it, and delivered him into the hands of king Nebuchadnezzar who put him to death; removed his army, and took his spoil.

4 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 8.

1 But we will inform thee of the things king Solomon gave every day in his house. On account of his many wives, they made bread in his house of thirty cores of fine flour; one hundred cores of wheat flour, which hardly sufiiced. And they slaughtered in his house daily, ten bullocks well-fatted, and twenty fat oxen, and one hundred sheep; besides what they slew of bufialoes, gazelles and wild deer, which they hunted every day. And in Solomon's house they drank daily four hundred basins of wine. And many other things did they.

2 And Solomon reigned over his large kingdom with the greatest wisdom ever found. But he did not keep his soul; but inclined his heart to the love of women, and forsook God who had created him, and who had given him this kingdom. And he died in his denial of Him, and iu his sins.

3 After him reigned Rehoboam, his son, seventeen years, and did evil. He defiled Jerusalem with abominable sacrifices, and sacrificed to Satan; and adultery increased greatly in his days. Wherefore God cut off his kingdom swiftly; and took it from the house of David.

4 But in the fifth year of Rehoboam, a king whose name was Susakim came up against Jerusalem. He took all the spoil of the temple, and spoiled all Roboam had, and spoiled all the house of David, and removed them and took them to his own country.

5 And he boasted, and said to the Jews, "The things I have taken from you as spoil, are goods that belonged to my fathers, of which your fathers spoiled them, when they came out of the land of Egypt, and which they brought unto this place; and behold, I have taken them from you."

6 And Rehoboam died in his denial [of God]; and after him, his son Abius, reigned twenty years over the children of Israel. But he, too, walked in his father's ways, by reason of Makia his mother, the daughter of Absalom; wherefore, did he many wicked things, and then died.

7 After him arose Asaph his son, who reigned forty-one years over the children of Israel. He did what was right, just and good before God; he brake down the idols that were in his day, and removed their images from the face of the land; and he took his wicked mother Anna, and threw her down from the roof [of her house] and she died, because of her adulteries.

8 After that, came Eleazar a black king, who was king of Endena, to fight Asaph. But God delivered him into the hands of Asaph, who defeated him.

9 Then Asaph died; and his son Jehoshaphat reigned in his stead. He also did that which is just and good before God, and pleased God all his days, and then died.

10 Then his son Aram reigned in his stead; but he transgressed the commandments of God, and forsook His law, and sacrificed unto idols.

11 Then Zambri rose up against him, made war against him, and he died in his denial [of God].

12 Then Yusia, his son, reigned [after him]; but on account of his transgressions, God delivered him into the hands of his enemies, who put him to death. But when he was dead, his mother rose up against all the royal children and put them to death, and said, " I will take the kingdom from the house of David."

13 Then Yusabet daughter of the king of Aram, arose, took Agragarina, and slew him before the eyes of the royal children that were left. But when she had put him to death, she feared, and hid herself and those with her, under a bed. And Gotholia was queen over the children of Israel, and died. Then the whole people of Israel said, "Whom shall we make king over us?"

14 Then when Yuda the high priest heard they spake thus, he gathered together the whole of the Jews within the Temple, and waited until the messengers of thousands and the messengers of hundreds came; and then Yuda the high priest, said to them, "What do you require of me, and who is he whom ye will make king over the house of David?"

16 Then they said to him, "Thou hast authority." Then Yuda rose and took Barsia, and brought him before them, and said to them, "Does this one suit you for a king?" The people were pleased with him; so Yuda brought him into the house of God, and set him over the kingdom; then all the people rejoiced, and the whole country was quiet in his days; and he was king in Jerusalem forty years. But Barsia did not bear in mind all the good things Yuda the priest had told him; but he took him and put him to death. After this, enemies rose up against Barsia and put him also to death.

4 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 9.

1 After him his son Araazias reigned twenty-nine years, and put to death those who had killed his father; but he did not put to death their children, so as to fulfil the law of Moses, that says, "Ye shall not put to death children for the sins of their fathers."

2 Then Amazias died, and after him Ozia reigned fifty-two years, and in his reign exercised justice and judgment, and right before God. Yet did he do one wicked act, and that was that—without due orders [Or, being ordained.], he offered sacrifices unto God, and oblations that did not become hira. So he died.

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3 After him Yonathan his son, reigned sixteen years. But during his reign, he did eyil before God, and angered his Creator, and forsook His commandment and His law; and burnt incense to idols, and sacrificed unto them. For this reason did God deliver him to death, into the hands of Caran, king of Elmosal [I.e. Mosul or Assyria, northern Iraq.].

4 And when the king of Elmosal led him away [captive], he [Yonathan] took all the vessels he found in the house of God, and sent them all to the great king of Elmosal; and left nothing in the house of God. In the days of this king, did the children of Israel, go the first time into captivity. He removed them to his own country, and the land of Israel remained bare.

5 Then the king of Elmosal, sent people to dwell in the land and to till it, instead of the children of Israel who had left it. But when those people came to dwell in that land, [wild] beasts rent them asunder and devoured them, and prevailed against them in all the borders of the land.

6 Then they sent word to the king in their own tongue, and asked him to send them Urias the priest, to give them the law, so that wild beasts should no longer come near them, and hurt them.

7 When the king heard this he sent them Urias the priest, and commanded him to give them a law, for them to keep, so that the wild beasts hurt them not.

8 Urias the priest came, and did as the king had commanded him, and he gave the people the law of the Jews; it was in their hands, they recited it and ruled themselves after it. And those were the Samar; whom the king, of whom we have just spoken, had sent to till the land of Israel. Then Yunathan died, and after him reigned Akaz his son, who did well before God, and then died.

9 After him reigned his son Hezkias, when he was twenty-five years old; and he reigned twenty-two years ; and did good, and judgement, equity and justice; and he pleased the Lord; he kept His law and His commandments; he brake down the idols, and destroyed their houses.

But in the fourth year of his reign, came Sanakreb king of Assarium, and took away captive all that were left and sent them to Babylon.

10 But Hezkias served the Lord God, and fulfilled His law, until he fell sick and became very weak, and was in great distress by reason of his sickness; his heart suffered, and he said to himself, "Woe is me! I shall die without a son to reign after me."

11 And in his sickness he wept before Grod and said, "Woe is me, Lord! behold, I die without a son; and behold the promise Thou madest unto David, shall fail in me; and the kingdom shall pass from the house of David."

12 Then God looked upon his sorrow of heart, and upon his sickness, for his sickness was sore. And God had pity on him and gave him fifteen years over and above the rest of his days; and he recovered from his sickness.

13 Then three years after he had recovered, and God had raised him from his sickness, he begat Manasseh. And he died, rejoicing greatly at having a son born unto him, to sit upon his throne.

4 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 10.

1 After him Manasseh his son reigned twelve years in Jerusalem. He did much evil, and made the people of Jerusalem worship idols. Then when he had thus transgressed the law of God, Isaias the prophet came to him and rebuked him for the wickednesses he had wrought.

2 Then Manasseh was angry with him, and commanded valiant and wicked men to take Isaias the prophet, and to saw him asunder with a saw of wood [i.e., a saw used in sawing or felling trees.], from his head down to his feet, among the trees of the wilderness; and then to cast him to the beasts [of the field] to devour him. And they did so to him.

3 Isaias was then one hundred and twenty years old. His raiment was of shaggy goat^s hair upon his body; and he fasted regularly every second day [of the week] all the days of his life.

4 Then Manasseh died; and after him reigned his son Amots, who did evil before God; for he offered sons and daughters in sacrifice unto idols. Then Amots died; and after him reigned Yusias his son.

5 He was twenty years old when he [began] to reign, and continued twenty-two years in his kingdom in the city of Jerusalem. He did justice and right before God; and kept the Passover of the Lord, such as the children of Israel never were able to keep, except the one Moses kept for them in the wilderness. This king purified Jerusalem of all wickedness. But Pharhon the lame, king of Egypt, killed Yusias in Carmelos.

6 Then after him Akaz reigned three months. But Pharhon bound Akaz in chains and sent him into the land of Egypt; and he died in that place. After his death Yuakem his brother reigned fourteen years but in the third year of his reign, Nabukadanatsor came to the city of Jerusalem, and God delivered Yuakem into his hands; and Yuakem was under his orders, bowed unto him, and paid him tribute; he then sickened and died.

7 After him reigned his brother Yekonias three months; then came Nabukadanatsor who took captive Yekonias and all his army, and sent them to Babylon. On the way thither, Daniel's mother gave him birth. Anania, Azaria, and Misael, sons of Yekonias, were also bom on the first transportation of Yuakem.

8 Then Yekonias died, and after him Zedekias reigned twelve years. This was the end of kings that reigned over the children of Israel, and all Judah; after them no king was left to them.

9 And at the end of the fourteenth year of Zedekias, Nabukadanatsor came and transported all the people of Jerusalem, as far as the west, and as far as the river Euphrates, and as far as the great river. He laid waste Tyre, and burnt Hiram king of Tyre with fire, who had reigned five hundred years.

10 Then after this Nabukadanatsor went into Egypt, and put to death Pharhon; destroyed his army, and laid waste the land of Egypt; and then took the city of Jerusalem. And God delivered Zedekias into his hands, whom he took, and brought out before idols, and set him before the people, and slew his children before him, without pity. He then put out his eyes, bound his hands with chains and his feet with fetters; and sent him to Babylon, because of his folly, and of the evil he had done to Irmias [Jeremiah.] the prophet, by casting him into springs of water in a marsh."

11 After this Nabuzaradan captain of the king's array, destroyed the walls of Jerusalem, burnt the House of God with fire; and did all manner of evil to Jerusalem. But Simeon the priest, found favour and grace with the captain of the king's army, and requested him to give him the house of records; and he gave him a command accordingly.

12 Then Simeon the priest came in and gathered together the ashes of the books, and laid them in a pot in a vault, and he took a censer of brass, and put fire therein, and threw pure incense upon it, and hung it in the vault over the place in which the ashes of the books lay.

13 But [Nebuzaradan] laid waste Jerusalem, like a wilderness. And Jeremiah the prophet sat weeping and mourning over Jerusalem twenty years, after which this prophet Jeremiah went into the land of Kgypt, and died there.

14 But the writers and the interpreters destroyed the writings, and the Hebrews changed the writings; and the Syrians and the Greeks rejected many sections of those writings. So that the children of the people could not ascertain [their kindred], neither could men or women hear who were their fathers or their mothers, except very few of them;

15 And this was because of the laying waste of Jerusalem; so that until this day, nothing certain is found among the writings, except the chief writings alone, which writings had been translated before the ruin of Jerusalem.

16 Then again since some of the writings were altered, people could not ascertain how they were married, and could not know who were their wives or daughters; they did not know their names or their kindred; nor the order of generations; neither did they know that of the priesthood.

17 And Jechonias remained twienty-seven years bound in prison at Babylon. After that he was released by Marzuk king of Babylon, who gave him to wife, a woman called Dalilah daughter of Eliakim, by whom he had Salathiel in Babylon. But Jechonias, Salathiel's father, died at Babylon.

18 Then Salathiel took to wife Hadast, daughter of Elkanah; and had by her Zerubbabel. And Zerubbabel married a woman whose name was Malka, daughter of Ezra the scribe; but he had no child by her in Babylon.

19 Then in the days of Zerubbabel, who was elder among the children of Israel, a Persian king, called Cyrus, who reigned over Babylon, took to wife a woman called Meshar, sister of Zerubbabel, elder among the children of Israel; and he made her queen after the manner of the queens of Persia. And when she became queen, she found favour with the king, and asked him to show mercy to the children of Israel, and to send them back to the city of Jerusalem.

4 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 11.

1 But Cyrus loved much Meshar, sister of Zerubbabel, [even] as his own soul. So he gave an urgent order that they should go about the whole land of the Chaldaeans, and gather together the children of Israel into Babylon, the house of the kingdom; and they gathered them according to the king's order.

2 Then Cyrus said to Zerubbabel, his wife's brother, "Take thy people and go to thy city Jerusalem; and rebuild it as it was at first. Then when dutiful Cyrus had given this order concerning the return of the children of Israel to Jerusalem, in the land of the sanctuary;

3 God appeared unto him in a vision during sleep, and said unto him, "Because thou hast done this, they shall call thee Cyrus the Messiahnic; and this name, Messiahnic, shall be given thee, because thou hast sent back strangers to their own city; and because thou hast given commandment concerning the rebuilding of Jerusalem."

4 Then the children of Israel returned from the captivity of Babylon, Zerubbabel was elder over them; and Josiah, son of Zadok, of the sons of Aaron, was high priest over them; as the angel of God spake to the prophet Zachariah saying, "Those two sons that stand before the Lord of the whole earth shall minister unto them, as becomes their service."

5 Cyrus had assumed the kingdom two years, when the captivity returned from Babylon; and at the end of that year, the five thousand years [spoken of] to Adam were fulfilled. But when the children of Israel returned from Babylon they had not the law, neither was there a book in their hands; inasmuch as the voices of the prophets had departed from among them.

6 So, when they came to Jerusalem and were settled in it, Ezra the scribe came to the vault in which were the ashes of the books, which Simeon the priest, had gathered together. And Ezra found the censer that was full of fire, hanging with [smoke of] incense rising from it on high.

7 Then Ezra prayed to God, wept abundantly, and spread his hand towards the ashes of the books of the law and of the prophets, and all of them three times.

8 Then came the Spirit of God upon him, and the [same] Spirit spake through him that had spoken through the prophets. And he wrote the law and the prophets, and made them new a second time. And the fire which he found in the censer, is the divine fire that was all the time in the House of God.

9 Then Zerubbabel settled in Jerusalem as king over the children of Israel, and Josiah son of Zadok as high priest, with Ezra the scribe of the law and the prophets also, as chief over the children of Israel.

10 And the children of Israel kept a solemn Passover unto the Lord, when they returned from their captivity at Babylon. These were the three great, full and solemn feasts of the Passover, which the children of Israel kept during their existence. The first Passover was in Egypt, in the days of Moses; the second Passover was in the days of king Josiah; and the third Passover was when they returned from their captivity in Babylon.

4 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 12.

1 From the first transportation to Babylon, when they carried away Daniel's mother, and she brought him forth, unto the second year of Cyrus the Persian, are seventy years, during which the children of Israel were captive, according to the prophecy of holy Jeremiah the prophet.

2 And the children of Israel began to build the House of God, in the days of Zerubbabel, of Josiah the son of Zadok, and of Ezra the scribe. And they were forty-six years building it, until it was finished, as it is written in the holy Gospel—that they were forty-six years building it.

3 Moreover, scribes arranged tables of genealogy, and recorded the names of the men; but they could not record the names of the women because they knew them not, except very few.

But, my brethren, I have watched much, and I have searched long in the books of the Greeks and of the ancient Hebrews, and I have found the name of the women written in them.

4 For I found that when the children of Israel came from Babylon, that Zerubbabel begat Abiud of Maukab [also called Mulka.] the daughter of Ezra the scribe; and that Abiud took to wife Tsamita the daughter of Zadok the high priest, and she bare Eliakim.

5 And Eliakim married Hasbia, the daughter of Aram, and brought forth Azar. And Azar begat Zadok of Lebaida. And Zadok took to wife Kalem, the daughter of Waikam, who gave birth to Akim.

6 And Akim married Asbaidi, who gave birth to Eliud. And Eliud married Awad, the daughter of Gasulius, who gave birth to Azar.

7 And Azar married Hayat, daughter of Walha, who brought forth Mattan; and Mattan married Sabartyal the daughter of Phulius, who brought forth twins, namely, Jacob and Joachim.

8 And Jacob married Gadat, the daughter of Eleazar, who gave birth to Joseph the betrothed of Mary. And Joachim, the brother of Jacob, married Hannah the daughter of Makah; and she brought forth the pure Virgin Mary; and of her was born Christ.

9 The former scribes, however, could not find a good lineage for the Virgin and her father, or kindred; wherefore did the Jews crucify Christ, and taunt Him, and mock Him, and say to Him, "Show us the fathers of Mary the Virgin and her people, and what is her genealogy." Therefore did they blaspheme her and Christ.

10 But henceforth shall the mouth of those unbelieving Jews be closed; and they shall know that Mary is of the seed of David the king, and of that of the patriarch Abraham.

11 Moreover, the unbelieving Jews had no registers to guide them aright, neither did they know, how the lines of kindred ran at first, inasmuch as the law and the prophets were three times burnt [out] from them.

12 The first time in the days of Antiochus, who burnt down the whole House [of God]; The second time they burnt those

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books in the days of Qablar the great king of Mosul; And the third time* they burnt the books was at the transportation by king Nabukadanatsor when Abumirdan came and burnt the House of God, and destroyed the walls of Jerusalem; when Simeon the priest asked of him the store of books, and he gave them to him. [* Eatychus attributes the last destruction of all Jewish chronicles, to Herod the Great. Nazam al-j., p.309.]

4 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 13.

1 But we will make known to you all the genealogies in detail. Judah begat Pharez, and Pharez married Barayah, the daughter of Levi, and begat Esrom.

2 And Esrom married Kanita, the daughter of Zebulun, and he begat Aram. And Aram married Phozib the daughter of Judah; and he begat Aminadab.

3 And Aminadab married Thehara, the daughter of Esrom, and he begat Naasson. And Naasson married Simar, the daughter of Yuhanas, and he begat Salmon; and Salmon married Saphila, the daughter of Aminadab, by whom he had Booz.

4 And Booz married Ruth the Moabitess, of the seed of Mot, and begat Obed; and Obed married Abalit, the daughter of Sonas, and begat Jesse. Jesse married Habliar, the daughter of Abrias, and begat David the king.

5 And king David took to wife Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, and begat Solomon. And Solomon married Nan, the same as Makiya, the daughter of Dan king of Ammon, of the seed of Lot, and begat Rehoboam.

6 And Rehoboam married Makin, the daughter of Bilos, and begat Abia. And Abia married Malkit, the daughter of Absalom, and begat Asaph.

7 And Asaph married Nirona, the daughter of Sala, and begat Joshaphat.

8 And Joshaphat married Malkiya, the daughter of Abiud, and begat Joram. And Joram married Phitalia, the daughter of Naphrim, and begat Osias; and Osias married Sophia, the daughter of Habralias, and begat Jotham.

9 And Jotham married Hadast, the daughter of Elkanah, and begat Ahaz. And Ahaz married Bikaz^ the daughter of Zachariah, and begat Hezekiah; and Hezekiah married Basyar, the daughter of Bartenas, and begat Manasseh; And Manasseh married Amasisan, and begat Amos; and Amos married Nadyas, and begat Josias. And Josias married Dalilah, the daughter of Kermias, and begat Joachim.

10 And Joachim married Phurdia, the daughter of Phulek, and begat Jechonias and his brother during the captivity of Babylon.

11 And Marsas who reigned over Babylon, released Jechonias from prison, and gave him to wife, a woman whose name was Dalilah, the daughter of Eliakim, by whom he had Salathiel.

But Jechonias died at Babylon; where Salathiel continued forty-nine years after him, and married Hadast, the daughter of Elkauah, and begat Zerubbabel. And Zerubbabel married Maukab, the daughter of Esdras the scribe, and had by her Abiud.

12 And Abiud married Hadast, the daughter of Zadok the high priest, and begat Eliakim. And Eliakim married Kwebedai, the daughter of Aram, and begat Azar.

13 And Azar married Salambeta, the daughter of Zadok. And Zadok married Kalim, the daughter of Waikan, and begat Akim. And Akim married Zasbaidi, and begat Eliud.

14 And Eliud married Awad, the daughter of Gasalias, and begat Eleazar. And Bleazar married Hayat, the daughter of Thalka, and begat Matthan. And Matthan married Sabartia, the daughter of Phunius, and had by her twins, namely, Jacob and Joachim.

15 And Jacob married Gadat, the daughter of Eleazar, and begat Joseph the betrothed [husband] of Mary. But Joachim married Hannah, the daughter of Makah, and begat the pure Mary; Here ends the genealogy of pure Mary.

4 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 14.

1 And here, O my brother, behold, I have settled for thee that which is true, and I have revealed unto thee the genealpgy, and laid for thee the firm foundation, which not one of the writers and of the wise men, could make known.

2 But, O my brother, give me thy heart and make it clean, that I may tell thee what things remain, and how the reckoning of generations come all round to reach unto and to stand firm by the birth of Christ. But after the birth of Christ there remained no more trustworthy reckoning [of kindred] to the Jews. For Christ was the end of the generations; He took it and gave it to us.

3 But let me tell thee, O my brother, that the five thousand years from [the creation of] Adam, did not end before the days of Cyrus, king of Persia. Then from Cyrus to the sufferings of our Saviour Jesus Christ, even as the faithful Daniel prophesied, saying, "After seven weeks Christ shall come, and shall be put to death."

4 Now seven weeks are four hundred and ninety years; for a great week is of seventy years. But in that the prophet said, "After seven years," he pointed to the ten years [that remained]; for he did not say, "Christ shall come at the end of the seven weeks," but he said, "After seven weeks [He shall come] and be put to death."

5 But the meaning here of "after," is—those ten years, that make up the five hundred years. And that is the fulfilment of the promise that God made to Adam, that He would save him at the end [of that time].

6 Henceforth are the mouths of the Jews struck dumb, and to them belongs shame, because they blaspheme and say that Christ is not yet come. But while they say so, they, of necessity, believe the first statement [of the prophets] to be true and the last to be a lie.

7 If they say "Christ came," believing, as they do, the prophecy of the prophet Daniel, they now see that the prophecy of Daniel is fulfilled, and that the House of God is laid waste [and taken] from them; that the priesthood is abolished, and that the seven weeks were fulfilled, and that Christ came, and was put to death; and that the Holy City was laid waste by king Vespasian and his son Titus.

8 "But let me also tell thee, my brother, that in the thirtysecond year of the reign of Augustus Caesar, Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judah, as it is written in the Gospel. And, behold, it is made plain to us, that Christ came when the prophecy was fulfilled.

9 As Micah the prophet said, "But thou, O Bethlehem, [in the] land of Judah, thou art not lower than the kings of Judah; for from thee shall come a king, that shall feed my people Israel."

10 Let the Jews now feel ashamed of themselves; for if they make Daniel a liar, they cannot again make the prophet Micah a liar; yet if they will make them liars still, behold, Christ was bom in Bethlehem [in] the land of Judah.

11 And when He was born at Bethlehem [in] the land of Judah, a star in the East made it known, and was seen by Magi. That star shone in heaven, amid all the other stars; it flashed and was like the face of a woman, a young virgin, sitting among the stars, flashing, as it were carrying a little child of a beautiful countenance.

12 From the beauty of His looks, both heaven and earth shone, and were filled with His beauty and light above and below; and that child was on the virgin woman's arms; and there was a cloud of light around the child's head, like a crown. But it was a custom of the Chaldaeans to observe the stars of heaven; to take counsel from them; and they were numbered by them.

13 So when they saw the star of the figure we have just mentioned, they were greatly troubled, and said among themselves, "Surely the king of the Helonseans is putting himself in battle array against us!"

14 And they inquired among soothsayers and philosophers, until they ascertained the fact and discovered that the king of the children of Israel was born. As to this matter of the stars, the Chaldaeans used to work it out, and to take counsel from the power [i.e. influence.] of the stars; so that they knew every event that should be, ere it happened. Likewise the captains of large ships, when they went on a voyage upon the seas, [knew beforehand] the signs of winds, of whirlwind, of gloom, and of thick darkness.

15 Thus the Magi when they read in their books, knew from them, that Christ should be born in the land of Judah. So they went upon a high mountain in the east, while coming westward; and they took with them the presents they had prepared ere they set off on their journey; that is, gold, frankincense and myrrh—that had been with Adam in the Cave of Treasures. Gold, namely as unto a king; frankincense, as unto God; and myrrh, as for His death.

4 ADAM AND EVE CHAPTER 15.

1 But when Hor, king of Persia, heard who it was they called King of kings, he prepared his chariot and mounted it. Basantar also, king of Saba, came out; and Karsundas, king of the East, got himself ready and came out also. They were all in great tribulation, and also all other kings in the borders of the West trembled with them, and every country in the East was in great alarm at the sight of that glory.

2 Then the Magi while on their journey said, "This star has not risen but for some great event." And they went on their way until they came to Jerusalem. But when Herod heard of it, he was troubled, and called the Magi to him, and communed with them; and they rehearsed unto him the [whole] thing.

3 Then he and all his hosts trembled; and he said to the Magi, "Go ye, and inquire diligently concerning this Child; and when ye have found Him, come and tell me, that I also may go and worship Him.

4 Then the Magi went forthwith to Bethlehem, and found Christ, and offered Him their gifts. But they did not return to Herod; they went back to their own country. But after they were gone, Herod was wroth, and commanded all children of two years and under, to be put to death.

5 Then an angel of the Lord appeared unto Joseph, and said to him, "Arise, and take the Child and His mother, and go to the land of Egypt; and abide there until I tell thee." And Joseph weut into the land of Egypt.

6 Then Herod began to slay all children, until he had not left one. And he died of an evil death. After his death an angel of the Lord appeared unto Joseph in the land of Egypt. And Joseph came up out of Egypt, and dwelt at Nazareth, he, the child, and Mary His mother. And they abode at Jerusalem until Christ was thirty years of age, and was baptised by John. This John lived all his days in the wilderness, and his food was locusts and wild honey.

7 And in the nineteenth year of Tiberius, our Lord Christ was crucified. He died in the body, and was buried, and rose again from among the dead on the third day; as it is written. And He went down into hell, and saved Adam and Eve, and all their righteous seed, according to His first and firm promise.

8 And thus He fulfilled all that the prophets had prophesied concerning Him. He then went up into heaven; whence He will come again with His holy angels, to judge the quick and dead. Unto Him be glory, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power and worship for ever. Amen.

THE LIFE OF ADAM AND EVE [Slavonic Version 1]

Slavonic Vita Adae et Evae
Die altkirchenslavischen Texte des Adamsbuches
Source: V. Jagic, "Slavische Beitrage
zu den biblischen Apocryphen,
Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, 1893
Translation: Steve French, R. Layton and Gary A. Anderson.
Estimated Range of Dating: 1100-1400 A.D.

(The Slavonic Adam book was published by Jagic along with a Latin translation in 1893. This version agrees for the most part with the Greek Apocalypse of Moses. It has, moreover, a section, §§ 28–39, which, though not found in the Greek text, is found in the Latin Life of Adam and Eve. It includes also some unique material.)

1 Authority over the Animals

Before the trespass, Adam was in Paradise and had everything he wanted and everything happened according to his will: the wild animals and the domestic animals and all the feathered birds--all drew near, left and fled at his command. Apart from Adam's command nothing was allowed to move around, or land, or eat anything before Adam permitted it. It was the same with Eve.

2 Death of Abel

But after he committed the trespass and violated the command of the Lord, Adam was expelled from Paradise, and as he took his wife and went out, he sat near Eden, before the door of Paradise, and he saw a vision, how Cain and his brother Abel would be begotten, and he saw, how Cain would kill Abel, and Adam was very troubled. Then the Archangel Michael came to Adam and said to him, "O Adam, Adam, don't be troubled, don't speak about this and don't have Cain on your heart."

And here, near Eden, Adam spent eighteen years, and here Cain and his brother Abel were born to him. And when they were grown, they sent them to tend the flocks at a place called Cyrene. And when fourteen years had passed, Adam called his wife Eve and said, "Fourteen years have passed and Cain has spilled his brother Abel's blood, as it was announced, in a merciless way. Let us go out to see." And when they went out they found Abel murdered in a merciless manner by the hand of Cain. And the Lord spoke to the archangel Michael, "Warn Adam, 'You should not say anything to your son Cain about this matter, and don't be troubled on account of it, instead keep it in your hearts.'"

Afterwards, Eve bore a son and called him Seth, and she said to Adam, "I have borne a son in the place of Abel, whom Cain killed; come my husband, that you may thank God, and that we may make an offering to Him."

3 Illness of Adam

And Adam fathered thirty sons and thirty daughters, and he lived 930 years. And he fell ill and cried out in a loud voice and said, "My children, gather around me." Adam, of course, was very anxious, since he didn't know what illness was. And his children gathered around and stood on three sides.

And his son Seth said, "Father, Father Adam, what is your sickness?" Adam said, "My child, a great pain is in me." And his children said to him, "Father, perhaps you brooding about the delights of Paradise and for this reason it hurts you so." And Seth said, "Father, I will go with my mother and bring something out of Paradise, by which perhaps your pain will be eased." Adam, however, said, "My child, how will you be admitted into Paradise?" Seth said, "Father, I will go to the great plaza before Paradise and cry out from my heart, perhaps the Lord will hear us and permit the angel (from Paradise) to come and your pain will be stilled." And Adam said, "Not so, my son, not so, I have pain in my belly."

4 Adam's Story of the Fall

And Seth said, "In what way are you ill, how did it come over you?" And Adam said, "When God created me and your mother, through whom we die and through whom you will all

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be mortal, he gave us the Garden in Paradise, which we lost on account of Eve. That is, when it was the sixth hour, Eve saw Satan and venerated him, because he came in the form of an angel, and he gave to Eve from the tree and she transgressed the commands of the Lord and ate of what the serpent had handed her." And Seth asked, "Who instructed the serpent?" Adam said to his son, "The devil changed himself into radiant form and came to the serpent in the form of an angel and said to it, "You are very intelligent, give to Eve from the tree, she will taste it and also give it to Adam." And thus it [or "she", i.e, Eve] did and for this reason we have fallen prey to sickness and death. "Then the Master came, and in the center of Paradise his throne was set up, and he called out in a frightful voice, 'Adam, Adam, where are you?' I said, 'I am naked, O Lord, and I cannot come out.' And the Lord said, "You have never hidden yourself from me. Since you hide from me, you have thus transgressed my commandment. I will inflict your body abundantly with injuries and your heart with pains. The first sickness will be a pain in the belly, the second sickness [will be] dimness of vision and deafness, and on top of this, there will follow seventy-two illnesses of all sorts besides."

5 Command to Retrieve Oil

Then Adam sighed again and spoke to his sons, "I have a great pain, my children." Then Eve said to him amid tears, "Stand up, my husband, and give me a portion of your pain, we will both share it together; for on account of me you suffer such agony." Adam, however, said to Eve, "It is impossible to share it, but rise up together with your son Seth and go to Paradise, and cry with dust sprinkled on your heads, perhaps God will hear your prayer and grant to me from the Tree of Oils, that I might learn if perhaps my pain may be eased."

6 Encounter with the Beast

And Eve arose along with her son Seth and set off for Paradise, and she saw a huge animal, called Mongrel, which followed her son Seth, to devour him. Eve began to cry bitterly and said, "Woe is me, my sweet child, from now on until the end and until the second coming all will curse me, because it is on my account all sorts of evil have multiplied." And she screamed in a loud voice at the animal and said, "O beast, aren't you afraid before the image of the divine countenance? Will you devour him? How do you dare to open your mouth against the image of God and to bare your teeth against him? Don't you remember, O beast, how I fed you with my own hand?" Then the animal said to her, "O Eve, from now on you have no power over us to command us, for it has departed from you. How did you dare to open your mouth and eat from the tree, which the Lord did not allow you? On account of this I will also kill you and devour your child." At this Eve didn't answer, Seth, however, spoke to the animal, "Your mouth will be closed until the judgment, for you yourself were so bold against the image of God; you will stay in your lair right into eternity. And so it will remain even in eternity."

7 Arrival at Paradise

And Seth came with his mother to Paradise, they cried and sobbed and entreated God, their heads sprinkled with dust.

8 Michael's Reply

And God sent his Archangel Michael and he spoke to Seth, "Man of God, go back to your father, for his day of death is drawing near, and there is no cure for him." And he gave him three branches (from the tree, on account of which he was expelled): from the spruce, from the cedar, and from the cyprus. And Seth took the branches and brought them to his father.

9 Return to Adam

And Adam saw and recognized them, and with a heavy sigh he coiled a wreath, and set it on his head, and called his sons and grandchildren to him.

10 Adam's Rebuke of Eve

When all his children had assembled themselves Ñ and they were altogether nearly two thousand people Ñ they bid Eve, saying, "Our Mother, you know every secret and open thing of our father Adam, tell us, our mother, what does this incredible manifestation which we see mean?"

11 Portions of Adam and Eve

Then Eve said, "I will share with you, my children, in what manner our enemy deceived us, so that he will not be able to incite you as well against our law. Adam watched the eastern and northern sides of Paradise, I guarded the western and southern side. Adam guarded the male animals, I tended the female animals. And so the enemy entered in from that side on which Adam was,

12 Satan's Encounter with the Serpent

and he called the serpent to himself and said to it: You are loved by God, therefore she (Eve) will give credence to you before any other creature. And he instructed it in everything and sent it to me.

13 Serpents Approach to Paradise

The serpent believed that it was an angel, and came to me. And the devil had changed to the form of an angel and came here with radiance, singing an angel's song, just like an angel, and said to me: 'Do you eat from everything in Paradise?' And at that time I took him for an angel, because he had come from Adam's side, so I said to him, 'From one tree the Lord commanded us not to eat, the one which stands in the middle of Paradise.'

14 Temptation of Eve

The devil said, 'I am very sorry for you, because you don't understand; I alone will tell you so much: That tree is better than all the others. If you tasted from that tree, you would become like gods and radiant like the angels.'

15 Eve's Recognition of her Sin

And I listened to these words and as I tasted from the tree, immediately my eyes were opened and I saw, that I was naked, and I cried bitterly about what I had done. The devil, however, became invisible.

"I, however, gathered fig leaves to cover my shame. Because of how Paradise was apportioned, the one half to Adam, and the other to me, all the trees in my half had let fall all their leaves. The fig tree, however, did not do this. And I took from its leaves and wrapped myself and went under the tree, from which I had tasted,

16 Temptation of Adam

and called in a loud voice to Adam, saying, 'Adam, Adam, where are you? Stand up and come here so that I can share something incredible with you.' And Adam came to me and I opened my mouth and the devil spoke through me about the tree and about knowledge, so that he would also want to taste of it. And Adam tasted, and his eyes were opened, and he saw his and my nakedness, and he said to me, 'O wife, what have you done to me? Why have we departed from the grace of God?'

17 Entry of God into Paradise

"Then we heard the voice of the archangel Michael in the heavenly realm, who called together all the angels and said to them: Thus says the Lord, 'We will go down to Paradise to hold a hearing where Adam has sinned, and I will pronounce the verdict on him.' And the Lord came down on the shoulders of the Cherubim and a host of angels with him, singing the eternal song, glorifying God without end. And the throne of God was set up in the center of Paradise: the trees of Adam burst forth in great blossoms, the trees of my half became withered and all their leaves were fallen. And the Lord called Adam, 'O Adam, Adam.' Adam said, 'Lord, I heard your voice and was terribly afraid, since I am naked.' And the Lord said to him, "Who told you that you are naked, unless you have tasted from the tree, of which I told you not to taste?' And the angel took us and brusquely drove us away.

18 Adam's Plea for Mercy

"And so he exiled us from Paradise. We, however, bid the angel saying to him, 'Be a little patient with us, so that we may entreat God.' And Adam cried out in a loud voice, 'Have mercy on our sin, O Master, be merciful with us O Lord.'

19 Expulsion

Then the angel allowed us to carry on more still and Adam prayed and said, 'O Lord, furnish me with nourishment, that I might live.' The angel guided us out of Paradise and barricaded it off from us. Then Adam prayed and said, 'Have mercy on us, O Master, let me have pleasing aromas, that whenever I make an offering to God, I may [also] bring incense to him.' Angel Joel prayed unceasingly and said, 'Have mercy, O Master, on your first creation.' And all the angels spoke the same word to God concerning Adam, 'Have mercy, O Master, on your first creation.' And the Lord said to his angels, 'Is it right, that Adam suffers thus, just as the verdict was pronounced on him, or is it unjust?' The angels spoke in one accord, 'Just is your judgment, O Lord, in truth it is just.' Then God allowed him to provide the pleasing aromas: incense, laudanum, and libanum.

20 Discovery of Expulsion

"And we sat ourselves down before the gates of Paradise. Adam lay down on the ground and cried for seven days and nights, and we had nothing to eat and felt horrible hunger. I, Eve, cried out with a loud voice, 'Have pity on me, O Creator, for on my account Adam suffers so severely.' And I said to Adam, 'Get up, my husband, that we may seek nourishment; for my spirit is already diminishing in me and my heart is going numb within me.' Then Adam said to me, 'Eve, I have half a mind to give you over to death, but I shrink from this, because God created your countenance. Thus, I cannot destroy the creation of God, on the contrary, because you now are filled with remorse and pray to God, my heart can never part from you.' And Adam stood up and we traveled about the whole earth but found nothing to eat, except thorns, a wild grass. And when we returned to Eden (ed. "to the gates of Paradise"), we cried together praying: 'Have pity, O Master and Creator, on your creatures, furnish us with nourishment.'

21 Cheirograph

And as we prayed unceasingly for fifteen days, we heard the archangel Joel (ed. "Michael Joel") praying for us. And the Lord commanded the archangel Joel and he took a one-seventh portion from Paradise and gave it to us. Then the Lord spoke: 'Thorns and thistles shall come forth from your hands and from your sweat you will have nourishment, and your wife will look on you in trembling.' And the archangel Joel said, 'Thus says the Lord to Adam, I have not created your wife to command you, but to obey you; why do you obey your wife? 'Moreover, the archangel Joel told Adam, that he was to make a separation between farm animals and every sort of flying and creeping creature, namely, the wild and the tame, and to give to each creature a name. Accordingly, Adam took oxen and began to till, that he might obtain nourishment.

"Then the devil appeared and stood steadfastly in front of the oxen and wouldn't allow Adam to till the earth, and the devil said to Adam, 'the earth is mine, God owns Heaven (and Paradise). If you want to become mine, then, by all means, till the earth. If, however, you want to belong to God then go only into Paradise. 'Adam said, 'God owns Heaven and Paradise, but God also owns the earth and the sea and the entire world. 'The devil said, 'I will not permit you to till the earth, unless you sign a cheirograph (contract), pledging that you belong to me. 'Adam said, 'Whoever is Lord of the earth, to him both I and my children belong. 'Adam knew of course that the Lord would come down to the earth and take on himself the form of a man and trample down the devil. The devil was, nevertheless, extremely pleased and said, 'Write for me your cheirograph .' And Adam wrote and said, 'Whoever is Lord of the earth, both I and my children belong to him.'

22 Penitence and Second Temptation

The devil took the cheirograph for himself. But I, my children, said to your father, 'Arise, my husband, pray to God, that he deliver us from the devil, for you suffer so on my account.' But Adam said to me, 'Eve, now you feel such remorse over your error (ed. "evil"), that you will listen to my heart, for God created you from my rib. We will fast for forty days, perhaps the Lord will pity us and leave for us understanding and a portion of life. 'I said, 'My husband, you fast forty days, and I will fast forty-four days.' And Adam said to me, 'Come to the river called Tigris, take a stone and place it under your feet, stand up in the water and cover yourself with water, as with a coat up to the neck, and pray to God in your heart, but no word should come out across your lips. 'And I said, 'My husband, I will call out to God with my whole heart. 'And Adam said to me, 'Guard yourself carefully; if you don't see me and all my features, don't climb up out of the water, give no credence to words, so that you won't get into any more trouble.' And Adam went to the Jordan and stood up in the water and immersed himself in water and also dampened the hair on his head. While he prayed to God and his prayers went up, the angels assembled themselves and every flying creature, the wild and the domestic and every winged bird, and they stood as a wall around Adam, while they entreated God for him.

"The devil came to me in the form and radiance of an angel, there where I stood in the water, leting passionate tears fall to the ground, he said to me, 'Come forth, Eve, out of the water, God has heard your prayer and also we angels, we who prayed for you, and the Lord has sent me to you, that your should emerge from this water.' And I discerned that he was the devil, and answered him nothing at all. But when after forty days, Adam emerged from the Jordan, he noticed the footprints of the devil and was very afraid lest the devil had duped me. But when he saw me standing in the water, he was very happy. And he took me and led me out of the water."

23 Death of Adam

Then Adam called in a loud voice, "Stop talking, Eve, my spirit is already diminished in me (ed. perhaps,"my spirit has already departed from my body"), but arise, go out and pray to God, until I have given my spirit to God."

24 Eve's Confession

Then Eve stood up, went out and fell with her face to the ground, and prayed to God and said, "I have sinned before you, O Lord, sinned, O Master, before the angels and six-winged Seraphim, sinned before your awesome throne, sinned, O Lord, sinned; for each and every sin occurs through me." And the angel of the Lord came to Eve and said, "Rise up, Eve, from your repentance, for Adam has already departed out of his body and his spirit is separated and gone before God."

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25 Angelic Liturgy

And Eve returned again to where the corpse of our father Adam lay, and she saw a golden incense pot and three burning flares and three angels attending them, and the corpse of Adam anointed and the scent of fragrance ascending to Heaven. And as the angels assembled, they bowed before the throne and the archangel Joel said, "Holy above holy, O Lord, forgive your creature, for it is the creation of your hands."

Eve saw great marvels, which were being performed before God and cried in great distress and called her son Seth and said to him, "Arise, Seth, from the corpse of your father and come to see a marvelous thing, such as you have never seen before." Seth arose and came to his mother and she said to him, "Look, my son, toward heaven." And looking up Seth saw the whole angelic host standing before the throne of the Lord, saying in prayer, "Pity your creation O Master." Again Seth spoke to his mother, "Look there, how the Sun and Moon bow down to the throne, praying for our father Adam." And Eve said, "Where is their light?"

Seth said to his mother, "When the archangel Michael himself arose in order to pray, all the power of the angels before throne of the Lord ceased," and again the angels cried out in a loud voice saying, "Blessed

26 Adam and Abel's Funerary Rites

Then came a multitude of angels, Cherubim and Seraphim, and they took the corpse of Adam and laid him in the Sea of Gerusia and honoring him, they washed him three times. In the third hour, however, the Lord,Êseated on the throne, stretched forth his hand and took Adam and gave him to the archangel Michael and said to him, "Carry his corpse into Paradise; his spirit shall tarry in the third Heaven, but his corpse shall remain here until my resurrection."

Then the archangel took Adam and carried him there, to the place God had commanded him. Once again the Lord spoke to the archangel, "Go into Paradise and take the purple cloth and cover the corpse of Adam and take the olive oil and pour it over him."

27 Adam and Abel's Funerary Rites

Once again the Lord spoke to the archangel, "Go into Paradise and take the purple cloth and cover the corpse of Adam and take the olive oil and pour it over him."

28 Eve's Prayer

Eve lived six days beyond Adam; she prayed and said crying, "Lord God, as you created me from the rib of Adam, so I want to be with him." And she lowered her head onto her breast, during which she said, "Lord God, receive my spirit." And so she gave her spirit to God.

29 Eve's Funeral

And the archangel Michael came to Seth and instructed him as to how he should bury his mother. And three angels came, took Eve's corpse and buried it, where also the corpse of Adam and their son Abel were buried. And the archangel said to Seth, "So shall you bury every person who dies until the resurrection." Again he said to him, "Arrange a memorial ceremony on the third day and on the ninth and on the twentieth and on the fortieth, and arrange everything in proper order, so that we angels might take joy in it along with the souls of the righteous." Then the archangel Joel glorified God with words, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Allelulia, Holy is the Lord, heaven and earth are full of His glory."

THE LIFE OF ADAM AND EVE [Slavonic Version 2]
Slavonic Vita Adae et Evae
From-The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha
of the Old Testament R.H. Charles
Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1913
Translation of the Latin Version (R. H. Charles) 1913
Estimated Range of Dating: 900-1300 A.D.

FRAGMENT: 28-40

. . . . . 28 And we sat together before the gate of paradise, Adam weeping with his face bent down to the earth, lay on the ground lamenting. And seven days passed by and we had nothing to eat and were consumed with great hunger, and I Eve cried with a loud voice: 'Pity me, O Lord, My Creator; for my sake Adam suffereth thus!'

29 And I said to Adam: 'Rise up! my lord, that we may seek us food; for now my spirit faileth me and my heart within me is brought low.' Then Adam spake to me: 'I have thoughts of killing thee, but I fear since God created thine image and thou showest penitence and criest to God; hence my heart hath not departed from thee.'

30 And Adam arose and we roamed through all lands and found nothing to eat save nettles (and) grass of the field. And we returned again to the gates of paradise and cried aloud and entreated: 'Have compassion on thy creature. O Lord Creator, allow us food.'

31 And for fifteen days continuously we entreated. Then we heard Michael the archangel and Joel praying for us, and Joel the archangel was commanded by the Lord, and he took a seventh part of paradise and gave it to us. Then the Lord said: 'Thorns and thistles shall spring up from under thy hands; and from thy sweat shalt thou eat (bread), and thy wife shall tremble when she looketh upon thee.'

32 The archangel Joel said to Adam: 'Thus saith the Lord; I did not create thy wife to command thee, but to obey; why art thou obedient to thy wife' Again Joel the archangel bade Adam separate the cattle and all kinds of flying and creeping things and animals, both wild and tame; and to give names to all things. Then indeed he took the oxen and began to plough.

33 Then the devil approached and stood before the oxen, and hindered Adam in tilling the field and said to Adam: 'Mine are the things of earth, the things of Heaven are God's; but if thou wilt be mine, thou shalt labour on the earth; but if thou wilt be God's, (pray) go away to paradise.' Adam said: 'The things of Heaven are the Lord's, and the things of earth and Paradise and the whole Universe.'

34 The devil said: 'I do not suffer thee to till the field, except thou write the bond that thou art mine.' Adam replied: 'Whosoever is lord of the earth, to the same do I (belong) and my children.' Then the devil was overcome with joy. (But Adam was not ignorant that the Lord would descend on earth and tread the devil under foot.) The devil said: 'Write me thy bond.' And Adam wrote: 'Who is lord of the earth, to the same do I belong and my children.'

35 Eve said to Adam, 'Rise up, my lord, let us pray to God in this cause that He set us free from that devil, for thou art in this strait on my account.' But Adam said: 'Eve, since thou repentest of thy misdeed, my heart will hearken to thee, for the Lord created thee out of my ribs. Let us fast forty days perchance the Lord will have pity on us and will leave us understanding and life.' I, for my part, said: 'Do thou, (my) lord, fast forty days, but I will fast forty-four.'

36 And Adam said to me: 'Haste thee to the river, named Tigris, and take a great stone and place it under thy feet, and enter into the stream and clothe thyself with water, as with a cloak, up to the neck, and pray to God in thy heart and let no word proceed out of thy mouth.' And I said: 'O (my) lord, with my whole heart will I call upon God.' And Adam said to me: 'Take great care of thyself. Except thou seest me and all my tokens, depart not out of the water, nor trust in the words, which are said to thee, lest thou fall again into the snare.' And Adam came to Jordan and he entered into the water and he plunged himself altogether into the flood, even (to) the hairs of his head, while he made supplication to God and sent (up) prayers to Him.

37 And there, the angels came together and all living creatures, wild and tame, and all birds that fly, (and) they surrounded Adam, like a wall, praying to God for Adam.

38 The devil came to me, wearing the form and brightness of an angel, and shedding big teardrops, (and) said to me: 'Come out of the water, Eve, God hath heard thy prayers and (heard) us angels. God hath fulfilled the prayers of those who intercede on thy behalf. God hath sent me to thee, that thou mayst come out of the water.'

39 But I (Eve) perceived that he was the devil and answered him nothing. But Adam (when) he returned from Jordan, saw the devil's footprints, and feared lest perchance he had deceived me; but when he had remarked me standing in the water he was overcome with joy (and) he took me and led me out of the water.

40 Then Adam cried out with a loud voice: 'Be silent, Eve, for already is my spirit straitened in my body; arise, go forth, utter prayers to God, till I deliver up my spirit to God.'

THE PENITENCE OF ADAM [Armenian Version]
or The Penitence of our Forefather Adam
Source: K'urc'ikidze and Mahé, 1981
Translation: Gary A. Anderson, Michael E. Stone, 1981
Estimated Range of Dating: 17th century A.D.

(This text is based on Stone's edition of Penitence of Adam and is basically an exact copy of a single manuscript, with all of its imperfections. In the original edition in 1981, the text was divided into chapters following the system commonly employed for the Latin and Greek versions of the primary Adam book. In the present text, verse divisions have been added. These follow those used in the Synopsis of the Adam books edited by Gary A. Anderson and Michael E. Stone. A few refinements have been introduced into the verse numbering, and these are in accordance with the system adopted in the electronic edition of the Synopsis, also being edited by Anderson and Stone. The first chapter number corresponds to the chapters of the Latin Vita Adae et Evae, the last number is the verse number and the middle number, if such exists, is the corresponding chapter of Apocalypsis Mosis.

In general, the Penitence of Adam was characterised as "another version of the Adam book, most probably translated into Armenian from Greek," which "must take its place alongside the Greek and Latin versions as a major witness to the Adam book. …." The conclusion was also reached that this work may, on occasion preserve a more primitive text than do the Latin or Greek versions. The following manuscripts were used: A Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, No. 1458, pp. 380-431, 17th century AD; B Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, No. 1370, pp. 127-150, 17th century AD; C Erevan, Matenadaran, No. 3461, fols. 66r-87v, dated 1662 AD

This work is closely related to the Georgian Book of Adam, which was translated and published after the publication of the Armenian version. J.-P. Mahé made a comparative study of the two and his results are set forth below. Our study to date has uncovered no special relationship between the Armenian Penitence of Adam and any of the other numerous Armenian Adam books.

The text of the complete Georgian primary Adam book was published by K'urc'ikidze based on five manuscripts, and her text was translated into French by Mahé in 1981. Mahé posited the existence of an Armenian intermediary for this work, although in private communication he has since indicated that his view on this is not immutable. An English translation of the Georgian version, based on an improved text, has been prepared by Mahé and is published by Anderson and Stone in their electronic synopsis and in the second edition of the printed Synopsis.)

This Armenian version of the Life of Adam and Eve was first published in 1981 by Stone and is based on three manuscripts. It was probably translated into Armenian from Greek and takes its place alongside the Greek and Latin versions as a major witness to the Adam book. A different book is the Armenian Book of Adam, which closely follows the text of the Apocalypse of Moses. The content of the Armenian Penitence of Adam includes both the penances in the rivers (not found in the Greek version) and Eve's recounting of the Fall (not found in the Latin version). The Adam and Eve Archive is an ongoing project by Gary A. Anderson[23] and Michael E. Stone to present all of the original texts in both the original languages and in translation. It currently contains English translations of the most important texts and a synopsis guide that allows the viewer to easily jump from a section in one source to parallel sections in other sources.)

Discovery of Expulsion

1 It came to pass, when Adam went forth from the Garden with his wife, outside, to the east of the Garden, they made themselves a hut to live in and went inside. Their tears fell ceaselessly and they spent their days in unison of mind, weeping and saddened, and they said to one another, "We are far from life."

2 Then, after seven days, they grew hungry and looked for food.

3 Eve said to Adam. "My lord, I am hungry. Arise, seek food so that we may live and know that God is going to come and bring us to the Garden, to our place."

4 They arose and went about upon the earth, and they did not find food like the food by which they had been nourished in the Garden .

5 Eve said to Adam, "I am dying of this hunger. It would be better if I were dead, my lord; perhaps then they would bring you into the Garden, for because of me God is angry." I Adam said, "Great wrath has come upon us, I know not whether because of you or because of me." Eve said to h im , "Kill me if you wish, so that the wrath and anger may abate from before you--for this has come about because of me-- and they will bring you into the Garden."

6 Adam said to her. "Eve, do not even mention this matter; lest God bring upon us even greater evils and we become contemptible. How, indeed, can I do you any evil, for you are my body'?" Eve said "Arise, so that we may seek vegetable food."

7 They sought and they did not find vegetable sustenance like that which was in the Garden .

8 Eve said "… because God established this vegetable food as food for the beasts that they might eat on the earth, but our food is that which the angels eat.

9 Arise, let us repent for forty days; perhaps God will pity us and give us food which is better than that of the beasts so that we should not become like them."

Penitence and Second Temptation

1 Adam said to Eve, "In what fashion will you repent? How many days can you endure toils? Perhaps you will begin and be unable to repent, and God will not hearken,

2 so that we will not be able to keep that which we originally received."

3 Eve said, "Set me the number of days which I might think to repent; perhaps the days will be too long--for I brought this penitence upon you."

4 Adam said, "You cannot endure the same number of days as I, but do what I tell you and abide by this instruction."--Adam said, "I shall be in penitence for forty days, six days more than you, because you were created on the sixth day of those upon which he accepted his works. Now, therefore, arise,

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go to the Tigris river and take a stone and place it under your feet and stand in the water up to your neck, in your clothes. Let no word of supplication to God escape your mouth, for we are unworthy of soul and our lips are impure and unclean, because of the transgressions which we committed in the Garden when we ate of the tree.

5 Stand silent there in the middle of the water until you have done penitence for thirty four days, and I will be in the Jordan river, until we learn that, behold, God has hearkened to us and will give us our food."

6 Then Eve went to the Tigris and did as Adam had instructed her,

7 and Adam went to the Jordan. And the hair of his head was uncovered.

8 He prayed and said, "I say to you, waters of Jordan, be fellow sufferers for me and assemble all the moving thing s which are in you, and let them surround me and bewail me,

9 not for their own sakes, but for mine. Because God did not withhold their food from them, which God appointed from the beginning, but I have been withheld from my food and from life."

10 When Adam said that, all moving things which were in the Jordan gathered to him and stood around him like a wall. And the waters of the Jordan stopped at that time and became stationary from their flow. Adam cried to God and he set apart six hundred orders of them to call to God in prayers all the days.

11 When eighteen days of their weeping were completed, then Satan took on the form of a cherub with splendid attire, and went to the Tigris river to deceive Eve.

12 Her tears were falling on her attire, down to the ground . Satan said to Eve, "Come forth from the water and rest, for God has hearkened to your penitence, to you and Adam your husband.

13 Because we beseeched God,

14 God sent me to lead you forth from there and to give you your food, on account of which you repented.

15 Since just now I went to Adam and he sent me to you and said, 'Go, son, summon my wife', now come, let us go to Adam and I will lead you to the place where your food is."

16 When Eve came forth from the water, her flesh was like withered grass, for her flesh had been changed from the water, but the form of her glory remained brilliant.

17 When she came forth from the water she fell down and remained upon the ground in great distress for two days, for she was quite unable to move from the spot. Then she arose and Satan also led her to where Adam was.

18 When Adam saw Satan and Eve who was following him, he wept loudly and called out with a great voice and said to Eve, 'Where is my command of repentance, which I gave you'? How did you go astray, to follow him by whom we were alienated from our dwelling'?"

19 When Eve heard this, she knew that he who deceived her was Satan; she fell down before Adam. From that time Adam's distress increased twofold when he saw the sufferings of his wife, for she was overcome and fell like one dead.

20 He was sad and called out great lamentation and said to Satan, "Why have you engaged in such a great conflict with us? What are our sins against you, that you have brought us out of our place?

21 Did we take your glory from you? Did we reject you from being our possession, that you fight against us unnecessarily?"

Fall of Satan

1 Satan also wept loudly and said to Adam. "All my arrogance and sorrow came to pass because of you; for, because of you I went forth from my dwelling; and because of you I was alienated from the throne of the cherubs who, having spread out a shelter, used to enclose me; because of you my feet have trodden the earth."

2 Adam replied and said to him,

3 "What are our sins against you, that you did all this to us?"

4 Satan replied and said, "You did nothing to me, but I came to this measure because of you, on the day on which you were created, for I went forth on that day.

5 When God breathed his spirit into you, you received the likeness of his image. Thereupon, Michael came and made you bow down before God. God said to Michael, 'Behold I have made Adam in the likeness of my image.'

6 Then Michael summoned all the angels. and God said to them,'Come, bow down to god whom I made.'

7 Michael bowed first. He called me and said. 'You too, bow down to Adam.'

8 I said, 'Go away, Michael! I shall not bow down to him who is posterior to me, for I am former. Why is it proper for me to bow down to him?'

9 The other angels, too, who were with me, heard this, and my words seemed pleasing to them and they did not prostrate themselves to you, Adam.

10 Thereupon, God became angry with me and commanded to expel us from our dwelling and to cast me and my angels, who were in agreement with me, to the earth; and you were at the same time in the Garden.

11 When I realized that because of you I had gone forth from the dwelling of light and was in sorrows and pains,

12 then I prepared a trap for you, so that I might alienate you from your happiness just as I, too, had been alienated because of you."

13 When Adam heard this, he said to the Lord, 'Lord, my soul is in your hand. Make this enemy of mine distant from me, who desires to lead me astray, I who am searching for the light that I have lost."

14 At that time Satan passed away from him.

15 Adam stood from then on in the waters of repentance, and Eve remained fallen upon the ground for three days, like one dead. Then, after three days, she arose from the earth,

Separation of Adam and Eve

1 and she said to Adam,"You are innocent of the first sin and of this second one. Only me alone did Satan overcome, as a result of God's word and yours." Again Eve said to Adam, "Behold, I shall go to the west and I shall be there and my food will be grass until I die; for henceforth I am unworthy of the foods of life."

2 Eve went to the west and she mourned and was sad;

3 and then she made a hut for herself in the west, and she was advanced in her pregnancy and she had Cain, the lawless one, in her womb.

4 When the times of her parturition came, she began to cry out in a loud voice and said,

5 "Where is Adam, that he might see this pain of mine? Who, indeed will relate my afflictions to Adam? Is there a wind under the heavens that will go and tell Adam, 'Come and help Eve!'?" And she said, "I implore you, all luminaries, when you come to the east, tell my lord Adam about my pains."

6 Then Adam, in the river Jordan, heard Eve's cry and her weeping.

7 When God hearkened to the sound of Adam's penitence, he taught him sowing and reaping and that which was to come upon him and his seed.

8 Then Adam heard the sound of Eve's entreaty in the west, and Adam said to himself, "That voice and weeping are of my flesh. Let me arise and go to her and see why she is crying out. Perhaps the beast is fighting with her once more!"

9 Adam arose and followed the noise to where Eve was. When Eve saw him, she spoke and said to Adam, "Did you hear the sound of my crying? Did the winds inform you, whom I entreated concerning you? Did the luminaries of heaven inform you, who are in the east ern regions every day, in their courses? Did the birds of the heavens inform you, or the beasts of the earth whom I summoned and dispatched to you, to tell you? Now arise, entreat your Creator to deliver me from these pains."

10 Adam wept and prayed to God on her behalf.

11 And behold, two angels and two powers descended from heaven, came to Eve and stood before her.

12 The powers said to her, "Eve, you are blessed because of Adam, God's elect one, for his prayers are mighty and through him help from God has come to you. Apart from him, you would not be able to survive this birth." The angel said to Eve, "Prepare yourself, and I will be a midwife for you."

13 Then, when she bore the child, the colour of his body was like the colour of stars. At the hour when the child fell into the hands of the midwife, he leaped up and, with his hands plucked up the grass of the earth near his mother's hut; and infertilities became numerous in that place.

14 The angel said to him, "God is just, that he did not make you fall into my hand, for you are Cain, the lawless one, who will be destroyer of the good and . . . and living plant and adultery, bitterness and not sweetness."

15 And again the angel said to Adam, "Remain by Eve, so that she will do what I commanded."

Death of Abel

1 Thenceforth Adam took Eve and the child and brought them to the eastern region, and he was there with her, and then eighteen years and two months were completed.

2 She became pregnant and bore a son, Ap'at' whom the midwife named and called Abel; and they dwelt together.

3 Eve said to Adam,

4 "My lord, Adam. I fell asleep and I saw in a night vision that the blood of my son Abel was entering the mouth of our son Cain, his brother, and he drank his blood without mercy. Abel beseeched him to leave a little,

5 and he did not leave any , and did not hearken to him, but drank his blood completely."

6 Adam said to Eve, "Surely Cain is killing Abel. Come, let us separate them from one another.

7 Let us make individual place for them and leave them there, and let us not provide room in us for the evil one." They acted according to this proposal. Adam said to them, "My sons, arise, go each of you to your place." They arose according to this proposal.

8 Then, after these proposals God said to the archangel Michael, "Go say to Adam, "Do not relate the mystery that you know to Cain, for he is a son of wrath and he is killing Abel, his brother. However, do not be sad because of him; instead of him I shall give you Seth, who is like my first image, and he shall show all memories through me, and not only what you shall say to him'."

9 God said this to the angel, and he came and spoke to Adam and Adam kept it to himself; and he and Eve were sad.

10 After this, Eve became pregnant and bore Seth.

11 Adam said to Eve when they were speaking with each other. "Behold, we have begotten a son in place of Abel, whom Cain killed before us."

12 Then, after that, he had sons and daughters, thirty of each kind, and they grew up.

Illness of Adam

1 Adam was upon the earth nine hundred and thirty years, and then Adam fell sick with a mortal affliction, and he cried out in a loud voice and said, 'Let all my sons come and gather by me, so that I may see them first, before I die'.

2 All his sons who were in every part of the world gathered by him. They assembled by him inside the place which Eve had entered, and he prayed to the Lord God.

3 His son Seth said to Adam, "My father, did you remember the fruit of the Garden, of which you used to eat, I and have you become sad from that longing'?

4 If indeed this is the case, tell me, so that I may go close to the Garden Then, after these proposals God said to and cast dust upon my head and weep. For, perhaps God will give me of the fruit, that I might bring it to you, and this pain may be driven away from you'.

5 Adam said to him, 'It is not so, my son, Seth; rather do I have mortal sickness and pain"]. Seth said to him, "Through whom did this pain come to you?'

Adam's Story of the Fall

1 Adam said to him, 'When God made us, me and your mother, he gave us a command not to eat of that tree.

2 Satan deceived us at the hour when the angels who were guardians of the tree ascended to worship God. Then, Satan caused Eve to eat that fruit;

3 Eve caused me, who did not know, to eat it.

4 For, my son Seth, God divided the Garden between me and your mother Eve, that we might watch it. To me he gave the eastern portion and the northern, and to your mother, the western and the southern.

5 We had twelve angels who went around with each of us, because of the guarding of the Garden, until the time of the light.

6 Since, every day they would go forth to worship the Lord, at the time when they went to the heavens, at that time Satan deceived your mother and caused her to eat of the fruit. Satan knew that I was not with her, nor the angels, at that time he caused her to eat.

7 Afterwards, also, she gave it to me.

8 I knew then, when I ate the fruit, that God was angry with us.

9 God said, 'Because you transgressed my commandment, I shall bring seventy afflictions upon your body, pain of the eyes and ringing of the ears and all the joints'. It will be reckoned for me? among the afflictions of sickness which are preserved in the treasuries, so that God might send them in the last times."

Comand to Retrieve the Oil

1 When Adam said this to his son Seth, he cried out and said, "What shall I do, for I am in great pains and toils."

2 Eve wept and said, "My lord Adam. Arise, give me some of your pain, so that I might receive and bear it, for these pains which have come upon you, came about because of me."

3 Adam said to her, "Arise, go with your son Seth, close to the Garden and there cast dust on your heads and weep before God.

4 Perhaps God will pity me and send his angel to the Garden, and he will go to the place where the olive-tree stands, from which oil comes forth, and give you a little of it, so that you might bring it to me and I might anoint my bones and be separated from pain,

5 and I might teach you this way ... which we were tried formerly."

Encounter with the Beast

1 Thereafter, Seth and Eve went in the direction of the Garden. As they were going, Eve saw that a wild beast was fighting with her son Seth and was biting him. Eve began to weep and she said,

2 ' When that the day of Judgement came; all sins will be blamed upon me and men will say, 'Our mother did not hearken to the commandment of the Lord God!'

3 Eve called out against the wild beast and said, 'O wild beast, how do you not fear the image of God, that you dared to fight with the image of God'? How was your mouth opened and your fangs bared, and your hair stood on end'? How did

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you not remember the obedience which you formerly displayed, that your mouth was opened against the image of God"?

4 Then the wild beast cried out and said to Eve, 'In truth, our insolence is because of you, for the example came from you.

5 How was your mouth opened to dare to eat of the fruit concerning which God commanded you not to eat of it until he will change all of our natures?

6 Henceforth you are unable to resist that which I speak to you, or if I begin to rebuke you'.

7 Then Seth said to the wild beast, Close your mouth, O Satan. Get away from the image of God until the day will come on which God will bring you to rebuke'.

8 Then he said to Seth, 'Behold, I am standing apart from you, the image of God'. The beast fled from him.

Arrival at Paradise

1 Seth, with Ev e , went close to the Garden, and they wept with loud lament and asked God to send an angel to help them.

2 God sent to them the angel Michael, who is prince of souls, and he spoke the words to them, "

3 Seth, man of God: Do not labour to supplicate for the oil which issues forth from the tree--that oil of joy--to anoint your father Adam.

Michael's Reply

1 This cannot be now: but then, at that time when the years of the end are filled and completed, then the beloved Christ will come to resurrect Adam's body, because of his sins which took place.

2 He will come to the Jordan and be baptized by him, and when he will come forth from the water, then Michael will come and anoint the new Adam with the oil of joy.

3 Then, after that, it shall happen in the same fashion to all the wild beasts of the earth, who will arise in resurrection and be worthy of entering the Garden.I shall anoint them with that oil.

Return to Adam

1 But you, go to Adam your father, for his times will be full in three days and you have to see many wonders in heavens and upon earth and in all luminaries which are in the heavens."

2 When the angel had spoken this, he disappeared behind a tree of the Garden. Thenceforth, Seth and Eve came to the hut where Adam lay sick. Adam remembered about the transgression of the eating of the tree,

Adam's Rebuke of Eve

1 and he said to Eve,"Oh, what did you do? What sort of pain did you bring upon us and upon our seed? Now, then, tell your children how the sin took place, for, behold, I am weakened unto the exhaustion of my strength.

2 For, perhaps, when we die, toils will come upon the earth and all the generations who will issue from us will labour. And they will curse us and say,

3 'Our father and our mother brought these evils upon us'."

The Portions of Adam and Eve in Paradise

1 Then Eve began to weep and said, "Come near me and I will tell you this way, how our sin took place.

2 At the time when your father was guarding the lot of his portion which had been given to him by God and I was guarding in my lot, at the southern and western side.

3 Satan went to your father's lot, where the wild beasts were. He summoned the serpent and said to him, 'Arise, come to me!'

4 For God had divided the wild beasts and given them to us--the male ones he gave to your father and the female ones he gave to me. We used to nourish them according to whichever of us it had been allotted.

Satan's Encounter with the Beast

1 Satan said to the serpent, 'Arise, come to me and I will tell you something which is of profit to you'.

2 Then the serpent came to him and Satan said to it, 'I hear that you are wiser than all the wild animals and I have come to see you. I found that there is none like you in your cunning among all the animals. Even as Adam gave nourishment to all the wild beasts, so also you did."

3 And then, when the wild beasts went to worship Adam, Satan went with them and said to the serpent, 'Why do you worship Adam every morning? You came into being before him: why is it that you, who are the former one, worship the later? Rather should the younger worship the older.

4 Why do you worship Adam or why are you fed by Adam and are not fed by the fruit of the Garden? Come on, rise up, come to me and hear what I say to you. Let us expel Adam from the Garden like us so that we may re-enter the Garden'.

5 The serpent said, 'In what way or how can we expel him from the Garden?' Satan said to the serpent, 'Be you, in your form, a lyre for me and I will pronounce speech through your mouth, so that we may be able to help.

Serpent's Approach to Paradise

1 Then the two of them came to me and hung their feet around the wall of the Garden. When the angels ascended to the worship of the Lord, at that time Satan took on the form of an angel and began to praise God with angelic praises. I knelt down by the wall and attended to his praises.

2 I looked and saw him in the likeness of an angel; when I looked again, I did not see him.

3 Then he went and summoned the serpent and said to him, 'Arise, come to me so that I may enter into you and speak through your mouth as much as I will need say'.

4 At that time the serpent became a lyre for him, and he came again to the wall of the Garden. He cried out and said, 'Oh, woman, you who are blind in this Garden of delight, arise come to me and I will say some words to you'.

5 When I went to him, he said to me, 'Are you Eve?' I said, 'Yes, I am'. He replied and said, 'What do you do in the Garden?'

6 I said to him, 'God set us to guard the Garden',

7 Satan replied and said to me through the mouth of the serpent, 'This work is good, but come, do you eat of all the trees which are in the Garden?'

8 I said to him, 'Yes, we eat of all of them except only of that one tree which is in the very middle of the Garden, concerning which God commanded us, "Do not eat of it, for if you eat you will surely die'.

Temptation of Eve

1 Then the serpent said, 'As the Lord lives, I am greatly concerned about you for you are like beasts, since God has withheld it from you, but I do not wish you to be ignorant. Come on, come and eat of the tree, and you see what honour will be yours'.

2 I said to him, 'I fear lest I die as God said to us'.

3 The serpent, together with Satan, replied and said to me, 'As the Lord lives, you will not die, but when you eat, your eyes will be opened and you will become like God, knowing good and evil.

4 But God knew that you will become like him; he deceived you, that he said, 'Do not eat of it '.

5 And he said, 'Look at the tree and see what glory is around the tree'. When I looked at the tree, I saw that great glory was around it. I said to him,

6 "The tree is good and it looks pleasing to me, but I cannot go and take of the fruit: I am afraid. Come here! If you are not afraid, bring me of the fruit and I will eat, so that I may know whether your words are true or not'. Then the serpent called to me and said, 'Come, open the gate for me and I will enter and I will give you of the fruit'.

Entrance of the Snake into Paradise

1 When he entered, he proceeded a little way into the Garden and stopped, I said, 'Why did you stop?' He said to me, 'Perhaps, when I shall give you to eat and your eyes are opened and you become like God, you will deceive Adam and will not give him to eat of the fruit and he will become like a beast before you. But you, if you wish, swear to me truly that you will give him to eat, and will not deceive your husband Adam'.

2 I said to him, 'I do not know any oath by which I can swear to you, but I will say to you that which I do know: By the plants of the Garden and by the Cherubs and the Seraphs and by the Father who sits in the heavens to descend to the Garden, if I eat and learn everything, I shall not withhold, but I will give to my husband Adam to eat'.

3 When he had caught me through an oath, he then led me and brought me to the tree and he went forth to the tree. He set the deception in its fruit, that is desire of sins, harlotries, adulteries, greeds. He lowered the branches of the tree to the earth. Then I took some of the fruit and I ate.

Eve's Recognition of Her Sin

1 At that hour I learned with my eyes that I was naked of the glory I with which I had been clothed. Thenceforth, I began to weep and said,

2 'What did you do to me?' But I was no longer mortified about the war which the enemy had made against me; then I learned, thenceforth, that he will lead me to the depths of hell.

3 When Satan did this, he descended from the tree and hid in the Garden.

4 In my parts of the Garden I sought leaves of a tree to cover my nakedness, and I could not find any on all the trees. For, at that hour all the trees of the Garden became leafless, except for the fig-tree alone.

5 I took its leaves and covered my nakedness, and I stood by the tree of which I had eaten. I was afraid, my son Seth, because of the oath I swore that I would give my husband Adam to eat.

Temptation of Adam

1 I cried out to Adam in a loud voice, 'Arise, come to me and I will show you this way'.

2 Then Adam came to me with his great glory,

3 and I gave him to eat of the fruit, and I made him like me. Subsequently, he, too, came and took a fig leaf and covered his nakedness.

Entry of God into Paradise

1 After that, we heard the angel Gabriel blowing a trumpet and summoning all the angels and saying to them,

2 'Thus says the Lord, "Come to me so that I may descend to the Garden with you, and listen to my judgement with which I will judge Adam'.When we heard the sound of the angel's trumpet, we knew that God was about to come to the Garden to judge us.

3 He set forth upon upon the Cherub chariot and the angels were praising him; consequently, we were afraid and hid. God reached the Garden and all of the plants of the garden flowered.

4 He set up his throne close to the tree of life.

5 God summoned Adam and said, 'Adam, where are you'? Do you think that you have hidden and do you say, "He does not know me"? Can the building hide from the Builder, that you hide near that olive-tree '?'

6 Adam replied and said, 'No, Lord, it is not that having hidden, I think that you will not find me, but I was afraid, for I am naked and I am ashamed .'

7 God said to him, 'Who showed you to be naked, if you have not abandoned my commandment which I gave you to observe'?'

8 Then Adam remembered the injunction which He had spoken to him, to do and observe. Adam said,'This woman, whom you gave, deceived me and I ate'.He turned to me and said, 'Why did you do that ?'

9 I recalled the serpent's speech and said, 'The serpent deceived me'.

Judgement of Adam, Eve, and the Serpent

1 Subsequently God said to Adam, 'Because you obeyed your wife's voice and transgressed my commandment, you will be condemned upon the earth.

2 You will toil upon it, and it will not give you its strength ; thorns and thistles will sprout forth for you. By the sweat of your brow you shall eat your bread

3 and you shall have no rest; you shall hunger and you shall be sated and you shall be afflicted by bitterness then you shall eat of sweetness; you shall be tormented by heat and afflicted by cold; you shall be pauperised and become great; you shall grow fat and you will be weakened

4 and the beasts which you ruled will rise up against you malignantly, because you transgressed my commandment and did not observe it '.

5 God turned and said to me, 'Because you obeyed the serpent and transgressed my commandment, you shall suffer torments and pains.

6 You shall bear many children and at the time of birth you shall bring your life to an end and, from your great agonies and pains

7 you shall promise with your mouth and say, 'If I survive these agonies, I shall never go back to my husband." And when you emerge from the agonies, you shall return immediately to the earth.

8 For you shall be condemned by your own mouth, since you promised when the pain was acute, "I will never go back to this earth" and then you returned to the same. In pain you shall bear children and in pity you shall return to your husband and he will rule over you'.

9 After he had said all this to me, the Lord became very angry at the serpent and said, 'Because you did this and became a lyre to lead astray those who were weak of heart , be cursed more than all the animals.

10 Be withheld from your foods which you used to eat. Dust will be your food and you shall go upon your breast and your stomach; your feet and hands will be withheld

11 and your ears will not hear, and none of your limbs. A likeness of the cross will bring my son to the earth, because of him whom you deceived. Be disabled and broken because of the evil of your heart.

12 I have set enmity between you and Adam's seed. You will lie in wait for his heel and he for your head, until the day upon which you will be punished'.

Adam's Plea for Mercy

1 When God had said this, he commanded our expulsion from the Garden,

2 and the angels set about expelling us. Adam beseeched the angels and said, 'Let me be for a little, so that I may beseech God about my sins. Perhaps he will grant me penitence and not expel me from the Garden'.

3 The angels let him be from expelling him from the Garden, and Adam said,'Be gracious to me, Lord God, for I have sinned against you'.

4 Then the Lord said to the angels , 'Do not let him stand still, but expel him from the Garden. Were the sins mine'? Do I pronounce judgement in vain'?'

5 Then the angels worshipped God and said, 'You are just, O Lord, and your judgements are upright'.

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6 Adam said again to God, 'My Lord, I beseech you, give me of the tree of life, so that I may eat before I shall have gone forth from the Garden'.

7 God said to Adam, 'You cannot take of it in your lifetime, because I have given an order to the Seraphs to guard it round about with weapons because of you, lest you should eat more of it and become immortal and say, 'Behold, I shall not die"; and you will be boastful of it and be victorious in the war which the enemy has made with you.

8 Rather, when you go out of the Garden, guard yourself from slander, from harlotry, from adultery, from sorcery, from the love of money, from avarice and from all sins. Then, you shall arise from death, in the resurrection which is going to take place. At that time, I will give you of the tree of life and you will be eternally undying'.

Expulsion

1 When God had said this, he commanded to expel us from the Garden.

2 Adam began to cry before the angels, and the angels said to him, 'What do you want us to do for you'?'

3 Adam replied and said to the angels, 'I beseech you, let me be a little, so that I may take sweet incenses with me from the Garden, so that when I go out of here, I may offer sweet incenses to God, and offerings, so that, perhaps, God will hearken to us'.

4 The angels let him be, and he took sweet incenses with him, iris and balsam. We took them and went forth from the Garden to this land.

Death of Adam

1 Now, my son, Seth, I have shown you the way, how we sinned. But you, take care to do the good things. Do not abandon God's command and do not depart from his mercy. Behold, I will show you every sort of recompense, both of good and of evil."

2 At the time when Adam was ill and they were standing around him, because one more day remained of his life and Adam's soul was going forth from his body, Eve related all this. And again Eve said to Adam,

3 "Why do you die and I live? Tell me, what shall I do for you? How long shall I be on the earth after your death?

4 Adam said to her, "Do not concern yourself with earthly things, but consider that we will both die as a couple, and they will place you where I will be. But when I die, do not come near me to move me from the place, until God speaks with you about me.

5 For God will not forget me, but he seeks the vessel which he made. Now, arise, pray to God until I give up my soul, which he gave me, into his hands. For I do not know how we shall preserve for the Father of all, whether he will be angry or will be merciful to us."

Eve's Confession

1 Then Eve arose, beseeched God and said,

2 "I have sinned, God; I have sinned against you, my beloved Lord; I have sinned against your elect angels; I have sinned against the Cherubs; I have sinned against the Seraphs; I have sinned before you, Lord. I beseech all you whom God created in the heavens and on the earth, that you intercede with the Father in heaven."

3 While Eve was praying on bended knee, behold, the archangel Michael came to her, stood her up and said,

4 "Arise, Eve, from your penitence. Behold, the soul of your husband Adam has gone forth from the body'.

Adam and Abel's Funerary Rites

1 Eve arose, and all the angels assembled before her, each according to his rank. Some of them bore censers in their hands, others bore trumpets and others bore blessings.

2 Behold, the Lord of hosts upon a Cherub chariot and four winds were drawing him, and Cherubs were serving those winds and the angels were proceeding before him: God came to the earth, to the place where Adam's body lay, and all of the angels were before him with praises.

3 God came to the Garden and all the plants moved , and all the people who were with Adam fell asleep. Only Seth alone, the virtuous one, was awake, according to God's direction.

4 God came to Adam's body, where he was lying dead. God mourned greatly and said in a sweet voice,'Oh, Adam. Why did you do that'? If you had observed my commandment, those who brought you down to this place would not have rejoiced over you.

5 But I will turn their rejoicing into sorrow, and I will turn your sorrow into rejoicing. I shall make you the beginning of rejoicing and I shall set you on the throne of him who deceived you,

6 and I shall cast them into a place of darkness and death."

7 After this, God spoke to Michael and said,

8 "Go to the Garden of the third heaven and bring me three linen cloths."When he had brought them, God said to Michael and to Ozel and to Gabriel, 'Bring these linen cloths and cover Adam's body, and bring sweet oil." They brought them and set them around him and wound him in that garment.

9 When they had finished everything, God ordered them to bring Abel's body. They brought still other linen cloths and dressed him.

10 For he had remained from that day upon which Cain the lawless one had killed him and had wished to hide him, and had been unable. For, as soon as his body was in the dust, a heavenly voice came and said,

11 'It is not permitted to hide him in the earth before the first creature has returned to the earth from which he came'.

12 Thenceforth, they took him into that same cave where he was until Adam died. Then, after this, they brought him and treated him just as they had treated his father Adam.

13 After the dressing, God commanded that both of them be taken to the region of the Garden and be brought to the place from which the dust had been taken and Adam created." God caused them to dig

14 in that place and sent them to bring sweet incenses and iris incense and he caused them to put oils upon the dust and to cover the spices. Then after this, they took the bodies of both of them and put them in the place in which he had fashioned them. They exchanged and made a sepulchre over them.

15 God called to Adam's body through the dust and said, "Adam, Adam." Adam's body said to the dust, "Answer and say, 'Here I am , Lord' ."

16 The Lord said to him, "Behold, just as I said to you, 'Adam, you are dust and you return to dust;'

17 but I will raise you in the resurrection which I promised you."

18 After God had said this, he took a three-fold seal I and sealed Adam's tomb and said, "Let none approach in these days, until their bodies return to it."

19 Then, at that time, the Lord ascended to the heavens with his angels, Seraphs and chariot of light, each to his station.

Eve's Prayer to Join Adam

1 The times of Eve were filled and completed and she was dying. She began to weep and sought to know the place where Adam was buried, because she was ignorant of it . For, at the time when God came for the death of Adam, all the plants of the Garden were moved and, through the holy spirit, sleep overcame all those who were upon the earth, until they had dressed Adam, and none upon the earth knew, except Seth alone.

2 Again Eve began to cry out, to beseech God that they should bring her to the place where Adam was buried. When she had completed that prayer, she said,

3 'My God, God of miracles, do not alienate me from Adam's place,

4 but command to place me in his tomb.

5 Just as we were together in the Garden, and were not separate from one another, just as in life, so in our death. In the place in which Adam was buried let me, too, be buried with him."

6 When, beseeching, she had said this, her soul left her.

Eve's Funeral and Epilogue

1 Michael, the archangel, came and spoke to Seth and taught him how to dress her. Three angels came and took Eve's body and brought it and placed it where Adam's and Abel's bodies were.

2 After this, Michael spoke to Seth and said, 'Thus shall you dress every human being who dies, until the day of the end, through the resurrection"

3 When the angel had said this to Seth, I he ascended to heaven, praising the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, now and for ever.

THE BOOK OF ADAM [Georgian Version]

Georgian language and script
Translation: J.-P. Mahe
Estimated Range of Dating: 1400-1500 A.D.

(The Georgian Book of Adam is known from five manuscripts in two recensions. The earliest is a 15th- or 16th-century of the first recension. The others are three 17th-century copies of the first recension a sole 17th-century representative of the second recension. The Georgian and Armenian versions share a common source.)

Discovery of Expulsion

1 It came to pass, when Adam went out from paradise with his wife Eve, they went out at the eastern part of paradise. And Adam made a hut to live in. They both entered (it) and resided there for seven days. They both wept with abundant tears for they regretted the residences of the kingdom from which they had been expelled.

2 And after seven "days, they were hungry and looked for something to eat.

3 Eve told Adam: "Adam, my lord, arise and (go) search for food for me that we may eat, while waiting to try -- who knows -- (that) for the Lord to accept us and take us back to the same place in paradise.

4 And Adam arose after seven days and went about upon the face of the earth and he did not find any food like that which they used to eat in paradise. Adam replied to Eve and told her, "We are going to die a death."

5 Eve told Adam, "Oh, if I were dead then God would have accepted you in paradise!" Adam replied to Eve and said to her, "Because of us a great anger lies against (upon?) all creatures. (However) I do not know this: whether it is because of me or because of you." Eve replied to Adam, "My lord, if you think it wise, kill me so that I will be exterminated from the sight of God and his angels, so that God's anger against you may cease, which happened because of me: and he will bring you back into paradise.

6 Adam replied and told her, "No, no! Do not mention this matter, lest God send another judgment upon us because of (this) killing. How could I raise my hand and cause my own flesh to suffer?" Then Eve told him, "Arise, let us both seek vegetables."

7 And they did not find (anything) tasting like the fruit of the tree which was in paradise.

8 And Eve told him, "God created that for the (wild-)beasts to get their food; but our food was that by which the angels live.

9 Now, come and let us repent in penitence for forty days, so that God may pity us and then give us better food than that of the (dumb) animals, lest we should become like them."

Penitence and Second Temptation

1 Adam replied to Eve and told her, "Explain to me now what penitence you (wish to) repent, or for how many days will you be able to repent in your penitence, lest, perchance, we make a promise to God.

2 and we be unable to fulfill the promise which we will have made to him."

3 Eve replied to Adam and she told him, "Tell me about the number of days to me, then; For what period of time will you consider doing penitence -- who knows, (perhaps) I will add more to that --for it is I who have brought these tribulations upon you."

4 Adam replied and said to Eve, "You will not be able to add (anything to it). On the contrary, hold to the number of days which I will tell you and keep it. And I will do penitence for forty days, and you, do penitence for thirty-four days. Leave me these six days, since were you not created upon the sixth day, when God completed the creation of all creatures? Now, You arise and go to the river Tigris; and put a stone under your feet and stay in the water and clothe yourself (with it) up to your neck. While you pray, (beware) let no sound come from your mouth, for we are not worthy to open our mouths, for our lips are impure because we transgressed the commandments, concerning the food [so as to eat from the tree] of paradise which God had forbidden us.

5 Rather, be silent, only do penitence in the water for thirty-four days with all your heart and I will do the same in the Jordan river, until God hearkens and gives us food."

6 Eve went off to the Tigris river and she did as Adam had ordered her.

7 But Adam, he remained in the Jordan river and the hair of his head spread out .

8 And Adam said, "I tell you, O Jordan, suffer with me and assemble all the (dumb-) animals which are around you, so that they (may come) to surround you and bewail me,

9 not for their own sakes, but for me [so Q,B]. Because God did not withhold their fodder from them, which God gave them from the beginning, but I have been withheld from my means of life and from my food."

10 When Adam had said that with bitter tears, all the cattle gathered close to him and stood around him like walls. At the moment when the water (of) the Jordan had restrained its flow, then Adam raised his voice towards God and he varied his tone of voice six times, like the voices of all the angels in all times.

11 When the twelve days of his weeping were completed, the devil trembled and changed his shape and his clothes by his artful deceit. He went close to Eve, on the Tigris river, and stood beside the bank.

12 He was weeping and had his false tears dripping (trickling) down on his garment and from his garment down to the ground. Then he told Eve, "Come out of that water (where you are) and stop your tribulations, for God has hearkened to your penitence and to Adam your husband."

13 Moreover, we too have besought favor because of your misfortunes which we have seen.

14 Thus God sent me to have you (plural) come forth and to give you the food on account of which you repented.

15 Now, come upfrom there , for I have gone to Adam and he sent me and told me, 'Go and speak with Eve, my spouse; bring her back to me.' Come, now, and I will lead you to Adam to the place where he is and where your food also is."

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16 And Eve came up out of the water and her flesh was withered like rotten vegetables because of the coldness of the water. All the form of her beauty had been destroyed.

17 And when she had come up out of the water, she fell on the face of the earth in great weakness and remained lying (on the ground) without moving for two days. And after two days she arose and the devil led her to where Adam was.

18 And as soon as Adam saw Eve (and) how she was following the devil, he started to weep with burning tears and called out with a great voice and told her, "Where are the commands of repentance which I gave you? How have you been deceived again by him, because of whom we are aliens to our dwellings?"

19 When Eve heard that, that it was the devil who had deceived her, she fell down before him and Adam's distress for Eve increased twofold for he saw her lying on the earth like one dead.

20 He was sad and said, groaning, "Woe to you who fight against us! What evil have we done to you? For it is because of your calumnies that we went out from paradise. Is it because we have caused you to be expelled that you are angry against us?

21 Or is it because of us that you were despoiled of your glory? Or is it, in some way, by our action that you are in such deficiency? Or are we the only creatures of God that you fight against us alone?

Fall of Satan

1 the devil began to cry with forced tears and the devil told Adam, "O Adam, all the greed and the anger and all the grief of my heart are directed against you because it was through you that I fell from my dwellings, (it was) by you that I was alienated from my own throne. My wings were more numerous than those of the Cherubim, and I concealed myself under them. Because of you, now my feet walk on the earth, which I would never have believed."

2 Adam replied to the devil and told him,

3 "What is my fault, by which I have done all that to you?"

4 The devil replied to him and told him, "You did nothing to me, but it is because of you that I have fallen upon the earth."

5 The very day when you were created, on that day, I fell from before the face of God, because when God breathed a spirit onto your face, you had the image and likeness of the divinity. And then Michael came; he presented you and made you bend down before God. And God told Michael, "I have created Adam according to (my) image and my divinity."

6 Then Michael came; he summoned all the troops of angels and told them, "Bow down before the likeness and the image of the divinity."

7 And then, when Michael summoned them and all had bowed down to you, he summoned me also.

8 And I told him, "Go away from me, for I shall not bow down to him who is younger than me; indeed, I am master prior to him and it is proper for him to bow down to me.

9 The six classes of other angels heard that and my speech pleased them and they did not bow down to you.

10 Then God became angry with us and commanded us, them and me, to be cast down from our dwellings to the earth. As for you, he commanded you to dwell in paradise.

11 When I had realized that I had fallen before you,[B, "by your power] that I was in distress and you were in rest,

12 then I aimed at hunting you so that I might alienate you from the paradise of Delights, just as I had been alienated because of you.

13 When Adam heard that, he cried in a loud voice and said, "Lord, my life is in your hands. Make this enemy distant from me, who desires to lead me astray and seeks to destroy my race. It is by him that Eve has been lost."

14 At that moment, Beliar became invisible.

15 As for Adam, he remained in the water and did repentance. But Eve had fallen upon the earth like one dead. Then she stood up from the earth (ground?)

Separation of Adam and Eve

1 and told Adam, "Be saved, Adam, for you did not join me in the transgression of the commandments, neither in the first (instance) nor in the second. (But) the word of God will prevail against me." And Eve said to him, "Behold, I shall so leave in the direction of the setting sun and I will eat grass like a (dumb-)animal until I die, for by no means am I worthy (of having a part) in the food of the living."

2 Then Eve went away in the direction of the setting sun and she remained there in mourning and moaning.

3 And after these days, she made for herself a hut in the direction of the setting sun. Now she had conceived three months before, and Cain was in her womb,

4 when the days of her parturition arrived, then she started to tremble; she wailed towards God in a loud voice and said:

5 "Where is Adam so that he can console me in my present pain, or who will relate my sufferings to him? Is there none among the birds, who would go to him and tell him, 'Come, help Eve, your spouse.' I beg of you, all you races of heaven, and when you go to the east, relate my present sufferings to my lord."

6 Then Adam heard in the river Jordan her crying of tears and misfortunes.

7 Then God hearkened to Adam's prayer and sent him the angel Michael who brought him a seeds, sealed with the divine seal, destined to be brought to Adam. Then he taught him sowing and the work related to it, so that thus they might be saved, (they) and all their descendants.

8 And when Adam (had) heard the prayer of Eve and the wailing of her tears from the west, Adam recognized her voice and said in his heart, "This is the voice of my rib, the voice of my SHEEP (?); I will arise and I will see why she cries. Is it that the serpent is attacking her again?"

9 Adam arose and followed her footsteps. And he came close to her, in the part of the West where Eve was, and when Eve saw Adam, she was crying with abundant tears and said, "My lord, Adam, have you not heard the sound of my tears? For, today, it is nine days, day and night, that there has been this crying of mine towards you. Is it that the generations of the east have not informed you when they arose? And have not the birds of the heavens and the beasts of the earth informed you, for I begged them all that they tell you about it. Arise, entreat your Creator to have pity, so that God may answer your prayer and deliver me from my sufferings or, if it seems fitting to Him, send death to me or, by your prayers, liberate me from my torments."

20.3 Adam prayed and spoke a plea to God on her behalf and the Lord hearkened to him.

10 And behold, twelve angels and two powers came from heaven. And they came to the place (where) Eve (was).

11 One of the powers came, touched Eve's face and her breast, and told Eve, "Blessed are you, Eve, because of Adam, elect one and servant of God, for his prayers are great before God and, because of him, God will deliver you. If you had not been brought help because of him, you would have conceived such a thorn that you could not have rescued yourself from your sufferings. Rise up now and prepare yourself to give birth to a child."

12 Eve arose as the angel had instructed her: she gave birth to an child and his color was like that of the stars. He fell into the hands of the midwife and (at once) he began to pluck up the grass, for in his mother's hut grass was planted.

13 The midwife replied to him and told him, "God is just that he did not at all leave you in my hands. For, you are Cain, the perverse one, killer of the good, for you are the one who plucks up the fruit-bearing tree, and not him who plants it. You are the bearer of bitterness and not of sweetness."

14 And the power told Adam, "Remain by Eve until she has done with the infant what I have taught her. [so QAC, ag. K]"

Death of Abel

1 As for Adam, he took Eve and the child and he brought them into a part of the East and he stayed there. And when the eighth year and the second month were completed

2 Eve became pregnant and bore another son whom the power of God called by name Abel, and they remained there together.

3 At that time Eve told Adam,

4 "Adam, my lord, in my sleep I saw that the blood of my son Abel was pouring into the mouth of Cain his brother and he drank it without mercy. And Abel beseeched him to leave him]a little of his blood,

5 and he did not agree to hearken to him but he drank it completely and]it did not remain in his stomach but it went forth and he was smeared with it and it could not at all be removed from his body."

6 Adam replied to Eve and told her, "Lest Cain plan to kill him, let us separate them from one another,

7 and let us be with them, so as to provide no room to anger." And they acted as Adam had said, and he told (them), "My sons, come and let us disperse, each to his own place."

8 Then God told the angel Gabriel, "Say to Adam: 'Do not reveal to Cain the secret plan which you know, for he is a son of wrath, because his brother will be killed by him!' However, let Adam not be sad, for I will raise up Seth for him instead of Abel, and he will resemble my image and he, so QAC will teach you everything of which I have a memory. But do not reveal this to anyone but Adam!"

9 That is what God told the angel and the angel spoke this word to Adam. Then Adam kept the word in his heart. And they both were sad, Adam and his spouse.

10 And the time arrived when Abel was killed by Cain his brother and he = Adam told her = Eve, "God has established an end for all human beings. Was death anything else but the killing by which Abel has been killed by Cain and Cain's jealousy delivered him to death because Cain was of a perverse race?"

11 And the times arrived when Cain and Abel had gone up towards their fields. Two demons resembling Cain and Abel came. One demon reproached the other demon. He became angry with him and took a stone sword, which was of a transparent stone [maybe same stone as Ex 4:25]. He cut his throat and killed him.

12 And when Cain saw the blood, he went quickly and took the stone in his hand(s). But when Abel saw him coming upon him, he begged him, "Do not make me die, O my brother Cain!" He, however, did not accept his prayer and he spilled Abel's blood in front of him. And Adam and Eve afflicted themselves all that time with great sadness.

13 And after this, Adam entered his spouse and Eve became pregnant and bore Seth who resembled Adam.

14 Adam told Eve, "Behold, I have born a son in place of Abel, whom Cain killed before me."

15 And again, after that, Adam had thirty sons and thirty daughters. For all the years of Adam were 930 years. And from him they multiplied over the earth and settled over it.

Illness of Adam

1 And when the 930 years were completed Adam fell ill and cried out in a loud voice and said, "Gather to me]ye all my descendants and I will see them before my death."

2 And all his progeny gathered to him who had settled, and he divided the three parts of the earth among his descendants. And all Adam's descendants assembled by him, for they had taken a position before his doors, in the place which Adam had made, and into which he would enter and address his prayers to God.

3 And his sons told him, "What is this, Father Adam?"

4 He told them, "I am sick, my sons." And they told him, "What is your illness and how does a human being fall ill?"

5 Seth, his son, replied to him and told him, "Father Adam, what has befallen you? Have you remembered, perchance, the fruit of the Garden, and you longed for it and you become sad yourself because of it?

6 If it is thus, tell me and I will go before paradise and I will cast dust upon my head and I will weep. And, if only God hears me, let him send his angel and he]the angel will bring me the fruit of paradise and I will bring it to you so that you may calm your distress."

7 And Adam told him, "My son Seth, it is not so, rather I am sick and I have pain." Seth replied to him, "Father, what is pain and how do you have pain?"

Adam's Story of the Fall

1 Adam told Seth, "Son, when God made us, me and your mother, he set us in the the paradise of Delights to eat its fruit. But there was one plant in the middle of paradise,]very beautiful, concerning which God commanded us, 'Eat not of it.'

2 And the serpent deceived your mother and caused her to eat of it, because of which, now, we are going to die. When it was the hour for the guardian angels to ascend to worship God, the enemy deceived her and she ate of it

3 and she deceived me, my children, for I did not know.

4 And God had divided (paradise) between us, between me and your mother Eve, so that we might guard it. As for me, he had given me the eastern and northern portion; to your mother Eve he had entrusted the southern and the western portion.

5 And there were twelve angels with each of us to guard us

6 until the time of the dawn, but at each (time, at) day, they ascended (there). And at the moment of their ascent, the serpent deceived your mother and caused her to eat of the tree, for he had seen that I was not with her any more than the angels.

7 She also made me eat of it and I did not understand.

8 When we had eaten, God became angry with us and he told us,

9 'You have, therefore, scorned my commandment; I too will scorn you.' And he sent 70 evils upon us, to our eyes, and to our ears and as far as our feet, plagues and portents, treasured in (his) treasuries. This God did to me to cause me to perish through death."

Comand to Retrieve the Oil

1 (Eve) said, weeping, "My lord Adam, give me half of your sufferings and I will bear your present pain, for your suffering is due to me and it is I who caused these pains to come upon you."

2 And Adam told Eve, "Arise and go with Seth, my son, to paradise; cast soil on your head and weep before God so that he might give us grace.

3 And (God) will send his angel to paradise where the tree of life is, from which the oil flows out, so that he may give you a little of that oil. And you will bring it here to me and I will anoint myself and I will be healed of my sufferings.

4 Then I will let you know the whole way in which we were tried."

Encounter with the Beast

1 "Woe is me, for when arrive at the day of judgment, all my sins will burn me and (people) will tell me, 'In the first instance, it was you who did not observe God's orders."

2 Eve called out and told the wicked beast, "O evil beast, have you no fear? Did you dare to fight the image of God? How did you take it upon yourself to open your mouth and how have you (thought to) sink your teeth? Or how have you

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not recalled the first order of God and have opened your mouth against the image of God?"

3 Then the beast replied to her and told Eve, "It is not from our greed(iness) that your discontent and your weeping come, but your discontent and your weeping come from your own greed(iness), for at the beginning of creation, it was you who hearkened to the beast, the serpent.

4 How did you dare to open your mouth and eat of the tree of which God had commanded you not to eat? (It is) you, (because of) whom (Mahe emmendation) the aspect of everything has changed.

5 Now, you will not be able to endure, if I start talking and rebuking you."

6 Seth replied to him and told the beast, "Let your mouth be closed and be silent, beast, and get away from us, the image of the divinity, until the day when God will have you standing (before him)."

7 Then also the beast told Seth, "Behold, then, that I get away from you, image of God, dazzling (splendor) of God." And when the beast had left him (her?), the beast fled (far) from Seth and the wounded man went to the hut of Adam his father."

Arrival at Paradise

1 (And God sent to them the archangel Michael), who is in charge of the souls, and he told Seth,

2 "Man of God, do not labor to supplicate thus concerning the olive tree, in command to anoint your father Adam.

Michael's Reply

1 This is not to be right now but in the future times, when five thousand years will be completed. Then, at the five and a half thousandth year, the beloved son of God, Christ, will come upon the earth to r(esurrect) Adam's body from his fall, because of the transgression of the commands.

2 He will come and he will be baptized in the river Jordan. And as soon as he will have come forth from of the water with the (anointing) of oil, he will anoint him, him

3 and all his descendants, so that they will rise at the time of the resurrection. The Lord said, 'I will admit them into paradise and I will anoint them with that unction.'

Return to Adam

1 But now, go to your father Adam, because the days of his times are completed. (In) three days his soul will go out of his body and numerous wonders will be seen in the heavens."

2 When the angel had told that to him, (immediately) he was hidden underneath the plant of paradise. Now (as for) Seth and Eve they departed for Adam's hut. And Adam wept because of the wound of the beast

Adam's Rebuke of Eve

1 and he told Eve, "What have (all of) us done? For an evil has come upon us and upon all our descendants.

2 Indeed, tell your children what are your sins: for we will die, you and I, and misfortunes will spread over the earth. All the descendants who have come forth from us will curse us saying,

3 'It was our father and mother who brought this misfortune upon us.'"

The Portions of Adam and Eve in Paradise

1 Then Eve began to cry and she said, "Now hearken to me, my children, and I will tell you how we were tricked.

2 It happened, (then), that your father was guarding his portion of paradise, the east and the north,

3 while I was guarding my own portion, the west and the south. And the devil came to Adam's portion. And there were beasts there

4 for the Lord had also divided the beasts between us. All (that were) male He had given to Adam, and all (that were) female, he had given to me. And we each fed our own ones.

Satan's Encounter with the Beast

1 When the devil came to your father's portion

2 the devil summoned the serpent and told him, "Arise and come to me, and I will teach you a useful word."

3 Then, the serpent came and the Devil told the serpent, "I (hear) that you are wiser than all the (dumb) animals and I have come to test your wisdom (science), for Adam gives food to all the (dumb-)animals, thus also to you. (mahe has note that is unexplained)

4 When then all the (dumb) animals come to bow down before Adam from day to day and from morning to morning, every day, you also come to bow down. You were created before him, as large (as you) are, and you bow down before this little one!

5 And why do you eat (food) inferior to Adam's and his spouse's and not the good fruit of paradise? But come and hearken to me so that we may have Adam expelled from the wall of paradise just as we are outside. Perhaps we can re-enter somehow to paradise."

6 And the serpent told him, "How can we have them excluded?" The devil replied and told the serpent, "Be a sheath for me and I will speak to the woman through your mouth a word by which we will trick (them)."

Serpent's Approach to Paradise

1 And the two of them came together and they allowed their heads to hang on the wall of the paradise at the time where the angels had ascended to bow down to God. Then the devil changed himself into the image of an angel; he praised the praises of the angels. And I was gazing in the direction of the enclosure to hear the praises.

2 I stared and I saw him like an angel and at once he became invisible

3 for he had gone forth to bring the serpent. And he told him, 'Arise and come and I will be with you and I will speak though your mouth that which it is proper for you to say.'

4 He took on the form of the serpent (to go) close to the wall of paradise and the devil slipped inside the serpent and he allowed his head to hang on the wall of paradise. He cried out and said, 'Shame on you, woman, you who are in the the paradise of Delight (and) who are blind! Come to me and I will tell you a certain secret word.'

5 And when I had come, he told me, 'Eve!' and I told him, 'Here I am.' He replied to me and told me, 'What do you do in paradise?"

6 I replied and told him, 'God has set me to guard paradise and eat (of it).'

7 The devil replied to me and told me through the mouth of the serpent, 'Well (done!) Do you eat the fruit of every tree which is in paradise?'

8 I replied to him and told him, '(Yes), we eat all the fruit except for only one tree which is here in the middle of paradise, for God commanded us, 'Do not eat of it, so that you will not die of death.'

Temptation of Eve

1 Then the serpent told me, 'I am distressed for you, for you are like the (dumb) animals. God was jealous of you and he has not permitted you, but I, I do not desire your ignorance. Rather come, eat and you will see the glory which is to be with you.'

2 However, I told him, 'I am afraid of dying, perhaps, as God said.'

3 The serpent replied to me and told me, 'What is death and how does one die? Death is life!' I replied to him and told him, 'I do not know.' He replied to me and told me, 'God is living, just so that you (pl.) will not die, but at the moment when you (pl.)eat your eyes will be opened and you will be instructed, like God, about good and evil.

4 God knew that you would become like him (unexplained *) and God was jealous of you. Because of that God told you, 'Do not eat of it!'

5 Look at (so Mahe emmendation) the tree and see the glory around it.' As for me, when I had gone and I had seen its glory around it, then I said,

6 'This tree is good and its fruit is well-known in my eyes. However, I am afraid to stretch out my hand and take (it). But you, if you are not afraid, bring it out to me and I will eat (of it) and I will know whether your (present) words are true or not.' The serpent replied to and told me, 'Come, open the gate and I will give you of it.'

Entrance of the Snake into Paradise

1 And when I had gone to open the gate for him and he had entered Paradise, he went forth, and then he stopped a little. I replied to him and said, 'Why have you stopped?' But he, my children, began to use trickery with me. He replied to me and told me, 'If I have stopped it is because I changed my mind for fear that, perhaps if I should give you of it and you eat it, and your eyes will be opened and you will become like God, and you will know good and evil, and you will become prideful and become jealous of Adam and you will not make him eat of it, and he will be like a (dumb) animal before you, as you were before God, because God was jealous of you. If you wish (it), swear to me truly that, if I make you eat it, you will not be jealous of Adam, your husband, but will make him eat of it and give of it also to him.'

2 I replied to him and told him, 'I do not know any oath, how could I swear to you?' And he told me, 'Say: I swear by the plants of paradise and by the Cherubs upon whom sits the Father and (upon which) he descends to paradise, that if I eat and know it all, I will not be jealous but will give of it also to Adam."

3 And when he had made me take the oath, he bound me (to it), gave me of the tree and I ate it.

Eve's Recognition of Her Sin

1 [... (I was searching for leaves to cover)..] my nakedness and found none on all the trees, for at the moment at which I had eaten, the leaves from all the trees of paradise, in my portion, fell down.

2 I took some and made a covering for myself and stood by the tree of which I had eaten, my children. I was afraid because of the oath which I had sworn by paradise and in which I had said, 'I will make Adam eat of it as well.'

Temptation of Adam

1 Then your father Adam came. He had thought thus: that a beast had entered paradise and he told me, 'What are you thinking for and why do you have this fig-leaf on yourself?'

2 I replied to him and I told him, 'Do you wish me to tell you something or not? Until today we were like (dumb-) animals. When I understood (that of which) the Lord had said to us, 'Do not eat of this' and when I saw its splendor, I took of it and ate of it and I knew good and evil. Now, eat also of it and you will you become like God.'

3 Adam replied to me and told me, 'I fear lest God be angry with me and tell me, "My commandment which I gave you, you did not keep it!"'

4 But I told the father, "On me shall be this blame. If He asks you, say thus: 'This woman whom you have given me is to blame for that; (she said:) See the flavor of this glory.'!

5 Then I gave him of it and he ate of it and became like me, and he also took a leaf of the fig tree and covered his nakedness with it.

Entry of God into Paradise

1 After which we heard that, through an angel, (God) blew the trumpet. He (had) summoned the angels and told them,

2 "Thus says the Lord, come to paradise and hear the sentence to which we are going to judge (them)." Adam (told me), "We have sinned, for God is going to come to judge us." We were afraid and we hid.

3 And God came to paradise sitting upon the Cherubs and the angels were singing hymns before him. When he had arrived at paradise, at once all (the) tree(s) cast off their (its) foliage,

4 and thrones were set up near the tree of life.

5 And God summoned Adam and told him, "Adam, Adam, where are you? Are you hiding from me? Or how will a house hide from its builder? Or why have you hidden near the tree of paradise?"

6 Then your father replied and told the Lord, "I have hidden because I am afraid: I am naked and I am ashamed."

7 God replied to him and told him, "Who told you that you are naked? Have you scorned the commandment which I gave you?"

8 Then Adam remembered my word(s) which I had said, "Do not be concerned for (the blame) for it will lie upon me." And Adam said, "Lord, it is this woman whom you gave to me who deceived me." Then He turned towards me and told me, "What have you done?"

9 And I remembered the serpent's word and I said, "It is the serpent who deceived me!"

Judgement of Adam, Eve, and the Serpent

1 God replied to Adam and told him, "Because you hearkened to your wife and disobey my commandment, let the earth be cursed in your deeds.

2 May you work it and it will give you no fruit; it will sprout only thorns and thistles for you. By the sweat of your brow you shall eat bread.

3 May you be with many sighs, labour in labours and you shall have (no) rest. You shall hunger and you shall (not) be sated. You shall be affected by bitterness and you shall (not) taste sweetness; you shall be tomrented by heat and will undergo cold; you (pl.) shall be pauperised and you shall (not) be enriched; you shall eat and shall (not) grow fat; you shall warm yourselves with fire, and you shall not be heated. You will ???? (to soak) yourselves with water and it will draw back.

4 And the beasts over whom you (sing.) ruled shall rise up against you. You shall be weakened because you have not kept my commandments."

5 God turned to me and told me, "Why did you hearken to the serpent and abandon my commandments with which I commanded to you? (May you) be in toils and pains;

6 (may you) give birth to many fruits and when you give birth to them you will despair of your life because of the torments and pains.

7 (You shall promise yourself) that if you are ever delivered from the agonies, you will never go back to (your husband) and you will harden your heart in view of the great combat which the serpent instituted with you.

8 (But may you) return at once to the same point, may you bear your offspring in hurt and return in pity to your husband, and he will rule over you."

9 When he had said all this to me, he became very angry with the serpent, and he told it, "You, too, perish and be cursed among all the (dumb) animals.

10 May you be withheld from you food which you used to eat and may the soil be to you as food all the days of your life; you shall go on your breast and on your stomach; your hands and your feet will be taken from you.

11 May you have neither ears nor nails and may not even one limb remain for you. Let the precious cross which my Son will take upon the earth condemn you because of the deceit by which you deceived Adam. But may you again be crushed and broken because of the evil of your heart.

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12 And I will set enmity between you and the offspring of the woman: she will lay in wait for your head and you will lay in wait for her heel until the day of judgment."

Adam's Plea for Mercy

1 Thus God said, and he commanded both of us to be expelled from paradise.

2 Adam besought the angels and told them, "Wait for me to beseech the Lord; who knows, perhaps the Lord will grant me a penitence for that which I have done and I will not go out of paradise."

3 Then the angels waited for us to ask. Adam besought the Lord and said, "I beseech you, Lord, pardon me for what I have done."

4 Then the Lord told the angels, "Why have you been waiting (before) separating Adam from paradise? Is the blame mine (Am I to blame) or have I not judged justly?"

5 Then the angels fell to the ground and told him, bowing before the Lord, "You are just, Lord, and you sentence is upright."

6 The Lord turned and told Adam, "You are not to remain in paradise."

7 Adam replied to the Lord and told him, "I beseech you, Lord, give me of the tree of life so that I may eat before I have gone forth."

8 Then the Lord addressed a speech to Adam and told him, "You will not take any of it anymore in your lifetime. I have posted burning Cherubs and a turning sword to keep it from you, lest you should taste it and become immortal and boast saying, 'I shall not die ever'; and you will conduct the fight which the enemy has conducted against you.

9 If you go out of paradise and guard yourself from every evil, you will die and after death you will arise in the future resurrection. Then, indeed, I will give you of the tree of life and you will be immortal for ever."

Expulsion

1 When the Lord had said that he commanded us to be chased out of paradise.

2 And your father wept before the angels, but they told him, "What is this or what shall we do for you?"

3 Then your father replied to them and told them, "Behold, I am going out. Now I beseech you that at the very moment of my leaving paradise I may take incense from paradise so that, when I go out, I may offer a sweet odered incense-fragrance and God will be willing to hearken to me."

6 And the angels let him and he took four sweet odered incenses-fragrances: nard, saffron, reed, cinnamon; that is what Adam brought from paradise onto the earth.

Death of Adam

1 Now, therefore, my children I have taught you the whole way in which we were tricked and I beseech you to watch yourselves and not to stop doing good.'

2 That, then, is what Eve said in the midst of her children when Adam was lying ill. And on the second day his soul was about to go out of his body. Eve told Adam,

3 "Why are you alone dying and I am alive? Or, how long shall I exist? Or, what will become of me after your death? Let me know about me that."

4 Then Adam told Eve, "Be not concerned, whatever you have done. If we must both die, you too will be set near me. And if I am to die alone, do not move me from my place until God gives you an command about me,

5 for the Lord will not forget me, but rather he will seek out the vessel which he has made. Arise and pray a prayer to God that my soul be commended into the hands of my Creator. For I do not know how I am going to reach the Creator of all, or whether he is angry with me or whether he will accept me."

Eve's Confession

1 Then Eve arose and went out from Adam('s place). She did penitance and said,

2 "I have sinned against you, God; I have sinned against you and I have sinned before you. I have sinned before your elect angels. I have sinned before the Cherubs. I have sinned before the altar of your holiness. I have sinned before the generations of the heavens. I have sinned before the birds of heavens. I have sinned before the beasts of the earth. I have sinned against you, God, by all my greed, among all your creatures. I beseech you all, you creatures of heaven and earth, beseech the Lord of all for me."

3 While Eve was on her (knees) to pray, suddenly Michael came, the angel of mankind, he stood and raised Eve up, and told her,

4 "Arise from that penitence, for Adam your husband has gone forth from the body. Arise and see his soul, how his Creator has already (got) it."

Angelic Liturgy

1 Eve arose and put her hand on her face and the angel went up again, and he told Eve, "Raise you eyes and abandon earthly concerns."

2 As for Eve, when she had raised her eyes towards the heavens, she saw chariots of fire and a light which went up, (borne) by four (winds): they were so resplendent that no word could express it, and it was impossible to sound them out, neither from the front nor from the back. And angels were proceeding before these chariots.

3 And when they had arrived (at the place) where the father was, the chariot stopped and the Seraphs stood between him and the chariot(s).

4 And I, Eve, saw three gold censers, and (three) cups and three angels come quickly upon the altar. These angels took a burning coal and put it in the censer and set the censer upon (the altar). And while they blew, the smoke went up and veiled the frimaments of the heavens.

5 the angels were praising (God), they were bowing before him, crying out and saying, "God, forgive Adam for he is your image and the work of your hands: he is your creature."

6 And I, Eve, saw two great lights prostrated in fear before God and I wept and told my son Seth,

7 Rise from near your father's body, come towards me and see that which your eyes have not seen, concerning Adam your father."

8 Then Seth arose and went close to his mother Eve and told her, "Why are you weeping?

9 Raise your eyes and see the seven firmaments open and see the likeness of the father Adam, as he lies before God and all the angels are beseeching him and saying, 'God, forgive Adam, for he is your image and your likeness, because it is you who have created him.'"

10 "What is this, then, my son Seth,

11 do they deliver the blood of my spouse to these Indians, for they were before God?" Seth replied to Eve and told her, "No, mother, did you not recognise those whom you called Indians in these colours of blood?" Eve replied to him and told him, "I do not know them, my son."

12 Seth replied to her and told her, "These are the sun and the moon: they are prostrated and they are beseeching for Adam, my father."

13 "Where is the light of the sun, for it is no more with it, or why is it darkened thus?"

14 Seth replied to her and told Eve, "Because its light has been eclipsed before the God of all and its light had become darkened by fear of God."

Assumption of Adam to Paradise

1 As Seth was telling that to Eve, at once a great angel blew the trumpet and all the angels who were prostrated on their faces stood up again. They besought Adam and cried out in a loud voice, and said,

2 "Blessed is God, by all blessing. You pardoned the protoplast."

3 And when the angels had said these words, one of the six-winged Seraphs was sent towards him (Adam). He took Adam to the lake of (A)cheron,

4 and he dipped him in it three times. Then he led him back before God and (Adam) remained (prostrate) on his face for three hours. And after that, God stretched out his hand from his Throne, raised Adam up and gave him to Michael, and he told him,

5 "Take him to the third heaven, to paradise, and set him before the altar until the day of the "oikonomia" which I contemplate concerning all the fleshly (beings) with my well beloved Son."

6 Then Michael took Adam to the place which God had commanded and all the angels were chanting angelic psalms. They were praising this wonder: the forgiveness of Adam and the promise of a future (life).

Adam and Abel's Funerary Rites

1 After which Michael cried out towards God,

2 and God commanded that the trumpet be sounded and that all the angels assemble before God, each one in his rank: those who held a censer; those who held a psaltery; and those who sounded the trumpet.

3 And behold, the Lord of Sabaoth rose upon the winds of the Cherubs, and

4 And (God) first reached his paradise, and the flowers of paradise, with their sweet odors, were moved at the sweet odor of the glorious God. All the children of Adam were breathless, except only for Seth, for he was son of the greatness of God.

5 And when the Lord had come to the body of Adam which had fallen in (the earth), the Lord was sorrowful for him and told him in a sad voice, "If you had kept my commandments, you would not have fallen in that place and your enemy would not have been able to see that he had caused you to be expelled in that place.

6 But I will change his joy into sorrow and I will lead you back towards this realm and I will set you upon your enemy's throne, where he was seated, close (by the place) where his rebellion was discovered.

7 He will fall in the place (where) you (are) and he will see you in that (other) place sitting upon a throne."

8 And after that, God gave an command to Michael

9 who took (Adam) back to paradise, which is in the third heaven. They seized three folded shrouds of (cloth) and God told Michael and Gabriel, "Unfold these shrouds and envelop Adam's body and take the ointment from the olive tree and pour it upon him." And three angels dressed him (in it) and when they had dressed Adam's body (in it),

10 God told them, "Take Abel's body as well, seize other shrouds and dress him in them also

11 for he had remained lying naked since the day when wicked Cain killed him. And he wished to bury him in the earth and he was unable (to do so), because his body came back out of the earth. For a voice made itself heard from heaven and said to him,

12 "He will not be able to be buried in the earth before he who was created first has returned to the earth from which he was created."

13 Then he took it to a rock and it remained spread out there until the death of Adam. Thus (the angels) took him and dressed him like his father.

14 God commanded that both of them should be taken up to paradise, on the eastern part, in the place from which God had taken some soil and created Adam. And God commanded Michael to dig.

15 And God sent seven angels to paradise: they gathered much incense from paradise and they brought them to them. Then they took both bodies, put them into the grave and covered them (with earth).

16 Then God turned and called Adam. Adam's body answered him from the soil and said, "Here I am, (Lord)."

17 And the Lord told him, "Behold, as I told you, you are soil and you have returned to the soil,

18 but I will raise you up in the resurrection which I have promised you, at the time of resurrection.

19 Then, after that, God took the triangular seal and sealed the tomb of Adam and he said, "Let no person touch it during these six days, until your rib returns to you.

20 Then God reascended to the upper heaven and each of the angels to his office.

Eve's Prayer to Join Adam

1 But Eve grew numb when she saw (so Mahe) all that. Eve wept and wished to see where they had put Adam, for she did not know. When the Lord had descended upon the earth, the sweet odor of all the trees of paradise did not (...) because of his sweet odor all had grown numb. Until the wrapping and the burial of Adam, nobody understood anything except Seth.

2 Then Eve begged (and) wept so that (God) might lead her off, show her the place where they had put Adam. And when she had completed her prayer, she said,

3 "Lord, do not alienate me from Adam's place,

4 but command me, me also, (to be) with him,

5 as we both were in paradise, inseparable from one another.

6 Do not separate us in our death, but place me where you have placed him." And after this prayer she gave up her soul.

Eve's Funeral and Epilogue

1 And the angel Michael came and taught Seth how to dress Eve. Three angels came and took Eve's body and placed it where they had placed Adam's body.

2 And after that, the angel Michael told him, "Thus dress every dead person who dies, until the death of all human beings."

3 When he had taught Seth all that, he ascended to the uppermost heaven, far from Seth, and he told him, "Do not mourn for the dead more than five days and on the seventh day rejoice, for on that day God rested from all his (works) which the Lord had made."

4 To him is glory and honor and adoration, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, now and for ever and for ever and ever. Amen.

THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

or The Shepherd
or The Pastor of Hermas
Translation: Stephen Emmel
Estimated Range of Dating: 90 - 160 A.D.

(The Shepherd of Hermas (Greek: Poimen tou Herma; Latin: Pastor Hermae), sometimes just called The Shepherd, is a Christian literary work of the late first half of the second century, considered a valuable book by many Christians, and considered canonical scripture by some of the early Church fathers such as Irenaeus. The work comprises five visions, twelve mandates, and ten parables. It relies on allegory and pays special attention to the Church, calling the faithful to repent of the sins that have harmed it. The Shepherd was very popular amongst Christians in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. It is found in the Codex Sinaiticus [c. 330–360 AD], and it is listed between the Acts of the Apostles and the Acts of Paul in the stichometrical list of the Codex Claromontanus.

The textual content of the book, and the author's apparent familiarity with the Book of Revelation and other Johannine texts are thought to set the date of composition in the 2nd

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century. However, the writers of the Johannine literature could have heavily borrowed from the Shepherd of Hermas. The reference to an unknown Clement is presumed by some scholars to be Clement of Rome [Titus Flavius Clemens of Rome]. If that is the case, it could suggest a date c. 90 for at least the historicised setting of the first two visions. The Shepherd of Hermas was first mentioned in the Muratorian fragment, a list earliest written c. 170 AD (although some scholars date it to the 3rd or 4th century AD). It identifies Hermas, the author of The Shepherd, as the brother of Pius I, bishop of Rome.

The book was probably written by an upper class citizen of the City of Rome, and as such he used the upper class language of the Roman Empire: Greek. Very shortly afterwards, it was translated into Vulgar Latin (the language of the common people in the western part of the Roman Empire), was made. Other translations followed in the 5th century AD when Latin was no longer used but "Roman", the common language and direct ancestor to that what we call today "Romance languages" [such as ancient Italian, Iberian, French etc.]. Of the Greek version, the last 10 to 15% is missing. The translations into Vulgar Latin and "Roman" are almost complete.

The Shepherd was also translated at least twice into the Coptic (Egyptian) language and fragments of both Sahidic and Akhmimic translations survive. Three translations into Ge'ez (Ethiopic) were also made, but none survives complete. The sole surviving Georgian translation may have been made from Arabic, but no Arabic translation has been preserved as the Muslims destroyed most libraries in the lands they conquered. There does not appear to have been a Syriac translation and no Syriac author shows any awareness of the Shepherd. It was always more popular in the Western Roman Empire and in Alexandria than in the east. There was a Middle Persian translation made for a Manichaean readership. It survives in a single fragmentary manuscript found in the Mogao Caves at Turfan in China.)

FIRST BOOK: VISIONS

FIRST VISION
Against Filthy And Proud Thoughts, And The Carelessness Of Hermas In Chastising His Sons.

1.1 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 1

He who had brought me up, sold me to one Rhode in Rome. Many years after this I recognised her, and I began to love her as a sister. Some time after, I saw her bathe in the river Tiber; and I gave her my hand, and drew her out of the river. The sight of her beauty made me think with myself, "I should be a happy man if I could but get a wife as handsome and good as she is." This was the only thought that passed through me: this and nothing more. A short time after this, as I was walking on my road to the villages, and magnifying the creatures of God, and thinking how magnificent, and beautiful, and powerful they are, I fell asleep. And the Spirit carried me away, and took me through a pathless place, through which a man could not travel, for it was situated in the midst of rocks; it was rugged and impassible on account of water. Having passed over this river, I came to a plain. I then bent down on my knees, and began to pray to the Lord and to confess my sins. And as I prayed, the heavens were opened, and I see the woman whom I had desired saluting me from the sky, and saying, "Hail, Hermas!" And looking up to her, I said, "Lady, what doest thou here?" And she answered me, "I have been taken up here to accuse you of your sins before the Lord." "Lady," said I, "are you to be the subject of my accusation?" "No," said she; "but hear the words which I am going to speak to you. God, who dwells in the heavens, and made out of nothing the things that exist, and multiplied and increased them on account of His holy Church, is angry with you for having sinned against me." I answered her, "Lady, have I sinned against you? How? or when spoke I an unseemly word to you? Did I not always think of you as a lady? Did I not always respect you as a sister? Why do you falsely accuse me of this wickedness and impurity?" With a smile she replied to me, "The desire of wickedness arose within your heart. Is it not your opinion that a righteous man commits sin when an evil desire arises in his heart? There is sin in such a case, and the sin is great," said she; "for the thoughts of a righteous man should be righteous. For by thinking righteously his character is established in the heavens, and he has the Lord merciful to him in every business. But those who entertain wicked thoughts in their minds are bringing upon themselves death and captivity; and especially is this the case with those who set their affections on this world, and glory in their riches, and look not forward to the blessings of the life to come. For many will their regrets be; for they have no hope, but have despaired of themselves and their life. But do thou pray to God, and He will heal thy sins, and the sins of thy whole house, and of all the saints."

1.1 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 2

After she had spoken these words, the heavens were shut. I was overwhelmed with sorrow and fear, and said to myself, "If this sin is assigned to me, how can I be saved, or how shall I propitiate God in regard to my sins, which are of the grossest character? With what words shall I ask the Lord to be merciful to me? While I was thinking over these things, and discussing them in my mind, I saw opposite to me a chair, white, made of white wool, of great size. And there came up an old woman, arrayed in a splendid robe, and with a book in her hand; and she sat down alone, and saluted me, "Hail, Hermas!" And in sadness and tears I said to her, "Lady, hail!" And she said to me, "Why are you downcast, Hermas? for you were wont to be patient and temperate, and always smiling. Why are you so gloomy, and not cheerful?

I answered her and said, "O Lady, I have been reproached by a very good woman, who says that I sinned against her." And she said, "Far be such a deed from a servant of God. But perhaps a desire after her has arisen within your heart. Such a wish, in the case of the servants of God, produces sin. For it is a wicked and horrible wish in an all-chaste and already well-tried spirit to desire an evil deed; and especially for Hermas so to do, who keeps himself from all wicked desire, and is full of all simplicity, and of great guilelessness.

1.1 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 3

"But God is not angry with you on account of this, but that you may convert your house, which have committed iniquity against the Lord, and against you, their parents. And although you love your sons, yet did you not warn your house, but permitted them to be terribly corrupted. On this account is the Lord angry with you, but He will heal all the evils which have been done in your house. For, on account of their sins and iniquities, you have been destroyed by the affairs of this world. But now the mercy of the Lord has taken pity on you and your house, and will strengthen you, and establish you in his glory. Only be not easy-minded, but be of good courage and comfort your house. For as a smith hammers out his work, and accomplishes whatever he wishes," so shall righteous daily speech overcome all iniquity. Cease not therefore to admonish your sons; for I know that, if they will repent with all their heart, they will be enrolled in the Books of Life with the saints." Having ended these words, she said to me, "Do you wish to hear me read?" I say to her, "Lady, I do." "Listen then, and give ear to the glories of God." And then I heard from her, magnificently and admirably, things which my memory could not retain. For all the words were terrible, such as man could not endure. The last words, however, I did remember; for they were useful to us, and gentle. "Lo, the God of powers, who by His invisible strong power and great wisdom has created the world, and by His glorious counsel has surrounded His creation with beauty, and by His strong word has fixed the heavens and laid the foundations of the earth upon the waters, and by His own wisdom and providence has created His holy Church, which He has blessed, lo! He removes the heavens and the mountains, the hills and the seas, and all things become plain to His elect, that He may bestow on them the blessing which He has promised them, with much glory and joy, if only they shall keep the commandments of God which they have received in great faith."

1.1 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 4

When she had ended her reading, she rose from the chair, and four young men came and carried off the chair and went away to the east. And she called me to herself and touched my breast, and said to me," Have you been pleased with my reading?" And I say to her, "Lady, 11 the last words please me, but the first are cruel and harsh." Then she said to me, "The last are for the righteous: the first are for heathens and apostates." And while she spoke to me, two men appeared and raised her on their shoulders, and they went to where the chair was in the east. With joyful countenance did she depart; and as she went, she said to me, "Behave like a man, Hermas."

SECOND VISION
Again, Of His Neglect In Chastising His Talkative Wife And His Lustful Sons, And Of His Character.

1.2 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 1

As I was going to the country about the same time as on the previous year, in my walk I recalled to memory the vision of that year. And again the Spirit carried me away, and took me to the same place where I had been the year before. On coming to that place, I bowed my knees and began to pray to the Lord, and to glorify His name, because He had deemed me worthy, and had made known to me my former sins. On rising from prayer, I see opposite me that old woman, whom I had seen the year before, walking and reading some book. And she says to me, "Can you carry a report of these things to the elect of God?" I say to her, "Lady, so much I cannot retain in my memory, but give me the book and I shall transcribe it." "Take it," says she, "and you will give it back to me." Thereupon I took it, and going away into a certain part of the country, I transcribed the whole of it letter by letter; but the syllables of it I did not catch. No sooner, however, had I finished the writing of the book, than all of a sudden it was snatched from my hands; but who the person was that snatched it, I saw not.

1.2 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 2

Fifteen days after, when I had fasted and prayed much to the Lord, the knowledge of the writing was revealed to me. Now the writing was to this effect: "Your seed, O Hermas, has sinned against God, and they have blasphemed against the Lord, and in their great wickedness they have betrayed their parents. And they passed as traitors of their parents, and by their treachery did they not reap profit. And even now they have added to their sins lusts and iniquitous pollutions, and thus their iniquities have, been filled up. But make known these words to all your children, and to your wife, who is to be your sister. For she does not restrain her tongue, with which she commits iniquity; but, on hearing these words, she will control herself, and will obtain mercy. For after you have made known to them these words which my Lord has commanded me to reveal to you, then shall they be forgiven all the sins which in former times they committed, and forgiveness will be granted to all the saints who have sinned even to the present day, if they repent with all their heart, and drive all doubts from their minds. For the Lord has sworn by His glory, in regard to His elect, that if any one of them sin after a certain day which has been fixed, he shall not be saved. For the repentance of the righteous has limits. Filled up are the days of repentance to all the saints; but to the heathen, repentance will be possible even to the last day. You will tell, therefore, those who preside over the Church, to direct their ways in righteousness, that they may receive in full the promises with great glory. Stand stedfast, therefore, ye who work righteous, ness, and doubt not, that your passage may be with the holy angels. Happy ye who endure the great tribulation that is coming on, and happy they who shall not deny their own life. For the Lord hath sworn by His Son, that those who denied their Lord have abandoned their life in despair, for even now these are to deny Him in the days that are coming. To those who denied in earlier times, God became gracious, on account of His exceeding tender mercy.

1.2 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 3

"But as for you, Hermas, remember not the wrongs done to you by your children, nor neglect your sister, that they may be cleansed from their former sins. For they will be instructed with righteous instruction, if you remember not the wrongs they have done you. For the remembrance of wrongs worketh death. And you, Henna, have endured great personal tribulations on account of the transgressions of your house, because you did not attend to them, but were careless and engaged in your wicked transactions. But you are saved, because you did not depart from the living God, and on account of your simplicity and great self-control. These have saved you, if you remain stedfast. And they will save all who act in the same manner, and walk in guilelessness and simplicity. Those who possess such virtues will wax strong against every form of wickedness, and will abide unto eternal life. Blessed are all they who practise righteousness, for they shall never be destroyed. Now you will tell Maximus: Lo! tribulation cometh on. If it seemeth good to thee, deny again. The Lord is near to them who return unto Him, as it is written in Eldad and Modat, who prophesied to the people in the wilderness."

1.2 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 4

Now a revelation was given to me, my brethren, while I slept, by a young man of comely appearance, who said to me, "Who do you think that old woman is from whom you received the book?" And I said, "The Sibyl." "You are in a mistake," says he; "it is not the Sibyl." "Who is it then?" say I. And he said, "It is the Church." And I said to him, "Why then is she an old woman? "Because," said he, "she was created first of all. On this account is she old. And for her sake was the world made." After that I saw a vision in my house, and that old woman came and asked me, if I had yet given the book to the presbyters. And I said that I had not. And then she said, "You have done well for I have some words to add. But when I finish all the words, all the elect will then become acquainted with them through you. You will write therefore two books, and you will send the one to Clemens and the other to Grapte. And Clemens will send his to foreign countries, for permission has been granted to him to do so. And Grapte will admonish the widows and the orphans. But you will read the words in this city, along with the presbyters who preside over the Church.

THIRD VISION
Concerning The Building Of The Triumphant Church, And The Various Classes Of Reprobate Men.

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1.3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 1

The vision which I saw, my brethren, was of the following nature. Having fasted frequently, and having prayed to the Lord that He would show me the revelation which He promised to show me through that old woman, the same night that old woman appeared to me, and said to me, "Since you are so anxious and eager to know all things, go into the part of the country where you tarry; and about the fifth hour I shall appear unto you, and show you all that you ought to see." I asked her, saying "Lady, into what part of the country am I to go?" And she said, "Into any part you wish." Then I chose a spot which was suitable, and retired. Before, however, I began to speak and to mention the place, she said to me, "I will come where you wish." Accordingly, I went to the country, and counted the hours, and reached the place where I, had promised to meet her. And I see an ivory seat ready placed, and on it a linen cushion, and above the linen cushion was spread a covering of fine linen. Seeing these laid out, and yet no one in the place, I began to feel awe, and as it were a trembling seized hold of me, and my hair stood on end, and as it were a horror came upon me when I saw that I was all alone. But on coming back to myself and calling to mind the glory of God, I took courage, bent my knees, and again confessed my sins to God as I had done before. Whereupon the old woman approached, accompanied by six young men whom I had also seen before; and she stood behind me, and listened to me, as I prayed and confessed my sins to the Lord. And touching me she said, "Hermas, cease praying continually for your sins; pray for righteousness, that you may have a portion of it immediately in your house." On this, she took me up by the hand, and brought me to the seat, and said to the young men, "Go and build." When the young men had gone and we were alone, she said to me, "Sit here." I say to her, "Lady, 'permit my elders to be seated first." "Do what I bid you," said she; "sit down." When I would have sat down on her right, she did not permit me, but with her hand beckoned to me to sit down on the left. While I was thinking about this, and feeling vexed that she did not let me sit on the right, she said, "Are you vexed, Hermas? The place to the right is for others who have already pleased God, and have suffered for His name's sake; and you have yet much to accomplish before you can sit with them. But abide as you now do in your simplicity, and you will sit with them, and with all who do their deeds and bear what they have borne."

1.3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 2

"What have they borne?" said I. "Listen," said she: "scourges, prisons, great tribulations, crosses, wild beasts, for God's name's sake. On this account is assigned to them the division of santification on the right hand, and to every one who shall suffer for God's name: to the rest is assigned the division on the left. But both for those who sit on the right, and those who sit on the left, there are the same gifts and promises; only those sit on the right, and have some glory. You then are eager to sit on the right with them, but your shortcomings are many. But you will be cleansed from your shortcomings; and all who are not given to doubts shall be cleansed from all their iniquities up till this day." Saying this, she wished to go away. But falling down at her feet, I begged her by the Lord that she would show me the vision which she had promised to show me. And then she again took hold of me by the hand, and raised me, and made me sit on the seat to the left; and lifting up a splendid rod, she said to me, "Do you see something great?" And I say, "Lady, I see nothing." She said to me, "Lo! do you not see opposite to you a great tower, built upon the waters, of splendid square stones?" For the tower was built square by those six young men who had come with her. But myriads of men were carrying stones to it, some dragging them from the depths, others removing them from the land, and they handed them to these six young men. They were taking them and building; and those. of the stones that were dragged out of the depths, they placed in the building just as they were: for they were polished and fitted exactly into the other stones, and became so united one with another that the lines of juncture could not be perceived. And in this way the building of the tower looked as if it were made out of one stone. Those stones, however, which were taken from the earth suffered a different fate; for the young men rejected some of them, some they fitted into the building, and some they cut down, and cast far away from the tower. Many other stones, however, lay around the tower, and the young men did not use them in building; for some of them were rough, others had cracks in them, others had been made too short, and others were white and round, but did not fit into the building of the tower. Moreover, I saw other stones thrown far away from the tower, and falling into the public road; yet they did not remain on the road, but were rolled into a pathless place. And I saw others falling into the fire and burning, others falling close to the water, and yet not capable of being rolled into the water, though they wished to be rolled down, and to enter the water.

1.3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 3

On showing me these visions, she wished to retire. I said to her, "What is the use of my having seen all this, while I do not know what it means?" She said to me, "You are a cunning fellow, wishing to know everything that relates to the tower." "Even so, O Lady," said I, "that I may tell it to my brethren, that, hearing this, they may know the Lord in much glory." And she said, "Many indeed shall hear, and hearing, some shall be glad, and some shall weep. But even these, if they hear and repent, shall also rejoice. Hear, then, the parables of the tower; for I will reveal all to you, and give me no more trouble in regard to revelation: for these revelations have an end, for they have been completed. But you will not cease praying for revelations, for you are shameless. The tower which you see building is myself, the Church, who have appeared to you now and on the former occasion. Ask, then, whatever you like in regard to the tower, and I will reveal it to you, that you may rejoice with the saints." I said unto her, "Lady, since you have vouchsafed to reveal all to me this once, reveal it." She said to me, "Whatsoever ought to be revealed, will be revealed; only let your heart be with God, and doubt not whatsoever you shall see."

I asked her, "Why was the tower built upon the waters, O Lady?" She answered, "I told you before, and you still inquire carefully: therefore inquiring you shall find the truth. Hear then why the tower is built upon the waters. It is because your life has been, and will be, saved through water. For the tower was founder on the word of the almighty and glorious Name and it is kept together by the invisible power of the Lord."

1.3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 4

In reply I said to her, "This is magnificent and marvellous. But who are the six young men who are engaged in building?" And she said, "These are the holy angels of God, who were first created, and to whom the Lord handed over His whole creation, that they might increase and build up and rule over the whole creation. By these will the building of the tower be finished." "But who are the other persons who are engaged in carrying the stones?" These also are holy angels of the Lord, but the former six are more excellent than these. The building of the tower will be finished, and all will rejoice together around the tower, and they will glorify God, because the tower is finished." I asked her, saying, "Lady, I should like to know what became of the stones, and what was meant by the various kinds of stones?" In reply she said to me, "Not because you are more deserving than all others that this revelation should be made to you--for there are others before you, and better than you, to whom these visions should have been revealed--but that the name of God may be glorified, has the revelation been made to you, and it will be made on account of the doubtful who ponder in their hearts whether these things will be or not. Tell them that all these things are true, and that none of them is beyond the truth. All of them are firm and sure, and established on a strong foundation.

1.3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 5

"Hear now with regard to the stones which are in the building. Those square white stones which fitted exactly into each other, are apostles, bishops, teachers, and deacons, who have lived in godly purity, and have acted as bishops and teachers and deacons chastely and reverently to the elect of God. Some of them have fallen asleep, and some still remain alive. And they have always agreed with each other, and been at peace among themselves, and listened to each other. On account of this, they join exactly into the building of the tower." "But who are the stones that were dragged from the depths, and which were laid into the building and fitted in with the rest of the stones previously placed in the tower?" "They are those who suffered for the Lord's sake." "But I wish to know, O Lady, who are the other stones which were carried from the land." "Those," she said, "which go into the building without being polished, are those whom God has approved of, for they walked in the straight ways of the Lord and practised His commandments." "But who are those who are in the act of being brought and placed in the building?" "They are those who are young in faith and are faithful. But they are admonished by the angels to do good, for no iniquity has been found in them." "Who then are those whom they rejected and cast away?" "These are they who have sinned, and wish to repent. On this account they have not been thrown far from the tower, because they will yet be useful in the building, if they repent. Those then who are to repent, if they do repent, will be strong in faith, if they now repent while the tower is building. For if the building be finished, there will not be more room for any one, but he will be rejected. This privilege, however, will belong only to him who has now been placed near the tower.

1.3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 6

"As to those who were cut down and thrown far away from the tower, do you wish to know who they are? They are the sons of iniquity, and they believed in hypocrisy, and wickedness did not depart from them. For this reason they are not saved, since they cannot be used in the building on account of their iniquities. Wherefore they have been cut off and cast far away on account of the anger of the Lord, for they have roused Him to anger. But I shall explain to you the other stones which you saw lying in great numbers, and not going into the building. Those which are rough are those who have known the truth and not remained in it, nor have they been joined to the saints. On this account are they unfit for use." "Who are those that have rents?" "These are they who are at discord in their hearts one with another, and are not at peace amongst themselves: they indeed keep peace before each other, but when they separate one from the other, their wicked thoughts remain in their hearts. These, then, are the rents which are in the stones. But those which are shortened are those who have indeed believed, and have the larger share of righteousness; yet they have also a considerable share of iniquity, and therefore they are shortened and not whole." "But who are these, Lady, that are white and round, and yet do not fit into the building of the tower?" She answered and said, "How long will you be foolish and stupid, and continue to put every kind of question and understand nothing? These are those who have faith indeed, but they have also the riches of this world. When, therefore, tribulation comes, on account of their riches and business they deny the Lord." I answered and said to her, "When, then, will they be useful for the building, Lady?"When the riches that now seduce them have been circumscribed, then will they be of use to God. For as a round stone cannot become square unless portions be cut off and cast away, so also those who are rich in this world cannot be useful to the Lord unless their riches be cut down. Learn this first from your own case. When you were rich, you were useless; but now you are useful and fit for life. Be ye useful to God; for you also will be used as one of these stones.

1.3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 7

"Now the other stones which you saw cast far away from the tower, and falling upon the public road and rolling from it into pathless places, are those who have indeed believed, but through doubt have abandoned the true road. Thinking, then, that they could find a better, they wander and become wretched, and enter upon pathless places. But those which fell into the fire and were burned? are those who have departed for ever from the living God; nor does the thought of repentance ever come into their hearts, on account of their devotion to their lusts and to the crimes which they committed. Do you wish to know who are the others which fell near the waters, but could not be rolled into them? These are they who have heard the word, and wish to be baptised in the name of the Lord; but when the chastity demanded by the truth comes into their recollection, they draw back, and again walk after their own wicked desires." She finished her exposition of the tower. But I, shameless as I yet was, asked her, "Is repentance possible for all those stones which have been cast away and did not fit into the building of the tower, and will they yet have a place in this tower?" "Repentance," said she, "is yet possible, but in this tower they cannot find a suitable place. But in another and much inferior place they will be laid, and that, too, only when they have been tortured and completed the days of their sins. And on this account will they be transferred, because they have partaken of the righteous Word. And then only will they be removed from their punishments when the thought of repenting of the evil deeds which they have done has come into their hearts. But if it does not come into their hearts, they will not be saved, on account of the hardness of their heart."

1.3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 8

When then I ceased asking in regard to all these matters, she said to me, "Do you wish to see anything else?" And as I was extremely eager to see something more, my countenance beamed with joy. She looked towards me with a smile, and said, "Do you see seven women around the tower?" "I do, Lady," said I. "This tower," said she, "is supported by them according to the precept of the Lord. Listen now to their functions. The first of them, who is clasping her hands, is called Faith. Through her the elect of God are saved? Another, who has her garments tucked up and acts with vigour, is called Self-restraint. She is the daughter of Faith. Whoever then follows her will become happy in his life, because he will restrain himself from all evil works, believing that, if he restrain himself from all evil desire, he will inherit eternal life." "But the others," said I, "O Lady, who are they?" And she said to me, "They are daughters of each other. One of them is called Simplicity, another Guilelessness, another Chastity, another Intelligence, another Love. When then you do all the works of their mother, you will be able to live." "I should like to know," said I, "O Lady, what power each one of them possesses." "Hear," she said, "what power they have. Their powers are regulated by each other, and follow each other in the order of their birth. For from Faith arises Self-restraint; from Self-restraint, Simplicity; from Simplicity, Guilelessness; from Guilelessness, Chastity; from Chastity, Intelligence; and from Intelligence, Love. The deeds, then, of these are pure, and chaste, and divine. Whoever devotes himself to these, and is able to hold fast by their works, shall

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have his dwelling in the tower with the saints of God." Then I asked her in regard to the ages, if now there is the conclusion. She cried out with a loud voice, "Foolish man! do you not see the tower yet building? When the tower is finished and built, then comes the end; and I assure you it will be soon finished. Ask me no more questions. Let you and all the saints be content with what I have called to your remembrance, and with my renewal of your spirits.

But observe that it is not for your own sake only that these revelations have been made to you, but they have been given you that you may show them to all.

For after three days--this you will take care to remember--I Command you to speak all the words which I am to say to you into the ears of the saints, that hearing them and doing them, they may be cleansed from their iniquities, and you along with them."

1.3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 9

Give ear unto me, O Sons: I have brought you up in much simplicity, and guilelessness, and chastity, on account of the mercy of the Lord, who has dropped His righteousness down upon you, that ye may be made righteous and holy from all your iniquity and depravity; but you do not wish to rest from your iniquity. Now, therefore, listen to me, and be at peace one with another, and visit each other, and bear each other's burdens, and do not partake of God's creatures alone, but give abundantly of them to the needy. For some through the abundance of their food produce weakness in their flesh, and thus corrupt their flesh; while the flesh of others who have no food is corrupted, because they have not sufficient nourishment. And on this account their bodies waste away. This intemperance in eating is thus injurious to you who have abundance and do not distribute among those who are needy. Give heed to the judgement that is to come. Ye, therefore, who are high in position, seek out the hungry as long as the tower is not yet finished; for after the tower is finished, you will wish to do good, but will find no opportunity. Give heed, therefore, ye who glory in your wealth, lest those who are needy should groan, and their groans should ascend to the Lord, and ye be shut out with all your goods beyond the gate of the tower. Wherefore I now say to you who preside over the Church and love the first seats, "Be not like to drug-mixers. For the drug-mixers carry their drugs in boxes, but ye carry your drug and poison m your heart. Ye are hardened, and do not wish to cleanse your hearts, and to add unity of aim to purity of heart, that you may have mercy from the great King. Take heed, therefore, children, that these dissensions of yours do not deprive you of your life. How will you instruct the elect of the Lord, if you yourselves have not instruction? Instruct each other therefore, and be at peace among yourselves, that I also, standing joyful before your Father, may give an account of you all to your Lord."

1.3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 10

On her ceasing to speak to me, those six young men who were engaged in building came and conveyed her to the tower, and other four lifted up the seat and carried it also to the tower. The faces of these last I did not see, for they were turned away from me. And as she was going, I asked her to reveal to me the meaning of the three forms in which she appeared to me. In reply she said to me: "With regard to them, you must ask another to reveal their meaning to you." For she had appeared to me, brethren, in the first vision the previous year under the form of an exceedingly old woman, sitting in a chair. In the second vision her face was youthful, but her skin and hair betokened age, and she stood while she spoke to me. She was also more joyful than on the first occasion. But in the third vision she was entirely youthful and exquisitely beautiful, except only that she had the hair of an old woman; but her face beamed with joy, and she sat on a seat. Now I was exceeding sad in regard to these appearances, for I longed much to know what the visions meant. Then I see the old woman in a vision of the night saying unto me: "Every prayer should be accompanied with humility: fast, therefore, and you will obtain from the Lord what you beg." I fasted therefore for one day.

That very night there appeared to me a young man, who said, "Why do you frequently ask revelations in prayer? Take heed lest by asking many things you injure your flesh: be content with these revelations. Will you be able to see greater' revelations than those which you have seen?" I answered and said to him, "Sir, one thing only I ask, that in regard to these three forms the revelation may be rendered complete." He answered me, "How long are ye senseless? But your doubts make you senseless, because you have not your hearts turned towards the Lord." But I answered and said to him, "From you, sir, we shall learn these things more accurately."

1.3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 11

"Hear then," said he, "with regard to the three forms, concerning which you are inquiring. Why in the first vision did she appear to you as an old woman seated on a chair? Because your spirit is now old and withered up, and has lost its power in consequence of your infirmities and doubts. For, like elderly men who have no hope of renewing their strength, and expect nothing but their last sleep, so you, weakened by worldly occupations, have given yourselves up to sloth, and have not cast your cares upon the Lord. Your spirit therefore is broken, and you have grown old in your sorrows." "I should like then to know, sir, why she sat on a chair?" He answered, "Because every weak person sits on a chair on account of his weakness, that his weakness may be sustained. Lo! you have the form of the first vision.

1.3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 12

"Now in the second vision you saw her standing with a youthful countenance, and more joyful than before; still she had the skin and hair of an aged woman. Hear," said he, "this parable also. When one becomes somewhat old, he despairs of himself on account of his weakness and poverty, and looks forward to nothing but the last day of his life. Then suddenly an inheritance is left him: and hearing of this, he rises up, and becoming exceeding joyful, he puts on strength. And now he no longer reclines, but stands up; and his spirit, already destroyed by his previous actions, is renewed, and he no longer sits, but acts with vigour. So happened it with you on hearing the revelation which God gave you. For the Lord had compassion on you, and renewed your spirit, and ye laid aside your infirmities. Vigour arose within you, and ye grew strong in faith; and the Lord, seeing your strength, rejoiced. On this account He showed you the building of the tower; and He will show you other things, if you continue at peace with each other with all your heart.

1.3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 13

"Now, in the third vision, you saw her still younger, and she was noble and joyful, and her shape was beautiful. For, just as when some good news comes suddenly to one who is sad, immediately he forgets his former sorrows, and looks for nothing else than the good news which he has heard, and for the future is made strong for good, and his spirit is renewed on account of the joy which he has received; so ye also have received the renewal of your spirits by seeing these good things. As to your seeing her sitting on a seat, that means that her position is one of strength, for a seat has four feet and stands firmly. For the world also is kept together by means of four elements. Those, therefore, who repent completely and with the whole heart, will become young and firmly established. You now have the revelation completely given you? Make no further demands for revelations. If anything ought to be revealed, it will be revealed to you."

FOURTH VISION
Concerning The Trial And Tribulation
That Are To Come Upon Men.

1.4 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 1

Twenty days after the former vision I saw another vision, brethren --a representation of the tribulation that is to come. I was going to a country house along the Campanian road. Now the house lay about ten furlongs from the public road. The district is one rarely traversed. And as I walked alone, I prayed the Lord to complete the revelations which He had made to me through His holy Church, that He might strengthen me, and give repentance to all His servants who were going astray, that His great and glorious name might be glorified because He vouchsafed to show me His marvels. And while I was glorifying Him and giving Him thanks, a voice, as it were, answered me, "Doubt not, Hermas;" and I began to think with myself, and to say, "What reason have I to doubt--I who have been established by the Lord, and who have seen such glorious sights?" I advanced a little, brethren, and, lo! I see dust rising even to the heavens. I began to say to myself, "Are cattle approaching and raising the dust?" It was about a furlong's distance from me. And, lo! I see the dust rising more and more, so that I imagined that it was something sent from God. But the sun now shone out a little, and, lo! I see a mighty beast like a whale, and out of its mouth fiery locusts proceeded. But the size of that beast was about a hundred feet, and it had a head like an urn. I began to weep, and to call on the Lord to rescue me from it. Then I remembered the word which I had heard, "Doubt not, O Hermas." Clothed, therefore, my brethren, with faith in the Lord? and remembering the great things which He had taught me, I boldly faced the beast. Now that beast came on with such noise and force, that it could itself have destroyed a city. I came near it, and the monstrous beast stretched itself out on the ground, and showed nothing but its tongue, and did not stir at all until I had passed by it. Now the beast had four colours on its head-black, then fiery and bloody, then golden, and lastly white.

1.4 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 2

Now after I had passed by the wild beast, and had moved forward about thirty feet, lo! a virgin meets me, adorned as if she were proceeding from the bridal chamber, clothed entirely in white, and with white sandals, and veiled up to her forehead, and her head was covered by a hood.s And she had white hair. I knew from my former visions that this was the Church, and I became more joyful. She saluted me, and said, "Hail, O man!" And I returned her salutation, and said, "Lady, hail!" And she answered. and said to me, "Has nothing crossed your path?" I say, "I was met by a beast of such a size that it could destroy peoples, but through the power of the Lord and His great mercy I escaped from it." "Well did you escape from it," says she, "because you cast your care on God, and opened your heart to the Lord, believing that you can be saved by no other than by His great and glorious name. On this account the Lord has sent His angel, who has rule over the beasts, and whose name is Thegri, and has shut up its mouth, so that it cannot tear you. You have escaped from great tribulation on account of your faith, and because you did not doubt in the presence of such a beast. Go, therefore, and tell the elect of the Lord His mighty deeds, and say to them that this beast is a type of the great tribulation that is coming. If then ye prepare yourselves, and repent with all your heart, and turn to the Lord, it will be possible for you to escape it, if your heart be pure and spotless, and ye spend the rest of the days of your life in serving the Lord blamelessly. Cast your cares upon the Lord, and He will direct them. Trust the Lord, ye who doubt, for He is all-powerful, and can turn His anger away from you, and send scourges" on the doubters. Woe to those who hear these words, and despise them: better were it for them not to have been born."

1.4 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 3

I asked her about the four colours which the beast had on his head. And she answered, and said to me, "Again you are inquisitive in regard to such matters." "Yea, Lady, said I, "make known to me what they are." "Listen," said she: "the black is the world in which we dwell: but the fiery and bloody points out that the world must perish through blood and fire: but the golden part are you who have escaped from this world. For as gold is tested by fire, and thus becomes useful, so are you tested who dwell in it. Those, therefore, who continue stedfast, and are put through the fire, will be purified by means of it. For as gold casts away its dross, so also will ye cast away all sadness and straitness, and will be made pure so as to fit into the building of the tower. But the white part is the age that is to come, in which the elect of God will dwell, since those elected by God to eternal life will be spotless and pure. Wherefore cease not speaking these things into the ears of the saints. This then is the type of the great tribulation that is to come. If ye wish it, it will be nothing. Remember those things which were written down before." And saying this, she departed. But I saw not into what place she retired. There was a noise, however, and I turned round in alarm, thinking that that beast was coming.

FIFTH VISION
Concerning The Commandments.

After I had been praying at home, and had sat down on my couch, there entered a man of glorious aspect, dressed like a shepherd, with a white goat's skin, a wallet on his shoulders, and a rod in his hand, and saluted me. I returned his salutation. And straightway he sat down beside me, and said to me, "I have been sent by a most venerable angel to dwell with you the remaining days of your life." And I thought that he had come to tempt me, and I said to him, "Who are you? For I know him to whom I have been entrusted." He said to me, "Do you not know me?" "No," said I. "I," said he, "am that shepherd to whom you have been entrusted." And as he was speaking, his figure was changed; and then I knew that it was he to whom I had been entrusted. And straightway I became confused, and fear took hold of me, and I was overpowered with deep sorrow that I had answered him so wickedly and foolishly. But he answered, and said to me, "Do not be confounded, but receive strength from the commandments which I am going to give you. For I have been sent," said he, "to show you again all the things which you saw before, especially those of them which are useful to you. First of all, then, write down my commandments and similitudes, and you will write the other things as I shall show you. For this purpose," said he, "I command you to write down the commandments and similitudes first, that you may read them easily, and be able to keep them." Accordingly I wrote down the commandments and similitudes, exactly as he had ordered me. If then, when you have heard these, ye keep them and walk in them, and practise them with pure minds, you will receive from the Lord all that He has promised to you. But if, after you have heard them, ye do not repent, but continue to add to your sins, then shall ye receive from the Lord the opposite things. All these words did the shepherd, even the angel of repentance, command me to write.

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SECOND BOOK: COMMANDMENTS

FIRST COMMANDMENT
On Faith In God.

FIRST Of all, believe that there is one God who created and finished all things, and made all things out of nothing. He alone is able to contain the whole, but Himself cannot be contained. Have faith therefore in Him, and fear Him; and fearing Him, exercise self-control. Keep these commands, and you will cast away from you all wickedness, and put on the strength of righteousness, and live to God, if you keep this commandment.

SECOND COMMANDMENT
On Avoiding Evil-Speaking,
And On Giving Alms In Simplicity.

He said to me, "Be simple and guileless, and you will be as the children who know not the wickedness that ruins the life of men. First, then, speak evil of no one, nor listen with pleasure to any one who speaks evil of another. But if you listen, you will partake of the sin of him who speaks evil, if you believe the slander which you hear; for believing it, you will also have something to say against your brother. Thus, then, will you be guilty of the sin of him who slanders. For slander is evil and an unsteady demon. It never abides in peace, but always remains in discord. Keep yourself from it, and you will always be at peace with all. Put on a holiness in which there is no wicked cause of offence, but all deeds that are equable and joyful. Practise goodness; and from the rewards of your labours, which God gives you, give to all the needy in simplicity, not hesitating as to whom you are to give or not to give. Give to all, for God wishes His gifts to be shared amongst all. They who receive, will render an account to God why and for what they have received. For the afflicted who receive will not be condemned, but they who receive on false pretences will suffer punishment. He, then, who gives is guiltless. For as he received from the Lord, so has he accomplished his service in simplicity, not hesitating as to whom he should give and to whom he should not give. This service, then, if accomplished in simplicity, is glorious with God. He, therefore, who thus ministers in simplicity, will live to God. Keep therefore these commandments, as I have given them to you, that your repentance and the repentance of your house may be found in simplicity, and your heart may be pure and stainless."

THIRD COMMANDMENT
On Avoiding Falsehood, And On The Repentance
Of Hermas For His Dissimulation.

Again he said to me, "Love the truth, and let nothing but truth proceed from your mouth, that the spirit which God has placed in your flesh may be found truthful before all men; and the Lord, who dwelleth in you, will be glorified, because the Lord is truthful in every word, and in Him is no falsehood. They therefore who lie deny the Lord, and rob Him, not giving back to Him the deposit which they have received. For they received from Him a spirit free from falsehood. If they give him back this spirit untruthful, they pollute the commandment of the Lord, and become robbers." On hearing these words, I wept most violently. When he saw me weeping, he said to me, "Why do you weep?" And I said, "Because, sir, I know not if I can be saved." "Why?" said he. And I said, "Because, sir, I never spake a true word in my life, but have ever spoken cunningly to all, and have affirmed a lie for the truth to all; and no one ever contradicted me, but credit was given to my word. How then can I live, since I have acted thus?" And he said to me, "Your feelings are indeed right and sound, for you ought as a servant of God to have walked in truth, and not to have joined an evil conscience with the spirit of truth, nor to have caused sadness to the holy and true Spirit." s And I said to him, "Never, sir, did I listen to these words with so much attention." And he said to me, "Now you hear them, and keep them, that even the falsehoods which you formerly told in your transactions may come to be believed through the truthfulness of your present statements. For even they can become worthy of credit. If you keep these precepts, and from this time forward you speak nothing but the truth, it will be possible for you to obtain life. And whosoever shall hear this commandment, and depart from that great wickedness falsehood, shall live to God."

FOURTH COMMANDMENT
On Putting One's Wife Away For Adultery.

2 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 1

"I charge you," said he, "to guard your chastity, and let no thought enter your heart of another man's wife, or of fornication, or of similar iniquities; for by doing this you commit a great sin. But if you always remember your own wife, you will never sin. For if this thought enter your heart, then you will sin; and if, in like manner, you think other wicked thoughts, you commit sin. For this thought is great sin in a servant of God. But if any one commit this wicked deed, he works death for himself. Attend, therefore, and refrain from this thought; for where purity dwells, there iniquity ought not to enter the heart of a righteous man." I said to him, "Sir, permit me to ask you a few questions." "Say on," said he. And I said to him, "Sir, if any one has a wife who trusts in the Lord, and if he detect her in adultery, does the man sin if he continue to live with her?" And he said to me, "As long as he remains ignorant of her sin, the husband commits no transgression in living with her. But if the husband know that his wife has gone astray, and if the woman does not repent, but persists in her fornication, and yet the husband continues to live with her, he also is guilty of her crime, and a sharer in her adultery." And I said to him, "What then, sir, is the husband to do, if his wife continue in her vicious practices?" And he said, "The husband should put her away, and remain by himself. But if he put his wife away and marry another, he also commits adultery." And I said to him, "What if the woman put away should repent, and wish to return to her husband: shall she not be taken back by her husband?" And he said to me, "Assuredly. If the husband do not take her back, he sins, and brings a great sin upon himself; for he ought to take back the sinner who has repented. But not frequently. For there is but one repentance to the servants of God. In case, therefore, that the divorced wife may repent, the husband ought not to marry another, when his wife has been put away. In this matter man and woman are to be treated exactly in the same way. Moreover, adultery is committed not only by those who pollute their flesh, but by those who imitate the heathen in their actions." Wherefore if any one persists in such deeds, and repents not, withdraw from him, and cease to live with him. Otherwise you are a sharer in his sin. Therefore has the injunction been laid on you, that you should remain by yourselves, both man and woman, for in such persons repentance can take place. But I do not," said he, "give opportunity for the doing of these deeds, but that he who has sinned may sin no more. But with regard to his previous transgressions, there is One who is able to provide a cure; for it is He, indeed, who has power over all."

2 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 2

I asked him again, and said, "Since the Lord has vouchsafed to dwell always with me, hear with me while I utter a few words; for I understand nothing, and my heart has been hardened by my previous mode of life. Give me understanding, for I am exceedingly dull, and I understand absolutely nothing." And he answered and said unto me, "I am set over repentance, and I give understanding to all who repent. Do you not think," he said, "that it is great wisdom to repent? for repentance is great wisdom. For he who has sinned understands that he acted wickedly in the sight of the Lord, and remembers the actions he has done, and he repents, and no longer acts wickedly, but does good munificently, and humbles and torments his soul because he has sinned. You see, therefore, that repentance is great wisdom." And I said to him, "It is for this reason, sir, that I inquire carefully into all things, especially because I am a sinner; that I may know what works I should do, that I may live: for my sins are many and various." And he said to me, "You shall live if you keep my commandments, and walk in them; and whosoever shall hear and keep these commandments, shall live to God."

2 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 3

And I said to him, "I should like to continue my questions." "Speak on," said he. And I said, "I heard, sir, some teachers maintain that there is no other repentance than that which takes place, when we descended into the water and received remission of our former sins." He said to me, "That was sound doctrine which you heard; for that is really the case. For he who has received remission of his sins ought not to sin any more, but to live in purity. Since, however, you inquire diligently into all things, I will point this also out to you, not as giving occasion for error to those who are to believe, or have lately believed, in the Lord. For those who have now believed, and those who are to believe, have not repentance for their sins; but they have remission of their previous sins. For to those who have been called before these days, the Lord has set repentance. For the Lord, knowing the heart, and foreknowing all things, knew the weakness of men and the manifold wiles of the devil, that he would inflict some evil on the servants of God, and would act wickedly towards them. The Lord, therefore, being merciful, has had mercy on the work of His hand, and has set repentance for them; and He has entrusted to me power over this repentance. And therefore I say to you, that if any one is tempted by the devil, and sins after that great and holy calling. in which the Lord has called His people to everlasting life, he has opportunity to repent but once. But if he should sin frequently after this, and then repent, to such a man his repentance will be of no avail; for with difficulty will he live." And I said, "Sir, I feel that life has come back to me in listening attentively to these commandments; for I know that I shall be saved, if in future I sin no more." And he said, "You will be saved, you and all who keep these commandments."

2 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 4

And again I asked him, saying, "Sir, since you have been so patient in listening to me, will you show me this also?" "Speak," said he. And I said, "If a wife or husband die, and the widower or widow marry, does he or she commit sin?" "There is no sin in marrying again," said he; "but if they remain unmarried, they gain greater honour and glory with the Lord; but if they marry, they do not sin. Guard, therefore, your chastity and purity, and you will live to God. What commandments I now give you, and what I am to give, keep from henceforth, yea, from the very day when you were entrusted to me, and I will dwell in your house. And your former sins will be forgiven, if you keep my commandments. And all shall be forgiven who keep these my commandments, and walk in this chastity."

FIFTH COMMANDMENT
Of Sadness Of Heart, And Of Patience.

2 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 1

"Be patient," said he, "and of good understanding, and you will rule over every wicked work, and you will work all righteousness. For if you be patient, the Holy Spirit that dwells in you will be pure. He will not be darkened by any evil spirit, but, dwelling in a broad region, he will rejoice and be glad; and with the vessel in which he dwells he will serve God in gladness, having great peace within himself. But if any outburst of anger take place, forthwith the Holy Spirit, who is tender, is straitened, not having a pure place, and He seeks to depart. For he is choked by the vile spirit, and cannot attend on the Lord as he wishes, for anger pollutes him. For the Lord dwells in long-suffering, but the devil in anger. The two spirits, then, when dwelling in the same habitation, are at discord with each other, and are troublesome to that man in whom they dwell. For if an exceedingly small piece of wormwood be taken and put into a jar of honey, is not the honey entirely destroyed, and does not the exceedingly small piece of wormwood entirely take away the sweetness of the honey, so that it no longer affords any gratification to its owner, but has become bitter, and lost its use? But if the wormwood be not put into the honey, then the honey remains sweet, and is of use to its owner. You see, then, that patience is sweeter than honey, and useful to God, and the Lord dwells in it. But anger is bitter and useless. Now, if anger be mingled with patience, the patience is polluted, and its prayer is not then useful to God." "I should like, sir," said I, "to know the power of anger, that I may guard myself against it." And he said, "If you do not guard yourself against it, you and your house lose all hope of salvation. Guard yourself, therefore, against it. For I am with you, and all will depart from it who repent with their whole heart. For I will be with them, and I will save them all. For all are justified by the most holy angel.

2 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 2

"Hear now," said he, "how wicked is the action of anger, and in what way it overthrows the servants of God by its action, and turns them from righteousness. But it does not turn away those who are full of faith, nor does it act on them, for the power of the Lord is with them. It is the thoughtless and doubting that it turns away. For as soon as it sees such men standing stedfast, it throws itself into their hearts, and for nothing at all the man or woman becomes embittered on account of occurrences in their daily life, as for instance on account of their food, or some superfluous word that has been uttered, or on account of some friend, or some gift or debt, or some such senseless affair. For all these things are foolish and empty and unprofitable to the servants of God. But patience is great, and mighty, and strong, and calm in the midst of great enlargement, joyful, rejoicing, free from care, glorifying God at all times, having no bitterness in her, and abiding continually meek and quiet. Now this patience dwells with those who have complete faith. But anger is foolish, and fickle, and senseless. Now, of folly is begotten bitterness, and of bitterness anger, and of anger frenzy. This frenzy, the product of so many evils, ends in great and incurable sin. For when all these spirits dwell in one vessel in which the Holy Spirit also dwells, the vessel cannot contain them, but overflows. The tender Spirit, then, not being accustomed to dwell with the wicked spirit, nor with hardness, withdraws from such a man, and seeks to dwell with meekness and peacefulness. Then, when he withdraws from the man in whom he dwelt, the man is emptied of the righteous Spirit; and being henceforward filled with evil spirits, he is in a state of anarchy in every action, being dragged hither and thither by the evil spirits, and there is a complete darkness in his mind as to everything good. This, then, is what happens to all the angry. Wherefore do you depart from that most wicked spirit anger, and put on patience, and resist anger and bitterness, and you will be

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found in company with the purity which is loved by the Lord. Take care, then, that you neglect not by any chance this commandment: for if you obey this commandment, you will be able to keep all the other commandments which I am to give you. Be strong, then, in these commandments, and put on power, and let all put on power, as many as wish to walk in them."

SIXTH COMMANDMENT
How To Recognise The Two Spirits Attendant
On Each Man, And How To Distinguish
The Suggestions Of The One From Those Of The Other.

2 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 1

"I gave you," he said, "directions in the first commandment to attend to faith, and fear, and self-restraint." "Even so, sir," said I. And he said, "Now I wish to show you the powers of these, that you may know what power each possesses. For their powers are double, and have relation alike to the righteous and the unrighteous. Trust you, therefore, the righteous, but put no trust in the unrighteous. For the path of righteousness is straight, but that of unrighteousness is crooked. But walk in the straight and even way, and mind not the crooked. For the crooked path has no roads, but has many pathless places and stumbling-blocks in it, and it is rough and thorny. It is injurious to those who walk therein. But they who walk in the straight road walk evenly without stumbling, because it is neither rough nor thorny. You see, then, that it is better to walk in this road." "I wish to go by this road," said I. "You will go by it," said he; "and whoever turns to the Lord with all his heart will walk in it."

2 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 2

"Hear now," said he, "in regard to faith. There are two angels with a man--one of righteousness, and the other of iniquity." And I said to him, "How, sir, am I to know the powers of these, for both angels dwell with me?" "Hear," said he, and "understand them. The angel of righteousness is gentle and modest, meek and peaceful. When, therefore, he ascends into your heart, forthwith he talks to you of righteousness, purity, chastity, contentment, and of every righteous deed and glorious virtue. When all these ascend into your heart, know that the angel of righteousness is with you. These are the deeds of the angel of righteousness. Trust him, then, and his works. Look now at the works of the angel of iniquity. First, he is wrathful, and bitter, and foolish, and his works are evil, and ruin the servants of God. When, then, he ascends into your heart, know him by his works." And I said to him, "How, sir, I shall perceive him, I donor know." "Hear and understand" said he. "When anger comes upon you, or harshness, know that he is in you; and you will know this to be the case also, when you are attacked by a longing after many transactions, and the richest delicacies, and drunken revels, and divers luxuries, and things improper, and by a hankering after women, and by overreaching, and pride, and blustering, and by whatever is like to these. When these ascend into your heart, know that the angel of iniquity is in you. Now that you know his works, depart from him, and in no respect trust him, because his deeds are evil, and unprofitable to the servants of God. These, then, are the actions of both angels. Understand them, and trust the angel of righteousness; but depart from the angel of iniquity, because his instruction is bad in every deed. For though a man be most faithful, and the thought of this angel ascend into his heart, that man or woman must sin. On the other hand, be a man or woman ever so bad, yet, if the works of the angel of righteousness ascend into his or her heart, he or she must do something good. You see, therefore, that it is good to follow the angel of righteousness, but to bid farewell to the angel of iniquity.

"This commandment exhibits the deeds of faith, that you may trust the works of the angel of righteousness, and doing them you may live to God. But believe the works of the angel of iniquity are hard. If you refuse to do them, you will live to God."

SEVENTH COMMANDMENT
On Fearing God, And Not Fearing The Devil.

"Fear," said he, "the Lord, and keep His commandments. For if you keep the commandments of God, you will be powerful in every action, and every one of your actions will be incomparable. For, fearing the Lord, you will do all things well. This is the fear which you ought to have, that you may be saved. But fear not the devil; for, fearing the Lord, you will have dominion over the devil, for there is no power in him. But he in whom there is no power ought on no account to be an object of fear; but He in whom there is glorious power is truly to be feared. For every one that has power ought to be feared; but he who has not power is despised by all. Fear, therefore, the deeds of the devil, since they are wicked. For, fearing the Lord, you will not do these deeds, but will refrain from them. For fears are of two kinds: for if you do not wish to do that which is evil, fear the Lord, and you will not do it; but, again, if you wish to do that which is good, fear the Lord, and you will do it. Wherefore the fear of the Lord is strong, and great, and glorious. Fear, then, the Lord, and you will live to Him, and as many as fear Him and keep His commandments will live to God." "Why," said I, "sir, did you say in regard to those that keep His commandments, that they will live to God?" "Because," says he, "all creation fears the Lord, but all creation does not keep His commandments. They only who fear the Lord and keep His commandments have life with God; but as to those who keep not His commandments, there is no life in them."

EIGHTH COMMANDMENT
We Ought To Shun That Which Is Evil,
And Do That Which Is Good.

"I told you," said he, "that the creatures of God are double, for restraint also is double; for in some cases restraint has to be exercised in others there is no need of restraint." "Make known to me, sir," say I, "in what cases restraint has to be exercised, and in what cases it has not." "Restrain yourself in regard to evil, and do it not; but exercise no restraint in regard to good, but do it. For if you exercise restraint in the doing of good, you will commit a great sin; but if you exercise restraint, so as not to do that which is evil, you are practising great righteousness. Restrain yourself, therefore, from all iniquity, and do that which is good." "What, sir," say I, "are the evil deeds from which we must restrain ourselves?" "Hear," says he: "from adultery and fornication, from unlawful revelling, from wicked luxury, from indulgence in many kinds of food and the extravagance of riches, and from boastfulness, and haughtiness, and insolence, and lies, and backbiting, and hypocrisy, from the remembrance of wrong, and from all slander. These are the deeds that are most wicked in the life of men. From all these deeds, therefore, the servant of God must restrain himself. For he who does not restrain himself from these, cannot live to God. Listen, then, to the deeds that accompany these." "Are there, sir," said I, "any other evil deeds?"

"There are," says he; "and many of them, too, from which the servant of God must restrain himself--theft, lying, robbery, false witness, overreaching, wicked lust, deceit, vainglory, boastfulness, and all other vices like to these." "Do you not think that these are really wicked?""Exceedingly wicked in the servants of God. From all of these the servant of God must restrain himself. Restrain yourself, then, from all these, that you may live to God, and you will be enrolled amongst those who restrain themselves in regard to these matters. These, then, are the things from which you must restrain yourself.

"But listen," says he, "to the things in regard to which you have not to exercise self-restraint, but which you ought to do. Restrain not yourself in regard to that which is good, but do it." "And tell me, sir," say I, "the nature of the good deeds, that I may walk in them and wait on them, so that doing them I can be saved." "Listen," says he, "to the good deeds which you ought to do, and in regard to which there is no self-restraint requisite.

First of all there is faith, then fear of the Lord, love, concord, words of righteousness, truth, patience. Than these, nothing is better in the life of men. If any one attend to these, and restrain himself not from them, blessed is he in his life. Then there are the following attendant on these: helping widows, looking after orphans and the needy, rescuing the servants of God from necessities, the being hospitable--for in hospitality good-doing finds a field--never opposing any one, the being quiet, having fewer needs than all men, reverencing the aged, practising righteousness, watching the brotherhood, bearing insolence, being long-suffering, encouraging those who are sick in soul, not casting those who have fallen into sin from the faith, but turning them back and restoring them to peace of mind, admonishing sinners, not oppressing debtors and the needy, and if there are any other actions like these. Do these seem to you good?" says he. "For what, sir," say I, "is better than these?" "Walk then in them," says he, "and restrain not yourself from them, and you will live to God. Keep, therefore, this commandment. If you do good, and restrain not yourself from it, you will live to God. All who act thus will live to God. And, again, if you refuse to do evil, and restrain yourself from it, you will live to God. And all will live to God who keep these commandments, and walk in them."

NINTH COMMANDMENT
Prayer Must Be Made To God Without Ceasing
And With Unwavering Confidence.

He says to me, "Put away doubting from you and do not hesitate to ask of the Lord, saying to yourself, 'How can I ask of the Lord and receive from Him, seeing I have sinned so much against Him?' Do not thus reason with yourself, but with all your heart turn to the Lord and ask of Him without doubting, and you will know the multitude of His tender mercies; that He will never leave you, but fulfil the request of your soul. For He is not like men, who remember evils done against them; but He Himself remembers not evils, and has compassion on His own creature, Cleanse, therefore, your heart from all the vanities of this world, and from the words already mentioned, and ask of the Lord and you will receive all, and in none of your requests will you be denied which you make to the Lord without doubting. But if you doubt in your heart, you will receive none of your requests. For those who doubt regarding God are double-souled, and obtain not one of their requests. But those who are perfect in faith ask everything, trusting in the Lord; and they obtain, because they ask nothing doubting, and not being double-souled. For every double-souled man, even if he repent, will with difficulty be saved. Cleanse your heart, therefore, from all doubt, and put on faith, because it is strong, and trust God that you will obtain from Him all that you ask. And if at any time, after you have asked of the Lord, you are slower in obtaining your request [than you expected], do not doubt because you have not soon obtained the request of your soul; for invariably it is on account of some temptation or some sin of which you are ignorant that you are slower in obtaining your request. Wherefore do not cease to make the request of your soul, and you will obtain it. But if you grow weary and waver in your request, blame yourself, and not Him who does not give to you. Consider this doubting state of mind, for it is wicked and senseless, and turns many away entirely from the faith, even though they be very strong. For this doubting is the daughter of the devil, and acts exceedingly wickedly to the servants of God. Despise, then, doubting, and gain the mastery over it in everything; clothing yourself with faith, which is strong and powerful. For faith promises all things, perfects all things; but doubt having no thorough faith in itself, fails in every work which it undertakes. You see, then," says he, "that, faith is from above--from the Lord --and has great power; but doubt is an earthly spirit, coming from the devil, and has no power. Serve, then, that which has power, namely faith, and keep away from doubt, which has no power, and you will live to God. And all will live to God whose minds have been set on these things." Second Book: Commandments

TENTH COMMANDMENT
Of Grief, And Not Grieving
The Spirit Of God Which Is In Us.

2 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 1

"Remove from you," says he, "grief; for she is the sister of doubt and anger." "How, sir," say I, "is she the sister of these? for anger, doubt, and grief seem to be quite different from each other." "You are senseless, O man.

Do you not perceive that grief is more wicked than all the spirits, and most terrible to the servants of God, and more than all other spirits destroys man and crushes out the Holy Spirit, and yet, on the other hand, she saves him?"

"I am senseless, sir," say I, "and do not understand these parables. For how she can crush out, and on the other hand save, I do not perceive." "Listen," says he. "Those who have never searched for the truth, nor investigated the nature of the Divinity, but have simply believed, when they devote themselves to and become mixed up with business, and wealth, and heathen friendships, and many other actions of this world, do not perceive the parables of Divinity; for their minds are darkened by these actions, and they are corrupted and become dried up. Even as beautiful vines, when they are neglected, are withered up by thorns and divers plants, so men who have believed, and have afterwards fallen away into many of those actions above mentioned, go astray in their minds, and lose all understanding in regard to righteousness; for if they hear of righteousness, their minds are occupied with their business, and they give no heed at all. Those, on the other hand, who have the fear of God, and search after Godhead and truth, and have their hearts turned to the Lord, quickly perceive and understand what is said to them, because they have the fear of the Lord in them. For where the Lord dwells, there is much understanding. Cleave, then, to the Lord, and you will understand and perceive all things.

2 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 2

"Hear, then," says he, "foolish man, how grief crushes out the Holy Spirit, and on the other hand saves. When the doubting man attempts any deed, and fails in it on account of his doubt, this grief enters into the man, and grieves the Holy Spirit, and crushes him out. Then, on the other hand, when anger attaches itself to a man in regard to any matter, and he is embittered, then grief enters into the heart of the man who was irritated, and he is grieved at the deed which he did, and repents that he has wrought a wicked deed. This grief, then, appears to be accompanied by salvation, because the man, after having done a wicked deed, repented. Both actions grieve the Spirit: doubt, because it did not accomplish its

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object; and anger grieves the Spirit, because it did what was wicked. Both these are grievous to the Holy Spirit--doubt and anger. Wherefore remove grief from you, and crush not the Holy Spirit which dwells in you, lest he entreat God against you, and he withdraw from you. For the Spirit of God which has been granted to us to dwell in this body does not endure grief nor straitness. Wherefore put on cheerfulness, which always is agreeable and acceptable to God, and rejoice in it. For every cheerful man does what is good, and minds what is good, and despises grief; but the sorrowful man always acts wickedly. First, he acts wickedly because he grieves the Holy Spirit, which was given to man a cheerful Spirit. Secondly, Grieving the Holy Spirit, he works iniquity, neither entreating the Lord nor confessing to Him. For the entreaty of the sorrowful man has no power to ascend to the altar of God." "Why," say I, "does not the entreaty of the grieved man ascend to the altar?" "Because," says he, "grief sits in his heart. Grief, then, mingled with his entreaty, does not permit the entreaty to ascend pure to the altar of God. For as vinegar and wine, when mixed in the same vessel, do not give the same pleasure [as wine alone gives], so grief mixed. with the Holy Spirit does not produce the same entreaty [as would be produced by the Holy Spirit alone]. Cleanse yourself from this wicked grief, and you will live to God; and all will live to God who drive away grief from them, and put on all cheerfulness."

ELEVENTH COMMANDMENT
The Spirit And Prophets To Be Tried By Their Works;
Also Of The Two Kinds Of Spirit.

He pointed out to me some men sitting on a seat, and one man sitting on a chair. And he says to me, "Do you see the persons sitting on the seat?" "I do, sir," said I. "These," says he, "are the faithful, and he who sits on the chair is a false prophet, ruining the minds of the servants of God. It is the doubters, not the faithful, that he ruins. These doubters then go to him as to a soothsayer, and inquire of him what will happen to them; and he, the false prophet, not having the power of a Divine Spirit in him, answers them according to their inquiries, and according to their wicked desires, and fills their souls with expectations, according to their own wishes. For being himself empty, he gives empty answers to empty inquirers; for every answer is made to the emptiness of man. Some true words he does occasionally utter; for the devil fills him with his own spirit, in the hope that he may be able to overcome some of the righteous. As many, then, as are strong in the faith of the Lord, and are clothed with truth, have no connection with such spirits, but keep away from them; but as many as are of doubtful minds and frequently repent, betake themselves to soothsaying, even as the heathen, and bring greater sin upon themselves by their idolatry. For he who inquires of a false prophet in regard to any action is an idolater, and devoid of the truth, and foolish. For no spirit given by God requires to be asked; but such a spirit having the power of Divinity speaks all things of itself, for it proceeds from above from the power of the Divine Spirit. But the spirit which is asked and speaks according to the desires of men is earthly, light, and powerless, and it is altogether silent if it is not questioned." "How then, sir," say I, "will a man know which of them is the prophet, and which the false prophet?" "I will tell you," says he, "about both the prophets, and then you can try the true and the false prophet according to my directions. Try the man who has the Divine Spirit by his life. First, he who has the Divine Spirit proceeding from above is meek, and peaceable, and humble, and refrains from, all iniquity and the vain desire of this world, and contents himself with fewer wants than those of other men, and when asked he makes no reply; nor does he speak privately, nor when man wishes the spirit to speak does the Holy Spirit speak, but it speaks only when God wishes it to speak. When, then, a man having the Divine Spirit comes into an assembly of righteous men who have faith in the Divine Spirit, and this assembly of men offers up prayer to God, then the angel of the prophetic Spirit, who is destined for him, fills the man; and the man being filled with the Holy Spirit, speaks to the multitude as the Lord wishes. Thus, then, will the Spirit of Divinity become manifest. Whatever power therefore comes from the Spirit of Divinity belongs to the Lord. Hear, then," says he, "in regard to the spirit which is earthly, and empty, and powerless, and foolish. First, the man who seems to have the Spirit exalts himself, and wishes to have the first seat, and is bold, and impudent, and talkative, and lives in the midst of many luxuries and many other delusions, and takes rewards for his prophecy; and if he does not receive rewards, he does not prophesy. Can, then, the Divine Spirit take rewards and prophesy? It is not possible that the prophet of God should do this, but prophets of this character are possessed by an earthly spirit. Then it never approaches an assembly of righteous men, but shuns them. And it associates with doubters and the vain, and prophesies to them in a comer, and deceives them, speaking to them, according to their desires, mere empty words: for they are empty to whom it gives its answers. For the empty vessel, when placed along with the empty, is not Crashed, but they correspond to each other. When, therefore, it comes into an assembly of righteous men who have a Spirit of Divinity, and they offer up prayer, that man is made empty, and the earthly spirit tees from him through fear, and that man is made dumb, and is entirely crashed, being unable to speak. For if you pack closely a storehouse with wine or oil, and put an empty jar in the midst of the vessels of wine or oil, you will find that jar empty as when you placed it, if you should wish to clear the storehouse. So also the empty prophets, when they come to the spirits of the righteous, are found [on leaving] to be such as they were when they came. This, then, is the mode of life of both prophets. Try by his deeds and his life the man who says that he is inspired. But as for you, trust the Spirit which comes from God, and has power; but the spirit which is earthly and empty trust not at all, for there is no power in it: it comes from the devil. Hear, then, the parable which I am to tell you. Take a stone, and throw it to the sky, and see if you can touch it. Or again, take a squirt of water and squirt into the sky, and see if you can penetrate the sky." "How, sir," say I, "can these things take place? for both of them are impossible." "As these things," says he, "are impossible, so also are the earthly spirits powerless and pithless. But look, on the other hand, at the power which comes from above. Hail is of the size of a very small grain, yet when it falls on a man's head how much annoyance it gives him! Or, again, take the drop which falls from a pitcher to the ground, and yet it hollows a stone. You see, then, that the smallest things coming from above have great power when they fall upon the earth. Thus also is the Divine Spirit, which comes from above, powerful. Trust, then, that Spirit, but have nothing to do with the other."

TWELFTH COMMANDMENT
On The Twofold Desire. The Commandments Of God Can Be Kept, And Believers Ought Not To Fear The Devil.

2 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 1

He says to me, "Put away from you all wicked desire, and clothe yourself with good and chaste desire; for clothed with this desire you will hate wicked desire, and will rein yourself in even as you wish. For wicked desire is wild, and is with difficulty tamed. For it is terrible, and consumes men exceedingly by its wildness. Especially is the servant of God terribly consumed by it, if he falls into it and is devoid of understanding. Moreover, it consumes all such as have not on them the garment of good desire, but are entangled and mixed up with this world. These it delivers up to death." "What then, sir," say I, "are the deeds of wicked desire which deliver men over to death? Make them known to me, and I will refrain from them." "Listen, then, to the works in which evil desire slays the servants of God."

2 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 2

"Foremost of all is the desire after another's wife or husband, and after extravagance, and many useless dainties and drinks, and many other foolish luxuries; for all luxury is foolish and empty in the servants of God. These, then, are the evil desires which slay the servants of God. For this evil desire is the daughter of the devil. You must refrain from evil desires, that by refraining ye may live to God. But as many as are mastered by them, and do not resist them, will perish at last, for these desires are fatal. Put you on, then, the desire of righteousness; and arming yourself with the fear of the Lord, resist them. For the fear of the Lord dwells in good desire. But if evil desire see you armed with the fear of God, and resisting it, it will flee far from you, and it will no longer appear to you, for it fears your armour. Go, then, garlanded with the crown which you have gained for victory over it, to the desire of righteousness, and, delivering up to it the prize which you have received, serve it even as it wishes. If you serve good desire, and be subject to it, you will gain the mastery over evil desire, and make it subject to you even as you wish."

2 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 3

"I should like to how," say I, "in what way I ought to serve good desire." "Hear," says he: "You will practise righteousness and virtue, truth and the fear of the Lord, faith and meekness, and whatsoever excellences are like to these. Practising these, you will be a well-pleasing servant of God, and you will live to Him; and every one who shall serve good desire, shall live to God."

He concluded the twelve commandments, and said to me, "You have now these commandments. Walk in them, and exhort your hearers that their repentance may be pure during the remainder of their life. Fulfil carefully this ministry which I now entrust to you, and you will accomplish much. For you will find favour among those who are to repent, and they will give heed to your words; for I will be with you, and will compel them to obey you." I say to him, "Sir, these commandments are great, and good, and glorious, and fitted to gladden the heart of the man who can perform them. But I do not know if these commandments can be kept by man, because they are exceeding hard." He answered and said to me, "If you lay it down as certain that they can be kept, then you will easily keep them, and they will not be hard. But if you come to imagine that they cannot be kept by man, then you will not keep them. Now I say to you, If you do not keep them, but neglect them, you will not be saved, nor your children, nor your house, since you have already determined for yourself that these commandments cannot be kept by man."

2 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 4

These things he said to me in tones of the deepest anger, so that I was confounded and exceedingly afraid of him, for his figure was altered so that a man could not endure his anger. But seeing me altogether agitated and confused, he began to speak to me in more gentle tones; and he said: "O feel, senseless and doubting, do you not perceive how great is the glory of God, and how strong and marvellous, in that He created the world for the sake of man, and subjected all creation to him, and gave him power to rule over everything under heaven? If, then, man is lord of the creatures of God, and rules over all, is he not able to be lord also of these commandments? For," says he, "the man who has the Lord in his heart can also be lord of all, and of every one of these commandments. But to those who have the Lord only on their lips, but their hearts hardened, and who are far from the Lord, the commandments are hard and difficult. Put, therefore, ye who are empty and fickle in yoUr faith, the Lord in your heart, and ye will know that there is nothing easier or sweeter, or more manageable, than these commandments. Return, ye who walk in the commandments of the devil, in hard, and bitter, and wild licentiousness, and fear not the devil; for there is no power in him against you, for I will be with you, the angel of repentance, who am lord over him. The devil has fear only, but his fear has no strength. Fear him not, then, and he will flee from you."

2 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 5

I say to him, "Sir, listen to me for a moment." "Say what you wish," says he. "Man, sir," say I, "is eager to keep the commandments of God, and there is no one who does not ask of the Lord that strength may be given him for these commandments, and that he may be subject to them; but the devil is hard, and holds sway over them." "He cannot," says he, "hold sway over the servants of God, who with all their heart place their hopes in Him. The devil can wrestle against these, overthrow them he cannot. If, then, ye resist him, he will be conquered, and flee in disgrace from you. As many, therefore," says he, "as are empty, fear the devil, as possessing power. When a man has filled very suitable jars with good wine, and a few among those jars are left empty, then he comes to the jars, and does not look at the full jars, for he knows that they are full; but he looks at the empty, being afraid lest they have become sour. For empty jars quickly become sour, and the goodness of the wine is gone. So also the devil goes to all the servants of God to try them. As many, then, as are full in the faith, resist him strongly, and he withdraws from them, having no way by which he might enter them. He goes, then, to the empty, and finding a way of entrance, into them, he produces in them whatever he wishes, and they become his servants.

2 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 6

"But I, the angel of repentance, say to you Fear not the devil; for I was sent," says he, "to be with you who repent with all your heart, and to make you strong in faith. Trust God, then, ye who on account of your sins have despaired of life, and who add to your sins and weigh down your life; for if ye return to the Lord with all your heart, and practise righteousness the rest of your days, and serve Him according to His will, He will heal your former sins, and you will have power to hold sway over the works of the devil. But as to the threats of the devil, fear them not at all, for he is powerless as the sinews of a dead man. Give ear to me, then, and fear Him who has all power, both to save and destroy, and keep His commandments, and ye will live to God." I say to him, "Sir, I am now made strong in all the ordinances of the Lord, because you are with me; and I know that you will crush all the power of the devil, and we shall have rule over him, and shall prevail against all his works. And I hope, sir, to be able to keep all these commandments s which you have enjoined upon me, the Lord strengthening me." "You will keep them," says he, "if your heart be pure towards the Lord; and all will keep them who cleanse their hearts from the vain desires of this world, and they will live to God."

THIRD BOOK: SIMILITUDES

FIRST SIMILITUDE
As In This World We Have No Abiding City,
We Ought To Seek One To Come.

HE says to me, "You know that you who are the servants of God dwell in a strange land; for your city is far away from this one. If, then," he continues, "you know your city in which

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you are to dwell, why do ye here provide lands, and make expensive preparations, and accumulate dwellings and useless buildings? He who makes such preparations for this city cannot return again to his own. Oh foolish, and unstable, and miserable man! Dost thou not understand that all these things belong to another, and are under the power of another? for the lord of this city will say, 'I do not wish thee to dwell in my city; but depart from this city, because thou obeyest not my laws.' Thou, therefore, although having fields and houses, and many other things, when cast out by him, what wilt thou do with thy land, and house, and other possessions which thou hast gathered to thyself? For the lord of this country justly says to thee, 'Either obey my laws or depart from my dominion.' What, then, dost thou intend to do, having a law in thine own city, on account of thy lands, and the rest of thy possessions? Thou shalt altogether deny thy law, and walk according to the law of this city. See lest it be to thy hurt to deny thy law; for if thou shalt desire to return to thy city, thou wilt not be received, because thou hast denied the law of thy city, but wilt be excluded from it. Have a care, therefore: as one living in a foreign land, make no further preparations for thyself than such merely as may be sufficient; and be ready, when the master of this city shall come to cast thee out for disobeying his law, to leave his city, and to depart to thine own, and to obey thine own law without being exposed to annoyance, but in great joy. Have a care, then, ye who serve the Lord, and have Him in your heart, that ye work the works of God, remembering His commandments and promises which He promised, and believe that He will bring them to pass if His commandments be observed. Instead of lands, therefore, buy afflicted souls, according as each one is able, and visit s widows and orphans, and do not overlook them; and spend your wealth and all your preparations, which ye received from the Lord, upon such lands and houses. For to this end did the Master make you rich, that you might perform these services unto Him; and it is much better to purchase such lands, and possessions, and houses, as you will find in your own city, when you come to reside in it. This is a noble and sacred expenditure, attended neither with sorrow nor fear, but with joy. Do not practise the expenditure of the heathen, for it is injurious to you who are the servants of God; but practise an expenditure of your own, in which ye can rejoice; and do not corrupt nor touch what is another's nor covet it, for it is an evil thing to covet the goods of other men; but work thine own work, and thou wilt be saved."

SECOND SIMILITUDE
As The Vine Is Supported By The Elm, So Is The Rich Man Helper By The Prayer Of The Poor.

AS I was walking in the field, and observing an elm and vine, and determining in my own, mind respecting them and their fruits, the Shepherd appears to me, and says, "What is it that you are thinking about the elm and vine?" "I am considering," I reply, "that they become each other exceedingly well." "These two trees," he continues, "are intended as an example for the servants of God." "I would like to know," said I, "the example which these trees you say, are intended to teach." "Do you see," he says, "the elm and the vine?" "I see them sir," I replied. "This vine," he continued, "produces fruit, and the elm is an unfruitful tree; but unless the vine be trained upon the elm, it cannot bear much fruit when extended at length upon the ground; and the fruit which it does bear is rotten, because the plant is not suspended upon the elm. When, therefore, the vine is cast upon the elm, it yields fruit both, from itself and from the elm. You see, moreover, that the elm also produces much fruit, not less than the vine, but even more; because," he continued, "the vine, when suspended upon the elm, yields much fruit, and good; but when thrown upon the ground, what it produces is small and rotten. This similitude, therefore, is for the servants of God--for the poor man and for the rich." "How so, sir?" said I; "explain the matter to me." "Listen," he said: "The rich man has much wealth, but is poor in matters relating to the Lord, because he is distracted about his riches; and he offers very few confessions and intercessions to the Lord, and those which he does offer are small and weak, and have no power above. But when the rich man refreshes the poor, and assists him in his necessities, believing that what he does to the poor man will be able to find its reward with God--because the poor man is rich in intercession and confession, and his intercession has great power with God--then the rich man helps the poor in all things without hesitation; and the poor man, being helped by the rich, intercedes for him, giving thanks to God for him who bestows gifts upon him. And he still continues to interest himself zealously for the poor man, that his wants may be constantly supplied. For he knows that the intercession of the poor man is acceptable and influential with God. Both, accordingly, accomplish their work. The poor man makes intercession; a work in which he is rich, which he received from the Lord, and with which he recompenses the master who helps him. And the rich man, in like manner, unhesitatingly bestows upon the poor man the riches which he received from the Lord. And this is a great work, and acceptable before God, because he understands the object of his wealth, and has given to the poor of the gifts of the Lord, and rightly discharged his service to Him. Among men, however, the elm appears not to produce fruit, and they do not know nor understand that if a drought come, the elm, which contains water, nourishes the vine l and the vine, having an unfailing supply of water, yields double fruit both for itself and for the elm. So also poor men interceding with the Lord on behalf of the rich, increase their riches; and the rich, again, aiding the poor in their necessities, satisfy their souls. Both, therefore, are partners in the righteous work. He who does these things shall not be deserted by God, but shall be enrolled in the books of the living. Blessed are they who have riches, and who understand that they are from the Lord. [For they who are of that mind will be able to do some good.]"

THIRD SIMILITUDE
As In Winter Green Trees Cannot Be Distinguished From Withered, So In This World Neither Can The Just From The Unjust.

He showed me many trees having no leaves, but withered, as it seemed to me; for all were alike. And he said to me, "Do you see those trees?" "I see, sir," I replied, "that all are alike, and withered." He answered me, and said, "These trees which you see are those who dwell in this world." "Why, then, sir," I said, "are they withered, as it were, and alike?" "Because," he said, "neither are the righteous manifest in this life, nor sinners, but they are alike; for this life is a winter to the righteous, and they do not manifest themselves, because they dwell with sinners: for as in winter trees that have cast their leaves are alike, and it is not seen which are dead and which are living, so in this world neither do the righteous show themselves, nor sinners, but all are alike one to another."

FOURTH SIMILITUDE
As In Summer Living Trees Are Distinguished From Withered By Fruit And Living Leaves, So In The World To Come The Just Differ From The Unjust In Happiness.

He showed me again many trees, some budding, and others withered. And he said to me, "Do you see these trees?" "I see, sir," I replied, "some putting forth buds, and others withered." "Those," he said, "which are budding are the righteous who are to live in the world to come; for the coming world is the summer of the righteous, but the winter of sinners. When, therefore, the mercy of the Lord shines forth, then shall they be made manifest who are the servants of God, and all men shall be made manifest. For as in summer the fruits of each individual tree appear, and it is ascertained of what sort they are, so also the fruits of the righteous shall be manifest, and all who have been fruitful in that world shall be made known. But the heathen and sinners, like the withered trees which you saw, will be found to be those who have been withered and unfruitful in that world, and shall be burnt as wood, and made manifest, because their actions were evil during their lives. For the sinners shall be consumed because they sinned and did not repent, and the heathen shall be burned because they knew not Him who created them. Do you therefore bear fruit, that in that summer your fruit may be known. And refrain from much business, and you will never sin: for they who are occupied with much business commit also many sins, being distracted about their affairs, and not at all serving their Lord. How, then," he continued, "can such a one ask and obtain anything from the Lord, if he serve Him not? They who serve Him shall obtain their requests, but they who serve Him not shall receive nothing. And in the performance even of a single action a man can serve the Lord; for his mind will not be perverted from the Lord, but he will serve Him, having a pure mind. If, therefore, you do these things, you shall be able to bear fruit for the life to come. And every one who will do these things shall bear fruit."

FIFTH SIMILITUDE
Of True Fasting And Its Reward: Also Of Purity Of Body.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 1

While fasting and sitting on a certain mountain, and giving thanks to the Lord for all His dealings with me, I see the Shepherd sitting down beside me, and saying, "Why have you come hither early in the morning?" "Because, sir," I answered, "I have a station." "What is a station?" he asked. "I am fasting, sir," I replied. "What is this fasting," he continued, "which you are observing?" "As I have been accustomed, sir," I reply, "so I fast." "You do not know," he says, "how to fast unto the Lord: this useless fasting which you observe to HIm is of no value." "Why, sir," I answered, "do you say this?" "I say to you," he continued, "that the fasting which you think you observe is not a fasting. But I will teach you what is a full and acceptable fasting to the Lord. Listen," he continued: "God does not desire such an empty fasting? For fasting to God in this way you will do nothing for a righteous life; but offer to God a fasting of the following kind: Do no evil in your life, and serve the Lord with a pure heart: keep His commandments, walking in His precepts, and let no evil desire arise in your heart; and believe in God. If you do these things, and fear Him, and abstain from every evil thing, you will live unto God; and if you do these things, you will keep a great fast, and one acceptable before God.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 2

"Hear the similitude which I am about to narrate to you relative to fasting. A certain man had a field and many slaves, and he planted a certain part of the field with a vineyard, and selecting a faithful and beloved and much valued slave, he called him to him, and said, 'Take this vineyard which I have planted, and stake it until I come, and do nothing else to the vineyard; and attend to this order of mine, and you shall receive your freedom from me.' And the master of the slave departed to a foreign country. And when he was gone, the slave took and staked the vineyard; and when he had finished the staking of the vines, he saw that the vineyard was full of weeds. He then reflected, saying, 'I have kept this order of my master: I will dig up the rest of this vineyard, and it will be more beautiful when dug up; and being free of weeds, it will yield more fruit, not being choked by them.' He took, therefore, and dug up the vineyard, and rooted out all the weeds that were in it. And that vineyard became very beautiful and fruitful, Having no weeds to choke it. And after a certain time the master of the slave and of the field returned, and entered into the vineyard. And seeing that the vines were suitably supported on stakes, and the ground, moreover, dug up, and all the weeds rooted out, and the vines fruitful, he was greatly pleased with the work of his slave. And calling his beloved son who was his heir, and his friends who were his councillors, he told them what orders he had given his slave, and what he had found performed. And they rejoiced along with the slave at the testimony which his master bore to him. And he said to them, 'I promised this slave freedom if he obeyed the command which I gave him; and he has kept my command, and done besides a good work to the vineyard, and has pleased me exceedingly. In return, therefore, for the work which he has done, I wish to make him co-heir with my son, because, having good thoughts, he did not neglect them, but carried them out.' With this resolution of the master his son and friends were well pleased, viz., that the slave should be co-heir with the son. After a few days the master made a feast, and sent to his slave many dishes from his table. And the slave receiving the dishes that were sent him from his master, took of them what was sufficient for himself, and distributed the rest among his fellow-slaves. And his fellow-slaves rejoiced to receive the dishes, and began to pray for him, that he might find still greater favour with his master for having so treated them. His master heard all these things that were done, and was again greatly pleased with his conduct. And the master again calling; together his friends and his son, reported to them the slave's proceeding with regard to the dishes which he had sent him. And they were still more satisfied that the slave should become co-heir with his son."

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 3

I said to him, "Sir, I do not see the meaning of these similitudes, nor am I able to comprehend them, unless you explain them to me." "I will explain them all to you," he said, "and whatever I shall mention in the course of our conversations I will show you. [Keep the commandments of the Lord, and you will be approved, and inscribed amongst the number of those who observe His commands.] And if you do any good beyond what is commanded by God, you will gain for yourself more abundant glory, and will be more honoured by God than you would otherwise be. If, therefore, in keeping the commandments of God, you do, in addition, these services, you will have joy if you observe them according to my command." I said to him, "Sir, whatsoever you enjoin upon me I will observe, for I know that you are with me." "I will be with you," he replied, "because you have such a desire for doing good; and I will be with all those," he added, "who have such a desire. This fasting," he continued, "is very good, provided the commandments of the Lord be observed. Thus, then, shall you observe the fasting which you intend to keep. First of all, be on your guard against every evil word, and every evil desire, and purify your heart from all the vanities of this world. If you guard against these things, your fasting will be perfect. And you will do also as follows. Having fulfilled what is written, in the day on which you fast you will taste nothing but bread and water; and having reckoned up the price of the dishes of that day which you intended to have eaten, you will give it to a widow, or an orphan, or to some person in want, and thus you will exhibit humility of mind, so that he who has received benefit from your humility may fill his own soul, and pray for you to the Lord. If you observe fasting, as I have commanded you, your sacrifice will be acceptable to God, and this fasting will be written down; and

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the service thus performed is noble, and sacred, and acceptable to the Lord. These things, therefore, shall you thus observe with your children, and all your house, and in observing them you will be blessed; and as many as hear these words and observe them shall be blessed; and whatsoever they ask of the Lord they shall receive."

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 4

I prayed him much that he would explain to me the similitude of the field, and of the master of the vineyard, and of the slave who staked the vineyard, and of the sakes, and of the weeds that were plucked out of the vineyard, and of the son, and of the friends who were fellow-councillors, for I knew that all these things were a kind of parable. And he answered me, and said, "You are exceedingly persistent with your questions. You ought not," he continued, "to ask any questions at all; for if it is needful to explain anything, it will be made known to you." I said to him "Sir whatsoever you show me, and do not explain, I shall have seen to no purpose, not understanding its meaning. In like manner, also, if you speak parables to me, and do not unfold them, I shall have heard your words in vain." And he answered me again, saying, "Every one who is the servant of God, and has his Lord in his heart, asks of Him understanding, and receives it, and opens up every parable; and the words of the Lord become known to him which are spoken in parables? But those who are weak and slothful in prayer, hesitate to ask anything from the Lord; but the Lord is full of compassion, and gives without fail to all who ask Him. But you, having been strengthened by the holy Angel, and having obtained from Him such intercession, and not being slothful, why do not you ask of the Lord understanding, and receive it from Him?" I said to him, "Sir, having you with me, I am necessitated to ask questions of you, for you show me all things, and converse with me; but if I were to see or hear these things without you, I would then ask the Lord to explain them."

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 5

"I said to you a little ago," he answered, "that you were cunning and obstinate in asking explanations of the parables; but since you are so persistent, I shall unfold to you the meaning of the similitudes of the field, and of all the others that follow, that you may make them known to every one. Hear now," he said, "and understand them. The field is this world; and the Lord of the field is He who created, and perfected, and strengthened all things; [and the son is the Holy Spirit;] and the slave is the Son of God; and the vines are this people, whom He Himself planted; and the stakes are the holy angels of the Lord, who keep His people together; and the weeds that were plucked out of the vineyard are the iniquities of God's servants; and the dishes which He sent Him from His able are the commandments which He gave His people through His Son; and the friends and fellow-councillors are the holy angels who were first created; and the Master's absence from home is the time that remains until His appearing." I said to him, "Sir, all these are great, and marvellous, and glorious things. Could I, therefore," I continued, "understand them? No, nor could any other man, even if exceedingly wise. Moreover," I added, "explain to me what I am about to ask you." "Say what you wish," he replied. "Why, sir," I asked, "is the Son of God in the parable in the form of a slave?"

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 6

"Hear," he answered: "the Son of God is not in the form of a slave, but in great power and might." "How so, sir?" I said; "I do not understand." "Because," he answered, "God planted the vineyard, that is to say, He created the people, and gave them to His Son; and the Son appointed His angels over them to keep them; and He Himself purged away their sins, having suffered many trials and undergone many labours, for no one is able to dig without labour and toil. He Himself, then, having purged away the sins of the people, showed them the paths of life by giving them the law which He received from His Father. [You see," he said, "that He is the Lord of the people, having received all authority from His Father.] And why the Lord took His Son as councillor, and the glorious angels, regarding the heirship of the slave, listen. The holy, pre-existent Spirit, that created every creature, God made to dwell in flesh, which He chose. This flesh, accordingly, in which the Holy Spirit dwelt, was nobly subject to that Spirit, walking reli giously and chastely, in no respect defiling the Spirit; and accordingly, after living excellently and purely, and after labouring and co-operating with the Spirit, and having in everything acted vigorously and courageously along with the Holy Spirit, He assumed it as a partner with it. For this conduct of the flesh pleased Him, because it was not defiled on the earth while having the Holy Spirit. He took, therefore, as fellow-councillors His Son and the glorious angels, in order that this flesh, which had been subject to the body without a fault, might have some place of tabernacle, and that it might not appear that the reward [of its servitude had been lost], for the flesh that has been found without spot or defilement, in which the Holy Spirit dwelt, [will receive a reward]. You have now the explanation of this parable also."

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 7

"I rejoice, sir," I said, "to hear this explanation." "Hear," again he replied: "Keep this flesh pure and stainless, that the Spirit which inhabits it may bear witness to it, and your flesh may be justified. See that the thought never arise in your mind that this flesh of yours is corruptible, and you misuse it by any act of defilement. If you defile your flesh, you will also defile the Holy Spirit; and if you defile your flesh [and spirit], you will not live." "And if any one, sir," I said, "has been hitherto ignorant, before he heard these words, how can such man be saved who has defiled his flesh?" "Respecting former sins of ignorance," he said, "God alone is able to heal them, for to Him belongs all power. [But be On your guard now, and the all-powerful and compassionate God will heal former transgressions], if for the time to come you defile not your body nor your spirit; for both are common, and cannot be defiled, the one without the other: keep both therefore pure, and you will live unto God."

SIXTH SIMILITUDE

Of The Two Classes Of Voluptuous Men, And Of Their Death, Falling Away, And The Duration Of Their Punishment.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 1

Sitting in my house, and glorifying the Lord for all that I had seen, and reflecting on the commandments, that they are excellent, and powerful, and glorious, and able to save a man's soul, I said within myself, "I shall be blessed if I walk in these commandments, and every one who walks in them will be blessed." While I was saying these words to myself, I suddenly see him sitting beside me, and hear him thus speak: "Why are you in doubt about the commandments which I gave you? They are excellent: have no doubt about them at all, but put on faith in the Lord, and you will walk in them, for I will strengthen you in them. These commandments are beneficial to those who intend to repent: for if they do not walk in them, their repentance is in vain You, therefore, who repent cast away the wickedness of this world which wears you out; and by putting on all the virtues of a holy life, you will be able to keep these commandments, and will no longer add to the number of your sins. Walk, therefore, in these commandments of mine, and you will live unto God. All these things have been spoken to you by me." And after he had uttered these words, he said to me, "Let us go into the fields, and I will show you the shepherds of the flocks." "Let us go, sir," I replied. And we came to a certain plain, and he showed me a young man, a shepherd, clothed in a suit of garments of a yellow colour: and he was herding very many sheep, and these sheep were feeding luxuriously, as it were, and riotously, and merrily skipping hither and thither. The shepherd himself was merry, because of his flock; and the appearance of the shepherd was joyous, and he was running about amongst his flock. [And other sheep I saw rioting and luxuriating in one place, but not, however, leaping about.]

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 2

And he said to me, "Do you see this shepherd?" "I see him, sir," I said. "This," he answered, "is the angel of luxury and deceit: he wears out the souls of the servants of God, and perverts them from the truth, deceiving them with wicked desires, through which they will perish; for they forget the commandments of the living God, and walk in deceits and empty luxuries; and they are ruined by the angel, some being brought to death, others to corruption:" I said to him, "Sir, I do not know the meaning of these words, 'to death, and to corruption.'" "Listen," he said. "The sheep which you saw merry and leaping about, are those which have tom themselves away from God for ever, and have delivered themselves over to luxuries and deceits [of this world. Among them there is no return to life through repentance, because they have added to their other sins, and blasphemed the name of the Lord. Such men therefore, are appointed unto death. And the sheep which you saw not leaping, but feeding in one place, are they who have delivered themselves over to luxury and deceit], but have committed no blasphemy against the Lord. These have been perverted from the truth: among them there is the hope of repentance, by which it is possible to live. Corruption, then, has a hope of a kind of renewal, but death has everlasting ruin." Again I went forward a little way, and he showed me a tall shepherd, somewhat savage in his appearance, clothed in a white goatskin, and having a wallet on his shoulders, and a very hard staff with branches, and a large whip. And he had a very sour look, so that I was afraid of him, so forbidding was his aspect. This shepherd, accordingly, was receiving the sheep from the young shepherd, those, viz., that were rioting and luxuriating, but not leaping; and he cast them into a precipitous place, full of this ties and thorns, so that it was impossible to extricate the sheep from the thorns and thistles; but they were completely entangled amongst them. These, accordingly, thus entangled, pastured amongst the thorns and thistles, and were exceedingly miserable, being beaten by him; and he drove them hither and thither, and gave them no rest; and, altogether, these sheep were in a wretched plight.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 3

Seeing them, therefore, so beaten and so badly used, I was grieved for them, because they were so tormented, and had no rest at all. And I said to the Shepherd who talked with me, "Sir, who is this shepherd, who is so pitiless and severe, and so completely devoid of compassion for these sheep?"

"This," he replied, "is the angel of punishment; and he belongs to the just angels, and is appointed to punish. He accordingly takes those who wander away from God, and who have walked in the desires and deceits of this world, and chastises them as they deserve with terrible and diverse punishments." "I would know, sir," I said, "Of what nature are these diverse tortures and punishments?" "Hear," he said, "the various tortures and punishments. The tortures are such as occur during life. For some are punished with losses, others with want, others with sicknesses of various kinds, and others with all kinds of disOrder and confusion; others are insulted by unworthy persons, and exposed to suffering in many other ways: for many, becoming unstable in their plans, try many things, and none of them at all succeed, and they say they are not prosperous in their undertakings; and it does not occur to their minds that they have done evil deeds, but they blame the Lord. When, therefore, they have been afflicted with all kinds of affliction, then are they delivered unto me for good training, and they are made strong in the faith of the Lord; and for the rest of the days of their life they are subject to the Lord with pure hearts, and are successful in all their undertakings, obtaining from the Lord everything they ask; and then they glorify the Lord, that they were delivered to me, and no longer suffer any evil."

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 4

I said to him, "Sir, explain this also to me." "What is it you ask?" he said. "Whether, sir," I continued, "they who indulge in luxury, and who are deceived, are tortured for the same period of time that they have indulged in luxury and deceit?" He said to me, "They are tortured in the same manner." ["They are tormented much less, sir," I replied;] "for those who are so luxurious and who forget God ought to be tortured seven-fold." He said to me "You are foolish, and do not understand the power of torment." "Why, sir," I said, "if I had understood it, I would not have asked you to show me." "Hear," he said, "the power of both. The time of luxury and deceit is one hour; but the hour of torment is equivalent to thirty days. If, accordingly, a man indulge in luxury for one day, and be deceived and be tortured for one day, the day of his torture is equivalent to a whole year. For all the days of luxury, therefore, there are as many years of torture to be undergone. You see, then," he continued, "that the time of luxury and deceit is very short, but that of punishment and torture long."

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 5

"Still," I said, "I do not quite understand about the time of deceit, and luxury, and torture; explain it to me more clearly." He answered, and said to me, "Your folly is persistent; and you do not wish to purify your heart, and serve God. Have a care," he added, "lest the time be fulfilled, and you be found foolish. Hear now," he added, "as you desire, that you may understand these things. He who indulges in luxury, and is deceived for one day, and who does what he wishes, is clothed with much foolishness, and does not understand the act which he does until the morrow; for he forgets what he did the day before. For luxury and deceit have no memories, on account of the folly with which they are clothed; but when punishment and torture cleave to a man for one day, he is punished and tortured for a year; for punishment and torture have powerful memories. While tortured and punished, therefore, for a whole year, he remembers at last a his luxury and deceit, and knows that an their account he suffers evil. Every man, therefore, who is luxurious and deceived is thus tormented, because, although having life, they have given themselves over to death." "What kinds of luxury, sir," I asked, "are hurtful?" "Every act of a man which he performs with pleasure," he replied, "is an act of luxury; for the sharp-tempered man, when gratifying his tendency, indulges in luxury; and the adulterer, and the drunkard, and the back-biter, and the liar, and the covetous man, and the thief, and he who does things like these, gratifies his peculiar propensity, and in so doing indulges in luxury. All these acts of luxury are hurtful to the servants of God. On account of these deceits, therefore, do they suffer, who are punished and tortured. And there are also acts of luxury which save men; for many who do good indulge in luxury, being carried away by their own pleasure: this luxury, however, is beneficial to the servants of God, and gains life for such a man; but the injurious acts of luxury before enumerated bring tortures and punishment upon them; and if they continue in them and do not repent, they bring death upon themselves."

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SEVENTH SIMILITUDE
They Who Repent Must Bring Forth Fruits Worthy Of Repentance.

After a few days I saw him in the same plain where I had also. seen the shepherds; and he said to me, "What do you wish with me?" I said to him, "Sir, that you would order the shepherd who punishes to depart out of my house, because he afflicts me exceedingly." "It is necessary," he replied, "that you be afflicted; for thus," he continued, "did the glorious angel command concerning you, as he wishes you to be tried." "What have I done which is so bad, sir," I replied, "that I should be delivered over to this angel?"

"Listen," he said: "Your sins are many, but not so great as to require that you be delivered over to this angel; but your household has committed great iniquities and sins, and the glorious angel has been incensed at them on account of their deeds; and for this reason he commanded you to be afflicted for a certain time, that they also might repent, and purify themselves from every desire of this world. When, therefore, they repent and are purified, then the angel of punishment will depart." I said to him, "Sir, if they have done such things as to incense the glorious angel against them, yet what have I done?" He replied, "They cannot be afflicted at all, unless you, the head of the house, be afflicted: for when you are afflicted, of necessity they also suffer affliction; but if you are in comfort, they can feel no affliction."

"Well, sir," I said, "they have repented with their whole heart." "I know, too," he answered, "that they have repented with their whole heart: do you think, however, that the sins of those who repent are remitted? Not altogether, but he who repents must torture his own soul, and be exceedingly humble in all his conduct, and be afflicted with many kinds of affliction; and if he endure the afflictions that come upon him, He who created all things, and endued them with power, will assuredly have compassion, and will heal him; and this will He do when He sees the heart of every penitent pure from every evil thing: and it is profitable for you and for your house to suffer affliction now. But why should I say much to you? You must be afflicted, as that angel of the Lord commanded who delivered you to me. And for this give thanks to the Lord, because He has deemed you worthy of showing you beforehand this affliction, that, knowing it before it comes, you may be able to bear it with courage." I said to him, "Sir, be thou with me, and I will be able to bear all affliction." "I will be with you," he said, "and I will ask the angel of punishment to afflict you more lightly; nevertheless, you will be afflicted for a little time, and again you will be re-established in your house. Only continue humble, and serve the Lord in all purity of heart, you and your children, and your house, and walk in my commands which I enjoin upon you, and your repentance will be deep and pure; and if you observe these things with your household, every affliction will depart from you. And affliction," he added, "will depart from all who walk in these my commandments."

EIGHTH SIMILITUDE
The Sins Of The Elect And Of The Penitent Are Of Many Kinds, But All Will Be Rewarded According To The Measure Of Their Repentance And Good Works.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 1

He showed me a large willow tree overshadowing plains and mountains, and under the shade of this willow had assembled all those who were called by the name of the Lord. And a glorious angel of the Lord, who was very tall, was standing beside the willow, having a large, pruning-knife, and he was cutting little twigs from the willow and distributing them among the people that were overshadowed by the willow; and the twigs which he gave them were small, about a cubit, as it were, in length. And after they had all received the twigs, the angel laid down the pruning-knife, and that tree was sound, as I had seen it at first. And I marvelled within myself, saying, "How is the tree sound, after so many branches have been cut off?" And the Shepherd said to me, "Do not be surprised if the tree remains sound after so many branches were lopped off; [but wait,] and when you shall have seen everything, then it will be explained to you what it means." The angel who had distributed the branches among the people again asked them from them, and in the order in which they had received them were they summoned to him, and each one of them returned his branch. And the angel of the Lord took and looked at them. From some he received the branches withered and moth-eaten; those who returned branches in that state the angel of the Lord ordered to stand apart. Others, again, returned them withered, but not moth-eaten; and these he ordered to stand apart. And others returned them half-withered, and these stood apart; and others returned their branches half-withered and having cracks in them, and these stood apart. [And others returned their branches green and having cracks in them; and these stood apart.] And others returned their branches, one-half withered and the other green; and these stood apart. And others brought their branches two-thirds green and the remaining third withered; and these stood apart. And others returned them two-thirds withered and one-third green; and these stood apart. And others returned their branches nearly all green, the smallest part only, the top, being withered, but they had cracks in them; and these stood apart. And of others very little was green, but the remaining parts withered; and these stood apart. And others came bringing their branches green, as they had received them from the angel. And the majority of the crowd returned branches of that kind, and with these the angel was exceedingly pleased; and these stood apart. [And others returned their branches green and having offshoots; and these stood apart, and with these the angel was exceedingly delighted.] And others returned their branches green and with offshoots, and the offshoots had some fruit, as it were; and those men whose branches were found to be of that kind were exceedingly joyful. And the angel was exultant because of them; and the Shepherd also rejoiced greatly because of them.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 2

And the angel of the Lord ordered crowns to be brought; and there were brought crowns, formed, as it were, of palms; and he crowned the men who had returned the branches Which had offshoots and some fruit, and sent them away into the tower. And the others also he sent into the tower, those, namely, who had returned branches that were green and had offshoots but no fruit, having given them seals. And all who went into the tower had the same clothing--white as snow. And those who returned their branches green, as they had received them, he set free, giving them clothing and seals. Now after the angel had finished these things, he said to the Shepherd, "I am going away, and you will send these away within the walls, according as each one is worthy to have his dwelling. And examine their branches carefully, and so dismiss them; but examine them with care. See that no one escape you,". he added; "and if any escape you, I will try them at the altar." Having said these words to the Shepherd, he departed. And after the angel had departed, the Shepherd said to me, "Let us take the branches of all these and plant them, and see if any of them will live." I said to him, "Sir, how can these withered branches live?" He answered, and said, "This tree is a willow, and of a kind that is very tenacious of life. If, therefore, the branches be planted, and receive a little moisture, many of them will live. And now let us try, and pour waters upon them; and if any of them live I shall rejoice with them, and if they do not I at least will not be found neglectful." And the Shepherd bade me call them as each one was placed. And they came, rank by rank, and gave their branches to the Shepherd. And the Shepherd received the branches, and planted them in rows; and after he had planted them he poured much water upon them, so that the branches could not be seen for the water; and after the branches had drunk it in, he said to me, "Let us go, and return after a few days, and inspect all the branches; for He who created this tree wishes all those to live who received branches from it. And I also hope that the greater part of these branches which received moisture and drank of the water will live."

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 3

I said to him, "Sir, explain to me what this tree means, for I am perplexed about it, because, after so many branches have been cut off, it continues sound, and nothing appears to have been cut away from it. By this, now, I am perplexed." "Listen," he said: "This great tree that casts its shadow over plains, and mountains, and all the earth, is the law of God that was given to the whole world; and this law is the Son of God, proclaimed to the ends of the earth; and the people who are under its shadow are they who have heard the proclamation, and have believed upon Him. And the great and glorious angel Michael is he who has authority over this people, and governs them; for this is he who gave them the law into the hearts of believers: he accordingly superintends them to whom he gave it, to see if they have kept the same. And you see the branches of each one, for the branches are the law You see, accordingly, many branches that have been rendered useless, and you will know them all--those who have not kept the law; and you will see the dwelling of each one." I said to him, "Sir, why did he dismiss some into the tower, and leave others to you?" "All," he answered, "who transgressed the law which they received from him, he left under my power for repentance; but all who have satisfied the law, and kept it, he retains under his own authority." "Who, then," I continued, "are they who were crowned, and who go to the tower?" "These are they who have suffered on account of the law; but the others, and they who returned their branches green, and with offshoots, but without fruit, are they who have been afflicted on account of the law, but who have not suffered nor denied their law; and they who returned their branches green as they had received them, are the venerable, and the just, and they who have walked carefully in a pure heart, and have kept the commandments of the Lord. And the rest you will know when I have examined those branches which have been planted and watered."

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 4

And after a few days we came to the place, and the Shepherd sat down in the angel's place, and I stood beside him. And he said to me, "Gird yourself with pure, undressed linen made of sackcloth;" and seeing me girded, and ready to minister to him, "Summon," he said, "the men to whom belong the branches that were planted, according to the order in which each one gave them in." So I went away to the plain, and summoned them all, and they all stood in their ranks. He said to them, "Let each one pull out his own branch, and bring it to me." The first to give in were those who had them withered and cut; and because they were found to be thus withered and cut, he commanded them to stand apart. And next they gave them in who had them withered, but not cut. And some of them gave in their branches green, and some withered and eaten as by a moth. Those that gave them in green, accordingly, he ordered to stand apart; and those who gave them in dry and cut, he ordered to stand along with the first. Next they gave them in who had them half-withered and cracked; and many of them gave them in green and without crocks; and some green and with offshoots and fruits upon the offshoots, such as they had who went, after being crowned, into the tower. And some handed them in withered and eaten, and some withered and uneaten; and some as they were, half-withered and cracked. And he commanded them each one to stand apart, some towards their own rows, and others apart from them.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 5

Then they gave in their branches who had them green, but cracked: all these gave them in green, and stood in their own row. And the Shepherd was pleased with these, because they were all changed, and had lost their cracks. And they also gave them in who had them half-green and half-withered: of some, accordingly, the branches were found completely green; of others, half-withered; of others, withered and eaten; of others, green, and having offshoots. All these were sent away, each to his own row. [Next they gave in who had them two parts green and one-third withered. Many of them gave them half-withered; and others withered and rotten; and others half-withered and cracked, and a few green. These all stood in their own row.] And they gave them in who had them green, but to a very slight extent withered and cracked. Of these, some gave them in green, and others green and with offshoots. And these also went away to their own row. Next they gave them who had a very small part green and the other parts withered. Of these the branches were found for the most part green and having offshoots, and fruit upon the offshoots, and others altogether green. With these branches the Shepherd was exceedingly pleased, because they were found in this state. And these went away, each to his own row.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 6

After the Shepherd had examined the branches of them all, he said to me, "I told you that this tree was tenacious of life. You see," he continued, "how many repented and were saved." "I see, sir," I replied. "That you may behold," he added, "the great mercy of the Lord, that it is great and glorious, and that He has given His Spirit to those who are worthy of repentance." "Why then, sir," I said, "did not all these repent?" He answered, "To them whose heart He saw would become pure, and obedient to Him, He gave power to repent with the whole heart. But to them whose deceit and wickedness He perceived, and saw that they intended to repent hypocritically, He did not grant repentance, lest they should again profane His name." I said to him, "Sir, show me now, with respect to those who gave in the branches, of what sort they are, and their abode, in order that they hearing it who believed, and received the seal, and broke it, and did not keep it whole, may, on coming to a knowledge of their deeds, repent, and receive from you. a seal, and may glorify the Lord because He had compassion upon them, and sent you to renew their spirits." "Listen," he said: "they whose branches were found withered and moth-eaten are the apostates and traitors of the Church, who have blasphemed the Lord in their sins, and have, moreover, been ashamed of the name of the Lord by which they were called. These, therefore, at the end were lost unto God. And you see that not a single one of them repented, although they heard the words which I spake to them, which I enjoined upon you. From such life departed? And they who gave them in withered and undecayed, these also were near to them; for they were hypocrites, and introducers of strange doctrines, and subverters of the servants Of God, especially of those who had sinned, not allowing them to repent, but persuading them by foolish doctrines. These, accordingly, have a hope of repentance. And you see that many of them also have repented since I spake to them, and they will still repent. But all who will not repent have lost their lives; and as many of them as repented became good, and their dwelling was appointed within the first walls; and some of them ascended even into the tower. You see, then," he said, "that repentance involves life to sinners, but non-repentance death.

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3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 7

"And as many as gave in the branches half-withered and cracked, hear also about them. They whose branches were half-withered to the same extent are the wavering; for they neither live, nor are they dead. And they who have them half-withered and cracked are both waverers and slanderers, [railing against the absent,] and never at peace with one another, but always at variance. And yet to these also," he continued, "repentance is possible. You see," he said, "that some of them have repented, and there is still remaining in them," he continued, "a hope of repentance. And as many of them," he added, "as have repented, shall have their dwelling in the tower. And those of them who have been slower in repenting shall dwell within the walls. And as many as do not repent at all, but abide in their deeds, shall utterly perish. And they who gave in their branches green and cracked were always faithful and good, though emulous of each other about the foremost places, and about fame: now all these are foolish, in indulging in such a rivalry. Yet they also, being naturally good, on hearing my commandments, purified themselves, and soon repented. Their dwelling, accordingly, was in the tower. But if any one relapse into strife, he will be east out of the tower, and will lose his life. Life is the possession of all who keep the commandments of the Lord; but in the commandments there is no rivalry in regard to the first places, or glory of any kind, but in regard to patience and personal humility. Among such persons, then, is the life of the Lord, but amongst the quarrelsome and transgressors, death.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 8

"And they who gave in their branches half-green and half-withered, are those who are immersed in business, and do not cleave to the saints. For this reason, the one half of them is living, and the other half dead. Many, accordingly, who heard my commands repented, and those at least who repented had their dwelling in the tower. But some of them at last fell away: these, accordingly, have not repentance, for on account of their business they blasphemed the Lord, and denied Him. They therefore lost their lives through the wickedness which they committed. And many of them doubted. These still have repentance in their power, if they repent speedily; and their abode will be in the tower. But if they are slower in repenting, they will dwell within the walls; and if they do not repent, they too have lost their lives. And they who gave in their branches two-thirds withered and one-third green, are those who have denied [the Lord] in various ways. Many, however, repented, but some of them hesitated and were in doubt. These, then, have repentance within their reach, if they repent quickly, and do not remain in their pleasures; but if they abide in their deeds, these, too, work to themselves death.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 9

"And they who returned their branches two-thirds withered and one-third green, are those that were faithful indeed; but after acquiring wealth, and becoming distinguished amongst the heathen, they clothed themselves with great pride, and became lofty-minded, and deserted the truth, and did not cleave to the righteous, but lived with the heathen, and this way of life became more agreeable to them. They did not, however, depart from God, but remained in the faith, although not working the works of faith. Many of them accordingly repented, and their dwelling was in the tower. And others continuing to live until the end with the heathen, and being corrupted by their vain glories, [departed from God, serving the works and deeds of the heathen.] These were reckoned with the heathen. But others of them hesitated, not hoping to be saved on account of the deeds which they had done; while others were in doubt, and caused divisions among themselves. To those, therefore, who were in doubt on account of their deeds, repentance is still open; but their repentance ought to be speedy, that their dwelling may be in the tower. And to those who do not repent, but abide in their pleasures, death is near.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 10

"And they who give in their branches green, but having the tips withered and cracked, these were always good, and faithful, and distinguished before God; but they sinned a very little through indulging small desires, and finding little faults with one another. But on hearing my words the greater part of them quickly repented, and their dwelling was upon the tower. Yet some of them were in doubt; and certain of them who were in doubt wrought greater dissension. Among these, therefore, is hope of repentance, because they were always good; and with difficulty will any one of them perish. And they who gave up their branches withered, but having a very small part green, are those who believed only, yet continue working the works of iniquity. They never, however, departed from God, but gladly bore His name, and joyfully received His servants into their houses. Having accordingly heard of this repentance, they unhesitatingly repented, and practise all virtue and righteousness; and some of them even [suffered, being willingly put to death]. knowing their deeds which they had done. Of all these, therefore, the dwelling shall be in the tower."

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 11

And after he had finished the explanations of all the branches, he said to me, "Go and tell them to every one, that they may repent, and they shall live unto God. Because the Lord, having had compassion on all men, has sent me to give repentance, although some are not worthy of it on account of their works; but the Lord, being long-suffering, desires those who were called by His Son to be saved." I said to him, "Sir, I hope that all who have heard them will repent; for I am persuaded that each one, on coming to a knowledge of his own works, and fearing the Lord, will repent." He answered me, and said, "All who with their whole heart shall purify themselves from their wickedness before enumerated, and shah add no more to their sins, will receive healing from the Lord for their former transgressions, if they do not hesitate at these commandments; and they will live unto God. But do you walk in my commandments, and live." Having shown me these things, and spoken all these words, he said to me, "And the rest I will show you after a few days."

NINTH SIMILITUDE
The Great Mysteries In The Building Of The Militant And Triumphant Church,

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 1

After I had written down the commandments and similitudes of the Shepherd, the angel of repentance, he came to me and said, "I wish to explain to you what the HOly Spirit that spake with you in the form of the Church showed you, for that Spirit is the Son of God. For, as you were somewhat weak in the flesh, it was not explained to you by the angel. When, however, you were strengthened by the Spirit, and your strength was increased, so that you were able to see the angel also, then accordingly was the building of the tower shown you by the Church. In a noble and solemn manner did you see everything as if shown you by a virgin; but now you see [them] through the same Spirit as if shown by an angel. You must, however, learn everything from me with greater accuracy. For I was sent for this purpose by the glorious angel to dwell in your house, that you might see all things with power, entertaining no fear, even as it was before." And he led me away into Arcadia, to a round hill; and he placed me on the top of the hill, and showed me a large plain, and round about the plain twelve mountains, all having different forms. The first was black as soot; and the second bare, without grass; and the third full of thorns and thistles; and the fourth with grass half-withered, the upper parts of the plants green, and the parts about the roots withered; and some of the grasses, when the sun scorched them, became withered. And the fifth mountain had green grass, and was ragged. And the sixth mountain was quite full of clefts, some small and others large; and the clefts were grassy, but the plants were not very vigorous, but rather, as it were, decayed. The seventh mountain, again, had cheerful pastures, and the whole mountain was blooming, and every kind of cattle and birds were feeding upon that mountain; and the more the cattle and the birds ate, the more the grass of that mountain flourished. And the eighth mountain was full of fountains, and every kind of the Lord's creatures drank of the fountains of that mountain. But the ninth mountain [had no water at all, and was wholly a desert, and had within it deadly serpents, which destroy men. And the tenth mountain] had very large trees, and was completely shaded, and under the shadow of the trees sheep lay resting and ruminating. And the eleventh mountain was very thickly wooded, and those trees were productive, being adorned with various sons of fruits, so that any one seeing them would desire to eat of their fruits. The twelfth mountain, again, was wholly white, and its aspect was cheerful, and the mountain in itself was very beautiful.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 2

And in the middle of the plain he showed me a large white rock that had arisen out of the plain. And the rock was more lofty than the mountains, rectangular in shape, so as to be capable of containing the whole world: and that rock Was old, having a gate cut out of it; and the cutting out of the gate seemed to me as if recently done. And the gate glittered to such a degree under the sunbeams, that I marvelled at the splendour of the gate; and round about the gate were standing twelve virgins. The four who stood at the corners seemed to me more distinguished than the others--they were all, however, distinguished--and they were standing at the four parts of the gate; two virgins between each part. And they were clothed with linen tunics, and gracefully girded, having their right shoulders exposed, as if about to bear some burden. Thus they stood ready; for they were exceedingly cheerful and eager. After I had seen these things, I marvelled in myself, because I was beholding great and glorious sights. And again I was perplexed about the virgins, because, although so delicate, they were standing courageously, as if about to carry the whole heavens. And the Shepherd said to me "Why are you reasoning in yourself, and perplexing your mind, and distressing yourself? for the things which you cannot understand, do not attempt to comprehend, as if you were wise; but ask the Lord, that you may receive understanding and know them. You cannot see what is behind you, but you see what is before. Whatever, then, you cannot see, let alone, and do not torment yourself about it: but what you see, make yourself master of it, and do not waste your labour about other things; and I will explain to you everything that I show you. Look therefore, on the things that remain."

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 3

I saw six men come, tall, and distinguished, and similar in appearance, and they summoned, a multitude of men. And they who came were also tall men, and handsome, and powerful; and the six men commanded them to build a tower above the rock. And great was the noise of those men who came to build the tower, as they ran hither and thither around the gate. And the virgins who stood around the gate told the men to hasten to build the tower. Now the virgins had spread out their hands, as if about to receive something from the men. And the six men commanded stones to ascend out of a certain pit, and to go to the building of the tower. And there went up ten shining rectangular stones, not hewn in a quarry. And the six men called the virgins, and bade them carry all the stones that were intended for the building, and to pass through the gate, and give them to the men who were about to build the tower. And the virgins put upon one another the ten first stones which had ascended from the pit, and carried them together, each stone by itself.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 4

And as they stood together around the gate, those who seemed to be strong carried them, and they stooped down under the corners of the stone; and the others stooped down under the sides of the stones. And in this way they carried all the stones. And they carried them through the gate as they were commanded, and gave them to the men for the tower; and they took the stones and proceeded with the building. Now the tower was built upon the great rock, and above the gate. Those ten stones were prepared as the foundation for the building of the tower. And the rock and gate were the support of the whole of the tower. And after the ten stones other twenty [five] came up out of the pit, and these were fired into the building of the tower, being carried by the virgins as before. And after these ascended thirty-five. And these in like manner were fitted into the tower. And after these other forty stones came up; and all these were cast into the building of the tower, [and there were four rows in the foundation of the tower,] and they ceased ascending from the pit. And the builders also ceased for a little. And again the six men commanded the multitude of the crowd to bear stones from the mountains for the building of the tower. They were accordingly brought from all the mountains of various, colours, and being hewn by the men were given to the virgins; and the virgins carried them through the gate, and gave them for the building of the tower. And when the stones of various colours were placed in the building, they all became white alike, and lost their different colours. And certain stones were given by the men for the building, and these did not become shining; but as they were placed, such also were they found to remain: for they were not given by the virgins, nor carried through the gate. These stones, therefore, were not in keeping with the others in the building of the tower. And the six men, seeing these unsuitable stones in the building, commanded them to be taken away, and to be carried away down to their own place whence they had been taken; [and being removed one by one, they were laid aside; and] they say to the men who brought the stones, "Do not ye bring any stones at all for the building, but lay them down beside the tower, that the virgins may carry them through the gate, and may give them for the building. For unless," they said, "they be carried through the gate by the hands of the virgins, they cannot change their colours: do not toil, therefore," they said, "to no purpose."

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 5

And on that day the building was finished, but the tower was not completed; for additional building was again about to be added, and there was a cessation in the building. And the six men commanded the builders all to withdraw a little distance, and to rest, but enjoined the virgins not to withdraw from the tower; and it seemed to me that the virgins had been left to guard the tower. Now after all had withdrawn, and were resting themselves, I said to the Shepherd, "What is the reason that the building of the tower was not finished? "The tower," he answered, "cannot be finished just yet, until the Lord of it come and examine the building, in order that, if any of the stones be found to be decayed, he may change them: for the tower is built according to his pleasure." "I would like to know, sir," I said, "what is the meaning of the building of this tower, and what the rock and gate, and the mountains, and the virgins mean, and the stones that ascended from the

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pit, and were not hewn, but came as they were to the building. Why, in the first place, were ten stones placed in the foundation, then twenty-five, then thirty-five, then forty? and I wish also to know about the stones that went to the building, and were again taken out and returned to their own place? On all these points put my mind at rest, sir, and explain them to me." "If you are not found to be curious about trifles," he replied, "you shall know everything. For after a few days [we shall come hither, and you will see the other things that happen to this tower, and will know accurately all the similitudes." After a few days] we came to the place where we sat down. And he said to me, "Let us go to the tower; for the master of the tower is coming to examine it." And we came to the tower, and there was no one at all near it, save the virgins only. And the Shepherd asked the virgins if perchance the master of the tower had come; and they replied that he was about to come to examine the building.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 6

And, behold, after a little I see an array of many men coming, and in the midst of them one man of so remarkable a size as to overtop the tower. And the six men who had worked upon the building were with him, and many other honourable men were around him. And the virgins who kept the tower ran forward and kissed him, and began to walk near him around the tower. And that man examined the building carefully, feeling every stone separately; and holding a rod in his hand, he struck every stone in the building three times. And when he struck them, some of them became black as soot, and some appeared as if covered with scabs, and some cracked, and some mutilated, and some neither white nor black, and some rough and not in keeping with the other stones, and some having Every many] stains: such were the varieties of decayed stones that were found in the building. He ordered all these to be taken out of the tower, and to be laid down beside it, and other stones to be brought and put in their stead. [And the builders asked him from what mountain he wished them to be brought and put in their place.] And he did not command them to be brought from the mountains, [but he bade them be brought from a certain plain which was near at hand.] And the plain was dug up, and shining rectangular stones were found, and some also of a round shape; and all the stones which were in that plain were brought, and carried through the gate by the virgins. And the rectangular stones were hewn, and put in place of those that were taken away; but the rounded stones were not put into the building, because they were hard to hew, and appeared to field slowly to the chisel; they were deposited, however, beside the tower, as if intended to be hewn and used in the building, for they were exceedingly brilliant.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 7

The glorious man, the lord of the whole tower, having accordingly finished these alterations, called to him the Shepherd, and delivered to him all the stones that were lying beside the tower, that had been rejected from the building, and said to him, "Carefully clean all these stones, and put aside such for the building of the tower as may harmonize with the others; and those that do not, throw far away from the tower." [Having given these orders to the Shepherd, he departed from the tower], with all those with whom he had come. Now the virgins were standing around the tower, keeping it. I said again to the Shepherd, "Can these stones return to the building of the tower, after being rejected?" He answered me, and said, "Do you see these stones?" "I see them, sir," I replied. "The greater part of these stones," he said, "I will hew, and put into the building, and they will harmonize with the others."

"How, sir," I said, "can they, after being cut all round about, fill up the same space?" He answered, "Those that shall be found small will be thrown into the middle of the building, and those that are larger will be placed on the outside, and they will hold them together." Having spoken these words, he said to me, "Let us go, and after two days let us come and clean these stones, and cast them into the building; for all things around the tower must be cleaned, lest the Master come suddenly? and find the places about the tower dirty, and be displeased, and these stones be not returned for the building of the tower, and I also shall seem to be neglectful towards the Master." And after two days we came to the tower, and he said to me, "Let us examine all the stones, and ascertain those which may return to the building." I said to him, "Sir, let us examine them!"

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 8

And beginning, we first examined the black stones: And such as they had been taken out of the building, were they found to remain; and the Shepherd ordered them to be removed out of the tower, and to be placed apart. Next he examined those that had scabs; and he took and hewed many of these, and commanded the virgins to take them up and cast them into the building. And the virgins lifted them up, and put them in the middle of the building of the tower. And the rest he ordered to be laid down beside the black ones; for these, too, were found to be black. He next examined those that had cracks; and he hewed many of these, and commanded them to be carried by the virgins to the building: and they were placed on the outside, because they were found to be sounder than the others; but the rest, on account of the multitude of the cracks, could not be hewn, and for this reason, therefore, they were rejected from the building of the tower. He next examined the chipped stones, and many amongst these were found to be black, arid some to have great crocks. And these also he commanded to be laid down along with those which had been rejected. But the remainder, after being cleaned and hewn, he commanded to be placed in the building. And the virgins took them up, and fitted them into the middle of the building of the tower, for they were somewhat weak. He next examined those that were half white and half black, and many of them were found to be black. And he commanded these also to be taken away along with those which had been rejected. And the rest were all taken away by the virgins; for, being white, they were fitted by the virgins themselves into the building. And they were placed upon the outside, because they were found to be sound, so as to be able to support those which were placed in the middle, for no part of them at all was chipped. He next examined those that were rough and hard; and a few of them were rejected because they could not be hewn, as they were found exceedingly hard. But the rest of them were hewn, and carried by the virgins, and fitted into the middle of the building of the tower; for they were somewhat weak. He next examined those that had stains; and of these a very few were black, and were thrown aside with the others; but the greater part were found to be bright, and these were fitted by the virgins into the building, but on account of their strength were placed on the outside.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 9

He next came to examine the white and rounded stones, and said to me, "What are we to do with these stones? "How do I know, sir? "I replied. "Have you no intentions regarding them? "Sir," I answered, "I am not acquainted with this art, neither am I a stone-cutter, nor can I tell." "Do you not see," he said, "that they are exceedingly round? and if I wish to make them ractangular, a large portion of them must be cut away; for some of them must of necessity be put into the building." "If therefore," I said, "they must, why do you torment yourself, and not at once choose for the building those which you prefer, and fit them into it?" He selected the larger ones among them, and the shining ones, and hewed them; and the virgins carried and fitted them into the outside parts of the building. And the rest which remained over were carded away, and laid down on the plain from which they were brought. They were not, however, rejected, "because," he said, "there remains yet a little addition to be built to the tower. And the lord of this tower wishes all the stones to be fitted into the building, because they are exceedingly bright." And twelve women were called, very beautiful in form, clothed in black, and with dishevelled hair. And these women seemed to me to be fierce. But the Shepherd commanded them to lift the stones that were rejected from the building, and to carry them away to the mountains from which they had been brought. And they were merry, and carded away all the stones, and put them in the place whence they had been taken. Now after all the stones were removed, and there was no longer a single one lying around the tower, he said, "Let us go round the tower and see, lest there be any defect in it." So I went round the tower along with him. And the Shepherd, seeing that the tower was beautifully built, rejoiced exceedingly; for the tower was built in such a way, that, on seeing it, I coveted the building of it, for it was constructed as if built of one stone, without a single joining. And the stone seemed as if hewn out of the rock; having to me the appearance of a monolith.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 10

And as I walked along with him, I was full of joy, beholding so many excellent things. And the Shepherd said to me, "Go and bring unslacked lime and fine-baked clay, that I may fill up the forms of the stones that were taken and thrown into the building; for everything about the tower must be smooth." And I did as he commanded me, and brought it to him. "Assist me," he said, "and the work will soon be finished." He accordingly filled up the forms of the stones that were returned to the building, and commanded the places around the tower to be swept and to be cleaned; and the virgins took brooms and swept the place, and carried all the dirt out of the tower, and brought water, and the ground around the tower became cheerful and very beautiful. Says the Shepherd to me, "Everything has been cleared away; if the lord of the tower come to inspect it, he can have no fault to find with us." Having spoken these words, he wished to depart; but I laid hold of him by the wallet, and began to adjure him by the Lord that he would explain what he had showed me. He said to me, "I must rest a little, and then I shall explain to you everything; wait for me here until I return." I said to him, "Sir, what can I do here alone?" "You are not alone," he said, "for these virgins are with you." "Give me in charge to them, then," I replied. The Shepherd called them to him, and said to them, "I entrust him to you until I come," and went away. And I was alone with the virgins; and they were rather merry, but were friendly to me, especially the four more distinguished of them.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 11

The virgins said to me, "The Shepherd does not come here today." "What, then," said I, "am I to do?" They replied, "Wait for him until he comes; and if he comes he will converse with you, and if he does not come you will remain here with us until he does come." I said to them, "I will wait for him until it is late; and if he does not arrive, I will go away into the house, and come back early in the morning." And they answered and said to me, "You were entrusted to us; you cannot go away from us." "Where, then," I said, "am I to remain? "You will sleep with us," they replied, "as a brother, and not as a husband: for you are our brother, and for the time to come we intend to abide with you, for we love you exceedingly!" But I was ashamed to remain with them. And she who seemed to be the first among them began to kiss me. [And the others seeing her kissing me, began also to kiss me], and to lead me round the tower, and to play with me. And I, too, became like a young man, and began to play with them: for some of them formed a chorus, and others danced, and others sang; and I, keeping silence, walked with them around the tower, and was merry with them. And when it grew late I wished to go into the house; and they would not let me, but detained me. So I remained with them during the night, and slept beside the tower. Now the virgins spread their linen tunics on the ground, and made me lie down in the midst of them; and they did nothing at all but pray; and I without ceasing prayed with them, and not less than they. And the virgins rejoiced because I thus prayed. And I remained there with the virgins until the next day at the second hour. Then the Shepherd returned, and said to the virgins, "Did you offer him any insult? "Ask him," they said. I said to him, "Sir, I was delighted that I remained with them." "On what," he asked, "did you sup? "I supped, sir," I replied, "on the words of the Lord the whole night." "Did they receive you well?" he inquired. "Yes, sir," I answered. "Now," he said, "what do you wish to hear first?" "I wish to hear in the order," I said, "in which you showed me from the beginning. I beg of you, sir, that as I shall ask you, so also you will give me the explanation." "As you wish," he replied, "so also will I explain to you, and will conceal nothing at all from you."

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 12

"First of all, sir," I said, "explain this to me: What is the meaning of the rock and the gate?" "This rock," he answered, "and this gate are the Son of God." "How, sir?" I said; "the rock is old, and the gate is new." "Listen," he said, "and understand, O ignorant man. The Son of God is older than all His creatures, so that He was a fellow-councillor with the Father in His work of creation: for this reason is He old." "And why is the gate new, sir?" I said. "Because," he answered, "He became manifest in the last days of the dispensation: for this reason the gate was made new, that they who are to be saved by it might enter into the kingdom of God. You saw," he said, "that those stones which came in through the gate were used for the building of the tower, and that those which did not come, were again thrown back to their own place? "I saw, sir," I replied. "In like manner," he continued, "no one shall enter into the kingdom of God unless he receive His holy name. For if you desire to enter into a city, and that city is surrounded by a wall, and has but one gate, can you enter into that city save through the gate which it has?" "Why, how can it be otherwise, sir?" I said. "If, then, you cannot enter into the city except through its gate, so, in like manner, a man cannot otherwise enter into the kingdom of God than by the name of His beloved Son. You saw," he added, "the multitude who were building the tower?" "I saw them, sir," I said. "Those," he said, "are all glorious angels, and by them accordingly is the Lord surrounded. And the gate is the Son of God. This is the one entrance to the Lord. In no other way, then, shall any one enter in to Him except through His Son. You saw," he continued, "the six men, and the tail and glorious man in the midst of them, who walked round the tower, and rejected the stones from the building? "I saw him, sir," I answered. "The glorious man," he said, "is the Son of God, and those six glorious angels are those who support Him on the right hand and on the left. None of these glorious angels," he continued, "will enter in unto God apart from Him. Whosoever does not receive His name, shall not enter into the kingdom of God."

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 13

"And the tower," I asked, "what does it mean? "This tower," he replied, "is the Church." "And these virgins, who are they?" "They are holy spirits, and men cannot otherwise be found in the kingdom of God unless these have put their clothing upon them: for if you receive the name only, and do not receive from them the clothing, they are of no advantage to you. For these virgins are the powers of the Son of God. If

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you bear His name but possess not His power, it will be in vain that you bear His name. Those stones," he continued, "which you saw rejected bore His name, but did not put on the clothing of the virgins." "Of what nature is their clothing, sir?" I asked. "Their very names," he said, "are their clothing. Every one who bears the name of the Son of God, ought to bear the names also of these; for the Son Himself bears the names of these virgins. As many stones," he continued, "as you saw [come into the building of the tower through the hands] of these virgins, and remaining, have been clothed with their strength. For this reason you see that the tower became of one stone with the rock. So also they who have believed on the Lord through His Son, and are clothed with these spirits, shall become one spirit, one body, and the colour of their garments shall be one. And the dwelling of such as bear the names of the virgins is in the tower." "Those stones, sir, that were rejected," I inquired, "on what account were they rejected? for they passed through the gate, and were placed by the hands of the virgins in the building of the tower." "Since you take an interest in everything," he replied, "and examine minutely, hear about the stones that were rejected. These all," he said, "received the name of God, and they received also the strength of these virgins. Having received, then, these spirits, they were made strong, and were with the servants of God; and theirs was one spirit, and one body, and one clothing. For they were of the same mind, and wrought righteousness. After a certain time, however, they were persuaded by the women whom you saw clothed in black, and having their shoulders exposed and their hair dishevelled, and beautiful in appearance. Having seen these women, they desired to have them, and clothed themselves with their strength, and put off the strength of the virgins. These, accordingly, were rejected from the house of God, and were given over to these women. But they who were not deceived by the beauty of these women remained in the house of God. You have," he said, "the explanation of those who were rejected."

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 14

"What, then, sir," I said, "if these men, being such as they are, repent and put away their desires after these women, and return again to the virgins, and walk in their strength and in their works, shall they not enter into the house of God? "They shall enter in," he said, "if they put away the works of these women, and put on again the strength of the virgins, and walk in their works. For on this account was there a cessation in the building, in order that, if these repent, they may depart into the building of the tower. But if they do not repent, then others will come in their place, and these at the end will be cast out. For all these things I gave thanks to the Lord, because He had pity on all that call upon His name; and sent the angel of repentance to us who sinned against Him, and renewed our spirit; and when we were already destroyed, and had no hope of life, He restored us to newness of life." "Now, sir," I continued, "show me why the tower was not built upon the ground, but upon the rock and upon the gate." "Are you still," he said, "without sense and understanding? "I must, sir," I said, "ask you of all things, because I am wholly unable to understand them; for all these things are great and glorious, and difficult for man to understand." "Listen," he said: "the name of the Son of God is great, and cannot be contained, and supports the whole world. If, then, the whole creation is supported by the Son of God, what think ye of those who are called by Him, and bear the name of the Son of God, and walk in His commandments? do you see what kind of persons He supports? Those who bear His name with their whole heart. He Himself, accordingly, became a foundation to them, and supports them with joy, because they are not ashamed to bear His name."

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 15

"Explain to me, sir," I said, "the names of these virgins, and of those women who were clothed in black raiment." "Hear," he said, "the names of the stronger virgins who stood at the comers. The first is Faith, the second Continence, the third Power, the fourth Patience. And the others standing in the midst of these have the following names: Simplicity, Innocence, Purity, Cheerfulness, Truth, Understanding, Harmony, Love. He who bears these names and that of the Son of God will be able to enter into the kingdom of God. Hear, also," he continued, "the names of the women who had the black garments; and of these four are stronger than the rest. The first is Unbelief, the second: Incontinence, the third Disobedience, the fourth Deceit. And their followers are called Sorrow, Wickedness, Wantonness, Anger, Falsehood, Folly, Backbiting, Hatred. The servant of God who bears these names shall see, indeed, the kingdom of God, but shall not enter into it." "And the stones, sir," I said, "which were taken out of the pit and fitted into the building: what are they?" "The first," he said, "the ten, viz, that were placed as a foundation, are the first generation, and the twenty-five the second generation, of righteous men; and the thirty-five are the prophets of God and His ministers; and the forty are the apostles and teachers of the preaching of the Son of God." "Why, then, sir," I asked, "did the virgins carry these stones also through the gate, and give them for the building of the tower?" "Because," he answered, "these were the first who bore these spirits, and they never departed from each other, neither the spirits from the men nor the men from the spirits, but the spirits remained with them until their falling asleep. And unless they had had these spirits with them, they would not have been of use for the building of this tower."

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 16

"Explain to me a little further, sir," I said. "What is it that you desire?" he asked. "Why, sir," I said, "did these stones ascend out of the pit, and be applied to the building of the tower, after having borne these spirits? "They were obliged," he answered, "to ascend through water in order that they might be made alive; for, unless they laid aside the deadness of their life, they could not in any other way enter into the kingdom of God. Accordingly, those also who fell asleep received the seal of the Son of God. For," he continued, "before a man bears the name of the Son of God s he is dead; but when he receives the seal he lays aside his deadness, and obtains life. The seal, then, is the water: they descend into the water dead, and they arise alive. And to them, accordingly, was this seal preached, and they made use of it that they might enter into the kingdom of God." "Why, sir," I asked, "did the forty stones also ascend with them out of the pit, having already received the seal?" "Because," he said, "these apostles and teachers who preached the name of the Son of God, after falling asleep in the power and faith of the Son of God, preached it not only to those who were asleep, but themselves also gave them the seal of the preaching. Accordingly they descended with them into the water, and again ascended. [But these descended alive and rose up again alive; whereas they who had previously fallen asleep descended dead, but rose up again alive.] By these, then, were they quickened and made to know the name of the Son of God. For this reason also did they ascend with them, and were fitted along with them into the building of the tower, and, untouched by the chisel, were built in along with them. For they slept in righteousness and in great purity, but only they had not this seal. You have accordingly the explanation of these also."

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 17

"I understand, sir," I replied. "Now, sir," I continued, "explain to me, with respect to the mountains, why their forms are various and diverse."

"Listen," he said: "these mountains are the twelve tribes, which inhabit the whole world. The Son of God, accordingly, was preached unto them by the apostles." "But why are the mountains of various kinds, some having one form, and others another? Explain that to me, sir." "Listen," he answered: "these twelve tribes that inhabit the whole world are twelve nations. And they vary in prudence and understanding. As numerous, then, as are the varieties of the mountains which you saw, are also the diversities of mind and understanding among these nations. And I will explain to you the actions of each one." "First, sir," I said, "explain this: why, when the mountains are so diverse, their stones, when placed in the building, became one colour, shining like those also that had ascended out of the pit." "Because," he said, "all the nations that dwell under heaven were called by hearing and believing upon the name of the Son of God. Having, therefore, received the seal, they had one understanding and one mind; and their faith became one, and their love one, and with the name they bore also the spirits of the virgins. On this account the building of the tower became of one colour, bright as the sun. But after they had entered into the same place, and became one body, certain of these defiled themselves, and were expelled from the race of the righteous, and became again what they were before, or rather worse."

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 18

"How, sir," I said, "did they become worse, after having known God?" "He that does not know God," he answered, "and practises evil, receives a certain chastisement for his wickedness; but he that has known God, ought not any longer to do evil, but to do good. If, accordingly, when he ought to do good, he do evil, does not he appear to do greater evil than he who does not know God? For this reason, they who have not known God and do evil are condemned to death; but they who have known God, and have seen His mighty works, and still continue in evil, shall be chastised doubly, and shall die for ever. In this way, then, will the Church of God be purified. For as you saw the stones rejected from the tower, and delivered to the evil spirits, and cast out thence, so [they also shall be cast out, and] there shall be one body of the purified; as the tower also became, as it were, of one stone after its purification. In like manner also shall it be with the Church of God, after it has been purified, and has rejected the wicked, and the hypocrites, and the blasphemers, and the waverers, and those who commit wickedness of different kinds. After these have been cast away, the Church of God shall be one body, of one mind, of one understanding, of one faith, of one love. And then the Son of God will be exceeding glad, and shall rejoice over them, because He has received His people pure." "All these things, sir," I said, "are great and glorious.

"Moreover, sir," I said, "explain to me the power and the actions of each one of the mountains, that every soul, trusting in the Lord, and hearing it, may glorify His great, and marvellous, and glorious name." "Hear," he said, "the diversity of the mountains and of the twelve nations.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 19

"From the first mountain, which was black, they that believed are the following: apostates and blasphemers against the Lord, and betrayers of the servants of God. To these repentance is not open; but death lies before them, and on this account also are they black, for their race is a lawless one. And from the second mountain, which was bare, they who believed are the following: hypocrites, and teachers of wickedness. And these, accordingly, are like the former, not having any fruits of righteousness; for as their mountain was destitute of fruit, so also such men have a name indeed, but are empty of faith, and there is no fruit of truth in them. They indeed have repentance in their power, if they repent quickly; but if they are slow in so doing, they shall die along with the former." "Why, sir," I said, "have these repentance, but the former not? for their actions are nearly the same." "On this account," he said, "have these repentance, because they did not blaspheme their Lord, nor become betrayers of the servants of God; but on account of their desire of possessions they became hypocritical, and each one taught according to the desires of men that were sinners. But they will suffer a certain punishment; and repentance is before them, because they were not blasphemers or traitors.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 20

"And from the third mountain, which had thorns and thistles, they who believed are the following. There are some of them rich, and others immersed in much business. The thistles are the rich, and the thorns are they who are immersed in much business. Those, [accordingly, who are entangled in many various kinds of business, do not] cleave to the servants of God, but wander away, being choked by their business transactions; and the rich cleave with difficulty to the servants of God, fearing lest these should ask something of them. Such persons, accordingly, shall have difficulty in entering the kingdom of God. For as it is disagreeable to walk among thistles with naked feet, so also it is hard for such to enter the kingdom of God.

But to all these repentance, and that speedy, is open, in order that what they did not do in former times they may make up for in these days, and do some good, and they shall live unto God. But if they abide in their deeds, they shall be delivered to those women, who will put them to death.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 21

"And from the fourth mountain, which had much grass, the upper parts of the plants green, and the parts about the roots withered, and some also scorched by the sun, they who believed are the following: the doubtful, and they who have the Lord upon their lips, but have Him not in their heart. On this account their foundations are withered, and have no strength; and their words alone live, while their works are dead. Such persons are [neither alive nor] dead. They resemble, therefore, the waverers: for the wavering are neither withered nor green, being neither living nor dead. For as their blades, on seeing the sun, were withered, so also the wavering, when they hear of affliction, on account of their fear, worship idols, and are ashamed of the name of their Lord. Such, then, are neither alive nor dead. But these also may yet live, if they repent quickly; and if they do not repent, they are already delivered to the women, who take away their life.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 22

"And from the fifth mountain, which had green grass, and was rugged, they who believed are the following: believers, indeed, but slow to learn, and obstinate, and pleasing themselves, wishing to know everything, and knowing nothing at all. On account of this obstinacy of theirs, understanding departed from them, and foolish senselessness entered into them. And they praise themselves as having wisdom, and desire to become teachers, although destitute of sense. On account, therefore, of this loftiness of mind, many became vain, exalting themselves: for self-will and empty confidence is a great demon. Of these, accordingly, many were rejected, but some repented and believed, and subjected themselves to those that had understanding, knowing their own foolishness. And to the rest of this class repentance is open; for they were not wicked, but rather foolish, and without understanding. If these therefore repent, they will live unto God; but if they do not repent, they shall have their dwelling with the women who wrought wickedness among them.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 23

"And those from the sixth mountain, which had clefts large and small, and decayed grass in the clefts, who believed, were

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the following: they who occupy the small clefts are those who bring charges against one another, and by reason of their slanders have decayed in the faith. Many of them, however, repented; and the rest also will repent when they hear my commandments, for their slanders are small, and they will quickly repent. But they who occupy the large clefts are persistent in their slanders, and vindictive in their anger against each other. These, therefore, were thrown away from the tower, and rejected from having a part in its building. Such persons, accordingly, shall have difficulty in living. If our God and Lord, who rules over all things, and has power over all His creation, does not remember evil against those who confess their sins, but is merciful, does man, who is corruptible and full of sins, remember evil against a fellow-man, as if he were able to destroy or to save him? I, the angel of repentance, say unto you, As many of you as are of this way of thinking, lay it aside, and repent, and the Lord will heal your former sins, if you purify yourselves from this demon; but if not, you will be delivered over to him for death.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 24

"And those who believed from the seventh mountain, on which the grass was green and flourishing, and the whole of the mountain fertile, and every kind of cattle and the fowls of heaven were feeding on the grass on this mountain, and the grass on which they pastured became more abundant, were the following: they were always simple, and harmless, and blessed, bringing no charges against one another, but always rejoicing greatly because of the servants of God, and being clothed with the holy spirit of these virgins, and always having pity on every man, and giving aid from their own labour to every man, without reproach and without hesitation. The Lord, therefore, seeing their simplicity and all their meekness, multiplied them amid the labours of their hands, and gave them grace in all their doings. And I, the angel of repentance, say to you who are such, Continue to be such as these, and your seed will never be blotted out; for the Lord has made trial of you, and inscribed you in the number of us, and the whole of your seed will dwell with the Son of God; for ye have received of His Spirit.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 25

"And they who believed from the eighth mountain, where were the many fountains, and where all the creatures of God drank of the fountains, were the following: apostles, and teachers, who preached to the whole world, and who taught solemnly and purely the word of the Lord, and did not at all fall into evil desires, but walked always in righteousness and truth, according as they had received the Holy Spirit. Such persons, therefore, shall enter in with the angels.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 26

"And they who believed from the ninth mountain, which was deserted, and had in it creeping things and wild beasts which destroy men, were the following: they who had the stains as servants, who discharged their duty ill, and who plundered widows and orphans of their livelihood, and gained possessions for themselves from the ministry, which they had received. If, therefore, they remain under the dominion of the same desire, they are dead, and there is no hope of life for them; but if they repent, and finish their ministry in a holy manner, they shall be able to live. And they who were covered with scabs are those who have denied their Lord, and have not returned to Him again; but becoming withered and desert-like, and not cleaving to the servants of God, but living in solitude, they destroy their own souls. For as a vine, when left within an enclosure, and meeting with neglect, is destroyed, and is made desolate by the weeds, and in time grows wild, and is no longer of any use to its master, so also are such men as have given themselves up, and become useless to their Lord, from having contracted savage habits. These men, therefore, have repentance in their power, unless they are found to have denied from the heart; but if any one is found to have denied from the heart, I do not know if he may live. And I say this not for these present days, in order that any one who has denied may obtain repentance, for It is impossible for him to be saved who now intends to deny his Lord; but to those who denied Him long ago, repentance seems to be possible. If, therefore, any one intends to repent, let him do so quickly, before the tower is completed; for if not, he will be utterly destroyed by the women. And the chipped stones are the deceitful and the slanderers; and the wild beasts. which you saw on the ninth mountain, are the same. For as wild beasts destroy and kill a man by their poison, so also do the words of such men destroy and ruin a man. These, accordingly, are mutilated in their faith, on account of the deeds which they have done in themselves; yet some repented, and were saved. And the rest, who are of such a character, can be saved if they repent; but if they do not repent, they will perish with those women, whose strength they have assumed.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 27

"And from the tenth mountain, where were trees which overshadowed certain sheep, they who believed were the following: bishops given to hospitality, who always gladly received into their houses the servants of God, without dissimulation. And the bishops never failed to protect, by their service, the widows, and those who were in want, and always maintained a holy conversation. All these, accordingly, shall be protected by the Lord for ever. They who do these things are honourable before God, and their place is already with the angels, if they remain to the end serving God.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 28

"And from the eleventh mountain, where were trees full of fruits, adorned with fruits of various kinds, they who believed were the following: they who suffered for the name of the Son of God, and who also suffered cheerfully with their whole heart, and laid down their lives." "Why, then, sir," I said, "do all these trees bear fruit, and some of them fairer than the rest? "Listen," he said: "all who once suffered for the name of the Lord are honourable before God; and of all these the sins were remitted, because they suffered for the name of the Son of God. And why their fruits are of various kinds, and some of them superior, listen. All," he continued, "who were brought before the authorities and were examined, and did not deny, but suffered cheerfully--these are held in greater honour with God, and of these the fruit is superior; but all who were cowards, and in doubt, and who reasoned in their hearts whether they would deny or confess, and yet suffered, of these the fruit is less, because that suggestion came into their hearts; for that suggestion--that a servant should deny his Lord--is evil. Have a care, therefore, ye who are planning such things, lest that suggestion remain in your hearts, and ye perish unto God. And ye who suffer for His name ought to glorify God, because He deemed you worthy to bear His name, that all your sins might be healed. [Therefore, rather deem yourselves happy], and think that ye have done a great thing, if any of you suffer on account of God. The Lord bestows upon you life, and ye do not understand, for your sins were heavy; but if you had not suffered for the name of the Lord, ye would have died to God on account of your sins. These things I say to you who are hesitating about denying or confessing: acknowledge that ye have the Lord, lest, denying Him, ye be delivered up to prison. If the heathen chastise their slaves, when one of them denies his master, what, think ye, will your Lord do, who has authority over all men? Put away these counsels out of your hearts, that you may live continually unto God.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 29

"And they who believed from the twelfth mountain, which was white, are the following: they are as infant children, in whose hearts no evil originates; nor did they know what wickedness is, but always remained as children. Such accordingly, without doubt, dwell in the kingdom of God, because they defiled in nothing the commandments of God; but they remained like children all the days of their life in the same mind. All of you, then, who shall remain stedfast, and be as children, without doing evil, will be more honoured than all who have been previously mentioned; for all infants are honourable before God, and are the first persons with Him. Blessed, then, are ye who put away wickedness from yourselves, and put on innocence. As the first of all will you live unto God."

After he had finished the similitudes of the mountains, I said to him, "Sir, explain to me now about the stones that were taken out of the plain, and put into the building instead of the stones that were taken out of the tower; and about the round stones that were put into the building; and those that still remain round."

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 30

"Hear," he answered, "about all these also. The stones taken out of the plain and put into the building of the tower instead of those that were rejected, are the roots of this white mountain. When, therefore, they who believed from the white mountain were all found guileless, the Lord of the tower commanded those from the roots of this mountain to be cast into the building of the tower; for he knew that if these stones were to go to the building of the tower, they would remain bright, and not one of them become black. But if he had so resolved with respect to the other mountains, it would have been necessary for him to visit that tower again, and to cleanse it. Now all these persons were found white who believed, and who will yet believe, for they are of the same race. This is a happy race, because it is innocent. Hear now, further, about these round and shining stones. All these also are from the white mountain. Hear, moreover, why they were found round: because their riches had obscured and darkened them a little from the truth, although they never departed from God; nor did any evil word proceed out of their mouth, but all justice, virtue, and truth. When the Lord, therefore, saw the mind of these persons, that they were born good, and could be good, He ordered their riches to be cut down, not to be taken s away for ever, that they might be able to do some good with what was left them; and they will live unto God, because they are of a good race. Therefore were they rounded a little by the chisel, and put in the building of the tower.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 31

"But the other round stones, which had not yet been adapted to the building of the tower, and had not yet received the seal, were for this reason put back into their place, because they are exceedingly round. Now this age must be cut down in these things, and in the vanities of their riches, and then they will meet in the kingdom of God; for they must of necessity enter into the kingdom of God, because the Lord has blessed this innocent race. Of this race. therefore, no one will perish; for although any of them be tempted by the most wicked devil, and commit sin, he will quickly return to his Lord.

I deem you happy, I, who am the messenger of repentance, whoever of you are innocent as children, because your part is good, and honourable before God.

Moreover, I say to you all, who have received the seal of the Son of God, be clothed with simplicity, and be not mindful of offences, nor remain in wickedness. Lay aside, therefore, the recollection of your offences and bitternesses, and you will be formed in one spirit. And heal and take away from you those wicked schisms, that if the Lord of the flocks come, He may rejoice concerning you. And He will rejoice, if He find all things sound, and none of you shall perish. But if He find any one of these sheep strayed, woe to the shepherds! And if the shepherds themselves have strayed, what answer will they give Him for their flocks? Will they perchance say that they were harassed by their flocks? They will not be believed, for the thing is incredible that a shepherd could suffer from his flock; rather will he be punished on account of his falsehood. And I myself am a shepherd, and I am under a most stringent necessity of rendering an account of you.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 32

"Heal yourselves, therefore, while the tower is still building. The Lord dwells in men that love peace, because He loved peace; but from the contentious and the utterly wicked He is far distant. Restore to Him, therefore, a spirit sound as ye received it. For when you have given to a fuller a new garment, and desire to receive it back entire at the end, if, then, the fuller return you a torn garment, will you take it from him, and not rather be angry, and abuse him, saying, 'I gave you a garment that was entire: why have you rent it, and made it useless, so that it can be of no use on account of the rent which you have made in it?' Would you not say all this to the fuller about the rent which you found in your garment? If, therefore, you grieve about your garment, and complain because you have not received it entire, what do you think the Lord will do to you, who gave you a sound spirit, which you have rendered altogether useless, so that it can be of no service to its possessor? for its use began to be unprofitable, seeing it was corrupted by you. Will not the Lord, therefore, because of this conduct of yours regarding His Spirit, act in the same way, and deliver you over to death? Assuredly, I say, he will do the same to all those whom He shall find retaining a recollection of offences. Do not trample His mercy under foot, He says, but rather honour Him, because He is so patient with your sins, and is not as ye are. Repent, for it is useful to you.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 33

"All these things which are written above, I, the Shepherd, the messenger of repentance, have showed and spoken to the servants of God. If therefore ye believe, and listen to my words, and walk in them, and amend your ways, you shall have it in your power to live: but if you remain in wickedness, and in the recollection of offences, no sinner of that class will live unto God. All these words which I had to say have been spoken unto you."

The Shepherd said to me," Have you asked me everything?" And I replied, "Yes, sir." "Why did you not ask me about the shape of the stones that were put into the building, that I might explain to you why we filled up the shapes?" And I said, "I forgot, sir." "Hear now, then," he said, "about this also. These are they who have now heard my commandments, and repented with their whole hearts. And when the Lord saw that their repentance was good and pure, and that they were able to remain in it, He ordered their former sins to be blotted out. For these shapes were their sins, and they were levelled down, that they might not appear."

TENTH SIMILITUDE

Concerning Repentance And Alms-Giving.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 1

After I had fully written down this book, that messenger who had delivered me to the Shepherd came into the house in which I was, and sat down upon a couch, and the Shepherd stood on his fight hand. He then called me, and spoke to me as follows: "I have delivered you and your house to the Shepherd, that you may be protected by him." "Yes, sir," I said. "If you wish, therefore, to be protected," he said, from all annoyance, and from all harsh treatment, and to have success in every good work and word, and to possess all the virtues of righteousness, walk in these commandments which he has given you, and you will be able to subdue all wickedness. For

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if you keep those commandments, every desire and pleasure of the world will be subject to you, and success will attend you in every good work. Take unto yourself his experience and moderation, and say to all that he is in great honour and dignity with God, and that he is a president with great power, and mighty in his office. To him alone throughout the whole world is the power of repentance assigned. Does he seem to you to be powerful? But you despise his experience, and the moderation which he exercises towards you."

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 2

I said to him, "Ask himself, sir, whether from the time that he has entered my house I have done anything improper, or have offended him in any respect." He answered, "I also know that you neither have done nor will do anything improper, and therefore I speak these words to you, that you may persevere. For he had a good report of you to me, and you will say these words to others, that they also who have either repented or will still repent may entertain the same feelings with you, and he may report well of these to me, and I to the Lord." And I said, "Sir, I make known to every man the great works of God: and I hope that all those who love them, and have sinned before, on heating these words, may repent, and receive life again." "Continue, therefore, in this ministry, and finish it. And all who follow out his commands shall have life, and great honour with the Lord. But those who do not keep his commandments, flee from his life, and despise him. But he has his own honour with the LOrd. All, therefore, who shall despise him, and not follow his commands, deliver themselves to death, and every one of them will be guilty of his own blood.

But I enjoin you, that you obey his commands, and you will have a cure for your former sins.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 3

"Moreover, I sent you these virgins, that they may dwell with you. For I saw that they were courteous to you. You will therefore have them as assistants, that you may be the better able to keep his commands: for it is impossible that these commandments can be observed without these virgins. I see, moreover, that they abide with you willingly; but I will also instruct them not to depart at all from your house: do you only keep your house pure, as they will delight to dwell in a pure abode. For they are pure, and chaste, and industrious, and have all influence with the Lord. Therefore, if they find your house to be pure, they will remain with you; but if any defilement, even a little, befall it, they will immediately withdraw from your house. For these virgins do not at all like any defilement." I said to him, "I hope, sir, that I will please them, so that they may always be willing to inhabit my house. And as he to whom you entrusted me has no complaint against me, so neither will they have." He said to the Shepherd, "I see that the servant of God wishes to live, and to keep these commandments, and will place these virgins in a pure habitation." When he had spoken these words he again delivered me to the Shepherd, and called those virgins, and said to them, "Since I see that you are willing to dwell in his house, I commend him and his house to you, asking that you withdraw not at all from it." And the virgins heard these words with pleasure.

3 SHEPHERD OF HERMAS CHAPTER 4

The angel then said to me, "Conduct yourself manfully in this service, and make known to every one the great things of God, and you will have favour in this ministry. Whoever, therefore, shall walk in these commandments, shall have life, and will be happy in his life; but whosoever shall neglect them shall not have life, and will be unhappy in this life. Enjoin all, who are able to act rightly, not to cease well-doing; for, to practise good works is useful to them. And I say that every man ought to be saved from inconveniences. For both he who is in want, and he who suffers inconveniences in his daily life, is in great torture and necessity. Whoever, therefore, rescues a soul of this kind from necessity, will gain for himself great joy. For he who is harassed by inconveniences of this kind, suffers equal torture with him who is in chains. Moreover many, on account of calamities of this sort, when they could not endure them, hasten their own deaths. Whoever, then, knows a calamity of this kind afflicting a man, and does not save him, commits a great sin, and becomes guilty of his blood. Do good works, therefore, ye who have received good from the Lord; lest, while ye delay to do them, the building of the tower be finished, and you be rejected from the edifice: there is now no other tower a-building. For on your account was the work of building suspended. Unless, then, you make haste to do rightly, the tower will be completed, and you will be excluded."

After he had spoken with me he rose up from the couch, and taking the Shepherd and the virgins, he departed. But he said to me that he would send back the Shepherd and the virgins to my dwelling. Amen.

THE PISTIS SOPHIA

Books of the Saviour, or Faith of Wisdom
From: The Askew Codex, British Library
Translation: G. R. S. Mead, 1921
Estimated Range of Dating: 200-255 A.D.

THE FIRST BOOK OF PISTIS SOPHIA

(The Pistis Sophia (Greek for "Faith of Wisdom") is a Gnostic text discovered in 1773, possibly written between the 3rd and 4th centuries AD. Pístis Sophía has been preserved in a single Coptic language manuscript originally comprising 178 leaves of parchment, but currently consisting of 174 leaves. This "Askew Codex" was purchased by the British Museum (now British Library) in 1785 from Anthony Askew. The Greek title Pístis Sophía was assigned by Carl Gottfried Woide, based on a title at the beginning of Book 2, "The Second Book of the Pistis Sophia," which was added by a later hand. Carl Schmidt suggested, the Pistis Sophia should be named "Books of the Saviour", based on a the Greek title Teychi tou Sotiros found at the end of the same book.

The existing manuscript, which some scholars place in the late 4th century, relates one Gnostic group's teachings of the transfigured Jesus to the assembled disciples, including his mother Mary, Mary Magdalene, and Martha[the Greek form of the Aramaic name Marta, meaning "mistress" in the sense of "the female master".]. In this context, "transfigured" refers to Jesus after his death and resurrection. In the Pistis Sophia, the risen Jesus had spent eleven years speaking with his disciples, teaching them only the lower mysteries. After eleven years, he receives his true garment and is able to reveal the higher mysteries revered by this group. The prized mysteries relate to complex cosmologies and knowledge necessary for the soul to reach the highest divine realms. In other words: Jesus had lived for another 11 years after his execution.*

[Martha of Bethany is a biblical figure described in the Gospels of Luke [10:38–42] and John [11:33]. Together with her siblings Lazarus of Bethany and Mary [Maryam] of Bethany, she is described as living in the village of Bethany [today al-Azariya, Arabic for "place of Eleazar or Lazarus] near Jerusalem. She was witness to Jesus resurrecting her brother, Lazarus. According to Church tradition, she emigrated to Cyprus where she died in Larnaka. As the great majority of characters in the New Testament belong to Jesus' family and "inner circle", suddenly it makes sense to read about certain persons in Cyprus: Barnabas [Joseph / Joses, who was perhaps a brother of Jesus], Elymas [bar Jesus / Iesou / Iesu, the son of Jesus], Simon Magus [the "Wise", the scholar]. And here it also makes sense that Saul of Tarsos / Tarsus [Paul the Apostle] turned up in Cyprus as he was in persue of Jesus' family members and disciples. Prior to his conversion, Saul openly admitted that he was a Pharisee [a form of Greek-Jewish movement which existed in the Jewish diaspora and the Holy Land that sought to establish a Jewish religious tradition within the culture and language of Greeks and Romans] who "violently persecuted" the followers of Jesus. In his Letter to the Galatians [1:13—14] he said: "You have heard, no doubt, of my earlier life in Judaism. I was violently persecuting the Church of God and was trying to destroy it. I advanced in Judaism beyond many among my people of the same age, for I was far more zealous for the traditions of my ancestors."].)*

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 1.

IT came to pass, when Jesus had risen from the dead, that he passed eleven years discoursing with his disciples, and instructing them only up to the regions of the First Commandment and up to the regions of the First Mystery, that within the Veil, within the First Commandment, which is the four-and-twentieth mystery without and below--those [four-and-twenty] which are in the second space of the First Mystery which is before all mysteries,--the Father in the form of a dove.

What the First Mystery surroundeth.And Jesus said to his disciples: "I am come forth out of that First Mystery, which is the last mystery, that is the four-and-twentieth mystery." And his disciples have not known nor understood that anything existeth within that mystery; but they thought of that mystery, that it is the head of the universe and the head of all existence; and they thought it is the completion of all completions, because Jesus had said to them concerning that mystery, that it surroundeth the First Commandment and the five Impressions and the great Light and the five Helpers and the whole Treasury of the Light.

And moreover Jesus had not told his disciples the total expansion of all the regions of the great Invisible and of the three triple-powers and of the four-and-twenty invisibles, and all their regions and their aeons and their orders, how they are extended--those which are the emanations of the great Invisible--and their ungenerated and their self-generated and their generated and their light-givers and their unpaired and their rulers and their authorities and their lords and their archangels and their angels and their decans and their servitors and all the houses of their spheres and all the orders of every one of them.

And Jesus had not told his disciples the total expansion of the emanations of the Treasury, nor their orders, how they are extended; nor had he told them their saviours, according to the order of every one, how they are; nor had he told them what guard is at every [gate] of the Treasury of the Light; nor had he told them the region of the Twin-saviour, who is the Child of the Child; nor had he told them the regions of the three Amens, in what regions they are expanded; nor had he told them into what region the five Trees are expanded; nor as to the seven Amens, that is the seven Voices, what is their region, how they are expanded.

And Jesus had not told his disciples of what type are the five Helpers, nor into what region they are brought; nor had he told them how the great Light hath expanded itself, nor into what region it hath been brought; nor had he told them of the five Impressions, nor as to the First Commandment, into what region they have been brought. But he had discoursed with them generally, teaching that they exist, but he had not told them their expansion and the order of their regions, how they are. For this cause they have not known that there were also other regions within that mystery.

And he had not told his disciples: "I have gone forth out of such and such regions until I entered into that mystery, and until I went forth out of it"; but, in teaching them, he said to them: "I am come forth from that mystery." For this cause then they thought of that mystery, that it is the completion of completions, and that it is the head of the universe and that it is the total Fulness. For Jesus had said to his disciples: "That mystery surroundeth that universe of which I have spoken unto you from the day when I met with you even unto this day." For this cause then the disciples thought there is nothing within that mystery.

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 2

It came to pass then, when the disciples were sitting together on the Mount of Olives, speaking of these words and rejoicing in great joy, and exulting exceedingly and saying one to another: "Blessed are we before all men who are on the earth, because the Saviour hath revealed this unto us, and we have received the Fulness and the total completion,"--they said this to one another, while Jesus sat a little removed from them.

And it came to pass then, on the fifteenth day of the moon in the month Tybi, which is the day on which the moon is full, on that day then, when the sun had come forth in his going, that there came forth behind him a great light-power shining most exceedingly, and there was no measure to the light conjoined with it. For it came out of the Light of lights, and it came out of the last mystery, which is the four-and-twentieth mystery, from within without,--those which are in the orders of the second space of the First Mystery. And that light-power came down over Jesus and surrounded him entirely, while he was seated removed from his disciples, and he had shone most exceedingly, and there was no measure for the light which was on him.

And the disciples had not seen Jesus because of the great light in which he was, or which was about him; for their eyes were darkened because of the great light in which he was. But they saw only the light, which shot forth many light-rays. And the light-rays were not like one another, but the light was of divers kind, and it was of divers type, from below upwards, one [ray] more excellent than the other, . . ., in one great immeasurable glory of light; it stretched from under the earth right up to heaven.--And when the disciples saw that light, they fell into great fear and great agitation.

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 3

It came to pass then, when that light-power had come down over Jesus, that it gradually surrounded him entirely. Then Jesus ascended or soared into the height, shining most exceedingly in an immeasurable light. And the disciples gazed after him and none of them spake, until he had reached unto heaven; but they all kept in deep silence. This then came to pass on the fifteenth day of the moon, on the day on which it is full in the month Tybi.

It came to pass then, when Jesus had reached the heaven, after three hours, that all the powers of the heaven fell into agitation, and all were set in motion one against the other, they and all their aeons and all their regions and all their orders, and the whole earth was agitated and all they who dwell thereon. And all men who are in the world fell into agitation, and also the disciples, and all thought: Peradventure the world will be rolled up.

And all the powers in the heavens ceased not from their agitation, they and the whole world, and all were moved one against the other, from the third hour of the fifteenth day of the moon of Tybi until the ninth hour of the morrow. And all the angels and their archangels and all the powers of the height, all sang praises to the interiors of the interiors, so that the whole world heard their voices, without their ceasing till the ninth hour of the morrow.

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CHAPTER 4

But the disciples sat together in fear and were in exceedingly great agitation and were afraid because of the great earthquake which took place, and they wept together, saying: "What will then be? Peradventure the Saviour will destroy all regions?" Thus saying, they wept together.

While they then said this and wept together, then, on the ninth hour of the morrow, the heavens opened, and they saw Jesus descend, shining most exceedingly, and there was no measure for his light in which he was. For he shone more [radiantly] than at the hour when he had ascended to the heavens, so that men in the world cannot describe the light which was on him; and it shot forth light-rays in great abundance, and there was no measure for its rays, and its light was not alike together, but it was of divers kind and of divers type, some [rays] being more excellent than others . . .; and the whole light consisted together. It was of threefold kind, and the one [kind] was more excellent than the other. . . .

The second, that in the midst, was more excellent than the first which was below, and the third, which was above them all, was more excellent than the two which were below. And the first glory, which was placed below them all, was like to the light which had come over Jesus before he had ascended into the heavens, and was like only itself in its light. And the three light-modes were of divers light-kinds, and they were of divers type, one being more excellent than the other. . . .

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 5

And it came to pass then, when the disciples saw this, that they feared exceedingly, and were in agitation. Then Jesus, the compassionate and tender-hearted, when he saw his disciples, that they were in great agitation, spake with them, saying: "Take courage. It is I, be not afraid."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 6

It came to pass then, when the disciples had heard this word, that they said: "Lord, if it be thou, withdraw thy light-glory into thyself that we may be able to stand; otherwise our eyes are darkened, and we are agitated, and the whole world also is in agitation because of the great light which is about thee."

Then Jesus drew to himself the glory of his light; and when this was done, all the disciples took courage, stepped forward to Jesus, fell down all together, adored him, rejoicing in great joy, and said unto him: "Rabbi, whither hast thou gone, or what was thy ministry on which thou hast gone, or wherefor rather were all these confusions and all the earth-quakings which have taken place?"

Then Jesus, the compassionate, said unto them: "Rejoice and exult from this hour on, for I have gone to the regions out of which I had come forth. From this day on then will I discourse with you in openness, from the beginning of the Truth unto its completion; and I will discourse with you face to face without similitude. From this hour on will I not hide anything from you of the [mystery] of the height and of that of the region of Truth. For authority hath been given me through the Ineffable and through the First Mystery of all mysteries to speak with you, from the Beginning right up to the Fulness,. both from within without and from without within. Hearken, therefore, that I may tell you all things.

"It came to pass, when I sat a little removed from you on the Mount of Olives, that I thought on the order of the ministry for the sake of which I was sent, that it was completed, and that the last mystery, that is the four-and-twentieth mystery from within without,--those which are in the second space of the First Mystery, in the orders of that space,--had not yet sent me my Vesture. It came to pass then, when I had known that the order of the ministry for the sake of which I had come, was completed, and that that mystery had not yet sent me my Vesture, which I had left behind in it, until its time was completed, thinking then this, I sat on the Mount of Olives a little removed from you.

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 7

"It came to pass, when the sun rose in the east, thereafter then through the First Mystery, which existed from the beginning, on account of which the universe hath arisen, out of which also I am myself now come, not in the time before my crucifixion, but now,--it came to pass, through the command of that mystery, that there shouldHow the Vesture of Light was sent unto him. be sent me my Light-vesture, which it had given me from the beginning, and which I had left behind in the last mystery, that is the four-and-twentieth mystery from within without,--those which are in the orders of the second space of the First Mystery.

That Vesture then I left behind in the last mystery, until the time should be completed to put it on, and I should begin to discourse with the race of men and reveal unto them all from the beginning of the Truth to its completion, and discourse with them from the interiors of the interiors to the exteriors of the exteriors and from the exteriors of the exteriors to the interiors of the interiors. Rejoice then and exult and rejoice more and more greatly, for to you it is given that I speak first with you from the beginning of the Truth to its completion.

"For this cause have I chosen you verily from the beginning through the First Mystery. Rejoice then and exult, for when I set out for the world, I brought from the beginning with me twelve powers, as I have told you from the beginning, which I have taken from the twelve saviours of the Treasury of the Light, according to the command of the First Mystery. These then I cast into the womb of your mothers, when I came into the world, that is those which are in your bodies to-day. For these powers have been given unto you before the whole world, because ye are they who will save the whole world, and that ye may be able to endure the threat of the rulers of the world and the pains of the world and its dangers and all its persecutions, which the rulers of the height will bring upon you.

For many times have I said unto you that I have brought the power in you out of the twelve saviours who are in the Treasury of the Light. For which cause I have said unto you indeed from the beginning that ye are not of the world. I also am not of it. For all men who are in the world have gotten their souls out of [the power of] the rulers of the aeons. But the power which is in you is from me; your souls belong to the height. I have brought twelve powers of the twelve saviours of the Treasury of the Light, taking them out of the portion of my power which I did first receive. And when I had set forth for the world, I came into the midst of the rulers of the sphere and had the form of Gabriel the angel of the aeons; and the rulers of the aeons did not know me, but they thought that I was the angel Gabriel.

"It came to pass then, when I had come into the midst of the rulers of the aeons, that I looked down on the world of mankind, by command of the First Mystery. I found Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptiser, before she had conceived him, and I sowed into her a power which I had received from the little Iao, the Good, who is in the Midst, that he might be able to make proclamation before me and make ready my way, and baptise with the water of the forgiveness of sins. That power then is in the body of John.

"Moreover in place of the soul of the ruler which he was appointed to receive, I found the soul of the prophet Elias in the aeons of the sphere; and I took him thence, and took hi soul and brought it to the Virgin of Light, andshe gave it over to her receivers; they brought it to the sphere of the rulers and cast it into the womb of Elizabeth. So the power of the little Iao, who is in the Midst, and the soul of the prophet Elias, they were bound into the body of John the Baptiser.

For this cause then were ye in doubt aforetime, I when I said unto you: 'John said: I am not the Christ,' and ye said unto me: 'It standeth written in the scripture: When the Christ shall come, Elias cometh before him and maketh ready his way.' But when ye said this unto me, I said unto you: 'Elias verily is come and hath made ready all things, as it standeth written, and they have done unto him as they would.' And when I knew that ye had not understood that I had discoursed with you concerning the soul of Elias which is bound into John the Baptiser, I answered you in the discourse in openness face to face: 'If ye like to accept John the Baptiser: he is Elias, of whom I have said that he will come.'"

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 8

And Jesus continued again in the discourse and said: "It came to pass then thereafter, that at the command of the First Mystery I looked down on the world of mankind and found Mary, who is called 'my mother' according to the body of matter. I spake with her in the type of Gabriel, and when she had turned herself to the height towards me, I cast thence into her the first power which I had received from Barbelo--that is the body which I have borne in the height. And instead of the soul I cast into her the power which I have received from the great Sabaoth, the Good, who is in the region of the Right.

"And the twelve powers of the twelve saviours of the Treasury of the Light which I had received from the twelve ministers of the Midst, I cast into the sphere of the rulers. And the decans of the rulers and their servitors thought that they were souls of the rulers; and the servitors brought them, they bound them into the body of your mothers. And when your time was completed, ye were born in the world without souls of the rulers in you. And ye have received your portion out of the power which the last Helper hath breathed into the Mixture, that [power] which is blended with all the invisibles and all rulers and all aeons,--in a word, which is blended with the world of destruction which is the Mixture. This [power], which from the beginning I brought out of myself, I have cast into the First Commandment, and the First Commandment cast a portion thereof into the great Light, and the great Light cast a portion of that which it had received, into the five Helpers, and the last Helper took a portion of that which it received, and cast it into the Mixture. And [this portion] is in all who are in the Mixture, as I have just said unto you."

This then Jesus said to his disciples on the Mount of Olives. Jesus continued again in the discourse with his disciples [and said]: "Rejoice and exult and add joy to your joy, for the times are completed for me to put on my Vesture, which hath been prepared for me from the beginning, which I left behind in the last mystery until the time of its completion. Now the time of its completion is the time when I shall be commanded through the First Mystery to discourse with you from the beginning of the Truth to the completion thereof, and from the interiors of the interiors [to the exteriors of the exteriors], for the world will be saved through you. Rejoice then and exult, for ye are blessed before all men who are on the earth. It is ye who will save the whole world."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 9

It came to pass then, when Jesus had finished saying these words to his disciples, that he continued again in the discourse, and said unto them: "Lo, I have then put on my Vesture, and all authority hath been given me through the First Mystery. Yet a little while and I will tell you the mystery of the universe and the fulness of the universe; and I will hide nothing from you from this hour on, but in fulness will I perfect you in all fulness and in all perfection and in all mysteries, which are the perfection of all perfections and the fulness of all fulnesses and the gnosis of all gnoses,--those which are in my Vesture. I will tell you all mysteries from the exteriors of the exteriors to the interiors of the interiors. But hearken that I may tell you all things which have befallen me."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 10

"It came to pass then, when the sun had risen in the east, that a great light-power came down, in which was my Vesture, which I had left behind in the four-and-twentieth mystery, as I have said unto you. And I found a mystery in my Vesture, written in five words of those from the height: zama zama ozza rachama ozai,--whose solution is this:

"'O Mystery, which is without in the world, for whose sake the universe hath arisen,--this is the total outgoing and the total ascent, which hath emanated all emanations and all that is therein and for whose sake all mysteries and all their regions have arisen,--come hither unto us, for we are thy fellow-members. We are all with thyself; we are one and the same. Thou art the First Mystery, which existed from 1 the beginning in the Ineffable before it came forth; and the name thereof are we all. Now, therefore, are we all come to meet thee at the last limit, which also is the last mystery from within; itself is a portion of us. Now, therefore, have we sent thee thy Vesture, which hath belonged to thee from the beginning, which thou hast left behind in the last limit, which also is the last mystery from within, until its time should be completed, according to the commandment of the First Mystery. Lo, its time is completed; put it on [thee].

"'Come unto us, for we all draw nigh to thee to clothe thee with the First Mystery and all his glory, by commandment of himself, in that the First Mystery hath given us it, consisting of two vestures, to clothe thee therewith, besides the one which we have sent thee, for thou art worthy of them, since thou art prior to us, and existeth before us. For this cause, therefore, hath the First Mystery sent thee through us the mystery of all his glory, consisting of two vestures.

"'In the first is the whole glory of all the names of all mysteries and all emanations of the orders of the spaces of the Ineffable.

"'And in the second vesture is the whole glory of the name of all mysteries and all emanations which are in the orders of the two spaces of the First Mystery.

"And in this [third] vesture, which we have just sent thee, is the glory of the name of the mystery of the Revealer, which is the First Commandment, and of the mystery of the five Impressions, and of the mystery of the great Envoy of the Ineffable, who is the great Light, and of the mystery of the five Leaders, who are the five Helpers. There is further in this vesture the glory of the name of the mystery of all orders of the emanations of the Treasury of the Light and of their saviours, and [of the mystery] of the orders of the orders, which are the seven Amens and the seven Voices and the five Trees and the three Amens and the Twin-saviour, that is the Child of the Child, and of the mystery of the nine guards of the three gates of the Treasury of the Light. There is further therein the whole glory of the name [of all those] which are in the Right, and of all those which are in the Midst. And further there is therein the whole glory of the name of the great Invisible, which is the great Forefather, and the mystery of the three triple-powers and the mystery of their whole region and the mystery of all their invisibles and of all those who are in the thirteenth aeon, and the name of the twelve aeons and of all their rulers and all their archangels and all their angels and of all those who are in the twelve aeons, and the whole mystery of the name of all those who are in the Fate and in all the heavens, and the whole mystery of the name of all those who are in the sphere, and of its firmaments and of all who are in them, and of all their regions.

"'Lo, therefore, we have sent thee this vesture, which no one knew from the First Commandment'downwards, for the glory of its light was hidden in it, and the spheres and all regions u from the First Commandment downwards [have not known it]. Haste thee, therefore, clothe thyself with this vesture and come unto us. For we draw nigh unto thee, to clothe thee by command of the First Mystery with thy two vestures [other] which existed for thee from the beginning with the First Mystery until the time appointed by the Ineffable is completed.

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Come, therefore, to us quickly, that we may put them on thee, until thou hast fulfilled the total ministry of the perfection of the First Mystery which is appointed by the Ineffable. Come, therefore, to us quickly, in order that we may clothe thee with them, according to the command of the First Mystery. For yet a little while, a very little while, and thou shalt come unto us and leave the world. Come, therefore, quickly, that thou mayest receive thy whole glory, that is the glory of the First Mystery.'

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 11

"It came to pass then, when I saw the mystery of all these words in the vesture which was sent me, that straightway I clothed myself therewith, and I shone most exceedingly and soared into the height.

"I came before the [first] gate of the firmament, shining most exceedingly, and there was no measure for the light which was about me, and the gates of the firmament were shaken one over against another and all opened at once.

"And all rulers and all authorities and all angels therein were thrown all together into agitation because of the great light which was on me. And they gazed at the radiant vesture of light with which I was clad, and they saw the mystery which contains their names, and they feared most exceedingly. And all their bonds with which they were bound, were unloosed and every one left his order, and they all fell down before me, adored and said: 'How hath the lord of the universe passed through us without our knowing?' And they all sang praises together to the interiors of the interiors; but me they saw not, but they saw only the light. And they were in great fear and were exceedingly agitated and sang praises to the interiors of the interiors.

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 12

"And I left that region behind me and ascended to the first sphere, shining most exceedingly, forty-and-nine-times more brightly than I had shone in the firmament. It came to pass then, when I had reached the gate of the first sphere, that its gates were shaken and opened of themselves at once.

"I entered into the houses of the sphere, shining most exceedingly, and there was no measure to the light that was about me. And all the rulers and all those who are in that sphere, fell into agitation one against another. And they saw the great light that was about me, and they gazed upon my vesture and saw thereon the mystery of their name. And they fell into still greater agitation, and were in great fear, saying: 'How hath the lord of the universe passed through us without our knowing?' And all their bonds were unloosed and their regions and their orders; and every one left his order, and they fell down all together, adored before me, or before my vesture, and all sang praises together to the interiors of the interiors, being in great fear and great agitation.

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 13

"And I left that region behind me and came to the gate of the second sphere, which is the Fate. Then were all its gates thrown into agitation and opened of themselves. And I entered into the houses of the Fate, shining most exceedingly, and there was no measure for the light that was about me, for I shone in the Fate forty-and-nine times more than in the [first] sphere.

"And all the rulers and all those who are in the Fate, were thrown into agitation and fell on one another and were in exceeding great fear on seeing the great light that was about me. And they gazed on my vesture of light and saw the mystery of their name on my vesture and fell into still greater agitation; and they were in great fear, saying: 'How hath the lord of the universe passed through us without our knowing?' And all the bonds of their regions and of their orders and of their houses were unloosed; they all came at once, fell down, adored before me and sang praises all together to the interiors of the interiors, being in great fear and great agitation.

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 14

"And I left that region behind me and ascended to the great aeons of the rulers and came before their veils and their gates, shining most exceedingly, and there was no measure for the light which was about me. It came to pass then, when I arrived at the twelve aeons, that their veils and their gates were shaken one over against the other. Their veils drew themselves apart of their own accord, and their gates opened one over against the other. And I entered into the aeons, shining most exceedingly, and there was no measure for the light that was about me, forty-and-nine times more than the light with which I shone in the houses of the Fate.

"And all the angels of the aeons and their archangels and their rulers and their gods and their lords and their authorities and their tyrants and their powers and their light-sparks and their light-givers and their unpaired and their invisibles and their forefathers and their triple-powers saw me, shining most exceedingly, and there was no measure for the light which was about me. And they were thrown into agitation the one over against the other and great fear fell upon them, when they saw the great light that was about me. And in their great agitation and their great fear they withdrew as far as the region of the great invisible Forefather, and of the three great triple-powers. And because of the great fear of their agitation, the great Forefather, he and the three triple-powers, kept on running hither and thither in his region, and they could not close all their regions because of the great fear in which they were. And they agitated all their aeons together and all their spheres and all their orders, fearing and being greatly agitated because of the great light which was about me--not of the former quality that it was about me when I was on the earth of man-kind, when the light-vesture came over me,--for the world could not bear the light such as it was in its truth, else would the world at once be destroyed and all upon it,--but the light which was about me in the twelve aeons was eight-thousand-and-seven-hundred-myriad times greater than that which was about me in the world among you.

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 15

"It came to pass then, when all those who are in the twelve aeons saw the great light which was about me, that they were all thrown into agitation one over against the other, and ran hither and thither in the aeons. And all aeons and all heavens and their whole ordering were agitated one over against the other on account of the great fear which was on them, for they knew not the mystery which had taken place. And Adamas, the great Tyrant, and all the tyrants in all the aeons began to fight in vain against the light, and they knew not against whom they fought, because they saw nothing but the overmastering light.

"It came to pass then, when they fought against the light, that they were weakened all together one with another, were dashed down in the aeons and became as the inhabitants of the earth, dead and without breath of life.

"And I took from all a third of their power, that they should no more be active in their evil doings, and that, if the men who are in the world, invoke them in their mysteries--those which the angels who transgressed have brought down, that is their sorceries,--in order that, therefore, if they invoke them in their evil doings, they may not be able to accomplish them.

"And the Fate and the sphere over which they rule, I have changed and brought it to pass that they spend six months turned to the left and accomplish their influences, and that six months they face to the right and accomplish their influences. For by command of the First Commandment and by command of the First Mystery Yew, the Overseer of the Light, had set them facing the left at every time and accomplishing their influences and their deeds.

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 16

"It came to pass then, when I came into their region, that they mutinied and fought against the light. And I took the third of their power, in order that they should not be able to accomplish their evil deeds. And the Fate and the sphere, over which they rule, I have changed, and set them facing the left six months and accomplishing their influences, and I have set them turned another six months to the right and accomplishing their influences."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 17

When then he had said this to his disciples, he said unto them: "Who hath ears to hear, let him hear."

It came to pass then, when Mary had heard the Saviour say these words, that she gazed fixedly into the air for the space of an hour. She said: "My Lord, give commandment unto me to speak in openness."

And Jesus, the compassionate, answered and said unto Mary: "Mary, thou blessed one, whom I will perfect in all mysteries of those of the height, discourse in openness, thou, whose heart is raised to the kingdom of heaven more than all thy brethren."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 18

Then said Mary to the Saviour: "My Lord, the word which thou hast spoken unto us: 'Who hath ears to hear, let him hear,' thou sayest in order that we may understand the word which thou hast spoken. Hearken, therefore, my Lord, that I may discourse in openness.

"The word which thou hast spoken: 'I have taken a third from the power of the rulers of all the aeons, and changed their Fate and their sphere over which they rule, in order that, if the race of men invoke them in the mysteries--those which the angels who transgressed have taught them for the accomplishing of their evil and lawless deeds in the mystery of their sorcery,'--in order then that they may no more from this hour accomplish their lawless deeds, because thou hast taken their power from them and from their horoscope-casters and their consulters and from those who declare to the men in the world all things which shall come to pass, in order that they should no more from this hour know how to declare unto them any thing at all which will come to pass (for thou hast changed their spheres, and hast made them spend six months turned to the left and accomplishing their influences, and another six months facing the right and accomplishing their influences),--concerning this word then, my Lord, the power which was in the prophet Isaiah, hath spoken thus and proclaimed aforetime in a spiritual similitude, discoursing on the 'Vision about Egypt': 'Where then, O Egypt, where are thy consulters and horoscope-casters and those who cry out of the earth and those who cry out of their belly? Let them then declare unto thee from now on the deeds which the lord Sabaoth will do!'

"The power then which was in the prophet Isaiah, prophesied before thou didst come, that thou wouldst take away the power of the rulers of the aeons and wouldst change their sphere and their Fate, in order that they might know nothing from now on. For this cause it hath said also: 'Ye shall then know not of what the lord Sabaoth will do '; that is, none of the rulers will know what thou wilt do from now on,--for they are 'Egypt,' because they are matter. The power then which was in Isaiah, prophesied concerning thee aforetime, saying: 'From now on ye shall then know not what the lord Sabaoth will do.' Because of the light-power which thou didst receive from Sabaoth, the Good, who is in the region of the Right, and which is in thy material body to-day, for this cause then, my Lord Jesus, thou hast said unto us: 'Who hath ears to hear, let him hear,'--in order that thou mightest know whose heart is ardently raised to the kingdom of heaven."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 19

It came to pass then, when Mary had finished saying these words, that he said: "Well said, Mary, for thou art blessed before all women on the earth, because thou shalt be the fulness of all fulnesses and the perfection of all perfections."

Now when Mary had heard the Saviour speak these words, she exulted greatly, and she came before Jesus, fell down before him, adored his feet and said unto him: "My Lord, hearken unto me, that I may question thee on this word, before that thou discoursest with us about the regions whither thou didst go."

Jesus answered and said unto Mary: "Discourse in openness and fear not; all things on which thou questionest, I will reveal unto thee."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 20

She said: "My Lord, will all the men who know the mystery of the magic of all the rulers of all the aeons of the Fate and of those of the sphere, in the way in which the angels who transgressed have taught them, if they invoke them in their mysteries, that is in their evil magic, to the hindering of good deeds,--will they accomplish them henceforth from now on or not?"

Jesus answered and said unto Mary: "They will not accomplish them as they accomplished them from the beginning, because I have taken away a third of their power; but they will raise a loan from those who know the mysteries of the magic of the thirteenth aeon. And if they invoke the mysteries of the magic of those who are in the thirteenth aeon, they will accomplish them well and surely, because I have not taken away power from that region, according to the command of the First Mystery."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 21

And it came to pass, when Jesus had finished saying these words, that Mary continued again and said: "My Lord, will not then the horoscope-casters and consulters from now on declare unto men what will come to pass for them?"

And Jesus answered and said unto Mary: "If the horoscope-casters find the Fate and the sphere turned towards the left, according to their first extension, their words will come to pass, and they will say what is to take place. But if they chance on the Fate or the sphere turned to the right, they are bound to say nothing true, for I have changed their influences and their squares and their triangles and their octagons; seeing that their influences from the beginning onwards were continuously turned to the left and their squares and their triangles and their octagons. But now I have made them spend six months turned to the left and six months turned to the right. He who then shall find their reckoning from the time when I changed them, setting them so as to spend six months facing towards their left and six months facing their right paths,--he who then shall observe them in this wise, will know their influences surely and will declare all things which they will do. In like manner also the consulters, if they invoke the names of the rulers and chance on them facing the left, will tell [men] with accuracy all things concerning which they shall ask their decans. On the contrary, if the consulters invoke their names when they face to the right, they will not give ear unto them, because they are facing in another form compared with their former position in which Yew had established them; seeing that other are their names when they are turned to the left and other their names when they are turned to the right. And if they invoke them when they are turned to the right, they will not tell them the truth, but they will con-found them with confusion and threaten them with threatening. Those then who do not know their path, when they are turned to the right, and their triangles and their squares and all their

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figures, will find nothing true, but will be confounded in great confusion and will find themselves in great delusion, because I have now changed the works which they effected aforetime in their squares, when turned to the left, and in their triangles and in their octagons, in which they were busied continuously turned to the left; and I have made them spend six months forming all their configurations turned to the right, in order that they may be confounded in confusion in their whole range. And moreover I have made them spend six months turned to the left and accomplishing the works of their influences and all their configurations, in order that the rulers who are in the aeons and in their spheres and in their heavens and in all their regions, may be confounded in confusion and deluded in delusion, so that they may not understand their own paths."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 22

It came to pass then, when Jesus had finished saying these words, while Philip sat and wrote all the words that Jesus spake,--thereafter then it came to pass that Philip came forward, fell down and adored the feet of Jesus, saying: "My Lord and Saviour, grant me authority to discourse before thee and to question thee on this word, before thou discoursest with us concerning the regions whither thou didst go because of thy ministry."

And the compassionate Saviour answered and said unto Philip: "Authority is given thee to bring forward the word which thou willest."

And Philip answered and said unto Jesus: "My Lord, on account of what mystery hast thou changed the binding of the rulers and their aeons and their Fate and their sphere and all their regions, and made them confounded in confusion on their path and deluded in their course? Hast thou then done this unto them for the salvation of the world or hast thou not?"

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 23

And Jesus answered and said unto Philip and to all the disciples together: "I have changed their path for the salvation of all souls. Amen, amen, I say unto you If I had not changed their path, a host of souls would have been destroyed, and they would have spent a long time, if the rulers of the aeons and the rulers of the Fate and of the sphere and of all their regions and all their heavens and all their aeons had not been brought to naught; and the souls would have continued a long time here outside, and the completion of the number of perfect souls would have been delayed, which [souls] shall be counted in the Inheritance of the Height through the mysteries and shall be in the Treasury of the Light. For this cause then I have changed their path, that they might be deluded and fall into agitation and yield up the power which is in the matter of their world and which they fashion into souls, in order that those who shall be saved, might be quickly purified and raised on high, they and the whole power, and that those who shall not be saved, might be quickly destroyed."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 24

It came to pass then, when Jesus had finished saying these words unto his disciples, that Mary, the fair in her discourse and the blessed one, came forward, fell at the feet of Jesus and said: "My Lord, suffer me that I speak before thee, and be not wroth with me, if oft I give thee trouble questioning thee."

The Saviour, full of compassion, answered and said unto Mary: "Speak the word which thou willest, and I will reveal it to thee in all openness."

Mary answered and said unto Jesus: "My Lord, in what way will the souls have delayed themselves here outside, and in what type will they be quickly purified?"

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 25

And Jesus answered and said unto Mary: "Well said, Mary; thou questionest finely with thy excellent question, and thou throwest light on all things with surety and precision. Now, therefore, from now on will I hide nothing from you, but I will reveal unto you all things with surety and openness. Hearken then, Mary, and give ear, all ye disciples: Before I made proclamation to all the rulers of the aeons and to all the rulers of the Fate and Of the sphere, they were all bound in their bonds and in their spheres and in their seals, as Yew, the Overseer of the Light, had bound them from the beginning; and every one of them remained in his order, and every one journeyed according to his course, as Yew, the Overseer of the Light, had established them. And when the time of the number of Melchisedec, the great Receiver of the Light, came, he was wont to come into the midst of the aeons and of all the rulers who are bound in the sphere and in the Fate, and he carried away the purification of the light from all the rulers of the aeons and from all the rulers of the Fate and from those of the sphere--for he carried away then that which brings them into agitation--and he set in motion the hastener who is over them, and made them turn their circles swiftly, and he [the hastener] carried away their power which was in them and the breath of their mouth and the tears [lit. waters] of their eyes and the sweat of their bodies.

"And Melchisedec, the Receiver of the Light; purifieth those powers and carrieth their light into the Treasury of the Light, while the servitors of all the rulers gather together all matter from them all; and the servitors of all the rulers of the Fate and the servitors of the sphere which is below the aeons, take it and fashion it into souls of men and cattle and reptiles and wild-beasts and birds, and send them down into the world of mankind. And further the receivers of the sun and the receivers of the moon, if they look above and see the configurations of the paths of the aeons and the configurations of the Fate and those of the sphere, then they take from them the light-power; and the receivers of the sun get it ready and deposit it, until they hand it over to the receivers of Melchisedec, the Light-purifier. And their material refuse they bring to the sphere which is below the aeons, and fashion it into [souls of] men, and fashion it also into souls of reptiles and of cattle and of wild-beasts and of birds, according to the circle of the rulers of that sphere and according to all the configurations of its revolution, and they cast them into this world of mankind, and they become souls in this region, as I have just said unto you.

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 26

"This then they accomplished continuously before their power was diminished in them and they waned and became exhausted, or powerless. It came to pass then, when they became powerless, that their power began to cease in them, so that they became exhausted in their power, and their light, which was in their region, ceased and their kingdom was destroyed, and the universe became quickly raised up.

"It came to pass then, when they had perceived this at the time, and when the number of the cipher of Melchisedec, the Receiver [of the Light], happened, then had he to come out again and enter into the midst of the rulers of all the aeons and into the midst of all the rulers of the Fate and of those of the sphere; and he threw them into agitation, and made them quickly abandon their circles. And forthwith they were constrained, and cast forth the power out of themselves, out of the breath of their mouth and the tears of their eyes and the sweat of their bodies.

"And Melchisedec, the Receiver of the Light, purifieth them, as he doth continually; he carrieth their light into the Treasury of the Light. And all the rulers of the aeons and the rulers of the Fate and those of the sphere turn to the matter of their refuse; they devour it and do not let it go and become souls in the world. They devour then their matter, so that they may not become powerless and exhausted and their power cease in them and their kingdom become destroyed, but in order that they may delay and linger a long time until the completion of the number of the perfect souls who shall be in the Treasury of the Light.

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 27

"It came to pass then, when the rulers of the aeons and those of the Fate and those of the sphere continued to carry out this type,--turning on themselves, devouring the refuse of their matter, and not allowing souls to be born into the world of mankind, in order that they might delay in being rulers, and that the powers which are in their powers, that is the souls, might spend a long time here outside,--they then persisted doing this continually for two circles.

"It came to pass then, when I wished to ascend for the ministry for the sake of which I was called by command of the First Mystery, that I came up into the midst of the tyrants of the rulers of the twelve aeons, with my light-vesture about me, shining most exceedingly, and there was no measure for the light which was about me.

Adamas and the tyrants fight against the light-vesture."It came to pass then, when those tyrants saw the great light which was about me, that the great Adamas, the Tyrant, and all the tyrants of the twelve aeons, all together began to fight against the light of my vesture, desiring to hold it fast among them, in order to delay in their rulership. This then they did, not knowing against whom they fought.

"When then they mutinied and fought against the light, thereon by command of the First Mystery I changed the paths and the courses of their aeons and the paths of their Fate and of their sphere. I made them face six months towards the triangles on the left and towards the squares and towards those in their aspect and towards their octagons, just as they had formerly been. But their manner of turning, or facing, I changed to another order, and made them other six months face towards the works of their influences in the squares on the right and in their triangles and in those in their aspect and in their octagons. And I made them to be confounded in great confusion and deluded in great delusion--the rulers of the aeons and all the rulers of the Fate and those of the sphere; and I set them in great agitation, and thence on they were no longer able to turn towards the refuse of their matter to devour it, in order that their regions may continue to delay and they [themselves] may spend a long time as rulers.

"But when I had taken away a third of their power, I changed their spheres, so that they spend a time facing to the left and another time facing to the right. I have changed their whole path and their whole course, and I have made the path of their course to hurry, so that they may be quickly purified and raised up quickly. And I have shortened their circles, and made their path more speedy, and it will be exceedingly hurried. And they were thrown into confusion in their path, and from then on were no more able to devour the matter of the refuse of the purification of their light. And moreover I have shortened their times and their periods, so that the perfect number of souls who shall receive the mysteries and be in the Treasury of the Light, shall be quickly completed. For had I not changed their courses, and had I not shortened their periods, they would not have let any soul come into the world, because of the matter of their refuse which they devoured, and they would have destroyed many souls. For this cause I said unto you aforetime: 'I have shortened the times because of my elect; otherwise no soul would have been able to be saved.' And I have shortened the times and the periods because of the perfect number of the souls who shall receive the mysteries, that is to say, the 'elect'; and had I not shortened their periods, no material soul would have been saved, but they would have perished in the fire which is in the flesh of the rulers. This then is the word on which thou dost question me with precision."

It came to pass then, when Jesus had finished speaking these words unto his disciples, that they fell down all together, adored him and said to him: "Blessed are we before all men, for unto us thou hast revealed these great exploits."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 28

And Jesus continued again in his discourse and said unto his disciples: "Hearken concerning the things which befell me among the rulers of the twelve aeons and all their rulers and their lords and their authorities and their angels and their archangels. When then they had seen the vesture of light which was about me, they and their unpaired, then every one of them saw the mystery of his name, that it was on my vesture of light, which was about me. They fell down all together, adored the vesture of light which was about me, and cried out all together, saying: 'How hath the lord of the universe passed through us without our knowing it?' And they all sang praises together to the interiors of the interiors. And all their triple-powers and their great forefathers and their ungenerated and their self-generated and their generated and their gods and their light-sparks and their light-bearers--in a word all their great ones--saw the tyrants of their region, that their power was diminished in them. And they were in weakness and themselves fell into great and immeasurable fear. And they gazed on the mystery of their name on my vesture, and they had set out to come and adore the mystery of their name which was on my vesture, and they could not because of the great light which was about me; but they adored a little removed from me, and they adored the light of my vesture and all cried out together, singing praises to the interiors of the interiors.

"It came to pass then, when this befell among the tyrants who are below these rulers, that they all lost power and fell down to the ground in their aeons and became as the dead world-dwellers with no breath in them, as they became in the hour when I took from them their power.

"It came to pass then thereafter, when I left those aeons, that every one of all those who were in the twelve aeons, was bound to their order all together, and they accomplished their works as I have established them, so that they spend six months turned to the left and accomplishing their works in their squares and their triangles and in those which are in their aspect, and that further they spend another six months facing to the right and towards their triangles and their squares and those which are in their aspect. Thus then will those who are in the Fate and in the sphere travel.

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 29

"It came to pass then thereafter that I ascended to the veils of the thirteenth aeon. It came to pass then, when I had arrived at their veils, that they drew apart of their own accord and opened themselves for me. I entered in into the thirteenth aeon and found Pistis Sophia below the thirteenth aeon all alone and no one of them with her. And she sat in that region grieving and mourning, because she had not been admitted into the thirteenth aeon, her higher region. And she was moreover grieving because of the torments which Self-willed, who is one of the three triple-powers, had inflicted on her. But this,--when I shall come to speak with you respecting their expansion, I will tell you the mystery, how this befell her.

"It came to pass then, when Pistis Sophia saw me shining most exceedingly and with no measure for the light which was about me, that she was in great agitation and gazed at the light of my vesture. She saw the mystery of her name on my vesture and the whole glory of its mystery, for formerly she was in the region of the height, in the thirteenth aeon,--but she was wont to sing praises to the higher light, which she had seen in the veil of the Treasury of the Light.

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"It came to pass then, when she persisted in singing praises to the higher light, that all the rulers who are with the two great triple-powers, and her invisible who is paired with her, and the other two-and-twenty invisible emanations gazed [at the light],--in as much as Pistis Sophia and her pair, they and the other two-and-twenty emanations make up four-and-twenty emanations, which the great invisible Forefather and the two great triple-powers have emanated."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 30

It came to pass then, when Jesus had said this unto his disciples, that Mary came forward and said: "My Lord, I have heard thee say aforetime: 'Pistis Sophia is herself one of the f our-and-twenty emanations, how then is she not in their region? But thou hast said: 'I found her below the thirteenth aeon.'"

THE STORY OF PISTIS SOPHIA: And Jesus answered and said unto his disciples: "It came to pass, when Pistis Sophia was in the thirteenth aeon, in the region of all her brethren the invisibles, that is the four-and-twenty emanations of the great Invisible,--it came to pass then by command of the First Mystery that Pistis Sophia gazed into the height. She saw the light of the veil of the Treasury of the Light, and she longed to reach to that region, and she could not reach to that region. But she ceased to perform the mystery of the thirteenth aeon, and sang praises to the light of the height, which she had seen in the light of the veil of the Treasury of the Light.

The rulers hate her for ceasing in their mystery."It came to pass then, when she sang praises to the region of the height, that all the rulers in the twelve aeons, who are below, hated her, because she had ceased from their mysteries, and because she had desired to go into the height and be above them all. For this cause then they were enraged against her and hated her, [as did] the great triple-powered Self-willed, that is the third triple-power, who is in the thirteenth aeon, he who had become disobedient, in as much as he had not emanated the whole purification of his power in him, and had not given the purification of his light at the time when the rulers gave their purification, in that he desired to rule over the whole thirteenth aeon and those who are below it.

"It came to pass then, when the rulers of the twelve aeons were enraged against Pistis Sophia, who is above them, and hated her exceedingly, that the great triple-powered Self-willed, of whom I have just now told you, joined himself to the rulers of the twelve aeons, and also was enraged against Pistis Sophia and hated her exceedingly, because she had thought to go to the light which is higher than her. And he emanated out of himself a great lion-faced power, and out of his matter in him he emanated a host of other very violent material emanations, and sent them into the regions below, to the parts of the chaos, in order that they might there lie in wait for Pistis Sophia and take away her power out of her, because she thought to go to the height which is above them all, and moreover she had ceased to perform their mystery, and lamented continuously and sought after the light which she. had seen. And the rulers who abide, or persist, in performing the mystery, hated her, and all the guards who are at the gates of the aeons, hated her also.

"It came to pass then thereafter by command of the First Commandment that the great triple-powered Self-willed, who is one of the three triple-powers, pursued Sophia in the thirteenth aeon, in order that she should look towards the parts below, so that she might see in that region his lion-faced light-power and long after it and go to that region, so that her light might be taken from her.

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 31

"It came to pass then thereafter that she looked below and saw his light-power in the parts below; and she knew not that it is that of the triple-powered Self-willed, but she thought that it came out of the light which she had seen from the beginning in the height, which came out of the veil of the Treasury of the Light. And she thought to herself: I will go into that region without my pair and take the light and thereout fashion for myself light-aeons, so that I may go to the Light of lights, which is in the Height of heights.

She descendeth to the twelve aeons and thence into the chaos."This then thinking, she went forth from her own region, the thirteenth aeon, and went down to the twelve aeons. The rulers of the aeons pursued her and were enraged against her, because she had thought of grandeur. And she went forth also from the twelve aeons, and came into the regions of the chaos and drew nigh to that lion-faced light-power to devour it. But all the material emanations of Self-willed surrounded her, and the great lion-faced light-power devoured all the light-powers in Sophia and cleaned out her light and devoured it, and her matter was thrust into the chaos; it became a lion-faced ruler in the chaos, of which one half is fire and the other darkness,--that is Yaldabaoth, of whom I have spoken unto you many times. When then this befell, Sophia became very greatly exhausted, and that lion-faced light-power set to work to take away from Sophia all her light-powers, and all the material powers of Self-willed surrounded Sophia at the same time and pressed her sore.

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 32

"And Pistis Sophia cried out most exceedingly, she cried to the Light of lights which she had seen from the beginning, in which she had had faith, and uttered this repentance, saying thus:

1. O Light of lights, in whom I have had faith from the beginning, hearken now then, O Light, unto my repentance. Save me, O Light, for evil thoughts have entered into me.

2. I gazed, O Light, into the lower parts and saw there a light. thinking: I will go to that region, in order that I may take that light. And I went and found myself in the darkness which is in the chaos below, and I could no more speed thence and go to my region, for I was sore pressed by all the emanations of Self-willed, and the lion-faced power took away my light in me.

3. And I cried for help, but my voice hath not reached out of the darkness. And I looked unto the height, that the Light, in which I had had faith, might help me.

4. And when I looked unto the height, I saw all the rulers of the aeons, how in their numbers they looked down on me and rejoiced over me, though I had done them no ill; but they hated me without a cause. And when the emanations of Self-willed saw the rulers of the aeons rejoicing over me, they knew that the rulers of the aeons would not come to my aid; and those emanations which sore pressed me with violence, took courage, and the light which I had not taken from them, they have taken from me.

5. Now, therefore, O Light of Truth, thou knowest that I have done this in my innocence, thinking that the lion-faced light-power belonged to thee; and the sin which I have done is open before thee.

6. Suffer me no more to lack, O Lord, for I have had faith in thy light from the beginning; O Lord, O Light of the powers, suffer me no more to lack my light.

7. For because of thy inducement and for the sake of thy light am I fallen into this oppression, and shame hath covered me.

8. And because of the illusion of thy light, I am become a stranger to my brethren, the invisibles, and to the great emanations of Barbelo.

9. This hath befallen me, O Light, because I have been zealous for thy abode; and the wrath of Self-willed is come upon me--of him who had not hearkened unto thy command to emanate from the emanation of his power--because I was in his aeon without performing his mystery.

10. And all the rulers of the aeons mocked me.

11. And I was in that region, mourning and seeking after the light which I had seen in the height.

12. And the guards of the gates of the aeons searched for me, and all who remain in their mystery mocked me.

13. But I looked up unto the height towards thee and had faith in thee. Now, therefore, O Light of lights, I am sore pressed in the darkness of chaos. If now thou wilt come to save me,--great is thy mercy,--then hear me in truth and save me.

14. Save me out of the matter of this darkness, that I may not be submerged therein, that I may be saved from the emanations of god Self-willed which press me sore, and from their evil doings.

15. Let not this darkness submerge me, and let not this lion-faced power entirely devour the whole of my power, and let not this chaos shroud my power.

16. Hear me, O Light, for thy grace is precious, and look down upon me according to the great mercy of thy Light.

17. Turn not thy face from me, for I am exceedingly tormented.

18. Haste thee, hearken unto me and save my power.

19. Save me because of the rulers who hate me, for thou knowest my sore oppression and my torment and the torment of my power which they have taken from me. They who have set me in all this evil are before thee; deal with them according to thy good pleasure.

20. My power looked forth from the midst of the chaos and from the midst of the darkness, and I waited for my pair, that he should come and fight for me, and he came not, and I looked that he should come and lend me power, and I found him not.

21. And when I sought the light, they gave me darkness; and when I sought my power, they gave me matter.

22. Now, therefore, O Light of lights, may the darkness and the matter which the emanations of Self-willed have brought upon me, be unto them for a snare, and may they be ensnared therein, and recompense them and may they be made to stumble and not come into the region of their Self-willed.

23. May they remain in the darkness and not behold the light; may they behold the chaos for ever, and let them not look unto the height.

24. Bring upon them their revenge, and may thy judgement lay hold upon them.

25. Let them not henceforth come into their region to their god Self-willed, and let not his emanations henceforth come into their regions; for their god is impious and self-willed, and he thought that he had done this evil of himself, not knowing that, had I not been brought low according to thy command, he would not have had any authority over me.

26. But when thou hadst by thy command brought me low, they pursued me the more, and their emanations added pain to my humiliation.

27. And they have taken light-power from me and fallen again to pressing me sore, in order to take away all the light in me. Because of this in which they have set me, let them not ascend to the thirteenth aeon, the region of Righteousness.

28. But let them not be reckoned in the lot of those who purify themselves and the light, and let them not be reckoned with those who will quickly repent, that they may quickly receive mysteries in the Light.

29. For they have taken my light from me, and my power hath begun to cease in me and I am destitute of my light.

30. Now, therefore, O Light, which is in thee and is with me, I sing praises to thy name, O Light, in glory.

31. May my song of praise please thee, O Light, as an excellent mystery, which leadeth to the gates of the Light, which they who shall repent will utter, and the light of which will purify them.

32. Now, therefore, let all matters rejoice; seek ye all the Light, that the power of the stars which is in you, may live.

33. For the Light hath heard the matters, nor will it leave any without having purified them.

34. Let the souls and the matters praise the Lord of all aeons, and [let] the matters and all that is in them [praise him].

35. For God shall save their soul from all matters, and a city shall be prepared in the Light, and all the souls who are saved, will dwell in that city and will inherit it.

36. And the soul of them who shall receive mysteries will abide in that region, and they who have received mysteries in its name will abide therein.'"

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 33

It came to pass then, when Jesus had spoken these words unto his disciples, that he said unto them: "This is the song of praise which Pistis Sophia uttered in her first repentance, repenting of her sin, and reciting all which had befallen her. Now, therefore: 'Who hath ears to hear, let him hear.'"

Mary again came forward and said: "My Lord, my indweller of light hath ears, and I hear with my light-power, and thy spirit which is with me, hath sobered me. Hearken then that I may speak concerning the repentance which Pistis Sophia hath uttered, speaking of her sin and all that befell her. Thy light-power hath prophesied thereof aforetime through the prophet David in the sixty-eighth Psalm:

1. Save me, O God, for the waters are come in even unto my soul.

2. I sank, or am submerged, in the slime of the abyss, and power was not. I have gone-down into the depths of the sea; a tempest hath submerged me.

3. I have kept on crying; my throat is gone, my eyes faded, waiting patiently for God.

4. They who hate me without a cause are more than the hairs of my head; mighty are my foes, who violently pursued me. They required of me that which I took not from them.

5. God, thou hast known my foolishness, and my faults are not hid from thee.

6. Let not them that wait on thee, O Lord, Lord of powers, be ashamed for my sake; let not those who seek thee be ashamed for my sake, O Lord, God of Israel, God of powers.

7. For thy sake have I endured shame; shame hath covered my face.

8. I am become a stranger to my brethren, a stranger unto the sons of my mother.

9. For the zeal of thy house hath consumed me; the revilings of them that revile thee have fallen upon me.

10. I bowed my soul with fasting, and it was turned to my reproach.

11. I put on sackcloth; I became unto them a bye-word.

12. They who sit at the gates, chattered at me; and they who drink wine, harped about me.

13. But I prayed with my soul unto thee, O Lord; the time of thy well-liking is [now], O God. In the fulness of thy grace give ear unto my salvation in truth.

14. Save me out of this slime, that I sink not therein; let me be saved from them that hate me, and from the deep of waters.

15. Let not a water-flood submerge me, let not the deep swallow me, let not a well close its mouth above me.

16. Hear me, O Lord, for thy grace is good; according to the fulness of thy compassion look down upon me.

17. Turn not thy face away from thy servant, for I am oppressed.

18. Hear me quickly, give heed to my soul and deliver it.

19. Save me because of my foes, for thou knowest my disgrace, my shame and my dishonour; all my oppressors are before thee.

20. My heart awaiteth disgrace and misery; I waited for him who should sorrow with me, but I could not come at him, and for him who should comfort me, and I found him not.

21. They gave me gall for my meat; and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.

22. Let their table be unto them for a trap and for a snare and for a retribution and for a stumbling-block.

23. Mayest thou bend their backs at all time.

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24. Pour out thy anger upon them, and let the wrath of thy anger lay hold upon them.
25. Let their encampment be desolate, let there be no dweller in their habitations.
26. For they persecuted him whom thou hast smitten, and added to the smart of their woundings.
27. They added iniquity to their iniquities; let them not come into thy righteousness.
28. Let them be wiped out of the book of the living, and let them not be written in among the righteous.
29. I am a poor wretch who is heart-broken too; it is the salvation of thy face which hath taken me unto itself.
30. I will praise the name of God in the ode, and exalt it in the song of thanksgiving.
31. This shall please God better than a young bull which putteth forth horns and hoofs.
32. May the wretched see and make merry; seek ye God, that your souls may live.
33. For God hath heard the wretched and despiseth not the prisoners.
34. Let heaven and earth praise the Lord, the sea and all that is therein.
35. For God will save Zion, and the cities of Judaea will be built up, and they will dwell there and inherit it.
36. The seed of his servants shall possess it, and they who love his name shall dwell therein.'"

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 34

It came to pass then, when Mary had finished speaking these words unto Jesus in the midst of the disciples, that she said unto him: "My Lord, this is the solution of the mystery of the repentance of Pistis Sophia."

It came to pass then, when Jesus had heard Mary speak these words, that he said unto her: "Well said, Mary, blessed one, the fulness, or all-blessed fulness, thou who shalt be sung of as blessed in all generations."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 35

Jesus continued again in the discourse and said: "Pistis Sophia again continued and still sang praises in a second repentance, saying thus:

1. Light of lights, in whom I have had faith, leave me not in the darkness until the end of my time.
2. Help me and save me through thy mysteries; incline thine ear unto me and save me.
3. May the power of thy light save me and carry me to the higher aeons; for thou wilt save me and lead me into the height of thy aeons.
4. Save me, O Light, from the hand of this lion-faced power and from the hands of the emanations of god Self-willed.
5. For it is thou, O Light, in whose light I have had faith and in whose light I have trusted from the beginning.
6. And I have had faith in it from the time when it emanated me, and thou thyself didst make me to emanate; and I have had faith in thy light from the beginning.
7. And when I had faith in thee, the rulers of the aeons mocked at me, saying: She hath ceased in her mystery. Thou art my saviour and thou art my deliverer and thou art my mystery, O Light.
8. My mouth was filled with glorifying, that I may tell of the mystery of thy grandeur at all times.
9. Now, therefore, O Light, leave me not in the chaos for the completion of my whole time; forsake me not, O Light.
10. For all the emanations of Self-willed have taken from me my whole light-power and have surrounded me. They desired to take away my whole light from me utterly and have set a watch on my power,
11. Saying one to another together: The Light hath forsaken her, let us seize her and take away the whole light in her.
12. Therefore then, O Light, cease not from me; turn thee, O Light, and save me from the hands of the merciless.
13. May they who would take away my power, fall down and become powerless. May they who would take away my light-power from me, be enwrapped in darkness and sink into powerlessness.'

"This then is the second repentance which Pistis Sophia hath uttered, singing praises to the Light."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 36

It came to pass then, when Jesus had finished speaking these words unto his disciples, that he said unto them: "Do ye understand in what manner I discourse with you?"

And Peter started forward and said unto Jesus: "My Lord, we will not endure this woman, for she taketh the opportunity from us and hath let none of us speak, but she discourseth many times."

And Jesus answered and said unto his disciples: "Let him in whom the power of his spirit shall seethe, so that he understandeth what I say, come forward and speak. But now, Peter, I see thy power in thee, that it understandeth the solution of the mystery of the repentance which Pistis Sophia hath uttered. Now, therefore, Peter, speak the thought of her repentance in the midst of thy brethren."

And Peter answered and said unto Jesus "O Lord, give ear that I may speak the thought of her repentance, of which aforetime thy power prophesied through the prophet David, uttering her repentance in the seventieth Psalm:

1. O God, my God, I have trusted in thee, let me no more be put to shame for ever.
2. Save me in thy righteousness and set me free; incline thine ear unto me and save me.
3. Be unto me a strong God and a firm place to save me; for thou art my strength and my refuge.
4. My God, save me from the hand of the sinner and from the hand of the transgressor and from the impious [one].
5. For thou art my endurance, O Lord, thou art my hope from my youth up.
6. I have trusted myself to thee from my mother's womb; thou hast brought me out of my mother's womb. My remembrance is ever in thee.
7. I have become as the crazy for many; thou art my help and my strength, thou art my deliverer, O Lord.
8. My mouth was filled with glorifying, that I may praise the glory of thy splendour the whole day long.
9. Cast me not away in the time of age; if my soul fades, forsake me not.
10. For mine enemies have spoken evil against me and they who lay in wait for my soul, have taken counsel against my soul,
11. Saying together: God hath forsaken him; pursue and seize him, for there is no saviour.
12. God, give heed to my help.
13. Let them be ashamed and destroyed who calumniate my soul. Let them be enwrapped in shame and disgrace who seek evil against me.'

"This then is the solution of the second repentance which Pistis Sophia hath uttered."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 37

Jesus promiseth to perfect the disciples in all things.The Saviour answered and said unto Peter: "Finely, Peter; this is the solution of her. repentance. Blessed are ye before all men on the earth, because I have revealed unto you these mysteries. Amen, amen, I say unto you: I will perfect you in all fulness from the mysteries of the interior to the mysteries of the exterior and fill you with the spirit, so that ye shall be called 'spiritual, perfected in all fulness.' And, amen, amen, I say unto you: I will give unto you all the mysteries of all the regions of my Father and of all the regions of the First Mystery, so that he whom ye shall admit on earth, shall be admitted into the Light of the height; and he whom ye shall expel on earth, shall be expelled from the kingdom of my Father in the heaven. But hearken, therefore, and give ear attentively to all the repentances which Pistis Sophia hath uttered. She continued again and uttered the third repentance, saying:

1. O Light of powers, give heed and save me.
2. May they who would take away my light, lack and be in the darkness. May they who would take away my power, turn into chaos and be put to shame.
3. May they turn quickly to darkness, who press me sore and say: We have become lords over her.
4. May rather all those who seek the Light, rejoice and exult, and they who desire thy mystery, say ever: May the mystery be exalted.
5. Save me then now, O Light, for I lacked my light, which they have taken away, and I needed my power, which they have taken from me. Thou then, O Light, thou art my saviour, and thou art my deliverer, O Light. Save me quickly out of this chaos.'"

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 38

And it came to pass, when Jesus had finished speaking these words unto his disciples, saying: "This is the third repentance of Pistis Sophia," that he said unto them: "Let him in whom a sensitive spirit hath arisen, come forward and speak the thought of the repentance which Pistis Sophia hath uttered."

It came to pass then, before Jesus had finished speaking, that Martha came forward, fell down at his feet, kissed them, cried aloud and wept with lamentation and in humbleness, saying: "My Lord, have mercy upon me and have compassion with me, and let me speak the solution of the repentance which Pistis Sophia hath uttered."

And Jesus gave his hand unto Martha and said unto her: "Blessed is every one who humbleth himself, for on him they shall have mercy. Now, therefore, Martha, art thou blessed. But proclaim then the solution of the thought of the repentance of Pistis Sophia."

And Martha answered and said unto Jesus in the midst of the disciples: "Concerning the repentance which Pistis Sophia hath uttered, O my Lord Jesus, of it thy light-power in David prophesied aforetime in the sixty-ninth Psalm, saying:

1. O Lord God, give heed to my help.
2. Let them be put to shame and con-founded who seek after my soul.
3. May they turn straightway and be put to shame, who say unto me: Ha, ha.
4. May all who seek thee, be joyful and exult because of thee, and they who love thy salvation, say ever: May God be exalted.
5. But I am wretched, I am poor; O Lord, help me. Thou art my helper and defence; O Lord, delay not.'

"This then is the solution of the third repentance which Pistis Sophia hath uttered, singing praises to the height."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 39

It came to pass then, when Jesus had heard Martha speak these words, that he said unto her: "Well said, Martha, and finely."

And Jesus continued again in the discourse and said unto his disciples: "Pistis Sophia again continued in the fourth repentance, reciting it before she was oppressed a second time, in order that the lion-faced power and all the material emanations with it, which Self-willed had sent into the chaos, might not take away her total light in her. She uttered then this repentance as follows:

1. O Light, in whom I have trusted, give ear to my repentance, and let my voice reach unto thy dwelling-place.
2. Turn not away thy light-image from me, but have heed unto me, if they oppress me; and save me quickly at the time when I shall cry unto thee.
3. For my time is vanished like a breath and I am become matter.
4. They have taken my light from me, and my power is dried up. I have forgotten my mystery which heretofore I was wont to accomplish.
5. Because of the voice of the fear and the power of Self-willed my power is vanished.
6. I am become as a demon apart, who dwelleth in matter and light is not in him, and I am become as a counterfeiting spirit, which is in a material body and light-power is not in it.
7. And I am become as a decan who is alone in the air.
8. The emanations of Self-willed have sore oppressed me, and my pair hath said unto himself:
9. Instead of with light which was in her, they have filled her with chaos. I have devoured the sweat of my own matter and the anguish of the tears from the matter of my eyes, so that they who oppress me may not take the rest.
10. All this hath befallen me, O Light, by thy commandment and thy command, and it is thy commandment that I am here.
11. Thy commandment hath brought me down, and I am descended as a power of the chaos, and my power is numbed in me.
12. But thou, O Lord, art Light eternal, and dost visit them who are for ever oppressed.
13. Now, therefore, O Light, arise and seek my power and the soul in me. Thy commandment is accomplished, which thou didst decree for me in my afflictions. My time is come, that thou shouldst seek my power and my soul, and this is the time which thou didst decree to seek me.
14. For thy saviours have sought the power which is in my soul, because the number is completed, and in order that also its matter may be saved.
15. And then at that time shall all the rulers of the material aeons be in fear of thy light, and all the emanations of the thirteenth material aeon shall be in fear of the mystery of thy light, so that the others may put on the purification of their light.
16. For the Lord will seek the power of your soul. He hath revealed his mystery,
17. So that he may regard the repentance of them who are in the regions below; and he hath not disregarded their repentance.
18. This is then that mystery which is become the type in respect of the race which shall be born; and the race which shall be born will sing praises to the height.
19. For the Light hath looked down from the height of its light. It will look down on the total matter,
20. To hear the sighing of those in chains, to loose the power of the souls whose power is bound,--
21. So that it may lay its name in the soul and its mystery in the power.'"

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 40

It came to pass while Jesus spake these words unto his disciples, saying unto them: "This is the fourth repentance which Pistis Sophia hath uttered; now, therefore, let him who understandeth, understand,"--it came to pass then, when Jesus had spoken these words, that John came forward, adored the breast of Jesus and said unto him: "My Lord, give commandment to me also, and grant me to speak the solution of the fourth repentance which Pistis Sophia hath uttered."

Jesus said unto John: "I give thee commandment, and I grant thee to speak the solution of the repentance which Pistis Sophia hath uttered."

John answered and said: "My Lord and Saviour, concerning this repentance which Pistis Sophia hath uttered, thy light-power which was in David, hath prophesied aforetime in the one-hundred-and-first Psalm:

1. Lord, give ear unto my supplication and let my voice reach unto thee.

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2. Turn not away thy face from me; incline thine ear unto me in the day when I am oppressed; quickly give ear to me on the day when I shall cry unto thee.
3. For my days are vanished as smoke and my bones are parched as stone.
4. I am scorched as the grass, and my heart is dried up; for I have forgotten to eat my bread.
5. From the voice of my groaning my bones cleaved to my flesh.
6. I am become as a pelican in the desert; I am become as a screech-owl in the house.
7. I have passed the night watching; I am become as a sparrow alone on the roof.
8. My enemies have reviled me all the day long, and they who honour me, have injured me.
9. For I have eaten ashes instead of my bread and mixed my drink with tears,
10. Because of thy wrath and thy rage; for thou hast lifted me up and cast me down.
11. My days have declined as a shadow, and I am dried up as the grass,
12. But thou, O Lord, thou endurest for ever, and thy remembrance unto the generation of generation[s].
13. Arise and have mercy upon Zion, for the time is come to have mercy upon her; the proper time is come.
14. Thy servants have longed for her stones, and will take pity on her land.
15. And the nations will have fear of the name of the Lord, and the kings of the earth have fear of thy sovereignty.
16. For the Lord will build up Zion and reveal himself in his sovereignty.
17. He hath regarded the prayer of the humble and hath not despised their supplication.
18. This shall be recorded for another generation, and the people who shall be created will praise the Lord.
19. Because he hath looked down on his holy height; the Lord hath looked down from the heaven on the earth,
20. To hear the sighing of those in chains, to loose the sons of those who are slain,
21. To proclaim the name of the Lord in Zion and his praise in Jerusalem.'

"This, my Lord, is the solution of the mystery of the repentance which Pistis Sophia hath uttered."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 41

It came to pass then, when John had finished speaking these words to Jesus in the midst of his disciples, that he said unto him: "Well said, John, the Virgin, who shalt rule in the kingdom of the Light."

And Jesus continued again in the discourse anti said unto his disciples: "It came to pass again thus: The emanations of Self-willed again oppressed Pistis Sophia in the chaos and desired to take from her her whole light; and not yet was her commandment accomplished, to lead her out of the chaos, and not yet had the command reached me through the First Mystery, to save her out of the chaos. It came to pass then, when all the material emanations of Self-willed oppressed her, that she cried out and uttered the fifth repentance, saying:

1. Light of my salvation, I sing praise unto thee in the region of the height and again in the chaos.
2. I sing praise unto thee in my hymn with which I sang praise in the height and with which I sang praise unto thee when I was in the chaos. Let it come into thy presence, and give heed, O Light, to my repentance.
3. For my power is filled up with darkness, and my light hath gone down into the chaos.
4. I am myself become as the rulers of the chaos, who are gone into the darknesses below; I am become as a material body, which hath no one in the height who will save it.
5. I am become also as matters from which their power hath been taken, when they are cast down into the chaos,--[matters] which thou hast not saved, and they are condemned utterly by thy commandment.
6. Now, therefore, have they put me into the darkness below,--in darknesses and matters which are dead and in them [is] no power.
7. Thou hast brought thy commandment upon me and all things which thou hast decreed.
8. And thy spirit hath withdrawn and abandoned me. And moreover by thy commandment the emanations of my eon have not helped me and have hated me and separated themselves from me, and yet am I not utterly destroyed.
9. And my light is diminished in me, and I have cried up to the light with all the light in me, and I have stretched forth my hands unto thee.
10. Now, therefore, O Light, wilt thou not accomplish thy commandment in the chaos, and will not the deliverers, who come according to thy commandment, arise in the darkness and come and be disciples for thee'?
11. Will they not utter the mystery of thy name in the chaos?
12. Or will they not rather utter thy name in a matter of the chaos, in which thou wilt not [thyself] purify?
13. But I have sung praises unto thee, O Light, and my repentance will reach unto thee in the height.
14. Let thy light come upon me,
15. For they have taken my light, and I am in pain on account of the Light from the time when I was emanated. And when I had looked into the height to the Light, then I looked down below at the light-power in the chaos; I rose up and went down.
16. Thy commandment came upon me, and the terrors, which thou didst decree for me, have brought me into delusion.
17. And they have surrounded me, in numbers as water, they have laid hold on me together all my time.
18. And by thy commandment thou hast not suffered my fellow-emanations to help me, nor hast thou suffered my pair to save me out of my afflictions.'

"This then is the fifth repentance which Pistis Sophia hath uttered in the chaos, when all the material emanations of Self-willed had continued and oppressed her."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 42

When then Jesus had spoken these words unto his disciples, he said unto them: "Who hath ears to hear, let him hear; and let him whose spirit seetheth up in him, come forward and speak the solution of the thought of the fifth repentance of Pistis Sophia."

And when Jesus had finished saying these words, Philip started forward, held up and laid down the book in his hand,--for he is the scribe of all the discourses which Jesus spake, and of all of that which he did,--Philip then came forward and said unto him: "My Lord, surely then it is not on me alone that thou hast enjoined to take care for the world and write down all the discourses which we shall speak and [all we shall] do? And thou hast not suffered me to come forward to speak the solution of the mysteries of the repentance of Pistis Sophia. For my spirit hath ofttimes seethed in me and been unloosed and constrained me to come forward and speak the solution of the repentance of Pistis Sophia; and I could not come forward because I am the scribe of all the discourses."

It came to pass then, when Jesus had heard Philip, that he said unto him: "Hearken, Philip, blessed one, that I may discourse with thee; for it is thou and Thomas and Matthew on whom it is enjoined by the First Mystery to write all the discourses which I shall speak and [all which I shall] do, and all things which ye shall see. But as for thee, the number of the discourses which thou hast to write, is so far not yet completed. When it is then completed, thou art to come forward and proclaim what pleaseth thee. Now, therefore, ye three have to write down all the discourses which I shall speak and [all things which I shall] do and which ye shall see, in order that ye may bear witness to all things of the kingdom of heaven."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 43

When then Jesus had said this, he said unto his disciples: "Who hath ears to hear, let him hear."

Mary started forward again, stepped into the midst, placed herself by Philip and said unto Jesus: "My Lord, my in-dweller of light hath ears, and I am ready to hear with my power, and I have understood the word which thou hast spoken. Now, therefore, my Lord, hearken that I may discourse in openness, thou who hast said unto us: 'Who hath ears to hear, let him hear.'

"Concerning the word which thou hast spoken unto Philip: 'It is thou and Thomas and Matthew on whom it hath been enjoined--to you three by the First Mystery, to write all the discourses of the kingdom of the Light and thereto to bear witness '; hearken, therefore, that I may proclaim the solution of this word. This is what thy light-power prophesied aforetime through Moses: 'By two or three witnesses shall every matter be established.' The three witnesses are Philip and Thomas and Matthew."

It came to pass then, when Jesus had heard this word, that he said: "Well said, Mary, this is the solution of the word. Now, therefore, do thou, Philip, come forward and proclaim the solution of the fifth repentance of Pistis Sophia, and thereafter take thy seat and write all the discourses which I shall speak, until the number of thy portion which thou hast to write of the words of the kingdom of the Light is completed. Then shalt thou come forward and speak what thy spirit shall understand. But do thou then now proclaim the solution of the fifth repentance of Pistis Sophia."

And Philip answered and said unto Jesus: "My Lord, hearken that I may speak the solution of her repentance. For thy power hath prophesied aforetime concerning it through David in the eighty-seventh Psalm, saying:

1. Lord, God of my salvation, by day and by night have I cried unto thee.
2. Let my weeping come before thee; incline thine ear to my supplication, O Lord.
3. For my soul is full of evil, my life hath drawn nigh to the world below.
4. I am counted among them who have gone down into the pit; I am become as a man who hath no helper.
5. The free among the dead are as the slain who are thrown away and sleep in tombs, whom thou no more rememberest, and they are destroyed through thy hands.
6. They have set me in a pit below, in darkness and shadow of death.
7. Thy wrath hath settled down upon me and all thy cares have come upon me. (Selah.)
8. Thou hast put away mine acquaintances far from me; they have made me an abomination for them. They have abandoned me, and I cannot go forth.
9. My eye hath become dim in my misery; I have cried unto thee, O Lord, the whole day and have stretched forth my hands unto thee.
10. Wilt thou not surely work thy wonders on the dead? Will not surely the physicians arise and confess thee?
11. Will they not surely proclaim thy name in the tombs,
12. And thy righteousness in a land which thou hast forgotten?
13. But I have cried unto thee, O Lord, and my prayer shall reach thee early in the morning.
14. Turn not thy face away from me.
15. For I am miserable, I am in sorrow from my youth up. And when I had exalted myself, I humbled myself and arose.
16. Thy angers are come upon me and thy terrors have brought me into delusion.
17. They have surrounded me as water; they have seized upon me the whole day long.
18. My fellows hast thou kept far from me and my acquaintances from my misery.'

"This is then the solution of the mystery of the fifth repentance which Pistis Sophia hath uttered, when she was oppressed in the chaos."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 44

It came to pass then, when Jesus had heard Philip speak these words, that he said: "Well said, Philip, well-beloved. Now, therefore, come, take thy seat and write thy portion of all the discourses which I shall speak, and [of all things which I shall] do, and of all that thou shalt see."

And forthwith Philip sat down and wrote.

It came. to pass thereafter that Jesus continued again in the discourse and said unto his disciples: "Then did Pistis Sophia cry to the Light. It forgave her sin, in that she had left her region and gone down into the darkness. She uttered the sixth repentance, saying thus:

1. I have sung praises unto thee, O Light, in the darkness below.
2. Hearken unto my repentance, and may thy light give heed to the voice of my supplication.
3. O Light, if thou thinkest on my sin, I shall not be able to stand before thee, and thou wilt abandon me,
4. For thou, O Light, art my saviour; because of the light of thy name I have had faith in thee, O Light.
5. And my power hath had faith in thy mystery; and moreover my power hath trusted in the Light when it was among those of the height; and it hath trusted in it when it was in the chaos below.
6. Let all the powers in me trust in the Light when I am in the darkness below, and may they again trust in the Light if they come into the region of the height.
7. For it is [the Light] which hath compassion on us and delivereth us; and a great saving mystery is in it.
8. And it will save all powers out of the chaos because of my transgression. For I have left my region and am come down into the chaos.

"Now, therefore, whose mind is exalted, let him understand."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 45

It came to pass then, when Jesus had finished speaking these words unto his disciples, that he said unto them: "Understand ye in what manner I discourse with you?"

Andrew came forward and said: "My Lord, concerning the solution of the sixth repentance of Pistis Sophia, thy light-power prophesied aforetime through David in the one-hundred-and-twenty-ninth Psalm, saying:

1. Out of the depths I have cried unto thee, O Lord.
2. Hearken unto my voice; let thine ears give heed to the voice of my supplication.
3. O Lord, if thou heedest my iniquities, who will be able to pass [the test]?
4. For pardon is in thy hands; for the sake of thy name have I waited for thee, O Lord.
5. My soul hath waited for thy word.
6. My soul hath hoped in the Lord from the morning until the evening. Let Israel hope in the Lord from the morning until the evening.
7. For grace standeth by the Lord and with him is great redemption.
8. And he will deliver Israel from all his iniquities.'

Jesus said unto him: "Well said, Andrew, blessed one. This is the solution of her repentance. Amen, amen, I say unto you: I will perfect you in all mysteries of the Light and all gnoses from the interiors of the interiors to the exteriors of the

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exteriors, from the Ineffable down to the darkness of darknesses, from the Light of lights down to the . . . . of matter, from all the gods down to the demons, from all the lords down to the decans, from all the authorities down to the servitors, from the creation of men down to [that] of the wild-beasts, of the cattle and of the reptiles, in order that ye may be called perfect, perfected in all fulness. Amen, amen, I say unto you: In the region where I shall be in the kingdom of my Father, ye will also be with me. And when the perfect number is completed, so that the Mixture shall be dissolved, I will give commandment that they bring all tyrant gods, who have not given up the purification of their light, and will give commandment to the wise fire, over which the perfect pass, to eat into those tyrants, until they give up the last purification of their light."

It came to pass then, when Jesus had finished speaking these words unto his disciples, that he said unto them: "Understand ye in what manner I speak with you?"

Mary said: "Yea, Lord, I have understood the word which thou hast spoken. Concerning then the word which thou hast said: At the dissolution of the whole Mixture thou shalt take thy seat on a light-power and thy disciples, that is ourselves, shall sit on the right of thee, and thou shalt judge the tyrant gods, who have not given up the purification of their light, and the wise fire will bite into them, until they give up the last light in them,--concerning this word then thy light-power prophesied aforetime through David, in the eighty-first Psalm, saying:

"'God shall sit in the assembly (synagogue) of the gods and try the gods.'"

Jesus said unto her: "Well said, Mary."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 46

Jesus continued again in the discourse and said unto his disciples: "It came to pass, when Pistis Sophia had finished uttering the sixth repentance for the forgiveness of her transgression, that she turned again to the height, to see if her sins were forgiven her, and to see whether they would lead her up out of the chaos. But by commandment of the First Mystery not yet was she hearkened to, so that her sin should be forgiven and she should be led up out of the chaos. When then she had turned to the height to see whether her repentance were accepted from her, she saw all the rulers of the twelve aeons mocking at her and rejoicing over her because her repentance was not accepted from her. When then she saw that they mocked at her, she grieved exceedingly and lifted up her voice to the height in her seventh repentance, saying:

1. O Light, I have lifted up my power unto thee, my Light.

2. On thee have I had faith. Let me not be scorned; let not the rulers of the twelve aeons, who hate me, rejoice over me.

3. For all who have faith in thee shall not be put to shame. Let them who have taken away my power, remain in darkness; and let them not get from it any profit, but let it be taken away from them.

4. O Light, show me thy ways, and I shall be saved in them; and show me thy paths, whereby I shall be saved out of the chaos.

5. And guide me in thy light, and let me know, O Light, that thou art my saviour. On thee will I trust the whole of my time.

6. Give heed that thou save me, O Light, for thy mercy endureth for ever.

7. As to my transgression, which I have committed from the beginning in my ignorance, put it not to my account, O Light, but rather save me through thy great mystery of the forgiveness of sins because of thy goodness, O Light.

8. For good and sincere is the Light. For this cause will it grant me my way, to be saved out of my transgression;

9. And for my powers, which are diminished through the fear of the material emanations of Self-willed, will it draw near after its commandment, and will teach my powers, which are diminished because of the merciless, its gnosis.

10. For all gnoses of the Light are saving means and are mysteries for all who seek the regions of its Inheritance and its mysteries.

11. For the sake of the mystery of thy name, O Light, forgive my transgression, for it is great.

12. To every one who trusteth in the Light it will give the mystery which suiteth him;

13. And his soul will abide in the regions of the Light and his power will inherit the Treasury of the Light.

14. The Light giveth power to them who have faith in it; and the name of its mystery belongeth to those who trust in it. And it will show them the region of the Inheritance, which is in the Treasury of the Light.

15. But I have ever had faith in the Light, for it will save my feet from the bonds of the darkness.

16. Give heed unto me, O Light, and save me, for they have taken away my name from me in the chaos.

17. Because of all the emanations my afflictions and my oppression have become exceedingly manifold. Save me out of my transgression and this darkness.

18. And look upon the grief of my oppression and forgive my transgression.

19. Give heed to the rulers of the twelve aeons, who have hated me through jealousy.

20. Watch over my power and save me, and let me not remain in this darkness, for I have had faith in thee.

21. And they have made of me a great fool for having had faith in thee, O Light.

22. Now, therefore, O Light, save my powers from the emanations of Self-willed, by whom I am oppressed.'

"Now, therefore, who is sober, let him be sober."

When then Jesus had spoken this unto his disciples, Thomas came forward and said: "My Lord, I am sober, I am plentifully sober, and my spirit is ready in me, and I rejoice exceedingly that thou hast revealed these words unto us. But indeed I have borne with my brethren until now, so that I should not anger them; nay rather I have borne with every one that he should come before thee and speak the solution of the repentance of Pistis Sophia. Now, therefore, my Lord, concerning the solution of the seventh repentance of Pistis Sophia thy light-power hath prophesied through the prophet David in the twenty-fourth Psalm, thus

1. O Lord, unto thee have I lifted up my soul, O my God.

2. I have abandoned myself unto thee; let me not be put to shame and let not mine enemies mock at me.

3. For all who wait upon thee shall not be put to shame; let them be put to shame who do iniquity without a cause.

4. O Lord, show me thy ways and teach me thy paths.

5. Lead me in the way of thy truth and teach me, for thou art my God and my saviour; on thee will I wait all the day long.

6. Call to remembrance thy mercies, O Lord, and the favours of thy grace, for they are from eternity.

7. Remember not the sins of my youth and those of my ignorance. Remember me according to the fulness of thy mercy because of thy goodness, O Lord.

8. The Lord is gracious and sincere; therefore fore will he instruct sinners in the way.

9. He will guide the tender-hearted in the judgement and will teach the tender-hearted his ways.

10. All the ways of the Lord are grace and truth for them who seek his righteousness and his testimonies.

11. For thy name's sake, O Lord, forgive me my sin, [for] it is exceedingly great.

12. Who is the man who feareth the Lord? For him will he establish laws in the way which he hath chosen.

13. His soul will abide in good things and his seed will inherit the land.

14. The Lord is the strength of them who fear him; and the name of the Lord belongeth to them who fear him, to make known unto them his covenant.

15. Mine eyes are raised ever unto the Lord, for he will draw my feet out of the snare.

16. Look down upon me and be gracious unto me, for I am an only-begotten; I am wretched.

17. The afflictions of my heart have in-creased; bring me out of my necessities.

18. Look upon my abasement and my woe, and forgive me all my sins.

19. Look upon mine enemies, how they have increased themselves and hated me with unjust hatred.

20. Preserve my soul and save me; let me not be put to shame, for I have hoped on thee.

21. The simple and sincere have joined themselves to me, for I have waited on thee, O Lord.

22. O God, deliver Israel from all his afflictions.'"

And when Jesus had heard the words of Thomas, he said unto him: "Well said, Thomas, and finely. This is the solution of the seventh repentance of Pistis Sophia. Amen, amen, I say unto you: All generations of the world shall bless you on earth, because I have revealed this unto you and ye have received, of my spirit and have become understanding and spiritual, understanding what I say. And hereafter will I fill you full with the whole light and the whole power of the spirit, so that ye may understand from now on all which shall be said unto you and which ye shall see. Yet a little while and I will speak with you concerning the height without within and within without."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 47

Jesus continued again in the discourse and said unto his disciples: "It came to pass then, when Pistis Sophia had uttered the seventh repentance in the chaos, that the commandment through the First Mystery had not come to me to save her and lead her up out of the chaos. Nevertheless of myself out of compassion without commandment I led her into a somewhat spacious region in the chaos. And when the material emanations of Self-willed had noticed that she had been led into a somewhat spacious region in the chaos, they ceased a little to oppress her, for they thought that she would be led up out of the chaos altogether. When this then took place, Pistis Sophia did not know that I was her helper; nor did she know me at all, but she continued and persisted withal singing praises to the Light of the Treasury, which she had seen aforetime and on which she had had faith, and she thought that it [the Light] also was her helper and it was the same to which she had sung praises, thinking it was the Light in truth. But as indeed she had had faith in the Light which belongeth to the Treasury in truth, therefore will she be led up out of the chaos and her repentance will be accepted from her. But the commandment of the First Mystery was not yet accomplished to accept her repentance from her. But hearken now in order that I may tell you all things which befell Pistis Sophia.

It came to pass, when I had led her unto a somewhat spacious region in the chaos, that the emanations of Self-willed ceased entirely to oppress her, thinking that she would be led up out of the chaos altogether. It came to pass then, when the emanations of Self-willed had noticed that Pistis Sophia had not been led up out the chaos, that they turned about again all together, oppressing her vehemently. Because of this then she uttered the eighth repentance, because they had not ceased to oppress her, and had turned about to oppress her to the utmost. She uttered this repentance, saying thus:

1. On thee, O Light, have I hoped. Leave me not in the chaos; deliver me and save me according to thy gnosis.

2. Give heed unto me and save me. Be unto me a saviour, O Light, and save me and lead me unto thy light.

3. For thou art my saviour and wilt lead me unto thee. And because of the mystery of thy name lead me and give me thy mystery.

4. And thou wilt save me from this lion-faced power, which they have laid as a snare for me, for thou art my saviour.

5. And in thy hands will I lay the purification of my light; thou hast saved me, O Light, according to thy gnosis.

6. Thou art become wroth with them who keep watch over me and will not be able to lay hold of me utterly. But I have had faith in the Light.

7. I will rejoice and will sing praises that thou hast had mercy upon me and hast heeded and saved me from the oppression in which I was. And thou wilt set free my power out of the chaos.

8. And thou hast not left me in the hand of the lion-faced power; but thou hast led me into a region which is not oppressed.'"

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 48

When then Jesus had said this unto his disciples, he answered again and said unto them: "It came to pass then, when the lion-faced power had noticed that Pistis Sophia had not been led up altogether out of the chaos, that it came again with all the other material emanations of Self-willed, and they oppressed Pistis Sophia again. It came to pass then, when they oppressed her, that she cried out in the same repentance, saying:

9. Have mercy upon me, O Light, for they have oppressed me again. Because of thy commandment, the light in me is distracted and my power and my understanding.

10. My power hath begun to wane whiles I am in these afflictions, and the number of my time whiles I am in the chaos. My light is diminished, for they have taken away my power from me, and all the powers in me are tossed about.

11. I am become powerless in the presence of all the rulers of the aeons, who hate me, and in the presence of the four-and-twenty emanations, in whose region I was. And my brother, my pair, was afraid to help me, because of that in which they have set me.

12. And all the rulers of the height have counted me as matter in which is no light. I am become as a material power which hath fallen out of the rulers,

13. And all who are in the aeons said: She hath become chaos. And thereafter all the pitiless powers encompassed me together and proposed to take away the whole light in me.

14. But I have trusted in thee, O Light, and said: Thou art my saviour.

15. And my commandment, which thou hast decreed for me, is in thy hands. Save me out of the hands of the emanations of Self-willed, which oppress me and persecute me.

16. Send thy light over me, for I am as naught before thee, and save me according to thy compassion.

17. Let me not be despised, for I have sung praises unto thee, O Light. Let chaos cover the emanations of Self-willed, let them be led down into the darkness.

18. Let the mouth of them be shut up, who would devour me with guile, who say: Let us take the whole light in her,--although I have done them no ill.'"

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 49

And when Jesus had spoken this, Matthew came forward and said: "My Lord, thy spirit hath stirred me and thy light hath made me sober to proclaim this eighth repentance of Pistis Sophia. For thy power hath prophesied thereof aforetime through David in the thirtieth Psalm, saying:

1. On thee, O Lord, have I hoped. Let me never be put to shame; save me according to thy righteousness.

2. Incline thine ear unto me, save me quickly. Be thou unto me a protecting God and a house of refuge to save me.

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3. For thou art my support and my refuge; for thy name's sake thou wilt guide me and feed me.
4. And thou wilt draw me out of this snare, which they have laid privily for me; for thou art my protection.
5. Into thy hands I will render my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O Lord, God of Truth.
6. Thou hast hated them who hold to vain emptiness; but I have trusted.
7. And I shall rejoice because of my Lord and make merry over thy grace. For thou hast looked down upon my humbleness and saved my soul out of my necessities.
8. And thou hast not shut me up in the hands of my foes; thou hast set my feet on a broad space.
9. Be gracious unto me, O Lord, for I am afflicted; my eye is distracted in the wrath and my soul and my body.
10. For my years have wasted away in sadness and my life is wasted in sighing. My power is enfeebled in misery and my bones are distracted.
11. I am become a mockery for all my foes and my neighbours. I am become a fright for my acquaintances, and they who saw me, are fled away from me.
12. I am forgotten in their heart as a corpse, and I have become as a ruined vessel.
13. For I have heard the scorn of many who encompass me round about. Massing themselves together against me, they took counsel to take away my soul from me.
14. But I have trusted in thee, O Lord. I said: Thou art my God.
15. My lots are in thy hands. Save me from the hand of my foes and free me from my persecutors.
16. Reveal thy face over thy slave, and free me according to thy grace, O Lord.
17. Let me not be put to shame, for I have cried unto, thee. Let the impious be put to shame and turn towards hell.
18. Let the crafty lips be struck dumb, which allege iniquity against the righteous in pride and scorn.'"

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 50

And when Jesus had heard these words, he said: "Finely [said], Matthew. Now, therefore, amen, I say unto you: When the perfect number is completed and the universe is raised hence, I will take my seat in the Treasury of the Light, and ye yourselves will sit on twelve light-powers, until we have restored all the orders of the twelve saviours to the region of the inheritances of every one of them."

And when he had said this, he said: "Understand ye what I say?"

Mary interpreteth the words of Jesus.Mary came forward and said: "O Lord, concerning this matter thou hast said to us aforetime in similitude: 'Ye have awaited with me in the trials, and I will bequeath unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath bequeathed it unto me, that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom; and ye shall sit on twelve thrones and judge the twelve tribes of Israel.'"

He said unto her: "Well said, Mary."

Jesus continued again and said unto his disciples: "It came to pass then thereafter, when the emanations of Self-willed oppressed Pistis Sophia in the chaos, that she uttered the ninth repentance, saying:

1. O Light, smite down them who have taken away my power from me, and take away the power from them who have taken away mine from me.
2. For I am thy power and thy light. Come and save me.
3. Let great darkness cover my oppressors. Say unto my power: I am he who will save thee.
4. Let all those who would take away my light from me utterly, lack their power. Let them face about unto the chaos and become powerless, who would take away my light from me utterly.
5. Let their power be as dust, and let Yew, thy angel, smite them.
6. And if they would go into the height, let darkness seize upon them and let them slip down and turn to the chaos. And let thy angel Yew pursue them and cast them down into the darkness below.
7. For they have set a lion-faced power as a trap for me, although I have done them no ill, from which its light will be taken; and they have oppressed the power in me, which they will not be able to take away.
8. Now, therefore, O Light, take away the purification from the lion-faced power without its knowing it,--the thought which Self-willed hath thought, to take away my light; take away his own and let the light be taken away from the lion-faced power, which set the trap for me.
9. But my power will exult in the Light and rejoice that he will save it.
10. And all the portions of my power shall say: There is no saviour but thee. For thou wilt save me out of the hand of the lion-faced power, which hath taken away my power from me, and thou savest me out of the hands of them who have taken away my power and my light from me.
11. For they have risen up against me, lying against me and saying that I know the mystery of the Light which is in the height, [the Light] in which I have had faith. And they have constrained me, [saying:] Tell unto us the mystery of the Light in the height,--that which I know not.
12. And they have requited me with all this ill because I have had faith in the Light of the height; and they have made my power lightless.
13. But when they constrained me, I sat in the darkness, my soul bowed down in mourning.
14. And do thou, O Light--for that reason sing I praise to thee--save me. I know that thou wilt save me because I fulfilled thy will ever since I was in my aeon. I fulfilled thy will, as the invisibles who are in my region, and as my pair. And I mourned, looking unceasingly and searching for the Light.
15. Now, therefore, have all the emanations of Self-willed surrounded me and rejoiced over me and sore oppressed me without my knowing [them]. And they have fled away and ceased from me but have had no pity upon me.
16. They have returned again and made trial of me and they have oppressed me in great oppression and ground their teeth against me, desiring to take away my light from me utterly.
17. How long, therefore, O Light, dost thou suffer them, that they oppress me? Save my power from their evil thoughts and save me from the hand of the lion-faced power; for I alone of the invisibles am in this region.
18. I will sing praises unto thee, O Light, in the midst of all who are gathered together against me, and I will cry unto thee in the midst of all who oppress me.
19. Now, therefore, O Light, let not them who hate me and desire to take away my power from me, rejoice over me--who hate me and flash their eyes against me, though I have not done anything unto them.
20. For indeed they have fawned upon me with sweet words, asking me concerning the mysteries of the Light which I know not, and have craftily spoken against me and been enraged against me, because I have had faith in the Light in the height.
21. They have opened their chops against me and said.: Well indeed, we will take from her her light.
22. Now, therefore, O Light, thou hast known their guile; suffer them not and let not thy help be far from me.
23. Quickly, O Light, vindicate and avenge me,
24. And give judgement on me according to thy goodness. Now, therefore, O Light of lights, let them not take away my light from me,
25. And let them not say in their heart: Our power is glutted with her light. And let them not say: We have consumed her power.
26. But rather let darkness come upon them, and let those who long to take away my light from me, become powerless, and let them be clothed with chaos and darkness, who say there: We will take away her light and her power.
27. Now, therefore, save me that I may rejoice, for I long for the thirteenth aeon, the region of Righteousness, and. I shall say ever-more: May the light of thy angel Yew shine more and more.
28. And my tongue will sing praises to thee in thy gnosis my whole time in the thirteenth aeon.'

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 51

It came to pass, when Jesus had finished saying these words unto his disciples, that he said unto them: "Who is sober among you, let him proclaim their solution."

James came forward, kissed the breast of Jesus and said: "My Lord, thy spirit hath sobered me, and I am ready to proclaim their solution. Concerning them indeed thy power hath prophesied aforetime through David in the thirty-fourth Psalm, saying thus concerning the ninth repentance of Pistis Sophia:

1. Give sentence, O Lord, on them who do me injustice, and fight against them who fight against me.
2. Lay hand on weapon and shield and stand up to help me.
3. Draw forth a sword and conceal it [sic] from my oppressors. Say unto my soul: I am thy salvation.
4. Let them be put to shame and abashed who strive after my soul; let them fall back and be put to shame who imagine evil against me.
5. Let them be as chaff before the wind, and let the angel of the Lord pursue after them.
6. Let their way be darkness and slippery, and let the angel of the Lord oppress them.
7. For without cause have they hid a snare for me for their own spoiling, and they have mocked at my soul in vain.
8. Let a snare come upon them which they know not, and let the net which they have hid for me, catch them, and let them fall into this snare.
9. But my soul will exult in the Lord and rejoice in its salvation.
10. All my bones shall say: O Lord, who can be like unto thee?--thou who settest free the wretched from the hand of him who is stronger than him; and thou savest a wretched and poor [one] from the hands of them who spoil him.
11. Unjust witnesses came forward and have asked me that which I knew not.
12. They have requited me evil for good and childlessness for my soul.
13. But when they molested me, I clothed me in a sack and humbled my soul with fasting, and my prayer will return into my breast.
14. I was pleasing unto thee, as unto my neighbour and as unto my brother; and I humbled myself as one in mourning and as one who is sad.
15. They have rejoiced over me, and they are put to shame. Scourges have gathered themselves together against me and I knew not; they were cut off and were troubled.
16. They have brought me to trial and mocked me with mocking; they have ground their teeth against me.
17. O Lord, when wilt thou look upon me? Restore again my soul from their evil works and save my only one from the hands of the lions.
18. I will confess to thee, O Lord, in the great assembly, and I will sing praises to thee in the midst of a countless people.
19. Let not them who unjustly treat me as a foe, rejoice over me, who hate me without a cause and wink with their eyes.
20. For indeed they discourse with me with words of peace, though they plot wrath with craft.
21. They opened their chops wide against me and said: Well indeed, our eyes have filled our sight with him.
22. Thou hast seen, O Lord. Keep not silence, O Lord, withdraw not thyself from me.
23. Arise, O Lord, and give heed to my vindication, give heed to my vengeance, my God and my Lord.
24. Judge me, O Lord, according to thy justice; let them not rejoice over me, my God.
25. And let them not say: Well done, our soul. Let them not say: We have consumed him.
26. Let them be put to shame and be scorned, who rejoice at my mischance. Let them be clothed with shame and disgrace who speak boastingly against me.
27. Let them who desire my justification, exult and rejoice and let them who desire the peace of his slave, say: May the Lord be great and arise.
28. My tongue will exult over thy justification and over thy honour all the day long.'"

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 52

When James then had said this, Jesus said unto him: "Well said, finely, James. This is the solution of the ninth repentance of Pistis Sophia. Amen, amen, I say unto you: Ye shall be the first in the kingdom of heaven before all invisibles and all gods and rulers who are in the thirteenth aeon and in the twelfth aeon; and not only ye, but also every one who shall accomplish my mysteries."

And when he had said this, he said unto them: "Understand ye in what manner I discourse with you?"

Mary started forward again and said: "Yea, O Lord, this is what thou didst say unto us aforetime: 'The last shall be first and the first shall be last.' The first then, who were created before us, are the invisibles, for indeed they arose before mankind, they and the gods and the rulers; and the men who shall receive mysteries, will be first into the kingdom of heaven."

Jesus said unto her: "Well said, Mary."

The repentance of Sophia is accepted. Jesus is sent to help her.Jesus continued again and said unto his disciples: "It came to pass then, when Pistis Sophia had proclaimed the ninth repentance, that the lion-faced power oppressed her again, desiring to take away all powers from her. She cried out again to the Light, saying:

'O Light, in whom I have had faith from the beginning, for whose sake I have endured these great pains, help me.'

And in that hour her repentance was accepted from her. The First Mystery hearkened unto her, and I was sent off at his command. I came to help her, and led her up out of the chaos, because she had repented, and also because she had had faith in the Light and had endured these great pains and these great perils. She had been deluded through the god-like Self-willed, and had not been deluded through anything else, save through a light-power, because of its resemblance to the Light in which she had had faith. For this cause then was I sent forth at the command of the First Mystery to help her secretly. I did not however yet go to the region of the aeons at all; but I passed down through the midst out of them, without any single power knowing it, either those of the interior of the interior or those of the exterior of the exterior, save only the First Mystery.

It came to pass then, when I came into the chaos to help her, that she saw me, that I was understanding and shone exceedingly and was full of compassion for her. For I was not self-willed as the lion-faced power, which had taken away the light-power from Sophia, and had also oppressed her in order to take away from her the whole light in her. Sophia then saw me, that I shone ten-thousand times more than the lion-faced power, and that I was full of compassion for her. And she knew that I came out of the Height of heights, in whose light she had had faith from the beginning. Pistis Sophia then took courage and uttered the tenth repentance, saying:

1. I have cried unto thee, O Light of lights, in my oppression and thou hast hearkened unto me.

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2. O Light, save my power from unjust and lawless lips and from crafty traps.
3. The light which was being taken from me in crafty snaring, will not be brought unto thee.
4. For the traps of Self-willed and the nooses of the merciless [one] are spread out.
5. Woe unto me, that my dwelling was far off, and I was in the dwellings of the chaos.
6. My power was in regions which are not mine.
7. And I entreated those merciless [ones]; and when I entreated them, they fought against me without a cause.'"

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 53

When then Jesus had said this unto his disciples, he said unto them: "Now, therefore, let him whom his spirit stirreth, come forward and speak the solution of the tenth repentance of Pistis Sophia."

Peter answered and said: "O Lord, concerning this thy light-power prophesied aforetime through David in the one-hundred-and-nineteenth Psalm; saying:

1. I cried unto thee, O Lord, in my oppression, and thou hearkenest unto me.
2. O Lord, save my soul from unjust lips and from crafty tongues.
3. What will be given unto thee or what will be added unto thee with a crafty tongue?
4. The arrows of the strong [one] are made sharp with the coal of the desert.
5. Woe unto me, that my dwelling is far off, and I dwelt in the tents of Kedar.
6. My soul hath dwelt in many regions as a guest.
7. I was peaceful with them who hate peace; if I spake unto them, they fought against me without a cause.'

"This is now, therefore, O Lord, the solution of the tenth repentance of Pistis Sophia, which she hath uttered when the material emanations of Self-willed oppressed her, they and his lion-faced power, and when they oppressed her exceedingly."

Jesus said unto him: "Well said, Peter, and finely. This is the solution of the tenth repentance of Pistis Sophia."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 54

Jesus continued again in the discourse and said unto his disciples: "It came to pass then, when this lion-faced power saw me, how I drew nigh unto Pistis Sophia, shining very exceedingly, that it grew still more furious and emanated from itself a multitude of exceedingly violent emanations. When this then befell, Pistis Sophia uttered the eleventh repentance, saying:

1. Why hath the mighty power raised itself in evil?
2. Its plotting taketh away the light from me all the time, and as sharp iron have they taken away power from me.
3. I chose to descend into the chaos rather than to abide in the thirteenth aeon, the region of Righteousness.
4. And they desired to lead me craftily, in order to consume my whole light.
5. For this cause then will the Light take away their whole light, and also their whole matter will be made naught. And it will take away their light and not suffer them to abide in the thirteenth aeon, their dwelling-place, and will not have their name in the region of those who shall live.
6. And the four-and-twenty emanations will see what hath befallen thee, O lion-faced power, and will be afraid and not be disobedient, but give the purification of their light.
7. And they will see thee and will rejoice over thee and say: Lo, an emanation which hath not given the purification of its light, so that it may be saved, but boasted itself in the abundance of the light of its power, because it did not emanate from the power in it, and hath said: I will take away the light from Pistis Sophia, which will now be taken from it.'

"Now, therefore, let him in whom his power is raised, come forward and proclaim the solution of the eleventh repentance of Pistis Sophia."

Then Salome came forward and said: "My Lord, concerning this thy light-power prophesied aforetime through David in the fifty-first Psalm, saying:

1. Why doth the mighty [one] boast himself in his wickedness?
2. Thy tongue hath studied unrighteousness all the day long; as a sharp razor hast thou practised craft.
3. Thou lovedst wickedness more than goodness; thou lovedst to speak unrighteousness more than righteousness.
4. Thou lovedst all words of submerging and a crafty tongue.
5. Wherefor will God bring thee to naught utterly, and will uproot thee and drag thee out from thy dwelling-place, and will root out thy root and cast it away from the living. (Selah.)
6. The righteous will see and be afraid, and they will mock at him and say:
7. Lo, a man who made not God for his helper, but trusted to his great riches and was mighty in his vanity.
8. But I am as a fruit-bearing olive-tree in the house of God. I have trusted in the grace of God from all eternity.
9. And I will confess unto thee, for thou hast dealt faithfully with me; and I will wait on thy name, for it is auspicious in the presence of thy holy [ones].'

"This then is now, therefore, my Lord, the solution of the eleventh repentance of Pistis Sophia. While thy light-power hath roused me, I have spoken it according to thy desire."

Jesus commendeth Salome.It came to pass then, when Jesus had heard these words which Salome spake, that he said: "Well said, Salome. Amen, amen, I say unto you: I will perfect you in all mysteries of the kingdom of the Light."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 55

And Jesus continued again in the discourse and said unto his disciples: "It came to pass then thereafter, that I drew near unto the chaos, shining very exceedingly, to take away the light from that lion-faced power. As I shone exceedingly, it was in fear and cried out to its self-willed god, that he should help it. And forthwith the self-willed god looked out of the thirteenth aeon, and looked down into the chaos, exceedingly wrathful and desiring to help his lion-faced power. And forthwith the lion-faced power, it and all its emanations, surrounded. Pistis Sophia, desiring to 'take away the whole light in Sophia. It came to pass then, when they oppressed Sophia, that she cried to the height, crying unto me that I should help her. It came to pass then, when she looked to the height, that she saw Self-willed exceedingly wrathful, and she was in fear, and uttered the twelfth repentance because of Self-willed and his emanations. She cried on high unto me, saying:

1. O Light, forget not my praise-singing.
2. For Self-willed and his lion-faced power have opened their chops against me and have acted craftily against me.
3. They have surrounded me, desiring to take away my power, and have hated me, because I have sung praises unto thee.
4. Instead of loving me they slandered me. But I sang praises.
5. They plotted a plot to take away my power, because I have sung to thee praises, O Light; and hated me, because I have loved thee.
6. Let the darkness come over Self-willed, and let the ruler of the outermost darkness abide at his right hand.
7. And when thou passest sentence, take from him his power; and the deed which he hath plotted, to take from me my light,--mayest thou take his from him.
8. And may all his powers of his light in him finish, and let another of the three triple-powers receive his sovereignty.
9. May all the powers of his emanation be lightless and may his matter be without any light in it.
10. May his emanations remain in the chaos and not dare to go to their region. May their light in them die away and let them not go to the thirteenth aeon, their region.
11. May the Receiver, the Purifier of the lights, purify all the lights which are in Self-willed, and take them from them.
12. May the rulers of the lower darkness rule over his emanations, and let no one give them shelter in his region; and let no one hearken to the power of his emanations in the chaos.
13. Let them take away the light in his emanations and blot out their name from the thirteenth aeon, yea rather take his name for ever out of that region.
14. And on the lion-faced power let them bring the sin of him who emanated it, before the Light, and not wipe out the iniquity of the matter which hath brought him [Self-willed] forth.
15. And may their sin be altogether before the Light eternally, and may they let them not look beyond [the chaos] and take their names out of all regions;
16. Because they have not spared me and have oppressed him whose light and whose power they have taken away, and also conformably with those who set me therein, they desired to take away my whole light from me.
17. They loved to descend to the chaos; so let them abide therein, and they shall not be brought up [therefrom] from now on. They desired not the region of Righteousness for dwelling-place, and they shall not be taken thither from now on.
18. He put on darkness as a garment, and it entered into him as water, and it entered in into all his powers as oil.
19. Let him wrap himself into the chaos as into a garment, and gird himself with the darkness as with a leathern girdle for ever.
20. Let this befall them who have brought this upon me for the Light's sake and have said: Let us take away her whole power.
21. But do thou, O Light, have mercy upon me for the sake of the mystery of thy name, and save me in the goodness of thy grace.
22. For they have taken away my light and my power; and my power hath inwardly tottered, and I could not stand upright in their midst.
23. I am become as matter which is fallen; I am tossed hither and thither as a demon in the air.
24. My power hath perished, because I possess no mystery; and my matter hath become dwindled because of my light, for they have taken it away.
25. And they mocked me; they looked at me, nodding at me.
26. Help me according to thy mercy.'

"Now, therefore, let him whose spirit is ready, come forward and utter the solution of the twelfth repentance of Pistis Sophia."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 56

And Andrew came forward and said: "My Lord and Saviour, thy light-power hath prophesied aforetime through David concerning this repentance which Pistis Sophia hath uttered, and said in the one-hundred-and-eighth Psalm:

1. God, keep not silent at my praise-singing.
2. For the mouths of the sinner and crafty have opened their chops against me and with crafty deceitful tongue have talked behind me.
3. And they have surrounded me with words of hate and have fought against me without a cause.
4. Instead of loving me they have slandered me. But I prayed.
5. They showed evil against me for good and hate for my love.
6. Set a sinner over him, and let the slanderer stand at his right hand.
7. When sentence is passed upon him, may he go forth condemned and his prayer become sin.
8. May his days be shortened and another receive his overseership.
9. May his children become orphans and his wife a widow.
10. May his children be carried away and be driven forth and beg; may they be thrown out of their houses.
11. May the money-lender sift out all that he hath, and may strangers plunder all his best efforts.
12. Let there be no man to back him, and no one to take pity on his orphans.
13. May his children be exterminated and his name blotted out in a single generation.
14. Let the sin of his fathers be remembered before the Lord, and the sin of his mother be not blotted out.
15. Let them be ever present to the Lord and his memory be rooted out from the earth;
16. In that he hath not thought of using mercy and hath persecuted a poor and wretched man and hath persecuted a sorry creature to slay him.
17. He loved cursing,--and it shall come unto him. He desired not blessing,--it shall stay far from him.
18. He clothed himself with cursing as with a vesture, and it entered into his bowels as water, and it was as oil in his bones.
19. May it be for him as a garment in which he shall be wrapped, and as a girdle with which he shall ever be girded.
20. This is the work of them who slander [me] before the Lord, and speak unlawfully against my soul.
21. But do thou, O Lord God, be gracious unto me; for thy name's sake save me.
22. For I am poor and I am wretched; my heart is tumult within me.
23. I am carried away in the midst as a shadow which hath sunk down, and I am shaken out as grass-hoppers.
24. My knees have become weak from fasting, and my flesh is altered from [lack of] oil.
25. But I have become a mock unto them; they saw me and wagged their heads.
26. Help, O Lord God, and save me according to thy grace.
27. May they know that this is thy hand, and that thou, O Lord, hast fashioned them.'

"This is then the solution of the twelfth repentance which Pistis Sophia uttered, when she was in the chaos."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 57

And Jesus continued again in the discourse and said unto his disciples: "It came to pass again thereafter that Pistis Sophia cried unto me, saying:

"O Light of lights, I have transgressed in the twelve aeons, and have descended from them; wherefor have I uttered the twelve repentances, [one] for each aeon. Now, therefore, O Light of lights, forgive me my transgression, for it is exceedingly great, because I have abandoned the regions of the height and have come to dwell in the regions of the chaos.'

"When then Pistis Sophia had said this, she continued again in the thirteenth repentance, saying:

1. Hearken unto me singing praises unto thee, O Light of lights. Hearken unto me uttering the repentance for the thirteenth aeon, the region out of which I have come down, in order that the thirteenth repentance of the thirteenth aeon may be accomplished,--those [aeons] which I have overstepped and out of which I have come down.
2. Now, therefore, O Light of lights, hearken unto me singing praises unto thee in the thirteenth aeon, my region out of which I have come down.
3. Save me, O Light, in thy great mystery and forgive my transgression in thy forgiveness.
4. And give unto me the baptism and forgive my sins and purify me from my transgression.
5. And my transgression is the lion-faced power, which will never be hidden from thee; for because of it have I gone down.

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6. And I alone among the invisibles, in whose regions I was, have transgressed, and have gone down into the chaos. Moreover I have transgressed, that thy commandment may be accomplished.'

"This then Pistis Sophia said. Now, therefore, let him whom his spirit urgeth to understand her words, come forward and proclaim her thought."

Martha came forward and said: "My Lord, my spirit urgeth me to proclaim the solution of that which Pistis Sophia hath spoken; thy power hath prophesied aforetime concerning it through David in the fiftieth Psalm, saying thus:

1. Be gracious unto me, O God, according to thy great grace; according to the fulness of thy mercy blot out my sin.

2. Wash me thoroughly from my iniquity.

3. And may my sin be ever present to thee,

4. That thou mayest be justified in thy words and prevail when thou judgest me.'

"This is then the solution of the words which Pistis Sophia hath uttered."

Jesus said unto her: "Well said, finely, Martha, blessed [one]."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 58

And Jesus continued again in the discourse and said unto his disciples: "It came to pass then, when Pistis Sophia had said these words, that the time was fulfilled that she should be led out of the chaos. And of myself, without the First Mystery, I despatched out of myself a light-power, and I sent it down to the chaos, so that it might lead Pistis Sophia forth from the deep regions of the chaos, and lead [her] to the higher regions of the chaos, until the command should come from the First Mystery that she should be led entirely forth out of the chaos. And my light-power led Pistis Sophia up to the higher regions of the chaos. It came to pass then, when the emanations of Self-willed had noticed that Pistis Sophia was led forth into the higher regions of the chaos, that they also sped after her upwards, desiring to bring her again into the lower regions of the chaos. And my light-power, which I had sent to lead up Sophia out of the chaos, shone exceedingly. It came to pass then, when the emanations of Self-willed pursued Sophia, when she had been led into the higher regions of the chaos, that she again sang praises and cried out unto me, saying:

1. I will sing praises unto thee, O Light, for I desired to come unto thee. I will sing thee praises, O Light, for thou art my deliverer.

2. Leave me not in the chaos. Save me, O Light of the Height, for it is thou that I have praised.

3. Thou has sent me thy light through thyself and hast saved me. Thou hast led me to the higher regions of the chaos.

4. May the emanations of Self-willed which pursue me, sink down into the lower regions of the chaos, and let them not come to the higher regions to see me.

5. And may great darkness cover them and darker gloom come over them. And let them not see me in the light of thy power, which thou hast sent unto me to save me, so that they may not again get dominion over me.

6. And let not their resolution which they have formed, to take away my power, take effect for them. And as they have spoken against me, to take from me my light, take rather from them theirs instead of mine.

7. And they have proposed to take away my whole light and have not been able to take it, for thy light-power was with me.

8. Because they have taken counsel without thy commandment, O Light, therefore have they not been able to take away my light.

9. Because I have had faith in the Light, I shall not be afraid; and the Light is my deliverer and I shall not fear.'

"Now, therefore, let him whose power is exalted, speak the solution of the words which Pistis Sophia hath uttered."

And it came to pass, when Jesus had finished speaking these words unto his disciples, that Salome came forward and said: "My Lord, my power constraineth me to speak the solution of the words which Pistis Sophia hath uttered. Thy power hath prophesied aforetime through Solomon, saying:

1. I will give thanks unto thee, O Lord, for thou art my God.

2. Abandon me not, O Lord, for thou art! my hope.

3. Thou hast given me thy vindication for naught, and I am saved through thee.

4. Let them who pursue me, fall down and let them not see me.

5. May a smoke-cloud cover their eyes and an air-mist darken them, and let them not see the day, so that they may not seize me.

6. May their resolution be impotent, and may what they concoct come upon them.

7. They have devised a resolution, and it hath not taken effect for them.

8. And they are vanquished, although they be mighty, and what they have wickedly pre-pared is fallen upon them.

9. My hope is in the Lord, and I shall not be afraid, for thou art my God, my Saviour.'"

It came to pass then, when Salome had finished saying these words, that Jesus said unto her: "Well said, Salome; and finely. This is the solution of the words which Pistis Sophia hath uttered."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 59

And Jesus continued again in the discourse and said unto his disciples: "It came to pass then, when Pistis Sophia had finished saying these words in the chaos, that I made the light-power, which I had sent to save her, become a light-wreath on her head, so that from now on the emanations of Self-willed could not have dominion over her. And when it had become a light-wreath round her head, all the evil matters in her were shaken and all were purified in her. They perished and remained in the chaos, while the emanations of Self-willed gazed upon them and rejoiced. And the purification of the pure light which was in Pistis Sophia, gave power to the light of my light-power, which had become a wreath round her head.

"It came to pass then moreover, when it surrounded the pure light in Sophia, and her pure light did not depart from the wreath of the power of the light-flame, so that the emanations of Self-willed should not rob it from it,--when then this befell her, the pure light-power in Sophia began to sing praises. And she praised my light-power, which was a wreath round her head, and she sang praises, saying:

1. The Light hath become a wreath round Sophia uttereth another song of praise.my head; and I shall not depart from it, so that the emanations of Self-willed may not rob it from me.

2. And though all the matters be shaken, yet shall I not be shaken.

3. And though all my matters perish and remain in the chaos,--those which the emanations of Self-willed see,--yet shall I not perish.

4. For the Light is with me, and I myself am with the Light.'

"These words then Pistis Sophia uttered. Now, therefore, let him who understandeth the thought of these words, come forward and proclaim their solution."

Then Mary, the mother of Jesus, came forward and said: "My son according to the world, my God and Saviour according to the height, bid me proclaim the solution of the words which Pistis Sophia hath uttered."

And Jesus answered and said: "Thou also, Mary, hast received form which is in Barbelo, according to matter, and hast received likeness which is in the Virgin of Light, according to light, thou and the other Mary, the blessed one; and on thy account the darkness hath arisen, and moreover out of thee did come forth the material body in which I am, which I have purified and refined,--now, therefore, I bid thee proclaim the solution of the words which Pistis Sophia hath uttered."

And Mary, the mother of Jesus, answered and said: "My Lord, thy light-power hath prophesied aforetime concerning these words through Solomon in the nineteenth Ode and said:

1. The Lord is on my head as a wreath, and I shall not depart from him.

2. The wreath in truth is woven for me; and it hath caused thy twigs to sprout in me.

3. For it is not like unto a wreath withered that sprouteth not. But thou art alive on my head and thou hast sprouted upon me.

4. Thy fruits are full and perfect, filled with thy salvation.'"

It came to pass then, when Jesus had heard his. mother Mary say these words, that he said unto her: "Well said, finely. Amen, amen, I say unto thee: They shall proclaim thee blessed from one end of the earth to the other; for the pledge of the First Mystery hath taken up its abode with thee, and through that pledge shall all from the earth and all from the height be saved, and that pledge is the beginning and the end."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 60

The commandment of the First Mystery is fulfilled for taking Sophia entirely out of the chaos.And Jesus continued again in the discourse and said unto his disciples: "It came to pass when Pistis Sophia had uttered the thirteenth repentance,--in that hour was fulfilled the commandment of all the tribulations which were de-creed for Pistis Sophia for the fulfilment of the First Mystery, which was from the beginning, and the time had come to save her out of the chaos and lead her out from all the darknesses. For her repentance was accepted from her through the First Mystery; and that mystery sent me a great light-power out of the height, that I might help Pistis Sophia and lead her up out of the chaos. The First Mystery and Jesus sent forth two light-powers to help Sophia.So I looked towards the aeons into the height and saw that light-power which the First Mystery had sent me, that I might save Pistis Sophia out of the chaos. It came to pass, therefore, when I had seen it, coming forth from the aeons and hastening down to me,--I was above the chaos,--that another light-power went forth out of me, that it too might help Pistis Sophia. And the light-power which had come from the height through the First Mystery, came down upon the light-power which had gone out of me; and they met together and became a great stream of light."

When then Jesus had said this unto his disciples, he said: "Understand ye in what manner I discourse with you?"

Mary started forward again and said: "My Lord, I understand what thou sayest. Concerning the solution of this word thy light-power hath prophesied aforetime through David in the eighty-fourth Psalm, saying:

Grace and truth met together, and righteousness and peace kissed each other.

Truth sprouted forth out of the earth, and righteousness looked down from heaven.'

Grace' then is the light-power which hath come down through the First Mystery; for the First Mystery hath hearkened unto Pistis Sophia and hath had mercy on her in all her tribulations. 'Truth' on the other hand is the power which hath gone forth out of thee, for that thou hast fulfilled the truth, in order to save her out of the chaos. And 'righteousness' again is the power which hath come forth through the First Mystery, which will guide Pistis Sophia. And 'peace' again is the power which hath gone forth out of thee, so that it should enter into the emanations of Self-willed and take from them the lights which they have taken away from Pistis Sophia, that is, so that thou mayest gather them together into Pistis Sophia and make them at peace with her power. 'Truth' on the other hand is the power which went forth out of thee, when thou wast in the lower regions of the chaos. For this cause thy power hath said through David

'Truth sprouted out of the earth,' because thou wert in the lower regions of the chaos. 'Righteousness' on the other hand which hath 'looked down from heaven,'--it is the power which hath come down from the height through the First Mystery and hath entered into Pistis Sophia."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 61

It came to pass then, when Jesus had heard these words, that he said: "Well said, Mary, blessed one, who shalt inherit the whole Light-kingdom."

Thereon Mary, the mother of Jesus, also came forward and said: "My Lord and my Saviour, give commandment unto me also that I repeat this word."

Jesus said: "Whose spirit is understanding, him I do not prevent, but I urge him on still more to speak the thought which hath moved him. Now, therefore, Mary, my mother according to matter, thou in whom I have sojourned, I bid thee that thou also speak the thought of the discourse."

And Mary answered and said: "My Lord, concerning the word which thy power hath prophesied through David: 'Grace and truth met together, righteousness and peace kissed each other. Truth sprouted forth out of the earth, and righteousness looked down from heaven,'--thus hath thy power prophesied this word aforetime about thee.

"When thou wert little, before the spirit had come upon thee, whilst thou wert in a vineyard with Joseph, the spirit came out of the height and came to me in my house, like unto thee; and I had not known him, but I thought that thou wast he. And the spirit said unto me: Where is Jesus, my brother, that I meet with him?' And when he had said this unto me, I was at a loss and thought it was a phantom to try me. So I seized him and bound him to the foot of the bed in my house, until I went forth to you, to thee and Joseph in the field, and I found you on the vineyard, Joseph propping up the vineyard. It came to pass, therefore, when thou didst hear me speak the word unto Joseph, that thou didst understand the word, wert joyful and saidest: 'Where is he, that I may see him; else I await him in this place.' And it came to pass, when Joseph had heard thee say these words, that he was startled. And we went down together, entered the house and found the spirit bound to the bed. And we looked on thee and him and found thee like unto him. And he who was bound to the bed was unloosed; he took thee in his arms and kissed thee, and thou also didst kiss him. Ye became one.

"This then is the word and its solution. 'Grace' is the spirit which hath come down out of the height through the First Mystery, for it hath had mercy on the race of men and sent its spirit that he should forgive the sins of the whole world, and they should receive the mysteries and inherit the Light-kingdom. 'Truth' on the other hand is the power which hath sojourned with me. When it had come forth out of Barbelo, it became material body for thee, and hath made proclamation concerning the region of Truth. 'Righteousness' is thy spirit, who hath brought the mysteries out of the height to give them to the race of men. 'Peace' on the other hand is the power which hath sojourned in thy material body according to the world, which hath baptised the race of men, until it should make it stranger unto sin and make it at peace with thy spirit, so that they may be at peace with the emanations of the Light; that is, 'Grace and truth kissed each other.' As it saith: 'Truth sprouted forth out of the earth,'--'truth' is thy material body which sprouted forth out of me according to the world of men, and hath made proclamation concerning the region of Truth. And again as it saith: 'Righteousness [looked down] from heaven'--'righteousness' is the power which looked out of the height, which will give the mysteries of the Light to the race

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of men, so that they will become righteous and good, and inherit the Light-kingdom."

It came to pass then, when Jesus had heard these words which his mother Mary spake, that he said: "Well said, finely, Mary."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 62

The other Mary came forward and said: "My Lord, bear with me and be not wroth with me. Yea, from the moment when thy mother spake with thee concerning the solution of these words, my power disquieted me to come forward and like-wise to speak the solution of these words."

Jesus said unto her: "I bid thee speak their solution."

Mary said: "My Lord, 'Grace and truth met together,'--'grace' then is the spirit who hath come upon thee, when thou didst receive the baptism from John. 'Grace' then is the godly spirit who hath come upon thee; he hath had mercy on the race of men, hath come down and hath met with the power of Sabaoth, the Good which is in thee and which hath made proclamation concerning the regions of Truth. It hath said again: 'Righteousness and peace kissed each other,'--'righteousness' then is the spirit of the Light, which did come upon thee and hath brought the mysteries of the height, to give them unto the race of men. 'Peace' on the other hand is the power of Sabaoth, the Good, which is in thee,--he who hath baptised and hath forgiven the race of men,--and it hath made them at peace with the sons of the Light. And moreover as thy power hath said through David: 'Truth sprouted forth out of the earth,'--that is the power of Sabaoth, the Good, which sprouted forth out of Mary, thy mother, the dweller on earth. 'Righteousness,' which 'looked down from heaven,' on the other hand is the spirit in the height who hath brought all mysteries of the height and given them to the race of men; and they have become righteous and good, and have inherited the Light-kingdom."

And it came to pass, when Jesus had heard Mary speak these words, that he said: "Well said, Mary, inheritress of the Light."

And Mary, the mother of Jesus, again came forward, fell down at his feet, kissed them and said: "My Lord, my son and my Saviour, be not wroth with me, but pardon me, that I may once more speak the solution of these words. 'Grace and truth met together,'--it is I, Mary, Mary, the mother, again further interpreteth the same scripture from the meeting of herself with Elizabeth, mother of John the Baptiser.thy mother, and Elizabeth, mother of John, whom I have met. 'Grace' then is the power of Sabaoth in me, which went forth out of me, which thou art. Thou hast had mercy on the whole race of men. 'Truth' on the other hand is the power in Elizabeth, which is John, who did come and hath made proclamation concerning the way of Truth, which thou art,--who hath made proclamation before thee. And again, 'Grace and truth met together,'--that is thou, my Lord, thou who didst meet John on the day when thou hadst to receive the baptism. And again thou and John are 'Righteousness and peace kissed Of the incarnation of Jesus. each other.'--'Truth hath sprouted forth out of the earth, and righteousness looked down from heaven,'--this is, during the time when thou didst minister unto thyself, thou didst have the form of Gabriel, thou didst look down upon me from heaven and speak with me. And when thou hadst spoken with me, thou didst sprout up in me,--that is the 'truth,' that is the power of Sabaoth, the Good, which is in thy material body, that is the 'truth' which 'sprouted up out of the earth.'"

It came to pass then, when Jesus had heard his mother Mary speak these words, that he said: "Well said, and finely. This is the solution of all the words concerning which my light-power hath prophesied aforetime through the prophet David."

[A note by another, later scibe, which he copied from another scripture. (Now these are the names which I will give from the Boundless onward. Write them with a sign, that the Sons of God may be revealed from here on.

This is the name of the Immortal: aaa, ooo; and this is the name of the Voice, for the sake of which the Perfect Man hath set himself in motion: iii. And these are the interpretations of the names of these mysteries: the first [name], which is aaa, its interpretation is fff; the second, which is mmm or ooo, its interpretation is aaa; the third, which is ps ps ps, its interpretation is ooo; the fourth, which is fff, its interpretation is nnn; the fifth, which is ddd, its interpretation is aaa. He on the throne is aaa. This is the interpretation of the second: aaaa, aaaa, aaaa; this is the interpretation of the whole name.)]

THE SECOND BOOK OF PISTIS SOPHIA

CHAPTER 63

JOHN also came forward and said: "O Lord, bid me also speak the solution of the words which thy light-power hath prophesied aforetime through David."

And Jesus answered and said unto John: "To thee too, John, I give commandment to speak the solution of the words which my light-power hath prophesied through David:

10. Grace and truth met together, and righteousness and peace kissed each other.

11. Truth hath sprouted forth out of the earth, and righteousness looked down from heaven.'"

And John answered and said: "This is the word which thou hast said unto us aforetime: 'I have come out of the Height and entered into Sabaoth, the Good, and embraced the light-power in him.' Now, therefore, 'Grace and truth' which 'met together,'--thou art 'grace,' thou who art sent out of the regions of the Height through thy Father, the First Mystery which looketh within, in that he hath sent thee, that thou mayest have mercy on the whole world. 'Truth' on the other hand is the power of Sabaoth, the Good, which bound itself in thee and which thou hast cast forth to the Left,--thou the First Mystery which looketh without. And the little Sabaoth, the Good, took it and cast it Of Sabaoth, Barbelo, Yabraoth and the light-vesture.forth into the matter of Barbelo, and he made proclamation concerning the regions of Truth to all the regions of those of the Left. That matter of Barbelo then it is which is body for thee to-day.

"And 'righteousness and peace' which 'kissed each other,'--'righteousness' then art thou who didst bring all the mysteries through thy Father, the First Mystery which looketh within, and hast baptised this power of Sabaoth, the Good; and thou didst go to the region of the rulers and didst give unto them the mysteries of the Height; they became righteous and good.

'Peace' on the other hand is the power of Sabaoth, that is thy soul, which did enter into the matter of Barbelo, and all the rulers of the six aeons of Yabraoth have made peace with the mystery of the Light.

"And 'truth' which 'sprouted forth out of the earth,'--it is the power of Sabaoth, the Good, which came out of the region of the Right, which lieth outside the Treasury of the Light., and which hath come into the region of those of the Left; it hath entered into the matter of Barbelo, and hath made proclamation concerning the mysteries of the region of Truth.

'Righteousness' on the other hand which 'looked down from heaven,' is thou the First Mystery which looketh down without, as thou didst come out of the spaces of the Height with the mysteries of the Light-kingdom; and thou didst come down upon the light-vesture which thou didst receive from the hand of Barbelo, which [vesture] is Jesus, our Saviour, in that thou didst come down upon him as a dove."

It came to pass then, when John had brought forward these words, that the First Mystery which looketh without, said unto -him: "Well said, John, beloved brother."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 64

The First Mystery again continued and said: "It came to pass, therefore, that the power which had come out of the Height, that is I, in that my Father sent me to save Pistis Sophia out of the chaos, [that] I, therefore, and also the power which did go from me, and the soul which I had received from Sabaoth, the Good,--they drew towards one another and become a single light-stream, which shone very exceedingly. I called down Gabriel and Michael out of the aeons, at the command of my Father, the First Mystery which looketh within, and I gave unto them the light-stream and let them go down into the chaos to help Pistis Sophia and to take the light-powers, which the emanations of Self-willed had taken from her, from them and give them to Pistis Sophia.

"And straightway, when they had brought down the light-stream into the chaos, it shone most exceedingly in the whole of the chaos, and spread itself over all their regions. And when the emanations of Self-willed had seen the great light of that stream, they were terror-stricken one with the other. And that stream drew forth out of them all the light-powers which they had taken from Pistis Sophia, and the emanations of Self-willed could not dare to lay hold of that light-stream in the dark chaos; nor could they lay hold of it with the art of Self-willed, who ruleth over the emanations.

"And Gabriel and Michael led the light-stream over the body of the matter of Pistis Sophia and poured into her all the light-powers which they had taken from her. And the body of her matter became shining throughout, and all the powers also in her, whose light they had taken away, took light and ceased to lack their light, for they got their light which had been taken from them, because the light was given them through me. And Michael and Gabriel, who ministered and had brought the light-stream into the chaos, will give them the mysteries of the Light; it is they to whom the light-stream was entrusted, which I have given unto them and brought into the chaos. And Michael and Gabriel have taken no light for themselves from the lights of Sophia, which they had taken from the emanations of Self-willed.

"It came to pass then, when the light-stream had ingathered into Pistis Sophia all her light-powers, which it had taken from the emanations of Self-willed, that she became shining throughout; and the light-powers also in Pistis Sophia, which the emanations of Self-willed had not taken, became joyful again and filled themselves with light. And the lights which were poured into Pistis Sophia, quickened the body of her matter, in which no light was present, and which was on the point of perishing or perished. And they raised up all her powers which were on the point of being dissolved. And they took unto themselves a light-power and became again as they were before, and they increased again in their sense of the Light. And all the light-powers of Sophia knew themselves mutually through my light-stream and were saved through the light of that stream. And my light-stream, when. it had taken away the lights from the emanations of Self-willed, which they had taken away from Pistis Sophia, poured them into Pistis Sophia, and turned itself about and went up out of the chaos."

When then the First Mystery said this to the disciples, that it had befallen Pistis Sophia in the chaos, he answered and said unto them: "Understand ye in what manner I discourse with you?"

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 65

Peter came forward and said: "My Lord, concerning the solution of the words which thou hast spoken, thus hath thy light-power prophesied aforetime through Solomon in his Odes:

1. A stream came forth and became a great wide flood.

2. It tore away all to itself and turned itself against the temple.

3. Dams and buildings could not hold it, nor could the art of them who hold the waters.

4. It was led over the whole land and laid hold of all.

5. They who were on the dry sand, drank; their thirst was quieted and quenched, when the draught from the hand of the Highest was given.

6. Blessed are the ministers of that draught, to whom the water of the Lord is entrusted.

7. They have refreshed parched lips; they whose power was taken away, have gotten joy of heart and they have laid hold of souls, having poured in the breath, so that they should not die.

8. They have raised up limbs which were fallen; they have given power to their openness and light unto their eyes.

9. For they all have known themselves in the Lord and are saved through the water of Life eternal.'

Hearken, therefore, my Lord, that I may set forth the word in openness. As thy power hath prophesied through Solomon: 'A stream came forth and became a great wide flood,'--this is: The light-stream hath spread itself out in the chaos over all the regions of the emanations of Self-willed.

And again the word which thy power hath spoken through Solomon: 'It tore away all to itself and led it over the temple,'--that is: It drew all the light-powers out of the emanations of Self-willed, which they had taken from Pistis Sophia, and poured them anew into Pistis Sophia.

And again the word thy power hath spoken: 'The dams and buildings could not hold it,'--that is: The emanations of Self-willed could not hold the light-stream within the walls of the darkness of the chaos.

And again the word which it hath spoken: It was led over the whole land and filled all,'--that is: When Gabriel and Michael had led it over the body of Pistis Sophia, they poured into her all the lights which the emanations of Self-willed had taken from her, and the body of her matter shone.

And the word which it hath spoken: 'They who were in the dry sand, drank,'--that is: All in Pistis Sophia whose light had before been taken away, got light.

And the word which it hath spoken: 'Their thirst was quieted and quenched,'--that is: Her powers ceased to lack the light, because their light, which had been taken from them, was given them [again].

And again as thy power hath spoken: 'The draught through the Highest was given them,'--that is: The light was given unto them through the light-stream, which came forth out of thee, the First Mystery."

And as thy power hath spoken: 'Blessed are the ministers of that draught,'--this is the word which thou hast spoken: 'Michael and Gabriel, who have ministered, have brought the light-stream into the chaos and also led it forth again. They will give them the mysteries of the Light of the Height, they to whom the light-stream is entrusted.'

And again as thy power hath spoken: 'They have refreshed parched lips,'--that is: Gabriel and Michael have not taken for themselves from the lights of Pistis Sophia, which they had spoiled from the emanations of Self-willed, but they have poured them into Pistis Sophia.

And again the word which it hath spoken:

They whose power was taken away, have gotten joy of heart,'--that is: All the other powers of Pistis Sophia, which the emanations of Self-willed have not taken, are become exceedingly merry and have filled themselves with light from their light-fellows, for these have poured it into them.

And the word which thy power hath spoken: 'They have quickened souls, having poured in the breath, so that they should not die,'--that is: When they had poured the lights into Pistis Sophia, they quickened the body of her matter, from

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which they had before taken its lights, and which was on the point of perishing.

And again the word which thy power hath spoken: 'They have raised up limbs which were fallen, or that they should not fall,'--that is: When they poured into her her lights, they raised up all her powers which were on the point of being dissolved.

And again as thy light-power hath spoken: They have received again their light and have become as they were before '; and again the word which it hath spoken: 'They have given light unto their eyes,'--that is: They have received sense in the Light and known the light-stream, that it belongeth to the Height.

And again the word which it hath spoken: 'They all have known themselves in the Lord,'--that is: All the powers of Pistis Sophia have known one another through the light-stream.

And again the word which it hath spoken: 'They are saved through water of Life eternal,'--that is: They are saved through the whole light-stream.

And again the word which it hath spoken: 'The light-stream tore all to itself and drew it over the temple,'--that is: When the light-stream had taken all the light-powers of Pistis Sophia and had spoiled them from the emanations of Self-willed, it poured them into Pistis Sophia and turned itself about and went out of the chaos and came over thee,--thou who art the temple.

This is the solution of all the words which thy light-power hath spoken through the Ode of Solomon."

It came to pass then, when the First Mystery had heard Peter speak these words, that he said unto him: "Well said, blessed Peter. This is the solution of the words which have been spoken."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 66

And the First Mystery continued again in the discourse and said: "It came to pass then, before I had led forth Pistis Sophia out of the chaos, because it was not yet commanded me through my Father, the First Mystery which looketh within,--at that time then, after the emanations of Self-willed had perceived that my light-stream had taken from them the light-powers which they had taken from Pistis Sophia, and had poured them into Pistis Sophia, and when they again had seen Pistis Sophia, that she shone as she had done from the beginning, that they were enraged against Pistis Sophia and cried out again to their Self-willed, that he should come and help them, so that they might take away the powers in Pistis Sophia anew.

And Self-willed sent out of the height, out of the thirteenth aeon, and sent another great light-power. It came down into the chaos as a flying arrow, that he might help his emanations, so that they might take away the lights from Pistis Sophia anew. And when that light-power had come down, the emanations of Self-willed which were in the chaos and oppressed Pistis Sophia, took great courage and again pursued Pistis Sophia with great terror and great alarm. And some of the emanations of Self-willed oppressed her. One of them changed itself into

The fashioning of the serpent-, basilisk- and dragon-powers.the form of a great serpent; another again changed itself also into the form of a seven-headed basilisk; another again changed itself into the form of a dragon. And moreover the first power of Self-willed, the lion-faced, and all his other very numerous emanations, they came together and oppressed Pistis Sophia and led her again into the lower regions of the chaos and alarmed her again exceedingly.

The demon-power of Adamas dasheth Sophia down."It came to pass then that there looked down out of the twelve aeons, Adamas, the Tyrant, who also was wroth with Pistis Sophia, because she desired to go to the Light of lights, which was above them all; therefore was he wroth with her. It came to pass then, when Adamas, the Tyrant, had looked down out of the twelve aeons, that he saw the emanations of Self-willed oppressing Pistis Sophia, until they should take from her all her lights. It came to pass then, when the power of Adamas had come down into the chaos unto all the emanations of Self-willed,--it came to pass then, when that demon came down into the chaos, that it dashed down Pistis Sophia. And the lion-faced power and the serpent-form and the basilisk-form and the dragon-form and all the other very numerous emanations of Self-willed surrounded Pistis Sophia all together, desiring to take from her anew her powers in her, and they oppressed Pistis Sophia exceedingly and threatened her. It came to pass then, when they oppressed her and alarmed her exceedingly, that she cried again to the Light and sang praises, saying:

1. O Light, it is thou who hast helped me; let thy light come over me.

2. For thou art my protector, and I come hence unto thee, O Light, having faith in thee, O Light.

3. For thou art my saviour from the emanations of Self-willed and of Adamas, the Tyrant, and thou shalt save me from all his violent threats.'

And when Pistis Sophia had said this, then at the commandment of my Father, the First Mystery which looketh within, I sent again Gabriel and Michael and the great light-stream, that they should help Pistis Sophia. And I gave commandment unto Gabriel and Michael to bear Pistis Sophia in their hands, so that her feet should not touch the darkness below; and I gave them commandment moreover to guide her in the regions of the chaos, out of which she was to be led.

It came to pass then, when the angels had come down into the chaos, they and the light-stream, and moreover [when] all the emanations of Self-willed and the emanations of Adamas had seen the light-stream, how it shone very exceedingly and there was no measure for the light about it, that they became terror-stricken and quitted Pistis Sophia. And the great light-stream surrounded Pistis Sophia on all sides of her, on her left and on her right and on all her sides, and it became a light-wreath round her head.

It came to pass then, when the light-stream had surrounded Pistis Sophia, that she took great courage, and it ceased not to surround her on all her sides; and she was no longer in fear of the emanations of Self-willed which are in the chaos, nor was she any more in fear of the other new power of Self-willed which he had cast down into the chaos as a flying arrow, nor did she any more tremble at the demon power of Adamas which had come out of the aeons.

And moreover by commandment of myself, the First Mystery which looketh without, the light-stream which surrounded Pistis Sophia on all her sides, shone most exceedingly, and Pistis Sophia abode in the midst of the light, a great light being on her left and on her right, and on all her sides, forming a wreath round her head. And all the emanations of Self-willed [could] not change their face again, nor could they bear the shock of the great light of the stream, which was a wreath round her head. And all the emanations of Self-willed,--many of them fell at her right, because she shone most exceedingly, and many others fell at her left, and were not able at all to draw nigh unto Pistis Sophia because of the great light; but they fell all one on another, or they all came near one another, and they could not inflict any ill on Pistis Sophia, because she had trusted in the Light.

"And at the commandment of my Father, the First Mystery which looketh within, I myself went down into the chaos, shining most exceedingly, and approached the lion-faced power, which shone exceedingly, and took its whole light in it and held fast all the emanations of Self-willed, so that from now on they went not into their region, that is the thirteenth aeon. And I took away the power of all the emanations of Self-willed, and they all fell down in the chaos powerless. And I led forth Pistis Sophia, she being on the right of Gabriel and Michael. And the great light-stream entered again into her. And Pistis Sophia beheld with her eyes her foes, that I had taken their light-power from them. And I led Pistis Sophia forth from the chaos, she treading under foot the serpent-faced emanation of Self-willed, and moreover treading under foot the seven-faced-basilisk emanation, and treading under foot the lion- and dragon-faced power. I made Pistis Sophia continue to stand upon the seven-headed-basilisk emanation of Self-willed; and it was more mighty than them all in its evil doings. And I, the First Mystery, stood by it and took all the powers in it, and made to perish its whole matter, so that no seed should arise from it from now on."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 67

And when the First Mystery said this unto his disciples, he answered and said: "Understand ye in what manner I discourse with you?"

James came forward and said: "My Lord, concerning then the solution of the words which thou hast said, thus hath thy light-power prophesied thereon aforetime through David in the ninetieth Psalm:

1. Whoso then dwelleth under the help of the Most High, will abide under the shadow of the God of heaven.

2. He will say unto the Lord: Thou art my succour and my place of refuge, my God, in whom I trust.

3. For he will save me out of the snare of the hunters and from mighty word.

4. He will shade thee with his breast, and thou shalt have trust beneath his wings; his truth shall surround thee as a shield.

5. Thou wilt not be afraid of terror by night nor of an arrow which flieth by day,

6. Of a thing which slinketh in the darkness, of a mischance and a demon at mid-day.

7. A thousand will fall on thy left, and ten thousand at thy right hand; but they shall not come nigh thee.

8. Nay rather with thine eyes wilt thou behold, thou wilt see the requital of the sinners.

9. For thou, O Lord, art my hope. Thou hast established the Most High for thyself as refuge.

10. Harm will not come nigh unto thee; scourge will not come nigh thy dwelling.

11. For he will give commandment to his angels on thy behalf that they guard thee on all thy ways,

12. And bear thee on their hands, that thou mayest never strike with thy foot against a stone.

13. Thou wilt stride over the serpent and basilisk and tread on lion and dragon.

14. Because he hath trusted in me, I will save him; I will overshadow him, because he hath known my name.

15. He will cry unto me and I shall hearken unto him; I am at his side in his tribulation and will save him and honour him,

16. And increase him with many days and show him my salvation.'

This, my Lord, is the solution of the words which thou hast said. Hearken therefore, that I may say it in openness.

The word then which thy power hath spoken through David: 'Whoso then dwelleth under the help of the Most High, will abide under the shadow of the God of heaven,'--that is: When Sophia had trusted in the Light, she abode under the light of the light-stream, which through thee came out of the Height.

And the word which thy power hath spoken through David: 'I will say unto the Lord: Thou art my succour and my refuge, my God, in whom I trust,'--it is the word with which Pistis Sophia hath sung praises: 'Thou art my succour, and I come unto thee.'

And again the word which thy power hath spoken: 'My God, in whom I trust, thou wilt save me out of the snare of the hunters and from mighty word,'--it is what Pistis Sophia hath said: 'O Light, I have faith in thee, for thou wilt save me from the emanations of Self-willed and from those of Adamas, the Tyrant, and thou wilt save me also from all their mighty threats.'

And again the word which thy power hath spoken through David: 'He will shade thee with his breast, and thou wilt have trust beneath his wings,'--that is: Pistis Sophia hath been in the light of the light-stream, which hath come from thee, and hath continued in firm trust in the light, that on her left and that on her right, which are the wings of the light-stream.

And the word which thy light-power hath prophesied through David: 'Truth will surround thee as a shield,'--it is the light of the light-stream which hath surrounded Pistis Sophia on all her sides as a shield.

And the word which thy power hath spoken: 'He will not be afraid of terror by night,'--that is: Pistis Sophia hath not been afraid of the terrors and alarms into which she had been planted in the chaos, which is the 'night.'

And the word which thy power hath spoken: He will not be afraid of an arrow which flieth by day,'--that is: Pistis Sophia hath not been afraid of the power which Self-willed hath sent last of all out of the height, and which hath come into the chaos as it were a flying arrow. Thy light-power therefore hath said: 'Thou wilt not be afraid of an arrow which flieth by day,' for that power hath come out of the thirteenth aeon, it being that which is lord over the twelve aeons, and which giveth light unto all the aeons; wherefor hath he [David] said 'day.'

And again the word which thy power hath spoken: 'He will not be afraid of a thing which slinketh in the darkness,'--that is: Sophia hath not been afraid of the lion-faced emanation, which caused fear for Pistis Sophia in the chaos, which is the 'darkness.'

And the word which thy power hath spoken: 'He will not be afraid of a mischance and of a demon at mid-day,'--that is: Pistis Sophia hath not been afraid of the demon emanation of Tyrant Adamas, which hath cast Pistis Sophia to the ground in a great mischance, and which hath come forth out of Adamas out of the twelfth aeon; wherefor then hath thy power said: 'He will not be afraid of the demon mischance at mid-day,'--'mid-day,' because it hath come out of the twelve aeons, which is 'mid-day'; and again ['night,' because] it hath come out of the chaos, which is the 'night,' and because it hath come out of the twelfth aeon which is in the midst between both; therefore hath thy light-power said 'mid-day,' because the twelve aeons lie in the midst between the thirteenth aeon and the chaos.

And again the word which thy light-power hath spoken through David: 'A thousand will fall on his left, and ten thousand at his right hand, but they shall not come nigh him,'--that is: When the emanations of Self-willed, which are exceedingly numerous, could not bear the great light of the light-stream, many of them fell on the left hand of Pistis Sophia and many at her right, and they could not come nigh her, to do her [harm].

And the word which thy light-power hath spoken through David: 'Nay rather with thine eyes wilt thou behold, and wilt see the requital of the sinners, for thou, O Lord, art my hope,'--that is the word: Pistis Sophia hath with her eyes beheld her foes, that is the emanations of Self-willed, who all have fallen one on another; not only hath she with her eyes beheld this, but thou also thyself, my Lord, the First Mystery, hast taken the light-power which is in the lion-faced power, and hast moreover taken the power of all the emanations of Self-willed and moreover thou hast imprisoned them in that chaos, [so that] from henceforth they have not gone forth to their own region. Therefore then hath Pistis Sophia with her eyes beheld her foes, that is the emanations of Self-willed, in

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all which David hath prophesied concerning Pistis Sophia, saying: 'Nay rather with thine eyes wilt thou behold, and thou wilt see the requital of the sinners.' Not only hath she with her eyes beheld, how they fall one on another in the chaos, but she hath also seen the requital with which it was requited them. Just as the emanations of Self-willed have thought to take away the light of Sophia from her, so hast thou requited them and repaid them in full, and hast taken the light-power in them instead of the lights of Sophia, who hath had faith in the Light of the Height.

And as thy light-power hath spoken through David: 'Thou hast established the Most High for thyself as refuge; harm will not come nigh unto thee, scourge will not come nigh thy dwelling,'--that is: When Pistis Sophia had had faith in the Light and was afflicted, she sang praises unto it, and the emanations of Self-willed could not inflict on her any harm, nor could they [injure] her, nor could they at all come nigh her.

And the word which thy light-power hath spoken through David: 'He will give commandment to his angels on thy behalf, that they guard thee on all thy ways and bear thee on their hands, that thou mayest never strike with thy foot against a stone,'--it is again thy word: Thou hast given commandment to Gabriel and Michael, that they guide Pistis Sophia in all the regions of the chaos, until they lead her forth and that they uplift her on their hands, so that her feet do not touch the darkness beneath, and [that] on the other hand they of the lower darkness do not seize hold of her.

And the word which thy light-power hath spoken through David: 'Thou wilt tread on serpent and basilisk and tread on lion and dragon; because he hath trusted in me, I will save him and I will overshadow him, because he hath known my name,'--that is the word: When Pistis Sophia was on the point of coming forth out of the chaos, she trod on the emanations of Self-willed, and she trod on the serpent-faced ones and on the basilisk-faced ones, which have seven heads; and she trod on the lion-faced power and on the dragon-faced one. Because she had had faith in the Light, is she saved from all of them.

"This, my Lord, is the solution of the words which thou hast spoken."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 68

It came to pass then, when the First Mystery had heard these words, that he said: "Well said, James, beloved one."

And the First Mystery continued again in the discourse and said unto his disciples: "It came to pass, when I had led Pistis Sophia out of the chaos, that she cried out again and said:

1. I am saved out of the chaos and loosed from the bonds of the darkness. I am come unto thee, O Light.

2. For thou wert light on all sides of me, saving me and helping me.

3. And the emanations of Self-willed, which fought against me, thou hast hindered through thy light, and they could not come nigh me; for thy light was with me and saved me through thy light-stream.

4. Because in sooth the emanations of Self-willed constrained me, they took from me my power and cast me out into the chaos with no light in me. So I became as heavy-weighing matter in comparison with them.

5. And thereafter came a light-stream unto me through thee which saved me; it shone on my left and on my right and surrounded me on all sides of me, so that no part of me was without light.

6. And thou hast covered me with the light of thy stream and purged from me all my evil matters; and I shall be relieved of all my matters because of thy light.

7. And it is thy light-stream which hath raised me up and taken from me the emanations of Self-willed which constrained me.

8. And I have become sure-trusting in thy light and purified light in thy stream.

9. And the emanations of Self-willed which constrained me, have withdrawn themselves from me; and I shone in thy great power, for thou savest for ever.'

"This is the repentance which Pistis Sophia hath uttered, when she came forth out of the chaos and was freed from the bonds of the chaos. Now, therefore, who hath ears to hear, let him hear."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 69

It came to pass then, when the First Mystery had finished saying these words unto his disciples, that Thomas came forward, and said: "My Lord, my light-dweller hath ears and my mind hath understood the words which thou hast said. Now, therefore, give commandment unto me to set forth clearly the solution of the words."

And the First Mystery answered and said unto Thomas: "I give thee commandment to set forth the solution of the song which Pistis Sophia sang unto me."

Thomas answered and said: "My Lord, concerning the song which Pistis Sophia hath uttered, because she was saved out of the chaos, thy light-power prophesied aforetime thereon through Solomon, the son of David, in his Odes:

1. I am saved from the bonds and am fled unto thee, O Lord.

2. For thou hast been on my right hand, saving me and helping me.

3. Thou hast hindered my adversaries and they have not been revealed, because thy face was with me, saving me in thy grace.

4. I was despised in the sight of many and cast out; I have become as lead in their sight.

5. Through thee I have gotten a power which helped me; for thou hast set lamps on my right and on my left, so that no side of me may be without light.

6. Thou hast overshadowed me with the shadow of thy grace, and I was relieved of the coats of skin.

7. It is thy right hand which hath raised me up, and thon hast taken the sickness from me.

8. I have become powerful in thy truth and purified in thy righteousness.

9. My adversaries have withdrawn themselves from me, and I am justified by thy goodness, for thy rest endureth unto all eternity.'

This then, my Lord, is the solution of the repentance which Pistis Sophia hath uttered, when she was saved out of the chaos. Hearken, therefore, that I may say it in openness.

The word then which thy light-power hath spoken through Solomon: 'I am saved from the bonds and am fled unto thee, O Lord,'--it is the word which Pistis Sophia hath spoken: 'I am loosed from the bonds of the darkness and am come unto thee, O Light.'

And the word which thy power hath spoken: 'Thou wert on my right hand, saving and helping me,'--it is again the word which Pistis Sophia hath spoken: 'Thou art become a light on all sides of me, [saving me] and helping me.'

And the word which thy light-power hath spoken: 'Thou hast hindered my adversaries and they have not been revealed,'--it is the word which Pistis Sophia hath spoken: 'And the emanations of Self-willed which fought against me, thou hast hindered through thy light, and they could not come nigh me.'

And the word which thy power hath spoken: 'Thy face was with me, saving me in thy grace,'--it is the word which Pistis Sophia hath spoken: 'Thy light was with me, saving me in thy light-stream.'

And the word which thy power hath spoken: 'I was despised in the sight of many and cast out,'--it is the word which Pistis Sophia hath spoken:

The emanations of Self-willed constrained me and took my power from me, and I have been despised before them and cast out into the chaos, with no light in me.'

And the word which thy power hath spoken:

I have become as lead in their sight,'--it is the word which Pistis Sophia hath spoken: 'When they had taken my light from me, I became as heavy-weighing matter before them.'

And moreover the word which thy power hath spoken: 'Through thee I have gotten a power for me which helped me,'--it is again the word which Pistis Sophia hath spoken: 'And thereafter came a light-power unto me through thee which saved me.'

And the word which thy power hath spoken: 'Thou hast set lamps on my right and on my left, so that no side of me may be without light,'--it is the word which Pistis Sophia hath spoken:

'Thy power shone on my right and on my left and surrounded me on all sides of me, so that no part of me was without light.'

And the word which thy power hath spoken:

Thou hast overshadowed me with the shadow of thy grace,'--it is again the word which Pistis Sophia hath spoken: 'And thou hast covered me with the light of the stream.'

And the word which thy power hath spoken: I was relieved of the coats of skin,'--it is again the word which Pistis Sophia hath spoken: 'And they have purified me of all my evil matters, and I raised myself above them in thy light.'

And the word which thy power hath spoken through Solomon: 'It is thy right hand which hath raised me up, and hath taken the sickness from me,'--it is the word which Pistis Sophia hath spoken: 'And it is thy light-stream which hath raised me up in thy light and hath taken from me the emanations of Self-willed which constrained me.'

And the word which thy power hath spoken: 'I have become powerful in thy truth and purified in thy righteousness,'--it is the word which Pistis Sophia hath spoken: 'I have become powerful in thy light and purified light in thy stream.'

And the word which thy power hath spoken: 'My adversaries have withdrawn themselves from me,'--it is the word which Pistis Sophia hath spoken: 'The emanations of Self-willed which constrained me, have withdrawn themselves from me.'

And the word which thy power hath spoken through Solomon: 'And I am justified in thy goodness, for thy rest endureth unto all eternity,'--it is the word which Pistis Sophia hath spoken: 'I am saved in thy goodness; for thou savest every one.'

"This then, O my Lord, is the whole solution of the repentance which Pistis Sophia hath uttered, when she was saved out of the chaos and loosed from the bonds of the darkness."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 70

It came to pass then when the First Mystery had heard Thomas say these words, that he said unto him: "Well said, finely, Thomas, blessed one. This is the solution of the song which Pistis Sophia hath uttered."

And the First Mystery continued again and said unto the disciples: "And Pistis Sophia continued and sang praises unto me, saying:

1. I sing a song unto thee; through thy commandment hast thou led me down out of the higher aeon which is above, and hast led me up to the regions which are below.

2. And again through thy commandment thou hast saved me out of the regions which are below, and through thee hast thou taken there the matter in my light-powers, and I have seen it.

3. And thou hast scattered far from me the emanations of Self-willed which constrained me and were hostile to me, and hast bestowed power on me to loose myself from the bonds of the emanations of Adamas.

4. And thou hast smitten the basilisk with the seven heads and cast it out with my hands and hast set me above its matter. Thou hast destroyed it, so that its seed may not raise itself up from now on.

5. And thou Wert with me, giving me power in all this, and thy light surrounded me in all regions, and through thee hast thou made all the emanations of Self-willed powerless.

6. For thou hast taken the power of their light from them and made straight my way to lead me out of the chaos.

7. And thou hast removed me from the material darknesses and taken from them all my powers, from which the light had been taken.

8. Thou hast put into them purified light and unto all my limbs, in which was no light, thou hast given purified light from the Light of the Height.

9. And thou hast made straight the way for them [my limbs], and the light of thy face hath become for me life indestructible.

10. Thou hast led me forth above the chaos, the region of chaos and extermination, in order that all the matters in it which are in that region, might be unloosed and all my powers be renewed in thy light, and thy light be in them all.

11. Thou hast deposited the light of thy stream in me and I am become purified light.'

"This again is the second song which Pistis Sophia hath uttered. Who then hath understood this repentance, let him come forward and speak it."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 71

It came to pass then, when the First Mystery had finished saying these words, that Matthew came forward and said: "I have understood the solution of the song which Pistis Sophia hath uttered. Now, therefore, give commandment unto me, that I speak it in openness."

And the First Mystery answered and said: "I give commandment unto thee, Matthew, to set forth the interpretation of the song which Pistis Sophia hath uttered."

And Matthew answered and said: "Concerning the interpretation of the song which Pistis Sophia hath uttered, thus thy light-power prophesied aforetime thereon through the Ode of Solomon:

1. He who hath led me down out of the higher regions which are above, hath led me up out of the regions which are in the bottom below.

2. Who hath there taken those in the midst, he hath taught me concerning them.

3. Who hath scattered my foes and my adversaries, he hath bestowed power on me over the bonds, to unloose them.

4. Who hath smitten the serpent with the seven heads with my hands, he hath set me up above its root, that I may extinguish its seed.

5. And thou wert with me, helping me; in all regions thy name surrounded me.

6. Thy right hand hath destroyed the venom of the slanderer; thy hand hath cleared the way for thy faithful.

7. Thou hast freed them out of the tombs and hast removed them from the midst of the corpses.

8. Thou hast taken dead bones and hast clothed them with a body and to them who stirred not, hast thou given the activity of life.

9. Thy way is become indestructibleness and thy face [also].

10. Thou hast led thy aeon above decay, so that they all may be loosed and renewed and thy light become a foundation for them all.

11. Thou hast piled thy riches upon them and they have become a holy dwelling-place.'

This then, my Lord, is the solution of the song which Pistis Sophia hath uttered. Hearken, therefore, that I may say it in openness.

The word which thy power hath spoken through Solomon: 'Who hath led me down out of the higher regions which are above, he hath also led me up out of the regions which are in the bottom below,'--it is the word which Pistis Sophia hath

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spoken: 'I sing praises unto thee; through thy commandment hast thou led me down out of this higher aeon which is above, and hast led me to the regions below. And again through thy commandment thou hast saved me and led me up out of the regions which are below.'

And the word which thy power hath spoken through Solomon: 'Who hath there taken those in the midst and hath taught me concerning them,'--it is the word which Pistis Sophis hath spoken: 'And again through thy commandment hast thou caused the matter in the midst of my power to be purified, and I have seen it.'

And moreover the word which thy power hath spoken through Solomon: 'Who hath scattered my foes and my adversaries,'--it is the word which Pistis Sophia hath spoken: 'Thou hast scattered far from me all the emanations of Self-willed which constrained me and were hostile to me.'

And the word which thy power hath spoken: 'Who hath bestowed on me wisdom over the bonds, to unloose them,'--it is the word which Pistis Sophia hath spoken: 'And he hath bestowed on me wisdom to loose myself from the bonds of those emanations.'

And the word which thy power hath spoken: Who hath smitten the serpent with the seven heads with my hands, he hath set me up above its root, that I may extinguish its seed,'--it is the word which Pistis Sophia hath spoken: 'And thou hast smitten the serpent with the seven heads through my hands and set me up above its matter. Thou hast destroyed it, so that its seed may not raise itself up from now on.'

And the word which thy power hath spoken: 'And thou wert with me, helping me,'--it is the word which Pistis Sophia hath spoken: 'And thou wert with me, giving me power in all this.'

And the word which thy power hath spoken: 'And thy name surrounded me in all regions,'--it is the word which Pistis Sophia hath spoken: 'And thy light surrounded me in all their regions.'

And the word which thy power hath spoken: 'And thy right hand hath destroyed the venom of the slanderers,'--it is the word which Pistis Sophia hath spoken: 'And through thee the emanations of Self-willed became powerless, for thou hast taken from them the light of their power.'

And the word which thy power hath spoken:

Thy hand hath cleared the way for thy faithful,'--it is the word which Pistis Sophia hath spoken: 'Thou hast made straight my way to lead the out of the chaos, because I have had faith in thee.'

And the word which thy power hath spoken: 'Thou hast freed them out of the tombs and hast removed them from the midst of the corpses,'--it is the word which Pistis Sophia hath spoken: 'Thou hast freed me out of the chaos and removed me out of the material darknesses, that is out of the dark emanations which are in the chaos, from which thou hast taken their light.'

And the word which thy power hath spoken: 'Thou hast taken dead bones and hast clothed them with a body, and to them who stirred not, thou hast given activity of life,'--it is the word which Pistis Sophia hath spoken: 'And thou hast taken all my powers in which was no light, and hast bestowed on them within purified light, and unto all my limbs, in which no light stirred, thou hast given life-light out of thy Height.'

And the word which thy power hath spoken:

Thy way is become indestructibleness, and thy face [also],'--it is the word which Pistis Sophia hath spoken: 'And thou hast made straight thy way for me, and the light of thy face hath become for me life indestructible.'

And the word which thy power hath spoken: 'Thou hast led thy aeon above decay, so that all might be loosed and renewed,'--it is the word which Pistis Sophia hath spoken: 'Thou hast led me, thy power, up above the chaos and above decay, that all the matters in that region may be loosed and all my powers renewed in the Light.'

And the word which thy power hath spoken: 'And thy light hath [become] foundation for them all,'--it is the word which Pistis Sophia hath spoken: 'And thy light hath been in them all.'

And the word which thy light-power hath spoken through Solomon: 'Thou hast put thy riches over him, and he hath become a holy dwelling-place,'--it is the word which Pistis Sophia hath spoken: 'Thou hast stayed the light of thy stream over me, and I have become a purified light.'

"This then, my Lord, is the solution of the song which Pistis Sophia hath uttered."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 72

It came to pass then, when the First Mystery had heard Matthew speak these words, that he said: "Well said, Matthew, and finely, beloved. This is the solution of the song which Pistis Sophia hath uttered."

And the First Mystery continued again and said:

'1. I will declare: Thou art the higher Light, for that hast saved me and led me unto thee, and thou hast not let the emanations of Self-willed, which are hostile unto me, take my light.

'2. O Light of lights, I sing praises unto thee; thou hast saved me.

'3. O Light, thou hast led up my power out of the chaos; thou hast saved me from them which have gone down into the darkness.'

"These words again hath Pistis Sophia uttered, Now, therefore, whose mind hath become understanding, comprehending the words which Pistis Sophia hath uttered, let him come forward and set forth their solution."

It came to pass then, when the First Mystery had finished speaking these words unto the disciples, that Mary came forward and said: "My Lord, my mind is ever understanding, at every time to come forward and set forth the solution of the words which she hath uttered; but I am afraid of Peter, because he threatened me and hateth our sex."

And when she had said this, the First Mystery said unto her: "Every one who shall be filled with the spirit of light to come forward and set forth the solution of what I say,--no one shall be able to prevent him. Now, therefore, O Mary, set forth then the solution of the words which Pistis Sophia hath uttered."

Then Mary answered and said unto the First Mystery in the midst of the disciples: "My Lord, concerning the solution of the words which Pistis Sophia hath uttered, thus hath thy light-power prophesied aforetime through David:

'1. I will exalt thee, O Lord, for thou hast received me, and thou hast not made glad my foes over me.

'2. O Lord, my God, I cried up unto thee, and thou hast healed me.

'3. O Lord, thou hast led up my soul out of hell; thou hast saved me from them which have gone down into the pit.'

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 73

And when Mary had said this, the First Mystery said unto her, "Well said, finely, Mary, blessed one."

And he continued again in the discourse and said unto the disciples: "Sophia again continued in this song and said:

1. The Light hath become my saviour.

2. And it hath changed my darkness into light, and it has rent the chaos which surrounded me and girded me with light.'"

It came to pass then, when the First Mystery had finished saying these words, that Martha came forward and said: "My Lord, thy power hath prophesied aforetime through David concerning these words:

10. The Lord hath become my helper.

11. He hath changed my lamentation into joy; he hath rent my mourning-robe and girded me with joy.'"

And it came to pass when the First Mystery had heard Martha speak these words, that he said: "Well said, and finely, Martha."

And the First Mystery continued again and said unto the disciples: "Pistis Sophia again continued in the song and said:

1. My power, sing praises to the Light and forget not all the powers of the Light which it hath given unto thee.

2. And the powers which are in thee, sing praises to the name of his holy mystery;

3. Who forgiveth all thy transgression, who saveth thee from all the afflictions with which the emanations of Self-willed have constrained thee;

4. Who hath saved thy light from the emanations of Self-willed which belong to destruction; who hath wreathed thee with light in his compassion, until he saved thee;

5. Who hath filled thee with purified light; and thy beginning will renew itself as an invisible of the Height.'

"With these words Pistis Sophia sang praises, because she was saved and remembered all things which I had done unto her."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 74

It came to pass then, when the First Mystery had finished setting forth these words unto the disciples, that he said unto them: "Who hath understood the solution of these words, let him come forward and say it in openness."

Mary again came forward and said: "My Lord, concerning these words with which Pistis Sophia hath sung praises, thus thy light-power prophesied them through David:

1. My soul, praise the Lord, let all that is in me praise his holy name.

2. My soul, praise the Lord and forget not all his requitals.

3. Who forgiveth all thy iniquities; who healeth all thy sicknesses;

4. Who redeemeth thy life from decay; who wreatheth thee with grace and compassion;

5. Who satisfieth thy longing with good things; thy youth will renew itself as an eagle's.'

"That is: Sophia will be as the invisibles who are in the Height; he hath, therefore, said 'as an eagle,' because the dwelling-place of the eagle is in the height, and the invisibles also are in the Height; that is: Pistis Sophia will shine as the invisibles, as she was from her beginning."

It came to pass then, when the First Mystery had heard Mary say these words, that he said: "Well said, Mary, blessed one."

It came to pass then thereafter, that the First Mystery continued again in the discourse and said unto the disciples: "I took Pistis Sophia and led her up to a region which is below the thirteenth aeon, and gave unto her a new mystery of the Light which is not that of her aeon, the region of the invisibles. And moreover I gave her a song of the Light, so that from now on the rulers of the aeons could not [prevail] against her. And I removed her to that region until I should come after her and bring her to her higher region.

"It came to pass then, when I had removed her to that region, that she again uttered this song thus:

1. In faith have I had faith in the Light; and it remembered me and hearkened to my song.

2. It hath led my power up out of the chaos and the nether darkness of the whole matter and it hath led me up. It hath removed. me to a higher and surer aeon, lofty and firm; it hath changed my place on the way which leadeth to my region.

3. And it hath given unto me a new mystery, which is not that of my aeon, and given unto me a song of the Light. Now, therefore, O Light, all the rulers will see what thou hast done unto me, and be afraid and have faith in the Light.'

This song then Pistis Sophia uttered, rejoicing that she had been led up out of the chaos and brought to regions which are below the thirteenth aeon. Now, therefore, let him whom his mind stirreth, so that he understandeth the solution of the thought of the song which Pistis Sophia hath uttered, come forward and say it."

Andrew came forward and said: "My Lord, this is concerning what thy light-power hath prophesied aforetime through David:

1. In patience I tarried for the Lord; he hath given heed unto me and ear unto my weeping.

2. He hath led up my soul out of the pit of misery and out of the filthy mire; he hath set my feet on a rock and made straight my steps.

3. He hath put in my mouth a new song, a song of praise for our God. Many will see and be afraid and hope in the Lord.'"

It came to pass then, when Andrew had set forth the thought of Pistis Sophia, that the First Mystery said unto him: "Well said, Andrew, blessed one."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 75

And he continued again in the discourse and said unto the disciples: "These are all adventures which have befallen Pistis Sophia. It came to pass then, when I had led her to the region which is below the thirteenth aeon, and was about to go unto the Light and depart from her, that she said unto me:

O Light of lights, thou wilt go to the Light and depart from me. And Tyrant Adamas will know that thou hast departed from me and will know that my saviour is not at hand. And he will come again to this region, he and all his rulers who hate me, and Self-willed also will bestow power unto his lion-faced emanation, so that they all will come and constrain me all together and take my whole light from me, in order that I may become powerless and again without light. Now, therefore, O Light and my Light, take from them the power of their light, so that they may not be able to constrain me from now on.'

It came to pass then, when I heard these words which Pistis Sophia had spoken unto me, that I answered her, saying: 'My Father, who hath emanated me, hath not yet given me commandment to take their light from them; but I will seal the regions of Self-willed and of all his rulers who hate thee because thou hast had faith in the Light. And I will also seal the regions of Adamas and of his rulers, so that none of them may be able to fight with thee, until their time is completed and the season cometh that my Father give me commandment to take their light from them.'

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 76

"And thereafter I said again unto her: 'Hearken that I may speak with thee about their time, when this which I have said unto thee, will come to pass. It will come to pass when [the] three times are completed.'

"Pistis Sophia answered and said unto me: 'O Light, by what shall I know when the three times will take place, so that I may be glad and rejoice that the time is near for thee to bring me to my region, and moreover rejoice therein that the time is come when thou wilt take the light-power from all them which hate me, because I have had faith in thy light?'

"And I answered and said unto her: 'If thou seest the gate of the Treasury of the Great Light which is opened after the thirteenth aeon, and that is the left [one],--when that gate is opened, then are the three times completed.'

"Pistis Sophia again answered and said: 'O Light, by what shall I know,--for I am in this region,--that that gate is opened?'

"And I answered and said unto her: 'When that gate is opened, they who are in all the aeons will know because of the Great Light which will obtain in all their regions. But see, I have now settled that they shall venture no ill against thee,

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until the three times are completed. And thou wilt have the power of going down into their twelve aeons, when it pleaseth thee, and also of returning and going into thy region, which is below the thirteenth aeon, and in which thou now art. But thou wilt not have the power of passing through the gate of the Height which is in the thirteenth aeon, so as to enter into thy region whence thou didst come down. Moreover, if then the three times are completed, Self-willed and all his rulers will again constrain thee, to take thy light from thee, being enraged against thee and thinking that thou hast imprisoned his power in the chaos, and thinking that thou hast taken its light from it. He will then be embittered against thee, to take from thee thy light, in order that he may send it down into the chaos and it may get down to that emanation of his, so that it may be able to come up out of the chaos and go to his region. Adamas will attempt this. But I will take all thy powers from him and give them unto thee, and I will come to take them. Now, therefore, if they constrain thee at that time, then sing praises to the Light, and I will not delay to help thee. And I will quickly come unto thee to the regions which are below thee. And I will come down to their regions to take their light from them. And I will come to this region whither I have removed thee, and which is below the thirteenth aeon, until I bring thee to thy region whence thou art come.'

"It came to pass then, when Pistis Sophia had heard me say these words unto her, that she rejoiced with great joy. But I removed her to the region which is below the thirteenth aeon. I went to the Light and departed from her."

And all these adventures the First Mystery told to the disciples, that they should come to pass for Pistis Sophia. And he sat on the MountThe time for the final deliverance of Sophia is completed. of Olives, narrating all these adventures in the midst of the disciples. And he continued again and said unto them: "And it came to pass again after this, while I was in the world of men and sat in the way, that is in this region which is the Mount of Olives, before my vesture was sent unto me, which I had deposited in the four-and-twentieth mystery from the interior, but the first from the exterior, which is the Great Uncontainable, in which I am enwrapped, and before I had gone to the Height to receive my second vesture,--while I sat with you in this region, which is the Mount of Olives, that the time was completed of which I had said to Pistis Sophia: 'Adamas and all his rulers will constrain thee.'

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 77

"It came to pass then, when that time came on,--and I was in the world of men, sitting with you in this region, which is the Mount of Olives,--that Adamas looked down out of the twelve aeons and looked down at the regions of the chaos and saw his demon power which is in the chaos, that no light at all was in it, because I had taken its light from it; and he saw it, that it was dark and could not go to his region, that is to the twelve moons. Thereon Adamas again remembered Pistis Sophia and became most exceedingly wroth against her, thinking that it was she who had imprisoned his power in the chaos, and thinking that it was she who had taken its light from it. And he was exceedingly embittered; he piled wrath on wrath and emanated out of himself a dark emanation and another, chaotic and evil, the violent [one], so as through them to harass Pistis Sophia. And he made a dark region in his region, so as to constrain Sophia therein. And he took many of his rulers; they pursued after Sophia, in order that the two dark emanations which Adamas had emanated, might lead her into the dark chaos which he had made, and constrain her in that region and harass her, until they should take her whole light from her, and Adamas should take the light from Pistis Sophia and give it to the two dark violent emanations, and they should carry it to the great chaos which is below and dark, and cast it into his dark power which is chaotic, if perchance it might be able to come to his region, because it had become exceedingly dark, for I had taken its light-power from it.

"It came to pass then, when they pursued after Pistis Sophia, that she cried out again and sang praises to the Light, since I had said unto her: 'If thou shalt be constrained and singest praises unto me, I will come quickly and help thee.' It came to pass then, when she was constrained,--and I sat with you in this region, that is on the Mount of Olives,--that she sang praises to the Light, saying:

1. O Light of lights, I have had faith in thee. Save me from all these rulers who pursue after me, and help me,

2. That in sooth they may never take from me my light, as the lion-faced power [did]. For thy light is not with me and thy light-stream to save me. Nay, Adamas is the more enraged against me, saying unto me: Thou hast imprisoned my power in the chaos.

3. Now, therefore, O Light of lights, if I have done this and have imprisoned it, if I have done any injustice at all to that power,

4. Or if I have constrained it, as it hath constrained me, then let all these rulers who pursue after me, take my light from me and leave me empty;

5. And let foe Adamas pursue after my power and seize upon it and take my light from me and cast it into his dark power which is in the chaos, and keep my power in the chaos.

6. Now, therefore, O Light, lay hold on me in thy wrath and lift up thy power above my foes who have lifted themselves up against me to the very end.

7. Quicken me quickly, as thou hast said unto me: I will help thee.'

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 78

It came to pass then, when the First Mystery had finished saying these words unto the disciples, that he said: "Who hath understood the words which I have spoken, let him come forward and set forth their solution."

James came forward and said: "My Lord, concerning this song which Pistis Sophia hath sung, thus thy light-power hath prophesied aforetime through David in the seventh Psalm:

1. O Lord, my God, in thee have I hoped. Free me from my pursuers and save me,

2. That in sooth he may never steal away my soul as a lion, without any one to deliver and save.

3. O Lord, my God, if I have done this, if injustice is on my hands,

4. If I have requited those who requite me with evil, then let me fall down empty through my foes.

5. And let the foe pursue after my soul and seize it, and trample my life to the ground and lay my honour in the dust. (Selah.)

6. Arise, O Lord, in thy wrath, raise thyself up for the end of my foes.

7. Arise according to the commandment which thou hast commanded.

It came to pass then, when the First Mystery had heard James speak these words, that he said: "Well said, James, beloved."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 79

And the First Mystery continued again and said unto the disciples: "It came to pass then, when Pistis Sophia had finished uttering the words of this song, that she turned herself back to see whether Adamas and his rulers had turned back to go to their aeon. And she saw them, how they pursued after her. Then she turned unto them and said unto them:

1. Why pursue ye after me and say: I should not have help, that it [the Light] should save me from you?

2. Now, therefore, my vindicator is the Light and a strong [one]; but it is long-suffering until the time of which it hath said unto me: I will come and help thee. And it will not bring its wrath upon you always. But this is the time of which he hath spoken unto me.

3. Now, therefore, if ye turn not back and cease not to pursue after me, then will the Light make ready its power, and it will make itself ready in all its powers.

4. And in its power hath it made itself ready, so that it may take your lights which are in you, and ye may become dark; and its power hath brought it to pass, so that it may take your power from you and ye go to ground.'

And when Pistis Sophia had said this, she looked at the region of Adamas and saw the dark and chaotic region which he had made, and saw also the two dark exceedingly violent emanations which Adamas had emanated, in order that they might seize Pistis Sophia and cast her down into the chaos which he had made, and constrain and harass her in that region, until they should take her light from her. It came to pass then, when Pistis Sophia had seen those two dark emanations and the dark region which Adamas had made, that she feared and cried unto the Light, saying:

1. O Light, lo! Adamas, the doer of violence, is wrathful; he hath made a dark emanation,

2. And he hath also emanated another chaos and hath made another dark and chaotic [one] and made it ready.

3. Now, therefore, O Light, the chaos which he hath made, in order to cast me down therein and take from me my light-power, take then from him his own.

4. And the plan which he hath devised, to take my light,--they are to take his own from him; and the injustice which he hath spoken, to take my lights from me,--take then all of his.'

"These are the words which Pistis Sophia hath uttered in her song. Now, therefore, who is sober in spirit, let him come forward and set forth the solution of the words which Pistis Sophia [hath uttered] in her song."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 80

Martha again came forward and said: "My Lord, I am sober in my spirit and understand the words which thou sayest. Now, therefore, give me commandment to set forth their solution in openness."

And the First Mystery answered and said unto Martha: "I give thee commandment, Martha, to set forth the solution of the words which Pistis Sophia hath uttered in her song."

And Martha answered and said: "My Lord, these are the words which thy light-power hath prophesied aforetime through David in the seventh Psalm, saying:

12. God is a righteous vindicator and strong and long-suffering, who bringeth not on his wrath every day.

13. If ye turn not, he will whet his sword; he hath bent his bow and made it ready.

14. And he hath made ready for him instruments of death; he hath made his arrows for those who will be burnt up.

15. Behold, injustice hath been in labour, hath conceived wrong and brought forth iniquity.

16. It hath digged a pit and hollowed it out. It will fall into the hole which it hath made.

17. Its wrong will return on its own head, and its injustice will come down on its pate.'"

When Martha had said this, the First Mystery which looketh without, said unto her: "Well said, finely, Martha, blessed [one]."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 81

It came to pass then, when Jesus had finished telling his disciples all the adventures which had befallen Pistis Sophia when she was in the chaos, and the way she had sung praises to the Light, that it should save her and lead her out of the chaos, and lead her into the twelve aeons, and also the way it had saved her out of all her afflictions with which the rulers of the chaos had constrained her, because she longed to go to the Light, that Jesus continued again in the discourse and said unto his disciples: "It came to pass then after all this, that I took Pistis Sophia and led her into the thirteenth aeon, shining most exceedingly, there being no measure for the light which was about me. I entered into the region of the four-and-twenty invisibles, shining most exceedingly. And they fell into great commotion; they looked and saw Sophia, who was with me. Her they knew, but me they knew not, who I was, but held me for some sort of emanation of the Light-land.

"It came to pass then, when Pistis Sophia saw her fellows, the invisibles, that she rejoiced in great joy and exulted exceedingly and desired to proclaim the wonders which I had wrought on her below in the earth of mankind, until I saved her. She came into the midst of the invisibles, and in their midst sang praises unto me, saying:

1. I will give thanks unto thee, O Light, for thou art a saviour; thou art a deliverer for all time.

2. I will utter this song to the Light, for it hath saved me and saved me out of the hand of the rulers, my foes.

3. And thou hast preserved me in all the regions, thou hast saved me out of the height and the depth of the chaos and out of the aeons of the rulers of the sphere.

4. And when I was come out of the Height, I wandered round in regions in which is no light, and I could not return to the thirteenth aeon, my dwelling-place.

5. For there was no light in me nor power. My power was utterly weakened (?).

6. And the Light saved me in all my afflictions. I sang praises unto the Light, and it hearkened unto me, when I was constrained.

7. It guided me in the creation of the aeons to lead me up into the thirteenth aeon, my dwelling-place.

8. I will give thanks unto thee, O Light, that thou hast saved me, and for thy wondrous works unto the race of men.

9. When I failed of my power, thou hast given me power; and when I failed of my light, thou didst fill me with purified light.

10. I was in the darkness and in the shadow of the chaos, bound with the mighty fetters of the chaos, and no light was in me.

11. For I have provoked the commandment of the Light and have transgressed, and I have made wroth the commandment of the Light, because I had gone out of my region.

12. And when I had gone down, I failed of my light and became without light, and no one had helped me.

13. And in my affliction I sang praises unto the Light, and it saved me out of my afflictions.

14. And it hath also broken asunder all my bonds and led me up out of the darkness and the affliction of the chaos.

15. I will give thanks unto thee, O Light, that thou hast saved me and that thy wondrous works have been wrought in the race of men.

16. And thou hast shattered the upper gates of the darkness and the mighty bolts of the chaos.

17. And thou didst let me depart out of the region in which I had transgressed, and my light was taken, because I have transgressed.

18. And I ceased from my mysteries and went down to the gates of the chaos.

19. And when I was constrained, I sang praises to the Light. It saved me out of all my afflictions.

20. Thou sentest thy stream; it gave me power and saved me out of all my afflictions.

21. I will give thanks unto thee, O Light, that thou hast saved me, and for thy wondrous works in the race of men.'

"This then is the song which Pistis Sophia hath uttered in the midst of the four-and-twenty invisibles, desiring that they should know all the wondrous works which I had done for her, and desiring that they should know that I have gone to the

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world of men and have given them the mysteries of the Height. Now, therefore, who is exalted in his thought, let him come forward and say the solution of the song which Pistis Sophia hath uttered."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 82

It came to pass then, when Jesus had finished saying these words, that Philip came forward and said: "Jesus, my Lord, my thought is exalted, and I have understood the solution of the song which Pistis Sophia hath uttered. The prophet David hath prophesied concerning it aforetime in the one-hundred-and-sixth Psalm, saying:

1. Give ye thanks unto the Lord, for he is good, for his grace is eternal.

2. Let the delivered of the Lord say this, for it is he who hath delivered them out of the hand of their foes.

3. He hath gathered them together out of their lands, from the east and from the west and from the north and from the sea.

4. They wandered round in the desert, in a waterless country; they found not the way to the city of their dwelling-place.

5. Hungry and thirsty, their soul fainted in them.

6. He saved them out of their necessities. They cried unto the Lord and he hearkened unto them in their affliction.

7. He led them on a straight way, that they might go to the region of their dwelling-place.

8. Let them give thanks unto the Lord for his graciousness and his wondrous works unto the children of men.

9. For he hath satisfied a hungering soul; he hath filled a hungering soul with good things,

10. Them who sat in darkness and the shadow of death, who were fettered in misery and iron.

11. For they had provoked the word of God and made wroth the determination of the Most High.

12. Their heart was humbled in their miseries; they become weak and no one helped them.

13. They cried unto the Lord in their affliction; he saved them out of their necessities.

14. And he led them out of the darkness and the shadow of death and brake their bonds asunder.

15. Let them give thanks unto the Lord for his graciousness and his wondrous works unto the children of men.

16. For he hath shattered the gates of brass and burst the bolts of iron asunder.

17. He hath taken them unto himself out of the way of their iniquity. For they were brought low because of their iniquities.

18. Their heart abhorred all manner of meat and they were near unto the gates of death.

19. They cried unto the Lord in their affliction and he saved them out of their necessities.

20. He sent his word and healed them and freed them from their miseries.

21. Let them give thanks unto the Lord for his graciousness and his wondrous works unto the children of men.'

This then, my Lord, is the solution of the song which Pistis Sophia hath uttered. Hearken, therefore, my Lord, that I may say it clearly. The word in Booth which David hath spoken: 'Give ye thanks unto the Lord, for he is good, for his grace is eternal,'--it is the word which Pistis Sophia hath spoken: 'I will give thanks unto thee, O Light, for thou art a saviour and thou art a deliverer for all time.'

And the word which hath David spoken: 'Let the delivered of the Lord say this, for he hath delivered them out of the hand of their foes,'--it is the word which Pistis Sophia hath spoken: 'I will utter this song to the Light, for it hath saved me and saved me out of the hand of the rulers, my foes.' And the rest of the Psalm.

This then, my Lord, is the solution of the song which Pistis Sophia hath uttered in the midst of the four-and-twenty invisibles, desiring that they should know all the wondrous works which thou hast done for her, and desiring that they should know that thou hast given thy mysteries to the race of men."

It came to pass then, when Jesus had heard Philip say these words, that he said: "Well said, blessed Philip. This is the solution of the song which Pistis Sophia hath uttered."

[END OF THE STORY OF PISTIS SOPHIA]

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 83

It came to pass then again, after all this, that Mary came forward, adored the feet of Jesus and said: "My Lord, be not wroth with me, if I question thee, because we question concerning everything with precision and certainty. For thou hast said unto us aforetime: 'Seek that ye may find, and knock that it may be opened unto you. For every one who seeketh shall find, and to every one who knocketh it shall be opened.' Now, therefore, my Lord, who is it whom I shall seek, or who is it at whom we shall knock? Or who rather is able to give us the decision upon the words concerning which we shall question thee? Or who rather knoweth the power of the words concerning which we shall question? Because thou in the mind hast given us mind of the Light and hast given us sense and an exceedingly exalted thought; for which cause, therefore, no one existeth in the world of men nor any one in the height of the aeons, who can give the decision on the words concerning which we question, save thee alone, who knoweth [sic] the universe, who is perfected in the universe; because we do not question in the manner in which the men of the world question, but because we question in the gnosis of the Height which thou hast given unto us, and we question moreover in the type of the excellent questioning which thou hast taught us, that we may question therein. Now, therefore, my Lord, be not wroth with me, but reveal unto me the matter concerning which I shall question thee."

It came to pass, when Jesus had heard Mary Magdalene say these words, that he answered and said unto her: "Question concerning what thou desirest to question, and I will reveal it unto thee with precision and certainty. Amen, amen, I say unto you: Rejoice in great joy and exult most exceedingly. If ye question concerning all with precision, then shall I exult most exceedingly, because ye question concerning all with precision and question in the manner in which it beseemeth to question. Now, therefore, question concerning what thou wouldst question, and I will reveal it unto thee with joy."

It came to pass then, when Mary had heard the Saviour say these words, that she rejoiced in great joy and exulted most exceedingly and said unto Jesus: "My Lord and Saviour, of what manner then are the four-and-twenty invisibles and of what type, or rather of what quality are they, or of what quality is then their light?"

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 84

And Jesus answered and said unto Mary: "What is there in this world which is like unto them, or rather what region is there in this world which is comparable to them? Now, therefore, to what am I to liken them, or rather what am I to say concerning them? For nothing existeth in this world to which I shall be able to liken them, and no form existeth in it which is able to be like them. Now, therefore, nothing existeth in this world which is of the quality of the heaven. [But] amen, I say unto you: Every one of the invisibles is nine times greater than the heaven and the sphere above it and the twelve aeons all together, as I have already said unto you at another time. And no light existeth in this world which is more excellent than the light of the sun. Amen, amen, I say unto you: The four-and-twenty invisibles shine ten-thousand times more than the light of the sun which is in this world, as I have already said unto you at another time. For the light of the sun in its shape in truth is not in this world, for its light pierceth through many veils and regions. But the light of the sun in its shape in truth, which is in the region of the Virgin of Light, shineth ten-thousand times more than the four-and-twenty invisibles and the great invisible forefather and also the great triple-powered god, as I have already said unto you at another time.

Now, therefore, Mary, there is no form in this world, nor any light, nor any shape, which is comparable to the four-and-twenty invisibles, so that I may liken it to them. But yet a little while and I will lead thee and thy brethren and fellow-disciples into all the regions of the Height and will lead you into the three spaces of the First Mystery, save only the regions of the space of the Ineffable, and ye shall see all their shapes in truth without similitude.

And if I lead you into the height and ye shall see the glory of them of the height, then will ye be in very great amazement.

And if I lead you into the region of the rulers of the Fate, then will ye see the glory in which they are, and because of their overtowering great glory ye will deem this world before you as darkness of darknesses, and ye will look at the whole world of men, how it will have the condition of a speck of dust for you because of the great distance it is far distant from it, and because of the great condition it is considerably greater than it.

And if I lead you into the twelve aeons, then will ye see the glory in which they are; and because of the great glory the region of the rulers of the Fate will count for you as the darkness of darknesses, and it will have for you the condition of a speck of dust because of the great distance it is far distant from it and because of the great condition it is considerably greater than them, as I have already said unto you at another time.

And if I lead you moreover into the thirteenth aeon, then will ye see the glory in which they are; the twelve aeons will count for you as the darkness of darknesses, and ye shall look at the twelve aeons, how it [their region] will have for you the likeness of a speck of dust because of the great distance it is far distant from it, and because of the great condition it is considerably greater than the former.

And if I lead you into the region of those of the Midst, then will ye see the glory in which they are; the thirteen aeons will count for you as the darkness of darknesses. And again ye will look at the twelve aeons and upon the whole Fate and the whole ordering and all the spheres and all the others in which they are; they will have for you the condition of a speck of dust because of the great distance it [their region] is distant from it and because of the great condition it is considerably greater than the former.

And if I lead you into the region of those of the Right, then will ye see the glory in which they are; the region of those of the Midst will count for you as the night which is in the world of men. And if ye look at the Midst, it will have for you the condition of a speck of dust because of the great distance the region of those of the Right is considerably distant from it.

And if I lead you into the Light-land, that is into the Treasury of the Light, and ye see the glory in which they are, then will the region of those of the Right count for you as the light at mid-day in the world of men, when the sun is not out; and if ye look at the region of those of the Right, it will have for you the condition of a speck of dust because of the great distance the Treasury of the Light is distant from it.

And if I lead you into the region of those who have received the inheritances and have received the mysteries of the Light, and ye see the glory of the Light in which they are, then the Light-land will count for you as the light of the sun which is in the world of men. And if ye look upon the Light-land, then will it count for you as a speck of dust because of the great distance the Light-land is distant from it, and because of the greatness [by which] it is considerably greater than the former."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 85

It came to pass then, when Jesus had finished speaking these words unto his disciples, that Mary Magdalene started forward and said: "My Lord, be not wroth with me if I question thee, because we question thee concerning all with precision."

And Jesus answered and said unto Mary: "Question concerning what thou desirest to question, and I will reveal it unto thee in openness without similitude, and all concerning which thou questionest, I will say unto thee with precision and certainty. I will perfect you in all power and all fulnesses, from the interior of the interiors to the exterior of the exteriors, from that Ineffable to the darkness of darknesses, so that ye shall be called 'the fulnesses perfected in all gnoses.' Now, therefore, Mary, question concerning what thou mayest question, and I will reveal it to thee with great joy and great exultation."

It came to pass then, when Mary had heard the Saviour say these words, that she rejoiced in exceedingly great joy and exulted, and said: "My Lord, will then the men of the world who have received the mysteries of the Light, be superior to the emanations of the Treasury in thy kingdom? For I have heard thee say: If I lead you into the region of those who have received the mysteries of the Light, then will the region of the [emanations of the] Light-land count for you as a speck of dust because of the great distance in which it is distant from it, and because of the great light in which it is,'--that is the Light-land is the Treasury, the region of the emanations,--will therefore then, my Lord, the men who have received the mysteries, be superior to the Light-land and superior to those [emanations] in the kingdom of the Light?"

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 86

And Jesus answered and said unto Mary: "Finely indeed dost thou question concerning all with precision and certainty. But hearken, Mary, that I may speak with thee about the consummation of the aeon and the ascension of the universe. It will not yet take place; but I have said unto you: 'If I lead you into the region of the inheritances of those who shall receive the mystery of the Light, then will the Treasury of the Light, the region of the emanations, count for you as a speck of dust only and as the light of the sun by day.'

I have therefore said: 'This will take place at the time of the consummation [and] of the ascension of the universe.' The twelve saviours of the Treasury and the twelve orders of every one of them, which are the emanations of the seven Voices and of the five Trees, they will be with me in the region of the inheritances of the Light; being kings with me in my kingdom, and every one of them being king over his emanations, and moreover every one of them being king according to his glory, the great according to his greatness and the little according to his littleness.

And the saviour of the emanations of the first Voice will be in the region of the souls of those who have received the first mystery of the First Mystery in my kingdom.

And the saviour of the emanations of the second Voice will be in the region of the souls of those who have received the second mystery of the First Mystery.

In like manner also will the saviour of the emanations of the third Voice be in the region of the souls of those who have received the third mystery of the First Mystery in the E inheritances of the Light.

And the saviour of the emanations of the fourth Voice of the Treasury of the Light will be in the region of the souls of those who have received the fourth mystery of the First Mystery in the inheritances of the Light.

And the fifth saviour of the fifth Voice of the Treasury of the Light will be in the region of the souls of those who have

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received the fifth mystery of the First Mystery in the inheritances of the Light.

And the sixth saviour of the emanations of the sixth Voice of the Treasury of the Light will be in the region of the souls of those who have received the sixth mystery of the First Mystery.

And the seventh saviour of the emanations of the seventh Voice of the Treasury of the Light will be in the region of the souls of those who have received the seventh mystery of the First Mystery in the Treasury [sic] of the Light.

And the eighth saviour, that is the saviour of the emanations of the first Tree of the Treasury of the Light, will be in the region of the souls of those who have received the I eighth mystery of the First Mystery in the inheritances of the Light.

And the ninth saviour, that is the saviour of the emanations of the second Tree of the Treasury of the Light, will be in the region of the souls of those who have received the ninth mystery of the First Mystery in the inheritances of the Light.

And the tenth saviour, that is the saviour of the emanations of the third Tree of the Treasury of the Light, will be in the region of the souls of those who have received the tenth mystery of the First Mystery in the inheritances of the Light.

In like manner also the eleventh saviour, that is the saviour of the fourth Tree of the Treasury of the Light, will be in the region of the souls of those who have received the eleventh mystery of the First Mystery in the inheritances of the Light.

And the twelfth saviour, that is the saviour of the emanations of the fifth Tree of the Treasury of the Light, will be in the region of the souls of those who have received the twelfth mystery of the First Mystery in the inheritances of the Light.

Of the ascension of those of the Treasury into the Inheritance."And the seven Amens and the five Trees and the three Amens will be on my right, being kings in the inheritances of the Light. And the Twin-saviours, that is the Child of the Child, and the nine guards will bide also at my left, being kings in the inheritances of the Light.

Of their respective ranks in the kingdom."And every one of the saviours will rule over the orders of his emanations in the inheritances of the Light as they did also in the Treasury of the Light.

And the nine guards of the Treasury of the Light will be superior to the saviours in the inheritances of the Light. And the Twin-saviours will be superior to the nine guards in the kingdom. And the three Amens will be superior to the Twin-saviours in the kingdom. And the five Trees will be superior to the three Amens in the inheritances of the Light.

And Yew and the guard of the veil of the Great Light, and the receiver of Light and the two great guides and the great Sabaoth, the Good, will be kings in the first saviour of the first Voice of the Treasury of the Light, [the saviour] who will be in the region of those who have received the first mystery of the First Mystery. For in sooth Yew and the guard of the region of those of the Right and Melchisedec, the great receiver of the Light, and the two great guides have come forth out of the purified and utterly pure light of the first Tree up to the fifth.

Yew in sooth is the overseer of the Light, who hath come forth first out of the pure light of the first Tree; on the other hand the guard of the veil of those of the Right hath come forth out of the second Tree; and the two guides again have come forth out of the pure and utterly purified light of the third and fourth Trees of the Treasury of the Light; Melchisedec again hath come forth out of the fifth Tree; on the other hand Sabaoth, the Good, whom I have called my father, hath come forth out of Yew, the overseer of the Light.

These six then by command of the First Mystery the last Helper hath caused to be in the region of those of the Right, for the economy of the ingathering of the upper light out of the aeons of the rulers and out of the worlds and all races in them,--of every one of whom I will tell you the employment over which he hath been set in the expansion of the universe. Because, therefore, of the importance of the employment over which they have been set, they will be fellow-kings in the first [saviour] of the first Voice of the Treasury of the Light, who will be in the region of the souls of those who have received the first mystery of the First Mystery.

And the Virgin of Light and the great guide of the Midst, whom the rulers of the aeons are wont to call the Great Yew after the name of a great ruler who is in their region,--he and the Virgin of Light and his twelve ministers, from whom ye have received your shape and from whom ye have received the power, they all will be kings with the first saviour of the first Voice in the region of the souls of those who will receive the first mystery of the First Mystery in the inheritances of the Light.

And the fifteen helpers of the seven virgins of the Light who are in the Midst, they will expand themselves in the regions of the twelve saviours, and the rest of the angels of the Midst, every one of them according to his glory, will rule with me in the inheritances of the Light. And I shall rule over them all in the inheritances of the Light.

But this shall not take place till the consummation of the aeon."All this then which I have said unto you, will not take place at this time, but it will take place at the consummation of the aeon, that is at the ascension of the universe; that is at the dissolution of the universe and at the total ascension of the numbering of the perfect souls of the inheritances of the Light.

Before the consummation, therefore, this which I have said unto you, will not take place, but every one will be in his own region, into which he hath been set from the beginning, until the numbering of the ingathering of the perfect souls is completed.

The seven Voices and the five Trees and the three Amens and the Twin-saviours and the nine guards and the twelve saviours and those of the region of the Right and those of the region of the Midst, every one will abide in the region in which they have been set, until the numbering of the perfect souls of the inheritances of the Light shall be raised up all together.

And also all the rulers who have repented, they also will abide in the region into which they have been set, until the numbering of the souls of the Light shall be raised up all together.

[The souls] will all come, every one at the time when he will receive the mysteries; and all the rulers who have repented, will pass through and come into the region of the Midst. And those of the Midst will baptise them and give unto them the spiritual unction and seal them with the seals of their mysteries. And they will pass through those of all the regions of the Midst, and they will pass through the region of the Right and the interior of the region of the nine guards and the interior of the region of the Twin-saviours and the interior of the region of the three Amens and of the twelve saviours and the interior of the five Trees and of the seven Voices. Every one giveth unto them his seal of his mystery, and they pass into the interior of them all and go to the region of the inheritances of the Light; and every one bideth in the region up to which he hath received mysteries in the inheritances of the Light.

In a word, all the souls of men who shall receive the mysteries of the Light, will precede all the rulers who have repented, and they will precede all those of the region of the Midst and those of the whole region of the Right, and they will precede those of the whole region of the Treasury of the Light. In a word, they will precede all those of the region [of the Treasury], and they will precede all those of the regions of the first Commandment, and they will pass into the interior of them all and go into the Inheritance of the Light up to the region of their mystery; and every one abideth in the region up to which he hath received mysteries. And those of the region of the Midst and of the Right and those of the whole region of the Treasury, every one abideth in the region of the order into which he hath been set from the beginning on, until the universe shall be raised up. And every one of them accomplisheth his economy to which he hath been set, in respect of the ingathering of the souls who have received the mysteries, in respect of this economy, so that they may seal all the souls who will receive the mysteries and who will pass through their interior towards the Inheritance of the Light.

"Now, therefore, Mary, this is the word concerning which thou dost question me with precision and certainty. For the rest now then, who hath ears to hear, let him hear."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 87

It came to pass then, when Jesus had finished speaking these words, that Mary Magdalene started forward and said:

My Lord, my indweller of light hath ears and I comprehend every word which thou sayest. Now, therefore, my Lord, on account of the word which thou hast spoken: 'All the souls of the race of men who shall receive the mysteries of the Light, will go into the Inheritance of the Light before all the rulers who will repent, and before those of the whole region of the Right and before the whole region of the Treasury of the Light,'--on account of this word, my Lord, thou hast said unto us aforetime: 'The first will be last and the last will be first,'--that is, the 'last' are the whole race of men which will enter into the Light-kingdom sooner than all those of the region of the Height, who are the first.' On this account, therefore, my Lord, hast thou said unto us: 'Who hath ears to hear, let him hear,'--that is thou desirest to know whether we comprehend every word which thou speakest. This, therefore, is the word, my Lord."

It came to pass then, when Mary had finished saying these words, that the Saviour was greatly astonished at the definitions of the words which she spake, for she had become pure spirit utterly. Jesus answered again and said unto her: "Well said, spiritual and pure Mary. This is the solution of the word."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 88

It came to pass then again after all these words, that Jesus continued in the discourse and said unto his disciples: "Hearken, that I may discourse with you concerning the glory of those of the Height, how they are, according to the manner in which I discoursed with you unto this day.

"Now, therefore, if I lead you into the region of the last Helper, who surroundeth the Treasury of the Light, and if I lead you into the region of that last Helper and ye see the glory in which he is, then will the region of the Inheritance of the Light count for you only for the size of a city of the world, because of the greatness in which the last Helper is, and because of the great light in which he is.

"And thereafter I will discourse with you also concerning the glory of the Helper who is above the little Helper. But I shall not be able to discourse with you concerning the regions of those who are above all Helpers; for there existeth no type in this world, to describe them, for there existeth in this world no likeness which is like unto them, that I may compare them therewith, nor greatness nor light which is like unto them, not only in this world, but they also have no likeness with those of the Height of Righteousness from their region upwards. On this account, therefore, there existeth in fact no manner of describing them in this world because of the great glory of those of the Height and because of the great immeasurable greatness. On this account, therefore, there existeth no manner to describe it in this world."

It came to pass then, when Jesus had finished speaking these words unto his disciples, that Mary Magdalene came forward and said unto Jesus: "My Lord, be not wroth with me if I question thee, because I trouble repeatedly. Now, therefore, my Lord, be not wroth with me if I question thee concerning all with precision and certainty. For my brethren will herald it among the race of men, so that they may hear and repent and be saved from the violent judgements of the evil rulers and go to the Height and inherit the Light-kingdom; because, my Lord, we are compassionate not only towards ourselves, but compassionate towards the whole race of men, so that they may be saved from all the violent judgements. Now, therefore, my Lord, on this account we question concerning all with certainty; for my brethren herald it to the whole race of men, in order that they may escape the violent rulers of the darkness and be saved out of the hands of the violent receivers of the outer-most darkness."

It came to pass, when Jesus had heard Mary say these words, that the Saviour answered in great compassion towards her and said unto her: "Question concerning what thou desirest to question, and I will reveal it unto thee with precision and certainty and without similitude."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 89

It came to pass then, when Mary had heard the Saviour say these words, that she rejoiced with great joy and exulted exceedingly and said unto Jesus: "My Lord, by how much greatness then is the second Helper greater than the first Helper? By how much distance is he distant from him, or rather how many times more does he shine than the latter?"

Jesus answered and said unto Mary in the midst of the disciples: "Amen, amen, I say unto you: The second Helper is distant from the first Helper in great immeasurable distance in regard to the height above and the depth below and the length and the breadth. For he is exceedingly distant from him in great immeasurable distance through the angels and all the archangels and through the gods and all the invisibles. And he is very considerably greater than the latter in an incalculable measure through the angels and archangels and through the gods and all the invisibles. And he shineth more than the latter in an utterly immeasurable measure, there being no measure for the light in which he is, and no measure for him through angels and archangels and through the gods and all the invisibles, as I have already said unto you at another time.

"In like manner also the third Helper and fourth and fifth Helper,--one is greater than the other . . . and shineth more than the latter and is distant from him in a great immeasurable distance through the angels and archangels and the gods and all the invisibles, as I have already said unto you at another time. And I will tell unto you also the type of every one [of them] at their expansion."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 90

It came to pass then, when Jesus had finished saying these words unto his disciples, that Mary Magdalene came forward again, continued and said unto Jesus: "My Lord, in what type will be those who have received the mystery of the Light, in the midst of the last Helper?"

And Jesus answered and said unto Mary in the midst of the disciples: "They who have received the mystery of the Light, if they come out of the body of the matter of the rulers, then will every one be in his order according to the mystery which he hath received. Those who have received the higher mysteries, will abide in the higher order; those who have received the lower mysteries will be in the lower orders. In a word, up to what region every one hath received mysteries, there will he abide in his order in the Inheritance of the Light. For which cause I have said unto you aforetime: 'Where your heart is, there will your treasure be,'--that is up to what region every one hath received mysteries, there shall he be."

It came to pass, when Jesus had finished saying these words unto his disciples, that John came forward and said unto Jesus:

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"My Lord and my Saviour, give me also commandment that I discourse before thee, and be not wroth with me if I question concerning all with precision and certainty; for thou, my Lord, hast promised me in a promise to make revelation unto us of all concerning which I shall question thee. Now, therefore, my Lord, hide nothing from us at all in the matter on which we shall question thee."

And Jesus answered in great compassion and said unto John: "To thee also, blessed John, and beloved, I give commandment to speak the word which pleaseth thee, and I will reveal it unto thee face to face without similitude, and I will say unto thee all on which thou wilt question me with precision and certainty."

And John answered and said unto Jesus: "My Lord, will then every one abide in the region up to which he hath received the mysteries, and hath he no power to go. into other orders which are above him; and hath he no power to go into the orders which are below him?"

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 91

And Jesus answered and said unto John: "Finely indeed do ye question on all with precision and certainty. But now, therefore, John, hearken that I may discourse with thee. Every one who hath received mysteries of the Light, will abide in the region up to which every one hath received mysteries, and he hath not the power to go into the height into the orders which are above him.

"So that he who hath received mysteries in the first Commandment, hath the power to go into the orders which are below him, that is into all the orders of the third [?] space; but he hath not the power to go into the height to the orders which are above him.

"And he who shall receive the mysteries of the First Mystery, which is the four-and-twentieth mystery from without and the head of the first space which is without,--he hath the power to go into all the orders which are without him; but he hath not the power to go into the regions which are above him or to pass through them.

"And of those who have received the mysteries in the orders of the four-and-twenty mysteries, every one will go into the region in which he hath received mysteries, and he will have the power to pass through all the orders and spaces which are without him; but he hath not the power to go into the higher orders which are above him or to pass through them.

"And he who hath received mysteries in the orders of the First Mystery which is in the third space, hath the power to go into all the lower orders which are below him and to pass through all; but on the other hand he hath not the power to go into the regions which are above him or to pass through them.

"And he who hath received mysteries of the first Thrice-spiritual, which ruleth over the four-and-twenty mysteries all together which rule over the space of the First Mystery, of whose region at the expansion of the universe I will tell you--he, therefore, who shall receive the mystery of that Thrice-spiritual, hath the power to go down into all orders which are below him; but he hath not the power to go into the height into the orders which are above him, that is into all the orders of the space of the Ineffable.

And he who hath received the mystery of the second Thrice-spiritual, hath the power to go into all the orders of the first Thrice-spiritual and to pass through them all and all their orders which are in them; but he hath not the power to go into the higher orders of the third Thrice-spiritual.

And he who hath received the mystery of the third Thrice-spiritual, which ruleth over the three Thrice-spirituals and the three spaces of the First Mystery all together, [hath the power to go into all the orders which are below him]; but he hath not the power to go into the height into the orders which are above. him, that is into the orders of the space of the Ineffable.

Of the master-mystery."And he who hath received the master-mystery of the First Mystery of the Ineffable, that is the twelve mysteries of the First Mystery all together, which rule over all the spaces of the First Mystery, he, therefore, who shall receive that mystery, hath the power to pass through all the orders of the spaces of the three Thrice-spirituals and the three spaces of the First Mystery and all their orders, and hath the power to pass through all the orders of the inheritances of the Light, to pass through them from without within and from within without and from above below and from below above and from the height to the depth and from the depth to the height and from the length to the breadth and from the breadth to the length; in a word, he hath the power to pass through all the regions of the inheritances of the Light, and he hath the power to bide in the region where he pleaseth, in the Inheritance of the Light-kingdom.

"And amen, I say unto you: That man will at the dissolution of the world be king over all the orders of the Inheritance of the Light. And he who shall receive that mystery of the Ineffable which I am,

"That mystery knoweth why the darkness hath arisen and why the light hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the darkness of the darknesses hath arisen and why the light of the lights hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the chaos hath arisen and why the treasury of the light hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the judgements have arisen and why the light-land and the region of the inheritances of the light have arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the chastisements of the sinners have arisen and why the rest of the kingdom of the light hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the sinners have arisen and why the inheritances of the light have arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the impious have arisen and why the good have arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the chastisements and judgements have arisen and why all the emanations of the light have arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the sins have arisen and why the baptisms and the mysteries of the light have arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the fire of chastisement hath arisen and why the seals of the light, so that the fire should not harm them, have arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why wrath hath arisen and why peace hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why slander hath arisen and why songs of the light have arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the prayers of the light have arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why cursing hath arisen and why blessing hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why knavery hath arisen and why deceit hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the slaying hath arisen and why the quickening of the souls hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why adultery and fornication have arisen and why purity hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why intercourse hath arisen and why continence hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why insolence and boasting have arisen and why humbleness and meekness have arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why tears have arisen and why laughter hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why slander hath arisen and why good report hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why appreciation hath arisen and why disdain of men hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why murmuring hath arisen and why innocence and humbleness have arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why sin hath arisen and why purity hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why strength hath arisen and why weakness hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why motion of body hath arisen and why its utility hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why poverty hath arisen and why wealth hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the freedom [?] of the world hath arisen and why slavery hath arisen.

"And that mystery knoweth why death hath arisen and why life hath arisen."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 92

It came to pass then, when Jesus had finished saying these words unto his disciples, that they rejoiced in great joy and exulted when they heard Jesus say these words.

And Jesus continued again in the discourse and said unto them: "Hearken, therefore, now still further, O my disciples, so that I discourse with you concerning the whole gnosis of the mystery of the Ineffable.

"That mystery of the Ineffable knoweth why unmercifulness hath arisen and why mercifulness hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why ruin hath arisen and why everlasting eternity hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the reptiles have arisen and why they will be destroyed.

And that mystery knoweth why the wild beasts have arisen and why they will be destroyed.

And that mystery knoweth why the cattle have arisen and why the birds have arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the mountains have arisen and why the precious stones therein have arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the matter of gold hath arisen and why the matter of silver hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the matter of copper hath arisen and why the matter of iron and of stone hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the matter of lead hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the matter of glass hath arisen and why the matter of wax hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why herbs, that is the vegetables, have arisen and why all matters have arisen.

And the mystery knoweth why the waters of the earth and all things in them have arisen and why also the earth hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the seas and the waters have arisen and why the wild beasts in the seas have arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the matter of the world hath arisen and why it [the world] will be utterly destroyed."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 93

Jesus continued again and said unto his disciples: "Yet further, O my disciples and companions and brethren, let every one be sober in the spirit which is in him, let him understand and comprehend all the words which I shall say unto you; for from now on will I begin to discourse with you concerning all the gnoses of that Ineffable.

"That mystery knoweth why the west hath arisen and why the east hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the south hath arisen and why the north hath arisen.

Yet further, O my disciples, hearken and continue to be sober and hearken to the total gnosis of the mystery of the Ineffable.

That mystery knoweth why the demons have arisen and why mankind hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the heat hath arisen and why the pleasant air hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the stars have arisen and why the clouds have arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the earth became deep and why the water came thereon.

And that mystery knoweth why the earth became dry and why the water came thereon.

And that mystery knoweth why famine hath arisen and why superfluity hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the hoar-frost hath arisen and why the healthful dew hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the dust hath arisen and why the delightsome freshness hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the hail hath arisen and why the pleasant snow hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the west wind hath arisen and why the east wind hath arisen.

("And that mystery knoweth why the fire of the height hath arisen and why the waters have arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the east wind hath arisen. [? miscopied.])

And that mystery knoweth why the south wind hath arisen and why the north wind hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the stars of the heaven and the disks of the light-givers have arisen and why the firmament with all its veils hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the rulers of the spheres have arisen and why the sphere with all its regions hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the rulers of the aeons have arisen and why the aeons with their veils have arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the tyrant rulers of the aeons have arisen and why the rulers who have repented have arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the servitors have arisen and why the decans have arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the angels have arisen and why the archangels have arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the lords have arisen and why the gods have arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the jealousy in the height hath arisen and why concord hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why hate hath arisen and why love hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why discord hath arisen and why concord hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why avarice hath arisen and why renunciation of all hath arisen and love of possessions hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why love of the belly hath arisen and why satiety hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the paired have arisen and why the unpaired have arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why impiety hath arisen and why fear of God hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the light-givers have arisen and why the sparks have arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the thrice-powerful have arisen and why the invisibles have arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the fore-fathers have arisen and why the purities have arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the great self-willed hath arisen and why his faithful have arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the great triple-powerful hath arisen and why the great invisible forefather hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the thirteenth aeon hath arisen and why the region of those of the Midst hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why receivers of the Midst have arisen and why the virgins of the light have arisen.

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And that mystery knoweth why the ministers of the Midst have arisen and why the angels of the Midst have arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the light-land hath arisen and why the great receiver of the light hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the guards of the region of the Right have arisen and why the leaders of them have arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the gate of life hath arisen and why Sabaoth, the Good, hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the region of the Right hath arisen and why the light-land, which is the treasury of the light, hath arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the emanations of the light have arisen and why the twelve saviours have arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the three gates of the treasury of the light have arisen and why the nine guards have arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the twin-saviours have arisen and why the three Amens have arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the five Trees have arisen and why the seven Amens have arisen.

And that mystery knoweth why the Mixture which existeth not, hath arisen and why it is purified."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 94

And Jesus continued again and said unto his disciples: "Still further, O my disciples, be sober and let every one of you bring hither the power of sensing the Light before him, that ye may sense with sureness. For from now on I will discourse with you concerning the whole region in truth of the Ineffable and concerning the manner, how it is."

It came to pass then, when the disciples had heard Jesus utter these words, that they gave way and let go entirely.

Then Mary Magdalene came forward, threw herself at the feet of Jesus, kissed them and wept aloud and said: "Have mercy upon me, my Lord, for my brethren have heard and let go of the words which thou saidest unto them. Now, therefore, my Lord, concerning the gnosis of all the things which thou hast said, that they are in the mystery of the Ineffable; but I have heard thee say unto me: 'From now on I will begin to discourse with you concerning the total gnosis of the mystery of the Ineffable,'--this word, therefore, which thou saidest, thou hast not gone forward to complete the word. For this cause, therefore, my brethren have heard and have let go and ceased to sense in what manner thou discoursest with them. Concerning the word which thou saidest unto them, now, therefore, my Lord, if the gnosis of all this is in that mystery, where is the man who is in the world, who hath the ability to understand that mystery with all its gnoses and the type of all these words which thou hast spoken concerning it?"

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 95

It came to pass then, when Jesus had heard Mary say these words and knew that the disciples had heard and had begun to let go, that he encouraged them and said unto them: "Grieve no more, my disciples, concerning the mystery of, the Ineffable, thinking that ye will not understand it. Amen, I say unto you: That mystery is yours, and every one's who will give ear unto you, so that they renounce this whole world and the whole matter therein and renounce all the evil thoughts therein and renounce all the cares of this aeon.

"Now, therefore, I say unto you: For every one who will renounce the whole world and all therein and will submit himself to the godhead, that mystery is far easier than all the mysteries of the Light-kingdom and it is sooner to understand than them all and it is easier [?] than them all. He who reacheth unto the gnosis of that mystery, renounceth this whole world and all the cares therein.

For this cause have I said to you aforetime: 'All ye who are heavy under your burden, come hither unto me, and I will quicken you. For my burden is easy and my yoke is soft.' Now, therefore, he who will receive that mystery, renounceth the whole world and the cares of all the matter therein. For this cause, therefore, my disciples, grieve not, thinking that ye will not understand that mystery. Amen, I say unto you: That mystery is far sooner to understand than all mysteries. And amen, I say unto you: That mystery is yours and every one's who will renounce the whole world and the whole matter therein.

Now, therefore, hearken, my disciples and my companions and my brethren, that I may urge you on to the gnosis of the mystery of the Ineffable concerning which I discourse with you, because I have in Booth gotten as far as to tell you the whole gnosis at the expansion of the universe; for the expansion of the universe is its gnosis.

But now then hearken that I may discourse with you progressively concerning the gnosis of that mystery.

That mystery knoweth wherefor the five Helpers have rent themselves asunder and wherefor they have come forth from the Fatherless [pl.].

And that mystery knoweth wherefor the great Light of lights hath rent itself asunder and wherefor it hath come forth from the Fatherless.

And that mystery knoweth wherefor the first Commandment hath rent itself asunder and wherefor it hath divided itself into the seven mysteries and wherefor it is named the first Commandment and wherefor it hath come forth from the Fatherless.

And that mystery knoweth wherefor the Great Light of the Impressions of the Light hath rent itself asunder and wherefor it hath set itself up without emanations and wherefor it hath come forth from the Fatherless.

And that mystery knoweth wherefor the First Mystery, that is the four-and-twentieth mystery from without, hath rent itself asunder and wherefor it imitated in itself the twelve mysteries according to the number of the numbering of the Uncontainables and Boundless and wherefor it hath come forth from the Fatherless.

And that mystery knoweth wherefor the twelve Immoveables have rent themselves asunder and wherefor they have set themselves with all their orders and wherefor they have come forth from the Fatherless.

And that mystery knoweth wherefor the Unwaverables have rent themselves asunder and wherefor they have set themselves up, divided into twelve orders, and wherefor they have come forth from the Fatherless, which belong to the orders of the space of the Ineffable.

And that mystery knoweth wherefor the Incomprehensibles, which pertain to the second space of the Ineffable, have rent themselves asunder and wherefor they have come forth from the Fatherless.

And that mystery knoweth wherefor the twelve Undesignatables have rent themselves asunder and wherefor they have set themselves up after all the orders of the Unindicatables, themselves being uncontainable and boundless, and wherefor they have come forth from the Fatherless.

And that mystery knoweth wherefor these Unindicatables have rent themselves asunder,--[they] who have not indicated themselves nor brought themselves into publicity according to the economy of the One and Only, the Ineffable, and wherefor they have come forth from the Fatherless.

And that mystery knoweth wherefor the Super-deeps have rent themselves asunder and wherefor they have distributed themselves, being a single order, and wherefor they have come forth from the Fatherless.

And that mystery knoweth wherefor the twelve orders of the Unspeakables have rent themselves asunder and wherefor they have divided themselves, being three portions, and wherefor they have come forth from the Fatherless.

And that mystery knoweth wherefor all the Imperishables, being their twelve orders, have rent themselves asunder and wherefor they have settled themselves, being expanded in a single order, and wherefor they have divided themselves and formed different orders, being uncontainable and boundless, and wherefor they have come forth from the Fatherless.

And that mystery knoweth wherefor the Impassables have rent themselves asunder and wherefor they have set themselves up, being twelve boundless spaces, and have settled themselves, being three orders of spaces, according to the economy of the One and Only, the Ineffable, and wherefor they have come forth from the Fatherless.

And that mystery knoweth wherefor the twelve Uncontainables, which belong to the orders of the One and Only, the Ineffable, have rent themselves asunder and wherefor they have come forth from the Fatherless, until they were brought to the space of the First Mystery, which is the second space.

And that mystery knoweth wherefor the four-and-twenty myriads of Praise-singers have rent themselves asunder and wherefor they have extended themselves outside the veil of the First Mystery, which is the twin-mystery, that which looketh within and without, of the One and Only, the Ineffable, and wherefor they have come forth from the Fatherless.

And that mystery knoweth wherefor all the Uncontainables have rent themselves asunder--[those], which I have just named, which are in the regions of the second space of the Ineffable, which is the space of the First Mystery, and wherefor those Uncontainables and Boundless have come forth from the Fatherless.

And that mystery knoweth wherefor the four-and-twenty mysteries of the first Thrice-spiritual have rent themselves asunder and wherefor they are called the four-and-twenty spaces of the first Thrice-spiritual and wherefor they have come forth from the second Thrice-spiritual.

And that mystery knoweth wherefor the four-and-twenty mysteries of the second Thrice-spiritual have rent themselves asunder and wherefor they have come forth from the third Thrice-spiritual.

And that mystery knoweth why the four-and-twenty mysteries of the third Thrice-spiritual--that is the four-and-twenty spaces of the third Thrice-spiritual--have rent themselves asunder and wherefor they have come forth from the Fatherless.

And that mystery knoweth wherefor the five Trees of the first Thrice-spiritual have rent themselves asunder and wherefor they have extended themselves, standing one behind the other and moreover bound one to the other with all their orders, and wherefor they have come forth from the Fatherless.

And that mystery knoweth wherefor the five Trees of the second Thrice-spiritual have rent themselves asunder and wherefor they have come forth from the Fatherless.

And that mystery knoweth wherefor the five Trees of the third Thrice-spiritual have rent themselves asunder and wherefor they have come forth from the Fatherless.

And that mystery knoweth why the Fore-uncontainables of the first Thrice-spiritual have rent themselves asunder and wherefor they have come forth from the Fatherless.

And that mystery knoweth wherefor the Fore-uncontainables of the second Trispiritual have rent themselves asunder and wherefor they have come forth from the Fatherless.

And that mystery knoweth wherefor all the Fore-uncontainables of the third Thrice-spiritual have rent themselves asunder and wherefor they have come forth from the Fatherless.

And that mystery knoweth wherefor the first Thrice-spiritual from below--those who belong to the orders of the One and Only, the Ineffable hath rent itself asunder and wherefor it hath come forth from the second Thrice-spiritual.

And that mystery knoweth wherefor the third Thrice-spiritual--that is the first Thrice-spiritual from above--hath rent itself asunder and wherefor it hath come forth from the twelfth Pro-thrice-spiritual, which is in the last region of the Fatherless.

And that mystery knoweth wherefor all the regions which are in the space of the Ineffable, and all those in them, have expanded themselves, and wherefor they have come forth from the last Limb of the Ineffable.

And that mystery knoweth itself, wherefor it hath rent itself asunder to come forth from the Ineffable,--that is from That which ruleth them all and which expanded them all according to their orders.

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 96

"Of all these then will I speak unto you at the expansion of the universe--in a word, all those whom I have spoken of unto you: those who will arise and those who will come, those who emanate, and those who come forth, and those who are without over them, and those who are implanted in them, those who will contain the region of the First Mystery and those who are in the space of the Ineffable--of these will I speak unto you, because I will reveal them unto you, and I will speak of them unto you according to every region and according to every order, at the expansion of the universe. And I will reveal unto you all their mysteries which rule over them all, and their Pro-thrice-spirituals and their Super-thrice-spirituals which rule over their mysteries and their orders.

Now, therefore, the mystery of the Ineffable knoweth wherefor all these have arisen of whom I have spoken unto you in openness, and through which all these have arisen. It is the mystery which is in them all; and it is the out-going of them all, and it is the up-going of them all, and it is the setting-up of them all.

And the mystery of the Ineffable is the mystery which is in all these of whom I have spoken unto you, and of whom I will speak unto you at the expansion of the universe. And it is the mystery which is in them all, and it is the one only mystery of the Ineffable and the gnosis of all these of whom I have spoken unto you, and of whom I will speak unto you, and of whom I have not spoken. Of these will I speak unto you at the expansion of the universe and of their total gnosis one with another, wherefor they have arisen. It is the one and only word of the Ineffable.

And I will tell you the expansion of all mysteries and the types of every one of them and the manner of their completion in all their figures. And I will tell you the mystery of the One and Only, the Ineffable, and all its types, all its figures and its whole economy, wherefor it hath come forth from the last Limb of the Ineffable. For that mystery is the setting-up of them all.

Of the one and only word of the Ineffable."And that mystery of the Ineffable is moreover also a one and only word, which existeth in the speech of the Ineffable, and it is the economy of the solution of all the words which I have spoken unto you.

And he who will receive the one and only word of that mystery which I shall now say unto you, and all its types and all its figures, and the manner of accomplishing its mystery,--for ye are perfect and all-perfect and ye will accomplish the whole gnosis of that mystery with its whole economy, for unto you all mysteries are entrusted,--hearken, therefore, now, that I may tell you that mystery, which is [. . .?].

He then, who shall receive the one and only word of that mystery, which I have told you, if he cometh forth out of the body of the matters of the rulers, and if the retributive receivers come and free him from the body of matter of the rulers,--that is those [receivers] who free from the body all out-going souls,--when, therefore, the retributive receivers free the soul which hath received this one and only mystery of the Ineffable, which I have just told you, then will it straightway, if it be set free from the body of matter, become a

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great light-stream in the midst of those receivers, and the receivers will be exceedingly afraid of the light of that soul, and the receivers will be made powerless and fall down and desist altogether for fear of the great light which they have seen.

And the soul which receiveth the mystery of the Ineffable, will soar into the height, being a great light-stream, and the receivers will not be able to seize it and will not know how the way is fashioned upon which it will go. For it becometh a great light-stream and soareth into the height, and no power is able to hold it down at all, nor will they be able to come nigh it at all.

But it will pass through all the regions of the rulers and all the regions of the emanations of the Light, and it will not give answers in any region, nor giveth it any apologies, nor giveth it any tokens; neither will any power of the rulers nor any power of the emanations of the Light be able to come nigh that soul. But all the regions of the rulers and all the regions of the emanations of the Light,--every one singeth unto it praises in their regions, in fear of the light of the stream which envelopeth that soul, until it passeth through them all, and goeth to the region of the inheritance of the mystery which it hath received,--that is to the mystery of the One and Only, the Ineffable,--and until it becometh one with its Limbs. Amen, I say unto you: It will be in all the regions in the time a man shooteth an arrow.

Of the rank of such a soul."Now, therefore, amen, I say unto you: Every man who will receive that mystery of the Ineffable and accomplish it in all its types and all its figures,--he is a man in the world, but he towereth above all angels and will tower still more above them all.

He is a man in the world, but he towereth above all archangels and will tower still more above them all.

He is a man in the world, but he towereth above all tyrants and will raise himself above them all.

He is a man in the world, but he towereth above all lords and will raise himself above them all.

He is a man in the world, but he towereth above all gods and will raise himself above them all.

He is a man in the world, but he towereth above all light-givers and will raise himself above them all.

He is a man in the world, but he towereth above all pure [ones] and will raise himself above them all.

He is a man in the world, but he towereth above all triple-powers and will raise himself above them all.

He is a man in the world, but he towereth above all forefathers and will raise himself above them all.

He is a man in the world, but he towereth above all invisibles and will raise himself above them all.

He is a man in the world, but he towereth above the great invisible forefather and will raise himself above him.

He is a man in the world, but he towereth above all those of the Midst and will raise himself above them all.

He is a man in the world, but he towereth above the emanations of the Treasury of the Light and will raise himself above them all.

He is a man in the world, but he towereth above the Mixture and will raise himself entirely above it.

He is a man in the world, but he towereth above the whole region of the Treasury and will raise himself entirely above it.

He is a man in the world, but he will rule with me in my kingdom.

He is a man in the world, but he is king in the Light.

He is a man in the world, but he is not one of the world.

And amen, I say unto you: That man is I and I am that man.

"And at the dissolution of the world, that is when the universe will be raised up and when the numbering of the perfect souls will be raised up all together, and when I am king in the midst of the last Helper, being king over all the emanations of the Light and king over the seven Amens and the five Trees and the three Amens and the nine guards, and being king over the Child of the Child, that is the Twin-saviours, and being king over the twelve saviours and over the whole numbering of the perfect souls who shall receive the mysteries in the Light,--then will all men who shall receive the mysteries in the Ineffable, be fellow-kings with me and will sit on my right and on my left in my kingdom.

And amen, I say unto you: Those men are I, and I am they.

On this account have I said unto you aforetime: 'Ye will sit on your thrones on my right and on my left in my kingdom and will rule with me.'

On this account, therefore, I have not hesitated nor have I been ashamed to call you my brethren and my companions, because ye will be fellow-kings with me in my kingdom. This, therefore, I say unto you, knowing that I will give you the mystery of the Ineffable; that is: That mystery is I, and I am that mystery.

Now, therefore, not only will ye reign with me, but all men who shall receive the mystery of the Ineffable, will be fellow-kings with me in my kingdom. And I am they, and they are I. But my throne will tower over them. [And] because ye will suffer sorrows in the world beyond all men, until ye herald forth all the words which I shall speak unto you, your thrones shall be joined to mine in my kingdom.

On this account I have said unto you aforetime: 'Where I shall be, there will be also my twelve ministers.' But Mary Magdalene and John, the virgin, will tower over all my disciples and over all men who shall receive the mysteries in the Ineffable. And they will be on my right and on my left. And I am they, and they are I.

And they will be like unto you in all things save that your thrones will tower over theirs, and my throne will tower over yours.

And all men who will find the word of the Ineffable,--amen, I say unto you: The men who shall know that word, will know the gnosis of all these words which I have spoken unto you, both those of the depth and those of the height, those of the length and those of the breadth; in a word, they will know the gnosis of all these words which I have spoken unto you and which I have not yet spoken unto you, which I will speak unto you, region by region and order by order, at the expansion of the universe.

And amen, I say unto you: They will know in what manner the world is established, and they will know in what type all those of the height are established, and they will know out of what ground the universe hath arisen."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 97

When then the Saviour had said this, Mary Magdalene started forward and said: "My Lord, bear with me and be not wroth with me, if I question on all things with precision and certainty. Now, therefore, my Lord, is then another the word of the mystery of the Ineffable and another the word of the whole gnosis?"

The Saviour answered and said: "Yea, another is the mystery of the Ineffable and another the word of the whole gnosis."

And Mary answered again and said unto the Saviour: "My Lord, bear with me, if I question thee, and be not wroth with me. Now, therefore, my Lord, unless we live and know the gnosis of the whole word of the Ineffable, shall we not be able to inherit the Light-kingdom?"

And the Saviour answered and said unto Mary: "Surely; for every one who shall receive a mystery of the Light-kingdom, will go and inherit up to the region up to which he hath received mysteries. But he will not know the gnosis of the universe, wherefor all this hath arisen, unless he knoweth the one and only word of the Ineffable, which is the gnosis of the universe. And again in openness: I am the gnosis of the universe. And moreover it is impossible to know the one and only word of the gnosis, unless a man first receive the mystery of the Ineffable. But all the men who shall receive mysteries in the Light,--every one will go and inherit up to the region up to which he hath received mysteries.

On this account I have said unto you aforetime: 'He who hath faith in a prophet, will receive a prophet's reward, and he who hath faith in a righteous [man] will receive a righteous [man's] reward,'--that is: Every one will go to the region up to which he hath received mysteries. He who receiveth a lesser mystery, will inherit the lesser mystery, and he who receiveth a higher mystery, will inherit the higher regions. And every one will abide in his region in the light of my kingdom, and every one will have power over the orders which are below him, but he will not have the power to go to the orders which are above him; but he will abide in the region of the Inheritance of the Light of my kingdom, being in a great light immeasurable for the gods and all the invisibles, and he will be in great joy and great jubilation.

But now, therefore, hearken, that I may discourse with you concerning the grandeur of those who shall receive the mysteries of the First Mystery.

He, therefore, who shall receive the [first] mystery of that First Mystery, and it shall be at the time that he cometh out of the body of the matter of the rulers,--then the retributive receivers come and lead the soul of that man out of the body. And that soul will become a great light-stream in the hands of the retributive receivers; and those receivers will be afraid of the light of that soul. And that soul will go upwards and pass through all the regions of the rulers and all the regions of the emanations of the Light. And it will not give answers nor apologies nor tokens in any single region of the Light nor in any single region of the rulers; but it will pass through all the regions and cross over them all, so that it goeth and ruleth over all the regions of the first saviour.

In like manner also he who shall receive the second mystery of the First Mystery and the third and fourth, until he shall receive the twelfth mystery of the First Mystery, if it shall be at the time that he cometh out of the body of the matter of the rulers,--then the retributive receivers come and lead the soul of that man out of the body of matter. And those souls will become a great light-stream in the hands of the retributive receivers; and those receivers will be afraid of the light of those souls and will become powerless and fall on their faces. And those souls will straightway soar upwards and cross over all the regions of the rulers and all the regions of the emanations of the Light. They will not give answers nor apologies nor tokens in any single region; but they will pass through all the regions and will cross over them all and rule over all the regions of the twelve saviours, so that they who receive the second mystery of the First Mystery, will rule over all the regions of the second saviour in the inheritances of the Light.

In like manner also those who receive the third mystery of the First Mystery and the fourth and fifth and sixth up to the twelfth,--every one will rule over all the regions of the saviour up to whom he hath received the mystery.

And he who shall receive in sequence the twelfth mystery of the First Mystery, that is the master-mystery concerning which I discourse with you,--and he who, therefore, shall receive those twelve mysteries which belong to the First Mystery, if he goeth forth out of the world, will pass through all the regions of the rulers and all the regions of the Light, being a great light-stream, and he will moreover rule over all the regions of the twelve saviours; but they will not be able to be like unto those who receive the one and only mystery of the Ineffable. But he who shall receive those mysteries will abide in those orders, because they are exalted, and he will abide in the orders of the twelve saviours."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 98

It came to pass, when Jesus had finished speaking these words unto his disciples, that Mary Magdalene came forward, kissed the feet of Jesus and said unto him: "My Lord, bear with me and be not wroth with me, if I question thee; but have mercy upon us, my Lord, and reveal unto us all things on which we shall question thee. Now, therefore, my Lord, how doth the First Mystery possess twelve mysteries, [and] the Ineffable possess a one and only mystery?"

Jesus answered and said unto her: "Indeed it possesseth a one and only mystery, yet that mystery constituteth three mysteries, although it is the one and only mystery; but the type of every one of them is different. And moreover it constituteth five mysteries, although it is a one and only [one]; but the type of every one is different. So that these five mysteries are alike with one another in the mystery of the kingdom in the inheritances of the Light; but the type of each of them is different. And their kingdom is higher and more exalted than the whole kingdom of the twelve mysteries together of the First Mystery; but they are not alike in the kingdom [with the one and only mystery] of the First Mystery in the Light-kingdom.

In like manner also the three mysteries are not [?] alike in the Light-kingdom; but the type of every one of them is different. And they themselves also are not alike in the kingdom with the one and only mystery of the First Mystery in the Light-kingdom; and the type of every one of the three of them, and the type of the configuration of each of them, is different from one another.

The first [mystery of the First Mystery],--if thou accomplishest its mystery altogether and standest and accomplishest it finely in all its figures, then dost thou come straightway out of thy body, become a great light-stream and pass through all the regions of the rulers and all the regions of the Light, while all are in fear of that soul, until it cometh to the region of its kingdom.

The second mystery of the First Mystery, on the other hand,--if thou accomplishest it finely in all its figures,--the man, therefore, who shall accomplish its mystery, if he speaketh that mystery over the head of any man who goeth forth out of the body, and he speaketh it into his two ears, if indeed the man who goeth forth out of the body hath received mysteries for the second time and is sharing in the word of truth,--amen, I say unto you: That man, if he goeth forth out of the body of matter, then will his soul become a great light-stream and pass through all the regions, until it cometh to the kingdom of that mystery.

"But if that man hath received no mysteries and is not sharing in the words of truth,--if he who accomplisheth that mystery, speaketh that mystery over the head of a man who cometh forth out of the body and who hath received no mysteries of the Light, and shareth not in the words of truth,--amen, I say unto you: That man, if he cometh forth out of the body, will be judged in no region of the rulers, nor can he be chastized in any region at all, nor will the fire touch him, because of the great mystery of the Ineffable which is with him.

And they will hasten quickly and hand him over one to another in turn and lead him from region to region and from order to order, until they bring him before the Virgin of Light, while all the regions are in fear of the mystery and the sign of the kingdom of the Ineffable which is with him.

And if they bring him before the Virgin of Light, then the Virgin of Light will see the sign of the mystery of the kingdom of the Ineffable which is with him; the Virgin of Light marvelleth and proveth him, but suffereth them not to bring him to the Light, until he accomplisheth the total citizenship of the light of that mystery, that is the purities of the renunciation of the world and also of the total matter therein.

The Virgin of Light sealeth him with a higher seal, which is this [. . .?], and letteth him in that month in which he hath come out of the body of matter, light down into a body which will be righteous and find the godhead in truth and the higher

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mysteries, so that he may inherit them and inherit the Light eternal, which is the gift of the second mystery of the First Mystery of the Ineffable.

The third mystery of that Ineffable on the other hand,--the man indeed who shall accomplish that mystery, not only if he [himself] cometh forth out of the body, will he inherit the kingdom of the mystery, but if he complete that mystery and accomplish it with all its figures, that is if he go through with that mystery and accomplish it finely and pronounce the name of that mysteryOf its efficacy. over a man who cometh forth out of the body and hath known that mystery,--let the former have delayed or rather not have delayed,--one who is in the dire chastisements of the rulers and in their dire judgements and their manifold fires,--amen, I say unto you: The man who hath come forth out of the body,--if the name of this mystery is pronounced on his behalf, they will hasten quickly to bring him over and hand him over one to another, until they bring him before the Virgin of Light. And the Virgin of Light will seal him with a higher. seal, which is this [. . .?], and in that month will she let him light down into the righteous body which will find the godhead in truth and the higher mystery, so that he inherit the Light-kingdom. This, therefore, is the gift of the third mystery of the Ineffable.

Of the three and five mysteries."Now, therefore, every one who shall receive one of the five mysteries of the Ineffable,--if he cometh forth out of the body and inheriteth up to the region of that mystery, then is the kingdom of those five mysteries higher than the kingdom of the twelve mysteries of the First Mystery, and it is higher than all the mysteries which are below them. But those five mysteries of the Ineffable are alike with one another in their kingdom, yet are they not alike with the three mysteries of the Ineffable.

He on the other hand who receiveth of the three mysteries of the Ineffable, if he cometh forth out of the body, will inherit up to the kingdom of that mystery. And those three mysteries are alike with one another in the kingdom and they are higher and more exalted than the five mysteries of the Ineffable in the kingdom, but they are not alike with the one and only mystery of the Ineffable.

He on the other hand who receiveth the one and only mystery of the Ineffable, will inherit the region of the whole kingdom according to its whole glory, as I have already told you at another time. And every one who shall receive the mystery which is in the space of the universe of the Ineffable, and all the other mysteries which are united in the Limbs of the Ineffable, concerning which I have not yet spoken unto you, and concerning their expansion and the manner of their setting-up and the type of every one, how it is and wherefor it is named the Ineffable or wherefor it standeth expanded with all its Limbs and how many Limbs are in it and all its economies, of which I will not tell you now, but when I come to the expansion of the universe I will tell you all severally,--to wit, its expansions and its description, how it is, and the aggregation [?] of all its Limbs, which belong to the economy of the One and Only, the unapproachable God in truth,--up to what region, therefore, every one shall receive the mysteries in the space of the Ineffable, up to that region will he inherit up to which he hath received. And those of the whole region of the space of that Ineffable give no answers in that region, nor give they apologies, nor give they tokens, for they are without tokens and they have no receivers, but they pass through all the regions, until they come to the region of the kingdom of the mystery which they have received.

In like manner also those who shall receive mysteries in the second space, they have no answers nor apologies, for they are without tokens in that world, which is the space of the first mystery of the First Mystery.

And those of the third space, which is without, which is the third space from without [? within],--every region in that space hath its receivers and its explanations and its apologies and its tokens, which I will one day tell you when I come to speak of that mystery, that is when I shall have told you of the expansion of the universe.

"Albeit at the dissolution of the universe, that is when the number of the perfect souls is completed and the mystery [through] which the universe altogether hath risen, is completed, I will pass a thousand years according to the years of the Light, being king over all the emanations of the Light and over the whole number of the perfect souls who have received all mysteries."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 99

It came to pass, when Jesus had finished speaking these words unto his disciples, that Mary Magdalene came forward and said: "My Lord, how many years of the years of the world is a year of the Light?"

What is a year of the Light.Jesus answered and said unto Mary: "A day of the Light is a thousand years in the world, so that thirty-six-myriads of years and a half-myriad of years of the world are a single year of the Light.

"I shall, therefore, pass a thousand years of the Light being king in the midst of the last Helper, and being king over all the emanations of the Light and over the whole number of the perfect souls who have received the mysteries of the Light.

And ye, my disciples, and every one who shall receive the mystery of the Ineffable, will abide with me on my right and on my left, being kings with me in my kingdom.

And they who shall receive the three mysteries of that Ineffable, will be fellow-kings with you in the Light-kingdom; but they will not be alike with you and with those who receive the mystery of the Ineffable, but they will rather abide behind you, being kings.

And they who receive the five mysteries of the Ineffable, will also abide behind the three mysteries, being also kings.

And moreover they who receive the twelfth mystery of the First Mystery, will also again abide behind the five mysteries of the Ineffable, being also kings according to the order of every one of them.

And all who receive of the mysteries in all the regions of the space of the Ineffable, will also be kings and abide before those who receive the mystery of the First Mystery, expanded according to the glory of every one of them, so that those who receive the higher mysteries, will abide in the higher regions, and those who receive the lower mysteries, will abide in the lower regions, being kings in the light of my kingdom.

These alone are the allotment of the kingdom of the first space of the Ineffable.

They on the other hand who receive all the mysteries of the second space, that is of the space of the First Mystery, will again abide in the light of my kingdom, expanded according to the glory of every one of them, and every one of them being in the mystery up to which he hath received. And those who receive the higher mysteries, will also abide in the higher regions, and those who receive the lower mysteries, will abide in the lower regions in the light of my kingdom.

This is the allotment of the second king for those who receive the mystery of the second space of the First Mystery.

Of those of the third space, the first from without."Those on the other hand who receive the mysteries of the third space, that is of the first space from without, those again will abide behind the second king, expanded in the light of my kingdom, according to the glory of every one of them, every one abiding in the region up to which he hath received mysteries, so that those who receive the higher mysteries, will abide in the higher regions, and those who receive the lower mysteries, will abide in the lower regions.

These are the three allotments of the Light-kingdom.

The mysteries of these three allotments of the Light are exceedingly numerous. Ye shall find them in the two great Books of Yew. But I will give you and tell you the great mysteries of every allotment, those which are higher than every region, that is the heads according to every region and according to every order which will lead the whole race of men into the higher regions, according to the space of the Inheritance.

Of the rest of the lower mysteries, therefore, ye have no need; but ye will find them in the two Books of Yew, which Enoch hath written whilst I spake with him out of the tree of gnosis and out of the tree of life in the paradise of Adam.

Now, therefore, when I shall have explained unto you the whole expansion, I will give you and tell you the great mysteries of the three allotments of my kingdom, that is the heads of the mysteries which I will give you and tell you in all their figures and all their types and in their ciphers and the seals of the last space, that is the first space from without. And I will tell you the answers and the apologies and the tokens of that space.

The second space which is within, possesseth no answers nor apologies nor tokens nor ciphers nor seals; but it possesseth only types and figures."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 100

When the Saviour had finished saying all this unto his disciples, Andrew came forward and said: "My Lord, be not wroth with me, but have mercy upon me and reveal unto me the mystery of the word concerning which I shall question thee, for it hath been hard for me and I have not understood it."

The Saviour answered and said unto him: "Question concerning that on which thou desirest to question, and I will reveal it unto thee face to face without similitude."

Andrew questioneth Jesus.And Andrew answered and said: "My Lord, I am astonished and marvel exceedingly, how the men who are in the world and in the body of this matter, if they come forth out of this world, will pass through these firmaments and all these rulers and all lords and all gods and all these great invisibles and all those of the region of the Midst and those of the whole region of the Right and all the great [ones] of the emanations of the Light, and enter into them all and inherit the Light-kingdom. This matter, therefore, is hard for me."

That the disciples and the powers are all from the same Mixture.When then Andrew had said this, the spirit of the Saviour was roused in him; he cried out and said: "How long am I to endure you? How long am I to bear with you? Have ye then not even yet understood and are ye ignorant? Know ye then not and do ye not understand that ye and all angels and all archangels and the gods and the lords and all the rulers and all the great invisibles and all those of the Midst and those of the whole region of the Right and all the great [ones] of the emanations of the Light and their whole glory,--that ye all one with another are out of one and the same paste and the same matter and the same substance, and that ye all are out of the same Mixture.

And at the commandment of the First Mystery the Mixture was constrained, until all the great [ones] of the emanations of the Light and all their glory purified themselves, and until they purified themselves from the Mixture. And they have not purified themselves of themselves, but they have purified themselves by necessity according to the economy of the One and Only, the Ineffable.

They indeed have not at all suffered and have not at all changed themselves in the regions, nor at all torn themselves asunder nor poured themselves into bodies of different kinds and from one into another, nor have they been in any affliction at all.

Ye then in particular are the refuse of the Treasury and ye are the refuse of the region of the Right and ye are the refuse of the region of those of the Midst and ye are the refuse of all the invisibles and of all the rulers; in a word, ye are the refuse of all these. And ye are in great sufferings and great afflictions in your being poured from one into another of different kinds of bodies of the world. And after all these sufferings ye have struggled of your-selves and fought, having renounced the whole world and all the matter therein; and ye have not left off seeking, until ye found all the mysteries of the kingdom of the Light, which have purified you and made you into refined light, exceedingly purified, and ye have become purified light.

For this cause have I said unto you aforetime: 'Seek, that ye may find.' I have, therefore, said unto you: Ye are to seek after the mysteries of the Light, which purify the body of matter and make it. into refined light exceedingly purified.

Of the purifying mysteries."Amen, I say unto you: For the sake of the race of men, because it is material, I have torn myself asunder and brought unto them all the mysteries of the Light, that I may purify them, for they are the refuse of the whole matter of their matter; else would no soul of the total race of men have been saved, and they would not be able to inherit the kingdom of the Light, if I had not brought unto them the purifying mysteries.

"For the emanations of the Light have no need of the mysteries, for they are purified; but it is the race of men which hath need of them, because they all are material refuse For this cause, therefore, have I said unto you aforetime: 'The healthy have no need of the physician, but the sick,'--that is: Those of the Light have no need of the mysteries, for they are purified lights; but it is the race of men which hath need of them, for [they] are material refuse [pl.].

"For this cause, therefore, herald to the whole race of men, saying: Cease not to seek day and night, until ye find the purifying mysteries; and say unto the race of men: Renounce the whole world and the whole matter therein. For he who buyeth and selleth in the world and he who eateth and drinketh of its matter and who liveth in all its cares and in all its associations, amasseth other additional matters to the rest of his matter, because this whole world and all therein and all its associations are material refuse [pl.], and they will make enquiry of every one concerning his purity.

"For this cause, therefore, I have said unto you aforetime: Renounce the whole world and the whole matter therein, that ye may not amass other additional matter to the rest of your matter in you. For this cause, therefore, herald it to the whole race of men, saying: Renounce the whole world and all its associations, that ye may not amass additional matter to the rest of your matter in you; and say unto them: Cease not to seek day and night and remit not yourselves until ye find the purifying mysteries which will purify you and make you into a refined light, so that ye will go on high and inherit the light of my kingdom.

That all who are purified will be saved."Now, therefore, Andrew and all thy brethren thy co-disciples, because of your renunciations and all your sufferings which ye have endured in every region, and because of your changes in every region and of your being poured from one into another of different kinds of bodies and because of all your afflictions, and after all this ye have received the purifying mysteries and are become refined light exceedingly purified,--for this cause, therefore, ye will go on high and penetrate into all the regions of all the great emanations of the Light and be kings in the Light-kingdom for ever.

That finally they will be higher than all powers."But if ye come forth out of the body and come on high and reach unto the region of the rulers, then will all the rulers be seized with shame before you, because ye are the refuse of their matter and have become light more purified than them all. And if ye reach unto the region of the Great Invisible and unto the region of those of the Midst and of those of the Right and unto the regions of all the great emanations of the Light, then will ye be revered among them all, because ye are the refuse of their matter and are became light more purified than them all. And all the regions will sing praises before you, until ye come to the region of the kingdom.

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This is the answer to the words on which ye question. Now, therefore, Andrew, art thou still in unfaith and unknowing?" 1

Jesus pardoneth the ignorance of Andrew.When then the Saviour said this, Andrew knew clearly, not only he but also all the disciples knew with precision that they should inherit the Light-kingdom. They all threw themselves down together at Jesus' feet, cried aloud, wept and besought the Saviour, saying: "Lord, forgive our brother the sin of unknowing."

The Saviour answered and said: "I forgive and will forgive; for this cause, therefore, hath the First Mystery sent me, that I may forgive every one his sins."

[SUB-SCRIPTION:] A PORTION OF THE BOOKS OF THE SAVIOUR

Footnotes

1 These two sentences are placed at the end of the preceding paragraph, but clearly belong here.

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 101
[THE CONCLUSION OF ANOTHER BOOK]

AND those who are worthy of the mysteries which abide in the Ineffable, which are those which have not gone forth,--these exist before the First Mystery, and to use a likeness and similitude, that ye may understand it, they are as the Limbs of the Ineffable. And every one existeth according to the dignity of its glory: the head according to the dignity of the head and the eye according to the dignity of the eyes and the ear according to the dignity of the ears and the rest of the Limbs [in like fashion]; so that the matter is manifest: There is a multitude of limbs but one only body. Of this indeed have I spoken in a pattern and similitude and likeness, but not in a form in truth; nor have I revealed the word in truth, but the mystery [only] of the Ineffable.

And all the Limbs which are in it,--according to the word with which I have made comparison,--that is, those which abide on the mystery of the Ineffable, and those which abide in it, and also the three spaces which are after them according to the mysteries,--of all these in truth and verity I am their treasury beside whom there is no other treasury, who hath not his like in the world; but there are still words and mysteries and other regions.

Now, therefore, blessed is he who hath found the [words of the] mysteries [of the first space] which is from without; and he is a god who hath found these words of the mysteries of the second space, which is in the midst; and he is a saviour and an uncontainable who hath found the words of the mysteries of the third space, which is within, and he is more excellent than the universe and like unto those who are in that third space. Because he hath found the mystery in which they are and in which they stand,--for this cause, therefore, is he like unto them. He on the other hand who hath found the words of the mysteries which I have described unto you according to a likeness, that they are the Limbs of the Ineffable,--amen, I say unto you: That man who hath found the words of these mysteries in divine truth, is the first in truth and like unto him [the First, i.e. the Ineffable], for through those words and mysteries . . . and the universe itself standeth through that First. For this cause he who hath found the words of those mysteries, is like unto the First. For it is the gnosis of the gnosis of the Ineffable concerning which I have discoursed with you this day."

THE THIRD BOOK OF PISTIS SOPHIA

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 102

JESUS continued again in the discourse and said unto his disciples: "When I shall have gone into the Light, then herald it unto the whole world and say unto them: Cease not to seek day and night and remit not yourselves until ye find the mysteries of the Light-kingdom, which will purify you and make you into refined light and lead you into the Light-kingdom.

What men should renounce."Say unto them: Renounce the whole world and the whole matter therein and all its care and all its sins, in a word all its associations which are in it, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light and be saved from all the chastisements which are in the judgements.

Say unto them: Renounce murmuring, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light and be saved from the fire of the dog-faced [one].

Say unto them: Renounce eavesdropping [?], that ye may [be worthy of the mysteries of the Light] and be saved from the judgements of the dog-faced [one].

Say unto them: Renounce litigiousness [?], that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light and be saved from the chastisements of Ariel.

Say unto them: Renounce false slander, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light and be saved from the fire-rivers of the dog-faced [one].

Say unto them: Renounce false witness, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light and that ye may escape and be saved from the fire-rivers of the dog-faced [one].

Say unto them: Renounce pride and haughtiness, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light and be saved from the fire-pits of Ariel.

Say unto them: Renounce belly-love, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light and be saved from the judgements of Amente.

Say unto them: Renounce babbling, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light and be saved from the fires of Amente.

Say unto them: Renounce craftiness, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light and be saved from the chastisements which are in Amente.

Say unto them: Renounce avarice, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light and be saved from the fire-rivers of the dog-faced [one].

Say unto them: Renounce love of the world, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light and be saved from the pitch- and fire-coats of the dog-faced [one].

Say unto them: Renounce pillage, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light and be saved from the fire-rivers of Ariel.

Say unto them: Renounce evil conversation, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light and be saved from the chastisements of the fire-rivers . . . .

Say unto them: Renounce wickedness, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light and be saved from the fire-seas of Ariel.

Say unto them: Renounce pitilessness, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light and be saved from the judgements of the dragon-faced [ones].

Say unto them: Renounce wrath, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light and be saved from the fire-rivers of the dragon-faced [ones.]

Say unto them: Renounce cursing, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light and be saved from the fire-seas of the dragon-faced [ones].

Say unto them: Renounce thieving, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light and be saved from the bubbling seas of the dragon-faced [ones].

Say unto them: Renounce robbery, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light and be saved from Yaldabaoth.

Say unto them: Renounce slandering, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light and be saved from the fire-rivers of the lion-faced [one].

Say unto them: Renounce fighting and strife, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light and be saved from the seething rivers of Yaldabaoth.

Say unto them: Renounce all unknowing, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light and be saved from the servitors of Yaldabaoth and the fire-seas.

Say unto them: Renounce evil doing, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light and be saved from all the demons of Yaldabaoth and all his judgements.

Say unto them: Renounce sloth, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light and be saved from the seething pitch-seas of Yaldabaoth.

Say unto them: Renounce adultery, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light-kingdom and be saved from the sulphur- and pitch-seas of the lion-faced [one].

Say unto them: Renounce murder, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light and be saved from the crocodile-faced ruler,--this one who is in the cold, is the first chamber of the outer darkness.

Say unto them: Renounce pitilessness and impiety, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light and be saved from the rulers of the outer darkness.

Say unto them: Renounce atheism, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light and be saved from the howling and grinding of teeth.

Say unto them: Renounce [magic] potions, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light and be saved from the great cold and the hail of the outer darkness.

Say unto them: Renounce blasphemy, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light and be saved from the great dragon of the outer darkness.

Say unto them: Renounce the doctrines of error, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light and be saved from all the chastisements of the great dragon of the outer darkness.

Say unto those who teach the doctrines of error and to every one who is instructed by them: Woe unto you, for, if ye do not repent and abandon your error, ye will go into the chastisements of the great dragon and of the outer darkness, which is exceedingly evil, and never will ye be cast [up] into the world, but will be non-existent until the end.

Say unto those who abandon the doctrines of truth of the First Mystery: Woe unto you, for your chastisement is sad compared with [that of] all men. For ye will abide in the great cold and ice and hail in the midst of the dragon and of the outer darkness, and ye will never from this hour on be cast [up] into the world, but ye shall be frozen up [?] in that region and at the dissolution of the universe ye will perish and become non-existent eternally.

The boundaries of the ways of the worthy."Say rather to the men of the world: Be calm, that ye may receive the mysteries of the Light and go on high into the Light-kingdom.

Say unto them: Be ye loving-unto-men, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the Light and go on high into the Light-kingdom.

Say unto them: Be ye gentle, that ye may receive the mysteries of the Light and go on high into the Light-kingdom.

Say unto them: Be ye peaceful, that ye may receive the mysteries of the Light and go on high into the Light-kingdom.

Say unto them: Be ye merciful, that ye may receive the mysteries of the Light and go on high into the Light-kingdom.

Say unto them: Give ye alms, that ye may receive the mysteries of the Light and go on high into the Light-kingdom.

Say unto them: Minister unto the poor and the sick and distressed, that ye may receive the mysteries of the Light and go on high into the Light-kingdom.

Say unto them: Be ye loving-unto-God, that ye may receive the mysteries of the Light and go on high into the Light-kingdom.

Say unto them: Be ye righteous, that ye may receive the mysteries [of the Light] and go on high into the Light-kingdom.

Say unto them: Be good, that ye may receive the mysteries [of the Light] and go on high into the Light-kingdom.

Say unto them: Renounce all, that ye may receive the mysteries of the Light and go on high into the Light-kingdom.

These are all the boundaries of the ways for those who are worthy of the mysteries of the Light.

Unto whom are the mysteries of the Light to be given."Unto, such, therefore, who have renounced in this renunciation, give the mysteries of the Light and hide them not from them at all, even though they are sinners and they have been in al! the sins and all the iniquities of the world, all of which I have recounted unto you, in order that they may turn and repent and be in the submission which I have just recounted unto you. Give unto them the mysteries of the Light-kingdom and hide them not from them at all;The mysteries are for the forgiveness of sins. for it is because of sinfulness that I have brought the mysteries into the world, that I may forgive all their sins which they have committed from the beginning on. For this cause have I said unto you aforetime: 'I am not come to call the righteous.' Now, therefore, I have brought the mysteries that [their] sins may be forgiven for every one and they be received into the Light-kingdom. For the mysteries are the gift of the First Mystery, that he may wipe out the sins and iniquities of all sinners."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 103

It came to pass then, when Jesus had finished saying these words unto his disciples, that Mary came forward and said to the Saviour: "My Lord, will then a righteous man who is perfected in all righteousness, and that man who hath no sin at all, will such an one be tormented in the chastisements and judgements or not? Or will rather that man be brought into the kingdom of heaven or not?"

And the Saviour answered and said unto Mary: "A righteous man who is perfected in all righteousness and who hath never committed any sin of any kind, and such an one who never hath received mysteries of the Light, if the time is at hand when he goeth forth out of the body, then straightway come the receivers of one of the great triple-powers,--those among whom there is a great [one],--snatch away the soul of that man from the hands of the retributive receivers and spend three days circling with it in all the creatures of the world. After three days they lead it down into the chaos, so as to lead it into all the chastisements of the judgements and to dispatch it to all the judgements. The fires of the chaos do not trouble it greatly; but they will trouble it partly for a short time.

"And with haste they take pity on it quickly, to lead it up out of the chaos and lead it on the way of the midst through all the rulers. And they [the rulers] do not chastize it in their harsh judgements, but the fire of their regions troubleth it partly. And if it shall be brought into the region of Yachthanabas, the pitiless, then will he indeed not be able to chastize it in his evil judgements, but he holdeth it fast a short time, while the fire of his chastisements troubleth it partly.

And again they take pity on it quickly, and lead it up out of those regions of theirs and they do not bring it into the aeons, so that the rulers of the aeons do not carry it away ravishingly; they bring it on the way of the sun and bring it before the Virgin of Light. She proveth it and findeth that it is pure of sins, but letteth them not bring it to the Light, because the sign of the kingdom of the mystery is not with it. But she sealeth it with a higher seal and letteth it be cast down into the body into the aeons of righteousness,--that body which will be good to find the signs of the mysteries of the Light and inherit the Light-kingdom for ever.

If on the contrary he hath sinned once or twice or thrice, then will he be cast back into the world again according to

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the type of the sins which he hath committed, the type of which I will tell you when I shall have told you the expansion of the universe.

But amen, amen, I say unto you: Even if a righteous man hath committed no sins at all, he cannot possibly be brought into the Light-kingdom, because the sign of the kingdom of the mysteries is not with him. In a word, it is impossible to bring souls into the Light without the mysteries of the Light-kingdom."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 104

It came to pass then, when Jesus had finished saying these words unto his disciples, that John came forward and said: "My Lord, suppose a sinning and a law-breaking man is replete in all iniquities, and he hath ceased from these for the sake of the kingdom of heaven and renounced the whole world and the whole matter therein, and we give him from the beginning onwards the mysteries of the Light which are in the first space from without, and if he receiveth the mysteries, and after a little while again if he returneth and transgresseth, and thereafter again if he turneth and ceaseth from all sins and turneth and renounceth the whole world and the whole matter therein, so that he cometh again and is in great repentance, and if we know truly in truth that he longeth after God, so that we give him the second mystery of the first space which is from without;--in like manner if he turneth anew and transgresseth and is again in the sins of the world, and again if he thereafter turneth and ceaseth from the sins of the world and again renounceth the whole world and the whole matter therein and again is in great repentance, and we know it with certainty that he is not a play-actor, so that we turn and give him the mysteries of the beginning, which [are] in the first space from without;--in like manner, if he turneth again and sinneth and is in every type [of sin];--desirest thou that we forgive him unto seven times and give him the mysteries which are in the first space from without, unto seven times or not?"

The Saviour answered again and said unto John: "Not only forgive him unto seven times, but amen, I say unto you: Forgive him unto many times seven times, and every time give him the mysteries from the beginning onwards which are in the first space from without. Perchance ye win the soul of that brother and he inheriteth the Light-kingdom.

For this cause, therefore, when ye questioned me aforetime, saying: 'If our brother sin against us, desirest thou that we forgive him unto seven times?'--I answered and spake unto you in a similitude, saying: 'Not only unto seven times, but unto seventy times seven.'

Now, therefore, forgive him many times and every time give him the mysteries which are in the first space which is from without. Perchance ye win the soul of that brother and he inheriteth the Light-kingdom.

"Amen, amen, I say unto you: He who shall keep in Life and save only one soul, besides the dignity which he possesseth in the Light-kingdom, he will receive yet another dignity for the soul which he hath saved, so that he who shall save many souls, besides the dignity which he possesseth in the Light he will receive many other dignities for the souls which he hath saved."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 105

When then the Saviour had said this, John started forward and said: "My Lord, bear with me if I question thee, for from now on I will begin to, question thee on all things concerning the manner, how we are to herald it to mankind.

If, therefore, I give that brother a mystery out of the mysteries of the beginning which are in the first space from without, and if I give him many mysteries and he doeth not what is worthy of the kingdom of heaven,--desirest thou that we let him pass through to the mysteries of the second space? Perchance we win the soul of that brother, and he turneth, repenteth and inheriteth the Light-kingdom. Desirest thou that we let him pass through to the mysteries [which are in the second space] or not?"

That the mysteries shall be given again unto a repentant brother even up to the three of the second space.And the Saviour answered and said unto John: "If it is a brother who is not play-acting, but in truth longeth after God, if ye have given him many times the mysteries of the beginning and because of the necessity of the elements of the Fate he hath not done what is worthy of the mysteries of the Light-kingdom, then forgive him, let him pass through and give him the first mystery which is in the second space. Perchance ye win the soul of that brother.

And if he hath not done what is worthy of the mysteries of the Light and hath committed transgression and divers sins, and thereafter hath turned; again and been in great repentance and hath renounced the whole world and ceased from all the sins of the world, and ye know with certainty that he doth not play-act but in truth longeth after God, then turn ye anew, forgive him, let him pass on through and give him the second mystery in the second space of the First Mystery. Perchance ye win the soul of that brother and he inheriteth the Light-kingdom.

And again if he hath not done what is worthy of the mysteries, but hath been in transgression and divers sins, and thereafter again hath turned and been in great repentance and hath renounced the whole world and the whole matter therein and ceased from the sins of the world, so that ye know truly that he is not play-acting but longeth truly after God, then turn ye anew, forgive him and receive his repentance, because the First Mystery is compassionate and merciful-minded; let also that man pass through and give him the three mysteries together which are in the second space of the First Mystery.

If that man [then] transgresseth and is in divers sins, from that moment onwards ye are not to forgive him nor to receive his repentance; but let him be among you as a stumbling-block and as a transgressor.

For, amen, I say unto you: Those three mysteries will be witnesses for his last repentance, and he hath not repentance from this moment onwards. For, amen, I say unto you: The soul of that man will not be cast back into the world above from this moment onwards, but will be in the abodes of the dragon of the outer darkness.

For regarding the souls of such men I have spoken unto you aforetime in a similitude, saying: 'If thy brother sinneth against thee, bring him over between thee alone and him. If he hearkeneth unto thee, thou wilt win thy brother; if he hearkeneth not unto thee, take with thee yet another. If he hearkeneth not unto thee and the other, bring him to the assembly. If he hearken not unto the others, let him be for you as a transgressor and as a stumbling-block.'--That is: If he is not usable in the first mystery, give him the second; and if he is not usable in the second give him the three, assembled together, which is 'the assembly'; and if he is not usable in the third mystery, let him be for you as a stumbling-block and as a transgressor.

And the word which I have spoken unto you aforetime: 'So that through two to three witnesses every word may be established,'--it is this: Those three mysteries will witness for his last repentance. And amen, I say unto you: If that man repenteth, no mystery can forgive him his sins, nor can his repentance be received, nor can he at all be hearkened to through any mystery, save through the first mystery of the First Mystery and through the mysteries of the Ineffable. It is these alone which will receive the repentance of that man and forgive his sins; for those mysteries in sooth are compassionate and merciful-minded and forgiving at every time."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 106

When then the Saviour had said this, John continued again and said to the Saviour: "My Lord, suppose an exceedingly sinful brother who hath renounced the whole world and the whole matter therein and all its sins and all its cares, and we shall prove him and know that he is not in deceit and play-acting but that in uprightness and in truth he longeth [after God], and we know that he hath become worthy of the mysteries of the second space or of the third,--desirest thou that we give him of the mysteries of the second space and of the third, before he hath at all received mysteries of the Inheritance of the Light or not? Desirest thou that we give or not?"

And the Saviour answered and said unto John in the midst of the disciples: "If ye know with certainty that that man hath renounced the whole world and all its cares and all its associations and all its sins, and if ye know in truth that he is not in deceit, neither that he was play-acting nor that he was curious to know the mysteries, how they are brought to pass, but that he longeth after God in truth, hide them not from such an one, but give him of the mysteries of the second and third space and try even of what mystery he is worthy; and that of which he is worthy, give him and hide it not from him, for if ye hide it from him, ye may be guilty of a great condemnation.

If ye give him once [of the mysteries] of the second space or of the third and he turneth again and sinneth, ye are to continue again the second time up to the third time. If he still sinneth, ye shall not continue to give him, for those three mysteries will be witnesses unto him for his last repentance. And amen, I say unto you: He who shall give that man anew mysteries of the second space or of the third, is guilty of a great condemnation. But let him be for you as a transgressor and as a stumbling-block.

Amen, I say unto you: The soul of that man cannot be cast back into the world from this moment onwards; but his habitation is in the midst of the jaws of the dragon of the outer darkness, the region of howling and grinding of teeth. And at the dissolution of the world his soul will be frozen up [?] and perish in the violent cold and exceedingly violent fire and will be non-existent eternally.

Even if he yet again turneth and renounceth the whole world and all its cares and all its sins, and he is in great citizenship and great repentance, no mystery can receive from him his repentance; nor can it hearken unto him, to have mercy upon him and receive his repentance and forgive his sins, save the mystery of the First Mystery and the mystery of the Ineffable. It is these alone which will receive the repentance of that man and forgive his sins; for in sooth those mysteries are compassionate and merciful-minded and forgiving of sins at every time."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 107

And when the Saviour had said this, John continued again and said: "My Lord, bear with me, if I question thee, and be not wroth with me, for I question concerning all things with surety and certainty for knowledge of the manner, how we are to herald it to the men of the world."

And the Saviour answered and said unto John: "Question concerning all things on which thou questionest, and I will reveal them unto thee, face to face in openness without similitude, or with surety."

And John answered and said: "My Lord, if we go forth and herald it and come into a city or a village, and if the men of that city come forth to meet us without our knowing who they are, and if they receive us unto themselves in great deceit and great play-acting and bring us into their house, desiring to make trial of the mysteries of the Light-kingdom, and if they play-act with us in submission and we suppose that they long after God, and we give them the mysteries of the Light-kingdom, and if we thereafter know that they have not done what is worthy of the mystery, and we know that they have play-acted with us, and have been deceitful against us and that they have also made a show of the mysteries region by region, making trial of us and also of our mysteries,--what is then the thing which will befall such?"

And the Saviour answered and said unto John: "If ye come into a city or a village, where ye enter into the house and they receive you unto themselves, give them a mystery. If they are worthy, ye will win their souls and they will inherit the Light-kingdom; but if they are not worthy but are deceitful against you, and if they also make a show of the mysteries, making trial of you and also of the mysteries, then invoke the first mystery of the First Mystery which hath mercy on every one, and say: Thou Mystery, which we have given unto these impious and iniquitous souls who have not done what is worthy of thy mystery but have made a show of us, turn back [then] the mystery unto us and make them for ever strangers to the mystery of thy kingdom. And shake ye off the dust of your feet as a witness against them, saying: May your souls be as the dust of your house. And amen, I say unto you: In that hour all the mysteries which ye have given unto them, will return unto you, and all the words and all the mysteries of the region up to which they have received figures, will be taken from them.

Concerning such men, therefore, have I aforetime spoken unto you in similitude, saying: 'Where ye enter into a house and are received, say unto them: Peace be with you. And if they are worthy, let your peace come upon them; and if they are not worthy, let your peace return unto you,'--that is: If those men do what is worthy of the mysteries and in truth long after God, give them the mysteries of the Light-kingdom; but if they play-act with you and are deceitful against you, without your having known it, and if ye give them the mysteries of the Light-kingdom, and again thereafter they make a show of the mysteries and they make also trial of you and also of the mysteries, then perform the first mystery of the First Mystery, and it will turn back unto you all the mysteries which ye have given unto them, and it will make them strangers to the mysteries of the Light for ever.

And such men will not be led back to the world from this moment onwards; but amen, I say unto you: Their dwelling is in the midst of the jaws of the dragon of the outer darkness. And if they still at a time of repentance renounce the whole world and the whole matter therein and all the sins of the world, and they are in entire submission to the mysteries of the Light, no mystery can hearken unto them nor forgive their sins, save this same mystery of the Ineffable, which hath mercy on every one and forgiveth every one his sins."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 108

It came to pass, when Jesus had finished saying these words unto his disciples, that Mary adored the feet of Jesus and kissed them. Mary said: "My Lord, bear with me, if I question thee, and be not wroth with me."

The Saviour answered and said unto Mary: "Question concerning what thou desirest to question, and I will reveal it unto thee in openness."

And Mary answered and said: "My Lord, suppose a good and excellent brother whom we have filled with all the mysteries of the Light, and that brother hath a brother or kinsman, in a word he hath in general [any] man, and this [man] is a sinner and impious or better he is no sinner, and such an one hath gone out of the body, and the heart of the good brother is grieved and mourneth over him, that he is in judgements and chastisements,--now, therefore, my Lord, what are we to do to remove him out of the chastisements and harsh judgements?"

And the Saviour answered and said unto Mary: "Concerning this word, therefore, I have already spoken unto you at another time, but hearken that I may say it again, so that ye may be perfected in all mysteries and be called 'the perfected in every fulness.'

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Now, therefore, all men, sinners or better who are no sinners, not only if ye desire that they be taken out of the judgements and violent chastisements, but that they be removed into a righteous body which will find the mysteries of the godhead, so that it goeth on high and inheriteth the Light-kingdom,--then perform the third mystery of the Ineffable and say: Carry ye the soul of this and this man of whom we think in our hearts, carry him out of all the chastisements of the rulers and haste ye quickly to lead him before the Virgin of Light; and in every month let the Virgin of Light seal him with a higher seal, and in every month let the Virgin of Light cast him into a body which will be righteous and good, so that it goeth on high and inheriteth the Light-kingdom. "And if ye say this, amen, I say unto you: All who serve in all the orders of the judgements of the rulers, hasten to hand over that soul from one to the other, until they lead it before the Virgin of Light. And the Virgin of Light sealeth it with the sign of the kingdom of the Ineffable and handeth it over unto her receivers, and the receivers will cast it into a body which will be righteous and find the mysteries of the Light, so that it will be good and goeth on high and inheriteth the Light-kingdom. Lo, this is it on which ye question me."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 109

And Mary answered and said: "Now, therefore, my Lord, hast thou then not brought mysteries into the world that man may not die through the death which is appointed him by the rulers of the Fate,--be it that it is appointed one to die by the sword or die by the waters or through tortures and torturings and acts of violence which are in the law, or through any other evil death,--hast thou then not brought mysteries into the world that man may not die with them through the rulers of the Fate, but that he may die by a sudden death, so that he endure no sufferings through such kinds of death? For they are exceedingly numerous who persecute us because of thee, and numerous those who persecute us because of thy name, in order that, if they torture us, we may speak the mystery and straightway go out of the body without having endured any sufferings at all."

The Saviour answered and said unto all his disciples: "Concerning this word on which ye question me, I have spoken unto you at another time; but hearken again that I may say it unto you anew: Not only ye, but every man who will accomplish that first mystery of the First Mystery of the Ineffable,--he who, therefore, shall perform that mystery and accomplish it in all its figures and all its types and all its stations, in performing it, he will not come out of the body; but after he hath accomplished that mystery in all its figures and all its types, thereafter then at every time when he shall speak the name of that mystery, he will save himself from all that which is appointed him by the rulers of the Fate. And in that hour he will come forth out of the body of the matter of the rulers, and his soul will become a great light-stream, so that it soareth on high and penetrateth all the regions of the rulers and all the regions of the Light, until it reacheth the region of its kingdom. Neither giveth it answers nor apologies in any region at all, for it is without tokens."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 110

When then Jesus had said this, Mary continued, threw herself at Jesus' feet, kissed them and said: "My Lord, still will I question thee. Reveal [it] unto us and hide [it] not from us."

Jesus answered and said unto Mary: "Question on what ye question, and I will reveal [it] unto you in openness without similitude."

Mary answered and said: "My Lord, hast thou then not brought mysteries into the world because of poverty and riches, and because of weakness and strength, and because of . . . and healthy bodies, in a word because of all such, so that, if we go into the regions of the land, and they do not have faith in us and they hearken not unto our words, and we perform any such mysteries in those regions, they may know truly in truth that we herald the words [of the God] of the universe?"

The Saviour answered and said unto Mary in the midst of the disciples: "Concerning this mystery on which ye question me, I have given it unto you at another time; but I will repeat it and speak the word unto you:

Now, therefore, Mary, not only ye, but every man who shall accomplish the mystery of the raising of the dead,--that which healeth the demons and all pains and all sicknesses and the blind and the lame and the maimed and the dumb and the deaf, which I have given unto you aforetime,--he who shall receive [that] mystery and accomplish it, thereafter then, if he ask for all things, for poverty and riches, for weakness and strength, for . . . and healthy body, and for all healings of the body and for the raising of the dead and for healing the lame and the blind and the deaf and the dumb and all sicknesses and all pains,--in a word, he who shall accomplish that mystery and ask for all the things which I have just said, then will they quickly come to pass for him."

When then the Saviour had said this, the disciples came forward, cried out all together and said: "O Saviour, thou hath made us very exceedingly frenzied because of the great deeds of which thou tellest us; and because thou hast borne up our souls, they have pressed to go forth out of us unto thee, for we issue from thee. Now, therefore, because of these great deeds of which thou tellest us, our souls have become frenzied and they have pressed very exceedingly, yearning to go forth out of us on high to the region of thy kingdom."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 111

When then the disciples had said this, the Saviour continued again and said unto his disciples: "If ye go into cities or kingdoms or countries, proclaim first unto them, saying:

Search ever and cease not, until ye find the mysteries of the Light which will lead you into the Light-kingdom. Say unto them: Beware of the doctrines of error. For many will come in my name and say: It is I. And it is not I, and they will lead many astray.

Now, therefore, unto all men who come unto you and have faith in you and hearken unto your words and do what is worthy of the mysteries of the Light, give the mysteries of the Light and hide them not from them. And unto him who is worthy of the higher mysteries, give them, and to him who is worthy of the lower mysteries, give them, and hide not anything from any one.

"The mystery of the raising of the dead and of the healing of the sick, on the other hand, give unto no one nor give instruction in it, for that mystery belongeth to the rulers, it and all its namings. For this cause, therefore, give it unto no one, nor give instruction in it until ye establish the faith in the whole world, in order that, if ye come into cities or into countries, and they do not receive you unto themselves, and do not have faith, and do not hearken unto your words, ye may raise the dead in those regions and heal the lame and the blind and manifold of sicknesses in those regions. And through all such they will have faith in you, that ye herald the God of the universe, and will have faith in all the words of you. For this cause, therefore, have I given unto you that mystery, until ye establish the faith in the whole world."

When then the Saviour had said this, he continued again in the discourse and said unto Mary: "Now, therefore, hearken, Mary, concerning the word on which thou hast questioned me: Who constraineth the man until he sinneth? Now, therefore, hearken:

Is the babe born, the power is feeble in it, and the soul is feeble in it, and also the counterfeiting spirit is feeble in it; in a word, the three together are feeble, without any one of them sensing anything, whether good or evil, because of the load of forgetfulness which is very heavy. Moreover the body also is feeble. And the babe eateth of the delights of the world of the rulers; and the power draweth into itself from the portion of the power which is in the delights; and the soul draweth into itself from the portion of the soul which is in the delights; and the counterfeiting spirit draweth into itself from the portion of the evil which is in the delights and in its lusts. And on the other hand the body draweth into itself the matter which senseth not, which is in the delights. The destiny on the contrary taketh nothing from the delights, because it is not mingled with them, but it departeth again in the condition in which it cometh into the world.

And little by little the power and the soul and the counterfeiting spirit grow, and every one of them senseth according to its nature: the power senseth to seek after the light of the height; the soul on the other hand senseth to seek after the region of righteousness which is mixed, which is the region of the commixture; the counterfeiting spirit on the other hand seeketh after all evils and lusts and all sins; the body on the contrary senseth nothing unless it taketh up force out of the matter.

And straightway the three develop sense, every one according to its nature. And the retributive receivers assign the servitors to follow them and be witnesses of all the sins which they commit, with a view to the manner and method how they will chastize them in the judgements.

And after this the counterfeiting spirit contriveth and senseth all sins and the evil which the rulers of the great Fate have commanded for the soul, and it maketh them for the soul.

And the inner power stirreth the soul to seek after the region of the Light and the whole god-head; and the counterfeiting spirit leadeth away the soul and compelleth it continually to do all its lawless deeds, all its mischiefs and all its sin, and is persistently allotted to the soul and is hostile to it, and making it do all this evil and all these sins.

And it goadeth on the retributive servitors, so that they are witnesses in all the sins which it will make it do. Moreover also if it will rest in the night [or] by day, it stirreth it in dreams or in lusts of the world, and maketh it to lust after all the things of the world. In a word, it driveth [?] it into all the things which the rulers have commanded for it and it is hostile to the soul, making it do what pleaseth it not.

Now, therefore, Mary, this is in fact the foe of the soul, and this compelleth it until it doeth all sins.

Now, therefore, if the time of that man is completed, first cometh forth the destiny and leadeth the man unto death through the rulers and their bonds with which they are bound through the Fate.

And thereafter the retributive receivers come and lead that soul out of the body. And thereafter the. retributive receivers spend three days circling round with that soul in all the regions and dispatch it to all the aeons of the world. And the counterfeiting spirit and the destiny follow that soul; and the power returneth to the Virgin of Light.

And after three days the retributive receivers lead down that soul to the Amente of the chaos; and when they bring it down to the chaos, they hand it over to those who chastize. And the retributive receivers return unto their own regions according to the economy of the works of the rulers concerning the coming-forth of the souls.

And the counterfeiting spirit becometh the receiver of the soul, being assigned unto it and transferring it according to the chastisement because of the sins which it hath made it commit, and is in great enmity to the soul.

And when the soul hath finished the chastisements in the chaos according to the sins which it hath committed, the counterfeiting spirit leadeth it forth out of the chaos, being assigned unto it and transferring it to every region because of the sins which it hath committed; and it leadeth it forth on the way of the rulers of the midst. And when it reacheth them, [the rulers] question it on the mysteries of the destiny; and if it hath not found them, they question their destiny. And those rulers chastize that soul according to the sins of which it is guilty. I will tell you the type of their chastisements at the expansion of the universe.

When, therefore, the time of the chastisements of that soul in the judgements of the rulers of the midst shall be completed, the counterfeiting spirit leadeth the soul up out of all the regions of the rulers of the midst and bringeth it before the light of the sun according to the commandment of the First Man, Yew, and bringeth it before the judge, the Virgin of Light. And she proveth that soul and findeth that it is a sinning soul, and ceaseth her light-power into it for its standing-upright and because of the body and the community of sense,--the type of which I will tell you at the expansion of the universe. And the Virgin of Light sealeth that soul and handeth it over to one of her receivers and will have it cast into a body which is suitable to the sins which it hath committed.

And amen, I say unto you: They will not discharge that soul from the changes of the body until it hath yielded its last circuit according to its merit. Of all these then will I tell you their type and the type of the bodies into which it will be cast according to the sins of each soul. All this will I tell you when I shall have told you the expansion of the universe."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 112

Jesus continued again in the discourse and said: "If on the contrary it is a soul which hath not hearkened unto the counterfeiting spirit in all its works, but hath become good and hath received the mysteries of the Light which are in the second space or even those which are in the third space which is within, when the time [of the coming-forth] of that soul out of the body is completed, then the counterfeiting spirit followeth that soul, it and the destiny; and it followeth it on the way on which it will go above.

And before it removeth itself above, it uttereth the mystery of the undoing of the seals and all the bonds of the counterfeiting spirit with which the rulers have bound it to the soul; and when it is uttered, the bonds of the counterfeiting spirit undo themselves, and it ceaseth to come into that soul and releaseth the soul according to the commandments which the rulers of the great Fate have commanded it, saying: 'Release not this soul until it tell thee the mystery of the undoing of all the seals with which we have bound thee to the soul.'

If then the soul shall have uttered the mystery of the undoing of the seals and of all the bonds of the counterfeiting spirit, and if it ceaseth to come into the soul and ceaseth to be bound to it, then it uttereth in that moment a mystery and releaseth the destiny to its region to the rulers who are on the way of the midst. And it uttereth the mystery and releaseth the counterfeiting spirit to the rulers of the Fate to the region in which it was bound to it.

And in that moment it becometh a great light-stream, shining exceedingly, and the retributive receivers who have led it forth out of the body, are afraid of the light of that soul and fall on their faces. And in that moment that soul becometh a great light-stream, it becometh entirely wings of light, and penetrateth all the regions of the rulers and all the orders of the Light, until it reacheth the region of its kingdom up to which it hath received mysteries.

If on the other hand it is a soul which hath received mysteries in the first space which is without, and if after it hath received the mysteries it hath accomplished them, it [then] turneth and committeth sin after the accomplishing of the mysteries, and if the time of the coming-forth of that soul is completed, then the retributive receivers come to lead that soul out of the body.

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And the destiny and the counterfeiting spirit follow that soul. Because the counterfeiting spirit is bound to it with the seals and the bonds of the rulers, it followeth thus that soul which travelleth on the ways with the counterfeiting spirit.

It uttereth the mystery of the undoing of all the bonds and all the seals with which the rulers have bound the counterfeiting spirit to the soul. And when the soul uttereth the mystery of the undoing of the seals, straightway the bonds of the seals which are bound in the counterfeiting spirit to the soul undo themselves. And when the soul uttereth the mystery of the undoing of the seals, straightway the counterfeiting spirit undoeth itself and ceaseth to be assigned to the soul. And in that moment the soul uttereth a mystery and restraineth the counterfeiting spirit and the destiny and dischargeth them which follow it. But no one of them is in its power; but it is in their power.

And in that moment the receivers of that soul come with the mysteries which it hath received, come and snatch that soul out of the hands of the retributive receivers, and the [latter] receivers go back to the works of the rulers for the purpose of the economy of the leading-forth of the souls.

And the receivers of that soul on the other hand who belong to the Light, become wings of light for that soul and become vestures of light for it and they do not lead it into the chaos, because it is not lawful to lead into the chaos souls which have received mysteries, but they lead it on the way of the rulers of the midst. And when it reacheth the rulers of the midst, those rulers meet the soul, they being in great fear and violent fire and with different faces, in a word in great immeasurable fear.

And in that moment the soul uttereth the mystery of their apology. And they are exceedingly afraid and fall on their faces, being in fear of the mystery which it hath uttered, and of their apology. And that soul surrendereth their destiny, saying unto them: Take your destiny!The apology of the rulers of the ways of the midst. I come not to your regions from this moment onwards. I have become a stranger unto you for ever, being about to go unto the region of my inheritance.

And when the soul shall have said this, the receivers of the Light fly with it on high and lead it into the aeons of the Fate, it giving every region its apology and its seals,--which I will tell you at the expansion of the universe. And it giveth the counterfeiting spirit to the rulers and telleth them the mystery of the bonds with which it is bound to it, and sayeth unto them: There haveThe apology of the rulers of the Fate. ye your counterfeiting spirit! I come not to your region from this moment onwards. I have become a stranger unto you for ever. And it giveth every one his seal and his apology.

And when the soul shall have said this, the receivers of the Light fly with it on high and lead out of the aeons of the Fate and lead it up into all the aeons [above], it giving to every region its apology and the apology of all the regions and the seals to the tyrants of the king, the Adamas. And it giveth the apology of all the rulers of all the regions of the Left,--whose collective apologies and seals I will one day tell you when I shall tell you the expansion of the universe.

And moreover those receivers lead that soul to the Virgin of Light and that soul giveth the Virgin of Light the seals and the glory of the songs of praise. And the Virgin of Light and also the seven other virgins of the Light together prove that soul and find together their signs in it and their seals and their baptisms and their chrism. And the Virgin of Light sealeth that soul and the receivers of the Light baptise that soul and give it the spiritual chrism; and every one of the virgins of the Light sealeth it with her seals.

And moreover the receivers of the Light hand it over to the great Sabaoth, the Good, who is at the gate of the Life in the region of those of the Right, who is called 'Father.' And that soul giveth him the glory of his songs of praise and his seals and his apologies. And Sabaoth, the Great and Good, sealeth it with his seals. And the soul giveth its science and the glory of the songs of praise and the seals to the whole region of those of the Right. They all seal it with their seals; and Melchisedec, the great Receiver of the Light who is in the region of those of the Right, sealeth that soul and all the receivers of Melchisedec seal that soul and lead it into the Treasury of the Light.

And it giveth the glory and the honour and the laud of the songs of praise and. all the seals of all the regions of the Light. And all those of the region of the Treasury of the Light seal it with their seals and it goeth unto the region of the Inheritance."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 113

When then the Saviour had said this unto his disciples he said unto them: "Understand ye in what manner I discourse with you?"

And Mary again started forward and said: "Yea, my Lord, I understand in what manner thou dost discourse with me, and I will comprehend them all [thy words]. Now, therefore, concerning these words which thou sayest, my mind hath brought forward four thoughts in me and my light-man hath led me and exulted and seethed, desiring to come forth out of me and enter into thee. Now, therefore, my Lord, hearken that I may tell thee the four thoughts which have arisen in me.

The first thought hath arisen in me concerning the word which thou hast spoken: 'Now, therefore, the soul giveth the apology and seal unto all the rulers who are in the region of the king, the Adamas, and giveth the apology and the honour and the glory of all their seals and the songs of praise to the region of the Light,'--concerning this word then thou hast spoken unto us aforetime, when they brought thee the piece ofThe piece of money which was brought unto Jesus. money and thou didst see that it was of silver and copper and didst ask: 'Whose is this image?' They said: 'The king's.' And when thou sawest that it was of silver and copper mixed, thou saidst: 'Give therefore the king's unto the king and God's unto God,'--that is: If the soul receiveth mysteries, it giveth the apology to all the rulers and to the region of the king, the Adamas; and the soul giveth the honour and the glory to all those of the region of the Light. And the word: 'It hath glistened, when thou didst see that it is made up of silver and copper,'--it is the type thereof, that in it [the soul] is the power of the Light, which is the refined silver, and that in it is the counterfeiting spirit, which is the material copper. This, my Lord, is the first thought.

The second thought is on the other hand that which thou hast just said unto us concerning the soul which receiveth the mysteries: 'If it cometh into the region of the rulers of the way of the midst, they come forth to meet it in exceedingly great fear and they are afraid of it. And the soul giveth the mystery of the fear unto them and they are afraid before it. And it giveth the destiny to its region, and it giveth the counterfeiting spirit to its own region, and it giveth the apology and the seals to every one of the rulers who are on the ways, and it giveth the honour and the glory and the laud of the seals and the songs of praise to all those of the region of the Light,'--concerning this word, my Lord, thou hast spoken aforetime through the mouth of our brotherA saying of Paul. Paul: 'Give tax to whom tax is due, give fear to whom fear is due, give tribute to whom tribute is due, give honour to whom honour is due, and give laud to whom laud is due, and owe not any other anything,'--that is, my Lord: The soul which receiveth mysteries, giveth apology to all regions. This, my Lord, is the second thought.

The third thought on the other hand concerning the word which thou hast aforetime spoken

The foes of one's own house.unto us: 'The counterfeiting spirit is hostile to the soul, making it do all sins and all mischiefs, and it transferreth it in the chastisements because of all the . sins which it hath made it commit; in a word, it is hostile to the soul in every way,'--concerning this word, therefore, thou hast said unto us aforetime: 'The foes of the man are the dwellers in his house,'--that is: The dwellers in the house of the soul are the counterfeiting spirit and the destiny, which are hostile to the soul the whole time, making it commit all sin and all iniquities. Lo this, my Lord, is the third thought.

The fourth thought on the other hand concerning the word which thou hast said: 'If the soul goeth forth out of the body and travelleth on the way with the counterfeiting spirit, and if it hath not found the mystery of the undoing of all the bonds and the seals which are bound to the counterfeiting spirit, so that it may cease to haunt or be assigned to it,--if it then hath not found it, the counterfeiting spirit leadeth the soul to the Virgin of Light, the judge; and the judge, the Virgin of Light, proveth the soul and findeth that it hath sinned and, as she also hath not found the mysteries of the Light with it, she handeth it over to one of her receivers, and her receiver leadeth it and casteth it into the body, and it cometh not out of the changes of the body before it hath yielded its last circuit,'--concerning this word, then, my Lord, thou hast said unto us aforetime: 'Be reconciled with thy foe as longA former saying concerning rebirth. as thou art on the way with him, lest perchance thy foe hand thee over to the judge and the judge hand thee over to the servant and the servant cast thee into prison, and thou shalt not come forth out of that region till thou hast yielded the last farthing.'

Because of this manifestly is thy word: Every soul which cometh forth out of the body and travelleth on the way with the counterfeiting spirit and findeth not the mystery of the undoing of all the seals and all the bonds, so that it may undo itself from the counterfeiting spirit which is bound to it,--that soul which hath not found mysteries of the Light and hath not found the mysteries of detachment from the counterfeiting spirit which is bound to it,--if then it hath not found it, the counterfeiting spirit leadeth that soul to the Virgin of Light, and the Virgin of Light, yea that judge, handeth over that soul to one of her receivers, and her receiver casteth it into the sphere of the aeons, and it cometh not out of the changes of the body before it hath yielded the last circuit which is appointed for it. This then, my Lord, is the fourth thought."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 114

It came to pass then, when Jesus had heard Mary say these words, that he said: "Well said, all-blessed Mary, spiritual [one]. These are the solutions of the words which I have spoken."

Mary answered and said: "Still, my Lord, do I question thee, because from now on I will begin to question thee on all things with sureness. For this cause, therefore, my Lord, be patient with us and reveal unto us all things on which we shall question thee for the sake of the manner, how my brethren are to herald it to the whole race of men."

And when she had said this to the Saviour, the Saviour answered and said unto her in great compassion towards her: "Amen, amen, I say unto you: Not only will I reveal unto you all things on which ye shall question me, but from now on I will reveal unto you other things on which ye have not thought to question, which have not entered into the heart of man, and which also all the gods, who are below man, know not. Now, therefore, Mary, question on what thou mayest question, and I will reveal it unto thee face to face without similitude."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 115

And Mary answered and said: "My Lord, in what type then do the baptisms forgive sins? I heard thee say: 'The retributive servitors follow the soul, being witnesses to it for all the sins which it committeth, that they may convict it in the judgements.' Now, therefore, my Lord, do the mysteries of the baptisms wipe out the sins which are in the hands of the retributive servitors, so that they forget them? Now, therefore, my Lord, tell unto us the type, how they forgive sins; nay, we desire to know it with sureness."

And the Saviour answered and said unto Mary: "Finely hast thou spoken. The servitors indeed are they who bear witness to all sins; but they abide in the judgements, seizing the souls and convicting all the souls of sinners who have received no mysteries; and they keep them fast in the chaos, chastizing them. And those retributive receivers cannot overstep the chaos to reach to the orders which are above the chaos, and convict the souls which come forth out of those regions. Now then it is not lawful to use force on the souls which receive mysteries, and lead them into the chaos, so that the retributive servitors may convict them. But the retributive servitors convict the souls of the sinners and they keep fast those who have received no mysteries which may lead them out of the chaos. The souls on the other hand which receive mysteries,--they have no power of convicting them, because they do not come forth out of their regions, and also, if they come forth into their regions, they are not able to obstruct them; nay, they cannot lead them into that chaos.

How the soul of the sinner is stamped with his sins."Hearken moreover that I may tell you the word in truth, in what type the mystery of baptism forgiveth sins. Now, therefore, if the souls sin when they are still in the world, the retributive servitors indeed come and are witnesses of all the sins which the soul committeth, lest in sooth they should come forth out of the regions of the chaos, in order that they may convict them in the judgements which are outside the chaos. And the counterfeiting spirit becometh witness of all the sins which the soul shall commit, in order that it may convict it in the judgements which are outside the chaos, not only that it may bear witness of them, but--all the sins of the souls--it sealeth the sins and maketh them fast on to the soul, in order that all the rulers of the chastisements of the sinners may recognise it, that it is a sinning soul, and that they may know of the number of sins which it hath committed, by the seals which the counterfeiting spirit hath made fast on to it, so that it shall be chastized according to the number of sins which it hath committed. This do they with all sinning souls.

Now, therefore, he who shall receive the mysteries of the baptisms, then the mystery of them becometh a great, exceedingly violent, wise fire and it burneth up the sins and entereth into the soul secretly and consumeth all the sins which the counterfeiting spirit hath made fast on to it. And when it hath finished purifying all the sinsThe separation of the portions by the mystery of baptism. which the counterfeiting spirit hath made fast on to the soul, it entereth into the body secretly and pursueth all the pursuers secretly and separateth them off on the side of the portion of the body. For it pursueth the counterfeiting spirit and the destiny and separateth them off from the power and from the soul and putteth them on the side of the body, so that it separateth off the counterfeiting spirit and the destiny and the body into one portion; the soul and power on the other hand it separateth into another. The mystery of baptism on the contrary remaineth in the midst of the two, continually separating them from one another, so that it maketh them clean and purifieth them, in order that they may not be stained by matter.

Now, therefore, Mary, this is the way in which the mysteries of the baptisms forgive sins and all iniquities."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 116

When then the Saviour had said this, he said unto his disciples: "Understand ye in what manner I discourse with you?"

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Then Mary started forward and said: "Yea, my Lord, in truth I enquire closely into all the words which thou sayest. Concerning the word then of the forgiveness of sins thou hast spoken unto us in similitude aforetime, saying: 'I am come to cast fire on the earth,' and again: 'What will I that it burn?' And again thou hast distinguished it clearly, saying: 'I have a baptism, to baptise in it; and how shall I endure until it is accomplished? Think ye I am come to cast peace on the earth? Nay, but I am come to cast division. For from now on five will be in one house; three will be divided against two, and two against three.' This, my Lord, is the word which thou hast spoken clearly.

The word indeed which thou hast spoken: 'I am come to cast fire on the earth, and what will I that it burn?'--that is, my Lord: Thou hast brought the mysteries of the baptisms into the world, and thy pleasure is that they should consume all the sins of the soul and purify them. And thereafter again thou hast distinguished it clearly, saying: 'I have a baptism, to baptise in it; and how shall I endure until it is accomplished?'--that is: Thou wilt not remain in the world until the baptisms are accomplished and purify the perfect souls.

And moreover the word which thou hast spoken unto us aforetime: 'Think ye I am come to cast peace on the earth? Nay, but I am come to cast division. For from now on five will be in one house; three will be divided against two, and two against three,'--that is: Thou hast brought the mystery of the baptisms into the world, and it hath effected a division in the bodies of the world, because it hath separated the counterfeiting spirit and the body and the destiny into one portion; the soul and the power on the other hand it hath separated into another portion;--that is: Three will be against two, and two against three."

And when Mary had said this, the Saviour said: "Well said, thou spiritual and light-pure Mary. This is the solution of the word."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 117

Mary answered again and said: "My Lord, I will still continue to question thee. Now, therefore, my Lord, bear with me questioning thee. Lo, in openness have we known the type in which the baptisms forgive sins. Now on the other hand the mystery of these three spaces and the mysteries of this First Mystery and the mysteries of the Ineffable, in what type do they forgive sins? Do they forgive in the type of the baptisms, or not?"

The Saviour answered again and said: "Nay, but all the mysteries of the three spaces forgive the soul in all the regions of the rulers all the sine which the soul hath committed from the beginning onwards. They forgive it, and moreover they forgive the sins which it thereafter will commit, until the time up to which every one of the mysteries shall be effective,--the time up to which every one of the mysteries shall be effective I will tell you at the expansion of the universe.

And moreover the mystery of the First Mystery and the mysteries of the Ineffable forgive the soul in all the regions of the rulers all the sins and all the iniquities which the soul hath committed; and [not only] do they forgive it all, but they impute unto it no sin from this hour unto all eternity, because of the gift of that great mystery and its prodigiously great glory."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 118

When then the Saviour had said this, he said unto his disciples: "Understand ye in what manner I speak with you?"

And Mary answered again and said: "Yea, my Lord, already have I seized on all the words which thou sayest. Now, therefore, my Lord, concerning the word which thou sayest: 'All the mysteries of the three spaces forgive sins and cover their [the souls'] iniquities,'--David, the prophet, then hath prophesied aforetime concerning this word, saying: 'Blessed are they whose sins are forgiven and whose iniquities are covered.'

And the word which thou hast spoken: 'The mystery of the First Mystery and the mystery of the Ineffable forgive all men who shall receive those mysteries, not only the sins which they have committed from the beginning onwards, but also they impute them not to them from this hour unto all eternity,'--concerning this word David hath prophesied aforetime, saying: 'Blessed are those to whom the Lord God will not impute sins,'--that is: Sins will not be imputed from this hour to those who have received the mysteries of the First Mystery and who have received the mystery of the Ineffable."

He said: "Well said, Mary, thou spiritual and light-pure Mary. This is the solution of the word."

And Mary continued again and said: "My Lord, if the man receiveth mysteries from the mysteries of the First Mystery and again turneth and sinneth and transgresseth, and if he thereafter again turneth and repenteth and prayeth in any [mystery] of his mystery, will it be forgiven him, or not?"

The Saviour answered and said unto Mary: "Amen, amen, I say unto you: Every one who shall receive the mysteries of the First Mystery, if he again turneth and transgresseth twelve times and again twelve times repenteth, praying in the mystery of the First Mystery, it will be forgiven.

But if after the twelve times he again transgresseth and turneth and transgresseth, it will not be forgiven him for ever, so that he should turn himself to any [mystery] of his mystery; and this [man] hath not repentance unless he receiveth the mysteries of the Ineffable, which have compassion at every time and forgive at every time."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 119

Mary continued again and said: "My Lord, but if on the other hand they who have received the mysteries of the First Mystery, turn and transgress, and if they come out of the body before they have repented, will they inherit the kingdom or not, because indeed they have received the gift of the First Mystery?"

The Saviour answered and said unto Mary: "Amen, amen, I say unto you: Every man who hath received mysteries in the First Mystery, having transgressed for the first and the second and the third time, and if he cometh out of the body before he hath repented, his judgement is far sorer than all the judgements; for his dwelling is in the midst of the jaws of the dragon of the outer darkness, and at the end of all this he will be frozen up [?] in the chastisements and perish for ever, because he hath received the gift of the First Mystery and hath not abided in it [the gift].

Mary answered and said: "My Lord, all men who shall receive the mysteries of the mystery of the Ineffable, and have turned again, have transgressed and have ceased in their faith, and again thereafter, when they are still in life, have turned and have repented, how many times will it be forgiven them?"

The Saviour answered and said unto Mary: "Amen, amen, I say unto you: To every man who shall receive the mysteries of the Ineffable, not only if he transgresseth once, turneth again and repenteth, will it be forgiven, but if at any time he transgresseth, and if, when still in life, he turneth again and repenteth, without play- acting, and again if he turneth and repenteth and prayeth in any of his mysteries, then will it be forgiven him, because he hath received of the gift of the mysteries of the Ineffable, and moreover because those mysteries are compassionate and forgive at every time."

And Mary answered again and said unto Jesus: "My Lord, those who shall receive the mysteries of the Ineffable, and have again turned, have transgressed and have ceased in their faith and are moreover come out of the body before they have repented, what will befall such?"

And the Saviour answered and said unto Mary: "Amen, amen, I say unto you: All men who shall receive the mysteries of the Ineffable, blessed indeed are the souls which shall receive of those mysteries; but if they turn and transgress and come out of the body before they have repented, the judgement of those men is sorer than all the judgements, and it is exceedingly violent, even if those souls are new and it is their first time for coming into the world. They will not return to the changes of the bodies from that hour onwards and will not be able to do anything, but they will be cast out into the outer darkness and perish and be non-existent for ever."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 120

And when the Saviour had said this, he said unto his disciples: "Understand ye in what manner I speak with you?"

Mary answered and said: "I have seized on the words which thou hast said. Now, therefore, my Lord, this is the word which thou hast said: 'They who shall receive the mysteries of the Ineffable,--blessed indeed are those souls; but if they turn, transgress, and cease in their faith, and if they go forth out of the body without having repented, they are no more fit from this hour onwards to return to the changes of the body, nor for anything at all, but they are cast out into the outer darkness, they will perish in that region and be non-existent for ever,'--concerning [this] word thou hast spoken unto us aforetime, saying: 'Salt is good; but if the salt becometh sterile, with what are they to salt it? It is fit neither for the dunghill nor for the earth; but they throw it away,'--that is: Blessed are all the souls which shall receive of the mysteries of the Ineffable; but if they once transgress, they are not fit to return to the body henceforth from this hour onwards nor for anything at all, but they are cast into the outer darkness and perish in that region."

And when she had said this, the Saviour said: "Well said, thou spiritual light-pure Mary. This is the solution of the word."

And Mary continued again and said: "My Lord, all men who have received the mysteries of the First Mystery and the mysteries of the Ineffable, those who have not transgressed, but whose faith in the mysteries was in sincerity, without play-acting,--they then have again sinned through the compulsion of the Fate and have again turned and repented and again prayed in any of the mysteries, how often will it be forgiven them?"

And the Saviour answered and said unto Mary in the midst of his disciples: "Amen, amen, I say unto you: All men who shall receive the mysteries of the Ineffable and moreover the mysteries of the First Mystery, sin every time through the compulsion of the Fate, and if they, when they are still in life, turn and repent and abide in any of their mysteries, it will be forgiven them at every time, because those mysteries are compassionate and forgiving for all time. For this cause then have I said unto you before: Those mysteries will not only forgive them their sins which they have committed from the beginning onwards, but they do not impute them to them from this hour onwards,--of which I have said unto you that they receive repentance at any time, and that they also will forgive the sins which they commit anew.

If on the other hand those who shall receive mysteries of the mystery of the Ineffable and of the mysteries of the First Mystery, turn and sin and come out of the body without having repented, then they will be even as those will be who have transgressed and not repented. Their dwelling also is in the midst of the jaws of the dragon of the outer darkness and they will perish and be non-existent for ever. For this cause have I said unto you: All men who shall receive the mysteries, if they knew the time when they come out of the body, would watch themselves and not sin, in order that they may inherit the Light-kingdom for ever."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 121

When then the Saviour had said this unto his disciples, he said unto them: "Understand ye in what manner I speak with you?"

Mary answered and said: "Yea, my Lord, with precision have I precisely followed all the words which thou hast said. Concerning this word then thou hast spoken unto us aforetime: 'If the house-holder knew at what hour in the night the thief cometh to break into the house, he would keep awake and not suffer the man to break into his house.'"

When then Mary had said this, the Saviour said: "Well said, thou spiritual Mary. This is the word."

The Saviour continued again and said unto his disciples: "Now, therefore, herald ye unto all men who shall receive mysteries in the Light, and speak unto them, saying: Keep watch over yourselves and sin not, lest ye heap evil on evil and go out of the body without having repented and become strangers to the Light-kingdom for ever."

When the Saviour had said this, Mary answered and said: "My Lord, great is the compassion of those mysteries which forgive sins at every time."

The Saviour answered and said unto Mary in the midst of the disciples: "If to-day a king who is a man of the world, giveth a gift to men of his like, and also forgiveth murderers and those who have intercourse with males, and the rest of the very grievous sins which are deserving of death,--if it becometh him who is a man of the world, to have done this, much more then have the Ineffable and the First Mystery, who are the lords of the universe, the authority to act in all things as it pleaseth them, that they forgive every one who shall receive mysteries.

Or if on the other hand a king to-day investeth a soldier with a royal vesture and sendeth him into foreign regions, and he committeth murders and other grievous sins which are deserving of death, then they will not impute them to him, and are not able to do him any evil because he is invested with the royal vesture,--how much more then those who wear the mysteries of the vestures of the Ineffable and those of the First Mystery, who are lords over all those of the height and all those of the depth!"

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 122

Thereafter Jesus saw a woman who came to make repentance. He had baptised her three times, and yet she had not done what was worthy of the baptisms. And the Saviour desired to try Peter, to see if he was compassionate and forgiving, as he had commanded them. He said unto Peter: "Lo, three times have I baptised this soul, and yet at this third time she hath not done what is worthy of the mysteries of the Light. Wherefor then cloth she make her body good for nothing? Now, therefore, Peter, perform the mystery which cutteth off the souls from the inheritances of the Light; perform that mystery in order that it may cut off the soul of this woman from the Inheritance of the Light."

When then the Saviour had said this, he tried [Peter] to see whether he was compassionate and forgiving.

When then the Saviour had said this, Peter said: "My Lord, let her yet this time, that we may give her the higher mysteries; and if she is fit, then hast thou let her inherit the Light-kingdom, but if she is not fit, then hast thou [to] cut her off from the Light-kingdom."

When then Peter had said this, the Saviour knew that Peter was compassionate as he and forgiving.

When then all this was said, the Saviour said unto his disciples: "Have ye understood all these words and the type of this woman?"

Mary answered and said: "My Lord, I have understood the mysteries of the things which have fallen to this woman's lot. Concerning the things then which have fallen to her lot, thou hast spoken unto us aforetime in similitude, saying: 'A man owned a fig-tree in his vineyard; and he came to look for its fruit, and he found not a single one on it. He said to the vine-dresser: Lo, three years do I come to look for fruit on this fig-

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tree, and I have not any produce at all from it. Cut it down then; why doth it make the ground also good for nothing? But he answered and said unto him: My lord, have patience with it still this year, until I dig round it and give it dung; and if it beareth in another year, thou hast let it, but if thou dost not find any [fruit] at all, then hast thou [to] cut it down.' Lo, my Lord, this is the solution of the word."

The Saviour answered and said unto Mary: "Well said, spiritual [one]. This is [the solution of] the word."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 123

Mary continued again and said unto the Saviour: "My Lord, a man who hath received mysteries and hath not done what is worthy of them, but he hath turned and hath sinned, thereafter he hath again repented and hath been in great repentance,--is it then lawful for my brethren to renew for him the mystery which he hath received, or rather give him a mystery out of the lower mysteries,--is it lawful, or not?"

The Saviour answered and said unto Mary: "Amen, amen, I say unto you: Neither the mystery which he hath received, nor the lower hearken unto him, to forgive his sins; but it is the mysteries which are higher than those which he hath received, which hearken unto him and forgive his sins. Now, therefore, Mary, let thy brethren give him the mystery which is higher than that which he hath received, and they are to accept his repentance from him and forgive his sins,--the latter indeed, because he hath received it once more, and the former, because he hath towered over them [the lower mysteries] upward,--the latter indeed hearkeneth not unto him to forgive his sin; but it is the mystery which is higher than that which he hath received, that forgiveth his sins. But if on the other hand he hath received the three mysteries in the two spaces or in the third from within, and he hath turned and transgressed, no mystery hearkeneth unto him to help him in his repentance, neither the higher nor the lower, save the mystery of the First Mystery and the mysteries of the Ineffable,--it is they which hearken unto him and accept his repentance from him."

Mary answered and said: "My Lord, a man who hath received mysteries up to two or three in the second or third space, and he hath not transgressed, but is still in his faith in uprightness and without play-acting, [what will befall him]?"

There is no limit to the number of mysteries the faithful may receive.And the Saviour answered and said unto Mary: "Every man who hath received mysteries in the second and in the third space, and hath not transgressed, but is still in his faith without play-acting, it is lawful for such an one to receive mysteries in the space which pleaseth him, from the first to the last, because they have not transgressed."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 124

Mary continued again and said: "My Lord, a man who hath known the godhead and hath received of the mysteries of the Light, and hath turned and transgressed and done lawlessly and hath not turned to repent, and a man on the other hand who hath not found the godhead nor known it, and that man is a sinner and moreover impious, and they both have come out of the body,--which of them will get more suffering in the judgements?"

The Saviour answered again and said unto Mary: "Amen, amen, I say unto thee: The man who hath known the godhead and hath received the mysteries of the Light, and sinned and hath not turned to repent, he will get suffering in the chastisements of the judgements in great sufferings and judgements exceedingly far more in comparison with the impious and law-breaking man who hath not known the godhead. Now, therefore, who hath ears to hear, let him hear."

When then the Saviour had said this, Mary started forward and said: "My Lord, my light-man hath ears, and I have understood the whole word which thou hast spoken. Concerning this word then thou hast spoken unto us in a similitude: 'The slave who knew the will of his lord and made not ready nor did the will of his lord, will receive great blows; but he who knew not and did not, will be deserving of less. For from every one to whom more is entrusted, of him will more be demanded, and to whom much is handed over, of him much is required,'--that is, my Lord: He who knew the godhead and hath found the mysteries of the Light and hath transgressed, will be chastized in a far greater chastisement than he who hath not known the godhead. This, my Lord, is the solution of the word."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 125

Mary continued again and said unto the Saviour: "My Lord, if the faith and the mysteries shall have revealed themselves,--now, therefore, if souls come into the world in many circuits and are neglectful of receiving mysteries, hoping that, if they come into the world at any other circuit, they will receive them, will they not then be in danger of not succeeding in receiving the mysteries?"

The Saviour answered and said unto his disciples: "Herald unto the whole world and say unto men: Strive thereafter that ye may receive the mysteries of the Light in this time of affliction and enter into the Light-kingdom. Join not one day to another, or one circuit to another, hoping that ye may succeed in receiving the mysteries if ye come into the world in another circuit.

And these know not when the number of the perfect souls will be at hand; for if the number of the perfect souls shall be at hand, I will now shut the gates of the Light, and no one from this hour onwards will enter in, nor will any one hereafter go forth, for the number of the perfect souls is completed and the mystery of the First Mystery is completed, for the sake of which the universe hath arisen,--that is: I am that Mystery.

And from this hour onwards no one will be able to enter into the Light and no one be able to go forth. For at the completion of the time of the number of the perfect souls, before I have set fire to the world, in order that it may purify the aeons and the veils and the firmaments and the whole earth and also all the matters which are on it, mankind will be still existing.

At that time then the faith will reveal itself still more and the mysteries in those days. And many souls will come by means of the circuits of the changes of the body, and coming back into the world are some of those in this present time who have hearkened unto me, how I taught, who at the completion of the number of the perfect souls will find the mysteries of the Light and receive them and come to the gates of the Light and find that the number of the perfect souls is complete, which is the completion of the First Mystery and the gnosis of the universe. And they will find that I have shut the gates of the Light and that it is impossible that any one should enter in or that any one should go forth from this hour.

Those souls then will knock at the gates of the Light, saying: Lord, open unto us! And I will answer unto them: I know you not, whence ye are. And they will say unto me: We have received of thy mysteries and fulfilled thy whole teaching and thou hast taught us on the high ways. And I will answer and say unto them: I know you not, who ye are, ye who are doers of iniquity and of evil even unto now. Wherefor go into the outer darkness. And from that hour they will go into the outer darkness, there where is howling and grinding of teeth.

For this cause then, herald unto the whole world and say unto them: 'Strive thereafter, to renounce the whole world and the whole matter therein, that ye may receive the mysteries of the Light before the number of the perfect souls is completed, in order that they may not make you stop before the gates of the Light and. lead you away into the outer darkness.'

"Now, therefore, who hath ears to hear, let him hear."

When then the Saviour had said this, Mary started forward again and said: "My Lord, not only hath my light-man ears, but my soul hath heard and understood all the words which thou sayest. Now, therefore, my Lord, concerning the words which thou hast spoken: 'Herald unto the men of the world and say unto them: Strive thereafter, to receive the mysteries of the Light, in this time of affliction, that ye may inherit the Light-kingdom . . . .

[A LARGE PART OF TEXT IS MISSING HERE.]

THE FOURTH BOOK OF PISTIS SOPHIA

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 126

And Mary continued again and said unto Jesus: "In what type is the outer darkness; or rather how many regions of chastisement are there in it?"

And Jesus answered and said unto Mary: "The outer darkness is a great dragon, whose tail is in his mouth, outside the whole world and surrounding the whole world. And there are many regions of chastisement within it. There are twelve mighty chastisement-dungeons and a ruler is in every dungeon and the face of the rulers is different one from another.

And the first ruler, who is in the first dungeon, hath a crocodile's face, whose tail is in his mouth. And out of the jaws of the dragon cometh all ice and all dust and all cold and all different diseases. This [is] he who is called with his authentic name in his region 'Enchthonin.'

And the ruler who is in the second dungeon,--a cat's face is his authentic face. This [is] he who is called in his region 'Charachar.'

And the ruler who is in the third dungeon,--a dog's face is his authentic face. This [is] he who is called in his region 'Archaroch.'

And the ruler who is in the fourth dungeon,--a serpent's face is his authentic face. This [is] he who is called in his region 'Achrochar.'

And the ruler who is in the fifth dungeon,--a black bull's face is his authentic face. This [is] he who is called in his region 'Marchur.'

And the ruler who is in the sixth dungeon,--a wild boar's face is his authentic face. This [is] he who is called in his region 'Lamchamor.'

And the ruler who is in the seventh dungeon,--a bear's face is his authentic face. This [is] he who is called in his region with his authentic name 'Luchar.'

And the ruler of the eighth dungeon,--a vulture's face is his authentic face, whose name in his region is called 'Laraoch.'

And the ruler of the ninth dungeon,--a basilisk's face is his authentic face, whose name in his region is called 'Archeoch.'

And in the tenth dungeon is a multitude of rulers, and every one of them hath seven dragon's heads in his authentic face. And he who is over them all is in his region with his name called Xarmaroch.'

And in the eleventh dungeon is a multitude of rulers,--and every one of them hath seven cat-faced heads in his authentic face. And the great one over them is called in his region Rochar.'

And in the twelfth dungeon is an exceedingly great multitude of rulers, and every one of them hath seven dog-faced heads in his authentic face. And the great one over them is called in his region 'Chremaor.'

These rulers then of these twelve dungeons are inside the dragon of the outer darkness, each and every one of them hath a name every hour, and every one of them changeth his face every hour. And moreover every one of these dungeons hath a door opening upwards, so that the dragon of the outer darkness hath twelve dark dungeons, and every dungeon hath a door opening upwards. And an angel of the height watcheth each of the doors of the dungeons,--whom Yew, the First Man, the overseer of the Light, the envoy of the First Commandment, hath established as watchers of the dragon, so that the dragon and the rulers of his dungeons which are in him, may not mutiny."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 127

When the Saviour had said this, Mary Magdalene answered and said: "My Lord, will then the souls which shall be led into that region, be led through these twelve doors of the dungeons, every one according to the judgement of which it is deserving?"

What souls pass into the dragon, and how.The Saviour answered and said unto Mary: "No soul at all will be led into the dragon through these doors. But the soul[s] of the blasphemers and of those who are in the doctrines of error and of all who teach doctrines of error, and of those who have intercourse with males, and of those stained and impious men and of atheists and murderers and adulterers and sorcerers,--all such souls then, if while still in life they do not repent but remain persistently in their sin, and all the souls which have stayed behind without, that is those which have had the number of the circuits which are appointed them in the sphere, without having repented,--well, at their last circuit will those souls, they and all the souls of which I have just told you, be led out of [?] the jaws of the tail of the dragon into the dungeons of the outer darkness. And when those souls of the doors of the dungeons. have been led into the outer darkness into the jaws of his tail, he turneth his tail into his own mouth and shutteth them in. Thus will the souls be led into the outer darkness.

And the dragon of the outer darkness hath twelve authentic names on his doors, a name on every one of the doors of the dungeons. And these twelve names are different one from another; but the twelve are one in the other, so that he who speaketh one name, speaketh all. These then will I tell you at the expansion of the universe. Thus then is fashioned the outer darkness,--that is the dragon."

When then the Saviour had said this, Mary answered and said unto the Saviour: "My Lord, are then the chastisements of that dragon far more terrible compared with all the chastisements of the judgements?"

The Saviour answered and said unto Mary: "Not only are they more painful compared with all the chastisements of the judgements, but all the souls which are led into that region, will be frozen up [?] in the violent cold and the hail and exceedingly violent fire which is in that region, but also at the dissolution of the world, that is at the ascension of the universe, those souls will perish through the violent cold and the exceedingly violent fire and be non-existent for ever."

Mary answered and said: "Woe unto the souls of sinners! Now, therefore, my Lord, is the fire in the world of mankind fiercer, or the fire in Amente?"

The Saviour answered and said unto Mary: "Amen, I say unto thee: The fire in Amente is nine times fiercer than the fire in mankind.

And the fire in the chastisements of the great chaos is nine times more violent than that in Amente.

And the fire in the chastisements of the rulers who [are] on the way of the midst, is nine times more violent than the fire of the chastisements in the great chaos.

And the fire in the dragon of the outer darkness and in all the chastisements in him is seventy times more violent than the fire in all the chastisements and in all the judgements of the rulers who [are] on the way of the midst."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 128

And when the Saviour had said this unto Mary, she smote her breast, she cried out and wept, she and all the disciples together, and said: "Woe unto sinners, for their chastisements are exceedingly numerous!"

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Mary came forward, she fell down at the feet of Jesus, kissed them and said: "My Lord, bear with me if I question thee, and be not wroth with me, that I trouble thee oft; for from now on I will begin to question thee on all things with determination."

The Saviour answered and said unto Mary: "Question concerning all things on which thou desirest to question, and I will reveal them unto thee in openness without similitude."

Mary answered and said: "My Lord, if a good man hath accomplished all the mysteries and he hath a kinsman, in a word he hath a man, and that man is an impious [one] who hath committed all sins and is deserving of the outer darkness, and he hath not repented, or he hath completed his number of circuits in the changes of the body, and that man hath done nothing useful, and he hath come out of. the body, and we have known certainly of him, that he hath sinned and is deserving of the outer darkness,--what are we to do with him, to save him from the chastisements of the dragon of the outer darkness, and that he may be removed into a righteous body which shall find the mysteries of the Light-kingdom, in order that it may be good and go on high and inherit the Light-kingdom?"

The Saviour answered and said unto Mary: "If a sinner is deserving of the outer darkness, or hath sinned according to the chastisements of the rest of the chastisements and hath not repented, or a sinning man who hath completed his number of circuits in the changes of the body and hath not repented,--if then these men of whom I have spoken, shall come out of the body and be led into the outer darkness, now, therefore, if ye desire to remove them out of the chastisements of the outer darkness and all the judgements and to remove them into a righteous body which shall find the mysteries of the Light, that it may go on high and inherit the Light-kingdom,--then perform this same mystery of the Ineffable which forgiveth sins at every time, and when ye have finished performing the mystery then say:

The soul of such or such a man of whom I think in my heart,--if it is in the region of the chastisements of the dungeons of the outer darkness, or if it is in the rest of the chastisements of the dungeons of the outer darkness and in the rest of the chastisements of the dragons,--then is it to be removed out of them all. And if it hath completed its number of its circuits of the changes, then is it to be led before the Virgin of Light, and the Virgin of Light is to seal it with the seal of the Ineffable and cast it down in whatever month into a righteous body which shall find the mysteries of the Light, so that it may be good, go on high and inherit the Light-kingdom. And moreover if it hath completed the circuits of changes, then is that soul to be led before the seven virgins of the Light who [are set] over the baptisms, and they are to apply them to the soul and seal it with the sign of the kingdom of the Ineffable and lead it into the orders of the Light.

This then will ye say when ye perform the mystery.

Amen, I say unto you: The soul for which ye shall pray, if it indeed is in the dragon of the outer darkness, he will draw his tail out of his mouth and let go that soul. And moreover if it is in all the regions of the judgements of the rulers, amen, I say unto you: The receivers of Melchisedec will with haste snatch it away, whether the dragon let it go or it is in the judgements of the rulers; in a word, the receivers of Melchisedec will snatch it away out of all the regions in which it is, and will lead it into the region of the Midst before the Virgin of Light, and the Virgin of Light proveth it and seeth the sign of the kingdom of the Ineffable which is on that soul.

And if it hath not yet completed its number of circuits in the changes of the soul, or [in the changes] of the body, the Virgin of Light sealeth it with an excellent seal and hasteth to have it cast down in any month into a righteous body which shall find the mysteries of the Light, be good and go on high into the Light-kingdom.

And if that soul hath had its number of the circuits, then the Virgin of Light proveth it, and doth not have it chastized, because it hath had its number of circuits, but handeth it over to the seven virgins of the Light. And the seven virgins of the Light prove that soul, baptise it with their baptisms and give it the spiritual chrism and lead it into the Treasury of the Light and put it in the last order of the Light until the ascension of all the perfect souls. And when they prepare to draw apart the veils of the region of those of the Right, they cleanse that soul anew and purify it and put it in the orders of the first saviour who [is] in the Treasury of the Light."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 129

It came to pass then, when the Saviour had finished speaking these words unto his disciples, that Mary answered and said unto Jesus: "My Lord, I have heard thee say: 'He who shall receive of the mysteries of the Ineffable or who shall receive of the mysteries of the First Mystery,--they become flames of light-beams and light-streams and penetrate all the regions until they reach the region of their inheritance.'"

The Saviour answered and said unto Mary: "If they receive the mystery when still in life, and if they come out of the body, they become light-beams and light-streams and penetrate all the regions until they reach the region of their inheritance.

But if they are sinners and are come out of the body and have not repented, and if ye perform for them the mystery of the Ineffable, in order that they may be removed out of all the chastisements and be cast into a righteous body, which is good and inheriteth the Light-kingdom or is brought into the last order of the Light, then they will not be able to penetrate the regions, because they do not perform the mystery [themselves]. But the receivers of Melchisedec follow them and lead them before the Virgin of Light. And the servitors of the judges of the rulers make frequent haste to take those souls and hand them over from one to the other until they lead them before the Virgin of Light."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 130

And Mary continued and said unto the Saviour: "My Lord, if a man hath received the mysteries of the Light which [are] in the first space from without, and when the time of the mysteries up to which they reach, is completed, and if that man continueth anew to receive mysteries of the mysteries which [are] within the mysteries which he hath already received, and moreover that man hath become negligent, not having prayed in the prayer which taketh away the evil of the victuals which he eateth and drinketh, and through the evil of the victuals he is bound to the axle of the Fate of the rulers and through the necessity of the elements he hath sinned anew after the completion of the time up to which the mystery reacheth,--because he hath become negligent and hath not prayed in the prayer which taketh away the evil of the souls and purifieth them,--and that man is come out of the body before he hath repented anew and anew received the mysteries of the mysteries which [are] within the mysteries which he hath already received,--those which accept repentance from him and forgive his sins,--and when he I came forth out of the body and we knew with certainty that they have carried him into the midst of the dragon of the outer darkness because of the sins which he committed, and that that man hath no helper in the world nor any one compassionate, that he should perform the mystery of the Ineffable until he should be removed out of the midst of the dragon of the outer darkness and led into the Light-kingdom,--now, therefore, my Lord, what will befall him until he save himself from the chastisements of the dragon of the outer darkness? By no means, O Lord, abandon him, because he hath endured sufferings in the persecutions and in the whole godhood in which he is.

Now, therefore, O Saviour, have mercy with me, lest one of our kinsmen should be in such a type, and have mercy with all the souls which shall be in this type; for thou art the key which openeth the door of the universe and shutteth the door of the universe, and thy mystery comprehendeth them all. Have then mercy, O Lord, with such souls. For they have called on the name of thy mysteries, [were it but] for one single day, and have truly had faith in them and were not in play-acting. Give them then, O Lord, a gift in thy goodness and give them rest in thy mercy."

When then Mary had said this, the Saviour called her most exceedingly blessed because of the words which she had spoken. And the Saviour was in great compassion and said unto Mary: "Unto all men who shall be in this type of which thou hast spoken, unto them while they [are] still in life, give ye the mystery of one of the twelve names of the dungeons of the dragon of the outer darkness,--those which I will give you when I have ended explaining unto you the universe from within without and from without within.

And all men who shall find the mystery of one of the twelve names of that dragon of the outer darkness, and all men even if they are very great sinners, and they have first received the mysteries of the Light and thereafter have transgressed, or they have performed no mystery at all, then if they have completed their circuits in the changes, and if such men go forth out of the body without having repented anew, and if they are led into the chastisements which [are] in the midst of the dragon of the outer darkness, and remain in the circuits and remain in the chastisements in the midst of the dragon,--these, if they know the mystery of one of the twelve names of the angels while they are in life and are in the world, and if they speak one of their names while they are in the midst of the chastisements of the dragon,--then, at the hour when they shall speak it, the whole dragon will be tossed about and most exceedingly convulsed, and the door of the dungeon in which the souls of those men are, openeth itself upward, and the ruler of the dungeon in which those men are, casteth the souls of those men out of the midst of the dragon of the outer darkness, because they have found the mystery of the name of the dragon.

The souls who know the names escape and are taken to Yew."And when the ruler casteth out souls, straight-way the angels of Yew, the First Man, who watch the dungeons of that region, hasten to snatch away those souls to lead them before Yew, the First Man, the Envoy of the First Commandment. And Yew, the First Man, seeth the souls and proveth them; he findeth that they have completed their circuits and that it is not lawful to bring them anew into the world, for it is not lawful to bring anew into the world all souls which are cast into the outer darkness. [But] if they have not yet completed their number of circuits in the changes of the body, the receivers of Yew keep them with them until they perform for them the mystery of the Ineffable, and remove them into a good body which shall find the mysteries of the Light and inherit the Light-kingdom.

But if Yew proveth them and findeth that they have completed their circuits and that it is not lawful to [re]turn them anew to the world, and that also the sign of the Ineffable is not with them, then Yew hath compassion upon them and leadeth them before the seven virgins of the Light. They baptise them with their baptisms, but they do not give them the spiritual chrism. And they lead them into the Treasury of the Light, but they do not put them in the orders of the Inheritance, because no sign and no seal of the Ineffable is with them. But they save them from all chastisements and put them into the light of the Treasury, separated and apart by themselves alone until the ascension of the universe. And at the time when they will draw apart the veils of the Treasury of the Light, they cleanse those souls anew and purify them most exceedingly and give them anew mysteries and put them in the last order which [is] in the Treasury, and those souls will be saved from all the chastisements of the judgements."

And when the Saviour had said this, he said unto his disciples: "Have ye understood in what manner I discourse with you?"

Mary then answered and said "My Lord, this is the word which thou hast spoken unto us aforetime, in a similitude, saying: 'Make to yourselves a friend out of the Mamon of unrighteousness, so that if ye remain behind, he may receive you into I the everlasting tents.' Who then is the Mamon of unrighteousness, if not the dragon of the outer darkness? This is the word: He who shall understand the mystery of one of the names of the dragon of the outer darkness, if he remaineth behind in the outer darkness or if he hath completed the circuits of the changes, and speaketh the name of the dragon, he will be saved and go up out of the darkness and be received into the Treasury of the Light. This is the word, my Lord."

The Saviour answered again and said unto Mary: "Well said, spiritual and pure [one]. This is the solution of the word."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 131

Mary continued again and said: "My Lord, doth the dragon of the outer darkness come into this world or doth he not come?"

The Saviour answered and said unto Mary: "When the light of the sun is outside [? above the world], he covereth the darkness of the dragon; but if the sun is below the world, then the darkness of the dragon abideth as veiling of the sun and the breath of the darkness cometh into the world in form of a smoke in the night,--that is, if the sun withdraweth into himself his rays, then indeed the world is not able to endure the darkness of the dragon in its true form; otherwise would it be dissolved and go to ruin withal."

When the Saviour had said this, Mary continued again and said unto the Saviour: "My Lord, still do I question thee and hide [it] not from me. Now, therefore, my Lord, who compelleth then the man until he sinneth?"

The Saviour answered and said unto Mary: "It is the rulers of the Fate who compel the man until he sinneth."

Mary answered and said unto the Saviour: "My Lord, surely the rulers do not come down to the world and compel the man until he sinneth?"

The Saviour answered and said unto Mary: "They do not come down in this manner into the world. But the rulers of the Fate, when an old soul is about to come down through them, then the rulers of that great Fate who [are] in the regions of the head of the aeons,--which is that region which is called the region of the kingdom of Adamas, and which is that region which is in face of the Virgin of Light,--then the rulers of the region of that head give the old soul a cup of forgetfulness out of the seed of wickedness, filled with all the different desires and all forgetfulness. And straightway, when that soul shall drink out of the cup, it forgetteth all the regions to which it hath gone, and all the chastisements in which it hath travelled. AndOf the counterfeiting spirit. that cup of the water of forgetfulness becometh body outside the soul, and it resembleth the soul in all [its] figures and maketh [itself] like it,--which is what is called the counterfeiting spirit.

If on the other hand it is a new soul which they have taken out of the sweat of the rulers and out of the tears of their eyes, or far rather out of the breath of their mouths,--in a word, if it is one of the new souls or one of such souls, if it is one out of the sweat, then the five great rulers of the great Fate take up the sweat of all the rulers of their aeons, knead it together withal, portion it and make it into a soul. Or far rather if it is refuse of the purification of the Light, then Melchisedec taketh it up from the rulers. The five great rulers of the great Fate knead the refuse together, portion it and make it into different souls, so that every one of the rulers of the aeons, every one of them putteth his portion into the soul. For this

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cause they knead it jointly, so that all may [par]take of the soul.

And the five great rulers, if they portion it and make it into souls, bring it out of the sweat of the rulers. But if it is one out of the refuse of the purification of the Light, then Melchisedec, the great Receiver of the Light, taketh it [the refuse] up from the rulers, or far rather if it is out of the tears of their eyes or out of the breath of their mouth,--in a word, out of such souls, when the five rulers portion it and make it into different souls,--or far rather if it is an old soul, then the ruler who is in the head of the aeons, himself mixeth the cup of forgetfulness with the seed of wickedness, and he mixeth it with every one of the new souls at the time when he is in the region of the head. And that cup of forgetfulness becometh the counterfeiting spirit for that soul, and bideth outside the soul, being a vesture for it and resembling it in every way, being envelope as vesture outside it.

And the five great rulers of the great Fate of the aeons and the ruler of the disk of the sun and the ruler of the disk of the moon inbreathe within into that soul, and there cometh forth out of them a portion out of my power which the last Helper hath cast into the Mixture. And the portion of that power remaineth within in the soul, unloosed and existing on its own authority for the economy unto which it hath been inset, to give sense unto the soul, in order that it may seek after the works of the Light of the Height always.

And that power is like the species of the soul in every form and resembleth it. It cannot be outside the soul, but remaineth inside it, as I have commanded it from the beginning. When I willed to cast it into the first Commandment, I gave it commandment to remain outside [? inside] the souls for the economy of the First Mystery.

Jesus promiseth to reveal all in detail."And so I will tell you at the expansion of the universe all these words concerning the power and also concerning the soul, after what type they are fashioned, or what ruler fashioneth them, or what are the different species of the souls. And so will I tell you at the expansion of the universe how many fashion the soul. And I will tell you the name of all of them who fashion the soul. And I will tell you the type, how the counterfeiting spirit and the destiny have been prepared. And I will tell you the name of the soul before it is purged, and moreover its name when it hath been purged and become pure. And I will tell you the name of the counterfeiting spirit; and I will tell you the name of the destiny. And I will tell you the name of all the bonds with which the rulers bind the counterfeiting spirit to the soul. And I will tell you the name of all the decans who fashion the soul in the bodies of the soul in the world; and I will tell you in what manner the souls are fashioned. And I will tell you the type of every one of the souls; and I will tell you the type of the souls of the men and of those of the birds and of those of the wild beasts and of those of the reptiles. And. I will tell you the type of all the souls and of those of all the rulers which are sent into the world, in order that ye may be completed in all gnosis. All this will I tell you at the expansion of the universe. And after all this I will tell you wherefor all this hath come to pass.

Hearken, therefore, that I may discourse with you concerning the soul according as I have said: The five great rulers of the great Fate of the aeons and the rulers of the disk of the sun and the rulers of the disk of the moon breathe into that soul, and there cometh out of them a portion of my power, as I have just said. And the portion of that power remaineth within the soul, so that the soul can stand. And they put the counterfeiting spirit outside the soul, watching it and assigned to it; and the rulers bind it to the soul with their seals and their bonds and seal it to it, that it may compel it always, so that it continually doeth its mischiefs and all its iniquities, in order that it may be their slave always and remain under their sway always in the changes of the body; and they seal it to it that it may be in all the sin and all the desires of the world.

For this cause, therefore, have I in this manner brought the mysteries into this world which undo all the bonds of the counterfeiting spirit and all the seals which are bound to the soul,--those which make the soul free and free it from its parents the rulers, and make it into refined light and lead it up into the kingdom of its father, the first Issue, the First Mystery, for ever.

For this cause therefore, have I said unto you aforetime: 'He who doth not abandon father and mother and come and follow after me, is not worthy of me.' I have, therefore, said at that time: Ye are to abandon your parents the rulers, that I may make you sons of the First Mystery for ever."

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And when the Saviour had said this, Salome started forward and said: "My Lord, if our parents are the rulers, how standeth it written in the Law of Moses: 'He who shall abandon his father and his mother, let him die the death'? Hath not thus the Law made statement thereon?"

And when Salome had said this, the light-power in Mary Magdalene bubbled up in her and she said to the Saviour: "My Lord, give commandment unto me that I discourse with my sister Salome to tell her the solution of the word which she hath spoken."

It came to pass then, when the Saviour had heard Mary say these words, that he called her most exceedingly blessed. The Saviour answered and said unto Mary: "I give commandment unto thee, Mary, that thou speak the solution of the word which Salome hath spoken."

And when the Saviour had said this, Mary started forward to Salome, embraced her and said unto her: "My sister Salome, concerning the word which thou hast spoken: It standeth written in the Law of Moses: 'He who shall abandon his father and his mother, let him die the death,'--now, therefore, my sister Salome, the Law hath not said this concerning the soul nor concerning the body nor concerning the counterfeiting spirit, for all these are sons of the rulers and are out of them. But the Law hath said this concerning the power which hath came forth out of the Saviour, and which is the light-man within us to-day. The Law hath moreover said: Every one who shall remain without the Saviour and all his mysteries, his parents, will not only die the death but go to ruin in destruction."

When then Mary had said this, Salome started forward to Mary and embraced her anew. Salome said: "The Saviour hath power to make me understanding like thyself."

It came to pass, when the Saviour had heard the words of Mary, that he called her most exceedingly blessed. The Saviour answered and said unto Mary in the midst of his disciples: "Hearken, therefore, Mary, who it is who compelleth the man until he sinneth.

Now, therefore, the rulers seal the counterfeiting spirit to the soul, [but] so that it doth not agitate it every hour, making it do all sins and all iniquities. And they give commandment moreover unto the counterfeiting spirit, saying: 'If the soul cometh out of the body, do not agitate it, being assigned to it and transferring it to all the regions of the judgements, region by region, on account of all the sins which thou hast made it do, in order that it may be chastized in all the regions of the judgements, so that it may not be able to go on high to the Light and return into changes of the body.'

In a word, they give commandment to the counterfeiting spirit, saying: 'Do not agitate it at all at any hour unless it doth not speak mysteries and undo all the seals and all the bonds with which we have bound thee to it. [But] if it sayeth the mysteries and undoeth all the seals and all the bonds and [sayeth] the apology of the region, and if it cometh, then let it go forth, for it belongeth to those of the Light of the Height and hath become a stranger unto us and unto thee, and thou wilt not be able to seize it from this hour onwards. If on the contrary it sayeth not the mysteries of the undoing of thy bonds and of thy seals and of the apologies of the region, then seize it and let it not out; thou shalt transfer it to the chastisements and all the regions of the judgements on account of all the sins which thou hast made it do. After this lead [such souls] before the Virgin of Light, who sendeth them once more into the circuit.'

The rulers of the great Fate of the aeons hand these over to the counterfeiting spirit; and the rulers summon the servitors of their aeons, to the number of three-hundred-and-sixty-and-five, and give them the soul and the counterfeiting spirit, which are bound to one another. The counterfeiting spirit is the without of the soul, and the compound of the power is the within of the soul, being within both of them, in order that they may be able to stand, for it is the power which keepeth the two up-right. And the rulers give commandment to the servitors, saying unto them: This is the type which ye are to put into the body of the matter of the world.' They say unto them indeed: 'Put the compound of the power, the within of the soul, within them all, that they may be able to stand, for it is their up-rightness, and after the soul put the counterfeiting spirit.'

Thus they give commandment to their servitors, that they may deposit it into the bodies of the antitype. And following this fashion the servitors of the rulers bring the power and the soul and the counterfeiting spirit, bring them down to the world, and pour [them] out into the world of the rulers of the midst. The rulers of the midst look after the counterfeiting spirit; and also the destiny, whose name is Moira, leadeth the man until it hath him slain through the death appointed unto him, which the rulers of the great Fate have bound to the soul. And the servitors of the sphere bind the soul and the power and the counterfeiting spirit and the destiny. And they portion them all and make them into two portions and seek after the man and also after the woman in the world to whom they have given signs, in order that they may send them into them. And they give one portion to the man and one portion to the woman in a victual of the world or in a breath of the air or in water or in a kind which they drink.

All this I will tell unto you and the species of every soul and the type, how they enter into the bodies, whether of men or of birds or of cattle or of wild beasts or of reptiles or of all the other species in the world. I will tell you their type, in what type they enter into men; I will tell it you at the expansion of the universe.

Now, therefore, when the servitors of the rulers cast the one portion into the woman and the other into the man in the fashion which I have told you, then the servitors secretly compel them, even if they are removed at very great distance from one another, so that they concert to be in a concert of the world. And the counterfeiting spirit which is in the man, cometh to the portion which is entrusted to the world in the matter of his body, and lifteth it and casteth it down into the womb of the woman [into the portion] which is entrusted to the seed of wickedness.

And in that hour the three-hundred-and-sixty-and-five servitors of the rulers go into her womb and take up their abode in it. The servitors bring the two portions the one to the other, and moreover the servitors withhold the blood of all the food of the woman which she will eat and which she will drink, and they withhold [it] in the womb of the woman up to forty days. And after forty days they knead the blood of the power of all the food and knead it well in the woman's womb.

After forty days they spend another thirty days in building its members in the image of the body of the man; each buildeth a member. I will tell you the decans who will build it [the body]; I will tell them you at the expansion of the universe.

If then after this the servitors shall have completed the whole body and all its members in seventy days, after this the servitors summon into the body which they have built,--first indeed they summon the counterfeiting spirit; thereafter they summon the soul within them; and thereafter they summon the compound of the power into the soul; and the destiny they put outside them all, as it is not blended with them, [but] following them and accompanying them.

And after this the servitors seal them one to the other with all the seals which the rulers have given them. [And] they seal the day on which they have taken up their abode in the womb of the woman,--they seal [it] on the left hand of the plasm; and they seal the day on which they have completed the body, on the right hand; and they seal the day on which the rulers have handed it over to them, on the middle of the skull of the body of the plasm; and they seal the day on which the soul hath come forth out of the rulers, they seal it on the [left of] the skull of the plasm; and they seal the day on which they kneaded the members and separated them for a soul, they seal it on the right of the skull of the plasm; and the day on which they have bound the counterfeiting spirit to it [the soul], they seal on the back of the skull of the plasm; and the day on which the rulers have breathed the power into the body, they seal on the brain which is in the midst of the head of the plasm and also on the inside [? the heart] of the plasm; and the number of years which the soul will spend in the body, they seal on the forehead which is on the plasm. And so they seal all those seals on the plasm. I will tell you the names of all these seals at the expansion of the universe; and after the expansion of the universe I will tell you wherefor all hath come to pass. And, if ye could understand it, I am that mystery.

Now, therefore, the servitors complete the whole man. And of all these seals with which they have sealed the body, the servitors carry the whole peculiarity and bring it to all the retributive rulers who [are] over all the chastisements of the judgements; and these hand it over to their receivers, in order that they may lead their souls out of the bodies,--they hand over to them the peculiarity of the seals, in order that they may know the time when they are to lead the souls out of the bodies, and in order that they may know the time when they are to bring to birth the body, so that they may send their servitors in order that they may draw near and follow the soul and bear witness of all the sins it shall do,--they and the counterfeiting spirit,--on account of the manner and way, how they shall chastize it in the judgement.

And when the servitors have given the peculiarity of the seals to the retributive rulers, they withdraw themselves to the economy of their occupations which is appointed unto them through the rulers of the great Fate. And when the number of months of the birth of the babe is completed, the babe is born. Small in it is the compound of the power, and small in it is the soul; and small in it is the counterfeiting spirit. The destiny on the contrary is large, as it is not mingled into the body for their economy, but followeth the soul and the body and the counterfeiting spirit, until the time when the soul shall come forth out of the body, on account of the type of death by which it shall slay it [the body] according to the death appointed for it by the rulers of the great Fate.

Is he to die by a wild beast, the destiny leadeth the wild beast against him until it slay him; or is he to die by a serpent, or is he to fall into a pit by mischance, or is he to hang himself, or is he to die in water, or through such [kinds of death], or through another death which is worse or better than this,--in a word, it is the destiny which forceth his death. upon him. This is the occupation of the destiny, and it hath no other occupation but this. And the destiny followeth every man until the day of his death."

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PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 133

Mary answered and said: "To all men then who are in the world, will all which is appointed them through the Fate, whether good or bad or sin or death or life,--in a word, will all which is appointed them through the rulers of the Fate, have to come unto them?"

The Saviour answered and said unto Mary: "Amen, I say unto you: All which is appointed unto every one through the Fate, whether all good or all sins,--in a word, all which is appointed them, cometh unto them.

For this cause, therefore, have I brought the keys of the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven; otherwise no flesh in the world would be saved. For without mysteries no one will enter into the Light-kingdom, be he a righteous or a sinner.

For this cause, therefore, have I brought the keys of the mysteries into the world, that I may free the sinners who shall have faith in me and hearken unto me, so that I may free them from the bonds and the seals of the aeons of the rulers and bind them to the seals and the vestures and the orders of the Light, in order that he whom I shall free in the world from the bonds and the seals of the aeons of the rulers, may be freed in the Height from the bonds and seals of the aeons of the rulers, and in order that he whom I shall bind in the world to the seals and the vestures and the orders of the Light, may be bound in the Light-land to the orders of the inheritances of the Light.

For the sake of sinners, therefore, have I torn myself asunder at this time and have brought them the mysteries, that I may free them from the aeons of the rulers and bind them to the inheritances of the Light, and not only the sinners, but also the righteous, in order that I may give them the mysteries and that they may be taken into the Light, for without mysteries they cannot be taken into the Light.

For this cause, therefore, I have not hidden it, but I have cried it aloud clearly. And I have not separated the sinners, but I have cried it aloud and said it unto all men, unto sinners and righteous, saying: 'Seek that ye may find, knock that it may be opened unto you; for every one who seeketh in truth, will find, and who knocketh, to him it will be opened.' For I have said unto all men: They are to seek the mysteries of the Light-kingdom which shall purify them and make them refined and lead them into the Light.

For this cause, therefore, hath John the Baptiser prophesied concerning me, saying: 'I indeed have baptised you with water unto repentance for forgiveness of your sins. He who cometh after me, is stronger than me. Whose fan is in his hand, and he will purify his floor. The chaff indeed he will consume with unquenchable fire, but the wheat he will gather into his barn.' The power in John hath prophesied concerning me, knowing that I would bring the mysteries into the world and purify the sins of the sinners who shall have faith in me and hearken unto me, and make them into refined light and lead them into the Light."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 134

When then Jesus had said this, Mary answered and said: "My Lord, if men go to seek and they come upon the doctrines of error, I whence then are they to know whether they belong to thee or not?"

The Saviour answered and said unto Mary: "I have said unto you aforetime: 'Be ye as skilful money-changers. Take the good, throw the bad away.'

Now, therefore, say unto all men who would seek the godhead: 'If north wind cometh, then ye know that there will be cold; if south wind cometh, then ye know that there will be burning and fervent heat.' Now, therefore, say unto them: 'If ye have known the face of the heaven and of the earth from the winds, then know ye exactly, if then any come now unto you and proclaim unto you a godhead, whether their words have harmonized and fitted with all your words which I have spoken unto you through two up to three witnesses, and whether they have harmonized in the setting of the air and of the heavens and of the circuits and of the stars and of the light-givers and of the whole earth and all on it and of all waters and all in them.' Say unto them: 'Those who shall come unto you, and their words fit and harmonize in the whole gnosis with that which I have said unto you, I will receive as belonging unto us.' This is what ye shall say unto men, if ye make proclamation unto them in order that they may guard themselves from the doctrines of error.

Now, therefore, for the sake of sinners have I rent myself asunder and am come into the world, that I may save them. For even for the righteous, who have never done any evil and have not sinned at all, it is necessary that they should find the mysteries which are in the Books of Yew, which I have made Enoch write in Paradise, discoursing with him out of the tree of the Gnosis and out of the tree of the Life. And I made him deposit them in the rock Ararad, and set the ruler Kalapatauroth, who is over Skemmut, on whose head is the foot of Yew, and who surroundeth all aeons and Fates,--I set up that ruler as watcher over the Books of Yew on account of the flood, and in order that none of the rulers may be envious of them and destroy them. These will I give you, when I shall have told you the expansion of the universe."

When then the Saviour had said this, Mary answered and said: "My Lord, who now then is the man in the world who hath not sinned at all, who is pure of iniquities? For if he is pure of one, he will not be able to be pure of another, so that he may find the mysteries which are in the Books of Yew? For I say: A man in this world will not be able to be pure of sins; for if he is pure of one, he will not be able to be pure of another."

The Saviour answered and said unto Mary: "I say unto you: They will find one in a thousand and two in ten-thousand for the accomplishment of the mystery of the First Mystery. This will I tell unto you when I have explained to you the expansion of the universe. For this cause, therefore, I have rent myself asunder and have brought the mysteries into the world, because all are under sin and all are in need of the gift of the mysteries."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 135

Mary answered and said unto the Saviour: "My Lord, before thou didst come to the region of the rulers and before thou didst come down into the world, hath no soul entered into the Light?"

The Saviour answered and said unto Mary: "Amen, amen, I say unto you Before I did come into the world, no soul hath entered into the Light. And now, therefore, when I am come, I have opened the gates of the Light and opened the ways which lead to the Light. And now, therefore, let him who shall do what is worthy of the mysteries, receive the mysteries and enter into the Light."

Mary continued and said: "But, my Lord, I have heard that the prophets have entered into the Light."

The Saviour continued and said unto Mary: "Amen, amen, I say unto you: No prophet hath entered into the Light; but the rulers of the aeons have discoursed with them out of the aeons and given them the mystery of the aeons. And when I came to the regions of the aeons, I have turned Elias and sent him into the body of John the Baptiser, and the rest also I turned into righteous bodies, which will find the mysteries of the Light, go on high and inherit the Light-kingdom.

Unto Abraham on the other hand and Isaac and Jacob I have forgiven all their sins and their iniquities and have given them the mysteries of the Light in the aeons and placed them in the region of Yabraoth and of all the rulers who have repented. And when I go into the Height and am on the point of going into the Light, I will carry their souls with me into the Light. But, amen, I say unto you, Mary: They will not go into the Light before I have carried thy soul and those of all thy brethren into the Light.

The rest of the patriarchs and of the righteous from the time of Adam unto now, who are in the aeons and all the orders of the rulers, when I came to the region of the aeons, I have through the Virgin of Light made to turn into bodies which will all be righteous,--those which will find the mysteries of the Light, enter in and inherit the Light-kingdom."

Mary answered and said: "Blessed are we before all men because of these splendours which thou hast revealed unto us."

The Saviour answered and said unto Mary and all the disciples: "I will still reveal unto you all the splendours of the Height, from the interiors of the interiors to the exteriors of the exteriors, that ye may be perfected in all gnosis and in all fulness and in the height of the heights and the depths of the depths."

And Mary continued and said to the Saviour: "Lo, my Lord, we have openly, exactly and clearly known that thou hast brought the keys of the mysteries of the Light-kingdom, which forgive souls sins and purify them and make them into refined light and lead them into the Light."

[SUB-SCRIPTION:]
A PORTION OF THE BOOKS OF THE SAVIOUR

THE FIFTH BOOK OF PISTIS SOPHIA

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 136.

IT came to pass then, when Jesus our Lord had been crucified and had risen from the dead on the third day, that his disciples gathered round him, adored him and said: "Our Lord, have mercy upon us, for we have abandoned father and mother and the whole world and have followed thee."

At that time Jesus stood with his disciples on the water of the Ocean and made invocation with this prayer, saying: "Hear me, my Father, father of all fatherhood, boundless Light: aeeiouo iao aoi oia psinother thernops nopsither zagoure pagoure nethmomaoth nepsiomaoth marachachtha thobarrabau tharnachachan zorokothora ieou [= Yew] sabaoth."

And while Jesus said this, Thomas, Andrew, James and Simon the Cananite were in the west with their faces turned towards the east, and Philip and Bartholomew were in the south turned towards the north, and the rest of the disciples and the women-disciples stood back of Jesus. But Jesus stood at the altar.

And Jesus made invocation, turning himself towards the four corners of the world with his disciples, who were all clad in linen garments, and saying: "iao iao iao." This is its interpretation: iota, because the universe hath gone forth; alpha, because it will turn itself back again; omega, because the completion of all the completeness will take place.

And when Jesus had said this, he said: "iaphtha iaphtha mounaer mounaer ermanouer ermanouer." That is: "O father of all fatherhood of the boundless [spaces], hear me for the sake of my disciples whom I have led before thee, that they may have faith in all the words of thy truth, and grant all for which I shall invoke thee; for I know the name of the father of the Treasury of the Light."

Again did Jesus,--that is Aberamentho,--make invocation, speaking the name of the father of the Treasury of the Light, and said: "Let all the mysteries of the rulers and the authorities and the angels and the archangels and all powers and all things of the invisible god Agrammachamarei and Barbelo draw near the Leech [Bdella] on one side and withdraw to the right."

And in that hour all the heavens went to the west, and all the aeons and the sphere and their rulers and all their powers flew together to the west to the left of the disk of the sun and the disk of the moon.

And the disk of the sun was a great dragon whose tail was in his mouth and who reached to seven powers of the Left and whom four powers in the form of white horses drew.

And the base of the moon had the type of a ship which a male and a female dragon steered and two white bulls drew. The figure of a babe was on the stern of the moon who guided the dragons who robbed the light from the rulers. And on its prow was a cat's face.

And the whole world and the mountains and the seas fled together to the west to the left.

And Jesus and his disciples remained in the midst in an aëry region on the ways of the way of the midst, which lieth below the sphere. And they came to the first order of the way of the midst. And Jesus stood in the air of its region with his disciples.

The disciples of Jesus said unto him: "What is this region in which we are?

Jesus said: "These are the regions of the way of the midst. For it came to pass, when the rulers of Adamas mutinied and persistently practised congress, procreating rulers, archangels, angels, servitors and decans, that Yew, the father of my father, came forth from the Right and bound them to a Fate-sphere.

For there are twelve aeons; over six Sabaoth, the Adamas, ruleth, and his brother Yabraoth ruleth over the other six. At that time then Yabraoth with his rulers had faith in the mysteries of the Light and was active in the mysteries of the Light and abandoned the mystery of congress. But Sabaoth, the Adamas, and his rulers have persisted in the practice of congress.

And when Yew, the father of my father, saw that Yabraoth had faith, he carried him and all the rulers who had had faith with him, took him unto himself out of the sphere and led him into a purified air in face of the light of the sun between the regions of those of the midst and between [?] the regions of the invisible god. He posted him there with the rulers who had had faith in him.

But he carried Sabaoth, the Adamas, and his rulers who had not been active in the mysteries of the Light, but have been persistently active in the mysteries of congress, and inbound them into the sphere.

He bound eighteen-hundred rulers in every aeon, and set three-hundred-and-sixty over them, and he set five other great rulers as lords over the three-hundred-and-sixty and over all the bound rulers, who in the whole world of mankind are called with these names: the first is called Kronos, the second Ares, the third Hermes, the fourth Aphrodite, the fifth Zeus."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 137

Jesus continued and said: "Hearken then, that I may tell you their mystery. It came to pass then, when Yew had thus bound them, that he drew forth a power out of the great Invisible and bound it to him who is called Kronos. And he drew another power out of Ipsantachounchaiinchoucheoch, who is one of the three triple-powered gods, and bound it to Ares. And he drew a power out of Chaiinchoooch, who also is one of the three triple-powered gods, and bound it to Hermes. Again he drew a power out of the Pistis the Sophia daughter of Barbelo and bound it to Aphrodite.

And moreover he perceived that they needed a helm to steer the world and the aeons of the sphere, so that they might not wreck it [the world] in their wickedness. He went into the Midst, drew forth a power out of the little Sabaoth, the Good, him of the Midst, and bound it to Zeus, because he is a good [regent], so that he may steer them in his goodness. And he set thus established the circling of his order, that he should spend thirteen [? three] months in every aeon confirming [it], so that he may set free all the rulers over whom he cometh, from the evil of their wickedness. And he gave him two aeons, which are in face of those of Hermes, for his dwelling.

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I have told you for the first time the names of these five great rulers with which the men of the world are wont to call them. Hearken now then that I may tell you also their incorruptible names, which are: Orimouth correspondeth to Kronos; Mounichounaphor correspondeth to Ares; Tarpetanouph correspondeth to Hermes; Chosi correspondeth to Aphrodite; Chonbal correspondeth to Zeus. These are their incorruptible names."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 138

And when the disciples had heard this, they fell down, adored Jesus and said "Blessed are we beyond all men, because thou hast revealed unto us these great wonders."

They continued, besought him and said: "We beseech thee, reveal unto us: What are then these ways?"

And Mary drew nigh unto him, fell down, adored his feet and kissed his hands and said: "Yea, my Lord, reveal unto us: What is the use of the ways of the midst? For we have heard from thee that they are set over great chastisements. How then, my Lord, will we remove or escape from them? Or in what way do they seize the souls? Or how long a time do they spend in their chastisements? Have mercy upon us, our Lord, our Saviour, in order that the receivers of the judgements of the ways of the midst may not carry off our souls and judge us in their evil judgements, so that we ourselves may inherit the Light of thy father and not be wretched and destitute of thee."

When then Mary said this weeping, Jesus answered in great compassion and said unto them: "Truly, my brethren and beloved, who have abandoned father and mother for my name's sake, unto you will I give all mysteries and all gnoses.

I will give you the mystery of the twelve aeons of the rulers and their seals and their ciphers and the manner of invocation for reaching their regions.

I will give you moreover the mystery of the thirteenth aeon and the manner of invocation for reaching their regions, and I will give you their ciphers and their seals.

And I will give you the mystery of the baptism of those of the Midst and the manner of invocation for reaching their regions, and I will announce unto you their ciphers and their seals.

And I will give you the baptism of those of the Right, our region, and its ciphers and its seals and the manner of invocation for reaching thither.

And I will give you the great mystery of the Treasury of the Light and the manner of invocation for reaching thither.

I will give you all the mysteries and all the gnoses, in order that ye may be called 'children of the fulness, perfected in all the gnoses and all the mysteries.' Blessed are ye beyond all men on earth, for the children of the Light are come in your time."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 139

Jesus continued in the discourse and said: "It came to pass then thereafter, that the father of my father,--that is Yew,--came and took other three-hundred-and-sixty rulers from the rulers of Adamas who had not had faith in the mystery of the Light, and bound them into these aërial regions, in which we are now, below the sphere. He established another five great rulers over them,--that is these who are on the way of the midst.

The first ruler of the way of the midst is called Paraplex, a ruler with a woman's shape, whose hair reacheth down to her feet, under whose authority stand five-and-twenty archdemons which rule over a multitude of other demons. And it is those demons which enter into men and seduce them, raging and cursing and slandering; and it is they which carry off hence and in ravishment the souls and dispatch them through their dark smoke and their evil chastisements."

Mary said: "I shall behave badly to question thee. Be not wroth with me if I question on all things."

Jesus said: "Question what thou wilt."

Mary said: "My Lord, reveal unto us in what manner they carry off hence the souls in ravishment, that also my brethren may understand it."

Jesus,--that is Aberamentho,--said: "Since indeed the father of my father,--that is Yew,--is the fore-minder of all the rulers, gods and powers who have arisen out of the matter of the Light of the Treasury, and Zorokothora Melchisedec is the envoy to all the lights which are purified in the rulers, leading them into the Treasury of the Light,--these two alone are the great Lights, and their ordinance is that they down go to the rulers and purify them, and that Zorokothora Melchisedec carrieth away the purification of the lights which they have purified in the rulers and leadeth them into the Treasury of the Light,--when the cipher and the time of their ordinance cometh, that they go down to the rulers and oppress and constrain them, carrying away the purification from the rulers.

But straightway when they shall cease from the oppressing and constraining and return to the regions of the Treasury of the Light, it cometh to pass that, if they reach the regions of the Midst, Zorokothora Melchisedec carrieth off the lights and leadeth them unto the gate of those of the Midst and leadeth them into the Treasury of the Light, and that Yew withdraweth himself into the regions of those of the Right.

Up to the time of the cipher for them to come forth again, the rulers mutiny through the wrath of their wickedness, going straightway up to the lights, because they [Yew and Melchisedec] are not with them at that time, and they carry off the souls which they may be able to snatch away in ravishment, and destroy them through their dark smoke and their evil fire.

At that time then this authority, with name Paraplex, along with the demons which stand under her, carrieth off the souls of the violently passionate, of cursers and of slanderers and dispatcheth them through the dark smoke and destroyeth them through her evil fire, so that they begin to be undone and dissolved. One-hundred-and-thirty-and-three years and nine months do they spend in the chastisements of her regions, while she tormenteth them in the fire of her wickedness.

It cometh to pass then after all these times, when the sphere turneth itself and the little Sabaoth, Zeus, cometh to the first of the aeons of the sphere, which is called in the world the Ram of Boubastis, that is of Aphrodite; [and] when she [Boubastis] cometh to the seventh house of the sphere, that is to the Balance, then the veils which are between those of the Right and those of the Left, draw themselves aside, and there looketh from the height out of those of the Right the great Sabaoth, the Good; and the whole world and the total sphere [become alarmed] before he hath looked forth. And he looketh down on the regions of Paraplex, so that her regions may be dissolved and perish. And all the souls which are in her chastisements, are carried and cast back [up] into the sphere anew, because they are ruined in the chastisements of Paraplex."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 140

He continued in the discourse and said: "The second order is called Ariouth the AEthiopian, a female ruler, who is entirely black, under whom stand fourteen other [arch]demons which rule over a multitude of other demons. And it is those demons which stand under Ariouth the AEthiopian, that enter into strife-seekers until they stir up wars and murders arise, and they harden their heart and seduce it to wrath in order that murders may arise.

And the souls which this authority will carry off in ravishment, pass one-hundred-and-thirteen years in her regions, while she tormenteth them through her dark smoke and her wicked fire, so that they come nigh unto destruction.

And thereafter, when the sphere turneth itself, and the little Sabaoth, the Good, who is called in the world Zeus, cometh, and he cometh to the fourth aeon of the sphere, that is the Crab, and Boubastis, who is called in the world Aphrodite, cometh into the tenth aeon of the sphere which is called the Goat, at that time the veils which are between those of the Left and those of the Right, draw themselves aside, and Yew looketh forth to the right; the whole world becometh alarmed and is agitated together with all the aeons of the sphere. And he looketh on the dwellings of Ariouth the Ethiopian, so that her regions are dissolved and ruined, and all the souls which are in her chastisements are carried off and cast back into the sphere anew, because they are ruined through her dark smoke and her wicked fire."

He continued further in his discourse and said: "The third order is called Triple-faced Hekate, and there are under her authority seven-and-twenty [arch]demons, and it is they which enter into men and seduce them to perjuries and lies and to covet that which doth not belong to them.

The souls then which Hekate beareth hence in ravishment, she handeth over to her demons which stand under her, in order that they may torment them through her dark smoke and her wicked fire, they being exceedingly afflicted through the demons. And they spend one-hundred-and-five years and six months, being chastized in her wicked chastisements; and they begin to be dissolved and destroyed.

And thereafter, when the sphere turneth itself, and the little Sabaoth, the Good, he of the Midst, who is called in the world Zeus, cometh, and he cometh to the eighth aeon of the sphere which is called the Scorpion, and when Boubastis, whom they call Aphrodite, cometh, and she cometh to the second aeon of the sphere which is called the Bull, then the veils which are between those of the Right and those of the Left draw themselves aside and Zorokothora Melchisedec looketh out of the height; and the world and the mountains are agitated and the aeons become alarmed. And he looketh on all the regions of Hekate, so that her regions are dissolved and destroyed, and all the souls which are in her chastisements, are carried off and cast back anew into the sphere, because they are dissolved in the fire of her chastisements."

He continued and said: "The fourth order is called Parhedron Typhon, who is a mighty ruler, under whose authority are two-and-thirty demons. And it is they which enter into men and seduce them to lusting, fornicating, adultery and to the continual practice of intercourse. The souls then which this ruler will carry off in ravishment, pass one-hundred-and-twenty-and-eight years in his regions, while his demons torment them through his dark smoke and his wicked fire, so that they begin to be ruined and destroyed.

It cometh to pass then, when the sphere turneth itself and the little Sabaoth, the Good, he of the Midst, who is called Zeus, cometh, and when he cometh to the ninth aeon of the sphere which is called the Archer, and when Boubastis, who is called in the world Aphrodite, cometh, and she cometh to the third aeon of the sphere which is called the Twins, then the veils which are between those of the Left and those of the Right, draw themselves aside, and there looketh forth Zarazaz, whom the rulers call with the name of a mighty ruler of their regions 'Maskelli,' and he looketh on the dwellings of Parhedron Typhon, so that his regions are dissolved and destroyed. And all the souls which are in his chastisements are carried and cast back anew into the sphere, because they are reduced through his dark smoke and his wicked fire."

Again he continued in the discourse and said unto this disciples: "The fifth order, whose ruler is called Yachthanabas, is a mighty ruler under whom standeth a multitude of other demons. It is they which enter into men and bring it about that they have respect of persons,--treating the just with injustice, and favour the cause of sinners, taking gifts for a just judgement and perverting it, forgetting the poor and needy,--they [the demons] increasing the forgetfulness in their souls and the care for that which bringeth no benefit, in order that they may not think of their life, so that when they come out of the body, they are carried in ravishment.

The souls then which this ruler will carry off in ravishment, are in his chastisements one-hundred-and-fifty years and eight months; and he destroyeth them through his dark smoke and his wicked fire, while they are exceedingly afflicted through the flames of his fire.

And when the sphere turneth itself and the little Sabaoth, the Good, who is called in the world Zeus, cometh, and he cometh to the eleventh aeon of the sphere which is called the Water-man, and when Boubastis cometh to the fifth aeon of the sphere which is called the Lion, then the veils which are between those of the Left and those of the Right, draw themselves aside, and there looketh out of the height the great Iao, the Good, he of the Midst, on the regions of Yachthanabas, so that his regions are dissolved and destroyed. And all the souls which are in his chastisements are carried off and cast back anew into the sphere, because they are ruined in his chastisements.

These then are the doings of the ways of the midst concerning which ye have questioned me."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 141

And when the disciples had heard this, they fell down, adored him and said: "Help us now, Lord, and have mercy upon us, in order that we may be preserved from these wicked chastisements which are prepared for the sinners. Woe unto them, woe unto the children of men! For they grope as the blind in the darkness and see not. Have mercy upon us, O Lord, in this great blindness in which we are. And have mercy upon the whole race of men; for they have lain in wait for their souls, as lions for their prey, making it [the prey] ready as food for their [the rulers'] chastisements because of the forgetfulness and unknowing which is in them. Have mercy then upon us, our Lord, our Saviour, have mercy upon us and save us in this great stupefaction."

Jesus said unto his disciples: "Be comforted and be not afraid, for ye are blessed, because I will make you lords over all these and put them in subjection under your feet. Remember that I have already said unto you before I was crucified: 'I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven.' Now, therefore, I say unto you: I will give them unto you."

When then Jesus said this, he chanted a song of praise in the great name. The regions of the ways of the midst hid themselves, and Jesus and his disciples remained in an air of exceedingly strong light.

Jesus said unto his disciples: "Draw near unto me." And they drew near unto him. He turned himself towards the four corners of the world, said the great name over their heads, blessed them and breathed into their eyes.

Jesus said unto them: "Look up and see what ye may see."

And they raised their eyes and saw a great, exceedingly mighty light, which no man in the world can describe.

He said unto them anew: "Look away out of the light and see what ye may see."

They said: "We see fire, water, wine and blood."

Jesus,--that is Aberamentho,--said unto his disciples: "Amen, I say unto you: I have brought nothing into the world when I came, save this fire, this water, this wine and this blood. I have brought the water and the fire out of the region of the Light of the lights of the Treasury of the Light; and I have brought the wine and the blood out of the region of Barbelo. And after a little while my father sent me the holy spirit in the type of a dove.

And the fire, the water and the wine are for the purification of all the sins of the world. The blood on the other hand was for a sign unto me because of the human body which I received in the region of Barbelo, the great power of the invisible god. The breath on the other hand advanceth towards all souls and leadeth them unto the region of the Light.

The same explained from former sayings."For this cause have I said unto you: 'I am come to cast fire on the earth,'--

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that is: I am come to purify the sins of the whole world with fire.

And for this cause have I said to the Samaritan woman: 'If thou knewest of the gift of God, and who it is who saith unto thee: Give me to drink,--thou wouldst ask, and he would give thee living water, and there would be in thee a spring which welleth up for everlasting life.'

And for this cause I took also a cup of wine, blessed it and give it unto you and said: 'This is the blood of the covenant which will be poured out for you for the forgiveness of your sins.'

And for this cause they have also thrust the spear into my side, and there came forth water and blood.

And these are the mysteries of the Light which forgive sins; that is to say, these are the namings and the names of the Light."

Jesus and his disciples descend to earth.It came to pass then thereafter that Jesus gave command: "Let all the powers of the Left go to their regions." And Jesus with his disciples remained on the Mount of Galilee. The disciples continued and besought him: "For how long then hast thou not let our sins which we have committed, and our iniquities be forgiven and made us worthy of the kingdom of thy father?

And Jesus said unto them: "Amen, I say unto you: Not only will I purify your sins, but I will make you worthy of the kingdom of my father. And I will give you the mystery of the forgiveness of sins, in order that to him whom ye shall forgive on earth, it will be forgiven in heaven, and he whom ye shall bind on earth, will be bound in heaven. I will give you the mystery of the kingdom of heaven, in order that ye your-selves may perform them [the mysteries] for men."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 142

And Jesus said unto them: "Bring me fire and vine branches." They brought them unto him. He laid out the offering, and set down two wine-vessels, one on the right and the other on the left of the offering. He disposed the offering before them, and set a cup of water before the wine-vessel on the right and set a cup of wine before the wine-vessel on the left, and laid loaves according to the number of the disciples in the middle between the cups and set a cup of water behind the loaves.

Jesus stood before the offering, set the disciples behind him, all clad with linen garments, and in their hands the cipher of the name of the father of the Treasury of the Light, and he made invocationThe invocation. thus, saying: "Hear me, O Father, father of all fatherhood, boundless Light: iao iouo iao aoi oia psinother theropsin opsither nephthomaoth nephiomaoth marachachtha marmarachtha ieana menaman amanei (of heaven) israi amen amen soubaibai appaap amen amen deraarai (behind) amen amen sasarsartou amen amen koukiamin miai amen amen iai iai touap amen amen amen main mari marie marei amen amen amen.

Hear me, O Father, father of all fatherhood. I invoke you yourselves ye forgivers of sins, ye purifiers of iniquities. Forgive the sins of the souls of these disciples who have followed me, and purify their iniquities and make them worthy to be reckoned with the kingdom of my father, the father of the Treasury of the Light, for they have followed me and have kept my commandments.

Now, therefore, O Father, father of all fatherhood, let the forgivers of sins come, whose names are these: siphirepsnichieu zenei berimou sochabricher euthari na nai (have mercy upon me) dieisbalmerich meunipos chirie entair mouthiour smour peucher oouschous minionor isochobortha.

Hear me, invoking you, forgive the sins of these souls and blot out their iniquities. Let them be worthy to be reckoned with the kingdom of my father, the father of the Treasury of the Light.

I know thy great powers and invoke them: auer bebro athroni e oureph e one souphen knitousochreoph mauonbi mneuor souoni chocheteoph choche eteoph memoch anemph.

Forgive [sing.] the sins of these souls, blot out their iniquities which they have knowingly and unknowingly committed, which they have committed in fornication and adultery unto this day; forgive them then and make them worthy to be reckoned with the kingdom of my father, so that they are worthy to receive of this offering, holy Father.

If thou then, Father, hast heard me and forgiven the sins of these souls and blotted out their iniquities, and hast made them worthy to be reckoned with thy kingdom, mayest thou give me a sign in this offering."

And the sign which Jesus had said [? besought] happened.

Jesus said unto his disciples: "Rejoice and exult, for your sins are forgiven and your iniquities blotted out, and ye are reckoned with the kingdom of my father."

And when he said this, the disciples rejoiced in great joy.

Directions as to the future use of the rite.Jesus said unto them: "This is the manner and way and this is the mystery which ye are to perform for the men who have faith in you, in whom is no deceit and who hearken unto you in all good words. And their sins and their iniquities will be blotted out up to the day on which ye have performed for them this mystery. But hide this mystery and give it not unto all men, but unto him who shall do all the things which I have said unto you in my commandments.

This then is the mystery in truth of the baptism for those whose sins are forgiven and whose iniquities are blotted out. This is the baptism of the first offering which showeth the way to the region of Truth and to the region of the Light."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 143

Thereafter his disciples said unto him: "Rabbi, reveal unto us the mystery of the Light of thy father, since we heard thee say: 'There is still a fire-baptism and there is still a baptism of the holy spirit of the Light, and there is a spiritual chrism; these lead the souls into the Treasury of the Light.' Tell us, therefore, their mystery, so that we ourselves may inherit the kingdom of thy father."

Jesus said unto them: "There is no mystery which is more excellent than these mysteries on which ye question, in that it will lead your souls into the Light of the lights, into the regions of Truth and Goodness, into the region of the Holy of all holies, into the region in which there is neither female nor male, nor are there forms in that region, but a perpetual indescribable Light. Nothing more excellent is there, therefore, than these mysteries on which ye question, save only the mystery of the seven Voices and their nine-and-forty powers and their ciphers. And there is no name which is more excellent than them all, the name in which are all names and all lights and all powers.

Who then knoweth that name, if he cometh out of the body of matter, nor smoke nor darkness nor authority nor ruler of the Fate-sphere nor angel nor archangel nor power can hold down the soul which knoweth that name; but if it cometh out of the world and sayeth that name to the fire, it is quenched and the darkness withdraweth.

And if it sayeth it to the demons and to the receivers of the outer darkness and their rulers and their authorities and their powers, they will all sink down and their flame will burn and they will cry out: 'Holy, holy art thou, most holy of all holies.'

And if one sayeth that name to the receivers of the wicked chastisements and their authorities and all their powers and also to Barbelo and the invisible god and the three triple-powered gods, straightway if one will say this name in those regions, they will all fall one on another, will be undone and destroyed and cry out: 'O Light of all lights, which is in the boundless lights, remember us and purify us.'"

And when Jesus had finished saying these words, all his disciples cried out, wept with loud sobbing, saying: . . .

. . . . . .

[LACUNA OF EIGHT LEAVES.]

THE SIXTH BOOK OF PISTIS SOPHIA

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 144

. . . . . .

. . . [and lead them forth to the fire-rivers and fire-seas] and take vengeance on it therein for another six months and eight days. Thereafter they lead it up on the way of the midst, and every one of the rulers of the way of the midst chastizeth it in his chastisements another six months and eight days. Thereafter they lead it to the Virgin of Light, who judgeth the good and the evil, that she may judge it. And when the sphere turneth itself, she handeth it over to her receivers, that they may cast it into the coons of the sphere. And the servitors of the sphere lead it forth to a water which is below the sphere; and it becometh a seething fire and eateth into it, until it purifieth it utterly.

And then cometh Yaluham, the receiver of Sabaoth, the Adamas, who handeth the souls the cup of forgetfulness, and he bringeth a cup filled with the water of forgetfulness and handeth it to the soul, and it drinketh it and forgetteth all regions and all the regions to which it hath gone. And they cast it down into a body which will spend its time continually troubled in its heart.

This is the chastisement of the curser."

Mary continued and said: "My Lord, the man who persistently slandereth, if he cometh out of the body, whither shall he get or what is, his chastisement?"

Jesus said: "A man who persistently slandereth, if his time is completed through the sphere, that he cometh out of the body, then Abiout and Charmon, the receivers of Ariel, come, lead his soul out of the body and spend three days going round with it and instructing it concerning the creatures of the world.

Thereafter they lead it below into Ameute before Ariel, and he chastizeth it in his chastisements eleven months and twenty-and-one days.

Thereafter they lead it into the chaos before. Yaldabaoth and his forty-and-nine demons, and every one of his demons fall upon it another eleven months and twenty-and-one days, scourging it with fiery whips.

Thereafter they lead it into fire-rivers and boiling fire-seas, to take vengeance on it therein another eleven months and twenty-and-one days.

And thereafter they carry it on to the way of the midst, and every one of the rulers on the way of the midst chastizeth it in his chastisements another eleven months and twenty-and-one days.

Thereafter they carry it to the Virgin of Light, who judgeth the righteous and the sinners, that she may judge it. And when the sphere turneth itself, she handeth it over to her receivers, that they may cast it into the aeons of the sphere. And the servitors of the sphere will lead it to a water which is below the sphere; and it becometh a seething fire and eateth into it until it purifieth it utterly.

And Yaluham, the receiver of Sabaoth, the Adamas, bringeth the cup of forgetfulness and handeth it to the soul, and it drinketh it and forgetteth all regions and all things and all the regions through which it hath gone. And they deliver it unto a body which will spend its time being afflicted.

This is the chastisement of the slanderer."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 145

Mary said: "Woe, woe, unto sinners!"

Salome answered and said: "My Lord Jesus, a murderer who hath never committed any sin but murdering, if he cometh out of the body, what is his chastisement?

Jesus answered and said: "A murderer who hath never committed any sin but murdering, if his time is completed through the sphere, that he cometh out of the body, the receivers of Yaldabaoth come and lead his soul out of the body and bind it by its feet to a great demon with a horse's face, and he spendeth three days circling round with it in the world.

Thereafter they lead it into the regions of the cold and of the snow, and they take vengeance on it there three years and six months.

Thereafter they lead it down into the chaos before Yaldabaoth and his forty-and-nine demons, and every one of his demons scourgeth it another three years and six months.

Thereafter they lead it down into the chaos before Persephone and take vengeance on it with her chastisements another three years and six months.

Thereafter they carry it on to the way of the midst, and every one of the rulers of the way of the midst taketh vengeance on it with the chastisements of its regions another three years and six months.

Thereafter they lead it unto the Virgin of Light, who judgeth the righteous and the sinners, that she may judge it. And when the sphere turneth itself, she commandeth that it shall be cast into the outer darkness until the time when the darkness of the midst shall be upraised; it [the soul] will be destroyed and dissolved.

This is the chastisement of the murderer."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 146

Peter said: "My Lord, let the women cease to question, in order that we also may question."

Jesus said unto Mary and the women: "Give opportunity to your men brethren, that they also may question."

Peter answered and said: "My Lord, a robber and thief, whose sin is this persistently, when he cometh out of the body, what is his chastisement?"

Jesus said: "If the time of such an one is completed through the sphere, the receivers of Adonis come after him, and lead his soul out of the body, and they spend three days circling round with it and instructing it concerning the creatures of the world.

Thereafter they lead it down into the Amente before Ariel, and he taketh vengeance on it in his chastisements three months, eight days and two hours.

Thereafter they lead it into the chaos before Yaldabaoth and his forty-and-nine demons, and every one of his demons taketh vengeance on it another three months, eight days and two hours.

Thereafter they lead it on to the way of the midst, and every one of the rulers of the way of the midst taketh vengeance on it through his dark smoke and his wicked fire another three months, eight days and two hours.

Thereafter they lead it up unto the Virgin of Light, who judgeth the righteous and the sinners, that she may judge it. And when the sphere turneth itself, she handeth it over to her receivers, that they may cast it into the aeons of the sphere. And they lead it forth into a water which is below the sphere; and it becometh a seething fire and eateth into it until it purifieth it utterly.

Thereafter cometh Yaluham, the receiver of Sabaoth, the Adamas, bringeth the cup of forget-fulness and handeth it unto the soul; and it drinketh it and forgetteth all things and all the regions to which it had gone. And they cast it into a lame, halt and blind body.

This is the chastisement of the thief."

Andrew answered and said: "An arrogant, overweening man, when he cometh out of the body, what will happen to him?"

Jesus said: "If the time of such an one is completed through the sphere, the receivers of Ariel come after him and lead out his soul [out of the body] and spend three days travelling

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round in the world [with it] and instructing it concerning the creatures of the world.

Thereafter they lead it down into the Amente before Ariel; and he taketh vengeance on it with his chastisements twenty months.

Thereafter they lead it into the chaos before Yaldabaoth and his forty-and-nine demons; and he and his demons, one by one, take vengeance on it another twenty months.

Thereafter they carry it on to the way of the midst; and every one of the rulers of the way of the midst taketh vengeance on it another twenty months.

And thereafter they lead it unto the Virgin of Light, that she may judge it. And when the sphere turneth itself, she handeth it over to her receivers, that they may cast it into the aeons of the sphere. And the servitors of the sphere lead it into a water which is below the sphere; and it becometh a seething fire and eateth into it until it purifieth it.

And Yaluham, the receiver of Sabaoth, the Adamas, cometh and bringeth the cup with the water of forgetfulness and handeth it to the soul; and it drinketh and forgetteth all things and all the regions to which it had gone. And they cast it up into a lame and deformed body, so that all despise it persistently.

This is the chastisement of the arrogant and overweening man."

Thomas said: "A persistent blasphemer, what is his chastisement?"

Jesus said: "If the time of such an one is completed through the sphere, the receivers of Yaldabaoth come after him and bind him by his tongue to a great demon with a horse's face; they spend three days travelling round with him in the world, and take vengeance on him.

Thereafter they lead him into the region of the cold and of the snow, and take vengeance on him there eleven years.

Thereafter they lead him down into the chaos before Yaldabaoth and his forty-and-nine demons, and every one of his demons taketh vengeance on him another eleven years.

Thereafter they lead him into the outer darkness until the day when the great ruler with the dragon's face who encircleth the darkness, shall be judged. And that soul becometh frozen up [?] and destroyed and dissolved.

This is the judgement of the blasphemer."

CHAPTER 147

Bartholomew said: "A man who hath intercourse with a male, what is his vengeance?"

Jesus said: "The measure of the man who hath intercourse with males and of the man with whom he lieth, is the same as that of the blasphemer.

When then the time is completed through the sphere, the receivers of Yaldabaoth come after their soul, and he with his forty-and-nine demons taketh vengeance on it eleven years.

Thereafter they carry it to the fire-rivers and seething pitch-seas, which are full of demons with pigs' faces. They eat into them and take vengeance on [?] them in the fire-rivers another eleven years.

Thereafter they carry them into the outer darkness until the day of judgement when the great darkness is judged; and then they will be dissolved and destroyed."

Thomas said: "We have heard that there are some on the earth who take the male seed and the female monthly blood, and make it into a lentil porridge and eat it, saying: 'We have faith in Esau and Jacob.' Is this then seemly or not?"

Jesus was wroth with the world in that hour and said unto Thomas: "Amen, I say: This sin is more heinous than all sins and iniquities. Such men will straightway be taken into the outer darkness and not be cast back anew into the sphere, but they shall perish, be destroyed in the outer darkness in a region where there is neither pity nor light, but howling and grinding of teeth. And all the souls which shall be brought into the outer darkness, will not be cast back anew, but will be destroyed and dissolved."

John answered [and said]: "A man who hath committed no sin, but done good persistently, but hath not found the mysteries to pass through the rulers, when he cometh out of the body, what will happen unto him?"

Jesus said: "If the time of such an one is completed through the sphere, the receivers of Bainchoooch, who is one of the triple-powered gods, come after his soul and lead his soul with joy and exultation and spend three days circling round with it and instructing it concerning the creations of the world with joy and exultation.

Thereafter they lead it down into the Amente and instruct it concerning the instruments of chastisement in the Amente; but they will not take vengeance on it therewith. But they will only instruct it concerning them, and the smoke of the flame of the chastisements catcheth it only a little.

Thereafter they carry it up unto the way of the midst and instruct it concerning the chastisements of the ways of the midst, the smoke from the flame catching it a little.

Thereafter they lead it unto the Virgin of Light, and she judgeth it and depositeth it with the little Sabaoth, the Good, him of the Midst, until the sphere turneth itself, and Zeus and Aphrodite come in face of the Virgin of Light, while Kronos and Ares come behind her.

At that hour she taketh that righteous soul and handeth it over to her receivers, that they may cast it into the peons of the sphere. And the servitors of the sphere lead it forth into a water which is below the sphere; and a seething fire ariseth and eateth into it until it purifieth it utterly.

Thereafter cometh Yaluham, the receiver of Sabaoth, the Adamas, who giveth the cup of forgetfulness unto the souls, and he bringeth the water of forgetfulness and handeth it to the soul; [and it drinketh it] and forgetteth all things and all the regions to which it had gone.

Thereafter there cometh a receiver of the little Sabaoth, the Good, him of the Midst. He himself bringeth a cup filled with thoughts and wisdom, and soberness is in it; [and] he handeth it to the soul. And they cast it into a body which can neither sleep nor forget because of the cup of soberness which hath been handed unto it; but it will whip its heart persistently to question about the mysteries of the Light until it find them, through the decision of the Virgin of Light, and inherit the Light for ever."

PISTIS SOPHIA CHAPTER 148

Mary said: "A man who hath committed all sins and all iniquities and hath not found the mysteries of the Light, will he receive the chastisements for them all at once?"

Jesus answered: "Yea, he will receive it; if he hath committed three sins, he will receive chastisement for three."

John said: "A man who hath committed all sins and all iniquities, but at last hath found the mysteries of the Light, is it possible for him to be saved?"

Even the greatest of sinners, if he repent, shall inherit the kingdom.Jesus said: "Such a man who hath committed all sins and all iniquities, and he findeth the mysteries of the Light, and performeth and fulfilleth them and ceaseth not nor doeth sins, will inherit the Treasury of the Light."

Jesus said unto his disciples: "When the sphere turneth itself, and Kronos and Ares come behind the Virgin of Light and Zeus and Aphrodite come in face of the Virgin, they being in their own aeons, then the veils of the Virgin draw themselves aside and she falleth into joy in that hour when she seeth these two light-stars before her. And all the souls which she shall cast at that hour into the circuit of the aeons of the sphere, that they may come into the world, will be righteous and good and find at this time the mysteries of the Light; she sendeth them anew that they may find the mysteries of the Light.

If on the other hand Ares and Kronos come in face of the Virgin and Zeus and Aphrodite behind her, so that she seeth them not, then all the souls which she shall cast in that hour into the creatures of the sphere, will be wicked and wrathful and do not find the mysteries of the Light."

The disciples beseech Jesus to have mercy upon them.When then Jesus said this unto his disciples in the midst of the Amente, the disciples cried and wept, [saying]: "Woe, woe unto sinners, on whom the negligence and the forgetfulness of the rulers lie until they come out of the body and are led to these chastisements! Have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us, son of the Holy [One], and have compassion with us, that we may be saved from these chastisements and these judgements which are prepared for the sinners; for we also have sinned, our Lord and our Light."

[A LATER POSTSCRIPT]

. . . . . .

The proclamation of the apostles.. . . the righteous [man]. They went forth three by three to the four zones of heaven and they proclaimed the goodness of the kingdom in the whole world, the Christ inworking with them through the words of confirmation and the signs and the wonders which followed them. And thus was known the kingdom of God on the whole earth and in the whole world of Israel as a witness for all the nations which are from the rising unto the setting [of the sun].

. . . . . [TWO LINES ERASED.] . . . . . The End.

THE INSTRUCTIONS OF APA PACHOMIUS

THE ARCHIMANDRITE

Type: Coptic (Egyptian) Apocrypha

Source: British Museum, London

(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7024)

Translation: Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge, 1913

Estimated Range of Dating: 300-350 AD

(The Instructions of Apa Pachomius the Archimandrite is an Egyptian papyrus document which was written by Christians in the first half of the 4th century. The title Archimandrite [Greek: archimandrites], primarily used in the Eastern Catholic and the Eastern Orthodox churches [Egypt, Persia, China], originally referred to a superior abbot [Greek: hegumenos, present participle of the verb meaning to lead] whom a bishop appointed to supervise several 'ordinary' abbots and monasteries, or to the abbot of some especially great and important monastery. It is also used purely as a title of honour, with no connection to any actual monastery, and is bestowed on clergy as a mark of respect or gratitude for service to the Church.

This document was translated by Sir Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge (1857–1934), an English Egyptologist, Orientalist, and philologist who worked for the British Museum and published numerous works on the ancient Near East. He made many trips to Egypt, Turkey, Mesopotamia and Sudan on behalf of the British Museum. He particular specialsed in Egyptian papyri, Mesopotamian cuneiform tablets, Greek and Syriac-Aramaic texts of all kinds. When he translated this document, he discovered that the over 4,500 years' old Egyptian tradition of writing "wisdom literature", such as the Instructions of Ptah-Hotep, was continued in the time of Christianity.)

THE INSTRUCTIONS WHICH OUR HOLY FATHER, WHO WAS GLORIOUS IN EVERYTHING, APA (father) PACHOMIUS, THE ARCHIMANDRITE, PRONOUNCED CONCERNING A BROTHER WHO, IN THE TIME OE APA EBONKH, WAS STIRRED TO WRATH AGAINST A CERTAIN MAN WHOM HE HAD BROUGHT TO TABENNESE (the island of Tabene). HE SPAKE THESE WORDS TO HIM, AND THE OTHER FATHERS [WHO WERE] OLD MEN WERE THERE, AND THEY REJOICED EXCEEDINGLY. IN THE PEACE OF GOD! MAY HIS HOLY BLESSING AND THE BLESSINGS OF ALL THE SAINTS COME UPON US, AND MAY WE ALL BE SAVED! AMEN.

My son, listen. Make thyself wise, and receive the instruction of truth. There are two ways [which thou canst follow]. Either make thyself independent, [or] hearken unto (i. e. obey) God as did Abraham (Gen. xii. 1.), who forsook his [native] land, and made himself an exile, and lived in a tent with Isaac in the land of promise as a stranger. He obeyed, he humbled himself, he came into an inheritance, until at length he was put to the test in the matter of Isaac. He shewed himself to be superior to the temptation, and he offered up Isaac as a sacrifice unto God. In this matter God called him, 'My companion (or, friend; 2 Chron. 20.7; Is. 41.8; Jas. 2.23.). And again, take to thyself the humility of Jacob, and his obedience, and his patient endurance, until he became a light, and he saw the Father of All, and was called Israel.' And again, take to thyself the wisdom of Joseph and his obedience; and do thou strive earnestly under ascetic control, and with the service of a slave, until thou makest thyself a king. 'My son, emulate the lives of the saints, and follow closely their virtues in thy life and conversation. Awake! Be not careless. Stimulate him that dwelleth in thee, of whom thou art the sponsor. Rise up, tarry thou not with the dead, and the Christ shall give thee light. Let grace spring up into being within thee, for of all the gifts of grace it is long-suffering which thou shalt make manifest; because the saints exercised long-suffering they inherited the promises. Long-suffering is the glory of the saints. Be thou then long-suffering, so that thou mayest be numbered among the company of the saints.

Thoughts? Bear them with long-suffering (or, patience) until God shall give thee rest. Fasting? Bear it continually with patient endurance. Prayer? Let it be without ceasing in thy habitation between thee and God. [Let thy] heart be at one with thy brother. [Let] virginity be in all thy members, [let] virginity be in thy thoughts (or, mind); purity of body and purity of heart. A neck bowed in submission and a humble mind. Gentleness in the hour of wrath. If thoughts (or, anxieties) oppress thee, be not downhearted, but exercise patient endurance with gladness, saying, 'Though they keep me in on every side, in the Name of the Lord I will destroy them.' And straightway the help of God shall come unto thee, and thou shalt drive them away from thee, and gladness shall compass thee round about, and the Glory of God shall walk with thee. For gladness goeth with him that is humble, and thou shalt be satisfied with whatsoever thy soul desireth. For the ways of God are with him that is lowly of heart, and with the humble man. For He said, 'I look upon every one who is lowly in heart and humble (Compare Ps. Ixxii. 13.). 'If thou shalt walk in the ways of the Lord, the Lord shall watch over thee, and give thee strength. He shall fill thee with knowledge and prudence, the remembrance of thee shall remain before Him at all times. He shalldeliver thee from the Devil, and He shall bestow upon thee His peace at thine end.

My son, I command thee to watch and to be sober, and to understand what are the things which lie in wait for thee. The spirit of sloth and a not unbelieving attitude of mind walk together. The spirit of lying and the works and the words which are not deceitful walk together. The spirit of the love of money, and non-trafficking, and not swearing false oaths, and works which are not evil, and envy walk together. The spirit of vanity and non-greediness walk together. The spirit of fornication and impurity walk together. The spirit of enmity and lack of sorrow walk together. Woe be to that miserable soul wherein these things take up their abode, and make themselves masters of it in such a manner that they drive it away from God; for it getteth out of its own control, and it is tossed about on this side and on that until it arriveth in the Tartarus of Amente (Holy Land = Judaea, Israel).

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My son, hearken unto me. Be not thou careless. Give no sleep to thine eyes, nor slumber to thine eyelids, so that thou mayest be able to escape like a goat from those who would shear it. For, O my son, all the spirits from my youth up have on many occasions made me weak, and [when] I came into the desert they used to afflict me to such a degree that my heart failed me, and I thought that there was not strength enough in me to stand up against the threat of the Serpent. For he used to persecute me on every side: if I came into the middle [to fight] he would close in upon me and do battle with me; and if I tried to escape, he would afflict me with his insolence. My heart was in a state of black terror, and although I turned to this side and to that many, many times I could not find rest. But when we took refuge at the feet of God with weeping and with humility, and with fasting, and with vigils by night, the Enemy and all his spirits also became powerless in respect of me, and the joy of God came to me, and I experienced straightway the help of God, for through His support He teacheth the children of men His strength, and His Christ-like [affection].

My son, do not use words of abuse to any man, lest peradventure thou mayest see some one paying [the man] honour, and must say, 'This one hath ended [his trouble], he receiveth refreshing.' Take thou good heed to guard thyself against a thought of this kind, for it is exceedingly evil; and God hateth him that payeth Him honour, if he be one who hateth his brother. And he who shall say concerning himself, 'I am something,' is nothing at all, and he only deceiveth himself; is there any one who can help him? He who is arrogant, and who maketh his heart like unto the heart of God, saying, 'There is no one who can be compared with me,' let him hear now his Creator, saying, 'Thou shalt go down into Amente. They shall cast thee down with the dead, the worms shall gnaw pieces from thy body, and the Worm shall envelop thee.' The man who hath gotten himself humility judgeth himself, saying, ' My sins are greater than those of every other man'; he judgeth no man in any way whatsoever, and he abuseth no man. Who art thou that thou shouldst judge a slave who doth not belong unto thee? For him who hath fallen down his God is able to set upon his feet [again].

My son, keep watch over thyself, and never abuse any man. Taste thou all the virtues, and guard thou them carefully. If thou art a stranger, keep to thyself. Rush not into the company of men, and thou shalt not mingle with their works. [If] thou art a poor man make not thyself liable in respect of any matter, lest men revile thee; for poverty is an evil matter in the mouth of the wicked. Hast thou never heard [it said that] 'If ye feel hunger ye will feel aggrieved, and ye will speak evil things against the governor and against the fathers'? Again, observe carefully lest war be let loose on thee because of something which thou didst lack for thy fleshly need, and because food hath rendered thee blameworthy; but endure patiently, in spite of everything, and God shall work effectively [for thee] in secret.

Remember Habakkuk in Judea, and Daniel in Chaldaea (Babylon, southern Mesopotamia), though there was a difference between them—for one used to rule in the palace—especially the case of Daniel; when he was down in the pit [and was intended] to become food for the wild beasts (Dan. vi. 16.), He prepared a meal for him. Remember Elijah in the desert (1 Kings xix. 1 ff.), and the widow in Zarephath (I Kings xvii. 9.), who notwithstanding the scourge of famine and the pressure of hunger which weighed heavily upon her, and the helplessness of her old age, never lost heart, but she contended boldly, and prevailed and obtained the promise of God, and her house enjoyed abundance during the time of the famine. The giving of bread either in the time of abundance or in [the time of] poverty is not power if thou be once blameworthy through want. For it is written concerning the saints, 'They suffer want, they are afflicted, they endure tribulation, but they boast themselves in their troubles (cf. Rom. v. 3; 2 Cor. xii. 9-11.).' If thou dost contend in patience in the strife of the Scriptures, no servitude whatsoever shall come upon thee, according to that which is, written, 'Do not let yourselves be deceived with eating, and drinking, or with the share at the festival, or with new moons, or with sabbaths, which shall be a covering for the things that take place (Col. ii. 16, 17.).'

Meditate thou always on the words of God, endure sufferings patiently, and in everything give thanks. Flee thou from before the honour of men. Love thou him that reviletth thee, in the fear of God. Let every man be profitable unto thee, and do thou make thyself profitable to every man. Continue thou in thy work and word which is good. Turn not back unto him that runneth behind thee, so that God may not hate thee. For the crown shall be unto those who continue [to contend], and ever more and more do thou hearken to God, so that thou mayest make Him to save thee. When thou art seated among the brethren, do not laugh at even the smallest word of scurrility [which thou mayest hear]. Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego (See Dan. iii.) disregarded the jeering of Nebuchadnezzar, and for this reason he was unable to compel them [to worship] by the songs and music of his instruments neither was he able to trick them by meals at his table. And for this reason the flames of fire [of the furnace] which rose up to a height of forty-nine cubits were extinguished. And these men did not go over to the perverse (or, crooked), but they were upright before Him that is upright, that is to say, God; and for this reason He made them chiefs over their enemies. And again, Daniel did not hearken unto the conversation of the Chaldeans, which was evil, and for this reason he became a chosen vessel of great value. And [the lions] fell down, and watched him with intelligent understanding, and he shut the mouths of the savage lions.

Now therefore, O my son, if thou wilt set God before thee as thy hope, He will become a helper unto thee in the hour of thy strife; for it is right for him that setteth out to go to God to believe that He is, and that this wage (i.e. reward, or prize) shall be to those who seek Him (Heb. xi. 6.).' These words have been written down for us in order that we may believe in God, and that we, from the least among us even to the greatest, may strive in the contest with fastings, and with prayers, and with other kinds of service, until the spittle drieth in thy mouth through fasting. And God will not be unmindful of this, but thou shalt find all these again in the hour of thy necessity. Only do thou humble thyself in everything. Set thy word behind thee, if thou wouldst have understanding of everything in peace. Accustom not thyself to treat [temptation] with contempt, but bear every temptation with gladness, for thou canst not know what honour may follow the temptation. Thou shalt not pray, 'Remove the temptation from me'; because it is better for thee that thou shouldst pray, and weep, and heave sighs until thou art saved, than for thee to abandon thy heart, and to allow it to carry thee away captive.

O man, what wilt thou do in Babylon? Thou wilt commit some disgraceful act in [that] strange land, because thou hast never been put to the test, and thou wilt cast God away from thee willingly. For this reason, O my brother, do not abandon thy heart. Thou mayest perhaps forget for a short time, but thine enemies will never sleep, neither will they ever forget, either by night or by day, and they will attribute craft to thee. For this reason run not thou after greatness, lest thou be humiliated, and thine enemies rejoice over thee; run after humility, for he that exalteth himself shall be brought low, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted. If thou art unable to make thyself independent, cling thou unto some one who doth work in the Gospel of the Christ, and thou shalt go forward with him. Or do thou obey thyself, or submit thyself, to one who doth obey. Or make thyself to become strong, so that men may call thee Elias, or do thou obey a strong man, so that men may call thee Elisha; because since Elisha obeyed Elijah the spirit of Elijah came in a double portion upon Elisha.

If thou dost wish to dwell among men make thyself to be like unto Abraham [when he lived] with Lot, and like Moses and like Samuel. If thou wishest to live in the desert, behold, all the prophets [have done so] before thee; make thyself like unto them. They spread themselves about in the deserts, and in the ravines of the hills, and in the caverns of the earth, they suffered privations, and they endured tribulations, and afflictions, and pains. Again He saith, 'The shadows of those who were martyred and the spirit[s] of the men who endured trial, and suffered tribulation, shall bless Thee/ Moreover, when the thief uttered one word on the cross, God forgave him his sins, and took him into Paradise. Behold, how very great shall be thine honour if thou shalt endure temptation with patience, or the spirit of fornication, or the spirit of pride, or any bodily passion whatsoever. In short, thou must thyself strive in the struggle against the passions of the Devil, so as not to follow him. And Jesus shall graciously bestow upon thee His promises. Keep thou watch against sloth, for she is the mother of all vices.

My son, flee thou from the desire of lust, for that it is which produceth the understanding of wickedness. It will not permit a man to know the mystery of God, and it will make thee a stranger to the language of the Spirit; and it will not permit thee to bear the Cross of the Christ, and it will not permit the heart to breathe the blessings of God. Keep thou watch against the relaxation of the viscera, which shall make thee a stranger unto the good things of Paradise. Keep thou watch against the pollution of thy body, which shall provoke to wrath God and His angels.

My son, turn thou to God; thou shalt love Him, thou shalt flee from the Enemy, whom thou shalt hate, so that the graces of God may be with thee, and thou shalt inherit, as did Judah, the son of Jacob. For He saith, 'Judah, thy brethren shall bless thee, thy hand shall be upon the necks of thine enemies, and the children of thy father shall act as slaves unto thee (Gen. xlix. 8.).' Guard thyself against pride, for it is the beginning of every evil; the beginning of pride shall remove thee from God, and that which followeth in its train is callousness of heart. If thou keepest watch over thyself in respect of this, thy place of repose shall be the Jerusalem of heaven; if the Lord desireth thee He will give glory unto thee. Keep watch, and let not thy heart be puffed up, but continue in thy humility, and thou shalt remain in the glory which God giveth to thee. Keep watch and be sober. Blessed is he who shall be found keeping watch, for they shall appoint him to be over the property of his Lord. And he shall enter into the Kingdom with gladness, and the companions of the Bridegroom shall love him, because he was to be found keeping watch in His vineyard.

My son, be thou long-suffering in everything, for it is written, 'Make haste to make thyself a chosen one of God, a workman who hath no need to be ashamed (2 Tim. ii. 15.).' Set out on thy way to God after the manner of one who soweth and reapeth, and thou shalt enter into thy treasure-house (or, granary) of the good things of God. Do not turn away the face like the hypocrites, but treat with decision the wishes of thy heart; work for God, and work for thine own salvation. If the passion of the love of money attack thee, and envy, or hatred, or any one of the other passions, enter into thee, take thou to thyself the heart of the lion, take thou to thyself the heart of the mighty warrior, and do battle with them, and destroy them like Sihon (Num. xxi. 34 ; Deut. iii. 2 ; Ps. cxxxv. 11 ; cxxxvi. 19.), and Og (Deut. xxxi. 4 ; Joshua ii. 10.), and all the kings of the Amorites; for the beloved Son, the Only-begotten, the King Jesus (Hebrew: Joshua, Yehoshua), fighteth for thee, and thou shalt inherit the city of the enemy. Only cast out from thyself every kind of pride, and thou shalt be strong.

And observe. When Joshua, [the son] of Nun was bold (or strong), God gave his enemies into his hand. If thou become timid of heart thou makest thyself a stranger to the law of God. Timidity of heart filleth thee with excuses for sloth, and unbelief, and carelessness, until thou art destroyed. Be lion-hearted I Cry out, saying, 'Who shall separate us from the love of God? (Rom. viii. 36.)' If thou sayest, 'My outer [man] will perish,' [it may be true], but thine inner man will become renewed day by day. If thou livest in the desert fight by means of prayers, and fastings, and afflictions; if thou livest among men, be thou wise as the serpents, and harmless as these doves [about] us (Matt. x. 16.). If a man hath struck thee a blow, bear it at his hands, and rejoice; set thy hope in God, and He will do what is good for thee. And as for thee, thou shalt not dishonour the image of God, Who Himself said, 'To him who giveth glory to Me will I give glory; him who dishonoureth Me I will dishonour (1 Sam. ii. 80.). And when men pay honour unto thee, rejoice not, for it is written, 'Woe unto you when all men pay honour unto you (Luke vi. 26.).' And again He said, 'Blessed are ye when men heap curses on you, and persecute you, and revile your names as [those of] evildoer[s].' Behold our Fathers Barnabas and Paul, when honour was paid to them they rent their garments,' and they wept, hating the glory of men. And Peter himself, and John, when they had been beaten in the Synagogue (Acts V. 40.) came out rejoicing, because they had been held to be worthy of being beaten for the sake of the Holy Name of the Lord, [for] they were hoping for the honour of heaven.

O my son, do thou flee the comfort which is in this world in order that thou mayest enjoy thyself in the world which is to come. Be not careless, and do not let day after day pass unheeding, or [vices] will overtake thee before thou knowest [it], and thou wilt come into danger wherefrom thou canst not escape, and these foul-faced things will surround thee, and seize thee, and carry thee away with insolent boldness, and they will cast thee into their place of darkness, which is filled with fear and tribulation. Grieve not if any man insult thee before men, but grieve and sigh when thou committest a sin, for this is the true disgrace for thee, to go to the stripes of thy sin. I command thee, with the greatest earnestness, to hate the glory which is vain. The armour of the Devil is empty praise, and it was in this way that he led astray Eve. He said unto her, 'Eat of the tree, for it will open your eyes, and ye shall become like the gods (Gen. iii. 5.).' She hearkened and she thought that it was true; she fled from the glory which was divine, and there was taken away from her [the glory] of humanity. And when thou pursuest the glory which is vain, it maketh thee a stranger to the glory of God. Now in the case of Eve the Scriptures were not written which would have informed her concerning this battle before the Devil tempted her. Therefore did the Word of God come, and take upon Itself flesh of the Virgin Mary, in order that it might secure the freedom of the race of Eve. But thou hast been informed concerning this battle by the saints who were before thee, in the Holy Scriptures. For this reason, O [my] brother, do not say, 'I have not heard [of it],' or ^I was not told about it before yesterday, and the day before yesterday'. For it is written, ^ The sound of them hath come forth over all the earth, and their words have reached unto the uttermost ends of the world (Rom. x. 18.).'

Now therefore, when honour is paid unto thee, abase thy heart thyself, and give glory to God; and when they revile thee, give glory to God likewise, and give thanks unto Him because thou art held to be worthy of the portion of His Son and His saints. If they called thy Lord 'The Impostor', and the Prophets 'vile men', and the others 'madmen', behold, how much more will they call us by these names who are dust and ashes? Grieve not when thou art reviled, for this is [thy] way to thy life. Now if it be thy carelessness which draweth thee to weeping, thou shalt mourn; for those who wear

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scarlet shall clothe themselves with dung, because they have been careless concerning the Law of God, and have followed after the desires of their hearts. Now, therefore, O my son, weep thou to God at all times, for it is written, ' Blessed is he whom Thou hast chosen, and hast received to Thyself; Thou hast placed thoughts in his heart, a flood of tears, the place which Thou hast established (Ps. Ixv. 4. The latter part of the verse differs from that of the received text.).'

Make unto thyself simplicity (or, innocence). Be thou like unto the simple lambs about us, which when their wool is shorn from them say nothing. Go not from one place to another, saying, ' I shall find God in this place or in that.' God saith, 'I fill the heavens, I fill the earth (Jer. xxiii. 24.).' And again, 'If thou shouldst cross over the waters I should still be with thee, and the rivers shall not cover thee up (Ps. cxxxix. 9, 11.).' Know, O my son, that God is in thine interior, so that He may make thee to remain in the law and commandments of God. Behold, the thief upon the cross went into Paradise. 'Behold, Judas himself in the midst of the Apostles betrayed his Lord.' Behold Rahab and her fornication! (Joshua vi. 17.) She is numbered among the saints. Behold, Eve, who was deceived, is in Paradise. Behold, Job on the dung-heap is compared with his God. Behold, Adam, who transgressed the commandment, is in Paradise. Behold, the angels of heaven were taken into the abyss. Behold, Elijah and Enoch were taken into the kingdom of the heavens with all glory.

Seek after God, seek ye His face at all times. Seek thou Him as did Abraham, who obeyed God and offered up his son as a sacrifice unto God, Who called him 'My Companion'. Seek Him like Joseph, who contended against pollution, and at length became king over his enemies. Seek Him like Moses, who followed his God, and He made him a lawgiver, and taught him concerning His likeness. Daniel sought Him, and He taught him great mysteries, and delivered him from the mouths of the lions. The Three Holy Men sought Him, and found Him in the furnace of fire. Job took refuge with Him, and He healed him of his wounds. Susannah sought Him, and He delivered her out of the hand of the lawless men. Judith sought Him, and she found Him in the tent of Holophernes. All these sought Him, and He delivered them, [and] He delivered others also.

As for thee, O my son, how long wilt thou be careless? What is the limit of thy carelessness? What it was last year, even so is it this year; and what it was yesterday, even so is it to-day. How long wilt thou remain careless? [When] wilt thou progress? Be sober. Lift up thy heart. For assuredly it will happen to thee that thou wilt be made to stand before the throne of God, and thou wilt have to explain the things which thou hast done in secret, as well as those which thou hast done openly. If thou goest to a place where fighting is, it belongeth to God, for the Spirit of God urgeth thee, saying, 'Rest not in the place wherein there is a snare, for the Devil will cast a spell on thee, saying, I will be with thee the first time, otherwise what wilt thou see? Wilt thou not grieve?' Hearken not to his deceitful discourse, so that the Spirit of God may drive him away from thee, [or] thou wilt become feeble, and thou wilt become infirm like Samson, and the foreigners shall bind thee with fetters, and shall cast thee into the place of torture, that is to say, of gnashing of teeth. And thou shalt become to them an object of derision, that is to say, they shall rejoice over thee, and thou shalt never know (i. e. find) the way to thy city, thine eyes having been put out, because thou didst reveal thy heart to Delilah, that is to say, to the Devil, who hath taken thee by guile, because thou didst set behind thee the counsels of the Spirit. And thou seest also how Bathsheba persuaded this mighty man David, and how she would have crushed him, had it not been that he repented quickly about the wife of Uriah (2 Sam. xii. 18.).' And moreover it is written, 'Ye see my stroke, be afraid. And behold it hath been shewn to thee that He doth not spare His saints. Be sober therefore, and know what things are promised [to thee]. Flee thou from arrogance, separate thou thyself from it, lest it put out the eyes of thine understanding, and it make thee blind, and thou art unable to find the way to the city which is thy habitation.

And again, know thou the city of the Christ, and give glory unto Him, because He died for thee. If it should happen that a brother uttereth some word concerning thee, why shouldst thou become angry, and behave towards him like a wild beast? And why dost thou not remember that the Christ died for thee? At the moment when thine enemy, that is to say, the Devil, whispereth unto thee, thou dost incline thine ear to him, and he poureth into it stinkingness, and thou openest thy heart, and dost swallow the venom which he poureth into thee. O miserable one, at this moment thou either becomest a wild beast, or thou becomest like a blazing fire, and dost bum until thou art consumed by all his wickedness; empty out thy heart, and vomit forth the wicked evil-eye which is therein, lest the poison fly throughout thy body and thou die. O man, nurse thou not the few words which thy brother hath spoken against thee. Thine enemy seeketh to swallow up thee and thy soul. "What then wilt thou do? Wilt thou treat him harshly? Do not, O my beloved, do not cause men to lament for thee. In the place of the world because of men's deeds (or, works) they shave the head, instead of the gold of the head (?). But be thou sober, and bear thou the stripe of him that smiteth thee patiently, and be thou longsuffering with thy brother, and do not thou make afraid his heart with the sufferings of the flesh.

O my son, take thou good heed to the words of the wise man Paul, and to that which he spake, saying, ' There are bonds and tribulations awaiting me in Jerusalem, but I do not value my soul in the very least so that I may complete my course. And I am ready to die in Jerusalem for the Name of my Lord Jesus, the Christ (cts xxi. 13.).' For neither sufferings nor temptation can prevent the saints from going to the Lord. Be thou of good cheer then, play the man; what hast thou, to do with the sluggishness of the Devil? He fleeth before the patient endurance of the saints. O my son, why dost thou flee from Adonai (God), the Lord of Sabaoth? Why dost thou flee to the captivity of the Chaldeans? Why dost thou give thy heart to eat with the devils? Guard thou thyself, O my son, from fornication. Destroy not the member of the Christ. Do not hearken to the devils, and make the member of the Christ into the member of a whore. Remember the tribulations and the punishments. Bring back the trial of God before thee. Flee thou from before every lust. Strip thyself naked of the old man and his works, and do thou put on thyself the new man. Remember thy necessity in the hour wherein thou shalt come forth from the body.

O my son, flee thou to the feet of God, for it is He Who hath created thee, and He suffered for thee. 'I gave My back to the stripes of the whips, and My cheeks to the Fol. 38 b buffetings of insult; I did not turn away My Face from the shame and the spitting.' O man, the road to Egypt is not for thee, and it is not for thee to make thyself drink water from this Geon (i. e. Nile) which; is stirred up (i. e. muddy). These thoughts which are muddy also are not for thee. Bestir thyself until these sufferings depart from thee. Moreover, turn thyself, weep for thy sins. For it is written, 'If ye set yourselves to consider your sins which are in the soul, a seed of a great plant shall appear.'

Therefore thou seest, O man, that transgression is an evil thing, and that sin is wont to produce a multitude of sufferings and punishment. O man, flee quickly from sin, and remember death immediately. For it is written, 'A wise man suppresseth sin, and the face of the ascetic shall shine like the sun.' 'Moreover, remember Moses, who chose to suffer with the people of God rather than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a time.' If thou lovest the suffering of the saints, they will make themselves to be companions of thine, and they will minister on thy behalf before God. And He will grant thee every good thing for which thou dost petition, because thou hast taken up thy cross, and hast followed thy Lord. Do not seek after a seat of glory among men, so that God may shelter thee from the blast of the storm of which thou knowest nothing, and may apportion thee a seat in His metropolis, Jerusalem of heaven. Test everything. Lay hold upon that which is good. Similarly, do not treat with contempt the image of God. Moreover, keep diligently thy youth with all care, in order that thou mayest be able to keep diligently thine old age with all care, lest thou be put to shame, and thou come to an end in the Valley of Jehoshaphat (Joel iii. 2-12.).' The whole creation of God shall look upon thee, and they shall revile thee, saying, 'We used to think about thee every day, and believe that thou wast a sheep, but we find thee to be a wolf in this place. Get thee gone now into the pit of Amente, cast thyself down now into the heart of the earth. O what great shame! Whilst thou didst walk in the world men gave glory to thee thinking that thou wast a man of moral excellence; the moment, however, that thou comest to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the place of judgement, thou art found to be naked. And every one looketh upon thy sins, and upon thy shame which is revealed to God and man.'

Woe be unto thee in that hour! Whither wilt thou turn thy face? Or, supposing that thou canst open thy mouth, what wilt thou say? Thy sins have sealed thy soul, which is black like unto sackcloth. What wilt thou do in that hour? Thou wilt weep, but they will not accept weeping from thee. Thou wilt make supplication, but they will not accept supplication from thee because the beings into whose hands thou shalt be given are merciless. O woe be unto thee in that hour wherein thou shalt hear that terrible voice which shall give judgement, saying, 'Let the sinners return to Amente (the Holy Land).' And again, 'Depart ye from Me, O ye accursed, into the everlasting fire which hath been prepared for the Devil and his angels (Matt. xxv. 41.).' And again, 'Those who commit transgressions, and all those who work iniquity, do I hate, and I will destroy them out of the city of God.'

Now therefore, O my son, make use of this world, but despise it as thou doest so, and walk therein holding it to be a thing of no account. Follow thou the Lord in everything, and thou shalt find boldness of speech in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. Let the things which are in the world appear to thee things which are to be despised, and in the Day of Judgement thou wilt find thyself arrayed in glory. Do not commit thy heart unto any man for the sake of the comfort of thy soul, but cast thy care upon the Lord, and He will sustain thee.' Consider Elijah, who settled himself by the o brook of Cherith, and He fed him by the ravens. Keep watch over thyself with all diligence in respect to fornication, which hath overthrown very many. Make not thyself the companion of a youth. Go not after a woman. Flee from the pleasures of the body, for companionship is wont to burn like fire. Flee not unto any being of flesh whatsoever, because when the stone striketh upon the fire breaketh out, and it burneth up very much substance.

Flee thou to the Lord at every hour, sit thou down in the shadow of Him, for he who abideth in the help of the Most High shall be under the shadow of the God of heaven, and he shall never be moved. Remember thou the Lord and the Jerusalem of heaven; let [the memorial thereof] go up in thy heart, and thou shalt be under the blessing of heaven, and the glory of God shall support thee. Keep thou thy body and thy heart with the greatest diligence. Follow after peace and humility, and if these are bound together [in thee] they will make thee to see God. Again, attach not thyself closely unto any man, for he who is bound to his brother becometh an enemy imto God. And he who is at peace 'with his brother is at peace with God.

Now thou knowest that there is no state of peace greater than that every man should love his brother ; but if thou art free from sin of every kind but art at enmity with thy brother, thou art a stranger unto God. For it is written, 'Seek after peace and purity, for they are bound together. And again it is written, And even if I have all the faith, so that [I can] remove a mountain, without love of heart, I am benefited in nothing.' Love buildeth up. There can be no purity in impurity. If hatred existeth in thy heart, or enmity, where is thy purity? The Lord saith in Jeremiah,' He speaketh with his neighbour words of peace, whilst there is enmity in his heart; he speaketh with his neighbour [words of] guile, whilst there is enmity in his heart, or, he meditateth enmity: Shall not I be wroth concerning this, saith the Lord? Or shall not my soul perform vengeance on the heathen likewise?'

Thus He saith: He who is at enmity with his brother—this man is the heathen, because the heathen walketh in the darkness of death, knowing [not] the light, which meaneth that he who hateth his brother walketh in the darkness, knowing not God. For the hatred of enmity hath closed his eyes, and he seeth not the image of God. And the Lord commanded us, saying, 'Love your enemies. Bless those who curse you. Do good unto those who persecute you (Matt. V. 44.).' In how great danger, then, of punishment are we if we hate each other, our neighbour who is yoked unto us, the sons of God, the branches of the true Vine, the sheep of the rational fold, which the True Shepherd hath gathered together, the Only-begotten Son of God, Who offered Himself up as a sacrifice for us, which [i. e. the danger] was so great that the Living Word bore these sufferings Himself. And thou thyself, dost thou hate him?

O man, wherefore art thou envious of the glory which is empty? Or [why art thou] a lover of money, or [a lover] of magnificence, wherewith the Enemy bindeth thee in fetters, and maketh thee a stranger unto God? What kind of apology wilt thou be able to make to the Christ when He shall say unto thee, 'Inasmuch as thou hatest thy brother, it is I Whom thou hatest? And as for thee, thou shalt depart into the punishment which is for ever, for thou art an enemy of thy brother; but thy brother, he shall go into the life which is for ever, because he humbled himself unto thee for the sake of Jesus.' Let us search out then a remedy for the disease before we die.

O my beloved, let us flee to the feet of the Gospel of the True Law of God, the Christ, and let us hearken unto Him saying, 'Condemn not, that ye be not condemned (Matt. vii. 1.).' Forgive, that ye may be forgiven. If thou dost not forgive, they will not forgive thee. If thou wilt bind thy brother, prepare thyself for punishment for thy slippings aside, and for thy transgressions, and for thy fornications which thou didst commit secretly, and thy thefts, and thy obscene words, and thy evil thoughts, and thine avariciousness, [and] the evil things which thou wilt have to explain before the throne of the Christ. The whole of God's creation will be gazing at thee, all the angels, and all the hosts of heaven will be standing there, with their swords drawn, and they will compel thee to make excuses for and to confess thy sins. Thine apparel shall be motley, thy mouth shall be shut, thou shalt be terrorstricken to such a degree that thou shalt be unable to speak or to explain.

O wretched man, thy many fornications, which were the disease of thy soul, and the lusts of the eye, and the evil cogitations which afflict the spirit and cause grief to the soul, and the slip in the speech (or, mouth), and the tongue which speaketh words of boasting and defileth the whole body, and the evil words of scurrility and indecency, and the gossipings which are inspired by envy and hatred, and the scoffings, and the derisive words about the image of God, and the voluntary revilings (or, condemnations) which will deprive thee of the good things of Paradise, and the secret passions which it would be a disgrace to mention, the evil thought towards the image of God, and the anger, and discord, and impudence, and arrogance, and the thoughts of the heart [which sprang] from wickedness, and the want of compassion, and ambition—concerning all these things shall they enquire of

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thee because thou wast at enmity with thy brother, and because thou didst not put away [thine enmity] perforce by the love of God.

Hast thou never heard that 'love covereth a multitude of sins"? And this is what your Father which is in heaven doeth for you. If ye do not forgive each other in your hearts, your Father which is in heaven will not forgive you your sins. Behold ye know, O my beloved, that we have clothed ourselves with the good and man-loving Christ. Let us not strip ourselves naked of Him for the sake of our evil works; for we are vowed to God in purity, and we are vowed to the life of the monk. Let us do the works thereof which are these: fasting and praying without ceasing, and purity of the body and purity of the heart. Since we have vowed ourselves to God in purity let us not associate ourselves with the fornications which take manifold forms, for He saith, 'They committed fornication in very many ways (Ezek. xvi. 29.).' O my brethren, let us not permit ourselves to be found in the works which are of the kind which will make us to fall below every [other] man. Moreover, we have promised to become disciples of Christ; let us therefore afflict ourselves, for sorrow bringeth low impurity.

And now that the contest is set, let us not allow ourselves to be defeated, so that we may not become slaves unto sin. Lightgivers have been placed in the world for us, let them not be offended because of us, let us bear silently, for very many shall be saved through our sobriety, O brethren. Let us not enter into reckoning with each other, in order that they may not enter into reckoning with us in the hour of punishment, whether ye are virgins, or whether ye are set apart to do special work, or whether ye are anchorites. Assuredly He shall say unto us, 'Bring [it hither], this belongeth to Me, and the increase thereof.' And He shall chide us, and say unto us, 'Where is the apparel of the bridal chamber? Where is the light of the lamps? If thou art indeed My son, where is the fear with which thou shouldst regard Me? If thou didst hate Me in the world, then get thee away from Me, for I know thee not. If thou hatest thy brother thou art a stranger unto My Kingdom. If thou hast a bond on thy brother, and thou wilt not release him, then they shall bind thy hands behind thee, and thy feet, and shall cast thee into the outer darkness, where there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. If thou rejectest thy brother, then will they deliver thee over to the angels who are without mercy, and they shall flog thee with whips of fire for ever. Thou didst not shew compassion upon My image, thou didst treat Me with contempt, thou didst hold Me in scorn, thou didst inflict disgrace upon Me; therefore I will not shew compassion upon thee in thy time of danger and necessity.

'If thou dost not make peace with thy brother in this world, I will not be with thee in the Day of the Great Judgement. [If] thou despisest the poor man, it is I Whom thou despisest therewith. [If] thou rejectest the man of misery, thou art the fellow (or, companion) of the man who rejected Me in My humility upon the Cross. Did I ever demand from thee anything during My absence from My home in the world? Did I not bestow upon thee My Body and My Blood, the Good of life? Did I not taste the death for thy sake until I redeemed thee? Did I not make thee acquainted with the mystery of heaven, and make thee My brother and companion? Did I not give unto thee the power to trample under thy feet vipers and scorpions, and all the might of the Enemy? Did I not give unto thee manifold medicines of life wherewith thou mightest heal thyself? My powers, and My signs, and My miracles, which I bore in the world as the armour of soldierhood I gave unto thee that thou mightest gird thyself about therewith, and mightest cast down head-long Goliath, that is to say the Devil. And now what is it which thou lackest that maketh thee to become a stranger to Me? It is thy carelessness alone that driveth thee into the pit of Amente (or: the Holy Land into filth).'

Now therefore, O my son, these things and those which are far more severe shall we hear if we continue to be careless, and are not obedient [to the command] to forgive one another. Let us be sober. We know the virtues of God which shall help us in the day of death, and which shall act as a guide for us in the midst of the cruel and terrifying war, and which shall raise up [our] soul[s] from the dead. Now first of all there have been given unto us faith and the knowledge whereby we may expel unbelief from within us. Next, there have been given unto us wisdom and understanding which enable us to understand the thoughts of the Devil, and to flee from him, and to hate him. [And] there are preached unto us fasting, and prayer, and continence, which shall give peace and tranquillity in the body [which is vexed] by passion. There have been given unto us purity and abstinence through which God shall dwell in us. And there have been given unto us patient endurance and long-suffering, and if we keep carefully all these [virtues] we shall inherit the glory of God. There have been given unto us love and peace, these mighty warriors in the battle, for the Enemy is unable to draw nigh unto the place wherein these are. We have been commanded concerning the joy wherein there is no grief if we fight. And we have also been instructed in generosity and in Christ-likeness. There have been given unto us holy prayer and long-suffering, which are wont to fill the soul with light. There have been given unto us innocency of heart and simplicity, which are wont to blot out wickedness. Directions have been written down for us in respect of judging no man, and we must overcome the falsehood of this evil blemish which is in man; for if we do not judge they will not judge us in the Day of Judgement. For the power to suffer patiently, and the power to bear violent assaults have been given unto us, in order that slothfulness may not cast us down headlong. And our fathers lived their lives to the very end in hunger and in thirst, and they suffered tribulations in great numbers until they produced purity within themselves. Especially did they flee from the drinking of wine, which is full of penalties of every kind. The disturbances in our members, and the twitchings therein, and their jerky and disconnected movements are due to overmuch wine; it is a madness which produceth much sin, it splitteth the head, and it maketh the joints of the hands and arms helpless.

For the pleasure which attendeth drinking in excess maketh a man of understanding to become a fool, and it turneth the conscience into a shameless thing, and it setteth loose the bridle of the tongue. The greatest joy in all the world is to sorrow in the Holy Spirit; let us not stray in pleasure.

For the priest spake, and the prophet gave a warning concerning wine, 'Wine is insolent, drunkenness is a disgrace; whosoever shall devote himself to these shall not be innocent of sin (Prov. XX. 1).' Wine is good if we drink it in moderation; if thou givest thine eye to the wine-bottles and to the drinking-pots, thou shalt go naked, even [exposed] like a corn-stalk.

Therefore let all those who have prepared themselves to be disciples of Jesus keep themselves away from wine and from drunkenness. For our fathers knew very well the danger which would arise because of wine, and they abstained from it, for they were wont to drink it in very small quantities when suffering from sickness. Now if only a very little wine was allowed to be given to the mighty workman Timothy (See 1 Tim. v. 23.), whose body was in a very infirm condition, then what shall I say in respect of the man who is bubbling over with wickedness, and is in the prime of early manhood, and who hath in him impure desires and passion in abundance? I am afraid to say it: Let no man drink wine at all, so that he may not hate his own salvation [and] murmur against me. For these words will be hard unto many at [this] time. Nevertheless, my beloved, it is good to keep oneself [from wine]. And soberness is beneficial; for he who keepeth himself sober shall sail in safety his ship into the harbour of the salvation, which is good and holy, and he shall drink of the good things of heaven.

And again, a greater thing than all these hath been given into thine hand, namely, the humility which keepeth watch over all the virtues; humility was this great and holy power wherein God arrayed Himself when He came into the world. It is the wall [round about] the virtues, the treasure-house of actions (or, deeds), the armour which delivereth, the healer of every grief. And when the apparel of byssus had been made, and the vessels of gold for the tabernacle, and all the things for adornment, they put on apparel of sackcloth. [Humility] is one of the least of things in the sight of men, but it is chosen and most honourable before God. If we acquire it for ourselves we shall [be able to] tread upon all the power of the Enemy. For He said, ' On whom shall I look except upon him that is humble and long-suffering? (Isa. Ixvi. 21.)' Let us not relax our attention in the time of hunger, for boasting increaseth in a man as well as prudence. When gluttony increaseth, fornication reigneth through the drinking of the body, [and] pride hath rule, and the novices cease to listen to the elders, and the elders cease to trouble in any way about the novices, and each one walketh according to the desire of his own heart. This is the time wherein we must cry out with the prophet, 'Woe unto me, O my soul, for he who striketh terror destroyeth upon the earth. And he who is upright among men existeth not according to the Christ, that is to say he doth not exist at all, and each one afflicteth his neighbour (Cf. Mic. vii. 2.).'

Strive ye, O my beloved, for the time hath drawn nigh, and the days have diminished. The father no longer giveth instruction to his son, and the son hearkeneth not to his father. The good Virgins have come to an end. The holy fathers are asleep in every place, the mothers are destroyed like the widows, we have become like unto orphans. The humble are trampled upon, and blows are showered upon the heads of the poor. Because of this, within a very little we have made God to be wroth. Then let us make lamentation, [for] there is none to comfort us. All these things have come upon us because we have not afflicted ourselves. Let us strive earnestly, O my beloved, so that we may receive the crown which is prepared. The throne is spread, the door of the kingdom is open, 'to him who overcometh will I give the manna which is his (Rev. ii. 17.).' If we strive earnestly we shall conquer our passions, and we shall reign for ever and ever; but if they conquer us, we shall weep bitterly.

Let us fight for ourselves, inasmuch as repentance is sufficient for us. Let us put on ourselves sorrow, and make ourselves new [creatures] in humility. Let us become lovers of men, and make ourselves companions of Christ, the Lover of mankind. Since we are vowed unto God, [we must lead] the life of the monk in love. Virginity doth not [mean] virginity of the body only, but the keeping of oneself from every sin. For in the Gospel certain virgins were rejected because of their careless slothfulness, whilst those who watched bravely went into the chamber of the bridegroom. it happen then that every one [here] may enter into that place for ever!

And as concerning the love of money by means of which fighting is carried on against us. If thou wishest to gain for thyself these things (or, possessions) which are transient, and can be destroyed by fire [or: ardour], by great avariciousness, or by trafficking, or by violence, or by evil design, or by excessive manual labour, thou art not free to serve God, at least certainly not in every way. If thou hast the eager desire to collect for thyself gold or bronze, remember that which He spake in the Gospel, saying, 'Thou man of no understanding, they shall carry away thy soul this very night; [and] the things which thou hast prepared unto whom shall they belong? (Luke xii. 20.)' Of similar import too are the words, ' He gathereth together, [but] he knoweth not for whom he is gathering (Ps. xxxix. 6.).'

Strive eagerly then, O my beloved, and fight against [this] passion. Thou shalt say, 'I will do what Abraham did, I will act uprightly in respect of God, the Most High, Who created the heavens and the earth—saying. If I have taken anything of the things which belong unto thee, from a thread even unto a shoe-latchet The stranger who is humble is a great good, and the Lord loveth the proselyte. Concerning, moreover, the slothfulness by means of which fighting is carried on against us, [and] concerning the right hand of need, remember that it is written, 'Thy houses for gathering in are accursed, and the things which are in them (Cf. Jer. V. 9.).' And again concerning the gold and the bronze James spake, saying, 'Their rust shall bear witness against them, and the rust shall devour your flesh like fire (jag. y. 3.).' And, 'He chose a man (Ps. Ixxviii. 70; 1 Sam. xvi. 11, 12.), a righteous man who had no idol, he saw their affliction (Exod. iv. 31.),' Again, purify thyself from the curse before the Lord calleth thee, for thou hast set thy hope upon God, because it is written 'Let your hearts be purified, [and] perfect towards God (Jas. iv. 8.).'

I enquire of thee, O my beloved in the Lord, for if thou hast made God to be a helper [unto thee], and if thou art unto Him one beloved, and if thou hast set thy heart to walk in the commandments of God, then will God Himself bless thee so greatly that thy fountain shall become a river unto thee, and thy river shall become unto thee a sea. For thou art the chariot, and continence shall be the charioteer. The lamp of God is kindled above thee, and thou shalt give forth the light which belongeth unto the Spirit. Thou shalt control thy words in [giving] judgement. God granteth unto thee graciously the skill of the saints in contending, so that thou mayest not fall headlong before the image (or, phantom) in thy city. Thou settest thy foot upon the neck of the prince of darkness. Thou seest the general-in-chief of the forces of the Lord standing at thy right hand. Thou shalt drown Pharaoh and his multitude. Thou and thy people pass over the sea of salt, that is to say, this life. Amen.

And besides these things, I command thee not to relax thy hold upon thy heart, for it is the joy of devils to make a man to relax his hold upon his heart, and to bring him into the net before he is aware of it. Therefore be not thou careless in receiving the teaching of the fear of the Lord. Thou shalt go forward (or, grow) like the new plants, and thou shalt please God like a new (i. e. young) bull which driveth away the sheep with [his] horns. Moreover, be thou a valiant man, both in deed and in word. Do not turn thy face away as do the hypocrites, lest thou join them and become converted unto them. Do not destroy (or, waste) the first day [of the week] in thy field, for thou must know what that must give to God day by day. Seat thyself by thyself, like a prudent governor, and try [thyself] judicially according to thy reason; and whether thou art away by thyself on a journey, or whether thou art among a crowd, thou shall pass judgement on thyself daily. For it is very much better for thee to be one among a crowd of a thousand people and to possess a very little humility, than to be a man living in the cave of a hyena in pride. It may be remembered in respect of Lot, that he lived in the midst of Sodom, and still was a believer and a good man. But we also hear in respect of Cain, with whom upon the earth there were only three other people, that he became a sinner.

Now therefore, behold, the contest is prepared for thee. Examine thou carefully those who come upon thee daily, for we must hide ourselves even as those who wage war against us hide themselves. For the devils are not wont to come against thee on the right hand only, but they appear also on the left hand to every man. For in very truth, in my own case, they fought against me on the right-hand side, and they brought unto me the Devil, being bound in the form of a wild ass,' but the Lord helped me. I did not believe them, neither did I relax the vigilance of my heart | against them. And the works of the Devil on the right hand hurt me many times, and he went so

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far as to dare to tempt the Lord, but He destroyed him with all his works.

Now, therefore, O my son, array thyself in humility, and make the Christ to be unto thee a counsellor, and His Good Father [also] ; make thyself a companion and a divine man, in whose heart is the Law of God. Make thyself to be like unto the poor man who carried His Cross, who became a companion of weeping. Make thyself to become poor, [put] a napkin on thy head, and let thy place of abode be unto thee a tomb, until God shall raise thee up and give unto thee the crown of triumph.

If it happeneth on a time that thou art utterly cast down about a brother, who hath caused thee suffering by [his] words; or if thy heart hath been wounded by a brother, and thou sayest, 'he is not worth this'; or if the Enemy worketh in thee against a certain man [and thou sayest], 'he is not worthy of these honours,' lay thou hold upon thy speech. Or call to mind that it is the Devil of war who maketh himself great in thy understanding. [If] thou contendest with thy brother, thou knowest that there is no balm in Gilead, and that there is no physician in thy neighbourhood. Now [therefore] devote thyself to silent contemplation, and to making thyself conscious of God. Weep thou tears in the presence of thyself and Christ, and the Spirit of Jesus shall speak with thee in thine understanding, it shall give thee birth in the circle of the commandment, and make thee to strive by thyself; thou resemblest a wild animal inasmuch as the venom is in thee.

Remember how that thou thyself hast benefited on several occasions. Dost thou not hear the Christ saying, 'Forgive thy brother seventy times seven (Matt, xviii. 22.)'? Dost thou thyself not weep often when thou makest supplication, saying, 'Forgive me the multitude of my sins'? And yet thou layest hold of a little thing against thy brother I And straightway the Spirit of God shall bring before thee the Judgement, and the fear of the punishments. And thou must remember the saints, and how they were held worthy to be treated with contempt. And thou must remember the Christ, and how they despised Him, and treated Him with contempt, and how they crucified Him for thy sake. And straightway thy heart shall become full of compassion and fear, and thou shalt cast thyself down on thy face weeping, and thou shalt say, 'Forgive Thou me, O my Lord, for I have inflicted suffering on Thine image.' And straightway thou shalt rise up, and thou shalt be [feeling] the consolation of repentance, thou shalt flee to the feet of thy brother, thy heart shall be as water, thy face shall be joyful, thy mouth shall be filled with gladness, peace shall be enveloping thee, and thou shalt make supplication to thy brother, saying, 'Forgive me, O my brother, for I have made thee to suffer pain.' Thy weeping shall be abundant, but great joy shall be unto thee through [thy] tears. And peace shall boast itself in your midst, and the Spirit of God Himself shall rejoice and shall cry out, saying, ' Blessed are the peacemakers, for it is they who shall be called the sons of God (Matt. v. 9.).' When the Enemy heareth the sound of the voice [of thy weeping] he becometh ashamed. [Take care] that God is glorified, so that a great blessing may be unto thee.

Now therefore, O my brother, let us fight boldly. Thou knowest that contention existeth in every place. The churches are filled with men who love fighting and with men of wrath. The Congregations and the bodies of monks love to arrogate to themselves greatness, pride hath made itself to be king (or, to rule). No man sheweth bravery on behalf of his neighbour, but every man inflicteth persecution on his neighbour. We have fallen into the midst of sufferings. There is neither prophet nor Gnostic. No man chideth another in respect of any matter, because hardness of heart hath increased. He who hath understanding shall speak out, for the time is evil. Every man maketh himself to be his own king, and they devote their minds to the contemplation of the things which are unseemly. Now therefore, O my brother, make peace with thy brother, and thou shalt pray for me; I am unable to do anything in the matter, but I humble myself because of my wish. And do thou be sober in everything. Suffer, and perform the work of the evangelist, bear temptations patiently, fight out to the very end the fight which the life of the monk entaileth, humble thyself, make thyself to be long-suffering, let thy heart dread [certain] things [or, words], which thou must hear, and take good heed to guard thy virginity. And thou shalt commit thyseK unto him with whom thou comparest thyself, and unto these strange voices concerning me. Set not thyself outside the writings of the saints, but make thyself strong in the belief in the Christ Jesus our Lord, through Whom and to Whom be glory, and to His Good Father, and to the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen. Bless us!

THE THREE BOOKS OF MEQABYAN

The Three Books of the Ethiopic Maccabees
1, 2 and 3 Meqabyan
Author: Probably Frumentius,
From: Ethiopian Bible (Amharic in Ge'ez script)
Translation: Dermot P. Curtin, 2018
Iyaric / Rastafari English Translation: Ras Feqade Tebbaqiw
Estimated Range of Dating: mid-4th century A.D.

(The Three Books of Meqabyan. It authorship is uncertain, but it does appear to date to the mid-4th century and might possibly be from the hand of St. Frumentius or one of his immediate disciples. The first chapter of this text is released as public domain, as it is an excerpt from the full publication.

FRUMENTIUS (c. 300-c. 360 AD), the founder of the Abyssinian [Ethiopian] church, traditionally identified in Abyssinian literature with Abba Salama or Father of Peace (but see Ethiopia), was a native of Phoenicia. According to the 4th-century historian Rufinus (10:9), who gives Aedesius himself as his authority, a certain Tyrian, Meropius, accompanied by his kinsmen Frumentius and Aedesius, set out on an expedition to "India," but fell into the hands of Ethiopians on the shore of the Red Sea and, with his ship's crew, was put to death. The two young men were taken to the king at Axum, where they were well treated and in time obtained great influence. With the help of Christian merchants who visited the country Frumentius gave Christianity a firm footing, which was strengthened when in 326 he was consecrated bishop by Athanasius of Alexandria, who in his Epistola ad Constantinum mentions the consecration, and gives some details of the history of Frumentius's mission. Later witnesses speak of his fidelity to the homoousian during the Arian controversies. Aedesius returned to Tyre, where he was ordained presbyter.

Translations

There are two English translation availale. A proper English translation has been published by Dermot P. Curtin in 2018. For commercial reasons, he has published unfortunately only the first chapter of the First Meqabyan free avalable online which we show here.

The only complete and free available translation was made and published by Ras Feqade Tebbaqiw. He has translated it into Rastafari English which is also known as Iyaric language. One may wonder why an Ethiopic Bible text has been tranlated into an English Creole dialect of Jamaica first, and not just into Standard English. There are good reasons for that and they lie in the religion of the Jamaican people. Many of those people belong to a religious movement called the Rastafari Movement. This is a movement of pious Christians who descended from slave ancestry. Their members immensely admire Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia [the former Abyssinia]. From the 1920s to the 1940s, Selassie resisted the onslaught of Mussolinis Fascist Army. Therefore, Rastafaris view Haile Salassie as one of the very first fighters for coloured people from colonialism and adore him as a Messiah. The Rastas have built a close spiritual relationship to the people of Ethiopia and their form of Orthodox Christianity. This includes the Bible of the Ethiopian Tewahado Orthodox Church. Both view themselves as "Gods chosen People". And this is the very reason why we find some Ethiopic scriptures translated into Jamaica's Rastafari English.

Iyaric, Livalect, Dread-talk or I-talk is a consciously created dialect of English in use among members of the Rastafari movement. African languages were lost among Africans when they were taken into captivity as part of the slave trade, and adherents of Rastafari teachings believe that English is an imposed colonial language. Their remedy for this situation has been the creation of a modified vocabulary and dialect, reflecting a desire to take language forward and to confront what they see as the confusion of a corrupt and decadent society they call "Babylon". This is accomplished by avoiding words and syllables seen as negative, such as "back", and changing them to positive ones.

Iyaric is sometimes also referred to as Wordsound—a name derived from the Rastafari principle of "Word, Sound and Power", which several scholars have compared to West African concepts regarding a power or essence being encapsulated within the pronounced sound of a name or word. Iyaric sometimes also plays a liturgical role among Rastas, in addition to the Amharic language which is written in Ge'ez Script.

1955 (Rastafarite is found from 1953), from Rastafari, Jamaican religion built around writings of Marcus Garvey and belief that Haile Selassie (1892-1975), former emperor of Ethiopia, was an incarnation of God. From Ras Tafari, Selassie's title from 1916 to his accession in 1936, from Amharic ras "chief, head" (from Arabic ra's) + tafari "to be feared." As an adjective from 1960.

As we have the three Books of Meqabyan only in Rastafari English, we have decided to re-publish them also in the Grand Bible. With the help of some Rastafari grammar features, we still can understand what is written in these three books.

1. History of the language. The Rastafarian language grew out of the Rastafarian movement, a religious and social movement based in Jamaica. Though largely unorganised, the Rastafarians are united on several strong beliefs:

• The belief in the beauty of black people's African heritage.

• The belief that Ras Tafari Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, is the Biblical Messiah. He is also referred to as the Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah. This is why the lion is seen as a powerful symbol by Rastafarians. A defining moment of this belief was Haile Selassie's vist to Jamaica in 1966 when several hundred thousand Jamaicans reveived him enthusiatically.

• The belief in repatriation to Ethiopia, also referred to by Rastas as "Zion", the true home and redemption of black people.

• The belief in the eventual fall of "Babylon", the corrupt world of the white man, and a reversal of the power structure of slave and master.

2 The key sources of knowledge for the Rastafari movement. The Bible is the main holy text for Rastafarians, particularly the Ethiopian Bible that has with 81 to 88 books more books than any other Bible.

• Rastas take Biblical study very seriously and will cite and discuss scriptural passages. They believe the scriptures tell the true story of the black man's history. They also feel Christian ministers have misled people by providing incorrect interpretations of the Bible, especially the use of the Bible to justify slavery.

• Rastas also refer to other official documents like The Promised Key and The Living Testament of Rasta-for-I. But most scholars agree no central doctrine of Rastafarian exists, as Rastas are against following organised systems or schools of thought. Instead, Rastas believe a person should engage in reflection and interpretation of their experience and form their own personal convictions about the Rasta beliefs.

Pronoun system of Ilaric / Rasta

Iyaric's lexical departure from the pronominal system of Jamaican Creole is one of the dialect's defining features. Jamaican Creole and Standard English pronoun forms are all acceptable in Rasta Talk, but speakers almost always use the I-form of first-person pronouns, while I-form usage for second-person pronouns is less frequent. Do not bother yourself with singular or plurals. They are all interchangeable, and they can have quite some variations in speaking and writing. Here are the used Pronouns in detail. (Forms in round brackets are less common); [** Forms in square brackets are Jamaican Creole, also called Patois.]:*

1, sg: I, Iman, (I and I); ah, me, mi, we, awi ... [mi]** = I / me / my*

2, sg: de I, de Iman (thy); yuh, ayu ... [yu] = you / your

3, sg: (im, i, shi); e, he, she, im, de, dem ... [im, (i, shi, ar)] = he, she, it / him, her, it / his, her, its

1, pl: I and I, (I, we); ah, me, mi, we, awi ... [wi] = we / us / our

2, pl: de Is, (unu); yuh, ayu, allyuh ... [yu, unu] = you (all) / your

3, pl: (dem, dey); e, he, she, im, de, dem, aledem ... [dem] = they / them / their

GRAMMAR

Rastafarian English is a dialect primarily spoken by Jamaican Rastafarians. The Rastafarian language is much easier to learn than Jamaican Patois because it is a play on English words, rather than an entirely separate dialect like Jamaican Patois. The Rastafarian movement, which began in the 1930s in Jamaica, is based on positive beliefs like unity, peace, and one love. So Rastafarian language is a reflection of these positive beliefs.

Grammatical rules (in order of increasing difficulty)

Rule 1: End words with 'in' instead of 'ing'. Cookin. Talkin. Walkin. Childs play.

Rule 2: The 'th' replaced with 'd' in most words, sometimes with 't'. Occasionally, the 'th' is entirely dropped. So "thanks" becomes "tanks" or "danks", "three" becomes "tree" or "dree", and "the" is either de or di (or just 'e'); consequently "them" becomes "dem" or "em", and "that" becomes "dat". etc.

Rule 3: Insert 'ah' at the beginning of your sentence to buy you time to think. The "t" at the end of many English words desappear: "Ah, wah dah? – "what's that?" and contractions eleminated: "Ah, whey yuh bin?" – "where've you been?" As you can see in the example of "been" that becomes "bin", Rastafari English has become a more phonetic language like Dutch or Spanish.

Rule 4: Adjectives repeat for emphasis. "Dis wata de cold cold." – "This water is very cold." (Both a-letters in "wata" are spoken open like in "father".

Rule 5: Replace 'er' with 'a'. Butter would become butta, and water becomes wata.

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Rule 6: The h's are often dropped, not only in 'th' or 'ph' but also in other words. Maths would become mats and him would be 'im.

Rule 7: If you have got this far, one can improvise at will. A sentence like 'I told him' can be expressed as such: I tol him; I told 'im; I tell 'im; Ah tell e; I tell e; Me tell em; etc.

Rule 8: As you have seen in the last examples, the singular-plural distinction has almost gone due to its lax handling. Therefore, the original English verb system of 16 tenses in the active voice, as well as the equivalent 16 tenses in the passive voice, is not in use anymore.

Once we have mastered these simple rules, its time to take it to the next level in order to understand some context.

1. Understand the pronunciation of words in Rastafarian. Rastafarian survives as a spoken language, so pronunciation is very important when trying to speak Rastafarian. Standard English has changed considerably in some words of Rastafari

2. The use of "I and I". In Rastafarian, "I and I", pronounced "eye an' eye", is an important term. It refers to the oneness of Jah (Rastafari for their "God", the Ethiopian Emperor Ras Tafari Haile Selassie I) in every person. "I and I" is a term that reinforces the Rastafarian belief that Jah (Yahweh = God) exists in all people, and everyone exists as one people, unified by Jah.

• "I and I" can be used to replace "you and I" in a sentence. Such as,: "And I going to de concert." This means you and someone else are going to a concert.

• But it can also be used when talking about something you are doing alone, or a shorthand for "me, myself, and I". Such as: "I and I going to de concert". This means you are going to a concert, on your own.[4]

• "I" is also used as a play on certain English words, such as "I man" for "inner man", or a Rastafari believer. Rastas will say "Inity", instead of "unity".

3. The words "Hello", "Goodbye", and "Thank you". Most Rastafarians do not use certain words in the English language as they have devil-like connotations. For example, the word "hello" is not used because it contains the word "hell" and "lo", referring to "low".

• To say "hello", use: "Wa gwaan" or "Yes I".

• To say "goodbye", use: "Me a go", or "Lickle bit".

• To say "thank you", use: "Give thanks" or "Praise Jah".

4. The words "Rasta" "Jah Jah", and "dread." A Rastafarian will refer to themselves as a "Rasta", or call other Rastafarians "Rasta."

• "Jah Jah" is used to praise Jah or refer to Jah. For example: "Jah Jah protect mi fram mi enemy dem." In English, this means: "Yahweh (God) protect me from my enemies."

• "Dread" refers to the dreadlocks worn as a spiritual practice by Rastafarians. It is also used to describe something or someone who is a Rastafarian, or seen as a positive influence.

• For example: "Dread, mon." In English, this means: "Cool, man." Or, "Natty dread." In English, this means: "You're cool" or "You're a Rasta."

• A person who does not have dreadlocks is called a "ball head", a play on the term "bald head". For example, Bob Marley sings in his song "Crazy Baldheads": "Wi guh chase dem crazy Ball head outta town." This translates to: "We gonna chase those crazy people without dreads out of town".

5. The words "Babylon", "politricks" and "irie". These are keywords in the Rastafarian, as they refer to important concepts in Rastafarian culture.

• "Babylon" is the Rastafarian word for the police, who are viewed by Rastafarians as part of a corrupt government system. "Babylon", which refers to the Biblical rebellion against God through the Tower of Babel, can also be used to describe any person or organisation that oppresses the innocent.

• For example: "Babylon deh cum, yuh hav nutten pan yuh?" In English, this translates to: "The police are coming, do you have anything on you?"

• "Politricks" is the Rasta term for "politics". There is a general skepticism of authority figures in Rastafarian, including politicians. So they are seen as tricksters, or full of "tricks".

• "Irie" is one of the most important terms in Rastafarian. It embodies the positive outlook of Rastafarian culture and their belief that "everyting irie" or "everything is alright".

• For example, "Mi nuh have nutten fi complain bout, mi life irie." In English, this translates to: "I don't have anything to complain about, my life is good."

I-words

• I replaces "me", which is much more commonly used in Jamaican English than in the more conventional forms. Me is felt to turn the person into an object whereas I emphasises the subjectivity of an individual.

• I and I (also spelled I&I, InI, or Ihi yahnh Ihi) is a complex term, referring to the oneness of Jah (God) and every human. In the words of Rastafari scholar E. E. Cashmore: "I and I is an expression to totalize the concept of oneness. 'I and I' as being the oneness of two persons. So God is within all of us and we're one people in fact. I and I means that God is within all men. The bond of Ras Tafari is the bond of God, of man." The term is often used in place of "you and I" or "we" among Rastafari, implying that both persons are united under the love of Jah. Also in the Twi language (in which patois uses a lot of Twi loan words) of Ghana, Me ne me is also said, which literally translates to "I and I".

• I-tal or Di food fula itality is spiritually blessed food that has not touched modern chemicals and is served without preservatives, condiments or salts. Alcohol, coffee, milk, and flavoured beverages are generally viewed as not I-tal. Most Rastas follow the I-tal proscriptions generally, and many are vegetarians or vegans. Even meat-eating Rastas abstain from eating pork, as pigs are scavengers of the dead, as are crabs, lobsters, and shrimp (whose banning coincides with the restrictions of Kashrut).

• I man is the inner person within each Rastafari believer.

• Irie refers to positive emotions or feelings, or anything that is good. Specifically it refers to high emotions and peaceful vibrations. This is a phonetical representation of "all right".

• Ites derived from English "heights", means "joy" and also the colour "red". It can also be short for "Israelites".

• Itesquake replaces "earthquake".

• Irator replaces "creator", and Iration replaces "creation".

• Idren or Bredren and Sistren refer to the oneness of Rastafari and are used to describe one's peers (male - "bredren", female - "sistren").

• Itinually replaces continually. It has the everlasting/everliving sense of I existing continuously.

• Inity replaces "unity", demonstrating a general pattern of replacing "you" and similar sounds with "I".

• Iya (higher): Rastafari vocabulary is full of references to the "iya man", "stepping higher and higher", etc. It is not a reference to the "high" normally associated with cannabis, but to stepping into higher realms of reality, as in higher awareness. Iya is also used to refer to a friend. As in "Yes Iya", or "Cool (no) Iya".

• Iyaric is the self-applied term for Rastafari language. It is formed by a combination of Iya (higher) and Amharic, the language spoken by Haile Selassie I.

• Iwa replaces "time" or more accurately, "hour": "Inna this ya iwa."

Other words

• Babylon is an important Rastafari term, referring to governments and institutions that are seen as in rebellion against the will of Jah (God). The etymology of the word is rooted in the story of the Tower of Babel, which is a Biblical origin story explaining the reasons why different cultures of the world speak different languages. In it, the Babylonians were an advanced civilisation who were constructing a tall tower, with the intentions of reaching the heavens. However, God intervened by confounding their speech, so that they could no longer communicate to each other, and subsequently could no longer construct the tower. This would have been an especially important story to the early Rastas, who all came from vastly different cultures and spoke different languages. This may also have given the early Rastas a sense of pride in their own dialect of the English language, which at the time was considered to be "broken English"; it is now officially recognised as Jamaican Patois. Babylon is further used by some to mean specifically the racist European tyrants who had oppressed black people for centuries through slavery, and people of colour through the system of indentured servitude. It has gone on to also refer to corrupt members of government, or "politricksters" who continue to oppress the poor, regardless of race. Historically, the term Babylon may have been used to refer to the Roman Empire, who were pagans, and were known to scrutinise the early Christians and were also the ones who crucified Yeshua. This relation was reinforced after the 1935 Italian invasion of Ethiopia, then ruled by Rastafari's 'Living God,' Haile Selassie I, and also partly because the Roman Catholic church, as an institution, was considered an opponent of Selassie I, and thus also of Rastafari. Babylon is also sometimes used by some Rastas with the more specific meaning of "police", insofar as they are seen as executive agents of Babylon's will. In a more general sense, it is used to refer to the powers that be, any system that oppresses or discriminates against any peoples.

• Politricks is a Rasta term replacing English "politics", because so many politicians, etc. turn out, they say, to be more like tricksters. Politrickster n.

• Everliving replaces "everlasting", particularly in the context of Life Everliving. The "last" in "everlasting", although actually implying survival (to "last" is to "survive" or "bide through"), is seen by the Rastas as implicative of an end (as in the term "at last"), and as the life the Rastas have will never end according to them, they being immortalists. Often used in the phrase "...I and I is Everliving, Everfaithful, Eversure. Ras Tafari."

• H.I.M. (His Imperial Majesty), pronounced him, and referring to Haile Selassie I.

• Downpression replaces "oppression", because oppression holds man down instead of keeping him up. Similarly "downgression" = "violence" (from aggression). Downpressor n.

• Livication replaces "dedication", to rid itself of a connotation of death. adj. Livicated. v. Livicate.

• Outvention replaces "invention", because mechanical devices are seen as outward; it is the inner experience of being Rastafari that is invention.

• Overstanding (also "innerstanding") replaces "understanding", referring to enlightenment that raises one's consciousness.

• Apprecilove replaces "appreciate" because of the similarity to hate.

• Amagideon/Gideon is a Rasta theological concept meaning the general state the entire world is in now, and has been getting progressively deeper in since 1930, and especially since 1974. This is a slight mutation of Armageddon, a name appearing in Revelation.

• Zion refers to either Ethiopia or the whole continent of Africa, after the Day of Judgment, as well as a state of mind one can enter through Rastafari.

• Know replaces "believe". Rastafari would not say they "believe" Haile Selassie is Jah and that they, the Rastas, are the chosen people. They would say they "know" these things.

• Whore of Babylon is the Revelation character sometimes considered to be Queen Elizabeth II, who is still the Head of State of Jamaica; or the papacy; or both.

• Rastafari reject "-isms". They see a wide range of "isms and schisms" in modern society and want no part in them, for example communism and capitalism. They especially reject the word Rastafarianism, because they see themselves as having transcended "isms and schisms". This has created some conflict between Rastas and some members of the academic community studying the Rastafari phenomenon, who insist on calling this religious belief Rastafarianism, in spite of the disapproval this generates within the Rastafari movement. Nevertheless, the practice continues among some scholars, likely because it fits their academic standards of use.

IYARIC / RASTAFARI VOCABULARY

A

a go: aux w/v. going to do, as in "me a go tell him"

a door: outdoors

ah, ahoy: "ahoy, what ya doing?" it is generally used to attract attention like "hey!"

aks: ask

alias: adj. (urban slang) dangerous, violent

an: and; than

armageddon: the biblical final battle between the forces of good and evil

B

Babylon: the corrupt establishment, the "system, " church and state; the police, a policeman

bad: good, great

bad bwai: (bad boy) refering to a bold man; a compliment; one who has committed a crime. (rude bwai, ruddy, baddy)

badness: hooligan behavior, violence for its own sake

bafan: clumsy; awkward

bafang: a child who did not learn to walk the 1st 2-7 years.

bag-o-wire: a betrayer

baggy: underpants for a woman or child.

balmyard: n. place where pocpmania rites are held, healing is done, spells cast or lifted

bakra: white slavemaster, or member of the ruling class in colonial days. popular etymology: "back raw" (which he bestowed with a whip.)

balcany: balcony

bald-head: a straight person; one without dreadlocks; one who works for babylon

bamba yay: by and by

bambu: rolling paper

bammy: a pancake made out of cassava, after it has been grated and squeezed to remove the bitter juice.

bandulu: bandit, criminal, one living by guile

bandulu bizness is a racket, a swindle.

bangarang: hubbub, uproar, disorder, disturbance.

bankra: a big basket, including the type which hangs over the sides of a donkey.

bans: from bands; a whole lot, a great deal, nuff, whole heap.

bashment : party, dance, session

bat: butterfly or moth. english bat, the flying rodent, is a rat-bat.

batty: bottom; backside; anus.

battybwoy: a gay person

Be'al; a Phoenician / Early Hebrew god and idol name.

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beast: a policeman
becau: because, cause, coz
becaudis: therefore
beenie: little
bex: vex (verb), or vexed (adjective).
bhuttu (buhtuh): an uncouth, out of fashion, uncultured person, use: wey yu a go inna dem deh cloze? yu fayva buttu
big bout yah : large and in charge. superlative indicating status (power, fame, money, talent, etc) within some social group
bissy: cola nut.
black up: to smoke weed. like somene would ask "you black up today?" meaning did you smoke today?
blackheart man: a rascal, a hooligan
bly: chance, "must get a bly", "must get a chance".
boasie: adj. proud, conceited, ostentatious. combination of english boastful and yoruba bosi-proud and ostentatious
boasin tone: swollen penis or testicles
bobo: fool.
boonoonoonous: meaning wonderful.
box: to smack or to hit in the face.
braa: from bredda; brother.
braata: a little extra; like the 13th cookie in a baker's dozen; or an extra helping of food. in musical shows it has come to be the encore.
bredda - brother: one's fellow male
bredren - brothers Rastas
brindle: to be angry
brinks : title given to a man who is supplying a woman with money
bubu: fool.
bucky: home-made gun
bud : bird.
bufu-bufu: fat, swollen, blubbery; too big; clumsy or lumbering.
buguyaga: a sloppy, dirty person, like a bum or tramp.
bull bucka: a bully
bulla: a comon sugar and flour cookie or small round cake, sold everywhere in jamaica.
bumba clot,
(to get) bun: to have one's spouse or girl/boy-friend cheat on oneself, to be cheated out of something
blood clot: curse word
buck up: meet
bumbo: bottom; backside. a common curse word, especially in combination with clot (cloth), a reference to the days before toilet paper.
bungo: n. racially pejorative. crude, black, ignorant, boorish person. from hausa bunga-bumpkin, nincompoop
bunks: to knock or bump against, from "to bounce",
bunks mi res, catch my rest, take a nap.
bwoy: boy

C
canceive: conceive
cancord: concord
canverse: converse
card : to fool someone
cease & sekkle!: stop everything and relax!
cepes: (n.) beard
cerace: a ubiquitous vine used for boiling medicinal tea, and for bathing. it is proverbial for its bitterness.
cha! or cho!: a disdainful expletive pshaw! very common, mild explanation expressing impatience, vexation or disappointment.
chaka-chaka: messy, disorderly, untidy.
chant: (v.) - to sing, especially cultural or spiritual songs
cheap: just as cheap, just as well.
childran: children
chimmy: chamber pot.
cho: very common, mild explanation expressing impatience, vexation or disappointment.
clap: hit, break, stride
clot: 1. cloth, an essential part of most jamaican bad words, such as bumbo clot, rass clot, blood clot, etc. the essence of jamaican cursing seems to be nastiness, rather than the blashemy or sexuality
coil: money
come dung: come down, get ready; to seem as if; to resemble.
control: to be in charge of, responsible for, to own; to take
coo 'pon: v. (origin unclear) look upon!
coo yah: v. (origin unclear) look here! pay attention
cool runnings: have a safe trip
coolie: traditional jamaican epithet for east indians
collie: n. (urban slang) ganja
come yah (cumyu): come here.
cork up: jammed, filled, crowded
corn: money
cotch: verb (cotch up), to support something else, as with a forked stick
craven: greedy
cris: crisp; popularly used for anything brand-new
crissars: crisp, brand-new
cromanty: adj. from corromantee, to be rebellious
crocus bag: a very large sack made of coarse cloth, like burlap
crosses: problems, vexations, trials; bad luck, misfortunes.
crucial: serious, great, "hard,", "dread"
cubbitch: covetous.
cudjo: n. name of famous maroon warrior
culture: reflecting or pertaining to the roots values and traditions highly respected by the rastas
cuss-cuss: a quarrel or fracas, with lots of cursing.
cut yai: "to cut your eye", scorn or contempt, deliberate insult.
cutchie: pipe for communal smoking.
cyaan: cannot, can't

D
daal: from hindi, split peas, usually a thick soup
dada: father
dan dada: the highest of don's
dan: than
dawta: from "daughter"; a girl, woman, "sister," girlfriend
dawtaz: women
de: the
dead wood: (the w is silent) = being impotent.
deaders: meat, meat by-products
deestant: decent.
defoul: defile
defouled: defiled
defoulmant: defilemant
dege or dege-dege : adjective, little, skimpy, measly, only, as in a two dege-dege banana.
deh: there (place)
dey: v. to be, exist, as in "no yam no dey". from ewe de or twi de - to be
dey 'pon : (aux. v.) - to be engaged in action or continuing activity
di: the
dinki: a kind of traditional dance
dis or dis ya: this
djew: as a verb, rain a djew; as a noun, djew rain. it means a light rain or drizzle.
dogheart: a person who is especially cold and cruel
dolly: executive zig-zag movements on wheels
don: from Spanish Don (Sir; Latin Dominus = master) one who is respected, master of a situation
donkya: from "don't care"; careless, sloppy, lacking ambition, etc.
doondoos: an albino.
downbase: debase
downcusation: accusation
downcuse: accuse
downgression: aggression
downpressor: preferred term for oppressor
downscend: descend
downstroy: destroy
downstruction: destruction
downsturbance: disturbance
doti: earth
(to) draw card: the act of fooling someone
dread: 1. a person with dreadlocks; 2. a serious idea or thing; 3. a dangerous situation or person; 4. the "dreadful power of the holy"; 5. experientially, "awesome
dready: a friendly term for a fellow dread
du: do
duck-ants: white ants, or termites.
dundus: an albino.
dungle: dunghill, a slum
duns, dunsa: money
duppy: a ghost
dutchy: dutch cooking pot, low round-bottomed heavy pot.

E
ease-up: to forgive, to lighten up
everyting cook & curry: all is well, all is taken care of
everytime: always

F
faada: father
faastie: impertinent, rude, impudent
fahwud: forward
falla fashin: copycat
fas': to be rude, impertinent, to meddle with sombody's business, to be forward, etc.
fayva: to favour, look like; "fayva like" = "it seems as if".
fe: to, for; the infinitive "to" as in "have fe go"
feel no way: don't take offense, don't be sorry, don't worry
fenky-fenky: (from finicky) choosy, proud, stuck-up.
fenneh: v. to feel physical distress, pain. from twi fene-to vomit; fante fena-to be troubled; lumba feno-to faint
fi: "for" or "to", possessive. "fi me"-"mine", "i ha' fi" = i have to
fiesty: impudent, rude, out of order, cheeky.
first light: tomorrow
fit: ready to pick, full grown, just ripe
fiyah: fire
foriva: forever
forward: 1. to go, move on, set out 2. in the future
fuc-ery: wrong, unfair
fullness, to the fullness : completely, absolutely, totally
funds: money

G
ga: go
gaan: going to; superlative "yam gaan to ...".
galang: go along.
(to) get salt: to be thwarted, to encounter misfortune
gates: home, yard
general: cool operator
gi: give
gig: spinning top.
ginnal: n. trickster, con-man
(don) gorgon: a person who is respected (2,6)
gravalicious: greedy, avaricious.
grindsman: one who displays great prowess in bed
ground: home, yard
grounate: found
grounation: foundation

H
hackle: to hassle, bother, worry, trouble. as a noun, hackling.
haffi: to have to...
hail: a greeting
hard: excellent, proficient, skillful, uncompromising
hard ears: being stubborn
heartical: mindful
heetch: itch. many such words could be listed under h, as initial h is added to scores of words at will.
hiez-haad: ears-hard, thick skulled, stubborn, unwilling or unable to hear.
hiez: ears.
hola: holy
Holaday: holiday
holafied: sacred
Holaness: holiness
homely: to be relaxed, comfortable, enjoying your home surrounding.
hood: penis.
hortical (don): respected, acclaimed
hot-stepper: fugitive from jail or court

I
Ibility: ability
i-dren: (n.)- male rastafarian
i-man: i, me, mine
i-ney: a greeting
i-rey: 1. a greeting 2. excellent, cool, highest
i-shence: herb
i-tal: vital, organic, natural, wholesome; refers to way of cooking and way of life in colors, red, green and gold
i: replaces "me", "my" or even "you"
iez: ears
ilie: adj. literally, "highly", valuable, sacred
Iginnin: beginnin
ignorant: short-tempered, easy to vex, irate.
inna di morrows: tomorrow
inna: in the
Imortal: immortal
['injera: type of Ethiopian bread]
Inointed: anointed
Ipearance: appearance
Ipoint: appoint
Irate: create
Iration: creation
Irator: Creator
irie: happy, greeting, excellent, pleasing
ises / izes / isis: praises to the almighty
Ishence: incense
"-ism", "-isms": words are never used with these suffixes as they have negative term denoting babylon's classificatory systems
Iternal: eternal
Iternity: eternity
ites: 1. joy; 2. the heights; 3. a greeting; 4. the colour red great
Itinually: continually
Itority: authority
iyant: chant
Iyaric is the self-applied term for Rastafari language. It is formed by a combination of Iya (higher) and Amharic, the language spoken by Haile Selassie I. who is viewed as a Messiah.
Iwa: hour

J
ja, jam-down: jamaica
jah know: lord knows
Jah: Yahweh, God

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jamdung: jamaica, "jam" to press down "dung" down. ironic reference to social and economic conditions of the masses jammin: to be having a good time
jancro: n. literally john crow, buzzard
janga: shrimp, crayfish.
judgemant: judgement

K
kali; cooly: the herb;
kallaloo: a dark, green leafy vegetable, very nutritious and cheap.
kass kass: n. quarrel or contention.
kaya: see ganja
ketch up: grapple
kemps: a little bit, a tiny piece, from skimps.
kin teet: see kiss teet
kiss me neck!: common exclamation of surprise.
kiss teet: dislike, vexation or disappointment.
Know replaces "believe", particularly in a religious sense of meaning
kouchie: bowl of a chalice or chillum pipe
kreng-kreng: an old-fashioned meat rack, hung up high over the fire to catch the smoke.
ku: verb, look!
ku deh!: look there!
ku pan: look at.
ku ya!: look here!
ku yu : look at you!
kumina: n. ecstatic dance
kya: 1. to care; "donkya", don't care, careless; "no kya" means no matter, as in "no kya weh im tun", no matter where he turns; 2. to carry
kyaan: cannot, can't.
kyai: to carry.
kyan: can.

L
laba-laba: to chat, gab; gossip.
labrish: gossip, chit-chat.
lagga head: stupid, dumb, have no common sense
lambsbread: a form of high-quality marijuana
large: respected
let off: pay out
leggo beas': wild, disorderly
lick: to hit
licky-licky: fawning, flattering, obsequious.
likkle: little
lilly bit: little bit, tiny.
lion: a righteous dread a great soul
little more: see you later
(too) likky-likky : title given to those who like to eat any food they encounter , without discretion

M
maca: thorn, prickle.
madda: mother
mafia: big-time criminals
maga dog: mongrel
maga: thin (from meagre)
mampi: fat or overweight
manacles: chains
manners: discipline or punishment. curfew
marina: a man's undershirt, guernsey; a tank-top style.
maroon: n. warior; untamed, wild
mascot: denoting inferior status
mash it up: a huge success
mash up, mash down: destroy
massive: respected, used with "large" to add emphasis
matey: mistress
mek: make
mek we: let us.
Menelik, ras: n. Ethiopian nobleman who defeated the Italians at Adowa 1896
messenjah: messenger
monks: amongst.
more time: see you later
mr. mention: talk of the town
mr. t: the boss
mus mus: a rat
my baby mother / father: the mother / father of my child (1,6)
myal: n. person of mystic power.

N
nagah: n. pejorative for a black person
nago: n. yoruba person, practice or language
nah: adv. will not. emphatic as in "me nah do that"
nana: midwife; nanny or nurse
natty, natty: dread,
natty congo: ancient hebrew from nazarite: meaning to "separate", consecrated
niyabinghi: 1. "death to oppressors"; 2. east african warriors who resisted colonial domination
niyamen: name for rastas referring to niyabinghi warriors of east africa
no kya: no matter, not important
no true?: question tag like Spanish "Verdad?", meaning, is it not so?
notch: don or top ranking badman
nuh: question tag like Spanish "No?"; meaning, "is it not so?"
num: not, yu num fi du dat = you are not to do that.
nyam: to eat.
(too) nyami-nyami : title given to those who like to eat any food they encounter, without discretion
nying'i-nying'i: nagging, whining.

O
obeah: omens, extra-sensory knowledge, etc.
oht fi: about to, on the vergeof, as in "it hoht fi rain", it is about to rain, it looks like rain.
one love: a parting phrase, expression of unity
one-one: adjective, one by one, thus any small amount.
ongle: only.
overstand: understand

P
paki: calabash, gourd.
papaa: pawpaw, or papaya melon.
pattan: pattern, style and fashion
patu: owl.
payaka: heathen
pyaka: tricky or dishonest.
peel-head: bald-headed, usually certain chickens or vultures.
peenywally: a kind of large flying beetle.
peer: avocado pear.
picky-picky: 1. finicky or choosy
pikny: pickaninny, child.
pinda: peanut.
pira: a low wooden stool.
pity-me-likl: a type of very tiny red ant whose bite is so hot as a sting.
pocomania, poco: christian revival, distinct drum rhythm
polytricks: politics
polytricksters: politicians
pon: upon
priah: prayer
puppalick: somersalt.
puttin' away: a preposition, "except for", or "except".
pyaa-pyaa: sickly, weak; feeble, of no account.
pyu: from spew; verb used of running sores or anything similarly dripping or oozing.

Q
quashie: n. peasant, coarse and stupid person
quips: 1. a tiny piece or amount

R
ram : full up
ranking: highly respected
ras or rass: backside, rump; "lord" or "head" .
(to) raas: "really?", "damn!"
raspect: respect
ras self: self
rasta, rastafarian: a follower of marcus garvey who worships the almighty in the person of haile selassie
rat-bat: bat, the night-flying rodent.
ratchet: a switchblade knife popular in jamaica
red: 1. very high on herb 2. mulatto color
red eye: envious
rahtid: expression of surprise, or to be enraged. from biblical"wrothed"
renk: 1. foul-smelling, raw-smelling; 2. out of order, impudent
rhaatid: a curse-exclamation, similar to "what the hell"
rhygin: adj. spirited, vigorous, lively, passionate with great vitality and force
rockstone: stone
roots: 1. derived from the experience of the common people, natural indigenous; 2. a greeting; 3. name for a fellow rasta
roti: flat indian pan breads.
rude boy: a criminal, a hard hearted person, a tough guy
ryal: royal.

S
sal'ting: 1. dishes cooked with saltfish or meat; 2. that part of the meal which is served with the "food" (starchy food, ground food); 3. by some strange extension, the female organ.
salt: adjective, broke, empty-handed, low on funds or food, as in "tings salt" or "i' salt".
sambo: the colour between brown and black
samfai man: trickster, conman.
shampata: n. sandal or shoe. span. zapato
sanfi : a manipulator - dishonest person.
sankey: n. religious song
sata: to rejoice, to meditate, to give thanks and praise.
satta: sit, rest, meditate relax
(go) satta: claim how spiritual you are
scattar: scatter
science: obeah, witchcraft
scientist: occult practitioner
scout: denoting inferior status
screechie: to sneak by
screw: to scowl, to be angry
secand: second
seen: i understand, i agree
seen?: do you understand?
Senbet: Sabbath
shake out: leave without haste, casually
sheg (up): verb, to bother, as in "all sheg up"
sheg-up: to be messed up, ruined
shepherd: n. leader, healer and prophet
shoob: to shove.
sidung: sit down
sight?: do you understand?
sinkl-bible: the aloevera plant.
sinsemilla, sensie: popular, potent, seedless
sinting: something.
sipple: slippery; slimy.
sista (sg), sistren (pl): sister, sisters: a woman, a friend, woman rastafarians
sittin': something.
skil: kiln, as in "limeskil".
skin: rolling paper
skin your teeth: smile
slabba-slabba: big and fat, slobby, droopy.
smadi: somebody.
so-so: only, solely, unaccompanied. weak, pallid
soft: not well done, amateurish; unable to cope broke, no money
spring: to sprout, as of yams or cocos, making them inedible.
star: common term of affection, camaraderie
step: to leave, to depart briskly, quickly
stoosh / stoshus: upper class, high tone, "hitey-titey".
streach: stretch
string up: a muscial rehearsal
structure: body, health
su-su: gossip, the sound of wispering.
sufferer: a poor person stuggling to survive
supm, sinting: something

T
tacumah: n. character in anancy tales.
tall: long
tallowah: adj. sturdy, strong, fearless, physically capable.
tam: deep woolen hat
tan': to stand; usually used in the sense of "to be". "a so im tan", "that is what he is like";
"tan deh!" or "yu tan deh!" means "just you wait!". "tan tedy", stand steady, means "hold still".
tarra-warra: a polite way of expressing omitted bad words, a verbal asterisk.
tata: n. father.
tatu: a little thatched hut
teif: a thief, to steal
tek: take
thee-I: thee
the i: (pron.) -you, yourself, yours
thru': because
tikya: take care
topanoris: uptown snobby person.
transport: vehicle

U
uno / unu: you-all. pron. you, plural.
upful: postitive, encouraging
uphill: positive, righteous
uptown: the upper classes

V
vank: (v.) - to vanquish, conquer
vex: to get angry

W
wa day: adverbial phrase, the other day.
wa mek?: why?
whatlef: what's left over
wheels: vehicle
whole heap: a lot
wine: "wine" to dance, sometimes seductively.
winjy: thin and sickly looking.
wis: vine, liana, from withe.

Y
ya: you
ya: hear, here.
yabba: a big clay pot.
yaga yaga: attract attention, i.e. yo! or yush! true friend; bonafide; brethren.
yahso: here (place)

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yai: eye.
yard: home, one's gates tenement
youth: a child, a young man, an immature man

Z
Zion refers to either Ethiopia or the whole continent of Africa, after the Day of Judgement, as well as a state of mind one can enter through Rastafari.)

THE FIRST BOOK OF MEQABYAN
1 Meqabyan
The First Book of the Ethiopic Maccabees
Translation: Dermot P. Curtin, 2018
Amharic rendered into Standard English

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 1

1 A certain man named Tseerutsaydan* loved his sin. He would often boast of the great profusion of his troops and of the great armies which he held governance over.

[* This name is a curiosity, as ordinarily the Maccabee revolt is associated with the Seleucid king, Antiochus IV Epiphanius, who is otherwise unmentioned in this text. The meaning of this name is a subject of debate. It has been suggested that this name appears to represent the folk memory of the aforementioned tyrant. Some coinage from his reign give his dual capital cities, and are noted with the inscription "Tyre and Sidon", which appears to constitute the transliteration of this name into Ge'ez, and later Amharic. This would also account for the pairing of these two Punic cities later in the text. Alternatively, since the Ethiopian Synaxarion calls that nation of Syria 'Saranin' (Tahisas 29), This name could also be a cognate for the 'King of Syria'.]

2 He had countless priests who served the false gods which he worshiped, and [he would often] bow to them and make sacrifices by night and day. [This characterisation of Satan, as a misleader, trickster and rival to God, is distinctive part of Christian theology, particularly as it appears in the works of the Church Fathers starting in the 3rd century. If the section of the text that tell of the sojourn of the brothers Is of Jewish origin, then this is a later addition.]

3 In the sightlessness of his own heart, he believed that they granted him power and strength. [The usage of the term "Gehenna" early in this text offers a potential clue to its dating, as this is a term that is found in the Hebrew Scriptures, but it not used in this association. Rabbinical literature and the Greek New Testament do utilize this word in association with a state of suffer required for final atonement following death. It's use in the Greek New Testament is extensive (Matt. 5:22, 29-30, 10;28, 18:9, 23:22; Mark 9:43, 45, 47; Luke 12:5; Jam. 3:6), and linked to more familiar notions of Hell.]

4 He believed that they gave him sovereignty over the nations. [See Dan. 3:4-5]

5 And as his sway over the nations progressed, he believed that [these false gods] granted him the right to supremacy.

6 [The King] would offer sacrifices to them by night and day,

7 appointing priests to serve these idols.

8 These priests ate from the unclean sacrifices, all the while telling the king that the idols had consumed what was offered.

9 They sought to proselytize among the people, so that they might make greater sacrifices to be consumed.

10 The king trusted in these idols, which can grant no favors, nor yield any merit to his welfare.

11 At the time, when his heart was blind to the truth, [the king] believed that they had given him to fate, by placing him with a diadem. It would appear to him that [these idols] had created him, for Satan2 blocked him from knowledge of the true God, who alone grants eternal life. Rather, [Satan] sought to bring him away from life, into the fire of Gehenna3 forever, for he believed the idols to be gods,

12 but since they do not truly live, they cannot give life.

13 It was Satan's tyranny that mislead them, which was found within their idolatry. He gave of them false speech, and said he would reveal great truths to them, and for this he was loved. [Therefore, Satan] cast the people's discernment upon the false gods and those that believe in them, and among all the children of Adam, who's prayers had become like that of the dust.

14 They gazed upon [the idols] in solemn reverence, and [Satan] filled their mind with their own desires. And the people complied, offering as sacrifice their young girls and young boys, children of their own blood. They spilled the innocent blood of their children.

15 This did not concern [the king], for Satan had savored the sacrifices he made to his gods in order to complete his malicious designs. [Satan sought to] bring him down into Gehenna, where he dwells, and where there is no respite for all eternity, and where all will receive chastisement.

16 This king, Tseerutsaydan, was full of conceit; for he had fifty idols made of false gods, and twenty idols of false goddesses.

17 He would often boast about his idolatry, and offered glorification and praise to the idols while he made his daily sacrifices.

18 He commanded the people, that they too might make sacrifices to these idols. [The king] would eat from these unclean sacrifices, and ordered that the people do the same, to spread the evil which he created.

19 Now, [the king] had five workshops which were under his command, where he forged the idols out of iron, brass and lead.

20 The king had then adorned in silver and in gold, and had veiled curtains around his palaces for them, each hidden in a tabernacle.

21 He appointed guardians for their care, and would make offerings of meat to these idols from forty creatures- ten fattened oxen and ten fatted ewes, ten barren calves and ten barren goats, along with winged birds of the air.

22 It appeared to [the king] that these idols ate and drank, consuming fifty bunches of grapes and fifty dishes of bread kneaded with oil.

23 The king said to the priests, "Take this, give it to them. Let my gods consume the meat that has been slaughtered on their account. Make them drink from of the wine I have given to them. If this is not enough to quench their desire, I will give them more."

24 [The king] then ordered that everyone should eat and drink from that defiling sacrifice.

25 He then, in his corruption, sent out his armies to march on all the nations of his realm4, to find one who would neither make sacrifices, nor prostrate themselves [before the idols], so that they could be brought before him. He sought to punish them by fire and by sword, [for he feared that the gods] might seize his wealth and burn his palaces. [The king] lived in terror that they might remove his great fortune and destroy him.

26 "My gods are generous and great, and out of their benevolence I have forged them. Therefore, I will give chastisement on him that does not worship my gods and make sacrifices to them.

27 I will show punish punishment and retribution! For they have created the heavens and the earth, the great wide sea, the moon and sun, the rains and the wind, and all that abide in this world.

28 Those who will not worship shall be punished under the penalty of law, and I shall have no mercy.

[No further translations into Standard English available.]

BOOK OF MEQABYAN 1
1 Meqabyan
The First Book of the Ethiopic Maccabees
Translation: Ras Feqade Tebbaqiw
Amharic rendered into Iyaric / Rastafari English

(The First Book of Ethiopian Maccabees (1 Meqabyan) has 36 chapters in total, and gives the account of two separate revolts against Seleucid rule over Judaea. The first account begins by stating that there was an idol-worshipping king of Media and Midian who is devoted to the cult of his idols. Unlike the more familiar narrative found in the books of Maccabees, his name is given as "Tseerutsaydan" (or "Tsirutsaydan"); this is possibly a folk memory of the historical Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes, who held court at the Phoenician cities, after he began minting coins with the names "Tyre and Sidon" (Tsur u Tsaydan) stamped in Punic alongside his image.

According to this book, a certain man from the territory of Benjamin called Meqabis (or Maccabeus) had three sons Abya (Amharic: Abijah), Seela (Amharic: Shelah), and Pantos (Pantera, or Fentos), who opposed the tyrannical policies of the king and refused to worship his idols. Their account consumes only a short section of the book, spanning chapters 1 through chapter 4. They are noted elsewhere in the hagiographical text of the Ethiopian Synaxarion, and hold a feast day within the Ethiopian Church.

A second group of brothers are later introduced in Chapter 15. They are called: Yihuda (Amharic: Judah), Meqabis (or Maccabeus) and Mebikyas, and they are said to have led a successful revolt against the ruthless King Akrandis of Midian. This is possibly a historical allusion to the king Alexander I Balas, who ruled the Seleucid Empire after the death of Antiochus IV, and who supported the legitimacy of the Maccabees cause. However, in this folk rendering of history, Mebikyas enters the king's military camp and decapitates him at his dinner table, while his food was still in his mouth.

The rest of the book contains no further narratives about the Maccabeans and offers no further historical narrative, instead focusing on principles such as the primacy of God, the importance of good works, and the vanity of earthly power, often illustrated using examples from the Old Testament.

1 Meqabyan Summary:

• Chapter 1: Tseerutsaydan, a king of Midian and Median country, worships idols, offering sacrifices to them and compelling his subjects by force to do likewise.

• Chapter 2: Three sons of Maccaebeus, of the tribe of Benjamin (the Meqabyans), refuse to worship the idols, stating instead that they worship the one true God. Being powerful warriors, they elude capture by Tseerutsaydan's forces and escape to the mountains. The king's forces return to the city and threaten to destroy it unless its inhabitants capture the Meqabyan on their behalf; the city's inhabitants plead with the Meqabyan to give themselves up.

• Chapter 3: Three of the brothers - Abya, Seela and Fentos - give themselves up to the king's forces, who then deliver them to Tseerutsaydan. After again refusing to worship the king's idols, they are tortured and thrown into jail for three days. They again refuse to worship the idols, and suffer further torture. Tseerutsaydan then decides to feed them to bears, tigers and lions, however the animals refuse to attack them, instead turning on the king's forces, killing 75 of them. In the confusion two other (unnamed) sons of Maccabeus come to release Abya, Seela and Fentos, however the three refuse and then all five are imprisoned. The five brothers are then burned alive in a fire pit, whereupon they die and enter Heaven.

• Chapter 4: Tseerutsaydan attempts to dispose of their corpses by burning, drowning and feeding them to vultures, but their bodies remain unharmed at each attempt. At night Tseerutsaydan has a vision of the brothers, and seems to be repentant, however they state that it is up to God how to deal with him, and reiterate the uselessness of his idols.

• Chapter 5: An extended attack on the faithlessness of Tseerutsaydan, using the examples of Hiram and Nebuchadnezzar; the glory of God and his angels, as was shown to Tobit and Moses; the primacy of God over earthly kings.

• Chapter 6: The contrasting fates of kings in the afterlife: good kings who rule in truth and righteousness shall enter the Hall of Heaven, a brilliant place of abundance and joy; evil kings who ruled unjustly go to Gehenna. This is followed by an extended commentary on King Saul, and his refusal to heed the warnings of the prophet Samuel.

• Chapter 7: A king's power comes from God; the vanity of earthly power, which passes away whereas God remains forever; Gehenna awaits arrogant kings and others who neglect God.

• Chapter 8: The fate of the soul after death, and the resurrection of the dead; the contrasting fates of sinners and the righteous.

• Chapter 9: Idol-worshipping nations (such as Deemas, Cyprus, Athens and Media) will be judged at the Final Judgement.

• Chapter 10: The certainty of physical resurrection - the Biblical patriarchs wished to be buried together so that they would arise together.

• Chapter 11: As Zebulon, Edom, Armon and Tyre and Sidon will be judged for their idolatry and sin, so will Jerusalem.

• Chapter 12: Like Sodom and Gomorrah, Jerusalem devoted itself to sin and idolatry, and shall be judged accordingly.

• Chapter 13: Many of Israel's neighbours have been misled by the Devil, a fallen angel who arrogantly rejected God and now misleads many in Israel.

• Chapter 14: God's promise to Noah; the sin of Israel, which failed to heed Moses on Mount Sinai; attacks on Israel by surrounding nations a punishment from God.

• Chapter 15: King Akrandis of Midian gathers an army and attacks Israel; Israel repents; Akradis is defeated by the three brothers Judah, Mebikyas and Maccabeus; Israel then returns to sin.

• Chapter 16: Overview of the nations surrounding Israel.

• Chapter 17: Amalek and Edom - two ungodly nations committed to sin and idolatry.

• Chapter 18: The judgement of ungodly generations, such as the descendants of Seth and Cain in former times.

• Chapter 19: Cain killed Abel for his wife, and fled with her to Qiefaz in the west; the importance of passing on God's Law to the next generation.

• Chapter 20: God will protect the righteous and ensure they prosper.

• Chapter 21: David and Hezekiah believed in God's law and prospered, Manasseh did not and was defeated; God will punish the wicked and hand them over to the righteous.

• Chapter 22: God will judge the good and bad accordingly; the importance of assisting widows and orphans.

• Chapter 23: The example of Cain and Abel - those who follow the way of Cain will be sent to Gehenna for eternity.

• Chapter 24: The destructive ways of evil persons - gluttony, drunkenness, robbery, hypocrisy and idolatry.

• Chapter 25: All that is on the earth and in the heavens is God's and under his control.

• Chapter 26: The rich and poor are equal before God.

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• Chapter 27: Recounting of the seven days of creation and the Fall.

• Chapter 28: Genesis story continued: Cain and Abel, Seth, Noah, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; the Devil misled many into worship idols; the repeated cycle of Israel's fall into sin, punishment by God and subsequent repentance, as illustrated by David, Jephthah, Gideon, Samson, Barak, Deborah, Judith, Abimelech, Mattathias; this seemingly endless cycle tested God's patience, resulting in the Babylonian captivity; the story of Esther.

• Chapter 29: The Exodus from Egypt; the noble examples of David and Samuel.

• Chapter 30: God's message to Samuel - Saul to be stripped of the crown; God honours those who honour Him.

• Chapter 31: God's message continued - Kings reign by God's will; God honours righteous kings such as David.

• Chapter 32: God's message continued - God's care for His creation; the impudence of those who deny their creator.

• Chapter 33: God's message continued - God will punish those who reject him, and honour those who remember him.

• Chapter 34: Many kingdoms will rise and fall before God's final judgement.

• Chapter 35: Israel shall be judged and destroyed for the sins of its rulers.

• Chapter 36: God will also judge Israel's neighbours; the importance of living a good life, as exemplified by Abraham, Moses, Isaac and Jacob. God honoured Israel, however they flouted his Law and adopted the foreign gods of their neighbours; the cycle of punishment, repentance and subsequent backsliding; the noble example of Abraham.)

This are the thing Meqabyan spoke pon the Mo`abans an Miedonans kingdoms.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 1.

1; There were one man whose name are called Tseerutsaydan an who love sin ~ him would boast ina him horses abundance an him troops firmness beneath him authority.

2; Him had many priests who serve him idols whom him worship an fe whom him bow an sacrifice sacrifice by night an by daylight.

3; But ina him heart dullness it would seem fe him that them give him firmness an Power.

4; An ina him heart it would seem fe him that them give him authority ina all him Rule.

5; An again ina formation time it would seem fe him that them give him all the desired authority also.

6; An him would sacrifice sacrifice fe them day an night.

7; Him appointed priests who serve him idols.

8; While them ate from that defouled sacrifice - them would tell him pretendin that the idols eat night an day.

9; Again them would mek other persons diligent like unto them - that them might sacrifice sacrifice an eat. An again them would mek other persons diligent that them might sacrifice sacrifice - an sacrifice sacrifice like unto them.

10; But him would trust ina him idols that don't profit nor benefit.

11; By him timeframe bein small - an ina him heart dullness - it would seem fe him that them Irated him - that them feed him an that them crown him ~ it would seem fe him that them Irated him - fe Seythan have deafened him reasonin lest him know him Irator Who Irated him bringin from not livin toward livin - or lest him with him kindreds know him Irator Who Irated him bringin from not livin toward livin - that them might go toward Gehannem of Fiyah foriva - it bein judged pon them with him who call them gods without them bein gods.

12; As them aren't never well whenever - it are due that him might call them dead ones.

13; As Seythan authority that mislead them will lodge ina that idol image - an as him will tell them them reasonin accord - an as him will reveal fe them like unto them loved - him will judge pon the idols wherein them believed an wherein 'Adam childran trust - whose reasonin were like unto ashes.

14; An them will marvel pon the time them sight up that him fulfilled what them thought fe them - an them will do him accord fe him reachin up til them sacrifice them dawta childran an them male childran birthed from them nature - up til them spill them dawta childran an male childran blood that were clean.

15; Them didn't sadden them - fe Seythan have savoured him sacrifice fe them fe fulfill them evil accord - that him might lower them toward Gehannem like unto him - where there are no exits up til Iternity - where him will raceive tribulation.

16; But that Tseerutsaydan were arrogant ~ him had fifty idols worked ina males pattern an twenty worked ina dawtaz pattern.

17; An him would boast ina those idols that have no benefit ~ him would totally glorify them while him sacrificed sacrifice mornin an evenin.

18; An him would command persons that them might sacrifice sacrifice fe the idols - an him would eat from that defouled sacrifice - an him would command other persons that them might eat from the sacrifice ~ him would especially provoke fe evil.

19; Him had five houses worked fe him beaten worked idols that were iron an brass an lead.

20; An him ornamanted them ina silver an gold ~ him veiled curtains around the houses fe them an planted a tent fe them.

21; Him appointed keepers fe them there ~ him would Itinually sacrifice forty fe him idols - ten fattened oxen - ten sterile cows - ten fattened sheep ewes - ten barren goats - with birds that have wings.

22; But it would seem fe him that him idols ate ~ him would present fe them fifty feeqen of grapes an fifty dishes of wheat kneaded with oil.

23; An him told him priests: - "Tek an give them ~ mek mi irators eat what mi slaughtered fe them - an mek them drink the grape mi presented fe them ~ as fe if it aren't enough fe them - mi will add fe them."

24; An him would command all that them might eat an drink from that defouled sacrifice.

25; But ina him evil malice him would send him troops who visit ina all the kingdom - that as it were there were one who neither sacrifice nor bow - them might separate an know an bring him - an might punish him by fiyah an by sword before him - that them might plunder him money an might burn him house ina fiyah - that them might downstroy all him money him had pon him.

26; "Fe them are kind an great ones - an fe them have Irated wi ina them charity - an mi will show punishmant an tribulation fe him unless him worshipped mi irators an sacrificed sacrifice fe mi irators.

27; An mi will show him punishmant an tribulation - fe them have Irated Earth an Heaven an the sea that were wide an moon an Sun an stars an rains an winds an all that live ina this world fe be food an fe be satiety fe wi."

28; But persons who worship them shall be punished ina firm tribulation - an them won't be nice fe them.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 2.

1; There were one man birthed from the tribe of Binyam whose name are called Meqabees;

2; him had three childran who were handsome an totally warriors ~ them had bein iloved alongside all persons ina that Midyam an Miedon country that are Tseerutsaydan Rule.

3; An like unto the king commanded them pon the time him found them: - "Don't unu bow fe Tseerutsaydan irators? How about don't unu sacrifice sacrifice?

4; But if unu refuse - wi will seize an tek unu toward the king - an wi will downstroy all your money like unto the king commanded."

5; These youts who were handsome replied fe him sayin - "As fe Him fe Whom InI bow - there are InI Faada Irator Who Irated Earth an Heaven an what are within she - an the sea - moon an Sun an clouds an stars ~ Him are the True Irator Whom InI worship an ina Whom InI believe."

6; An these the king youts are four - an them servants who carry shield an spear are a hundred.

7; An pon the time them loved that them might seize these hola ones - them escaped from them hands and there are none who touched them ~ as those youts are totally warriors ina Power - them went seizin shields an them spears.

8; An there were from them one who strangle an kill panther - an at that time him would strangle it like unto a chicken.

9; An there were one from them who kill a lion with one rock or strikin at one time with a stick.

10; An there were one from them who kill a hundred persons - strikin ina formation time with one sword - an them name an them hunt were thus ~ it were called ina all Babilon an Mo`ab countries.

11; An them were warriors ina Power - an them had a thing bein iloved an comeliness.

12; An again them features comeliness were wondrous - however becau them worshipped JAH an becau them didn't fear death - it are them reasonin comeliness that surpass all.

13; An pon the time them frightened the troops - there are none who could able fe seize them - but them who were warriors escaped proceedin toward a lofty mountain.

14; An those troops returned toward the city an shut the fortress gate ~ them terrorized the people sayin - "Unless unu brought those warriors the Meqabyans - wi will burn your city ina fiyah - an wi will send toward the king an downstroy your country."

15; An at that time the country persons - rich an poor ones an dawtaz an males - a child whose faada an mother dead pon him an old dawtaz - everyone proceeded an shouted together - an them straightened them necks toward the mountain an shouted toward them sayin - "Don't downstroy InI - an don't downstroy InI country pon InI."

16; At that time them wept together - an them feared - arisin from JAH.

17; Returnin them faces Eastward an streachin forth them hands them begged toward JAH together - "Lord - should InI refuse these men who demolished Thy Command an Thy LAW?

18; Yet him believed ina silver an gold an ina the stone an wood that a person hands worked - but InI don't love that InI might hear that criminal word - who didn't believe Thy LAW" them said.

19; "When Thou are the Irator Who save an Who kill - him mek him ras self like unto them Irated him also ~ as fe him - him are who spill a person blood an who eat a person flesh.

20; But InI don't love that InI might sight up that criminal face nor hear him word" them said.

21; "However if Thou commanded InI - InI will go toward him ~ becau InI believe ina Thee-I - InI will pass an give InI bodies fe death - an pon the time him said 'Sacrifice sacrifice fe mi irators' - InI won't hear that criminal word.

22; But InI believed Thee-I - Lord Who examine kidneys an reasonins - InI Faadas Irator - 'Abriham an Yis'haq an Ya`iqob who did Thy Accord an lived firmed up ina Thy LAW.

23; Thou examine a person reasonin an help the sinner an the righteous one - an there be none hidden from Thee-I - an him who took refuge are revealed alongside Thee-I.

24; But InI have no other Irator apart from Thee-I.

25; That InI might give InI bodies fe death becau Thy glorified Name - however be Power an Firmness an a Shelter fe InI ina this Work that InI are ruled fe Thee-I.

26; An pon the time 'Isra'iel entered toward Gibts country Thou heard Ya`iqob plea - an now glorified God - InI beg Thee-I."

27; An pon the time the two men whose features were quite handsome were sight up fe them standin before them - pon the time fiyah swords that frighten like unto lightnin alit an cut them necks an killed them - at that time them arose bein well like unto formerly.

28; Them features comeliness became totally handsome an them shone more than Sun - an them became more handsome than formerly.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 3.

1; Like unto unu sight up before unu these the Most I JAH slaves - 'Abya - Seela - Fentos who dead an arose - unu have that unu might arise likewise after unu dead - an your faces shall shine like unto the Sun ina the Kingdom of Heaven.

2; An them went with those men an raceived martyrdom there.

3; At that time them begged - them praised - an them bowed fe JAH ~ death didn't frighten them an the king punishmant didn't frighten them.

4; An them went toward those youts an became like unto a sheep that have no evil - yet them didn't frighten them - an pon the time them arrived toward them - them seized an beat them an bound an whipped them - an them delivered them toward the king an stood them before him.

5; An the king answered fe them sayin - "How won't unu stubborn ones sacrifice sacrifice an bow fe mi irators?"

6; Those bredren who were cleansed from sin - who were honoured an chosen an Irie - an who shine like unto a jewel whose value were wondrous - Seela an 'Abya an Fentos answered fe him ina one word.

7; Them told that king who were a plague - "As fe InI - InI won't bow nor sacrifice fe defouled idols that have no knowledge nor reasonin."

8; An again them told him - "InI won't bow fe idols that were silver an gold that a person hand worked - that were stone an wood - that have no reasonin nor soul nor knowledge - that don't benefit them friends nor harm them enemies."

9; An the king answered fe them sayin - "Why do unu do thus - an as them know who insult them an who wrong them - why do unu insult the glorified irators?"

10; Them answered fe him sayin - "As them are like unto a trifle alongside InI - as fe InI - InI will insult them an won't glorify them."

11; An the king answered fe them sayin - "Mi will punish unu like unto your Work evil measure ~ mi will downstroy your features comeliness with whippin an firm tribulation an fiyah.

12; An now tell mi whether unu will give or won't give sacrifice fe mi irators - as fe if this didn't happen - mi will punish unu by sword an by whippin."

13; Them answered fe him sayin - "As fe InI - InI won't sacrifice sacrifice nor bow fe defouled idols" - an the king commanded them that them might beat them with a fat stick - an again that them might whip them with a whip - an after it - that them might splinter them up til them inner organs were sight up.

14; An after this them bound an made them while ina jail house up til him counsel by money that punish an kill them.

15; Without niceness them took an bound them a firm imprisonmant ina prison house - an them sat ina prison house three nights an three daylights.

16; An after this third day the king commanded that a Proclamation speaker might turn an that counselors an nobles - country elders an officials - might be gathered.

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17; An pon the time the king Tseerutsaydan sat ina square - him commanded that them might bring those honoured ones - Seela an 'Abya an Fentos ~ them stood before him bein wounded an bound.

18; An the king told them - "When unu sat these three days - are there really the returnin that unu returned - or are unu ina your former evil?"

19; An those honoured JAH Souljahs answered fe him sayin - "As fe that InI were cruel - InI won't agree that InI might worship the idols filled of sin an evil that thou check up."

20; An that criminal vexed an commanded that them might stand them up ina lofty place an might renew them wounds ~ them blood flowed pon Earth.

21; An again him commanded that them might burn them with a torch lamp an might char them flesh - an him servants did like unto him commanded them - an those honoured men told him - "Thou who forgot JAH LAW - speak ~ InI reward shall abound ina the measure whereby thou multiply InI punishmant."

22; An again him commanded that them might bring an send pon them bears an tigers an lions that were evil beasts before them eat them food that them might totally eat them flesh with them bones.

23; An him commanded persons who keep the beasts that them might send the beasts pon them - an them did like unto him commanded them - an them bound those honoured martyrs feet - an again them maliciously beat an bound them with tent-stakes.

24; An those beasts were flung over them while them roared - an pon the time them arrived toward the martyrs them hailed an bowed fe them.

25; Them returned toward them keepers while them roared - an them frightened them keepers ~ them took them toward the square up til them delivered them toward before the king.

26; An them killed seventy five men from the criminals army there.

27; Many persons panicked - the one anguishin pon the one ina fear - up til the king quit him throne an fled - an them seized the beasts with difficulty an took them toward them lodgin.

28; Seela an 'Abya an Fentos two bredren came an released them from the imprisonmant them bound them an told them - "Come mek InI flee lest these skeptics an criminals find InI.

29; An those martyrs answered them bredren sayin - "It aren't procedure that InI might flee after InI set up fe testimony ~ as it were unu had feared - go fleein."

30; An those them likkle bredren said - "InI will stand with unu before the king - an if unu dead InI will dead with unu."

31; An after this the king were pon him lordship hall balcany an sight up that these honoured men were released an that all the five bredren stood together ~ those chiefs who work an punish troops questioned that them were bredren an told the king - an the king vexed an shouted like unto a wilderness boar.

32; An up til the king counseled by money that punish all the five bredren - him commanded that them might seize an add them ina prison house ~ them placed them ina prison house bindin ina firm imprisonmant without niceness with a hollow stalk.

33; An the king Tseerutsaydan said - "These youts who erred wearied mi ~ what should these men reasonin firm up? an them Work evil are like unto them Power firmness ~ if mi say - "Them will return" - them will mek them reasonin evil.

34; An mi will bring the hardship pon them like unto them Work evil measure - an mi will burn them flesh ina fiyah that it might be charred ash - an pon that mi will scattar them flesh ash like unto dust pon mountains."

35; An after him spoke this him waited three days an commanded that them might bring those honoured men - an pon the time those honoured men approached him commanded that them might burn a fiyah within the great pit oven - an that them might add within it a malice Work that flame the fiyah an whereby them boil a yat - the fat an soapberries - sea foam an resin an the sulfur.

36; An pon the time fiyah flamed ina the pit the messengers went toward the king when them said - "Wi did what thou commanded wi - send the men who will be added."

37; An him commanded that them might receive an cast them ina the fiyah pit - an the youts did like unto the king commanded them - an pon the time those honoured men entered toward the fiyah them gave them souls fe JAH.

38; An when the persons who cast them sight up - Angels raceived an took them souls toward the Garden where Yis'haq an 'Abriham an Ya`iqob are - where Irie Ites are found.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 4.

1; An pon the time that criminal sight up that them dead - him commanded that them might burn them flesh ina fiyah up til it are ash an that them might scattar them ina wind - but the fiyah couldn't able fe burn the corpse hair from them corpses side - an them sent them forth from the pit.

2; An again them flamed fiyah over them iginnin from mornin up til evenin ~ it didn't burn them ~ them said - "An now come mek wi cast them corpses seaward."

3; An them did like unto the king commanded them ~ them cast them pon the sea ~ even if them cast them seaward addin great stones an iron hearthstones an a millstone whereby a donkey grind by turnin - there are no sinkin that the sea sank them ~ as JAH Spirit of Support have lodged ina them - them floated pon the sea yet them didn't sink ~ it failed him fe downstroy them by all the malice that were provoked pon them.

4; "As this them death have made weary more than them Life - mek mi cast them corpses fe beasts that them might eat them - yet what will mi do?" him said.

5; An the youts did like unto him commanded them ~ vultures an beasts didn't touch them corpses ~ birds an vultures veiled them with them wings from burnin ina Sun an the five martyrs corpses sat fourteen days.

6; An pon the time them sight them up - them bodies shone up like unto Sun - an Angels incircled them corpses like unto light incircle the Tent.

7; Him counseled counsel ~ him lacked what him do - an after this him dug a grave an buried the five martyrs corpses.

8; An when that king who forgot JAH LAW had reclined pon a bed at night the five martyrs were sight up fe him standin before him at night vexin an seizin swords.

9; As it have seemed fe him that them entered toward him house at night ina crime - pon the time him awoke from him slumber him feared an loved that him might flee from the bedchamber toward the hall - an as it have seemed fe him that them kill him seemin that them committed crime pon him - him feared an him knees trembled.

10; Becaudis thing him said - "Mi lords - what do unu love? as fe mi - what should mi do fe unu?"

11; Them answered fe him sayin - "Aren't InI whom thou killed burnin ina fiyah an InI whom thou commanded that them might cast pon the sea? As JAH have kept InI bodies becau InI believed ina Him - it failed thee fe downstroy InI ~ as a person who believed ina Him won't perish - mek glory an praise due fe JAH - an InI also who believed ina Him didn't shame ina the tribulation.

12; "As mi didn't know that a punishmant like unto this will find mi - what reward should mi give unu becau the stead wherefore mi did a evil thing pon unu?

13; An now separate fe mi the reward mi give unu - lest unu tek mi body ina death an lest unu lower mi body toward See'ol when mi are ina Life.

14; As mi have wronged unu - forgive mi mi sin - becau it were your Faada JAH LAW Niceness" him told them.

15; An those honoured martyrs answered fe him sayin - "Becau the stead wherefore thou did a evil thing pon InI - as fe InI - InI won't pay thee a evil thing ~ as JAH are Who bring hardship pon a soul - as fe Him Who will pay thee hardship - there are JAH.

16; However InI were sight up fe thee bein revealed that InI were well fe thy timeframe bein small an becau thy reasonin deafness ~ as fe it seemin fe thee that thou killed InI - thou prepared welfare fe InI.

17; But thy idols priests an thou will downscend toward Gehannem where are no exits foriva.

18; Woe fe thy idols fe whom thou bow havin quit bowin fe JAH Who Irated unu when unu were scorned like unto spit - an fe unu who worship them - an unu don't know JAH Who Irated unu bringin from not livin toward livin ~ aren't unu who are sight up today like unto smoke an tomorrow who perish?"

19; An the king answered fe them sayin - "What will unu command mi that mi might do fe unu all that unu loved?"

20; "It are fe save thy ras self lest thou enter toward the Gehannem of Fiyah - yet it aren't fe save InI ras selves who teach thee.

21; Fe your idols are silver an gold - stone an wood - that have no reasonin nor soul knowledge - that a person hand worked.

22; But them don't kill ~ them don't save ~ them don't benefit them friend ~ them don't harm them enemy ~ them don't downbase ~ them don't honour ~ them don't mek wealthy ~ them don't impoverish ~ them mislead unu by demons authority - who don't love that the one from persons might be saved - yet them don't uproot nor plant.

23; Them especially don't love that the persons like unto unu might be saved from death - unu dull-hearted ones fe whom them seem that them irated unu - when unu are who worked them.

24; As Seythans an demons authority have lodged ina them - them shall return a thing fe unu like unto unu loved - that it might drown unu within the sea of Gehannem.

25; But thou - quit this thy error an mek this also be InI reward becau InI dead stead - that InI might benefit InI souls worshippin InI Irator JAH" them told him.

26; But him were alarmed an would totally astony - an as all five have been sight up fe him drawin them swords - him feared - an becaudis thing him bowed fe them.

27; "Hence mi knew that after dead ones who were dust dead them will really arise ~ as fe mi - only a likkle had remained fe mi fe dead."

28; After this them were hidden from before that king face ~ from that day onward that Tseerutsaydan who are totally arrogant quit burnin them corpses.

29; As them have misled them many eras - him would be Irie ina him idols an him reasonin error - an him misled many persons like unto him up til them quit followin ina Worship JAH Who Irated them - yet it aren't only him who erred.

30; An them would sacrifice them dawta childran an them male childran fe demons - yet them work a seducin an downsturbance that are them reasonin accord - that them faada Seythan taught them that him might mek the seducin an downsturbance that JAH don't love.

31; Them marry them mothers - an them abuse them aunts an them sistren ~ them abuse them bodies while them worked all that resemble this filthy Work ~ as Seythan have firmed up those crooked persons reasonin - them said - "Wi won't return."

32; But that Tseerutsaydan - who don't know him Irator - were totally arrogant - an him would boast ina him idols.

33; If them say - "How will JAH give the Kingdom fe the persons who don't know Him ina LAW an ina Worship?" - them will totally return toward Him ina repentance ~ as Him test them thus - it are becaudis.

34; But if them totally return ina repentance Him would love them - an Him would keep them Kingdom - but if them refuse a fiyah will punish them ina Fiyah of Gehannem foriva.

35; But it would be due a king fe fear him Irator JAH like unto him lordship fame - an it would be due a judge fe be ruled fe him Irator while him judged goodly judgemant like unto him Rule fame.

36; An it would be due elders an chiefs an envoys an petty kings fe be commanded fe them Irator like unto them lordship abundance measure.

37; As Him are Heaven an Earth Lord Who Irated all the Iration - becau there are no other Irator ina Heavan nor Earth who impoverish an mek rich - Him are Who honour an downbase.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 5.

1; "The one warrior from the sixty warriors were proud ~ JAH made him body Iginnin from him foot up til him head fe swell with one spoon of sulphur ~ him dead ina one plague.

2; An again Keeram who built a iron bed were proud arisin from him powerfulness abundance - an JAH hid him ina death.

3; An again Nabukedenetsor were proud sayin - 'There are no other king without mi - an mi are Irator who mek the Sun rise ina this world' - an him said thus arisin from him arrogance abundance.

4; An JAH separated from persons an sent him toward a wilderness seven years - an him made him fortune with Heaven birds an wilderness beasts up til him knew that JAH were Who Irated him.

5; An pon the time him knew Him ina worship - Him again returned him toward him kingdom ~ who are it who weren't of Earth - bein boldly proud pon JAH Who Irated him?

6; How about who are it demolished HIM LAW an Him Order an whom Earth didn't swallow?

7; An thou Tseerutsaydan love that thou might be proud pon thy Irator - an again thou have that Him might downstroy thee like unto them - an might lower thee toward a grave arisin from thy arrogance.

8; An again after them entered toward See'ol where are tooth grindin an mournin - that were darkness fulfillmant - thou have that Him might lower thee toward the deep pit Gehannem where are no exits foriva.

9; As fe thou - thou are a man who will dead and be demolished tomorrow like unto arrogant kings who were like unto thee - who quit this world livin.

10; As fe InI - InI say - 'Thou are demolished ruins - but thou aren't JAH - fe JAH are Who Irated Earth an Heaven an thee.'

11; Him downbase arrogant ones ~ Him honour them who were downbased ~ Him give firmness fe persons who wearied.

12; Him kill well ones ~ Him raise up the persons who were Earth - who dead buried ina grave.

13; An Him send slaves forth free ina Life from sin rulership.

14; O king Tseerutsaydan - why do thou boast ina thy defouled idols who have no benefit?

15; But JAH Irated Earth an Heaven an great seas ~ Him Irated moon an Sun - an Him prepared eras.

16; Man graze toward him field - an him while when him plough up til it dusk - an Heaven stars live firmed up by Him Word.

17; An Him call all ina Heaven ~ there are nothing done without JAH knowin it.

18; Him commanded Heaven Angels that them might serve Him an might praise Him glorified Name - an Angels are sent toward all persons who inherit Life.

19; Rufa'iel who were a servant were sent toward Thobeet - an him saved Thobya from death ina Ragu'iel country.

20; Hola Meeka'iel were sent toward Giediewon that him might draw him attention by money that him downstroy 'Iloflee persons; an him were sent toward the prophet Mussie pon the time him made 'Isra'iel cross 'Eritra sea.

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21; As only JAH have said him led them - there were no different idol with them.
22; An Him sent them forth toward crops pon Earth.
23; An Him fed them Him plantation grain ~ as Him have totally loved them - Him cherished them feedin the honey that firmed up like unto a rock.
24; An that thou might totally keep Him kindreds by what are due - an that thou might do JAH Accord Who Irated thee - Him crowned thee givin Itority pon the four kingdoms.
25; Fe Him have crowned thee makin loftier than all - an thy Irator totally crowned thee that thou might love JAH.
26; An it are procedure that thou might love thy Irator JAH like unto Him loved thee - like unto Him trusted thee pon all the people - an thou - do JAH Accord that thy era might abound ina this world an that Him might live with thee ina Support.
27; An do JAH Accord that Him might stand fe thee bein a Guardian pon thy enemies - an that Him might seat thee pon thy throne - an that Him might hide thee ina him Wing of Support.
28; As fe if thou don't know - JAH chose an crowned thee pon 'Isra'iel like unto Him chose Sa'ol fron 'Isra'iel childran when him kept him faada donkeys - an Him crowned him pon him kindreds 'Isra'iel - an him sat with 'Isra'iel pon him throne.
29; An Him gave him a lofty fortune separatin from him kindreds ~ JAH crowned thee pon Him kindreds ~ as fe henceforth onward - check - keep Him kindreds.
30; As JAH have Ipointed thee over them that thou might kill an might save - keep them ina evil thing - them who work a goodly thing an them who work a evil thing pon a goodly thing" him told him.
31; "An as JAH have Ipointed thee pon all that thou might do Him Accord be it while thou whipped or while thou saved - pay them evil Work - them who work goodly Work an them who work goodly Work an evil Work.
32; Fe thou are a slave of JAH Who rule all ina Heaven - an thou - do JAH Accord that Him might do thy accord fe thee ina all thou thought an ina all thou begged while thou wheedled before Him.
33; There are none who rule Him - but Him rule all.
34; There are none who Ipoint Him - but Him Ipoint all.
35; There are none who dismiss Him - but Him dismiss all.
36; There are none who reproach Him - but Him reproach all.
37; There are none who mek Him diligent - but Him mek all diligent ~ as Heaven an Earth rulership are fe Him - there are none who escape from Him Itority; all are revealed alongside Him - yet there are none hidden from Him Face.
38; Him sight up all - but there are none who sight Him up ~ Him hear the person priah who pray toward Him sayin 'Save I' - fe Him have Irated man ina Him Pattern - an Him accept him plea.
39. As Him are a King Who live up til the Iternity - Him feed all from Him unchangin Nature.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 6.

1; As Him crown fe true the kings who do Him Accord - the kings wrote a straight thing becau Him.
2; As them have done JAH Accord - Him shall shine up ina Light that aren't examined Yis'haq an 'Abriham an Ya`iqob - Selomon an Daweet an Hiziqyas lodgins ina the Garden where are all beautiful kings whose lodgin were Light.
3; Heaven Hall are what totally shone - yet Earth halls aren't like unto Heaven Hall ~ it floor - whose features are silver an gold an jewel features - are clean.
4; An it features that totally shine are unexamined by a person reasonin ~ Heaven Hall are what shine like unto jewels.
5; Like unto JAH knew - Who were a Nature Knower - the Heaven Hall that Him Irated are what a person reasonin don't examine an what shine ina total Light ~ it floor - that were worked ina silver an gold - ina jewels - ina white silk an ina blue silk - are clean.
6; It are quite totally beautiful like unto this.
7; Righteous ones who firmed up ina religion an virtue are who shall inherit it ina JAH Charity an fe Pardon.
8; An there are welfare Water that flow from it - an it totally shine like unto Sun - an there are a Light tent within it - an it are incircled by grace perfume.
9; A Garden fruit that were beautiful an Iloved - whose features an taste were different - are around the house - an there are a oil an grape place there - an it are totally beautiful - an it fruit fragrance are sweet.
10; When a fleshly bloodly person enter toward it - him soul would have separated from him flesh from the Irie Ites abundance that are ina it arisin from it fragrance flavour.
11; Beautiful kings who did JAH Accord shall be Irie there ~ them honour an them place are known ina the Kingdom of Heaven that live firmed up foriva - where welfare are found.
12; Him showed that them lordship pon Earth were famed an honoured - an that them lordship ina Heaven were famed an honoured; them shall be honoured an lofty ina Heaven like unto them honour them an bow fe them ina this world ~ if them work goodly Work ina this world them shall be Irie.
13; But kings who were evil ina them Rule an them kingdoms that JAH gave them - them don't judge fe true by what are due ~ as them have ignored the destitute an poor ones cries - them don't judge Truth an save the refugee an the wronged child whose faada an mother dead pon him.
14; Them don't save destitute an poor ones from the wealthy hand that rob them ~ them don't divide an give from them food an satta them who hungered - an them don't divide an give from them drink an give fe drink the persons who thirsted - an them didn't return them ears toward the poor one cry.
15; An Him shall tek them toward Gehannem that were a dark endin ~ pon the time that lofty Day arrived pon them when JAH shall come - an pon the time Him wrath were done pon them like unto Daweet spoke ina him Praises 'Lord - don't chastise I ina Thy Judgemant an don't admonish I ina Thy chastisemant' - them problems an them downbasemant shall abound like unto them fame abundance measure.
16; When nobles an kings are who rule this world ina this world - there are persons who didn't keep thy law.
17; But JAH Who rule all are there ina Heaven ~ all persons souls an all persons welfare have been seized by Him Itority ~ Him are Who give honour fe persons who glorify Him - fe Him totally rule all - an Him love the persons who love Him.
18; As Him are Earth an Heaven Lord - Him examine an know what kidneys transported an what a reasonin thought - an fe a person who begged toward Him with a pure reasonin - Him shall give him him plea reward.
19; Him shall downstroy powerful ones arrogance - who work evil Work pon the child whose mother an faada dead pon him - an pon old dawtaz.
20; It aren't by thy Power that thou seized this kingdom ~ it aren't by thy bein able that thou sat pon this throne ~ Him loved fe test thee thus that it be possible fe thee fe rule like unto Sa'ol who ruled him kindreds ina that season - an Him seated thee pon a kingdom throne - yet it aren't by thy Power that thou seized this kingdom ~ it are when Him test thee like unto Sa'ol who ignored the prophet Samu'iel word an JAH Word an didn't serve him army nor 'Amalieq king - yet it aren't by thy bein able that thou seized this kingdom.
21; An JAH told the prophet Samu'iel - Go - an as them have saddened I by demolishin LAW an worshippin the idols an bowin fe the idol an by them mosques an by all them hated Works without benefit - tell Sa'ol - 'Go toward 'Amalieq country an downstroy them hosts an all the kings Iginnin from persons up til livestock.'
22; Pon them who saddened JAH - becaudis thing Him sent Sa'ol that him might downstroy them.
23; But him saved them king from death - an him saved many livestock an beauties an dawtaz an handsome youts from death ~ As him have scorned I thing an as him didn't hear I Command - becaudis thing - JAH told the prophet Samu'iel - Go an divide him kingdom.
24; Becau him stead - Inoint `Issiey child Daweet that him might reign pon 'Isra'iel.
25; But pon him adjourn a demon who will strangle an cast him.
26; As him have refused if I-man gave him a kingdom that him might do I Accord - pon the time him refused I fe do I Accord I-man dismissed him from him kingdom that are due him - but thou - go an tell him sayin - 'Will thou thus ignore JAH Who crowned thee pon Him kindreds 'Isra'iel - Who seated thee pon Him Lordship Throne?'
27; But thou - tell him - 'Thou didn't know JAH Who gave around this much honour an famousness' Him told him.
28; An the prophet Samu'iel went toward the king Sa'ol an entered toward him sittin at a dinnertable - an when 'Amalieq king 'Agag had sat pon him left.
29; 'Why did thou totally ignore JAH Who commanded thee that thou might downstroy the livestock an persons?' him told him.
30; An at that time the king feared an arose from him throne an tellin Samu'iel 'Return fe wi' him seized him clothes - an Samu'iel refused fe return ~ Samu'iel clothes were torn.
31; An Samu'iel told Sa'ol - 'JAH divided thy kingdom.'
32; An again Sa'ol told Samu'iel before the people - 'Honour mi an atone mi sin fe mi before JAH that Him might forgive mi' ~ an as him have feared JAH Word Who Irated him - but as him didn't fear the king who dead - Samu'iel refused fe return ina him word.
33; Becaudis thing him pierced 'Amalieq king 'Agag before him swallowed what him chewed.
34; An a demon seized that Sa'ol who demolished the LAW of JAH - an becau Him were the King of Kings Who rule all - JAH struck pon him head a king who worked sin - fe it don't shame him.
35; Fe Him are all the Iration Lord Who dismiss all the nobles an kings Itority who don't fear Him - but there are none who rule Him.
36; Like unto Him spoke sayin - Daweet kindred shall go while it were famed an honoured - but Sa'ol kindred shall go while it were downbased - Him downstroyed kingdom from him child an from Sa'ol.
37; Becau it saddened Him - an becau Him downstroyed the criminals who saddened Him by them evil Work - JAH revenged an downstroyed Sa'ol kindred childran - fe a person who don't revenge JAH enemy - him are JAH enemy.
38; When it are possible fe him fe revenge an downstroy - an when him have Itority - a person who don't revenge an downstroy the sinner an don't revenge an downstroy a person who don't keep JAH LAW - as him are JAH enemy - Him downstroyed Sa'ol kindred childran.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 7.

1; An whether thou be a king or a ruler - what important thing are thou?
2; Aren't it JAH Who Irated thee bringin from not livin toward livin - that thou might do Him Accord an might live firmed up by Him Command an might fear Him Judgemant? Like unto thou vex pon thy slaves an governed over them - all likewise there are also JAH Who vex pon thee an govern over thee.
3; Like unto thou beat without niceness persons who worked sin - all likewise there are also JAH Who will strike thee an lower thee toward Gehannem where are no exits up til Iternity.
4; Like unto thou whip him who weren't ruled fe thee an didn't bring a tribute fe thee - fe what are it that thou don't introduce a tribute fe JAH?
5; As Him are Who Irated thee in order that thou love that them might fear thee - an Who crowned thee pon all the Iration that thou might keep Him kindreds fe true - fe what are it that thou don't fear thy Irator JAH?
6; Judge by what are due an fe true like unto JAH Ipointed thee - yet don't sight up a face an favour fe small nor great ~ whom will thou fear without Him? keep Him Worship an the Nine Commands.
7; Like unto Mussie commanded 'Isra'iel childran sayin - 'I-man presented Water an fiyah fe thee-I ~ add thy hand toward what thou loved' - don't go neither rightward nor leftward.
8; Hear Him Word that I-man tell thee - that thou might hear Him Word an might do Him Command - lest thou say - 'She are beyond the sea or beyond the deep or beyond the river ~ who will bring fe mi that mi might sight she up an might hear Him Word an might do Him Command?'
9; Lest thou say - 'Who will proceed toward Heaven again an lower that JAH Word fe mi that mi might hear an do she?' - JAH Word are what approached - check - fe thou fe teach she with thy mouth an give alms by she with thy hand.
10; An thou didn't hear thy Irator JAH unless thou heard Him Book - an thou didn't love Him nor keep Him Command unless thou kept Him LAW.
11; An thou have that thou might enter toward Gehannem foriva - an unless thou loved Him Command - an unless thou did JAH Accord - Who honoured an famed thee separatin from all thy kindreds that thou might keep them fe true - thou have that thou might enter toward Gehannem foriva.
12; Him made thee above all - an Him crowned thee pon all Him kindreds that thou might rule Him kindreds fe true by what are due while thou thought of thy Irator Name Who Irated thee an gave thee a kingdom.
13; There are them whom thou whip from persons who wronged thee - an there are him whom thou pardon while thou thought of JAH Work - an there are him fe whom thou judge by what are due straightenin up thy reasonin.
14; An don't favour havin sight up a face pon the time them argued before thee ~ as Earth physique are thy money - don't accept a bribe that thou might pardon the sinner person an wrong the clean person.
15; If thou did Him Accord - JAH shall multiply thy era ina this world fe thee - but if thou sadden Him - Him will diminish thy era.
16; Think that thou will rise after thou dead - an that thou will be examined standin before Him pon all the Work thou worked whether it be goodly or evil.
17; If thou work goodly Work - thou will live ina Garden ina the Kingdom of Heaven - ina houses where kind kings live an where Light filled. Fe JAH don't shame thy lordship authority - but if thou work evil Work - thou will live ina See'ol Gehannem where evil kings live.
18; But pon the time thou sight up thy bein feared famousness - thy warriors award - thy hangin shield an spear - an pon the time thou sight up thy horses an thy troops beneath thy authority an them who beat drum an persons who play pon a harp before thee...
19; But pon the time thou sight up all this - thou mek thy reasonin lofty - an thou firm up thy collar of reasonin - an thou don't think of JAH Who gave thee all this honour - however pon the time Him told thee - Quit all this - thou aren't who quit it.
20; Fe thou have totally neglected the Ipointmant Him Ipointed thee - an Him shall give thy lordship fe another.
21; As death shall suddenly come pon thee - an as Judgemant shall be done ina Resurrection time - an as all man

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Work shall be examined - Him shall totally investigate an judge pon thee.

22; There are none who will honour this world kings - fe becau Him were Truth Judge - ina Judgemant time poor an wealthy will stand together. This world nobles crowns wherein them boast shall fall.

23; Judgemant are prepared - an a soul shall quake ~ at that time sinners an righteous ones Work shall be examined.

24; An there are none who shall be hidden. Pon the time a dawta arrived fe birthin - an pon the time the fetus ina she belly arrived fe bein birthed - like unto she cyaan prevent she womb - Earth also cyaan prevent she lodgers that are pon she ~ she will return.

25; An like unto clouds cyaan prevent rain lest them tek an rain toward the place JAH commanded them - fe JAH Word have Irated all bringin from not livin toward livin - an fe JAH Word again have introduced all toward a grave; an all likewise - after Resurrection time arrived - it aren't possible fe be that dead persons won't rise.

26; Like unto Mussie spoke sayin - 'It are by Words that proceed from JAH Tongue - yet it aren't only by grain that a person are saved'; an JAH Word again shall arouse all persons from graves.

27; Check - it were known that dead persons shall arise by JAH Word.

28; An again JAH said thus ina Repeatin Law becau persons who were nobles an kings who do Him Accord - As the day have arrived when them are counted fe downstruction - I-man shall revenge an downstroy them pon the day when Judgemant are judged an at the time when them feet stumble Him said.

29; An again JAH told persons who know Him Judgemant - Know know that I-man were your Irator JAH - an that I-man kill an I-man save.

30; I-man chastise ina the tribulation an I-man pardon ~ I-man lower toward See'ol an again I-man send forth toward the Garden - an there are none who shall escape from I Itority Him told them.

31; JAH said thus becau nobles an kings who didn't keep Him LAW - As Earthly kingdoms are a passin - an as them pass from mornin up til evenin - keep I Order an I LAW that unu might enter toward the Kingdom of Heaven that live firmed up foriva Him said.

32; Fe JAH callin Righteous ones are fe glory - an sinners fe tribulation ~ Him will mek the sinner wretched but will honour righteous ones.

33; Him will dismiss the person who didn't do Him Accord - but Him will Ipoint the person who did Him Accord.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 8.

1; Hear I - mek I tell thee the thing whereby dead persons shall arise ~ them shall plant a plant an be fertile an grapes shall send forth vines ~ as JAH shall bring the fruit 'imhibe 'albo ~ them shall cast wine from it.

2; Overstand that that plant thou planted were small - but that she sent forth tips fruit an leaves today.

3; JAH give she root fe drink from Earth an Water - from both.

4; But Him feed she wood from fiyah an wind ~ roots give leaves Water fe drink - an Earth give firmness fe woods.

5; But the soul that JAH Irated mek them bear fruit amidst them - an dead persons arisin are likewise.

6; Pon the time soul were separated from flesh - as each of them ras selves have gone - Him said - Gather souls from the four natures - from Earth an Water - wind an fiyah.

7; But Earth nature lived firmed up ina she nature an became Earth - an Water nature lived firmed up ina she nature an became Water.

8; An wind nature lived firmed up ina she nature an became wind - an fiyah nature lived firmed up ina she nature an became a hot fiyah.

9; But a soul that JAH separated from flesh returned toward she Irator ~ up til Him raise she up inited with flesh pon the time Him loved - Him place she ina Garden ina the place Him loved.

10; Him place righteous souls ina Light house ina Garden - but that Him might send way sinners souls - Him also place them ina darkness house ina See'ol up til the time when Him loved.

11; JAH told the prophet Hiziq'iel - Call souls from the four corners - that them might be gathered an be one limb.

12; Pon the time Him spoke ina one Word sayin thus - the souls were gathered from the four corners.

13; An Water nature brought verdure - an again fiyah nature brought fiyah.

14; An again Earth nature brought Earth - an wind nature brought wind.

15; An JAH brought a soul from the Garden place where Him placed it ~ them were gathered by one Word - an a Resurrection were made.

16; An again I-man shall show thee the example that are alongside thee ~ the day dusk ~ thou sleep ~ the night dawn - an thou rise from thy beddin - but pon the time thou slept it are thy death example.

17; An pon the time thou awoke it are thy arisin example - but the night when all persons sleep whose physiques were dark - fe darkness have covered them - are this world example.

18; But the mornin light - when darkness are eliminated an when light are ina all the world an when persons arise an graze toward the field - are dead persons example.

19; An this Kingdom of Heaven where man are renewed are like unto this ~ dead persons Resurrection are like unto this ~ as this world are passin - it are the night example.

20; An like unto Daweet spoke sayin - 'Him placed Him example ina Sun' - as Sun shine pon the time it rose - it are a Kingdom of Heaven example.

21; An like unto Sun shine ina this world today - pon the time Kristos come Him shall shine like unto Sun ina Kingdom of Heaven that are new ~ as Him have said - I-man am a Sun that don't set an a Torch that aren't extinguished - Him JAH are she Light.

22; An Him shall quickly arouse the dead persons again ~ I-man shall bring one example fe thee again from thy food that thou sow an whereby thou are saved - an whether it be a wheat kernel or a barley kernel or a lentil kernel or all man seeds sown pon Earth - there are none that grow unless it were demolished an rotten.

23; An like unto the person flesh thou sight up - pon the time it were demolished an rotten - Earth eat stoutness with the hide.

24; An pon the time Earth ate it stoutness it grow bein around a kernel seventh ~ JAH give a cloud that seized rain like unto Him loved - an roots grow pon Earth an send forth leaves.

25; An if she were demolished an rotten she cyaan grow - but after she grew she send forth many buds.

26; An by JAH Accord fruit are given fe those buds that grew - an Him clothe it stoutness ina straw.

27; Sight up like unto the measure that the seed kernel thou sowed abounded - yet the silver an the leaf - the ear an the straw aren't counted fe thee.

28; Don't be a dull one who don't know - an sight up thy seed that it abounded - an all likewise - think that dead persons shall raceive the arisin that them will arise - an them hardship like unto them Work.

29; Hear I - that if thou sow wheat - it won't grow bein barley - nor bein wheat if thou sow barley - an mek I tell thee again that it won't grow ~ if thou sow wheat will thou gather barley? If thou sow watercress will thou gather linseed?

30; How about from plants kind - if thou plant figs will it really grow fe thee bein nuts? How about if thou plant almonds - will it grow fe thee bein grapes?

31; If thou plant the sweet fruit will it grow fe thee bein bitter? How about if thou plant the bitter fruit - are it possible fe it fe be sweet?

32; How about all likewise - if a sinner dead are it possible fe arise bein righteous ina Resurrection time? How about if a righteous person dead - are it possible fe arise bein a sinner ina Resurrection time? Every one shall raceive him hardship like unto him Work - yet him will raceive him hardship like unto him sin an him hand Work - yet there are none who will be canvicted by him companion sin.

33; A highland tree are planted an it send forth long branches ~ it will totally dry up ~ yet unless Heaven rained rain it leaves won't be verdant.

34; An the cedar will be uprooted from it roots unless summer rain alit pon it.

35; An all likewise - dead persons won't arise unless welfare dew alit fe them bein commanded from JAH.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 9.

1; Unless highland mountains an Gielabuhie regions rained a pardon rain fe them bein commanded from JAH - them won't grow grass fe beasts an animals.

2; An 'Elam mountains an Gele`ad mountains won't give verdant leaves fe sheeps an goats - nor fe oribi an animals ina wilderness - nor fe ibexes an hartebeest.

3; An likewise - pardon an dew bein commanded from JAH didn't alight fe doubters an criminals who made error an crime a money beforehand ~ dead persons won't arise ~ an Deemas an Qophros who worship idols an dig roots an work an instigate a thing...

4; An them who dig roots an practice sorcery an mek persons battle...

5; An them who lust havin departed from LAW - an Miedon an 'Atiena persons who believe ina them idols - an them who play an sing fe them while them beat violins an drums an strummed harps - them won't arise unless pardon dew alit fe them bein commanded from JAH.

6; These are who will be canvicted pon the day when dead persons arise an when Definite Judgemant are done - yet persons who save them ras selves an who lust ina them hands Work - them err by them idols.

7; Thou wasteful of heart dull one - do it seem fe thee that dead persons won't arise?

8; Pon the time a trumpet were blown by the Angels Chief Hola Meeka'iel tongue - that dead ones arise then - as thou won't remain ina grave without arisin - don't think a thing that are thus.

9; Hills an mountains shall be level an shall be a cleared path.

10; An Resurrection shall be done fe all fleshly ones.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 10.

1; However if it weren't thus - it are that former persons might be buried ina them faadas grave Iginnin from 'Adam - Iginnin from Siet an 'Abiel - Siem an Noh - Yis'haq an 'Abriham - Yosief an Ya`iqob - an 'Aron an Mussie - yet fe what are it that them didn't love that them might be buried ina another place?

2; Aren't it fe them fe arise together with them cousins ina Resurrection time? How about aren't it lest them bones be counted with evil ones an pagans bones - them who worship idols? Fe what are it that them didn't love that them might be buried ina another place?

3; But thou - don't mislead thy reasonin while thou said - 'How will dead persons arise after them dead - them who were buried ina one grave bein tens of thousands an whose bodies were demolished an rotten?'

4; An pon the time thou sight up toward a grave - thou speak this ina thy reasonin dullness while thou said - 'A whole fistful of Earth won't be found ~ how will dead persons arise?'

5; Will thou say the seed thou sowed won't grow? Even the seed thou sowed shall grow.

6; An all likewise - the souls JAH sowed shall quickly arise - as Him have Irated man ina Him Truth bringin from not livin toward livin - Him shall arouse them quickly by Him Word that save ~ Him won't delay Him arousin.

7; An as Him have again returned him from livin - toward a grave ina death - what about aren't it possible fe Him again fe return from death toward Life?

8; Savin an liftin up are possible fe JAH.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 11.

1; 'Armon perished an she fortress were demolished ~ as JAH have brought the hardship pon them like unto them evil an the Work them worked by them hands - persons who worship the idols ina 'Edomyas an Zablon shall be downbased at that time ~ as JAH have approached - Who shall canvict them who worked ina them infancy an didn't quit up til them aged - becau them idols an them evil - Seedona an Theeros shall weep..

2; Becau them worked sin an seducin fornication an worshipped idols - becaudis thing JAH shall revenge an downstroy them ~ fe them didn't live firmed up ina them Irator JAH Command - an Yihuda dawta childran shall be wretched.

3; She lived firmed up ina killin prophets an ina Irie Ites - yet as she didn't live firmed up ina the Nine Laws an the Worship - pon the time when dead ones arise - 'Iyerusaliem sin shall be revealed.

4; At that time JAH shall examine she ina Him Nature Wisdom ~ Him will revenge an downstroy she pon all she sin that she worked ina she infancy era ~ she didn't quit workin she sin Iginnin from she beauty era up til she age.

5; She entered toward a grave an became dust like unto she former faadas who lived firmed up ina them sin - an ina Resurrection time Him shall revenge an downstroy persons who demolished JAH LAW.

6; It shall be judged pon them - fe Mussie have spoken becau them sayin - 'Them LAW lodgin - them reasonins - became Sedom law lodgin.'

7; An them kindred are Gemorra kindred - an them law are what downstroy - an them Work are evil.

8; An them law are snake poison that downstroy - an viper poison that downstroy from alongside that.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 12.

1; 'Iyerusaliem child - as this thy sin are like unto Gemorra an Sedom sin - 'Iyerusaliem child - this are thy tribulation that were spoken by a prophet.

2; An thy tribulation are like unto Gemorra an Sedom tribulation - an them law lodgin reasonin firmed up ina adultery an arrogance.

3; Aside from adultery an arrogance rain - pardon an humility rain didn't rain from them reasonins by money that them Law reasonin lodgin are fertile - apart from spillin man blood an robbin an forgettin them Irator JAH.

4; An them didn't know them Irator JAH - apart from them evil Work an them idols - an them are Irie ina them hands Work - an them lust pon males an pon livestock.

5; As them eye of reasonin have been blinded lest them sight up secrets - an as them ears have deafened lest them hear or do JAH Accord that Him love - them didn't know JAH ina them Work - an them reasonins are like unto Sedom law lodgin. An them kindred - Gemorra grapes kindred that bear sweet fruit.

6; An if them examine them Work - it are poison that kill - fe it have firmed up ina curse Iginnin from the day when it were worked - an fe it grounation have been ina downstruction era.

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7; As them Law lodgin - them reasonins - have firmed up ina sin Work - as them bodies have firmed up ina Seythan burnin Work fe build sin - them Law lodgin - them reasonins - have no goodly Work everytime.

8; An pon the time him shame an were baptise (by one who is led) it were fe chastisemant an downstruction - an him will firm up the persons who drank an them reasonins - an him will mek them who downstroy I - disgustin persons who distanced from JAH.

9; Fe them have lived firmed up ina them Work that were evil - an him will mek them Deeyablos lodgin - an eatin what were sacrificed fe the idols have been begun ina the House of 'Isra'iel - an she proceed toward the mountains an the trees.

10; An she worship the idols that peoples ina she area worship - an she dawta childran an she male childran fe demons who don't know goodly Work separatin from evil.

11; An them spill clean blood ~ them gush an spill grapes from Sedom fe the idols foriva.

12; An she glorify an worship the Dagwon that the 'Iloflans worship - an she sacrifice fe him from she flocks an she fattened cows - that she might be Irie ina demons laziness that them taught she fe sacrifice fe them - an ina them gushin an spillin the grapes - an that she might do them accord.

13; She sacrifice fe him that she might be Irie in demons laziness that them taught she lest she know she Irator JAH Who feed she at each time an Who cherished an raised she Iginnin from she infancy up til she beauty - an again up til she age - an again up til she age day when she dead.

14; An again I-man shall revenge an canvict him ina Resurrection time - an as she didn't return toward I LAW - an as she didn't live firmed up ina I Command - she time when she live ina Gehannem shall be up til Iternity.

15; If them were Irators fe true - mek she idols arise with she an downscend toward Gehannem an save she pon the time I-man vexed an downstroyed she - an pon the time I-man distanced all the priests of the idols who lust with she.

16; Like unto she made sin an insult pon the Hola Items an pon I Lodgin the Temple - I-man made she wretched by all this.

17; When them told she - 'Check - this are JAH kindred - an she are 'Isra'iel Irator JAH Lodgin - an the famous King country 'Iyerusaliem who were separate from them who were separate - she are the Most I JAH Name Lodgin' - I-man made she wretched like unto she saddened I Name that were called ina she.

18; She boast ina I that she were I slave an that I-man were she Lord ~ she wink pon I like unto a criminal - yet she aren't who fear I an do I Accord like unto I bein she Lord.

19; Them became a obstacle pon she fe mislead that them might distance she from I - yet she are ruled fe other idols who don't feed she nor clothe she.

20; She sacrifice sacrifice fe them - an she eat the sacrifice - an she spill blood fe them - an she gush an drink from the grapes fe them ~ she smoke up ishence fe them - an she mek the ishence fragrance smell fe them ~ she idols command she - an she are commanded fe them.

21; An again she sacrifice she dawta childran an she male childran fe them - an as she present praises fe them becau them Love - she are Irie ina the thing she spoke by she tongue an ina she hands Work.

22; Woe fe she pon the day when Definite Judgemant are done - an woe fe she idols whom she love an inite; an she shall downscend with them toward Gehannem beneath See'ol - where the worm don't slumber an the fiyah aren't extinguished.

23; Woe fe thee wretched 'Iyerusaliem child - fe thou have quit I Who Irated thee an have worshipped different idols.

24; An I-man shall bring the hardship pon thee like unto thy Work ~ as thou have saddened I - an as thou have ignored I Word - an as thou didn't work goodly Work - I-man shall canvict thee toward thy pretensions.

25; Fe thou have saddened I Word - an fe thou didn't live firmed up ina I LAW whereby thou swore with I - that thou might keep I LAW an that I-man might live with thee ina Support an might save thee from all who fight thee - an also that thou might keep I Order that I-man commanded thee - an I-man shall ignore thee an won't quickly save thee from the tribulation.

26; Thou didn't keep all this - an I-man ignored thee ~ as I-man have created thee - an as thou didn't keep I Command nor I Word - I-man shall canvict thee ina Judgemant time - an I-man honoured thee that thou might be I kin.

27; An like unto Gemorra an Sedom were separated from I - thou were separated from I.

28; An I-man judged an downstroyed them - an like unto Sedom an Gemorra were separated from I - thou separated from I - an now like unto I-man vexed an downstroyed them - I-man vexed an downstroyed thee ~ as thou are from Sedom an Gemorra kindred whom I-man downstroyed - I-man downstroyed thee ~ as them whom I-man Irated have saddened I by goin toward a youtmon wife an by lustin without LAW - with animals an males like unto arrivin with dawtaz - I-man downstroyed them name invocation from this world lest them live ina them Irie Ites.

29; There are no fearin JAH ina them faces Iginnin from a infant up til a elder ~ them help him ina all them evil Work - yet Him don't vex pon each one that them might quit workin she ~ as them Work are evil - them are sated of sin an iniquity.

30; All evil Work - robbery an arrogance an greed - are prepared ina them reasonins.

31; An becaudis thing JAH ignored them an downstroyed them countries - an them are there that Him might burn them with fiyah up til them root grounation perish ~ them totally perished up til the Iternity - yet Him didn't mek even one from them remain.

32; As them have firmed up ina sin - them shall wait ina downstruction foriva up til the Day of Advent when Definite Judgemant are done - fe them have saddened I with them evil Work - an I-man won't pardon them nor forgive them.

33; An I-man ignored them ~ fe thou won't find a reason pon the time I-man vexed an seized thee becau all thy Work were robbery an sin - adultery an greed an speakin lies - all error Work an the obstacle that I-man don't love - an thou 'Iyerusaliem child who were wretched - pon the day when Judgemant are done thou will be seized ina Judgemant like unto them.

34; I-man had made thee fe honour - but thou downbased thy ras self ~ I-man had called thee I money - but thou became fe another.

35; I-man had betrothed thee fe honour - but thou became fe Deeyablos - an I-man shall revenge an downstroy thee like unto thy evil Work.

36; Becau thou didn't hear all I Word - an becau thou didn't keep the Command I-man commanded thee pon the time I-man loved thee - I-man shall multiply an bring firm vengeance pon thee - fe I-man am JAH Who Irated thee - an I-man shall judge pon all sinners like unto thee - an pon the day when Judgemant are done I-man shall bring the hardship pon them like unto them evil Work.

37; As thou didn't keep I Word - an as thou have ignored I Judgemant - I-man shall canvict thee with them.

38; Woe fe unu - Gemorra an Sedom - who have no fearin JAH ina your reasonin.

39; All likewise - woe fe thy sista 'Iyerusaliem child pon whom it shall be judged together with thee ina Fiyah of Gehannem - fe unu will downscend together toward Gehannem that were prepared fe unu - where are no exits foriva - an woe fe all sinners who worked thy sin.

40; As unu didn't keep I Command nor I Word - thou an she who didn't keep I Command nor I Word shall downscend toward See'ol together pon the day when Judgemant are judged.

41; But kind persons who kept I Command an I Word shall eat the money that sinner persons accumulated - an like unto JAH commanded - kind persons shall share the loot that evil persons captured - an kind persons shall be totally Irie.

42; But wrongdoers an sinner persons shall weep - an them shall be sad becau all them sin that them wronged havin departed from I Command.

43; Him who keep I Word an live firmed up ina I Command - him are who find I blessin an are honoured alongside I.

44; All person who keep I Word an live firmed up ina I Command shall eat the fatness found from Earth - an shall live havin entered toward the Garden where enter kind kings who have straight reasonins.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 13.

1; As them shall be wretched an perish by I wrath pon the time I-man seized them - woe fe Theeros an Seedona an all Yihuda country regions who mek them ras selves arrogant today.

2; Conquerin JAH said thus ~ Him have said - Deeyablos child who are totally arrogant shall be birthed from them - the False Messeeh who fe a Truth thing are she enemy - who firm up him collar of reasonin - who boast an don't know him Irator - an Him said - Woe fe them - an JAH Who rule all said - I-man made him fe I anger pattern that I-man might be revealed ina him Power.

3; An this Qifirnahom Semarya an Geleela an Demasqo an Sorya an 'Akeya an Qophros an all Yordanos region are kindreds who firmed up them collars of reasonin - who live firmed up ina them sin - an whom death shadow an darkness covered - fe Deeyablos have covered them reasonins ina sin - an fe them are commanded fe that arrogant Deeyablos - an them didn't return toward fearin JAH.

4; At that time woe fe persons who are commanded fe demons an who sacrifice sacrifice ina them name fe them ~ as them have denied JAH Who Irated them - them resemble animals without minds - fe the False Messeeh who forgot JAH LAW an are Deeyablos child shall set up him image ina all the places (fe him have said 'Mi are a god') - an him shall be Irie ina him reasonin accord - ina him hand Work an ina robbery an all the sins an perfidy an iniquity - ina robbery an all the adulteries that a person work.

5; Fe becau it were counted alongside JAH that him work this - the era are known that them work sin.

6; Sun shall darken an moon shall be blood - an stars shall be shaken from Heaven - all the Work shall pass by the miracles that JAH shall bring ina Fulfillmant Era that Him might mek Earth pass - an that Him might mek all pass who live ina sin of persons who live within she.

7; As JAH have been proud pon the Iration Him Irated - an as Him have quickly made all Him loved ina one iwa - the Lord death shall downstroy a small enemy Deeyablos.

8; Fe JAH Who rule all have said - I-man shall judge an downstroy - but after Advent - Deeyablos have no authority.

9; An pon the day when him were seized by I anger - him shall downscend toward Gehannem - fe which him mek application an where firm tribulation are ~ as him will tek all who are with him toward chastisemant an downstruction an perfidy - becau I-man were Who send forth from Gehannem an Who introduce toward Gehannem - him will downscend toward Gehannem.

10; As Him give firmness an Power fe weak persons - an again as Him give weakness fe powerful an firm persons - mek a powerful one not boast ina him Power.

11; As Him are a Ruler - an as Him judge an save the wronged persons from the persons hands who wrong them - Him will return the grudge of the widows an the child whose faada an mother dead pon him.

12; Woe fe thee who boast an firm up thy collar of reasonin - fe whom it seem that I-man won't rule thee nor judge an downstroy thee - fe ina him boastin an him arrogance him have said - 'Mi will streach mi throne ina stars an Heaven - an mi will be like unto JAH Who are lofty.'

13; An like unto Him spoke sayin - How Deeyablos fell from Heaven - him who shine like unto a mornin star that were Irated precedin all - woe fe thee.

14; An thou dared an spoke this ina thy arrogance - an thou didn't think of JAH Who totally Irated thee by Him Itority ~ why did thou boast thy ras self that thou downscend toward Gehannem ina thy reasonin firmness?

15; Thou were downbased separate from all Angels like unto thee - fe them praise them Irator with a humbled reasonin becau them knew that Him were Who Irated them from fiyah an wind - an fe them don't depart from Him Command - an fe them keep them reasonins from perfidy lest them totally depart from Him Command.

16; But thou did a firm perfidy ina thy reasonin arrogance ~ thou became a wretched man separate from thy companions - fe thou have cherished all the sin an iniquity - robbery an perfidy whereby persons who forgot JAH LAW an sinners like unto thee live firmed up - them who are from thy kindred an commit crime like unto thee - an who live firmed up by thy command an thy accord whereby thou teach sin.

17; Woe fe thee - fe the demons thou misled ina thy malice an thou will downscend toward Gehannem together.

18; O unu JAH childran who erred by that misleadin criminal Deeyablos - woe fe unu ~ as unu have erred like unto him by the money that him taught unu an that him hosts taught unu - unu will downscend toward Gehannem together - where are no exits foriva.

19; An formerly when JAH slave Mussie were there - unu saddened JAH by the Water where argumant were made an pon Korieb - an by 'Amalieq an pon Mount Seena.

20; An moreover pon the time unu sent scouts toward Kene`an - pon the time them told unu this sayin 'The path are far - an them ramparts an them fortresses that reach up til Heaven are firm - an warriors live there' - unu vexed that unu might return towad Gibts country where unu work worrisome Work - an unu saddened JAH Word.

21; Unu didn't think of JAH Who firmed unu up from the tribulation - an Who did great miracles ina Gibts - an Who led unu by Him Angel Itority. Him would veil unu ina cloud by day lest the Sun burn unu an Him would shine a column of fiyah fe unu by night lest your feet stumble ina darkness.

22; An pon the time the army an Fer`on frightened unu - unu totally cried toward Mussie - an Mussie totally cried toward JAH - an Him lodged ina Him Angel an kept unu lest unu meet with Fer`on.

23; But Him introduced them toward 'Eritra ina tribulation ~ JAH led only 'Isra'iel - fe Him have said - An there were no different idol with them - but Him buried them enemies ina sea at one time - an Him didn't preserve none who flee from them.

24; An Him made 'Isra'iel cross amidst the sea by foot ~ there are no tribulation that found them arisin from the Gibtsans ~ Him delivered them toward Mount Seena - an there Him fed them menna forty eras.

25; As 'Isra'iel childran sadden JAH everytime - Him did all this goodly thing fe them an them neglected fe worship JAH.

26; Them placed evil ina them reasonins Iginnin from them childhood up til them age - fe JAH Mouth have spoken thus ina 'Oreet where the faadas birth were written ~ as Him have spoken sayin - 'Adam childran reasonin are ash - an all them Work are toward robbery an them run toward evil ~ there are none from them who love straight Work - apart from gatherin a person money ina violence an swearin ina lie an wrongin companions an robbin an stealin - them placed evil ina them reasonins.

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27; An all go toward evil Work ina the era when them live ina Life ~ 'Isra'iel childran who demolished JAH LAW totally saddened JAH Iginnin from Antiquity up til fufillmant era.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 14.

1; An pon the time JAH downstroyed Qayen childran - kindreds who preceded - ina downstruction Water becau them sin - Him baptised Earth ina Water of Downstruction - an Him cleansed she from all Qayel childran sin.

2; As Him have said - I-man were sad becau I-man Irated man - Him downstroyed all wrongdoers ~ Him didn't preserve apart from eight persons ~ Him downstroyed all ~ after this Him multiplied them an them filled Earth ~ them shared them faada 'Adam inheritance.

3; But Noh swore with JAH a oath ~ them swore a oath with JAH lest JAH again downstroy Earth ina Downstruction Water - an lest Noh childran eat what deceased nor what lodged dead - lest them worship different idols apart from JAH Who Irated them - an that Him might be a Love Faada fe them - an lest Him downstroy them at one time ina them vain sin - an lest Him prevent them the first an the spring rain - an that Him might give fe livestock an persons them food at each time - that Him might give them the grass an the grain fruit an plants - an that them might work goodly Work ina all that JAH love.

4; An after Him gave them this Order - 'Isra'iel childran saddened JAH by them sin ~ them didn't live firmed up ina Him LAW like unto them faadas Yis'haq an 'Abriham an Ya`iqob who didn't demolish them Irator JAH LAW.

5. An Iginnin from the small up til the great - those 'Isra'iel childran who didn't keep JAH LAW are crooked ina them Work.

6; An whether them be them priests or them chiefs or them scribes - everyone demolish JAH LAW.

7; Them don't live firmed up ina JAH Order an Him LAW that Mussie commanded them ina Repeatin Law sayin - 'Love thy Irator JAH ina thy complete body an thy complete reasonin.'

8; Them don't firm up ina JAH Order an Him LAW that Mussie commanded them ina book where LAW were written sayin - 'Love thy companion like unto thy body - an don't worship him idols that were different - an don't go toward a youtmon wife ~ don't kill a soul ~ don't steal.

9; An don't witness ina lie - an be it him donkey or be it him ox - don't love thy companion money nor all that thy bredda bought.'

10; However after him commanded them all this - 'Isra'iel childran who were evil return toward treachery an sin - robbery an iniquity - toward a youtmon wife an toward lies an stealin an worshippin idols.

11; 'Isra'iel childran saddened JAH pon Korieb by workin a cow that graze toward grass ~ them bowed sayin - 'Check - these are wi irators who sent wi forth from Gibts.'

12; An them were Irie ina them hand Work ~ if them ate an drank an satta - them arose fe sing.

13; As JAH have told him sayin - Thy kindreds whom thou sent forth from Gibts country where rulership are - them have proceeded from LAW an wronged - an them worked a cow image an bowed fe the idol - becaudis thing Mussie vexed an alit from Seena mountain.

14; While Mussie vexed pon him kindreds - him alit with him canfidante 'Iyasu - an pon the time 'Iyasu heard - him said - 'Check - I-man hear warriors voice ina 'Isra'iel camp.'

15; An Mussie told 'Iyasu - 'It are when 'Isra'iel play havin drunk the unboiled wine - yet as fe a warrior voice - it aren't' - an him alit an broke them image an totally crushed it up til it were like unto dust ~ him mixed it within the Water that 'Isra'iel childran drink beside the mountain.

16; An after this him commanded the priests that them might slay one another becau the sin them worked before JAH.

17; Them knew that defyin JAH surpass killin them an killin them faadas - an them did like unto him commanded them.

18; An Mussie told them - 'Becau unu saddened JAH Who fed unu an cherished unu an Who sent unu forth from a rulership house an Who bequeathed fe unu the inheritance that Him swore fe your faadas that Him might give fe them an fe them childran after them - becaudis thing unu made JAH Irie.'

19; Fe them go toward sin an a evil thing - an them didn't quit saddenin JAH there.

20; Them aren't like unto them faadas Yis'haq an 'Abriham an Ya`iqob who made JAH Irie with them goodly Work that Him might give them what are pon Earth an what Him prepared fe persons who love Him ina Heaven Iginnin from them infancy up til them youthood an up til them age ~ them aren't like unto 'Abriham an Yis'haq an Ya`iqob who made Him Irie with them Work that Him might give them a Earth of inheritance where Irie Ites are found ina this world - an a garden that mek Irie - prepared fe kind persons ina hereafter world - what Him prepared fe 'Abriham an Yis'haq an Ya`iqob who made JAH Irie when them were ina Life an who love Him - Whom a eye didn't sight up nor a ear hear an Who aren't thought of ina reasonin.

21; An them childran who denied JAH an were evil an who live firmed up ina them reasonin accord - them didn't hear JAH Command - Him Who fed them an cherished them an kept them Iginnin from them infancy.

22; Them didn't think of JAH - Who sent them forth from Gibts land an saved them from brick Work an a firm rulership.

23; But them totally saddened Him - an Him would arouse peoples ina them area pon them - an them would arise pon them ina enmity an also tax them like unto them loved.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 15.

1; An at that time Midyam persons arose pon them ina enmity - an them aroused them armies pon 'Isra'iel that them might fight them - an them king name are called 'Akrandis ~ him quickly gathered many armies ina Keeliqyas an Sorya an Demasqo.

2; An campin beyond Yordanos him sent messengers sayin - 'An that mi might capture your money - pay tax toward 'Isra'iel fe mi' ~ him told them - 'But if unu don't pay tax - mi came that mi might punish unu an might capture your livestocks an tek your mares an capture your childran.'

3; 'Mi will capture an tek unu toward the country unu don't know - an there mi will mek unu Water pourers an wood pickers' him told them.

4; 'Don't boast while unu said - "InI are JAH kindreds an there are nothing able fe InI" - aren't JAH Who sent mi that mi might downstroy unu an plunder your money? an aren't mi whom JAH sent that mi might gather all your kindreds?

5; Are there really a savin that them different idols saved the other kins that mi downstroyed? Mi captured them mares an them horses an mi killed them an captured them childran.

6; An unless unu introduced the tax that mi commanded unu - mi will downstroy unu like unto them' him said - an him crossed Yordanos that him might plunder them livestocks an them money an capture them wives.

7; An after this 'Isra'iel childran wept a firm mournin toward JAH - an them totally cried - however them lacked one who help them.

8; An becaudis thing JAH gave firmness fe the three bredren - an them names are like unto this: - an them are Yihuda an Mebikyas an Meqabees - whose features were handsome an who were warriors ina them Power.

9; An 'Isra'iel childran totally wept there ~ pon the time them heard - it saddened them ina them heart arisin from all 'Isra'iel childran shout ~ the child whose mother an faada dead pon him - an widows - an them officials an them priests - all 'Isra'iel kindred - both dawtaz an males - an all childran - would weep sprinklin ash pon them heads - an them nobles had worn sackcloth.

10; But those bredren - who were attractive an comely - went an agreed that them might save them ~ them counseled sayin - 'Mek InI go an give InI bodies fe death becau these persons.'

11; Tellin one another - 'Tek heart - tek heart' - them went girdin them swords pon them waists an seizin them spears ina them hands - an them went prepared that them might incriminate the warrior.

12. An them arrived toward them camp ~ Mebikyus attacked the warrior (the king) when him had sat at a dinnertable ~ him cut him neck ina one blow when food were ina him mouth; an Meqabyus an Yihuda struck him armies pon the king left an right by sword an killed them.

13; An pon the time them king were defeated - them entered toward them spears ina them companions hearts - an them all totally fled an them bows were broken an them were defeated.

14; But those bredren who are attractive an comely were saved from death ~ there are no evil thing that found them - but as JAH have returned chastisemant toward them - them sliced up one another an were depleted.

15; Them were defeated an dead an them crossed Yordanos - an up til them crossed them cast way all them money - an all them money remained - an pom the time 'Isra'iel childran sight up that them enemies fled - them went toward them camp an took both what them plundered an them money fe them ras selves.

16; JAH saved 'Isra'iel doin thus by the bredren an Mebikyu hand.

17; 'Isra'iel sat a few days while them made JAH Irie.

18; But after that them again returned toward them sin ~ 'Isra'iel childran neglected worshippin JAH by what are due.

19; An Him shall again sadden them by kins who don't know them an who will gather them field crops an downstroy them grape places an plunder them flocks an slaughter an feed them them livestocks before them...

20; an who will capture them wives an them dawta childran an them male childran ~ becau it were that them sadden JAH everytime; as themare kindreds who demolished the LAW - them will hammer them childran before them pon each of them heads ~ them won't save them.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 16.

1; Them who do this are Theeros an Seedona an them who live beyond Yordanos river an pon the sea edge - Keran an Gele`ad - 'Iyabuseewon an Kenaniewon - 'Edom an Giegiesiewon an 'Amalieq persons.

2; All peoples do thus - who live firmed up ina each of them tribes an countries an regions an ina each of them Works an country languages - an all live firmed up like unto JAH worked them.

3; An there are persons from them who know JAH - an whose Work were beautiful.

4; An there are persons from them whose Work were evil an who don't know JAH Who Irated them - an like unto them worked sin - Him ruled them ina Sorya king Silminasor hand.

5; As him plunder an tek Demasqo money - an as him share Semarya loot that are before Gibts king - Him ruled them ina Silminasor hand.

6; Gielabuhie region an also persons ina Fars an Miedon - Qephedoqya an Sewseegya - who live ina the West mountains - ina Gele`ad fortress an Phasthos that are part of Yihuda land...

7; an these are who live in them region - an them are kindreds who don't know JAH nor keep Him Command - an whose collar of reasonin were firm.

8; An Him shall pay them them hardship like unto them Work evil an them hands Work.

9; Fe Gele`ad kindreds an Qeesarya region an 'Amalieq have become one there - that them might downstroy JAH country that were filled of a Truth thing - an within which 'Isra'iel Irator are praised - Him Who are Most Glorified an Conquerin - an Whom Angels who are many many ina Keerubiel chariots - them who stand before Him - serve fearin an tremblin - an Him shall pay them them hardship like unto them Work evil an them hands Work.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 17.

1; 'Amalieq an 'Edomyas persons don't worship JAH by Whose Itority Earth an Heaven rulership were seized ~ as them are criminals who don't live firmed up ina Truth Work - them don't fear fe demolish Him Lodgin - the Temple.

2; An there are no fearin JAH before them - apart from sheddin blood an adultery an eatin what were beaten an sacrificed fe a idol an all that resemble what lodged dead - an these are scorned sinners.

3; Them have no virtue nor religion ~ as them are who hated goodly Work - an as them don't know JAH - an as them don't know Love Work - apart from robbin a person money an from sin - an apart from downsturbin a person an all hated Work - apart from games an song like unto them faada Deeyablos taught them - them have no virtue nor religion.

4; As him have ruled them with him host - demons - him teach them all evil Work that were fe each of them ras selves - all robbery an sin - theft an falsehood - robbin money an eatin what were beaten an what lodged dead - an adultery Work.

5; An him teach them all that resemble this - an goin toward a youtmon wife - an sheddin blood - eatin what were sacrificed fe idol an what lodged dead - an killin a person soul ina violence - an envy an winkin an greed an all evil Work that JAH don't love ~ Deeyablos who were them enemy teach them this teachin that him might distance them from JAH LAW Who rule all the world.

6; But JAH Work are innocence an humility - not annoyin a bredren an lovin a companion - harmonisin an lovin with all persons.

7; Don't be hypocrites fe favour fe a person face - an don't be wrongdoers nor totally robbers nor persons who go toward a youtmon wife - nor persons who work iniquity an evil Work pon them companion - nor who cajole that them might wrong them companion ina violence.

8; Them wink an shake them heads an provoke fe evil ~ them discourage fe mislead that them might lower them toward Iternity Definite Judgemant.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 18.

1; Think that thou will go ina death toward JAH ina Whose Hand all are - an thou will stand before Him that Him might canvict thee before Him pon all the sin thou Worked.

2; As them who are arrogant an evil - an powerful ones childran who aren't strengthenin more than them - were likewise formerly - becau them sight up them stature an them Power an them firm authority - them didn't mek JAH before them - an them didn't know that Him were them Irator Who Irated them bringin from not livin toward livin.

3; An when them faadas bein like unto "Angels" praised pon Mount Hola with Angels - pon the time them accord misled them - them alit toward this world where Definite Judgemant shall be done foriva.

4; As JAH ina the Antiquity have Irated human flesh fe them - that it might mislead them becau them reasonin arrogance an might test them as it were them kept Him LAW an Him Command - them married wives from Qayel childran.

5; But them didn't keep Him LAW ~ Him lowered them toward Gehannem fiyah with them faada Deeyablos; fe JAH have vexed pon the offspring of Siet who wronged like unto persons - an persons era diminished becau them sin.

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6; An them took 'Adam children toward sin with them ~ Him lowered them toward See'ol where them shall raceive a verdict.

7; As persons era have been divided becau Siet children erred by Qayel children - when a person eras were nine hundred ina the Antiquity - them returned toward livin a hundred twenty eras.

8; An as them are flesh an blood - JAH said - I Spirit of Support won't live firmed up pon them.

9; An becaudis thing InI era were divided - fe becau InI sin an InI iniquity - InI era have been divided from InI faadas who preceded - an when them are ina them infancy again - them are dyin.

10; But InI faadas era had abounded - becau them kept Him LAW an becau them didn't sadden JAH.

11; But InI faadas era had abounded - becau them vexed pon them dawta children that them might teach them - an becau them vexed pon them male children lest them demolish JAH LAW.

12; Becau them didn't demolish JAH LAW with them dawta children an them male children - becaudis thing them era had abounded fe true.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 19.

1; Pon the time Qayen children abounded them worked drums an harps - santee an violins - an them made songs an all the games.

2; Children who are attractive an comely were birthed fe Qayen from the wife of the kind man 'Abiel - whom him killed becau she - fe she were attractive - an after him killed him bredda him took that an she who were him money.

3; An separatin from him faada - him seized them an went toward Qiefaz region that are toward the West - an that attractive one children were attractive like unto them mother.

4; An becaudis thing Siet children downscended toward Qayen children - an after them sight them up them didn't wait one iwa - an them made the dawtaz whom them chose wives fe them ras selves.

5; As them have taken InI toward error together with them becau them error - becaudis thing JAH vexed pon InI an vexed pon them.

6; An Deeyablos havin cajoled sayin - 'Unu will become irators like unto your Irator JAH' - him took InI mother Hiewan an InI faada 'Adam toward him error.

7; But it seemin Truth fe them ina them dullness - them demolished JAH LAW - Him Who Irated them bringin from not-livin toward livin that them might bow an praise Him glorified Name.

8; But Him - them Irator - downbased those 'Adam an Hiewan who made godhood fe them ras selves - an Him downbased him who are arrogant.

9; Like unto Daweet spoke sayin - ' 'Adam perish by the sinner Deeyablos arrogance' - Him abused them - fe InI faada 'Adam have been canvicted pon Deeyablos arrogance by Him true Judgemant.

10; An Siet children who erred by Qayel children took InI toward them sin thus ~ becaudis thing InI era that JAH gave InI were less than InI faadas eras.

11; But them had worked goodly Work - fe them had firmed up them reasonins ina JAH - fe them had taught them dawta children an them male children lest them depart from JAH LAW that them taught them - an there were no evil enemy who approach them.

12; But if them worked goodly Work - there are nothing that benefit them if them didn't tell nor teach fe them children.

13; Like unto Daweet spoke sayin - 'Them didn't hide from them children fe another child - an teach JAH praise - the wondrous miracles Him did - an Him Power' - there are nothing that benefit them if them didn't teach fe them children that them might teach fe them children fe mek heart like unto them knew - an that them might know an do Him Accord - an that them might tell them JAH LAW Trust - an that them might keep Him LAW like unto them faadas who made JAH Irie with them beautiful Work.

14; An them who told them Trust from them faadas ina them infancy didn't demolish Him Command - like unto them faadas learned JAH Worship an the Nine Laws from them faadas.

15; Them children learned from them faadas that them might work goodly Work an might present praise fe them Irator - fe them have kept Him LAW - an fe them have loved Him.

16; An Him shall hear them ina them priah - an Him won't ignore them plea - but Him are a Forgiver.

17; Havin multiplied Him wrath - Him shall return it fe them - an Him wouldn't downstroy all ina Him chastisemant.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 20.

1; InI bredren - think - don't forget what them told unu formerly - that JAH keep the true Work of persons who work goodly Work.

2; An Him multiply them children ina this world - an them name invocation shall live firmed up fe a goodly thing up til the Iternity - an them children won't be troubled fe grain ina this world.

3; As Him shall dispute fe them becau them - an as Him won't cast them ina them enemy hand - Him shall save them from them enemies hand who hate them.

4; An fe persons who love Him Name - Him shall be them Helper ina them tribulation time ~ Him shall guard them an pardon them all them sin.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 21.

1; Daweet believed ina JAH - fe Him have believed ina him - an Him saved him bein a Refuge from the king Sa'ol hand.

2; An as him have believed ina Him an kept Him LAW pon the time when him child 'Abiesielom arose - an pon the time when the 'Iloflans arose - an pon the time when the 'Edomyans an the 'Amalieqans arose - pon the time when the one from the four Rafayn arose - JAH saved Daweet from all this tribulation that enemies who disputed him brought pon him.

3; As prevailin are by JAH Accord - them were defeated by them enemies hand - yet but JAH didn't save the evil kings who didn't believe ina Him.

4; An Hiziqyas believed ina JAH ~ Him saved him from Senakriem hand who were arrogant.

5; But him child Minassie were defeated by him enemy hand - fe him didn't mek him trustin ina JAH ~ as him didn't mek him trustin ina JAH an as him didn't fear JAH Who totally honoured an famed him - them bound an took him toward them country - yet but those enemies who defeated Minassie weren't like unto him.

6; At that time Him denied him the kingdom Him gave him - fe him didn't work goodly Work before him Irator JAH - that him era might abound an that Him might dispute him enemy fe him an that him might have Power an firmness behind an in front.

7; Fe it are better fe believe ina JAH than ina many armies - than believin ina horses an bows an shields.

8; Believin ina JAH surpass ~ a person who believed ina Him shall firm up an be honoured an totally lofty.

9; Fe JAH don't favour fe a face - but persons who didn't believe ina JAH - who believed ina them money abundance - became them who departed from the grace an honour that Him gave them.

10; Him shall guard the persons who believe ina Him - but Him shall mek the persons ignorant who call Him ignorant - an as them didn't discipline them reasonins fe follow JAH nor keep Him LAW - Him won't quickly help them ina them tribulation time nor ina the time them enemies disputed with them.

11; But fe a person who were disciplined ina worshippin JAH an fe keep Him LAW - Him shall be a Refuge ina him tribulation time.

12; By downstroyin him enemy - an by plunderin him enemy livestock - an by capturin him enemy country persons - an by rainin eras rain - an by growin sprouts - an by introducin the grain pile - ina the plant fruit...

13; An by rainin the first an the spring rains - an by makin the grass verdant - an by givin the rain that rain at each time that thy kindreds beneath thy Itority might be Irie - Him shall mek him Irie.

14; Him shall mek him Irie - that them might eat the other one money - that them might satta havin eaten the money them plundered from them enemy - that them might plunder animals an sheeps an cows - an that them might eat the other one dinnertable - an that them might tek them enemies children captive.

15; JAH shall do all this fe the person whom Him love - but Him will mek the person who hate Him fe him enemy ransackery.

16; An Him shall bind him feet an him hands an shall cast him ina him enemy hand - an Him shall mek him fe him enemies derision - an as him have become a blood shedder who demolished JAH LAW - Him won't mek him Irie ina him house seed.

17; An him won't firm up ina Judgemant time - an that Him might bring the hardship fe persons who work sin - Him will also give persons who work evil Work them sin hardship.

18; But it were commanded from alongside JAH fe give persons who work goodly Work them reward - that Him might keep them ina Him Itority.

19; Fe Him are empowered pon all the Iration Him Irated that Him might do goodly Work an might give them Iternal welfare an that them might praise JAH Who Irated them - an Him commanded that him might keep Him LAW ~ apart from only man there are none from all the Irations Him Irated that departed from Him Command.

20; Like unto JAH commanded all who live firmed up ina each of them Works - them all know an are kept ina Him LAW.

21; But man are emboldened pon JAH Who crowned all pon each of them inventions - pon animal an beasts an pon Heaven birds.

22; Be it what are ina sea or all pon land - JAH gave all the Iration Him Irated fe them faada 'Adam ~ JAH gave them that him might do what him loved - an that them might eat them like unto grain that grew pon Earth - an that them might rule an tax them - an that be them beasts or animals them might be commanded fe man - an Him Ipointed them pon all Him Irated that persons who reigned might be commanded fe JAH Who gave them honour an that them might favour Him.

23; But if them depart from Him LAW Him will separate them from the lordship Him gave them ~ as Him are Who rule Earth an Heaven - Him will give it fe him who do Him Accord.

24; Him Ipoint whom Him loved fe Ipoint - but Him dismiss whom Him loved fe dismiss ~ Him kill ~ Him save ~ Him whip ina tribulation ~ Him forgive.

25; There are no other Irator like unto Him ~ as Him are Ruler fe all the Iration Him Irated - as there are no other without Him - the Irator - ina Heaven above Earth nor pon Earth beneath Heaven - there are none who shall criticise Him.

26; Him Ipoint ~ Him dismiss ~ Him kill ~ Him save ~ Him whip ina tribulation ~ Him forgive ~ Him impoverish ~ Him honour.

27; Him hear persons who beg Him ina them plea ~ Him accept a person plea who do Him Accord with a clean reasonin; an Him hear them ina them priah - an Him do them accord fe them ina all that them begged Him.

28; An Him mek the great an the small fe be commanded fe them ~ all this are them money pon hills an mountains an at trees roots an ina caves an Earth wells an all them kindreds pon both dry an sea.

29; An fe persons who do them Irator Accord all this are them money - an Him won't trouble them from them plenty - an Him shall give them them praise reward.

30; An Him shall give them the honour Him prepared ina Heaven fe them faadas Yis'haq an 'Abriham an Ya`iqob ~ Him shall give them what Him prepared fe Hiziqyas an Daweet an Samu'iel who didn't depart from Him LAW an Him Command.

31; That them might be Irie ina Him Lordship - Him shall give them who served Him Iginnin from Antiquity the honour Him prepared fe them faadas Yis'haq an 'Abriham an Ya`iqob - fe whom Him swore fe give them a inheritance.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 22.

1; Please - think of persons name who work goodly Work - an don't forget them Work.

2; Straighten up that thy name be called like unto them name - that thou might be Irie with them ina the Kingdom of Heaven - that were Light Lodgin that Him prepared fe nobles an kings who did JAH Accord an were kind persons.

3; An again - know an be canvinced of evil nobles an kings names - that Him shall canvict them an revile them alongside man after them dead.

4; Fe them didn't line up them Work while them sight up an heard - an know an be canvinced that unless them did JAH Accord - Him shall judge pon them ina the Kingdom of Heaven more than criminals an persons who forgot JAH LAW.

5; Be kindly - innocent - honest - yet don't thou also go pon persons path who forgot JAH LAW - pon whom JAH vexed becau them evil Work.

6; Judge Truth an save the child whose mother an faada dead pon him - an the widow from sinner persons hand who rob them.

7; Be a guardian like unto him faada fe the child whose mother an faada dead pon him - that thou might save him from the wealthy one hand who rob him - an stand fe him - an be alarmed pon the time the child - whose mother an faada dead pon him - tears flowed before thee-I - lest thou be alarmed ina fiyah sea where sinner persons who didn't enter repentance are punished.

8; An straighten up thy feet toward Love an Inity path ~ as JAH Eyes check up Him friends - an as Him Ears hear them plea - seek Love an follow she.

9; But JAH Face of Him Wrath are toward persons who work evil Work - that Him might downstroy them name invocation from this world - an Him won't preserve a person who near pon ramparts nor mountains.

10; As I-man am JAH Who am jealous pon I Godhood - as I-man am a Irator who revenge an downstroy persons who hate I an don't keep I Word - I-man won't return I Face of Support reachin up til I-man downstroy the person who don't keep I Word.

11; An I-man shall honour persons who honour I an keep I Word.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 23.

1; Don't live firmed up ina Qayel order - who killed him bredda who followed him ina innocence - it seemin fe him that him bredda love him.

2; An him killed him bredda envyin pon a dawta ~ persons who mek envy an iniquity an betrayal pon them companion are like unto him.

3; But as 'Abiel are innocent like unto a sheep - an as him blood are like unto the clean sheep blood that them sacrificed fe JAH by a clean reasonin - them went pon Qayel path that aren't pon 'Abiel path.

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4; Fe becau all the persons who live ina innocence were persons whom JAH love - like unto a kind man 'Abiel - them have been innocent ones like unto 'Abiel - but those persons who live firmed up ina 'Abiel Work love JAH.

5; But JAH neglect evil ones - an them Definite Judgemant mek application fe them pon them bodies - an it are written pon the record of them reasonins - an pon the time when Judgemant are judged - them shall read she before man an Angels an before all the Iration.

6; At that time them shall shame ~ wrongdoers an refusers who didn't do JAH Accord shall shame.

7; An a alarmin Word shall be given them that say - Place them ina Gehannem where are no exit up til Iternity.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 24.

1; But pon the time Giediewon trusted JAH - him defeated uncircumcise peoples armies who were many many ina army of a few tens of thousands an without number like unto locusts.

2; As there are no Irator without I - o nobles an kings - don't believe ina the different idols.

3; As I-man am your Irator JAH Who sent unu forth from your mothers wombs an raised unu an fed unu an clothed unu - why do unu pretext? How about why do unu worship other idols without I?

4; I-man did all this fe unu ~ what did unu give I? It are that unu might live firmed up ina I LAW an I Order an I Command an that I-man might give unu your bodies welfare - yet what will I-man want from unu?

5; JAH Who rule all said thus ~ Him said - Save your ras selves from worshippin idols an practisin sorcery an discouragin pessimism.

6; As JAH chastisemant shall come pon these who do this - an pon them who hear them an do them accord an are them friends an who live firmed up ina them command - save your ras selves from worshippin idols.

7; As peoples - who don't know unu an aren't nice fe unu - shall arise pon unu - unless unu who feared did JAH Accord - them will eat the money wherefor unu wearied ~ like unto Him servants the prophets spoke an like unto Hienok spoke an like unto 'Asaf spoke - unless unu did JAH Accord - them will eat the money wherefor unu wearied.

8; Evil persons will come havin changed them clothes Him said ~ there are no other law alongside them apart from eatin an drinkin an adornin ina silver an gold - an livin havin firmed up ina sin all the Work JAH don't love.

9; But them are prepared fe go toward drink an food ~ after them were aroused from them slumber Iginnin from mornin up til evenin them go toward evil Work; there are misery an tribulation ina them path - yet them feet have no Love path.

10; An them don't know Love an Inity Work - an there are no fearin JAH ina them faces ~ them are crooked evil ones without religion nor virtue ~ them are greedy ones who eat an drink alone ~ them are drunkards - an them sin are without LAW an without measure ~ them are who go toward seducin - sheddin blood - theft an perfidy an violently robbin him money who don't have it.

11; An them are who criticise without Love an without LAW - fe them don't fear JAH Who Irated them - an there are no fear ina them faces.

12; Them don't shame ina the person face that them sight up - an them don't shame a grey-hair nor a elder face ~ pon the time them heard when them said - 'An there are money ina this world' - them mek it them ras self money before them sight it up with them eyes - fe there are no fearin JAH ina them faces - an pon the time them sight it up with them eyes it seem fe them that them ate it.

13; An them nobles eat trust money ~ them are who eat ~ as them are negativists an as there are no straight thing ina them tongues - them don't repeat ina evenin what them spoke ina mornin.

14; Fe them ignore sufferahs an poor ones cries - an them kings hasten fe evil - them who downsturb a person - him havin saved refugees from wealthy ones hands who rob them.

15; Mek them save him who were wronged an the refugee - yet mek the kings not be them who begrudge justice becaudis thing.

16; But them are who exact tribute ~ them are who rob a person money - an them are criminals - an as them Work are evil - them aren't nice when them eat the newborn calf with she mother an a bird with she egg ~ them mek all them sight up an heard them ras self money.

17; Them love that them might gather fe them ras selves - yet them aren't nice fe sick an poor ones - an them violently rob the money of a person who don't have it - an them gather all them found that them might be fattened an be Irie ina it.

18; Fe them shall perish quickly like unto a scarab that proceeded from it pit an whose track aren't found an that don't return toward it house - an becau them didn't work goodly Work when them are ina them Life - woe fe them bodies pon the time JAH vexed an seized them.

19; Pon the time JAH neglected them - them will perish at one time like unto them are ina one chastisemant - fe Him indure them meanin as it were them returned toward repentance - yet Him don't quickly downstroy them - an them shall perish pon the time when them shall perish.

20; But if them don't return toward repentance - Him will quickly downstroy them like unto former persons who were precedin them - who didn't keep JAH LAW by what are due.

21; Them are who eat a person flesh an drink a person blood ~ as them gird an work violence fe go toward sin - there are no fearin JAH ina them faces everytime - an after them arose from them beddin them don't rest fe work sin.

22; An them Work are drink an food - goin toward downstruction an sin - that them might downstroy many persons bodies ina this world.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 25.

1; As them Work are crooked - an as all are who live firmed up ina Seythan Work that mislead - JAH Who rule all said - Woe fe your body pon the time I-man vexed an seized she.

2; But fe them don't know JAH Work - fe them have returned it toward them rear - an fe them have neglected I LAW.

3; An later ina fulfillmant era I-man shall bring the hardship pon them like unto them evil measure ~ like unto them sin were written alongside I - I-man shall revenge an downstroy them pon the day when Judgemant are judged.

4; As I-man JAH am full from horizon up til horizon - an as all the Iration have been seized ina I Itority - there are none who escape from I Itority ina Heaven nor Earth nor depth nor sea.

5; I-man command a snake that are beneath Earth - an I-man command a fish that are within sea - an I-man command birds ina Heaven - an I-man command the desert donkey ina wilderness - fe it are I money Iginnin from horizon up til horizon.

6; As I-man am Who work wondrous Work an do miracles before I - there are none who escape from I Itority pon Earth nor ina Heaven ~ there are none who tell I - 'Where do Thou go? How about what do thou Work?'

7; An I-man command pon Angels chiefs an hosts ~ all Irations whose name are called are I money - an beasts ina wilderness an all birds ina Heaven an livestocks are I moneys.

8; It arise from 'Azieb wind an firm up ina drought ina Mesi` ~ later ina fulfillmant era 'Eritra sea shall perish bein heard - arisin from JAH - Who shall come toward she - bein feared an famousness.

9; Fe Him rule them who dead an persons who are there - an she shall perish bein heard with Saba an Noba an Hindekie an 'Ityopphya limits an all them regions.

10; An Him watch all ina lofty Itority an innocence - fe Him Itority surpass all the itority - an Him keep cangregations ina Him Itority.

11; An fe Him Itority firm up more than all the itority - an fe Him Kingdom surpass all the kingdoms - an fe Him Itority are what rule all the world - fe Him able fe all - an fe there are nothing that fail Him.

12; Him rule all clouds ina Heaven ~ Him grow grass fe livestocks pon Earth - an Him give fruit pon the buds.

13; Him feed fe all ina each of the kinds like unto Him loved ~ Him feed all that Him Irated by each of the fruits an each of the foods - an Him feed ants an locusts beneath Earth an livestocks pon Earth an beasts - an fe a person who prayed Him give him him priah - an Him don't ignore the plea of the child whose mother an faada dead pon him - nor widows.

14; As evil persons rebellion are like unto a swirlin wind an wrongdoers council like unto misty urine - Him shall rather accept the plea of them who beg toward Him at each time an clean ones.

15; An as them body are like unto a flyin bird - an as them features comeliness that are silver an gold are perishable ina this world - examination will benefit persons who forgot JAH LAW yet not them gold - an moths shall eat them clothes.

16; An weevils shall totally eat the wheat an the barley fatness - an all shall pass like unto the day that passed yesterday - an like unto a word that proceeded from a mouth don't return - sinner persons money also are like unto it - an them 'beautiful lifestyle' are like unto a passin shadow ~ sinner persons money before JAH are like unto a lie clothes.

17; But if kind persons are honoured JAH won't ignore them - fe them have been honoured while them were nice fe poor ones - an them hear justice of sufferahs an a child whose mother an faada dead pon him ~ JAH won't ignore them - fe without neglectin them house childran - them honour Him while them clothe the naked from the clothes JAH gave them that them might give fe the refugee sufferah.

18; Them don't favour loyal persons judgemant - an them don't mek a hireling salary lodge ~ as JAH thing are Truth an honoured like unto a sword whose mouths were two - them won't do iniquity ina them seasons number an ina them balance measuremant.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 26.

1; But poor ones will think again pon them beddin - but if wealthy ones don't accept them - them will be like unto dry wood that have no verdure - an a root won't be fertile from alongside where no moisture are - an the leaf won't be fertile if there are no root.

2; As a leaf serve a flower fe be a ornamant fe fruit - unless the leaf were fertile it won't bear fruit ~ as man fulfillmant are religion - a person without religion have no virtue.

3; If him firmed up religion him worked virtue - an JAH are Irie by a person who work Truth an straight Work.

4; An fe the person who begged Him - Him shall give him him plea an him tongue reward - an Him won't wrong the true person becau him true Work that him worked.

5; As JAH are true - an as Him have loved a Truth thing - Him won't justify the sinner person without repentance becau the Work evil him worked - an as all persons souls have been seized ina Him Itority becau Him were Who ruled Earth an Heaven - as Him won't favour for the wealthy more than the poor ina Judgemant time - Him won't justify him without repentance.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 27.

1; Him Irated havin brought all the world from not livin toward livin - an Him totally prepared hills an mountains - an Him firmed up Earth pon Water - an lest sea be shaken Him delineated she by sand - fe ina Him first Word JAH have said Mek Light be Irated.

2; Light were Irated when this world had been covered ina darkness ~ JAH Irated all the Iration - an Him prepared this world - an Him firmed up this world by what are due an by money that are straight ~ Him said - Mek evenin be dark.

3; An again JAH said Mek Light be Irated ~ it dawned an there were Light - an Him Ilivated the upper Water toward Heaven.

4; An Him streached it forth like unto a tent - an Him firmed it up by a wind - an Him placed the lower Water within a pit.

5; An Him shut the sea lock ina sand - an Him firmed them up ina Him Itority lest them drown ina Water - an Him placed animals an beasts within she - an Him placed within she Liewatan an Biehiemot who were great beasts - an Him placed within she the beasts without number - sight up an not sight up.

6; Pon the third day JAH Irated pon Earth plants - all the roots an woods an fruits that bear forth ina each of them kinds - an a welfare wood beautiful fe them fe sight it up..

7; An Him Irated a welfare wood that were both beautiful fe them fe sight it up an sweet fe them fe eat it - an Him Irated grass - an all plants whose seeds are found from within them - fe be food fe birds an livestocks an beasts.

8; It dusked ~ it dawned - an pon the fourth day Him said - Mek Light be Irated ina Heaven called cosmos ~ JAH havin Irated moon an Sun an stars - Him placed them ina Heaven called cosmos that them might shine ina this world an that them might feed them daylight an night.

9; An after this moon an Sun an stars alternated ina night an daylight.

10; An pon the fifth day JAH Irated all animals an beasts that live within Water an all birds that fly pon Heaven - all that are sight up an not sight up - all this.

11; An pon the sixth day Him Irated livestocks an beasts an others - an havin Irated an prepared all - Him Irated 'Adam ina Him Example an Him Appearance.

12; Him gave him all animals an beasts Him Irated that him might reign pon them - an again - all animals an beasts an all fishes - an Liewatan an Biehiemot that are ina sea.

13; An Him gave him all cows that live ina this world an sheeps - the animals not sight up an them that are sight up.

14; An Him placed ina Garden 'Adam whom Him Irated ina Him Example an Him Appearance - that him might eat an might cultivate plants an might praise JAH there.

15; An fe lest him demolish Him Command - Him have said - Pon the time when unu ate from this Herb of Fig unu will dead death.

16; An Him commanded him lest him eat from the Herb of Fig that bring death - that draw attention fe evil an good - that bring death.

17; InI mother Hiewan were cajoled by a snake misleadin an she ate from that Herb of Fig an gave it fe InI faada 'Adam.

18; An 'Adam havin eaten from that Herb of Fig brought death pon him childran an pon him ras self.

19; As him have demolished Him Command - an as him have eaten from that Herb of Fig that JAH commanded sayin - Don't eat from she - JAH vexed pon InI faada 'Adam an expelled an sent him way from the Garden - an Him gave him that Earth that grow thistle an thorn - that Him cursed becau him pon the time him demolished Him Command - that him might eat him weariness reward havin toiled an laboured that him might plow she.

20; An pon the time JAH sent him forth toward this land - 'Adam returned toward complete sadness - an havin toiled an laboured that him might plow Earth - him began fe eat ina weariness an also ina struggles.

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1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 28.

1; An after him childran lived havin abounded - there were from them ones who praise an honour JAH an don't demolish Him Command.

2; There were prophets who spoke what were done an what will be done henceforth - an from him childran there were sinners who speak lies an who wrong persons ~ 'Adam firstborn child Qayel became evil an killed him bredda 'Abiel.

3; JAH judged Judgemant pon Qayel becau him killed him bredda 'Abiel - an JAH vexed pon Earth becau she drank him blood.

4; An JAH told Qayel - Where are thy bredda 'Abiel? - an Qayel ina him heart arrogance said - 'Are mi mi bredda 'Abiel keeper?'

5; 'Abiel became a clean man - but Qayel became a sinner man by killin a kind man - him bredda 'Abiel.

6; Again a kind child Siet were birthed ~ 'Adam birthed sixty childran ~ there are kind persons an evil persons from them.

7; An there are kind persons from them ~ an there are persons who were prophets an them who were traitors an sinners.

8; There are blessed persons who were kind persons - who fulfill them faada 'Adam accord an all him told fe him child Siet - Iginnin from 'Adam up til Noh who are a kind man who kept JAH LAW.

9; An him sanctioned JAH LAW fe him childran ~ him told them - 'Guard' - lest them demolish JAH LAW - an that them might tell fe them childran like unto them faada Noh told them - an that them might keep JAH LAW.

10; An them lived while them taught them childran - persons birthed after them.

11; But Seythan lived when him spoke fe them faadas - havin lodged ina idols that reached fe a grave an that have vows pon them - an havin defeated the persons who told him alright - an when them did all that Seythan - who are sin teacher - commanded them.

12; An them lived when them worshipped the idols like unto them order - up til a kind man 'Abriham who fulfill JAH Accord.

13; Fe him have lived firmed up ina the LAW beforehand separate from him cousins - an JAH swore a oath with him - havin lodged ina wind an fiyah.

14; JAH swore fe him that Him might give him a land of inheritance an that Him might give fe him childran up til the Iternity.

15; An Him swore fe Yis'haq like unto him that Him might give him him faada 'Abriham inheritance - an Him swore fe Ya`iqob that Him might give him him faada Yis'haq inheritance ~ Him swore fe him like into Yis'haq.

16; An Him separated them childran - who were birthed after them from Ya`iqob - from the twelve tribes of 'Isra'iel - an made them priests an kings ~ Him blessed them sayin - Abound an totally be many many.

17; An Him gave them them faada inheritance - however while Him fed them an loved them - them didn't quit saddenin JAH ina all.

18; An pon the time Him downstroyed them - at that time them will seek Him ina worship - an them will return from sin an go toward JAH - fe Him love them - an JAH shall pardon them.

19; Fe bein nice fe all Him Irated - Him shall pardon them - an it are becau them faadas Work that Him love them - yet it aren't becau them ras selves Work.

20; An Him streach forth Him Right Hand ina plenty that Him might satta a hungry body - an Him reveal Him Eye fe pardonin that Him might multiply grain fe food.

21; Him give food fe crows chicks an fe beasts that beg Him ~ pon the time them cried toward Him - Him will save 'Isra'iel childran from them enemies hands who delayed from the time.

22; An them will return toward sin again that them might sadden Him - an Him will arouse them enemies peoples ina them area pon them ~ them will downstroy them an kill them an capture them.

23; An again them will shout toward JAH ina mournin an sadness - an there are the time when Him sent help an saved them by prophets hands.

24; An there are the time when Him saved them by princes hands - an pon the time them saddened JAH them enemies taxed them an captured them.

25; An Daweet arose an saved them from the 'Iloflans hands; an again them saddened JAH - an JAH aroused pon them peoples who worry them.

26; An there are the time when Him saved them by Yoftahie hand - an again them forgot JAH Who saved them ina them tribulation time. As JAH have brought the hardship pon them - Him will arouse pon them enemies who were evil who will firm up tribulation pon them an totally capture them.

27; An pon the time them were worried by tribulation them were seized an again cried toward Him - an Him saved them by Giediewon hand - an again them saddened JAH by them hands Work.

28; An again Him aroused pon them peoples who firm up tribulation pon them - an them returned an wept an cried toward JAH.

29; An again Him saved them from peoples by Somson hand - an them rested a likkle from the tribulation. An them arose that them might sadden JAH by them former sin.

30; An again Him aroused pon them other peoples who worry them - an again them cried an wept toward JAH that Him might send help fe them - an Him saved them from peoples by Bariq an Deebora hands.

31; Again them lived a likkle season while them worshipped JAH - an again them forgot JAH ina them former sin an saddened Him.

32; An Him aroused pon them other peoples who worry them - an again Him saved them by Yodeet hand; an havin sat again a likkle season them arose that them might sadden JAH by them sin like unto formerly.

33; An Him aroused pon them peoples who rule them - an them cried an wept toward JAH; fe Him have struck pon him head 'Abiemieliek who were a warrior who came that him might fight Yihuda country.

34; An Him saved them by the childran ina the area an by Matatyu hand - an pon the time that warrior dead him army fled an were scattared - an 'Isra'iel childran followed an fought them up til 'Iyabboq - an them didn't preserve even one person from them.

35; After this them waited a likkle an arose that them might sadden JAH - an Him aroused pon them peoples who rule them - an again them totally cried toward JAH; an JAH ignored them cryin an them mournin - fe them have saddened JAH everytime - an fe them have demolished Him LAW.

36; An them captured an took them with them priests toward Babilon persons country.

37; An then 'Isra'iel childran who were traitors didn't quit saddenin JAH while them worked sin an worshipped idols.

38; JAH vexed that Him might downstroy them one time ina them sin ~ Hama havin introduced ten thousand gold ina the king box - pon the day when it were known - him lodged anger ina the king 'Arthieksis reasonin - lest him preserve them childran ina Fars country Iginnin from Hindekie an up til 'Ityopphya pon the time him told him that him might downstroy them.

39; Him did thus - an him wrote a letter where a message were written by the king authority - an him gave him a seal ina him hand that him might deliver toward Fars country.

40; Him gave him a seal that him might downstroy them pon one day when him loved them fe downstroy them like unto the king commanded - but him commanded that him might introduce them money - the gold an the silver - toward the king box.

41; An pon the time 'Isra'iel childran heard this thing them totally cried an wept toward JAH - an them told it fe Merdokyos - an Merdokyos told fe 'Astier.

42; An 'Astier said - 'Fast - beg - an all 'Isra'iel childran kindreds - cry toward JAH ina the place where unu are.'

43; An Merdokyos wore sackcloth an sprinkled dust pon him ras self - an 'Isra'iel childran fasted - begged - an entered repentance ina the country where them were.

44; An 'Astier were totally sad - an bein a queen she wore sackcloth ~ she sprinkled dust an shaved she head - an she didn't anoint perfume like unto Fars queens anoint perfume - an ina she deep reasonin she cried an wept toward she faadas Irator JAH.

45; An becaudis thing Him gave she bein loved alongside Fars king 'Arthieksis - an she made a kind lunch fe she faadas Irator.

46; An Hama an the king entered toward the lunch that 'Astier prepared - an like unto him loved that him might do pon Merdokyos - JAH paid the hardship pon that Hama - an them hanged him pon a tall wood.

47; The king letter were commanded that them might quit 'Isra'iel like unto them were ina all them accord - an lest them tax them nor rob them nor wrong them nor tek them money pon them.

48; As JAH shall pardon 'Isra'iel doin thus pon the time them cried enterin repentance - it are that them might love them an honour them ina Fars country where them lived - yet a king letter were commanded lest them downstroy them country nor plunder them livestocks.

49; An pon them time them saddened Him - Him will arouse pon them peoples who worry them ~ at that time them will totally weep an cry that Him might send them help fe them an that Him might save them from peoples hand who firm up tribulation pon them.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 29.

1; An pon the time Gibts persons also made 'Isra'iel childran work by makin them work bricks ina difficulty - an pon the time them worried them all the Work by kickin mud without straw an heatin bricks...

2; An pon the time them made them work havin appointed chiefs pon them who rush workers - them cried toward JAH that Him might save them from workin all Gibts bricks.

3; At that time Him sent fe them 'Aron an Mussie who help them - fe JAH have sent them that them might send forth Him kindreds from Fer`on rulership house - an Him saved them from brick Work ~ becau ina him arrogance him refused fe adjourn 'Isra'iel lest them be ruled an sacrifice sacrifice fe JAH ina wilderness - JAH have sent them that them might send forth Him kindreds 'Isra'iel from Gibts king Fer`on rulership house - an them saved them.

4; Fe JAH neglect arrogant ones - an Him drowned Fer`on ina 'Eritra sea with him army becau him arrogance.

5; An like unto him - Him shall downstroy them who didn't work goodly Work ina all the kingdoms that Him I-pointed an crowned them - that them who ignore JAH Word when them are nobles an kings might fulfill Him Accord fe Him - an that them might give persons who serve ina goodly thing them wage - an that them might honour Him famous Name.

6; JAH Who rule all said - But if them will straighten up I Kingdom - I-man will straighten up them kingdom fe them.

7; Work goodly Work fe I - an I-man shall work goodly Work fe unu ~ keep I LAW - an I-man shall keep unu your bodies ~ live firmed up ina I LAW - an I-man shall live lodgin honesty ina unu like unto your reasonin.

8; Love I - an I-man shall love your welfare ~ near toward I - an I-man shall heal unu.

9; JAH Who rule all said - Believe ina I - an I-man shall save unu from the tribulation.

10; Don't live side by side ~ as JAH Who rule all love straight Work - Him said - Unu - approach toward I - an I-man shall approach toward unu ~ unu persons who are sinners an traitors - cleanse your hands from sin - an distance your reasonins from evil.

11; An I-man shall distance I anger from unu - an I-man shall return fe unu ina Charity an Forgiveness.

12; I-man shall distance criminals an enemies who work iniquity from unu - like unto I-man saved I slave Daweet from him enemies who met him - from them much malice - an from Gwolyad hand who were a warrior - an also from Sa'ol hand who sought that him might kill him - an from him child 'Abiesielom hand who loved that him might tek him kingdom.

13; I-man shall save persons who keep I LAW an fulfill I Accord like unto him ~ I-man shall bequeath them honour - an them shall be Irie ina the present world an yonder ina the world that shall come ~ I-man shall crown them pon all that them might be Irie.

14; Them shall be one with kings who served JAH an were honoured ina them beautiful way of Life - like unto the prophet Samu'iel served Him ina him beautiful way of Life Iginnin from him infancy - whom JAH - Him bein LAW - chose.

15; Him told him that him might tell 'Elee who were a servant elder - an when him served ina JAH Lodgin the Temple - Samu'iel Work also were merciful an I-loved.

16; An pon the time him grew when him served ina JAH Lodgin the Temple - Him made him fe be Ipointed an Inointed - that him might Ipoint him people an that kings might be Inointed by JAH Accord. As JAH have loved him that the kindred him chose from 'Isra'iel childran might be Ipointed - pon the time him fulfilled JAH Accord Who Irated him - Him gave him the Inointin of the Kingdom ina him hand.

17; An when Sa'ol were ina him kingdom JAH told Him prophet Samu'iel - Go - an as I-man have loved `Issiey child Daweet who were birthed from Yihuda kin - Inoint him.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 30.

1; I-man have hated Sa'ol kin - fe him have saddened I becau him violated I Word.

2; An I-man neglected him - fe him didn't keep I LAW - an I-man won't crown from him kin again.

3; An persons who didn't keep I LAW an I Word an I Order like unto him - I-man shall downstroy I Kingdom an I gift from them childran up til the Iternity.

4; An as them didn't mek I famous pon the time I-man made them famous - I-man shall downstroy them - yet I-man won't again return fe lift them up ~ though I-man honour them - as them didn't honour I - I-man won't mek them famous.

5; Fe them didn't do a goodly thing fe I pon the time I-man did a goodly thing fe them - an fe them didn't forgive I pon the time I-man forgave them.

6; An as them didn't mek I a Ruler pon the time I-man made them rulers pon all - as them didn't honour I pon the time I-man honoured them more than all - I-man won't mek them famous again nor honour them - an fe them didn't keep I LAW.

7; An I-man withheld the gift I-man gave them - an I-man won't return the money I-man withheld from them like unto the measure I-man vexed an swore ~ JAH Who rule all said thus ~ Him said - I-man shall honour them who honoured I - an love them who loved I.

8; I-man shall separate them who didn't honour I nor keep I LAW from the gift I-man gave them.

9; JAH Who rule all said; I-man love them who loved I - an mek famous him who made I famous - Him said..

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10; As I-man JAH am Who rule all - there are none who escape I Itority ina Earth nor Heaven - fe I-man am JAH Who kill an Who save an Who sadden an Who forgive.
11; As famousness an honour are I money - I-man honour him whom I-man loved - fe I-man am Who judge an Who revenge an downstroy - an I-man mek wretched him whom I-man hated.
12; Fe I-man am Who forgive them who love I an call I Name everytime - fe I-man am Who feed food fe the wealthy an fe the poor.
13; An I-man feed birds an animals - fishes ina sea an beasts an flowers - yet I-man aren't Who feed only man.
14; I-man feed crocodiles an whales - gophers an hippos - an badgers...
15; an all that live within Water - all that fly pon wind - yet I-man aren't Who feed only man ~ all this are I money.
16; I-man am Who feed all that seek I by all that are due an I-loved.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 31.
1; An the kings don't reign without I Accord - an sufferahs are by I Command - yet them aren't poor without I Command - an powerful ones are by I Accord - yet them aren't strong without I Accord.
2; I-man gave bein I-loved fe Daweet an Wisdom fe Selomon - an I-man added eras fe Hiziqyas.
3; I-man diminished Gwolyad era - an I-man gave Power fe Somson - an again I-man weakened him Power.
4; An I-man saved I slave Daweet from Gwolyad hand who were a warrior.
5; An again I-man saved him from the king Sa'ol hand an from the secand warrior who disputed him - an fe him have kept I Command - an I-man saved him from the persons hand who dispute him an fight him.
6; An I-man loved him - an I-man love all the nobles an the kings who keep I LAW ~ as them have made I Irie - I-man shall give them prevailin an Power pon them enemies.
7; An again that them might inherit them faadas land - I-man shall give them the cleansed an shinin land of inheritance that I-man swore fe them faadas.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 32.
1; JAH Who rule all said - An unu the nobles an also the kings - hear I ina I Word - an keep I Command ~ lest unu sadden I an worship like unto 'Isra'iel childran saddened I an worshipped different idols - them whom I-man kept an saved when I-man JAH am them Irator - JAH Who rule all said - Hear I ina I Word; an all whom I-man raised an loved an fed Iginnin that them were birthed from them mother an faada.
2; An whom I-man sent forth toward Earth crops - an whom I-man fed the fatness found from Earth makin like unto are due - an whom I-man gave the grape vine an the oil-tree fruit that them didn't plant an the clear Water well that them didn't dig.
3; Hear I ina I Word lest unu sadden I like unto 'Isra'iel childran saddened I worshippin other idols when I-man JAH am them Irator - Him told them - Who fed them the sheep milk an the honey comb with the hulled wheat - an Who clothed them clothes where ornamant are - an Who gave them all them love.
4; An without it livin that I-man deprived them all them begged I.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 33.
1; Like unto Daweet spoke sayin - "Isra'iel childran were fed the menna that Angels lowered' - an again hear I ina I Word lest unu sadden I like unto 'Isra'iel childran saddened I worshippin the idols when I-man am them Irator JAH Who fed them sweet menna ina wilderness - Him said ~ I-man did all this fe them that them might worship I by what are due an fe true.
2; JAH Who rule all said - But them didn't worship I - an I-man neglected them ~ them saddened I an lived firmed up ina law of idols that weren't I LAW.
3; An I-man shall bring the hardship pon them like unto them sin ~ as them have neglected I Worship an as them didn't firm up ina I counsel an I Order - I-man neglected them ina the sin measure that them worked by them hands - an I-man shall lower them toward Gehannem ina Definite Judgemant that are done ina Heaven.
4; Fe them didn't keep I LAW - an fe I-man vex pon them - an I-man shall diminish them era ina this world.
5; If thou be a king - aren't thou a man who shall dead an be demolished an tomorrow who shall be worms an dust?
6; But today thou boast an are proud like unto a man who won't dead foriva.
7; JAH Who rule all said - But thou who are sight up bein well today are a man who will dead tomorrow.
8; But if unu keep I Command an I Word - I-man shall bequeath thee-I a honoured country with honoured kings who did I Accord - whose lodgin were Light an whose crowns were beautiful - an whose thrones were silver an gold an whom persons who sit pon them adorned - Him said.
9; An them shall be Irie within Him country that are a place that approached fe persons who worked goodly Work.
10; But fe persons who work sin - as them didn't keep I LAW - said JAH Who rule all...
11; it aren't due them that them might enter toward that country where honoured kings shall enter.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 34.
1; Miedon kingdom shall perish - but Rom kingdom shall totally firm up pon Meqiedonya kingdom - an Nenewie kingdom shall firm up pon Fars kingdom.
2; An 'Ityopphya kingdom shall firm up pon 'Iskindriya kingdom ~ as peoples shall arise - Mo`ab kingdom shall firm up pon 'Amalieq kingdom.
3; An bredda shall arise pon him bredda - an JAH shall revenge an downstroy like unto Him spoke that it might perish.
4; Kingdom shall arise pon kingdom - an the people pon the people an country pon country - Him said.
5; An argumants shall be done an there shall be formations - famine - plague - earthquake - drought ~ as Love have perished from this world - JAH chastisemant downscended pon she.
6; Fe the day have arrived suddenly when JAH shall come - Who frighten like unto lightnin that are sight up from East up til West.
7; Pon the day when HIM JAH judge Judgemant - at that time everyone shall receive him hardship like unto him hand weakness an him sin firmness - fe Him have said I-man shall revenge them pon the day when HIM JAH judge Judgemant an pon the day when them feet are hindered - fe the day when them are counted fe downstruction have arrived.
8; At that time JAH shall downstroy ina Gehannem foriva persons who won't live firmed up ina Him LAW - who work sin.
9; An them who live ina the West ilands an Noba an Hindekie - Saba an 'Ityopphya an Gibts persons - all persons who live ina them...
10; at that time shall know I that I-man were JAH Who rule Earth an Heaven - an Who give bein I-loved an honour - an Who save an Who kill.
11; I-man am Who send forth Sun - Who send it toward it settin - Who bring the evil an the good.
12; I-man am Who bring peoples whom unu don't know - who slaughter an eat the money whereby unu wearied - your sheeps an your cows flocks.
13; An them shall capture your childran while them hammer them before unu - an unu cyaan save them. Becau JAH Spirit of Support didn't lodge ina unu - as unu didn't fear JAH Command that unu heard - Him shall downstroy your lavishmants an your assignmants.
14; But a person ina whom JAH Spirit of Support lodged will know all - like unto Nabukedenetsor told Dan'iel sayin - 'Mi sight up JAH Spirit of Support that lodged ina thee-I.'
15; An a person ina whom JAH Spirit of Support lodged will know all - an what were hidden will be revealed fe him - an him will know all that were revealed an that were hidden - yet there are nothing hidden from a person ina whom JAH Spirit of Support lodged.
16; But as InI are persons who will dead tomorrow - InI sins that InI hid an worked shall be revealed.
17; An like unto them test silver an gold ina fiyah - like unto there are sinners - later pon the Day of Advent them shall be examined - fe them didn't keep JAH Command.
18; At that time all peoples an all 'Isra'iel childran Works shall be examined.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 35.
1; As JAH vex pon unu becau unu didn't judge a Truth Judgemant fe the child whose mother an faada dead pon him - woe fe unu 'Isra'iel nobles.
2; Woe fe unu persons who go toward a drinkin house mornin an evenin an get drunk - who are partial ina judgemant - an who don't hear the widow justice nor the child whose mother an faada dead pon him - who live ina sin an seducin.
3; JAH told 'Isra'iel nobles sayin thus: - Unless unu lived firmed up ina I Command an kept I LAW an loved what I-man love - woe fe unu - Him told them.
4; An I-man shall bring downstruction an chastisemant an tribulation pon unu - an unu will perish like unto what weevils an moths ate - an your tracks an your region won't be found - Him told them.
5; An your country will be a wilderness - an all persons who sight she up formerly shall clap them hands ~ them shall marvel pon she while them said - 'Weren't this country filled of she plenty an all who love it?; JAH made she thus by persons sin who live ina she.'
6; Them shall say - 'As she have made she heart proud - an as she have ilivated she ras self - an as she have firmed up she collar of reasonin up til JAH mek she wretched pon Earth - an as she shall be a desert by persons arrogance who live ina she - an as thorns have grown pon she with thistles - woe fe she.'
7; An she grow weeds an nettles - an she became a wilderness an a desert - an beasts shall live within she.
8; Fe JAH Judgemant have firmed up pon she - an fe she shall raceive JAH Judgemant Chalice becau she reasonin arrogance by persons sin who live ina she - an she became frightenin fe persons who go toward she.

1 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 36.
1; Meqiedon persons - don't boast ~ as JAH are there Who shall downstroy unu - 'Amalieqans - don't firm up your collar of reasonin.
2; Fe unu will be lofty up til Heaven an unu will downscend up til Gehannem.
3; Pon the time 'Isra'iel formerly entered toward Gibts country ina Mo`ab an Miedon kingdom Him said - Don't boast - fe it aren't due fe pretend pon JAH that unu might pretend pon Him.
4; Thou Yisma'iel kindred - slave child - why do thou firm up thy collar of reasonin by what weren't thy money? How about don't thou think that JAH shall judge pon thee pon the time Him arose that it might be judged pon Earth - pon the day when it are judged pon thee?
5; JAH Who rule all said - At that time thou will raceive thy hardship like unto thy hand Work - how about why do thou ilivate thy reasonin? How about why do thou firm up thy collar of reasonin?
6; An I-man shall pretend pon thee like unto thou pretended pon persons who weren't thy kindreds - fe thou do what thou love that thou might work sin - an I-man shall neglect thee ina the place where them sent thee.
7; JAH Who rule all said - An I-man shall do thus pon thee ~ Him said - But if thou worked goodly Work an if thou love what I-man loved - I-man also shall hear thee-I ina all that thou begged.
8; An if thou fulfill I Accord fe I - I-man shall fulfill thy accord fe thee-I - an I-man shall dispute thy enemies fe thee-I - an I-man shall bless thy childran an thy seed fe thee-I.
9; An I-man shall multiply thy sheeps an thy cows flocks fe thee-I - an if thou lived firmed up ina I Command an also if thou did what I-man love - JAH Who rule all said - I-man shall bless fe thee-I all thou seized ina thy hand.
10; But if thou don't do I Accord - if thou don't live firmed up ina I LAW an I Command - all this tribulation that were told formerly shall find thee - fe thou didn't indure tribulation firmed up ina I Command - an fe thou didn't live firmed up ina I LAW - an thou cyaan escape from I anger that will come pon thee everytime.
11; An as thou didn't love what I-man loved - when I-man am Who Irated thee bringin from not livin toward livin...
12; all this were thy money - that thou might kill an heal fe do all that thou loved - that thou might work an demolish - that thou might honour an abuse - that thou might ilivate an downbase - an as thou have neglected I Worship an I praise when I-man am Who gave thee lordship an also honour alongside persons who are beneath thy authority - thou cyaan escape from I anger that will come pon thee.
13; An if thou did JAH Accord an if thou lived frmed up ina Him Command - Him will love thee-I that thou might be Irie with Him ina Him Lordship - an that thou might be a partaker with persons who inherited a honoured country.
14; Fe Him have said - If them indure I - I-man will bequeath them bein I-loved an honour - fe I-man shall mek them Irie ina the Temple where priah are prayed - fe JAH Who rule all have said - An them shall be I-loved an chosen like unto a sacrifice.
15; Don't neglect fe do Work whereby welfare are done an a goodly thing that unu might cross from death toward Life.
16; But persons who work goodly Work - JAH shall keep them ina all Him goodly Work - that them might be Him slaves like unto 'Iyob whom JAH kept from all the tribulation
17; JAH shall keep them ina all goodly Work - that them might be Him slaves fe Him like unto 'Abriham whom Him saved pon the time him killed the kings - an like unto Mussie whom Him saved from Kenaniewon hand an Fer`on hand - ina whom 'Abriham lived - an who were also downsturbin him body evenin an mornin night an day that them might mek him worship idols.
18; But when them took him toward the idols that were them money - him would indure the tribulation while him refused.
19; Fe 'Abriham who believed Him Iginnin from him childhood were fe JAH Him trusted friend - an while him refused him would worship JAH Who Irated him.
20; As him totally love JAH - him didn't quit worshippin JAH up til him dead - an him didn't depart from Him LAW up til when him dead - an him taught him childran that them might keep JAH LAW.
21; An like unto them faada 'Abriham kept Him LAW - them didn't depart from JAH LAW ~ like unto Him told fe Angels sayin - I-man have a friend ina this world called 'Abriham - 'Abriham childran Ya`iqob an Yis'haq - who are Him slaves becau whom JAH spoke - didn't depart from JAH LAW.

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22; JAH Who were praised alongside them an Who rule all said - 'Abriham are I friend ~ Yis'haq are I canfidante - an Ya`iqob are I friend whom I Reasonin loved.

23; But when Him totally loved 'Isra'iel childran - them lived when them Itinually saddened Him - an Him lived when Him indured them an when Him fed them menna ina wilderness.

24; Them clothes didn't age - fe them have been fed menna that are knowledge 'injera - an them feet didn't awaken.

25; But them reasonins would distance from JAH everytime ~ as them were who work sin Iginnin from Antiquity - them had no hope fe be saved.

26; Them became like unto a crooked bow - yet them didn't become like unto them faadas Yis'haq an 'Abriham an Ya`iqob who served JAH ina them beautiful way of Life ~ them would sadden Him everytime by them idols pon the mountains an the hills ~ them would eat pon the mountain an at the caves an the trees roots.

27; Them would slaughter a steer ~ them would sacrifice a sacrifice - an them would be Irie ina them hands Work ~ them would eat the rest of the sacrifice ~ them would drink of them sacrifice - an them would play with demons while them sang.

28; An demons would admire all them games an them songs fe them - an them would work them drunkenness an adultery without measure - an them would do the robbery an greed that JAH don't love.

29; Fe Kene`an idols - an fe Midyam idols an fe Be`al - an fe 'Aphlon an Dagon an Seraphyon an 'Arthiemadies who are 'Eloflee idols...

30; an fe all peoples idols ina them area - them would sacrifice sacrifice; an all 'Isra'iel would worship idols like unto peoples worship idols by money that them sight up an heard ~ them would mek them games an them songs an them bluster that peoples mek.

31; All 'Isra'iel kindreds do likewise - who say 'Wi will worship JAH' - without keepin Him Command an Him LAW that Mussie told them ina 'Oreet that them might keep JAH LAW an might distance from worshippin idols.

32; Lest them worship separated idols - apart from them faadas Irator Who fed them the honey found from Maga who fed them the plantation grain an sent them forth toward the Earth crops - an Who fed them the menna...

33; Mussie commanded them sayin 'Don't worship' - fe Him are them Irator - an fe Him feed them who loved Him - an Him won't deprive them who loved Him an desired Him.

34; But them didn't quit saddenin JAH - an them would sadden JAH pon the time Him made them Irie.

35; An pon the time Him saddened them - them would cry toward Him - an Him would save them from the tribulation that found them - an them would again be totally Irie an would live many eras.

36; An at that time them would totally return them heart toward sin that them might sadden JAH like unto formerly - an Him would arouse pon them peoples ina them area that them might downstroy them - an them would worry an tax them.

37; An again them would totally return an cry toward them Irator JAH.

38; An Him would forgive them ~ it are becau them faadas - Noh - Yis'haq an 'Abriham an Ya`iqob - who served JAH ina them beautiful way of Life Iginnnin from Antiquity - fe whom Him firmed up Him Oath - yet it aren't becau them ras selves Work that Him forgive them.

39; An Him loved persons who kept Him LAW lovin that them might multiply them childran like unto Heaven stars an sea sand.

40; But pon the time dead ones arose that them have like unto sea sand - them are sinner persons souls that will separate from 'Isra'iel childran an enter toward Gehannem.

41; As JAH have told 'Abriham - Sight up toward Heaven at night an count Heaven stars as it were thou could count - likewise as Him have told him - Thy childran an righteous ones shall shine ina Heaven like unto Heaven stars - them are like unto stars that shine ina Heaven - but what them have are kind persons souls birthed from 'Isra'iel.

42; An again as Him have told him - Overstand toward the river edge an the sea - an sight up what are amidst the sand ~ count as it were thou could count - an thy sinner childran are likewise - who will downscend toward Gehannem pon the time dead ones arose - them are sinner persons souls.

43; An 'Abriham believed ina JAH ~ becaudis thing it were counted fe him bein Truth ~ him found him morale ina this world - an after him wife Sora aged she birthed a child called Yis'haq.

44; Fe him have believed that persons who worked goodly Work shall arise an go toward the Kingdom of Heaven that live firmed up foriva - an again him shall find a Kingdom ina Heaven.

45; But fe him have believed that persons who worked sin shall go toward Gehannem that live firmed up foriva pon the time dead ones arose - but that righteous ones who worked goodly Work shall reign with Him foriva.

46; But fe him have believed that it shall be judged foriva fe true without falsehood pon persons who worked sin - fe him shall find Life Kingdom ina Heaven."

Mek glory an praise enter fe JAH fe true without falsehood - an the first book that speak the Meqabyans thing were filled an fulfilled.

BOOK OF MEQABYAN 2

2 Meqabyan
The Second Book of the Ethiopic Maccabees
Translation: Ras Feqade Tebbaqiw
Amharic rendered into Iyaric / Rastafari English

(The Second Book of Ethiopian Maccabees (2 Meqabyan) contains 21 chapters. Chapters 1-4 recount that a king of Moab named Meqabis (or Maccabeus) made war against Israel, which was God's punishment for their sins. He later repents and is taught the law of the God of Israel by the prophet Re'ay, instituting a golden age in his kingdom, until it is attacked by King Tseerutsaydan. Chapters 5-8 and 12-13 recount the same narrative of 1 Meqabyan of the three brothers who refuse to worship Tseerutsaydan's idols. The rest of the book covers more general religious teachings, with a strong emphasis on the doctrine of physical resurrection after death.

2 Meqabyan Summary:

• Chapter 1: Maccabeus, a man of Ramoth in Moab, unites with the Amalekites and Edom and attacks Israel, with each nation then returning to their homelands in triumph.

• Chapter 2: The prophet Re'ay (or Ra'ay) states the attack was God's judgement, and Israel must repent of its wrongdoings. It is stated that at this time Maccabeus, frightened of God's judgement for his sinful conduct, repents and wears dust and sackcloth.

• Chapter 3: God instructs Re'ay to visit Maccabeus, who is standing in a pit up to his neck as part of his repentance. Re'ay informs Maccabeus that the success of the attack was in fact due to God, and that God accepts his repentance. Maccabeus removes himself from the pit, and asks Re'ay to provide him knowledge of God's law; as a result Maccabeus returns home, destroys all the idols and temples, and casts out the magicians. Some of the children who had been captured in the attack on Israel help teach the Law to Maccabeus. Meanwhile Israel finds itself in a cycle of degenerating into idolatry, being punished by God via the use of attacks from neighbouring peoples, followed by Israel's repentance.

• Chapter 4: Maccabeus follows the Law and institutes it in Moab; as a result the kingdom prospers, its people are glad and its enemies are overcome.

• Chapter 5: After Maccabeus dies, his children continue to live righteously. However, after five years, King Tseerutsaydan of Chaldea comes and attacks their kingdom. Despite the manifold sins of his rule, the children of Maccabeus continue to live in righteousness.

• Chapter 6: Tseerutsaydan is devoted to his idols, and demands that his subjects also worship them, however the children of Maccabeus refuse to do so. As a result he throws them into a fire, where they die. However he is later visited by them in a night vision, and they rebuke him for his idolatry, stating that he will descend into Gehenna after death.

• Chapter 7: They continue to rebuke him and his Devil-inspired idolatry; the vision ends, and Tseerutsaydan stays up all night in fright.

• Chapter 8: Despite the visitation Tseerutsaydan continues in his idolatry, growing arrogant in his conquests, and oppressing his subjects; the text reminds us that God will punish evildoers, as Joshua punished the kings of Canaan.

• Chapter 9: The evil and unjust will be punished by God, and end up in Gehenna; the importance of following the Law.

• Chapter 10: Exhortation to abide by God's word; the example of Balaam and Balak; God punishes those who break his Law, even Israel itself, whom He allowed to be captured and exiled, and Jerusalem destroyed, for their many sins.

• Chapter 11: The example of Moses, who stayed loyal to God even as his siblings opposed him (presumably a reference to Miriam and Aaron opposing his taking of a Cushite wife, as recounted in the Book of Numbers, chapter 12) and also during the rebellion of Korah; the importance of the Tabernacle to God and Israel.

• Chapter 12: God will punish religious hypocrites and those who disobey his Law, whilst rewarding the righteous. Meanwhile Tseerutsaydan, at the height of his arrogance, proclaims himself immortal, claiming that the powers of God are his. At that precise moment the angel of death (Thilimyakos) kills him, and the Chaldeans, who had been preparing to fight him, come and plunder his kingdom (presumably a separate or insurgent group of Chaldeans, as Tseerutsaydan is earlier stated to be the king of Chaldea in chapter 5).

• Chapter 13: The example of the five children of Maccabeus who, by refusing to offer sacrifices to the king's idols, rightly feared punishment in the hereafter more than punishment on earth, and who are therefore assured of eternal bliss in heaven.

• Chapter 14: The teachings of Jewish sects, such as the Samaritans, Pharisees and Sadducees, on the resurrection (namely, that physical resurrection will not occur) condemned.

• Chapter 15: All will be judged according to their works on the Day of Judgements; those who denied physical resurrection will be condemned.

• Chapter 16: Contrasting fates of righteous believers and iniquitous unbelievers in the afterlife.

• Chapter 17: Allegory of plants - as God feeds them water to grow and flourish, likewise with the human soul with His teachings; drunkenness condemned.

• Chapter 18: Those who deny physical resurrection destined for Gehenna.

• Chapter 19: Death comes to all - powerful and weak, good and evil; final judgement shall occur after physical resurrection.

• Chapter 20: Good works and bad will be revealed at the final judgement; the good shall be led to heaven by angels, the bad to Gehenna by demons.

• Chapter 21: Thieves and murderers will be punished; the noble example of Moses, who showed Israel the Law; the righteous will reside with God forever.)

2 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 1.

1; This are a book that speak that Meqabees found 'Isra'iel ina Mesphiethomya that are Sorya part an killed them ina them region iginnin from 'Iyabboq up til 'Iyerusaliem square - an that him downstroyed the country.

2; Becau Sorya an 'Edomyas persons an the 'Amalieqans were one with the Mo`ab man Meqabees who downstroyed 'Iyerusaliem country - as them have camped iginnin from Semarya up til 'Iyerusaliem square an up til all she region - them killed ina war without preservin persons who fled apart from a few persons.

3; An pon the time 'Isra'iel childran wronged - Him aroused Mo`ab man Meqabees pon them - an him killed them by a sword.

4; An becaudis thing JAH enemies the peoples bragged pon Him honoured country - an them swore ina them crime.

5; An 'Iloflee an 'Idomyas persons camped - as Him have sent them becau them pretended JAH Word - them began fe revenge an downstroy JAH country.

6; An that Meqabees country are Riemat that are Mo`ab part - an him arose from him country ina Power an them swore also with persons with him.

7; An them camped ina Gielabuhie region that are Mesphiethomya lot up til Sorya that them might downstroy JAH country - an there him begged the 'Amalieqans an 'Iloflans ~ him gave them much silver an gold an chariots an horses that them might be one with him ina crime.

8; Them came together an crushed the fortress ~ persons who lived ina she shed blood like unto Water.

9; An them made 'Iyerusaliem like unto a plant keepin hut - an him made a voice heard within she ~ him worked all the sin Work that JAH don't love - an them also defouled JAH country that were filled of praise an honour.

10; Them made thy friends flesh an thy slaves corpses food fe wilderness beasts an Heaven birds.

11; An them robbed childran whose mother an faada dead pon them an widows - fe without fearin JAH them have done like unto Seythan taught them - an up til JAH Who examine kidneys an reasonins vexed - them took out the fetus ina pregnant dawtaz belly.

12; Them returned toward them country while them were Irie becau them worked evil Work pon JAH kindreds - an them took the plunder that them captured from a honoured country.

13; Pon the time them returned an entered toward them houses them made Ites an song an clappin.

2 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 2.

1; The prophet whom them call Re`ay told him thus: - "Today be Irie a likkle pon the time when Irie Ites were made ~ JAH Whom 'Isra'iel glorified have that Him might revenge an downstroy thee ina the chastisemant thou didn't doubt.

2; Will thou say - 'Mi horses are swift ~ becaudis mi will escape by runnin'?

3; As fe I - I-man tell thee - Persons who will follow thee are swifter than vultures ~ thou won't escape from JAH Judgemant an downstruction that shall come pon thee.

4; Will thou say - 'Mi wear iron clothes - an spear flingin an bow stingin aren't able fe mi'?; JAH Who honour 'Isra'iel said - It aren't by spear flingin that I-man will revenge an downstroy thee" Him told him ~ "I-man shall bring pon thee heart sickness an itch an rheumatism sickness that were worse an firmer than spear flingin an bow stingin - yet it aren't by this that I-man shall revenge an downstroy thee.

5; Thou have aroused I anger ~ I-man shall bring heart sickness pon thee - an thou will lack one who help thee - an thou won't escape from I Itority up til I-man downstroy thy name invocation from this world.

6; As thou have firmed up thy collar of reasonin - an as thou have ilivated thy ras self pon I country - pon the time I-man quickly did this thing like unto a eye wink - thou will know I

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that I-man were thy Irator ~ as thou are before I like unto grass before the wind that fiyah eat - an as thou are like unto the dust that winds spill an scattar from Earth - thou are like unto them alongside I.

7; Fe thou have aroused I anger - an fe thou didn't know thy Irator - an I-man shall neglect all thy kindred - an neither will I-man preserve him who neared pon thy fortress.

8; An now return from all thy sin that thou worked ~ if thou return from thy sin an totally appease ina mournin an sadness before JAH - an if thou beg toward him ina clean reasonin - JAH will forgive thee all thy sin that thou worked before Him" - him told him.

9; At that time Meqabees wore dust an mourned before JAH becau him sin - fe JAH have vexed pon him.

10; Fe Him eyes are revealed - fe Him don't withhold - an fe Him ears are opened - fe Him don't neglect - an fe Him don't mek the word Him spoke false - an fe Him quickly do she at one time - fe JAH knew lest Him preserve the chastisemant Him spoke by the prophet Word.

11; Him cast him clothes an wore sackcloth an sprinkled dust pon him head an cried an wept before him Irator JAH becau him sin that him worked.

2 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 3.

1; An the prophet came from Riemat an told him - fe Riemat that are Mo`ab part are near fe Sorya.

2; Him dug a pit an entered up til him neck an wept firm tears - an him entered repentance becau him sin that him worked before JAH.

3; An JAH told the prophet thus: - Return from Yihuda country Riemat toward the Mo`ab official Meqabees Him told him. Tell him - "JAH told thee thus" - Tell him - "Him told thee - I-man JAH Who am thy Irator sent thee by I Accord that thou might downstroy I country - lest thou say - 'Mi destroyed the honoured country 'Iyerusaliem by mi Power firmness an mi army abundance' - yet it aren't thou who did this thing.

4; Fe she have saddened I by all she greed an she perfidy an she lustfulness.

5; An I-man neglected an cast she by thy hand - an now JAH forgave thee thy sin becau thy children whom thou birthed ~ it aren't becau thou who firmed up thy collar of reasonin an say 'Mi incircled the country 'Iyerusaliem by mi authority firmness.'

6; As persons who doubt aren't disciplined fe enter repentance - don't be a doubter - an now enter repentance bein disciplined ina thy complete reasonin."

7; However persons are admired who enter repentance ina them complete reasonins an who don't again return toward thirst an sin by all that entered toward repentance becau them sin.

8; Persons are admired who return toward them Irator JAH bein disciplined ina mournin an sadness - ina bowin an many pleas. Persons are admired who are disciplined an enter repentance - fe Him have told them - Unu are I moneys who entered repentance after unu misled persons who entered repentance.

9; Him told arrogant Meqabees pon the time him returned toward Him ina repentance after him misled - I-man forgive thee thy sin becau thy fright an thy alarm; fe I-man am JAH thy Irator Who bring hardship pon children by a faada sin up til seven generations if the child work the sin that the faada worked - an Who do Charity up til ten thousand generations fe persons who love I an keep I LAW.

10; An now I-man will firm up I Oath with thee becau these thy children whom thou birthed - an JAH Who rule all an Who honoured 'Isra'iel said - I-man will accept the repentance thou made becau thy sin that thou worked.

11; At that time him proceeded from the pit an bowed fe the prophet ~ him swore sayin - "As mi have saddened JAH - mek mi what thou loved - yet mek JAH do mi thus thus lest mi separate from thee-I ~ as wi have no Law - mi didn't live firmed up ina Him Command like unto mi faadas ~ thou know that wi faadas taught wi an that wi worship idols.

12; Fe mi are a sinner who lived firmed up ina mi sin - who firmed up ina mi collar of reasonin firmness an mi reasonin arrogance whereby mi saddened JAH Command - but up til now mi hadn't heard JAH servants the prophets Word - an mi didn't live firmed up ina Him LAW an Him Command that Him commanded mi."

13; Him told him sayin - "As there are none from your kindred precedin unu who trusted him sin - mi knew that the prophet raceived repentance today."

14; "But now quit thy worshippin idols an return toward knowin JAH that thou might have true repentance" him told him ~ him fell an bowed at the prophet feet - an the prophet lifted up an commanded him all the goodly Work that are due him.

15; An him returned toward him house doin also like unto JAH commanded him.

16; An that Meqabees returned him body toward worshippin JAH - an him downstroyed from him house the idols an also the sorcery - persons who worship idols an pessimists an magicians.

17; An mornin an evenin like unto them faadas do - him would examine the childran him captured an brought from 'Iyerusaliem ina all JAH Commands an Him Order an Him LAW.

18; An from the childran him captured - him appointed knowin ones pon him house.

19; An again from the infants him appointed knowin childran who keep levelled childran who were small - who enter toward the beddin that them might teach them JAH LAW that 'Isra'iel childran do ~ him would hear from captured 'Isra'iel childran the Order an the LAW an the Nine Laws - that Mo`ab persons order an them mosques that them mek were vain.

20; Him downstroyed them mosques - them idols an them sorcery - an the sacrifice an the grapes sacrificed fe the idols mornin an evenin from the goat kids an fattened sheeps flocks.

21; An him downstroyed him idols whom him worship an beg an believe ina all him Work while him sacrificed sacrifice afternoon an at noon - an fe all priests told him - an him idols fe whom him do them accord.

22; As it would seem fe him that them save him ina all that them told - him wouldn't scorn all the thing them told him.

23; But that Meqabees quit them Work.

24; After him heard the Ra`ay thing - whom them call a prophet - him accomplished him Work ina repentance ~ as 'Isra'iel childran would sadden Him at one time - an pon the time Him chastised them ina the tribulation - as them know an also cry toward JAH - all Him kindreds worked goodly Work more than 'Isra'iel childran ina that season.

25; Pon the time Him heard that them were seized an abused by peoples hand who firm up tribulation pon them an that them cried toward Him - Him thought of them faadas oath an at that time Him would forgive them becau them faadas Yis'haq - 'Abriham - an Ya`iqob.

26; An pon the time Him saved them - them would forget JAH Who saved them from tribulation - an them would return toward worshippin the idols.

27; An at that time Him would arouse pon them peoples who firm up tribulation pon them - an pon the time them firmed up tribulation pon them an saddened them - them would cry toward JAH ~ as Him love them becau them were Him Itority Iration - at that time Him would be nice an forgive them.

28; An pon the time Him kept them - them again returned toward sin that them might sadden Him by them hands Work that were firm an by worshippin idols ina them councils.

29; But Him would arouse pon them Mo`ab an 'Iloflee - Sorya - Midyam an Gibts persons; an pon the time them enemies defeated them - them would cry an weep ~ pon the time them firmed up pon them an taxed them an ruled them - JAH would arouse princes fe them that Him might save them pon the time Him loved.

2 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 4.

1; An ina 'Iyasu time are a day when Him saved them.

2; An ina Giediewon time are a day when Him saved them.

3; An ina Somson time an ina Deebora an Bariq an Yodeet time are a day when Him saved them - an lodgin whether pon male or pon dawta - Him would arouse princes fe them that them might save them from them enemies hands who firm up tribulation pon them.

4; An like unto JAH loved - Him would save them from persons who firm up tribulation pon them.

5; An them would be totally Irie ina all the Work that Him accomplished fe them ~ them would be Irie ina them land seed an ina multiplyin all them flocks ina wilderness an them livestock.

6; An Him would bless them plants an them livestock fe them - fe Him sight them up ina Eye of Mercy - an fe Him wouldn't diminish them livestock pon them - fe them are kind persons childran an Him would totally love them.

7; But pon the time them were evil ina them Work - Him would cast them ina them enemies hands.

8; An pon the time Him downstroyed them - them would seek Him ina worship - an them would return from sin an march toward JAH ina repentance.

9; An pon the time them returned ina them complete reasonin - Him would atone them sin fe them ~ Him wouldn't think of them former sin pon them - fe Him know them that them were flesh an blood - fe them have this world misleadin thoughts pon them - an fe them have demons ina them.

10; But pon the time that Meqabees heard this Order that JAH worked ina Him worshippin place the Temple - him were slain ina repentance.

11; After him sight up an heard this - him didn't scorn workin goodly Work; him didn't scorn workin all the goodly Work that 'Isra'iel childran work pon the time JAH forgave them - an after them trespassed from Him LAW - them weep an would cry pon the time JAH whipped them - an again Him would forgive them - an them would keep Him LAW.

12; An Meqabees likewise would straighten up him Work - an him would keep Him LAW - an him would live firmed up ina 'Isra'iel Irator JAH Command.

13; At that time after him heard all the Work whereby 'Isra'iel childran boast - Him would boast like unto them ina keepin JAH LAW.

14; Him would urge him kindred an childran that them might live firmed up ina JAH Command an all Him LAW.

15; An him would forbid the order that 'Isra'iel forbid - an him would hear an keep the Law that 'Isra'iel keep - an when him kindred are another Mo`ab man - him would forbid the food that 'Isra'iel forbid.

16; An him would send forth tithes ~ him would give all that were first birthed an that him owned from him cows an him sheeps an him donkeys - an returnin him face toward 'Iyerusaliem him would sacrifice the sacrifice that 'Isra'iel sacrifice.

17; Him would sacrifice sin an vow sacrifices - a sacrifice whereby welfare are done an a accord sacrifice - an the Itinual sacrifice.

18; An him would give him first crops - an him would gush an pour the grapes that 'Isra'iel pour - an him would give this fe him priest whom him I-pointed - an likewise him would do all that 'Isra'iel do - an him would sweeten him ishence.

19; Him built a candlestick an a bowl an a seat an a tent an the four links of rings - an diluted oil fe the Hola of Holas lamps - an the curtain that 'Isra'iel mek ina the Hola of Holas pon the time them served JAH.

20; An like unto them worked goodly Work pon the time them lived firmed up ina Him Order an Him LAW an pon the time JAH didn't neglect an cast them ina them enemies hands - Meqabees also would work goodly Work like unto them.

21; Him would beg toward 'Isra'iel Irator JAH everytime that Him might be him Teacher an lest Him separate him from 'Isra'iel childran whom Him chose an who did Him Accord.

22; An again him would beg Him that Him might give him childran ina Tsiyon an a house ina 'Iyerusaliem - that Him might give them Heavenly Seed of Virtue ina Tsiyon an a Heavenly House of Soul ina 'Iyerusaliem - an that Him might save him from the downstruction spoken by the prophet tongue - that Him might accept him repentance ina all the mournin him wept before JAH bein sad an enterin repentance...

23; an lest Him downstroy childran ina this world pon him - an that Him might keep him ina him proceedin an enterin.

24; Kindreds from Mo`ab peoples beneath Meqabees Itority were Irie that them might believe - fe them chief live firmed up ina straight Work - an them would check up him judgemant an fulfill him accord - an them would scorn them country language an them country justice ~ them would overstand that Meqabees Work surpassed an were straight.

25; An them would come an hear Meqabees charity an Truth judgemants.

26; Him had much money ~ him had dawta slaves an male slaves an camels an donkeys - an him had five hundred horses that wear breastplates ~ him would totally defeat the 'Amalieqans an 'Iloflans an Sorya persons - but formerly when him worshipped idols him lived when them defeated him.

27; Him prevailed - yet but from him worshippin JAH onward - when him went toward battle there are none who defeated him.

28; But them would come ina them idols Power that them might fight him - an them would call them idols names an curse him - however there were none who defeat him - fe him have made him faith pon him Irator JAH.

29; An when him did thus an when him defeated him enemies - him lived when him ruled peoples ina him Itority.

30; Him would revenge an downstroy wronged persons enemy fe them ~ him would judge Truth fe a child whose mother an faada dead pon him.

31; An him would raceive widows ina them trouble time - an him would give from him food an satta them who hungered - an him would clothe the naked from him clothes.

32; An him would be Irie ina him hands Work - an him would give from the money him had without begrudgin - an him would give tithes fe the Temple ~ Meqabees dead havin lived ina Irie Ites when him did this.

2 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 5.

1; An him dead quittin him childran who were small - an them grew up like unto them faada taught them ~ them kept them house Order - an them would keep all them kindred - an them wouldn't mek poor ones cry - nor widows nor a child whose mother an faada dead pon him.

2; Them would fear JAH - an them would give them money alms fe poor ones - an them would keep all the trust them faada told them - an them would calm the child whose mother an faada dead pon them an widows ina them trouble time - an them would be them mother an faada ~ them would mek them cast from persons hand who wrong them - an calm them from all the downsturbance an sadness that found them.

3; Them lived five years while them did thus.

4; After this the Keledans king Tseerutsaydan came ~ him downstroyed all them country - an him captured Meqabees childran an downstroyed all them villages.

5; An him plundered all them money ~ them lived firmed up ina all evil Work an sin - ina adultery - insult an greed an

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not thinkin of them Irator - yet persons who don't live firmed up ina JAH LAW an Him Command an who worship idols seized them also an took them toward them country.

6; Them eat what a beast bit an the blood an the carcass - an what a scavenger beat an cast - all that JAH don't love - yet them have no order from all the true Commands written ina 'Oreet.

7; Them don't know JAH them Irator - Who sent them forth from them mothers wombs an fed them by what are due - were them Medicine.

8; Them marry from them aunt an them faada wife - them step mother - an them go toward robbery an evil thing an sin an adultery - yet them have no order ina Judgemant time - an them work all evil Work an them marry them aunts an them sistren an them have no LAW.

9; An all them roads are dark an slippery - an them Work are sin an adultery.

10; But those Meqabees childran would keep ina all them Order ~ them wouldn't eat what a scavenger beat nor what dead an lodged ~ them wouldn't work all the Work that the Keledans childran work - fe them many Works are evil that weren't written ina this book - that sinners work - an doubters an criminals - betrayers totally filled of robbery an sin an pagans childran.

11; All the Work them Irator JAH love aren't there alongside them.

12; An again them would worship a idol called Bi'iel Fiegor ~ them would trust it like unto them Irator JAH when it were deaf an dumb. Fe it are the idol that a person hand worked - fe it are the person hand Work that a smith worked who work silver an gold - that have no breath nor knowledge - an it had nothing that it sight up nor hear.

13; It don't eat nor drink.

14; It don't kill nor save.

15; It don't plant nor uproot.

16; It don't harm it enemy nor benefit it friend.

17; It don't impoverish nor honour.

18; It will be a hindrance fe mislead the Keledans persons who were lazy - yet it don't chastise nor forgive.

2 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 6.

1; JAH enemy Tseerutsaydan who were arrogant appointed them who veil an falsehood priests fe him idols.

2; Him would sacrifice sacrifice fe them an pour the grapes fe them.

3; An it would seem fe him that them eat an drink.

4; An while it dawned him would give them cows an donkeys an heifers - an him would sacrifice sacrifice mornin an evenin - an him would eat from that defouled sacrifice.

5; An again him would downsturb an obligate other persons that them might sacrifice fe him idols - yet it weren't that only them do it.

6; Pon the time them sight up Meqabees childran that them were handsome an that them worship them Irator JAH - the idols priests loved that them might mislead them fe sacrifice sacrifice an fe eat from that hated sacrifice - but these honoured Meqabees childran refused them.

7; As them keep them faada command - an as them have firmed up ina workin goodly Work - an as them totally fear JAH - it failed them fe agree...

8; pon the time them bound them an insulted them an robbed them.

9; Them told fe the king Tseerutsaydan that them refused sacrifice an bowin fe him idols.

10; An becaudis thing the king vexed ~ him were sad an commanded that them might bring them - an them brought an stood them before him - an the king told them fe him idols - "Sacrifice a sacrifice fe mi idols."

11; An them spoke an told him - "An InI won't answer thee ina this thing - an InI won't sacrifice sacrifice fe thy defouled idols."

12; Him frightened them by Works that abounded - yet him couldn't able fe them - fe them have disciplined them reasonins believin ina JAH.

13; Him flamed a fiyah an cast them ina fiyah - an them gave them bodies fe JAH.

14; After them dead them arose an were sight up fe him at night drawin them swords when him had reclined pon him lordship throne - an him totally feared.

15; "Mi sirs - tell mi alright - what should mi do fe unu? Don't tek mi body ina death - that mi might do all thou commanded mi."

16; Them told him all that are due fe him while them said - "Think that JAH were thy Irator - an JAH are there Who shall dismiss from this thy kingdom where thou are arrogant - an Who shall lower thee toward Gehannem of Fiyah with thy faada Deeyablos ~ when InI worshipped InI Irator JAH without a iniquity livin that InI wronged thee - an when InI bowed fe Him ina fearin Him JAH-ness - like unto thou burned InI ina fiyah - thou will finish all thy hardship by that also.

17; Fe Him are Who Irated all - Earth an Heaven an sea an all that are within she.

18; An fe Him are Who Irated moon an Sun an stars - an fe Him Who Irated all the Iration are JAH.

19; Fe there are no other irator withou Him ina Earth nor Heaven - fe Him are Who able fe all - an fe there are nothing that fail Him. As Him are Who kill an Who save - Who whip ina tribulation an Who forgive - when InI bowed fe Him ina fearin JAH - like unto thou burned InI ina fiyah - thou will finish thy hardship by that" them told him.

20; "As Him are Who rule Earth an Heaven - there are none who escape from Him Itority.

21; There are none from the Iration Him Irated who departed from Him Command - apart from thou who are a criminal - an criminals like unto thee whose reasonins thy faada Seythan hid - an thou an those thy priests an thy idols will downscend together toward Gehannem where are no exits up til Iternity.

22; Thy teacher are Seythan who taught thee this evil Work that thou might do a evil thing pon InI - yet as it aren't only thou who do this - unu will downscend toward Gehannem together.

23; Fe thou mek thy ras self like unto thy Irator JAH - yet thou didn't know JAH Who Irated thee.

24; An thou are arrogant ina thy idols an thy hand Work up til JAH mek thee wretched ~ Him shall canvict thee pon all thy sin an iniquity that thou worked ina this world.

Chapter 7.

1; Woe fe unu who don't know JAH Who Irated unu - fe thy idols who are like unto thee - an fe thee - an fe unu have that unu might regret a regrets that won't profit pon the time unu were sad bein seized ina See'ol difficulty - an woe fe thee - fe unu who don't keep Him Word and Him LAW.

2; Unu will have no exit from she up til Iternity - thy priests an thou who sacrifice fe them like unto your Irator JAH - fe thy idols who have no breath nor soul - who won't revenge an downstroy him who did a evil thing pon them - nor do a goodly thing fe him who did a goodly thing fe them.

3; Woe fe unu who sacrifice fe them - fe them are a person hands Work where Seythan live - lodgin there fe mislead lazy ones reasonin like unto thee - that him might lower unu toward Gehannem of Fiyah - an the priests who serve demons commanded fe unu an your idols.

4; As unu don't know that there are nothing that will profit unu - unu wrong an err.

5; As fe the animals that JAH Irated fe be food fe unu - an dogs an beasts - them are better than unu - fe besides one death there are no more candemnation pon them.

6; But as unu will dead an raceive hardship ina Gehannem Fiyah where are no exits up til Iternity - animals are better."

7; Havin spoken this - them went an were hidden from him.

8; But that Tseerutsaydan lodged when him trembled - seized by a firm fright - an fright didn't quit him up til it dawned.

2 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 8.

1; An him lived firmed up ina reasonin malice an arrogance.

2; An as iron have been called firm - like unto Dan'iel sight it up pon him kingdom - him turned ina peoples countries ina him area.

3; Him lived firmed up ina evil an all him laziness an ina downsturbin persons.

4; An him totally downstroy what InI spoke formerly - an him eat a person money.

5; Fe him are diligent fe evil like unto him faada Deeyablos who firmed up him collar of reasonin - an him downstroy what remained with him army.

6; Him say - "Mi era became like unto the Sun era" - yet him don't know JAH that Him were him Irator.

7; An ina him reasonin him think that the Sun are found from him.

8; Him arise in Power - him camp ina Tribe of Zablon lot an begin a formation ina Meqiedonya - an him receive him food from Semarya - an them give him presents from Semarya.

9; Him camp ina nomads region - an him reach up til Seedona - an him cast a tax pon 'Akayya - an him elevate him collar of reasonin up til the flowin sea - an him return an send messengers up til Hindekie sea.

10; An likewise him elevate him collar of reasonin up til Heaven.

11; Him live firmed up ina bein arrogant an ina evil - yet him don't have humblin him ras self.

12; An him path are toward darkness an slipperiness - an toward crime an bein arrogant - an toward sheddin blood an tribulation.

13; An all him Work are what JAH hate ~ him do like unto robbery an evil an sin teacher Deeyablos taught him ~ him mek a child cry whose mother an faada dead pon him - an him aren't nice fe a poor one.

14; An him defeated an downstroyed peoples kings by him authority.

15; An him ruled enemies chiefs - an him ruled many peoples - an him taxed them like unto him loved.

16; Even if him downstroyed - him didn't quit ~ there are no person whom him didn't snatch Iginnin from Tersies sea up til 'Iyareeko sea.

17; Him would bow fe idols ~ him would eat what dead an lodged - the blood - what a sword bloated an cut - an what were sacrificed fe idols ~ all him Work are without justice - yet him have no justice ~ as him have been who alarm peoples beneath him authority - him would tax them tax like unto him loved.

18; As him do all that him loved before him - there are no fearin JAH before him - an him live ina malice before JAH Who Irated him.

19; Him didn't do it like unto him Irator - an like unto him did a evil thing pon him companion pon the time him vexed an seized him - JAH shall also pay him him hardship.

20; As JAH have said - I-man shall revenge an downstroy sinner persons who don't live by I Command - that I-man might downstroy them name invocation from this world - like unto Him downstroyed peoples who were precedin him - Him shall revenge an downstroy him pon the time when Him downstroy.

21; An like unto evil persons did evil things - them shall raceive them hardship.

22; But bein commanded from JAH - goodly Work shall follow persons who work goodly Work.

23; Fe like unto 'Iyasu downstroyed the five Kene`an kings ina cave ina one day - an like unto him made Sun stand ina Geba`on by him priah that him might downstroy them armies - Sun have stood amidst Heaven up til him downstroyed 'Ewiewon an Kenaniewon - Fierziewon an Kiethiewon an 'Iyabusiewon armies - an like unto him killed around twenty thousand persons at one time - an like unto him killed them - an like unto him bound them makin foot from neck - an like unto him killed them ina cave by spear - an like unto him fitted a stone pon them...

24; Tribulation like unto this shall find all persons who sadden JAH ina them evil Work.

2 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 9.

1; "O thou weak man who aren't JAH - why are thou proud? thou who are sight up today bein a man are Earth ashes tomorrow - an thou will totally be worms ina thy grave.

2; Fe thy teacher are Deeyablos who return all persons sin hardship toward him ras self becau him misled InI faada 'Adam - an See'ol will find thee again - an she will find persons who work thy sin.

3; Fe ina firmin up him collar of reasonin an makin him ras self proud - like unto him refused fe bow fe 'Adam whom the Irator Irated...

4; thou also have refused fe bow fe thy Irator JAH like unto thy teacher Deeyablos did.

5; Like unto thy precedin faadas - who don't know them Irator JAH ina worship - will go toward Gehannem - thou also will go toward Gehannem.

6; Like unto Him revenged an downstroyed them becau them evil Work that them worked ina this world - an like unto them downscended toward Gehannem...

7; thou also will downscend toward Gehannem like unto them.

8; As thou have aroused Him anger - an as thou have neglected fe worship JAH Who gave thee Itority pon the five kingdoms - do it seem fe thee that thou will escape from JAH Itority?

9; Thou don't do thus that thou do Him Accord - thus Him examined thee - but if thou work goodly Work ina this world - JAH will accomplish all thy Work fe thee-I - an Him will accomplish an bless all the Work thou seized ina thy hand fe thee-I - an Him will subject thy Antiquity of enemies an thy day enemies fe thee-I.

10; Thou will be Irie ina thy enterins an thy proceedins an ina thy child birthed from thy nature - an ina thy flocks an thy fatnesses - an ina all Work where thou placed thy hand - an ina all that thou thought ina thy heart ~ as Itority have been given thee-I from alongside JAH that thou might do thus an might work an plant an demolish - all will be commanded fe thee-I.

11; However if thou won't hear JAH Word nor live firmed up ina Him LAW - like unto criminals who were precedin thee - an who don't worship JAH by what are due - an who didn't believe firmed up ina HIM straight LAW - there are nothing whereby thou will escape from JAH Itority - fe JAH Judgemant are Truth.

12; All are totally revealed before Him - yet there are nothing hidden from before Him.

13; Him are Who seize the kings Itority an Who overturn powerful ones thrones.

14; Him are Who Ilivate them who were downbased an Who lift up them who fell.

15; Him are Who loose them who were bound an Who arouse them who dead ~ as pardon dew are found from alongside Him - pon the time Him loved Him shall arouse persons whose flesh were demolished an rotten an were like unto dust.

16; An havin aroused an judged persons who worked evil Work - Him will tek them toward Gehannem - fe them have saddened Him.

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17; Fe them are who demolished JAH Order an Him LAW - an Him will downstroy them child from this world.

18; As kind persons Work are more difficult than sinner persons Work - sinner persons don't love that them might live ina kind persons counsel.

19; Like unto Heavens were distanced from Earth - likewise kind persons Work were distanced from evil persons Work.

20; But sinner persons Work are robbery an sin - adultery an iniquity - greed an perfidy Work ~ it are bein drunk ina iniquity an robbin a person money.

21; It are quickly goin toward sheddin a person blood - an it are goin toward downstruction that don't benefit - an it are makin a child weep whose mother an faada dead pon him ~ it are eatin blood an what dead an lodged - an it are eatin camel an boar flesh - an it are goin toward a dawta ina she blood before she are cleansed - an toward a dawta ina childbirth.

22; All this are sinner persons Work ~ she are Seythan trap that were a wide an prepared path - an that tek toward Gehannem that live firmed up foriva - an toward See'ol.

23; But righteous ones path that were totally narrow are what tek toward welfare - an innocence an humbleness - an Inity an Love - an priah an fast - an flesh purity - toward keepin from what don't benefit - from eatin what a sword bloated an cut an what dead an lodged - an from goin toward a youtmon wife an from adultery.

24; Them keep from what weren't commanded by LAW - from eatin disgustin food an from all hated Work - an from all the Work that JAH don't love - fe sinner persons do all this.

25; As fe kind persons - them distance from all the Work that JAH don't love.

26; Him love them an shall keep them from all them tribulation like unto Trust money.

27; Fe them keep Him Order an Him LAW an all that Him love - but Seythan rule sinner persons.

2 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 10.

1; Fear JAH Who Irated unu an kept unu up til today - yet unu the nobles an the kings - don't go pon Seythan path.

2; Live ina the LAW an Command of JAH Who rule all - yet don't go pon Seythan path.

3; As pon the time 'Isra'iel children came toward 'Amalieq that them might inherit Kiethiewon an Kenaniewon an Fierziewon country - Siefor child Balaq an Bele`am...

4; whom thou cursed are cursed - an him whom thou blessed blessed ~ don't go pon Seythan road - fe him have said - "An mi will give thee much silver an gold that honour thee - that thou might curse fe mi an - an havin cursed - that thou might downstroy fe mi."

5; An fe Bele`am have come makin him sorcery reward a morale - an fe Siefor child Balaq have shown him the place where 'Isra'iel children camped.

6; Fe him have done him pessimism - an fe him have sacrificed him sacrifice - an fe him have slaughtered from him fattened cows an sheeps - an fe him have loved that him might curse an downstroy 'Isra'iel children.

7; Him returned a curse toward a bless - yet but as JAH didn't love that him might curse them by Him Word - don't go pon Seythan road.

8; "As thou are the kindred that JAH chose - as thou are JAH Lodgin that shall come from Heaven - mek persons be cursed who curse thee-I - an mek persons who bless thee-I be blessed" him said.

9; Pon the time him blessed them before him - after this Siefor child Balaq were sad - an him totally vexed an commanded that him might curse them.

10; Fe the kindred that JAH blessed have come toward this country - an Bele`am told him - "Mi won't curse 'Isra'iel whom JAH blessed."

11; An Siefor child Balaq told Bele`am - "As fe mi - mi had loved that thou might curse fe mi ~ thou blessed them before mi - yet but thou didn't curse them ~ if thou had cursed fe mi an told mi 'Give mi' - as fe mi - mi would have given thee a house full of silver an gold - but thou totally blessed them - an thou didn't do a goodly thing fe mi - an mi won't do a goodly thing fe thee."

12; Bele`am said - "What JAH told mi Speak with mi tongue - mi will speak it - yet as fe mi - mi cyaan dare fe ignore JAH thing.

13; Lest mi curse a blessed kindred - as JAH shall vex pon mi if mi love money - as fe mi - mi don't love money more than mi soul.

14; As JAH have told them faada Ya`iqob - Mek persons who bless thee-I be blessed an mek persons who curse thee-I be cursed - lest mi curse blessed Ya`iqob - as fe mi - mi don't love money more than mi soul" him said - an as JAH have told him - Him who bless thee-I are blessed...

15; an a person who curse thee-I unjustly are cursed - accomplish thy path an thy Work that JAH might love thee.

16; An don't be like unto former persons who saddened JAH ina them sin an whom Him neglected - an there are them whom Him downstroyed ina Downstruction Water.

17; An there are them whom Him downstroyed by them haters hands ~ there are them whom Him downstroyed by them enemies hands - bringin enemies who were evil persons who firmed up tribulation pon them - an them captured them lords with them priests an them prophets.

18; An them delivered them toward the foreign country them don't know ~ them totally captured them - an them plundered them livestocks pon them an downstroyed them country.

19; Fe them have demolished the honoured country 'Iyerusaliem fences an ramparts - an them made 'Iyerusaliem like unto a field.

20; An the priests were capture - an the LAW were demolished - an warriors fought ina war an fell.

21; An widows were capture ~ as them have been capture - them wept fe them ras selves - yet them didn't weep fe them husbands who dead.

22; An the children wept - an elders shamed - an them weren't nice fe neither a grey haired person nor a elder.

23; Them downstroyed all them found ina the country - yet them weren't nice fe beauties nor fe them ina LAW ~ as JAH have vexed pon Him kindreds pon the time Him loved that Him might beforehand downstroy Him Lodgin the Temple - them captured an took them toward the country them don't know an toward peoples.

24; As them sadden them Irator everytime - becaudis thing pon the time JAH neglected 'Isra'iel children - JAH made 'Iyerusaliem fe be ploughed like unto a field.

25; Fe Him are nice fe them becau them faadas - but Him didn't downstroy them at one time ~ as Him love them faadas Yis'haq an 'Abriham an Ya`iqob who reigned fe true an lived firmed up ina straight LAW before them Irator - it are becau them faadas kindness - yet it aren't becau them ras selves kindness that him forgive them.

26; An Him I-pointed them pon honours that were twofold - an them found two Kingdoms - pon Earth an ina Heaven.

27; An unu the kings an the nobles who live ina this passin world - like unto your faadas who lived firmed up ina Work that are due an who were precedin unu likewise inherited the Kingdom of Heaven - an like unto them names were beautiful fe a child children - think of them.

28; An thou - straighten up thy Work - that Him might straighten up thy Kingdom fe thee - an that thy name might be called ina goodly invocation like unto the kind kings who were precedin thee who served JAH ina them beautiful lifestyle.

2 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 11.

1; Think of JAH slave Mussie who weren't annoyed when him kept around this kindred ina him humbleness an him priah an whom not even one person downstroyed - an him begged toward JAH ina him innocence fe him sista an bredda who backbit him an loved that JAH might downstroy them while him said - "As them have wronged Thee-I - Lord - pardon an don't neglect thy kindreds" - an him atoned them sin fe them - yet Him thought of JAH servant Mussie who weren't annoyed.

2; "Fe I-man have wronged Thee-I - an forgive I Thy slave who am a sinner - fe Thou are Merciful - an fe Thou are a Pardoner - an forgive them them sin."

3; An Mussie likewise atoned them sin fe him sista an bredda who backbit him.

4; An becaudis thing him were called innocent.

5; An JAH totally loved him more than all the priests children who were him bredren - fe Him I-point the priests - an JAH made him like unto Him Ras Self alongside them.

6; But Him also sank beneath Earth Qorie children who challenged ~ Him lowered them toward See'ol with them livestocks an them tents when them said "Wi are there - wi are there ina flesh an soul" ~ as him Irator JAH have loved him - an as him didn't depart from Him Command - all the word him spoke would be done fe him like unto JAH Word.

7; An unless thou demolished JAH Command likewise - JAH will do thy accord fe thee-I an will love thy thing fe thee-I - an Him will keep thy Kingdom fe thee-I.

8; An 'Asaf an Qorie children who departed from Mussie command grumbled pon him becau him told them - "Straighten up your reasonins fe be ruled fe JAH."

9; Them grumbled sayin - "How about aren't wi Liewee children who work priesthood Work ina Tent that were special?"

10; Them went an smoked up ishence seizin them censers that them might smoke up - but JAH didn't accept them plea - an them were burnt by the fiyah ina them censers - an them melted like unto the wax that fiyah melt - an not even one person remained from them ~ as Him have said - Them censers were honoured by them bodies bein burnt - apart from them censers that entered toward JAH Lodgin fe JAH Command - neither them clothes nor them bones remained.

11; Becaudis thing JAH told 'Aron an Mussie - Gather them censers toward the Tent ~ mek it be a instrumant fe I Lodgin wherefor I-man prepared all I-ginnin from outside up til within.

12; An him prepared the honoured Tent instrumants ~ him prepared the rings an the joiners - Keerubiel picture sea.

13; Him worked the cups - the curtains - the Tent area grounds fe the mobilisation - the altar an the jugs whereby them sacrifice ina the Tent that were special.

14; Them sacrificed the sacrifice that them sacrifice by them accord - the sacrifice whereby welfare are made - the sacrifice whereby Him atone sin - an the vow sacrifice an the mornin an the evenin sacrifice.

15; All that Him commanded fe Mussie - him commanded them ina the Tent that were special - that them might work Work ina she.

16; Them didn't scorn bein ruled fe them Irator JAH - that Him Name might be praised by them ina the LAW Lodgin Tent of them Irator JAH Who gave them a promise that Him might give them fe give them them faadas inheritance that produce honey an milk that Him swore fe 'Abriham.

17; Them didn't scorn bein ruled fe them Irator JAH - Who swore fe Yis'haq an firmed up Him Worship fe Ya`iqob...

18; an Who firmed up fe 'Aron an Mussie the Tent where Him Worship are kept...

19; an Who firmed up Him Worship fe both 'Elyas an Samu'iel ina the Temple an Tent that Selomon worked up til it became JAH Lodgin ina 'Iyerusaliem - an up til JAH Name Lodgin became JAH Lodgin that honoured 'Isra'iel.

20; Fe she are a supplication - an fe she are a sin atonemant where it are overturned fe them who live ina innocence an fe the priests.

21; An fe she are a place fe persons who do Him Accord where Him will hear them pleas...

22; an JAH LAW Canstruction that honoured 'Isra'iel.

23; Fe she are where sacrifice are sacrificed an where Ishence are smoked up that JAH Who honoured 'Isra'iel be ina goodly Fragrance.

24; An Him would speak bein pon the joiner where Him forgive ina the Tent that were special ~ JAH Light would be revealed fe Ya`iqob children whom Him chose an fe friends who live firmed up ina Him LAW an Him Command.

25; But persons who ignored JAH LAW will be like unto Qorie children whom Earth sank - an likewise sinner persons have that them might enter toward Gehannem that have no exits up til Iternity.

2 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 12.

1; Unu who didn't keep the LAW Him commanded unu ina Tent - woe fe unu 'Isra'iel nobles who also didn't do Him Accord - yet unu did your ras selves accord - an this are bein arrogant an pride - greed an adultery - drink an bein drunk - an swearin ina lie.

2; An becaudis thing I anger - like unto chaff are burnt before a fiyah - an like unto fiyah burn the mountain - an like unto a whirl wind spill the crushed chaff from Earth an scattar it toward Heaven - lest it trace be found ina it place - I anger will downstroy unu like unto that.

3; JAH Who honoured 'Isra'iel said - I-man shall likewise downstroy all persons who work sin - an think of JAH Who rule all an fe Whom nothing fail.

4; Him love persons who love Him - an fe persons who live firmed up ina Him Command - Him will atone them iniquity an them sin fe them ~ don't be dull an stingy of heart by not believin.

5; An mek your reasonins straight fe be ruled fe JAH - an believe ina Him that unu might firm up your bodies - an I-man shall save unu from your enemy hand ina your tribulation day.

6; An ina your plea time I-man tell unu - Check - I-man am there with unu ina Support ~ I-man shall save unu from your enemy hand ~ as unu have believed ina I - an as unu have done I Command - an as unu didn't depart from I LAW - an as unu have loved what I-man love - JAH Who rule all said - I-man won't neglect unu pon your tribulation day.

7; Him love them who love Him - fe Him are a Pardoner - an fe Him are nice - an Him keep persons who keep Him LAW - like unto a trust money.

8; Him return Him anger fe them many times ~ becau Him were who know them that them are flesh an blood - as Him are a Pardoner - Him didn't downstroy all ina Him chastisemant - an pon the time them souls were separated from them flesh - them will return toward them Earthliness.

9; As Him have Irated them bringin from not livin toward livin - them won't know the place where them live up til JAH love that Him might bring them from not livin toward livin ~ again Him separated them souls from them flesh - an Earth nature returned toward it Earthliness.

10; An again Him Accord shall bring them from not livin toward livin."

11; But Tseerutsaydan who denied JAH multiplied bein arrogant before JAH ~ him made him ras self lofty up til the day that him loved pon the time him quit Him.

12; "An mi era became like unto Heaven era - an mi are who send forth Sun - an mi won't dead up til Iternity" him said.

13; An before him finished speakin this thing the Angel of Death whose name are called Thilimyakos alit an struck him heart ~ him dead ina that iwa ~ as him didn't praise him Irator - him were separated from him beautiful lifestyle an

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him perished arisin from him arrogance abundance an him Work evil.

14; But when the Keledans king army had camped ina the city an the country squares lovin fe fight him - pon the time him dead - them proceeded an downstroyed him country ~ them plundered all him livestock - an them didn't preserve a elder who near an sight up ramparts.

15; Them plundered all him money - an them took him tiny money - an them burned him country ina fiyah an returned toward them country.

2 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 13.

1; But these five Meqabees childran who believed gave them bodies fe death refusin fe eat the sacrifice sacrificed fe idols.

2; Fe them have known that pretendin with JAH surpass from pretendin with persons - an JAH anger from the king anger.

3; Havin known that this world will totally pass an that the Irie Ites won't live firmed up foriva - them gave them bodies fe fiyah that them might be saved from fiyah ina Heaven.

4; An as them have known that bein made Irie ina Garden one day are better than livin many eras ina this world - an that findin Thy Pardon one iwa Lord - are better than many eras - them gave them bodies fe fiyah.

5; What are InI era? Like unto a shadow - like unto passin wax melt an perish pon a fiyah edge - aren't it like unto that?

6; But Thou Lord live foriva - an Thy Era aren't fulfilled - an Thy Name invocation are fe a child childran.

7; An Meqabees childran thought that it seemed all this ~ refusin fe eat a disgustin sacrifice them chose believin ina JAH.

8; Knowin that them will arise with persons who dead - an meanin becau JAH - knowin that Judgemant shall be judged after Resurrection of Council - becaudis thing them gave them bodies fe martyrdom.

9; Unu persons who don't know nor believe persons who dead risin - knowin that the Life them find later will surpass from this them passin Earthly Life - arisin from these five Meqabees childran who gave them bodies together fe the death and whose appearance were handsome - after this them knew Resurrection.

10; Becau them believed ina Him knowin that all shall pass - an becau them didn't bow fe idols - becau them didn't eat a disgustin sacrifice that don't give Support - them gave them bodies fe death that them might find thanks from JAH.

11; Fe becaudis thing knowin that Him will mek them Irie ina flesh an soul ina later era - them didn't know this world flavour an death tribulation a serious thing fe them who have child an wife - an knowin that Resurrection be made ina flesh an soul pon the Day of Advent - them gave them bodies fe death.

12; An knowin that persons who kept JAH LAW - with the nobles an the kings who believed JAH Word an were nice...

13; shall live reignin fe a child childran many eras ina Kingdom of Heaven where are no sadness an tribulation nor death - an knowin ina them reasonins what will be done later - like unto wax melt amidst a fiyah - becaudis thing them gave them bodies fe death.

14; Believin that them faces will shine seven hands more than the Sun - an that them will be Irie ina Him Love pon the time all arose ina flesh an soul - them gave them bodies fe death.

2 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 14.

1; But the Samrans an 'Ayhuds thing - the Seduqans who don't believe persons who dead risin - an the Fereesans thing quite totally sadden I - an it help I fe I reasonin ~ "Wi will dead tomorrow" 'Ayhuds say - "Mek wi eat an drink ~ wi will dead tomorrow ~ there are no Irie Ites wi will sight up ina grave."

2; But the Samrans say - "As wi flesh will be dust - it won't arise.

3; Becau she were invisible like unto wind an like unto iyunder voice - check - she are here - an becau she were what them don't call an invisible - as soul won't arise if flesh dead - pon the time Resurrection are done wi will believe wi souls arisin.

4; But as beasts will eat she an as worms will eat she ina the grave - wi flesh are sight up alongside all ~ she will become dust an ashes.

5; An those beasts who ate she will become dust - fe them have been like unto grass - an fe them have become dust like unto them weren't irated - an fe them trace won't be found - but wi flesh won't arise."

6; An the Fereesans say - "Wi believe as fe persons who dead arisin - however Him will bring an Inite souls with another flesh that are ina Heaven - that aren't pon Earth ~ where will demolished an rotten fleshes be found?"

7; But the Seduqans say - "After wi soul proceeded from wi flesh - wi won't arise with persons who dead - an flesh an soul have no arisin after them dead - an after wi dead wi won't arise."

8; An becaudis thing them totally err - an as them speak insult pon JAH Lordship - them thing sadden I.

9; As them didn't believe JAH Who honour them - them have no hope fe be saved - however them have no hope fe dead an arise an be saved.

10; O 'Ayhudan who are blind of reasonin - when thou are whom Him Irated bringin from not livin toward livin - an scorned like unto spit - will thou mek JAH ignorant - Who made thee a person? Will it fail JAH Who Irated thee ina Him Example an Him Appearance fe arouse Initin thy flesh an thy soul?

11; As thou won't escape from JAH Itority - don't think a thing that are thus ~ thou will arise without thou lovin - fe there are the hardship thou will raceive ina See'ol where thou were seized pon the time thou dead - an it shall be judged pon thee without thou lovin.

12; Fe the sin found from demons that demons place ina thy reasonin are worked alongside thee after thou were birthed from thy mother womb - an fe she are worked abundantly pon the time thou grew up.

13; Them place she ina thy body pon the time thou dead - an she will bring hardship pon them pon the time them worked she.

14; Like unto there are sin ina them collar of reasonin - as there are persons who work sin bein seized by she - she kindreds will present demons.

15; All sinner persons souls shall come from Heaven edge where them are - an thy sin likewise shall introduce thee toward Gehannem pullin an bringin thy soul from where thou are.

16; An after thy flesh lived separate from thy soul - JAH Charity dew shall arouse thee bein seven fold like unto InI faada 'Adam flesh.

17; Thou who live ina grave - thou also err ina thy error - yet mek it not seem fe thee that thou only mislead the others ~ thou say - "The arisin that persons who dead shall arise aren't there" - that them might depart from JAH Command an err.

18; Him shall arouse thee that Him might give thee thy hardship like unto thy Work that thou worked - yet who shall quit thee that thou might remain bein dust?

19; But at that time - whether wind ina wind be thy nature - or if Water ina Water be thy nature - or if Earth ina Earth be thy nature - or if fiyah ina fiyah be thy nature - it shall come.

20; An if a soul that lodged ina thee be what lived ina See'ol - she shall come.

21; An righteous ones souls that live ina Garden ina Ites shall come.

22; But thou 'Ayhudan - Samran - Fereesan - Seduqan - will live ina See'ol up til it are judged pon thee.

23; At that time thou will sight up that JAH shall pay thee the hardship like unto thy sin becau thou misled persons.

24; "Persons who dead won't arise ~ as wi will dead - mek wi eat an drink" - an becau thou sat ina Mussie chair an misled by thy words while thou said - "Persons who dead won't arise" - thou will sight up that Him shall pay thee thy hardship.

25; An without thy knowin 'Oreet Book - an when thou teach the books word - becaudis thing thou erred ~ it would be better had thou remained without learnin from thy misleadin a person.

26; It would have been better if thou didn't know the books word - when thou promulgate JAH kindreds ina thy evil teachin an thy worthless words.

27; Fe JAH don't favour havin sight up a face - an fe Him shall give the grace an glory Him prepared fe Him friends - persons who teach goodly Work - but thou have that thou might raceive thy reward like unto thy Work an the things that thou spoke.

28; But there are nothing whereby thou will escape from JAH Itority Who shall judge pon thee - an Him have that Him might pay thee like unto thy Work - fe them whom thou taught an thou together will raceive a sentance.

29; Know that persons who dead shall arise - an if them are persons who kept Him LAW them shall arise - an like unto Earth send forth grass pon the time rain rained - as Him Command shall send them forth from a grave - it aren't possible fe it fe remain demolished an rotten.

30; Like unto moist wood drink dew an send forth leaves pon the time Him satta she rain fe Earth - like unto wheat bear forth fruit - an like unto grain produce buds - like unto it aren't possible fe she fe withhold that she might prevent she fruit if JAH loved...

31; an like unto it aren't possible fe a dawta who canceived fe close an prevent she womb pon the time labour seized she - like unto it aren't possible fe she fe escape without birthin...

32; as dew have alit toward she bein commanded from JAH - at that time she shall produce them at one time - yet after she heard JAH Word - a grave also likewise cyaan prevent the persons gathered alongside she from arisin.

33; An fleshes shall be gathered ina the place where them corpses fell - an them places where souls live shall be opened - an souls shall return toward the flesh where them were formerly separated.

34; An pon the time a drum were beaten - persons who dead shall quickly arise like unto a eye wink - an havin arisen them shall stand before JAH - an Him shall give them them reward like unto them hand Work.

35; At that time thou will sight up that thou arise with dead ones - an thou will marvel at all the Work thou worked ina this world - an pon the time thou sight up all thy sins written before thee - at that time thou will regret a useless regret.

36; Thou know that thou will arise with dead ones an that thou will raceive thy hardship like unto the Work that thou worked.

2 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 15.

1; But persons who found them reward by them goodly Work shall be Irie at that time ~ persons who ignored while them said - "Persons who dead won't arise" shall be sad at that time pon the time them sight up that persons who dead arose with them evil Work that don't benefit.

2; That - them Work that them worked shall canvict them - an them ras selves shall know that it canvict them without one livin who will dispute them.

3; Pon the day when Judgemant an mournin are done - pon the day when JAH shall come - pon the day when Definite Judgemant are judged - persons who forgot JAH LAW shall stand ina the place where them stand.

4; Pon the day when there shall be total darkness - an pon the day when mist are pulled - pon the day when flashes are sight up an when lightnin are heard...

5; an pon the day when quakes an fright an heatwave an sleet frost are made...

6; pon the day when a evil person who worked evil Work raceive hardship - an pon the day when a clean person raceive him reward like unto him worked clean Work - an pon the day when persons who forgot JAH LAW raceive the hardship like unto a sinner person worked sin - them shall stand ina the place where them stand.

7; Fe pon the day when a master aren't more honoured than him slave - an pon the time when a mistress aren't more honoured than she slave...

8; an pon the time when the king aren't more honoured than a poor one - an pon the time when a elder aren't more honoured than a infant - pon the time when a faada aren't more honoured than him child - an pon the time when a mother aren't more honoured than she child...

9; pon the time when a wealthy one aren't more honoured than a poor one - an pon the time when a arrogant one aren't more honoured than a downbased one - an pon the time when the great aren't more honoured than the small - she are the day when Judgemant are judged - fe she are the day when them raceive sentance an hardship - an fe she are the day when all will raceive hardship like unto them worked sin.

10; An fe she are the day when persons who worked goodly Work raceive them reward - an fe she are the day when persons who worked sin raceive hardship.

11; An as she are the day when persons who found them reward are made Irie - persons who forgot JAH LAW shall stand ina the place where them stand. Persons who mek liars - who digest books while them said - "Persons who dead won't arise" - them shall sight up Resurrection.

12; At that time this world sinners - who didn't work goodly Work ina this world - shall weep pon them sin that them worked - becau sadness found them without calmin.

13; An all likewise - kind persons who worked goodly Work - them Irie Ites won't be fulfilled up til Iternity - fe them have worked goodly Work when them were ina this world.

14; Fe them have known that them will arise after them dead - an them didn't depart from them Irator LAW.

15; Becau them didn't depart from Him LAW - them shall inherit two welfares ~ Him multiplied them seed ina this world - an Him honoured them childran.

16; Him bequeathed them the Kingdom of Heaven where shall be found the welfare him swore fe them faadas pon the time when persons who dead arise - an pon the time when rich ones become poor.

17; Persons shall weep who worked sin - who don't believe persons who dead arisin - who don't keep JAH LAW - an who don't think of Arisin Day.

18; At that time them will sight up the tribulation that shall find them an shall have no endin - an where are no calmin nor welfare - an it have the sadness that have no rest nor calmin ina them reasonin.

19; An a fiyah that don't perish an worms that don't sleep shall find them.

20; An ina the place where are them flesh are fiyah - sulphur - whirl wind - frost - hail - sleet ~ all this shall rain over them.

21; Fe persons who don't believe persons who dead arisin - there are fiyah of Gehannem pon them.

2 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 16.

1; Thou - please think of what are pon thy flesh - an thy feet an thy hands nails - an thy head hair - fe them proceed quickly pon the time thou cut them ~ know Resurrection by this - that thou have a reasonin - an that thou have religion an knowledge.

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2; Thy feet an thy hands nails an thy head hair - thou say - "Where do these come from?" ~ aren't it JAH Who prepared it that them might proceed - that thou know arisin that shall be done pon thy flesh that aren't pon another flesh - that thou might know that thou will arise after thou dead?

3; Becau thou misled persons while thou said - "There are no Resurrection of the dead ones" - pon the time when dead ones arise thou will raceive thy hardship like unto thou worked sin an iniquity.

4; An as even what thou planted now won't remain refusin that it might grow - whether it be wheat or barley - thou will sight she up pon the time the day arrived when thou raceive thy hardship.

5; An again - the plant thou planted won't say - "I-man won't grow" - an be it a fig wood or a grape vine - it fruit an it leaf won't be changed.

6; If thou plant grapes - it won't be changed that it might be a fig - an if thou plant figs - it won't be changed that it might be grapes - an if thou sow wheat it won't be changed that it might be barley.

7; All - ina each of the seeds - ina each of it kinds - each of the fruits - each of the woods - each of the leaves - each of the roots - send forth fruit havin raceived Pardon Dew blessin by what are found from JAH - yet if thou sow barley also it won't be changed that it might be wheat.

8; An all likewise - that a grave might produce flesh an soul - she shall produce persons like unto JAH sowed pon she ~ the flesh an soul that JAH sowed shall arise bein Inited - yet persons who worked goodly Work won't be changed ina persons who worked evil Work - an persons who worked evil Work also won't be changed ina persons who worked goodly Work.

9; Pon pon the time the iwa arrived when a drum are beaten - persons who dead shall arise by the Pardon Dew found from JAH ~ persons who worked goodly Work shall arise ina Life Resurrection - an them reward are the Garden where are Irie Ites that JAH prepared fe kind persons - where are no tribulation nor disease - an that are clean ones lodgin where them won't again dead after this.

10; But persons who worked evil Work shall arise a Definite Judgemant arisin - an with Deeyablos who misled them...

11; an with him armies - demons who don't love that even one person might be saved from all 'Adam childran...

12; them shall downscend toward Gehannem that were darkness edge - where are tooth grindin an mournin - where are no charity nor pardon - an where are no exits up til Iternity - that are beneath See'ol foriva. Fe them didn't work goodly Work ina them Life ina this world when them were ina them flesh.

13; Becaudis thing it shall be judged pon them pon the time when flesh an soul arise bein Inited.

14; Woe fe persons who don't believe the flesh an soul arisin whereby JAH show Him miracles abundance together.

15; An all an each one shall raceive him reward like unto him Work and him hands weariness.

2 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 17.

1; A wheat kernel won't grow nor bear fruit unless she were demolished. But if a wheat kernel are demolished she will send roots toward Earth ~ she will send forth leaves ~ there will be buds ~ it will bear fruit.

2; Unu know that the one wheat kernel will become many kernels.

3; An all likewise - this kernel grow risin up from Water an wind an Earth dew - fe wheat cyaan bear fruit without Sun - but Sun are becau fiyah stead.

4; An wind are becau a soul stead - an wheat cyaan bear fruit without wind - an the Water give Earth fe drink an satta she.

5; An after Earth that are ashes drank Water - she produce roots - an she tips are lofty upward ~ she bear fruit around what JAH blessed she.

6; But a wheat kernel are 'Adam example - ina whom lodged a resonatin soul that JAH Irated - an likewise a grape wood drink Water an send forth roots - an the thin root kinds drink Water.

7; Fe Pardon Dew found from JAH give fe drink vines tips that were long - an it send the Water upward toward the leaf tips ~ it bud up from the Sun heat - an by JAH Accord it bear fruit.

8; It shall be a goodly fragrance that mek a reasonin Irie - an pon the time them ate it - it shall satta like unto Water that don't mek thirsty an grain that don't mek hungry - an pon the time them immersed it - it will be the cluster blood.

9; An like unto it were told ina Psalm sayin - "Grapes mek a person reasonin Irie" - pon the time them drank it - it mek a person heart Irie - an pon the time a person who came loose opened him mouth an drank it - him are drunk ~ him drink an fill ina him lungs - an the blood flow toward him heart.

10; As grapes drunkenness totally mislead - an as it deprive him him mind - it mek the pit an the cliff like unto a wide meadow - an him don't know obstacles an thorns pon him feet an hands.

11; JAH did thus pon she fruit an grape wood that Him Name might be praised by persons who believe dead persons arisin an who do Him Accord.

12; Ina the Kingdom of Heaven Him shall mek persons Irie who believe persons who dead arisin.

2 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 18.

1; Unu persons who don't believe persons who dead arisin - around what error unu err! An pon the time them took unu toward the place unu don't know - unu will regret a useless regrets - an becau unu didn't believe the arisin that persons who dead shall arise Inited ina soul an flesh - an pon the time persons cast unu toward Gehannem...

2; if unu work whether the good or the evil - unu will raceive your reward like unto your Work - fe unu have misled them companions reasonin while unu said - "Wi know that persons who dead - who were dust an ashes - won't arise."

3; As them death have no exit - an as them have no Power fe them chastisemant that shall come pon them - an as them weren't firm ina them tribulation - becaudis thing them mislead them companions ~ fe them have that them might stand ina JAH Square.

4; Pon the time Him vexed pon them ina Him wrath them will totally fear ~ becau them didn't know that them were Irated bringin from not livin toward livin - as them speak JAH LAW without knowin - it shall be judged pon them all becau them worked evil.

5; Them don't know Gehannem where them will go - fe becau them were angry an becau them were crooked ina them Work - them teach fe them companions like unto them reasonin thirst measure - an fe them are evil ones who teach a crooked thing while them said - "There are no Resurrection of dead ones."

6; At that time them shall know that persons who dead shall arise - an them shall know that it shall be judged pon them becau them didn't believe the persons who dead arisin that are fe all 'Adam childran.

7; Fe all InI are 'Adam childran - an fe InI have dead becau 'Adam - an fe death judgemant have found InI all from alongside JAH becau InI faada 'Adam error.

8; InI will again arise there with InI faada 'Adam that InI might raceive InI hardship by InI Work that InI worked - fe the world have been ruled fe death by InI faada 'Adam ignorance.

9; By 'Adam infringin JAH Command - becaudis thing InI raceived hardship ~ InI flesh ina grave melted like unto wax - an InI bodies perished.

10; An Earth drank InI marrow ~ InI perished an InI comeliness perished ina grave - an InI flesh were buried ina grave - an InI beautiful words were buried ina Earth.

11; An worms proceeded from InI shinin eyes - an InI features perished ina grave an became dust.

12; Where are youtmons features comeliness - who were attractive - whose stance were handsome an whose word thing succeeded? How about where are warriors firmness?

13; Where are the kings armies - or how about the nobles lordship? Where are adornin ina horses an adornin ina silver an gold an adornin ina shinin weapons? Didn't it perish?

14; Where are sweet grape drink - an how about food flavour?

2 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 19.

1; O Earth who gathered the nobles an the kings an rich ones an elders an dawtaz who were attractive an beauties who were attractive - woe arisin from thee-I.

2; O Earth who gathered persons who were warriors - them who have comeliness - an them who were fine of leg - an them who have reasonin an knowledge - an them whose words have words that were beautiful like unto a hummin harp an like unto a lyre an a violin beat...

3; an them who have a tune that mek Irie like unto grape drink mek Irie - an them whose eyes shine like unto a mornin star...

4; an them who sketch what were firm like unto them right hands lift up what are given an withheld an like unto them were - an them whose feet were beautiful fe sight up - an them who run like unto rushin wheels - woe arisin from thee-I.

5; O death who separated attractive persons souls from them flesh - woe arisin from thee-I - fe thou have been sent by JAH Accord.

6; As thou have gathered many persons whom JAH produced from thee-I an returned toward thee-I - thou Earth - woe arisin from thee-I ~ InI were found from thee-I ~ InI returned toward thee-I by Accord of JAH ~ InI were Irie over thee-I by JAH Accord.

7; Thou became a carpet fe InI corpses ~ InI recurred over thee-I - an InI were buried within thee-I ~ InI ate thy fruit - an thou ate InI flesh.

8; An InI drank the Water found from thy springs - an thou drank InI blood springs ~ InI ate the fruit found from thy Earthliness - an thou ate InI body flesh.

9; Like unto JAH commanded thee-I fe be InI food - InI ate grain from thy Earthliness that have beautiful dew - an thou raceived InI fleh comeliness an made it dust fe thy food like unto JAH commanded thee-I.

10; O death who gathered the nobles an the kings who were powerful - woe arisin from thee-I ~ thou didn't fear arisin from them famousness an them frightenin - like unto JAH Who Irated them commanded thee-I ~ o death - woe arisin from thee-I - an thou didn't scorn the sufferah.

11; An thou weren't nice fe persons whose features are beautiful - an thou didn't quit powerful ones an warriors ~ thou didn't quit poor nor rich ones - neither kind nor evil ones - neither childran nor elders - neither dawtaz nor males.

12; Thou didn't quit persons who think a goodly thing an who didn't depart from the LAW - an thou didn't quit them who were like unto animals ina them Work - who think a evil thing - who were totally beautiful ina them features comeliness - ina them thing flavour an ina them words ~ o death - woe arisin from thee-I.

13; Thou didn't quit persons whose words were angry an whose mouths were full of curses ~ thou gathered persons who live in darkness an ina light an them souls ina thy places ~ o death - woe arisin from thee-I.

14; An Earth gathered the persons flesh who live whether ina cave or ina Earth - up til a drum are beaten an persons who dead arise.

15; As persons who dead shall arise quickly like unto a eye wink by JAH Command an pon a drum bein beaten - persons who worked evil Work shall raceive them hardship ina them sin abundance measure that them worked it - an persons who worked goodly Work shall be Irie.

2 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 20.

1; An believe I that all InI Work that InI worked ina this world won't remain nor be hidden pon the time InI stood before Him fearin an tremblin.

2; An pon the time InI didn't seize provisions fe InI path - an pon the time InI won't have clothes fe InI bodies...

3; pon the time InI won't have a staff fe InI hands nor shoes fe InI feet...

4; an pon the time InI won't know the paths where demons tek InI - whether it be slippery or smooth - or be it dark - an whether it be thorns or nettles - or whether it be a Water depth or a pit depth - believe I that InI Work that InI worked ina this world won't remain nor be hidden.

5; InI won't know the demons who tek InI - an InI won't hear them thing.

6; As them are black ones - an as them lead InI toward darkness - InI don't sight up them faces.

7; An like unto the prophet spoke sayin - "Pon the time I soul were separated from I flesh - Lord I Lord - Thou know I path - an them hid a trap pon that path where I-man went - an I-man sight up returnin toward the right ~ I-man lacked one who know I - an I-man have nothing there whereby I-man will escape" - as them tek InI toward darkness - InI won't sight up them faces.

8; As him know that demons ridicule pon him - an as them will lead him toward the path him don't know - him speakin this are becaudis - an if him return leftward an rightward - there are no person who know him.

9; Him are alone amidst demons - an yet there are none who know him.

10; Angels of Light who are subtle are who are sent toward kind persons that them might raceive righteous ones souls - an might tek toward a Light place - toward the Garden - where welfare are found.

11; Demons an Angels of darkness are who are sent that them might raceive them an might tek them toward Gehannem that were prepared fe them that them might raceive them hardship by them sin that them worked.

12; Woe fe sinner persons souls who tek them toward downstruction - who have no welfare nor rest - nor escapin from the tribulation that found them - nor proceedin from Gehannem up til Iternity.

13; As them have lived firmed up ina Qayel Work - an as them have perished by Bele`am iniquity price - an as them have lacked what them will do - woe fe sinner persons - fe them pretext fe raceive interest an presents that ina downgression them might tek a foreigner money that weren't them money.

14; Them shall raceive them hardship ina Gehannem by them sin that them worked.

2 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 21.

1; Where are persons who gather a foreigner money that weren't them hands Work nor them money?

2; Fe them tek a person money for free - an fe them shll be gathered without knowin the day when them dead that shall arrive pon them - however them quit them money for a foreigner.

3; Fe like unto them faadas - them are sinners kindreds who worry an seize sinners like unto them whether it be by theft or by robbery - an them childran won't be Irie by them faadas money.

4; As them have gathered fe them ina downgression - an as it are like unto misty urine an like unto the smoke that wind

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scattar an like unto wiltin grass - an like unto wax that melt arisin from before a fiyah - as sinners glory shall perish like unto that - there are none whom them faadas money will benefit ~ like unto Daweet spoke sayin - "I-man sight up a sinner man...

5; bein honoured an famed like unto a cordia an like unto a cypress - but pon the time I-man returned I-man lacked him ~ I-man searched an didn't find him place" - there are none whom them faadas money will profit nor benefit.

6; Becau them gathered a person money ina downgression - it seemin fe them that them won't dead - like unto persons who wrong them companions won't boast - sinner persons downstruction are likewise at one time.

7; Unu lazy ones - think that unu will perish an that your money will perish with unu - an if your silver an your gold abound it shall be rusted.

8; An if unu birth many childran them shall be fe many graves - an if unu work many houses them shall be demolished.

9; Fe unu didn't fulfill your Irator JAH Accord - an if unu multiply livestock them shall be for your enemies capture - an all the money unu seized ina your hands won't be found - fe it have been what weren't blessed.

10; Whether it be ina house or ina forest - an be it ina wilderness or a pasture place - an be it ina grape threshinfloor or ina grain threshinfloor - it won't be found.

11; Becau unu didn't keep JAH Command - as JAH won't save unu with all your house hold from the tribulation - there shall be sadness pon unu arisin from all your enemies - yet unu won't be Irie ina your childran birthed from your nature.

12; But from Him plenty - Him won't trouble persons who kept Him Order an Him LAW ~ Him give all who begged Him - yet Him bless them childran birthed from them nature an also them land fruit fe them.

13; An Him mek them rulers pon all peoples ina them area that them might rule lest them be who are ruled - an Him give them all Him plenty ina them pasture place.

14; Him bless fe them all them seized ina them hand - all them field fruit - an all them livestocks places - an Him mek them Irie in them childran birthed from them nature.

15; An Him don't diminish them livestocks pon them ~ Him save them from all them tribulation an from weariness an illness an downstruction - an from them enemy them don't know an from him them know.

16; An Him will dispute fe them ina Judgemant time - an Him shall save them from a evil thing an from tribulation an from all who dispute them ~ ina the first era if a priest lived who work the Tent Work - who keep the LAW an keep the Tent Order an live firmed up ina JAH Accord - by the first Order an all the LAW as them would give him the tithe an what were birthed first Iginnin from man up til livestock - Him would save them from all the tribulation.

17; Like unto Mussie commanded Newie child 'Iyasu - there was a country of sanctuary ina all them country ~ by not knowin an by knowin up til them judged judgemant pon whom them canvicted an fe whom them acquitted...

18; if a person lived who killed a soul - him would be measured there that him might be saved.

19; Him told them - "Examine ina your reasonins that him have a quarrel with him formerly - an be it by axe or be it by a stone or be it by wood - as it have fallen from him hand by not knowin - if him say "That person pon whom it fell dead pon mi" - examine an save him ~ if him did it ina not knowin mek him be saved.

20; But if him do it knowin - him will raceive him hardship like unto him sin - an there are none who will pardon him; but if him kill him ina not knowin - as him have done it ina not knowin - examine an save him lest him dead.

21; Him worked fe them that them might distance from all the sin - yet Mussie would work like unto this fe 'Isra'iel childran lest them depart from JAH LAW.

22; Him commanded them that 'Adam childran - who live firmed up ina JAH Command from worshippin idols an eatin what dead an lodged an what a sword bloated an cut - an who distance from all evil work like unto him worked fe them - that them might work it an might totally distance from all that aren't due.

23; Him commanded them lest them depart from the Command Him worked fe them ina the Tent example ina Heaven - that them might save them bodies an might find them lodgin with them faadas.

24; As them have been birthed from Siet an 'Adam who did JAH Accord - persons who believed ina JAH Word an lived firmed up ina Him Command will be called kind persons childran.

25; As InI are 'Adam childran - as Him have Irated InI ina Him Example an Him Appearance that InI might work all goodly Work that mek JAH Irie - Him won't scorn it.

26; As Him totally won't separate Him friends - if InI work goodly Work - InI shall inherit the Kingdom of Heaven where are welfare with persons who work goodly Work.

27; Him totally love persons who beg him cleanly - an Him hear them ina them priah - an Him accept the repentance of persons who are disciplined an enter repentance ~ Him give firmness an Power fe persons who keep Him Order an Him LAW an Him Command.

28; Persons who did Him Accord shall be Irie with Him ina Him Kingdom foriva - an whether them be persons who preceded or who arose later - them will present praise fe Him Iginnin from today up til Iternity.

Mek glory due fe JAH foriva - an the secand Meqabyan arrived an were fulfilled.

BOOK OF MEQABYAN 3

3 Meqabyan
The Third Book of the Ethiopic Maccabees
Translation: Ras Feqade Tebbaqiw
Amharic rendered into Iyaric / Rastafari English

(The Third Book of Ethiopian Maccabees (3 Meqabyan) is the shortest of the three books, containing 10 chapters. At times, within the liturgical practices of the Ethiopian Church, the 2nd and 3rd Books of Meqabyan are collapsed to form a single text. It is a diffuse account of salvation and punishment, and the importance of maintaining faith in God, illustrated from the lives of various Biblical patriarchs, such as Adam, Job, and David. Much of the book is concerned with the Devil and how he tempts humans to sin. It is stated that the Devil was originally an angel who was punished by God for arrogantly refusing to bow down to his creation Adam (this same story appears in various non-canonical Apocryphal works concerning Adam, as well in the Iblis narratives of the Quran).

3 Meqabyan Summary:

• Chapter 1: The Devil will be brought low; the text details a long speech by the Devil, where he boasts in how he turns humans away from God's Law, leading them to Gehenna; the Devil (here assumed to have originally been an angel) was punished by God for refusing to bow to Adam; a debate between God and the Devil; those who refuse God will be given over to the Devil.

• Chapter 2: The Devil states how he misleads humans with the temptations of the world; the creation of Adam was partly a response to the Devil's arrogance when an angel; how the Devil corrupted Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden.

• Chapter 3: Despite the Fall, God continued to care for Adam and Eve.

• Chapter 4: The arrogance of the Devil condemned; Adam was created to praise God; the contrition of Adam contrasted with unrepentant arrogance of the Devil.

• Chapter 5: Good and bad deeds will be weighed up at the Day of Judgements; the dangers of sin.

• Chapter 6: Contrasting fates of good and evil people.

• Chapter 7: The importance of maintaining faith in God, using the example of David.

• Chapter 8: The importance of maintaining faith in God, using the example of Job.

• Chapter 9: All things on earth are God's, and only God has omniscience; the importance of maintaining faith in God; sinners and idolaters will end up in Gehenna.

• Chapter 10: Reward and punishment will be meted out at the time of physical resurrection; the need to do good works in this life, as it will be too late on the Day of Judgement.)

3 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 1.

1; Kristos shall rejoice Gibts persons - becau Him shall come toward them ina later era that Him will revenge an downstroy Deeyablos - who wronged them who were kindly an innocent - an who misled persons - an who hate him Irator Work.

2; Him shall revenge an downstroy him ~ Him shall return him lordship toward wretchedness an bein downbased - fe him have been arrogant ina him reasonin.

3; Him shall return him lordship toward bein downbased - fe him have said - "As mi will enter toward the sea midst - an as mi will proceed toward Heaven - an as mi will sight up depths - an as mi will grasp an seize 'Adam childran like unto bird chicks - who are it who are loftier than mi?

4; Becau mi became by them reason that mi might distance them from the straight LAW of JAH - as mi will strengthen pon persons who live ina this world unless them did JAH Accord - there are none who will depose mi from mi authority" him said.

5; "Fe mi will be a reason fe return them toward a path that were smooth fe go toward Gehannem with mi.

6; Persons who loved Him an kept Him LAW hate mi becaudis thing - but persons who departed from them Lord LAW an who erred will come toward mi an love mi an keep mi oath ~ as mi will mek them reasonin evil an change them thoughts lest them return toward them Irator JAH - them will do mi command like unto mi commanded them.

7; An pon the time mi showed them this world money - mi will mislead them reasonin from straight LAW - an pon the time mi showed them beautiful an attractive dawtaz - mi will distance them by these from straight LAW.

8; An pon the time mi showed them shinin Hindekie jewels an silver an gold - mi will distance them by this also from straight LAW that them might return toward mi Work.

9; An pon the time mi showed them thin clothes an red silk an white silk - an linens an white silk - mi will distance them by this also from straight LAW - an mi will return them toward mi thoughts ~ pon the time mi multiplied money an livestocks like unto sand an showed them - by this also mi will return them toward mi Work.

10; An pon the time mi showed them jealousy done in arrogance becau dawtaz an becau anger an quarrels - by all this mi will return them toward mi Work.

11; An pon the time mi showed them signs - mi will lodge ina them companions reasonin - an mi will lodge a sign thing that were fe each of the ras selves ina them reasonin - an mi showed them words signs an misled them.

12; An fe persons ina whom mi lodged mi lodgin - mi will show them signs - an be it ina stars gait - or be it ina cloud proceedin or ina fiyah flickerin - or be it ina beasts an birds cries - as them are mi lodgins - mi will lodge signs ina them reasonin pon them by all this.

13; Them will speak an give signs fe them companions - an like unto those them naysayers told them - mi will precede an be a sign fe them.

14; Mi will do them words signs fe them - that persons who examined them might be misled - an that them might give a wage fe magicians - an that them might tell fe them companions sayin - 'There are no savants like unto so-an-so an so-an-so fe whom it are done like unto them spoke - an who know prophecy - an who separate good an evil - an fe whom all are like unto them spoke - an fe whom it are done like unto them word.'

15; Mi will be Irie pon the time them spoke this - that persons who perish an err by mi might totally abound an that 'Adam childran might perish - fe JAH have downbased mi from mi rank becau them faada 'Adam - pon mi sayin 'Mi won't bow fe 'Adam who are downbased fe mi.'

16; An mi will tek toward downstruction all him childran who live firmed up ina mi command ~ mi have a Oath from JAH Who Irated mi - that all persons whom mi misled might downscend toward Gehannem with mi.

17; An pon the time Him multiplied Him anger pon mi - an pon the time Him commanded that them might bind an cast mi toward Gehannem - pon the time mi Irator commanded sayin thus - mi interceded with mi Lord ~ mi interceded before Him while mi said - 'As Thou have vexed pon mi - an as Thou have admonished mi by Thy chastisemant - an as Thou have chastised mi by Thy wrath - Lord mi Lord - adjourn mi that mi might speak one thing before Thee-I.'

18; An mi Lord answered fe mi sayin - Speak - I-man will hear thee ~ at that time mi began mi plea toward Him sayin - 'After mi were downbased from mi rank - mek the persons whom mi misled be like unto mi ina Gehannem where mi will raceive tribulation.

19; An mek them be fe Thy Lordship who refused mi - who didn't err by mi - who didn't keep mi command - that them might do Thy Command an might fulfill Thy Accord an might keep Thy Word - pon the time them didn't err by mi like unto mi misled them havin refused like unto mi taught them - an pon the time Thou loved mi - mek them tek the crown Thou gave fe mi.

20; Give them the crown of the authorities called Seythans who were sent with mi ~ seat them pon mi throne pon Thy Right that were a wilderness from mi an mi hosts.

21; An mek them praise Thee-I like unto Thou loved - an mek them be like unto mi hosts an like unto mi ~ becau Thou hated mi an loved them who were Irated from ashes an Earth - as mi authority have perished - an as them authority have been lofty - mek them praise Thee-I like unto Thou loved.'

22; Mi Lord answered fe mi sayin - As thou have misled them while them sight up an while them heard - if thou misled them without them lovin I Order - mek them be fe thee like unto thy accord an like unto thy word.

23; If them quit the Books Word an I Command an came toward thee - an if thou misled them while them downstruction also saddened mi - mek them raceive tribulation ina Gehannem like unto thee - Him told mi.

24; Unu will raceive tribulation ina Gehannem up til the Iternity - yet unu will have no exits from Gehannem up til the Iternity - fe them whom thou misled nor fe thee.

3 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 2.

1; But I-man shall bequeath thy throne ina lordship fe them whom it failed thee fe mislead - like unto I slave 'Iyob ~ JAH Who rule all said - I-man will give the Kingdom of Heaven fe persons whom it failed thee fe mislead.

2; An mi provoke pon 'Adam childran ina all ~ if it were possible fe mi fe mislead them - mi won't quit them that them might firm up ina goodly Work ~ fe mi provoke pon all 'Adam childran - an mi sweeten this world Irie Ites fe them.

3; Be it by lovin drink an food an clothes - or by lovin things - or by withholdin an givin...

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4; or be it by lovin fe hear an sight up - or be it by lovin fe caress an go - or be it by multiplyin arrogance an things - or be it by lovin dreams an slumber...

5; or be it by multiplyin drunkenness an drink - or be it by multiplyin insults an anger - be it by speakin games an useless things...

6; or be it by quarrels an by backbitin them companion - or be it by sightin up this world dawtaz who were attractive - be it by smellin perfumes fragrance that mislead them...

7; mi hate them by all this lest them able fe be saved ~ mi distance them from JAH LAW that them might enter with mi toward the downstruction whereby mi were downbased from mi rank."

8; An the prophet told him - "Thou who downstroy persons - perish ~ pon the time thou departed from JAH LAW an committed crime ina thy reasonin firmness an thy arrogance - an by saddenin thy Irator an not worshippin thy Irator ina thy reasonin firmness - will thou thus be arrogant pon JAH Iration?

9; Pon the time thy Irator vexed pon thee - Him downbased thee from thy rank becau thy evil Work ~ why do thou tek 'Adam toward sin - him whom him Irator Irated from Earth - whom Him made like unto Him loved - an whom Him placed fe Him praise?" him told him.

10; "Pon the time thou - who are subtle an were Irated from wind an fiyah - were arrogant ina sayin 'Mi are the Irator'...

11; pon the time thou boasted - as JAH have sight up thy evil Work an thou have denied JAH with thy hosts - Him Irated 'Adam who will praise becau thy stead - that him might praise Him Name without diminishin.

12; As thou have made thy ras self prouder than all Angels hosts who are like unto thee - becau thy arrogance JAH Irated 'Adam with him children that them might praise JAH Name becau the praise that thou praise with thy hosts whom Him scorned.

13; An becaudis thing JAH downstroyed thee separatin from all Angels chiefs like unto thee - an thy hosts Irated ina one counsel with thee - an thou - unu proceeded an erred from JAH praise becau your useless reasonin arrogance an becau your reasonin firmness - an unu were arrogant pon your Irator - that aren't pon another.

14; Becaudis thing Him Irated 'Adam from Earth that Him might be praised by downbased persons - an Him gave him a Command an Law sayin Don't eat lest him eat from fig fruit.

15; An Him I-pointed him pon all the Iration Him Irated ~ Him notified him sayin - Don't eat from one fig fruit that bring death - lest thou bring death pon thy ras self - yet eat fruit from all the woods amidst the Garden.

16; An pon the time thou heard this Word - thou lodged perfidy ina him arisin from the thing thou spoke ina thy tongue fe Hiewan who were found from 'Adam side bone.

17; Thou misled 'Adam who were clean - ina firm perfidy that thou might mek him a Law demolisher like unto thee.

18; Pon the time thou misled Hiewan - who were Irated bein like unto a innocent dove an who don't know thy malice - thou made she betray by thy thing that succeeded an thy crooked word - an after thou misled that Hiewan who were Irated beforehand - she also went an misled JAH Iration 'Adam who were Irated from Earth beforehand.

19; An thou made him betray a downsturbance that aren't by thy arrogance - an thou made him fe deny that him might deny him Irator Word - an thou downstroyed 'Adam ina thy arrogance.

20; An ina thy malice thou distanced him from him Irator Love - an by thy reason thou sent him way from the Garden where Irie Ites are - an by thy hindrance thou made him quit the Garden food.

21; Fe Iginnin from Antiquity thou have quarreled with the innocent Iration 'Adam that thou might lower him toward See'ol where thou will raceive hardship - an that thou might send him way from the Love that brought him an Irated him from not livin toward true livin - an by thy false thing thou made him thirst a drink from the Garden.

22; An when him are Earthly - Him made him a subtle Angel who totally praise him Irator ina him flesh an him soul an him reasonin.

23; An Him Irated many thoughts fe him - like unto harps praise ina each of them styles.

3 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 3.

1; But Him Irated one thought fe thee - that thou might totally praise while thou were sent toward where thy Irator sent thee.

2; But fe 'Adam were given five thoughts that were evil an five thoughts that were goodly - ten thoughts.

3; An again him have many thoughts like unto sea waves - an like unto a whirl wind that scattar dust liftin up from Earth - an like unto the sea waves that shake - an arisin from him unnumbered thoughts abundance ina him heart like unto unnumbered rain drops - 'Adam thoughts are like unto that.

4; But thy thought are one ~ as thou aren't fleshly - thou have no other thought.

5; But thou lodged ina snake reasonin ~ ina evil perfidy thou downstroyed 'Adam who were one limb - an Hiewan heard the snake thing - an havin heard - she did like unto she commanded she.

6; After she ate a fig fruit - she came an misled JAH first Iration 'Adam - an she brought death pon him an pon she childran becau she infringed she Irator Command.

7; Them proceeded from the Garden fe JAH by Him true Judgemant ~ Him calmed them ina the land where them were sent by them childran birthed from them nature an by them crops found from Earth - yet Him didn't distance them from the Garden quarrelin.

8; An pon the time thou expelled them straight from the Garden - that them might plant plants an childran fe be calmed an fe renew them reasonin ina the Earth fruit that Earth prepared from she Earthliness - an that them might be calmed by Earth fruit an the Garden fruit that JAH gave them...

9; JAH gave them woods more verdant than the Garden woods - an Hiewan an 'Adam - whom thou sent way from the Garden pon them eatin it - were totally calmed from sadness.

10; As JAH know fe calm Him Iration - them reasonins are calmed becau them childran an becau the crops found from Earth.

11; As them have been sent toward this world that grow nettles an thorns - them firm up them reasonins ina Water an grain.

3 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 4.

1; The Lord have that Him might ransom 'Adam - an Him shall shame thee ~ Him will save a sheep from a wolf mouth ('Adam from Deeyablos).

2; However thou will go toward Gehannem seizin with thee the persons whom thou ruled.

3; Persons who kept them Irator JAH LAW shall be Irie with them Irator JAH Who hid them from evil Work that Him might mek them Him fortune - an that them might praise Him with honoured Angels who didn't infringe them Irator JAH LAW like unto thee.

4; But JAH - Who chose an gave thee more than all Angels like unto thee that thou might praise Him with Him servant Angels - withheld from thee a lofty throne ina thy arrogance.

5; But thou became famous an were called one who love godhood - an thy hosts were called demons.

6; But persons who loved JAH shall be Him kindreds like unto honoured Angels - an the Surafiel an Keerubiel who praise Him streach forth them wings an praise without slackness.

7; But ina thy arrogance an thy laziness thou downstroyed thy praise that thou might praise Him everytime with thy host an thy kindreds Irated ina thy features.

8; Lest the praise of JAH - Who Irated thee makin a tenth tribe - be diminished pon the time thou forgot the praise of JAH Who Irated thee - it havin seemed fe thee that it aren't posssible fe Him fe Irate a Iration like unto thee - an lest the praise of JAH - Who Irated thee - be diminished pon the time thou were separated from thy bredren Inity - Him Irated 'Adam becau thy stead.

9; But ina thy reasonin arrogance thou neglected the praise of JAH Who Irated thee - an Him vexed pon thee ~ Him ridiculed thee - an Him bound an banished thee ina Gehannem with thy hosts also.

10; Him brought Soil from Earth with Him glorified Hands - an addin fiyah an Water an wind - Him Irated 'Adam ina Him Example an Him Features.

11; Him I-pointed him pon all the Iration Him Irated ina Him Itority - that Him praise might be filled by the praise thou would praise Him ~ 'Adam praise became one with Angels praise - an them praise were level.

12; But ina thy collar of reasonin firmness an thy arrogance thou were downbased from thy rank - an havin departed from JAH Lordship - Who Irated thee - thou downstroyed thy ras self.

13; Know that Him praise weren't diminished - fe JAH have Irated 'Adam who praised Him ina him reasonin counsel lest Him JAH-ness praise be diminished.

14; Fe Him know all before it are done - an Him knew thee before Him Irated thee that thou will demolish Him Command ~ as there are a counsel hidden alongside Him before Him Irated the world - pon the time thou denied Him - Him Irated Him slave 'Adam ina Him Features an Him Example.

15; Like unto Selomon spoke sayin - 'Before hills were Irated an before the world succeeded bein Irated - an before winds that are Earth grounations were Irated...

16; an before Him firmed up hills an mountains grounations - an before this world Work firmed up - an before moon an Sun light shone - before eras an stars caretakin were known...

17; an before daylight an night alternated - an before the sea were delineated by sand - before all the Irated Iration were Irated...

18; an before all sight up today were sight up - before all the names called today were called - Him Irated I Selomon' - Angels like unto unu an thou an Him slave 'Adam were ina JAH Reasonin.

19; Him Irated 'Adam that Him glorified Name might be praised pon the time thou mutinied - an that Him might be praised by Him downbased slave 'Adam who were Irated from Earth pon the time thou were arrogant.

20; Fe bein ina Heaven JAH hear poor ones plea - an Him love downbased persons praise.

21; Him love fe save havin lodged ina persons who fear Him - yet as Him don't love horse Power - an as Him don't step meanin fe the lap of a concubine - JAH shall ignore arrogant ones thing.

22; An them shall weep while them cried becau them sin that them worked.

23; It failed thee fe plead ina repentance.

24; But 'Adam who were Irated from Earth returned ina repentance while him totally wept before JAH becau him sin.

25; But ina thy collar of reasonin firmness an thy heart arrogance thou didn't know Love Work an thou didn't know repentance ~ it failed thee fe plead before thy Irator JAH ina repentance an mournin an sadness.

26; But that 'Adam who are ashes an Earth returned toward repentance ina mournin an sadness - an him returned toward humbleness an Love Work.

27; But thou didn't downbase thy reasonin an thy ras self fe JAH Who Irated thee.

28; As fe 'Adam - him downbased him ras self an pleaded pon the iniquity him wronged ~ him weren't proud.

29; As thou have totally produced crime - it were found from thee - yet it aren't him who produced that error ~ ina thy arrogance thou took him with thee toward thy downstruction.

30; Before him Irated unu both - as Him have known unu that unu were sinners - an as Him have known your Works - Him know that this that were done were ina thy heart arrogance.

31; But Him returned that 'Adam - who were without arrogance or malice - ina repentance mournin an sadness.

32; Fe a person who wrong an don't plead ina repentance have multiplied him iniquity more than him earlier iniquity - but ina thy heart arrogance it failed thee fe plead ina repentance - but a person who plead an weep enterin repentance before Him Irator JAH...

33; him entered repentance fe true - an him found Work whereby him will be saved that him might fear him Lord Heart - an him pleaded before him Irator - fe him have pleaded before Him ina bowin an much repentance - an arisin from the earlier tribulation the Lord shall lighten him sin fe him lest Him vex pon Him slave - an Him will forgive him him former sin.

34; If him didn't return toward him former sin an if him did this - this are perfect repentance ~ 'Adam didn't forget fe think of him Irator nor fe implore him Irator JAH ina repentance.

35; An thou - plea ina repentance toward thy Irator JAH - an don't wrong them becau them were flesh an blood - fe JAH Who Irated them know them weakness - an don't wrong the persons Him Irated by Him Itority.

36; An after them soul were separated from them flesh - them flesh shall be dust up til the day that JAH love.

3 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 5.

1; Know JAH WHo Irated thee-I ~ as JAH have Irated thee-I ina Him Features an Him Example when thou are Earth - don't forget JAH Who firmed thee-I up an saved thee-I an Whom 'Isra'iel glorified ~ Him placed thee-I ina Garden that thou might be Irie an might dig Earth.

2; Pon the time thou demolished Him Command - Him sent thee way from the Garden toward this world that Him cursed becau thee - that grow nettles an thorns.

3; Fe thou are Earth - an fe she are Earth - fe thou are dust - an fe she are dust - fe thou are Soil - an fe she are Soil - fe thou are fed the grain found from she - an fe thou will return toward she - fe thou will be Soil up til Him love that Him might raise thee - an fe Him shall examine thee the sin thou worked an all the iniquity.

4; Know what thou will answer Him at that time ~ think of the good an evil thou worked ina this world ~ examine whether the evil would abound or whether the good would abound ~ try.

5; If thou work a goodly thing - it are a goodly thing fe thee-I that thou might be Irie pon the day when persons who dead will arise.

6; But if thou work evil Work - woe fe thee - fe thou will raceive thy hardship like unto thy hands Work an like unto thy reasonin evil ~ fe if thou work a evil thing pon thy companion an if thou didn't fear JAH - thou will raceive thy hardship.

7; An if thou betray thy companion an if thou call JAH Name an swear ina lie - as thou will raceive thy hardship like unto thy Work - woe fe thee.

8; An thou tell thy false thing fe thy companion simulatin Truth - but thou know that thou spoke a lie.

9; An thou persuade the persons with thee thy false thing simulatin Truth - an thou multiply false things that weren't Truth - an thou will raceive thy hardship like unto thy sin ~

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thou deny thy companion while thou tell thy companion 'mi will give thee' what thou won't give him.

10; An pon the time thou said 'Mi will give' ina thy pure reasonin - demons mek application fe thee like unto dogs - an them mek thee forget all - an if thou withhold or if thou love that thou might give - them don't know the person fe whom them gather - yet as Him have said - Them shall fatten - this world money appetise thee that thou might fatten the money that won't benefit thee an that thou won't eat.

11; An again - as Him have said - 'Adam liar childran mek a balance false ~ as fe them - them go from robbery toward robbery - this world money appetise thee.

12; O persons - don't mek hope ina distortin scales an balances - an ina stealin a person money - an ina makin a person money one ina downgression - an ina infringin your companions money - an ina stealin him field - ina all the lies unu do fe your ras selves profit that aren't fe your companions.

13; If unu do this unu will raceive your hardship like unto your Work.

14; O persons - be fed by your hands Work that were straight - yet don't desire robbery ~ don't love that unu might totally rob an eat a person money without justice by what aren't due.

15; An if unu eat it - it won't satta unu ~ pon the time unu dead unu will quit it fe another - yet even if unu fatten - it won't benefit unu.

16; An if your money abound - don't distort your reasonins ~ as sinner persons money are like unto the smoke that proceed from a griddle an the wind tek it - better than sinner persons money are the likkle money them accumulated ina Truth.

3 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 6.

1; Think of the day when unu will dead ~ pon the time your souls were separated from your flesh - an pon the time unu quit your money fe another - an pon the time unu went pon the path unu don't know - think of the tribulation that shall come pon unu.

2; An the demons that will raceive unu are evil - an them features are ugly - an them are frightenin ina them splendour - an them won't hear your words - an unu won't hear them words.

3; An becau unu didn't do your Irator JAH Accord - them won't hear unu ina your plea pon the time unu begged them ~ becaudis thing them will totally frighten unu.

4; But persons who fulfilled JAH Accord have no fear - fe demons fear them. But demons shall ridicule sinner persons souls pon them.

5; But kind persons souls shall be Irie pon Angels ina Irie Ites - fe them shall totally mek them Irie becau them scorned this world - but angels who are evil shall raceive sinner persons souls.

6; Pardon Angels shall raceive kind persons an righteous ones souls - fe them are sent from JAH that them might calm righteous ones souls ~ as Angels that were evil are sent from Deeyablos that them might ridicule pon sinner persons souls - demons shall raceive sinner persons souls.

7; Sinner persons - woe fe unu ~ weep fe your ras selves before the day when unu dead arrive pon unu ~ pon the time unu reach toward JAH...

8; enter repentance ina your era that are there before your era pass - that unu might live ina Irieness an Ites without tribulation nor disease - yet as after unu dead your era won't return that passed - weep.

9; Lest it be pon unu toward a vain accord that distance from JAH - ina your firm criticism mek lovin fe be lavished an food an Irie Ites not be found ina unu ~ as a body that are sated without measure won't think of JAH Name - Deeyablos wealth shall lodge pon it - yet as the Hola Spirit won't lodge ina it - mek lovin the Irie Ites not be found ina unu.

10; Like unto Mussie spoke - Mussie havin said - "Ya`iqob ate an were sated an fattened an tall an wide - an JAH Who Irated him were separated from him.

11; An him lifestyle distanced from JAH" - as a body that were sated without measure nor moderation won't think of JAH Name - mek lovin Irie Ites not be found alongside unu ~ as belly satiety without measure are bein like unto a boar an like unto a wanderin horse - mek drinkin an eatin without measure an adultery not be found ina unu.

12; But a person who eat ina measure shall live firmed up ina JAH Support - an him shall live firmed up like unto the horizon an like unto a tower that have a stone fence; a person who forgot JAH LAW shall flee without one livin who chase him.

13; A kind person shall live ina bein raspected like unto a lion.

14; But persons who don't love JAH won't keep Him LAW - an them reasonins aren't straight.

15; An JAH shall bring sadness an alarm pon them when them are ina this world - an bein seized ina tremblin an fright - an bein seized ina the tribulations without number by them money bein snatched - bein bound by them hands ina chains from them masters hands...

16; lest them be who rested from the tribulation - an lest them lifestyle be ina Irie Ites - lest them rest when them are ina alarmin tribulations that are pon each of them ras selves - Him shall bring sadness an alarm pon them.

3 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 7.

1; But like unto Daweet spoke sayin - "I-man believed ina JAH ~ I-man won't fear havin said - 'What would a person mek I?'" - there are no fright an alarm pon persons who believed ina JAH.

2; An again like unto him spoke sayin - "If warriors surround I - I-man believed ina Him ~ I-man begged JAH one thing ~ I-man seek that" - persons who believed ina Him have no fright pon them ~ a person who believed ina Him shall live ina Life foriva - an him won't fear arisin from a evil thing.

3; Who are a person who shamed believin in JAH? how about who ignored Him fe a desire?

4; As Him have said - I-man love him who loved I - an I-man shall honour him who glorified I ~ I-man shall keep him who returned toward I ina repentance - who are a person who shamed believin ina Him?

5; Judge Truth an save the widow body ~ save them that JAH might save unu from all that oppose unu ina evil thing ~ keep them ~ as kind persons childran are honoured - them are given makin a profit - an yet Him shall save your childran after unu - fe them won't be troubled fe grain.

3 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 8.

1; 'Iyob believed ina JAH ~ as him didn't neglect fe praise him Irator JAH - JAH saved him from all the tribulation that 'Adam childran enemy Deeyablos brought pon him ~ him said - "JAH gave ~ JAH withheld ~ it happened like unto JAH loved pon I - an mek JAH Name be praised by all pon Earth an ina Heaven" - yet as him didn't sadden him reasonin - JAH saved him.

2; An pon the time JAH sight up 'Iyob that him heart were cleansed from sin - Him raceived him ina much honour.

3; An Him gave him money that abounded more than him money that preceded ~ fe him have totally indured him tribulation - an Him cured him from him wounds becau him indurin all the tribulation that arrived pon him.

4; An if unu like unto him indure the tribulation arisin from demons sent toward unu - unu will be admired.

5; Indure the tribulation ~ that JAH might be fe unu a fortress Refuge from persons who hate unu - an that Him might be a fortress Refuge fe your childran childran an fe your childran after unu - don't sadden your reasonins arisin from the tribulation that came pon unu ~ believe ina Him - an Him shall be a fortress Refuge fe unu.

6; Beg Him ~ Him will hear unu ~ mek hope - an Him will forgive unu ~ beg Him - an Him will be a Faada fe unu;

7; Think of Merdokyos an 'Astier - Yodeet an Giediewon an Deebora an Bariq an Yoftahie an Somson...

8; an other persons like unto them who were disciplined fe believe ina JAH an whose enemies didn't defeat them.

9; Fe JAH are True - an fe Him don't favour havin sight up a face - but persons raceived hardship who love that them might work sin pon them ras selves ~ all persons who fear Him an keep Him LAW shall keep bodies - an Him shall give them bein I-loved an honour.

10; Him shall mek them Irie ina them proceedin an them enterin - ina them Life an them death - an ina them arisin an sittin ~ Fe Him save - an Him seclude.

11; Fe Him sadden - an Him pardon.

12; Fe Him mek poor - an Him honour ~ Him mek wretched - an as Him honour - Him mek them Irie.

3 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 9.

1; An whether it be what are ina Heaven - or whether it be what are pon Earth - an be it either subtle or stout - everything n all Him money live bein firmed up ina Him Order.

2; There are nothing that departed from JAH LAW an Him Order - Who Irated all the world ~ be it a vulture track that fly ina Heaven - Him command toward it destination where Him loved.

3; An Him command a Earth snake path that live ina cave toward where Him loved - an a boat path that go pon sea - apart from only JAH there are none who know it path.

4; An apart from only JAH - there are none who know the path where a soul go pon the time it were separated from it flesh - be it a righteous or a sinner soul.

5; Who know where it will turn - that it would turn ina wilderness or pon a mountain? or that it would fly like unto a bird - that it would be like unto Heaven dew that alight pon a mountain...

6; or that it would be like unto deep wind - or that it would be like unto lightnin that straighten up it path...

7; or that it would be like unto stars that shine amidst the deep - or that it would be like unto sand pon a sea shore that are piled amidst the deep...

8; or that it would be like unto a horizon stone that firmed up pon the sea deep edge - or like unto a wood that give she beautiful fruit that grew by a Water spout...

9; or that it would be that I likened unto the reed that heat of the Sun burnt - an that wind lift an tek toward another place where it didn't grow - an whose trace aren't found...

10; or that it would be like unto misty urine whose trace aren't found - who know JAH Work? who are Him counsellors? how about with whom did Him counsel?

11; As JAH Thoughts are hidden from persons - who will examine an know Him Work?

12; As Him have Irated Earth pon Water - an as Him have firmed she up without stakes - there are none who examine an know JAH Counsel or Him Wisdom - an Him Irated Heaven ina Him perfect Wisdom an firmed it up ina winds - an Him streached forth a lofty cosmos like unto a tent.

13; Him commanded clouds that them might rain rain pon Earth - an Him grow grass - an Him grow fruits without number fe be food fe persons - that InI might believe ina JAH an be Irie ina Inity.

14; JAH are Who give 'Adam childran the Irie Ites an all the fatness an all the satiety ~ JAH are Who give that them might satta an praise JAH Who gave them fruit from Earth...

15; an Who dressed them ina beautiful robes - Who gave them all the I-loved plenty - the Irieness an the Ites that are given fe persons who fulfill JAH Accord.

16; Him give bein I-loved an honour ina the house Him prepared an ina the Kingdom of Heaven fe them faadas who keep JAH LAW.

17; Him give bein I-loved an honour ina the place Him prepared an ina the Kingdom of Heaven fe them faadas who lived firmed up ina Him Worship an Him LAW - an who didn't depart from Him LAW - whom Him famed an raised that them might keep Him Order an Him LAW - an I-man sight up what JAH do fe Him friends ina this world by weakenin them enemies an by keepin them bodies.

18; I-man sight up that Him give them all them begged Him an that Him fulfill them accord fe them ~ don't depart from JAH - an fulfill JAH Accord.

19; Don't depart from Him Command an Him LAW - lest Him vex pon unu an lest Him downstroy unu at one time - an lest Him vex an whip unu ina the tribulation from where unu lived formerly - lest unu depart from your faadas Order where unu were formerly - an lest uour lodgin be ina Gehannem where are no exits up til the Iternity.

20; Keep your Irator JAH LAW when your soul are separated from your flesh that Him might do goodly Work fe unu pon the time unu stood before JAH.

21; Fe Earth an Heaven Kingdoms are fe Him - an fe Kingdom an capability are fe Him - an fe bein nice an pardonin are only fe Him.

22; As Him mek rich an Him mek poor - as Him mek wretched an Him honour - keep JAH LAW.

23; An Daweet spoke becau Him while him said - "Man seem vain - an him era pass like unto a shadow."

24; Him spoke becau Him sayin - "But Lord - Thou live foriva - an Thy Name Invocation are fe a child childran."

25; An again him said - "Thy Kingdom are all the world Kingdom - an Thy Rulership are fe a child childran" ~ Thou returned a kingdom fe Daweet bringin from Sa'ol.

26; But there are none who will I-point Thee-I ~ there are none who can dismiss ~ Thou sight up all - yet there are none who can sight up Thee-I.

27; An Thy kingdom won't perish foriva fe a child childran ~ there are none who will rule Him - but Him rule all ~ Him sight up all - but there are none who sight Him up.

28; As Him have Irated man ina Him Features an ina Him example that them might praise Him an might know Him Worship ina straight reasonin without doubt - Him examine an know what kidneys smoked up an what a reasonin transported.

29; Yet them bow fe stone - fe wood - an fe silver an gold that a person hand worked.

30; An them sacrifice sacrifice fe them up til them sacrifice smoke proceed toward Heaven - that them sin might live firmed up before JAH - but yet them refused fe worship JAH Who Irated them ~ Him shall downcuse them becau all them sin that them worked ina worshippin them idols.

31; Them learned bowin fe idols an all stained Work that aren't due - naysayin by stars - sorcery - worshippin idols - evil accord - an all the Work that JAH don't love - yet them didn't keep JAH Command that them learned.

32; As them didn't love fe worship JAH that them might save them bodies from sin an iniquity by Him servants the Angels an by money that them praise before JAH - them work all this ina lackin goodly Work.

33; An pon the time them all arose together from the graves where them were buried an where them bodies perished - them souls shall stand empty before JAH - an them souls lived ina the Kingdom of Heaven prepared fe kind persons.

34; But sinner persons souls shall live ina Gehannem - an pon the time graves were opened - persons who dead shall arise - an souls shall return toward the flesh that them were separated formerly.

35; Like unto them were bithed ina them nakedness from them mother belly - them shall stand ina them nakedness

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before JAH - an them sins that them worked Iginnin from them infancy up til that time shall be revealed.

36; Them shall raceive them sin hardship pon them bodies - an whether them likkle or much sin - them shall raceive them hardship like unto them sin.

3 MEQABYAN CHAPTER 10.

1; Fe the blood of soul found from JAH shall lodge ina them like unto it lodged ina them formerly - an if unu didn't believe persons who dead arisin - hear that Irations shall arise ina rainy season without bein birthed from them mother nor faada.

2; An Him command them formerly by Him Word that them dead.

3; An them flesh bein demolished an rotten an again renewed - them shall arise like unto Him loved.

4; An again pon the time rain alit an pon the time it sated Earth - them shall live havin arisin like unto them were Irated formerly.

5; As them who are everlivin ina bloodly soul an who live ina this world an them whom Water produce have been Irated - Him havin said Mek them be Irated - an as JAH Itority lodge pon the Water - she give them a bloodly soul by Him Itority an by Him Word.

6; As them are Irated by Him Itority an by Him Word without a faada nor mother - thou blind of reasonin who say "Persons who dead won't arise" - if thou have knowledge or Wisdom - how will thou say persons who dead won't arise by them Irator JAH Word?

7; As persons who dead - who were ashes an dust ina grave - shall arise by JAH Word - as fe thou - enter repentance an return toward thy religion.

8; Like unto Him Word spoke formerly - them shall arise by the Pardon Dew found from JAH - an that Word shall turn all the world an arouse the persons who dead like unto Him loved.

9; An know that thou will arise an stand before Him - an mek it not seem fe thee ina thy reasonin dullness that thou will remain ina grave.

10; It aren't thus ~ thou will arise an raceive thy hardship like unto the Work measure that thou worked - whether it be goodly or evil - yet mek it not seem fe thee that thou will remain - fe this Day are the day when them will raceive hardship.

11; An ina Resurrection time thou will raceive thy hardship by all thy sin that thou worked ~ thou will finish thy sin hardship that were written Iginnin from thy infancy up til that time - an thou have no reason that thou will pretext pon thy sin like unto this world Work that thou might deny thy sin.

12; Like unto thou mek thy false word truth before thee - an like unto thou mek the lie thing that thou spoke truth - thou have no reason that thou will pretext like unto this world Work.

13; Becau it were that she know pon thee all thy evil Work thou worked - an becau it were that she will reveal pon thee before she Irator JAH - as JAH Word shall lodge pon thee an speak pon thee - thou have no reason pon what thou pretext.

14; Thou will shame there becau thy sin that thou worked ~ it are that thou might be thanked with persons who are thanke pon them beautiful Work - yet lest thou shame before man an Angels pon the day when Judgemant are judged - quickly enter repentance ina this world before thou arrive toward there.

15; Persons who praise JAH with Angels shall raceive them reward from them Irator without shamin - an them shall be Irie ina the Kingdom of Heaven - however unless thou worked goodly Work when thou are ina thy flesh ina Life - thou have no fortune with righteous ones.

16; As thou weren't prepared when thou have knowledge an when thou have this world where thou enter repentance - there shall be a useless regret pon thee - an fe thou didn't give a morsel fe the hungry when thou have money.

17; An fe thou didn't clothe the naked when thou have clothes - an fe thou didn't save the wronged when thou have Itority.

18; Fe thou didn't teach the sinner person when thou have knowledge - that him might return an enter repentance - an that JAH might forgive him him sin that him formerly worked ina ignorance - an fe thou didn't fight with demons who quarrel with thee when thou have Power that thou able fe prevail.

19; An fe thou didn't fast nor pray when thou have firmness that thou might weaken thy infancy Power that are pon flesh - an that thou might subject thy ras self fe Rightness that aren't favorin pon flesh...

20; that aren't favorin Irie Ites when it are ina this world ina beautiful drink an sweet food - an that aren't adornin ina thin clothes an silver an gold...

21; an as thou didn't fast nor pray when thou have firmness that thou might subject thy ras self fe Rightness that aren't adornin ina honoured Hindekie jewels called emerald an phazyon - there shall be a useless regret pon thee ~ this aren't a person ornamant that are due.

22; As fe a person ornamant - it are purity - Wisdom - knowledge - lovin one another by what are due without envyin nor jealousy nor doubtin nor quarrels ~ while thou loved thy companion like unto thy ras self...

23; an without thy doin a evil thing pon a person who did a evil thing pon thee-I - it are lovin one another by what are due - that thou might enter toward the Kingdom of Heaven that are given fe person who indured the tribulation - that Him might give thee the honoured Kingdom of Heaven an thy reward pon makin hope ina the Kingdom of Heaven ina Resurrection time with honoured persons ina knowledge an Wisdom.

24; An don't say "After wi dead wi won't arise" - fe Deeyablos cut off hope of persons who speak an think this lest them be saved in Resurrection time ~ them will know that them have hardship pon them pon the time Advent arrived pon them ~ ina Resurrection time persons will be totally sad who worked sin ina not knowin that Him might think of them sin pon them - fe them didn't believe ina Him that them will arise pon that Day.

25; Becaudis thing them shall be reproached like unto them Work evil measure that them worked ina this world - an them shall sight up the Resurrection that them denied whereby them will arise together ina flesh.

26; Them shall weep at that time becau them didn't work goodly Work ~ it would have been better fe them if them wept ina this world if it are possible fe them lest them be who weep ina Gehannem.

27; If InI didn't weep ina this world by InI accord - demons will mek InI weep without InI accord ina Gehannem ~ if InI didn't enter repentance ina this world - InI prepare worthless an useless cries an mournin ina Gehannem.

28; Prepare goodly Work - that unu might cross from death toward Life - an that unu might go from this passin world toward the Kingdom of Heaven - an that unu might sight up the Kingdom of Heaven Light that surpass light ina this world.

29; Refuse Irie Ites that are ina this world - that thou might be Irie without measure ina the Kingdom of Heaven ina Irie Ites that aren't fulfilled Iginnin from today up til the Iternity with persons who believe persons who dead arisin.

Mek Glory an praise due JAH foriva - an the third book that speak the Meqabyans thing were fulfilled.

DIALOGUE OF THE SAVIOUR

From: Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt
Translation: Stephen Emmel
Estimated Range of Dating: 120-180 A.D.

(The Dialogue of the Saviour is one of the New Testament apocrypha texts that was found in Egypt within the Nag Hammadi library of predominantly gnostic texts. The text appears only once in a single Coptic codex, and is heavily damaged. The surviving portions indicate that the general content is a dialogue with Jesus, in a similar manner to, and possibly based on, the Gospel of Thomas.

The text is somewhat peculiarly constructed, containing also a few large interruptions seemingly out of place within, and only superficially edited into, the dialogue. Starting with a series of questions ultimately concerning esoteric knowledge and its pursuit, the text abruptly turns to a description of the origin of the world, interrupted briefly by a return to dialogue. Having expounded the description of creation, it returns to the Gnostic question and answer session about how to achieve salvation via gnosis, but is abruptly interrupted by a natural history list of the Four Elements, the powers of heaven and earth, and so forth.

After the history list, there is an apocalyptic vision, in which Didymus Judas Thomas, Mary, and Matthew, are shown hell from the safety of the edge of the earth, and an angel announces that the material world was an unintended evil creation (see Yaltabaoth). Finally, the text returns to the question-based dialogue.

The rather artificial manner in which other texts (the vision of hell, the natural history list, and the creation theory) appear to have been inserted into a question-based dialogue, and the abrupt change halfway through from referring to Jesus as Lord to referring to him as Saviour, has led many to propose that it is based on four or five different original works. However, due to the damage that the text has suffered, study of it has so far proven too difficult to identify what these texts might be (although the dialog shares an affinity with the Gospel of Thomas). The final redaction is estimated to have taken place around 150 AD.)

The Saviour said to his disciples, "Already the time has come, brothers, for us to abandon our labour and stand at rest. For whoever stands at rest will rest forever. And I say to you, be always above [...] time [...] you [...] be afraid of [...] you [...] anger is fearful [...] arouse anger [...] but since you have [...] they accepted these words concerning it with fear and trembling, and it set them up with governors, for from it nothing was forthcoming. But when I came, I opened the path, and I taught them about the passage which they will traverse, the elect and solitary, who have known the Father, having believed the truth and all the praises while you offered praise.

"So when you offer praise, do so like this: Hear us, Father, just as you heard your only-begotten son, and received him, and gave him rest from any [...] You are the one whose power [...] your armor [...] is [...] light [...] living [...] touch [...] the word [...] repentance [...] life [...] you. You are the thinking and the entire serenity of the solitary. Again: Hear us just as you heard your elect. Through your sacrifice, these will enter; through their good works, these have saved their souls from these blind limbs, so that they might exist eternally. Amen.

"I will teach you. When the time of dissolution arrives, the first power of darkness will come upon you. Do not be afraid and say "Behold! The time has come!" But when you see a single staff ... (3 lines indecipherable) ... understand [...] the work [...] and the governors [...] come upon you [...]. Truly, fear is the power [...]. So if you are going to be afraid of what is about to come upon you, it will engulf you. For there is not one among them who will spare you or show you mercy. But in this way, look at the [...] in it, since you have mastered every word on earth. It [...] take you up to the [...] place where there is no rule [...] tyrant. When you [...] you will see those who [...] and also [...] tell you [...] the reasoning power [...] reasoning power [...] place of truth [...] but [...]. But you [...] truth, this [...] living [...] and your joy [...]. So [...] in order that [...] your souls [...] lest it [...] the word [...] raise... (3 lines indecipherable) ... For the crossing place is fearful before you. But you, with a single mind, pass it by! For its depth is great; its height is enormous [...] single mind [...] and the fire [...] [...] all the powers [...] you, they [...] and the powers [...] they [...][...] soul [...] [...] in everyone [...] you are the [...] and [...] forget [...] son [...] and you [...][...]."

Matthew said, "How [...][...]?"

The Saviour said "[...] the things inside you [...] will remain, you [...]."

Judas said, "Lord [...] the works [...] these souls, these [...], these little ones, when [...] where will they be? [...] the spirit [...]?"

The Lord said, "[...] receive them. These do not die, [...] they are not destroyed, for they have known their consorts and him who would receive them. For the truth seeks out the wise and the righteous."

The Saviour said, "The lamp of the body is the mind. As long as the things inside you are set in order, that is, [...], your bodies are luminous. As long as your hearts are dark, the luminosity you anticipate [...] I have [...] I will go [...] my word [...] I send [...]."

His disciples said, "Lord, who is it who seeks, and [...] reveals?"

The Lord said to them, "He who seeks [...] reveals [...]."

Matthew said, "Lord, when I [...] and when I speak, who is it who [...] and who listens?"

The Lord said, "It is the one who speaks who also listens, and it is the one who can see who also reveals."

Mary said, "Lord, behold! Whence do I bear the body while I weep, and whence while I [laugh]?"

The Lord said, "[...] weeps on account of its works [...] remain and the mind laughs [...][...] spirit. If one does not [...] darkness, he will be able to see [...]. So I tell you [...] light is the darkness [...] stand in [...] not see the light [...] the lie [...] they brought them from [...]. You will give [...] and [...] exist forever. [...][...] ever. Then all the powers which are above, as well as those below, will [...] you. In that place there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth over the end of all these things."

Judas said, "Tell us, Lord, what was [...] before the heaven and the earth existed."

The Lord said, "There was darkness and water, and spirit upon water. And I say to you [...] what you seek after [...] inquire after [...] within you [...] the power and the mystery [...] spirit, for from [...] wickedness [...] come [...] mind [...] behold [...][...]."

[...] said, "Lord, tell us where the [...] is established, and where the true mind exists."

The Lord said, "The fire of the spirit came into existence [...] both. On this account, the [...] came into existence, and the true mind came into existence within them [...]. If someone sets his soul up high, then he will be exalted."

And Matthew asked him, "[...] took [...], it is he who [...]."

The Lord said, "[...] stronger than [...] you [...] to follow you and all the works [...] your hearts. For just as your hearts [...], so [...] the means to overcome the powers above, as well as those below [...]. I say to you, let him who possesses power renounce it and repent. And let him who [...] seek and find and rejoice."

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Judas said, "Behold! I see that all things exist [...] like signs upon [...]. On this account did they happen thus."

The Lord said, "When the Father established the cosmos, he [...] water from it, and his Word came forth from it, and it inhabited many [...]. It was higher than the path [...] surrounds the entire earth [...] the collected water [...] existing outside them. [...] the water, a great fire encircling them like a wall. [...] time once many things had become separated from what was inside. When the [...] was established, he looked [...], and said to it, 'Go, and [...] from yourself, in order that [...] be in want from generation to generation, and from age to age.' Then it cast forth from itself fountains of milk and fountains of honey, and oil and wine and good fruits, and sweet flavor and good roots, in order that it might not be deficient from generation to generation, and from age to age. And it is above [...] standing [...] its beauty [...] and outside there was a great light, powerful [...] resemble it, for it [...] rules over all the aeons above and below. [...] was taken from the fire [...] it was scattered in the [...] above and below. All the works which depend on them, it is they [...] over the heaven above and over the earth below. On them depend all the works."

And when Judas heard these things, he bowed down, and he [...], and he offered praise to the Lord.

Mary hailed her brethren, saying, "Where are you going to put these things about which you ask the son [...]?"

The Lord said to her, "Sister, [no one] will be able to inquire about these things except for someone who has somewhere to put them in his heart. [...] to come forth [...] and enter [...], so that they might not hold back [...] this impoverished cosmos."

Matthew said, "Lord, I want to see that place of life, [the place] where there is no wickedness, but rather, there is pure light!"

The Lord said, "Brother Matthew, you will not be able to see it as long as you are carrying flesh around."

Matthew said, "Lord, even if I will not be able to see it, let me know it!"

The Lord said, "Everyone who has known himself has seen it in everything given to him to do, [...] and has come to [...] it in his goodness."

Judas responded, saying, "Tell me, Lord, how it is that [...] which shakes the earth moves."

The Lord picked up a stone and held it in his hand, saying "What am I holding in my hand?"

He said, "It is a stone."

He said to them, "That which supports the earth is that which supports the heaven. When a Word comes forth from the Greatness, it will come on what supports the heaven and the earth. For the earth does not move. Were it to move, it would fall. But it neither moves nor falls, in order that the First Word might not fail. For it was that which established the cosmos and inhabited it, and inhaled fragrance from it. For [...] which do not move, I [...] you, all the sons of men. For you are from that place. In the hearts of those who speak out of joy and truth, you exist. Even if it comes forth in the body of the Father among men, and is not received, still it [...] return to its place. Whoever does not know the work of perfection, knows nothing. If one does not stand in the darkness, he will not be able to see the light. If one does not understand how fire came into existence, he will burn in it, because he does not know the root of it. If one does not first understand water, he knows nothing. For what use is there for him to be baptised in it? If one does not understand how blowing wind came into existence, he will blow away with it. If one does not understand how body, which he bears, came into existence, he will perish with it. And how will someone who does not know the Son know the Father? And to someone who will not know the root of all things, they remain hidden. Someone who will not know the root of wickedness is no stranger to it. Whoever will not understand how he came will not understand how he will go, and he is no stranger to this cosmos which will [...], which will be humiliated."

Then he [...] Judas and Matthew and Mary [...] the edge of heaven and earth. And when he placed his hand upon them, they hoped that they might [...] it. Judas raised his eyes and saw an exceedingly high place, and he saw the place of the abyss below. Judas said to Matthew, "Brother, who will be able to climb up to such a height or down to the bottom of the abyss? For there is a tremendous fire there, and something very fearful!" At that moment, a Word came forth from it. As it stood there, he saw how it had come down. Then he said to it, "Why have you come down?"

And the Son of Man greeted them and said to them, "A seed from a power was deficient, and it went down to the abyss of the earth. And the Greatness remembered it, and he sent the Word to it. It brought it up into his presence, so that the First Word might not fail."

Then his disciples were amazed at all the things he had said to them, and they accepted them on faith. And they concluded that it is useless to regard wickedness.

(38) Then he said to his disciples, "Have I not told you that like a visible voice and flash of lightning will the good be taken up to the light?"

Then all his disciples offered him praise and said, "Lord, before you appeared here, who was it who offered you praise? For all praises exist on your account. Or who is it who will bless you? For all blessing derives from you."

(40) As they stood there, he saw two spirits bringing a single soul with them in a great flash of lightning. And a Word came forth from the Son of Man, saying, "Give them their garment!" And the small one became like the big one. They were [...] those who received them [...] each other. Then [...] disciples, whom he had [...].

Mary said, "[...] see evil [...] them from the first [...] each other.

The Lord said, "[...] when you see them [...] become huge, they will [...]. But when you see the Eternal Existent, that is the great vision."

They all said to him, "Tell us about it!"

He said to them, "How do you wish to see it? By means of a transient vision or an eternal vision?" He went on and said, "Strive to save that which can follow you, and to seek it out, and to speak from within it, so that, as you seek it out, everything might be in harmony with you. For I say to you, truly, the living God [...] in you [...] in him."

Judas said, "Truly, I want [...]."

The Lord said to him, "[...] living [...] dwells [...] entire [...] the deficiency [...]."

Judas said, "Who [...]?"

The Lord said to him, "[...] all the works which [...] the remainder, it is they which you [...]."

Judas said, "Behold! The governors dwell above us, so it is they who will rule over us!"

The Lord said, "It is you who will rule over them! But when you rid yourselves of jealousy, then you will clothe yourselves in light and enter the bridal chamber."

Judas said, "How will our garments be brought to us?"

The Lord said, "There are some who will provide for you, and there are others who will receive [...]. For it is they who will give you your garments. For who will be able to reach that place which is the reward? But the garments of life were given to man because he knows the path by which he will leave. And it is difficult even for me to reach it!"

Mary said, "Thus with respect to 'the wickedness of each day,' and 'the labourer is worthy of his food,' and 'the disciple resembles his teacher.'" She uttered this as a woman who had understood completely.

The disciples said to him, "What is the fullness, and what is the deficiency?"

He said to them, "You are from the fullness, and you dwell in the place where the deficiency is. And lo! His light has poured down upon me!"

Matthew said, "Tell me, Lord, how the dead die, and how the living live."

The Lord said, "You have asked me about a saying [...] which eye has not seen, nor have I heard it, except from you. But I say to you that when what invigorates a man is removed, he will be called 'dead'. And when what is alive leaves what is dead, what is alive will be called upon."

Judas said, "Why else, for the sake of truth, do they <die> and live?"

The Lord said, "Whatever is born of truth does not die. Whatever is born of woman dies."

Mary said, "Tell me, Lord, why I have come to this place to profit or to forfeit."

The Lord said, "You make clear the abundance of the revealer!"

Mary said to him, "Lord, is there then a place which is [...] or lacking truth?"

The Lord said, "The place where I am not!"

Mary said, "Lord, you are fearful and wonderful, and [...] those who do not know you."

Matthew said, "Why do we not rest at once?"

The Lord said, "When you lay down these burdens!"

Matthew said, "How does the small join itself to the big?"

The Lord said, "When you abandon the works which will not be able to follow you, then you will rest."

Mary said, "I want to understand all things, just as they are!"

The Lord said, "He who will seek out life! For this is their wealth. For the [...] of this cosmos is [...], and its gold and its silver are misleading."

His disciples said to him, "What should we do to ensure that our work will be perfect?"

The Lord said to them, "Be prepared in face of everything. Blessed is the man who has found [...] the contest [...] his eyes. Neither did he kill, nor was he killed, but he came forth victorious."

Judas said, "Tell me, Lord, what the beginning of the path is."

He said, "Love and goodness. For if one of these existed among the governors, wickedness would never have come into existence."

Matthew said, "Lord, you have spoken about the end of everything without concern."

The Lord said, "You have understood all the things I have said to you, and you have accepted them on faith. If you have known them, then they are yours. If not, then they are not yours."

They said to him, "What is the place to which we are going?"

The Lord said, "Stand in the place you can reach!"

Mary said, "Everything established thus is seen."

The Lord said, "I have told you that it is the one who can see who reveals."

His disciples, numbering twelve, asked him, "Teacher, [...] serenity [...] teach us [...]."

The Lord said, "[...] everything which I have [...] you will [...] you [...] everything."

Mary said, "There is but one saying I will speak to the Lord concerning the mystery of truth: In this have we taken our stand, and to the cosmic are we transparent."

Judas said to Matthew, "We want to understand the sort of garments we are to be clothed with when we depart the decay of the flesh."

The Lord said, "The governors and the administrators possess garments granted only for a time, which do not last. But you, as children of truth, not with these transitory garments are you to clothe ourselves. Rather, I say to you that you will become blessed when you strip yourselves! For it is no great thing [...] outside."

[...] said [...] speak, I [...]."

The Lord said, "[...] your Father [...]."

Mary said, "Of what sort is that mustard seed? Is it something from heaven or is it something from earth?"

The Lord said, "When the Father established the cosmos for himself, he left much over from the Mother of the All. Therefore, he speaks and he acts."

Judas said, "You have told us this out of the mind of truth. When we pray, how should we pray?"

The Lord said, "Pray in the place where there is no woman."

Matthew said, "'Pray in the place where there is no woman,' he tells us, meaning 'Destroy the works of womanhood,' not because there is any other manner of birth, but because they will cease giving birth."

Mary said, "They will never be obliterated."

The Lord said, "Who knows that they will not dissolve and ... [2 lines missing]?"

Judas said to Matthew, "The works of womanhood will dissolve [...] the governors will [...]. Thus will we become prepared for them."

The Lord said, "Right. For do they see you? Do they see those who receive you? Now behold! A true Word is coming forth from the Father to the abyss, in silence with a flash of lightning, giving birth. Do they see it or overpower it? But you are even more aware of the path, this one, before either angel or authority has [...] Rather, it belongs to the Father and the Son, because they are both a single [...]. And you will go via the path which you have known. Even if the governors become huge, they will not be able to reach it. But listen - I tell you that it is difficult even for me to reach it!"

Mary said to the Lord, "When the works [...] which dissolve a work."

The Lord said, "Right. For you know [...] if I dissolve [...] will go to his place."

Judas said, "How is the spirit apparent?"

The Lord said, "How is the sword apparent?"

Judas said, "How is the light apparent?"

The Lord said, "[...] in it forever."

Judas said, "Who forgives the works of whom? The works which [...] the cosmos [...] who forgives the works."

The Lord said, "Who [...]? It behooves whoever has understood the works to do the will of the Father. And as for

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you, strive to rid yourselves of anger and jealousy, and to strip yourselves of your [...], and not to ...

(next 18 lines virtually indecipherable)

... he will live forever. And I say to you [...], so that you will not lead your spirits and your souls into error."

This translation was made by Stephen Emmel, excerpted from The Nag Hammadi Library in English edited by James M. Robinson, and transcribed for online publication originally at the Gnostic Society Library (gnosis.org).

THE SOPHIA (WISDOM) OF JESUS CHRIST

From: The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt
Translation: Douglas M. Parrott
Edited by James M. Robinson
Estimated range of dating: 100-200 AD

(The Sophia of Jesus Christ is one of many Gnostic tractates from the Nag Hammadi codices, discovered in Egypt in 1945. The Coptic manuscript itself has been dated to the 4th century; however, it is complemented by a few fragments in Greek dating from the 3rd century, implying an earlier date. The text has strong similarities to the Epistle of Eugnostos, which is also found in the Nag Hammadi codices, but with a Christian framing added, and expanding it somewhat.

The translation of "The Sophia of Jesus Christ" (also sometimes titled, "The Wisdom of Jesus Christ") is derived from two separately preserved copies of the text. The first copy is in Nag Hammadi Codex III (NHC III); a second copy of this text was preserved in the Berlin Gnostic Codex. A third fragment of the text in Greek was also found among the Oxyrhynchus papyrus documents. Thus we have three distinct copies of this scripture attested from three separate ancient sources, two in Coptic, one in Greek. In the translator's comments below, sections of the text supplied from the Berlin Gnostic Codex are identified with the notation, "BG".)

After he rose from the dead, his twelve disciples and seven women continued to be his followers, and went to Galilee onto the mountain called "Divination and Joy". When they gathered together and were perplexed about the underlying reality of the universe and the plan, and the holy providence, and the power of the authorities, and about everything the Saviour is doing with them in the secret of the holy plan, the Saviour appeared - not in his previous form, but in the invisible spirit. And his likeness resembles a great angel of light. But his resemblance I must not describe. No mortal flesh could endure it, but only pure, perfect flesh, like that which he taught us about on the mountain called "Of the Olives" in Galilee.

And he said: "Peace be to you, My peace I give you!" And they all marveled and were afraid. The Saviour laughed and said to them: "What are you thinking about? Are you perplexed? What are you searching for?"

Philip said: "For the underlying reality of the universe and the plan."

The Saviour said to them: "I want you to know that all men are born on earth from the foundation of the world until now, being dust, while they have inquired about God, who he is and what he is like, have not found him. Now the wisest among them have speculated from the ordering of the world and (its) movement. But their speculation has not reached the truth. For it is said that the ordering is directed in three ways, by all the philosophers, (and) hence they do not agree. For some of them say about the world that it is directed by itself. Others, that it is providence (that directs it). Others, that it is fate. But it is none of these. Again, of the three voices I have just mentioned, none is close to the truth, and (they are) from man. But I, who came from Infinite Light, I am here - for I know him (Light) - that I might speak to you about the precise nature of the truth. For whatever is from itself is a polluted life; it is self-made. Providence has no wisdom in it. And fate does not discern. But to you it is given to know; and whoever is worthy of knowledge will receive (it), whoever has not been begotten by the sowing of unclean rubbing but by First Who Was Sent, for he is an immortal in the midst of mortal men."

Matthew said to him: "Lord, no one can find the truth except through you. Therefore teach us the truth."

The Saviour said: "He Who Is is ineffable. No principle knew him, no authority, no subjection, nor any creature from the foundation of the world until now, except he alone, and anyone to whom he wants to make revelation through him who is from First Light. From now on, I am the Great Saviour. For he is immortal and eternal. Now he is eternal, having no birth; for everyone who has birth will perish. He is unbegotten, having no beginning; for everyone who has a beginning has an end. Since no one rules over him, he has no name; for whoever has a name is the creation of another."

(BG 84, 13-17 adds: He is unnameable. He has no human form; for whoever has human form is the creation of another).

"And he has a semblance of his own - not like what you have seen and received, but a strange semblance that surpasses all things and is better than the universe. It looks to every side and sees itself from itself. Since it is infinite, he is ever incomprehensible. He is imperishable and has no likeness (to anything). He is unchanging good. He is faultless. He is eternal. He is blessed. While he is not known, he ever knows himself. He is immeasurable. He is untraceable. He is perfect, having no defect. He is imperishability blessed. He is called 'Father of the Universe'".

Philip said: "Lord, how, then, did he appear to the perfect ones?"

The perfect Saviour said to him: "Before anything is visible of those that are visible, the majesty and the authority are in him, since he embraces the whole of the totalities, while nothing embraces him. For he is all mind. And he is thought and considering and reflecting and rationality and power. They all are equal powers. They are the sources of the totalities. And their whole race from first to last was in his foreknowledge, (that of) the infinite, unbegotten Father."

Thomas said to him: "Lord, Saviour, why did these come to be, and why were these revealed?"

The perfect Saviour said: "I came from the Infinite that I might tell you all things. Spirit-Who-Is was the begetter, who had the power a begetter and a form-giver`s nature, that the great wealth that was hidden in him might be revealed. Because of his mercy and his love, he wished to bring forth fruit by himself, that he might not his goodness alone, but (that) other spirits of the Unwavering Generation might bring forth body and fruit, glory and honour, in imperishableness and his infinite grace, that his treasure might be revealed by Self-begotten God, the father of every imperishableness and those that came to be afterward. But they had not yet come to visibility. Now a great difference exists among the imperishables."

He called out, saying: "Whoever has ears to hear about the infinities, let him hear!"; and "I have addressed those who are awake." Still he continued and said: "Everything that came from the perishable will perish, since it came from the perishable. But whatever came from imperishableness does not perish but becomes imperishable. So, many men went astray because they had not known this difference and they died."

Mary said to him: "Lord, then how will we know that?"

The perfect Saviour said: "Come (you) from invisible things to the end of those that are visible, and the very emanation of Thought will reveal to you how faith in those things that are not visible was found in those that are visible, those that belong to Unbegotten Father. Whoever has ears to hear, let him hear!

"The Lord of the Universe is not called 'Father', but 'Forefather', the beginning of those that will appear, but he (the Lord) is the beginningless Forefather. Seeing himself within himself in a mirror, he appeared resembling himself, but his likeness appeared as Divine Self-Father, and Confronter over the Confronted ones, First Existent Unbegotten Father. He is indeed of equal age the Light that is before him, but he is not equal to him in power.

"And afterward was revealed a whole multitude of confronting, self-begotten ones, equal in age and power, being in glory (and) without number, whose race is called 'The Generation over Whom There Is No Kingdom' from the one in whom you yourselves have appeared from these men. And that whole multitude over which there is no kingdom is called 'Sons of Unbegotten Father, God, Saviour, Son of God,' whose likeness is with you. Now he is the unknowable, who is full of ever-imperishable glory and ineffable joy. They all are at rest in him, ever rejoicing in ineffable joy in his unchanging glory and measureless jubilation; this was never heard or known among all the aeons and their worlds until now."

Matthew said to him: "Lord, Saviour, how was Man revealed?"

The perfect Saviour said: "I want you to know that he who appeared before the universe in infinity, Self-grown, Self-constructed Father, being full of shining light and ineffable, in the beginning, when he decided to have his likeness become a great power, immediately the principle (or beginning) of that Light appeared as Immortal Androgynous Man, that through that Immortal Androgynous Man they might attain their salvation and awake from forgetfulness through the interpreter who was sent, who is with you until the end of the poverty of the robbers.

"And his consort is the Great Sophia, who from the first was destined in him for union by Self-begotten Father, from Immortal Man, who appeared as First and divinity and kingdom, for the Father, who is called 'Man, Self-Father', revealed this. And he created a great aeon, whose name is 'Ogdoad', for his own majesty.

"He was given great authority, and he ruled over the creation of poverty. He created gods and angels, archangels, myriads without number for retinue, from that Light and the tri-male Spirit, which is that of Sophia, his consort. For from this, God originated divinity and kingdom. Therefore he was called 'God of gods' and 'King of kings'.

"First Man has his unique mind, within, and thought - just as he is it (thought) - (and) considering, reflecting, rationality, power. All the attributes that exist are perfect and immortal. In respect to imperishableness, they are indeed equal. (But) in respect to power, they are different, like the difference between father and son <, and son> and thought, and the thought and the remainder. As I said earlier, among the things that were created, the monad is first.

"And after everything, all that was revealed appeared from his power. And from what was created, all that was fashioned appeared; from what was fashioned appeared what was formed; from what was formed, what was named. Thus came the difference among the unbegotten ones from beginning to end."

Then Bartholomew said to him: "How (is it that) was designated in the Gospel 'Man' and 'Son of Man'? To which of them, then, is this Son related?"

The Holy One said to him: "I want you to know that First Man is called 'Begetter, Self-perfected Mind'. He reflected with Great Sophia, his consort, and revealed his first-begotten, androgynous son. His male name is designated 'First Begetter, Son of God', his female name, 'First Begettress Sophia, Mother of the Universe'. Some call her 'Love'. Now First-begotten is called 'Christ'. Since he has authority from his father, he created a multitude of angels without number for retinue from Spirit and Light."

His disciples said to him: "Lord, reveal to us about the one called 'Man', that we also may know his glory exactly."

The perfect Saviour said: "Whoever has ears to hear, let him hear. First Begetter Father is called 'Adam, Eye of Light,' because he came from shining Light, and his holy angels, who are ineffable (and) shadowless, ever rejoice with joy in their reflecting, which they received from their Father. The whole Kingdom of Son of Man, who is called 'Son of God,' is full of ineffable and shadowless joy, and unchanging jubilation, (they) rejoicing over his imperishable glory, which has never been heard until now, nor has it been revealed in the aeons that came afterward, and their worlds. I came from Self-begotten and First Infinite Light, that I might reveal everything to you."

Again, his disciples said: "Tell us clearly how they came down from the invisibilities, from the immortal to the world that dies?"

The perfect Saviour said: "Son of Man consented with Sophia, his consort, and revealed a great androgynous light. His male name is designated 'Saviour, Begetter of All Things'. His female name is designated 'All-Begettress Sophia'. Some call her 'Pistis'.

"All who come into the world, like a drop from the Light, are sent by him to the world of Almighty, that they might be guarded by him. And the bond of his forgetfulness bound him by the will of Sophia, that the matter might be through it to the whole world in poverty, concerning his (Almighty's) arrogance and blindness and the ignorance that he was named. But I came from the places above by the will of the great Light, (I) who escaped from that bond; I have cut off the work of the robbers; I have awakened that drop that was sent from Sophia, that it might bear much fruit through me, and be perfected and not again be defective, but be through me, the Great Saviour, that his glory might be revealed, so that Sophia might also be justified in regard to that defect, that her sons might not again become defective but might attain honour and glory and go up to their Father, and know the words of the masculine Light. And you were sent by the Son, who was sent that you might receive Light, and remove yourselves from the forgetfulness of the authorities, and that it might not again come to appearance because of you, namely, the unclean rubbing that is from the fearful fire that came from their fleshly part. Tread upon their malicious intent."

Then Thomas said to him: "Lord, Saviour, how many are the aeons of those who surpass the heavens?"

The perfect Saviour said: "I praise you (pl.) because you ask about the great aeons, for your roots are in the infinities. Now when those whom I have discussed earlier were revealed, he provided ....

"Now when those whom I have discussed earlier were revealed, Self-begetter Father very soon created twelve aeons for retinue for the twelve angels. All these are perfect and good. Thus the defect in the female appeared."

And said to him: "How many are the aeons of the immortals, starting from the infinities?"

The perfect Saviour said: "Whoever has ears to hear, let him hear. The first aeon is that of Son of Man, who is called 'First Begetter', who is called 'Saviour', who has appeared. The second aeon (is) that of Man, who is called 'Adam, Eye of Light'. That which embraces these is the aeon over which there is no kingdom, (the aeon) of the Eternal Infinite God, the Self-begotten aeon of the aeons that are in it, (the aeon) of the immortals, whom I described earlier, (the aeon) above the Seventh, that appeared from Sophia, which is the first aeon.

"Now Immortal Man revealed aeons and powers and kingdoms, and gave authority to all who appear in him, that they might exercise their desires until the last things that are above chaos. For these consented with each other and revealed every magnificence, even from spirit, multitudinous lights

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that are glorious and without number. These were called in the beginning, that is, the first aeon and and . The first called 'Unity and Rest'. Each one has its (own) name; for the aeon was designated 'Assembly' from the great multitude that appeared: in one, a multitude revealed themselves. Now because the multitudes gather and come to a unity we call them 'Assembly of the Eighth.'It appeared as androgynous and was name partly as male and partly as female. The male is called 'Assembly', while the female is called 'Life', that it might be shown that from a female came the life for all the aeons. And every name was received, starting from the beginning.

"For from his concurrence with his thought, the powers very soon appeared who were called 'gods'; and the gods of the gods from their wisdom revealed gods; from their wisdom revealed lords; and the lords of the lords from their thinkings revealed lords; and the lords from their power revealed archangels; the archangels from their words revealed angels; from them, semblances appeared, with structure and form and name for all the aeons and their worlds.

"And the immortals, whom I have just described, all have authority from Immortal Man, who is called 'Silence', because by reflecting without speech all her own majesty was perfected. For since the imperishabilities had the authority, each created a great kingdom in the Eighth, (and) also thrones and temples (and) firmaments for their own majesties. For these all came by the will of the Mother of the Universe."

Then the Holy Apostles said to him: "Lord, Saviour, tell us about those who are in the aeons, since it is necessary for us to ask about them."

The perfect Saviour said: "If you ask about anything, I will tell you. They created hosts of angels, myriads without number, for retinue and their glory. They created virgin spirits, the ineffable and unchangeable lights. For they have no sickness nor weakness, but it is will.

"Thus the aeons were completed quickly in the heavens and the firmaments in the glory of Immortal Man and Sophia, his consort: the area from which every aeon and the world and those that came afterward took (their) pattern for their creation of likenesses in the heavens of chaos and their worlds. And all natures, starting from the revelation of chaos, are in the Light that shines without shadow, and joy that cannot be described, and unutterable jubilation. They ever delight themselves on account of their unchanging glory and the immeasurable rest, which cannot be described among all the aeons that came to be afterward, and all their powers. Now all that I have just said to you, I said that you might shine in Light more than these."

Mary said to him: "Holy Lord, where did your disciples come from, and where are they going, and (what) should they do here?"

The Perfect Saviour said to them: "I want you to know that Sophia, the Mother of the Universe and the consort, desired by herself to bring these to existence without her male (consort). But by the will of the Father of the Universe, that his unimaginable goodness might be revealed, he created that curtain between the immortals and those that came afterward, that the consequence might follow ... every aeon and chaos - that the defect of the female might , and it might come about that Error would contend with her. And these became the curtain of spirit. From aeons above the emanations of Light, as I have said already, a drop from Light and Spirit came down to the lower regions of Almighty in chaos, that their molded forms might appear from that drop, for it is a judgement on him, Arch-Begetter, who is called 'Yaldabaoth'. That drop revealed their molded forms through the breath, as a living soul. It was withered and it slumbered in the ignorance of the soul. When it became hot from the breath of the Great Light of the Male, and it took thought, (then) names were received by all who are in the world of chaos, and all things that are in it through that Immortal One, when the breath blew into him. But when this came about by the will of Mother Sophia - so that Immortal Man might piece together the garments there for a judgement on the robbers - then welcomed the blowing of that breath; but since he was soul-like, he was not able to take that power for himself until the number of chaos should be complete, (that is,) when the time determined by the great angel is complete.

"Now I have taught you about Immortal Man and have loosed the bonds of the robbers from him. I have broken the gates of the pitiless ones in their presence. I have humiliated their malicious intent, and they all have been shamed and have risen from their ignorance. Because of this, then, I came here, that they might be joined with that Spirit and Breath, and might from two become one, just as from the first, that you might yield much fruit and go up to Him Who Is from the Beginning, in ineffable joy and glory and honour and grace of the Father of the Universe.

"Whoever, then, knows the Father in pure knowledge will depart to the Father and repose in Unbegotten Father. But whoever knows him defectively will depart to the defect and the rest of the Eighth. Now whoever knows Immortal Spirit of Light in silence, through reflecting and consent in the truth, let him bring me signs of the Invisible One, and he will become a light in the Spirit of Silence. Whoever knows Son of Man in knowledge and love, let him bring me a sign of Son of Man, that he might depart to the dwelling-places with those in the Eighth.

"Behold, I have revealed to you the name of the Perfect One, the whole will of the Mother of the Holy Angels, that the masculine multitude may be completed here, that there might appear in the aeons, the infinities and those that came to be in the untraceable wealth of the Great Invisible Spirit, that they all might take from his goodness, even the wealth of their rest that has no kingdom over it. I came from First Who Was Sent, that I might reveal to you Him Who Is from the Beginning, because of the arrogance of Arch-Begetter and his angels, since they say about themselves that they are gods. And I came to remove them from their blindness, that I might tell everyone about the God who is above the universe. Therefore, tread upon their graves, humiliate their malicious intent, and break their yoke and arouse my own. I have given you authority over all things as Sons of Light, that you might tread upon their power with your feet."

These are the things the blessed Saviour said, and he disappeared from them. Then all the disciples were in great, ineffable joy in the spirit from that day on. And his disciples began to preach the Gospel of God, the eternal, imperishable Spirit. Amen.

THE TEACHINGS OF SILVANUS

The Precepts or Commandments of Silas
From: The Nag Hammadi Library
Translation: Malcolm L. Peel and Jan Zandee
Estimated Range of Dating: 130-170 A.D.

(The Teachings of Silvanus is one of the books found in the Nag Hammadi library. It is generally dated around 150. The author is unknown, but it is pseudonymously attributed to a companion of Paul and Peter – "Silas" of chapters 15-18 of the book of Acts, known in New Testament epistles by the name "Silvanus". It is a rare find because its content relates to early Christian Wisdom, and it is believed to have been popular in monastic circles.

The Teachings of Silvanus is not a Gnostic text in general. Some verses claim that Christ has a single hypostasis or hidden spiritual reality. This hypothesis of a hidden spiritual reality became later the doctrine of the Trinity of Nicene Christianity.

There is also a large focus on multiple subjects. First, God is seen as the one true Creator, and Christ is the "incarnate Wisdom of God". Christ is the saviour of the world who made great sacrifices so that everyone might have a chance to be saved from the clutches of Satan. Additionally, there is an emphasis on ethics and earning God's favor through moderation, as well as prayers, proverbs, and hymns.)

Text:

Abolish every childish time of life, acquire for yourself strength of mind and soul, and intensify the struggle against every folly of the passions of love and base wickedness, and love of praise, and fondness of contention, and tiresome jealousy and wrath, and anger and the desire of avarice. Guard your camp and weapons and spears. Arm yourself and all the soldiers, which are the words, and the commanders, which are the counsels, and your mind as a guiding principle.

My son, throw every robber out of your gates. Guard all your gates with torches, which are the words, and you will acquire through all these things a quiet life. But he who will not guard these things will become like a city which is desolate, since it has been captured. All kinds of wild beasts have trampled upon it, for thoughts which are not good are evil wild beasts. And your city will be filled with robbers, and you will not be able to acquire peace, but only all kinds of savage wild beasts. The Wicked One, who is a tyrant, is lord over these. While directing this, the Wicked One is beneath the great mire. The whole city, which is your soul, will perish.

Remove yourself from these things, O wretched soul! Bring your guide and your teacher. The mind is the guide, but reason is the teacher. They will bring you out of destruction and dangers.

Listen, my son, to my advice! Do not show your back to enemies and flee, but rather, pursue them as a strong one. Be not an animal, with men pursuing you; but rather, be a man, with you pursuing the evil wild beasts, lest somehow they become victorious over you and trample upon you as on a dead man, and you perish due to their wickedness.

Oh wretched man, what will you do if you fall into their hands? Protect yourself, lest you be delivered into the hands of your enemies. Entrust yourself to this pair of friends, reason and mind, and no one will be victorious over you. May God dwell in your camp, may his Spirit protect your gates, and may the mind of Divinity protect the walls. Let holy reason become a torch in your mind, burning the wood which is the whole of sin.

And if you do these things, O my son, you will be victorious over all your enemies, and they will not be able to wage war against you, neither will they be able to resist, nor will they be able to get in your way. For if you find these, you will despise them as deniers of truth. They will speak to you, cajoling you and enticing you, not because they are afraid of you, but because they are afraid of those who dwell within you, namely, the guardians of the divinity and the teaching.

My son, accept the education and the teaching. Do not flee from the education and the teaching, but when you are taught, accept it with joy. And if you are educated in any matter, do what is good. You will plait a crown of education by your guiding principle. Put on the holy teaching like a robe. Make yourself noble-minded through good conduct. Obtain the austerity of good discipline. Judge yourself like a wise judge. Do not go astray from my teaching, and do not acquire ignorance, lest you lead your people astray. Do not flee from the divine and the teaching which are within you, for he who is teaching you loves you very much. For he shall bequeath to you a worthy austerity. Cast out the animal nature which is within you, and do not allow base thought to enter you. For [. . .] you know the way which I teach.

If it is good to rule over the few, as you see it, how much better it is that you rule over everyone, since you are exalted above every congregation and every people, are prominent in every respect, and are a divine reason, having become master over every power which kills the soul.

My son, does anyone want to be a slave? Why, then, do you trouble yourself wrongly? [the common punishment for "wrongdoing" was slavery at that time.]

My son, do not fear anyone except God alone, the Exalted One. Cast the deceitfulness of the Devil from you. Accept the light for your eyes, and cast the darkness from you. Live in Christ, and you will acquire a treasure in heaven. Do not become a sausage made of many things which are useless, and do not become a guide in your blind ignorance.

My son, listen to my teaching, which is good and useful, and end the sleep which weighs heavily upon you. Depart from the forgetfulness which fills you with darkness, since if you were unable to do anything, I would not have said these things to you. But Christ has come in order to give you this gift. Why do you pursue the darkness when the light is at your disposal? Why do you drink stale water, though sweet wine is available for you? Wisdom summons you, yet you desire folly. Not by your own desire do you do these things, but it is the animal nature within you that does them.

Wisdom summons you in her goodness, saying, "Come to Me, all of you, O foolish ones, that you may receive a gift, the understanding which is good and excellent. I am giving to you a high-priestly garment which is woven from every kind of wisdom." What else is evil death except ignorance? What else is evil darkness except familiarity with forgetfulness? Cast your anxiety upon God alone. Do not become desirous of gold and silver, which are profitless, but clothe yourself with wisdom like a robe; put knowledge on yourself like a crown, and be seated upon a throne of perception. For these are yours, and you will receive them again on high another time.

For a foolish man usually puts on folly like a robe, and like a garment of sorrow, he puts on shame. And he crowns himself with ignorance, and takes his seat upon a throne of nescience. For while he is without reason, he leads only himself astray, for he is guided by ignorance. And he goes the ways of the desire of every passion. He swims in the desires of life and has sunk. To be sure, he thinks that he finds profit when he does all the things which are without profit. The wretched man who goes through all these things will die, because he does not have the mind, the helmsman. But he is like a ship which the wind tosses to and fro, and like a loose horse which has no rider. For this man needed the rider, which is reason. For the wretched one went astray because he did not want advice. He was thrown to and fro by these three misfortunes: he acquired death as a father, ignorance as a mother, and evil counsels - he acquired them as friends and brothers. Therefore, foolish one, you should mourn for yourself.

From now on, then, my son, return to your divine nature. Cast from you these evil, deceiving friends! Accept Christ, this true friend, as a good teacher. Cast from you death, which has become a father to you. For death did not exist, nor will it exist at the end.

But since you cast from yourself God, the holy Father, the true Life, the Spring of Life, therefore you have obtained death as a father and have acquired ignorance as a mother. They have robbed you of the true knowledge.

But return, my son, to your first father, God, and Wisdom, your Mother, from whom you came into being from the very first in order that you might fight against all of your enemies, the Powers of the Adversary.

Listen, my son, to my advice. Do not be arrogant in opposition to every good opinion, but take for yourself the side of the divinity of reason. Keep the holy commandments of Jesus Christ, and you will reign over every place on earth, and will be honoured by the angels and archangels. Then you will acquire them as friends and fellow servants, and you will acquire places in heaven above.

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Do not bring grief and trouble to the divine which is within you. But when you will care for it, will request of it that you remain pure, and will become self-controlled in your soul and body, you will become a throne of wisdom, and one belonging to God's household. He will give you a great light through wisdom.

But before everything else, know your birth. Know yourself, that is, from what substance you are, or from what race, or from what species. Understand that you have come into being from three races: from the earth, from the formed, and from the created. The body has come into being from the earth with an earthly substance, but the formed, for the sake of the soul, has come into being from the thought of the Divine. The created, however, is the mind, which has come into being in conformity with the image of God. The divine mind has substance from the Divine, but the soul is that which God formed for their own hearts. For I think that the soul exists as wife of that which has come into being in conformity with the image, but matter is the substance of the body, which has come into being from the earth.

If you mix yourself, you will acquire the three parts as you fall from virtue into inferiority. Live according to the Mind. Do not think about things pertaining to the flesh. Acquire strength, for the mind is strong. If you fall from this other, you have become male-female. And if you cast out of yourself the substance of the mind, which is thought, you have cut off the male part, and turned yourself to the female part alone. You have become psychic, since you have received the substance of the formed. If you cast out the smallest part of this, so that you do not acquire again a human part - but you have accepted for yourself the animal thought and likeness - you have become fleshly, since you have taken on animal nature. For if it is difficult to find a psychical man, how much more so to find the Lord?

But I say that God is the spiritual one. Man has taken shape from the substance of God. The divine soul shares partly in this one; furthermore, it shares partly in the flesh. The base soul is wont to turn from side to side, [. . .] which it images the truth.

It is good for you, O man, to turn yourself toward the human, rather than toward the animal nature - I mean toward the fleshly. You will take on the likeness of the part toward which you will turn yourself.

I shall say something further to you. Again, for what wilt thou be zealous? Did you (fem. sg.) wish to become animal when you had come into this kind of nature? But rather, share in a true nature of life. To be sure, animality will guide you into the race of the earth, but the rational nature will guide you in rational ways. Turn toward the rational nature, and cast from yourself the earth-begotten nature.

O soul, persistent one, be sober and shake off your drunkenness, which is the work of ignorance. If you persist and live in the body, you dwell in rusticity. When you entered into a bodily birth, you were begotten. Come into being inside the bridal chamber! Be illuminated in mind!

My son, do not swim in any water, and do not allow yourself to be defiled by strange kinds of knowledge. Certainly you know that the schemes of the Adversary are not few, and that the tricks which he has are varied? Especially has the noetic man been robbed of the intelligence of the snake. For it is fitting for you to be in agreement with the intelligence of these two: with the intelligence of the snake and with the innocence of the dove - lest the Adversary come into you in the guise of a flatterer, as a true friend, saying, "I advise good things for you."

But you did not recognise the deceitfulness of this one when you received him as a true friend. For he casts into your heart evil thoughts as good ones, and hypocrisy in the guise of true wisdom, avidity in the guise of conservative frugality, love of glory in the guise of that which is beautiful, boastfulness and pride in the guise of great austerity, and godlessness as great godliness. For he who says, "I have many gods," is godless. And he casts spurious knowledge into your heart in the guise of mysterious words. Who will be able to comprehend his thoughts and devices, which are varied, since he is a Great Mind for those who wish to accept him as king?

My son, how will you be able to comprehend the schemes of this one, or his soul-killing counsel? For his devices, and the schemes of his wickedness, are many. And think about his entrances, that is, how he will enter your soul, and in what garment he will enter you.

Accept Christ, who is able to set you free, and who has taken on the devices of that one, so that through these he might destroy him by deceit. For this is the king whom you have who is forever invincible, against whom no one will be able to fight nor say a word. This is your king and your father, for there is no one like him. The divine teacher is with you always. He is a helper, and he meets you because of the good which is in you.

Do not put maliciousness in your judgement, for every malicious man harms his heart. For only a foolish man is wont to his destruction, but a wise man knows his way.

And a foolish man does not guard against speaking a mystery: A wise man however does not blurt out every word, but he will be discriminating toward those who hear. Do not mention everything in the presence of those whom you do not know.

Have a great number of friends, but not counsellors. First, examine your counselor, for do not honour anyone who flatters. Their word, to be sure, is sweet as honey, but their heart is full of hellebore. For whenever they think that they have become a reliable friend, then they will deceitfully turn against you, and they will cast you down into the mire.

Do not trust anyone as a friend, for this whole world has come into being deceitfully, and every man is troubled in vain. All things of the world are not profitable, but they happen in vain. There is no one, not even a brother who is trustworthy, since each one is seeking his own advantage.

My son, do not have anyone as a friend, but if you do acquire one, do not entrust yourself to him. Entrust yourself to God alone as father and as friend. For everyone proceeds deceitfully, while the whole earth is full of suffering and pain - things in which there is no profit. If you wish to pass your life in quiet, do not keep company with anyone. And if you do keep company with them, be as if you do not. Be pleasing to God, and you will not need anyone.

Live with Christ and he will save you. For he is the true light and the sun of life. For just as the sun which is visible and makes light for the eyes of the flesh, so Christ illuminates every mind and the heart. For if a wicked man who is in the body has an evil death, how much more so does he who has his mind blind. For every blind man goes along in such a way that he is seen just as one who does not have his mind sane. He does not delight in acquiring the light of Christ, which is reason.

For everything which is visible is a copy of that which is hidden. For as a fire which burns in a place without being confined to it, so it is with the sun which is in the sky, all of whose rays extend to places on the earth. Similarly, Christ has a single being, and he gives light to every place. This is also the way in which he speaks of our mind, as if it were a lamp which burns and lights up the place. Being in a part of the soul, it gives light to all the parts.

Furthermore, I shall speak of what is more exalted than this: the mind, with respect to actual being, is in a place, which means it is in the body; but with respect to thought, the mind is not in a place. For how can it be in a place, when it contemplates every place?

But we are able to mention what is more exalted than this: for do not think in your heart that God exists in a place. If you localise the Lord of all in a place, then it is fitting for you to say that the place is more exalted than he who dwells in it. For that which contains is more exalted than that which is contained. For there is no place which is called incorporeal. For it is not right for us to say that God is corporeal. For the consequence would be that we must attribute both increase and decrease to the corporeal, but also that God who is subject to these will not remain imperishable.

Now, it is not difficult to know the Creator of all creatures, but it is impossible to comprehend the likeness of this One. For it is difficult not only for men to comprehend God, but it is also difficult for every divine being, both the angels and the archangels. It is necessary to know God as he is. You cannot know God through anyone except Christ, who has the image of the Father, for this image reveals the true likeness in correspondence to that which is revealed. A king is not usually known apart from an image.

Consider these things about God: he is in every place; on the other hand, he is in no place. With respect to power, to be sure, he is in every place; but with respect to divinity, he is in no place. So then, it is possible to know God a little. With respect to his power, he fills every place, but in the exaltation of his divinity, nothing contains him. Everything is in God, but God is not in anything.

Now what is it to know God? God is all which is in the truth. But it is as impossible to look at Christ as at the sun. God sees everyone; no one looks at him. But Christ, without being jealous, receives and gives. He is the Light of the Father, as he gives light without being jealous. In this manner he gives light to every place.

And all is Christ, he who has inherited all from the Existent One. For Christ is the idea of incorruptibility, and he is the Light which is shining undefiled. For the sun shines on every impure place, and yet it is not defiled. So it is with Christ: even if he is in the deficiency, yet he is without deficiency. And even if he has been begotten, he is still unbegotten. So it is with Christ: if, on the one hand, he is comprehensible, on the other, he is incomprehensible with respect to his actual being. Christ is all. He who does not possess all is unable to know Christ.

My son, do not dare to say a word about this One, and do not confine the God of all to mental images. For he who condemns may not be condemned by the one who condemns. Indeed, it is good to ask and to know who God is. Reason and mind are male names. Indeed, let him who wishes to know about this One, quietly and reverently ask. For there is no small danger in speaking about these things, since you know that you will be judged on the basis of everything that you say.

And understand by this that he who is in darkness will not be able to see anything unless he receives the light and recovers his sight by means of it. Examine yourself to see whether you wholly have the light, so that, if you ask about these things, you may understand how you will escape. For many are seeking in darkness, and they grope about, wishing to understand, since there is no light for them.

My son, do not allow your mind to stare downward, but rather, let it look by means of the light at things above. For the light will always come from above. Even if the mind is upon the earth, let it seek to pursue the things above. Enlighten your mind with the light of heaven, so that you may turn to the light of heaven.

Do not tire of knocking on the door of reason, and do not cease walking in the way of Christ. Walk in it so that you may receive rest from your labours. If you walk in another way, there will be no profit in it. For also those who walk in the broad way will go down at their end to the perdition of the mire. For the Underworld is open wide for the soul, and the place of perdition is broad. Accept Christ, the narrow way. For he is oppressed and bears affliction for your sin.

O soul, persistent one, in what ignorance you exist! For who is your guide into the darkness? How many likenesses did Christ take on because of you! Although he was God, he was found among men as a man. He descended to the Underworld. He released the children of death. They were in travail, as the scripture of God has said. And he sealed up the very heart of the Underworld. And he broke the Underworld's strong bows completely. And when all the powers had seen him, they fled, so that he might bring you, wretched one, up from the Abyss, and might die for you as a ransom for your sin. He saved you from the strong hand of the Underworld.

But you, yourself, difficult though it be give to him your fundamental assent with even so much as a hint that he may take you up with joy! Now the fundamental choice, which is humility of heart, is the gift of Christ. A contrite heart is the acceptable sacrifice. If you humble yourself, you will be greatly exalted; and if you exalt yourself, you will be exceedingly humbled.

My son, guard yourself against wickedness, and do not let the Spirit of Wickedness cast you down into the Abyss. For he is mad and bitter. He is terrifying, and he casts everyone down into a pit of mire.

It is a great and good thing not to love fornication, and not even to think of the wretched matter at all, for to think of it is death. It is not good for any man to fall into death. For a soul which has been found in death will be without reason. For it is better not to live than to acquire an animal's life. Protect yourself, lest you are burned by the fires of fornication. For many who are submerged in fire are its servants, whom you do not know as your enemies.

O my son, strip off the old garment of fornication, and put on the garment which is clean and shining, that you may be beautiful in it. But when you have this garment, protect it well. Release yourself from every bond, so that you may acquire freedom. If you cast out of yourself the desire whose devices are many, you will release yourself from the sins of lust.

Listen, O soul, to my advice. Do not become a den of foxes and snakes, nor a hole of serpents and asps, nor a dwelling place of lions, or a place of refuge of basilisk-snakes. When these things happen to you, O soul, what will you do? For these are the powers of the Adversary. Everything which is dead will come into you through the powers. For their food is everything which is dead, and every unclean thing. For when these are within you, what living thing will come into you? The living angels will detest you. You were a temple, but you have made yourself a tomb. Cease being a tomb, and become again a temple, so that uprightness and divinity may remain in you.

Light the light within you. Do not extinguish it! Certainly, no one lights a lamp for wild beasts or their young. Raise your dead who have died, for they lived and have died for you. Give them life. They shall live again!

For the Tree of Life is Christ. He is Wisdom. For he is Wisdom; he is also the Word. he is the Life, the Power, and the Door. He is the Light, the Angel, and the Good Shepherd. Entrust yourself to this one who became all for your sake.

Knock on yourself as upon a door, and walk upon yourself as on a straight road. For if you walk on the road, it is impossible for you to go astray. And if you knock with this one Wisdom, you knock on hidden treasures.

For since Christ is Wisdom, he makes the foolish man wise. Wisdom is a holy kingdom and a shining robe. For Wisdom is much gold, which gives you great honour. The Wisdom of God became a type of fool for you, so that it might take you up, O foolish one, and make you a wise man. And the Life died for you when he was powerless, so that through his death, he might give life to you who have died.

Entrust yourself to reason and remove yourself from animalism. For the animal which has no reason is made manifest. For many think that they have reason, but if you look at them attentively, their speech is animalistic.

Give yourself gladness from the true vine of Christ. Satisfy yourself with the true wine, in which there is no drunkenness

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nor error. For the true wine marks the end of drinking, since there is usually in it what gives joy to the soul and the mind, through the Spirit of God. But first, nurture your reasoning powers before you drink of the true wine.

Do not pierce yourself with the sword of sin. Do not burn yourself, O wretched one, with the fire of lust. Do not surrender yourself to barbarians like a prisoner, nor to savage beasts which want to trample upon you. For they are as lions which roar very loudly. Be not dead lest they trample upon you. You shall be man! It is possible for you through reasoning to conquer them.

But the man who does nothing is unworthy of being called rational man. The rational man is he who fears God. He who fears God does nothing insolent. And he who guards himself against doing anything insolent is one who keeps his guiding principle. Although he is a man who exists on earth, he makes himself like God.

But he who makes himself like God is one who does nothing unworthy of God, according to the statement of Paul, who has become like Christ.

For who shows reverence for God while not wanting to do things which are pleasing to him? For piety is that which is from the heart, and piety from the heart characterises every soul which is near to God.

The soul which is a member of God's household is one which is kept pure, and the soul which has put on Christ is one which is pure. It is impossible for it to sin. Now where Christ is, there sin is idle.

Let Christ alone enter your world, and let him bring to naught all powers which have come upon you. Let him enter the temple which is within you, so that he may cast out all the merchants. Let him dwell in the temple which is within you, and may you become for him a priest and a Levite, entering in purity.

Blessed are you, O soul, if you find this one in your temple.

Blessed are you still more if you perform his service.

But he who will defile the temple of God, that one God will destroy. For you lay yourself open, O man, if you cast this one out of your temple. For whenever the enemies do not see Christ in you, then they will come into you armed in order to crush you.

O my son, I have given you orders concerning these things many times so that you would always guard your soul. It is not you who will cast Christ out, but he will cast you out. For if you flee from him, you will fall into great sin. Again, if you flee from him, you will become food for your enemies. For all base persons flee from their lord, and the (man) base in virtue and wisdom flees from Christ. For every man who is separated from him falls into the claws of wild beasts.

Know who Christ is, and acquire him as a friend, for this is the friend who is faithful. He is also God and Teacher. This one, being God, became man for your sake. It is this one who broke the iron bars of the Underworld, and the bronze bolts. It is this one who attacked and cast down every haughty tyrant. It is he who loosened from himself the chains of which he had taken hold. He brought up the poor from the Abyss and the mourners from the Underworld. It is he who humbled the haughty powers; he who put to shame haughtiness through humility; he who has cast down the strong and the boaster through weakness; he who, in his contempt, scorned that which is considered an honour, so that humility for God's sake might be highly exalted; (and) he who has put on humanity.

And yet, the divine Word is God, he who bears patiently with man always. He wished to produce humility in the exalted. Christ, who has exalted man became like God, not in order that he might bring God down to man, but that man might become like God.

O this great goodness of God! O Christ, King, who has revealed to men the Great Divinity, King of every virtue and King of life, King of ages and Great One of the heavens, hear my words and forgive me!

Furthermore, he manifested a great zeal for Divinity.

Where is a man (who is) wise or powerful in intelligence, or a man whose devices are many because he knows wisdom? Let him speak wisdom; let him utter great boasting! For every man has become a fool and has spoken out of his own knowledge. For Christ confounded the counsels of guileful people, and he prevailed over those wise in their own understanding.

Who will be able to discover the counsel of the Almighty, or to speak of the Divinity, or to proclaim it correctly? If we have not even been able to understand the counsels of our companions, who will be able to comprehend the Divinity, or the divinities of the heavens? If we scarcely find things on earth, who will search for the things of heaven? A great power and great glory has made the world known.

And the Life of Heaven wishes to renew all, that he may cast out that which is weak, and every black form, that everyone may shine forth in heavenly garments in order to make manifest the command of the Father who is exceedingly brilliant, and that Christ may crown those wishing to contend well. Christ, being judge of the contest, is he who crowned every one, teaching every one to contend. This one who contended first received the crown, gained dominion, and appeared, giving light to everyone. And all were made new through the Holy Spirit and the Mind.

O Lord Almighty, how much glory shall I give Thee? No one has been able to glorify God adequately. It is Thou who hast given glory to Thy Word in order to save everyone, O Merciful God. It is he who has come from Thy mouth and has risen from Thy heart, the First-born, the Wisdom, the Prototype, the First Light.

For he is light from the power of God, and he is an emanation of the pure glory of the Almighty. He is the spotless mirror of the working of God, and he is the image of his goodness. For he is also the light of the Eternal Light. He is the eye which looks at the invisible Father, always serving and forming by the Father's will. He alone was begotten by the Father's good pleasure. For he is an incomprehensible Word, and he is Wisdom and Life. He gives life to, and nourishes, all living things and powers. Just as the soul gives life to all the members, he rules all with power and gives life to them. For he is the beginning and the end of everyone, watching over all and encompassing them. He is troubled on behalf of everyone, and he rejoices and also mourns. On the one hand, he mourns for those who have gotten as their lot the place of punishment; on the other, he is troubled about every one whom he arduously brings to instruction. But he rejoices over everyone who is in purity.

Then beware, lest somehow you fall into the hands of robbers. Do not allow sleep to your eyes nor drowsiness to your eyelids, that you may be saved like a gazelle from nets, and like a bird from a trap.

Fight the great fight as long as the fight lasts, while all the powers are staring after you - not only the holy ones, but also all the powers of the Adversary. Woe to you if you are vanquished in the midst of every one who is watching you! If you fight the fight and are victorious over the powers which fight against you, you will bring great joy to every holy one, and yet great grief to your enemies. Your judge helps you completely, since he wants you to be victorious.

Listen, my son, and do not be slow with your ears. Raise yourself up when you have left your old man behind like an eagle. Fear God in all your acts, and glorify him through good work. You know that every man who is not pleasing to God is the son of perdition. He will go down to the Abyss of the Underworld.

O this patience of God, which bears with every one, which desires that every one who has become subject to sin be saved!

But no one prevents God from doing what he wants. For who is stronger than him, that he may prevent him? To be sure, it is he who touches the earth, causing it to tremble and also causing the mountains to smoke. It is he who has gathered together such a great sea as in a leather bag, and has weighed all the water on his scales. Only the hand of the Lord has created all these things. For this hand of the Father is Christ, and it forms all. Through it, all has come into being, since it became the mother of all. For he is always Son of the Father.

Consider these things about God Almighty, who always exists: this One was not always King, for fear that he might be without a divine Son. For all dwell in God, that is, the things which have come into being through the Word, who is the Son as the image of the Father.

For God is nearby; he is not far off. All divine limits are those which belong to God's household. Therefore, if the divine agrees with you partially in anything, know that all of the Divine agrees with you. But this divine is not pleased with anything evil. For it is this which teaches all men what is good. This is what God has given to the human race, so that for this reason every man might be chosen before all the angels and the archangels.

For God does not need to put any man to the test. He knows all things before they happen, and he knows the hidden things of the heart. They are all revealed and found wanting in his presence. Let no one ever say that God is ignorant. For it is not right to place the Creator of every creature in ignorance. For even things which are in darkness are before him like things in the light.

So, there is no other one hidden except God alone. But he is revealed to everyone, and yet he is very hidden. He is revealed because God knows all. And if they do not wish to affirm it, they will be corrected by their heart. Now he is hidden because no one perceives the things of God. For it is incomprehensible and unfathomable to know the counsel of God. Furthermore, it is difficult to comprehend him, and it is difficult to find Christ. For he is the one who dwells in every place, and also he is in no place. For no one who wants to will be able to know God as he actually is, nor Christ, nor the Spirit, nor the chorus of angels, nor even the archangels, as well as the thrones of the spirits, and the exalted lordships, and the Great Mind. If you do not know yourself, you will not be able to know all of these.

Open the door for yourself, that you may know the One who is. Knock on yourself, that the Word may open for you. For he is the Ruler of Faith and the Sharp Sword, having become all for everyone because he wishes to have mercy on everyone.

My son, prepare yourself to escape from the world-rulers of darkness and of this kind of air, which is full of powers. But if you have Christ, you will conquer this entire world. That which you open for yourself, you will open. That which you knock upon for yourself, you will knock upon, benefiting yourself.

Help yourself, my son, by not proceeding with things in which there is no profit.

My son, first purify yourself toward the outward life, in order that you may be able to purify the inward.

And be not as the merchants of the Word of God.

Put all words to the test before you utter them.

Do not wish to acquire honours which are insecure, nor the boastfulness which brings you to ruin.

Accept the wisdom of Christ, who is patient and mild, and guard this, O my son, knowing that God's way is always profitable.

Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour [the Greek text reads "Ikhthus" here, meaning fish or fisher], Wonder Extraordinary.

THE SENTENCES OF SEXTUS

The Wisdom (or Precepts) of Sextus
The Nag Hammadi Library
Translation: Frederik Wisse
Estimated Range of Dating: 1st - 2nd centuries A.D.

(The Sentences of Sextus is a Greek Pythagorean text, modified to reflect a Christian viewpoint which was popular among Christians. The earliest mention of the Sentences is in the mid 3rd century by Origen. Origen quotes Sextus on self-castration, a widespread habit among ascetic early Christians, which Origen deplores, and mentions in passing that the work is one "that many considered to be tested by time." While previously known from other versions, a partial Coptic translation appears in one of the books of the New Testament apocrypha recovered in the Nag Hammadi library. One possible author of the Sentences is Quintus Sextius, a Roman philosopher who combined Stoicism with Pythagoreanism, and who lived in the 1st century BC.

The work is similar to the sayings gospels called the Gospel of Phillip and the Gospel of Thomas in that it is purely a collection of sayings, with no bridging framework. Unlike the Christian sayings gospels, the wisdom comes from a man named Sextus rather than Jesus. Sextus appears to have been a Pythagorean. Whoever wrote this text, the contents and wordings of the sentences bear a striking similarity to The Instructions of Shuruppak, The Teachings of Ptah-Hotep, The Meditations of Marcus Aurelius, and even Hinduist and Buddhist texts such as The Yoga Sutras of Patanjali or The Lotus Sutra.)

(beginning is missing)

[. . .] is a sign of ignorance.

Love the truth, and the lie use like poison. May the right time precede your words.

Speak when it is not proper to be silent, but speak concerning the things you know (only) then when it is fitting.

The untimely word is characteristic of an evil mind. When it is proper to act, do not use a word. Do not wish to speak first in the midst of a crowd.

While it is a skill to speak, it is also a skill to be silent. It is better for you to be defeated while speaking the truth, than to be victorious through deceit.

He who is victorious through deceit is defeated by the truth. Untrue words are a characteristic of evil persons. There has to be a great crisis before the lie is necessary.

When there is someone, while you speak the truth, even if you lie there is no sin. Do not deceive anyone, especially him who needs advice.

Faithful is he who is first with all good works. Wisdom leads the soul to the place of God. There is no kinsman of the truth except wisdom. It is not possible for a believing nature to become fond of lying.

A fearful and slavish nature will not be able to partake in faith. When you are faithful, what it is fitting to say is not of greater value than the hearing. When you are with believing persons, desire to listen rather than to speak.

A pleasure-loving man is useless in everything. When there is no (accounting of) sin, do not speak in anything (which is) from God. The sins of those who are ignorant are the shame of those who have taught them. Those on account of whom the name of God is blasphemed are dead before God.

A wise man is a doer of good works after God. May your life confirm your words before those who hear. What it is not right to do, do not even consider doing it.

What you do not want to happen to you, do not do it yourself either. What it is shameful to do, is also [. . .].

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(pages 17-26 are missing)

He is a wise man who commends God to men, and God thinks more highly of the wise man than his own works.

After God, no one is as free as the wise man. Everything God possesses, the wise man has also. The wise man shares in the kingdom of God; an evil man does not want the foreknowledge of God to come to pass.

An evil soul flees from God. Everything bad is the enemy of God.

What thinks in you, say with your mind that it is man. Where your thought is, there is your goodness.

Do not seek goodness in flesh. He who does not harm the soul neither does (so) to man. After God, honour a wise man, since he is the servant of God.

To make the body of your soul a burden is pride, but to be able to restrain it gently when it is necessary, is blessedness.

Do not become guilty of your own death. Do not be angry at him who will take you out of (the) body and kill you. If someone brings the wise man out of the body wickedly, he rather does what is good for him, for he has been released from bonds. The fear of death grieves man because of the ignorance of the soul.

It were better for you had the man-killing sword not come into being; but when it comes, say with your mind that it does not exist. Someone who says "I believe," even if he spends a long time pretending, he will not prevail, but he will fall; as your heart is, (so) will be your life.

A godly heart produces a blessed life. He who will plot evil against another, he is the first [. . .].

Let not an ungrateful man cause you to cease to do good. Do not say with your mind that these things which were asked, (and) you gave immediately, are more valuable than the receiver.

You will use great property, if you give to the needy willingly. Persuade a senseless brother not to be senseless; if he is mad, protect him.

Strive eagerly to be victorious over every man in prudence; maintain self-sufficiency.

You cannot receive understanding unless you know first that you possess <it>. In everything there is again this sentence.

The members of the body are a burden to those who do not use them. It is better to serve others than to make others serve you.

He whom God will not bring out of (the) body, let him not burden himself. Not only do not hold an opinion which does not benefit the needy, but also do not listen to it.

He who gives something without respect commits an outrage. [. . .].

If you take on the guardianship of orphans, you will be the father of many children (and) you will be beloved of God.

He whom you serve because of honour, you have served for a wage. If you have given that which honours you ..., you have given not to man, but you have given for your own pleasure.

Do not provoke the anger of a mob. Know, then, what is fitting for the fortunate man to do. It is better to die than to darken the soul because of the immoderation of the belly.

Say with your mind that the body is the garment of your soul: keep it, therefore, pure since it is innocent. Whatever the soul will do while it is in (the) body, it has as witnesses when it goes into judgement.

Unclean demons do lay claim to a polluted soul; a faithful (and) good soul, evil demons will not be able to hinder in the way of God.

Do not give the word of God to everyone. For those who are corrupted by glory it is not assuring to hear about God.

It is not a small danger for us to speak the truth about God; do not say anything about God before you have learned from God.

Do not speak with a godless person about God; if you are polluted on account of impure works, do not speak about God. The true word about God is the word of God.

Speak concerning the word about God as if you were saying it in the presence of God. If first your mind is persuaded that you have been god-loving, then speak to whomever you wish about God. May your pious works precede every word about God.

Do not wish to speak with a crowd about God. Be (more) sparing with a word about God (than) about a soul. It is better to dispose of a soul than to discard at random a word about God.

You conceive the body of a god-loving man, but you will not be able to rule over his speech. The lion also rules over the body of the wise man; also the tyrant rules over it alone.

If a tyrant threatens you, then, especially, remember God. He who speaks the word of God to those for whom it is not lawful, he is the betrayer of God.

It is better for you to be silent about the word of God, than to speak recklessly.

He who speaks lies about God is lying to God; a man who does not have anything truthful to say about God is abandoned by God.

It is not possible for you to know God when you do not worship him.

A man who does evil to someone will not be able to worship God. The love of man is the beginning of godliness.

He who takes care of men while praying for all of them - this is the truth of God.

It is God's business to save whom he wants; on the other hand, it is the business of the pious man to beseech God to save everyone.

When you pray for something and it happens to you through God, then say with your mind that you have [...].

A man who is worthy of God, he is God among men, and he is the son of God.

Both the great one exists and he who is next to the great one exists. It is better for man to be without anything than to have many things while not giving to the needy; so also you, if you pray to God, he will not give to you.

If you, from your whole heart, give your bread to the hungry, the gift is small, but the willingness is great with God.

He who thinks that no one is in the presence of God, he is not humble towards God. He who makes his mind like unto God as far as he is able, he is the one who honours God greatly.

God does not need anything, but he rejoices over those who give to the needy. The faithful do not speak many words, but their works are numerous.

It is a faithful person fond of learning who is the worker of the truth. Adjust [. . .] the calamities, in order that [. . .].

If you do not do evil to anyone, you will not be afraid of anyone. The tyrant will not be able to take away happiness.

What is right to do, do it willingly. What is not right to do, do not do it in any way. Promise everything rather than to say "I am wise".

What you do well, say with your mind that it is God who does it. No man who <looks> down upon the earth and upon tables is wise.

The philosopher who is an outer body, he is not the one to whom it is fitting to pay respect, but (the) philosopher according to the inner man.

Guard yourself from lying; there is he who deceives and there is he who is deceived. Know who God is, and know who is the one who thinks in you; a good man is the good work of God.

They are miserable because of whom the word is blasphemed. Death will not be able to destroy [. . .].

(pages 35-end are missing)

THE EPISTLE OF EUGNOSTOS

Eugnostos the Blessed
From: The Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt
Translation: Douglas M. Parrott
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd century A.D.

(The Epistle of Eugnostos is one of many Gnostic tractates from the Nag Hammadi library, discovered in Egypt in 1945. The Nag Hammadi codices contain two full copies of this tractate. Both copies served as source for this English translation. The text is devoid of any specifically Christian themes or associations, and simply describes the esoteric cosmology of the gnostics. The epistle was a familiar literary convention of Antiquity; it is not to be supposed that this essay is an actual letter written by a man named Eugnostos or sometimes Eugnostus which means the "right thinking".)

Eugnostos, the Blessed, to those who are his.

Rejoice in this, that you know. Greetings! I want you to know that all men born from the foundation of the world until now are dust. While they have inquired about God, who he is and what he is like, they have not found him. The wisest among them have speculated about the truth from the ordering of the world. And the speculation has not reached the truth. For the ordering is spoken of in three (different) opinions by all the philosophers; hence they do not agree. For some of them say about the world that it was directed by itself. Others, that it is providence (that directs it). Others, that it is fate. But it is none of these. Again, of three voices that I have just mentioned, none is true. For whatever is from itself is an empty life; it is self-made. Providence is foolish. Fate is an undiscerning thing.

Whoever, then, is able to get free of these three voices I have just mentioned and come by means of another voice to confess the God of truth and agree in everything concerning him, he is immortal dwelling in the midst of mortal men.

He-Who-Is is ineffable. No principle knew him, no authority, no subjection, nor any creature from the foundation of the world, except he alone. For he is immortal and eternal, having no birth; for everyone who has birth will perish. He is unbegotten, having no beginning; for everyone who has a beginning has an end. No one rules over him. He has no name; for whoever has a name is the creation of another. He is unnameable. He has no human form; for whoever has human form is the creation of another. He has his own semblance - not like the semblance we have received and seen, but a strange semblance that surpasses all things and is better than the totalities. It looks to every side and sees itself from itself. He is infinite; he is incomprehensible. He is ever imperishable (and) has no likeness (to anything). He is unchanging good. He is faultless. He is everlasting. He is blessed. He is unknowable, while he (nonetheless) knows himself. He is immeasurable. He is untraceable. He is perfect, having no defect. He is imperishably blessed. He is called 'Father of the Universe'.

Before anything is visible among those that are visible, the majesty and the authorities that are in him, he embraces the totalities of the totalities, and nothing embraces him. For he is all mind, thought and reflecting, considering, rationality and power. They all are equal powers. They are the sources of the totalities. And their whole race from first to last is in the foreknowledge of the Unbegotten, for they had not yet come to visibility.

Now a difference existed among the imperishable aeons. Let us, then, consider (it) this way: Everything that came from the perishable will perish, since it came from the perishable. Whatever came from imperishableness will not perish but will become imperishable, since it came from imperishableness. So, many men went astray because they had not known this difference; that is, they died.

But this much is enough, since it is impossible for anyone to dispute the nature of the words I have just spoken about the blessed, imperishable, true God. Now, if anyone wants to believe the words set down (here), let him go from what is hidden to the end of what is visible, and this Thought will instruct him how faith in those things that are not visible was found in what is visible. This is a principle of knowledge.

The Lord of the Universe is not rightly called 'Father' but 'Forefather'. For the Father is the beginning (or principle) of what is visible. For he (the Lord) is the beginningless Forefather. He sees himself within himself, like a mirror, having appeared in his likeness as Self-Father, that is, Self-Begetter, and as Confronter, since he confronted Unbegotten First Existent. He is indeed of equal age with the one who is before him, but he is not equal to him in power.

Afterward he revealed many confronting, self-begotten ones, equal in age (and) power, being in glory and without number, who are called 'The Generation over Whom There Is No Kingdom among the Kingdoms That Exist'. And the whole multitude of the place over which there is no kingdom is called 'Sons of Unbegotten Father.'

Now the Unknowable is ever full of imperishableness and ineffable joy. They are all at rest in him, ever rejoicing in ineffable joy, over the unchanging glory and the measureless jubilation that was never heard or known among all the aeons and their worlds. But this much is enough, lest we go on endlessly. This is another principle of knowledge from Self-begotten.

The First who appeared before the universe in infinity is Self-grown, Self-constructed Father, and is full of shining, ineffable light. In the beginning, he decided to have his likeness become a great power. Immediately, the principle (or beginning) of that Light appeared as Immortal Androgynous Man. His male name is 'Begotten, Perfect Mind'. And his female name is 'All-wise Begettress Sophia'. It is also said that she resembles her brother and her consort. She is uncontested truth; for here below, error, which exists with truth, contests it.

Through Immortal Man appeared the first designation, namely, divinity and kingdom, for the Father, who is called 'Self-Father Man' revealed this. He created a great aeon for his own majesty. He gave him great authority, and he ruled over all creations. He created gods and archangels and angels, myriads without number for retinue.

Now through that Man originated divinity and kingdom. Therefore he was called 'God of gods', 'King of kings'.

First Man is 'Faith' ('pistis') for those who will come afterward. He has, within, a unique mind and thought - just as he is it (thought) - reflecting and considering, rationality and power. All the attributes that exist are perfect and immortal. In respect to imperishableness, they are indeed equal. (But) in respect to power, there is a difference, like the difference between father and son, and son and thought, and the thought and the remainder.

As I said earlier, among the things that were created the monad is first, the dyad follows it, and the triad, up to the tenths. Now the tenths rule the hundredths; the hundredths rule the thousandths; the thousands rule the ten thousands. This is the pattern immortals. First Man is like this: His monad [...].

Again it is this pattern that exists among the immortals: the monad and the thought are those things that belong to Immortal Man. The thinkings are for decads, and the hundreds are the teachings, and the thousands are the counsels, and the ten thousands are the powers. Now those who come from the [...] exist with their [...] in every aeon [...].

[...] In the beginning, thought and thinkings appeared from mind, then teachings from thinkings, counsels from teachings, and power from counsels. And after all the attributes, all that

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was revealed appeared from his powers. And from what was created, what was fashioned appeared. And what was formed appeared from what was fashioned. What was named appeared from what was formed, while the difference among begotten things appeared from what was named, from beginning to end, by power of all the aeons. Now Immortal Man is full of every imperishable glory and ineffable joy. His whole kingdom rejoices in everlasting rejoicing, those who never have been heard of or known in any aeon that came after them and its worlds.

Afterward another principle came from Immortal Man, who is called 'Self-perfected Begetter.' When he received the consent of his consort, Great Sophia, he revealed that first-begotten androgyne, who is called, 'First-begotten Son of God'. His female aspect is 'First-begotten Sophia, Mother of the Universe,' whom some call 'Love'. Now, First-begotten, since he has his authority from his father, created angels, myriads without number, for retinue. The whole multitude of those angels are called 'Assembly of the Holy Ones, the Shadowless Lights.' Now when these greet each other, their embraces become like angels like themselves.

First Begetter Father is called 'Adam of the Light.' And the kingdom of Son of Man is full of ineffable joy and unchanging jubilation, ever rejoicing in ineffable joy over their imperishable glory, which has never been heard nor has it been revealed to all the aeons that came to be and their worlds.

Then Son of Man consented with Sophia, his consort, and revealed a great androgynous Light. His masculine name is designated 'Saviour, Begetter of All things'. His feminine name is designated 'Sophia, All-Begettress'. Some call her 'Pistis' (faith).

Then Saviour consented with his consort, Pistis Sophia, and revealed six androgynous spiritual beings who are the type of those who preceded them. Their male names are these: first, 'Unbegotten'; second, 'Self-begotten'; third, 'Begetter'; fourth, 'First begetter'; fifth, 'All-begetter'; sixth, 'Arch-begetter'. Also the names of the females are these; first, 'All-wise Sophia'; second, 'All-Mother Sophia'; third, 'All-Begettress Sophia'; fourth, 'First Begettress Sophia'; fifth, 'Love Sophia'; sixth, 'Pistis Sophia'.

From the consenting of those I have just mentioned, thoughts appeared in the aeons that exist. From thoughts, reflectings; from reflectings, considerings; from considerings, rationalities, from rationalities, wills, from wills, words.

Then the twelve powers, whom I have just discussed, consented with each other. males and females each were revealed, so that there are seventy-two powers. Each one of the seventy-two revealed five spiritual (powers), which (together) are the three hundred and sixty powers. The union of them all is the will.

Therefore our aeon came to be as the type of Immortal Man. Time came to be as the type of First Begetter, his son. The year came to be as the type of Saviour. The twelve months came to be as the type of the twelve powers. The three hundred and sixty days of the year came to be as the three hundred and sixty powers who appeared from Saviour. Their hours and moments came to be as the type of the angels who came from them (the powers), who are without number.

And when those whom I have discussed appeared, All-Begetter, their father, very soon created twelve aeons for retinue for the twelve angels. And in each aeon there were six heavens, so there are seventy-two heavens of the seventy-two powers who appeared from him. And in each of the heavens there were five firmaments, so there are altogether three hundred sixty firmaments of the three hundred sixty powers that appeared from them. When the firmaments were complete, they were called 'The Three Hundred Sixty Heavens', according to the name of the heavens that were before them. And all these are perfect and good. And in this way the defect of femaleness appeared.

The first aeon, then, is that of Immortal Man. The second aeon is that of Son of Man, who is called 'First Begetter' ("who is called 'Saviour'" added in Codex V). That which embraces these is the aeon over which there is no kingdom, (the aeon) of the Eternal Infinite God, the aeon of the aeon of the immortals who are in it, (the aeon) above the Eighth that appeared in chaos.

Now Immortal Man revealed aeons and powers and kingdoms and gave authority to everyone who appeared from him, to make whatever they desire until the days that are above chaos. For these consented with each other and revealed every magnificence, even from spirit, multitudinous lights that are glorious and without number. These received names in the beginning, that is, the first, the middle, the perfect; that is, the first aeon and the second and the third. The first was called 'Unity and Rest'. Since each one has its own name, the third aeon was designated 'Assembly', from the great multitude that appeared in the multitudinous one. Therefore, when the multitude gathers and comes to a unity, they are called 'Assembly', from the Assembly that surpassed heaven. Therefore, the Assembly of the Eighth was revealed as androgynous and was named partly as male and partly as female. The male was called 'Assembly', the female, 'Life', that it might be shown that from a female came the life in all the aeons. Every name was received, starting from the beginning.

From his concurrence with his thought, the powers appeared who where called 'gods'; and the gods from their considerings revealed divine gods; and the gods from their considerings revealed lords; and the lords of the lords from their words revealed lords; and the lords from their powers revealed archangels; the archangels revealed angels; from them, the semblance appeared, with structure and form for naming all the aeons and their worlds.

All the immortals, whom I have just described, have authority - all of them - from the power of Immortal Man and Sophia, his consort, who was called 'Silence', who was named 'Silence' because by reflecting without speech she perfected her own majesty. Since the imperishabilities had the authority, each provided great kingdoms in all the immortal heavens and their firmaments, thrones (and) temples, for their own majesty.

Some, Indeed, who are in dwellings and in chariots, being in ineffable glory and not able to be sent into any creature, provided for themselves hosts of angels, myriads without number for retinue and glory, even virgin spirits, the ineffable lights. They have no sickness nor weakness, but it is only will: it comes to be in an instant. Thus were completed the aeons with their heavens and firmaments for the glory of Immortal Man and Sophia, his consort: the area which contained the pattern of every aeon and their worlds and those that came afterward, in order to provide the types from there, their likenesses in the heavens of chaos and their worlds.

And all natures from the Immortal One, from Unbegotten to the revelation of chaos, are in the light that shines without shadow and (in) ineffable joy and unutterable jubilation. They ever delight themselves on account of their glory that does not change, and the rest that is not measured, which cannot be described or conceived among all the aeons that came to be and their powers. But this much is enough. All I have just said to you, I said in the way that you might accept, until the one who need not be taught appears among you, and he will speak all these things to you joyously and in pure knowledge.

THE TRIMORPHIC PROTENNOIA

or The First Thought which is in Three Forms
or The Three Forms of the First Thought
From: The Nag Hammadi Library
Translation: John D. Turner
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd century A.D.

(The Trimorphic Protennoia is a Sethian Gnostic text from the New Testament apocrypha. The only surviving copy comes from the Nag Hammadi library (Codex XIII). Like the more familiar Apocryphon of John, to which it is similar, it is thought to be from the mid-second century, and similar in style to the Gospel of John. In particular, there is great similarity with the prologue.

The name of the text means The First Thought which is in Three Forms (or The Three Forms of the First Thought), and appears to have been rewritten at some point to incorporate Sethian beliefs, when originally it was a treatise from another Gnostic sect. Unusually, the text is in the form of an explanation of the nature of cosmology, creation, and a docetic view of Jesus, in the first person. Whilst the text appears quite difficult to understand, this was the intention, as Gnosticism was more concerned about the way the text affected people than the content of it.

This text appears to have been written only for a higher level of initiate, not to be read by everyone That there are secret teachings is common with mystery religions. So one sentence says: "Now behold! I will reveal to you my mysteries, since you are my fellow brethren, and you shall know them all".)

I am Protennoia, the Thought that dwells in the Light. I am the movement that dwells in the All, she in whom the All takes its stand, the first-born among those who came to be, she who exists before the All. She (Protennoia) is called by three names, although she dwells alone, since she is perfect. I am invisible within the Thought of the Invisible One. I am revealed in the immeasurable, ineffable (things). I am incomprehensible, dwelling in the incomprehensible. I move in every creature.

I am the life of my Epinoia that dwells within every Power and every eternal movement, and (in) invisible Lights and within the Archons and Angels and Demons, and every soul dwelling in Tartaros, and (in) every material soul. I dwell in those who came to be. I move in everyone and I delve into them all. I walk uprightly, and those who sleep, I awaken. And I am the sight of those who dwell in sleep.

I am the Invisible One within the All. It is I who counsel those who are hidden, since I know the All that exists in it. I am numberless beyond everyone. I am immeasurable, ineffable, yet whenever I wish, I shall reveal myself of my own accord. I am the head of the All. I exist before the All, and I am the All, since I exist in everyone.

I am a Voice speaking softly. I exist from the first. I dwell within the Silence that surrounds every one of them. And it is the hidden Voice that dwells within my, within the incomprehensible, immeasurable Thought, within the immeasurable Silence.

I descended to the midst of the underworld, and I shone down upon the darkness. It is I who poured forth the water. It is I who am hidden within radiant waters. I am the one who gradually put forth the All by my Thought. It is I who am laden with the Voice. It is through me that Gnosis comes forth. I dwell in the ineffable and unknowable ones. I am perception and knowledge, uttering a Voice by means of thought. I am the real Voice. I cry out in everyone, and they recognise it (the voice), since a seed indwells them. I am the Thought of the Father, and through me proceeded the Voice, that is, the knowledge of the everlasting things. I exist as Thought for the All -- being joined to the unknowable and incomprehensible Thought -- I revealed myself -- yes, I -- among all those who recognise me. For it is I who am joined with everyone by virtue of the hidden Thought and an exalted <Voice>, even a Voice from the invisible Thought. And it is immeasurable, since it dwells in the Immeasurable One. It is a mystery; it is unrestrainable by the Incomprehensible One. It is invisible to all those who are visible in the All. It is a Light dwelling in Light.

It is we also who alone have separated from the visible world, since we are saved by the hidden wisdom, by means of the ineffable, immeasurable Voice. And he who is hidden within us pays the tributes of his fruit to the Water of Life.

Then the Son who is perfect in every respect -- that is, the Word who originated through that Voice; who proceeded from the height; who has within him the Name; who is a Light -- he revealed the everlasting things, and all the unknowns were known. And those things difficult to interpet and secret, he revealed. And as for those who dwell in Silence with the First Thought, he preached to them. And he revealed himself to those who dwell in darkness, and he showed himself to those who dwell in the abyss, and to those who dwell in the hidden treasuries, he told ineffable mysteries, and he taught unrepeatable doctrines to all those who became Sons of the Light.

Now the Voice that originated from my Thought exists as three permanences: the Father, the Mother, the Son. Existing perceptibly as Speech, it (Voice) has within it a Word endowed with every <glory>, and it has three masculinities, three powers, and three names. They exist in the manner of Three ... -- which are quadrangels -- secretly within a silence of the Ineffable One.

It is he alone who came to be, that is, the Christ. And, as for me, I anointed him as the glory of the Invisible Spirit, with goodness. Now the Three, I established alone in eternal glory over the Aeons in the Living Water, that is, the glory that surrounds him who first came forth to the Light of those exalted Aeons, and it is in glorious Light that he firmly perseveres. And he stood in his own Light that surrounds him, that is, the Eye of the Light that gloriously shines on me. He perpetuated the Father of all Aeons, who am I, the Thought of the Father, Protennoia, that is, Barbelo, the perfect Glory, and the immeasurable Invisible One who is hidden. I am the Image of the Invisible Spirit, and it is through me that the All took shape, and (I am) the Mother (as well as) the Light which she appointed as Virgin, she who is called 'Meirothea', the incomprehensible Womb, the unrestrainable and immeasurable Voice.

Then the Perfect Son revealed himself to his Aeons, who originated through him, and he revealed them and glorified them, and gave them thrones, and stood in the glory with which he glorified himself. They blessed the Perfect Son, the Christ, the only-begotten God. And they gave glory, saying, "He is! He is! The Son of God! The Son of God! It is he who is! The Aeon of Aeons, beholding the Aeons which he begot. For thou hast begotten by thine own desire! Therefore we glorify thee: ma mo o o o eia ei on ei! The Aeon of Aeons! The Aeon which he gave!"

Then, moreover, the God who was begotten gave them (the Aeons) a power of life on which they might rely, and he established them. The first Aeon he established over the first: Armedon, Nousanios, Armozel; the second he established over the second Aeon: Phaionios, Ainios, Oroiael; the third over the third Aeon: Mellephaneus, Loios, Daveithai; the fourth over the fourth: Mousanios, Amethes, Eleleth. Now those Aeons were begotten by the God who was begotten - the Christ - and these Aeons received as well as gave glory. They were the first to appear, exalted in their thought, and each Aeon gave myriads of glories within great untraceable lights, and they all together blessed the perfect Son, the God who was begotten.

Then there came forth a word from the great Light Eleleth, and said, "I am king! Who belongs to Chaos and who belongs to the underworld?" And at that instant, his Light appeared, radiant, endowed with the Epinoia. The Powers of the Powers did not entreat him, and likewise immediately there appeared

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the great Demon who rules over the lowest part of the underworld and Chaos. He has neither form nor perfection, but, on the contrary, possesses the form of the glory of those begotten in the darkness. Now he is called 'Saklas', that is, 'Samael', 'Yaltabaoth', he who had taken power; who had snatched it away from the innocent one (Sophia); who had earlier overpowered her who is the Light`s Epinoia who had descended, her from whom he had come forth from originally.

Now when the Epinoia of the Light realized that he (Yaltabaoth) had begged him (the Light) for another order, even though he was lower than she, she said, "Give me another order, so that you may become for me a dwelling place, lest I dwell in disorder forever." And the order of the entire house of glory was agreed upon her word. A blessing was brought for her and the higher order released it to her.

And the great Demon began to produce aeons in the likeness of the real Aeons, except that he produced them out of his own power.

Then I too revealed my Voice secretly, saying, "Cease! Desist, (you) who tread on matter; for behold, I am coming down to the world of mortals for the sake of my portion that was in that place from the time when the innocent Sophia was conquered, she who descended, so that I might thwart their aim which the one revealed by her appoints." And all were disturbed, each one who dwells in the house of the ignorant light, and the abyss trembled. And the Archigenetor of ignorance reigned over Chaos and the underworld, and produced a man in my likeness. But he neither knew that that one would become for him a sentence of dissolution, nor does he recognise the power in him.

But now I have come down and reached down to Chaos. And I was with my own who were in that place. I am hidden within them, empowering them, giving them shape. And from the first day until the day when I will grant mighty glory to those who are mine, I will reveal myself to those who have heard my mysteries, that is, the Sons of the Light.

I am their Father, and I shall tell you a mystery, ineffable and indivulgeable by any mouth: Every bond I loosed from you, and the chains of the demons of the underworld I broke, these things which are bound on my members, restraining them. And the high walls of darkness I overthrew, and the secure gates of those pitiless ones I broke, and I smashed their bars. And the evil force, and the one who beats you, and the one who hinders you, and the tyrant, and the adversary, and the one who is King, and the present enemy, indeed all these I explained to those who are mine, who are the Sons of the Light, in order that they might nullify them all, and be saved from all those bonds, and enter into the place where they were at first.

I am the first one who descended on account of my portion which remains, that is, the Spirit that dwells in the soul, which originated from the Water of Life, and out of the immersion of the mysteries. And I spoke, I, together with the Archons and Authorities. For I had gone down below their language, and I spoke my mysteries to my own - a hidden mystery - and the bonds and eternal oblivion were nullified. And I bore fruit in them, that is, the Thought of the unchanging Aeon, and my house, and their Father. And I went down to those who were mine from the first, and I reached them and broke the first strands that enslaved them. Then everyone of those within me shone, and I prepared a pattern for those ineffable Lights that are within me. Amen.

THE DISCOURSE OF PROTENNOIA: ONE

I am the Voice that appeared through my Thought, for I am 'He who is syzygetic' since I am called 'the Thought of the Invisible One'. Since I am called 'the unchanging Speech', I am called 'She who is syzygetic'.

I am a single one, since I am undefiled. I am the Mother of the Voice, speaking in many ways, completing the All. It is in me that knowledge dwells, the knowledge of <things> everlasting. It is I who speak within every creature, and I was known by the All. It is I who lift up the Speech of the Voice to the ears of those who have known me, that is, the Sons of the Light.

Now I have come the second time in the likeness of a female, and have spoken with them. And I shall tell them of the coming end of the Aeon and teach them of the beginning of the Aeon to come, the one without change, the one in which our appearance will be changed. We shall be purified within those Aeons from which I revealed myself in the Thought of the likeness of my masculinity. I settled among those who are worthy in the Thought of my changeless Aeon.

For I shall tell you a mystery of this particular Aeon, and tell you about the forces that are in it. The birth beckons; hour begets hour, day begets day. The months made known the month.Time has gone round succeeding time. This particular Aeon was completed in this fashion, and it was estimated, and it (was) short, for it was a finger that released a finger, and a joint that was separated from a joint. Then, when the great Authorities knew that the time of fulfillment had appeared - just as in the pangs of the parturient it (the time) has drawn near, so also had the destruction approached - all together the elements trembled, and the foundations of the underworld and the ceilings of Chaos shook, and a great fire shone within their midst, and the rocks and the earth were shaken like a reed shaken by the wind. And the lots of Fate and those who apportion the domiciles were greatly disturbed over a great thunder. And the thrones of the Powers were disturbed, since they were overturned, and their King was afraid. And those who pursue Fate paid their allotment of visits to the path, and they said to the Powers, "What is this disturbance and this shaking that has come upon us through a Voice <belonging> to the exalted Speech? And our entire habitation has been shaken, and the entire circuit of the path of ascent has met with destruction, and the path upon which we go, which takes us up to the Archgenitor of our birth, has ceased to be established for us."

Then the Powers answered, saying, "We too are at loss about it, since we did not know what was responsible for it. But arise, let us go up to the Archgenitor and ask him." And the powers all gathered and went up to the Archgenitor. They said to him, "Where is your boasting in which you boast? Did we not hear you say, "I am God, and I am your Father, and it is I who begot you. and there is none beside me"? Now behold, there has appeared a Voice belonging to that invisible Speech of the Aeon which we know not. And we ourselves did not recognise to whom we belong, for that Voice which we listened to is foreign to us, and we did not recognise it; we did not know whence it was. It came and put fear in our midst and weakening in the members of our arms. So now let us weep and mourn most bitterly! As for the future, let us make our entire flight before we are imprisoned perforce, and taken down to the bosom of the underworld. For already the slackening of our bondage has approached, and the times are cut short, and the days have shortened, and our time has been fulfilled, and the weeping of our destruction has approached us, so that we may be taken to the place we recognise. For as for our tree from which we grew, a fruit of ignorance is what it has; and also its leaves, it is death that dwells in them, and darkness dwells under the shadow of its boughs. And it was in deceit and lust that we harvested it, this (tree) through which ignorant Chaos became for us a dwelling place. For behold, even he, the Archgenitor of our birth, about whom we boast, even he did not know this Speech."

So now, O sons of the Thought, listen to me, to the Speech of the Mother of your mercy, for you have become worthy of the mystery hidden from the Aeons, so that you might receive it. And the consummation of this particular Aeon and of the evil life has approached, and there dawns the beginning of the Aeon to come, which has no change forever.

I am androgynous. I am Mother (and) I am Father, since I copulate with myself. I copulated with myself and with those who love me, and it is through me alone that the All stands firm. I am the Womb that gives shape to the All by giving birth to the Light that shines in splendor. I am the Aeon to come. I am the fulfillment of the All, that is, Meirothea, the glory of the Mother. I cast voiced Speech into the ears of those who know me.

And I am inviting you into the exalted, perfect Light. Moreover, (as for) this (Light), when you enter it, you will be glorified by those who give glory, and those who enthrone will enthrone you. You will accept robes from those who give robes, and the baptisers will baptise you, and you will become gloriously glorious, the way you first were when you were Light.

And I hid myself in everyone and revealed myself within them, and every mind seeking me longed for me, for it is I who gave shape to the All when it had no form. And I transformed their forms into (other) forms, until the time when a form will be given to the All. It is through me that the Voice originated, and it is I who put the breath within my own. And I cast into them the eternally Holy Spirit, and I ascended and entered my Light. I went up upon my branch and sat there among the Sons of the holy Light. And I withdrew to their dwelling place which [...] become glorious [...]. Amen.

ON FATE

I am the Word who dwells in the ineffable Voice. I dwell in undefiled Light and a Thought revealed itself perceptibly through the great Speech of the Mother, although it is a male offspring that supports me as my foundation. And it (the Speech) exists from the beginning in the foundations of the All.

But there is a Light that dwells hidden in Silence, and it was first to come forth. Whereas she (the Mother) alone exists as Silence, I alone am the Word, ineffable, unpolluted, immeasurable, inconceivable. It (the Word) is a hidden Light, bearing a fruit of life, pouring forth a living water from the invisible, unpolluted, immeasurable spring, that is, the unreproducible Voice of the glory of the Mother, the glory of the offspring of God; a male virgin by virtue of a hidden Intellect, that is, the Silence hidden from the All, being unreproducible, an immeasurable Light, the source of the All, the root of the entire Aeon. It is the foundation that supports every movement of the Aeons that belong to the mighty glory. It is the foundation of every foundation. It is the breath of the powers. It is the eye of the three permanences, which exist as Voice by virtue of Thought. And it is a Word by virtue of Speech; it was sent to illumine those who dwell in the darkness.

Now behold! I will reveal to you my mysteries, since you are my fellow brethren, and you shall know them all.

(5 lines missing, probably left out intentionally!)

I told all of them about my mysteries that exist in the incomprehensible, inexpressible Aeons. I taught them the mysteries through the Voice that exists within a perfect Intellect, and I became a foundation for the All, and I empowered them.

The Second time I came in the Speech of my Voice. I gave shape to those who took shape, until their consummation.

The Third time I revealed myself to them in their tents as Word, and I revealed myself in the likeness of their shape. And I wore everyone's garment, and I hid myself within them, and they did not know the one who empowers me. For I dwell within all the Sovereignties and Powers, and within the angels, and in every movement that exists in all matter. And I hid myself within them until I revealed myself to my brethren. And none of them (the Powers) knew me, although it is I who work in them. Rather, they thought that the All was created by them, since they are ignorant, not knowing their root, the place in which they grew.

I am the Light that illumines the All. I am the Light that rejoices in my brethren, for I came down to the world of mortals on account of the Spirit that remains in that which descended (and) came forth from the innocent Sophia. I came, and I delivered [...], and I went to ...

(5 lines missing) ... which he had formerly, and I gave to him from the Water of Life, which strips him of the chaos that is in the uttermost darkness that exists inside the entire abyss, that is, the thought of the corporeal and the psychic. All these I put on. And I stripped him of it, and I put upon him a shining Light, that is, the knowledge of the Thought of the Fatherhood.

And I delivered him to those who give robes - Yammon, Elasso, Amenai - and they covered him with a robe from the robes of the Light; and I delivered him to the baptisers, and they baptised him - Micheus, Michar, Mnesinous - and they immersed him in the spring of the Water of Life. And I delivered him to those who enthrone - Bariel, Nouthan, Sabenai - and they enthroned him from the Throne of Glory. And I delivered him to those who glorify - Ariom, Elien, Phariel - and they glorified him with the glory of the Fatherhood. And those who snatch away snatched away - Kamaliel, [...]anen, Samblo, and the servants of <the> great holy luminaries - and they took him into the light-place of his Fatherhood. And he received the Five seals from the Light of the Mother, Protennoia, and it was granted him to partake of the mystery of knowledge, and he became a Light in Light.

So now ...

(5 lines missing) ... I was dwelling in them in the form of each one. The Archons thought that I was their Christ. Indeed, I dwell in everyone. Indeed, within those in whom I revealed myself as Light, I eluded the Archons. I am their beloved, for in that place I clothed myself as the son of the Archgenitor, and I was like him until the end of his decree, which is the ignorance of Chaos. And among the angels I revealed myself in their likeness, and among the Powers, as if I were one of them; but among the Sons of Man, as if I were a Son of Man, even though I am Father of everyone.

I hid myself within them all until I revealed myself among my members, which are mine, and I taught them about the ineffable ordinances, and (about) the brethren. But they are inexpressible to every Sovereignty and every ruling Power, except the Sons of the Light alone, that is, the ordinances of the Father. These are the glories that are higher than every glory, that is, the Five Seals, complete by virtue of Intellect. He who possesses the Five Seals of these particular names has stripped off <the> garments of ignorance and put on a shining Light. And nothing will appear to him that belongs to the Powers of the Archons. Within those of this sort, darkness will dissolve and ignorance will die. And the thought of the creature, which is scattered, will present a single appearance and dark Chaos will dissolve and ...

(6 lines fragmentary) ... until I reveal myself to all my fellow brethren, and until I gather together all my fellow brethren within my eternal kingdom. And I proclaimed to them the ineffable Five Seals in order that I might abide in them and they also might abide in me.

As for me, I put on Jesus. I bore him from the cursed wood, and established him in the dwelling places of his Father. And those who watch over their dwelling places did not recognise me. For I, I am unrestrainable, together with my seed; and my seed, which is mine, I shall place into the holy Light within an incomprehensible Silence. Amen.

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THE INTERPRETATION OF KNOWLEDGE
From: The Nag Hammadi Library
Translation: John D. Turner
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 3rd centuries A.D.

(Nothing is known of the author of this tractate from the Nag Hammadi Library. It is clear that he was a learned exegete of the scriptures and used his teaching authority pastorally in addressing the needs of his community. Where and when he was active cannot be determined, but late second-century Alexandria is a good guess.

That the outlook of the text is Gnostic is clear from the first page The tractate can be assigned to a Valentinian homiletic tradition on account of numerous parallels with other Valentinian texts. It talks about: the distinction between faith and persuasion; the statement that the Father knew his limbs from the beginning and will reveal them at the end; and the picturing of the Saviour as schoolmaster teaching the true letters which is also found in the Gospel of Truth.)

(13 lines missing)

... they came to believe by means of signs and wonders and fabrications. The likeness that came to be through them followed him, but through reproaches and humiliations before they received the apprehension of a vision they fled without having heard that the Christ had been crucified. But our generation is fleeing since it does not yet even believe that the Christ is alive. In order that our faith may be holy (and) pure, not relying upon itself actively, but maintaining itself planted in him, do not say: "Whence is the patience to measure faith?", for each one is persuaded by the things he believes. If he disbelieves them, then he would be unable to be persuaded. But it is a great thing for a man who has faith, since he is not in unbelief, which is the world.

Now the world is the place of unfaith and the place of death. And death exists as ... (14 lines missing)... likeness and they will not believe. A holy thing is the faith to see the likeness. The opposite is unfaith in the likeness. The things that he will grant them will support them. It was impossible for them to attain to the imperishability [...] will become [...] loosen [...] those who were sent [...]. For he who is distressed will not believe. He is unable to bring a great church, since it is gathered out of a small gathering.

He became an emanation of the trace. For also they say about the likeness that it is apprehended by means of his trace. The structure apprehends by means of the likeness, but God apprehends by means of his members. He knew them before they were begotten, and they will know him. And the one who begot each one from the first will indwell them. He will rule over them. For it is necessary for each one ... (25 lines missing)... the Saviour removed himself, since it is fitting. Indeed, not ignorant but carnal is the word who took him as a husband. And it is he who exists as an image, since that one (masc.) also exists, as well as that one (fem.) who brought us forth. And she caused him to know that she is the Womb. This is a marvel of hers that she causes us to transcend patience. But this is the marvel: he loves the one who was first to permit a virgin [...]. It is fitting to [...] her [...] unto death [...] desire to practice ... (23 lines missing) Therefore she yielded to him in her path. He was first to fix our eye upon this virgin who is fixed to the cross that is in those places. And we see that it is her water which the supreme authority granted to the one in whom there is a sign. This is the water of immortality which the great powers will grant to him while he is below in the likeness of her young son. She did not stop on his account. She [...] the [...] he became [...] in the [...] word that appears to the [...]. He did not ... (13 lines missing)... in [...] through [...] come from those places. Some fell in the path. Others fell in the rocks. Yet still others he sowed in the thorns. And still others he gave to drink [...] and the shadow. Behold [...] he [...] And this is the eternal reality before the souls come forth from those who are being killed.

But he was being pursued in that place by the trace produced by the Saviour. And he was crucified and he died - not his own death, for he did not at all deserve to die because of the church of mortals. And he was nailed so that they might keep him in the Church. He answered her with humiliations, since in this way he had borne the suffering which he had suffered. For Jesus is for us a likeness on account of ... (14 lines missing)... this [...] the entire structure and [...] the great bitterness of the world [...] us with the [...] by thieves [...] the slaves [...] down to Jericho [...] they received [...]. For [...] down to those who will wait while the entire defect restrains them until the final reality that is their portion, since he brought us down, having bound us in nets of flesh. Since the body is a temporary dwelling which the rulers and authorities have as an abode, the man within, after being imprisoned in the fabrication, fell into suffering. And having compelled him to serve them, they constrained him to serve the energies. They split the Church so as to inherit ... (9 lines missing)... power to [...] and [...] and [...] having touched [...] before [...] it is the beauty that will [...] wanted to [...] and to be with [...] fighting with one another [...] like others [...] virgin [...] to destroy [...] wound [...] but she [...] she likens herself to the [...] her since they had struck [...] imperishable. This [...] that he remain [...] virgin. The [...] her beauty [...] faithfulness [...] and therefore [...] her. He hastened [...] he did not put up with [...] they despise [...]. For when the Mother had ... (5 lines missing)... the Mother [...] her enemy [...] the teaching [...] of the force [...] nature [...] behold a maiden [...] he is unable [...] first [...] the opposite [...]. But how has he [...] maiden [...] he was not able [...] he became [...] killed him [...] alive [...] he reckoned her [...] better than life [...] since he knows that if [...] world created him [...] him to raise him [...] up from [...] upon the regions [...] those whom they rule [...]. But [...] emitted him [...] he dwells in him [...] the Father of the All [...] be more to her [...] him. He ... (8 lines missing)... like [...] into [...] he has them [...] them [...] each one will be worthy [...] take him and [...] the teacher should hide himself as if he were a god who would embrace his works and destroy them. For he also spoke with the Church and he made himself her teacher of immortality, and destroyed the arrogant teacher by teaching her to die.

And this teacher made a living school, for that teacher has another school: while it teaches us about the dead writings, he, on the other hand, was causing us to remove ourselves from the surfeit of the world; we were being taught about our death through them.

Now this is his teaching: Do not call to a father upon the earth. Your Father, who is in heaven, is one. You are the light of the world. They are my brothers and my fellow companions who do the will of the Father. For what use is it if you gain the world and you forfeit your soul? For when we were in the dark, we used to call many "father," since we were ignorant of the true Father. And this is the great conception of all the sins ... (8 lines missing)... pleasure. We are like [...] him to [...] soul [...] men who [...] the dwelling place.

What now is the faith laid down by the master who released him from the great ignorance and the darkness of the ignorant eye? He reminded him of the good things of his Father and the race. For he said to him, "Now the world is not yours, may you not esteem the form that is in it as advantageous; rather (as) disadvantageous and (as) a punishment." Receive now the teaching of the one who was reproached - an advantage and a profit for the soul - and receive his shape. It is the shape that exists in the presence of the Father, the word and the height, that let you know him before you have been led astray while in (the) flesh of condemnation.

Likewise I became very small, so that through my humility I might take you up to the great height, whence you had fallen. You were taken to this pit. If now you believe in me, it is I who shall take you above, through this shape that you see. It is I who shall bear you upon my shoulders. Enter through the rib whence you came and hide yourself from the beasts. The burden that you bear now is not yours. Whenever you (fem.) go ... (14 lines missing)... from his glory [...] from the first. From being counted with the female, sleep brought labour and the sabbath, which is the world. For from being counted with the Father, sleep brought the sabbath and the exodus from the world of the beasts. For the world is from beasts and it is a beast. Therefore he that is lost has been reckoned to the crafty one, and that one is from the beasts that came forth. They put upon him a garment of condemnation, for the female had no other garment for clothing her seed except the one she brought on the sabbath. For no beast exists in the Aeon. For the Father does not keep the sabbath, but (rather) actuates the Son, and through the Son he continued to provide himself with the Aeons. The Father has living rational elements from which he puts on my members as garments. The man ... (11 lines missing)... this is the name. The [...] he emitted himself and he emitted the reproached one. The one who was reproached changed (his) name and, along with that which would be like the reproach, he appeared as flesh. And the humiliated one has no equipment. He has no need of the glory that is not his; he has his own glory with the name, which is the Son. Now he came that we might become glorious through the humiliated one that dwells in the places of humiliation. And through him who was reproached we receive the forgiveness of sins. And through the one who was reproached and the one who was redeemed we receive grace.

But who is it that redeemed the one who was reproached? It is the emanation of the name. For just as the flesh has need of a name, so also is the flesh an Aeon that Wisdom has emitted. It received the majesty that is descending, so that the Aeon might enter the one who was reproached, that we might escape the disgrace of the carcass and be regenerated in the flesh and blood of ... (8 lines missing)... destiny. He [...] and the Aeons [...] they accepted the Son although he was a complete mystery [...] each one of his members [...] grace. When he cried out, he was separated from the Church like portions of the darkness from the Mother, while his feet provided him traces, and these scorched the path of the ascent to the Father.

But what is the way and manner (in) which it (fem.) became their head? Well, it (fem.) made the dwelling place to bring forth the light to those who dwell within him, so that they might see the ascending Church. For the Head drew itself up from the pit; it was bent over the cross and it looked down to Tartaros so that those below might look above. Hence, for example, when someone looks at someone, then the face of the one who looked down looks up; so also once the Head looked from the height to its members, our members went above, where the Head was. And it, the cross, was undergoing nailing for the members, and solely that they might be able ... (7 lines missing)... have [...] because they were like [...] slave. The consummation is thus: He whom she indicated will be completed by the one who indicated. And the seeds that remain will endure until the All is separated and takes shape.

And thus the decree will be fulfilled, for just as the woman who is honoured until death has the advantage of time, so too will it give birth. And this offspring will receive the body appointed for it, and it will become perfect. He has a generous nature, since the Son of God dwells in him. And whenever he acquires the All, whatever he possesses will be dissolved in the fire because it greatly despised and outraged the Father.

Moreover, when the great Son was sent after his small brothers, he spread abroad the edict of the Father and proclaimed it, opposing the All. And he removed the old bond of debt, the one of condemnation. And this is the edict that was: Those who made themselves enslaved have become condemned in Adam. They have been brought from death, received forgiveness for their sins, and been redeemed by ... (9 lines missing)... since we are worthy [...] and [...] but I say [...] and these [...]. For [...] is worthy to [...] God. And the Father [...] the Christ removed himself from all these, since he loves his members with all his heart. One who is jealous sets his members against one another. If he is not jealous, he will not be removed from (the) other members and the good which he sees.

By having a brother who regards us as he also is, one glorifies the one who gives us grace. Moreover, it is fitting for each of us to enjoy the gift that he has received from God, and that we not be jealous, since we know that he who is jealous is an obstacle in his (own) path, since he destroys only himself with the gift and he is ignorant of God. He ought to rejoice and be glad and partake of grace and bounty. Does someone have a prophetic gift? Share it without hesitation. Neither approach your brother jealously nor ... (8 lines missing)... chosen as they [...] empty as they escape [...] fallen from their [...] are ignorant that [...] in this way they have [...] them in [...] in order that they may reflect perforce upon the things that you want them to think about when they think about you. Now your brother also has his grace: Do not belittle yourself, but rejoice and give thanks spiritually, and pray for that one, in order that you might share the grace that dwells within him. So do not consider him foreign to you, rather, (as) one who is yours, whom each of your fellow members received. By loving the Head who possesses them, you also possess the one from whom it is that these outpourings of gifts exist among your brethren.

But is someone making progress in the Word? Do not be hindered by this; do not say: "Why does he speak while I do not?", for what he says is (also) yours, and that which discerns the Word and that which speaks is the same power. The Word ... (13 lines missing)... eye or a hand only, although they are a single body. Those who belong to us all serve the Head together. And each one of the members reckons it as a member. They cannot all become entirely a foot or entirely an eye or entirely a hand, since these members will not live alone; rather they are dead. We know that they are being put to death. So why do you love the members that are still dead, instead of those that live? How do you know that someone is ignorant of the brethren? For you are ignorant when you hate them and are jealous of them, since you will not receive the grace that dwells within them, being unwilling to reconcile them to the bounty of the Head. You ought to give thanks for our members and ask that you too might be granted the grace that has been given to them. For the Word is rich, generous and kind. Here he gives away gifts to his men without jealousy, according to ... (11 lines missing)... appeared in each of the members [...] himself [...] since they do not fight at all with one another on account of their difference(s). Rather, by labouring with one another, they will work with one another, and if one of them suffers, they will suffer with him, and when each one is saved, they are saved together.

Moreover, if they would wait for the exodus from the (earthly) harmony, they will come to the Aeon. If they are fit to share in the (true) harmony, how much the more those who derive from the single unity? They ought to be reconciled with one another. Do not accuse your Head because it has not appointed you as an eye but rather as a finger. And do not be jealous of that which has been put in the class of an eye or a hand or a foot, but be thankful that you do not exist outside the Body. On the contrary, you have the same Head on whose account the eye exists, as well as the hand and the foot and the rest of the parts. Why do you despise the one that is appointed as [...] it desired to [...] you slandered [...] does not embrace [...] unmixed body [...] chosen [...] dissolve [...] of the Aeon [...] descent [...] however plucked us from <the> Aeons that exist in that place. Some exist in the visible Church - those who exist in the Church of men - and unanimously they proclaim

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to one another the Pleroma of their aeon. And some exist for death in the Church on whose behalf they go - she for whom they are death - while others are for life. Therefore they are lovers of abundant life. And each of the rest endures by his own root. He puts forth fruit that is like him, since the roots have a connection with one another and their fruits are undivided, the best of each. They possess them, existing for them and for one another. So let us become like the roots, since we are equal [...] that Aeon [...] those who are not ours [...] above the [...] grasp him [...] since [...] your soul. He will [...] we gave you to him. If you purify it, it abides in me. If you enclose it, it belongs to the Devil. Even if you kill his forces that are active, it will be with you. For if the soul is dead, still it was enacted upon (by) the rulers and authorities.

What, now, do you think of as spirit? Or why do they persecute men of this sort to death? Are they not satisfied to be with the soul and seek it? For every place is excluded from them by the men of God so long as they exist in flesh. And when they cannot see them, since they (the men of God) live by the spirit, they tear apart what appears, as if thus they can find them. But what is the profit for them? They are senselessly mad! They rend their surroundings! They dig the earth! [...] him [...] hid [...] exists [...] purify [...] however [...] after God [...] seize us [...] but we walk [...]. For if the sins are many, how much the more now is the jealousy of the Church of the Saviour. For each one was capable of both (types) of transgression, namely that of an adept, and (that of) an ordinary person. It is still a single ability that they possess. And as for us, we are adepts at the Word. If we sin against it, we sin more than Gentiles. But if we surmount every sin, we shall receive the crown of victory, even as our Head was glorified by the Father.

ALLOGENES

From: The Nag Hammadi Library
Translation: John D.Turner and Orval S. Wintermute
Estimated range of dating: 200-250 AD

(The Coptic text of "Allogenes" is the third item in Codex XI of the Nag Hammadi library (NHC XI,3), held on leaves 45-69. The tops of many leaves are missing, as is the entire opening to the work. It is the first Allogenes source to be discovered in modern times. The first one who has mentioned the Allogenes writings between 374 and 375 AD was Epiphanius of Salamis in his polemic work Panarion, in the section "Against Sethians". He states that "The Sethians compose books in the names of great men, and say that seven books are in Seth's name, but give other, different books the name 'Stranger.'"

Another text called "The Temptation of Allogenes", also in Coptic, is the fourth item in the Codex Tchacos, discovered in the 1970s but not made public until 2006. As this source also contains the text for the controversial Gospel of Judas, far more attention has been accorded to that work than to The Tempatation of Allogenes, which remains in a fragmentary condition and proved to be extremely difficult if not impossible, to reconstruct.

Radiocarbon dating establishes Codex Tchacos as physically earlier of the two sources, dating to 280 AD plus or minus sixty years. The Nag Hammadi Codex IX, along with the rest of the library, dates from 348 AD plus or minus sixty years.

"The Temptation of Allogenes" is a Christian Gnostic text that places "Allogenes" in Christ's stead in Matthew Chapter 4, adding Gnostic allusions; he describes "my Father" as "he who is raised high above all great Aeons of heavens, each with their own God." The "Allogenes" text of the Nag Hammadi source is a non-Christian, wholly Gnostic text and it is largely Sethian, with Allogenes as an allegory for Seth.)

(5 lines missing) ... since they are perfect individuals and dwell all together, joined with the mind, the guardian which I provided, who taught you (sg.). And it is the power that exists within you that often extended itself as word from the Triple-Powered One, that One of all those who truly exist with the Immeasurable One, the eternal Light of the Knowledge that appeared, the male virginal Youth, the first of the Aeons from a unique triple-powered Aeon, the Triple-Powered-One who truly exists, for when he was stilled, was extended and when he was extended, he became complete and he received power from all of them. He knows himself and the perfect Invisible Spirit. And he came to be in an Aeon who knows that she knows That One. And she became Kalyptos, who acted in those whom she knows. He is a perfect, invisible, noetic Protophanes-Harmedon. And empowering the individuals, she is a Triple-Male. And being individually ...

(5 lines missing) ... individual on the one hand, they are together on the other hand, since she is an existence of theirs, and she sees them all also truly. She contains the divine Autogenes.

When she knew her Existence and when she stood, she brought This One (masc.), since he saw them all existing individually as he is. And when they become as he is, they shall see the divine Triple-Male, the power that is higher than God. He is the Thought of all these who exist together. If he ponders them, he ponders the great male [...] noetic Protophanes, the procession of these. When he sees it, he sees also those who truly exist and the procession of those who are together. And when he has seen these, he has seen the Kalyptos. And if he sees one of the hidden ones, he sees the Aeon of Barbelo. And as for the unbegotten offspring of That One, if one sees how he lives ...

(4 lines missing) ... you have heard about the abundance of each one of them certainly.

But concerning the invisible, spiritual Triple-Powered-One, hear! He exists as an Invisible One who is incomprehensible to them all. He contains them all within himself, for they all exist because of him. He is perfect, and he is greater than perfect, and he is blessed. He is always One and he exists in them all, being ineffable, unnameable, being One who exists through them all - he whom, should one discern him, one would not desire anything that exists before him among those that possess existence, for he is the source from which they were all emitted. He is prior to perfection. He was prior to every divinity, and he is prior to every blessedness, since he provides for every power. And he <is> a nonsubstantial substance, since he is a God over whom there is no divinity, the transcending of whose greatness and beauty ...

(5 lines missing) ... power. It is not impossible for them to receive a revelation of these things, if they come together. Since it is impossible for the individuals to comprehend the Universal One situated in the place that is higher than perfect, they apprehend by means of a First Thought - not as Being alone, but it is along with the latency of Existence that he confers Being. He provides everything for himself, since it is he who shall come to be when he recognises himself. And he is One who subsists as a cause and source of Being, and an immaterial material and an innumerable number and a formless form and a shapeless shape and a powerlessness and a power and an insubstantial substance and a motionless motion and an inactive activity. Yet he is a provider of provisions and a divinity of divinity - but whenever they apprehend, they participate the first Vitality and an undivided activity, an hypostasis of the First One from the One who truly exists. And a second activity [...] however, is the [...]. He is endowed with blessedness and goodness, because when he is recognised as the traverser of the boundlessness of the Invisible Spirit that subsists in him, it (the boundlessness) turns him to it (the invisible spirit) in order that it might know what is within him and how he exists. And he was becoming salvation for every one by being a point of departure for those who truly exist, for through him his knowledge endured, since he is the one who knows what he is. But they brought forth nothing beyond themselves, neither power nor rank nor glory nor aeon, for they are all eternal. He is Vitality and Mentality and That-Which-Is. For then That-Which-Is constantly possesses its Vitality and Mentality, and Life has Vitality possesses non-Being and Mentality. Mentality possesses Life and That-Which-Is. And the three are one, although individually they are three.

Now after I heard these things, my son Messos, I was afraid, and I turned toward the multitude [...] thought [...] gives power to those who are capable of knowing these things by a revelation that is much greater. And I was capable, although flesh was upon me. I heard from you about these things and about the doctrine that is in them, since the thought which is in me distinguished the things that are beyond measure as well as the unknowables. Therefore I fear that my doctrine may have become something beyond what is fitting.

And then, my son Messos, the all-glorious One, Youel, spoke to me again. She made a revelation to me and said: "No one is able to hear these things except the great powers alone, O Allogenes. A great power was put upon you, which the Father of the All, the Eternal, put upon you before you came to this place, in order that those things that are difficult to distinguish you might distinguish and those things that are unknown to the multitude you might know, and that you might escape (in safety) to the One who is yours, who was first to save and who does not need to be saved ...

(5 lines missing) ... to you a form and a revelation of the invisible, spiritual Triple-Powered One, outside of which dwells an undivided, incorporeal, eternal knowledge.

As with all the Aeons, the Aeon of Barbelo exists also endowed with the types and forms of those who truly exist, the image of Kalyptos. And endowed with the intellectual Word of these, he bears the noetic male Protophanes like an image, and he acts within the individuals, either with craft or with skill or with partial instinct. He is endowed with the divine Autogenes like an image, and he knows each one of these. He acts separately and individually, continuing to rectify the failures from nature. He is endowed with the divine Triple-Male as salvation for them all, in cooperation with the Invisible Spirit. He is a word from a counsel, <he> is the perfect Youth. And this hypostasis is a ...

(6 lines missing) ... my soul went slack, and I fled and was very disturbed. And I turned to myself and saw the light that surrounded me and the Good that was in me, I became divine.

And the all-glorious One, Youel, anointed me again and she gave power to me. She said, "Since your instruction has become complete, and you have known the Good that is within you, hear concerning the Triple-Powered One those things that you will guard in great silence and great mystery, because they are not spoken to anyone except those who are worthy, those who are able to hear: nor is it fitting to speak to an uninstructed generation concerning the Universal One that is higher than perfect. But you have <these> because of the Triple-Powered One, the One who exists in blessedness and goodness, the One who is responsible for all these.

"There exists within him much greatness. Inasmuch as he is one in a ...

(5 lines missing) ... of the First Thought, which does not fall away from those who dwell in comprehension and knowledge and understanding. And That One moved motionlessly in that which governs, lest he sink into the boundless by means of another activity of Mentality. And he entered into himself and he appeared, being all-encompassing, the Universal One that is higher than perfect.

"Indeed it is not through me that he is to such a degree anterior to knowledge. Whereas there is no possibility for complete comprehension, he is (nevertheless) known. And this is so because of the third silence of Mentality and the second undivided activity which appeared in the First Thought, that is, the Aeon of Barbelo, together with the Indivisible One of the divisible likenesses and the Triple-Powered-One and the non-substantial Existence."

Then the power appeared by means of an activity that is at rest and silent, although it uttered a sound thus: zza zza zza. But when she (Youel) heard the power and she was filled ...

(5 lines missing) ... "Thou art [...], Solmis! [...] according to the Vitality that is thine, and the first activity which derives from divinity. Thou art great, Armedon! Thou art perfect, Epiphaneus!

"And according to that activity of thine, the second power and the Mentality which derives from blessedness: Autoer, Beritheus, Erigenaor, Orimenios, Aramen, Alphleges, Eleliouphaeus, Lalameus, Yetheus, Noetheus, thou art great! He who knows thee knows the Universal One! Thou art One, thou art One, He who is good, Aphredon! Thou art the Aeon of the Aeons, He who is perpetually!"

Then she praised the Universal One, saying "Lalameus, Noetheus, Senaon, Asine[us, ...]riphanios, Mellephaneus, Elemaoni, Smoun, Optaon, He Who Is! Thou art He Who Is, the Aeon of Aeons, the Unbegotten, who art higher than the unbegotten (ones), Yatomenos, thou alone for whom all the unborn ones were begotten, the Unnameable One! ... (10 lines missing) ... knowledge."

Now after I heard these things, I saw the glories of the perfect individuals and the all-perfect ones who exist together, and the all-perfect ones who are before the perfect ones.

Again the greatly glorious One, Youel, said to me, "O Allogenes, in an unknowing knowledge you know that the Triple-Powered One exists before the glories. They do not exist among those who exist. They do not exist together with those who exist nor those who truly exist. Rather, all these exist as divinity and blessedness and existence, and as nonsubstantiality and non-being existence."

And then I prayed that the revelation might occur to me. And then the all-glorious one, Youel, said to me, "O Allogenes, of course, the Triple-Male is something beyond substance. Yet were he insubstantial ...

(9 lines missing) ... those who exist in association with the generation of those who truly exist. The self-begotten ones exist with the Triple-Male.

"If you seek with a perfect seeking, then you shall know the Good that is in you; then you will know yourself as well, (as) one who derives from the God who truly pre-exists. For after a hundred years there shall come to you a revelation of That One by means of Salamex and Semen and [...] the Luminaries of the Aeon of Barbelo. And that beyond what is fitting for you, you shall not know at first, so as not to forfeit your kind. And if so, then when you receive a conception of That One, then you are filled with the word to completion. Then you become divine, and you become perfect. You receive them ...

(4 lines missing) ... the seeking [...] the Existence [...] if it apprehends anything, it is apprehended by that one and by the very one who is comprehended. And then he becomes greater who comprehends and knows than he who is comprehended and known. But if he descends to his nature, he is less, for the incorporeal natures have not associated with any magnitude; having this power, they are everywhere and they are nowhere, since they are greater than every magnitude, and less than every exiguity."

Now after the all-glorious One, Youel, said these things, she separated from me and left me. But I did not despair of the words that I heard. I prepared myself therein and I deliberated with myself for a hundred years. And I rejoiced exceedingly, since I was in a great light and a blessed path because those whom I was worthy to see as well as those whom I was worthy to hear (are) those whom it is fitting that the great powers alone ... (5 lines missing) ... of God.

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When the completion of the one hundred years drew nigh, it brought me a blessedness of the eternal hope full of auspiciousness. I saw the good divine Autogenes; and the Saviour, who is the youthful, perfect Triple-Male Child; and his goodness, the noetic perfect Protophanes-Harmedon; and the blessedness of the Kalyptos; and the primary origin of the blessedness, the Aeon of Barbelo, full of divinity; and the primary origin of the one without origin, the spiritual, invisible Triple-Powered One, the Universal One that is higher than perfect.

When <I> was taken by the eternal Light out of the garment that was upon me, and taken up to a holy place whose likeness cannot be revealed in the world, then by means of a great blessedness I saw all those about whom I had heard. And I praised all of them and I stood upon my knowledge and I inclined to the knowledge of the Universals, the Aeon of Barbelo.

And I saw holy powers by means of the Luminaries of the virginal male Barbelo telling me that I would be able to test what happens in the world: "O Allogenes, behold your blessedness, how it silently abides, by which you know your proper self and, seeking yourself, withdraw to the Vitality that you will see moving. And although it is impossible for you to stand, fear nothing; but if you wish to stand, withdraw to the Existence, and you will find it standing and at rest after the likeness of the One who is truly at rest and (who) embraces all these silently and inactively. And when you receive a revelation of him by means of a primary revelation of the Unknown One - the One whom if you should know him, be ignorant of him - and you become afraid in that place, withdraw to the rear because of the activities. And when you become perfect in that place, still yourself. And in accordance with the pattern that indwells you, know likewise that it is this way in all such (matters) after this pattern. And do not further dissipate, so that you may be able to stand, and do not desire to be active, lest you fall in any way from the inactivity in you of the Unknown One. Do not know him, for it is impossible; but if by means of an enlightened thought you should know him, be ignorant of him."

Now I was listening to these things as those ones spoke them. There was within me a stillness of silence, and I heard the Blessedness whereby I knew <my> proper self.

And I withdrew to the Vitality as I sought <myself>, and I joined into it, and I stood, not firmly but silently. And I saw an eternal, intellectual, undivided motion that pertains to all the formless powers, (which is) unlimited by limitation.

And when I wanted to stand firmly, I withdrew to the Existence, which I found standing and at rest, like an image and likeness of what is conferred upon me by a revelation of the Indivisible One and the One who is at rest. I was filled with revelation by means of a primary revelation of the Unknowable One. As though I were ignorant of him, I knew him, and I received power by him. Having been permanently strengthened, I knew the One who exists in me, and the Triple-Powered One, and the revelation of his uncontainableness. And by means of a primary revelation of the First One unknowable to them all, the God who is beyond perfection, I saw him and the Triple-Powered One that exists in them all. I was seeking the ineffable and Unknowable God - whom if one should know him, he would be absolutely ignorant of him - the Mediator of the Triple-Powered One who subsists in stillness and silence and is unknowable.

And when I was confirmed in these matters, the powers of the Luminaries said to me, "Cease hindering the inactivity that exists in you, by seeking incomprehensible matters; rather, hear about him in so far as it is possible by means of a primary revelation and a revelation."

"Now he is something insofar as he exists in that he either exists and will become, or acts or knows, although he lives without Mind or Life or Existence or Non-Existence, incomprehensibly. And he is something along with his proper being. He is not left over in some way, as if he yields something that is assayed or purified or that receives or gives. And he is not diminished in any way, whether by his own desire, or whether he gives or receives through another. Neither does he have any desire of himself nor from another; it does not affect him. Rather, neither does he give anything by himself, lest he become diminished in another respect; nor for this reason does he need Mind, or Life, is indeed anything at all. He is superior to the Universals in his privation and unknowability, that is, the non-being existence, since he is endowed with silence and stillness lest he be diminished by those who are not diminished.

"He is neither divinity nor blessedness nor perfection. Rather, it (this triad) is an unknowable entity of him, not that which is proper to him; rather, he is another one superior to the blessedness and the divinity and perfection. For he is not perfect, but he is another thing that is superior. He is neither boundless, nor is he bounded by another. Rather, he is something superior. He is not corporeal. He is not incorporeal. He is not great. He is not small. He is not a number. He is not a creature. Nor is he something that exists, that one can know. But he is something else of himself that is superior, which one cannot know.

"He is primary revelation and knowledge of himself, as it is he alone who knows himself. Since he is not one of those that exist, but is another thing, he is superior to superlatives, even in comparison to what is his and not his. He neither participates in age nor does he participate in time. He does not receive anything from anything else. He is not diminishable, neither does he diminish anything, nor is he undiminishable. But he is self-comprehending, as something so unknowable that he exceeds those who excel in unknowability.

"He is endowed with blessedness and perfection and silence - not <the blessedness> nor the perfection - and stillness. Rather it (these attributes) is an entity of him that exists, which one cannot know, and which is at rest. Rather they are entities of him unknowable to them all.

"And he is much higher in beauty than all those that are good, and he is thus unknowable to all of them in every respect. And through them all he is in them all, not only as the unknowable knowledge that is proper to him. And he is united with the ignorance that sees him. Whether <one sees> in what way he is unknowable, or sees him as he is in every respect, or would say that he is something like knowledge, he has sinned against him, being liable to judgement because he did not know God. He will not be judged by That One who is neither concerned for anything nor has any desire, but it (judgement) <is> from himself, because he did not find the origin that truly exists. He was blind, apart from the eye of revelation that is at rest, the (one) that is activated, the (one) from the Triple-Power of the First Thought of the Invisible Spirit. This one thus exists from ...

(15 lines missing) ... something [...] set firmly on the [...], a beauty and a first emergence of stillness and silence and tranquility and unfathomable greatness. When he appeared, he did not need time nor <did he partake> of eternity. Rather of himself he is unfathomably unfathomable. He does not activate himself so as to become still. He is not an existence, lest he be in want. Spatially, he is corporeal, while properly he is incorporeal. He has non-being existence. He exists for all of them unto himself without any desire. But he is a greater summit of greatness. And he is higher than his stillness, in order that ...

(15 lines missing) ... he saw them, and empowered them all, although they do not concern themselves with That One at all, nor, if one should receive from him, does he receive power. Nothing activates him in accordance with the Unity that is at rest. For he is unknowable; he is an airless place of boundlessness. Since he is boundless and powerless and nonexistent, he was not giving Being. Rather he contains all of these in himself, being at rest (and) standing out of the one who stands continually, since there had appeared an Eternal Life, the Invisible and Triple-Powered Spirit which is in all of these who exist. And it surrounds them all, being higher than them all. A shadow ...

(15 lines missing) ... he was filled with power. And he stood before them, empowering them all, and he filled them all."

And concerning all of these things you have heard certainly. And do not seek anything more, but go. We do not know whether the Unknowable One has angels or gods, or whether the One who is at rest was containing anything within himself except the stillness, which is he, lest he be diminished. It is not fitting to spend more time seeking. It was appropriate that you (pl.) know, and that they speak with another one. But you will receive them ...

(5 lines missing) ... and he said to me, "Write down the things that I shall tell you, and of which I shall remind you, for the sake of those who will be worthy after you. And you will leave this book upon a mountain and you will adjure the guardian: "Come Dreadful One".

And after he said these (things), he separated from me. But I was full of joy, and I wrote this book which was appointed for me, my son Messos, in order that I might disclose to you the (things) that were proclaimed before me in my presence. And at first I received them in great silence, and I stood by myself, preparing myself. These are the things that were disclosed to me, O my son Messos ...

(13 lines missing) ... proclaim them, O my son Messos, as the seal for all the books of Allogenes.

ZOSTRIANOS

Oracles of Truth of Zostrianos
God of Truth, The Teachings of Zoroaster
Source: The Nag Hammadi Library
Translation: John N. Sieber
Estimated Range of Dating: 3rd century A.D.

(Zostrianos is a 3rd-century Sethian Gnostic text from the New Testament apocrypha. The main surviving copies come from the Nag Hammadi library, but it is heavily damaged.

Like Marsenes and Allogenes, the text concerns a vision received by a man named Zostrianos and explains and enumerates, in great detail, the emanations that the Gnostics said are produced by God (the true, highest God as opposed to the demiurge), in the Gnostics' esoteric cosmology. Babtism is an important topic of this writing.

Just as the name Mirotheos in The Three Steles of Seth may refer to the Persian devinity Mithras, and Seth to the Egyptian god Set, so seem the name Zostrianos to be borrowed from Zoroaster, or more precisely Zarathustra, the founder of the Persian state religion. [Zostrianos is other Greek form of Zoroastriemos, Zoroastres, Zoroastris, Zaratoustra, Zarathoustra, Zartost, Zoroastriemou. The Greek form of the name appears to be based on a phonetic transliteration or semantic substitution of Avestan zarad- with the Greek zoros (literally "undiluted" or "pure") and the Avestan -ushtra with the Greek astra ("star"). They derive from Zartosht, Old Persian: Zardusht or Zarducht, Parthian: Zarhusht, meaning: "Pure Star", a word which brings us to the speculation whether the Hebrew Star Prophecy may origin from Zoroastrianism.] Lacunae (gaps) are marked [...].)

[...] of the [...] the words [...] live forever, these I [...] Zostrianos [...] and [...] and Iolaos, when I was in the world for these like me and those after me, the living elect. As God lives, [...] the truth with truth and knowledge and eternal light.

After I parted from the somatic darkness in me and the psychic chaos in mind and the feminine desire [...] in the darkness, I did not use it again. After I found the infinite part of my matter, then I reproved the dead creation within me and the divine Cosmocrater of the perceptible (world) by preaching powerfully about the All to those with alien parts.

Although I tried their ways for a little while after the necessity of begetting brought me to the revealed, I was never pleased with them, but I always separated myself from them because I came into being through a holy [...], yet mixed. When I had set straight my sinless soul, then I strengthened the intellectual [...] and I [...] in the [...] of my God [...] [...] I having done [...] grow strong in a holy spirit higher than god.

It [came] upon me alone as I was setting myself straight, [and] I saw the perfect child [...] [...]. With him who [...] many times and many ways he appeared to me as a loving father, when I was seeking the male father of all (who are) in thought, perception, (in) form, race, region [...], (in) an All which restrains and is restrained, (in) a body yet without a body, (in) essence, matter and [those that] belong to all these. It is with them and the god of the unborn Kalyptos and the power [in] them all that existence is mixed.

(About) existence: how do those who exist, being from the aeon of those who exist, (come) from an invisible, undivided and self-begotten spirit? Are they three unborn images having an origin better than existence, existing prior to all these, yet having become the world ...? How are those opposite it and all these [...] good, he and an excuse. What is that one"s place? What is his origin? How does the one from him exist for him and all these? How [does he come into existence] as a simple one, differing from himself? Does he exist as existence, form, and blessedness? By giving strength is he alive with life? How has the existence which does not exist appeared from an existing power?

I pondered these things to understand them; according to the custom of my race I kept bringing them up to the god of my fathers. I kept praising them all, for my forefathers and fathers who sought found. As for me, I did not cease seeking a resting place worthy of my spirit, since I was not yet bound in the perceptible world. Then, as I was deeply troubled and gloomy because of the discouragement which encompassed me, I dared to act and to deliver myself to the wild beasts of the desert for a violent death.

There stood before me the angel of the knowledge of eternal light. He said to me, "Zostrianos, why have you gone mad as if you were ignorant of the great eternals 4 who are above? [...] you [...] [...] say also [...] that you are now saved, [...] [...] in eternal death, nor [...] [...] those whom you know in order to [...] save others, [namely] my father"s chosen elect? Do you [suppose] that you are the father of your race [...] or that Iolaos is your father, a [...] angel of god [...] you through holy men? Come and pass through each of these. You will return to them another time to preach to a living race [...] and to save those who are worthy, and to strengthen the elect, because the struggle of the aeon is great but one"s time in this world is short."

When he had said this to me, I very quickly and very gladly went up with him to a great light-cloud. I cast my body upon the earth to be guarded by glories. I was rescued from the whole world and the thirteen aeons in it and their angelic beings. They did not see us, but their archon was disturbed at our passage, for the light-cloud [...] it is better than every worldly [...] one. Its beauty is ineffable. With strength it provides light [guiding] pure spirits as a spirit-Saviour and an intellectual word, not like those in the world [...] with changeable matter and an upsetting word.

Then I knew that the power in me was set over the darkness because it contained the whole light. I was baptised there, and I received the image of the glories there. I became like one of them. I left the airy-earth and passed by the copies of the aeons, after washing there seven times in living water, once

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for each of the aeons. I did not cease until [I saw] all the waters. I ascended to the Exile which really exists. I was baptised and [...] world. I ascended to the Repentance which really exists and was baptised there four times. I passed by the 6 sixth aeon. I ascended to the [...] I stood there after having seen light from the truth which really exists, from its self-begotten root, and great angels and glories, [...] number.

I was baptised in the name of the divine Autogenes by those powers which are upon living waters, Michar and Micheus. I was purified by the great Barpharanges. Then they [revealed] themselves to me and wrote me in glory. I was sealed by those who are on these powers, [Michar] Mi[ch]eus, Seldao, Ele[nos] and Zogenethlos. I became a root-seeing angel and stood upon the first aeon which is the fourth. With the souls I blessed the divine Autogenes and the forefather Geradamas, an eye of the Autogenes, the first perfect man, and Seth Emmacha Seth, the son of Adamas, the [father of] the [immovable race ...] and the four lights [...]

(1 line unrecoverable) Mirothea, the mother [...] [...] and Prophania [...] of the lights and De-[...] [...]

I was baptised for the second time in the name of the divine Autogenes by these same powers. I became an angel of the male race. I stood upon the second aeon which is the third, with the sons of Seth I blessed each of them.

I was baptised for the third time in the name of the divine Autogenes by each of these powers. I became a holy angel. I stood upon the third aeon which is the second. I blessed each of them.

I was baptised for the fourth time by [each of] these powers. I became [a] perfect angel I stood upon the fourth aeon which is the first, and I blessed each of them.

Then I sought [...] I said [...] I [...] of [...] I

(1 line unrecoverable) [...] why [...] [...] with power [...] about them in another way in the reports 8 of men? Are these their powers? Or, are these the ones, but their names differ from one another? Are there souls different from souls? Why are people different from one another? What and in what way are they human?"

The great ruler on high, Authrounios, said to me, "Are you asking about those whom you have passed by? And about this airy-earth, why it has a cosmic model? And about the aeon copies, how many there are, and, why they are [not] in pain? And, about Exile and Repentance and the creation of the [aeons] and the world which [...] really [...] you, about [...] me, them [...] nor [...] you [...] invisible [spirit ...] and the [...] of [...]

(3 lines unrecoverable) and [...] [...] when I [...]

The great ruler on high, Authrounios, said to me, "The airy-earth came into being by a word, yet it is the begotten and perishable ones whom it reveals by its indestructibility. In regard to the coming of the great judges, (they came) so as not to taste perception and to be enclosed in creation, and when they came upon it and saw through it the works of the world, they condemned its ruler to death because he was a model of the world, a [...] and an origin of matter begotten of lost darkness.

When Sophia looked at [...] them she produced the darkness, as she [... she] is beside the [... he is a] model [...] of essence [...] form [...] to an image [...] I [...] the All

(2 lines unrecoverable) [...] darkness [...] [...] say [...] powers [... aeons] of [creation ...] to see any of the eternal ones [...] he saw a reflection. In relation to the reflection which he saw in it, he created the world. With a reflection of a reflection he worked at producing the world, and then even the reflection belonging to visible reality was taken from him. But to Sophia a place of rest was given in exchange for her repentance. Thus, there was in her no prior reflection, pure in itself beforehand.

After they had already come into being through it, he used his imagination (and) produced the remainder, for the image of Sophia was always being lost because her countenance was deceiving. But the Archon [...] and made a body which [...] concerning the greater [...] down [...] when I saw [...] to the heart [...]

(1 line unrecoverable) he having [...]

(4 lines unrecoverable) perfect through [...]

(1 line unrecoverable) [...] through him, as he revealed the destruction of the world by his immutability. It is in the following way that the copies of the aeons exist. They have not obtained a single power"s shape. It is eternal glories that they possess, and they dwell in the judgement seats of each of the powers.

But when souls are illuminated by the light in them and (by) the model which often comes into being in them without suffering, she did not think that she saw [...] and the eternal [...] in the blessed [...] each single one [...] each of [...] light [... all], and she [...] whole, and she [...] and a [...] and she [...] she who

(4 lines unrecoverable)

of repentance. Souls are located according to the power they have in themselves, [...] lower are produced by the copies. Those who receive a model of their souls are still in the world. They came into being after the departure of the aeons, one by one, and they are removed one by one from the copy of Exile to the Exile that really exists, from the copy of Repentance to the Repentance that really exists, and from the copy of Autogenes to the Autogenes that really exists. The remainder [...] the souls [...] exist in a [...] all [...] of aeons [...]

(1 line unrecoverable) and [...] [through ...] the [...]

(3 lines unrecoverable) of [...] these [...] [blessed the] god above, the great aeons, the unborn Kalyptos, the great male Protophanes, the perfect child who is higher than god, and his eye, Pigeradamas.

I called upon the Child of the Child, Ephesech. He stood before me and said, "O angel of god, O son of the father, [...] the perfect man. Why are you calling on me and asking about those things which you know, as though you were [ignorant] of them?" And I said, "I have asked about the mixture [...] it is perfect and gives [...] there is power which [has ... those] in which we receive baptism [...] these names are [different ...] and why [...] from one [...] in the [... from] others [...] men [... different]

(3 lines unrecoverable) He said, "[Zost]rianos, listen about these [...] for the first [...] origins are three because they have appeared in a single origin [of] the Barbelo aeon, not like some origins and powers, nor like (one) from an origin and power. It is to every origin that they have appeared; they have strengthened every power; and they appeared from that which is far better than themselves. These (three) are Existence, Blessedness and Life. [...] [...] their companions [...] in a [...] and concerning the [...] having named [...] more than [...] and [...] a perfect [...] from a

(6 lines unrecoverable) And a water of each one of them [...] ; therefore [...] waters are the perfect ones. It is the water of life that belongs to Vitality in which you now have been baptised in the Autogenes. It is in the [water] of Blessedness which belongs to Knowledge that you will be baptised in the Protophanes. It is the water of Existence [which] belongs to Divinity, the Kalyptos. Now the water of Life [exists in relation to ...] power; that belonging to Blessedness in relation to essence; that belonging to [Divinity] in relation to [Existence ...]. But all these [...] authority and [...] those who [...] water which [becomes pure [...] [...] according to [... when they] depart

(4 lines unrecoverable) [...] Existence as [he] is in it. [He] not only [was dwelling] in Thought, but he also [...] them that it is he who is [Being] in the following way. In order that this world might not be endless and formless, he placed a [...] over it; but in order that [he] might become something, the truly young crossed it with what is his, [thus] Existence. It is with the [son] that he is located, with him that he seeks, him that he surrounds [...] everywhere [...] from the truth [...] takes him who [...] exists [...] activity [...] life [...] his word also [...] are these after [...] they became [...]

(5 lines unrecoverable) [...] and the power is with the Essence and Existence of Being, when the water exists. But the name in which they wash is a word of the water. Then the first perfect water of the triple-power of the Autogenes [is] the perfect soul"s life, for it is a word of the perfect god while coming into being [...] for the Invisible Spirit is a fountain of them all. Thus, the rest are from [knowledge ...] as his likeness. [But] he who knows himself [...] what kind and what [...] alive at one time [...] live with a [...] he is the [...] life, in the [...] become [limitless ...] his [... his] [own ...] the name

(4 lines unrecoverable) he really exists. It is he because he limits himself. They approach the water according to this single power and the likeness of order.

The great male invisible Mind, the perfect Protophanes has his own water as you [will see] when you arrive at his place. This is also the case with the unborn Kalyptos. In accordance with each one exists a partial entity with a first form, so that they might become perfect in this way; for the self-begotten aeons are four perfect entities. [The] individuals of the all-perfect ones [...] them as perfect individuals. And the [...] aeon [...] of the Autogenes [...] for all [...] [perfect] male [...] for the alls [...] [perfect god ... the triple-] male [...] [perfect] individual [...] in the [...]

(5 lines unrecoverable) perfect, those who exist according to a form, a race, an All and a partial difference. This is also the case with the highway of ascent which is higher than perfect and Kalyptos.

The Autogenes is the chief archon of his own aeons and angels as his parts, for those who are the four individuals belong to him; they belong to the fifth aeon together. The fifth exists in one; the four [are] the fifth, part by part. But these [four] are complete individually [because they] have a [...] it is also [...] with [the triple male] individual [...] for he is a [...] of [...] god, the invisible [Protophanes] [... male] mind [...] which exists

(6 lines unrecoverable) living and perfect parts.

(About) the All and the all-perfect race and the one who is higher than perfect and blessed. The self-begotten Kalyptos pre-exists because he is an origin of the Autogenes, a god and a forefather, a cause of the Protophanes, a father of the parts that are his. As a divine father he is foreknown: but he is unknown, for he is a power and a father from himself. Therefore, he is [fatherless]. The Invisible Triple Powerful, First Thought [of] all [these], the Invisible Spirit [...] is a [...] and Essence which [...] and Existence [...] there are [existences] the [...] blessed [...] the [...] all these [...] the [...]

(3 lines unrecoverable) exist in them, [and] they [...] in others [...] by them all in many places. They are in every place that he loves and desires, yet they are not in any place. They have capacity for spirit, for they are incorporeal yet are better than incorporeal. They are undivided with living thoughts and a power of truth with those purer than these since with respect to him they are purer and are not like the bodies which are in one place. Above all, they have necessity either in relation to the All or to a part. Therefore, the way of ascent [...] it is pure [...] each [...] herself and

(1 line unrecoverable) [...] them

(3 lines unrecoverable) [... above all]

(1 line unrecoverable) particular aeons.

Then [he said], "How then can he contain an eternal model? The general intellect shares when the self-begotten water becomes perfect. It one knows him and all these, one is the protophanic water. If one joins oneself with all these, one is that water which belongs to Kalyptos, whose image is still in the aeons. To understand individually all their parts, they are [...] , those of the All where knowledge is. They have [separated] from the one whom they knew and (from) fellowship with one another. The All and all these, when they [...] wash in the [washing of] [Autogenes] he [...] of [...]

(5 lines unrecoverable) he appears to [him], that is, when one knows how he exists for him and (how) he has fellowship with their companions, one has washed in the washing of Protophanes. And if in understanding the origin of these, how they all appear from a single origin, how all who are joined come to be divided, how those who are divided join again, and how the parts [join with] the alls and the species and [kinds - if] one understands these things, one has washed in the washing of Kalyptos.

According to each of [the] places one has a portion of the eternal ones [and] ascends [...] as he [...] pure and simple, he is always [...] one of the [...] [always] he is pure for simpleness. He is filled [...] [in ...] Existence and a holy spirit. There is nothing of his outside of him. He can [see] with his perfect soul those who belong to Autogenes; with his mind , those who belong to the Triple Male, and with his holy spirit, those who belong to Protophanes. He can learn of Kalyptos through the powers of the spirit from whom they have come forth in a far better revelation of the Invisible Spirit. And by means of thought which now is in silence and by First Thought (he learns) of the Triple Powerful Invisible Spirit, since there is then a report and power of silence which is purified in a life-giving spirit. (It is) perfect and [...] perfect and all-perfect.

Glories, therefore, which are set over these, are [life-givers] who have been baptised in truth and knowledge. Those who are worthy are guarded, but those who [are] not from this race [...] and go [...] these who [...] [...] in the fifth, he being [...] [...] copy [...] of the aeons [...] namely a washing but if [he] strips off the world and lays aside [knowledge], and (if) he is he who has no dwelling place and power, then because he follows the ways of the others, he is also a sojourner, but (if) he is one who has committed no sin because knowledge was sufficient for him, he is not anxious when he repents, and then washings are appointed" in these in addition.

(Concerning) (the path ...) to the self-begotten ones, those in which you have now been baptised each time, (a path) worthy of seeing the perfect [...] individuals: it serves as knowledge of the All since it came into being from the powers of the self-begotten ones, the one you acquire when you pass through the all-perfect aeons. When you receive the third washing [...], you will learn about the [...] really [...] in [that] place.

About these names, they are as follows: because he is one, they [...] is like [...] while he [came into being ...] exists and [...] a word they [said ...] 26 This is a name which really exists together with [these] within her. These who exist do so in [...] [...] resembles. His resemblance in kind (is) within what is his own. He can see it, understand it enter it, (and) take a resemblance from it. Now (they can) speak aloud and hear sounds, but they are unable to obey because they are perceptible and somatic. Therefore, just as they are able to contain them by containing them thus, so is he an image which is [...] in this way, having come into existence in perception [by] a word which is better than material nature but lower than intellectual essence.

Do not be amazed about the differences among souls. When they think they are different and do [not resemble] [...] of those who [...] and that [...] aloud [...] he being lost [...] their [souls] [...] body, and that [... his] time, he [...] a desire, their souls exist as [...] their body. As for those who are totally pure, there are four [...] that they possess; but those [in] time are nine. Each one of them has its species and its custom. Their likenesses differ in being separated, and they stand.

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Other immortal souls associate with all these souls because of the Sophia who looked down; for there are three species of immortal soul: first, those who have taken root upon the Exile because they have no ability to beget, (something) that only those who follow the ways of the others have, the one being a single species which [...]; being second, those who stand [upon the] Repentance which [...] sin, (it) being sufficient [... knowledge ...] being new [...] and he has [...] difference [...] they have sinned with the others [and] they have repented with the others [...] from them alone, for [...] are species which exist in [...] with those who committed all sins and repented. Either they are parts, or they desired of their own accord. Therefore, their other aeons are six according to the place which has come to each (fem.) of them. The third (species) is that of the souls of the self-begotten ones because they have a word of the ineffable truth, one which exists in knowledge and [power] from themselves alone and eternal [life]. They have four differences like the species of angels who exist: those who love the truth; those who hope; those who believe having [...]; those who are [...] They exist, he being [...] the self-begotten ones [...] he is the one belonging to [perfect ... life]; the second is [...] the [...] knowledge [...] the fourth is that one [belonging to the] immortal [souls ...]

The four Lights dwell [there] in the following way. [Armozel] is placed upon the first aeon. (He is) a promise of god, [...] of truth and a joining of soul. Oroiael, a power (and) seer of truth, is set over the second. Daveithe, a vision of knowledge, is set over the third. Eleleth, an eager desire and preparation for truth, is set over the fourth. The four exist because they are expressions of truth and knowledge. They exist, although they do not belong to Protophanes but to the mother, for she is a thought of the perfect mind of the light, so that immortal souls might receive knowledge for themselves. [...] at these, the Autogenes [...]rse[...]oas, a life [...] all he is a word [...] ineffable [...] truth he who says [... revelation] concerning the [...] that it exists as [...] exists above in [...] [... joined] in a yoking of it in light and thought within his [...].

Since Adamas, the perfect man, is an eye of Autogenes, it is his knowledge which comprehends that the divine Autogenes is a word of the perfect mind of truth. The son of Adam, Seth, comes to each of the souls. As knowledge he is sufficient for them. Therefore, [the] living [seed] came into existence from him. Mirothea is [...] the divine Autogenes, a [...] from her and [...], she being a thought of the perfect mind because of that existence of hers. What is it? Or did she exist? [...] does she exist? Therefore, the divine Autogenes is word and knowledge, and the knowledge [... word.] Therefore [...] Adarn a [s ...] of the [simple ones] when she appeared [...] a change of [the] souls [...] she herself is [...] [...] perfect.

Concerning the [perfect one ...] angelic beings [...] [becomes then] [souls] [die ...] [... the world ...] [...] the copies [...] really [...] which [exists] [...] repentance [...] to this place [...] which exists [...] aeons, if [...] and she loves [...] she stands upon [...] aeon having the Light [Ele]leth [...] become a [...] god-seer [But] if she hopes, then she perceives. And a [...] race [...] she stands upon

(8 lines unrecoverable) [...] she is chosen

(2 lines unrecoverable) [...] light Ar[mozel]

[...] one [...] [bless] upon the [power ...] you stand upon [...] the light which [...] and without measure [...] the aeon is great [...] [...] those alone [...] from the perfect [...] that power [...] be able, and [...] be able [...] of his soul [...] perceptible [...] not with [...] [... but] you are [...] individually [...] there being nothing [...] him [...] which he [...]

(3 lines unrecoverable) [in ...] and [...] upon every one [...] every [...] [...] formless [...] [...] and this one [...] and this [model ...] [...] and some [...] eternal, nor [...] an all [...] increasing from this [...] he is light [...] because he lacked [...] the perfect mind [...] undivided [...] perfect light [...] and he is in [...] Adamas [... the] Autogenes [...] and he goes [...] mind [...] the divine Kalyptos [...] knowledge [...] but [...] soul

(5 lines unrecoverable) [...] existence [...] she having

(1 line unrecoverable) [...] some second powers and [...] and some third [...] appear [...] which [...]

(1 line unrecoverable) soul [...]

And the aeons [...] dwelling place [...] souls and [...] gods [...] higher than god [...] of the self-begotten ones [...] Autogenes [...] first [...] angel [...] invisible [...] some [...] soul and [...] aeons [...] and to the souls [...] angel [...]

(4 lines unrecoverable) she [...] eternal [...] times. And [...]

(1 line unrecoverable) and if [...] namely a soul [...] becomes an [angel ...], and [...] world [...] angels and [...] that holy one [...] and aeon which [... Autog]enes has [...] them, the [...] [...] archon [...] they have [...] difference which [...] she is not, to speak

(1 line unrecoverable) [...] and [...] divine Autogenes [...] which exists [...] hear [...] Autogenes [...] of

(5 lines unrecoverable) [...] has [...] existence [...] life [...] exist, concerning [the] [...] word [...] the child [...] male for a generation [...]

(1 line unrecoverable) invisible spirit [...] in the perfect [...]

(1 line unrecoverable) and an origin [...] love and [...] of Barbelo [...] and a [...] the [...] mind [...]

These are two [...] thought [...] from the [...] in Barbelo [...] and the Kalyptos [...] all these [...] the virgin [...] she [appears] in a [...] and [...]

(3 lines unrecoverable) in that one [...] power

(1 line unrecoverable) [he is not] from [him, but ...] (is) from the power of that one [... really ... exists], she [...] is his [...] they being first [...] of that one [...] and he is the [...] he alone [...] give him enough [...] to him [...] all, he gives [...] through the [...] for [because of] him some [...] in order that he might [...] and that one which [...] him [...] undivided [...] Barbelo [...] in order that he might [...] blessedness

(1 line unrecoverable) [...] all [...] he comes

(4 lines unrecoverable) a [...] of the perfect [mind ...] and he [...] perfect spirit [...] perfect, he lives forever [...] him, and [...] he exists [...] of the [...] he is [a word] from [...] which is in [...] of them all [...] eternal [...] [...] in the triple-[powerful is in the [...] [...] those which [are perfect [...] the Protophanes [...] mind, but [...] pure[...] and he [...] of an image [...] appear [...] and the [...]

(1 line unrecoverable) him [...]

(5 lines unrecoverable) [...] [...] namely

(2 lines unrecoverable) [...] because of him they [...] I mark it [...] he is simple [...] for he is [...] as he exists [...] as to another [...] that is, [...] need.

Concerning [...] triple-male [...] really exists of [...] mind knowledge [...] those who exist [...] which he has [...] really exist [...] and a [...] [...] and she [...] second [...] perfect which [...] appear [...] in him they [...] Kalyptos

(3 lines unrecoverable) [... species ...]

(2 lines unrecoverable) (4 lines unrecoverable) second species [...] a knowledge [...] [Protophanes ...] [male ...] he has [...] existence [...] unborn, they [...] third [...] [... he] has [...] knowledge and [...] exist together [...] all-perfect [...] blessed since there is not [...]

(2 lines unrecoverable) god [...] with him [...]

(1 line unrecoverable) perfect [...] of the [...] Kalyptos [...]

(4 lines unrecoverable) [...] know [...] of [... Protophanes ...] [...] the mind [...] the powers [...] the all [...] and he [exists] [...] this knowledge.

[...] divine, the Autogenes. [The] divine [Autogenes] [...] the child [...] triple-male, this male [...] is [...] and a species [...] perfect because it does not have [...] in a [...] knowledge like that one [...] a being of the individuals [and] a single knowledge of the individuals [...] according to the all [...] perfect. But the male [...] mind the Kalyptos, [but] the [...] divine Kalyptos [...] and a power [...] of all these [... really ...]

(3 lines unrecoverable) [Protophanes ...]

(1 line unrecoverable) [Protophanes ...] [...] mind

(2 lines unrecoverable) she who belongs to the all [...] unborn [...] man [...] they [...] with that one who [...] and he who [...] he who dwells [...] [...] in the perceptible [world ...] he is alive with that dead one [...] [...] all [...] obtain salvation [...] that dead one.

And all of them did not need salvation [...] first, but they are safe and exist very humbly. Now (about) the man [of] those who are dead: his soul, [his mind and his body all [are dead]. Sufferings [...] fathers of [...] material [...] the fire [...]

(4 lines unrecoverable) it crosses over. And the second man is the immortal soul in those who are dead. If it is anxious over itself, then [when it seeks] those things which are profitable [according to ...] each one of them, [then it] experiences bodily suffering. They [...] and it [... because] it has an eternal god, it associates with daimons.

Now concerning the man in the Exile; when he discovers the truth in himself, he is far from the deeds of the others who exist [wrongly] (and) stumble. (Concerning) the man who repents: when he renounces the dead and desires those things which are because of immortal mind and his immortal soul, first he [...] makes an inquiry about it, not about conduct but about their deeds, for from him he [...] [...] and [...] obtain [...] 44 and the man who can be saved is the one who seeks him and his mind and who finds each one of them. Oh how much power he has! And the man who is saved is the one who has not known how these [...] exist, but he himself by means of [the] word as it exists [...] received each one [...] in every place, having become simple and one, for then he is saved because he can pass through all [these]. He becomes the [...] all these. If he [desires] again, then he parts from them all, and he withdraws to himself [alone]; for he can become divine by having taken refuge in god."

When I heard this, I brought a blessing to the living and unborn God in truth and (to) the unborn Kalyptos and the Protophanes, the invisible, male, perfect Mind, and the invisible triple-male Child [and to the] divine Autogenes. 45 I said to the child of the child Ephesek who was with me, "Can your wisdom instruct me about the scattering of the man who is saved, and (about) those who are mixed with him, and who those are who share with him, in order that the living elect might know?"

Then the child of the child Ephesek told [me ...] openly, "If he withdraws to himself alone many times, and if he comes into being with reference to the knowledge of the others, Mind and the immortal [Origin] will not understand. Then it has a shortage, [...] for he turns, has nothing and separates from it and stands [...] and comes into being by an alien [impulse ...I, instead of becoming one. Therefore, he bears many forms. When he turns aside, he comes into being seeking those things that do not exist. When he falls down to them in thought and knows them in another way because he is powerless, unless perhaps 46 he is enlightened, he becomes a product of nature. Thus he comes down to birth because of it and is speechless because of the pains and infiniteness of matter. Although he possesses an eternal and immortal power, he is bound within the [movement] of the body. He is made alive and is bound always within cruel, cutting bonds by every evil breath, until he acts again and begins again to come to his senses.

Therefore, powers are appointed for their salvation, and each one of them is in the world. Within the self-begotten ones corresponding to each of the aeons stand glories so that one who is in the world might be safe beside them. The glories are perfect thoughts appearing in powers. They do not perish because they [are] models for salvation [by] which each one is saved. He receives a model (and) strength from each of them, and with the glory as a helper he will thus pass out from the world [and the aeons [...].

These are the guardians of the immortal soul: Gamaliel and Strempsouchos, Akramas and Loel, and Mnesinous. [This is the] immortal spirit, Yesseus- Mazareu[s]-Ye[s]sedekeus. He is [...] of the child [...] or, the child of the child, and [...] But Ormos is [...] on the living seed and Kam[...]el is the spirit-giving. There stand before them Seisauel and Audael and Abrasax, the myriads-Phaleris, Phalses, and Eurios, the guardians of the glory-Stetheus, Theopemptos, Eurumeneus and Olsen. Their assistants in everything are Ba[...]mos, [.]son, Eir[.]n, Lalameus, Eidomeneus and Authrounios. The judges are Sumphthar, Eukrebos and Keilar. The inheritor is Samblo. The angels who guide the clouds are the clouds Sappho and Thouro."

When he had said these things, he told me about all of those in the self-begotten aeons. They were all eternal Lights, perfect because they were perfected individually. I saw corresponding to each one of the aeons a living earth, a living water, [air made] of light and a fire that cannot burn, because all of them [...] are simple and immutable, simple and eternal living beings, having [...] of many kinds, trees of many kinds that do not perish, also tares of this sort and all of these: imperishable fruit, living men and every species, immortal souls, every form and species of mind, true gods, angels existing in great glory, an indissoluable body, an unborn birth and an immovable perception. Also there was the one who suffers, although he is unable to suffer, for he was a power of a power.

[...] [...] change [...] indissoluable [...] these [...] all [...] they are [...] they [... through all] of them [... exist] in [... exist] [...] come into being

(1 line unrecoverable) (lines 12ff do not survive) of [...] [simple ...] perfect [...] eternal [...] aeons [...] and the [...] receive power [...] and their [...] in a [...] for [...] [...] not [...]

(lines 12ff do not survive) [...] in [...]thorso[...]s [...] silence [...] he is [...] [...] he is god [...] we were blessing [...] Geradama[s] [... mother] of [...] [...] she is the glory [...] our [...] mother [...] and Pleistha the mother of the angels with the son of Adam, Seth Emmacha Seth, the father of the immovable race [...] and [...] the four Lights, Armmosel, Oroiael, Daveithe, Eleleth. [Each of these] we blessed by name. [We] saw the self-controlled [glory], the triple [...] triple-male [...] majesty, as we said "You are one, you are [one], you are one, child of [the child] Yato[...] exist [...]

(1 line unrecoverable) [...] you are one, you [...] Semelel [...] Telmachae[...] omothem[...] male [...] [...] he begets [... the] self-controlled [glory ...] can desire him whom [...] all-perfect [...] all. Akron [...] the triple-male, a a [...] o o o o o b + i r e i s e [...] you are spirit from spirit; you are light from light; you are silence [...] from silence; [you are] thought from thought, the son of [god] the god, seven ... [...] ... let us speak [...]

(3 lines unrecoverable) [...] word [...] the [...] [...] and the [...]

(1 line unrecoverable) [...] not a time [...] invisible Barbelo [...] the [...] the triple-male Prones, and she who belongs to all the glories, Youel.

When I was baptised the fifth time in the name of the Autogenes by each of these powers, I became divine. I stood upon the fifth aeon, a preparation of all these, (and) saw all those belonging to the Autogenes who really exist. I was baptised five times [...] and [...] of the [...] zareu[s] from [...] that [...] perfect [...] and the great [...] glory, she who belongs to [...]

(1 line unrecoverable) god, the [...] appear [...] perfect which is doubled [...] she who belongs to all the species [...] male, the self-controlled glory, the mother [...] [the] glories, Youel, and the four Lights of [the] [great] Protophanes, Mind,

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Selmen, and those with him, the god-revealers Zach[thos] and Yachthos, Setheus and An-tiphantes, [Sel-] dao and Ele[n]nos [...] [...] [...] go [...] the [...] their [...] likeness [... exist] as [...] of the [...], for [...] see [...] [...] aeon [...] more [...] Light [...] more glories [...] the following are in accordance with [each one] of the aeons: a living earth and a living water, and air made of light and a blazing fire which cannot burn, and living beings and trees and souls and minds and men and all those who are with them, but (there are) no gods [or] powers or angels, for all these 56 are [...] and [...] and [...] exist [...] all [...] all [...] [...] all [...] [...] they being [...] and they being [...]

[...] and [...] and those [...] him, the Autogenes. I received a likeness from [all] these. The aeons of the Autogenes opened and a great Light came forth [...] from the aeons of the triple-male, and they glorified them. The four aeons were desiring within a [...] aeon the [...] pattern [...] single one existing [...] Then E[phesek], the child of the child [...]

(4 lines unrecoverable) [... Yesseus] Maza [reus Yessede]keus [...] [...] of [... seal ...] upon him [...] and Gabriel

(1 line unrecoverable) [...] seal [...] four races

There came before me she who belongs to [the glories], the male and [virginal ...] Yoel. I deliberated about the crowns, (and) she said to me, "Why has your spirit deliberated [about] the crowns and the seals on them [...] are the crowns which strengthen every [spirit ...] and every soul, and [the] seals which are [upon] the triple races and [...] the invisible spirit 58 are [...]

(3 lines unrecoverable) and [...] virgin [...] [...] and [...] [...] seek [...] [...]in the[...] in them [...] [...] and [...] [...] he [strengthened] and the seals [...] race are those belonging to the Autogenes and the Protophanes and the Kalyptos.

The [Invisible] Spirit is a psychic and intellectual power, a knower and a fore-knower. Therefore he is with [Gabriel] the spirit-giver [so that] when he gives a holy spirit he might seal him with the crown and crown him, [having] gods [...] 59 [...] [...] the

(2 lines unrecoverable) [...] the

(1 line unrecoverable) [...] [...] spirit [...] to one (fem.)

(1 line unrecoverable) [...] they exist [...] and they were not [in] them in order that they might [become] simple and [might] not be doubled [according to] any pattern. [These] then are the simple, perfect individuals. [...] and all these [...] of the aeons [...] him, all these [...] who exist in a place [...] all-perfect it required a great [...] to see them, for [...]

(3 lines unrecoverable) perfect [...]

(2 lines unrecoverable) [...] every [...] exist [...] he is [...] hear him [...] [...] and [...] in thought [...] a first thought [...] since [...] is in a power she is perfect [...] it is fitting for you to [...] about everything, and [...] those to whom you will listen through a thought of those higher than perfect and also those whom you will know in a soul of the perfect ones."

When she has said this, she baptised me

(6 lines unrecoverable) [...] the first [...] and I received power

(1 line unrecoverable) [... I] received the form [...] received [...] [...] existing upon my [...] receive a holy spirit [I] came into being really existing. Then, she brought me into the great aeon where the perfect triple-male is. I saw the invisible child within an invisible Light. Then she baptised me again in

(4 lines unrecoverable) [...] her [...]

(1 line unrecoverable) [and] I [...] I was able to [...] [...] the great one [...] and perfect [...]

Yoel who belongs to all the gloriessaid to me, "You have [received] all the baptisms in which it is fitting to be baptised, and you have become perfect [...] the hearing of [...] all. Now call again upon Salamex and [...] and the all-perfect Ar[...] the Lights of the aeon Barbelo and the immeasurable knowledge. They will reveal [...] [...] invisible

(3 lines unrecoverable)

[...] which [...] [...] virgin Barbelo and the Invisible triple powerful Spirit."

[When] Youel who belongs to all the glories [had said this] to me, she put me down and went and stood before the Protophanes. Then, I was [...] over my spirit, while praying fervently to the great Lights in thought. I began calling upon Salamex and Se- [...]en and the all-perfect [...]e. I saw glories which are greater than powers, and they annointed me. I was able [...] in my [...] and[...]

(2 lines unrecoverable)

she covered [...] all [...] Salamex [and] those [who] have revealed everything [to me] saying, "Zostrianos, [learn] of those things about which you asked.

(1 line unrecoverable)

and [he is] a single one [who] exists before [all] these who really exist [in the] immeasurable and undivided Spirit [...] [...] the All which [exists] in him and the [...] [...] and that one which [...] after him. It is he alone who crosses it [...]

(4 lines unrecoverable)

[...] all these [...] he is [...] [...] first [...] [... of] thought [...] of every power [... downward] [...] he is established [...] stand, he [passes] into the pathway to a place [...] and infinite. He is far higher than every unattainable one, yet he gives [...] greater than any body (and) is purer than every unembodied one, entering every thought and every body [because he] is more powerful than everything, every race and species, as their All. [...] exist

(4 lines unrecoverable) to a partial (...] [...] part [...] exist in a [...] know her [...] [...he is] from him [...] which really exists, who is from the Spirit who really exists, the one alone [...] for they are powers of [...] Existence [...] and Life and Blessedness.

In Existence he exists [as] a simple head, his [word] and species. Let the one who will find him come into existence. Existing in Life, he is alive [...]

(2 lines unrecoverable) [he having] knowledge [...] know all these [...] him alone [...] for god [...] unless [...] [...] alone, and he [...] [...] in him [...] [...] the single [...] [...] for he exists as [...] [in] that which is his, which [exists] as a form of a form, [...] unity of the [...]. He exists as [the] [...] since he is in [the] mind. He is within it, not coming forth to any place because he is a single perfect, simple spirit. [Because] it is his place and [...], it is within him and the All that he comes into being. It is he who exists, he who [...] [...] and a [...] and a [protector] in him.

Life [...] and activity of the insubstantial [...] the [...] which exists in him [exists] in him [...] exists because of [him ...] blessed and a [...] perfect, and [...] which exist in [...] which really exists. The form of the activity which exists is blessed. By receiving Existence, he receives power, the [...] a perfection [...] separate forever. Then he exists as a perfect one. Therefore, he exists as a perfect one because he is undivided with his own region, for nothing exists before him except the [perfect] unity.

(Pages 69-72 are blank; they may have been numbered.) existence [...] [...] she is salvation [...] [all ...] and he [...] [...] be able, nor does he [...] [...] him, if he [...] him to him, all these [...] [...] for he [who] [...] in existence [...] this one, he totally [exists] as Life, and in Blessedness he has knowledge. If he apprehends the [glories], he is perfect; but if he apprehends [two] or one, he is drunk, as he has received from him. It is because of him that there exist those with souls and those without souls; because of him exist those who will be saved; because of him exist those who will perish since they have not [received] from him; because of him exists matter and bodies; because of him (exist) non- [...] [because of] him [...] every [...] because of [...] [...] this one [...] who [pre-] exists and he [...] [...] a [simple] head, [a] single spirit [...] he is [...], and [...] existence, form, [...] [...] of him.

It is [in accordance with] Activity, that is [...] Life, and in accordance with perfection, that is intellectual power, that she is a [...] Light. It is at one time that the three stand, at one time they move. It is in every place yet not in any place that the ineffable unnameable one [...] and produces them all. [...] exist from him[...] resting in him [...] in her perfection he has not received from every form because of him

(2 lines unrecoverable) [...] anything [...]

(2 lines unrecoverable) [...] in existence [...] dwell in the [...] of life. But in perfection and [knowledge] (is) Blessedness.

All [these] dwell [in the] indivisibility of [the] Spirit. Because of knowledge [...] is [divinity] and [...] and blessedness and life and knowledge and goodness and unity and singleness. In short, all these (are) the purity of barrenness [...] pre-exists him [...] all these and the [...] his [...] [...] in [...]

(4 lines unrecoverable) aeon, a [...] in a [...] barrenness, he [...] he always [...] him when he saw him [...] It is because he [is] one that he is simple. Because he is Blessedness in perfection [...] one, perfect and [blessed]. It is because she was in need of his [...] that she was in need of this from him, because he followed [her] with knowledge. It is outside of him that his knowledge dwells; it dwells with the one who examines himself, a reflection and a [...] [...] be in need of [...]

(1 line unrecoverable) [...] simple

(1 line unrecoverable) [...] and [...] he [...] [...] this, she [...] [...] the pleroma [...] which she did not desire for herself.

She has [...] him outside of the [perfection], she has divided, for she is [the] all-perfection [of] perfection, existing as thought. With respect to him [she] is a begetting which follows him, and as one from his ineffable power she has a first power and the first bar-reness after him, because with respect to all the rest a first aeon

(3 lines unrecoverable) [all ...]

(1 line unrecoverable) [...] of the [...] [...] and him [...] know him, he really exists as an aeon [...] and in Activity [...] power and a [...] she did not begin [...] time, but she [appeared] from eternity, having stood before him in eternity. She was darkened by the majesty of his [...] She stood looking at him and rejoicing because she was filled with his kindness, [...] but when she had [...]

(5 lines unrecoverable) [...] she [...] [...] first existence [...] insubstantial and that [....] It is [from] the undivided one that [it] moves toward Existence in activity and [intellectual] perfection and intellectual life, which was Blessedness and Divinity.

The whole Spirit, perfect, simple and invisible, has become singleness in Existence and activity and a simple triple-[power], an invisible spirit, an image of that which really exists, the one

(5 lines unrecoverable) of the really [existing] one [...] [he] exists in a [...] she being an image [...] in a turning [...] power to join with his [...] she having seen the [...] which existed [...] all-perfection [...] that one, because he [...] pre-exist and [...] rest upon all these, he [...] pre-exist being known as triple-powerful.

The Invisible Spirit has not ever [been) ignorant. He always knew, but he was always perfection and blessedness [....] She became ignorant [...] and she [...] body and [...] promise [...] light [...] [...] she exists [...] [...] in order that she might not come forth anymore nor come into existence apart from perfection. She knew herself and him. Having made herself stand, she was at rest because of him, since she was [from] him who really exists, {she was from him who really exists) and all those. (Thus), she knows herself and him who pre-exists.

By following him they came into being existing (they came into being existing) and appearing through those who pre-exist. And [...] through the [...] they having appeared [...] two [...] they appeared [... the one] who knows him beforehand, as an eternal space, since he had become his second knowledge, once again the knowledge of his knowledge, the unborn Kalyptos. They stood upon him who really exists, for she knew about him, in order that those who follow her might come into being having a place and that those who come forth (from her) might not be before her but might become holy (and) simple. She is the comprehension of god who pre- [exists. She] rested [...] to the simple [...] salvation salvation [...] [...] he [...] [...] light which was fore-known. She was called Barbelo because of her being thought; the triple race which is male, virginal and perfect and her knowledge through which she came into being in order that they might not [...] her down and that she might not come forth anymore through those in her and those who follow her. Rather, she is simple in order that she might be able to know the god who pre-exists because she came into being as a good product of him since she

(1 line unrecoverable) [...] barrenness [...] third [...] two [...] of this way [...] [...] and male [...]

(1 line unrecoverable) [...] and the [...] barrenness [...] [...] she is a second [...] she stood [...] first of the reality [which] really exists [...] [...] the blessedness [...] of the Invisible [Spirit], the knowledge [...] the first existence in the simplicity of the Invisible Spirit in the unity. It is in that pure singleness that he is similar and [...] species. And he who [...] exist [...]

(6 lines unrecoverable) [...] and knows [...] and the [...] and the [perfection] and [...] produces and [...] the first Kalyptos [...] them all, existence and activity, divinity, race and species.

But are powers one? In what way is it that he is one, that is, not a partial one, but one of those of the All? What is the unity which is unity? Is he from [...] activity [...] life and [...] of [...]. And [...] 86 (7 lines unrecoverable)

power [...] as [...]

[...] perceptible [...] [...] all-perfect [...] [...] she having spoken, [...] "You are great, Aphredon. You are perfect, Nephredon." To his existence she says, "You are great, Deipha[...]. She is his activity and life and divinity. You are great, Harmedon [...], who belongs to all the glories, Epiph[a- and his blessedness and the perfection [of] the singleness [...] all [...]" 87 (6 lines unrecoverable)

[...] forever [...] intellectual [...] perfect the virgin Barbelo through the simplicity of the blessedness of the triple powerful Invisible Spirit. She who has known him has known herself. And he, being one everywhere, being undivided, having [...] has [...] and she has known herself as his activity [...] and he has known [...] knowledge [...] within 88 [...]

(7 lines unrecoverable) bless [...] [...] Be[ritheus, Erignaor], Or[imeni]os, Ar[amen], Alphl[ege]s, Elilio[upheus], Lalamenu[s], Noetheus [...] great is your name [...] it is strong. He who knows (it) knows everything. You are one, you are one, Siou, E[...], Aphredon, you are the aeon of the aeons of the perfect great one, the first Kalyptos of the [...] activity, and [...] he is [...] his image [...] of his, he [...]

(the following pages are almost unreadable, except some of these words and phrases:)

. . . . .

Kalyptos [...] the [...] triple [...]

(1 line unrecoverable) but [...] 93 name him.

. . . . .

All these come, as it were, from him who is pure. If you give glory because of him, and if you [...] existence [...] his [...]a [...] simple

. . . . .

he was not able to see her. Therefore, it is impossible to receive him in this way in majestic purity as a perfect head of [him who] is in [...] [...] which [... know] him concerning [...] say it [...]

. . . . .

nor [...] differences between these and angels, and differences between these and men, and differences between these and existence. And [...]

. . . . .

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will approach him in knowledge. He receives power, but he who is far from him is humbled."

. . . . .

And I said, "Why then have the judges come into being? What [...] is the [suffering] of the [...] for

. . . . .

(lines 22ff, ca. 4 lines, do not survive) 97 male, since she is knowledge [of] the triple powerful invisible great Spirit, the image of [the first] Kalyptos, the [blessedness] in the [invisible] Spirit, [...] the

. . . . .

(lines 21ff, ca. 6 lines, do not survive) 98 [...] a perfect unity of a complete unity, and when she divided the All [...] from the All [...] existence and [...] [...] the thoughts [...]

(Pages 109-112 did not survive) and angels and daimons and minds and souls and living beings and trees and bodies and those which are before them: those of the simple elements of simple origins, and those which arein [...] and unmixed confusion, air [and] water and earth and number and yoking and movement and [...] and order and breath and all the rest. They are fourth powers which are [in] the fourth aeon, those which] are in the [...] and [...] perfect of [...] powers [...] powers [...] of [...] of [...] angels [of the] angels, souls [of the] souls, living beings [of the] living beings, trees [of] [the trees ...] [...] and [...]

(2 lines unrecoverable) his own.

There are those who are as begotten, and those who are in an unborn begetting, and there are those who are holy and eternal, and the immutable ones in death and destruction in indestructibility; and there are those who are as All; there are those who are races and those who are in a world and order; there are those in indestructibility, and there are the first [who stand] and the second [in] all of them. All those who are from them and those who are in them, and from these who follow them [...]

(1 line unrecoverable) these [...] and [the] fourth aeons stood [...] [...] they existing [...]

(2 lines unrecoverable) in them, he being scattered abroad. They are not crowded against one another, but to the contrary they are alive, existing in themselves and agreeing with one another, as they are from a single origin. They are reconciled because they are all in a single aeon of Kalyptos, [...] being divided in power, for they exist in accord with each of the aeons, standing in relationship to the one which has reached them.

But Kalyptos is [a] single aeon; [he] has four different aeons. In accord with each of the aeons they have powers, not like first and second powers, for all these [are] eternities, [but] they are different [...] and order and glory [...] which exists [in ...] four aeons and [...] who pre-exists [...] god [...] [...] they are [...]

(1 line unrecoverable) All of them exist in one, dwelling together and perfected individually in fellowship and filled with the aeon which really exists. There are those among them (who stand) as dwelling in essence and those (who stand) as essence in conduct or [suffering] because they are in a second, for the unengenderedness of the ungenerated one who really exists is among them. When the ungenerated have come into being, their power stands; there is an incorporeal essence with [an] imperishable [body]. The [immutable one] is [there] who [really] exists. Because it transforms [through] change, the [...] in destructible fire stands with all these [...] [...] one [...] 117 he stands. It is there that all living beings dwell, existing individually yet all joined together. The knowledge of the knowledge is there together with a setting up of ignorance. Chaos is there and a perfect place for all of them, and they are strange. True Light is there, also enlightened darkness together with the one who does not really exist - [he] does not really exist. [...] the non-being who does not exist at all. But it is he, the Good, from whom derives the good and what is pleasant and the divine; it is he from whom comes God and he who [...], he who is great. For [...] in part [...] form and God that [...]and the one [...] [...] a god [...] [...] all these [...] [...] darkness [...]

(1 line unrecoverable) and a race. He has not mixed with anything, but he remains alone in himself and rests himself on his limitless limit. He is the God of those who really exist, a seer and a revealer of God.

When she had strengthened him who [knew her], the aeon Barbelo, the knowledge of the Invisible Triple Powerful Perfect Spirit, in order to [...] her, said, "He [...] a life. I am alive in [...] You, the One, are alive. He is alive, [he] who is three. It is you who are the three who are three [doubled ...] e e e. The first of seven [...] the third [...] the second [...] e e e e a a a a a a a [...] [...] two, but he [four ...] [...] knowledge [...]

(1 line unrecoverable) (1 line unrecoverable) a part? What kind of mind, and what kind of wisdom? What kind of understanding, what kind of teaching? His Lights are named (as follows): the first is Armedon and she who is with him, [...]; the second is Diphane [...] and she who is with him, Deiph[a ...]; the third is Malsedon and she who is with him [...]; the fourth is [...]s and she who is with him, Olmis.

Kalyptos exists having [...] with his Form. He is invisible to all these so that they all might be strengthened by him [...] [...] he exists in [...] all-perfect because [he has] four existing

(1 line unrecoverable) [...] nor according to a [...] alone [... B]arbelo [...]

(2 lines unrecoverable) know him and the one who is set over a second. The first of the aeons is Harmedon, the father-glory. The second Light is one whom [he does] not [know], but all the individuals, wisdom [...] exist in the fourth aeon who has revealed himself and all the glories. The third Light is he [...] not him, as the word of all the forms and that other glory, understanding, who is in the third aeon. There are four in Malsedon and [...] nios. The fourth Light is the one who [...] of all the forms existing [...] a teaching and glory [...] and the truth of the [four aeons], Olmis, [...] and the [...]

(2 lines unrecoverable) fifth.

The first (is the one) who is the second, that is, it is the all-perfect Kalyptos, for the four Lights exist. It is Kalyptos who has divided again, and they exist together. All who know those who exist as glories are perfect. This one [...] knows everything about them all is all-perfect. From him is every power, every one and their entire aeon, because they all come to him and they all come from him, the power of them all (and) the origin of them all. When he learned [of them], he became a [...] aeon and a ingenerateness. [...] other aeons [in ...]a[...]

(2 lines unrecoverable)

become a Barbelo, he becomes a first aeon because of the eternity of the Invisible Spirit, the second ingenerateness.

These are all the glories: the limitless Aphredons, [...] the ineffables, the revealers, all the [...] immutables, the glory-revealers, the twice-revealed Marsedons, the limitless Solmises, the self-revealers who are [full] of glory, those who [wait for] glory, the blessers, the M[arse-] dons, the Kalyptoi who [...] the limits [...] upon the limits [...] those who exist [...]

(3 lines unrecoverable)

(Lines 24ff, I or 2, did not survive) ten thousand glories in them.

Therefore, he is a perfect glory so that whenever he can join another and prevail, he exists as perfect. Thus, even if he enters into a body and a death coming from matter, they do not receive greater honour because of their all-perfectness from whom came all these, being perfect, together with those who are with him. Indeed, each of the aeons has ten thousand aeons in himself, so that by existing together he may become a perfect aeon.

He exists in the Blessedness of the Triple Powerful Perfect Invisible Spirit [...] silence [...] who became first [...] and the knowledge

(3 lines unrecoverable) whole, a silence of the second knowledge, the first thought in the will of the Triple Powerful, because he commanded it to know him, so that he might become all-perfect and perfect in himself. By simplicity and blessedness he is known. [I received] goodness through that follower of the Barbelo aeon who gives being to himself. [...] is not the power, but she is the one who belongs to him.

The aeons which really exist do so in silence. Existence was inactivity, and knowledge of the self-established Kalyptos was ineffable. Having come from the fourth, the [...] thought, the Proto[phanes], as the Perfect Male Mind

(2 lines unrecoverable) he is his image, equal to him in power and glory but with respect to order higher than him, yet not higher in aeon. Like him he has all these parts living and dwelling together in one. Together with the aeon in the aeons he has a fourfold difference with all the rest who are there.

But Kalyptos really exists, and with him is located she who belongs to all the glories, Youel, the male virgin glory, through whom are seen the all-perfect ones. Those who stand before him are the triple [...] child, the triple [...], the Autogenes [...] He has [...] in one [... the one] again who prevails over the [...] existing in [...] of ten thousand- fold.

The first aeon in him, from whom is the first Light, (is) Solmis and the god revealer, since he is infinite according to the type in the Kalyptos aeon and Doxomedon. The second aeon is Akremon the ineffable together with the second Light Zachthos and Yachtos. The third aeon is Ambrosios the virgin together with the third Light Setheus and Antiphantes. The fourth aeon is the blesser [...] race with [the] fourth Light [Seldao] and Elenos. The [...] him [...] [...] Arm[edon

(1 line unrecoverable) phoe zoe zeoe ze[...] zosi zosi zao zeooo zesen zes- en - the individuals and the four who are eight-fold are alive. eoooo eaeo - you who are before them, and you who are in them all. They are within the perfect male Armedon Protophanes of all those who dwell together. Since all the individuals were existing as perfect ones, the Activity of all the individuals appeared again as the divine Autogenes.

He stands within an aeon because there are within him four different self-begotten aeons. The first aeon in him as the first Light is Harmozel-Orneos-Euthrou- nios. He was called

(1 line unrecoverable) [...] The second aeon as the second Light is Oraiael ...-udas[...]os, Ap[...] Arros[...]. The third (aeon) of the third Light is Daveithe-Laraneus- Epiphanios-Eideos. The fourth aeon as the fourth Light is Eleleth-Kodere- Epiphanios-Allogenios. But as for all the rest who are in matter, they were all left there. It was because of knowledge of greatness, audacity and power that they came into existence and comforted themselves. Because they did not know God, they shall pass away. Behold, Zostrianos, you have heard all these things of the gods are ignorant and which seem infinite to angels."

I took courage and said, "I am [still] wondering about the Triple Powerful Invisible Perfect Spirit: how he exists for himself, [how he causes] everything [...] who really exist [...] what is the [...] [...] and [...] [...] of [...] very [...] they set [me] down (and) left.

Apophantes and Aphropais, the Virgin-light, came before me and brought me into Protophanes, the great male perfect Mind. I saw all of them as they exist in one. I joined with them all and blessed the Kalyptos aeon, the virgin Barbelo and the Invisible Spirit. I became all-perfect and received power. I was written in glory and sealed. I received there a perfect crown. I came forth to the perfect individuals, and all of them were questioning me. They were listening to the loftiness of my knowledge. They were rejoicing and receiving power. When I again came down to the aeons of Autogenes, I received a true image, pure yet suitable for the perceptible (world).

I came down to the aeon copies and came down here to the airy-earth. I wrote three tablets and left them as knowledge for those who would come after me, the living elect. Then I came down to the perceptible world and put on my image. Because it was ignorant, I strengthened it and went about preaching the truth to everyone. Neither the angelic beings of the world nor the archons saw me, for I negated a multitude of [judgements] which brought me near death.

But an erring multitude I awakened saying, "Know those who are alive and the holy seed of Seth. Do not [show] disobedience to me. Awaken your divine part to God, and as for your sinless elect soul, strengthen it. Behold death here and seek the immutable ingenerateness, the Father of everything. He invites you, while they reprove you. Although they ill-treat you, he will not abandon you.

Do not baptise yourselves with death nor entrust yourselves to those who are inferior to you instead of to those who are better. Flee from the madness and the bondage of femaleness and choose for yourselves the salvation of maleness. You have not come to suffer; rather, you have come to escape your bondage.

Release yourselves, and that which has bound you will be dissolved. Save yourselves so that your soul may be saved. The kind Father has sent you the Saviour and given you strength. Why are you hesitating? Seek when you are sought; when you are invited, listen, for time is short.

Do not be led astray. The aeon of the aeons of the living ones is great, yet so also is the punishment of those who are unconvinced. Many bonds and chastisers surround you. Flee quickly before death reaches you. Look at the Light. Flee the Darkness. Do not be led astray to your destruction.

MARSANES

From: The Nag Hammadi Library
Translation: Birger A. Pearson
Estimated Range of Dating: 3rd century A.D.

(Marsanes is a Sethian Gnostic text from the New Testament apocrypha. The only surviving copy comes from the Nag Hammadi library, albeit with four pages missing, and several lines damaged beyond recovery, including the first ten of the fifth page. Scholars speculate that the text was originally written by a Syrian in Greek during the third century. Like Zostrianos, and Allogenes, the text describes a very elabourate esoteric cosmogony of successive emanations from an original God, as revealed by Marsanes, who is recognised as a Gnostic prophet. Within the text there are indications that the Sethians had developed ideas of monism, an idea comparable to Heracleon's notion of universal perfection and permanence as expressed through the constancy of the total mass of things within it (that is, all matter in the universe may only change form, and may not be created or destroyed), and the later Stoic insistence of nothing existing beyond the material. The text also is an apocalypse that may at one point have been used by the school of Plotinus in Rome. Common Gnostic thought is especially prominent through the text's discussion on the power of sacred knowledge, which can allow readers to ascend through the levels of the universe until they reach the highest heaven where God resides.)

... (10 lines unrecoverable)

... and a reward. They came to know; they found him with a pure heart, (and) they are not afflicted by him with evils. Those who have received you (pl.) will be given their choice reward for endurance, and he will ward off the evils from them. But let none of us be distressed and think in his heart that the great Father [...]. For he looks upon the All and takes care of them all. And he has shown to them his [...]. Those that ...

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... (10 lines unrecoverable)

... at first.

But as for the thirteenth seal, I have established it, together with the summit of knowledge and the certainty of rest. The first and the second and the third are the worldly and the material. I have informed you concerning these, that you should [...] your bodies. And a sense-perceptible power will [...] those who will rest, and they will be kept from passion and division of the union.

The fourth and the fifth, which are above, these you have come to know [...] divine. He exists after the [...] and the nature of the [...], that is, the one who [...] three. And I have informed you of [...] in the three [...] by these two. I have informed you concerning it, that it is incorporeal ... (1 line unrecoverable) ... and after [...] within [...] every [...] which [...] your [...]. The fifth, concerning the conversion of those that are within me, and concerning those who dwell in that place.

But the sixth, concerning the self-begotten ones, concerning the incorporeal being which exists partially, together with those who exist in the truth of the All [...] for understanding and assurance. And the seventh, concerning the self-begotten power, which is the third perfect [...] fourth, concerning salvation and wisdom. And the eighth, concerning the mind, which is male, which appeared in the beginning, and (concerning) the being which is incorporeal and the intelligible world. The ninth, [...] of the power which appeared in the beginning. The tenth, concerning Barbelo, the virgin [...] of the Aeon. The eleventh and the twelfth speak of the Invisible One who possesses three powers, and the Spirit which does not have being, belonging to the first Unbegotten (fem.). The thirteenth speaks concerning the Silent One who was not known, and the primacy of the one who was not distinguished.

For I am he who has understood that which truly exists, whether partially or wholly, according to difference and sameness, that they exist from the beginning in the entire place which is eternal, (i.e.) all those that have come into existence, whether without being or with being, those who are unbegotten, and the divine aeons, together with the angels, and the souls which are without guile, and the soul-garments, the likenesses of the simple ones. And afterwards, they have been mixed with [...] them. But still [...] the entire being [...] which imitates the incorporeal being and the unsubstantial (fem.). Finally the entire defilement was saved, together with the immortality of the former (fem.). I have deliberated, and have attained to the boundary of the sense-perceptible world. I have come to know part by part the entire place of the incorporeal being, and I have come to know the intelligible world. I have come to know, when I was deliberating, whether in every respect the sense-perceptible world is worthy of being saved entirely.

For I have not ceased speaking of the Self-begotten One, O [...] became [...] part by part the entire place. He descended; again he descended from the Unbegotten One who does not have being, who is the Spirit. That one who exists before all of them reaches to the divine Self-engendered One. The one having being searches [...] and he exists [...] and he is like [...] and from [...] dividing [...] I became [...] for many, as it is manifest that he save a multitude.

But after all of these things, I am seeking the kingdom of the Three-Powered One, which has no beginning. Whence did he appear and act to fill the entire place with his power? And in what way did the unbegotten ones come into existence, since they were not begotten? And what are the differences among the aeons? And as for those who are unbegotten, how many are they? And in what respect do they differ from each other?

When I had inquired about these things, I perceived that he had worked from silence. He exists from the beginning among those that truly exist, that belong to the One who exists. There is another, existing from the beginning, belonging to the One who works within the Silent One. And the silence [...] him works. For as much as this one [...], that one works from the silence which belongs to the Unbegotten One among the aeons, and from the beginning he does not have being. But the energy of that One is the Three-Powered One, the One unbegotten before the Aeon, not having being. And it is possible to behold the supremacy of the silence of the Silent One, i.e., the supremacy of the energy of the Three-Powered. And the One who exists, who is silent, who is above the heaven [...], revealed the Three-Powered, First-Perfect One.

When he [...] to the powers, they rejoiced. Those that are within me were perfected together with all the rest. And they all blessed the Three-Powered, one by one, who is the First-Perfect One, blessing him in purity, everywhere praising the Lord, who exists before the All, [...] the Three-Powered. [...] their worship [...] myself, and I will still go on inquiring how they had become silent. I will understand a power which I hold in honour.

The third power of the Three-powered, when it (fem.) had perceived him, said to me, "Be silent in order that you might know; run, and come before me. But know that this One was silent, and obtain understanding." For the power is attending to me, leading me into the Aeon which is Barbelo, the male Virgin.

For this reason the Virgin became male, because she had been divided from the male. The Knowledge stood outside of him, because it belongs to him. And she who exists, she who sought, possesses (it), just as the Three-Powered One possesses (it). She withdrew from them, from these two powers, since she exists outside of the Great One, as she [...] who is above [...], who is silent, who has this commandment to be silent. His knowledge and his hypostasis and his activity are those things of which the power of the Three-Powered spoke, saying, "We all have withdrawn to ourselves. We have become silent, and when we came to know him, that is, the Three-Powered, we bowed down; we [...]; we blessed him [...] upon us." [...].

[...] the invisible Spirit ran up to his place. The whole place was revealed; the whole place unfolded until he reached the upper region. Again he departed; he caused the whole place to be illuminated, and the whole place was illuminated. And you (pl.) have been given the third part of the spirit of the power of the One who possesses the three powers. Blessed is [...]. He said, "O you who dwell in these places, it is necessary for you to know those that are higher than these, and tell them to the powers. For you (sg.) will become elect with the elect ones in the last times, as the invisible Spirits runs up above. And you yourselves, run with him up above, since you have the great crown which [...].

But on the day [...] will beckon [...] run up above [...] and the sense-perceptible [...] visible [...] and they ...

(two pages missing, plus 14 lines at top of page after that)

... the perception. He is for ever, not having being, in the One who is, who is silent, the One who is from the beginning, who does not have being [...] part of [...] indivisible. The [...] consider a ...

... (approx. 20 lines unrecoverable)

... I was dwelling among the aeons which have been begotten. As I was permitted, I have come to be among those that were not begotten. But I was dwelling in the great Aeon, as I [...]. And [...] the three powers [...] the One who possesses the three powers. The three powers [...] the Silent One and the Three-Powered One [...] the one that does not have breath. We took our stand [...] in the ...

... (approx. 23 lines virtually unrecoverable)

... who does not have breath, and he exists in a [...] completely. And I saw [...] him to the great (fem.) [...] they knew him ...

... (approx. 21 lines virtually unrecoverable)

... is active [...] why, again, (does) knowledge [...] ignorant, and [...] he runs the risk [...] that he become ...

... (9 lines virtually unrecoverable)

... those [...]. But it is necessary that a [...] does not have form [...] to this one [...] exists before [...] the thought [...] from the beginning [...] the one that ...

... (approx. 6 lines unrecoverable)

... these [...] look(ed) at [...] in nine [...] the cosmic hebdomad [...] in a day of [...] for ever ...

... (8 lines unrecoverable)

... and [...] after many years [...], when I saw the Father, I came to know him, and [...] many [...] partial [...] for ever [...] the material ones [...] worldly [...] above [...] in addition ...

... (approx. 18 lines unrecoverable)

... out of [...] into those that [...] them into [...] name them. And (as for) their nomenclature, bear witness yourselves that you are inferior to their [...] and their hypostasis.

But in addition, when ...

... (approx. 18 lines unrecoverable)

... hidden [...] the third power. The blessed Authority (fem.) said [...] among these and [...], i.e., she who does not have [...]. For there is not glory [...] nor even the one who [...]. For indeed, the one who ...

... (approx. 18 lines unrecoverable)

... and the signs of the Zodiac [...], and the [...], and [...] which do not have [...] acquire for [...] revolution [...]. But the soul(s) [...] there [...] body(s) of this [...] soul(s) of heaven [...] around [...] shape [...] which is ...

... (approx. 19 lines virtually unrecoverable)

... all the likenesses [...] them [...] all the forms [...] shape(s), so that they [...] and become [...] themselves [...], and the [...] the animals [...], and the ...

(2 pages missing)

... there. But their powers, which are the angels, are in the form of beasts and animals. Some among them are polymorphous, and, contrary to nature, they have for their names which [...]. They are divided and [...] according to the [...] and [...] in form [...]. But these that are aspects of sound according to the third originate from being. And concerning these, all of these (remarks) are sufficient, since we have (already) spoken about them.

For this division takes place again in these regions in the manner we have mentioned from the beginning. However, the soul, on the other hand, has different shape<s>. The shape of the soul exists in this form, i.e., (the soul) that came into existence of its own accord. The shape is the second spherical part, while the first allows it, eEiou, the self-begotten soul, aeEiouO. The second schema, eEiou, ... by those having two sounds (diphthongs), the first being placed after them ...

... (3 lines unrecoverable)

... the light.

Control yourselves, receive the imperishable seed, bear fruit, and do not become attached to your possessions.

But know that the oxytones exist among the vowels, and the diphthongs which are next to them. But the short are inferior, and the [...] are [...] by them. Those that [...], since they are intermediate [...]. The sounds of the semivowels are superior to the voiceless (consonants). And those that are double are superior to the semivowels, which do not change. But the aspirates are better than the inaspirates (of) the voiceless (consonants). And those that are intermediate will accept their combination in which they are; they are ignorant of the things that are good. They (the vowels) are combined with the intermediates, which are less. Form by form, they constitute the nomenclature of the gods and the angels, not because they are mixed with each other according to every form, but only (because) they have a good function. It did not happen that their will was revealed.

Do not keep on sinning, and do not dare to make use of sin.

But I am speaking to you (sg.) concerning the three [...] shapes of the soul. The third shape of the soul is [...] is a spherical one, put after it, from the simple vowels: eee, iii, ooo, uuu, OOO. The diphthongs were as follows: ai, au, ei, eu, Eu, ou, Ou, oi, Ei, ui, Oi, auei, euEu, oiou, ggg, ggg, ggg, aiau, eieu, Eu, oiou, Ou, ggg, ggg, aueieu, oiou, Eu, three times for a male soul. The third shape is spherical. The second shape, being put after it, has two sounds. The male soul's third shape (consists) of the simple vowels: aaa, eee, EEE, iii, ooo, uuu, OOO, OOO, OOO. And this shape is different from the first, but they resemble each other, and they make some ordinary sounds of this sort: aeEoO. And from these (are made) the diphthongs.

So also the fourth and the fifth. With regard to them, they were not allowed to reveal the whole topic, but only those things that are apparent. You (pl.) were taught about them, that you should perceive them, in order that they, too, might all seek and find who they are, either by themselves alone [...], or by each other, or to reveal destinies that have been determined from the beginning, either with reference to themselves alone, or with reference to one another, just as they exist with each other in sound, whether partially or formally.

They are commanded to submit, for their part is generated and formal. (They are commanded) either by the long (vowels), or by those of dual time value, or by the short (vowels), which are small [...], or the oxytones, or the intermediates, or the barytones.

And consonants exist with the vowels, and individually they are commanded and they submit. The constitute the nomenclature of the angels. And the consonants are self-existent, and as they are changed, they submit to the hidden gods by means of beat and pitch and silence and impulse. They summon the semivowels, all of which submit to them with one accord, since it is only the unchanging double (consonants) that coexist with the semivowels.

But the aspirates and the inaspirates and the intermediates constitute the voiceless (consonants). Again [...] they are combined with each other, and they are separate from one another. They are commanded and they submit, and they constitute an ignorant nomenclature. And they become one or two or three or four or five or six, up to seven, having a simple sound, together with these which have two sounds, [...] the place of the seventeen consonants. Among the first names, some are less. And since these do not have being, either they are an aspect of being, or they divide the nature of the mind, which is masculine, (and) which is intermediate.

And you (sg.) put in those that resemble each other with the vowels and the consonants. Some are: bagadazatha, begedezethe, bEgEdEzEthE, bigidizithi, bogodozotho, buguduzuthu, bOgOdOzOthO. And the rest [...] babebEbibobubO. But the rest are different: abebEbibob, in order that you (sg.) might collect them, and be separated from the angels.

And there will be some effects. The first (fem.), which is good, is from the triad. It [...] has need of ... (1 line unrecoverable) ... their shapes. The dyad and the monad do not resemble anything, but they are first to exist. The dyad, being divided, is divided from the monad, and it belongs to the hypostasis. But the tetrad received (the) elements, and the pentad received concord, and the hexad was perfected by itself. The hebdomad received beauty, and the ogdoad received [...] ready ... (1 line unrecoverable) ... greatly. And the decad revealed the whole place. But the eleven and the twelve have traversed [...] not having [...] it is higher [...] seven ...

... (9 lines virtually unrecoverable)

... promise that [...] begin to separate them by means of a mark and a point, the one which quarrels from the one which is an enemy.

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Thus [...] of being ... (1 line unrecoverable) ... the letters [...] in a holy or according to a bond existing separately. And they exist with each other in generation or in birth. And according to [...] generation, they do not have [...] these ...
... (10 lines unrecoverable)
... one [...] speaking the riddle.
Because within the sense-perceptible world there exists the temple, which measures seven hundred cubits, and a river, which [...] within [...] for ever, they [...] three [...] to the four [...] seals [...] clouds, and the waters, and the forms of the wax images, and some emerald likenesses.
For the rest, I will teach you (sg.) about them. This is the generation of the names. That (fem.) which was not generated [...] from the beginning ...
... (9 lines virtually unrecoverable)
... time(s), when confined, when spread out, when diminished. But there exists the gentle word, and there exists another word which approaches, being [...] in this manner ... (1 line unrecoverable) ... And he [...] the difference [...] and the [...] the all and a [...] the undivided beings, and the power [...] having a share in the joy separately and [...], whether ...
... (7 lines unrecoverable)
... power [...] he exists in every place, [...] them always. He dwells with the corporeal and the incorporeal ones.
This is the word of the hypostasis that one should [...] in this way: if [...] with their [...] helping those who stir up the [...] manifest [...]. If one knows him, he will call upon him.

But there are words, some of which are two, but others existing separately ...
... (10 lines virtually unrecoverable)
... or according to those that have duration. And these either are separate from them, or they are joined to one another or with themselves, either the diphthongs, or the simple vowels, or every [...] or [...] or [...] exist just as [...] exist [...] the consonants [...] they exist individually until they are divided and doubled. Some have the power [...] according the letters that are consonants ...
... (8 lines virtually unrecoverable)
... by themselves [...] and three (times) for the vowels, and twice for the consonants, and once for the entire place, and with ignorance for those which are subject to change [...] which became [...] together with the entire place [...] finally.
And [...] they all [...] they are hidden, but they were pronounced openly. They did not stop without being revealed, nor did they stop without naming the angels. The vowels join the consonants, whether without or within, [...] they said [...] teach you (sg.) [...] again for ever. They were counted four times, (and) they were engendered three times, and they became ..... (2 lines unrecoverable)
For these reasons, we have acquired sufficiency; for it is fitting that each one acquire power for himself to bear fruit, and that we never cast aspersions on the mysteries [...] the [...]. For [...], which is [...] the souls [...] the signs of the Zodiac [...] a new hypostasis.
And the reward which will be provided for such a one is salvation. But the opposite will happen there to the one who commits sin. The one who commits sin by himself [...] will be in a [...] in a ...
... (2 lines unrecoverable)
... in order that before you (sg.) examine the one who [...], one might tell another about an exalted power, and a divine knowledge, and a might which cannot be resisted. But you shall examine who is worthy that he should reveal them, knowing that those who commit sin [...] down to [...] as they [...] the Father [...] that which is fitting. Do not desire to give power to the sense-perceptible world. Are you (pl.) not attending to me, who have received salvation from the intelligible world? But (as for) these words - watch yourselves - do not [...] them as a(n) ...
... (3 lines unrecoverable)
... understand [...], and he takes [...] the rest, I will speak of them. The perfection [...], in order that it might increase [...] who commit sin ... (1 line unrecoverable) ... the embodied souls did not understand them. Those that are upon the earth, as well as those outside of the body, those in heaven, are more than the angels. The place which we talked about in every discourse, these [...] stars ... (1 line unrecoverable) ... book(s) [...] whether already [...] into the [...]. Blessed is [...], whether he is gazing at the two, or he is gazing at the seven planets, or at the twelve signs of the Zodiac, or at the thirty-six Decans ...
... (9 lines virtually unrecoverable)
... and these numbers, whether those in heaven or those upon the earth, together with those that are under the earth, according to the relationships and the divisions among these, and in the rest [...] parts according to kind and according to species ... (1 line unrecoverable) ... they will submit, since she has power [...] above [...] they exist apart ...
(Of the remaining 26 pages, 10 are missing and the remaining 16 are so badly decomposed that only a few scattered words and phrases are recognisable.)

THE TESTIMONY OF TRUTH
From: The Nag Hammadi Library
Translation: Søren Giversen and Birger A. Pearson
Estimated Range of Dating: 3rd century A.D.

(The Testimony of Truth is the third manuscript from Codex IX of the Nag Hammadi Library. The copy of the manuscript from the Nag Hammadi Codices is in very poor condition and is almost too fragmentary to read and comprehend. The text is different from many other Christian texts in that it does not portray martyrdom as something to be glorified. Testimony of Truth, also tells the story of the Garden of Eden from the viewpoint of the serpent. Here the serpent, long known to appear in Gnostic literature as the principle of divine wisdom, convinces Adam and Eve to partake of knowledge while "the Lord" threatens them with death, trying jealously to prevent them from attaining knowledge, and expelling them from Paradise when they achieve it.)

I will speak to those who know to hear not with the ears of the body but with the ears of the mind. For many have sought after the truth and have not been able to find it; because there has taken hold of them the old leaven of the Pharisees and the scribes of the Law. And the leaven is the errant desire of the angels and the demons and the stars. As for the Pharisees and the scribes, it is they who belong to the archons who have authority over them.
For no one who is under the Law will be able to look up to the truth, for they will not be able to serve two masters. For the defilement of the Law is manifest; but undefilement belongs to the light. The Law commands (one) to take a husband (or) to take a wife, and to beget, to multiply like the sand of the sea. But passion, which is a delight to them, constrains the souls of those who are begotten in this place, those who defile and those who are defiled, in order that the Law might be fulfilled through them. And they show that they are assisting the world; and they turn away from the light, who are unable to pass by the archon of darkness until they pay the last penny.
But the Son of Man came forth from Imperishability, being alien to defilement. He came to the world by the Jordan river, and immediately the Jordan turned back. And John bore witness to the descent of Jesus. For it is he who saw the power which came down upon the Jordan river; for he knew that the dominion of carnal procreation had come to an end. The Jordan river is the power of the body, that is, the senses of pleasures. The water of the Jordan is the desire for sexual intercourse. John is the archon of the womb.
And this is what the Son of Man reveals to us: It is fitting for you (pl.) to receive the word of truth, if one will receive it perfectly. But as for one who is in ignorance, it is difficult for him to diminish his works of darkness which he has done. Those who have known Imperishability, however, have been able to struggle against passions [...]. I have said to you, "Do not build nor gather for yourselves in the place where the brigands break open, but bring forth fruit to the Father."

The foolish - thinking in their heart that if they confess, "We are Christians," in word only (but) not with power, while giving themselves over to ignorance, to a human death, not knowing where they are going nor who Christ is, thinking that they will live, when they are (really) in error - hasten towards the principalities and authorities. They fall into their clutches because of the ignorance that is in them. For (if) only words which bear testimony were effecting salvation, the whole world would endure this thing and would be saved. But it is in this way that they drew error to themselves. ...
... (3 lines unrecoverable)
... they do not know that they will destroy themselves. If the Father were to desire a human sacrifice, he would become vainglorious.

For the Son of Man clothed himself with their first-fruits; he went down to Hades and performed many mighty works. He raised the dead therein; and the world-rulers of darkness became envious of him, for they did not find sin in him. But he also destroyed their works from among men, so that the lame, the blind, the paralytic, the dumb, (and) the demon-possessed were granted healing. And he walked upon the waters of the sea. For this reason he destroyed his flesh from [...] which he [...]. And he became [...] salvation [...] his death ...
... (4 lines unrecoverable)
... everyone [...] how many they are! They are blind guides, like the disciples. They boarded the ship; at about thirty stadies, they saw Jesus walking on the sea. These are empty martyrs, since they bear witness only to themselves. And yet they are sick, and they are not able to raise themselves.

But when they are "perfected" with a (martyr's) death, this is the thought that they have within them: "If we deliver ourselves over to death for the sake of the Name we will be saved." These matters are not settled in this way. But through the agency of the wandering stars they say they have "completed" their futile "course", and [...] say, [...]. But these [...] they have delivered themselves ...
... (7 lines unrecoverable)
... but they resemble [...] them. They do not have the word which gives life.

And some say, "On the last day we will certainly arise in the resurrection." But they do not know what they are saying, for the last day is when those belonging to Christ [...] the earth, which is [...]. When the time was fulfilled, he destroyed their archon of darkness [...] soul(s) ...
... (10 lines unrecoverable)
... he stood [...] they asked what they have been bound with, and how they might properly release themselves. And they came to know themselves, who they are, or rather, where they are now, and what is the place in which they will rest from their senselessness, arriving at knowledge. These Christ will transfer to the heights, since they have renounced foolishness (and have) advanced to knowledge. And those who have knowledge ...
... (11 lines unrecoverable)
... the great [...] resurrection [...], he has to come to know the Son of Man, that is, he has come to know himself. This is the perfect life, that man know himself by means of the All.

Do not expect, therefore, the carnal resurrection, which is destruction; and they are not stripped of it (the flesh) who err in expecting a resurrection that is empty. They do not know the power of God, nor do they understand the interpretation of the scriptures, on account of their double-mindedness. The mystery which the Son of Man spoke about, [...], in order that [...] destroy ...
... (2 lines unrecoverable)
... man who [...] book, which is written [...] for they have ...
... (1 line unrecoverable)
... blessed [...] within them, and they dwell before God under the light yoke. Those who do not have the life-giving word in their heart will die; and in their thought they have become manifest to the Son of Man, according to the manner of their activity and their error [...] of this sort. They [...] as he divides the [...], and they do not understand that the Son of Man is coming from him.

But when they have come up to [...] sacrifice, they die in a human way, and they deliver themselves ...
... (2 lines unrecoverable)
... a death ...
... (3 lines unrecoverable)
... those who [...], they are many [...], each one [...] pervert [...] gain [...] their mind. Those who receive him to themselves with uprightness and power and every knowledge are the ones whom he will transfer to the heights, unto life eternal.

But those who receive him to themselves with ignorance, the pleasures which are defiled prevail over them. It is those people who used to say; "God created members for our use, for us to grow in defilement, in order that we might enjoy ourselves." And they cause God to participate with them in deeds of this sort; and they are not steadfast upon the earth. Nor will they reach heaven, but [...] place will [...] four ...
... (3 lines unrecoverable)
... unquenchable ...
... (3 lines unrecoverable)
... word [...] upon the Jordan river, when he came to John at the time he was baptised. The Holy Spirit came down upon him as a dove [...] accept for ourselves that he was born of a virgin and he took flesh; he [...] having received power. Were we also begotten from a virginal state or conceived by the word? Rather, we have been born again by the word. Let us therefore strengthen ourselves as virgins in the [...].

The males dwell [...] the virgin, by means of [...] in the word [...]. But the word of [...] and spirit ...
... (4 lines unrecoverable)
... is the Father [...] for the man ...
... (1 line unrecoverable)
... like Isaiah, who was sawed with a saw, (and) he became two. So also the Son of Man divides us by the word of the cross. It divides the day from the night and the light from the darkness and the corruptible from incorruptibility, and it divides the males from the females. But Isaiah is the type of the body. The saw is the word of the Son of Man, which separates us from the error of the angels.

No one knows the God of truth except solely the man who will forsake all of the things of the world, having renounced the whole place, (and) having grasped the fringe of his garment. He has set himself up as a power; he has subdued desire in every way within himself. He has [...] and he has turned to him [...], having also examined [...] in becoming [...] the mind. And he [...] from his soul [...] there [...] he has ...
... (1 line unrecoverable)

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... in what way [...] the flesh which [...] in what way [...] out of it, and how many powers does he have? And who is the one who has bound him? And who is the one who will loose him? And what is the light? And what is the darkness? And who is the one who has created the earth? And who is God? And who are the angels? And what is soul? And what is spirit? And where is the voice? And who is the one who speaks? And who is the one who hears? Who is the one who gives pain? And who is the one who suffers? And who is it who has begotten the corruptible flesh? And what is the governance? And why are some lame, and some blind, and some [...], and some [...], and some rich, and some poor? And why are some powerless, some brigands? ...

... (4 lines unrecoverable)

... he having [...] as he again [...], fighting against thoughts of the archons and the powers and the demons, not giving them a place in which to rest. But he struggled against their passions [...], he condemned their error. He cleansed his soul from the transgressions which he had committed with an alien hand. He stood up, being upright within himself, because he exists in everyone, and because he has death and life within himself, and he exists in the midst of both of them. And when he had received the power, he turned towards the parts of the right, and he entered into the truth, having forsaken all things pertaining to the left, having been filled with wisdom, with counsel, with understanding, and with insight and an eternal power. And he broke open his bonds. Those who had formed the whole place, he condemned. But they did not find [...] hidden within him.

And he gave command to himself; he began to know himself and to speak with his mind, which is the father of the truth, concerning the unbegotten aeons, and concerning the virgin who brought forth the light. And he thinks about the power which flowed over the whole place, and which takes hold of him. And he is a disciple of his mind, which is male. He began to keep silent within himself until the day when he should become worthy to be received above. He rejects for himself loquacity and disputations, and he endures the whole place; and he bears up under them, and he endures all of the evil things. And he is patient with every one; he makes himself equal to every one, and he also separates himself from them. And that which someone wants, he brings to him, in order that he might become perfect (and) holy. When the [...], he grasped him, having bound him upon [...], and he was filled with wisdom. He bore witness to the truth [...] the power, and he went into Imperishability, the place whence he came forth, having left the world, which has the appearance of the night, and those that whirl the stars in it. This, therefore, is the true testimony: When man comes to know himself and God, who is over the truth, he will be saved, and he will crown himself with the crown unfading.

John was begotten by the World through a woman, Elizabeth; and Christ was begotten by the world through a virgin, Mary. What is (the meaning of) this mystery? John was begotten by means of a womb worn with age, but Christ passed through a virgin's womb. When she had conceived, she gave birth to the Saviour. Furthermore, she was found to be a virgin again. Why, then do you (pl.) err and not seek after these mysteries, which were prefigured for our sake?

It is written in the Law concerning this, when God gave a command to Adam, "From every tree you may eat, but from the tree which is in the midst of Paradise do not eat, for on the day that you eat from it, you will surely die." But the serpent was wiser than all the animals that were in Paradise, and he persuaded Eve, saying, "On the day when you eat from the tree which is in the midst of Paradise, the eyes of your mind will be opened." And Eve obeyed, and she stretched forth her hand; she took from the tree and ate; she also gave to her husband with her. And immediately they knew that they were naked, and they took some fig-leaves (and) put them on as girdles.

But God came at the time of evening, walking in the midst of Paradise. When Adam saw him, he hid himself. And he said, "Adam, where are you?" He answered (and) said, "I have come under the fig tree." And at that very moment, God knew that he had eaten from the tree of which he had commanded him, "Do not eat of it." And he said to him, "Who is it who has instructed you?" And Adam answered, "The woman whom you have given me." And the woman said, "It is the serpent who instructed me." And he (God) cursed the serpent, and called him "devil." And he said, "Behold, Adam has become like one of us, knowing evil and good." Then he said, "Let us cast him out of paradise, lest he take from the tree of life, and eat, and live forever."

But what sort is this God? First he maliciously refused Adam from eating of the tree of knowledge, and, secondly, he said "Adam, where are you?" God does not have foreknowledge? Would he not know from the beginning? And afterwards, he said, "Let us cast him out of this place, lest he eat of the tree of life and live forever." Surely, he has shown himself to be a malicious grudger! And what kind of God is this? For great is the blindness of those who read, and they did not know him. And he said, "I am the jealous God; I will bring the sins of the fathers upon the children until three (and) four generations." And he said, "I will make their heart thick, and I will cause their mind to become blind, that they might not know nor comprehend the things that are said." But these things he has said to those who believe in him and serve him!

And in one place, Moses writes, "He made the devil a serpent <for> those whom he has in his generation." Also, in the book which is called "Exodus," it is written thus: "He contended against the magicians, when the place was full of serpents according to their wickedness; and the rod which was in the hand of Moses became a serpent, (and) it swallowed the serpents of the magicians."

Again it is written (Nm 21:9), "He made a serpent of bronze (and) hung it upon a pole ...

... (1 line unrecoverable)

... which [...] for the one who will gaze upon this bronze serpent, none will destroy him, and the one who will believe in this bronze serpent will be saved." For this is Christ; those who believed in him have received life. Those who did not believe will die.

What, then, is this faith? They do not serve ...

... (16 lines unrecoverable)

... and you (pl.) [...] we [...] and you do not understand Christ spiritually when you say, "We believe in Christ". For this is the way Moses writes in every book. The book of the generation of Adam is written for those who are in the generation of the Law. They follow the Law and they obey it, and ...

... (1 line unrecoverable)

... together with the ...

(pages 51-54 of codex almost completely missing.)

... the Ogdoad, which is the eighth, and that we might receive that place of salvation." But they know not what salvation is, but they enter into misfortune, and into a [...] in death, in the waters. This is the baptism of death which they observe ...

... (6 lines unrecoverable)

... come to death [...] and this is [...] according to ...

... (lines 19 through end-of-page unrecoverable)

... he completed the course of Valentinius. He himself speaks about the Ogdoad, and his disciples resemble the disciples of Valentinus. They on their part, moreover, [...] leave the good, but they have worship of the idols ...

... (8 lines unrecoverable)

... he has spoken many words, and he has written many books [...] words ...

... (lines 16 through end-of-page unrecoverable)

... they are manifest from the confusion in which they are, in the deceit of the world. For they go to that place, together with their knowledge, which is vain.

Isidore also, his son, resembled Basilides. He also [...] many, and he [...], but he did not [...] this [...] other disciple(s) [...] blind [...], but he gave them [...] pleasures ...

... (lines 16 through end-of-page unrecoverable)

... they do not agree with each other. For the Simonians take wives (and) beget children; but the [...] abstain from their [...] nature [...] a passion [...] the drops of [...] anoint them ...

... (1 line unrecoverable)

... which we [...] they agree with each other [...] him [...] they ...

... (lines 14 through end-of-page unrecoverable)

... judgement(s) [...] these, on account of the [...] them [...] the heretics [...] schism(s) [...] and the males [...] are men [...] will belong to the world-rulers of darkness ...

... (1 line unrecoverable)

... of the world ...

... (1 line unrecoverable)

... they have [...] the archons [...] power(s) ...

... (1 line unrecoverable)

... judge them [...]. But the [...] word(s) of ...

... (lines 20 through end-of-page unrecoverable)

... speak, while they [...] become [...] in a fire unquenchable [...] they are punished.

But these who are from the generation of the Son of Man have revealed to the [...] in all of the affairs ...

... (2 lines unrecoverable)

... But it is difficult to [...] to find one [...] and two ...

... (2 lines unrecoverable)

... For the Saviour said to his disciples, [...] one in ...

... (lines 19 through end-of-page unrecoverable)

... and he has [...] wisdom, as well as counsel and understanding and intelligence and knowledge and power and truth. And he has some [...] from above [...], the place where the Son of Man ...

... (2 lines unrecoverable)

... power [...] guard against ...

... (lines 14 through end-of-page unrecoverable)

... he knows [...] understands ...

... (1 line unrecoverable)

... worthy of him [...] true [...] alien [...]. But [...], together with [...] evil, in ...

... (2 lines unrecoverable)

... he received baptism [...], and those that ...

... (lines 13 through end-of-page unrecoverable)

(pages 63-64 of codex missing.)

... in a dream [...] silver [...]. But [...] becomes wealthy [...] among the authorities ...

... (1 line unrecoverable)

... But the sixtieth [...], thus [...] world [...] they [...] gold ...

... (18 lines unrecoverable)

... they think ...

... (1 line unrecoverable)

... we have been released from the flesh. ...

... (1 line unrecoverable)

... not turn him to [...] Jesus ...

... (1 line unrecoverable)

... the beginning [...] a son ...

... (1 line unrecoverable)

... out of [...], which is the pattern [...] light of ...

... (16 lines unrecoverable)

... to find from [...] defilement which ...

... (1 line unrecoverable)

... they do not blaspheme [...] them not, neither is there any pleasure nor desire, nor can they control them. It is fitting that they should become undefiled, in order that they might show to every one that they are from the generation of the Son of Man, since it is about them that the Saviour bore witness.

But those who are from the seed of Adam are manifest by their deeds, which are their work. They have not ceased from desire which is wicked [...]. But some [...] the dogs [...] the angels for [...] which they beget [...] will come [...] with their ...

... (9 lines unrecoverable)

... move as they [...] on the day when they will beget children. Not only that, but they have intercourse while they are giving suck.

But others are caught up in the death of [...]. They are pulled <every> which way, (and) they are gratified by unrighteous Mammon. They lend money at interest; they waste time; and they do not work. But he who is father of Mammon is (also) father of sexual intercourse.

But he who is able to renounce them shows that he is from the generation of the Son of Man, (and) has power to accuse them. [...] he restrains [...] part(s) in a [...] in wickedness, and he makes the outer like the inner. He resembles an angel which ...

... (1 line unrecoverable)

... power [...] said them. But the one ...

... (5 lines unrecoverable)

And having withdrawn [...], he became silent, having ceased from loquacity and disputations. But he who has found the life-giving word, and he who has come to know the Father of Truth, has come to rest; he has ceased seeking, having found. And when he found, he became silent. But few are the things he used to say to those that [...] with their intellectual mind the [...].

There are some, who upon entering the faith, receive a baptism on the ground that they have it as a hope of salvation, which they call the "seal", not knowing that the fathers of the world are manifest (in) that place. But he himself knows that he is sealed. For the Son of Man did not baptise any of his disciples. But [...], if those who are baptised were headed for life, the world would become empty. And the fathers of baptism were defiled.

But the baptism of truth is something else; it is by renunciation of the world that it is found. But those who say only with the tongue that they are renouncing it are lying, and they are coming to the place of fear. Moreover, they are humbled within it. Just as those to whom it was given to have been condemned, they shall get something!

They are wicked in their behavior! Some of them fall away to the worship of idols. Others have demons dwelling with them, as did David the king. He is the one who laid the foundation of Jerusalem; and his son Solomon, whom he begat in adultery, is the one who built Jerusalem by means of the demons, because he received power. When he had finished building, he imprisoned the demons in the temple. He placed them into seven waterpots. They remained a long time in the waterpots, abandoned there. When the Romans went up to Jerusalem, they discovered the waterpots, and immediately the demons ran out of the waterpots, as those who escape from prison. And the waterpots remained pure thereafter. And since those days, they dwell with men who are in ignorance, and they have remained upon the earth.

Who, then, is David? And who is Solomon? And what is the foundation? And what is the wall which surrounds Jerusalem? And who are the demons? And what are the waterpots? And who are the Romans? But these are mysteries ...

... (11 lines unrecoverable)

... victorious over [...] the Son of Man [...] undefiled ...

... (3 lines unrecoverable)

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... and he [...] when he [...]. For [...] is a great ...
... (1 line unrecoverable)
... to this nature ...
... (1 line unrecoverable)
... those that [...] all in a [...] blessed, and they [...] like a salamander. It goes into the flaming fire which burns exceedingly; it slithers into the furnace ...
... (13 lines unrecoverable)
... the furnace ...
... (1 line unrecoverable)
... the boundaries [...], that they might see [...] and the power [...] sacrifice. Great is the sacrifice ...
... (2 lines unrecoverable)
..., but in a [...] aside [...]. And the Son of Man [...], and he has become manifest through the bubbling fountain of immortality. ...
... (1 line unrecoverable)
... he is pure, and he is [...]. A free man is not envious. He is set apart from everyone, from every audacity and envy the power of which is great [...] is (a) disciple [...] pattern of law [...] these [...] only ...
... (2 lines unrecoverable)
... they placed him under a [...] a teaching ...
... (1 line unrecoverable)
... his teaching, saying, "Even if an angel comes from heaven, and preaches to you beyond that which we preached to you, may he be anathema," (Gal 1:8) not letting the [...] of the soul which [...] freedom [...]. For they are still immature [...] they are not able to keep this law which works by means of these heresies - though it is not they, but the powers of Sabaoth - by means of the [...] the doctrines [...] as they have been jealous of some [...] law(s) in Christ. Those who will [...] power [...] they reach the [...] the twelve judge [...] them [...] the fountain of immortality ...
... (3 lines unrecoverable)
... in order that ...
... (3 lines unrecoverable)
... good [...] the whole place. [...] there the enemies. He baptised himself, and the [...] he became divine; he flew up, (and) they did not grasp him. [...] there the enemies [...], since it was not possible for them to bring him down again. If every [...] grasps him with ignorance, attending to those who teach in the corners by means of carved things and artful tricks, they are not able [...].
(pages 75-76 of codex missing.)

THE THOUGHT OF NOREA

The Nag Hammadi Library
Translation: Søren Giversen and Birger A. Pearson
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd century A.D.

(The Nag Hammadi text, the Thought of Norea (or Ode on Norea) is a first-person account of Norea's plea to God. Norea is a figure in Gnostic cosmology. For a long time, Norea was known from a summary of a book called Noria in the Panarion (Against Heresies) of Epiphanius of Salamis (26.1.3-9). The name is thought to derive from a translation of Naamah, a Hebrew name which means "pleasant". The demon Naamah is called "the younger Lilith". Both Norea and Lilith call upon God to avoid an unwanted sexual encounter. She has several similar names, including Orea and Horaia, meaning "beautiful".

In another Nag Hammadi text, The Hypostasis of the Archons (The Reality of the Rulers), Norea is the daughter of Eve and the younger sister of Seth; both are members of the pure race. The archons decide to destroy the world with a deluge, but their leader, the Demiurge, warns Noah to build an ark, which Norea tries to board. Noah stops her, so she blows upon the ark and sets it ablaze. The rulers try to rape her, but she cries to the God of the Entirety for help. The angel Eleleth appears and frightens the rulers away before revealing her origins; she is a child of the spirit.)

Father of All, Ennoia of the Light, dwelling in the heights above the (regions) below, Light dwelling in the heights, Voice of Truth, upright Nous, untouchable Logos, and ineffable Voice, incomprehensible Father!

It is Norea who cries out to them. They heard, (and) they received her into her place forever. They gave it to her in the Father of Nous, Adamas, as well as the voice of the Holy Ones, in order that she might rest in the ineffable Epinoia, in order that <she> might inherit the first mind which <she> had received, and that <she> might rest in the divine Autogenes, and that she (too) might generate herself, just as she also has inherited the living Logos, and that she might be joined to all of the Imperishable Ones, and speak with the mind of the Father.

And she began to speak with the words of Life, and <she> remained in the presence of the Exalted One, possessing that which she had received before the world came into being. She has the great mind of the Invisible One, and she gives glory to <her> Father, and she dwells within those who [...] within the Pleroma, and she beholds the Pleroma.

There will be days when she will behold the Pleroma, and she will not be in deficiency, for she has the four holy helpers who intercede on her behalf with the Father of the All, Adamas. He it is who is within all of the Adams, possessing the thought of Norea, who speaks concerning the two names which create a single name.

MELCHISEDEK

From: The Nag Hammadi Library
Translation: Søren Giversen and Birger A. Pearson
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 3rd centuries A.D.

(Melchi Zedek, Melchizedek, Melkisetek, or Malki Tzedek (Hebrew: "king of righteousness" or "the just king"), was the king of Salem and priest of El Elyon ("God most high") mentioned in the 14th chapter of the Book of Genesis. He brings out bread and wine and blesses Abram and El Elyon. Jewish literature—specifically Targum Jonathan, Targum Yerushalmi, and the Babylonian Talmud—presents this name as a nickname title for Shem, the son of Noah. In Christianity, according to the Epistle to the Hebrews, Jesus Christ is identified as "a priest forever in the order of Melchizedek", and so Jesus assumes the role of High Priest once and for all. Melchisedek appears in the Old Testament in: Genesis 14:18-20; Psalm 110:1-7; In the New Testament, references to Melchisedek appear only in the Epistle to the Hebrews (later 1st century AD), though these are extensive (Hebrews 5:6, 10; 6:20; 7:1, 10, 11, 15, 17, 21). Jesus Christ is there identified as a priest forever in the order of Melchisedek quoting from Psalms 110:4. Melchisedek appears also in the Dead Sea Scrolls, found in Cave 11 at Qumran in the Israeli Dead Sea area. In the fragment 11Q13 (11QMelch) from the 2nd or 1st century BC, Melchisedek is seen as a divine being and Hebrew titles such as Elohim are applied to him.

The manuscript from the Nag Hammadi Library is severely damaged on one side, some lines are not readable, andseveral pages are missing.)

Jesus Christ, the Son of God [...] from ...
... (2 lines unrecoverable)
... the aeons, that I might tell all of the aeons, and, in (the case of) each one of the aeons, that I might tell the nature of the aeon, what it is, and that I might put on friendship and goodness as a garment, O brother, [...] and ...
... (7 lines unrecoverable)
... their end [...]. And he will reveal to them the truth [...] in ...
... (3 lines unrecoverable)
... proverb(s) ...
... (lines 26-eop [=end of page], and first 2 lines of next page, unrecoverable)
... at first in parables and riddles [...] proclaim them. Death will tremble and be angry, not only he himself, but also his fellow world-ruling archons, and the principalities and the authorities, the female gods and the male gods, together with the archangels. And ...
... (4 lines unrecoverable)
... all of them, [...] the world-rulers [...], all of them, and all the [...], and all the [...].

They will say [...] concerning him, and concerning [...] and ...
... (2 lines unrecoverable)
... they will [...] hidden mysteries ...
... (lines 27-eop, and first 2 lines of next page, unrecoverable)
... out of [...] the All. They will [...] this. The lawyers will bury him quickly. They will call him 'impious man', 'lawless', 'impure'. And on the third day, he will rise from the dead ...
... (lines 12-eop, and first 3 lines of next page, unrecoverable)
... holy disciples. And the Saviour will reveal to them the world that gives life to the All.

But those in the heavens spoke many words, together with those on the earth, and those under the earth. ...
... (lines 11-eop unrecoverable)
... which will happen in his name. Furthermore, they will say of him that he is unbegotten, though he has been begotten, (that) he does not eat, even though he eats, (that) he does not drink, even though he drinks, (that) he is uncircumcised, though he has been circumcised, (that) he is unfleshly, though he has come in the flesh, (that) he did not come to suffering, though he came to suffering, (that) he did not rise from the dead, though he arose from the dead.

But all the tribes and all the peoples will speak the truth who are receiving from you yourself, O Melchizedek, Holy One, High-Priest, the perfect hope and the gifts of life. I am Gamaliel, who was sent to [...] the congregation of the children of Seth, who are above thousands of thousands, and myriads of myriads, of the aeons [...] essence of the aeons, aba[...] aiai ababa. O divine [...] of the [...] nature [...]! O Mother of the aeons, Barbelo! O first-born of the aeons, splendid Doxomedon Dom[...]! O glorious one, Jesus Christ! O chief commanders of the luminaries, you powers Armozel, Oroiael, Daveithe, Eleleth, and you man-of-light, immortal aeon Pigera-Adamas, and you good god of the beneficent worlds, Mirocheirothetou, through Jesus Christ, the Son of God! This is the one whom I proclaim, inasmuch as there has visited the One who truly exists, among those who exist [...] do(es) not exist, Abel Baruch - that thou might be given the knowledge of the truth [...], that he is from the race of the High-priest, which is above thousands of thousands, and myriads of myriads, of the aeons. The adverse spirits are ignorant of him, and (of) their (own) destruction. Not only (that, but) I have come to reveal to you the truth, which is within the brethren. He included himself in the living offering, together with your offspring. He offered them up as an offering to the All. For it is not cattle that you will offer up for sin(s) of unbelief, and for the ignorances, and (for) all the wicked deeds which they will do [...]. And they do not reach the Father of the All [...] the faith ...
... (20 lines unrecoverable)

For the waters which are above [...] that receive baptism [...]. But receive that baptism which is with the water which [...], while he is coming ...
... (3 lines unrecoverable)
... baptism as they ...
... (18 lines unrecoverable)
... pray for the offspring of the archons and all the angels, together with the seed <which> flowed forth from the Father of the All [...] the entire [...] from [...] there were engendered the gods and the angels, and the men [...] out of the seed, all of the natures, those in the heavens and those upon the earth and those under the earth ...
... (14 lines unrecoverable)
... nature of the females [...], among those that are in the [...]. They were bound with [...] But this is not (the) true Adam nor (the) true Eve.

For when they ate of the tree of knowledge, they trampled the Cherubim and the Seraphim with the flaming sword. They [...], which was Adam's, [...] the world-rulers, and [...] them out [...] after they had brought forth [...] offspring of the archons and their worldly things, these belonging to ...
... (13 lines unrecoverable)
... light [...]. And the females and the males, those who exist with [...] hidden from every nature, and they will renounce the archons [...] who receive from him the [...]. For they are worthy of [...] immortal, and great [...], and great [...], and great [...] sons of men [...] disciples [...] image, and [...] from the light [...] which is holy. For [...] from the beginning [...] a seed ...
... (lines 13-eop unrecoverable)

But I will be silent [...], for we are the brethren who came down from the living [...]. They will [...] upon the ...
... (1 line unrecoverable)
... of Adam, [...], Abel, Enoch, Noah, [...] you, Melchizedek, the Priest of God Most High, [...] those who [...] women ...
... (lines 14-eop unrecoverable)
... these two who have been chosen will at no time nor in any place will they be convicted, whenever they have been begotten, by their enemies, by their friends, nor by strangers, nor their (own) kin, (nor) by the impious, nor the pious. All of the adverse natures will [...] them, whether those that are manifest, or those that are not manifest, together with those that dwell in the heavens, and those that are upon the earth, and those that are under the earth. They will make war [...] every one. For [...], whether in the ...
... (3 lines unrecoverable)
... many ...
... (2 lines unrecoverable)
And these in the [...] every one will [...]. These will [...] with every blow [...] weaknesses. These will be confined in other forms, and will be punished. These the Saviour will take them away, and they will overcome everything, not with their mouths and words, but by means of the [...], which will be done for them. He will destroy Death.

These things which I was commanded to reveal, these things reveal as I (have done). But that which is hidden, do not reveal to anyone, unless it is revealed to you (to do so)."

And immediately, I arose, I, Melchizedek, and I began to [...] God [...] that I should rejoice ...
... (1 line unrecoverable)
... while he is acting [...] living [...] I said, "I ...
... (2 lines unrecoverable)
... and I will not cease, from now on, forever, O Father of the All, because you have had pity on men, and you have sent the angel of light [...] from your aeons [...] to reveal [...]. When he came, he caused me to be raised up from ignorance, and (from) the fructification of death to life. For I have a name: I am Melchizedek, the Priest of God Most High; I know that it is I who am truly the image of the true High-Priest of

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God Most High, and [...] the world. For it is not a small thing that God [...] with [...] while he [...]. And [...] the angels that dwell upon the earth ...

... (2 lines unrecoverable)

... is the sacrifice of [...], whom Death deceived. When he died, he bound them with the natures which are leading them astray. Yet he offered up offerings [...] cattle, saying, "I gave them to Death, and the angels, and the [...] demons [...] living offering [...]. I have offered up myself to you as an offering, together with those that are mine, to you yourself, (O) Father of the All, and those whom you love, who have come forth from you who are holy (and) living. And <according to> the perfect laws, I shall pronounce my name as I receive baptism now (and) forever, (as a name) among the living (and) holy names, and (now) in the waters. Amen."

Holy are you, Holy are you, Holy are you, O Father of the All, who truly exists, [...] do(es) not exist, Abel Baruch [...], for ever and ever, Amen.

Holy are you, Holy are you, Holy are you, Mother of the aeons, Barbelo, for ever and ever, Amen.

Holy are you, Holy are you, Holy are you, First-born of the aeons, Doxomedon [...], for ever and ever, Amen.

Holy are you, Holy are you, Holy are you, ...

... (2 lines unrecoverable)

... for ever and ever, Amen.

Holy are you, Holy are you, Holy are you, ...

... (1 line unrecoverable)

... first aeon, Harmozel, for ever and ever, Amen.

Holy are you, Holy are you, Holy are you, commander, luminary of the aeons, Oriael, for ever and ever, Amen.

Holy are you, Holy are you, Holy are you, commander of the aeons, man-of-light, Daveithe, for ever and ever. Amen.

Holy are you, Holy are you, Holy are you, commander-in-chief, Eleleth ...

... (1 line unrecoverable)

... the aeons ...

... (1 line unrecoverable)

... for ever and ever, Amen.

Holy are you, Holy are you, Holy are you, good god of the beneficent words, ... Mirocheirothetou, for ever and ever, Amen.

Holy are you, Holy are you, Holy are you, Commander-in-chief of the All, Jesus Christ, for ever and ever, Amen.

... (1 line unrecoverable)

... blessed [...] confession. And [...] confess him [...] now [...], then it becomes [...] fear and [...], fear and [...] disturb [...] surrounding them [...], in the place which has a great darkness in it, and many [...] appear [...] there [...] appear ...

... (lines 23-eop unrecoverable)

And [...] they were clothed with [...] all, and ...

... (6 lines unrecoverable)

... disturbances. They gave [...] their words [...], and they said to me, "[...], Melchizedek, Priest of God Most High," [...] they spoke as though [...] their mouths [...] in the All ...

... (7 lines unrecoverable)

... lead astray ...

... (lines 25-eop unrecoverable)

... with his [...] worship, and [...] faith, and [...] his prayers, and ...

... (1 line unrecoverable)

... those that are his [...] first ...

... (2 lines unrecoverable)

... They did not care that the priesthood which you perform, which is from ...

... (1 line unrecoverable)

... in the counsels of [...] Satan [...], the sacrifice [...] his doctrines ...

... (2 lines unrecoverable)

... of this aeon ...

... (4 lines unrecoverable)

... which exist(s) in [...], lead(s) astray ...

... (lines 27-eop unrecoverable)

... and some ...

... (2 lines unrecoverable)

... he gave them to ...

... (1 line unrecoverable)

... and thirteen ...

... (lines 7-eop unrecoverable)

... throw him [...], in order that you might ...

... (1 line unrecoverable)

... for immediately, [...], by means of [...] on the ground. The ...

... (lines 7-eop unrecoverable)

(pp.23-24 of the codex are almost completely missing)

... men. And [...] you (pl.) struck me, [...] you threw me, [...] corpse. And you crucified me from the third hour of the Sabbath-eve until the ninth hour. And after these things, I arose from the dead, [...] came out of [...] into me, [...] my eyes saw [...], they did not find anyone ...

... (lines 13-eop unrecoverable)

... greeted me [...]. They said to me, "Be strong, O Melchizedek, great High-priest of God Most High, for the archons, who are your enemies, made war; (but) you have prevailed over them, and they did not prevail over you, and you endured, and you destroyed your enemies. [...] of their [...] will rest in any [...] which is living (and) holy [...] those that exalted themselves against him in [...] flesh ...

... (lines 15-eop unrecoverable)

"... with offerings, working on that which is good, fasting with fasts. These revelations, do not reveal to anyone in the flesh, since they are incorporeal, unless it is revealed to you (to do so)."

When the brethren who belong to the generations of life had said these things, they were taken up to (the regions) above all the heavens. Amen.

THE LETTER OF PETER TO PHILIP

From: The Nag Hammadi Library
Translation: Marvin Meyer
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 3rd centuries A.D.

(The Letter of Peter to Philip was found in the Nag Hammadi Library in Egypt as part of Codex VIII. It was dated to be written around late 2nd century to early 3rd century AD and focuses on a post-crucifixion appearance and teachings of Jesus Christ to the apostles on the Mount of Olives. It was probably written originally in Greek but translated into Coptic and it contains a narrative and gnostic discourse upon the nature of Christ. The title of the Letter is originally "The Letter of Peter Which He Sent to Philip", but is commonly simplified to "The Letter of Peter to Philip". Another copy of the letter has more recently been found in the Codex Tchacos, which also comes from an area nearby Nag Hammadi, and is titled plainly as "The Letter of Peter to Philip".

The addressee of the Letter, the apostle Philip, is portrayed as submissive, answering to the apostle Peter's authority. In early Christianity, there was a conflict between the traditions associated with Peter and Philip, just the same as between James the brother of Jesus and Peter before. This document attempts to claim true apostolic authority by the proto-orthodox Christianity that was gaining power over other types of early Christianity.)

The Letter of Peter to Philip

Peter, messenger of Jesus the anointed, to Philip, our beloved brother and our fellow messenger, and the brothers who are with you: greetings.

I want you to understand, our brother, that we received orders from our lord, the Saviour of the whole world, that we should come together to teach and preach concerning the salvation that was promised us by our lord Jesus the anointed. But you were separated from us, and you did not wish us to come together and learn how to orient ourselves that we might tell the good news. So would it be agreeable to you, our brother, to come according to the orders of our god Jesus?

When Philip received and read this, he went to Peter, rejoicing with gladness.

Then Peter gathered the others. They went to the mountain called Olivet, where they used to gather with the blessed anointed one when he was in the body.

When the messengers came together and fell on their knees, they prayed in this way, saying,

Father, father, father of the light, you who possess the incorruptions, hear us, just as you have taken pleasure in your holy child Jesus the anointed.

For he has become for us a luminary in the darkness. Yes, hear us.

And they resumed again and prayed, saying,

Child of life, child of immortality, you who are in the light, child, deathless anointed, our redeemer, give us strength, because they are searching for us to kill us.

Then a great light appeared, and the mountain shone from the vision of the one who appeared. And a voice called out to them, saying, "Listen to my words that I may speak to you. Why are you looking for me? I am Jesus the anointed, who is with you forever."

The messengers answered and said, "Lord, we would like to understand the deficiency of the realms and their fullness. And how are we detained in this dwelling place? How have we come to this place? In what way shall we leave? How do we possess the authority of boldness? Why do the powers fight against us?"

Then a voice called to them from the light, saying, "You bear witness that I have said all these things to you. But because of your unbelief I shall speak again.

THE DEFICIENCY OF THE AEONS

"To begin with, concerning the deficiency of the aeons, this is the deficiency. When the disobedience and the foolishness of the mother appeared, without the command of the majesty of the father, she wanted to set up eternal realms. When she spoke, the arrogant one followed. But when she left behind a portion, the arrogant one grabbed it, and it became a deficiency. This is the deficiency of the aeons.

"When the arrogant one took a portion, he sowed it. He placed powers and authorities over it, and he confined it within the mortal realms. All the powers of the world rejoiced that they had been brought forth. But they do not know the preexistent father, since they are strangers to him. Rather, he was given power, and they served him and praised him.

"But the arrogant one grew proud because of the praise of the powers. He was jealous and wanted to make an image in place of an image and a form in place of a form. He assigned the powers within his authority to mold mortal bodies. And they came into being from a misrepresentation of the appearance.

THE FULLNESS

"Concerning the fullness, it is I. I was sent down in the body for the seed that had fallen away. And I came down to their mortal model. But they did not recognise me, thinking I was a mortal. I spoke with the one who is mine, and the one who is mine listened to me just as you also who have listened to me today. And I gave him authority to enter into the inheritance of his fatherhood. And I took him [. . .] filled [. . .] through his salvation. Since he was deficiency, he became fullness.

"Concerning the fact that you are being detained, it is because you are mine. When you strip yourselves of what is corruptible, you will become luminaries in the midst of mortals.

"Concerning the fact that you will fight against the powers, it is because they do not have rest like you, since they do not want you saved."

FIGHTING THE RULERS

The messengers worshiped again, saying, "Lord, tell us, how shall we fight against the rulers, since the rulers are over us?"

A voice called out to them from the appearance, saying, "You must fight against them like this, for the rulers fight against the inner person. You must fight against them like this: come together and teach salvation in the world with a promise. And arm yourselves with my father's power, and express your prayer, and surely the father will help you, as he helped you by sending me. Do not be afraid. I am with you forever, as I already said to you when I was in the body."

Then came lightning and thunder from heaven, and what appeared to them there was taken up to heaven.

THE MESSENGERS RETURN TO JERUSALEM

The messengers thanked the lord with every praise, and they returned to Jerusalem.

Now, as they were going up, they spoke with each other on the way about the light that had appeared. And a statement was made about the lord. It was said, "If even our lord suffered, how much more are we to suffer?"

Peter answered, saying, "He suffered for us, and we must also suffer for our smallness."

Then a voice called to them, saying, "I often told you that you must suffer. You must be brought to synagogues and governors so that you will suffer. But the one who will not suffer will not [. . .] my father [. . .]"

And the messengers rejoiced greatly, and they went up to Jerusalem. They went up to the temple and taught salvation in the name of the lord Jesus the anointed. And they healed a crowd.

PETER PREACHES

Now, Peter opened his mouth and said to his students, "When our lord Jesus was in the body, he revealed everything to us. He came down. My brothers, listen to my voice."

And he was filled with holy spirit and spoke in this way: "Our luminary Jesus came down and was crucified. He wore a crown of thorns, was clothed in a purple robe, crucified upon a cross, and buried in a tomb. And he rose from the dead.

"My brothers, Jesus is a stranger to this suffering. But we are the ones who have suffered through the mother's transgression. And for this reason he did everything like us. The lord Jesus, child of the father's immeasurable glory, is the author of our life.

"My brothers, let us not listen to these lawless ones and walk [. . .]"

THE MESSENGERS DISPERSE TO PREACH

Peter assembled the others and said, "Our lord Jesus the anointed, author of our rest, give us a spirit of understanding, so we also may perform great deeds."

Then Peter and the other messengers saw and were filled with holy spirit. And each one performed healings. And they left to preach the lord Jesus.

They gathered with their companions and greeted them, saying, "Amen."

Then Jesus appeared, saying to them, "Peace be with all of you and everyone who believes in my name. When you go, you will have joy and grace and power. Do not be afraid. Look, I am with you forever."

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The messengers parted from each other with four words, to preach. And they went in the power of Jesus, in peace.

THE THREE STELES OF SETH
The Nag Hammadi Library
Translation: James R. Robinson
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 3rd centuries A.D.

(The Three Steles of Seth is a 3rd-century Sethian Gnostic text from the New Testament apocrypha. The main surviving copies come from the Nag Hammadi library, and were translated and explained by professor Paul-Jean Claude (retired), member of the Nag Hammadi Research Group of the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies, Université Laval (Quebec).

The text concerns a revelation to Dositheos about three steles (text written into specially created stones). Many scholars think that they are designed as liturgy. The text is thought to be from the Sethian sect of Gnostics (the sect that viewed the biblical Seth as their hero, who was reincarnated as Jesus). Their other texts include the Apocalypse of Adam, Apocryphon of John, the Trimorphic Protennoia, and the Coptic Gospel of the Egyptians. The text is thought to be a 3rd-century development of the Sethian Gnostics, as they became more separated from Christianity, and closer to Platonism.

Mirotheos refers to Mithras, or more precise Mithra, which is the Old-Persian angelic divinity of Covenant, Light, and Oath. In addition to being the Divinity of Contracts, Mithra is also a judicial figure, an all-seeing Protector of Truth, and the Guardian of Cattle, the Harvest, and of the Waters. The Romans attributed their Mithraic mysteries, the mystery religion known as Mithraism, which was a religious cult competing with the early Christian movement in the Roman Empire. In simple words: In the 3rd century, most common Roman soldiers worshipped Jesus while in the temples next door the officers of those soldiers worshipped Mithras. Emperor Flavius Constantinus, who began his carreer in northern England, knew both religions well and probably merged them together to a super-religion that did not only cover the entire Roman Empire but also all social classes. Christianity took symbolisms (like the halo around Christ's head which symbolises the corona, the crown, of the Sun) and lithurgy (like the Eucharist) from that Mithras-cult. Mithras temples had three or more steles as altars at the head of the temple-room like the one found at the Carrawburgh Fort, on Hadrian's Wall, northern England in 1949. Many early churches were build on top of the Underground Mithras temples and served as crypts later)

The revelation of Dositheos about the three steles of Seth, the Father of the living and unshakable race, which he (Dositheos) saw and understood. And after he had read them, he remembered them. And he gave them to the elect, just as they were inscribed there. Many times I joined in giving glory with the powers, and I became worthy of the immeasurable majesties. Now they (the steles) are as follows:

The First Stele of Seth

I bless thee, Father Geradama(s), I, as thine (own) Son, Emmacha Seth, whom thou didst beget without begetting, as a blessing of our God; for I am thine (own) Son. And thou art my mind, O my Father. And I, I sowed and begot; but thou hast seen the majesties. Thou hast stood imperishable. I bless thee, Father. Bless me, Father. It is because of thee that I exist; it is because of God that thou dost exist. Because of thee I am with that very one. Thou art light, since thou beholdest light. Thou hast revealed light. Thou art Mirotheas; thou art my Mirotheos. I bless thee as God; I bless thy divinity. Great is the good Self-begotten who stood, the God who had already stood. Thou didst come in goodness; thou hast appeared, and thou hast revealed goodness. I shall utter thy name, for thou art a first name. Thou art unbegotten. Thou hast appeared in order that thou mightest reveal the eternal ones. Thou art he who is. Therefore thou hast revealed those who really are. Thou art he who is uttered by a voice, but by mind art thou glorified, thou who hast dominion everywhere. Therefore the perceptible world too knows thee because of thee and thy seed. Thou art merciful.

And thou art from another race, and its place is over another race. And now thou art from another race, and its place is over another race. Thou art from another race, for thou art not similar. And thou art merciful, for thou art eternal. And thy place is over a race, for thou hast caused all these to increase; and for the sake of my seed. For it is thou who knows it, that its place is in begetting. But they are from other races, for they are not similar. But their place is over other races, for their place is in life. Thou art Mirotheos.

I bless his power which was given to me, who caused the malenesses that really are to become male three times; he who was divided into the pentad, the one who was given to us in triple power, the one who was begotten without begetting, the one who came from that which is elect; because of what is humble, he went forth from the midst.

Thou art a Father through a Father, a word from a command. We bless thee, Thrice Male, for thou didst unite all through them all, for thou hast empowered us. Thou hast arisen from one; from one thou hast gone forth; thou hast come to one. Thou hast saved, thou hast saved, thou hast saved us, O crown-bearer, crown-giver! We bless thee eternally. We bless thee, once we have been saved, as the perfect individuals, perfect on account of thee, those who became perfect with thee who is complete, who completes, the one perfect through all these, who is similar everywhere.

Thrice Male, thou hast stood. Thou hast already stood. Thou wast divided everywhere. Thou didst continue being one. And those whom thou hast willed, thou hast saved. But thou dost will to be saved all who are worthy.

Thou art Perfect! Thou art Perfect! Thou art Perfect!

The Second Stele of Seth

Great is the first aeon, male virginal Barbelo, the first glory of the invisible Father, she who is called "perfect".

Thou (fem.) hast seen first the one who truly pre-exists because he is non-being. And from him and through him thou hast pre-existed eternally, the non-being from one indivisible, triple power, thou a triple power, thou a great monad from a pure monad, thou an elect monad, the first shadow of the holy Father, light from light.

We bless thee, producer (fem.) of perfection, aeon-giver (fem.). Thou hast seen the eternal ones because they are from a shadow. And thou hast become numerable. And thou didst find, thou didst continue being one (fem.); yet becoming numerable in division, thou art three-fold. Thou art truly thrice, thou one (fem.) of the one (masc.). And thou art from a shadow of him, thou a Hidden One, thou a world of understanding, knowing those of the one, that they are from a shadow. And these are thine in the heart.

For their sake thou hast empowered the eternal ones in being; thou hast empowered divinity in living; thou hast empowered knowledge in goodness; in blessedness thou hast empowered the shadows which pour from the one. Thou hast empowered this (one) in knowledge; thou hast empowered another one in creation. Thou hast empowered him who is equal and him who is not equal, him who is similar and him who is not similar. Thou hast empowered in begetting, and (provided) forms in that which exists to others. [. . .] Thou hast empowered these. - He is that One Hidden in the heart. - And thou hast come forth to these and from these . Thou art divided among them. And thou dost become a great male noetic First-Appearer.

Fatherly God, divine child, begetter of multiplicity according to a division of all who really are, thou (masc.) hast appeared to them all in a word. And thou (masc.) dost possess them all without begetting and eternally indestructible on account of thee (fem.).

Salvation has come to us; from thee is salvation. Thou art wisdom, thou knowledge; thou art truthfulness. On account of thee is life; from thee is life. On account of thee is mind; from thee is mind. Thou art mind, thou a world of truthfulness, thou a triple power, thou threefold. Truly thou art thrice, the aeon of aeons. It is thou only who sees purely the first eternal ones and the unbegotten ones.

But the first divisions are as thou wast divided. Unite us as thou has been united. Teach us those things which thou dost see. Empower us that we may be saved to eternal life. For we are each a shadow of thee as thou art a shadow of that first pre-existent one. Hear us first. We are eternal ones. Hear us as the perfect individuals. Thou art the aeon of aeons, the all-perfect one who is established.

Thou hast heard! Thou hast heard!
Thou hast saved! Thou hast saved!
We give thanks! We bless thee always! We shall glorify thee!

The Third Stele

We rejoice! We rejoice! We rejoice!

We have seen! We have seen! We have seen the really pre-existent one, that he really exists, that he is the first eternal one.

O Unconceived, from thee are the eternal ones and the aeons, the all-perfect ones who are established, and the perfect individuals.

We bless thee, non-being, existence which is before existences, first being which is before beings, Father of divinity and life, creator of mind, giver of good, giver of blessedness!

We all bless thee, knower, in a glorifying blessing, (thou) because of whom [all these are. . . . really, . . .], who knows thee, through thee alone. For there is no one who is active before thee. Thou art an only and living spirit. And thou knowest one, for this one who belongs to thee is on every side. We are not able to express him. For thy light shines upon us.

Present a command to us to see thee, so that we may be saved. Knowledge of thee, it is the salvation of us all. Present a command! When thou dost command, we have been saved! Truly we have been saved! We have seen thee by mind! Thou art them all, for thou dost save them all, he who was not saved, nor was he saved through them. For thou, thou hast commanded us.

Thou art one. Thou art one, just as there is one (who) will say to thee: Thou art one, thou art a single living spirit. How shall we give thee a name? We do not have it, For thou art the existence of them all. Thou art the life of them all. Thou art the mind of them all. For thou art he in whom they all rejoice.

Thou hast commanded all these to be saved through thy word [. . .] glory who is before him, Hidden One, blessed Senaon, he who begat himself, Asineu(s), [...]ephneu(s), Optaon, Elemaon the great power, Emouniar, Nibareu(s), Kandephor(os), Aphredon, Deiphaneus, thou who art Armedon to me, power-begetter, Thalanatheu(s), Antitheus, thou who existeth within thyself, thou who art before thyself - and after thee no one entered into activity.

As what shall we bless thee? We are not empowered. But we give thanks, as being humble toward thee. For thou hast commanded us, as he who is elect, to glorify thee to the extent we are able. We bless thee because we were saved. Always we glorify thee. For this reason we shall glorify thee, that we may be saved to eternal salvation. We have blessed thee, for we are empowered. We have been saved, for thou hast willed always, that we all do this.

We all did this. [. . .] not through [. . . aeon . . .], the one who was [. . .], we and those who [. . .]. He who will remember these and give glory always will become perfect among those who are perfect and impassable beyond all things. For they all bless these individually and together. And afterwards they shall be silent. And just as they were ordained, they ascend. After the silence, they descend from the third. They bless the second; after these the first. The way of ascent is the way of descent.

Know therefore, as those who live, that you have attained. And you taught yourselves the infinite things. Marvel at the truth which is within them, and (at) the revelation.

The Three Steles of Seth
This book belongs to the fatherhood.
It is the son who wrote it.
Bless me O Father. I bless you, O Father, in peace.
Amen.

THE SECOND TREATISE OF THE GREAT SETH
The Nag Hammadi Library
Translation: Roger A. Bullard and Joseph A. Gibbons
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 3rd centuries A.D.

(The Second Treatise of the Great Seth is an apocryphal Gnostic text discovered in the Codex VII of the Nag Hammadi codices and dates to around the third century. The author is unknown, and the Seth referenced in the title appears nowhere in the text. Instead Seth is thought to reference the third son of Adam and Eve to whom gnosis (knowledge) was first revealed, according to some gnostics. The author appears to belong to a group of gnostics who maintain that Jesus Christ was not crucified on the cross. Instead the text says that Simon of Cyrene was mistaken for Jesus and crucified in his place. Jesus is described as standing by and "laughing at their ignorance."

Those who believe Jesus to have died on the cross are said to believe in "a doctrine of a dead man." All those without gnosis - including those who had what would become orthodox and catholice beliefs, as well as the figures of Adam, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, David, Solomon, the Prophets, and Moses - are all referred to as a "laughingstock." The text shows the derision which the gnostics felt towards those who did not realise their claimed truth; that the biblical text was false (in at least certain important respects) and that the God of the Jews was not the true God, just like Marcion of Sinope (c. 85 – c. 160) claimed. The Treatise of the Great Seth is written from the first-person perspective of Jesus.)

And the perfect Majesty is at rest in the ineffable light, in the truth of the mother of all these, and all of you that attain to me, to me alone who am perfect, because of the Word. For I exist with all the greatness of the Spirit, which is a friend to us and our kindred alike, since I brought forth a word to the glory of our Father, through his goodness, as well as an imperishable thought; that is, the Word within him - it is slavery that we shall die with Christ - and an imperishable and undefiled thought, an incomprehensible marvel, the writing of the ineffable water which is the word from us. It is I who am in you, and you are in me, just as the Father is in you in innocence.

Let us gather an assembly together. Let us visit that creation of his. Let us send someone forth in it, just as he visited (the) Ennoias, the regions below. And I said these things to the whole multitude of the multitudinous assembly of the rejoicing Majesty. The whole house of the Father of Truth rejoiced that I am the one who is from them. I produced thought about the Ennoias which came out of the undefiled Spirit, about the descent upon the water, that is, the regions

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below. And they all had a single mind, since it is out of one. They charged me since I was willing. I came forth to reveal the glory to my kindred and my fellow spirits.

For those who were in the world had been prepared by the will of our sister Sophia - she who is a whore - because of the innocence which has not been uttered. And she did not ask anything from the All, nor from the greatness of the Assembly, nor from the Pleroma. Since she was first, she came forth to prepare monads and places for the Son of Light and the fellow workers which she took from the elements below to build bodily dwellings from them. But, having come into being in an empty glory, they ended in destruction in the dwellings in which they were, since they were prepared by Sophia. They stand ready to receive the life-giving word of the ineffable Monad and of the greatness of the assembly of all those who persevere and those who are in me.

I visited a bodily dwelling. I cast out the one who was in it first, and I went in. And the whole multitude of the archons became troubled. And all the matter of the archons, as well as all the begotten powers of the earth, were shaken when it saw the likeness of the Image, since it was mixed. And I am the one who was in it, not resembling him who was in it first. For he was an earthly man, but I, I am from above the heavens. I did not refuse them even to become a Christ, but I did not reveal myself to them in the love which was coming forth from me. I revealed that I am a stranger to the regions below.

There was a great disturbance in the whole earthly area, with confusion and flight, as well as (in) the plan of the archons. And some were persuaded, when they saw the wonders which were being accomplished by me. And all these, with the race, that came down, flee from him who had fled from the throne to the Sophia of hope, since she had earlier given the sign concerning us and all the ones with me - those of the race of Adonaios. Others also fled, as if from the Cosmocrator and those with them, since they have brought every (kind of) punishment upon me. And there was a flight of their mind about what they would counsel concerning me, thinking that she (Sophia) is the whole greatness, and speaking false witness, moreover, against the Man and the whole greatness of the assembly.

It was not possible for them to know who the Father of Truth, the Man of the Greatness, is. But they who received the name because of contact with ignorance - which (is) a burning and a vessel - having created it to destroy Adam, whom they had made, in order to cover up those who are theirs in the same way. But they, the archons, those of the place of Yaldabaoth, reveal the realm of the angels, which humanity was seeking in order that they may not know the Man of Truth. For Adam, whom they had formed, appeared to them. And a fearful motion came about throughout their entire dwelling, lest the angels surrounding them rebel. For without those who were offering praise - I did not really die lest their archangel become empty.

And then a voice - of the Cosmocrator - came to the angels: "I am God and there is no other beside me." But I laughed joyfully when I examined his empty glory. But he went on to say, "Who is man?" And the entire host of his angels, who had seen Adam and his dwelling, were laughing at his smallness. And thus did their Ennoia come to be removed outside the Majesty of the heavens, i.e.,the Man of Truth, whose name they saw since he is in a small dwelling place, since they are small (and) senseless in their empty Ennoia, namely their laughter. It was contagion for them.

The whole greatness of the Fatherhood of the Spirit was at rest in his places. And I am he who was with him, since I have an Ennoia of a single emanation from the eternal ones and the undefiled and immeasurable incomprehensibilities. I placed the small Ennoia in the world, having disturbed them and frightened the whole multitude of the angels and their ruler. And I was visiting them all with fire and flame because of my Ennoia. And everything pertaining to them was brought about because of me. And there came about a disturbance and a fight around the Seraphim and Cherubim, since their glory will fade, and the confusion around Adonaios on both sides and their dwelling - to the Cosmocrator and him who said, "Let us seize him"; others again, "The plan will certainly not materialize."

For Adonaios knows me because of hope. And I was in the mouths of lions. And the plan which they devised about me to release their Error and their senselessness - I did not succumb to them as they had planned. But I was not afflicted at all. Those who were there punished me. And I did not die in reality but in appearance, lest I be put to shame by them because these are my kinsfolk. I removed the shame from me and I did not become fainthearted in the face of what happened to me at their hands. I was about to succumb to fear, and I <suffered> according to their sight and thought, in order that they may never find any word to speak about them. For my death, which they think happened, (happened) to them in their error and blindness, since they nailed their man unto their death. For their Ennoias did not see me, for they were deaf and blind. But in doing these things, they condemn themselves. Yes, they saw me; they punished me. It was another, their father, who drank the gall and the vinegar; it was not I. They struck me with the reed; it was another, Simon, who bore the cross on his shoulder. I was another upon Whom they placed the crown of thorns. But I was rejoicing in the height over all the wealth of the archons and the offspring of their error, of their empty glory. And I was laughing at their ignorance.

And I subjected all their powers. For as I came downward, no one saw me. For I was altering my shapes, changing from form to form. And therefore, when I was at their gates, I assumed their likeness. For I passed them by quietly, and I was viewing the places, and I was not afraid nor ashamed, for I was undefiled. And I was speaking with them, mingling with them through those who are mine, and trampling on those who are harsh to them with zeal, and quenching the flame. And I was doing all these things because of my desire to accomplish what I desired by the will of the Father above.

And the Son of the Majesty, who was hidden in the regions below, we brought to the height where I <was> in all these aeons with them, which (height) no one has seen nor known, where the wedding of the wedding robe is, the new one and not the old, nor does it perish. For it is a new and perfect bridal chamber of the heavens, as I have revealed (that) there are three ways: an undefiled mystery in a spirit of this aeon, which does not perish, nor is it fragmentary, nor able to be spoken of; rather, it is undivided, universal, and permanent. For the soul, the one from the height, will not speak about the error which is here, nor transfer from these aeons, since it will be transferred when it becomes free and when it is endowed with nobility in the world, standing before the Father without weariness and fear, always mixed with the Nous of power (and) of form. They will see me from every side without hatred. For since they see me, they are being seen (and) are mixed with them. Since they did not put me to shame, they were not put to shame. Since they were not afraid before me, they will pass by every gate without fear and will be perfected in the third glory.

It was my going to the revealed height which the world did not accept, my third baptism in a revealed image. When they had fled from the fire of the seven Authorities, and the sun of the powers of the archons set, darkness took them. And the world became poor when he was restrained with a multitude of fetters. They nailed him to the tree, and they fixed him with four nails of brass. The veil of his temple he tore with his hands. It was a trembling which seized the chaos of the earth, for the souls which were in the sleep below were released. And they arose. They went about boldly, having shed zealous service of ignorance and unlearnedness beside the dead tombs, having put on the new man, since they have come to know that perfect Blessed One of the eternal and incomprehensible Father and the infinite light, which is I, since I came to my own and united them with myself. There is no need for many words, for our Ennoia was with their Ennoia. Therefore they knew what I speak of, for we took counsel about the destruction of the archons. And therefore I did the will of the Father, who is I.

After we went forth from our home, and came down to this world, and came into being in the world in bodies, we were hated and persecuted, not only by those who are ignorant, but also by those who think that they are advancing the name of Christ, since they were unknowingly empty, not knowing who they are, like dumb animals. They persecuted those who have been liberated by me, since they hate them - those who, should they shut their mouth, would weep with a profitless groaning because they did not fully know me. lnstead, they served two masters, even a multitude. But you will become victorious in everything, in war and battles, jealous division and wrath. But in the uprightness of our love we are innocent, pure, (and) good, since we have a mind of the Father in an ineffable mystery.

For it was ludicrous. It is I who bear witness that it was ludicrous, since the archons do not know that it is an ineffable union of undefiled truth, as exists among the sons of light, of which they made an imitation, having proclaimed a doctrine of a dead man and lies so as to resemble the freedom and purity of the perfect assembly, (and) joining themselves with their doctrine to fear and slavery, worldly cares, and abandoned worship, being small (and) ignorant, since they do not contain the nobility of the truth, for they hate the one in whom they are, and love the one in whom they are not. For they did not know the Knowledge of the Greatness, that it is from above and (from) a fountain of truth, and that it is not from slavery and jealousy, fear and love of worldly matter. For that which is not theirs and that which is theirs they use fearlessly and freely. They do not desire, because they have authority, and a law from themselves over whatever they will wish.

But those who have not are poor, that is, those who do not possess him. And they desire him and lead astray those, who through them have become like those who possess the truth of their freedom, just as they bought us for servitude and constraint of care and fear. This person is in slavery. And he who is brought by constraint of force and threat has been guarded by God. But the entire nobility of the Fatherhood is not guarded, since he guards only him who is from him, without word and constraint, since he is united with his will, he who belongs only to the Ennoia of the Fatherhood, to make it Perfect and ineffable through the living water, to be with you mutually in wisdom, not only in word of hearing but in deed and fulfilled word. For the perfect ones are worthy to be established in this way and to be united with me, in order that they may not share in any enmity, in a good friendship. I accomplish everything through the Good One, for this is the union of the truth, that they should have no adversary. But everyone who brings division - and he will learn no wisdom at all because he brings division and is not a friend - is hostile to them all. But he who lives in harmony and friendship of brotherly love, naturally and not artificially, completely and not partially, this person is truly the desire of the Father. He is the universal one and perfect love.

For Adam was a laughingstock, since he was made a counterfeit type of man by the Hebdomad, as if he had become stronger than I and my brothers. We are innocent with respect to him, since we have not sinned. And Abraham and Isaac and Jacob were a laughingstock, since they, the counterfeit fathers, were given a name by the Hebdomad, as if he had become stronger than I and my brothers. We are innocent with respect to him, since we have not sinned. David was a laughingstock in that his son was named the Son of Man, having been influenced by the Hebdomad, as if he had become stronger than I and the fellow members of my race. But we are innocent with respect to him; we have not sinned. Solomon was a laughingstock, since he thought that he was Christ, having become vain through the Hebdomad, as if he had become stronger than I and my brothers. But we are innocent with respect to him. I have not sinned. The 12 prophets were laughingstocks, since they have come forth as imitations of the true prophets. They came into being as counterfeits through the Hebdomad, as if he had become stronger than I and my brothers. But we are innocent with respect to him, since we have not sinned. Moses, a faithful servant, was a laughingstock, having been named "the Friend," since they perversely bore witness concerning him who never knew me. Neither he nor those before him, from Adam to Moses and John the Baptist, none of them knew me nor my brothers.

For they had a doctrine of angels to observe dietary laws and bitter slavery, since they never knew truth, nor will they know it. For there is a great deception upon their soul, making it impossible for them ever to find a Nous of freedom in order to know him, until they come to know the Son of Man. Now concerning my Father, I am he whom the world did not know, and because of this, it (the world) rose up against me and my brothers. But we are innocent with respect to him; we have not sinned.

For the Archon was a laughingstock because he said, "I am God, and there is none greater than I. I alone am the Father, the Lord, and there is no other beside me. I am a jealous God, who brings the sins of the fathers upon the children for three and four generations." As if he had become stronger than I and my brothers! But we are innocent with respect to him, in that we have not sinned, since we mastered his teaching. Thus he was in an empty glory. And he does not agree with our Father. And thus through our fellowship we grasped his teaching, since he was vain in an empty glory. And he does not agree with our Father, for he was a laughingstock and judgement and false prophecy.

O those who do not see, you do not see your blindness, i.e., this which was not known, nor has it ever been known, nor has it been known about him. They did not listen to firm obedience. Therefore they proceeded in a judgement of error, and they raised their defiled and murderous hands against him, as if they were beating the air. And the senseless and blind ones are always senseless, always being slaves of law and earthly fear.

I am Christ, the Son of Man, the one from you who is among you. I am despised for your sake, in order that you yourselves may forget the difference. And do not become female, lest you give birth to evil and (its) brothers: jealousy and division, anger and wrath, fear and a divided heart, and empty, non-existent desire. But I am an ineffable mystery to you.

Then before the foundation of the world, when the whole multitude of the Assembly came together upon the places of the Ogdoad, when they had taken counsel about a spiritual wedding which is in union, and thus he was perfected in the ineffable places by a living word, the undefiled wedding was consummated through the Mesotes of Jesus, who inhabits them all and possesses them, who abides in an undivided love of power. And surrounding him, he appears to him as a Monad of all these, a thought and a father, since he is one. And he stands by them all, since he as a whole came forth alone. And he is life, since he came from the Father of ineffable and perfect Truth, (the father) of those who are there, the union of Peace and a friend of good things, and life eternal and undefiled joy, in a great harmony of life and faith, through eternal life of fatherhood and motherhood and sisterhood and rational wisdom. They had agreed with Nous, who stretches out (and) will stretch out in joyful union and is trustworthy and faithfully listens to someone. And he is in

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fatherhood and motherhood and rational brotherhood and wisdom. And this is a wedding of truth, and a repose of incorruption, in a spirit of truth, in every mind, and a perfect light in an unnameable mystery. But this is not, nor will it happen among us in any region or place in division and breach of peace, but (in) union and a mixture of love, all of which are perfected in the one who is.

It also happened in the places under heaven for their reconciliation. Those who knew me in salvation and undividedness, and those who existed for the glory of the father and the truth, having been separated, blended into the one through the living word. And I am in the spirit and the truth of the motherhood, just as he has been there; I was among those who are united in the friendship of friends forever, who neither know hostility at all, nor evil, but who are united by my Knowledge in word and peace which exists in perfection with everyone and in them all. And those who assumed the form of my type will assume the form of my word. Indeed, these will come forth in light forever, and (in) friendship with each other in the spirit, since they have known in every respect (and) indivisibly that what is, is One. And all of these are one. And thus they will learn about the One, as (did) the Assembly and those dwelling in it. For the father of all these exists, being immeasurable (and) immutable: Nous and Word and Division and Envy and Fire. And he is entirely one, being the All with them all in a single doctrine, because all these are from a single spirit. O unseeing ones, why did you not know the mystery rightly?

But the archons around Yaldabaoth were disobedient because of the Ennoia who went down to him from her sister Sophia. They made for themselves a union with those who were with them in a mixture of a fiery cloud, which was their Envy, and the rest who were brought forth by their creatures, as if they had bruised the noble pleasure of the Assembly. And therefore they revealed a mixture of ignorance in a counterfeit of fire and earth and a murderer, since they are small and untaught, without knowledge having dared these things, and not having understood that light has fellowship with light, and darkness with darkness, and the corruptible with the perishable, and the imperishable with the incorruptible.

Now these things I have presented to you - I am Jesus Christ, the Son of Man, who is exalted above the heavens - O perfect and incorruptible ones, because of the incorruptible and perfect mystery and the ineffable one. But they think that we decreed them before the foundation of the world, in order that, when we emerge from the places of the world, we may present there the symbols of incorruption from the spiritual union unto knowledge. You do not know it, because the fleshly cloud overshadows you. But I alone am the friend of Sophia. I have been in the bosom of the father from the beginning, in the place of the sons of the truth, and the Greatness. Rest then with me, my fellow spirits and my brothers, forever.

THE PARAPHRASE OF SHEM
The Nag Hammadi Library
Translation: Frederik Wisse
Estimated Range of Dating: 150-250 A.D.

(The Paraphrase of Shem is a Gnostic text discovered in the Codex VII of the Nag Hammadi Codices. It starts off by saying that it is "The paraphrase which was about the unbegotten Spirit." It's an apocalyptic writing that tells us about Shem's ascension and recension to Earth. It is during this event that Shem is given a revelation from a being called Derdekeas. It also gives its own account on the Biblical Flood, Sodom's destruction, and the baptism and resurrection of the Saviour.

The text first describes three powers: Light, Spirit, and Darkness. The Light is a dominant power of reason, and the Darkness is a malevolent power of chaos. The meek power of Spirit stands between them. The text goes on to discuss the identity and actions of Derdekeas. He is a Gnostic saviour interested in spreading salvation and fighting the evils plaguing the Earth. He ultimately descends into the world in disguise in order to save the Spirit from the Darkness and in so doing, provides the world with more of the knowledge and deliverance connected to the Light. It also refers to Shem as the first person on Earth which is similar to Old Testament teaching regarding Adam, but can also be connected to Jesus who, according to the New Testament said "Before Abraham was, I AM." --John 8:58)

The paraphrase which was about the unbegotten Spirit.

What Derdekea's revealed to me, Shem, according to the will of the Majesty. My thought which was in my body snatched me away from my race. It took me up to the top of the world, which is close to the light that shone upon the whole area there. I saw no earthly likeness, but there was light. And my thought separated from the body of darkness as though in sleep.

I heard a voice saying to me, Shem, since you are from an unmixed power and you are the first being upon the earth, hear and understand what I shall say to you first concerning the great powers who were in existence in the beginning, before I appeared. There was Light and Darkness and there was Spirit between them. Since your root fell into forgetfulness – he who was the unbegotten Spirit – I reveal to you the truth about the powers. The Light was thought full of hearing and word. They were united into one form. And the Darkness was wind in waters. He possessed the mind wrapped in a chaotic fire. And the Spirit between them was a gentle, humble light. These are the three roots. They reigned each in themselves, alone. And they covered each other, each one with its power.

But the Light, since he possessed a great power, knew the abasement of the Darkness and his disorder, namely that the root was not straight. But the crookedness of the Darkness was lack of perception, namely the illusion that there is no one above him. And as long as he was able to bear up under his evil, he was covered with the water. And he stirred. And the Spirit was frightened by the sound. He lifted himself up to his station. And he saw a great, dark water. And he was nauseated. And the thought of the Spirit stared down; he saw the infinite Light. But he was overlooked by the putrid root. And by the will of the great Light the dark water separated. And the Darkness came up wrapped in vile ignorance, and this was in order that the mind might separate from him because he prided himself in it.

And when he stirred, the light of the Spirit appeared to him. When he saw it he was astonished. He did not know that another Power was above him. And when he saw that his likeness was dark compared with the Spirit, he felt hurt. And in his pain he lifted up to the height of the members of Darkness his mind which was the eye of the bitterness of evil. He caused his mind to take shape in a member of the regions of the Spirit, thinking that, by staring down at his evil, he would be able to equal the Spirit. But he was not able. For he wanted to do an impossible thing, and it did not take place. But in order that the mind of Darkness, which is the eye of the bitterness of evil, might not be destroyed, since he was made partially similar, he arose and shone with a fiery light upon all of Hades, so that the equality to the faultless Light might become apparent. For the Spirit made use of every form of Darkness because he appeared in his majesty.

And the exalted, infinite Light appeared, for he was very joyful.

He wished to reveal himself to the Spirit. And the likeness of the exalted Light appeared to the unbegotten Spirit. [. . .] appeared. I am the son of the incorruptible, [. . .] infinite Light. [. . .] appeared in the likeness of the Spirit, for I am the ray of the universal Light. And his appearance to me was in order that the mind of Darkness might not remain in Hades. For the Darkness made himself like his mind in a part of the members. When , O Shem, appeared in the likeness, in order that the Darkness might become dark to himself, according to the will of the Majesty – in order that the Darkness might become free from every aspect of the power which he possessed – the mind drew the chaotic fire, with which it was covered, from the midst of the Darkness and the water. And from the Darkness the water became a cloud. and from the cloud the womb took shape. The chaotic fire which was a deviation went there.

And when the Darkness saw it, the womb, he became unchaste and when he had aroused the water, he rubbed the womb. His mind dissolved down to the depths of Nature. It mingled with the power of the bitterness of Darkness. And her, the womb's, eye ruptured at the wickedness in order that she might not again bring forth the mind. For it was a seed of Nature from the dark root.

And when Nature had taken to herself the mind by means of the dark power, every likeness took shape in her. And when the Darkness had acquired the likeness of the mind, it resembled the Spirit. For Nature rose up to expel it; she was powerless against it, since she did not have a form from the Darkness. For she brought it forth in the cloud. And the cloud shone. A mind appeared in it like a frightful, harmful fire. It (i.e. the mind) collided against the unbegotten Spirit since it possessed a likeness from him. In order that Nature might become empty of the chaotic fire, then immediately Nature was divided into four parts. They became clouds which varied in their appearance. They were called Hymen, Afterbirth, Power, and Water. And the Hymen and the Afterbirth and the Power were chaotic fires. And it (i.e. the mind) was drawn from the midst of the Darkness and the water – since the mind was in the midst of Nature and the dark power – in order that the harmful waters might not cling to it. Because of this Nature was divided, according to my will, in order that the mind may return to its power which the dark root, which was mixed with it (i.e. the mind), had taken from it. And the dark root appeared in the womb. And at the division of Nature he separated from the dark power which he possessed from the mind. It (i.e. the mind) went into the midst of the power – this was the middle region of Nature.

And the Spirit of light, when the mind burdened him, was astonished. And the force of his Astonishment cast off the burden. And the burden returned to its heat. It put on the light of the Spirit. And when Nature moved away from the power of the light of the Spirit, the burden returned. And the Astonishment of the light cast off the burden. It stuck to the cloud of the Hymen. And all the clouds of Darkness cried out, they who had separated from Hades, because of the alien Power. He is the Spirit of light who has come in them. And by the will of the Majesty the Spirit gazed up at the infinite Light, in order that his light may be pitied and the likeness brought up from Hades.

And when the Spirit had looked, flowed out, the son of the Majesty – like a wave of bright light and like a whirlwind of the immortal Spirit. And blew from the cloud of the Hymen upon the Astonishment of the unbegotten Spirit. It (i.e. the cloud) separated and cast light upon the clouds. These separated in order that the Spirit might return. Because of this the mind took shape. Its repose was shattered. For the Hymen of Nature was a cloud which cannot be grasped; it is a great fire. Similarly, the Afterbirth of Nature is the cloud of silence; it is an august fire. And the Power which was mixed with the mind, it, too, was a cloud of Nature which was joined with the Darkness that had aroused Nature to unchastity. And the dark water was a frightful cloud. And the root of Nature, which was below, was crooked, since it is burdensome and harmful. The root was blind with respect to the light-bondage which was unfathomable since it had many appearances.

And had pity on the light (of) the Spirit which the mind had received. returned to my position in order to pray to the exalted, infinite Light that the power of the Spirit might increase on the place and might be filled without dark defilement. And reverently said, "Thou art the root of the Light. Thy hidden form has appeared, O exalted, infinite one. May the whole power of the Spirit spread and may it be filled with its light, O infinite Light. Then he will not be able to join with the unbegotten Spirit, and the power of the Astonishment will not be able to mix with Nature. According to the will of the Majesty," my prayer was accepted.

And the voice of the Word was heard saying through the Majesty to the unbegotten Spirit, "Behold, the power has been completed. He who was revealed by me appeared in the Spirit. Again I shall appear. I am Derdekeas, the son of the incorruptible, infinite Light."

The light of the infinite Spirit came down to a feeble nature for a short time until all the impurity of nature became void, and in order that the darkness of Nature might be blamed. I put on my garment which is the garment of the light of the Majesty – which I am.

I came in the appearance of the Spirit to consider the whole light which was in the depths of the Darkness. According to the will of the Majesty, in order that the Spirit by means of the Word might be filled with his light independently of the power of the infinite Light, and at my wish, the Spirit arose by his own power. His greatness was granted to him that he might be filled with his whole light and depart from the whole burden of the Darkness. For what was behind was a dark fire which blew and pressed on the Spirit. And the Spirit rejoiced because he was protected from the frightful water. But his light was not equal to the Majesty. But what he was granted by the infinite Light, he was granted it in order that in all his members he might appear as a single image of light. And when the Spirit arose above the water, his black likeness became apparent. And the Spirit honoured the exalted Light: "Surely thou alone art the infinite one, because thou art above every unbegotten thing, for thou hast protected me from the Darkness. And at thy wish I arose above the power of darkness.

And that nothing might be hidden from you, Shem, the thought, which the Spirit from the greatness had contemplated, came into being, since the Darkness was not able to restrain his evil. But when it appeared, the three roots became known as they were from the beginning. If the Darkness had been able to bear up under his evil, the mind would not have separated from him, and another power would not have appeared.

But from the time it appeared I was seen, the son of the Majesty, in order that the light of the Spirit might not become faint, and that Nature might not reign over it, because it gazed at me. And by the will of the greatness my equality was revealed, that what is of the Power might become apparent. You are the great Power which came into being, and I am the perfect Light which is above the Spirit and the Darkness, the one who puts to shame the Darkness for the intercourse of the impure practice. For through the division of Nature the Majesty wished to be covered with honour up to the height of the Thought of the Spirit. And the Spirit received rest in his power.

For the image of the Light is inseparable from the unbegotten Spirit. And the lawgivers did not name him after all the clouds of Nature, nor is it possible to name them. For every likeness into which Nature had divided is a power of the chaotic fire which is the hylic seed. The one who took to himself the power of the Darkness imprisoned it in the midst of its members.

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And by the will of the Majesty, in order that the mind and the whole light of the Spirit might be protected from every burden and from the toil of Nature, a voice came forth from the Spirit to the cloud of the Hymen. And the light of the astonishment began to rejoice with the voice which was granted to him. And the great Spirit of light was in the cloud of the Hymen. He honoured the infinite Light and the universal likeness who I am, the son of the Majesty. It is said: "Anasses Duses, thou art the infinite Light who was given by the will of the Majesty to establish every light of the Spirit upon the place, and to separate the mind from the Darkness. For it was not right for the light of the Spirit to remain in Hades. For at thy wish the Spirit arose to behold thy greatness."

For I said these things to you, Shem, that you might know that my likeness, the son of the Majesty, is from my infinite Thought, since I am for him a universal likeness which does not lie, and I am above every truth and origin of the word. His appearance is in my beautiful garment of light which is the voice of the immeasurable Thought. We are that single, sole light which came into being. He appeared in another root in order that the power of the Spirit might be raised from the feeble Nature. For by the will of the great Light I came forth from the exalted Spirit down to the cloud of the Hymen without my universal garment.

And the Word took me to himself, from the Spirit, in the first cloud of the Hymen of Nature. And I put on this of which the Majesty and the unbegotten Spirit made me worthy. And the threefold unity of my garment appeared in the cloud, by the will of the Majesty, in a single form. And my likeness was covered with the light of my garment. And the cloud was disturbed, and it was not able to bear my likeness. It shed the first power, the one which it had taken from the Spirit, that one which shone on him from the beginning, before I appeared in the word to the Spirit. The cloud would not have been able to bear both of them. And the light which came forth from the cloud passed through the silence, until it came into the middle region. And, by the will of the Majesty, the light mixed with him I the Spirit which exists in the silence, he who had been separated from the Spirit of light. It was separated from the light by the cloud of the silence. The cloud was disturbed. It was he who gave rest to the flame of fire. He humbled the dark womb in order that she might not reveal other seed from the darkness. He kept them back in the middle region of Nature in their position which was in the cloud. They were troubled since they did not know where they were. For still they did not possess the universal understanding of the Spirit.

And when I prayed to the Majesty, toward the infinite Light, that the chaotic power of the Spirit might go to and fro, and the dark womb might be idle, and that my likeness might appear in the cloud of the Hymen, as if I were wrapped in the light of the Spirit which went before me, and by the will of the Majesty and through the prayer I came in the cloud in order that through my garment – which was from the power of the Spirit – the pleroma of the word, might bring power to the members who possessed it in the Darkness. For because of them I appeared in this insignificant place. For I am a helper of every one who has been given a name. For when I appeared in the cloud, the light of the Spirit began to save itself from the frightful water, and (from) the clouds of fire which had been separated from dark Nature. And I gave them eternal honour that they might not again engage in the impure practice.

And the light which was in the Hymen was disturbed by my power, and it passed through my middle region. It was filled with the universal Thought. And through the word of the light of the Spirit it returned to its repose. It received form in its root and shone without deficiency. And the light which had come forth with it from the silence went in the middle region and returned to the place. And the cloud shone. And from it came an unquenchable fire. And the part which separated from the astonishment put on forgetfulness. It was deceived by the fire of darkness. And the shock of its astonishment cast off the burden of the cloud. It was evil since it was unclean. And the fire mixed with the water in order that the waters might become harmful.

And Nature which had been disturbed immediately arose from the idle waters. For her ascent was shameful. And Nature took to herself the power of fire. She became strong because of the light of the Spirit which was in Nature. Her likeness appeared in the water in the form of a frightful beast with many faces, which is crooked below. A light went down to chaos filled with mist and dust, in order to harm Nature. And the light of the Astonishment which is in the middle region came to it after he cast off the burden of the Darkness. He rejoiced when the Spirit arose. For he looked from the clouds down at the dark waters upon the light which was in the depths of Nature.

Therefore I appeared that I might get an opportunity to go down to the nether world, to the light of the Spirit which was burdened, that I might protect him from the evil of the burden. And through his looking down at the dark region the light once more came up in order that the womb might again come up from the water. She (i.e. the womb) came up by my will. Guilefully the eye opened. And the light which had appeared in the middle region (and) which had separated from the Astonishment rested and shone upon her. And the womb saw things she had not seen, and she rejoiced joyfully in the light, although this was not hers — the one which appeared in the middle region, in her wickedness, when he, the light, shone upon her. And the womb saw things she had not seen, and she was brought down to the water, she was thinking that she had reached to the power of light. And she did not know that her root was made idle by the likeness of the Light, and that it was to her root that he had run.

The light was astonished, the one which was in the middle region and which was beginning and end. Therefore his thought gazed directly up at the exalted Light. And he called out and said, "Lord, have mercy on me, for my light and my effort went astray. For if thy goodness does not establish me, I do not know where I am." And when the Majesty had heard him, he had mercy on him. '

And I appeared in the cloud of the Hymen, in the silence, without my holy garment. With my will I honoured my garment which has three forms in the cloud of the Hymen. And the light which was in the silence, the one from the rejoicing Power, contained me. I wore it. And its two parts appeared in a single form. Its other parts did not appear on account of the fire. I became unable to speak in the cloud of the Hymen, for its fire was frightful, lifting itself up without humility. And in order that my greatness and the word might appear, I placed likewise my other garment in the cloud of the silence. I went into the middle region and put on the light that was in it, that was sunk in forgetfulness and that was separated from the Spirit of astonishment, for he had cast off the burden. At my wish nothing mortal appeared to him, but they were all immortal things which the Spirit granted to him. And he said in the thought of the Light, ai eis ai ou phar dou is ei ou: I have come in a great rest in order that he may give rest to my light in his root, and may bring it out of harmful Nature.

Then, by the will of the Majesty, I took off my garment of light. I put on another garment of fire which has no form, which is from the mind of the power, which was separated, and which was prepared for me, according to my will, in the middle region. For the middle region covered it with a dark power in order that I might come and put it on. I went down to chaos to save the whole light from it. For without the power of darkness I could not oppose Nature. But I rested myself upon her staring eye which was a light from the Spirit. For it had been prepared for me as a garment and a rest by the Spirit. Through me he opened his eyes down to Hades. He granted Nature his voice for a time.'

And my garment of fire, according to the will of the Majesty, went down to what is strong, and to the unclean part of Nature which (the) power of darkness was covering. And my garment rubbed Nature in her covering. And her unclean femininity was strong. And the wrathful womb came up and made the mind dry, resembling a fish which has a drop of fire and a power of fire. And when Nature had cast off the mind, she was troubled and she wept. When she was hurt, and in her tears, she cast off the power of the Spirit and remained as I. I put on the light of the Spirit and I rested with my garment on account of the sight of the fish.

And in order that the deeds of Nature might be condemned, since she is blind, manifold animals came out of her, in accordance with the number of the fleeting winds. All of them came into being in Hades searching for the light of the mind which took shape. They were not able to stand up against it. I rejoiced over their ignorance. I They found me, the son of the Majesty, in front of the womb which has many forms. I put on the beast, and laid before her a great request that heaven and earth might come into being, in order that the whole light might rise up. For in no other way could the power of the Spirit be saved from bondage except that I appear to her in animal form. Therefore she was gracious to me as if I were her son.

And on account of my request, Nature arose since she possesses of the power of the Spirit and the Darkness and the fire. For she had taken off her forms. When she had cast it off, she blew upon the water. The heaven was created. And from the foam of the heaven the earth came into being. And at my wish it brought forth all kinds of food in accordance with the number of the beasts. And it brought forth dew from the winds on account of you and those who will be begotten the second time upon the earth. For the earth possessed a power of chaotic fire. Therefore it brought forth every seed.

And when the heaven and the earth were created, my garment of fire arose in the midst of the cloud of Nature and shone upon the whole world until Nature became dry. The Darkness which was the earth's garment was cast into the harmful waters. The middle region was cleansed from the Darkness. But the womb grieved because of what had happened. She perceived in her parts what was water like a mirror. When she perceived (it), she wondered how it had come into being. Therefore she remained a widow. It also was astonished that it was not in her. For still the forms possessed a power of fire and light. It (i.e. the power) remained in order that it might be in Nature until all the powers are taken away from her. For just as the light of the Spirit was completed in three clouds, it is necessary that also the power which is in Hades will be completed at the appointed time. For, because of the grace of the Majesty, I came forth to her from the water for the second time. For my face pleased her. Her face also was glad.

And I said to her, "May seed and power come forth from you upon the earth." And she obeyed the will of the Spirit that she might be brought to naught. And when her forms returned, they rubbed their tongues with each other; they copulated; they begot winds and demons and the power which is from the fire and the Darkness and the Spirit. But the form which remained alone cast the beast from herself. She did not have intercourse, but she was the one who rubbed herself alone. And she brought forth a wind which possessed a power from the fire and the Darkness and the Spirit.

And in order that the demons also might become free from the power which they possessed through the impure intercourse, a womb was with the winds resembling water. And an unclean penis was with the demons in accordance with the example of the Darkness, and in the way he rubbed with the womb from the beginning. And after the forms of Nature had been together, they separated from each other. They cast off the power, being astonished about the deceit which had happened to them. They grieved with an eternal grief. They covered themselves with their power.

And when I had put them to shame, I arose with my garment in the power and — which is above the beast which is a light, in order that I might make Nature desolate. The mind which had appeared in the Nature of Darkness, and which was the eye of the heart of Darkness, at my wish reigned over the winds and the demons. And I gave him a likeness of fire, light, and attentiveness, and a share of guileless word. Therefore he was given of the greatness in order to be strong in his power, independent of the power, independent of the light of the Spirit, and intercourse of Darkness, in order that, at the end of time, when Nature will be destroyed, he may rest in the honoured place. For he will be found faithful, since he has loathed the unchastity of Nature with the Darkness. The strong power of the mind came into being from the mind and the unbegotten Spirit.

But the winds, which are demons from water and fire and darkness and light, had intercourse unto perdition. And through this intercourse the winds received in their womb foam from the penis of the demons. They conceived a power in their womb. From the breathing the wombs of the winds girded each other until the times of the birth came. They went down to the water. And the power was delivered, through the breathing which moves the birth, in the midst of the practice. And every form of the birth received shape in it. When the times of the birth were near, all the winds were gathered from the water which is near the earth. They gave birth to all kinds of unchastity. And the place where the wind alone went was permeated with the unchastity. Barren wives came from it and sterile husbands. For just as they are born, so they bear.

Because of you, the image of the Spirit appeared in the earth and the water. For you are like the Light. For you possess a share of the winds and the demons, and a thought from the Light of the power of the Astonishment. For everything which he brought forth from the womb upon the earth was not a good thing for her, but her groan and her pain, because of the image which appeared in you from the Spirit. For you are exalted in your heart. And it is blessedness, Shem, if a part is given to someone and if he departs from the soul to go to the thought of the Light. For the soul is a burden of the Darkness, and those who know where the root of the soul came from will be able to grope after Nature also. For the soul is a work of unchastity and an object of scorn to the thought of Light. For I am the one who revealed concerning all that is unbegotten.

And in order that the sin of Nature might be filled, I made the womb, which was disturbed, pleasant – the blind wisdom – that I might be able to bring it to naught. And at my wish, he plotted with the water of Darkness and also the Darkness, that they might wound every form of your heart. For by the will of the light of the Spirit they surrounded you; they bound you in Faith. And in order that his plan might become idle, he sent a demon that the plan of her wickedness might be proclaimed. And he caused a flood, and he destroyed your race, in order to take the light and to take from Faith. But I proclaimed quickly by the mouth of the demon that a tower come to be up to the particle of the light, which was left in the demons and their race – which was water – that the demon might be protected from the turbulent chaos. And the womb planned these things according to my will in order that she might pour forth completely. A tower came to be through the demons. The Darkness was disturbed by his loss. He loosened the muscles of the womb. And the demon who was going to enter the tower was protected in order that the races might continue and might acquire coherence through him. For he possesses power from every form.

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Return henceforth, O Shem, and rejoice [greatly] over your race and Faith, for without body and necessity it is protected from every body of Darkness, bearing witness to the holy things of the greatness which was revealed to them in their thought by my will. And they shall rest in the unbegotten Spirit without grief. But you, Shem, because of this, you remained in the body outside the cloud of light that you might remain with Faith. And Faith will come to you. Her thought will be taken and given to you with a consciousness of light. And I told you these things for the benefit of your race from the cloud of light. And likewise what I shall say to you concerning everything, I shall reveal to you completely that you may reveal them to those who will be upon the earth the second time.

O Shem, the disturbance which occurred at my wish happened in order that Nature might become empty. For the wrath of the Darkness subsided. O Shem, the Darkness' mouth was shut. No longer does the light which shone for the world appear in it, according to my will. And when Nature had said that its wish was fulfilled, then every form was engulfed by the waters in prideful ignorance. She, Nature, turned her dark vagina and cast from her the power of fire which was in her from the beginning through the practice of the Darkness. It (masc.) lifted itself up and shone upon the whole world instead of the righteous one. And all her forms sent forth a power like a flame of fire up to heaven as a help to the corrupted light, which had lifted itself up. For they were members of the chaotic fire. And she did not know that she had harmed herself. When she cast forth the power, the power which she possessed, she cast it forth from the genitals. It was the demon, a deceiver, who stirred up the womb in every form. And in her ignorance, as if she were doing a great thing, she granted the demons and the winds a star each. For without wind and star nothing happens upon the earth. For every power is filled by them after they were released from the Darkness and the fire and the power and the light. For in the place where their darkness and their fire were mixed with each other beasts were brought forth. And it was in the place of the Darkness, and the fire, and the power of the mind, and the light, that human beings came into existence. Being from the Spirit, the thought of the Light, my eye, exists not in every man. For before the flood came from the winds and the demons, rain came to men. But then, in order that the power which is in the tower might be brought forth, and might rest upon the earth Nature, which had been disturbed, wanted to harm the seed which will be upon the earth after the flood. Demons were sent to them, and a deviation of the winds, and a burden of the angels, and a fear of the prophet, a condemnation of speech, that I may teach you, O Shem, from what blindness your race is protected. When I have revealed to you all that has been spoken, then the righteous one will shine upon the world with my garment. And the night and the day will be separated. For I shall hasten down to the world to take the light of that place, the one which Faith possesses. And I shall appear to those who will acquire the thought of the light of the Spirit. For because of them my majesty appeared.

When he will have appeared, O Shem, upon the earth, [in] the place which will be called Sodom, (then) safeguard the insight which I shall give you. For those whose heart was pure will congregate to you, because of the word which you will reveal. For when you appear in the world, dark Nature will shake against you, together with the winds and a demon, that they may destroy the insight. But you, proclaim quickly to the Sodomites your universal teaching, for they are your members. For the demon of human form will part from that place by my will, since he is ignorant. He will guard this utterance. But the Sodomites, according to the will of the Majesty, will bear witness to the universal testimony. They will rest with a pure conscience in the place of their repose, which is the unbegotten Spirit. And as these things will happen, Sodom will be burned unjustly by a base nature. For the evil will not cease in order that your majesty may reveal that place.

Then the demon will depart with Faith. And then he will appear in the four regions of the world. And when Faith appears in the last likeness, then will her appearance become manifest. For the firstborn is the demon who appeared in the union of Nature with many faces, in order that Faith might appear in him. For when he appears in the world, evil passions will arise, and earthquakes, and wars, and famines, and blasphemies. For because of him the whole world will be disturbed. For he will seek the power of Faith and Light; he will not find it. For at that time the demon will also appear upon the river to baptise with an imperfect baptism, and to trouble the world with a bondage of water. But it is necessary for me to appear in the members of the thought of Faith to reveal the great things of my power. I shall separate it from the demon who is Soldas. And the light which he possesses from the Spirit I shall mix with my invincible garment, as well as him whom I shall reveal in the darkness for your sake and for the sake of your race which will be protected from the evil Darkness.

Know, O Shem, that without Elorchaios and Amoias and Strophaias and Chelkeak and Chelkea and Aileou, no one will be able to pass by this wicked region. For this is my memorial that in it I have been victorious over the wicked region. And I have taken the light of the Spirit from the frightful water. For when the appointed days of the demon draw near he who will baptise erringly, then I shall appear in the baptism of the demon to reveal with the mouth of Faith a testimony to those who belong to her. I testify of thee, Spark the unquenchable, Osei, the elect of the Light, the eye of heaven, and Faith, the first and the last, and Sophia, and Saphaia, and Saphaina, and the righteous Spark, and the° impure light. And thou, east, and west, and north, and south, upper air and lower air, and all the powers and authorities, you are in Nature.

And you (sg.), Moluchtha and Soch are from every work and every impure effort of Nature. Then I shall come from the demon down to the water. And whirlpools of water and flames of fire will rise up against me. Then I shall come up from the water, having put on the light of Faith and the unquenchable fire, in order that through my help the power of the Spirit may cross, she who has been cast in the world by the winds and the demons and the stars. And in them I every unchastity will be filled.

Finally, O Shem, consider yourself pleasing in the thought of the Light. Do not let your thought have dealings with the fire and the body of Darkness which was an unclean work. These things which I teach you are right.

This is the paraphrase: – For you did not remember that it is from the firmament that your race has been protected. – Elorchaios is the name of the great Light, the place from which I have come, the Word which has no equal. And the likeness is my honoured garment. And Derderkeas is the name of his Word in the voice of the Light. And Strophaia is the blessed glance which is the Spirit. and it is Chelkeach, who is my garment, who has come from the Astonishment, who was in the cloud of the Hymen which appeared, as a trimorphic cloud. And Chelkea is my garment which has two forms, he who was in the cloud of Silence. And Chelke is my garment which was given him from every region; it was given him in a single form from the greatness, he who was in the cloud of the middle region. and the star of the Light which was mentioned is my invincible garment which I wore in Hades; this star of the Light is the mercy which surpasses the thought and the testimony of those who bear witness. And the testimony which has been mentioned: the First and the Last, Faith, the Mind of the wind of darkness. And Sophaia and Saphaina are in the cloud of those who have been separated from the chaotic fire. And the righteous Spark is the cloud of light which has shone in your midst. For in the cloud of light my garment will go down to chaos.

But the impure light, which appeared in the Darkness (and) which belongs to dark Nature, is a power. And the upper air and the lower air, and the powers and the authorities, the demons and the stars, these possessed a particle of fire and a light from the Spirit.

And Moluchthas is a wind, for without it nothing is brought forth upon the earth. He has a likeness of a serpent and a unicorn. His protrusion(s) are manifold wings. And the remainder is the womb which has been disturbed. You are blessed, Shem, for your race has been protected from the dark wind which is many-faced. And they will bear the universal testimony and (bear witness) to the impure practice of Nature. And they will become sublime through the reminder of the Light.

O Shem, no one who wears the body will be able to complete these things. But through I remembrance he will be able to grasp them, in order that, when his thought separates from the body, then these things may be revealed to him. They have been revealed to your race. O Shem, it is difficult for someone wearing a body to complete [these things, as] I said to you. And it is a small number that will' complete them, those who possess the particle of the mind and the thought of the light of the Spirit. They will keep their mind from the impure practice. For many in the race of Nature will seek the security of the Power. They will not find it, nor will they be able to do the will of Faith. For they are seed of the universal Darkness. And those who find them are in much suffering. The winds and the demons will hate them. And the bondage of the body is severe. For where the winds, and the stars, and the demons cast forth from the power of the Spirit, (there) repentance and testimony will appear upon them, and mercy will lead them to the unbegotten Spirit. And those who are repentant will find rest in the consummation and Faith, in the place of the Hymen. This is the Faith which will fill the place which has been left empty. But those who do not share in the Spirit of light and in Faith will dissolve in the [Darkness], the place where repentance did not come. '

It is I who opened the eternal gates which were shut from the beginning. To those who long for the best of life, and those who are worthy of the repose, he revealed them. I granted perception to those who perceive. I disclose to them all the thoughts and the teaching of the righteous ones. And I did not become their enemy at all. But when I had endured the wrath of the world, I was victorious. There was not one of them who knew me. The gates of fire and endless smoke opened against me. All the winds rose up against me. The thunderings and the lightning-flashes for a time will rise up against me. And they will bring their wrath upon me. And on account of me according to the flesh, they will rule over them according to kind.

And many who wear erring flesh will go down to the harmful waters through the winds and the demons. And they are bound by the water. And he will heal with a futile remedy. He will lead astray, and he will bind the world. And those that do the will of Nature, their part will [. . .] two times in the day of the water and the forms of Nature. And it will not be granted them, when Faith disturbs them in order to take to herself the righteous one.

O Shem, it is necessary that the thought be called by the Word in order that the bondage of the power of the Spirit may be saved frog the frightful water. And it is blessedness if it is granted someone to contemplate the exalted one, and to know the exalted time and the bondage. For the water is an insignificant body. And men are not released, since they are bound in the water, just as from the beginning the light of the Spirit was bound.

O Shem, they are deceived by manifold demons, thinking that through baptism with the uncleanness of water, that which is dark, feeble, idle, (and) disturbing, he will take away the sins. And they do not know that from the water to the water there is bondage, and error and unchastity, envy, murder, adultery, false witness, heresies, robberies, lusts, babblings, wrath, bitterness, great [. . .].

Therefore there are many deaths which burden their thoughts. For I foretell it to those who have a heart. They will refrain from the impure baptism. And those who take heart from the light of the Spirit will not have dealings with the impure practice. And their heart will not expire, nor will they curse. And the water – nor will they be given honour. Where the curse is, there is the deficiency. And the blindness is where the honour is. For if they mix with the evil ones, they become empty in the dark water. For where the water has been mentioned, there is Nature, and the oath, and the lie, and the loss. For only in the unbegotten Spirit, where the exalted Light rested, has the water not been mentioned, nor can it be mentioned.

For this is my appearance: for when I have completed the times which are assigned to me upon the earth, then I will cast from me [my garment of fire (this is a Zoroastrian phrase)]. And my unequalled garment will come forth upon me, and also all my garments which I put on in all the clouds which were from the Astonishment of the Spirit. For the air will tear my garment. For it (i.e. my garment) will shine, and it will divide all the clouds up to the root of the Light. The repose is the mind and my garment. And my remaining garments, those on the left and those on the right, will shine on the back in order that the image of the Light may appear. For my garments which I put on in the three clouds, in the last day they will rest in their root, i.e. in the unbegotten Spirit, since they are without fault, through the division of the clouds.

Therefore I have appeared, being faultless, on account of the clouds, because they are unequal, in order that the wickedness of Nature might be ended. For she wished at that time to snare me. She was about to fix (to the cross) Soldas who is the dark flame, who attended on the [. . .] of error, that he might snare me. She took care of her faith, being vainglorious.

And at that time the light was about to separate from the Darkness, and a voice was heard in the world, saying, "Blessed is the eye which has seen thee, and the mind which has supported thy majesty at my desire." It will be said by the exalted one, "Blessed is Rebouel among every race of men, for it is you (fern.) alone who have seen." And she will listen. And they will behead the woman who has the perception, whom you will reveal upon the earth. And according to my will she will bear witness, and she will cease from every vain effort of Nature and chaos. For the woman whom they will behead at that time is the coherence of the power of the demon who will baptise the seed of darkness in severity, that it the seed may mix with unchastity. He begot a woman. She was called Rebouel.

See, O Shem, how all the things I have said to you have been fulfilled. [And [. . .] And the things which] you lack, according to my will they will appear to you at that place upon the earth that you may reveal them as they are. Do not let your thought have dealings with the body. For I have said these things to you, through the voice of the fire, for I entered through the midst of the clouds. And I spoke according to the language of each one. This is my language which I spoke to you. And it will be taken from you. And you will speak with the voice of the world is upon the earth. And it will appear to you with that appearance and voice, and all that I have said to you. Henceforth proceed with Faith to shine in the depths of the world.

And I, Shem, awoke as if from a long sleep. I marveled when I received the power of the Light and his whole thought. And I proceeded with Faith to shine with me. And the righteous one followed us with my invincible garment. And all that he had told me would happen upon the earth happened. Nature was handed over to Faith, that she, Faith, might overturn her

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and that she, Nature, might stand in the Darkness. She brought forth a turning motion while wandering night and day without receiving rest with the souls.

These things completed her deeds.

Then I rejoiced in the thought of the Light. I came forth from the Darkness and I walked in Faith where the forms of Nature are, up to the top of the earth, to the things which are prepared.

Thy Faith is upon the earth the whole day. For all night and day she surrounds Nature to take to herself the righteous one. For Nature is burdened, and she is troubled. For none will be able to open the forms of the Womb except the mind alone who was entrusted with their likeness. For frightful is their likeness of the two forms of Nature, the one which is blind.

But they who have a free conscience remove themselves from the babbling of Nature. For they will bear witness to the universal testimony; they will strip off the burden of Darkness; they will put on the Word of the Light; and they will not be kept back in the insignificant place. And what they possess from the power of the mind they will give to Faith. They will be accepted without' grief. And the chaotic fire which they possess they will place in the middle region of Nature. And they will be received by my garments, those which are in the clouds. It is they who guide their members. They will rest in the Spirit without suffering. And because of this the appointed term of Faith appeared upon the earth for a short time, until the Darkness is taken away from her, and her testimony is revealed which was revealed by me. They who will prove to be from her root will strip off the Darkness and the chaotic fire. They will put on the light of the mind and they will bear witness. For all that I have said must happen.

After I cease to be upon the earth and withdraw up to my rest, a great, evil error will come upon the world, and many evils in accordance with the number of the forms of Nature. Evil times will come. And when the era of Nature is approaching destruction, darkness will come upon the earth. The number will be small. And a demon will come up from the power who has a likeness of fire. He will divide the heaven, (and) he will rest in the depth of the east. For the whole world will quake. And the deceived world will be thrown into confusion. Many places will be flooded because of envy of the winds and the demons who have a name which is senseless: Phorbea, Chloerga. They are the ones who govern the world with their teaching. And they lead astray many hearts because of their disorder and their unchastity. Many places will be sprinkled with blood. And five races by themselves will eat their sons. But the regions of the south will receive the Word of the Light. But they who are from the error of the world and from the east. A demon will come forth from (the) belly of the serpent. He was in hiding in a desolate place. He will perform many wonders. Many will loathe him. A wind will come forth from his mouth with a female likeness. Her name will be called Abalphe. He will reign over the world from the east to the west.

Then Nature will have a final opportunity. And the stars will cease from the sky. The mouth of error will be opened in order that the evil Darkness may become idle and silent. And in the last day the forms of Nature will be destroyed with the winds and all their demons; they will become a dark lump, just as they were from the beginning. And the sweet waters which were burdened by the demons will perish. For where the power of the Spirit has gone there are my sweet waters. The other works of Nature will not be manifest. They will mix with the infinite waters of darkness. And all her forms will cease from the middle region.

I, Shem, have completed these things. And my mind began to separate from the body of darkness. My time was completed. And my mind put on the immortal memorial. And I said, "I agree with thy memorial which thou hast revealed to me: Elorchaois, and thou, Amoiaiai, and thou, Sederkeas, and they guilelessness, Strophaias, and thou, Chelkeak, and thou, Chelkea, and Chelke and Elaie, you are the immortal memorial. I testify to thee, Spark, the unquenchable one, who is an eye of heaven and a voice of light, and Sophaia, and Saphaia, and Saphaina, and the righteous Spark, and Faith, the first and the last, and the upper air and lower air, (and thou, Chelkeak, and Chelke and Elaie, you are the immoral memorial. I testify to thee, Spark, the unquenchable one, who is an eye of heaven and a voice of light, and Sophaia, and Saphaia, and Saphaina, and the righteous Spark, and Faith, the First and the Last, and the upper air and the lower air,) and all the powers and the authorities that are in the world. And thou, impure light, and thou also, east, and west, and south, and north, you are the zones of the inhabited world. And thou also Moluchtha and Essoch, you are the root of evil and every work and impure effort of Nature."

These are the things which I completed while bearing witness. I am Shem. On the day that I was to come forth from (the) body, when my thought remained in the body, I awoke as if from a long sleep. And when I arose as it were from the burden of my body, I said, Just as Nature became old, so is it also in the day of mankind. Blessed are they who knew, when they slept, in what power their thought rested.

And when the Pleiades separated, I saw clouds which I shall pass by. For the cloud of the Spirit is like a pure beryl. And the cloud of the hymen is like a shining emerald. And the cloud of silence is like a flourishing amaranth. And the cloud of the middle region is like a pure jacinth. And when the righteous one appeared in Nature, then – when Nature was angry – she felt hurt, and she granted to Morphaia to visit heaven. The righteous one visits during twelve periods that he may visit them during one period, in order that his time may be completed quickly, and Nature may become idle.

Blessed are they who guard themselves against the heritage of death, which is the burdensome water of darkness. For it will not be possible to conquer them in a few moments, since they hasten to come forth from the error of the world. And if they are conquered, they will be kept back from them and be tormented in the darkness until the time of the consummation. When the consummation has come and Nature has been destroyed, then their thoughts will separate from the Darkness. Nature has burdened them for a short time. And they will be in the ineffable light of the unbegotten Spirit without a form. And thus is the mind as I have said from the first.

Henceforth, O Shem, go in grace and continue in faith upon the earth. For every power of light and fire will be completed by me because of you. For without you they will not be revealed until you speak them openly. When you cease to be upon the earth, they will be given to the worthy ones. And apart from this proclamation, let them speak about you upon the earth, since they will take the carefree and agreeable land.

THE PRAYER OF THANKSGIVING

The Nag Hammadi Library
Translation: James Brashler, Peter A. Dirkse
and Douglas M. Parrott
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 3rd centuries A.D.

This the prayer that they spoke:

"We give thanks to You! Every soul and heart is lifted up to You, undisturbed name, honoured with the name 'God' and praised with the name 'Father', for to everyone and everything (comes) the fatherly kindness and affection and love, and any teaching there may be that is sweet and plain, giving us mind, speech, (and) knowledge: mind, so that we may understand You, speech, so that we may expound You, knowledge, so that we may know You. We rejoice, having been illuminated by Your knowledge. We rejoice because You have shown us Yourself. We rejoice because while we were in (the) body, You have made us divine through Your knowledge.

"The thanksgiving of the man who attains to You is one thing: that we know You. We have known You, intellectual light. Life of life, we have known You. Womb of every creature, we have known You. Womb pregnant with the nature of the Father, we have known You. Eternal permanence of the begetting Father, thus have we worshiped Your goodness. There is one petition that we ask: we would be preserved in knowledge. And there is one protection that we desire: that we not stumble in this kind of life."

When they had said these things in the prayer, they embraced each other and they went to eat their holy food, which has no blood in it.

Scribal Note

I have copied this one discourse of his. Indeed, very many have come to me. I have not copied them because I thought that they had come to you (pl.). Also, I hesitate to copy these for you because, perhaps they have (already) come to you, and the matter may burden you. Since the discourses of that one, which have come to me, are numerous ...

THE DISCOURSE ON THE EIGHTH AND NINTH

or The Eighth Reveals The Ninth
or Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth
or The Ogdoad and Ennead
The Nag Hammadi Library
Translation: James Brashler, Peter A. Dirkse,
and Douglas M. Parrott
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 3rd centuries A.D.

(The Nag Hammadi collection includes a previously unknown and crucially important Hermetic document, The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth. Hermeticism was a magical and religious movement stemming from the teachings of Hermes Trismegistus. Probably dating to the third century or earlier, this text appears to be an initiation rite into visionary journey. This document provides singular evidence of the liturgical and experiential elements within Hermetic tradition. It refers to an ancient document, one of three Hermetic texts of the mostly Gnostic Nag Hammadi findings. It is the 30th tractate in the library at large, the sixth in codex VI. And it gives witness to the existence of a ritual genera of Hermetic writings previously unknown and now lost. Insufficient information has survived from the manuscript to reconstruct the original title. It it is a reasoned assumption that the textual information found written in Coptic had been translated from a Greek original. Note: The ritual vowel phrases shown in the text are meditational vocalisations (perhaps similar to a mantra, a Hinduist or Buddhist prayer) based on the sacred name: IAO. They should be read with intonation.)

"My father, yesterday you promised me that you would bring my mind into the eighth and afterwards you would bring me into the ninth. You said that this is the order of the tradition."

"My son, indeed this is the order. But the promise was according to human nature. For I told you when I initiated the promise, I said, 'If you hold in mind each one of the steps.' After I had received the spirit through the power, I set forth the action for you. Indeed, the understanding dwells in you; in me (it is) as though the power were pregnant. For when I conceived from the fountain that flowed to me, I gave birth."

"My father, you have spoken every word well to me. But I am amazed at this statement that you have just made. For you said, 'The power that is in me'."

He said, "I gave birth to it (the power), as children are born."

"Then, my father, I have many brothers, if I am to be numbered among the offspring."

"Right, my son! This good thing is numbered by ...

(3 lines missing)

... and [...] at all times. Therefore, my son, it is necessary for you to recognise your brothers and to honour them rightly and properly, because they come from the same father. For each generation I have called. I have named it, because they were offspring like these sons."

"Then, my father, do they have (a) day?"

"My son, they are spiritual ones. For they exist as forces that grow other souls. Therefore I say that they are immortal."

"Your word is true; it has no refutation from now on. My father, begin the discourse on the eighth and the ninth, and include me also with my brothers."

"Let us pray, my son, to the father of the universe, with your brothers who are my sons, that he may give the spirit of eloquence."

"How do they pray, my father, when joined with the generations? I want to obey, my father."

(2 lines missing)

... But it is not [...]. Nor is it a [...]. But he is satisfied with her [...] him [...]. And it is right for you to remember the progress that came to you as wisdom in the books, my son. Compare yourself to the early years of life. As children (do), you have posed senseless, unintelligent questions."

"My father, the progress that has come to me now, and the foreknowledge, according to the books, that has come to me, exceeding the deficiency - these things are foremost in me."

"My son, when you understand the truth of your statement, you will find your brothers, who are my sons, praying with you."

"My father, I understand nothing else except the beauty that came to me in the books."

"This is what you call the beauty of the soul, the edification that came to you in stages. May the understanding come to you, and you will teach."

"I have understood, my father, each one of the books. And especially the ...

(2 lines missing)

... which is in [...]."

"My son, [...] in praises from those who extolled them."

"My father, from you I will receive the power of the discourse that you will give. As it was told to both (of us), let us pray, my father."

"My son, what is fitting is to pray to God with all our mind and all our heart and our soul, and to ask him that the gift of the eighth extend to us, and that each one receive from him what is his. Your part, then, is to understand; my own is to be able to deliver the discourse from the fountain that flows to me."

"Let us pray, my father:

I call upon you, who rules over the kingdom of power, whose word comes as (a) birth of light. And his words are immortal. They are eternal and unchanging. He is the one whose will begets life for the forms in every place. His nature gives form to substance. By him, the souls of the eighth and the angels are moved ...

(2 lines missing)

... those that exist. His providence extends to everyone [...] begets everyone. He is the one who [...] the aeon among spirits. He created everything. He who is self-contained cares for everything. He is perfect, the invisible God to whom one speaks in silence - his image is moved when it is directed, and it governs - the one mighty power, who is exalted above majesty, who is better than the honoured (ones),

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OOOO EE OOOOOO
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"Lord, grant us a wisdom from your power that reaches us, so that we may describe to ourselves the vision of the eighth and the ninth. We have already advanced to the seventh, since we are pious and walk in your law. And your will we fulfill always. For we have walked in your way, and we have renounced [...], so that your vision may come. Lord, grant us the truth in the image. Allow us through the spirit to see the form of the image that has no deficiency, and receive the reflection of the pleroma from us through our praise.

"And acknowledge the spirit that is in us. For from you the universe received soul. For from you, the unbegotten one, the begotten one came into being. The birth of the self-begotten one is through you, the birth of all begotten things that exist. Receive from us these spiritual sacrifices, which we send to you with all our heart and our soul and all our strength. Save that which is in us and grant us the immortal wisdom."

"Let us embrace each other affectionately, my son. Rejoice over this! For already from them the power, which is light, is coming to us. For I see! I see indescribable depths. How shall I tell you, my son? [...] from the [...] the places. How shall I describe the universe? I am Mind, and I see another Mind, the one that moves the soul! I see the one that moves me from pure forgetfulness. You give me power! I see myself! I want to speak! Fear restrains me. I have found the beginning of the power that is above all powers, the one that has no beginning. I see a fountain bubbling with life. I have said, my son, that I am Mind. I have seen! Language is not able to reveal this. For the entire eighth, my son, and the souls that are in it, and the angels, sing a hymn in silence. And I, Mind, understand."

"What is the way to sing a hymn through it (silence)?"

"Have you become such that you cannot be spoken to?"

"I am silent, my father. I want to sing a hymn to you while I am silent."

"Then sing it, for I am Mind."

"I understand Mind, Hermes, who cannot be interpreted, because he keeps within himself. And I rejoice, my father, because I see you smiling. And the universe rejoices. Therefore, there is no creature that will lack your life. For you are the lord of the citizens in every place. Your providence protects. I call you 'father', 'aeon of the aeons', 'great divine spirit'. And by a spirit he gives rain upon everyone. What do you say to me, my father, Hermes?"

"Concerning these things, I do not say anything, my son. For it is right before God that we keep silent about what is hidden."

"Trismegistus, let not my soul be deprived of the great divine vision. For everything is possible for you as master of the universe."

"Return to <praising>, my son, and sing while you are silent. Ask what you want in silence."

What he had finished praising, he shouted, "Father Trismegistus! What shall I say? We have received this light. And I myself see this same vision in you. And I see the eighth, and the souls that are in it, and the angels singing a hymn to the ninth and its powers. And I see him who has the power of them all, creating those <that are> in the spirit."

"It is advantageous from now on, that we keep silence in a reverent posture. Do not speak about the vision from now on. It is proper to sing a hymn to the father until the day to quit (the) body."

"What you sing, my father, I too want to sing."

"I am singing a hymn within myself. While you rest yourself, be active in praise. For you have found what you seek."

"But is it proper, my father, that I praise because I am filled in my heart?"

"What is proper is your praise that you will sing to God, so that it might be written in this imperishable book."

"I will offer up the praise in my heart, as I pray to the end of the universe and the beginning of the beginning, to the object of man's quest, the immortal discovery, the begetter of light and truth, the sower of reason, the love of immortal life. No hidden word will be able to speak about you, Lord. Therefore, my mind wants to sing a hymn to you daily. I am the instrument of your spirit; Mind is your plectrum. And your counsel plucks me. I see myself! I have received power from you. For your love has reached us."

"Right, my son."

"Grace! After these things, I give thanks by singing a hymn to you. For I have received life from you, when you made me wise. I praise you. I call your name that is hidden within me:

A O EE O EEE
OOO III OOOO
OOOOO
OOOOO UUUUUU OO
OOOOOOOOO
OOOOOOOOO
OO.

You are the one who exists with the spirit. I sing a hymn to you reverently."

"My son, write this book for the temple at Diospolis in hieroglyphic characters, entitling it 'The Eighth Reveals the Ninth.'"

"I will do it, my <father>, as you command now."

"My son, write the language of the book on steles of turquoise. My son, it is proper to write this book on steles of turquoise, in hieroglyphic characters. For Mind himself has become overseer of these. Therefore, I command that this teaching be carved on stone, and that you place it in my sanctuary. Eight guardians guard it with [...] of the Sun. The males on the right are frog-faced, and the females on the left are cat-faced. And put a square milk-stone at the base of the turquoise tablets, and write the name on the azure stone tablet in hieroglyphic characters. My son, you will do this when I am in Virgo, and the sun is in the first half of the day, and fifteen degrees have passed by me."

"My father, everything that you say I will do eagerly."

"And write an oath in the book, lest those who read the book bring the language into abuse, and not (use it) to oppose the acts of fate. Rather, they should submit to the law of God, without having transgressed at all, but in purity asking God for wisdom and knowledge. And he who will not be begotten at the start by God comes to be by the general and guiding discourses. He will not be able to read the things written in this book, although his conscience is pure within him, since he does not do anything shameful, nor does he consent to it. Rather, by stages he advances and enters into the way of immortality. And thus he enters into the understanding of the eighth that reveals the ninth."

"So shall I do it, my father."

"This is the oath: I make him who will read this holy book swear by heaven and earth, and fire and water, and seven rulers of substance, and the creating spirit in them, and the <unbegotten> God, and the self-begotten one, and him who has been begotten, that he will guard the things that Hermes has said. And those who keep the oath, God will be reconciled with them and everyone whom we have named. But wrath will come to each one of those who violate the oath. This is the perfect one who is, my son."

THE CONCEPT OF OUR GREAT POWER

From: The Nag Hammadi Library
Translated by Frederik Wisse
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 3rd centuries A.D.

(Concept of Our Great Power refers to writing 28 of codex VI of the Nag Hammadi library. The manuscript is dated from within approximately the middle of the fourth century AD. The text is primarily focused on apocalyptic concepts; it seems to relate back to Christian and even Jewish apocalyptic traditions at different points. Perhaps what makes Concept of our Great Power most Gnostic is its negative attitude toward the Old Testament God, its perspective on the corruption of the physical body, and its emphasis on the ultimate goal of the enlightened soul returning to the Light. The text specifically focuses on certain events such as the creation, the actions of the Redeemer, the antichrist, and the last triumph of the highest Power.)

The Perception of Understanding
The Concept of the Great Power

He who will know our great Power will become invisible, and fire will not be able to consume him. But it will purge and destroy all of your possessions. For everyone in whom my form will appear will be saved, from (the age of) seven days up to one hundred and twenty years. (Those) whom I constrained to gather all that is fallen - and the writings of our great Power, in order that he may inscribe your name in our great light - and their thoughts and their works may be ended, that they may be purged, and be scattered and be destroyed, and be gathered in the place which no one in it sees. But you will see me, and you will prepare your dwelling places in our great Power.

Know how what has departed came to be, in order that you may know how to discern what lives to become: of what appearance that aeon is, or what kind it is, or how it will come to be. Why do you not ask what kind you will become, (or) rather how you came to be?

Discern what size the water is, that it is immeasurable (and) incomprehensible, both its beginning and its end. It supports the earth; it blows in the air where the gods and the angels are. But in him who is exalted above all these there is the fear and the light, and in him are my writings revealed. I have given them as a service to the creation of the physical things, for it is not possible for anyone to stand without that One, nor is it possible for the aeon to live without him. It is he who possesses what is in him by discerning (it) in purity.

Then behold the Spirit and know where he is. He gave himself to men that they may receive life from him every day, since he has his life within him; he gives to them all.

Then the darkness together with Hades took the fire. And he (the darkness) will release from himself what is mine. His eyes were not able to endure my light. After the spirits and the waters moved, the remainder came into being: the whole aeon of the creation, and their <powers>. The fire came forth from them and the Power came in the midst of the powers. And the powers desired to see my image. And the soul became its replica.

This is the work that came into being. See what it is like, that before it comes into being it does not see, because the aeon of the flesh came to be in the great bodies. And there were apportioned to them long days in the creation. For when they had polluted themselves and had entered into the flesh, the father of the flesh, the water, avenged himself. For when he had found that Noah was pious (and) worthy - and it is the father of the flesh who holds the angels in subjection. And he (Noah) preached piety for one hundred and twenty years. And no one listened to him. And he made a wooden ark, and whom he had found entered it. And the flood took place.

And thus Noah was saved with his sons. For if indeed the ark had not been meant for man to enter, then the water of the flood would not have come. In this way he intended (and) planned to save the gods and the angels, and the powers, the greatness of all of these, and the <nourishment> and the way of life. And he moves them from the aeon (and) nourishes them in the permanent places. And the judgement of the flesh was unleashed. Only the work of the Power stood up.

Next the psychic aeon. It is a small one, which is mixed with bodies, by begetting in the souls (and) defiling (them). For the first defilement of the creation found strength. And it begot every work: many works of wrath, anger, envy, malice, hatred, slander, contempt and war, lying and evil counsels, sorrows and pleasures, basenesses and defilements, falsehoods and diseases, evil judgements that they decree according to their desires.

Yet you are sleeping, dreaming dreams. Wake up and return, taste and eat the true food! Hand out the word and the water of life! Cease from the evil lusts and desires and (the teachings of) the Anomoeans, evil heresies that have no basis.

And the mother of the fire was impotent. She brought the fire upon the soul and the earth, and she burned all <the> dwellings that are in it. And its shepherd perished. Moreover, when she does not find anything else to burn, she will destroy herself. And it will become incorporeal, without body, and it will burn matter, until it has cleansed everything, - and all wickedness. For when it does not find anything else to burn, it will turn against itself until it has destroyed itself.

Then, in this aeon, which is the psychic one, the man will come into being who knows the great Power. He will receive (me) and he will know me. He will drink from the milk of the mother, in fact. He will speak in parables; he will proclaim the aeon that is to come, just as he spoke in the first aeon of the flesh, as Noah. Now concerning his words, which he uttered, he spoke in all of them, in seventy-two tongues. And he opened the gates of the heavens with his words. And he put to shame the ruler of Hades; he raised the dead, and he destroyed his dominion.

Then a great disturbance took place. The archons raised up their wrath against him. They wanted to hand him over to the ruler of Hades. Then they recognised one of his followers. A fire took hold of his soul. He (Judas?) handed him over, since no one knew him (Jesus?). They acted and seized him. They brought judgement upon themselves. And they delivered him up to the ruler of Hades. And they handed him over to Sasabek for nine bronze coins. He prepared himself to go down and put them to shame. Then the ruler of Hades took him. And he found that the nature of his flesh could not be seized, in order to show it to the archons. But he was saying: "Who is this? What is it? His word has abolished the law of the aeon. He is from the Logos of the power of life." And he was victorious over the command of the archons, and they were not able by their work to rule over him.

The archons searched after that which had come to pass. They did not know that this is the sign of their dissolution, and (that) it is the change of the aeon. The sun set during the day; that day became dark. The evil spirits were troubled. And after these things he will appear ascending. And the sign of the aeon that is to come will appear. And the aeons will dissolve.

And those who would know these things that were discussed with them, will become blessed. And they will reveal them, and they will become blessed, since they will come to know the truth. For you have found rest in the heavens.

Then many will follow him, and they will labour in their birthplaces. They will go about; they will write down his words according to (their) desire.

Behold, these aeons have passed. What size is the water of the aeon that has dissolved? What dimensions do aeons have? How will men prepare themselves, and how will they be established, and how will they become indestructible aeons?

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But at first, after his preaching - it is he who proclaims the second aeon, and the first. And the first aeon perished in the course of time. He made the first aeon, going about in it until it perished, while preaching one hundred and twenty years in number. This is the perfect number that is highly exalted. He made the border of the West desolate, and he destroyed the East. Then your seed and those who wish to follow our great Logos and his proclamation - [...]

Then the wrath of the archons burned. They were ashamed of their dissolution. And they fumed and were angry at the life. The cities were <overturned>; the mountains dissolve. The archon came, with the archons of the western regions, to the East, i.e., that place where the Logos appeared at first. Then the earth trembled, and the cities were troubled. Moreover, the birds ate and were filled with their dead. The earth mourned together with the inhabited world; they became desolate.

Then when the times were completed, then wickedness arose mightily even until the final end of the Logos. Then the archon of the western regions arose, and from the East he will perform a work, and he will instruct men in his wickedness. And he wants to nullify all teaching, the words of true wisdom, while loving the lying wisdom. For he attacked the old, wishing to introduce wickedness and to put on dignity. He was incapable, because the defilement of his garments is great. Then he became angry. He appeared and desired to go up and to pass up to that place.

Then the appointed time came and drew near. And he changed the commands. Then the time came until the child had grown up. When he had come to his maturity, then the archons sent the imitator to that man in order that they might know our great Power. And they were expecting from him that he would perform for them a sign. And he bore great signs. And he reigned over the whole earth and all those who are under heaven. He placed his throne upon the end of the earth, for "I shall make you god of the world". He will perform signs and wonders. Then they will turn from me, and they will go astray.

Then those men who will follow after him will introduce circumcision. And he will pronounce judgement upon those who are from the uncircumcision, who are the (true) people. For in fact he sent many preachers beforehand, who preached on his behalf.

When he has completed the established time of the kingdom of the earth, then the cleansing of the souls will come, since wickedness is stronger than you. All the powers of the sea will tremble and dry up, And the firmament will not pour down dew. The springs will cease. The rivers will not flow down to their springs. And the waters of the springs of the earth will cease. Then the depths will be laid bare and they will open. The stars will grow in size, and the sun will cease.

And I shall withdraw with everyone who will know me. And they will enter into the immeasurable light, (where) there is no one of the flesh nor the wantonness of the first to seize them. They will be unhampered (and) holy, since nothing drags them down. I myself protect them, since they have holy garments, which the fire cannot touch, nor darkness nor wind nor a moment, so as to cause one to shut the eyes.

Then he will come to destroy all of them. And they will be chastised until they become pure. Moreover their period, which was given to them to have power, which was apportioned to them, (is) fourteen hundred and sixty years. When the fire has consumed them all, and when it does not find anything else to burn, then it will perish by its own hand. Then the [...] will be completed [...] the second power [...] the mercy will come [...] through wisdom [...]. Then the firmaments will fall down into the depth. Then the sons of matter will perish; they will not be, henceforth.

Then the souls will appear, who are holy through the light of the Power, who is exalted, above all powers, the immeasurable, the universal one, I and all those who will know me. And they will be in the aeon of beauty of the aeon of judgement, since they are ready in wisdom, having given glory to him who is in the incomprehensible unity; and they see him because of his will, which is in them. And they all have become as reflections in his light. They all have shone, and they have found rest in his rest.

And he will release the souls that are being punished, and they will come to be in purity. And they will see the saints and cry out to them, "Have mercy on us, O Power who art above all powers!" For [...] and in the tree of iniquity that exists [...] to him their eyes. And they do not seek him because they do not seek us, nor do they believe us, but they acted according to the creation of the archons and its other rulers. But we have acted according to our birth of the flesh, in the creation of the archons, which gives law. We also have come to be in the unchangeable aeon.

AUTHORITATIVE TEACHING

From: The Nag Hammadi Library
Translation: George W. MacRae
Edited by James M. Robinson
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 3rd centuries A.D.

(Authoritative Teaching appears to be a gnostic work. But it lacks the tone of self-assurance or confidence, which characterises many gnostic treatises. The soul is in perpetual danger of succumbing to the "adversary," or to the false attraction of the material, and consequently she must maintain a practised vigilance. We do not exactly know have made the tractate. Some have argued that the authors were Gnostics, who only expressed as much of the gnostic myth in the tractate as was needed. A fundamental difference may be seen between Gnostics and traditional Christians, where gnostic "seekers" contrast themselves with the "senseless" faith-oriented Christians, who have "found" the way, in sterile creedal religion. Others believe that second-century Christian Middle Platonists produced the tractate. They find numerous echoes to passages in the New Testament. Like so many so-called gnostic works, The Authoritative Teaching reflects many points of view that were circulating in the first three centuries AD.)

[...] in heaven [...] within him [...] anyone appears [...] the hidden heavens [...] appear, and before the invisible, ineffable worlds appeared. From these the invisible soul of righteousness came, being a fellow member, and a fellow body, and a fellow spirit. Whether she is in the descent or is in the Pleroma, she is not separated from them, but they see her and she looks at them in the invisible world.

Secretly her bridegroom fetched it. He presented it to her mouth to make her eat it like food, and he applied the word to her eyes as a medicine to make her see with her mind and perceive her kinsmen and learn about her root, in order that she might cling to her branch from which she had first come forth, in order that she might receive what is hers and renounce matter.

[...] he [dwelt...] having [...] sons. The sons [...] truly, those who have come from his seed, call the sons of the woman "our brothers". In this very way, when the spiritual soul was cast into the body, it became a brother to lust and hatred and envy, and a material soul. So therefore the body came from lust, and lust came from material substance. For this reason the soul became a brother to them.

And yet they are outsiders, without power to inherit from the male, but they will inherit from their mother only. Whenever, therefore, the soul wishes to inherit along with the outsiders - for the possessions of the outsiders are proud passions, the pleasures of life, hateful envies, vainglorious things, nonsensical things, accusations [...] for her [...] prostitution, he excludes her and puts her into the brothel. For [...] debauchery for her. She left modesty behind. For death and life are set before everyone. Whichever of these two they wish, then, they will choose for themselves.

That one then will fall into drinking much wine in debauchery. For wine is the debaucher. Therefore she does not remember her brothers and her father, for pleasure and sweet profits deceive her.

Having left knowledge behind, she fell into bestiality. For a senseless person exists in bestiality, not knowing what is proper to say and what it is proper not to say. But, on the other hand, the gentle son inherits from his father with pleasure, while his father rejoices over him because he receives honour on account of him from everyone, as he looks again for the way to double the things that he has received. For the outsiders [...].

[...] to mix with the [...]. For if a thought of lust enters into a virgin man, he has already become contaminated. And their gluttony cannot mix with moderation. For if the chaff is mixed with the wheat, it is not the chaff that is contaminated, but the wheat. For since they are mixed with each other, no one will buy her wheat, because it is contaminated. But they will coax him, "Give us this chaff!", seeing the wheat mixed with it, until they get it and throw it with all other chaff, and that chaff mixes with all other materials. But a pure seed is kept in storehouses that are secure. All these things,then, we have spoken.

And before anything came into being, it was the Father alone who existed, before the worlds that are in the heavens appeared, or the world that is on the earth, or principality, or authority, or the powers. [...] appear [...] and [...] And nothing came into being without his wish.

He, then, the Father, wishing to reveal his wealth and his glory, brought about this great contest in this world, wishing to make the contestants appear, and make all those who contend leave behind the things that had come into being, and despise them with a lofty, incomprehensible knowledge, and flee to the one who exists.

And (as for) those who contend with us, being adversaries who contend against us, we are to be victorious over their ignorance through our knowledge, since we have already known the Inscrutable One from whom we have come forth. We have nothing in this world, lest the authority of the world that has come into being should detain us in the worlds that are in the heavens, those in which universal death exists, surrounded by the individual [...] worldly. We have also become ashamed of the worlds, though we take no interest in them when they malign us. And we ignore them when they curse us. When they cast shame in our face, we look at them and do not speak.

For they work at their business, but we go about in hunger (and) in thirst, looking toward our dwelling-place, the place which our conduct and our conscience look toward, not clinging to the things which have come into being, but withdrawing from them. Our hearts are set on the things that exist, though we are ill (and) feeble (and) in pain. But there is a great strength hidden within us.

Our soul indeed is ill because she dwells in a house of poverty, while matter strikes blows at her eyes, wishing to make her blind. For this reason she pursues the word and applies it to her eyes as a medicine <opening> them, casting away [...] thought of a [...] blindness in [...] afterwards, when that one is again in ignorance, he is completely darkened and is material. Thus the soul [...] a word every hour, to apply it to her eyes as a medicine in order that she may see, and her light may conceal the hostile forces that fight with her, and she may make them blind with her light, and enclose them in her presence, and make them fall down in sleeplessness, and she may act boldly with her strength and with her scepter.

While her enemies look at her in shame, she runs upward into her treasure-house - the one in which her mind is - and (into) her storehouse which is secure, since nothing among the things that have come into being has seized her, nor has she received a stranger into her house. For many are her homeborn ones who fight against her by day and by night, having no rest by day or by night, for their lust oppresses them.

For this reason, then, we do not sleep, nor do we forget the nets that are spread out in hiding, lying in wait for us to catch us. For if we are caught in a single net, it will suck us down into its mouth, while the water flows over us, striking our face. And we will be taken down into the dragnet, and we will not be able to come up from it, because the waters are high over us, flowing from above downward, submerging our heart down in the filthy mud. And we will not be able to escape from them. For man-eaters will seize us and swallow us, rejoicing like a fisherman casting a hook into the water. For he casts many kinds of food into the water because each one of the fish has his own food. He smells it and pursues its odor. But when he eats it, the hook hidden within the food seizes him and brings him up by force out of the deep waters. No man is able, then, to catch that fish down in the deep waters, except for the trap that the fisherman sets. By the ruse of food he brought the fish up on the hook.

In this very way we exist in this world, like fish. The adversary spies on us, lying in wait for us like a fisherman, wishing to seize us, rejoicing that he might swallow us. For he places many foods before our eyes (things) which belong to this world. He wishes to make us desire one of them and to taste only a little, so that he may seize us with his hidden poison and bring us out of freedom and take us into slavery. For whenever he catches us with a single food, it is indeed necessary for us to desire the rest. Finally, then, such things become the food of death.

Now these are the foods with which the devil lies in wait for us. First he injects a pain into your heart until you have heartache on account of a small thing of this life, and he seizes (you) with his poisons. And afterward (he injects) the desire of a tunic, so that you will pride yourself in it, and love of money, pride, vanity, envy that rivals another envy, beauty of body, fraudulence. The greatest of all these are ignorance and ease.

Now all such things the adversary prepares beautifully and spreads out before the body, wishing to make the mind of the soul incline her toward one of them and overwhelm her, like a hook, drawing her by force in ignorance, deceiving her until she conceives evil, and bears fruit of matter, and conducts herself in uncleanness, pursuing many desires, covetousnesses, while fleshly pleasure draws her in ignorance.

But the soul - she who has tasted these things - realized that sweet passions are transitory. She had learned about evil; she went away from them and she entered into a new conduct. Afterwards she despises this life, because it is transitory. And she looks for those foods that will take her into life, and leaves behind her those deceitful foods. And she learns about her light, as she goes about stripping off this world, while her true garment clothes her within, (and) her bridal clothing is placed upon her in beauty of mind, not in pride of flesh. And she learns about her depth and runs into her fold, while her shepherd stands at the door. In return for all the shame and scorn, then, that she received in this world, she receives ten thousand times the grace and glory.

She gave the body to those who had given it to her, and they were ashamed, while the dealers in bodies sat down and wept because they were not able to do any business with that body, nor did they find any (other) merchandise except it. They endured great labours until they had shaped the body of

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this soul, wishing to strike down the invisible soul. They were therefore ashamed of their work; they suffered the loss of the one for whom they had endured labours. They did not realize that she has an invisible spiritual body, thinking, "We are her shepherd who feeds her." But they did not realize that she knows another way, which is hidden from them. This her true shepherd taught her in knowledge.

But these - the ones who are ignorant - do not seek after God. Nor do they inquire about their dwelling-place, which exists in rest, but they go about in bestiality. They are more wicked than the pagans, because first of all they do not inquire about God, for their hardness of heart draws them down to make them their cruelty. Furthermore, if they find someone else who asks about his salvation, their hardness of heart sets to work upon that man. And if he does not stop asking, they kill him by their cruelty, thinking that they have done a good thing for themselves.

Indeed they are sons of the devil! For even pagans give charity, and they know that God who is in the heavens exists, the Father of the universe, exalted over their idols, which they worship. But they have not heard the word, that they should inquire about his ways. Thus the senseless man hears the call, but he is ignorant of the place to which he has been called. And he did not ask during the preaching, "Where is the temple into which I should go and worship my hope?"

On account of his senselessness, then, he is worse than a pagan, for the pagans know the way to go to their stone temple, which will perish, and they worship their idol, while their hearts are set on it because it is their hope. But to this senseless man the word has been preached, teaching him, "Seek and inquire about the ways you should go, since there is nothing else that is as good as this thing." The result is that the substance of hardness of heart strikes a blow upon his mind, along with the force of ignorance and the demon of error. They do not allow his mind to rise up, because he was wearying himself in seeking that he might learn about his hope.

But the rational soul who (also) wearied herself in seeking - she learned about God. She laboured with inquiring, enduring distress in the body, wearing out her feet after the evangelists, learning about the Inscrutable One. She found her rising. She came to rest in him who is at rest. She reclined in the bride-chamber. She ate of the banquet for which she had hungered. She partook of the immortal food. She found what she had sought after. She received rest from her labours, while the light that shines forth upon her does not sink. To it belongs the glory and the power and the revelation for ever and ever. Amen.

THE HYPOSTASIS OF THE ARCHONS

or The Reality of the Rulers
From: The Nag Hammadi Library
Translation: Bentley Layton
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 3rd centuries A.D.

(The Hypostasis of the Archons or The Reality of the Rulers is an exegesis on the Book of Genesis 1–6 and expresses Gnostic mythology of the divine creators of the cosmos and humanity. The text was found in The Nag Hammadi Library in 1945. It is tentatively dated in the third century AD and is thought to originate from a transitional period in Gnosticism when it was converting from a purely mythological state into a philosophical phase. The beginning and conclusion to the document are Christian Gnostic, but the rest of the material is a mythological narrative.

Although the etymologies and puns on Semitic names suggest the author's close contact with Jewish legends and interpretive traditions as well as knowledge of Greek mythology and Hellenistic cult practices. The work contains no Christian anti-Gnostic characteristics. As the original Greek text has not been discovered, the only known version is the Coptic translation from Nag Hammadi.)

On account of the reality of the authorities, (inspired) by the spirit of the father of truth, the great apostle – referring to the "authorities of the darkness" – told us that "our contest is not against flesh and blood; rather, the authorities of the universe and the spirits of wickedness." I have sent this (to you) because you inquire about the reality of the authorities.

Their chief is blind; because of his power and his ignorance and his arrogance he said, with his power, "It is I who am God; there is none apart from me." When he said this, he sinned against the entirety. And this speech got up to incorruptibility; then there was a voice that came forth from incorruptibility, saying, "You are mistaken, Samael" – which is, "god of the blind."

His thoughts became blind. And, having expelled his power – that is, the blasphemy he had spoken – he pursued it down to chaos and the abyss, his mother, at the instigation of Pistis Sophia. And she established each of his offspring in conformity with its power - after the pattern of the realms that are above, for by starting from the invisible world the visible world was invented.

As incorruptibility looked down into the region of the waters, her image appeared in the waters; and the authorities of the darkness became enamored of her. But they could not lay hold of that image, which had appeared to them in the waters, because of their weakness – since beings that merely possess a soul cannot lay hold of those that possess a spirit – for they were from below, while it was from above. This is the reason why "incorruptibility looked down into the region (etc.)": so that, by the father's will, she might bring the entirety into union with the light.

The rulers laid plans and said, "Come, let us create a man that will be soil from the earth." They modeled their creature as one wholly of the earth. Now the rulers [...] body [...] they have [...] female [...] is [...] with the face of a beast. They had taken some soil from the earth and modeled their man after their body and after the image of God that had appeared to them in the waters. They said, "Come, let us lay hold of it by means of the form that we have modeled, so that it may see its male counterpart [...], and we may seize it with the form that we have modeled" – not understanding the force of God, because of their powerlessness. And he breathed into his face; and the man came to have a soul (and remained) upon the ground many days. But they could not make him arise because of their powerlessness. Like storm winds they persisted (in blowing), that they might try to capture that image, which had appeared to them in the waters. And they did not know the identity of its power.

Now all these things came to pass by the will of the father of the entirety. Afterwards, the spirit saw the soul-endowed man upon the ground. And the spirit came forth from the Adamantine Land; it descended and came to dwell within him, and that man became a living soul. It called his name Adam, since he was found moving upon the ground. A voice came forth from incorruptibility for the assistance of Adam; and the rulers gathered together all the animals of the earth and all the birds of heaven and brought them in to Adam to see what Adam would call them, that he might give a name to each of the birds and all the beasts.

They took Adam and put him the garden, that he might cultivate it and keep watch over it. And the rulers issued a command to him, saying, "From every tree in the garden shall you eat; yet from the tree of recognizing good and evil do not eat, nor touch it; for the day you eat from it, with death you are going to die."

They [...] this. They do not understand what they have said to him; rather, by the father's will, they said this in such a way that he might (in fact) eat, and that Adam might <not> regard them as would a man of an exclusively material nature.

The rulers took counsel with one another and said, "Come, let us cause a deep sleep to fall upon Adam." And he slept. – Now the deep sleep that they "caused to fall upon him, and he slept" is Ignorance. – They opened his side like a living woman. And they built up his side with some flesh in place of her, and Adam came to be endowed only with soul.

And the spirit-endowed woman came to him and spoke with him, saying, "Arise, Adam." And when he saw her, he said, "It is you who have given me life; you will be called 'mother of the living'. – For it is she who is my mother. It is she who is the physician, and the woman, and she who has given birth."

Then the authorities came up to their Adam. And when they saw his female counterpart speaking with him, they became agitated with great agitation; and they became enamored of her. They said to one another, "Come, let us sow our seed in her," and they pursued her. And she laughed at them for their witlessness and their blindness; and in their clutches she became a tree, and left before them her shadowy reflection resembling herself; and they defiled it foully. – And they defiled the stamp of her voice, so that by the form they had modeled, together with their (own) image, they made themselves liable to condemnation.

Then the female spiritual principle came in the snake, the instructor; and it taught them, saying, "What did he say to you? Was it, 'From every tree in the garden shall you eat; yet – from the tree of recognizing good and evil do not eat'?"

The carnal woman said, "Not only did he say 'Do not eat', but even 'Do not touch it; for the day you eat from it, with death you are going to die.'"

And the snake, the instructor, said, "With death you shall not die; for it was out of jealousy that he said this to you. Rather your eyes shall open and you shall come to be like gods, recognizing evil and good." And the female instructing principle was taken away from the snake, and she left it behind, merely a thing of the earth.

And the carnal woman took from the tree and ate; and she gave to her husband as well as herself; and these beings that possessed only a soul, ate. And their imperfection became apparent in their lack of knowledge; and they recognised that they were naked of the spiritual element, and took fig leaves and bound them upon their loins.

Then the chief ruler came; and he said, "Adam! Where are you?" – for he did not understand what had happened. And Adam said, "I heard your voice and was afraid because I was naked; and I hid."

The ruler said, "Why did you hide, unless it is because you have eaten from the tree from which alone I commanded you not to eat? And you have eaten!"

Adam said, "The woman that you gave me, she gave to me and I ate." And the arrogant ruler cursed the woman.

The woman said, "It was the snake that led me astray and I ate." They turned to the snake and cursed its shadowy reflection, [...] powerless, not comprehending that it was a form they themselves had modeled. From that day, the snake came to be under the curse of the authorities; until the all-powerful man was to come, that curse fell upon the snake.

They turned to their Adam and took him and expelled him from the garden along with his wife; for they have no blessing, since they too are beneath the curse. Moreover, they threw mankind into great distraction and into a life of toil, so that their mankind might be occupied by worldly affairs, and might not have the opportunity of being devoted to the holy spirit.

Now afterwards, she bore Cain, their son; and Cain cultivated the land. Thereupon he knew his wife; again becoming pregnant, she bore Abel; and Abel was a herdsman of sheep. Now Cain brought in from the crops of his field, but Abel brought in an offering (from) among his lambs. God looked upon the votive offerings of Abel; but he did not accept the votive offerings of Cain. And carnal Cain pursued Abel, his brother.

And God said to Cain, "Where is Abel, your brother?"

He answered saying, "Am I, then, my brother's keeper?"

God said to Cain, "Listen! The voice of your brother's blood is crying up to me! You have sinned with your mouth. It will return to you: anyone who kills Cain will let loose seven vengeances, and you will exist groaning and trembling upon the earth."

And Adam knew his female counterpart Eve, and she became pregnant, and bore Seth to Adam. And she said, "I have borne another man through God, in place of Abel." Again Eve became pregnant, and she bore Norea. And she said, "He has begotten on me a virgin as an assistance for many generations of mankind." She is the virgin whom the forces did not defile.

Then mankind began to multiply and improve. The rulers took counsel with one another and said, "Come, let us cause a deluge with our hands and obliterate all flesh, from man to beast." But when the ruler of the forces came to know of their decision, he said to Noah, "Make yourself an ark from some wood that does not rot and hide in it - you and your children and the beasts and the birds of heaven from small to large – and set it upon Mount Sir."

Then Norea came to him, wanting to board the ark. And when he would not let her, she blew upon the ark and caused it to be consumed by fire. Again he made the ark, for a second time.

The rulers went to meet her, intending to lead her astray. Their supreme chief said to her, "Your mother Eve came to us." But Norea turned to them and said to them, "It is you who are the rulers of the darkness; you are accursed. And you did not know my mother; instead it was your female counterpart that you knew. For I am not your descendant; rather it is from the world above that I am come."

The arrogant ruler turned, with all his might, and his countenance came to be like (a) black [...]; he said to her presumptuously, "You must render service to us, as did also your mother Eve; for I have been given [...]." But Norea turned, with the might of [...]; and in a loud voice, she cried out up to the holy one, the God of the entirety, "Rescue me from the rulers of unrighteousness and save me from their clutches - forthwith!"

The (great) angel came down from the heavens and said to her, "Why are you crying up to God? Why do you act so boldly towards the holy spirit?"

Norea said, "Who are you?" The rulers of unrighteousness had withdrawn from her.

He said, "It is I who am Eleleth, sagacity, the great angel who stands in the presence of the holy spirit. I have been sent to speak with you and save you from the grasp of the lawless. And I shall teach you about your root."

(Norea apparently now speaking) Now as for that angel, I cannot speak of his power: his appearance is like fine gold and his raiment is like snow. No, truly, my mouth cannot bear to speak of his power and the appearance of his face!

Eleleth, the great angel, spoke to me. "It is I," he said, "who am understanding. I am one of the four light-givers, who stand in the presence of the great invisible spirit. Do you think these rulers have any power over you? None of them can prevail against the root of truth; for on its account he appeared in the final ages; and these authorities will be restrained. And these authorities cannot defile you and that generation; for your abode is in incorruptibility, where the virgin spirit dwells, who is superior to the authorities of chaos and to their universe."

But I said, "Sir, teach me about the faculty of these authorities – how did they come into being, and by what kind of genesis, and of what material, and who created them and their force?"

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And the great angel Eleleth, understanding, spoke to me: "Within limitless realms dwells incorruptibility. Sophia, who is called Pistis, wanted to create something, alone without her consort; and her product was a celestial thing. A veil exists between the world above and the realms that are below; and shadow came into being beneath the veil; and that shadow became matter; and that shadow was projected apart. And what she had created became a product in the matter, like an aborted fetus. And it assumed a plastic form molded out of shadow, and became an arrogant beast resembling a lion. It was androgynous, as I have already said, because it was from matter that it derived.

Opening his eyes, he saw a vast quantity of matter without limit; and he became arrogant, saying, "It is I who am God, and there is none other apart from me". When he said this, he sinned against the entirety. And a voice came forth from above the realm of absolute power, saying, "You are mistaken, Samael" – which is, 'god of the blind'.

And he said, "If any other thing exists before me, let it become visible to me!" And immediately Sophia stretched forth her finger and introduced light into matter; and she pursued it down to the region of chaos. And she returned up to her light; once again darkness [...] matter.

This ruler, by being androgynous, made himself a vast realm, an extent without limit. And he contemplated creating offspring for himself, and created for himself seven offspring, androgynous just like their parent. And he said to his offspring, "It is I who am god of the entirety."

And Zoe (Life), the daughter of Pistis Sophia, cried out and said to him, "You are mistaken, Sakla!" – for which the alternative name is Yaltabaoth. She breathed into his face, and her breath became a fiery angel for her; and that angel bound Yaldabaoth and cast him down into Tartaros below the abyss.

Now when his offspring Sabaoth saw the force of that angel, he repented and condemned his father and his mother, matter. He loathed her, but he sang songs of praise up to Sophia and her daughter Zoe. And Sophia and Zoe caught him up and gave him charge of the seventh heaven, below the veil between above and below. And he is called 'God of the forces, Sabaoth', since he is up above the forces of chaos, for Sophia established him.

Now when these (events) had come to pass, he made himself a huge four-faced chariot of cherubim, and infinitely many angels to act as ministers, and also harps and lyres. And Sophia took her daughter Zoe and had her sit upon his right to teach him about the things that exist in the eighth (heaven); and the angel of wrath she placed upon his left. Since that day, his right has been called 'life'; and the left has come to represent the unrighteousness of the realm of absolute power above. It was before your time that they came into being.

Now when Yaldabaoth saw him (Sabaoth) in this great splendor and at this height, he envied him; and the envy became an androgynous product, and this was the origin of envy. And envy engendered death; and death engendered his offspring and gave each of them charge of its heaven; and all the heavens of chaos became full of their multitudes. But it was by the will of the father of the entirety that they all came into being – after the pattern of all the things above – so that the sum of chaos might be attained.

"There, I have taught you about the pattern of the rulers; and the matter in which it was expressed; and their parent; and their universe."

But I said, "Sir, am I also from their matter?"

"You, together with your offspring, are from the primeval father; from above, out of the imperishable light, their souls are come. Thus the authorities cannot approach them, because of the spirit of truth present within them; and all who have become acquainted with this way exist deathless in the midst of dying mankind. Still, that sown element will not become known now. Instead, after three generations it will come to be known, and it has freed them from the bondage of the authorities' error."

Then I said, "Sir, how much longer?"

He said to me, "Until the moment when the true man, within a modeled form, reveals the existence of the spirit of truth, which the father has sent.

Then he will teach them about everything, and he will anoint them with the unction of life eternal, given him from the undominated generation.

Then they will be freed of blind thought, and they will trample underfoot death, which is of the authorities, and they will ascend into the limitless light where this sown element belongs.

Then the authorities will relinquish their ages, and their angels will weep over their destruction, and their demons will lament their death.

Then all the children of the light will be truly acquainted with the truth and their root, and the father of the entirety and the holy spirit. They will all say with a single voice, 'The father's truth is just, and the son presides over the entirety", and from everyone unto the ages of ages, "Holy – holy – holy! Amen!'"

THE THUNDER, PERFECT MIND
From: The Nag Hammadi Library
Translation: George W. MacRae
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 4th centuries A.D.

(The Thunder, Perfect Mind is an exhortatory poem discovered among the Gnostic manuscripts at Nag Hammadi in 1945. The Thunder, Perfect Mind (the title may alternately be translated The Thunder, Perfect Intellect) takes the form of an extended, riddling monologue, in which an immanent divine saviour speaks a series of paradoxical statements alternating between first-person assertions of identity and direct address to the audience. These paradoxical utterances echo Greek identity riddles, a common poetic form in the Mediterranean. Moreover, it is a non-epistolic, non-narrative unmediated divine speech. There are some translations to the right from the same section of the poem. Line numbering is different in different translations.

The original language of the poem was Greek, though only a Coptic version survives in the Nag Hammadi library. As to dating, Anne McGuire writes: "Thunder, Perfect Mind exists only in the Coptic version found at Nag Hammadi (NHC VI,2:13,1-21,32). The author, date, and place of composition are unknown, but a cultural milieu like that of second- or third-century Alexandria is plausible. In any case, it is clear that the text was originally composed in Greek well before 350 AD the approximate date of the Coptic manuscript."

The work as a whole takes the form of a poem in parallel strophes, and the author, it may be surmised, has drawn on a tradition of such poems in both Egyptian and Jewish communities, in which a similarly female divinity (Isis or aspect of the divine Sophia respectively) expounds her virtues unto an attentive audience, and exhorts them to strive to attain her. Patricia Cox Miller suggests that it is the "self-revelation of a powerful goddess")

I was sent forth from the power, and I have come to those who reflect upon me, and I have been found among those who seek after me.

Look upon me, you who reflect upon me, and you hearers, hear me. You who are waiting for me, take me to yourselves.

And do not banish me from your sight.

And do not make your voice hate me, nor your hearing.

Do not be ignorant of me anywhere or any time. Be on your guard!

Do not be ignorant of me.

For I am the first and the last.

I am the honoured one and the scorned one.

I am the whore and the holy one.

I am the wife and the virgin.

I am the mother and the daughter.

I am the members of my mother.

I am the barren one and many are her sons.

I am she whose wedding is great, and I have not taken a husband.

I am the midwife and she who does not bear.

I am the solace of my labour pains.

I am the bride and the bridegroom, and it is my husband who begot me.

I am the mother of my father and the sister of my husband and he is my offspring.

I am the slave of him who prepared me.

I am the ruler of my offspring. But he is the one who begot me before the time on a birthday. And he is my offspring in (due) time, and my power is from him.

I am the staff of his power in his youth, and he is the rod of my old age. And whatever he wills happens to me.

I am the silence that is incomprehensible and the idea whose remembrance is frequent.

I am the voice whose sound is manifold and the word whose appearance is multiple.

I am the utterance of my name.

Why, you who hate me, do you love me, and hate those who love me?

You who deny me, confess me, and you who confess me, deny me.

You who tell the truth about me, lie about me, and you who have lied about me, tell the truth about me.

You who know me, be ignorant of me, and those who have not known me, let them know me.

For I am knowledge and ignorance.

I am shame and boldness.

I am shameless; I am ashamed.

I am strength and I am fear.

I am war and peace.

Give heed to me.

I am the one who is disgraced and the great one.

Give heed to my poverty and my wealth.

Do not be arrogant to me when I am cast out upon the earth, and you will find me in those that are to come.

And do not look upon me on the dung-heap nor go and leave me cast out, and you will find me in the kingdoms.

And do not look upon me when I am cast out among those who are disgraced and in the least places, nor laugh at me.

And do not cast me out among those who are slain in violence.

But I, I am compassionate and I am cruel.

Be on your guard!

Do not hate my obedience and do not love my self-control.

In my weakness, do not forsake me, and do not be afraid of my power.

For why do you despise my fear and curse my pride?

But I am she who exists in all fears and strength in trembling.

I am she who is weak, and I am well in a pleasant place.

I am senseless and I am wise.

Why have you hated me in your counsels?

For I shall be silent among those who are silent, and I shall appear and speak,

Why then have you hated me, you Greeks? Because I am a barbarian among the barbarians?

For I am the wisdom of the Greeks and the knowledge of the barbarians.

I am the judgement of the Greeks and of the barbarians.

I am the one whose image is great in Egypt and the one who has no image among the barbarians.

I am the one who has been hated everywhere and who has been loved everywhere.

I am the one whom they call Life, and you have called Death.

I am the one whom they call Law, and you have called Lawlessness.

I am the one whom you have pursued, and I am the one whom you have seized.

I am the one whom you have scattered, and you have gathered me together.

I am the one before whom you have been ashamed, and you have been shameless to me.

I am she who does not keep festival, and I am she whose festivals are many.

I, I am godless, and I am the one whose God is great.

I am the one whom you have reflected upon, and you have scorned me.

I am unlearned, and they learn from me.

I am the one that you have despised, and you reflect upon me.

I am the one whom you have hidden from, and you appear to me.

But whenever you hide yourselves, I myself will appear.

For whenever you appear, I myself will hide from you.

Those who have [...] to it [...] senselessly [...].

Take me [... understanding] from grief, and take me to yourselves from understanding and grief.

And take me to yourselves from places that are ugly and in ruin, and rob from those which are good even though in ugliness.

Out of shame, take me to yourselves shamelessly; and out of shamelessness and shame, upbraid my members in yourselves.

And come forward to me, you who know me and you who know my members, and establish the great ones among the small first creatures.

Come forward to childhood, and do not despise it because it is small and it is little.

And do not turn away greatnesses in some parts from the smallnesses, for the smallnesses are known from the greatnesses.

Why do you curse me and honour me?

You have wounded and you have had mercy.

Do not separate me from the first ones whom you have known.

And do not cast anyone out nor turn anyone away [...] turn you away and [... know] him not.

[...].

What is mine [...].

I know the first ones and those after them know me.

But I am the mind of [...] and the rest of [...].

I am the knowledge of my inquiry, and the finding of those who seek after me, and the command of those who ask of me, and the power of the powers in my knowledge of the angels, who have been sent at my word, and of gods in their seasons by my counsel, and of spirits of every man who exists with me, and of women who dwell within me.

I am the one who is honoured, and who is praised, and who is despised scornfully.

I am peace, and war has come because of me.

And I am an alien and a citizen.

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I am the substance and the one who has no substance.
Those who are without association with me are ignorant of me, and those who are in my substance are the ones who know me.
Those who are close to me have been ignorant of me, and those who are far away from me are the ones who have known me.
On the day when I am close to you, you are far away from me, and on the day when I am far away from you, I am close to you.

[I am ...] within.
[I am ...] of the natures.
I am [...] of the creation of the spirits.
[...] request of the souls.
I am control and the uncontrollable.
I am the union and the dissolution.
I am the abiding and I am the dissolution.
I am the one below, and they come up to me.
I am the judgement and the acquittal.
I, I am sinless, and the root of sin derives from me.
I am lust in (outward) appearance, and interior self-control exists within me.
I am the hearing which is attainable to everyone and the speech which cannot be grasped.
I am a mute who does not speak, and great is my multitude of words.
Hear me in gentleness, and learn of me in roughness.
I am she who cries out, and I am cast forth upon the face of the earth.
I prepare the bread and my mind within.
I am the knowledge of my name.
I am the one who cries out, and I listen.
I appear and [...] walk in [...] seal of my [...].
I am [...] the defence [...].
I am the one who is called Truth and iniquity [...].

You honour me [...] and you whisper against me.
You who are vanquished, judge them (who vanquish you) before they give judgement against you, because the judge and partiality exist in you.
If you are condemned by this one, who will acquit you? Or, if you are acquitted by him, who will be able to detain you?
For what is inside of you is what is outside of you, and the one who fashions you on the outside is the one who shaped the inside of you. And what you see outside of you, you see inside of you; it is visible and it is your garment.
Hear me, you hearers and learn of my words, you who know me.
I am the hearing that is attainable to everything; I am the speech that cannot be grasped.
I am the name of the sound and the sound of the name.
I am the sign of the letter and the designation of the division.
And I [...].
(3 lines missing)
[...] light [...].
[...] hearers [...] to you
[...] the great power.
And [...] will not move the name.
[...] to the one who created me.
And I will speak his name.

Look then at his words and all the writings which have been completed.
Give heed then, you hearers and you also, the angels and those who have been sent, and you spirits who have arisen from the dead.
For I am the one who alone exists, and I have no one who will judge me.
For many are the pleasant forms which exist in numerous sins,
And incontinencies, and disgraceful passions, and fleeting pleasures, which (men) embrace until they become sober and go up to their resting place.
And they will find me there, and they will live, and they will not die again.

THE TRIPARTITE TRACTATE

From; The Nag Hammadi Library
Translation: Harold W. Attridge and Dieter Mueller
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 3rd centuries A.D.

(Commentary on the Tractate: The Tripartite Tractate "was probably written in the early to mid third century." It is a Gnostic work found in the Nag Hammadi library. It is the fifth tractate of the first codex, known as the Jung Codex. It deals primarily with the relationship between the Aeons and the Son. It is divided into three parts, which deal with the determinism of the Father and the free-will of the hypostatized aeons, the creation of humanity, evil, and the fall of Anthropos, and the variety of theologies, the tripartition of humanity, the actions of the Saviour and ascent of the saved into Unity, respectively.

The work is introduced by Harold W. Attridge and Elaine H. Pagels in the James M. Robinson version of the Nag Hammadi Library. They state that the Tractate is, "an elabourate, but untitled, Valentinian theological treatise which gives an account of devolution from and reintegration into the primordial godhead. The text is divided by scribal decoration into three segments which contain the major acts of the cosmic drama; hence its modern title." As for the date of the codex, it can really only be "determined within broad limits." It represents a previously unknown revision of Valentinian* theology. They even posit that the text may be, "a response to the criticism of orthodox theologians such as Irenaeus of Lyons or Hippolytus". [*the early Christian gnostic theologian Valentinius from Egypt, 100–160 AD.]

They also notice that the text "displays some affinities with Origen's* doctrines". No author is named in the treatise. Some have even speculated that disciples of Valentinius may have written it. Heracleon or an adherent of the western branch of the Valentinian school may be the one responsible for hashing it together. It is thought to have been originally written in Greek and was later translated into Coptic. [*Origen of Alexandria, c. 184–253 AD, was an early Christian scholar from Egypt.])

TRIPARTITE TRACTATE PART 1

1 INTRODUCTION:
As for what we can say about the things which are exalted, what is fitting is that we begin with the Father, who is the root of the Totality, the one from whom we have received grace to speak about him.

2 THE FATHER:
He existed before anything other than himself came into being. The Father is a single one, like a number, for he is the first one and the one who is only himself. Yet he is not like a solitary individual. Otherwise, how could he be a father? For whenever there is a "father," the name "son" follows. But the single one, who alone is the Father, is like a root, with tree, branches and fruit. It is said of him that he is a father in the proper sense, since he is inimitable and immutable. Because of this, he is single in the proper sense, and is a god, because no one is a god for him nor is anyone a father to him. For he is unbegotten, and there is no other who begot him, nor another who created him. For whoever is someone's father or his creator, he, too, has a father and creator. It is certainly possible for him to be father and creator of the one who came into being from him and the one whom he created, for he is not a father in the proper sense, nor a god, because he has someone who begot him and who created him. It is, then, only the Father and God in the proper sense that no one else begot. As for the Totalities, he is the one who begot them and created them. He is without beginning and without end.

Not only is he without end - He is immortal for this reason, that he is unbegotten - but he is also invariable in his eternal existence, in his identity, in that by which he is established, and in that by which he is great. Neither will he remove himself from that by which he is, nor will anyone else force him to produce an end which he has not ever desired. He has not had anyone who initiated his own existence. Thus, he is himself unchanged, and no one else can remove him from his existence and his identity, that in which he is, and his greatness, so that he cannot be grasped; nor is it possible for anyone else to change him into a different form, or to reduce him, or alter him or diminish him, - since this is so in the fullest sense of the truth - who is the unalterable, immutable one, with immutability clothing him.

Not only is he the one called "without a beginning" and "without an end," because he is unbegotten and immortal; but just as he has no beginning and no end as he is, he is unattainable in his greatness, inscrutable in his wisdom, incomprehensible in his power, and unfathomable in his sweetness.

In the proper sense, he alone - the good, the unbegotten Father, and the complete perfect one - is the one filled with all his offspring, and with every virtue, and with everything of value. And he has more, that is, lack of any malice, in order that it may be discovered that whoever has anything is indebted to him, because he gives it, being himself unreachable and unwearied by that which he gives, since he is wealthy in the gifts which he bestows, and at rest in the favors which he grants.

He is of such a kind and form and great magnitude that no one else has been with him from the beginning; nor is there a place in which he is, or from which he has come forth, or into which he will go; nor is there a primordial form, which he uses as a model as he works; nor is there any difficulty which accompanies him in what he does; nor is there any material which is at his disposal, from which <he> creates what he creates; nor any substance within him from which he begets what he begets; nor a co-worker with him, working with him on the things at which he works. To say anything of this sort is ignorant. Rather, (one should speak of him) as good, faultless, perfect, complete, being himself the Totality.

Not one of the names which are conceived or spoken, seen or grasped - not one of them applies to him, even though they are exceedingly glorious, magnifying and honoured. However, it is possible to utter these names for his glory and honour, in accordance with the capacity of each of those who give him glory. Yet as for him, in his own existence, being and form, it is impossible for mind to conceive him, nor can any speech convey him, nor can any eye see him, nor can any body grasp him, because of his inscrutable greatness, and his incomprehensible depth, and his immeasurable height, and his illimitable will. This is the nature of the unbegotten one, which does not touch anything else; nor is it joined (to anything) in the manner of something which is limited. Rather, he possesses this constitution, without having a face or a form, things which are understood through perception, whence also comes (the epithet) "the incomprehensible. If he is incomprehensible, then it follows that he is unknowable, that he is the one who is inconceivable by any thought, invisible by any thing, ineffable by any word, untouchable by any hand. He alone is the one who knows himself as he is, along with his form and his greatness and his magnitude. And since he has the ability to conceive of himself, to see himself, to name himself, to comprehend himself, he alone is the one who is his own mind, his own eye, his own mouth, his own form, and he is what he thinks, what he sees, what he speaks, what he grasps, himself, the one who is inconceivable, ineffable, incomprehensible, immutable, while sustaining, joyous, true, delightful, and restful is that which he conceives, that which he sees, that about which he speaks, that which he has as thought. He transcends all wisdom, and is above all intellect, and is above all glory, and is above all beauty, and all sweetness, and all greatness, and any depth and any height.

If this one, who is unknowable in his nature, to whom pertain all the greatnesses which I already mentioned - if, out of the abundance of his sweetness, he wishes to grant knowledge, so that he might be known, he has the ability to do so. He has his Power, which is his will. Now, however, in silence he himself holds back, he who is the great one, who is the cause of bringing the Totalities into their eternal being.

It is in the proper sense that he begets himself as ineffable, since he alone is self-begotten, since he conceives of himself, and since he knows himself as he is. What is worthy of his admiration and glory and honour and praise, he produces because of the boundlessness of his greatness, and the unsearchability of his wisdom, and the immeasurability of his power, and his untasteable sweetness. He is the one who projects himself thus, as generation, having glory and honour marvelous and lovely; the one who glorifies himself, who marvels, <who> honours, who also loves; the one who has a Son, who subsists in him, who is silent concerning him, who is the ineffable one in the ineffable one, the invisible one, the incomprehensible one, the inconceivable one in the inconceivable one. Thus, he exists in him forever. The Father, in the way we mentioned earlier, in an unbegotten way, is the one in whom he knows himself, who begot him having a thought, which is the thought of him, that is, the perception of him, which is the [...] of his constitution forever. That is, however, in the proper sense, the silence and the wisdom and the grace, if it is designated properly in this way.

3 THE SON AND THE CHURCH:
Just as the Father exists in the proper sense, the one before whom there was no one else, and the one apart from whom there is no other unbegotten one, so too the Son exists in the proper sense, the one before whom there was no other, and after whom no other son exists. Therefore, he is a firstborn and an only Son, "firstborn" because no one exists before him and "only Son" because no one is after him. Furthermore, he has his fruit, that which is unknowable because of its surpassing greatness. Yet he wanted it to be known, because of the riches of his sweetness. And he revealed the unexplainable power, and he combined with it the great abundance of his generosity.

Not only did the Son exist from the beginning, but the Church, too, existed from the beginning. Now, he who thinks that the discovery that the Son is an only son opposes the statement (about the Church) because of the mysterious quality of the matter, it is not so. For just as the Father is a unity, and has revealed himself as Father for him alone, so too the Son was found to be a brother to himself alone, in virtue of the fact that he is unbegotten and without beginning. He wonders at himself, along with the Father, and he gives him(self) glory and honour and love. Furthermore, he too is the one whom he conceives of as Son, in accordance with the dispositions: "without beginning" and "without end." Thus is the matter something which is fixed. Being innumerable and illimitable, his offspring are indivisible. Those which exist have come forth from the Son and the Father like kisses, because of the multitude of some who kiss one another with a good, insatiable thought, the kiss being a unity, although it involves many kisses. This is to say, it is the Church consisting of many men that existed before the aeons, which is called, in

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the proper sense, "the aeons of the aeons." This is the nature of the holy imperishable spirits, upon which the Son rests, since it is his essence, just as the Father rests upon the Son.

4 AEONIC EMANATIONS:

[...] the Church exists in the dispositions and properties in which the Father and the Son exist, as I have said from the start. Therefore, it subsists in the procreations of innumerable aeons. Also in an uncountable way they too beget, by the properties and the dispositions in which it (the Church) exists. For these comprise its association which they form toward one another and toward those who have come forth from them toward the Son, for whose glory they exist. Therefore, it is not possible for mind to conceive of him - He was the perfection of that place - nor can speech express them, for they are ineffable and unnameable and inconceivable. They alone have the ability to name themselves and to conceive of themselves. For they have not been rooted in these places.

Those of that place are ineffable, (and) innumerable in the system which is both the manner and the size, the joy, the gladness of the unbegotten, nameless, unnameable, inconceivable, invisible, incomprehensible one. It is the fullness of paternity, so that his abundance is a begetting [...] of the aeons.

They were forever in thought, for the Father was like a thought and a place for them. When their generations had been established, the one who is completely in control wished to lay hold of and to bring forth that which was deficient in the [...] and he brought forth those [...] him. But since he is as he is, he is a spring, which is not diminished by the water which abundantly flows from it. While they were in the Father's thought, that is, in the hidden depth, the depth knew them, but they were unable to know the depth in which they were; nor was it possible for them to know themselves, nor for them to know anything else. That is, they were with the Father; they did not exist for themselves. Rather, they only had existence in the manner of a seed, so that it has been discovered that they existed like a fetus. Like the word he begot them, subsisting spermatically, and the ones whom he was to beget had not yet come into being from him. The one who first thought of them, the Father, - not only so that they might exist for him, but also that they might exist for themselves as well, that they might then exist in his thought as mental substance and that they might exist for themselves too, - sowed a thought like a spermatic seed. Now, in order that they might know what exists for them, he graciously granted the initial form, while in order that they might recognise who is the Father who exists for them, he gave them the name "Father" by means of a voice proclaiming to them that what exists, exists through that name, which they have by virtue of the fact that they came into being, because the exaltation, which has escaped their notice, is in the name.

The infant, while in the form of a fetus has enough for itself, before ever seeing the one who sowed it. Therefore, they had the sole task of searching for him, realizing that he exists, ever wishing to find out what exists. Since, however, the perfect Father is good, just as he did not hear them at all so that they would exist (only) in his thought, but rather granted that they, too, might come into being, so also will he give them grace to know what exists, that is, the one who knows himself eternally, [...] form to know what exists, just as people are begotten in this place: when they are born, they are in the light, so that they see those who have begotten them.

The Father brought forth everything, like a little child, like a drop from a spring, like a blossom from a vine, like a flower, like a <planting> [...], in need of gaining nourishment and growth and faultlessness. He withheld it for a time. He who had thought of it from the very beginning, possessed it from the very beginning, and saw it, but he closed it off to those who first came from him. (He did this,) not out of envy, but in order that the aeons might not receive their faultlessness from the very beginning and might not exalt themselves to the glory, to the Father, and might think that from themselves alone they have this. But just as he wished to grant that they might come into being, so too, in order that they might come into being as faultless ones, when he wished, he gave them the perfect idea of beneficence toward them.

The one whom he raised up as a light for those who came from himself, the one from whom they take their name, he is the Son, who is full, complete and faultless. He brought him forth mingled with what came forth from him [...] partaking of the [...] the Totality, in accordance with [...] by which each one can receive him for himself, though such was not his greatness before he was received by it. Rather, he exists by himself. As for the parts in which he exists in his own manner and form and greatness, it is possible for <them> to see him and speak about that which they know of him, since they wear him while he wears them, because it is possible for them to comprehend him. He, however, is as he is, incomparable. In order that the Father might receive honour from each one and reveal himself, even in his ineffability, hidden, and invisible, they marvel at him mentally. Therefore, the greatness of his loftiness consists in the fact that they speak about him and see him. He becomes manifest, so that he may be hymned because of the abundance of his sweetness, with the grace of <...>. And just as the admirations of the silences are eternal generations and they are mental offspring, so too the dispositions of the word are spiritual emanations. Both of them admirations and dispositions, since they belong to a word, are seeds and thoughts of his offspring, and roots which live forever, appearing to be offspring which have come forth from themselves, being minds and spiritual offspring to the glory of the Father.

There is no need for voice and spirit, mind and word, because there is no need to work at that which they desire to do, but on the pattern by which he was existing, so are those who have come forth from him, begetting everything which they desire. And the one whom they conceive of, and whom they speak about, and the one toward whom they move, and the one in whom they are, and the one whom they hymn, thereby glorifying him, he has sons. For this is their procreative power, like those from whom they have come, according to their mutual assistance, since they assist one another like the unbegotten ones.

The Father, in accordance with his exalted position over the Totalities, being an unknown and incomprehensible one, has such greatness and magnitude, that, if he had revealed himself suddenly, quickly, to all the exalted ones among the aeons who had come forth from him, they would have perished. Therefore, he withheld his power and his inexhaustibility within that in which he is. He is ineffable and unnameable and exalted above every mind and every word. This one, however, stretched himself out and it was that which he stretched out which gave a foundation and a space and a dwelling place for the universe, a name of his being "the one through whom," since he is Father of the All, out of his labouring for those who exist, having sown into their thought that they might seek after him. The abundance of their [...] consists in the fact that they understand that he exists and in the fact that they ask what it is that was existing. This one was given to them for enjoyment and nourishment and joy and an abundance of illumination, which consists in his fellow labouring, his knowledge and his mingling with them, that is, the one who is called and is, in fact, the Son, since he is the Totalities and the one of whom they know both who he is and that it is he who clothes. This is the one who is called "Son" and the one of whom they understand that he exists and they were seeking after him. This is the one who exists as Father and (as) the one about whom they cannot speak, and the one of whom they do not conceive. This is the one who first came into being.

It is impossible for anyone to conceive of him or think of him. Or can anyone approach there, toward the exalted one, toward the preexistent in the proper sense? But all the names conceived or spoken about him are presented in honour, as a trace of him, according to the ability of each one of those who glorify him. Now he who arose from him when he stretched himself out for begetting and for knowledge on the part of the Totalities, he [...] all of the names, without falsification, and he is, in the proper sense, the sole first one, the man of the Father, that is, the one whom I call the form of the formless, the body of the bodiless, the face of the invisible, the word of the unutterable, the mind of the inconceivable, the fountain which flowed from him, the root of those who are planted, and the god of those who exist, the light of those whom he illumines, the love of those whom he loved, the providence of those for whom he providentially cares, the wisdom of those whom he made wise, the power of those to whom he gives power, the assembly of those whom he assembles to him, the revelation of the things which are sought after, the eye of those who see, the breath of those who breathe, the life of those who live, the unity of those who are mixed with the Totalities.

All of them exist in the single one, as he clothes himself completely and by his single name he is never called. And in this unique way they are equally the single one and the Totalities. He is neither divided as a body, nor is he separated into the names which he has received, (so that) he is one thing in this way and another in another way. Also, neither does he change in [...], nor does he turn into the names which he thinks of, and become now this, now something else, this thing now being one thing and, at another time, something else, but rather he is wholly himself to the uttermost. He is each and every one of the Totalities forever at the same time. He is what all of them are. He brought the Father to the Totalities. He also is the Totalities, for he is the one who is knowledge for himself and he is each one of the properties. He has the powers and he is beyond all that which he knows, while seeing himself in himself completely and having a Son and form. Therefore, his powers and properties are innumerable and inaudible, because of the begetting by which he begets them. Innumerable and indivisible are the begettings of his words, and his commands and his Totalities. He knows them, which things he himself is, since they are in the single name, and are all speaking in it. And he brings (them) forth, in order that it might be discovered that they exist according to their individual properties in a unified way. And he did not reveal the multitude to the Totalities at once nor did he reveal his equality to those who had come forth from him.

5 AEONIC LIFE:

All those who came forth from him <who> are the aeons of the aeons, being emanations and offspring of <his> procreative nature, they too, in their procreative nature, have <given> glory to the Father, as he was the cause of their establishment. This is what we said previously, namely that he creates the aeons as roots and springs and fathers, and that he is the one to whom they give glory. They have begotten, for he has knowledge and wisdom and the Totalities knew that it is from knowledge and wisdom that they have come forth. They would have brought forth a seeming honour: "The Father is the one who is the Totalities," if the aeons had risen up to give honour individually. Therefore, in the song of glorification and in the power of the unity of him from whom they have come, they were drawn into a mingling and a combination and a unity with one another. They offered glory worthy of the Father from the pleromatic congregation, which is a single representation although many, because it was brought forth as a glory for the single one and because they came forth toward the one who is himself the Totalities. Now, this was a praise [...] the one who brought forth the Totalities, being a first-fruit of the immortals and an eternal one, because, having come forth from the living aeons, being perfect and full because of the one who is perfect and full, it left full and perfect those who have given glory in a perfect way because of the fellowship. For, like the faultless Father, when he is glorified he also hears the glory which glorifies him, so as to make them manifest as that which he is.

The cause of the second honour which accrued to them is that which was returned to them from the Father when they had known the grace by which they bore fruit with one another because of the Father. As a result, just as they <were> brought forth in glory for the Father, so too in order to appear perfect, they appeared acting by giving glory.

They were fathers of the third glory according to the independence and the power which was begotten with them, since each one of them individually does not exist so as to give glory in a unitary way to him whom he loves.

They are the first and the second and thus both of them are perfect and full, for they are manifestations of the Father who is perfect and full, as well as of those who came forth, who are perfect by the fact that they glorify the perfect one. The fruit of the third, however, consists of honours of the will of each one of the aeons, and each one of the properties. The Father has power. It exists fully, perfect in the thought which is a product of agreement, since it is a product of the individuality of the aeons. It is this which he loves and over which he has power, as it gives glory to the Father by means of it.

For this reason, they are minds of minds, which are found to be words of words, elders of elders, degrees of degrees, which are exalted above one another. Each one of those who give glory has his place and his exaltation and his dwelling and his rest, which consists of the glory which he brings forth.

All those who glorify the Father have their begetting eternally, - they beget in the act of assisting one another - since the emanations are limitless and immeasurable and since there is no envy on the part of the Father toward those who came forth from him in regard to their begetting something equal or similar to him, since he is the one who exists in the Totalities, begetting and revealing himself. Whomever he wishes, he makes into a father, of whom he in fact is Father, and a god, of whom he in fact is God, and he makes them the Totalities, whose entirety he is. In the proper sense all the names which are great are kept there, these (names) which the angels share, who have come into being in the cosmos along with the archons, although they do not have any resemblance to the eternal beings.

The entire system of the aeons has a love and a longing for the perfect, complete discovery of the Father and this is their unimpeded agreement. Though the Father reveals himself eternally, he did not wish that they should know him, since he grants that he be conceived of in such a way as to be sought for, while keeping to himself his unsearchable primordial being.

It is he, the Father, who gave root impulses to the aeons, since they are places on the path which leads toward him, as toward a school of behavior. He has extended to them faith in and prayer to him whom they do not see; and a firm hope in him of whom they do not conceive; and a fruitful love, which looks toward that which it does not see; and an acceptable understanding of the eternal mind; and a blessing, which is riches and freedom; and a wisdom of the one who desires the glory of the Father for <his> thought.

It is by virtue of his will that the Father, the one who is exalted, is known, that is, (by virtue of) the spirit which breathes in the Totalities and it gives them an idea of seeking after the unknown one, just as one is drawn by a pleasant aroma to search for the thing from which the aroma arises, since the aroma of the Father surpasses these ordinary ones. For his sweetness leaves the aeons in ineffable pleasure and it gives them their idea of mingling with him who wants them to

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know him in a united way and to assist one another in the spirit which is sown within them. Though existing under a great weight, they are renewed in an inexpressible way, since it is impossible for them to be separated from that in which they are set in an uncomprehending way, because they will not speak, being silent about the Father's glory, about the one who has power to speak, and yet they will take form from him. He revealed himself, though it is impossible to speak of him. They have him, hidden in a thought, since from this one [...]. They are silent about the way the Father is in his form and his nature and his greatness, while the aeons have become worthy of knowing through his spirit that he is unnameable and incomprehensible. It is through his spirit, which is the trace of the search for him, that he provides them the ability to conceive of him and to speak about him.

Each one of the aeons is a name, <that is>, each of the properties and powers of the Father, since he exists in many names, which are intermingled and harmonious with one another. It is possible to speak of him because of the wealth of speech, just as the Father is a single name, because he is a unity, yet is innumerable in his properties and names.

The emanation of the Totalities, which exist from the one who exists, did not occur according to a separation from one another, as something cast off from the one who begets them. Rather, their begetting is like a process of extension, as the Father extends himself to those whom he loves, so that those who have come forth from him might become him as well.

Just as the present aeon, though a unity, is divided by units of time and units of time are divided into years and years are divided into seasons and seasons into months, and months into days, and days into hours, and hours into moments, so too the aeon of the Truth, since it is a unity and multiplicity, receives honour in the small and the great names according to the power of each to grasp it - by way of analogy - like a spring which is what it is, yet flows into streams and lakes and canals and branches, or like a root spread out beneath trees and branches with its fruit, or like a human body, which is partitioned in an indivisible way into members of members, primary members and secondary, great and small.

6 THE IMPERFECT BEGETTING BY THE LOGOS:

The aeons have brought themselves forth in accord with the third fruit by the freedom of the will and by the wisdom with which he favored them for their thought. They do not wish to give honour with that which is from an agreement, though it was produced for words of praise for each of the Pleromas. Nor do they wish to give honour with the Totality. Nor do they wish (to do so) with anyone else who was originally above the depth of that one, or (above) his place, except, however, for the one who exists in an exalted name and in the exalted place, and only if he receives from the one who wished (to give honour), and takes it to him(self) for the one above him, and (only if) he begets him(self), so to speak, himself, and, through that one, begets him(self) along with that which he is, and himself becomes renewed along with the one who came upon him, by his brother, and sees him and entreats him about the matter, namely, he who wished to ascend to him.

So that it might be in this way, the one who wished to give honour does not say anything to him about this, except only that there is a limit to speech set in the Pleroma, so that they are silent about the incomprehensibility of the Father, but they speak about the one who wishes to comprehend him. It came to one of the aeons that he should attempt to grasp the incomprehensibility and give glory to it and especially to the ineffability of the Father. Since he is a Logos of the unity, he is one, though he is not from the agreement of the Totalities, nor from him who brought them forth, namely, the one who brought forth the Totality, the Father.

This aeon was among those to whom was given wisdom, so that he could become pre-existent in each one's thought. By that which he wills, will they be produced. Therefore, he received a wise nature in order to examine the hidden basis, since he is a wise fruit; for, the free will which was begotten with the Totalities was a cause for this one, such as to make him do what he desired, with no one to restrain him.

The intent, then, of the Logos, who is this one, was good. When he had come forth, he gave glory to the Father, even if it led to something beyond possibility, since he had wanted to bring forth one who is perfect, from an agreement in which he had not been, and without having the command.

This aeon was last to have <been> brought forth by mutual assistance, and he was small in magnitude. And before he begot anything else for the glory of the will and in agreement with the Totalities, he acted, magnanimously, from an abundant love, and set out toward that which surrounds the perfect glory, for it was not without the will of the Father that the Logos was produced, which is to say, not without it will he go forth. But he, the Father, had brought him forth for those about whom he knew that it was fitting that they should come into being.

The Father and the Totalities drew away from him, so that the limit which the Father had set might be established - for it is not from grasping the incomprehensibility but by the will of the Father, - and furthermore, (they withdrew) so that the things which have come to be might become an organisation which would come into being. If it were to come, it would not come into being by the manifestation of the Pleroma. Therefore, it is not fitting to criticize the movement which is the Logos, but it is fitting that we should say about the movement of the Logos that it is a cause of an organisation which has been destined to come about.

The Logos himself caused it to happen, being complete and unitary, for the glory of the Father, whom he desired, and (he did so) being content with it, but those whom he wished to take hold of firmly he begot in shadows and copies and likenesses. For, he was not able to bear the sight of the light, but he looked into the depth and he doubted. Out of this there was a division - he became deeply troubled - and a turning away because of his self-doubt and division, forgetfulness and ignorance of himself and <of that> which is.

His self-exaltation and his expectation of comprehending the incomprehensible became firm for him and was in him. But the sicknesses followed him when he went beyond himself, having come into being from self-doubt, namely from the fact that he did not <reach the attainment of> the glories of the Father, the one whose exalted status is among things unlimited. This one did not attain him, for he did not receive him.

The one whom he himself brought forth as a unitary aeon rushed up to that which is his and this kin of his in the Pleroma abandoned him who came to be in the defect along with those who had come forth from him in an imaginary way, since they are not his.

When he who produced himself as perfect actually did bring himself forth, he became weak like a female nature which has abandoned its virile counterpart.

From that which was deficient in itself there came those things which came into being from his thought and his arrogance, but from that which is perfect in him he left it and raised himself up to those who are his. He was in the Pleroma as a remembrance for him so that he would be saved from his arrogance.

The one who ran on high and the one who drew him to himself were not barren, but in bringing forth a fruit in the Pleroma, they upset those who were in the defect.

Like the Pleromas are the things which came into being from the arrogant thought, which are their (the Pleromas') likenesses, copies, shadows, and phantasms, lacking reason and the light, these which belong to the vain thought, since they are not products of anything. Therefore, their end will be like their beginning: from that which did not exist (they are) to return once again to that which will not be. It is they, however, by themselves who are greater, more powerful, and more honoured than the names which are given to them, which are their shadows. In the manner of a reflection are they beautiful. For the face of the copy normally takes its beauty from that of which it is a copy.

They thought of themselves that they are beings existing by themselves and are without a source, since they do not see anything else existing before them. Therefore, they lived in disobedience and acts of rebellion, without having humbled themselves before the one because of whom they came into being.

They wanted to command one another, overcoming one another in their vain ambition, while the glory which they possess contains a cause of the system which was to be.

They are likenesses of the things which are exalted. They were brought to a lust for power in each one of them, according to the greatness of the name of which each is a shadow, each one imagining that it is superior to his fellows.

The thought of these others was not barren, but just like <those> of which they are shadows, all that they thought about they have as potential sons; those of whom they thought they had as offspring. Therefore, it happened that many offspring came forth from them, as fighters, as warriors, as troublemakers, as apostates. They are disobedient beings, lovers of power. All the other beings of this sort were brought forth from these.

7 THE CONVERSION OF THE LOGOS:

The Logos was a cause of those who came into being and he continued all the more to be at a loss and he was astonished. Instead of perfection, he saw a defect; instead of unification, he saw division; instead of stability, he saw disturbances; instead of rests, tumults. Neither was it possible for him to make them cease from loving disturbance, nor was it possible for him to destroy it. He was completely powerless, once his totality and his exaltation abandoned him.

Those who had come into being not knowing themselves both did not know the Pleromas from which they came forth and did not know the one who was the cause of their existence.

The Logos, being in such unstable conditions, did not continue to bring forth anything like emanations, the things which are in the Pleroma, the glories which exist for the honour of the Father. Rather, he brought forth little weaklings, hindered) by the illnesses by which he too was hindered. It was the likeness of the disposition which was a unity, that which was the cause of the things which do not themselves exist from the first.

Until the one who brought forth into the defect these things which were thus in need, until he judged those who came into being because of him contrary to reason - which is the judgement which became a condemnation - he struggled against them unto destruction, that is, the ones who struggled against the condemnation and whom the wrath pursues, while it (the wrath) accepts and redeems (them) from their (false) opinion and apostasy, since from it is the conversion which is also called "metanoia." The Logos turned to another opinion and another thought. Having turned away from evil, he turned toward the good things. Following the conversion came the thought of the things which exist and the prayer for the one who converted himself to the good.

The one who is in the Pleroma was what he first prayed to and remembered; then (he remembered) his brothers individually and (yet) always with one another; then all of them together; but before all of them, the Father. The prayer of the agreement was a help for him in his own return and (in that of) the Totality, for a cause of his remembering those who have existed from the first was his being remembered. This is the thought which calls out from afar, bringing him back.

All his prayer and remembering were numerous powers according to that limit. For there is nothing barren in his thought.

The powers were good and were greater than those of the likeness. For those belonging to the likeness also belong to a nature of falsehood. From an illusion of similarity and a thought of arrogance has come about that which they became. And they originate from the thought which first knew them.

To what do the former beings pertain? They are like forgetfulness and heavy sleep; being like those who dream troubled dreams, to whom sleep comes while they - those who dream - are oppressed. The others are like some creatures of light for him, looking for the rising of the sun, since it happened that they saw in him dreams which are truly sweet. It immediately put a stop to the emanations of the thought. They did not any longer have their substance and also they did not have honour any longer.

Though he is not equal to those who pre-existed, if they were superior to the likenesses, it was he alone through whom they were more exalted than those, for they are not from a good intent.

It was not from the sickness which came into being that they were produced, from which is the good intent, but (from) the one who sought after the pre-existent. Once he had prayed, he both raised himself to the good and sowed in them a predisposition to seek and pray to the glorious pre-existent one, and he sowed in them a thought about him and an idea, so that they should think that something greater than themselves exists prior to them, although they did not understand what it was. Begetting harmony and mutual love through that thought, they acted in unity and unanimity, since from unity and from unanimity they have received their very being.

They were stronger than them in the lust for power, for they were more honoured than the first ones, who had been raised above them. Those had not humbled themselves. They thought about themselves that they were beings originating from themselves alone and were without a source. As they brought forth at first according to their own birth, the two orders assaulted one another, fighting for command because of their manner of being. As a result, they were submerged in forces and natures in accord with the condition of mutual assault, having lust for power and all other things of this sort. It is from these that the vain love of glory draws all of them to the desire of the lust for power, while none of them has the exalted thought nor acknowledges it.

The powers of this thought are prepared in the works of the pre-existent <ones>, those of which they are the representations. For the order of those of this sort had mutual harmony, but it fought against the order of those of the likeness, while the order of those of the likeness wages war against the representations and acts against it alone, because of its wrath. From this it [...] them [...] one another, many [...] necessity appointed them [...] and might prevail [...] was not a multitude, [...] and their envy and their [...] and their wrath and violence and desire and prevailing ignorance produce empty matters and powers of various sorts, mixed in great number with one another; while the mind of the Logos, who was a cause of their begetting, was open to a revelation of the hope which would come to him from above.

8 THE EMANATION OF THE SAVIOUR:

The Logos which moved had the hope and the expectation of him who is exalted. As for those of the shadow, he separated himself from them in every way, since they fight against him and are not at all humble before him. He was content with the beings of the thought. And as for the one who is set up in this way and who is within the exalted boundary, remembering the one who is defective, the Logos brought him forth in an invisible way, among those who came into being according to the thought, according to the one

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who was with them, until the light shone upon him from above as a lifegiver, the one who was begotten by the thought of brotherly love of the pre-existent Pleromas.

The stumbling, which happened to the aeons of the Father of the Totalities who did not suffer, was brought to them, as if it were their own, in a careful and non-malicious and immensely sweet way. It was brought to the Totalities so that they might be instructed about the defect by the single one, from whom alone they all received strength to eliminate the defects.

The order which was his came into being from him who ran on high and that which brought itself forth from him and from the entire perfection. The one who ran on high became for the one who was defective an intercessor with the emanation of the aeons which had come into being in accord with the things which exist. When he prayed to them, they consented joyously and willingly, since they were in agreement, and with harmonious consent, to aid the defective one. They gathered together, asking the Father with beneficent intent that there be aid from above, from the Father, for his glory, since the defective one could not become perfect in any other way, unless it was the will of the Pleroma of the Father, which he had drawn to himself, revealed, and given to the defective one. Then from the harmony, in a joyous willingness which had come into being, they brought forth the fruit, which was a begetting from the harmony, a unity, a possession of the Totalities, revealing the countenance of the Father, of whom the aeons thought as they gave glory and prayed for help for their brother with a wish in which the Father counted himself with them. Thus, it was willingly and gladly that they bring forth the fruit. And he made manifest the agreement of the revelation of his union with them, which is his beloved Son. But the Son in whom the Totalities are pleased put himself on them as a garment, through which he gave perfection to the defective one, and gave confirmation to those who are perfect, the one who is properly called "Saviour" and "the Redeemer" and "the Well-Pleasing one" and "the Beloved," "the one to whom prayers have been offered" and "the Christ" and "the Light of those appointed," in accordance with the ones from whom he was brought forth, since he has become the names of the positions which were given to him. Yet, what other name may be applied to him except "the Son," as we previously said, since he is the knowledge of the Father, whom he wanted them to know?

Not only did the aeons generate the countenance of the Father to whom they gave praise, which was written previously, but also they generated their own; for the aeons who give glory generated their countenance and their face. They were produced as an army for him, as for a king, since the beings of the thought have a powerful fellowship and an intermingled harmony. They came forth in a multifaceted form, in order that the one to whom help was to be given might see those to whom he had prayed for help. He also sees the one who gave it to him.

The fruit of the agreement with him, of which we previously spoke, is subject to the power of the Totalities. For the Father has set the Totalities within him, both the ones which pre-exist and the ones which are, and the ones which will be. He was capable (of doing it). He revealed those which he had placed within him. He did not give them, when he entrusted them to him. He directed the organisation of the universe according to the authority which was given him from the first and (according to) the power of the task. Thus, he began and effected his revelation.

The one in whom the Father is and the one in whom the Totalities are <was> created before the one who lacked sight. He instructed him about those who searched for their sight, by means of the shining of that perfect light. He first perfected him in ineffable joy. He perfected him for himself as a perfect one and he also gave him what is appropriate to each individual. For this is the determination of the first joy. And <he> sowed in him in an invisible way a word which is destined to be knowledge. And he gave him power to separate and cast out from himself those who are disobedient to him. Thus, he made himself manifest to him. But to those who came into being because of him he revealed a form surpassing them. They acted in a hostile way toward one another. Suddenly he revealed himself to them, approaching them in the form of lightning. And in putting an end to the entanglement which they have with one another he stopped it by the sudden revelation, which they were not informed about, did not expect, and did not know of. Because of this, they were afraid and fell down, since they were not able to bear the appearance of the light which struck them. The one who appeared was an assault for the two orders. Just as the beings of thought had been given the name "little one," so they have a faint notion that they have the exalted one, he exists before them, and they have sown within them an attitude of amazement at the exalted one who will become manifest. Therefore, they welcomed his revelation and they worshipped him. They became convinced witnesses to <him>. They acknowledged the light which had come into being as one stronger than those who fought against them. The beings of the likeness, however, were exceedingly afraid, since they were not able to hear about him in the beginning, that there is a vision of this sort. Therefore they fell down to the pit of ignorance which is called "the Outer Darkness," and "Chaos" and "Hades" and "the Abyss." He set up what was beneath the order of the beings of thought, as it was stronger than they. They were worthy of ruling over the unspeakable darkness, since it is theirs and is the lot which was assigned to them. He granted them that they, too, should be of use for the organisation which was to come, to which he had assigned them.

There is a great difference between the revelation of the one who came into being to the one who was defective and to those things which are to come into being because of him. For he revealed himself to him within him, since he is with him, is a fellow sufferer with him, gives him rest little by little, makes him grow, lifts him up, gives himself to him completely for enjoyment from a vision. But to those who fall outside, he revealed himself quickly and in a striking way and he withdrew to himself suddenly without having let them see him.

9 THE PLEROMA OF THE LOGOS:

When the Logos which was defective was illumined, his Pleroma began. He escaped those who had disturbed him at first. He became unmixed with them. He stripped off that arrogant thought. He received mingling with the Rest, when those who had been disobedient to him at first bent down and humbled themselves before him. And he rejoiced over the visitation of his brothers who had visited him. He gave glory and praise to those who had become manifest as a help to him, while he gave thanks, because he had escaped those who revolted against him, and admired and honoured the greatness and those who had appeared to him in a determined way. He generated manifest images of the living visages, pleasing among things which are good, existing among the things which exist, resembling them in beauty, but unequal to them in truth, since they are not from an agreement with him, between the one who brought them forth and the one who revealed himself to him. But in wisdom and knowledge he acts, mingling the Logos with him(self) entirely. Therefore, those which came forth from him are great, just as that which is truly great.

After he was amazed at the beauty of the ones who had appeared to him, he professed gratitude for this visitation. The Logos performed this activity, through those from whom he had received aid, for the stability of those who had come into being because of him and so that they might receive something good, since he thought to pray for the organisation of all those who came forth from him, which is stabilized, so that it might make them established. Therefore, those whom he intentionally produced are in chariots, just as those who came into being, those who have appeared, so that they might pass through every place of things which are below, so that each one might be given the place which is constituted as he is. This is destruction for the beings of the likeness, yet is an act of beneficence for the beings of the thought, a revelation Dittography of those who are from the ordinance, which was a unity while suffering, while they are seeds, which have not come to be by themselves.

The one who appeared was a countenance of the Father and of the harmony. He was a garment (composed) of every grace, and food which is for those whom the Logos brought forth while praying and giving glory and honour. This is the one whom he glorified and honoured while looking to those to whom he prayed, so that he might perfect them through the images which he had brought forth.

The Logos added even more to their mutual assistance and to the hope of the promise, since they have joy and abundant rest and undefiled pleasures. He generated those whom he remembered at first, when they were not with him, (he generated them) having the perfection. Dittography Now, while he who belongs to the vision is with him, he exists in hope and faith in the perfect Father, as much as the Totalities. He appears to him before he mingles with him, in order that the things which have come into being might not perish by looking upon the light, for they cannot accept the great, exalted stature.

The thought of the Logos, who had returned to his stability and ruled over those who had come into being because of him, was called "Aeon" and "Place" of all those whom he had brought forth in accord with the ordinance, and it is also called "Synagogue of Salvation," because he healed him(self) from the dispersal, which is the multifarious thought, and returned to the single thought. Similarly, it is called "Storehouse," because of the rest which he obtained, giving (it) to himself alone. And it is also called "Bride," because of the joy of the one who gave himself to him in the hope of fruit from the union, and who appeared to him. It is also called "Kingdom," because of the stability which he received, while he rejoices at the domination over those who fought him. And it is called "the Joy of the Lord," because of the gladness in which he clothed himself. With him is the light, giving him recompense for the good things which are in him, and (with him is) the thought of freedom.

The aeon of which we previously spoke is above the two orders of those who fight against one another. It is not a companion of those who hold dominion and is not implicated in the illnesses and weaknesses, things belonging to the thought and to the likeness.

That in which the Logos set himself, perfect in joy, was an aeon, having the form of matter, but also having the constitution of the cause, which is the one who revealed himself. (The aeon was) an image of those things which are in the Pleroma, those things which came into being from the abundance of the enjoyment of the one who exists joyously. Moreover, the countenance of the one who revealed himself, was in the sincerity and the attentiveness and the promise concerning the things for which he asked. It had the designation of the Son and his essence and his power and his form, who is the one whom he loved and in whom he was pleased, who was entreated in a loving way. It was light and was a desire to be established and an openness for instruction and an eye for vision, qualities which it had from the exalted ones. It was also wisdom for his thinking in opposition to the things beneath the organisation. It was also a word for speaking and the perfection of the things of this sort. And it is these who took form with him, but according to the image of the Pleroma, having their fathers who are the ones who gave them life, each one being a copy of each one of the faces, which are forms of maleness, since they are not from the illness which is femaleness, but are from this one who already has left behind the sickness. It has the name "the Church," for in harmony they resemble the harmony in the assembly of those who have revealed themselves.

That which came into being in the image of the light, it too is perfect, inasmuch as it is an image of the one existing light, which is the Totalities. Even if it was inferior to the one of whom it is an image, nevertheless it has its indivisibility, because it is a countenance of the indivisible light. Those, however, who came into being in the image of each one of the aeons, they in essence are in the one whom we previously mentioned, but in power they are not equal, because it (the power) is in each of them. In this mingling with one another they have equality, but each one has not cast off what is peculiar to itself. Therefore, they are passions, for passion is sickness, since they are productions not of the agreement of the Pleroma, but of this one, prematurely, before he received the Father. Hence, the agreement with his Totality and will was something beneficial for the organisation which was to come. It was granted them to pass through the places which are below, since the places are unable to accommodate their sudden, hasty coming, unless (they come) individually, one by one. Their coming is necessary, since by them will everything be perfected.

In short, the Logos received the vision of all things, those which pre-exist, and those which are now, and those which will be, since he has been entrusted with the organisation of all that which exists. Some things are already in things which are fit for coming into being, but the seeds which are to be he has within himself, because of the promise which belonged to that which he conceived, as something belonging to seeds which are to be. And he produced his offspring, that is, the revelation of that which he conceived. For a while, however, the seed of promise is guarded, so that those who have been appointed for a mission might be appointed by the coming of the Saviour and of those who are with him, the ones who are first in knowledge and glory of the Father.

10 THE ORGANISATION:

It is fitting, from the prayer which he made and the conversion which occurred because of it, that some should perish, while others benefit, and still others be set apart. He first prepared the punishment of those who are disobedient, making use of a power of the one who appeared, the one from whom he received authority over all things, so as to be separate from him. He is the one who is below, and he also keeps himself apart from that which is exalted, until he prepares the organisation of all those things which are external, and gives to each the place which is assigned to it.

The Logos established him(self) at first, when he beautified the Totalities, as a basic principle and cause and ruler of the things which came to be, like the Father, the one who was the cause of the establishment, which was the first to exist after him. He created the pre-existent images, which he brought forth in thanks and glorification. Then he beautified the place of those whom he had brought forth in glory, which is called "Paradise" and "the Enjoyment" and "the Joy full of sustenance" and "the Joy," which pre-exist. And of every goodness which exists in the Pleroma, it preserves the image. Then he beautified the kingdom, like a city filled with everything pleasing, which is brotherly love and the great generosity, which is filled with the holy spirits and the mighty powers which govern them, which the Logos produced and established in power. Then (he beautified) the place of the Church which assembles in this place, having the form of the Church which exists in the aeons, which glorifies the Father. After these (he beautified) the place of the faith and obedience (which arises) from hope, which things the Logos received

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when the light appeared; then (he beautified the place of) the disposition, which is prayer and supplication, which were followed by forgiveness and the word concerning the one who would appear.

All the spiritual places are in spiritual power. They are separate from the beings of the thought, since the power is established in an image, which is that which separates the Pleroma from the Logos, while the power which is active in prophesying about the things which will be, directs the beings of the thought which have come into being toward that which is pre-existent, and it does not permit them to mix with the things which have come into being through a vision of the things which are with him.

The beings of the thought which is outside are humble; they preserve the representation of the pleromatic, especially because of the sharing in the names by which they are beautiful.

The conversion is humble toward the beings of the thought, and the law, too, is humble toward them, (the law) of the judgement, which is the condemnation and the wrath. Also humble toward them is the power which separates those who fall below them, sends them far off and does not allow them to spread out over the beings of the thought and the conversion, which (power) consists in fear and perplexity and forgetfulness and astonishment and ignorance and the things which have come into being in the manner of a likeness, through fantasy. And these things, too, which were in fact lowly, are given the exalted names. There is no knowledge for those who have come forth from them with arrogance and lust for power and disobedience and falsehood.

To each one he gave a name, since the two orders are in a name. Those belonging to the thought and those of the representation are called "the Right Ones" and "Psychic" and "the Fiery Ones" and "the Middle Ones." Those who belong to the arrogant thought and those of the likeness are called "the Left", "Hylic", "the Dark Ones," and "the Last."

After the Logos established each one in his order, both the images and the representations and the likenesses, he kept the aeon of the images pure from all those who fight against it, since it is a place of joy. However, to those of the thought he revealed the thought which he had stripped from himself, desiring to draw them into a material union, for the sake of their system and dwelling place, and in order that they might also bring forth an impulse for diminution from their attraction to evil, so that they might not any more rejoice in the glory of their environment and be dissolved, but might rather see their sickness in which they suffer, so that they might beget love and continuous searching after the one who is able to heal them of the inferiority. Also over those who belong to the likeness, he set the word of beauty, so that he might bring them into a form. He also set over them the law of judgement. Again, he set over them the powers which the roots had produced in their lust for power. He appointed them as rulers over them, so that, either by the support of the word which is beautiful, or by the threat of the law, or by the power of lust for power, the order might be preserved from those who have reduced it to evil, while the Logos is pleased with them, since they are useful for the organisation.

The Logos knows the agreement in the lust for power of the two orders. To these and to all the others, he graciously granted their desire. He gave to each one the appropriate rank, and it was ordered that each one be a ruler over a place and an activity. He yields to the place of the one more exalted than himself, in order to command the other places in an activity which is in the allotted activity which falls to him to have control over because of his mode of being. As a result, there are commanders and subordinates in positions of domination and subjection among the angels and archangels, while the activities are of various types and are different. Each one of the archons with his race and his perquisites to which his lot has claim, just as they appeared, each was on guard, since they have been entrusted with the organisation and none lacks a command and none is without kingship from the end of the heavens to the end of the earth, even to the foundations of the earth, and to the places beneath the earth. There are kings, there are lords and those who give commands, some for administering punishment, others for administering justice, still others for giving rest and healing, others for teaching, others for guarding.

Over all the archons he appointed an Archon with no one commanding him. He is the lord of all of them, that is, the countenance which the Logos brought forth in his thought as a representation of the Father of the Totalities. Therefore, he is adorned with every <name> which <is> a representation of him, since he is characterized by every property and glorious quality. For he too is called "father" and god" and "demiurge" and "king" and "judge" and "place" and "dwelling" and "law."

The Logos uses him as a hand, to beautify and work on the things below, and he uses him as a mouth, to say the things which will be prophesied.

The things which he has spoken he does. When he saw that they were great and good and wonderful, he was pleased and rejoiced, as if he himself in his own thought had been the one to say them and do them, not knowing that the movement within him is from the spirit who moves him in a determined way toward those things which he wants.

In regard to the things which came into being from him, he spoke of them, and they came into being as a representation of the spiritual places which we mentioned previously in the discussion about the images.

Not only <did> he work, but also, as the one who is appointed as father of his organisation, he engendered by himself and by the seeds, yet also by the spirit which is elect and which will descend through him to the places which are below. Not only does he speak spiritual words of his own, <but> in an invisible way, (he speaks) through the spirit which calls out and begets things greater than his own essence.

Since in his essence he is a "god" and "father" and all the rest of the honourific titles, he was thinking that they were elements of his own essence. He established a rest for those who obey him, but for those who disobey him, he also established punishments. With him, too, there is a paradise and a kingdom and everything else which exists in the aeon which exists before him. They are more valuable than the imprints, because of the thought which is connected with them, which is like a shadow and a garment, so to speak, because he does not see in what way the things which exist actually do exist.

He established workers and servants, assisting in what he will do and what he will say, for in every place where he worked he left his countenance in his beautiful name, effecting and speaking of the things which he thinks about.

He established in his place images of the light which appeared and of those things which are spiritual, though they were of his own essence. For, thus they were honoured in every place by him, being pure, from the countenance of the one who appointed them, and they were established: paradises and kingdoms and rests and promises and multitudes of servants of his will, and though they are lords of dominions, they are set beneath the one who is lord, the one who appointed them.

After he listened to him in this way, properly, about the lights, which are the source and the system, he set them over the beauty of the things below. The invisible spirit moved him in this way, so that he would wish to administer through his own servant, whom he too used, as a hand and as a mouth and as if he were his face, (and his servant is) the things which he brings, order and threat and fear, in order that those with whom he has done what is ignorant might despise the order which was given for them to keep, since they are fettered in the bonds of the archons, which are on them securely.

The whole establishment of matter is divided into three. The strong powers which the spiritual Logos brought forth from fantasy and arrogance, he established in the first spiritual rank. Then those (powers) which these produced by their lust for power, he set in the middle area, since they are powers of ambition, so that they might exercise dominion and give commands with compulsion and force to the establishment which is beneath them. Those which came into being through envy and jealousy, and all the other offspring from dispositions of this sort, he set in a servile order controlling the extremities, commanding all those which exist and all (the realm of) generation, from whom come rapidly destroying illnesses, who eagerly desire begetting, who are something in the place where they are from and to which they will return. And therefore, he appointed over them authoritative powers, acting continuously on matter, in order that the offspring of those which exist might also exist continuously. For this is their glory.

TRIPARTITE TRACTATE PART 2

11 THE CREATION OF MATERIAL HUMANITY

The matter which flows through its form (is) a cause by which the invisibility which exists through the powers [...] for them all, for [...], as they beget before them and destroy.

The thought which is set between those of the right and those of the left is a power of begetting. All those which the first ones will wish to make, so to speak, a projection of theirs, like a shadow cast from and following a body, those things which are the roots of the visible creations, namely, the entire preparation of the adornment of the images and representations and likenesses, have come into being because of those who need education and teaching and formation, so that the smallness might grow, little by little, as through a mirror image. For it was for this reason that he created mankind at the end, having first prepared and provided for him the things which he had created for his sake.

Like that of all else is the creation of mankind as well. The spiritual Logos moved him invisibly, as he perfected him through the Demiurge and his angelic servants, who shared in the act of fashioning in multitudes, when he took counsel with his archons. Like a shadow is earthly man, so that he might be like those who are cut off from the Totalities. Also he is something prepared by all of them, those of the right and those of the left, since each one in the orders gives a form to the [...] in which it exists.

The [...] which the Logos who was defective brought forth, who was in the sickness, did not resemble him, because he brought it forth forgetfully, ignorantly, and defectively, and in all the other weak ways, although the Logos gave the first form through the Demiurge out of ignorance, so that he would learn that the exalted one exists, and would know that he needs him. This is what the prophet called "Living Spirit" and "Breath of the exalted aeons" and "the Invisible," and this is the living soul which has given life to the power which was dead at first. For that which is dead is ignorance.

It is fitting that we explain about the soul of the first human being, that it is from the spiritual Logos, while the creator thinks that it is his, since it is from him, as from a mouth through which one breathes. The creator also sent down souls from his substance, since he, too, has a power of procreation, because he is something which has come into being from the representation of the Father. Also those of the left brought forth, as it were, men of their own, since they have the likeness of <being>.

The spiritual substance is a single thing and a single representation, and its weakness is the determination in many forms. As for the substance of the psychics, its determination is double, since it has the knowledge and the confession of the exalted one, and it is not inclined to evil, because of the inclination of the thought. As for the material substance, its way is different and in many forms, and it was a weakness which existed in many types of inclination.

The first human being is a mixed formation, and a mixed creation, and a deposit of those of the left and those of the right, and a spiritual word whose attention is divided between each of the two substances from which he takes his being. Therefore, it is said that a paradise was planted for him, so that he might eat of the food of three kinds of tree, since it is a garden of the threefold order, and since it is that which gives enjoyment.

The noble elect substance which is in him was more exalted. It created and it did not wound them. Therefore they issued a command, making a threat and bringing upon him a great danger, which is death. Only the enjoyment of the things which are evil did he allow him to taste, and from the other tree with the double (fruit) he did not allow him to eat, much less from the tree of life, so that they would not acquire honour [...] them, and so that they would not be [...] by the evil power which is called "the serpent." And he is more cunning than all the evil powers. He led man astray through the determination of those things which belong to the thought and the desires. <He> made him transgress the command, so that he would die. And he was expelled from every enjoyment of that place.

This is the expulsion which was made for him, when he was expelled from the enjoyments of the things which belong to the likeness and those of the representation. It was a work of providence, so that it might be found that it is a short time until man will receive the enjoyment of the things which are eternally good, in which is the place of rest. This the spirit ordained when he first planned that man should experience the great evil, which is death, that is complete ignorance of the Totality, and that he should experience all the evils which come from this and, after the deprivations and cares which are in these, that he should receive of the greatest good, which is life eternal, that is, firm knowledge of the Totalities and the reception of all good things. Because of the transgression of the first man, death ruled. It was accustomed to slay every man in the manifestation of its domination, which had been given it as a kingdom because of the organisation of the Father's will, of which we spoke previously.

TRIPARTITE TRACTATE PART 3

12 THE VARIETY OF THEOLOGIES

If both the orders, those on the right and those on the left, are brought together with one another by the thought which is set between them, which gives them their organisation with each other, it happens that they both act with the same emulation of their deeds, with those of the right resembling those of the left, and those of the left resembling those of the right. And if at times the evil order begins to do evil in a foolish way, the <wise> order emulates, in the form of a man of violence, also doing what is evil, as if it were a power of a man of violence. At other times the foolish order attempts to do good, making itself like it, since the hidden order, too, is zealous to do it. Just as it is in the things which are established, so (it is) in the things which have come to be. Since they bring things unlike one another, those who were not instructed were unable to know the cause of the things which exist. Therefore, they have introduced other types (of explanation), some saying that it is according to providence that the things which exist have their being. These are the people who observe the stability and the conformity of the movement of creation. Others say that it is something alien. These are people who observe the diversity and the lawlessness and the evil of the powers. Others say that the things which exist are what is destined to happen. These are the people who were occupied

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with this matter. Others say that it is something in accordance with nature. Others say that it is a self-existent. The majority, however, all who have reached as far as the visible elements, do not know anything more than them.

Those who were wise among the Greeks and the barbarians have advanced to the powers which have come into being by way of imagination and vain thought. Those who have come from these, in accord with the mutual conflict and rebellious manner active in them, also spoke in a likely, arrogant and imaginary way concerning the things which they thought of as wisdom, although the likeness deceived them, since they thought that they had attained the truth, when they had (only) attained error. (They did so) not simply in minor appellations, but the powers themselves seem to hinder them, as if they were the Totality. Therefore, the order was caught up in fighting itself alone, because of the arrogant hostility of one of the offspring of the archon who is superior, who exists before him. Therefore, nothing was in agreement with its fellows, nothing, neither philosophy nor types of medicine nor types of rhetoric nor types of music nor types of logic, but they are opinions and theories. Ineffability held sway in confusion, because of the indescribable quality of those who hold sway, who give them thoughts.

Now, as for the things which came forth from the <race> of the Hebrews, things which are written by the hylics who speak in the fashion of the Greeks, the powers of those who think about all of them, so to speak, the "right ones," the powers which move them all to think of words and a representation, they <brought> them, and they grasped so as to attain the truth and used the confused powers which act in them. Afterwards they attained to the order of the unmixed ones, the one which is established, the unity which exists as a representation of the representation of the Father. It is not invisible in its nature, but a wisdom envelops it, so that it might preserve the form of the truly invisible one. Therefore, many angels have not been able to see it. Also, other men of the Hebrew race, of whom we already spoke, namely the righteous ones and the prophets, did not think of anything and did not say anything from imagination or through a likeness or from esoteric thinking, but each one by the power which was at work in him, and while listening to the things which he saw and heard, spoke of them in [...]. They have a unified harmony with one another after the manner of those who worked in them, since they preserve the connection and the mutual harmony primarily by the confession of the one more exalted than they. And there is one who is greater than they, who was appointed since they have need of him, and whom the spiritual Logos begot along with them as one who needs the exalted one, in hope and expectation in accord with the thought which is the seed of salvation. And he is an illuminating word, which consists of the thought and his offspring and his emanations. Since the righteous ones and the prophets, whom we have previously mentioned, preserve the confession and the testimony concerning the one who is great, made by their fathers who were looking for the hope and the hearing, in them is sown the seed of prayer and the searching, which is sown in many who have searched for strengthening. It appears and draws them to love the exalted one, to proclaim these things as pertaining to a unity. And it was a unity which worked in them when they spoke. Their vision and their words do not differ because of the multitude of those who have given them the vision and the word. Therefore, those who have listened to what they have said concerning this do not reject any of it, but have accepted the scriptures in an altered way. By interpreting them, they established many heresies which exist to the present among the Jews. Some say that God is one, who made a proclamation in the ancient scriptures. Others say that he is many. Some say that God is simple and was a single mind in nature. Others say that his activity is linked with the establishment of good and evil. Still others say that he is the creator of that which has come into being. Still others say that it was by the angels that he created.

The multitude of ideas of this sort is the multitude of forms and the abundance of types of scripture, that which produced their teachers of the Law. The prophets, however, did not say anything of their own accord, but each one of them (spoke) of the things which he had seen and heard through the proclamation of the Saviour. This is what he proclaimed, with the main subject of their proclamation being that which each said concerning the coming of the Saviour, which is this coming. Sometimes the prophets speak about it as if it will be. Sometimes (it is) as if the Saviour speaks from their mouths, saying that the Saviour will come and show favor to those who have not known him. They have not all joined with one another in confessing anything, but each one, on the basis of the thing from which he received power to speak about him, and on the basis of the place which he saw, thinks that it is from it that he will be begotten, and that he will come from that place. Not one of them knew whence he would come nor by whom he would be begotten, but he alone is the one of whom it is worthy to speak, the one who will be begotten and will suffer. Concerning that which he previously was and that which he is eternally - an unbegotten, impassible one from the Logos, who came into being in flesh - he did not come into their thought. And this is the account which they received an impulse to give concerning his flesh which was to appear. They say that it is a production from all of them, but that before all things it is from the spiritual Logos, who is the cause of the things which have come into being, from whom the Saviour received his flesh. He had conceived <it> at the revelation of the light, according to the word of the promise, at his revelation from the seminal state. For the one who exists is not a seed of the things which exist, since he was begotten at the end. But to the one by whom the Father ordained the manifestation of salvation, who is the fulfillment of the promise, to him belonged all these instruments for entry into life, through which he descended. His Father is one, and alone is truly a father to him, the invisible, unknowable, the incomprehensible in his nature, who alone is God in his will and his form, who has granted that he might be seen, known, and comprehended.

13 THE INCARNATE SAVIOUR AND HIS COMPANIONS

He it is who was our Saviour in willing compassion, who is that which they were. For it was for their sake that he became manifest in an involuntary suffering. They became flesh and soul, that is, eternally which (things) hold them and with corruptible things they die. And as for those who came into being, the invisible one taught them invisibly about himself.

Not only did he take upon <himself> the death of those whom he thought to save, but he also accepted their smallness to which they had descended when they were <born> in body and soul. (He did so) because he had let himself be conceived and born as an infant, in body and soul.

Among all the others who shared in them, and those who fell and received the light, he came into being exalted, because he had let himself be conceived without sin, stain and defilement. He was begotten in life, being in life because the former and the latter are in passion and changing opinion from the Logos who moved, who established them to be body and soul. He it is <who> has taken to himself the one who came from those whom we previously mentioned.

He came into being from the glorious vision and the unchanging thought of the Logos who returned to himself, after his movement, from the organisation, just as those who came with him took body and soul and a confirmation and stability and judgement of things. They too intended to come.

When they thought of the Saviour they came, and they came when he knew; they also came more exalted in the emanation according to the flesh than those who had been brought forth from a defect, because in this way they, too, received their bodily emanation, along with the body of the Saviour, through the revelation and the mingling with him. These others were those of one substance, and it indeed is the spiritual (substance). The organisation is different. This is one thing, that is another. Some come forth from passion and division, needing healing. Others are from prayer, so that they heal the sick, when they have been appointed to treat those who have fallen. These are the apostles and the evangelists. They are the disciples of the Saviour, and teachers who need instruction. Why, then, did they, too, share in the passions in which those who have been brought forth from passion share, if indeed they are bodily productions in accordance with the organisation and <the> Saviour, who did not share in the passions?

The Saviour was an image of the unitary one, he who is the Totality in bodily form. Therefore, he preserved the form of indivisibility, from which comes impassability. They, however, are images of each thing which became manifest. Therefore, they assume division from the pattern, having taken form for the planting which exists beneath the heaven. This also is what shares in the evil which exists in the places which they have reached. For the will held the Totality under sin, so that by that will he might have mercy on the Totality and they might be saved, while a single one alone is appointed to give life, and all the rest need salvation. Therefore, it was from (reasons) of this sort that it began to receive grace to give the honours which were proclaimed by Jesus, which were suitable for him to proclaim to the rest, since a seed of the promise of Jesus Christ was set up, whom we have served in (his) revelation and union. Now the promise possessed the instruction and the return to what they are from the first, from which they possess the drop, so as to return to him, which is that which is called "the redemption." And it is the release from the captivity and the acceptance of freedom. In its places, the captivity of those who were slaves of ignorance holds sway. The freedom is the knowledge of the truth which existed before the ignorance was ruling, forever without beginning and without end, being something good, and a salvation of things, and a release from the servile nature in which they have suffered.

Those who have been brought forth in a lowly thought of vanity, that is, (a thought) which goes to things which are evil through the thought which draws them down to the lust for power, these have received the possession which is freedom, from the abundance of the grace which looked upon the children. It was, however, a disturbance of the passion and a destruction of those things which he cast off from himself at first, when the Logos separated them from himself, (the Logos) who was the cause of their being destined for destruction, though he kept <them> at <the> end of the organisation and allowed them to exist because even they were useful for the things which were ordained.

14 THE TRIPARTITION OF MANKIND

Mankind came to be in three essential types, the spiritual, the psychic, and the material, conforming to the triple disposition of the Logos, from which were brought forth the material ones and the psychic ones and the spiritual ones. Each of the three essential types is known by its fruit. And they were not known at first but only at the coming of the Saviour, who shone upon the saints and revealed what each was.

The spiritual race, being like light from light and like spirit from spirit, when its head appeared, it ran toward him immediately. It immediately became a body of its head. It suddenly received knowledge in the revelation. The psychic race is like light from a fire, since it hesitated to accept knowledge of him who appeared to it. (It hesitated) even more to run toward him in faith. Rather, through a voice it was instructed, and this was sufficient, since it is not far from the hope according to the promise, since it received, so to speak as a pledge, the assurance of the things which were to be. The material race, however, is alien in every way; since it is dark, it shuns the shining of the light, because its appearance destroys it. And since it has not received its unity, it is something excessive and hateful toward the Lord at his revelation.

The spiritual race will receive complete salvation in every way. The material will receive destruction in every way, just as one who resists him. The psychic race, since it is in the middle when it is brought forth and also when it is created, is double according to its determination for both good and evil. It takes its appointed departure suddenly and its complete escape to those who are good. Those whom the Logos brought forth in accordance with the first element of his thought, when he remembered the exalted one and prayed for salvation, have salvation suddenly. They will be saved completely because of the salvific thought. As he was brought forth, so, too, were these brought forth from him, whether angels or men. In accordance with the confession that there is one who is more exalted than themselves, and in accordance with the prayer and the search for him, they also will attain the salvation of those who have been brought forth, since they are from the disposition which is good. They were appointed for service in proclaiming the coming of the Saviour who was to be and his revelation which had come. Whether angels or men, when he was sent as a service to them, they received, in fact, the essence of their being. Those, however, who are from the thought of lust for power, who have come into being from the blow of those who fight against him, those whom the thought brought forth, from these, since they are mixed, they will receive their end suddenly. Those who will be brought forth from the lust for power which is given to them for a time and for certain periods, and who will give glory to the Lord of glory, and who will relinquish their wrath, they will receive the reward for their humility, which is to remain forever. Those, however, who are proud because of the desire of ambition, and who love temporary glory, and who forget that it was only for certain periods and times which they have that they were entrusted with power, and for this reason did not acknowledge that the Son of God is the Lord of all and Saviour, and were not brought out of wrath and the resemblance to the evil ones, they will receive judgement for their ignorance and their senselessness, which is suffering, along with those who went astray, anyone of them who turned away; and even more (for) wickedness in doing to the Lord things which were not fitting, which the powers of the left did to him, even including his death. They persevered saying, "We shall become rulers of the universe, if the one who has been proclaimed king of the universe is slain," (they said this) when they laboured to do this, namely the men and angels who are not from the good disposition of the right ones but from the mixture. And they first chose for themselves honour, though it was only a temporary wish and desire, while the path to eternal rest is by way of humility for salvation of those who will be saved, those of the right ones. After they confess the Lord and the thought of that which is pleasing to the church and the song of those who are humble along with her to the full extent possible, in that which is pleasing to do for her, in sharing in her sufferings and her pains in the manner of those who understand what is good for the church, they will have a share in her hope. This is to be said on the subject of how men and angels who are from the order of the left have a path to error: not only did they deny the Lord and plot evil against him, but also toward the Church did they direct their hatred and envy and jealousy; and this is the reason for the condemnation of those who have moved and have aroused themselves for the trials of the Church.

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15 THE PROCESS OF RESTORATION

The election shares body and essence with the Saviour, since it is like a bridal chamber because of its unity and its agreement with him. For, before every place, the Christ came for her sake. The calling, however, has the place of those who rejoice at the bridal chamber, and who are glad and happy at the union of the bridegroom and the bride. The place which the calling will have is the aeon of the images, where the Logos has not yet joined with the Pleroma. And since the man of the Church was happy and glad at this, as he was hoping for it, he separated spirit, soul, and body in the organisation of the one who thinks that he is a unity, though within him is the man who is the Totality - and he is all of them. And, though he has the escape from the [...] which the places will receive, he also has the members about which we spoke earlier. When the redemption was proclaimed, the perfect man received knowledge immediately, so as to return in haste to his unitary state, to the place from which he came, to return there joyfully, to the place from which he came, to the place from which he flowed forth. His members, however, needed a place of instruction, which is in the places which are adorned, so that they might receive from them resemblance to the images and archetypes, like a mirror, until all the members of the body of the Church are in a single place and receive the restoration at one time, when they have been manifested as the whole body, namely the restoration into the Pleroma. It has a preliminary concord with a mutual agreement, which is the concord which belongs to the Father, until the Totalities receive a countenance in accordance with him. The restoration is at the end, after the Totality reveals what it is, the Son, who is the redemption, that is, the path toward the incomprehensible Father, that is, the return to the pre-existent, and (after) the Totalities reveal themselves in that one, in the proper way, who is the inconceivable one and the ineffable one, and the invisible one and the incomprehensible one, so that it receives redemption. It was not only release from the domination of the left ones, nor was it only escape from the power of those of the right, to each of which we thought that were slaves and sons, from whom none escapes without quickly becoming theirs again, but the redemption also is an ascent to the degrees which are in the Pleroma and to those who have named themselves and who conceive of themselves according to the power of each of the aeons, and (it is) an entrance into what is silent, where there is no need for voice nor for knowing, nor for forming a concept, nor for illumination, but (where) all things are light, while they do not need to be illumined.

Not only do humans need redemption, but also the angels, too, need redemption, along with the image and the rest of the Pleromas of the aeons and the wondrous powers of illumination. So that we might not be in doubt in regard to the others, even the Son himself, who has the position of redeemer of the Totality, needed redemption as well, - he who had become man, - since he gave himself for each thing which we need, we in the flesh, who are his Church. Now, when he first received redemption from the word which had descended upon him, all the rest received redemption from him, namely those who had taken him to themselves. For those who received the one who had received (redemption) also received what was in him.

Among the men who are in the flesh redemption began to be given, his first-born, and his love, the Son who was incarnate, while the angels who are in heaven asked to associate, so that they might form an association with him upon the earth. Therefore, he is called "the Redemption of the angels of the Father," he who comforted those who were labouring under the Totality for his knowledge, because he was given the grace before anyone else.

The Father had foreknowledge of him, since he was in his thought before anything came into being, and since he had those to whom he has revealed him. He set the deficiency on the one who remains for certain periods and times, as a glory for his Pleroma, since the fact that he is unknown is a cause of his production from his agreement [...] of him. Just as reception of knowledge of him is a manifestation of his lack of envy and the revelation of the abundance of his sweetness, which is the second glory, so, too, he has been found to be a cause of ignorance, although he is also a begetter of knowledge.

In a hidden and incomprehensible wisdom he kept the knowledge to the end, until the Totalities became weary while searching for God the Father, whom no one found through his own wisdom or power. He gives himself, so that they might receive knowledge of the abundant thought about his great glory, which he has given, and (about) the cause, which he has given, which is his unceasing thanksgiving, he who, from the immobility of his counsel, reveals himself eternally to those who have been worthy of the Father, who is unknown in his nature, so that they might receive knowledge of him, through his desire that they should come to experience the ignorance and its pains.

Those of whom he first thought that they should attain knowledge and the good things which are in it, they were planning - which is the wisdom of the Father, - that they might experience the evil things and might train themselves in them, as a [...] for a time, so that they might receive the enjoyment of good things for eternity. They hold change and persistent renunciation and the cause of those who fight against them as an adornment and marvelous quality of those who are exalted, so that it is manifest that the ignorance of those who will be ignorant of the Father was something of their own. He who gave them knowledge of him was one of his powers for enabling them to grasp that knowledge in the fullest sense is called "the knowledge of all that which is thought of" and "the treasure" and "the addition for the increase of knowledge," "the revelation of those things which were known at first," and "the path toward harmony and toward the pre-existent one," which is the increase of those who have abandoned the greatness which was theirs in the organisation of the will, so that the end might be like the beginning.

As for the baptism which exists in the fullest sense, into which the Totalities will descend and in which they will be, there is no other baptism apart from this one alone, which is the redemption into God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, when confession is made through faith in those names, which are a single name of the gospel, when they have come to believe what has been said to them, namely that they exist. From this they have their salvation, those who have believed that they exist. This is attaining in an invisible way to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit in an undoubting faith. And when they have borne witness to them, it is also with a firm hope that they attained them, so that the return to them might become the perfection of those who have believed in them and (so that) the Father might be one with them, the Father, the God, whom they have confessed in faith and who gave (them) their union with him in knowledge.

The baptism which we previously mentioned is called "garment of those who do not strip themselves of it," for those who will put it on and those who have received redemption wear it. It is also called "the confirmation of the truth which has no fall." In an unwavering and immovable way it grasps those who have received the restoration while they grasp it. (Baptism) is called "silence" because of the quiet and the tranquility. It is also called "bridal chamber" because of the agreement and the indivisible state of those who know they have known him. It is also called "the light which does not set and is without flame," since it does not give light, but those who have worn it are made into light. They are the ones whom he wore. (Baptism) is also called "the eternal life," which is immortality; and it is called "that which is, entirely, simply, in the proper sense, what is pleasing, inseparably and irremovably and faultlessly and imperturbably, for the one who exists for those who have received a beginning." For, what else is there to name it apart from "God," since it is the Totalities, that is, even if it is given numberless names, they are spoken simply as a reference to it. Just as he transcends every word, and he transcends every voice, and he transcends every mind, and he transcends everything, and he transcends every silence, so it is Dittography with those who are that which he is. This is that which they find it to be, ineffably and inconceivably in (its) visage, for the coming into being in those who know, through him whom they have comprehended, who is the one to whom they gave glory.

16 REDEMPTION OF THE CALLING

Even if on the matter of the election there are many more things for us to say, as it is fitting to say, nonetheless, on the matter of those of the calling - for those of the right are so named - it is necessary for us to return once again to them, and it is not profitable for us to forget them. We have spoken about them, - If there is enough in what preceded at some length, how have we spoken? In a partial way, - since I said about all those who came forth from the Logos, either from the judgement of the evil ones or from the wrath which fights against them and the turning away from them, which is the return to the exalted ones, or from the prayer and the remembrance of those who pre-existed, or from hope and faith that they would receive their salvation from good work, since they have been deemed worthy because they are beings from the good dispositions, (that) they have cause of their begetting which is an opinion from the one who exists. Still further (I said) that before the Logos concerned himself with them in an invisible way, willingly, the exalted one added to this thought, because they were in need of him, who was the cause of their being. They did not exalt themselves when they were saved, as if there were nothing existing before them, but they confess that they have a beginning to their existence, and they desire this: to know him who exists before them. Most of all (I said) that they worshipped the revelation of the light in the form of lightning, and they bore witness that it appeared as <their> salvation.

Not only those who have come forth from the Logos, about whom alone we said that they would accomplish the good work, but also those whom these brought forth according to the good dispositions will share in the repose according to the abundance of the grace. Also those who have been brought forth from the desire of lust for power, having the seed in them which is the lust for power, will receive the reward for (their) good deeds, namely those who acted and those who have the predisposition toward the good, if they intentionally desire and wish to abandon the vain, temporal ambition, and they keep the commandment of the Lord of glory, instead of the momentary honour, and inherit the eternal kingdom.

Now, it is necessary that we unite the causes and the effects on them of the grace and the impulses, since it is fitting that we say what we mentioned previously about the salvation of all those of the right, of all those unmixed and those mixed, to join them with one another. And as for the repose, which is the revelation of the form <in> which they believed, (it is necessary) that we should treat it with a suitable discussion. For when we confessed the kingdom which is in Christ, <we> escaped from the whole multiplicity of forms, and from inequality and change. For the end will receive a unitary existence, just as the beginning is unitary, where there is no male nor female, nor slave and free, nor circumcision and uncircumcision, neither angel nor man, but Christ is all in all. What is the form of the one who did not exist at first? It will be found that he will exist. And what is the nature of the one who was a slave? He will take a place with a free man. For they will receive the vision more and more by nature and not only by a little word, so as to believe, only through a voice, that this is the way it is, that the restoration to that which used to be is a unity. Even if some are exalted because of the organisation, since they have been appointed as causes of the things which have come into being, since they are more active as natural forces, and since they are desired because of these things, angels and men will receive the kingdom and the confirmation and the salvation. These, then, are the causes.

About the <one> who appeared in flesh, they believed without any doubt that he is the Son of the unknown God, who was not previously spoken of, and who could not be seen. They abandoned their gods whom they had previously worshipped, and the lords who are in heaven and on earth. Before he had taken them up, and while he was still a child, they testified that he had already begun to preach. And when he was in the tomb as a dead man the angels thought that he was alive, receiving life from the one who had died. They first desired their numerous services and wonders, which were in the temple on their behalf, to be performed continuously <as> the confession. That is, it can be done on their behalf through their approach to him.

That preparation which they did not accept, they rejected, because of the one who had not been sent from that place, but they granted to Christ, of whom they thought that he exists in that place from which they had come along with him, a place of gods and lords whom they served, worshipped, and ministered to, in the names which they had received on loan. - They were given to the one who is designated by them properly. - However, after his assumption, they had the experience to know that he is their Lord, over whom no one else is lord. They gave him their kingdoms; they rose from their thrones; they were kept from their crowns. He, however, revealed himself to them, for the reasons which we have already spoken of: their salvation and the return to a good thought until [...] companion and the angels [...], and the abundance of good which they did with it. Thus, they were entrusted with the services which benefit the elect, bringing their iniquity up to heaven. They tested them eternally for the lack of humility from the inerrancy of the creation, continuing on their behalf until all come to life and leave life, while their bodies remain on earth, serving all their [...], sharing with them in their sufferings and persecutions and tribulations, which were brought upon the saints in every place.

As for the servants of the evil <one>, though evil is worthy of destruction, they are in [...]. But because of the [...] which is above all the worlds, which is their good thought and the fellowship, the Church will remember them as good friends and faithful servants, once she has received redemption from the one who gives requital. Then the grace which is in the bridal chamber and [...] in her house [...] in this thought of the giving and the one who [...] Christ is the one with her and the expectation of the Father of the Totality, since she will produce for them angels as guides and servants.

They will think pleasant thoughts. They are services for her. She will give them their requital for all that which the aeons will think about. He is an emanation from them, so that, just as Christ did his will which he brought forth and exalted the greatnesses of the Church and gave them to her, so will she be a thought for these. And to men he gives their eternal dwelling places, in which they will dwell, leaving behind the attraction toward the defect, while the power of the Pleroma pulls them up in the greatness of the generosity and the sweetness of the aeon which pre-exists. This is the nature of the entire begetting of those whom he had when he shone on them in a light which he revealed [...]. Just as his [...] which will be [...], so too his lord, while the change alone is in those who have changed.

(6 lines missing)

... which [...] by him [...] said, while the hylics will remain until the end for destruction, since they will not give forth for

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their names, if they would return once again to that which will not be. As they were [...] they were not [...] but they were of use (in the) time that they were (in it) among them, although they were not [...] at first. If [...] to do something else concerning the control which they have of the preparation, [...] before them. - For though I continually use these words, I have not understood his meaning. - Some elders [...] him greatness.

(6 lines missing)

... all [...] angels [...] word and the sound of a trumpet, he will proclaim the great complete amnesty from the beauteous east, in the bridal chamber, which is the love of God the Father [...], according to the power which [...] of the greatness [...], the sweetness of the [...] of him, since he reveals himself to the greatnesses [...] his goodness [...] the praise, the dominion, and the glory through [...] the Lord, the Saviour, the Redeemer of all those belonging to the one filled with Love, through his Holy Spirit, from now through all generations forever and ever. Amen.

THE TREATISE ON THE RESURRECTION

The Letter to Rheginos
From: The Nag Hammadi Library
Translation: Malcolm L. Peel
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 4th centuries A.D.

(The Treatise on the Resurrection is an ancient Gnostic or quasi-Gnostic Christian text which was found at Nag Hammadi, Egypt. It is also sometimes referred to as "The Letter to Rheginos" because it is a letter responding to questions about the resurrection posed by Rheginos, who may have been a non-Gnostic Christian. The writer is unknown. His failure to employ polemics against the Catholic/Orthodox consensus argues for a date prior to the existence of the consensus. By the late 2nd century, Irenaeus and 2nd Timothy 2:18 had come to dominate Catholic and Orthodox thinking. Irenaeus insisted that the resurrection was not simply spiritual, but rather a literal restoration of the flesh, and Timothy insisted that the resurrection was still in the future, and that those who believed otherwise were heretics. Therefore the date of the text may have been early 2nd century. The text says that Jesus "displayed himself as the Son of God." The treatise contains a mix of proto-orthodox and gnostic views. This mixture is apparent in an excerpt regarding who Jesus was and what his purpose in coming into this world was. The concept that Jesus was both divine and human was part of the proto-orthodox view. However, the belief in the existence of many divinities and the totality of divine powers were both gnostic views that were rejected by proto-orthodox Christians. The letter also contains statements that indicate that the author believed in predestination. This letter emphasises the importance of knowledge for salvation, which is also a gnostic view. The text is noticeably Christian in its tone, and is Jesus-centric to a greater degree than other texts found at Nag Hammadi.)

Some there are, my son Rheginos, who want to learn many things. They have this goal when they are occupied with questions whose answer is lacking. If they succeed with these, they usually think very highly of themselves. But I do not think that they have stood within the Word of Truth. They seek rather their own rest, which we have received through our Saviour, our Lord Christ. We received it when we came to know the truth and rested ourselves upon it. But since you ask us pleasantly what is proper concerning the resurrection, I am writing you that it is necessary. To be sure, many are lacking faith in it, but there are a few who find it. So then, let us discuss the matter.

How did the Lord proclaim things while he existed in flesh and after he had revealed himself as Son of God? He lived in this place where you remain, speaking about the Law of Nature - but I call it 'Death'. Now the Son of God, Rheginos, was Son of Man. He embraced them both, possessing the humanity and the divinity, so that on the one hand he might vanquish death through his being Son of God, and that on the other through the Son of Man the restoration to the Pleroma might occur; because he was originally from above, a seed of Truth, before this structure had come into being. In this many dominions and divinities came into existence.

I know that I am presenting the solution in difficult terms, but there is nothing difficult in the Word of Truth. But since the Solution appeared so as not to leave anything hidden, but to reveal all things openly concerning existence - the destruction of evil on the one hand, the revelation of the elect on the other. This is the emanation of Truth and Spirit, Grace is of the Truth.

The Saviour swallowed up death - (of this) you are not reckoned as being ignorant - for he put aside the world which is perishing. He transformed himself into an imperishable Aeon and raised himself up, having swallowed the visible by the invisible, and he gave us the way of our immortality. Then, indeed, as the Apostle said, "We suffered with him, and we arose with him, and we went to heaven with him". Now if we are manifest in this world wearing him, we are that one's beams, and we are embraced by him until our setting, that is to say, our death in this life. We are drawn to heaven by him, like beams by the sun, not being restrained by anything. This is the spiritual resurrection which swallows up the psychic in the same way as the fleshly.

But if there is one who does not believe, he does not have the (capacity to be) persuaded. For it is the domain of faith, my son, and not that which belongs to persuasion: the dead shall arise! There is one who believes among the philsophers who are in this world. At least he will arise. And let not the philosopher who is in this world have cause to believe that he is one who returns himself by himself - and (that) because of our faith! For we have known the Son of Man, and we have believed that he rose from among the dead. This is he of whom we say, "He became the destruction of death, as he is a great one in whom they believe." Great are those who believe.

The thought of those who are saved shall not perish. The mind of those who have known him shall not perish. Therefore, we are elected to salvation and redemption since we are predestined from the beginning not to fall into the foolishness of those who are without knowledge, but we shall enter into the wisdom of those who have known the Truth. Indeed, the Truth which is kept cannot be abandoned, nor has it been. "Strong is the system of the Pleroma; small is that which broke loose (and) became (the) world. But the All is what is encompassed. It has not come into being; it was existing." So, never doubt concerning the resurrection, my son Rheginos! For if you were not existing in flesh, you received flesh when you entered this world. Why will you not receive flesh when you ascend into the Aeon? That which is better than the flesh is that which is for (the) cause of life. That which came into being on your account, is it not yours? Does not that which is yours exist with you? Yet, while you are in this world, what is it that you lack? This is what you have been making every effort to learn.

The afterbirth of the body is old age, and you exist in corruption. You have absence as a gain. For you will not give up what is better if you depart. That which is worse has diminution, but there is grace for it.

Nothing, then, redeems us from this world. But the All which we are, we are saved. We have received salvation from end to end. Let us think in this way! Let us comprehend in this way!

But there are some (who) wish to understand, in the enquiry about those things they are looking into, whether he who is saved, if he leaves his body behind, will be saved immediately. Let no one doubt concerning this. [...]. indeed, the visible members which are dead shall not be saved, for (only) the living members which exist within them would arise.

What, then, is the resurrection? It is always the disclosure of those who have risen. For if you remember reading in the Gospel that Elijah appeared and Moses with him, do not think the resurrection is an illusion. It is no illusion, but it is truth! Indeed, it is more fitting to say the world is an illusion, rather than the resurrection which has come into being through our Lord the Saviour, Jesus Christ.

But what am I telling you now? Those who are living shall die. How do they live in an illusion? The rich have become poor, and the kings have been overthrown. Everything is prone to change. The world is an illusion! - lest, indeed, I rail at things to excess!

But the resurrection does not have this aforesaid character, for it is the truth which stands firm. It is the revelation of what is, and the transformation of things, and a transition into newness. For imperishability descends upon the perishable; the light flows down upon the darkness, swallowing it up; and the Pleroma fills up the deficiency. These are the symbols and the images of the resurrection. He it is who makes the good.

Therefore, do not think in part, O Rheginos, nor live in conformity with this flesh for the sake of unanimity, but flee from the divisions and the fetters, and already you have the resurrection. For if he who will die knows about himself that he will die - even if he spends many years in this life, he is brought to this - why not consider yourself as risen and (already) brought to this? If you have the resurrection but continue as if you are to die - and yet that one knows that he has died - why, then, do I ignore your lack of exercise? It is fitting for each one to practice in a number of ways, and he shall be released from this Element that he may not fall into error but shall himself receive again what at first was.

These things I have received from the generosity of my Lord, Jesus Christ. I have taught you and your brethren, my sons, considering them, while I have not omitted any of the things suitable for strengthening you. But if there is one thing written which is obscure in my exposition of the Word, I shall interpret it for you (pl.) when you (pl.) ask. But now, do not be jealous of anyone who is in your number when he is able to help. Many are looking into this which I have written to you. To these I say: Peace (be) among them and grace. I greet you and those who love you (pl.) in brotherly Love.

The Treatise on the Resurrection

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD

(also known as: "The Untitled Text")
From: The Nag Hammadi Library
Translation: Hans-Gebhard Bethge and Bentley Layton
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 4th centuries A.D.

(On the Origin of the World is a Gnostic work dealing with creation and the end time. It was found among the texts in what is known as the Nag Hammadi library, in Codex 2 and Codex 13, immediately following the "Reality of the Rulers". There are many parallels between the two texts. The manuscript does not have a title, but scholars have dubbed it "On the Origin of the World", because of what it describes. It is estimated to have been written sometime near the end of the third century. While the author is not mentioned, he or she seems to have been interested in expressing a Gnostic understanding of the world's conception. In particular, it rethinks the entire story of Genesis, and positions Yaldabaoth (the Demiurge) as the creator of the world, fulfilling the role of God in Genesis. Furthermore, the Serpent in the Garden of Eden is depicted as a hero sent by Sophia, the figure of wisdom, to guide mankind towards enlightenment. It expresses one approach to the creation and end of the world. Other myths found within the Nag Hammadi collection have varying explanations and details. This one has a distinct perspective: it intertwines views from Judaism, Christianity, Hellenistic and Egyptian thought, and others in order to help explain its concept of Gnosticism.)

Seeing that everybody, gods of the world and mankind, says that nothing existed prior to chaos, I, in distinction to them, shall demonstrate that they are all mistaken, because they are not acquainted with the origin of chaos, nor with its root. Here is the demonstration.

How well it suits all men, on the subject of chaos, to say that it is a kind of darkness! But in fact it comes from a shadow, which has been called by the name 'darkness'. And the shadow comes from a product that has existed since the beginning. It is, moreover, clear that it existed before chaos came into being, and that the latter is posterior to the first product. Let us therefore concern ourselves with the facts of the matter; and furthermore, with the first product, from which chaos was projected. And in this way the truth will be clearly demonstrated.

After the natural structure of the immortal beings had completely developed out of the infinite, a likeness then emanated from Pistis (Faith); it is called Sophia (Wisdom). It exercised volition and became a product resembling the primeval light. And immediately her will manifested itself as a likeness of heaven, having an unimaginable magnitude; it was between the immortal beings and those things that came into being after them, like [...]: she (Sophia) functioned as a veil dividing mankind from the things above.

Now the eternal realm (aeon) of truth has no shadow outside it, for the limitless light is everywhere within it. But its exterior is shadow, which has been called by the name 'darkness'. From it, there appeared a force, presiding over the darkness. And the forces that came into being subsequent to them called the shadow 'the limitless chaos'. From it, every kind of divinity sprouted up [...] together with the entire place, so that also, shadow is posterior to the first product. It was in the abyss that it (shadow) appeared, deriving from the aforementioned Pistis.

Then shadow perceived there was something mightier than it, and felt envy; and when it had become pregnant of its own accord, suddenly it engendered jealousy. Since that day, the principle of jealousy amongst all the eternal realms and their worlds has been apparent. Now as for that jealousy, it was found to be an abortion without any spirit in it. Like a shadow, it came into existence in a vast watery substance. Then the bile that had come into being out of the shadow was thrown into a part of chaos. Since that day, a watery substance has been apparent. And what sank within it flowed away, being visible in chaos: as with a woman giving birth to a child - all her superfluities flow out; just so, matter came into being out of shadow, and was projected apart. And it did not depart from chaos; rather, matter was in chaos, being in a part of it.

And when these things had come to pass, then Pistis came and appeared over the matter of chaos, which had been expelled like an aborted fetus - since there was no spirit in it. For all of it (chaos) was limitless darkness and bottomless water. Now when Pistis saw what had resulted from her defect, she became disturbed. And the disturbance appeared, as a fearful product; it rushed to her in the chaos. She turned to it and blew into its face in the abyss, which is below all the heavens.

And when Pistis Sophia desired to cause the thing that had no spirit to be formed into a likeness and to rule over matter and over all her forces, there appeared for the first time a ruler, out of the waters, lion-like in appearance, androgynous, having great authority within him, and ignorant of whence he had come into being. Now when Pistis Sophia saw him moving about in the depth of the waters, she said to him,

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"Child, pass through to here," whose equivalent is 'yalda baoth'.

Since that day, there appeared the principle of verbal expression, which reached the gods and the angels and mankind. And what came into being as a result of verbal expression, the gods and the angels and mankind finished. Now as for the ruler Yaltabaoth, he is ignorant of the force of Pistis: he did not see her face, rather he saw in the water the likeness that spoke with him. And because of that voice, he called himself 'Yaldabaoth'. But 'Ariael' is what the perfect call him, for he was like a lion. Now when he had come to have authority over matter, Pistis Sophia withdrew up to her light.

When the ruler saw his magnitude - and it was only himself that he saw: he saw nothing else, except for water and darkness - then he supposed that it was he alone who existed. His [...] was completed by verbal expression: it appeared as a spirit moving to and fro upon the waters. And when that spirit appeared, the ruler set apart the watery substance. And what was dry was divided into another place. And from matter, he made for himself an abode, and he called it 'heaven'. And from matter, the ruler made a footstool, and he called it 'earth'.

Next, the ruler had a thought - consistent with his nature - and by means of verbal expression he created an androgyne. He opened his mouth and cooed to him. When his eyes had been opened, he looked at his father, and he said to him, "Eee!" Then his father called him Eee-a-o ('Yao'). Next he created the second son. He cooed to him. And he opened his eyes and said to his father, "Eh!" His father called him 'Eloai'. Next, he created the third son. He cooed to him. And he opened his eyes and said to his father, "Asss!" His father called him 'Astaphaios'. These are the three sons of their father.

Seven appeared in chaos, androgynous. They have their masculine names and their feminine names. The feminine name is Pronoia (Forethought) Sambathas, which is 'week'.

And his son is called Yao: his feminine name is Lordship.

Sabaoth: his feminine name is Deity.

Adonaios: his feminine name is Kingship.

Elaios: his feminine name is Jealousy.

Oraios: his feminine name is Wealth.

And Astaphaios: his feminine name is Sophia (Wisdom).

These are the seven forces of the seven heavens of chaos. And they were born androgynous, consistent with the immortal pattern that existed before them, according to the wish of Pistis: so that the likeness of what had existed since the beginning might reign to the end. You will find the effect of these names and the force of the male entities in the Archangelic (Book) of the Prophet Moses, and the names of the female entities in the first Book of Noraia.

Now the prime parent Yaldabaoth, since he possessed great authorities, created heavens for each of his offspring through verbal expression - created them beautiful, as dwelling places - and in each heaven he created great glories, seven times excellent. Thrones and mansions and temples, and also chariots and virgin spirits up to an invisible one and their glories, each one has these in his heaven; mighty armies of gods and lords and angels and archangels - countless myriads - so that they might serve. The account of these matters you will find in a precise manner in the first Account of Oraia.

And they were completed from this heaven to as far up as the sixth heaven, namely that of Sophia. The heaven and his earth were destroyed by the troublemaker that was below them all. And the six heavens shook violently; for the forces of chaos knew who it was that had destroyed the heaven that was below them. And when Pistis knew about the breakage resulting from the disturbance, she sent forth her breath and bound him and cast him down into Tartaros. Since that day, the heaven, along with its earth, has consolidated itself through Sophia the daughter of Yaldabaoth, she who is below them all.

Now when the heavens had consolidated themselves along with their forces and all their administration, the prime parent became insolent. And he was honoured by all the army of angels. And all the gods and their angels gave blessing and honour to him. And for his part, he was delighted and continually boasted, saying to them, "I have no need of anyone." He said, "It is I who am God, and there is no other one that exists apart from me." And when he said this, he sinned against all the immortal beings who give answer. And they laid it to his charge.

Then when Pistis saw the impiety of the chief ruler, she was filled with anger. She was invisible. She said, "You are mistaken, Samael," (that is, "blind god"). "There is an immortal man of light who has been in existence before you, and who will appear among your modelled forms; he will trample you to scorn, just as potter's clay is pounded. And you will descend to your mother, the abyss, along with those that belong to you. For at the consummation of your (pl.) works, the entire defect that has become visible out of the truth will be abolished, and it will cease to be, and will be like what has never been." Saying this, Pistis revealed her likeness of her greatness in the waters. And so doing, she withdrew up to her light.

Now when Sabaoth, the son of Yaldabaoth, heard the voice of Pistis, he sang praises to her, and he condemned the father [...] at the word of Pistis; and he praised her because she had instructed them about the immortal man and his light. Then Pistis Sophia stretched out her finger and poured upon him some light from her light, to be a condemnation of his father. Then when Sabaoth was illumined, he received great authority against all the forces of chaos. Since that day he has been called "Lord of the Forces".

He hated his father, the darkness, and his mother, the abyss, and loathed his sister, the thought of the prime parent, which moved to and fro upon the waters. And because of his light, all the authorities of chaos were jealous of him. And when they had become disturbed, they made a great war in the seven heavens. Then when Pistis Sophia had seen the war, she dispatched seven archangels to Sabaoth from her light. They snatched him up to the seventh heaven. They stood before him as attendants. Furthermore, she sent him three more archangels, and established the kingdom for him over everyone, so that he might dwell above the twelve gods of chaos.

Now when Sabaoth had taken up the place of repose in return for his repentance, Pistis also gave him her daughter Zoe (Life), together with great authority, so that she might instruct him about all things that exist in the eighth heaven. And as he had authority, he made himself first of all a mansion. It is huge, magnificent, seven times as great as all those that exist in the seven heavens.

And before his mansion he created a throne, which was huge and was upon a four-faced chariot called "Cherubin". Now the Cherubin has eight shapes per each of the four corners, lion forms and calf forms and human forms and eagle forms, so that all the forms amount to sixty-four forms - and seven archangels that stand before it; he is the eighth, and has authority. All the forms amount to seventy-two. Furthermore, from this chariot the seventy-two gods took shape; they took shape so that they might rule over the seventy-two languages of the peoples. And by that throne he created other, serpent-like angels, called "Seraphin", which praise him at all times.

Thereafter he created a congregation of angels, thousands and myriads, numberless, which resembled the congregation in the eighth heaven; and a firstborn called

Israel - which is, "the man that sees God"; and another being, called Jesus Christ, who resembles the Saviour above in the eighth heaven, and who sits at his right upon a revered throne. And at his left, there sits the virgin of the holy spirit, upon a throne and glorifying him. And the seven virgins stand before her, [...] possessing thirty harps, and psalteries and trumpets, glorifying him. And all the armies of the angels glorify him, and they bless him. Now where he sits is upon a throne of light <within a> great cloud that covers him. And there was no one with him in the cloud except Sophia <the daughter of> Pistis, instructing him about all the things that exist in the eighth heaven, so that the likenesses of those things might be created, in order that his reign might endure until the consummation of the heavens of chaos and their forces.

Now Pistis Sophia set him apart from the darkness and summoned him to her right, and the prime parent she put at her left. Since that day, right has been called justice, and left called wickedness. Now because of this, they all received a realm in the congregation of justice and wickedness, [...] stand [...] upon a creature [...] all.

Thus, when the prime parent of chaos saw his son Sabaoth and the glory that he was in, and perceived that he was greatest of all the authorities of chaos, he envied him. And having become wrathful, he engendered Death out of his death: and he (viz., Death) was established over the sixth heaven, for Sabaoth had been snatched up from there. And thus the number of the six authorities of chaos was achieved. Then Death, being androgynous, mingled with his (own) nature and begot seven androgynous offspring. These are the names of the male ones: Jealousy, Wrath, Tears, Sighing, Suffering, Lamentation, Bitter Weeping. And these are the names of the female ones: Wrath, Pain, Lust, Sighing, Curse, Bitterness, Quarrelsomeness. They had intercourse with one another, and each one begot seven, so that they amount to forty-nine androgynous demons. Their names and their effects you will find in the Book of Solomon.

And in the presence of these, Zoe, who was with Sabaoth, created seven good androgynous forces. These are the names of the male ones: the Unenvious, the Blessed, the Joyful, the True, the Unbegrudging, the Beloved, the Trustworthy. Also, as regards the female ones, these are their names: Peace, Gladness, Rejoicing, Blessedness, Truth, Love, Faith (Pistis). And from these are many good and innocent spirits. Their influences and their effects you will find in the Configurations of the Fate of Heaven That Is Beneath the Twelve.

And having seen the likeness of Pistis in the waters, the prime parent grieved very much, especially when he heard her voice, like the first voice that had called to him out of the waters. And when he knew that it was she who had given a name to him, he sighed. He was ashamed on account of his transgression. And when he had come to know in truth that an immortal man of light had been existing before him, he was greatly disturbed; for he had previously said to all the gods and their angels, "It is I who am god. No other one exists apart from me." For he had been afraid they might know that another had been in existence before him, and might condemn him. But he, being devoid of understanding, scoffed at the condemnation and acted recklessly. He said, "If anything has existed before me, let it appear, so that we may see its light."

And immediately, behold! Light came out of the eighth heaven above and passed through all of the heavens of the earth. When the prime parent saw that the light was beautiful as it radiated, he was amazed. And he was greatly ashamed. As that light appeared, a human likeness appeared within it, very wonderful. And no one saw it except for the prime parent and Pronoia, who was with him. Yet its light appeared to all the forces of the heavens. Because of this they were all troubled by it.

Then when Pronoia saw that emissary, she became enamored of him. But he hated her because she was on the darkness. But she desired to embrace him, and she was not able to. When she was unable to assuage her love, she poured out her light upon the earth. Since that day, that emissary has been called "Adam of Light," whose rendering is "the luminous man of blood," and the earth spread over him, holy Adaman, whose rendering is "the Holy Land of Adamantine." Since that day, all the authorities have honoured the blood of the virgin. And the earth was purified on account of the blood of the virgin. But most of all, the water was purified through the likeness of Pistis Sophia, who had appeared to the prime parent in the waters. Justly, then, it has been said: "through the waters." The holy water, since it vivifies the all, purifies it.

Out of that first blood Eros appeared, being androgynous. His masculinity is Himireris, being fire from the light. His femininity that is with him - a soul of blood - is from the stuff of Pronoia. He is very lovely in his beauty, having a charm beyond all the creatures of chaos. Then all the gods and their angels, when they beheld Eros, became enamored of him. And appearing in all of them, he set them afire: just as from a single lamp many lamps are lit, and one and the same light is there, but the lamp is not diminished. And in this way, Eros became dispersed in all the created beings of chaos, and was not diminished. Just as from the midpoint of light and darkness Eros appeared and at the midpoint of the angels and mankind the sexual union of Eros was consummated, so out of the earth the primal pleasure blossomed. The woman followed earth. And marriage followed woman. Birth followed marriage. Dissolution followed birth.

After that Eros, the grapevine sprouted up out of that blood, which had been shed over the earth. Because of this, those who drink of it conceive the desire of sexual union. After the grapevine, a fig tree and a pomegranate tree sprouted up from the earth, together with the rest of the trees, all species, having with them their seed from the seed of the authorities and their angels.

Then Justice created Paradise, being beautiful and being outside the orbit of the moon and the orbit of the sun in the Land of Wantonness, in the East in the midst of the stones. And desire is in the midst of the beautiful, appetizing trees. And the tree of eternal life is as it appeared by God's will, to the north of Paradise, so that it might make eternal the souls of the pure, who shall come forth from the modelled forms of poverty at the consummation of the age. Now the color of the tree of life is like the sun. And its branches are beautiful. Its leaves are like those of the cypress. Its fruit is like a bunch of grapes when it is white. Its height goes as far as heaven. And next to it (is) the tree of knowledge (gnosis), having the strength of God. Its glory is like the moon when fully radiant. And its branches are beautiful. Its leaves are like fig leaves. Its fruit is like a good appetizing date. And this tree is to the north of Paradise, so that it might arouse the souls from the torpor of the demons, in order that they might approach the tree of life and eat of its fruit, and so condemn the authorities and their angels. The effect of this tree is described in the Sacred Book, to wit: "It is you who are the tree of knowledge, which is in Paradise, from which the first man ate and which opened his mind; and he loved his female counterpart and condemned the other, alien likenesses and loathed them."

Now after it, the olive tree sprouted up, which was to purify the kings and the high priests of righteousness, who were to appear in the last days, since the olive tree appeared out of the light of the first Adam for the sake of the unguent that they were to receive.

And the first soul (psyche) loved Eros, who was with her, and poured her blood upon him and upon the earth. And out of that blood the rose first sprouted up, out of the earth, out of the thorn bush, to be a source of joy for the light that was to appear in the bush. Moreover, after this the beautiful, good-smelling flowers sprouted up from the earth, different kinds, from every single virgin of the daughters of Pronoia. And they, when they had become enamored of Eros, poured out their blood upon him and upon the earth. After these, every plant sprouted up from the earth, different kinds, containing the seed of the authorities and their angels. After these, the authorities created out of the waters all species of

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beast, and the reptiles and birds - different kinds - containing the seed of the authorities and their angels.

But before all these, when he had appeared on the first the first day, he remained upon the earth, something like two days, and left the lower Pronoia in heaven, and ascended towards his light. And immediately darkness covered all the universe. Now when she wished, the Sophia who was in the lower heaven received authority from Pistis, and fashioned great luminous bodies and all the stars. And she put them in the sky to shine upon the earth and to render temporal signs and seasons and years and months and days and nights and moments and so forth. And in this way the entire region upon the sky was adorned.

Now when Adam of Light conceived the wish to enter his light - i.e., the eighth heaven - he was unable to do so because of the poverty that had mingled with his light. Then he created for himself a vast eternal realm. And within that eternal realm he created six eternal realms and their adornments, six in number, that were seven times better than the heavens of chaos and their adornments. Now all these eternal realms and their adornments exist within the infinity that is between the eighth heaven and the chaos below it, being counted with the universe that belongs to poverty. If you want to know the arrangement of these, you will find it written in the Seventh Universe of the Prophet Hieralias.

And before Adam of Light had withdrawn in the chaos, the authorities saw him and laughed at the prime parent because he had lied when he said, "It is I who am God. No one exists before me." When they came to him, they said, "Is this not the god who ruined our work?" He answered and said, "Yes. If you do not want him to be able to ruin our work, come let us create a man out of earth, according to the image of our body and according to the likeness of this being, to serve us; so that when he sees his likeness, he might become enamored of it. No longer will he ruin our work; rather,we shall make those who are born out of the light our servants for all the duration of this eternal realm." Now all of this came to pass according to the forethought of Pistis, in order that man should appear after his likeness, and should condemn them because of their modelled form. And their modelled form became an enclosure of the light.

Then the authorities received the knowledge (gnosis) necessary to create man. Sophia Zoe - she who is with Sabaoth - had anticipated them. And she laughed at their decision. For they are blind: against their own interests they ignorantly created him. And they do not realize what they are about to do. The reason she anticipated them and made her own man first, was in order that he might instruct their modelled form how to despise them, and thus to escape from them.

Now the production of the instructor came about as follows. When Sophia let fall a droplet of light, it flowed onto the water, and immediately a human being appeared, being androgynous. That droplet she molded first as a female body. Afterwards, using the body she molded it in the likeness of the mother, which had appeared. And he finished it in twelve months. An androgynous human being was produced, whom the Greeks call Hermaphrodites; and whose mother the Hebrews call Eve of Life (Zoe), namely, the female instructor of life. Her offspring is the creature that is lord. Afterwards, the authorities called it "Beast", so that it might lead astray their modelled creatures. The interpretation of "the beast" is "the instructor". For it was found to be the wisest of all beings.

Now, Eve is the first virgin, the one who without a husband bore her first offspring. It is she who served as her own midwife. For this reason she is held to have said:

It is I who am the part of my mother; and it is I who am the mother.

It is I who am the wife; it is I who am the virgin.

It is I who am pregnant; it is I who am the midwife.

It is I who am the one that comforts pains of travail.

It is my husband who bore me; and it is I who am his mother.

And it is he who is my father and my lord.

It is he who is my force; What he desires, he says with reason.

I am in the process of becoming; yet I have borne a man as lord.

Now these through the will <...> The souls that were going to enter the modelled forms of the authorities were manifested to Sabaoth and his Christ. And regarding these, the holy voice said, "Multiply and improve! Be lord over all creatures." And it is they who were taken captive, according to their destinies, by the prime parent. And thus they were shut into the prisons of the modelled forms until the consummation of the age.

And at that time, the prime parent then rendered an opinion concerning man to those who were with him. Then each of them cast his sperm into the midst of the navel of the earth. Since that day, the seven rulers have fashioned man with his body resembling their body, but his likeness resembling the man that had appeared to them. His modelling took place by parts, one at a time. And their leader fashioned the brain and the nervous system. Afterwards, he appeared as prior to him. He became a soul-endowed man. And he was called Adam, that is, "father", according to the name of the one that existed before him.

And when they had finished Adam, he abandoned him as an inanimate vessel, since he had taken form like an abortion, in that no spirit was in him. Regarding this thing, when the chief ruler remembered the saying of Pistis, he was afraid lest the true man enter his modelled form and become its lord. For this reason he left his modelled form forty days without soul, and he withdrew and abandoned it. Now on the fortieth day, Sophia Zoe sent her breath into Adam, who had no soul. He began to move upon the ground. And he could not stand up.

Then, when the seven rulers came, they saw him and were greatly disturbed. They went up to him and seized him. And he (viz., the chief ruler) said to the breath within him, "Who are you? And whence did you come hither?" It answered and said, "I have come from the force of the man for the destruction of your work." When they heard, they glorified him, since he gave them respite from the fear and the anxiety in which they found themselves. Then they called that day "Rest", in as much as they had rested from toil. And when they saw that Adam could stand up, they were glad, and they took him and put him in Paradise. And they withdrew up to their heavens.

After the day of rest, Sophia sent her daughter Zoe, being called Eve, as an instructor, in order that she might make Adam, who had no soul, arise, so that those whom he should engender might become containers of light. When Eve saw her male counterpart prostrate, she had pity upon him, and she said, "Adam! Become alive! Arise upon the earth!" Immediately her word became accomplished fact. For Adam, having arisen, suddenly opened his eyes. When he saw her, he said, "You shall be called 'Mother of the Living'. For it is you who have given me life."

Then the authorities were informed that their modelled form was alive and had arisen, and they were greatly troubled. They sent seven archangels to see what had happened. They came to Adam. When they saw Eve talking to him, they said to one another, "What sort of thing is this luminous woman? For she resembles that likeness which appeared to us in the light. Now come, let us lay hold of her and cast her seed into her, so that when she becomes soiled she may not be able to ascend into her light. Rather, those whom she bears will be under our charge. But let us not tell Adam, for he is not one of us. Rather let us bring a deep sleep over him. And let us instruct him in his sleep to the effect that she came from his rib, in order that his wife may obey, and he may be lord over her."

Then Eve, being a force, laughed at their decision. She put mist into their eyes and secretly left her likeness with Adam. She entered the tree of knowledge and remained there. And they pursued her, and she revealed to them that she had gone into the tree and become a tree. Then, entering a great state of fear, the blind creatures fled.

Afterwards, when they had recovered from the daze, they came to Adam; and seeing the likeness of this woman with him, they were greatly disturbed, thinking it was she that was the true Eve. And they acted rashly; they came up to her and seized her and cast their seed upon her. They did so wickedly, defiling not only in natural ways but also in foul ways, defiling first the seal of her voice - that had spoken with them, saying, "What is it that exists before you?" - intending to defile those who might say at the consummation (of the age) that they had been born of the true man through verbal expression. And they erred, not knowing that it was their own body that they had defiled: it was the likeness that the authorities and their angels defiled in every way.

First she was pregnant with Abel, by the first ruler. And it was by the seven authorities and their angels that she bore the other offspring. And all this came to pass according to the forethought of the prime parent, so that the first mother might bear within her every seed, being mixed and being fitted to the fate of the universe and its configurations, and to Justice. A prearranged plan came into effect regarding Eve, so that the modelled forms of the authorities might become enclosures of the light, whereupon it would condemn them through their modelled forms.

Now the first Adam, (Adam) of Light, is spirit-endowed and appeared on the first day. The second Adam is soul-endowed and appeared on the sixth day, which is called Aphrodite. The third Adam is a creature of the earth, that is, the man of the law, and he appeared on the eighth day [...] the tranquility of poverty, which is called "The Day of the Sun" (Sunday). And the progeny of the earthly Adam became numerous and was completed, and produced within itself every kind of scientific information of the soul-endowed Adam. But all were in ignorance.

Next, let me say that once the rulers had seen him and the female creature who was with him erring ignorantly like beasts, they were very glad. When they learned that the immortal man was not going to neglect them, rather that they would even have to fear the female creature that had turned into a tree, they were disturbed, and said, "Perhaps this is the true man - this being who has brought a fog upon us and has taught us that she who was soiled is like him - and so we shall be conquered!"

Then the seven of them together laid plans. They came up to Adam and Eve timidly: they said to him, "The fruit of all the trees created for you in Paradise shall be eaten; but as for the tree of knowledge, control yourselves and do not eat from it. If you eat, you will die." Having imparted great fear to them, they withdrew up to their authorities.

Then came the wisest of all creatures, who was called Beast. And when he saw the likeness of their mother Eve he said to her, "What did God say to you? Was it 'Do not eat from the tree of knowledge'?" She said, "He said not only, 'Do not eat from it', but, 'Do not touch it, lest you die.'" He said to her, "Do not be afraid. In death you shall not die. For he knows that when you eat from it, your intellect will become sober and you will come to be like gods, recognizing the difference that obtains between evil men and good ones. Indeed, it was in jealousy that he said this to you, so that you would not eat from it."

Now Eve had confidence in the words of the instructor. She gazed at the tree and saw that it was beautiful and appetizing, and liked it; she took some of its fruit and ate it; and she gave some also to her husband, and he too ate it. Then their intellect became open. For when they had eaten, the light of knowledge had shone upon them. When they clothed themselves with shame, they knew that they were naked of knowledge. When they became sober, they saw that they were naked and became enamored of one another. When they saw that the ones who had modelled them had the form of beasts, they loathed them: they were very aware.

Then when the rulers knew that they had broken their commandments, they entered Paradise and came to Adam and Eve with earthquake and great threatening, to see the effect of the aid. Then Adam and Eve trembled greatly and hid under the trees in Paradise. Then the rulers did not know where they were and said, "Adam, where are you?" He said, "I am here, for through fear of you I hid, being ashamed." And they said to him ignorantly, "Who told you about the shame with which you clothed yourself? - unless you have eaten from that tree!" He said, "The woman whom you gave me - it is she that gave to me and I ate." Then they said to the latter, "What is this that you have done?" She answered and said, "It is the instructor who urged me on, and I ate."

Then the rulers came up to the instructor. Their eyes became misty because of him, and they could not do anything to him. They cursed him, since they were powerless. Afterwards, they came up to the woman and cursed her and her offspring. After the woman, they cursed Adam, and the land because of him, and the crops; and all things they had created, they cursed. They have no blessing. Good cannot result from evil.

From that day, the authorities knew that truly there was something mightier than they: they recognised only that their commandments had not been kept. Great jealousy was brought into the world solely because of the immortal man. Now when the rulers saw that their Adam had entered into an alien state of knowledge, they desired to test him, and they gathered together all the domestic animals and the wild beasts of the earth and the birds of heaven and brought them to Adam to see what he would call them. When he saw them, he gave names to their creatures.

They became troubled because Adam had recovered from all the trials. They assembled and laid plans, and they said, "Behold Adam! He has come to be like one of us, so that he knows the difference between the light and the darkness. Now perhaps he will be deceived, as in the case of the Tree of Knowledge, and also will come to the Tree of Life and eat from it, and become immortal, and become lord, and despise us and disdain us and all our glory! Then he will denounce us along with our universe. Come, let us expel him from Paradise, down to the land from which he was taken, so that henceforth he might not be able to recognise anything better than we can." And so they expelled Adam from Paradise, along with his wife. And this deed that they had done was not enough for them. Rather, they were afraid. They went in to the Tree of Life and surrounded it with great fearful things, fiery living creatures called "Cheroubin", and they put a flaming sword in their midst, fearfully twirling at all times, so that no earthly being might ever enter that place.

Thereupon, since the rulers were envious of Adam they wanted to diminish their (viz., Adam's and Eve's) lifespans. They could not (, however,) because of fate, which had been fixed since the beginning. For to each had been allotted a lifespan of 1,000 years, according to the course of the luminous bodies. But although the rulers could not do this, each of the evildoers took away ten years. And all this lifespan (which remained) amounted to 930 years: and these are in pain and weakness and evil distraction. And so life has turned out to be, from that day until the consummation of the age.

Thus when Sophia Zoe saw that the rulers of the darkness had laid a curse upon her counterparts, she was indignant. And coming out of the first heaven with full power, she chased those rulers out of their heavens, and cast them down into the

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sinful world, so that there they should dwell, in the form of evil spirits (demons) upon the earth.

[. . .], so that in their world it might pass the thousand years in Paradise - a soul-endowed living creature called "phoenix". It kills itself and brings itself to life as a witness to the judgement against them, for they did wrong to Adam and his generation, unto the consummation of the age. There are [...] three men, and also his posterities, unto the consummation of the world: the spirit-endowed of eternity, and the soul-endowed, and the earthly. Likewise, the three phoenixes <in> Paradise - the first is immortal; the second lives 1,000 years; as for the third, it is written in the Sacred Book that it is consumed. So, too, there are three baptisms - the first is the spiritual, the second is by fire, the third is by water. Just as the phoenix appears as a witness concerning the angels, so the case of the water hydri in Egypt, which has been a witness to those going down into the baptism of a true man. The two bulls in Egypt possess a mystery, the sun and the moon, being a witness to Sabaoth: namely, that over them Sophia received the universe; from the day that she made the sun and the moon, she put a seal upon her heaven, unto eternity.

And the worm that has been born out of the phoenix is a human being as well. It is written (Ps 91:13 LXX) concerning it, "the just man will blossom like a phoenix". And the phoenix first appears in a living state, and dies, and rises again, being a sign of what has become apparent at the consummation of the age. It was only in Egypt that these great signs appeared - nowhere else - as an indication that it is like God's Paradise.

Let us return to the aforementioned rulers, so that we may offer some explanation of them. Now, when the seven rulers were cast down from their heavens onto the earth, they made for themselves angels, numerous, demonic, to serve them. And the latter instructed mankind in many kinds of error and magic and potions and worship of idols and spilling of blood and altars and temples and sacrifices and libations to all the spirits of the earth, having their coworker fate, who came into existence by the concord between the gods of injustice and justice.

And thus when the world had come into being, it distractedly erred at all times. For all men upon earth worshiped the spirits (demons) from the creation to the consummation - both the angels of righteousness and the men of unrighteousness. Thus did the world come to exist in distraction, in ignorance, and in a stupor. They all erred, until the appearance of the true man.

Let this suffice so far as the matter goes. Now we shall proceed to consideration of our world, so that we may accurately finish the description of its structure and management. Then it will become obvious how belief in the unseen realm, which has been apparent from creation down to the consummation of the age, was discovered.

I come, therefore, to the main points regarding the immortal man: I shall speak of all the beings that belong to him, explaining how they happen to be here.

When a multitude of human beings had come into existence, through the parentage of the Adam who had been fashioned, and out of matter, and when the world had already become full, the rulers were master over it - that is, they kept it restrained by ignorance. For what reason? For the following: since the immortal father knows that a deficiency of truth came into being amongst the eternal realms and their universe, when he wished to bring to naught the rulers of perdition through the creatures they had modelled, he sent your likenesses down into the world of perdition, namely, the blessed little innocent spirits. They are not alien to knowledge. For all knowledge is vested in one angel who appeared before them; he is not without power in the company of the father. And <he> gave them knowledge. Whenever they appear in the world of perdition, immediately and first of all they reveal the pattern of imperishability as a condemnation of the rulers and their forces. Thus when the blessed beings appeared in forms modelled by authorities, they were envied. And out of envy the authorities mixed their seed with them, in hopes of polluting them. They could not. Then when the blessed beings appeared in luminous form, they appeared in various ways. And each one of them, starting out in his land, revealed his (kind of) knowledge to the visible church constituted of the modelled forms of perdition. It (viz., the church) was found to contain all kinds of seed, because of the seed of the authorities that had mixed with it.

Then the Saviour created [...] of them all - and the spirits of these are manifestly superior, being blessed and varying in election - and also (he created) many other beings, which have no king and are superior to everyone that was before them. Consequently, four races exist. There are three that belong to the kings of the eighth heaven. But the fourth race is kingless and perfect, being the highest of all. For these shall enter the holy place of their father. And they will gain rest in repose and eternal, unspeakable glory and unending joy. Moreover, they are kings within the mortal domain, in that they are immortal. They will condemn the gods of chaos and their forces.

Now the Word that is superior to all beings was sent for this purpose alone: that he might proclaim the unknown. He said, "There is nothing hidden that is not apparent, and what has not been recognised will be recognised." And these were sent to make known what is hidden, and the seven authorities of chaos and their impiety. And thus they were condemned to death.

So when all the perfect appeared in the forms modelled by the rulers, and when they revealed the incomparable truth, they put to shame all the wisdom of the gods. And their fate was found to be a condemnation. And their force dried up. Their lordship was dissolved. Their forethought became emptiness, along with their glory.

Before the consummation of the age, the whole place will shake with great thundering. Then the rulers will be sad, [...] their death. The angels will mourn for their mankind, and the demons will weep over their seasons, and their mankind will wail and scream at their death. Then the age will begin, and they will be disturbed. Their kings will be intoxicated with the fiery sword, and they will wage war against one another, so that the earth is intoxicated with bloodshed. And the seas will be disturbed by those wars. Then the sun will become dark, and the moon will cause its light to cease. The stars of the sky will cancel their circuits. And a great clap of thunder will come out of a great force that is above all the forces of chaos, where the firmament of the woman is situated. Having created the first product, she will put away the wise fire of intelligence and clothe herself with witless wrath. Then she will pursue the gods of chaos, whom she created along with the prime parent. She will cast them down into the abyss. They will be obliterated because of their wickedness. For they will come to be like volcanoes and consume one another until they perish at the hand of the prime parent. When he has destroyed them, he will turn against himself and destroy himself until he ceases to exist.

And their heavens will fall one upon the next and their forces will be consumed by fire. Their eternal realms, too, will be overturned. And his heaven will fall and break in two. His [...] will fall down upon the [...] support them; they will fall into the abyss, and the abyss will be overturned.

The light will [...] the darkness and obliterate it: it will be like something that has never been. And the product to which the darkness had been posterior will dissolve. And the deficiency will be plucked out by the root (and thrown) down into the darkness. And the light will withdraw up to its root. And the glory of the unbegotten will appear. And it will fill all the eternal realm.

When the prophecy and the account of those that are king becomes known and is fulfilled by those who are called perfect, those who - in contrast - have not become perfect in the unbegotten father will receive their glory in their realms and in the kingdoms of the immortals: but they will never enter the kingless realm. For everyone must go to the place from which he has come. Indeed, by his acts and his knowledge, each person will make his (own) nature known.

THE EXEGESIS ON THE SOUL
or The Expository Treatise on the Soul
The Nag Hammadi Library
Translation: William C. Robinson Jr.
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 4th centuries A.D.

(The Exegesis on the Soul is one of the ancient texts found at Nag Hammadi, in Codex II. Its purpose is to teach that the soul is a woman which fell from perfection into prostitution, and that the Father will elevate her again to her original perfect state. According to Irenaeus, this teaching was a foundational pillar of the doctrine of Simon Magus, which Simon viewed as so important that he actually married a prostitute and elevated her in society in order to demonstrate the point. Hence, it is possible that the text was written by the Simonian school of Gnostics.

The text quotes from the Old Testament prophets, from the New Testament gospels, as well as from Homer's Odyssey. These quotes indicate that the author viewed Greek legend and mythology as a type of holy scripture, just as the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. The author and date are not certain, however is likely from between the 1st century AD and the 4th century AD. The text's placement toward the back of the codex may indicate that it was written later and/or was of relatively lesser importance than the other texts in the codex.)

Wise men of old gave the soul a feminine name. Indeed she is female in her nature as well. She even has her womb.

As long as she was alone with the father, she was virgin and in form androgynous. But when she fell down into a body and came to this life, then she fell into the hands of many robbers. And the wanton creatures passed her from one to another and [...] her. Some made use of her by force, while others did so by seducing her with a gift. In short, they defiled her, and she [...] her virginity.

And in her body she prostituted herself and gave herself to one and all, considering each one she was about to embrace to be her husband. When she had given herself to wanton, unfaithful adulterers, so that they might make use of her, then she sighed deeply and repented. But even when she turns her face from those adulterers, she runs to others and they compel her to live with them and render service to them upon their bed, as if they were her masters. Out of shame she no longer dares to leave them, whereas they deceive her for a long time, pretending to be faithful, true husbands, as if they greatly respected her. And after all this they abandon her and go.

She then becomes a poor desolate widow, without help; not even a measure of food was left her from the time of her affliction. For from them she gained nothing except the defilements they gave her while they had sexual intercourse with her. And her offspring by the adulterers are dumb, blind and sickly. They are feebleminded.

But when the father who is above visits her and looks down upon her and sees her sighing - with her sufferings and disgrace - and repenting of the prostitution in which she engaged, and when she begins to call upon his name so that he might help her, [...] all her heart, saying "Save me, my father, for behold I will render an account to thee, for I abandoned my house and fled from my maiden`s quarters. Restore me to thyself again." When he sees her in such a state, then he will count her worthy of his mercy upon her, for many are the afflictions that have come upon her because she abandoned her house.

Now concerning the prostitution on the soul, the Holy Spirit prophesies in many places. For he said in the prophet Jeremiah (3:1-4),

If the husband divorces his wife and she goes and takes another man, can she return to him after that? Has not that woman utterly defiled herself? "And you prostituted yourself to many shepherds and you returned to me!" said the lord. "Take an honest look and see where you prostituted yourself. Were you not sitting in the streets defiling the land with your acts of prostitution and your vices? And you took many shepherds for a stumbling block for yourself. You became shameless with everyone. You did not call on me as kinsman or as father or author of your virginity".

Again it is written in the prophet Hosea (2:2-7),

Come, go to law with your mother, for she is not to be a wife to me nor I a husband to her. I shall remove her prostitution from my presence, and I shall remove her adultery from between her breasts. I shall make her naked as on the day she was born, and I shall make her desolate like a land without water, and I shall make her longingly childless. I shall show her children no pity, for they are children of prostitution, since their mother prostituted herself and put her children to shame. For she said, "I shall prostitute myself to my lovers. It was they who gave me my bread and my water and my garments and my clothes and my wine and my oil and everything I needed." Therefore behold I shall shut them up so that she shall not be able to run after her adulterers. And when she seeks them and does not find them, she will say, 'I shall return to my former husband, in those days I was better off than now."

Again he said in Ezekiel (16:23-26),

It came to pass after much depravity, said the lord, you built yourself a brothel and you made yourself a beautiful place in the streets. And you built yourself brothels on every lane, and you wasted your beauty, and you spread your legs in every alley, and you multiplied your acts of prostitution. You prostituted yourself to the sons of Egypt, those who are your neighbours, men great of flesh.

But what does "the sons of Egypt, men great of flesh" mean, if not the domain of the flesh and the perceptible realm and the affairs of the earth, by which the soul has become defiled here, receiving bread from them, as well as wine, oil, clothing, and the other external nonsense surrounding the body - the things she thinks she needs.

But as to this prostitution, the apostles of the Saviour commanded (Acts 15:20, 29; 21:25; 1Th 4:3; 1 Co 6:18; 2 Co 7:1): "Guard yourselves against it, purify yourselves from it," speaking not just of the prostitution of the body but especially that of the soul. For this reason the apostles write to the churches of God, that such prostitution might not occur among us.

Yet the greatest struggle has to do with the prostitution of the soul. From it arises the prostitution of the body as well. Therefore Paul, writing to the Corinthians (1Co 5:9-10), said, "I wrote you in the letter, 'Do not associate with prostitutes,' not at all (meaning) the prostitutes of this world or the greedy or the thieves or the idolaters, since then you would have to go out from the world." - here it is speaking spiritually - "For our struggle is not against flesh and blood - as he said (Ep 6:12) - but against the world rulers of this darkness and the spirits of wickedness."

As long as the soul keeps running about everywhere copulating with whomever she meets and defiling herself, she exists suffering her just deserts. But when she perceives the straits she is in and weeps before the father and repents, then the father will have mercy on her and he will make her womb

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turn from the external domain and will turn it again inward, so that the soul will regain her proper character. For it is not so with a woman. For the womb of the body is inside the body like the other internal organs, but the womb of the soul is around the outside like the male genitalia which is external.

So when the womb of the soul, by the will of the father, turns itself inward, it is baptised and is immediately cleansed of the external pollution which was pressed upon it, just as garments, when dirty, are put into the water and turned about until their dirt is removed and they become clean. And so the cleansing of the soul is to regain the newness of her former nature and to turn herself back again. That is her baptism.

Then she will begin to rage at herself like a woman in labour, who writhes and rages in the hour of delivery. But since she is female, by herself she is powerless to beget a child. From heaven the father sent her her man, who is her brother, the firstborn. Then the bridegroom came down to the bride. She gave up her former prostitution and cleansed herself of the pollutions of the adulterers, and she was renewed so as to be a bride. She cleansed herself in the bridal chamber; she filled it with perfume; she sat in it waiting for the true bridegroom. No longer does she run about the market place, copulating with whomever she desires, but she continued to wait for him - (saying) "When will he come?" - and to fear him, for she did not know what he looked like: she no longer remembers since the time she fell from her father's house. But by the will of the father [...] And she dreamed of him like a woman in love with a man.

But then the bridegroom, according to the father's will, came down to her into the bridal chamber, which was prepared. And he decorated the bridal chamber.

For since that marriage is not like the carnal marriage, those who are to have intercourse with one another will be satisfied with that intercourse. And as if it were a burden, they leave behind them the annoyance of physical desire and they turn their faces from each other. But this marriage [...]. But once they unite with one another, they become a single life. Wherefore the prophet said (Gn 2:24) concerning the first man and the first woman, "They will become a single flesh." For they were originally joined one to another when they were with the father before the woman led astray the man, who is her brother. This marriage has brought them back together again and the soul has been joined to her true love, her real master, as it is written (cf. Gn 3:16; 1 Co 11;1; Ep 5:23), "For the master of the woman is her husband."

Then gradually she recognised him, and she rejoiced once more, weeping before him as she remembered the disgrace of her former widowhood. And she adorned herself still more so that he might be pleased to stay with her.

And the prophet said in the Psalms (Ps 45:10-11): "Hear, my daughter, and see and incline your ear and forget your people and your father's house, for the king has desired your beauty, for he is your lord."

For he requires her to turn her face from her people and the multitude of her adulterers, in whose midst she once was, to devote herself only to her king, her real lord, and to forget the house of the earthly father, with whom things went badly for her, but to remember her father who is in heaven. Thus also it was said (Gn 12:1) to Abraham: "Come out from your country and your kinsfolk and from your father`s house"

Thus when the soul had adorned herself again in her beauty [...] enjoyed her beloved, and he also loved her. And when she had intercourse with him, she got from him the seed that is the life-giving spirit, so that by him she bears good children and rears them. For this is the great, perfect marvel of birth. And so this marriage is made perfect by the will of the father.

Now it is fitting that the soul regenerates herself and become again as she formerly was. The soul then moves of her own accord. And she received the divine nature from the father for her rejuvenation, so that she might be restored to the place where originally she had been. This is the resurrection that is from the dead. This is the ransom from captivity. This is the upward journey of ascent to heaven. This is the way of ascent to the father. Therefore the prophet said (Ps 103:1-5):

"Praise the lord, O my soul, and, all that is within me, (praise) his holy name. My soul, praise God, who forgave all your sins, who healed all your sicknesses, who ransomed your life from death, who crowned you with mercy, who satisfies your longing with good things. Your youth will be renewed like an eagle's."

Then when she becomes young again, she will ascend, praising the father and her brother, by whom she was rescued. Thus it is by being born again that the soul will be saved. And this is due not to rote phrases or to professional skills or to book learning. Rather it is the grace of the [...], it is the gift of the [...]. For such is this heavenly thing. Therefore the Saviour cries out (Jn 6:44), "No one can come to me unless my Father draws him and brings him to me; and I myself will raise him up on the last day."

It is therefore fitting to pray to the father and to call on him with all our soul - not externally with the lips, but with the spirit, which is inward, which came forth from the depth - sighing; repenting for the life we lived; confessing our sins; perceiving the empty deception we were in, and the empty zeal; weeping over how we were in darkness and in the wave; mourning for ourselves, that he might have pity on us; hating ourselves for how we are now.

Again the Saviour said (cf Mt 5:4, Lk 6:12): "Blessed are those who mourn, for it is they who will be pitied; blessed, those who are hungry, for it is they who will be filled."

Again he said (cf. Lk 14:26), "If one does not hate his soul he cannot follow me." For the beginning of salvation is repentance. Therefore (cf. Acts 13:24), "Before Christ`s appearance came John, preaching the baptism of repentance."

And repentance takes place in distress and grief. But the father is good and loves humanity, and he hears the soul that calls upon him and sends it the light of salvation. Therefore he said through the spirit to the prophet (cf. 1 Cl 8:3), "Say to the children of my people, 'If your sins extend from earth to heaven, and if they become red like scarlet and blacker than sackcloth, and if you return to me with all your soul and say to me 'my Father!', I will heed you as a holy people.'"

Again another place (Is 30:15), "Thus says the lord, the holy one of Israel: "If you return and sigh, then you will be saved and will know where you were when you trusted in what is empty."

Again he said in another place (Is 30:19-20), "Jerusalem wept much, saying, 'Have pity on me.' He will have pity on the sound of your weeping. And when he saw, he heeded you. And the lord will give you bread of affliction and water of oppression. From now on, those who deceive will not approach you again. Your eyes will see those who are deceiving you."

Therefore it is fitting to pray to God night and day, spreading out our hands towards him as do people sailing in the middle of the sea: they pray to God with all their heart without hypocrisy. For those who pray hypocritically deceive only themselves. Indeed, it is in order that he might know who is worthy of salvation that God examines the inward parts and searches the bottom of the heart. For no one is worthy of salvation who still loves the place of deception.

Therefore it is written in the poet (Homer, Odyssey 1.48-1.59), "Odysseus sat on the island weeping and grieving and turning his face from the words of Calypso and from her tricks, longing to see his village and smoke coming forth from it. And had he not received help from heaven, he would not have been able to return to his village."

Again Helen <...> saying (Odyssey 4.260-261), "My heart turned itself from me. It is to my house that I want to return."

For she sighed, saying (Odyssey 4.261-4.264), "It is Aphrodite who deceived me and brought me out of my village. My only daughter I left behind me, and my good, understanding, handsome husband."

For when the soul leaves her perfect husband because of the treachery of Aphrodite, who exists here in the act of begetting, then she will suffer harm. But if she sighs and repents, she will be restored to her house.

Certainly Israel would not have been visited in the first place, to be brought out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage, if it had not sighed to God and wept for the oppression of its labours.

Again it is written in the Psalms (6:6-9), "I was greatly troubled in my groaning. I will bathe my bed and my cover each night with my tears. I have become old in the midst of all my enemies. Depart from me, all you who work at lawlessness, for behold the lord has heard the cry of my weeping and the lord has heard my prayer."

If we repent, truly God will heed us, he who is long suffering and abundantly merciful, to whom is the glory for ever and ever. Amen!

THE TESTAMENT OF SOLOMON

From: the codex of the Paris Library,
Jewish Quarterly Review,
Translation F. C. Conybeare, 1898
Estimated Range of Dating: 1st - 3rd centuries A.D.

(Despite the text's claim to have been a first-hand account of King Solomon's construction of the Temple of Jerusalem, its original publication dates sometime between the 1st and 3rd centuries AD, over a thousand years after King Solomon's death and the temple's completion. There are about a dozen, quite young copies of the manuscript from the 14th or 15th centuries. So, naturally, scientists considered the text to be medieval. However, The story was mentioned first in the Apocalypse of Adam 79.3-13 which was found in the Nag Hammadi Library. We also have references in other manuscripts as well as in the Koran. The real author or authors of the text remain unknown. The attractive story was originally written in Greek and was narated in the 1st Person. It contains numerous theological and magical themes ranging from Christianity and Judaism to Greek mythology and astrology that possibly hint at a Christian writer with a Greek but also Gnostic background. It is one of the oldest magical texts attributed to King Solomon. This text is an Old Testament Pseudepigraphic catalogue of demons summoned by King Solomon, and how they can be countered by invoking angels and other magical techniques. The Babylonian Talmud (in Gittin 68) mentions a similar story where Solomon enslaves Ashmodai, King of the Demons, to build the Temple, and he was disposed temporarily by him).

The Testament of Solomon

1 Testament of Solomon, son of David, who was king in Jerusalem, and mastered and controlled all spirits of the air, on the earth, and under the earth. By means of them also he wrought all the transcendent works of the Temple. Telling also of the authorities they wield against men, and by what angels these demons are brought to naught. Of the sage Solomon. Blessed art thou, O Lord God, who didst give Solomon such authority. Glory to thee and might unto the ages. Amen.

2 And behold, when the Temple of the city of Jerusalem was being built, and the artificers were working thereat, Ornias the demon came among them toward sunset; and he took away half of the pay of the chief-deviser's (master workman's) little boy, as well as half his food. He also continued to suck the thumb of his right hand every day. And the child grew thin, although he was very much loved by the king.

3 So King Solomon called the boy one day, and questioned him, saying: "Do I not love thee more than all the artisans who are working in the Temple of God? Do I not give thee double wages and a double supply of food? How is it that day by day and hour by hour thou growest thinner?"

4 But the child said to the king: "I pray thee, O king. Listen to what has befallen all that thy child hath. After we are all released from our work on the Temple of God, after sunset, when I lie down to rest, one of the evil demons comes and takes away from me one half of my pay and one half of my food. Then he also takes hold of my right hand and sucks my thumb. And lo, my soul is oppressed, and so my body waxes thinner every day."

5 Now when I Solomon heard this, I entered the Temple of God, and prayed with all my soul, night and day, that the demon might be delivered into my hands, and that I might gain authority over him. And it came about through my prayer that grace was given to me from the Lord Sabaoth by Michael his archangel. [He brought me] a little ring, having a seal consisting of an engraved stone, and said to me: "Take, O Solomon, king, son of David, the gift which the Lord God has sent thee, the highest Sabaoth. With it thou shalt lock up all demons of the earth, male and female; and with their help thou shalt build up Jerusalem. [But] thou [must] wear this seal of God. And this engraving of the seal of the ring sent thee is a Pentalpha."

6 And I Solomon was overjoyed, and praised and glorified the God of heaven and earth. And on the morrow I called the boy, and gave him the ring, and said to him: "take this, and at the hour in which the demon shall come unto thee, throw this ring at the chest of the demon, and say to him: 'In the name of God, King Solomon calls thee hither (or: Come! Solomon summons you!)'. And then do thou come running to me, without having any misgivings or fear in respect of aught thou mayest hear on the part of the demon."

7 So the child took the ring, and went off; and behold, at the customary hour Ornias, the fierce demon, came like a burning fire to take the pay from the child. But the child according to the instructions received from the king, threw the ring at the chest of the demon, and said: "King Solomon calls thee hither." And then he went off at a run to the king. But the demon cried out aloud, saying: "Child, why hast thou done this to me? Take the ring off me, and I will render to thee the gold of the earth. Only take this off me, and forbear to lead me away to Solomon (or: Remove the ring and give it back to Solomon)."

8 But the child said to the demon: "As the Lord God of Israel liveth, I will not brook thee. So come hither." And the child came at a run, rejoicing, to the king, and said: "I have brought the demon, O king, as thou didst command me, O my master. And behold, he stands before the gates of the court of thy palace, crying out, and supplicating with a loud voice; offering me the silver and gold of the earth if I will only bring him unto thee."

9 And when Solomon heard this, he rose up from his throne, and went outside into the vestibule of the court of his palace; and there he saw the demon, shuddering and trembling. And he said to him: "Who art thou?" And the demon answered: "I am called Ornias."

10 And Solomon said to him: "Tell me, O demon, to what zodiacal sign thou art subject." And he answered: "To the Water-pourer (the star constellation Aquarius). And those who are consumed with desire for the noble virgins upon earth . . . . . [there appears to be a lacuna here], these I strangle (or: I strangle those who reside in Aquarius because of their passion for women whose zodiacal sign is Virgo). But in case there is no disposition to sleep (or: while in a trance), I am changed into three forms. Whenever men come to be enamoured of women, I metamorphose myself into a comely female; and I take hold of the men in their sleep, and play with

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them. And after a while I again take to my wings, and hie me to the heavenly regions. I also appear as a lion, and I am commanded by all the demons. I am offspring of the archangel Uriel (or: Ouriel), the power of God."

11 I Solomon, having heard the name of the archangel, prayed and glorified God, the Lord of heaven and earth. And I sealed the demon and set him to work at stone-cutting, so that he might cut the stones in the Temple, which, lying along the shore, had been brought by the Sea of Arabia. But he, fearful of the iron, continued and said to me: "I pray thee, King Solomon, let me go free; and I will bring you all the demons." And as he was not willing to be subject to me, I prayed the archangel Uriel to come and succour me; and I forthwith beheld the archangel Uriel coming down to me from the heavens.

12 And the angel bade the whales (sea monsters) of the sea come out of the abyss. And he cast his destiny upon the ground, and that [destiny] made subject [to him] the great demon11. And he commanded the great demon and bold Ornias, to cut stones at the Temple (and to bring to completion the construction of the Temple). And accordingly I Solomon glorified the God of heaven and Maker of the earth. And he bade Ornias come with his destiny, and gave him the seal, saying: "Away with thee, and bring me hither the prince of all the demons."

13 So Ornias took the finger-ring, and went off to Beelzeboul, who has kingship over the demons. He said to him: "Hither! Solomon calls thee." But Beelzeboul, having heard, said to him: "Tell me, who is this Solomon of whom thou speakest to me?" Then Ornias threw the ring at the chest of Beelzeboul, saying: "Solomon the king calls thee." But Beelzeboul cried aloud with a mighty voice, and shot out a great burning flame of fire; and he arose, and followed Ornias, and came to Solomon.

14 And when I saw the prince of demons, I glorified the Lord God, Maker of heaven and earth, and I said: "Blessed art thou, Lord God Almighty, who hast given to Solomon thy servant wisdom, the assessor of the wise, and hast subjected unto me all the power of he devil."

15 And I questioned him, and said: "Who art thou?" The demon replied: "I am Beelzebub, the exarch of the demons. And all the demons have their chief seats close to me. And I it is who make manifest the apparition of each demon." (or: "The demon said, "I am Beelzeboul, the ruler of the demons." I demanded that without interruption he sit next to me and explain the manifestations of the demons) And he promised to bring to me in bonds all the unclean spirits. And I again glorified the God of heaven and earth, as I do always give thanks to him.

16 I then asked of the demon if there were females among them. And when he told me that there were, I said that I desired to see them. So Beelzeboul went off at high speed, and brought unto me Onoskelis, that had a very pretty shape, and the skin of a fair-hued woman; and she tossed her head (or: ". . . fair complexion, but her legs were those of a mule." Onoskelis means "she who has ass's legs.")

17 And when she was come, I said to her: "Tell me who art thou?" But she said to me: "I am called Onoskelis, a spirit wrought . . . (text missing. Probably: My name is Onoskelis. I am a spirit which has been made into a body), lurking upon the earth. There is a golden cave where I lie. But I have a place that ever shifts (or: I have a many sided character). At one time I strangle men with a noose; at another, I creep up from the nature to the arms (I pervert them from their true natures). But my most frequent dwelling-places are the precipices, caves, ravines. Oftentimes, however, do I consort with men in the semblance of a woman, and above all with those of a dark skin (honey-coloured). For they share my star with me; since they it is who privily or openly worship my star, without knowing that they harm themselves, and but whet my appetite for further mischief. For they wish to provide money by means of memory (or: by remembering me) , but I supply a little to those who worship me fairly."

18 And I Solomon questioned her about her birth, and she replied: "I was born of a voice untimely, the so-called echo of a man's ordure dropped in a wood."

19 And I said to her: "Under what star dost thou pass?" And she answered me: "Under the star of the full moon, for the reason that the moon travels over most things." Then I said to her: "And what angel is it that frustrates thee?" And she said to me: "He that in thee [or "through thee"] is reigning." And I thought that she mocked me, and bade a soldier strike her. But she cried aloud, and said: "I am [subjected] to thee, O king, by the wisdom of God given to thee, and by the angel Joel." (or: "and by the angel Joel." D reads "So I uttered the name of the Holy One of Israel and...")

20 So I commanded her to spin the hemp for the ropes used in the building of the house of God; and accordingly, when I had sealed and bound her, she was so overcome and brought to naught as to stand night and day spinning the hemp.

21 And I at once bade another demon to be led unto me; and instantly there approached me the demon Asmodeus, bound, and I asked him: "Who art thou?" But he shot on me a glance of anger and rage, and said: "And who art thou?" And I said to him: "Thus punished as thou art, answerest thou me?" But he, with rage, said to me: "But how shall I answer thee, for thou art a son of man; whereas I was born an angel's seed by a daughter of man, so that no word of our heavenly kind addressed to the earth-born can be overweening (arrogant). Wherefore also my star is bright in heaven, and men call it, some the Wain (the star constellation Great Bear), and some the dragon's child. I keep near unto this star. So ask me not many things; for thy kingdom also after a little time is to be disrupted, and thy glory is but for a season. And short will be thy tyranny over us; and then we shall again have free range over mankind, so as that they shall revere us as if we were gods, not knowing, men that they are, the names of the angels set over us."

22 And I Solomon, on hearing this, bound him more carefully, and ordered him to be flogged with thongs of ox-hide (flogged with a rod), and to tell me humbly what was his name and what his business. And he answered me thus: "I am called Asmodeus among mortals, and my business is to plot against the newly wedded, so that they may not know one another. And I sever them utterly by many calamities, and I waste away the beauty of virgin women, and estrange their hearts."

23 And I said to him: "Is this thy only business?" And he answered me: "I transport men into fits of madness and desire, when they have wives of their own, so that they leave them, and go off by night and day to others that belong to other men; with the result that they commit sin, and fall into murderous deeds (or, I sting to madness about women through the stars, and I have often committed a rash of murders).

24 And I adjured him by the name of the Lord Sabaoth, saying: "Fear God, Asmodeus, and tell me by what angel thou art frustrated." But he said: "By Raphael, the archangel that stands before the throne of God. But the liver and gall of a fish put me to flight, when smoked over ashes of the tamarisk (smoking on coals of charcoal)." I again asked him, and said: "Hide not aught from me. For I am Solomon, son of David, King of Israel. Tell me the name of the fish which thou reverest." And he answered: "It is the Glanos ("sheatfish", a large catfish. Gk. ho, he glanis) by name, and is found in the rivers of Assyria; wherefore it is that I roam about in those parts."

25 And I said to him: "Hast thou nothing else about thee, Asmodeus?" And he answered: "The power of God knoweth, which hath bound me with the indissoluble bonds of yonder one's seal, that whatever I have told thee is true. I pray thee, King Solomon, condemn me not to [go into] water." But I smiled, and said to him: "As the Lord God of my fathers liveth, I will lay iron on thee to wear. But thou shalt also make the clay for the entire construction of the Temple, treading it down with thy feet." And I ordered them to give him ten water-jars to carry water in. And the demon groaned terribly, and did the work I ordered him to do. And this I did, because that fierce demon Asmodeus knew even the future. And I Solomon glorified God, who gave wisdom to me Solomon his servant. And the liver of the fish and its gall I hung on the spike of a reed (liver and gall of the fish, along with a branch of storax), and burned it over Asmodeus because of his being so strong, and his unbearable malice was thus frustrated.

26 And I summoned again to stand before me Beelzeboul, the prince of demons, and I sat him down on a raised seat of honour, and said to him: "Why art thou alone, prince of the demons?" And he said to me: "Because I alone am left of the angels of heaven that came down (or: fell). For I was first angel in the first heaven being entitled Beelzeboul. And now I control all those who are bound in Tartarus. But I too have a child (or: an ungodly angel), and he haunts the Red Sea. And on any suitable occasion he comes up to me again, being subject to me; and reveals to me what he has done, and I support him.

27 I Solomon said unto him: "Beelzeboul, what is thy employment?" And he answered me: "I destroy kings (or: "I bring destruction by means of tyrants"). I ally myself with foreign tyrants. And my own demons I set on to men (to be worshipped), in order that the latter may believe in them and be lost. And the chosen servants of God, priests and faithful men, I excite unto desires for wicked sins, and evil heresies, and lawless deeds; and they obey me, and I bear them on to destruction. And I inspire men with envy, and [desire for] murder, and for wars and sodomy, and other evil things. And I will destroy the world." (or "I bring about jealousies and murders in a country and I instigate wars.").

28 So I said to him: "Bring to me thy child, who is, as thou sayest, in the Red Sea." But he said to me: "I will not bring him to thee. But there shall come to me another demon called Ephippas (or: So I said to him, "Tell me in which star you reside." "The one called by men the Evening Star."). Him will I bind, and he will bring him up from the deep unto me." And I said to him: "How comes thy son to be in the depth of the sea, and what is his name? "And he answered me: "Ask me not, for thou canst not learn from me. However, he will come to thee by any command, and will tell thee openly."

29 I said to him: "Tell me by what angel thou art frustrated." And he answered: "By the holy and precious name of the Almighty God, called by the Hebrews by a row of numbers, of which the sum is 644, and among the Greeks it is Emmanuel (The text seems to be faulty here, for the word Emmanuel is the Hebrew. The sum 644 is got by adding together the Greek numbers). And if one of the Romans adjure me by the great name of the power Eleéth, I disappear at once."

30 I Solomon was astounded when I heard this; and I ordered him to saw up Theban marbles. And when he began to saw the marbles, the other demons cried out with a loud voice, howling because of their king Beelzeboul.

31 But I Solomon questioned him, saying: "If thou wouldst gain a respite, discourse to me about the things in heaven." And Beelzeboul said: "Hear, O king, if thou burn gum, and incense, and bulb of the sea (Perhaps the "sea-bulbs" were the balls of hair-like texture which the sea washes up on Mediterranean shores, e.g. in Tunisia), with nard and saffron, and light seven lamps in an earthquake (or perhaps "in a row," should be read), thou wilt firmly fix thy house. And if, being pure, thou light them at dawn in the sun alight, then wilt thou see the heavenly dragons, how they wind themselves along and drag the chariot of the sun."

32 And I Solomon, having heard this, rebuked him, and said: "Silence for this present1, and continue to saw the marbles as I commanded thee." And I Solomon praised God, and commanded another demon to present himself to me. And one came before me who carried his face high up in the air, but the rest of the spirit curled away like a snail. And it broke through the few soldiers, and raised also a terrible dust on the ground, and carried it upwards; and then again hurled it back to frighten us, and asked what questions I could ask as a rule. And I stood up, and spat on the ground in that spot, and sealed with the ring of God. And forthwith the dust-wind stopped. Then I asked him, saying: "Who art thou, O wind?" Then he once more shook up a dust, and answered me: "What wouldst thou have, King Solomon?" I answered him: "Tell me what thou art called, and I would fain ask thee a question. But so far I give thanks to God who has made me wise to answer their evil plots."

33 But [the demon] answered me: "I am the spirit of the ashes (Tephras)." And I said to him: "What is thy pursuit?" And he said: "I bring darkness on men, and set fire to fields; and I bring homesteads to naught. But most busy am I in summer. However, when I get an opportunity, I creep into corners of the wall, by night and day. For I am offspring of the great one, and nothing less." Accordingly I said to him: "Under what star dost thou lie?" And he answered: "In the very tip of the moon's horn, when it is found in the south. There is my star. For I have been bidden to restrain the convulsions of the hemitertian fever; and this is why many men pray to the hemitertian fever, using these three names: Bultala, Thallal, Melchal. And I heal them." And I said to him: "I am Solomon; when therefore thou wouldst do harm, by whose aid dost thou do it?" But he said to me: "By the angel's, by whom also the third day's fever is lulled to rest." So I questioned him, and said: "And by what name1?" And he answered: "That of the archangel Azael." And I summoned the archangel Azael, and set a seal on the demon, and commanded him to seize great stones, and toss them up to the workmen on the higher parts of the Temple. And, being compelled, the demon began to do what he was bidden to do.

34 And I glorified God afresh who gave me this authority, and ordered another demon to come before me. And there came seven spirits (probably the star constellation of the Pleiades), females, bound and woven together, fair in appearance and comely. And I Solomon, seeing them, questioned them and said: "Who are ye?" But they, with one accord, said with one voice: "We are of the thirty-three elements of the cosmic ruler of the darkness (Paul's Epistle to the Romans 15;6 has the same phrase. For "thirty-three" we should read "thirty-six" elements. Note that later in the Testament these seven spirits are not among the Kosmokrators, a proof that the document before us is a composite one)." And the first said: "I am Deception." The second said: "I am Strife." The third: "I am Klothod, which is battle." The fourth: "I am Jealousy." The fifth: "I am Power." The sixth: "I am Error." The seventh: "I am the worst of all, and our stars are in heaven. Seven stars humble in sheen, and all together. And we are called as it were goddesses. We change our place all and together, and together we live, sometimes in Lydia, sometimes in Olympus, sometimes in a great mountain."

35 So I Solomon questioned them one by one, beginning with the first, and going down to the seventh. The first said: "I am Deception, I deceive and weave snares here and there. I whet and excite heresies. But I have an angel who frustrates me, Lamechalal."

36 Likewise also the second said: "I am Strife, strife of strifes. I bring timbers, stones, hangers, my weapons on the spot. But I have an angel who frustrates me, Baruchiachel."

37 Likewise also the third said: "I am called Klothod, which is Battle, and I cause the well-behaved to scatter and

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fall foul one of the other. And why do I say so much? I have an angel that frustrates me: "Marmarath."

38 Likewise also the fourth said: "I cause men to forget their sobriety and moderation. I part them and split them into parties; for Strife follows me hand in hand. I rend the husband from the sharer of his bed, and children from parents, and brothers from sisters. But why tell so much to my despite? I have an angel that frustrates me, the great Balthial."

39 Likewise also the fifth said: "I am Power. By power I raise up tyrants and tear down kings. To all rebels I furnish power. I have an angel that frustrates me, Asteraoth."

40 Likewise also the sixth said: "I am Error, O King Solomon. And I will make thee to err, as I have before made thee to err, when I caused thee to slay thy own brother. I will lead you into error, so as to pry into graves (this is probably a reference to necromancy, of which the object was to oblige the spirit of the dead to enter oneself); and I teach them that dig, and I lead errant souls away from all piety, and many other evil traits are mine. But I have an angel that frustrates me, Uriel."

41 Likewise also the seventh said: "I am the worst, and I make thee worse off than thou wast; because I will impose the bonds of Artemis. But the locust will set me free, for by means thereof is it fated that thou shalt achieve my desire . . . . . For if one were wise, he would not turn his steps toward me."

42 So I Solomon, having heard and wondered, sealed them with my ring; and since they were so considerable, I bade them dig the foundations of the Temple of God. For the length of it was 250 cubits. And I bade them be industrious, and with one murmur of joint protest they began to perform the tasks enjoined.

43 But I Solomon glorified the Lord, and bade another demon come before me. And there was brought to me a demon having all the limbs of a man, but without a head. And I, seeing him, said to him: "Tell me, who art thou?" And he answered: "I am a demon." So I said to him: "Which?" And he answered me: "I am called Envy. For I delight to devour heads, being desirous to secure for myself a head; but I do not eat enough, but am anxious to have such a head as thou hast."

44 I Solomon, on hearing this, sealed him, stretching out my hand against his chest. Whereon the demon leapt up, and threw himself down, and gave a groan, saying: "Woe is me! where am I come to? O traitor Ornias, I cannot see!" So I said to him: "I am Solomon. Tell me then how thou dost manage to see." And he answered me: "By means of my feelings." I then, Solomon, having heard his voice come up to me, asked him how he managed to speak. And he answered me: "I, O King Solomon, am wholly voice, for I have inherited the voices of many men. For in the case of all men who are called dumb, I it is who smashed their heads, when they were children and had reached their eighth day. Then when a child is crying in the night, I become a spirit, and glide by means of his voice. . . . In the crossways (or "to the demons of the wayside or cross-road") also I have many services to render, and my encounter is fraught with harm. For I grasp in all instant a man's head, and with my hands, as with a sword, I cut it off, and put it on to myself. And in this way, by means of the fire which is in me, through my neck it is swallowed up. I it is that sends grave mutilations and incurable on men's feet, and inflict sores."

45 And I Solomon, on hearing this, said to him: "Tell me how thou dost discharge forth the fire? Out of what sources dost thou emit it?" And the spirit said to me: "From the Day-star (or, "from the Orient). For here hath not yet been found that Elburion, to whom men offer prayers and kindle lights. And his name is invoked by the seven demons before me. And he cherishes them."

46 But I said to him: "Tell me his name." But he answered: "I cannot tell thee. For if I tell his name, I render myself incurable. But he will come in response to his name." And on hearing this, I Solomon said to him: "Tell me then, by what angel thou art frustrated?" And he answered: "By the fiery flash of lightning." And I bowed myself before the Lord God of Israel, and bade him remain in the keeping of Beelzeboul until Iax1 should come.

47 Then I ordered another demon to come before me, and there came into my presence a hound, having a very large shape, and it spoke with a loud voice, and said, "Hail, Lord, King Solomon!" And I Solomon was astounded. I said to it: Who art thou, O hound?" And it answered: "I do indeed seem to thee to be a hound, but before thou wast, O King Solomon, I was a man that wrought many unholy deeds on earth. I was surpassingly learned in letters, and was so mighty that I could hold the stars of heaven back. And many divine works did I prepare. For I do harm to men who follow after our star, and turn them to . . . . (text missing). And I seize the frenzied men by the larynx, and so destroy them."

48 And I Solomon said to him: "What is thy name?" And he answered: "Staff" (Rabdos). And I said to him: "What is thine employment? And what results canst thou achieve?" And he replied: "Give me thy man, and I will lead him away into a mountainous spot, and will show him a green stone tossed to and fro, with which thou mayest adorn the temple of the Lord God."

49 And I Solomon, on hearing this, ordered my servant to set off with him, and to take the finger-ring bearing the seal of God with him. And I said to him: "Whoever shall show thee the green stone, seal him with this finger-ring. And mark the spot with care, and bring me the demon hither. And the demon showed him the green stone, and he sealed it, and brought the demon to me. And I Solomon decided to confine with my seal on my right hand the two, the headless demon, likewise the hound, that was so huge (The text seems corrupt here); he should be bound as well. And I bade the hound keep safe the fiery spirit so that lamps as it were might by day and night cast their light through its maw on the artisans at work.

50 And I Solomon took from the mine of that stone 200 shekels for the supports of the table of incense, which was similar in appearance. And I Solomon glorified the Lord God, and then closed round the treasure of that stone. And I ordered afresh the demons to cut marble for the construction of the house of God. And I Solomon prayed to the Lord, and asked the hound, saying: "By what angel art thou frustrated?" And the demon replied: "By the great Brieus."

51 And I praised the Lord God of heaven and earth, and bade another demon come forward to me; and there came before me one in the form of a lion roaring. And he stood and answered me saying: "O king, in the form which I have, I am a spirit quite incapable of being perceived. Upon all men who lie prostrate with sickness I leap, coming stealthily along; and I render the man weak, so that his habit of body is enfeebled. But I have also another glory, O king. I cast out demons, and I have legions under my control. And I am capable of being received1 in my dwelling-places, along with all the demons belonging to the legions under me." But I Solomon, on hearing this, asked him: "What is thy name?" But he answered: "Lion-bearer, Rath in kind." And I said to him: "How art thou to be frustrated along with thy legions? What angel is it that frustrates thee?" And he answered: "If I tell thee my name, I bind not myself alone, but also the legions of demons under me."

52 So I said to him: "I adjure thee in the name of the God Sabaoth, to tell me by what name thou art frustrated along with thy host." And the spirit answered me: "The 'great among men,' who is to suffer many things at the hands of men, whose name is the figure 644, which is Emmanuel; he it is who has bound us, and who will then come and plunge us from the steep (The allusion is to the swine of Gadara) under water. He is noised abroad in the three letters which bring him down (The three characters are apparently the numbers 644)."

53 And I Solomon, on hearing this, glorified God, and condemned his legion to carry wood from the thicket. And I condemned the lion-shaped one himself to saw up the wood small with his teeth, for burning in the unquenchable furnace for the Temple of God.

54 And I worshipped the Lord God of Israel, and bade another demon come forward. And there came before me a dragon, three-headed, of fearful hue. And I questioned him: "Who art thou?" And he answered me: "I am a caltrop-like spirit (The Tribolaios or tribolos was a three-spiked instrument, thrown on the ground to wound horses' feet), whose activity in three lines. But I blind children in women's wombs, and twirl their ears round. And I make them deaf2 and mute. And I have again in my third head means of slipping in. And I smite men in the limbless part of the body, and cause them to fall down, and foam, and grind their teeth. But I have my own way of being frustrated, Jerusalem being signified in writing, unto the place called 'of the head (i.e. Golgotha. The old legend was that Adam's skull reposed in this spot, and that the cross was planted upon it)." For there is fore-appointed the angel of the great counsel, and now he will openly dwell on the cross. He doth frustrate me, and to him am I subject."

55 "But in the place where thou sittest, O King Solomon, standeth a column in the air, of purple. . . . . The demon called Ephippas hath brought [it] up from the Red Sea, from inner Arabia. He it is that shall be shut up in a skin-bottle and brought before thee. But at the entrance of the Temple, which thou hast begun to build, O King Solomon, lies stored much gold, which dig thou up and carry off." And I Solomon sent my servant, and found it to be as the demon told me. And I sealed him with my ring, and praised the Lord God."

56 So I said to him: "What art thou called?" And the demon said: "I am the crest of dragons." And I bade him make bricks in the Temple. He had human hands.

57 And I adored the Lord God of Israel, and bade another demon present himself. And there came before me a spirit in woman's form, that had a head without any limbs (like the head of the Greek Medusa transformed into a demon), and her hair was dishevelled. And I said to her: "Who art thou?" But she answered: "Nay, who art thou? And why dost thou want to hear concerning me? But, as thou wouldst learn, here I stand bound before thy face. Go then into thy royal storehouses and wash thy hands. Then sit down afresh before thy tribunal, and ask me questions; and thou shalt learn, O king, who I am."

58 And I Solomon did as she enjoined me, and restrained myself because of the wisdom dwelling in me1; in order that I might hear of her deeds, and reprehend them, and manifest them to men. And I sat down, and said to the demon: "What art thou?" And she said: "I am called among men Obizuth; and by night I sleep not, but go my rounds over all the world, and visit women in childbirth. And divining the hour I take my stand; and if I am lucky, I strangle the child. But if not, I retire to another place. For I cannot for a single night retire unsuccessful. For I am a fierce spirit, of myriad names and many shapes. And now hither, now thither I roam. And to westering parts I go my rounds. But as it now is, though thou hast sealed me round with the ring of God, thou hast done nothing. I am not standing before thee, and thou wilt not be able to command me. For I have no work other than the destruction of children, and the making their ears to be deaf, and the working of evil to their eyes, and the binding their mouths with a bond, and the ruin of their minds, and paining of their bodies."

59 When I Solomon heard this, I marvelled at her appearance, for I beheld all her body to be in darkness. But her glance was altogether bright and greeny, and her hair was tossed wildly like a dragon's; and the whole of her limbs were invisible. And her voice was very clear as it came to me. And I cunningly said: "Tell me by what angel thou art frustrated, O evil spirit?" By she answered me: "By the angel of God called Afarot, which is interpreted Raphael, by whom I am frustrated now and for all time. His name, if any man know it, and write the same on a woman in childbirth, then I shall not be able to enter her. Of this name the number is 640 (r = 100; a = 1; f = 500; a = 1; m = 8; l = 30. Total 640)". And I Solomon having heard this, and having glorified the Lord, ordered her hair to be bound, and that she should be hung up in front of the Temple of God; that all the children of Israel, as they passed, might see it, and glorify the Lord God of Israel, who had given me this authority, with wisdom and power from God, by means of this signet.

60 And I again ordered another demon to come before me. And the came, rolling itself along, one in appearance like to a dragon, but having the face and hands of a man. And all its limbs, except the feet, were those of a dragon; and it had wings on its back. And when I beheld it, I was astonied, and said: "Who art thou, demon, and what art thou called? And whence hast thou come? Tell me."

61 And the spirit answered and said: "This is the first time I have stood before the, O King Solomon. I am a spirit made into a god among men, but now brought to naught by the ring and wisdom vouchsafed to thee by God. Now I am the so-called winged dragon1, and I chamber (copulate) not with many women, but only with a few that are of fair shape, which possess the name of xuli, of this star. And I pair with them in the guise of a spirit winged in form, copulating with them through their buttocks (coitum habens per nates). And she on whom I have leapt goes heavy with child, and that which is born of her becomes eros. But since such offspring cannot be carried by men, the woman in question breaks wind. Such is my role. Supposed then only that I am satisfied, and all the other demons molested and disturbed by thee will speak the whole truth. But those composed of fire will cause to be burned up by fire the material of the logs which is to be collected by them for the building in the Temple."

62 And as the demon said this, I saw the spirit going forth from his mouth, and it consumed the wood of the frankincense-tree, and burned up all the logs which we had placed in the Temple of God. And I Solomon saw what the spirit had done, and I marvelled.

63 And, having glorified God, I asked the dragon-shaped demon, and said: "Tell me, by what angel art thou frustrated?" And he answered: "By the great angel which has its seat in the second heaven, which is called in Hebrew Bazazeth. And I Solomon, having heard this, and having invoked his angel, condemned him to saw up marbles for the building of the Temple of God; and I praised God, and commanded another demon to come before me.

64 And there came before my face another spirit, as it were a woman in the form she had. But on her shoulders she had two other heads with hands. And I asked her, and said: "Tell me, who art thou?" And she said to me: "I am Enepsigos, who also have a myriad names." And I said her: "By what angel art thou frustrated?" But she said to me: "What seekest, what askest thou? I undergo changes, like the goddess I am called. And I change again, and pass into possession of another shape. And be not desirous therefore to know all that concerns me. But since thou art before me for this much, hearken. I have my abode in the moon, and for that reason I possess three forms. At times I am magically (mageyoméne) invoked by the wise as Kronos. At other times, in connexion with those who bring me down, I come down and appear in another shape. The measure of the element (Perhaps "the place or size of the heavenly body) is inexplicable and indefinable, and not to be frustrated. I then, changing into these three forms, come down and become such as thou seest me; but I am frustrated by the angel Rathanael, who sits in the third heaven. This

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then is why I speak to thee. Yonder temple cannot contain me."

65 I therefore Solomon prayed to my God, and I invoked the angel of whom Enépsigos spoke to me, and used my seal. And I sealed her with a triple chain, and (placed) beneath her the fastening of the chain. I used the seal of God, and the spirit prophesied to me, saying: "This is what thou, King Solomon, doest to us. But after a time thy kingdom shall be broken, and again in season this Temple shall be riven asunder1; and all Jerusalem shall be undone by the King of the Persians and Medes and Chaldaeans. And the vessels of this Temple, which thou makest, shall be put to servile uses of the gods; and along with them all the jars, in which thou dost shut us up, shall be broken by the hands of men. And then we shall go forth in great power hither and thither, and be disseminated all over the world. And we shall lead astray the inhabited world for a long season, until the Son of God is stretched upon the cross. For never before doth arise a king like unto him, one frustrating us all, whose mother shall not have contact with man. Who else can receive such authority over spirits, except he, whom the first devil will seek to tempt, but will not prevail over? The number of his name is 644, which is Emmanuel. Wherefore, O King Solomon, thy time is evil, and thy years short and evil, and to thy servant shall thy kingdom be given."

66 And I Solomon, having heard this, glorified God. And though I marvelled at the apology of the demons, I did not credit it until it came true. And I did not believe their words; but when they were realised, then I understood, and at my death I wrote this Testament to the children of Israel, and gave it to them, so that they might know the powers of the demons and their shapes, and the names of their angels, by which these angels are frustrated. And I glorified the Lord God of Israel, and commanded the spirits to be bound with bonds indissoluble.

67 And having praised God, I commanded another spirit to come before me; and there came before my face another demon, having in front the shape of a horse, but behind of a fish. And he had a mighty voice, and said to me: "O King Solomon, I am a fierce spirit of the sea, and I am greedy of gold and silver. I am such a spirit as rounds itself and comes over the expanses of the water of the sea, and I trip up the men who sail thereon. For I round myself into a wave1, and transform myself, and then throw myself on ships and come right in on them (That Jude here indulges in no mere metaphor is clear from the words which follow, which embody the belief detailed in the Testament of Solomon). And that is my business, and my way of getting hold of money and men. For I take the men, and whirl them round with myself, and hurl the men out of the sea. For I am not covetous of men's bodies, but cast them up out of the sea so far. But since Beelzeboul, ruler of the spirits of air and of those under the earth, and lord of earthly ones, hath a joint kingship with us in respect of the deeds of each one of us, therefore I went up from the sea, to get a certain outlook (descent, or spiritual assault) in his company.

68 "But I also have another character and role. I metamorphose myself into waves, and come up from the sea. And I show myself to men, so that those on earth call me Kuno[s]paston (Cynospaston), because I assume the human form. And my name is a true one. For by my passage up into men, I send forth a certain nausea. I came then to take counsel with the prince Beelzeboul; and he bound me and delivered me into thy hands. And I am here before thee because of this seal, and thou dost now torment me. Behold now, in two or three days the spirit that converseth with thee will fail, because I shall have no water."

69 And I said to him: "Tell me by what angel thou art frustrated." And he answered: "By Iameth." And I glorified God. I commanded the spirit to be thrown into a phial along with ten jugs of sea-water of two measures each. And I sealed them round above the marbles and asphalt and pitch in the mouth of the vessel. And having sealed it with my ring, I ordered it to be deposited in the Temple of God. And I ordered another spirit to come before me.

70 And there came before my face another enslaved spirit, having obscurely the form of a man, with gleaming eyes, and bearing in his hand a blade. And I asked: "Who art thou? But he answered: "I am a lascivious spirit, engendered of a giant man who dies in the massacre in the time of the giants." I said to him: "Tell me what thou art employed on upon earth, and where thou hast thy dwelling."

71 And he said: "My dwelling is in fruitful places, but my procedure is this. I seat myself beside the men who pass along among the tombs, and in untimely season I assume the form of the dead; and if I catch any one, I at once destroy him with my sword. But if I cannot destroy him, I cause him to be possessed with a demon, and to devour his own flesh, and the hair to fall off his chin." But I said to him: "Do thou then be in fear of the God of heaven and of earth, and tell me by angel thou art frustrated." And he answered: "He destroys me who is to become Saviour, a man whose number, if any one shall write it on his forehead (Rev. 9:4; 13;16, 17), he will defeat me, and in fear I shall quickly retreat. And, indeed, if any one write this sign on him, I shall be in fear." And I Solomon, on hearing this, and having glorified the Lord God, shut up this demon like the rest.

72 And I commanded another demon to come before me. And there came before my face thirty-six spirits, their heads shapeless like dogs, but in themselves they were human in form; with faces of asses, faces of oxen, and faces of birds. And I Solomon, on hearing and seeing them, wondered, and I asked them and said: "Who are you?" But they, of one accord with one voice, said (Acts 2;1): "We are the thirty-six elements, the world-rulers (kosmokratores) of this darkness. But, O King Solomon, thou wilt not wrong us nor imprison us, nor lay command on us; but since the Lord God has given thee authority over every spirit, in the air, and on the earth, and under the earth, therefore do we also present ourselves before thee like the other spirits, from ram and bull, from both twin and crab, lion and virgin, scales and scorpion, archer, goat-horned, water-pourer, and fish.

73 Then I Solomon invoked the name of the Lord Sabaoth, and questioned each in turn as to what was its character. And I bade each one come forward and tell of its actions. Then the first one came forward, and said: "I am the first decans of the zodiacal circle, and I am called the ram, and with me are these two." So I put to them the question: "Who are ye called?" The first said: "I, O Lord, am called Ruax, and I cause the heads of men to be idle, and I pillage their brows. But let me only hear the words, 'Michael, imprison Ruax,' and at once I retreat."

74 And the second said: "I am called Barsafael, and I cause those who are subject to my hour to feel the pain of migraine. If only I hear the words, 'Gabriel, imprison Barsafael,' at once I retreat."

75 The third said: "I am called Arotosael. I do harm to eyes, and grievously injure them. Only let me hear the words, 'Uriel, imprison Aratosael' (sic), at once I retreat . . . . . (Text missing)"

76 The fifth said: "I am called Iudal, and I bring about a block in the ears and deafness of hearing. If I hear, 'Uruel Iudal,' I at once retreat."

77 The sixth said: "I am called Sphendonael. I cause tumours of the parotid gland, and inflammations of the tonsils, and tetanic recurvation1. If I hear, 'Sabrael, imprison Sphendonael,' at once I retreat."

78 And the Seventh said: "I am called Sphandor, and I weaken the strength of the shoulders, and cause them to tremble; and I paralyse the nerves of the hands, and I break and bruise the bones of the neck. And I, I suck out the marrow. But if I hear the words, 'Arael, imprison Sphandor,' I at once retreat."

79 And the eight said: "I am called Belbel. I distort the hearts and minds of men. If I hear the words, 'Arael, imprison Belbel,' I at once retreat."

80 And the ninth said: "I am called Kurtael. I send colics in the bowels. I induce pains. If I hear the words, 'Iaoth, imprison Kurtael,' I at once retreat."

81 The tenth said: "I am called Metathiax. I cause the reins to ache. If I hear the words, 'Adonael, imprison Metathiax,' I at once retreat."

82 The eleventh said: "I am called Katanikotael. I create strife and wrongs in men's homes, and send on them hard temper. If any one would be at peace in his home, let him write on seven leaves of laurel the name of the angel that frustrates me, along with these names: Iae, Ieo, sons of Sabaoth, in the name of the great God let him shut up Katanikotael. Then let him wash the laurel-leaves in water, and sprinkle his house with the water, from within to the outside. And at once I retreat."

83 The twelfth said: "I am called Saphathoraél, and I inspire partisanship in men, and delight in causing them to stumble. If any one will write on paper these names of angels, Iaco, Iealo, Ioelet, Sabaoth, Ithoth, Bae, and having folded it up, wear it round his neck or against his ear, I at once retreat and dissipate the drunken fit."

84 The thirteenth said: "I am called Bobel (sic), and I cause nervous illness by my assaults. If I hear the name of the great 'Adonael, imprison Bothothel,' I at once retreat."

85 The fourteenth said: "I am called Kumeatel, and I inflict shivering fits and torpor. If only I hear the words: 'Zoroel, imprison Kumentael,' I at once retreat."

86 The fifteenth said: "I am called Roeled. I cause cold and frost and pain in the stomach. Let me only hear the words: 'Iax, bide not, be not warmed, for Solomon is fairer than eleven fathers,' I at [once] retreat."

87 The sixteenth said: "I am called Atrax. I inflict upon men fevers, irremediable and harmful. If you would imprison me, chop up coriander (Pliny the Younger notes in his Natural History 20;20) and smear it on the lips, reciting the following charm: 'The fever which is from dirt. I exorcise thee by the throne of the most high God, retreat from dirt and retreat from the creature fashioned by God.' And at once I retreat."

88 The seventeenth said: "I am called Ieropael. On the stomach of men I sit, and cause convulsions in the bath and in the road; and wherever I be found, or find a man, I throw him down. But if any one will say to the afflicted into their ear these names, three times over, into the right ear: 'Iudarize, Sabune, Denoe,' I at once retreat."

89 The eighteenth said: "I am called Buldumech. I separate wife from husband and bring about a grudge between them. If any one write down the names of thy sires, Solomon, on paper and place it in the ante-chamber of his house, I retreat thence. And the legend written shall be as follows: 'The God of Abram, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob commands thee -- retire from this house in peace.' And I at once retire."

90 The nineteenth said: "I am called Naoth, and I take my seat on the knees of men. If any one write on paper: 'Phnunoboeol, depart Nathath, and touch thou not the neck,' I at once retreat."

91 The twentieth said: "I am called Mardero. I send on men incurable fever. If any one write on the leaf of a book: 'Sphener, Rafael, retire, drag me not about, flay me not,' and tie it round his neck, I at once retreat."

92 The twenty-first said: "I am called Alath, and I cause coughing and hard-breathing in children. If any one write on paper: 'Rorex, do thou pursue Alath,' and fasten it round his neck, I at once retire. . . . . (text missing).

93 The twenty-third said: "I am called Nefthada. I cause the reins to ache, and I bring about dysury. If any one write on a plate of tin the words: 'Iathoth, Uruel, Nephthada,' and fasten it round the loins, I at once retreat."

94 The twenty-fourth said: "I am called Akton. I cause ribs and lumbic muscles to ache. If one engrave on copper material, taken from a ship which has missed its anchorage, this: 'Marmaraoth, Sabaoth, pursue Akton,' and fasten it round the loin, I at once retreat."

95 The twenty-fifth said: "I am called Anatreth, and I rend burnings and fevers into the entrails. But if I hear: 'Arara, Charara,' instantly do I retreat."

96 The twenty-sixth said: "I am called Enenuth. I steal away men's minds, and change their hearts, and make a man toothless. If one write: 'Allazool, pursue Enenuth,' and tie the paper round him, I at once retreat."

97 The twenty-seventh said: "I am called Pheth. I make men consumptive and cause hemorrhagia. ,If one exorcise me in wine, sweet-smelling and unmixed by the eleventh aeon (Just above "eleven fathers", a typical Gnostic reference that identifies the origin of this text), and say: 'I exorcise thee by the eleventh aeon to stop, I demand, Pheth (Axiopheth),' then give it to the patient to drink, and I at once retreat."

98 The twenty-eighth said: "I am called Harpax, and I send sleeplessness on men. If one write 'Kokphnedismos,' and bind it round the temples, I at once retire."

99 The twenty-ninth said: "I am called Anoster. I engender uterine mania and pains in the bladder. If one powder into pure oil three seeds of laurel and smear it on, saying: 'I exorcise thee, Anoster. Stop by Marmarao,' at once I retreat."

100 The thirtieth said: "I am called Alleborith. If in eating fish one has swallowed a bone, then he must take a bone from the fish and cough, and at once I retreat."

101 The thirty-first said: "I am called Hephesimireth, and cause lingering disease. If you throw salt, rubbed in the hand, into oil and smear it on the patient, saying: 'Seraphim, Cherubim, help me!' I at once retire."

102 The thirty-second said: "I am called Ichthion. I paralyse muscles and contuse them. If I hear 'Adonaeth, help!' I at once retire."

103 The thirty-third said: "I am called Agchonion. I lie among swaddling-clothes and in the precipice. And if any one write on fig-leaves 'Lycurgos,' taking away one letter at a time, and write it, reversing the letters, I retire at once. 'Lycurgos, ycurgos, kurgos, yrgos, gos, os1.'"

104 The thirty-fourth said: "I am called Autothith. I cause grudges and fighting. Therefore I am frustrated by Alpha and Omega, if written down."

105 The thirty-fifth said: "I am called Phthenoth. I cast evil eye on every man. Therefore, the eye much-suffering, if it be drawn. frustrates me."

106 The thirty-sixth said: "I am called Bianakith. I have a grudge against the body. I lay waste houses, I cause flesh to decay, and all else that is similar. If a man write on the front-door of his house: 'Melto, Ardu, Anaath,' I flee from that place."

107 And I Solomon, when I heard this, glorified the God of heaven and earth. And I commanded them to fetch water in the Temple of God. And I furthermore prayed to the Lord God to cause the demons without, that hamper humanity, to be bound and made to approach the Temple of God. Some of these demons I condemned to do the heavy work of the construction of the Temple of God. Others I shut up in prisons. Others I ordered to wrestle with fire in (the making of) gold and silver, sitting down by lead and spoon. And to make ready places for the other demons in which they should be confined.

108 And I Solomon had much quiet in all the earth, and spent my life in profound peace, honoured by all men and by all under heaven. And I built the entire Temple of the Lord God. And my kingdom was prosperous, and my army was with me. And for the rest the city of Jerusalem had repose, rejoicing and delighted. And all the kings of the earth came to me from the ends of the earth to behold the Temple which I

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builded to the Lord God. And having heard of the wisdom given to me, they did homage to me in the Temple, bringing gold and silver and precious stones, many and divers, and bronze, and iron, and lead, and cedar logs. And woods decay not they brought me, for the equipment of the Temple of God.

109 And among them also the queen of the South, being a witch, came in great concern and bowed low before me to the earth. And having heard my wisdom, she glorified the God of Israel, and she made formal trial of all my wisdom, of all love in which I instructed her, according to the wisdom imparted to me. And all the sons of Israel glorified God.

110 And behold, in those days one of the workmen, of ripe old age, threw himself down before me, and said: "King Solomon, pity me, because I am old." So I bade him stand up, and said: "Tell me, old man, all you will." And he answered: "I beseech you king, I have an only-born son, and he insults and beats me openly, and plucks out the hair of my head, and threatens me with a painful death. Therefore I beseech you avenge me.

111 And I Solomon, on hearing this, felt compunction as I looked at his old age; and I bade the child be brought to me. And when he was brought I questioned him whether it were true. And the youth said: "I was not so filled with madness as to strike my father with my hand. Be kind to me, O king. For I have not dared to commit such impiety, poor wretch that I am." But I Solomon on hearing this from the youth, exhorted the old man to reflect on the matter, and accept his son's apology. However, he would not, but said he would rather let him die. And as the old man would not yield, I was about to pronounce sentence on the youth, when I saw Ornias the demon laughing. I was very angry at the demon's laughing in my presence; and I ordered my men to remove the other parties, and bring forward Ornias before my tribunal. And when he was brought before me, I said to him: "Accursed one, why didst thou look at me and laugh?" And the demon answered: "Prithee, king, it was not because of thee I laughed, but because of this ill-starred old man and the wretched youth, his son. For after three days his son will die untimely; and lo, the old man desires to foully make away with him."

112 But I Solomon, having heard this, said to the demon: "Is that true that thou speakest?" And he answered: "It is true; O king." And I, on hearing that, bade them remove the demon, and that they should again bring before me the old man with his son. I bade them make friends with one another again, and I supplied them with food. And then I told the old man after three days to bring his son again to me here; "and," said I, "I will attend to him." And they saluted me, and went their way.

113 And when they were gone I ordered Ornias to be brought forward, and said to him: "Tell me how you know this;" and he answered: "We demons ascend into the firmament of heaven, and fly about among the stars. And we hear the sentences which go forth upon the souls of men, and forthwith we come, and whether by force of influence, or by fire, or by sword, or by some accident, we veil our act of destruction; and if a man does not die by some untimely disaster or by violence, then we demons transform ourselves in such a way as to appear to men and be worshipped in our human nature."

114 I therefore, having heard this, glorified the Lord God, and again I questioned the demon, saying: "Tell me how ye can ascend into heaven, being demons, and amidst the stars and holy angels intermingle." And he answered: "Just as things are fulfilled in heaven, so also on earth (are fulfilled) the types1 of all of them. For there are principalities, authorities, world-rulers, and we demons fly about in the air; and we hear the voices of the heavenly beings, and survey all the powers. And as having no ground (basis) on which to alight and rest, we lose strength and fall off like leaves from trees. And men seeing us imagine that the stars are falling from heaven. But it is not really so, O king; but we fall because of our weakness, and because we have nowhere anything to lay hold of; and so we fall down like lightnings3 in the depth of night and suddenly. And we set cities in flames and fire the fields. For the stars have firm foundations in the heavens like the sun and the moon."

115 And I Solomon, having heard this, ordered the demon to be guarded for five days. And after the five days I recalled the old man, and was about to question him. But he came to me in grief and with black face. And I said to him: "Tell me, old man, where is thy son? And what means this garb?" And he answered: "Lo, I am become childless, and sit by my son's grave in despair. For it is already two days that he is dead." But I Solomon, on hearing that, and knowing that the demon Ornias had told me the truth, glorified the God of Israel.

116 And the queen of the South saw all this, and marvelled, glorifying the God of Israel; and she beheld the Temple of the Lord being builded. And she gave a siklos (a shekel) of gold and one hundred myriads of silver and choice bronze, and she went into the Temple. And (she beheld) the altar of incense and the brazen supports of this altar, and the gems of the lamps flashing forth of different colours, and of the lamp-stand of stone, and of emerald, and hyacinth, and sapphire; and she beheld the vessels of gold, and silver, and bronze, and wood, and the folds of skins dyed red with madder. And she saw the bases of the pillars of the Temple of the Lord. All were of one gold . . . . . (text missing) apart from the demons whom I condemned to labour. And there was peace in the circle of my kingdom and over all the earth.

117 And it came to pass, which I was in my kingdom, the King of the Arabians, Adares, sent me a letter, and the writing of the letter was written as follows: --

"To King Solomon, all hail! Lo, we have heard, and it hath been heard unto all the ends of the earth, concerning the wisdom vouchsafed in thee, and that thou art a man merciful from the Lord. And understanding hath been granted thee over all the spirits of the air, and on earth, and under the earth. Now, forasmuch as there is present in the land of Arabia a spirit of the following kind: at early dawn there begins to blow a certain wind until the third hour. And its blast is harsh and terrible, and it slays man and beast. And no spirit can live upon earth against this demon. I pray thee then, forasmuch as the spirit is a wind, contrive something according to the wisdom given in thee by the Lord thy God, and deign to send a man able to capture it. And behold, King Solomon, I and my people and all my land will serve thee unto death. And all Arabia shall be at peace with thee, if thou wilt perform this act of righteousness for us. Wherefore we pray thee, contemn not our humble prayer, and suffer not to be utterly brought to naught the eparchy subordinated to thy authority. Because we are suppliants, both I and my people and all my land. Farewell to my Lord. All health!"

118 And I Solomon read this epistle; and I folded it up and gave it to my people, and said to them: "After seven days shalt thou remind me of this epistle. And Jerusalem was built, and the Temple was being completed. And there was a stone1, the end stone of the corner lying there, great, chosen out, one which I desired lay in the head of the corner of the completion of the Temple. And all the workmen, and all the demons helping them came to the same place to bring up the stone and lay it on the pinnacle of the holy Temple, and were not strong enough to stir it, and lay it upon the corner allotted to it. For that stone was exceedingly great and useful for the corner of the Temple."

119 And after seven days, being reminded of the epistle of Adares, King of Arabia, I called my servant and said to him: "Order thy camel and take for thyself a leather flask, and take also this seal. And go away into Arabia to the place in which the evil spirit blows; and there take the flask, and the signet-ring in front of the mouth of the flask, and (hold them) towards the blast of the spirit. And when the flask is blown out, thou wilt understand that the demon is (in it). Then hastily tie up the mouth of to flask, and seal it securely with the seal-ring, and lay it carefully on the camel and bring it me hither. And if on the way it offer thee gold or silver or treasure in return for letting it go, see that thou be not persuaded. But arrange without using oath to release it. And then if it point out to the places where are gold or silver, mark the places and seal them with this seal. And bring the demon to me. And now depart, and fare thee well."

120 Then the youth did as was bidden him. And he ordered his camel, and laid on it a flask, and set off into Arabia. And the men of that region would not believe that he would be able to catch the evil spirit. And when it was dawn, the servant stood before the spirit's blast, and laid the flask on the ground, and the finger-ring on the mouth of the flask. And the demon blew through the middle of the finger-ring into the mouth of the flask, and going in blew out the flask. But the man promptly stood up to it and drew tight with his hand the mouth of the flask, in the name of the Lord God of Sabaoth. And the demon remained within the flask. And after that the youth remained in that land three days to make trial. And the spirit no longer blew against that city. And all the Arabs knew that he had safely shut in the spirit.

121 Then the youth fastened the flask on the camel, and the Arabs sent him forth on his way with much honour and precious gifts, praising and magnifying the God of Israel. But the youth brought in the bag and laid it in the middle of the Temple. And on the next day, I King Solomon, went into the Temple of God and sat in deep distress about the stone of the end of the corner. And when I entered the Temple, the flask stood up and walked around some seven steps and then fell on its mouth and did homage to me. And I marvelled that even along with the bottle the demon still had power and could walk about; and I commanded it to stand up. And the flask stood up, and stood on its feet all blown out. And I questioned him, saying: "Tell me, who art thou?" And the spirit within said: "I am the demon called Ephippas, that is in Arabia." And I said to him: "Is this thy name?" And he answered: "Yes; wheresoever I will, I alight and set fire and do to death."

122 And I said to him: "By what angel art thou frustrated?" And he answered: "By the only-ruling God, that hath authority over me even to be heard. He that is to be born of a virgin and crucified by the Jews on a cross. Whom the angels and archangels worship. He doth frustrate me, and enfeeble me of my great strength, which has been given me by my father the devil." And I said to him: "What canst thou do?" And he answered: "I am able to remove1 mountains, to overthrow the oaths of kings. I wither trees and make their leaves to fall off." And I said to him: "Canst thou raise this stone, and lay it for the beginning of this corner which exists in the fair plan of the Temple?" And he said: "Not only raise this, O king; but also, with the help of the demon who presides over the Red Sea, I will bring up the pillar of air3, and will stand it where thou wilt in Jerusalem."

123 Saying this, I laid stress on him, and the flask became as if depleted of air. And I placed it under the stone, and (the spirit) girded himself up, and lifted it up top of the flask. And the flask went up the steps, carrying the stone, and laid it down at the end of the entrance of the Temple. And I Solomon, beholding the stone raised aloft and placed on a foundation, said: "Truly the Scripture is fulfilled, which says: 'The stone which the builders rejected on trial, that same is become the head of the corner.' For this it is not mine to grant, but God's, that the demon should be strong enough to lift up so great a stone and deposit it in the place I wished."

124 And Ephippas led the demon of the Red Sea with the column. And they both took the column and raised it aloft from the earth. And I outwitted these two spirits, so that they could not shake the entire earth in a moment of time. And then I sealed round with my ring on this side and that, and said: "Watch." And the spirits have remained upholding it until this day, for proof of the wisdom vouchsafed to me. And there the pillar was hanging of enormous size, in mid air, supported by the winds. And thus the spirits appeared underneath, like air, supporting it. And if one looks fixedly, the pillar is a little oblique, being supported by the spirits; and it is so to day.

125 And I Solomon questioned the other spirit which came up with the pillar from the depth of the Red Sea. And I said to him: "Who art thou, and what calls thee? And what is thy business? For I hear many things about thee." And the demon answered: "I, O King Solomon, am called Abezithibod. I am a descendant of the archangel. Once as I sat in the first heaven, of which the name is Ameleouth -- I then am a fierce spirit and winged, and with a single wing, plotting against every spirit under heaven. I was present when Moses went in before Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and I hardened his heart. I am he whom Iannes and Iambres invoked homing1 with Moses in Egypt. I am he who fought against Moses with wonders with signs."

126 I said therefore to him: "How wast thou found in the Red Sea?" And he answered: "In the exodus of the sons of Israel I hardened the heart of Pharaoh. And I excited his heart and that of his ministers. And I caused them to pursue after the children of Israel. And Pharaoh followed with (me) and all the Egyptians. Then I was present there, and we followed together. And we all came up upon the Red Sea. And it came to pass when the children of Israel had crossed over, the water returned and hid all the host of the Egyptians and all their might. And I remained in the sea, being kept under this pillar. But when Ephippas came, being sent by thee, shut up in the vessel of a flask, he fetched me up to thee."

127 I, therefore, Solomon, having heard this, glorified God and adjured the demons not to disobey me, but to remain supporting the pillar. And they both sware, saying: "The Lord thy God liveth, we will not let go this pillar until the world's end. But on whatever day this stone fall, then shall be the end of the world."

128 And I Solomon glorified God, and adorned the Temple of the Lord with all fair-seeming. And I was glad in spirit in my kingdom, and there was peace in my days. And I took wives of my own from every land, who were numberless. And I marched against the Jebusaeans, and there I saw Jebusaean, daughter of a man: and fell violently in love with her, and desired to take her to wife along with my other wives. And I said to their priests: "Give me the Sonmanites (i.e. Shunammite) to wife." But the priests of Moloch said to me: "If thou lovest this maiden, go in and worship our gods, the great god Raphan and the god called Moloch." I therefore was in fear of the glory of God, and did not follow to worship. And I said to them: "I will not worship a strange god. What is this proposal, that ye compel me to do so much?" But they said: ". . . . . by our fathers."

129 And when I answered that I would on no account worship strange gods, they told the maiden not to sleep with me until I complied and sacrificed to the gods. I then was moved, but crafty Eros brought and laid by her for me five grasshoppers, saying: "Take these grasshoppers, and crush them together in the name of the god Moloch; and then will I sleep with you." And this I actually did. And at once the Spirit of God departed from me, and I became weak as well as foolish in my words. And after that I was obliged by her to build a temple of idols to Baal1, and to Rapha, and to Moloch, and to the other idols.

130 I then, wretch that I am, followed her advice, and the glory of God quite departed from me; and my spirit was darkened, and I became the sport of idols and demons. Wherefore I wrote out this Testament, that ye who get possession of it may pity, and attend to the last things1, and not to the first. So that ye may find grace for ever and ever. Amen.

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THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES
or Christian Sibyllines
or Pseudo-Sibyllines or Sibyls
Translated From The Greek
Into English Blank Verse
By Milton S. Terry, 1899
Estimated Range of Dating: 80-250 A.D.

(The Sibylline Oracles, or better Pseudo Sibyllines, is a large Christian Poem narrating the main stories of the Bible. The unknown author or authors had the poems originally arranged in probably two dozen books of which 12 books and some fragments survived; several verses of the extant bulk are missing, as well as Book 9 and Book 10.

The work got its unusual title from a much earlier work which it might have resembled and this collection should be more properly titled 'the Pseudo-Sibylline Oracles'. The original Sibylline Books were closely-guarded oracular scrolls written by prophetic priestesses (the Sibylls) in the Etruscan and early Roman Era as far back as the 6th Century BC. These books were destroyed, partially in a fire in 83 BC., and finally burned by order of the Roman General Flavius Stilicho (365-408 AD.).

The work is obviously a composite of Jewish and Christian elements. The citation from the Sibyl which appears in Flavius Josephus Antiquities (i, iv, 3) shows that the oldest portion of our present third book (line 117, ff) must have been current before the beginning of the Christian era. The verses of the Jewish Sibyl probably originated at Alexandria, and may possibly have incorporated some fragments of more ancient oracles once included in the Sibylline books which were kept at Rome. They presented such a fascinating form of pseudepigraphical composition that not a few other writers followed the successful example and put forth verses of various merit. And so it came to pass that after a few centuries the later Jewish and the early Christian literature abounded with poetic oracles purporting to be productions of the ancient Sibyls. Many independent compositions of this kind were accordingly in circulation some time before the task was taken in hand of arranging the entire body of so-called Sibylline Oracles into one connected and orderly series. The repetitions of language and sentiment now found in these different books indicate that already, before this larger task was attempted, other minor compilations had been made, and that the later compiler and editor left these smaller independent collections intact, not attempting to eliminate the repetitions, nor even to harmonise conflicting statements.)

CHRISTIAN SIBYLLINES BOOK 1

BEGINNING with the generation first
Of mortal men down to the very last
I'll prophesy each thing: what erst has been,
And what is now, and what shall yet befall
The world through the impiety of men.
First now God urges on me to relate
Truly how into being came the world.
And thou, shrewd mortal, prudently make known,
Lest ever thou should'st my commands neglect,
The King most high, who brought into existence
The whole world, saying, "Let there be," and there was.
For he the earth established, placing it
Round about Tartarus, and he himself
Gave the sweet light; he raised the heaven on high,
Spread out the gleaming sea, and crowned the sky
With an abundance of bright-shining stars,
And decked the earth with plants, and mingled sea
With rivers, and the air with zephyrs mixed
And watery clouds; and then, another race
Appointing, he gave fishes to the seas
And birds unto the winds, and to the woods
The beasts of shaggy neck, and snakes that crawl,
And all things which now on the earth appear.
These by his word he made, and every thing
Was speedily and with precision done;
For he was self-caused and from heaven looked down
And finished was the world exceeding well.
And then thereafter fashioned he again
A living product, copying a new man
From his own image, beautiful, divine,
And bade him in ambrosial garden dwell,
That labors beautiful might be his care.
But in that fertile field of Paradise
He longed for conversation, being alone,
And prayed that he might see another form
Such as he had. And forthwith, from man's side
Taking a bone, God himself made fair Eve,
A wedded spouse, and in that Paradise
Gave her to dwell with him. And, when he gazed
Upon her, on a sudden filled with joy
Great admiration held his soul, he saw
A pattern so exact; and with wise words
Spontaneous flowing answered he in turn
For God had care for all things. For the mind
They darkened not with passion, nor concealed
Their nakedness, but with hearts far from evil
Even like wild beasts they walked with limbs exposed.
And afterwards delivering them commands
God showed them not to touch a certain tree;
But the dread serpent drew them off by guile
To go away unto the fate of death
And to gain knowledge of both good and evil.
But the wife then first traitress proved to God;
She gave, and urged the unknowing man to sin.
And he, persuaded by the woman's words,
Forgot the immortal Maker utterly,
And treated plain commandments with neglect.
Therefore, instead of good, received they evil
According to their deed. And then the leaves
Of the sweet fig-tree piercing they made clothes
And put them on each other, and concealed
The sexual parts, because they were ashamed.
But on them the Immortal set his wrath
And cast them out of the immortal land.
For their abiding now in mortal land
Was brought to pass, since hearing they kept not
The word of the immortal mighty God.
And straightway they, upon the fruitful soil
Forthgoing, with their tears and groans were wet;
And to them then the immortal God himself
A word more excellent spoke: "Multiply,
Increase, work constantly upon the earth,
That with the sweat of labor ye may have
Sufficient food." Thus he spoke; and he made
The author of deceit to press the ground
On belly and on side, a crawling snake,
Driving him out severely; and he sent
Dire enmity between them and the one
Is on the look-out to preserve his head,
But man his heel; for death is neighbour near
Of evil-plotting vipers and of men.
And then indeed the race was multiplied
As the Almighty himself gave command,
And there grew up one people on another
Innumerable. And houses they adorned
Of all kinds and made cities and their walls
Well and expertly; and to them was given
A day of long time for a life much-loved;
For they did not worn out with troubles die,
But as subdued by sleep; most happy men
Of great heart, whom the immortal Saviour loved,
The King, God. But they also did transgress,
Smitten with folly. For with impudence
They mocked their fathers and their mothers scorned;
Kinsmen they knew not, and they formed intrigues
Against their brothers. And they were impure,
Having defiled themselves with human gore,
And they made wars. And then upon them came
The last calamity sent forth from heaven,
Which snatched the dreadful men away from life;
And Hades then received them; it was called
Hades since Adam, having tasted death,
Went first and earth encompassed him around.
And therefore all men born upon the earth
Are in abodes of Hades called to go.
But even in Hades all these when they came
Had honour, since they were the earliest race.
But when Hades received these, secondly
[Of the surviving and most righteous men]
God formed another very subtile race
That cared for lovely works, and noble toils,
Distinguished reverence and solid wisdom;
And they were trained in arts of every kind,
Finding inventions by their lack of means.
And one devised to till the land with plows,
Another worked in wood, another cared
For sailing, and another watched the stars
And practiced augury with winged fowls;
And use of drugs had interest for one,
While for another magic had a charm;
And others were in every other art
Which men care for instructed, wide awake,
Industrious, worthy of that eponym
Because they had a sleepless mind within
And a huge body; stout with mighty form
They were; but, notwithstanding, down they went
Into Tartarean chamber terrible,
Kept in firm chains to pay full penalty
In Gehenna of strong, furious, quenchless fire.
And after these a third strong-minded race
Appeared, a race of overbearing men
And terrible, who wrought among themselves
Many an evil. And fights, homicides,
And battles did continually destroy
Those men possessed of overweening heart,
And from these afterward another race
Proceeded, late-completed, youngest born,
Blood-stained, perverse in counsel; of men these
Were in the fourth race; much the blood they spilled,
Nor feared they God nor had regard for men,
For maddening wrath and sore impiety
Were sent upon them. And wars, homicides,
And battles sent some into Erebus,
Since they were overweening impious men.
But the rest did the heavenly God himself
In anger afterwards change from his world,
Casting them into mighty Tartarus
Down under the foundation of the earth.
And later yet another race much worse
[Of men he made, to whom no good thereafter]
The Immortal formed, since they wrought many evils.
For they were much more violent than those,
Giants perverse, foul language pouring out.
Single among all men, most just and true,
Was the most faithful Noah, full of care
For noblest works. And to him God himself
From heaven thus spoke: "Noah, be of good cheer
In thyself and to all the people preach
Repentance, so that they may all be saved.
But if, with shameless soul, they heed me not
The whole race I will utterly destroy
With mighty floods of waters. Quickly now
An undecaying house I bid thee frame
Of planks strong and impervious to the wet.
I will put understanding in thy heart,
And subtile skill, and rule of measurement
And order; and for all things will I care
That thou be saved, and all who dwell with thee.
And I am He who is, and in thy heart
Do thou discern. I clothe me with the heaven,
And cast the sea around me, and for me
Earth is a footstool, and the air is poured
Around my body; and on every side
Around me runs the chorus of the stars.
Nine letters have I; of four syllables
I am; discern me. The first three have each
Two letters, the remaining one the rest,
And five are mates; and of the entire sum
The hundreds are twice eight and thrice three tens
Along with seven. Now, knowing who I am,
Be thou not uninitiate in my lore."
Thus he spoke; and great trembling seized on him
At what he heard. And then, within his mind
Having contrived each matter, he besought
The people and began with words like these:
"O men insatiate, smit with madness great,
Whatever things ye practiced they shall not
Escape God's notice; for he knows all things,
Immortal Saviour overseeing all,
Who bade me warn you, that ye perish not.
Be sober, cut off badness, do not fight
Perforce each other with blood-guilty heart,
Nor irrigate much land with human gore.
Revere, O mortals, the supremely great
And fearless heavenly Creator, God
Imperishable, whose dwelling is the sky;
And do ye all entreat him--he is kind--
For life of cities and of all the world,
And of four-footed beasts and flying fowls;
Entreat him to be gracious unto all.
For when the whole unbounded world of men
Shall be destroyed by waters loud ye'll raise
A fearful cry. And suddenly for you
The air shall be disordered, and from heaven
The fury of the mighty God shall come
Upon you. And it certainly shall be
That the immortal Saviour against men
Will send wrath if ye do not placate God
And from this time repent; and nothing more
Fretful and evil lawlessly shall ye
One to another do, but let there be
A guarding of one's self by holy life."
But when they heard him each turned up his nose,
Calling him mad, a frenzy-smitten man.
And then again did Noah sound this strain:
"O men exceeding wretched, base in heart,
Unstable, leaving modesty behind
And loving shamelessness, rapacious lords,
Fierce sinners, false, insatiate, mischievous,
In nothing true, stealthy adulterers,
Flippant in language, pouring forth foul words,
The wrath of God most high not fearing, kept
To the fifth generation to atone!
In no way do ye wail, harsh men, but laugh;
Sardonic smile shall ye laugh, when shall come
That which I speak--God's dire incoming flood,
When Eve's polluted race, in the great earth
Blooming perennial in impervious stem,
Shall, root and branch, in one night disappear,
And cities, men and all, shall the Earth-shaker
From the depths scatter and their walls destroy.
And then the whole world of unnumbered men
Shall die. But how shall I weep, how lament

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In wooden house, how mingle tears with waves?
For, if this water bidden of God shall come,
Earth shall float, hills float, and even sky shall float;
Everything shall be water, and all things
Shall be destroyed by waters. And the winds
Shall stand still, and a second age shall come.
O Phrygia, thou shalt from the water's crest
First rise up, and thou first another race
Of men shalt nourish, once again anew
Beginning; and thou shalt be nurse for all."
But when now to the lawless generation
He had thus vainly spoken, the Most High
Appeared, and once more cried aloud and said:
"The time is now come, Noah, to proclaim
Each thing, even all which I that day to thee
Did promise and confirm, and to complete,
Because of a people disobedient,
Throughout the boundless world even all the things
Which generations of a former time
Did practice, evil things innumerable.
But do thou quickly enter with thy sons
And the wives. Call as many as I bid,
Of tribes of beasts and creeping things and birds,
And in as many as I ordain for life
Will I then put a willingness to go."
Thus spoke he; forth went (Noah) and aloud
Cried out and called. And then wife, sons and brides,
Entered the house of wood; then also went
The other things, as many as God willed
To shut in. But when fitting bolt was put
About the lid, and in its polished place
Was fitted sideways, then was brought to pass
Forthwith the purpose of the God of heaven.
And he massed clouds, and bid the sun's bright disk,
And moon, and stars, and circle of the heaven,
Obscuring all things round; he thundered loud,
Terror of mortals, sending lightnings forth;
And all the winds together were aroused,
And all the veins of water were unloosed
By opening of great cataracts from heaven,
And from earth's caverns and the tireless deep
Appeared the myriad waters, and the whole
Illimitable earth was covered o'er.
But on the water swam that wondrous house;
And torn by many furious waves, and struck
By force of winds, it rushed on fearfully;
But with its keel it cut the mass of foam
While the loud-babbling waters dashed around.
But when God deluged all the world with rains
Then also Noah took thought to observe
By counsels of the Immortal; for he now
Had had enough of Nereus. And straightway
The house he opened from the polished wall,
That crosswise was bound fast with skillful stays.
And looking out upon the mighty mass
Of boundless waters Noah on all sides--
And 'twas his fortune with his eyes to see!--
Fear possessed and shook mightily his heart.
And then the air became a little calm,
Since it was weary wetting all the world
Many days; parting, then, it brought to light
How pale and blood-red was the mighty sky
And sun's bright disk awearied; scarcely held
Noah his courage. And then forth afar
Sent he a dove alone, that he might learn
If yet firm land appeared. But with tired wing,
Flying round all things, she again returned;
For not yet had the water ebbed away;
For it was deeply filling every place.
But after resting quietly for days
He sent the dove once more, to learn if yet
Had ceased the many waters. And she flew
And flew on, and went o'er the earth and, resting
Her body lightly on the humid ground,
Again to Noah back she came and bore
An olive branch--of tidings a great sign.
Courage now filled them all, and great delight,
Because they hoped to look upon the land.
But then thereafter yet another bird,
Of black wing, sent he forth as hastily;
Which, trusting to its wings, flow willingly,
And coming to the land continued there.
And Noah knew the land was nearer now.
But when on dashing waves the craft divine
Had here and there o'er ocean's billows swum,
It was made fast upon the narrow strand.
There is in Phrygia on the dark mainland
A steep, tall mountain; Ararat its name,
Because upon it all were to be saved
From death, and there was great desire of heart;
Thence streams of the great river Marsyas spring.
There on a lofty peak the ark abode
When the waters ceased, and then again from heaven
The voice divine of the great God this word
Proclaimed: "O Noah, guarded, faithful, just,
Come boldly forth, with thy sons and thy wife
And the three brides, and fill ye all the earth,
Increasing, multiplying, rendering justice
To one another through all generations,
Until to judgement every race of men
Shall come; for judgement shall be unto all."
Thus spoke the voice divine. Then from his couch
Noah, encouraged, hastened on the land,
And with him went his sons and wife and brides,
And creeping things, and birds and quadrupeds,
And all things else went from the wooden house
Into one place. And then went Noah forth
As eighth, most just of men, when on the waters
He had made full twice twenty days and one
Because of counsels of the mighty God.
Then a new stock of life again arose,
Golden first, which indeed was sixth, and best,
From the time when the first-formed man appeared;
Heavenly its name, because all things to God
Shall be a care. O first race of sixth age!
O mighty joy which I thereafter shared,
When I escaped sheer ruin, by the waves
Much tossed, with husband and with brothers-in-law,
Stepfather and stepmother, and with wives
Of husband's brothers suffering terribly.
Fitting things now will I sing: There shall be
On the fig-tree a many-colored flower,
And afterward the royal power and sway
Shall Cronos have. For three kings of great soul,
Men most just, shall distribute portions then,
And many a year rule, rendering what is just
To men who care for toil and deeds of love.
And earth shall glory in her many fruits
Self-growing, yielding much corn for the race.
And the foster-fathers, ageless all their days,
Shall from diseases chill and dreadful be
Far aloof; they shall die as fallen on sleep,
And unto Acheron in the abodes
Of Hades they shall go away, and there
Shall they have honor, since they were a race
Of blessed ones, fortunate heroes, whom
The Lord of Sabaoth gave a noble mind,
And with whom always he his counsels shared.
But blessed shall they be even when they go
In Hades. And then afterward again
Oppressive, strong, another second race
Of earth-born men, the Titans. All excel
In figure, stature, growth; and there shall be
One language, as of old from the first race
God in their breasts implanted. But even these,
Having a haughty heart and rushing on
To ruin, shall at last resolve to fight
Against the starry heaven. And then the stream
Of the great ocean shall upon them pour
Its raging waters. But the mighty Lord
Of Sabaoth though enraged shall check his wrath,
Because he promised that again no flood
Should be brought upon men of evil soul.
But when the great high-thundering God shall cause
The boundless swelling of the many waters--
With their waves hither and thither rising high--
To cease from wrath, and into other depths
Of sea their measure lessen, setting bounds
By harbors and rough headlands round the land;
Then also shall a child of the great God
Come, clothed in flesh, to men, and fashioned like
To mortals in the earth; and he doth hear
Four vowels, and two consonants in him
Are twice announced; the whole sum I will name:
For eight ones, and as many tens on these,
And yet eight hundred will reveal the name
To men insatiate; and do thou discern
In thine own understanding that the Christ
Is child of the immortal God most high.
And he shall fulfill God's law, not destroy,
Bearing his very image, and all things
Shall he teach. Unto him shall priests convey
And offer gold, and myrrh, and frankincense;
For all these things he'll also bring to pass.
But when a voice shall through the desert land
Come bearing tidings to men, and to all
Shall call to make straight paths, and from the heart
Cast wickedness out and illuminate
With water all the bodies of mankind,
That being born again they may no more
From what is righteous go at all astray--
And one of barbarous mind, by dances bound,
Cutting that (voice) off shall bestow reward--
Then on a sudden there shall be a sign
To mortals, when, watched over, there shall come
Out of the land of Egypt a fair stone;
And on it shall the Hebrew people stumble;
But by his guiding nations shall be brought
Together; for the God who rules on high
They also shall know through him, and the way
In common light. For unto chosen men
Will he show life eternal, but the fire
Will be for ages on the lawless bring.
And then shall he the sickly heal, and all
Who are blameworthy who shall trust in him..
And then the blind shall see, the lame shall walk,
The deaf shall hearken, and the dumb shall speak.
Demons shall he drive out, and of the dead
There shall be an uprising; on the waves
Shall he walk; also in a desert place
Shall he five thousand satisfy with food
From five loaves and a fish out of the sea,
And with the remnants of them, for the hope
Of peoples, shall he fill twelve baskets full.
And then shall Israel, drunken, not discern,
Nor shall they hear, oppressed with feeble cars.
But when the maddening wrath of the Most High
Shall come upon the Hebrews, and take faith
Away from them, because they slew the Son
Of the heavenly God; then also with foul lips
Shall Israel give him cuffs and spittle drugged.
And gall for food and vinegar unmixed
For drink will they, with evil madness smitten
In bosom and in heart, give impiously,
Not seeing with their eyes, more blind than moles,
More terrible than crawling poisonous beasts,
Fast bound by heavy sleep. But when his hands
He shall spread forth and measure out all things,
And bear the crown of thorns, and they shall pierce
His side with reeds, for which dark monstrous night
Shall be for three hours in the midst of day,
Then also shall the temple of Solomon
Bring to an end a mighty sign for men,
When he shall to the house of Hades go
Proclaiming resurrection to the dead.
But when in three days he shall come again
Unto the light, and show his form to men
And teach all things, ascending in the clouds
Unto the house of heaven shall he go
Leaving the world a Gospel convenant.
And in his name shall blossom a new shoot
From nations that are guided by the law
Of the Mighty One. But also after this
There shall be wise guides, and then afterward
There shall be a cessation of the prophets.
After that, when the Hebrew people reap
Their evil harvest, shall a Roman king
Much gold and silver utterly destroy.
And afterward shall other royal powers
Continuously arise as kingdoms perish,
And they will oppress mortals. But great fall
Shall be for those men, when they shall begin
Unrighteous arrogance. But when the temple
Of Solomon in the holy land shall fall,
Cast down by barbarous men in brazen mail,
And from the land the Hebrews shall be driven
Wandering and wasted, and among the wheat
They shall much darnel mingle, there shall be
Evil contention among, all mankind;
And the cities suffering outrage shall bewail
Each other, in their breasts receiving wrath
Of the great God, since they wrought evil work.

CHRISTIAN SIBYLLINES BOOK 2

Now while I much entreated God restrained
My wise song, also in my breast again
He put the charming voice of words divine.
In my whole body terror-stricken these
I follow; for I know not that I speak,
But God impels me to proclaim each thing.
But when on earth come shocks, fierce thunderbolts,
Thunders and lightnings, storms, and evil blight,
And rage of jackals and of wolves, manslaughter,
Destruction of men and of lowing kine,
Four-footed cattle and laborious mules,
And goats and sheep, then shall the ample field
Be barren from neglect, and fruits shall fail,
And there shall be a selling of their freedom
Among most men, and robbery of temples.
And then shall, after these, appear of men
The tenth race, when the earth-shaking Lightener
Shall break the zeal for idols and shall shake
The people of seven-hilled Rome, and riches great
Shall perish, burned by Vulcan's fiery flame.
And then shall bloody signs from heaven descend--
But yet the whole world of unnumbered men
Enraged shall kill each other, and in tumult
Shall God send famines, plagues, and thunderbolts
On men who, without justice, judge of rights.
And lack of men shall be in all the world,
So that if anyone beheld a trace
Of man on earth, he would be wonderstruck.

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And then shall the great God who dwells in heaven
Saviour of pious men in all things prove.
And then shall there be peace and wisdom deep,
And the fruit-bearing land shall yield again
Abundant fruits, divided not in parts
Nor yet enslaved. And every harbor then,
And every haven, shall be free to men
As formerly, and shamelessness shall perish.
And then will God show mortals a great sign:
For like a lustrous crown shall shine a star,
Bright, all-resplendent, from the radiant heaven
Days not a few; and then will he display
From heaven a crown for contest unto men
Who wrestle. And then there shall be again
A mighty contest of triumphal march
Into the heavenly sky, and it shall be
For all men in the world, and have the fame
Of immortality. And every people
Shall then in the immortal contests strive
For splendid victory. For no one there
Can shamelessly with silver buy a crown.
For unto them will the pure Christ adjudge
That which is due, and crown the ones approved,
And give his martyrs an immortal prize
Who carry on the contest unto death.
And unto chaste men who run their race well
Will he the incorruptible reward
Of the prize give, and to all men allot
That which is due, and also to strange nations
That live a holy life and know one God.
And those who have regard for marriages
And keep themselves far from adulteries,
To them rich gifts, eternal hope, he'll give.
For every human soul is God's free gift,
And 'tis not right men stain it with vile deeds.
[Do not be rich unrighteously, but lead
A life of probity. Be satisfied
With what thou hast and keep thyself from that
Which is another's. Speak not what is false,
But have a care for all things that are true.
Revere not idols vainly; but the God
Imperishable honour always first,
And next thy parents. Render all things due,
And into unjust judgement come thou not.
Do not cast out the poor unrighteously,
Nor judge by outward show; if wickedly
Thou judgest, God hereafter will judge thee.
Avoid false testimony; tell the truth.
Maintain thy virgin purity, and guard
Love among all. Deal measures that are just;
For beautiful is measure full to all.
Strike not the scales oneside, but draw them equal.
Forswear not ignorantly nor willingly;
God hates the perjured man in that he swore.
A gift proceeding out of unjust deeds
Never receive in hand. Do not steal seed;
Accursed through many generations he
Who took it unto scattering of life.
Indulge not vile lusts, slander not, nor kill.
Give the toilworn his hire; do not afflict
The poor man. Unto orphans help afford
And to widows and the needy. Talk with sense;
Hold fast in heart a secret. Be unwilling
To act unjustly nor yet tolerate
Unrighteous men. Give to the poor at once
And say not, "Come to-morrow." Of thy grain
Give to the needy with perspiring hand.
He who gives alms knows how to lend to God.
Mercy redeems from death when judgement comes.
Not sacrifice, but mercy God desires
Rather than sacrifice. The naked clothe,
Share thy bread with the hungry, in thy house
Receive the shelterless and lead the blind.
Pity the shipwrecked; for the voyage is
Uncertain. To the fallen give a hand;
And save the man that stands without defense.
Common to all is suffering, life's a wheel,
Riches unstable. Having wealth, reach out
To the poor thy hand. Of what God gave to thee
Bestow thou also on the needy one.
Common is the whole life of mortal men;
But it comes out unequal. When thou seest
A poor man never banter him with words,
Nor harshly accost a man who may be blamed.
One's life in death is proven; if one did
The unlawful or just, it shall be decided
When he to judgement comes. Disable not
Thy mind with wine nor drink excessively.
Eat not blood, and abstain from things
Offered to idols. Gird not on the sword
For slaughter, but defense; and would thou might
It neither lawlessly nor justly use:
For if thou kill an enemy thy hand
Thou dost defile. Keep from thy neighbour's field,
Nor trespass on it; just is every landmark,
And trespass painful. Useful is possession
Of lawful wealth, but of unrighteous gains
'Tis worthless. Harm not any growing fruit
Of the field. And let strangers be esteemed
In equal honor with the citizens;
For much-enduring hospitality
Shall all experience as each other's guests;
But let there not be anyone a stranger
Among you, since, ye mortals, all of you
Are of one 'blood, and no land has for men
Any sure place. Wish not nor pray for wealth;
But pray to live from few things and possess
Nothing at all unjust. The love of gain
Is mother of all evil. Do not long
For gold or silver; in them there will be
A double-edged and soul-destroying iron.
A snare to men continually are gold
And silver. Gold, of evils source, of life
Destructive, troubling all things, would that thou
Wert, not to mortals such a longed-for bane!
For wars, because of thee, and pillaging
And murders come, and children hate their sires,
And brothers and sisters those of their own blood.
Plot no deceit, and do not arm thy heart
Against a friend. Keep not concealed within
A different thought from what thou speakest forth;
Nor, like rock-clinging polyp, change with place.
But with all be frank, and things from the soul
Speak thou forth. Whosoever willfully
Commits a wrong, an evil man is he;
But he that does it under force, the end
I tell not; but let each man's will be right.
Pride not thyself in wisdom, power, or wealth;
God only is the wise and mighty one
And full of riches. Do not vex thy heart
With evils that are past; for what is done
Can never be undone. Let not thy hand
Be hasty, but ferocious passion curb;
For many times has one in striking done
Murder without design. Let suffering
Be common, neither great nor overmuch.
Excessive good has not brought forth to men
That which is helpful. And much luxury
Leads to immoderate lusts. Much wealth is prowl,
And makes one grow to wanton violence.
Passionate feeling, creeping in, effects
Destructive madness. Anger is a lust,
And when it is excessive it is wrath.
The zeal of good men is a noble thing,
But of the base is base. Of wicked men
The boldness is destructive, but renown
Follows that of the good. To be revered
Is virtuous love, but that of Cypris works
Increase of shame. A silly man is called
Very agreeable among his fellows.
With moderation eat, drink, and converse;
Of all things moderation is the best;
But trespass of its limit brings to grief.
Be not thou envious, faithless, or abusive,
Or evil-minded, or a false deceiver.
Be prudent and abstain from shameless deeds.
Imitate not what's evil, but leave thou
Vengeance to justice; for persuasion is
A useful thing, but strife engenders strife.
Trust not too quickly ere thou see the end.]
This is the contest, these are the rewards;
These are the prizes; this the gate of life
And entrance into immortality,
Which God in heaven unto most righteous men
Appointed a reward for victory;
And through this gate shall gloriously pass
Those who shall then receive the victor's crown.
But when this sign shall everywhere appear--
Children with gray hair on their temples born--
And human sufferings, famines, plagues, and wars,
And change of times, and many a tearful wail,
Ah! of how many parents in the lands
Will children mourn and piteously weep,
And with shrouds bury flesh and limbs in earth,
Mother of peoples, with the blood and dust
Themselves defiling. O ye wretched men
Of the last generation, evil doers,
Terrible, childish, not perceiving this,
That when the tribes of women do not bear
The harvest time of mortal men is come.
Near is the ruin when impostors come
Instead of prophets speaking on the earth.
And Beliar shall come and many signs
Perform for men. And then of holy men,
Elect and faithful, there shall be confusion,
And pillaging of them and of the Hebrews.
And there shall be upon them fearful wrath
When from the east a people of twelve tribes
Shall come in search of kindred Hebrew people
Whom Assyrian shoot destroyed; and over these
Shall nations perish. But they afterwards
Shall over men exceeding mighty rule,
Elect and faithful Hebrews, and enslave
Them as before, since their power ne'er shall fail.
He that is highest of all, the all-surveying,
Dwelling in heaven, will scatter sleep on men,
Covering the eyelids o'er. O blessed servants
Whom when the Master comes he finds awake!
And they all watch at all times and expect
With sleepless eyes. For it will be at dawn
Or eve or midday; but he sure shall come,
And it shall be as I say, it shall be,
To them that sleep, that from the starry heaven
The stars at midday will to all appear
With the two lights as the time hastens on.
And then the Tishbite, urging from the heaven
His chariot celestial, and on earth
Arriving, shall to all the world display
Three evil signs of life to be destroyed.
Alas for all the women in that day
Who shall be found with burden in the womb!
Alas for all who suckle tender babes!
Alas for all who shall dwell on the waves!
Alas for women who shall see that day!
For a dark mist shall hide the boundless world,
East, west, and south, and north. And then shall flow
A mighty stream of burning fire from heaven
And every place consume, earth, ocean vast,
And gleaming sea, and lakes and rivers, springs,
And cruel Hades and the heavenly sky.
And heavenly lights shall break up into one
And into outward form all-desolate.
For stars from heaven shall fall into all seas.
And all the souls of men shall gnash their teeth
Burned both by sulphur stream and force of fire
In ravenous soil, and ashes hide all things.
And then of the world all the elements
Shall be bereft, air, earth, sea, light, sky, days,
Nights; and no longer in the air shall fly
Birds without number, nor shall living things
That swim the sea swim any more at all,
Nor freighted vessel o'er the billows pass,
Nor kine straight-guiding plow the field, nor sound
Of furious winds; but he shall fuse all things
Together, and shall pick out what is pure.
But when the immortal God's eternal angels
Arakiel, Ramiel, Uriel, Samiel,
And Azael, they that know how many evils
Anyone did before, shall from dark gloom
Then lead to judgement all the souls of men
Before the judgement-seat of the great God
Immortal; for imperishable is
One only, himself the almighty, One,
Who shall be judge of mortals; and to them
That dwell beneath will then the heavenly One
Give souls and spirit and voice, and also bones
Fitted with joints unto all kinds of flesh,
And both the flesh and sinews, veins and skin
About the body, and hair as before;
Divinely fashioned and with breathing moved
Shall bodies of those on earth one day be raised.
And then shall Uriel, mighty angel, break
The bolts of stern and lasting adamant
Which, monstrous, bold the brazen gates of Hades,
Straight cast them down, and unto judgement lead
All forms that have endured much suffering,
Chiefly the shapes of Titans born of old,
And giants, and all whom the deluge whelmed,
And all that perished in the billowy seas,
And all that furnished banquet for the beasts
And creeping things and fowls, these in a mass
Shall (Uriel) summon to the judgement-seat;
And also those whom flesh-devouring fire
Destroyed in flame, even these shall he collect
And place before the judgement-seat of God.
And when the high-thundering Lord of Sabaoth
Making an end of fate shall raise the dead,
Sit on his heavenly throne, and firmly fix
The mighty pillar, then amid the clouds
Christ, who himself is incorruptible,
Shall come unto the Incorruptible
In glory with pure angels, and shall sit
At the right hand on the great judgement-seat
To judge the life of pious and the way
Of impious men. And Moses, the great friend
Of the Most High, shall come enrobed in flesh
Also great Abraham himself shall come,
Isaac and Jacob, Joshua, Daniel,
Elijah, Habakkuk and Jonah, and
Those whom the Hebrews slew. But he'll destroy
The Hebrews after Jeremiah, all
Who are to be judged at the judgement-seat,

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That worthy recompense they may receive
And pay for all each did in mortal life.
And then shall all pass through the burning stream
Of flame unquenchable; but all the just
Shall be saved; and the godless furthermore
Shall to all ages perish, all who did
Evils aforetime, and committed murders,
And all who are accomplices therein,
Liars and thieves, and ruiners of home,
Crafty and terrible, and parasites,
And marriage-breakers pouring forth vile words,
Dread, wanton, lawless, and idolaters;
And all who left the great immortal God,
Became blasphemers did the pious harm,
Destroying faith and killing righteous men
And all that with a shamelessness deceitful
And double-faced rush in as presbyters
And reverend ministers, who knowingly
Give unjust judgements, yielding to false words
More hurtful than the leopards and the wolves
And more vile; and ill that are grossly proud
And usurers, who gains on gains amass
And damage orphans and widows in each thing;
And all that give to widows and to orphans
The fruit of unjust deeds, and all that cast
Reproach in giving from their own hard toils;
And all that left their parents in old age,
Not paying them at all, nor offering
To parents filial duty, and all who
Were disobedient and against their sires
Spoke a harsh word; and all that pledges took
And then denied them; and the servants all
Who were against their masters, and again
Those who licentiously defiled the flesh;
And all who loosed the girdle of the maid
For secret intercourse, and all who caused
Abortions, and all who their offspring cast
Unlawfully away; and sorcerers
And sorceresses with them, and these wrath
Of the heavenly and immortal God shall drive
Against a pillar where shall all around
In a circle flow a restless stream of fire;
And deathless angels of the immortal God,
Who ever is, shall bind with lasting bonds
In chains of flaming fire and from above
Punish them all by scourge most terribly;
And in Gehenna, in the gloom of night,
Shall they be cast 'neath many horrid beasts
Of Tartarus, where darkness is immense.
But when there shall be many punishments
Enforced on all who had an evil heart,
Yet afterward shall there a fiery wheel
From a great river circle them around,
Because they had a care for wicked deeds.
And then one here, another there, shall sires,
Young children, mothers, nursing babes, in tears
Wail their most piteous fate. No fill of tears
Shall be for them, nor piteous voice be heard
Of them that moan, one here, another there,
But long worn under dark, dank Tartarus
Aloud shall they cry; and they shall repay
In cursed places thrice as much as all
The evil work they did, burned with much fire;
And all of them, consumed by raging thirst
And hunger, shall in anguish gnash their teeth
And call death beautiful, and death shall flee
Away from them. For neither death nor night
Shall ever give them rest. And many things in vain
Will they ask of the God that rules on high,
And then will he his face turn openly
Away from them. For he to erring men
Gave, in seven ages for repentance, signs
By the hands of a virgin undefiled.
But the others, all to whom right and fair works
And piety and thoughts most just were dear,
Shall angels, bearing through the burning stream,
Lead unto light and life exempt from care,
Where comes the immortal way of the great God
And fountains three--of honey, wine, and milk.
And equal land for all, divided not
By walls or fences, more abundant fruits
Spontaneous shall then bear, and the course
Of life be common and wealth unapportioned.
For there no longer will be poor nor rich,
Tyrant nor slave, nor any great nor small,
Nor kings nor leaders; all alike in common.
No more at all will one say, "night has come,"
Nor "morrow comes," nor "yesterday has been;
Nor shall there many days of anxious care,
Nor spring, nor winter, nor the summer-heat,
Nor autumn be [nor marriage, nor yet death,
Nor sales, nor purchases], nor set of sun
Nor rising; for a long day will God make.
And to the pious will the almighty God
Imperishable grant another thing,
When they shall ask the imperishable God:
That he will suffer men from raging fire
And endless gnawing anguish to be saved;
And this will he do. For hereafter he
Will pluck them from the restless flame, elsewhere
Remove them, and for his own people's sake
Send them to other and eternal life
With the immortals, in Elysian field,
False manifestly; for the penal fire
Shall never cease from those who are condemned.
For also I might pray to have it thus,
Branded with greatest scars of trespasses,
Which need more kindness. But let Origen
Of his presumptuous babble be ashamed,
Saying there shall be end of punishments.
Where move far-stretching billows of the lake
Of ever-flowing Acheron profound.
Ah, miserable woman that I am!
What shall I be in that day? for I sinned--
Being busy foolishly about all things,
Caring for neither marriage-bond nor reason;
But even in my wealthy husband's house
I shut the needy out; and formerly
I knowingly performed unlawful things.
But, Saviour, though I shameless things performed,
Do thou from my tormentors rescue me,
A shameless woman. And I pray thee now
Make me to rest a little from my song,
Holy Giver of manna, King of the great realm.

CHRISTIAN SIBYLLINES BOOK 3

O THOU high-thundering blessed heavenly One,
Who hast set in their place the cherubim,
I, who have uttered what is all too true,
Entreat thee, let me have a little rest;
For my heart has grown weary from within.
But why again leaps my heart, and my soul
With a whip smitten from within constrained
To utter forth its message unto all?
But yet again will I proclaim all things
Which God commands me to proclaim to men.
O men, that in your image have a form
Fashioned of God, why do ye vainly stray
And walk not in the straight way, always mindful
Of the immortal Maker? God is one,
Sovereign, ineffable, dwelling in heaven,
The self-existent and invisible,
Himself alone beholding everything;
Him sculptor's hand made not, nor is his form
Shown by man's art from gold or ivory;
But he, eternal Lord, proclaims himself
As one who is and was erst and shall be
Again hereafter. For who being mortal
Can see God with his eyes? Or who shall bear
To hear the only name of heaven's great God,
The ruler of the world? He by his word
Created all things, even heaven and sea,
And tireless sun, and full moon and bright stars,
And mighty mother Tethys, springs and rivers,
Imperishable fire, and days and nights.
This is the God who formed four-lettered Adam,
The first one formed, and filling with his name
East, west, and south, and north. The same is he
Who fixed the pattern of the human form,
And made wild beasts, and creeping things, and fowls.
Ye do not worship neither fear ye God,
But vainly go astray and bow the knee
To serpents, and make offering to cats,
And idols, and stone images of men,
And sit before the doors of godless temples;
Ye guard him who is God, who keeps all things,
And merry with the wickedness of stones
Forget the judgement of the immortal Saviour
Who made the heaven and earth. Alas! a race
That has delight in blood, deceitful, vile,
Ungodly, of false, double-tongued, immoral men,
Adulterous, idolous, designing fraud,
An evil madness raving in their hearts,
For themselves plundering, having shameless soul;
For no one who has riches will impart
To another, but dire wickedness shall be
Among all mortals, and for sake of gain
Will many widows not at all keep faith,
But secretly love others, and the bond
Of life those who have husbands do not keep.
But when Rome shall o'er Egypt also rule
Governing always, then shall there appear
The greatest kingdom of the immortal King
Over men. And a holy Lord shall come
To hold the scepter over every land
Unto all ages of fast-hastening time.
And then shall come inexorable wrath
On Latin men; three shall by piteous fate
Endamage Rome. And perish shall all men,
With their own houses, when from heaven shall flow
A fiery cataract. Ah, wretched me!
When shall that day and when shall judgement come
Of the immortal God, the mighty King?
But just now, O ye cities, ye are built
And all adorned with temples and race-grounds,
Markets, and images of wood, of gold,
Of silver and of stone, that ye may come
Unto the bitter day. For it shall come,
When there shall pass among all men a stench
Of brimstone. Yet each thing will I declare,
In all the cities where men suffer ills.
. . . . . .
From the Sebastenes Beliar shall come
Hereafter, and the height of hills shall he
Establish, and shall make the sea stand still
And the great fiery sun and the bright moon
And he shall raise the dead, and many signs
Work before men: but nothing shall be brought
By him unto completion but deceit,
And many mortals shall be lead astray
Hebrews both true and choice, and lawless men
Besides who never gave ear to God's word.
But when the threatenings of the mighty God
Shall draw near, and a flaming power shall come
By billow to the earth, it shall consume
Both Beliar and all the haughty men
Who put their trust in him. And thereupon
Shall the whole world be governed by the hands
Of a woman and obedient everywhere.
Then when a widow shall o'er all the world
Gain the rule, and cast in the mighty sea
Both gold and silver, also brass and iron
Of short lived men into the deep shall cast,
Then all the elements shall be bereft
Of order, when the God who dwells on high
Shall roll the heaven, even as a scroll is rolled;
And to the mighty earth and sea shall fall
The entire multiform sky; and there shall flow
A tireless cataract of raging fire,
And it shall burn the land, and burn the sea,
And heavenly sky, and night, and day, and melt
Creation itself together and pick out
What is pure. No more laughing spheres of light,
Nor night, nor dawn, nor many days of care,
Nor spring, nor winter, nor the summer-time,
Nor autumn. And then of the mighty God
The judgement midway in a mighty age
Shall come, when all these things shall come to pass.
O navigable waters and each land
Of the Orient and of the Occident,
Subject shall all things be to him who comes
Into the world again, and therefore he
Himself became first conscious of his power.
But when the threatenings of the mighty God
Are fulfilled, which he threatened mortals once,
When in Assyrian land they built a tower;--
(And they all spoke one language, and resolved
To mount aloft into the starry heaven;
But on the air the Immortal straightway put
A mighty force; and then winds from above
Cast down the great tower and stirred mortals up
To wrangling with each other; therefore men
Gave to that city the name of Babylon);--
Now when the tower fell and the tongues of men
Turned to all sorts of sounds, straightway all earth
Was filled with men and kingdoms were divided;
And then the generation tenth appeared
Of mortal men, from the time when the flood
Came upon earlier men. And Cronos reigned,
And Titan and Iapetus; and men called them
Best offspring of Gaia and of Uranus,
Giving to them names both of earth and heaven,
Since they were very first of mortal men.
So there were three divisions of the earth
According to the allotment of each man,
And each one having his own portion reigned
And fought not; for a father's oaths were there
And equal were their portions. But the time
Complete of old age on the father came,
And he died; and the sons infringing oaths
Stirred up against each other bitter strife,
Which one should have the royal rank and rule
Over all mortals; and against each other
Cronos and Titan fought. But Rhea and Gaia,
And Aphrodite fond of crowns, Demeter,
And Hestia and Dione of fair locks
Brought them to friendship, and together called
All who were kings, both brothers and near kin,
And others of the same ancestral blood,
And they judged Cronos should reign king of all,
For he was oldest and of noblest form.
But Titan laid on Cronos mighty oaths

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To rear no male posterity, that he
Himself might reign when age and fate should come
To Cronos. And whenever Rhea bore
Beside her sat the Titans, and all males
In pieces tore, but let the females live
To be reared by the mother. But When now
At the third birth the august Rhea bore,
She brought forth Hera first; and when they saw
A female offspring, the fierce Titan men
Betook them to their homes. And thereupon
Rhea a male child bore, and having bound
Three men of Crete by oath she quickly sent
Him into Phrygia to be reared apart
In secret; therefore did they name him Zeus,
For he was sent away. And thus she sent
Poseidon also secretly away.
And Pluto, third, did Rhea yet again,
Noblest of women, at Dodona bear,
Whence flows Europus' river's liquid course,
And with Peneus mixed pours in the sea
Its water, and men call it Stygian.
But when the Titans heard that there were sons
Kept secretly, whom Cronos and his wife
Rhea begat, then Titan sixty youths
Together gathered, and held fast in chains
Cronos and his wife Rhea, and concealed
Them in the earth and guarded them in bonds.
And then the sons of powerful Cronos heard,
And a great war and uproar they aroused.
And this is the beginning of dire war
Among all mortals. [For it is indeed
With mortals the prime origin of war.]
And then did God award the Titans evil.
And all of Titans and of Cronos born
Died. But then as time rolled around there rose
The Egyptian kingdom, then that of the Persians
And of the Medes, and Ethiopians,
And of Assyria and Babylon,
And then that of the Macedonians,
Egyptian yet again, then that of Rome.
And then a message of the mighty God
Was set within my breast, and it bade me
Proclaim through all earth and in royal hearts
Plant things which are to be. And to my mind
This God imparted first, bow many kingdoms
Have been together gathered of mankind.
For first of all the house of Solomon
Shall include horsemen of Phœnicia
And Syria, and of the islands too,
And the race of Pamphylians and Persians
And Phrygians, Carians, and Mysians
And the race of the Lydians rich in gold.
And then shall Hellenes, proud and impure,
Then shall a Macedonian nation rule,
Great, shrewd, who as a fearful cloud of war
Shall come to mortals. But the God of heaven
Shall utterly destroy them from the depth.
And then shall be another kingdom, white
And many-headed, from the western sea,
Which shall rule much land, and shake many men,
And to all kings bring terror afterwards,
And out of many cities shall destroy
Much gold and silver; but in the vast earth
There will again be gold, and silver too,
And ornament. And they will oppress mortals;
And to those men shall great disaster be,
When they begin unrighteous arrogance.
And forthwith in them there shall be a force
Of wickedness, male will consort with male,
And children they will place in dens of shame;
And in those days there shall be among men
A great affliction, and it shall disturb
All things, and break all things, and fill all things
With evils by a shameful covetousness,
And by ill-gotten wealth in many lands,
But most of all in Macedonia.
And it shall stir up hatred, and all guile
Shalt be with them even to the seventh kingdom,
Of which a king of Egypt shall be king
Who shall be a descendant from the Greeks.
And then the nation of the mighty God
Shall be again strong and they shall be guides
Of life to all men. But why did God place
This also in my mind to tell: what first,
And what next, and what evil last shall be
On all men? Which of these shall take the lead?
First on the Titans will God visit evil.
For they shall pay to mighty Cronos's sons
The penal satisfaction, since they bound
Both Cronos and the mother dearly loved.
Again shall there be tyrants for the Greeks
And fierce kings overweening and impure,
Adulterous and altogether bad;
And for men shall be no more rest from war.
And the dread Phrygians shall perish all,
And unto Troy shall evil come that day.
And to the Persians and Assyrians
Evil shall straightaway come, and to all Egypt
And Libya and the Ethiopians,
And to the Carians and Pamphylians--
Evil to pass from one place to another,
And to all mortals. Why now one by one
Do I speak forth? But when the first receive
Fulfillment, then straightway shall come on men
The second. So the very first I'll tell.
There shall an evil come to pious men
Who dwell by the great temple of Solomon
And who are progeny of righteous men.
Alike of all these also I will tell
The tribe and line of fathers and homeland--
All things with care, O mortal shrewd in mind.
There is a city . . . on the earth,
Ur of the Chaldees, whence there is a race
Of men most righteous, to whom both good will
And noble deeds have ever been a care.
For they have no concern about the course
Of the sun's revolution, nor the moon's,
Nor wondrous things beneath the earth, nor depth
Of joy-imparting sea Oceanus,
Nor signs of sneezing, nor the wings of birds,
Nor soothsayers, nor wizards, nor enchanters,
Nor tricks of dull words of ventriloquists,
Neither do they astrologize with skill
Of the Chaldeans, nor astronomize;
For these are all deceptive, in so far
As foolish men go seeking day by day
Training their souls unto no useful work;
And then did they teach miserable men
Deceptions, whence to mortals on the earth
Come many evils leading them astray
From good ways and just deeds. But they have care
For righteousness and virtue, and not greed,
Which breeds unnumbered ills to mortal men,
War and unending famine. But with them
Just measure, both in fields and cities, holds,
Nor steal they from each other in the night,
Nor drive off herds of cattle, sheep, and goats,
Nor neighbour remove landmarks of a neighbour,
Nor any man of great wealth grieve the one
Less favored, nor to widows cause distress,
But rather aids them, ever helping them
With wheat and wine and oil; and always does
The rich man in the country send a share
At the time of the harvests unto them
That have not, but are needy, thus fulfilling
The saying of the mighty God, a hymn
In legal setting; for the Heavenly One
Finished the earth a common good for all.
Now when the people of twelve tribes depart
From Egypt, and with leaders sent of God
Nightly pursue their way by a pillar of fire
And during all the day by one of cloud,
For them then God a leader will appoint--
A great man, Moses, whom a princess found
Beside a marsh, and carried off and reared
And called her son. And at the time he came
As leader for the people whom God led
From Egypt unto the. steel) Sinai mount,
His own law God delivered them from heaven
Writing on two flat stones all righteous things
Which he enjoined to do; and if, perchance,
One give no heed, he must unto the law
Make satisfaction, either at men's hands
Or, if men's notice he escape, he shall
By ample satisfaction he destroyed.
[For the Heavenly finished earth a common good
For all, and in all hearts as best gift thought.]
To them alone the bounteous field yields fruit
A hundredfold from one, and thus completes
God's measure. But to them shall also come
Misfortune, nor do they escape from plague.
And even thou, forsaking thy fair shrine,
Shalt flee away when it becomes thy lot
To leave the holy land. And thou shalt be
Carried to the Assyrians, and shalt see
Young children and wives serving hostile men;
And every means of life and wealth shall perish;
And every land shall be filled up with thee,
And every sea; and everyone shall be
Offended with thy customs; and thy land
Shall all be desert; and the altar fenced
And temple of the great God and long walls
Shall all fall to the ground, since in thy heart
The holy law of the immortal God
Thou didst not keep, but, erring, thou didst serve
Unseemly images, and didst not fear
The immortal Father, God of all mankind,
Nor will to honor him; but images
Of mortals thou didst honor Therefore now
Of time seven decades shall thy fruitful land
And the wonders of thy temple all be waste.
But there remains for thee a goodly end
And greatest glory, as the immortal God
Granted thee. But do thou wait and confide
In the great God's pure laws, when he shall lift
Thy wearied knee upright unto the light.
And then will God from heaven send a king
To judge each man in blood and light of fire.
There is a royal tribe, the race of which
Shall be unfailing; and as times revolve
This race shall bear rule and begin to build
God's temple new. And all the Persian kings
Shall aid with bronze and gold and well-wrought iron.
For God himself will give the holy dream
By night. And then the temple shall again
Be, as it was before. . . . . .
Now when my soul had rest from inspired song,
And I prayed the great Father for a rest
From constraint; even in my heart again
Was set a message of the mighty God
And he bade me proclaim through all the earth
And plant in royal minds things yet to be.
And in my mind God put this first to say
How many lamentable sufferings
The Immortal purposed upon Babylon
Because she his great temple had destroyed.
Alas, alas for thee! O Babylon,
And for the offspring of the Assyrian men!
Through all the earth the rush of sinful men
Shall some time come, and shout of mortal men
And stroke of the great God, who inspires songs,
Shall ruin every land. For high in air to thee
O Babylon, shall it come from above,
And out of heaven from holy ones to thee
Shall it come down, and the soul in thy children
Shall the Eternal utterly destroy.
And then shalt thou be, as thou wast before,
As one not born; and then shalt thou be filled
Again with blood, as thou thyself before
Didst shed that of good, just, and holy men,
Whose blood yet cries out to the lofty heaven.
To thee, O Egypt, shall a great blow come
And dreadful, to thy homes, which thou didst hope
Might never fall on thee. For through thy midst
A sword shall pass, and scattering and death
And famine shall prevail until of kings
The seventh generation, and then cease.
Alas for thee, O land of Gog and Magog
In the midst of the rivers of Ethiopia!
What pouring out of blood shalt thou receive,
And house of judgement among men be called,
And thy land of much dew shall drink black blood!
Alas for thee, O Libya, and alas,
Both sea and land! O daughters of the west,
So shall ye come unto a bitter day.
And ye shall come pursued by grievous strife,
Dreadful and grievous; there shall be again
A dreadful judgement, and ye all shall come
By force unto destruction, for ye tore
In pieces the great house of the Immortal,
And with iron teeth ye chewed it dreadfully.
Therefore shalt thou then look upon thy land
Full of the dead, some of them fallen by war
And by the demon of all violence,
Famine and plague, and some by barbarous foes.
And all thy land shall be a wilderness,
And desolations shall thy cities be.
And in the west there shall a star shine forth
Which they will call a comet, sign to men
Of the sword and of famine and of death,
And murder of great leaders and chief men.
And yet again there shall be among men
Greatest signs; for deep-eddying Tanais
Shall leave Mæotis's lake, and there shall be
Down the deep stream a fruitful, furrow's track,
And the vast flow shall hold a neck of land.
And there are hollow chasms and yawning pits;
And many cities, men and all, shall fall:--
In Asia--Iassus, Cebren, Pandonia,
Colophon, Ephesus, Nicæa, Antioch,
Syagra, Sinope, Smyrna, Myrina,
Most happy Gaza, Hierapolis, .
Astypalaia; and in Europe--Tanagra,
Clitor, Basilis, Meropeia, Antigone,
Magnessa, Mykene, Oiantheia.
Know then that the destructive race of Egypt
Is near destruction, and the past year then
Is better for the Alexandrians.
As much of tribute as Rome did receive
Of Asia, even thrice as many goods
Shall Asia back again from Rome receive,
And her destructive outrage pay her back.

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As many as from Asia ever served
A house of the Italians, twenty times
As many Italians shall in Asia serve
In poverty, and numerous debts incur.
O virgin, soft rich child of Latin Rome,
Oft at thy much-remembered marriage feasts
Drunken with wine, now shalt thou be a slave
And wedded in no honorable way.
And oft shall mistress shear thy pretty hair,
And wreaking satisfaction cast thee down
From heaven to earth, and from the earth again
Raise thee to heaven, for mortals of low rank
And of unrighteous life are held fast bound.
And of avenging Smyrna overthrown
There shall be no thought, but by evil plans
And wickedness of them that have command
Shall Samos be sand, Delos shall be dull,
And Rome a room; but the decrees of God
Shall all of them be perfectly fulfilled.
And a calm peace to Asian land shall go.
And Europe shall be happy then, well fed,
Pure air, full of years, strong, and undisturbed
By wintry storms and hail, bearing, all things,
Even birds and creeping things and beasts of earth.
O happy upon earth shall that man be
Or woman; what a home unspeakable
Of happy ones! For from the starry heaven
Shall all good order come upon mankind,
And justice, and the prudent unity
Which of all things is excellent for men,
And kindness, confidence, and love of guests;
But far from them shall lawlessness depart,
Blame, envy, wrath, and folly; poverty
Shall flee away from men, and force shall flee,
And murder, baneful strifes and bitter feuds,
And theft, and every evil in those days.
But Macedonia shall to Asia bear
A grievous suffering, and the greatest sore
To Europe shall spring up from Cronian stock,
A family of bastards and of slaves.
And she shall tame fenced city Babylon,
And of each land the sun looks down upon
Call herself mistress, and then come to naught
By ruinous misfortunes, having fame
In later generations distant far.
And sometime into Asia's prosperous land
Shall come a man unheard of, shoulder-clad
With purple robe, fierce, unjust, fiery;
And this man he who wields the thunderbolt
Roused forwards; and all Asia shall sustain
An evil yoke, and her soil wet with rain
Shall drink much murder. But even so shall Hades
Destroy the unknown king; and that man's offspring
Shall forthwith perish by the race of those
Whose offspring he himself would fain destroy;
Producing one root which the bane of men
Shall cut from ten horns, and plant by their side
Another plant. A father purple-clad
Shall cut a warlike father off, and Ares,
Baneful and hostile, by a grandson's hand
Shall himself perish; and then shall the horn
Planted beside them forthwith bear the rule.
And unto life-sustaining Phrygia
Straightway shall there a certain token be,
When Rhea's blood-stained race, in the great earth
Blooming perennial in impervious roots,
Shall, root and branch, in one night disappear
With a city, men and all, of the Earth-shaker
Poseidon; which place they shall sometime call
Dorylæum, of dark ancient Phrygia,
Much-bewailed. Therefore shall that time be called
Earth-shaker; dens of earth shall he break up
And walls demolish. And not signs of good
But a beginning of evil shall be made;
The baneful violence of general war
Ye'll have, sons of Æneas, Dative blood
Of Ilus from the soil. But afterwards
A spoil shalt thou become for greedy men.
O Ilium, I pity thee; for there shall bloom
In Sparta an Erinys very fair,
Ever-famed, noblest scion, and shall leave
On Asia and Europe a wide-spreading wave;
But to thee most of all she'll bear and cause
Wailings and toils and groans; but there shall be
Undying fame with those who are to come.
And there shall be an aged mortal then,
False writer and of doubtful native land;
And in his eyes the light shall fade away;
Large mind and verses measured with great skill
Shall he have and be blended with two names,
Shall call himself a Chian and shall write
Of Ilium, not truthfully, indeed,
But skillfully; for of my verse and meters
He will be master; for he first my books
Will open with his hands; but he himself
Will much embellish helmed chiefs of war,
Hector of Priam and Achilles, son
Of Peleus, and the others who have care
For warlike deeds. And also by their side
Will he make gods stand, empty-headed men,
False-writing every way. And it shall be
Glory the rather, widely spread, for them
To die at Ilium; but he himself
Shall also works of recompense receive.
Also to Lycia shall a Locrian race
Cause many evils. And thee, Chalcedon,
Holding by lot a strait of narrow sea,
Shall an Ætolian youth sometime despoil.
Cyzicus, also thy vast wealth the sea
Shall break off. And, Byzantium of Ares,
Thou some time shalt by Asia be laid waste,
And also groans and blood immeasurable
Shalt thou receive. And Cragus, lofty mount
Of Lycia, from thy peaks by yawning chasms
Of opened rock shall babbling water flow,
Until even Patara's oracles shall cease.
O Cyzicus, that dwellest by Propontis
The wine-producing, round thee Rhyndacus
Shall crash the crested billow. And thou, Rhodes,
Daughter of day, shalt long be unenslaved,
And great shall be thy happiness hereafter,
And on the sea thy power shall be supreme.
But afterwards a spoil shalt thou become
For greedy men, and put upon thy neck
By beauty and by wealth a fearful yoke.
A Lydian earthquake shall again despoil
The power of Persia, and most horribly
Shall the people of Europe and Asia suffer pain.
And Sidon's hurtful king with battle-din
Dreadful shall work a mournful overthrow
To the seafaring Samians. On the soil
Shall slain men's dark blood babble to the sea;
And wives together with the noble brides
Shall their outrageous insolence lament,
Some for their bridegrooms, some for fallen sons.
O sign of Cyprus, may an earthquake waste
Thy phalanxes away, and many souls
With one accord shall Hades bold in charge.
And Trallis near by Ephesus, and walls
Well made, and very precious wealth of men
Shall be dissolved by earthquake; and the land
Shall burst out with hot water; and the earth
Shall swallow down those who are by the fire
And stench of brimstone heavily oppressed.
And Samos shall in time build royal houses.
But to thee, Italy, no foreign war
Shall come, but lamentable tribal blood
Not easily exhausted, much renowned,
Shall make thee, impudent one, desolate.
And thou thyself beside hot ashes stretched,
As thou in thine own heart didst not foresee,
Shalt slay thyself. And thou shalt not of men
Be mother, but a nurse of beasts of prey.
But when from Italy shall come a man,
A spoiler, then, Laodicea, thou,
Beautiful city of the Carians
By Lycus's wondrous water, falling prone,
Shalt weep in silence for thy boastful sire.
Thracian Crobyzi shall rise up on Hæmus.
Chatter of teeth to the Campanians comes
Because of wasting famine; Corsica
Weeps her old father, and Sardinia
Shall by great storms of winter and the strokes
of a holy God sink down in ocean depths,
Great wonder to the of the sea.
Alas, alas, how many virgin maids
Will Hades wed, and of as many youths
Will the deep take without funeral rites!
Alas, alas, the helpless little ones
And the vast riches swimming in the sea!
O happy land of Mysians, suddenly
A royal race shall be formed. Truly now
Not for a long time shall Chalcedon be.
And there shall be a very bitter grief
To the Galatians. And to Tenedos
Shall there a last but greatest evil come.
And Sicyon, with strong yells, and Corinth, thou
Shalt boast o'er all, but flute shall sound like strain.
Now, when my soul had. rest from inspired song.
Even again within my heart was set
A message of the mighty God, and he
Commanded me to prophesy on earth.
Woe, woe to the race of Phœnician men
And women, and all cities by the sea;
Not one of you shall in the common light
Abide before the shining of the sun,
Nor of life shall there any longer be
Number and tribe, because of unjust speech
And lawless life impure which they lived,
Opening a mouth impure, and fearful words
Deceitful and unrighteous forth,
And stood against the God, the King,
And opened loathsome month deceitfully
Therefore may he subdue them terribly
By strokes o'er all the earth, and bitter fate
Shall God send on them burning from the ground.
Cities and of the cities the foundations.
Woe, woe to thee, O Crete! To thee shall come
A very painful stroke, and terribly
Shall the Eternal sack thee; and again
Shall every land behold thee black with smoke,
Fire ne'er shall leave thee, but thou shalt be burned.
Woe, woe to thee, O Thrace! So shalt thou come
Beneath a servile yoke, when the Galatians
United with the sons of Dardanus
Rush on to ravage Hellas, thine shall be
The evil; and unto a foreign land
Much shalt thou give, not anything receive.
Woe to thee, Gog and Magog, and to all,
One after another, Mardians and Daians;
How many evils fate, shall bring on thee!
Woe also to the soil of Lycia,
And those of Mysia and Phrygia.
And many nations of Pamphylians,
And Lydians, Carians, Cappadocians,
And Ethiopian and Arabian men
Of a strange tongue shall fall. How now may I
Of each speak fitly? For on all the nations
Which dwell on earth the Highest shall send dire plague.
When now again a barbarous nation comes
Against the Greeks it shall slay many heads
Of chosen men; and they shall tear in pieces
Many fat flocks of sheep of men, and herds
Of horses and of mules and lowing kine;
And well-made houses shall they burn with fire
Lawlessly; and unto a foreign land
Shall they by force lead many slaves away,
And children, and deep-girded women soft
From bridal chambers creeping on before
With delicate feet; and they shall be bound fast
With fetters by their foes of foreign tongue,
Suffering all fearful outrage; and to them
There shall not be one to supply the toil
Of battle and come to their help in life.
And they shall see their goods and all their wealth
Enrich the enemy; and there shall be
A trembling of the knees. And there shall fly
A hundred, and one shall destroy them all;
And five shall rout a mighty company;
But they, among themselves mixed shamefully,
Shall by war and dire tumult bring delight
To enemies, but sorrow to the Greeks.
And then upon all Hellas there shall be
A servile yoke; and war and pestilence
Together shall upon all mortals come.
And God will make the mighty heaven on high
Like brass and over all the earth a drought,
And earth itself like iron. And thereupon
Shall mortals all lament the barrenness
And lack of cultivation; and on earth
Shall he set, who created heaven and earth,
A much-distressing fire; and of all men
The third part only shall thereafter be.
O Greece, why hast thou trusted mortal men
As leaders, who cannot escape from death?
And wherefore bringest thou thy foolish gifts
Unto the dead and sacrifice to idols?
Who put the error in thy heart to do
These things and leave the face of God the mighty?
Honour the All-Father's name, and let it not
Escape thee. It is now a thousand years,
Yea, and five hundred more, since haughty kings
Ruled o'er the Greeks, who first to mortal men
Introduced evils, setting up for worship
Images many of gods that are dead,
Because of which ye were taught foolish thoughts.
But when the anger of the mighty God
Shall come upon you, then ye'll recognize
The face of God the mighty. And all souls
Of men, with mighty groaning lifting up
Their hands to the broad heaven, shall begin
To call the great King helper, and to seek
The rescuer from great wrath who is to be.
But come and learn this and store in your hearts,
What troubles in the rolling years shall come.
And what as whole burnt-offering Hellas brought
Of cows and bellowing bulls unto the temple
Of the great God, she from ill-sounding war
And fear and pestilence shall flee away
And from the servile yoke escape again.
But until that time there shall be a race
Of godless men, even when that fated day

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720 Shall reach its end. For offering to God
Ye should not make till all things come to pass,
Which God alone shall purpose not in vain
To be all fulfilled; and strong force shall urge.
And there shall be again a holy race
725 Of godly men who, keeping to the counsels
And mind of the Most High, shall honor much
The great God's temple with drink-offerings,
Burnt-offerings, and holy hecatombs,
With sacrifices of fat bulls, choice rams,
730 Firstlings of sheep and the fat thighs of lambs,
Sacredly offering whole burnt-offerings
On the great altar. And in righteousness,
Having obtained the law of the Most High,
Blest shall they dwell in cities and rich fields.
735 And prophets shall be set on high for them
By the Immortal, bringing great delight
Unto all mortals. For to them alone
The mighty God his gracious counsel gave
And faith and noblest thought within their hearts;
740 They have not by vain things been led astray,
Nor pay they honor to the works of men
Made of gold, brass, silver, and ivory,
Nor statues of dead gods of wood and stone
[Besmeared clay, figures of the painter's art],
745 And all that empty-minded mortals will;
But they lift up their pure arms unto heaven,
Rise from the couch at daybreak, always hands
With water cleanse, and honor only Him
Who is immortal and who ever rules,
750 And then their parents; and above all men
Do they respect the lawful marriage-bed;
And they have not base intercourse with boys,
As do Phœnicians, Latins, and Egyptians
And spacious Greece, and nations many more
755 Of Persians and Galatians and all Asia,
Transgressing the immortal God's pure law
Which they were under. Therefore on all men
Will the Immortal put bane, famine, pains,
Groans, war, and pestilence and mournful woes;
760 Because they would not honor piously
The immortal Sire of all men, but revered
And worshiped idols made with hands, which things
Mortals themselves will cast down and for shame
Conceal in clefts of rocks, when a young king,
765 The seventh of Egypt, shall rule his own land,
Reckoned from the dominion of the Greeks,
Which countless Macedonian men shall rule;
And there shall come from Asia a great king,
A fiery eagle, who with foot and horse
770 Shall cover all the land, cut up all things,
And fill all things with evils; he will cast
The Egyptian kingdom down; and taking off
All its possessions carry them away
Over the spacious surface of the sea.
775 And then shall they before, the mighty God,
The King immortal, bend the fair white knee
On the much-nourishing earth; and all the works
Made with hands shall fall by a flame of fire.
And then will God bestow great joy on men;
780 For land and trees and countless flocks of sheep
Their genuine fruit to men shall offer--wine,
And the sweet honey, and white milk, and wheat,
Which is for mortals of all things the best.
But thou, O mortal full of various wiles,
485 Do not delay and loiter, but do thou,
Tossed to and fro, turn and propitiate God.
Offer to God Your hecatombs of bulls
And firstling lambs and goats, as times revolve.
But him propitiate, the immortal God,
490 If haply he show mercy. For he is
The only God, and other there is none.
And honor justice and oppress no man.
For these things the Immortal doth enjoin
On miserable men. But do thou heed
795 The cause of the wrath of the mighty God,
When on all mortals there shall come the height
Of pestilence and conquered they shall meet
A fearful judgement, and king shall seize king
And wrest his land away, and nations bring
800 Ruin on nations and lords plunder tribes,
And chiefs all flee into another land,
And the land change its men, and foreign rule
Ravage all Hellas and drain the rich land.
Of its wealth, and to strife among themselves
805 Because of gold and silver they shall come--
The love of gain an evil shepherdess
Will be for cities--in a foreign land.
And they shall all be without burial,
And vultures and wild beasts of earth shall spoil
810 Their flesh; and when these things are brought to pass,
Vast earth shall waste the relics of the dead.
And all unsown shall it be and unplowed,
Proclaiming sad the filth of men defiled
Many lengths of time in the revolving years,
815 And shields and javelins and all sorts of arms;
Nor shall the forest wood be cut for fire.
And then shall God send from the East a king,
Who shall make all earth cease from evil war,
Killing some, others binding with strong oaths.
820 And he will not by his own counsels do
All these things, but obey the good decrees
Of God the mighty. And with goodly wealth,
With gold and silver and purple ornament,
The temple of the mighty God again
825 Shall be weighed down; and the full-bearing earth
And the sea shall be filled full of good things.
And kings against each other shall begin
To hold ill will, in heart abetting evils.
Envy is not a good to wretched men.
830 But again kings of nations on this land
Shall rush in masses, bringing on themselves
Destruction; for they'll purpose to despoil
The great God's temple and the noblest men.
What time they reach the land, polluted kings
835 Shall set around the city each his throne
And have his people that obey not God.
And then shall God speak with a mighty voice
To all rude people of an empty mind,
And judgement from the mighty God shall come
840 Upon them, and they all shall be destroyed
By his immortal arm. And fiery swords
Shall fall front heaven on earth; and great bright lights
Shall come down flaming in the midst of men.
And in those days shall earth, all-mother, reel
845 By his immortal arm, and shoals of fish
In the deep sea, and all wild, beasts of earth,
And countless tribes of winged fowl, and all
The souls of men and every sea shall tremble
Before the face of the Immortal One,
850 And there shall be dismay. High mountain peaks
And monstrous hills shall he asunder break,
And to all shall dark Erebus appear.
And misty gorges in the lofty hills
Shall be full of the dead; and rocks shall stream
855 With blood and every torrent fill the plain.
And well-built walls of evil-minded men
Shall all fall to the earth, since they knew not
The law nor judgement of the mighty God,
But with a senseless soul all hurried on
860 Against the temple and raised up their spears.
And God shall judge all by war and by sword
And by fire and by overwhelming storm;
And brimstone there shall be from heaven, and stones
And great and grievous hail; and death shall come
865 Upon the quadrupeds. And then shall they
Know God, the Immortal, who performs these things;
And wailing, and upon the boundless earth
Shall be at once a shout of perishing men;
And all the unholy shall be bathed in blood;
870 And earth herself shall also drink the blood
Of the perishing, and beasts be gorged with flesh.
And all these things the great eternal God
Himself bade me proclaim. And that shall not
Be unaccomplished, or be unfulfilled,
875 Whatever only in my heart he put;
For truthful is God's spirit in the world.
But children of the mighty God shall all
Again around the temple live in peace,
Rejoicing in those things which he shall give
880 Who is Creator, righteous Judge and King.
For he himself, great, present far and wide,
Shall be a shelter, as on all sides round
A wall of flaming fire. And they shall be
In cities and in country without war.
885 For not the hand of evil war, but rather
The Immortal shall himself be their defender
And the hand of the Holy One. And then shall all
The islands and the cities tell how much
The immortal God loves those men; for all things
890 Help them in conflict and deliver them
Heaven, and divinely fashioned sun, and moon.
[And in those days shall earth, all-mother, reel.]
Sweet word shall they send from their mouths in hymns:
"Come, falling on the earth let us all pray
895 The immortal King, and great eternal God.
To the temple let its in procession go,
Since he alone is Lord; and let us all
Meditate on the law of God most high,
Which is most righteous of all (laws) on earth.
900 And from the path of the Immortal we
Have wandered and with senseless soul we honor
Works made by hand and wooden images
Of dead men." These things souls of faithful melt
Shall cry out: "Come, having, at the house of God
905 Fallen on our faces, let its with our hymns
Make joy to God the Father at our homes,
Supplied through all our land with arms of foes
Seven lengths of time in the revolving years;
Even shields and helmets and all sorts of arms,
910 And a great store of bows and arrows barbed;
For forest wood shall not be cut for
But, wretched Hellas, stop thy arrogance
And be wise; and entreat the Immortal One
Magnanimous, and be upon thy guard.
915 Send now against this city yet again
The people inconsiderate, who are come
Out of the holy land of the mighty One.
Do not move Camarina; for 'tis better
She be unmoved; a leopard from the lair,
920 Do thou not let an evil meet with thee.
But keep off, do not hold within thy breast
An arrogant and overbearing soul,
Ready for mighty contest. And serve God
The mighty, that thou mayest share those things;
925 And when that fated day shall reach its end
[And judgement of the immortal God shall come
To mortals], judgement great and power shall come
Upon men. For all-mother earth shall yield
To mortals best fruit boundless, wheat, wine, oil;
930 Also from heaven a delightful drink
Of honey and trees shall give their fruit,
And fatted sheep and cattle there shall be,
Young lambs and kids of goats; earth shall break forth
With sweet springs of white milk; and of good things
935 The cities shall be full and fat the fields;
Nor sword nor uproar shall be on the earth;
No more shall earth groan heavily and quake;
Nor shall war longer be on earth, nor drought,
Nor famine, nor the fruit-destroying hail;
940 But great peace, shall be upon all the earth,
And king to king be friend until the end
Of the age, and o'er all earth common law
Will the Immortal in the starry heaven
Perfect for men, touching whatever things
945 Have been by miserable mortals done;
For he alone is God, there is no other;
And the stern rage of men he'll burn with fire.
But change entirely the thoughts in thy heart,
And flee unrighteous worship; serve the One
950 Who liveth; guard against adultery
And deeds of lewdness; thine own offspring rear
And do not murder; for the Immortal One
Is angry with him who in these things sins.
And then a kingdom over all mankind
955 Shall he raise up for ages, who once gave
Holy law to the pious, unto whom
He pledged to open every land, the world
And portals of the blessed, and all joys,
And mind immortal and eternal bliss.
960 And out of every land unto the house
Of the great God shall they bring frankincense
And gifts, and there shall be no other house
To be inquired of by men yet to be,
But what God gave for faithful men to honor;
965 For mortal temple of the mighty God
Shall call it. And all pathways of the plain
And rough hills and high mountains and wild waves
Of the deep shall be easy in those days
For crossing and for sailing; for all peace
970 On the land of the good shall come; and sword
Shall prophets of the mighty God remove;
For they are judges and the righteous kings
Of mortals. And there shall be righteous wealth
Among mankind; for of the mighty God
975 This is the judgement and also the power.
Be of good cheer, O maiden, and be glad;
For he who made the heaven and earth gave thee
Joy in thy age. And he will dwell in thee;
And thine shall be immortal and wolves
980 And lambs shall in the mountains feed on grass
Together, and with kids shall leopards graze;
And bears shall lodge among the pasturing calves;
And the carnivorous lion shall eat chaff
At the manger like the cow; and little children
985 In bonds shall lead them; for he will make beasts
Helpless on earth. With babes shall fall asleep
Serpents, along with asps, and do no harm;
For over them shall be the hand of God.
Now tell I thee a sign exceeding clear,
990 That thou may'st know when the end of all things
On earth shall be. When in the starry heaven
Swords shall by night point straight toward west and east,
Straightway shalt there be also from the heaven
A cloud of dust borne forth to all the earth,
995 And the sun's brightness in the midst of heaven
Shall be eclipsed, and the moon's beams appear
And come again on earth; by drops of blood
Distilling from the rocks a sign shalt be;
And in the cloud shalt ye behold a war
1000 Of foot and horse, like the chase of wild beasts
In the dense fog. This end of all things God

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Shalt consummate, whose dwelling is in heaven.
But all must sacrifice to the great King.
These things I show thee, I who madly left
1005 The long walls of Assyrian Babylon
For Hellas to proclaim to all the wrath
Of God, fire sent. . . . . .
. . . . . .
(text missing)

And that I might to mortals prophesy
Of mysteries divine. And men shalt say
1010 In Hellas that I am of foreign Land,
Of Erythre born, shameless; others say
That I'm a Sibyl, born of mother Circe
And father Gnostos raving mad and false;
But at that time when all thing come to pass
1015 Ye shall remember me, and no one more
Shall call me mad, the great God's prophetess,
For he showed me what happened formerly
To my ancestors; what things were the first
Those God made known to me; and in my mind
1020 Did God put all things to be afterwards,
That I might prophesy of things to come,
And things that were, and tell them unto men.
For when the world was deluged with a flood
Of waters, and one man of good repute
1025 Alone was left and in a wooden house
Sailed o'er the waters with the beasts and birds,
In order that the world might be refilled,
I was his son's bride and was of his race
To whom the first things happened, and the last
1030 Were all made known; and thus from mine own mouth
Let all these truthful things remain declared.

CHRISTIAN SIBYLLINES BOOK 4

PEOPLE of boastful Asia and of Europe,
Hear how much, all too true, I am about,
Through a month many-toned, from my great hall
To prophesy; no oracle am I
5 Of lying Phœbus whom vain men called god,
And further falsified by calling seer;
But of the mighty God, whom hands of men
Formed not like speechless idols carved of stone.
For he has not for his abode a stone
10 Most dumb and toothless to a temple drawn,
Of immortals a dishonor very sore;
For he may not be seen from earth nor measured
By mortal eyes, nor formed by mortal hand;
He, looking down at once on all, is seen
15 Himself by no one; his are murky night,
And day, and sun, and stars, and moon, and seas
With fish, and land, and rivers, and the month
Of springs perennial, creatures meant for life,
And rains at once producing fruit of field
20 And tree and vine and oil. This God a whip
Struck through my heart within to make me tell
Truly to men what things have now befallen
And how much shall befall them yet again
From the first generation to the eleventh;
25 For he himself by bringing them to pass
Will prove all things. But do thou in all things,
O people, to the Sibyl give all ear,
Who pours from hallowed mouth a truthful voice.
Blessed of men shall they be on the earth
30 As many as shall love the mighty God,
Offering him praise before they drink and eat;
Trusting in piety. When they behold
Temples and altars, figures of dumb stones,
[Stone images and statues made with hands]
35 Polluted with the blood of living things
And sacrifices of four-footed beasts,
They will reject them all; and they will look
To the great glory of one God and not
Commit presumptuous murder nor dispose
40 Of stolen gain, which things most horrid are;
Nor shameful longing for another's bed
Have they, nor vile and hateful lust of males.
Their manner, piety, and character
Shall other men, that love a shameless life,
45 Not ever imitate; but, mocking them
With jest and joke like babes in senselessness,
They'll falsely charge to them as many deeds
Blameful and wicked as they do themselves.
For slow is the whole race of human kind
50 To believe. But when judgement of the world
And mortals comes which God himself shall bring
Judging at once the impious and the pious,
Then indeed shall he send the ungodly back
To lower darkness [and then they shall know
55 How much impiety they wrought]; but the pious
Shall still remain upon the fruitful land,
God giving to them breath and life and grace.
But these things all in the tenth generation
Shall come to pass; and now what things shall be
60 From the first generation, those I'll tell.
First over all mortal shall Assyrians rule,
And for six generations hold the power
Of the world, from the time the God of heaven
Being wroth against the cities and all men
65 Sea with a bursting deluge covered earth.
Them shall the Medes o'erpower, but on the throne
For two generations only shall exult;
In which times those events shall come to pass:
Dark night shall come at the mid hour of day
40 And from the heaven the stars and circling moon
Shall disappear; and earth in tumult shaken
By a great earthquake shall throw many cities
And works of men headlong; and from the deep
They shall peer out the islands of the Sea.
75 But when the great Euphrates shall with blood
Be surging, then shall there be also set
Between the Medes and Persians dreadful strife
In battle; and the, Medes shall fall and fly
'Neath Persian spears beyond the mighty water
80 Of Tigris. And the Persian power shall be
Greatest in all the world, and they shall have
One generation of most prosperous rule.
And there shall be as many evil deeds
As men shall wish away--the din of war,
85 And murders, and disputes, and banishments,
And overthrow of towers and waste of cities,
When Hellas very glorious shall sail
Over broad Hellespont, and shall convey
To Phrygia sorrow and to Asia doom.
90 And unto Egypt, land of many furrows,
Shall sorry famine come, and barrenness
Shall during twenty circling years prevail,
What time the Nile, corn-nourisher, shall hide
His dark wave somewhere underneath the earth.
95 And there shall come from Asia a great king
Bearing a spear, with ships innumerable,
And he shall walk the wet paths of the deep,
And shall sail after he has cut the mount
Of lofty summit; him a fugitive
100 From battle fearful Asia shall receive.
And Sicily the wretched shall a stream
Of powerful fire set all aflame while Etna
Her flame disgorges; and in the deep chasm
Down shall the mighty city Croton fall.
105 And strife shall be in Hellas; they shall rage
Against each other, cast down many cities,
And fighting make an end of many men;
But equally balanced is the strife with both.
But, when the race of mortal men shall come
110 To the tenth generation, also then
Upon thc Persians shall a servile yoke
And terror be. But when the Macedonians
Shall boast the scepter there shall be for Thebes
An evil conquest from behind, and Carians
115 Shall dwell in Tyre, and Tyrians be destroyed.
And Babylon, great to see but small to fight,
Shall stand with walls that were in vain hopes built.
In Bactria Macedonians shall dwell;
But those from Susa and from Bactria
120 Shall all into the land of Hellas flee.
It shall take place among those yet to be,
When silver-eddying Pyramus his banks
O'erpouring, to the sacred isle shall come.
And Cibyra shall fall and Cyzicus,
125 When, earth being shaken by earthquakes, cities fall.
And sand shall hide all Samos under banks.
And Delos visible no more, but things
Of Delos shall all be invisible.
And to Rhodes shall come evil last, but greatest.
130 The Macedonian power shall not abide;
But from the west a great Italian war
Shall flourish, under which the world shall bear
A servile yoke and the Italians serve.
And thou, O wretched Corinth, thou shalt look
135 Sometime upon thy conquest. And thy tower,
O Carthage, shall press lowly on the ground.
Wretched Laodicea, thee sometime
Shall earthquake lay low, casting headlong down,
But thou, a city firmly set, again
140 Shalt stand. O Lycia Myra beautiful,
Thee never shall the agitated earth
Set fast; but falling headlong down on earth
Shalt thou, in manner like an alien, pray
To flee away into another land,
145 When sometime the dark water of the sea
With thunders and earthquakes shall stop the din
Of Patara for its impieties.
Also for thee, Armenia, there remains
A slavish fate; and there shall also come
150 To Solyma an evil blast of war
From Italy, and God's great temple spoil.
But when these, trusting folly, shall cast off
Their piety and murders consummate
Around the temple, then front Italy
155 A mighty king shall like a runaway slave
Flee over the Euphrates' stream unseen,
Unknown, who shall some time dare loathsome guilt
Of matricide, and many other things,
Having confidence in his most wicked hands.
160 And many for the throne with blood
Rome's soil while he flees over Parthian land.
And out of Syria shall come Rome's foremost man,
Who having burned the temple of Solyma,
And having slaughtered many of the Jews,
165 Shall destruction on their great broad land.
And then too shall an earthquake overthrow
Both Salamis and Paphos, when dark water
Shall dash o'er Cyprus washed by many a wave.
But when from deep cleft of Italian land
170 Fire shall come flashing forth in the broad heaven,
And many cities burn and men destroy,
And much black ashes shall fill the great sky,
And small drops like red earth shall fall from heaven,
Then know the anger of the God of heaven,
175 For that they without reason shall destroy
The nation of the pious. And then strife
Awakened of war shall come to the West,
Shall also come the fugitive of Rome,
Bearing a great spear, having marched across
180 Euphrates with his many myriads.
O wretched Antioch, they shall call thee
No more a city when around their spears
Because of thine own follies thou shalt fall.
And then on Scyros shall a pestilence
185 And dreadful battle-din destruction bring.
Alas, alas! O wretched Cyprus, thee
Shall a broad wave of the sea cover, thee
Tossed on high by the whirling stormy winds.
And into Asia there shall come great wealth,
190 Which Rome herself once, plundering, put away
In her luxurious homes; and twice as much
And more shall she to Asia render back,
And then there shall be an excess of war.
And Carian cities by Mæander's waters,
195 Girded with towers and very beautiful,
Shall by a bitter famine be destroyed,
When the Mæander his dark water hides.
But when piety shall perish from mankind,
And faith and right be hidden in the world,
200 . . . Fickle . . . and in unhallowed boldness
Living shall practice wanton violence,
And reckless evil deeds, and of the pious
No one shall make account, but even them all
From thoughtlessness they utterly destroy
205 In childish folly, in their violence
Exulting and in blood holding their bands;
Then know thou that God is no longer mild,
But gnashing with fury and destroying all
The race of men by conflagration great.
210 Ah! miserable mortals, change these things,
Nor lead the mighty God to wrath extreme;
Put giving up your swords and pointed knives,
And homicides and wanton violence,
Wash your whole body in perennial streams,
215 And lifting up your hands to heaven seek pardon
For former deeds and expiate with praise
Bitter impiety; and God will give
Repentance; he will not destroy; and wrath
Will he again restrain, if in your hearts
220 Ye all will practice honored piety.
But if, ill-disposed, ye obey me not,
But with a fondness for strange lack of sense
Receive all these things with an evil ear,
There shall be over all the world a fire
225 And greatest omen with sword and with trump
At sunrise; the whole world shall hear the roar
And mighty sound. And he shall burn all earth,
And destroy the whole race of men, and all
The cities and the rivers and the sea;
230 All things he'll burn, and it shall be black dust.
But when now all things shall have been reduced
To dust and ashes, and God shall have calmed
The fire unspeakable which he lit up,
The bones and ashes of men God himself
235 Again will fashion, and he will again
Raise mortals up, even as they were before.
And then shall be the judgement, at which God
Himself as judge shall judge the world again;
And all who sinned with impious hearts, even them,
240 Shall he again hide under mounds of earth
[Dark Tartarus and Stygian Gehenna].
But all who shall be pious shall again
Live on the earth [and (shall inherit there)
The great immortal God's unwasting bliss,]
245 God giving spirit life and joy to them
[The pious; and they all shall see themselves
Beholding the sun's sweet and cheering light.

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O happy on the earth shall be that man].

CHRISTIAN SIBYLLINES BOOK 5

BUT come, now, hear of me the mournful time
Of sons of Latium. And first of all,
After the kings of Egypt were destroyed
And the like earth had downwards borne them all,
5 And after Pella's townsman, under whom
The whole East and the rich West were cast down,
whom Babylon dishonored, and stretched out
For Philip a dead body (not of Zeus,
Of Ammon not true things were prophesied),
10 And after that one of the race and blood
Of king Assaracus, who came from Troy,
Even he who cleft the violence of fire,
And after many lords, and after men
To Ares dear, and after the young babes,
15 The children of the beast that feeds on sheep,
The very first lord shall be, who shall sum
Twice ten with the first letter of his name;
In wars exceeding powerful shall he be;
And he shall have the initial sign of ten;
20 And in like manner after him to reign
Is one who has the alphabet's first letter;
Before him Thrace and Sicily shall crouch,
Then Memphis, Memphis cast headlong to earth
By reason of the cowardice of rulers
25 And of a woman unenslaved who falls
Upon the wave. And laws will he ordain
For peoples and put all things under him;
But after a long time shall he transmit
His power unto another, who shall have
30 Three hundred for his first initial sign,
And of a river the beloved name,
And the Persians he shall rule and Babylon;
And then shall he smite Medians with his spear.
Then shall one rule who has the initial sign
35 Of the number three. And then shall be a lord
Who shall for first initial have twice ten;
And he shall come to Ocean's utmost water
And by Ausonia cleave the refluent tide.
And one whose mark is fifty shall be lord,
40 A dreadful serpent breathing grievous war,
Who sometime stretching forth his hands shall make
An end of his own race and stir all things,
Acting the athlete, driving chariots,
Putting to death and daring countless things;
45 And he shall cleave the mountain of two seas
And sprinkle it with gore; but out of sight
Shall also vanish the destructive man;
Then, making himself equal unto God,
Shall he return; but God will prove him naught.
50 And after him shall three kings be destroyed
By one another. Then a great destroyer
Of pious men shall come, whom seven times ten
Shall point out clearly. But from him a son,
Whom the first letter of three hundred proves,
55 Shall take the power. And after him shall be
A ruler, of the initial sign of four,
A life-destroyer. Then a reverend man
Of the number fifty. Next, succeeding him
Who has the first mark of the initial sign
60 Three hundred, shall a Celtic mountaineer,
Into the strife of battle pressing on,
Escape not fate unseemly, but shall be
Worn weary unto death; him foreign dust,
But dust that of Nemea's flower has name,
65 Shall hide a corpse. And after him shall rule
Another man, with silver helmet decked;
And unto him shall be the name of a sea;
And he shall be a man the best of all
And in all things discreet. And upon thee,
70 Thou best of all, above all, dark-haired one,
And upon thy shoots shall be all these days.
After him three shall rule; but the third one
Shall at a late time hold the royal power.
Worn out am I, thrice-miserable one,
75 Sister of Isis, to lay up in heart
An evil message, and an inspired song
Of oracles. First Mænades shall dart
Around thy much-lamented temple's steps,
And thou shalt be in evil hands that day
80 When the Nile some time shall fill the whole land
Of Egypt even to sixteen cubits deep;
It shall wash all the land, and water it
For mortals; and the pleasure of the land
Shall be still and the glory of her face.
85 Memphis, thou most shalt over Egypt wail;
For of old ruling mightily the land
Thou shalt become poor, so that out of heaven
The Thunderer shall himself with great voice cry:
"O mighty Memphis, who didst boast of old
90 O'er craven mortals greatly, thou shalt wail
Full of pain and all-hapless, so that thou
Thyself shalt the eternal God perceive
Immortal in the clouds. Where among men
Is now thy mighty pride? Because thou didst
95 Against my God-anointed children rave,
And didst urge evil forward on good men,
Thou shalt for such things suffer penalty
In some like manner. No more openly
For thee shall there be right among the blessed;
100 Fallen from the stars, thou shalt not rise to heaven."
Now these things unto Egypt God bade me
Speak out for the last time, when men shall be
Utterly evil. But they labor hard,
Evil men evil things awaiting, wrath
105 Of the immortal Thunderer in heaven,
Worshiping stones and beasts instead of God,
And also fearing many things besides
Which have no speech, nor mind, nor power to hear;
Which things it is not right for me to mention,
110 Each one an idol, formed by mortal hands;
Of their own labors and presumptuous thoughts
Did men receive gods made of wood and stone
And brass, and gold and silver, foolish too,
Without life and dumb, molten in the fire
115 They made them, vainly trusting such things. . . .
Thmois and Xois are in sore distress,
And smitten is the hall of Heracles
And Zeus and Hermes (king). And as for thee,
O Alexandria, famed nourisher
120 (Of cities) war shall not leave, nor (plague) . . .
For thy pride thou shalt pay as many things
As thou before didst. Silent shalt thou be
A long age, and the day of thy return . . .
. . . . . .
No more for thee shall flow luxurious drink . . .
. . . . . .
(text missing)

125 For there shall come a Persian on thy dale,
And like hail shall he all the land destroy,
And artful men, with blood and corpses. . . .
By sacred altars one of barbarous mind,
Strong, full of blood and raging senselessly,
130 With countless numbers rushing to destruction.
And then shalt thou, in cities very rich,
Be very weary. Falling on the earth
All Asia shall wail on account of gifts
Crowning her head with which she was by thee
135 Delighted. But, as he himself obtained
The Persian land by lot, he shall make war
And killing every man destroy all life,
So that there shall remain for wretched mortals
A third part. But with nimble leap shall he
140 Himself speed from the West, and all the land
Besiege and waste. But when he shall possess
The height of power and odious reverence,
He shall come, wishing to destroy the city
Even of the blessed. And a certain king
145 Sent forth from God against him shall destroy
All mighty kings and bravest men. And thus
Shall judgement by the Immortal come to men.
Alas, alas for thee, unhappy heart!
Why dost thou move me to declare these things,
150 The painful rule of Egypt over many?
Go to the East, to races of the Persians
Who lack in understanding, and show them
That which is now and that which is to be.
The river of Euphrates shall bring on
155 A deluge, and it shall destroy the Persians,
Iberians and Babylonians
And the Massagetæ that relish war
And trust in bows. All Asia fire-ablaze
Shall to the isles beam brightly. Pergamos,
160 Revered of old, shall perish from its base,
And Pitane among men shall appear
All-desolate. All Lesbos shall sink deep
Into the deep, and thus shall be destroyed.
Smyrna, whirled down her cliffs, shall wail aloud,
165 She that was once revered and given a name
Shall perish utterly. Bithynians
Shall over their own country, then reduced
To ashes, wail, and o'er great Syria,
And o'er Phœnicia that bas many tribes.
170 Alas, alas for thee, O Lycia;
How many evils does the sea contrive
Against thee, mounting up of its own will
Upon the painful land! And it shall dash
With evil earthquake and with bitter streams
175 On the rough Lycian land that once breathed perfume.
. . . . . .
No more for thee shall flow luxurious drink . . .
. . . . . .
(text missing)

And there shall be for Phrygia fearful wrath
Because of sorrow for which Rhea came,
Mother of Zeus, and there continued long.
The sea shall overthrow the Centaur race
190 And barbarous nation, and beneath the earth
Shall tear away the Lapithæan land.
The river of deep eddies and deep flow,
Peneus, shall destroy Thessalian land,
Snatching men from the earth. Eridanus
185 (Pretending once to bear the forms, of beasts).
Hellas thrice wretched shall the poets weep,
When one from Italy shall smite the neck
Of the isthmus, mighty king of mighty Rome,
A man made equal to God, whom, they say,
190 Zeus himself and the august Hera bore
He, courting by his voice all-musical
Applause for his sweet Songs, shall put to death
With his own wretched mother many men.
From Babylon shall flee the fearful lord
195 And shameless whom all mortals and best men
Abhor; for he slew many and laid hands
Upon the womb; against his wives he sinned
And of men stained with blood had he been formed.
And he shall come to monarchs of the Medes
200 And Persians, first whom he loved and to whom
He brought renown, while with those wicked men
He lurked against a nation not desired
And on the temple made by God he seized
And citizens and people going in,
205 Of whom I justly sang the praise, he burned;
For when this man appeared the whole creation
Was shaken and kings perished--and yet power
Remained among them, and they quite destroyed
The mighty city and the righteous people.
210 But when the fourth year a great star shall shine,
Which alone shall the whole earth overpower
Because of honor, which was first assigned
To lord Poseidon; then a great star shall come
From heaven into the dreadful sea and burn
215 The vasty deep, and Babylon itself,
And the land of Italy, because, of which
There perished many holy faithful men
Among the Hebrews and a people true.
Thou shalt be among evil mortals made
220 To suffer evils, but thou shalt remain
All-desolate whole ages by thyself
Hating thy soil; for thou didst have desire
For sorcery, adulteries were with thee
And lawless carnal intercourse with boys,
225 Thou evil city, womanish, unjust,
Ill-fated above all. Alas, alas!
Thou city of the Latin land, unclean
In all things, Mænad having joy in snakes,
Over thy banks a widow shalt thou sit
230 And the river Tiber shall lament for thee,
His consort thee, who hast a blood-stained heart
And impious soul. Didst thou not understand
What God can do, and what he doth devise?
But thou saidst, "I'm alone, and me no one
235 Shall sack." But now shall God, who ever is,
Thee and all thine destroy, and in that land
No longer shall thy ensign yet remain,
As of old, when the mighty God received
Thy honors. Stay, O lawless one, alone,
240 And mixed with burning fire inhabit thou
In Hades the Tartarean lawless land.
And now again, O Egypt, I bewail
Thy blind delusion; Memphis, first in toils,
Thou shalt be filled up with the dead; in thee
245 The pyramids shall speak a ruthless sound.
O Python, who wast justly called of old
The double city, be for ages silent,
So that thou mayest cease from wickedness.
Reckless in evils, treasury of toils,
250 Much-wailing Mænad, suffering, dire ills,
Much-weeping, thou a widow shalt remain
Through all time. Thou didst full of years become
While thou alone wast ruling o'er the world;
But when the white dress Barea round herself
255 Shall put on over that which is defiled,
Would that I neither were nor had been born
O Thebes, where is thy great strength? A fierce man
Shall slay the people; but thou, wretched one,
Grasping thy dusky dress shalt wail alone,
260 And thou shalt make atonement for all things
Which thou aforetime with a shameless soul
Didst perpetrate. They also shall behold
A mourning on account of lawless deeds.
And a mighty man of the Ethiopians
265 Shall overthrow Syene; by their might
Shall swarthy Indians occupy Teucheira.
Pentapolis, a man of mighty, strength
Shall burn thee whole. All-tearful Libya,
Who shall explain thy follies? And Cyrene,
270 Of mortals who shall pitiably weep

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For thee? Thou shalt not even to the time
Of thy destruction cease thy hateful wail.
Among the Britons and among the Gauls,
Rich in gold, Ocean shall be roaring loud
Filled with much blood; for evil things
Did they unto God's children, when a king
Of the Sidonians, a Phœnician, led
A mighty Gallic host from Syria;
And he shall slaughter thee, thyself, Ravenna,
And unto slaughter shall he lead the way.
O Indians and great-hearted Ethiops,
Together fear; for when with these the course
Of Capricorn and Taurus in the Twins
Shall wind about the middle of the heaven,
Virgo then rising, and about his front
Fastening a belt the sun shall lead all heaven,
There shall be moving downwards to the earth
A mighty conflagration high in air,
And a new nature in the warlike stars,
'so that the whole land of the Ethiops
Shall perish in the midst of fire and groans.
And weep thou, Corinth, the destruction sad
Which is ill thee; for when with pliant threads
The Fates three sisters, spinning shall aloft
Lead him who flees by guile against the voice
Of the isthmus, until all shall look at him
Who once cut out the rock with ductile brass,
He also shall destroy and smite thy land,
As it hath been appointed. For to him
God gave strength to accomplish that which could
No earlier of all the kings together.
And first with sickle cleaving off the roots
From three heads he shall give food in excess
To others, so that kings unclean shall eat
The flesh of parents. For unto all men
Slaughter and terrors are laid up in store
because of the great city and just people
Saved through all time, whom Providence held high.
O thou unstable one and ill-advised,
By evil fates surrounded, for mankind
Both a beginning and great end of toil,--
Of suffering creation and of part
Restored again,--thou leader insolent
Of evils, and for men a great curse, who
Of mortals wished for thee? Who has not been
Embittered from within? Cast down ill thee
A king his honored life lost. Evilly
Hast thou disposed all things and washed away
All that is fair, and by thee have been changed
The world's fair folds. In strife with us perhaps
Thou hast brought forward these unstable things;
And how dost thou say, "I will thee persuade,"
And "If in any thing thou blame me, speak?"
There was once among men the sun's bright light
The prophets' common ray being spread abroad;
Speech dripping honey, fair drink for all men,
Appeared and grew, and day arose on all.
Because of this, thou narrow-minded one
Leader of greatest evils, both a sword
And grief shall come in that day. For mankind
Both a beginning and great end of toil,--
Of suffering creation and of part
Restored again,--hear, O thou curse of men,
The bitter oracle intolerable.
But when the Persian land shall keep away
From war and plague and groaning, in that day
A race divine of blessed heavenly Jews
Shall offer prayer, who shall dwell round about
God's city in mid portions of the land,
And even as far as Joppa building round
A great wall they shall carry it aloft
Unto the gloomy clouds. No more shall trump
Sound battle--din nor by a foe's mad hands
Shall they be cut off; but they shall set up
Their trophies for an age of evil men.
And one shall come again from heaven, a man
Preeminent, whose hands on fruitful tree
By far the noblest of the Hebrews stretched,
Who at one time did make the sun stand still
When he spoke with fair word and holy lips,
No longer vex thy soul within thy breast
By reason of the sword, rich child of God,
Flower longed for by him only, goodly light
And noble branch, a scion much beloved,
Pleasant Judea, city beautiful,
Inspired by hymns. No more shall unclean foot
Of Greeks keep revel round about thy land,
Who held within their breast a lawless mind;
But thee shall glorious children honor much
[And be expert in songs and holy tongues],
With sacrifices of all kinds and prayers
Honored of God. All who endure the toils
Of small affliction and the just shall have
More that is altogether beautiful;
But the wicked, who to heaven sent lawless speech,
Shall cease their speaking one against another,
And hide themselves until the world be changed.
And there shall be a rain of gleaming fire
From the clouds; and no more shall mortals reap
The fair corn from the earth; all things unsown
And unplowed, until mortal men shall know
The Lord of all things, the immortal God
Always existing, and no more revere
Mortal things, neither dogs nor vultures' nests,
And what things Egypt taught to magnify
With dumb months and dull lips. But all these things
The holy land of the only pious men
Shall bring forth, from the honey-dripping rock
A stream and from a spring ambrosial milk
Shall flow for all the just; for in one God,
One Father, who alone is glorious,
Having great piety and faith they hoped.
But why does the wise mind grant me these things?
And now thee, wretched Asia, piteously
I mourn and the race of Ionians
And Carians and Lydians rich in gold.
Alas, alas for thee, O Sardis; and alas
For Trallis much beloved; alas, alas,
Laodicea, city beautiful;
Thus shalt thou be by earthquakes overthrown
And ruined, and be also changed to dust.
And to Asia gloomy. . . . . .
Artremis' temple fixed at Ephesus . . . . . .
By chasms, and earthquakes come headlong down
Sometime into the dreadful sea, is storms
Overwhelm ships. And up-turned Ephesus
Shall wail aloud, lament beside her banks,
And for her temple search which is no more.
And then incensed shall God the imperishable,
Who dwells on high, hurl thunderbolts from heaven
Down on the head of him that is impure.
And in the place of winter there shall be
In that day summer. And to mortal men
Shall then be great woe; for the Thunderer
Shall utterly destroy all shameless men
And with his thunders and with lightning-flames
And blazing thunderbolts men of ill-will,
And thus shall he destroy the impious ones,
So that there shall remain upon the earth
Dead bodies more in number than the sand.
For Smyrna also, weeping her Lycurgus,
Shall come unto the gates of Ephesus
And she herself shall perish even more.
And foolish Cyme with her inspired streams
Cast down by hands of godless men unjust
And lawless, shall to heaven not so much
As a word utter; but she shall remain
Dead in Cymæan streams. And then shall they
Together weep, awaiting evil things.
Cyme's rough populace and shameless tribe,
Having a sign, shall know for what they toiled.
And then, when they shall have bewailed their land
Reduced to ashes, by Eridanus
Shall Lesbos be forever overthrown.
Alas, Corcyra, city beautiful,
Alas for thee, cease from thy revelry.
Thou also, Hierapolis, sole land
With riches mixed, what thou hast longed to have
Thou shalt have, even a land of many tears,
Since thou wast angry towards a land beside
Thermodon's streams. Rock-clinging Tripolis,
Beside the waters of Mæander, thee
Shall by the nightly surges under shore
God's wrath and foresight utterly destroy.
Take me not, willing, to the neighbouring land
Of Phœbus; sometime shall a thunderbolt
Dainty Miletus from above destroy,
Because she seized on Phœbus' crafty song
And the wise care and prudent plan of men.
Father of all, be gracious to the land
Of Judah, well fed, fruit-abounding, great,
In order that thy judgements we may see.
For thou, O God, in kindness didst regard
This land first that it might appear to be
Thy gracious gift unto all mortal men
And to hold fast what God put in their charge.
The works thrice wretched of the Thracians
I yearn to see, and wall between two seas
Trailed in the dust along beneath the mist,
Even like a river for the swimming fish.
O wretched Hellespont, sometime a child
Of the Assyrians shall throw a yoke
Across thee; battle of the Thracians comes
And shall despoil thy strength. And there shall rule
Over the land of Macedonia
A king of Egypt, and a barbarous clime
Shall waste the strength of captains. Lydians,
And the Galatians, and Pamphylians
With the Pisidians, all equipped for war
Shall in a mass bring evil strife to pass.
Thrice wretched Italy, then shalt remain
All-desolate, unwept, in blooming land
By deadly sting to perish utterly.
And sometime high in the broad heaven above
Like thunder-roaring shall God's voice be heard.
And the unwasting flames of the sun himself
Shall be no more, nor shall the brilliant light
Of the moon again be in the latest time,
When God shall bc the ruler. And dark gloom
Shall be o'er all the earth, and blinded men
And evil beasts and woe; that day shall be
A long time, so that men shall see that God
Himself is Lord, the overseer of all
In front of heaven. And then will he himself
Not pity hostile men, who sacrifice
Their herds of lambs and sheep and calves and goats
And bellowing golden-horned bulls, offering them
To lifeless Hermæ and to gods of stone.
But let the law of wisdom be your guide
And the glory of the righteous; lest sometime
The imperishable God incensed destroy
Each race of men and shameless tribe of life,
It doth behoove them faithfully to love
The Father, the wise God who ever is.
In the last time, at the turning of the moon,
There shall be raging through the world a war
And carried on with cunning, and in guile.
And from the limits of the earth shall come
Fleeing and pondering sharp things in his mind,
A matricidal man who every land
Shall overpower and over all things rule,
And see all things more wisely than all men;
And that for whose sake he himself was slain
Shall he seize forthwith. And he shall destroy
Many men and great tyrants and shall burn
All of them, as none other ever did,
And he shall raise up them that are afraid
For emulation's sake. And from the West
Much war shall come to men, and blood shall flow
Down hill till it becomes deep-eddying streams.
And in the plains of Macedonia
Shall wrath distil and give help from the West,
But to the king destruction. And a wind
Of winter then shall blow upon the earth,
And the plain be filled with evil war again.
For fire shall rain down from the heavenly plains
On mortals, and therewith blood, water, flash
Of lightning, murky darkness, night in heaven,
And waste in war and o'er the slaughter mist,
And these together shall destroy all kings
And noblest men. Thus shall be made to cease
Then the destruction pitiable of war.
And no more shall one fight with swords or iron
Or even darts, which things shall not again
Be lawful. But wise people shall have peace,
Who were left, having made proof of wickedness,
That they might at the last be filled with joy.
Ye matricides, leave off your impudence
And evil-working boldness, who of old
provided lawlessly lewd couch with boys,
And placed as harlots maidens pure before
In brothels by assault and punishment
And by much-laboring indecency.
For in thee mother with her child did hold
Unlawful intercourse, and daughter was
With her own father wedded as a bride;
And in thee kings have their ill-fated mouth
Polluted, and in thee have wicked men
Found couch with cattle. Be in silence hushed,
Thou wicked city all-bewailed, possessed
Of revelry; for by thee virgin maids
Shall care no longer for the fire divine
Of sacred wood that fondly nourisheth;
Before thee was a much-loved house of old
Extinguished, when I saw the second house
Cast headlong down and overwhelmed with fire
By an unholy hand, house ever flourishing,
God's watchful temple, brought forth of his saints
And being always indestructible,
By the soul hoped for and the body itself.
For not without the rites of burial
Shall one praise God out of the unseen earth,
Nor did wise workman make a stone by them,
Nor had he fear of gold, cheat of the world
And of souls, but the mighty Father, God
Of all things God-inspired, did he revere
With holy offerings and fair hecatombs.
But now an unseen and unholy king
With multitude great and with men renowned
Rose into power and cast his dwelling down
And let it go unbuilt. But he himself
When he set foot on the immortal land

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Destroyed the ground. And such a sign no more
Was wrought upon men, so that it appeared
That others the great city should destroy.
For there came from the heavenly plains a man,
One blessed, with a scepter in his hand,
Which God gave him, and he ruled all things well,
And unto all the good did he restore
The riches which the earlier men had seized.
And many cities with much fire he took
From their foundations, and he set on fire
The towns of mortals who before did evil,
And he did make that city, which God loved,
More radiant than stars and sun and moon,
And he set order, and a holy house
Incarnate made, pure, very fair, and formed
In many stades a great and boundless tower
Touching the clouds themselves and seen by all,
So that all holy and all righteous men
Might see the glory of the eternal God,
A sight that has been longed for. Rising sun
And setting day hymned forth the praise of God.
For there are then no longer fearful things
For wretched mortals, nor adulteries
And lawless love of boys, nor homicide
Nor tumult, but a righteous strife in all.
It is the last time of the saints when God
Accomplisheth these things, high Thunderer,
Founder of temple most magnificent.
Alas, alas for thee, O Babylon,
For golden throne and golden sandal famed,
Kingdom of many years and of the world
Sole ruler, who wast great in olden time
And city of all cities, thou no more
Shalt lie in golden mountains and by streams
Of the Euphrates; thou shalt be laid low
By rout of earthquake. But the Parthians dire
Caused thee to stiffer all things. Hold thou fast
Thy unknown speech, impure Chaldean race;
Ask not nor be concerned how thou shalt lead
The Persians or how thou shalt rule the Medes;
For on account of thy supremacy,
Which thou hadst, sending hostages to Rome
And serving Asia, thou that formerly
Didst also think thyself a queen, shalt come
Unto the judgement of antagonists,
Because of whom thou hast suffered baneful things;
And thou shalt give instead of crooked words
Bitter vexation to the enemies,
And in the last time shall the sea be dry
And ships no longer sail to Italy,
And Asia the great then, all-hapless, shall
Be water, and then Crete shall be a plain.
And Cyprus shall endure great misery
And Paphos shall bewail a dreadful fate,
So that even Salamis, great city, shall
Be seen to undergo great misery;
And now the dry land shall be fruitless sand
Upon the shore. And locusts not a few
Shall utterly destroy the Cyprian land.
Looking at Tyre, doomed mortals, ye shall weep.
Phœnicia, dreadful wrath remains for thee,
Until thou to a worthless ruin fall,
So that even Sirens truly may lament.
In the fifth generation, when the ruin
Of Egypt has ceased, it shall come to pass
That shameless kings shall be together joined,
And races of Pamphylians shall encamp
In Egypt, and in Macedonia
And in Asia and among the Libyans
Shall in the dust be a world-maddening war
Exceeding bloody, which the king of Rome
And rulers of the West shall make to cease.
When wintry storm shall drop down like the snow,
While frozen are great river and vast lakes,
Forthwith a barbarous race shall make their way
Into the Asian land and shall destroy
The race of dreadful Thracians, hard to quell.
And then shall mortals feeding lawlessly
Devour their parents, being by hunger worn,
And shall gulp down the entrails. And wild beasts
Shall devour from all houses table-food,
And they and birds all mortals shall devour.
The ocean with dead bodies shall be filled
From the river and be red with flesh and blood
Of the foolish ones. Then thus a feebleness
Shall be on earth, so that of men the number
May be seen and the measure of the women,
And the dire race shall wail for myriad things
At last when the sun sets to rise no more,
But to remain submerged in Ocean's waves;
For it beheld the wickedness unclean
Of many mortals. And a moonless night
Shall be a fame around the mighty heaven,
And no small mist shall hide the world's ravines
A second time; then afterwards God's light
Shall guide the good men, who sang praise to God.
Isis, thrice wretched goddess, thou alone
Shalt on the waters of the Nile remain,
A Mænad out of order on the sands
Of Acheron, and no longer shall remain
Remembrance of thee over all the earth.
And also thou, Sarapis, who art placed
On many glistening stones, a ruin vast
Shalt thou in thrice unhappy Egypt lie.
But those whom love of Egypt led to thee
Shall all lament thee badly; but who put
Imperishable reason in their breast,
And who praised God, shall know thee to be naught.
And sometime shall a linen-vested man,
A priest, say: "Come, let us raise up of God
A beautiful true temple; come, let us
The fearful law of our forefathers change,
Because of which they did not understand
That they were unto gods of stone and clay
Making processions and religions rites.
Let us turn our souls, giving praise to God
The imperishable, who himself is Father,
The everlasting One, the Lord of all,
The true One, the King, life-sustaining Father,
The mighty God existing evermore."
And then shall there a great pure temple be
In Egypt, and the people made by God
Shall into it their sacrifices bring.
And to them God shall give life incorrupt.
But when the Ethiopians, forsaking
The shameless tribes of the Triballians,
Shall cultivate their Egypt, they will then
Begin their baseness, that the later things
May all occur. For they shall overthrow
The mighty temple of the Egyptian land;
And God shall rain down on the earth dire wrath
Among them, so that all the wicked ones
And all without sense perish. And no more
Shall there be any sparing in that land,
Because they did not keep that which God gave.
I saw the threatening of the shining Sun
Among the stars, and in the lightning flash
The dire wrath of the Moon; the stars travailed
With battle; and God gave them up to light.
For long fire-flames rebelled against the Sun;
Lucifer treading upon Leo's back
Began the fight; and the Moon's double horn
Changed its shape; Capricorn smote Taurus' neck;
And Taurus took away from Capricorn
Returning day. Orion would no more
Abide his yoke; the lot of Gemini
Did Virgo change in Aries; no more shone
The Pleiads; Draco disavowed his zone;
Down into Leo's girdle Pisces went.
Cancer remained not, for he feared Orion;
Scorpio down on dire Leo backwards moved;
And from the Sun's flame Sirius slipped away;
And the strength of the mighty Shining One
Aquarius kindled. Uranus himself
Was roused, until he shook the warring ones;
And being incensed he hurled them down on earth.
Then swiftly smitten down upon the baths
Of Ocean they set all the earth on fire;
And the high heaven remained without a star.

CHRISTIAN SIBYLLINES BOOK 6

The great Son of the Immortal famed in song
I from the heart proclaim, to whom a throne,
To be held fast the most Father gave
Ere, he was brought forth; then was he raised up
According to flesh given, washed, at the mouth
Of the river Jordan, which goes rushing on
Trailing its gleaming billows, from the fire
Escaping he first shall see God's sweet Spirit
Descending with the wings of a white dove.
And a pure flower shall bloom, and springs be full.
And he shall show the ways to men, and show
The heavenly paths, and teach all with wise
And he shall come for judgement and persuade
A disobedient people while he boasts
Descent praiseworthy from a heavenly Sire.
Billows shall he tread, sickness of mankind
Shall he destroy, he shall raise up the dead,
And many sufferings shall he drive away;
And from one scrip shall be men's fill of bread,
When the house of David shall bring forth a child;
And in his hand the whole world, earth, heaven, sea.
And he shall flash upon the earth, as once
The two begotten from each other's ribs
Saw human form appearing. It shall be
When earth shall be glad in the hope of child.
But for thee only, Sodomitic land,
Are evil woes laid up; for thou thyself
Ill-disposed didst not apprehend thy God
Who mocks at mortal schemes; but from a thorn
Didst crown him with a crown, and fearful gall
Didst mingle unto insolence and spirit.
This shall bring evil woes about for thee.
O the Wood, O so blessed, upon which
God was outstretched; the earth shall not have thee,
But thou shalt look upon a heavenly house,
When thou, O God, shalt flash thine eye of fire.

CHRISTIAN SIBYLLINES BOOK 7

O RHODES, thou art unhappy; for first thee,
Thee will I mourn; and thou shalt be the first
Of cities, and first shalt thou be destroyed,
Bereft of men, but of the means of life
Not wholly destitute. And thou shalt sail,
Delos, and be unstable on the water;
Cyprus, a billow of thy gleaming sea
Shall sometime thee destroy; thee, Sicily,
The fire that burns within thee shall consume.
. . . . . .
(texts missing)

Nor heed God's terrible and foreign water.
. . . . . .
Noah sole fugitive from all men came.
. . . . . .
Earth shall float, hills float, and even sky shall float,
Everything shall be water and all things
Shall be destroyed by waters. And the winds
Shall stand still and a second age shall be.
O Phrygia, first shalt thou flame from the crest
Of the water; and first in impiety
Thou shalt deny God himself, courting favor
With false gods, which shall utterly destroy
Thee, wretched one, while many years roll round.

[1. This book is brief and fragmentary, and mainly of Christian origin. Its composition may be properly assigned to the close of the second or the early part of the third century.

10-15. Here we have the fragment of a passage referring to Noah and the flood, in which the language is appropriated from book i, 226-240.]

The hapless Ethiopians under pain,
Suffering things lamentable, shall by swords
Be smitten whilst they crouch upon the ground.
Rich Egypt ever caring for her corn,
Which Nilus by his seven swimming streams
Intoxicates, shall in intestine strife
Destroy; and thence men unexpectedly
Shall drive out Apis, not the god for men.
Alas, alas, Laodicea! thou
Not ever seeing God shalt lie, bold one;
And over thee shall dash a wave of Lycus.

(text missing)
. . . . . .
He himself who is born the mighty God,
Who shall work many signs, shall through heaven hang
An axle in the midst, and place for men
A mighty terror to be seen on high,
Measuring a column with a mighty fire
Whose drops shall slay the races of mankind
That have dared evils. But a common Lord
There shall at some time be, and then shall men
Propitiate God, but shall not make an end
Of fruitless sorrows. And through David's house
Shall all things come to pass. For God himself
Gave him the power and put it in his hand;
Under his feet shall sleep his messengers,
And some shall kindle fires, and some shall make
Rivers appear, and some shall rescue towns,
And some shall send forth winds. But furthermore
A grievous life shall come on many men,
Entering their souls and changing human hearts.
But when a new shoot shall out of a root
Put forth eyes, the creation, which to all
Once gave abundant food . . .

(text missing)
. . . . . .
And it shall with the times be full. But when
Others shall rule, a tribe of warlike Persians,
Bride-chambers straightway shall be terrible
Because of lawless deeds. For her own son
Will mother have as husband; son will be
The ruin of his mother; and with sire
Shall daughter lie down and shall put to sleep
This foreign law. But to them afterwards
Shall Roman Ares flash from many a spear;
And they shall mix much land with human blood.
But then a chief of Italy shall flee

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From the force of the spear. But they shall leave
65 Upon the land a lance inscribed with gold,
Which as the signal ensign of their rule
The foremost fighters carry constantly.
And it shall be, when evil and ill-starred
Ilias shall piteously complete for all
70 A tomb, not marriage, then shall brides weep sore,
Because they knew not God, but always gave
By kettle-drums and cymbals boisterous sound.
Consult the oracle, O Colophon;
For a great fearful fire hangs over thee.
75 Ill-wedded Thessaly, the earth no more
Shall see thee, nor thy ashes, and alone
Escaping from the mainland thou shalt swim;
Thus, O thou wretched one, shalt thou of war
Be melancholy refuse, having fallen
80 By swiftly flowing rivers and by swords.
And thou, O wretched Corinth, shalt receive
Around thyself stern Ares, hapless one,
And ye shall perish one upon another.
Tyre, thou, unhappy, shalt be left alone;
85 For, made a widow by the feebleness
Of pious men, thou shalt be brought to naught.
Ah, Cœle-Syria, of Phœnician men
The last hold, upon whom the briny sea
Of Berytus disgorging is poured forth,
90 O wretched one, thou didst not know thy God,
Who once in the mouth of Jordan washed himself,
--And the Spirit spread his wings in flight towards him--
Who before both the earth and starry heaven
Was, actual Word, begotten by his Father,
95 And by the Holy Spirit donning flesh
He quickly flew unto his Father's house.
And for him three towers did the mighty heaven
Establish, in which dwell God's noble guides,
Hope, piety, and reverence much-desired,
100 Not having in gold or in silver joy,
But in the reverential acts of men--
Both sacrifices and most righteous thoughts.
And thou shalt sacrifice to the immortal
And mighty God august, not melting grains
105 Of frankincense in fire, nor with the sword
Slaying the shaggy-haired lamb, but with all
Who bear thy blood take wild fowls, offer prayer,
And fixing eyes on heaven send them away;
And thou shalt sprinkle water on pure fire
110 Having cried: "As the Father did beget
Thee, the Word, Father, I sent forth a bird,
Swift messenger of words, with holy waters
Besprinkling thy baptism, O Word, through which
Thou didst make thyself manifest in fire."
115 Thou shalt not shut thy door, when there shall come
A stranger unto thee in need to curb
His hunger which comes from his poverty,
But taking hold of that man sprinkle him
With water and pray thrice; and to thy God
120 Do thou thus cry: "I do not long for wealth;
A suppliant I once publicly received
A suppliant; Father, thou provider, hear."
When thou hast prayed thou shalt give unto him;
And the man went away thereafter. . . .

(text missing)
. . . . . .
125 Do not afflict me, holy fear of God
And righteous, as to birth pure, unenslaved,
Attested. . . . . .
Do thou, O Father, make my wretched heart
Stand still; to thee have I looked, unto thee,
130 The undefiled, whom hands did not produce.
Sardinia, weighty now, thou shalt be changed
To ashes. Thou shalt be no more an isle,
When the tenth time shall come. Amid the waves
Shall sailors seek thee when thou art no more,
135 And o'er thee shall kingfishers wail sad dirge.
Rugged Mygdonia, beacon of the sea
Hard to get out of, ages shalt thou boast
And unto ages shalt be all destroyed
With a hot wind, and rave with many woes.
140 O Celtic land, on mountain range so great,
Beyond impassable Alp, thee deep sand
Shall altogether bury; thou shalt give
Tribute no more, nor corn, nor pasturage;
And thou from peoples ever far away
145 Shalt be all-desolate, and becoming thick
With chill ice thou shalt for an outrage pay,
Which thou didst not perceive, unholy one.
Stout-hearted Rome, thou to Olympus shalt
Flash lightning after Macedonian spears;
150 But God shall make thee utterly unknown,
When thou wouldst to the eye seem to remain
Much more firm. Then to thee such things I'll cry.
Perishing thou shalt then cry out and boil
In pain; a second time to thee, O Rome,
15 Again a second time I am to speak.
And now for thee, O wretched Syria,
Do I wail bitterly in pitying grief.
O Thebans ill-advised, an evil sound
Is over you while flutes speak out their tones;
160 For you shall trumpet sound an evil sound
And ye shall see the entire land destroyed
Alas, alas for thee, thou wretched one;
Alas, alas thou evil-minded sea!
Thou shalt be wholly eaten up of fire
165 And people with thy brine shalt thou destroy.
For there shall be such raging fire on earth
As flows like water, and it shall destroy
The whole land. It shall set the hills on fire,
Shall burn the rivers, and exhaust the springs.
170 The world shall be disordered whilst mankind
Are perishing. And then the wretched ones,
Burned badly, shall look unto heaven inwrought
Not with stars, but with fire. Not speedily
Shall they be made to perish, but dissolved
175 From under flesh, and burning in the spirit
For age-long years, they shall know that God's law
Is always hard to put to test and not
To be deceived; and then earth, seized by force,
Daring whatever god she did admit
180 Unto her altars, cheated, turned to smoke
Through the changed air; and they shall undergo
Much suffering who for gain shall prophesy
Shameful things, nourishing the evil time.
And the Hebrews who put on the shaggy skins
185 Of sheep shall prove false, in which race
Obtained no portion by inheritance,
But talking mere words over sorrows they
Are misers, who shall change their course of life
And not mislead the just, who through the heart
190 All-faithfully propitiate their God.
But in the third lot of revolving years,
Eighth the first, shall another world appear.
Night shall be all . . . long and without light.
And then shall pass around the dreadful stench
195 Of brimstone, messenger of homicides,
When they shall be by night and hunger slain.
Then a pure mind shall God beget in men,
And shall the race establish, as it was
Aforetime; longer shall not any one
200 Deep furrow cut with round plow, nor two oxen
Straight guiding dip the iron down; nor vines
Shall be nor ears of corn; but all shall eat
Together dewy manna with white teeth.
And then among them God shall also be,
205 And he shall teach them as he has taught me,
The sad one. For how many evil things
I did with knowledge once, and many things
Heedless I also wickedly performed.
Countless my couches, but no marriage-bond
210 Was cared for; and I, all-unfaithful, brought
To all a savage oath. I turned away
Those in need and among the foremost went
Into like glen and minded not God's word.
Therefore did fire consume me and shall gnaw;
215 For I shall not live always, but a time
Of evil shall destroy me, when for me
Men shall beside the margin of the sea
Construct a tomb, and shall slay me with stones;
For lying with my father a dear son
220 Did I present him. Smite me, smite me all;
For thus shall I live and fix eyes on heaven.

CHRISTIAN SIBYLLINES BOOK 8

GOD'S declarations of great wrath to come
In the last age upon the faithless world
I make known, prophesying to all men
According to their cities. From the time
5 When the great tower fell and the tongues of men
Were parted into many languages
Of mortals, first was Egypt's royal power
Established, that of Persians and of Medes
And also of the Ethiopians
10 And of Assyria and Babylon,
Then the great pride of boasting Macedon,
Then, fifth, the famous lawless kingdom last
Of the Italians shall show many evils
Unto all mortals and shall spend the toils
15 Of men of every land. And it shall lead
The untamed kings of nations to the West,
Make laws for peoples and subject all things.
Late do the mills of God grind the fine flour.
Fire then shall destroy all things and give back
20 To fine dust the heads of the high-leafed hills
And of all flesh. First cause of ills to all
Are covetousness and a lack of sense.
For there shall be love of deceitful gold
And silver; for than these did mortals choose
25 Naught greater, neither light of sun nor heaven,
Nor sea, nor broad-backed earth whence all things grow,
Nor God who giveth all things, of all things
The Father, nor yet faith and piety
Chose they before them. Of impiety
30 A fount, and of disorder forward guide,
An instrument of wars and foe of peace
Is lack of sense, that sets at enmity
Parents and children. And along with gold
Shall marriage not be honorable at all.
35 And the land shall have its borders and each sea
Its watchers craftily distributed
To all those that have gold; for ages thus
Shall those who purpose to possess the land
That feedeth many plunder laboring men,
40 In order that, procuring larger space,
They may enslave them by a false pretense.
And if the huge earth from the starry heaven
Held not her throne far off there had not been
For men an equal light, but, bought with gold,
45 It had belonged to rich men and God must
For poor men have prepared another world.
There shall come to thee sometime from above
A heavenly stroke deserved, O haughty Rome.
And thou shalt be the first to bend thy neck
50 And be rased to the ground, and thee shall fire
Destructive utterly consume, cast down
Upon thy pavements, and thy wealth shall perish,
And wolves and foxes dwell in thy foundations.
And then shalt thou be wholly desolate,
55 As if not born. Where thy Palladium then?
What god shall save thee, whether wrought of gold
Or stone or brass? Or then where thy decrees
Of senate? Where shall be the race of Rhea,
Of Cronus, or of Zeus, and of all those
60 Whom thou didst worship, demons without life,
Images of the worn-out dead, whose tombs
Crete the ill-starred shall hold a cause of pride,
And honor the unconscious dead with thrones?
But when thou shalt have had voluptuous kings
65 Thrice five, enslaving the world from the east
Unto the west, there shall be then a lord
Gray-headed, having name of the near sea,
The world inspecting with a nimble foot,
Bringing gifts, having large amount of gold
70 And plundering hateful silver even more,
And stripping it off he shall pick it up.
And he shall have part in all mysteries
Of Magian shrines, display his child as god,
Abolish all things sacred, and disclose
75 The ancient mysteries of deceit to all.
Sad then the time when he himself, sad one,
Shall perish. And yet shall the people say:
"Thy mighty strength, O city, shall fall down,"
At once perceiving that the evil day
80 Is coming on. And, thy most piteous fate
Foreseeing, fathers and young children then
Shall mourn together; they alas, alas! Shall wail
Beside the Tiber's lamentable banks.
After him at the latest day of all
85 Shall three rule, filling out a name of God
The heavenly, of whom is the power both now
And to all ages. One of them being old
The scepter long shall wield, most piteous king,
Who in his houses shall shut up and guard
90 All the goods of the world, in order that,
When from the utmost limits of the earth
That man, the matricidal fugitive,
Shall come again, he may bestow these things
On all and furnish Asia with great wealth.
95 And then shalt thou mourn and shalt put aside
The luster of the broad-striped purple robe
Of thy commanders and wear mourning dress,
O haughty queen, off spring of Latin Rome;
The glory of that arrogance of thine
100 Shall be for thee no longer, nor shalt thou,
Ill-fated, ever be raised up again,
But shalt lie prostrate. For the glory also
Of eagle-bearing legions shall fall low.
Where then thy power? What allied land shall be
105 Subjected by thy follies lawlessly?
For then in all earth shall confusion be
Of mortals, when the Almighty shall himself
To the tribunal come to judge the souls
Of the living and the dead and all the world.
110 And parents shall not be to children dear
Nor children to their parents, on account
Of their impiety and their distress
Unlooked-for. Thine thenceforth shall gnashing be
And scattering and conquest, and when the fall
115 Of cities comes and yawnings of the earth.
When a dragon charged with fire in both his eyes
And with full belly shall come on the waves
And shall afflict thy children, and there be
Famine and war of kinsmen, near at hand

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Is the end of the world and the last day
And judgement of the immortal God for them
That are approved and chosen. And there shall
Against the Romans first of all be wrath
Implacable, and there, come a time
Of drinking blood and wretched course of life.
Alas, alas for thee, thou reckless land,
Great barbarous nation; thou didst not perceive
Whence naked and unworthy thou didst come
To the sun's light, that to that place again
Naked thou mightest withdraw and afterwards
Come unto judgement, as unjustly judging. . . .
With hands gigantic coming from on high
Alone through all the world thou, shalt abide
Under the earth. By naphtha and asphalt
And brimstone and much fire thou utterly
Shalt disappear and shalt be burning dust
For ages; and each one who sees shall hear
From Hades a great mournful bellowing
And gnashing of teeth, and thee noisily
Beating with thine own hands thy godless breast.
For all together there is equal night;
For rich and poor; and naked from the earth
Naked again to earth they haste away
And cease from life when they complete their time.
No slave is there, nor any lord, nor tyrant,
Nor king, nor leader having much conceit,
Nor speaker learned in law, nor magistrate
Judging for money; nor do they pour out
The blood of sacrifices in libations
Upon the altars; there sounds not a drum
Nor cymbal. . . . . .
Nor perforated flute that has a power
To madden mind itself, nor sound of pipe
That bean the likeness of a crooked snake,
Nor trumpet, harsh-toned messenger of wars;
Nor those made drunken in the lawless feasts
Of revelry, nor in the choral dance;
Nor sound of harp, nor harmful instrument;
Nor strife, nor anger manifold, nor sword
Is with the dead; but an eternity
Common to all is keeper of the key
Of the great prison before God's judgement-seat
With images of gold and silver and stone
Ye are ready, that unto the bitter day
Ye may come to see your first punishment,
O Rome, and gnashing of teeth. And no more
Shall Syrian or Greek lay down his neck
Beneath thy servile yoke, nor foreigner,
Nor other nation. Plundered thou shalt be
And made to suffer what thou didst exact,
And in fear wailing thou shalt give, until
Thou pay back all things; and thou for the world
Shalt be a triumph and reproach of all.
Then shall the sixth race of the Latin kings
End life at last and scepters leave behind
From the same race another king shall reign,
Who shall rule every land and scepters wield;
And having full power, and by the decrees
Of God most mighty, shall his children rule,
And of unshaken children is his race;
For thus it is decreed while time moves round,
When there shall be of Egypt thrice five kings.
Thereafter when the limit of the time
Of the Phenix shall come round, there shall a race
Of peoples come to plunder, tribes confused,
Enemy of the Hebrews. Then shall Ares
Go plundering Ares; and he shall himself
Destroy the haughty threatening of the Romans.
For Rome's power perished then while in its bloom;
An ancient queen with cities dwelling round,
No longer shall the land of fertile Rome
Prevail, when out of Asia one shall come
To rule with Ares. And when he has wrought
All these things, to the city afterwards
Shall he come. And three times three hundred
And eight and forty shalt thou make complete,
When, taking thee by force, an ill-starred fate
Shall come upon thee and complete thy name.
Ah me, I the thrice wretched, shall I see
Sometime that day to thee destructive, Rome,
But to all Latins most? It honors him
With counsels who goes, up on Trojan car
With hidden children from the Asian land,
Having a fiery soul. But when he shall
Cut through the isthmus looking wistfully,
Moving against all, passing o'er the sea,
Then shall dark blood pursue the mighty beast.
And a dog chased the lion which destroys
The shepherds. And then shall they take away
His scepter and to Hades he shall pass.
And unto Rhodes shall come an evil last,
But greatest, There shall also be for Thebes
An evil conquest afterwards, And Egypt
Shall perish by the wickedness of rulers,
And he who, being mortal, even so
Escaped headlong destruction afterwards,
Thrice blessed was, even four times happy man.
And Rome shall be a room, and Delos dull,
And Samos sand. . . . . .
Later again thereafter there shall come
An evil to the Persians for their pride,
And all their insolence shall come to naught.
And then a holy Lord of all the earth
Having raised up the dead shall wield the scepter
Unto all ages. Thrice then unto Rome
Will the Most High bring pitiable fate
And unto all men, and by their own works
They'll perish; but they would not be persuaded,
Which would have been much more, to be desired.
But when forthwith there shall increase for ill
An evil day of famine and of plague
And of intolerable battle-din,
Even then again the former daring lord
Shall, having called the senate, counsel take
How he shall utterly destroy. . . . . .
Dry land shall bloom together with the leaves
Appearing; and the, heavenly firmament
Shall bring to light upon the solid rock
Rainstorm and flame, and much wind on the land,
And over all the earth a multitude
Of poisonous sowings. But with shameless soul
Shall they again act, fearing not the wrath
Of God or men, forsaking modesty,
Longing for and greedy tyrants
And violent sinners, false, insatiate,
Workers of evil and in nothing true,
Destroyers of faith, on foul speech
In false words; they shall have no fill of wealth;
But shamelessly will they strip off still more;
Under the rule of tyrants they shall perish.
The stars shall all fall forwards in the sea,
All one by one, yet shall men see in heaven
A brilliant cornet, sign of much distress
About to come, of war and battle-strife.
Let me not live when the gay woman reigns,
But then when heavenly grace shall reign within,
And when the holy child shall crush with bonds
The mischievous destroyer of all men,
Opening the depth to view, and suddenly
The wooden house shall cover mortals round.
But when the generation tenth shall be
Within the house of Hades, afterwards
The mighty sway of one of female sex;
And God himself shall increase many evils
When she with royal honor has been crowned;
And altogether then an impious age.
The sun obscurely looking shines by night;
The stars shall leave the sky; and with much storm
A hurricane shall desolate the earth;
And there shall be a rising of the dead;
The running of the lame shall be most swift,
The deaf shall bear, the blind shall see, and those
That talk not shall talk, and to all
Shall life and wealth be common. And the land
Alike for all, divided not by walls
Or fences, shall bear more abundant fruits.
And fountains of sweet wine and of white milk
And honey it shall give. . . . . .
And judgement of the immortal God (great king).
But when God shall change times . . .
Winter producing summer, then shall be
Oracles (all fulfilled) . . . . . .
But when the world has perished . . . . . .
JESUS CHRISTI SON OF GOD, SAVIOUR, CROSS.
And the earth shall perspire, when there shall be
The sign of judgement. And from heaven shall come
The King who for the ages is to be,
Present to judge all flesh and the whole world.
Faithful and faithless mortals shall see God
The Most High with the saints at the end of time.
And of men bearing flesh he judges souls
Upon his throne, when sometime the whole world
Shall be a desert and a place of thorns.
And mortals shall their idols cast away
And all wealth. And the searching fire shall burn
Earth, heaven, and sea; and it shall burn the gates,
Of Hades' prison. Then shall come all flesh
Of the dead to the free light of the saints;
But the lawless shall that fire whirl round and round.
For ages. Howsoever much one did
In secret, then shall he all things declare;
For God shall open dark breasts to the light.
And lamentation shall there be from all
And gnashing of teeth. Brightness of the, sun
Shall be eclipsed and dances of the stars.
He shall roll up the heaven; and of the moon
The light shall perish. And he shall exalt
The valleys and destroy the heights of hills,
And height no longer shall appear remaining
Among men. And the hills shall with the plains
Be level and no more on any sea
Shall there be sailing. For the earth shall then
With heat be shriveled and the dashing streams
Shall with the fountains fall. The trump shall send
From heaven a very lamentable sound,
Howling the loathsomeness of wretched men
And the world's woes. And then the yawning earth
Shall show Tartarean chaos. And all kings
Shall come unto the judgement seat of God.
And there shall out of heaven a stream of fire
And brimstone flow. But for all mortals then
Shall there a sign be, a distinguished seal,
The Wood among believers, and the horn
Fondly desired, the life of pious men,
But it shall be stumbling block of the world,
Giving illumination to the elect
By water in twelve springs; and there shall rule
A shepherding iron rod. This one who now
Is in acrostics which give signs of God
Thus written openly, the Saviour is,
Immortal King, who suffered for our sake;
Him Moses typified when he stretched out
Holy arms, conquering Amalek by faith,
That the people might know him to be elect
And honorable before his Father God,
The rod of David and the very stone
Which he indeed aid promise, and in which
He that believes shall have eternal life.
For not in glory, but as mortal man
Shall he come to creation, pitiable,
Unhonoured, without seemly form, to give
Hope to the pitiable; and he will give
Fair form to mortal flesh, and heavenly faith
To those without faith, and he'll give fair form
To the man who was fashioned from the first
By the holy hands of God, and whom by guile
The serpent led astray unto the fate
Of death to go and knowledge to receive
Of good and evil, so that leaving God
He serves the ways of mortals. For at first
Receiving him as fellow-counsellor
From the beginning the Almighty said:
"Let both of us, O Son, make mortal tribes--
Stamping them with the impress of our image;
I now by my hands, and thou by the Word
In after time shalt for our form provide
That we may jointly cause it to arise."
Keeping in mind this purpose he shall come
To the creation, to a holy virgin
Bringing the likeness antitypical,
Baptising with water by the elders' hands,
And by the Word accomplishing all things,
And healing every sickness. By his word
He winds shall he make cease, and with his foot
Shall calm the raging sea, walking thereon
In peaceful faith. And from five loaves of bread
And a fish of the sea live thousand men
Shall he fill in the desert, and then taking
All the remaining fragments for the hope
Of peoples shall he fill twelve baskets full.
And the souls of the blessed he shall call,
And love the pitiable, who, being mocked,
Beaten, and whipped, shall evil do for good
Desiring poverty. He who perceives
All things and sees all things and hears all things
Shall search the heart and bare it to conviction;
For of all things is he himself the ear
And mind and sight, and Word that maketh forms
To whom all things submit, and he preserves
Them that are dead and every sickness heals.
Into the hands of lawless men, at last,
And faithless he shall come, and they will give
To God rude buffetings with impure hands
And poisonous spittle with polluted mouths.
And he to whips will openly give then
His holy back; [for he unto the world
A holy virgin shall himself commit.]
And silent he will be when buffeted
Lest anyone should know whose son he is
Or whence he came, that he may talk to the dead.
And he shall also wear a crown of thorns;
For of thorns is the crown an ornament
Elect, eternal. They shall pierce his side
With a reed that they may fulfill their law;
For of reeds shaken by another spirit
Were nourished inclinations of the soul,
Of anger and revenge. But when these things
Shall be accomplished, of the which I spoke,
Then unto him shall every law be loosed
Which from the first by the decrees of men
Was given because of disobedient people.

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He'll spread his hands and measure all the world.
But gall for food and vinegar to drink
They gave him; this inhospitable board
They'll show him. But the curtain of the temple
Shall be asunder rent and in midday
There shall be for three hours dark, monstrous night.
For it was no more pointed out again
How to serve secret temple and the law,
Which had been covered with the world's displays,
When the Eternal came himself on earth.
And into Hades shall he come announcing
Hope unto all the saints, the end of ages
And the last day, and having fallen asleep
The third day he shall end the lot of death;
Then from the dead departing he shall come
To light, the first to show forth to the elect
Beginning of resurrection, and wash off
By means of waters of immortal spring
Their former wickedness, that, being born
From above, they might be no more enslaved
To the unlawful customs of the world.
And first then openly unto his own
Shall he as Lord in flesh be visible,
As he before was, and in hands and feet
Exhibit four marks fixed in his own limbs,
Denoting east and west and south and north;
For of the world so many royal powers
Shall against our Exemplar consummate
The deed so lawless and condemnable.
Daughter of Zion, holy one, rejoice,
Who hast suffered many things; thy king himself
Mounted upon a foal is hastening on;
Behold, meek he shall come, that he may lift
Our slavish yoke, so grievous to be borne
Lying upon our neck, and may annul
Our godless laws and bonds compulsory.
Know thou thy God himself, who is God's Son;
Him glorify and hold within thy heart,
From thy soul love him and extol his name.
Put off thy former friends and wash thyself
From their blood; for he is not by thy songs
Nor by thy prayers appeased, nor does he give
To perishable sacrifices heed,
Being imperishable; but present
The holy hymn of understanding mouths
And know who this one is, and thou shalt then
Behold the Father. . . . . .
And then shall all the elements of the world
Abide in solitude, air, earth, sea, light
Of gleaming fire, and heavenly sky and night
And all days into one shall run together
And into outward form all-desolate.
For from heaven shall the stars of light all fall.
And there shall fly no longer in the air
The well-winged birds, nor stepping be on earth;
For wild beasts shall all perish. Nor shall be
Voices of men, nor of beasts, nor of birds.
The world shall hear no serviceable sound,
Being disordered; but a mighty sound
Of threatening shall the deep sea sound aloud,
And swimming trembling creatures of the sea
Shall all die; and no longer on the waves
Shall sail the freighted ship. And earth shall groan
Blood-stained by wars; and all the souls of men
Shall gnash with their teeth, [of the lawless souls
Both by loud crying and by fear,] dissolved
By thirst, by famine, and by plague and murders,
And they shall call death beautiful and death
Shall flee away from them; for death no more
Nor night shall give them rest. And many things
Will they in vain ask God who rules on high,
And then will he his face turn openly
Away from them. For he to erring men
Gave in seven ages for repentance signs
By the hands of a virgin undefiled.
All these things in my mind God himself showed
And all that have been spoken by my mouth
Will he accomplish; and I know the number
Of the sands and the measures of the sea,
I know the inmost places of the earth
And gloomy Tartarus, I know the numbers
Of the stars, and the trees, and all the tribes
Of quadrupeds, and of the swimming things
And flying birds, and of men who are now
And of those yet to be, and of the dead;
For I myself the forms and mind of men
Did fashion, and right reason did I give
And knowledge taught; I who formed eyes and ears,
Who see and hear and every thought discern,
And who within am conscious of all things,
I am still; and hereafter will convict
[And punishing what any mortal did
In secret, and upon God's judgement seat
Coming and speaking unto mortal men].
I understand the dumb man and I hear
Him that speaks not, and how great the whole height
From earth to heaven is, and the beginning
And end I know, who made the heaven and earth.
[For all things have proceeded from him, things
From the beginning to the end he knows.]
For I alone am God and other God
There is not. They my image formed of wood
Treat as divine, and shaping it by hand
They sing their praises over idols dumb
With supplications and unholy rites.
Forsaking the Creator they were slaves
To lewdness. Men possessing everything
Bestow their gifts on things which cannot aid,
As if they for my honors deemed these things
All useful, with the smell of sacrifice
Filling the feast, as if for their own dead.
For they flesh and bones full of marrow burn
Offering on altars, and they pour out blood
To demons, and they kindle lights to me
The giver of light, and as to a god
That thirsts do mortals drunken pour out wine
For nought to idols that can give no aid.
I have no need of your burnt offerings,
Nor your libations, nor polluted smoke,
Nor blood most hateful. For in memory
Of kings and tyrants they will do these things
Unto dead demons, as to heavenly beings,
Performing service godless and destructive.
And godless they their images call gods,
Forsaking the Creator, having faith
That from them they derive all hope and life,
Deaf and dumb, in the evil putting trust,
But they are wholly ignorant of good.
Two ways did I myself before them set,
Of life and of death, and before them set
Judgement to choose good life; but they themselves
Hastened to death and to eternal fire.
Man is my image, having upright reason.
For him a table pure and without blood
Make ready and with good things fill it up,
And give the hungry bread, the thirsty drink,
And to the body that is naked clothes
From thine own labors with unsullied hands
Providing. Recreate the afflicted man,
And help the weary, and provide for me
The living One a living sacrifice
Sowing piety, that also I to thee
Sometime may give immortal fruits, and light
Eternal thou shalt have and fadeless life
When I shall prove all by fire. For all things
I shall fuse and shall pick out what is pure,
Heaven will I roll up and the depths of earth
Lay open, and then will I raise the dead
Making an end of fate and sting of death,
And afterward for judgement will I come
Judging the manner both of pious men
And impious; I will set ram close to ram,
Shepherd to shepherd, calf to calf, for test,
Close to each other; whosoever were
Exalted, proven by trial, and who stopped
The mouth of every one, that they themselves
Vieing with them that lead a holy life
May likewise bring them into slavery,
Enjoining silence, urged by love of gain,
Not proved before me, then shall all withdraw.
No longer henceforth shalt thou grieving say
"Morrow shall be," nor "yesterday has been;"
Not many days of care, nor spring, nor winter,
Nor summer then, nor autumn, nor sunset
Nor sunrise; for a long day I will make.
And unto ages there shall be the light
Longed for of the great . . . . . .
(Christ Jesus, of ages) . . . . . .
Thou who art self-begotten, undefiled,
True and eternal, measuring by thy power
From heaven the fiery blast, and with rough torch
From clashing doth the scepter keep, and calm
The crashings of the heavy-sounding thunders,
And driving earth into confusion dost
Hold back the rushing noises. . . .
And the fire-blazing scourges thou dost blunt
Of lightnings, and the vast outpour of storms
And of autumnal hail, and chilling stroke
Of clouds and shock of winter. For of these
Each one indeed is marked out in thy mind,
Whatever seems good to thyself to do
Thy Son nods his assent to, having been
Begotten in thy bosom before all
Creation, fellow-counselor with thee,
Former of mortals and creator of life.
Him with the first sweet utterance of mouth
Thou didst address: "Behold, let us make man
In a form altogether like our own,
And let us give him life-sustaining breath;
Him being yet mortal all things of the world
Shall serve, and unto him formed out of clay
We will subject all things." And thou didst speak
These things by word, and all things came to pass
According to thy heart; and thy command
Together all the elements obeyed,
And an eternal creature was arranged
In mortal figure, also heaven, air, fire,
And earth and water of the sea, sun, moon,
Chorus of stars, hills . . .
Both night and day, sleeping and waking up,
Spirit and passion, soul and understanding,
Art, might and strength, and the wild tribes
Of living things both swimming things and fowls,
And of those walking, and amphibia,
And those that creep and those of double nature;
For acting in accord with his own will
Under thy leading he arranged all things.
But in the latest times the earth he passed,
And coming late from the virgin Mary's womb
A new light rose, and going forth from heaven
Put on a mortal form. First then did Gabriel show
His strong pure form; and bearing his own news
He next addressed the maiden with his voice:
"O virgin, in thy bosom undefiled
Receive thou God." Thus speaking he inbreathed
God's grace on the sweet maiden; and straightway
Alarm and wonder seized her as she heard,
And she stood trembling; and her mind was wild
With flutter of excitement while at heart
She quivered at the unlooked-for things she heard.
But she again was gladdened and her heart
Was cheered by the voice, and the maiden laughed
And her cheek reddened with a sense of joy,
And spell-bound was her heart with sense of shame.
And confidence came to her. And the Word
Flew into the womb, and in course of time
Having become flesh and endued with life
Was made a human form and came to be
A boy distinguished by his virgin birth;
For this was a great wonder to mankind,
But it was no great wonder unto God
The Father, nor was it to God the Son.
And the glad earth received the new born babe,
The heavenly throne laughed and the world rejoiced.
And the prophetic new-appearing star
'Was honored by the wise men, and the babe
Born was shown in a manger unto them
That obeyed God, and keepers of the herds,
And goatherds and to shepherds of the lambs;
And Bethlehem called by God the fatherland
Of the Word was chosen. . . . . .
And in heart practice lowliness of mind
And cruel deeds hate, and thy neighbour love
Wholly, even as thyself; and from thy soul
Love God and do him service. Therefore we
Sprung from the holy race of the heavenly Christ
Are called of common blood, and we restrain
In worship recollection of good cheer,
And walk the paths of piety and truth.
Not ever are we suffered to approach
The inmost sanctuary of the temples,
Nor pour libations to carved images,
Nor honour them with prayers, nor with the smells
Much-pleasing of flowers, nor with light of lamps,
Nor yet with shining votive offerings
Adorn them, nor with smoke of frankincense
That sends forth flame of altars; nor do thou,
Adding unto the sacrifice of bulls
And taking pleasure in defilement send
Blood of sheep-slaughtering outrage, thus to give
Ransom for penalty beneath the earth;
Nor by the smoke of flesh-consuming pyre
And odors foul pollute the light of heaven;
But joyful with pure minds and cheerful soul,
With love abounding and with generous hands,
With soothing psalms and songs that honor God,
We are commanded to sing praise to thee,
The imperishable and without deceit,
All-father God, of understanding mind,
. . . . . .
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CHRISTIAN SIBYLLINES BOOK 9

(missing)

CHRISTIAN SIBYLLINES BOOK 10

(missing)

CHRISTIAN SIBYLLINES BOOK 11

O WORLD of men wide-scattered, and long walls,
The cities huge and nations numberless,
Throughout the east and west and south and north,

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Divided off by various languages
5 And kingdoms; other things, the very worst,
Against you I am now about to speak.
For from the time when on the earlier men
The flood came and the Almighty One himself
Destroyed that race by many waters, then
10 Brought he in yet another race of men
Untiring; and they, setting themselves up
Against heaven, built to height unspeakable
A tower; and tongues of all were loosed again;
And on them hurled came wrath of God most high,
15 By which the tower unutterably great
Fell; and against each other they stirred up
An evil strife. And then of mortal men
Was the tenth race since these things came to pass;
And the whole earth was among foreign men
20 And various languages distributed,
Whose numbers I will tell and in acrostics
Of the initial letter show the name.
And first shall Egypt royal power receive
Preeminent and just; and then in her
25 Shall many-counseling men be governors;
Moreover then a fearful man shall rule,
Close-fighter very strong; and he shall have
This letter of the acrostic of his name:
Sword shall he stretch out against pious men.
30 And while this one is ruler there shall be
A fearful sign in the Egyptian land,
Which, gladdening very greatly, shall with corn
Souls perishing with famine then supply;
The law-giver, himself a prisoner,
35 The East and offspring of Assyrian men
Shall nourish; and his name know thou . . . . . .
. . . . . of the measure of the number ten.
But when there shall come from the radiant heaven
Ten strokes of judgement upon Egypt, then
40 Will I again proclaim these things to thee.
Memphis, alas, alas for thee! alas,
Great royal one! the Erythræan sea
Shall thy much people utterly destroy.
Then when the people of twelve tribes shall leave
45 The fruitful land of ruin by command
Of the Immortal, the Lord God himself
Will also give a law unto mankind.
And o'er the Hebrews then a mighty king
Magnanimous shall rule, and have a name
50 Derived from sandy Egypt, Theban man
Of doubtful native land; and Memphis he,
Dread serpent, will show outward signs of love,
And he will watch o'er many things in wars.
Now the tenth kingdom being twelve times complete
55 Seven besides and even unto the tenth hundred,
Others being altogether left behind,
Then shall arise the Persian sovereignty.
And then an evil shall befall the Jews,
Famine and pestilence intolerable
60 They do not make escape from in that day.
But when a Persian shall rule, and a son
Of his son's son shall lay the scepter down,
While years roll round to five fours, and to these
A hundred more, and thou a hundred nines
65 Shalt finish and all things shalt thou repay;
And then unto the Persians and the Medes
Shalt thou be given over as a slave,
Destroyed with blows by reason of hard fights.
Straightway to Persians and Assyrians
70 And to all Egypt shall an evil come,
And to Libya and the Ethiopians,
And to the Carians and Pamphylians
And to all other mortals. And he then
Shall to the grandsons give the royal power,
75 Who again snatching the whole earth away
Shall plunder races for their many spoils,
Not having fellow-feeling. Mournful dirges
Shall the sad Persians by the Tigris wail,
And Egypt water many a land with tears.
80 And then to thee, O Median land, a man
Of wealth abundant and of Indian birth
Shall many evils do, till thou repay
All things which thou, possessed of shameless soul,
Hast done before. Alas, alas for thee,
85 Thou Median nation; thou shalt afterwards
Be servant unto Ethiopian men
Beyond the land of Meroe; wretched thou
Shalt from the first seven and a hundred years
Complete, and put thy neck beneath the yoke.
90 And then an Indian of dark countenance
And gray hair and great soul shall afterwards
Become lord, who shall many evils bring
Upon the East by reason of hard fights;
And he shall treat thee more despitefully
95 And shall destroy all thy men. But when he
The twentieth and the tenth year shall be king,
Among them, also seven and the tenth,
Then every nation of a royal power
Shall be mad and declare their liberty,
100 And during three years leave their servile blood.
But he shall come again and every nation
Of valiant men shall put their neck again
Under the yoke, serve the king as before,
And of its own free will again obey.
105 There shall be great peace throughout all the world.
And then o'er the Assyrians there shall rule
A mighty king, a man preeminent,
And shall persuade all to speak pleasing things,
Which God ordained according to the law;
110 Then all kings arrogant with pointed spears
Timid and speechless shall before him quail,
And him shall very powerful rulers serve
Because of counsels of the mighty God;
For he will carry all things in detail
115 By reason, and all things will he subject,
And he the temple of the mighty God
And lovely altar will himself erect
In his might, and will hurl the idols down;
And gathering tribes together, both the race
120 Of fathers and the helpless little ones,
He shall encompass the inhabitants;
His name shall have two hundred for its number,
And of the eighteenth letter show the sign.
But when for rolling decades two and five
125 He shall rule, going forwards towards the end
Of his time, there shall be as many kings
As there are tribes of men, as there are clans,
As there are cities, and as isles and coasts,
And fields and lands that bring forth goodly fruit.
130 But one of these shall be a mighty king,
A leader among men; and many kings
Of lofty spirit shall submit to him,
And to his sons and grandsons opulent
Give portions on account of royal power.
135 Decades of decades, eight ones upon these
Of years shall they rule, and at last shall end.
But when with cruel Ares there shall come
A powerful wild beast, even then for thee,
O queenly land, shall wrath spring forth again.
140 Alas, alas for thee, then Persian land;
What an outpouring of the blood of men
Shalt thou receive when that stronger-minded man
Comes to thee; then I'll shout these things again.
But when Italian soil shall generate,
145 Great wonder unto mortals, there shall be
Moans of young children by a fountain pure,
In shady cavern off spring of wild beast
That feeds on sheep, who unto manhood grown
Shall upon seven strong hills with reckless soul
150 Hurl many headlong down, in numbers both
Having a hundred, and their names shall show
A great sign to them that are yet to be;
And they shall build upon the seven hills
Strong walls and wage around them grievous war.
155 And then again shall there be growing up
Revolt of men around thee, then great land
Of fine ears, high-souled Egypt; but again
I'll cry these things. And yet then shalt receive
A great stroke in thy houses; and again
160 Shall there be a revolt of thine own men.
Now over thee, O wretched Phrygia,
I weep in pity; for to thee from Greece,
Tamer of horses, there shall conquest come
And war and plague by reason of hard fights.
165 Ilium, I pity thee; for there shall come
From Sparta an Erinys to thy halls
Mixed with a deadly sting; and most of all
Shall she bring thee toils, troubles, groans, and wails,
When well-skilled men the battle shall begin,
170 By far the noblest heroes of the Greeks
Who are to Ares dear. And one of these
Shall be a strong brave king; of foulest deeds
He for his brother's sake will go in quest.
And they shall overthrow the famous walls
175 Of Phrygian Troy; when of the rolling years
Twice five shall be filled with the bloody deeds
Of savage war, a wooden artifice
Shall sudden cover men, and on thy knees
Thou shalt receive this, not perceiving it
180 To be an ambush pregnant with the Greeks,
O cause of grievous woe. Alas, alas,
How much in one night Hades shall receive,
And what spoils of the old man weeping much
Shall he bear off! But with those yet to come
185 Shall be undying fame. And the great king,
A hero sprung from Zeus, shall have his name
Of the first letter of the alphabet;
Homewards shall he in order go. And then
Shall he fall by a treacherous woman's hand.
190 And there shall rule a child sprung from the race
And the blood of Assaracus, renowned
Of heroes, both a strong and valiant man.
And he shall come out of the mighty fire
Of ravaged Troy, fleeing from fatherland
195 By reason of the fearful toil of war;
Bearing his aged father on his shoulders
And also holding his son by the hand
He shall perform a pious work of law,
Who, looking cautiously about him, cleft
200 The onset of the fire of burning Troy,
And hurrying through the multitude in dread
He shall pass over land and fearful sea.
And he shall have a trisyllabic name,
For the beginning of the alphabet
205 Points out this highest man as not unknown.
And then a city for the powerful Latins
He will raise up. And in his fifteenth year,
Destroyed by waters in the depths of sea,
Shall he lay hold on the event of death.
210 But him though dead the nations of mankind
Shall not forget; for his race over all
Shall rule hereafter even to Euphrates
And river Tigris, throughout the mid land
Of the Assyrians, where the Parthians
215 Extended. For those who are yet to come
It shall be, when all these things come to pass.
And there shall be an old man, minstrel wise,
Whom all shall among mortals call most wise,
By whose good understanding the whole world
920 Shall be instructed; for his chapters he
According to their power of thoughts will write.
And wisely will he write most marvelous things,
At times appropriating words of mine
Measures and verses; for he shall the first
225 My books unfold and after these things bide them
And unto men bring them to light no more
Until the end of baneful death and life.
But when forthwith these things have been fulfilled
Which I spoke, yet again the Greeks shall fight
230 With one another; and Assyrians,
Arabians and the quiver-bearing Medes,
And Persians and Sicilians shall rise up,
And Lydians, Thracians and Bithynians,
And they who dwell in the land of fair corn
235 Beside the streams of Nile; and among all
Will God the imperishable put at once
Confusion. But exceeding terribly
Shall an Assyrian base-born fiery man
Come suddenly, possessed of beastly soul,
240 And looking cautiously about him cut
Through every isthmus, going against all,
And sailing o'er the sea. Then, faithless Greece,
To thee shall happen very many things.
Alas, alas for thee, O wretched Greece,
245 How many things thou art obliged to wail!
And during seven and eighty rolling years
Thou shalt the miserable refuse be
Of fearful battle among all the tribes.
Then shall a Macedonian man again
250 Bring forth for Hellas woe and shall destroy
All Thrace, and toil of Ares on the isles
And coasts and the war-loving Triballi. . . . . .
He shall among the foremost fighters be,
And he shall share that name which shows the sign
255 Of numbers ten times fifty. And short-lived
Shall he be; but behind him he shall leave
The greatest kingdom on the boundless earth.
But by base spearman he himself shall fall
While thought to live in quiet as none else.
260 And afterwards shall a great-hearted child
Of this one rule, beginning with his name
The alphabet; but his race shall pass out.
Not of Zeus, not of Amnion shall they call
This one true son, yet still a bastard son
265 Of Cronos as they all imagine him.
And cities he of many mortal men
Shall plunder; and for Europe shall shoot up
The greatest sore. And also terribly
Will he abuse the city Babylon,
270 And every land the sun looks down upon,
And he alone shall sail both east and west.
Alas, alas for thee, O Babylon,
Thou shalt serve triumphs, who wast called a queen;
Down upon Asia Ares comes, he comes
275 Surely and shall thy many children slay.
And then shalt thou send forth thy royal man
Named by the number four, expert with spear
Among the mighty warriors, terrible,
Shooting with bow and arrow. And then famine
280 And war shall hold possession of the midst
Of the Cilicians and Assyrians;
But kings of lofty spirit shall embrace
The dreadful state of heart-consuming strife.
But do thou, fleeing, leave the former king,
285 Be neither willing to remain nor fear

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To be unhappy; for on thee shall come
A dreadful lion, a flesh-eating beast,
Wild, strange to justice, wearing on his shoulders
A mantle. Flee the thunder-smiting man.
And Asia all shall bear an evil yoke,
And many a murder shall the wet earth drink.
But when a mighty city prosperous
Ares of Pella shall in Egypt found,
And it shall be named from him, fate and death,
By his companions treacherously
betrayed . . . . . .
For barbarous murder shall destroy this man
Around the tables when he shall have left
The Indians and shall come to Babylon.
Thereafter other kings, in a few years,
Devourers of the people, arrogant
And faithless, shall rule each by his own tribe;
But a great-hearted hero, who shall glean
All fenced Europe, from the time each land
Shall drink the blood of all tribes, shall forthwith
Abandon life, unloosing his own fate.
And other kings there shall be, twice four men
Of his race, and the same name to them all.
And there shall be a bride of Egypt then
Commanding and a noble city great
Of Macedonian lord, queen Alexandria,
Famed nourisher of cities, shining fair
She alone shall be the metropolis.
Let Memphis then upbraid them that command.
And peace shall be deep throughout all the world;
Then shall the land of black soil have more fruits.
And then there shall come evil to the Jews,
Nor shall they in that day make their escape
From famine and intolerable plague;
But the new world of black soil and fair corn,
Divine land, shall receive much-wandering men.
But marshy Egypt's eight kings shall fill up . . . . . .
The numbers of two hundred years and three
And thirty. Yet shall offspring perish not
Of all of them, but there shall issue forth
A female root, a bane of mortal men,
Betrayer of her kingdom. But they shall
According to their evil deeds perform
Their wickedness thereafter, and one here
Another there shall perish; son that wears
The purple shall cut off his warlike sire,
And he himself in turn by his own son,
And ere he shall put forth another shoot
He shall cease; but a root shall sprout again
Thereafter of itself; and there shall be
A race beside him growing. For a queen
There shall be of the land by Nilus' streams
Which comes down through seven mouths into the sea,
And her name very lovely shall be that
Of the number twenty; and she will demand
Numberless things and gather up all goods
Of gold and silver; but from her own men
Shall treachery befall her. Then again
For thee, O dusky land, shall there be wars
And battles and great slaughter of mankind.
When many over fertile Rome shall rule,
Examples not at all of happy men,
But tyrants, and there be of thousands chiefs
And of ten thousands, and the overseers
Of popular assemblies under law,
Then shall the mightiest Caesars bear the rule
Ill-fated all their days; and of these last
Shall for initial have the number ten,
Last Caesar stretching on the earth his limbs,
Struck by dire Ares by a hostile man,
Whom carrying in their hands the youth of Rome
Shall. bury piously, and over him
Pour out their token for his friendship's sake
Rendering a tribute to his memory.
But when thou shalt come to an end of time
And hast completed twice three hundred years
And twice ten, from the time when he shall rule
Who is thy founder, child of the wild beast,
There shall no longer a dictator be
Ruling a measured period; but a lord
Shall become king, man equal to the gods.
Then, Egypt, know the king that comes to thee;
And dreadful Ares of the glittering helm
Shall surely come. For there shall be for thee,
O widowed one, a capture afterwards;
For round the walls of thy land there shall be
Terrible raging mischief-working wars.
But having suffered misery in wars
Thou, wretched, shalt thyself flee from above
Those lately wounded; and then to the couch
Shalt thou come to the dreadful man himself;
The wedlock, sharing one bed, is the end.
Alas, alas for thee, ill-wedded bride,
Thy royal power unto the Roman king
Shalt thou give, and thou shalt repay all things,
Which thou aforetime didst with masculine hands;
Thou shalt give the whole land by way of dower
As far as Libya and the dark-skinned men
To the resistless man. And thou shalt be
No more a widow, but thou shalt cohabit
With a man-eating lion terrible,
A furious warrior. And then shalt thou be
Unhappy and among all men unknown;
For thou shalt leave possessed of shameless soul;
And thee, the stately, shall the encircling tomb
Receive . . . is gone . . . living within . . .
Adapted at the summits, beautiful,
Wrought curiously, and a great multitude
Shall mourn thee and the dreadful king shall make
A piteous lamentation over thee.
And then shall Egypt be the toiling slave
Who many years against the Indians bears
Her trophies; and she shall serve shamefully,
And with the river, the fruit-bearing Nile,
her tears, for haying gathered wealth
And store of all good things, a nourisher
Of cities, she shall feed sheep-eating race
Of fearful men. All, to how many beasts,
O very wealthy Egypt, thou shalt be
Booty and spoil, but giving peoples laws;
And formerly delighting in great kings
Thou shalt to peoples be a wretched slave
On account of that people, whom of old
Piously living thou led'st to much woe
Of toils and wailings, and didst put a plow
Upon their neck and irrigate the fields
With mortal tears. Therefore the Lord himself,
The imperishable God who dwells in heaven,
Shall utterly destroy and send thee on
To wailing; and thou shalt make recompense
For what thou didst unlawfully of old,
And know at last that God's wrath came to thee.
But I to Python and to Panopeus
Of goodly towers shall go; and then shall all
Declare that 1 am a true prophetess
Oracle-singing, yet a messenger
With maddened soul. . . . . .
And when thou shalt come forward to the books
Thou shalt not tremble, and all things to come
And things that were ye shall know from our words;
Then none shall call the God-seized prophetess
An oracle-singer of necessity.
But now, Lord, end my very lovely strain,
Driving off frenzy and real voice inspired
And fearful madness, and give charming song.

CHRISTIAN SIBYLLINES BOOK 12

BUT come now, hear of me the mournful time
Of sons of Latium; and first of all
After the kings of Egypt were destroyed,
And the like earth had downwards borne them all,
And after Pella's townsman, under whom
The whole East and the rich West were cast down,
Whom Babylon dishonored, and stretched out
For Philip a dead body (not of Zeus,
Of Ammon not true things were prophesied),
And after that one of the race and blood
Of king Assaracus, who came from Troy,
Even he who cleft the violence of fire,
And after many lords, and after men
To Ares dear, and after the young babes,
The children of the beast that feeds on sheep,
And after the passing of six hundred years
And decades two of Rome's dictatorship,
The very first lord, from the western sea,
Shall be of Rome the ruler, very strong
And warlike, the initial of whose name
Begins the letters, and fast binding thee,
O thou of goodly fruit, he shall be full
Of man-destroying Ares; thou shalt pay
The outrage which thou willing didst force on;
For he, great soul, shall be the best in wars;
Before him Thrace and Sicily shall crouch,
With Memphis, Memphis cast headlong to earth
By reason of the wickedness of rulers
And of a woman unenslaved who falls
Under the spear. And laws will he ordain
For peoples and put all things under him;
Having great fame he shall wield scepter long;
For no short time shall he last nor shall ever
Be other greater scepter-bearing king
Than this one, o'er the Romans, not one hour,
For God did lavish all things upon him,
And also in the noble earth he showed
Great marvelous seasons, and with them showed signs.
But when a radiant star all like the sun
Shall shine forth out of heaven in the mid days,
Then shall the secret Word of the Most High
Come clothed in flesh like mortals; but with him
The might of Rome and of the illustrious Latins
Shall increase. But the mighty king himself
Shall under his appointed lot expire,
Transmitting to another royal power.
But after him a man, a warrior strong,
Wearing the purple mantle on his shoulders,
Shall bear rule, and with his initial be
Numbers three hundred, and he shall destroy
The Medes and arrow-hurling Parthians;
And he himself by his power shall subvert
The high-gate city; and again shall come
Evil to Egypt and the Assyrians,
And to the Colchian Heniochi,
And to those by the waters of the Rhine,
The Germans dwelling o'er the sandy shores.
And he himself shall ravage afterwards
The high-gate city near Eridanus
Which is devising evils. And then he
Shall forthwith fall down, struck by gleaming iron.
And afterwards shall rule another man
Weaving guile, and the initial of his name
Will show the number three; and he much gold
Shall gather; and with him there shall not be
Satiety of wealth, but plundering more
Recklessly he'll put all things in the earth.
But peace shall come, and Ares shall desist
From wars; and he shall make known many things
In divination of the greatest things,
Inquiring for the sake of means of life;
Yet there shall be on him the greatest sign:
From heaven down on the king while perishing
There shall flow many little drops of blood.
And many lawless things will he perform,
And put around the neck of Romans pain
Trusting in divination; and the heads
Of the assembly he will also slay.
And famine shall seize Cappadocians,
And Thracians, Macedonians, and Italians.
And Egypt shall alone feed numerous tribes;
And the king himself beguiling secretly
Shall craftily destroy the virgin maid;
But her the citizens in tearful grief
Shall bury; and against the king they all
Holding wrath shall abuse him craftily.
While strong Rome blossoms the strong man shall perish.
And again there shall rule another lord
Of the number of twice ten; and then shall come
Unto the Sauromatians and to Thrace
And the Triballi, famed for hurling darts,
Wars and sad cares; and Roman Ares shall
Tear all in pieces. And a fearful sign
Shall there be when this man shall rule the land
Of the Italians and Pannonians;
And there shall be at the mid hour of day
Dark night around them and then from the heaven
A shower of stones; and thereupon the lord
And vigorous judge of the Italians
Shall go in Hades' halls by his own fate.
Again another fearful man shall come
And dreadful, numbering fifty; and from all
The cities many noblest citizens
Born to wealth he shall utterly destroy,
A dreadful serpent breathing grievous war,
Who sometime stretching forth his hands shall make
An end of his own race and stir all things,
Acting the athlete, driving chariots,
Putting to death and daring countless things;
And he shall cleave the mountain of two seas,
And sprinkle it with gore. And out of sight
Shall also vanish the destructive man;
Then making himself equal unto God
Shall he return, but God will prove him naught.
And while he rules there shall be peace profound
And not the fears of men; and from the ocean
Flowing, and cleaving by Ausonia,
Shall come untrodden water; and around
Looking with anxious care he will appoint
His very many contests for the people,
And he himself an actor will contend
With voice and cithara, and sing a song
Along with harp-string; later he will flee
And leave the royal power, and perishing
Illy will he repay the harm he wrought.
After him three shall rule and two of them
Shall have the number seventy by their names,
And in addition to these shall be one
Of the third letter; and one here, one there,
Shall perish by strong Ares' sturdy hands.
Then shall a mighty ruler of men come,
Destroyer of the pious, strong-minded man,
Spear-wielding Ares, whom seven times the tenth
Shall point out clearly; he shall overthrow
Phœnicia and destroy Assyria.

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A sword shall come upon the sacred land
Of Solyma even to the utmost bend
Of the Tiberian sea. Alas, alas,
Phœnicia, O how much shalt thou endure,
Grief-laden with thy trophies tightly bound,
And every nation shall upon thee tread.
Alas, alas, to the Assyrians
Shalt thou come and shalt see young children serve
Among unfriendly men and with the wives,
And every means of life and wealth shall perish;
For on thee God's wrath causing grievous woe
Shall come, because they did not keep his law,
But served all idols with unseemly arts.
And many wars and fights and homicides,
Famines, and pestilences, and confusion
Of cities shall be. But the reverend king
Of mighty soul shall at the end of life
Himself fall by a strong necessity.
Then shall two other chief men, cherishing
The memory of their father, great king, rule,
And in contending warriors glory much.
And (one) of these shall be a noble man
And lordly, whose name shall three hundred hold;
Yet he shall also fall by treachery,
Not in the warring companies stretched out,
But struck in Rome's plain by the two-edged brass.
And after him a powerful warlike man
Of the letter four shall rule the mighty realm,
Whom all men on the boundless earth shall love,
And then shall there be over all the world
A rest from war. Yet all, from west to east,
Shall serve him willingly, not by constraint,
And cities shall be under his control
And of themselves be subject. For to him
Shall heavenly Sabaoth much glory bring,
The imperishable God who dwells on high.
And then shall famine waste Pannonia
And all the Celtic land, and shall destroy
One here, another there. And there shall be
For the Assyrians, whom Orontes laves,
Structures and ornament and what may seem
Yet greater anywhere. And the great king
Shall have a fondness for these and love them
Above the others far (and there are many);
But he himself shall in mid breast receive
A great wound, and seized at the end of life
Craftily, by a friend, in hallowed house
Of the great royal hall shall he fall down
Wounded; and after him shall be a ruler
Numbering fifty, venerable man,
Who above measure shall destroy from Rome
Many inhabitants and citizens;
But he shall rule few; for in Hades' halls
For a former king's sake he shall wounded go.
But then another king, a warrior strong,
Who has three hundred for initial sign,
Shall bear rule and lay waste the Thracians' land
Which is much varied, and he shall destroy
The powerful Germans dwelling by the Rhine
And the Iberians that shoot the arrow.
Moreover, there shall be unto the Jews
Another greatest evil, and with them
Bedewed with murder shall Phœnicia drink;
And the walls of the Assyrians shall fall
By many warriors. And again a man
Destroying life shall waste them utterly.
And then shall threatenings of the mighty God,
Earthquakes, and great plagues be on every land,
Untimely snow-storms, and strong thunderbolts.
And then the great king, mountain-roaming Celt,
Shall for the toil of Ares not escape
A fate unseemly, hastening eagerly
After the strife of battle, but worn out
Shall he be; foreign dust shall hide his corpse,
But dust that of Nemea's flower has name.
And after him another shall arise,
A silver-headed man, and of the sea
Shall be his name, and of four syllables,
Ares himself first of the alphabet
Presenting. Temples he shall dedicate
In all the cities, watching o'er the world
By his own foot, and bringing gifts away,
Both gold and amber much will he supply
For many; and magicians' mysteries
All will he from the sanctuaries keep;
And what is much more excellent for men
Will he place . . . ruling . . . thunderbolt;
And great peace shall be when he shall be lord;
And he shall be a minstrel of rich voice
And a participant in lawful things,
And a just minister of what is right;
But he shall fall, unloosing his own fate.
After him three shall rule, and the third late
Shall rule, three decades keeping; yet again
Of the first unit shall another king
Bear the rule; and another after him
Shall be commander, of tens numbering seven;
And their names shall be honored; and they shall
Themselves destroy men marked by many a spot,
Britons and mighty Moors and Dacians
And the Arabians. But when the last
Of these shall perish, fearful Ares then,
He that before was wounded, shall again
Against the Parthians come, and utterly
Shall he destroy them. And then shall the king
Himself fall by a treacherous wild beast
Training his hands--excuse itself of death.
And after him another man shall rule,
In many wise things skilled, and he shall have
Himself the name of the first mighty king
Of the first unit; and he shall be good
And mighty; and for the illustrious Latins
Shall this strong one accomplish many things
In memory of his father; and forthwith
Shall he adorn the walls of Rome with gold
And silver and ivory; and he shall go
Within the market places and the temples
With a strong man. And sometime direst wound
Shall shoot up like ears in the Roman wars;
And he shall sack the whole land of the Germans,
When a great sign of God shall be displayed
From heaven, and shall for the king's piety
Save men in brazen armor and distress;
For God who is in heaven and hears all things
Shall wet him with unseasonable rain
When he prays. But when these things are fulfilled
Of which I spoke, then with the rolling years
Shall also the renowned dominion cease
Of the great pious king; and at the end
Of his life, having then proclaimed his son
Succeeding to the kingdom, he shall die
By his own lot and leave the royal power
Unto the ruler with the golden hair,
Who with two tens in his name, born a king
From the race of his father, shall receive
Dominion. This man with superior powers
Of mind shall grasp all things; and he shall rival
Great-hearted overweening Hercules,
And be the best in mighty arms and have
The greatest fame in chase and horsemanship;
But he shall live in peril all alone.
And while this man is ruler there shall be
A fearful sign: there shall be a great mist
Then in the plain of Rome, so that a man
May not discern his neighbour. And then wars
Shall come to pass along with mournful cares,
When the king himself, exceeding mad with love,
And weakly, shall come in the marriage-bed
Shaming his youthful offspring, infamous
For inconsiderate wedding-songs impure.
And then, in helpless loneliness concealed,
The mighty baneful man held under wrath
Shall in a bath-room suffer evil plight,
Man-slaying Ares bound by treacherous fate.
Know then the fatal lot of Rome is near
Because of zeal for power; and by the hands
Of Ares many in Palladian halls
Shall perish. And then Rome shall be bereft
And shall repay all things, which she alone
Before accomplished by her many wars.
My heart laments, my heart within me mourns;
For from the time when thy first king, proud Rome,
Gave good law to thee and to men on earth,
And the Word of the great immortal God
Came to the earth, until the nineteenth reign
Shall have been finished Cronos shall complete
Two hundred years, twice twenty and twice two,
With six months added; then the twentieth king,
When smitten with sharp brass he with the sword
Shall in thy houses pour out blood, shall make
Thy race a widow, having in his name
The letter which the number eighty shows,
And burdened with old age; but he shall make
A widow of thee in a little time,
When many warriors, many overthrows,
And murders, homicides, and deadly feuds
And miseries of conquests there shall be,
And in confusion many a horse and man
Shall, cleft by force of hands, fall in the plain.
And then another man shall rule, and have
The sign of his name in the number ten;
And many sorrows shall he bring to pass,
And groans, and he shall plunder many men;
But he himself shall be short-lived and fall
By mighty Ares, struck by gleaming iron.
Another, numbering fifty, then shall come,
A warrior roused up by the East for rule;
A warlike Ares he shall come to Thrace;
And he shall flee thereafter and shall come
Into the land of the Bithynians
And the Cilician plain; but brazen Ares
The life-destroyer shall with speedy stroke
Utterly spoil him in the Assyrian fields.
And then again there shall rule craftily
A man skilled in fraud, full of various wiles,
Roused up by the West, and his name shall have
The number of two hundred. And again
Another sign: he shall contrive a war
For royal power against Assyrian men,
Raise a whole army and subject all things.
And he shall rule the Romans with his might;
But there is much contrivance in his heart,
Impulse of baleful Ares; serpent dire,
And violent in war, who shall destroy
All high-born men upon the earth, and slay
The noble for their wealth, and, robber like,
Stripping all earth while men are perishing,
He shall go to the East; and all deceit
Shall be to him . . . . . .
Then shall a youthful Caesar with him reign
Having the name of a puissant lord
Of Macedon, by the first letter known;
Bringing in broils around him he shall flee
The hard deception of the coming king
In the bosom of the army; but the one
Who rules by his barbaric usages,
A temple-guard, shall perish suddenly
Slain by strong Ares with the gleaming iron;
Him even dead shall people tear in pieces.
And then the kings of Persia shall rise up;
And . . . . . Roman Ares Roman lord.
And Phrygia shall with earthquakes groan again
Wretched. Alas, alas, Laodicea;
Alas, alas, sad Hierapolis;
For you first once the yawning earth received.
Of Rome . . . immense Aus . . . . . .
All things as many . . . . . .
Shall wail . . . . . while men are perishing
In the hands of Ares; and the lot of men
Shall be bad; but then by the eastern way
Hastening to look down upon Italy,
Stripped naked he shall fall by gleaming iron,
Acquiring hatred for his mother's sake.
For seasons are of all sorts; each holds back
The other . . . gleaming and this not at once all know;
For all things shall not be (the lot) of all,
But only those shall be for happiness
Who honor God and shun idolatry.
And now, Lord of the world, of every realm
Unfeigned immortal King--for thou didst put
Into my heart the oracle divine--
Make thou the word cease; for I do not know
What things I say; for thou art in me he
That speaketh all these things. Now let me rest
A little and put from my heart aside
The charming song; for weary is my heart
Foretelling with divine words royal power.

CHRISTIAN SIBYLLINES BOOK 13

GREAT word divine he bids me sing again--
The immortal holy God imperishable,
Who gives to kings their power and takes away,
And who determined for them time both ways,
Both that of life and that of baneful death.
And these the heavenly God enjoins on me
Unwilling to bring tidings unto kings
Concerning royal power. . . . . .
And spear impetuous Ares; and by him
All perish, child and the old man who gives
To the assemblies laws; and many wars
And battles there shall be, and homicides,
Famines and pestilences, earthquake-shocks
And mighty thunderbolts, and many ways
Of the Assyrians over all the world,
And pillaging and robbery of temples.
And then an insurrection there shall be
Of the industrious Persians, and with them
Indians, Armenians, and Arabians;
And unto these again a Roman king
Insatiate in war and leading on
His spearmen against the Assyrians
Shall draw near, a young Ares, and as far
As the deep-flowing silvery Euphrates
Shall warlike Ares stretch his deadly spear
Because of . . . . . .
For by his friend betrayed he shall fall down
In the ranks smitten by the gleaming iron.
And straightway coming out of Syria
There shall a purple-loving warrior rule,
Terror of Ares, and also his son,
A Caesar, shall even all the earth oppress;
And the one name is unto both of them:

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On first and twentieth there are to be placed
Five hundred. But when these in wars shall rule,
And laws shall be enacted, there shall be
A little rest from war, not for long time;
But when a wolf shall to a flock of sheep
Pledge solemn oaths against the white-toothed dogs,
Then, having misled, he will tear in pieces
The woolly sheep, and cast his oaths aside;
And then shall there be an unlawful strife
Of haughty kings in wars, and Syrians
Shall perish terribly, and Indians
And the Armenians and Arabians,
The Persians and the Babylonians
Shall one another by hard fights destroy.
But when a Roman Ares shall destroy
A German Ares ruinous of life
Triumphing on the ocean, then is war
Of many years for haughty Persian men,
But for them there shall not be victory;
For as a fish swims not upon the point
Of a high many-ridged and windy rock
Precipitant, nor does a tortoise fly,
Nor does an eagle into water come,
So also are the Persians in that day
Far off from victory, while the fond nurse
Of the Italians, in the plain of Nile
Reposing by the sacred water's side,
Sends forth the appointed lot to seven-hilled Rome.
Now these things are; and while the name of Rome
Shall hold in numbers of revolving time,
So many years shall the great noble city
Of Macedon's lord, willing, deal out corn.
Another much-distressing pain I'll sing
For Alexandrians who are destroyed
By reason of the strife of shameful men.
Strong men who were aforetime terrible
Being then impotent shall pray for peace
By reason of the wickedness of chiefs.
And there shall come wrath of the mighty God
On the Assyrians and a mountain stream
Shall utterly destroy them, which shall come
To Caesar's city and harm Canaanites.
The Pyramus shall irrigate the city
Of Mopsus; then shall the Ægæans fall
Because of strife of very mighty men.
Thee, wretched Antioch, shall Ares strong
Leave not while round thee an Assyrian war
Is pressing, for a chief of men shall dwell
Within thy houses who shall fight with all
The arrow-hurling Persians, he himself
Having obtained of Romans royal power.
Now, cities of Arabians, deck yourselves
With temples and with places for the race,
And with broad markets and with splendid wealth,
With images, gold, silver, ivory;
And thou who art of all most fond of learning,
Bostra and Philippopolis, that thou may'st come
Into great sorrow; and the laughing spheres
Of the zodiacal vault, Aries,
Taurus, and Gemini, and as many stars
Ruling hours as with them in heaven appear
Shall benefit thee not; thou, wretched one,
Hast trusted many, when that very man
Shall afterwards bring near that which is thine.
And now for Alexandrians loving war
Will I sing wars most dreadful; and much people
Shall perish while their cities are destroyed
By citizens against each other matched
And fighting for the sake of hateful strife,
And round them horrid Ares, rushing on,
Shall cease from war. And then one of great soul
Along with his own mighty son shall fall
By treachery on the older king's account.
And after him there shall rule powerfully
O'er fertile Rome another great-souled lord
Versed in war, coming from the Dacians
And numbering three hundred; he shall have
Also the letter of the number four,
And many shall be slay, and then the king
Shall all his brothers and his friends destroy
Even while the kings are cut off, and straightway
Shall there be fights and pillagings and murders
Suddenly on the older king's account.
Then, when a wily man shall summoned come,
A robber and a Roman not well known
From Syria appearing, he by guile
Into a race of Cappadocian men
Shall drive through and, besieging, shall press hard,
Insatiate of war. And then for thee,
Tyana and Mazaka, there shall be
A capture; thou shalt be enslaved and put
Upon thy neck again a fearful yoke.
Arid Syria shall mourn for men destroyed
And then Selenian goddess shall not guard
Her holy city. But when he by flight
From Syria shall before the Romans come,
And shall pass over the Euphrates' streams,
No longer like the Romans, but like fierce
Dart-shooting Persians, then, fulfilling fate,
Down shall the ruler of the Italians fall
In the ranks smitten by the gleaming iron;
And close upon him shall his children perish.
But when another king of Rome shall reign,
Then also to the Romans there shall come
Unstable nations, on the walls of Rome
Destructive Ares with his bastard son;
Then also shall be famines, pestilence,
And mighty thunderbolts, and dreadful wars,
And anarchy in cities suddenly;
And the Syrians shall perish fearfully;
For there shall come upon them the great wrath
Of the Most High and straightway an uprising
of the industrious Persians, and mixed up
With Persians shall the Syrians destroy
The Romans, but by the divine decree
They shall not make a conquest of their laws.
Alas, how many with their goods shall flee
Front the East unto men of other tongues
Alas, the dark blood of how many men
The land shall drink! For that shall be a time
In which the living uttering o'er the dead
A blessing shall by word of mouth pronounce
Death beautiful and death shall flee from them.
And now for thee, O wretched Syria,
I weep in sorrow; for to thee shall come
A dreadful blow from arrow-shooting men,
Which thou didst never think would come to thee.
Also the fugitive of Rome shall come
Bearing a great spear, Crossing on his way
Euphrates with his many myriads,
And he shall burn thee, and dispose all things
In a bad way. O wretched Antioch,
And thee a city they shall never call,
When by thy lack of prudence thou shalt fall
Under the spears; and stripping off all things
And making naked he shall leave thee thus
Coverless, houseless; and when anyone
Sees he shall of a sudden weep for thee.
And thou shalt be, O Hierapolis,
A triumph, also thou, Berœa; weep
At Chalcis over lately wounded sons.
Alas, how many by the steep high mount
Of Casius shall dwell and by Amanus
How many, and how many Lycus laves,
And Marsyas as many and Pyramus
The silver-eddying; for even to the bounds
Of Asia they shall treasure up their spoils,
Make cities naked, and bear idols off
And cast down temples on much-nourishing earth.
And sometime to Gauls and Pannonians,
To Mysians and Bithynians there shall be
Great sorrow when a warrior shall have come.
O Lycians, Lycians, there shall come a wolf
To lick thy blood, when Sannians shall come
With city-wasting Ares and the Carpians
Shall draw near with Ausonians to fight.
And then by his own shameless recklessness
The bastard son shall put the king to death,
And he himself for his impiety
Shall straightway perish. And again shall rule
After him yet another whose name shows
First letter; but he too shall quickly fall
By mighty Ares, struck by gleaming iron.
And yet again the world shall be confused,
Men perishing by pestilence and war.
And the Persians maddened by the Ausonians
Shall in the toil of Ares yet again
Force their way. And then there shall be a flight
Of Romans; and thereafter there shall come
The priest heard of all round, sent by the sun,
From Syria appearing and by guile
Shall he accomplish all things. And then too
The city of the sun shall offer prayer;
And round about her shall the Persians dare
The fearful threatenings of the Phœnicians.
But when two chiefs, men swift in war, shall rule
The very mighty Romans, one of whom
Shall have the number seventy, and the other
The number three, even then the stately bull,
That digs the earth with his hoofs and stirs up
The dust with his two horns, shall many ills
Upon a dark-skinned reptile perpetrate--
Which draws a trail with his scales; and besides,
Himself shall perish. And yet after him
Again shall come another fair-horned stag,
Hungry upon the mountains, striving hard
To feed upon the venom-shedding beasts
Then shall a dread and fearful lion come,
Sent from the sun, and breathing forth much flame.
And then too by his shameless recklessness
Shall he destroy the well-horned rapid stag,
And the most mighty venom-shedding beast
So dread, that sends forth many piping sounds,
And the he-goat that sideways moves along,
And after him fame follows; he himself
Sound, unhurt, unapproachable, shall rule
The Romans, and the Persians shall be weak.
But, Lord, King of the world, O God, restrain
The song of our words, and give charming song.

CHRISTIAN SIBYLLINES BOOK 14

O MEN, why do ye vainly think on things
Too lofty, as if ye immortal were?
And ye are ruling but a little time,
And over mortals all desire to reign,
Not understanding that God himself hates
The lust of rule, and most of all things hates
Insatiate kings fearful in wickedness,
And over them he stirs up what is dark;
Wherefore, instead of good works and just thoughts,
Ye all choose for your garments purple robes,
Desiring wretched fights and homicides
Them God imperishable who dwells in heaven
Shall make short-lived, destroy them utterly,
And overthrow one here, another there.
But when there shall a bull-destroyer come
Trusting in his own might, thick-haired and grim,
And shall destroy all, he shall also tear
Shepherds in pieces, and no victory
Shall be theirs unless soon, with speed of feet
Pursuing eagerly through wooded glens,
Young dogs shall meet in conflict; for a dog
Pursued the lion which destroys the shepherds.
And then there shall be a lord confident
In his might, and named with four syllables,
And shown forth clearly from the number one;
But him shall brazen Ares quickly slay
Because of conflict with insatiate men.
Then shall two other princely men bear rule,
Both of the number forty; and with them
Shall great peace be in the world and to all
The people law and right; but them in turn
Shall men with gleaming helmet, needing gold
And silver, impiously put to death
For these things, catching them by their deft plans.
And then again a dreadful lord shall rule,
Young, fighting hand to hand, whose name shall show
The number seventy, life-destroying, fierce,
Who to the army basely shall betray
The people of Rome, slain by wickedness
Because of wrath of kings, and he shall hurl
Down every city and hut of the Latins.
And Rome is no more to be seen or heard,
Such as of late another traveler saw;
For all these things shall in the ashes lie,
Nor shall there be a sparing of her works;
For hurtful he himself shall come from heaven,
God the immortal from the sky shall send
Lightnings and thunderbolts upon mankind;
And some he will destroy by lightnings burned,
And others with his mighty thunderbolts.
And Rome's strong children and the famous Latins
Shall then the shameless dreadful ruler slay.
Around him dead the dust shall not lie light,
But he shall be a sport for dogs and birds
And wolves, for he a martial people spoiled.
After him, numbering forty, there shall rule
Another, famous Parthian-destroyer,
German-destroyer, putting down dread beasts
That kill men, which upon the ocean's streams
And the Euphrates press continuous on.
And then shall Rome again be as before.
But when there comes a great wolf in thy plains,
A ruler marching onward from the West,
Then shall he under powerful Ares die
Being cleft asunder by the piercing brass.
And o'er the very mighty Romans then
Shall there rule yet again another man
Of great heart, from. Assyria brought to light,
Of the first letter, and he shall himself
By means of wars put all things under him,
And by his armies at once power display
And lay down laws; but him shall brazen Ares
Quickly destroy by treacherous armies falling.
After him three of haughty heart shall rule,
One having the first number, one three tens,
And the other with three hundred shall partake,
Cruel, who gold and silver in much fire
Shall melt in statues of gods made with hands,
And to the armies they, equipped for war,
Will, for the sake of victory, moneys give,
Dividing many costly things and goods;

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And in like manner, striving eagerly
After power, they shall barm disastrously
The arrow-shooting Parthians of the deep
And swift Euphrates, and the hostile Medes,
And the soft-haired warlike Massagetæ
And Persians also, quiver-bearing men.
But when the king shall his own fate unloose
Leaving unto his sons more fit for arms
The royal scepter and entreating right,
Then they, forgetful of their father's words
And having their hands all prepared for war,
Shall rush in conflict for the royal power.
And then another lord, of the third number,
Shall rule alone, and smitten by a sword
Shall quickly see his fate. Then after him
Shall many perish at each other's hands,
Being very valiant for the royal power.
Moreover a great-hearted one shall rule
The very mighty Romans, an old lord,
Of the number four, and manage all things well.
And then upon Phœnicia shall come war
And conflict, when there shall come nations near
Of arrow-shooting Persians; ah, how many
Shall before men of barbarous speech fall down!
Sidon and Tripolis and Berytus
The loudly-boasting shall behold each other
Amid the blood and bodies of the dead.
Wretched Laodicea, round thyself
Thou shalt a great and unsuccessful war
Stir up through the impiety of men,
Ah, hapless Tyrians, ye shall gather in
An evil harvest; when in the day-time
The sun that lighteth mortals shall withdraw,
And his disk not appear, and drops of blood
Thick and abundant shall flow down from heaven
Upon the earth. And then the king shall die,
Betrayed by his companions. After him
Shall many shameless leaders still promote
The wicked strife and one another kill.
And then shall there a reverend ruler be,
Of much skill, with a name that numbers five,
Confiding in great armies, whom mankind
Will fondly love because of royal power;
And having the good name he shall thereto
Add by good deeds. But while he reigns there shall
'Twixt Taurus and snow-clad Amanus be
A fearful sign. From the Cilician land
A city new and beautiful and strong
Shall by the deep strong rivers be destroyed.
And in Propontis and in Phrygia
Shall there be many earthquakes. And the king
Of great renown shall under his own lot
By wasting deadly sickness lose his life.
And after him shall rule two lordly kings,
One numbering three hundred, and one three;
And many shall he utterly destroy
In defense of the seven-hill city Rome,
And for the sake of powerful sovereignty.
And then shall evil to the senate come,
Nor shall it from the angry king escape
While he holds wrath against it. And a sign
Shall then appear to all men upon earth;
And fuller shall the rains be, snow and hail
Shall ruin field-fruits o'er the boundless earth.
But they shall fall in wars, slain by strong Ares
In behalf of the war for the Italians.
And then again another king shall rule,
Full of devices, gathering all the army,
And for the sake of war distributing
Money to those with brazen breastplate clad;
But thereupon shall Nilus, rich in corn,
Beyond the Libyan mainland irrigate
For two years the dark soil and fruitful land
Of Egypt; but all things shall famine seize
And war and robbers, murders, homicides.
And many cities shall by warlike men
Be thrown down headlong by the army's hands;
And he, betrayed, shall fall by gleaming iron.
After him one whose number is three hundred
Shall rule the Romans, very mighty men;
He shall stretch forth a life-destroying spear
Against the Armenians and the Parthians,
The Assyrians and the Persians firm in war.
And then anew shall a creation be
Of splendidly built Rome with gold and amber
And silver and ivory in order raised;
And in her many people shall abide
From all the East and from the prosperous West;
And the king shall make other laws for her;
But then shall death destructive and strong fate
In turn receive him in a boundless isle.
And there shall rule another, of ten triads,
A man like a wild beast, fair-haired and grim,
Who shall be a descendant of the Greeks.

And then a city of Molossian Phthia
Feeding much, and Larissa shall be bent
Down on Peneus's overhanging brows;
And then too in horse-feeding Scythia
Shall be an insurrection. And dire war
Shall be hard by the waters of the lake
Mæotis at streams by the utmost mouth
Of the fount of watery Phasis on the mead
Of asphodel; and there shall many fall
By powerful warriors. Ah, how many men
Shall Ares with strong brass receive! And then,
Having destroyed a Scythian race, the king
Shall die in his own lot unloosing life.
And yet another of the number four
Shall rule thereafter, openly made known
A dreadful man, whom all Armenians,
Who drink the best ice of the flowing stream
Araxes, and the Persians of great soul
Shall fear in wars. And between Colchians
And very strong Pelasgi there shall be
Wars, fights, and homicides. And those who hold
The cities of the land of Phrygia
And those of the Propontis, and make bare
From out their scabbards the two-edged swords,
Shall smite each other through sore impiousness.
And then shall God to mortal men display
From heaven a great sign with the rolling years,
A bat, the portent of bad war to come.
And then the king shall not escape stern fate,
But die by hand, slain by the gleaming iron.
After him, numbering fifty, there shall rule
Again another coming out of Asia,
A dreadful terror, fighting hand to hand;
And he shall set war on Rome's stately walls,
And among Colchians, and Heniochi,
And the milk-drinking Agathyrsians
By Euxine sea, at Thracia's sandy bay.
And then the king shall not escape stern fate,
And they will tear in pieces his dead corpse.
And then, the king slain, man-ennobling Rome
Shall be a desert, and much people perish.
And then again one terrible and dread
From mighty Egypt shall rule, and destroy
Great hearted Parthians and Medes and Germans,
And Agathyrsians of the Bosporus,
Iernians, Britons, and Iberians
That bear the quiver, bent Massagetæ,
And Persians thinking themselves more than men.
And then a famous man shall look upon
All Hellas, acting as an enemy
To Scythia and windy Caucasas.
And there shall be a dread sign while he rules:
Crowns altogether like the shining stars
Shall from heaven in the south and north appear.
And then shall he bequeath the royal power
To his son whose initial letter heads
The alphabet, when in the halls of Hades
The manly king in his own lot shall go.
But when the son of this man in the land
Of Rome shall rule, shown by the number one,
There shall be over all the earth great peace
Much longed for, and the Latins will love him
As king because of his own father's worth;
Him, eager to go both to East and West,
The Roman people shall against his will
Retain at home and in command of Rome,
For among all there is a friendly heart
Felt for their royal and illustrious lord.
But baneful death shall snatch him out of life,
Short-lived, abandoned to his destiny.
But others afterwards again shall smite
Each other, powerful warriors, carrying on
An evil strife, not holding kingly power,
But being tyrants. And in all the world
Shall they bring many evil things to pass,
But chiefly for the Romans till the time
Of the third Dionysus, until armed
With helmet Ares shall from Egypt come,
Whom they shall surname Dionysus lord.
But when the famous royal purple cloak
A murderous lion and murderous lioness
Shall rend, together they shall grasp the lungs
Of the changed kingdom; then a holy king,
Whose name has the first letter, pressing hard
For victory, shall cast down hostile chiefs
To be the food of dogs and birds of prey.
Alas for thee, O city burned with fire,
O powerful Rome! How many things must thou
Needs suffer when all these things come to pass!
But the great far-famed king shall afterward
Raise thee all up again with gold and amber
And silver and ivory, and in the world
Thou shalt in thy possessions foremost be,
Also in temples, market-places, wealth,

And race-grounds; and then shalt thou be again
A light for all, even as thou wast before.
Ah, wretched Cecropes and Cadmeans
And the Laconians, who are situate
Around Peneus and Molossian stream
Thick grown with rushes, Tricca and Dodona,
And high-built Ithome, Pierian ridge
Around the summit of Olympian mount,
Ossa, Larissa, and high-gate Calydon.
But when God shall for mortals bring to pass
A great sign, day dark twilight round the world,
Even then to thee, O king, the end shall come,
Nor is it possible that thou escape
A brother's piercing dart against thee hurled.
And then again shall rule a life-destroyer,
A fiery eagle from the royal race,
Who shall of Egypt's offspring take fast hold,
Younger, but than his brother much more strong,
Who has for his first sign the number eighty.
And then the whole world shall for honor's sake
Bear in its lap the soul-distressing wrath
Of the immortal God; and there shall come
On mortal men, the creatures of a day,
Famines and plagues and wars and homicides,
And an incessant darkness o'er the earth,
Mother of peoples, and relentless wrath
From heaven, and disorder of the times,
And earthquake shocks, and flaming thunderbolts,
And stones and storms of rain and squalid drops.
And the high summits of the Phrygian land
Feel the shock, bases of the Scythian hills
Feel the shock, cities tremble, and all earth
Trembles at the cliffs of the land of Greece.
And many cities, God being very wroth,
Shall fall prone under burning thunderbolts
And with bewailings, and to shun the wrath
And make escape is not even possible.
And then the king shall by a strong hand fall,
Struck as if he were no one by his men.
After him of the Latins many men
Wearing the purple mantle on their shoulders
Shall be again raised up, who shall by lot
Desire to lay hold on the royal power.
And then upon the stately walls of Rome
Shall be three kings, two having the first number,
And one the eponym of victory
Bearing as no one else. They shall love Rome
And all the world, concerned for mortal men;
But they shall not accomplish anything;
For God has not been gracious to the world
Neither will he be gentle with mankind,
Because they have done many evil things.
Therefore to kings shall he a mean soul bring
Still worse than that of leopards and of wolves;
For harshly seizing them with their own hands,
Like feeble women who are idly slain,
Shall men in brazen breastplate utterly
Destroy the kings together with their scepters.
Ah, wretched lofty men of glorious Rome,
Trusting in false oaths ye shall be destroyed.
And then shall many masters with the spear,
Men rushing not in order furious on,
Take away offspring of the first-born men
In their blood. . . . . Therefore thrice
Shall the Most High then bring on dreadful doom,
And all men with their works shall he destroy.
But into judgement yet again shall God
Cause them to come that have a shameless soul,
As many as determined evil things;
And they themselves are fenced in, falling one
Upon another, and given over there
Into that condemnation of wickedness.
All one by one, yet a brilliant comet . . . . . .
Of much to come, of war and battle strife,
But at the time when one about the isles
Shall gather many oracles that speak
To strangers of fight and of battle strife,
And grievous harm of temples, he shall bid
One in great haste to gather in Rome's halls
For twelve months wheat and barley in abundance,
And this most quickly. And in wretched plight
The city shall be those days, and straightway
Shall it again be prosperous not a little;
And rest shall be when that rule is destroyed.
And then the last race of the Latin kings
Shall be, and after it again shall grow
Dominion, children and the children's race
Shall be unshaken; for it shall be known,
Since of a surety God himself is king.
There is a land dear, nourisher of men,
Situate in a plain, and round it Nile
Marks off the boundary and separates
All Libya and Ethiopia.
And Syrians short-lived, one from one place,

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Another from another, from that land
Shall snatch away all movable effects;
A great and careful lord shall be their king,
Training up youth and sending off for men,
And planning something fearful about those
Most fearful, above all he shall send forth
A powerful helper of all Italy
The lofty-minded. And when he shall come
Unto the dark sea of Assyria
He shall despoil Phœnicians in their homes,
And fastening evil war and battle dire
Shall be one lord of the two lords of earth.
And now will I for Alexandrians sing
Their grievous end; alas, barbarians
Shall possess sacred Egypt, land unharmed,
Unshaken, when wrath from the gods shall come.
. . . . . making winter summer,
Then shall the oracles be all fulfilled.
But when three youths in the Olympian games
Shall conquer, and thou shalt bid them that know
The oracles that call on God to cleanse
First by the blood of sucking quadruped,
Thrice therefore shall the Most High then bring on
A fearful lot, and be shall over all
Brandish the mournful long spear; then much blood
Barbarian shall be poured out in the dust
When the city shall be plundered utterly
By inhospitable strangers. Happy he
Who is dead, also happy any one
Who is without a child; for he who once
Was leader surnamed for them that are free,
Far-famed in song, no longer in his mind
Revolving earlier plans, shall place their neck
Under a servile yoke; such slavery,
Cause of much weeping, shall a lord impose.
And then straightway an army of Sicilians
Ill-fated shall come, carrying dismay,
When a barbarian nation shall again
Come suddenly; and the fruit, when it grows,
They from the field shall sever. Upon them
Shall God the lofty Thunderer bestow
Evil instead of good; continually
Shall stranger pluck from stranger hateful gold.
But now when all shall look upon the blood
Of the flesh-eating lion and there comes
Upon the body a murderous lioness,
Down from his head will be the scepter cast
Away from him. And as in friendly feast
In Egypt when the people all partake,
They perform valiant deeds, and one restrains
Another, and among them there is much
Shouting aloud; so also shall there be
Upon mankind the fear of furious strife,
And many shall be utterly destroyed
And others kill each other by hard fights.
And then one, covered with dark scales shall come;
Two others shall come acting in concert
With one another, and with them a third
A great ram from Cyrene, whom before
I spoke of as a fugitive in war
Beside the streams of Nile; but in no wise
An unsuccessful way do all complete.
And then the lengths of the revolving years
Shall be exceeding quiet; yet again
Thereafter shall a second war for them
In Egypt be stirred up, and there shall be
A battle on the sea, but victory
Shall not be theirs. Ah, wretched ones, there shall
A conquest of the famous city be,
And it shall be a spoil of war not long.
And then men having common boundaries
Of much land shall flee wretched, and shall lead
Their wretched parents. And they shall again
Having great victory light on a land,
And shall destroy the Jews, men staunch in war,
Wasting by wars far as the hoary deep,
On both sides, fighting in the foremost ranks
For father-land and parents. And a race
Of trophy-bearing men shall for the dead
Be reckoned. Ah, how many men shall swim
About the waves! For on the sandy beach
Many shall lie; and heads of golden hair
Shall fall beneath Egyptian winged fowls.
And then for the Arabians mortal blood
Shall go in quest. But when wolves shall with dogs
Pledge in a sea-girt island solemn oaths,
Then shall there be the raising of a tower,
And the city that suffered very many things
Men shall inhabit. For deceitful gold
Shall no more be nor silver, nor acquiring
Of the earth, nor much-laboring servitude;
But one fast friendship and one mode of life
With cheerful soul; and all things shall be common
And equal light among the means of life.
And wickedness shall sink down from the earth
Into the vast sea. And then near at hand
Is come the harvest-time of mortal men.
There is imposed a strong necessity
That these things be fulfilled. And at that time
There shall not any other traveler say,
In this conjecturing, that the race of men
Though perishable shall ever cease to be.
And then a holy nation shall prevail
And hold the sovereignty of all the earth
Unto all ages with their mighty sons.

APPENDIX.
FRAGMENTS OF THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES.

I.

YE mortal men and fleshly, who are naught,
How quickly are ye puffed up, seeing not
The end of life! Do ye not tremble now
And fear God, him who watches over you,
The one who is most high, the one who knows,
The all-observant witness of all things,
All-nourishing Creator, who has put

FIRST FRAGMENT.

In all things his sweet Spirit and has made
Him leader of all mortals? God is one,
Who rules alone, supremely great, unborn,
Almighty and invisible, himself
Alone beholding all things, but not seen
Is he himself by any mortal flesh.
For what flesh is there able to behold
With eyes the heavenly and true God divine,
Who has his habitation in the sky?
Not even before the bright rays of the sun
Can men stand still, men who are mortal born,
Existing but as veins and flesh on bones.
Him who alone is ruler of the world,
Who alone is forever and has been
From everlasting, reverence ye him,
The self-existent unbegotten one
Who rules all things through all time, dealing out
Unto all mortals in a common light
The judgement. And the merited reward
Of evil counseling shall ye receive,
For ceasing the true and eternal God
To glorify, and holy hecatombs
To offer him, ye made your sacrifice
Unto the demons that in Hades dwell.
And ye in self-conceit and madness walk,
And having left the true, straightforward path
Ye went away and roamed about through thorns
And thistles. O ye foolish mortals, cease
Roving in darkness and black night obscure,
And leave the darkness of night, and lay hold
Upon the Light. Lo, he is clear to all
And cannot err; come, do not always chase
Darkness and gloom. Lo, the sweet-looking light
Of the sun shines with a surpassing glow.
Now, treasuring wisdom in your hearts, know ye
That God is one, who sends forth rains and winds,
Earthquakes and lightnings, famines, pestilence,
And mournful cares, and storms of snow, and ice.
But why do I thus speak them one by one?
He guides heaven, rules earth, over Hades reigns.

II.

Now if gods beget offspring and remain
Immortal there had been more gods than men,
And there had never been sufficient room
For mortals to stand.

SECOND FRAGMENT.

III.

Now if all that is born must also perish,
It is not possible for God to be
Formed from the thighs of man and from a womb;
But God alone is one and all-supreme,
Who made heaven and the sun and stars and moon,
Fruit-bearing earth and billows of the sea,
And lofty hills and mouth of lasting springs.
He also bringeth forth great multitude
Of creatures that amid the waters live
Innumerable, and the creeping things
That move upon earth he sustains with life,
And dappled, delicate, shrill-twittering birds,
That ply the air shrill-whirring with their wings.
And in the glens of mountains wild be placed
The race of beasts, and to us mortals made
All cattle subject, and the God-formed one
He constituted ruler of all things,
And unto man all variegated things
Made subject, things incomprehensible.
For all these things what mortal flesh can know?
For he himself alone, who made these things
At the beginning, knows, the incorrupt
Eternal Maker, dwelling in the heaven,
Bringing unto the good good recompense
Much more abundant, but awakening wrath

THIRD FRAGMENT.

And anger for the evil and unjust,
And war and pestilence, and tearful woes.
O men, why, vainly puffed up, do ye root
Yourselves out? Be ashamed to deify
Polecats and monsters. Is it not a craze
And frenzy, taking sense of mind away,
If gods steal plates and carry off earthen pots?
Instead of dwelling in the golden heaven
In plenty, see them eaten by the moth
And woven over with thick spider-webs!
O fools, that bow to serpents, dogs and cats,
And reverence birds and creeping beasts of earth,
Stone images and statues made with bands,
And stone-heaps by the roads--these ye revere,
And also many other idle things
Which it would even be a shame to tell;
These are the baneful gods of senseless men,
And from their mouth is deadly poison poured.
But of Him is life and eternal light
Imperishable, and he sheds a joy
Sweeter than honey sweet on righteous men,
And to him only do thou bow thy neck,
And among pious lives incline thy way.
Forsaking all these, in a spirit mad
With folly ye did all drain off the cup
Of judgement that was filled full, very pure,
Closely pressed, weighed down, and withal unmixed.
And ye will not wake from your drunken sleep
And come to sober reason, and know God
To be the king who oversees all things.
Therefore on you the flash of gleaming fire
Is coming, ye shall be with torches burned
The livelong day through an eternal age,
At your false useless idols feeling shame.
But they who fear the true eternal God
Inherit life, and they forever dwell
Alike in fertile field of Paradise,
Feasting on sweet bread from the starry heaven.

IV.

Hear me, O men, the King eternal reigns.

V.

He only is God, Maker uncontrolled;
He fixed the pattern of the human form,
And did the nature of all mortals mix
Himself, the generator of (all) life.

VI.

Whenever he shall come
A smoky fire shall be in mid-night dark.

[60-64. Cited by Lact., ii, 13 [L., 6, 324]. In these last verses we may note allusions to such passages of Scripture as Matt. xix, 29; Luke xxiii, 43; 2 Cor. xii, 4; Rev. ii, 17; Psa. lxxviii, 24; cv, 40; John vi, 31.

FOURTH FRAGMENT.

This fragment, consisting of but a single line, is found in Lactantius, Div. Inst., vii, 24 [L., 6, 808].

FIFTH FRAGMENT.

These lines are found in Lactantius, Div. ii, 12 [L., 6, 319], and also in the Anonymous Preface.

SIXTH FRAGMENT.

This fragment is also found in Lactantius, Div. Inst., vii, 19 [L., 6, 797].]

VII.

The Erythræan Sibyl, addressing God, says: Why dost thou, O Lord, enjoin on me the necessity of prophesying, and not rather take me aloft from the earth and preserve me unto the most blessed day of thy coming?

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THE APOLOGY OF ARISTIDES
(TEXT A, Version in Greek)
As It Is Preserved In The History Of Barlaam And Josaphat.
From: Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol. 10
Translation: A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, 1867
Estimated Range of Dating: 120-130 A.D.

(The Apology of Aristides was written by the early Christian writer Aristides (fl. 2nd century). Until 1878, our knowledge of Aristides was confined to some references in works by Eusebius of Caesarea and Saint Jerome. Eusebius said that he was an Athenian philosopher and that Aristides and another apologist, Quadratus, delivered their Apologies directly to the Emperor Hadrian. Aristides is also credited with a sermon on Luke 23:43. Aristides remained a philosopher after his conversion to Christianity, and he continued to work as a philosopher in Athens.

In 1878, the Armenian monks of the Mechitarite convent in Venice published the first two chapters, which they had found in a manuscript in their collection in Armenian translation. This they accompanied with a Latin translation. Opinion as to the authenticity of the fragment was disputed, with Ernest Renan particularly vocal in opposition. Later, in 1889, J. Rendel Harris found the whole of it in a Syriac version at the Eastern Orthodox monastery of Saint Catherine's Monastery in Egypt. While his edition was passing through the press, it was observed that the work had been extant in Greek the whole time, though in a slightly abbreviated form, since it had been embedded as a speech in a religious novel written about the 6th century entitled The Life of Barlaam and Josaphat. A further Armenian fragment was discovered in the library at Echmiadzin by F. C. Conybeare in a manuscript of the 11th century. But the discovery of the Syriac version reopened the question of the date of the work. "Two very fragmentary third- or fourth-century Greek papyri serve as textual witnesses to the Apology.")

1 I, O King in the providence of God came into the world; and when I had considered the heaven and the earth, the sun and the moon and the rest, I marvelled at their orderly arrangement.

And when I saw that the universe and all that is therein is moved by necessity, I perceived that the mover and controller is God.

For everything which causes motion is stronger than that which is moved, and that which controls is stronger than that which is controlled.

The self-same being, then, who first established and now controls the universe----him do I affirm to be God who is without beginning and without end, immortal and self-sufficing, above all passions and infirmities, above anger and forgetfulness and ignorance and the rest.

Through Him too all things consist. He requires not sacrifice and libation nor any one of the things that appear to sense; but all men stand in need of Him.

2 Having thus spoken concerning God, so far as it was possible for me to speak of Him, let us next proceed to the human race, that we may see which of them participate in the truth and which of them in error.

For it is clear to us, O King, that there are three classes of men in this world; these being the worshippers of the gods acknowledged among you, and Jews, and Christians.

Further they who pay homage to many gods are themselves divided into three classes, Chaldaeans namely, and Greeks, and Egyptians; for these have been guides and preceptors to the rest of the nations in the service and worship of these many-titled deities.

3 Let us see then which of them participate in truth and which of them in error.

The Chaldaeans, then, not knowing God went astray after the elements and began to worship the creation more than their Creator.

And of these they formed certain shapes and styled them a representation of the heaven and the earth and the sea, of the sun too and the moon and the other primal bodies or luminaries. And they shut them up together in shrines, and worship them, calling them gods, even though they have to guard them securely for fear they should be stolen by robbers. And they did not perceive that anything which acts as guard is greater than that which is guarded, and that he who makes is greater than that which is made. For if their gods are unfit to look after their own safety, how shall they bestow protection upon others?

Great then is the error into which the Chaldaeans (Mesopotamians) wandered in adoring lifeless and good-for-nothing images. And it occurs to me as surprising, O King, how it is that their so-called philosophers have quite failed to observe that the elements themselves are perishable. And if the elements are perishable and subject to necessity, how are they gods? And if the elements are not gods, how do the images made in their honour come to be gods?

4 Let us proceed then, O King, to the elements themselves that we may show in regard to them that they are not gods, but perishable and mutable, produced out of that which did not exist at the command of the true God, who is indestructible and immutable and invisible; yet He sees all things and as He wills, modifies and changes things. What then shall I say concerning the elements?

They err who believe that the sky is a god. For we see that it revolves and moves by necessity and is compacted of many parts, being thence called the ordered universe (Kosmos). Now the universe is the construction of some designer; and that which has been constructed has a beginning and an end. And the sky with its luminaries moves by necessity. For the stars are carried along in array at fixed intervals from sign to sign, and, some setting, others rising, they traverse their courses in due season so as to mark off summers and winters, as it has been appointed for them by God; and obeying the inevitable necessity of their nature they transgress not their proper limits, keeping company with the heavenly order. Whence it is plain that the sky is not a god but rather a work of God.

They erred also who believed the earth to be a goddess. For we see that it is despitefully used and tyrannised over by men, and is furrowed and kneaded and becomes of no account. For if it be burned with fire, it becomes devoid of life; for nothing will grow from the ashes. Besides if there fall upon it an excess of rain it dissolves away, both it and its fruits. Moreover it is trodden under foot of men and the other creatures; it is dyed with the blood of the murdered; it is dug open and filled with dead bodies and becomes a tomb for corpses. In face of all this, it is inadmissible that the earth is a goddess but rather it is a work of God for the use of men.

5 They also erred who believed the water to be a god. For it, too, has been made for the use of men, and is controlled by them; it is defiled and destroyed and suffers change on being boiled and dyed with colours; and it is congealed by the frost, and polluted with blood, and is introduced for the washing of all unclean things. Wherefore it is impossible that water should be a god, but it is a work of God.

They also err who believe that fire is a god. For fire was made for the use of men, and it is controlled by them, being carried about from place to place for boiling and roasting all kinds of meat, and even for (the burning of) dead bodies. Moreover it is extinguished in many ways, being quenched through man's agency.

So it cannot be allowed that fire is a god, but it is a work of God. They also err who think the blowing of the winds is a goddess. For it is clear that it is under the dominion of another; and for the sake of man it has been designed by God for the transport of ships and the conveyance of grain and for man's other wants. It rises too and falls at the bidding of God, whence it is concluded that the blowing of the winds is not a goddess but only a work of God.

6 They also err who believe the sun to be a god. For we see that it moves by necessity and revolves and passes from sign to sign, setting and rising so as to give warmth to plants and tender shoots for the use of man.

Besides it has its part in common with the rest of the stars, and is much smaller than the sky; it suffers eclipse of its light and is not the subject of its own laws. Wherefore it is concluded that the sun is not a god, but only a work of God. They also err who believe that the moon is a goddess. For we see that it moves by necessity and revolves and passes from sign to sign, setting and rising for the benefit of men; and it is less than the sun and waxes and wanes and has eclipses. Wherefore it is concluded that the moon is not a goddess but a work of God.

7 They also err who believe that man is a god. For we see that he is moved by necessity, and is made to grow up, and becomes old even though he would not. And at one time he is joyous, at another he is grieved when he lacks food and drink and clothing. And we see that he is subject to anger and jealousy and desire and change of purpose and has many infirmities. He is destroyed too in many ways by means of the elements and animals, and by ever-assailing death. It cannot be admitted, then, that man is a god, but only a work of God.

Great therefore is the error into which the Chaldaeans wandered, following after their own desires. For they reverence the perishable elements and lifeless images, and do not perceive that they themselves make these things to be gods.

8 Let us proceed then to the Greeks, that we may see whether they have any discernment concerning God. The Greeks, indeed, though they call themselves wise proved more deluded than the Chaldaeans in alleging that many gods have come into being, some of them male, some female, practised masters in every passion and every variety of folly. [And the Greeks themselves represented them to be adulterers and murderers, wrathful and envious and passionate, slayers of fathers and brothers, thieves and robbers, crippled and limping, workers in magic, and victims of frenzy. Some of them died (as their account goes), and some were struck by thunderbolts, and became slaves to men, and were fugitives, and they mourned and lamented, and changed themselves into animals for wicked and shameful ends.]

Wherefore, O King, they are ridiculous and absurd and impious tales that the Greeks have introduced, giving the name of gods to those who are not gods, to suit their unholy desires, in order that, having them as patrons of vice, they might commit adultery and robbery and do murder and other shocking deeds.

For if their gods did such deeds why should not they also do them? So that from these misguided practices it has been the lot of mankind to have frequent wars and slaughters and bitter captivities.

9 But, further, if we be minded to discuss their gods individually, you will see how great is the absurdity; for instance, how Kronos is brought forward by them as a god above all, and they sacrifice their own children to him. And he had many sons by Rhea, and in his madness devoured his own offspring. And they say that Zeus cut off his members and cast them into the sea, whence Aphrodite is said in fable to be engendered. Zeus, then, having bound his own father, cast him into Tartaros. You see the error and brutality which they advance against their god? Is it possible, then, that a god should be manacled and mutilated? What absurdity! Who with any wit would ever say so?

Next Zeus is introduced, and they say that he was king of their gods, and that he changed himself into animals that he might debauch mortal women.

For they allege that he transformed himself into a bull for Europe, and into gold for Danae, and into a swan for Leda, and into a satyr for Antiope, and into a thunderbolt for Semele. Then by these there were many children, Dionysos and Zethus and Amphion and Herakles and Apollo and Artemis and Perseus, Kastor and Helenes and Polydeukes and Minos and Rhadamanthys and Sarpedon, and the nine daughters whom they called the Muses. Then too they bring forward statements about the matter of Ganymedes.

Hence it happened, O King, to mankind to imitate all these things and to become adulterous men and lascivious women, and to be workers of other terrible iniquities, through the imitation of their god. Now how is it possible that a god should be an adulterer or an obscene person or a parricide?

10 Along with him, too, they bring forward one Hephaistos as a god, and they say that he is lame and wields a hammer and tongs, working as a smith for his living.

Is he then badly off? But it cannot be admitted that a god should be a cripple, and besides be dependent on mankind.

Then they bring forward Hermes as a god, representing him to be lustful, and a thief, and covetous, and a magician (and maimed) and an interpreter of language. But it cannot be admitted that such an one is a god.

They also bring forward Asklepios as a god who is a doctor and prepares drugs and compounds plasters for the sake of a living. For he was badly off. And afterwards he was struck, they say, with a thunderbolt by Zeus on account of Tyndareos, son of Lacedaimon; and so was killed. Now if Asklepios in spite of his divinity could not help himself when struck by lightning, how will he come to the rescue of others?

Again Ares is represented as a god, fond of strife and given to jealousy, and a lover of animals and other such things. And at last while corrupting Aphrodite, he was bound by the youthful Eros and by Hephaistos.

How then was he a god who was subject to desire, and a warrior, and a prisoner and an adulterer?

They allege that Dionysos also is a god who holds nightly revels and teaches drunkenness, and carries off the neighbours' wives, and goes mad and takes to flight. And at last he was put to death by the Titans. If then Dionysos could not save himself when he was being killed, and besides used to be mad, and drunk with wine, and a fugitive, how should he be a god?

They allege also that Herakles got drunk and went mad and cut the throats of his own children, then he was consumed by fire and so died.

Now how should he be a god, who was drunk and a slayer of children and burned to death? or how will he come to the help of others, when he was unable to help himself?

11 They represent Apollo also as a jealous god, and besides as the master of the bow and quiver, and sometimes of the lyre and flute, and as divining to men for pay? Can he then be very badly off? But it cannot be admitted that a god should be in want, and jealous, and a harping minstrel.

They represent Artemis also as his sister, who is a huntress and has a bow with a quiver; and she roams alone upon the hills with the dogs to hunt the stag or the wild boar.

How then should such a woman, who hunts and roams with her dogs, be a divine being?

Even Aphrodite herself they affirm to be a goddess who is adulterous.

For at one time she had Ares (Greek equivalent to the Roman god Mars) as a paramour, and at another time Anchises and again Adonis, whose death she also laments, feeling the want of her lover. And they say that she even went down to Hades to purchase back Adonis from Persephone. Did you ever see, O King, greater folly than this, to bring forward as a goddess one who is adulterous and given to weeping and wailing?

And they represent that Adonis is a hunter god, who came to a violent end, being wounded by a wild boar and having no power to help himself in his distress. How then will one who is

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adulterous and a hunter and mortal give himself any concern for mankind?

All this and much more of a like nature, and even far more disgraceful and offensive details, have the Greeks narrated, O King, concerning their gods;----details which it is not proper either to state or for a moment to remember. And hence mankind, taking an impulse from their gods, practised all lawlessness and brutality and impiety, polluting both earth and air by their awful deeds.

12 The Egyptians, again, being more stupid and witless than these have gone further astray than all the nations. For they were not content with the objects of worship of the Chaldaeans (Mesopotamians) and the Greeks, but in addition to these brought forward also brute creatures as gods, both land and water animals, and plants and herbs; and they were defiled with all madness and brutality more deeply than all the nations on the earth.

For originally they worshipped Isis, who had Osiris as brother and husband. He was slain by his own brother Typhon; and therefore Isis with Horos her son fled for refuge to Byblus in Syria, mourning for Osiris with bitter lamentation, until Horos grew up and slew Typhon. So that neither had Isis power to help her own brother and husband; nor could Osiris defend himself when he was being slain by Typhon; nor did Typhon, the slayer of his brother, when he was perishing at the hands of Horos and Isis, find means to rescue himself from death. And though they were revealed in their true character by such mishaps, they were believed to be very gods by the simple Egyptians, who were not satisfied even with these or the other deities of the nations, but brought forward also brute creatures as gods. For some of them worshipped the sheep, and some the goat; another tribe (worshipped) the bull and the pig; others again, the raven and the hawk, and the vulture and the eagle; and others the crocodile; and some the cat and the dog, and the wolf and the ape, and the dragon and the asp; and others the onion and the garlic and thorns and other created things.

And the poor creatures do not perceive about all these that they are utterly helpless. For though they see their gods eaten by men of other tribes, and burnt as offerings and slain as victims and mouldering in decay, they have not perceived that they are not gods.

13 So the Egyptians and the Chaldaeans and the Greeks made a great error in bringing forward such beings as gods, and in making images of them, and in deifying dumb and senseless idols.

And I wonder how they saw their gods sawn out and hacked and docked by the workmen, and besides aging with time and falling to pieces, and being cast from metal, and yet did not discern concerning them that they were not gods.

For when they have no power to see to their own safety, how will they take forethought for men?

But further, the poets and philosophers, alike of the Chaldaeans and the Greeks and the Egyptians, while they desired by their poems and writings to magnify the gods of their countries, rather revealed their shame, and laid it bare before all men. For if the body of man while consisting of many parts does not cast off any of its own members, but preserving an unbroken unity in all its members, is harmonious with itself, how shall variance and discord be so great in the nature of God?

For if there had been a unity of nature among the gods, then one god ought not to have pursued or slain or injured another. And if the gods were pursued by gods, and slain, and kidnapped and struck with lightning by them, then there is no longer any unity of nature, but divided counsels, all mischievous. So that not one of them is a god.

It is clear then, O King, that all their discourse on the nature of the gods is an error.

But how did the wise and erudite men of the Greeks not observe that inasmuch as they make laws for themselves they are judged by their own laws? For if the laws are righteous, their gods are altogether unrighteous, as they have committed transgressions of laws, in slaying one another, and practising sorceries, and adultery and thefts and intercourse with males. If they were right in doing these things, then the laws are unrighteous, being framed contrary to the gods. Whereas in fact, the laws are good and just, commending what is good and forbidding what is bad. But the deeds of their gods are contrary to law. Their gods, therefore, are lawbreakers, and all liable to the punishment of death; and they are impious men who introduce such gods. For if the stories about them be mythical, the gods are nothing more than mere names; and if the stories be founded on nature, still they who did and suffered these things are no longer gods; and if the stories be allegorical, they are myths and nothing more.

It has been shown then, O King, that all these polytheistic objects of worship are the works of error and perdition. For it is not right to give the name of gods to beings which may be seen but cannot see; but one ought to reverence the invisible and all-seeing and all-creating God.

14 Let us proceed then, O King, to the Jews also, that we may see what truth there is in their view of God. For they were descendants of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and migrated to Egypt. And thence God brought them forth with a mighty hand and an uplifted arm through Moses, their lawgiver; and by many wonders and signs He made known His power to them. But even they proved stubborn and ungrateful, and often served the idols of the nations, and put to death the prophets and just men who were sent to them.

Then when the Son of God was pleased to come upon the earth, they received him with wanton violence and betrayed him into the hands of Pilate the Roman governor; and paying no respect to his good deeds and the countless miracles he wrought among them, they demanded a sentence of death by the cross.

And they perished by their own transgression; for to this day they worship the one God Almighty, but not according to knowledge. For they deny that Christ is the Son of God; and they are much like to the heathen, even although they may seem to make some approach to the truth from which they have removed themselves. So much for the Jews.

15 Now the Christians trace their origin from the Lord Jesus Christ. And He is acknowledged by the Holy Spirit to be the son of the most high God, who came down from heaven for the salvation of men. And being born of a pure virgin, unbegotten and immaculate, He assumed flesh and revealed himself among men that He might recall them to Himself from their wandering after many gods. And having accomplished His wonderful dispensation, by a voluntary choice He tasted death on the cross, fulfilling an august dispensation. And after three days He came to life again and ascended into heaven. And if you would read, O King, you may judge the glory of His presence from the holy gospel writing, as it is called among themselves. He had twelve disciples, who after His ascension to heaven went forth into the provinces of the whole world, and declared His greatness. As for instance, one of them traversed the countries about us, proclaiming the doctrine of the truth. From this it is, that they who still observe the righteousness enjoined by their preaching are called Christians.

And these are they who more than all the nations on the earth have found the truth. For they know God, the Creator and Fashioner of all things through the only-begotten Son and the Holy Spirit21; and beside Him they worship no other God.

They have the commands of the Lord Jesus Christ Himself graven upon their hearts; and they observe them, looking forward to the resurrection of the dead and life in the world to come. They do not commit adultery nor fornication, nor bear false witness, nor covet the things of others; they honour father and mother, and love their neighbours; they judge justly, and they never do to others what they would not wish to happen to themselves; they appeal to those who injure them, and try to win them as friends; they are eager to do good to their enemies; they are gentle and easy to be entreated; they abstain from all unlawful conversation and from all impurity; they despise not the widow, nor oppress the orphan; and he that has, gives ungrudgingly for the maintenance of him who has not.

If they see a stranger, they take him under their roof, and rejoice over him as over a very brother; for they call themselves brethren not after the flesh but after the spirit.

And they are ready to sacrifice their lives for the sake of Christ; for they observe His commands without swerving, and live holy and just lives, as the Lord God enjoined upon them.

And they give thanks unto Him every hour, for all meat and drink and other blessings.

16 Verily then, this is the way of the truth which leads those who travel therein to the everlasting kingdom promised through Christ in the life to come. And that you may know, O King, that in saying these things I do not speak at my own instance, if you deign to look into the writings of the Christians, you will find that I state nothing beyond the truth. Rightly then, did thy son apprehend, and justly was he taught to serve the living God and to be saved for the age that is destined to come upon us. For great and wonderful are the sayings and deeds of the Christians; for they speak not the words of men but those of God. But the rest of the nations go astray and deceive themselves; for they walk in darkness and bruise themselves like drunken men.

17 Thus far, O King, extends my discourse to you, which has been dictated in my mind by the Truth. Wherefore let thy foolish sages cease their idle talk against the Lord; for it is profitable for you to worship God the Creator, and to give ear to His incorruptible words, that ye may escape from condemnation and punishment, and be found to be heirs of life everlasting.

THE APOLOGY OF ARISTIDES THE PHILOSOPHER

TEXT B, Version in Syriac-Aramaic
Library of St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt
Translation: D. M. KAY, J, Rendel Harris, 1891
Estimated Range of Dating: 120-130 A.D.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The Apology of Aristides, mentioned by Eusebius, St. Jerome, and other ancient writers and said to have been the inspiration for the great works of St. Justin Martyr, was considered lost until the late Nineteenth Century, when an Armenian fragment was discovered. Then in 1889 the full text in Syriac translation was found in the library of St. Catherine's in the Sinai. Ironically, it was then realised that the work had never been lost at all: a slightly shortened version of it had been preserved in the well-known Life of St. Barlaam of India, by St. John of Damascus. (Since the numerous references to Greek gods would have made little impact on an Indian audience, one may assume that St. John, writing for a Greek readership which would have found a denunciation of Vedic or Buddhist deities equally meaningless, decided to insert the Apology of Aristides as a sort of rough equivalent of whatever Barlaam actually preached to the Brahmins.)

St. Aristides delivered the Apology around the year 125, when the Roman emperor Hadrian visited Athens [Eusebius, H.E. IV, iii]. Since the Greek version found in Barlaam and Ioasaph is widely available online, we here give the longer version preserved in Syriac. Note that there are a number of "Syrianisms" is this version -- cultural rather than theological, such as the reference to Hades as "Sheol". -- N. Redington, St. Pachomius Library.)

THE APOLOGY OF ARISTIDES

Here follows the defence which Aristides the philosopher made before Hadrian the King on behalf of reverence for God.

. . . All-powerful Caesar Titus Hadrianus Antoninus, venerable and merciful, from Marcianus Aristides, an Athenian philosopher.

1 I, O King, by the grace of God came into this world; and when I had considered the heaven and the earth and the seas, and had surveyed the sun and the rest of creation, I marvelled at the beauty of the world. And I perceived that the world and all that is therein are moved by the power of another; and I understood that he who moves them is God, who is hidden in them, and veiled by them. And it is manifest that that which causes motion is more powerful than that which is moved. But that I should make search concerning this same mover of all, as to what is his nature (for it seems to me, he is indeed unsearchable in his nature), and that I should argue as to the constancy of his government, so as to grasp it fully,--this is a vain effort for me; for it is not possible that a man should fully comprehend it. I say, however, concerning this mover of the world, that he is God of all, who made all things for the sake of mankind. And it seems to me that this is reasonable, that one should fear God and should not oppress man.

I say, then, that God is not born, not made, an ever-abiding nature without beginning and without end, immortal, perfect, and incomprehensible. Now when I say that he is "perfect," this means that there is not in him any defect, and he is not in need of anything but all things are in need of him. And when I say that he is "without beginning," this means that everything which has beginning has also an end, and that which has an end may be brought to an end. He has no name, for everything which has a name is kindred to things created. Form he has none, nor yet any union of members; for whatsoever possesses these is kindred to things fashioned. He is neither male nor female. The heavens do not limit him, but the heavens and all things, visible and invisible, receive their bounds from him. Adversary he has none, for there exists not any stronger than he. Wrath and indignation he possesses not, for there is nothing which is able to stand against him. Ignorance and forgetfulness are not in his nature, for he is altogether wisdom and understanding; and in Him stands fast all that exists. He requires not sacrifice and libation, nor even one of things visible; He requires not aught from any, but all living creatures stand in need of him.

2 Since, then, we have addressed you concerning God, so far as our discourse can bear upon him, let us now come to the race of men, that we may know which of them participate in the truth of which we have spoken, and which of them go astray from it.

This is clear to you, O King, that there are four classes of men in this world:--Barbarians and Greeks, Jews and Christians. The Barbarians, indeed, trace the origin of their kind of religion from Kronos and from Rhea and their other gods; the Greeks, however, from Helenos, who is said to be sprung from Zeus. And by Helenos there were born Aiolos and Xuthos; and there were others descended from Inachos and Phoroneus, and lastly from the Egyptian Danaos and from Kadmos and from Dionysos.

The Jews, again, trace the origin of their race from Abraham, who begat Isaac, of whom was born Jacob. And he begat twelve sons who migrated from Syria to Egypt; and there they were called the nation of the Hebrews, by him who made their laws; and at length they were named Jews.

The Christians, then, trace the beginning of their religion from Jesus the Messiah; and he is named the Son of God Most High. And it is said that God came down from heaven, and from a Hebrew virgin assumed and clothed himself with flesh; and the Son of God lived in a daughter of man. This is taught in the gospel, as it is called, which a short time was preached among them; and you also if you will read therein, may

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perceive the power which belongs to it. This Jesus, then, was born of the race of the Hebrews; and he had twelve disciples in order that the purpose of his incarnation might in time be accomplished. But he himself was pierced by the Jews, and he died and was buried; and they say that after three days he rose and ascended to heaven. Thereupon these twelve disciples went forth throughout the known parts of the world, and kept showing his greatness with all modesty and uprightness. And hence also those of the present day who believe that preaching are called Christians, and they are become famous.

So then there are, as I said above, four classes of men:--Barbarians and Greeks, Jews and Christians.

Moreover the wind is obedient to God, and fire to the angels; the waters also to the demons and the earth to the sons of men. [Possibly inserted by mistake into one of the early manuscripts.]

3 Let us begin, then, with the Barbarians, and go on to the rest of the nations one after another, that we may see which of them hold the truth as to God and which of them hold error.

The Barbarians, then, as they did not apprehend God, went astray among the elements, and began to worship things created instead of their Creator; and for this end they made images and shut them up in shrines, and lo! they worship them, guarding them the while with much care, lest their gods be stolen by robbers. And the Barbarians did not observe that that which acts as guard is greater than that which is guarded, and that every one who creates is greater than that which is created. If it be, then, that their gods are too feeble to see to their own safety, how will they take thought for the safety of men? Great then is the error into which the Barbarians wandered in worshipping lifeless images which can do nothing to help them. And I am led to wonder, O King, at their philosophers, how that even they went astray, and gave the name of gods to images which were made in honour of the elements; and that their sages did not perceive that the elements also are dissoluble and perishable. For if a small part of an element is dissolved or destroyed, the whole of it may be dissolved and destroyed. If then the elements themselves are dissolved and destroyed and forced to be subject to another that is more stubborn than they, and if they are not in their nature gods, why, for sooth, do they call the images which are made in their honour, God? Great, then, is the error which the philosophers among them have brought upon their followers.

4 Let us turn now, O King, to the elements in themselves, that we may make clear in regard to them, that they are not gods, but a created thing, liable to ruin and change, which is of the same nature as man; whereas God is imperishable and unvarying, and invisible, while yet He sees, and overrules, and transforms all things.

Those then who believe concerning the earth that it is a god have hitherto deceived themselves, since it is furrowed and set with plants and trenched; and it takes in the filthy refuse of men and beasts and cattle. And at times it becomes unfruitful, for if it be burnt to ashes it becomes devoid of life, for nothing germinates from an earthen jar. And besides if water be collected upon it, it is dissolved together with its products. And lo! it is trodden under foot of men and beast, and receives the blood of the slain; and it is dug open, and filled with the dead, and becomes a tomb for corpses. But it is impossible that a nature, which is holy and worthy and blessed and immortal, should allow of any one of these things. And hence it appears to us that the earth is not a god but a creation of God.

5 In the same way, again, those erred who believed the waters to be gods. For the waters were created for the use of man, and are put under his rule in many ways. For they suffer change and admit impurity, and are destroyed and lose their nature while they are boiled into many substances. And they take colours which do not belong. to them; they are also congealed by frost and are mingled and permeated with the filth of men and beasts, and with the blood of the slain. And being checked by skilled workmen through the restraint of aqueducts, they flow and are diverted against their inclination, and come into gardens and other places in order that they may be collected and issue forth as a means of fertility for man, and that they may cleanse away every impurity and fulfil the service man requires from them. Wherefore it is impossible that the waters should be a god, but they are a work of God and a part of the world.

In like manner also they who believed that fire is a god erred to no slight extent. For it, too, was created for the service of men, and is subject to them in many ways:--in the preparation of meats, and as a means of casting metals, and for other ends whereof your Majesty is aware. At the same time it is quenched and extinguished in many ways.

Again they also erred who believed the motion of the winds to be a god. For it is well known to us that those winds are under the dominion of another, at times their motion increases, and at times it fails and ceases at the command of him who controls them. For they were created by God for the sake of men, in order to supply the necessity of trees and fruits and seeds; and to bring over the sea ships which convey for men necessaries and goods from places where they are found to places where they are not found; and to govern the quarters of the world. And as for itself, at times it increases and again abates; and in one place brings help and in another causes disaster at the bidding of him who rules it. And mankind too are able by known means to confine and keep it in check in order that it may fulfil for them the service they require from it. And of itself it has not any authority at all. And hence it is impossible that the winds should be called gods, but rather a thing made by God.

6 So also they erred who believed that the sun is a god. For we see that it is moved by the compulsion of another, and revolves and makes its journey, and proceeds from sign to sign, rising and setting every day, so as to give warmth for the growth of plants and trees, and to bring forth into the air wherewith it (sunlight) is mingled every growing thing which is upon the earth. And to it there belongs by comparison a part in common with the rest of the stars in its course; and though it is one in its nature it is associated with many parts for the supply of the needs of men; and that not according to its own will but rather according to the will of him who rules it. And hence it is impossible that the sun should be a god, but the work of God; and in like manner also the moon and the stars.

7 And those who believed of the men of the past, that some of them were gods, they too were much mistaken. For as you yourself allow, O King, man is constituted of the four elements and of a soul and a spirit (and hence he is called a microcosm), and without any one of these parts he could not consist. He has a beginning and an end, and he is born and dies. But God, as I said, has none of these things in his nature, but is uncreated and imperishable. And hence it is not possible that we should set up man to be of the nature of God:--man, to whom at times when he looks for joy, there comes trouble, and when he looks for laughter there comes to him weeping,--who is wrathful and covetous and envious, with other defects as well. And he is destroyed in many ways by the elements and also by the animals.

And hence, O King, we are bound to recognize the error of the Barbarians, that thereby, since they did not find traces of the true God, they fell aside from the truth, and went after the desire of their imagination, serving the perishable elements and lifeless images, and through their error not apprehending what the true God is.

8 Let us turn further to the Greeks also, that we may know what opinion they hold as to the true God. The Greeks, then, because they are more subtle than the Barbarians, have gone further astray than the Barbarians; inasmuch as they have introduced many fictitious gods, and have set up some of them as males and some as females; and in that some of their gods were found who were adulterers, and did murder, and were deluded, and envious, and wrathful and passionate, and parricides, and thieves, and robbers. And some of them, they say, were crippled and limped, and some were sorcerers, and some actually went mad, and some played on lyres, and some were given to roaming on the hills, and some even died, and some were struck dead by lightning, and some were made servants even to men, and some escaped by flight, and some were kidnapped by men, and some, indeed, were lamented and deplored by men. And some, they say, went down to Sheol, and some were grievously wounded, and some transformed themselves into the likeness of animals to seduce the race of mortal women, and some polluted themselves by lying with males And some, they say, were wedded to their mothers and their sisters and their daughters. And they say of their gods that they committed adultery with the daughters of men; and of these there was born a certain race which also was mortal. And they say that some of the females disputed about beauty, and appeared before men for judgement. Thus, O King, have the Greeks put forward foulness, and absurdity, and folly about their gods and about themselves, in that they have called those that are of such a nature gods, who are no gods. And hence mankind have received incitements to commit adultery and fornication, and to steal and to practise all that is offensive and hated and abhorred. For if they who are called their gods practised all these things which are written above, how much more should men practise them--men, who believe that their gods themselves practised them. And owing to the foulness of this error there have happened to mankind harassing wars, and great famines, and bitter captivity, and complete desolation. And lo! it was by reason of this alone that they suffered and that all these things came upon them;and while they endured those things they did not perceive in their mind that for their error those things came upon them.

9 Let us proceed further to their account of their gods that we may carefully demonstrate all that is said above. First of all, the Greeks bring forward as a god Kronos, that is to say Chiun (Saturn). And his worshippers sacrifice their children to him, and they burn some of them alive in his honour. And they say that he took to him among his wives Rhea, and begat many children by her. By her too he begat Dios, who is called Zeus. And at length he (Kronos) went mad, and through fear of an oracle that had been made known to him, he began to devour his sons. And from him Zeus was stolen away without his knowledge; and at length Zeus bound him, and mutilated the signs of his manhood, and flung them into the sea. And hence, as they say in fable, there was engendered Aphrodite, who is called Astarte. And he (Zeus) cast out Kronos fettered into darkness. Great then is the error and ignominy which the Greeks have brought forward about the first of their gods, in that they have said all this about him, O King. It is impossible that a god should be bound or mutilated; and if it be otherwise, he is indeed miserable.

And after Kronos they bring forward another god Zeus. And they say of him that he assumed the sovereignty, and was king over all the gods. And they say that he changed himself into a beast and other shapes in order to seduce mortal women, and to raise up by them children for himself. Once, they say, he changed himself into a bull through love of Europe and Pasiphae. And again he changed himself into the likeness of gold through love of Danae, and to a swan through love of Leda, and to a man through love of Antiope, and to lightning through love of Luna, and so by these he begat many children. For by Antiope, they say, that he begat Zethus and Amphion, and by Luna Dionysos, by Alcmena Hercules, and by Leto, Apollo and Artemis, and by Danae Perseus, and by Leda, Castor and Polydeuces, and Helene and Paludus, and by Mnemosyne he begat nine daughters whom they styled the Muses, and by Europe, Minos and Rhadamanthos and Sarpedon. And lastly he changed himself into the likeness of an eagle through his passion for Ganydemos (Ganymede) the shepherd.

By reason of these tales, O King, much evil has arisen among men, who to this day are imitators of their gods, and practise adultery and defile themselves with their mothers and their sisters, and by lying with males, and some make bold to slay even their parents. For if he who is said to be the chief and king of their gods do these things how much more should his worshippers imitate him? And great is the folly which the Greeks have brought forward in their narrative concerning him. For it is impossible that a god should practise adultery or fornication or come near to lie with males, or kill his parents; and if it be otherwise, he is much worse than a destructive demon.

10 Again they bring forward as another god Hephaistos. And they say of him, that he is lame, and a cap is set on his head, and he holds in his hands firetongs and a hammer; and he follows the craft of iron working, that thereby he may procure the necessaries of his livelihood. Is then this god so very needy? But it cannot be that a god should be needy or lame, else he is very worthless.

And further they bring in another god and call him Hermes. And they say that he is a thief, a lover of avarice, and greedy for gain, and a magician, and mutilated and an athlete, and an interpreter of language. But it is impossible that a god should be a magician or avaricious, or maimed, or craving for what is not his, or an athlete.And if it be otherwise, he is found to be useless.

And after him they bring forward as another god Asklepios. And they say that he is a physician and prepares drugs and plaster that he may supply the necessaries of his livelihood. Is then this god in want? And at length he was struck with lightning by Dios on account of Tyndareos of Lacedaemon, and so he died. If then Asklepios were a god, and, when he was struck with lightning, was unable to help himself, how should he be able to give help to others? But that a divine nature should be in want or be destroyed by lightning is impossible.

And again they bring forward another as a god, and they call him Ares. And they say that he is a warrior, and jealous, and covets sheep and things which are not his. And he makes gain by his arms. And they say that at length he committed adultery with Aphrodite, and was caught by the little boy Eros and by Hephaistos the husband of Aphrodite. But it is impossible that a god should be a warrior or bound or an adulterer.

And again they say of Dionysos that he forsooth! is a god, who arranges carousals by night, and teaches drunkenness, and carries off women who do not belong to him. And at length, they say, he went mad and dismissed his handmaidens and fled into the desert; and during his madness he ate serpents. And at last he was killed by Titanos. If then Dionysos were a god, and when he was being killed was unable to help himself, how is it possible that he should help others?

Herakles next they bring forward and say that he is a god, who hates detestable things, a tyrant, and warrior and a destroyer of plagues. And of him also they say that at length he became mad and killed his own children, and east himself into a fire and died. If then Herakles is a god, and in all these calamities was unable to rescue himself, how should others ask help from him? But it is impossible that a god should be mad, or drunken or a slayer of his children, or consumed by fire.

11 And after him they bring forward another god and call him Apollon. And they say that he is jealous and inconstant, and at times he holds the bow and quiver, and again the lyre and plectron. And he utters oracles for men that he may receive rewards from them. Is then this god in need of rewards?

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But it is an insult that all these things should be found with a god.

And after him they bring forward as a goddess Artemis, the sister of Apollo; and they say that she was a huntress and that she herself used to carry a bow and bolts, and to roam about upon the mountains, leading the hounds to hunt stags or wild bears of the field. But it is disgraceful that a virgin maid should roam alone upon the hills or hunt in the chase for animals. Wherefore it is impossible that Artemis should be a goddess.

Again they say of Aphrodite that she indeed is a goddess. And at times she dwells with their gods, but at other times she is a neighbour to men. And once she had Ares as a lover, and again Adonis who is Tammuz. Once also, Aphrodite was wailing and weeping for the death of Tammuz, and they my that she went down to Sheol that she might redeem Adonis from Persephone, who is the daughter of Sheol (Hades). If then Aphrodite is a goddess and was unable to help her lover at his death, how will she find it possible to help others? And this cannot be listened to, that a divine nature should come to weeping and wailing and adultery.

And again they say of Tammuz that he is a god. And he is, forsooth! a hunter and an adulterer. And they say that he was killed by a wound from a wild boar, without being able to help himself. And if he could not help himself, how can he take thought for the human race? But that a god should be an adulterer or a hunter or should die by violence is impossible.

Again they say of Rhea that she is the mother of their gods. And they say that she had once a lover Atys, and that she used to delight in depraved men. And at last she raised a lamentation and mourned for Atys her lover. If then the mother of their gods was unable to help her lover and deliver him from death, how can she help others? So it is disgraceful that a goddess should lament and weep and take delight in depraved men.

Again they introduce Kore and say that she is a goddess, and she was stolen away by Pluto, and could not help herself. If then she is a goddess and was unable to help herself how will she find means to help others? For a god who is stolen away is very powerless.

All this, then, O King, have the Greeks brought forward concerning their gods, and they have invented and declared it concerning them. And hence all men received an impulse to work all profanity and all defilements; and hereby the whole earth was corrupted.

12 The Egyptians, moreover, because they are more base and stupid than every people that is on the earth, have themselves erred more than all. For the deities (or religion) of the Barbarians and the Greeks did not suffice for them, but they introduced some also of the nature of the animals, and said thereof that they were gods, and likewise of creeping things which are found on the dry land and in the waters. And of plants and herbs they said that some of them were gods. And they were corrupted by every kind of delusion and defilement more than every people that is on the earth. For from ancient times they worshipped Isis, and they say that she is a goddess whose husband was Osiris her brother. And when Osiris was killed by Typhon his brother, Isis fled with Horos her son to Byblus in Syria, and was there for a certain time till her son was grown. And he contended with Typhon his uncle, and killed him. And then Isis returned and went about with Horos her son and sought for the dead body of Osiris her lord, bitterly lamenting his death. If then Isis be a goddess, and could not help Osiris her brother and lord, how can she help another? But it is impossible that a divine nature should be afraid, and flee for safety, or should weep and wail; or else it is very miserable.

And of Osiris also they say that he is a serviceable god. And he was killed by Typhon and was unable to help himself. But it is well known that this cannot be asserted of divinity. And further, they say of his brother Typhon that he is a god, who killed his brother and was killed by his brother's son and by his bride, being unable to help himself. And how, pray, is he a god who does not save himself?

As the Egyptians, then, were more stupid than the rest of the nations, these and such like gods did not suffice for them. Nay, but they even apply the name of gods to animals in which there is no soul at all. For some of them worship the sheep and others the calf; and some the pig and others the shad fish; and some the crocodile and the hawk and the fish and the ibis and the vulture and the eagle and the raven. Some of them worship the cat, and others the turbot-fish, some the dog, some the adder, and some the asp, and others the lion; and others the garlic and onions and thorns, and others the tiger and other such things. And the poor creatures do not see that all these things are nothing, although they daily witness their gods being eaten and consumed by men and also by their fellows; while some of them are cremated, and some die and decay and become dust, without their observing that they perish in many ways. So the Egyptians have not observed that such things which are not equal to their own deliverance, are not gods. And if, forsooth, they are weak in the case of their own deliverance, whence have they power to help in the case of deliverance of their worshippers? Great then is the error into which the Egyptians wandered;--greater, indeed, than that of any people which is upon the face of the earth.

13 But it is a marvel, O King, with regard to the Greeks, who surpass all other peoples in their manner of life and reasoning, how they have gone astray after dead idols and lifeless images. And yet they see their gods in the hands of their artificers being sawn out, and planed and docked, and hacked short, and charred, and ornamented, and being altered by them in every kind of way. And when they grow old, and are worn away through lapse of time, and when they are molten and crushed to powder, how, I wonder, did they not perceive concerning them, that they are not gods? And as for those who did not find deliverance for themselves, how can they serve the distress of men?

But even the writers and philosophers among them have wrongly alleged that the gods are such as are made in honour of God Almighty. And they err in seeking to liken (them) to God whom man has not at any time seen nor can see unto what He is like. Herein, too (they err) in asserting of deity that any such thing as deficiency can be present to it; as when they say that He receives sacrifice and requires burnt-offering and libation and immolations of men, and temples. But God is not in need, and none of these things is necessary to Him; and it is clear that men err in these things they imagine.

Further their writers and their philosophers represent and declare that the nature of all their gods is one. And they have not apprehended God our Lord who while He is one, is in all. They err therefore. For if the body of a man while it is many in its parts is not in dread, one member of another, but, since it is a united body, wholly agrees with itself; even so also God is one in His nature. A single essence is proper to Him, since He is uniform in His nature and His essence; and He is not afraid of Himself. If then the nature of the gods is one, it is not proper that a god should either pursue or slay or harm a god. If then gods be pursued and wounded by gods, and some be kidnapped and some struck dead by lightning, it is obvious that the nature of their gods is not one. And hence it is known, O King, that it is a mistake when they reckon and bring the natures of their gods under a single nature. If then it becomes us to admire a god which is seen and does not see, how much more praiseworthy is it that one should believe in a nature which is invisible and all-seeing? And if further it is fitting that one should approve the handiworks of a craftsman, how much more is it fitting that one should glorify the Creator of the craftsman?

For behold! when the Greeks made laws they did not perceive that by their laws they condemn their gods. For if their laws are righteous, their gods are unrighteous, since they transgressed the law in killing one another, and practising sorcery, and committing adultery, and in robbing and stealing, and in lying with males, and by their other practises as well. For if their gods were right in doing all these things as they are described, then the laws of the Greeks are unrighteous in not being made according to the will of their gods. And in that case the whole world is gone astray.

For the narratives about their gods are some of them myths, and some of them nature-poems (lit: natural--fusikai), and some of them hymns and elegies. The hymns indeed and elegies are empty words and noise. But these nature-poems, even if they be made as they say, still those are not gods who do such things and suffer and endure such things. And those myths are shallow tales with no depth whatever in them.

14 Let us come now, O King, to the history of the Jews also, and see what opinion they have as to God. The Jews then say that God is one, the Creator of all, and omnipotent; and that it is not right that any other should be worshipped except this God alone. And herein they appear to approach the truth more than all the nations, especially in that they worship God and not His works. And they imitate God by the philanthropy which prevails among them; for they have compassion on the poor, and they release the captives, and bury the dead, and do such things as these, which are acceptable before God and well-pleasing also to men,--which (customs) they have received from their forefathers.

Nevertheless they too erred from true knowledge. And in their imagination they conceive that it is God they serve; whereas by their mode of observance it is to the angels and not to God that their service is rendered:--as when they celebrate sabbaths and the beginning of the months, and feasts of unleavened bread, and a great fast; and fasting and circumcision and the purification of meats, which things, however, they do not observe perfectly.

15 But the Christians, O King, while they went about and made search, have found the truth; and as we learned from their writings, they have come nearer to truth and genuine knowledge than the rest of the nations. For they know and trust in God, the Creator of heaven and of earth, in whom and from whom are all things, to whom there is no other god as companion, from whom they received commandments which they engraved upon their minds and observe in hope and expectation of the world which is to come. Wherefore they do not commit adultery nor fornication, nor bear false witness, nor embezzle what is held in pledge, nor covet what is not theirs. They honour father and mother, and show kindness to those near to them; and whenever they are judges, they judge uprightly. They do not worship idols (made) in the image of man; and whatsoever they would not that others should do unto them, they do not to others; and of the food which is consecrated to idols they do not eat, for they are pure. And their oppressors they appease (lit: comfort) and make them their friends; they do good to their enemies; and their women, O King, are pure as virgins, and their daughters are modest; and their men keep themselves from every unlawful union and from all uncleanness, in the hope of a recompense to come in the other world. Further, if one or other of them have bondmen and bondwomen or children, through love towards them they persuade them to become Christians, and when they have done so, they call them brethren without distinction. They do not worship strange gods, and they go their way in all modesty and cheerfulness. Falsehood is not found among them; and they love one another, and from widows they do not turn away their esteem; and they deliver the orphan from him who treats him harshly. And he, who has, gives to him who has not, without boasting. And when they see a stranger, they take him in to their homes and rejoice over him as a very brother; for they do not call them brethren after the flesh, but brethren after the spirit and in God. And whenever one of their poor passes from the world, each one of them according to his ability gives heed to him and carefully sees to his burial. And if they hear that one of their number is imprisoned or afflicted on account of the name of their Messiah, all of them anxiously minister to his necessity, and if it is possible to redeem him they set him free. And if there is among them any that is poor and needy, and if they have no spare food, they fast two or three days in order to supply to the needy their lack of food. They observe the precepts of their Messiah with much care, living justly and soberly as the Lord their God commanded them. Every morning and every hour they give thanks and praise to God for His loving-kindnesses toward them; and for their food and their drink they offer thanksgiving to Him. And if any righteous man among them passes from the world, they rejoice and offer thanks to God; and they escort his body as if he were setting out from one place to another near. And when a child has been born to one of them, they give thanks to God; and if moreover it happen to die in childhood, they give thanks to God the more, as for one who has passed through the world without sins. And further if they see that any one of them dies in his ungodliness or in his sins, for him they grieve bitterly, and sorrow as for one who goes to meet his doom.

16 Such, O King, is the commandment of the law of the Christians, and such is their manner of life. As men who know God, they ask from Him petitions which are fitting for Him to grant and for them to receive. And thus they employ their whole lifetime. And since they know the loving-kindnesses of God toward them, behold! for their sake the glorious things which are in the world flow forth to view. And verily, they are those who found the truth when they went about and made search for it; and from what we considered, we learned that they alone come near to a knowledge of the truth. And they do not proclaim in the ears of the multitude the kind deeds they do, but are careful that no one should notice them; and they conceal their giving just as he who finds a treasure and conceals it. And they strive to be righteous as those who expect to behold their Messiah, and to receive from Him with great glory the promises made concerning them. And as for their words and their precepts, O King, and their glorying in their worship, and the hope of earning according to the work of each one of them their recompense which they look for in another world,-you may learn about these from their writings. It is enough for us to have shortly informed your Majesty concerning the conduct and the truth of the Christians. For great indeed, and wonderful is their doctrine to him who will search into it and reflect upon it. And verily, this is a new people, and there is something divine (lit: "a divine admixture") in the midst of them.

Take, then, their writings, and read therein, and lo! you will find that I have not put forth these things on my own authority, nor spoken thus as their advocate; but since I read in their writings I was fully assured of these things as also of things which are to come. And for this reason I was constrained to declare the truth to such as care for it and seek the world to come. And to me there is no doubt but that the earth abides through the supplication of the Christians. But the rest of the nations err and cause error in wallowing before the elements of the world, since beyond these their mental vision will not pass. And they search about as if in darkness because they will not recognize the truth; and like drunken men they reel and jostle one another and fall.

17 Thus far, O King, I have spoken; for concerning that which remains, as is said above, there are found in their other writings things which are hard to utter and difficult for one to narrate,--which are not only spoken in words but also wrought out in deeds.

Now the Greeks, O King, as they follow base practises in intercourse with males, and a mother and a sister and a daughter, impute their monstrous impurity in turn to the Christians. But the Christians are just and good, and the

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truth is set before their eyes, and their spirit is long-suffering; and, therefore, though they know the error of these (the Greeks), and are persecuted by them, they bear and endure it; and for the most part they have compassion on them, as men who are destitute of knowledge. And on their side, they offer prayer that these may repent of their error; and when it happens that one of them has repented, he is ashamed before the Christians of the works which were done by him; and he makes confession to God, saying, I did these things in ignorance. And he purifies his heart, and his sins are forgiven him, because he committed them in ignorance in the former time, when he used to blaspheme and speak evil of the true knowledge of the Christians. And assuredly the race of the Christians is more blessed than all the men who are upon the face of the earth.

Henceforth let the tongues of those who utter vanity and harass the Christians be silent; and hereafter let them speak the truth. For it is of serious consequence to them that they should worship the true God rather than worship a senseless sound. And verily whatever is spoken in the mouth of the Christians is of God; and their doctrine is the gateway of light. Wherefore let all who are without the knowledge of God draw near thereto; and they will receive incorruptible words, which are from all time and from eternity. So shall they appear before the awful judgement which through Jesus the Messiah is destined to come upon the whole human race.

The Apology of Aristides the Philosopher is finished.

THEODOTUS

TEXT A: Excerpts of Theodotus
"Selections from the prophetic scriptures"
Translation: Mr. Wilson; Roberts-Donaldson, 1886
Estimated Range of Dating: 150-180 A.D.

(This text is an excerpt from the works of Clement of Alexandria, to which it has been made an appendix. It is the work of a Montanist, perhaps, who may have had some relations with the Alexandrian school; but it is hard to say precisely who of three or four named Theodotus (all heretics), may have made the compilation, more especially because disjointed and contradictory fragments seem mixed up in it as it is commonly edited. Dupin (perhaps too readily copying Valesius) appears to think Clement may have been the compiler, but that, like the Hypotyposes, the work was the product of days when he was imperfectly educated in Christian truth. It seems to me more reasonable to conclude that these excerpts, and what goes by the name of Fragments from the Hypotyposes, are alike corrupt or forged documents, for which Clement's name has been borrowed, to give them some credit; and I can desire no better authority for this opinion than that of Jeremiah Jones, with the arguments to be found in his learned work on the Canon. As the arrangements of the fragments are different, we provide here two distinct translations. The first one was made by a Mr. Wilson [probably of Edinburgh], the second, immediately following, one was made by an unknown Translator.)

1 Those around Sedrach, Misak, and Abednago in the furnace of fire say as they praise God, "Bless, ye heavens, the Lord; praise and exalt Him for ever;" then, "Bless, ye angels, the Lord;" then, "Bless the Lord, all ye waters that are above heaven." So the Scriptures assign the heavens and the waters to the class of pure powers as is shown in Genesis. Suitably, then, inasmuch as "power" is used with a variety of meaning, Daniel adds, "Let every power bless the Lord;" then, further, "Bless the Lord, sun and moon;" and, "Bless the Lord, ye stars of heaven. Bless the Lord, all ye that worship Him; praise and confess the God of gods, for His mercy is for ever." It is written in Daniel, on the occasion of the three children praising in the furnace.

2 "Blessed art Thou, who lookest on the abysses as Thou sittest on the cherubim," says Daniel, in agreement with Enoch, who said, "And I saw all sorts of matter." For the abyss, which is in its essence boundless, is bounded by the power of God. These material essences then, from which the separate genera and their species are produced, are called abysses; since you would not call the water alone the abyss, although matter is allegorically called water, the abyss.

3 "In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth," both terrestrial and celestial things. And that this is true, the Lord said to Osee, "Go, take to thyself a wife of fornication, and children of fornication: because the land committing fornication, shall commit fornication, departing from the Lord." For it is not the element of earth that he speaks of, but those that dwell in the element, those who have an earthly disposition.

4 And that the Son is the beginning or head, Hosea teaches clearly: "And it shall be, that in the place in which it was said to them, Ye are not my people, they shall be called the children of the living God: and the children of Judah and the children of Israel shall be gathered to the same place, and they shall place over them one head, and they shall come up out of the land; for great is the day of Jezreel." For whom one believes, him He chooses. But one believes the Son, who is the head; wherefore also he said in addition: "But I will have mercy on the sons of Judah, and will save them by the Lord their God." Now the Saviour who saves is the Son of God. He is then the head.

5 The Spirit by Osee (Hosea) says, "I am your Instructor;" "Blow ye the trumpet upon the hills of the Lord; sound upon the high places." And is not baptism itself, which is the sign of regeneration, an escape from matter, by the teaching of the Saviour, a great impetuous stream, ever rushing on and bearing us along? The Lord accordingly, leading us out of disorder, illumines us by bringing us into the light, which is shadow-less and is material no longer.

6 This river and sea of matter two prophets cut asunder and divided by the power of the Lord, the matter being bounded, through both divisions of the water. Famous leaders both, by whom the signs were believed, they complied with the will of God, so that the righteous man may proceed from matter, having journeyed through it first. On the one of these commanders also was imposed the name of our Saviour.

7 Now, regeneration is by water and spirit, as was all creation: "For the Spirit of God moved on the abyss." And for this reason the Saviour was baptized, though not Himself needing to be so, in order that He might consecrate the whole water for those who were being regenerated. Thus it is not the body only, but the soul, that we cleanse. It is accordingly a sign of the sanctifying of our invisible part, and of the straining off from the new and spiritual creation of the unclean spirits that have got mixed up with the soul.

8 "The water above the heaven." Since baptism is performed by water and the Spirit as a protection against the twofold fire,--that which lays hold of what is visible, and that which lays hold of what is invisible; and of necessity, there being an immaterial element of water and a material, is it a protection against the twofold fire. And the earthly water cleanses the body; but the heavenly water, by reason of its being immaterial and invisible, is an emblem of the Holy Spirit, who is the purifier of what is invisible, as the water of the Spirit, as the other of the body.

9 God, out of goodness, hath mingled fear with goodness. For what is beneficial for each one, that He also supplies, as a physician to a sick man, as a father to his insubordinate child: "For he that spareth his rod hateth his son." And the Lord and His apostles walked in the midst of fear and labours. When, then, the affliction is sent in the person of a righteous man, it is either from the Lord rebuking him for a sin committed before, or guarding him on account of the future, or not preventing by the exercise of His power an assault from without, -- for some good end to him and to those near, for the sake of example.

10 Now those that dwell in a corrupt body, like those who sail in an old ship, do not lie on their back, but are ever praying, stretching their hands to God.

11 The ancients were exceedingly distressed, unless they had always some suffering in the body. For they were afraid, that if they received not in this world the punishment of the sins which, in numbers through ignorance, accompany those that are in the flesh, they would in the other world suffer the penalty all at once. So that they preferred curative treatment here. What is to be dreaded is, then, not external disease, but sins, for which disease comes, and disease of the soul, not of the body: "For all flesh is grass," and corporeal and external good things are temporary; "but the things which are unseen are eternal."

12 As to knowledge, some elements of it we already possess; others, by what we do possess, we firmly hope to attain. For neither have we attained all, nor do we lack all. But we have received, as it were, an earnest of the eternal blessings, and of the ancestral riches. The provisions for the Lord's way are the Lord's beatitudes. For He said: "Seek," and anxiously seek, "the kingdom of God, and all these things shall be added to you: for the Father knoweth what things ye have need of." Thus He limits not only our occupations, but our cares. For He says: "Ye cannot, by taking thought, add aught to your stature." For God knows well what it is good for us to have and what to want. He wishes, therefore, that we, emptying ourselves of worldly cares, should be filled with that which is directed towards God. "For we groan, desiring to be clothed upon with that which is incorruptible, before putting off corruption." For when faith is shed abroad, unbelief is nonplussed. Similarly also with knowledge and righteousness. We must therefore not only empty the soul, but fill it with God. For no longer is there evil in it, since that has been made to cease; nor yet is there good, since it has not yet received good. But what is neither good nor evil is nothing. "For to the swept and empty house return," if none of the blessings of salvation has been put in, the unclean spirit that dwelt there before, taking with him seven other unclean spirits. Wherefore, after emptying the soul of what is evil, we must fill with the good God that which is His chosen dwelling-place. For when the empty rooms are filled, then follows the seal, that the sanctuary may be guarded for God.

13 "By two and three witnesses every word is established." By Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit, by whose witness and help the prescribed commandments ought to be kept.

14 Fasting, according to the signification of the word, is abstinence from food. Now food makes us neither more righteous nor less. But mystically it shows that, as life is maintained in individuals by sustenance, and want of sustenance is the token of death; so also ought we to fast from worldly things, that we may die to the world, and after that, by partaking of divine sustenance, live to God. Especially does fasting empty the soul of matter, and make it, along with the body, pure and light for the divine words. Worldly food is, then, the former life and sins; but the divine food is faith, hope, love, patience, knowledge, peace, temperance. For "blessed are they that hunger and thirst after" God's "righteousness; for they shall be filled." The soul, but not the body, it is which is susceptible of this craving.

15 The Saviour showed to the believing apostles prayer to be stronger than faith in the case of a demoniac, whom they could not cleanse, when He said, Such things are accomplished by prayer. He who has believed has obtained forgiveness of sins from the Lord; but he who has attained knowledge, inasmuch as he no longer sins, obtains from himself the forgiveness of the rest.

16 For as cures, and prophecies, and signs are performed by the agency of men, God working in them, so also is Gnostic teaching. For God shows His power through men. And the prophecy rightly says, "I will send to them a man who will save them." Accordingly He sends forth at one thee prophets, at another apostles, to be saviours of men. Thus God does good by the agency of men. For it is not that God can do some things, and cannot do others: He is never powerless in anything. No more are some things done with, and some things against His will; and some things by Him, and some things by another. But He even brought us into being by means of men, and trained us by means of men.

17 God made us, having previously no existence. For if we had a previous existence, we must have known where we were, and how and why we came hither. But if we had no pre-existence, then God is the sole author of our creation. As, then, He made us who had no existence; so also, now that we are made, He saves us by His own grace, if we show ourselves worthy and susceptible; if not, He will let us pass to our proper end. For He is Lord both of the living and the dead.

18 But see the power of God, not only in the case of men, in bringing to existence out of non-existence, and making them when brought into being grow up according to the progress of the thee of life, but also in saving those who believe, in a way suitable to each individual. And now He changes both hours, and times, and fruits, and elements. For this is the one God, who has measured both the beginning and the end of events suitably to each one.

19 Advancing from faith and fear to knowledge, man knows how to say Lord, Lord; but not as His slave, he has learned to say, Our Father. Having set free the spirit of bondage, which produces fear, and advanced by love to adoption, he now reverences from love Him whom he feared before. For he no longer abstains from what he ought to abstain from out of fear, but out of love clings to the commandments. "The Spirit itself," it is said, "beareth witness when we cry, Abba, Father."

20 Now the Lord with His precious blood redeems us, freeing us from our old bitter masters, that is, our sins, on account of which the spiritual powers of wickedness ruled over us. Accordingly He leads us into the liberty of the Father, -- sons that are co-heirs and friends. "For," says the Lord, "they that do the will of my Father are my brethren and fellow-heirs." "Call no man, therefore, father to yourselves on earth." For it is masters that are on earth. But in heaven is the Father, of whom is the whole family, both in heaven and on earth. For love rules willing hearts, but fear the unwilling. One kind of fear is base; but the other, leading us as a pedagogue to good, brings us to Christ, and is saving.

21 Now if one has a conception of God, it by no means corresponds with His worthiness. For what can the worthiness of God be? But let him, as far as is possible, conceive of a great and incomprehensible and most beautiful light; inaccessible, comprehending all good power, all comely virtue; caring for all, compassionate, passionless, good; knowing all things, foreknowing all things, pure, sweet, shining, stainless.

22 Since the movement of the soul is self-originated, the grace of God demands from it what the soul possesses, willingness as its contribution to salvation. For the soul wishes to be its own good; which the Lord, however, gives it. For it is not devoid of sensation so as to be carried along like a body. Having is the result of taking, and taking of willing and desiring; and keeping hold of what one has received, of the exercise of care and of ability. Wherefore God has endowed the soul with free choice, that He may show it its duty, and that it choosing, may receive and retain.

23 As through the body the Lord spake and healed, so also formerly by the prophets, and now by the apostles and teachers. For the Church is the minister of the Lord's power.

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Thence He then assumed humanity, that by it He might minister to the Father's will. And at all times, the God who loves humanity invests Himself with man for the salvation of men, -- in former tithes with the prophets, and now with the Church. For it is fitting that like should minister to like, in order to a like salvation.

24 For we are of the earth. . . . Caesar is the prince, for the thee being, whose earthly image is the old man, to which he has returned. To him, then, we are to render the earthly things, which we bore in the image of the earthly, and the things of God to God. For each one of the passions is on us as a letter, and stamp, and sign. Now the Lord marks us with another stamp, and with other names and letters, faith instead of unbelief, and so forth. Thus we are translated from what is material to what is spiritual, "having borne the image of the heavenly."

25 John says: "I indeed baptise you with water, but there cometh after me He that baptizeth with the Spirit and fire." But He baptised no one with fire. But some, as Heraclius says, marked with fire the ears of those who were sealed; understanding so the apostolic saying, "For His fan is in His hand, to purge His floor: and He will gather the wheat into the garner; but the chaff He will burn with fire un-quenchable." There is joined, then, the expression "by fire" to that" by the Spirit;" since He separates the wheat from the chaff, that is, from the material husk, by the Spirit; and the chaff is separated, being fanned by the wind : so also the Spirit possesses a power of separating material forces. Since, then, some things are produced from what is unproduced and indestructible, -that is, the germs of life,--the wheat also is stored, and the material part, as long as it is conjoined with the superior part, remains; when separated from it, it is destroyed; for it had its existence in another thing. This separating element, then, is the Spirit, and the destroying element is the fire: and material fire is to be understood. But since that which is saved is like wheat, and that which grows in the soul like chaff, and the one is incorporeal, and that which is separated is material; to the incorporeal He opposes spirit, which is rarefied and pure -almost more so than mind; and to the material He opposes fire, not as being evil or bad, but as strong and capable of cleansing away evil. For fire is conceived as a good force and powerful, destructive of what is baser, and conservative of what is better. Wherefore this fire is by the prophets called wise.

26 Thus also, then, when God is called "a consuming fire," it is because a name and sign, not of wickedness, but of power, is to be selected. For as fire is the most potent of the elements, and masters all things; so also God is all-powerful and almighty, who is able to hold, to create, to make, to nourish, to make grow, to save, having power of body and soul. As, then, fire is superior to the elements, so is the Almighty Ruler to gods, and powers, and principalities. The power of fire is twofold: one power con-duces to the production and maturing of fruits and of animals, of which the sun is the image; and the other to consumption and destruction, as terrestrial fire. When, then, God is called a consuming fire, He is called a mighty and resist-less power, to which nothing is impossible, but which is able to destroy.

Respecting such a power, also, the Saviour says, "I came to send fire upon the earth," indicating a power to purify what is holy, but destructive, as they say, of what is material; and, as we should say, disciplinary. Now fear pertains to fire, and diffusion to light.

27 Now the more ancient men did not write, as they neither wished to encroach on the thee devoted to attention bestowed on what they handed down, in the way of teaching, by the additional attention bestowed on writing, nor spent the thee for considering what was to be said on writing. And, perhaps convinced that the function of composition and the department of teaching did not belong to the same cast of mind, they gave way to those who had a natural turn for it. For in the case of a speaker, the stream of speech flows unchecked and impetuous, and you may catch it up hastily. But that which is always tested by readers, meeting with strict examination, is thought worthy of the utmost pains, and is, so to speak, the written confirmation of oral instruction, and of the voice so wafted along to posterity by written composition. For that which was committed in trust to the elders, speaking in writing, uses the writer's help to hand itself down to those who are to read it. As, then, the magnet, repelling other matter, attracts iron alone by reason of affinity; so also books, though many read them, attract those alone who are capable of comprehending them. For the word of truth is to some "foolishness," and to others a "stumbling-block;" but to a few "wisdom." So also is the power of God found to be. But far from the Gnostic be envy. For it is for this reason also that he asks whether it be worse to give to the unworthy, or not commit to the worthy; and runs the risk, from his abundant love of communicating, not only to every one who is qualified, but sometimes also to one unworthy, who asks importunately; not on account of his entreaty (for he loves not glory), but on account of the persistency of the petitioner who bends his mind towards faith with copious entreaty. 28 There are those calling themselves Gnostics who are envious of those in their own house more than strangers. And, as the sea is open to all, but one swims, another sails, and a third catches fish; and as the land is common, but one walks, another ploughs, another hunts, --somebody else searches the mines, and another builds a house: so also, when the Scripture is read, one is helped to faith, another to morality, and a third is freed from superstition by the knowledge of things. The athlete, who knows the Olympic stadium, strips for training, contends, and becomes victor, tripping up his antagonists who contend against his scientific method, and fighting out the contest. For scientific knowledge is necessary both for the training of the soul and for gravity of conduct; making the faithful more active and keen observers of things. For as there is no believing without elementary instruction, so neither is there comprehension without science.

29 For what is useful and necessary to salvation, such as the knowledge of the Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit, and also of our own soul, are wholly requisite; and it is at once beneficial and necessary to attain to the scientific account of them. And to those who have assumed the lead in doing good, lunch experience is advantageous; so that none of the things which appear to be known necessarily and eruditely by others may escape their notice. The exposition, too, of heterodox teaching affords another exercise of the inquiring soul, and keeps the disciple froth being seduced from the truth, by his having already had practice beforehand in sounding all round on warlike instruments of music.

30 The life of the Gnostic rule, (as they say that Crete was barren of deadly animals,) is pure from every evil deed, and thought, and word; not only hating no one, but beyond envy and hatred, and all evil-speaking and slander.

31 In length of days, it is not on account of his having lived long that the man is to be regarded happy, to whose lot it has also fallen, through his having lived, to be worthy of living for ever. He has pained no one, except in instructing by the word the wounded in heart, as it were by a salutary honey, which is at once sweet and pungent. So that, above all, the Gnostic preserves the decorous along with that which is in accordance with reason. For passion being cut away and stript off from the whole soul, he henceforth consorts and lives with what is noblest, which has now become pure, and emancipated to adoption.

32 Pythagoras thought that he who gave things their names, ought to be regarded not only the most intelligent, but the oldest of the wise men. We must, then, search the Scriptures accurately, since they are admitted to be expressed in parables, and from the names hunt out the thoughts which the Holy Spirit, pro-pounding respecting things, teaches by imprinting His mind, so to speak, on the expressions; that the names used with various meanings, being made the subject of accurate investigation, may be explained, and that that which is hidden trader many integuments may, being handled and learned, come to light and gleam forth. For so also lead turns white as you rub it; white lead being produced from black. So also scientific knowledge (gnosis), shedding its light and brightness on things, shows itself to be in truth the divine wisdom, the pure light, which illumines the men whose eyeball is clear, unto the sure vision and comprehension of truth.

33 Lighting, then, our torch at the source of that light, by the passionate desire which has it for its object, and striving as much as possible to be assimilated to it, we become men full of light, Israelites indeed. For He called those friends and brethren who by desire and pursuit aimed after likeness to the Divinity.

34 Pure places and meadows have received voices and visions of holy phantasms. But every man who has been perfectly purified, shall be thought worthy of divine teaching and of power.

35 Now I know that the mysteries of science (gnosis) are a laughing-stock to many, especially when not patched up with sophistical figurative language. And the few are at first startled at them; as when light is suddenly brought into a convivial party in the dark. Subsequently, on getting used and accustomed, and trained to reasoning, as if gladdened and exulting for delight, they praise the Lord. . . . For as pleasure has for its essence release from pain; so also has knowledge the removal of ignorance. For as those that are most asleep think they are most awake, being under the power of dream-visions very vivid and fixed; so those that are most ignorant think that they know most. But blessed are they who rouse themselves from this sleep and derangement, and raise their eyes to the light and the truth.

36 It is, therefore, equally requisite for him who wishes to have a pupil who is docile, and has blended faith with aspiration, to exercise himself and constantly to study by himself, investigating the truth of his speculations; and when he thinks himself right, to descend to questions regarding things contiguous. For the young birds make attempts to fly in the nest, exercising their wings.

37 For Gnostic virtue everywhere makes man good, and meek, and harmless, and painless, and blessed, and ready to associate in the best way with all that is divine, in the best way with men, at once a contemplative and active divine image, and turns him into a lover of what is good by love. For what is good, as there it is contemplated and comprehended by wisdom, is here by self-control and righteousness carried into effect through faith: practising in the flesh an angelic ministry; hallowing the soul in the body, as in a place clear and stainless.

38 Against Tatian, who says that the words, "Let there be light," are supplicatory. If, then, He is supplicating the supreme God, how does He say, "I am God, and beside me there is none else?" We have said that there are punishments for blasphemies, for nonsense. for outrageous expressions; which are punished and chastised by reason.

39 And he said, too, that on account of their hair and finery, women are punished by the Power that is set over these matters; which also gave to Samson strength in his hair; which punishes the women who allure to fornication through the adornment of their hair.

40 As by the effluence of good, people are made good; in like manner are they made bad. Good is the judgement of God, and the discrimination of the believing from the unbelieving, and the judgement beforehand, so as not to fall into greater judgement -- this judgement being correction.

41 Scripture says that infants which are exposed are delivered to a guardian angel, and that by him they are trained and reared. "And they shall be," it says, "as the faithtful in this world of a hundred years of age." Wherefore also Peter, in the Revelation, says: "And a flash of fire, leaping from those infants, and striking the eyes of the women." For the just shines: forth as a spark in a reed, and will judge the nations.

42 "With the holy Thou wilt be holy." "According to thy praise is thy name glorified;" God being glorified through our knowledge, and through the inheritance. Thus also it is said, "The Lord liveth," and "The Lord hath risen."

43 "A people whom I knew not hath served me;" --by covenant I knew them not, alien sons, who desired what pertained to another.

44 "Magnifying the salvations of His king." All the faithful are called kings, brought to royalty through inheritance.

45 Long-suffering is sweetness above honey; not because it is long-suffering, but in consequence of the fruit of long-suffering. Since, then, the man of self-control is devoid of passion, inasmuch as he restrains the passions, not without toil; but when habit is formed, he is no longer a man of self-control, the man having come trader the influence of one habit and of the Holy Spirit.

46 The passions that are in the soul are called spirits,--not spirits of power, since in that case the man under the influence of passion would be a legion of demons; but they are so called in consequence of the impulse they communicate. For the soul itself, through modifications, taking on this and that other sort of qualities of wickedness, is said to receive spirits.

47 The Word does not bid us renounce property; but to manage property without inordinate affection; and on anything happening, not to be vexed or grieved; and not to desire to acquire. Divine Providence bids keep away from possession accompanied with passion, and from all inordinate affection, and from this turns back those still remaining in the flesh.

48 For instance, Peter says in the Apocalypse, that abortive infants shall share the better fate; that these are committed to a guardian angel, so that, on receiving knowledge, they may obtain the better abode, having had the same experiences which they would have had had they been in the body. But the others shall obtain salvation merely, as being injured and pitied, and remain without punishment, receiving this reward.

49 The milk of women, flowing from the breasts and thickening, says Peter in the Apocalypse, will produce minute beasts, that prey on flesh, and running back into them will consume them: teaching that punishments arise for sins. He says that they are produced from sins; as it was for their sins that the people were sold. And for their want of faith in Christ, as the apostle says, they were bitten by serpents.

50 An ancient said that the embryo is a living thing; for that the soul entering into the womb after it has been by cleansing prepared for conception, and introduced by one of the angels who preside over generation, and who knows the time for conception, moves the woman to intercourse; and that, on the seed being deposited, the spirit, which is in the seed, is, so to speak, appropriated, and is thus assumed into conjunction in the process of formation. He cited as a proof to all, how, when the angels give glad tidings to the barren, they introduce souls before conception. And in the Gospel "the babe leapt" as a living thing. And the barren are barren for this reason, that the soul, which unites for the deposit of the seed, is not introduced so as to secure conception and generation.

51 "The heavens declare the glory of God." The heavens are taken in various meanings, both those defined by space and revolution, and those by covenant,--the immediate operation of the first-created angels. For the covenants caused a more especial appearance of angels,--that in the case of Adam, that in the case of Noah, that in the case of Abraham, that in the case of Moses. For, moved by the Lord, the first-created angels exercised their influence on the angels attached to the

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prophets, considering the covenants the glory of God. Furthermore, the things done on earth by angels were done by the first-created angels to the glory of God.

52 It is the Lord that is principally denominated the Heavens, and then the First-created; and after these also the holy men before the Law, as the patriarchs, and Moses, and the prophets; then also the apostles. "And the firmament showeth His handiwork." He applies the term "firmament" to God, the passionless and immoveable, as also elsewhere the same David says, "I will love Thee, O Lord, my strength and my refuge." Accordingly, the firmament itself shows forth the work of His hands,--that is, shows and manifests the work of His angels. For He shows forth and manifests those whom He hath made.

53 "Day unto day uttereth speech." As the heavens have various meanings, so also has day. Now speech is the Lord; and He is also frequently called day. "And night unto night showeth forth knowledge." The devil knew that the Lord was to come. But he did not believe that He was God; wherefore also he tempted Him, in order to know if He were powerful. It is said, "he left Him, and departed from Him for a season;" that is, he postponed the discovery till the resurrection. For he knew that He who was to rise was the Lord. Likewise also the demons; since also they suspected that Solomon was the Lord, and they knew that he was not so, on his sinning. "Night to night." All the demons knew that He who rose after the passion was the Lord. And already Enoch had said, that the angels who transgressed taught men astronomy and divination, and the rest of the arts.

54 "There are no speeches or words whose voices are not heard," neither of days nor nights. "Their sound is gone forth unto all the earth." He has transferred the discourse to the saints alone, whom he calls both heavens and days.

55 The stars, spiritual bodies, that have communications with the angels set over them, and are governed by them, are not the cause of the production of things, but are signs of what is taking place, and will take place, and have taken place in the case of atmospheric changes, of fruitfulness and barrenness, of pestilence and fevers, and in the case of men. The stars do not in the least degree exert influences, but indicate what is, and will be, and has been.

56 "And in the sun hath He set His tabernacle." There is a transposition here. For it is of the second coming that the discourse is. So, then, we must read what is transposed in its due sequence: "And he, as a bridegroom issuing from his chamber, will rejoice as a giant to run his way. From heaven's end is his going forth; and there is no one who shall hide himself from his heat;" and then, "He hath set His tabernacle in the sun." Some say that He deposited the Lord's body in the sun, as Hermogenes. And "His tabernacle," some say, is His body, others the Church of the faithful. Our Pantaenus used to say, that prophecy utters its expressions indefinitely for the most part, and uses the present for the future, and again the present for the past. Which is also seen here. For "He hath set" is put both for the past and the future. For the future, because, on the completion of this period, which is to run according to its present constitution, the Lord will come to restore the righteous, the faithful, in whom He rests, as in a tent, to one and the same unity; for all are one body, of the same race, and have chosen the same faith and righteousness. But sortie as head, some as eyes, some as ears, some as hands, some as breasts, some as feet, shall be set, resplendent, in the sun. "Shine forth as the sun," or in the sun; since an angel high in command is in the sun. For he is appointed for rule over days; as the moon is for ruling over night. Now angels are called days. Along with the angels in the sun, it is said, they shall have assigned to them one abode, to be for some time and in some respects the sun, as it were the head of the body which is one. And, besides, they also are the rulers of the days, as that angel in the sun, for the greater purpose for which he before them migrated to the same place. And again destined to ascend progressively, they reach the first abode, in accordance with the past "He hath set:" so that the first-created angels shall no longer, according to providence, exercise a definite ministry, but may be in repose, and devoted to the contemplation of God alone; while those next to them shall be promoted to the post which they have left; and so those beneath them similarly.

57 There are then, according to the apostle, those on the summit, the first-created. And they are thrones, although Powers, being the first-created, inasmuch as God rests in them, as also in those who believe. For each one, according to his own stage of advancement possesses the knowledge of God in a way special to himself; and in this knowledge God reposes, those who possess knowledge being made immortal by knowledge. And is not "He set His tabernacle in the sun" to be understood thus? God "set in the sun," that is, in the God who is beside Him, as in the Gospel, Eli, Eli, instead of my God, my God. And what is above all rule, and authority, and power, and every name that is named," are those from among men that are made perfect as angels and archangels, so as to rise to the nature of the angels first-created. For those who are changed from men to angels are instructed for a thousand years by the angels after they are brought to perfection. Then those who have taught are translated to archangelic authority; and those who have learned instruct those again who from men are changed to angels. Thus afterwards, in the prescribed periods, they are brought to the proper angelic state of the body.

58 "The law of God is perfect, converting souls." The Saviour Himself is called Law and Word, as Peter in "the Preaching," and the prophet: "Out of Zion shall go forth the Law, and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem."

59 "The testimony of the Lord is sure, making children wise." The covenant of the Lord is true, making wise children; those free from evil, both the apostles, and then also us. Besides, the testimony of the Lord, according to which He rose again after His passion, having been verified by fact, led the Church to confirmation in faith.

60 "The fear of the Lord is pure, enduring for ever." He says that those who have been turned from fear to faith and righteousness endure for ever. "The judgements of the Lord are true,"--sure, and incapable of being overturned; and giving rewards according to what is right, bringing the righteous to the unity of the faith. For this is shown in the words, "justified for the same." "Such desires are above gold and precious stone."

61 "For also Thy servant keeps them." Not that David alone is called servant; but the whole people saved is called the servant of God, in virtue of obedience to the command.

62 "Cleanse me from my secret faults;"--thoughts contrary to right reason--defects. For He calls this foreign to the righteous man.

63 "If they have not dominion over me, then shall I be innocent." If those who persecute me as they did the Lord, do not have dominion over me, I shall not be innocent. For no one becomes a martyr unless he is persecuted; nor appears righteous, unless, being wronged, he takes no revenge; nor forbearing ...

THEODOTUS

TEXT B: Excerpta ex Theodotus:
Extracts from the Works of Theodotus and the So-Called
"Oriental Teachings at the Time of Valentinus"
Translation: Modern English, Anonymus
Estimated Range of Dating: 150-180 A.D.

1 "Father," he says, "I deposit into thy hands my spirit." Wisdom, he says, put forth a receptacle of flesh for the Logos, the spiritual seed; clad in it the Saviour descended. Wherefore, at the Passion, it is Wisdom which he deposits with the Father, in order that he may receive her from the Father and not be held back here by those who have the power to deprive him. Thus, by the word already spoken of, he deposits the whole spiritual seed, that is, the elect. We admit that the elect seed is both a spark kindled by the Logos and a pupil of the eye and a grain of mustard seed and leaven which unites in faith the genera which appear to be divided.

2 But the followers of Valentinus maintain that when the animal body was fashioned a male seed was implanted by the Logos in the elect soul while it was asleep and that this is an effluence of the angelic <seed>, in order that there may be no gap. And this worked as leaven, uniting what seemed to have been divided, soul and flesh, which had also been put forth sepa rately by Wisdom. And Adam's sleep was the soul's forgetting, which restrained from dissolution, . . . just as the spiritual thing which the Saviour inserted into the soul.. The seed was an effluence of the male and angelic [element]. Therefore the Saviour says, "Be saved, thou and thy souL"

3 Therefore when the Saviour came, he awakened the soul and kindled the spark. For the words of the Lord are power. Therefore he said, "Let your light shine before men." And after the Resurrection, by breathing the Spirit on the apostles, he was blowing off and re moving dust like ashes, but kindling and giving life to the spark.

4 By reason of great humility the Lord did not appear as an angel but as a man, and when he appeared in glory to the apos tles on the Mount he did not do it for his own sake when he showed himself, but for the sake of the Church which is "the elect race," that it might learn his advancement after his de parture from the flesh. For on high, too, he was Light and that which was manifest in the flesh and appeared here is not later than that above nor was it curtailed, in that it was translated hither from on high, changing from one place to another, so that this was gain here and loss there. But he was the Omnipresent, and is with the Father, even when here, for he was the Father's Power. And besides, it was necessary that that word also which the Saviour spoke should be fulfilled, "There are some of those standing here who will not taste death until they see the Son of Man in glory." Therefore, Peter and James and John saw and fell asleep. .

5 How was it that they were not frightened when they saw the vision of light but fell on the earth when they heard the voice? Because the ears are more sceptical than the eyes and an unex pected voice is more terrifying. But John the Baptist, when he heard the voice, was not afraid, as if he heard in the spirit, which was accustomed to such a voice. But it was just as any ordinary man on merely hearing would have been frightened; therefore the Saviour said to thern, "Tell no one what you saw." Yet they had not even with eyes of the flesh seen the light (for there is no bond of kinship and relation between that light and the present flesh) but as the power and will of the Saviour en abled the flesh to have vision. Moreover, that which the soul saw it shared with the flesh that companied with it. . .. And "tell no one" was spoken lest any, when they knew what the Lord is, should refrain from laying hands on the Lord and the plan of God be made incomplete and death refrain from the Lord as from a vain attempt on the unapproachable. And, moreover, the voice on the mountain came to the elect who already understood, so that they were also amazed when testi mony was given to that which they believed; but the voice at the river was for those who were going to believe. Therefore, too, the voice was disregarded by them, held down as they were to the discipline of the Scribes.

6 The verse, "In the beginning was the Logos and the Logos was with God and the Logos was God" the Valentinians understand thus, for they say that the "beginning" is the "Only Begotten" and that he is also called God, as also in the verses which immediately follow it explains that he is God, for it says, "The Only-Begotten God who is in the bosom of the Father, he has declared him." Now they say that the Logos in the be ginning, that is to say in the Only-Begotten, in the Mind and the Truth, indicates the Christ, the Logos and the Life. Where fore he also appropriately calls God him who is in God, the Mind. "That which came into being in him," the Logos, "was Life," the Companion. Therefore the Lord also says, "I am the Life. "

7 Therefore, the Father, being unknown, wished to be known to the Aeons, and through his own thought, as if he had known himself, he put forth the Only-Begotten, the spirit of Knowledge which is in Knowledge. So he too who came forth from Know ledge, that is, from the Father's Thought, became Knowledge, that is, the Son, because "through' the Son the Father was known." But the Spirit of Love has been mingled with the Spirit of Knowledge, as the Father with the Son, and Thought with Truth, having proceeded from Truth as Knowledge from Thought. And he who remained " Only-Begotten Son in the bosom of the Father" explains Thought to the Aeons through Knowledge, just as if he had also been put forth from his bosom; but him who appeared here, the Apostle no longer calls " Only Begotten," but " as Only-Begotten," "Glory as of an Only- Begotten." This is because being one and the same, Jesus is the" First-Born" in creation, but in the Pleroma is "Only- Begotten." But he is the same, being to each place such as can be contained <in it>. And he who descended is never divided from him who remained. For the Apostle says, "For he who ascended is the same as he who descended." And they call the Creator, the image of the Only-Begotten. Therefore even the works of the image are the same and therefore the Lord, having made the dead whom he raised an image of the spiritual resur rection, raised them not so that their flesh was incorruptible but as if they were going to die again.

8 But we maintain that the essential Logos is God in God, who is also said to be " in the bosom of the Father," continuous, undivided, one God. "All things were made by him"; things both of the spirit, and of the mind, and of the senses, in accordance with the activity proper to the essential Logos. "This one explained the bosom of the Father," the Saviour and [Isaiah said, "And I will pay back their deeds into their bosom," that is, into their thought, which is in the soul, from which it is first activated] "Firs- Born of all creation." But the essential Only-Begotten, in ac cordance with whose continuous power the Saviour acts, is the Light of the Church, which previously was in darkness and ignorance. "And darkness comprehended him not": the apostates and the rest of men did not know him and death did not detain him.

9 Faith is not single but various. Indeed the Saviour says, "Let it be according to thy faith." Wherefore it is said that some of those of the Calling will be deceived at the coming of the Antichrist. But this would be impossible for the elect. Therefore he says, "And if it were possible, my elect"; again when he says, "Get ye out from my Father's house," he is speak ing to those who are called. Again he utters the call to the one who came back from a journey and had consumed his goods, for whom he killed the fatted calf; and where the King called those who were on the highways to the wedding feast. All, therefore, have been called equally, "for he sendeth rain upon the just and on the unjust and maketh the sun to shine upon all," but' the elect are those who have superior faith, for he says to them, " No man hath seen my Father except the Son," and " Ye are the light of the world" and" Holy Father, sanctify them in thy name."

10 But not even the world of spirit and of intellect, nor the arch angels and the First-Created, no, nor even he himself is shapeless and formless and without figure, and incorporeal; but he also has his own shape and body corresponding to his preeminence over all spiritual beings, as also those who were first created have bodies corresponding to their preeminence over the beings subordinate to them. For, in general, that which has come into being is not unsubstantial, but they have

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form and body, though unlike the bodies in this world. Those which are here are male and female and differ from each other, but there he who is the Only-Begotten and inherently intellectual has been provided with his own form and with his own nature which is exceedingly pure and sovereign and directly enjoys the power of the Father; and the First-Created even though numerically distinct and sus ceptible of separate distinction and definition, nevertheless, are shown by the similarity of their state to have unity, equality and similarity. For among the Seven there is neither inferiority nor superiority and no advance is left for them, since they have received perfection from the beginning, at the time of the first creation from God through the Son. And he is said to be "inap proachable Light" as" Only-Begotten," and "First-Born," "the things which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, and which have not entered into the heart of man," - and such a one shall not be found either among the First-Created or among men, - but they "always behold the face of the Father" and the face of the Father is the Son, through whom the Father is known. Yet that which sees and is seen cannot be formless or incorporeal. But they see not with an eye of sense, but with the eye of mind, such as the Father provided.

11 When, therefore, the Lord said, "Despise not one of these little ones. Verily, I say .unto you, their angels do always be hold the face of the Father," ["as is the pattern, such will be the elect,] when they have received the perfect advance." But "blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God." And how could there be a face of a shapeless being? Indeed the Apostle knows heavenly, beautiful and intellectual bodies. How could different names be given to them, if they were not determined by their shapes, form, and body? "There is one glory of the heavenly, another of the earthly, another of angels, another of archangels, because in comparison with bodies here, like the stars, they are incorporeal and formless, as in comparison with the Son, they are dimensional and sensible bodies; so also is the Son, if compared with the Father, and each one of the spiritual beings has its own power and its own sphere of action just as those who were first created both came into being together, and received completion, their common and undivided service.

12 Therefore the First-Created behold both the Son and each other and the inferior orders of being, as also the archangels behold the First-Created. But the Son is the beginning of the vision of the Father, being called the "face" of the Father. And the angels, who are intellectual fire and intellectual spirits, have purified natures, but the greatest advance from intellectual fire, completely purified, is intellectual light, "into which things the angels desire to look," as Peter says. Now 'the Son is still purer than this: "light unapproachable" and "a power of God" and, according to the Apostle, "we were re deemed by precious and blameless and spotless blood." And his "garments gleamed as the light, and his face as the sun," which it is not easy even to look at.

13 He is "heavenly bread" and "spiritual food" furnishing life by food and knowledge, "the light of men," that is, of the Church. Therefore those who ate the heavenly bread died, but he who eats the true bread of the Spirit shall not die. The Son is the living bread which was given by the Father to those who wish to eat. "And my flesh is the bread which I will give," he says, that is, to him whose flesh is nourished by the Eucharist; or better still, the flesh is his body, "which is the Church," "heavenly bread," a blessed Assembly. And perhaps just as the elect are essentially derived from the same substance, and as they will also attain the same end. . .

14 The demons are said to be incorporeal, not because they have no bodies (for they have even shape and are, therefore, capable of feeling punishment), but they are said to be incor poreal because, in comparison with the spiritual bodies which are saved, they are a shade. And the angels are bodies; at any rate they are seen. Why even the soul is a body, for the Apostle says, "It is sown a body of soul, it is raised a body of spirit." And how can the souls which are being punished be sensible of it, if they are not bodies? Certainly he says, "Fear him who, after death, is able to cast soul and body into hell." Now that which is visible is not purged by fire, but is dissolved into dust. But, from the story of Lazarus and Dives, the soul is directly shown by its possession of bodily limbs to be a body.

15 "And as we have borne the image of the earthly, we shall bear also the image of the heavenly," that is of the spiritual, as we advance towards perfection. Again he says" image" in the sense of spiritual bodies. And again, "For now we see in a mirror, confusedly, but then face to face"; for immediately we begin to have knowledge. . . there is not even "face" - form and shape and body. Now shape is perceived by shape, and face by face and recognition is made effectual by shapes and substances.'

16 Now the Dove also appeared as a body when it made its des cent upon the flesh of the Logos - the Dove, which some call the Holy Spirit, but the followers of Basilides call the Servant, while the followers of Valentinus call it the Spirit of the Father's thought.'

17 According to the Valentinians, Jesus and the Church and Wisdom are a powerful and complete mixture of bodies. To be sure, human commingling in marriage produces the birth of one child from two commingled seeds and. the body, dissolved into earth, mingles with the earth, and water mingles with wine. And the greater and more excellent bodies are capable of being easily mixed, for example, wind mingles with wind. But to me it seems that this happens by conjunction and not by admixture. Therefore, does not the divine power, immanent in the soul, sanctify it in the final stage of advance? For" God is spirit" and "inspires where he will." For the immanence of the divine power does not affect substance, but power and force; and spirit is conjoined with spirit, as spirit is conjoined with soul.

18 When the Saviour descended, he was seen by the angels and so they proclaimed him. But he was also seen by Abraham and the other righteous men who are in Paradise on his right hand. For he says, "He rejoiced to see my day," that is the advent in the flesh. Wherefore, the risen Lord preached the good tidings to the righteous who are in Paradise, and moved them and translated them and they shall all "live under his shadow." For the advent here is a shadow of the Saviour's glory which is with the Father, and a shadow of light is not darkness but illumination.

19 "And the Logos became flesh" not only by becoming man at his Advent [on earth], but also" at the beginning" the essen tial Logos became a son by circumscription and not in essence. And again he became flesh when he acted through the prophets. And the Saviour is called an offspring of the essential Logos; therefore, "in the beginning was the Logos and the Logos was with God" and "that which came into existence in him was life" and life is the Lord. And when Paul says, "Put on the new man created according to God" it is as if he said, Believe on him who was "created" by God, "according to God," that is, the Logos in God. And "created according to God" can refer to the end of advance which man will reach, as does. . . he re jected the end for which he was created. And in other passages he speaks still more plainly and distinctly: "Who is an image of the invisible God"; then he goes on, "First-Born of all creation." For he calls the Logos of the essential Logos "an image of the invisible God," but "First-Born of all creation." Having been begotten without passion he became the creator and progenitor of all creation and substance, for by him the Father made all things. Wherefore it is also said that he "received the form of a servant," which refers not only to his flesh at the advent, but also to his substance, which he derived from its underlying reality, for substance is a slave, inasmuch as it is passive and subordinate to the active and dominating, cause.

20 For we thus understand "I begot thee before the morning star" with reference to the first-created Logos of God and simil arly "thy name is before sun" and moon and before all creation.

21 The Valentinians say that the finest emanation of Wisdom is spoken of in "He created them in the image of God, male and female created he them." Now the males from this emanation are the "election," but the females are the "calling" and they call the male beings angelic, and the females themselves, the superior seed. So also, in the case of Adam, the male remained in him but all the female seed was taken from him and became Eve, from whom the females are derived, as the males are from him. Therefore the males are drawn together with the Logos, but the females, becotning men, are united to the angels and pass into the Pleroma. Therefore the woman is said to be changed into a man, and the church hereon earth into angels.

22 And when the Apostle said, "Else what shall they do who are baptised for the dead?" . . . For, he says, the angels of whom we are portions were baptised for us. But we are dead, who are deadened by this existence, but the males are alive who did not participate in this existence. "If the dead rise not why, then, are we baptised?" Therefore we are raised up "equal to angels," and restored to unity with the males, member for member. 'Now they say "those who are baptised for us, the dead," are the angels who are baptised for us, in order that when we, too, have the Name, we may not be hindered and kept back by the Limit and the Cross from enter ing the Pleroma. Wherefore, at the laying on of hands they say at the end, "for the angelic redemption" that is, for the one which the angels also have, in order that the person who has received the redemption may, be baptised in the same Name in which his angel had been baptised before him. Now the angels were baptised in the beginning, in the redemption of the Name which descended upon Jesus in the dove and redeemed him. And redemption was necessary even for Jesus, in order that, approaching through Wisdom, he might not be detained by the Notion of the Deficiency in which he was inserted, as Theodotus says.

23 The followers of Valentinus say that Jesus is the Paraclete, because he has come full of the Aeons, having come forth from the whole. For Christ left behind Sophia, who had put him forth, and going into the Pleroma, asked for help for Sophia, who was left outside; and Jesus was put forth by the good will of the Aeons as a Paraclete for the Aeon which had passed. In the type of the Paraclete, Paul became the Apostle of the Resur rection. Immediately after the Lord's Passion he also was sent to preach. Therefore he preached the Saviour from both points of view: as begotten and passible for the sake of those on the left, because, being able to know him, they are afraid of him in this position, and in spiritual wise from the Holy Spirit and a virgin, as the angels on the right know him. For each one knows the Lord after his own fashion, and not all in the same way. "The Angels of the little ones" that is, of the elect who will be in the same inheritance and perfection, "behold the face of the Father. " And perhaps the Face is now the Son, and now as much of that comprehension of the Father as they perceive who have been instructed by the Son. But the rest of the Father is unknown.

24 The Valentinians say that the Spirit which each one of' the prophets had ,adapted to service was poured out upon all those of the Church. Therefore too the signs of the Spirit, healings and prophecies, are fulfilled through the Church. But they do not know that the Paraclete, who now works continuously in the Church, is of the same substance and power as he who worked continuously according to the Old Testament.

25 The followers of Valentinus defined the Angel as a Logos having a message from Him who is. And, using the same ter minology, they call the Aeons Logoi. He says the Apostles were substituted for the twelve signs of the Zodiac, for, as birth is directed by them, so is rebirth by the Apostles.

26 The visible part of Jesus was Wisdom and the Church of the superior seeds and he put it on through the flesh, as Theodotus says; but the invisible part is the Name, which is the Only- Begotten Son. Thus when he says "I am the door," he means that you, who are of the superior seed, shall come up to the boundary where I am. And when he enters in, the seed also enters with him into the Pleroma, brought together and brought in through the door.

27 The priest on entering within the second veil removed the plate at the altar of incense, and entered himself in silence with the Name engraved upon his heart, indicating the laying aside of the body which has become pure like the golden plate and bright through purification. . . the putting away as it were of the soul's body on which was stamped the lustre of piety, by which he was recognised by the Principalities and Powers as, having put on the Name. Now he discards this body, the plate which had become light, within the second veil, that is, in the rational sphere the second complete veil of the universe, at the altar of incense, that is, with the angels who are the ministers of prayers carried aloft. Now the soul, stripped by the power of him who has knowledge, as if it had become a body of the power, passes into the spiritual realm and becomes now truly rational and high priestly, so that it might now be animated, so to speak, directly by the Logos, just as the archangels became the high-priests of the angels, and the First-Created the high- priests of the archangels. But where is there a right judgement of Scripture and doctrine for that soul which has become pure, and where is it granted to see God "face to face"? Thus, having transcended the angelic teaching and the Name taught in Scripture, it comes to the knowledge and comprehension of the facts. It is no longer a bride but has become a Logos and rests with the bridegroom together with the First-Called and First- Created, who are friends by love, sons by instruction and obedi ence, and brothers by community of origin. So that it belonged to the dispensation to wear the plate and to continue the pur suit of knowledge, but the work of power was that man becomes the bearer of God, being controlled directly by the Lord and becoming, as it were, his body.

28 The followers of Basilides refer "God visiting the disobedient unto the third and fourth generation" to reincarnations, but the followers of Valentinus maintain that the three places mean those on the left, while the "fourth generation" is their own seed, and "showing mercy unto thousands," refers to those on the right.

29 They say that Silence, who is the mother of all who were put forth by Depth, with regard to what she had nothing to say kept silence about the inexpressible and with regard to what she did not understand she called it incomprehensible.

30 Then forgetting the glory of God, they impiously say he suffered. For inasmuch as the Father shared in suffering, though he is, says Theodotus, rigid and unyielding in nature, by showing himself yielding, in order that Silence might under stand this, it was suffering. For sympathy is the suffering of one for the sake of another's suffering. Moreover when the Passion took place, the whole shared in the same suffering for the recovery of the sufferer.

31 Moreover, if he also who came down was the "good will" of the whole, "for in him was the whole Pleroma bodily," and the Passion was his, it is clear that the seed in him shared also in the Passion, and that through them the "whole" and the "all" are found to be suffering. Moreover through the persuasion of the twelfth Aeon the whole was instructed, as they say, and shared in his Passion.. For then they knew that they are what they are by the grace of the Father, a nameless name, form and know ledge. But the Aeon which wished to grasp that which is beyond knowledge fell into ignorance and formlessness. Whence it ef fected an abstraction of knowledge which is a shadow of the Name, that is the Son, the form of

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the Aeons. Thus the dis tribution of the Name among the Aeons is the loss of the Name.

32 Therefore though there is unity in the Pleroma, each of the Aeons has its own complement, the syzygia. .Therefore, what ever come out of a syzygia are complete in themselves (pleromas) and whatever come out of one are images. So Theodotus called the Christ who oame out of the thought of Wisdom, an "image of the Pleroma." Now he abandoned his mother and asoending into the Pleroma was mixed as if with the whole and thus also with the Paraclete.

33 Indeed Christ became an adopted son as he became "elect" among the completed beings and "First-Born" of things there. Now this doctrine is a misunderstanding of ours which holds that the Saviour is the first-born from the "underlying reality" and he is,as it were, our root and head, and the Church is his fruits.

They say that when Christ fled that which was foreign to him and was drawn into the Pleroma, after he had been be gotten from his mother's thought, the Mother again produced the ruler of the dispensation as a type of him who had deserted her, according to her desire for him, in that he was better, for he was a type of the Father of the universe. Therefore, he was made less, as if he was created from the passion of desire. In deed in view of his harshness, she was disgusted, as they say.

34 But also the powers on the left hand, which were the first to be put forth by her from those on the right, received no form by the advent of the Light, but those on the left hand remained behind to be formed by Space. So after the entry of the Mother with. the Son and the seeds into the Pleroma, then Space will receive the power of the Mother and the position that the Mother now has.

35 "Jesus our light" "having emptied himself," as the Apostle says, that is, according to Theodotus; having passed beyond the Boundary, since he was an angel of the Pleroma, led out the angels of the superior seed with him. And he himself had the redemption inasmuch as he had proceeded from the Pleroma, but he led the angels for the correction of the seed. For, inas much as they are bound for the sake of the parts, and plead and, being restrained for our sakes in their zeal to enter, they beg remission for us, that we may enter with them. For, since they may almost be said to need us in order to enter, for without us they are not permitted (therefore not even the Mother has en tered with them without us, they say), they are obviously bound for our sake.

36 Now they say that our Angels were put forth in unity, and are one, in that they came out from One. Now since we existed in separation, Jesus was baptised that the undivided should be divided until he should unite us with them in the Pleroma that we "the many" having become "one," might all be mingled in in the 0ne which was divided for our sakes.'

37 According' to the Valentinians, of those who proceeded from Adam, the righteous, making their way through created things, were held hi Space, but the others are held among those who are on the left, in the place created for darkness, and feel the fire. 38 A river goes from under the throne of Space and flows into the void of the creation, which is Gehenna, and it is never filled, though the fire flows from the beginning of creation. And Space itself is fiery. Therefore, he says, it has a veil in order that the things may not be destroyed by the sight of it. And only the archangel enters it, and to typify this the high priest every year enters the holy of holies. From thence Jesus was called and sat down with Space, that the spirits might remain and not rise before him, and that he might subdue Space and provide the seed with a passage into the Pleroma.

39 The Mother who brought forth Christ complete, and was abandoned by him, in future no longer brought forth anything complete, but supplied what was possible by herself, so that even of Space. . .. Therefore having produced the angelic ele ments of the "called" she keeps them by herself, for the angelic elements of the elect had been put forth still earlier by the Male.

40 Now those on the right were put forth by the Mother before the demand for the Light but the seeds of the Church after the demand for the Light, when the angelic elements of the seed had been put forth by the Male.

41 The superior seeds, he says, came forth neither as passions, the seeds of which would have perished when they perished, nor as a creation, but as offspring; since otherwise, when creation was being put together, the seeds would have been put together with it. Therefore, also it has an affinity with the Light, that is Jesus, whom the Christ, who besought the Aeons, first put forth. And in him the seeds were refined, as far as possible, as they went with him into the Pleroma. Therefore the Church is properly said to have been chosen before the foundation of the world. Indeed, they say, we were reckoned together and manifested in the beginning. Therefore the Saviour says, "Let your light shine," referring to the light which appeared and gave form, of which the Apostle says "which lighteth every man that cometh into .the world," that is, every man of the superior seed. For when man was enlightened, then he came into the world, that is, he ordered himself and put off the passions which were darkening him and were mingled with him. And the Creator who had held Adam beforehand in his Notion, put him forth at the end of creation.

42 The Cross is a sign of the Limit in the Pleroma, for it divides the unfaithful from the faithful as that divides the world from the Pleroma. Therefore Jesus by that sign carries the Seed on his shoulders and leads them into the Pleroma. For Jesus is called the shoulders of the seed and Christ is the head. Wherefore it is said, "He who takes not up his cross and follows me is not my brother." Therefore he took the body of Jesus, which is of the same substance as the Church.

43 So they say that those on the right knew the names of Jesus and Christ even before the Advent, but they did not know the power of the sign. And when the Spirit gave all power, and the Pleroma united in praise, he is sent forth, "as the angel of the counsel" and becomes the head of the whole after the Father." For all things were created by him, things visible and invisible, thrones, dominions, kingdoms, divinities, services." "So God also exalted him and gave him a name which is above every name that every knee should bow and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ, the Saviour, is the Lord of Glory." "He who as cended also descended. That he ascended, what does it imply but that he descended? He it is who descended into the lower parts of the earth and ascended above the heavens."

44 When Wisdom. beheld him she recognized that he was similar to the Light who had deserted her, and she ran to him and re joiced and worshipped and, beholding the male angels who were sent out with him, she was abashed and put on a veil. Through this mystery Paul commands the women "to wear power on their heads on account of the angels."

45 Straightway, therefore, the Saviour bestowed on her a form that was according to knowledge and a healing of passions, ex hibiting the contents of the Pleroma and stages of emanation down to her own, from the unbegotten Father. And, having taken away the passions of her who had suffered, he made her impassible, and, having separated the passions, he kept them and they were not distinguished as from those within, but he brought into being both them and the elements of the second rank. Thus through the appearance of the Saviour, Wisdom came into being and the elements without were created. "For all things were made by him and without him was not anything made."

46 First, therefore, he drew these things from immaterial passion and chance and transformed them into matter still in corporeal, then in a similar manner into compound substance and bodies. For it was not possible for passion to be brought into being by a single process and he endowed the bodies with properties suitable to their nature.

47 Now the Saviour became the first universal creator. "But Wisdom," the second, "built a house for herself and hewed out seven pillars" and first of all she put forth a god, the image of the Father, and through him she made heaven and earth, that is "heavenly things, and the earthly" - the things on the right hand and on the left. This, as an image of the Father, then became a father and put forth first the psychic Christ, an image of the Son, then the archangels as images of the Aeons, then the angels of the archangels from the psychic and luminous sub stance to which the prophetic word refers, "And the Spirit of God was superimposed upon the waters," declaring that in the combination of the two substances, made for him, the simple was superimposed but the heavy and material substance is borne under, the thick and coarse. But it is even suggested that this was incorporeal in the beginning when it is called "invisible." Yet it was never invisible to any man that ever lived nor to God, for he made it. But he has somehow declared its absence of form, shape and design.

48 Now the Creator divided the refined element from the coarse, since he perceived the nature of each, and made light, that is, he revealed and brought it to light and form, for he made the light of sun and heaven much later. And of the material elements he made one out of grief, which gives substance to the "spiritual things of evil with whom is our contest" (and therefore the Apostle says, "And do not grieve the Holy Spirit of God, by whom ye were sealed"), and another he made from fear, the wild beasts, and another from terror and need, the elements of the world. And in the three elements fire drifts about and is disseminated and lurks, and is kindled by them and dies with them, for it has' no appointed place of its own like the other ele ments from which the compound substances are fashioned.

49 And since he did not know her who acted through him and thought he created by his own power, for he was naturally fond of work, therefore the Apostle said: "He was subject unto the vanity of the world, not willingly, but by reason of him who subjected it, in hope that it also will be set free," when the seeds of God shall be assembled. And a special proof of his unwilling ness is his blessing the Sabbath and the warm welcome he gave to rest from labour.

50 "Taking dust from the earth": not of the land but a portion of matter but of varied constitution and colour, he fashioned a soul, earthly and material, irrational and consubstantial with that of the beasts. This is the man "according to the image." But the man who is "according to the likeness" of the Creator himself, is he whom he has breathed into and inseminated into the former, placing in him by angels something consubstantial with himself. Inasmuch as he is invisible and immaterial, he called his substance" the breath of life," but that which was given form became a "living soul," and he himself confesses that it is so in the prophetic writings.

51 Therefore man is in man, "psychic" in "earthly," not consist ing as part to part but united as whole to whole by God's un speakable power. Therefore he was created in Paradise in the fourth heaven. For there earthly flesh does not ascend but it was to the divine soul as material flesh. This is the meaning of "This is now bone of my bones," - he hints at the divine soul which is hidden in the flesh, firm and hard to suffer and very potent, - and "flesh of my flesh" - the material soul which is the body of the divine soul. Concerning these two also, the Saviour says, "That is to be feared which can destroy this soul and this body, the psychic one, in hell."

52 This body the Saviour called an "adversary" and Paul said a " law warring against the law of my mind" and the Saviour advises us "to bind it" and to "seize its possessions" as those of "a strong man" who was warring against the heavenly soul, and he also advises us to be "reconciled with him on the way lest we fall into prison" and punishment, and similarly to "be kind to it" and not to nourish 'and strengthen it by the power of sin but to put it to death here and now, and manifest it as extinct in the domain of wick edness in order that at its dissolution it may secretly be sep arated and breathed away, but not gain any existence of its own, and so have power by itself in its passage through the fire.

53 This is called a "tare" which grows up with the soul, the good seed, and is also a seed of the devil, since it is consubstantial with him, and a "snake" and a "biter of the heel" and a "robber" attacking the head of a king. And Adam without his knowledge had the spiritual seed sown in his soul by Wisdom. He says, "Established through angels by the hand of a mediator. And the mediator is not of one but God is one." Therefore the seeds put forth into" becoming" by Wisdom are ministered to so far as they can come to being by the male angels. For just as the Demiurge, moved by Wisdom without his knowledge, thinks that he is a free agent, so also do men. So Wisdom first put forth a spiritual seed which was in Adam that it might be "the bone," the reasonable and heavenly soul which is not empty but full of . spiritual marrow.

54 From Adam three natures were begotten. The first was the irrational, Which was Cain's, the second the rational and just, which was Abel's, the third the spiritual, which was Seth's. Now that which is earthly is "according to the image," that which is psychical according to the " likeness " of God, and that which is spiritual is according to the real nature; and with refer ence to these three, without the other children of Adam, it was said, "This is the book of the generation of men." And because Seth was spiritual he neither tends flocks nor tills the soil but produces a child, as spiritual things do. And him, who "hoped to call upon the name of the Lord" who looked upward and whose "citizenship is in heaven" - him the world does not contain.

55 On Adam, over the three immaterial elements, a fourth, "the earthly," is put on as "the leathern garments." Therefore Adam neither sows from the spirit nor, therefore, from that which was breathed into him, for both are divine and both are put forth through. him but not by him. But his material nature is active toward seed and generation, as though mixed with seed and unable to stand apart from the same harmony in life.

56 Therefore our father Adam is "the first man of the earth, earthy" and if he had sown from psychic and spiritual as well as from material substance, all would have become equal and righteous and the Teaching would have been in all. Therefore many are material, but not many are psychic, and few are spiritual. Now the spiritual is saved by nature, but the psychic has free-will, and has the capacity for both faith and incorruptibility, as well as for unbelief and corruption according to its own choice; but the material perishes by nature. When, therefore, the psychic "are engrafted on the olive tree" into faith and incorruptibility and share "the fatness of the olive tree" and when "the Gentiles come in," then "thus shall all Israel." But Israel is an alle gory, the spiritual man who will see God, the unlawful son of the faithful Abraham, he who was born of free woman, not he who was according to the flesh the son of the Egyptian bond woman.

57 Therefore from the three species a formation of the spiritual element happens to one and a change of the psychic from slavery to freedom happens to the other.

58 Then after the Kingdom of Death, which had made a great and fair promise, but had none the less become a ministry of death, Jesus Christ the great Champion, when every principal ity and divinity had refused, received unto himself by an act of power the Church, that is, the elect and the called, one (the spiritual) from the Mother, the other (the psychic) by the Dis pensation; and he saved and bore aloft what he had received and through them what was

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consubstantial. For "if the first fruits be holy, the lump will be also; if the root be holy, then will also the shoots."

59 First, then, he put on a seed from the Mother, not being separated but containing it by power, and it is given form little by little through knowledge. And when he came into Space Jesus found Christ, whom it was foretold that he would put on, whom the Prophets and the Law announced as an image of the Saviour. But even this psychic Christ whom he put on, was invisible, and it was necessary for him when he came into the world to be seen here, to be held, to be a citizen, and to hold on to a sensible body. A body, therefore, was spun for him out of invisible psychic substance, and arrived in the world of sense with power from a divine preparation.

60 Therefore, ":Holy Spirit shall come upon thee" refers to the formation of the Lord's body, "and a Power of the Most High. shall overshadow thee" indicates the formation of God with which he imprinted. the body in the Virgin.

61 That he was other than .what he received is clear from what he professes, "I am the Life, I am the Truth, I and the Father are one." But the spiritual nature, which he received, and the psychic he thus indicates, "And the child grew and advanced greatly." For the spiritual nature needs wisdom but the psychic needs size. But by the flowing out from his side he indicates that the substances having become free from passion have been saved by the flowings out of the passions from those who shared in them. And when he says "The Son of Man must be rejected and insulted and crucified," he seems to be speaking of someone else, that is, of him who has passion. And he says, "On the third of the days I will go before you into Galilee." For he goes before all and indicated that he will raise up the soul which is being invisibly saved and will restore it to the place where he is now leading the way. And he died at the .departure of the Spirit which had descended upon him in the Jordan, not that it became separate but was withdrawn in order that death might also operate on him, since how did the body die when life was present in him? For in that way death would have prevailed over the Saviour himself, which is absurd. But death was out-generalled by guile. For when the body died and death seized it, the Saviour sent forth the ray of power which had come upon him and destroyed death and raised up the mortal body which had put off passion. In this way, therefore, the psychic elements are raised and are saved, but the spiritual natures which believe receive a salvation superior to theirs, having received their souls as "wedding garments."

62 Now the psychic Christ sits on the right hand of the Creator, as David says, " Sit thou on my right hand " and so on. And he sits there until the end "that they may see him whom they pierced." But they pierced the appearance, which is the flesh of the psychic one, "for," it says, "a bone of him shall not be broken," just as in the case of Adam the prophecy used bone as an allegory for the soul. For the actual soul of Christ de posited itself in the Father's hands, while the body was suffer ing. But the spiritual nature referred to as "bone" is not yet deposited but he keeps it.

63 Now the repose of the spiritual elements on the Lord's Day, that is, in the Ogdoad, which is called the Lord's Day, is with the Mother, who keeps their souls, the (wedding) garments, until the end; but the other faithful souls are with the Creator, but at the end they also go up in the Ogdoad Then comes the marriage feast, common to all who are saved, until all are equal and know each other.

64 Henceforth the spiritual elements having put off their souls, together with the Mother who leads the bridegroom, also lead bridegrooms, their angels, and pass into the bride chamber within the Limit and attain to the vision of the Father, - having become intellectual Aeons, - in the intel lectual and eternal marriages of the Syzyge.

65 And the "master" of the feast, who is the "best man." of the marriage, "and friend of the bridegroom, standing before the bride chamber and hear ing the voipe of the bridegroom, rejoices greatly." This is "the fulness of his joy" and his repose.

66 The Saviour taught the Apostles at first figuratively and mys tically, later in parables and riddles, and thirdly clearly and openly when they were alone. .

67 "When we were in the flesh" the Apostle says, as if he were already speaking without the body. Now he says that he means by flesh that weakness which was an offshoot of the Woman on high. And when the Saviour says to Salome that death will reign as long as women bear, he does not speak in reproach of birth since it is necessary for the salvation of the believers. For this birth must be until the previously reckoned seed be put forth. But he is alluding to the Woman on high whose passions became creation when she put forth those beings that were without form. On her account the Saviour came down to drag us out from passion and to adopt us to himself.

68 For as long as we were children of the female only, as if of a base intercourse, incomplete and infants and senseless and weak and without form, brought forth like abortions, we were children of the woman, but when we have received form from the Saviour, we have become children of a husband and a bride chamber.

69 Fate is a union of. many opposing forces and they are invisible and unseen, guiding the course of the stars and governing through them., For as each of them arrived, borne round by the movement of the world, it obtained power over those who were born at that very moment, as though they were its own children.

70 Therefore through the fixed stars and the planets, the invis ible powers holding sway over them direct and watch over births. But the stars themselves do nothing but display the ac tivity of the dominant powers, just as the flight of the birds (for omens) indicates something but effects nothing. '

71 Now the twelve signs of the Zodiac and the seven stars which follow them rising now in conjunction, now in opposition, . . . these, moved by the powers, show the movement of substance toward the, creation of living beings and the turn of circum stances. But both the stars and the powers are of different kinds: some are beneficent, some maleficent, some right, some left, and that which is born shares in both qualities. And each of them comes into being at its own time, the dominant sign fulfilling the course of nature, partly at the beginning, partly at the end.

72 From this situation and battle of the powers the Lord rescues us and supplies peace from the array of powers and angels, in which some are arrayed for us and others .against us. For some are like soldiers fighting on our side as servants of God but others are like brigands. For the evil one girded himself, not taking the sword by the side of the king, but in madly plundering for himself.

73 Now because of the opponents who attack the soul through the body and outward things and pledge it to slavery; the ones on the right are not sufficient to follow and rescue and guard us. For their providential power is not perfect like the Good Shepherd's but each one is like a mercenary who sees the wolf coming and flees and is not zealous to give up his life for his own sheep. And besides man, over whom the battle rages, since he is a weak animal, is easily led toward the worse and captured by those who hate him. Whence also he incurs greater evil.

74 Therefore the Lord came down bringing the peace which is from heaven to those on earth, as the Apostle says, "Peace on the earth and glory in the heights." Therefore a strange and new star arose doing away with the old astral decree, shining with a new unearthly light, which revolved on a new path of salvation, as the Lord himself, men's guide, who came down to earth to transfer from Fate to his providence those who believed in Christ.

75 They say that the results prophecied show that Fate exists for the others and the consideration of calculations is a clear proof. For example, the Magi not only saw the Lord's star but they recognized the truth that a king was born and whose king he was, namely of the pious. At that time only the Jews were noted for piety; therefore the Saviour going down to the pious, came first to these who at that time were carrying fame for piety.

76 As, therefore, the birth of the Saviour released us from "be coming" and from Fate, so also his baptism rescued us from fire, and ,his Passion rescued, us from passion in order that we might in all things follow him. For he who was baptised unto God advanced toward God and has received "power to walk upon scorpions and snakes," the evil powers. And he commands the disciples "When ye go about, preach and them that believe baptise in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit," in whom we are born again, becoming higher than all the other powers.

77 Therefore baptism is called death and an end of the old life when we take leave of the evil principalities, but it is also called life according to Christ, of which he is sole Lord. But the power of the transformation of him who is baptised does not concern the body but the soul, for he who comes up [out of the water] is unchanged. From the moment when he comes up from baptism he is called a servant of God even by the unclean spirits and they now" tremble" at him whom shortly before they obsessed.

78 Until baptism, they say, Fate is real, but after it the astrolo gists are no longer right. But it is not only the washing that is liberating, but the knowledge of/who we were, and what we have become, where we were or where we were placed, whither we hasten, from what we are redeemed, what birth is and what rebirth.'

79 So long, then, they say, as the seed is yet unformed, it is the offspring of the female, but when it was formed, it was changed to a man and becomes a son of the bridegroom. It is no longer weak and subject to the cosmic forces, both visible and invisible, but having been made masculine, it becomes a male fruit.

80 He whom the Mother generates is led into death and into the world, but he whom Christ regenerates is trans ferred to life into the Ogdoad. And they: die to the world but live to God, that death may be loosed by death and corruption by resurrection. For he who has been sealed by Father, Son and Holy Spirit is beyond the threats of every other power and by the three Names has been released from the whole triad of corruption. "Having borne the image of the earthly, it then bears the image of the heavenly." 81 The material element of fire lays hold of all material things, and the pure and immaterial element lays hold of immaterial things such as demons, angels of evil and tbe devil himself. Thus the heavenly fire is dual in its nature, belonging partly to the mind, partly to the senses. By analogy, therefore, baptism. is also dual in its nature, the sensible part works through water which extinguishes the sensible' fire, but the intellectual through Spirit, a defence against the intellectual fire. And the material Spirit when it is little becomes food and kindling for the sensible fire, but when it has increased it has become an extinguisher, but the Spirit given us from above, since it is immaterial, rules not only over the Elements, but over the Powers and the evil Principalities.

82 And the bread and the oil are sanctified by the power of the Name, and they are not the same as they appeared to be when they were received, but they have been transformed by power into spiritual power. Thus, the water, also, both in exorcism and baptism, not only keeps off evil, but gives sanctification as well.

83 It is fitting to go to baptism with joy, but, since unclean spirits often go down into the water with some and these spirits following and gaining the seal together with the candidate become impossible to cure for the future, fear is joined with joy, in order that only he who is pure may go down to the water.

84 Therefore let there be fastings, supplications, prayers, raising of hands, kneelings because a soul is being saved from the world and from the "mouth of lions." Wherefore there is immediate temptation for those. who long also for the things from which they have been separated, and even if one has fore-knowledge to endure them, yet the outward man is shaken.

85 Even the Lord after baptism was troubled like as we are and was first with beasts in the desert. Then when he had prevailed over them and their ruler as if already a true king, he was already served by angels. For he who ruled over. angels in the flesh was fittingly served already by angels. Therefore we must put on the Lord's armour and keep body and soul invulnerable - armour that is "able to quench the darts of the devil," as the Apostle says.

86 In the case of the coin that was brought to him, the Lord did not say whose property is it, but, "whose image and super scription? Caesar's," that it might be given to him whose it is. So likewise the faithful; he has the name of God through Christ as a superscription and the Spirit as an image. And dumb animals show by a seal whose property each is, and .are claimed from the seal. Thus also the faithful soul receives the seal of truth and bears about the "marks of Christ." These are the children who are now resting in bed and "the wise virgins," with whom the others, who are late, did not enter into" the goods which have been prepared, on which the angels desire to gaze. "

HERACLEON

Heracleon's Commentary on the Gospel of John
Fragments preserved in Origen's Commentary on John
Translation: A. E. Brooke
Estimated Range of Dating: 150-180 A.D.

(Heracleon was a Greek-speaking Gnostic who flourished about AD 175, either in the south of Italy or Alexandria, Egypt. He is described by Clement of Alexandria (Strom. iv. 9) as the most esteemed of the school of Valentinus (also spelled Valentinius; c. 100–160 A.D., the best known and, for a time, most successful early Christian gnostic theologian.); and, according to Origen of Alexandria, c. 184–253 A.D., also known as Origen Adamantius (Comm. in S. Joann. t. ii. § 8, Opp. t. iv. p. 66), said to have been in personal contact with Valentinus himself.

In his system he appears to have regarded the divine nature as a vast abyss in whose Pleroma were Aeons of different orders and degrees, emanations from the source of being. Midway between the supreme God and the material world was the Demiourgos, who created the latter, and under whose jurisdiction the lower, animal soul of man proceeded after death, while his higher, celestial soul returned to the Pleroma whence at first it issued. He seems to have received the ordinary Christian scriptures; and Origen, who treats him as a notable exegete, has preserved fragments of a commentary by him on the fourth gospel, while Clement of Alexandria quotes from him what appears to be a passage from a commentary on Luke. These writings are remarkable for their intensely mystical and allegorical interpretations of the text.

The chief interest that now attaches to Heracleon is that he is the earliest commentator on the New Testament. Origen, in the still extant portion of his commentary on the Gospel of John, quotes Heracleon a 50 times, usually controverting, occasionally accepting his expositions. There is reason to think that he wrote commentaries on the Gospel of Luke as well because Clement of Alexandria mentiones this in his work The Stromata or Stromateis (Greek for "Patchwork" or "Miscellanies")).

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Fragments on the Gospel of John by Heracleon preserved in Origen's Commentary on John:

Fragment 1, on John 1:3 (In John 1:3, “All things were made through him, and without him nothing was made.”) The sentence: "All things were made through him" means the world and what is in it. It excludes what is better than the world. The Aeon (i.e. the Fullness), and the things in it, were not made by the Word; they came into existence before the Word. . . “Without him, nothing was made” of what is in the world and the creation. . . "All things were made through Him," means that it was the Word who caused the Craftsman (Demiurge) to make the world, that is it was not the Word “from whom” or “by whom,” but the one “through whom (all things were made).”. . . It was not the Word who made all things, as if he were energized by another, for "through whom" means that another made them and the Word provided the energy.

Fragment 2, on John 1:4 In the saying, “What was made in him was Life" (John 1:4), ‘in him’ means ‘for spiritual people.’ For he (the Word) provided them with their first form at their birth, in that what had been sown by another he brought to form, illumination and into an outline of its own, and set it forth.

Fragment 3, on John 1:18 The words, “No one has ever seen God; the only Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he has made him known.” (John 1:18), were spoken, not by the Baptist, but by the disciple. Fragment 4, on John 1:21 (In John 1:21, “And they asked him, ‘What then? Are you Elijah?’ He said, ‘I am not.’ ‘Are you the prophet?’ And he answered, ‘No.’) John acknowledged that he was not the Christ, and neither a prophet, nor Elijah.

Fragment 5, on John 1:23 (In John 1:23, “He said, ‘I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, 'Make straight the way of the Lord,' as the prophet Isaiah said.’”) The Word is the Savior, the voice in the wilderness is that symbolized by John, and the echo is the whole prophetic order. . . A voice which is well fitted to the Word, becomes Word, just as a woman is transformed into a man. . . The echo can be changed in a similar way into a voice, giving the place of a disciple to the voice which is changed into Word., but the place of a slave to the echo which is changed into voice. . . When the Savior speaks of a prophet and Elijah [Matthew 11:9,14], he is speaking not of John himself, but of his attributes. But when he calls him greater than the prophets and than those who are born of women [Matthew 11:9,11], then he is describing the character of John himself. When John is asked about himself, his answers relate to himself, not to attributes. . . His attributes, like clothes, were other than himself. If he were asked about his clothes “Are you your clothes?” he would not have answered "Yes." . . . The Jews sent priests and Levites to question John because it was fitting for these people to concern themselves with, and investigate these matters, for they were firmly devoted to God, and because he (John) was of the Levitical tribe. . . They asked him if he were a prophet, wishing to know this more general fact [John 1:21]. . . It was prophetically arranged that Isaiah would call him (John) “greater,” since no other of all those who prophesied was deemed worthy of this honor by God.

Fragment 6, on John 1:25 (In John 1:25, “They asked him, ‘Then why are you baptizing, if you are neither the Christ, nor Elijah, nor the prophet?’”) The words of the Pharisees imply that the office of baptizing belonged to the Christ and Elijah and to every prophet. On them alone there is an obligation to baptize. . . The Pharisees asked the question from malice, and not from a desire to learn.

Fragment 7, on John 1:26 John's answers to those sent by the Pharisees refer not to what they asked, but to what he wished.

Fragment 8, on John 1:26 (In John 1:26-27, “John answered them, ‘I baptize with water; but there stands among you one whom you do not know, even he who comes after me, the thong of whose sandal I am not worthy to untie.’”) The words, "there stands among you” are equivalent to "He is already here, and he is in the world and among human beings, and he is already manifest to you all.” . . . The statement, "He who comes after me," shows John to be the forerunner of Christ, for he is in fact a kind of servant running before his master. In the words, “The thong of his sandal I am not worthy to untie,” the Baptist acknowledges that he is not worthy even of the lowliest service for Christ. . . (He means,) "I am not worthy that for my sake he should come down from the Greatness and should assume flesh as his sandal, concerning which I am not able to give any explanation or description, nor to unloose the arrangement of it." . . . The sandal means the world. . . Everything must be understood in relation to that person who was indicated through John, that is the Craftsman of the world, who acknowledges through these words that he is inferior to Christ.

Fragment 9, on John 1:28 In Heracleon we read "Bethany" (rather than the variant “Bethabara” in the text Origen was familiar with).

Fragment 10, on John 1:29 (In John 1:29, “The next day he saw Jesus coming toward him, and said, ‘Behold, the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world!’”) John spoke the words, "Lamb of God" as a prophet, but the words, "who takes away the sin of the world" as more than a prophet. The first expression was spoken with reference to his body, the second with reference to Him who was in that body. The lamb is an imperfect member of the genus of sheep; the same being true of the body as compared with the one that dwells in it. Had he meant to attribute perfection to the body he would have spoken of a ram about to be sacrificed.

Fragment 11, on John 2:12 (In John 2:12, “After this he went down to Capernaum, with his mother and his brothers and his disciples; and there they stayed for a few days.”) The words, "After this he went down to Capernaum," indicate the beginning of a new dispensation, for "he went down" is not said idly. Capernaum, means these farthest-out parts of the world, the material realm into which he descended. And since the place was alien to him, he is not reported either to have done anything or said anything in it.

Fragment 12, on John 2:13 (In John 2:13, “The Passover of the Jews was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem.”) This is the great feast. It was a type of the passion of the Savior, for the lamb was not only slain, but, on being consumed, provided rest as well. When sacrificed, it signified the passion of the Savior in this world; when consumed, the rest that is in the marriage.

Fragment 13, on John 2:13-16 The ascent to Jerusalem signifies the ascent of the Lord from material realm things to the animate (psychic) place, which is an image of Jerusalem. (In John 2:14, “In the sanctuary he found those who were selling oxen and sheep and pigeons, and the money-changers at their business.”) The words, "In the sanctuary, he found" and not "in the temple" are used so that it may not be thought to be the mere “calling” (animate), apart from the Spirit, which elicits help from the Lord. The sanctuary is the Holy of Holies, into which only the High-Priest enters, into which the spiritual go. The temple courtyard, where the Levites also enter, is a symbol of the animate ones who attain a salvation outside the Fullness (Pleroma). Those who are found in the temple selling oxen and sheep and doves, and the money-changers sitting there represent those who give nothing away out of charity, but regard the entrance of strangers to the temple as an occasion of trade and profit-making, and who provide the sacrifices for the worship of God for their own gain and love of money. (In John 2:15-16, “And making a whip of cords, he drove them all, with the sheep and oxen, out of the temple; and he poured out the coins of the money-changers and overturned their tables. And he told those who sold the pigeons, ‘Take these things away; you shall not make my Father's house a house of trade.’”) And the whip which Jesus made of small cords and did not receive from another is an image of the power and energy of the Holy Spirit which blows away the wicked. The whip and the linen and the napkin and all such things form an image of the power and energy of the Holy Spirit. . . The whip was tied to a piece of wood, and this wood is a type of the Cross. On this wood the merchants who were intent on gain, and all wickedness was nailed up and done away. . . Out of these two substances was the whip made, for he did not make it of dead leather, but in order that he might make the Church no longer a den of robbers, but the house of his Father.

Fragment 14, on John 2:17 "Zeal for thy house will consume me." (John 2:17) was spoken from the person of those powers which were cast out and destroyed by the Savior.

Fragment 15, on John 2:19 (In John 2:19, “Jesus answered them, ‘Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up.’”) The words "in three days" are used instead of "on the third day." The third day is the spiritual day, on which the resurrection of the Church is revealed.

Fragment 16, on John 2:20 (In John 2:20, “The Jews then said, ‘It has taken forty-six years to build this temple, and will you raise it up in three days?’”) The fact that Soloman completed the temple in forty-six years is an image of the Savior. The number six refers to matter, that is, the structure (of his body), and the number forty, which is the uncombined Four (Tetrad) refers to the inbreathing and the seed in the inbreathing.

Fragment 17, on John 4:12-15 (In John 4:13, Jesus answered and said to her, “Whoever shall drink of this water shall thirst again. But whoever shall drink of the water that I shall give shall never thirst again.”) Insipid, temporary, and unsatisfying was that life and its glory, for it was worldly. The proof of it being worldly is the fact that the cattle of Jacob drank from it (i.e. the well). . . But the water which the Savior gives is from his spirit and his power. . .The words “shall never thirst again” mean that his life is eternal and never perishes as does the first (life) which the well provides, but rather is lasting. For the Grace and gift of our Savior cannot be taken away, and is not consumed or destroyed in the one who partakes of it. The first life is perishable. . . (In John 4:14, “The water I shall give that one shall be a well of water within springing up into everlasting life.”) The words “springing up” (John 4:14) refer to those who receive what is richly supplied from above and who themselves pour forth for the eternal life of others that which has been supplied to them. . . (In John 4:15, The woman says to him, “Sir give me this water, that I shall not thirst, nor come hither to draw.”) The Samaritan woman showed the kind of faith that was inseparable from her nature and corresponded to it, in that she did not hesitate over what he told her. . . Having been only just pricked by the Word, from then on she hated even the place of the so-called living water. . . Through her words, the woman reveals that the water was toilsome, difficult to obtain, and not wholesome.

Fragment 18, on John 4:16-18 (In John 4:16, “He said to her, ‘Go and call your husband and come hither.’”) It is clear that he was saying something like this, “If you wish to receive this water, go call your husband.” The husband of the Samaritan woman mentioned by Jesus is her Fullness, so that, on coming with him to the Savior, she may obtain from him power and union and the mingling with her Fullness. For he was not speaking to her about her earthly husband and telling her to call him, for he knew quite well that she had no lawful husband. . . The Savior said to her, “Call your husband and come hither,” and meant by this her partner from the Fullness. . . In the spiritual sense she did not know her husband, in the simple sense she was ashamed to say that she had an adulterer, not a husband. . . (The words) “You have rightly said that you do not have a husband” (John 4:17) mean that in the world the Samaritan woman had no husband, for her husband was in the Aeon (i.e. Fullness). (In John 4:18: “You have had five husbands and the one you have now is not your husband.”) The six men indicate the whole of the material evil in which she was involved and with which consorted, when she lived irrationally in debauchery, and was insulted, rejected and abandoned by them (the men).

Fragment 19, on John 4:19 (In John it says “The woman said to him, ‘Sir, I perceive that you are a prophet.’”) The Samaritan woman acknowledged what was said to her by him. For it is characteristic of a prophet to know all things. . . She behaved in a way suited to her nature, for she neither denied, nor explicitly acknowledged her shame. She was convinced that he was a prophet and, by her question, she revealed at the same time the reason for which she had committed immorality. Because of ignorance of God and of the worship agreeable to God, she had also neglected all the things that were essential for her life, whereas what is necessary in life was always otherwise available to her. For she would not have come to the well which was outside the city. . . Wanting to learn in that way, and pleasing whom, and worshipping God, she might be released from her immorality, she said “Our fathers worshipped on this mountain; and you say that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship." (John 4:20)

Fragment 20, on John 4:21 (In John it says, “Jesus said to her, ‘Woman, believe me, the hour is coming when neither on this mountain nor in Jerusalem will you worship the Father.’”) The mountain represents the Devil, or his world, since the Devil was one part of the whole of matter, but the world is the total mountain of evil, a deserted dwelling place of beasts, to which all who lived before the law and all Gentiles render worship. But Jerusalem represents the creation or the Creator whom the Jews worship. . . The mountain is the creation which the Gentiles worship, but Jerusalem is the creator whom the Jews serve. You then who are spiritual should worship neither the creation nor the Craftsman, but the Father of Truth. And he (Jesus) accepts her (the Samaritan woman) as one of the already faithful, and to be counted with those who worship in truth.

Fragment 21, on John 4:22 (In John, “You worship what you do not know; we worship what we know, for salvation is of the Jews.”) The “you” stands for the Jews and the Gentiles. . . We must not worship as the Greeks do, who believe in the things of matter, and serve wood and stone, nor worship the divine as the Jews. They who think they alone know God do not know him, and worship angels, the month, and the moon.

Fragment 22, on John 4:22-23 “We worship” means the one who is in the Aeon (i.e. the Savior), and those who have come with him. For they knew whom they worship because they worship in truth. The words “salvation is of the Jews” are said because he was born in Judea, but not among them and because from that race salvation and the Word came forth into the world. As far as the spiritual sense is concerned, salvation came from the Jews because they are images of those who are in the Fullness. . . (In John 4:23, it continues, “But the hour is coming, and now is, when the true worshipers will worship the Father in spirit and truth, for such the Father seeks to worship him”) For the previous worshippers worshipped in flesh and in error him who is not the Father. . . They worshipped the creation and not the true creator (cf. Romans 1:25), who is Christ, since “all things came into being through him, and apart from him nothing came into being.” (John 1:3)

Fragment 23, on John 4:23 continued Lost in the deep matter of error is that which is akin to the Father, which is sought after in order that the Father may be worshipped by those who are akin to him.

Fragment 24, on John 4:24 (In John 4:24a, it says,) “God is spirit.” Undefiled, pure, and invisible is his divine nature.

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(In John 4:24b, it says,) “Those who worship him must worship in spirit and truth." Worthily of the one who is worshipped, in a spiritual, not a fleshly fashion. For those who have the same nature as the Father are themselves spirit, and they worship in truth, not in error, as the Apostle teaches when he calls this kind of piety “ a rational service.” (Romans 12:2)

Fragment 25, on John 4:25 (In John it says, “The woman said to him, ‘I know that Messiah is coming, he who is called Christ; when he comes, he will show us all things.’”) The Church received Christ and was persuaded concerning him that he alone knows all things.

Fragment 26, on John 4:26-27 (According to John 4:26, Jesus said to her,) "I who speak to you am he." Since the Samaritan woman was convinced that Christ, when he came, would announce everything to her, he said ‘Know that I who speak with you am he whom you expect.’ And when he acknowledged that he, the expected one, had come, “his disciples came” (John 4:27), for on their account he had come to Samaria.

Fragment 27, on John 4:28-30 (In John 4:28-29, “So the woman left her water jar, and went away into the city, and said to the people, ‘Come, see a man who told me all that I ever did. Can this be the Christ?’”) The water jar which is capable of receiving life is the disposition and the thought of the power which is from the Savior. She left it with him, that is, she had with the Savior such a vessel in which she had come to fetch living water. She returned to the world to announce the good tidings of Christ’s coming to the “calling” (i.e. the animate ones). For through the Spirit and by the Spirit the soul is drawn to the Savior. (In John 4:30, “They went out of the city and were coming to him.”) “They went out of the city” means out of their former way of life, which was worldly. And they came through faith to the Savior.

Fragment 28, on John 4:31 (In John 4:31, “Meanwhile the disciples besought him, saying, ‘Rabbi, eat.’) They wished to share with him some of what they had obtained by purchase in Samaria. Fragment 29, on John 4:32 (In John 4:32, he said to them,) “I have food to eat of which you do not know.” Heracleon says nothing on this text.

Fragment 30, on John 4:33 (In John 4:33, “So the disciples said to one another, ‘Has any one brought him food?’”) They understood in a rather low way, and imitated the Samaritan woman when she said, “You have no bucket to draw with and the well is deep”

Fragment 31, on John 4:34 (In John 4:34, “Jesus said to them, ‘My food is to do the will of him who sent me, and to accomplish his work.’”) With the words “My food is to do the will of him who sent me,” the Savior explains to the disciples that this was what he had discussed with the woman, calling the will of the Father his “food.” For this was his sustenance, rest, and power. The will of the Father is that human beings should know the Father and be saved. This is the work of the Savior, on account of which he was sent to Samaria, that is, into the world.

Fragment 32, on John 4:35 (In John 4:35, “Do you not say, 'There are yet four months, then comes the harvest'? I tell you, lift up your eyes, and see how the fields are already white for harvest.”) He speaks of the harvest of crops as having a fixed period of four months, whereas the harvest of which he is speaking was already fulfilled. The harvest is of the souls of believers. They are already ripe, ready for harvest, and suitable for being gathered into the barn, that is, through faith into rest, all those who are ready. For they are not all ready. Some were already ready, some were on the point of being ready, some are near to being ready, and some are still being sown.

Fragment 33, on John 4:35 continued What is indicated by the text, “The harvest is great but the laborers are few” (Matthew 9:37) is the same as is said by means of the other statement. It refers to being ready for harvest and suitable for gathering into the barn, through faith into rest, and suited for salvation and for reception of the Word.

Fragment 34, on John 4:36 (In John 4:36a, “The one who reaps receives a wage, and gathers fruit for eternal life.”) The words, “The one who reaps receives a wage” are said because the Savior call himself “the one who reaps.” And the wage of our Lord is the salvation and restoration (apokatastasis) of those who are harvested, brought about by his resting upon them. “And gathers fruit for eternal life,” is stated either because what is gathered is the fruit of eternal life or because it is itself eternal life.

Fragment 35, on John 4:36-37 The words “so that the sower and the reaper may rejoice together” (John 4:36b) For the sower rejoices because he sows, and because some of his seeds are gathered already, and he has hope for the rest of them. The reaper also rejoices because he harvests. But the former began by sowing, the latter by reaping. They could not begin at the same time, for sowing must come first and reaping afterwards. When the sower stops sowing, the reaper is still reaping. But, at present, both fulfill their individual tasks and both rejoice because they consider the perfection of the seeds as a common joy. And on the words “For here the saying holds true, 'One sows and another reaps.’” (John 4:37): The Son of Man above the Place (of the Middle) sows; the Savior, himself also the Son of Man, harvests and sends as reapers the angels represented by the disciples, each for his own soul.

Fragment 36, on John 4:38 (In John 4:38, “I sent you to reap that for which you did not labor; others have labored, and you have entered into their labor.") Neither through them nor by them were these seeds sown, meaning the apostles. Those who labored are the angels of the dispensation, through whom - as mediators - it (the seed) was sown and brought up. “You have entered into their labor” means those who sow and those who reap do not have the same work. The former, in cold and rain and with much toil, dig up the earth and sow. Through the entire winter, they care for it by hoeing and clearing away the weeds. But the latter enter upon a prepared fruit in summer and joyfully reap.

Fragment 37, on John 4:39 (In John 4:39, “Many Samaritans from that city believed in him because of the woman's testimony, ‘That one told me all that I ever did.’) The words “from the city” mean “from the world.” And the phrase “because of the woman’s testimony” means “because of the spiritual Church.” The word “many” was used because there are many animate people but “the one” is the imperishable nature of the election, uniform and unique.

Fragment 38, on John 4:40 (In John 4:40, “So when the Samaritans came to him, they asked him to stay with them; and he stayed with them for two days.”) “He stayed with them,” not ‘among them’ and “for two days,” signifying either the present age and the one to come in marriage, or the time before the passion and the period afterwards during which he stayed with them, converted many more to faith through his own words, and the departed from them.

Fragment 39, on John 4:42 In the words “It is no longer because of your words that we believe” (John 4:42a), the word ‘only’ is missing. “For we have heard for ourselves, and we know that this is indeed the Savior of the world.” (John 4:42b) At first people believe in the Savior because they are lead to that point by others, but when they encounter his words they no longer believe because of human testimony alone, but because of the Truth itself.

Fragment 40, on John 4:46-53 (In John 4:46, “So he came again to Cana in Galilee, where he had made the water wine. And at Capernaum there was an official whose child was ill.) The official was the Craftsman, for he himself ruled like a king over those under him. Because his domain is small and transitory, he was called an “official,” like a petty princeling who is set over a small kingdom by the universal king. The “child” “in Capernaun” is one who is in the lower part of the Middle (i.e. of animate substance), which lies near the sea, that is, which is linked with matter. The child’s proper person was sick, that is, in a condition not in accordance with the child’s proper nature, in ignorance and sins. (In John 4:47, “When he heard that Jesus had come from Judea to Galilee, he went and begged him to come down and heal his child , for it was at the point of death.”) The words “from Judea to Galilee” mean ‘from the Judea above.’. . . By the words “it was at the point of death,” the teaching of those who claim that the soul is immortal is refuted. In agreement with this is the statement that “the body and soul are destoyed in Hell.” (Matthew 10:28) The soul is not immortal, but is possessed only of a disposition towards salvation, for it is the perishable which puts on imperishability and the mortal which puts on immortality when “its death is swallowed up in victory.” (1 Corinthians 15:54) On “Unless you see signs and wonders you will not believe.” (John 4:48): It is fittingly said to the kind of person whose nature is determined through works, and who is convinced by means of sense-perception and does not believe the word. The words, “Come before my child dies” (John 4:49) were spoken because death is the goal and end of the law which kills through sins. Before the child was utterly put to death through sin, the father asks the only Savior to help his child, that is, the nature thus constituted. (In John 4:50, “Jesus said to him, ‘Go; your son will live.’ The man believed the word that Jesus spoke to him and went his way.”) The words, “Your child will live”, were said by the Savior modestly, for he did not say, ‘Let him live,’ nor did he make it known that he himself provided the life. He went down to the sick person and healed the illness, and having raised that one to life through forgiveness, said, “Your child will live.” The words “the man believed” mean that even the Craftsman is very ready to believe that the Savior, even if not present, is able to heal. (In John 4:51, “As he was going down, his servants met him and told him, ‘Your child lives!’”) The words “his servants” refer to the angels of the Craftsman who bring tidings in the words “Your child lives” that the child is behaving fittingly and rightly, and no longer doing what is unseemly. The servants bring news to the official about the salvation of his child, since the angels are the first to see the actions of human beings in the world, whether they have conducted themselves well and sincerely since the sojourn of the Savior. (In John 4:52, “So he asked them the hour when he began to mend, and they said to him, ‘Yesterday at the seventh hour the fever left him.’”) By the hour, the nature of the person healed is defined (as animate). (In John 4:53, “The father knew that was the hour when Jesus had said to him, ‘Your child will live’; and he himself believed, and all his household.”) In addition, “he himself believed, and all his household” is said with reference to the order of angels and the human beings who are akin to him (i.e. the Craftsman). There is a question about whether or not some of the angels will be saved, namely those who descended to the daughters of men (Genesis 6:2). The destruction of the human beings of the Craftsman is made clear in the words “The children of the kingdom will be cast out into outer darkness.” (Matthew 8:12) Concerning them, Isaiah prophesied, “Children did I rear and bring up, but they have rejected me” (Isaiah 1:2), and he calls them alien children, and a wicked and lawless seed, a vineyard which produces thorns (Isaiah 5:6).

Fragment 41, on John 8:21 (In John 8:2, “Again he said to them, ‘I go away, and you will seek me and die in your sin; where I am going, you cannot come.’”) How can they come to be in a state of imperishability when they are in ignorance, unbelief and sin?

Fragment 42, on John 8:22 (In John 8:22, “Then said the Jews, ‘Will he kill himself, since he says, “Where I am going, you cannot come”?’”) The Jews said this because they entertained evil thoughts and considered themselves greater than the Savior. They supposed that they themselves would go away to God for eternal rest, but the Savior, making away with himself, to corruption and death unto which they thought they would not go. The Jews believed that the Savior said, ‘I am about to do away with myself and go to corruption, where you cannot come.’

Fragment 43, on John 8:37 (In John 8:37, “I know that you are descendants of Abraham; yet you seek to kill me, because my word finds no place in you.”) “Because my word finds no place in you” means it has no place because they are unsuitable for it either by their substance or by their disposition.

Fragment 44, on John 8:43-44a (In John 8:43-44a, “Why do you not understand what I say? It is because you cannot bear to hear my word. You are of your father the devil, and your wish is to do your father's desires.”) The reason why they were unable to hear Jesus’ words and understand what he said is provided in the words, “You are of your father the Devil.” He says, ‘Why are you unable to hear my word? Because you are of your father the Devil’ meaning you are of the substance of the Devil. Thus he makes clear their nature, after convincing them in advance that they are neither the children of Abraham otherwise they would not have hated him, nor children of God because they did not love him.

Fragment 45, on John 8:44a Those to whom the word came were of the substance of the Devil.

Fragment 46, on John 8:44a The verse “You are of your father the Devil” is to be understood as meaning ‘of the same substance as the Devil.’ On “and your wish is to do your father’s desires”: The Devil has no will, but only desires. . . This was said not to those who are by nature children of the Devil, but to the animate people who have become children of the Devil by intent. Some who are of this nature may also be called children of God by intent. Because they have loved the desires of the Devil and performed them, they become children of the Devil, though they were not such by nature. The word “children” may be understood in three ways: first, by nature; secondly, by inclination; thirdly, by merit. (A child) by nature means (the child) is begotten by someone who is himself begotten, and is properly called “child.” (A child) by inclination is when one who does the will of another person by his own inclination is called the child of the one whose will he does. (A child) by merit is when some are known as children of hell, or of darkness and lawlessness, and the offspring of snakes and vipers. For these do no produce anything by their own nature; they are destructive and consume those that are cast into them; but, since they did their works, they are called their children. . . He now calls them children of the Devil, not because the Devil produces any of them, but because by doing the works of the Devil they became like him.

Fragment 47, on John 8:44b (In John 8:44b, “He was a murderer from the beginning, and has nothing to do with the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he lies, he speaks according to his own nature, for he is a liar and the father of lies.”) His nature is not of the Truth, but the opposite to the Truth: error and ignorance. Therefore he can neither stand in Truth, nor have the Truth in himself. From his nature he has falsehood as his own, and by nature he can never speak the Truth. Not only is he himself a liar, but he is also falsehood’s father. His “father” means his nature, since it is composed of error and falsehood.

Fragment 48, on John 8:50 (In John 8:50, “Yet I do not seek my own glory; there is one who seeks it and he will be the judge.”) The words “there is one who seeks it, and he will be the judge” do not refer to the Father. The one who seeks and judges is the one who avenges me, the servant commissioned for that purpose, who does not bear the sword in vain, the avenger of the king. This is Moses, as he said to them previously in the words, “on who you set your hope.” (John

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5:45) The one who judges and punishes is Moses, that is, the law-giver himself. How then does he not say that all judgement has been delivered to him? (cf. John 5:22) He affirms it rightly: for the judge does this will as a servant when he judges, as happens clearly among human beings.

Fragments preserved in the writings of Clement of Alexandria:

Fragment 49, on Matthew 3:11 John says, “I baptise you with water, but there comes after me one who baptizes with spirit and fire.” (Matthew 3:11) He baptized no one with fire. But some have marked with fire the ears of those who are sealed, and have thus understood the apostolic word. (Heracleon is referring here to the gnostic group lead by Marcellina.)

Fragment 50, on Luke 12:8 (In Luke 12:8, “I assure you that whoever confesses in me publicly, the Son of Man will do the same in him before the angels of God”) The confession is made on the one hand that made in faith and conduct, on the other hand that made with the mouth. Confession with the mouth takes place also before the authorities, and this the multitudes incorrectly consider to be the only confession, for even the hypocrites can make this confession. But it will be found that this word was not spoken universally. For not all who are saved made the confession by mouth, among whom are Matthew, Philip, Thomas, Levi, and many others. The confession by mouth is not universal, but relates to a part. What is universal is the confession in works and action, which corresponds to faith in him. And this confession is followed by the partial one before the authorities, if it is necessary and the situation requires it. That person will make the confession by mouth who has previously confessed rightly in disposition. And of those who confess, he rightly said “in me.” But in the case of those who deny he added a “me,” even if they confess him with the mouth, they deny him since they do not confess him in action. Only those who live in confession and action which conform to him confess “in him.” In their case he confesses himself, since he has grasped them, and is held by them so that they can never deny him. For those who are not in him deny him. For he did not say ‘whoever denies in me,’ but “in me”. For no one who was ever in him will deny him. “Publicly” the confession takes place in similar fashion before those who are saved and before the Gentiles, before the former by conduct also, and before the latter by the mouth.

CLEMENTINE LITERATURE

(Kerygmata Petrou, Teaching or Preaching of Peter)

(Clementine literature (also called Clementina, Pseudo-Clementine Writings [the word "pseudo" is here used by the official Church to downplay the significance of the texts], Kerygmata Petrou [Teachings of Peter], Clementine Romance [with refers to a narrative written in a vernacular language dealing with events and characters remote from ordinary life]) is the name given to the religious romance which purports to contain a record made by one Clement (whom the narrative identifies as both Titus Flavius Clemens, cousin of Emperor Titus Flavius Domitianus and Pope Clement I.) of discourses involving the Apostle Peter, together with an account of the circumstances under which Clement came to be Peter's travelling companion, and of other details of Clement's family history. The author is sometimes called Pseudo-Clement (as distinct from Clement of Alexandria).

Two versions of this romance have survived: one version is called the Clementine Homilies, which consists of 20 books and exists in the original Greek; the other is called the Clementine Recognitions, for which the original Greek has been lost, but exists in a Latin translation made by Tyrannius Rufinus (died 410 AD.). Two later epitomes of the Homilies also exist, and there is a partial Syriac translation, which embraces the Recognitions (books 1–3), and the Homilies (books 10–14), preserved in two British Library manuscripts, one of which was written in the year 411. Some fragments of the Clementines are known in Armenian, Slavonic, and in Arabic, of which we show here the . . . . .

Large portions of the Homilies and Recognitions are almost word for word the same, and larger portions also correspond in subject and more or less in treatment. However, other parts contained only in one appear to be referred to or presupposed in the other. The two works are roughly of the same length, and contain the same framework of romance. Both texts are interpolated, revised and also abridged. There is some uncertainty as to which one is the "original". The Homilies was considered to be the original by many, and others thought the first three books of Recognitions to be original, and H for the remainder. Some scholars place the origin of Homilies into the 2nd or 3rd century, the Recognitions slightly later.

A substantial part of the first book of Recognitions (1.27-71) differs from the form and content of the rest of the work. This part consists of three distinct works added either by the compiler or a later editor. These works have been labelled by more recent scholars as follows:

• First comes an account of the creation and the history of Israel down to the Coming of Christ (1.27-42).

• Next is a treatise which deals with the question whether Jesus should be understood as "the eternal Christ", and discusses his priestly and salvatory role (1.44-52). Lapham notes much of this material is similar to canonical works such as the Epistle to the Hebrews and 1 Thessalonians.

• Last is a section which many have believed to correspond to the Ascents of James cited by Epiphanius of Salamis (1.53-71). If these scholars are correct, then this section would express beliefs of the sect of the Ebionites, the poor or humble ones.

The Clementines were based on descriptions by St. Epiphanius of Salamis (c. 310–320 – 403), regarding the beliefs and writings of Christian Ebionites in the 4th century. This Judeo-Christian sect, which thought themselves to be the authentic remnant of the earliest disciples of Jesus, rejected Paul of Tarsus as both a false apostle of Christ and an apostate from Torah-observant Judaism. Ebionites asserted that their position also represented the Christianity of the Twelve Apostles. "Paulinism", asserting salvation by faith without works of the law, was thus regarded as a heresy. This Pauls actions thus caused a deliberate schism from the authentic apostolic Jewish Christianity originally headed by James, brother of Jesus and Simon Peter. The Clementine references to the notorious Samaritan sorcerer Simon Magus (Acts 8:9-24) were actually covert polemics against Paul. It could have been that Catholicism resulted from the eventual accommodation necessitated between the Petrine and Pauline factions of the Church, beginning in the late 2nd century. The tradition that Peter and Paul co-founded Rome's Church in the mid-1st-century and were martyred together, is regarded as a fiction.

Authorship

The original author shows a detailed knowledge of the towns on the Phoenician coast from Caesarea to Antioch. He was an Arian, and Arianism had its home in the civil diocese of the Orient. He uses the Praeparatio Evangelica of Eusebius of Caesarea (written about 313). In 325 that historian mentions the dialogues of Peter and Appion as just published — presumably in his own region; these were probably the nucleus of the larger work completed by the same hand a few years later. Citations of Pseudo-Clement are by the Palestinian Epiphanius, who found the romance among the Ebionites of Palestine; by St. Jerome, who had dwelt in the Syrian desert and settled at Bethlehem; by the travelled Rufinus; by the Apostolical Constitutions, compiled in Syria or Palestine. The work is rendered into Syriac before 411. The Arian author of the Opus imperfectum cited it freely. It was interpolated by a Eunomian about 365–70. All these indications suggest an Arian author before 350 in the East, probably not far from Caesarea.

Clement's life story

Clement recounts his history to Simon Peter. He reveals that he is identified with Emperor Domitianus' cousin Titus Flavius Clemens. Soon after his birth his mother had a vision that unless she speedily left Rome with her twin elder sons, she and they would perish miserably. His father therefore sent them with many servants to Athens, but they disappeared, and nothing could be learned of their fate. At last, when Clement was twelve years old, his father himself set out upon the search; and he too was no more heard of (H 12.9–11; R 7.8–10). In the island of Aradus, opposite the town, Simon Peter finds a miserable beggar woman, who turns out to be Clement's mother. Simon Peter unites them, and heals the woman (H 12.12–23; R 7.11–23). H adds a discourse by Simon Peter on philanthropy (25–33). The party now leave Aradus (Mattidia, Clement's mother, travels with Simon Peter's wife) and go by Balaneae, Palates, and Gable to Laodicea in Syria. Nicetas and Aquila receive them, and hear Clement's story with surprise; they declare themselves to be the twin sons of Mattidia and brothers of Clement, Faustus and Faustinus. They had been saved on a fragment of wreck, and some men in a boat had taken them up. They had been beaten and starved, and finally sold at Caesarea Stratton to Justa, who had educated them as her own sons. Later they had adhered to Simon, but were brought by Zacchaeus to Peter. Upon hearing this, Mattidia is baptised, and Simon Peter discourses on the rewards given to chastity (H 12; R 7.24–38).

Titus Flavius Clemens was a nephew of the Roman Emperor Vespasian. He was the son of Titus Flavius Sabinus, consul suffectus in AD 69, and a brother of Titus Flavius Sabinus, consul in AD 82.[1] The emperors Titus and Domitian were his cousins. As a child, Clemens was besieged along with his family in the capitol, when the soldiers of his uncle, Vespasian, were approaching Rome. His father was captured and slain by the forces of Vitellius, who burnt the capitol, but the rest of the family escaped.

Clemens' brother was consul with Domitian, shortly after the latter's accession, but the emperor put his cousin to death on the pretext that the herald proclaiming him consul had called him Imperator. In fact, the emperor was more likely motivated by his love for his cousin's wife, Julia Flavia (who, as the daughter of his brother Titus, was also his niece). Clemens also married one of his cousins, Flavia Domitilla, daughter of Vespasian's daughter, Domitilla, who was thus also a niece of Domitian. They had two sons, whom Domitian intended to succeed him in the empire, renaming one of them Vespasian and the other Domitian. However, in AD 95, when Clemens and the emperor were consuls, Domitian had his cousin put to death. According to Cassius Dio, Clemens was put to death on a charge of atheism, for which, he adds, many others who went over to the Jewish opinions were executed. This may imply that Clemens had converted to Judaism or Christianity, the former being more likely, and accompanied by circumcision. For the same reason, his wife was banished to Pandataria.

Narrative

While almost all traces of Jamesses (and Jesus) family as well as their connexions to Clement's imperial Flavian family were systematically written out of the New Testament, the Clementine Literature exposes most vividly all the conflicts that the early Church had. Hot debates are demonstrating the standpoint of the adversaries. The Homilies begin with Clement's letter to James the brother of Jesus. In it, Clement relates how Simon Peter on his death bed gave his last instructions and set Titus Flavius Clemens in his own chair as his successor in the See of Rome. James is clearly addressed as "Bishop of bishops, who rules Jerusalem, the holy Church of the Hebrews, and the Churches everywhere". To him Clement sends a book, "Clement's Epitome of the Preachings of Simon Peter from place to place". Another letter, that of Peter to James, forms an introduction. The Apostle urges that the book of his teachings not be committed to anyone before initiation and probation. A note follows the letter, relating that James on receipt of the letter called the elders and read it to them. The book is to be given only to one who is pious, and a teacher, and circumcised, and even then only a part at a time.

Within the elaborate philosophical and dogmatic discourse which forms the bulk of both works is interwoven a story which, when we consider its date, may be described as positively exciting and romantic. It differs slightly in the two books. The narrative is addressed to James the Just, the Bishop of Jerusalem, and is related in the voice of Clement himself. He begins by detailing his religious questionings, his doubts about immortality, his love for celibacy, and so on.

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Clement hears at Rome the preaching of a man of Judea who relates the miracles of Christ. Clement defends this speaker from the mob, and follows him to Palestine. R identifies this man as Barnabas; in H, Clement likewise sets out for Palestine, but is driven by storms to Alexandria, where he is directed to Barnabas, and there defends him from the mob and follows to Caesarea. At Caesarea, Clement hears that the apostle Peter is there and is about to hold a disputation with Simon Magus. At Peter's lodging he finds Barnabas, who introduces him. Peter invites Clement to accompany him from city to city, on his way to Rome, in order to hear his discourses. Clement (so R; H credits this duty to Peter himself) sends a report of this to James, from whom Peter has an order to transmit to him accounts of all his teaching.

So far H 1 and R 1.1–21; then the two versions differ. The original order may have been as follows: Clement arises at dawn (H 2.1) and finds Peter, who continues to instruct him (2–18, compare R 2.33 and 3.61). Peter sends for two of his disciples, Nicetas and Aquila, whom he describes as foster-sons of Justa, the Syrophoenician woman whose daughter was healed by Christ. They had been educated from boyhood by Simon Magus, but had been converted by Zacchaeus, another disciple of Peter (19–21), whom H identifies with Zachaeus the tax-collector.

The name "Pseudo-Clementine Literature" (or, more briefly, "Clementina") is applied to a series of writings, closely resembling each other, purporting to emanate from the great Roman Father. But, as Dr. Schaff remarks, in this literature he is evidently confounded with "Flavius Clement, kinsman of the Emperor Domitian." These writings are three in number: (1) the Recognitions, of which only the Latin translation of Rufinus has been preserved; (2) the Homilies, twenty in number, of which a complete collection has been known since 1853; (3) the Epitome, "an uninteresting extract from the Homilies, to which are added extracts from the letter of Clement to James, from the Martyrium of Clement by Simeon Metaphrastes, etc." Other writings may be classed with these; but they are of the same general character, except that most of them show the influence of a later age, adapting the material more closely to the orthodox doctrine.

The Recognitions and the Homilies appear in the pages which follow. The former are given a prior position, as in the Edinburgh series. It probably cannot be proven that these represent the earlier form of this theological romance; but the Homilies, "in any case, present the more doctrinally developed and historically important form of the other treatises, which are essentially similar." They are therefore with propriety placed after the Recognitions, which do not seem to have been based upon them, but upon some earlier document.5

The critical discussion of the Clementina has been keen, but has not reached its end. It necessarily involves other questions, about which there is still great difference of opinion. A few results seem to be established:-

(1) The entire literature is of Jewish-Christian, or Ebionitic, origin. The position accorded to "James, the Lord's brother," in all the writings, is a clear indication of this; so is the silence respecting the Apostle Paul. The doctrinal statements, "though not perfectly homogeneous" (Uhlhorn), are Judaistic, even when mixed with Gnostic speculation of heathen origin. This tendency is, perhaps, not so clearly marked in the Recognitions as in the Homilies; but both partake largely of the same general character. More particularly, the literature has been connected with the Ebionite sect called the Elkesaites; and some regard the Homilies as containing a further development of their system. This is not definitely established, but finds some support in the resemblance between the baptismal forms, as given by Hippolytus in the case of the Elkesaites, and those indicated in the Recognitions and Homilies, especially the latter.

(2) The entire literature belongs to the class of fictitious writing "with a purpose." The Germans properly term the Homilies a "Tendenz-Romance." The many "lives of Christ" written in our day to insinuate some other view of our Lord's person than that given in the canonical Gospels, furnish abundant examples of the class. The Tübingen school, finding here a real specimen of the influence of party feeling upon quasi-historical literature, naturally pressed the Clementina in support of their theory of the origin of the Gospels.

(3) The discussion leaves it quite probable, though not yet certain, that all the works are "independent elaborations -- perhaps at first hand, perhaps at second or third -- of some older tract not now extant." Some of the opinions held respecting the relations of the two principal works are given by the Edinburgh translator in his Introductory Notice. It is only necessary here to indicate the progress of the modern discussion. Neander, as early as 1818, gave some prominence to the doctrinal view of the Homilies. He was followed by Baur, who found in these writings, as indicated above, support for his theory of the origin of historical Christianity. It is to be noted, however, that the heterogeneous mixture of Ebionism and Gnosticism in the doctrinal views proved perplexing to the leader of the Tübingen school. Schliemann took ground against Baur, collecting much material, and carefully investigating the question. Both authors give the priority to the Homilies. While Baur went too far in one direction, Schliemann, perhaps, failed to recognise fully the basis of truth in the position of the former. The next important step in the discussion was made by Hilgenfeld, whose views are briefly given in the Notice which follows. Hilgenfeld assigned the priority to the Recognitions, though he traced all the literature to an earlier work. Uhlhorn at first attempted to prove that the Recognitions were a revision of the Homilies. Further contributions were made by Lehmann and Lipsius. The former discovered in the Recognitions two distinct parts by different authors (i.-iii., iv.-ix.), tracing all the literature to the Kerygma of Peter. The latter finds the basis of the whole in the Acta Petri, which show a strong anti-Pauline tendency.

Influenced by these investigations, Uhlhorn modified his views. Lechler,15 while not positive in his convictions, makes the following prudent statement: "An older work lies at the basis both of the Homilies and Recognitions, bearing the title, Kerygmen des Petrus. To this document sometimes the Homilies, sometimes the Recognitions, correspond more faithfully; its historical contents are more correctly seen from the Recognitions, its doctrinal contents from the Homilies." Other views, some of them quite fanciful, have been presented.

The prevalent opinion necessarily leaves us in ignorance of the authors of this literature. The date of composition, or editing, cannot be definitely fixed. In their present form the several works may be as old as the first half of the third century, and the common basis may be placed in the latter half of the second century.

How far the anti-Pauline tendency is carried, is a matter of dispute. Baur and many others think Simon is meant to represent Paul; but this is difficult to believe, though we must admit the disposition to ignore the Apostle to the Gentiles. As to the literary merit of these productions the reader must judge.)

THE HOMILIES OF CLEMENT

(Great-nephew of Emperor Vespasian, cousin of Emperor Domitian, better known as Pope Clemens I.)
or The Clementine Homilies
Source: The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 8:
The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325
Editors: P. Schaff, A. Roberts, J. Donaldson, A. C. Coxe,
Translation: Thomas Smith, 1885
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd or 3rd century AD.

(The first edition of the Homilies was published by Cotelerius in his collection of the Apostolic Fathers, from a manuscript in the Royal Library at Paris, the only manuscript of the work then known to exist. He derived assistance from an epitome of the work which he found in the same library. The text of Cotelerius was revised by Clericus in his edition of Cotelerius, but more carefully by Schwegler, Stuttgart, 1847. The Paris ms. breaks off in the middle of the fourteenth chapter of the nineteenth book. In 1853 (Göttingen) Dressel published a new recension of the Homilies, having found a complete manuscript of the twenty Homilies in the Ottobonian Library in Rome. In 1859 (Leipzig) he published an edition of two Epitomes of the Homilies,-- the one previously edited by Turnebus and Cotelerius being given more fully, and the other appearing for the first time. To these Epitomes were appended notes by Frederic Wieseler on the Homilies. The last edition of the Clementines is by Paul de Lagarde (Leipzig, 1865), which has no new sources, is pretentious, but far from accurate.)

EPISTLE OF PETER TO JAMES THE JUST, BROTHER OF JESUS

Peter to James, the lord and bishop of the holy Church, under the Father of all, through Jesus Christ, wishes peace always.

1 Doctrine of Reserve.

Knowing, my brother, your eager desire after that which is for the advantage of us all, I beg and beseech you not to communicate to any one of the Gentiles the books of my preachings which I sent to you, nor to any one of our own tribe before trial; but if any one has been proved and found worthy, then to commit them to him, after the manner in which Moses delivered his books to the Seventy who succeeded to his chair.

Wherefore also the fruit of that caution appears even till now. For his countrymen keep the same rule of monarchy and polity everywhere, being unable in any way to think otherwise, or to be led out of the way of the much-indicating Scriptures.

For, according to the rule delivered to them, they endeavour to correct the discordances of the Scriptures, if any one, haply not knowing the traditions, is confounded at the various utterances of the prophets. Wherefore they charge no one to teach, unless he has first learned how the Scriptures must be used. And thus they have amongst them one God, one law, one hope.

2 Misrepresentation of Peter's Doctrine.

In order, therefore, that the like may also happen to those among us as to these Seventy, give the books of my preachings to our brethren, with the like mystery of initiation, that they may indoctrinate those who wish to take part in teaching; for if it be not so done, our word of truth will be rent into many opinions.

And this I know, not as being a prophet, but as already seeing the beginning of this very evil. For some from among the Gentiles have rejected my legal preaching, attaching themselves to certain lawless and trifling preaching of the man who is my enemy.

And these things some have attempted while I am still alive, to transform my words by certain various interpretations, in order to the dissolution of the law; as though I also myself were of such a mind, but did not freely proclaim it, which God forbid! For such a thing were to act in opposition to the law of God which was spoken by Moses, and was borne witness to by our Lord in respect of its eternal continuance; for thus he spoke: "The heavens and the earth shall pass away, but one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law." And this He has said, that all things might come to pass.

But these men, professing, I know not how, to know my mind, undertake to explain my words, which they have heard of me, more intelligently than I who spoke them, telling their catechumens that this is my meaning, which indeed I never thought of. But if, while I am still alive, they dare thus to misrepresent me, how much more will those who shall come after me dare to do so!

3 Initiation.

Therefore, that no such thing may happen, for this end I have prayed and besought you not to communicate the books of my preaching which I have sent you to any one, whether of our own nation or of another nation, before trial; but if any one, having been tested, has been found worthy, then to hand them over to him, according to the initiation of Moses, by which he delivered his books to the Seventy who succeeded to his chair; in order that thus they may keep the faith, and everywhere deliver the rule of truth, explaining all things after our tradition; lest being themselves dragged down by ignorance, being drawn into error by conjectures after their mind, they bring others into the like pit of destruction.

Now the things that seemed good to me, I have fairly pointed out to you; and what seems good to you, do you, my lord, becomingly perform. Farewell.

4 An Adjuration Concerning the Receivers of the Book.

Therefore James, having read the epistle, sent for the elders; and having read it to them, said:

"Our Peter has strictly and becomingly charged us concerning the establishing of the truth, that we should not communicate the books of his preachings, which have been sent to us, to any one at random, but to one who is good and religious, and who wishes to teach, and who is circumcised, and faithful. And these are not all to be committed to him at once; that, if he be found injudicious in the first, the others may not be entrusted to him.

"Wherefore let him be proved not less than six years. And then according to the initiation of Moses, he that is to deliver the books should bring him to a river or a fountain, which is living water, where the regeneration of the righteous takes place, and should make him, not swear for that is not lawful but to stand by the water and adjure, as we ourselves, when we were regenerated,4 were made to do for the sake of not sinning.

"And let him say: 'I take to witness heaven, earth, water, in which all things are comprehended, and in addition to all these, that, air also which pervades all things, and without which I cannot breathe, that I shall always be obedient to him who gives me the books of the preachings; and those same books which he may give me, I shall not communicate to any one in any way, either by writing them, or giving them in writing, or giving them to a writer, either myself or by another, or through any other initiation, or trick, or method, or by keeping them carelessly, or placing them before any one, or granting him permission to see them, or in any way or manner whatsoever communicating them to another; unless I shall ascertain one to be worthy, as I myself have been judged, or even more so, and that after a probation of not less than six years; but to one who is religious and good, chosen to teach, as I have received them, so I will commit them, doing these things also according to the will of my bishop.

"'But otherwise, though he were my son or my brother, or my friend, or otherwise in any way pertaining to me by kindred, if he be unworthy, that I will not vouchsafe the favour to him, as is not meet; and I shall neither be terrified by plot nor mollified by gifts. But if even it should ever seem to me that the books of the preachings given to me are not true, I shall not so communicate them, but shall give them

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back. And when I go abroad, I shall carry them with me, whatever of them I happen to possess. But if I be not minded to carry them about with me, I shall not suffer them to be in my house, but shall deposit them with my bishop, having the same faith, and setting out from the same persons as myself. But if it befall me to be sick, and in expectation of death, and if I be childless, I shall act in the same manner. But if I die having a son who is not worthy, or not yet capable, I shall act in the same manner. For I shall deposit them with my bishop, in order that if my son, when he grows up, be worthy of the trust, he may give them to him as his father's bequest, according to the terms of this engagement.

"'And that I shall thus do, I again call to witness heaven, earth, water, in which all things are enveloped, and in addition to all these, the all-pervading air, without which I cannot breathe, that I shall always be obedient to him who giveth me these books of the preachings, and shall observe in all things as I have engaged, or even something more. To me, therefore, keeping this covenant, there shall be a part with the holy ones; but to me doing anything contrary to what I have covenanted, may the universe be hostile to me, and the all-pervading ether, and the God who is over all, to whom none is superior, than whom none is greater. But if even I should come to the acknowledgment of another God, I now swear by him also, be he or be he not, that I shall not do otherwise. And in addition to all these things, if I shall lie, I shall be accursed living and dying, and shall be punished with everlasting punishment.'

"And after this, let him partake of bread and salt with him who commits them to him."

5 The Adjuration Accepted.

James having thus spoken, the elders were in an agony of terror. Therefore James, perceiving that they were greatly afraid, said:

"Hear me, brethren and fellow-servants. If we should give the books to all indiscriminately, and they should be corrupted by any daring men, or be perverted by interpretations, as you have heard that some have already done, it will remain even for those who really seek the truth, always to wander in error. Wherefore it is better that they should be with us, and that we should communicate them with all the fore-mentioned care to those who wish to live piously, and to save others. But if any one, after taking this adjuration, shall act otherwise, he shall with good reason incur eternal punishment. For why should not he who is the cause of the destruction of others not be destroyed himself?"

The elders, therefore, being pleased with the sentiments of James exclaimed, "Blessed be He who, as foreseeing all things, has graciously appointed thee as our bishop; "and when they had said this, we all rose up, and prayed to the Father and God of all, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

EPISTLE OF CLEMENT (the cousin of Emperor Titus Flavius Domitianus) TO JAMES (the brother of Jesus)

Clement to James, the lord, and the bishop of bishops, who rules Jerusalem, the holy church of the Hebrews, and the churches everywhere excellently rounded by the providence of God, with the elders and deacons, and the rest of the brethren, peace be always.

1 Peter's Martyrdom. Be it known to you, my lord, that Simon, who, for the sake of the true faith, and the most sure foundation of his doctrine, was set apart to be the foundation of the Church, and for this end was by Jesus Himself, with His truthful mouth, named Peter, the first-fruits of our Lord, the first of the apostles; to whom first the Father revealed the Son; whom the Christ, with good reason, blessed; the called, and elect, and associate at table and in the journeyings of Christ; the excellent and approved disciple, who, as being fittest of all, was commanded to enlighten the darker part of the world, namely the West, and was enabled to accomplish it, and to what extent do I lengthen my discourse, not wishing to indicate what is sad, which yet of necessity, though reluctantly, I must tell you, he himself, by reason of his immense love towards men, having come as far as Rome, clearly and publicly testifying, in opposition to the wicked one who withstood him, that there is to be a good King over all the world, while saving men by his God-inspired doctrine, himself, by violence, exchanged this present existence for life.

2 Ordination of Clement. But about that time, when he was about to die, the brethren being assembled together, he suddenly seized my hand, and rose up, and said in presence of the church:

"Hear me, brethren and fellow-servants. Since, as I have been taught by the Lord and Teacher Jesus Christ, whose apostle I am, the day of my death is approaching, I lay hands upon this Clement as your bishop; and to him I entrust my chair of discourse, even to him who has journeyed with me from the beginning to the end, and thus has heard all my homilies who, in a word, having had a share in all my trials, has been found steadfast in the faith; whom I have found, above all others, pious, philanthropic, pure, learned, chaste, good, upright, large-hearted, and striving generously to bear the ingratitude of some of the catechumens.

"Wherefore I communicate to him the power of binding and loosing, so that with respect to everything which he shall ordain in the earth, it shall be decreed in the heavens. For he shall bind what ought to be bound, and loose what ought to be loosed, as knowing the role of the Church. Therefore hear him, as knowing that he who grieves the president of the truth, sins against Christ, and offends the Father of all. Wherefore he shall not live; and therefore it becomes him who presides to hold the place of a physician, and not to cherish the rage of an irrational beast."

3 Nolo Episcopari. While he thus spoke, I knelt to him, and entreated him, declining the honour and the authority of the chair. But he answered: "Concerning this matter do not ask me; for it has seemed to me to be good that thus it be, and all the more if you decline it. For this chair has not need of a presumptuous man, ambitious of occupying it, but of one pious in conduct and deeply skilled in the word of God.

"But show me a better than yourself, who has travelled more with me, and has heard more of my discourses, and has learned better the regulations of the Church, and I shall not force you to do well against your will. But it will not be in your power to show me your superior; for you are the choice first-fruits of the multitudes saved through me.

"However, consider this further, that if you do not undertake the administration of the Church, through fear of the danger of sin, you may be sure that you sin more, when you have it in your power to help the godly, who are, as it were, at sea and in danger, and will not do so, providing only for your own interest, and not for the common advantage of all. But that it behoves you altogether to undertake the danger, while I do not cease to ask it of you for the help of all, you well understand. The sooner, therefore, you consent, so much the sooner will you relieve me from anxiety."

4 The Recompense of the Reward. "But I myself also, O Clement, know the griefs and anxieties, and dangers and reproaches, that are appointed you from the uninstructed multitudes; and these you will be able to bear nobly, looking to the great reward of patience bestowed on you by God. But also consider this fairly with me: When has Christ need of your aid? Now, when the wicked one has sworn war against His bride; or in the time to come, when He shall reign victorious, having no need of further help? Is it not evident to any one who has even the least understanding, that it is now?

"Therefore with all good-will hasten in the time of the present necessity to do battle on the side of this good King, whose character it is to give great rewards after victory. Therefore take the oversight gladly; and all the more in good time, because you have learned from me the administration of the Church, for the safety of the brethren who have taken refuge with us."

5 A Charge. "However, I wish, in the presence of all, to remind you, for the sake of all, of the things belonging to the administration. It becomes you, living without reproach, with the greatest earnestness to shake off all the cares of life, being neither a surety, nor an advocate, nor involved in any other secular business. For Christ does not wish to appoint you either a judge or an arbitrator in business, or negotiator of the secular affairs of the present life, lest, being confined to the present cares of men, you should not have leisure by the word of truth to separate the good among men from the bad.

"But let the disciples perform these offices to one another, and not withdraw you from the discourses which are able to save. For as it is wicked for you to undertake secular cares, and to omit the doing of what you have been commanded to do, so it is sin for every layman, if they do not stand by one another even in secular necessities. And if all do not understand to take order that you be without care in respect of the things in which you ought to be, let them learn it from the deacons; that you may have the care of the Church always, in order both to your administering it well, and to your holding forth the words of truth."

6 The Duty of a Bishop. "Now, if you were occupied with secular cares, you should deceive both yourself and your hearers. For not being able, on account of occupation, to point out the things that are advantageous, both you should be punished, as not having taught what was profitable, and they, not having learned, should perish by reason of ignorance.

"Wherefore do you indeed preside over them without occupation, so as to send forth seasonably the words that are able to save them; and so let them listen to you, knowing that whatever the ambassador of the truth shall bind upon earth is bound also in heaven, and what he shall loose is loosed. But you shall bind what ought to be bound, and loose what ought to be loosed. And these, and such like, are the things that relate to you as president."

7 Duties of Presbyters. "And with respect to the presbyters, take these instructions. Above all things, let them join the young betimes in marriage, anticipating the entanglements of youthful lusts. But neither let them neglect the marriage of those who are already old; for lust is vigorous even in some old men.

"Lest, therefore, fornication find a place among you, and bring upon you a very pestilence, take precaution, and search, lest at any time the fire of adultery be secretly kindled among you. For adultery is a very terrible thing, even such that it holds the second place in respect of punishment, the first being assigned to those who are in error, even although they be chaste.

"Wherefore do you, as elders of the Church, exercise the spouse of Christ to chastity (by the spouse I mean the body of the Church); for if she be apprehended to be chaste by her royal Bridegroom, she shall obtain the greatest honour; and you, as wedding guests, shall receive great commendation. But if she be caught having sinned, she herself indeed shall be cast out; and you shall suffer punishment, if at any time her sin has been through your negligence."

8 "Do Good Unto All." "Wherefore above all things be careful about chastity; for fornication has been marked out as a bitter thing in the estimation of God. But there are many forms of fornication, as also Clement himself will explain to you.

"The first is adultery, that a man should not enjoy his own wife alone, or a woman not enjoy her own husband alone. If any one be chaste, he is able also to be philanthropic, on account of which he shall obtain eternal mercy. For as adultery is a great evil, so philanthropy is the greatest good.

"Wherefore love all your brethren with grave and compassionate eyes, performing to orphans the part of parents, to widows that of husbands, affording them sustenance with all kindliness, arranging marriages for those who are in their prime, and for those who are without a profession, the means of necessary support through employment; giving work to the artificer, and alms to the incapable."

9 "Let Brotherly Love Continue." "But I know that ye will do these things if you fix love into your minds; and for its entrance there is one only fit means, viz., the common partaking of food.2 Wherefore see to it that ye be frequently one another's guests, as ye are able, that you may not fail of it. For it is the cause of well-doing, and well-doing of salvation.

"Therefore all of you present your provisions in common to all your brethren in God, knowing that, giving temporal things, you shall receive eternal things. Much more feed the hungry, and give drink to the thirsty, and clothing to the naked; visit the sick; showing yourselves to those who are in prison, help them as ye are able, and receive strangers into your houses with all alacrity. However, not to speak in detail, philanthropy will teach you to do everything that is good, as misanthropy suggests ill-doing to those who will not be saved."

10 "Whatsoever Things are Honest." "Let the brethren who have causes to be settled not be judged by the secular authorities; but let them by all means be reconciled by the elders of the church, yielding ready obedience to them. Moreover, also, flee avarice, inasmuch as it is able, under pretext of temporal gain, to deprive you of eternal blessings.

"Carefully keep your balances, your measures, your weights, and the things belonging to your traffic, just. Be faithful with respect to your trusts.

"Moreover, you will persevere in doing these things, and things similar to these, until the end, if you have in your hearts an ineradicable remembrance of the judgement that is from God. For who would sin, being persuaded that at the end of life there is a judgement appointed of the righteous God, who only now is long-suffering and good,3 that the good may in future enjoy for ever unspeakable blessings; but the sinners being found as evil, shall obtain an eternity of unspeakable punishment. And, indeed, that these things are so, it would be reasonable to doubt, were it not that the Prophet of the truth has said and sworn that it shall be."

11 Doubts to Be Satisfied. "Wherefore, being disciples of the true Prophet, laying aside double-mindedness, from which comes ill-doing, eagerly undertake well-doing. But if any of you doubt concerning the things which I have said are to be, let him confess it without shame, if he cares for his own soul, and he shall be satisfied by the president. But if he has believed rightly, let his conversation be with confidence, as fleeing from the great fire of condemnation, and entering into the eternal good kingdom of God."

12 Duties of Deacons. "Moreover let the deacons of the church, going about with intelligence, be as eyes to the bishop, carefully inquiring into the doings of each member of the church, ascertaining who is about to sin, in order that, being arrested with admonition by the president, he may haply not accomplish the sin.

"Let them check the disorderly, that they may not desist from assembling to hear the discourses, so that they may be able to counteract by the word of truth those anxieties that fall upon the heart from every side, by means of worldly casualties and evil communications; for if they long remain fallow, they become fuel for the fire.

"And let them learn who are suffering under bodily disease, and let them bring them to the notice of the multitude who do not know of them, that they may visit them, and supply their wants according to the judgement of the president. Yea,

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though they do this without his knowledge, they do nothing amiss. These things, then, and things like to these, let the deacons attend to."

13 Duties of Catechists. "Let the catechists instruct, being first instructed; for it is a work relating to the souls of men. For the teacher of the word must accommodate himself to the various judgements of the learners. The catechists must therefore be learned, and unblameable, of much experience, and approved, as you will know that Clement is, who is to be your instructor after me. For it were too much for me now to go into details. However, if ye be of one mind, you shall be able to reach the haven of rest, where is the peaceful city of the great King."

14 The Vessel of the Church. "For the whole business of the Church is like unto a great ship, bearing through a violent storm men who are of many places, and who desire to inhabit the city of the good kingdom. Let, therefore, God be your shipmaster; and let the pilot be likened to Christ, the mate4 to the bishop, and the sailors to the deacons, the midshipmen to the catechists, the multitude of the brethren to the passengers, the world to the sea; the foul winds to temptations, persecutions, and dangers; and all manner of afflictions to the waves; the land winds and their squalls to the discourses of deceivers and false prophets; the promontories and rugged rocks to the judges in high places threatening terrible things; the meetings of two seas, and the wild places, to unreasonable men and those who doubt of the promises of truth.

"Let hypocrites be regarded as like to pirates. Moreover, account the strong whirlpool, and the Tartarean Charybdis, and murderous wrecks, and deadly founderings, to be nought but sins. In order, therefore, that, sailing with a fair wind, you may safely reach the haven of the hoped-for city, pray so as to be heard. But prayers become audible by good deeds."

15 Incidents of the Voyage. "Let therefore the passengers remain quiet, sitting in their own places, lest by disorder they occasion rolling or careening. Let the midshipmen give heed to the fare. Let the deacons neglect nothing with which they are entrusted; let the presbyters, like sailors, studiously arrange what is needful for each one. Let the bishop, as the mate, wakefully ponder the words of the pilot alone. Let Christ, even the Saviour, be loved as the pilot, and alone believed in the matters of which He speaks; and let all pray to God for a prosperous voyage.

"Let those sailing expect every tribulation, as travelling over a great and troubled sea, the world: sometimes, indeed, disheartened, persecuted, dispersed, hungry, thirsty, naked, hemmed in; and, again, sometimes united, congregated, at rest; but also sea-sick, giddy, vomiting, that is, confessing sins, like disease-producing bile, I mean the sins proceeding from bitterness, and the evils accumulated from disorderly lusts, by the confession of which, as by vomiting, you are relieved of your disease, attaining healthful safety by means of carefulness.

16 The Bishop's Labours and Reward. "But know all of you that the bishop labours more than you all; because each of you suffers his own affliction, but he his own and that of every one. Wherefore, O Clement, preside as a helper to every one according to your ability, being careful of the cares of all. Whence I know that in your undertaking the administration, I do not confer, but receive, a favour.

"But take courage and bear it generously, as knowing that God will recompense you when you enter the haven of rest, the greatest of blessings, a reward that cannot be taken from you, in proportion as you have undertaken more labour for the safety of all. So that, if many of the brethren should hate you on account of your lofty righteousness, their hatred shall nothing hurt you, but the love of the righteous God shall greatly benefit you. Therefore endeavour to shake off the praise that arises from injustice, and to attain the profitable praise that is from Christ on account of righteous administration."

17 The People's Duties. Having said this, and more than this, he looked again upon the multitude, and said: "And you also, my beloved brethren and fellow-servants, be subject to the president of the truth in all things, knowing this, that he who grieves him has not received Christ, with whose chair he has been entrusted; and he who has not received Christ shall be regarded as having despised the Father; wherefore he shall be cast out of the good kingdom.

"On this account, endeavour to come to all the assemblies, lest as deserters you incur the charge of sin through the disheartening of your captain. Wherefore all of you think before all else of the things that relate to him, knowing this, that the wicked one, being the more hostile on account of every one of you, wars against him alone. Do you therefore strive to live in affection towards him, and in kindliness towards one another, and to obey him, in order that both he may be comforted and you may be saved."

18 "As a Heathen Man and a Publican." "But some things also you ought of yourselves to consider, on account of his not being able to speak openly by reason of the plots. Such as: if he be hostile to any one, do not wait for his speaking; and do not take part with that man, but prudently follow the bishop's will, being enemies to those to whom he is an enemy, and not conversing with those with whom he does not converse, in order that every one, desiring to have you all as his friends, may be reconciled to him and be saved, listening to his discourse.

"But if any one remain a friend of those to whom he is an enemy, and speak to those with whom he does not converse, he also himself is one of those who would waste the church. For, being with you in body, but not with you in judgement, he is against you; and is much worse than the open enemies from without, since with seeming friendship he disperses those who are within."

19 Installation of Clement. Having thus spoken, he laid his hands upon me in the presence of all, and compelled me to sit in his own chair. And when I was seated, he immediately said to me: "I entreat you, in the presence of all the brethren here, that whensoever I depart from this life, as depart I must, you send to James the brother of the Lord a brief account of your reasonings from your boyhood, and how from the beginning until now you have journeyed with me, hearing the discourses preached by me in every city, and seeing my deeds. And then at the end you will not fail to inform him of the manner of my death, as I said before.

"For that event will not grieve him very much, when he knows that I piously went through what it behoved me to suffer. And he will get the greatest comfort when he learns, that not an unlearned man, or one ignorant of life-giving words, or not knowing the rule of the Church, shall be entrusted with the chair of the teacher after me. For the discourse of a deceiver destroys the souls of the multitudes who hear."

20 Clement's Obedience. Whence I, my lord James, having promised as I was ordered, have not failed to write in books by chapters the greater part of his discourses in every city, which have been already written to you, and sent by himself, as for a token; and thus I despatched them to you, inscribing them "Clement's Epitome of the Popular Sermons of Peter." However, I shall begin to set them forth, as I was ordered.

CLEMENT HOMILIES BOOK 1

1 Boyish Questionings. I Clement, being a Roman citizen, even from my earliest youth was able to live chastely, my mind from my boyhood drawing away the lust that was in me to dejection and distress. For I had a habit of reasoning how originating I know not making frequent cogitations concerning death: When I die, shall I neither exist, nor shall any one ever have any remembrance of me, while boundless time bears all things of all men into forgetfulness? and shall I then be without being, or acquaintance with those who are; neither knowing nor being known, neither having been nor being? And has the world ever been made? and was there anything before it was made?

For if it has been always, it shall also continue to be; but if it has been made, it shall also be dissolved. And after its dissolution, shall there ever be anything again, unless, perhaps, silence and forgetfulness? Or perhaps something shall be which is not possible now to conceive.

2 Good Out of Evil. As I pondered without ceasing these and such like questions I know not whence arising I had such bitter grief, that, becoming pale, I wasted away; and, what was most terrible, if at any time I wished to drive away this meditation as unprofitable, my suffering became all the more severe; and I grieved over this, not knowing that I had a fair inmate, even my thought, which was to be to me the cause of a blessed immortality, as I afterwards knew by experience, and gave thanks to God, the Lord of all.

For it was by this thought, which at first afflicted me, that I was compelled to come to the search and the finding of things; and then I pitied those whom at first, through ignorance, I ventured to call blessed.

3 Perplexity. From my boyhood, then, being involved in such reasonings, in order to learn something definite, I used to resort to the schools of the philosophers. But nought else did I see than the setting up and the knocking down of doctrines, and strifes, and seeking for victory, and the arts of syllogisms, and the skill of assumptions; and sometimes one opinion prevailed, as, for example, that the soul is immortal, and sometimes that it is mortal. If, therefore, at any time the doctrine prevailed that it is immortal, I was glad; and when the doctrine prevailed that it is mortal, I was grieved.

And again, I was the more disheartened because I could not establish either doctrine to my satisfaction. However, I perceived that the opinions on subjects under discussion are taken as true or false, according to their defenders, and do not appear as they really are. Perceiving, therefore, now that the acceptance does not depend on the real nature of the subjects discussed, but that opinions are proved to be true or false, according to ability of those who defend them, I was still more than ever at a loss in regard of things.

Wherefore I groaned from the depth of my soul. For neither was I able to establish anything, nor could I shake off the consideration of such things, though, as I said before, I wished it. For although I frequently charged myself to be at peace, in some way or other thoughts on these subjects, accompanied with a feeling of pleasure, would come into my mind.

4 More Perplexity. And again, living in doubt, I said to myself, Why do I labour in vain, when the matter is clear, that if I lose existence when I die, it is not fitting that I should distress myself now while I do exist? Wherefore I shall reserve my grief till that day, when, ceasing to exist, I shall not be affected with grief. But if I am to exist, what does it profit me now to distress myself gratuitously?

And immediately after this another reasoning assailed me; for I said, Shall I not have something worse to suffer then than that which distresses me now, if I have not lived piously; and shall I not be delivered over, according to the doctrines of some philosophers, to Pyriphlegethon and Tartarus, like Sisyphus, or Tityus, or Ixion, or Tantalus, and be punished for ever in Hades? But again I replied, saying: But there are no such things as these. Yet again I said: But if there be?

Therefore, said I, since the matter is uncertain, the safer plan is for me rather to live piously. But how shall I be able, for the sake of righteousness, to subdue bodily pleasures, looking, as I do, to an uncertain hope? But I am neither fully persuaded what is that righteous thing that is pleasing to God, nor do I know whether the soul is immortal or mortal. Neither can I find any well-established doctrine, nor can I abstain from such debatings.

5 A Resolution. What, then, am I to do, unless this? I shall go into Egypt, and I shall become friendly with the hierophants of the shrines, and with the prophets; and I shall seek and find a magician, and persuade him with large bribes to effect the calling up of a soul, which is called necromancy, as if I were going to inquire of it concerning some business. And the inquiry shall be for the purpose of learning whether the soul is immortal.

But the answer of the soul that it is immortal shall not give me the knowledge from its speaking or my hearing, but only from its being seen; so that, seeing it with my very eyes, I may have a self-sufficient and fit assurance, from the very fact of its appearing, that it exists; and never again shall the uncertain words of hearing be able to overturn the things which the eyes have made their own. However, I submitted this very plan to a certain companion who was a philosopher; and he counselled me not to venture upon it, and that on many accounts.

"For if," said he, "the soul shall not listen to the magician, you will live with an evil conscience, as having acted against the laws which forbid the doing of these things. But if it shall listen to him, then, besides your living with an evil conscience, I think that matters of piety will not be promoted to you on account of your making this attempt. For they say that the Deity is angry with those who disturb souls after their release from the body."

And I, when I heard this, became indeed more backward to undertake such a thing, but I did not abandon my original plan; but I was distressed, as being hindered in the execution of it.

6 Tidings from Judaea. And, not to discuss such matters to you in a long speech, while I was occupied with such reasonings and doings, a certain report, taking its rise in the spring-time,3 in the reign of Tiberius Caesar, gradually grew everywhere, and ran through the world as truly the good tidings of God, being unable to stifle the counsel of God in silence. Therefore it everywhere became greater and louder, saying that a certain One in Judaea, beginning in the spring season, was preaching to the Jews the kingdom of the invisible God, and saying that whoever of them would reform his manner of living should enjoy it.

And in order that He might be believed that He uttered these things full of the Godhead, He wrought many wonderful miracles and signs by His mere command, as having received power from God. For He made the deaf to hear, the blind to see, the lame to walk, raised up the bowed down, drove away every disease, put to flight every demon; and even scabbed lepers, by only looking on Him from a distance, were sent away cured by Him; and the dead being brought to Him, were raised; and there was nothing which He could not do.

And as time advanced, so much the greater, through the arrival of more persons, and the stronger grew I say not now the report, but the truth of the thing; for now at length there were meetings in various places for consultation and inquiry as to who He might be that had appeared, and what was His purpose.

7 The Gospel in Rome. And then in the same year, in the autumn season, a certain one, standing in a public place, cried and said, "Men of Rome, hearken. The Son of God is come in Judaea, proclaiming eternal life to all who will, if they shall live according to the counsel of the Father, who hath sent Him. Wherefore change your manner of life from the worse to the better, from things temporal to things eternal; for know ye that there is one God, who is in heaven, whose world ye unrighteously dwell in before His righteous eyes.

"But if ye be changed, and live according to His counsel, then, being born into the other world, and becoming eternal, ye shall enjoy His unspeakable good things. But if ye be unbelieving, your souls, after the dissolution of the body, shall be thrown into the place of fire, where, being punished eternally, they shall repent of their unprofitable deeds. For every one, the term of repentance is the present life."

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I therefore, when I heard these things, was grieved, because no one among so great multitudes, hearing such an announcement, said: I shall go into Judaea, that I may know if this man who tells us these things speaks the truth, that the Son of God has come into Judaea, for the sake of a good and eternal hope, revealing the will of the Father who sent Him. For it is no small matter which they say that He preaches: for He asserts that the souls of some, being themselves immortal, shall enjoy eternal good things; and that those of others, being thrown into unquenchable fire, shall be punished for ever.

8 Departure from Rome. While I spoke thus concerning others, I also lectured myself, saying, Why do I blame others, being myself guilty of the very same crime of heedlessness? But I shall hasten into Judaea, having first arranged my affairs. And when I had thus made up my mind, there occurred a long time of delay, my worldly affairs being difficult to arrange.

Therefore, meditating further on the nature of life, that by involving5 men in hope it lays snares for those who are making haste, yea, and how much time I had been robbed of while tossed by hopes, and that we men die while thus occupied, I left all my affairs as they were, and sped to Portus; and coming to the harbour, and being taken on board a ship, I was borne by adverse winds to Alexandria instead of Judaea; and being detained there by stress of weather, I consorted with the philosophers, and told them about the rumour and the sayings of him who had appeared in Rome.

And they answered that indeed they knew nothing of him who had appeared in Rome; but concerning Him who was born in Judaea, and who was said by the report to be the Son of God, they had heard from many who had come from thence, and had learned respecting all the wonderful things that He did with a word.

9 Preaching of Barnabas. And when I said that I wished I could meet with some one of those who had seen Him, they immediately brought me to one, saying, "There is one here who not only is acquainted with Him, but is also of that country, a Hebrew, by name Barnabas, who says that he himself is one of His disciples; and hereabouts he resides, and readily announces to those who will the terms of His promise."

Then I went with them; and when I came, I stood listening to his words with the crowd that stood round him; and I perceived that he was speaking the truth not with dialectic art, but was setting forth simply and without preparation what he had heard and seen the manifested Son of God do and say. And even from the crowd who stood around him he produced many witnesses of the miracles and discourses which he narrated.

10 Cavils of the Philosophers. But while the multitudes were favourably disposed towards the things that he so artlessly spoke, the philosophers, impelled by their worldly learning, set upon laughing at him and making sport of him, upbraiding and reproaching him with excessive presumption, making use of the great armoury of syllogisms. But he set aside their babbling, and did not enter into their subtle questioning, but without embarrassment went on with what he was saying.

And then one of them asked, Wherefore it was that a gnat, although it be so small, and has six feet, has wings also; while an elephant, the largest of beasts, is wingless, and has but four feet? But he, after the question had been put, resuming his discourse, which had been interrupted, as though he had answered the question, resumed his original discourse, only making use of this preface after each interruption:

"We have a commission only to tell you the words and the wondrous doings of Him who sent us; and instead of logical demonstration, we present to you many witnesses from amongst yourselves who stand by, whose faces I remember, as living images. These sufficient testimonies it is left to your choice to submit to, or to disbelieve. But I shall not cease to declare unto you what is for your profit; for to be silent were to me a loss, and to disbelieve is ruin to you. But indeed I could give answers to your frivolous questions, if you asked them through love of truth. But the reason of the different structure of the gnat and elephant it is not fitting to tell to those who are ignorant of the God of all."

11 Clement's Zeal. When he said this, they all, as in concert, set up a shout of laughter, trying to silence him and put him out, as a barbarous madman. But I, seeing this, and seized, I know not how, with enthusiasm, could no longer keep silence with righteous indignation, but boldly cried out, saying,

"Well has God ordained that His counsel should be incapable of being received by you, foreseeing you to be unworthy, as appears manifestly to such of those who are now present as have minds capable of judging. For whereas now heralds of His counsel have been sent forth, not making a show of grammatical art, but setting forth His will in simple and in artificial words, so that whosoever hear can understand what is spoken, and not with any invidious feeling, as though unwilling to offer it to all; you come here, and besides your not understanding what is for your advantage, to your own injury you laugh at the truth, which, to your condemnation, consorts with the barbarians, and which you will not entertain when it visits you, by reason of your wickedness and the plainness of its words, lest you be convicted of being merely lovers of words, and not lovers of truth and lovers of wisdom.

"How long will you be learning to speak, who have not the power of speech?8 For many sayings of yours are not worth one word. What, then, will your Grecian multitude say, being of one mind, if, as he says, there shall be a judgement? 'Why, O God, didst Thou not proclaim to us Thy counsel?'

"Shall you not, if you be thought worthy of an answer at all, be told this? 'I, knowing before the foundation of the world all characters that were to be, acted towards each one by anticipation according to his deserts without making it known; but wishing to give full assurance to those who have fled to me that this is so, and to explain why from the beginning, and in the first ages, I did not suffer my counsel to be publicly proclaimed; I now, in the end of the world, have sent heralds to proclaim my will, and they are insulted and flouted by those who will not be benefited, and who wilfully reject my friendship. Oh, great wrong! The preachers are exposed to danger even to the loss of life, and that by the men who are called to salvation.'"

12 Clement's Rebuke of the People. "And this wrongful treatment of my heralds would have been against all from the beginning, if from the beginning the unworthy had been called to salvation. For that which is now done wrongfully by these men serves to the vindication of my righteous foreknowledge, that it was well that I did not choose from the beginning to expose uselessly to public contempt the word which is worthy of honour; but determined to suppress it, as being honourable, not indeed from those who were worthy from the beginning for to them also I imparted it but from those, and such as those, unworthy, as you see them to be, those who hate me, and who will not love themselves.

"And now, give over laughing at this man, and hear me with respect to his announcement, or let any one of the hearers who pleases answer. And do not bark like vicious dogs, deafening with disorderly clamour the ears of those who would be saved, ye unrighteous and God-haters, and perverting the saving method to unbelief. How shall you be able to obtain pardon, who scorn him who is sent to speak to you of the Godhead of God? And this you do towards a man whom you ought to have received on account of his good-will towards you, even if he did not speak truth."

13 Clement Instructed by Barnabas. While I spake these words, and others to the same effect, there arose a great excitement among the crowd; and some as pitying Barnabas, sympathized with me; but others, being senseless, terribly gnashed their teeth against me. But, as the evening had already come, I took Barnabas by the hand, and by force conducted him, against his will, to my lodging, and constrained him to remain there, lest some one might lay hands on him.

And having spent several days, and instructed me briefly in the true doctrine, as well as he could in a few days, he said that he should hasten into Judaea for the observance of the festival, and also because he wished for the future to consort with those of his own nation.

14 Departure of Barnabas. But it plainly appeared to me that he was disconcerted. For when I said to him, "Only set forth to me the words which you have heard of the Man who has appeared, and I will adorn them with my speech, and preach the counsel of God; and if you do so, within a few days I will sail with you, for I greatly desire to go to the land of Judaea, and perhaps I shall dwell with you all my life;" when he heard this, he answered:

"If you wish to inquire into our affairs, and to learn what is for your advantage, sail with me at once. But if you will not, I shall now give you directions to my house, and that of those whom you wish to meet, that when you choose to come you may find us. For I shall set out to-morrow for my home."

And when I saw that he could not be prevailed upon, I went with him as far as the harbour; and having learned of him the directions which he had promised to give me for finding the dwellings, I said to him, "Were it not that tomorrow I am to recover a debt that is due to me, I should straightway set sail with you. But I shall soon overtake you." And having said this, and having given him in charge to those who commanded the ship, I returned grieving, remembering him as an excellent and dear friend.

15 Introduction to Peter. But having spent some days, and not having been able to recover the whole debt, for the sake of speed I neglected the balance, as being a hindrance, and myself also set sail for Judaea, and in fifteen days arrived at Caesarea Stratonis. And when I had landed, and was seeking for a lodging, I learned that one named Peter, who was the most esteemed disciple of the Man who had appeared in Judaea, and had done signs and wonders, was going to have a verbal controversy next day with Simon, a Samaritan of Gitthi.

When I heard this, I begged to be shown his lodging; and as soon as I learned it, I stood before the door. And those who were in the house, seeing me, discussed the question who I was, and whence I had come. And, behold, Barnabas came out; and as soon as he saw me he embraced me, rejoicing greatly, and weeping.

And he took me by the hand, and conducted me to where Peter was, saying to me, "This is Peter, of whom I told you as being the greatest in the wisdom of God, and I have spoken to him of you continually. Therefore enter freely, for I have told him your excellent qualities, without falsehood; and, at the same time, have disclosed to him your intention, so that he himself also is desirous to see you. Therefore I offer him a great gift when by my hands I present you to him."

Thus saying, he presented me, and said, "This, O Peter, is Clement."

16 Peter's Salutation. Then the blessed man, springing forward as soon as he heard my name, kissed me; and making me sit down, straightway said, "You acted nobly in entertaining Barnabas, a herald of the truth, to the honour of the living God, being magnanimously not ashamed, nor fearing the resentment of the rude multitude. Blessed shall you be. For as you thus with all honour entertained the ambassador of the truth, so also truth herself shah constitute you, who are a stranger, a citizen of her own city. And thus you shall greatly rejoice, because you have now lent a small favour; I mean the kindness of good words. You shall be heir of blessings which are both eternal and cannot possibly be taken from you.

"And do not trouble yourself to detail to me your manner of life; for the veracious Barnabas has detailed to us everything relating to you, making favourable mention of you almost every day. And in order that I may tell to you briefly, as to a genuine friend, what is in hand, travel with us, unless anything hinders you, partaking of the words of truth which I am going to speak from city to city, as far as Rome itself. And if you wish to say anything, speak on."

17 Questions Propounded. Then I set forth my purpose from the beginning, and how I had spent myself upon difficult questions, and all the things that I disclosed to you at the outset, so that I need not write the same things again. Then I said, "I hold myself in readiness to journey with you; for this, I know not how, I gladly wish. However, I wish first to be convinced concerning the truth, that I may know whether the soul is mortal or immortal; and whether, if it is eternal, it is to be judged concerning the things which it hath done here. Also, whether there is anything that is righteous and well-pleasing to God; and whether the world was made, and for what end it was made; and whether it shall be dissolved; and if it shall be dissolved, whether it shall be made better, or shall not be at all."

And not to mention them in detail, I said that I wished to learn these things, and things consequent upon these. And to this he answered: "I shall shortly convey to you, O Clement, the knowledge of the things that are; and even now listen.

18 Causes of Ignorance. "The will of God has been kept in obscurity in many ways. In the first place, there is evil instruction, wicked association, terrible society, unseemly discourses, wrongful prejudice. Thereby is error, then fearlessness, unbelief, fornication, covetousness, vainglory; and ten thousand other such evils, filling the world as a quantity of smoke fills a house, have obscured the sight of the men inhabiting the world, and have not suffered them to look up and become acquainted with God the Creator from the delineation of Himself which He has given, and to know what is pleasing to Him.

"Wherefore it behoves the lovers of truth, crying out inwardly from their breasts, to call for aid, with truth-loving reason, that some one living within the house which is filled with smoke may approach and open the door, so that the light of the sun which is without may be admitted into the house, and the smoke of the fire which is within may be driven out."

19 The True Prophet. "Now the Man who is the helper I call the true Prophet; and He alone is able to enlighten the souls of men, so that with our own eyes we may be able to see the way of eternal salvation. But otherwise it is impossible, as you also know, since you said a little while ago that every doctrine is set up and pulled down, and the same is thought true or false, according to the power of him who advocates it; so that doctrines do not appear as they are, but take the appearance of being or not being truth or falsehood from those who advocate them.

"On this account the whole business of religion needed a true prophet, that he might tell us things that are, as they are, and how we must believe concerning all things. So that it is first necessary to test the prophet by every prophetic sign, and having ascertained that he is true, thereafter to believe him in every thing, and not to sit in judgement upon his several sayings, but to receive them as certain, being accepted indeed by seeming faith, yet by sure judgement.

"For by our initial proof, and by strict inquiry on every side, all things are received with right reason. Wherefore before all things it is necessary to seek after the true Prophet, because without Him it is impossible that any certainty can come to men."

20 Peter's Satisfaction with Clement. And, at the same time, he satisfied me by expounding to me who He is, and how He is found, and holding Him forth to me as truly to be found,

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showing that the truth is more manifest to the ear by the discourse of the prophet than things that are seen with the eye; so that I was astonished, and wondered that no one sees those things which are sought after by all, though they lie before him.

However, having written this discourse concerning the Prophet by his order, he caused the volume to be despatched to you from Caesarea Stratonis, saying that he had a charge from you to send his discourses and his acts year by year. Thus, on the very first day, beginning only concerning the prophet of the truth, he confirmed me in every respect; and then he spoke thus:

"Henceforth give heed to the discussions that take place between me and those on the other side; and even if I come off at a disadvantage, I am not afraid of your ever doubting of the truth that has been delivered to you, knowing well that I seem to be beaten, but not the doctrine that has been delivered to us by the Prophet. However, I hope not to come off in our inquiries at a disadvantage with men who have understanding I mean lovers of truth, who are able to know what discourses are specious, artificial, and pleasant, and what are unartificial and simple, trusting only to the truth that is conveyed through them."

21 Unalterable Conviction. When he had thus spoken, I answered: "Now do I thank God; for as I wished to be convinced, so He has vouchsafed to me. However, so far as concerns me, be you so far without anxiety that I shall never doubt; so much so, that if you yourself should ever wish to remove me from the prophetic doctrine, you should not be able, so well do I know what I have received. And do not think that it is a great thing that I promise you that I shall never doubt; for neither I myself, nor any man who has heard your discourse concerning the Prophet, can ever doubt of the true doctrine, having first heard and understood what is the truth of the prophetic announcement.

"Wherefore have confidence in the God-willed dogma; for every art of wickedness has been conquered. For against prophecy, neither arts of discourses, nor tricks of sophisms, nor syllogisms, nor any other contrivance, can prevail anything; that is, if he who has heard the true Prophet really is desirous of truth, and does not give heed to aught else under pretext of truth.

"So that, my lord Peter, be not disconcerted, as though you bad presented the greatest good to a senseless person; for you have presented it to one sensible of the favour, and who cannot be seduced from the truth that has been committed to him. For I know that it is one of those things which one wishes to receive quickly, and not to attain slowly. Therefore I know that I should not despise, on account of the quickness with which I have got it, what has been committed to me, what is incomparable, and what alone is safe."

22 Thanksgiving. When I had thus spoken, Peter said: "I give thanks to God, both for your salvation and for my satisfaction. For I am truly pleased to know that you apprehend what is the greatness of prophecy. Since, then, as you say, if I myself should ever wish which God forbid to transfer you to another doctrine, I shall not be able to persuade you, begin from tomorrow to attend upon me in the discussions with the adversaries. And to-morrow I have one with Simon Magus."

And having spoken thus, and he himself having partaken of food in private, he ordered me also to partake; and having blessed the food, and having given thanks after being satisfied, and having giving me an account of this matter, he went on to say: "May God grant you in all things to be made like unto me, and having been baptised, to partake of the same table with me." And having thus spoken, he enjoined me to go to rest; for now indeed my bodily nature demanded sleep.

CLEMENT HOMILIES BOOK 2

1 Peter's Attendants. Therefore the next day, I Clement, awaking from sleep before dawn, and learning that Peter was astir, and was conversing with his attendants concerning the worship of God (there were sixteen of them, and I have thought good to set forth their names, as I subsequently learned them, that you may also know who they were. The first of them was Zacchaeus, who was once a publican, and Sophonias his brother; Joseph and his foster-brother Michaias; also Thomas and Eliezer the twins; also Aeneas and Lazarus the priests; besides also Elisaeus, and Benjamin the son of Saphrus; as also Rubilus and Zacharias the builders; and Ananias and Haggaeus the Jamminians; and Nicetas and Aquila the friends), accordingly I went in and saluted him, and at his request sat down.

2 A Sound Mind in a Sound Body. And he, breaking off the discourse in which he was engaged, assured me, by way of apology, why he had not awakened me that I might hear his discourses, assigning as the reason the discomfort of my voyage. As he wished this to be dispelled,2 he had suffered me to sleep. "For," said he, "whenever the soul is distracted concerning some bodily want, it does not properly approach the instructions that are presented to it.

"On this account I am not willing to converse, either with those who are greatly grieving through some calamity, or are immoderately angry, or are turned to the frenzy of love, or are suffering under bodily exhaustion, or are distressed with the cares of life, or are harassed with any other sufferings, whose soul, as I said, being downcast, and sympathizing with the suffering body, occupies also its own intelligence therewith."

3 Forewarned is Forearmed. "And let it not be said, Is it not, then, proper to present comforts and admonitions to those who are in any bad case? To this I answer, that if, indeed, any one is able, let him present them; but if not, let him bide his time. For I know that all things have their proper season.

"Wherefore it is proper to ply men with words which strengthen the soul in anticipation of evil; so that, if at any time any evil comes upon them, the mind, being forearmed with the right argument, may be able to bear up under that which befalls it: for then the mind knows in the crisis of the struggle to have recourse to him who succoured it by good counsel.

4 A Request. "However, I have learned, O Clement, how that in Alexandria Barnabas perfectly expounded to you the word respecting prophecy. Was it not so?"

I answered, "Yes, and exceeding well."

Then Peter: "Therefore it is not necessary now to occupy with the instructions which you know, the time which may serve us for other instructions which you do not know."

Then said I: "You have rightly said, O Peter. But vouchsafe this to me, who purpose always to attend upon you, continuously to expound to me, a delighted hearer, the doctrine of the Prophet. For, apart from Him, as I learned from Barnabas, it is impossible to learn the truth."

5 Excellence of the Knowledge of the True Prophet. And Peter, being greatly pleased with this, answered: "Already hath the rectifying process taken its end, as regards you, knowing as you do the greatness of the infallible prophecy, without which it is impossible for any one to receive that which is supremely profitable.

"For of many and diverse blessings which are in the things which are or which may be, the most blessed of all whether it be eternal life, or perpetual health, or a perfect understanding, or light, or joy, or immortality, or whatever else there is or that can be supremely good in the nature of things cannot be possessed without first knowing things as they are; and this knowledge cannot be otherwise obtained than by first becoming acquainted with the Prophet of the truth."

6 The True Prophet. "Now the Prophet of the truth is He who always knows all things things past as they were, things present as they are, things future as they shall be; sinless, merciful, alone entrusted with the declaration of the truth. Read, and you shall find that those were deceived4 who thought that they had found the truth of themselves.

"For this is peculiar to the Prophet, to declare the truth, even as it is peculiar to the sun to bring the day. Wherefore, as many as have even desired to know the truth, but have not had the good fortune to learn it from Him, have not found it, but have died seeking it. For how can he find the truth who seeks it from his own ignorance?

"And even if he find it, he does not know it, and passes it by as if it were not. Nor yet shall he be able to obtain possession of the truth from another, who, in like manner, promises to him knowledge from ignorance; excepting only the knowledge of morality and things of that sort, which can be known through reason, which affords to every one the knowledge that he ought not to wrong another, through his not wishing himself to be wronged."

7 Unaided Quest of Truth Profitless. "All therefore who ever sought the truth, trusting to themselves to be able to find it, fell into a snare. This is what both the philosophers of the Greeks, and the more intelligent of the barbarians, have suffered. For, applying themselves to things visible, they have given decisions by conjecture on things not apparent, thinking that that was truth which at any time presented itself to them as such.

"For, like persons who know the truth, they, still seeking the truth, reject some of the suppositions that are presented to them, and lay hold of others, as if they knew, while they do not know, what things are true and what are false. And they dogmatize concerning truth, even those who are seeking after truth, not knowing that he who seeks truth cannot learn it from his own wandering. For not even, as I said, can he recognise her when she stands by him, since he is unacquainted with her."

8 Test of Truth. "And it is by no means that which is true, but that which is pleasing, which persuades every one who seeks to learn from himself. Since, therefore, one thing is pleasing to one, and another to another, one thing prevails over one as truth, and another thing over another. But the truth is that which is approved by the Prophet, not that which is pleasant to each individual. For that which is one would be many, if the pleasing were the true; which is impossible.

"Wherefore also the Grecian philologers rather than philosophers5 going about matters by conjectures, have dogmatized much and diversely, thinking that the apt sequence of hypotheses is truth, not knowing that when they have assigned to themselves false beginnings, their conclusion has corresponded with the beginning."

9 "The Weak Things of the World." "Whence a man ought to pass by all else, and commit himself to the Prophet of the truth alone. And we are all able to judge of Him, whether he is a prophet, even although we be wholly unlearned, and novices in sophisms, and unskilled in geometry, and uninitiated in music.

"For God, as caring for all, has made the discovery concerning Himself easier to all, in order that neither the barbarians might be powerless, nor the Greeks unable to find Him. Therefore the discovery concerning Him is easy; and thus it is:"

10 Test of the Prophet. "If he is a Prophet, and is able to know how the world was made, and the things that are in it, and the things that shall be to the end, if He has foretold us anything, and we have ascertained that it has been perfectly accomplished, we easily believe that the things shall be which He says are to be, from the things that have been already; we believe Him, I say, as not only knowing, but foreknowing.

"To whom then, however limited an understanding he may have, does it not appear, that it behoves us, with respect to the things that are pleasing to God, to believe beyond all others Him who beyond all men knows, even though He has not learned? Wherefore, if any one should be unwilling to concede the power of knowing the truth to such an one I mean to Him who has foreknowledge through the divinity of the Spirit that is in Him conceding the power of knowing to any one else, is he not void of understanding, in conceding to him who is no prophet, that power of knowing which he would not concede to the Prophet?"

11 Ignorance, Knowledge, Foreknowledge. "Wherefore, before all things, we must test the Prophet with all judgement by means of the prophetic promise; and having ascertained Him to be the Prophet, we must undoubtingly follow the other words of His teaching; and having confidence concerning things hoped for, we must conduct ourselves according to the first judgement, knowing that He who tells us these things has not a nature to lie.

"Wherefore, if any of the things that are afterwards spoken by Him do not appear to us to be well spoken, we must know that it is not that it has been spoken amiss, but that it is that we have not conceived it aright. For ignorance does not judge knowledge, and so neither is knowledge competent truly to judge foreknowledge; but foreknowledge affords knowledge to the ignorant."

12 Doctrine of the True Prophet. "Hence, O beloved Clement, if you would know the things pertaining to God, you have to learn them from Him alone, because He alone knows the truth. For if any one else knows anything, he has received it from Him or from His disciples. And this is His doctrine and true proclamation, that there is one God, whose work the world is; who being altogether righteous, shall certainly at some time render to every one according to his deeds."

13 Future Rewards and Punishments. "For there is every necessity, that he who says that God is by His nature righteous, should believe also that the souls of men are immortal: for where would be His justice, when some, having lived piously, have been evil-treated, and sometimes violently cut off, while others who have been wholly impious, and have indulged in luxurious living, have died the common death of men?

"Since therefore, without all contradiction, God who is good is also just, He shall not otherwise be known to be just, unless the soul after its separation from the body be immortal, so that the wicked man, being in hell, as having here received his good things, may there be punished for his sins; and the good man, who has been punished here for his sins, may then, as in the bosom of the righteous, be constituted an heir of good things. Since therefore God is righteous, it is fully evident to us that there is a judgement, and that souls are immortal."

14 Righteousness and Unrighteousness. "But if any one, according to the opinion of this Simon the Samaritan, will not admit that God is just, to whom then can any one ascribe justice, or the possibility of it? For if the Root of all have it not, there is every necessity to think that it must be impossible to find it in human nature, which, is, as it were, the fruit. And if it is to be found in man, how much more in God!

"But if righteousness can be found nowhere, neither in God nor in man, then neither can unrighteousness. But there is such a thing as righteousness, for unrighteousness takes its name from the existence of righteousness; for it is called unrighteousness, when righteousness is compared with it, and is found to be opposite to it."

15 Pairs. "Hence therefore God, teaching men with respect to the truth of existing things, being Himself one, has distinguished all principles into pairs and opposites, Himself being one and sole God from the beginning, having made heaven and earth, day and night, light and fire, sun and moon, life and death. But man alone amongst these He made self-controlling, having a fitness to be either righteous or unrighteous.

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"To him also he hath varied the figures of combinations, placing before him small things first, and great ones afterwards, such as the world and eternity. But the world that now is, is temporary; that which shall be, is eternal. First is ignorance, then knowledge.

"So also has He arranged the leaders of prophecy. For, since the present world is female, as a mother bringing forth the souls of her children, but the world to come is male, as a father receiving his children from their mother, therefore in this world there come a succession of prophets, as being sons of the world to come, and having knowledge of men. And if pious men had understood this mystery, they would never have gone astray, but even now they should have known that Simon, who now enthralls all men, is a fellow-worker of error and deceit. Now, the doctrine of the prophetic rule is as follows."

16 Man's Ways Opposite to God's. "As in the beginning God, who is one, like a right hand and a left, made the heavens first and then the earth, so also He constituted all the combinations in order; but upon men He no more does this, but varies all the combinations. For whereas from Him the greater things come first, and the inferior second, we find the opposite in men the first worse, and the second superior.

"Therefore from Adam, who was made after the image of God, there sprang first the unrighteous Cain, and then the righteous Abel. Again, from him who amongst you is called Deucalion, two forms of spirits were sent forth, the impure namely, and the pure, first the black raven, and then the white dove. From Abraham also, the patriarchs of our nation, two firsts9 sprang Ishmael first, then Isaac, who was blessed of God. And from Isaac himself, in like manner, there were again two Esau the profane, and Jacob the pious. So, first in birth, as the first born in the world, was the high priest Aaron, then the lawgiver Moses."

17 First the Worse, Then the Better. "In like manner, the combination with respect to Elias, which behoved to have come, has been willingly put off to another time, having determined to enjoy it conveniently hereafter. Wherefore, also, he who was among those born of woman came first; then he who was among the sons of men came second. It were possible, following this order, to perceive to what series Simon belongs, who came before me to the Gentiles, and to which I belong who have come after him, and have come in upon him as light upon darkness, as knowledge upon ignorance, as healing upon disease.

"And thus, as the true Prophet has told us, a false prophet must first come from some deceiver; and then, in like manner, after the removal of the holy place, the true Gospel must be secretly sent abroad for the rectification of the heresies that shall be. After this, also, towards the end, Antichrist must first come, and then our Jesus must be revealed to be indeed the Christ; and after this, the eternal light having sprung up, all the things of darkness must disappear."

18 Mistake About Simon Magus. "Since, then, as I said, some men do not know the rule of combination, thence they do not know who is my precursor Simon. For if he were known, he would not be believed; but now, not being known, he is improperly believed; and though his deeds are those of a hater, he is loved; and though an enemy, he is received as a friend; and though he be death, he is desired as a saviour; and though fire, he is esteemed as light; and though a deceiver, he is believed as a speaker of truth."

Then I Clement, when I heard this, said, "Who then, I pray you, is this who is such a deceiver? I should like to be informed."

Then said Peter: "If you wish to learn, it is in your power to know it from those from whom I also got accurate information on all points respecting him."

19 Justa, a Proselyte. "There is amongst us one Justa, a Syro-Phoenician, by race a Canaanite, whose daughter was oppressed with a grievous disease. And she came to our Lord, crying out, and entreating that He would heal her daughter. But He, being asked also by us, said, 'It is not lawful to heal the Gentiles, who are like to dogs on account of their using various12 meats and practices, while the table in the kingdom has been given to the sons of Israel.'

"But she, hearing this, and begging to partake like a dog of the crumbs that fall from this table, having changed what she was, by living like the sons of the kingdom, she obtained healing for her daughter, as she asked. For she being a Gentile, and remaining in the same course of life, He would not have healed had she remained a Gentile, on account of its not being lawful to heal her as a Gentile."

20 Divorced for the Faith. "She, therefore, having taken up a manner of life according to the law, was, with the daughter who had been healed, driven out from her home by her husband, whose sentiments were opposed to ours. But she, being faithful to her engagements, and being in affluent circumstances, remained a widow herself, but gave her daughter in marriage to a certain man who was attached to the true faith, and who was poor.

"And, abstaining from marriage for the sake of her daughter, she bought two boys and educated them, and had them in place of sons. And they being educated from their boyhood with Simon Magus, have learned all things concerning him. For such was their friendship, that they were associated with him in all things in which he wished to unite with them."

21 Justa's Adopted Sons, Associates with Simon. "These men having fallen in with Zacchaeus, who sojourned here, and having received the word of truth from him, and having repented of their former innovations, and immediately denouncing Simon as being privy with him in all things, as soon as I came to sojourn here, they came to me with their foster-mother, being presented to me by him, Zacchaeus, and ever since they continue with me, enjoying instructions in the truth."

When Peter had said this, he sent for them, and charged them that they should accurately relate to me all things concerning Simon. And they, having called God to witness that in nothing they would falsify, proceeded with the relation.

22 Doctrines of Simon. First Aquila began to speak in this wise: "Listen, O dearest brother, that you may know accurately everything about this man, whose he is, and what, and whence; and what the things are which he does, and how and why he does them. This Simon is the son of Antonius and Rachel, a Samaritan by race, of the village of Gitthae, which is six schoeni distant from the city. He having disciplined himself greatly in Alexandria, and being very powerful in magic, and being ambitious, wishes to be accounted a certain supreme power, greater even than the God who created the world.

"And sometimes intimating that he is Christ, he styles himself the Standing One.17 And this epithet he employs, as intimating that he shall always stand, and as not having any cause of corruption so that his body should fall. And he neither says that the God who created the world is the Supreme, nor does he believe that the dead will be raised.

"He rejects Jerusalem, and substitutes Mount Gerizzim for it. Instead of our Christ, he proclaims himself. The things of the lair he explains by his own presumption; and he says, indeed, that there is to be a judgement, but he does not expect it. For if he were persuaded that he shall be judged by God, he would not dare be impious towards God Himself. Whence some not knowing that, using religion as a cloak, he spoils the things of the truth, and faithfully believing the hope and the judgement which in some way he says are to be, are ruined."

23 Simon a Disciple of the Baptist. "But that he came to deal with the doctrines of religion happened on this wise. There was one John, a day-baptist, who was also, according to the method of combination, the forerunner of our Lord Jesus; and as the Lord had twelve apostles, bearing the number of the twelve months of the sun, so also he, John, had thirty chief men, fulfilling the monthly reckoning of the moon, in which number was a certain woman called Helena, that not even this might be without a dispensational significance.

"For a woman, being half a man, made up the imperfect number of the triacontad; as also in the case of the moon, whose revolution does not make the complete course of the month. But of these thirty, the first and the most esteemed by John was Simon; and the reason of his not being chief after the death of John was as follows: "

24 Electioneering Stratagems. "He being absent in Egypt for the practice of magic, and John being killed, Dositheus desiring the leadership, falsely gave out that Simon was dead, and succeeded to the seat. But Simon, returning not long after, and strenuously holding by the place as his own, when he met with Dositheus did not demand the place, knowing that a man who has attained power beyond his expectations cannot be removed from it.

"Wherefore with pretended friendship he gives himself for a while to the second place, under Dositheus. But taking his place after a few days among the thirty fellow-disciples, he began to malign Dositheus as not delivering the instructions correctly. And this he said that he did, not through unwillingness to deliver them correctly, but through ignorance.

"And on one occasion, Dositheus, perceiving that this artful accusation of Simon was dissipating the opinion of him with respect to many, so that they did not think that he was the Standing One, came in a rage to the usual place of meeting, and finding Simon, struck him with a staff. But it seemed to pass through the body of Simon as if he had been smoke. Thereupon Dositheus, being confounded, said to him, 'If you are the Standing One, I also will worship you.' Then Simon said that he was; and Dositheus, knowing that he himself was not the Standing One, fell down and worshipped; and associating himself with the twenty-nine chiefs, he raised Simon to his own place of repute; and thus, not many days after, Dositheus himself, while he (Simon) stood, fell down and died."

25 Simon's Deceit. "But Simon is going about in company with Helena, and even till now, as you see, is stirring up the people. And he says that he has brought down this Helena from the highest heavens to the world; being queen, as the all-bearing being, and wisdom, for whose sake, says he, the Greeks and barbarians fought, having before their eyes but an image of truth; for she, who really is the truth, was then with the chiefest god.

"Moreover, by cunningly explaining certain things of this sort, made up from Grecian myths, he deceives many; especially as he performs many signal marvels, so that if we did not know that he does these things by magic, we ourselves should also have been deceived.

"But whereas we were his fellow-labourers at the first, so long as he did such things without doing wrong to the interests of religion; now that he has madly begun to attempt to deceive those who are religious, we have withdrawn from him."

26 His Wickedness. "For he even began to commit murder as himself disclosed to us, as a friend to friends, that, having separated the soul of a child from its own body by horrid incantations, as his assistant for the exhibition of anything that he pleased, and having drawn the likeness of the boy, he has it set up in the inner room where he sleeps, saying that he once formed the boy of air, by divine arts, and having painted his likeness, he gave him back again to the air.

"And he explains that he did the deed thus. He says that the first soul of man, being turned into the nature of heat, drew to itself, and sucked in the surrounding air, after the fashion of a gourd;24 and then that he changed it into water, when it was within the form of the spirit; and he said that he changed into the nature of blood the air that was in it, which could not be poured out on account of the consistency of the spirit, and that he made the blood solidified into flesh; then, the flesh being thus consolidated, that he exhibited a man not made from earth, but from air.

"And thus, having persuaded himself that he was able to make a new sort of man, he said that he reversed the changes, and again restored him to the air. And when he told this to others, he was believed; but by us who were present at his ceremonies he was religiously disbelieved. Wherefore we denounced his impieties, and withdrew from him."

27 His Promises. When Aquila had thus spoken, his brother Nicetas said: "It is necessary, O Clement our brother, for me to mention what has been left out by Aquila. For, in the first place, God is witness that we assisted him in no impious work, but that we looked on while he wrought; and as long as he did harmless things, and exhibited them, we were also pleased.

"But when, in order to deceive the godly, he said that he did, by means of godhead, the things that were done by magic, we no longer endured him, though he made us many promises, especially that our statues should be thought worthy of a place in the temple,25 and that we should be thought to be gods, and should be worshipped by the multitude, and should be honoured by kings, and should be thought worthy of public honours, and enriched with boundless wealth."

28 Fruitless Counsel. "These things, and things reckoned greater than these, he promised us, on condition only that we should associate with him, and keep silence as to the wickedness of his undertaking, so that the scheme of his deceit might succeed. But still we would not consent, but even counselled him to desist from such madness, saying to him: 'We, O Simon, remembering our friendship towards you from our childhood, and out of affection for you, give you good counsel. Desist from this attempt. You cannot be a God. Fear Him who is really God. Know that you are a man, and that the time of your life is short; and though you should get great riches, or even become a king, few things accrue to the short time of your life for enjoyment, and things wickedly gotten soon flee away, and procure everlasting punishment for the adventurer. Wherefore we counsel you to fear God, by whom the soul of every one must be judged for the deeds that he hath done here.'"

29 Immortality of the Soul. "When he heard this he laughed; and when we asked him why he laughed at us for giving him good counsel, he answered: 'I laugh at your foolish supposition, because you believe that the soul of man is immortal.'

"Then I said: 'We do not wonder, O Simon, at your attempting to deceive us, but we are confounded at the way in which you deceive even yourself. Tell me, O Simon, even if no one else has been fully convinced that the soul is immortal, at all events you and we ought to be so: you as having separated one from a human body, and conversed with it, and laid your commands upon it; and we as having been present, and heard your commands, and clearly witnessed the performance of what was ordered.'

"Then said Simon: 'I know what you mean; but you know nothing of the matters concerning which you reason.'

"Then said Nicetas: 'If you know, speak; but if you do not know, do not suppose that we can be deceived by your saying that you know, and that we do not. For we are not so childish, that you can sow in us a shrewd suspicion that we should think that you know some unutterable things, and so that you should take and hold us in subjection, by holding us in restraint through means of desire.'"

30 An Argument. "Then Simon said: 'I am aware that you know that I separated a soul from a human body; but I know that you are ignorant that it is not the soul of the dead person

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that ministers to me, for it does not exist; but a certain demon works, pretending to be the soul.'

"Then said Nicetas: 'Many incredible things we have heard in our lifetime, but aught more senseless than this speech we do not expect ever to hear. For if a demon pretends to be the soul of the dead person, what is the use of the soul at all, that it should be separated from the body? Were I not we ourselves present and heard you conjuring the soul from the body? And how comes it that, when one is conjured, another who is not conjured obeys, as if it were frightened? And you yourself, when at any time we have asked you why the conferences sometimes cease, did not you say that the soul, having fulfilled the time upon earth which it was to have passed in the body, goes to Hades? And you added, that the souls of those who commit suicide are not easily permitted to come, because, having gone home into Hades, they are guarded.'"

31 A Dilemma. "Nicetas having thus spoken, Aquila himself in turn said: 'This only should I wish to learn of you, Simon, whether it is the soul or whether it is a demon that is conjured: what is it afraid of, that it does not despise the conjuration?'

"Then Simon said: 'It knows that it should suffer punishment if it were disobedient.'

"Then said Aquila: 'Therefore, if the soul comes when conjured, there is also a judgement. If, therefore, souls are immortal, assuredly there is also a judgement. As you say, then, that those which are conjured on wicked business are punished if they disobey, how are you not afraid to compel them, when those that are compelled are punished for disobedience? For it is not wonderful that you do not already suffer for your doings, seeing the judgement has not yet come, when you are to suffer the penalty of those deeds which you have compelled others to do, and when that which has been done under compulsion shall be pardoned, as having been out of respect for the oath which led to the evil action.'

"And he hearing this was enraged, and threatened death to us if we did not keep silence as to his doings."

32 Simon's Prodigies. Aquila having thus spoken, I Clement inquired: "What, then, are the prodigies that he works?"

And they told me that he makes statues walk, and that he rolls himself on the fire, and is not burnt; and sometimes he flies; and he makes loaves of stones; he becomes a serpent; he transforms himself into a goat; he becomes two-faced; he changes himself into gold; he opens lockfast gates; he melts iron; at banquets he produces images of all manner of forms. In his house he makes dishes be seen as borne of themselves to wait upon him, no bearers being seen. I wondered when I heard them speak thus; but many bore witness that they had been present, and had seen such things.

33 Doctrine of Pairs. These things having been thus spoken, the excellent Peter himself also proceeded to speak: "You must perceive, brethren. the truth of the rule of conjunction, from which he who departs not cannot be misled. For since, as we have said, we see all things in pairs and contraries, and as the night is first, and then the day; and first ignorance, then knowledge; first disease, then healing, so the things of error come first into our life, then truth supervenes, as the physician upon the disease.

"Therefore straightway, when our God-loved nation was about to be ransomed from the oppression of the Egyptians, first diseases were produced by means of the rod turned into a serpent, which was given to Aaron, and then remedies were superinduced by the prayers of Moses. And now also, when the Gentiles are about to be ransomed from the superstition with respect to idols, wickedness, which reigns over them, has by anticipation sent forth her ally like another serpent, even this Simon whom you see, who works wonders to astonish and deceive, not signs of healing to convert and save.

"Wherefore it behoves you also from the miracles that are done to judge the doers, what is the character of the performer, and what that of the deed. If he do unprofitable miracles, he is the agent of wickedness; but if he do profitable things, he is a leader of goodness."

34 Useless and Philanthropic Miracles. "Those, then, are useless signs, which you say that Simon did. But I say that the making statues walk, and rolling himself on burning coals, and becoming a dragon, and being changed into a goat, and flying in the air, and all such things, not being for the healing of man, are of a nature to deceive many.

"But the miracles of compassionate truth are philanthropic, such as you have heard that the Lord did, and that I after Him accomplish by my prayers; at which most of you have been present, some being freed from all kinds of diseases, and some from demons, some having their hands restored, and some their feet, some recovering their eyesight, and some their hearing, and whatever else a man can do, being of a philanthropic spirit."

35 Discussion Postponed. When Peter had thus spoken, towards dawn Zacchaeus entered and saluted us, and said to Peter: "Simon puts off the inquiry till to-morrow; for to-day is his Sabbath, which occurs at intervals of eleven days."

To him Peter answered: "Say to Simon, Whenever thou wishest; and know thou that we are always in readiness to meet thee, by divine providence, when thou desirest." And Zacchaeus hearing this, went out to return the answer.

36 All for the Best. But he (Peter) saw me disheartened, and asked the reason; and being told that it proceeded from no cause but the postponement of the inquiry, he said: "He who has apprehended that the world is regulated by the good providence of God, O beloved Clement, is not vexed by things howsoever occurring, considering that things take their course advantageously under the providence of the Ruler.

"Whence, knowing that He is just, and living with a good conscience, he knows how by right reason to shake off from his soul any annoyance that befalls him, because, when complete, it must come to some unknown good. Now then, let not Simon the magician's postponement of the inquiry grieve you; for perhaps it has happened from the providence of God for your profit. Wherefore I shall not scruple to speak to you as being my special friend."

37 Spies in the Enemy's Camp. "Some of our people attend feignedly upon Simon as companions, as if they were persuaded by his most atheistic error, in order that they may learn his purpose and disclose it to us, so that we may be able to encounter this terrible man on favourable terms. And now I have learned from them what arguments he is going to employ in the discussion.

"And knowing this, I give thanks to God on the one hand, and I congratulate you on the other, on the postponement of the discussion; for you, being instructed by me before the discussion, of the arguments that are to be used by him for the destruction of the ignorant, will be able to listen without danger of falling."

38 Corruption of the Law. "For the Scriptures have had joined to them many falsehoods against God on this account. The prophet Moses having by the order of God delivered the law, with the explanations, to certain chosen men, some seventy in number, in order that they also might instruct such of the people as chose, after a little the written law had added to it certain falsehoods contrary to the law of God, who made the heaven and the earth, and all things in them; the wicked one having dared to work this for some righteous purpose.

"And this took place in reason and judgement, that those might be convicted who should dare to listen to the things written against God, and those who, through love towards Him, should not only disbelieve the things spoken against Him, but should not even endure to hear them at all, even if they should happen to be true, judging it much safer to incur danger with respect to religious faith, than to live with an evil conscience on account of blasphemous words."

39 Tactics. "Simon, therefore, as I learn, intends to come into public, and to speak of those chapters against God that are added to the Scriptures, for the sake of temptation, that he may seduce as many wretched ones as he can from the love of God.

"For we do not wish to say in public that these chapters are added to the Bible, since we should thereby perplex the unlearned multitudes, and so accomplish the purpose of this wicked Simon. For they not having yet the power of discerning, would flee from us as impious; or, as if not only the blasphemous chapters were false, they would even withdraw from the word.

"Wherefore we are under a necessity of assenting to the false chapters, and putting questions in return to him concerning them, to draw him into a strait, and to give in private an explanation of the chapters that are spoken against God to the well-disposed after a trial of their faith; and of this there is but one way, and that a brief one. It is this."

40 Preliminary Instruction. "Everything that is spoken or written against God is false. But that we say this truly, not only for the sake of reputation, but for the sake of truth, I shall convince you when my discourse has proceeded a little further. Whence you, my most beloved Clement, ought not to be sorry at Simon's having interposed a day between this and the discussion.

"For today, before the discussion, you shall be instructed concerning the chapters added to the Scriptures; and then in the discussion concerning the only one and good God, the Maker also of the world, you ought not to be distracted. But in the discussion you will even wonder how impious men, overlooking the multitudes of things that are spoken in the Scriptures for God, and looking at those that are spoken against Him, gladly bring these forward; and thus the hearers, by reason of ignorance, believing the things against God, become outcasts from His kingdom.

"Wherefore you, by advantage of the postponement, learning the mystery of the Scriptures, and gaining the means of not sinning against God, will incomparably rejoice."

41 Asking for Information, Not Contradiction. Then I Clement, hearing this, said: "Truly I rejoice, and I give thanks to God, who in all things doeth well. However, he knows that I shall be able to think nothing other than that all things are for God. Wherefore do not suppose that I ask questions, as doubting the words concerning God, or those that are to be spoken, but rather that I may learn, and so be able myself to instruct another who is ingenuously willing to learn. Wherefore tell me what are the falsehoods added to the Scriptures, and how it comes that they are really false."

Then Peter answered: "Even although you had not asked me, I should have gone on in order, and afforded you the exposition of these matters, as I promised. Learn, then, how the Scriptures misrepresent Him in many respects, that you may know when you happen upon them."

42 Right Notions of God Essential to Holiness. "But what I am going to tell you will be sufficient by way of example. But I do not think, my dear Clement, that any one who possesses ever so little love to God and ingenuousness, will be able to take in, or even to hear, the things that are spoken against Him.

"For how is it that he can have a monarchic33 soul, and be holy, who supposes that there are many gods, and not one only? But even if there be but one, who will cherish zeal to be holy, that finds in Him many defects, since he will hope that the Beginning of all things, by reason of the defects of his own nature, will not visit the crimes of others?"

43 A Priori Argument on the Divine Attributes. "Wherefore, far he it from us to believe that the Lord of all, who made the heaven and the earth, and all things that are in them, shares His government with others, or that He lies.

"For if He lies, then who speaks truth? Or that He makes experiments as in ignorance; for then who foreknows? And if He deliberates, and changes His purpose, who is perfect in understanding and permanent in design?

"If He envies, who is above rivalry? If He hardens hearts, who makes wise? If He makes blind and deaf, who has given sight and hearing? If He commits pilfering, who administers justice?

"If He mocks, who is sincere? If He is weak, who is omnipotent? If He is unjust, who is just? If He makes evil things, who shall make good things? If He does evil, who shall do good?"

44 The Same Continued. "But if He desires the fruitful hill, whose then are all things? If He is false, who then is true? If He dwells in a tabernacle, who is without bounds?

"If He is fond of fat, and sacrifices, and offerings, and drink-offerings, who then is without need, and who is holy, and pure, and perfect? If He is pleased with candles and candlesticks, who then placed the luminaries in heaven? If He dwells in shadow, and darkness, and storm, and smoke, who is the light that lightens the universe?

"If He comes with trumpets, and shoutings, and darts, and arrows, who is the looked-for tranquillity of all? If He loves war, who then wishes peace? If He makes evil things, who makes good things?

"If He is without affection, who is a lover of men? If He is not faithful to His promises, who shall be trusted? If He loves the wicked, and adulterers, and murderers, who shall be a just judge? If He changes His mind, who is stedfast? If He chooses evil men, who then takes the part of the good?"

45 How God is to Be Thought of. "Wherefore, Clement, my son, beware of thinking otherwise of God, than that He is the only God, and Lord, and Father, good and righteous, the Creator, long-suffering, merciful, the sustainer, the benefactor, ordaining love of men, counselling purity, immortal and making immortal, incomparable, dwelling in the souls of the good, that cannot be contained and yet is contained, who has fixed the great world as a centre in space, who has spread out the heavens and solidified the earth, who has stored up the water, who has disposed the stars in the sky, who has made the fountains flow in the earth, has produced faults, has raised up mountains, hath set bounds to the sea, has ordered winds and blasts, who by the spirit of counsel has kept safely the body comprehended in a boundless sea."

46 Judgement to Come. "This is our Judge, to whom it behoves us to look and to regulate our own souls, thinking all things in His favour, speaking well of Him, persuaded that by His long-suffering He brings to light the obstinacy of all, and is alone good. And He, at the end of all, shall sit as a just Judge upon every one of those who have attempted what they ought not."

47 A Pertinent Question. When I Clement heard this, I said, "Truly, this is a godliness; truly this is piety."

And again I said: "I would learn, therefore, why the Bible has written anything of this sort? For I remember that you said that it was for the conviction of those who should dare to believe anything that was spoken against God. But since you permit us, we venture to ask, at your command: If any one, most beloved Peter, should choose to say to us, 'The Scriptures are true, although to you the things spoken against God seem to be false,' how should we answer him?"

48 A Particular Case. Then Peter answered: "You speak well in your inquiry; for it will be for your safety. Therefore listen: Since there are many things that are spoken by the Scriptures against God, as time presses on account of the evening, ask with respect to any one matter that you please, and I will explain it, showing that it is false, not only because it is spoken against God, but because it is really false."

Then I answered: "I wish to learn how, when the Scriptures say that God is ignorant, you can show that He knows?"

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49 Reductio ad Absurdum. Then Peter answered: "You have presented us with a matter that can easily be answered. However, listen, how God is ignorant of nothing, but even foreknows. But first answer me what I ask of you. He who wrote the Bible, and told how the world was made, and said that God does not foreknow, was he a man or not?"

Then I said: "He was a man."

Then Peter answered: "How, then, was it possible for him, being a man, to know assuredly how the world was made, and that God does not foreknow?"

50 A Satisfactory Answer. Then I, already perceiving the explanation, smiled, and said that he was a prophet. And Peter said: "If, then, he was a prophet, being a man, he was ignorant of nothing, by reason of his having received foreknowledge from God; how then, should He, who gave to man the gift of foreknowledge, being God, Himself be ignorant?"

And I said: "You have spoken rightly."

Then Peter said: "Come with me one step further. It being acknowledged by us that God foreknows all things, there is every necessity that the scriptures are false which say that He is ignorant, and those are true which say that He knows."

Then said I: "It must needs be so."

51 Weigh in the Balance. Then Peter said: "If, therefore, some of the Scriptures are true and some false, with good reason said our Master, 'Be ye good money-changers,' inasmuch as in the Scriptures there are some true sayings and some spurious. And to those who err by reason of the false scriptures He fitly showed the cause of their error, saying, 'Ye do therefore err, not knowing the true things of the Scriptures; for this reason ye are ignorant also of the power of God.'"

Then said I: "You have spoken very excellently."

52 Sins of the Saints Denied. Then Peter answered: "Assuredly, with good reason, I neither believe anything against God, nor against the just men recorded in the law, taking for granted that they are impious imaginations.

"For, as I am persuaded, neither was Adam a transgressor, who was fashioned by the hands of God; nor was Noah drunken, who was found righteous above all the world; nor did Abraham live with three wives at once, who, on account of his sobriety, was thought worthy of a numerous posterity; nor did Jacob associate with four-of whom two were sisters-who was the father of the twelve tribes, and who intimated the coining of the presence of our Master; nor was Moses a murderer, nor did he learn to judge from an idolatrous priest-he who set forth the law of God to all the world, and for his right judgement has been testified to as a faithful steward."

53 Close of the Conference. "But of these and such like things I shall afford you an explanation in due time. But for the rest, since, as you see, the evening has come upon us, let what has been said be enough for today. But whenever you wish, and about whatever you wish, ask boldly of us, and we shall gladly explain it at once."

Thus having spoken, he rose up. And then, having partaken of food, we turned to sleep, for the night had come upon us.

CLEMENT HOMILIES BOOK 3

1 The Morning of the Discussion. Two days, therefore, having elapsed, and while the third was dawning, I Clement, and the rest of our companions, being roused about the second cock-crowing, in order to the discussion with Simon, found the lamp still alight, and Peter kneeling in prayer. Therefore, having finished his supplication, and turning round, and seeing us in readiness to hear, he said:1

2 Simon's Design. "I wish you to know that those who, according to our arrangement, associate with Simon that they may learn his intentions, and submit them to us, so that we may be able to cope with his variety of wickedness, these men have sent to me, and informed me that Simon today is, as he arranged, prepared to come before all, and show from the Scriptures that He who made the heaven and the earth, and all things in them, is not the Supreme God, but that there is another, unknown and supreme, as being in an unspeakable manner God of gods; and that He sent two gods, one of whom is he who made the world, and the other he who gave the law. And these things he contrives to say, that he may dissipate the right faith of those who would worship the one and only God who made heaven and earth."

3 His Object. "When I heard this, how was I not disheartened! Wherefore I wished you also, my brethren, who associate with me, to know that I am beyond measure grieved in my soul, seeing the wicked one awake for the temptation of men, and men wholly indifferent about their own salvation.

"For to those from amongst the Gentiles who were about being persuaded respecting the earthly images that they are no gods, he has contrived to bring in opinions of many other gods, in order that, if they cease from the polytheo-mania, they may be deceived to speak otherwise, and even worse than they now do, against the sole government of God, so that they may not yet value the truths connected with that monarchy, and may never be able to obtain mercy.

"And for the sake of this attempt Simon comes to do battle with us, armed with the false chapters of the Scriptures. And what is more dreadful, he is not afraid to dogmatize thus against the true God from the prophets whom he does not in fact believe."

4 Snares Laid for the Gentiles. "And with us, indeed, who have had handed down from our forefathers the worship of the God who made all things, and also the mystery of the books which are able to deceive, he will not prevail; but with those from amongst the Gentiles who have the polytheistic fancy bred in them, and who know not the falsehoods of the Scriptures, he will prevail much.

"And not only he; but if any other shall recount to those from among the Gentiles any vain, dreamlike, richly set out story against God, he will be believed, because from their childhood their minds are accustomed to take in things spoken against God.

"And few there shall be of them, as a few out of a multitude, who through ingenuousness shall not be willing so much as to hear an evil word against the God who made all things. And to these alone from amongst the Gentiles it shall be vouchsafed to be saved. Let not any one of you, therefore, altogether complain of Simon, or of any one else; for nothing happens unjustly, since even the falsehoods of Scripture are with good reason presented for a test."

5 Use of Errors.

Then I Clement, hearing this, said: "How say you, my lord, that even the falsehoods of the Scriptures are set forth happily for the proof of men?"

And he answered: "The falsehoods of the Scriptures have been permitted to be written for a certain righteous reason, at the demand of evil. And when I say happily, I mean this: In the account of God, the wicked one, not loving God less than the good one, is exceeded by the good in this one thing only, that he, not pardoning those who are impious on account of ignorance, through love towards that which is profound, desires the destruction of the impious; but the good one desires to present them with a remedy.

"For the good one desires all to be healed by repentance, but saves those only who know God. But those who know Him not He does not heal: not that He does not wish to do so, but because it is not lawful to afford to those who, through want of judgement, are like to irrational animals, the good things which have been prepared for the children of the kingdom."

6 Purgatory and Hell. "Such is the nature of the one and only God, who made the world, and who created us, and who has given us all things, that as long as any one is within the limit of piety, and does not blaspheme His Holy Spirit, through His love towards him He brings the soul to Himself by reason of His love towards it. And although it be sinful, it is His nature to save it, after it has been suitably punished for the deeds it hath done.

"But if any one shall deny Him, or in any other way be guilty of impiety against Him, and then shall repent, he shall be punished indeed for the sins he hath committed against Him, but he shall be saved, because he turned and lived. And perhaps excessive piety and supplication shall even be delivered from punishment, ignorance being admitted as a reason for the pardon of sin after repentance.

"But those who do not repent shall be destroyed by the punishment of fire, even though in all other things they are most holy. But, as I said, at an appointed time a fifth part, being punished with eternal fire, shall be consumed. For they cannot endure for ever who have been impious against the one God."

7 What is Impiety? "But impiety against Him is, in the matter of religion, to die saying there is another God, whether superior or inferior, or in any way saying that there is one besides Him who really is. For He who truly is, is He whose form the body of man bears; for whose sake the heaven and all the stars, though in their essence superior, submit to serve him who is in essence inferior, on account of the form of the Ruler.

"So much has God blessed man above all, in order that, loving the Benefactor in proportion to the multitude of His benefits, by means of this love he may be saved for the world to come."

8 Wiles of the Devil. "Therefore the love of men towards God is sufficient for salvation. And this the wicked one knows; and while we are hastening to sow the love towards Him which makes immortal in the souls of those who from among the Gentiles are ready to believe in the one and only God, this wicked one, having sufficient armour against the ignorant for their destruction, hastens to sow the supposition of many gods, or at least of one greater, in order that men, conceiving and being persuaded of what is not wisdom, may die, as in the crime of adultery, and be cast out from His kingdom."

9 Uncertainty of the Scriptures. "Worthy, therefore, of rejection is every one who is willing so much as to hear anything against the monarchy of God; but if any one dares to hear anything against God, as trusting in the Scriptures, let him first of all consider with me that if any one, as he pleases, form a dogma agreeable to himself, and then carefully search the Scriptures, he will be able to produce many testimonies from them in favour of the dogma that he has formed.

"How, then, can confidence be placed in them against God, when what every man wishes is found in them?"

10 Simon's Intention. "Therefore Simon, who is going to discuss in public with us tomorrow, is bold against the monarchy of God, wishing to produce many statements from these Scriptures, to the effect that there are many gods, and a certain one who is not He who made this world, but who is superior to Him; and, at the same time, he is going to offer many scriptural proofs.

"But we also can easily show many passages from them that He who made the world alone is God, and that there is none other besides Him But if any one shall wish to speak otherwise, he also shall be able to produce proofs from them at his pleasure. For the Scriptures say all manner of things, that no one of those who inquire ungratefully may find the truth, but simply what he wishes to find, the truth being reserved for the grateful now gratitude is to preserve our love to Him who is the cause of our being."

11 Distinction Between Prediction and Prophecy. "Whence it must before all things be known, that nowhere can truth be found unless from a prophet of truth. But He is a true Prophet, who always knows all things, and even the thoughts of all men, who is without sin, as being convinced respecting the judgement of God.

"Wherefore we ought not simply to consider respecting His foreknowledge, but whether His foreknowledge can stand, apart from other cause. For physicians predict certain things, having the pulse of the patient as matter submitted to them; and some predict by means of having fowls, and some by having sacrifices, and others by having many various matters submitted to them; yet these are not prophets."

12 The Same. "But if any one should say that the foreknowledge shown by these predictions is like to that foreknowledge which is really implanted, he were much deceived. For he only declares such things as being present, and that if he speaks truth. However, even these things are serviceable to me, for they establish that there is such a thing as foreknowledge.

"But the foreknowledge of the one true Prophet does not only know things present, but stretches out prophecy without limit as far as the world to come, and needs nothing for its interpretation, not prophesying darkly and ambiguously, so that the things spoken would need another prophet for the interpretation of them; but clearly and simply, as our Master and Prophet, by the inborn and ever-flowing Spirit, always knew all things."

13 Prophetic Knowledge Constant. "Wherefore He confidently made statements respecting things that are to be I mean sufferings, places, limits. For, being a faultless Prophet, and looking upon all things with the boundless eye of His soul, He knows hidden things.

"But if we should hold, as many do, that even the true Prophet, not always, but sometimes, when He has the Spirit, and through it, foreknows, but when He has it not is ignorant, if we should suppose thus, we should deceive ourselves and mislead others. For such a matter belongs to those who are madly inspired by the spirit of disorder to those who are drunken beside the altars, and are gorged with fat."

14 Prophetic Spirit Constant. "For if it were permitted to any one who will profess prophecy to have it believed in the cases in which he was found false, that then he had not the Holy Spirit of foreknowledge, it will be difficult to convict him of being a false prophet; for among the many things that he speaks, a few come to pass, and then he is believed to have the Spirit, although he speaks the first things last, and the last first; speaks of past events as future, and future as already past; and also without sequence; or things borrowed from others and altered, and some that are lessened, unformed, foolish, ambiguous, unseemly, obscure, proclaiming all unconscientiousness."

15 Christ's Prophecies. "But our Master did not prophesy after this fashion; but, as I have already said, being a prophet by an inborn and ever-flowing Spirit, and knowing all things at all times, He confidently set forth, plainly as I said before, sufferings, places, appointed times, manners, limits.

"Accordingly, therefore, prophesying concerning the temple, He said: 'See ye these buildings? Verily I say to you, There shall not be left here one stone upon another which shall not be taken away; and this generation shall not pass until the destruction begin. For they shall come, and shall sit here, and shall besiege it, and shall slay your children here.'4

"And in like manner He spoke in plain words the things that were straightway to happen, which we can now see with our eyes, in order that the accomplishment might be among those to whom the word was spoken. For the Prophet of truth utters the word of proof in order to the faith of His hearers."

16 Doctrine of Conjunction. "However, there are many proclaimers of error, having one chief, even the chief of wickedness, just as the Prophet of truth, being one, and being also the chief of piety, shall in His own times have as His prophets all who are found pure.

"But the chief cause of men being deceived is this, their not understanding beforehand the doctrine of conjunction, which I shall not fail to expound to you in private every day,

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summarily; for it were too long to speak in detail. Be you therefore to me truth-loving judges of the things that are spoken."

17 Whether Adam Had the Spirit. "But I shall begin the statement now. God having made all things, if any one will not allow to a man, fashioned by His hands, to have possessed His great and Holy Spirit of foreknowledge, how does not he greatly err who attributes it to another born of a spurious stock!

"And I do not think that he will obtain pardon, though he be misled by spurious scripture to think dreadful things against the Father of all. For he who insults the image and the things belonging to the eternal King, has the sin reckoned as committed against Him in whose likeness the image was made.

"But then, says he, the Divine Spirit left him when he sinned. In that case the Spirit sinned along with him; and how can he escape peril who says this? But perhaps he received the Spirit after he sinned. Then it is given to the unrighteous; and where is justice? But it was afforded to the just and the unjust. This were most unrighteous of all. Thus every falsehood, though it be aided by ten thousand reasonings, must receive its refutation, though after a long time."

18 Adam Not Ignorant. "Be not deceived. Our father was ignorant of nothing; since, indeed, even the law publicly current, though charging him with the crime of ignorance for the sake of the unworthy, sends to him those desirous of knowledge, saying, 'Ask your father, and he will tell you; your elders, and they will declare to you.'

"This father, these elders ought to be inquired of. But you have not inquired whose is the time of the kingdom, and whose is the seat of prophecy, though He Himself points out Himself, saying, 'The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat; all things whatsoever they say to you, hear them.'7

"Hear them, He said, as entrusted with the key of the kingdom, which is knowledge, which alone can open the gate of life, through which alone is the entrance to eternal life. But truly, He says, they possess the key, but those wishing to enter they do not suffer to do so."

19 Reign of Christ. "On this account, I say, He Himself, rising from His seat as a father for his children, proclaiming the things which from the beginning were delivered in secret to the worthy, extending mercy even to the Gentiles, and compassionating the souls of all, neglected His own kindred. For He, being thought worthy to be King of the world to come, fights against him who, by predestination, has usurped the kingdom that now is.

"And the thing which exceedingly grieved Him is this, that by those very persons for whom, as for sons, he did battle, He was assailed, on account of their ignorance. And yet He loved even those who hated Him, and wept over the unbelieving, and blessed those who slandered Him, and prayed for those who were enmity against Him.

"And not only did He do this as a father, but also taught His disciples to do the like, bearing themselves as towards brethren. This did our Father, this did our Prophet. This is reasonable, that He should be King over His children; that by the affection of a father towards his children, and the engrafted respect of children towards their father, eternal peace might be produced. For when the good man reigneth, there is true joy among those who are ruled over, on account of him who rules."

20 Christ the Only Prophet Has Appeared in Different Ages. "But give heed to my first discourse of the truth. If any one do not allow the man fashioned by the hands of God to have had the Holy Spirit of Christ, how is he not guilty of the greatest impiety in allowing another born of an impure stock to have it?

"But he would act most piously, if he should not allow to another to have it, but should say that he alone has it, who has changed his forms and his names from the beginning of the world, and so reappeared again and again in the world, until coming upon his own times, and being anointed with mercy for the works of God, he shall enjoy rest for ever. His honour it is to bear rule and lordship over all things, in air, earth, and waters. But in addition to these, himself having made man, he had breath, the indescribable garment of the soul, that he might be able to be immortal."

21 The Eating of the Forbidden Fruit Denied. "He himself being the only true prophet, fittingly gave names to each animal, according to the merits of its nature, as having made it. For if he gave a name to any one, that was also the name of that which was made, being given by him who made it.

"How, then, had he still need to partake of a tree, that he might know what is good and what is evil, if he was commanded not to eat of it? But this senseless men believe, who think that a reasonless beast was more powerful than the God who made these things."

22 Male and Female. "But a companion was created along with him, a female nature, much differing from him, as quality from substance, as the moon from the sun, as fire from light. She, as a female ruling the present world as her like, was entrusted to be the first prophetess, announcing prophecy with all amongst those born of woman. But the other, as the son of man, being a male, prophesies better things to the world to come as a male."

23 Two Kinds of Prophecy. "Let us then understand that there are two kinds of prophecy: the one male; and let it be defined that the first, being the male, has been ranked after the other in the order of advent; but the second, being female, has been appointed to come first in the advent of the pairs.

"This second, therefore, being amongst those born of woman, as the female superintendent of this present world, wishes to be thought masculine. Wherefore, stealing the seeds of the male, and sowing them with her own seeds of the flesh, she brings forth the fruits that is, words as wholly her own. And she promises that she will give the present earthly riches as a dowry, wishing to change the slow for the swift, the small for the greater."

24 The Prophetess a Misleader. "However, she, not only presuming to say and to hear that there are many gods, but also believing herself to be one, and in hope of being that which she had not a nature to be, and throwing away what she had, and as a female being in her courses at the offering of sacrifices, is stained with blood; and then she pollutes those who touch her.

"But when she conceives and brings forth temporary kings, she stirs up wars, shedding much blood; and those who desire to learn truth from her, by telling them all things contrary, and presenting many and various services, she keeps them always seeking and finding nothing, even until death. For from the beginning a cause of death lies upon blind men; for she, prophesying deceit, and ambiguities, and obliquities, deceives those who believe her."

25 Cain's Name and Nature. "Hence the ambiguous name which she gave to her first-born son, calling him Cain, which has a capability of interpretation in two ways; for it is interpreted both Possession and Envy, as signifying that in the future he was to envy either a woman, or possessions, or the love of the parents towards her. But if it be none of these, then it will befall him to be called the Possession. For she possessed him first, which also was advantageous to him.

"For he was a murderer and a liar, and with his sins was not willing to be at peace with respect to tile government. Moreover, those who came forth by succession from him were the first adulterers. And there were psalteries, and harps, and forgers of instruments of war. Wherefore also the prophecy of his descendants being full of adulterers and of psalteries, secretly by means of pleasures excites to wars."

26 Abel's Name and Nature. "But he who amongst the sons of men had prophecy innate to his soul as belonging to it, expressly, as being a male, indicating the hopes of the world to come, called his own son Abel, which without any ambiguity is translated Grief. For he assigns to his sons to grieve over their deceived brethren. He does not deceive them when he promises them comfort in the world to come. When he says that we must pray to one only God, he neither himself speaks of gods, nor does he believe another who speaks of them.

"He keeps the good which he has, and increases more and more. He hates sacrifices, bloodshed, and libations; he loves the chaste, the pure, the holy. He quenches the fire of altars, represses wars, teaches pious preachers wisdom, purges sins, sanctions marriage, approves temperance, leads all to chastity, makes men liberal, prescribes justice, seals those of them who are perfect, publishes the word of peace, prophesies mention of the eternal fire of punishment, constantly announces the kingdom of God, indicates heavenly riches, promises unfading glory, shows the remission of sins by works."

27 The Prophet and the Prophetess.

"And what need is there to say more? The male is wholly truth, the female wholly falsehood. But he who is born of the male and the female, in some things speaks truth, in some falsehood. For the female, surrounding the white seed of the male with her own blood, as with red fire, sustains her own weakness with the extraneous supports of bones, and, pleased with the temporary flower of flesh, and spoiling the strength of the judgement by short pleasures, leads the greater part into fornication, and thus deprives them of the coming excellent Bridegroom.

"For every person is a bride, whenever, being sown with the true Prophet's whole word of truth, he is enlightened in his understanding."

28 Spiritual Adultery. "Wherefore, it is fitting to hear the one only Prophet of the truth, knowing that the word that is sown by another bearing the charge of fornication, is, as it were, cast out by the Bridegroom from His kingdom.

"But to those who know the mystery, death is also produced by spiritual adultery. For whenever the soul is sown by others, then it is forsaken by the Spirit, as guilty of fornication or adultery; and so the living body, the life-giving Spirit being withdrawn, is dissolved into dust, and the rightful punishment of sin is suffered at the time of the judgement by the soul, after the dissolution of the body; even as, among men, she who is caught in adultery is first cast out from the house, and then afterwards is condemned to punishment."

29 The Signal Given. While Peter was about to explain fully to us this mystic word, Zacchaeus came, saying: "Now indeed, O Peter, is the time for you to go out and engage in the discussion; for a great crowd awaits you, packed together in the court; and in the midst of them stands Simon, like a war-chieftain attended by his spearmen."

And Peter, hearing this, ordered me to withdraw for prayer, as not yet having received baptism for salvation, and then said to those who were already perfected: "Let us rise and pray that God, by His unfailing mercies, may help me striving for the salvation of the men whom He has made."

And having thus said, and having prayed, he went out into the uncovered portion of the court, which was a large space; and there were many come together for the purpose of seeing him, his pre-eminence having made them more eagerly hasten to hear.

30 Apostolic Salutation. Therefore, standing and seeing all the people gazing upon him in profound silence, and Simon the magician standing in the midst, he began to speak thus:

"Peace be to all you who are in readiness to give your right hands to the truth of God, which, being His great and incomparable gift in the present world, He who sent us, being an infallible Prophet of that which is supremely profitable, gave us in charge, by way of salutation before our words of instruction, to announce to you, in order that if there be any son of peace among you, peace may take hold of him through our teaching; but if any of you will not receive it, then we, shaking off for a testimony the road-dust of our feet, which we have borne through our toils, and brought to you that you may be saved, will go to the abodes and the cities of others."

31 Faith in God. "And we tell you truly, it shall be more tolerable in the day of judgement to dwell in the land of Sodom and Gomorrah, than in the place of unbelief. In the first place, because you have not preserved of yourselves what is reasonable; in the second place, because, hearing the things concerning us, you have not come to us; and in the third place, because you have disbelieved us when we have come to you. Wherefore, being concerned for you, we pray of our own accord that our peace may come upon you.

"If therefore ye will have it, you must readily promise not to do injustice, and generously to bear wrong; which the nature of man would not sustain, unless it first received the knowledge of that which is supremely profitable, which is to know the righteous nature of Him who is over all, that He defends and avenges those who are wronged, and does good for ever to the pious."

32 Invitation. "Do you, therefore, as thankful servants of God, perceiving of yourselves what is reasonable, take upon you the manner of life that is pleasing to Him, that so, loving Him, and being loved of Him, you may enjoy good for ever. For to Him alone is it most possible to bestow it, who gave being to things that were not, who created the heavens, settled the earth, set bounds to the sea, stored up the things that are in Hades, and filled all places with air."

33 Works of Creation. "He alone turned into the four contrary elements the one, first, simple substance. Thus combining them, He made of them myriads of compounds, that, being turned into opposite natures, and mingled, they might effect the pleasure of life from the combination of contraries.

"In like manner, He alone, having created races of angels and spirits by the Fiat of His will, peopled the heavens; as also He decked the visible firmament with stars, to which also He assigned their paths and arranged their courses. He compacted the earth for the production of fruits. He set bounds to the sea, marking out a dwelling-place on the dry land. He stores up the things in Hades, designating it as the place of souls; and He filled all places with air, that all living creatures might be able to breathe safely in order that they might live."

34 Extent of Creation. "O the great hand of the wise God, which doeth all in all! For a countless multitude of birds have been made by Him, and those various, differing in all respects from one another; I mean in respect of their colours, beaks, talons, looks, senses, voices, and all else.

"And how many different species of plants, distinguished by boundless variety of colours, qualities, and scents! And how many animals on the land and in the water, of which it were impossible to tell the figures, forms, habitats, colour, food, senses, natures, multitude! Then also the multitude and height of mountains, the varieties of stones, awful caverns, fountains, rivers, marshes, seas, harbours, islands, forests, and all the inhabited world, and places uninhabited!"

35 "These are a Part of His Ways." "And how many things besides are unknown, having eluded the sagacity of men! And of those that are within our comprehension, who of mankind knows the limit? I mean, how the heaven rolls, how the stars are borne in their courses, and what forms they have, and the subsistence of their being, and what are their ethereal paths. And whence the blasts of winds are borne around, and have different energies; whence the fountains ceaselessly spring, and the rivers, being ever flowing, run down into the sea, and neither is that fountain emptied whence they come, nor do they fill that sea whither they come!

"How far reaches the unfathomable depth of the boundless Tartarus! Upon what the heaven is upborne which encircles

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all! How the clouds spring from air, and are absorbed into air! What is the nature of thunder and lightning, snow, hail, mist, ice, storms, showers, hanging clouds! And how He makes plants and animals! And these things, with all accuracy, continually perfected in their countless varieties!"

36 Dominion Over the Creatures. "Therefore, if any one shall accurately scan the whole with reason, he shall find that God has made them for the sake of man. For showers fall for the sake of fruits, that man may partake of them, and that animals may be fed, that they may be useful to men. And the sun shines, that he may turn the air into four seasons, and that each time may afford its peculiar service to man. And the fountains spring, that drink may be given to men.

"And, moreover, who is lord over the creatures, so far as is possible? Is it not man, who has received wisdom to till the earth, to sail the sea: to make fishes, birds, and beasts his prey; to investigate the course of the stars, to mine the earth, to sail the sea; to build cities, to define kingdoms, to ordain laws, to execute justice, to know the invisible God, to be cognizant of the names of angels, to drive away demons, to endeavour to cure diseases by medicines, to find charms against poison-darting serpents, to understand antipathies?"

37 "Whom to Know is Life Eternal." "But if thou art thankful, O man, understanding that God is thy benefactor in all things, thou mayest even be immortal, the things that are made for thee having continuance through thy gratitude. And now thou art able to become incorruptible, if thou acknowledge Him whom thou didst not know, if thou love Him whom thou didst forsake, if thou pray to Him alone who is able to punish or to save thy booty and soul.

"Wherefore, before all things, consider that no one shares His rule, no one has a name in common with Him that is, is called God. For He alone is both called and is God. Nor is it lawful to think that there is any other, or to call any other by that name. And if any one should dare do so, eternal punishment of soul is his."

38 Simon's Challenge When Peter had thus spoken, Simon, at the outside of the crowd, cried aloud:24 "Why would you lie, and deceive the unlearned multitude standing around you, persuading them that it is unlawful to think that there are gods, and to call them so, when the books that are current among the Jews say that there are many gods?

"And now I wish, in the presence of all, to discuss with you from these books on the necessity of thinking that there are gods; first showing respecting him whom you call God, that he is not the supreme and omnipotent Being, inasmuch as he is without foreknowledge, imperfect, needy, not good, and underlying many and innumerable grievous passions. Wherefore, when this has been shown from the Scriptures, as I say, it follows that there is another, not written of, foreknowing, perfect, without want, good, removed froth all grievous passions. But he whom you call the Creator is subject to the opposite evils."

39 Defects Ascribed to God. "Therefore also Adam, being made at first after his likeness, is created blind, and is said not to have knowledge of good or evil, and is found a transgressor, and is driven out of paradise, and is punished with death. In like manner also, he who made him, because be sees not in all places, says with reference to the overthrow of Sodom, 'Come, and let us go down, and see whether they do according to their cry which comes to me; or if not, that I may know.' Thus he shows himself ignorant.

"And in his saying respecting Adam, 'Let us drive him out, lest he put forth his hand and touch the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever; ' in saying LEST he is ignorant; and in driving him out lest he should eat and live for ever, he is also envious.

"And whereas it is written that 'God repented that he had made man, 'this implies both repentance and ignorance. For this reflection is a view by which one, through ignorance, wishes to inquire into the result of the things which he wills, or it is the act of one repenting on account of the event not being according to his expectation.

"And whereas it is written, 'And the Lord smelled a scent of sweetness,' it is the part of one in need; and his being pleased with the fat of flesh is the part of one who is not good.

"But his tempting, as it is written, 'And God did tempt Abraham, ' is the part of one who is wicked, and who is ignorant of the issue of the experiment."

40 Peter's Answer. In like manner Simon, by taking many passages from the Scriptures, seemed to show that God is subject to every infirmity. And to this Peter said: "Does he who is evil, and wholly wicked, love to accuse himself in the things in which he sins? Answer me this."

Then said Simon: "He does not."

Then said Peter: "How, then, can God be evil and wicked, seeing that those evil things which have been commonly written regarding Him, have been added by His own will!"

Then said Simon: "It may be that the charge against Him is written by another power, and not according to His choice."

Then said Peter: "Let us then, in the first place, inquire into this. If, indeed, He has of His own will accused Himself, as you formerly acknowledged, then He is not wicked; but if it is done by another power, it must be inquired and investigated with all energy who hath subjected to all evils Him who alone is good."

41 "Status Quaestionis." Then said Simon: "You are manifestly avoiding the hearing of the charge from the Scriptures against your God."

Then Peter: "You yourself appear to me to be doing this; for he who avoids the order of inquiry, does not wish a true investigation to be made. Hence I, who proceed in an orderly manner, and wish that the writer should first be considered, am manifestly desirous to walk in a straight path."

Then Simon: "First confess that if the things written against the Creator are true, he is not above all, since, according to the Scriptures, he is subject to all evil; then afterwards we shall inquire as to the writer."

Then said Peter: "That I may not seem to speak against your want of order through unwillingness to enter upon the investigation, I answer you. I say that if the things written against God are true, they do not show that God is wicked."

Then said Simon: "How can you maintain that?"

42 Was Adam Blind? Then said Peter: "Because things are written opposite to those sayings which speak evil of him; wherefore neither the one nor the other can be confirmed."

Then Simon: "How, then, is the truth to be ascertained, of those Scriptures that say he is evil, or of those that say he is good?"

Then Peter: "Whatever sayings of the Scriptures are in harmony with the creation that was made by Him are true, but whatever are contrary to it are false."

Then Simon said: "How can you show that the Scriptures contradict themselves?"

And Peter said: "You say that Adam was created blind, which was not so; for He would not have pointed out the tree of the knowledge of good and evil to a blind man, and commanded him not to taste of it."

Then said Simon: "He meant that his mind was blind."

Then Peter: "How could he be blind in respect of his mind, who, before tasting of the tree, in harmony with Him who made him, imposed appropriate names on all the animals?"

Then Simon: "If Adam had foreknowledge, how did he not foreknow that the serpent would deceive his wife?"

Then Peter: "If Adam had not foreknowledge, how did he give names to the sons of men as they were born with reference to their future doings, calling the first Cain (which is interpreted 'envy'), who through envy killed his brother Abel (which is interpreted 'grief'); for his parents grieved over him, the first slain?"

43 God's Foreknowledge. "But if Adam, being the work of God, had foreknowledge, much more the God who created him.

"And that is false which is written that God reflected, as if using reasoning on account of ignorance; and that the Lord tempted Abraham, that He might know if he would endure it; and that which is written, 'Let us go down, and see if they are doing according to the cry of them which cometh to me; and if not, that I may know.'

"And, not to extend my discourse too far, whatever sayings ascribe ignorance to Him, or anything else that is evil, being upset by other sayings which affirm the contrary, are proved to be false.

"But because He does indeed foreknow, He says to Abraham, 'Thou shalt assuredly know that thy seed shall be sojourners in a land that is not their own; and they shall enslave them, and shall evil entreat them, and humble them four hundred years. But the nation to which they shall be in bondage will I judge, and after that they shall come out hither with much property; but thou shall depart to thy fathers with peace, being nourished in a good old age; and in the fourth generation they shall return hither, for the sins of the Amorites are hitherto not filled up.'"33

44 God's Decrees. "But what? Does not Moses pre-intimate the sins of the people, and predict their dispersion among the nations? But if He gave foreknowledge to Moses, how can it be that He had it not Himself? But He has it.

"And if He has it, as we have also shown, it is an extravagant saying that He reflected, and that He repented, and that He went down to see, and whatever else of this sort. Whatsoever things being foreknown before they come to pass as about to befall, take issue by a wise economy, without repentance."

45 Sacrifices. "But that He is not pleased with sacrifices, is shown by this, that those who lusted after flesh were slain as soon as they tasted it, and were consigned to a tomb, so that it was called the grave of lusts.

"He then who at the first was displeased with the slaughtering of animals, not wishing them to be slain, did not ordain sacrifices as desiring them; nor from the beginning did He require them. For neither are sacrifices accomplished without the slaughter of animals, nor can the first-fruits be presented.

"But how is it possible for Him to abide in darkness, and smoke, and storm (for this also is written), who created a pure heaven, and created the sun to give light to all, and assigned the invariable order of their revolutions to innumerable stars? Thus, O Simon, the handwriting of God I mean the heaven shows the counsels of Him who made it to be pure and stable.

46 Disparagements of God. "Thus the sayings accusatory of the God who made the heaven are both rendered void by the opposite sayings which are alongside of them, and are refuted by the creation. For they were not written by a prophetic hand. Wherefore also they appear opposite to the hand of God, who made all things."

Then said Simon: "How can you show this? "

47 Foreknowledge of Moses. Then said Peter: "The law of God was given by Moses, without writing, to seventy wise men, to be handed down, that the government might be carried on by succession. But after that Moses was taken up, it was written by some one, but not by Moses.

"For in the law itself it is written, 'And Moses died; and they buried him near the house of Phogor, and no one knows his sepulchre till this day.' But how could Moses write that Moses died?

"And whereas in the time after Moses, about 500 years or thereabouts, it is found lying in the temple which was built, and after about 500 years more it is carried away, and being burnt in the time of Nebuchadnezzar it is destroyed; and thus being written after Moses, and often lost, even this shows the foreknowledge of Moses, because he, foreseeing its disappearance, did not write it; but those who wrote it, being convicted of ignorance through their not foreseeing its disappearance, were not prophets."

48 Test of Truth. Then said Simon: "Since, as you say, we must understand the things concerning God by comparing them with the creation, how is it possible to recognise the other things in the law which are from the tradition of Moses, and are true, and are mixed up with these falsehoods?"

Then Peter said: "A certain verse has been recorded without controversy in the written law, according to the providence of God, so as to show clearly which of the things written are true and which are false."

Then said Simon: "Which is that? Show it us."

49 The True Prophet. Then Peter said: "I shall tell you forthwith. It is written in the first book of the law, towards the end: 'A ruler shall not fail from Judah, nor a leader from his thighs, until He come whose it is; and He is the expectation of the nations.'

"If, therefore, any one can apprehend Him who came after the failure of ruler and leader from Judah, and who was to be expected by the nations, he will be able by this verse to recognise Him as truly having come; and believing His teaching, he will know what of the Scriptures are true and what are false."

Then said Simon: "I understand that you speak of your Jesus as Him who was prophesied of by the scripture. Therefore let it be granted that it is so. Tell us, then, how he taught you to discriminate the Scriptures."

50 His Teaching Concerning the Scriptures. Then Peter: "As to the mixture of truth with falsehood, I remember that on one occasion He, finding fault with the Sadducees, said, 'Wherefore ye do err, not knowing the true things of the Scriptures; and on this account ye are ignorant of the power of God.' But if He cast up to their that they knew not the true things of the Scriptures, it is manifest that there are false things in them.

"And also, inasmuch as He said, 'Be ye prudent money-changers,' it is because there are genuine and spurious words.

"And whereas He said, 'Wherefore do ye not perceive that which is reasonable in the Scriptures?' He makes the understanding of him stronger who voluntarily judges soundly."

51 His Teaching Concerning the Law. "And His sending to the scribes and teachers of the existing Scriptures, as to those who knew the true things of the law that then was, is well known. And also that He said, 'I am not come to destroy the law,' and yet that He appeared to be destroying it, is the part of one intimating that the things which He destroyed did not belong to the law.

"And His saying, 'The heaven and the earth shall pass away, but one jot or one tittle shall not pass froth the law, ' intimated that the things which pass away before the heaven and the earth do not belong to the law in reality."

52 Other Sayings of Christ. "Since, then, while the heaven and the earth still stand, sacrifices have passed away, and kingdoms, and prophecies among those who are born of woman, and such like, as not being ordinances of God; hence therefore He says, 'Every plant which the heavenly Father has not planted shall be rooted up.'

"Wherefore He, being the true Prophet, said, 'I am the gate of life; he who entereth through me entereth into life,' there being no other teaching able to save.

"Wherefore also He cried, and said, 'Come unto me, all who labour, ' that is, who are seeking the truth, and not finding it; and again, 'My sheep hear my voice; ' and elsewhere, 'Seek and find, ' since the truth does not lie on the surface."

53 Other Sayings of Christ. "But also a witnessing voice was heard from heaven, saying, 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear Him.'

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"And in addition to this, willing to convict more fully of error the prophets from whom they asserted that they had learned, He proclaimed that they died desiring the truth, but not having learned it, saying, 'Many prophets and kings desired to see what ye see, and to hear what you hear; and verily I say to you, they neither saw nor heard.'

"Still further He said, 'I am he concerning whom Moses prophesied, saying, A Prophet shall the Lord our God raise unto you of your brethren, like unto me: Him hear in all things; and whosoever will not hear that Prophet shall die.'"

54 Other Sayings. "Whence it is impossible without His teaching to attain to saving truth, though one seek it for ever where the thing that is sought is not. But it was, and is, in the word of our Jesus.

"Accordingly, He, knowing the true things of the law, said to the Sadducees, asking on what account Moses permitted to marry seven, 'Moses gave you commandments according to your hard-heartedness; for from the beginning it was not so: for He who created man at first, made him male and female.'

55 Teaching of Christ. "But to those who think, as the Scriptures teach, that God swears, He said, 'Let your yea be yea, and nay, nay; for what is more than these is of the evil one.'

"And to those who say that Abraham and Isaac and Jacob are dead, He said, 'God is not of the dead, but of the living.'

"And to those who suppose that God tempts, as the Scriptures say, He said, 'The tempter is the wicked one,' who also tempted Himself.

"To those who suppose that God does not foreknow, He said, 'For your heavenly Father knoweth that ye need all these things before ye ask Him.'

"And to those who believe, as the Scriptures say, that He does not see all things, He said, 'Pray in secret, and your Father, who seeth secret things, will reward you.'"

56 Teaching of Christ. "And to those who think that He is not good, as the Scriptures say, He said, 'From which of you shall his son ask bread, and he will give him a stone; or shall ask a fish, and he will give him a serpent? If ye then, being evil, know to give good gifts to your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give good things to those who ask Him, and to those who do His will!'

"But to those who affirmed that He was in the temple, He said, 'Swear not by heaven, for it is God's throne; nor by the earth, for it is the footstool of His feet.'

"And to those who supposed that God is pleased with sacrifices, He said, 'God wishes mercy, and not sacrifices' the knowledge of Himself, and not holocausts."

57 Teaching of Christ. "But to those who are persuaded that He is evil, as the Scriptures say, He said, 'Call not me good, for One only is good.' And again, 'Be ye good and merciful, as your Father in the heavens, who makes the sun rise on good and evil men, and brings rain upon just and unjust.'

"But to those who were misled to imagine many gods, as the Scriptures say, He said, 'Hear, O Israel; the Lord your God is one Lord.'"

58 Flight of Simon. Therefore Simon, perceiving that Peter was driving him to use the Scriptures as Jesus taught, was unwilling that the discussion should go into the doctrine concerning God, even although Peter had changed the discussion into question and answer, as Simon himself asked. However, the discussion occupied three days. And while the fourth was dawning, he set off darkling as far as Tyre of Phoenicia.

And not many days after, some of the precursors came and said to Peter: "Simon is doing great miracles in Tyre, and disturbing many of the people there; and by many slanders he has made you to be hated."

59 Peter's Resolution to Follow. Peter, hearing this, on the following night assembled the multitude of hearers; and as soon as they were come together, he said: "While I am going forth to the nations which say that there are many gods, to teach and to preach that God is one, who made heaven and earth, and all things that are in them, in order that they may love Him and be saved, evil has anticipated me, and by the very law of conjunction has sent Simon before me, in order that these men, if they shall cease to say that there are many gods, disowning those upon earth that are called gods, may think that there are many gods in heaven; so that, not feeling the excellency of the monarchy, they may perish with eternal punishment.

"And what is most dreadful, since true doctrine has incomparable power, he forestalls me with slanders, and persuades them to this, not even at first to receive me; lest he who is the slanderer be convicted of being himself in reality a devil, and the true doctrine be received and believed. Therefore I must quickly catch him up, lest the false accusation, through gaining time, wholly get hold of all men."

60 Successor to Be Appointed. "Since, therefore, it is necessary to set apart some one instead of me to fill my place, let us all with one consent pray to God, that He would make manifest who amongst us is the best, that, sitting in the chair of Christ, he may piously rule His Church. Who, then, shall be set apart?

"For by the counsel of God that man is set forth as blessed, 'whom his Lord shall appoint over the ministry of his fellow-servants, to give them their meat in their season, not thinking and saying in his heart, My Lord delayeth His coming, and who shall not begin to beat his fellow-servants, eating and drinking with harlots and drunkards. And the Lord of that servant shall come in an hour when he doth not look for Him, and in a day when he is not aware, and shall cut him in sunder, and shall assign his unfaithful part with the hypocrites.'"

61 Monarchy. "But if any one of those present, being able to instruct the ignorance of men, shrink from it, thinking only of his own ease, let him expect to hear this sentence: 'O wicked and slothful servant, thou oughtest to have given my money to the exchangers, and I at my coming should have got my own. Cast out the unprofitable servant into the outer darkness.'

"And with good reason; 'for,' says He, 'it is thine, O man, to prove my words, as silver and money are proved among the exchangers.' Therefore the multitude of the faithful ought to obey some one, that they may live in harmony.

"For that which tends to the government of one person, in the form of monarchy, enables the subjects to enjoy peace by means of good order; but in case of all, through desire of ruling, being unwilling to submit to one only, they must altogether fall by reason of division."

62 Obedience Leads to Peace. "But, further, let the things that are happening before your eyes persuade you; how wars are constantly arising through there being now many kings all over the earth. For each one holds the government of another as a pretext for war. But if one were universal superior, he, having no reason why he should make war, would have perpetual peace.

"In short, therefore, to those who are thought worthy of eternal life, God appoints one universal King in the world that shall then be, that by means of monarchy there may be unfailing peace. It behoves all, therefore, to follow some one as a leader, honouring him as the image of God; and it behoves the leader to be acquainted with the road that entereth into the holy city."

63 Zacchaeus Appointed. "But of those who are present, whom shall I choose but Zacchaeus, to whom also the Lord went in and rested, judging him worthy to be saved?" And having said this, he laid his hand upon Zacchaeus, who stood by, and forced him to sit down in his own chair.

But Zacchaeus, falling at his feet, begged that he would permit him to decline the rulership; promising, at the same time, and saying, "Whatever it behoves the ruler to do, I will do; only grant me not to have this name; for I am afraid of assuming the name of the rulership, for it teems with bitter envy and danger."

64 The Bishopric. Then Peter said: "If you are afraid of this, do not be called Ruler, but The Appointed One, the Lord having permitted you to be so called, when He said, 'Blessed is that man whom his Lord shall Appoint to the ministry of his fellow-servants.'

"But if you wish it to be altogether unknown that you have authority of administration, you seem to me to be ignorant that the acknowledged authority of the president has great influence as regards the respect of the multitude. For every one obeys him who has received authority, having conscience as a great constraint. And are you not well aware that you are not to rule as the rulers of the nations, but as a servant ministering to them, as a father to the oppressed, visiting them as a physician, guarding them as a shepherd, in short, taking all care for their salvation?

"And do you think that I am not aware what labours I compel you to undertake, desiring you to be judged by multitudes whom it is impossible for any one to please? But it is most possible for him who does well to please God. Wherefore I entreat you to undertake it heartily, by God, by Christ, for the salvation of the brethren, for their ordering, and your own profit."

65 Nolo Episcopari. "And consider this other thing, that in proportion as there is labour and danger in ruling the Church of Christ, so much greater is the reward. And yet again the greater is also the punishment to him who can, and refuses. I wish, therefore, knowing that you are the best instructed of my attendants, to turn to account those noble powers of judging with which you have been entrusted by the Lord, in order that you may be saluted with the 'Well Done, Good And Faithful Servant,' and not be found fault with, and declared liable to punishment, like him who hid the one talent.

"But if you will not be appointed a good guardian of the Church, point out another in your stead, more learned and more faithful than yourself. But you cannot do this; for you associated with the Lord, and witnessed His marvellous doings, and learned the administration of the Church."

66 Danger of Disobedience. "And your work is to order what things are proper; and that of the brethren is to submit, and not to disobey. Therefore submitting they shall be saved, but disobeying they shall be punished by the Lord, because the president is entrusted with the place of Christ.

"Wherefore, indeed, honour or contempt shown to the president is handed on to Christ, and from Christ to God. And this I have said, that these brethren may not be ignorant of the danger they incur by disobedience to you, because whosoever disobeys your orders, disobeys Christ; and he who disobeys Christ offends God."

67 Duties of Church Office-Bearers. "It is necessary, therefore, that the Church, as a city built upon a hill, have an order approved of God, and good government. In particular, let the bishop, as chief, be heard in the things which he speaks; and let the elders give heed that the things ordered be done. Let the deacons, going about, look after the bodies and the souls of the brethren, and report to the bishop.

"Let all the rest of the brethren bear wrong patiently; but if they wish judgement to be given concerning wrongs done to them, let them be reconciled in presence of the elders; and let the elders report the reconciliation to the bishop."

68 "Marriage Always Honourable." And let them inculcate marriage not only upon the young, but also upon those advanced in years, lest burning lust bring a plague upon the Church by reason of whoredom or adultery. For, above every other sin, the wickedness of adultery is hated by God, because it not only destroys the person himself who sins, but those also who eat and associate with him.

"For it is like the madness of a dog, because it has the nature of communicating its own madness. For the sake of chastity, therefore, let not only the elders, but even all, hasten to accomplish marriage. For the sin of him who commits adultery necessarily comes upon all. Therefore, to urge the brethren to be chaste, this is the first charity. For it is the healing of the soul. For the nourishment of the body is rest."

69 "Not Forsaking the Assembling of Yourselves Together." "But if you love your brethren, take nothing from them, but share with them such things as ye have. Feed the hungry; give drink to the thirsty; clothe the naked; visit the sick; so far as you can, help those in prison; receive strangers gladly into your own abodes; hate no one.

"And how you must be pious, your own mind will teach you, judging rightly. But before all else, if indeed I need say it to you, come together frequently, if it were every hour, especially on the appointed days of meeting. For if you do this, you are within a wall of safety. For disorderliness is the beginning of perdition.

"Let no one therefore forsake the assembly on the ground of envy towards a brother. For if any one of you forsake the assembly, he shall be regarded as of those who scatter the Church of Christ, and shall be cast out with adulterers. For as an adulterer, under the influence of the spirit that is in him, he separates himself on some pretext, and gives place to the wicked one against himself, a sheep for the stealing, as one found outside the fold."

70 "Hear the Bishop." "However, hear your bishop, and do not weary of giving all honour to him; knowing that, by showing it to him, it is borne to Christ, and from Christ it is borne to God; and to him who offers it, is requited manifold.

"Honour, therefore, the throne of Christ. For you are commanded even to honour the chair of Moses, and that although they who occupy it are accounted sinners. And now I have said enough to you; and I deem it superfluous to say to him how he is to live unblameably, since he is an approved disciple of Him who taught me also."

71 Various Duties of Christians. "But, brethren, there are some things that you must not wait to hear, but must consider of yourselves what is reasonable. Zacchaeus alone having given himself up wholly to labour for you, and needing sustenance, and not being able to attend to his own affairs, how can he procure necessary support? Is it not reasonable that you are to take forethought for his living? not waiting for his asking you, for this is the part of a beggar. But he will rather die of hunger than submit to do this.

"And shall not you incur punishment, not considering that the workman is worthy of his hire? And let no one say: Is, then, the word sold which was freely given? Far be it. For if any one has the means of living, and takes anything, he sells the word; but if he who has not takes support in order to live as the Lord also took at supper and among His friends, having nothing, though He alone is the owner of all things he sins not.

"Therefore suitably honour elders, catechists, useful deacons, widows who have lived well, orphans as children of the Church. But wherever there is need of any provision for an emergency, contribute all together. Be kind one to another, not shrinking from the endurance of anything whatever for your own salvation."

72 Ordination. And having thus spoken, he placed his hand upon Zacchaeus, saying, "O Thou Ruler and Lord of all, Father and God, do Thou guard the shepherd with the flock. Thou art the cause, Thou the power. We are that which is helped; Thou the helper, the physician, the saviour, the wall, the life, the hope, the refuge, the joy, the expectation, the rest. In a word, Thou art all things to us.

"In order to the eternal attainment of salvation, do Thou co-operate, preserve, protect. Thou canst do all things. For Thou art the Ruler of rulers, the Lord of lords, the Governor

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of kings. Do Thou give power to the president to loose what ought to be loosed, to bind what ought to be bound. Do Thou make him wise. Do Thou, as by His name, protect the Church of Thy Christ as a fair bride. For Thine is eternal glory. Praise to the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost to all ages. Amen."

73 Baptisms. And having thus spoken, he afterwards said: "Whoever of you wish to be baptised, begin from tomorrow to fast, and have hands laid upon you day by day, and inquire about what matters you please. For I mean still to remain with you ten days."

And after three days, having begun to baptise, he called me, and Aquila, and Nicetas, and said to us: "As I am going to set out for Tyre after seven days, I wish you to go away this very day, and to lodge secretly with Bernice the Canaanite, the daughter of Justa, and to learn from her, and write accurately to me what Simon is about. For this is of great consequence to me, that I may prepare myself accordingly. Therefore depart straightway in peace."

And leaving him baptising, as he commanded, we preceded him to Tyre of Phoenicia.

CLEMENT HOMILIES BOOK 4

1 Bernice's Hospitality. Thus I Clement, departing from Caesarea Stratonis, together with Nicetas and Aquila, entered into Tyre of Phoenicia; and according to the injunction of Peter, who sent us, we lodged with Bernice, the daughter of Justa the Canaanitess.

She received us most joyfully; and striving with much honour towards me, and with affection towards Aquila and Nicetas, and speaking freely as a friend, through joy she treated us courteously, and hospitably urged us to take bodily refreshment.

Perceiving, therefore, that she was endeavouring to impose a short delay upon us, I said: "You do well, indeed, to busy yourself in fulfilling the part of love; but the fear of our God must take the precedence of this. For, having a combat on hand on behalf of many souls, we are afraid of preferring our own ease before their salvation."

2 Simon's Practices. "For we hear that Simon the magician, being worsted at Caesarea in the discussion with our lord Peter, immediately hastened hither, and is doing much mischief. For he is slandering Peter, in opposition to truth, to all the adversaries, and stealing away the souls of the multitude.

"For he being a magician, calls him a magician; and he being a deceiver, proclaims him as a deceiver. And although in the discussions he was beaten in all points, and fled, yet he says that he was victorious; and he constantly charges them that they ought not to listen to Peter, as if, forsooth, he were anxious that they may not be fascinated by a terrible magician."

3 Object of the Mission. "Therefore our lord Peter, having learned these things, has sent us to be investigators of the things that have been told him; that if they be so, we may write to him and let him know, so that he may come and convict him face to face of the accusations that he has uttered against him.

"Since, therefore, danger on the part of many souls lies before us, on this account we must neglect bodily rest for a short time; and we would learn truly from you who live here, whether the things which we have heard be true. Now tell us particularly."

4 Simon's Doings. But Bernice, being asked, said: "These things are indeed as you have heard; and I will tell you other things respecting this same Simon, which perhaps you do not know. For he astonishes the whole city every day, by making spectres and ghosts appear in the midst of the market-place; and when he walks abroad, statues move, and many shadows go before him, which, he says, are souls of the dead.

"And many who attempted to prove him an impostor he speedily reconciled to him; and afterwards, under pretence of a banquet, having slain an ox, and given them to eat of it, he infected them with various diseases, and subjected them to demons. And in a word, having injured many, and being supposed to be a god, he is both feared and honoured."

5 Discretion the Better Part of Valour. "Wherefore I do not think that any one will be able to quench such a fire as has been kindled. For no one doubts his promises; but every one affirms that this is so. Wherefore, lest you should expose yourselves to danger, I advise you not to attempt anything against him until Peter come, who alone shall be able to resist such a power, being the most esteemed disciple of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"For so much do I fear this man, that if he had not elsewhere been vanquished in disputing with my lord Peter, I should counsel you to persuade even Peter himself not to attempt to oppose Simon."

6 Simon's Departure. Then I said: "If our lord Peter did not know that he himself alone can prevail against this power, he would not have sent us before him with orders to get information secretly concerning Simon, and to write to him." Then, as evening had come on, we took supper,3 and went to sleep.

But in the morning, one of Bernice's friends came and said that Simon had set sail for Sidon, and that he had left behind him Appion Pleistonices, a man of Alexandria, a grammarian by profession, whom I knew as being a friend of my father; and a certain astrologer, Annubion the Diospolitan, and Athenodorus the Athenian, attached to the doctrine of Epicurus. And we, having learned these things concerning Simon, in the morning wrote and despatched a letter to Peter, and went to take a walk.

7 Appion's Salutation. And Appion met us, not only with the two companions just named, but with about thirty other men. And as soon as he saw me, he saluted and kissed me, and said, "This is Clement, of whose noble birth and liberal education I have often told you; for he, being related to the family of Tiberius Caesar, and equipped with all Grecian learning, has been seduced by a certain barbarian called Peter to speak and act after the manner of the Jews.

"Wherefore I beg of you to strive together with me for the setting of him right. And in your presence I now ask him. Let him tell me, since he thinks that he has devoted himself to piety, whether he is not acting most impiously, in forsaking the customs of his country, and falling away to those of the barbarians."

8 A Challenge. I answered: "I accept, indeed, your kindly affection towards me, but I take exception to your ignorance. For your affection is kindly, because you wish to continue in those customs which you consider to be good. But your inaccurate knowledge strives to lay a snare for me, under the guise of friendship."

Then said Appion: "Does it seem to you to be ignorance, that one should observe the customs of his fathers, and judge after the manner of the Greeks?"

Then I answered: "It behoves one who desires to be pious not altogether to observe the customs of his fathers; but to observe them if they be pious, and to shake them off if they be impious. For it is possible that one who is the son of an impious father, if he wishes to be pious, should not desire to follow the religion of his father."

Then answered Appion: "What then? Do you say that your father was a man of an evil life?"

Then said I: "He was not of an evil life, but of an evil opinion."

Then Appion: "I should like to know what was his evil apprehension."

Then said I: "Because he believed the false and wicked myths of the Greeks."

Then Appion asked: "What are these false and evil myths of the Greeks?"

Then I said: "The wrong opinion concerning the gods, which, if you will bear with me, you shall hear, with those who are desirous to learn."

9 Unworthy Ends of Philosophers. "Wherefore, before beginning our conversation, let us now withdraw into some quieter place, and there I shall converse with you. And the reason why I wish to speak privately is this, because neither the multitude, nor even all the philosophers, approach honestly to the judgement of things as they are.

"For we know many, even of those who pride themselves on their philosophy, who are vainglorious, or who have put on the philosopher's robe for the sake of gain, and not for the sake of virtue itself; and they, if they do not find that for which they take to philosophy, turn to mockery. Therefore, on account of such as these, let us choose some place fit for private conference."

10 A Cool Retreat. And a certain one amongst them a rich man, and possessing a garden of evergreen plants said: "Since it is very hot, let us retire for a little from the city to my gardens."

Accordingly they went forth, and sat down in a place where there were pure streams of cool water, and a green shade of all sorts of trees. There I sat pleasantly, and the others round about me; and they being silent, instead of a verbal request made to me, showed by their eager looks to me that they required the proof of my assertion. And therefore I proceeded to speak thus:-

11 Truth and Custom. "There is a certain great difference, O men of Greece, between truth and custom. For truth is found when it is honestly sought; but custom, whatsoever be the character of the custom received, whether true or false, is strengthened by itself without the exercise of judgement; and he who has received it is neither pleased with it as being true, nor grieved with it as false.

"For such an one has believed not by judgement, but by prejudice, resting his own hope on the opinion of those who have lived before him on a mere peradventure. And it is not easy to cast off the ancestral garment, though it be shown to himself to be wholly foolish and ridiculous."

12 Genesis. "Therefore I say that the whole learning of the Greeks is a most dreadful fabrication of a wicked demon. For they have introduced many gods of their own, and these wicked, and subject to all kinds of passion; so that he who wishes to do the like things may not be ashamed, which belongs to a man, having as an example the wicked and unquiet lives of the mythological gods. And through his not being ashamed, such an one affords no hope of his repenting.

"And others have introduced fate, which is called genesis, contrary to which no one can suffer or do anything. This, therefore, also is like to the first. For any one who thinks that no one has aught to do or suffer contrary to genesis easily falls into sin; and having sinned, he does not repent of his impiety, holding it as his apology that he was borne on by genesis to do these things. And as he cannot rectify genesis, he has no reason to be ashamed of the sins he commits."

13 Destiny. "And others introduce an unforeseeing destiny, as if all things revolved of their own accord, without the superintendence of any master. But thus to think these things is, as we have said, the most grievous of all opinions. For, as if there were no one superintending and forejudging and distributing to every one according to his deserving, they easily do everything as they can through fearlessness.

"Therefore those who have such opinions do not easily, or perhaps do not at all, live virtuously; for they do not foresee the danger which might have the effect of converting them. But the doctrine of the barbarous Jews, as you call them, is most pious, introducing One as the Father and Creator of all this world, by nature good and righteous; good, indeed, as pardoning sins to those who repent; but righteous, as visiting to every one after repentance according to the worthiness of his doings."

14 "Doctrine According to Godliness." "This doctrine, even if it also be mythical, being pious, would not be without advantage for this life. For every one, in expectation of being judged by the all-seeing God, receives the greater impulse towards virtue. But if the doctrine be also true, it withdraws him who has lived virtuously from eternal punishment, and endows him with eternal and unspeakable blessings from God."

15 Wickedness of the Gods. "But I return to the foremost doctrine of the Greeks, that which states in stories8 that there are gods many, and subject to all kinds of passions. And not to spend much time upon things that are clear, referring to the impious deeds of every one of those who are called gods, I could not tell all their amours; those of Zeus and Poseidon, of Pluto and Apollo, of Dionysus and Hercules, and of them all singly.

"And of these you are yourselves not ignorant, and have been taught their manners of life, being instructed in the Grecian learning, that, as competitors with the gods, you might do like things."

16 Wickedness of Jupiter. "But I shall begin with the most royal Zeus, whose father Kronos, having, as you say, devoured his own children, and having shorn off the members of his father Uranus with a sickle of adamant, showed to those who are zealous for the mysteries of the gods an example of piety towards parents and of love towards children.

"And Jupiter himself bound his own father, and imprisoned him in Tartarus; and he also punishes the other gods.10 And for those who wish to do things not to be spoken of, he begat Metis, and devoured her. But Metis was seed; for it is impossible to devour a child.

"And for an excuse to abusers of themselves with mankind, he carries away Ganymedes. And as a helper of adulterers in their adultery, he is often found an adulterer. And to those who wish to commit incest with sisters, he sets the example in his intercourse with his sisters Hera and Demeter, and the heavenly Aphrodite, whom some call Dodona.

"And to those who wish to commit incest with their daughters, there is a wicked example from his story, in his committing incest with Persephone. But in myriads of instances he acted impiously, that by reason of his excessive wickedness the fable of his being a god might be received by impious men."

17 "Their Makers are Like Unto Them." "You will hold it reasonable for ignorant men to be moderately indignant at these fancies. But what must we say to the learned, some of whom, professing themselves to be grammarians and sophists, affirm that these acts are worthy of gods? For, being themselves incontinent, they lay hold of this mythical pretext; and as imitators of the gods, they practise unseemly things with freedom."

18 Second Nature. "On this account, they who live in the country sin much less than they do, not having been indoctrinated in those things in which they have been indoctrinated who dare do these things, having learned from evil instruction to be impious. For they who from their childhood learn letters by means of such fables, while their soul is yet pliant, engraft the impious deeds of those who are called gods into their own minds; whence, when they are grown up, they ripen fruit, like evil seeds cast into the soul.

"And what is worst of all, the rooted impurities cannot be easily cut down, when they are perceived to be bitter by them when they have attained to manhood. For every one is pleased to remain in those habits which he forms in childhood; and thus, since custom is not much less powerful than nature, they become difficult to be converted to those good things which were not sown in their souls from the beginning."

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19 "Where Ignorance is Bliss." "Wherefore it behoves the young not to be satisfied with those corrupting lessons, and those who are in their prime should carefully avoid listening to the mythologies of the Greeks. For lessons about their gods are much worse than ignorance, as we have shown from the case of those dwelling in the country, who sin less through their not having been instructed by Greeks.

"Truly, such fables of theirs, and spectacles, and books, ought to be shunned, and if it were possible, even their cities. For those who are full of evil learning, even with their breath infect as with madness those who associate with them, with their own passions. And what is worst, whoever is most instructed among them, is so much the more turned from the judgement which is according to nature."

20 False Theories of Philosophers. "And some of those amongst them who even profess to be philosophers, assert that such sins are indifferent, and say that those who are indignant at such practices are senseless. For they say that such things are not sins by nature, but have been proscribed by laws made by wise men in early times, through their knowing that men, through the instability of their minds, being greatly agitated on these accounts, wage war with one another; for which reason, wise men have made laws to proscribe such things as sins. But this is a ridiculous supposition.

"For how can they be other than sins, which are the cause of tumults, and murders, and every confusion? For do not shortcomings of life and many more evils proceed from adultery?"

21 Evils of Adultery. "But why, it is said, if a man is ignorant of his wife's being an adulteress, is he not indignant, enraged, distracted? why does he not make war? Thus these things are not evil by nature, but the unreasonable opinion of men make them terrible.

"But I say, that even if these dreadful things do not occur, it is usual for a woman, through association with an adulterer, either to forsake her husband, or if she continue to live with him, to plot against him, or to bestow upon the adulterer the goods procured by the labour of her husband; and having conceived by the adulterer while her husband is absent, to attempt the destruction of that which is in her womb, through shame of conviction, and so to become a child-murderer; or even, while destroying it, to be destroyed along with it.

"But if while her husband is at home she conceives by the adulterer and bears a child, the child when he grows up does not know his father, and thinks that he is his father who is not; and thus he who is not the father, at his death leaves his substance to the child of another.

"And how many other evils naturally spring from adultery! And the secret evils we do not know. For as the mad dog destroys all that he touches, infecting them with the unseen madness, so also the hidden evil of adultery, though it be not known, effects the cutting off of posterity."

22 A More Excellent Way. "But let us pass over this now. But this we all know, that universally men are beyond measure enraged on account of it, that wars have been waged, that there have been overthrows of houses, and captures of cities, and myriads of other evils.

"On this account I betook myself to the holy God and law of the Jews, putting my faith in the well-assured conclusion that the law has been assigned by the righteous judgement of God, and that the soul must at some time receive according to the desert of its deeds."

23 "Whither Shall I Go from Thy Presence?" When I had thus spoken, Appion broke in upon my discourse. "What!" said he; "do not the laws of the Greeks also forbid wickedness, and punish adulterers?"

Then said I: "Then the gods of the Greeks, who acted contrary to the laws, deserve punishment. But how shall I be able to restrain myself, if I suppose that the gods themselves first practised all wickednesses as well as adultery, and did not suffer punishment; whereas they ought the rather to have suffered, as not being slaves to lust? But if they were subject to it, how were they gods?"

Then Appion said: "Let us have in our eye not the gods, but the judges; and looking to them, we shall be afraid to sin."

Then I said: "This is not fitting, O Appion: for he who has his eye upon men will dare to sin, in hope of escaping detection; but he who sets before his soul the all-seeing God, knowing that he cannot escape His notice, will refrain from sinning even in secret."

24 Allegory. When Appion heard this, he said: "I knew, ever since I heard that you were consorting with Jews, that you had alienated your judgement. For it has been well said by some one, 'Evil communications corrupt good manners.'"

Then said I: "Therefore good communications correct evil manners."

And Appion said: "Today I am fully satisfied to have learned your position; therefore I permitted you to speak first. But tomorrow, in this place, if it is agreeable to you, I will show, in the presence of these friends when they meet, that our gods are neither adulterers, nor murderers, nor corrupters of children, nor guilty of incest with sisters or daughters. But the ancients, wishing that only lovers of learning should know the mysteries, veiled them with those fables of which you have spoken.

"For they speak physiologically of boiling substance under the name of Zen, and of time under that of Kronos, and of the ever-flowing nature of water under that of Rhea. However, as I have promised, I shall tomorrow exhibit the truth of things, explaining them one by one to you when you come together in the morning."

In reply to this I said: "Tomorrow, as you have promised, so do. But now hear something in opposition to what you are going to say."

25 An Engagement for To-Morrow. "If the doings of the gods, being good, have been veiled with evil fables, the wickedness of him who wove the veil is shown to have been great, because he concealed noble things with evil narratives, that no one imitate them.

"But if they really did things impious, they ought, on the contrary, to have veiled them with good narratives, lest men, regarding them as their superiors, should set about sinning in like manner."

As I spoke thus, those present were evidently beginning to be well-disposed towards the words spoken by me; for they repeatedly and earnestly asked me to come on the following day, and departed.

CLEMENT HOMILIES BOOK 5

1 Appion Does Not Appear. The next day, therefore, in Tyre, as we had agreed, I came to the quiet place, and there I found the rest, with some others also. Then I saluted them. But as I did not see Appion, I asked the reason of his not being present; and some one said that he had been unwell ever since last evening.

Then, when I said that it was reasonable that we should immediately set out to visit him, almost all begged me first to discourse to them, and that then we could go to see him. Therefore, as all were of one opinion, I proceeded to say:

2 Clement's Previous Knowledge of Appion. "Yesterday, when I left this, O friends, I confess that, through much anxiety about the discussion that was to take place with Appion, I was not able to get any sleep. And while I was unable to sleep, I remembered a trick that I played upon him in Rome. It was this.

"From my boyhood I Clement was a lover of truth, and a seeker of the things that are profitable for the soul, and spending my time in raising and refuting theories; but being unable to find anything perfect, through distress of mind I fell sick. And while I was confined to bed Appion came to Rome, and being my father's friend, he lodged with me; and hearing that I was in bed, he came to me, as being not unacquainted with medicine, and inquired the cause of my being in bed.

"But I, being aware that the man exceedingly hated the Jews, as also that he had written many books against them, and that he had formed a friendship with this Simon, not through desire of learning, but because he knew that he was a Samaritan and a hater of the Jews, and that he had come forth in opposition to the Jews, therefore he had formed an alliance with him, that he might learn something from him against the Jews;"

3 Clement's Trick. "I knowing this before concerning Appion, as soon as he asked me the cause of my sickness, answered feignedly, that I was suffering and distressed in my mind after the manner of young men.

"And to this he said, 'My son, speak freely as to a father: what is your soul's ailment?'

"And when I again groaned feignedly, as being ashamed to speak of love, by means of silence and down-looking I conveyed the impression of what I wished to intimate.

"But he, being persuaded that I was in love with a woman, said: 'There is nothing in life which does not admit of help. For indeed I myself, when I was young, being in love with a most accomplished woman, not only thought it impossible to obtain her, but did not even hope ever to address her.

"And yet, having fallen in with a certain Egyptian who was exceedingly well versed in magic, and having become his friend, I disclosed to him my love, and not only did he assist me in all that I wished, but, honouring me more bountifully, he hesitated not to teach me an incantation by means of which I obtained her; and as soon as I had obtained her, by means of his secret instruction, being persuaded by the liberality of my teacher, I was cured of love.'"

4 Appion's Undertaking. "'Whence, if you also suffer any such thing after the manner of men, use freedom with me with all security; for within seven days I shall put you fully in possession of her.'

"When I heard this, looking at the object I had in view, I said: 'Pardon me that I do not altogether believe in the existence of magic; for I have already tried many who have made many promises, and have deceived me. However, your undertaking influences me, and leads me to hope. But when I think of the matter, I am afraid that the demons are sometimes not subject to the magicians with respect to the things that are commanded them.'"

5 Theory of Magic. "Then Appion said: 'Admit that I know more of these things than you do. However, that you may not think that there is nothing in what you have heard from me in reference to what you have said, I will tell you how the demons are under necessity to obey the magicians in the matters about which they are commanded. For as it is impossible for a soldier to contradict his general, and impossible for the generals themselves to disobey the king for if any one oppose those set over him, he is altogether deserving of punishment so it is impossible for the demons not to serve the angels who are their generals; and when they are adjured by them, they yield trembling, well knowing that if they disobey they shall be fully punished.

"'But the angels also themselves, being adjured by the magicians in the name of their ruler, obey, lest, being found guilty of disobedience, they be destroyed. For unless all things that are living and rational foresaw vengeance from the ruler, confusion would ensue, all revolting against one another.'"

6 Scruples. "Then said I: 'Are those things correct, then, which are spoken by poets and philosophers, that in Hades the souls of the wicked are judged and punished for their attempts; such as those of Ixion, and Tantalus, and Tityus, and Sisyphus, and the daughters of Danaus, and as many others as have been impious here? And how, if these things are not so, is it possible that magic can subsist?'

"Then he having told me that these things are so in Hades, I asked him: 'Why are not we ourselves afraid of magic, being persuaded of the punishment in Hades for adultery? For I do not admit that it is a righteous thing to compel to adultery a woman who is unwilling; but if any one will engage to persuade her, I am ready for that, besides confessing my thanks.'"

7 A Distinction with a Difference. "Then Appion said: 'Do you not think it is the same thing, whether you obtain her by magic, or by deceiving her with words?'

"Then said I: 'Not altogether the same; for these differ widely from one another. For he who constrains an unwilling woman by the force of magic, subjects himself to the most terrible punishment, as having plotted against a chaste woman; but he who persuades her with words, and puts the choice in her own power and will, does not force her. And I am of opinion, that he who has persuaded a woman will not stiffer so great punishment as he who has forced her. Therefore, if you can persuade her, I shall be thankful to yon when I have obtained her; but otherwise, I had rather die than force her against her will.'"

8 Flattery or Magic. "Then Appion, being really puzzled, said: 'What am I to say to you? For at one time, as one perturbed with love, you pray to obtain her; and anon, as if you loved her not, you make more account of your fear than your desire: and you think that if you can persuade her you shall be blameless, as without sin; but obtaining her by the power of magic, you will incur punishment.

"'But do you not know that it is the end of every action that is judged, the fact that it has been committed, and that no account is made of the means by which it has been effected? And if you commit adultery, being enabled by magic, shall you be judged as having done wickedly; and if by persuasion, shall you be absolved from sin in respect of the adultery?'

"Then I said: 'On account of my love, there is a necessity for me to choose one or other of the means that are available to procure the object of my love; and I shall choose, as far as possible, to cajole her rather than to use magic. But neither is it easy to persuade her by flattery, for the woman is very much of a philosopher.'"

9 A Love-Letter. "Then Appion said: 'I am all the more hopeful to be able to persuade her, as you wish, provided only we be able to converse with her.'

"'That, 'said I, 'is impossible.'

"Then Appion asked if it were possible to send a letter to her. Then I said: 'That indeed may be done.'

"Then Appion said: 'This very night I shall write a paper on encomiums of adultery, which you shall get from me and despatch to her; and I hope that she shall be persuaded, and consent.'

"Appion accordingly wrote the paper, and gave it to me; and I thought of it this very night, and I remembered that fortunately I have it by me, along with other papers which I carry about with me."

Having thus spoken, I showed the paper to those who were present, and read it to them as they wished to hear it; and having read it, I said: "This, O men, is the instruction of the Greeks, affording a bountiful licence to sin without fear.3 The paper was as follows: "

10 The Lover to the Beloved One. "'Anonymously, on account of the laws of foolish men. At the bidding of Love, the first-born of all, salutation: I know that you are devoted to philosophy, and for the sake of virtue you affect the life of the noble. But who are nobler than the gods among all, and philosophers among men? For these alone know what works are good or evil by nature, and what, not being so, are accounted so by the imposition of laws.

"'Now, then, some have supposed that the action which is called adultery is evil, although it is in every respect good. For it is by the appointment of Eros for the increase of life. And Eros is the eldest of all the gods. For without Eros there

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can be no mingling or generation either of elements, or gods, or men, or irrational animals, or aught else. For we are all instruments of Eros. He, by means of us, is the fabricator of all that is begotten, the mind inhabiting our souls.

"'Hence it is not when we ourselves wish it, but when we are ordered by him, that we desire to do his will. But if, while we desire according to his will, we attempt to restrain the desire for the sake of what is called chastity, what do we do but the greatest impiety, when we oppose the oldest of all gods and men?'"

11 "All Uncleanness with Greediness." "'But let all doors be opened to him, and let all baneful and arbitrary laws be set aside, which have been ordained by fanatical men, who, under the power of senselessness, and not willing to understand what is reasonable, and, moreover, suspecting those who are called adulterers, are with good reason mocked with arbitrary laws by Zeus himself, through Minos and Rhadamanthus.

"'For there is no restraining of Eros dwelling in our souls; for the passion of lovers is not voluntary. Therefore Zeus himself, the giver of these laws, approached myriads of women; and, according to some wise men, he sometimes had intercourse with human beings, as a benefactor for the production of children. But in the case of those to whom he knew that his being unknown would be a favour, he changed his form, in order that he might neither grieve them, nor seem to act in opposition to the laws given by himself.

"'It becomes you, therefore, who are debaters of philosophy, for the sake of a good life, to imitate those who are acknowledged to be the nobler, who have had sexual intercourse ten thousand times.'"

12 Jupiter's Amours. "'And not to spend the time to no purpose in giving more examples, I shall begin with mentioning some embraces of Zeus himself, the father of gods and men.5 For it is impossible to mention all, on account of their multitude. Hear, therefore, the amours of this great Jupiter, which he concealed by changing his form, on account of the fanaticism of senseless men.

"'For, in the first place, wishing to show to wise men that adultery is no sin, when he was going to marry, being, according to the multitude, knowingly an adulterer, in his first marriage, but not being so in reality, by means, as I said, of a seeming sin be accomplished a sinless marriage. For he married his own sister Hera, assuming the likeness of a cuckoo's wing; and of her were born Hebe and Ilithyia. For he gave birth to Metis without copulation with any one, as did also Hera to Vulcan.'"

13 Jupiter's Amours Continued. "'Then he committed incest with his sister, who was born of Kronos and Thalasse, after the dismemberment of Kronos, and of whom were born Eros and Cypris, whom they call also Dodone. Then, in the likeness of a satyr, he had intercourse with Antiope the daughter of Nycteus, of whom were born Amphion and Zethus.

"'And he embraced Alcmene, the wife of Amphitryon, in the form of her husband Amphitryon, of whom was born Hercules. And, changed into an eagle, he approached Aegina, the daughter of Asclepius, of whom Aeacus was born. And in the form of a bear he lay with Amalthea the daughter of Phocus; and in a golden shower he fell upon Danaë, the daughter of Acrisius, of whom sprang Perseus. He became wild as a lion to Callisto the daughter of Lycaon and begat Arcus the second.

"'And with Europa the daughter of Phoenix he had intercourse by means of a bull, of whom sprang Minos, and Rhadamanthus, and Sarpedon; and with Eurymedusa the daughter of Achelous, changing himself into an ant, of whom was born Myrmidon. With a nymph of Hersaeus, in the form of a vulture, from whom sprang the wise men of old in Sicily. He came to Juno the earth-born in Rhodes, and of her were born Pargaeus, Kronius, Kytis.

"'And he deflowered Ossia, taking the likeness of her husband Phoenix, of whom Anchinous was born to him. Of Nemesis the daughter of Thestius, who is also thought to be Leda, he begot Helena, in the form of a swan or goose; and again, in the form of a star, he produced Castor and Polydeuces. With Lamia he was transformed into a hoopoo.'"

14 Jupiter's Undisguised Amours. "'In the likeness of a shepherd he made Mnemosyne mother of the Muses. Setting himself on fire, he married Semele, the daughter of Cadmus, of whom he begat Dionysus. In the likeness of a dragon he deflowered his daughter Persephone, thought to be the wife of his brother Pluto.

"'He had intercourse with many other women without undergoing any change in his form; for the husbands had no ill-will to him as if it were a sin, but knew well that in associating with their wives he bountifully produced children for them, bestowing upon them the Hermeses, the Apollos, the Dionysi, the Endymions, and others whom we have spoken of, most excellent in beauty through his fatherhood.'"

15 Unnatural Lusts. "'And not to spend the time in an endless exposition, you will find numerous unions with Jupiter of all the gods. But senseless men call these doings of the gods adulteries; even of those gods who did not refrain from the abuse of males as disgraceful, but who practised even this as seemly.

"'For instance, Jupiter himself was in love with Ganymede: Poseidon with Pelops; Apollo with Cinyras, Zacyinthus, Hyacinthus, Phorbas, Hylas, Admetus, Cyparissus, Amyclas, Troilus, Branchus the Tymnaean, Parus the Potnian, Orpheus; Dionysus with Laonis, Ampelus, Hymenaeus, Hermaphrodites, Achilles; Asclepius with Hippolytus, and Hephaestus with Peleus; Pan with Daphnis; Hermes with Perseus, Chrysas, Theseus, Odrysus; Hercules with Abderus, Dryops, Jocastus, Philoctetes, Hylas, Polyphemus, Haemon, Chonus, Eurystheus.'"

16 Praise of Unchastity. "'Thus have I in part set before you the amours of all the more noted gods, beloved, that you may know that fanaticism respecting this thing is confined to senseless men. Therefore they are mortal, and spend their lives sadly, because through their zeal they proclaim those things to be evil which the gods esteem as excellent.

"'Therefore for the future you will be blessed, imitating the gods, and not men. For men, seeing you preserving that which is thought to be chastity, on account of what they themselves feel, praise you indeed, but do not help you. But the gods, seeing you like unto themselves, will both praise and help.'"

17 The Constellations. "'For reckon to me how many mistresses they have rewarded, some of whom they have placed among the stars; and of some they have blessed both the children and the associates. Thus Zeus made Callisto a constellation, called the Little Bear, which some also call the Dog's Tail.

"'Poseidon also placed the dolphin in the sky for the sake of Amphitrite; and he gave a place among the stars to Orion the son of Euryale, the daughter of Minos, for the sake of his mother Euryale. And Dionysus made a constellation of the crown of Ariadne, and Zeus invested the eagle which assisted him in the rape of Ganymede, and Ganymede himself with the honour of the Water-pourer. Also he honoured the bull for the sake of Europa; and also having bestowed Castor, and Polydeuces, and Helena upon Leda, he made them stars.

"'Also Perseus for the sake of Danaë; and Arcus for the sake of Callisto. The virgin who also is Dice, for the sake of Themis; and Heracles for the sake of Alcmene. But I do not enlarge further; for it were long to tell particularly how many others the gods have blessed for the sake of their many mistresses. in their intercourse with human beings, which senseless men repudiate as evil deeds, not knowing that pleasure is the great advantage among men.'"

18 The Philosophers Advocates of Adultery. "'But why? Do not the celebrated philosophers extol pleasure, and have they not had intercourse with what women they would? Of these the first was that teacher of Greece, of whom Phoebus himself said, "Of all men, Socrates is the wisest." Does not he teach that in a well-regulated state women should be common?7 and did he not conceal the fair Alcibiades under his philosopher's gown? And the Socratic Antisthenes writes of the necessity of not abandoning what is called adultery.

"'And even his disciple Diogenes, did not he freely associate with Lais, for the hire of carrying her on his shoulders in public? Does not Epicurus extol pleasure? Did not Aristippus anoint himself with perfumes, and devote himself wholly to Aphrodite? Does not Zeno, intimating indifference, say that the deity pervades all things, that it may be known to the intelligent, that with whomsoever a man has intercourse, it is as with himself; and that it is superfluous to forbid what are called adulteries, or intercourse with mother, or daughter, or sister, or children. And Chrysippus, in his erotic epistles, makes mention of the statue in Argos, representing Hera and Zeus in an obscene position.'"

19 Close of the Love-Letter. "'I know that to those uninitiated in the truth these things seem dreadful and most base; but not so to the gods and the philosophers of the Greeks, nor to those initiated in the mysteries of Dionysus and Demeter. But above all these, not to waste time in speaking of the lives of all the gods, and all the philosophers, let the two chief be your marks Zeus the greatest of the gods, and Socrates of philosophic men.

"'And the other things which I have mentioned in this letter, understand and attend to, that you may not grieve your lover; since, if you act contrarily to gods and heroes, you will be judged wicked, and will subject yourself to fitting punishment. But if you offer yourself to every lover, then, as an imitator of the gods, you shall receive benefits from them. For the rest, dearest one, remember what mysteries I have disclosed to you, and inform me by letter of your choice. Fare thee well.'"

20 The Use Made of It. "I therefore, having received this billet from Appion, as though I were really going to send it to a beloved one, pretended as if she had written in answer to it; and the next day, when Appion came, I gave him the reply, as if from her, as follows: "

21 Answer to Appion's Letter. "'I wonder how, when you commend me for wisdom, you write to me as to a fool. For, wishing to persuade me to your passion, you make use of examples from the mythologies of the gods, that Eros is the eldest of all, as you say, and above all gods and men, not being afraid to blaspheme, that you might corrupt my soul and insult my body.

"'For Eros is not the leader of the gods, he, I mean, who has to do with lusts. For if he lusts willingly, he is himself his own suffering and punishment; and he who should suffer willingly could not be a god. But if against his will he lust for copulation, and, pervading our souls as through the members of our bodies, is borne into intermeddling with our minds, then he that impels him to love is greater than he.

"'And again, he who impels him, being himself impelled by another desire, another greater than he is found impelling him. And thus we come to an endless succession of lovers,8 which is impossible. Thus, neither is there an impeller nor an impelled; but it is the lustful passion of the lover himself, which is increased by hope and diminished by despair.'"

22 Lying Fables. "'But those who will not subdue base lusts belie the gods, that, by representing the gods as first doing the things which they do, they may be set free from blame. For if those who are called gods committed adulteries for the sake of begetting children, and not through lasciviousness, why did they also debauch males?

"'But it is said they complimented their mistresses by making them stars. Therefore before this were there no stars, until such time as, by reason of wantonness, the heaven was adorned with stars by adulterers? And how is it that the children of those who have been made stars are punished in Hades, Atlas loaded, Tantalus tortured with thirst, Sisyphus pushing a stone, Tityus thrust through the bowels, Ixion continually rolled round a wheel? How is it that these divine lovers made stars of the women whom they defiled, but gave no such grace to these?'"

23 The Gods No Gods. "'They were not gods, then, but representations of tyrants. For a certain tomb is shown among the Caucasian mountains, not in heaven, but in earth, as that of Kronos, a barbarous man and a devourer of children.

"'Further, the tomb of the lascivious Zeus, so famed in story, who in like manner devoured his own daughter Metis, is to be seen in Crete, and those of Pluto and Poseidon in the Acherusian lake; and that of Helius in Astra, and of Selene in Carrae, of Hermes in Hermopolis, of Ares in Thrace, of Aphrodite in Cyprus, of Dionysus in Thebes, and of the rest in other places. At all events, the tombs are shown of those that I have named; for they were men, and in respect of these things, wicked men and magicians.9

"'For else they should not have become despots I mean Zeus, renowned in story, and Dionysus but that by changing their forms they prevailed over whom they pleased, for whatever purpose they designed.'"

24 If a Principle Be Good, Carry It Out. "'But if we must emulate their lives, let us imitate not only their adulteries, but also their banquets. For Kronos devoured his own children, and Zeus in like manner his own daughter. And what must I say? Pelops served as a supper for all the gods.

"'Wherefore let us also, before unhallowed marriages, perpetrate a supper like that of the gods; for thus the supper would be worthy of the marriages. But this you would never consent to; no more will I to adultery. Besides this, you threaten me with the anger of Eros as of a powerful god. Eros is not a god, as I conceive him, but a desire occurring from the temperament of the living creature in order to the perpetuation of life, according to the foresight of Him who worketh all things, that the whole race may not fail, but by reason of pleasure another may be produced out of the substance of one who shall die, springing forth by lawful marriage, that he may know to sustain his own father in old age.

"'And this those born from adultery cannot do, not having the nature of affection towards those who have begotten them.'"

25 Better to Marry Than to Burn. "'Since, therefore, the erotic desire occurs for the sake of continuation and legitimate increasing, as I have said, it behoves parents providing for the chastity of their children to anticipate the desire, by imbuing them with instruction by means of chaste books, and to accustom them beforehand by excellent discourses; for custom is a second nature. And in addition to this, frequently to remind them of the punishments appointed by the laws, that, using fear as a bridle, they may not run on in wicked pleasures.

"'And it behoves them also, before the springing of the desire, to satisfy the natural passion of puberty by marriage, first persuading them not to look upon the beauty of another woman.'"

26 Close of the Answer. "'For our mind, whenever it is impressed delightfully with the image of a beloved one, always seeing the form as in a mirror, is tormented by the recollection; and if it do not obtain its desire, it contrives ways of obtaining it; but if it do obtain it, it is rather increased, like fire having a supply of wood, and especially when there is no fear impressed upon the soul of the lover before the rise of passion.

"'For as water extinguishes fire, so fear is the extinguisher of unreasonable desire. Whence I, having learned from a certain Jew both to understand and to do the things that are pleasing to God, am not to be entrapped into adultery by

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your lying fables. But may God help you in your wish and efforts to be chaste, and afford a remedy to your soul burning with love.'"

27 A Reason for Hatred. "When Appion heard the pretended answer, he said: 'Is it without reason that I hate the Jews? Here now some Jew has fallen in with her, and has converted her to his religion, and persuaded her to chastity, and it is henceforth impossible that she ever have intercourse with another man; for these fellows, setting God before them as the universal inspector of actions, are extremely persistent in chastity, as being unable to be concealed from Him.'"

28 The Hoax Confessed. "When I heard this, I said to Appion: 'Now I shall confess the truth to you. I was not enamoured of the woman, or of any one else, my soul being exceedingly spent upon other desires, and upon the investigation of true doctrines. And till now, although I have examined many doctrines of philosophers, I have inclined to none of them, excepting only that of the Jews, a certain merchant of theirs having sojourned here in Rome, selling linen clothes, and a fortunate meeting having set simply before me the doctrine of the unity of God.'"

29 Appion's Resentment. "Then Appion, having heard from me the truth, with his unreasonable hatred of the Jews, and neither knowing nor wishing to know what their faith is, being senselessly angry, forthwith quitted Rome in silence. And as this is my first meeting with him since then, I naturally expect his anger in consequence.

"However, I shall ask him in your presence what he has to say concerning those who are called gods, whose lives, fabled to be filled with all passions, are constantly celebrated to the people, in order to their imitation; while, besides their human passions as I have said, their graves are also shown in different places."

30 A Discussion Promised. The others having heard these things from me, and desiring to learn what would ensue, accompanied me to visit Appion. And we found him bathed, and sitting at a table furnished. Wherefore we inquired but little into the matter concerning the gods.

But he, understanding, I suppose, our wish, promised that next day he would have something to say about the gods, and appointed to us the same place where he would converse with us. And we, as soon as he had promised, thanked him, and departed, each one to his home.

CLEMENT HOMILIES BOOK 6

1 Clement Meets Appion. And on the third day, when I came with my friends to the appointed place in Tyre, I found Appion sitting between Anubion and Athenodorus, and waiting for us, along with many other learned men. But in no wise dismayed, I greeted them, and sat down opposite Appion. And in a little he began to speak:-

"I wish to start from the following point, and to come with all speed at once to the question. Before you, my son Clement, joined us, my friend Anubion here, and Athenodorus, who yesterday were among those who heard you discourse, were reporting to me what you said of the numerous false accusations I brought against the gods when I was visiting you in Rome, at the time you were shamming love, how I charged them with paederasty, lasciviousness, and numerous incests of all kinds.

"But, my son, you ought to have known that I was not in earnest when I wrote such things about the gods, but was concealing the truth, from my love to you. That truth, however, if it so please you, you may hear from me now."

2 The Myths are Not to Be Taken Literally. "The wisest of the ancients, men who had by hard labour learned all truth, kept the path of knowledge hid from those who were unworthy and had no taste for lessons in divine things. For it is not really true that from Ouranos and his mother Ge were born twelve children, as the myth counts them: six sons, Okeanos, Koios, Krios, Hyperion, Japetos, Kronos; and six daughters, Thea, Themis, Mnemosyne, Demeter, Tethys, and Rhea.

"Nor that Kronos, with the knife of adamant, mutilated his father Ouranos, as you say, and threw the part into the sea; nor that Aphrodite sprang from the drops of blood which flowed from it; nor that Kronos associated with Rhea, and devoured his first-begotten son Pluto, because a certain saying of Prometheus led him to fear that a child born from him would wax stronger than himself, and spoil him of his kingdom; nor that he devoured in the same way Poseidon, his second child; nor that, when Zeus was born next, his mother Rhea concealed him, and when Kronos asked for him that he might devour him, gave him a stone instead; nor that this, when it was devoured, pressed those who had been previously devoured, and forced them out, so that Pluto, who was devoured first, came out first, and after him Poseidon, and then Zeus;3 nor that Zeus, as the story goes, preserved by the wit of his mother, ascended into heaven, and spoiled his father of the kingdom; nor that he punished his father's brothers; nor that he came down to lust after mortal women; nor that he associated with his sisters, and daughters, and sisters-in-law, and was guilty of shameful paederasty; nor that he devoured his daughter Metis, in order that from her he might make Athene be born out of his own brain (and from his thigh might bear Dionysos, who is said to have been rent in pieces by the Titans)4 ; nor that he held a feast at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis;5 nor that he excluded Erie (discord) from the marriage; nor that Erie on her part, thus dishonoured, contrived an occasion of quarrelling and discord among the feasters; nor that she took a golden apple from the gardens of the Hesperides, and wrote on it 'For the fair.'

"And then they fable how Hera, and Athena, and Aphrodite, found the apple, and quarrelling about it, came to Zeus; and he did not decide it for them, but sent them by Hermes to the shepherd Paris, to be judged of their beauty. But there was no such judging of the goddesses; nor did Paris give the apple to Aphrodite; nor did Aphrodite, being thus honoured, honour him in return, by giving him Helen to wife.

"For the honour bestowed by the goddess could never have furnished a pretext for a universal war, and that to the ruin of him who was honoured, himself nearly related to the race of Aphrodite. But, my son, as I said, such stories have a peculiar and philosophical meaning, which can be allegorically set forth in such a way that you yourself would listen with wonder."

And I said, "I beseech you not to torment me with delay."

And he said, "Do not be afraid; for I shall lose no time, but commence at once.

3 Appion Proceeds to Interpret the Myths. "There was once a time when nothing existed but chaos and a confused mixture of orderless elements, which were as yet simply heaped together. This nature testifies, and great men have been of opinion that it was so.

"Of these great men I shall bring forward to you him who excelled them all in wisdom, Homer, where he says, with a reference to the original confused mass, 'But may you all become water and earth; ' implying that from these all things had their origin, and that all things return to their first state, which is chaos, when the watery and earthy substances are separated. And Hesiod in the Theogony says, 'Assuredly chaos was the very first to come into being.'

"Now, by 'come into being,' he evidently means that chaos came into being, as having a beginning, and did not always exist, without beginning. And Orpheus likens chaos to an egg, in which was the confused mixture of the primordial elements. This chaos, which Orpheus calls an egg, is taken for granted by Hesiod, having a beginning, produced from infinite matter, and originated in the following way."

4 Origin of Chaos. "This matter, of four kinds, and endowed with life, was an entire infinite abyss, so to speak, in eternal stream, borne about without order, and forming every now and then countless but ineffectual combinations (which therefore it dissolved again from want of order); ripe indeed, but not able to be bound so as to generate a living creature.

"And once it chanced that this infinite sea, which was thus by its own nature driven about with a natural motion, flowed in an orderly manner from the same to the same (back on itself), like a whirlpool, mixing the substances in such a way that from each9 there flowed down the middle of the universe (as in the funnel of a mould) precisely that which was most useful and suitable for the generation of a living creature. This was carried down by the all-carrying whirlpool, drew to itself the surrounding spirit, and having been so conceived that it was very fertile, formed a separate substance.

"For just as a bubble is usually formed in water, so everything round about contributed to the conception of this ball-like globe. Then there came forth to the light, after it had been conceived in itself, and was borne upwards by the divine spirit which surrounded it,10 perhaps the greatest thing ever born; a piece of workmanship, so to speak, having life in it which had been conceived from that entire infinite abyss, in shape like an egg, and as swift as a bird."

5 Kronos and Rhea Explained. "Now you must think of Kronos as time (Chronos), and Rhea as the flowing (Rheon) of the watery substance. For the whole body of matter was borne about for some Time, before it brought forth, like an egg, the sphere-like, all-embracing heaven (Ouranos), which at first was full of productive marrow, so that it was able to produce out of itself elements and colours of all sorts, while from the one substance and the one colour it produced all kinds of forms.

"For as a peacock's egg seems to have only one colour, while potentially it has in it all the colours of the animal that is to be, so this living egg, conceived out of infinite matter, when set in motion by the underlying and ever-flowing matter, produces many different forms. For within the circumference a certain living creature, which is both male and female, is formed by the skill of the indwelling divine spirit.

"This Orpheus calls Phanes, because when it appeared (Phaneis) the universe shone forth from it, with the lustre of that most glorious of the elements, fire, perfected in moisture. Nor is this incredible, since in glowworms nature gives us to see a moist light."

6 Phanes and Pluto. "This egg, then, which was the first substance, growing somewhat hot, was broken by the living creature within, and then there took shape and came forth something; such as Orpheus also speaks of, where he says, 'when the capacious egg was broken, ' etc. And so by the mighty power of that which appeared (Phaneis) and came forth, the globe attained coherency, and maintained order, while it itself took its seat, as it were, on the summit of heaven, there in ineffable mystery diffusing light through endless ages.

"But the productive matter left inside the globe, separated the substances of all things. For first its lower part, just like the dregs, sank downwards of its own weight; and this they called Pluto from its gravity, and weight, and great quantity (Polu) of underlying matter, styling it the king of Hades and the dead."

7 Poseidon, Zeus, and Metis. "When, then, they say that this primordial substance, although most filthy and rough, was devoured by Kronos, that is, time, this is to be understood in a physical sense, as meaning that it sank downwards. And the water which flowed together after this first sediment, and floated on the surface of the first substance, they called Poseidon. And then what remained, the purest and noblest of all, for it was translucent fire, they called Zeus, from its glowing (Zeousa) nature.

"Now since fire ascends, this was not swallowed, and made to descend by time or Kronos; but, as I said, the fiery substance, since it has life in it, and naturally ascends, flew right up into the air, which from its purity is very intelligent. By his own proper heat, then, Zeus-that is, the glowing substance-draws up what is left in the underlying moisture, to wit, that very strong15 and divine spirit which they called Metis."

8 Pallas and Hera. "And this, when it had reached the summit of the aether, was devoured by it (moisture being mixed with heat, so to say); and causing in it that ceaseless palpitation, it begat intelligence, which they call Pallas from this palpitating (Pallesthai).16 And this is artistic wisdom, by which the aetherial artificer wrought out the whole world. And from all-pervading Zeus, that is, from this very hot aether, air (Aer) extends all the way to our earth; and this they call Hera.

"Wherefore, because it has come below the aether, which is the purest substance (just as a woman, as regards purity, is inferior), when the two were compared to see which was the better, she was rightly regarded as the sister of Zeus, in respect of her origin from the same substance, but as his spouse, as being inferior like a wife."

9 Artemis. "And Hera we understand to be a happy tempering of the atmosphere, and therefore she is very fruitful; but Athena, as they call Pallas, was reckoned a virgin, because on account of the intense heat she could produce nothing. And in a similar fashion Artemis is explained: for her they take as the lowest depth of air, and so they called her a virgin, because she could not bear anything on account of the extreme cold.

"And that troubled and drunken composition which arises from the upper and lower vapours they called Dionysus, as troubling the intellect. And the water under the earth, which is in nature indeed one, but which flows through all the paths of earth, and is divided into many parts, they called Osiris, as being cut in pieces.

"And they understand Adonis as favourable seasons, Aphrodite as coition and generation, Demeter as the earth, the Girl (Proserpine) as seeds; and Dionysus some understand as the vine."

10 All Such Stories are Allegorical. "And I must ask you to think of all such stories as embodying some such allegory. Look on Apollo as the wandering Sun (Peri-Polôn), a son of Zeus, who was also called Mithras, as completing the period of a year. And these said transformations of the all-pervading Zeus must be regarded as the numerous changes of the seasons, while his numberless wives you must understand to be years, or generations.

"For the power which proceeds from the aether and passes through the air unites with all the years and generations in turn, and continually varies them, and so produces or destroys the crops. And ripe fruits are called his children, the barrenness of some seasons being referred to unlawful unions."

11 Clement Has Heard All This Before. While Appion was allegorizing in this way, I became plunged in thought, and seemed not to be following what he was saying. So he interrupted his discourse, and said to me, "If you do not follow what I am saying, why should I speak at all?"

And I answered, "Do not suppose that I do not understand what you say. I understand it thoroughly; and that the more that this is not the first time I have heard it. And that you may know that I am not ignorant of these things, I shall epitomize what you have said, and supply in their order, as I have heard them from others, the allegorical interpretations of those stories you have omitted."

And Appion said: "Do so."

12 Epitome of Appion's Explanation. And I answered:17 "I shall not at present speak particularly of that living egg, which was conceived by a happy combination out of infinite matter, and from which, when it was broken, the masculo-feminine Phanes leaped forth, as some say. I say little about all that, up to the point when this broken globe attained

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coherency, there being left in it some of its marrow-like matter; and I shall briefly run over the description of what took place in it by the agency of this matter, with all that followed.

"For from Kronos and Rhea were born, as you say that is, by time and matter first Pluto, who represents the sediment which settled down; and then Poseidon, the liquid substance in the middle,18 which floated over the heavier body below; and the third child that is, Zeus is the aether, and is highest of all. It was not devoured; but as it is a fiery power, and naturally ascends, it flew up as with a bound to the very highest aether."

13 Kronos and Aphrodite. "And the bonds of Kronos are the binding together of heaven and earth, as I have heard others allegorizing; and his mutilation is the separation and parting of the elements; for they all were severed and separated, according to their respective natures, that each kind might be arranged by itself.

"And time no longer begets anything; but the things which have been begotten of it, by a law of nature, produce their successors. And the Aphrodite who emerged from the sea is the fruitful substance which arises out of moisture, with which the warm spirit mixing, causes that sexual desire, and perfects the beauty of the world."

14 Peleus and Thetis, Prometheus, Achilles, and Polyxena. "And the marriage banquet, at which Zeus held the feast on the occasion of the marriage of the Nereid Thetis and the beautiful Peleus, has in it this allegory, that you may know, Appion, that you are not the only one from whom I have heard this sort of thing.

"The banquet, then, is the world, and the twelve are these heavenly props of the Fates,20 called the Zodiac. Prometheus is foresight (Prometheia), by which all things arose; Peleus is clay (Pelos), namely, that which was Collected from the earth and mixed with Nereis, or water, to produce man; and from the mixing of the two, i.e., water and earth, the first offspring was not begotten, but fashioned complete, and called Achilles, because he never put his lips (Cheile) to the breast.

"Still in the bloom of life, he is slain by an arrow while desiring to have Polyxena, that is, something other than the truth, and foreign (Xene) to it, death stealing on him through a wound in his foot."

15 The Judgement of Paris. "Then Hera, and Athena, and Aphrodite, and Eris, and the apple, and Hermes, and the judgement, and the shepherd, have some such hidden meaning as the following: Hera is dignity; Athena, manliness; Aphrodite, pleasure; Hermes, language, which interprets (Hermeneutikos) thought; the shepherd Paris, unreasoned and brutish passion.

"Now if, in the prime of life, reason, that shepherd of the soul, is brutish, does not regard its own advantage, will have nothing to do with manliness and temperance, chooses only pleasure, and gives the prize to lust alone, bargaining that it is to receive in return from lust what, may delight it, he who thus judges incorrectly will choose pleasure to his own destruction and that of his friends.

"And Eris is jealous spite; and the golden apples of the Hesperides are perhaps riches, by which occasionally even temperate persons like Hera are seduced, and manly ones like Athena are made jealous, so that they do things which do not become them, and the soul's beauty like Aphrodite is destroyed under the guise of refinement. To speak briefly, in all men riches provoke evil discord."

16 Hercules. "And Hercules, who slew the serpent which led and guarded riches, is the true philosophical reason which, free from all wickedness, wanders all over the world, visiting the souls of men, and chastising all it meets, namely, men like fierce lions, or timid stags, or savage boars, or multiform hydras; and so with all the other fabled labours of Hercules, they all have a hidden reference to moral valour. But these instances must suffice, for all our time would be insufficient if we were to go over each one."

17 They are Blameworthy Who Invented Such Stories. "Now, since these things can be clearly, profitably, and without prejudice to piety, set forth in an open and straightforward manner, I wonder you call those men sensible and wise who concealed them under crooked riddles, and overlaid them with filthy stories, and thus, as if impelled by an evil spirit, deceived almost all men.

"For either these things are not riddles, but real crimes of the gods, in which case they should not have been exposed to contempt, nor should these their needs have been set before men at all as models; or things falsely attributed to the gods were set forth in an allegory, and then, Appion, they whom you call wise erred, in that, by concealing under unworthy stories things in themselves worthy, they led men to sin, and that not without dishonouring those whom they believed to be gods."

18 The Same. "Wherefore do not suppose that they were wise men, but rather evil spirits, who could cover honourable actions with wicked stories, in order that they who wish to imitate their betters may emulate these deeds of so-called gods, which yesterday in my discourse I spoke so freely of, namely, their parricides, their murders of their children, their incests of all kinds, their shameless adulteries and countless impurities.

"The most impious of them are those who wish these stories to be believed, in order that they may not be ashamed when they do the like. If they had been disposed to act reverently, they ought, as I said a little ago, even if the gods really did the things which are sting of them, to have veiled their indecencies under more seemly stories, and not, on the contrary, as you say they did, when the deeds of the gods were honourable, clothed them in wicked and indecent forms, which, even when interpreted, can only be understood by much labour; and when they were understood by some, they indeed got for their much toil the privilege of not being deceived, which they might have had without the toil, while they who were deceived were utterly ruined. (Those, however, who trace the allegories to a more honourable source I do not object to; as, for instance, those who explain one allegory by saying that it was wisdom which sprang from the head of Zeus.)

"On the whole, it seems to me more probable that wicked men, robbing the gods of their honour, ventured to promulgate these insulting stories."

19 None of These Allegories are Consistent. "Nor do we find the poetical allegory about any of the gods consistent with itself. To go no further than the fashioning of the universe, the poets now say that nature was the first cause of the whole creation, now that it was mind. For, say they, the first moving and mixture of the elements came from nature, but it was the foresight of mind which arranged them in order.

"Even when they assert that it was nature which fashioned the universe, being unable absolutely to demonstrate this on account of the traces of design in the work, they inweave the foresight of mind in such a way that they are able to entrap even the wisest.

"But we say to them: If the world arose from self-moved nature, how did it ever take proportion and shape, which cannot come but from a superintending wisdom, and can be comprehended only by knowledge, which alone can trace such things? If, on the other hand, it is by wisdom that all things subsist and maintain order, how can it be that those things arose from self-moved chance?"

20 These Gods Were Really Wicked Magicians. "Then those who chose to make dishonourable allegories of divine things as, for instance, that Metis was devoured by Zeus have fallen into a dilemma, because they did not see that they who in these stories about the gods indirectly taught physics, denied the very existence of the gods, revolving all kinds of gods into mere allegorical representations of the various substances of the universe.

"And so it is more likely that the gods these persons celebrate were some sort of wicked magicians, who were in reality wicked men, but by magic assumed different shapes, committed adulteries, and took away life, and thus to the men of old who did not understand magic seemed to be gods by the things they did; and the bodies and tombs of these men are to be seen in many towns."

21 Their Graves are Still to Be Seen. "For instance, as I have mentioned already, in the Caucasian mountains there is shown the tomb of a certain Kronos, a man, and a fierce monarch who slew his children. And the son of this man, called Zeus, became worse than his father; and having by the power of magic been declared ruler of the universe, he committed many adulteries, and inflicted punishment on his father and uncles, and so died; and the Cretans show his tomb.

"And in Mesopotamia there lie buried a certain Helios at Atir, and a certain Selene at Carrhae. A certain Hermes, a man, lies buried in Egypt; Ares in Thrace; Aphrodite in Cyprus; Aesculapius in Epidaurus; and the tombs of many other such persons are to be seen."

22 Their Contemporaries, Therefore, Did Not Look on Them as Gods. "Thus, to right-thinking men, it is clear that they were admitted to be mortals. And their contemporaries, knowing that they were mortal, when they died paid them no more heed; and it was length of time which clothed them with the glory of gods.

"Nor need you wonder that they who lived in the times of Aesculapius and Hercules were deceived, or the contemporaries of Dionysus or any other of the men of that time, when even Hector in Ilium, and Achilles in the island of Leuce, are worshipped by the inhabitants of those places; and the Opuntines worship Patroclus, and the Rhodians Alexander of Macedon."

23 The Egyptians Pay Divine Honours to a Man. "Moreover, among the Egyptians even to the present day, a man is worshipped as a god before his death. And this truly is a small impiety, that the Egyptians give divine honours to a man in his lifetime; but what is of all things most absurd is, that they worship birds and creeping things, and all kinds of beasts. For the mass of men neither think nor do anything with discretion.

"But look, I pray you, at what is most disgraceful of all: he who is with them the father of gods and men is said by them to have had intercourse with Leda; and many of them set up in public a painting of this, writing above it the name Zeus. To punish this insult, I could wish that they would paint their own present king in such base embraces as they have dared to do with Zeus, and set it up in public, that from the anger of a temporary monarch, and him a mortal, they might learn to render honour where it is due.

"This I say to you, not as myself already knowing the true God; but I am happy to say that even if I do not know who is God, I think I at least know clearly what God is."

24 What is Not God. "And first, then, the four original elements cannot be God, because they have a cause. Nor can that mixing be God, nor that compounding, nor that generating, nor that globe which surrounds the visible universe; nor the dregs which flow together in Hades, nor the water which floats over them; nor the fiery substance, nor the air which extends from it to our earth.

"For the four elements, if they lay outside one another, could not have been mixed together so as to generate animal life without some great artificer. If they have always been united, even in this case they are fitted together by an artistic mind to what is requisite for the limbs and parts of animals, that they may be able to preserve their respective proportions, may have a clearly defined shape, and that all the inward parts may attain the fitting coherency.

"In the same way also the positions suitable for each are determined, and that very beautifully, by the artificer mind. To be brief, in all other things which a living creature must have, this great being of the world is in no respect wanting."

25 The Universe is the Product of Mind. "Thus we are shut up to the supposition that there is an unbegotten artificer, who brought the elements together, if they were separate; or, if they were together, artistically blended them so as to generate life, and perfected from all one work. For it cannot be that a work which is completely wise can be made without a mind which is greater than it.

"Nor will it do to say that love is the artificer of all things, or desire, or power, or any such thing. All these are liable to change, and transient in their very nature. Nor can that be God which is moved by another, much less what is altered by time and nature, and can be annihilated."

26 Peter Arrives from Caesarea. While I was saying these things to Appion, Peter drew near from Caesarea, and in Tyre the people were flocking together, hurrying to meet him and unite in an expression of gratification at his visit. And Appion withdrew, accompanied by Anubion and Athenodorus only; but the rest of us hurried to meet Peter, and I was the first to greet him at the gate, and I led him towards the inn.

When we arrived, we dismissed the people; and when he deigned to ask what had taken place, I concealed nothing, but told him of Simon's slanders, and the monstrous shapes he had taken, and all the diseases he had sent after the sacrificial feast, and that some of the sick persons were still there in Tyre, while others had gone on with Simon to Sidon just as I arrived, hoping to be cured by him, but that I had heard that none of them had been cured by him.

I also told Peter of the controversy I had with Appion; and he, from his love to me, and desiring to encourage me, praised and blessed me. Then, having supped, he betook himself to the rest the fatigues of his journey rendered so necessary.

CLEMENT HOMILIES BOOK 7

1 Peter Addresses the People. And on the fourth day of our stay in Tyre, Peter went out about daybreak, and there met him not a few of the dwellers round about, with very many of the inhabitants of Tyre itself, who cried out, and said, "God through you have mercy upon us, God through you heal us!"

And Peter stood on a high stone, that all might see him; and having greeted them in a godly manner, thus began:

2 Reason of Simon's Power. "God, who created the heavens and the whole universe, does not want occasion for the salvation of those who would be saved. Wherefore let no one, in seeming evils, rashly charge Him with unkindness to man. For men do not know the issue of those things which happen to them, nay, suspect that the result will be evil; but God knows that they will turn out well.

"So is it in the case of Simon. He is a power of the left hand of God, and has authority to do harm to those who know not God, so that he has been able to involve you in diseases; but by these very diseases, which have been permitted to come upon you by the good providence of God, you, seeking and finding him who is able to cure, have been compelled to submit to the will of God on the occasion of the cure of the body, and to think of believing, in order that in this way you may have your souls as well as your bodies in a healthy state."

3 The Remedy. "Now I have been told, that after he had sacrificed an ox he feasted you in the middle of the forum, and that you, being carried away with much wine, made friends with not only the evil demons, but their prince also, and that in this way the most of you were seized by these sicknesses, unwittingly drawing upon yourselves with your own hands the sword of destruction.

"For the demons would never have had power over you, had not you first supped with their prince. For thus from the beginning was a law laid by God, the Creator of all things, on each of the two princes, him of the right hand and him of the left, that neither should have power over any one whom they

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might wish to benefit or to hurt, unless first he had sat down at the same table with them.

"As, then, when you partook of meat offered to idols, you became servants to the prince of evil, in like manner, if you cease from these things, and flee for refuge to God through the good Prince of His right hand, honouring Him without sacrifices, by doing whatsoever He wills, know of a truth that not only will your bodies be healed, but your souls also will become healthy. For He only, destroying with His left hand, can quicken with His right; He only can both smite and raise the fallen."

4 The Golden Rule. "Wherefore, as then ye were deceived by the forerunner Simon, and so became dead in your souls to God, and were smitten in your bodies; so now, if you repent, as I said, and submit to those things which are well-pleasing to God, you may get new strength to your bodies, and recover your soul's health.

"And the things which are well-pleasing to God are these: to pray to Him, to ask from Him, recognising that He is the giver of all things, and gives with discriminating law; to abstain from the table of devils, not to taste dead flesh, not to touch blood; to be washed from all pollution; and the rest in one word,-- as the God-fearing Jews have heard, do you also hear, and be of one mind in many bodies; let each man be minded to do to his neighbour those good things he wishes for himself.

"And you may all find out what is good, by holding some such conversation as the following with yourselves: You would not like to be murdered; do not murder another man: you would not like your wife to be seduced by another; do not you commit adultery: you would not like any of your things to be stolen from you; steal nothing from another.

"And so understanding by yourselves what is reasonable, and doing it, you will become dear to God, and will obtain healing; otherwise in the life which now is your bodies will be tormented, and in that which is to come your souls will be punished."

5 Peter Departs for Sidon. After Peter had spent a few days in teaching them in this way, and in healing them, they were baptised. And after that, all sat down together in the market-places in sackcloth and ashes, grieving because of his other wondrous works, and repenting their former sins. And when they of Sidon heard it, they did likewise, and sent to beseech Peter, since they could not come themselves for their diseases.

And Peter did not spend many days in Tyre; but when he had instructed all its inhabitants, and freed them from all manners of diseases and had rounded a church, and set over it as bishop one of the elders who were with him, he departed for Sidon. But when Simon heard that Peter was coming, he straightway fled to Beyrout with Appion and his friends.

6 Peter in Sidon. And as Peter entered Sidon, they brought many in couches, and laid them before him. And he said to them: "Think not, I pray you, that I can do anything to heal you, who am a mortal man, myself subject to many evils. But I shall not refuse to show you the way in which you must be saved.

"For I have learned from the Prophet of truth the conditions fore-ordained of God before the foundation of the world; that is to say, the evil deeds which if men do He has ordained that they shall be injured by the prince of evil, and in like manner the good deeds for which He has decreed that they who have believed in Him as their Physician shall have their bodies made whole, and their souls established in safety."

7 The Two Paths. "Knowing, then, these good and evil deeds, I make known unto you as it were two paths, and I shall show you by which travellers are lost and by which they are saved, being guided of God. The path of the lost, then, is broad and very smooth it ruins them without troubling them; but the path of the saved is narrow, rugged, and in the end it saves, not without much toil, those who have journeyed through it.

"And these two paths are presided over by unbelief and faith; and these journey through the path of unbelief, those who have preferred pleasure, on account of which they have forgotten the day of judgement, doing that which is not pleasing to God, and not caring to save their souls by the word, and have not anxiously sought their own good. Truly they know not that the counsels of God are not like men's counsels; for, in the first place, He knows the thoughts of all men, and all must give an account not only of their actions, but also of their thoughts.

"And their sin is much less who strive to understand well and fall, than that of those who do not at all strive after good things. Because it has pleased God that he who errs in his knowledge of good, as men count errors, should be saved after being slightly punished.

"But they who have taken no care at all to know the better way, even though they may have done countless other good deeds, if they have not stood in the service He has Himself appointed, come under the charge of indifference, and are severely punished, and utterly destroyed."

8 The Service of God's Appointment. "And this is the service He has appointed: To worship Him only, and trust only in the Prophet of truth, and to be baptised for the remission of sins, and thus by this pure baptism to be born again unto God by saving water; to abstain from the table of devils, that is, from food offered to idols, from dead carcases, from animals which have been suffocated or caught by wild beasts, and from blood; not to live any longer impurely; to wash after intercourse; that the women on their part should keep the law of purification; that all should be sober-minded, given to good works, refraining from wrongdoing, looking for eternal life from the all-powerful God, and asking with prayer and continual supplication that they may win it."

Such was Peter's counsel to the men of Sidon also. And in few days many repented and believed, and were healed. And Peter having founded a church, and set over it as bishop one of the elders who were with him, left Sidon.

9 Simon Attacks Peter. No sooner had he reached Beyrout than an earthquake took place; and the multitude, running to Peter, said, "Help us, for we are afraid we shall all utterly perish."

Then Simon ventured, along with Appion and Anubion and Athenodorus, and the rest of his companions, to cry out to the people against Peter in public: "Flee, friends, from this man! he is a magician; trust us, he it was who caused this earthquake: he sent us these diseases to terrify us, as if he were God Himself."

And many such false charges did Simon and his friends bring against Peter, as one who could do things above human power. But as soon as the people gave him a moment's quiet, Peter with surprising boldness gave a little laugh, and said, "Friends, I admit that I can do, God willing, what these men say; and more than that, I am ready, if you do not believe what I say, to overturn your city from top to bottom."

10 Simon is Driven Away. And the people were afraid, and promised to do whatever he should command. "Let none of you, then," said Peter, "either hold conversation with these sorcerers, or have any thing to do with them."

And as soon as the people heard this concise command, they took up sticks, and pursued them till they had driven them wholly out of the town. And they who were sick and possessed with devils came and cast themselves at Peter's feet. And he seeing all this, and anxious to free them from their terror, said to them:

11 The Way of Salvation. "Were I able to cause earthquakes, and do all that I wish, I assure you I would not destroy Simon and his friends (for not to destroy men am I sent), but would make him my friend, that he might no longer, by his slanders against my preaching the truth, hinder the salvation of many.

"But if you believe me, he himself is a magician; he is a slanderer; he is a minister of evil to them who know not the truth. Therefore he has power to bring diseases on sinners, having the sinners themselves to help him in his power over them. But I am a servant of God the Creator of all things, and a disciple of His Prophet who is at His right hand.

"Wherefore I, being His apostle, preach the truth: to serve a good man I drive away diseases, for I am His second messenger, since first the disease comes, but after that the healing. By that evil-working magician, then, you were stricken with disease because you revolted from God. By me, if you believe on Him ye shall be cured: and so having had experience that He is able, you may turn to good works, and have your souls saved."

12 Peter Goes to Byblus and Tripolis. As he said these things, all fell on their knees before his feet. And he, lifting up his hands to heaven, prayed to God, and healed them all by his simple prayer alone. And he remained not many days in Beyrout; but after he had accustomed many to the service of the one God, and had baptised them, and had set over them a bishop from the elders who were with him, he went to Byblus.

And when he came there, and learned that Simon had not waited for them for a day, but had gone straightway to Tripolis, he remained there only a few days; and after that he had healed not a few, and exercised them in the Scriptures, he followed in Simon's track to Tripolis, preferring to pursue him rather than flee from him.

CLEMENT HOMILIES BOOK 8

1 Peter's Arrival at Tripolis. Now, as Peter was entering Tripolis, the people from Tyre and Sidon, Berytus and Byblus, who were eager to get instruction, and many from the neighbourhood, entered along with him; and not least were there gatherings of the multitudes from the city itself wishing to see him.

Therefore there met with us in the suburbs the brethren who had been sent forth by him to ascertain as well other particulars respecting the city, as the proceedings of Simon, and to come and explain them. They received him, and conducted him to the house of Maroones.3

2 Peter's Thoughtfulness. But he, when he was at the very gate of his lodging, turned round, and promised to the multitudes that after the next day he would converse with them on the subject of religion. And when he had gone in, the forerunners assigned lodgings to those who had come with him. And the hosts and the entertainers did not fall short of the desire of those who sought hospitality.

But Peter, knowing nothing of this, being asked by us to partake of food, said that he would not himself partake until those who had come with him were settled. And on our assuring him that this was already done, all having received them eagerly by reason of their affection towards him, so that those were grieved beyond measure who had no guests to entertain, Peter hearing this, and being pleased with their eager philanthropy, blessed them and went out, and having bathed in the sea, partook of food with the forerunners; and then, the evening having come, he slept.

3 A Conversation Interrupted. But awaking about the second cock-crowing, he found us astir. We were in all sixteen, viz., Peter himself, and I Clement, Nicetas and Aquila, and the twelve who had preceded us.

Having therefore saluted us, he said, "To-day, not being occupied with those without, we are free to be occupied with one another. Wherefore I shall tell you the things that happened after your departure from Tyre; and do you minutely relate to me what have been the doings of Simon here."

While, therefore, we were answering one another by narratives on either side, one of our friends entered, and announced to Peter that Simon, learning of his arrival, had set off for Syria, and that the multitudes, thinking this one night to be like a year's time, and not able to wait for the appointment which he had made, were standing before the doors conversing with one another in knots and circles about the accusation brought by Simon, and how that, having raised their expectations, and promised that he would charge Peter when he came with many evils, he had fled by night when he knew of his arrival.

"However," said he, "they are eager to hear you; and I know not whence some rumour has reached them to the effect that you are going to address them today. In order, therefore, that they may not when they are very tired be dismissed without reason, you yourself know what it is proper for you to do."

4 Many Called. Then Peter, wondering at the eagerness of the multitudes, answered, "You see, brethren, how the words of our Lord are manifestly fulfilled. For I remember His saying, 'Many shall come from the east and from the west, the north and the south, and shall recline on the bosoms of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob.' 'But many,' said He also, 'are called, but few chosen.'7

"The coming, therefore, of these called ones is fulfilled. But inasmuch as it is not of themselves, but of God who has called them and caused them to come, on this account alone they have no reward, since it is not of themselves but of Him who has wrought in them. But if, after being called, they do things that are excellent, for this is of themselves, then for this they shall have a reward."

5 Faith the Gift of God. "For even the Hebrews who believe Moses, and do not observe the things spoken by him, are not saved, unless they observe the things that were spoken to them. For their believing Moses was not of their own will, but of God, who said to Moses, 'Behold, I come to thee in a pillar of cloud, that the people may hear me speaking to thee, and may believe thee for ever.'

"Since, therefore, both to the Hebrews and to those who are called from the Gentiles, believing in the teachers of truth is of God, while excellent actions are left to every one to do by his own judgement, the reward is righteously bestowed upon those who do well. For there would have been no need of Moses, or of the coming of Jesus, if of themselves they would have understood what is reasonable. Neither is there salvation in believing in teachers and calling them lords."

6 Concealment and Revelation. "For on this account Jesus is concealed from the Jews, who have taken Moses as their teacher, and Moses is hidden from those who have believed Jesus. For, there being one teaching by both, God accepts him who has believed either of these. But believing a teacher is for the sake of doing the things spoken by God.

"And that this is so our Lord Himself says, 'I thank thee, Father of heaven and earth, because Thou hast concealed these things from the wise and elder, and hast revealed them to sucking babes.'9 Thus God Himself has concealed a teacher from some, as foreknowing what they ought to do, and has revealed him to others, who are ignorant what they ought to do."

7 Moses and Christ. "Neither, therefore, are the Hebrews condemned on account of their ignorance of Jesus, by reason of Him who has concealed Him, if, doing the things commanded by Moses, they do not hate Him whom they do not know. Neither are those from among the Gentiles condemned, who know not Moses on account of Him who hath concealed him, provided that these also, doing the things spoken by Jesus, do not hate Him whom they do not know.

"And some will not be profited by calling the teachers lords, but not doing the works of servants. For on this account our Jesus Himself said to one who often called Him Lord, but did none of the things which He prescribed, 'Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say? ' For it is not saying that will profit any one, but doing.

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"By all means, therefore, is there need of good works. Moreover, if any one has been thought worthy to recognise both as preaching one doctrine, that man has been counted rich in God, understanding both the old things as new in time, and the new things as old."

8 A Large Congregation. While Peter was thus speaking, the multitudes, as if they had been called by some one, entered into the place where Peter was. Then he, seeing a great multitude, like the smooth current of a river gently flowing towards him, said to Maroones, "Have you any place here that is better able to contain the crowd?"

Then Maroones conducted him to a garden-plot in the open air, and the multitudes followed. But Peter, standing upon a base of a statue which was not very high, as soon as he had saluted the multitude in pious fashion, knowing that many of the crowd that stood by were tormented with demons and many sufferings of long standing, and hearing them shrieking with lamentation, and falling down before him in supplication, rebuked them, and commanded them to hold their peace; and promising healing to them after the discourse,11 began to speak on this wise:

9 "Vindicate the Ways of God to Men." "While beginning to discourse on the worship of God to those who are altogether ignorant of everything, and whose minds have been corrupted by the accusations of our adversary Simon, I have thought it necessary first of all to speak of the blamelessness of the God who hath made all things, starting from the occasion seasonably afforded by Him according to His providence, that it may be known how with good reason many arc held by many demons, and subjected to strange sufferings, that in this the justice of God may appear; and that those who through ignorance blame Him, now may learn by good speaking and well-doing what sentiments they ought to hold, and recall themselves from their previous accusation, assigning ignorance as the cause of their evil presumption, in order that they may be pardoned."

10 The Original Law. "But thus the matter stands. The only good God having made all things well, and having handed them over to man, who was made after His image, he who had been made breathing of the divinity of Him who made him, being a true prophet and knowing all things, for the honour of the Father who had given all things to him, and for the salvation of the sons born of him, as a genuine father preserving his affection towards the children born of him, and wishing them, for their advantage, to love God and be loved of Him, showed them the way which leads to His friendship, teaching them by what deeds of men the one God and Lord of all is pleased; and having exhibited to them the things that are pleasing to Him, appointed a perpetual law to all, which neither can be abrogated by enemies, nor is vitiated by any impious one, nor is concealed in any place, but which can be read by all.

"To them, therefore, by obedience to the law, all things were in abundance, the fairest of fruits, fulness of years, freedom from grief and from disease, bestowed upon them without fear, with all salubrity of the air."

11 Cause of the Fall of Man. "But they, because they had at first no experience of evils, being insensible to the gift of good things, were turned to ingratitude by abundance of food and luxuries, so that they even thought that there is no Providence, since they had not by previous labour got good things as the reward of righteousness, inasmuch as no one of them had fallen into any suffering or disease, or any other necessity; so that, as is usual for men afflicted on account of wicked transgression, they should look about for the God who is able to heal them.

"But immediately after their despite, which proceeded from fearlessness and secure luxury, a certain just punishment met them, as following from a certain arranged harmony, removing from them good things as having hurt them, and introducing evil things instead, as advantageous."

12 Metamorphoses of the Angels. "For of the spirits who inhabit the heaven, the angels who dwell in the lowest region, being grieved at the ingratitude of men to God, asked that they might come into the life of men, that, really becoming men, by more intercourse they might convict those who had acted ungratefully towards Him, and might subject every one to adequate punishment. When, therefore, their petition was granted, they metamorphosed themselves into every nature; for, being of a more godlike substance, they are able easily to assume any form.

"So they became precious stones, and goodly pearl, and the most beauteous purple, and choice gold, and all matter that is held in most esteem. And they fell into the hands of some, and into the bosoms of others, and suffered themselves to be stolen by them. They also changed themselves into beasts and reptiles, and fishes and birds, and into whatsoever they pleased. These things also the poets among yourselves, by reason of fearlessness, sing, as they befell, attributing to one the many and diverse doings of all."

13 The Fall of the Angels. "But when, having assumed these forms, they convicted as covetous those who stole them, and changed themselves into the nature of men, in order that, living holily, and showing the possibility of so living, they might subject the ungrateful to punishment, yet having become in all respects men, they also partook of human lust, and being brought tinder its subjection they fell into cohabitation with women; and being involved with them, and sunk in defilement and altogether emptied of their first power, were unable to turn back to the first purity of their proper nature, their members turned away from their fiery substance: for the fire itself, being extinguished by the weight of lust, and changed into flesh, they trode the impious path downward.

"For they themselves, being fettered with the bonds of flesh, were constrained and strongly bound; wherefore they have no more been able to ascend into the heavens."

14 Their Discoveries. "For after the intercourse, being asked to show what they were before, and being no longer able to do so, on account of their being unable to do aught else after their defilement, yet wishing to please their mistresses, instead of themselves, they showed the bowels of the earth; I mean, the choice metals, gold, brass, silver, iron, and the like, with all the most precious stones.

"And along with these charmed stones, they delivered the arts of the things pertaining to each, and imparted the discovery of magic, and taught astronomy, and the powers of roots, and whatever was impossible to be found out by the human mind; also the reeking of gold and silver, and the like, and the various dyeing of garments. And all things, in short, which are for the adornment and delight of women, are the discoveries of these demons bound in flesh."

15 The Giants. "But from their unhallowed intercourse spurious men sprang, ranch greater in stature than ordinary men, whom they afterwards called giants; not those dragon-footed giants who waged war against God, as those blasphemous myths of the Greeks do sing, but wild in manners, and greater than men in size, inasmuch as they were sprung of angels; yet less than angels, as they were born of women.

"Therefore God, knowing that they were barbarized to brutality, and that the world was not sufficient to satisfy them (for it was created according to the proportion of men and human use), that they might not through want of food turn, contrary to nature, to the eating of animals, and yet seem to be blameless, as having ventured upon this through necessity, the Almighty God rained manna upon them, suited to their various tastes; and they enjoyed all that they would.

"But they, on account of their bastard nature, not being pleased with purity of food, longed only after the taste of blood. Wherefore they first tasted flesh."

16 Cannibalism. "And the men who were with them there for the first time were eager to do the like. Thus, although we are born neither good nor bad, we become one or the other; and having formed habits, we are with difficulty drawn from them. But when irrational animals fell short, these bastard men tasted also human flesh. For it was not a long step to the consumption of flesh like their own, having first tasted it in other forms."

17 The Flood. "But by the shedding of much blood, the pure air being defiled with impure vapour, and sickening those who breathed it, rendered them liable to diseases, so that thenceforth men flied prematurely. But the earth being by these means greatly defiled, these first teemed with poison-darting and deadly creatures.

"All things, therefore, going from bad to worse, on account of these brutal demons, God wished to cast them away like an evil leaven, lest each generation from a wicked seed, being like to that before it, and equally impious, should empty the world to come of saved men.

"And for this purpose, having warned a certain righteous man, with his three sons, together with their wives and their children, to save themselves in an ark, He sent a deluge of water, that all being destroyed, the purified world might be handed over to him who was saved in the ark, in order to a second beginning of life. And thus it came to pass."

18 The Law to the Survivors. "Since, therefore, the souls of the deceased giants were greater than human souls, inasmuch as they also excelled their bodies, they, as being a new race, were called also by a new name. And to those who survived in the world a law was prescribed of God through an angel, how they should live.

"For being bastards in race, of the fire of angels and the blood of women, and therefore liable to desire a certain race of their own, they were anticipated by a certain righteous law. For a certain angel was sent to them by God, declaring to them His will, and saying: "

19 The Law to the Giants or Demons. "'These things seem good to the all-seeing God, that you lord it over no man; that you trouble no one, unless any one of his own accord subject himself to you, worshipping you, and sacrificing and pouring libations, and partaking of your table, or accomplishing aught else that they ought not, or shedding blood, or tasting dead flesh, or filling themselves with that which is torn of beasts, or that which is cut, or that which is strangled, or aught else that is unclean.

"'But those who betake themselves to my law, you not only shall not touch, but shall also do honour to, and shall flee from, their presence. For whatsoever shall please them, being just, respecting you, that you shall be constrained to suffer.

"'But if any of those who worship me go astray, either committing adultery, or practising magic, or living impurely, or doing any other of the things which are not well-pleasing to me, then they will have to suffer something at your hands or those of others, according to my order. But upon them, when they repent, I, judging of their repentance, whether it be worthy of pardon or not, shall give sentence. These things, therefore, ye ought to remember and to do, well knowing that not even your thoughts shall be able to be concealed from Him.'"

20 Willing Captives. "Having charged them to this effect, the angel departed. But you are still ignorant of this law, that every one who worships demons, or sacrifices to them, or partakes with them of their table, shall become subject to them and receive all punishment from them, as being under wicked lords.

"And you who, on account of ignorance of this law, have been corrupted beside their altars,19 and have been satiated with food offered to them, have come under their power, and do not know how you have been in every way injured in respect of your bodies.

"But you ought to know that the demons have no power over any one, unless first he be their table-companion; since not even their chief can do anything contrary to the law imposed upon them by God, wherefore he has no power over any one who does not worship him; but neither can any one receive from them any of the things that he wishes, nor in anything be hurt by them, as you may learn from the following statement."

21 Temptation of Christ. "For once the king of the present time came to our King of righteousness, using no violence, for this was not in his power, but inducing and persuading, because the being persuaded lies in the power of every one.

"Approaching Him, therefore, as being king of things present, he said to the King of things future, 'All the kingdoms of the present world are subject to me; also the gold and the silver and all the luxury of this world are under my power. Wherefore fall down and worship me, and I will give you all these things.' And this he said, knowing that after He worshipped him he would have power also over Him, and thus would rob Him of the future glory and kingdom.

"But He, knowing all things, not only did not worship him, but would not receive aught of the things that were offered by him. For He pledged Himself with those that are His, to the effect that it is not lawful henceforth even to touch the things that are given over to him. Therefore He answered and said, 'Thou shall fear the Lord thy God, and Him only shall thou serve.'"

22 The Marriage Supper. "However, the king of the impious, striving to bring over to his own counsel the King of the pious, and not being able, ceased his efforts, undertaking to persecute Him for the remainder of His life. But you, being ignorant of the fore-ordained law, are under his power through evil deeds.

"Wherefore you are polluted in body and soul, and in the present life you are tyrannized over by sufferings and demons, but in that which is to come you shall have your souls to be punished. And this not you alone suffer through ignorance, but also some of our nation, who by evil deeds having been brought under the power of the prince of wickedness, like persons invited to a supper by a father celebrating the marriage of his son, have not obeyed.

"But instead of those who through preoccupation disobeyed, the Father celebrating the marriage of his Son, has ordered us, through the Prophet of the truth, to come into the partings of the ways, that is, to you, and to invest you with the clean wedding-garment, which is baptism, which is for the remission of the sins done by you, and to bring the good to the supper of God by repentance, although at the first they were left out of the banquet."

23 The Assembly Dismissed. "If, therefore, ye wish to be the vesture of the Divine Spirit, hasten first to put off your base presumption, which is an unclean spirit and a foul garment. And this you cannot otherwise put off, than by being first baptised in good works. And thus being pure in body and in soul, you shall enjoy the future eternal kingdom.

"Therefore neither believe in idols, nor partake with them of the impure table, nor commit murder, nor adultery, nor hate those whom it is not right to hate, nor steal, nor set upon any evil deeds; since, being deprived of the hope of future blessings in the present life, you shall be subjected to evil demons and terrible sufferings, and in the world to come you shall be punished with eternal fire.

"Now, then, what has been said is enough for today. For the rest, those of you who are afflicted with ailments remain for healing; and of the others, you who please go in peace."

24 The Sick Healed. When he had thus spoken, all of them remained, some in order to be healed, and others to see those who obtained cures. But Peter, only laying his hands upon them, and praying, healed them; so that those who were straightway cured were exceeding glad, and those who looked on exceedingly wondered, and blessed God, and believed with a firm hope, and with those who had been healed departed to

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their own homes, having received a charge to meet early on the following day.

And when they had gone, Peter remained there with his associates, and partook of food, and refreshed himself with sleep.

CLEMENT HOMILIES BOOK 9

1 Peter's Discourse Resumed. Therefore on the next day, Peter going out with his companions, and coming to the former place, and taking his stand, proceeded to say:

"God having cut off by water all the impious men of old, having found one alone amongst them all that was pious, caused him to be saved in an ark, with his three sons and their wives. Whence may be perceived that it is His nature not to care for a multitude of wicked, nor to be indifferent to the salvation of one pious. Therefore the greatest impiety of all is forsaking the sole Lord of all, and worshipping many, who are no gods, as if they were gods."

2 Monarchy and Polyarchy. "If, therefore, while I expound and show you that this is the greatest sin, which is able to destroy you all, it occur to your mind that you are not destroyed, being great multitudes, you are deceived.

"For you have the example of the old world deluged. And yet their sin was much less than that which is chargeable against you. For they were wicked with respect to their equals, murdering or committing adultery. But you are wicked against the God of all, worshipping lifeless images instead of Him or along with Him, and attributing His divine name to every kind of senseless matter.

"In the first place, therefore, you are unfortunate in not knowing the difference between monarchy and polyarchy that monarchy, on the one hand, is productive of concord, but polyarchy is effective of wars. For unity does not fight with itself, but multitude has occasion of undertaking battle one against another."

3 Family of Noe. "Therefore straightway after the flood, Noe continued to live three hundred and fifty years with the multitude of his descendants in concord, being a king according to the image of the one God. But after his death many of his descendants were ambitious of the kingdom, and being eager to reign, each one considered how it might be effected; and one attempted it by war, another by deceit, another by persuasion, and one in one way and another in another; one of whom was of the family of Ham, whose descendant was Mestren, from whom the tribes of the Egyptians and Babylonians and Persians were multiplied."

4 Zoroaster (Zarathustra). "Of this family there was born in due time a certain one, who took up with magical practices, by name Nebrod, who chose, giant-like, to devise things in opposition to God. Him the Greeks have called Zoroaster.

"He, after the deluge, being ambitious of sovereignty, and being a great magician, by magical arts compelled the world-guiding star of the wicked one who now rules, to the bestowal of the sovereignty as a gift from him. But he, being a prince, and having authority over him who compelled him, wrathfully poured out the fire of the kingdom, that he might both bring to allegiance, and might punish him who at first constrained him."

5 Hero-Worship. "Therefore the magician Nebrod, being destroyed by this lightning falling on earth from heaven, for this circumstance had his name changed to Zoroaster, on account of the living (zosan) stream of the star (asteros) being poured upon him.

"But the unintelligent amongst the men who then were, thinking that through the love of God his soul had been sent for by lightning, buried the remains of his body, and honoured his burial-place with a temple among the Persians, where the descent of the fire occurred, and worshipped him as a god. By this example also, others there bury those who die by lightning as beloved of God, and honour them with temples, and erect statues of the dead in their own forms.

"Thence, in like manner, the rulers in different places were emulous of like honour, and very many of them honoured the tombs of those who were beloved of them, though not dying by lightning, with temples and statues, and lighted up altars, and ordered them to be adored as gods. And long after, by the lapse of time, they were thought by posterity to be really gods."

6 Fire-Worship. "Thus, in this fashion, there ensued many partitions of the one original kingdom. The Persians, first taking coals from the lightning which fell from heaven, preserved them by ordinary fuel, and honouring the heavenly fire as a god, were honoured by the fire itself with the first kingdom, as its first worshippers.

"After them the Babylonians, stealing coals from the fire that was there, and conveying it safely to their own home, and worshipping it, they themselves also reigned in order.

"And the Egyptians, acting in like manner, and calling the fire in their own dialect Phthaë, which is translated Hephaistus or Osiris, he who first reigned amongst them is called by its name. Those also who reigned in different places, acting in this fashion, and making an image, and kindling altars in honour of fire, most of them were excluded from the kingdom."

7 Sacrificial Orgies. "But they did not cease to worship images, by reason of the evil intelligence of the magicians, who found excuses for them, which had power to constrain them to the foolish worship For, establishing this things by magical ceremonies, they assigned them feasts from sacrifices, libations, flutes, and shoutings, by means of which senseless men, being deceived, and their kingdom being taken from them, yet did not desist from the worship that they had taken up with.

"To such an extent did they prefer error, on account of its pleasantness, before truth. They also howl after their sacrificial surfeit, their soul from the depth, as it were by dreams, forewarning them of the punishment that is to befall such deeds of theirs."

8 The Best Merchandise. "Many forms of worship, then, having passed away in the world, we come, bringing to you, as good merchantmen, the worship that has been handed down to us from our fathers, and preserved; showing you, as it were, the seeds of plants, and placing them under your judgement and in your power.

"Choose that which seems good unto you. If, therefore, ye choose our wares, not only shall ye be able to escape demons, and the sufferings which are inflicted by demons, but yourselves also putting them to flight, and having them reduced to make supplication to you, shall for ever enjoy future blessings."

9 How Demons Get Power Over Men. "Since, on the other hand, you are oppressed by strange sufferings inflicted by demons, on your removal from the body you shall have your souls also punished for ever; not indeed by God's inflicting vengeance, but because such is the judgement of evil deeds.

"For the demons, having power by means of the food given to them, are admitted into your bodies by your own hands; and lying hid there for a long time, they become blended with your souls. And through the carelessness of those who think not, or even wish not, to help themselves, upon the dissolution of their bodies, their souls being united to the demon, are of necessity borne by it into whatever places it pleases.

"And what is most terrible of all, when at the end of all things the demon is first consigned to the purifying fire, the soul which is mixed with it is under the necessity of being horribly punished, and the demon of being pleased. For the soul, being made of light, and not capable of bearing the heterogeneous flame of fire, is tortured; but the demon, being in the substance of his own kind, is greatly pleased, becoming the strong chain of the soul that he has swallowed up."

10 How They are to Be Expelled. "But the reason why the demons delight in entering into men's bodies is this. Being spirits, and having desires after meats and drinks, and sexual pleasures, but not being able to partake of these by reason of their being spirits, and wanting organs fitted for their enjoyment, they enter into the bodies of men, in order that, getting organs to minister to them, they may obtain the things that they wish, whether it be meat, by means of men's teeth, or sexual pleasure, by means of men's members.

"Hence, in order to the putting of demons to flight, the most useful help is abstinence, and fasting, and suffering of affliction. For if they enter into men's bodies for the sake of sharing pleasures, it is manifest that they are put to flight by suffering.

"But inasmuch as some, being of a more malignant kind, remain by the body that is undergoing punishment, though they are punished with it, therefore it is needful to have recourse to God by prayers and petitions, refraining from every occasion of impurity, that the hand of God may touch him for his cure, as being pure and faithful."

11 Unbelief the Demon's Stronghold. "But it is necessary in our prayers to acknowledge that we have had recourse to God, and to bear witness, not to the apathy, but to the slowness of the demon. For all things are done to the believer, nothing to the unbeliever. Therefore the demons themselves, knowing the amount of faith of those of whom they take possession, measure their stay proportionately.

"Wherefore they stay permanently with the unbelieving, tarry for a while with the weak in faith; but with those who thoroughly believe, and who do good, they cannot remain even for a moment. For the soul being turned by faith, as it were, into the nature of water, quenches the demon as a spark of fire.

"The labour, therefore, of every one is to be solicitous about the putting to flight of his own demon. For, being mixed up with men's souls, they suggest to every one's mind desires after what things they please, in order that he may neglect his salvation."

12 Theory of Disease. "Whence many, not knowing how they are influenced, consent to the evil thoughts suggested by the demons, as if they were the reasoning of their own souls. Wherefore they become less active to come to those who are able to save them, and do not know that they themselves are held captive by the deceiving demons.

"Therefore the demons who lurk in their souls induce them to think that it is not a demon that is distressing them, but a bodily disease, such as some acrid matter, or bile, or phlegm, or excess of blood, or inflammation of a membrane, or something else.

"But even if this were so, the case would not be altered of its being a kind of demon. For the universal and earthly soul, which enters on account of all kinds of food, being taken to excess by over-much food, is itself united to the spirit, as being cognate, which is the soul of man; and the material part of the food being united to the body, is left as a dreadful poison to it. Wherefore in all respects moderation is excellent."

13 Deceits of the Demons. "But some of the maleficent demons deceive in another way. For at first they do not even show their existence, in order that care may not be taken against them; but in due time, by means of anger, love, or some other affection, they suddenly injure the body, by sword, or halter, or precipice, or something else, and at last bring to punishment the deceived souls of those who have been mixed up with them, as we said, withdrawing into the purifying fire.

"But others, who are deceived in another way, do not approach us, being seduced by the instigations of maleficent demons, as if they suffered these things at the hands of the gods themselves, on account of their neglect of them, and were able to reconcile them by sacrifices, and that it is not needful to come to us, but rather to flee from and hate us. And at the same time8 they hate and flee from those who have greater compassion for them, and who follow after them in order to do good to them."

14 More Tricks. "Therefore shunning and hating us they are deceived, not knowing how it happens that they devise things opposed to their health. For neither can we compel them against their will to incline towards health, since now we have no such power over them, nor are they able of themselves to understand the evil instigation of the demon; for they know not whence these evil instigations are suggested to them.

"And these are they whom the demons affright, appearing in such forms as they please. And sometimes they prescribe remedies for those who are diseased, and thus they receive divine honours from those who have previously been deceived.

"And they conceal from many that they are demons, but not from us, who know their mystery, and why they do these things, changing themselves in dreams against those over whom they have power; and why they terrify some, and give oracular responses to others, and demand sacrifices from them, and command them to eat with them, that they may swallow up their souls."

15 Test of Idols. "For as dire serpents draw sparrows to them by their breath, so also these draw to their own will those who partake of their table, being mixed up with their understanding by means of food and drink, changing themselves in dreams according to the forms of the images, that they may increase error. For the image is neither a living creature, nor has it a divine spirit, but the demon that appeared abused the form.

"How many, in like manner, have been seen by others in dreams; and when they have met one another when awake, and compared them with what they saw in their dream, they have not accorded: so that the dream is not a manifestation, but is either the production of a demon or of the soul, giving forums to present fears and desire. For the soul, being struck with fear, conceives forms in dreams.

"But if you think that images, as being alive, can accomplish such things, place them on a beam accurately balanced, and place. an equipoise in the other scale, then ask them to become either heavier or lighter: and if this be done, then they are alive. But it does not so happen. But if it were so, this would not prove them to be gods. For this might be accomplished by the finger of the demon. Even maggots move, yet they are not called gods."

16 Powers of the Demons. "But that the soul of each man embodies the forms of demons after his own preconceptions, and that those who are called gods do not appear, is manifest from the fact that they do not appear to the Jews. But some one will say, How then do they give oracular responses, forecasting future things? This also is false.

"But suppose it were true, this does not prove them to be gods; for it does not follow, if anything prophesies, that it is a god. For pythons prophesy, yet they are cast out by us as demons, and put to flight.

"But some one will say, They work cures for some persons. It is false. But suppose it were true, this is no proof of Godhead; for physicians also heal many, yet are not gods. But, says one, physicians do not completely heal those of whom they take charge, but these heal oracularly. But the demons know the remedies that are suited to each disease.

"Wherefore, being skilful physicians, and able to cure those diseases which can be cured by men, and also being prophets, and knowing when each disease is healed of itself, they so arrange their remedies that they may gain the credit of producing the cure."

17 Reasons Why Their Deceits are Not Detected. "For why do they oracularly foretell cures after a long time? And why, if they are almighty, do they not effect cures without administering any medicine? And for what reason do they prescribe remedies to some of those who pray to them, while

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to some, and it may be more suitable cases, they give no response?

"Thus, whenever a cure is going to take place spontaneously, they promise, in order that they may get the credit of the cure; and others, having been sick, and having prayed, and having recovered spontaneously, attributed the cure to those whom they had invoked, and make offerings to them.

"Those, however, who, after praying, have failed, are not able to offer their sacrifices. But if the relatives of the dead, or any of their children, inquired into the losses, you would find the failures to be more than the successes. But no one who has been taken in by them is willing to exhibit an accusation against them, through shame or fear; but, on the other hand, they conceal the crimes which they believe them to be guilty of."

18 Props of the System. "And how many also falsify the responses given and the cures effected by them, and confirm them with an oath! And how many give themselves up to them for hire, undertaking falsely to suffer certain things, and thus proclaiming their suffering, and being restored by remedial means, they say that they oracularly promised them healing, in order that they may assign as the cause the senseless worship!

"And how many of these things were formerly done by magical art, in the way of interpreting dreams, and divining! Yet in course of time these things have disappeared. And how many are there now, who, wishing to obtain such things, make use of charms! However, though a thing be prophetical or healing, it is not divine."

19 Privileges of the Baptised. "For God is almighty. For He is good and righteous, now long-suffering to all, that those who will, repenting of the evils which they have done, and living well, may receive a worthy reward in the day in which all things are judged. Wherefore now begin to obey God by reason of good Knowledge, and to oppose your evil lusts and thoughts, that you may be able to recover the original saving worship which was committed to humanity.

"For thus shall blessings straightway spring up to you, which, when you receive, you will thenceforth quit the trial of evils. But give thanks to the Giver; being kings for ever of unspeakable good things, with the King of peace. But in the present life, washing in a flowing river, or fountain, or even in the sea, with the thrice-blessed invocation, you shall not only, be able to drive away the spirits which lurk in you; but yourselves no longer sinning, and undoubtingly believing God, you shall drive out evil spirits and dire demons, with terrible diseases, from others.

"And sometimes they shall flee when you but look on them. For they know those who have given themselves up to God. Wherefore, honouring them, they flee affrighted, as you saw yesterday, how, when after the address I delayed praying for those who were suffering these maladies, through respect towards the worship they cried out, not being able to endure it for a short hour."

20 "Not Almost, But Altogether Such as I Am." "Do not then suppose that we do not fear demons on this account, that we are of a different nature from you. For we are of the same nature, but not of the same worship. Wherefore, being not only much but altogether superior to you, we do not grudge you becoming such as we are; but, on the other hand, counsel you, knowing that all these demons beyond measure honour and fear those who are reconciled to God."

21 The Demons Subject to the Believer. "For, in like manner as the soldiers who are put under one of Caesar's captains know to honour him who has received authority on account of him who gave it, so that the commanders say to this one, Come, and he comes, and to another, Go, and he goes; so also he who has given himself to God, being faithful, is heard when he only speaks to demons and diseases; and the demons give place, though they be much stronger than they who command them. For with unspeakable power God subjects the mind of every one to whom He pleases. For as many captains, with whole camps and cities, fear Caesar, who is but a man, every one's heart being eager to honour the image of all11 for the will of God, all things being enslaved by fear, do not know the cause; so also all disease-producing spirits, being awed in some natural way, honour and flee from him who has had recourse to God, and who carries right faith as His image in his heart.

22 "Rather Rejoice" "But still, though all demons, with all diseases, flee before you, you are not to rejoice in this only, but in that, through grace, your names, as of the ever-living, are written in heaven. Thus also the Divine Holy Spirit rejoices because man hath overcome death; for the putting of the demons to flight makes for the safety of another.

"But this we say, not as denying that we ought to help others, but that we ought not to be inflated by this and neglect ourselves. It happens, also, that the demons flee before some wicked men by reason of the honoured name, and both he who expels the demon and he who witnesses it are deceived: he who expels him, as if he were honoured on account of righteousness, not knowing the wickedness of the demon.

"For he has at once honoured the name, and by his flight has brought the wicked man into a thought of his righteousness, and so deceived him away from repentance. But the looker-on, associating with the expeller as a pious man, hastens to a like manner of life, and is ruined. Sometimes also they pretend to flee before adjurations not made in the name of God, that they may deceive men, and destroy them whom they will."

23 The Sick Healed. "This then we would have you know, that unless any one of his own accord give himself over as a slave to demons, as I said before, the demon has no power against him. Choosing, therefore, to worship one God, and refraining from the table of demons, and undertaking chastity with philanthropy and righteousness, and being baptised with the thrice-blessed invocation for the remission of sins, and devoting yourselves as much as you can to the perfection of purity, you can escape everlasting punishment, and be constituted heirs of eternal blessings."

Having thus spoken, he ordered those to approach who were distressed with diseases;12 and thus many approached, having come together through the experience of those who had been healed yesterday. And he having laid his hands upon them and prayed, and immediately healed them, and having charged them and the others to come earlier, he bathed and partook of food, and went to sleep.

CLEMENT HOMILIES BOOK 10

1 The Third Day in Tripolis. Therefore on the third day in Tripolis, Peter rose early and went into the garden, where there was a great water-reservoir, into which a full stream of water constantly flowed. There having bathed, and then having prayed, he sat down; and perceiving us sitting around and eagerly observing him, as wishing to hear something from him, he said:

2 Ignorance and Error. "There seems to me to be a great difference between the ignorant and the erring. For the ignorant man seems to me to be like a man who does not wish to set out for a richly stored city, through his not knowing the excellent things that are there; but the erring man to be like one who has learned indeed the good things that are in the city, but who has forsaken the highway in proceeding towards it, and so has wandered.

"Thus, therefore, it seems to me that there is a great difference between those who worship idols and those who are faulty in the worship of God. For they who worship idols are ignorant of eternal life, and therefore they do not desire it; for what they do not know, they cannot love. But those who have chosen to worship one God, and who have learned of the eternal life given to the good, if they either believe or do anything different from what is pleasing to God, are like to those who have gone out from the city of punishment, and are desirous to come to the well-stored city, and on the road have strayed from the right path."

3 Man the Lord of All. While he was thus discoursing to us, there entered one of our people, who had been appointed to make the following announcement to him, and said: "My lord Peter, there are great multitudes standing before the doors."

With his consent, therefore, a great multitude entered. Then he rose up, and stood on the basis, as he had done the day before; and having saluted them in religious fashion, he said:

"God having formed the heaven and the earth, and having made all things in them, as the true Prophet has said to us, man, being made after the image and likeness of God, was appointed to be ruler and lord of things I say, in air and earth and water, as may be known from the very fact that by his intelligence he brings down the creatures that are in the air, and brings up those that are in the deep, hunts those that are on the earth, and that although they are much greater in strength than he; I mean elephants, and lions, and such like."

4 Faith and Duty. "While, therefore, he was righteous, he was also superior to all sufferings, as being unable by his immortal body to have any experience of pain; but when he sinned, as I showed you yesterday and the day before, becoming as it were the servant of sin, he became subject to all sufferings, being by a righteous judgement deprived of all excellent things. For it was not reasonable, the Giver having been forsaken, that the gifts should remain with the ungrateful.

"Whence, of His abundant mercy, in order to our receiving, with the first, also future blessings, He sent His Prophet. And the Prophet has given in charge to us to tell you what you ought to think, and what to do. Choose, therefore; and this is in your power. What, therefore, you ought to think is this, to worship the God who made all things; whom if you receive in your minds, you shall receive from Him, along with the first excellent things, also the future eternal blessings."

5 The Fear of God. "Therefore you shall be able to persuade yourselves with respect to the things that are profitable, if, like charmers, you say to the horrible serpent which lurks in your heart, 'The Lord God thou shall fear, and Him alone thou shall serve.'

"On every account it is advantageous to fear Him alone, not as an unjust, but as a righteous God. For one fears an unjust being, lest he be wrongfully destroyed, but a righteous one, lest he be caught in sin and punished. You can therefore, by fear towards Him, he freed from many hurtful fears. For if you do not fear the one Lord and Maker of all, you shall be the slaves of all evils to your own hurt, I mean of demons and diseases, and of everything that can in any way hurt you."

6 Restoration of the Divine Image. "Therefore approach with confidence to God, you who at first were made to be rulers and lords of all things: ye who have His image in your bodies, have in like manner the likeness of His judgement in your minds. Since, then, by acting like irrational animals, you have lost the soul of man from your soul, becoming like swine, you are the prey of demons.

"If, therefore, you receive the law of God, you become men. For it cannot be said to irrational animals, 'Thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not steal,' and so forth. Therefore do not refuse, when invited, to return to your first nobility; for it is possible, if ye be conformed to God by good works. And being accounted to be sons by reason of your likeness to Him, you shall be reinstated as lords of all."

7 Unprofitableness of Idols. "Begin, then, to divest yourselves of the injurious fear of vain idols, that you may escape unrighteous bondage. For they have become your masters, who even as servants are unprofitable to you. I speak of the material of the lifeless images, which are of no use to you as far as service is concerned. For they neither bear nor see nor feel, nor can they be moved.

"For is there any one of you who would like to see as they see, and to hear as they hear, and to feel as they feel, and to be moved as they are? God forbid that such a wrong should be done to any man bearing the image of God, though he have lost His likeness."

8 No Gods Which are Made with Hands. "Therefore reduce your gods of gold and silver, or any other material, to their original nature; I mean into cups and basins and all other utensils, such as may be useful to you for service; and those good things which were given you at first shall be able to be restored.

"But perhaps you will say, The laws of the emperors do not permit us to do this.4 You say well that it is the law, and not the power of the vain idols themselves, which is nothing. How, then, have ye regarded them as gods, who are avenged by human laws, guarded by dogs, kept by multitudes? and that if they are of gold, or silver. or brass. For those of wood or earthenware are preserved by their worthlessness, because no man desires to steal a wooden or earthenware god!

"So that your gods are exposed to danger in proportion to the value of the material of which they are made. How, then, can they be gods, which are stolen, molten, weighed, guarded?"

9 "Eyes Have They, But They See Not." "Oh the minds of wretched men, who fear things deader than dead men! For I cannot call them even dead, which have never lived, unless they are the tombs of ancient men. For sometimes a person, visiting unknown places, does not know whether the temples which he sees are monuments of dead men, or whether they belong to the so-called gods; but on inquiring and bearing that they belong to the gods, he worships, without being ashamed that if he had not learned on inquiring, he would have passed them by as the monuments of a dead man, on account of the strictness of the resemblance.

"However, it is not necessary that I should adduce much proof in regard to such superstition. For it is easy for any one who pleases to understand that it, an idol, is nothing, unless there be any one who does not see. However, now at least hear that it does not hear, and understand that it does not understand. For the hands of a man who is dead made it.

"If, then, the maker is dead, how can it be that which was made by him shall not be dissolved? Why, then, do you worship the work of a mortal which is altogether senseless? whereas those who have reason do not worship animals, nor do they seek to propitiate the elements which have been made by God, I mean the heaven, the sun, the moon, lightning, the sea, and all things in them, rightly judging not to worship the things that He has made, but to reverence the Maker and Sustainer of them. For in this they themselves also rejoice, that no one ascribes to them the honour that belongs to their Maker."

10 Idolatry a Delusion of the Serpent. "For His alone is the excellent glory of being alone uncreated, while all else is created. As, therefore, it is the prerogative of the uncreated to be God, so whatever is created is not God indeed.

"Before all things, therefore, you ought to consider the evil-working suggestion of the deceiving serpent that is in you, which seduces yon by the promise of better reason, creeping from your brain to your spinal marrow, and setting great value upon deceiving you."5

11 Why the Serpent Tempts to Sin. "For he knows the original law, that if he bring you to the persuasion of the so-called gods, so that you sin against the one good of monarchy your overthrow becomes a gain to him. And that for this reason, because he being condemned eats earth, he has power to eat him who through sin being dissolved into earth, has become earth, your souls going into his belly of fire. In order,

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therefore, that you may suffer these things, he suggests every thought to your hurt."

12 Ignorantia Neminem Excusat. "For all the deceitful conceptions against the monarchy are sown in your mind by him to your hurt. First, that you may not hear the discourses of piety, and so drive away ignorance, which is the occasion of evils, he ensnares you by a pretence of knowledge, giving in the first instance, and using throughout this presumption, which is to think and to be unhappily advised, that if any one do not hear the word of piety, he is not subject to judgements.

"Wherefore also some, being thus deceived, are not willing to hear, that they may be ignorant, not knowing that ignorance is of itself a sufficient deadly drug. For if any one should take a deadly drug in ignorance, does he not die? So naturally sins destroy the sinner, though he commit them in ignorance of what is right."

13 Condemnation of the Ignorant. "But if judgement follows upon disobedience to instruction, much more shall God destroy those who will not undertake His worship. For he who will not learn, lest that should make him subject to judgement, is already judged as knowing, for he knew what he will not hear; so that imagination avails nothing as an apology in presence of the heart-knowing God.

"Wherefore avoid that cunning thought suggested by the serpent to your minds. But if any one end this life in real ignorance, this charge will lie against him, that, having lived so long, he did not know who was the bestower of the food supplied to him: and as a senseless, and ungrateful, and very unworthy servant, he is rejected from the kingdom of God."

14 Polytheistic Illustration. "Again, the terrible serpent suggests this supposition to you, to think and to say that very thing which most of you do say; viz., We know that there is one Lord of all, but there also are gods. For in like manner as there is one Caesar, but he has under him procurators, proconsuls, prefects, commanders of thousands, and of hundreds, and of tens; in the same way, there being one great God, as there is one Caesar, there also, after the manner of inferior powers, are gods, inferior indeed to Him, but ruling over us.

"Hear, therefore, ye who have been led away by this conception as by a terrible poison I mean the evil conception of this illustration that you may know what is good and what is evil. For you do not yet see it, nor do you look into the things that you utter."

15 Its Inconclusiveness. "For if you say that, after the manner of Caesar, God has subordinate powers those, namely, which are called gods you do not thus go by your illustration. For if you went by it, you must of necessity know that it is not lawful to give the name of Caesar to another, whether he be consul, or prefect, or captain, or any one else, and that he who gives such a name shall not live, and he who takes it shall be cut off.

"Thus, according to your own illustration, the name of God must not be given to another; and he who is tempted either to take or give it is destroyed. Now, if this insult of a man induces punishment, much more they who call others gods shall be subject to eternal punishment, as insulting God. And with good reason; because you subject to all the insult that you can the name which it was committed to you to honour, in order to His monarchy.

"For God is not properly His name; but you having in the meantime received it, insult what has been given you, that it may be accounted as done against the real name, according as you use that. But you subject it to every kind of insult."

16 Gods of the Egyptians. "Therefore you ringleaders among the Egyptians, boasting of meteorology, and promising to judge the natures of the stars, by reason of the evil opinion lurking in them, subjected that name to all manner of dishonour as far as in them lay. For some of them taught the worship of an ox called Apis, some that of a he-goat, some of a cat, some of a serpent; yea, even of a fish, and of onions, and rumblings in the stomach,6 and common sewers, and members of irrational animals, and to myriads of other base abominations they gave the name of god."

17 The Egyptians' Defence of Their System. On Peter's saying this, the surrounding multitude laughed. Then Peter said to the laughing multitude: "You laugh at their proceedings, not knowing that you are yourselves much more objects of ridicule to them. But you laugh at one another's proceedings; for, being led by evil custom into deceit, you do not see your own.

"But I admit that you have reason to laugh at the idols of the Egyptians, since they, being rational, worship irrational animals, and these altogether dying. But listen to what they say when they deride you. We, they say, though we worship dying creatures, yet still such as have once had life: but you reverence things that never lived. And in addition to this, they say, We wish to honour the form of the one God, but we cannot find out what it is, and so we choose to give honour to every form. And so, making some such statements as these, they think that they judge more rightly than you do."

18 Answer to the Egyptians. "Wherefore answer them thus: You lie, for you do not worship these things in honour of the true God, for then all of you would worship every form; not as ye do. For those of you who suppose the onion to be the divinity, and those who worship rumblings in the stomach, contend with one another; and thus all in like manner preferring some one thing, revile those that are preferred by others.

"And with diverse judgements, one reverences one and another of the limbs of the same animal. Moreover, those of them who still have a breath of right reason, being ashamed of the manifest baseness, attempt to drive these things into allegories, wishing by another vagary to establish their deadly error.

"But we should confute the allegories, if we were there, the foolish passion for which has prevailed to such an extent as to constitute a great disease of the understanding. For it is not necessary to apply a plaster to a whole part of the body, but to a diseased part. Since then, you, by your laughing at the Egyptians, show that you are not affected with their disease, with respect to your own disease it were reasonable I should afford to you a present cure of your own malady."

19 God's Peculiar Attribute. "He who would worship God ought before all things to know what alone is peculiar to the nature of God, which cannot pertain to another, that, looking at His peculiarity, and not finding it in any other, he may not be seduced into ascribing godhead to another.

"But this is peculiar to God, that He alone is, as the Maker of all, so also the best of all. That which makes is indeed superior in power to that which is made; that which is boundless is superior in magnitude to that which is bounded: in respect of beauty, that which is comeliest; in respect of happiness, that which is most blessed; in respect of understanding, that which is most perfect. And in like manner, in other respects, He has incomparably the pre-eminence.

"Since then, as I said, this very thing, viz., to be the best of all, is peculiar to God, and the all-comprehending world was made by Him, none of the things made by Him can come into equal comparison with Him."

20 Neither the World Nor Any of Its Parts Can Be God. "But the world, not being incomparable and unsurpassable, and altogether in all respects without defect, cannot be God. But if the whole world cannot be God, in respect of its having been made, how much more should not its parts be reasonably called God; I mean the parts that are by you called gods, being made of gold and silver, brass and stone, or of any other material whatsoever; and they constructed by mortal hand. However, let us further see how the terrible serpent through man's mouth poisons those who are seduced by his solicitations."

21 Idols Not Animated by the Divine Spirit. "For many say, We do not worship the gold or the silver, the wood or the stone, of the objects of our worship. For we also know that these are nothing but lifeless matter, and the art of mortal man. But the spirit that dwells in them, that we call God.

"Behold the immorality of those who speak thus! For when that which appears is easily proved to be nothing, they have recourse to the invisible, as not being able to be convicted in respect of what is non-apparent. However, they agree with us in part, that one half of their images is not God, but senseless matter. It remains for them to show how we are to believe that these images have a divine spirit.

"But they cannot prove to us that it is so, for it is not so; and we do not believe them when they say that they have seen it. We shall afford them proofs that they have not a divine spirit, that lovers of truth, hearing the refutation of the thought that they are animated, may turn away from the hurtful delusion."

22 Confutation of Idol-Worship. "In the first place, indeed, if you worship them as being animated, why do you also worship the sepulchres of memorable men of old, who confessedly had no divine spirit? Thus you do not at all speak truth respecting this.

"But if your objects of worship were really animated, they would move of themselves; they would have a voice; they would shake off the spiders that are on them; they would thrust forth those that wish to surprise and to steal them; they would easily capture those who pilfer the offerings. But now they do none of these things, but are guarded, like culprits, and especially the more costly of them, as we have already said.

"But what? Is it not so, that the rulers demand of you imposts and taxes on their account, as if you were greatly benefited by them? But what? Have they not often been taken as plunder by enemies, and been broken and scattered? And do not the priests, more than the outside worshippers, carry off many of the offerings, thus acknowledging the uselessness of their worship?"

23 Folly of Idolatry. "Nay, it will be said; but they are detected by their foresight. It is false; for how many of them have not been detected? And if on account of the capture of some it be said that they have power, it is a mistake. For of those who rob tombs, some are found out and some escape; but it is not by the power of the dead that those who are apprehended are detected. And such ought to be our conclusion with respect to those who steal and pilfer the gods.

"But it will be said, The gods that are in them take no care of their images. Why, then, do you tend them, wiping them, and washing them, and scouring them, crowning them, and sacrificing to them? Wherefore agree with me that you act altogether without right reason. For as you lament over the dead, so you sacrifice and make libations to your gods."

24 Impotence of Idols. "Nor yet is that in harmony with the illustration of Caesar, and of the powers under him, to call them administrators; whereas you take all care of them, as I said, tending your images in every respect. For they, having no power, do nothing.

"Wherefore tell us what do they administer? what do they of that sort which rulers in different places do? and what influence do they exert, as the stars of God? Do they show anything like the sun, or do you light lamps before them? Are they able to bring showers, as the clouds bring rain,-they which cannot even move themselves, unless men carry them? Do they make the earth fruitful to your labours, these to whom you supply sacrifices? Thus they can do nothing."

25 Servants Become Masters. "But if they were able to do something, you should not be right in calling them gods: for it is not right to call the elements gods, by which good things are supplied; but only Him who ordereth them, to accomplish all things for our use, and who commandeth them to be serviceable to man, Him alone we call God in propriety of speech, whose beneficence you do not perceive, but permit those elements to rule over you which have been assigned to you as your servants.

"And why should I speak of the elements, when you not only have made and do worship lifeless images, but deign to be subject to them in all respects as servants? Wherefore, by reason of your erroneous judgements, you have become subject to demons. However, by acknowledgment of God Himself, by good deeds you can again become masters, and command the demons as slaves, and as sons of God be constituted heirs of the eternal kingdom."

26 The Sick Healed. Having said this, he ordered the demoniacs, and those taken with diseases, to be brought to him; and when they were brought, he laid his hands on them, and prayed, and dismissed them healed, reminding them and the rest of the multitude to attend upon him there every day that he should discourse.

Then, when the others had withdrawn, Peter bathed in the reservoir that was there, with those who pleased; and then ordering a table to be spread on the ground under the thick foliage of the trees, for the sake of shade, he ordered us each to recline, according to our worth; and thus we partook of food.

Therefore having blessed and having given thanks to God for the enjoyment, according to the accustomed faith of the Hebrews; and there being still a long time before us, he permitted us to ask him questions about whatever we pleased; and thus, though there were twenty of us putting questions to him all round, he satisfied every one. And now evening having descended, we all went with him into the largest apartment of the lodging, and there we all slept.

CLEMENT HOMILIES BOOK 11

1 Morning Exercises. Therefore on the fourth day at Tripolis, Peter rising and finding us awake, saluted us and went out to the reservoir, that he might bathe and pray; and we also did so after him. To us, therefore, when we had prayed together, and were set down before him, he gave a discourse touching the necessity of purity. And when thereafter it was day, he permitted the multitudes to enter. Then, when a great crowd had entered, he saluted them according to custom, and began to speak.

2 "Giving All Diligence." "Inasmuch as, by long-continued neglect on your part, to your own injury, your mind has caused to sprout many hurtful conceptions about religion, and ye have become like land fallow by the carelessness of the husbandman, you need a long time for your purification, that your mind, receiving like good seed the true word that is imparted to you, may not choke it with evil cares, and render it unfruitful with respect to works that are able to save you.

"Wherefore it behoves those who are careful of their own salvation to hear more constantly, that their sins which have been long multiplying may, in the short time that remains, be matched with constant care for their purification.

"Since, therefore, no one knows the time of his end, hasten to pluck out the many thorns of your hearts; but not by little and little, for then you cannot be purified, for you have been long fallow."1

3 "Behold What Indignation." "But not otherwise will you endure to undertake much care for your purification unless you be angry with yourselves, and chastise yourselves for those things with which, as unprofitable servants, you have been ensnared, consenting to your evil lusts, that you may be able to let in your righteous indignation upon your mind, as fire upon a fallow field.

"If, therefore, ye have not righteous fire, I mean indignation, against evil lusts, learn from what good things ye have been seduced, and by whom ye have been deceived, and for what punishment ye are prepared; and thus, your mind being sober, and kindled into indignation like fire by the teaching of Him who sent us, may be able to consume the evil

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things of lust. Believe me, that if you will, you can rectify all things."

4 The Golden Rule. "Ye are the image of the invisible God. Whence let not those who would be pious say that idols are images of God, and therefore that it is right to worship them. For the image of God is man. He who wishes to be pious towards God does good to man, because the body of man bears the image of God.

"But all do not as yet bear His likeness, but the pure mind of the good soul does. However, as we know that man was made after the image and after the likeness of God, we tell you to be pious towards him, that the favour may be accounted as done to God, whose image he is.

"Therefore it behoves you to give honour to the image of God, which is man in this wise: food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, clothing to the naked, care to the sick, shelter to the stranger, and visiting him who is in prison, to help him as you can.

"And not to speak at length, whatever good things any one wishes for himself, so let him afford to another in need, and then a good reward can be reckoned to him as being pious towards the image of God. And by like reason, if he will not undertake to do these things, he shall be punished as neglecting the image."

5 Forasmuch as Ye Did It Unto One of These. "Can it therefore be said that, for the sake of piety towards God, ye worship every form, while in all things ye injure man who is really the image of God, committing murder, adultery, stealing, and dishonouring him in many other respects?

"But you ought not to do even one evil thing on account of which man is grieved. But now you do all things on account of which man is disheartened, for wrong is also distress.

"Wherefore you murder and spoil his goods, and whatever else you know which you would not receive from another. But you, being seduced by some malignant reptile to malice, by the suggestion of polytheistic doctrine, are impious towards the real image, which is man, and think that ye are pious towards senseless things."

6 Why God Suffers Objects of Idolatry to Subsist. "But some say, Unless He wished these things to be, they should not be, but He would take them away. But I say this shall assuredly be the case, when all shall show their preference for Him, and thus there shall be a change of the present world.

"However, if you wished him to act thus, so that none of the things that are worshipped should subsist, tell me what of existing things you have not worshipped. Do not some of you worship the sun, and some the moon, and some water, and some the earth, and some the mountains, and some plants, and some seeds, and some also man, as in Egypt?

"Therefore God must have suffered nothing, not even you, so that there should have been neither worshipped nor worshipper. Truly this is what the terrible serpent which lurks in you would have, and spares you not. But so it shall not be.

"For it is not the thing that is worshipped that sins; for it suffers violence at the hands of him who will worship it. For though unjust judgement is passed by all men, yet not by God. For it is not just that the sufferer and the disposer receive the same punishment, unless he willingly receive the honour which belongs only to the Most Honourable."

7 "Let Both Grow Together Till the Harvest." "But it will be said that the worshippers themselves ought to be taken away by the true God, that others may not do it. But you are not wiser than God, that you should give Him counsel as one more prudent than He. He knows what He does; for He is long-suffering to all who are in impiety, as a merciful and philanthropic father, knowing that impious men become pious.

"And of those very worshippers of base and senseless things, many becoming sober have ceased to worship these things and to sin, and many Greeks have been saved so as to pray to the true God."

8 Liberty and Necessity. "But, you say, God ought to have made us at first so that we should not have thought at all of such things. You who say this do not know what is free-will, and how it is possible to be really good; that he who is good by his own choice is really good; but he who is made good by another under necessity is not really good, because he is not what he is by his own choice.3

"Since therefore every one's freedom constitutes the true good, and shows the true evil, God has contrived that friendship or hostility should be in each man by occasions. But no, it is said: everything that we think He makes us to think. Stop! Why do you blaspheme more and more, in saying this?

"For if we are under His influence in all that we think, you say that He is the cause of fornications, lusts, avarice, and all blasphemy. Cease your evil-speaking, ye who ought to speak well of Him, and to bestow all honour upon Him. And do not say that God does not claim any honour; for if He Himself claims nothing, you ought to look to what is right, and to answer with thankful voice Him who does you good in all things."

9 God a Jealous God. "But, you say, we do better when we are thankful at once to Him and to all others. Now, when you say this, you do not know the plot that is formed against you. For as, when many physicians of no power promise to cure one patient, one who is really able to cure him does not apply his remedy, considering that, if he should cure him, the others would get the credit; so also God does not do you good, when He is asked along with many who can do nothing.

"What! it will be said, is God enraged at this, if, when He cures, another gets the credit? I answer: Although He be not indignant, at all events He will not be an accomplice in deceit; for when He has conferred a benefit, the idol, which has done nothing, is credited with the power. But also I say to you, if he who crouches in adoration before senseless idols had not been injured naturally, perhaps He (God) would have endured even this. Wherefore watch ye that you may attain to a reasonable understanding on the matter of salvation.4

"For God being without want, neither Himself needs anything, nor receives hurt; for it belongs to us to be profiled or injured. For in like manner as Caesar is neither hurt when he is evil spoken of, nor profited when he is thanked, but safety accrues to the renderer of thanks, and ruin to the evil-speaker, so they who speak well of God indeed profit Him nothing, but save themselves; and in like manner, those who blaspheme Him do not indeed injure Him, but themselves perish."

10 The Creatures Avenge God's Cause. "But it will be said that the cases are not parallel between God and man; and I admit that they are not parallel: for the punishment is greater to him who is guilty of impiety against the greater, and less to him who sins against the less.

"As, therefore, God is greatest of all, so he who is impious against Him shall endure greater punishment, as sinning against the greater; not through His defending Himself with His own hand, but the whole creation being indignant at him, and naturally taking vengeance on him.

"For to the blasphemer the sun will not give his light, nor the earth her fruits, nor the fountain its water, nor in Hades shall he who is there constituted prince give rest to the soul; since even now, while the constitution of the world subsists, the whole creation is indignant at him.

"Wherefore neither do the clouds afford sufficient rains, nor the earth fruits, whereby many perish; yea, even the air itself, inflamed with anger, is turned to pestilential courses. However, whatsoever good things we enjoy, He of His mercy compels the creature to our benefits. Still, against you who dishonour the Maker of all, the whole creation is hostile."

11-- Immortality of the Soul. "And though by the dissolution of the body you should escape punishment, how shall you be able by corruption to flee from your soul, which is incorruptible? For the soul even of the wicked is immortal, for whom it were better not to have it incorruptible. For, being punished with endless torture under unquenchable fire, and never dying, it can receive no end of its misery.

"But perhaps some one of you will say, 'You terrify us, O Peter.' Teach us then how we can be silent about these things, and yet tell you things as they are, for not otherwise can we tell you them. But if we should be silent, you should be ensnared by evils through ignorance. But if we speak, we are suspected of terrifying you with a false theory.

"How then shall we charm that wicked serpent that lurks in your soul, and subtilely insinuates suspicions hostile to God, under the guise of love of God? Be reconciled with yourselves; for in order to your salvation recourse is to Him with well-doing. Unreasonable lust in you is hostile to God, for by conceit of wisdom it strengthens ignorance."

12 Idols Unprofitable. "But others say, God does not care for us. This also is false. For if really He did not care, He would neither cause His sun to rise on the good and the evil, nor send His rain on the just and the unjust.

"But others say, We are more pious than you, since we worship both him and images. I do not think, if one were to say to a king, 'I give you an equal share of honour with that which I give to corpses and to worthless dung' I do not think that he would profit by it.

"But some one will say, Do you call our objects of worship dung? I say Yes, for you have made them useless to yourselves by setting them aside for worship, whereas their substance might perhaps have been serviceable for some other purpose, or for the purpose of manure. But now it is not useful even for this purpose, since you have changed its shape and worship it.

"And how do you say that you are more pious, you who are the most wicked of all, who deserve destruction of your souls by this very one incomparable sin, at the hands of Him who is true, if you abide in it? For as if any son having received many benefits from his father, give to another, who is not his father, the honour that is due to his father, he is certainly disinherited; but if he live according to the judgement of his father, and so thanks him for his kindnesses, he is with good reason made the heir."

13 Arguments in Favour of Idolatry Answered. "But others say, We shall act impiously if we forsake the objects of worship handed down to us by our fathers; for it is like the guarding of a deposit. But on this principle the son of a robber or a debauchee ought not to be sober and to choose the better part, lest he should act impiously, and sin by doing differently from his parents!

"How foolish, then, are they who say, We worship these things that we may not be troublesome to Him; as if God were troubled by those who bless Him, and not troubled by those who ungratefully blaspheme Him. Why is it, then, that when there is a withholding of rain, you look only to heaven and pour out prayers and supplications; and when you obtain it, you quickly forget?

"For when you have reaped your harvest or gathered your vintage, you distribute your first-fruits among those idols which are nothing, quickly forgetting God your benefactor; and thus you go into groves and temples, and offer sacrifices and feasts. Wherefore some of you say, These things have been excellently devised for the sake of good cheer and feasting."

14 Heathen Orgies. "Oh men without understanding! Judge ye rightly of what is said. For if it were necessary to give one's self to some pleasure for the refreshment of the body, whether were it better to do so among the rivers and woods and groves, where there are entertainments and convivialities and shady places, or where there is the madness of demons, and cuttings of bands, and emasculations, and fury and mania, and dishevelling of hair, and shoutings and enthusiasms and howlings, and all those things which are done with hypocrisy for the confounding of the unthinking, when you offer your prescribed prayers and thanksgivings even to those who are deader than the dead?"

15 Heathen Worshippers Under the Power of the Demon. "And why do ye take pleasure in these doings? Since the serpent which lurks in you, which has sown in you fruitless lust, will not tell you. I shall speak and put it on record. Thus the case stands.

"According to the worship of God, the proclamation is made to be sober, to be chaste, to restrain passion, not to pilfer other men's goods, to live uprightly, moderately, fearlessly, gently; rather to restrain one's self in necessities, than to supply his wants by wrongfully taking away the property of another.

"But with the so-called gods the reverse is done. And ye renounce some things as done by you, in order to the admiration of your righteousness; whereas, although you did all that you are commanded, ignorance with respect to God is alone sufficient for your condemnation.

"But meeting together in the places which you have dedicated to them, you delight in making yourselves drunk, and you kindle your altars, of which the diffused odour through its influence attracts the blind and deaf spirits to the place of their fumigation. And thus, of those who are present, some are filled with inspirations, and some with strange fends, and some betake themselves to lasciviousness, and some to theft and murder.

"For the exhalation of blood, and the libation of wine, satisfies even these unclean spirits, which lurk within you and cause you to take pleasure in the things that are transacted there, and in dreams surround you with false phantasies, and punish you with myriads of diseases.

"For under the show of the so-called sacred victims you are filled with dire demons, which, cunningly concealing themselves, destroy you, so that you should not understand the plot that is laid for you. For, under the guise of some injury, or love, or anger, or grief, or strangling you with a rope, or drowning you, or throwing you from a precipice, or by suicide, or apoplexy, or some other disease, they deprive you of life."

16 All Things Work for Good to Them that Love God. "But no one of us can suffer such a thing; but they themselves are punished by us, when, having entered into any one, they entreat us that they may go out slowly.

"But some one will say perhaps, Even some of the worshippers of God fall under such sufferings. I say that is impossible. For he is a worshipper of God, of whom I speak, who is truly pious, not one who is such only in name, but who really performs the deeds of the law that has been given him.

"If any one acts impiously, he is not pious; in like manner as, if he who is of another tribe keeps the law, he is a Jew; but he who does not keep it is a Greek. For the Jew believes God and keeps the law, by which faith he removes also other sufferings, though like mountains and heavy.5

"But he who keeps not the law is manifestly a deserter through not believing God; and thus as no Jew, but a sinner, he is on account of his sin brought into subjection to those sufferings which are ordained for the punishment of sinners.

"For, by the will of God prescribed at the beginning, punishment righteously follows those who worship Him on account of transgressions; and this is so, in order that having reckoned with them by punishment for sin as for a debt, he may set forth those who have turned to Him pure in the universal judgement.

"For as the wicked here enjoy luxury to the loss of eternal blessings, so punishments are sent upon the Jews who transgress for a settlement of accounts, that, expiating their transgression here, they may there be set free from eternal punishments."

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17 Speaking the Truth in Love. "But you cannot speak thus; for you do not believe that things are then as we say; I mean, when there is a recompense for all. And on this account, you being ignorant of what is advantageous, are seduced by temporal pleasures from taking hold of eternal things.

"Wherefore we attempt to make to you exhibitions of what is profitable, that, being convinced of the promises that belong to piety, you may by good deeds inherit with us the griefless world. Until then you know us, do not be angry with us, as if we spoke falsely of the good things which we desire for you.

"For the things which are regarded by us as true and good, these we have not scrupled to bring to you, but, on the contrary, have hastened to make you fellow-heirs of good things, which we have considered to be such. For thus it is necessary to speak to the unbelievers. But that we really speak the truth in what we say, you cannot know otherwise than by first listening with love of the truth."

18 Charming of the Serpent. "Wherefore, as to the matter in hand, although in ten thousand ways the serpent that lurks in you suggesting evil reasonings and hindrances, wishes to ensnare you, therefore so much the more ought ye to resist him, and to listen to us assiduously.

"For it behoves you, consulting, as having been grievously deceived, to know how he must be charmed. But in no other way is it possible. But by charming I mean the setting yourselves by reason in opposition to their evil counsels, remembering that by promise of knowledge he brought death into the world at the first."

19 Not Peace, But a Sword. "Whence the Prophet of the truth, knowing that the world was much in error, and seeing it ranged on the side of evil, did not choose that there should be peace to it while it stood in error. So that till the end he sets himself against all those who are in concord with wickedness, setting truth over against error, sending as it were fire upon those who are sober, namely wrath against the seducer, which is likened to a sword,7 and by holding forth the word he destroys ignorance by knowledge, cutting, as it were, and separating the living from the dead.

"Therefore, while wickedness is being conquered by lawful knowledge, war has taken hold of all. For the submissive son is, for the sake of salvation, separated from the unbelieving father, or the father from the son, or the mother from the daughter, or the daughter from the mother, and relatives from relatives, and friends from associates."

20 What If It Be Already Kindled? "And let not any one say, How is this just, that parents should be separated from their children, and children from their parents? It is just, even entirely. For if they remained with them, and, after profiting them nothing, were also destroyed along with them, how is it not just that he who wishes to be saved should be separated from him who will not, but who wishes to destroy him along with himself.

"Moreover, it is not those who judge better that wish to be separated, but they wish to stay with them, and to profit them by the exposition of better things; and therefore the unbelievers, not wishing to hearken to them, make war against them, banishing, persecuting, hating them. But those who suffer these things, pitying those who are ensnared by ignorance, by the teaching of wisdom pray for those who contrive evil against them, having learned that ignorance is the cause of their sin.

"For the Teacher Himself, being nailed to the cross, prayed to the Father that the sin of those who slew Him might be forgiven, saying, 'Father, forgive them their sins, for they know not what they do.'8 They also therefore, being imitators of the Teacher in their sufferings, pray for those who contrive them, as they have been taught.

"Therefore they are not separated as hating their parents, since they make constant prayers even for those who are neither parents nor relatives, but enemies, and strive to love them, as they have been commanded."

21 "If I Be a Father, Where is My Fear?" "But tell me, how do you love your parents? If, indeed, you do it as always regarding what is right, I congratulate you; but if you love them as it happens, then not so, for then you may on a small occasion become their enemies.

"But if you love them intelligently, tell me, what are parents? You will say they are the sources of our being. Why, then, do ye not love the source of the being of all things, if indeed you have with right understanding elected to do this?

"But you will now say again, we have not seen Him. Why, then, do ye not seek for Him, but worship senseless things? But what? If it were even difficult for you to know what God is, you cannot fail to know what is not God, so as to reason that God is not wood, nor stone, nor brass, nor anything else made of corruptible matter."

22 "The Gods that Have Not Made the Heavens." "For are not they graven with iron? And has not the graying iron been softened by fire? And is not the fire itself extinguished with water? And has not the water its motion from the spirit? And has not the spirit the beginning of its course from the God who hath made all things?

"For thus said the prophet Moses: 'In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth. And the earth was unsightly, and unadorned; and darkness was over the deep: and the Spirit of God was borne above the waters.'

"Which Spirit, at the bidding of God, as it were His hand, makes all things, dividing light from darkness, and after the invisible heaven spreading out the visible, that the places above might be inhabited by the angels of light, and those below by man, and all the creatures that were made for his use.

23 "To Whom Much is Given." "For on thy account, O man, God commanded the water to retire upon the face of the earth, that the earth might be able to bring forth fruits for thee. And He made water-courses, that He might provide for thee fountains, and that river-beds might be disclosed, that animals might teem forth; in a word, that He might furnish thee with all things.

"For is it not for thee that the winds blow, and the rains fall, and the seasons change for the production of fruits? Moreover, it is for thee that the sun and moon, with the other heavenly bodies, accomplish their risings and settings; and rivers and pools, with all fountains, serve thee.

"Whence to thee, O senseless one, as the greater honour has been given, so for thee, ungrateful, the greater punishment by fire has been prepared, because thou wouldest not know Him whom it behoved thee before all things to know."

24 "Born of Water." "And now from inferior things learn the cause of all, reasoning that water makes all things, and water receives the production of its movement from spirit, and the spirit has its beginning from the God of all. And thus you ought to have reasoned, in order that by reason you might attain to God, that, knowing your origin, and being born again by the first-born water, you may be constituted heir of the parents who have begotten you to incorruption."

25 Good Works to Be Well Done. "Wherefore come readily, as a son to a father, that God may assign ignorance as the cause of your sins. But if after being called you will not, or delay, you shall be destroyed by the just judgement of God, not being willed, through your not willing.

"And do not think, though you were more pious than all the pious that ever were, but if you be unbaptised, that you shall ever obtain hope. For all the more, on this account, you shall endure the greater punishment, because you have done excellent works not excellently.

"For well-doing is excellent when it is done as God has commanded. But if you will not be baptised according to His pleasure, you serve your own will and oppose His counsel."

26 Baptism. "But perhaps some one will say, What does it contribute to piety to be baptised with water? In the first place, because you do that which is pleasing to God; and in the second place, being born again to God of water, by reason of fear you change your first generation, which is of lust, and thus you are able to obtain salvation. But otherwise it is impossible.

"For thus the prophet has sworn to us, saying, 'Verily I say to you, Unless ye be regenerated by living water into the name of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, you shall not enter the kingdom of heaven.'9 Wherefore approach.

"For there is there something that is merciful from the beginning, home upon the water, and rescues from the future punishment those who are baptised with the thrice blessed invocation, offering as gifts to God the good deeds of the baptised whenever they are done after their baptism.

"Wherefore flee to the waters, for this alone can quench the violence of fires.10 He who will not now come to it still bears the spirit of strife, on account of which he will not approach the living water for his own salvation."

27 All Need Baptism. "Therefore approach, be ye righteous or unrighteous. For if you are righteous, baptism alone is lacking in order to salvation. But if you are unrighteous, come to be baptised for the remission of the sins formerly committed in ignorance. And to the unrighteous man it remains that his well-doing after baptism be according to the proportion of his previous impiety.

"Wherefore, be ye righteous or unrighteous, hasten to be born to God, because delay brings danger, on account of the fore-appointment of death being unrevealed; and show by well-doing your likeness to the Father, who begetteth you of water. As a lover of truth, honour the true God as your Father. But His honour is that you live as He, being righteous, would have you live. And the will of the righteous One is that you do no wrong. But wrong is murder, hatred, envy, and such like; and of these there are many forms."

28 Purification. "However, it is necessary to add something to these things which has not community with man, but is peculiar to the worship of God. I mean purification, not approaching to a man's own wife when she is in separation, for so the law of God commands.

"But what? If purity be not added to the service of God, you would roll pleasantly like the dung-flies. Wherefore as man, having something more than the irrational animals, namely, rationality, purify your hearts from evil by heavenly reasoning, and wash your bodies in the bath.

"For purification according to the truth is not that the purity of the body precedes purification after the heart, but that purity follows goodness. For our Teacher also, dealing with certain of the Pharisees and Scribes among us, who are separated, and as Scribes know the matters of the law more than others, still He reproved them as hypocrites, because they cleansed only the things that appear to men, but omitted purity of heart and the things seen by God alone."

29 Outward and Inward Purity. "Therefore He made use of this memorable expression, speaking the truth with respect to the hypocrites of them, not with respect to all. For to some He said that obedience was to be rendered, because they were entrusted with the chair of Moses.

"However, to the hypocrites he said, 'Woe to you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for ye make clean the outside of the cup and the platter, but the inside is full of filth. Thou blind Pharisee, cleanse first the inside of the cup and the platter, that their outsides may be clean also.'

"And truly: for when the mind is enlightened by knowledge, the disciple is able to be good, and thereupon purity follows; for from the understanding within a good care of the body without is produced. As from negligence with respect to the body, care of the understanding cannot be produced, so the pure man can purify both that which is without and that which is within. And he who, purifying the things without, does it looking to the praise of men, and by the praise of those who look on, he has nothing from God."

30 "Whatsoever Things are Pure." "But who is there to whom it is not manifest that it is better not to have intercourse with a woman in her separation, but purified and washed. And also after copulation it is proper to wash. But if you grudge to do this, recall to mind how you followed after the parts of purity when you served senseless idols; and be ashamed that now, when it is necessary to attain, I say not more, but to attain the one and whole of purity, you are more slothful.

"Consider, therefore, Him who made you, and you will understand who He is that casts upon you this sluggishness with respect to purity."

31 "What Do Ye More Than Others?" "But some one of you will say, Must we then do whatsoever things we did while we were idolaters? I say to you, Not all things; but whatsoever you did well, you must do now, and more: for whatsoever is welt done in error hangs upon truth, as if anything be ill done in the truth it is from error.

"Receive, therefore, from all quarters the things that are your own, and not those that are another's, and do not say, If those who are in error do anything well we are not bound to do it. For, on this principle, if any one who worships idols do not commit murder, we ought to commit murder, because he who is in error does not commit it."

32 "To Whom Much is Given." "No; but rather, if those who are in error do not kill, let us not be angry; if he who is in error do not commit adultery, let us not lust even in the smallest degree; if he who is in error loves him who loves him, let us love even those who hate us; if he who is in error lends to those who have, let us give to those who have not.

"Unquestionably we ought we who hope to inherit eternal life to do better things than the good things that are done by those who know only the present life, knowing that if their works, being judged with ours in the day of judgement, be found equal in goodness, we shall have shame, and they perdition, having acted against themselves through error.

"And I say that we shall be put to shame on this account, because we have not done more than they, though we have known more than they. And if we shall be put to shame if we show well-doing equal to theirs, and no more, how much more if we show less than their well-doing?"

33 The Queen of the South and the Men of Nineveh. "But that indeed in the day of judgement the doings of those who have known the truth are compared with the good deeds of those who have been in error, the unlying One Himself has taught us, saying to those who neglected to come and listen to Him, 'The queen of the south shall rise up with this generation, and shall condemn it; because she came from the extremities of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon: and behold, a greater than Solomon is here,' and ye do not believe Him.

"And to those amongst the people who would not repent at His preaching He said, 'The men of Nineveh shall rise up with this generation and shall condemn it, for they heard and repented on the preaching of Jonas: and behold, a greater is here, and no one believes.'

"And thus, setting over against all their impiety those from among the Gentiles who have done well, in order to condemn those who, possessing the true religion, had not acted so well as those who were in error, he exhorted those having reason not only to do equally with the Gentiles whatsoever things are excellent, but more than they.

"And this speech has been suggested to me, taking occasion from the necessity of respecting the separation, and of washing after copulation, and of not denying such purity, though those who are in error do the same, since those who in error do well, without being saved, are for the condemnation of those who are in the worship of God, and do ill; because their respect for purity is through error, and not through the worship of the true Father and God of all."

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34 Peter's Daily Work. Having said this, he dismissed the multitudes; and according to his custom, having partaken of food with those dearest to him, he went to rest. And thus doing and discoursing day by day, he strongly buttressed the law of God, challenging the reputed gods with the reputed Genesis, and arguing that there is no automatism, but that the world is governed according to providence.

35 "Beware of False Prophets." Then after three months were fulfilled, he ordered me to fast for several days, and then brought me to the fountains that are near to the sea, and baptised me as in ever-flowing water. Thus, therefore, when our brethren rejoiced at my God-gifted regeneration, not many days after he turned to the elders in presence of all the church, and charged them, saying:

"Our Lord and Prophet, who hath sent us, declared to us that the wicked one, having disputed with Him forty days, and having prevailed nothing against Him, promised that he would send apostles from amongst his subjects, to deceive. Wherefore, above all, remember to shun apostle or teacher or prophet who does not first accurately compare his preaching with that of James, who was called the brother of my Lord, and to whom was entrusted to administer the church of the Hebrews in Jerusalem, and that even though he come to you with witnesses:14 lest the wickedness which disputed forty days with the Lord, and prevailed nothing, should afterwards, like lightning falling from heaven upon the earth, send a preacher to your injury, as now he has sent Simon upon us, preaching, under pretence of the truth, in the name of the Lord, and sowing error.

"Wherefore He who hath sent us, said, 'Many shall come to me in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. By their fruits ye shall know them.'"

36 Farewell to Tripolis. Having spoken thus, he sent the harbingers into Antioch of Syria, bidding them expect him there forthwith. Then when they had gone, Peter having driven away diseases, sufferings, and demons from great multitudes who were persuaded, and having baptised them in the fountains which are near to the sea, and having celebrated15 the Eucharist, and having appointed Maroones, who had received him into his house, and was now perfected, as their bishop, and having set apart twelve elders, and having designated deacons, and arranged matters relating to widows, and having discoursed on the common good what was profitable for the ordering of the church, and having counselled them to obey the bishop Maroones, three months being now fulfilled; he bade those in Tripolis of Phoenicia farewell, and took his journey to Antioch of Syria, all the people accompanying us with due honour.

CLEMENT HOMILIES BOOK 12

1 Two Bands. Therefore starting from Tripolis of Phoenicia to go to Antioch of Syria, on the same day we came to Orthasia, and there stayed. And on account of its being near the city which we had left, almost all having heard the preaching before, we stopped there only one day, and set out to Antaradus. And as there were many who journeyed with us, Peter, addressing Nicetus and Aquila, said,

"Inasmuch as the great crowd of those who journey with us draws upon us no little envy as we enter city after city, I have thought that we must of necessity arrange, so that neither, on the one hand, these may be grieved at being prevented from accompanying us, nor, on the other hand, we, by being so conspicuous, may fall under the envy of the wicked. Wherefore I wish you, Nicetus and Aquila, to go before me in two separate bodies, and enter secretly into the Gentile cities."

2 Love of Preachers and Their Converts. "I know, indeed, that you are distressed at being told to do this, being separated from me by a space of two days. I would have you know, therefore, that we the persuaders love you the persuaded much more than you love us who have persuaded you. Therefore loving one another as we do by not unreasonably doing what we wish, let us provide, as much as in us lies, for safety.

"For I prefer, as you also know, to go into the more notable cities of the provinces, and to remain some days, and discourse. And for the present lead the way into the neighbouring Laodicea, and, after two or three days, so far as it depends upon my choice, I shall overtake you. And do you alone receive me at the gates, on account of the confusion, that thus we may enter along with you without tumult. And thence, in like manner, after some days' stay, others in your stead will go forward by turns to the places beyond, preparing lodgings for us."

3 Submission. When Peter had thus spoken they were compelled to acquiesce, saying, "It does not altogether grieve us, my lord, to do this on account of its being your command; in the first place, indeed, because you have been chosen by the providence of God, as being worthy to think and counsel well in all things; and in addition to this, for the most part we shall be separated from you only for two days by the necessity of preceding you.

"And that were indeed a long time to be without sight of thee, O Peter, did we not consider that they will be more grieved who are sent much farther forward, being ordered to wait for thee longer in every city, distressed that they are longer deprived of the sight of thy longed-for countenance. And we, though not less distressed than they, make no opposition, because you order us to do it for profit."

Thus, having spoken, they went forward, having it in charge that at the first stage they should address the accompanying multitude that they should enter the cities apart from one another.

4 Clement's Joy. When, therefore, they had gone, I, Clement, rejoiced greatly that he had ordered me to remain with himself. Then I answered and said, "I thank God that you have not sent me away as you have done the others, as I should have died of grief."

But he said, "But what? If there shall ever be any necessity that you be sent away for the sake of teaching, would you, on account of being separated for a little while from me, and that for an advantageous purpose, would you die for that? Would you not rather impress upon yourself the duty of bearing the things that are arranged for you through necessity, and cheerfully submit?

"And do you not know that friends are present with one another in their memories, although they are separated bodily; whereas some, being bodily present, wander from their friends in their souls, by reason of want of memory?"

5 Clement's Office of Service. Then I answered, "Do not think, my lord, that I should endure that grief foolishly, but with some good reason. For since I hold you, my lord, in place of all, father, mother, brothers, relatives, you who are the means through God of my having the saving truth, holding you in place of all, I have the greatest consolation.

"And in addition to this, being afraid of my natural youthful lust, I was concerned lest, being left by you (being but a young man, and having now such a resolution that it would be impossible to desert you without incurring the anger of God),3 I should be overcome by lust. But since it is much better and safer for me to remain with you, when my mind is with good reason set upon venerating, therefore I pray that I may always remain with you.

"Moreover, I remember you saying in Caesarea, 'If any one wishes to journey with me, let him piously journey.' And by piously you meant, that those who are devoted to the worship of God should grieve no one in respect of God, such as by leaving parents, an attached wife, or any others.4

"Whence I am in all respects a fitting fellow-traveller for you, to whom, if you would confer the greatest favour, you would allow to perform the functions of a servant."

6 Peter's Frugality. Then Peter, hearing, smiled and said, "What think you, then, O Clement? Do you not think that you are placed by very necessity in the position of my servant? For who else shall take care of those many splendid tunics, with all my changes of rings and sandals? And who shall make ready those pleasant and artistic dainties, which, being so various, need many skilful cooks, and all those things which are procured with great eagerness, and are prepared for the appetite of effeminate men as for some great wild beast?

"However, such a choice has occurred to you, perhaps, without you understanding or knowing my manner of life, that I use only bread and olives, and rarely pot-herbs; and that this is my only coat and cloak which I wear; and I have no need of any of them, nor of aught else: for even in these I abound.

"For my mind, seeing all the eternal good things that are there, regards none of the things that are here. However, I accept of your good will; and I admire and commend you, for that you, a man of refined habits, have so easily submitted your manner of living to your necessities.

"For we, from our childhood, both I and Andrew, my brother, who is also my brother as respects God, not only being brought up in the condition of orphans, but also accustomed to labour through poverty and misfortune, easily bear the discomforts of our present journeys. Whence, if you would obey me, you would allow me, a working man, to fulfil the part of a servant to you."

7 "Not to Be Ministered Unto, But to Minister." But I, when I heard this, fell a-trembling and weeping, that such a word should be spoken by a man to whom all the men of this generation are inferior in point of knowledge and piety. But he, seeing me weeping, asked the cause of my tears. Then I said, "In what have I sinned so that you have spoken to me such a word?"

Then Peter answered, "If it were wrong of me to speak of being your servant, you were first in fault in asking to be mine."

Then I said, "The cases are not parallel; for to do this indeed becomes me well; but it is terrible for you, the herald of God, and who savest our souls, to do this to me."

Then Peter answered, "I should agree with you, but that5 our Lord, who came for the salvation of all the world, being alone noble above all, submitted to the condition of a servant, that He might persuade us not to be ashamed to perform the ministrations of servants to our brethren, however well-born we may be."

Then I said, "If I think to overcome you in argument, I am foolish. However, I thank the providence of God, that I have been thought worthy to have you instead of parents."

8 Family History. Then Peter inquired, "Are you really, then, alone in your family?"

Then I answered, "There are indeed many and great men, being of the kindred of Caesar. Wherefore Caesar himself gave a wife of his own family to my father, who was his foster-brother; and of her three sons of us were born, two before me, who were twins and very like each other, as my father told me.

"But I scarcely know either them or our mother, but bear about with me an obscure image of them, as through dreams. My mother's name was Mattidia, and my father's, Faustus; and of my brothers one was called Faustinus, and the other Faustinianus.6

"Then after I, their third son, was born, my mother saw a vision so my father told me which told her, that unless she immediately took away her twin sons, and left the city of Rome for exile for twelve years, she and they must die by an all-destructive fate."

9 The Lost Ones. "Therefore my father, being fond of his children, supplying them suitably for the journey with male and female servants, put them on board ship, and sent them to Athens with her to be educated, and kept me alone of his sons with him for his comfort; and for this I am very thankful, that the vision had not ordered me also to depart with my mother from the city of Rome.

"Then, after the lapse of a year, my father sent money to them to Athens, and at the same time to learn how they did. But those who went on this errand did not return. And in the third year, my father being distressed, sent others in like manner with supplies, and they returned in the fourth year with the tidings that they had seen neither my mother nor my brothers, nor had they ever arrived at Athens, nor had they found any trace of any one of those who set out with them."

10 The Seeker Lost. "Then my father, hearing this, and being stupefied with excessive grief, and not knowing where to go in quest of them, used to take me with him and go down to the harbour, and inquire of many where any one of them had seen or heard of a shipwreck four years ago. And one turned one place, and another another. Then he inquired whether they had seen the body of a woman with two children cast ashore. And when they told him they had seen many corpses in many places, my father groaned at the information.

"But, with his bowels yearning, he asked unreasonable questions, that he might try to search so great an extent of sea. However, he was pardonable, because, through affection towards those whom he was seeking for, he fed on vain hopes.

"And at last, placing me under guardians, and leaving me at Rome when I was twelve years old, he himself, weeping, went down to the harbour, and went on board ship, and set out upon the search. And from that day till this I have neither received a letter from him, nor do I know whether he be alive or dead. But I rather suspect that he is dead somewhere, either overcome by grief, or perished by shipwreck. And the proof of that is that it is now the twentieth year that I have heard no true intelligence concerning him."

11 The Afflictions of the Righteous. But Peter, hearing this, wept through sympathy, and immediately said to the gentlemen who were present: "If any worshipper of God had suffered these things, such as this man's father hath suffered, he would immediately have assigned the cause of it to be his worship of God, ascribing it to the wicked one.

"Thus also it is the lot of the wretched Gentiles to suffer; and we worshippers of God know it not. But with good reason I call them wretched, because here they are ensnared, and the hope that is thine they obtain not. For those who in the worship of God suffer afflictions, suffer them for the expiation of their transgressions."

12 A Pleasure Trip. When Peter had spoken thus, a certain one amongst us ventured to invite him, in the name of all, that next day, early in the morning, he should sail to Aradus, an island opposite, distant, I suppose, not quite thirty stadia, for the purpose of seeing two pillars of vine-wood that were there, and that were of very great girth.

Therefore the indulgent Peter consented, saying, "When you leave the boat, do not go many of you together to see the things that you desire to see; for I do not wish that the attention of the inhabitants should be turned to you."

And so we sailed, and in short time arrived at the island. Then landing from the boat, we went to the place where the vine-wood pillars were, and along with them we looked at several of the works of Phidias.

13 A Woman of a Sorrowful Spirit. But Peter alone did not think it worth while to look at the sights that were there; but noticing a certain woman sitting outside before the doors, begging constantly for her support, he said to her, "O woman, is any of your limbs defective, that you submit to such disgrace I mean that of begging, and do not rather work with the hands which God has given you, and procure your daily food?"

But she, groaning, answered, "Would that I had hands able to work! But now they retain only the form of hands, being dead and rendered useless by my gnawing of them."

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Then Peter asked her, "What is the cause of your suffering so terribly?"

And she answered, "Weakness of soul; and nought else. For if I had the mind of a man, there was a precipice or a pool whence I should have thrown myself, and have been able to rest from my tormenting misfortunes."

14 Balm in Gilead. Then said Peter, "What then? Do you suppose, O woman, that those who destroy themselves are freed from punishment? Are not the souls of those who thus die punished with a worse punishment in Hades for their suicide?"

But she said, "Would that I were persuaded that souls are really found alive in Hades; then I should love death, making light of the punishment, that I might see, were it but for an hour, my longed for sons!"

Then said Peter, "What is it that grieves you? I should like to know, O woman. For if you inform me, in return for this favour, I shall satisfy you that souls live in Hades; and instead of precipice or pool, I shall give you a drug, that you may live and die without torment."

15 The Woman's Story. Then the woman, not understanding what was spoken ambiguously, being pleased with the promise, began to speak thus:

"Were I to speak of my family and my country, I do not suppose that I should be able to persuade any one. But of what consequence is it to you to learn this, excepting only the reason why in my anguish I have deadened my hands by gnawing them? Yet I shall give you an account of myself, so far as it is in your power to hear it.

"I, being very nobly born, by the arrangement of a certain man in authority, became the wife of a man who was related to him. And first I had twin sons, and afterwards another son. But my husband's brother, being thoroughly mad, was enamoured of wretched me, who exceedingly affected chastity.

"And I, wishing neither to consent to my lover nor to expose to my husband his brother's love of me, reasoned thus: that I may neither defile myself by the commission of adultery nor disgrace my husband's bed, nor set brother at war with brother, nor subject the whole family, which is a great one, to the reproach of all, as I said.

"I reasoned that it was best for me to leave the city for some time with my twin children, until the impure love should cease of him who flattered me to my disgrace. The other son, however, I left with his father, to remain for a comfort to him."

16 The Shipwreck. "However, that matters might be thus arranged, I resolved to fabricate a dream, to the effect that some one stood by me by night, and thus spoke: 'O woman, straightway leave the, city with your twin children for some time, until I shall charge you to return hither again; otherwise you forthwith shall die miserably, with your husband and all your children.' And so I did.

"For as soon as I told the false dream to my husband, he being alarmed, sent me off by ship to Athens with my two sons, and with slaves, maids, and abundance of money, to educate the boys, until, said he, it shall please the giver of the oracle that you return to me. But, wretch that I am, while sailing with my children, I was driven by the fury of the winds into these regions, and the ship having gone to pieces in the night, I was wrecked.

"And all the rest having died, my unfortunate self alone was tossed by a great wave and cast upon a rock; and while I sat upon it in my misery, I was prevented, by the hope of finding my children alive, from throwing myself into the deep then, when I could easily have done it, having my soul made drunk by the waves."

17 The Fruitless Search. "But when the day dawned, I shouted aloud, and howled miserably, and looked around, seeking for the dead bodies of my hapless children. Therefore the inhabitants took pity on me, and seeing me naked, they first clothed me and then sounded the deep, seeking for my children.

"And when they found nothing of what they sought, some of the hospitable women came to me to comfort me, and every one told her own misfortunes, that I might obtain comfort from the occurrences of similar misfortunes. But this only grieved me the more for I said that I was not so wicked that I could take comfort from the misfortunes of others.

"And so, when many of them asked me to accept their hospitality, a certain poor woman with much urgency constrained me to come into her cottage, saying to me, 'Take courage, woman, for my husband, who was a sailor, also died at sea, while he was still in the bloom of his youth; and ever since, though many have asked me in marriage, I have preferred living as a widow, regretting the loss of my husband. But we shall have in common whatever we can both earn with our hands.'"

18 Trouble Upon Trouble. "And not to lengthen out unnecessary details, I went to live with her, on account of her love to her husband. And not long after, my hands were debilitated by my gnawing of them; and the woman who had taken me in, being wholly seized by some malady, is confined in the house. Since then the former compassion of the women has declined, and I and the woman of the house are both of us helpless.

"For a long time I have sat here, as you see, begging; and whatever I get I convey to my fellow-sufferer for our support. Let this suffice about my affairs. For the rest, what hinders your fulfilling of your promise to give me the drug, that I may give it to her also, who desires to die; and thus I also, as you said, shall be able to escape from life?"

19 Evasions. While the woman thus spoke, Peter seemed to be in suspense on account of many reasonings. But I came up and said, "I have been going about seeking you for a long time. And now, what is in hand?"

But Peter ordered me to lead the way, and wait for him at the boat; and because there was no gainsaying when he commanded, I did as I was ordered. But Peter, as he afterwards related the whole matter to me, being struck in his heart with some slight suspicion, inquired of the woman, saying, "Tell me, O woman, your family, and your city, and the names of your children, and presently I shall give you the drug."

But she, being put under constraint, and not wishing to speak, yet being eager to obtain the drug, cunningly said one thing for another. And so she said that she was an Ephesian and her husband a Sicilian; and in like manner she changed the names of the three children. Then Peter, supposing that she spoke the truth, said, "Alas! O woman, I thought that this day was to bring you great joy, suspecting that you are a certain person of whom I was thinking, and whose affairs I have heard and accurately know."

But she adjured him, saying, "Tell me, I entreat of you, that I may know if there is among women any one more wretched than myself."

20 Peter's Account of the Matter. Then Peter, not knowing that she had spoken falsely, through pity towards her, began to tell her the truth: "There is a certain young man in attendance upon me, thirsting after the discourses on religion, a Roman citizen, who told me how that, having a father and two twin brothers, he has lost sight of them all. For," says he, "my mother, as my father related to me, having seen a vision, left the city Rome for a time with her twin children, lost she should perish by an evil fate, and having gone away with them, she cannot be found; and her husband, the young man's father, having gone in search of her, he also cannot be found."

21 A Disclosure. While Peter thus spoke, the woman, who had listened attentively, swooned away as if in stupor. But Peter approached her, and caught hold of her, and exhorted her to restrain herself, persuading her to confess what was the matter with her. But she, being powerless in the rest of her body, as through intoxication, turned her head round, being able to sustain the greatness of the hoped for joy, and rubbing her face: "Where," said she, "is this youth?"

And he, now seeing through the whole affair, said, "Tell me first; for otherwise you cannot see him."

Then she earnestly said, "I am that youth's mother."

Then said Peter, "What is his name?"

And she said, "Clement."

Then Peter said, "It is the same, and he it was that spoke to me a little while ago, whom I ordered to wait for me in the boat." And she, falling at Peter's feet, entreated him to make haste to come to the boat.

Then Peter, "If you will keep terms with me, I shall do so."

Then she said, "I will do anything; only show me my only child. For I shall seem to see in him my two children who died here."

Then Peter said, "When ye see him, be quiet, until we depart from the island."

And she said, "I will."

22 The Lost Found. Peter, therefore, took her by the hand, and led her to the boat. But I, when I saw him leading the woman by the hand, laughed, and approaching, offered to lead her instead of him, to his honour.

But as soon as I touched her hand, she gave a motherly shout, and embraced me violently, and eagerly kissed me as her son. But I, being ignorant of the whole affair, shook her off as a madwoman. But, through my respect for Peter, I checked myself.

23 Reward of Hospitality. But Peter said, "Alas! What are you doing, my son Clement, shaking off your real mother?"

But I, when I heard this, wept, and falling down by my mother, who had fallen, I kissed her. For as soon as this was told me, I in some way recalled her appearance indistinctly.

Then great crowds ran together to see the beggar woman, telling one another that her son had recognised her, and that he was a man of consideration. Then, when we would have straightway left the island with my mother, she said to us, "My much longed-for son, it is right that I should bid farewell to the woman who entertained me, who, being poor and wholly debilitated, lies in the house."

And Peter hearing this, and all the multitude who stood by, admired the good disposition of the woman. And immediately Peter ordered some persons to go and bring the woman on her couch.

And as soon as the couch was brought and set down, Peter said, in the hearing of the whole multitude, "If I be a herald of the truth, in order to the faith of the bystanders, that they may know that there is one God, who made the world, let her straightway rise whole."

And while Peter was still speaking, the woman arose healed, and fell down before Peter, and kissed her clear associate, and asked her what it all meant. Then she briefly detailed to her the whole business of the recognition, to the astonishment of the hearers. Then also my mother, seeing her hostess cured, entreated that she herself also might obtain healing. And his placing his hand upon her, cured her also.

24 All Well Arranged. And then Peter having discoursed concerning God and the service accorded to Him, he concluded as follows: "If any one wishes to learn these things accurately, let him come to Antioch, where I have resolved to remain some length of time, and learn the things that pertain to his salvation. For if you are familiar with leaving your country for the sake of trading or of warfare, and coming to far-off places, you should not be unwilling to go three days' journey for the sake of eternal salvation."

Then, after the address of Peter, I presented the woman who had been healed, in the presence of all the multitude, with a thousand drachmas, for her support, giving her in charge to a certain good man, who was the chief man of the city, and who of his own accord joyfully undertook the charge.

Further, having distributed money amongst many other women, and thanked those who at any time had comforted my mother, I sailed away to Antaradus, along with my mother, and Peter, and the rest of our companions; and thus we proceeded to our lodging.

25 Philanthropy and Friendship. And when we were arrived and had partaken of food, and given thanks according to our custom, there being still time, I said to Peter: "My lord Peter, my mother has done a work of philanthropy in remembering the woman her hostess."

And Peter answered, "Have you indeed, O Clement, thought truly that your mother did a work of philanthropy in respect of her treatment of the woman who took her in after her shipwreck, or have you spoken this word by way of greatly complimenting your mother? But if you spoke truly, and not by way of compliment, you seem to me not to know what the greatness of philanthropy is, which is affection towards any one whatever in respect of his being a man, apart from physical persuasion.

"But not even do I venture to call the hostess who received your mother after her shipwreck, philanthropic; for she was impelled by pity, and persuaded to become the benefactress of a woman who had been shipwrecked, who was grieving for her children, a stranger, naked, destitute, and greatly deploring her misfortunes.

"When, therefore, she was in such circumstances, who that saw her, though he were impious, could but pity her? So that it does not seem to me that even the stranger-receiving woman did a work of philanthropy, but to have been moved to assist her by pity for her innumerable misfortunes. And how much more is it true of your mother, than when she was in prosperous circumstances and requited her hostess, she did a deed, not of philanthropy, but of friendship! for there is much difference between friendship and philanthropy, because friendship springs from requital.

"But philanthropy, apart from physical persuasion, I loves and benefits every, man as he is a man. If, therefore, while she pitied her hostess, she also pitied and did good to her enemies who have wronged her, she would be philanthropic; but if, on one account she is friendly or hostile, and on another account is hostile or friendly, such an one is the friend or enemy of some quality, not of man as man."

26 What is Philanthropy. Then I answered, "Do you not think, then, that even the stranger-receiver was philanthropic, who did good to a stranger whom she did not know?"

Then Peter said, "Compassionate, indeed, I can call her, but I dare not call her philanthropic, just as I cannot call a mother philoteknic, for she is prevailed on to have an affection for them by her pangs, and by her rearing of them.

"As the lover also is gratified by the company and enjoyment of his mistress, and the friend by return of friendship, so also the compassionate man by misfortune. However the compassionate man is near to the philanthropic, in that he is impelled, apart from hunting after the receipt of anything, to do the kindness. But he is not yet philanthropic."

Then I said, "By what deeds, then, can any one be philanthropic?"

And Peter answered, "Since I see that you are eager to hear what is the work of philanthropy, I shall not object to telling you. He is the philanthropic man who does good even to his enemies. And that it is so, listen: Philanthropy is masculo-feminine; and the feminine part of it is called Compassion, and the male part is named love to our neighbour.

"But every man is neighbour to every man, and not merely this man or that; for the good and the bad, the friend and the enemy, are alike men. It behoves, therefore, him who practises philanthropy to be an imitator of God, doing good to the righteous and the unrighteous, as God Himself vouchsafes His sun and His heavens to all in the present world. But if you will do good to the good, but not to the evil, or even will punish

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them, you undertake to do the work of a judge, you do not strive to hold by philanthropy."

27 Who Can Judge. Then I said, "Then even God, who, as you teach us, is at some time to judge, is not philanthropic."

Then said Peter, "You assert a contradiction; for because He shall judge, on that very account He is philanthropic. For he who loves and compassionates those who have been wronged avenges those who have wronged, them."

Then I said, "If, then, I also do good to the good, and punish the wrong-doers in respect of their injuring men, am I not philanthropic?"

And Peter answered, "If along with knowledge9 you had also authority to judge, you would do this rightly on account of your having received authority to judge those whom God made, and on account of your knowledge infallibly justifying some as the righteous, and condemning some as unrighteous."

Then I said, "You have spoken rightly and truly; for it is impossible for any one who has not knowledge to judge rightly. For sometimes some persons seem good, though they perpetrate wickedness in secret, and some good persons are conceived to be bad through the accusation of their enemies.

"But even if one judges, having the power of torturing and examining, not even so should he altogether judge righteously. For some persons, being murderers, have sustained the tortures, and have come off as innocent; while others, being innocent, have not been able to sustain the tortures, but have confessed falsely against themselves, and have been punished as guilty."

28 Difficulty of Judging. Then said Peter, "These things are ordinary: now hear what is greater. There are some men whose sins or good deeds are partly their own, and partly those of others; but it is right that each one be punished for his own sins, and rewarded for his own merits.

"But it is impossible for any one except a prophet, who alone has omniscience, to know with respect to the things that are done by any one, which are his own, and which are not; for all are seen as done by him."

Then I said, "I would learn how some of men's wrong-doings or right-doings are their own, and some belong to others."

29 Sufferings of the Good. Then Peter answered, "The prophet of the truth has said, 'Good things must needs come, and blessed, said he, is he by whom they come; in like manner evil things must needs come, but woe to him through whom they come.'

"But if evil things come by means of evil men, and good things are brought by good men, it must needs be in each man as his own to be either good or bad, and proceeding from what he has proposed, in order to the coming of the subsequent good or evil, which, being of his own choice, are not arranged by the providence of God to come from him.

"This being so, this is the judgement of God, that he who, as by a combat, comes through all misfortune and is found blameless, he is deemed worthy of eternal life; for those who by their own will continue in goodness, are tempted by those who continue in evil by their own will, being persecuted, hated, slandered, plotted against, struck, cheated, accused, tortured, disgraced, suffering all these things by which it seems reasonable that they should be enraged and stirred up to vengeance."

30 Offences Must Come. "But the Master knowing that those who wrongfully do these things are guilty by means of their former sins, and that the spirit of wickedness works these things by means of the guilty, has counselled to compassionate men, as they are men, and as being the instruments of wickedness through sin; and this counsel He has given to His disciples as claiming philanthropy, and, as much as in us lies, to absolve the wrong-doers from condemnation, that, as it were, the temperate may help the drunken, by prayers, fastings, and benedictions, not resisting, not avenging, lest they should compel them to sin more.

"For when a person is condemned by any one to suffer, it is not reasonable for him to be angry with him by whose means the suffering comes; for he ought to reason, that if he had not ill-used him, yet because he was to be ill-used, he must have suffered it by means of another. Why, then, should I be angry with the dispenser, when I was condemned at all events to suffer?

"But yet, further: if we do these same things to the evil on pretence of revenge, we who are good do the very things which the evil do, excepting that they do them first, and we second; and, as I said, we ought not to be angry, as knowing that in the providence of God, the evil punish the good.

"Those, therefore, who are bitter against their punishers, sin, as disdaining the messengers of God; but those who honour them, and set themselves in opposition to those who think to injure them, are pious towards God who has thus decreed."

31 "Howbeit, They Meant It Not." To this I answered, "Those, therefore, who do wrong are not guilty, because they wrong the just by the judgement of God."

Then Peter said, "They indeed sin greatly, for they have given themselves to sin. Wherefore knowing this, God chooses from among them some to punish those who righteously repented of their former sins, that the evil things done by the just before their repentance may be remitted through this punishment.

"But to the wicked who punish and desire to ill-use them, and will not repent, it is permitted to ill-use the righteous for the filling up of their own punishment. For without the will of God, not even a sparrow can fall into a girn. Thus even the hairs of the righteous are numbered by God."

32 The Golden Rule. "But he is righteous who for the sake of what is reasoning fights with nature. For example, it is natural to all to love those who love them. But the righteous man tries also to love his enemies and to bless those who slander him, and even to pray for his enemies, and to compassionate those who do him wrong.

"Wherefore also he refrains from doing wrong, and blesses those who curse him, pardons those who strike him, and submits to those who persecute him, and salutes those who do not salute him, shares such things as he has with those who have not, persuades him that is angry with him, conciliates his enemy, exhorts the disobedient, instructs the unbelieving, comforts the mourner; being distressed, be endures being ungratefully treated, he is not angry.

"But having devoted himself to love his neighbour as himself, he is not afraid of poverty, but becomes poor by sharing his possessions with those who have none. But neither does he punish the sinner. For he who loves his neighbour as himself, as he knows that when he has sinned he does not wish to be punished, so neither does he punish those who sin.

"And as he wishes to be praised, and blessed, and honoured, and to have all his sins forgiven, thus he does to his neighbour, loving him as himself.

"In one word, what he wishes for himself, he wishes also for his neighbour. For this is the law of God and of the prophets this is the doctrine of truth.

"And this perfect love towards every man is the male part of philanthropy, but the female part of it is compassion; that is, to feed the hungry, to give drink to the thirsty, to clothe the naked, to visit the sick, to take in the stranger, to show herself to, and help to the utmost of her power, him who is in prison, and, in short, to have compassion on him who is in misfortune."

33 Fear and Love. But I, hearing this, said: "These things, indeed, it is impossible to do; but to do good to enemies, bearing all their insolences, I do not think can possibly be in human nature."

Then Peter answered: "You have said truly; for philanthropy, being the cause of immortality, is given for much."

Then I said, "How then is it possible to get it in the mind?"

Then Peter answered: "O beloved Clement, the way to get it is this: if any one be persuaded that enemies, ill-using for a time those whom they hate, become the cause to them of deliverances from eternal punishment; and forthwith he will ardently love them as benefactors. But the way to get it, O dear Clement, is but one, which is the fear of God.

"For he who fears God cannot indeed from the first love his neighhour as himself; for such an order does not occur to the soul. But by the fear of God he is able to do the things of those who love; and thus, while he does the deeds of love, the bride Love is, as it were, brought to the bridegroom Fear. And thus this bride, bringing forth philanthropic thoughts, makes her possessor immortal, as an accurate image of God, which cannot be subject in its nature to corruption."

Thus while he expounded to us the doctrine of philanthropy, the evening having set in, we turned to sleep.

CLEMENT HOMILIES BOOK 13

1 Journey to Laodicea. Now at break of day Peter entered, and said: "Clement, and his mother Mattidia, and my wife, must take their seats immediately on the waggon." And so they did straightway.

And as we were hastening along the road to Balanaeae, my mother asked me how my father was; and I said: "My father went in search of you, and of my twin brothers Faustinus and Faustinianus, and is now nowhere to be found. But I fancy he must have died long ago, either perishing by shipwreck, or losing his way,2 or wasted away by grief."

When she heard this, she burst into tears, and groaned through grief; but the joy which she felt at finding me, mitigated in some degree the painfulness of her recollections. And so we all went down together to Balanaeae.

And on the following day we went to Paltus, and from that to Gabala; and on the next day we reached Laodicea. And, lo! before the gates of the city Nicetas and Aquila met us, and embracing us, brought us to our lodging.

Now Peter, seeing that the city was beautiful and great, said: "It is worth our while to stay here for some days; for, generally speaking, a populous place is most capable of yielding us those whom we seek."

Nicetas and Aquila asked me who that strange woman was; and I said: "My mother, whom God, through my lord Peter, has granted me to recognise."

2 Peter Relates to Nicetas and Aquila the History of Clement and His Family. On my saying this, Peter gave them a summary account4 of all the incidents, how, when they had gone on before, I Clement had explained to him my descent, the journey undertaken by my mother with her twin children on the false pretext of the dream; and furthermore, the journey undertaken by my father in search of her; and then how Peter himself, after hearing this, went into the island, met with the woman, saw her begging, and asked the reason of her so doing; and then ascertained who she was, and her mode of life, and the feigned dream, and the names of her children that is, the name borne by me, who was left with my father, and the names of the twin children who travelled along with her, and who, she supposed, had perished in the deep.

3 Recognition of Nicetas and Aquila. Now when this summary narrative had been given by Peter, Nicetas and Aquila in amazement said: "Is this indeed true, O Ruler and Lord of the universe, or is it a dream?"

And Peter said: "Unless we are asleep, it certainly is true."

On this they waited for a little in deep meditation, and then said: "We are Faustinus and Faustinianus. From the commencement of your conversation we looked at each other, and conjectured much with regard to ourselves, whether what was said had reference to us or not; for we reflected that many coincidences take place in life. Wherefore we remained silent while our hearts beat fast. But when you came to the end of your narrative, we saw clearly5 that your statements referred to us, and then we avowed who we were."

And on saying this, bathed in tears, they rushed in to see their mother; and although they found her asleep, they were yet anxious to embrace her. But Peter forbade them, saying: "Let me bring you and present you to your mother, lest she should, in consequence of her great and sudden joy, lose her reason, as she is slumbering, and her spirit is held fast by sleep."

4 The Mother Must Not Take Food with Her Son. The Reason Stated. As soon as my mother had enough of sleep, she awoke, and Peter at once began first to talk to her of true piety, saying: "I wish you to know, O woman, the course of life involved in our religion.6 We worship one God, who made the world which you see; and we keep His law, which has for its chief injunctions to worship Him alone, and to hallow His name, and to honour our parents, and to be chaste, and to live piously.

"In addition to this, we do not live with all indiscriminately; nor do we take our food from the same table as Gentiles, inasmuch as we cannot eat along with them, because they live impurely. But when we have persuaded them to have true thoughts, and to follow a right course of action, and have baptised them with a thrice blessed invocation, then we dwell with them.

"For not even if it were our father, or mother, or wife, or child, or brother, or any other one having a claim by nature on our affection, can we venture to take our meals with him; for our religion compels us to make a distinction.

"Do not, therefore, regard it as an insult if your son does not take his food along with you, until you come to have the same opinions and adopt the same course of conduct as he follows."

5 Mattidia Wishes to Be Baptised. When she heard this, she said: "What, then, prevents me from being baptised this day? for before I saw you I turned away from the so-called gods, induced by the thought that, though I sacrificed much to them almost every day, they did not aid me in my necessities. And with regard to adultery, what need I say for not even when I was rich was I betrayed into this sin by luxury, and the poverty which succeeded has been unable to force me into it, since I cling to my chastity as constituting the greatest beauty,7 on account of which I fell into so great distress.

"But I do not at all imagine that you, my lord Peter, are ignorant that the greatest temptation8 arises when everything looks bright. And therefore, if I was chaste in my prosperity, I do not in my despondency give myself up to pleasures. Yea, indeed, you are not to suppose that my soul has now been freed from distress, although it has received some measure of consolation by the recognition of Clement.

"For the gloom which I feel in consequence of the loss of my two children rushes in upon me, and throws its shadow to some extent over my joy; for I am grieved, not so much because they perished in the sea, but because they were destroyed, both soul and body, without possessing true9 piety towards God.

"Moreover, my husband, their father, as I have learned from Clement, went away in search of me and his sons, and for so many years has not been heard of; and, without doubt, he must have died. For the miserable man, loving me as he did in chastity, was fond of his children; and therefore the old man, deprived of all of us who were dear to him above everything else, died utterly broken-hearted."

6 The Sons Reveal Themselves to the Mother. The sons, on hearing their mother thus speak, could no longer, in obedience to the exhortation of Peter, restrain themselves, but rising up, they clasped her in their arms, showering down upon her tears and kisses. But she said: "What is the meaning of this?"

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And Peter answered: "Courageously summon up your spirits, O woman, that you may enjoy your children; for these are Faustinus and Faustinianus, your sons, who, you said, had perished in the deep. For how they are alive, after they had in your opinion died on that most disastrous night, and how one of them now bears the name of Nicetas, and the other that of Aquila, they will themselves be able to tell you; for we, as well as you, have yet to learn this."

When Peter thus spoke, my mother fainted away through her excessive joy, and was like to die. But when we had revived her she sat up, and coming to herself, she said: "Be so good, my darling children, as tell us what happened to you after that disastrous night."

7 Nicetas Tells What Befell Him. And Nicetas, who in future is to be called Faustinus, began to speak. "On that very night when, as you know, the ship went to pieces, we were taken up by some men, who did not fear to follow the profession of robbers on the deep. They placed us in a boat, and brought us along the coast, sometimes rowing and sometimes sending for provisions, and at length took us to Caesarea Stratonis, and there tormented us by hunger, fear, and blows, that we might not recklessly disclose anything which they did not wish us to tell; and, moreover, changing our names, they succeeded in selling us.

"Now the woman who bought us was a proselyte of the Jews, an altogether worthy person, of the name of Justa. She adopted us as her own children, and zealously brought us up in all the learning of the Greeks. But we, becoming discreet with our years, were strongly attached to her religion, and we paid good heed to our culture, in order that, disputing with the other nations, we might be able to convince them of their error.

"We also made an accurate study of the doctrines of the philosophers, especially the most atheistic, I mean those of Epicurus and Pyrrho, in order that we might be the better able to refute them."

8 Nicetas Like to Be Deceived by Simon Magus. "We were brought up along with one Simon, a magician; and in consequence of our friendly intercourse with him, we were in danger of being led astray. Now there is a report in regard to some man, that, when he appears, the mass of those who have been pious are to live free from death and pain in his kingdom. This matter, however, mother, will be explained more fully at him proper time.

"But when we were going to be led astray by Simon, a friend of our lord Peter, by name Zacchaeus, came to us and warned us not to be led astray by the magician; and when Peter came, he brought us to him that he might give us full information, and convince us in regard to those matters that related to piety.

"Wherefore we beseech you, mother, to partake of those blessings which have been vouchsafed to us, that we may unite around the same table!12 This, then, is the reason, mother, why you thought we were dead. On that disastrous night we had been taken up in the sea by pirates, but you supposed that we had perished."

9 The Mother Begs Baptism for Herself and Her Hostess. When Faustinus had said this, our mother fell down at Peter's feet, begging and entreating him to send for her and her hostess, and baptise; them immediately, in order that, says she, not a single day may pass after the recovery of my children, without my taking food with them. When we united with our mother in making the same request, Peter said:

"What can you imagine? Am I alone heartless, so as not to wish that you should take your meals with your mother, baptising her this very day? But yet it is incumbent on her to fast one day before she be baptised. And it is only one day, because, in her simplicity, she said something in her own behalf, which I looked on as a sufficient indication of her faith; otherwise, her purification must have lasted many days."

10 Mattidia Values Baptism Aright. And I said: "`Tell us what it was that she said which made her faith manifest."

And Peter, said: "Her request that her hostess and benefactress should be baptised along with her. For she would not have besought this to be granted to her whom she loves, had she not herself first felt that baptism was a great gift. And for this reason I condemn many that, after being baptised, and asserting that they have faith, they yet do nothing worthy of faith; nor do they urge those whom they love I mean their wives, or sons, or friends to be baptised.13

"For if they had believed that God grants eternal life with good works on the acceptance of baptism,14 they without delay would urge those whom they loved to be baptised. But some one of you will say, 'They do love them, and care for them.' That l is nonsense. For do they not, most assuredly, when they see them sick, or led away along the road that ends in death, or enduring any other trial, lament over them and pity them?

"So, if they believed that eternal fire awaits those who worship not God, they would not cease admonishing them, or being in deep distress for them as unbelievers, if they saw them disobedient, being fully assured that punishment awaits them. But now I shall send for the hostess, and question her as to whether she deliberately accepts the law which is proclaimed through us;15 and so, according to her state of mind, shall we do what ought to be done."

11 Mattidia Has Unintentionally Fasted One Day. "But since your mother has real confidence in the efficacy of baptism, let her fast at least one day before her baptism."

But she swore: "During the two past days, while I related to the woman all the events connected with the recognition, I could not, in consequence of my excessive joy, partake of food: only yesterday I took a little water."

Peter's wife bore testimony to her statement with an oath, saying: "In truth she did not taste anything."

And Aquila, who must rather be called Faustinianus in future, said: "There is nothing, therefore, to prevent her being baptised."

And Peter, smiling, replied: "But that is not a baptismal fast which has not taken place on account of the baptism itself."

And Faustinus answered: "Perhaps God, not wishing to separate our mother a single day after our recognition from our table, has arranged beforehand the fast. For as she was chaste in the times of her ignorance, doing what the true religion inculcated, so even now perhaps God has arranged that she should fast one day before for the sake of the true baptism, that, from the first day of her recognising us, she might take her meals along with us."

12 The Difficulty Solved. And Peter said: "Let not wickedness have dominion over us, finding a pretext in Providence and your affection for your mother; but rather abide this day in your fast, and I shall join you in it, and tomorrow she will be baptised. And, besides, this hour of the day is not suitable for baptism." Then we all agreed that it should be so.

13 Peter on Chastity. That same evening we all enjoyed the benefit of Peter's instruction. Taking occasion by what had happened to our mother, he showed us how the results of chastity are good, while those of adultery are disastrous, and naturally bring destruction on the whole race, if not speedily, at all events slowly.

"And to such an extent," he says, "do deeds of chastity please God, that in this life He bestows some small favour on account of it, even on those who are in error; for salvation in the other world is granted only to those who have been baptised on account of their trust in Him, and who act chastely and righteously.

"This ye yourselves have seen in the case of your mother, that the results of chastity are in the end good. For perhaps she would have been cut off if she had committed adultery; but God took pity on her for having behaved chastely, rescued her from the death that threatened her, and restored to her her lost children."

14 Peter's Speech Continued. "But some one will say, 'How many have perished on account of chastity!' Yes; but it was because they did not perceive the danger. For the woman who perceives that she is in love with any one, or is beloved by any one, should immediately shun all association with him as she would shun a blazing fire or a mad dog.

"And this is exactly what your mother did, for she really loved chastity as a blessing: wherefore she was preserved, and, along with you, obtained the full knowledge of the everlasting kingdom. The woman who wishes to be chaste, ought to know that she is envied by wickedness, and that because of love many lie in wait for her.

"If, then, she remain holy through a stedfast persistence in chastity, she will gain the victory over all temptations, and be saved; whereas, even if she were to do all that is right, and yet should once commit the sin of adultery, she must be punished, as said the prophet."

15 Peter's Speech Continued. "The chaste wife doing the will of God, is at good reminiscence of His first creation; for God, being one, created one woman for one man. She is also still more chaste if she does not forget her own creation, and has future punishment before her eyes, and is not ignorant of the loss of eternal blessings. The chaste woman takes pleasure in those who wish to be saved, and is a pious example to the pious, for she is the model of a good life.

"She who wishes to be chaste, cuts off all occasions for slander; but if she be slandered as by an enemy, though affording him no pretext, she is blessed and avenged by God. The chaste woman longs for God, loves God, pleases God, glorifies God; and to men she affords no occasion for slander. The chaste woman perfumes the Church with her good reputation, and glorifies it by her piety. She is, more over, the praise of her teachers, and a helper to them in their chastity."

16 Peter's Speech Continued "The chaste woman is adored with the Son of God as with a bridegroom. She is clothed with holy light. Her beauty lies well-regulated soul; and she is fragrant with ointment, even with a good reputation. She is arrayed in beautiful vesture, even in modesty. She wears about her precious pearls, even chaste words. And she is radiant, for23 her mind has been brilliantly lighted up. Onto a beautiful mirror does she look, for she looks into God.

"Beautiful cosmetics24 does she use, namely, the fear of God, with which she admonishes her soul. Beautiful is the woman not because she has chains of gold on her, but because she has been set free from transient lusts. The chaste woman is greatly desired by the great King;26 she has been wooed, watched, and loved by Him. The chaste woman does not furnish occasions for being desired, except by her own husband.

"The chaste woman is grieved when she is desired by another. The chaste woman loves her husband from the heart, embraces, soothes, and pleases him, acts the slave to him, and is obedient to him in all things, except when she would be disobedient to God. For she who obeys God is without the aid of watchmen chaste in soul and pure in body."

17 Peter's Speech Continued. "Foolish, therefore, is every husband who separates his wife from the fear of God; for she who does not fear God is not afraid of her husband. If she fear not God, who sees what is invisible, how will she be chaste in her unseen choice? And how will she be chaste, who does not come to the assembly to hear chaste-making words? And how could she obtain admonition?

"And how will she be chaste without watchmen, if she be not informed in regard to the coming judgement of God, and if she be not fully assured that eternal punishment is the penalty for the slight pleasure? Wherefore, on the other hand, compel her even against her will always to come to hear the chaste-making word, yea, coax her to do so."

18 Peter's Speech Continued. "Much better is it if you will take her by the hand and come, in order that you yourself may become chaste; for you will desire to become chaste, that you may experience the full fruition of a holy marriage, and you will not scruple, if you desire it, to become a father, to love your own children, and to be loved by your own children.

"He who wishes to have a chaste wife is also himself chaste, gives her what is due to a wife, takes his meals with her, keeps company with her, goes with her to the word that makes chaste, does not grieve her, does not rashly quarrel with her, does not make himself hateful to her, furnishes her with all the good things he can, and when he has them not, he makes up the deficiency by caresses.

"The chaste wife does not expect to be caressed, recognises her husband as her lord, bears his poverty when he is poor, is hungry with him when he is hungry, travels with him when he travels, consoles him when he is grieved, and if she have a large dowry, is subject to him as if she had nothing at all. But if the husband have a poor wife, let him reckon her chastity a great dowry.

"The chaste wife is temperate in her eating and drinking, in order that the weariness of the body, thus pampered, may not drag the soul down to unlawful desires. Moreover, she never assuredly remains alone with young men, and she suspects the old; she turns away from disorderly laughter, gives herself up to God alone; she is not led astray; she delights in listening to holy words, but turns away from those which are not spoken to produce chastity."

19 Peter's Speech Ended. "God is my witness: one adultery is as bad as many murders; and what is terrible in it is this, that the fearfulness and impiety of its murders are not seen. For, when blood is shed, the dead body remains lying, and all are struck by the terrible nature of the occurrence. But the murders of the soul caused by adultery, though they are more frightful, yet, since they are not seen by men, do not make the daring a whir less eager in their impulse.

"Know, O man, whose breath it is that thou hast to keep thee in life, and thou shalt not wish that it be polluted. By adultery alone is the breath of God polluted. And therefore it drags him who has polluted it into the fire; for it hastens to deliver up its insurer to everlasting punishment."

20 Peter Addresses Mattidia. While Peter was saying this, he saw the good and chaste Mattidia weeping for joy; but thinking that she was grieved at having suffered so much in past times, he said: "Take courage, O woman; for while many have suffered many evils on account of adultery, you have suffered on account of chastity, and therefore you did not die. But if you had died, your soul would have been saved.

"You left your native city of Rome on account of chastity, but through it you found the truth, the diadem of the eternal kingdom. You underwent danger in the deep, but you did not die; and even if you had died, the deep itself would have proved to you, dying on account of chastity, a baptism for the salvation of your soul.

"You were deprived of your children for a little; but these, the true offspring of your husband, have been found in better circumstances. When starving, you begged for food, hut you did not defile your body by fornication. You exposed your body to torture, but you saved your soul; you fled from the adulterer, that you might not defile the couch of your husband: but, on account of your chastity, God, who knows your flight, will fill up the place of your husband.

"Grieved and left desolate, you were for a short time deprived of husband and children, but all these you must have been deprived of, some time or other, by death, the preordained lot of man. But better is it that you were willingly deprived of thorn on account of chastity, than that you should have perished unwillingly after a time, simply on account of sins."

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21 The Same Subject Continued. "Much better is it, then, that your first circumstances should be distressing. For when this is the case, they do not so deeply grieve you, because you hope that they will pass away, and they yield joy though the expectation of better circumstances.

"But, above all, I wish you to know how much chastity is pleasing to God. The chaste woman is God's choice, God's good pleasure, God's glory, God's child. So great a blessing is chastity, that if there had not been a law that not even a righteous person should enter into the kingdom of God unbaptised , perhaps even the erring Gentiles might have been saved solely on account of chastity.

"Wherefore I am exceedingly sorry for those erring ones who are chaste because they shrink from baptism-thus choosing to be chaste without good hope. Wherefore they are not saved; for the decree of God is clearly set down, that an unbaptised person cannot enter into His kingdom."

When he said this, and much more, we turned to sleep.

CLEMENT HOMILIES BOOK 14

1 Mattidia is Baptised in the Sea. Much earlier than usual Peter awoke, and came to us, and awaking as, said: "Let Faustinus and Faustinianus, along with Clement and the household, accompany me, that we may go to some sheltered spot by the sea, and there be able to baptise her without attracting observation."

Accordingly, when we had come to the sea-shore, he baptised her between some rocks, which supplied a place at once free from wind and dust. But we brothers, along with our brother and some others, retired because of the women and bathed, and coming again to the women, we took them along with us, and thus we went to a secret place and prayed.

Then Peter, on account of the multitude, sent the women on before, ordering them to go to their lodging by another way, and he permitted us alone of the men to accompany our mother and the rest of the women. We went then to our lodging, and while waiting for Peter's arrival, we conversed with each other.

Peter came several hours after, and breaking the bread for the Eucharist, and putting salt upon it, he gave it first to our mother, and, after her, to us her sons. And thus we took food along with her and blessed God.

2 The Reason of Peter's Lateness. Then, at length, Peter seeing that the multitude had entered, sat down, and bidding us sit down beside him, he related first of all why be had sent us on before him after the baptism, and why he himself had been late in returning. He said that the following was the reason:

"At the time that you came up," he says, "an old man, a workman, entered along with you, concealing himself out of curiosity. He had watched us before, as he himself afterwards confessed, in order to see what we were doing when we entered into the sheltered place, and then he came out secretly and followed us.

"And coming up to me at a convenient place, and addressing me, he said, 'For a long time I have been following you and wishing to talk with you, but I was afraid that you might be angry with me, as if I were instigated by curiosity; but now I shall tell you, if you please, what I think is the truth.'

"And I replied, 'Tell us what you think is good, and we shall approve your conduct, even should what you say not be really good, since with a good purpose you have been anxious to state what you deem to be good.'"

3 The Old Man Does Not Believe in God or Providence. "The old man began to speak as follows: 'When I saw you after you had bathed in the sea retire into the secret place, I went up and secretly watched what might be your object in entering into a secret place, and when I saw you pray, I retired; but taking pity on you, I waited that I might speak with you when you came out, and prevail on you not to be led astray.

"'For there is neither God nor providence; but all things are subject to Genesis. Of this I am fully assured in consequence of what I have myself endured, having for a long time made a careful study of the science. Do not therefore be deceived, my child. For whether you pray or not, you must endure what is assigned to you by Genesis. For if prayers could have done anything or any good, I myself should now be in better circumstances. And now, unless my needy garments mislead you, you will not refuse to believe what I say. I was once in affluent circumstances; I sacrificed much to the gods, I gave liberally to the needy; and yet, though I prayed and acted piously, I was not able to escape my destiny.'

"And I said: 'What are the calamities you have endured?'

"And he answered: 'I need not tell you now; perhaps at the end you shall learn who I am, and who are my parents, and into what straitened circumstances I have fallen. But at present I wish you to become fully assured that everything is subject to Genesis.'"

4 Peter's Arguments Against Genesis. "And I said: 'If all things are subject to Genesis, and you are fully convinced that this is the case, your thoughts and advice are contrary to your own opinion. For if it is impossible even to think in opposition to Genesis, why do you toil in vain, advising me to do what cannot be done?

"'Yea, moreover, even if Genesis subsists, do not make haste to prevail on me not to worship Him who is also Lord of the stars, by whose wish that a thing should not take place, that thing becomes an impossibility. For always that which is subject must obey that which rules. As far, however, as the worship of the common gods is concerned, that is superfluous, if Genesis has sway.

"'For neither does anything happen contrary to what seems good to fate, nor are they themselves able to do anything, since they are subject to their own universal Genesis. If Genesis exists, there is this objection to it, that that which is not first has the rule; or, in other words, the uncreated cannot be subject, for the uncreated, as being uncreated, has nothing that is older than itself.'"

5 Practical Refutation of Genesis. "While we were thus talking, a great multitude gathered round us. And then I looked to the multitude, and said: 'I and my tribe have had handed clown to us from our ancestors the worship of God, and we have a commandment to give no heed to Genesis, I mean to the science of astrology; and therefore I gave no attention to it.

"'For this reason I have no skill in astrology, but I shall state that in which I have skill. Since I am unable to refute Genesis by an appeal to the science which relates to Genesis, I wish to prove in another way that the affairs of this world are managed by a providence, and that each one will receive reward or punishment according to his actions. Whether he shall do so now or hereafter, is a matter of no consequence to me; all I affirm is, that each one without doubt will reap the fruit of his deeds.

"'The proof that there is no Genesis is this. If any one of you present has been deprived of eyes, or has his hand maimed, or his foot lame, or some other part of the body wrong, and if it is utterly incurable, and entirely beyond the range of the medical profession, a case, indeed, which not even the astrologers profess to cure, for no such cure has taken place within the lapse of a vast period, yet I praying to God will cure it, although it could never have been set right by Genesis. Since this is so, do not they sin who blaspheme the God that fashioned all things?'

"And the old man answered: 'Is it then blasphemy to say that all things are subject to Genesis?'

"And I replied: 'Most certainly it is. For if all the sins of men, and all their acts of impiety and licentiousness, owe their origin to the stars, and if the stars have been appointed by God to do this work, so as to be the efficient causes of all evils, then the sins of all are traced up to Him who placed Genesis in the stars.'"

6 The Old Man Opposes His Personal Experience to the Argument of Peter. "And the old man answered: 'You have spoken truly, and yet, notwithstanding all your incomparable demonstration, I am prevented from yielding assent by my own personal knowledge. For I was an astrologer, and dwelt first at Rome; and then forming a friendship with one who was of the family of Caesar, I ascertained accurately the genesis of himself and his wife. And tracing their history, I find all the deeds actually accomplished in exact accordance with their genesis, and therefore I cannot yield to your argument.

"'For the arrangement of her genesis was that which makes women commit adultery, fall in love with their own slaves, and perish abroad in the water. And this actually took place; for she fell in love with her own slave, and not being able to bear the reproach, she fled with him, hurried to a foreign land, shared his bed, and perished in the sea.'"

7 The Old Man Tells His Story. "And I answered: 'How then do you know that she who fled and took up her residence in a foreign land married the slave, and marrying him died?'

"And the old man said: 'I am quite sure that this is true, not indeed that she married him, for I did not know even that she fell in love with him; but after her departure, a brother of her husband's told me the whole story of her passion, and how he acted as an honourable man, and did not, as being his brother, wish to pollute his couch, and how she the wretched woman (for she is not blameable, inasmuch as she was compelled to do and suffer all this in consequence of Genesis) longed for him, and yet stood in awe of him and his reproaches, and how she devised a dream, whether true or false I cannot tell; for he stated that she said, "Some one in a vision stood by me, and ordered me to leave the city of the Romans immediately with my children." But her husband being anxious that she should be saved with his sons, sent them immediately to Athens for their education, accompanied by their mother and slaves, while he kept the third and youngest son with himself, for he who gave the warning in the dream permitted this son to remain with his father.

"'And when a long time had elapsed, during which20 he received no letters from her, he himself sent frequently to Athens, and at length took me, as the truest of all his friends, and went in search of her. And much did I exert myself along with him in the course of our travels with all eagerness; for I remembered that, in the old times of his prosperity, he had given me a share of all he bad and loved reel above all his friends.

"'At length we set sail from Rome itself, and so we arrived in these parts of Syria, and we landed at Seleucia, and not many days after we had landed he died of a broken heart. But I came here, and have procured my livelihood from that day till this by the work of my hands.'"

8 The Old Man Gives Information in Regard to Faustus the Father of Clement. "When the old man bad thus spoken, I knew from what he said that the old man who he stated had died, was no other than your father. I did not wish, however, to communicate your circumstances to him until I should confer with you.

"But I ascertained where his lodging was, and I pointed out mine to him; and to make sure that my conjecture was right, I put this one question to him: 'What was the name of the old man?' And he said, 'Faustus.' 'And what were the names of his twin sons?' And he answered, 'Faustinus and Faustinianus.' 'What was the name of the third son?' He said, Clement.' 'What was their mother's name?' He said, 'Mattidia.'

"Accordingly, from compassion, I shed tears along with him, and, dismissing the multitudes, I came to you, in order that I might take counsel with you after we had partaken of food21 together. But I did not wish to disclose the matter to you before we had partaken of food, lest perchance you should be overcome by sorrow, and continue sad on the day of baptism, when even angels rejoice."

At these statements of Peter we all fell a weeping along with our mother. But he beholding us in tears, said: "Now let each one of you, through fear of God, bear bravely what has been said: for certainly it was not today that your father died, but long ago, as you conjecturing said."

9 Faustus Himself Appears. When Peter said this, our mother could no longer endure it, but cried out, "Alas! my husband loving us, you died by your own decision, while we are still alive, see the light, and have just partaken of food."

This one scream had not yet ceased, when, lo! the old man came in, and at the same time wishing to inquire into the cause of the cry, he looked on the woman and said, "What does this mean? Whom do I see?"

And going up to her, and looking at her, and being looked at more carefully, be embraced her. But they were like to die through the sudden joy, and wishing to speak to each other, they could not get the power in consequence of their unsatisfied joy, for they were seized with speechlessness.

But not long after, our mother said to him: "I now have you, Faustus, in every way the dearest being to me. How then are you alive, when we heard a short time ago that you were dead? But these are our sons, Faustinus, Faustinianus, and Clement."

And when she said this, we all three fell on him, and kissed him, and in rather an indistinct way we recalled his form to our memory.

10 Faustus Explains His Narrative to Peter. Peter seeing this, said: "Are you Faustus, the husband of this woman, and the father of her children?"

And he said: "I am."

And Peter said: "How, then, did you relate to me your own history as if it were another's; telling me of your toils, and sorrow, and burial?"

And our father answered: "Being of the family of Caesar, and not wishing to be discovered, I devised the narrative in another's name, in order that it might not be perceived who I was. For I knew that, if I were recognised, the governors in the place would learn this, and recall me to gratify Caesar, and would bestow upon me that former prosperity to which I had formerly bidden adieu with all the resolution I could summon.

"For I could not give myself up to a luxurious life when I had pronounced the strongest condemnation on myself, because I believed that I had been the cause of death to those who were loved by me."

11 Discussion on Genesis. And Peter said: "You did this according to your resolution. But in regard to Genesis, were you merely playing a part when you affirmed it, or were you in earnest in asserting that it existed?"

Our father said: "I will not speak falsely to you. I was in earnest when I maintained that Genesis existed. For I am not uninitiated in the science; on the contrary, I associated with one who is the best of the astrologers, an Egyptian of the name of Annubion, who became my friend in the commencement of my travels, and disclosed to me the death of my wife and children."

And Peter said: "Are you not now convinced by facts, that the doctrine of Genesis has no firm foundation?"

And my father answered: "I must lay before you all the ideas that occur to my mind, that listening to them I may understand your refutation of them. I know, indeed, that astrologers both make many mistakes, and frequently speak the truth. I suspect, therefore, that they speak the truth so far as they are accurately acquainted with the science, and that their mistakes are the result of ignorance; so that I conjecture that the science has a firm foundation, but that the astrologers themselves speak what is false solely on account of

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ignorance, because they cannot know all things with absolute accuracy."

And Peter answered: "Consider whether their speaking of the truth is not accidental, and whether they do not make their declarations without knowing the matters accurately. For it must by all means happen that, when many prophecies are uttered, some of them should come true."

And the old man said: "How, then, is it possible to be fully convinced of this, whether the science of Genesis has a sure foundation or not? "

12 Clement Undertakes the Discussion. When both were silent, I said: "Since I know accurately the science, but our lord and our father are not in this condition, I should like if Annubion himself were here, to have a discussion with him in the presence of my father. For thus would the matter be able to become public, when one practically acquainted with the subject has held the discussion with one equally informed."

And our father answered: "Where, then, is it possible to fall in with Annubion?"

And Peter said: "In Antioch, for I learn that Simon Magus is there, whose inseparable companion Annubion is. When, then, we go there, if we come upon them, the discussion can take place." And so, when we had discussed many subjects, and rejoiced at the recognition and given thanks to God, evening came down upon us, and we turned to sleep.

CLEMENT HOMILIES BOOK 15

1 Peter Wishes to Convert Faustus. At break of day our father, with our mother and his three sons, entered the place where Peter was, and accosting him, sat down. Then we also did the same at his request; and Peter looking at our father, said:

"I am anxious that you should become of the same mind as your wife and children, in order that here you may live along with them, and in the other world, after the separation of the soul from the body, you will continue to be with them free from sorrow. For does it not grieve you exceedingly that you should not associate with each other?"

And my father said: "Most assuredly."

And Peter said: "If, then, separation from each other here gives you pain, and if without doubt the penalty awaits you that after death you should not be with each other, how much greater will your grief be that you, a wise man, should be separated from your own family on account of your opinions? They too, must feel the more distressed from the consciousness that eternal punishment awaits you because you entertain different opinions from theirs, and deny the established truth."

2 Reason for Listening to Peter's Arguments. Our father said: "But it is not the case, my very dear friend, that souls arc punished in Hades, for the soul is dissolved into air as soon as it leaves the body."

And Peter said: "Until we convince you in regard to this point, answer me, does it not appear to you that you are not grieved as having no faith in a future punishment, but they who have full faith in it must be vexed in regard to you?"

And our father said: "You speak sense."

And Peter said: "Why, then, will you not free them from the greatest grief they can have in regard to you by agreeing to their religion, not, I mean, through dread, but through kindly feeling, listening and judging about what is said by me, whether it be so or not?

"And if the truth is as we state it, then here you will enjoy life with those who are dearest to you, and in the other world you will have rest with them; but if, in examining the arguments, you show that what is stated by us is a fictitious story,5 you will thus be doing good service, for you will have your friends on your side, and you will put an end to their leaning upon false hopes, and you will free them from false fears."

3 Obstacles to Faith. And our father said: "There is evidently much reason in what you say."

And Peter said: "What is it, then, that prevents you from coming to our faith? Tell me, that we may begin our discussion with it. For many are the hindrances. The faithful are hindered by occupation with merchandise, or public business, or the cultivation of the soil, or cares, and such like; the unbelievers, of whom you also are one, are hindered by ideas such as that the gods, which do not exist, really exist, or that all things are subject to Genesis, or chance, or that souls are mortal, or that our doctrines are false because there is no providence."

4 Providence Seen in the Events of the Life of Faustus and His Family. "But I maintain, from what has happened to you, that all things are managed by the providence of God, and that your separation from your family for so many years was providential; for since, if they had been with you, they perhaps would not have listened to the doctrines of the true religion, it was arranged that your children should travel with their mother, should be shipwrecked, should be supposed to have perished, and should be sold; moreover, that they should be educated in the learning of the Greeks, especially in the atheistic doctrines, in order that, as being acquainted with them, they might be the better able to refute them; and in addition to this, that they should become attached to the true religion, and be enabled to be united with me, so as to help me in my preaching; furthermore, that their brother Clement should meet in the same place, and that thus his mother should be recognised, and through her cure should be fully convinced of the right worship of God; that after no long interval the twins should recognise and be recognised, and the other day should fall in with you, and that you should receive back your own.

"I do not think, then, that such a speedy filling in of circumstances, coining as it were from all quarters, so as to accomplish one design, could have happened without the direction of Providence."

5 Difference Between the True Religion and Philosophy. And our father began to say: "Do not suppose, my dearest Peter, that I am not thinking of the doctrines preached by you. I was thinking of them. But during the past night, when Clement urged me earnestly to give in my adhesion to the truth preached by you, I at last answered, 'Why should I? for what new commandment can any one give more than what the ancients urged us to obey?'

"And he, with a gentle smile, said, 'There is a great difference, father, between the doctrines of the true religion and those of philosophy; for the true religion receives its proof from prophecy, while philosophy, furnishing us with beautiful sentences, seems to present its proofs from conjecture.'

"On saying this, he took an instance, and set before us the doctrine of philanthropy, which you had explained to him, which rather appeared to me to be very unjust, and I shall tell you how. He alleged that it was right to present to him who strikes you on the one cheek the other also, and to give to him who takes away your cloak your tunic also, and to go two miles with him who compels you to go one, and such like."

6 The Love of Man. And Peter answered: "You have deemed unjust what is most just. If you are inclined, will you listen to me?"

And my father said: "With all my heart."

And Peter said: "What is your opinion? Suppose that there were two kings, enemies to each other, and having their countries cut off from each other; and suppose that some one of the subjects of one of them were to be caught in the country of the other, and to incur the penalty of death on this account: now if he were let off from the punishment by receiving a blow instead of death, is it not plain that he who let him off is a lover of man?

"And our father said: "Most certainly."

And Peter said: "Now suppose that this same person were to steal from some one something belonging to him or to another; and if when caught he were to pay double, instead of suffering the punishment that was due to him, namely, paying four times the amount, and being also put to death, as having been caught in the territories of the enemy; is it not your opinion that he who accepts double, and lets him off from the penalty of death, is a lover of man?"

And our father said: "He certainly seems so."

And Peter said: "Why then? Is it not the duty of him who is in the kingdom of another, and that, too, a hostile and wicked monarch, to be pleasing to all for the sake of life, and when force is applied to him, to yield still more, to accost those who do not accost him, to reconcile enemies, not to quarrel with those who are angry, to give his own property freely to all who ask, and such like?"

And our father said: "He should with reason endure all things rather, if he prefers life to them."

7 The Explanation of a Parable; The Present and the Future Life. And Peter said: "Are not those, then, who you said received injustice, themselves transgressors, inasmuch as they are in the kingdom of the other, and is it not by overreaching that they have obtained all they possess? while those who are thought to act unjustly are conferring a favour on each subject of the hostile kingdom, so far as they permit him to have property.

"For these possessions belong to those who have chosen the present. And they are so far kind as to permit he others to live. This, then, is the parable; now listen to the actual truth.

"The prophet of the truth who appeared on earth taught us that the Maker and God of all gave two kingdoms to two, good and evil; granting to the evil the sovereignty over the present world along with law, so that he, it, should have the right to punish those who act unjustly; but to the good he gave the eternal age to come. But He made each man free with the power to give himself up to whatsoever he prefers, either to the present evil or the future good.

"Those men who choose the present have power to be rich, to revel in luxury, to indulge in pleasures, and to do whatever they can. For they will possess none of the future goods. But those who have determined to accept the blessings of the future reign have no right to regard as their own the things that are here, since they belong to a foreign king, with the exception only of water and bread, and those things procured with sweat to maintain life (for it is not lawful for them to commit suicide), and also one garment, for they are not permitted to go naked on account of the all-seeing Heaven."

8 The Present and the Future. "If, then, you wish to have an accurate account of the matter, listen. Those of whom you said a little before that they receive injustice, rather act unjustly themselves; for they who have chosen the future blessings, live along with the bad in the present world, having many enjoyments the same as the bad, such as life itself, light, bread, water, clothing, and others of a like nature. But they who are thought by you to act unjustly, shall not live with the good men in the coming age."

And our father replied to this: "Now when you have convinced me that those who act unjustly suffer injustice themselves, while those who suffer injustice have by far the advantage, the whole affair seems tome still more the most unjust of transactions; for those who seem to act unjustly grant many things to those who have chosen the future blessings, but those who seem to receive injustice do themselves commit injustice, because they do not give in the other world, to those who have given them blessings here, the same advantages which these gave to them."

And Peter said: "This is not unjust at all, because each one has the power to choose the present or the future goods, whether they be small or great. He who chooses by his own individual judgement and wish, receives no injustice, I mean, not even should his choice rest on what is small, since the great lay within his choice, as in fact did also the small."

And our father said: "You are right; for it has been said by one of the wise men of the Greeks, 'The blame rests with those who chose God is blameless.'"

9 Possessions are Transgressions. "Will you be so good as to explain this matter also? I remember Clement saying to me, that we suffer injuries and afflictions for the forgiveness of our sins."

Peter said: "This is quite correct. For we, who have chosen the future things, in so far as we possess more goods than these, whether they be clothing, or food or drink, or any other thing, possess sins, because we ought not to have anything, as I explained to you a little ago.

"To all of us possessions are sins. The deprivation of these, in whatever way it may take place, is the removal of sins."

And our father said: "That seems reasonable, as you explained that these were the two boundary lines of the two kings, and27 that it was in the power of each to choose whatever he wished of what was under their authority. But why are the afflictions sent, or28 do we suffer them justly?"

And Peter said: "Most justly; for since the boundary line of the saved is, as I said, that no one should possess anything, but since many have many possessions, or in other words sins, for this reason the exceeding love of God sends afflictions on those who do not act in purity of heart, that on account of their having some measure of the love of God, they might, by temporary inflictions, be saved from eternal punishments."

10 Poverty Not Necessarily Righteous. And our father said: "How then is this? Do we not see many impious men poor? Then do these belong to the saved on this account?"

And Peter said: "Not at all; for that poverty is not acceptable which longs for what it ought not. So that some are rich as far as their choice goes, though poor in actual wealth, and they are punished because they desire to have more.

"But one is not unquestionably righteous because he happens to be poor. For he can be a beggar as far as actual wealth is concerned, but he may desire and even do what above everything he ought not to do. Thus he may worship idols, or be a blasphemer or fornicator, or he may live indiscriminately, or perjure himself, or lie, or live the life of an unbeliever.

"But our teacher pronounced the faithful poor blessed;29 and he did so, not because they had given anything, for they had nothing, but because they were not to be condemned, as having done no sin, simply because they gave no alms, because they had nothing to give."

And our father said: "In good truth all seems to go right as far as the subject of discussion is concerned; wherefore I have resolved to listen to the whole of your argument in regular order."

11 Exposition of the True Religion Promised.

And Peter said: "Since, then, you are eager henceforth to learn what relates to our religion, I ought to explain it in order, beginning with God Himself, and showing that we ought to call Him alone God, and that we neither ought to speak of the others as gods nor deem them such, and that he who acts contrary to this will be punished eternally, as having shown the greatest impiety to Him who is the Lord of all."

And saying this, he laid his hands on those who were vexed by afflictions, and were diseased, and possessed by demons; and, praying, he healed them, and dismissed the multitudes. And then entering in this way, he partook of his usual food, and went to sleep.

CLEMENT HOMILIES BOOK 16

1 Simon Wishes to Discuss with Peter the Unity of God. At break of day Peter went out, and reaching the place where he was wont to discourse, he saw a great multitude assembled. At the very tithe when he was going to discourse, one of his

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deacons entered, and said: "Simon has come from Antioch, starting as soon as it was evening, having learned that you promised to speak on the unity of God; and he is ready, along with Athenodorus the Epicurean, to come to hear your speech, in order that he may publicly oppose all the arguments ever adduced by you for the unity of God."

Just as the deacon said this, lo! Simon himself entered, accompanied by Athenodorus and some other friends. And before Peter spoke at all, he took the first word, and said:

2 The Same Subject Continued. "I heard that you promised yesterday to Faustus to prove this day giving out your arguments in regular order, and beginning with Him who is Lord of the universe, that we ought to say that He alone is God, and that we ought neither to say nor to think that there are other gods, because he that acts contrary to this will be punished eternally. But, above all, I am truly amazed at your madness in hoping to convert a wise man, and one far advanced in years, to your state of mind.

"But you will not succeed in your designs; and all the more that I am present, and can thoroughly refute your false arguments. For perhaps, if I had not been present, the wise old man might have been led astray, because he has no critical acquaintance with the books publicly believed in amongst the Jews. At present I shall omit much, in order that I may the more speedily refute that which you have promised to prove.

"Wherefore begin to speak what you promised to say before us, who know the Scriptures. But if, fearing our refutation, you are unwilling to fulfil your promise in our presence, this of itself will be sufficient proof that you are wrong, because you did venture to speak in the presence of those who know the Scriptures. And now, why should I wait till you tell me, when I have a most satisfactory witness of your promise in the old man who is present?"

And, saying this, he looked to my father, and said: "Tell me, most excellent of all men, is not this the man who promised to prove to you today that God is one, and that we ought not to say or think that there is any other god, and that he who acts contrary to this will be punished eternally, as committing the most heinous sin? Do you, then, refuse to reply to me?"

3 The Mode of the Discussion. And our father said: "Well might you have demanded testimony from me, Simon, if Peter had first denied that he had made the promise. But now I shall feel no shame in saying what I am bound to say. I think that you wish to enter on the discussion inflamed with anger. Now this is a state of mind in which it is improper for you to speak and for us to listen to you; for we are no longer being helped on to the truth, but we are watching the progress of a contest.

"And now, having learned from Hellenic culture how those who seek the truth ought to act, I shall remind you. Let each of you give an exposition of his own opinion, and let the right of speech pass from the one to the other. For if Peter alone should wish to expound his thought, but you should be silent as to yours, it is possible that some argument adduced by you might crush both your and his opinion; and both of you, though defeated by this argument, would not appear defeated, but only the one who expounded his opinion; while he who did not expound his, though equally defeated, would not appear defeated, but would even be thought to have conquered."

And Simon answered: "I will do as you say; but I am afraid lest you do not turn out a truth-loving judge, as you have been already prejudiced by his arguments."

4 The Prejudices of Faustus Rather on the Side of Simon Than on that of Peter. Our father answered: "Do not compel me to agree with you without any exercise of my judgement in order that I may seem to be a truth-loving judge; but if you wish me to tell you the truth, my prepossessions are rather the side of your opinions."

And Simon said "How is this the case, when you do not know what my opinions are?"

And our father said: "It is easy to know this, and I will tell you how. You promised that you would convict Peter of error in maintaining the unity of God; but if one undertakes to convict of error him who maintains the unity of God, it is perfectly plain that he, as being in the right, does not hold the same opinion. For if he holds the same opinion as the man who is thoroughly in error, then he himself is in error; but if he gives his proofs holding opposite opinions, then he is in the right.

"Not well then do you assert that he who maintains the unity of God is wrong, unless you believe that there are many gods. Now I maintain that there are many gods. Holding, therefore, the same opinion as you before the discussion, I am prepossessed rather in your favour. For this reason you ought to have no anxiety in regard to me, but Peter ought, for I still hold opinions contrary to his.

"And so after your discussion I hope that, as a truth-loving judge, who has stripped himself of his prepossessions, I shall agree to that doctrine which gains the victor." When my father said this, a murmur of applause burst insensibly from the multitudes because my father had thus spoken.

5 Peter Commences the Discussion.

Peter then said: "I am ready to do as the umpire of our discussion has said; and straight-way without any delay I shall set forth my opinion in regard to God. I then assert that there is one God who made the heavens and the earth, and all things that are in them. And it is not right to say or to think that there is any other."

And Simon said: "But I maintain that the Scriptures believed in amongst the Jews say that there are many gods, and that God is not angry at this, because He has Himself spoken of many gods in His Scriptures."

6 Simon Appeals to the Old Testament to Prove that There are Many Gods.

"For instance, in the very first words of the law, He evidently speaks of them as being like even unto Himself. For thus it is written, that, when the first man received a commandment from God to eat of every tree that was in the garden,9 but not to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, the serpent having persuaded them by means of the woman, through the promise that they would become gods, made them look up; and then, when they had thus looked up, God said, 'Behold, Adam is become as one of us.'

"When, then, the serpent said, 'Ye shall be as gods,' he plainly speaks in the belief that gods exist; all the more as God also added His testimony, saying, 'Behold, Adam is become as one of us.' The serpent, then, who said that there are many gods, did not speak falsely.

"Again, the scripture, 'Thou shalt not revile the gods, nor curse the rulers of thy people,' points out many gods whom it does not wish even to be cursed.

"But it is also somewhere else written, ' 'Did another god dare to enter and take him a nation from the midst of another nation, as did I the Lord God?' When He says, 'Did another God dare?' He speaks on the supposition that other gods exist.

"And elsewhere: 'Let the gods that have not made the heavens and the earth perish;' as if those who had made them were not to perish. And in another place, when it says, 'Take heed to thyself lest thou go and serve other gods whom thy fathers knew not,' it speaks as if other gods existed whom they were not to follow.

"And again: 'The names of other gods shall not ascend upon thy lips.' Here it mentions many gods whose names it does not wish to be uttered. And again it is written, 'Thy God is the Lord, He is God of gods.' And again: 'Who is like unto Thee, O Lord, among the Gods?' And again: 'God is Lord of gods.' And again: 'God stood in the assembly of gods: He judgeth among the gods.'

"Wherefore I wonder how, when there are so many passages in writing which testify that there are many gods, you have asserted that we ought neither to say nor to think that there are many. Finally, if you have anything to say against what has been spoken so distinctly, say it in the presence of all."

7 Peter Appeals to the Old Testament to Prove the Unity of God.

And Peter said: "I shall reply briefly to what you have said. The law, which frequently speaks of gods, itself says to the Jewish multitude, 'Behold, the heaven of heavens is the Lord's thy God, with all that therein is; 'implying that, even if there are gods, they are under Him, that is, under the God of the Jews.

"And again: 'The Lord thy God, He is God in heaven above, and upon the earth beneath, and there is none other except Him.' And somewhere else the Scripture says to the Jewish multitude, 'The Lord your God is God of gods;' so that, even if there are gods, they are under the God of the Jews. And somewhere else the Scripture says in regard to Him, 'God, the great and true, who regardeth not persons, nor taketh reward, He doth execute the judgement of the fatherless and widow.'

"The Scripture, in calling the God of the Jews great and true, and executing judgement, marked out the others as small, and not true. But also somewhere else the Scripture says, 'As I live, saith the Lord, there is no other God but me. I am the first, I am after this; except me there is no God.' And again: 'Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve.' And again: 'Hear, O Israel, the Lord your God is one Lord.'

"And many passages besides seal with an oath that God is one, and except Him there is no God. Whence I wonder how, when so many passages testify that there is one God, you say that there are many."

8 Simon and Peter Continue the Discussion. And Simon said: "My original stipulation with you was that I should prove from the Scriptures that you were wrong in maintaining that we ought not to speak of many gods. Accordingly I adduced many written passages to show that the divine Scriptures themselves speak of many gods."

And Peter said: "Those very Scriptures which speak of many gods, also exhorted us, saying, 'The names of other gods shall not ascend upon thy lips.' Thus, Simon, I did not speak contrary to what was written."

And Simon said: "Do you, Peter, listen to what I have to say. You seem to me to sin in speaking against them, when the Scripture says, 'Thou shalt not revile the gods, nor curse the rulers of thy people.'"

And Peter said: "I am not sinning, Simon, in pointing out their destruction according to the Scriptures; for thus it is written: 'Let the gods who did not make the heavens and the earth perish.' And He said thus, not as though some had made the heavens and were not to perish, as you interpreted the passage.

"For it is plainly declared that He who made them is one in the very first part of Scripture: 'In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And it did not say, 'the gods.' And somewhere else it says, 'And the firmament showeth His handiwork.' And in another place it is written, 'The heavens themselves shall perish, but Thou shalt remain for ever.'"

9 Simon Tries to Show that the Scriptures Contradict Themselves. And Simon said: "I adduced clear passages from the Scriptures to prove that there are many gods; and you, in reply, brought forward as many or more from the same Scriptures, showing that God is one, and He the God of the Jews. And when I said that we ought not to revile gods, you proceeded to show that He who created is one, because those who did not create will perish.

"And in reply to my assertion that we ought to maintain that there are gods, because the Scriptures also say so, you showed that we ought not to utter their names, because the same Scripture tells us not to utter the names of other gods. Since, then, these very Scriptures say at one time that there are many gods, and at another that there is only one; and sometimes that they ought not to be reviled, and at other times that they ought; what conclusion ought we to come to in consequence of this, but that the Scriptures themselves lead us astray?"

10-- Peter's Explanation of the Apparent Contradictions of Scripture. And Peter said: "They do not lead astray, but convict and bring to light the evil disposition against God which lurks like a serpent in each one. For the Scriptures lie before each one like many divers types. Each one, then, has his own disposition like wax, and examining the Scriptures and finding everything in them, he moulds his idea of God according to his wish, laying upon them, as I said, his own disposition, which is like wax.

"Since, then, each one finds in the Scriptures whatever opinion he wishes to have in regard to God, for this reason he, Simon, moulds from them the forms of many gods, while we moulded the form of Him who truly exists, coming to the knowledge of the true type from our own shape.

"For assuredly the soul within us is clothed with His image for immortality. If I abandon the parent of this soul, it also will abandon me to just judgement, making known the injustice by the very act of daring; and as coming from one who is just, it will justly abandon me; and so, as far as the soul is concerned, I shall, after punishment, be destroyed, having abandoned the help that comes from it.

"But if there is another god, first let him put on another form, another shape, in order that by the new shape of the body I may recognise the new god. But if he should change the shape, does he thereby change the substance of the soul? But if he should change it also, then I am no longer myself, having become another both in shape and in substance.

"Let him, therefore, create others, if there is another. But there is not. For if there had been, he would have created. But since he has not created, then let him, as nonexistent, leave him who is really existent. For he is nobody, except only in the opinion of Simon. I do not accept of any other god but Him alone who created me."

11 Gen. 1:26 Appealed to by Simon. And Simon said: "Since I see that you frequently speak of the God who created you, learn from me how you are impious even to him. For there are evidently two who created, as the Scripture says: 'And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness.' Now 'let us make,' implies two or more; certainly not one only."

12 Peter's Explanation of the Passage. And Peter answered: "One is He who said to His Wisdom, 'Let us make a man.' But His Wisdom was that with which He Himself always rejoiced as with His own spirit. It is united as soul to God, but it is extended by Him, as hand, fashioning the universe.

"On this account, also, one man was made, and from him went forth also the female. And being a unity generically, it is yet a duality, for by expansion and contraction the unity is thought to be a duality. So that I act rightly in offering up all the honour to one God as to parents."

And Simon said: "What then? Even if the Scriptures say that there are other gods, will you not accept the opinion? "

13 The Contradictions of the Scriptures Intended to Try Those Who Read Them. And Peter answered: "If the Scriptures or prophets speak of gods, they do so to try those who hear. For thus it is written: 'If there arise among you a prophet, giving signs and wonders, and that sign and wonder shall then come to pass, and he say to thee, Let us go after and worship other gods which thy fathers have not known, ye shall not hearken to the words of that prophet; let thy hands be among the first to stone him. For he hath tried to turn thee from the Lord thy God. But if thou say in thy heart, How did he do that sign or wonder? thou shalt surely know that he who tried thee, tried thee to see if thou dost fear the Lord thy God.'

"The words 'he who tried thee, tried thee,' have reference to the earliest times; but it appears to be otherwise after the

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removal to Babylon. For God, who knows all things, would not, as can be proved by many arguments, try in order that He Himself might know, for He foreknows all things.

"But, if you like, let us discuss this point, and I shall show that God foreknows. But it has been proved that the opinion is false that He does not know, and that this was written to try us. Thus we, Simon, can be led astray neither by the Scriptures nor by any one else; nor are we deceived into the admission of many gods, nor do we agree to any statement that is made against God."

14 Other Beings Called Gods. "For we ourselves also know that angels are called gods by the Scriptures, as, for instance, He who spake at the bush, and wrestled with Jacob, and the name is likewise applied to Him who is born Emmanuel, and who is called the mighty God. Yea, even Moses became a god to Pharaoh, though in reality he was a man.

"The same is the case also with the idols of the Gentiles. But we have but one God, one who made creation and arranged the universe, whose Son is the Christ. Obeying Christ, we learn to know what is false from the Scriptures.

"Moreover, being furnished by our ancestors with the truths of the Scriptures, we know that there is only one who has made the heavens and the earth, the God of the Jews, and of all who choose to worship Him. Our fathers, with pious thought, setting down a fixed belief in Him as the true God, handed down this belief to us, that we may know that if any thing is said against God, it is a falsehood.

"I shall add this remark over and above what I need say: If the case be not as I have said, then may I, and all who love the truth, incur danger in regard to the praise of the God who made us."

15 Christ Not God, But the Son of God. When Simon heard this, he said: "Since you say that we ought not to believe even the prophet that gives signs and wonders if he say that there is another god, and that you know that he even incurs the penalty of death, therefore your, teacher also was with reason cut off for having given signs and wonders."

And Peter answered: "Our Lord neither asserted that there were gods except the Creator of all, nor did He proclaim Himself to be God, but He with reason pronounced blessed him who called Him the Son of that God who has arranged the universe."

And Simon answered: "Does it not seem to you, then, that he who comes from God is God? "53

And Peter said: "Tell us how this is possible; for we cannot affirm this, because we did not hear it from Him."

16 The Unbegotten and the Begotten Necessarily Different from Each Other. "In addition to this, it is the peculiarity of the Father not to have been begotten, but of the Son to have been begotten; but what is begotten cannot be compared with that which is unbegotten or self-begotten."

And Simon said: "Is it not the same on account of its origin? "

And Peter said: "He who is not the same in all respects as some one, cannot have all the same appellations applied to him as that person."

And Simon said: "This is to assert, not to prove."

And Peter said: "Why, do you not see that if55 the one happens to be self-begotten or unbegotten, they cannot be called the same; nor can it be asserted of him who has been begotten that he is of the same substance as he is who has begotten him?56

"Learn this also: The bodies of men have immortal souls, which have been clothed with the breath of God; and having come forth from God, they are of the same substance, but they are not gods. But if they are gods, then in this way the souls of all men, both those who have died, and those who are alive, and those who shall come into being, are gods. But if in a spirit of controversy you maintain that these also are gods, what great matter is it, then, for Christ to be called God? for He has only what all have."

17 The Nature of God. "We call Him God whose peculiar attributes cannot belong to the nature of any other; for, as He is called the Unbounded because He is boundless on every side, it must of necessity be the case that it is no other one's peculiar attribute to be called unbounded, as another cannot in like manner be boundless.

"But if any one says that it is possible, he is wrong; for two things boundless on every side cannot co-exist, for the one is bounded by the other. Thus it is in the nature57 of things that the unbegotten is one. But if he possesses a figure, even in this case the figure is one and incomparable. Wherefore He is called the Most High, because, being higher than all, He has the universe subject to Him."

18 The Name of God. And Simon said: "Is this word 'God' His ineffable name, which all use, because you maintain so strongly in regard to a name that it cannot be given to another?"

And Peter said: "I know that this is not His ineffable name, but one which is given by agreement among men; but if you give it to another, you will also assign to this other that which is not used; and that, too, deliberately. The name which is used is the forerunner of that which is not used. In this way insolence is attributed even to that which has not yet been spoken, just as honour paid to that which is known is handed on to that which has not yet been known."

19 The Shape of God in Man. And Simon said: "I should like to know, Peter, if you really believe that the shape of man has been moulded after the shape of God."

And Peter said: "I am really quite certain, Simon, that this is the case."

And Simon said: "How can death dissolve the body, impressed as it has thus been with the greatest seal?"

And Peter said: "It is the shape of the just God. When, then, the body begins to act unjustly, the form which is in it takes to flight, and thus the body is dissolved, by the shape disappearing, in order that an unjust body may not have the shape of the just God.

"The dissolution, however, does not take place in regard to the seal, but in regard to the sealed body. But that which is sealed is not dissolved without Him who sealed it. And thus it is not permitted to die without judgement."

And Simon said: "What necessity was there to give the shape of such a being to man, who was raised from the earth?"

And Peter said: "This was done because of the love of God, who made man. For while, as far as substance is concerned, all things are superior to the flesh of man, I mean the ether, the sun, the moon, the stars, the air, the water, the fire in a word, all the other things which have been made for the service of man, yet, though superior in substance, they willingly endure to serve the inferior in substance, because of the shape of the superior.

"For as they who honour the clay image of a king have paid honour to the king. himself, whose shape the clay happens to have, so the whole creation with joy serves man, who is made from earth, looking to the honour thus paid to God."

20 The Character of God. "Behold, then, the character of that God to whom you, Simon, wish to persuade us to be ungrateful, and the earth continues to bear you, perhaps wishing to see who will venture to entertain similar opinions to yours. For you were the first to dare what no other dared: you were the first to utter what we first heard.

"We first and alone have seen the boundless long-suffering of God in bearing with such great impiety as yours, and that God no other than the Creator of the world, against whom you have dared to act impiously. And yet openings of the earth took not place, and fire was not sent down from heaven and went not forth to burn up men, and rain was not poured out,61 and a multitude of beasts was not sent from the thickets, and upon us ourselves the destructive wrath of God did not begin to show itself, on account of one who sinned the sin, as it were, of spiritual adultery, which is worse than the carnal.

"For it is not God the Creator of heaven and earth that in former times punished sins, since now, when He is blasphemed in the highest degree, He would inflict the severest punishment.62 But, on the contrary, He is long-suffering, calls to repentance, having the arrows which end in the destruction of the impious laid up in His treasures, which He will discharge like living animals when He shall sit down to give judgement to those that are His.63 Wherefore let us fear the just God, whose shape the body of man bears for honour."

21 Simon Promises to Appeal to the Teaching of Christ. Peter Dismisses the Multitudes. When Peter said this, Simon answered: "Since I see you skilfully hinting that what is written in the books against the framer of the world does not happen to be true, tomorrow I shall show, from the discourses of your teacher, that he asserted that the framer of the world was not the highest God."

And when Simon said this, he went out. But Peter said to the assembled multitudes: "If Simon can do no other injury to us in regard to God, he at least prevents you from listening to the words that can purify the soul."

On Peter saying this, much whispering arose amongst the crowds, saying, "What necessity is there for permitting him to come in here, and utter his blasphemies against God?"

And Peter heard, and said, "Would that the doctrines against God which are intended to try men went no further than Simon! For there will be, as the Lord said, false apostles, false prophets, heresies, desires for supremacy, who, as I conjecture, finding their beginning in Simon, who blasphemes God, will work together in the assertion of the same opinions against God as those of Simon."

And saying this with tears, he summoned the multitudes to him by his hand; and when they came, he laid his hands upon them and prayed, and then dismissed them, telling them to come at an earlier hour next day. Saying this, and groaning, he entered and went to sleep, without taking food.

CLEMENT HOMILIES BOOK 17

1 Simon Comes to Peter. The next day, therefore, as Peter was to hold a discussion with Simon, he rose earlier than usual and prayed. On ceasing to pray, Zacchaeus I came in, and said: "Simon is seated without, discoursing with about thirty of his own special followers."

And Peter said: "Let him talk until the multitude assemble, and then let us begin the discussion in the following way. We shall hear all that has been said by him, and having fitted our reply to this, we shall go out and discourse."

And assuredly so it happened. Zacchaeus, therefore, went out, and not long after entered again, and communicated to Peter the discourse delivered by Simon against him.1

2 Simon's Speech Against Peter. Now he said: "He accuses you, Peter, of being the servant of wickedness, of having great power in magic, and as charming the souls of men in a way worse than idolatry. To prove that you are a magician, he seemed to me to adduce the following evidence, saying:

"'I am conscious of this, that when I come to hold a discussion with him, I do not remember a single word of what I have been meditating on by myself. For while he is discoursing, and my mind is engaged in recollecting what it is that I thought of saying on coming to a conference with him, I do not hear anything whatsoever of what he is saying.

"'Now, since I do not experience this in the presence of any other than in his alone, is it not plain that I am under the influence of his magic? And as to his doctrines being worse than those of idolatry, I can make that quite clear to any one who has understanding. For there is no other benefit than this, that the soul should be freed from images3 of every kind. For when the soul brings an image before its eye, it is bound by fear, and it pines away through anxiety lest it should suffer some calamity; and being altered, it falls under the influence of a demon; and being trader his influence, it seems to the mass to be wise.'"

3 Simon's Accusation of Peter. "'Peter does this to you while promising to make you wise. For, under the pretext of proclaiming one God, he seems to free you from many lifeless images, which do not at all injure those who worship them, because they are seen by the eyes themselves to be made of stone, or brass, or gold, or of some other lifeless material.

"'Wherefore the soul, because it knows that what is seen is nothing, cannot be spell-bound by fear in an equal degree by means of what is visible. But looking to a terrible God through the influence of deceptive teaching, it has all its natural foundations overturned. And I say this, not because I exhort you to worship images, but because Peter, seeming to free your souls from terrible images, drives mad the mind of each one of you by a more terrible image, introducing God in a shape, and that, too, a God extremely just, an image which is accompanied by what is terrible and awful to the contemplative soul, by that which can entirely destroy the energy of a sound mind.

"'For the mind, when in the midst of such a storm, is like the depth stirred by a violent wind, perturbed and darkened. Wherefore, if he comes to benefit you, let him not, while seeming to dissolve your fears which gently proceed from lifeless shapes, introduce in their stead the terrible shape of God.

"'But has God a shape? If He has, He possesses a figure. And if He has a figure, how is He not limited? And if limited, He is in space. But if He is in space, He is less than the space which encloses Him. And if less than anything, how is He greater than all, or superior to all, or the highest of all? This, then, is the state of the case.'"

4 It is Asserted that Christ's Teaching is Different from Peter's.

"'And that he does not really believe even the doctrines proclaimed by his teacher is evident, for he proclaims doctrines opposite to his. For he said to some one, as I learn, 'Call me not God for the good is one.' Now in speaking of the good one, he no longer speaks of that just one,7 whom the Scriptures proclaim, who kills and makes alive, kills those who sin, and makes alive those who live according to His will.

"'But that he did not really call Him who is the framer of the world good, is plain to any one who can reflect. For the framer of the world was known to Adam whom He had made, and to Enoch who pleased Him, and to Noah who was seen to be just by Him; likewise to Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob; also to Moses, and the people, and the whole world.

"'But Jesus, the teacher of Peter himself, came and said, "No one knew the Father except the Son, as no one knoweth even the Son except the Father, and those to whom the Son may wish to reveal Him." If, then, it was the Son himself who was present, it was from the time of his appearance that he began to reveal to those to whom he wished, Him who was unknown to all. And thus the Father was unknown to all who lived before him, and could not thus be He who was known to all.'"

5 Jesus Inconsistent in His Teaching.

"'In saying this, Jesus is consistent not even with himself. For sometimes by other utterances, taken from the Scriptures, he presents God as being terrible and just, saying, "Fear not him who killeth the body, but can do nothing to the soul; but fear Him who is able to cast both body and soul into the Gehenna of fire. Yea, I say unto you, fear Him."

"'But that he asserted that He is really to be feared as being a just God, to whom he says those who receive injustice cry, is shown in a parable of which he gives the interpretation, saying: "If, then, the unjust judge did so, because he was continually entreated, how much more will the Father avenge those who cry to Him day and night? Or do you think that,

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because He bears long with them, He will not do it? Yea, I say to you, He will do it, and that speedily."

"'Now he who speaks of God as an avenging and rewarding God, presents Him as naturally just, and not as good. Moreover he gives thanks to the Lord of heaven and earth.12 But if He is Lord of heaven and earth, He is acknowledged to be the framer of the world, and if framer, then He is just. When, therefore, he sometimes calls Him good and sometimes just, he is not consistent with himself in this point.

"'But his wise disciple maintained yesterday a third point, that real sight is more satisfactory than vision, not knowing that real sight can be human, but that vision confessedly proceeds from divinity.'"

6 Peter Goes Out to Answer Simon. "These and such like were the statements, Peter, which Simon addressed to the multitudes while he stood outside; and he seems to me to be disturbing the minds of the greater number. Wherefore go forth immediately, and by the power of truth break down his false statements."

When Zacchaeus said this, Peter prayed after his usual manner and went out, and standing in the place where he spoke the day before, and saluting the multitudes according to the custom enjoined by his religion, he began to speak as follows:

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the true prophet (as I shall prove conclusively at the proper time), made concise declarations in I regard to those matters that relate to the truth, for these two reasons: first, because He was in the habit of addressing the pious, who had knowledge enough to enable them to believe the opinions uttered by Him by way of declaration; for His statements were not strange to their usual mode of thought; and in the second place, because, having a limited time assigned Him for preaching, He did not employ the method of demonstration in order that He might not spend all His limited time in arguments, for in this way it might happen that He would be fully occupied in giving the solutions of a few problems which might be understood by mental exertion, while He would not have given us to any great extent those statements which relate to the truth.

"Accordingly He stated any opinions He wished, as to a people who were able to understand Him, to whom we also belong, who, whenever we did not understand anything of what had been said by Him, a thing which rarely happened, inquired of Him privately, that nothing said by Him might be unintelligible to us."

7 Man in the Shape of God. "Knowing therefore that we knew all that was spoken by Him, and that we could supply the proofs, He sent us to the ignorant Gentiles to baptise them for remission of sins, and commanded us to teach them first. Of His commandments this is the first and great one, to fear the Lord God, and to serve Him only. But He meant us to fear that God whose angels they are who are the angels of the least of the faithful amongst us, and who stand in heaven continually beholding the face of the Father.

"For He has shape, and He has every limb primarily and solely for beauty's sake, and not for use. For He has not eyes that He may see with them; for He sees on every side, since He is incomparably more brilliant in His body than the visual spirit which is in us, and He is more splendid than everything, so that in comparison with Him the light of the sun may be reckoned as darkness. Nor has He ears that He may hear; for He hears, perceives, moves, energizes, acts on every side.

"But He has the most beautiful shape on account of man, that the pure in heart may be able to see Him, that they may rejoice because they suffered. For He moulded man in His own shape as in the grandest seal, in order that he may be the ruler and lord of all, and that all may be subject to him.

"Wherefore, judging that He is the universe, and that man is His image (for He is Himself invisible, but His image man is visible), the man who wishes to worship Him honours His visible image, which is man.

"Whatsoever therefore any one does to man, be it good or bad, is regarded as being done to Him. Wherefore the judgement which proceeds from Him shall go before, giving to every one according to his merits. For He avenges His own shape."

8 God's Figure: Simon's Objection Therefrom Refuted. "But someone will say, If He has shape, then He has figure also, and is in space; but if He is in space, and is, as being less, enclosed by it, how is He great above everything? How can He be everywhere if He has figure?

"The first remark I have to make to him who urges these objections is this: The Scriptures persuade us to have such sentiments and to believe such statements in regard to Him; and we know that their declarations are true, for witness is borne to them by our Lord Jesus Christ, by whose orders we are bound to afford proofs to you that such is the case.

"But first I shall speak of space. The space of God is the non-existent, but God is that which exists. But that which is non-existent cannot be compared with that which is existent. For how can space be existent? unless it be a second space, such as heaven, earth, water, air, and if there is any other body that fills up the vacuity, which is called vacuity on this account. that it is nothing. For 'nothing' is its more appropriate name.

"For what is that which is called vacuity but as it were a vessel which contains nothing, except the vessel itself? But being vacuity, it is not itself space; but space is that in which vacuity itself is, if indeed it is the vessel.

"For it must be the case that that which exists is in that which does not exist. But by this which is non-existent I mean that which is called by some, space, which is nothing. But being nothing, how can it be compared with that which is, except by expressing the contrary, and saying that it is that which does not exist, and that that which does not exist is called space?

"But even if it were something, there are many examples which I have at hand, but I shall content myself with one only, to show that that which encloses is not unquestionably superior to that which is enclosed. The sun is a circular figure, and is entirely enclosed by air, yet it lightens up the air, it warms it, it divides it; and if the sun be away from it, it is enveloped in darkness; and from whatsoever part of it the sun is removed, it becomes cold as if it were dead; but again it is illuminated by its rising, and when it has been warmed up by it, it is adorned with still greater beauty.

"And it does this by giving a share of itself, though it has its substance limited. What, then, is there to prevent God, as being the Framer and Lord of this and everything else, from possessing figure and shape and beauty, and having the communication of these qualities proceeding from Himself extended infinitely?"

9 God the Centre or Heart of the Universe. "One, then, is the God who truly exists, who presides in a superior shape, being the heart of that which is above and that which is below twice, which sends forth from Him as from a centre the life-giving and incorporeal power; the whole universe with the stars and regions of the heaven, the air, the fire, and if anything else exists, is proved to be a substance infinite in height, boundless in depth, immeasurable in breadth, extending the life-giving and wise nature from Him over three infinites.

"It must be, therefore, that this infinite which proceeds from Him on every side exists, having as its heart Him who is above all, and who thus possesses figure; for wherever He be, He is as it were in the centre of the infinite, being the limit of the universe.

"And the extensions taking their rise with Him, possess the nature of six infinites; of whom the one taking its rise with Him penetrates into the height above, another into the depth below, another to the right hand, another to the left, another in front, and another behind; to whom He Himself, looking as to a number that is equal on every side, completes the world in six temporal intervals, Himself being the rest, and having the infinite age to come as His image, being the beginning and the end. For in Him the six infinites end, and from Him they receive their extension to infinity."

10 The Nature and Shape of God. "This is the mystery of the hebdomad. For He Himself is the rest of the whole who grants Himself as a rest to those who imitate His greatness within their little measure. For He is alone, sometimes comprehensible, sometimes incomprehensible, sometimes limitable, sometimes illimitable, having extensions which proceed from Him into infinity.

"For thus He is comprehensible and incomprehensible, near and far, being here and there, as being the only existent one, and as giving a share of that mind which is infinite on every hand, in consequence of which souls breathe and possess life; and if they be separated from the body and be found with a longing for Him, they are borne along into His bosom, as in the winter time the mists of the mountains, attracted by the rays of the sun, are borne along immortals to it.

"What affection ought therefore to arise within us if we gaze with our mind on His beautiful shape! But otherwise it is absurd to speak of beauty. For beauty cannot exist apart from shape; nor can one be attracted to the love of God, nor even deem that he can see Him, if God has no form."

11 The Fear of God. "But some who are strangers to the truth, and who give their energies to the service of evil, on pretext of glorifying God, say that He has no figure, in order that, being shapeless and formless, He may be visible to no one, so as not to be longed for. For the mind, not seeing the form of God, is empty of Him.

"But how can any one pray if he has no one to whom he may flee for refuge, on whom he may lean? For if he meets with no resistance, he falls out into vacuity.

"Yea, says he, we ought not to fear God, but to love Him. I agree; but the consciousness of having done well in each good act will accomplish this. Now well-doing proceeds from fearing. But fear, says he, strikes death into the soul. Nay, but I affirm that it does not strike death, but awakens the soul, and converts it.

"And perhaps the injunction not to fear God might be right, if we men did not fear many other things; such, for instance, as plots against us by those who are like us, and wild beasts, serpents, diseases, sufferings, demons, and a thousand other ills.

"Let him, then, who asks us not to fear God, rescue us from these, that we may not fear them; but if he cannot, why should he grudge that we should be delivered from a thousand fears by one fear, the fear of the Just One, and that it should be possible by a slight faith in Him to remove a thousand afflictions from ourselves and others, and receive instead an exchange of blessings, and that, doing no ill in consequence of fear of the God who sees everything, we should continue in peace even in the present life."

12 The Fear and Love of God. "Thus, then, grateful service to Him who is truly Lord, renders us free from service to all other masters. If, then, it is possible for any one to be free from sin without fearing God, let him not fear; for under the influence of love to Him one cannot do what is displeasing to Him.

"For, on the one hand, it is written that we are to fear Him, and we have been commanded to love Him, in order that each of us may use that prescription which is suitable to his constitution. Fear Him, therefore, because He is just; but whether you fear Him or love Him, sin not.

"And may it be the case that any one who fears Him shall be able to gain the victory over unlawful desires, shall not lust after what belongs to others, shall practise kindness, shall be sober, and act justly! For I see some who are imperfect in their fear of Him sinning very much.

"Let us therefore fear God, not only because He is just; for it is through pity for those who have received injustice that He inflicts punishment on those who have done the injustice. As water therefore quenches fire, so does fear extinguish the desire for evil practices.

"He who teaches fearlessness does not himself fear; but he who does not fear, does not believe that there will be a judgement, strengthens his lusts, acts as a magician, and accuses others of the deeds which he himself does."

13 The Evidence of the Senses Contrasted with that from Supernatural Vision. Simon, on hearing this, interrupted him, and said: "I know against whom you are making these remarks; but in order that I may not spend any time in discussing subjects which I do not wish to discuss, repeating the same statements to refute you, reply to that which is concisely stated by us. You professed that you had well understood the doctrines and deeds of your teacher because you saw them before you with your own eyes, and heard them with your own ears, and that it is not possible for any other to have anything similar by vision or apparition.

"But I shall show that this is false. He who hears any one with his own ears, is not altogether fully assured of the truth of what is said; for his mind has to consider whether he is wrong or not, inasmuch as he is a man as far as appearance goes. But apparition not merely presents an object to view, but inspires him who sees it with confidence, for it comes from God. Now reply first to this."

14 The Evidence of the Senses More Trustworthy Than that of Supernatural Vision. And Peter said: "You proposed to speak to one point, you replied to another. For your proposition was, that one is better able to know more fully, and to attain confidence, when he hears in consequence of an apparition, than when he hears with his own ears; but when you set about the matter, you were for persuading us that he who hears through an apparition is surer than he who hears with his own ears.

"Finally, you alleged that, on this account, you knew more satisfactorily the doctrines of Jesus than I do, because you heard His words through an apparition. But I shall reply to the proposition you made at the beginning.

"The prophet, because he is a prophet, having first given certain information with regard to what is objectively said by him, is believed with confidence; and being known beforehand to be a true prophet, and being examined and questioned as the disciple wishes, he replies: But he who trusts to apparition or vision and dream is insecure. For he does not know to whom he is trusting.

"For it is possible either that he may be an evil demon or a deceptive spirit, pretending in his speeches to be what he is not. But if any one should wish to inquire of him who he is who has appeared, he can say to himself whatever he likes. And thus, gleaming forth like a wicked one, and remaining as long as he likes, he is at length extinguished, not remaining with the questioner so long as he wished him to do for the purpose of consulting him.

"For any one that sees by means of dreams cannot inquire about whatever he may wish. For reflection is not in the special power of one who is asleep. Hence we, desiring to have information in regard to something in our waking hours, inquire about something else in our dreams; or without inquiring, we hear about matters that do not concern us, and awaking from sleep we are dispirited because we have neither heard nor inquired about those matters which we were eager to know."

15 The Evidence from Dreams Discussed. And Simon said: "If you maintain that apparitions do not always reveal the truth, yet for all that, visions and dreams, being God-sent, do not speak falsely in regard to those matters which they wish to tell."

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And Peter said: "You were right in saying that, being God-sent, they do not speak falsely. But it is uncertain if he who sees has seen a God-sent dream."

And Simon said: "If he who has had the vision is just, he has seen a true vision."

And Peter said: "You were right. But who is just, if he stands in need of a vision that he may learn what he ought to learn, and do what he ought to do?"

And Simon said: "Grant me this, that the just man alone can see a true vision, and I shall then reply to that other point. For I have come to the conclusion that an impious man does not see a true dream."

And Peter said: "This is false; and I can prove it both apart from Scripture and by Scripture; but I do not undertake to persuade you. For the man who is inclined to fall in love with a bad woman, does not change his mind so as to care for a lawful union with another woman in every respect good; but sometimes they love the worse woman through prepossessions, though they are conscious that there is another who is more excellent. And you are ignorant, in consequence of some such state of mind."

And Simon said: "Dismiss this subject, and discuss the matter on which you promised to speak. For it seems to me impossible that impious men should receive dreams from God in any way whatever."

16 None But Evil Demons Appear to the Impious. And Peter said: "I remember that I promised to prove this point, and to give my proofs in regard to it from Scripture and apart from Scripture. sand now listen to what I say. We know that there are many (if you will pardon me the statement; and if you don't, I can appeal to those who are present as judges) who worship idols, commit adultery, and sin in every way, and yet they see true visions and dreams, and some of them have also apparitions of demons.

"For I maintain that the eyes of mortals cannot see the incorporeal form of the Father or Son, because it is illumined by exceeding great light. Wherefore it is not because God envies, but because He pities, that He cannot be seen by man who has been turned into flesh. For he who sees God cannot live. For the excess of light dissolves the flesh of him who sees; unless by the secret power of God the flesh be changed into the nature of light, so that it can see light, or the substance of light be changed into flesh, so that it can be seen by flesh. For the power to see the Father, without undergoing any change, belongs to the Son alone.

"But the just shall also in like manner behold God; for in the resurrection of the dead, when they have been changed, as far as their bodies are concerned, into light, and become like the angels, they shall be able to see Him. Finally, then, if any angel be sent that be may he seen by a man, he is changed into flesh, that he may be able to be seen by flesh. For no one can see the incorporeal power not only of the Son, but not even of an angel. But if one sees an apparition, he should know that this is the apparition of an evil demon."

17 The Impious See True Dreams and Visions. "But it is manifest that the impious see true visions and dreams, and I can prove it from Scripture. Finally, then, it is written in the law, how Abimelech, who was impious, wished to defile the wife of just Abraham by intercourse, and how he heard the commandment from God in his sleep, as the Scripture saith, not to touch her, because she was dwelling with her husband.

"Pharaoh, also an impious man, saw a dream in regard to the fulness and thinness of the ears of corn, to whom Joseph said, when he gave the interpretation, that the dream had come from God.

"Nebuchadnezzar, who worshipped images, and ordered those who worshipped God to be cast into fire, saw a dream extending over the whole age of the world.

"And let no one say, 'No one who is impious sees a vision when awake.' That is false. Nebuchadnezzar himself, having ordered three men to be cast into fire, saw a fourth when he looked into the furnace, and said, 'I see the fourth as the Son of God.'

"And nevertheless, though they saw apparitions, visions, and dreams, they were impious. Thus, we cannot infer with absolute certainty that the man who has seen visions, and dreams, and apparitions, is undoubtedly pious. For in the case of the pious man, the truth gushes up natural and pure in his mind, not worked up through dreams, but granted to the good through intelligence."

18 The Nature of Revelation. "Thus to me also was the Son revealed by the Father. Wherefore I know what is the meaning of revelation, having learned it in my own case.

"For at the very time when the Lord said, 'Who do they say that I am?' and when I heard one saying one thing of Him, and another another, it came into my heart to say (and I know not, therefore, how I said it), 'Thou art the Son of the living God.'

"But He, pronouncing me blessed, pointed out to me that it was the Father who had revealed it to me; and from this time I learned that revelation is knowledge gained without instruction, and without apparition and dreams. And this is indeed the case.

"For in the soul which has been placed in us by God, there is all the truth; but it is covered and revealed by the hand of God, who works so far as each one through his knowledge deserves. But the declaration of anything by means of apparitions and dreams from without is a proof, not that it comes from revelation, but from wrath.

"Finally, then, it is written in the law, that God, being angry, said to Aaron and Miriam, 'If a prophet arise from amongst you, I shall make myself known to him through visions and dreams, but not so as to my servant Moses; because I shall speak to him in an outward appearance, and not through dreams, just as one will speak to his own friend.'

"You see how the statements of wrath are made through visions and dreams, but the statements to a friend are made face to face, in outward appearance, and not through riddles and visions and dreams, as to an enemy."

19 Opposition to Peter Unreasonable. "If, then, our Jesus appeared to you in a vision, made Himself known to you, and spoke to you, it was as one who is enraged with an adversary; and this is the reason why it was through visions and dreams, or through revelations that were from without, that He spoke to you.

"But can any one be rendered fit for instruction through apparitions? And if you will say, 'It is possible,' then I ask, 'Why did our teacher abide and discourse a whole year to those who were awake?' And how are we to believe your word, when you tell us that He appeared to you? And how did He appear to you, when you entertain opinions contrary to His teaching?

"But if you were seen and taught by Him, and became His apostle for a single hour, proclaim His utterances, interpret His sayings, love His apostles, contend not with me who companied with Him. For in direct opposition to me, who am a firm rock, the foundation of the Church, you now stand. If you were not opposed to me, you would not accuse me, and revile the truth proclaimed by me, in order that I may not be believed when I state what I myself have heard with my own ears from the Lord, as if I were evidently a person that was condemned and in bad repute.

"But if you say that I am condemned, you bring an accusation against God, who revealed the Christ to me, and you inveigh against Him who pronounced me blessed on account of the revelation. But if, indeed, you really wish to work in the cause of truth, learn first of all from us what we have learned from Him, and, becoming a disciple of the truth, become a fellow-worker with us."

20 Another Subject for Discussion Proposed. When Simon heard this, he said: "Far be it from me to become his or your disciple. For I am not ignorant of what I ought to know; but the inquiries which I made as a learner were made that I may see if you can prove that actual sight is more distinct than apparition. But you spoke according to your own pleasure; you did not prove.

"And now, tomorrow I shall come to your opinions in regard to God, whom you affirmed to be the framer of the world; and in my discussion with you, I shall show that he is not the highest, nor good, and that your teacher made the same statements as I now do; and I shall prove that you have not understood him."

On saying this he went away, not wishing to listen to what might be said to the propositions which he had laid down.

CLEMENT HOMILIES BOOK 18

1 Simon Maintains that the Framer of the World is Not the Highest God. At break of day, when Peter went forth to discourse, Simon anticipated him, and said: "When I went away yesterday, I promised to you to return today, and in a discussion show that he who framed the world is not the highest God, but that the highest God is another who alone is good, and who has remained unknown up to this time. At once, then, state to me whether you maintain that the framer of the world is the same as the lawgiver or not?

"If, then, he is the lawgiver, he is just; but if he is just, he is not good. But if he is not good, then it was another that Jesus proclaimed, when he said, 'Do not call me good; for one is good, the Father who is in the heavens.' Now a lawgiver cannot be both just and good, for these qualities do not harmonise."

And Peter said: "First tell us what are the actions which in your opinion constitute a person good, and what are those which constitute him just, in order that thus we may address our words to the same mark."

And Simon said: "Do you state first what in your opinion is goodness, and what justice."

2 Definition of Goodness and Justice. And Peter said: "That I may not waste my time in contentious discussions, while I make the fair demand that you should give answers to my propositions, I shall myself answer those questions which I put, as is your wish. I then affirm that the man who bestows goods is good, just as I see the Framer of the world doing when He gives the sun to the good, and the rain to the just and unjust."

And Simon said: "It is most unjust that he should give the same things to the just and the unjust."

And Peter said: "Do you, then, in your turn state to us what course of conduct would constitute Him good."

And Simon said: "It is you that must state this."

And Peter said: "I will. He who gives the same things to the good and just, and also to the evil and unjust, is not even just according to you; but you would with reason call Him just if He gave goods to the good and evils to the evil. What course of conduct, then, would He adopt, if He does not adopt the plan of giving things temporal to the evil, if perchance they should be converted, and things eternal to the good, if at least they remain good?

"And thus by giving to all, but by gratifying the more excellent,4 His justice is good; and all the more long-suffering in this, that to sinners who repent He freely grants forgiveness of their sins, and to those who have acted well He assigns even eternal life. But judging at last, and giving to each one what he deserves, He is just. If, then, this is right, confess it; but if it appears to you not to be right, refute it."

3 God Both Good and Just. And Simon said: "I said once for all, 'Every lawgiver, looking to justice, is just.'"

And Peter said: "If it is the part of him who is good not to lay down a law, but of him who is just to lay down a law, in this way the Framer of the world is both good and just. He is good, inasmuch as it is plain that He did not lay down a law in writing from the times of Adam to Moses; but inasmuch as He had a written law from Moses to the present times,5 He is just also."

And Simon said: "Prove to me from the utterances of your teacher that it is within the power of the same man to be good and just; for to me it seems impossible that the lawgiver who is good should also be just."

And Peter said: "I shall explain to you how goodness itself is just. Our teacher Himself first said to the Pharisee who asked Him,6 'What shall I do to inherit eternal life?' 'Do not call me good; for one is good, even the Father who is in the heavens;' and straightway He introduced these words, 'But if thou shalt wish to enter into life, keep the commandments.' And when he said, 'What commandments?' He pointed him to those of the law.

"Now He would not, if He were indicating some other good being, have referred him to the commandments of the Just One. That indeed justice and goodness are different I allow, but you do not know that it is within the power of the same being to be good and just. For He is good, in that He is now long-suffering with the penitent, and welcomes them; but just, when acting as judge He will give to every one according to his deserts."

4 The Unrevealed God. And Simon said: "How, then, if the framer of the world, who also fashioned Adam, was known, and known too by those who were just according to the law, and moreover by the just and unjust, and the whole world, does your teacher, coming after all these, say,7 'No one has known the Father but the Son, even as no one knoweth the Son but the Father, and those to whom the Son may wish to reveal Him?'

"But he would not have made this statement, had he not proclaimed a Father who was still unrevealed, whom the law speaks of as the highest, and who has not given any utterance either good or bad (as Jeremiah testifies in the Lamentations8); who also, limiting the nations to seventy languages, according to the number of the sons of Israel who entered Egypt, and according to the boundaries of these nations, gave to his own Son, who is also called Lord, and who brought into order the heaven and the earth, the Hebrews as his portion, and defined him to be God of gods, that is, of the gods who received the other nations as their portions.

"Laws, therefore, proceeded from all the so-called gods to their own divisions, which consist of the other nations. In like manner also from the Son of the Lord of all came forth the law which is established among the Hebrews. And this state of matters was determined on, that if any one should seek refuge in the law of any one, he should belong to the division of him whose law he undertook to obey.

"No one knew the highest Father, who was unrevealed, just as they did not know that his Son was his Son. Accordingly at this moment you yourself, in assigning the special attributes of the unrevealed Most High to the Son, do not know that he is the Son, being the Father of Jesus, who with you is called the Christ."

5 Peter Doubts Simon's Honesty. When Simon had made these statements, Peter said to him: "Can you call to witness that these are your beliefs that being Himself, I do not mean Him whom you speak of now as being unrevealed, but Him in whom you believe, though you do not confess Him? For you are talking nonsense when you define one thing instead of another.

"Wherefore, if you call Him to witness that you believe what you say, I shall answer you. But if you continue discussing with me what you do not believe, you compel me to strike the empty air."

And Simon said: "It is from some of your own disciples that I have heard that this is the truth."9

And Peter said: "Do not bear false witness?"

And Simon said: "Do not rebuke me, most insolent man."

And Peter said: "So long as you do not tell who it was who said so, I affirm that you are a liar."

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And Simon said: "Suppose that I myself have got up these doctrines, or that I heard them from some other, give me your answer to them. For if they cannot be overturned, then I have learned that this is the truth."

And Peter said: "If it is a human invention, I will not reply to it; but if you are held fast by the supposition that it is the truth, acknowledge to me that this is the case, and I can then myself say something in regard to the matter."

And Simon said: "Once for all, then, these doctrines seem to me to be true. Give me your reply, if you have aught to say against them."

6 The Nature of Revelation. And Peter said: "If this is the case, you are acting most impiously. For if it belongs to the Son, who arranged heaven and earth, to reveal His unrevealed Father to whomsoever He wishes, you are, as I said, acting most impiously in revealing Him to those to whom He has not revealed Him."

And Simon said: "But he himself wishes me to reveal him."

And Peter said: "You do not understand what I mean, Simon. But listen and understand. When it is said that the Son will reveal Him to whom He wishes, it is meant that such an one is to learn of Him not by instruction, but by revelation only. For it is revelation when that which lies secretly veiled in all the hearts of men is revealed unveiled by His God's own will without any utterance.

"And thus knowledge comes to one, not because he has been instructed, but because he has understood. And yet the person who understands it cannot demonstrate it to another, since he did not himself receive it by instruction; nor can he reveal it, since he is not himself the Son, unless he maintains that he is himself the Son.

"But you are not the standing Son. For if you were the Son, assuredly you would know those who are worthy of such a revelation. But you do not know them. For if you knew them, you would do as they do who know."

7 Simon Confesses His Ignorance. And Simon said: "I confess I have not understood what you mean by the expression, 'You would do as they do who know.'"

And Peter said: "If you have not understood it, then you cannot know the mind of every one; and if you are ignorant of this, then you do not know those who are worthy of the revelation. You are not the Son, for10 the Son knows. Wherefore He reveals Him to whomsoever He wishes, because they are worthy."

And Simon said: "Be not deceived. I know those who are worthy, and I am not the Son. And yet I have not understood what meaning you attach to the words, 'He reveals Him to whomsoever He wishes.'

"But I said that I did not understand it, not because I did not know it, but because I knew that those who were present did not understand it, in order that you may state it more distinctly, so that they may perceive what are the reasons why we are carrying on this discussion."

And Peter said: "I cannot state the matter more clearly: explain what meaning you have attached to the words."

And Simon said: "There is no necessity why I should state your opinions."

And Peter said: "You evidently, Simon, do not understand it, and yet you do not wish to confess, that you may not be detected in your ignorance, and thus be proved not to be the standing Son. For you hint this, though you do not wish to state it plainly; and, indeed, I who am not a prophet, but a disciple of the true Prophet, know well from the hints you have given what your wishes are. For you, though you do not understand even what is distinctly said, wish to call yourself son in opposition to us."

And Simon said: "I will remove every pretext from you. I confess I do not understand what can be the meaning of the statement, 'The Son reveals Him to whomsoever He wishes.' State therefore what is its meaning more distinctly."

8 The Work of Revelation Belongs to the Son Alone. And Peter said: "Since, at least in appearance, you have confessed that you do not understand it, reply to the question I put to you, and you will learn the meaning of the statement. Tell me, do you maintain that the Son, whoever he be, is just, or that he is not just?"

And Simon said: "I maintain that he is most just."

And Peter said: "Seeing He is just, why does He not make the revelation to all, but only to those to whom He wishes?"

And Simon said: "Because, being just, he wishes to make the revelation only to the worthy."

And Peter said: "Must He not therefore know the mind of each one, in order that He may make the revelation to the worthy?"

And Simon said: "Of course he must."

And Peter said: "With reason, therefore, has the work of giving the revelation been confined to Him alone, for He alone knows the mind of every one; and it has not been given to you, who are not able to understand even that which is stated by us."

9 How Simon Bears His Exposure. When Peter said this, the multitudes applauded. But Simon, being thus exposed, blushed through shame, and rubbing his forehead, said: "Well, then, do they declare that I, a magician, yea, even I who syllogize, am conquered by Peter? It is not so. But if one should syllogize, though carried away and conquered, he still retains the truth that is in him. For the weakness in the defender is not identical with the truth in the conquered man.

"But I assure you that I have judged all those who are bystanders worthy to know the unrevealed Father. Wherefore, because I publicly reveal him to them, you yourself, through envy, are angry with me who wish to confer a benefit on them."

10 Peter's Reply to Simon. And Peter said: "Since you have thus spoken to please the multitudes who are present, I shall speak to them, not to please them, but to tell them the truth. Tell me how you know all those who are present to be worthy, when not even one of them agreed with your exposition of the subject; for the giving of applause to me in opposition to you is not the act of those who agree with you, but of those who agree with me, to whom they gave the applause for having spoken the truth.

"But since God, who is just, judges the mind of each one a doctrine which you affirm to be true He would not have wished this to be given through the left hand to those on the right hand, exactly as the man who receives anything from a robber is himself guilty.

"So that, on this account, He did not wish them to receive what is brought by you; but they are to receive the revelation through the Son, who has been set apart for this work. For to whom is it reasonable that the Father should give a revelation, but to His only Son, because He knows Him to be worthy of such a revelation? And so this is a matter which one cannot teach or be taught, but it must be revealed by the ineffable hand to him who is worthy to know it."

11 Simon Professes to Utter His Real Sentiments. And Simon said: "It contributes much to victory, if the man who wars uses his own weapons; for what one loves he can in real earnest defend, and that which is defended with genuine earnestness has no ordinary power in it.

"Wherefore in future I shall lay before you my real opinions. I maintain that there is some unrevealed power, unknown to all, even to the Creator himself, as Jesus himself has also declared, though he did not know what he said, For when one talks a great deal he sometimes hits the truth, not knowing what he is saying. I am referring to the statement which he uttered, 'No one knows the Father.'"

And Peter said: "Do not any longer profess that you know His doctrines."

And Simon said: "I do not profess to believe his doctrines; but I am discussing points in which he was by accident right."

And Peter said: "Not to give you any pretext for escape, I shall carry on the discussion with you in the way you wish. At the same time, I call all to witness that you do not yet believe the statement which you just now made. For I know your opinions. And in order that you may not imagine that I am not speaking the truth, I shall expound your opinions, that you may know that you are discussing with one who is well acquainted with them."

12 Simon's Opinions Expounded by Peter. "We, Simon, do not assert that from the great power, which is also called the dominant power, two angels were sent forth, the one to create the world, the other to give the law; nor that each one when he came proclaimed himself, on account of what he had done, as the sole creator; nor that there is one who stands, will stand, and is opposed. Learn how you disbelieve even in respect to this subject.

"If you say that there is an unrevealed power, that power is full of ignorance. For it did not foreknow the ingratitude of the angels who were sent by it."

And Simon became exceedingly angry with Peter for saying this, and interrupted his discourse, saying: "What nonsense is this you speak, you daring and most impudent of men, revealing plainly before the multitudes the secret doctrines, so that they can be easily learned?"

And Peter said: "Why do you grudge that the present audience should receive benefit?"

And Simon said: "Do you then allow that such knowledge is a benefit?"

And Peter said: "I allow it: for the knowledge of a false doctrine is beneficial, inasmuch as you do not fall into it because of ignorance."

And Simon said: "You are evidently not able to reply to the propositions I laid before you. I maintain that even your teacher affirms that there is some Father unrevealed."

13 Peter's Explanation of the Passage. And Peter said: "I shall reply to that which you wish me to speak of, namely, the passage, 'No one knows the Father but the Son, nor does any one know the Son but the Father, and they to whom the Son may wish to reveal Him.'

"First, then, I am astonished that, while this statement admits of countless interpretations, you should have chosen the very dangerous position of maintaining that the statement is made in reference to the ignorance of the Creator (Demiurge), and all who are under him. For, first, the statement can apply to all the Jews who think that David is the father of Christ, and that Christ himself is his son, and do not know that He is the Son of God.

"Wherefore it is appropriately said, 'No one knows the Father,' since, instead of God, they affirmed David to be His father; and the additional remark, that no one knows even the Son, is quite correct, since they did not know that He was the Son. The statement also, 'to whomsoever the Son may wish to reveal Him,' is also correct; for He being the Son from the beginning, was alone appointed to give the revelation to those to whom He wishes to give it.

"And thus the first man (protoplast) Adam must have heard of Him; and Enoch, who pleased God, must have known Him; and Noah, the righteous one, must have become acquainted with Him; and Abraham His friend must have understood Him; and Isaac must have perceived Him; and Jacob, who wrestled with Him, must have believed in Him; and the revelation must have been given to all among the people who were worthy."

14 Simon Refuted. "But if, as you say, it will be possible to know Him, because He is now revealed to all through Jesus, are you not stating what is most unjust, when you say that these men did not know Him, who were the seven pillars of the world, and who were able to please the most just God, and that so many now from all nations who were impious know Him in every respect? Were not those who were superior to every one not deemed worthy to know Him? And how can that be good which is not just? unless you wish to give the name of 'good,' not to him who does good to those who act justly, but to him who loves the unjust, even though they do not believe, and reveals to them the secrets which he would not reveal to the just.

"But such conduct is befitting neither in one who is good nor just, but in one who has come to hate the pious. Are not you, Simon, the standing one, who have the boldness to make these statements which never have been so made before?"

15 Matthew 11:25 Discussed. And Simon, being vexed at this, said: "Blame your own teacher, who said, 'I thank Thee, Lord of heaven and earth, that what was concealed from the wise, Thou hast revealed to suckling babes.'"

And Peter said: "This is not the way in which the statement was made; but I shall speak of it as if it had been made in the way that has seemed good to you. Our Lord, even if He had made this statement, 'What was concealed from the wise, the Father revealed to babes,' could not even thus be thought to point out another God and Father in addition to Him who created the world. For it is possible that the concealed things of which He spoke may be those of the Creator (Demiurge) himself; because Isaiah says, 'I will open my mouth in parables, and I will belch forth things concealed from the foundation of the world.'

"Do you allow, then, that the prophet was not ignorant of the things concealed, which Jesus says were concealed from the wise, but revealed to babes? And how was the Creator (Demiurge) ignorant of them, if his prophet Isaiah was not ignorant of them? But our Jesus did not in reality say 'what was concealed,' but He said what seems a harsher statement; for He said, 'Thou hast concealed these things from the wise, and hast revealed them to sticking babes.'

"Now the word 'Thou hast concealed' implies that they had once been known to them; for the key of the kingdom of heaven, that is, the knowledge of the secrets, lay with them."

16 These Things Hidden Justly from the Wise. "And do not say He acted impiously towards the wise in hiding these things from them. Far be such a supposition from us. For He did not act impiously; but since they hid the knowledge of the kingdom, and neither themselves entered nor allowed those who wished to enter, on this account, and justly, inasmuch as they hid the ways from those who wished, were in like manner the secrets hidden from them, in order that they themselves might experience what they had done to others, and with what measure they had measured, an equal measure might be meted out to them.

"For to him who is worthy to know, is due that which he does not know; but from him who is not worthy, even should he seem to have any thing it is taken away,23 even if he be wise in other matters; and it is given to the worthy, even should they be babes as far as the times of their discipleship are concerned."

17 The Way to the Kingdom Not Concealed from the Israelites. "But if one shall say nothing was concealed from the sons of Israel, because it is written, 'Nothing escaped thy notice, O Israel for do not say, O Jacob, The way is hid from me),' he ought to understand that the things that belong to the kingdom had been hid from them, but that the way that leads to the kingdom, that is, the mode of life, had not been hid from them.

"Wherefore it is that He says, 'For say not that the way has been hid from me.' But by the way is meant the mode of life; for Moses says, 'Behold, I have set before thy face the way of life and the way of death.'

"And the Teacher spoke in harmony with this: 'Enter ye through the strait and narrow way, through which ye shall enter into life.' And somewhere else, when one asked Him,27 'What shall I do to inherit eternal life?' He pointed out to him the commandments of the law."

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18 Isaiah 1:3 Explained. "From the circumstance that Isaiah said, in the person of God, 'But Israel hath not known me, and the people hath not understood me,' it is not to be inferred that Isaiah indicated another God besides Him who is known; but he meant that the known God was in another sense unknown, because the people sinned, being ignorant of the just character of the known God, and imagined that they would not be punished by the good God.

"Wherefore, after he said, 'But Israel hath not known me, and the people hath not understood me,' he adds, 'Alas! a sinful nation, a people laden with sins.' For, not being afraid, in consequence of their ignorance of His justice, as I said, they became laden with sins, supposing that He was merely good, and would not therefore punish them for their sins."

19 Misconception of God in the Old Testament. "And some sinned thus, on account of imagining that there would be no judgement because of His goodness. But others took an opposite course. For, supposing the expressions of the Scriptures which are against God, and are unjust and false, to be true, they did not know His real divinity and power.

"Therefore, in the belief that He was ignorant and rejoiced in murder, and let off the wicked in consequence of the gifts of sacrifices; yea, moreover, that He deceived and spake falsely, and did every thing that is unjust, they themselves did things like to what their God did, and thus sinning, asserted that they were acting piously.

"Wherefore it was impossible for them to change to the better, and when warned they took no heed. For they were not afraid, since they became like their God through such actions."

20 Some Parts of the Old Testament Written to Try Us. "But one might with good reason maintain that it was with reference to those who thought Him to be such that the statement was made, 'No one knoweth the Father but the Son, as no one knoweth even the Son, but the Father.' And reasonably. For if they had known, they would not have sinned, by trusting to the books written against God, really for the purpose of trying.

"But somewhere also He says, wishing to exhibit the cause of their error more distinctly to them, 'On this account ye do err, not knowing the true things of the Scriptures, on which account ye are ignorant also of the power of God.'

"Wherefore every man who wishes to be saved must become, as the Teacher said, a judge of the books written to try us. For thus He spake: 'Become experienced bankers.' Now the need of bankers arises from the circumstance that the spurious is mixed up with the genuine."

21 Simon's Astonishment at Peter's Treatment of the Scriptures. When Peter said this, Simon pretended to be utterly astonished at what was said in regard to the Scriptures; and as if in great agitation, he said: "Far be it from me, and those who love me, to listen to your discourses. And, indeed, as long as I did not know that you held these opinions in regard to the Scriptures, I endured you, and discussed with you; but now I retire. Indeed, I ought at the first to have withdrawn, because I heard you say, 'I, for my part, believe no one who says anything against Him who created the world, neither angels, nor prophets, nor Scriptures, nor priests, nor teachers, nor any one else, even though one should work signs and miracles, even though he should lighten brilliantly in the air, or should make a revelation through visions or through dreams.'

"Who, then, can succeed in changing your mind, whether well or ill, so as that you should hold opinions different from what you have determined on, seeing that you abide so persistently and immoveably in your own decision? "

22 Peter Worships One God. When Simon said this, and was going to depart, Peter said: "Listen to this one other remark, and then go where you like."

Whereupon Simon turned back and remained, and Peter said: "I know how you were then astonished when you heard me say, 'Whosoever says anything whatever against God who created the world, I do not believe him.'

"But listen now to something additional, and greater than this. If God who created the world has in reality such a character as the Scriptures assign Him, and if somehow or other He is incomparably wicked, more wicked than either the Scriptures were able to represent Him, or any other can even conceive Him to be, nevertheless I shall not give up worshipping Him alone, and doing His will.

"For I wish you to know and to be convinced, that he who has not affection for his own Creator, can never have it towards another. And if he has it towards another, he has it contrary to nature, and he is ignorant that he has this passion for the unjust from the evil one. Nor will he be able to retain even it stedfastly. And, indeed, if there is another above the Creator (Demiurge), he will welcome me, since he is good, all the more that I love my own Father; and he will not welcome you, as he knows that you have abandoned your own natural Creator: for I do not call Him Father, influenced by a greater hope, and not caring for what is reasonable.

"Thus, even if you find one who is superior to Him, he knows that you will one day abandon him; and the more so that he has not been your father, since you have abandoned Him who was really your Father."

23 Simon Retires. "But you will say, 'He knows that there is no other above him, and on this account he cannot be abandoned.' Thanks, then, to there being no other; but He knows that the state of your mind is one inclined to ingratitude. But if, knowing you to be ungrateful, He welcomes you, and knowing me to be grateful, He does not receive me, He is inconsiderate, according to your own assertion, and does not act reasonably. And thus, Simon, you are not aware that you are the servant of wickedness."

And Simon answered: "Whence, then, has evil arisen? tell us."

And Peter said: "Since today you were the first to go out, and you declared that you would not in future listen to me as being a blasphemer, come tomorrow, if indeed you wish to learn, and I shall explain the matter to you, and I will permit you to ask me any questions you like, without any dispute."

And Simon said: "I shall do as shall seem good to me." And saying this, he went away.

Now, none of those who entered along with him went out along with him; but, falling at Peter's feet, they begged that they might be pardoned for having been carried away with Simon, and on repenting, to be welcomed. But Peter, admitting those persons who repented, and the rest of the multitudes, laid his hands upon them, praying, and healing those who were sick amongst them; and thus dismissing them, he urged them to return early about dawn. And saying this, and going in with his intimate friends, he made the usual preparations for immediate repose, for it was now evening.

CLEMENT HOMILIES BOOK 19

1 Simon Undertakes to Prove that the Creator of the World is Not Blameless. The next day Peter came forth earlier than usual; and seeing Simon with many others waiting for him, he saluted the multitude, and began to discourse.

But no sooner did he begin than Simon interrupted him, and said: "Pass by these long introductions of yours, and answer directly the questions I put to you. Since I perceive that you1 (as I know from what I heard at the beginning, that you have no other purpose, than by every contrivance to show that the Creator himself is alone the blameless God), since, as I said, I perceive that you have such a decided desire to maintain this, that you venture to declare to be false some portions of the Scriptures that clearly speak against him, for this reason I have determined to-day to prove that it is impossible that he, being the Creator of all, should be blameless. But thus proof I can now begin, if you reply to the questions which I put to you."

2 The Existence of the Devil Affirmed. "Do you maintain that there is any prince of evil or not? For if you say that there is not, I can prove to you from many statements, and those too of your teacher, that there is; but if you honestly allow that the evil one exists, then I shall speak in accordance with this belief."

And Peter said: "It is impossible for me to deny the assertion of my Teacher. Wherefore I allow that the evil one exists, because my Teacher, who spoke the truth in all things, has frequent]y asserted that he exists. For instance, then, he acknowledges that he conversed with Him, and tempted Him for forty days.

"And I know that He has said somewhere else, 'If Satan casts out Satan, he is divided against himself: how then is his kingdom to stand? ' And He pointed out that He saw the evil one like lightning falling down from heaven. And elsewhere He said, 'He who sowed the bad seed is the devil.' And again, 'Give no pretext to the evil one.' Moreover, in giving advice, He said, 'Let your yea be yea, and your nay nay; for what is more than these is of the evil one.'

"Also, in the prayer which He delivered to us, we have it said, 'Deliver its from the evil one.' And in another place, He promised that He would say to those who are impious, 'Go ye into outer darkness, which the Father prepared for the devil and his angels.' And not to prolong this statement further, I know that my Teacher often said that there is an evil one. Wherefore I also agree in thinking that he exists. If, then, in future you have anything to say in accordance with this belief, say it, as you promised."

3 Peter Refuses to Discuss Certain Questions in Regard to the Devil. And Simon said: "Since, then, you have honestly confessed, on the testimony of the Scriptures that the evil one exists, state to us how he has come into existence, if indeed he has come into existence, and by whom, and why."

And Peter said: "Pardon me, Simon, if I do not dare to affirm what has not been written. But if you say that it has been written, prove it. But if, since it has not been written, you cannot prove it, why should we run risk in stating our opinions in regard to what has not been written? For if we discourse too daringly in regard to God, it is either because we do not believe that we shall be judged, or that we shall be judged only in respect to that which we do, but not also in regard to what we believe and speak."

But Simon, understanding that Peter referred to his own madness, said: "Permit me to run the risk; but do not you make what you assert to be blasphemy a pretext for retiring. For I perceive that you wish to withdraw, in order that you may escape refutation before the masses, sometimes as if you were afraid to listen to blasphemies, and at other times by maintaining that, as nothing has been written as to how, and by whom, and why the evil one came into existence, we ought not to dare to assert more than the Scripture.

"Wherefore also as a pious man you affirm this only, that he exists. But by these contrivances you deceive yourself, not knowing that, if it is blasphemy to inquire accurately regarding the evil one, the blame rests with me, the accuser, and not with you, the defender of God.

"And if the subject inquired into is not in Scripture, and on this account you do not wish to inquire into it, there are some satisfactory methods which can prove to you what is sought not less effectively than the Scriptures. For instance, must it not be the case that the evil one, who you assert exists, is either originated or unoriginated?"

4 Suppositions in Regard to the Devil's Origin. And Peter said: "It must be so."

And Simon: "Therefore, if he is originated, he has been made by that very God who made all things, being either born as an animal, or sent forth substantially, and resulting from an external mixture of elements. For either the matter, being living or lifeless, from which he was made was outside of Him, or he came into being through God Himself, or through his own self, or he resulted from things non-existent, or he is a mere relative thing, or he always existed.

"Having thus, as I think, clearly, pointed out all the possible ways by which we may find him, in going along some one of these we must find him. We must therefore go along each one of these in search of his origin; and when we find him who is his author, we must perceive that he is to blame. Or how does the matter seem to you? "

5 God Not Deserving of Blame in Permitting the Existence of the Devil. And Peter said: "It is my opinion that, even if it be evident that he was made by God, the Creator who made him should not be blamed; for it might perchance be found that the service he performs was an absolute necessity.

"But if, on the other hand, it should be proved that he was not created, inasmuch as he existed for ever, not even is the Creator to be blamed in this respect, since He is better than all others, even if He has not been able to put an end to a being who had no beginning, because his nature did not admit of it; or if, being able, He does not make away with him, deeming it unjust to put an end to that which did not receive a beginning, and pardoning that which was by nature wicked, because he could not have become anything else, even if he were to wish to do so.

"But if, wishing to do good, He is not able, even in this case He is good in that He has the will, though He has not the power; and while He has not the power, He is yet the most powerful of all, in that the power is not left to another.

"But if there is some other that is able, and yet does not accomplish it, it must be allowed that, in so far as, being able, he does not accomplish it, he is wicked in not putting an end to him, as if he took pleasure in the deeds done by him. But if not even he is able, then he is better who, though unable, is yet not unwilling to benefit us according to his ability."

6 Peter Accuses Simon of Being Worse Than the Devil. And Simon said: "When you have discussed all the subjects which I have laid before you, I shall show you the cause of evil. Then I shall also reply to what you have now said, and prove that that God whom you affirm to be blameless is blameable."

And Peter said: "Since I perceive from what you say at the commencement that you are striving after nothing else than to subject God, as being the author of evil, to blame, I have resolved to go along with you all the ways you like, and to prove that God is entirely free from blame."

And Simon said: "You say this as loving God, whom you suppose you know; but you are not right."

And Peter said: "But you, as being wicked, and hating God whom you have not known, utter blasphemous words."

And Simon said: "Remember that you have likened me to the author of evil."

And Peter said: "I confess it, I was wrong in comparing you to the evil one; for I was compelled to do so, because I have not found one who is your equal, or worse than you. For this reason I likened you to the evil one; for you happen to be much more wicked than the author of evil. For no one can prove that the evil one spoke against God; but all of us who are present see you speaking daringly against Him."

And Simon said: "He who seeks the truth ought not to gratify any one in any respect contrary to what is really true. For why does he make the inquiry at all? Why, I ask? for I am not also able; laying aside the accurate investigation of things, to spend all my time in the praise of that God whom I do not know."

7 Peter Suspects Simon of Not Believing Even in a God. And Peter said: "You are not so blessed as to praise Him, nor indeed can you do such a good deed as this; for then you would be full of Him. For thus said our Teacher, who always spoke the truth: 'Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh.'

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"Whence you, abounding in evil purposes, through ignorance speak against the only good God. And not yet suffering what you deserve to suffer for the words which you have dared to utter,21 you either imagine that there will be no judgement, or perchance you think that there is not even a God. Whence, not comprehending such long-suffering as His, you are moving on to still greater madness."

And Simon said: "Do not imagine that you will frighten me into not investigating the truth of your examples. For I am so eager for the truth, that for its sake I will not shrink from undergoing danger. If, then, you have anything to say in regard to the propositions made by me at the commencement, say it now."

8 Peter Undertakes to Discuss the Devil's Origin. And Peter said: "Since you compel us, after we have made accurate investigations into the contrivances of God, to venture to state them, and that, too, to men who are not able to comprehend thoroughly the contrivances of their fellow-men, for the sake at least of those who are present, I, instead of remaining silent a course which would be most pious shall discuss the subjects of which you wish me to speak.

"I agree with you in believing that there is a prince of evil, of whose origin the Scripture has ventured to say nothing either true or false. But let us follow out the inquiry in many ways, as to how he has come into existence, if it is the fact that he has come into existence; and of the opinions which present themselves, let us select that which is most reverential, since in the case of probable opinions, that one is assumed with confidence which is based on the principle that we ought to attribute to God that which is more reverential; and all the more so, if, when all other suppositions are removed, there still remains one which is adequate and involves less danger.

"But I promise you, before I proceed with the investigation, that every method in the investigation can show that God alone is blameless."

9 Theories in Regard to the Origin of the Devil. "But, as you said, if the evil one is created either he has been begotten as an animal, or he has been sent forth substantially by Him, or he has been compounded externally, or his will has arisen through composition; or it happened that he came into existence from things non-existent, without composition and the will of God; or he has been made by God from that which in no manner and nowhere exists; or the matter, being lifeless or living, from which he has arisen was outside of God; or he fashioned himself, or he was made by God, or he is a relative thing, or he ever existed: for we cannot say that he does not exist, since we have agreed in thinking that he does exist."

And Simon said: "Well have you distinguished all the methods of accounting for his existence in a summary manner. Now it is my part to examine these various ideas, and to show that the Creator is blameable. But it is your business to prove, as you promised, that he is free from all blame.

"But I wonder if you will be able. For, first, if the devil has been begotten from God as an animal, the vice which is his is accordingly the same as that of him who sends him forth."

And Peter said: "Not at all. For we see many men who are good the fathers of wicked children, and others who are wicked the fathers of good children, and others again who are wicked producing both good and wicked children, and others who are good having both wicked and good children. For instance, the first man who was created produced the unrighteous Cain and the righteous Abel."

To this Simon said: "You are acting foolishly, in using human examples when discoursing about God."

And Peter said: "Speak you, then, to us about God without using human examples, and yet so that what you say can be understood; but you are not able to do so."

10 The Absolute God Entirely Incomprehensible by Man. "For instance, then, what did you say in the beginning? If the wicked one has been begotten of God, being of the same substance as He, then God is wicked. But when I showed you, from the example which you yourself adduced, that wicked beings come from good, and good from wicked, you did not admit the argument, for you said that the example was a human one. Wherefore I now do not admit that the term 'being begotten' can be used with reference to God; for it is characteristic of man, and not of God, to beget.

"Not only so; but God cannot be good or evil, just or unjust. Nor indeed can He have intelligence, or life, or any of the other attributes which can exist in man; for all these are peculiar to man. And if we must not, in our investigations in regard to God, give Him the good attributes which belong to man, it is not possible for us to have any thought or make any statement in regard to God; but all we can do is to investigate One point alone, namely, what is His will which He has Himself allowed us to apprehend, in order that, being judged, we might be without excuse in regard to those laws which we have not observed, though we knew them."

11 The Application of the Attributes of Man to God. And Simon, bearing this, said: "You will not force me through shame to remain silent in regard to His substance, and to inquire into His will alone. For it is possible both to think and to speak of His substance. I mean from the good attributes that belong to man. For instance, life and death are attributes of man; but death is not an attribute of God, but life, and eternal life.

"Furthermore, men may be both evil and good; but God can be only incomparably good. And, not to prolong the subject too much, the better attributes of man are eternal attributes of God."

And Peter said: "Tell me, Simon, is it an attribute of man to beget evil and good, and to do evil and good?"

And Simon said: "It is."

And Peter said: "Since you made this assertion, we must assign the better attributes of man to God; and so, while men beget evil and good, God can beget good only and while men do evil and good God rejoices only in doing good. Thus, with regard to God, we must either not predicate any of the attributes of man and be silent, or it is reasonable that we should assign the best of the good attributes to Him. And thus He alone is the cause of all good things."

12 God Produced the Wicked One, But Not Evil. And Simon said: "If, then, God is the cause only of what is good, what else can we think than that some other principle begot the evil one; or is evil unbegotten?"

And Peter said: "No other power begot the wicked one, nor is evil unbegotten, as I shall show in the conclusion; for now my object is to prove, as I promised in the commencement, that God is blameless in every respect. We have granted, then, that God possesses in an incomparable way the better attributes that belong to men.

"Wherefore also it is possible for Him to have been the producer of the four substances, heat, I mean, and cold, moist and dry. These, as being at first simple and unmixed, were naturally indifferent in their desire; but being produced by God, and mixed externally, they would naturally become a living being, possessing the free choice to destroy those who are evil.

"And thus, since all things have been begotten from Him, the wicked one is from no other source. Nor has he derived his evil from the God who has created all things (with whom it is impossible that evil should exist), because the substances were produced by Him in a state of indifference, and carefully separated from each other; and when they were externally blended through his art, there arose through volition the desire for the destruction of the evil ones.

"But the good cannot be destroyed by the evil that arose, even though it should wish to do so: for it exercises its power only against those who sin. Ignorant, then, of the character of each, he makes his attempt against him, and convicting him, he punishes him."

And Simon said: "God being able to mingle the elements, and to make His mixtures so as to produce any dispositions that He may wish, why did He not make the composition of each such as that it would prefer what is good?"

13 God the Maker of the Devil. And Peter said: "Now indeed our object is to show how and by whom the evil one came into being, since he did come into being; but we shall show if he came into being blamelessly, when we have finished the subject now in hand. Then I shall show how and on account of what he came into being, and I shall fully convince you that his Creator is blameless.

"We said, then, that the four substances were produced by God. And thus, through the volition of Him who mingled them, arose, as He wished, the choice of evils. For if it had arisen contrary to His determination, or from some other substance or cause, then God would not have had firmness of will: for perchance, even though He should not wish it, leaders of evil might continually arise, who would war against His wishes.

"But it is impossible that this should be the case. For no living being, and especially one capable of giving guidance, can arise from accident: for everything that is produced must be produced by some one."

14 Is Matter Eternal? And Simon said: "But what if matter, being coeval with Him, and possessing equal power, produces as His foe leaders who hinder His wishes?"

And Peter said: "If matter is eternal, then it is the foe of no one: for that which exists for ever is impassible, and what is impassible is blessed; but what is blessed cannot be receptive of hatred, since, on account of its eternal creation, it does not fear that it will be deprived of anything.

"But how does not matter rather love the Creator, when it evidently sends forth its fruits to nourish all who are made by Him? And how does it not fear Him as superior, as trembling through earthquakes it confesses, and as, though its billows ran high, yet, when the Teacher was sailing on it and commanded a calm, it immediately obeyed and became still?

"What! did not the demons go out through fear and respect for Him, and others of them desired to enter into swine; but they first entreated Him before going, plainly because they had no power to enter even into swine without His permission?"

15 Sin the Cause of Evil. And Simon said: "But what if, being lifeless, it possesses a nature capable of producing what is evil and what is good?"

And Peter said: "According to this statement, it is neither good nor evil, because it does not act by free choice, being lifeless and insensible. Wherefore it is possible to perceive distinctly in this matter, how, being lifeless, it produces as if it were living; and being insensible, it yet plainly fashions artistic shapes both in animals and plants."

And Simon said: "What! if God Himself gave it life, is not He, then, the cause of the evils which it produces?"

And Peter said: "If God gave it life according to His own will, then it is His Spirit that produces it, and no longer is it anything hostile to God, or of equal power with Him; or it is impossible that everything made by Him is made according as He wishes. But you will say, He Himself is the cause of evil, since He Himself produces the evils through it.

"What sort, then, are the evils of which you speak? Poisonous serpents and deadly plants, or demons, or any other of those things that can disturb men? which things would not have been injurious had not man sinned, for which reason37 death came in.

"For if man were sinless, the poison of serpents would have no effect, nor the activities of injurious plants, nor would there be the disturbances of demons, nor would man naturally have any other suffering; but losing his immortality on account of his sin, he has become, as I said, capable of every suffering.

"But if you say, Why, then, was the nature of man made at the beginning capable of death? I tell you, because of free-will; for if we were not capable of death, we could not, as being immortal, be punished on account of our voluntary sin. And thus, on account of our freedom from suffering, righteousness would be still more weakened if we were wicked by choice; for those who should have evil purposes could not be punished, on account of their being incapable of suffering."

16 Why the Wicked One is Entrusted with Power. And Simon said to this: "I have one thing more to say in regard to the wicked one. Assuredly, since God made him out of nothing, he is in this respect wicked, especially since he was able to make him good, by giving him at his creation a nature in no way capable of selecting wickedness."

And Peter said: "The statement that He created him out of nothing, with a power of choice, is like the statement we have made above, that, buying made such a constitution as can rejoice in evils, He Himself appears to be the cause of what took place. But since there is one explanation of both statements, we shall show afterwards why, it was that He made him rejoice in the destruction of the wicked."

And Simon said: "If he made the angels also voluntary agents, and the wicked one departed from a state of righteousness, why has he been honoured with a post of command? Is it not plain that he who thus honoured him takes pleasure in the wicked, in that he has thus honoured him? "

And Peter said: "If God set him by law, when he rebelled, to rule over those who were like him, ordering him to inflict punishment on those who sin, He is not unjust. But if it be the case that He has honoured him even after his revolt, He who honoured him saw beforehand his usefulness; for the honour is temporary, and it is right that the wicked should be ruled by the wicked one, and that sinners should be punished by him."

17 The Devil Has Not Equal Power with God. And Simon said: "If, then, he exists for ever, is not the fact of the sole government of God thus destroyed, since there is another power, namely, that concerned with matter, which rules along with Him?"

And Peter said: "If they are different in their substances, they are different also in their powers, and the superior rules the inferior. But if they are of the same substance, then they are equal in power, and they are in like manner good or bad. But it is plain that they are not equal in power; for the Creator put matter into that shape of a world into which He willed to put it.

"Is it then at all possible to maintain that it always existed, being a substance; and is not matter, as it were, the storehouse of God? For it is not possible to maintain that there was a time when God possessed nothing, but He always was the only ruler of it. Wherefore also He is an eternal sole ruler; and on this account it would justly be said to belong to Him who exists, and rules, and is eternal."

And Simon said: "What then? Did the wicked one make himself? And was God good in such a way, that, knowing be would be the cause of evil, he yet did not destroy him at his origination, when he could have been destroyed, as not yet being perfectly made? For if he came into being suddenly and complete, then on that account he is at war with the Creator, as having come suddenly into being, possessed of equal power with him."

18 Is the Devil a Relation? And Peter said: "What you state is impossible; for if he came into existence by degrees, He could have cut him off as a foe by His own free choice. And knowing beforehand that he was coming into existence, He would not have allowed him as a good, had He not known that by reason of him what was useful was being brought into existence.

"And he could not have come into existence suddenly, complete, of his own power. For he who did not exist could not fashion himself; and he neither could become complete out

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of nothing, nor could any one justly say that he bad substance, so as always to be equal in power if lie were begotten."

And Simon said: "Is he then a mere relation, and in this way wicked? being injurious, as water is injurious to fire, but good for the seasonably thirsty land; as iron is good for the cultivation of the land, but bad for murders; and lust is not evil in respect of marriage, but bad in respect of adultery; as murder is an evil, but good for the murderer so far as his purpose is concerned; and cheating is an evil, but pleasant to the man who cheats; and other things of a like character are good and bad in like manner.

"In this way, neither is evil, nor good; for the one produces the other. For does not that which seems to be done injuriously rejoice the doer, but punish the sufferer? And though it seems unjust that a man should, out of self-love, gratify himself by every means in his power, to whom, on the other hand, does it not seem unjust that a man should suffer severe punishments at the hand of a just judge for having loved himself?"

19 Some Actions Really Wicked. And Peter said: "A man ought to punish himself through self-restraint, when his lust wishes to hurry on to the injury of another, knowing that50 the wicked one can destroy the wicked, for he has received power over them from the beginning.

"And not yet is this an evil to those who have done evil; but that their souls should remain punished after the destruction, you are right in thinking to be really harsh, though the man who has been fore-ordained for evil should say that it is right.

"Wherefore, as I said, we ought to avoid doing injury to another for the sake of a short lived pleasure, that we may not involve ourselves in eternal punishment for the sake of a little pleasure."

And Simon said "Is it the case, then, that there is nothing either bad or good by nature, but the difference arises through law and custom? For is it not the habit of the Persians to marry their own mothers, sisters and daughters, while marriage with other women is prohibited as most barbarous? Wherefore, if it is not settled what things are evil, it is not possible for all to look forward to the judgement of God."

And Peter said: "This cannot hold; for it is plain to all that cohabitation with mothers is abominable, even though the Persians, who are a mere fraction of the whole, should under the effects of a bad custom fail to see the iniquity of their abominable conduct.

"Thus also the Britons publicly cohabit in the sight of all, and are not ashamed; and some men eat the flesh of others, and feel no disgust; and others eat the flesh of dogs; and others practice other unmentionable deeds. Thus, then we ought not to form our judgements with a perception which through habit has been perverted from its natural action.

"For to be murdered is an evil, even if all were to deny it; for no one wishes to suffer it himself, and in the case of theft no one rejoices at his own punishment. If, then, no one were at all ever to confess that these are sins, it is right even then to look forward of necessity to a judgement in regard to sins."

When Peter said this, Simon answered: "Does this, then, seem to you to be the truth in regard to the wicked one? Tell me."

20 Pain and Death the Result of Sin. And Peter said: "We remember that our Lord and Teacher, commanding us, said, 'Keep the mysteries for me and the sons of my house.' Wherefore also He explained to His disciples privately the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven. But to you who do battle with us, and examine into nothing else but our statements, whether they be true or false, it would be impious to state the hidden truths.

"But that none of the bystanders may imagine that I am contriving excuses,58 because I am unable to reply to the assertions made by you, I shall answer you by first putting the question, If there had been a state of painlessness, what is the meaning of the statement. 'The evil one was'?"

And Simon said: "The words have no meaning."

And Peter: "Is then evil the same as pain and death?"

And Simon: "It seems so."

And Peter said: "Evil, then, does not exist always, yea, it cannot even exist at all substantially; for pain and death belong to the class of accidents, neither of which can co-exist with abiding strength.

"For what is pain but the interruption of harmony? And what is death but the separation of soul from body? There is therefore no pain when there is harmony. For death does not even at all belong to those things which substantially exist: for death is nothing, as I said, but the separation of soul from body; and when this takes place, the body, which is by nature incapable of sensation, is dissolved; but the soul, being capable of sensation, remains in life and exists substantially.

"Hence, when there is harmony there is no pain, no death, no, not even deadly plants nor poisonous reptiles, nor anything of such a nature that its end is death. And hence, where immortality reigns, all things will appear to have been made with reason. And this will be the case when, on account of righteousness, man becomes immortal through the prevalence of the peaceful reign of Christ, when his composition will be so well arranged as not to give rise to sharp impulses; and his knowledge, moreover, will be unerring, so as that he shall not mistake evil for good; and he will suffer no pain, so that he will not be mortal."

21 The Uses of Lust, Anger, Grief. And Simon said: "You were right in saying this; but in the present world does not man seem to you to be capable of every kind of affection, as, for instance, of lust; anger, grief, and the like?"

And Peter said: "Yes, these belong to the things that are accidental, not to those that always exist, and it will be found that they now occur with advantage to the soul. For lust has, by the will of Him who created all things well, been made to arise within the living being, that, led by it to intercourse, he may increase humanity, from a selection of which a multitude of superior beings arise who are fit for eternal life.

"But if it were not for lust, no one would trouble himself with intercourse with his wife; but now, for the sake of pleasure, and, as it were, gratifying himself, man carries out His will. Now, if a man uses lust for lawful marriage, he does not act impiously; but if he rushes to adultery, he acts impiously, and he is punished because he makes a bad use of a good ordinance.

"And in the same way, anger has been made by God to be lighted up naturally within us, in order that we may be induced by it to ward off injuries. Yet if any one indulges it without restraint, he acts unjustly; but if he uses it within due bounds, he does what is right.

"Moreover, we are capable of grief, that we may be moved with sympathy at the death of relatives, of a wife, or children, or brothers, or parents, or friends, or some others, since, if we were not capable of sympathy, we should be inhuman. In like manner, all the other affections will be found to be adapted for us, if at least the reason for their existence63 be considered."

22 Sins of Ignorance. And Simon: "Why is it, then, that some die prematurely, and periodical diseases arise; and that there are, moreover, attacks of demons, and of madness, and all other kinds of afflictions which can greatly punish?"

And Peter said: "Because men, following their own pleasure in all things, cohabit without observing the proper times; and thus the deposition of seed, taking place unseasonably, naturally produces a multitude of evils. For they ought to reflect, that as a season has been fixed suitable for planting and sowing, so days have been appointed as appropriate for cohabitation, which are carefully to be observed.

"Accordingly some one well instructed in the doctrines taught by Moses, finding fault with the people for their sins, called them sons of the new moons and the sabbaths. Yet in the beginning of the world then lived long, and had no diseases. But when through carelessness they neglected the observation of the proper times, then the sons in succession cohabiting through ignorance at times when they ought not, place their children under innumerable afflictions.

"Whence our Teacher, when we inquired of Him67 in regard to the man who was blind from his birth, and recovered his sight, if this man sinned, or his parents, that he should be born blind, answered, 'Neither did he sin at all, nor his parents, but that the power of God might be made manifest through him in healing the sins of ignorance.'

"And, in truth, such afflictions arise because of ignorance; as, for instance, by not knowing when one ought to cohabit with his wife, as if she be pure from her discharge. Now the afflictions which you mentioned before are the result of ignorance, and not, assuredly, of any wickedness that has been perpetrated.

"Moreover, give me the man who sins not, and I will show you the man who suffers not; and you will find that he not only does not suffer himself, but that he is able to heal others. For instance, Moses, on account of his piety, continued free from suffering all his life, and by his prayers he healed the Egyptians when they suffered on account of their sins."

23 The Inequalities of Lot in Human Life. And Simon said: "Let me grant that this is the case: does not the inequality of lot amongst men seem to you most unjust? For one is in penury, another is rich; one is sick, another is in good health: and there are innumerable differences of a like character in human life."

And Peter said: "Do you not perceive, Simon, that you are again shooting your observations beyond the mark? For while we were discussing evil, you have made a digression, and introduced the question of the anomalies that appear in this world. But I shall speak even to this point.

"The world is an instrument artistically contrived, that for the male who is to exist eternally, the female may bear eternal righteous sons. Now they could not have been rendered perfectly pious here, had there been no needy ones for them to help. In like manner there are the sick, that they may have objects for their care. And the other afflictions admit of a like explanation."

And Simon said: "Are not those in humble circumstances unfortunate? for they are subjected to distress, that others may be made righteous."

And Peter said: "If their humiliation were eternal, their misfortune would be very great. But the humiliations and exaltations of men take place according to lot; and he who is not pleased with his lot can appeal, and by trying his case according to law, he can exchange his mode of life for another."

And Simon said: "What do you mean by this lot and this appeal?"

And Peter said: "You are now demanding the exposition of another topic; but if you permit me, we can show you how, being born again, and changing your origin, and living according to law, you will obtain eternal salvation."

24 Simon Rebuked by Faustus. And Simon hearing this, said: "Do not imagine that, when I, while questioning you, agreed with you in each topic, I went to the next, as being fully assured of the truth of the previous; but I appeared to yield to your ignorance, that you might go on to the next topic, in order that, becoming acquainted with the whole range of your ignorance, I might condemn you, not through mere conjecture, but from full knowledge. Allow me now to retire for three days, and I shall come back and show that you know nothing."

When Simon said this, and was on the point of going out, my father said: "Listen to me, Simon, for a moment, and then go wherever you like. I remember that in the beginning, before the discussion, you accused me of being prejudiced, though as yet you had no experience of me. But now, having heard you discuss in turn, and judging that Peter has the advantage, and now assigning to him the merit of speaking the truth, do I appear to you to judge correctly, and with knowledge; or is it not so?

"For if you should say that I have judged correctly, but do not agree, then you are plainly prejudiced, inasmuch as you do not wish to agree, after confessing your defeat. But if I was not correct in maintaining that Peter has the advantage in the discussion, do you convince us how we have not judged correctly, or you will cease to discuss with him before all, since you will always be defeated and agree, and in consequence your own soul will suffer pain, condemned as you will be, and in disgrace, through your own conscience, even if you do not feel shame before all the listeners as the greatest torture; for we have seen you conquered, in fact, and we have heard your own lips confess it.

"Finally, therefore, I am of opinion that you will not return to the discussion, as you promised; but that you may seem not to have been defeated, you have promised, when going away, that you will return."

25 Simon Retires. Sophonias Asks Peter to State His Real Opinions in Regard to Evil. And Simon hearing this, gnashed his teeth for rage, and went away in silence. But Peter (for a considerable portion of the day still remained) laid his hands on the large multitude to heal them; and having dismissed them, went into the house with his more intimate friends, and sat down.

And one of his attendants, of the name of Sophonias, said: "Blessed is God, O Peter, who selected you and instructed you for the comfort of the good. For, in truth, you discussed with Simon with dignity and great patience. But we beg of you to discourse to us of evil; for we expect that you will state to us your own genuine belief in regard to it, not, however at the present moment, but tomorrow, if it seems good to you: for we spare you, because of the fatigue you feel on account of your discussion."

And Peter said: "I wish you to know, that he who does anything with pleasure, finds rest in the very toils themselves; but he who does not do what he wishes, is rendered exceedingly weary by the very rest he takes. Wherefore you confer on me a great rest when you make me discourse on topics which please me."

Content, then, with his disposition, and sparing him on account of his fatigue, we requested him to put the discussion off till the night, when it was his custom to discourse to his genuine friends. And partaking of salt, we turned to sleep.

CLEMENT HOMILIES BOOK 20

1 Peter is Willing to Gratify Sophonias. In the night-time Peter rose up and wakened us, and then sat down in his usual way, and said "Ask me questions about anything you like."

And Sophonias was the first to begin to speak to him: "Will you explain to us who are eager to learn what is the real truth in regard to evil?"

And Peter said: "I have already explained it in the course of my discussion with Simon; but because I stated the truth in regard to it in combination with other topics, it was not altogether clearly put; for many topics that seem to be of equal weight with the truth afford some kind of knowledge of the truth to the masses. So that, if now I state what I formerly stated to Simon along with many topics, do not imagine that you are not honoured with honour equal to his."

And Sophonias said: "You are right; for if you now separate it for us from many of the topics that were then discussed, you will make the truth more evident."

2 The Two Ages.

And Peter said: "Listen, therefore, to the truth of the harmony in regard to the evil one. God appointed two kingdoms, and established two ages, determining that the

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present world should be given to the evil one, because it is small, and passes quickly away; but He promised to preserve for the good one the age to come, as it will be great and eternal.

"Man, therefore, He created with free-will, and possessing the capability of inclining to whatever actions he wishes. And his body consists of three parts, deriving its origin from the female; for it has lust, anger, and grief, and what is consequent on these. But the spirit not being uniform, but consisting of three parts, derives its origin from the male; and it is capable of reasoning, knowledge, and fear, and what is consequent on these.

"And each of these triads has one root, so that man is a compound of two mixtures, the female and the male. Wherefore also two ways have been laid before him those of obedience and disobedience to law; and two kingdoms, have been established, the one called4 the kingdom of heaven, and the other the kingdom of those who are now kings upon earth.

"Also two kings have been appointed, of whom the one is selected to rule by law over the present and transitory world, and his composition is such that he rejoices in the destruction of the wicked. But the other and good one, who is the King of the age to come, loves the whole nature of man; but not being able to have boldness in the present world, he counsels what is advantageous, like one who tries to conceal who he really is."

3 The Work of the Good One and of the Evil One. "But of these two, the one acts violently towards the other by the command of God. Moreover, each man has power to obey whichever of them he pleases for the doing of good or evil. But if any one chooses to do what is good, he becomes the possession of the fixture good king; but if any one should do evil, he becomes the servant of the present evil one, who, having received power over him by just judgement on account of his sins, and wishing to use it before the coming age, rejoices in punishing him in the present life, and thus by gratifying, as it were, his own private passion, he accomplishes the will of God.

"But the other, being made to rejoice in power over the righteous, when he finds a righteous man, is exceedingly glad, and saves him with eternal life; and he also, as if gratifying himself, traces the gratification which he feels on account of these to God.

"Now it is within the power of every unrighteous man to repent and be saved; and every righteous man may have to undergo punishment for sins committed at the end of his career. Moreover, these two leaders are the swift hands of God, eager to anticipate Him so as to accomplish His will.

"But that this is so, has been said even by the law in the person of God: 'I will kill, and, I will make alive; I will strike, and I will heal.'

"For, in truth, He kills and makes alive. He kills through the left hand, that is, through the evil one, who has been so composed as to rejoice in afflicting the impious. And he saves and benefits through the right hand, that is, through the good one, who has been made to rejoice in the good deeds and salvation of the righteous.

"Now these have not their substances outside of God: for there is no other primal source. Nor, indeed, have they been sent forth as animals from God, for they were of the same mind with Him; nor are they accidental, arising spontaneously in opposition to His will, since thus the greatest exercise of His power would have been destroyed.

"But from God have been sent forth the four first elements heat and cold, moist and dry. In consequence of this, He is the father of every substance, but not of the disposition which may arise from the combination of the elements; for when these were combined from without, disposition was begotten in them as a child.

"The wicked one, then, having served God blamelessly to the end of the present world, can become good by a change in his composition, since he assuredly is not of one uniform substance whose sole bent is towards sin. For not even more does he do evil, although he is evil, since he has received power to afflict lawfully."

4 Men Sin Through Ignorance. When Peter said this, Micah, who was himself one of his followers, asked: "What, then, is the reason why men sin?"

And Peter said: "It is because they are ignorant that they will without doubt be punished for their evil deeds when judgement takes place. For this reason they, having lust, as I elsewhere said, for the continuance of life, gratify it in any accidental way, it may be by the vitiation of boys, or by some other flattering sin. For in consequence of their ignorance, as I said before, they are urged on through fearlessness to satisfy their lust in an unlawful manner.

"Wherefore God is not evil, who has rightly placed lust within man, that there may be a continuance of life, but they are most impious who have used the good of lust badly. The same considerations apply to anger also, that if one uses it righteously, as is within his power, he is pious; but going beyond measure, and taking judgement to himself, he is impious."

5 Sophonias Maintains that God Cannot Produce What is Unlike Himself. And Sophonias said again: "Your great patience, my lord Peter, gives us boldness to ask you many questions for the sake of accuracy. Wherefore we make our inquiries with confidence in every direction.

"I remember, then, that Simon said yesterday, in his discussion with you, that the evil one, if he was born of God, possesses in consequence the same substance as He does who sent him forth, and he ought to have been good, and not wicked. But you answered that this was not always the case, since many wicked sons are born of good parents, as from Adam two unlike sons were begotten, one of whom was bad and the other good.

"And when Simon found fault with you for having used human examples, you answered that in this way we ought not to admit that God begets at all; for this also is a human example. And I, Sophonias, admit that God begets; but I do not allow that He begets what is bad, even though the good among men beget bad children. And do not imagine that I am without reason attributing to God some of the qualities that distinguish men, and refusing to attribute others, when I grant that He begets, but do not allow that He begets what is unlike Himself.

"For men, as you might expect, beget sons who are unlike them in their dispositions for the following reason. Being composed of four parts, they change their bodies variously, according to the various changes of the year; and thus, the appropriate change either of increase or decrease taking place in the human booty, each season destroys the harmonious combination.

"Now, when the combinations do not always remain exactly in the same position, the seeds, having sometimes one combination, sometimes another, are sent off; and these are followed, according to the combination belonging to the season, by dispositions either good or bad.

"But in the case of God we cannot suppose any such thing; for, being unchangeable and always existing, whenever He wishes to send forth, there is an absolute necessity that what is sent forth should be in all respects in the same position as that which has begotten, I mean in regard to substance and disposition. But if any one should wish to maintain that He is changeable, I do not know how it is possible for him to maintain that He is immortal."

6 God's Power of Changing Himself. When Peter heard this, he thought for a little, and said: "I do not think that any one can converse about evil without doing the will of the evil one. Therefore knowing this, I do not know what I shall do, whether I shall be silent or speak. For if I be silent, I should incur the laughter of the multitude, because, professing to proclaim the truth, I am ignorant of the explanation of vice. But if I should state my opinion, I am afraid lest it be not at all pleasing to God that we should seek after evil, for only seeking after good is pleasing to Him.

"However, in my reply to the statements of Sophonias, I shall make my ideas more plain. I then agree with him in thinking that we ought not to attribute to God all the qualities of men. For instance, men not having bodies that are convertible are not converted; but they have a nature that admits of alteration by the lapse of time through the seasons of the year.

"But this is not the case with God; for through His inborn Spirit He becomes, by a power which cannot be described, whatever body He likes. And one can the more easily believe this, as the air, which has received such a nature from Him, is converted into dew by the incorporeal mind permeating it, and being thickened becomes water, and water being compacted becomes stone and earth, and stones through collision light up fire.

"According to such a change and conversion, air becomes first water, and ends in being fire through conversions, and the moist is converted into its natural opposite. Why? Did not God convert the rod of Moses into an animal, making it a serpent, which He reconverted into a rod? And by means of this very converted rod he converted the water of the Nile21 into blood, which again he reconverted into water.

"Yea, even man, who is dust, He changed by the inbreathing of His breath into flesh, and changed him back again into dust. And was not Moses, who himself was flesh, converted into the grandest light, so that the sons of Israel could not look him in the face? Much more, then, is God completely able to convert Himself into whatsoever He wishes."

7 The Objection Answered, that One Cannot Change Himself. "But perhaps some one of you thinks that one may become something under the influence of one, and another under the influence of another, but no one can change himself into whatever he wishes, and that it is the characteristic of one who grows old, and who must die according to his nature, to change, but we ought not to entertain such thoughts of immortal beings.

"For were not angels, who are free from old age, and of a fiery substance, changed into flesh, those, for instance, who received the hospitality of Abraham, whose feet men washed, as if they were the feet of men of like substance? Yea, moreover, with Jacob, who was a man, there wrestled an angel, converted into flesh that he might be able to come to close quarters with him. And, in like manner, after he had wrestled by his own will, he was converted into his own natural form; and now, when he was changed into fire, he did not burn up the broad sinew of Jacob, but he inflamed it, and made him lame.

"Now, that which cannot become anything else, whatever it may wish, is mortal, inasmuch as it is subject to its own nature; but he who can become whatever he wishes, whenever he wishes, is immortal, returning to a new condition, inasmuch as he has control over his own nature. Wherefore much more does the power of God change the substance of the body into whatever He wishes and whenever He wishes; and by the change that takes place He sends forth what, on the one hand, is of similar substance, but, on the other, is not of equal power.

"Whatever, then, he who sends forth turns into a different substance, that he can again turn back into his own; but he who is sent forth, arising in consequence of the change which proceeds from him, and being his child, cannot become anything else without the will of him who sent him forth, unless he wills it."

8 The Origin of the Good One Different from that of the Evil One. When Peter said this, Micah, who was himself also one of the companions that attended on him, said: "I also should like to learn from you if the good one has been produced in the same way that the evil one came into being. But if they came into being in a similar manner, then they are brothers in my opinion."

And Peter said: "They have not come into being in a similar way: for no doubt you remember what I said in the beginning, that the substance of the body of the wicked one, being fourfold in origin, was carefully selected and sent forth by God; but when it was combined externally, according to the will of Him who sent it forth, there arose, in consequence of the combination, the disposition which rejoices in evils: so that you may see that the substance, fourfold in origin, which was sent forth by Him, and which also always exists, is the child of God; but that the accidentally arising disposition which rejoices in evils has supervened when the substance34 was combined externally by him.

"And thus disposition has not been begotten by God, nor by any one else, nor indeed has it been sent forth by Him, nor has it come forth spontaneously, nor did it always exist, like the substance before the combination; but it has come on as an accident by external combination, according to the will of God. And we have often said that it must be so. But the good one having been begotten from the most beautiful change of God, and not having arisen accidentally through an external combination, is really His Son.

"Yet, since these doctrines are unwritten, and are confirmed to us only by conjecture, let us by no means deem it as absolutely certain that this is the true state of the case. For if we act otherwise, our mind will cease from investigating the truth, in the belief that it has already fully comprehended it.

"Remember these things, therefore; for I must not state such things to all, but only to those who are found after trial most trustworthy. Nor ought we rashly to maintain such assertions towards each other, nor ought ye to dare to speak as if you were accurately acquainted with the discovery of secret truths, but you ought simply to reflect over them in silence; for in stating, perchance, that a matter is so, he who says it will err, and he will suffer punishment for having dared to speak even to himself what has been honoured with silence."

9 Why the Wicked One is Appointed Over the Wicked by the Righteous God. When Peter said this, Lazarus, who also was one of his followers, said: "Explain to us the harmony, how it can be reasonable that the wicked one should be appointed by the righteous God to be the punisher of the impious, and yet should himself afterwards be sent into lower darkness along with his angels and with sinners: for I remember that the Teacher Himself said this."

And Peter said: "I indeed allow that the evil one does no evil, inasmuch as he is accomplishing the law given to him. And although he has an evil disposition, yet through fear of God he does nothing unjustly; but, accusing the teachers of truth so as to entrap the unwary, he is himself named the accuser (the devil).

"But the statement of our unerring Teacher, that he and his angels, along with the deluded sinners, shall go into lower darkness, admits of the following explanation. The evil one, having obtained the lot of rejoicing in darkness according to his composition, delights to go down to the darkness of Tartarus along with angels who are his fellow-slaves; for darkness is dear to fire. But the souls of men, being drops of pure light, are absorbed by the substance fire, which is of a different class; and not possessing a nature capable of dying, they are punished according to their deserts.

"But if he who is the leader of men into vice is not sent into darkness, as not rejoicing in it, then his composition, which rejoices in evils, cannot be changed by another combination into the disposition for good. And thus he will be adjudged to be with the good, all the more because, having obtained a composition which rejoices in evils, through fear of God he has done nothing contrary to the decrees of the law of God.

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"And did not the Scripture by a mysterious hint point out by the statement42 that the rod of the high priest Aaron became a serpent, and was again converted into a rod, that a change in the composition of the wicked one would afterwards take place?"

10 Why Some Believe, and Others Do Not. And after Lazarus, Joseph, who also was one of his followers, said: "You have spoken all things rightly. Teach me also this, as I am eager to know it, why, when you give the same discourses to all, some believe and others disbelieve?"

And Peter said: "It is because my discourses are not charms, so that every one that hears them must without hesitation believe them. The fact that some believe, and others do not, points out to the intelligent the freedom of the will." And when he said this, we all blessed him.

11 Arrival of Appion and Annubion. And as we were going to take our meals, some one ran in and said: "Appion Pleistonices has just come with Annubion from Antioch, and he is lodging with Simon."

And my father hearing this, and rejoicing, said to Peter: "If you permit me, I shall go to salute Appion and Annubion, who have been my friends from childhood. For perchance I shall persaude Annubion to discuss genesis with Clement."

And Peter said: "I permit you, and I praise you for fulfilling the duties of a friend. But now consider how in the providence of God there come together from all quarters considerations which contribute to your full assurance, rendering the harmony complete. But I say this because the arrival of Annubion happens advantageously for you."

And my father: "In truth, I see that this is the case." And saying this, he went to Simon.

12 Faustus Appears to His Friends with the Face of Simon. Now all of us who were with Peter asked each other questions the whole of the night, and continued awake, because of the pleasure and joy we derived from what was said. But when at length the dawn began to break, Peter, looking at me and my brothers, said: "I am puzzled to think what your father has been about."

And just as he was saying this, our father came in and caught Peter talking to us of him; and seeing him displeased, he accosted him, and rendered an apology for having slept outside. But we were amazed when we looked at him: for we saw the form of Simon, but heard the voice of our father Faustus.

And when we were fleeing from him, and abhorring him, our father was astonished at receiving such harsh and hostile treatment from us. But Peter alone saw his natural shape, and said to us: "Why do you in horror turn away from your own father?"

But we and our mother said: "It is Simon that we see before us, with the voice of our father."

And Peter said: "You recognise only his voice, which is unaffected by magic; but as my eyes also are unaffected by magic, I can see his form as it really is, that he is not Simon, but your father Faustus."

Then, looking to my father, he said: "It is not your own true form that is seen by them, but that of Simon, our deadliest foe, and a most impious man."44

13 The Flight of Simon. While Peter was thus talking, there entered one of those who had gone before to Antioch, and who, coming back from Antioch, said to Peter: "I wish you to know, my lord, that Simon, by doing many miracles publicly in Antioch, and calling you a magician and a juggler and a murderer, has worked them up to such hatred against you, that every man is eager to taste your very flesh if you should sojourn there.

"Wherefore we who went before, along with our brethren who were in pretence attached by you to Simon, seeing the city raging wildly against you, met secretly and considered what we ought to do. And assuredly, while we were in great perplexity, Cornelius the centurion arrived, who had been sent by the emperor to the governor of the province. He was the person whom our Lord cured when he was possessed of a demon in Caesarea.

"This man we sent for secretly; and informing him of the cause of our despondency, we begged his help. He promised most readily that he would alarm Simon, and make him take to flight, if we should assist him in his effort. And when we all promised that we should readily do everything, he said, 'I shall spread abroad the news through many friends that I have secretly come to apprehend him; and I shall pretend that I am in search of him, because the emperor, having put to death many magicians, and having received information in regard to him, has sent me to search him out, that he may punish him as he punished the magicians before him; while those of your party who are with him must report to him, as if they had heard it from a secret source, that I have been sent to apprehend him. And perchance when he hears it from them, he will be alarmed and take to flight.'

"When, therefore, we had intended to do something else, nevertheless the affair turned out in the following way. For when he heard the news from many strangers who gratified him greatly by secretly informing him, and also from our brethren who pretended to be attached to him, and took it as the opinion of his own followers, he resolved on retiring. And hastening away from Antioch, he has come here with Athenodorus, as we have heard. Wherefore we advise you not yet to enter that city, until we ascertain whether they can forget in his absence the accusations which he brought against you."

14 The Change in the Form of Faustus Caused by Simon. When the person who had gone before gave this report, Peter looked to my father, and said: "You hear, Faustus; the change in your form has been caused by Simon the magician, as is now evident. For, thinking that a servant of the emperor was seeking him to punish him, he became afraid and fled, putting you into his own shape, that if you were put to death, your children might have sorrow."

When my father heard this, he wept and lamented, and said: "You have conjectured rightly, Peter. For Annubion, who is my dear friend, hinted his design to me; but I did not believe him, miserable man that I am, since I deserved to suffer."

15 The Repentance of Faustus. When my father said this, after no long time Annubion came51 to us to announce to us the flight of Simon, and how that very night he had hurried to Judaea. And he found our father wailing, and with lamentations saying:

"Alas, alas! unhappy man! I did not believe when I was told that he was a magician. Miserable man that I am! I have been recognised for one day by my wife and children, and have speedily gone back to my previous sad condition when I was still ignorant."

And my mother lamenting, plucked her hair; and we groaned in distress on account of the transformation of our father, and could not comprehend what in the world it could be. But Annubion stood speechless, seeing and hearing these things; while Peter said to us, his children, in the presence of all:

"Believe me, this is Faustus your father. Wherefore I urge you to attend to him as being your father. For God will vouchsafe some occasion for his putting off the shape of Simon, and exhibiting again distinctly that of your father."

And saying this, and looking to my father, he said: "I permitted you to salute Appion and Annubion, since you asserted that they were your friends from childhood, but I did not permit you to associate with the magician Simon."

16 Why Simon Gave to Faustus His Own Shape. And my father said: "I have sinned; I confess it."

And Annubion said: "I also along with him beg you to forgive the noble and good old man who has been deceived: for the unfortunate man has been the sport of that notorious fellow. But I shall tell you how it took place. The good old man came to salute us. But at that very hour we who were there happened to be listening to Simon, who wished to run away that night, for he had heard that some people had come to Laodicea in search of him by the command of the emperor.

"But as Faustus was entering, he turned53 his own rage on him, and thus addressed us: 'Make him, when he comes, share your meals; and I will prepare an ointment, so that, when he has supped, he may take some of it, and anoint his face with it, and then he will appear to all to have my shape. But I will anoint you with the juice of some plant, and then you will not be deceived by his new shape; but to all others Faustus will seem to be Simon.'

17 Annubion's Services to Faustus. "And while he stated this beforehand, I said, 'What, then, is the advantage you now expect to get from such a contrivance?'

"And Simon said, 'First, those who seek me, when they apprehend him, will give up the search after me. But if he be executed by the hand of the emperor, very great sorrow will fall upon his children, who left me, and fleeing to Peter, now aid him in his work.'

"And now, Peter, I confess the truth to you: I was prevented by fear of Simon from informing Faustus of this. But Simon did not give us an opportunity for private conversation, lest some one of us might reveal56 to him the wicked design of Simon. Simon then rose up in the middle of the night and fled to Judaea, convoyed by Appion and Athenodorus.

"Then I pretended that I was sick, in order that, remaining after they had gone, I might make Faustus go back immediately to his own people, if by any chance he might be able, by being concealed with you, to escape observation, lest, being caught as Simon by those who were in search of Simon, he might be put to death through the wrath of the emperor. At the dead of night, therefore, I sent him away to you; and in my anxiety for him I came by night to see him, with the intention of returning before those who convoyed Simon should return."

And looking to us, he said: "I, Annubion, see the true shape of your father; for I was anointed, as I related to you before, by Simon himself, that the true shape of Faustus might be seen by my eyes. Astonished, therefore, I exceedingly wonder at the magic power of Simon, in that standing57 you do not recognise your own father."

And while our father and our mother and we ourselves wept on account of the calamity common to all of us, Annubion also through sympathy wept with us.

18 Peter Promises to Restore to Faustus His Own Shape. Then Peter promised to us to restore the shape of our father, and he said to him: "Faustus, you heard how matters stand with us. When, therefore, the deceptive shape which invests you has been useful to us, and you have assisted us in doing what I shall tell you to do, then I shall restore to you your true form, when you have first performed my commands."

And when my father said, "I shall do everything that is in my power most willingly; only restore to my own people my own form."

Peter answered, "You yourself heard with your own ears how those who went before me came back from Antioch, and said that Simon had been there, and had strongly excited the multitudes against me by calling me a magician and a murderer, a deceiver and a juggler, to such an extent that all the people there were eager to taste my flesh. You will do, then, as I tell you. You will leave Clement with me, and you will go before us into Antioch with your wife, and your sons Faustinus and Faustinianus. And some others will accompany you whom I deem capable of helping forward my design."

19 Peter's Instructions to Faustus.

"When you are with these in Antioch, while you look like Simon, proclaim publicly your repentance, saying, 'I Simon proclaim this to you: I confess that all my statements in regard to Peter are utterly false; for he is not a deceiver, nor a murderer, nor a juggler; nor are any of the evil things true which I, urged on by wrath, said previously in regard to him. I myself therefore beg of you, I who have been the cause of your hatred to him, cease from hating him; for he is the true apostle of the true Prophet that was sent by God for the salvation of the world. Wherefore also I counsel you to believe what he preaches; for if you do not, your whole city will be utterly destroyed. Now I wish you to know for what reason I have made this confession to you. This night angels of God scourged me, the impious one, terribly, as being an enemy to the herald of the truth. I beseech you, therefore, do not listen to me, even if I myself should come at another time and attempt to say anything against Peter. For I confess to you I am a magician, I am a deceiver, I am a juggler. Yet perhaps it is possible for me by repentance to wipe out the sins which were formerly committed by me.'"

20 Faustus, His Wife, and Sons, Prepare to Go to Antioch. When Peter suggested this, my father said: "I know what you want; wherefore take no trouble. For assuredly I shall take good care, when I reach that place, to make such statements in regard to you as I ought to make."

And Peter again suggested: "When, then, you perceive the city changing from its hatred of me, and longing to see me, send information to me of this, and I shall come to you immediately. And when I arrive there, that same day I shall remove the strange shape which now invests you, and I shall make your own unmistakeably visible to your own people and to all others."

Saying this, he made his sons, my brothers, and our mother Mattidia to go along with him; and he also commanded some of his more intimate acquaintances to accompany him. But my mother was61 unwilling to go with him, and said: "I seem to be an adulteress if I associate with the shape of Simon; but if I shall be compelled to go along with him,62 it is impossible for me to recline on the same couch with him! But I do not know if I shall be persuaded to go along with him."

And while she was very unwilling to go, Annubion urged her, saying: "Believe me and Peter, and the very voice itself, that this is Faustus your husband, whom I love not less than you. And I myself will go along with him." When Annubion said this, our mother promised to go with him.

21 Appion and Athenodorus Return in Quest of Faustus. But Peter said: "God arranges our affairs in a most satisfactory manner; for we have with us Annubion the astrologer. For when we arrive at Antioch, he will in future discourse regarding genesis, giving us his genuine opinions as a friend."

Now when, after midnight, our father hurried with those whom Peter had ordered to go along with him and with Annubion to Antioch, which was near, early next day, before Peter went forth to discourse, Appion and Athenodorus, who had convoyed Simon, returned to Laodicea in search of our father. But Peter, ascertaining the fact, urged them to enter.

And when they came in and sat down, and said, "Where is Faustus?"

Peter answered: "We know not; for since the evening, when he went to you, he has not been seen by his kinsmen. But yesterday morning Simon came in search of him; and when we made no reply to him, something seemed to come over him,66 for he called himself Faustus; but not being believed, he wept and lamented, and threatened to kill himself, and then rushed out in the direction of the sea."

22 Appion and Athenodorus Return to Simon. When Appion and those who were with him heard this, they howled and lamented, saying: "Why did you not receive him?"

And when at the same time Athenodorus wished to say to me, "It was Faustus, your father;" Appion anticipated him, and said, "We learned from some one that Simon, finding him, urged him to go along with him, Faustus himself entreating

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him, since he did not wish to see his sons after they had become Jews. And hearing this, we came, for his own sake, in search of him. But since he is not here, it is plain that he spake the truth who gave us the information which we, hearing it from him, have given to you."

And I Clement, perceiving the design of Peter, that he wished to beget a suspicion in them that he intended to look out among them for the old man, that they might be afraid and take to flight, assisted in his design, and said to Appion: "Listen to me, my dearest Appion. We were eager to give to him, as being our father, what we ourselves deemed to be good. But if he himself did not wish to receive it, but, on the contrary, fled from us in horror, I shall make a somewhat harsh remark, 'Nor do we care for him.'"

And when I said this, they went away, as if irritated by my savageness; and, as we learn next day, they went to Judaea in the track of Simon.

23 Peter Goes to Antioch. Now, when ten days had passed away, there came one of our people from our father to announce to us how our father stood forward publicly in the shape of Simon, accusing him; and how by praising Peter he had made the whole city of Antioch long for him: and in consequence of this, all said that they were eager to see him, and that there were some who were angry with him as being Simon, on account of their surpassing affection for Peter, and wished to lay hands on Faustus, believing he was Simon.

Wherefore he, fearing that he might be put to death, had sent to request Peter to come immediately if he wished to meet him alive, and to appear at the proper time to the city, when it was at the height of its longing for him. Peter, hearing this, called the multitude together to deliberate, and appointed one of his attendants bishop; and having remained three days in Laodicea baptising and healing, he hastened to the neighbouring city of Antioch. Amen.

The End

THE RECOGNITIONS OF CLEMENT

(the cousin of Titus Flavus Domitianus,
better known as Pope Clemens I.)
Source: The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. VIII:
The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325
Editors: P. Schaff, A. Roberts, J. Donaldson, A. C. Coxe,
Translation: Thomas Smith, 1885
Estimated Range of Dating: 3rd to 4th century AD.

Introductory Notice

[by the Translator, Rev. Thomas Smith, D.D.], 1885

The Recognitions of Clement is a kind of philosophical and theological romance. The writer of the work seems to have had no intention of presenting his statements as facts; but, choosing the disciples of Christ and their followers as his principal characters, he has put into their mouths the most important of his beliefs, and woven the whole together by a thread of fictitious narrative.

The Recognitions is one of a series; the other members of which that have come down to us are the Clementine Homilies and two Epitomes.1

The authorship, the date, and the doctrinal character of these books have been subjects of keen discussion in modern times. Especial prominence has been given to them by the Tübingen school. Hilgenfeld says: "There is scarcely a single writing which is of so great importance for the history of Christianity in its first stage, and which has already given such brilliant disclosures at the hands of the most renowned critics in regard to the earliest history of the Christian Church, as the writings ascribed to the Roman Clement, the Recognitions and Homilies."2 The importance thus attached to these strange and curious documents by one school of theologians, has compelled men of all shades of belief to investigate the subject; but after all their investigations, a great variety of opinion still prevails on almost every point connected with these books.

We leave our readers to judge for themselves in regard to the doctrinal statements, and confine ourselves to a notice of some of the opinions in regard to the authorship and date of the Recognitions.3

The first question that suggests itself in regard to the Recognitions is, whether the Recognitions or the Homilies are the earliest form of the book, and what relation do they bear to each other? Some maintain that they are both the productions of the same author, and that the one is a later and altered edition of the other; and they find some confirmation of this in the preface of Rufinus. Others think that both books are expansions of another work which formed the basis. And others maintain that the one book is a rifacimento of the other by a different hand. Of this third party, some, like Cave, Whiston, Rosenmüller, Staüdlin, Hilgenfeld, and many others, believe that the Recognitions was the earliest4 the two forms; while others, as Clericus, Möhler, Lücke, Schliemann, and Uhlhorn, give priority to the Clementines. Hilgenfeld supposes that the original writing was the Kergyma Petrou, which still remains in the work; that besides this there are three parts,-one directed against Basilides, the second the Travels of Peter (periodoi) and the third the Recognitions. There are also, he believes, many interpolated passages of a much later date than any of these parts.5

No conclusion has been reached in regard to the author. Some have believed that it is a genuine work of Clement. Whiston maintained that it was written by some of his hearers and companions. Others have attributed the work to Bardesanes. But most acknowledge that there is no possibility of discovering who was the author.

Various opinions exist as to the date of the book. It has been attributed to the first, second, third, and fourth centuries, and some have assigned even a later date. If we were to base our arguments on the work as it stands, the date assigned would be somewhere in the first half of the third century. A passage from the Recognitions is quoted by Origen6 in his Commentary on Genesis, written in 231; and mention is made in the work of the extension of the Roman franchise to all nations under the dominion of Rome,-an event which took place in the region of Caracalla, a.d.211. The Recognitions also contains a large extract from the work De Fato, ascribed to Bardesanes, but really written by a scholar of his. Some have thought that Bardesanes or his scholar borrowed from the Recognitions; but more recently the opinion has prevailed, that the passage was not originally in the Recognitions, but was inserted in the Recognitions towards the middle of the third century, or even later.7

Those who believe the work made up of various documents assign various dates to these documents. Hilgenfeld, for instance, believes that the Kergyma Petrou was written before the time of Trajan, and the Travels of Peter about the time of his reign.

Nothing is known of the place in which the Recognitions was written. Some, as Schliemann, have supposed Rome, some Asia Minor, and recently Uhlhorn has tried to trace it to Eastern Syria.8

The Greek of the Recognitions is lost. The work has come down to us in the form of a translation by Rufinus of Aquileia (d. 410 a.d.). In his letter to Gaudentius, Rufinus states that he omitted some portions difficult of comprehension, but that in regard to the other parts he had translated with care, and an endeavour to be exact even in rendering the phraseology.

The best editions of the Recognitions are those by Cotelerius, often reprinted, and by Gersdorf, Lipsiae, 1838; but the text is not in a satisfactory condition.

Rufinus, Presbyter of Aquileia, His Preface to Clement's Book of Recognitions.

TO Bishop Gaudentius.

To thee, indeed, O Gaudentius, thou choice glory of our doctors, belongs such vigour of mind, yea, such grace of the Spirit, that whatever you say even in the course of your daily preaching, whatever you deliver in the church, ought to be preserved in books, and handed down to posterity for their instruction. But we, whom slenderness of wit renders less ready, and now old age renders slow and inactive, though after many delays, yet at length present to you the work which once the virgin Sylvia of venerable memory enjoined upon us, that we should render Clement into our language, and you afterwards by hereditary right demanded of us; and thus we contribute to the use and profit of our people, no small spoil, as I think, taken from the libraries of the Greeks, so that we may feed with foreign nourishment those whom we cannot with our own. For foreign things usually seem both more pleasant, and sometimes also more profitable. In short, almost everything is foreign that brings healing to our bodies, that opposes diseases, and neutralizes poisons. For Judaea sends us Lacryma balsami, Crete Coma dictamni, Arabia her flower of spices, India reaps her crop of spikenard; which, although they reach us in a somewhat more broken condition than when they leave their native fields, yet retain entire the sweetness of their odour and their healing virtue. Receive therefore, my soul, Clement returning to you; receive him now in a Roman dress. And wonder not if haply the florid countenance of eloquence appear less in him than usual. It matters not, provided the sense tastes the same. Therefore we transport foreign merchandise into our country with much labour. And I know not with how grateful countenances my countrymen welcome me, bringing to them the rich spoils of Greece, and unlocking hidden treasures of wisdom with the key of our language. But may God grant your prayers, that no unlucky eye nor any livid aspect may meet us, lest, by an extreme kind of prodigy, while those from whom he is taken do not envy, yet those upon whom he is bestowed should repine. Truly it is right to point out the plan of our translation to you, who have read these works also in Greek, lest haply in some parts you may think the order of translation not kept. I suppose you are aware that there are two editions in Greek of this work of Clement,-the 'Anagnw/seij, that is, Recognitions; and that there are two collections of books, differing in some points, but in many containing the same narrative. In short, the last part of this work, in which is the relation concerning the transformation of Simon, is contained in one of the collections, but is not at all in the other. There are also in both collections some dissertations concerning the Unbegotten God and the Begotten, and on some other subjects, which, to say nothing more, are beyond our comprehension. These, therefore, as being beyond our powers, I have chosen to reserve for others, rather than to produce in an imperfect state. But in the rest, we have given our endeavour, so far as we could, not to vary either from the sentiments or even from the language and modes of expression; and this, although it renders the style of the narrative less ornate, yet it makes it more faithful. The epistle in which the same Clement, writing to James the Lord's brother, informs him of the death of Peter, and that he had left him his successor in his chair and teaching, and in which also the whole subject of church order is treated, I have not prefixed to this work, both because it is of later date, and because I have already translated and published it. But I do not think it out of place to explain here what in that letter will perhaps seem to some to be inconsistent. For some ask, Since Linus and Cletus were bishops in the city of Rome before this Clement, how could Clement himself, writing to James, say that the chair of teaching was handed over to him by Peter?5 Now of this we have heard this explanation, that Linus and Cletus were indeed bishops in the city of Rome before Clement, but during the lifetime of Peter: that is, that they undertook the care of the episcopate, and that he fulfilled the office of apostleship; as is found also to have been the case at Caesarea, where, when he himself was present, he yet had Zacchaeus, ordained by himself, as bishop. And in this way both statements will appear to be true, both that these bishops are reckoned before Clement, and yet that Clement received the teacher's seat on the death of Peter. But now let us see how Clement, writing to James the Lord's brother, begins his narrative.

CLEMENT RECOGNITION BOOK 1

1 Clement's Early History; Doubts. I Clement, who was born in the city of Rome,1 was from my earliest age a lover of chastity; while the bent of my mind held me bound as with chains of anxiety and sorrow.

For a thought that was in me--whence originating, I cannot tell--constantly led me to think of my condition of mortality, and to discuss such questions as these: Whether there be for me any life after death, or whether I am to be wholly annihilated: whether I did not exist before I was born, and whether there shall be no remembrance of this life after death, and so the boundlessness of time shall consign all things to oblivion and silence; so that not only we shall cease to be, but there shall be no remembrance that we have ever been.

This also I revolved in my mind: when the world was made, or what was before it was made, or whether it has existed from eternity. For it seemed certain, that if it had been made, it must be doomed to dissolution; and if it be dissolved, what is to be afterwards? unless, perhaps, all things shall be buried in oblivion and silence, or something shall be, which the mind of man cannot now conceive.

2 His Distress. While I was continually revolving in my mind these and such like questions, suggested I know not how, I was pining away wonderfully through excess of grief; and, what was worse, if at any time I thought to cast aside such cares, as being of little use, the waves of anxiety rose all the higher upon me.

For I had in me that most excellent companion, who would not suffer me to rest-the desire of immortality: for, as the subsequent issue showed, and the grace of Almighty God directed, this bent of mind led me to the quest of truth, and the acknowledgment of the true light; and hence it came to pass, that ere long I pitied those whom formerly in my ignorance I believed to be happy.

3 His Dissatisfaction with the Schools of the Philosophers. Having therefore such a bent of mind from my earliest years, the desire of learning something led me to frequent the schools of the philosophers. There I saw that nought else was done, save that doctrines were asserted and controverted without end, contests were waged, and the arts of syllogisms and the subtleties of conclusions were discussed. If at any time the doctrine of the immortality of the soul prevailed, I was thankful; if at any time it was impugned, I went away sorrowful.

Still, neither doctrine had the power of truth over my heart. This only I understood, that opinions and definitions of things were accounted true or false, not in accordance with their nature and the truth of the arguments, but in proportion to the talents of those who supported them.

And I was all the more tortured in the bottom of my heart, because I was neither able to lay hold of any of those things which were spoken as firmly established, nor was I able to lay aside the desire of inquiry; but the more I endeavoured to neglect and despise them, so much the more eagerly, as I have said, did a desire of this sort, creeping in upon me secretly as with a kind of pleasure, take possession of my heart and mind.

4 His Increasing Disquiet. Being therefore straitened in the discovery of things, I said to myself, Why do we labour in vain, since the end of things is manifest? For if after death I shall be no more, my present torture is useless; but if there is to be for

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me a life after death, let us keep for that life the excitements that belong to it, lest perhaps some sadder things befall me than those which I now suffer, unless I shall have lived piously and soberly; and, according to the opinions of some of the philosophers, I be consigned to the stream of dark-rolling Phlegethon, or to Tartarus, like Sisyphus and Tityus, and to eternal punishment in the infernal regions, like Ixion and Tantalus.

And again I would answer to myself: But these things are fables; or if it be so, since the matter is in doubt, it is better to live piously. But again I would ponder with myself, How should I restrain myself from the lust of sin, while uncertain as to the reward of righteousness? and all the more when I have no certainty what righteousness is, or what is pleasing to God; and when I cannot ascertain whether the soul be immortal, and be such that it has anything to hope for; nor do I know what the future is certainly to be. Yet still I cannot rest from thoughts of this sort.

5 His Design to Test the Immortality of the Soul. What, then, shall I do? This shall I do. I shall proceed to Egypt, and there I shall cultivate the friendship of the hierophants or prophets, who preside at the shrines. Then I shall win over a magician by money, and entreat him, by what they call the necromantic art, to bring me a soul from the infernal regions, as if I were desirous of consulting it about some business.

But this shall be my consultation, whether the soul be immortal. Now, the proof that the soul is immortal will be put past doubt, not from what it says, or from what I hear, but from what I see: for seeing it with my eyes, I shall ever after hold the surest conviction of its immortality; and no fallacy of words or uncertainty of hearing shall ever be able to disturb the persuasion produced by sight.

However, I related this project to a certain philosopher with whom I was intimate, who counseled me not to venture upon it; "for," said he, "if the soul should not obey the call of the magician, you henceforth will live more hopelessly, as thinking that there is nothing after death, and also as having tried things unlawful. If, however, you seem to see anything, what religion or what piety can arise to you from things unlawful and impious? For they say that transactions of this sort are hateful to the Divinity, and that God sets Himself in opposition to those who trouble souls after their release from the body."

When I heard this, I was indeed staggered in my purpose; yet I could not in any way either lay aside my longing, or cast off the distressing thought.

6 Hears of Christ. Not to make a long story of it, whilst I was tossed upon these billows of my thought, a certain report, which took its rise in the regions of the East in the reign of Tiberius Caesar, gradually reached us; and gaining strength as it passed through every place, like some good message sent from God, it was filling the whole world, and suffered not the divine will to be concealed in silence. For it was spread over all places, announcing that there was a certain person in Judaea, who, beginning in the springtime,2 was preaching the kingdom of God to the Jews, and saying that those should receive it who should observe the ordinances of His commandments and His doctrine.

And that His speech might be believed to be worthy of credit, and full of the Divinity, He was said to perform many mighty works, and wonderful signs and prodigies by His mere word; so that, as one having power from God, He made the deaf to hear, and the blind to see, and the lame to stand erect, and expelled every infirmity and all demons from men; yea, that He even raised dead persons who were brought to Him; that He cured letters also, looking at them from a distance; and that there was absolutely nothing which seemed impossible to Him.

These and such like things were confirmed in process of time, not now by frequent rumours, but by the plain statements of persons coming from those quarters; and clay by day the truth of the matter was further disclosed.

7 Arrival of Barnabas at Rome. At length meetings began to be held in various places in the city, and this subject to be discussed in conversation, and to be a matter of wonder who this might be who had appeared, and what message He had brought from God to men; until, about the same year, a certain man, standing in a most crowded place in the city, made proclamation to the people, saying: "Hear me, O ye citizens of Rome. The Son of God is now in the regions of Judaea, promising eternal life to every one who will hear Him, but upon condition that he shall regulate his actions according to the will of Him by whom He hath been sent, even of God the Father. Wherefore turn ye from evil things to good, from things temporal to things eternal. Acknowledge that there is one God, ruler of heaven and earth, in whose righteous sight ye unrighteous inhabit His world. But if ye be converted, and act according to His will, then, coming to the world to come, and being made immortal, ye shall enjoy His unspeakable blessings and rewards."3

Now, the man who spoke these things to the people was from the regions of the East, by nation a Hebrew, by name Barnabas, who said that he himself was one of His disciples, and that he was sent for this end, that he should declare these things to those who would hear them.4 When I heard these things, I began, with the rest of the multitude, to follow him, and to hear what he had to say.

Truly I perceived that there was nothing of dialectic artifice in the man, but that he expounded with simplicity, and without any craft of speech, such things as he had heard from the Son of God, or had seen. For he did not confirm his assertions by the force of arguments, but produced, from the people who stood round about him, many witnesses of the sayings and marvels which he related.

8 His Preaching. Now, inasmuch as the people began to assent willingly to the things which were sincerely spoken, and to embrace his simple discourse, those who thought themselves learned or philosophic began to laugh at the man, and to flout him, and to throw out for him the grappling-hooks of syllogisms, like strong arms. But he, unterrified, regarding their subtleties as mere ravings, did not even judge them worthy of an answer, but boldly pursued the subject which he had set before him.

At length, some one having proposed this question to him as he was speaking, Why a gnat has been so formed, that though it is a small creature, and has six feet, yet it has got wings in addition; whereas an elephant, though it is an immense animal, and has no wings, yet has only four feet; he, paying no attention to the question, went on with his discourse, which had been interrupted by the unseasonable challenge, only adding this admonition at every interruption:

"We have it in charge to declare to you the words and the wondrous works of Him who hath sent us, and to confirm the truth of what we speak, not by artfully devised arguments, but by witnesses produced from amongst yourselves. For I recognise many standing in the midst of you whom I remember to have heard along with us the things which we have heard, and to have seen what we have seen.

"But be it in your option to receive or to spurn the tidings which we bring to you. For we cannot keep back what we know to be for your advantage, because, if we be silent, woe is to us; but to you, if you receive not what we speak, destruction. I could indeed very easily answer your foolish challenges, if you asked for the sake of learning truth, I mean as to the difference of a gnat and an elephant; but now it were absurd to speak to you of these creatures, when the very Creator and Framer of all things is unknown by you."

9 Clement's Interposition on Behalf of Barnabas. When he had thus spoken, all, as with one consent, with rude voice raised a shout of derision, to put him to shame, and to silence him, crying out that he was a barbarian and a madman. When I saw matters going on in this way, being filled, I know not whence, with a certain zeal, and inflamed with religious enthusiasm, I could not keep silence, but cried out with all boldness,

"Most righteously does Almighty God hide His will from you, whom He foresaw to be unworthy of the knowledge of Himself, as is manifest to those who are really wise, from what you are now doing. For when you see that preachers of the will of God have come amongst you, because their speech makes no show of knowledge of the grammatical art, but in simple and unpolished language they set before you the divine commands, so that all who hear may be able to follow and to understand the things that are spoken, you deride the ministers and messengers of your salvation, not knowing that it is the condemnation of you who think yourselves skilful and eloquent, that rustic and barbarous men have the knowledge of the truth; whereas, when it has come to you, it is not even received as a guest, while, if your intemperance and lust did not oppose, it ought to have been a citizen and a native."

"Thus you are convicted of not being friends of truth and philosophers, but followers of boasting and vain speakers. Ye think that truth dwells not in simple, but in ingenious and subtle words, and produce countless thousands of words which are not to be rated at the worth of one word. What, then, do ye think will become of you, all ye crowd of Greeks, if there is to be, as he says, a judgement of God?"

"But now give over laughing at this man to your own destruction, and let any one of you who pleases answer me; for, indeed, by your barking you annoy the ears even of those who desire to be saved, and by your clamour you turn aside to the fall of infidelity the minds that are prepared for faith. What pardon can there be for you who deride and do violence to the messenger of the truth when he offers to you the knowledge of God? whereas, even if he brought you nothing of truth, yet, even for the kindness of his intentions towards you, you ought to receive with gratitude and welcome."

10 Intercourse with Barnabas. While I was urging these and similar arguments, a great excitement was stirred up amongst the bystanders, some being moved with pity as towards a stranger, and approving my speech as in accordance with that feeling; others, petulant and stolid, rousing the anger of their undisciplined minds as much against me as against Barnabas. But as the day was declining to evening, I laid hold of Barnabas by the right hand, and led him away, although reluctantly, to my house; and there I made him remain, lest perchance any one of the rude rabble should lay hands upon him.

While we were thus placed in contact for a few days, I gladly heard him discoursing the word of truth; yet he hastened his departure, saying that he must by all means celebrate at Judaea a festal day of his religion which was approaching, and that there he should remain in future with his countrymen and his brethren, evidently indicating that he was horrified at the wrong that had been done to him.

11 Departure of Barnabas. At length I said to him, "Only expound to me the doctrine of that man who you say has appeared, and I will arrange your sayings in my language, and will preach the kingdom and righteousness of Almighty God; and after that, if you wish it, I shall even sail along with you, for I am extremely desirous to see Judaea, and perhaps I shall remain with you always."

To this he answered, "If indeed you wish to see our country, and to learn those things which you desire, set sail with me even now; or, if there be anything that detains you now, I shall leave with you directions to my dwelling, so that when you please to come you may easily find me; for tomorrow I shall set out on my journey."

When I saw him determined, I went down with him to the harbour, and carefully took from him the directions which he gave me to find his dwelling. I told him that, but for the necessity of getting some money which was due to me, I should not at all delay, but that I should speedily follow him. Having told him this, I commended him to the kindness of those who had charge of the ship, and returned sad; for I was possessed of the memory of the intercourse which I had had with an excellent guest and a choice friend.

12 Clement's Arrival at Caesarea, and Introduction to Peter. Having then stopped for a few days, and having in some measure finished the business of collecting what was owing to me (for I neglected many things through my desire of hastening, that I might not be hindered from my purpose), I set sail direct for Judaea, and after fifteen days landed at Caesarea Stratonis, which is the largest city in Palestine.5

When I had landed, and was seeking for an inn, I learned from the conversation of the people, that one Peter, a most approved disciple of Him who appeared in Judaea, and showed many signs and miracles divinely performed among men, was going to hold a discussion of words and questions the next day with one Simon, a Samaritan. Having heard this, I asked to be shown his lodging; and having founder it, and standing before the door, I informed the doorkeeper who I was, and whence I came; and, behold, Barnabas coming out, as soon as he saw me rushed into my arms, weeping for joy, and, seizing me by the hand, led me in to Peter, having pointed him out to me at a distance.

"This," said he, "is Peter, of whom I spoke, to you as the greatest in the wisdom of God, and to whom also I have spoken constantly of you. Enter, therefore, as one well known to him. For he is well acquainted with all the good that is in thee, and has carefully made himself aware of your religious purpose, whence also he is greatly desirous to see you. Therefore I present you to him to-day as a great gift." At the same time, presenting me, he said, "This, O Peter, is Clement."

13 His Cordial Reception by Peter. But Peter most kindly, when he heard my name, immediately ran to me and kissed me. Then, having made me sit down, he said, "Thou didst well to receive as thy guest Barnabas, preacher of the truth, nothing fearing the rage of the insane people. Thou shalt be blessed. For as you have deemed an ambassador of the truth worthy of all honour, so the truth herself shall receive thee a wanderer and a stranger, and shall enroll thee a citizen of her own city; and then there shall be great joy to thee, because, imparting a small favour, thou shalt be written heir of eternal blessings.

"Now, therefore, do not trouble yourself to explain your mind to me; for Barnabas has with faithful speech informed me of all things about you and your dispositions, almost daily and without ceasing, recalling the memory of your good qualities And to point out to you shortly, as to a friend already of one mind with us, what is your best course; if there is nothing to hinder you, come along with us, and hear the word of the truth, which we are going to speak in every place until we come even to the city of Rome; and now, if you wish anything, speak."

14 His Account of Himself. Having detailed to him what purpose I had conceived from the beginning, and how I had been distracted with vain inquiries, and all those things which at first I intimated to thee, my lord James, so that I need not repeat the same things now, I willingly agreed to travel with him; "for that," said I, "is just what I was most eagerly desirous of. But first I should wish the scheme of truth to be expounded to the, that I may know whether the soul is mortal or immortal; and if immortal, whether it shall be brought into judgement for those things which it does here.

"Further, I desire to know what that righteousness is, which is pleasing to God; then, further, whether the world was created, and why it was created, and whether it is to be dissolved, and whether it is to be renovated and made better, or whether after this there shall be no world at all; and, not to mention everything, I should wish to be told what is the case with respect to these and such like things."

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To this Peter answered, "I shall briefly impart to you the knowledge of these things, O Clement: therefore listen."

15 Peter's First Instruction: Causes of Ignorance. "The will and counsel of God has for many reasons been concealed from men; first, indeed, through bad instruction, wicked associations, evil habits, unprofitable conversation, and unrighteous presumptions. On account of all these, I say, first error, then contempt, then infidelity and malice, covetousness also, and vain boasting, and other such like evils, have filled the whole house of this world, like some enormous smoke, and preventing those who dwell in it from seeing its Founder aright, and from perceiving what things are pleasing to Him.

"What, then, is fitting for those who are within, excepting with a cry brought forth from their inmost hearts to invoke His aid, who alone is not shut up in the smoke-filled house, that He would approach and open the door of the house, so that the smoke may be dissipated which is within, and the light of the sun which shines without may be admitted."

16 Instruction Continued: the True Prophet. "He, therefore, whose aid is needed for the house filled with the darkness of ignorance and the smoke of vices, is He, we say, who is called the true Prophet, who alone can enlighten the souls of men, so that with their eyes they may plainly see the way of safety. For otherwise it is impossible to get knowledge of divine and eternal things, unless one learns of that true Prophet; because, as you yourself stated a little ago, the belief of things, and the opinions of causes, are estimated in proportion to the talents of their advocates: hence, also, one and the same cause is now thought just, now unjust; and what now seemed true, anon becomes false on the assertion of another.

"For this reason, the credit of religion and piety demanded the presence of the true Prophet, that He Himself might tell us respecting each particular, how the truth stands, and might teach us how we are to believe concerning each.6 And therefore, before all else, the credentials of the prophet himself must be examined with all care; and when you have once ascertained that he is a prophet, it behoves you thenceforth to believe him in everything, and not further to discuss the particulars which he teaches, but to hold the things which he speaks as certain and sacred; which things, although they seem to be received by faith, yet are believed on the ground of the probation previously instituted.

"For when once at the outset the truth of the prophet is established on examination, the rest is to be heard and held on the ground of the faith by which it is already established that he is a teacher of truth. And as it is certain that all things which pertain to divine knowledge ought to be held according to the rule of truth, so it is beyond doubt that from none but Himself alone can it be known what is true."

17 Peter Requests Him to Be His Attendant. Having thus spoken, he set forth to me so openly and so clearly who that Prophet was, and how He might be found, that I seethed to have before my eyes, and to handle with my hand, the proofs which he produced concerning the prophetic truth; and I was struck with intense astonishment, how no one sees, though placed before his eyes, those things which all are seeking for.

Whence, by his command, reducing into order what he had spoken to me, I compiled a book concerning the true Prophet, and sent it to you from Caesarea by his command. For he said that he had received a command from you to send you every year an account of his sayings and doings.7

Meantime, at the beginning of his discourse which he delivered to me the first day, when he had instructed me very fully concerning the true Prophet, and very many things besides, he added also this: "See," said he, "for the future, and be present at the discussions which whenever any necessity arises, I shall hold with those who contradict; against whom, when I dispute, even if I shall seem to be worsted, I shall not be afraid of your being led to doubt of those things which I have stated to you; because, even if I shall seem to be beaten, yet those things shall not therefore seem to be uncertain which the true Prophet has delivered to us.

"Yet I hope that we shall not be overcome in disputations either, if only our hearers are reasonable, and friends of truth, who can discern the force and bearing of words, and recognise what discourse comes from the sophistical art, not containing truth, but an image of truth; and what that is, which, uttered simply and without craft, depends for all its power not on show and ornanent, but on truth and reason."

18 His Profiting by Peter's Instruction. To this I answered: "I give thanks to God Almighty, because I have been instructed as I wished and desired. At all events, you may depend upon me so far, that I can never come to doubt of those things which I have learned of you; so that even if you yourself should at any time wish to transfer my faith from the true Prophet, you should not be able, because I have drunk in with all my heart what you have spoken.

"And that you may not think that I am promising you a great thing when I say that I cannot be moved away from this faith, it is with me a certainty, that whoever has received this account of the true Prophet, can never afterwards so much as doubt of its truth. And therefore I am confident with respect to this heaven-taught doctrine, in which all the art of malice is overborne.

"For in opposition to this prophecy neither any art can stand, nor the subtleties of sophisms and syllogism; but every one who hears of the true Prophet must of necessity long immediately for the truth itself, nor will he afterwards, under pretext of seeking the truth, endure diverse errors. Wherefore, O my lord Peter, be not further anxious about me, as if I were one who does not know what he has received, and how great a gift has been conferred on him. Be assured that you have conferred a favour on one who knows and understands its value: nor can I be easily deceived on that account, because I seem to have gotten quickly what I long desired; for it may be that one who desires gets quickly, while another does not even slowly attain the things which he desires."

19 Peter's Satisfaction. Then Peter, when he heard me speak thus, said: "I give thanks to my God, both for your salvation and for my own peace; for I am greatly delighted to see that you have understood what is the greatness of the prophetic virtue, and because, as you say, not even I myself, if I should wish it (which God forbid!), should be able to turn you away to another faith. Now henceforth begin to be with us, and to-morrow be present at our discussions, for I am to have a contest with Simon the magician."

When he had thus spoken, he retired to take food along with his friends; but he ordered me to eat by myself;8 and after the meal, when he had sung praise to God and given thanks, he rendered to me an account of this proceeding, and added, "May the Lord grant to thee to be made like to us in all things, that, receiving baptism, thou mayest be able to meet with us at the same table."

Having thus spoken, he ordered me to go to rest, for by this time both fatigue and the time of the day called to sleep.

20 Postponement of Discussion with Simon Magus. Early next morning Zacchaeus9 came in to us, and after salutation, said to Peter: "Simon puts off the discussion till the eleventh day of the present month, which is seven days hence, for he says that then he will have more leisure for the contest. But to me it seems that his putting off is also advantageous to us, so that more may come together, who may be either hearers or judges of our disputation.

"However, if it seem proper to you, let us occupy the interval in discussing among ourselves the things which, we suppose, may come into the controversy; so that each of us, knowing what things are to be proposed, and what answers are to be given, may consider with himself if they are all right, or if an adversary shall be able to find anything to object, or to set aside the things which we bring against him. But if the things which are to be spoken by us are manifestly impregnable on every side, we shall have confidence in entering upon the examination.

"And indeed, this is my opinion, that first of all it ought to be inquired what is the origin of all things, or what is the immediate10 thing which may be called the cause of all things which are: then, with respect to all things that exist, whether they have been made, and by whom, through whom, and for whom; whether they have received their subsistence from one, or from two, or from many; and whether they have been taken and fashioned from none previously subsisting, or from some: then, whether there is any virtue in the highest things, or in the lower; whether there is anything which is better than all, or anything that is inferior to all; whether there are any motions, or none; whether those things which are seen were always, and shall be always; whether they have come into existence without a creator, and shall pass away without a destroyer.

"If, I say, the discussion begin with these things, I think that the things which shall be inquired into, being discussed with diligent examination, will be easily ascertained. And when these are ascertained, the knowledge of those that follow will be easily found. I have stated my opinion; be pleased to intimate what you think of the matter."11

21 Advantage of the Delay. To this Peter answered: "Tell Simon in the meantime to do as he pleases, and to rest assured that, Divine Providence granting, he shall always find us ready." Then Zacchaeus went out to intimate to Simon what he had been told.

But Peter, looking at us, and perceiving that I was saddened by the putting off of the contest, said: "He who believes that the world is administered by the providence of the Most High God ought not, O Clement, my friend, to take it amiss, in whatever way particular things happen, being assured that the righteousness of God guides to a favourable and fitting issue even those things which seem superfluous or contrary in any business, and especially towards those who worship Him more intimately; and therefore he who is assured of these things, as I have said, if anything occur contrary to his expectation, he knows how to drive away grief from his mind on that account, holding it unquestionable in his better judgement, that, by the government of the good God, even what seems contrary may be turned to good.

"Wherefore, O Clement, even now let not this delay of the magician Simon sadden you: for I believe that it has been done by the providence of God, for your advantage; that I may be able, in this interval of seven days, to expound to you the method of our faith without any distraction, and the order continuously, according to the tradition of the true Prophet, who alone knows the past as it was, the present as it is, and the future as it shall be: which things were indeed plainly spoken by Him, but are not plainly written; so much so, that when they are read, they cannot be understood without an expounder, on account of the sin which has grown up with men, as I said before. Therefore I shall explain all things to you, that in those things which are written yon may clearly perceive what is the mind of the Lawgiver."

22 Repetition of Instructions. When he had said this, he began to expound to me point by point of those chapters of the law which seemed to be in question, from the beginning of the creation even to that point of time at which I came to him at Caesarea, telling me that the delay of Simon had contributed to my learning all things in order.

"At other times," said he, "we shall discourse more fully on individual points of which we have now spoken shortly, according as the occasion of our conversation shall bring them before us; so that, according to my promise, you may gain a full and perfect knowledge of all. Since, then, by this delay we have today on our hands, I wish to repeat to you again what has been spoken, that it may be the better recalled to your memory."

Then he began in this way to refresh my recollection of what he had said: "Do you remember, O friend Clement, the account I gave you of the eternal age, that knows no end? "Then said I, "Never, O Peter, shall I retain anything, if I can lose or forget that."

23 Repetition Continued. Then Peter, having heard my answer with pleasure, said: "I congratulate you because you have answered thus, not because you speak of these things easily, but because you profess that you remember them; for the most sublime truths are best honoured by means of silence. Yet, for the credit of those things which you remember concerning things not to be spoken,12 tell me what you retain of those things which we spoke of in the second place, which can easily be spoken out, that, perceiving your tenacity of memory, I may the more readily point out to you, and freely open, the things of which I wish to speak."

Then I, when I perceived that he rejoiced in the good memory of his hearers, said: "Not only am I mindful of your definition, but also of that preface which was prefixed to the definition; and of almost all things that you have expounded, I retain the sense complete, though not all the words; because the things that you have spoken have been made, as it were, native to my soul, and inborn.

"For you have held out a most sweet cup to me in my excessive thirst. And that you may not suppose that I am occupying you with words, being unmindful of things, I shall now call to mind the things which were spoken, in which the order of your discussion greatly helps me; for the way in which the things that you said followed by consequence upon one another, and were arranged in a balanced manner, makes them easily recalled to memory by the lines of their order.

"For the order of sayings is useful for remembering them: for when you begin to follow them point by point in succession, when anything is wanting, immediately the sense seeks for it; and when it has found it, retains it, or at all events, if it cannot discover it, there will be no reluctance to ask it of the master. But not to delay in granting what you demand of me, I shall shortly rehearse what you delivered to me concerning the definition of truth."

24-- Repetition Continued. "There always was, there is now, and there ever shall be, that by which the first Will begotten from eternity consists; and from the first Will proceeds a second Will. After these came the world; and from the world came time: from this, the multitude of men; from the multitude the election of the beloved, from whose oneness of mind the peaceful kingdom of God is constructed. But the rest, which ought to follow these, you promised to tell me at another time.

"After this, when you had explained about the creation of the world, you intimated the decree of God, 'which He, of His own good pleasure, announced in the presence of all the first angels,' and which He ordained as an eternal law to all; and how He established two kingdoms, I mean that of the present time and that of the future, and appointed times to each, and decreed that a day of judgement should be expected, which He determined, in which a severance is to be made of things and of souls: so that the wicked indeed shall be consigned to eternal fire for their sins; but those who have lived according to the will of God the Creator, having received a blessing for their good works, effulgent with brightest light, introduced into an eternal abode, and abiding in incorruption, shall receive eternal gifts of ineffable blessings."

25 Repetition Continued. While I was going on thus, Peter, enraptured with joy, and anxious for me as if I had been his son, lest perhaps I should fail in recollection of the rest, and be put to shame on account of those who were present, said: "It is enough, O Clement; for you have stated these things more clearly than I myself explained them."

Then said I, "Liberal learning has conferred upon me the power of orderly narration, and of stating those things clearly for which there is occasion. And if we use learning in asserting

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the errors of antiquity, we ruin ourselves by gracefulness and smoothness of speech; but if we apply learning and grace of speech to the assertion of the truth, I think that not a little advantage is thereby gained.

"Be that as it may, my lord Peter, you can but imagine with what thankfulness I am transported for all the rest of your instruction indeed, but especially for the statement of that doctrine which you gave: There is one God, whose work the world is, and who, because He is in all respects righteous, shall render to every one according to his deeds. And after that you added: For the assertion of this dogma countless thousands of words will be brought forward; but in those to whom is granted knowledge of the true Prophet, all this forest of words is cut down. And on this account, since you have delivered to me a discourse concerning the true Prophet, you have strengthened me with all confidence of your assertions."

And then, having perceived that the sum of all religion and piety consists in this, I immediately replied: "You have proceeded most excellently, O Peter: wherefore, in future, expound unhesitatingly, as to one who already knows what are the foundations of faith and piety, the traditions of the true Prophet, who alone, as has been clearly proved, is to be believed. But that exposition which requires assertions and arguments, reserve for the unbelievers, to whom you have not yet judged it proper to commit the indubitable faith of prophetic grace."

When I had said this, I added: "You promised that you would give at the proper time two things: first this exposition, at once simple and entirely free from error; and then an exposition of each individual point as it may be evolved in the course of the various questions which shall be raised. And after this you expounded the sequence of things in order from the beginning of the world, even to the present time; and if you please, I can repeat the whole from memory."

26 Friendship of God; How Secured. To this Peter answered: "I am exceedingly delighted, O Clement, that I commit my words to so safe a heart; for to be mindful of the things that are spoken is an indication of having in readiness the faith of works. But he from whom the wicked demon steals away the words of salvation, and snatches them away from his memory, cannot be saved, even though he wish it; for he loses the way by which life is reached.

"Wherefore let us the rather repeat what has been spoken, and confirm it in your heart, that is, in what manner or by whom the world was made, that we may proceed to the friendship of the Creator. But His friendship is secured by living well, and by obeying His will; which will is the law of all that live. We shall therefore unfold these things briefly to you, in order that they may be the more surely remembered."

27 Account of the Creation. "In the beginning, when God had made the heaven and the earth,14 as one house, the shadow which was cast by the mundane bodies involved in darkness those things which were enclosed in it. But when the will of God had introduced light, that darkness which had been caused by the shadows of bodies was straightway dispelled: then at length light is appointed for the day, darkness for the night.

"And now the water which was within the world, in the middle space of that first heaven and earth, congealed as if with frost, and solid as crystal, is distended, and the middle spaces of the heaven and earth are separated as by a firmament of this sort; and that firmament the Creator called heaven, so called by the name of that previously made: and so He divided into two portions that fabric of the universe, although it was but one house.

"The reason of the division was this, that the upper portion might afford a dwelling-place to angels, and the lower to men. After this, the place of the sea and the chaos which had been made received that portion of the water which remained below, by order of the eternal Will; and these flowing down to the sunk and hollow places, the dry land appeared; and the gatherings of the waters were made seas.

"And after this the earth, which had appeared, produced various species of herbs and shrubs. It gave forth fountains also, and rivers, not only in the plains, but on the mountains. And so all things were prepared, that men who were to dwell in it might have it in their power to use all these things according to their will, that is, either for good or evil."

28 Account of the Creation Continued. "After this He adorns that visible heaven with stars. He places in it also the sun and the moon, that the day might enjoy the light of the one, the night that of the other; and that at the same time they might be for an indication of things past, present, and future. For they were made for signs of seasons and of days, which, although they are seen indeed by all, are understood only by the learned and intelligent.

"And when, after this, He had ordered living creatures to be produced from the earth and the waters, He made Paradise, which also He named a place of delights. But after all these things He made man, on whose account He had prepared all things, whose internal species15 is older, and for whose sake all things that are were made, given up to his service, and assigned to the uses of his habitation."

29 The Giants: the Flood. "All things therefore being completed which are in heaven, and in earth, and in the waters, and the human race also having multiplied, in the eighth generation, righteous men, who had lived the life of angels, being allured by the beauty of women, fell into promiscuous and illicit connections with these; and thenceforth acting in all things without discretion, and disorderly, they changed the state of human affairs and the divinely prescribed order of life, so that either by persuasion or force they compelled all men to sin against God their Creator.

"In the ninth generation are born the giants, so called from of old, not dragon-footed, as the fables of the Greeks relate, but men of immense bodies, whose bones, of enormous size, are still shown in some places for confirmation. But against these the righteous providence of God brought a flood upon the world, that the earth might be purified from their pollution, and every place might be turned into a sea by the destruction of the wicked.

"Yet there was then found one righteous man, by name Noah, who, being delivered in an ark with his three sons and their wives, became the coloniser of the world after the subsiding of the waters, with those animals and seeds which he had shut up with him."

30 Noah's Sons. "In the twelfth generation, when God had blessed men, and they had begun to multiply, they received a commandment that they should not taste blood, for on account of this also the deluge had been sent.

"In the thirteenth generation, when the second of Noah's three sons had done an injury to his father, and had been cursed by him, he brought the condition of slavery upon his posterity. His elder brother meantime obtained the lot of a dwelling-place in the middle region of the world, in which is the country of Judaea; the younger obtained the eastern quarter, and he the western.

"In the fourteenth generation one of the cursed progeny first erected an altar to demons, for the purpose of magical arts, and offered there bloody sacrifices.

"In the fifteenth generation, for the first time, men set up an idol and worshipped it. Until that time the Hebrew language, which had been given by God to men, bore sole sway.

"In the sixteenth generation the sons of men migrated from the east, and, coming to the lands that had been assigned to their fathers, each one marked the place of his own allotment by his own name. In the seventeenth generation Nimrod I. reigned in Babylonia, and built a city, and thence migrated to the Persians, and taught them to worship fire."

31 World After the Flood. "In the eighteenth generation walled cities were built, armies were organised and armed, judges and laws were sanctioned, temples were built, and the princes of nations were adored as gods.

"In the nineteenth generation the descendants of him who had been cursed after the flood, going beyond their proper bounds which they had obtained by lot in the western regions, drove into the eastern lands those who had obtained the middle portion of the world, and pursued them as far as Persia, while themselves violently took possession of the country from which they expelled them.

"In the twentieth generation a son for the first time died before his father,20 on account of an incestuous crime."

32 Abraham. "In the twenty-first generation there was a certain wise man, of the race of those who were expelled, of the family of Noah's eldest son, by name Abraham, from whom our Hebrew nation is derived. When the whole world was again overspread with errors, and when for the hideousness of its crimes destruction was really for it, this time not by water, but fire, and when already the scourge was hanging over the whole earth, beginning with Sodom, this man, by reason of his friendship with God, who was well pleased with him, obtained from God that the whole world should not equally perish.

"From the first this same man, being an astrologer, was able, from the account and order of the stars, to recognise the Creator, while all others were in error, and understood that all things are regulated by His providence.

"Whence also an angel, standing by him in a vision, instructed him more fully concerning those things which he was beginning to perceive. He showed him also what belonged to his race and posterity, and promised him that those districts should be restored rather than given to them."

33 Abraham: His Posterity. "Therefore Abraham, when he was desirous to learn the causes of things, and was intently pondering upon what had been told him, the true Prophet appeared to him, who alone knows the hearts and purpose of men, and disclosed to him all things which he desired.

"He taught him the knowledge of the Divinity; intimated the origin of the world, and likewise its end; showed him the immortality of the soul, and the manner of life which was pleasing to God; declared also the resurrection of the dead, the future judgement, the reward of the good, the punishment of the evil, all to be regulated by righteous judgement: and having given him all this information plainly and sufficiently, He departed again to the invisible abodes.

"But while Abraham was still in ignorance, as we said to you before, two sons were born to him, of whom the one was called Ismael, and the other Heliesdros. From the one are descended the barbarous nations, from the other the people of the Persians, some of whom have adopted the manner of living and the institutions of their neighbours, the Brahmans.

"Others settled in Arabia, of whose posterity some also have spread into Egypt. From them some of the Indians and of the Egyptians have learned to be circumcised, and to be of purer observance than others, although in process of time most of them have turned to impiety what was the proof and sign of purity."

34 The Israelites in Egypt. "Nevertheless, as he had got these two sons during the time while he still lived in ignorance of things, having received the knowledge of God, he asked of the Righteous One that he might merit to have offspring by Sarah, who was his lawful wife, though she was barren.

"She obtained a son, whom he named Isaac, from whom came Jacob, and from him the twelve patriarchs, and from these twelve seventy-two. These, when famine befell, came into Egypt with all their family; and in the course of four hundred years, being multiplied by the blessing and promise of God, they were afflicted by the Egyptians.

"And when they were afflicted the true Prophet appeared to Moses,23 and struck the Egyptians with ten plagues, when they refused to let the Hebrew people depart from them, and return to their native land; and he brought the people of God out of Egypt. But those of the Egyptians who survived the plagues, being infected with the animosity of their king, pursued after the Hebrews.

"And when they had overtaken them at the sea-shore, and thought to destroy and exterminate them all, Moses, pouring out prayer to God, divided the sea into two parts, so that the water was held on the right hand and on the left as if it had been frozen, and the people of God passed as over a dry road; but the Egyptians who were pursuing them, rashly entering, were drowned.

"For when the last of the Hebrews came out, the last of the Egyptians went down into the sea; and straightway the waters of the sea, which by his command were held bound as with frost, were loosed by his command who had bound them, and recovering their natural freedom, inflicted punishment on the wicked nation."

35 The Exodus. "After this, Moses, by the command of God, whose providence is over all, led out the people of the Hebrews into the wilderness; and, leaving the shortest road which leads from Egypt to Judaea, he led the people through long windings of the wilderness, that, by the discipline of forty years, the novelty of a changed manner of life might root out the evils which had clung to them by a long-continued familiarity with the customs of the Egyptians.

"Meantime they came to Mount Sinai, and thence the law was given to them with voices and sights from heaven, written in ten precepts, of which the first and greatest was that they should worship God Himself alone, and not make to themselves any appearance or form24 to worship.

"But when Moses had gone up to the mount, and was staying there forty days, the people, although they had seen Egypt struck with the ten plagues, and the sea parted and passed over by them on foot, manna also given to them from heaven for bread, and drink supplied to them out of the rock that followed them, which kind of food was turned into whatever taste any one desired; and although, being placed under the torrid region of heaven, they were shaded by a cloud in the day-time, that they might not be scorched by the heat, and by night were enlightened by a pillar of fire, lest the horror of darkness should be added to the wasteness of the wilderness; those very people, I say, when Moses stayed in the mount, made and worshipped a golden calf's head, after the fashion of Apis, whom they had seen worshipped in Egypt; and after so many and so great marvels which they had seen, were unable to cleanse and wash out from themselves the defilements of old habit.

"On this account, leaving the short road which leads from Egypt to Judaea, Moses conducted them by an immense circuit of the desert, if haply he might be able, as we mentioned before, to shake off the evils of old habit by the change of a new education."

36 Allowance of Sacrifice for a Time. "When meantime Moses, that faithful and wise steward, perceived that the vice of sacrificing to idols had been deeply ingrained into the people from their association with the Egyptians, and that the root of this evil could not be extracted from them, he allowed them indeed to sacrifice, but permitted it to be done only to God, that by any means he might cut off one half of the deeply ingrained evil, leaving the other half to be corrected by another, and at a future time; by Him, namely, concerning whom he said himself, 'A prophet shall the Lord your God raise unto you, whom ye shall hear even as myself, according to all things which He shall say to you. Whosoever shall not hear that prophet, his soul shall be cut off from his people.'"

37 The Holy Place. "In addition to these things, he also appointed a place in which alone it should be lawful to them to sacrifice to God. And all this was arranged with this view, that when the fitting time should come, and they should learn by means of the Prophet that God desires mercy and not

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sacrifice, they might see Him who should teach them that the place chosen of God, in which it was suitable that victims should be offered to God, is his Wisdom; and that on the other hand they might hear that this place, which seemed chosen for a time, often harassed as it had been by hostile invasions and plunderings, was at last to be wholly destroyed.

"And in order to impress this upon them, even before the coming of the true Prophet, who was to reject at once the sacrifices and the place, it was often plundered by enemies and burnt with fire, and the people carried into captivity among foreign nations, and then brought back when they betook themselves to the mercy of God; that by these things they might be taught that a people who offer sacrifices are driven away and delivered up into the hands of the enemy, but they who do mercy and righteousness are without sacrifices freed from captivity, and restored to their native land.

"But it fell out that very few understood this; for the greater number, though they could perceive and observe these things, yet were held by the irrational opinion of the vulgar: for right opinion with liberty is the prerogative of a few."

38 Sins of the Israelites. "Moses, then, having arranged these things, and having set over the people one Auses to bring them to the land of their fathers, himself by the command of the living God went up to a certain mountain, and there died. Yet such was the manner of his death, that till this day no one has found his burial-place.

"When, therefore, the people reached their fathers' land, by the providence of God, at their first onset the inhabitants of wicked races are routed, and they enter upon their paternal inheritance, which was distributed among them by lot. For some time thereafter they were ruled not by kings, but judges, and remained in a somewhat peaceful condition.

"But when they sought for themselves tyrants rather than kings, then also with regal ambition they erected a temple in the place which had been appointed to them for prayer; and thus, through a succession of wicked kings, the people fell away to greater and still greater impiety."

39 Baptism Instituted in Place of Sacrifices. "But when the time began to draw near that what was wanting in the Mosaic institutions should be supplied, as we have said, and that the Prophet should appear, of whom he had foretold that He should warn them by the mercy of God to cease from sacrificing; lest haply they might suppose that on the cessation of sacrifice there was no remission of sins for them, He instituted baptism by water amongst them, in which they might be absolved from all their sins on the invocation of His name, and for the future, following a perfect life, might abide in immortality, being purified not by the blood of beasts, but by the purification of the Wisdom of God.

"Subsequently also an evident proof of this great mystery is supplied in the fact, that every one who, believing in this Prophet who had been foretold by Moses, is baptised in His name, shall be kept unhurt from the destruction of war which impends over the unbelieving nation, and the place itself; but that those who do not believe shall be made exiles from their place and kingdom, that even against their will they may understand and obey the will of God."

40 Advent of the True Prophet. "These things therefore having been forearranged, He who was expected comes, bringing signs and miracles as His credentials by which He should be made manifest. But not even so did the people believe, though they had been trained during so many ages to the belief of these things.

"And not only did they not believe, but they added blasphemy to unbelief, saying that He was a gluttonous man and a belly-slave, and that He was actuated by a demon,31 even He who had come for their salvation. To such an extent does wickedness prevail by the agency of evil ones; so that, but for the Wisdom of God assisting those who love the truth, almost all would have been involved in impious delusion.

"Therefore He chose us twelve, the first who believed in Him, whom He named apostles; and afterwards other seventy-two most approved disciples, that, at least in this way recognising the pattern of Moses, the multitude might believe that this is He of whom Moses foretold, the Prophet that was to come."

41 Rejection of the True Prophet. "But some one perhaps may say that it is possible for any one to imitate a number; but what shall we say of the signs and miracles which He wrought? For Moses had wrought miracles and cures in Egypt.

"He also of whom he foretold that He should rise up a prophet like unto himself, though He cured every sickness and infirmity among the people, wrought innumerable miracles, and preached eternal life, was hurried by wicked men to the cross; which deed was, however, by His power turned to good.

"In short, while He was suffering, all the world suffered with Him; for the sun was darkened, the mountains were torn asunder, the graves were opened, the veil of the temple was rent,36 as in lamentation for the destruction impending over the place. And yet, though all the world was moved, they themselves are not even now moved to the consideration of these so great things."

42 Call of the Gentiles.

"But inasmuch as it was necessary that the Gentiles should be called into the room of those who remained unbelieving, so that the number might be filled up which had been shown to Abraham, the preaching of the blessed kingdom of God is sent into all the world.

"On this account worldly spirits are disturbed, who always oppose those who are in quest of liberty, and who make use of the engines of error to destroy God's building; while those who press on to the glory of safety and liberty, being rendered braver by their resistance to these spirits, and by the toil of great struggles against them, attain the crown of safety not without the palm of victory.

"Meantime, when He had suffered, and darkness had overwhelmed the world from the sixth even to the ninth hour, as soon as the sun shone out again, and things were returned to their usual course, even wicked men returned to themselves and their former practices, their fear having abated. For some of them, watching the place with all care, when they could not prevent His rising again, said that He was a magician; others pretended that he was stolen away."

43 Success of the Gospel. "Nevertheless, the truth everywhere prevailed; for, in proof that these things were done by divine power, we who had been very few became in the course of a few days, by the help of God, far more than they.

"So that the priests at one time were afraid, lest haply, by the providence of God, to their confusion, the whole of the people should come over to our faith. Therefore they often sent to us, and asked us to discourse to them concerning Jesus, whether He were the Prophet whom Moses foretold, who is the eternal Christ.

"For on this point only does there seem to be any difference between us who believe in Jesus, and the unbelieving Jews. But while they often made such requests to us, and we sought for a fitting opportunity, a week of years was completed from the passion of the Lord, the Church of the Lord which was constituted in Jerusalem was most plentifully multiplied and grew, being governed with most righteous ordinances by James, who was ordained bishop in it by the Lord."

44 Challenge by Caiaphas. "But when we twelve apostles, on the day of the passover, had come together with an immense multitude, and entered into the church of the brethren, each one of us, at the request of James, stated briefly, in the hearing of the people, what we had done in every place.

"While this was going on, Caiaphas, the high priest, sent priests to us, and asked us to come to him, that either we should prove to him that Jesus is the eternal Christ, or he to us that He is not, and that so all the people should agree upon the one faith or the other; and this he frequently entreated us to do. But we often put it off, always seeking for a more convenient time."

Then I, Clement, answered to this: "I think that this very question, whether He is the Christ, is of great importance for the establishment of the faith; otherwise the high priest would not so frequently ask that he might either learn or teach concerning the Christ."

Then Peter: "You have answered rightly, O Clement; for as no one can see without eyes, nor hear without ears, nor smell without nostrils, nor taste without a tongue, nor handle anything without hands, so it is impossible, without the true Prophet, to know what is pleasing to God."

And I answered: "I have already learned from your instruction that this true prophet is the Christ; but I should wish to learn what the Christ means, or why He is so called, that a matter of so great importance may not be vague and uncertain to me."

45 The True Prophet: Why Called the Christ. Then Peter began to instruct me in this manner: "When God had made the world, as Lord of the universe, He appointed chiefs over the several creatures, over the trees even, and the mountains, and the fountains, and the rivers, and all things which He had made, as we have told you; for it were too long to mention them one by one.

"He set, therefore, an angel as chief over the angels, a spirit over the spirits, a star over the stars, a demon over the demons, a bird over the birds, a beast over the beasts, a serpent over the serpents, a fish over the fishes, a man over men, who is Christ Jesus.

"But He is called Christ by a certain excellent rite of religion; for as there are certain names common to kings, as Arsaces among the Persians, Caesar among the Romans, Pharaoh among the Egyptians, so among the Jews a king is called Christ.

"And the reason of this appellation is this: Although indeed He was the Son of God, and the beginning of all things, He became man; Him first God anointed with oil which was taken from the wood of the tree of life: from that anointing therefore He is called Christ.

"Thence, moreover, He Himself also, according to the appointment of His Father, anoints with similar oil every one of the pious when they come to His kingdom, for their refreshment after their labours, as having got over the difficulties of the way; so that their light may shine, and being filled with the Holy Spirit, they may be endowed with immortality.45

"But it occurs to me that I have sufficiently explained to you the whole nature of that branch from which that ointment is taken."

46 Anointing. "But now also I shall, by a very short representation, recall you to the recollection of all these things. In the present life, Aaron, the first high priest, was anointed with a composition of chrism, which was made after the pattern of that spiritual ointment of which we have spoken before. He was prince of the people, and as a king received first-fruits and tribute from the people, man by man; and having undertaken the office of judging the people, he judged of things clean and things unclean.

"But if any one else was anointed with the same ointment, as deriving virtue from it, he became either king, or prophet, or priest. If, then, this temporal grace, compounded by men, had such efficacy, consider now how potent was that ointment extracted by God from a branch of the tree of life, when that which was made by men could confer so excellent dignities among men. For what in the present age is more glorious than a prophet, more illustrious than a priest, more exalted than a king?"

47 Adam Anointed a Prophet. To this, I replied: "I remember, Peter, that you told me of the first man that he was a prophet; but you did not say that he was anointed. If then there be no prophet without anointing, how could the first man be a prophet, since he was not anointed?"

Then Peter, smiling, said: "If the first man prophesied, it is certain that he was also anointed. For although he who has recorded the law in his pages is silent as to his anointing, yet he has evidently left us to understand these things.

"For as, if he had said that he was anointed, it would not be doubted that he was also a prophet, although it were not written in the law; so, since it is certain that he was a prophet, it is in like manner certain that he was also anointed, because without anointing he could not be a prophet.

"But you should rather have said, If the chrism was compounded by Aaron, by the perfumer's art, how could the first man be anointed before Aaron's time, the arts of composition not yet having been discovered?"

Then I answered, "Do not misunderstand me, Peter; for I do not speak of that compounded ointment and temporal oil, but of that simple and eternal ointment, which you told me was made by God, after whose likeness you say that that other was compounded by men."

48 The True Prophet, a Priest. Then Peter answered, with an appearance of indignation: "What! do you suppose, Clement, that all of us can know all things before the time? But not to be drawn aside now from our proposed discourse, we shall at another time, when your progress is more manifest, explain these things more distinctly.

"Then, however, a priest or a prophet, being anointed with the compounded ointment, putting fire to the altar of God, was held illustrious in all the world. But after Aaron, who was a priest, another is taken out of the waters. I do not speak of Moses, but of Him who, in the waters of baptism, was called by God His Son.

"For it is Jesus who has put out, by the grace of baptism, that fire which the priest kindled for sins; for, from the time when He appeared, the chrism has ceased, by which the priesthood or the prophetic or the kingly office was conferred."

49 Two Comings of Christ. "His coming, therefore, was predicted by Moses, who delivered the law of God to men; but by another also before him, as I have already informed you. He therefore intimated that He should come, humble indeed in His first coming, but glorious in His second.

"And the first, indeed, has been already accomplished; since He has come and taught, and He, the Judge of all, has been judged and slain. But at His second coming He shall come to judge, and shall indeed condemn the wicked, but shall take the pious into a share and association with Himself in His kingdom.

"Now the faith of His second coming depends upon His first. For the prophets especially Jacob and Moses spoke of the first, but some also of the second. But the excellency of prophecy is chiefly shown in this, that the prophets spoke not of things to come, according to the sequence of things; otherwise they might seem merely as wise men to have conjectured what the sequence of things pointed out."

50 His Rejection by the Jews. "But what I say is this: It was to be expected that Christ should be received by the Jews, to whom He came, and that they should believe on Him who was expected for the salvation of the people, according to the traditions of the fathers; but that the Gentiles should be averse to Him, since neither promise nor announcement concerning Him had been made to them, and indeed he had never been made known to them even by name.

"Yet the prophets, contrary to the order and sequence of things, said that He should be the expectation of the Gentiles, and not of the Jews. And so it happened. For when He came, he was not at all acknowledged by those who seemed to expect Him, in consequence of the tradition of their ancestors;

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whereas those who had heard nothing at all of Him, both believe that He has come, and hope that he is to come.

"And thus in all things prophecy appears faithful, which said that He was the expectation of the Gentiles. The Jews, therefore, have erred concerning the first coming of the Lord; and on this point only there is disagreement betwixt us and them. For they themselves know and expect that Christ shall come; but that he has come already in humility even he who is called Jesus they do not know. And this is a great confirmation of His coming, that all do not believe on Him."

51 The Only Saviour. "Him, therefore, has God appointed in the end of the world; because it was impossible that the evils of men could be removed by any other, provided that the nature of the human race were to remain entire, i.e., the liberty of the will being preserved.

"This condition, therefore, being preserved inviolate, He came to invite to His kingdom all righteous ones, and those who have been desirous to please Him. For these He has prepared unspeakable good things, and the heavenly city Jerusalem, which shall shine above the brightness of the sun, for the habitation of the saints.

"But the unrighteous, and the wicked and those who have despised God, and have devoted the life given them to diverse wickednesses, and have given to the practice of evil the time which was given them for the work of righteousness He shall hand over to fitting and condign vengeance. But the rest of the things which shall then be done, it is neither in the power of angels nor of men to tell or to describe. This only it is enough for us to know, that God shall confer upon the good an eternal possession of good things."

52 The Saints Before Christ's Coming. When he had thus spoken, I answered: "If those shall enjoy the kingdom of Christ, whom His coming shall final righteous, shall then those be wholly deprived of the kingdom who have died before His coming?"

Then Peter says: "You compel me, O Clement, to touch upon things that are unspeakable. But so far as it is allowed to declare them, I shall not shrink from doing so. Know then that Christ, who was from the beginning, and always, was ever present with the pious, though secretly, through all their generations: especially with those who waited for Him, to whom He frequently appeared.

"But the time was not yet that there should be a resurrection of the bodies that were dissolved; but this seemed rather to be their reward from God, that whoever should be found righteous, should remain longer in the body; or, at least, as is clearly related in the writings of the law concerning a certain righteous man, that God translated him.

"In like manner others were dealt with, who pleased His will, that, being translated to Paradise, they should be kept for the kingdom. But as to those who have not been able completely to fulfill the rule of righteousness, but have had some remnants of evil in their flesh, their bodies are indeed dissolved, but their souls are kept in good and blessed abodes, that at the resurrection of the dead, when they shall recover their own bodies, purified even by the dissolution, they may obtain an eternal inheritance in proportion to their good deeds.

"And therefore blessed are all those who shall attain to the kingdom of Christ; for not only shall they escape the pains of hell, but shall also remain incorruptible, and shall be the first to see God the Father, and shall obtain the rank of honour among the first in the presence of God."

53 Animosity of the Jews. "Wherefore there is not the least doubt concerning Christ; and all the unbelieving Jews are stirred up with boundless rage against us, fearing lest haply He against whom they have sinned should be He.

"And their fear grows all the greater, because they know that, as soon as they fixed Him on the cross, the whole world showed sympathy with Him; and that His body, although they guarded it with strict care, could nowhere be found; and that innumerable multitudes are attaching themselves to His faith.

"Whence they, together with the high priest Caiaphas, were compelled to send to us again and again, that an inquiry might be instituted concerning the truth of His name. And when they were constantly entreating that they might either learn or teach concerning Jesus, whether He were the Christ, it seemed good to us to go up into the temple, and in the presence of all the people to bear witness concerning Him, and at the same time to charge the Jews with many foolish things which they were doing. For the people was now divided into many parties, ever since the days of John the Baptist."

54 Jewish Sects.

"For when the rising of Christ was at hand for the abolition of sacrifices, and for the bestowal of the grace of baptism, the enemy, understanding from the predictions that the time was at hand, wrought various schisms among the people, that, if haply it might be possible to abolish the former sin, the latter fault might be incorrigible.

"The first schism, therefore, was that of those who were called Sadducees, which took their rise almost in the time of John. These, as more righteous than others, began to separate themselves from the assembly of the people, and to deny the resurrection of the dead, and to assert that by an argument of infidelity, saying that it was unworthy that God should be worshipped, as it were, under the promise of a reward. The first author of this opinion was Dositheus; the second was Simon.

"Another schism is that of the Samaritans; for they deny the resurrection of the dead, and assert that God is not to be worshipped in Jerusalem, but on Mount Gerizim. They indeed rightly, from the predictions of Moses, expect the one true Prophet; but by the wickedness of Dositheus they were hindered from believing that Jesus is He whom they were expecting.

"The scribes also, and Pharisees, are led away into another schism; but these, being baptised by John, and holding the word of truth received from the tradition of Moses as the key of the kingdom of heaven, have hid it from the hearing of the people.

"Yea, some even of the disciples of John, who seemed to be great ones, have separated themselves from the people, and proclaimed their own master as the Christ. But all these schisms have been prepared, that by means of them the faith of Christ and baptism might be hindered."

55 Public Discussion. "However, as we were proceeding to say, when the high priest had often sent priests to ask us that we might discourse with one another concerning Jesus; when it seemed a fit opportunity, and it pleased all the Church, we went up to the temple, and, standing on the steps together with our faithful brethren, the people kept perfect silence; and first the high priest began to exhort the people that they should hear patiently and quietly, and at the same time witness and judge of those things that were to be spoken.

"Then, in the next place, exalting with many praises the rite or sacrifice which had been bestowed by God upon the human race for the remission of sins, he found fault with the baptism of our Jesus, as having been recently brought in in opposition to the sacrifices.

"But Matthew,54 meeting his propositions, showed clearly, that whosoever shall not obtain the baptism of Jesus shall not only be deprived of the kingdom of heaven, but shall not be without peril at the resurrection of the dead, even though he be for-titled by the prerogative of a good life and an upright disposition. Having made these and such like statements, Matthew stopped."

56 Sadducees Refuted. "But the party of the Sadducees, who deny the resurrection of the dead, were in a rage, so that one of them cried out from amongst the people, saying that those greatly err who think that the dead ever arise.

"In opposition to him, Andrew, my brother, answering, declared that it is not an error, but the surest matter of faith, that the dead rise, in accordance with the teaching of Him of whom Moses foretold that He should come the true Prophet. 'Or if,' says he, 'you do not think that this is He whom Moses foretold, let this first be inquired into, so that when this is clearly proved to be He, there may be no further doubt concerning the things which He taught.' These, and many such like things, Andrew proclaimed, and then stopped."

57 Samaritan Refuted. "But a certain Samaritan, speaking against the people and against God, and asserting that neither are the dead to rise, nor is that worship of God to be maintained which is in Jerusalem, but that Mount Gerizim is to be reverenced, added also this in opposition to us, that our Jesus was not He whom Moses foretold as a Prophet to come into the world.

Against him, and another who supported him in what he said, James and John, the sons of Zebedee, strove vigorously; and although they had a command not to enter into their cities,55 nor to bring the word of preaching to them, yet, lest their discourse, unless it were confined, should hurt the faith of others, they replied so prudently and so powerfully, that they put them to perpetual silence.

"For James made an oration concerning the resurrection of the dead, with the approbation of all the people; while John showed that if they would abandon the error of Mount Gerizim, they should consequently acknowledge that Jesus was indeed He who, according to the prophecy of Moses, was expected to come; since, indeed, as Moses wrought signs and miracles, so also did Jesus.

"And there is no doubt but that the likeness of the signs proves Him to be that prophet of whom he said that He should come, 'like himself.' Having declared these things, and more to the same effect, they ceased."

58 Scribes Refuted. "And, behold, one of the scribes, shouting out from the midst of the people, says: 'The signs and miracles which your Jesus wrought, he wrought not as a prophet, but as a magician.'

Him Philip eagerly encounters, showing that by this argument he accused Moses also. For when Moses wrought signs and miracles in Egypt, in like manner as Jesus also did in Judaea, it cannot be doubted that what was said of Jesus might as well be said of Moses. Having made these and such like protestations, Philip was silent."

59 Pharisees Refuted. "Then a certain Pharisee, hearing this, chid Philip because he put Jesus on a level with Moses.

"To whom Bartholomew, answering, boldly declared that we do not only say that Jesus was equal to Moses, but that He was greater than he, because Moses was indeed a prophet, as Jesus was also, but that Moses was not the Christ, as Jesus was, and therefore He is doubtless greater who is both a prophet and the Christ, than he who is only a prophet. After following out this train of argument, he stopped.

"After him James the son of Alphaeus gave an address to the people, with the view of showing that we are not to believe on Jesus on the ground that the prophets foretold concerning Him, but rather that we are to believe the prophets, that they were really prophets, because the Christ bears testimony to them; for it is the presence and coming of Christ that show that they are truly prophets: for testimony must be borne by the superior to his inferiors, not by the inferiors to their superior. After these and many similar statements, James also was silent.

"After him Lebbaeus began vehemently to charge it upon the people that they did not believe in Jesus, who had done them so much good by teaching them the things that are of God, by comforting the afflicted, healing the sick, relieving the poor; yet for all these benefits their return bad been hatred and death. When he had declared these and many more such things to the people, he ceased."

60 Disciples of John Refuted. "And, behold, one of the disciples of John asserted that John was the Christ, and not Jesus, inasmuch as Jesus Himself declared that John was greater than all men and all prophets. 'If, then, 'said he, 'he be greater than all, he must be held to be greater than Moses, and than Jesus himself. But if he be the greatest of all, then must he be the Christ.'

"To this Simon the Canaanite, answering, asserted that John was indeed greater than all the prophets, and all who are born of women, yet that he is not greater than the Son of man. Accordingly Jesus is also the Christ, whereas John is only a prophet: and there is as much difference between him and Jesus, as between the forerunner and Him whose forerunner he is; or as between Him who gives the law, and him who keeps the law. Having made these and similar statements, the Canaanite also was silent.

"After him Barnabas, who also is called Matthias, who was substituted as an apostle in the place of Judas, began to exhort the people that they should not regard Jesus with hatred, nor speak evil of Him. For it were far more proper, even for one who might be in ignorance or in doubt concerning Jesus, to love than to hate Him. For God has affixed a reward to love, a penalty to hatred. 'For the very fact,' said he, 'that He assumed a Jewish body, and was born among the Jews, how has not this incited us all to love Him?' When he had spoken this, and more to the same effect, he stopped."

61 Caiaphas Answered. "Then Caiaphas attempted to impugn the doctrine of Jesus, saying that He spoke vain things, for He said that the poor are blessed; and promised earthly rewards; and placed the chief gift in an earthly inheritance; and promised that those who maintain righteousness shall be satisfied with meat and drink; and many things of this sort He is charged with teaching.

"Thomas, in reply, proves that his accusation is frivolous; showing that the prophets, in whom Caiaphas believes, taught these things much more, and did not show in what manner these things are to be, or how they are to be understood; whereas Jesus pointed out how they are to be taken. And when he had spoken these things, and others of like kind, Thomas also held his peace."

62 Foolishness of Preaching.

"Therefore Caiaphas, again looking at me, and sometimes in the way of warning and sometimes in that of accusation, said that, I ought for the future to refrain from preaching Christ Jesus, lest I should do it to my own destruction, and lest, being deceived myself, I should also deceive others.

"Then, moreover, he charged me with presumption, because, though I was unlearned, a fisherman, and a rustic, I dared to assume the office of a teacher.

"As he spoke these things, and many more of like kind, I said in reply, that I incurred less danger, if, as he said, this Jesus were not the Christ, because I received Him as a teacher of the law; but that he was in terrible danger if this be the very Christ, as assuredly He is: for I believe in Him who has appeared; but for whom else, who has never appeared, does he reserve his faith?

"But if I, an unlearned and uneducated man, as you say, a fisherman and a rustic, have more understanding than wise elders, this, said I, ought the more to strike terror into you. For if I disputed with any learning, and won over you wise and learned men, it would appear that I had acquired this power by long learning, and not by the grace of divine power; but now, when, as I have said, we unskilled men convince and overcome you wise men, who that has any sense does not perceive that this is not a work of human subtlety, but of divine will and gift?"

63 Appeal to the Jews.

"Thus we argued and bore witness; and we who were unlearned men and fishermen, taught the priests concerning the one only God of heaven; the Sadducees, concerning the resurrection of the dead; the Samaritans, concerning the sacredness of Jerusalem (not that we entered into their cities,

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but disputed with them in public); the scribes and Pharisees, concerning the kingdom of heaven; the disciples of John, that they should not suffer John to be a stumbling-block to them; and all the people, that Jesus is the eternal Christ.

"At last, however, I warned them, that before we should go forth to the Gentiles, to preach to them the knowledge of God the Father, they should themselves be reconciled to God, receiving His Son; for I showed them that in no way else could they be saved, unless through the grace of the Holy Spirit they hasted to be washed with the baptism of threefold invocation, and received the Eucharist of Christ the Lord, whom alone they ought to believe concerning those things which He taught, that so they might merit to attain eternal salvation; but that otherwise it was utterly impossible for them to be reconciled to God, even if they should kindle a thousand altars and a thousand high altars to Him."

64 Temple to Be Destroyed. "'For we,' said I, 'have ascertained beyond doubt that God is much rather displeased with the sacrifices which you offer, the time of sacrifices having now passed away; and because ye will not acknowledge that the time for offering victims is now past, therefore the temple shall be destroyed, and the abomination of desolation59 shall stand in the holy place; and then the Gospel shall be preached to the Gentiles for a testimony against you, that your unbelief may be judged by their faith.

"For the whole world at different times suffers under divers maladies, either spreading generally over all, or affecting specially. Therefore it needs a physician to visit it for its salvation. We therefore bear witness to you, and declare to you what has been hidden from every one of you. It is for you to consider what is for your advantage.'"

65 Tumult Stilled by Gamaliel. "When I had thus spoken, the whole multitude of the priests were in a rage, because I had foretold to them the overthrow of the temple. Which when Gamaliel, a chief of the people, saw who was secretly our brother in the faith, but by our advice remained among them because they were greatly enraged and moved with intense fury against us, he stood up, and said, 'Be quiet for a little, O men of Israel, for ye do not perceive the trial which hangs over you. Wherefore refrain from these men; and if what they are engaged in be of human counsel, it will soon come to an end; but if it be from God, why will you sin without cause, and prevail nothing? For who can overpower the will of God? Now therefore, since the day is declining towards evening. I shall myself dispute with these men to-morrow, in this same place, in your hearing, so that I may openly oppose and clearly confute every error.'

"By this speech of his their fury was to some extent checked, especially in the hope that next day we should be publicly convicted of error; and so he dismissed the people peacefully."

66 Discussion Resumed. "Now when we had come to our James, while we detailed to him all that had been said and done, we supped, and remained with him, spending the whole night in supplication to Almighty God, that the discourse of the approaching disputation might show the unquestionable truth of our faith. Therefore, on the following day, James the bishop went up to the temple with us, and with the whole church.

"There we found a great multitude, who had been waiting for us from the middle of the night. Therefore we took our stand in the same place as before, in order that, standing on an elevation, we might be seen by all the people. Then, when profound silence was obtained, Gamaliel, who, as we have said, was of our faith, but who by a dispensation remained amongst them, that if at any time they should attempt anything unjust or wicked against us, he might either check them by skillfully adopted counsel, or might warn us, that we might either be on our guard or might turn it aside; he therefore, as if acting against us, first of all looking to James the bishop, addressed him in this manner:

67 Speech of Gamaliel. "'If I, Gamaliel, deem it no reproach either to my learning or to my old age to learn something from babes and unlearned ones, if haply there be anything which it is for profit or for I safety to acquire (for he who lives reasonably knows that nothing is more precious than the soul), ought not this to be the object of love and desire to all, to learn what they do not know, and to teach what they have learned?

"'For it is most certain that neither friendship, nor kindred, nor lofty power, ought to be more precious to men than truth. Therefore you, O brethren, if ye know anything more, shrink not from laying it before the people of God who are present, and also before your brethren; while the whole people shall willingly and in perfect quietness hear what you say. For why should not the people do this, when they see even me equally with themselves willing to learn from you, if haply God has revealed something further to you?

"'But if you in anything are deficient, be not ye ashamed in like manner to be taught by us, that God may fill up whatever is wanting on either side. But if any fear now agitates you on account of some of our people whose minds are prejudiced against you, and if through fear of their violence you dare not openly speak your sentiments, in order that I may deliver you from this fear, I openly swear to you by Almighty God, who liveth for ever, that I will suffer no one to lay hands upon you.

"'Since, then, you have all this people witnesses of this my oath, and you hold the covenant of our sacrament as a fitting pledge, let each one of you, without any hesitation, declare what he has learned; and let us, brethren, listen eagerly and in silence.'"

68 The Rule of Faith. "These sayings of Gamaliel did not much please Caiaphas; and holding him in suspicion, as it seemed, he began to insinuate himself cunningly into the discussions: for, smiling at what Gamaliel had said, the chief of the priests asked of James, the chief of the bishops, that the discourse concerning Christ should not be drawn but from the Scriptures; 'that we may know,' said he, 'whether Jesus be the very Christ or no.'

"Then said James, 'We must first inquire from what Scriptures we are especially to derive our discussion.' Then he, with difficulty, at length overcome by reason, answered, that it must be derived from the law; and afterwards he made mention also of the prophets."

69 Two Comings of Christ. "To him our James began to show, that whatsoever things the prophets say they have taken from the law, and what they have spoken is in accordance with the law. He also made some statements respecting the books of the Kings in: what way, and when, and by whom they were written, and how they ought to be used.

"And when he had discussed most fully concerning the law, and had, by a most clear exposition, brought into light whatever things are in it concerning Christ, he showed by most abundant proofs that Jesus is the Christ, and that in Him are fulfilled all the prophecies which related to His humble advent. For he showed that two advents of Him are foretold: one in humiliation, which He has accomplished; the other in glory, which is hoped for to be accomplished, when He shall come to give the kingdom to those who believe in Him, and who observe all things which He has commanded.

"And when he had plainly taught the people concerning these things, he added this also: That unless a man be baptised in water, in the name of the threefold blessedness, as the true Prophet taught, he can neither receive remission of sins nor enter into the kingdom of heaven; and he declared that this is the prescription of the unbegotten God.

"To which he added this also: 'Do not think that we speak of two unbegotten Gods, or that one is divided into two, or that the same is made male and female. But we speak of the only-begotten Son of God, not sprung from another source, but ineffably self-originated; and in like manner we speak of the Paraclete.' But when he had spoken some things also concerning baptism, through seven successive days he persuaded all the people and the high priest that they should hasten straightway to receive baptism."

70 Tumult Raised by Saul. "And when matters were at that point that they should come and be baptised, some one of our enemies, entering the temple with a few men, began to cry out, and to say, 'What mean ye, O men of Israel? Why are you so easily hurried on? Why are ye led headlong by most miserable men, who are deceived by Simon, a magician?'

"While he was thus speaking, and adding more to the same effect, and while James the bishop was refuting him, he began to excite the people and to raise a tumult, so that the people might not be able to hear what was said.

"Therefore he began to drive all into confusion with shouting, and to undo what had been arranged with much labour, and at the same time to reproach the priests, and to enrage them with revilings and abuse, and, like a madman, to excite every one to murder, saying, 'What do ye? Why do ye hesitate? Oh sluggish and inert, why do we not lay hands upon them, and pull all these fellows to pieces?'

"When he had said this, he first, seizing a strong brand from the altar, set the example of smiting. Then others also, seeing him, were carried away with like readiness. Then ensued a tumult on either side, of the beating and the beaten. Much blood is shed; there is a confused flight, in the midst of which that enemy attacked James, and threw him headlong from the top of the steps; and supposing him to be dead, he cared not to inflict further violence upon him."

71 Flight to Jericho. "But our friends lifted him up, for they were both more numerous and more powerful than the others; but, from their fear of God, they rather suffered themselves to be killed by an inferior force, than they would kill others.

"But when the evening came the priests shut up the temple, and we returned to the house of James, and spent the night there in prayer. Then before daylight we went down to Jericho, to the number of 5000 men. Then after three days one of the brethren came to us from Gamaliel, whom we mentioned before, bringing to us secret tidings that that enemy had received a commission from Caiaphas, the chief priest, that he should arrest all who believed in Jesus, and should go to Damascus with his letters, and that there also, employing the help of the unbelievers, he should make havoc among the faithful; and that he was hastening to Damascus chiefly on this account, because he believed that Peter had fled thither.64

"And about thirty days thereafter he stopped on his way while passing through Jericho going to Damascus. At that time we were absent, having gone out to the sepulchres of two brethren which were whitened of themselves every year, by which miracle the fury of many against us was restrained, because they saw that our brethren were had in remembrance before God."

72 Peter Sent to Caesarea. "While, therefore, we abode in Jericho, and gave ourselves to prayer and fasting, James the bishop sent for me, and sent me here to Caesarea, saying that Zacchaeus had written to him from Caesarea, that one Simon, a Samaritan magician, was subverting many of our people, asserting that he was one Stans, that is, in other words, the Christ, and the great power of the high God, which is superior to the Creator of the world; at the same time that he showed many miracles, and made some doubt, and others fall away to him.

"He informed me of all things that had been ascertained respecting this man from those who had formerly been either his associates or his disciples, and had afterwards been converted to Zacchaeus. 'Many therefore there are, O Peter, 'said James, 'for whose safety's sake it behoves you to go and to refute the magician, and to teach the word of truth. Therefore make no delay; nor let it grieve yon that you set out alone, knowing that God by Jesus will go with you, and will help you, and that soon, by His grace, you will have many associates and sympathizers. Now be sure that you send me in writing every year an account of you sayings and doings, and especially at the end of every seven years.'

"With these expressions he dismissed me, and in six days I arrived at Caesarea."

73 Welcomed by Zacchaeus. "When I entered the city, our most beloved brother Zacchaeus met me; and embracing me, brought me to this lodging, in which he himself stayed, inquiring of me concerning each of the brethren, especially concerning our honourable brother James.

"And when I told him that he was still lame on one foot, on his immediately asking the cause of this, I related to him all that I have now detailed to you, how we had been called by the priests and Caiaphas the high priest to the temple, and how James the archbishop, standing on the top of the steps, had for seven successive days shown the whole people from the Scriptures of the Lord that Jesus is the Christ; and how, when all were acquiescing that they should be baptised by him in the name of Jesus, an enemy did all those things which I have already mentioned, and which I need not repeat."

74 Simon Magus Challenges Peter. "When Zacchaeus had heard these things, he told me in return of the doings of Simon; and in the meantime Simon himself-how he heard of my arrival I do not know-sent a message to me, saying, 'Let us dispute to-morrow in the hearing of the people.'

"To which I answered, 'Be it so, as it pleaseth you.' And this promise of mine was known over the whole city, so that even you, who arrived on that very day, learned that I was to hold a discussion with Simon on the following day, and having found out my abode, according to the directions which yon had received from Barnabas, came to me.

"But I so rejoiced at your coming, that my mind, moved I know not how, hastened to expound all things quickly to you, yet especially that which is the main point in our faith, concerning the true Prophet, which alone, I doubt not, is a sufficient foundation for the whole of our doctrine. Then, in the next place, I unfolded to you the more secret meaning of the written law, through its several heads, which there was occasion to unfold; neither did I conceal from you the good things of the traditions.

"But what remains, beginning from tomorrow, you shall hear from day to day in connection with the questions which will be raised in the discussion with Simon, until by God's favour we reach that city of Rome to which we believe that our journey is to be directed."

I then declared that I owed him all thanks for what he had told me, and promised that I would most readily do all that he commanded. Then, having taken food, he ordered me to rest, and he also betook himself to rest.

CLEMENT RECOGNITION BOOK 2

1 Power of Habit. When the day dawned which had been fixed for the discussion with Simon, Peter, rising at the first cock-crowing, aroused us also: for we were sleeping in the same apartment, thirteen of us in all; of whom, next to Peter, Zacchaeus was first, then Sophonius, Joseph and Michaeas, Eliesdrus, Phineas, Lazarus, and Elisaeus: after these I (Clement) and Nicodemus; then Niceta and Aquila, who had formerly been disciples of Simon, and were converted to the faith of Christ under the teaching of Zacchaeus. Of the women there was no one present.

As the evening light was still lasting, we all sat down; and Peter, seeing that we were awake, and that we were giving attention to him, having saluted us, immediately began to speak, as follows:

"I confess, brethren, that I wonder at the power of human nature, which I see to be fit and suited to every call upon it. This, however, it occurs to me to say of what I have found by

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experience, that when the middle of the night is passed, I awake of my own accord, and sleep does not come to me again. This happens to me for this reason, that I have formed the habit of recalling to memory the words of my Lord, which I heard from Himself; and for the longing I have towards them, I constrain my mind and my thoughts to be roused, that, awaking to them, and recalling and arranging them one by one, I may retain them in my memory.

"From this, therefore, whilst I desire to cherish the sayings of the Lord with all delight in my heart, the habit of waking has come upon me, even if there be nothing that I wish to think of. Thus, in some unaccountable way, when any custom is established, the old custom is changed, provided indeed yon do not force it above measure, but as far as the measure of nature admits. For it is not possible to be altogether without sleep; otherwise night would not have been made for rest."

2 Curtailment of Sleep. Then I, when I heard this, said: "You have very well said, O Peter; for one custom is superseded by another. For when I was at sea, I was at first distressed, and all my system was disordered, so that I felt as if I had been beaten, and could not bear the tossing and tumult of the sea; but after a few days, when I had got accustomed to it, I began to bear it tolerably, so that I was glad to take food immediately in the morning along with the sailors, whereas before it was not my custom to eat anything before the seventh hour.

"Now, therefore, simply from the custom which I then acquired, hunger reminds me about that time at which I used to eat with the sailors; which, however, I hope to get rid of, when once another custom shall have been formed. I believe, therefore, that you also have acquired the habit of wakefulness, as you state; and you have wished at a fitting time to explain this to us, that we also may not grudge to throw off and dispense with some portion of our sleep, that we may be able to take in the precepts of the living doctrine. For when the food is digested, and the mind is under the influence of tile silence of night, those things which are seasonably taught abide in it."

3 Need of Caution. Then Peter, being pleased to hear that I understood the purport of his preface, that he had delivered it for our advantage; and commending me, doubtless for the purpose of encouraging, and stimulating me, began to deliver the following discourse: "It seems to me to be seasonable and necessary to have some discussion relating to those things that are near at hand; that is, concerning Simon. For I should wish to know of what character and of what conduct he is. Wherefore, if any one of you has any knowledge of him, let him not fail to inform me; for it is of consequence to know these things beforehand.

"For if we have it in charge, that when we enter into a city we should first learn who in it is worthy, that we may eat with him, how much more is it proper for us to ascertain who or what sort of man he is to whom the words of immortality are to be committed! For we ought to be careful, yea, extremely careful, that we cast not our pearls before swine."

4 Prudence in Dealing with Opponents. "But for other reasons also it is of importance that I should have some knowledge of this man. For if I know that in those things concerning which it cannot be doubted that they are good, he is faultless and irreproachable, that is to say, if he is sober, merciful, upright, gentle, and humane, which no one doubts to be good qualities, then it will seem to be fitting, that upon him who possesses these good virtues, that which is lacking of faith and knowledge should be conferred; and so his life, which is in other respects worthy of approbation, should be amended in those points in which it shall appear to be imperfect.

"But if he remains wrapped up and polluted in those sins which are manifestly such, it does not become me to speak to him at all of the more secret and sacred things of divine knowledge, but rather to protest and confront him, that he cease from sin, and cleanse his actions from vice.

"But if he insinuate himself, and lead us on to speak what he, while he acts improperly, ought not to hear, it will be our part to parry him cautiously. For not to answer him at all does not seem proper, for the sake of the hearers, lest haply they may think that we decline the contest through want of ability to answer him, and so their faith may be injured through their misunderstanding of our purpose."

5 Simon Magus, a Formidable Antagonist. When Peter had thus spoken to us, Niceta asks permission to say something to him; and Peter having granted permission, he says: "With your pardon, I beseech you, my lord Peter, to hear me, who am very anxious for thee, and who am afraid lest, in the contest which you have in hand with Simon, you should seem to be overmatched.

"For it very frequently happens that he who defends the truth does not gain the victory, since the hearers are either prejudiced, or have no great interest in the better cause. But over and above all this, Simon himself is a most vehement orator, trained in the dialectic art, and in the meshes of syllogisms; and what is worse than all, he is greatly skilled in the magic art.

"And therefore I fear, test haply, being so strongly fortified on every side, he shall be thought to be defending the truth, whilst he is alleging falsehoods, in the presence of those who do not know him. For neither should we ourselves have been able to escape from him, and to be converted to the Lord, had it not been that, while we were his assistants, and the sharers of his errors, we had ascertained that he was a deceiver and a magician."

6 Simon Magus: His Wickedness. When Niceta had thus spoken, Aquila also, asking that he might be permitted to speak, proceeded in manner following: "Receive, I entreat thee, most excellent Peter, the assurance of my love towards thee; for indeed I also am extremely anxious on thy account. And do not blame us in this, for indeed to be concerned for any one cometh of affection; whereas to be indifferent is no less than hatred.

"But I call God to witness that I feel for thee, not as knowing thee to be weaker in debate, for indeed I was never present at any dispute in which thou wert engaged, but because I well know the impieties of this man, I think of thy reputation, and at the same time the souls of the hearers, and above all, the interests of the truth itself.

"For this magician is vehement towards all things that he wishes, and wicked above measure. For in all things we know him well, since from boyhood we have been assistants and ministers of his wickedness; and had not the love of God rescued is from him, we should even now be engaged in the same evil deeds with him.

"But a certain inborn love towards God rendered his wickedness hateful to us, and the worship of God attractive to us. Whence I think also that it was the work of Divine Providence, that we, being first made his associates, should take knowledge in what manner or by what art the effects the prodigies which he seems to work. For who is there that would not be astonished at the wonderful things which he does? Who would not think that he was a god come down from heaven for the salvation of men?

"For myself, I confess, if I had not known him intimately, and had taken part in his doings, I would easily have been carried away with him. Whence it was no great thing for us to be separated from his society, knowing as we did that he depends upon magic arts and wicked devices. But if thou also thyself wish to know all about him who, what, and whence he is, and bow he contrives what he does then listen."

7 Simon Magus: His History. "This Simon's father was Antonius, and his mother Rachel. By nation he is a Samaritan, from a village of the Gettones; by profession a magician yet exceedingly well trained in the Greek literature; desirous of glory, and boasting above all the human race, so that he wishes himself to be believed to be an exalted power, which is above God the Creator, and to be thought to be the Christ, and to be called the Standing One.

"And he uses this name as implying that he can never be dissolved, asserting that his flesh is so compacted by the power of his divinity, that it can endure to eternity. Hence, therefore, he is called the Standing One, as though he cannot fall by any corruption."

8 Simon Magus: His History. "For after that John the Baptist was killed, as you yourself also know, when Dositheus had broached his heresy, with thirty other chief disciples, and one woman, who was called Luna whence also these thirty appear to have been appointed with reference to the number of the days, according to the course of the moon this Simon ambitious of evil glory, as we have said, goes to Dositheus, and pretending friendship, entreats him, that if any one of those thirty should die, he should straightway substitute him in room of the dead: for it was contrary to their rule either to exceed the fixed number, or to admit any one who was unknown, or not yet proved; whence also the rest, desiring to become worthy of the place and number, are eager in every way to please, according to the institutions of their sect each one of those who aspire after admittance into the number, hoping that he may be deemed worthy to be put into the place of the deceased, when, as we have said, any one dies. Therefore Dositheus, being greatly urged by this man, introduced Simon when a vacancy occurred among the number."

9 Simon Magus: His Profession. "But not long after he fell in love with that woman whom they call Luna; and he confided all things to us as his friends: how he was a magician, and how he loved Luna, and how, being desirous of glory, he was unwilling to enjoy her ingloriously, but that he was waiting patiently till he could enjoy her honourably; yet so if we also would conspire with him towards the accomplishment of his desires.

"And he promised that, as a reward of this service, he would cause us to be invested with the highest honours, and we should be believed by men to be gods; 'Only, however, on condition,' says he, 'that you confer the chief place upon me, Simon, who by magic art am able to show many signs and prodigies, by means of which either my glory or our sect may be established. For I am able to render myself invisible to those who wish to lay hold of me, and again to be visible when I am willing to be seen.

"'If I wish to flee, I can dig through the mountains, and pass through rocks as if they were clay. If I should throw myself headlong from a lofty mountain, I should be borne unhurt to the earth, as if I were held up; when bound, I can loose myself, and bind those who had bound me; being shut up in prison, I can make the barriers open of their own accord; I can render statues animated, so that those who see suppose that they are men. I can make new trees suddenly spring up, and produce sprouts at once. I can throw myself into the fire, and not be burnt; I can change my countenance, so that I cannot be recognised; but I can show people that I have two faces. I shall change myself into a sheep or a goat; I shall make a beard to grow upon little boys; I shall ascend by flight into the air; I shall exhibit abundance of gold, and shall make and unmake kings.

"'I shall be worshipped as God; I shall have divine honours publicly assigned to me, so that an image of me shall be set up, and I shall be worshipped and adored as God. And what need of more words? Whatever I wish, that I shall be able to do. For already I have achieved many things by way of experiment.

"'In short,' says he, 'once when my mother Rachel ordered me to go to the field to reap, and I saw a sickle lying, I ordered it to go and reap; and it reaped ten times more than the others. Lately, I produced many new sprouts from the earth, and made them bear leaves and produce fruit in a moment; and the nearest mountain I successfully bored through.'"

10 Simon Magus: His Deception. "But when he spoke thus of the production of sprouts and the perforation of the mountain, I was confounded on this account, because he wished to deceive even us, in whom he seemed to place confidence; for we knew that those things bad been from the days of our fathers, which he represented as having been done by himself lately. We then, although we heard these atrocities from him, and worse than these, yet we followed up his crimes, and suffered others to be deceived by him, telling also many lies on his behalf; and this before he did any of the things which he had promised, so that while as yet he had done nothing, he was by some thought to be God."

11 Simon Magus, at the Head of the Sect of Dositheus. "Meantime, at the outset, as soon as he was reckoned among the thirty disciples of Dositheus, he began to depreciate Dositheus himself, saying that he did not teach purely or perfectly, and that this was the result not of ill intention, but. of ignorance. But Dositheus, when he perceived that Simon was depreciating him, fearing lest his reputation among men might be obscured (for he himself was supposed to be the Standing One), moved with rage, when they met as usual at the school, seized a rod, and began to beat Simon; but suddenly the rod seemed to pass through his body, as if it had been smoke. On which Dositheus, being astonished, says to him, 'Tell me if thou art the Standing One, that I may adore thee.'

"And when Simon answered that he was, then Dositheus, perceiving that he himself was not the Standing One, fell down and worshipped him, and gave up his own place as chief to Simon, ordering all the rank of thirty men to obey him; himself taking the inferior place which Simon formerly occupied. Not long after this he died."

12 Simon Magus and Luna. "Therefore, after the death of Dositheus Simon took Luna to himself; and with her he still goes about, as you see, deceiving multitudes, and asserting that he himself is a certain power which is above God the Creator, while Luna, who is with him, has been brought down from the higher heavens, and that she is Wisdom, the mother of all things, for whom, says he, the Greeks and barbarians contending, were able in some measure to see an image of her; but of herself, as she is, as the dweller with the first and only God, they were wholly ignorant.

"Propounding these and other things of the same sort, he has deceived many. But I ought also to state this, which I remember that I myself saw. Once, when this Luna of his was in a certain tower, a great multitude had assembled to see her, and were standing around the tower on all sides; but she was seen by all the people to lean forward, and to look out through all the windows of that tower. Many other wonderful things he did and does; so that men, being astonished at them, think that he himself is the great God."

13 Simon Magus: Secret of His Magic. "Now when Niceta and I once asked him to explain to us how these things could be effected by magic art, and what was the nature of that thing, Simon began thus to explain it to us as his associates. 'I have,' said he, 'made the soul of a boy, unsullied and violently slain, and invoked by unutterable adjurations, to assist me; and by it all is done that I command.' 'But,' said I, 'is it possible for a soul to do these things?' He answered: 'I would have you know this, that the soul of man holds the next place after God, when once it is set free from the darkness of his body. And immediately it acquires prescience: wherefore it is invoked for necromancy.'

"Then I answered: 'Why, then, do not the souls of persons who are slain take vengeance on their slayers? 'Do you not remember,' said he, 'that I told you, that when it goes out of the body it acquires knowledge of the future?' 'I remember,'

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said I. 'Well, then,' said he, 'as soon as it goes out of the body, it immediately knows that there is a judgement to come, and that every one shall suffer punishment for those evils that he hath done; and therefore they are unwilling to take vengeance on their slayers, because they themselves are enduring torments for their own evil deeds which they had done here, and they know that severer punishments await them in the judgement. Moreover, they are not permitted by the angels who preside over them to go out, or to do anything.'

"'Then,' I replied, 'if the angels do not permit them to come hither, or to do what they please, how can the souls obey the magician who invokes them?'

"'It is not,' said he, 'that they grant indulgence to the souls that are willing to come: but when the presiding angels are adjured by one greater than themselves, they have the excuse of our violence who adjure them, to permit the souls which we invoke to go out: for they do not sin who suffer violence, but we who impose necessity upon them.'

"Thereupon Niceta, not able longer to refrain, hastily answered, as indeed I also was about to do, only I wished first to get information from him on several points; but, as I said, Niceta, anticipating me, said: 'And do you not fear the day of judgement, who do violence to angels, and invoke souls, and deceive men, and bargain for divine honour to yourself from then? And how do you persuade us that there shall be no judgement, as some of the Jews confess, and that souls are not immortal, as many suppose, though you see them with your very eyes, and receive from them assurance of the divine judgement?'"

14 Simon Magus, Professes to Be God. "At those sayings of his Simon grew pale; but after a little, recollecting himself, he thus answered: 'Do not think that I am a man of your race. I am neither magician, nor lover of Luna, nor son of Antonius. For before my mother Rachel and he came together, she, still a virgin, conceived me, while it was in my power to be either small or great, and to appear as a man among men.

"'Therefore I have chosen you first as my friends, for the purpose of trying you, that I may place you first in my heavenly and unspeakable places when I shall have proved you. Therefore I have pretended to be a man, that I might more clearly ascertain if you cherish entire affection towards me.'

"But when I heard that, judging him indeed to be a wretch, yet wondering at his impudence; and blushing for him, and at the same time fearing lest he should attempt some evil against us, I beckoned to Niceta to feign for a little along with me, and said to him: 'Be not angry with us, corruptible men, O thou incorruptible God, but rather accept our affection, and our mind willing to know who God is; for we did not till now know who thou art, nor did we perceive that thou art he whom we were seeking.'"

15 Simon Magus, Professed to Have Made a Boy of Air. "As we spoke these and such like words with looks suited to the occasion, this most vain fellow believed that we were deceived; and being thereby the more elated, he added also this: 'I shall now be propitious to you, for the affection which you bear towards me as God; for you loved me while you did not know me, and were seeking me in ignorance. But I would not have you doubt that this is truly to be God, when one is able to become small or great as he pleases; for I am able to appear to man in whatever manner I please. Now, then, I shall begin to unfold to you what is true. Once on a time, I, by my power, turning air into water, and water again into blood, and solidifying it into flesh, formed a new human creature a boy and produced a much nobler work than God the Creator. For He created a man from the earth, but I from air a far more difficult matter; and again I unmade him and restored him to air, but not until I had placed his picture and image in my bed-chamber, as a proof and memorial of my work.'

"Then we understood that he spake concerning that boy, whose soul, after he had been slain by violence, he made use of for those services which he required."

16 Simon Magus: Hopelessness of His Case. But Peter, hearing these things, said with tears: "Greatly do I wonder at the infinite patience of God, and, on the other hand, at the audacity of human rashness in some. For what further reason can be found to persuade Simon that God judges the unrighteous, since he persuades himself that he employs the obedience of souls for the service of his crimes?

"But, in truth, he is deluded by demons. Yet, although he is sure by these very things that souls are immortal, and are judged for the deeds which they have done, and although he thinks that he really sees those things which we believe by faith; though, as I said, he is deluded by demons, yet he thinks that he sees the very substance of the soul. How shall such a man, I say, be brought to confess either that he acts wickedly while he occupies such an evil position, or that he is to be judged for those things which he hath done, who, knowing the judgement of God, despises it, and shows himself an enemy to God, and dares commit such horrid things?

"Wherefore it is certain, my brethren, that some oppose the truth and religion of God, not because it appears to them that reason can by no means stand with faith, but because they are either involved in excess of wickedness, or prevented by their own evils, or elated by the swelling of their heart, so that they do not even believe those things which they think that they see with their own eyes."

17 Men Enemies to God. "But, inasmuch as inborn affection towards God the Creator seemed to suffice for salvation to those who loved Him, the enemy studies to pervert this affection in men, and to render them hostile and ungrateful to their Creator. For I call heaven and earth to witness, that if God permitted the enemy to rage as much as he desires, all men should have perished long ere now; but for His mercy's sake God doth not suffer him.

"But if men would turn their affection towards God, all would doubtless be saved, even if for some faults they might seem to be corrected for righteousness But now the most of men have been made enemies of God, whose hearts the wicked one has entered, and has turned aside towards himself the affection which God the Creator had implanted in them, that they might have it towards Him.

"But of the rest, who seemed for a time to be watchful, the enemy, appearing in a phantasy of glory and splendour, and promising them certain great and mighty things, has caused their mind and heart to wander away from God; yet it is for some just reason that he is permitted to accomplish these things."

18 Responsibility of Men. To this Aquila answered: "How, then, are men in fault, if the wicked one, transforming himself into the brightness of light, promises to men greater things than the Creator Himself does?"

Then Peter answered: "I think," says he, "that nothing is more unjust than this; and now listen while I tell you how unjust it is. If your son, whom you have trained and nourished with all care, and brought to man's estate, should be ungrateful to you, and should leave you and go to another, whom perhaps he may have seen to be richer, and should show to him the honour which he owed to you, and, through hope of greater profit, should deny his birth, and refuse you your paternal rights, would this seem to you right or wicked?"

Then Aquila answered: "It is manifest to all that it would be wicked." Then Peter said: "If you say that this would be wicked among men, how much more so is it in the case of God, who, above all men, is worthy of honour from men; whose benefits we not only enjoy, but by whose means and power it is that we began to be when we were not, and whom, if we please, we shall obtain from Him to be for ever in blessedness!

"In order, therefore, that the unfaithful may be distinguished from the faithful, and the pious from the impious, it has been permitted to the wicked one to use those arts by which the affections of every one towards the true Father may be proved. But if there were in truth some strange God, were it right to leave our own God, who created us, and who is our Father and our Maker, and to pass over to another?"

"God forbid!" said Aquila. Then said Peter: "How, then, shall we say that the wicked one is the cause of our sin, when this is done by permission of God, that those may be proved and condemned in the day of judgement, who, allured by greater promises, have abandoned their duty towards their true Father and Creator; while those who have kept the faith and the love of their own Father, even with poverty, if so it has befallen, and with tribulation, may enjoy heavenly gifts and immortal dignities in His kingdom? But we shall expound these things more carefully at another time. Meantime I desire to know what Simon did after this."

19 Disputation Begun. And Niceta answered: "When he perceived that we had found him out, having spoken to one another concerning his crimes we left him, and came to Zacchaeus, telling him those same things which we have now told to you. But he, receiving us most kindly, and instructing us concerning the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, enrolled us in the number of the faithful."

When Niceta had done speaking, Zacchaeus, who had gone out a little before, entered, saying, "It is time, O Peter, that you proceed to the disputation; for a great crowd, collected in the court of the house, is awaiting you, in the midst of whom stands Simon, supported by many attendants."

Then Peter, when he heard this, ordering me to withdraw for the sake of prayer (for I had not yet been washed from the sins which I had committed in ignorance), said to the rest, "Brethren, let its pray that God, for His unspeakable mercy through His Christ, would help me going out on behalf of the salvation of men who have been created by Him."

Having said this, and having prayed, he went forth to the court of the house, in which a great multitude of people were assembled; and when he saw them all looking intently on him in profound silence, and Simon the magician standing in the midst of them like a standard-bearer, he began in manner following.

20 The Kingdom of God and His Righteousness. "Peace be to all of you who are prepared to give your right hands to truth: for whosoever are obedient to it seem indeed themselves to confer some favour upon God; whereas they do themselves obtain from Him the gift of His greatest bounty, walking in His paths of righteousness.

"Wherefore the first duty of all is to inquire, into the righteousness of God and His kingdom; His righteousness, that we may be taught to act rightly; His kingdom, that we may know what is the reward appointed for labour and patience; in which kingdom there is indeed a bestowal of eternal good things upon the good, but upon those who have acted contrary to the will of God, a worthy infliction of penalties in proportion to the doings of every one.

"It becomes you, therefore, whilst you are here, that is, whilst you are in the present life, to ascertain the will of God, while there is opportunity also of doing it. For if any one, before he amends his doings, wishes to investigate concerning things which he cannot discover, such investigation will be foolish and ineffectual.

"For the time is short, and the judgement of God shall be occupied with deeds, not questions. Therefore before all things let us inquire into this, what or in what manner we must act that we may merit to obtain eternal life."

21 Righteousness the Way to the Kingdom. "For if we occupy the short time of this life with vain and useless questions, we shall without doubt go into the presence of God empty and void of good works, when, as I have said, our works shall be brought into judgement. For everything has its own time and place. This is the place, this the time of works; the world to come, that of recompenses.

"That we may not therefore be entangled, by changing the order of places and times, let us inquire, in the first place, what is the righteousness of God; so that, like persons going to set out on a journey, we may be filled with good works as with abundant provision, so that we may be able to come to the kingdom of God, as to a very great city. For to those who think aright, God is manifest even by the operations of the world which He hat made, using the evidence of His creation; and therefore, since there ought to be no doubt about God, we have now to inquire only about His righteousness and His kingdom.

"But if our mind suggest to us to make any inquiry concerning secret and hidden things before we inquire into the works of righteousness, we ought to render to ourselves a reason, because if acting well we shall merit to obtain salvation: then, going to God chaste and clean, we shall be filled with the Holy Spirit, and shall know all things that are secret and hidden, without any cavilling of questions; whereas now, even if any one should spend the whole of his life in inquiring into these things, he not only shall not be able to find them, but shall involve himself in greater errors, because he did not first enter through the way of righteousness, and strive to reach the haven of life."

22 Righteousness; What It is. "And therefore I advise that His righteousness be first inquired into, that, pursuing our journey through it, and placed in the way of truth, we may be able to find the true Prophet, running not with swiftness of foot, but with goodness of works, and that, enjoying His guidance, we may be under no danger of mistaking the way. For if under His guidance we shall merit to enter that city to which we desire to come, all things concerning which we now inquire we shall see with our eyes, being made, as it were, heirs of all things.

"Understand, therefore, that the way is this course of our life; the travellers are those who do good works; the gate is the true Prophet, of whom we speak; the city is the kingdom in which dwells the Almighty Father, whom only those can see who are of pure heart.

"Let us not then think the labour of this journey hard, because at the end of it there shall be rest. For the true Prophet Himself also from the beginning of the world, through the course of time, hastens to rest. For He is present with us at all times; and if at any time it is necessary, He appears and corrects us, that He may bring to eternal life those who obey Him.

"Therefore this is my judgement, as also it is the pleasure of the true Prophet, that inquiry should first be made concerning righteousness, by those especially who profess that they know God. If therefore any one has anything to propose which he thinks better, let him speak; and when he has spoken, let him hear, hut with patience and quietness: for in order to this at the first, by way of salutation, I prayed for peace to you all."

23 Simon Refuses Peace. To this Simon answered: "We have no need of your peace; for if there be peace and concord, we shall not be able to make any advance towards the discovery of truth. For robbers and debauchees have peace among themselves, and every wickedness agrees with itself; and if we have met with this view, that for the sake of peace we should give assent to all that is said, we shall confer no benefit upon the hearers; but, on the contrary, we shall impose upon them, and shall depart friends.

"Wherefore, do not invoke peace, but rather battle, which is the mother of peace; and if you can, exterminate errors. And do not seek for friendship obtained by unfair admissions; for this I would have you know, above all, that when two fight with each other, then there will be peace when one has been defeated and has fallen. And therefore fight as best you can, and do not expect peace without war, which is impossible; or if it can be attained, show us how."

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24 Peter's Explanation. To this Peter answered: "Hear with all attention, O men, what we say. Let us suppose that this world is a great plain, and that from two states, whose kings are at variance with each other, two generals were sent to fight: and suppose the general of the good king gave this counsel, that both armies should without bloodshed submit to the authority of the better king, whereby all should be safe without danger; but that the opposite general should say, No, but we must fight; that not he who is worthy, but who is stronger, may reign, with those who shall escape; which, I ask you, would you rather choose?

"I doubt not but that you would give your hands to the better king, with the safety of all. And I do not now wish, as Simon says that I do, that assent should be given, for the sake of peace, to those things that are spoken amiss but that truth be sought for with quietness and order."

25 Principles on Which the Discussion Should Be Conducted. "For some, in the contest of disputations, when they perceive that their error is confuted, immediately begin, for the sake of making good their retreat, to create a disturbance, and to stir up strifes, that it may not be manifest to all that they are defeated; and therefore I frequently entreat that the investigation of the matter in dispute may be conducted with all patience and quietness, so that if perchance anything seem to be not rightly spoken, it may be allowed to go back over it, and explain it more distinctly. For sometimes a thing may be spoken in one way and heard in another, while it is either advanced too obscurely, or not attended to with sufficient care; and on this account I desire that our conversation should be conducted patiently, so that neither should the one snatch it away from the other, nor should the unseasonable speech of one contradicting interrupt the speech of the other; and that we should not cherish the desire of finding fault, but that we should be allowed, as I have said, to go over again what has not been clearly enough spoken, that by fairest examination the knowledge of the truth may become clearer.

"For we ought to know, that if any one is conquered by the truth, it is not he that is conquered, but the ignorance which is in him, which is the worst of all demons; so that he who can drive it out receives the palm of salvation. For it is our purpose to benefit the hearers, not that we may conquer badly, but that we may be well conquered for the acknowledgment of the truth.

"For if our speech be actuated by the desire of seeking the truth, even although we shall speak anything imperfectly through human frailty, God in His unspeakable goodness will fill up secretly in the understandings of the hearers those things that are lacking. For He is righteous; and according to the purpose of every one, He enables some to find easily what they seek, while to others He renders even that obscure which is before their eyes.

"Since, then, the way of God is the way of peace, let us with peace seek the things which are God's. If any one has anything to advance in answer to this, let him do so; but if there is no one who wishes to answer, I shall begin to speak, and I myself shall bring forward what another may object to me, and shall refute it."

26 Simon's Interruption. When therefore Peter had begun to continue his discourse, Simon, interrupting his speech, said: "Why do you hasten to speak whatever you please? I understand your tricks. You wish to bring forward those matters whose explanation you have well studied, that you may appear to the ignorant crowd to be speaking well; but I shall not allow you this subterfuge. Now therefore, since you promise, as a brave man, to answer to all that any one chooses to bring forward, be pleased to answer me in the first place."

Then Peter said: "I am ready, only provided that our discussion may be with peace."

Then Simon said: "Do not you see, O simpleton, that in pleading for peace you act in opposition to your Master, and that what you propose is not suitable to him who promises that he will overthrow ignorance? Or, if you are right in asking peace from the audience, then your Master was wrong in saying, 'I have not come to send peace on earth, but a sword.'20 For either you say well, and he not well; or else, if your Master said well, then you not at all well: for you do not understand that your statement is contrary to his, whose disciple you profess yourself to be."

27 Questions and Answers. Then Peter: "Neither He who sent me did amiss in sending a sword upon the earth, nor do I act contrary to Him in asking peace of the hearers. But you both unskilfully and rashly find fault with what you do not understand: for you have heard that the Master came not to send peace on earth; but that He also said, 'Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the very sons of God,' you have not heard. Wherefore my sentiments are not different from those of the Master when I recommend peace, to the keepers of which He assigned blessedness."

Then Simon said: "In your desire to answer for your Master, O Peter, you have brought a much more serious charge against him, if he himself came not to make peace, yet enjoined upon others to keep it. Where, then, is the consistency of that other saying of his, 'it is enough for the disciple that he be as his master?'"

28 Consistency of Christ's Teaching. To this Peter answered: "Our Master, who was the true Prophet, and ever mindful of Himself, neither contradicted Himself, nor enjoined upon us anything different from what Himself practised. For whereas He said, 'I am not come to send peace on earth, but a sword; and henceforth you shall see father separated from son, son from father, husband from wife and wife from husband, mother from daughter and daughter from mother, brother from brother, father-in-law from daughter-in-law friend from friend,' all these contain the doctrine of peace; and; will tell you how.

"At the beginning of His preaching, as wishing to invite and lead all to salvation, and induce them to bear patiently labours and trials, He blessed the poor, and promised that they should obtain the kingdom of heaven for their endurance of poverty, in order that under the influence of such a hope they might bear with equanimity the weight of poverty, despising covetousness; for covetousness is one, and the greatest, of most pernicious sins.

"But He promised also that the hungry and the thirsty should be satisfied with the eternal blessings of righteousness, in order that they might bear poverty patiently, and not be led by it to undertake any unrighteous work. In like manner, also, He said that the pure in heart are blessed, and that thereby they should see God, in order that every one desiring so great a good might keep himself from evil and polluted thoughts."

29 Peace and Strife. "Thus, therefore, our Master, inviting His disciples to patience, impressed upon them that the blessing of peace was also to be preserved with the labour of patience. But, on the other hand, He mourned over those who lived in riches and luxury, who bestowed nothing upon the poor; proving that they must render an account, because they did not pity their neighbours, even when they were in poverty, whom they ought to love as themselves.

"And by such sayings as these He brought some indeed to obey Him, but others He rendered hostile. The believers therefore, and the obedient, He charges to have peace among themselves, and says to them, 'Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the very sons of God.'

"But to those who not only did not believe, but set themselves in opposition to His doctrine, He proclaims the war of the word and of confutation, and says that 'henceforth ye shall see son separated from father, and husband from wife, and daughter from mother, and brother from brother, and daughter-in-law from mother-in-law, and a man's foes shall be they of his own house.'

"For in every house, when there begins to be a difference betwixt believer and unbeliever, there is necessarily a contest: the unbelievers, on the one hand, fighting against the faith; and the believers on the other, confuting the old error and the vices of sins in them."

30 Peace to the Sons of Peace. "In like manner, also, during the last period of His teaching, He wages war against the scribes and Pharisees, charging them with evil deeds and unsound doctrine, and with hiding the key of knowledge which they had handed down to them from Moses, by which the gate of the heavenly kingdom might be opened.

"But when our Master sent us forth to preach, He commanded as, that into whatsoever city or house we should enter, we should say, 'Peace be to this house.' 'And if,' said He, 'a son of peace be there, your peace shall come upon him; but if there be not, your peace shall return to you.' Also that, going out from that house or city, we should shake off upon them the very dust which adhered to our feet. 'But it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgement than for that city or house.' This indeed He commanded to be done at length, if first the word of truth be preached in the city or house, whereby they who receive the faith of the truth may become sons of peace and sons of God; and those who will not receive it may be convicted as enemies of peace and of God."

31 Peace and War. "Thus, therefore, we, observing the commands of our Master, first offer peace to our hearers, that the way of salvation may be known without any tumult. But if any one do not receive the words of peace, nor acquiesce in the truth, we know how to direct against him the war of the word, and to rebuke him sharply by confuting his ignorance and charging home upon him his sins.

"Therefore of necessity we offer peace, that if any one is a son of peace, our peace may come upon him; but from him who makes himself an enemy of peace, our peace shall return to ourselves. We do not therefore, as you say, propose peace by agreement with the wicked, for indeed we should straightway have given you the right hand; but only in order that, through our discussing quietly and patiently, it might be more easily ascertained by the hearers which is the true speech.

"But if you differ and disagree with yourself, how shall you stand? He must of necessity fall who is divided in himself; 'for every kingdom divided against itself shall not stand.' If you have aught to say to this, say on."

32 Simon's Challenge. Then said Simon: "I am astonished at your folly. For you so propound the words of your Master, as if it were held to be certain concerning him that he is a prophet; while I can very easily prove that he often contradicted himself. In short, I shall refute you from those words which you have yourself brought forward.

"For you say, that he said that every kingdom or every city divided in itself shall not stand; and elsewhere you say, that he said that he would send a sword, that he might separate those who are in one house, so that son shall be divided from father, daughter from mother, brother from brother; so that if there be five in one house, three shall be divided against two, and two against three.28 if, then, everything that is divided falls, he who makes divisions furnishes causes of falling; and if he is such, assuredly he is wicked. Answer this if you can."

33 Authority. Then Peter: "Do not rashly take exception, O Simon, against the things which you do not understand. In the first place, I shall answer your assertion, that I set forth the words of my Master, and from them resolve matters about which there is still doubt.

"Our Lord, when He sent us apostles to preach, enjoined us to teach all nations29 the things which were committed to us. We cannot therefore speak those things as they were spoken by Himself. For our commission is not to speak, but to teach those things, and from them to show how every one of them rests upon truth.

"Nor, again, are we permitted to speak anything of our own. For we are sent; and of necessity he who is sent delivers the message as he has been ordered, and sets forth the will of the sender. For if I should speak anything different from what He who sent me enjoined me, I should be a false apostle, not saying what I am commanded to say, but what seems good to myself. Whoever does this, evidently wishes to show himself to be better than he is by whom he is sent, and without doubt is a traitor.

"If, on the contrary, he keeps by the things that he is commanded, and brings forward most clear assertions of them, it will appear that he is accomplishing the work of an apostle; and it is by striving to fulfil this that I displease you. Blame me not, therefore, because I bring forward the words of Him who sent me. But if there is aught in them that is not fairly spoken, you have liberty to confute me; but this can in no wise be done, for He is a prophet, and cannot be contrary to Himself. But if you do not think that He is a prophet, let this be first inquired into."

34 Order of Proof. Then said Simon: "I have no need to learn this from you, but how these things agree with one another. For if he shall be shown to be inconsistent, he shall be proved at the same time not to be a prophet."

Then says Peter: "But if I first show Him to be a prophet, it will follow that what seems to be inconsistency is not such. For no one can be proved to be a prophet merely by consistency, because it is possible for many to attain this; but if consistency does not make a prophet, much more inconsistency does not. Because, therefore, there are many things which to some seem inconsistent, which yet have consistency in them on a more profound investigation; as also other things which seem to have consistency, but which, being more carefully discussed, are found to be inconsistent; for this reason I do not think there is any better way to judge of these things than to ascertain in the first instance whether He be a prophet who has spoken those things which appear to be inconsistent.

"For it is evident that, if He be found a prophet, those things which seem to be contradictory must have consistency, but are misunderstood. Concerning these things, therefore, proofs will be properly demanded. For we apostles are sent to expound the sayings and affirm the judgements of Him who has sent us; but we are not commissioned to say anything of our own, but to unfold the truth, as I have said, of His words."

35 How Error Cannot Stand with Truth. Then Simon said: "Instruct us, therefore, how it can be consistent that he who causes divisions, which divisions cause those who are divided to fall, can either seem to be good, or to have come for the salvation of men."

Then Peter said: "I will tell you how our Master said that every kingdom and every house divided against itself cannot stand; and whereas He Himself did this, see how it makes for salvation. By the word of truth He certainly divides the kingdom of the world, which is founded in error, and every home in it, that error may fall, and truth may reign. But if it happen to any house, that error, being introduced by any one, divides the truth, then, where error has gained a footing, it is certain that truth cannot stand."

Then Simon said: "But it is uncertain whether your master divides error or truth."

Then Peter: "That belongs to another question; but if you are agreed that everything which is divided falls, it remains that I show, if only you will hear in peace, that our Jesus has divided and dispelled error by teaching truth."

36 Altercation. Then said Simon: "Do not repeat again and again your talk of peace, but expound briefly what it is that you think or believe."

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Peter answered: "Why are you afraid of hearing frequently of peace? for do you not know that peace is the perfection of law? For wars and disputes spring from sins; and where there is no sin, there is peace of soul; but where there is peace, truth is found in disputations, righteousness in works."

Then Simon: "You seem to me not to be able to profess what you think." Then Peter: "I shall speak, but according to my own judgement, not under constraint of your tricks. For I desire that what is salutary and profitable be brought to the knowledge of all and therefore I shall not delay to state it as briefly as possible. There is one God; and He is the creator of the world, a righteous judge, rendering to every one at some time or other according to his deeds. But now for the assertion of these things I know that countless thousands of words can be called forth."

37 Simon's Subtlety. Then Simon said: "I admire, indeed, the quickness of your wit, yet I do not embrace the error of your faith. For you have wisely foreseen that you may be contradicted; and you have even politely confessed, that for the assertion of these things countless thousands of words will be called forth, for no one agrees with the profession of your faith. In short, as to there being one God, and the world being His work, who can receive this doctrine? Neither, I think, any one of the Pagans, even if he be an unlearned man, and certainly no one of the philosophers; but not even the rudest and most wretched of the Jews, nor I myself, who am well acquainted with their law."

Then Peter said: "Put aside the opinions of those who are not here, and tell us face to face what is your own."

Then Simon said: "I can state what I really think; but this consideration makes me reluctant to do so, that if I say what is neither acceptable to you, nor seems right to this unskilled rabble, you indeed, as confounded, will straightway shut your ears, that they may not he polluted with blasphemy, forsooth, and will take to flight because you cannot find an answer; while the unreasoning populace will assent to you, and embrace you as one teaching those things which are commonly received among them; and will curse me, as professing things new and unheard of, and instilling my error into the minds of others."

38 Simon's Creed. Then Peter: "Are not you making use of long preambles, as you accused us of doing, because you have no truth to bring forward? For if you have, begin without circumlocution, if you have so much confidence. And if, indeed, what you say be displeasing to any one of the hearers, he will withdraw; and those who remain shall be compelled by your assertion to approve what is true. Begin, therefore, to expound what seemeth to you to be right."

Then Simon said: "I say that there are many gods; but that there is one incomprehensible and unknown to all, and that He is the God of all these gods."

Then Peter answered: "This God whom you assert to he incomprehensible and unknown to all, can you prove His existence from the Scriptures of the Jews, which are held to be of authority, or from some others of which we are all ignorant, or from the Greek authors, or from your own writings? Certainly you are at liberty to speak from whatever writings you please, yet so that you first show that they are prophetic; for so their authority will be held without question."

39 Argument for Polytheism. Then Simon said: "I shall make use of assertions from the law of the Jews only. For it is manifest to all who take interest in religion, that this law is of universal authority, yet that every one receives the understanding of this law according to his own judgement.

"For it has so been written by Him who created the world, that the faith of things is made to depend upon it. Whence, whether any one wishes to bring forward truth, or any one to bring forward falsehood, no assertion will be received without this law. Inasmuch, therefore, as my knowledge is most fully in accordance with the law, I rightly declared that there are many gods, of whom one is more eminent than the rest, and incomprehensible, even He who is God of gods.

"But that there are many gods, the law itself informs me. For, in the first place, it says this in the passage where one in the figure of a serpent speaks to Eve, the first woman, 'On the day ye eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, ye shall be as gods, ' that is, as those who made man; and after they have tasted of the tree, God Himself testifies, saying to the rest of the gods, 'Behold, Adam is become as one of us; ' thus, therefore, it is manifest that there were many gods engaged in the making of man.

"Also, whereas at the first God said to the other gods, 'Let us make man after our image and likeness; ' also His saying, 'Let us drive him out; ' and again, 'Come, let us go down, and confound their language; ' all these things indicate that there are many gods. But this also is written, 'Thou shalt not curse the gods, nor curse the chief of thy people; ' and again this writing, 'God alone led them, and there was no strange god with them,' shows that there are many gods.

"There are also many other testimonies which might be adduced from the law, not only obscure, but plain, by which it is taught that there are many gods. One of these was chosen by lot, that he might be the god of the Jews. But it is not of him that I speak, but of that God who is also his God, whom even the Jews themselves did not know. For he is not their God, but the God of those who know him."

40 Peter's Answer. When Peter had heard this, he answered: "Fear nothing, Simon: for, behold, we have neither shut our ears, nor fled; but we answer with words of truth to those things which you have spoken falsely, asserting this first, that there is one God, even the God of the Jews, who is the only God, the Creator of heaven and earth, who is also the God of all those whom you call gods. If, then, I shall show you that none is superior to Him, but that He Himself is above all, you will confess that your error is above all."40

Then Simon said: "Why, indeed, though I should be unwilling to confess it, would not the hearers who stand by charge me with unwillingness to profess the things that are true?"

41 The Answer, Continued. "Listen, then," says Peter, "that you may know, first of all, that even if there are many gods, as you say, they are subject to the God of the Jews, to whom no one is equal, than whom no one can be greater; for it is written that the prophet Moses thus spoke to the Jews: 'The Lord your God is the God of gods, and the Lord of lords, the great God.' Thus, although there are many that are called gods, yet He who is the God of the Jews is alone called the God of gods.

"For not every one that is called God is necessarily God. Indeed, even Moses is called a god to Pharaoh, and it is certain that he was a man; and judges were called gods, and it is evident that they were mortal. The idols also of the Gentiles are called gods, and we all know that they are not; but this has been inflicted as a punishment on the wicked, that because they would not acknowledge the true God, they should regard as God whatever form or image should occur to them. Because they refused to receive the knowledge of the One who, as I said, is God of all, therefore it is permitted to them to have as gods those who can do nothing for their worshippers. For what can either dead images or living creatures confer upon men, since the power of all things is with One?"

42 Guardian Angels. "Therefore the name God is applied in three ways:43 either because he to whom it is given is truly God, or because he is the servant of him who is truly; and for the honour of the sender, that his authority may be full, he that is sent is called by the name of him who sends, as is often done in respect of angels: for when they appear to a man, if he is a wise and intelligent man, he asks the name of him who appears to him, that he may acknowledge at once the honour of the sent, and the authority of the sender.

"For every nation has an angel, to whom God has committed the government of that nation; and when one of these appears, although he be thought and called God by those over whom he presides, yet, being asked, he does not give such testimony to himself. For the Most High God, who alone holds the power of all things, has divided all the nations of the earth into seventy-two parts, and over these He hath appointed angels as princes. But to the one among the archangels who is greatest, was committed the government of those who, before all others, received the worship and knowledge of the Most High God.

"But holy men also, as we have said, are made gods to the wicked, as having received the power of life and death over them, as we mentioned above with respect to Moses and the judges. Wherefore it is also written concerning them, 'Thou shalt not curse the gods, and thou shalt not curse the prince of thy people.' Thus the princes of the several nations are called gods.

"But Christ is God of princes, who is Judge of all. Therefore neither angels, nor men, nor any creature, can be truly gods, forasmuch as they are placed under authority, being created and changeable: angels, for they were not, and are; men, for they are mortal; and every creature, for it is capable of dissolution, if only He dissolve it who made it. And therefore He alone is the true God, who not only Himself lives, but also bestows life upon others, which He can also take away when it pleaseth Him."

43 No God But Jehovah. "Wherefore the Scripture exclaims in name of the God of the Jews, saying, 'Behold, behold, seeing that I am God, and there is none else besides me, I will kill, and I will make alive; I will smite, and I will heal; and there is none who can deliver out of my hands.'

"See therefore how, by some ineffable virtue, the Scripture, opposing the future errors of those who should affirm that either in heaven or on earth there is any other god besides Him who is the God of the Jews, decides thus: 'The Lord your God is one God, in heaven above, and in the earth beneath; and besides Him there is none else.'

"How, then, hast thou dared to say that there is any other God besides Him who is the God of the Jews? And again the Scripture says, 'Behold, to the Lord thy God belong the heaven, and the heaven of heavens, the earth, and all things that are in them: nevertheless I have chosen your fathers, that I might love them, and you after them.' Thus that judgement is supported by the Scripture on every side, that He who created the world is the true and only God."

44 The Serpent, the Author of Polytheism. "But even if there be others, as we have said, who are called gods, they are under the power of the God of the Jews; for thus saith the Scripture to the Jews, 'The Lord our God, He is God of gods, and Lord of lords.' Him alone the Scripture also commands to be worshipped, saying, 'Thou shall worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shall thou serve; ' and, 'Hear, O Israel: the Lord thy God is one God.'

"Yea, also the saints, filled with the Spirit of God, and bedewed with the drops of His mercy, cried out, saying, 'Who is like unto Thee among the gods? O Lord, who is like unto Thee? ' And again, 'Who is God, but the Lord; and who is God, but our Lord?'

"Therefore Moses, when he saw that the people were advancing, by degrees initiated them in the understanding of the monarchy and the faith of one God, as he says in the following words: 'Thou shalt not make mention of the names of other gods; '53 doubtless remembering with what penalty the serpent was visited, which had first named gods.54 For it is condemned to feed upon dust, and is judged worthy of such food, for this cause. that it first of all introduced the name of gods into the world. But if you also wish to introduce many gods, see that you partake not the serpent's doom."

45 Polytheism Inexcusable. "For be sure of this, that you shall not have us participators in this attempt; nor will we suffer ourselves to be deceived by you. For it will not serve us for an excuse in the judgement, if we say that you deceived us; because neither could it excuse the first woman, that she had unhappily believed the serpent; but she was condemned to death, because she believed badly.

"For this cause therefore, Moses, also commending the faith of one God to the people, says, 'Take heed to thyself, that thou be not seduced from the Lord thy God.'55 Observe that he makes use of the same word which the first woman also made use of in excusing herself, saying that she was seduced; but it profited her nothing.

"But over and above all this, even if some true prophet should arise, who should perform signs and miracles, but should wish to persuade us to worship other gods besides the God of the Jews, we should never be able to believe him. For so the divine law has taught us, handing down a secret injunction more purely by means of tradition, for thus it saith: 'If there arise among you a prophet, or one dreaming a dream, and give you signs or wonders, and these signs or wonders come to pass, and he say to you, Let us go and worship strange gods, whom ye know not; ye shall not hear the words of that prophet, nor the dream of that dreamer, because proving he hath proved you, that he may see if ye love the 'Lord your God.'"

46 Christ Acknowledged the God of the Jews.

"Wherefore also our Lord, who wrought signs and wonders, preached the God of the Jews; and therefore we are right in believing what He preached. But as for you, even if you were really a prophet, and performed signs and wonders, as you promise to do, if you were to announce other gods besides Him who is the true God, it would be manifest that you were raised up as a trial to the people of God; and therefore you can by no means be believed.

"For He alone is the true God, who is the God of the Jews; and for this reason our Lord Jesus Christ did not teach them that they must inquire after God, for Him they knew well already, but that they must seek His kingdom and righteousness, which the scribes and Pharisees, having received the key of knowledge, had not shut in, but shut out.

"For if they had been ignorant of the true God, surely He would never have left the knowledge of this thing, which was the chief of all, and blamed them for small and little things, as for enlarging their fringes, and claiming the uppermost rooms in feasts, and praying standing in the highways, and such like things; which assuredly, in comparison of this great charge, ignorance of God, seem to be small and insignificant matters."

47 Simon's Cavil. To this Simon replied: "From the words of your master I shall refute you, because even he introduces to all men a certain God who was known. For although both Adam knew the God who was his creator, and the maker of the world; and Enoch knew him, inasmuch as he was translated by him; and Noah, since he was ordered by him to construct the ark; and although Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and Moses, and all, even every people and all nations, know the maker of the world, and confess him to be a God, yet your Jesus, who appeared long after the patriarchs, says: 'No one knows the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any one the Father, but the Son, and he to whom the Son has been pleased to reveal Him.'

"Thus, therefore, even your Jesus confesses that there is another God, incomprehensible and unknown to all."

48 Peter's Answer. Then Peter says: "You do not perceive that you are making statements in opposition to yourself. For if our Jesus also knows Him whom ye call the unknown God, then He is not known by you alone. Yea, if our Jesus knows Him, then Moses also, who prophesied that Jesus should come, assuredly could not himself be ignorant of Him. For he was a prophet; and he who prophesied of the Son doubtless knew the Father.

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"For if it is in the option of the Son to reveal the Father to whom He will, then the Son, who has been with the Father from the beginning, and through all generations, as He revealed the Father to Moses, so also to the other prophets; but if this be so, it is evident that the Father has not been unknown to any of them. But how could the Father be revealed to you, who do not believe in the Son, since the Father is known to none except him to whom the Son is pleased to reveal Him? But the Son reveals the Father to those who honour the Son as they honour the Father."

49 The Supreme Light. Then Simon said: "Remember that you said that God has a son, which is doing Him wrong; for how can He have a son, unless He is subject to passions, like men or animals? But on these points there is not time now to show your profound folly, for I hasten to make a statement concerning the immensity of the supreme light; and so now listen. My opinion is, that there is a certain power of immense and ineffable light, whose greatness may be held to be incomprehensible, of which power even the maker of the world is ignorant, and Moses the lawgiver, and Jesus your master."

50 Simon's Presumption. Then Peter:63 "Does it not seem to you to be madness, that any one should take upon himself to assert that there is another God than the God of all; and should say that he supposes there is a certain power, and should presume to affirm this to others, before he himself is sure of what he says? Is any one so rash as to believe your words, of which he sees that you are yourself doubtful, and to admit that there is a certain power unknown to God the Creator, and to Moses, and the prophets, and the law, and even to Jesus our Master, which power is so good, that it will not make itself known to any but to one only, and that one such an one as thou!

"Then, further, if that is a new power, why does it not confer upon us some new sense, in addition to those five which we possess, that by that new sense, bestowed upon us by it, we may be able to receive and understand itself which is new? Or if it cannot bestow such a sense upon us, how has it bestowed it upon you? Or if it has revealed itself to you, why not also to us?

"But if you of yourself understand things which not even the prophets were able to perceive or understand, come, tell us what each one of us is thinking now; for if there is such a spirit in you that you know those things which are above the heavens, which are unknown to all, and incomprehensible by all, much more easily do you know the thoughts of men upon the earth. But if you cannot know the thoughts of us who are standing here, how can you say that you know those things which, you assert, are known to none?"

51 The Sixth Sense. "But believe me, that you could never know what light is unless you had received both vision and understanding from light itself; so also in other things. Hence, having received understanding, you are framing in imagination something greater and more sublime, as if dreaming, but deriving all your hints from those five senses, to whose Giver you are unthankful. But be sure of this, that until you find some new sense which is beyond those five which we all enjoy, you cannot assert the existence of a new God."

Then Simon answered: "Since all things that exist are in accordance with those five senses, that power which is more excellent than all cannot add anything new."

Then Peter said: "It is false; for there is also a sixth sense, namely that of foreknowledge: for those five senses are capable of knowledge, but the sixth is that of foreknowledge: and this the prophets possessed. How, then, can you know a God who is unknown to all, who do not know the prophetic sense, which is that of prescience?"

Then Simon began to say: "This power of which I speak, incomprehensible and more excellent than all, ay, even than that God who made the world, neither any of the angels has known, nor of the demons, nor of the Jews, nay, nor any creature which subsists by means of God the creator. How, then, could that creator's law teach me that which the creator himself did not know, since neither did the law itself know it, that it might teach it?"

52 Reductio ad Absurdum. Then Peter said: "I wonder how you have been able to learn more from the law than the law was able to know or to teach; and how you say that you adduce proofs from the law of those things which you are pleased to assert, when you declare that neither the law, nor He who gave the law-that is, the Creator of the world-knows those things of which you speak! But this also I wonder at, how you, who alone know these things, should be standing here now with us all, circumscribed by the limits of this small court."

Then Simon, seeing Peter and all the people laughing, said: "Do you laugh, Peter, while so great and lofty matters are under discussion?"

Then said Peter: "Be not enraged, Simon, for we are doing no more than keeping our promise: for we are neither shutting our ears, as you said, nor did we take to flight as soon as we heard you propound your unutterable things; but we have not even stirred from the place. For indeed you do not even propound things that have any resemblance to truth, which might to a certain extent frighten us. Yet, at all events, disclose to us the meaning of this saying, how from the law you have learned of a God whom the law itself does not know, and of whom He who gave the law is ignorant."

Then Simon said: "If you have done laughing, I shall prove it by clear assertions." Then Peter said: "Assuredly I shall give over, that I may learn from you how you have learned from the law what neither the law nor the God of the law Himself knows."

53 Simon's Blasphemy. Then says Simon: "Listen: it is manifest to all, and ascertained in a manner of which no account can be given, that there is one God, who is better than all, from whom all that is took its beginning; whence also of necessity, all things that are after him are subject to him, as the chief and most excellent of all.

"When, therefore, I had ascertained that the God who created the world, according to what the law teaches, is in many respects weak, whereas weakness is utterly incompatible with a perfect God, and I saw that he is not perfect, I necessarily concluded that there is another God who is perfect.

"For this God, as I have said, according to what the writing of the law teaches, is shown to be weak in many things. In the first place, because the man whom he formed was not able to remain such as be had intended him to be; and because he cannot be good who gave a law to the first man, that he should eat of all the trees of paradise, but that he should not touch the tree of knowledge; and if he should eat of it, he should die. For why should he forbid him to eat, and to know what is good and what evil, that, knowing, he might shun the evil and choose the good? But this he did not permit; and because he did eat in violation of the commandment, and discovered what is good, and learned for the sake of honour to cover his nakedness (for he perceived it to be unseemly to stand naked before his Creator), he condemns to death him who had learned to do honour to God, and curses the serpent who had shown him these things.

"But truly, if man was to be injured by this means, why did he place the cause of injury in paradise at all? But if that which he placed in paradise was good, it is not the part of one that is good to restrain another from good."

54 How Simon Learned from the Law What the Law Does Not Teach. "Thus then, since he who made man and the world is, according to what the law relates, imperfect, we are given to understand, without doubt, that there is another who is perfect. For it is of necessity that there be one most excellent of all, on whose account also every creature keeps its rank.

"Whence also I, knowing that it is every way necessary that there be some one more benignant and more powerful than that imperfect God who gave the law, understanding what is perfect from comparison of the imperfect, understood even from the Scripture that God who is not mentioned there. And in this way I was able, O Peter, to learn from the law what the law did not know.

"But even if the law had not given indications from which it might be gathered that the God who made the world is imperfect, it was still possible for me to infer from those evils which are done in this world, and are not corrected, either that its creator is powerless, if he cannot correct what is done amiss; or else, if he does not wish to remove the evils, that he is himself evil; but if he neither can nor will, that he is neither powerful nor good. And from this it cannot but be concluded that there is another God more excellent and more powerful than all. If you have aught to say to this, say on."

55 Simon's Objections Turned Against Himself. Peter answered: "O Simon, they are wont to conceive such absurdities against God who do not read the law with the instruction of masters, but account themselves teachers, and think that they can understand the law, though he has not explained it to them who has learned of the Master. Nevertheless now, that we also may seem to follow the book of the law according to your apprehension of it; inasmuch as you say that the creator of the world is shown to be both impotent and evil, how is it that you do not see that that power of yours, which you say is superior to all, fails and lies under the very same charges?

"For the very same thing may be said of it, that it is either powerless, since it does not correct those things which here are done amiss; or if it can and will not, it is evil; or if it neither can nor will, then it is both impotent and imperfect. Whence that new power of yours is not only found liable to a similar charge, but even to a worse one, if, in addition to all these things, it is believed to be, when it is not. For He who created the world, His existence is manifest by His very operation in creating the world, as you yourself also confess. But this power which you say that you alone know, affords no indication of itself, by which we might perceive, at least, that it is, and subsists."

56 No God Above the Creator. "What kind of conduct, then, would it be that we should forsake God, in whose world we live and enjoy all things necessary for life, and follow I know not whom, from whom we not only obtain no good, but cannot even know that he exists? Nor truly does he exist.

"For whether you call him light, and brighter than that light which we see, you borrow that very name from the Creator of the world; or whether you say that he is a substance above all, you derive from Him the idea with enlargement of speech. Whether you make mention of mind, or goodness, or life, or whatever else, you borrow the words from Him. Since, then, you have nothing new concerning that power you speak of, not only as regards understanding, but even in respect of naming him, how do you introduce a new God, for whom you cannot even find a new name? For not only is the Creator of the world called a Power, but even the ministers of His glory, and all the heavenly host.

"Do you not then think it better that we should follow our Creator God, as a Father who trains us and endows us as He knows how? But if, as you say, there be some God more benignant than all, it is certain that he will not be angry with us; or if he be angry, he is evil. For if our God is angry and punishes, He is not evil, but righteous, for He corrects and amends His own sons. But he who has no concern with us, if he shall punish us, how should he be good? Inflicting punishments upon us because we have not been drawn by vain imaginations to forsake our own Father and follow him, how can you assert that he is so good, when he cannot be regarded as even just?"

57 Simon's Inconsistency. Then Simon: "Do you so far err, Peter, as not to know that our souls were made by that good God, the most excellent of all, but they have been brought down as captives into this world?"

To this Peter answered: "Then he is not unknown by all, as you said a little while ago; and yet how did the good God permit his souls to be taken captive, if he be a power over all?"

Then Simon said: "He sent God the creator to make the world; and he, when he had made it, gave out that himself was God."

Then Peter said: "Then he is not, as you said, unknown to Him who made the world; nor are souls ignorant of him, if indeed they were stolen away from him. To whom, then, can he be unknown, if both the Creator of the world know him, as having been sent by him; and all souls I know him, as baring been violently withdrawn from him?

"Then, further, I wish you would tell us whether he who sent the creator of the world did not know that he would not keep faith? For if he did not know it, then he was not prescient; while if he foreknew it, and suffered it, he is himself guilty of this deed, since he did not prevent it; but if he could not, then he is not omnipotent. But if, knowing it as good, he did not prohibit it, he is found to be better, who presumed to do that which he who sent him did not know to be good."

58 Simon's God Unjust. Then Simon said: "He receives those who will come to him, and does them good."

Peter answered: "But there is nothing new in this; for He whom you acknowledge to be the Creator of the world also does so."

Then Simon: "But the good God bestows salvation if he is only acknowledged; but the creator of the world demands also that the law be fulfilled."

Then said Peter: "He saves adulterers and men-slayers, if they know him; but good, and sober, and merciful persons, if they do not know him, in consequence of their having no information concerning him, he does not save! Great and good truly is he whom you proclaim, who is not so much the saviour of the evil, as he is one who shows no mercy to the good."

Then Simon: "It is truly very difficult for man to know him, as long as he is in the flesh; for blacker than all darkness, and heavier than all clay, is this body with which the soul is surrounded."

Then says Peter: "That good God of yours demands things which are difficult; but He who is truly God seeks easier things. Let him then, since he is so good, leave us with our Father and Creator; and when once we depart from the body, and leave that darkness that you speak of, we shall more easily know Him; and then the soul shall better understand that God is its Creator, and shall remain with Him, and shall no more be harassed with diverse imaginations; nor shall wish to betake itself to another power, which is known to none but Simon only, and which is of such goodness that no one can come to it, unless he be first guilty of impiety towards his own father!

"I know not how this power can be called either good or just, which no one can please except by acting impiously towards him by whom he was made!"

59 The Creator Our Father. Then Simon: "It is not impious for the sake of greater profit and advantage to rice to him who is of richer glory."

Then Peter: "If, as you say, it is not impious to flee to a stranger, it is at all events much more pious to remain with our own father, even if he be poor. But if you do not think it impious to leave our father, and flee to another, as being better than he; and you do not believe that our Creator will take this amiss; much more the good God will not be angry, because, when we were strangers to him, we have not fled to him, but have remained with our own Creator.

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"Yea, I think he will rather commend us the more for this, that we have kept faith with God our Creator; for he will consider that, if we had been his creatures, we should never have been seduced by the allurements of any other to forsake him. For if any one, allured by richer promises, shall leave his own father and betake himself to a stranger, it may be that he will leave him in his turn, and go to another who shall promise him greater things, and this the rather because he is not his son, since he could leave even him who by nature was his father."

Then Simon said: "But what if souls are from him, and do not know him, and he is truly their father?"

60 The Creator the Supreme God. Then Peter said: "You represent him as weak enough. For if, as you say, he is more powerful than all, it can never be believed the weaker wrenched the spoils from the stronger. Or if God the Creator was able by violence to bring down souls into this world, how can it be that, when they are separated from the body and freed from the bonds of captivity, the good God shall call them to the sufferance of punishment, on the ground that they, either through his remissness or weakness, were dragged away to this place, and were involved in the body, as in the darkness of ignorance?

"You seem to me not to know what a father and a God is: but I could tell you both whence souls are, and when and how they were made; but it is not permitted to me now to disclose these things to you, who are in such error in respect of the knowledge of God."

Then said Simon: "A time will come when you shall be sorry that you did not understand me speaking of the ineffable power."

Then said Peter: "Give us then, as I have often said, as being yourself a new God, or as having yourself come down from him, some new sense, by means of which we may know that new God of whom you speak; for those five senses, which God our Creator has given us, keep faith to their own Creator, and do not perceive that there is any other God, for so their nature necessitates them."

61 Imagination. To this Simon answered: "Apply your mind to those things which I am going to say, and cause it, walking in peaceable paths, to attain to those things which I shall demonstrate. Listen now, therefore. Did you never in thought reach forth your mind into regions or islands situated far away, and remain so fixed in them, that you could not even see the people that were before you, or know where yourself were sitting, by reason of the delightfulness of those things on which yon were gazing?"

And Peter said: "It is true, Simon, this has often occurred to me."

Then Simon said: "In this way now reach forth your sense into heaven, yea above the heaven, and behold that there must be some place beyond the world, or outside the world, in which there is neither heaven nor earth, and where no shadow of these things produces darkness; and consequently, since there are neither bodies in it, nor darkness occasioned by bodies, there must of necessity be immense light; and consider of what sort that light must be, which is never succeeded by darkness. For if the light of this sun fills this whole world, how great do you suppose that bodiless and infinite light to be? So great, doubtless, that this light of the sun would seem to be darkness and not light, in comparison."

62 Peter's Experience of Imagination. When Simon thus spoke, Peter answered:69 "Now listen patiently concerning both these matters, that is, concerning the example of stretching out the senses, and concerning the immensity of light. I know that I myself, O Simon, have sometimes in thought extended my sense, as you say, into regions and islands situated afar off, and have seen them with my mind not less than if it had been with my eyes.

"When I was at Capernaum, occupied in the taking of fishes, and sat upon a rock, holding in my hand a hook attached to a line, and fitted for deceiving the fishes, I was so absorbed that I did not feel a fish adhering to it while my mind eagerly ran through my beloved Jerusalem, to which I had frequently gone up, waking, for the sake of offerings and prayers.

"But I was accustomed also to admire this Caesarea, hearing of it from others, and to long to see it; and I seemed to myself to see it, although I had never been in it; and I thought of it what was suitable to be thought of a great city, its gates, walls, baths, streets, lanes, markets, and the like, in accordance with what I had seen in other cities; and to such an extent was I delighted with the intentness of such inspection, that, as you said, neither saw one who was present and standing by me, nor knew where myself was sitting."

Then said Simon: "Now you say well."

63 Peter's Reverie. Then Peter: "In short, when I did not perceive, through the occupation of my mind, that I had caught a very large fish which was attached to the hook, and that although it was dragging the hook-line from my hand, my brother Andrew, who was sitting by me, seeing me in a reverie and almost ready to fall, thrusting his elbow into my side as if he would awaken me from sleep, said: 'Do you not see, Peter, what a large fish you have caught? Are you out of your senses, that you are thus in a stupor of astonishment? Tell me, What is the matter with you?'

"But I was angry with him for a little, because he had withdrawn me from the delight of those things which I was contemplating; then I answered that I was not suffering from any malady, but that I was mentally gazing on the beloved Jerusalem, and at the same time on Caesarea; and that, while I was indeed with him in the body, in my mind I was wholly carried away thither. But he, I know not whence inspired, uttered a hidden and secret word of truth."

64 Andrew's Rebuke. "'Give over,' says he, 'O Peter. What is it that you are doing? For those who are beginning to be possessed with a demon, or to be disturbed in their minds, begin in this way. They are first carried away by fancies to some pleasant and delightful things, then they are poured out in vain and fond motions towards things which have no existence. Now this happens from a certain disease of mind, by reason of which they see not the things which are, but long to bring to their sight those which are not. But thus it happens also to those who are suffering phrenzy, and seem to themselves to see many images, because their soul, being torn and withdrawn from its place by excess of cold or of heat, suffers a failure of its natural service. But those also who are in distress through thirst, when they fall asleep, seem to themselves to see rivers and fountains, and to drink; but this befalls them through being distressed by the dryness of the unmoistened body. Wherefore it is certain that this occurs through some ailment either of the soul or body.'"

65 Fallacy of Imagination. "In short, that you may receive the faith of the matter; concerning Jerusalem, which I had often seen, I told my brother what places and what gatherings of people I had seemed to myself to see. But also concerning Caesarea, which I had never seen, I nevertheless contended that it was such as I had conceived it in my mind and thought.

"But when I came hither, and saw nothing at all like to those things which I had seen in phantasy, I blamed myself, and observed distinctly, that I had assigned to it gates, and walls, and buildings from others which I had seen, taking the likeness in reality from others. Nor indeed can any one imagine anything new, and of which no form has ever existed.

"For even if any one should fashion from his imagination bulls with five heads, he only forms them with five heads out of those which he has seen with one head. And you therefore, now, if truly you seem to yourself to perceive anything with your thought, and to look above the heavens, there is no doubt but that you imagine them from those things which you see, placed as you are upon the earth.

"But if you think that there is easy access for your mind above the heavens, and that you are able to conceive the things that are there, and to apprehend knowledge of that immense light, I think that for him who can comprehend these things, it were easier to throw his sense, which knows how to ascend thither, into the heart and breast of some one of us who stand by, and to tell what thoughts he is cherishing in his breast. If therefore you can declare the thoughts of the heart of any one of us, who is not pre-engaged in your favour, we shall perhaps be able to believe you, that you are able to know those things that are above the heavens, although these are much loftier."

66 Existence and Conception. To this Simon replied: "O thou who hast woven a web of many frivolities, listen now. It is impossible that anything which comes into a man's thoughts should not also subsist in truth and reality. For things that do not subsist, have no appearances; but things that have no appearances, cannot present themselves to our thoughts."

Then said Peter: "If everything that can come into our thoughts has a subsistence, then, with respect to that place of immensity which you say is outside the world, if one thinks in his heart that it is light, and another that it is darkness, how can one and the same place be both light and darkness, according to their different thoughts concerning it?"

Then said Simon: "Let pass for the present what I have said; and tell us what you suppose to be above the heavens."

67 The Law Teaches of Immensity. Then said Peter: "If you believed concerning the true fountain of light, I could instruct you what and of what sort is that which is immense, and should render, not a vain fancy, but a consistent and necessary account of the truth, and should make use, not of sophistical assertions, but testimonies of the law and nature, that you might know that the law especially contains what we ought to believe in regard to immensity.

"But if the doctrine of immensity is not unknown to the law, then assuredly, nought else can be unknown to it; and therefore it is a false supposition of yours, that there is anything of which the law is not cognisant. Much more shall nothing be unknown to Him who gave the law.

"Yet I cannot speak anything to you of immensity and of those things which are without limit, unless first you either accept our account of those heavens which are bounded by a certain limit, or else propound your own account of them. But if you cannot understand concerning those which are comprehended within fixed boundaries, much more can you neither know nor learn anything concerning those which are without limit."

68 The Visible and the Invisible Heaven. To this Simon answered: "It seems to me to be better to believe simply that God is, and that that heaven which we see is the only heaven in the whole universe."

But Peter said: "Not so; but it is proper to confess one God who truly is; but that there are heavens, which were made by Him, as also the law says, of which one is the higher, in which also is contained the visible firmament; and that that higher heaven is perpetual and eternal, with those who dwell in it; but that this visible heaven is to be dissolved and to pass away at the end of the world, in order that that heaven which is older and higher may appear after the judgement to the holy and the worthy."

To this Simon answered: "That these things are so, as you say, may appear to those who believe them; but to him who seeks for reasons of these things, it is impossible that they can be produced from the law, and especially concerning the immensity of light."

69 Faith and Reason. Then Peter: "Do not think that we say that these things are only to be received by faith, but also that they are to be asserted by reason. For indeed it is not safe to commit these things to bare faith without reason, since assuredly truth cannot be without reason. And therefore he who has received these things fortified by reason, call never lose them; whereas he who receives them without proofs, by an assent to a simple statement of them, can neither keep them safely, nor is certain if they are true; because he who easily believes, also easily yields.

"But he who has sought reason for those things which he has believed and received, as though bound by chains of reason itself, can never be torn away or separated from those things which he hath believed. And therefore, according as any one is more anxious in demanding a reason, by so much will he be the firmer in preserving his faith."

70 Adjournment. To this Simon replied: "It is a great thing which you promise, that the eternity of boundless light can be shown from the law."

And when Peter said, "I shall show it whenever you please," Simon answered: "Since now it is a late hour, I shall stand by you and oppose you to-morrow; and if you can prove that this world was created, and that souls are immortal, you shall have me to assist you in your preaching."

When he had said thus, he departed, and was followed by a third part of all the people who had come with him, who were about one thousand men. But the rest with bended knees prostrated themselves before Peter; and he, invoking upon them the name of God, cured some who had demons, healed others who were sick, and so dismissed the people rejoicing, commanding them to come early the next day.

But Peter, when the crowds had withdrawn, commanded the table to be spread on the ground, in the open air, in the court where the disputation had been held, and sat down together with those eleven; but I dined reclining with some others who also had made a beginning of hearing the word of God, and were greatly beloved.

71 Separation from the Unclean. But Peter, most benignantly regarding me, lest haply that separation might cause me sorrow, says to me: "It is not from pride, O Clement, that I do not eat with those who have not yet been purified; but I fear lest perhaps I should injure myself, and do no good to them.

"For this I would have you know for certain, that every one who has at any time worshipped idols, and has adored those whom the pagans call gods, or has eaten of the things sacrificed to them, is not without an unclean spirit; for he has become a guest of demons, and has been partaker with that demon of which he has formed the image in his mind, either through fear or love.

"And by these means he is not free from an unclean spirit, and therefore needs the purification of baptism, that the unclean spirit may go out of him, which has made its abode in the inmost affections of his soul, and what is worse, gives no indication that it lurks within, for fear it should be exposed and expelled."

72 The Remedy. "For these unclean spirits love to dwell in the bodies of men, that they may fulfil their own desires by their service, and, inclining the motions of their souls to those things which they themselves desire, may compel them to obey their own lusts, that they may become wholly vessels of demons. One of whom is this Simon, who is seized with such disease, and cannot now be healed, because he is sick in his will and purpose. Nor does the demon dwell in him against his will; and therefore, if any one would drive it out of him, since it is inseparable from himself, and, so to speak, has now become his very soul, he should seem rather to kill him, and to incur the guilt of manslaughter.

"Let no one of you therefore be saddened at being separated from eating with us, for every one ought to observe that it is for just so long a time as he pleases. For he who wishes soon to be baptised is separated but for a little time, but he for a longer who wishes to be baptised later. Every one therefore has it in his own power to demand a shorter or a longer time

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for his repentance; and therefore it lies with you, when you wish it, to come to our table; and not with us, who are not permitted to take food with any one who has not been baptised. It is rather you, therefore, who hinder us from eating with you, if you interpose delays in the way of your purification, and defer your baptism."

Having said thus, and having blessed, he took food. And afterwards, when he had given thanks to God, he went into the house and went to bed; and we all did the like, for it was now night.

CLEMENT RECOGNITION BOOK 3

1 Pearls Before Swine. Meantime Peter, rising at the crowing of the cock, and wishing to rouse us, found us awake, the evening light still burning; and when, according to custom, he had saluted us, and we had all sat down, he thus began.

"Nothing is more difficult, thy brethren, than to reason concerning the truth in the presence of a mixed multitude of people. For that which is may not be spoken to all as it is, on account of those who hear wickedly and treacherously; yet it is not proper to deceive, on account of those who desire to hear the truth sincerely.

"What, then, shall he do who has to address a mixed multitude? Shall he conceal what is true? How, then, shall he instruct those who are worthy? But if he set forth pure truth to those who do not desire to obtain salvation, he does injury to Him by whom he has been sent, and from whom he has received commandment not to throw the pearls of His words before swine and dogs,2 who, striving against them with arguments and sophisms, roll them in the mud of carnal understanding, and by their barkings and base answers break and weary the preachers of God's word.

"Wherefore I also, for the most part, by using a certain circumlocution, endeavour to avoid publishing the chief knowledge concerning the Supreme Divinity to unworthy ears."

Then, beginning from the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, he briefly and plainly expounded to us, so that all of us hearing him wondered that men have forsaken the truth, and have turned themselves to vanity.

123 Second Day's Discussion. But when the day had dawned, some one came in and said: "There is a very great multitude waiting in the court, and in the midst of them stands Simon, endeavouring to preoccupy the ears of the people with most wicked persuasions."

Then Peter, immediately going out, stood in the place where he had disputed the day before, and all the people turning to him with joy, gave heed to him. But when Simon perceived that the people rejoiced at the sight of Peter, and were moved to love him, he said in confusion: "I wonder at the folly of men, who call me a magician, and love Peter; whereas, having knowledge of me of old, they ought to love me rather. And therefore from this sign those who have sense may understand that Peter may rather seem to be the magician, since affection is not borne to me, to whom it is almost due from acquaintance, but is abundantly expended upon him, to whom it is not due by any familiarity."

13 Simon a Seducer. While Simon was talking on in this style, Peter, having saluted the people in his usual way, thus answered:

"O Simon, his own conscience is sufficient for every one to confute him; but if you wonder at this, that those who are acquainted with you not only do not love you but even hate you, learn the reason from me. Since you are a seducer you profess to proclaim the truth; and on this account you had many friends who had a desire to learn the truth. But when they saw in you things contrary to what you professed, they being, as I said, lovers of truth, began not only not to love you, but even to hate you.

"But yet they did not immediately forsake you, because you still promised that you could show them what is true. As long, therefore, as no one was present who could show them, they bore with you; but since the hope of better instruction has dawned upon them, they despise you, and seek to know what they understand to be better.

"And you indeed, acting by nefarious arts, thought at first that you should escape detection. But you are detected. For you are driven into a corner, and, contrary to your expectation, you are made notorious, not only as being ignorant of the truth, but as being unwilling to hear it from those who know it. For if you had been willing to hear, that saying would have been exemplified in you, of Him who said that 'there is nothing hidden which shall not be known, nor covered which shall not be disclosed.'"

14 Simon Claims the Fulfilment of Peter's Promise. While Peter spoke these words, and others to the same effect, Simon answered:

"I will not have you detain me with long speeches, Peter; I claim from you what you promised yesterday. You then said that you could show that the law teaches concerning the immensity of the eternal light, and that there are only two heavens, and these created, and that the higher is the abode of that light, in which the ineffable Father dwells alone for ever; but that after the pattern of that heaven is made this visible heaven, which you asserted is to pass away.

"You said, therefore, that the Father of all is one, because there cannot be two infinites; else neither of them would be infinite, because in that in which the one subsists, he makes a limit of the subsistence of the other. Since then you not only promised this, but are able to show it from the law, leave off other matters and set about this."

Then Peter said: "If I were asked to speak of these things only on your account, who come only for the purpose of contradicting, you should never hear a single discourse from me; but seeing it is necessary that the husbandman, wishing to sow good ground, should sow some seeds, either in stony places, or places that are to be trodden of men, or in places filled with brambles and briers (as our Master also set forth, indicating by these the diversities of the purposes of several souls),6 I shall not delay."

15 Simon's Arrogance. Then said Simon: "You seem to me to be angry; but if it be so, it is not necessary to enter into the conflict."

Then Peter: "I see that you perceive that you are to be convicted, and you wish politely to escape from the contest; for what have you seen to have made me angry against you, a man desiring to deceive so great a multitude, and when you have nothing to say, pretending moderation, who also command, forsooth, by your authority that the controversy shall be conducted as you please, and not as order demands?"

Then Simon: "I shall enforce myself to bear patiently your unskilfulness, that I may show that you indeed wish to seduce the people, but that I teach the truth. But now I refrain from a discussion concerning that boundless light. Answer me, therefore, what I ask of you. Since God, as you say, made all things, whence comes evil? "7

Then said Peter: "To put questions in this way is not the part of an opponent, but of a learner. If therefore you wish to learn, confess it; and I shall first teach you how you ought to learn, and when you have learned to listen, then straightway I shall begin to teach you. But if you do not wish to learn, as though you knew all things, I shall first set forth the faith which I preach, and do you also set forth what you think to be true; and when the profession of each of us has been disclosed, let our hearers judge whose discourse is supported by truth."

To this Simon answered: "This is a good joke: behold a fellow who offers to teach me! Nevertheless I shall suffer you, and bear with your ignorance and your arrogance. I confess, then, I do wish to learn; let us see how you can teach me."

16 Existence of Evil. Then Peter said: "If you truly wish to learn, I then first learn this, how unskilfully you have framed your question; for you say, Since God has created all things, whence is evil? But before you asked this, three sorts of questions should have had the precedence: First, Whether there be evil? Secondly, What evil is? Thirdly, To whom it is, and whence?"

To this Simon answered: "Oh thou most unskilful and unlearned, is there any man who does not confess that there is evil in this life? Whence I also, thinking that you had even the common sense of all men, asked, whence evil is; not as wishing to learn, since I know all things, least of all from you, who know nothing, but that I might show you to be ignorant of all things. And that you may not suppose that it is because I am angry that I speak somewhat sternly, know that I am moved with compassion for those who are present, whom you are attempting to deceive."

Then Peter said: "The more wicked are you, if you can do such wrong, not being angry; but smoke must rise where there is fire. Nevertheless I shall tell you, lest I should seem to take you up with words, so as not to answer to those things which you have spoken disorderly. You say that all confess the existence of evil, which is verily false; for, first of all, the whole Hebrew nation deny its existence."

17 Not Admitted by All. Then Simon, interrupting his discourse, said: "They do rightly who say that there is no evil." Then Peter answered: "We do not propose to speak of this now, but only to state the fact that the existence of evil is not universally admitted. But the second question that you should have asked is, What is evil? a substance, an accident, or an act? And many other things of the same sort.

"And after that, towards what, or how it is, or to whom it is evil, whether to God, or to angels, or to men, to the righteous or the wicked, to all or to some, to one's self or to no one? And then you should inquire, Whence it is? whether from God, or from nothing; whether it has always been, or has had its beginning in time; whether it is useful or useless? and many other things which a proposition of this sort demands."

To this Simon answered: "Pardon me; I was in error concerning the first question; but suppose that I now ask first, whether evil is or not? "

18 Manner of Conducting the Discussion. Then Peter said: "In what way do you put the question; as wishing to learn, or to teach or for the sake of raising the question? If indeed as wishing to learn, I have something to teach you first, that coming by consequence and the right order of doctrine, you may understand from yourself what evil is.

"But if you put the question as an instructor, I have no need to be taught by you, for I have a Master from whom I have learned all things.

"But if you ask merely for the sake of raising a question and disputing, let each of us first set forth his opinion, and so let the matter be debated. For it is not reasonable that you should ask as one wishing to learn, and contradict as one teaching, so that after my answer it should be in your discretion to say whether I have spoken well or ill. Wherefore you cannot stand in the place of a gainsayer and be judge of what we say.

"And therefore, as I said, if a discussion is to be held, let each of us state his sentiments; and while we are placed in conflict, these religious hearers will be just judges."

19 Desire of Instruction. Then Simon said: "Does it not seem to you to be absurd that an unskilled people should sit in judgement upon our sayings?"

Then Peter: "It is not so; for what perhaps is less clear to one, can be investigated by many, for oftentimes even a popular rumour has the aspect of a prophecy. But in addition to all this, all these people stand here constrained by the love of God, and by a desire to know the truth, and therefore all these are to be regarded as one, by reason of their affection being one and the same towards the truth; as, on the other hand, two are many and diverse, if they disagree with each other.

"But if you wish to receive an indication how all these people who stand before us are as one man, consider from their very silence and quietness how with all patience, as you see, they do honour to the truth of God, even before they learn it, for they have not yet learned the greater observance which they owe to it. Wherefore I hope, through the mercy of God, that He will accept the religious purpose of their mind towards Him, and will give the palm of victory to him who preaches the truth, that He may make manifest to them the herald of truth."

20 Common Principles. Then Simon: "On what subject do you wish the discussion to be held? Tell me, that I also may define what I think, and so the inquiry may begin."

And Peter answered: "If indeed, you will do as I think right, I would have it done according to the precept of my Master, who first of all commanded the Hebrew nation, whom He knew to have knowledge of God, and that it is He who made the world, not that they should inquire about Him whom they knew, but that, knowing Him, they should investigate His will and His righteousness; because it is placed in men's power that, searching into these things, they may find, and do, and observe those things concerning which they are to be judged.

Therefore He commanded us to inquire, not whence evil cometh, as you asked just now, but to seek the righteousness of the good God, and His kingdom; and all these things, says He, shall be added to you."

Then Simon said: "Since these things are commanded to Hebrews, as having a right knowledge of God, and being of opinion that every one has it in his power to do these things concerning which he is to be judged, but my opinion differs from theirs, where do you wish me to begin?"

21 Freedom of the Will. Then said Peter: "I advise that the first inquiry be, whether it be in our power to know whence we are to be judged."

But Simon said: "Not so; but concerning God, about whom all who are present are desirous to hear."

Then Peter: "You admit, then, that something is in the power of the will: only confess this, if it is so, and let us inquire, as you say, concerning God."

To this Simon answered: "By no means."

Then Peter said: "If, then, nothing is in our power, it is useless for us to inquire anything concerning God, since it is not in the power of those who seek to find; hence I said well, that this should be the first inquiry, whether anything is in the power of the will."9

Then said Simon: "We cannot even understand this that you say, if there is anything in the power of the will."

But Peter, seeing that he was turning to contention, and, through fear of being overcome, was confounding all things as being in general uncertain, answered: "How then do you know that it is not in the power of man to know anything, since this very thing at least you know?"

22 Responsibility. Then Simon said: "I know not whether I know even this; for every one, according as it is decreed to him by fate, either does, or understands, or suffers."

Then Peter said: "See, my brethren, into what absurdities Simon has fallen, who before my coming was teaching that men have it in their power to be wise and to do what they will, but now, driven into a corner by the force of my arguments, he denies that man has any power either of perceiving or of acting; and yet he presumes to profess himself to be a teacher!

"But tell me how then God judges according to truth every one for his doings, if men have it not in their own power to do anything? If this opinion he held, all things are torn up by the roots; vain will be the desire of following after goodness; yea, even in vain do the judges of the world administer laws and punish those who do amiss, for they had it not in their power

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not to sin; vain also will be the laws of nations which assign penalties to evil deeds.

"Miserable also will those be who laboriously keep righteousness; but blessed those who, living in pleasure, exercise tyranny, living in luxury and wickedness. According to this, therefore, there can be neither righteousness, nor goodness, nor any virtue, nor, as you would have it, any God.

"But, O Simon, I know why you have spoken thus: truly because you wished to avoid inquiry, lest you should be openly confuted; and therefore you say that it is not in the power of man to perceive or to discern anything. But if this had really been your opinion, you would not surely, before my coming, have professed yourself before the people to be a teacher. I say, therefore, that man is under his own control."

Then said Simon: "What is the meaning of being under his own control? Tell us."

To this Peter: "If nothing can be learned, why do you wish to hear?"

And Simon said: "You have nothing to answer to this."

23 Origin of Evil. Then said Peter: "I shall speak, not as under compulsion from you, but at the request of the hearers. The power of choice is the sense of the soul, possessing a quality by which it can be inclined towards what acts it wills."

Then Simon, applauding Peter for what he had spoken, said: "Truly you have expounded it magnificently and incomparably, for it is my duty to bear testimony to your speaking well. Now if you will explain to me this which I now ask you, in all things else I shall submit to you. What I wish to learn, then, is this: if what God wishes to be, is; and what He does not wish to be, is not. Answer me this."

Then Peter: "If you do not know that you are asking an absurd and incompetent question, I shall pardon you and explain; but if you are aware that yon are asking inconsequently, you do not well."

Then Simon said: "I swear by the Supreme Divinity, whatsoever that may be, which judges and punishes those who sin, that I know not what I have said inconsequently, or what absurdity there is in my words, that is, in those that I have just uttered."

24 God the Author of Good, Not of Evil. To this Peter answered: "Since, then, you confess that you are ignorant, now learn. Your question demanded our deliverance on two matters that are contrary to one another. For every motion is divided into two parts, so that a certain part is moved by necessity, and another by will; and those things which are moved by necessity are always in motion, those which are moved by will, not always.

"For example, the sun's motion is performed by necessity to complete its appointed circuit, and every state and service of heaven depends upon necessary motions. But man directs the voluntary motions of his own actions. And thus there are some things which have been created for this end, that in their services they should be subject to necessity, and should be unable to do aught else than what has been assigned to them; and when they have accomplished this service, the Creator of all things, who thus arranged them according to His will, preserves them.

"But there are other things, in which there is a power of will, and which have a free choice of doing what they will. These, as I have said, do not remain always in that order in which they were created: but according as their will leads them, and the judgement of their mind inclines them, they effect either good or evil; and therefore He hath proposed rewards to those who do well, and penalties to those who do evil."

25 "Who Hath Resisted His Will?" "You say, therefore, if God wishes anything to be, it is; and if He do not wish it, it is not. But if I were to answer that what He wishes is, and what He wishes not is not, you would say that then He wishes the evil things to be which are done in the world, since everything that He wishes is, and everything that He wishes not is not.

"But if I had answered that it is not so that what God wishes is, and what He wishes not is not, then you would retort upon me that God must then be powerless, if He cannot do what He wills; and you would be all the more petulant, as thinking that you had got a victory, though had said nothing to the point. Therefore you are ignorant, O Simon, yea very ignorant, how the will of God acts in each individual case.

"For some things, as we have said, He has so willed to be, that they cannot be otherwise than as they are ordained by Him; and to these He has assigned neither rewards nor punishments; but those which He has willed to be so that they have it in their power to do what they will, He has assigned to them according to their actions and their wills, to earn either rewards or punishments. Since, therefore, as I have informed you, all things that are moved are divided into two parts, according to the distinction that I formerly stated, everything that God wills is, and everything that He wills not is not."

26 No Goodness Without Liberty. To this Simon answered: "Was not He able to make us all such that we should be good, and that we should not have it in our power to be otherwise?"

Peter answered: "This also is an absurd question. For if He had made us of an unchangeable nature and incapable of being moved away from good, we should not be really good, because we could not be aught else; and it would not be of our purpose that we were good; and what we did would not be ours, but of the necessity of our nature.

"But how can that be called good which is not done of purpose? And on this account the world required long periods, until the number of souls which were predestined to fill it should be completed, and then that visible heaven should be folded up like a scroll, and that which is higher should appear, and the souls of the blessed, being restored to their bodies, should be ushered into light; but the souls of the wicked, for their impure actions being surrounded with fiery spirit, should be plunged into the abyss of unquenchable fire, to endure punishments through eternity.

"Now that these things are so, the true Prophet has testified to us; concerning whom, if you wish to know that He is a prophet, I shall instruct you by innumerable declarations. For of those things which were spoken by Him, even now everything that He said is being fulfilled; and those things which He spoke with respect to the future are believed to be about to be fulfilled, for faith is given to the future from those things which have already come to pass."

27 The Visible Heaven: Why Made. But Simon, perceiving that Peter was clearly assigning a reason from the head of prophecy, from which the whole question is settled, declined that the discourse should take this turn; and thus answered: "Give me an answer to the questions that I put, and tell me, if that visible heaven is, as you say, to be dissolved, why was it made at first?"

Peter answered: "It was made for the sake of this present life of men, that there might be some sort of interposition and separation, lest any unworthy one might see the habitation of the celestials and the abode of God Himself, which are prepared in order to be seen by those only who are of pure heart. But now, that is in the time of the conflict, it has pleased Him that those things be invisible, which are destined as a reward to the conquerers."

Then Simon said: "If the Creator is good, and the world is good, how shall He who is good ever destroy that which is good? But if He shall destroy that which is good, how shall He Himself be thought to be good? But if He shall dissolve and destroy it as evil, how shall He not appear to be evil, who has made that which is evil? "

28 Why to Be Dissolved. To this Peter replied: "Since we have promised not to run away from your blasphemies, we endure them patiently, for you shall yourself render an account for the things that you speak. Listen now, therefore. If indeed that heaven which is visible and transient had been made for its own sake, there would have been some reason in what you say, that it ought not to be dissolved. But if it was made not for its own sake, but for the sake of something else, it must of necessity be dissolved, that that for which it seems to have been made may appear.

"As I might say, by way of illustration, however fairly and carefully the shell of the egg may seem to have been formed, it is yet necessary that it be broken and opened, that the chick may issue from it, and that may appear for which the form of the whole egg seems to have been moulded.

"So also, therefore, it is necessary that the condition of this world pass away, that that sublimer condition of the heavenly kingdom may shine forth."

29 Corruptible and Temporary Things Made by the Incorruptible and Eternal. Then Simon: "It does not seem to me that the heaven, which has been made by God, can be dissolved. For things made by the Eternal One are eternal, while things made by a corruptible one are temporary and decaying."

Then Peter: "It is not so. Indeed corruptible and temporary things of all sorts are made by mortal creatures; but the Eternal does not always make things corruptible, nor always incorruptible; but according to the will of God the Creator, so will be the things which He creates. For the power of God is not subject to law, but His will is law to His creatures."

Then Simon answered: "I call you back to the first question. You said now that God is visible to no one; but when that heaven shall be dissolved, and that superior condition of the heavenly kingdom shall shine forth, then those who are pure in heart13 shall see God; which statement is contrary to the law, for there it is written that God said, 'None shall see my face and live.'"14

30 How the Pure in Heart See God. Then Peter answered: "To those who do not read the law according to the tradition of Moses, my speech appears to be contrary to it; but I will show you how it is not contradictory.

"God is seen by the mind, not by the body; by the spirit, not by the flesh. Whence also angels, who are spirits, see God; and therefore men, as long as they are men, cannot see Him. But after the resurrection of the dead, when they shall have been made like the angels,15 they shall be able to see God.

"And thus my statement is not contrary to the law; neither is that which our Master said, 'Blessed are they of a pure heart, for they shall see God.' For He showed that a time shall come in which of men shall be made angels, who in the spirit of their mind shall see God."

After these and many similar sayings, Simon began to assert with many oaths, saying: "Concerning one thing only render me a reason, whether the soul is immortal, and I shall submit to your will in all things. But let it be to-morrow, for to-day it is late."

When therefore Peter began to speak, Simon went out, and with him a very few of his associates; and that for shame. But all the rest, turning to Peter, on bended knees prostrated themselves before him; and some of those who were afflicted with diverse sicknesses, or invaded by demons, were healed by the prayer of Peter, and departed rejoicing, as having obtained at once the doctrine of the true God, and also His mercy.

When therefore the crowds had withdrawn, and only we his attendants remained with him, we sat down on couches placed on the ground, each one recognising his accustomed place, and having taken food, and given thanks to God, we went to sleep.

31 Diligence in Study. But on the following day, Peter, as usual, rising before dawn, found us already awake and ready to listen; and thus began: "I entreat you, my brethren and fellow-servants, that if any of you is not able to wake, he should not torment himself through respect to my presence, because sudden change is difficult; but if for a long time one gradually accustoms himself, that will not be distressing which comes of use. For we had not all the same training; although in course of time we shall be able to be moulded into one habit, for they say that custom holds the place of a second nature.

"But I call God to witness that I am not offended, if any one is not able to wake; but rather by this, if, when any one sleeps all through the night, he does not in the course of the day fulfil that which he omitted in the night. For it is necessary to give heed intently and unceasingly, to the study of doctrine, that our mind may be filled with the thought of God only: because in the mind which is filled with the thought of God, no place will be given to the wicked one."

32 Peter's Private Instruction. When Peter spoke thus to us, every one of us eagerly assured him, that ere now we were awake, being satisfied with short sleep, but that we were afraid to arouse him, because it did not become the disciples to command the master; "and yet even this O Peter we had almost ventured to take upon ourselves, because our hearts, agitated with longing for your words, drove sleep wholly from our eyes. But again our affection towards you opposed it, and did not suffer us violently to rouse you."

Then Peter said: "Since therefore you assert that you are willingly awake through desire of hearing, I wish to repeat to you more carefully, and to explain in their order, the things that were spoken yesterday without arrangement. And this I propose to do throughout these daily disputations, that by night, when privacy of time and place is afforded, I shall unfold in correct order, and by a straight line of explanation, anything that in the controversy has not been stated with sufficient fulness."

And then he began to point out to us how the yesterday's discussion ought to have been conducted, and how it could not be so conducted on account of the contentiousness or the unskilfulness of his opponent; and how therefore he only made use of assertion, and only overthrew what was said by his adversary, but did not expound his own doctrines either completely or distinctly. Then repeating the several matters to us, he discussed them in regular order and with full reason.

33 Learners and Cavillers. But when the day began to be light, after prayer he went out to the crowds and stood in his accustomed place, for the discussion; and seeing Simon standing in the middle of the crowd, he saluted the people in his usual way, and said to them:

"I confess that I am grieved with respect to some men, who come to us in this way that they may learn something, but when we begin to teach them, they profess that they themselves are masters, and while indeed they ask questions as ignorant persons, they contradict as knowing ones. But perhaps some one will say, that he who puts a question, puts it indeed in order that he may learn, but when that which he hears does not seem to him to be right, it is necessary that he should answer, and that seems to be contradiction which is not contradiction, but further inquiry."

34 Against Order is Against Reason. "Let such a one then hear this: The teaching of all doctrine has a certain order, and there are some things which must be delivered first, others in the second place, and others in the third, and so all in their order; and if these things be delivered in their order, they become plain; but if they be brought forward out of order, they will seem to be spoken against reason. And therefore order is to be observed above all things, if we seek for the purpose of finding what we seek.

"For he who enters rightly upon the road, will observe the second place in due order, and from the second will more easily find the third; and the further he proceeds, so much the more will the way of knowledge become open to him, even until he arrive at the city of truth, whither he is bound, and which he desires to reach.

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"But he who is unskilful, and knows not the way of inquiry, as a traveller in a foreign country, ignorant and wandering, if he will not employ a native of the country as a guide, undoubtedly when he has strayed from the way of truth, shall remain outside the gates of life, and so, involved in the darkness of black night, shall walk through the paths of perdition. Inasmuch therefore, as, if those things which are to be sought, be sought in an orderly manner, they can most easily be found, but the unskilful man is ignorant of the order of inquiry, it is right that the ignorant man should yield to the knowing one, and first learn the order of inquiry, that so at length he may find the method of asking and answering."

35 Learning Before Teaching. To this Simon replied: "Then truth is not the property of all, but of those only who know the art of disputation, which is absurd; for it cannot be, since He is equally the God of all, that all should not be equally able to know His will."

Then Peter: "All were made equal by Him, and to all He has given equally to be receptive of truth. But that none of those who are born, are born with education, but education is subsequent to birth, no one can doubt. Since, therefore, the birth of men holds equity in this respect, that all are equally capable of receiving discipline, the difference is not in nature, but in education. Who does not know that the things which any one learns, he was ignorant of before he learned them?"

Then Simon said, "You say truly."

Then Peter said: "If then in those arts which are in common use, one first learns and then teaches, how much more ought those who profess to be the educators of souls, first to learn, and so to teach, that they may not expose themselves to ridicule, if they promise to afford knowledge to others, when they themselves are unskilful?"

Then Simon: "This is true in respect of those arts which are in common use; but in the word of knowledge, as soon as any one has heard, he has learned."

36 Self-Evidence of the Truth. Then said Peter: "If indeed one hear in an orderly and regular manner he is able to know what is true; but he who refuses to submit to the rule of a reformed life and a pure conversation, which truly is the proper result of knowledge of the truth, will not confess that he knows what he does know. For this is exactly what we see in the case of some who, abandoning the trades which they learned in their youth, betake themselves to other performances, and by way of excusing their own sloth, begin to find fault with the trade as unprofitable."

Then Simon: "Ought all who hear to believe that whatever they hear is true?"

Then Peter: "Whoever hears an orderly statement of the truth, cannot by any means gainsay it, but knows that what is spoken is true, provided he also willingly submit to the rules of life. But those who, when they hear, are unwilling to betake themselves to good works, are prevented by the desire of doing evil from acquiescing in those things which they judge to be right.

"Hence it is manifest that it is in the power of the hearers to choose which of the two they prefer. But if all who hear were to obey, it would be rather a necessity of nature, leading all in one way. For as no one can be persuaded to become shorter or taller, because the force of nature does not permit it; so also, if either all were converted to the truth by a word, or all were not converted, it would be the force of nature which compelled all in the one case, and none at all in the other, to be converted."

37 God Righteous as Well as Good. Then said Simon: "Inform us, therefore, what he who desires to know the truth must first learn."

Then Peter: "Before all things it must be inquired what it is possible for man to find out. For of necessity the judgement of God turns upon this, if a man was able to do good and did it not. And therefore men must inquire whether they have it in their power by seeking to find what is good, and to do it when they have found it; for this is that for which they are to be judged.

"But more than this there is no occasion for any one but a prophet to know: for what is the need for men to know how the world was made? This, indeed, would be necessary to be learned if we had to enter upon a similar construction. But now it is sufficient for us, in order to the worship of God, to know that He made the world; but how He made it is no subject of inquiry for us, because, as I have said, it is not incumbent upon us to acquire the knowledge of that art, as though we were about to make something similar. But neither are we to be judged for this, why we have not learned how the world was made, but only for that, if we be without knowledge of its Creator.

"For we shall know that the Creator of the world is the righteous and good God, if we seek Him in the paths of righteousness. For if we only know regarding Him that He is good, such knowledge is not sufficient for salvation. For in the present life not only the worthy, but also the unworthy, enjoy His goodness and His benefits. But if we believe Him to be not only good, but also righteous, and if, according to what we believe concerning God, we observe righteousness in the whole course of our life, we shall enjoy His goodness for ever.

"In a word, to the Hebrews, whose opinion concerning God was that He is only good, our Master said that they should seek also His righteousness;17 that is, that they should know that He is good indeed in this present time, that all may live in His goodness, but that He shall be righteous at the day of judgement, to bestow eternal rewards upon the worthy, from which the unworthy shall be excluded."

38 God's Justice Shown at the Day of Judgement. Then Simon: "How can one and the same being be both good and righteous? "

Peter answered: "Because without righteousness, goodness would be unrighteousness; for it is the part of a good God to bestow His sunshine and rain equally on the just and the unjust; but this would seem to be unjust, if He treated the good and the bad always with equal fortune, and were it not that He does it for the sake of the fruits, which all may equally enjoy who are born in this world.

"But as the rain given by God equally nourishes the corn and the tares, but at the time of harvest the crops are gathered into the barn, but the chaff or the tares are burnt in the fire,20 so in the day of judgement, when the righteous shall be introduced into the kingdom of heaven, and the unrighteous shall be cast out, then also the justice of God shall be shown. For if He remained for ever alike to the evil and the good, this would not only not be good, but even unrighteous and unjust; that the righteous and the unrighteous should be held by Him in one order of desert."

39 Immortality of the Soul. Then said Simon: "The one point on which I should wish to be satisfied is, whether the soul is immortal; for I cannot take up the burden of righteousness unless I know first concerning the immortality of the soul; for indeed if it is not immortal, the profession of your preaching cannot stand."

Then said Peter: "Let us first inquire whether God is just; for if this were ascertained, the perfect order of order of religion would straight-way be established."

Then Simon: "With all your boasting of your knowledge of the order of discussion, you seem to me now to have answered contrary to order; for when I ask you to show whether the soul is immortal, you say that we must first inquire whether God is just." Then said Peter: "That is perfectly right and regular." Simon: "I should wish to learn how."

40 Proved by the Success of the Wicked in This Life. "Listen, then," said Peter: "Some men who are blasphemers against God, and who spend their whole life in injustice and pleasure die in their own bed and obtain honourable burial; while others who worship God, and maintain their life frugally with all honesty and sobriety, die in deserted places for their observance of righteousness, so that they are not even thought worthy of burial. Where, then, is the justice of God, if there be no immortal soul to suffer punishment in the future for impious deeds, or enjoy rewards for piety and rectitude?"

Then Simon said: "It is this indeed that makes me incredulous, because many well-doers perish miserably, and again many evil-doers finish long lives in happiness."21

41 Cavils of Simon. Then said Peter: "This very thing which draws you into incredulity, affords to us a certain conviction that there shall be a judgement. For since it is certain that God is just, it is a necessary consequence that there is another world, in which every one receiving according to his deserts, shall prove the justice of God.

"But if all men were now receiving according to their deserts, we should truly seem to be deceivers when we say that there is a judgement to come; and therefore this very fact, that in the present life a return is not made to every one according to his deeds, affords, to those who know that God is just, an indubitable proof that there shall be a judgement."

Then said Simon: "Why, then, am I not persuaded of it?"

Peter: "Because you have not heard the true Prophet saying, 'Seek first His righteousness, and all these things shall be added to you.'"

Then said Simon: "Pardon me if I am unwilling to seek righteousness, before I know if the soul is immortal."

Then Peter: "You also pardon me this one thing, because I cannot do otherwise than the Prophet of truth has instructed me."

Then said Simon: "It is certain that you cannot assert that the soul is immortal, and therefore you cavil, knowing that if it be proved to be mortal, the whole profession of that religion which you are attempting to propagate will be plucked up by the roots.

"And therefore, indeed, I commend your prudence, while I do not approve your persuasiveness; for you persuade many to embrace your religion, and to submit to the restraint of pleasure, in hope of future good things; to whom it happens that they lose the enjoyment of things present, and are deceived with hopes of things future. For as soon as they die, their soul shall at the same time be extinguished."

42 "Full of All Subtlety and All Mischief." But Peter, when he heard him speak thus, grinding his teeth, and rubbing his forehead with his hand, and sighing with profound grief, said:23 "Armed with the cunning of the old serpent, you stand forth to deceive souls; and therefore, as the serpent is more subtile than any other beast, you profess that you are a teacher from the beginning. And again, like the serpent you wished to introduce many gods; but now, being confuted in that, you assert that there is no God at all.

"For by occasion of I know not what unknown God, you denied that the Creator of the world is God, but asserted that He is either an evil being, or that He has many equals, or, as we have said, that He is not God at all. And when you had been overcome in this position, you now assert that the soul is mortal, so that men may not live righteously and uprightly in hope of things to come. For if there be no hope for the future, why should not mercy be given up, and men indulge in luxury and pleasures, from which it is manifest that all unrighteousness springs?

"And while you introduce so impious a doctrine into the miserable life of men, you call yourself pious, and me impious, because, under the hope of future good things, I will not suffer men to take up arms and fight against one another, plunder and subvert everything, and attempt whatsoever lust may dictate.

"And what will be the condition of that life which you would introduce, that men will attack and be attacked, be enraged and disturbed, and live always in fear? For those who do evil to others must expect like evil to themselves. Do you see that you are a leader of disturbance and not of peace, of iniquity and not of equity?

"But I feigned anger, not because I could not prove that the soul is immortal, but because I pity the souls which you are endeavouring to deceive. I shall speak, therefore, but not as compelled by you; for I know how I should speak; and you will be the only one who wants not so much persuasion as admonition on this subject. But those who are really ignorant of this, I shall instruct as is suitable."

43 Simon's Subterfuges. Then says Simon: "If you are angry, I shall neither ask you any questions, nor do I wish to hear you."

Then Peter: "If you are now seeking a pretext for escaping, you have full liberty, and need not use any special pretext. For all have heard you speaking all amiss, and have perceived that you can prove nothing, but that you only asked questions for the sake of contradiction; which any one can do. For what difficulty is there in replying, after the clearest proofs have been adduced, 'You have said nothing to the purpose?'

"But that you may know that I am able to prove to you in a single sentence that the soul is immortal, I shall ask you with respect to a point which all know; answer me, and I shall prove to you in one sentence that it is immortal."

Then Simon, who had thought that he had got, from the anger of Peter, a pretext for departing, stopped on account of the remarkable promise that was made to him, and said: "Ask me then, and I shall answer you what all know, that I may hear in a single sentence, as you have promised, how the soul is immortal."

44 Sight or Hearing? Then Peter: "I shall speak so that it may be proved to you before all the rest. Answer me, therefore, which of the two can better persuade an incredulous man, seeing or hearing?"

Then Simon said: "Seeing."

Then Peter: "Why then do you wish to learn from me by words, what is proved to you by the thing itself and by sight?"

Then Simon: "I know not what you mean."

Then Peter: "If you do not know, go now to your house, and entering the inner bed-chamber you will see an image placed, containing the figure of a murdered boy clothed in purple; ask him, and he will inform you either by hearing or seeing. For what need is there to hear from him if the soul is immortal, when you see it standing before you? For if it were not in being, it assuredly could not be seen. But if you know not what image I speak of, let us straightway go to your house, with ten other men, of those who are here present."24

45 A Home-Thrust. But Simon hearing this, and being smitten by his conscience, changed colour and became bloodless; for he was afraid, if he denied it, that his house would be searched, or that Peter in his indignation would betray him more openly, and so all would learn what he was. Thus he answered: "I beseech thee, Peter, by that good God who is in thee, to overcome the wickedness that is in me. Receive me to repentance, and you shall have me as an assistant in your preaching. For now I have learned in very deed that you are a prophet of the true God, and therefore you alone know the secret and hidden things of men."25

Then said Peter: "You see, brethren, Simon seeking repentance; in a little while you shall see him returning again to his infidelity. For, thinking that I am a prophet, forasmuch as I have disclosed his wickedness, which he supposed to be secret and hidden, he has promised that he will repent. But it is not lawful for me to lie, nor must I deceive, whether this infidel be saved or not saved.

"For I call heaven and earth to witness, that I spoke not by a prophetic spirit what I said, and what I intimated, as far as was possible, to the listening crowds; but I learned from some who once were his associates in his works, but have now been

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converted to our faith, what things he did in secret. Therefore I spoke what I knew, not what I foreknew."

46 Simon's Rage. But when Simon heard this, he assailed Peter with curses and reproaches, saying: "Oh most wicked and most deceitful of men, to whom fortune, not truth, hath given the victory. But I sought repentance not for defect of knowledge, but in order that you, thinking that by repentance I should become your disciple, might entrust to me all the secrets of your profession, and so at length, knowing them all, I might confute you.

"But as you cunningly understood for what reason I had pretended penitence, and acquiesced as if you did not understand my stratagem, that you might first expose me in presence of the people as unskilful, then foreseeing that being thus exposed to the people, I must of necessity be indignant, and confess that I was not truly penitent, you anticipated me, that you might say, that I should, after my penitence, again return to my infidelity, that you might seem to have conquered on all sides, both if I continued in the penitence which I had professed, and if I did not continue; and so you should be believed to be wise, because you had foreseen these things, while I should seem to be deceived, because I did not foresee your trick.

"But you foreseeing mine, have used subtlety and circumvented me. But, as I said, your victory is the result of fortune, not of truth: yet I know why I did not foresee this; because I stood by you and spoke with you in my goodness, and bore patiently with you. But now I shall show you the power of my divinity, so that you shall quickly fall down and worship me."

47 Simon's Vaunt. "I am the first power, who am always, and without beginning.26 But having entered the womb of Rachel, I was born of her as a man, that I might be visible to men. I have flown through the air; I have been mixed with fire, and been made one body with it; I have made statues to move; I have animated lifeless things; I have made stones bread; I have flown from mountain to mountain; I have moved from place to place, upheld by angels' hands, and have lighted on the earth.

"Not only have I done these things; but even now I am able to do them, that by facts I may prove to all, that I am the Son of God, enduring to eternity, and that I can make those who believe on me endure in like manner for ever. But your words are all vain; nor can you perform any real works such as I have now mentioned, as he also who sent you is a magician, who yet could not deliver himself from the suffering of the cross."

48 Attempts to Create a Disturbance. To this speech of Simon, Peter answered: "Do not meddle with the things that belong to others; for that you are a magician, you have confessed and made manifest by the very deeds that you have done; but our Master, who is the Son of God and of man, is manifestly good; and that he is truly the Son of God has been told, and shall be told to those to whom it is fitting. But if you will not confess that you are a magician, let us go, with all this multitude, to your house, and then it will be evident who is a magician."

While Peter was speaking thus, Simon began to assail him with blasphemies and curses, that he might make a riot, and excite all so that he could not be refuted, and that Peter, withdrawing on account of his blasphemy, might seem to be overcome. But he stood fast, and began to charge him more vehemently.

49 Simon's Retreat. Then the people in indignation cast Simon from the court, and drove him forth from the gate of the house; and only one person followed him when he was driven out. Then silence being obtained, Peter began to address the people in this manner: "You ought, brethren, to bear with wicked men patiently; knowing that although God could cut them off, yet He suffers them to remain even till the day appointed, in which judgement shall pass upon all.

"Why then should not we bear with those whom God suffers? Why should not we bear with fortitude the wrongs that they do to us, when He who is almighty does not take vengeance on them, that both His own goodness and the impiety of the wicked may be known? But if the wicked one had not found Simon to be his minister, he would doubtless have found another: for it is of necessity that in this life offences come, 'but woe to that man by whom they come;' and therefore Simon is rather to be mourned over, because he has become a choice vessel for the wicked one, which undoubtedly would not have happened had he not received power over him for his former sins.

"For why should I further say that he once believed in our Jesus, and was persuaded that Souls are immortal? Although in this he is deluded by demons, yet he has persuaded himself that he has the soul of a murdered boy ministering to him in whatever he pleases to employ it in; in which truly, as I have said, he is deluded by demons, and therefore I spoke to him according to his own ideas: for he has learned from the Jews, that judgement and vengeance are to be brought forth against those who set themselves against the true faith, and do not repent. But here are men to whom, as being perfect in crimes, the wicked one appears, that he may deceive them, so that they may never be turned to repentance."

50 Peter's Benediction. "You therefore who are turned to the Lord by repentance, bend to Him your knees." When he had said this, all the multitude bent their knees to God; and Peter, looking towards heaven, prayed for them with tears that God, for His goodness, would deign to receive those betaking themselves to Him. And after he had prayed and had instructed them to meet early the next day, he dismissed the multitude. Then according to custom, having taken food, we went to sleep.

51 Peter's Accessibility. Peter, therefore, rising at the usual hour of the night, found us waking; and when, saluting us, in his usual manner, he had taken his seat, first of all Niceta, said: "If you will permit me, my lord Peter, I have something to ask of you."

Then Peter said: "I permit not only you, but all, and not only now, but always, that every one confess what moves him, and the part in his mind that is pained, in order that he may obtain healing. For things which are covered with silence, and are not made known to us, are cured with difficulty, like maladies of long standing; and therefore, since the medicine of seasonable and necessary discourse cannot easily be applied to those who keep silence, every one ought to declare in what respect his mind is feeble through ignorance. But to him who keeps silence, it belongs to God alone to give a remedy.

"We indeed also can do it, but by the lapse of a long time. For it is necessary than the discourse of doctrine, proceeding in order from the beginning, and meeting each single question, should disclose all things, and resolve and reach to all things, even to that which every one required in his mind; but that, as I have said, can only be done in the course of a long time. Now, then, ask what you please."

52 False Signs and Miracles. Then Niceta said: "I give you abundant thanks, O most clement Peter; but this is what I desire to learn: how Simon, who is the enemy of God, is able to do such and so great things? For indeed he told no lie in his declaration of what he has done."

To this the blessed Peter thus answered: "God, who is one and true, has resolved to prepare good and faithful friends for His first begotten; but knowing that none can be good, unless they have in their power that perception by which they may become good, that they may be of their own intent what they choose to be, and otherwise they could not be truly good, if they were kept in goodness not by purpose, but by necessity, has given to every one the power of his own will, that he may be what he wishes to be.

"And again, foreseeing that that power of will would make some choose good things and others evil, and so that the human race would necessarily be divided into two classes, He has permitted each class to choose both a place and a king, whom they would. For the good King rejoices in the good, and the wicked one in the evil. And although I have expounded those things more fully to you, O Clement, in that treatise in which I discoursed on predestination and the end, yet it is fitting that I should now make clear to Niceta also, as he asks me, what is the reason that Simon, whose thoughts are against God, is able to do so great marvels."

53 Self-Love the Foundation of Goodness. "First of all, then, he is evil, in the judgement of God, who will not inquire what is advantageous to himself. For how can any one love another, if he does not love himself? Or to whom will that man not be an enemy, who cannot be a friend to himself? In order, therefore, that there might be a distinction between those who choose good and those who choose evil, God has concealed that which is profitable to men, i.e., the possession of the kingdom of heaven, and has laid it up and hidden it as a secret treasure, so that no one can easily attain it by his own power or knowledge.

"Yet He has brought the report of it, under various names and opinions, through successive generations, to the hearing of all: so that whosoever should be lovers of good, hearing it, might inquire and discover what is profitable and salutary to them; but that they should ask it, not from themselves, but from Him who has hidden it, and should pray that access and the way of knowledge might be given to them: which way is opened to those only who love it above all the good things of this world; and on no other condition can any one even understand it, however wise he may seem; but that those who neglect to inquire what is profitable and salutary to themselves, as self-haters and self-enemies, should be deprived of its good things, as lovers of evil things."

54 God to Be Supremely Loved. "It behoves, therefore, the good to love that way above all things, that is, above riches, glory, rest, parents, relatives, friends, and everything in the world. But he who perfectly loves this possession of the kingdom of heaven, will undoubtedly cast away all practice of evil habit, negligence, sloth, malice, anger, and such like.

"For if you prefer any of these to it, as loving the vices of your own lust more than God, you shall not attain to the possession of the heavenly kingdom; for truly it is foolish to love anything more than God. For whether they be parents, they die; or relatives, they do not continue; or friends, they change. But God alone is eternal, and abideth unchangeable.

"He, therefore, who will not seek after that which is profitable to himself, is evil, to such an extent that his wickedness exceeds the very prince of impiety. For he abuses the goodness of God to the purpose of his own wickedness, and pleases himself; but the other neglects the good things of his own salvation, that by his own destruction he may please the evil one."

55 Ten Commandments Corresponding to the Plagues of Egypt. "On account of those, therefore, who by neglect of their own salvation please the evil one, and those who by study of their own profit seek to please the good One, ten things have been prescribed as a test to this present age, according to the number of the ten plagues which were brought upon Egypt. For when Moses, according to the commandment of God, demanded of Pharaoh that he should let the people go, and in token of his heavenly commission showed signs, his rod being thrown upon the ground was turned into a serpent.

"And when Pharaoh could not by these means be brought to consent, as having freedom of will, again the magicians seemed to do similar signs, by permission of God, that the purpose of the king might be proved from the freedom of his will, whether he would rather believe the signs wrought by Moses, who was sent by God, or those which the magicians rather seemed to work than actually wrought.

"For truly he ought to have understood from their very name that they were not workers of truth, because they were not called messengers of God, but magicians, as the tradition also intimates. Moreover, they seemed to maintain the contest up to a certain point, and afterwards they confessed of themselves, and yielded to their superior. Therefore the last plague is inflicted, the destruction of the first-born, and then Moses is commanded to consecrate the people by the sprinkling of blood; and so, gifts being presented, with much entreaty he is asked to depart with the people."

56 Simon Resisted Peter, as the Magicians Moses. "In a similar transaction I see that I am even now engaged. For as then, when Moses exhorted the king to believe God, the magicians opposed him by a pretended exhibition of similar signs, and so kept back the unbelievers from salvation; so also now, when I have come forth to teach all nations to believe in the true God, Simon the magician resists me, acting in opposition to me, as they also did in opposition to Moses; in order that whosoever they be from among the nations that do not use sound judgement, they may be made manifest; but that those may be saved who rightly distinguish signs from signs."

While Peter thus spoke, Niceta answered: "I beseech you that you would permit me to state whatever occurs to my mind."

Then Peter, being delighted with the eagerness of his disciples, said: "Speak what you will."

57 Miracles of the Magicians. Then said Niceta: "In what respect did the Egyptians sin in not believing Moses, since the magicians wrought like signs, even although they were done rather in appearance than in truth? For if I had been there then, should I not have thought, from the fact that the magicians did like things to those which Moses did, either that Moses was a magician, or that the magicians wrought their signs by divine commission? For I should not have thought it likely that the same things could be effected by magicians, even in appearance, which he who was sent by God performed.

"And now, in what respect do they sin who believe Simon, since they see him do so great marvels? Or is it not marvellous to fly through the air, to be so mixed with fire as to become one body with it, to make statues walk, brazen dogs bark, and other such like things, which assuredly are sufficiently wonderful to those who know not how to distinguish? Yea, he has also been seen to make bread of stones.

"But if he sins who believes those who do signs, how shall it appear that he also does not sin who has believed our Lord for His signs and works of power? "

58 Truth Veiled with Love. Then said Peter: "I take it well that you bring the truth to the rule, and do not suffer hindrances of faith to lurk in your soul. For thus you can easily obtain the remedy. Do you remember that I said, that the worst of all things is when any one neglects to learn what is for his good?"

Niceta answered: "I remember."

Then Peter: "And again, that God has veiled His truth, that He may disclose it to those who faithfully follow Him?"

"Neither," said Niceta, "have I forgotten this."

Then said Peter: "What think you then? That God has buried His truth deep in the earth, and has heaped mountains upon it, that it may be found by those only who are able to dig down into the depths? It is not so; but as He has surrounded the mountains and the earth with the expanse of heaven, so hath He veiled the truth with the curtain of His own love, that he alone may be able to reach it, who has first knocked at the gate of divine love."

59 Good and Evil in Pairs. "For, as I was beginning to say, God has appointed for this world certain pairs; and he who comes first of the pairs is of evil, he who comes second, of good. And in this is given to every man an occasion of right judgement, whether he is simple or prudent.

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"For if he is simple, and believes him who comes first, though moved thereto by signs and prodigies, he must of necessity, for the same reason, believe him who comes second; for he will be persuaded by signs and prodigies, as he was before. When he believes this second one, he will learn from him that he ought not to believe the first, who comes of evil; and so the error of the former is corrected by the emendation of the latter.

"But if he will not receive the second, because he has believed the first, he will deservedly be condemned as unjust; for unjust it is, that when he believed the first on account of his signs, he will not believe the second, though he bring the same, or even greater signs. But if he has not believed the first, it follows that he may be moved to believe the second. For his mind has not become so completely inactive but that it may be roused by the redoubling of marvels.

"But if he is prudent, he can make distinction of the signs. And if indeed he has believed in the first, he will be moved to the second by the increase in the miracles, and by comparison he will apprehend which are better; although clear tests of miracles are recognised by all learned men, as we have shown in the regular order of our discussion. But if any one, as being whole and not needing a physician, is not moved to the first, he will be drawn to the second by the very continuance of the thing, and will make a distinction of signs and marvels after this fashion; he who is of the evil one, the signs that he works do good to no one; but those which the good man worketh are profitable to men."

60 Uselessness of Pretended Miracles. "For tell me, I pray you, what is the use of showing statues walking, dogs of brass or stone barking, mountains dancing, of flying through the air, and such like things, which you say that Simon did? But those signs which are of the good One, are directed to the advantage of men, as are those which were done by our Lord, who gave sight to the blind and hearing to the deaf, raised up the feeble and the lame, drove away sicknesses and demons, raised the dead, and did other like things, as you see also that I do.

"Those signs, therefore, which make for the benefit of men, and confer some good upon them, the wicked one cannot do, excepting only at the end of the world. For then it shall be permitted him to mix up with his signs some good ones, as the expelling of demons or the healing of diseases; by this means going beyond his bounds, and being divided against himself, and fighting against himself, he shall be destroyed. And therefore the Lord has foretold, that in the last times there shall be such temptation, that, if it be possible, the very elect shall be deceived; that is to say, that by the marks of signs being confused, even those must be disturbed who seem to be expert in discovering spirits and distinguishing miracles."

61 Ten Pairs. "The ten pairs of which we have spoken have therefore been assigned to this world from the beginning of time. Cain and Abel were one pair. The second was the giants and Noah; the third, Pharaoh and Abraham; the fourth, the Philistines and Isaac; the fifth, Esau and Jacob; the sixth, the magicians and Moses the lawgiver; the seventh, the tempter and the Son of man; the eighth, Simon and I, Peter; the ninth, all nations, and he who shall be sent to sow the word among the nations; the tenth, Antichrist and Christ. Concerning these pairs we shall give you fuller information at another time."

When Peter spoke thus, Aquila said: "Truly there is need of constant teaching, that one may learn what is true about everything."

62 The Christian Life. But Peter said: "Who is he that is earnest toward instruction, and that studiously inquires into every particular, except him who loves his own soul to salvation, and renounces all the affairs of this world, that he may have leisure to attend to the word of God only? Such is he whom alone the true Prophet deems wise, even he who sells all that he has and buys the one true pearl, who understands what is the difference between temporal things and eternal, small and great, men and God.

"For he understands what is the eternal hope in presence of the true and good God. But who is he that loves God, save him who knows His wisdom? And how can any one obtain knowledge of God's wisdom, unless he be constant in hearing His word?

"Whence it comes, that he conceives a love for Him, and venerates Him with worthy honour, pouring out hymns and prayers to Him, and most pleasantly resting in these, accounteth it his greatest damage if at any time he speak or do aught else even for a moment of time; because, in reality, the soul which is filled with the love of God can neither look upon anything except what pertains to God, nor, by reason of love of Him, can be satisfied with meditating upon those things which it knows to be pleasing to Him.

"But those who have not conceived affection for Him, nor bear His love lighted up in their mind, are as it were placed in darkness and cannot see light; and therefore, even before they begin to learn anything of God, they immediately faint as though worn out by labour; and filled with weariness, they are straightway hurried by their own peculiar habits to those words with which they are pleased. For it is wearisome and annoying to such persons to hear anything about God; and that for the reason I have stated, because their mind has received no sweetness of divine love."

63 A Deserter from Simon's Camp. While Peter was thus speaking, the day dawned; and, behold, one of the disciples of Simon came, crying out: "I beseech thee, O Peter, receive me, a wretch, who have been deceived by Simon the magician, to whom I gave heed as to a heavenly God, by reason of those miracles which I saw him perform. But when I heard your discourses, I began to think him a man, and indeed a wicked man; nevertheless, when he went out from this I alone followed him, for I had not yet clearly perceived his impieties.

"But when he saw me following him, he called me blessed, and led me to his house; and about the middle of the night he said to me, 'I shall make you better than all men, if you will remain with me even till the end.' When I had promised him this, he demanded of me an oath of perseverance; and having got this, he placed upon my shoulders some of his polluted and accursed secret things, that I might carry them, and ordered me to follow him. But when we came to the sea, he went aboard a boat which happened to be there, and took from my neck what he had ordered me to carry.

"And as he came out a little after, bringing nothing with him, he must have thrown it into the sea. Then he asked me to go with him, saying that he was going to Rome, and that there he would please the people so much, that he should be reckoned a god, and publicly gifted with divine honours. 'Then,' said he, 'if you wish to return hither, I shall send you back, loaded with all riches, and upheld by various services.'

"When I heard this, and saw nothing in him in accordance with this profession, but perceived that he was a magician and a deceiver, I answered: 'Pardon me, I pray you; for I have a pain in my feet, and therefore I am not able to leave Caesarea. Besides, I have a wife and little children, whom I cannot leave by any means.'

"When he heard this, he charged me with sloth, and set out towards Dora, saying, 'You will be sorry, when you hear what glory I shall get in the city of Rome.' And after this he set out for Rome, as he said; but I hastily returned hither, entreating you to receive me to penitence, because I have been deceived by him."

64 Declaration of Simon's Wickedness. When he who had returned from Simon had thus spoken, Peter ordered him to sit down in the court. And he himself going forth, and seeing immense crowds, far more than on the previous days, stood in his usual place; and pointing out him who had come, began to discourse as follows:

"This man whom I point out to you, brethren, has just come to me, telling me of the wicked practices of Simon, and how he has thrown the implements of his wickedness into the sea, not induced to do so by repentance, but being afraid lest, being detected, he should be subjected to the public laws. And he asked this man, as he tells me, to remain with him, promising him immense gifts; and when he could not persuade him to do so, he left him, reproaching him for sluggishness, and set out for Rome."

When Peter had intimated this to the crowd, the man himself who had returned from Simon stood up, and began to state to the people everything relating to Simon's crimes. And when they were shocked by the things which they heard that Simon had done by his magical acts, Peter said:

65 Peter Resolves to Follow Simon. "Be not, my brethren, distressed by those things that have been done, but give heed to the future: for what is passed is ended; but the things which threaten are dangerous to those who shall fall in with them. For offences shall never be wanting in this world, so long as the enemy is permitted to act according to his will; in order that the prudent and those who understood his wiles may be conquerors in the contests which he raises against them; but that those who neglect to learn the things that pertain to the salvation of their souls, may be taken by him with merited deceptions.

"Since, therefore, as you have heard, Simon has gone forth to preoccupy the ears of the Gentiles who are called to salvation, it is necessary that I also follow upon his track, so that whatever disputations he raises may be corrected by us.

"But inasmuch as it is right that greater anxiety should be felt concerning you who are already received within the walls of life, for if that which has been actually acquired perish, a positive loss is sustained; while with respect to that which has not yet been acquired, if it can be got, there is so much gain; but if not, the only loss is that there is no gain; in order, therefore, that you may be more and more confirmed in the truth, and the nations who are called to salvation may in no way be prevented by the wickedness of Simon, I have thought good to ordain Zacchaeus as pastor over you, and to remain with you myself for three months; and so to go to the Gentiles, lest through our delaying longer, and the crimes of Simon stalking in every direction, they should become incurable."

66 Zacchaeus Made Bishop of Caesarea; Presbyters and Deacons Ordained. At this announcement all the people wept, hearing that he was going to leave them; and Peter, sympathizing with them, himself also shed tears; and looking up to heaven, he said: "To Thee, O God, who hast made heaven and earth, and all things that are in them, we pour out the prayer of supplication, that Thou wouldest comfort those who have recourse to Thee in their tribulation. For by reason of the affection that they have towards Thee, they do love me who have declared to them Thy truth. Wherefore guard them with the right hand of Thy compassion; for neither Zacchaeus nor any other man can be a sufficient guardian to them."

When he had said this, and more to the same effect, he laid his hands upon Zacchaeus, and prayed that he might blamelessly discharge the duty of his bishopric. Then he ordained twelve presbyters and four deacons, and said:

"I have ordained you this Zacchaeus as a bishop, knowing that he has the fear of God, and is expert in the Scriptures. You ought therefore to honour him as holding the place of Christ, obeying him for your salvation, and knowing that whatever honour and whatever injury is done to him, redounds to Christ, and from Christ to God. Hear him therefore with all attention, and receive from him the doctrine of the faith; and from the presbyters the monitions of life; and from the deacons the order of discipline.

"Have a religious care of widows; vigorously assist orphans; take pity on the poor; teach the young modesty;-and in a word, sustain one another as circumstances shall demand; worship God, who created heaven and earth; believe in Christ; love one another; be compassionate to all; and fulfil charity not only in word, but in act and deed."

67 Invitation to Baptism. When he had given them these and such like precepts, he made proclamation to the people, saying: "Since I have resolved to stay three months with you, if any one desires it, let him be baptised; that, stripped of his former evils, he may for the future, in consequence of his own conduct, become heir of heavenly blessings, as a reward for his good actions.

"Whosoever will, then, let him come to Zacchaeus and give his name to him, and let him hear from him the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven. Let him attend to frequent fastings, and approve himself in all things, that at the end of these three months he may be baptised on the day of the festival. But every one of you shall be baptised in ever flowing waters, the name of the Trine Beatitude being invoked over him; he being first anointed with oil sanctified by prayer, that so at length, being consecrated by these things, he may attain a perception of holy things."

68 Twelve Sent Before Him. And when he had spoken at length on the subject of baptism, he dismissed the crowd, and betook himself to his usual place of abode; and there, while the twelve stood around him (viz. Zacchaeus and Sophonias, Joseph and Michaeus, Eleazar and Phineas, Lazarus and Eliseus, I Clement and Nicodemus, Niceta and Aquila), he addressed us to the following effect:

"Let us, my brethren, consider what is right; for it is our duty to bring some help to the nations, which are called to salvation. You have yourselves heard that Simon has set out, wishing to anticipate our journey. Him we should have followed step by step, that wheresoever he tries to subvert any, we might immediately confute him.

"But since it appears to me to be unjust to forsake those who have been already converted to God, and to bestow our care upon those who are still afar off, I think it right that I should remain three months with those in this city who have been turned to the faith, and should strengthen them; and yet that we should not neglect those who are still far off, lest haply, if they be long infected with the power of pernicious doctrine, it be more difficult to recover them.

"Therefore I wish (only, however, if you also think it right), that for Zacchaeus, whom we have now ordained bishop, Benjamin the son of Saba be substituted; and for Clement (whom I have resolved to have always by me, because, coming from the Gentiles, he has a great desire to hear the word of God) there be substituted Ananias the son of Safra; and for Niceta and Aquila, who have been but lately converted to the faith of Christ, Rubelus the brother of Zacchaeus, and Zacharias the builder. I wish, therefore, to complete the number of twelve by substituting these four for the other four, that Simon may feel that I in them am always with him."41

69 Arrangements Approved by All the Brethren. Having therefore separated me, Clement, and Niceta and Aquila, he said to those twelve: "I wish you the day after to-morrow to proceed to the Gentiles, and to follow in the footsteps of Simon, that you may inform me of all his proceedings. You will also inquire diligently the sentiments of every one, and announce to them that I shall come to them without delay; and, in short, in all places instruct the Gentiles to expect my coming."

When he had spoken these things, and others to the same effect, he said: "You also, my brethren, if you have anything to say to these things, say on, lest haply it be not right which seems good to me alone."

Then all, with one voice applauding him, said: "We ask you rather to arrange everything according to your own judgement, and to order what seems good to yourself; for this we think to be the perfect work of piety, if we fulfil what you command."

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70 Departure of the Twelve. Therefore, on the day appointed, when they had ranged themselves before Peter, they said: "Do not think, O Peter, that it is a small grief to us that we are to be deprived of the privilege of hearing you for three months; but since it is good for us to do what you order, we shall most readily obey. We shall always retain in our hearts the remembrance of your face; and so we set out actively, as you have commanded us."

Then he, having poured out a prayer to the Lord for them, dismissed them. And when those twelve who had been sent forward had gone, Peter entered, according to custom, and stood in the place of disputation.

And a multitude of people had come together, even a larger number than usual; and all with tears gazed upon him, by reason of what they had heard from him the day before, that he was about to go forth on account of Simon. Then, seeing them weeping, he himself also was similarly affected, although he endeavoured to conceal and to restrain his tears. But the trembling of his voice, and the interruption of his discourse, betrayed that he was distressed by similar emotion.

71 Peter Prepares the Caesareans for His Departure. However, rubbing his forehead with his hand, he said: "Be of good courage, my brethren, and comfort your sorrowful hearts by means of counsel, referring all things to God, whose will alone is to be fulfilled and to be preferred in all things. For let us suppose for a moment, that by reason of the affection that we have towards you, we should act against His will, and remain with you, is He not able, by sending death upon me, to appoint to me a longer separation from you? And therefore it is better for us to carry out this shorter separation with His will, as those to whom it is prescribed to obey God in all things.

"Hence you also ought to obey Him with like submission, inasmuch as you love me from no other reason than on account of your love of Him. As friends of God, therefore, acquiesce in His will; but also judge yourselves what is right. Would it not have seemed wicked, if, when Simon was deceiving you, I had been detained by the brethren in Jerusalem, and had not come to you, and that although you had Zacchaeus among you, a good and eloquent man?

"So now also consider that it would be wicked, if, when Simon has gone forth to assail the Gentiles, who are wholly without a defender, I should be detained by you, and should not follow him. Wherefore let us see to it, that we do not, by an unreasonable affection, accomplish the will of the wicked one."

72 More Than Ten Thousand Baptised. "Meantime I shall remain with you three months, as I promised. Be ye constant in hearing the word; and at the end of that time, if any are able and willing to follow us, they may do so, if duty will admit of it.

"And when I say if duty will admit I mean that no one by his departure must sadden any one who ought not to be saddened, as by leaving parents who ought not to be left, or a faithful wife, or any other person to whom he is bound to afford comfort for God's sake."

Meantime, disputing and teaching day by day, he filled up the tithe appointed with the labour of teaching; and when the festival day arrived, upwards of ten thousand were baptised.

73 Tidings of Simon. But in those days a letter was received from the brethren who had gone before, in which were detailed the crimes of Simon, how going from city to city he was deceiving multitudes, and everywhere maligning Peter, so that, when he should come, no one might afford him a hearing. For he asserted that Peter was a magician, a godless man, injurious, cunning, ignorant, and professing impossible things.

"For," says he, "he asserts that the dead shall rise again, which is impossible. But if any one attempts to confute him, he is cut off by secret snares by him, through means of his attendants. Wherefore, I also," says he, "when I had vanquished him and triumphed over him, fled for fear of his snares, lest he should destroy me by incantations, or compass my death by plots." They intimated also that he mainly stayed at Tripolis.42

74 Farewell to Caesarea. Peter therefore ordered the letter to be read to the people; and after the reading of it, he addressed them and gave them full instructions about everything, but especially that they should obey Zacchaeus, whom he had ordained bishop over them. Also he commended the presbyters and the deacons to the people, and not less the people to them. And then, announcing that he should spend the winter at Tripolis, he said:

"I commend you to the grace of God, being about to depart to-morrow, with God's will. But during the whole three months which he spent at Caesarea, for the sake of instruction, whatever he discoursed of in the presence of the people in the day-time, he explained more fully and perfectly in the night, in private to us, as more faithful and completely approved by him. And at the same time he commanded me, because he understood that I carefully stored in my memory what I heard, to commit to writing whatever seemed worthy of record, and to send it to you, my lord James, as also I did, in obedience to his command."

75 Contents of Clement's Despatches to James.The first book, therefore, of those that I formerly sent to you, contains an account of the true Prophet, and of the peculiarity of the understanding of the law, according to what the tradition of Moses teacheth.

The second contains an account of the beginning, and whether there be one beginning or many, and that the law of the Hebrews knows what immensity is.

The third, concerning God, and those things that have been ordained by Him.

The fourth, that though there are many that are called gods, there is but one true God, according to the testimonies of the Scriptures.

The fifth, that there are two heavens, one of which is that visible firmament which shall pass away, but the other is eternal and invisible.

The sixth, concerning good and evil; and that all things are subjected to good by the Father; and why, and how, and whence evil is, and that it co-operates with good, but not with a good purpose; and what are the signs of good, and what those of evil; and what is the difference between duality and conjunction.

The seventh, what are the things which the twelve apostles treated of in the presence of the people in the temple.

The eighth, concerning the words of the Lord which seem to be contradictory, but are not; and what is the explanation of them.

The ninth, that the law which has been given by God is righteous and perfect, and that it alone can make pure.

The tenth, concerning the carnal birth of men, and concerning the generation which is by baptism; and what is the succession of carnal seed in man; and what is the account of his soul, and how the freedom of the will is in it, which, seeing it is not unbegotten, but made, could not be immoveable from good.

Concerning these several subjects, therefore, whatever Peter discoursed at Caesarea, according to his command, as I have said, I have sent you written in ten volumes.44 But on the next day, as had been determined, we set out from Caeesarea with some faithful men, who had resolved to accompany Peter.

CLEMENT RECOGNITION BOOK 4

1 Halt at Dora. Having set out from Caesarea on the way to Tripolis, we made our first stoppage at a small town called Dora, because it was not far distant; and almost all those who had believed through the preaching of Peter could scarcely bear to be separated from him, but walked along with us, again and again gazing upon him, again and again embracing him, again and again conversing with him, until we came to the inn.

On the following day we came to Ptolemais, where we stayed ten days; and when a considerable number had received the word of God, we signified to some of them who seemed particularly attentive, and wished to detain us longer for the sake of instruction, that they might, if so disposed, follow us to Tripolis. We acted in the same way at Tyre, and Sidon, and Berytus, and announced to those who desired to hear further discourses, that we were to spend the winter at Tripolis.

Therefore, as all those who were anxious followed Peter from each city, we were a great multitude of elect ones when we entered into Tripolis. On our arrival, the brethren who had been sent before met us before the gates of the city; and taking us under their charge, conducted us to the various lodgings which they had prepared. Then there arose a commotion in the city, and a great assemblage of persons desirous to see Peter.2

2 Reception in the House of Maro. And when we had come to the house of Maro, in which preparation had been made for Peter, he turned to the crowd, and told them that he would address them the day after tomorrow. Therefore the brethren who had been sent before assigned lodgings to all who had come with us.

Then, when Peter had entered into the house of Maro, and was asked to partake of food, he answered that he would by no means do so, until he had ascertained whether all those that had accompanied him were provided with lodgings. Then he learned from the brethren who had been sent before, that the citizens had received them not only hospitably, but with all kindness, by reason of their love towards Peter; so much so, that several were disappointed because there were no guests for them; for that all had made such preparations, that even if many more had come, there would still have been a deficiency of guests for the hosts, not of hosts for the guests.

3 Simon's Flight. Thereupon Peter was greatly delighted, and praised the brethren, and blessed them, and requested them to remain with him. Then, when he had bathed in the sea, and had taken food, he went to sleep in the evening; and rising, as usual, at cock-crow, while the evening light was still burning, he found us all awake.

Now there were in all sixteen of us, viz. Peter and I, Clement, Niceta and Aquila, and those twelve who had preceded us.3 Saluting us, then, as was his wont, Peter said: "Since we are not taken up with others to-day, let us be taken up with ourselves. I shall tell you what took place at Caesarea after your departure, and you shall tell us of the doings of Simon here."

And while the conversation was going on on these subjects, at daybreak some of the members of the family came in and told Peter that Simon, when he heard of Peter's arrival, departed in the night, on the way to Syria. They also stated that the crowds thought that the day which he had said was to intervene was a very long time for their affection, and that they were standing in impatience before the gate, conversing among themselves about those things which they wished to hear, and that they hoped that they should by all means see him before the time appointed; and that as the day became lighter the multitudes were increasing, and that they were trusting confidently, whatever they might be presuming upon, that they should hear a discourse from him.

"Now then," said they, "instruct us to tell them what seems good to you; for it is absurd that so great a multitude should have come together, and should depart with sadness, through no answer being returned to them. For they will not consider that it is they that have not waited for; the appointed day but rather they will think that you are slighting them."

4 The Harvest Plenteous. Then Peter, filled with admiration, said: "You see, brethren, how every word of the Lord spoken prophetically is fulfilled. For I remember that He said, 'The harvest indeed is plenteous, but the labourers are few; ask therefore the Lord of the harvest, that He would send out labourers into His harvest.' Behold, therefore, the things which are foretold in a mystery are fulfilled.

"But whereas He said also, 'Many shall come from the east and the west, from the north and the south, and shall recline in the bosom of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob;' this also is, as you see, in like manner fulfilled. Wherefore I entreat you, my fellow-servants and helpers, that you would learn diligently the order of preaching, and the ways of absolutions, that ye may be able to save the souls of men, which by the secret power of God acknowledge whom they ought to love, even before they are taught.

"For you see that these men, like good servants, long for him whom they expect to announce to them the coming of their Lord, that they may be able to fulfil His will when they have learned it. The desire, therefore, of hearing the word of God, and inquiring into His will, they have from God; and this is the beginning of the gift of God, which is given to the Gentiles, that by this they may be able to receive the doctrine of truth."

5 Moses and Christ. "For so also it was given to the people of the Hebrews from the beginning, that they should love Moses, and believe his word; whence also it is written: 'The people believed God, and Moses His servant.' What, therefore, was of peculiar gift from God toward the nation of the Hebrews, we see now to be given also to those who are called from among the Gentiles to the faith. But the method of works is put into the power and will of every one, and this is their own; but to have an affection towards a teacher of truth, this is a gift of the heavenly Father.

"But salvation is in this, that you do His will of whom you have conceived a love and affection through the gift of God; lest that saying of His be addressed to you which He spoke, 'Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not what I say?' It is therefore the peculiar gift bestowed by God upon the Hebrews, that they believe Moses; and the peculiar gift bestowed upon the Gentiles is that they love Jesus. For this also the Master intimated, when He said, 'I will confess to Thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because Thou hast concealed these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them to babes.'9

"By which it is certainly declared, that the people of the Hebrews, who were instructed out of the law, did not know Him; but the people of the Gentiles have acknowledged Jesus, and venerate Him; on which account also they shall be saved, not only acknowledging Him, but also doing His will. But he who is of the Gentiles, and who has it of God to believe Moses, ought also to have it of his own purpose to love Jesus also.

"And again, the Hebrew, who has it of God to believe Moses, ought to have it also of his own purpose to believe in Jesus; so that each of them, having in himself something of the divine gift, and something of his own exertion, may be perfect by both. For concerning such an one our Lord spoke, as of a rich man, 'Who brings forth from his treasures things new and old.'"10

6 A Congregation. "But enough has been said of these things for time presses, and the religious devotion of the people invites us to address them." And when he had thus spoken, he asked where there was a suitable place for discussion. And Maro said: "I have a very spacious hall11 which can hold more than five hundred men, and there is also a garden within the house; or if it please you to be in some public place, all would prefer it, for there is nobody who does not desire at least to see your face."

Then Peter said: "Show me the hall, or the garden." And when he had seen the hall, he went in to see the garden also; and suddenly the whole multitude, as if some one had called them, rushed into the house, and thence broke through into

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the garden, where Peter was already standing, selecting a fit place for discussion.

7 The Sick Healed. But when he saw that the crowds had, like the waters of a great river, poured over the narrow passage, he mounted upon a pillar which happened to stand near the wall of the garden, and first saluted the people in a religious manner.

But some of those who were present, and who had been for a long time distressed by demons, threw themselves on the ground, while the unclean spirits entreated that they might be allowed but for one day to remain in the bodies that they had taken possession of. But Peter rebuked them, and commanded them to depart; and they went out without delay.

After these, others who had been afflicted with long-standing sicknesses asked Peter that they might receive healing; and he promised that he would entreat the Lord for them as soon as his discourse of instruction was completed. But as soon as he promised, they were freed from their sicknesses;12 and he ordered them to sit down apart, with those who had been freed from the demons, as after the fatigue of labour.

Meantime, while this was going on, a vast multitude assembled, attracted not only by the desire of hearing Peter, but also by the report of the cures which had been accomplished. But Peter, beckoning with his hand to the people to he still, and settling the crowds in tranquillity, began to address them as follows:

8 Providence Vindicated. "It seems to me necessary, at the outset of a discourse concerning the true worship of God, first of all to instruct those who have not as yet acquired any knowledge of the subject, that throughout the divine providence must be maintained to be without blame, by which the world is ruled and governed.

"Moreover, the reason of the present undertaking, and the occasion offered by those whom the power of God has healed, suggest this subject for a beginning, viz. to show that for good reason very many persons are possessed of demons, that so the justice of God may appear. For ignorance will be found to be the mother of almost all evils. But now let us come to the reason."

9 State of Innocence a State of Enjoyment. "When God had made man after His own image and likeness, He grafted into His work a certain breathing and odour of His divinity, that so men, being made partakers of His Only-begotten, might through Him be also friends of God and sons of adoption. Whence also He Himself, as the true Prophet, knowing with what actions the Father is pleased, instructed them in what way they might obtain that privilege.

"At that time, therefore, there was among men only one worship of God a pure mind and an uncorrupted spirit. And for this reason every creature kept an inviolable covenant with the human race. For by reason of their reverence of the Creator, no sickness, or bodily disorder, or corruption of food, had power over them; whence it came to pass, that a life of a thousand years did not fall into the frailty of old age."

10 Sin the Cause of Suffering. "But when men, leading a life void of distress, began to think that the continuance of good things was granted them not by the divine bounty, but by the chance of things, and to accept as a debt of nature, not as a gift of God's goodness, their enjoyment without any exertion of the delights of the divine complaisance, men, being led by these things into contrary and impious thoughts, came at last, at the instigation of idleness, to think that the life of gods was theirs by nature, without any labours or merits on their part.

"Hence they go from bad to worse, to believe that neither is the world governed by the providence of God, nor is there any place for virtues, since they knew that they themselves possessed the fulness of ease and delights, without the assignment of any works previously, and without any labours were treated as the friends of God."

11 Suffering Salutary. "By the most righteous judgement of God, therefore, labours and afflictions are assigned as a remedy to men languishing in the vanity of such thoughts. And when labour and tribulations came upon them, they were excluded from the place of delights and amenity. Also the earth began to produce nothing to them without labour; and then men's thoughts being turned in them, they were warned to seek the aid of their Creator, and by prayers and vows to ask for the divine protection.

"And thus it came to pass, that the worship of God, which they had neglected by reason of their prosperity, they recovered through their adversity; and their thoughts towards God, which indulgence had perverted, affliction corrected. So therefore the divine providence, seeing that this was more profitable to man, removed from them the ways of benignity and abundance, as being hurtful, and introduced the way of vexation and tribulation."13

12 Translation of Enoch. "But that He might show that these things were done on account of the ungrateful, He translated to immortality a certain one of the first race of men, because He saw that he was not unmindful of His grace, and because he hoped to call on the name of God; while the rest, who were so ungrateful that they could not be amended and corrected even by labours and tribulations, were condemned to a terrible death.

"Yet amongst them also He found a certain one, who was righteous with his house,16 whom He preserved, having enjoined him to build an ark, in which he and those who were commanded to go with him might escape, when all things should be destroyed by a deluge: in order that, the wicked being cut off by the overflow of waters, the world might receive a purification; and he who had been preserved for the continuance of the race, being purified by water, might anew repair the world."

13 Origin of Idolatry. "But when all these things were done, men turned again to impiety; and on this account a law was given by God to instruct them in the manner of living. But in process of time, the worship of God and righteousness were corrupted by the unbelieving and the wicked, as we shall show more fully by and by. Moreover, perverse and erratic religions were introduced, to which the greater part of men gave themselves up, by occasion of holidays and solemnities, instituting drinkings and banquets, following pipes, and flutes, and harps, and diverse kinds of musical instruments, and indulging themselves in all kinds of drunkenness and luxury.

"Hence every kind of error took rise; hence they invented groves and altars, fillets and victims, and after drunkenness they were agitated as if with mad emotions. By this means power was given to the demons to enter into minds of this sort, so that they seemed to lead insane dances and to rave like Bacchanalians; hence were invented the gnashing of teeth, and bellowing from the depth of their bowels; hence a terrible countenance and a fierce aspect in men, so that he whom drunkenness had subverted and a demon had instigated, was believed by the deceived and the erring to be filled with the Deity."

14 God Both Good and Righteous. "Hence, since so many false and erratic religions have been introduced into the world, we have been sent, as good merchants, bringing unto you the worship of the true God, handed down from the fathers, and preserved; as the seeds of which we scatter these words amongst you, and place it in your choice to choose what seems to you to be right. For if you receive those things which we bring you, you shall not only be able yourselves to escape the incursions of the demon, but also to drive them away from others; and at the same time you shall obtain the rewards of eternal good things.

"But those who shall refuse to receive those things which are spoken by us, shall be subject in the present life to diverse demons and disorders of sicknesses, and their souls after their departure from the body shall be tormented for ever. For God is not only good, but also just; for if He were always good, and never just to render to every one according to his deeds, goodness would be found to be injustice. For it were injustice if the impious and the pious were treated by Him alike."

15 How Demons Get Power Over Men. "Therefore demons, as we have just said, when once they have been able, by means of opportunities afforded them, to convey themselves through base and evil actions into the bodies of men, if they remain in them a long time through their own negligence, because they do not seek after what is profitable to their souls, they necessarily compel them for the future to fulfil the desires of the demons who dwell in them.

"But what is worst of all, at the end of the world, when that demon shall be consigned to eternal fire, of necessity the soul also which obeyed him, shall with him be tortured in eternal fires, together with its body which it hath polluted."

16 Why They Wish to Possess Men. "Now that the demons are desirous of occupying the bodies of men, this is the reason. They are spirits baring their purpose turned to wickedness. Therefore by immoderate eating and drinking, and lust, they urge men on to sin, but only those who entertain the purpose of sinning, who, while they seem simply desirous of satisfying the necessary cravings of nature, give opportunity to the demons to enter into them, because through excess they do not maintain moderation.

"For as long as the measure of nature is kept, and legitimate moderation is preserved, the mercy of God does not give them liberty to enter into men. But when either the mind falls into impiety, or the body is filled with immoderate meat or drink, then, as if invited by the will and purpose of those who thus neglect themselves, they receive power as against those who have broken the law imposed by God."

17 The Gospel Gives Power Over Demons. "You see, then, how important is the acknowledgment of God, and the observance of the divine religion, which not only protects those who believe from the assaults of the demon, but also gives them command over those who rule over others. And therefore it is necessary for you, who are of the Gentiles, to betake yourselves to God, and to keep yourselves from all uncleanness, that the demons may be expelled, and God may dwell in you.

"And at the same time, by prayers, commit yourselves to God, and call for His aid against the impudence of the demons; for 'whatever things ye ask, believing, ye shall receive.'19 But even the demons themselves, in proportion as they see faith grow in a man, in that proportion they depart from him, residing only in that part in which something of infidelity still remains; but from those who believe with full faith, they depart without any delay. For when a soul has come to the faith of God, it obtains the virtue of heavenly water, by which it extinguishes the demon like a spark of fire."

18 This Power in Proportion to Faith. "There is therefore a measure of faith, which, if it be perfect, drives the demon perfectly from the soul; but if it has any defect, something on the part of the demon still remains in the portion of infidelity; and it is the greatest difficulty for the soul to understand when or how, whether fully or less fully, the demon has been expelled from it. For if he remains in any quarter, when he gets an opportunity, he suggests thoughts to men's hearts; and they, not knowing whence they come, believe the suggestions of the demons, as if they were the perceptions of their own souls.

"Thus they suggest to some to follow pleasure by occasion of bodily necessity; they excuse the passionateness of others by excess of gall; they colour over the madness of others by the vehemence of melancholy; and even extenuate the folly of some as the result of abundance of phlegm.

"But even if this were so, still none of these could be hurtful to the body, except from the excess of meats and drinks; because, when these are taken in excessive quantities, their abundance, which the natural warmth is not sufficient to digest, curdles into a sort of poison, and it, flowing through the bowels and all the veins like a common sewer, renders the motions of the body unhealthy and base. Wherefore moderation is to be attained in all things, that neither may place be given to demons, nor the soul, being possessed by them, be delivered along with them to be tormented in eternal fires."

19 Demons Incite to Idolatry. "There is also another error of the demons, which they suggest to the senses of men, that they should think that those things which they suffer, they suffer from such as are called gods, in order that thereby, offering sacrifices and gifts, as if to propitiate them, they may strengthen the worship of false religion, and avoid us who are interested in their salvation, that they may be freed from error; but this they do, as I have said, not knowing that these thing are suggested to them by demons, for fear they should be saved.

"It is therefore in the power of every one, since man has been made possessed of free-will, whether he shall hear us to life, or the demons to destruction. Also to some, the demons, appearing visibly under various figures, sometimes throw out threats, sometimes promise relief from sufferings, that they may instil into those whom they deceive the opinion of their being gods, and that it may not be known that they are demons.

"But they are not concealed from us, who know the mysteries of the creation, and for what reason it is permitted to the demons to do those things in the present world; how it is allowed them to transform themselves into what figures they please, and to suggest evil thoughts, and to convey themselves, by means of meats and of drink consecrated to them, into the minds or bodies of those who partake of it, and to concoct vain dreams to further the worship of some idol."

20 Folly of Idolatry. "And yet who can be found so senseless as to be persuaded to worship an idol, whether it be made of gold or of any other metal? To whom is it not manifest that the metal is just that which the artificer pleased? How then can the divinity be thought to be in that which would not be at all unless the artificer had pleased? Or how can they hope that future things should be declared to them by that in which there is no perception of present things? For although they should divine something, they should not straightway be held to be gods; for divination is one thing, divinity is another. For the Pythons also seem to divine, yet they are not gods; and, in short, they are driven out of men by Christians. And how can that be God which is put to flight by a man?

" But perhaps you will say, What as to their effecting cures, and their showing how one can be cured? On this principle, physicians ought also to be worshipped as gods, for they cure many; and in proportion as any one is more skilful, the more he will cure."

21 Heathen Oracles. "Whence it is evident that they since they are demoniac spirits, know some things both more quickly and more perfectly than men; for they are not retarded in their learning by the heaviness of a body. And therefore they, as being spirits, know without delay and without difficulty what physicians attain after a long time and by much labour. It is not wonderful, therefore, if they know somewhat more than men do; but this is to be observed, that what they know they do not employ for the salvation of souls, but for the deception of them, that by means of it they may indoctrinate them in the worship of false religion.

"But God, that the error of so great deception might not be concealed, and that He Himself might not seem to be a cause of error in permitting them so great licence to deceive men by divinations, and cures, and dreams, has of His mercy furnished men with a remedy, and has made the distinction of falsehood and truth patent to those who desire to know.

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"This, therefore, is that distinction: what is spoken by the true God, whether by prophets or by diverse visions, is always true; but what is foretold by demons is not always true. It is therefore an evident sign that those things are not spoken by the true God, in which at any time there is falsehood; for in truth there is never falsehood. But in the case of those who speak falsehoods, there may occasionally be a slight mixture of truth, to give as it were seasoning to the falsehoods."

22 Why They Sometimes Come True. "But if any one say, What is the use of this, that they should be permitted even sometimes to speak truth, and thereby so much error be introduced amongst men? let him take this for answer: If they had never been allowed to speak any truth, then they would not foretell anything at all; while if they did not foretell, they would not be known to be demons.

"But if demons were not known to be in this world, the cause of our struggle and contest would be concealed from us, and we should suffer openly what was done in secret, that is, if the power were granted to them of only acting against us, and not of speaking. But now, since they sometimes speak truth, and sometimes falsehood, we ought to acknowledge, as I have said, that their responses are of demons, and not of God, with whom there is never falsehood."

23 Evil Not in Substance. "But if any one, proceeding more curiously, inquire: What then was the use of God's making these evil things, which should have so great a tendency to subvert the minds of men? To one proposing such a question, we answer that we must first of all inquire whether there is any evil in substance.

"And although it would be sufficient to say to him that it is not suitable that the creature judge the Creator, but that to judge the work of another belongs to him who is either of equal skill or equal power; yet, to come directly to the point, we say absolutely that there is no evil in substance. But if this be so, then the Creator of substance is vainly blamed."

24 Why God Permits Evil. "But you will meet me by saying, Even if it has come to this through freedom of will, was the Creator ignorant that those whom He created would fall away into evil? He ought therefore not to have created those who, He foresaw, would deviate from the path of righteousness. Now we tell those who ask such questions, that the purpose of assertions of the sort made by us is to show why the wickedness of those who as yet were not, did not prevail over the goodness of the Creator.

"For if, wishing to fill up the number and measure of His creation, He had been afraid of the wickedness of those who were to be, and like one who could find no other way of remedy and cure, except only this, that He should refrain from His purpose of creating, lest the wickedness of those who were to be should be ascribed to Him; what else would this show but unworthy suffering and unseemly feebleness on the part of the Creator, who should so fear the actings of those who as yet were not, that He refrained from His purposed creation?"

25 Evil Beings Turned to Good Account. "But, setting aside these things, let us consider this earnestly, that God the Creator of the universe, foreseeing the future differences of His creation, foresaw and provided diverse ranks and different offices to each of His creatures, according to the peculiar movements which were produced from freedom of will; so that while all men are of one substance in respect of the method of creation, there should yet be diversity in ranks and offices, according to the peculiar movements of minds, to be produced from liberty of will.

"Therefore He foresaw that there would be faults in His creatures; and the method of His justice demanded that punishment should follow faults, for the sake of amendment. It behoved, therefore, that there should be ministers of punishment, and yet that freedom of will should draw them into that order. Moreover, those also must have enemies to conquer, who had undertaken the contests for the heavenly rewards.

"Thus, therefore, neither are those things destitute of utility which are thought to be evil, since the conquered unwillingly acquire eternal rewards for those by whom they are conquered. But let this suffice on these points, for in process of time even more secret things shall be disclosed."

26 Evil Angels Seducers. "Now therefore, since you do not yet understand how great darkness of ignorance surrounds you, meantime I wish to explain to you whence the worship of idols began in this world. And by idols, I mean those lifeless images which you worship, whether made of wood, or earthenware, or stone, or brass, or any other metals: of these the beginning was in this wise.

"Certain angels, having left the course of their proper order, began to favour the vices of men,22 and in some measure to lend unworthy aid to their lust, in order that by these means they might indulge their own pleasures the more; and then, that they might not seem to be inclined of their own accord to unworthy services, taught men that demons could, by certain arts that is, by magical invocations be made to obey men; and so, as from a furnace and workshop of wickedness, they filled the whole world with the smoke of impiety, the light of piety being withdrawn."

27 Ham the First Magician. "For these and some other causes, a flood was brought upon the world, as we have said already, and shall say again; and all who were upon the earth were destroyed, except the family of Noah, who survived, with his three sons and their wives.

"One of these, by name Ham, unhappily discovered the magical act, and handed down the instruction of it to one of his sons, who was called Mesraim, from whom the race of the Egyptians and Babylonians and Persians are descended. Him the nations who then existed called Zoroaster, admiring him as the first author of the magic art; trader whose name also many books on this subject exist.

"He therefore, being much and frequently intent upon the stars, and wishing to be esteemed a god among them, began to draw forth, as it were, certain sparks from the stars, and to show them to men, in order that the rude and ignorant might be astonished, as with a miracle; and desiring to increase this estimation of him, he attempted these things again and again, until he was set on fire, and consumed by the demon himself, whom he accosted with too great importunity."

28 Tower of Babel. "But the foolish men who were then, whereas they ought to have abandoned the opinion which they had conceived of him, inasmuch as they had seen it confuted by his mortal punishment, extolled him the more. For raising a sepulchre to his honour, they went so far as to adore him as a friend of God, and one who had been removed to heaven in a chariot of lightning, and to worship him as if he were a living star. Hence also his name was called Zoroaster after his death that is, living star by those who, after one generation, had been taught to speak the Greek language.

"In fine, by this example, even now many worship those who have been struck with lightning, honouring them with sepulchres, and worshipping them as friends of God. But this man was born in the fourteenth generation, and died in the fifteenth, in which the tower was built, and the languages of men were divided into many."

29 Fire-Worship of the Persians. "First among whom is named a certain king Nimrod, the magic art having been handed down to him as by a flash, whom the Greeks, also called Ninus, and from whom the city of Nineveh took its name. Thus, therefore, diverse and erratic superstitions took their beginning from the magic art.

"For, because it was difficult to draw away the human race from the love of God, and attach them to deaf and lifeless images, the magicians made use of higher efforts, that men might be turned to erratic worship, by signs among the stars, and motions brought down as it were from heaven, and by the will of God. And those who had been first deceived, collecting the ashes of Zoroaster, who, as we have said, was burnt up by the indignation of the demon, to whom he had been too troublesome, brought them to the Persians, that they might be preserved by them with perpetual watching, as divine fire fallen from heaven, and might be worshipped as a heavenly God."

30 Hero-Worship. "By a like example, other men in other places built temples, set up statues, instituted mysteries and ceremonies and sacrifices, to those whom they had admired, either for some arts or for virtue, or at least had held in very great affection; and rejoiced, by means of all things belonging to gods, to hand down their fame to posterity; and that especially, because, as we have already said, they scented to be supported by some phantasies of magic art, so that by invocation of demons something seemed to be done and moved by them towards the deception of men.

"To these they add also certain solemnities, and drunken banquets, in which men might with all freedom indulge; and demons, conveyed into them in the chariot of repletion, might be mixed with their very bowels, and holding a place there, might bind the acts and thoughts of men to their own will.

"Such errors, then, having been introduced from the beginning, and having been aided by lust and drunkenness, in which carnal men chiefly delight, the religion of God, which consisted in continence and sobriety, began to become rare amongst men, and to be well-nigh abolished."

31 Idolatry Led to All Immorality. "For whereas at first, men worshipping a righteous and all-seeing God, neither dared sin nor do injury to their neighbours, being persuaded that God sees the actions and movements of every one; when religious worship was directed to lifeless images, concerning which they were certain that they were incapable of hearing, or sight, or motion, they began to sin licentiously, and to go forward to every crime, because they had no fear of suffering anything at the hands of those whom they worshipped as gods.

"Hence the madness of wars burst out; hence plunderings, rapines, captivities, and liberty reduced to slavery; each one, as he could, satisfied his lust and his covetousness, although no power can satisfy covetousness. For as fire, the more fuel it gets, is the more extensively kindled and strengthened, so also the madness of covetousness is made greater and more vehement by means of those things which it acquires."

32 Invitation. "Wherefore begin now with better understanding to resist yourselves in those things which you do not rightly desire; if so be that you can in any way repair and restore in yourselves that purity of religion and innocence of life which at first were bestowed upon man by God, that thereby also the hope of immortal blessings may be restored to you. And give thanks to the bountiful Father of all, by Him whom He has constituted King of peace, and the treasury of unspeakable honours, that even at the present time your sins may be washed away with the water of the fountain, or river, or even sea: the threefold name of blessedness being called over you, that by it not only evil spirits may be driven out, if any dwell in you, but also that, when you have forsaken your sins, and have with entire faith and entire purity of mind believed in God, you may drive out wicked spirits and demons from others also, and may be able to set others free from sufferings and sicknesses.

"For the demons themselves know and acknowledge those who have given themselves up to God, and sometimes they are driven out by the mere presence of such, as you saw a little while ago, how, when we had only addressed to you the word of salutation, straightway the demons, on account of their respect for our religion, began to cry out, and could not bear our presence even for a little."

33 The Weakest Christian More Powerful Than the Strongest Demon. "Is it, then, that we are of another and a superior nature, and that therefore the demons are afraid of us? Nay, we are of one and the same nature with you, but we differ in religion. But if you will also be like us, we do not grudge it, but rather we exhort you, and wish you to be assured, that when the same faith and religion and innocence of life shall be in you that is in us, you will have equal and the same power and virtue against demons, through God rewarding your faith.

"For as he who has soldiers under him, although he may be inferior, and they superior to him in strength, yet 'says to this one, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh; and to another, Do this, and he doeth it;' and this he is able to do, not by his own power, but by the fear of Caesar; so every faithful one commands the demons, although they seem to he much stronger than men, and that not by means of his own power, but by means of the power of God, who has put them in subjection.

"For even that which we have just spoken of, that Caesar is held in awe by all soldiers, and in every camp, and in his whole kingdom, though he is but one man, and perhaps feeble in respect of bodily strength, this is not effected but by the power of God, who inspires all with fear, that they may be subject to one."

34 Temptation of Christ. "This we would have you know assuredly, that a demon has no power against a man, unless one voluntarily submit himself to his desires. Whence even that one who is the prince of wickedness, approached Him who, as we have said, is appointed of God King of peace, tempting Him, and began to promise Him all the glory of the world; because he knew that when he had offered this to others, for the sake of deceiving them, they had worshipped him.

"Therefore, impious as he was, and unmindful of himself, which indeed is the special peculiarity of wickedness, he presumed that he should be worshipped by Him by whom he knew that he was to be destroyed. Therefore our Lord, confirming the worship of one God, answered him: 'It is written, Thou shall worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve.'

"And he, terrified by this answer, and fearing lest the true religion of the one and true God should be restored, hastened straightway to send forth into this world false prophets, and false apostles, and false teachers, who should speak indeed in the name of Christ, but should accomplish the will of the demon."

35 False Apostles. "Wherefore observe the greatest caution, that you believe no teacher, unless he bring from Jerusalem the testimonial of James the Lord's brother, or of whosoever may come after him. For no one, unless he has gone up thither, and there has been approved as a fit and faithful teacher for preaching the word of Christ, unless, I say, he brings a testimonial thence, is by any means to be received. But let neither prophet nor apostle be looked for by you at this time, besides us.

"For there is one true Prophet, whose words we twelve apostles preach; for He is the accepted year of God, having us apostles as His twelve months. But for what reason the world itself was made, or what diversities have occurred in it, and why our Lord, coming for its restoration, has chosen and sent us twelve apostles, shall be explained more at length at another time.

"Meantime He has commanded us to go forth to preach, and to invite you to the supper of the heavenly King, which the Father hath prepared for the marriage of His Son, and that we should give you wedding garments, that is, the grace of baptism; which whosoever obtains, as a spotless robe with which he is to enter to the supper of the King, ought to beware that it be not in any part of it stained with sin, and so he be rejected as unworthy and reprobate."

36 The Garments Unspotted. "But the ways in which this garment may be spotted are these: If any one withdraw from God the Father and Creator of all, receiving another teacher

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besides Christ, who alone is the faithful and true Prophet, and who has sent us twelve apostles to preach the word; if any one think otherwise than worthily of the substance of the Godhead, which excels all things; these are the things which even fatally pollute the garment of baptism.

"But the things which pollute it in actions are these: murders, adulteries, hatreds, avarice, evil ambition.

"And the things which pollute at once the soul and the body are these: to partake of the table of demons, that is, to taste things sacrificed, or blood, or a carcase which is strangled,31 and if there be aught else which has been offered to demons. Be this therefore the first step to you of three; which step brings forth thirty commands, and the second sixty, and the third a hundred,32 as we shall expound more fully to you at another time."

37 The Congregation Dismissed. When he had thus spoken, and had charged them to come to the same place in good time on the following day, he dismissed the crowds; and when they were unwilling to depart, Peter said to them: "Do me this favour on account of the fatigue of yesterday's journey; and now go away, and meet in good time tomorrow." And so they departed with joy.

But Peter, commanding me to withdraw a little for the purpose of prayer,33 afterwards ordered the couches to be spread in the part of the garden which was covered with shade; and every one, according to custom, recognising the place of his own rank, we took food. Then, as there was still some portion of the day left, he conversed with us concerning the Lord's miracles; and when evening was come, he entered his bed-chamber and went to sleep.

CLEMENT RECOGNITION BOOK 5

1 Peter's Salutation. But on the following day, Peter rising a little earlier than usual, found us asleep; and when he saw it, he gave orders that silence should be kept for him, as though he himself wished to sleep longer, that we might not be disturbed in our rest. But when we rose refreshed with sleep, we found him, having finished his prayer, waiting for us in his bed-chamber.

And as it was already dawn, he addressed us shortly, saluting us according to his custom, and forthwith proceeded to the usual place for the purpose of teaching; and when he saw that many had assembled there, having invoked peace upon them according to the first religious form, he began to speak as follows:

2 Suffering the Effect of Sin. "God, the Creator of all, at the beginning made man after His own image, and gave him dominion over the earth and sea, and over the air; as the true Prophet has told us, and as the very reason of things instructs us: for man alone is rational, and it is fitting that reason should rule over the irrational.

"At first, therefore, while he was still righteous, he was superior to all disorders and all frailty; but when he sinned, as we taught you yesterday, and became the servant of sin, he became at the same time liable to frailty. This therefore is written, that men may know that, as by impiety they have been made liable to suffer, so by piety they may be made free from suffering; and not only free from suffering, but by even a little faith in God be able to cure the sufferings of others.

"For thus the true Prophet promised us, saying, 'Verily I say to you, that if ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say to this mountain, Remove hence, and it shall remove.'2 Of this saving you have yourselves also had proofs; for you saw yesterday how at our presence the demons removed and were put to flight, with those sufferings which they had brought upon men.

3 Faith and Unbelief. "Whereas therefore some men suffer, and others cure those who suffer, it is necessary, to know the cause at once of the suffering and the cure; and this is proved to be nought else than unbelief on the part of the sufferers, and faith on the part of those who cure them.

"For unbelief, while it does not believe that there is to be a judgement by God, affords licence to sin, and sin makes men liable to sufferings; but faith, believing that there is to be a judgement of God, restrains men from sin; and those who do not sin are not only free from demons and sufferings, but can also put to flight the demons and sufferings of others."

4 Ignorance the Mother of Evils. "From all these things, therefore, it is concluded that all evil springs from ignorance; and ignorance herself, the mother of all evils, is sprung from carelessness and sloth, and is nourished, and increased, and rooted in the senses of men by negligence; and if any one teach that she is to be put to flight, she is with difficulty and indignantly torn away, as from an ancient and hereditary abode.

"And therefore we must labour for a little, that we may search out the presumptions of ignorance, and cut them off by means of knowledge, especially in those who are preoccupied with some erroneous opinions, by means of which ignorance is the more firmly rooted in them, as under the appearance of a certain kind of knowledge; for nothing is worse than for one to believe that he knows what he is ignorant of, and to maintain that to be true which is false.

"This is as if a drunk man should think himself to be sober, and should act indeed in all respects as a drunk man, and yet think himself to be sober, and should wish to be called so by others. Thus, therefore, are those also who do not know what is true, yet hold some appearance of knowledge, and do many evil things as if they were good, and hasten destruction as if it were to salvation."

5 Advantages of Knowledge. "Wherefore we must, above all things, hasten to the knowledge of the truth, that, as with a light kindled thereat, we may be able to dispel the darkness of errors: for ignorance, as we have said, is a great evil; but because it has no substance, it is easily dispelled by those who are in earnest. For ignorance is nothing else than not knowing what is good for us; once know this, and ignorance perishes. Therefore the knowledge of truth ought to be eagerly sought after; and no one can confer it except the true Prophet. For this is the gate of life to those who will enter, and the road of good works to those going to the city of salvation."

6 Free-Will. "Whether any one, truly hearing the word of the true Prophet, is willing or unwilling to receive it, and to embrace His burden, that is, the precepts of life, he has either in his power, for we are free in will. For if it were so, that those who hear had it not in their power to do otherwise than they had heard, there were some power of nature in virtue of which it were not free to him to pass over to another opinion. Or if, again, no one of the hearers could at all receive it, this also were a power of nature which should compel the doing of some one thing, and should leave no place for the other course.

"But now, since it is free for the mind to turn its judgement to which side it pleases, and to choose the way which it approves, it is clearly manifest that there is in men a liberty of choice."

7 Responsibility of Knowledge. "Therefore, before any one hears what is good for him, it is certain that he is ignorant; and being ignorant, he wishes and desires to do what is not good for him; wherefore he is not judged for that. But when once he has heard the causes of his error, and has received the method of truth, then, if he remain in those errors with which he had been long ago preoccupied, he shall rightly be called into judgement, to suffer punishment, because he has spent in the sport of errors that portion of life which was given him to be spent in living well.

"But he who, hearing those things, willingly receives them, and is thankful that the teaching of good things has been brought to him, inquires more eagerly, and does not cease to learn, until he ascertains whether there be truly another world, in which rewards are prepared for the good. And when he is assured of this, he gives thanks to God because He has shown him the light of truth; and for the future directs his actions in all good works, for which he is assured that there is a reward prepared in the world to come; while he constantly wonders and is astonished at the errors of other men, and that no one sees the truth which is placed before his eyes.

"Yet he himself, rejoicing in the riches of wisdom which he hath found, desires insatiably to enjoy them, and is delighted with the practice of good works; hastening to attain, with a clean heart and a pure conscience, the world to come, when he shall be able even to see God, the king of all."

8 Desires of the Flesh to Be Subdued. "But the sole cause of our wanting and being deprived of all these things is ignorance. For while men do not know how much good there is in knowledge, they do not suffer the evil of ignorance to be removed from them; for they know not how great a difference is involved in the change of one of these things for the other. Wherefore I counsel every learner willingly to lend his ear to the word of God, and to hear with love of the truth what we say, that his mind, receiving the best seed, may bring forth joyful fruits by good deeds.

"For if, while I teach the things which pertain to salvation, any one refuses to receive them, and strives to resist them with a mind occupied by evil opinions, he shall have the cause of his perishing, not from us, but from himself. For it is his duty to examine with just judgement the things which we say, and to understand that we speak the words of truth, that, knowing how things are, and directing his life in good actions, he may be found a partaker of the kingdom of heaven, subjecting to himself the desires of the flesh, and becoming lord of them, that so at length he himself also may become the pleasant possession of the Ruler of all."

9 The Two Kingdoms. "For he who persists in evil, and is the servant of evil, cannot be made a portion of good so long as he persists in evil, because from the beginning, as we have said, God instituted two kingdoms, and has given to each man the power of becoming a portion of that kingdom to which he shall yield himself to obey. And since it is decreed by God that no one man can be a servant of both kingdoms, therefore endeavour with all earnestness to betake yourselves to the covenant and laws of the good King.

"Wherefore also the true Prophet, when He was present with us, and saw some rich men negligent with respect to the worship of God, thus unfolded the truth of this matter: 'No one,' said He, 'can serve two masters; ye cannot serve God and mammon;'5 calling riches, in the language of His country, mammon.

10 Jesus the True Prophet. "He therefore is the true Prophet, who appeared to us, as you have heard, in Judaea, who, standing in public places, by a simple command made the blind see, the deaf hear, cast out demons, restored health to the sick, and life to the dead; and since nothing was impossible to Him, He even perceived the thoughts of men, which is possible for none but God only.

"He proclaimed the kingdom of God; and we believed Him as a true Prophet in all that He spoke, deriving the confirmation of our faith not only from His words, but also from His works; and also because the sayings of the law, which many generations before had set forth His coming, were fulfilled in Him; and the figures of the doings of Moses, and of the patriarch Jacob before him, bore in all respects a type of Him.

"It is evident also that the time of His advent, that is, the very time at which He came, was foretold by them; and, above all, it was contained in the sacred writings, that He was to be waited for by the Gentiles. And all these things were equally fulfilled in Him."

11 The Expectation of the Gentiles. "But that which a prophet of the Jews foretold, that He was to be waited for by the Gentiles, confirms above measure the faith of truth in Him. For if he had said that He was to be waited for by the Jews, he would not have seemed to prophesy anything extraordinary, that He whose coming had been promised for the salvation of the world should be the object of hope to the people of the same tribe with Himself, and to His own nation: for that this would take place, would seem rather to be a matter of natural inference than one requiring the grandeur of a prophetic utterance.

"But now, whereas the prophets say that all that hope which is set forth concerning the salvation of the world, and the newness of the kingdom which is to be established by Christ, and all things which are declared concerning Him are to be transferred to the Gentiles; the grandeur of the prophetic office is confirmed, not according to the sequence of things, but by an incredible fulfilment of the prophecy.

"For the Jews from the beginning had understood by a most certain tradition that this man should at some time come, by whom all things should be restored; and daily meditating and looking out for His coming, when they saw Him amongst them, and accomplishing the signs and miracles, as had been written of Him, being blinded with envy, they could not recognise Him when present, in the hope of whom they rejoiced while He was absent; yet the few of us who were chosen by Him understood it."

12 Call of the Gentiles. "But this happened by the providence of God, that the knowledge of this good One should be handed over to the Gentiles, and those who had never heard of Him, nor had learned from the prophets, should acknowledge Him, while those who had acknowledged Him in their daily meditations should not know Him. For, behold, by you who are now present, and desire to hear the doctrine of His faith, and to know what, and how, and of what sort is His coming, the prophetic truth is fulfilled. For this is what the prophets foretold, that He is to be sought for by you, who never heard of Him.

"And, therefore, seeing that the prophetic sayings are fulfilled even in yourselves, you rightly believe in Him alone, you rightly wait for Him, you rightly inquire concerning Him, that you not only may wait for Him, but also believing, you may obtain the inheritance of His kingdom; according to what Himself said, that every one is made the servant of him to whom he yields subjection."

13 Invitation of the Gentiles. "Wherefore awake, and take to yourselves our Lord and God, even that Lord who is Lord both of heaven and earth, and conform yourselves to His image and likeness, as the true Prophet Himself teaches, saying, 'Be ye merciful, as also your heavenly Father is merciful, who makes His sun to rise upon the good and the evil, and rains upon the just and the unjust.'

"Imitate Him, therefore, and fear Him, as the commandment is given to men, 'Thou shall worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve.' For it is profitable to you to serve this Lord alone, that through Him knowing the one God, ye may be freed from the many whom ye vainly feared. For he who fears not God the Creator of all, but fears those whom he himself with his own hands hath made, what does he do but make himself subject to a vain and senseless fear, and render himself more vile and abject than those very things, the fear of which he has conceived in his mind?

"But rather, by the goodness of Him who inviteth you, return to your former nobleness, and by good deeds show that you bear the image of your Creator, that by contemplation of His likeness ye may be believed to be even His sons."

14 Idols Unprofitable. "Begin,11 therefore, to cast out of your minds the vain ideas of idols, and your useless and empty fears, that at the same time you may also escape the condition of unrighteous bondage. For those have become your lords, who could not even have been profitable servants to you. For how should lifeless images seem fit even to serve you, when

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they can neither hear, nor see, nor feel anything? Yea, even the material of which they are made, whether it be gold or silver, or even brass or wood, though it might have profited you for necessary uses, you have rendered wholly inefficient and useless by fashioning gods out of it.

"We therefore declare to you the true worship of God, and at the same time warn and exhort the worshippers, that by good deeds they imitate Him whom they worship, and hasten to return to His image and likeness, as we said before."

15 Folly of Idolatry. "But I should like if those who worship idols would tell me if they wish to become like those whom they worship? Does any one of you wish to see in such sort as they see? or to hear after the manner of their hearing? or to have such understanding as they have?

"Far be this from any of my hearers! For this were rather to be thought a curse and a reproach to a man, who bears in himself the image of God, although he has lost the likeness. What sort of gods, then, are they to be reckoned, the imitation of whom would be execrable to their worshippers, and to have whose likeness would be a reproach?

"What then? Melt your useless images, and make useful vessels. Melt the unserviceable and inactive metal, and make implements fit for the use of men. But, says one, human laws do not allow us. He says well; for it is human laws, and not their own power, that prevents it. What kind of gods, then, are those which are defended by human laws, and not by their own energies?

"And so also they are preserved from thieves by watch-dogs and the protection of bolts, at least if they be of silver, or gold, or even of brass; for those that are of stone and earthenware are protected by their own worthlessness, for no one will steal a stone or a crockery god. Hence those seem to be the more miserable whose more precious metal exposes them to the greater danger. Since, then, they can be stolen, since they must be guarded by men, since they can be melted, and weighed out, and forged with hammers, ought men possessed of understanding to hold them as gods?

16 God Alone a Fit Object of Worship. "Oh! into what wretched plight the understanding of men has fallen! For if it is reckoned the greatest folly to fear the dead, what shall we judge of those who fear something that is worse than the dead are? For those images are not even to be reckoned among the number of the dead, because they were never alive. Even the sepulchres of the dead are preferable to them, since, although they are now dead, yet they once had life; but those whom you worship never possessed even such base life as is in all, the life of frogs and owls.

"But why say more about them, since it is enough to say to him who adores them: Do you not see that he whom you adore sees not, hear that he whom you adore hears not, and understand that he understands not? for he is the work of man's hand, and necessarily is void of understanding. You therefore worship a god without sense, whereas every one who has sense believes that not even those things are to be worshipped which have been made by God and have sense, such as the sun, moon, and stars, and all things that are in heaven and upon earth.

"For they think it reasonable, that not those things which have been made for the service of the world, but the Creator of those things themselves, and of the whole world, should be worshipped. For even these things rejoice when He is adored and worshipped, and do not take it well that the honour of the Creator should be bestowed on the creature. For the worship of God alone is acceptable to them, who alone is uncreated, and all things also are His creatures. For as it belongs to him who alone is uncreated to be God, so everything that has been created is not truly God."

17 Suggestions of the Old Serpent. "Above all, therefore, you ought to understand the deception of the old serpent and his cunning suggestions, who deceives you as it were by prudence, and as by a sort of reason creeps through your senses; and beginning at the head, he glides through your inner marrow, accounting the deceiving of you a great gain. Therefore he insinuates into your minds opinions of gods of whatsoever kinds, only that he may withdraw you from the faith of one God knowing that your sin is his comfort.

"For he, for his wickedness, was condemned from the beginning to eat dust, for that he caused to be again resolved into dust him who had been taken from the dust, even till the time when your souls shall be restored, being brought through the fire; as we shall instruct you more fully at another time. From him, therefore, proceed all the errors and doubts, by which you are driven from the faith and belief of one God."

18 His First Suggestion. "And first of all he suggests to men's thoughts not to hear the words of truth, by which they might put to flight the ignorance of those things which are evils. And this he does, as by the presentation of another knowledge, making a show of that opinion which very many hold, to think that they shall not be held guilty if they have been in ignorance, and that they shall not be called to account for what they have not heard; and thereby he persuades them to turn aside from hearing the word.

"But I tell you, in opposition to this, that ignorance is in itself a most deadly poison, which is sufficient to ruin the soul without any aid from without. And therefore there is no one who is ignorant who shall escape through his ignorance, but it is certain that he shall perish. For the power of sin naturally destroys the sinner.

"But since the judgement shall be according to reason, the cause and origin of ignorance shall be inquired into, as well as of every sin. For he who is unwilling to know how he may attain to life, and prefers to be in ignorance lest he thereby be made guilty, from this very fact is judged as if he knew and had knowledge. For he knew what it was that he was unwilling to hear; and the cunning obtained by the artifice of the serpent will avail him nothing for an excuse, for he will have to do with Him to whom the heart is open. But that you may know that ignorance of itself brings destruction, I assure you that when the soul departs from the body, if it leave it in ignorance of Him by whom it was created, and from whom in this world it obtained all things that were necessary for its uses, it is driven forth from the light of His kingdom as ungrateful and unfaithful.

19 His Second Suggestion. "Again, the wicked serpent suggests another opinion to men, which many of you are in the habit of bringing forward, that there is, as we say, one God, who is Lord of all; but these also, they say, are gods. For as there is one Caesar, and he has under him many judges, for example, prefects, consuls, tribunes, and other officers, in like manner we think, that while there is one God greater than all, yet still that these gods are ordained in this world, after the likeness of those officers of whom we have spoken, subject indeed to that greater God, yet ruling us and the things that are in this world.

"In answer to this, I shall show you how, in those very things which you propose for deception, you are confuted by the reasons of truth. You say that God occupies the place of Caesar, and those who are called gods represent His judges and officers. Hold then, as you have adduced it, by the example of Caesar; and know that, as one of Caesar's judges or administrators, as prefects, proconsuls, generals, or tribunes, may lawfully take the name of Caesar, or else both he who should take it and those who should confer it should be destroyed together, so also in this case you ought to observe, that if any one give the name of God to any but Himself, and he accept it, they shall partake one and the same destruction, by a much more terrible fate than the servants of Caesar.

"For he who offends against Caesar shall undergo temporal destruction; but he who offends against Him who is the sole and true God, shall suffer eternal punishment, and that deservedly, as having injured by a wrongful condition the name which is unique."

20 Egyptian Idolatry. "Although this word God is not the name of God, but meantime that word is employed by men as His name; and therefore, as I have said, when it is used reproachfully, the reproach is referred to the injury of the true name. In short, the ancient Egyptians, who thought that they had discovered the theory of the heavenly revolutions and the nature of the stars, nevertheless, through the demon's blocking up their senses, subjected the incommunicable name to all kinds of indignity.

"For some taught that their ox, which is called Apis, ought to be worshipped; others taught that the he-goat, others that cats, the ibis, a fish also, a serpent, onions, drains, crepitus ventris, ought to be regarded as deities, and innumerable other things, which I am ashamed even to mention."

21 Egyptian Idolatry More Reasonable Than Others. When Peter was speaking thus, all we who heard him laughed. Then said Peter: "You laugh at the absurdities of others, because through long custom you do not see your own. For indeed it is not without reason that you laugh at the folly of the Egyptians, who worship dumb animals, while they themselves are rational. But I will tell you how they also laugh at you; for they say, We worship living animals, though mortal; but you worship and adore things which never were alive at all.

"They add this also, that they are figures and allegories of certain powers by whose help the race of men is governed. Taking refuge in this for shame, they fabricate these and similar excuses, and so endeavour to screen their error. But this is not the time to answer the Egyptians, and leaving the care of those who are present to heal the disease of the absent. For it is a certain indication that you are held to be free from sickness of this sort, since you do not grieve over it as your own, but laugh at it as that of others."

22 Second Suggestion Continued. "But let us come back to you, whose opinion it is that God should be regarded as Caesar, and the gods as the ministers and deputies of Caesar. Follow me attentively, and I shall presently show you the lurking-places of the serpent, which lie in the crooked windings of this argument.

"It ought to be regarded by all as certain and beyond doubt, that no creature can be on a level with God, because He was made by none, but Himself made all things; nor indeed can any one be found so irrational, as to suppose that the thing made can be compared with the maker. If therefore the human mind, not only by reason, but even by a sort of natural instinct, rightly holds this opinion, that that is called God to which nothing can be compared or equalled, but which exceeds all and excels all; how can it be supposed that that name which is believed to be above all, is rightly given to those whom you think to be employed for the service and comfort of human life?

"But we shall add this also. This world was undoubtedly made, and is corruptible, as we shall show more fully by and by; meantime it is admitted both that it has been made and that it is corruptible. If therefore the world cannot be called God, and rightly so, because it is corruptible, how shall parts of the world take the name of God? For inasmuch as the whole world cannot be God, much more its parts cannot.

"Therefore, if we come back to the example of Caesar, you will see how far you are in error. It is not lawful for any one, though a man of the same nature with him, to be compared with Caesar: do you think, then, that any one ought to be compared with God, who excels all in this respect, that He was made by none, but Himself made all things? But, indeed, you dare not give the name of Caesar to any other, because he immediately punishes one who offends against him; you dare give that of God to others, because He delays the punishment of offenders against Him, in order to [allow] their repentance."

23 Third Suggestion. "Through the mouths of others also that serpent is wont to speak in this wise: We adore visible images in honour of the invisible God. Now this is most certainly false. For if you really wished to worship the image of God, you would do good to man, and so worship the true image of God in him. For the image of God is in every man, though His likeness is not in all, but where the soul is benign and the mind pure.

"If, therefore, you wish truly to honour the image of God, we declare to you what is true, that you should do good to and pay honour and reverence to man, who is made in the image of God; that you minister food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, clothing to the naked, hospitality to the stranger, and necessary things to the prisoner; and that is what will be regarded as truly bestowed upon God.

"And so far do these things go to the honour of God's image, that he who does not these things is regarded as casting reproach upon the divine image. What, then, is that honour of God which consists in running from one stone or wooden figure to another, in venerating empty and lifeless figures as deities, and despising men in whom the image of God is of a truth?

"Yea, rather be assured, that whoever commits murder or adultery, or anything that causes suffering or injury to men, in all these the image of God is violated. For to injure men is a great impiety towards God. Whenever, therefore, you do to another what you would not have another do to you, you defile the image of God with undeserved distresses. Understand, therefore, that that is the suggestion of the serpent lurking within you, which persuades you that you may seem to be pious when you worship insensible things, and may not seem impious when you injure sensible and rational beings."

24 Fourth Suggestion. "But to these things the serpent answers us with another mouth, and says: If God did not wish these things to be, then they should not be. I am not telling you how it is that many contrary things are permitted to be in this world for the probation of every one's mind. But this is what is suitable to be said in the meantime: If, according to you, everything that was to be worshipped ought not to have been, there would have been almost nothing in this world. For what is there that you have left without worshipping it? The sun, the moon, the stars, the water, the earth, mountains, trees, stones, men; there is no one of these that ye have not worshipped.

"According to your saying, therefore, none of these ought to have been made by God, that you might not have anything that you could worship! Yea, He ought not even to have made men themselves to be the worshippers! But this is the very thing which that serpent which lurks within you desires: for he spares none of you; he would have no one of you escape from destruction. But it shall not be so. For I tell you, that not that which is worshipped is in fault, but he who worships. For with God is righteous judgement; and He judges in one way the sufferer, and in another way the doer, of wrong."

25 Fifth Suggestion. "But you say: Then those who adore what ought not to be adored, should be immediately destroyed by God, to prevent others doing the like. But are you wiser than God, that you should offer Him counsel? He knows what to do.

"For with all who are placed in ignorance He exercises patience, because He is merciful and gracious; and He foresees that many of the ungodly become godly, and that even some of those who worship impure statues and polluted images have been converted to God, and forsaking their sins and doing good works, attain to salvation.

"But it is said: We ought never to have come even to the thought of doing these things. You do not know what freedom of will is, and you forget that he is good who is so by his own intention; but, he who is retained in goodness by

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necessity cannot be called good, because it is not of himself that he is so. Because, therefore, there is in every one liberty to choose good or evil, he either acquires rewards, or brings destruction on himself.

"Nay it is said, God brings to our minds whatsoever we think. What mean ye, O then? Ye blaspheme. For if He brings all our thoughts into our minds, then it is He that suggests to us thoughts of adultery, and covetousness, and blasphemy, and every kind of effeminacy. Cease, I entreat of you, these blasphemies, and understand what is the honour worthy of God.

" And say not, as some of you are wont to say, that God needs not honour from men. Indeed, He truly is in need of none; but you ought to know that the honour which you bestow upon God is profitable to yourselves. For what is so execrable, as for a man not to render thanks to his Creator?"

26 Sixth Suggestion. "But it is said: We do better, who give thanks both to Himself, and to all with Him. In this you do not understand that there is the ruin of your salvation. For it is as if a sick man should call in for his cure at once a physician and poisoners; since these could indeed injure him, but not cure him; and the true physician would refuse to mix his remedies with their poisons, lest either the man's destruction should be ascribed to the good, or his recovery, to the injurious.

"But you say: Is God then indignant or envious, if, when He benefits us, our thanks be rendered to others? Even if He be not indignant, at all events He does not wish to be the author of error, that by means of His work credit should be given to a vain idol. And what is so impious, so ungrateful, as to obtain a benefit from God, and to render thanks to blocks of wood and stone?

"Wherefore arise, and understand your salvation. For God is in need of no one, nor does He require anything, nor is He hurt by anything; but we are either helped or hurt, in that we are grateful or ungrateful. For what does God gain from our praises, or what does He lose by our blasphemies? Only this we must remember, that God brings into proximity and friendship with Himself the soul that renders thanks to Him. But the wicked demon possesses the ungrateful soul."

27 Creatures Take Vengeance on Sinners. "But this also I would have you know, that upon such souls God does not take vengeance directly, but His whole creation rises up and inflicts punishments upon the impious; and although in the present world the goodness of God bestows the light of the world and the services of the earth alike upon the pious and the impious, yet not without grief does the sun afford his light, and the other elements perform their service, to the impious.

"And, in short, sometimes even in opposition to the goodness of the Creator, the elements are wearied out by the crimes of the wicked; and thence it is that either the fruit of the earth is blighted, or the composition of the air is vitiated, or the heat of the sun is increased beyond measure, or there is an excessive amount of rain or of cold. Thence pestilence, and famine, and death in various forms stalk forth, for the creature hastens to take vengeance on the wicked; yet the goodness of God restrains it, and bridles its indignation against the wicked, and compels it to be obedient to His mercy, rather than to be inflamed by the sins and the crimes of men. For the patience of God waiteth for the conversion of men, as long as they are in this body."

28 Eternity of Punishments. "But if any persist in impiety till the end of life, then as soon as the soul, which is immortal, departs, it shall pay the penalty of its persistence in impiety. For even the souls of the impious are immortal, though perhaps they themselves would wish them to end with their bodies. But it is not so; for they endure without end the torments of eternal fire, and to their destruction they have not the quality of mortality.

"But perhaps you will say to me, You terrify us, O Peter. And how shall we speak to you the things which are in reality? Can we declare to you the truth by keeping silence? We cannot state the things which are, otherwise than as they are. But if we were silent, we should make ourselves the cause of the ignorance that is ruinous to you, and should satisfy the serpent that lurks within you, and blocks up your senses, who cunningly suggests these things to you, that he may make you always the enemies of God.

"But we are sent for this end, that we may betray his disguises to you; and melting your enmities, may reconcile you to God, that you may be converted to Him, and may please Him by good works.

"For man is at enmity with God, and is in an unreasonable and impious state of mind and wicked disposition towards Him, especially when he thinks that he knows something, and is in ignorance. But when you lay aside these, and begin to he pleased and displeased with the same things which please and displease God, and to will what God willeth then ye shall truly be called His friends."

29 God's Care of Human Things. "But perhaps some of you will say, God has no care of human things; and if we cannot even attain to the knowledge of Him, how shall we attain to His friendship? That God does concern Himself with the affairs of men, His government of the world bears witness: for the sun daily waits upon it, the showers minister to it; the fountains, rivers, winds, and all elements, attend upon it; and the more these things become known to men, the more do they indicate God's care over men.

"For unless by the power of the Most High, the more powerful would never minister to the inferior; and by this God is shown to have not only a care over men, but some great affection, since He has deputed such noble elements to their service.

"But that men may also attain to the friendship of God, is proved to us by the example of those to whose prayers He has been so favourable, that He has withheld the heaven from rain when they wished, and has again opened it when they prayed.17 And many other things He has bestowed upon those who does His will, which could not be bestowed but upon His friends.

"But you will say, What harm is done to God if these things also are worshipped by us? If any one of you should pay to another the honour that is due to his father, from whom he has received innumerable benefits, and should reverence a stranger and foreigner as his father, should you not think that he was undutiful towards his father, and most deserving to be disinherited?"

30 Religion of Fathers to Be Abandoned. "Others say, It is wicked if we do not worship those idols which have come down to us from our fathers, and prove false to the religion bequeathed to us by our ancestors. On this principle, if any one's father was a robber or a base fellow, he ought not to change the manner of life handed down to him by his fathers, nor to be recalled from his father's errors to a better way; and it is reckoned impious if one do not sin with his parents, or does not persist in impiety with them.

"Others say, We ought not to be troublesome to God, and to be always burdening Him with complaints of our miseries, or with the exigencies of our petitions. How foolish and witless an answer! Do you think it is troublesome to God if you thank Him for His benefits, while you do not think it troublesome to Him if, for His gifts, you render thanks to stocks and stones? And how comes it, that when rain is withheld in a long drought, we all turn our eyes to heaven, and entreat the gift of rain from God Almighty, and all of us with oar little ones pour out prayers on God and entreat His compassion?

"But truly ungrateful souls, when they obtain the blessing, quickly forget: for as soon as they have gathered in their harvest or their vintage, straightway they offer the first-fruits to deaf and dumb images, and pay vows in temples or groves for those things which God has bestowed upon them, and then offer sacrifices to demons; and having received a favour, deny the bestower of the favour."

31 Paganism, Its Enormities. "But some say, These things are instituted for the sake of joy, and for refreshing our minds; and they have been devised for this end, that the human mind may be relaxed for a little from cares and sorrows. See now what a charge you yourselves bring upon the things which you practise.

"If these things have been invented for the purpose of lightening sorrow and affording enjoyment, how is it that the invocations of demons are performed in groves and woods? What is the meaning of the insane whirlings, and the slashing of limbs, and the cutting off of members? How is it that mad rage is produced in them? How is insanity produced? How is it that women are driven violently, raging with dishevelled hair? Whence the shrieking and gnashing of teeth? Whence the bellowing of the heart and the bowels, and all those things which, whether they are pretended or are contrived by the ministration of demons, are exhibited to the terror of the foolish and ignorant? Are these things done for the sake of lightening the mind, or rather for the sake of oppressing it?

"Do ye not yet perceive nor understand, that these are the counsels of the serpent lurking within you, which draws you away from the apprehension of truth by irrational suggestions of errors, that he may hold you as slaves and servants of lust and concupiscence and every disgraceful thing?"

32 True Religion Calls to Sobriety and Modesty. "But I protest to you with the clear voice of preaching, that, on the contrary, the religion of God calls you to sobriety and modesty; orders you to refrain from effeminacy and madness, and by patience and gentleness to prevent the inroads of anger; to be content with your own possessions, and with the virtue of frugality; not even when driven by poverty to plunder the goods of others, but in all things to observe justice; to withdraw yourselves wholly from the idol sacrifices: for by these things you invite demons to you, and of your own accord give them the power of entering into you; and so you admit that which is the cause either of madness or of unlawful love."

33 Origin of Impiety. "Hence is the origin of all impiety; hence murders, adulteries, thefts; and a nursery is formed of all evils and wickednesses, while you indulge in profane libations and odours, and give to wicked spirits an opportunity of ruling and obtaining some sort of authority over you. For when they invade your senses, what do they else than work the things which belong to lust and injustice and cruelty, and compel you to be obedient to all things that are pleasing to them? God, indeed, permits you to suffer this at their hands by a certain righteous judgement, that from the very disgrace of your doings and your feelings you may understand how unworthy it is to be subject to demons and not to God.

"Hence also, by the friendship of demons, men are brought to disgraceful and base deeds; hence, men proceed even to the destruction of life, either through the fire of lust, or through the madness of anger through excess of grief, so that, as is well known, some have even laid violent hands upon themselves. And this, as we have said, by a just sentence of God they are not prevented from doing, that they may both understand to whom they have yielded themselves in subjection, and know whom they have forsaken."

34 Who are Worshippers of God? "But some one will say, These passions sometimes befall even those who worship God. It is not true. For we say, that he is a worshipper of God, who does the will of God, and observes the precepts of His law. For in God's estimation he is not a Jew who is called a Jew among men (nor is he a Gentile that is called a Gentile), but he who, believing in God, fulfils His law and does His will, though he be not circumcised.

"He is the true worshipper of God, who not only is himself free from passions, but also sets others free from them; though they be so heavy that they are like mountains, he removes them by means of the faith with which he believes in God. Yea, by faith he truly removes mountains with their trees, if it be necessary.

"But he who seems to worship God, but is neither fortified by a full faith, nor by obedience to the commandments, but is a sinner, has given a place in himself, by reason of his sins, to passions, which are appointed of God for the punishment of those who sin, that they may exact from them the deserts of their sins by means of punishments inflicted, and may bring them purified to the general judgement of all, provided always that their faith do not fail them in their chastisement. For the chastisement of unbelievers in the present life is a judgement, by which they begin to be separated from future blessings; but the chastisement of those who worship God, while it is inflicted upon them for sins into which they have fallen, exacts from them the due of what they have done, that, preventing the judgement, they may pay the debt of their sin in the present life, and be freed, at least in half, from the eternal punishments which are there prepared."

35 Judgement to Come. "But he does not receive these things as true who does not believe that there is to be a judgement of God, and therefore, being bound by the pleasures of the present life, is shut out from eternal good things; and therefore we do not neglect to proclaim to you what we know to be necessary for your salvation, and to show you what is the true worship of God, that, believing in God, you may be able, by means of good works, to be heirs with us of the world to come.

"But if you are not yet convinced that what we say is true, meantime, in the first instance, you ought not to take it amiss and to be hostile to us because we announce to you the things which we consider to be good, and because we do not grudge to bestow also upon you that which we believe brings salvation to ourselves, labouring, as I have said, with all eagerness, that we may have you as fellow-heirs of the blessings which we believe are to befall ourselves.

"But whether those things which we declare to you are certainly true, you shall not be able to know otherwise than by rendering obedience to the things which are commanded, that you may be taught by the issue of things, and the most certain end of blessedness."

36 Conclusion of Discourse. "And, therefore, although the serpent lurking within you occupies your senses with a thou sand arts of corruption, and throws in your way a thousand obstacles, by which he may turn you away from the hearing of saving instruction, all the more ought you to resist him, and despising his suggestions, to come together the more frequently to hear the word and receive instruction from us, because nobody can learn anything who is not taught."

And when he had done speaking, he ordered those to be brought to him who were oppressed by sickness or demons, and laid his hands upon them with prayer; and so he dismissed the crowds, charging them to resort to the hearing of the word during the days that he was to remain there.

Therefore, when the crowds had departed, Peter washed his body in the waters which ran through the garden, with as many of the others as chose to do so; and then ordered the couches to be spread on the ground under a very shady tree, and directed us to recline according to the order established at Caesarea.

And thus, having taken food and given thanks to God after the manner of the Hebrews, as there was yet some portion of the day remaining, he ordered us to question him on any matters that we pleased. And although we were with him twenty in all, he explained to every one whatever he pleased to ask of him; the particulars of which I set down in books and sent to you some time ago. And when evening came we entered

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with him into the lodging, and went to sleep, each one in his own place.

CLEMENT RECOGNITION BOOK 6

1 Diligence in Study. But as soon as day began to advance the dawn upon the retiring darkness, Peter having gone into the garden to pray, and returning thence and coming to us, by way of excuse for awaking and coming to us a little later than usual, said this:

"Now that the spring-time has lengthened the day, of course the night is shorter; if, therefore, one desires to occupy some portion of the night in study, he must not keep the same hours2 for waking at all seasons, but should spend the same length of time in sleeping, whether the night be longer or shorter, and be exceedingly careful that he do not cut off from the period which he is wont to have for study, and so add to his sleep and lessen his time of keeping awake.

"And this also is to be observed, lest haply if sleep be interrupted while the food is still undigested, the undigested mass lead the mind, and by the exhalation of crude spirits render the inner sense confused and disturbed. It is right, therefore, that that part also be cherished with sufficient rest, so that, those things being sufficiently accomplished which are due to it, the body may be able in other things to render due service to the mind."

2 Much to Be Done in a Little Time. When he had said this, as very many had already assembled in the accustomed place of the garden to hear him, Peter went forth; and having saluted the crowds in his usual manner, began to speak as follows:

"Since, indeed, as land neglected by the cultivator necessarily produces thorns and thistles, so your sense, by long neglect, has produced a plentiful crop of noxious opinions of things and dogmas of false science; there is need now of much care in cultivating the field of your mind, that the word of truth, which is the true and diligent husbandman of the heart, may cultivate it with continual instructions.

"It is therefore your part render obedience to it, and to lop off superfluous occupations and anxieties, lest a noxious growth choke the good seed of the word. For it may be that a short and earnest diligence may repair a long time's neglect; for the time of every one's life is uncertain, and therefore we must hasten to salvation, lest haply sudden death seize upon him who delays."

3 Righteous Anger. "And all the more eagerly must we strive on this account, that while there is time, the collected vices of evil custom may be cut off. And this you shall not be able to do otherwise, than by being angry with yourselves on account of your profitless and base doings.

"For this is righteous and necessary anger, by which every one is indignant with himself, and accuses himself for those things in which he has erred and done amiss; and by this indignation a certain fire is kindled in us, which, applied as it were to a barren field, consumes and burns up the roots of vile pleasure, and renders the soil of the heart more fertile for the good seed of the word of God.

"And I think that you have sufficiently worthy causes of anger, from which that most righteous fire may be kindled, if you consider into what errors the evil of ignorance has drawn you, and how it has caused you to fall and rush headlong into sin, from what good things it has withdrawn you, and into what evils it has driven you, and, what is of more importance than all the rest, how it has made you liable to eternal punishments in the world to come.

"Is not the fire of most righteous indignation kindled within you for all these things, now that the light of truth has shone upon you; and does not the flame of that anger which is pleasing to God rise within you, that every sprout may be burnt up and destroyed from the root, if haply any shoot of evil concupiscence has budded within you?

4 Not Peace, But a Sword. Hence, also, He who hath sent us, when He had come,4 and had seen that all the world had fallen into wickedness, did not forthwith give peace to him who is in error, lest He should confirm him in evil; but set the knowledge of truth in opposition to the ruins of ignorance of it, that, if haply men would repent and look upon the light of truth, they might rightly grieve that they hall been deceived and drawn away into the precipices of error, and might kindle the fire of salutary anger against the ignorance that had deceived them.

"On this account, therefore, He said, 'I have come to send fire on the earth; and how I wish that it were kindled!'5 There is therefore a certain fight, which is to be fought by us in this life; for the word of truth and knowledge necessarily separates men from error and ignorance, as we have often seen putrified and dead flesh in the body separated by the cutting knife from its connection with the living members.

"Such is the effect produced by knowledge of the truth. For it is necessary that, for the sake of salvation, the son, for example, who has received the word of truth, be separated from his unbelieving parents; or again, that the father be separated from his son, or the daughter from her mother. And in this manner the battle of knowledge and ignorance, of truth and error, arises between believing and unbelieving kinsmen and relations. And therefore He who has sent us said again 'I am not come to send peace on earth, but a sword.'6

5 How the Fight Begins. "But if any one say, How does it seem right for men to be separated from their parents? I will tell you how. Because, if they remained with them in error, they would do no good to them, and they would themselves perish with them.

"It is therefore right, and very right, that he who will be saved be separated from him who will not. But observe this also, that this separation does not come from those who understand aright; for they wish to be with their relatives, and to do them good, and to teach them better things. But it is the vice peculiar to ignorance, that it will not bear to have near it the light of truth, which confutes it; and therefore that separation originates with them.

"For those who receive the knowledge of the truth, because it is full of goodness, desire, if it be possible, to share it with all, as given by the good God; yea, even with those who hate and persecute them: for they know that ignorance is the cause of their sin. Wherefore, in short, the Master Himself, when He was being led to the cross by those who knew Him not, prayed the Father for His murderers, and said, 'Father, forgive their sin, for they know not what they do!'

"The disciples also, in imitation of the Master, even when themselves were suffering, in like manner prayed for their murderers. But if we are taught to pray even for our murderers and persecutors, how ought we not to bear the persecutions of parents and relations, and to pray for their conversion?"

6 God to Be Loved More Than Parents. "Then let us consider carefully, in the next place, what reason we have for loving our parents. For this cause, it is said, we love them, because they seem to be the authors of our life. But our parents are not authors of our life, but means of it. For they do not bestow life, but afford the means of our entering into this life; while the one and sole author of life is God.

"If, therefore we would love the Author of our life, let us know that it is He that is to be loved. But then it is said, We cannot know Him; but them we know, and hold in affection. Be it so: you cannot know what God is, but you can very easily know what God is not. For how can any man fail to know that wood, or stone, or brass, or other such matter, is not God?

"But if you will not give your mind to consider the things which you might easily apprehend, it is certain that you are hindered in the knowledge of God, not by impossibility, but by indolence; for if you had wished it, even from these useless images you might have been set on the way of understanding."

7 The Earth Made for Men. "For it is certain that these images are made with iron tools; but iron is wrought by fire, which fire is extinguished by water. But water is moved by spirit; and spirit has its beginning from God. For thus saith the prophet Moses: 'In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth. But the earth was invisible, and unarranged; and darkness was over the deep: and the Spirit of God was upon the waters.'9

"Which Spirit, like the Creator's hand, by command of God separated light from darkness; and after that invisible heaven produced this visible one, that He might make the higher places a habitation for angels, and the lower for men. For your sake, therefore, by command of God, the water which was upon the face of the earth withdrew, that the earth might produce fruits for you; and into the earth also He inserted veins of moisture, that fountains and rivers might flow forth from it for you.

"For your sake it was commanded to bring forth living creatures, and all things which could serve for your use and pleasure. Is it not for you that the winds blow, that the earth, conceiving by them, may bring forth fruits? Is it not for you that the showers fall, and the seasons change? Is it not for you that the sun rises and sets, and the moon undergoes her changes? For you the sea offers its service, that all things may be subject to you, ungrateful as you are.

"For all these things shall there not be a righteous punishment of vengeance, because beyond all else you are ignorant of the bestower of all these things, whom you ought to acknowledge and reverence above all?

8 Necessity of Baptism. "But now I lead you to understanding by the same paths. For you see that all things are produced from waters. But water was made at first by the Only-begotten; and the Almighty God is the head of the Only-begotten, by whom we come to the Father in such order as we have stated above. But when you have come to the Father you will learn that this is His will, that you be born anew by means of waters, which were first created.

"For he who is regenerated by water, having filled up the measure of good works, is made heir of Him by whom he has been regenerated in incorruption. Wherefore, with prepared minds, approach as sons to a father, that your sins may be washed away, and it may be proved before God that ignorance was their sole cause.

"For if, after the learning of these things, you remain in unbelief, the cause of your destruction will be imputed to yourselves, and not to ignorance. And do you suppose that you can have hope towards God, even if you cultivate all piety and all righteousness, but do not receive baptism.

"Yea rather, he will be worthy or greater punishment, who does good works not well; for merit accrues to men from good works, but only if they be done as God commands. Now God has ordered every one who worships Him to be sealed by baptism; hut if you refuse, and obey your own will rather than God's, you are doubtless contrary and hostile to His will."

9 Use of Baptism. "But you will perhaps say, What does the, baptism of water contribute towards the worship of God? In the first place, because that which hath pleased God is fulfilled. In the second place, because, when you are regenerated and born again of water and of God, the frailty of your former birth, which you have through men, is cut off, and so at length you shall be able to attain salvation; hut otherwise it is impossible.

"For thus hath the true prophet testified to us with an oath: 'Verily I say to you, That unless a man is born again of water, he shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.'

"Therefore make haste; for there is in these waters a certain power of mercy which was borne upon them at the beginning, and acknowledges those who are baptised under the name of the threefold sacrament, and rescues them from future punishments, presenting as a gift to God the souls that are consecrated by baptism. Betake yourselves therefore to these waters, for they alone can quench the violence of the future fire; and he who delays to approach to them, it is evident that the idol of unbelief remains in him, and by it be is prevented from hastening to the waters which confer salvation.

"For whether you be righteous or unrighteous, baptism is necessary for you in every respect: for the righteous, that perfection may be accomplished in him, and he may be born again to God; for the unrighteous, that pardon may he vouchsafed him of the sins which he has committed in ignorance. Therefore all should hasten to he horn again to God without delay, because the end of every one's life is uncertain."

10 Necessity of Good Works. "But when you have been regenerated by water, show by good works the likeness in you of that Father who hath begotten you. Now you know God, honour Him as a father; and His honour is, that you live according to His will.

"And His will is, that you so live as to know nothing of murder or adultery, to flee from hatred and covetousness, to put away anger, pride, and boasting, to abhor envy, and to count all such things entirely unsuitable to you.

"There is truly a certain peculiar observance of our religion, which is not so much imposed upon men, as it is sought out by every worshipper of God by reason of its purity. By reason of chastity, I say, of which there are many kinds, but first, that every one be careful that he 'come not near a menstruous woman;' for this the law of God regards as detestable.

"But though the law had given no admonition concerning these things, should we willingly, like beetles, roll ourselves in filth? For we ought to have something more than the animals, as reasonable men, and capable of heavenly senses, whose chief study it ought to be to guard the conscience from every defilement of the heart."

11 Inward and Outward Cleansing. "Moreover, it is good, and tends to purity, also to wash the body with water. I call it good, not as if it were that prime good of the purifying of the mind, but because this of the washing of the body is the sequel of that good.

"For so also our Master rebuked some of the Pharisees and scribes, who seemed to be better than others, and separated from the people, calling them hypocrites, because they purified only those things which were seen of men, but left defiled and sordid their hearts, which God alone sees. To some therefore of them not to all He said, 'Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye cleanse the outside of the cup and platter, but the inside is full of pollution. O blind Pharisees, first make clean what is within, and what is without shall be clean also.'

"For truly, if the mind be purified by the light of knowledge, when once it is clean and clear, then it necessarily takes care of that which is without a man, that is, his flesh, that it also may he purified. But when that which is without, the cleansing of the flesh, is neglected, it is certain that there is no care taken of the purity of the mind and the cleanness of the heart. Thus therefore it comes to pass, that he who is clean inwardly is without doubt cleansed outwardly also, but not always that he who is clean outwardly is also cleansed inwardly to wit, when he does these things that he may please men."

12 Importance of Chastity. "But this kind of chastity is also to be observed, that sexual intercourse must not take place heedlessly and for the sake of mere pleasure, but for the sake of begetting children.13 And since this observance is found even amongst some of the lower animals, it were a shame if it be not observed by men, reasonable, and worshipping God.

"But there is this further reason why chastity should be observed by those who hold the true worship of God, in those forms of it of which we have spoken, and others of like sort, that it is observed strictly even amongst those who are still

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held by the devil in error, for even amongst them there is in some degree the observance of chastity. What then? Will you not observe, now that you are reformed, what you observed when you were in error?"

13 Superiority of Christian Morality. "But perhaps some one of you will say, Must we then observe all things which we did while we worshipped idols? Not all. But whatever things were done well, these you ought to observe even now; because, if anything is rightly done by those who are in error, it is certain that that is derived from the truth; whereas, if anything is not rightly done in the true religion, that is, without doubt, borrowed from error.

"For good is good, though it be done by those who are in error; and evil is evil, though it be done by those who follow the truth. Or shall we be so foolish, that if we see a worshipper of idols to be sober, we shall refuse to be sober, lest we should seem to do the same things which he does who worships idols? It is not so.

"But let this be our study, that if those who err do not commit murder, we should not even be angry; if they do not commit adultery, we should not even covet another's wife; if they love their neighbours, we should love even our enemies; if they lend to those who have the means of paying, we should give to those from whom we do not hope to receive anything.

"And in all things, we who hope for the inheritance of the eternal world ought to excel those who know only the present world; knowing that if their works, when compared with our works, be found like and equal in the day of judgement, there will be confusion to us, because we are found equal in our works to those who are condemned on account of ignorance, and had no hope of the world to come."

14 Knowledge Enhances Responsibility. "And truly confusion is our worthy portion, if we have done no more than those who are inferior to us in knowledge. But if it be confusion to us, to be found equal to them in works, what shall become of us if the examination that is to take place find us inferior and worse than them?

"Hear, therefore, how our true Prophet has taught us concerning these things; for, with respect to those who neglect to hear the words of wisdom, He speaks thus: 'The queen of the south shall rise in judgement with this generation, and shall condemn it, because she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon; and, behold, a greater than Solomon is here, and they hear Him not.'"

"But with respect to those who refused to repent of their evil deeds, He spoke thus: 'The men of Nineve shall rise in the judgement with this generation, and shall condemn it; for they repented at the preaching of Jonas; and, behold, a greater than Jonas is here.'

"You see, therefore, how He condemned those who were instructed out of the law, by adducing the example of those who came from Gentile ignorance, and showing that the former were not even equal to those who seemed to live in error. From all these things, then, the statement that He propounded is proved, that chastity, which is observed to a certain extent even by those who live in error, should be held much more purely and strictly, in all its forms, as we showed above, by us who follow the truth; and the rather because with us eternal rewards are assigned to its observance."

15 Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and Widows Ordained at Tripolis. When he had said these things, and others to the same effect, he dismissed the crowds; and having, according to his custom, supped with his friends, he went to sleep. And while in this manner he was teaching the word of God for three whole months, and converting multitudes to the faith, at the last he ordered me to fast; and after the fast he conferred on me the baptism of ever-flowing water, in the fountains which adjoin the sea.16

And when, for the grace of regeneration divinely conferred upon me, we had joyfully kept holiday with our brethren, Peter ordered those who had been appointed to go before him, to proceed to Antioch, and there to wait three months more. And they having gone, he himself led down to the fountains, which, I have said, are near the sea, those who had fully received the faith of the Lord, and baptised them; and celebrating the Eucharist with them, he appointed, as bishop over them, Maro, who had entertained him in his house, and who was now perfect in all things; and with him he ordained twelve presbyters and deacons at the same time.

He also instituted the order of widows, and arranged all the services of the Church; and charged them all to obey Maro their bishop in all things that he should command them. And thus all things being suitably arranged, when the three months were fulfilled, we bade farewell to those who were at Tripolis, and set out for Antioch.

CLEMENT RECOGNITION BOOK 7

1 Journey from Tripolis. At length leaving Tripolis, a city of Phoenicia, we made our first halt at Ortosias, not far from Tripolis; and there we remained the next day also, because almost all those that had believed in the Lord, unable to part from Peter, followed him thus far. Thence we came to Antharadus. But because there were many in our company, Peter said to Niceta and Aquila:

"As there are immense crowds of brethren with as, and we bring upon ourselves no title envy as we enter into every city, it seems to me that we must take means, without doing so unpleasing a thing as to prevent their following us, to secure that the wicked one shall not stir up envy against us on account of any display! I wish, therefore, that you, Niceta and Aquila, would go before us with them, so that you may lead the multitude divided into two sections, that we may enter every city of the Gentiles travelling apart, rather than in one assemblage."

2 Disciples Divided into Two Bands. "But I know that you think it sad to be separated from me for the space of at least two days. Believe me, that in whatever degree you love me, my affection towards you is tenfold greater. But if, by reason of our mutual affection, we will not do the things that are right and honourable, such love will appear to be unreasonable.

"And therefore, without bating a tittle of our love, let us attend to those things which seem useful and necessary; especially since not a day can pass in which you may not be present at my discussions. For I purpose to pass through the most noted cities of the provinces one by one, as you also know, and to reside three months in each for the sake of teaching.

"Now, therefore, go before me to Laodicea, which is the nearest city, and I shall follow you after two or three days, so far as I purpose. But you shall wait for me at the inn nearest to the gate of the city; and thence again, when we have spent a few days there, you shall go before me to more distant cities. And this I wish you to do at every city, for the sake of avoiding envy as much as in us lies, and also that the brethren who are with us, finding lodgings prepared in the several cities by your foresight, may not seem to be vagabonds."

3 Order of March. When Peter thus spoke, they of course acquiesced, saying: "It does not greatly sadden us to do this, because we are ordered by you, who have been chosen by the foresight of Christ to do and to counsel well in all things; but also because, while it is a heavy loss not to see our lord Peter for one, or it may be two days, yet it is not intolerable.

"And we think of our twelve brethren who go before us, and who are deprived of the advantage of hearing and seeing you for a whole month out of the three that you stay in every city. Therefore we shall not delay doing as you order, because you order all things aright."

And thus saying, they went forward, having received instructions that they should speak to the brethren who journeyed with them outside the city, and request them not to enter the cities in a crowd and with tumult, but apart, and divided into two bands.

4 Clement's Joy at Remaining with Peter. But when they were gone, I Clement rejoiced greatly because he had kept me with himself, and I said to him: "I give thanks to God that you have not sent me forward with the others, for I should have died through sadness."

Then said Peter: "And what will happen if necessity shall demand that you be sent anywhere for the purpose of teaching? Would you die if you were separated from me for a good purpose? Would you not put a restraint upon yourself, to bear patiently what necessity has laid upon you? Or do you not know that friends are always together, and are joined in memory, though they be separated bodily; as, on the other hand, some persons are near to one another in body, but are separate in mind? "

5 Clement's Affection for Peter. Then I answered: "Think not, my lord, that I suffer these things unreasonably; hut there is a certain cause and reason of this affection of mine towards you. For I have you alone as the object of all my affections, instead of father and mother, and brethren; but above all this, is the fact that you alone are the cause of my salvation and knowledge of the truth.

"And also this I do not count of least moment, that my youthful age is subject to the snares of lusts; and I am afraid to be without you, by whose sole presence all effeminacy, however irrational it be, is put to shame; although I trust, by the mercy of God, that even my mind, from what it has conceived through your instruction, shall be unable to receive aught else into its thoughts.

"Besides, I remember your saying at Caesarea, 'If any one wishes to accompany me, without violating dutifulness, let him accompany me.' And by this you meant that he should not make any one sad, to whom he ought according to God's appointment to cleave; for example, that he should not leave a faithful wife, or parents, or the like.

"Now from these I am entirely free, and so I am fit for following you; and I wish you would grant me that I might perform to you the service of a servant."

6 Peter's Simplicity of Life. Then Peter, laughing. said: "And do you not think, Clement, that very necessity must make you my servant? For who else can spread my sheets, and arrange my beautiful coverlets? Who will be at hand to keep my rings, and prepare my robes, which I must be constantly changing? Who shall superintend my cooks, and provide various and choice meats to be prepared by most recondite and various art; and all those things which are procured at enormous expense, and are brought together for men of delicate up-bringing, yea rather, for their appetite, as for some enormous beast?

"But perhaps, although you live with me, you do not know my manner of life. I live on bread alone, with olives, and seldom even with pot-herbs; and my dress is what you see, a tunic with a pallium: and having these, I require nothing more.

"This is sufficient for me, because my mind does not regard things present, but things eternal, and therefore no present and visible thing delights me. Whence I embrace and admire indeed your good mind towards me; and I commend you the more, because, though you have been accustomed to so great abundance, you have been able so soon to abandon it, and to accommodate yourself to this life of ours, which makes use of necessary things alone.

"For we that is, I and my brother Andrew have grown up from our childhood not only orphans, but also extremely poor, and through necessity have become used to labour, whence now also we easily bear tile fatigues of our journeyings. But rather, if you would consent and allow it, I, who am a working man, could more easily discharge the duty of a servant to you."

7 Peter's Humility. But I trembled when I heard this, and my tears immediately gushed forth, because so great a man, who is worth more than the whole world, had addressed such a proposal to me. Then he, when he saw me weeping, inquired the reason; and I answered him: "How have I so sinned against you, that you should distress me with such a proposal?"

Then Peter: "If it is evil that I said I should serve you, you were first in fault in saying tile same thing to me."

Then said I: "The cases are not alike: for it becomes me to do this to you; but it is grievous that you, who are sent as the herald of the Most High God to save the souls of men, should say it to me."

Then said Peter: "I should agree with you, were it not that our Lord, who came for the salvation of the whole world, and who was nobler than any creature, submitted to be a servant, that He might persuade us not to be ashamed to perform the ministry of servants to our brethren."

Then said I: "It were foolishness in me to suppose that I can prevail with you; nevertheless I give thanks to the providence of God, because I have merited to have you instead of parents."

8 Clement's Family History. Then said Peter: "Is there then no one of your family surviving?"

I answered: "There are indeed many powerful men, coming of the stock of Caesar; for Caesar himself gave a wife to my father, as being his relative, and educated along with him, and of a suitably noble family. By her my father had twin sons, born before me, not very like one another, as my father told me; for I never knew them.

"But indeed I have not a distinct recollection even of my mother; but I cherish the remembrance of her face, as if I had seen it in a dream. My mother's name was Matthidia, my father's Faustinianus: my brothers', Faustinus and Faustus. Now, when I was barely five years old, my mother saw a vision so I learned from my fathern by which she was warned that, unless she speedily for the city with her twin sons, and was absent for ten years, she and her children should perish by a miserable fate."

9 Disappearance of His Mother and Brothers. "Then my father, who tenderly loved his sons, put them on board a ship with their mother, and sent them to Athens to be educated, with slaves and maid-servants, and a sufficient supply of money; retaining me only to be a comfort to him, and thankful for this, that the vision had not commanded me also to go with my mother. And at the end of a year my father sent men to Athens with money for them, desiring also to know how they did; but those who were sent never returned.

"Again, in the third year, my sorrowful father sent other men with money, who returned in the fourth year, and related that they had seen neither my mother nor my brothers, that they had never reached Athens, and that no trace had been found of any one of those who had been with them."

10 Disappearance of His Father. "My father hearing this, and confounded with excessive sorrow, not knowing whither to go or where to seek, went down with me to the harbour, and began to ask of the sailors whether any of them had seen or heard of the bodies of a mother and two little children being cast ashore anywhere, four years ago; when one told one story and another another, but nothing definite was disclosed to us searching in this boundless sea.

"Yet my father, by reason of the great affection which he bore to his wife and children, was fed with vain hopes, until he thought of placing me under guardians and leaving me at Rome, as I was now twelve years old, and himself going in quest of them.

"Therefore he went down to the harbour weeping, and going on board a ship, took his departure; and from that time till now I have never received any letters from him, nor do I know whether he is alive or dead. But I rather suspect that he also has perished, either through a broken heart or by shipwreck; for twenty years have now elapsed since then, and no tidings of him have ever reached me."

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11 Different Effects of Suffering on Heathens and Christians. Peter, hearing this, shed tears of sympathy, and said to his friends who were present: "If any man who is a worshipper of God had endured what this man's father has endured, immediately men would assign his religion as the cause of his calamities; but when these things happen to miserable Gentiles, they charge their misfortunes upon fate.

"I call them miserable, because they are both vexed with errors here, and are deprived of future hope; whereas, when the worshippers of God suffer these things, their patient endurance of them contributes to their cleansing from sin."

12 Excursion to Aradus. After this, one of those present began to ask Peter, that early next day we should go to a neighbouring island called Aradus, which was not more than six furlongs off, to see a certain wonderful work that was in it, viz. vine-wood3 columns of immense size. To this Peter assented, as he was very complaisant; but he charged us that, when we left the ship, we should not rush all together to see it: "for," said he, "I do not wish you to be noticed by the crowd."

When therefore, next day, we reached the island by ship in the course of an hour forthwith we hastened to the place where the wonderful columns were. They were placed in a certain temple, in which there were very magnificent works of Phidias, on which every one of us gazed earnestly.

13 The Beggar Woman. But when Peter had admired only the columns, being no wise ravished with the grace of the painting, he went out, and saw before the gates a poor woman asking alms of those who went in; and looking earnestly at her, he said:

"Tell me, O woman, what member of your body is wanting, that you subject yourself to the indignity of asking alms, and do not rather gain your bread by labouring with your hands which God has given you."

But she, sighing, said: "Would that I had hands which could be moved; but now only the appearance of hands has been preserved, for they are lifeless, and have been rendered feeble and without feeling by my knawing of them."

Then Peter said: "What has been the cause of your inflicting so great an injury upon yourself?"

"Want of courage," said she, "and nought else; for if I had had any bravery in me, I could either have thrown myself from a precipice, or cast myself into the depths of the sea, and so ended my griefs."

14 The Woman's Grief. Then Peter said: "Do you think, O woman, that those who destroy themselves are set free from torments, and not rather that the souls of those who lay violent hands upon themselves are subjected to greater punishments?"

Then said she: "I wish I were sure that souls live in the infernal regions, for I would gladly embrace the suffering of the penalty of suicide, only that I might see my darling children, if it were but for an hour."

Then Peter: "What thing is it so great, that effects you with so heavy sadness? I should like to know. For if you informed me of the cause, I might be able both to show you clearly, O woman, that souls do live in the infernal regions; and instead of the precipice or the deep sea, I might give you some remedy, that you may be able to end your life without torment."

15 The Woman's Story. Then the woman, hearing this welcome promise, began to say:

"It is neither easy of belief, nor do I think it necessary to tell, what is my extraction, or what is my country. It is enough only to explain the cause of my grief, why I have rendered my hands powerless by gnawing them.

"Being born of noble parents, and having become the wife of a suitably powerful man, I had two twin sons, and after them one other. But my husband's brother was vehemently enflamed with unlawful love towards me; and as I valued chastity above all things, and would neither consent to so great wickedness, nor wished to disclose to my husband the baseness of his brother, I considered whether in any way I could escape unpolluted, and yet not set brother against brother, and so bring the whole race of a noble family into disgrace.

"I made up my mind, therefore, to leave my country with my two twins, until the incestuous love should subside, which the sight of me was fostering and inflaming; and I thought that our other son should remain to comfort his father to some extent."

16 The Woman's Story Continued. "Now in order to carry out this plan, I pretended that I had had a dream, in which some deity stood by me in a vision, and told me that I should immediately depart from the city with my twins, and should be absent until he should command me to return; and that, if I did not do so, I should perish with all my children.

"And so it was done. For as soon as I told the dream to my husband, he was terrified; and sending with me my twin sons, and also slaves and maid-servants, and giving me plenty of money, he ordered me to sail to Athens, where I might educate my sons, and that I should stay there until he who commanded me to depart should give me leave to return.

"While I was sailing along with my sons, I was shipwrecked in the night by the violence of the winds, and, wretch that I am, was driven to this place; and when all had perished, a powerful wave caught me, and cast me upon a rock. And while I sat there with this only hope, that haply I might be able to find my sons, I did not throw myself into the deep, although then my soul, disturbed and drunk with grief, had both the courage and the power to do it."

17 The Woman's Story Continued. "But when the day dawned, and I with shouting and howling was looking around, if I could even see the corpses of my unhappy sons anywhere washed ashore, some of those who saw me were moved with compassion, and searched, first over the sea, and then also along the shores, if they could find either of my children.

"But when neither of them was anywhere found, the women of the place, taking pity on me, began to comfort me, every one telling her own griefs, that I might take consolation from the likeness of their calamities to my own. But this saddened me all the more; for my disposition was not such that I could regard the misfortunes of others as comforts to me.

"And when many desired to receive me hospitably, a certain poor woman who dwells here constrained me to enter into her hut, saying that she had had a husband who was a sailor, and that he had died at sea while a young man, and that, although many afterwards asked her in marriage, she preferred widowhood through love of her husband. 'Therefore,' said she. 'we shall share whatever we can gain by the labour of our hands.'

18 The Woman's Story Continued. "And, not to detain you with a long and profitless story, I willingly dwelt with her on account of the faithful affection which she retained for her husband. But not long after, my hands (unhappy woman that I was!), long torn with gnawing, became powerless, and she who had taken me in fell into palsy, and now lies at home in her bed; also the affection of those women who had formerly pitied me grew cold.

"We are both helpless. I, as you see, sit begging; and when I get anything, one meal serves two wretches. Behold, now you have heard enough of my affairs; why do you delay the fulfilment of your promise, to give me a remedy, by which both of us may end our miserable life without torment? "

19 Peter's Reflections on the Story. While she was speaking, Peter, being distracted with much thought, stood like one thunder-struck; and I Clement coming up, said: "I have been seeking you everywhere, and now what are we to do?"

But he commanded me to go before him to the ship, and there to wait for him; and because he must not be gainsayed, I did as he commanded me. But he, as he afterwards told me the whole, being struck with a sort of suspicion, asked of the woman her family, and her country, and the names of her sons; "and straightway," he said, "if you tell me these things, I shall give you the remedy."

But she, like one suffering violence, because she would not confess these things, and yet was desirous of the remedy, feigned one thing after another, saying that she was an Ephesian, and her husband a Sicilian, and giving false names to her sons. Then Peter, supposing that she had answered truly, said:

"Alas! O woman, I thought that some great joy should spring up to us to-day; for I suspected that you were a certain woman, concerning whom I lately learned certain like things."

But she adjured him, saying: "I entreat you to tell me what they are, that I may know if amongst women there be one more unfortunate than myself."

20 Peter's Statement to the Woman. Then Peter, incapable of deception, and moved with compassion, began to say:

"There is a certain young man among those who follow me for the sake of religion and sect, a Roman citizen, who told me that he had a father and two twin brothers, of whom not one is left to him. 'My mother,' he said, 'as I learned from my father, saw a vision, that she should depart from the Roman city for a time with her twin sons, else they should perish by a dreadful death; and when she had departed, she was nevermore seen.' And afterwards his father set out to search for his wife and sons, and was also lost."

21 A Discovery. When Peter had thus spoken, the woman, struck with astonishment, fainted. Then Peter began to hold her up, and to comfort her, and to ask what was the matter, or what she suffered. But she at length, with difficulty recovering her breath, and nerving herself up to the greatness of the joy which she hoped for, and at the same time wiping her face, said: "Is he here, the youth of whom you speak?"

But Peter, when he understood the matter, said: "Tell me first, or else you shall not see him."

Then she said: "I am the mother of the youth."

Then says Peter: "What is his name?"

And she answered: "Clement."

Then said Peter: "It is himself; and he it was that spoke with me a little while ago, and whom I ordered to go before me to the ship."

Then she fell down at Peter's feet and began to entreat him that he would hasten to the ship. Then Peter said: "Yes, if you will promise me that you will do as I say."

Then she said: "I will do anything; only show me my only son, for I think that in him I shall see my twins also."

Then Peter said: "When you have seen him, dissemble for a little time, until we leave the island."

"I will do so," she said.

22 A Happy Meeting. Then Peter, holding her hand, led her to the ship. And when I saw him giving his hand to the woman, I began to laugh; yet, approaching to do him honour, I tried to substitute my hand for his, and to support the woman.

But as soon as I touched her hand, she uttered a loud scream, and rushed into my embrace, and began to devour me with a mother's kisses. But I, being ignorant of the whole matter, pushed her off as a mad woman; and at the same time, though with reverence, I was somewhat angry with Peter.

23-- A Miracle. But he said: "Cease: what mean you, O Clement, my son? Do not push away your mother."

But I as soon as I heard these words, immediately bathed in tears, fell upon my mother, who had fallen down, and began to kiss her. For as soon as I heard, by degrees I recalled her countenance to my memory; and the longer I gazed, the more familiar it grew to me.

Mean time a great multitude assembled, hearing that the woman who used to sit and beg was recognised by her son, who was a good man. And when we wished to sail hastily away from the island, my mother said to me: "My darling son, it is right that I should bid farewell to the woman who took me in; for she is poor, and paralytic, and bedridden."

When Peter and all who were present heard this, they admired the goodness and prudence of the woman; and immediately Peter ordered some to go and to bring the woman in her bed as she lay. And when she had been brought, and placed in the midst of the crowd, Peter said, in the presence of all: "If I am a preacher of truth, for confirming the faith of all those who stand by, that they may know and believe that there is one God, who made heaven and earth, in the name of Jesus Christ, His Son, let this woman rise."

And as soon as he had said this, she arose whole, and fell down at Peter's feet; and greeting her friend and acquaintance with kisses asked of her was the meaning of it all. But she shortly related to her the whole proceeding of the Recognition,5 so that the crowds standing around wondered.

24 Departure from Aradus. Then Peter, so far as he could, and as time permitted, addressed the crowds on the faith of God, and the ordinances of religion; and then added, that if any one wished to know more accurately about these things, he should come to Antioch, "where," said he, "we have resolved to stay three months, and to teach fully the things which pertain to salvation. For if," said he, "men leave their country and their parents for commercial or military purposes, and do not fear to undertake long voyages, why should it be thought burdensome or difficult to leave home for three months for the sake of eternal life?"

When he had said these things, and more to the same purpose, I presented a thousand drachmas to the woman who had entertained my mother, and who had recovered her health by means of Peter, and in the presence of all committed her to the charge of a certain good man, the chief person in that town, who promised that he would gladly do what we demanded of him. I also distributed a little money among some others, and among those women who were said formerly to have comforted my mother in her miseries, to whom I also expressed my thanks. And after this we sailed, along with my mother, to Antaradus.

25 Journeyings. And when we had come to our lodging,6 my mother began to ask of me what had become of my father; and I told her that he had gone to seek her, and never returned. But she, hearing this, only sighed; for her great joy on my account lightened her other sorrows.

And the next day she journeyed with us, sitting with Peter's wife; and we came to Balaneae, where we stayed three days, and then went on to Pathos, and afterwards to Gabala; and so we arrived at Laodicea, where Niceta and Aquila met us before the gates, and kissing us, conducted us to a lodging. But Peter, seeing that it was a large and splendid city, said that it was worthy that we should stay in it ten days, or even longer. Then Niceta and Aquila asked of me who was this unknown woman; and I answered: "It is my mother, whom God has given back to me by means of my lord Peter."

26 Recapitulation. And when I had said this, Peter began to relate the whole matter to them in order, and said:

"When we had come to Aradus,8 and I had ordered you to go on before us, the same day after you had gone, Clement was led in the course of conversation to tell me of his extraction and his family, and how he had been deprived of his parents, and had had twin brothers older than himself, and that, as his father told him, his mother once saw a vision, by which she was ordered to depart from the city of Rome with her twin sons, else she and they should suddenly perish.

"And when she had told his father the dream, he, loving his sons with tender affection, and afraid of any evil befalling them, put his wife and sons on board a ship with all necessaries, and sent them to Athens to be educated. Afterwards he sent once and again persons to inquire after them, but nowhere found even a trace of them. At last the father himself went on the search, and until now he is nowhere to be found.

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"When Clement had given me this narrative, there came one to us, asking us to go to the neighbouring island of Aradus, to see vine-wood columns of wonderful size. I consented; and when we came to the place, all the rest went into the interior of the temple; but I for what reason I know not had no mind to go farther."

27 Recapitulation Continued. "But while I was waiting outside for them, I began to notice this woman, and to wonder in what part of her body she was disabled, that she did not seek her living by the labour of her hands, but submitted to the shame of beggary. I therefore asked of her the reason of it.

"She confessed that she was sprung of a noble race, and was married to a no less noble husband, 'whose brother,' said she, 'being inflamed by unlawful love towards me, desired to defile his brother's bed. This I abhorring, and yet not daring to tell my husband of so great wickedness, lest I should stir up war between the brothers and bring disgrace upon the family, judged it better to depart from my country with my two twin sons, leaving the younger boy to be a comfort to his father. And that this might be done with an honourable appearance, I thought good to feign a dream, and to tell my husband that there stood by me in a vision a certain deity, who told me to set out from the city immediately with my two twins, and remain until he should instruct me to return.'

"She told me that her husband, when he heard this, believed her, and sent her to Athens, with the twin children to be educated there; but that they were driven by a terrible tempest upon that island, where, when the ship had gone to pieces, she was lifted by a wave upon a rock, and delayed killing herself only for this, 'until,' said she, 'I could embrace at least the dead limbs of my unfortunate sons, and commit them to burial. But when the day dawned, and crowds had assembled, they took pity upon me, and threw a garment over me. But I, miserable, entreated them with many tears, to search if they could find anywhere the booties of my unfortunate sons. And I, tearing all my body with my teeth, with wailing and howlings cried out constantly, Unhappy woman that I am, where is my Faustus? where my Faustinus?'"

28 More Recognitions. And when Peter said this, Niceta and Aquila suddenly started up, and being astonished, began to be greatly agitated, saying: "O Lord, Thou Ruler and God of all, are these things true, or are we in a dream?"

Then Peter said: "Unless we be mad, these things are true."

But they, after a short pause, and wiping their faces, said: "We are Faustinus and Faustus: and even at the first, when you began this narrative, we immediately fell into a suspicion that the matters that you spoke of might perhaps relate to us; yet again considering that many like things happen in men's lives, we kept silence, although our hearts were struck by some hope. Therefore we waited for the end of your story, that, if it were entirely manifest that it related to us, we might then confess it."

And when they had thus spoken, they went in weeping to our mother. And when they found her asleep, and wished to embrace her, Peter prevented them, saying:

"Permit me first to prepare your mother's mind, lest haply by the great and sudden joy she lose her reason, and her understanding he disturbed, especially as she is now stupefied with sleep."

29 "Nothing Common or Unclean." Therefore, when our mother had risen from her sleep, Peter began to address her, saying: "I wish you to know, O woman an observance of our religion. We worship one God, who made the world, and we keep His law, in which He commands us first of all to worship Him, and to reverence His name, to honour our parents, and to preserve chastity and uprightness.

"But this also we observe, not to have a common table with Gentiles, unless when they believe, and on the reception of the truth are baptised, and consecrated by a certain threefold invocation of the blessed name; and then we eat with them. Otherwise, even if it were a father or a mother, or wife, or sons, or brothers, we cannot have a common table with them.

"Since, therefore, we do this for the special cause of religion, let it not seem hard to you that your son cannot eat with you, until you have the same judgement of the faith that he has."

30 "Who Can Forbid Water?" Then she, when she heard this, said: "And what hinders me to be baptised today? For even before I saw you I was wholly alienated t from those whom they call gods because they were not able to do anything for me, although I frequently, and almost daily, sacrificed to them. And as to chastity, what shall I say, when neither in former times did pleasures deceive me, nor afterwards did poverty compel me to sin?

"But I think you know well enough how great was my love of chastity, when I pretended that dream that I might escape the snares of unhallowed love, and that I might go abroad with my two twins, and when I left this my son Clement alone to be a comfort to his father.

"For if two were scarcely enough for me, how much more it would have saddened their father, if he had had none at all? For he was wretched through his great affection towards our sons, so that even the authority of the dream could scarce prevail upon him to give up to me Faustinus and Faustus, the brothers of this Clement, and that himself should be content with Clement alone. "

31 Too Much Joy. While she was yet speaking, my brothers could contain themselves no longer, but rushed into their mother's embrace with many tears, and kissed her. But she said: "What is the meaning of this?"

Then said Peter: "Be not disturbed, O woman; be firm. These are your sons Faustinus and Faustus, whom you supposed to have perished in the deep; but how they are alive, and how they escaped in that horrible night, and how the one of them is called Niceta and the other Aquila, they will be able to explain to you themselves, and we also shall hear it along with you."

When Peter had said this, our mother fainted, being overcome with excess of joy; and after some time, being restored and come to herself, she said; "I beseech you, darling sons, tell me what has befallen you since that dismal and cruel night."

32 "He Bringeth Them Unto Their Desired Haven." Then Niceta began to say: "On that night, O mother, when the ship was broken up, and we were being tossed upon the sea, supported on a fragment of the wreck, certain men, whose business it was to rob by sea, found us, and placed us in their boat, and overcoming the power of the waves by rowing, by various stretches brought us to Caesarea Stratonis.

"There they starved us, and beat us, and terrified us, that we might not disclose the truth; and having changed our names, they sold us to a certain widow, a very honourable women, named Justa. She, having bought us, treated us as sons, so that she carefully educated us in Greek literature and liberal arts.

"And when we grew up, we also attended to philosophic studies, that we night be able to confute the Gentiles, by supporting the doctrines of the divine religion by philosophic disputations."

33 Another Wreck Prevented. "But we adhered, for friendship's sake and boyish companionship, to one Simon, a magician, who was educated along with us, so that we were almost deceived by him. For there is mention made in our religion of a certain Prophet, whose coming was hoped for by all who observe that religion, through whom immortal and happy life is promised to be given to those who believe in Him. Now we thought that this Simon was he. But these things shall be explained to you, O mother, at a more convenient season.

"Meanwhile, when we were almost deceived by Simon, a certain colleague of my lord Peter, Zacchaeus by name, warned us that we should not be duped by the magician, but presented us to Peter on his arrival, that by him we might be taught the things which were sound and perfect. And this we hope will happen to you also, even as God has vouchsafed it to us, that we may be able to eat and have a common table with you.

"Thus therefore it was, O mother, that you believed that we were drowned in the sea, while we were stolen by pirates."

34 Baptism Must Be Preceded by Fasting. When Niceta had spoken thus, our mother fell down at Peter's feet, entreating and beseeching him that both herself and her hostess might be baptised without delay; "that," said she, "I may not even for a single clay suffer the loss of the company and society of my sons." In like manner, we her sons also entreated Peter.

But he said: "What! Do you think that I alone am unpitiful, and that I do not wish you to enjoy your mother's society at meals? But she must fast at least one day first, and so be baptised; and this because I have heard from her a certain declaration, by which her faith has been made manifest to me, and which has given evidence of her belief; otherwise she must have been instructed and taught many days before she could have been baptised."

35 Desiring the Salvation or Others. Then said I: "I pray you, my lord Peter, tell us what is that declaration which you say afforded you evidence of her faith?"

Then Peter: "It is her asking that her hostess, whose kindnesses she wishes to requite, may be baptised along with her. Now she would not ask that this grace be bestowed upon her whom she loves, unless she believed that there is some great boon in baptism. Whence, also, I find fault with very many, who, when they are themselves baptised and believe, yet do nothing worthy of faith with those whom they love, such as wives, or children, or friends, whom they do not exhort to that which they themselves have attained, as they would do if indeed they believed that eternal life is thereby bestowed. In short, if they see them to be sick, or to be subject to any danger bodily, they grieve and mourn, because they are sure that in this destruction threatens them.

"So, then, if they were sure of this, that the punishment of eternal fire awaits those who do not worship God, when would they cease warning and exhorting? Or, if they refused, how would they not mourn and bewail them, being sure that eternal torments awaited them? Now, therefore, we shall send for that woman at once, and see if she loves the faith of our religion; and as we find, so shall we act. But since your mother has judged so faithfully concerning baptism, let her fast only one day before baptism."

36 The Sons' Pleading. But she declared with an oath, in presence of my lord Peter's wife, that from the time she recognised her son, she had been unable to take any food from excess of joy, excepting only that yesterday she drank a cup of water. Peter's wife also bore witness, saying that it was even so. Then Aquila said: "What, then, hinders her being baptised?"

Then Peter, smiling, said: "But this is not the fast of baptism, for it was not done in order to baptism."

Then Niceta said: "But perhaps God, wishing that our mother, on our recognition, should not be separated even for one day from participation of our table, pre-ordained this fasting. For as in her ignorance she preserved her chastity, that it might profit her in order to the grace of baptism; so she fasted before she knew the reason of fasting, that it might profit her in order to baptism, and that immediately, from the beginning of our acquaintance, she might enjoy communion of the table with us."

37 Peter Inexorable. Then said Peter: "Let not the wicked one prevail against us, taking occasion from a mother's love; but let you, and me with you, fast this day along with her, and to-morrow she shall be baptised: for it is not right that the precepts of truth be relaxed and weakened in favour of any person or friendship.

"Let us not shrink, then, from suffering along with her, for it is a sin to transgress any commandment. But let us teach our bodily senses, which are without us, to be in subjection to our inner senses; and not compel our inner senses, which savour the things that be of God, to follow the outer senses, which savour the things that be of the flesh.

"For to this end also the Lord commanded, saying: 'Whosoever shall look upon a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.' And to this He added: 'If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members perish, rather than thy whole body be cast into hell-fire.' He does not say, has offended thee, that you should then cast away the cause of sin after you have sinned; but if it offend you, that is, that before you sin you should cut off the cause of the sin that provokes and irritates you.

"But let none of you think, brethren, that the Lord commended the cutting off of the members. His meaning is, that the purpose should be cut off, not the members, and the causes which allure to sin, in order that our thought, borne up on the chariot of sight, may push towards the love of God, supported by the bodily senses; and not give loose reins to the eyes of the flesh as to wanton horses, eager to turn their running outside the way of the commandments, but may subject the bodily sight to the judgement of the mind, and not suffer those eyes of ours, which God intended to be viewers and witnesses of His work, to become panders of evil desire.

"And therefore let the bodily senses as well as the internal thought be subject to the law of God, and let them serve His will, whose work they acknowledge themselves to be."

38 Reward of Chastity. Therefore, as the order and reason of the mystery demanded, on the following day she was baptised in the sea, and returning to the lodging, was initiated in all the mysteries of religion in their order. And we her sons, Niceta and Aquila, and I Clement, were present.

And after this we dined with her, and glorified God with her, thankfully acknowledging the zeal and teaching of Peter, who showed us, by the example of our mother, that the good of chastity is not lost with God; "as, on the other hand," said he, "unchastity does not escape punishment, though it may not be punished immediately, but slowly. But so well pleasing," said he, "is chastity to God, that it confers some grace in the present life even upon those who are in error; for future blessedness is laid up for those only who preserve chastity and righteousness by the grace of baptism.

"In short, that which has befallen your mother is an example of this, for all this welfare has been restored to her in reward of her chastity, for the guarding and preserving of which continence alone is not sufficient; but when any one perceives that snares and deceptions are being prepared, he must straightway flee as from the violence of fire or the attack of a mad dog, and not trust that he can easily frustrate snares of this kind by philosophizing or by humouring them; but, as I have said, he must flee and withdraw to a distance, as your mother also did through her true and entire love of chastity. And on this account she has been preserved to you, and you to her; and in addition, she has been endowed with the knowledge of eternal life."

When he had said this, and much more to the same effect, the evening having come, we went to sleep.

CLEMENT RECOGNITION BOOK 8

1 The Old Workman. Now the next morning Peter took my brothers and me with him, and we went down to the harbour to bathe in the sea, and thereafter we retired to a certain secret place for prayer. But a certain poor old man, a workman, as he appeared by his dress, began to observe us eagerly, without our seeing him, that he might see what we were doing in secret.1

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And when he saw us praying, he waited till we came out, and then saluted us, and said: "If you do not take it amiss, and regard me as an inquisitive and importunate person, I should wish to converse with you; for I take pity on you, and would not have you err under the appearance of truth, and be afraid of things that have no existence; or if you think that there is any truth in them, then declare it to me. If, therefore, you take it patiently, I can in a few words instruct you in what is right; but if it be unpleasant to you, I shall go on, and do my business."

To him Peter answered: "Speak what you think good, and we will gladly hear, whether it be true or false; for you are to be welcomed, because, like a father anxious on behalf of his children, you wish to put us in possession of what you regard as good."

2 Genesis. Then the old man proceeded to say: "I saw you bathe in the sea, and afterwards retire into a secret place; wherefore observing, without your noticing me, what you were doing, I saw you praying. Therefore, pitying your error, I waited till you came out, that I might speak to you, and instruct you not to err in an observance of this sort; because there is neither any God, nor any worship, neither is there any providence in the world, but all things are done by fortuitous chance and genesis, as I have discovered most clearly for thyself, being accomplished beyond others in the discipline of learning.2

"Do not err, therefore: for whether you pray, or whether you do not pray, whatever your genesis contains, that shall befall you."

Then I Clement was affected, I know not how, in my heart, recollecting many things in him that seemed familiar to me; for some one says well, that that which is sprung from any one, although it may be long absent, yet a spark of relationship is never extinguished.3 Therefore I began to ask of him who and whence he was, and how descended.

But he, not wishing to answer these questions, said: "What has that to do with what I have told you? But first, if you please, let us converse of those matters which we have propounded; and afterwards, if circumstances require, we can disclose to one another, as friends to friends, our names, and families, and country, and other things connected with these." Yet we all admired the eloquence of the man, and the gravity of his manners, and the calmness of his speech.

3 A Friendly Conference. But Peter, walking along leisurely while conversing, was looking out for a suitable place for a conference. And when he saw a quiet recess near the harbour, he made us sit down; and so he himself first began. Nor did he hold the old man in any contempt, nor did he look down upon him because his dress was poor and mean. He said, therefore:

"Since you seem to me to be a learned man, and a compassionate [one], inasmuch as you have come to us, and wish that to be known to us which you consider to be good, we also wish to expound to you what things we believe to be good and right; and if you do not think them true, you will take in good part our good intentions towards you, as we do yours towards us." While Peter was thus speaking, a great multitude assembled.

Then said the old man: "Perhaps the presence of a multitude disconcerts you."

Peter replied: "Not at all, except only on this account, that I am afraid lest haply, when the truth is made manifest in the course of our discussion, you be ashamed in presence of the multitude to yield and assent to the things which you may have understood to be spoken truly."

To this the old man answered: "I am not such a fool in my old age, that, understanding what is true, I should deny it for the favour of the rabble."

4 The Question Stated. Then Peter began to say: "Those who speak the word of truth, and who enlighten the souls of men, seem to me to be like the rays of the sun, which, when once they have come forth and appeared to the world, can no longer be concealed or hidden, while they are not so much seen by men, as they afford sight to all.

"There fore it was well said by One to the heralds of the truth, 'Ye are the light of the world, and a city set upon a hill cannot be hid; neither do men light a candle and put it tinder a bushel, but upon a candlestick, that it may enlighten all who are in the house.'4"

Then said the old man: "He said well, whoever he is. But let one of you state what, according to his opinion, ought to be followed, that we may direct our speech to a definite aim. For, in order to find the truth, it is not sufficient to overthrow the things that are spoken on the other side, but also that one should himself bring forward what he who is on the other side may oppose. Therefore, in order that both parties may be on an equal footing, it seems to me to be right that each of us should first enunciate what opinion he holds.

"And, if you please, I shall begin first. I say, then, that the world is not governed according to the providence of God, because we see that many things in it are done unjustly and disorderly; but I say that it is genesis that does and regulates all things."

5 Freedom of Discussion Allowed. When Peter was about to reply to this, Niceta, anticipating him, said:5 "Would my lord Peter allow me to answer to this; and let it not be thought forward that I, a young man, should have an encounter with an old man, but rather let me converse as a son with a father."

Then said the old man: "Not only do I wish, my son, that you should set forth your opinions; but also if any one of your associates, if any one even of the bystanders, thinks that he knows anything, let him unhesitatingly state it: we shall gladly hear it; for it is by the contribution of many that the things that are unknown are more easily found out."

Then Niceta therefore answered: "Do not deem me to have done rashly, my father, because I have interrupted the speech of my lord Peter; but rather I meant to honour him by doing this. For he is a man of God, full of all knowledge, who is not ignorant even of Greek learning, because he is filled with the Spirit of God, to whom nothing is unknown.

"But because it is suitable to him to speak of heavenly things, I shall answer concerning those things which pertain to the babbling of the Greeks. But after we have disputed in the Grecian manner, and we have come to that point where no issue appears, then he himself, as filled with the knowledge of God, shall openly and clearly disclose to us the truth on all matters, so that not we only, but also all who are around us as hearers, shall learn the way of truth. And therefore now let him sit as umpire; and when either of us shall yield, then let him, taking up the matter, give an unquestionable judgement."

6 The Other Side of the Question Stated. When Niceta had thus spoken, those who had assembled conversed among themselves: "Is this that Peter of whom we heard, the most approved disciple of Him who appeared in Judaea, and wrought many signs and miracles?" And they stood gazing upon him with great fear and veneration, as conferring upon the Lord the honour of His good servant.

Which when Peter observed, he said to them: "Let us hear with all attention, holding an impartial judgement of what shall be said by each; and after their encounter we also shall add what may seem necessary." And when Peter had said this, the crowds rejoiced.

Then Niceta began to speak as follows: "You have laid down, my father, that the world is not governed by the providence of God, but that all things are subject to genesis, whether the things which relate to the dispositions, or those which relate to the doings of every one. This I could answer immediately; but because it is right to observe order, we also lay down what we hold, as you yourself requested should be done.

"I say that the world is governed by the providence of God, at least in those things which need His government. For He it is alone who holds all things in His hand, who also made the world; the just God, who shall at some time render to every one according to his deeds. Now, then, you have our position; go on as you please, either overthrowing mine or establishing your own, that I may meet your statements. Or if you wish me to speak first, I shall not hesitate."

7 The Way Cleared. Then the old man answered: "Whether it pleases you, my son, to speak first, or whether you prefer that I should speak, makes no difference, especially with those who discuss in a friendly spirit. However, speak you first, and I will gladly hear; and I wish you may be able even to follow out those things that are to be spoken by me, and to put in opposition to them those things that are contrary to them, and from the comparison of both to show the truth."

Niceta answered: "If you wish it, I can even state your side of the argument, and then answer it."

Then the old man: "Show me first how you can know what I have not yet spoken, and so I shall believe that you can follow out my side of the argument."

Then Niceta: "Your sect is manifest, even by the proposition which you have laid down, to those who are skilled in doctrines of this sort; and its consequence is certain. And because I am not ignorant what are the propositions of the philosophers, I know what follows from those things which you have propounded; especially because I have frequented the schools of Epicurus in preference to the other philosophers.

"But my brother Aquila has attended more to the Pyrrhonists, and our other brother to the Platonists and Aristotelians; therefore you have to do with learned hearers."

Then said the old man: "You have well and logically informed us how you perceived the things that follow from the statements which have been enunciated. But I professed something more than the tenet of Epicurus; for I introduced the genesis, and asserted that it is the cause of all the doings of men."

8 Instincts. When the old man had said this, I Clement said to him: "Hear, my father: if my brother Niceta bring you to acknowledge that the world is not governed without the providence of God, I shall be able to answer you in that part which remains concerning the genesis; for I am well acquainted with this doctrine."

And when I had thus spoken, my brother Aquila said: "What is the use of our calling him father, when we are commanded to call no man father upon earth?"7 Then, looking to the old man, he said, "Do not take it amiss, my father, that I have found fault with my brother for calling you father, for we have a precept not to call any one by that name."

When Aquila said that, all the assembly of the bystanders, as well as the old man and Peter, laughed. And when Aquila asked the reason of their all laughing, I said to him: "Because you yourself do the very thing which you find fault with in another; for you called the old man father." But he denied it, saying: "I am not aware that I called him father."

Meantime Peter was moved with certain suspicions, as he told us afterwards; and looking to Niceta, he said, "Go on with what you have proposed."

9 Simple and Compound. Then Niceta began as follows: "Everything that is, is either simple or compound. That which is simple is without number, division, colour, difference, roughness, smoothness, weight, lightness, quality, quantity, and therefore without end. But that which is compound is either compounded of two, or of three, or even of four elements, or at all events of several; and things which are compounded can also of necessity be divided."

The old man, hearing this, said: "You speak most excellently and learnedly, my son."

Then Niceta went on: "Therefore that which is simple, and which is without any of those things by which that which subsists can be dissolved, is without doubt incomprehensible and infinite, knowing neither beginning nor end, and therefore is one and alone, and subsisting without an author. But that which is compound is subject to number, and diversity, and division, is necessarily compounded by some author, and is a diversity collected into one species.

"That which is infinite is therefore, in respect of goodness, a Father; in respect of power, a Creator. Nor can the power of creating cease in the Infinite, nor the goodness be quiescent; but He is impelled by goodness to change existing things, and by power to arrange and strengthen them.

"Therefore some things, as we have said, are changed, and composed of two or three, some of four, others of more elements. But since our inquiry at present is concerning the method of the world and its substance, which, it is agreed, is compounded of four elements, to which all those ten differences belong which we have mentioned above, let us begin at these lower steps, and come to the higher.

"For a way is afforded us to intellectual and invisible things from those which we see and handle; as is contained in arithmetical instructions, where, when inquiry is made concerning divine things, we rise from the lower to the higher numbers; but when the method respecting present and visible things is expounded, the order is directed from the higher to the lower numbers. Is it not so?"

10 Creation Implies Providence. Then the old man said: "You are following it out exceedingly well."

Then Niceta: "Now, then, we must inquire concerning the method of the world; of which the first inquiry is divided into two parts. For it is asked whether it has been made or not? And if it has not been made, itself must be that Unbegotten from which all things are. But if it has been made, concerning this again the question is divided into two parts, whether it was made by itself, or by another.

"And if indeed it was made by itself, then without doubt providence is excluded. If providence is not admitted, in vain is the mind incited to virtue, in vain justice is maintained, if there be no one to render to the just man according to his merits. But even the soul itself will not appear to be immortal, if there be no dispensation of providence to receive it after its escape from the body."

11 General or Special Providence. "Now, if it be taught that there is a providence, and that the world was made by it, other questions meet us which must be discussed. For it will be asked, In what way providence acts, whether generally towards the whole, or specially towards the parts, or generally also towards the parts, or both generally towards the whole, and specially towards the parts?

"But by general providence we mean this: as if God, at first making the world, has given an order and appointed a course to things, and has ceased to take any further care of what is done. But special providence towards the parts is of this sort, that He exercises providence over some men or places, but not over others. But general over all, and at the same time special over the parts, is in this wise: if God made all things at first, and exercises providence over each individual even to the end, and renders to every one according to his deeds."

12 Prayer Inconsistent with Genesis. "Therefore that first proposition, which declares that God made all things in the beginning, and having imposed a course and order upon things, takes no further account of them, affirms that all things are done according to genesis. To this, therefore, we shall first reply; and especially to those who worship the gods and defend genesis.

"Assuredly, these men, when they sacrifice to the gods and pray to them, hope that they shall obtain something in

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opposition to genesis, and so they annul genesis. But when they laugh at those who incite to virtue and exhort to continence, and say that nobody can do or suffer anything unless what is decreed to him by fate, they assuredly cut up by the roots all worship of the Divinity. For why should you worship those from whom you can obtain nothing which the method of what is decreed does not allow? Let this suffice in the meantime, in opposition to these men.

"But I say that the world is made by God, and that it is at some time to be destroyed by Him, that that world may appear which is eternal, and which is made for this end, that it may be always, and that it may receive those who, in the judgement of God, are worthy of it. But that there is another and invisible world, which contains this visible world within itself, after we have finished our discussion concerning the visible world, we shall come to it also."

13 A Creator Necessary. "Now, in the meantime, that this visible world has been made, very many wise men among the philosophers do testify. But that we may not seem to make use of assertions as witnesses, as though we needed them, let us inquire, if you please, concerning its principles.

"That this visible world is material, is sufficiently evident from the fact that it is visible. But every body receives one of two DIFFERENTIAE; for it is either compact and solid, or divided and separate. And if the body of which the world was made was compact and solid, and that body was parted and divided through diverse species and parts according to its differences, there must necessarily be understood to have been some one to separate the body which was compact and solid, and to draw it into many parts and diverse forms; or if all this mass of the world was compounded and compacted from diverse and dispersed parts of bodies, still there must be understood to have been some one to collect into one the dispersed parts, and to invest these things with their different species."

14 Mode of Creation. "And, indeed, I know that several of the philosophers were rather of this opinion, that God the Creator made divisions and distinctions from one body, which they call Matter, which yet consisted of four elements, mingled into one by a certain tempering of divine providence. For I think that what some have said is vain, that the body of the world is simple, that is, without any conjunction; since it is evident that what is simple can neither be a body, nor can be mixed, or propagated, or dissolved; all which, we see, happen to the bodies of the world. For how could it be dissolved if it were simple, and had not within it that from which it might be resolved and divided?

"But if bodies seem to be composed of two, or three, or even of four elements, who that has even a small portion of sense does not perceive that there must have been some one who collected several into one, and preserving the measure of tempering, made a solid body out of diverse parts? This some one, therefore, we call God, the Creator of the world, and acknowledge Him as the author of the universe."

15 Theories of Creation. "For the Greek philosophers, inquiring into the beginnings of the world, have gone, some in one way and some in another. In short, Pythagoras says that numbers are the elements of its beginnings; Callistratus, that qualities; Alcmaeon, that contrarieties; Anaximander, that immensity; Anaxagoras, that equalities of parts; Epicurus, that atoms; Diodorus, that amere, that is, things in which there are no parts; Asclepius, that ogkoi, which we may call tumours or swellings; the geometricians, that ends; Democritus, that ideas; Thales, that water; Heraclitus, that fire; Diogenes, that air; Parmenides, that earth; Zeno, Empedocles, Plato, that fire, water, air, and earth. Aristotle also introduces a fifth element, which be called akatonomaston; that is, that which cannot be named; without doubt indicating Him who made the world, by joining the four elements into one.

"Whether, therefore, there be two, or three, or four, or more, or innumerable elements, of which the world consists, in every supposition there is shown to be a God, who collected many into one, and again drew them, when collected, into diverse species; and by this it is proved that the machine of the world could not have subsisted without a maker and a disposer."

16 The World Made of Nothing by a Creator. "But from this fact also, that in the conjunction of the elements, if one be deficient or in excess, the others are loosened and fall, is shown that they took their beginning from nothing. For if for example, moisture be wanting in any body, neither will the dry stand; for dry is fed by moisture, as also cold by heat; in which, as we have said, if one be defective, the whole are dissolved. And in this they give indications of their origin, that they were made out of nothing.

"Now if matter itself is proved to have been made, how shall its parts and its species, of which the world consists, be thought to be unmade? But about matter and its qualities this is not the time to speak: only let it suffice to have taught this, that God is the Creator of all things, because neither, if the body of which the world consists was solid and united, could it be separated and distinguished without a Creator; nor, if it was collected into one from diverse and separate parts, could it be collected and mixed without a Maker.

"Therefore, if God is so clearly shown to be the Creator of the world, what room is there for Epicurus to introduce atoms, and to assert that not only sensible bodies, but even intellectual and rational minds, are made of insensible corpuscles?"

17 Doctrine of Atoms Untenable. "But you will say, according to the opinion of Epicurus, that successions of atoms coming in a ceaseless course, and mixing with one another, and conglomerating through unlimited and endless periods of time, are made solid bodies. I do not treat this opinion as a pure fiction, and that, too, a badly contrived one; but let us examine it, whatever be its character, and see if what is said can stand.

"For they say that those corpuscles, which they call atoms, are of different qualities: that some are moist, and therefore heavy, and tending downwards; others dry and earthy, and therefore still heavy; but others fiery, and therefore always pushing upwards; others cold and inert, and always remaining in the middle. Since then some, as being fiery, always tend upward, and others, as being moist and dry, always downwards, and others keep a middle and unequal course, how could they meet together and form one body?

"For if any one throw down from a height small pieces of straw, for example, and pieces of lead of the same size, will the light straws be able to keep up with the pieces of lead, though they be equal in size? Nay; the heavier reach the bottom for more quickly. So also atoms, though they be equal in size, yet, being unequal in weight, the lighter will never be able to keep pace with the heavier; but if they cannot keep pace, certainly neither can they be mixed or form one body."

18 The Concourse of Atoms Could Not Make the Word. "Then, in the next place, if they are ceaselessly borne about, and always coming, and being added to things whose measure is already complete, how can the universe stand, when new weights are always being heaped upon so vast weights? And this also I ask: If this expanse of heaven which we see was constructed by the gradual concurrence of atoms, how did it not collapse while it was in construction, if indeed the yawning top of the structure was not propped and bound by any stays?

"For as those who build circular domes, unless they bind the fastening of the central top, the whole falls at once; so also the circle of the world, which we see to be brought together in so graceful a form, if it was not made at once, and under the influence of a single forth-putting of divine energy by the power of a Creator, but by atoms gradually concurring and constructing it, not as reason demanded, but as a fortuitous issue befell, how did it not fall down and crumble to pieces before it could be brought together and fastened?

"And further, I ask this: What is the pavement on which the foundations of such an immense mass are laid? And again, what you call the pavement, on what does it rest? And again that other, what supports it? And so I go on asking, until the answer comes to nothing and vacuity!"

19 More Difficulties of the Atomic Theory. "But if any one say that atoms of a fiery quality, being joined together, formed a body, and because the quality of fire does not tend downwards, but upwards, that the nature of fire, always pushing upwards, supports the mass of the world placed upon it; to this we answer: How could atoms of a fiery quality, which always make for the highest place, descend to the lower, and be found in the lowest place of all, so as to form a foundation for all; whereas rather the heavier qualities, that is, the earthy or watery, always come before the lighter, as we have said; hence, also, they assert that the heaven, as the higher structure, is composed of fiery atoms, which are lighter, and always fly upwards?

"Therefore the world cannot have foundations of fire, or any other: nor can there be any association or compacting of the heavier atoms with the lighter, that is, of those which are always borne downwards, with those that always fly upwards. Thus it is sufficiently shown that the bodies of the world are consolidated by the union of atoms; and that insensible bodies, even if they could by any means concur and be united, could not give forms and measures to bodies, form limbs, or effect qualities, or express quantities; all which, therefore, by their exactness, attest the hand of a Maker, and show the operation of reason, which reason I call the Word, and God."

20 Plato's Testimony. "But some one will say that these things are done by nature. Now, in this, the controversy is about a name. For while it is evident that it is a work of mind and reason, what you call nature, I call God the Creator.

"It is evident that neither the species of bodies, arranged with so necessary distinctions, nor the faculties of minds, could or can be made by irrational and senseless work. But if you regard the philosophers as fit witnesses, Plato testifies concerning these things in the Timaeus, where, in a discussion on the making of the world, he asks, whether it has existed always, or had a beginning, and decides that it was made. 'For, 'says he, 'it is visible and palpable, and corporeal; but it is evident that all things which are of this sort have been made; but what has been made has doubtless an author, by whom it was made. This Maker and Father of all, however, it is difficult to discover; and when discovered, it is impossible to declare Him to the vulgar.'

"Such is the declaration of Plato; but though he and the other Greek philosophers had chosen to be silent about the making of the world, would it not be manifest to all who have any understanding? For what man is there, having even a particle of sense, who, when he sees a house having all things necessary for useful purposes, its roof fashioned into the form of a globe, painted with various splendour and diverse figures, adorned with large and splendid lights; who is there, I say, that, seeing such a structure, would not immediately pronounce that it was constructed by a most wise and powerful artificer?

"And so, who can be found so foolish, as, when he gazes upon the fabric of the heaven, perceives the splendour of the sun and moon, sees the courses and beauty of the stars, and their paths assigned to them by fixed laws and periods, will not cry out that these things are made, not so much by a wise and rational artificer, as by wisdom and reason itself?"

21 Mechanical Theory. "But if you would rather have the opinions of others of the Greek philosophers, and you are acquainted with mechanical science, you are of course familiar with what is their deliverance concerning the heavens. For they suppose a sphere, equally rounded in every direction, and looking indifferently to all points, and at equal distances in all directions from the centre of the earth, and so stable by its own symmetry, that its perfect equality does not permit it to fall off to any side; and so the sphere is sustained, although supported by no prop.

"Now if the fabric of the world really has this form, the divine work is evident in it. But if, as others think, the sphere is placed upon the waters, and is supported by them, or floating in them, even so the work of a great contriver is shown in it."

22 Motions of the Stars. "But lest the assertion may seem doubtful respecting things which are not manifest to all, let us come to those things of which nobody is ignorant.

"Who disposed the courses of the stars with so great reason, ordained their risings and settings, and appointed to each one to accomplish the circuit of the heavens in certain and regular times? Who assigned to some to be always approaching to the setting, and others to be returning to the rising? Who put a measure upon the courses of the sun, that he might mark out, by his diverse motions, hours, and days, and months, and changes of seasons? that he might distinguish, by the sure measurement of his course, now winter, then spring, summer, and afterwards autumn, and always, by the same changes of the year, complete the circle with variety, without confusion? Who, I say, will not pronounce that the director of such order is the very wisdom of God? And these things we have spoken according to the relations given us by the Greeks respecting the science of the heavenly bodies."

23 Providence in Earthly Things. "But what of those things also which we see on the earth, or in the sea? Are we not plainly taught, that not only the work, but also the providence, of God is in them? For whereas there are on the earth lofty mountains in certain places, the object of this is, that the air, being compressed and confined by them through the appointment of God, may be forced and pressed out into winds, by which fruits may germinate, and the summer heat may be moderated when the Pleiades glow, fired with the blaze of the sun.

"But you still say, Why that blaze of the sun, that moderating should be required? How, then, should fruits be ripened which are necessary for the uses of men? But observe this also, that at the meridian axis,10 where the heat is greatest, there is no great collection of clouds, nor an abundant fall of rain, lest disease should be produced among the inhabitants; for watery clouds, if they are acted on by rapid heat, render the air impure and pestilential.

"And the earth also, receiving the warm rain, does not afford nourishment to the crops, but destruction. In this who can doubt that there is the working of divine providence? In short, Egypt, which is scorched with the heat of Aethiopia, in its neighbourhood, lest its air should be incurably vitiated by the effects of showers, its plains do not receive rain furnished to them from the clouds, but, as it were, an earthly shower from the overflow of the Nile."

24 Rivers and Seas. "What shall we say of fountains and rivers, which flow with perpetual motion into the sea? And, by the divine providence, neither does their abundant supply fail, nor does the sea, though it receives so great quantities of water, experience any increase, but both those elements which contribute to it and those which are thus contributed remain in the same proportion.

"But you will say to me: The salt water naturally consumes the fresh water which is poured into it. Well, in this is manifest the work of providence, that it made that element salt into which it turned the courses of all the waters which it had provided for the use of men. So that through so great spaces of time the channel of the sea has not been filled, and produced a deluge destructive to the earth and to men. Nor will any one be so foolish as to think that this so great reason

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and so great providence has been arranged by irrational nature."

25 Plants and Animals. "But what shall I say of plants, and what of animals? Is it not providence that has ordained that plants, when they decay by old age, should be reproduced by the suckers or the seeds which they have themselves produced, and animals by propagation? And by a certain wonderful dispensation of providence, milk is prepared in the udders of the dams for the animals before they are born; and as soon as they are born, with no one to guide them, they seek out the store of nourishment provided for them. And not only males are produced, but females also, that by means of both the race may be perpetuated.

"But lest this should seem, as some think, to be done by a certain order of nature, and not by the appointment of the Creator, He has, as a proof and indication of His providence, ordained a few animals to preserve their stock on the earth in an exceptional way: for example, the crow conceives through the mouth, and the weasel brings forth through the ear; and some birds, such as hens, sometimes produce eggs conceived of wind or dust; other animals convert the male into the female, and change their sex every year, as hares and hyaenas, which they call monsters; others spring from the earth, and get their bodies from it, as moles; others from ashes, as vipers; others from putrifying flesh, as wasps from horseflesh, bees from ox-flesh; others from cow-dung, as beetles; others from herbs, as the scorpion from the basil; and again, herbs from animals, as parsley and asparagus from the horn of the stag or the she goat."

26 Germination of Seeds. "And what occasion is there to mention more instances in which divine providence has ordained the production of animals to be effected in various ways, that order being superseded which is thought to be assigned by nature, from which not an irrational course of things, but one arranged by his own reason, might be evinced? And in this also is there not a full work of providence shown, when seeds sown are prepared by means of earth and water for the sustenance of men?

"For when these seeds are committed to the earth, the soil milks upon the seeds, as from its teats, the moisture which it has received into itself by the will of God. For there is in water a certain power of the spirit given by God from the beginning, by whose operation the structure of the body that is to be begins to be formed in the seed itself, and to he developed by means of the blade and the car; for the grain of seed being swelled by the moisture, that power of the spirit which has been made to reside in water, running as an incorporeal substance through certain strait passages of veins, excites the seeds to growth, and forms the species of the growing plants.

"By means, therefore, of the moist element in which that vital spirit is contained and inborn, it is caused that not only is it revived, but also that an appearance and form in all respects like to the seeds that had been sown is reproduced. Now, who that has even a particle of sense will think that this method depends upon irrational nature, and not upon divine wisdom?

"Lastly, also these things are done in a resemblance of the birth of men; for the earth seems to take the place of the womb, into which the seed being east, is both formed and nourished by the power of water and spirit, as we have said above."

27 Power of Water. "But in this also the divine providence is to be admired, that it permits us to see and know the things that are made, but has placed in secrecy and concealment the way and manner in which they are done, that they may not be competent to the knowledge of the unworthy, but may be laid open to the worthy and faithful, when they shall have deserved it.

"But to prove by facts and examples that nothing is imparted to seeds of the substance of the earth, but that all depends upon the element of water, and the power of the spirit which is in it, suppose, for example, that a hundred talents' weight of earth are placed in a very large trough, and that there are sown in it several kinds of seeds, either of herbs or of shrubs, and that water enough is supplied for watering them, and that that care is taken for several years, and that the seeds which are gathered are stored up, for example of corn or barley and other sorts separately from year to year, until the seeds of each sort amount to a hundred talents' weight, then also let the stalks be pulled up by the roots and weighed; and after all these have been taken from the trough, let the earth be weighed, it will still give back its hundred talents' weight undiminished.11

"Whence, then, shall we say that all that weight, and all the quantity of different seeds and stalks, has come? Does it not appear manifestly that it has come from the water? For the earth retains entire what is its own, but the water which has been poured in all through is nowhere, on account of the powerful virtue of the divine condition, which by the one species of water both prepares the substances of so many seeds and shrubs, and forms their species, and preserves the kind while multiplying the increase."

28 The Human Body. "From all these things I think it is sufficiently and abundantly evident that all things are produced; and the universe consists by a designing sense, and not by the irrational operation of nature. But let us come now, if you please, to our own substance, that is, the substance of man, who is a small world, a microcosm, in the great world; and let us consider with what reason it is compounded: and from this especially you will understand the wisdom of the Creator.

"For although man consists of different substances, one mortal and the other immortal, yet, by the skilful contrivance of the Creator, their diversity does not prevent their union, and that although the substances be diverse and alien the one from the other. For the one is taken from the earth and formed by the Creator, but the other is given from immortal substances; and yet the honour of its immortality is not violated by this union.

"Nor does it, as some think, consist of reason, and concupiscence, and passion, but rather such affections seem to be in it, by which it may be moved in each of these directions. For the body, which consists of bones and flesh, takes its beginning from the seed of a than, which is extracted from the marrow by warmth, and conveyed into the womb as into a soil, to which it adheres, and is gradually moistened from the fountain of the blood, and so is changed into flesh and bones, and is formed into the likeness of him who injected the seed."

29 Symmetry of the Body. "And mark in this the work of the Designer, how He has inserted the bones like pillars, on which the flesh might be sustained and carried. Then, again, how an equal measure is preserved on either side, that is, the right and the left, so that foot answers to foot, hand to hand, and even finger to finger, so that each agrees in perfect equality with each; and also eye to eye, and ear to ear, which not only are suitable to and matched with each other, but also are formed fit for necessary uses.

"The hands, for instance, are so made as to be fit for work; the feet for walking; the eyes, protected with sentinel eyebrows, to serve the purpose of sight; the ears so formed for hearing, that, like a cymbal, they vibrate the sound of the word that falls upon them, and send it inward, and transmit it even in the understanding of the heart; whereas the tongue, striking against the teeth in speaking, performs the part of a fiddle-bow. The teeth also are formed, some for cutting and dividing the food, and handing it over to the inner ones; and these, in their turn, bruise and grind it like a mill, that it may be more conveniently digested when it is conveyed into the stomach; whence also they are called grinders."

30 Breath and Blood. "The nostrils also are made for the purpose of collecting, inspiring, and expiring air, that by the renewal of the breath, the natural heat which is in the heart may, by means of the lungs, be either warmed or cooled, as the occasion may require; while the lungs are made to abide in the breast, that by their softness they may soothe and cherish the vigour of the heart, in which the life seems to abide; the life, I say, not the soul.

"And what shall I say of the substance of the blood, which, proceeding as a river from a fountain, and first borne along in one channel, and then spreading through innumerable veins, as through canals, irrigates the whole territory of the human body with vital streams, being supplied by the agency of the liver, which is placed in the right side, for effecting the digestion of food and turning it into blood? But in the left side is placed the spleen, which draws to itself, and in some way cleanses, the impurities of the blood."

31 The Intestines. "What reason also is employed in the intestines, which are arranged in long circular windings, that they may gradually carry off the refuse of the food, so as neither to render places suddenly empty, and so as not to be hindered by the food that is taken afterwards! But they are made like a membrane, that the parts that are outside of them may gradually receive moisture, which if it were poured out suddenly would empty the internal parts; and not hindered by a thick skin, which would render the outside dry, and disturb the whole fabric of man with distressing thirst."

32 Generation. "Moreover, the female form, and the cavity of the womb, most suitable for receiving, and cherishing, and vivifying the germ, who does not believe that it has been made as it is by reason and foresight? because in that part alone of her body the female differs from the male, in which the foetus being placed, is kept and cherished. And again the male differs from the female only in that part of his body in which is the power of injecting seed and propagating mankind.

"And in this there is a great proof of providence, from the necessary difference of members; but more in this, where, under a likeness of form there is found to be diversity of use and variety of office. For males and females equally have teats, but only those of the female are filled with milk; that, as soon as they have brought forth, the infant may find nourishment suited to him.

"But if we see the members in man arranged with such method, that in all the rest there is seen to be similarity of form, and a difference only in those in which their use requires a difference, and we neither see anything superfluous nor anything wanting in man, nor in woman anything deficient or in excess, who will not, from all these things, acknowledge the operation of reason, and the wisdom of the Creator?"

33 Correspondences in Creation. "With this agrees also the reasonable difference of other animals, and each one being suited to its own use and service. This also is testified by the variety of trees and the diversity of herbs, varying both in form and in juices. This also is asserted by the change of seasons, distinguished into four periods, and the circle closing the year with certain hours, days, months, and not deviating from the appointed reckoning by a single hour. Hence, in short, the age of the world itself is reckoned by a certain and fixed account, and a definite number of years."

34 Time of Making the World. "But you will say, When was the world made? And why so late? This you might have objected, though it had been made sooner. For you might say, Why not also before this? And so, going back through unmeasured ages, you might still ask, And why not sooner?

"But we are not now discussing this, why it was not made sooner; but whether it was made at all. For if it is manifest that it was made, it is necessarily the work of a powerful and supreme Artificer; and if this is evident, it must be left to the choice and judgement of the wise Artificer when He should please to make it; unless indeed you think that all this wisdom, which has constructed the immense fabric of the world, and has given to the several objects their forms and kinds, assigning to them a habit not only in accordance with beauty, but also most convenient and necessary for their future uses, unless, I say, you think that this alone has escaped it, that it should choose a convenient season for so magnificent a work of creation.

"He has doubtless a certain reason and evident causes why, and when, and how He made the world; but it were not proper that these should be disclosed to those who are reluctant to inquire into and understand the things which are placed before their eyes, and which testify of His providence. For those things which are kept in secret, and are hidden within the senses of Wisdom, as in a royal treasury, are laid open to none but those who have learned of Him, with whom these things are sealed and laid up.

"It is God, therefore, who made all things, and Himself was made by none. But those who speak of nature instead of God, and declare that all things were made by nature, do not perceive the mistake of the name which they use. For if they think that nature is irrational, it is most foolish to suppose that a rational creature can proceed from an irrational creator. But if it is Reason that is, Logos12 by which it appears that all things were made, they change the name without purpose, when they make statements concerning the reason of the Creator. If you have anything to say to these things, my father, say on."

35 A Contest of Hospitality. When Niceta had thus spoken, the old man answered: "You indeed, my son, have conducted your argument wisely and vigorously; so much so, that I do not think the subject of providence could be better treated. But as it is now late, I wish to say some things tomorrow in answer to what you have argued; and if on these you can satisfy me, I shall confess myself a debtor to your favour."

And when the old man said this, Peter rose up. Then one of those present, a chief man of the Laodiceans, requested of Peter and us that he might give the old man other clothes instead of the mean and torn ones that he wore. This man Peter and we embraced; and praising him for his honourable and excellent intention, said: "We are not so foolish and impious as not to bestow the things which are necessary for bodily uses upon him to whom we have committed so precious words; and we hope that he will willingly receive them, as a father from his sons, and also we trust that he will share with us our house and our living."

While we said this, and that chief man of the city strove to take the old man away from us with the greatest urgency and with many blandishments, while we the more eagerly strove to keep him with us, all the people cried out that it should rather be done as the old man himself pleased; and when silence was obtained, the old man, with an oath, said: "Today I shall stay with no one, nor take anything from any one, lest the choice of the one should prove the sorrow of the other; afterwards these things may be, if so it seem right."

36 Arrangements for Tomorrow. And when the old man had said this, Peter said to the chief man of the city: "Since you have shown your good-will in our presence, it is not right that you should go away sorrowful; but we will accept from you favour for favour. Show us your house, and make it ready, so that the discussion which is to be tomorrow may be held there, and that any who wish to be present to hear it may be admitted."

When the chief man of the city heard this, he rejoiced greatly; and all the people also heard it gladly. And when the crowds had dispersed, he pointed out his house; and the old man also was preparing to depart. But I commanded one of my attendants to follow the old man secretly, and find out where he stayed. And when we returned to our lodging, we told our brethren all our dealings with the old man; and so, as usual, we supped and went to sleep.

37 "The Form of Sound Words, Which Ye Have Heard of Me."

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But on the following day Peter arose early and called us, and we went together to the secret place in which we had been on the previous day, for the purpose of prayer. And when, after prayer, we were coming thence to the appointed place, he exhorted us by the way, saying:14 "Hear me, most beloved fellow-servants: It is good that every one of you, according to his ability, contribute to the advantage of those who are approaching to the faith of our religion; and therefore do not shrink from instructing the ignorant, and teaching according to the wisdom which has been bestowed upon you by the providence of God, yet so that you only join the eloquence of your discourse with those things which you have heard from me, and which have been committed to you.

"But do not speak anything which is your own, and which has not been committed to you, though it may seem to yourselves to be true; but hold forth those things, as I have said, which I myself have received from the true Prophet, and have delivered to you, although they may seem to be less full of authority. For thus it often happens that men turn away from the truth, while they believe that they have found out, by their own thoughts, a form of truth more true and powerful."

38 The Chief Man's House. To these counsels of Peter we willingly assented, saying to him that we should do nothing but what was pleasing to him. Then said he: "That you may therefore be exercised without danger, each of you conduct the discussion in my presence, one succeeding another, and each one elucidating his own questions.

"Now, then, as Niceta discoursed sufficiently yesterday, let Aquila conduct the discussion to-day; and after Aquila, Clement; and then I, if the case shall require it, will add something."

Meantime, while we were talking in this way, we came to the house; and the master of the house welcomed us, and led us to a certain apartment, arranged after the manner of a theatre, and beautifully built. There we found great crowds waiting for us, who had come during the night, and amongst them the old than who had argued with us yesterday.

Therefore we entered, having Peter in the midst of us, looking about if we could see the old man anywhere; and when Peter saw him hiding in the midst of the crowd, he called him to him, saying: "Since you possess a soul more enlightened than most, why do you hide yourself, and conceal yourself in modesty? Rather come hither, and propound your sentiments."

39 Recapitulation of Yesterday's Argument. When Peter had thus spoken, immediately the crowd began to make room for the old man.15 And when he had come forward, he thus began: "Although I do not remember the words of the discourse which the young man delivered yesterday, yet I recollect the purport and the order of it; and therefore I think it necessary, for the sake of those who were not present yesterday, to call up what was said, and to repeat everything shortly, that, although something may have escaped me, I may be reminded of it by him who delivered the discourse, who is now present.

"This, then, was the purport of yesterday's discussion: that all things that we see, inasmuch as they consist in a certain proportion, and art, and form, and species, must be believed to have been made by intelligent power; but if it be mind and reason that has formed them, it follows that the world is governed by the providence of the same reason, although the things which are done in the world may seem to us to be not quite rightly done.

"But it follows, that if God and mind is the creator of all things, He must also be just; but if He is just, He necessarily judges. If He judges, it is of necessity that men be judged with respect to their doings; and if every one is judged in respect of his doings, there shall at some time be a righteous separation between righteous men and sinners. This, I think, was the substance of the whole discourse."

40 Genesis. "If, therefore, it can be shown that mind and reason created all things, it follows that those things which come after are also managed by reason and providence. But if unintelligent and blind nature produces all things, the reason of judgement is undoubtedly overthrown; and there is no ground to expect either punishment of sin or reward of well-doing where there is no judge.

"Since, then, the whole matter depends upon this, and hangs by this head, do not take it amiss, if I wish this to be discussed and handled somewhat more fully. For in this the first gate, as it were, is shut towards all things which are propounded, and therefore I wish first of all to have it opened to me. Now therefore hear what my doctrine is; and if any one of you pleases, let him reply to me: for I shall not be ashamed to learn, if I hear that which is true, and to assent to him who speaks rightly.

"The discourse, then, which you delivered yesterday, which asserted that all things consist by art, and measure, and reason, does not fully persuade me that it is mind and reason that has made the world; for I have many things which I can show to consist by competent measure, and form, and species, and which yet were not made by mind and reason. Then, besides, I see that many things are done in the world without arrangement, consequence, or justice, and that nothing can be done without the course of Genesis. This I shall in the sequel prove most clearly from my own case."

41 The Rainbow. When the old man had thus spoken, Aquila answered:

"As you yourself proposed that any one who pleased should have an opportunity of answering to what you might say, my brother Niceta permits me to conduct the argument today."

Then the old man: "Go on, my son, as you please."

And Aquila answered: "You promised that you would show that there are many things in the world which have a form and species arranged by equal reason, which vet it is evident were not effected by God as their Creator. Now, then, as you have promised, point out these things."

Then said the old man: "Behold, we see the bow in the heaven assume a circular shape, completed in all proportion, and have an appearance of reality, which perhaps neither mind could have constructed nor reason described; and yet it is not made by any mind. Behold, I have set forth the whole in a word: now answer me."

42 Types and Forms. Then said Aquila: "If anything is expressed from a type and form, it is at once understood that it is from reason, and that it could not be made without mind; since the type itself, which expresses figures and forms, was not made without mind. For example, if wax be applied to an engraved ring, it takes the stamp and figure from the ring, which undoubtedly is without sense; but then the ring, which expresses the figure, was engraven by the hand of a workman, and it was mind and reason that gave the type to the ring.

"So then the bow also is expressed in the air; for the sun, impressing its rays on the clouds in the process of rarefaction, and affixing the type of its circularity to the cloudy moisture, as it were to soft wax, produces the appearance of a bow; and this, as I have said, is effected by the reflection of the sun's brightness upon the clouds, and reproducing the brightness of its circle from them.

"Now this does not always take place, but only when the opportunity is presented by the rarefaction of moistened clouds. And consequently, when the clouds again are condensed and unite, the form of the bow is dissolved and vanishes. Finally, the bow never is seen without sun and clouds, just as the image is not produced, unless there be the type, and wax, or some other material. Nor is it wonderful if God the Creator in the beginning made types, from which forms and species may now be expressed.

"But this is similar to that, that in the beginning God created insensible elements, which He might use for forming and developing all other things. But even those who form statues, first make a mould of clay or wax, and from it the figure of the statue is produced.

"And then afterwards a shadow is also produced from the statue, which shadow always bears the form and likeness of the statue. What shall we say then? That the insensible statue forms a shadow finished with as diligent care as the statue itself? Or shall the finishing of the shadow be unhesitatingly ascribed to him who has also fashioned the statue?"

43 Things Apparently Useless and Vile Made by God. "If, then, it seems to you that this is so, and what has been said on this subject is enough, let us come to inquire into other matters; or if you think that something is still wanting, let us go over it again."

And the old man said: "I wish you would go over this again, since there are many other things which I see to be made in like manner: for both the fruits of trees are produced in like manner, beautifully formed and wonderfully rounded; and the appearance of the leaves is formed with immense gracefulness, and the green membrane is woven with exquisite art: then, moreover, fleas, mice, lizards, and such like, shall we say that these are made by God? Hence, from these vile objects a conjecture is derived concerning the superior, that they are by no means formed by the art of mind."

"You infer well," said Aquila, "concerning the texture of leaves, and concerning small animals, that from these belief is withdrawn from the superior creatures; but let not these things deceive you, that you should think that God, working as it were only with two hands, could not complete all things that are made; but remember how my brother Niceta answered you yesterday, and truly disclosed the mystery before the time, as a son speaking with his father, and explained why and how things are made which seem to be useless."

44 Ordinate and Inordinate. Then the old man: "I should like to hear from you why those useless things are made by the will of that supreme mind?"

"If," said he [Aquila], "it is fully manifest to you that there is in them the work of mind and reason, then you will not hesitate to say also why they were made, and to declare that they have been rightly made."

To this the old man answered: "I am not able, my son, to say that those things which seem formed by art are made by mind, by reason of other things which we see to be done unjustly and disorderly in the world."

"If," says Aquila, "those things which are done disorderly do not allow you say that they are done by the providence of God, why do not those things which are done orderly compel you to say that they are done by God, and that irrational nature cannot produce a rational work? For it is certain, nor do we at all deny, that in this world some things are done orderly, and some disorderly.

"Those things, therefore, that are done rationally, believe that they are done by providence; but those that are done irrationally and inordinately, that they befall naturally, and happen accidentally.

"But I wonder that men do not perceive, that where there is sense things may be done ordinately and inordinately, but where there is no sense neither the one nor the other can be done; for reason makes order, and the course of order necessarily produces something inordinate, if anything contrary happen to disturb order."

Then the old man: "This very thing I wish you to show me."

45 Motions of the Sun and Moon. Says Aquila: "I shall do so without delay. Two visible signs are shown in heaven one of the sun, the other of the moon; and these are followed by five other stars, each describing its own separate orbit. These, therefore, God has placed in the heaven, by which the temperature of the air may be regulated according to the seasons, and the order of vicissitudes and alternations may be kept.

"But by means of the very same signs, if at any time plague and corruption is sent upon the earth for the sins of men, the air is disturbed, pestilence is brought upon animals, blight upon crops, and a destructive year in every way upon men; and thus it is that by one and the same means order is both kept and destroyed.

"For it is manifest even to the unbelieving and unskilful, that the course of the sun, which is useful and necessary to the world, and which is assigned by providence, is always kept orderly; but the courses of the moon, in comparison of the course of the sun, seem to the unskilful to be inordinate and unsettled in her waxings and wanings.

"For the sun moves in fixed and orderly periods: for from him are hours, from him the day when he rises, from him also the night when he sets; from him months and years are reckoned, from him the variations of seasons are produced; while, rising to the higher regions, he tempers the spring; but when he reaches the top of the heaven, he kindles the summer's heats: again, sinking, he produces the temper of autumn; and when he returns to his lowest circle, he bequeaths to us the rigour of winter's cold from the icy binding of heaven."

46 Sun and Moon Ministers Both of Good and Evil. "But we shall discourse at greater length on these subjects at another time. Now, meantime, we remark that though he is that good servant for regulating the changes of the seasons, yet, when chastisement is inflicted upon men according to the will of God, he glows more fiercely, and burns up the world with more vehement fires.

"In like manner also the course of the moon, and that changing which seems to the unskilful to be disorderly, is adapted to the growth of crops, and cattle, and all living creatures; for by her waxings and wanings, by a certain wonderful contrivance of providence, everything that is born is nourished and grows; concerning which we could speak more at length and unfold the matter in detail, but that the method of the question proposed recalls us.

"Yet, by the very same appliances by which they are produced, all things are nourished and increased; but when, from any just cause, the regulation of the appointed order is changed, corruption and distemper arise, so that chastisement may come upon men by the will of God, as we have said above."

47 Chastisements on the Righteous and the Wicked. "But perhaps you will say, What of the fact that, in that common chastisement, like things befall the pious and the impious? It is true, and we confess it; but the chastisement turns to the advantage of the pious, that, being afflicted in the present life, they may come more purified to the future, in which perpetual rest is prepared for them, and that at the same time even the impious may somewhat profit from their chastisement, or else that the just sentence of the future judgement may be passed upon them; since in the same chastisements the righteous give thanks to God, while the unrighteous blaspheme.

"Therefore, since the opinion of things is divided into two parts, that some things are done by order and others against order, it ought, from those things which are done according to order, to be believed that there is a providence; but with respect to those things which are done against order, we should inquire their causes from those who have learned them by prophetic teaching: for those who have become acquainted with prophetic discourse know when, and for what reason, blight, hail, and pestilence, and such like, have occurred in every generation, and for what sins these have been sent as a punishment; whence causes of sadness, lamentations, and griefs have befallen the human race; whence also trembling sickness has ensued, and that this has been from the beginning the punishment of parricide."16

48 Chastisements for Sins. "For in the beginning of the world there were none of these evils, but they took their rise from the impiety of men; and thence, with the constant increase of iniquities, the number of evils has also increased.

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But for this reason divine providence has decreed a judgement with respect to all men, because the present life was not such that every one could be dealt with according to his deservings.

"Those things, therefore, which were well and orderly appointed from the beginning, when no causes of evil existed, are not to be judged of from the evils which have befallen the world by reason of the sins of men. In short, as an indication of the things which were from the beginning, some nations are found which are strangers to these evils.

"For the Seres, because they live chastely, are kept free from them all; for with them it is unlawful to come at a woman after she has conceived, or while she is being purified. No one there eats unclean flesh, no one knows aught of sacrifices; all are judges to themselves according to justice. For this reason they are not chastened with those plagues which we have spoken of; they live to extreme old age, and die without sickness.

"But we, miserable as we are, dwelling as it were with deadly serpents17 I mean with wicked men necessarily suffer with them the plagues of afflictions in this world, but we cherish hope from the comfort of good things to come."

49 God's Precepts Despised. "If," said the old man, "even the righteous are tormented on account of the iniquities of others, God ought, as foreseeing this, to have commanded men not to do those things from which it should be necessary that the righteous be afflicted with the unrighteous; or if they did them, He ought to have applied some correction or purification to the world."18

"God," said Aquila, "did so command, and gave precepts by the prophets how men ought to live; but even these precepts they despised: yea, if any desired to observe them, them they afflicted with various injuries, until they drove them from their purposed observance, and turned them to the rabble of infidelity, and made them like unto themselves."

50 The Flood. "Wherefore, in short, at the first, when all the earth had been stained with sins, God brought a flood upon the world, which you say happened under Deucalion; and at that time He saved a certain righteous man, with his sons, in an ark, and with him the race of all plants and animals.19 And yet even those who sprang from them, after a time, again did deeds like to those of their predecessors; for those things that had befallen them were forgotten, so that their descendants did not even believe that the flood had taken place.

"Wherefore God also decreed that there should not be another flood in the present world, else there should have been one in every generation, according to the account of their sins by reason of their unbelief; but He rather granted that certain angels who delight in evil should bear sway over the several nations and to them was given power over individual men, yet only on this condition, if any one first had made himself subject to them by sinning until He should come who delights in good, and by Him the number of the righteous should be completed, and by the increase of the number of pious men all over the world impiety should be in some measure repressed, and it should be known to all that all that is good is done by God."

51 Evils Brought in by Sin. "But by the freedom of the will, every man, while he is unbelieving in regard to things to come, by evil deeds runs into evils. And these are the things in the world which seem to be done contrary to order, which owe their existence to unbelief.

"Therefore the dispensation of divine providence is withal to be admired, which granted to those men in the beginning, walking in the good way of life, to enjoy incorruptible good things; but when they sinned, they gave birth to evil by sin. And to every good thing evil is joined as by a certain covenant of alliance on the part of sin, since indeed the earth has been polluted with human blood, and altars have been lighted to demons, and they have polluted the very air by the filthy smoke of sacrifices; and so at length the elements, being first corrupted, have handed over to men the fault of their corruption, as roots communicate their qualities to the branches and the fruit."

52 "No Rose Without Its Thorn." "Observe therefore in this, as I have said, how justly divine providence comes to the help of things vitiated; that, inasmuch as evils which had derived their origin from sin were associated with the good things of God, He should assign rive chiefs to these two departments.

"And accordingly, to Him who rejoices in good He has appointed the ordering of good things, that He might bring those who believe in Him to the faith of His providence; but to him who rejoices in evil, He has given over those things which are done without order and uselessly, from which of course the faith of His providence comes into doubt; and thus a just division has been made by a just God.

"Hence therefore it is, that whereas the orderly course of the stars produces faith that the world was made by the hand of a designer, on the other hand, the disturbance of the air, the pestilent breeze, the uncontrolled fire of the lightning, cast doubt upon the work of providence.

"For, as we have said, every good thing has its corresponding contrary evil thing joined with it; as hail is opposite to the fertilizing showers, the corruption of mildew is associated with the gentle dew, the whirlwinds of storms are joined with the soft winds, unfruitful trees with fruitful, noxious herbs with useful, wild and destructive animals with gentle ones. But all these things are arranged by God, because that the choice of men's will has departed from the purpose of good, and fallen away to evil."

53 Everything Has Its Corresponding Contrary. "Therefore this division holds in all the things of the world; and as there are pious men, so there are also impious; as there are prophets, so also there are false prophets; and amongst the Gentiles there are philosophers and false philosophers.

"Also the Arabian nations, and many others, have imitated the circumcision of the Jews for the service of their impiety. So also the worship of demons is contrary to the divine worship, baptism to baptism, laws to the law, false apostles to apostles, and false teachers to teachers. And hence it is that among the philosophers some assert providence, others deny it; some maintain that there is one God, others that there are more than one: in short, the matter has come to this, that whereas demons are expelled by the word of God, by which it is declared that there is a providence, the magical art, for the confirmation of infidelity, has found out ways of imitating this by contraries.

"Thus has been discovered the method of counteracting the poison of serpents by incantations, and the effecting of cures contrary to the word and power of God. The magic art has also found out ministries contrary to the angels of God, placing the calling up of souls and the figments of demons in opposition to these.

"And, not to prolong the discourse by a further enumeration, there is nothing whatever that makes for the belief of providence, which has not something, on the other hand, prepared for unbelief; and therefore they who do not know that division of things, think that there is no providence, by reason of those things in the world which are discordant from themselves. But do you, my father, as a wise man, choose from that division the part which preserves order and makes for the belief of providence, and do not only follow that part which runs against order and neutralizes the belief of providence."

54 An Illustration. To this the old man answered: "Show me a way, my son, by which I may establish in my mind one or other of these two orders, the one of which asserts, and the other denies, providence."

"To one having a right judgement," says Aquila, "the decision is easy. For this very thing that you say, order and disorder, may be produced by a contriver, but not by insensible nature. For let us suppose, by way of illustration, that a great mass were torn from a high rock, and cast down headlong, and when clashed upon the ground were broken into many pieces, could it in any way happen that, amongst that multitude of fragments, there should be found even one which should have any perfect figure and shape?"

The old man answered: "'It is impossible."

"But," said Aquila, "if there be present a statuary, he can by his skilful hand and reasonable mind form the stone cut from the mountain into whatever figure he pleases."

The old man said: "That is true."

"Therefore," says Aquila, "when there is not a rational mind, no figure can be formed out of the mass; but when there is a designing mind, there may be both form and deformity: for example, if a workman cuts from the mountain a block to which he wishes to give a form, he must first cut it out unformed and rough; then, by degrees hammering and hewing it by the rule of his art, he expresses the form which he has conceived in his mind.

"Thus, therefore, from informity or deformity, by the hand of the workman form is attained, and both proceed from the workman. In like manner, therefore, the things which are done in the world are accomplished by the providence of a contriver, although they may seem not quite orderly. And therefore, because these two ways have been, made known to you, and you have heard the divisions of them, flee from the way of unbelief, lest haply it lead you to that prince who delights in evils; but follow the way of faith, that you may come to that King who delighteth in good men."

55 The Two Kingdoms. To this the old man answered: "But why was that prince made who delights in evil? And from what was he made? Or was he not made?"

Aquila said: "The treatment of that subject belongs to another time; but that you may not go away altogether without an answer to this, I shall give a few hints on this subject also. God, foreseeing all things before the creation of the world, knowing that the men who were to be would some of them indeed incline to good, but others to the opposite, assigned those who should choose the good to His own government and His own cure, and called them His peculiar inheritance; but He gave over the government of those who should turn to evil to those angels who, not by their substance, but by opposition, were unwilling to remain with God, being corrupted by the vice of envy and pride.

"Those, therefore, he made worthy princes of worthy subjects; yet he so delivered them over to those angels, that they have not the power of doing what they will against them, unless they transgress the bounds assigned to them from the beginning. And this is the bound assigned, that unless one first do the will of the demons, the demons have no power over him."

56 Origin of Evil. Then the old man said: "You have stated it excellently, my son. It now remains only that you tell me whence is the substance of evil: for if it was made by God, the evil fruit shows that the root is in fault; for it appears that it also is of an evil nature. But if this substance was co-eternal with God, how can that which was equally unproduced and co-eternal be subject to the other?"

"It was not always," said Aquila; "but neither does it necessarily follow, if it was made by God, that its Creator should be thought to be such as is that which has been made by Him. For indeed God made the substance of all things; but if a reasonable mind, which has been made by God, do not acquiesce in the laws of its Creator, and go beyond the bounds of the temperance prescribed to it, how does this reflect on the Creator? Or if there is any reason higher than this, we do not know it; for we cannot know anything perfectly, and especially concerning those things for our ignorance of which we are not to be judged.

"But those things for which we are to be judged are most easy to be understood, and are despatched almost in a word. For almost the whole rule of our actions is summed up in this, that what we are unwilling to suffer we should not do to others.

"For as you would not be killed, you must beware of killing another; and as you would not have your own marriage violated, you must not defile another's bed; you would not be stolen from, neither must you steal; and every matter of men's actions is comprehended within this rule."

57 The Old Man Unconvinced. Then the old man: "Do not take amiss, my son, what I am going to say. Though your words are powerful, yet they cannot lead me to believe that anything can be done apart from Genesis.

"For I know that all things have happened to me by the necessity of Genesis,23 and therefore I cannot be persuaded that either to do well or to do ill is in our power; and if we have not our actions in our power, it cannot be believed that there is a judgement to come, by which either punishments may be inflicted on the evil, or rewards bestowed on the good. In short, since I see that you are initiated in this sort of learning, I shall lay before you a few things from the art itself."

"If," says Aquila, "you wish to add anything from that science, my brother Clement will answer you with all care, since he has attended more fully to the science of mathematics. For I can maintain in other ways that our actions are in our own power; but I ought not to presume upon those things which I have not learned."

58 Sitting in Judgement Upon God. When Aquila had thus spoken, then I Clement said: "Tomorrow, my father, you shall speak as you please, and we will gladly hear you; for I suppose it will also be gratifying to you that you have to do with those who are not ignorant of the science which you profess."

When, therefore, it had been settled between the old man and me, that on the following day we should hold a discussion on the subject of Genesis whether all things are done under its influence, or there be anything in us which is not done by Genesis, but by the judgement of the mind Peter rose up, and began to speak to the following effect:24 "To me it is exceedingly wonderful, that things which can easily be found out men make difficult by recondite thoughts and words; and those especially who think themselves wise, and who, wishing to comprehend the will of God, treat God as if He were a man, yea, as if He were something less than a man: for no one can know the purpose or mind of a man unless he himself reveal his thoughts; and neither can any one learn a profession unless he be for a long time instructed by a master.

"How much more must it be, that no one can know the mind or the work of the invisible and incomprehensible God, unless He Himself send a prophet to declare His purpose, and expound the way of His creation, so far as it is lawful for men to learn it! Hence I think it ridiculous when men judge of the power of God in natural ways, and think that this is possible and that impossible to Him, or this greater and that less, while they are ignorant of everything; who, being unrighteous men, judge the righteous God; unskilled, judge the contriver; corrupt, judge the incorruptible; creatures, judge the Creator.

59 The True Prophet. "But I would not have you think, that in saying this I take away the power of judging concerning things; but I give counsel that no one walk through devious places, and rush into errors without end. And therefore I advise not only wise men, but indeed all men who have a desire of knowing what is advantageous to them, that they seek after the true Prophet; for it is He alone who knoweth all things, and who knoweth what and how every man is seeking.

"For He is within the mind of every one of us, but in those who have no desire of the knowledge of God and His righteousness, He is inoperative; but He works in those who

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seek after that which is profitable to their souls, and kindles in them the light of knowledge. Wherefore seek Him first of all; and if you do not find Him, expect not that you shall learn anything from any other.

"But He is soon found by those who diligently seek Him through love of the truth, and whose souls are not taken possession of by wickedness. For He is present with those who desire Him in the innocency of their spirits, who bear patiently, and draw sighs from the bottom of their hearts through love of the truth; but He deserts malevolent minds,26 because as a prophet He knows the thoughts of every one.

"And therefore let no one think that he can find Him by his own wisdom, unless, as we have said, he empty his mind of all wickedness, and conceive a pure and faithful desire to know Him. For when any one has so prepared himself, He Himself as a prophet, seeing a mind prepared for Him, of His own accord offers Himself to his knowledge."

60 His Deliverances Not to Be Questioned. "Therefore, if any one wishes to learn all things, he cannot do it by discussing them one by one; for, being mortal, he shall not be able to trace the counsel of God, and to scan immensity itself. But if, as we have said, he desires to learn all things, let him seek after the true Prophet; and when he has found Him, let him not treat with Him by questions and disputations and arguments; but if He has given any response, or pronounced any judgement, it cannot be doubted that this is certain.

"And therefore, before all things, let the true Prophet be sought, and His words be laid hold of. In respect to these this only should be discussed by every one, that he may satisfy himself if they are truly His prophetic words; that is, if they contain undoubted faith of things to come, if they mark out definite times, if they preserve the order of things, if they do not relate as last those things which are first, nor as first those things which were done last, if they contain nothing subtle, nothing composed by magic art to deceive, or if they have not transferred to themselves things which were revealed to others, and have mixed them with falsehoods.

"And when, all these things having been discussed by fight judgement, it is established that they are prophetic words, so they ought to be at once believed concerning all things on which they have spoken and answered."

61 Ignorance of the Philosophers. "For let us consider carefully the work of divine providence. For whereas the philosophers have introduced certain subtile and difficult words, so that not even the terms that they use in their discourses can be known and understood by all, God has shown that those who thought themselves word-framers are altogether unskilful as respects the knowledge of the truth.

"For the knowledge of things which is imparted by the true Prophet is simple, and plain, and brief; which those men walking through devious places, and through the stony difficulties of words, are wholly ignorant of. Therefore, to modest and simple minds, when they see things come to pass which have been foretold, it is enough, and more, than enough, that they may receive most certain knowledge from most certain prescience; and for the rest may be at peace, having received evident knowledge of the truth.

"For all other things are treated by opinion, in which there can be nothing firm. For what speech is there which may not be contradicted? And what argument is there that may not be overthrown by another argument? And hence it is, that by disputation of this sort men can never come to any end of knowledge and learning, but find the end of their life sooner than the end of their questions."

62 End of the Conference. "And, therefore, since amongst these philosophers are things uncertain, we must come to the true Prophet. Him God the Father wished to be loved by all, and accordingly He has been pleased wholly to extinguish those opinions which have originated with men, and in regard to which there is nothing like certainty that He the true Prophet might be the more sought after, and that He whom28 they had obscured should show to men the way of truth.

"For on this account also God made the world, and by Him the world is filled; whence also He is everywhere near to them who seek Him, though He be sought in the remotest ends of the earth. But if any one seek Him not purely, nor holily, nor faithfully, He is indeed within him, because He is everywhere, and is found within the minds of all men; but, as we have said before, He is dormant to the unbelieving, and is held to be absent from those by whom His existence is not believed."

And when Peter had said this, and more to the same effect, concerning the true Prophet, he dismissed the crowds; and when he very earnestly entreated the old man to remain with us, he could prevail nothing; but he also departed, to return next day, as had been agreed upon. And after this, we also, with Peter, went to our lodging, and enjoyed our accustomed food and rest.

CLEMENT RECOGNITION BOOK 9

1 An Explanation. On the following day, Peter, along with us, hastened early to the place in which the discussion had been held the day before; and when he saw that great crowds had assembled there to hear, and saw the old man with them, he said to him: "Old man, it was agreed yesterday that yon should confer to-day with Clement; and that you should either show that nothing takes place apart from genesis, or that Clement should prove that there is no such thing as genesis, but that what we do is in our own power."

To this the old man answered: "I both remember what was agreed upon, and I keep in memory the words which you spoke after the agreement was made, in which you taught that it is impossible for man to know any thing, unless he learn from the true Prophet."

Then Peter said: "You do not know what I meant; but I shall now explain to you. I spoke of the will and purpose of God, which He had before the world was, and by which purpose He made the world, appointed times, gave the law, promised a world to come to the righteous for the rewarding of their good deeds, and decreed punishments to the unjust according to a judicial sentence.

"I said that this counsel and this will of God cannot be found out by men, because no man can gather the mind of God from conjectures and opinion, unless a prophet sent by Him declare it. I did not therefore speak of any doctrines or studies, that they cannot be found out or known without a prophet; for I know that both arts and sciences can be known and practised by men, which they have learned, not froth the true Prophet, but from human instructors."

2 Preliminaries. "Since, therefore, you profess to be conversant with the position of the stars and the courses of the heavenly bodies, and that from these you can convince Clement that all things are subject to Genesis, or that you will learn from him that all things are governed by providence, and that we have something in our own power, it is now time for you two to set about this."

To this the old man answered: "Now indeed it was not necessary to raise questions of this kind, if it were possible for us to learn from the true Prophet, and to hear in a definite proposition, that anything depends on is and on the freedom of our will; for your yesterday's discourse affected me greatly, in which you disputed concerning the prophetic power.2 Whence also I assent to and confirm your judgement, that nothing can be known by man with certainty, and without doubt, seeing that he has but a short period of life, and a brief and slender breath, by which he seems to be kept in life.

"However, since I am understood to have promised to Clement, before I heard anything of the prophetic power, that I should show that all things are subject to Genesis, or that I should learn from him that there is something in ourselves, let him do me this favour, that he first begin, and propound and explain what may be objected: for I, ever since I heard from you a few words concerning the power of prophecy, have, I confess, been confounded, considering the greatness of prescience; nor do I think that anything ought to be received which is collected from conjectures and opinion."

3 Beginning of the Discussion. When the old man had said this, I Clement began to speak as follows: "God by His Son created the world as a double house, separated by the interposition of this firmament, which is called heaven; and appointed angelic powers to dwell in the higher, and a multitude of men to be born in this visible world, from amongst whom He might choose friends for His Son, with whom He might rejoice, and who might be prepared for Him as a beloved bride for a bridegroom.

"But even till the time of the marriage, which is the manifestation of the world to come, He has appointed a certain power, to choose out and watch over the good ones of those who are born in this world, and to preserve them for His Son, set apart in a certain place of the world, which is without sin; in which there are already some, who are there being prepared, as I said, as a bride adorned for the coming of the bridegroom. For the prince of this world and of the present age is like an adulterer, who corrupts and violates the minds of men, and, seducing them from the love of the true bride groom, allures them to strange lovers."

4 Why the Evil Prince Was Made. "But some one will say, How then was it necessary that that prince should be made, who was to turn away the minds of men from the true prince?3 Because God, who, as I have said, wished to prepare friends for His Son, did not wish them to be such as by necessity of nature could not be aught else, but such as should desire of their own choice and will to be good; because neither is that praiseworthy which is not desirable, nor is that judged to be good which is not sought for with purpose.

"For there is no credit in being that from which the necessity of your nature does not admit of your changing. Therefore the providence of God has willed that a multitude of men should be born in this world, that those who should choose a good life might be selected from many. And because He foresaw that the present world could not consist except by variety and inequality, He gave to each mind freedom of motions,4 according to the diversities of present things, and appointed this prince, through his suggestion of those things which run contrary, that the choice of better things might depend upon the exercise of virtue."

5 Necessity of Inequality. "But to make our meaning plainer, we shall explain it by particulars. Was it proper, for example, that all men in this world should be kings, or princes, or lords, or teachers, or lawyers, or geometers, or goldsmiths, or bakers, or smiths, or grammarians, or rich men, or farmers, or perfumers, or fishermen, or poor men? It is certain that all could not be these.

"Yet all these professions, and many more, the life of men requires, and without these it cannot be passed; therefore inequality is necessary in this world. For there cannot be a king, unless he has subjects over whom he may rule and reign; nor can there be a master, unless he has one over whom he may bear sway; and in like manner of the rest."

6 Arrangements of the World for the Exercise of Virtue. "Therefore the Creator, knowing that no one would come to the contest of his own accord, while labour is shunned, that is, to the practice of those professions which we have mentioned, by means of which either the justice or the mercy of every one can be manifested, made for men a body susceptible of hunger, and thirst, and cold, in order that men, being compelled for the sake of supporting their bodies, might come down to all the professions which we have mentioned, by the necessity of livelihood.

"For we are taught to cultivate every one of these arts, for the sake of food, and drink, and clothing. And in this the purpose of each one's mind is shown, whether he will supply the demands of hunger and cold by means of thefts, and murders, and perjuries, and other crimes of that sort; or whether, keeping justice and mercy and continence, he will fulfil the service of imminent necessity by the practice of a profession and the labour of his hands.

"For if he supply his bodily wants with justice, and piety, and mercy, he comes forth as a victor in the contest set before him, and is chosen as a friend of the Son of God. But if he serve carnal lusts, by frauds, iniquities, and crimes, he becomes a friend of the prince of this world, and of all demons; by whom he is also taught this, to ascribe to the courses of the stars the errors of his own evil doings, although he chose them of purpose, and willingly.

"For arts are learned and practised, as we have said, under the compulsion of the desire of food and drink; which desire, when the knowledge of the truth comes to any one, becomes weaker, and frugality takes its place. For what expense have those who use water and bread, and only expect it from God?

7 The Old and the New Birth. "There is therefore, as we have said, a certain necessary inequality in the dispensation of the world. Since indeed all men cannot know all things, and accomplish all works, yet all need the use and service of almost all. And on this account it is necessary that one work, and another pay him for his work; that one be servant, and another be master; that one be subject, another be king.

"But this inequality, which is a necessary provision for the life of men, divine providence has turned into an occasion of justice, mercy, and humanity: that while these things are transacted between man and man, every one may have an opportunity of acting justly with him to whom he has to pay wages for his work; and of acting mercifully, to him who, perhaps through sickness or poverty, cannot pay his debt; and of acting humanely towards those who by their creation seem to be subject to him; also of maintaining gentleness towards subjects, and of doing all things according to the law of God.

"For He has given a law, thereby aiding the minds of men, that they may the more easily perceive how they ought to act with respect to everything, in what way they may escape evil, and in what way tend to future blessings; and how, being regenerate in water, they may by good works extinguish the fire of their old birth.

"For our first birth descends through the fire of lust, and therefore, by the divine appointment, this second birth is introduced by water, which may extinguish the nature of fire;5 and that the soul, enlightened by the heavenly Spirit, may cast away the fear of the first birth: provided, however, it so live for the time to come, that it do not at all seek after any of the pleasures of this world, but be, as it were, a pilgrim and a stranger,6 and a citizen of another city."

8 Uses of Evils. "But perhaps you will say, that in those things indeed in which the necessity of nature demands the service of arts and works, any one may have it in his power to maintain justice, and to put what restraint he pleases either upon his desires or his actions; but what shall we say of the sicknesses and infirmities which befall men, and of some being harassed with demons, and fevers, and cold fits, and some being attacked with madness, or losing their reason, and all those things which overwhelm the race of man with innumerable misfortunes?

"To this we say, that if any one consider the reason of the whole mystery, he will pronounce these things to be more just than those that we have already explained. For God has given a nature to men, by which they may be taught concerning what is good, and to resist evil; that is, they may learn arts, and to resist pleasures, and to set the law of God before them in all things. And for this end He has permitted certain contrary powers to wander up and down in the world, and to strive against us, for the reasons which have been stated before, that by striving with them the palm of victory and the merit of rewards may accrue to the righteous."

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9 "Conceived in Sin." "From this, therefore, it sometimes happens, that if any persons have acted incontinently, and have been willing not so much to resist as to yield, and to give harbour to these demons in themselves, by their noxious breath an intemperate, ill-conditioned, and diseased progeny is begotten.

"For while lust is wholly gratified, and no care is taken in the copulation, undoubtedly a weak generation is affected with the defects and frailties of those demons by whose instigation these things are done. And therefore parents are responsible for their children's defects of this sort, because they have not observed the law of intercourse.

"Though there are also more secret causes, by which souls are made subject to these evils, which it is not to our present purpose to state, yet it behoves every one to acknowledge the law of God, that he may learn from it the observance of generation, and avoid causes of impurity, that that which is begotten may be pure. For it is not right, while in the planting of shrubs and the sowing of crops a suitable season is sought for, and the land is cleaned, and all things are suitably prepared, lest haply the seed which is sown be injured and perish, that in the case of man only, who is over all these things, there should be no attention or caution in sowing his seed."

10 Tow Smeared with Pitch. "But what, it is said, of the fact that some who in their childhood are free from any bodily defect, yet in process of time fall into those evils, so that some are even violently hurried on to death? Concerning these also the account is at hand, and is almost the same: for those powers which we have said to be contrary to the human race, are in some way invited into the heart of every one by many and diverse lusts, and find a way of entrance; and they have in them such influence and power as can only encourage and incite, but cannot compel or accomplish.

"If, therefore, any one consents to them, so as to do those things which he wickedly desires, his consent and deed shall find the reward of destruction and the worst kind of death. But if, thinking of the future judgement, he be checked by fear, and reclaim himself, so that he do not accomplish in action what he has conceived in his evil thought, he shall not only escape present destruction, but also future punishments.

"For every cause of sin seems to be like tow smeared over with pitch, which immediately breaks into flame as soon as it receives the heat of fire; and the kindling of this fire is understood to be the work of demons. If, therefore, any one be found smeared with sins and lusts as with pitch, the fire easily gets the mastery of him. But if the tow be not steeped in the pitch of sin, but in the water of purification and regeneration, the fire of the demons shall not be able to be kindled in it."

11 Fear. "But some one will say, And what shall we do now, whom it has already happened to us to be smeared with sins as with pitch? I answer: Nothing; but hasten to be washed, that the fuel of the fire may be cleansed out of you by the invocation of the holy name, and that for the future you may bridle your lusts by fear of the judgement to come, and with all constancy beat back the hostile powers whenever they approach your senses.

"But you say, If any one fall into love, how shall he be able to contain himself, though he see before his eyes even that river of fire which they call Pyriphlegethon? This is the excuse of those who will not be converted to repentance.

"But now I would not have you talk of Pyriphlegethon. Place before you human punishments, and see what influence fear has. When any one is brought to punishment for the crime of love, and is bound to the stake to be burned, can he at that time conceive any desire of her whom he loved, or place her image before his eyes? By no means, you will say.

"You see, then, that present fear cuts off unrighteous desires. But if those who believe in God, and who confess the judgement to come, and the penalty of eternal fire, if they do not refrain from sin, it is certain that they do not believe with full faith: for if faith is certain, fear also becomes certain; but if there be any defect in faith, fear also is weakened, and then the contrary powers find opportunity of entering. And when they have consented to their persuasions, they necessarily become subject also to their power, and by their instigation are driven to the precipices of sin."

12 Astrologers. "Therefore the astrologers, being ignorant of such mysteries, think that these things happen by the courses of the heavenly bodies: hence also, in their answers to those who go to them to consult them as to future things, they are deceived in very many instances. Nor is it to be wondered at, for they are not prophets; but, by long practice, the authors of errors find a sort of refuge in those things by which they were deceived, and introduce certain Climacteric Periods, that they may pretend a knowledge of uncertain things.

"For they represent these Climacterics as times of danger, in which one sometimes is destroyed, sometimes is not destroyed, not knowing that it is not the course of the stars, but the operation of demons, that regulates these things; and those demons, being anxious to confirm the error of astrology, deceive men to sin by mathematical calculations, so that when they suffer the punishment of sin, either by the permission of God or by legal sentence, the astrologer may seem to have spoken truth.

"And yet they are deceived even in this; for if men be quickly turned to repentance, and remember and fear the future judgement, the punishment of death is remitted to those who are converted to God by the grace of baptism."

13 Retribution Here or Hereafter. "But some one will say, Many have committed even murder, and adultery, and other crimes, and have suffered no evil. This indeed rarely happens to men, but to those who know not the counsel of God it frequently seems to happen. But God, who knows all things, knows how and why he who sins does sin, and what cause leads each one to sin.

"This, however, is in general to be noticed, that if any are evil, not so much in their mind as in their doings, and are not borne to sin under the incitement of purpose, upon them punishment is inflicted more speedily, and more in the present life; for everywhere and always God renders to every one according to his deeds, as He judges to be expedient.

"But those who practise wickedness of purpose, so that they sometimes even rage against those from whom they have received benefits, and who take no thought for repentance their punishment He defers to the future. For these men do not, like those of whom we spoke before, deserve to end the punishment of their crimes in the present life; but it is allowed them to occupy the present time as they will, because their correction is not such as to need temporal chastisements, but such as to demand the punishment of eternal fire in hell; and there their souls shall seek repentance, where they shall not be able to find it."

14 Knowledge Deadens Lusts. "But if, while in this life, they had placed before their eyes the punishments which they shall then suffer, they would certainly have bridled their lusts, and would in nowise have fallen into sin. For the understanding in the soul has much power for cutting off all its desires, especially when it has acquired the knowledge of heavenly things, by means of which, having received the light of truth, it will turn away from all darkness of evil actions.

"For as the sun obscures and conceals all the stars by the brightness of his shining, so also the mind, by the light of knowledge, renders all the lusts of the soul ineffective and inactive, sending out upon them the thought of the judgement to come as its rays, so that they can no longer appear in the soul."

15 Fear of Men and of God. "But as a proof that the fear of God has much efficacy for the repressing of lusts, take the example of human fear. Who is there among men that does not covet his neighbour's goods? And yet they are restrained, and act honestly, through fear of the punishment which is prescribed by the laws.

"Through fear, nations are subject to their kings, and armies obey with arms in their hands. Slaves, although they are stronger than their masters, yet through fear submit to their masters' rule. Even wild beasts are tamed by fear; the strongest bulls submit their necks to the yoke, and huge elephants obey their masters, through fear.

"But why do we use human examples, when even divine are not wanting? Does not the earth itself remain under the fear of precept, which it testifies by its motion and quaking? The sea keeps its prescribed bounds; the angels maintain peace; the stars keep their order, and the rivers their channels: it is certain also that demons are put to flight by fear.

"And not to lengthen the discourse by too many particulars, see how the fear of God, restraining everything, keeps all things in proper harmony, and in their fixed order. How much more, then, may you be sure that the lusts of demons which arise in your hearts may be extinguished and wholly abolished by the admonition of the fear of God, when even the inciters of lust are themselves put to flight by the influence of fear? You know that these things are so; but if you have anything to answer, proceed."

16 Imperfect Conviction. Then said the old man: "My son Clement has wisely framed his argument, so that he has left us nothing to say to these things; but all his discourse which he has delivered on the nature of men has this bearing, that along with the fact that freedom of will is in man, there is also some cause of evil without him, whereby men are indeed incited by various lusts, yet are not compelled to sin; and that for this reason, be said, because fear is much more powerful than they, and it resists and checks the violence of desires, so that, although natural emotions may arise, yet sin may not be committed, those demons being put to flight who incite and inflame these emotions. But these things do not convince me; for I am conscious of certain things from which I know well, that by the arrangement of the heavenly bodies men become murderers or adulterers, and perpetrate other evils; and in like manner honourable and modest women are compelled to act well."

17 Astrological Lore. "In short, when Mars, holding the centre in his house, regards Saturn quarterly, with Mercury towards the centre, the full moon coming upon him, in the daily Genesis, he produces murderers, and those who are to fall by the sword, bloody, drunken, lustful, devilish men, inquirers into secrets, malefactors, sacrilegious persons, and such like; especially when there was no one of the good stars looking on. But again Mars himself, having a quarterly position with respect to Venus, in a direction toward the centre, while no good star looks on, produces adulterers and incestuous persons.

"Venus with the Moon, in the borders and houses of Saturn, if she was with Saturn, and Mars looking on, produces women that are viragos, ready for agriculture, building, and every manly work, to commit adultery with whom they please, and not to be convicted by their husbands, to use no delicacy, no ointments, nor feminine robes and shoes, but to live after the fashion of men. But the unpropitious Venus makes men to be as women, and not to act in any respect as men, if she is with Mars in Aries; on the contrary, she produces women if she is in Capricorn or Aquarius."

18 The Reply. And when the old man had pursued this subject at great length, and had enumerated every kind of mathematical figure, and also the position of the heavenly bodies, wishing thereby to show that fear is not sufficient to restrain lusts, I answered again: "Truly, my father, you have argued most learnedly and skilfully; and reason herself invites me to say something in answer to your discourse, since indeed I am acquainted with the science of mathematics, and gladly hold a conference with so learned a man.

"Listen therefore, while I reply to what you have said that you may learn distinctly that Genesis is not at all from the stars, and that it is possible for those to resist the assault of demons who have recourse to God; and, as I said before, that not only by the fear of God can natural lusts be restrained, but even by the fear of men, as we shall now instruct you."

19 Refutation of Astrology. "There are, in every country or kingdom, laws imposed by men, enduring either by writing or simply through custom, which no one easily transgresses. In short, the first Seres, who dwell at the beginning of the world, have a law not to know murder, nor adultery, nor whoredom, and not to commit theft, and not to worship idols; and in all that country, which is very large, there is neither temple, nor image, nor harlot, nor adulteress, nor is any thief brought to trial.

"But neither is any man ever slain there; and no man's liberty of will is compelled, according to your doctrine, by the fiery star of Mars, to use the sword for the murder of man; nor does Venus in conjunction with Mars compel to adultery, although of course with them Mars occupies the middle circle of heaven every day. But amongst the Seres the fear of laws is more powerful than the configuration of Genesis."

20 Brahmans. "There are likewise amongst the Bactrians, in the Indian countries, immense multitudes of Brahmans, who also themselves, from the tradition of their ancestors, and peaceful customs and laws, neither commit murder nor adultery, nor worship idols, nor have the practice of eating animal food, are never drunk, never do anything maliciously, but always fear God. And these things indeed they do, though the rest of the Indians commit both murders and adulteries, and worship idols, and are drunken, and practise other wickednesses of this sort.

"Yea, in the western parts of India itself there is a certain country, where strangers, when they enter it, are taken and slaughtered and eaten; and neither have good stars prevented these men from such wickednesses and from accursed food, nor have malign stars compelled the Brahmans to do any evil. Again, there is a custom among the Persians to marry mothers, and sisters, and daughters. In all that district the Persians contract incestuous marriages."

21 Districts of Heaven. "And that those who study mathematics may not have it in their power to use that subterfuge by which they say that there are certain districts of heaven to which it is granted to have some things peculiar to themselves, some of that nation of Persians have gone to foreign countries, who arc called Magusaei, of whom there are some to this day in Media, others in Parthia, some also in Egypt, and a considerable number in Galatia and Phrygia, all of whom maintain the form of this incestuous tradition without variation, and hand it down to their posterity to be observed, even although they have changed their district of heaven; nor has Venus with the Moon in the confines and houses of Saturn, with Saturn also and Mars looking on, compelled them to have a Genesis among other men."13

22 Customs of the Gelones. "Amongst the Geli also there is a custom, that women cultivate the fields, build, and do every manly work; and they are also allowed to have intercourse with whom they please, and are not found fault with by their husbands, or called adulteresses: for they have promiscuous intercourse everywhere, and especially with strangers; they do not use ointments; they do not wear dyed garments, nor shoes.

"On the other hand, the men of the Gelones are adorned, combed, clothed in soft and various coloured garments, decked with gold, and besmeared with ointments, and that not through lack of manliness, for they are most warlike, and most keen hunters. Yet the whole women of the Gelones had not at their birth the unfavourable Venus in Capricornus or Aquarius; nor had all their men Venus placed with Mars in Aries, by which configuration the Chaldean science asserts that men are born effeminate and dissolute."

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23 Manners of the Susidae. "But, further, in Susae the women use ointments, and indeed of the best sort, being decked with ornaments and precious stones; also they go abroad supported by the aid of their maidservants, with much greater ambition than the men. They do not, however, cultivate modesty, but have intercourse indifferently with whomsoever they please, with slaves and guests, such liberty being allowed them by their husbands; and not only are they not blamed for this, but they also rule over their husbands.

"And yet the Genesis of all the Susian women has not Venus, with Jupiter and Mars in the middle of the heaven in the houses of Jupiter. In the remoter parts of the East, if a boy be treated unnaturally, when it is discovered, he is killed by his brothers, or his parents, or any of his relations, and is left unburied. And again, among the Gauls, an old law allows boys to be thus treated publicly; and no disgrace is thought to attach to it. And is it possible, that all those who are so basely treated among the Gauls, have had Lucifer with Mercury in the houses of Saturn and the confines of Mars?"

24 Different Customs of Different Countries. "In the regions of Britain several men have one wife; in Parthia many women have one husband; and each part of the world adheres to its own manners and institutions. None of the Amazons have husbands, but, like animals, they go out from their own territories once a year about the vernal equinox, and live with the men of the neighbouring nation, observing a sort of solemnity the while, and when they have conceived by them they return; and it they bring forth a male child, they cast him away, and rear only females.

"Now, since the birth of all is at one season, it is absurd to suppose that in the case of males Mars is at the time in equal portions with Saturn, but never in the Genesis of females; and that they have not Mercury placed with Venus in his own houses, so as to produce either painters, or sculptors, or money-changers; or in the houses of Venus, so that perfumers, or singers, or poets might be produced. Among the Saracens, and Upper Libyans, and Moors, and the dwellers about the mouths of the ocean, and also in the remote districts of Germany, and among the Sarmatians and Scythians, and all the nations who dwell in the regions of the Pontic shore, and in the island Chrysea, there is never found a money-changer, nor a sculptor, nor a painter, nor an architect, nor a geometrician, nor a tragedian, nor a poet. Therefore the influence of Mercury and Venus must be wanting among them."

25 Not Genesis, But Free-Will. "The Medes alone in all the world, with the greatest care, throw men still breathing to be devoured by dogs; yet they have not Mars with the Moon placed in Cancer all through their daily Gensis. The Indians burn their dead, and the wives of the dead voluntarily offer themselves, and are burned with them. But all the Indian women who are burned alive have not the Sun under the earth in nightly Genesis, with Mars in the regions of Mars.

"Very many of the Germans end their lives by the halter; but all have not therefore the Moon with Hora begirt by Saturn and Mars. From all this it appears that the fear of the laws bears sway in every country, and the freedom of will which is implanted in man by the Spirit complies with the laws; and Genesis can neither compel the Seres to commit murder, nor the Brahmans to eat flesh, nor the Persians to shun incest, nor the Indians to refrain from burning, nor the Medes from being devoured by dogs, nor the Parthians from having many wives, nor the women of Mesopotamia from preserving their chastity, nor the Greeks from athletic exercises, nor the Gallic boys from being abused; nor can it compel the barbarious nations to be instructed in the studies of the Greeks; but, as wet have said, each nation observes its own laws according to free-will, and annuls the decrees of Genesis by the strictness of laws."

26 Climates. "But some one skilled in the science of mathematics will say that Genesis is divided into seven parts, which they call climates, and that over each climate one of the seven heavenly bodies bears rule; and that those diverse laws to which we have referred are not given by men, but by those dominant stars according to their will, and that that which pleases the star is observed by men as a law.

"To this we shall answer, in the first place, that the world is not divided into seven parts; and in the second place, that if it were so, we find many different laws in one part and one country; and therefore there are neither seven laws according to the number of the heavenly bodies, nor twelve according to the number of the signs, nor thirty-six according to that of the divisions of ten degrees; but they are innumerable."

27 Doctrine of "Climates" Untenable. "Moreover, we ought to remember the things which have been mentioned, that in the one country of India there are both persons who feed on human flesh, and persons who abstain even from the flesh of sheep, and birds, and all living creatures; and that the Magusaei marry their mothers and daughters not only in Persia, but that in every nation where they dwell they keep up their incestuous customs.

"Then, besides, we have mentioned also innumerable nations, which are wholly ignorant of the studies of literature, and also some wise men have changed the laws themselves in several places; and some laws have been voluntarily abandoned, on account of the impossibility of observing them, or on account of their baseness.

"Assuredly we can easily ascertain how many rulers have changed the laws and customs of nations which they have conquered, and subjected them to their own laws. This is manifestly done by the Romans, who have brought under the Roman law and the civil decrees almost the whole world, and all nations who formerly lived under various laws and customs of their own. It follows, therefore, that the stars of the nations which have been conquered by the Romans have lost their climates and their portions."

28 Jewish Customs. "I shall add another thing which may satisfy even the most incredulous. All the Jews who live under the law of Moses circumcise their sons on the eighth day without fail, and shed the blood of the tender infant. But no one of the Gentiles has ever submitted to this on the eighth day; and, on the other hand, no one of the Jews has ever omitted it.

"How then shall the account of Genesis stand with this, since Jews live in all parts of the world, mixed with Gentiles, and on the eighth day suffer the cutting of a member? And no one of the Gentiles, but only they themselves, as I have said, do this, induced to it not by the compulsion of any star, nor by the perfusion of blood, but by the law of their religion; and in whatever part of the world they are, this sign is familiar to them.

"But also the fact that one name is among, them all, wheresoever they are, does this also come through Genesis? And also that no child born among them is ever exposed, and that on every seventh day they all rest, wherever they may be, and do not go upon a journey, and do not use fire? Why is it, then, that no one of the Jews is compelled by Genesis to go on a journey, or to build, or to sell or buy anything on that day?"

29 The Gospel More Powerful Than "Genesis."

"But I shall give a still stronger proof of the matters in hand. For, behold, scarcely seven years have yet passed since the advent of the righteous and true Prophet; and in the course of these, inert of all nations coming to Judaea, and moved both by the signs and miracles which they saw, and by the grandeur of His doctrine, received His faith; and then going back to their own countries, they rejected the lawless rites of the Gentiles, and their incestuous marriages.

"In short, among the Parthians as Thomas, who is preaching the Gospel amongst them, has written to us not many now are addicted to polygamy; nor among the Medes do many throw their dead to dogs; nor are the Persians pleased with intercourse with their mothers, or incestuous marriages with their daughters; nor do the Susian women practise the adulteries that were allowed them; nor has Genesis been able to force those into crimes whom the teaching of religion restrained."

30 "Genesis" Inconsistent with God's Justice.

"Behold, from the very matter in which we are now engaged draw an inference, and from the circumstances in which we are now placed deduce a conclusion, how, through a rumour only reaching the ears of men that a Prophet had appeared in Judaea to teach men with signs and miracles to worship one God, all were expecting with prepared and eager minds, even before the coming of my lord Peter, that some one would announce to them what He taught who had appeared.

"But lest I should seem to carry the enumeration too far, I shall tell you what conclusion ought to be drawn from the whole. Since God is righteous, and since He Himself made the nature of men, how could it be that He should place Genesis in opposition to us, which should compel us to sin, and then that He should punish us when we do sin?

"Whence it is certain that God punishes no sinner either in the present life or in that to come, except because He knows that he could have conquered, but neglected victory. For even in the present world He takes vengeance upon men, as He did upon those who perished in the deluge, who were all destroyed in one day, yea, in one hour, although it is certain that they were not all born in one hour according to the order of genesis. But it is most absurd to say that it befalls us by nature to suffer evils, if sins had not gone before.

31 Value of Knowledge. "And therefore, if we desire salvation, we ought above all to seek after knowledge, being sure that if our mind remain in ignorance, we shall endure not only the evils of genesis, but also whatever other evils from without the demons may please, unless fear of laws and of the judgement to come resist all our desires, and check the violence of sinning. For even human fear does much good, and also much evil, unknown to Genesis, as we have shown above.

"Therefore our mind is subject to errors in a threefold manner: from those things which come to us through evil custom; or from those lusts which the body naturally stirs up in us; or from those which hostile powers compel us to. But the mind has it in its own nature to oppose and fight against these, when the knowledge of truth shines upon it, by which knowledge is imparted fear of the judgement to come, which is a fit governor of the mind, and which can recall it from the precipices of lusts. That these things, therefore, are in our power, has been sufficiently stated."

32 Stubborn Facts. "Now, old man, if you have any thing to say in answer to these things, say on."

Then said the old man: "You have most fully argued, my son; but I, as I said at first, am prevented by my own consciousness from according assent to all this incomparable statement of yours. For I know both my own Genesis and that of my wife, and I know that those things have happened which our Genesis prescribed to each of us; and I cannot now be withdrawn by words from those things which I have ascertained by facts and deeds.

"In short, since I perceive that you are excellently skilled in this sort of learning, hear the horoscope of my wife, and you shall find the configuration whose issue has occurred. For she had Mars with Venus above the centre, and the Moon setting in the houses of Mars and the confines of Saturn. Now this configuration leads women to be adulteresses, and to love their own slaves, and to end their days in foreign travel and in waters. And this has so come to pass. For she fell in love with her slave, and fearing at once danger and reproach, she fled with him, and going abroad, where she satisfied her love, she perished in the sea."

33 An Approaching Recognition. Then I answered: "How know you that she cohabited with her slave abroad, and died in his society?"

Then the old man said: "I know it with perfect certainty; not indeed that she was married to the slave, as indeed I had not even discovered that she loved him. But after she was gone, my brother gave me the whole story, telling me that first she had loved himself; but he, being honourable as a brother, would not pollute his brother's bed with the stain of incest.

"But she, being both afraid of me, and unable to bear the unhappy reproaches (and yet she should not be blamed for that to which her Genesis compelled her), pretended a dream, and said to me: 'Some one stood by me in a vision, who ordered me to leave the city without delay with my two twins.'

"When I heard this, being anxious for her safety and that of my sons, I immediately sent away her and the children, retaining with myself one who was younger. For this she said that he had permitted who had given her warning in her sleep."

34 The Other Side of the Story. Then I Clement, understanding that he perchance was my father, was drowned in tears, and my brothers also were ready to rush forward and to disclose the matter; but Peter restrained them, saying: "Be quiet, until I give you permission."

Therefore Peter, answering, said to the old man: "What was the name of your younger son?"

And he said: "Clement." Then Peter: "If I shall this day restore to you your most chaste wife and your three sons, will you believe that a modest mind can overcome unreasonable impulses, and that all things that have been spoken by us are true, and that Genesis is nothing?"

Then said the old man: "As it is impossible for you to perform what you have promised, so it is impossible that anything can take place apart from Genesis."

Then says Peter: "I wish to have all who are here present as witnesses that I shall this day hand over to you your wife, who is living most chastely, with your three sons. And now take a token of these things from this, that I know the whole story much more accurately than you do; and I shall relate the whole occurrences in order, both that you may know them, and that those who are present may learn."

35 Revelations. When he had said this, he turned to the crowds, and thus began: "This person whom you see, O men, in this poor garb, is a citizen of the city Rome, descended of the stock of Caesar himself. His name is Faustinianus. He obtained as his wife a woman of the highest rank, Matthidia by name. By her he had three sons, two of whom were twins; and the one who was the younger, whose name was Clement, is this man!" When he said this, he pointed to me with his finger.

"And his twin sons are these men, Niceta and Aquila, the one of whom was formerly called Faustinus and the other Faustus." But as soon as Peter pronounced our names, all the old man's limbs were weakened, and he fell down in a swoon. But we his sons rushed to him, and embraced and kissed him, fearing that we might not be able to recall his spirit. And while these things were going on, the people were confounded with very wonder.

36 New Revelations. But Peter ordered us to rise from embracing our father, lest we should kill him; and he himself, laying hold of his hand, and lifting him up as from a deep sleep, and gradually reviving him, began to set forth to him the whole transactions as they had really happened: how his brother had fallen in love with Matthidia, and how she, being very modest, had been unwilling to inform her husband of his brother's lawless love, lest she should stir up hostility between the brothers, and bring disgrace upon the family; and how she had wisely pretended a dream, by which she was ordered to depart from the city with her twin sons, leaving the younger one with his father; and how on their voyage they had suffered shipwreck through the violence of a storm; and how, when

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they were cast upon an island called Antaradus, Matthidia was thrown by a wave upon a rock, but her twin children were seized by pirates and carried to Caesarea, and there sold to a pious woman, who treated them as sons, and brought them up, and caused them to be educated as gentlemen; and how the pirates had changed their names, and called the one Niceta and the other Aquila; and how afterwards, through common studies and acquaintanceship, they had adhered to Simon; and how they had turned away from him when they saw him to be a magician and a deceiver, and had come to Zacchaeus; and how subsequently they had been associated with himself; and how Clement also, setting out from the city for the sake of learning the truth, had, through his acquaintance with Barnabas, come to Caesarea, and had become known to him, and had adhered to him, and how he had been taught by him the faith of his religion; and also how he had found and recognised his mother begging at Antaradus, and how the whole island rejoiced at his recognition of her; and also concerning her sojourn with her most chaste hostess, and the cure that he bad wrought upon her, and concerning the liberality of Clement to those who bad been kind to his mother; and how afterwards, when Niceta and Aquila asked who the strange woman was, and had heard the whole story from Clement, they cried out that they were her twin sons Faustinus and Faustus; and how they had unfolded the whole history of what had befallen them; and how afterwards, by the persuasion of Peter himself, they were presented to their mother with caution, lost she should be cut off by the sudden joy.

37 Another Recognition. But while Peter was detailing these things in the hearing of the old man, in a narrative which was most pleasing to the crowd, so that the hearers wept through wonder at the events, and through compassion for sufferings incident to humanity, my mother, hearing (I know not how) of the recognition of my father, rushed into the middle of us in breathless haste, crying out, and saying: "Where is my husband, my lord Faustinianus, who has been so long afflicted, wandering from city to city in search of me?"

While she shouted thus like one demented, and gazed around, the old man, running up, began to embrace and hug her with many tears. And while these things were going on, Peter requested the crowds to disperse, saying that it was unseemly to remain longer; but that opportunity must be afforded them of seeing one another more privately. "But tomorrow," said he, "if any of you wish it, let them assemble to hear the word."

38 "Angels Unawares." When Peter had said this, the crowds dispersed; and when we also were intending to go to our lodging, the master of the house said to us: "It is base and wicked that such and so great men should stay in a hostelry, when I have almost my whole house empty, and very many beds spread, and all necessary things provided."

But when Peter refused, the wife of the householder prostrated herself before him with her children, and besought him, saying, "I entreat you, stay with us."

But not even so did Peter consent, until the daughter of those people who asked him, who had been for a long time vexed with an unclean spirit, and bound with chains, who had been shut up in a closet, having had the demon expelled from her, and the door of the closet opened, came with her chains and fell down at Peter's feet, saying: "It is right, my lord, that you keep my deliverance-feast here to-day, and not sadden me or my parents."

But when Peter asked what was the meaning of her chains and of her words, her parents, gladdened beyond hope by the recovery of their daughter, were, as it were, thunderstruck with astonishment, and could not speak; but the servants who were in attendance said: "This girl has been possessed of a demon from her seventh year, and used to cut, and bite, and even to tear in pieces, all who attempted to approach her, and this she has never ceased to do for twenty years till the present time. Nor could any one cure her, or even approach her, for she rendered many helpless, and even destroyed some; for she was stronger than any man, being doubtless strengthened by the power of the demon. But now, as you see, the demon has fled from your presence, and the doors which were shut with the greatest strength have been opened, and she herself stands before you in her sound mind, asking of you to make the clay of her recovery gladsome both to herself and her parents, and to remain with them."

When one of the servants had made this statement, and the chains of their own accord were loosened from her hands and feet, Peter, being sure that it was by his means that soundness was restored to the girl, consented to remain with them. And he ordered those also who had remained in the lodging, with his wife, to come over; and every one of us having got a separate bed-chamber, we remained; and having taken food in the usual manner, and given praises to God, we went to sleep in our several apartments.

CLEMENT RECOGNITION BOOK 10

1 Probation. But in the morning, after sunrise, I Clement, and Niceta and Aquila, along with Peter, came to the apartment in which my father and mother were sleeping; and finding them still asleep, we sat down before the door, when Peter addressed us in such terms as these:1 "Listen to me, most beloved fellow-servants: I know that you have a great affection for your father; therefore I am afraid that you will urge him too soon to take upon himself the yoke of religion, while he is not yet prepared for it; and to this he may perhaps consent, through his affection for you. But this is not to be depended on; for what is done for the sake of men is not worthy of approbation, and soon falls to pieces.

"Therefore it seems to me, that you should permit him to live for a year according to his own judgement; and during that time he may travel with us, and while we are instructing others he may hear with simplicity; and as he hears, if he has any right purpose of acknowledging the truth, he will himself request that he may take up the yoke of religion; or if he do not please to take it, he may remain a friend.

"For those who do not take it up heartily, when they begin not to be able to bear it, not only cast off that which they had taken up, but by way of excuse, as it were, for their weakness, they begin to speak evil of the way of religion, and to malign those whom they have not been able to follow or to imitate."

2 A Difficulty. To this Niceta answered: "My lord Peter, I say nothing against your right and good counsels; but I wish to say one thing, that thereby I may learn something that I do not know. What if my father should die within the year during which you recommend that he should be put off? He will go down to hell helpless, and so be tormented for ever."

Then said Peter: "I embrace your kindly purpose towards your father, and I forgive you in respect of things of which you are ignorant. For do you suppose that, if any one is thought to have lived righteously, he shall forthwith be saved? Do you not think that he must be examined by Him who knows the secrets of men, as to how he has lived righteously, whether perchance according to the rule of the Gentiles, obeying their institutions and laws; or for the sake of the friendship of men; or merely from custom, or any other cause; or from necessity, and not on account of righteousness itself, and for the sake of God?

"For those who have lived righteously, for the sake of God alone and His righteousness, they shall come to eternal rest, and shall receive the perpetuity of the heavenly kingdom. For salvation is not attained by force, but by liberty; and not through the favour of men, but by the faith of God. Then, besides, you ought to consider that God is prescient, and knows whether this man is one of His. But if He knows that he is not, what shall we do with respect to those things which leave been determined by Him from the beginning?

"But wherein I can, I give counsel: when he is awake, and we sit down together, then do you, as if you wished to learn something, ask a question about those matters which it is fitting for him to learn; and while we speak to one another, he will gain instruction. But yet wait first to see if he himself ask anything; for if he do so, the occasion of discourse will be the fitter. But if he do not ask anything, let us by turns put questions to one another, wishing to learn something, as I have said. Such is my judgement, state what is yours."

3 A Suggestion. And when we had commended his right counsel, I Clement said: "In all things, the end for the most part looks back upon the beginning, and the issue of things is similar to their commencement. I hope, therefore, with respect to our father also, since God by your means has given a good beginning, that He will bestow also an ending suitable to the beginning, and worthy of Himself.

"However, I make this suggestion, that if, as you have said, we begin to speak, in presence of my father, as if for the purpose of discussing some subject, or learning something from one another, you, my lord Peter, ought not to occupy the place of one who has anything to learn; for if he see this, he will rather be offended. For he is convinced that you fully know all things, as indeed you do. How then will it be, if he see you pretending ignorance?

"This, as I have said, will rather hurt him, being ignorant of your design. But if we brothers, while we converse among ourselves, are in any doubt, let a fitting solution be given by you to our inquiry. For if he see even you hesitating and doubting, then truly he will think that no one has knowledge of the truth."

4 Free Inquiry. To this Peter answered: "Let us not concern ourselves about this; and if indeed it is fitting that he enter the gate of life, God will afford a fitting opportunity; and there shall be a beginning from God, and not from man. And therefore, as I have said, let him journey with us, and hear our discussions; but because I saw you in haste, therefore I said that opportunity must be sought; and when God shall give it, do you comply with my advice in what I shall say."

While we were thus talking, a boy came to tell us that our father was now awake; and when we were intending to go in to him, he himself came to us, and saluting us with a kiss, after we had sat down again, he said: "Is it permitted to one to ask a question, if he wishes it; or is silence enforced, after the manner of the Pythagoreans?"

Then said Peter: "We do not compel those who come to us either to keep silence continually, or to ask questions; but we leave them free to do as they will knowing that he who is anxious about his salvation, if he feels pain in any part of his soul, does not suffer it to be silent. But he who neglects his salvation, no advantage its conferred upon him if he is compelled to ask, excepting this only, that he may seem to be earnest and diligent. Wherefore, if you wish to get any information, ask on."

5 Good and Evil. Then the old man said: "There is a saying very prevalent among the Greek philosophers, to the effect that there is in reality neither good nor evil in the life of man; hut that men call things good or evil as they appear to them, prejudiced by the use and custom of life. For not even murder is really an evil, because it sets the soul free from the bonds of the flesh.

"Further, they say that even just judges put to death those who commit crimes; but if they knew homicide to be an evil, just men would not do that. Neither do they say that adultery is an evil; for if the husband does not know, or does not care, there is, they say, no evil in it. But neither, say they is theft an evil; for it takes away what one does not possess from another who has it. And, indeed, it ought to be taken freely and openly; but in that it is done secretly, that is rather a reproof of his inhumanity from whom it is secretly taken.

"For all men ought to have the common use of all things that are in this world; but through injustice one says that this is his, and another that that is his, and so division is caused among men. In short, a certain man, the wisest among the Greeks,2 knowing that these things are so, says that friends should have all things common. Now, in all things unquestionably wives are included. He says also that, as the air and the sunshine cannot be divided, so neither ought other things to be divided, which are given in this world to all to be possessed in common, but should be so possessed.

"But I wished to say this, because I am desirous to turn to well-doing, and I cannot act well unless I first learn what is good; and if I can understand that, I shall thereby perceive what is evil, that is, opposite to good."

6 Peter's Authority. "But I should like that one of you, and not Peter, should answer what I have said; for it is not fitting to take words and instruction at his hand, with questions; but when he gives a deliverance on any subject, that should be held without answering again. And therefore let us keep him as an umpire; so that if at any time our discussion does not come to an issue, he may declare what seems good to him, and so give an undoubted end to doubtful matters.

"And now therefore I could believe, content with his sole opinion, if he expressed any opinion; and this is what I shall do at last. Yet I wish first to see if it is possible by discussion to find what is sought. My wish therefore is, that Clement should begin first, and should show if there is any good or evil in substance or in actions."

7 Clement's Argument. To this I answered: "Since indeed you wish to learn from me if there is any good or evil in nature or in act, or whether it is not rather that men, prejudiced by custom, think some things to be good, and others to be evil, forasmuch as they have made a division among themselves of common things, which ought, as you say, to be as common as the air and the sunshine; I think that I ought not to bring before you any statements from any other quarter than from those studies in which you are well versed, and which you support, so that what I say you will receive without hesitation.

"You assign certain boundaries of all the elements and the heavenly bodies, and these, you say, meet in some without hurt, as in marriages; but in others they are hurtfully united, as in adulteries. And you say that some things are general to all, but other things do not belong to all, and are not general. But not to make a long discussion, I shall speak briefly of the matter.

"The earth which is dry is in need of the addition and admixture of water, that it may be able to produce fruits, without which man cannot live: this is therefore a legitimate conjunction. On the contrary if the cold of hoar-frost be mixed with the earth, or heat with the water, a conjunction of this sort produces corruption; and this, in such things, is adultery."

8 Admitted Evils. Then my father answered: "But as the harmfulness of can inharmonious conjunction of elements or stars is immediately betrayed, so ought also adultery to he immediately shown that it is an evil."

Then I: "First tell me this, whether, as you yourself have confessed, evils are produced from incongruous and inharmonious mixture; and then after that we shall inquire into the other matter."

Then my father said: "The nature of things is as you say, my son."

Then I answered: "Since, then, you wish to learn of these things, see how many things there are which no one doubts to be evils. Do you think that a fever, a fire, sedition, the fall of a house, murder, holds, racks, pains, mournings, and such like, are evils?"

Then said my father: "It is true, my son, that these things are evil, and very evil; or, at all events, whoever denies that they are evil, let him suffer them!"

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9 Existence of Evil on Astrological Principles. Then I answered: "Since, therefore, I have to deal with one who is skilled in astrological science,3 I shall treat the matter with you according to that science, that, taking my method from those things with which you are familiar, you may the more readily acquiesce.

"Listen now, therefore: you confess that those things which we have mentioned are evils, such as fevers, conflagrations, and such like. Now these, according to you, are said to be produced by malignant stars, such as the humid Saturn and the hot Mars; but things contrary to these are produced by benignant stars, such as the temperate Jupiter and the humid Venus. Is it not so?"

My father answered: "It is so, my son; and it cannot be otherwise."

Then said I: "Since you say, therefore, that good things are produced by good stars by Jupiter and Venus, for example let us see what is the product where any one of the evil stars is mixed with the good, and let us understand that that is evil. For you lay it down that Venus makes marriages, and if she have Jupiter in her configuration she makes the marriages chaste; but if Jupiter be not regarding, and Mars be present, then you pronounce that the marriages are corrupted by adultery."

Then said my father: "It is even so."

Then I answered: "Therefore adultery is an evil, seeing that it is committed through the admixture of evil stars; and, to state it in a word all things that you say that the good stars suffer from the mixture of evil stars, are undoubtedly to be pronounced to be evil. Those stars, therefore, by whose admixture we have said that fevers, configurations, and other such like evils are produced, those, according to you, work also murders, adulteries, thefts, and also produce haughty and stolid men."

10 How to Make Progress. Then my father said: "Truly you have shown briefly and incomparably that there are evils in actions; but still I should wish to learn this how God justly judges those who sin, as you say, if Genesis compels them to sin?"

Then I answered: "I am afraid to speak anything to you, my father, because it becomes me to hold you in all honour, else I have an answer to give you, if it were becoming."

Then says my father: "Speak what occurs to you, my son; for it is not you, but the method of inquiry, that does the wrong, as a modest woman to an incontinent man, if she is indignant for her safety and her honour."

Then I answered "If we do not hold by the principles that we have acknowledged and confessed, but if those things which have been defined are always loosened by forgetfulness, we shall seem to be weaving Penelope's web, undoing what we have done. And therefore we ought either not to acquiesce too easily, before we have diligently examined the doctrine propounded; or if we have once acquiesced, and the proposition has been agreed to, then we ought to keep by what has been once determined, that we may go on with our inquiries respecting other matters."

And my father said: "You say well, my son; and I know why you say this: it is because in the discussion yesterday on natural causes, you showed that some malignant power, transferring itself into the order of the stars, excites the lusts of men, provoking them in various ways to sin, yet not compelling or producing sins."

To this I answered: "It is well that you remember it; and yet, though you to remember it, you have fallen into error."

Then said my father: "Pardon me, my son; for I have not yet much practice in these things: for indeed your discourses yesterday, by their truth, shut me up to agree with you; yet in my consciousness there are, as it were, some remains Of fevers, which for a little hold me back from faith, as from health. For I am distracted, because I know that many things, yea, almost all things, have befallen me according to Genesis."

11 Test of Astrology. Then I answered: "I shall therefore tell you, my father, what is the nature of mathematics, and do you act according to what I tell you. Go to a mathematician,4 and tell him first that such and such evils have befallen you at such a time, and that you wish to learn of him whence, or how, or through what stars they have befallen yon. He will no doubt answer you that a malignant Mars or Saturn has ruled your times, or that some one of them has been periodic; or that some one has regarded yon diametrically, or in conjunction, or centrally; or some such answer will he give, adding that in all these some one was not in harmony with the malignant one, or was invisible, or was in the figure, or was beyond the division, or was eclipsed, or was not in contact. or was among the dark stars; and many other like things will he answer, according to his own reasons, and will condescend upon particulars.

"After him go to another mathematician, and tell him the opposite, that such and such good happened to you at that time, mentioning to him the same time, and ask him from what parts of your Genesis this good has come to you, and take care, as I said, that the times are the same with those about which you asked concerning evils. And when you have deceived him concerning the times, see what figures he will invent for you, by which to show that good things ought to have befallen yon at those very times.

"For it is impossible for those treating of the Genesis of men not to find in every quarter, as they call it, of the heavenly bodies, some stars favourably placed, and some unfavourably; for the circle is equally complete in every part, according to mathematics, admitting of diverse and various causes, from which they can take occasion of saying whatever they please."

12 Astrology Baffled by Free-Will. "For, as usually happens when men see unfavourable dreams, and can make nothing certain out of them, when any event occurs, then they adapt what they saw in the dream to what has occurred; so also is mathematics. For before anything happens, nothing is declared with certainty; but after something has happened, they gather the causes of the event. And thus often, when they have been at fault, and the thing has fallen out otherwise, they take the blame to themselves, saying that it was such and such a star which opposed, and that they did not see it; not knowing that their error does not proceed from their unskilfulness in their art, but from the inconsistency of the whole system.

"For they do not know what those things are which we indeed desire to do, but in regard to which we do not indulge our desires. But we who have learned the reason of this mystery know the cause, since, having freedoms of will, we sometimes oppose our desires, and sometimes yield to them.5 And therefore the issue of human doings is uncertain, because it depends upon freedom of will.

"For a mathematician can indeed indicate the desire which a malignant power produces; but whether the acting or the issue of this desire shall be fulfilled or not, no one can know before the accomplishment of the thing, because it depends upon freedom of will. And this is why ignorant astrologers have invented to themselves the talk about climacterics as their refuge in uncertainties, as we showed fully yesterday."

13 People Admitted. "If you have anything that you wish to say to this, say on."

Then my father: "Nothing can be more true, my son, than what you have stated."

And while we were thus speaking among ourselves, some one informed us that a great multitude of people were standing outside, having assembled for the purpose of hearing. Then Peter ordered them to be admitted, for the place was large and convenient.

And when they had come in, Peter said to us: "If any one of you wishes, let him address the people, and discourse concerning idolatry."

To whom I Clement answered: "Your great benignity and gentleness and patience towards all encourages us, so that we dare speak in your presence, and ask what we please; and therefore, as I said, the gentleness of your disposition invites and encourages all to undertake the precepts of saving doctrine. This I never saw before in any one else, but in you only, with whom there is neither envy nor indignation. Or what do you think?"

14 No Man Has Universal Knowledge. Then Peter said: "These things come not only from envy or indignation; but sometimes there is a bashfulness in some persons, lest haply they may not be able to answer fully the questions that may be proposed, and so they avoid the discovery of their want of skill. But no one ought to be ashamed of this, because there is no man who ought to profess that he knows all things; for there is only One who knows all things, even He who also made all things.

"For if our Master declared that He knew not the day and the hour whose signs even He foretold, and referred the whole to the Father, how shall we account it disgraceful to confess that we are ignorant of some things, since in this we have the example of our Master? But this only we profess, that we know those things which we have learned from the true Prophet; and that those things have been delivered to us by the true Prophet, which He judged to be sufficient for human knowledge."

15 Clement's Disclosure. Then I Clement went on to speak thus: "At Tripolis, when you were disputing against the Gentiles, my lord Peter, I greatly wondered at you, that although you were instructed by your father according to the fashion of the Hebrews and in observances of your own law, and were never polluted by the studies of Greek learning, you argued so magnificently and so incomparably; and that you even touched upon some things concerning the histories of the gods, which are usually declaimed in the theatres.

"But as I perceived that their fables and blasphemies are not so well known to you, I shall discourse upon these in your hearing, repeating them from the very beginning, if it please you."

Then says Peter: Say on; you do well to assist my preaching."

Then said I: "I shall speak, therefore, because you order me, not by way of teaching you, but of making public what foolish opinions the Gentiles entertain of the gods."

16 "Would that All God's People Were Prophets." But when I was about to speak, Niceta, biting his lip, beckoned to me to be silent. And when Peter saw him, he said: "Why would you repress his liberal disposition and noble nature, that you would have him be silent for my honour, which is nothing? Or do you not know, that if all nations, after they have heard from me the preaching of the truth, and have believed, would betake themselves to teaching, they would gain the greater glory for me, if indeed you think me desirous of glory?

"For what so glorious as to prepare disciples for Christ, not who shall be silent, and shall be saved alone, but who shall speak what they have learned, and shall do good to others? I wish indeed that both you, Niceta, and you, beloved Aquila, would aid me in preaching the word of God, and the rather because those things in which the Gentiles err are well known to you; and not you only, but all who hear me, I wish, as I have said, so to hear and to learn, that they may be able also to teach: for the world needs many helpers, by whom men may be recalled from error." When he had spoken thus, he said to me: "Go on then, Clement, with what you have begun."

17 Gentile Cosmogony. And I immediately rejoined: "Seeing that when you were disputing at Tripolis, as I said, you discoursed much concerning the gods of the Gentiles profitably and convincingly, I desire to set forth in your presence the ridiculous legends concerning their origin, both that you may not be unacquainted with the falsehood of this vain superstition, and that the hearers who are present may know the disgraceful character of their error.

"The wise men, then, who are among the Gentiles, say that first of all things was chaos;6 that this, through a long time solidifying its outer parts, made bounds to itself and a sort of foundation, being gathered, as it were, into the manner and form of a huge egg, within which, in the course of a long time, as within the shell of the egg, there was cherished and vivified a certain animal; and that afterwards, that huge globe being broken, there came forth a certain kind of man of double sex, which they call masculo-feminine. This they called Phanetas, from appearing, because when it appeared, they say, then also light shone forth.

"And from this, they say that there were produced substance, prudence, motion, and coition, and from these the heavens and the earth were made. From the heaven they say that six males were produced, whom they call Titans; and in like manner, from the earth six females, whom they called Titanides. And these are the names of the males who sprang from the heaven: Oceanus, Coeus, Crios, Hyperion, Iapetus, Chronos, who amongst us is called Saturn. In like manner, the names of the females who sprang from the earth are these: Theia, Rhea, Themis, Mnemosyne, Tethys, Hebe."7

18 Family of Saturn. "Of all these, the first-born of the heaven took to wife the first-born of earth; the second the second, and in like manner all the rest. The first male, therefore, who had married the first female, was on her account drawn downwards; but the second female rose upwards, by reason of him to whom she was married; and so each doing in their order, remained in those places which fell to their share by the nuptial lot.

"From their intercourse they assert that innumerable others sprang. But of these six males, the one who is called Saturn received in marriage Rhea, and having been warned by a certain oracle that he who should be born of her should be more powerful than himself, and should drive him from his kingdom, he determined to devour all the sons that should be born to him.

"First, then, there is born to him a son called Aides, who amongst us is called Orcus; and him, for the reason we have just stated, he took and devoured. After him he begot a second son, called Neptune; and him he devoured in like manner. Last of all, he begot him whom they call Jupiter; but him his mother Rhea pitying, by stratagem withdrew from his father when he was about to devour him. And first, indeed, that the crying of the child might not be noticed, she made certain Corybantes strike cymbals and drums, that by the deafening sound the crying of the infant might not be heard."

19 Their Destinies. "But when he understood from the lessening of her belly that her child was born, he demanded it, that he might devour it; then Rhea presented him with a large stone, and told him that that was what she had brought forth. And he took it, and swallowed it; and the stone, when it was devoured, pushed and drove forth those sons whom he had formerly swallowed.

"Therefore Orcus, coming forth first, descended, and occupies the lower, that is, the infernal regions. The second, being above him he whom they call Neptune is thrust forth upon the waters. The third, who survived by the artifice of his mother Rhea, she put upon a she-goat and sent into heaven."

20 Doings of Jupiter. "But enough of the old wife's fables and genealogy of the Gentiles; for it were endless if I should set forth all the generations of those whom they call gods, and their wicked doings. But by way of example, omitting the rest, I shall detail the wicked deeds of him only whom they hold to be the greatest and the chief, and whom they call Jupiter.

"For they say that he possesses heaven, as being superior to the rest; and he, as soon as he grew up, married his own sister, whom they call Juno, in which truly he at once becomes like a

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beast. Juno bears Vulcan; but, as they relate, Jupiter was not his father.

"However, by Jupiter himself she became mother of Medea; and Jupiter having received a response that one who should be born of her should be more powerful than himself, and should expel him from his kingdom, took her and devoured her. Again Jupiter produced Minerva from his brain, and Bacchus from his thigh.

"After this, when he had fallen in love with Thetis, they say that Prometheus informed him that, if he lay with her, he who should be born of her should be more powerful than his father; and for fear of this, he gave her in marriage to one Peleus. Subsequently he had intercourse with Persephone, who was his own daughter by Ceres and by her he begot Dionysius,9 who was torn in pieces by the Titans.

"But calling to mind, it is said, that perhaps his own father Saturn might beget another son, who might be more powerful than himself, and might expel him from the kingdom, he went to war with his father, along with his brothers the Titans; and having beaten them, he at last threw his father into prison, and cut off his genitals, and threw them into the sea.

"But the blood which flowed from the wound, being mixed with the waves, and turned into foam by the constant churning, produced her whom they call Aphrodite, and whom with us they call Venus. From his intercourse with her who was thus his own sister, they say that this same Jupiter begot Cypris, who, they say, was the mother of Cupid."

21 A Black Catalogue. "Thus much of his incests; I shall now speak of his adulteries. He defiled Europa, the wife of Oceanus, of whom was born Dodonaeus; Helen, the wife of Pandion, of whom Musaeus; Eurynome, the wife of Asopus, of whom Ogygias; Hermione, the wife of Oceanus, of whom the Graces, Thalia, Euphrosyne, Aglaia; Themis, his own sister, of whom the Hours, Eurynomia, Dice, Irene; Themisto, the daughter of Inachus, of whom Arcas; Idaea, the daughter of Minos, of whom Asterion; Phoenissa, the daughter of Alphion, of whom Eudymion; Io, the daughter of Inachus, of whom Epaphus; Hippodamia and Isione, daughters of Danaus, of whom Hippodamia was the wife of Olenus, and Isione of Orchomenus or Chryses; Carme, the daughter of Phoenix, of whom was born Britomartis, who was an attendant of Diana; Callisto, the daughter of Lycaon, of whom Orcas; Lybee, the daughter of Munantius, of whom Belus; Latona, of whom Apollo and Diana; Leandia, the daughter of Enrymedon, of whom Coron; Lysithea, the daughter of Evenus, of whom Helenus; Hippodamia, the daughter of Bellerophon, of whom Sarpedon; Megaclite, the daughter of Macarius, of whom Thebe and Locrus; Niobe, the daughter of Phoronens, of whom Argus and Pelasgus; Olympias, the daughter of Neoptolemus, of whom Alexander; Pyrrha, the daughter of Prometheus, of whom Helmetheus; Protogenia and Pandora, daughters of Deucalion, of whom he begot Aethelius, and Dorus, and Melera, and Pandorus; Thaicrucia, the daughter of Proteus, of whom was born Nympheus; Salamis, the daughter of Asopus, of whom Saracon; Taygete, Electra, Maia, Plutide, daughters of Atlas, of whom respectively he begot Lacedaemon, Dardanus. Mercury, and Tantalus; Phthia, the daughter of Phoroneus, of whom be begot Achaeus; Chonia, the daughter of Aramnus, of whom he begot Lacon; Chalcea, a nymph, of whom was born Olympus; Charidia, a nymph, of whom Alcanus; Chloris, who was the wife of Ampycus, of whom Mopsus was born; Cotonia, the daughter of Lesbus, of whom Polymedes; Hippodamia, the daughter of Anicetus; Chrysogenia, the daughter of Peneus, of whom was born Thissaeus."

22 Vile Transformation of Jupiter. "There are also innumerable adulteries of his, of which no offspring was the result, which it were tedious to enumerate. But amongst those whom we have mentioned, he violated some being transformed, like a magician. In short, he seduced Antiope, the daughter of Nycteus, when turned into a satyr, and of her were born Amphion and Zethus; Alemene, when changed into her husband Amphitryon, and of her was born Hercules; Aegina, the daughter of Asopus, when changed into an eagle, of whom Aeacus was born.

"So also he defiled Ganymede, the son of Dardanus, being changed into an eagle; Manthea, the daughter of Phocus, when changed into a bear, of whom was born Arctos; Danae, the daughter of Acrisius, being changed into gold, of whom Perseus; Europa, the daughter of Phoenix, changed into a bull, of whom were born Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Sarpedon; Eurymedusa, the daughter of Achelaus, being changed into an ant, of whom Myrmidon; Thalia, the nymph, being changed into a vulture, of whom were born the Palisci, in Sicily; Imandra, the daughter of Geneanus, at Rhodes, being changed into a shower; Cassiopeia, being changed into her husband Phoenix, and of her was born Anchinos; Leda, the daughter of Thestius, being changed into a swan, of whom was born Helen; and again the same, being changed into a star, and of her were born Castor and Pollux; Lamia, being changed into a lapwing; Mnemosyne, being changed into a shepherd, of whom were born the nine Muses; Nemesis, being changed into a goose; the Cadmian Semele, being changed into fire, and of her was born Dionysius.

"By his own daughter Ceres he begot Persephone, whom also herself he defiled, being changed into a dragon."

23 Why a God? "He also committed adultery with Europa, the wife of his own uncle Oceanus, and with her sister Eurynome, and punished their father; and he committed adultery with Plute, the daughter of his own son Atlas, and condemned Tantalus, whom she bore to him. Of Larisse, the daughter of Orchomenus, he begot Tityon, whom also he consigned to punishment. He carried off Dia, the wife of his own son Ixion, and subjected him to perpetual punishment; and almost all the sons who sprang from his adulteries he put to violent deaths; and indeed the sepulchres of almost all of them are well known.

"Yea, the sepulchre of this parricide himself, who destroyed his uncles and defiled their wives, who committed whoredom with his sisters, this magician of many transformations, is shown among the Cretans, who, although they know and acknowledge his horrid and incestuous deeds, and tell them to all, yet are not ashamed to confess him to be a god.

"Whence it seems to me to be wonderful, yea, exceeding wonderful, how he who exceeds all men in wickedness and crimes, has received that holy and good name which is above every name, being called the father of gods and men; unless perhaps he who rejoices in the evils of men has persuaded unhappy souls to confer honour above all others upon him whom he saw to excel all others in crimes, in order that he might allure all to the imitation of his evil deeds."

24 Folly of Polytheism. "But also the sepulchres of his sons, who are regarded amongst these the Gentiles as gods, are openly pointed out, one in one place, and another in another: that of Mercury at Hermopolis; that of the Cyprian Venus at Cyprus; that of Mars in Thrace; that of Bacchus at Thebes, where he is said to have been torn in pieces; that of Hercules at Tyre, where he was burnt with fire; that of Aesculapius in Epidaurus. And all these are spoken of, not only as men who have died, but as wicked men who have been punished for their crimes; and yet they are adored as gods by foolish men."10

25 Dead Men Deified. "But if they choose to argue, and affirm that these are rather the places of their birth than of their burial or death, the former and ancient doings shall be convicted from those at hand and still recent, since we have shown that they worship those whom they themselves confess to have been men, and to have died, or rather to have been punished; as the Syrians worship Adonis, and the Egyptians Osiris; the Trojans, Hector; Achilles is worshipped at Leuconesus, Patroclus at Pontus, Alexander the Macedonian at Rhodes; and many others are worshipped, one in one place and another in another, whom they do not doubt to have been dead men.

"Whence it follows that their predecessors also, falling into a like error, conferred divine honour upon dead men, who perhaps had had some power or some skill, and especially if they had stupefied stolid men by magical phantasies."11

26 Metamorphoses. "Hence there has now been added, that the poets also adorn the falsehoods of error by elegance of words, and by sweetness of speech persuade that mortals have been made immortal; yea more, they say that men are changed into stars, and trees, and animals, and flowers, and birds, and fountains, and rivers. And but that it might seem to be a waste of words, I could even enumerate almost all the stars, and trees, and fountains, and rivers, which they assert to have been made of men; yet, by way of example, I shall mention at least one of each class.

"They say that Andromeda, the daughter of Cepheus, was turned into a star; Daphne, the daughter of the river Lado, into a tree; Hyacinthus, beloved of Apollo, into a flower; Callisto into the constellation which they call Arctos; Progne and Philomela, with Tereus, into birds; that Thysbe in Cilicia was dissolved into a fountain; and Pyramus, at the same place, into a river. And they assert that almost all the stars, trees, fountains, and rivers, flowers, animals, and birds, were at one time human beings."

27 Inconsistency of Polytheists. But Peter, when he heard this, said: "According to them, then, before men were changed into stars, and the other things which you mention, the heaven was without stars, and the earth without trees and animals; and there were neither fountains, nor rivers, nor birds. And without these, how did those men themselves live, who afterwards were changed into them, since it is evident that, without these things, men could not live upon the earth?"

Then I answered: "But they are not even able to observe the worship of their own gods consistently; for every one of those whom they worship has something dedicated to himself, from which his worshippers ought to abstain: as they say the olive is dedicated to Minerva, the she-goat to Jupiter, seeds to Ceres, wine to Bacchus, water to Osiris, the ram to Hammon, the stag to Diana, the fish and the dove to the demon of the Syrians, fire to Vulcan; and to each one, as I have said, is there something specially consecrated, from which the worshippers are bound to abstain, for the honour of those to whom they are consecrated.

"But were one abstaining from one thing, and another from another, by doing honor to one of the gods, they incur the anger of all the rest; and therefore, if they would conciliate them all, they must abstain from all things for the honour of all, so that, being self-condemned by a just sentence before the day of judgement, they should perish by a most wretched death through starvation."

28 Buttresses of Gentilism. "But let us return to our purpose. What reason is there, yea, rather, what madness possesses the minds of men, that they worship and adore as a god, a man whom they not only know to be impious, wicked, profane I mean Jupiter incestuous, a parricide, an adulterer, but even proclaim him publicly as such in their songs in the theatres? Or if by means of these deeds he has deserved to be a god, then also, when they hear of any murderers, adulterers, parricides incestuous persons, they ought to worship them also as gods. But I cannot understand why they venerate in him what they execrate in others."

Then Peter answered: "Since you say that you cannot understand it, learn of me why they venerate wickedness in him. In the first place, it is that, when they themselves do like deeds, they may know that they shall be acceptable to him, inasmuch as they have but imitated him in his wickedness. In the second place, because the ancients have left these things skilfully composed in their writings, and elegantly engrafted in their verses. And now, by the aid of youthful education, since the knowledge of these things adheres to their tender and simple minds, it cannot without difficulty be torn from them and cast away."

29 Allegories. When Peter had said this, Niceta answered: "Do not suppose, my lord Peter, but that the learned men of the Gentiles have certain plausible arguments, by which they support those things which seem to be blameworthy and disgraceful. And this I state, not as wishing to confirm their error (for far be it from me that such a thing should ever come into my thought); but yet I know that there are amongst the more intelligent of them certain defences, by which they are accustomed to support and colour over those things which seem to be absurd.

"And if it please you that I should state some of them for I am to some extent acquainted with them I shall do as you order me." And when Peter had given him leave, Niceta proceeded as follows.

30 Cosmogony of Orpheus. "All the literature among the Greeks which is written on the subject of the origin of antiquity, is based upon many authorities, but especially two, Orpheus and Hesiod. Now their writings are divided into two parts, in respect of their meaning, that is the literal and the allegorical; and the vulgar crowd has flocked to the literal, but all the eloquence of the philosophers and learned men is expended in admiration of the allegorical.

"It is Orpheus, then, who says that at first there was chaos, eternal, unbounded, unproduced, and that from it all things were made. He says that this chaos was neither darkness nor light, neither moist nor dry, neither hot nor cold, but that it was all things mixed together, and was always one unformed mass; yet that at length, as it were after the manner of a huge egg, it brought forth and produced from itself a certain double form, which had been wrought through immense periods of time, and which they call masculo-feminine, a form concrete from the contrary admixture of such diversity; and that this is the principle of all things, which came of pure matter, and which, coming forth, effected a separation of the four elements, and made heaven of the two elements which are first, fire and air, and earth of the others, earth and water; and of these he says that all things now are born and produced by a mutual participation of them. So far Orpheus."

31 Hesiod's Cosmogony. "But to this Hesiod adds, that after chaos the heaven and the earth were made immediately, from which he says that those eleven were produced (and sometimes also he speaks of them as twelve) of whom he makes six males and five females. And these are the names that he gives to the males: Oceanus, Coeus, Crius, Hyperion, Iapetus, Chronos, who is also called Saturn. Also the names of the females are: Theia, Rhea, Themis, Mnemosyne, Tethys.

"And these names they thus interpret allegorically. They say that the number is eleven or twelve: that the first is nature itself, which also they would have to be called Rhea, from Flowing; and they say that the other ten are her accidents, which also they call qualities; yet they add a twelfth, namely Chronos, who with us is called Saturn, and him they take to be time. Therefore they assert that Saturn and Rhea are time and matter; and these, when they are mixed with moisture and dryness, heat and cold, produce all things."

32 Allegorical Interpretation. "She therefore (Rhea, or nature), it is said, produced, as it were, a certain bubble which had been collecting for a long time; and it being gradually collected from the spirit which was in the waters, swelled, and being for some time driven over the surface of matter, from which it had come forth as from a womb, and being hardened by the rigour of cold, and always increasing by additions of ice, at length was broken off and sunk into the deep, and drawn by its own weight, went down to the infernal regions;

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and because it became invisible it was called Aides, and is also named Orcus or Pluto.

"And since it was sunk from the top to the bottom, it gave place to the moist element to flow together; and the grosser part, which is the earth, was laid bare by the retirement of the waters. They say, therefore, that this freedom of the waters, which was formerly restrained by the presence of the bubble, was called Neptune after the bubble attained the lowest place.

"After this, when the cold element had been sucked down to the lower regions by the concretion of the icy bubble, and the dry and the moist element had been separated, there being now no hindrance, the warm element rushed by its force and lightness to the upper regions of the air, being borne up by wind and storm.

"This storm, therefore, which in Greek is called kataigis, they called aegis that is, a she-goat; and the fire which ascended to the upper regions they called Jupiter; wherefore they say that he ascended to Olympus riding on a she-goat."

33 Allegory of Jupiter, Etc. "Now this Jupiter the Greeks would have to be called from his living, or giving life, but our people from his giving succour. They say, therefore, that this is the living substance, which, placed in the upper regions, and drawing all things to itself by the influence of heat, as by the convolution of tile brain, and arranging them by the moderation of a certain tempering, is said from his head to have produced wisdom, whom they call Minerva, who was called Athene by the Greeks on account of her immortality; who, because the father of all created all things by his wisdom, is also said to have been produced from his head, and from the principal place of all, and is represented as having formed and adorned the whole world by the regulated admixture of the elements.

"Therefore the forms which were impressed upon matter, that the world might be made, because they are constrained by the force of heat, are said to be held together by the energy of Jupiter. And since there are enough of these, and they do not need anything new to be added to them, but each thing is repaired by the produce of its own seed, the hands of Saturn are said to be bound by Jupiter; because, as I have said, time now produces from matter nothing new: but the warmth of seeds restores all things according to their kinds; and no birth of Rhea that is, no increase of flowing matter ascends further. And therefore they call that first division of the elements the mutilation of Saturn, because he cannot any more produce a world."

34 Other Allegories. "And of Venus they give forth an allegory to this effect. When, say they, the sea was put under the air, and when the brightness of the heavens shone more pleasantly, being reflected from the waters, the loveliness of things, which appeared fairer from the waters, was called Venus; and she, it, being united with the air as with her, its, own brother, so as to produce beauty, which might be the object of desire, is said to have given birth to Cupid.

"In this way, therefore, as we have said, they teach that Chronos, who is Saturn, is allegorically time; Rhea is matter; Aides that is, Orcus is the depth of the infernal regions; Neptune is water; Jupiter is air that is, the element of heat; Venus is the loveliness of things; Cupid is desire, which is in all things, and by which posterity is propagated, or even the reason of things, which gives delight when wisely looked into.

"Hera that is, Juno is said to be that middle air which descends from heaven to earth. To Diana, whom they call Proserpine, they hand over the air below. They say that Apollo is tile Sun himself, which goes round the heaven; that Mercury is speech, by which a reason is rendered for everything; that Mars is unrestrained fire, which consumes all things. But not to delay you by enumerating everything, those who have the more abstruse intelligence concerning such things think that they give fair and just reasons, by applying this sort of allegory to every one of their objects of worship."

35 Uselessness of These Allegories. When Niceta had thus spoken, Aquila answered: "Whoever he was that was the author and inventor of these things, he seems to me to have been very impious, since he covered over those things which seem to be pleasant and seemly, and made the ritual of his superstition to consist in base and shameful observances, since those things which are written according to the letter are manifestly unseemly and base; and the whole observance of their religion consists in these, that by such crimes and impieties they may teach men to imitate their gods whom they worship.

"For in these allegories what profit can there be to them? For although they are framed so as to be decent, yet no use is derived from them for worship, nor for amendment of morals."

36 The Allegories an Afterthought. "Whence it is the more evident that prudent men, when they saw that the common superstition was so disgraceful, so base, and yet they had not learned any way of correcting it, or any knowledge, endeavoured with what arguments and interpretations they could to veil unseemly things under seemly speech, and not, as they say, to conceal seemly reasons under unseemly fables.

"For if this were the case, surely their statues and their pictures would never be made with representations of their vices and crimes. The swan, which committed adultery with Leda, would not be represented, nor the bull which committed adultery with Europa; nor would they turn into a thousand monstrous shapes, him whom they think better than all. And assuredly, if the great and wise men who are amongst them knew that all this is fiction and not truth, would not they charge with impiety and sacrilege those who should exhibit a picture or carve an image of this sort, to the injury of the gods?

"In short, let them present a king of their own time in the form of an ox, or a goose, or an ant, or a vulture, and let them write the name of their king upon it, and set up such a statue or figure in a public place, and they will soon be made to feel the wrong of their deed, and the greatness of its punishment."

37 Like Gods, Like Worshippers. "But since those things rather are true which the public baseness testifies, and concealments have been sought and fabricated by prudent men to excuse them by seemly speeches, therefore are they not only not prohibited, but even in the very mysteries figures are produced of Saturn devouring his sons, and of the boy hidden by the cymbals and drums of the Corybantes; and with respect to the mutilation of Saturn, what better proof of its truth could there be, than that even his worshippers are mutilated, by a like miserable fate, in honour of their god?

"Since then these things are manifestly seen, who shall be found of so little sense, yea, of such stolidity, that he does not perceive that those things are true concerning the unfortunate gods, which their more unfortunate worshippers attest by the wounding and mutilation of their bodies?"

38 Writings of the Poets. "But if, as they say, these things, so creditably and piously done, are dispensed by so discreditable and impious a ritual, assuredly he is sacrilegious, whoever either gave forth these things at first, or persists in fulfilling them, now that they have unhappily been given forth.

"And what shall we say of the books of the poets? Ought not they, if they have debased the honourable and pious deeds of the gods with base fables, to be forthwith cast away and thrown into the fire, that they may not persuade the still tender age of boys that Jupiter himself, the chief of the gods, was a parricide towards his parents, incestuous towards his sisters and his daughters, and even impure towards boys; that Venus and Mars were adulterers, and all those things which have been spoken of above? What do you think of this matter, my lord Peter? "

39 All for the Best. Then he answered: "Be sure, beloved Aquila, that all things are done by the good providence of God, that the cause which was to be contrary to the truth should not only be infirm and weak, but also base. For if the assertion of error had been stronger and more truth-like, any one who had been deceived by it would not easily return to the path of truth. If even now, when so many wicked and disgraceful things are related concerning the gods of the Gentiles, scarce any one forsakes the base error, how much more if there had been in it anything seemly and truth-like?

"For the mind is with difficulty transferred from those things with which it has been imbued in early youth; and on this account, as I said, it has been effected by divine providence, that the substance of error should be both weak and base. But all other things also divine providence dispenses filly and advantageously, although the method of the divine dispensation, as good, and the best possible, is not clear to us who are ignorant of the causes of things."

40 Further Information Sought. When Peter had thus said, I Clement asked Niceta that he would explain to us, for the sake of instruction, some things concerning the allegories of the Gentiles, which he had carefully studied; "for," said I, "it is useful that when we dispute with the Gentiles, we should not be unacquainted with these things."

Then said Niceta: "If my lord Peter permits me, I can do as you ask me."

Then said Peter: "To-day I have given you leave to speak in opposition to the Gentiles, as you know."

And Niceta said: "Tell me then, Clement, what you would have me speak about."

And I said to him: "Inform us how the Gentiles represent matters concerning the supper of the gods, which they had at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. What do they make of the shepherd Paris, and what of less Juno, Minerva, and Venus, between whom he acted as judge? What of Mercury? and what of the apple, and the other things which follow in order? "

41 Explanation of Mythology. Then Niceta: "The affair of the supper of the gods stands in this wise. They say that the banquet is the world, that the order of the gods sitting at table is the position of the heavenly bodies. Those whom Hesiod calls the first children of heaven and earth, of whom six were males and six females, they refer to the number of the twelve signs, which go round all the world.

"They say that the dishes of the banquet are the reasons and causes of things, sweet and desirable, which in the shape of inferences from the positions of the signs and the courses of the stars, explain how the world is ruled and governed. Yet they say these things exist after the free manner of a banquet, inasmuch as the mind of every one has the option whether he shall taste aught of this sort of knowledge, or whether he shall refrain; and as in a banquet no one is compelled, but every one is at liberty to eat, so also the manner of philosophizing depends upon the choice of the will.

"They say that discord is the lust of the flesh, which rises up against the purpose of the mind, and hinders the desire of philosophizing; and therefore they say that the time was that in which the marriage was celebrated. Thus they make Peleus and the nymph Thetis to be the dry and the moist element, by the admixture of which the substance of bodies is composed.

"They hold that Mercury is speech, by which instruction is conveyed to the mind; that Juno is chastity, Minerva courage, Venus lust, Paris the understanding. If therefore, say they, it happens that there is in a man a barbarous and uncultivated understanding, and ignorant of right judgement, he will despise chastity and courage, and will give the prize, which is the apple, to lust; and thereby, ruin and destruction will come not only upon himself, but also upon his countrymen and the whole race.

"These things, therefore, it is in their power to compose from whatever matter they please; yet they can be adapted to every man; because if any one has a pastoral and rustic and uncultivated understanding, and does not wish to be instructed, when the heat of his body shall make suggestions concerning the pleasure of lust, straightway he despises the virtues of studies and the blessings of knowledge, and turns his mind to bodily pleasures.

"And hence it is that implacable wars arise, cities are destroyed, countries fall, even as Paris, by the abduction of Helen, armed the Greeks and the barbarians to their mutual destruction."

42 Interpretation of Scripture. Then Peter, commending his statement, said: "Ingenious men, as I perceive, take many verisimilitudes from the things which they read; and therefore great care is to be taken, that when the law of God is read, it be not read according to the understanding of our own mind.

"For there are many sayings in the divine Scriptures which can be drawn to that sense which every one has preconceived for himself; and this ought not to be done. For you ought not to seek a foreign and extraneous sense, which you have brought from without, which you may confirm from the authority of the Scriptures, but to take the sense of truth from the Scriptures themselves; and therefore it behoves you to learn the meaning of the Scriptures from him who keeps it according to the truth handed down to him from his fathers, so that he can authoritatively declare what he has rightly received.

"But when one has received an entire and firm rule of truth from the Scriptures, it will not be improper if he contribute to the establishment of true doctrine anything from common education and from liberal studies, which, it may be, he has attached himself to in his boyhood; yet so that, when he has learned the truth, he renounce falsehood and pretence."

43 A Word of Exhortation. And when he had said this, he looked to our father, and said: "You therefore, old man, if indeed you care for your soul's safety, that when you desire to be separated from the body, it may, in consequence of tills short conversion, find eternal rest, ask about whatever you please, and seek counsel, that you may be able to cast off any doubt that remains in you. For even to young men the time of life is uncertain; but to old men it is not even uncertain, for there is no doubt that there is but little time remaining to them.

"And therefore both young and old ought to be very earnest about their conversion and repentance, and to be taken up with the adornment of their souls for the future with the worthiest ornaments, such as the doctrines of truth, the grace of chastity, the splendour of righteousness, the fairness of piety, and all other things with which it becomes a reasonable mind to be adorned.

"Then, besides, they should break off from unseemly and unbelieving companions, and keep company with the faithful, and frequent those assemblies in which subjects are handled relating to chastity, righteousness and piety; to pray to God always heartily, and to ask of Him those things which ought to be asked of God; to give thanks to Him; to repent truly of their past doings; in some measure also, if possible, by deeds of mercy towards the poor, to help their penitence: for by these means pardon will be more easily bestowed, and mercy will be sooner shown to the merciful."

44 Earnestness. "But if he who comes to repentance is of more advanced age, he ought the more to give thanks to God, because, having received the knowledge of the truth, after all the violence of carnal lust has been broken, there awaits him no fight of contest, by which to repress the pleasures of the body rising against the mind.

"It remains, therefore, that he be exercised in the learning of the truth, and in works of mercy, that he may bring forth fruits worthy of repentance; and that he do not suppose that the proof of conversion is shown by length of time, but by strength of devotion and of purpose. For minds are manifest to God; and He does not take account of times, but of hearts.

"For He approves if any one, on hearing the preaching of the truth, does not delay, nor spend time in negligence, but

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immediately, and if I may say so, in the same moment, abhorring the past, begins to desire things to come, and burns with love of the heavenly kingdom."

45 All Ought to Repent. "Wherefore, let no one of you longer dissemble nor look backwards, but willingly approach to the Gospel of the kingdom of God. Let not the poor man say, When I shall become rich, then I shall be converted. God does not ask money of you, but a merciful heart and a pious mind.

"Nor let the rich man delay his conversion by reason of worldly care, while he thinks how he may dispose the abundance of his fruits; nor say within himself, 'What shall I do? where shall I bestow my fruits?' Nor say to his soul, 'Thou hast much goods laid up for many years; feast and rejoice.' For it shall be said to him, 'Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be taken from time, and whose shall those things be which thou hast provided?'

"Therefore let every age, every sex, every condition, haste to repentance, that they may obtain eternal life. Let the young be thankful that they put their necks under the yoke of discipline in the very violence of their desires. The old also are themselves praise-worthy, because they change for the fear of God, the custom of a long time in which they have been unhappily occupied."

46 The Sure Word of Prophecy. "Let no one therefore put off. Let no one delay. For what occasion is there for delaying to do well? Or are you afraid, lest, when you have done well, you do not find the reward as you supposed? And what loss will you sustain if you do well without reward? Would not conscience alone be sufficient in this?

"But if you find as you anticipate, shall you not receive great things for small, and eternal for temporal? But I say this for the sake of the unbelieving. For the things which we preach are as we preach them; because they cannot be otherwise, since they have been promised by the prophetic word."

47 "A Faithful Saying, and Worthy of All Acceptation." "But if any one desires to learn exactly the truth of our preaching, let him come to hear, and let him ascertain what the true Prophet is; and then at length all doubtfulness will cease to him, unless with obstinate mind he resist those things which he finds to be true.

"For there are some whose only object it is to gain the victory in any way whatever, and who seek praise for this rather than their salvation. These ought not to have a single word addressed to them, lest both the noble word suffer injury, and condemn to eternal death him who is guilty of the wrong done to it.

"For what is there in respect of which any one ought to oppose our preaching? or in respect of which the word of our preaching is found to be contrary to the belief of what is true and honourable? It says that the God the Father, the Creator of all, is to be honoured, as also His Son, who alone knows Him and His will, and who alone is to be believed concerning all things which He has enjoined. For He alone is the law and the Lawgiver, and the righteous Judge, whose law decrees that God, the Lord of all, is to be honoured by a sober, chaste, just, and merciful life, and that all hope is to be placed in Him alone."

48 Errors of the Philosophers. "But some one will say that precepts of this sort are given by the philosophers also. Nothing of the kind: for they do indeed give commandments concerning justice and sobriety, but they are ignorant that God is the recompenser of good and evil deeds; and therefore their laws and precepts only shun a public accuser, but cannot purify the conscience.

"For why should one fear to sin in secret, who does not know that there is a witness and a judge of secret things? Besides, the philosophers in their precepts add that even the gods, who are demons, are to be honoured; and this alone, even if in other respects they seemed worthy of approbation, is sufficient to convict them of the most dreadful impiety, and condemn them by their own sentence, since they declare indeed that there is one God, yet command that many be worshipped, by way of humouring human error.

"But also the philosophers say that God is not angry, not knowing what they say. For anger is evil, when it disturbs the mind, so that it loses right counsel. But that anger which punishes the wicked does not bring disturbance to the mind; but it is one and the same affection, so to speak, which assigned rewards to the good and punishment to the evil; for if He should bestow blessings upon the good and the evil, and confer equal rewards upon the pious and the impious, He would appear to be unjust rather than good."

49 God's Long-Suffering. "But you say, Neither ought God to do evil. You say truly; nor does He. But those who have been created by Him, while they do not believe that they are to be judged, indulging their pleasures, have fallen away from piety and righteousness.

"But you will say, If it is right to punish the wicked, they ought to be punished immediately when they do wickedly. You indeed do well to make haste; but He who is eternal, and from whom nothing is secret, inasmuch as He is without end, in the same proportion is His patience extended, and He regards not the swiftness of vengeance, but the causes of salvation. For He is not so much pleased with the death as with the conversion of a sinner.

"Therefore, in short, He has bestowed upon men holy baptism, to which, if any one makes haste to come, and for the future remains without stain, all his sins are thenceforth blotted out, which were committed in the time of his ignorance."

50 Philosophers Not Benefactors of Men. "For what have the philosophers contributed to the life of man, by saying that God is not angry with men? Only to teach them to have no fear of any punishment or judgement, and thereby to take away all restraint from sinners.

"Or what have they benefited the human race, who have said that there is no God, but that all things happen by chance and accident? What but that men, hearing this, and thinking that there is no judge, no guardian of things, are driven headlong, without fear of any one, to every deed which either rage, or avarice, or lust may dictate.

"For they truly have much benefited the life of man who have said that nothing can be done apart from Genesis; that is, that every one, ascribing the cause of his sin to Genesis, might in the midst of his crimes declare himself innocent, while he does not wash out his guilt by repentance, but doubles it by laying the blame upon fate.

"And what shall I say of those philosophers who have maintained that the gods are to be worshipped, and such gods as were described to you a little while ago? What else was this but to decree that vices, crimes, and base deeds should be worshipped? I am ashamed of you, and I pity you, if you have not yet discovered that these things were unworthy of belief, and impious, and execrable, or if, having discovered and ascertained them to be evil, ye have nevertheless worshipped them as if they were good, yea, even the best."

51 Christ the True Prophet. "Then, besides, of what sort is that which some of the philosophers have presumed to speak even concerning God, though they are mortal, and can only speak by opinion concerning invisible things, or concerning the origin of the world, since they were not present when it was made, or concerning the end of it, or concerning the treatment and judgement of souls in the infernal regions, forgetting that it belongs indeed to a reasonable man to know things present and visible, but that it is the part of prophetic prescience alone to know things past, and things future, and things invisible?

"These things, therefore, are not to be gathered from conjectures and opinions, in which men are greatly deceived, but from faith in prophetic truth, as this doctrine of ours is. For we speak nothing of ourselves, nor announce things gathered by human judgement; for this were to deceive our hearers. But we preach the things which have been committed and revealed to us by the true Prophet.

"And concerning His prophetic prescience and power, if any one, as I have said, wishes to receive clear proofs, let him come instantly and be alert to hear, and we shall give evident proofs by which he shall seem not only to hear the power of prophetic prescience with his ears, but even to see it with his eyes and handle it with his hand; and when he has entertained a sure faith concerning Him, he will without any labour take upon him the yoke of righteousness and piety; and so great sweetness will he perceive in it, that not only will be not find fault with any labour being in it, but will even desire something further to be added and imposed upon him."

52 Appion and Anubion. And when he had said this, and more to the same purpose, and had cured some who were present who were infirm and possessed of demons, he dismissed the crowds, while they gave thanks and praised God, charging them to come to the same place on the following days also for the sake of hearing. And when we were together at home, and were preparing to eat, one entering told us that Appion Pleistonices, with Anubion, were lately come from Antioch, and were lodging with Simon.

Then my father, when he heard this, rejoiced, and said to Peter: "If you permit me, I should like to go and salute Appion and Anubion, for they are great friends of mine; and perhaps I shall be able to persuade Anubion to dispute with Clement on the subject of Genesis." Then Peter said: "I consent; and I commend you, because you respect your friends. But consider how all things occur to you according to your wish by God's providence; for, behold, not only have the objects of proper affection been restored to you by the appointment of God, but also the presence of your friends is arranged for you."

Then said my father: "Truly I consider that it is so as you say." And when he had said this, he went away to Anubion.

53 A Transformation. But we, sitting with Peter the whole night, asking questions, and learning of him on many subjects, remained awake through very delight in his teaching and the sweetness of his words; and when it was daybreak, Peter, looking at me and my brothers, said: "I wonder what has befallen your father."

And while he was speaking my father came in, and found Peter speaking to us about him. And when he had saluted he began to apologize, and to explain the reason why he had remained abroad.

But we, looking at him, were horrified; for we saw on him the face of Simon, yet we heard the voice of our father. And when we shrank from him, and cursed him, my father was astonished at our treating him so harshly and barbarously. Yet Peter was the only one who saw his natural countenance; and he said to us: "Why do you curse your father?"

And we, along with our mother, answered him: "He appears to us to be Simon, though he has our father's voice."

Then Peter: "You indeed know only his voice, which has not been changed by the sorceries; but to me also his face, which to others appears changed by Simon's art, is known to be that of your father Faustinianus." And looking at my father, he said: "The cause of the dismay of your wife and your sons is this, the appearance of your countenance does not seem to be as it was, but the face of the detestable Simon appears in you."

54 Excitement in Antioch. And while he was thus speaking, one of those returned who had gone before to Antioch, and said to Peter: "I wish you to know, my lord Peter, that Simon at Antioch, doing many signs and prodigies in public, has inculcated upon the people nothing but what tends to excite hatred against you, calling you a magician, a sorcerer, a murderer; and to such an extent has he stirred up hatred against you, that they greatly desire, if they can find you anywhere, even to devour your flesh. And therefore we who were sent before, seeing the city greatly moved against you, met together in secret, and considered what ought to be done."

55 A Stratagem. "And when we saw no way of getting out of the difficulty, there came Cornelius the centurion, being sent by Caesar to the president of Caesarea on public business. Him we sent for alone, and told him the reason why we were sorrowful, and entreated him that, if he could do anything, he should help us. Then he most readily promised that he would straightway put him to flight, if only we would aid his plans.

"And when we promised that we would be active in doing everything, he said, 'Caesar has ordered sorcerers to be sought out and destroyed in the city of Rome and through the provinces, and a great number of them have been already destroyed. I shall therefore give out, through my friends, that I am come to apprehend that magician, and that I am sent by Caesar for this purpose, that he may be punished with the rest of his fraternity. Let your people, therefore, who are with him in disguise, intimate to him, as if they had heard it from some quarter, that I am sent to apprehend him; and when he hears this, he is sure to take to flight. Or if you think of anything better, tell me. Why need I say more?'

"It was so done by those of ours who were with him, disguised for the purpose of acting as spies on him. And when Simon learned that this was come upon him, he received the information as a great kindness conferred upon him by them, and took to flight. He therefore departed from Antioch, and, as we have heard, came hither with Athenodorus."

56 Simon's Design in the Transformation. "All we, therefore, who went before you, considered that in the meantime you should not go up to Antioch, till we see if the hatred of you which he has sown among the people be in any degree lessened by his departure."

When he who had come from Antioch had imparted this information, Peter, looking to our father, said, "Faustinianus, your countenance has been transformed by Simon Magus, as is evident; for he, thinking that he was being sought for by Caesar for punishment, has fled in terror, and has placed his own countenance upon you, if haply you might be apprehended instead of him, and put to death, that so he might cause sorrow to your sons."

But my father, when he heard this, crying out, said with tears: "You have judged rightly, O Peter: for Anubion also, who is very friendly with me, began to inform me in a certain mysterious way of his plots; but unhappily I did not believe him, because I had done him no harm."

57 Great Grief. And when all of us, along with my father, were agitated with sorrow and weeping, meantime Anubion came to us, intimating to us that Simon had fled during the night, making for Judaea. But seeing our father lamenting and bewailing himself, and saying, "Wretch that I am, not to believe when I heard that he is a magician! What has befallen wretched me, that on one day, being recognised by my wife and my sons, I have not been able to rejoice with them, but have been rolled back to the former miseries which I endured in my wandering!" but my mother, tearing her dishevelled hair, bewailed much more bitterly, we also, confounded at the change of our father's countenance, were, as it were, thunderstruck and beside ourselves, and could not understand what was the matter. But Anubion, seeing us all thus afflicted, stood like one dumb.

Then Peter, looking at us his sons, said: "Believe me that this is your very father; wherefore also I charge you that you respect him as your father. For God will afford some opportunity on which he shall be able to put off the countenance of Simon, and to recover the manifest figure of your father that is, his own."

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58 How It All Happened. Then, turning to my father, he said: "I gave you leave to salute Appion and Anubion, who, you said, were your friends from boyhood, but not that you should speak with Simon."

Then my father said: "I confess I have sinned."

Then said Anubion: "I also with him beg and entreat of you to pardon the old man good and noble man as he is. He was unhappily seduced and imposed upon by the magician in question; for I will tell you how the thing was done. When he came to salute us, it happened that at that very time we were standing around him, hearing him tell that he intended to flee away that night, for that he had heard that some persons had come even to this city of Laodicea to apprehend him by command of the emperor, but that he wished to turn all their rage against this Faustinianus, who has lately come hither.

"And he said to us: 'Only you make him sup with us, and I shall compound a certain ointment, with which, when he has supped, he shall anoint his face, and from that time he shall seem to all to have my countenance. But you first anoint your faces with the juice of a certain herb, that you may not be deceived as to the change of his countenance, so that to all except you he shall seem to be Simon.'"

59 A Scene of Mourning. "And when he said this, I said to him, 'And what advantage will you gain from this deed?' Then Simon said: 'In the first place, that those who are seeking me may lay hold on him, and so give over the search for me. But if he be punished by Caesar, that his sons may have much sorrow, who forsook me, and fled to Peter, and are now his assistants.'

"Now I confess to you, Peter, what is true. I did not dare then tell Faustinianus; but neither did Simon give us opportunity of speaking with him in private, and disclosing to him fully Simon's design. Meantime, about the middle of the night, Simon has fled away, making for Judaea. And Athenodorus and Appion have gone to convoy him; but I pretended bodily indisposition, that I might remain at home, and make him return quickly to you, if haply he may in any way be concealed with you, lest, being seized by those who are inquest of Simon, he be brought before Caesar, and perish without cause. And now, in my anxiety about him, I have come to see him, and to return before those who have gone to convoy Simon come back."

And turning to us, Anubion said: "I, Anubion, indeed see the true countenance of your father, because I was previously anointed by Simon himself, as I have told you, that the real face of Faustinianus might appear to my eyes; whence I am astonished and wonder at the art of Simon Magus, because you standing here do not recognise your father." And while my father and mother, and all of us, wept for the things which had befallen, Anubion, moved with compassion, also wept.

60 A Counterplot. Then Peter, moved with compassion, promised that he would restore the face of our father, saying to him: "Listen, Faustinianus: As soon as the error of your transformed countenance shall have conferred some advantage on us, and shall have subserved the designs which we have in view, then I shall restore to you the true form of your countenance; on condition, however, that you first despatch what I shall command you."

And when my father promised that he would with all his might fulfil everything that he might charge him with, provided only that he might recover his own countenance, Peter thus began: "You have heard with your own ears, that one of those who had been sent before has returned from Antioch, and told us how Simon, while he was there, stirred up the multitudes against me, and inflamed the whole city into hatred of me, declaring that I am a magician, and a murderer, and a deceiver, so that they are eager, if they see me, even to eat my flesh. Do therefore what I tell you: leave Clement with me, and go before us to Antioch, with your wife, and your sons Faustus and Faustinus. And I shall also send others with you, whom I think fit, who shall observe whatsoever I command them."

61 A Mine Dug. "When therefore you come with them to Antioch, as you will be thought to be Simon, stand in a public place, and proclaim your repentance, and say: 'I Simon declare to you, and confess that all that I said concerning Peter was false: for he is neither a seducer, nor a magician, nor a murderer, nor any of the things that I spoke against him; but I said all these things under the instigation of madness. I therefore entreat you, even I myself, who erewhile gave you causes of hatred against him, that you think no such thing concerning him.

"But lay aside your hatred cease from your indignation; because he is truly sent by God for the salvation of the world a disciple and apostle of the true Prophet. Wherefore I advise, exhort, and charge you that you hear him, and believe him when he preaches to you the truth, lest haply, if you despise him, your very city suddenly perish.

"But I will tell yon why I now make this confession to you. This night an angel of God rebuked me for my wickedness, and scourged me terribly, because was an enemy to the herald of the truth. Therefore I entreat you, that even if I myself should ever again come to you, and attempt to say anything against Peter, you will not receive nor believe me. For I confess to you, I was a magician, a seducer, a deceiver; but I repent, for it is possible by repentance to blot out former evil deeds.'"

62 A Case of Conscience. When Peter made this intimation to my father, he answered: "I know what you wish; do not trouble yourself further: for I understand and know what I am to undertake when I come to the place."

And Peter gave him further instruction, saying: "When therefore you come to the place, and see the people turned by your discourse, and laying aside their hatred, and returning to their longing for me, send and tell me, and I shall come immediately; and when I come, I shall without delay set you free from this strange countenance, and restore to you your own, which is known to all your friends."

And having said this, he ordered my brothers to go with him, and at the same time our mother Matthidia, and some of our friends. But my mother refused to go along with him, and said: "It seems as if I should be an adulteress if I were to associate with the countenance of Simon; but if I be compelled to go along with him, it is at all events impossible that I can lie in the same bed with him; but I do not know if I can consent even to go with him." And when she stoutly refused.

Anubion began to exhort her, saying: "Believe me and Peter. But does not even his voice persuade you that he is your husband Faustinianus, whom truly I love not less than you do? And, in short, I also myself shall come with you." And when Anubion had said this, my mother promised that she would go with him.

63 A Pious Fraud. Then said I: "God arranges our affairs to our liking; for we have with us Anubion an astrologer, with whom, if we come to Antioch, we shall dispute with all earnestness on the subject of Genesis." And when our father had set out, after the middle of the night, with those whom Peter had ordered to accompany him, and with Anubion; in the morning, before Peter went to the discussion, those men returned who had convoyed Simon, namely Appion and Athenodorus, and came to us inquiring after my father.

But Peter, when he was informed of their coming, ordered them to enter. And when they were seated, they asked, "Where is Faustinianus?" Peter answered: "We do not know; for since the evening that he went to you, no one of his friends has seen him. But yesterday morning Simon came inquiring for him; and because we gave him no answer, I know not what he meant, but he said that he was Faustinianus. But when nobody believed him, he went and lamented, and threatened that he would destroy himself; and afterwards he went away towards the sea."

64 A Competition in Lying. When Appion heard this, and those who were with him, they raised a great howling, saying: "Why have you done this? Why did you not receive him?"

And when Athenodorus was going to tell me that it was my father Faustinianus himself, Appion prevented him, and said: "We have learned from some one that he has gone with Simon, and that at the entreaty of Faustinianus himself, being unwilling to see his sons, because they are Jews. When therefore we heard this, we came to inquire after him here; but since he is not here, it appears that he must have spoken truly who told us that he has gone with Simon. This, therefore, we tell you."

But I Clement, when I understood the designs of Peter, that he wished to make them suppose that the old man would be required at their hands, so that they might be afraid and flee away, I began to aid his design, and said to Appion: "Listen, dear Appion: what we believe to be good, we wish to deliver to our father also; but if he will not receive it, but rather, as you say, flees away through abhorrence of us it may perhaps be harsh to say so we care nothing about him." And when I had said this, they departed, cursing my cruelty, and followed the track of Simon, as we learned on the following day.

65 Success of the Plot. Meantime, while Peter was daily, according to his custom, teaching the people, and working many miracles and cures, after ten days came one of our people from Antioch, sent by my father, informing us how my father stood in public, accusing Simon, whose face indeed he seemed to wear, and extolling Peter with unmeasured praises, and commending him to all the people, and making them long for him, so that all were changed by his speech, and longed to see him; and that many had come to love Peter so much, that they raged against my father in his character of Simon, and thought of laying hands on him, because he had done such wrong to Peter!

"Wherefore," said he, "make haste, lest haply he be murdered; for be sent me with speed to you, being in great fear, to ask you to come without delay, that you may find him alive, and also that you may appear at the favourable moment, when the city is growing in affection towards you."

He also told us how, as soon as my father entered the city of Antioch, the whole people were gathered to him, supposing him to be Simon; and he began to make public confession to them all, according to what the restoration of the people demanded: for all, as many as came, both noble and common, both rich and poor, hoping that some prodigies would be wrought by him in his usual way, he addressed thus:

66 Truth Told by Lying Lips. "It is long that the divine patience bears with me, Simon the most unhappy of men; for whatever you have wondered at in me was done, not by means of truth, but by the lies and tricks of demons, that I might subvert your faith and condemn my own soul.

"I confess that all things that I said about Peter were lies; for he never was either a magician or a murderer, but has been sent by God for the salvation of you all; and if from this hour you think that he is to be despised, be assured that your very city may suddenly be destroyed.

"But, you will ask, what is the reason that I make this confession to you of my own accord? I was vehemently rebuked by an angel of God this night, and most severely scourged, because I was his enemy. I therefore entreat you, that if from this hour even I myself shall ever open my mouth against him, you will drive me from your sight; for that foul demon, who is an enemy to the salvation of men, speaks against him through my mouth, that you may not attain to life by his means.

"For what miracle could the magic art show you through me? I made brazen dogs bark, and statues move, men change their appearances, and suddenly vanish from men's sight; and for these things you ought to have cursed the magic art, which bound your souls with devilish fetters, that I might show you a vain miracle, that you might not believe Peter, who cures the sick in the name of Him by whom he is sent, and expels demons, and gives sight to the blind, and restores health to the palsied, and raises the dead."

67 Faustinianus is Himself Again. Whilst he made these and similar statements, the people began to curse him, and to weep and lament because they had sinned against Peter, believing him to be a magician or wicked man. But the same day, at evening, Faustinianus had his own face restored to him, and the appearance of Simon Magus left him.

Now Simon, hearing that his face on Faustinianus had contributed to the glory of Peter, came in haste to anticipate Peter, and intending to cause by his art that his likeness should be taken from Faustinianus, when Christ had already accomplished this according to the word of His apostle. But Niceta and Aquila, seeing their father's face restored after the necessary proclamation, gave thanks to God, and would not suffer him to address the people any more.

68 Peter's Entry into Antioch. But Simon began, though secretly, to go amongst his friends and acquaintances, and to malign Peter more than before. Then all spat in his face, and drove him from the city, saying: "You will be chargeable with your own death, if you think of coming hither again, speaking against Peter."

These things being known at Laodicea, Peter ordered the people to meet on the following day; and having ordained one of those who followed him as bishop over them, and others as presbyters, and having baptised multitudes, and restored to health all who were troubled with sicknesses or demons, he stayed there three days longer; and all things being properly arranged, he bade them farewell, and set out from Laodicea, being much longed for by the people of Antioch.

And the whole city began to hear, through Niceta and Aquila, that Peter was coming. Then all the people of the city of Antioch, hearing of Peter's arrival, went to meet him, and almost all the old men and the nobles came with ashes sprinkled on their heads, in this way testifying their repentance, because they had listened to the magician Simon, in opposition to his preaching.

69 Peter's Thanksgiving. Stating these and such like things, they bring to him those distressed with sicknesses, and tormented with demons, paralytics also, and those suffering diverse perils; and there were an infinite number of sick people collected. And when Peter saw that they not only repented of the evil thoughts they had entertained of him through means of Simon, but also that they showed so entire faith in God, that they believed that all who suffered from every sort of ailment could be healed by him, he spread out his hands towards heaven, pouring out prayers with tears, and gave thanks to God, saying: "I bless thee, O Father, worthy of all praise, who hast deigned to fulfil every word and promise of Thy Son, that every creature may know that Thou alone art God in heaven and in earth."

70 Miracles. With such sayings, he went up on a height, and ordered all the multitude of sick people to be ranged before him, and addressed them all in these words: "As you see me to be a man like to yourselves, do not suppose that you can recover your health from me, but through Him who, coming down from heaven, has shown to those who believe in Him a perfect medicine for body and soul. Hence let all this people be witnesses to your declaration, that with your whole heart you believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, that they may know that themselves also may be saved by Him."

And when all the multitude of the sick with one voice cried out that He is the true God whom Peter preaches, suddenly an overpowering light of the grace of God appeared in the midst of the people; and the paralytics being cured, began to run to Peter's feet, the blind to shout on the recovery of their sight, the lame to give thanks on regaining the power of walking, the sick to rejoice in restored health; some even who were barely alive, being already without consciousness or the

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power of speech, were raised up; and all the lunatics, and those possessed of demons, were set free.

71 Success. So great grace of His power did the Holy Spirit show on that day, that all, from the least to the greatest, with one voice confessed the Lord; and not to delay you with many words, within seven days, more than ten thousand men, believing in God, were baptised and consecrated by sanctification: so that Theophilus, who was more exalted than all the men of power in that city, with all eagerness of desire consecrated the great palace of his house under the name of a church, and a chair was placed in it for the Apostle Peter by all the people; and the whole multitude assembling daily to hear the word, believed in the healthful doctrine which was avouched by the efficacy of cures.

72 Happy Ending. Then I Clement, with my brothers and our mother, spoke to our father, asking him whether any remnants of unbelief remained in him. And he said: "Come, and you shall see, in the presence of Peter, what an increase of faith has grown in me."

Then Faustinianus approached, and fell down at Peter's feet, saying: "The seeds of your word, which the field of my mind has received, are now sprung up, and have so advanced to fruitful maturity, that nothing is wanting but that you separate me from the chaff by that spiritual reaping-hook of yours, and place me in the garner of the Lord, making me partaker of the divine table."

Then Peter, with all alacrity grasping his hand, presented him to me Clement, and my brothers, saying: "As God has restored your sons to you, their father, so also your sons restore their father to God."

And he proclaimed a fast to all the people, and on the next Lord's day he baptised him; and in the midst of the people, taking occasion from his conversion, he related all his fortunes, so that the whole city received him as an angel, and paid him no less honour than they did to the apostle. And these things being known, Peter ordered the people to meet on the following day; and having ordained one of his followers as bishop, and others as presbyters, he baptised also a great number of people, and restored to health all who had been distressed with sicknesses.

THE END

THE BOOK OF THE ROLLS,
(Or The Kitab Al-Magall)
One Of The Books Of Titus Flavius Clemens.
Translation: Margaret Dunlop Gibson, 1901
Estimated Range of Dating: 3rd century AD.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, one God, the merciful Lord.

This book is one of the hidden books of Saint Clement the Apostle, disciple of Simon Cepha, which Saint Clement commanded to be kept secret from the laity. Some of them were called “The Book of the Rolls,” and there are the glorious genealogies and mysteries which our God and Saviour Jesus the Christ committed to his disciples Simon and James, and what things will happen at the end of time, and how the second coming of our Lord the Christ from heaven to the world will happen, and what will become of sinners and such like. This is the sixth of Clement’s books, treasured up in the city of Rome since the time of the Apostles.

Saint Clement said, When our God Jesus the Christ went up to heaven and the disciples were scattered in the regions of the world to evangelize, and to call mankind to the faith and to immersion by baptism, they took disciples, whom they chose and selected to be with them, and to travel about to the countries in the faith of the Christ. Wherefore Simon Cepha took me for a disciple to himself; I believed in him, and in Him that sent him, with a true faith; I recognised that he was chief of the Apostles, to whom were given the keys of heaven and earth, on whom was built the Catholic Apostolic Church of God, which the gates of Hell shall not destroy, as our God Jesus the Christ said in the holy Gospel. After a long time he took also my brothers Constans and Constantinus to be his disciples. Twenty years after he had taken me as his disciple, he brought me together with my father and my mother, who was called Metrodora, and committed to me all the mysteries which had been given him by our Lord Jesus the Christ on the Mount of Olives. At that time the rest of the Apostles and all the believers had a struggle with the unbelieving Jews because the Jews were killing every one of the believers whose murder was possible to them. I and my gracious Teacher Simon encompassed some of the countries, and we met with great trouble from the controversy of the Jews, and their questioning about the genealogy of the pure Mary, for their saying about her was that she was not of the children of Judah that they might invalidate by this the coming of our Lord the Christ into the world, and His Incarnation from her. They were increasing [their] bribe of money and other things to the Greeks and the Romans that they might help them in the destruction of the believers and the bringing to nought of their business, and hinder the Apostles from the reading of the Law, lest they should teach out of it about the state of mankind, and how it was in the beginning. When I saw in what misery we were with the Jews, I sought from my gracious Teacher that he would make known to me how mankind were at the beginning, and that he would make me perfect about the reasons, for he had learned everything from the Lord Jesus the Christ, and I was acquainted with the tongue of the Greeks and their books, and was learned in their mysteries, and I had deposited their secrets which had been entrusted to me, [in] my two books called the seventh and the eighth. I informed my Teacher what I conjectured about the envy towards the Lady Mary, and my anxiety at the reproach of the Jews to me that I did not understand the Torah, and their much questioning of me about the creation of our father Adam, and what I had heard with my ears of their insult to the Lady Mary and their fiction about her without any resource being possible for me [how] I should refute them in regard to their hateful saying. The Teacher was moved by my excitement, and zeal entered him when I told him about it. He said, “I will put it in order for thee, O my son, as thou hast asked me about it, and will initiate thee in things since the beginning of the creation, and will teach thee the genealogy of the Mother of Mercy, Mary the pure, and its authenticity, and that without doubt she is of the lineage of Judah the son of Jacob and his tribe, and I will relate to thee mysteries, and what reason there was for the fall of the Devil, the prince, from heaven. Know, O my son, that the Lord is the beginning and before the beginning, He who is Infinite, raised above the height, equal with the Highest, there is nothing lower about Him, nothing inward, nothing outward, He is before the beginning, the ancient substance, He who is boundless, whom no intelligence can reach, and no discernment nor quality can comprehend. He was above Being, and with Being, and below Being, the creative Substance, the glorious Light, which darkness reacheth not. Light dwelling in the Light which eyes cannot reach, before creation He was; and He is the Former of forms, whose glory is from Himself and in Himself, and in His Essence. [He is] the Creator of what glorifies Him, that thou mayest learn His divinity and His power, He made the heaven and the earth, He created before harmony the division of things. Angels worship Him, ten homogeneous choirs, I mean by this ten ranks. The highest rank, some of whom are nearest to the throne of the Lord God, pouring out praises in abundance, is the rank of Satanaeel, who was the prince, and praises rose up to God from all the Angels; that was the beginning in the first day which was the holy first day (Sunday), chief of days; early in it God created the upper heaven and the worlds, and the highest rank of Angels, which is the rank of Satanaeel, and the Archangels, and powers, and chiefs, and thrones, and dignities and governors, and cherubim and seraphim, and light, and day and night, and wind and water, and air, and fire and what is like these elements. Verily the Lord formed all this, may His names be sanctified! by the completion of His eternal Word without speech, and in the first day in which these things were created, the Holy Spirit hovered over the waters, and in its hovering over them they were blessed and sanctified, and heat was formed in them by which the watery beings are born, and with this were mixed yeasts of the creatures, such as the bird which lays the egg by its wings, and from this is formed the living bird, for by reason of the nature of the heat of flaming fire, it verily reneweth heat in the wings of the bird, and lo! with them it lays an egg in which chickens are formed. Verily the reason why the holy Paraclete hovered over the waters in the form of a bird, was that every winged fowl should be formed in this shape. On the second day God created the lower heaven, which is called the firmament, on which the gaze of men falls, that thou mayest know that the beings of the highest heavens which the heaven of the visible firmament covers are like the nature of the heaven of the firmament, except that the heaven which the eyes reach is separated from the highest heavens. All the heavens are three heavens. The visible firmament, and what is above it; it is called Δίπατον and above it there is flaming fire; and a heaven which is above the fire; and the two heavens are filled with light and fire which created eyes cannot look at. On the second day which is the second of the days (Monday) the Lord, to Whom be praise! separated between the higher water and the lower water. Verily the rising up of the water which was formed in the height that day was like gathered clouds clinging together, and the waters remained resting in the air, none of them inclining to any one district. On the third day (Tuesday) God commanded the waters which were below the firmament that they should be gathered together to one place, that the dry land might be seen. When this happened, the veil was removed which was above the earth and the earth was disclosed. He looked upon it, and it was barren of verdure, [it was] dust and water mixed together. The water was in it and below it and above it, and it was shaken to the blowing of the winds through it. The air went up from the bosom of the earth, and rested in the bosom of its crevices and passages that in these caves might arise heat and cold for the service and consolidation of the earth, because the earth was created like a sponge standing above the water. On this day God commanded the earth to bring forth grass and reeds and trees and seeds and roots and other things. On the fourth day (Wednesday) God formed the sun and the moon and the stars that the heat of the sun might be spread over the earth and it should be strengthened by its mellowness and that the moisture communicated to it by the water high above it should be dried up. On the fifth day God commanded the waters to bring forth animals of various colours and forms, some of which should fly in the bosom of the water, and others should fly above the water, and from them should spring the whales and Leviathan, and Behemoth, so terrible in their appearance, and air-fowl and water-fowl. On the sixth day God created from the earth all the beasts, and animals and insects and creeping reptiles. This day is Friday, and on it God created Adam of dust, and formed Eve from his rib. On the seventh day God had completed all creation, and He called it Sabbath. God had created Adam in the third hour of Friday the sixth day. Iblis had laid claim to Godhead which had entered him in the second hour of that day, and God had hurled him down from heaven to earth. Before God the Lord created Adam, rest fell upon all the powers; and God said, ‘Come, let us create a Man in our likeness and form and image.’ When the Angels heard this saying from the Lord they became frightened and much terrified, and they said to one another, ‘What is this great wonder which we hear, and how is it possible that the form of our God and Creator can appear to us?’ Then all the Angels looked towards the right hand of the Lord, which was stretched out above all creation, and all of it was in His right hand. Then they looked towards the right hand of the Lord, and it took from all the earth a little handful of dust, and from all the waters a drop of water, and from the air a soul and a spirit, and from fire the force of heat, and it became in the grasp of the Lord portions of the four elements, heat and cold, moisture and drought. Verily God, the glorious and strong, created Adam from these four weak elements, which have no power, that all creatures created from them might hear and obey him: dust, that man might obey him; water, that all that is born of it and in it might obey him; air, that it might be possible for him to breathe it and to feel its breezes, and that its birds might obey him; and fire, that the heat of forces created from it should be a powerful helper to his sense. The reason why God, may His holy names be sanctified! created Adam with His holy hand in His form and image was that he should receive wisdom and speech and animal motion, and for the knowledge concerning things. When the glorious and illustrious Angels saw one like Him in Adam, they were affrighted. The wondrous glory upon his face terrified them, his form appeared shining with divine light greater than the light of the sun, and his body was bright and brilliant like the well-known stars in the crystal. When the figure of Adam drew itself up, he leapt standing; he was in the centre of the earth, he stretched out his right hand and his left hand and put his feet in order upon Golgotha, which is the place where was put the wood (cross) of our Saviour Jesus the Christ. He was dressed with a royal robe, he wore upon his head a diadem of glory and praise and honour and dignity, he was crowned with a royal crown, and there he was made king and priest and prophet. God set him upon a throne of honour, and gathered to what was there all the animals and beasts and birds and all that God had created, and made them stand before Adam. They bent their heads and did obeisance to him, and he called each of them by its name. He made all the creatures obey him and they responded to his command. The Angels and the Powers heard the voice of God, may He be glorified and exalted! saying to Adam, ‘O Adam, I have made thee king and priest and prophet and ruler and chief and governor over all creatures that are made. All creation shall obey thee and follow thy voice. Under thy grasp they shall be. To thee alone I have given this power; I have placed thee in possession of all that I have created.’ When the Angels heard this saying from the Lord they redoubled honour and respect to Adam. When the Devil saw the gift that was given to Adam from the Lord, he envied him from that day and the schismatic from God set his mind in cunning towards him to seduce him by his boldness and his curse; and when he denied the grace of the Lord towards him, he became shameless and warlike. God, may His names be sanctified! deprived the Devil of the robe of praise and dignity and called his name Devil, he is a rebel against God, and Satan, because he opposes himself to the ways of the Lord, and Iblis, because He took his dignity from him. While Adam was listening to the speech of his Lord to him, and standing upon the place of Golgotha, all the creatures being gathered together that they might hear the conversation of God with him, lo! a cloud of light carried him and went with him to Paradise and the choirs of Angels sang before him, the cherubim among them blessing and the seraphim crying ‘Holy!’ until Adam came into Paradise. He entered it at the third hour on Friday, and the Lord, to Him be praise! gave him the commandment, and warned him against disobedience to it. Then the Lord, to Him be praise! threw upon Adam a form of sleep, and he slept a sweet sleep in Paradise. And God took a rib from his left side,

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and from it He created Eve. When he awoke and saw Eve he rejoiced over her and lived with her, and she was in the pleasant garden of Paradise. God clothed them with glory and splendour. They outvied one another in the glory with which they were clothed, and the Lord crowned them for marriage, the Angels congratulated them, and there was joy there such as never has been the like and never will be till the day in which the people at the right hand shall hear the glorious voice from the Lord. Adam and Eve remained in Paradise for three hours. The site of Paradise was high up in the air, its ground was heavenly, raised above all mountains and hills, that were thirty spans high, that is fifteen cubits, according to the cubit of the Holy Ghost. This Paradise stretches round from the east by a wall from the hollow to the southern place of darkness where the cursed Prince was thrown, it is the place of sorrows. Eden is a fountain of God lying eastwards, to a height of eight degrees of the rising of the sun, and this is the mercy of God on which the children of men put their trust, that they shall have a Saviour from thence, because God, may He be exalted and glorified! knew in His foreknowledge what the Devil would do to Adam. Adam lived in the treasury of His mercy, as David the prophet said, 'Thou hast been a fortress to us, O Lord, throughout all ages; cause us to live in Thy mercy.' The blessed David said also in his prayer about the salvation of men, 'Remember, Lord' (the tree was the Cross which was planted in the middle of the earth), 'Thy grace which thou hast wrought from all eternity'; I mean by this the mercy which God loved to extend to all men and to our weak race. Eden is the Church of God, and the Paradise in which is the altar of rest, and the length of life which God has prepared for all the saints. Because Adam was king, priest and prophet, God caused him to enter Paradise that he might minister in Eden, the Church of God the holy Lord, as Moses the holy Prophet testifies about this, saying, 'That thou shouldest minister and declare by noble and glorious service, and keep the commandment by which Adam and Eve were brought into the Church of God.' Then God planted the tree of life in the middle of Paradise and it was the form of the cross which was stretched upon it, and it was the tree of life and salvation. Satan remained in his envy to Adam and Eve for the favour which the Lord shewed them, and he contrived to enter into the serpent, which was the most beautiful of the animals, and its nature was above the nature of the camel. He carried it till he went with it in the air to the lower parts of Paradise. The reason for Iblis the cursed hiding himself in the serpent was his ugliness, for when he was deprived of his honour he got into the acme of ugliness, till none of the creatures could have borne the sight of him uncovered, and if Eve had seen him unveiled in the serpent, when she spoke to him, she would have run away from him, and neither cunning nor deceit would have availed him with her; but he contrived to hide himself in the serpent, the cunning creature, to teach the birds with round tongues the speech of men in Greek and such like. He would bring a broad mirror with much light sending out rays; he would put it between himself and a bird, and speak what he wished that the bird should know, and when the bird heard this speech, it would glance around and look in the mirror, and see the form of a bird like itself and rejoice at it, and not doubting that it was a bird of its species that was speaking to it would listen to it and attend to its language. And it would comprehend it in a moment and talk to it. But the cursed Devil, when he entered the serpent, came towards Eve, when she was alone in Paradise away from Adam, and called her by her name. She turned to him, and looked at her likeness behind a veil, and he talked to her, and she talked to him, and he led her astray by his speech, for woman's nature is weak, and she trusts in every word, and he lectured her about the forbidden tree in obedience to her desire, and described to her the goodness of its taste, and that when she should eat of it she should become a god; and she longed for what the cursed one made her long for, and she would not hear from the Lord, may His names be sanctified! what He had commanded Adam about the tree. She hastened eagerly towards it, and seized some of its fruit in her mouth. Then she called Adam, and he hastened to her, and she gave him of the fruit, telling him that if he ate of it he would become a god. He listened to her advice because he should become a god as she said. When he and she ate the deadly fruit they were bereft of their glory, and their splendour was taken from them, and they were stripped of the light with which they had been clothed. When they looked at themselves, they were naked of the grace which they had worn, and their shame was manifest to them; they made to themselves aprons of fig-leaves, and covered themselves therewith, and they were in great sadness for three hours. They did not manage to continue in the grace and the power with which the Lord had endued them before their rebellion for three hours, till it was taken from them and they were made to slip and fall down at the time of sunset on that day, and they received the sentence of God in punishment. After the clothing of fig-leaves they put on clothing of skins, and that is the skin of which our bodies are made, being of the family of man, and it is a clothing of pain. The entrance of Adam into Paradise was at the third hour. He and Eve passed through great power in three hours, they were naked for three hours, and in the ninth hour they went out from Paradise, unwillingly, with much grief, great weeping, mourning and sighing. They slept towards the East of it near the altar. When they awoke from their sleep, God spoke to Adam and comforted him, saying to him, blessed be His names! 'O Adam! do not grieve, for I will restore thee to thine inheritance, out of which thy rebellion has brought thee. Know that because of my love to thee I have cursed the earth, and I will not have pity upon it, on account of thy sin. I have cursed also the serpent by whom thou hast been led astray, and I have made its feet go within its belly. I have made dust its food. I have not cursed thee. I have decreed against Eve that she shall be at thy service. Know certainly that when thou hast accomplished the time that I have decreed for thee to dwell outside, in the accursed land, for thy transgression of my commandment, I will send my dear Son; He will come down to the earth, He will be clothed with a body from a Virgin of thy race, named Mary. I will purify her and choose her, and bring her into power generation after generation until the time that the Son comes down from Heaven. In that time shall be the beginning of thy salvation and restoration to thine inheritance. Command thy sons when thy death approaches which I have decreed for thee that when thou diest they keep thy body in myrrh and cassia, and put it in the cave where thou art dwelling to-day till the time of the exit of thy children from the bosom of paradise and their passage to the dusty land. When that time comes, instruct the one of thy children who lives until then to carry thy body with him and put it in the place where I shall make him halt. This place where he shall put thy body is the centre of the earth; from it and in it salvation shall come to thee and to all thy children.' God disclosed to him all the griefs and pains that should happen to him, and commanded him to have patience about this. When He put Adam and Eve out of Paradise, He shut its gate, and put in charge a fiery Angel. He caused Adam and Eve to dwell in the holy mountain on which is the foundation of Paradise, in the place known as Matarimôn. They lived there in a cave at the top of the hill, hidden in it, and despairing of mercy, and they were then pure virgins. Then Adam thought of the wedding of Eve, and he found in the foundation of Paradise gold and myrrh and incense. He left this together, and consecrated it in the interior of the cave, which he had already made his house of prayer. The gold which he got from the foundation of Paradise was like in quantity to seventy-two images. He paid this with the myrrh and the incense to Eve, saying, 'This is thy dowry, keep it. This must be all offered together to the Son of God at the time of His coming into the world. The gold is the symbol of His royalty; the incense is to burn before Him; and the myrrh is to anoint His body which He will take from us. This shall be a witness between me and thee with our Saviour that He shall come to the world.' Adam called this cave the Cave of Treasures. When a hundred years had passed over him after his exit from Paradise, and he and Eve were grieved and weeping, they went down from the holy hill to its foot, and there Adam knew Eve, and she conceived, and her time was fulfilled, and she bare Cain, and Lusia his twin-sister. He knew her again, and she conceived, and her time was fulfilled, and she bare Abel and also his twin-sister Aclima. The boys and the girls grew, and attained to discretion. Adam said to Eve, 'If God lets these lads and lasses grow up, let Cain marry Aclima the sister of Abel, and let Abel marry Lusia the sister of Cain.' And they did thus. But Cain said to Eve, 'O Mother, I have a greater right to my sister who was born with me. Let her be given to me as a wife, and let Abel's sister who was born with him be given to him as a wife.' For Lusia was more beautiful than Aclima, being like her mother Eve. Adam heard of his speech, and it made him angry and annoyed him. He said to Cain his son, 'Thy request, O my son, is unlawful, for it is not allowed to thee to marry thy sister who was born with thee.' From that time Cain envied his brother Abel and thought of killing him. Then Adam said to him and to Abel, 'Choose some of the fruits of the earth and of the young of the flock and go up this holy hill, and go into the Cave of Treasures, and pray there before the Lord. Offer to Him what you have brought, fruit, and any young animals as an offering. When you have done this, let each of you take his wife.' And they did so. While they were going up the hill, behold! the Devil entered into Cain, and incited him to the murder of Abel. Then they brought their offerings before the Lord; the Lord accepted the offering of Abel and rejected the offering of Cain, because God, may He be praised and exalted! knew the purpose of Cain, and how he was preparing the murder of his brother. When Cain saw that the Lord, may His name be praised! had accepted the offering of Abel instead of his offering, his envy of Abel increased and his wrath against him. When they came down from the hill, Cain attacked Abel and slew him with a sharp stone. God cursed Cain, and his decree came down against him. He did not cease to be in fear and terror all the days of his life. God led him with his wife from the holy hill, outside to the cursed land, and they lived there. Adam and Eve grieved much about Abel for a hundred years. Then Adam came near to Eve, and she conceived, and her time was fulfilled, and she bare Seth, the handsome man, the complete and perfect giant. In his perfection he was like his father Adam, and God protected him when he grew up, making him the father of the other giants of the earth. The first who was born to Seth was Enos. And Enos begat Cainan, and Cainan begat Mahlaleel; these were born during the life of Adam. Adam lived nine hundred and thirty years, to the time that Mahlaleel was a hundred and thirty-five years old. When the time of his death came, he summoned Seth, and Enos, and Cainan and Mahlaleel; he prayed over them and blessed them, and commanded to his son Seth this Testament.

The Testament of Adam.

Hear, O my son Seth! what I command thee. Keep it, and thou shalt understand it. Command it at thy death to thy son Enos, that Enos may command this to Cainan, and Cainan may command [it] to Mahlaleel, that he may act according to this testament, and that the rest of your generations may learn, generation after generation, and tribe after tribe. This is the first thing that I command thee. When I die, embalm my body with myrrh and cassia, and put it in the Cave of Treasures of the holy hill, that thou mayest tell whosoever of thy posterity is alive at the time when your exit shall take place from this holy Paradise-encircled hill, to carry my body with him, and go with it to the centre of the earth, and put it there, and in that place salvation shall come to me and to all my children. Thou, O my son Seth, shalt after my death be governor of thy people in the fear of God. Remove thyself and all thy children, and keep them apart from the children of the murderer Cain. Understand, O my son, the state of the hours of the night and of the day, and their names, and what praises God in them, wherewith you must call on God at their approach, and at what hour prayer and supplication is due. My Creator has taught me this, and made me understand the names of all the beasts of the earth, and birds of the air; and the Lord has initiated me into the number of the hours of the night and of the day, and the affairs of the Angels and their powers and how they are. Know that in the first hour of the day is the raising of the praise of my children to God. In the second hour there are the prayers of the Angels and their cry. In the third hour the birds give praise. In the fourth hour is the worship of spiritual beings. In the fifth hour is the worship of the other living creatures. In the sixth hour is the entreaty of the cherubim and their supplication. In the seventh hour is the entrance to God and the exit from His presence, for in it the prayers of every living thing rise to the Lord. In the eighth hour is the worship of all heavenly beings and fiery creatures. In the ninth hour is the service of the Angels of God who stand before Him, and the throne of His majesty. The tenth hour is for the water, and in it the Holy Ghost hovers and goes up over the other waters and chases the devils from them. Were it not for the Holy Spirit hovering every day over the waters and descending in that hour, when any one drank water, would there not be destruction to him from the corrupting devils in it? If any one took the water in that hour, and one of the priests of God mixed it with holy oil and anointed with it the sick and those in whom were unclean spirits, they were cured of their diseases. In the eleventh hour there is joy and rejoicing to the righteous. In the twelfth hour the supplication and cry of men is accepted before God.

The hours of the night. In the first hour there is the worship of the devils. In this hour, the hour of their worship, they do not hurt any one, and no one fears them until the time of their return from their worship. In the second hour there is the worship of the great fishes and all that is upon the water, and the creeping things that are therein. In the third hour is the worship of the fire which is below the abyss, about this hour it is not possible for any one to speak. In the fourth hour is the consecration of the seraphim. I heard that in this hour during the time of my stay in Paradise, before my rebellion against the commandment. When I transgressed the command, I could no longer hear the voices nor their movement and agitation as I used to hear them, and I could not see anything holy as I used to see it before [my] sin. In the fifth hour there is the worship of the water which is above the heaven. Verily I and the Angels used in that hour to hear voices from the water which is in the height, and a tumult as if of chariots and great wheels and the sounding amongst the waves, and commotion among the echoes in praise to the Lord. In the sixth hour is the supplication of the clouds to God when they are fearful and trembling. In the seventh hour the powers of the earth are led forth, and they sing praise, whilst the waters sleep and are stilled. If a man takes anything from the water in that hour and the priest mixes holy oil with it and anoints with it the sick and those who cannot sleep at night, verily the sick are cured and the wakeful sleep. In the eighth hour the grass comes forth from the earth. In the ninth hour is the service of the Angels and the entrance of prayers before God. In the tenth hour the gates of heaven are opened, and the cry of my believing children is heard, and they receive what they have asked from God, may He be exalted and praised! and the seraphim rub their wings, and by the force of their rubbing the cock crows in praise to the Lord. In the eleventh hour there is joy and delight over all the earth, for the Sun enters

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the Paradise of God, and its light arises in the regions of the earth. All creatures are illumined by the falling of the sun's rays upon them. In the twelfth hour my children must burn jasmine before the Lord, for by it there is much repose in heaven for all its inhabitants. Know, O my son Seth, and attend to my saying. Be sure that God will come down to the earth as He said to me, and made me understand and know when He comforted me at my exit from Paradise. Praise to His names! He spoke to me, saying [that] at the end of time He will be incarnate of a Virgin girl named Mary and will be veiled in me. He will put on my skin, and will be born like the birth of man by a force and direction that none can understand but Himself and those to whom He reveals it; He will run with the children, boys and girls of that period; He will do wonders and signs openly; He will walk on the waves of the sea as if walking on the dry land; He will rebuke the winds in a manifest way, and they will be led by His command. He will call to the waves of the sea, and they will answer Him obediently. At His command the blind shall see, the lepers shall be cleansed, the deaf shall hear, the dumb shall speak, the deformed shall be straightened, the lame shall spring up, the palsied shall rise and walk. Many rebels shall be led to God, those who have wandered shall be led aright, and devils shall be driven away. When the Lord comforted me with this, He said to me, 'O Adam, grieve not, for thou art a god, as thou thoughtest to become by thy transgression of my commandment, and I will make thee a god, not at this time, but after the lapse of years.' The Lord said to me also, 'I have verily brought thee out of the land of Paradise, to the land which brings forth thorns and briers, that thou mayest inhabit it; I will bend thy loins, and make thy knees tremble from age and senility. O thou dust! to death I will deliver thee, and thy body I will make to be food for maggots, and the fodder of the worm. After five days and a half (of my days) I will have pity on thee in my mercy. I will come down to thee, and in thy house will I dwell and with thy body will I be clothed. For thy sake, O Adam, I will become a child; for thy sake, O Adam, I will appear in the market-places; for thy sake, O Adam, I will fast for forty days; for thy sake, O Adam, I will receive baptism; for thy sake, O Adam, I will be lifted up on the cross; for thy sake, O Adam, I will endure lies; for thy sake, O Adam, I will be beaten with the whip; for thy sake, O Adam, I will taste vinegar; for thy sake, O Adam, my hands will be nailed; for thy sake, O Adam, I will be pierced with a spear; for thy sake, O Adam, I will thunder in the height; for thy sake, O Adam, I will darken the sun; for thy sake, O Adam, I will cleave the rocks; for thy sake, O Adam, I will frighten the powers of heaven; for thy sake, O Adam, I will cause heaven to rain on the desert; for thy sake, O Adam, I will open the graves; for thy sake, O Adam, I will cause all creation to tremble; for thy sake, O Adam, I will make a new earth, and after three days, which I have spent in the grave, I will raise up the body which I took from thee, and will make it go up with me without any separation from me, and cause it to sit at the right hand of my Godhead. I will make thee a god as thou hast desired.' Keep, O my son Seth, the commandments of God, and do not despise my word to thyself, and learn that the Lord must come down to earth, and godless people will take Him, and stretch Him on the wood of the cross, and strip Him of His raiment, and raise Him between wicked thieves. He will go up upon the cross in the substance of His humanity, He will be killed, and the body which He took from us will be buried. Then after three days He will raise it and take it up with Him to heaven, and will set it with Him at the right hand of His divinity. To Him be the glory and the dignity and the praise and the greatness and the worship and the reverence and the hallelujah and the song, and to His Son, and to the Holy Ghost from now and always, and throughout all ages and times, Amen.

Know, O my son, that there must come a Flood to wash all the earth on account of the children of Cain, the wicked man who slew thy brother for his envy about his sister Lusia. After the Flood through the wickedness of many congregations there shall be the end of the world, the conditions will be fulfilled, things will be perfected, the time will be cut short which I have fixed for the creatures, fire will consume whatever it reaches before the Lord, and the earth shall be consecrated.

Seth wrote this Testament, and sealed it with the seal of his father Adam, which he had from Paradise, and the seal of Eve, and his own seal. And Adam died, and the hosts of the Angels assembled to put him on his bier, for his honour with God, and Seth embalmed him, and swathed him, and he and his sons bare rule. And he put him eastwards of Paradise where he slept at his exit from it, near the town that was built before all building, called Enoch in the inhabited World. When Adam died, the sun was darkened, and the moon for seven days and seven nights, with a gross darkness.

Seth took the scroll in which he wrote the Testament of his father Adam into the Cave of Treasures along with the offerings which Adam had carried with him from the land of Paradise, that is to say, gold, myrrh, and incense, [about] which Adam taught Seth and his children that they should belong to three Magian kings, and that they should travel with these things to the Saviour of the world, to be born in a city called Bethlehem, a territory of Judah.

There was not one of the children born to Adam before his death who did not gather to him; they bade him adieu, he prayed over them and wished them health. Then he died, in the nine hundred and thirtieth year by the reckoning of Abu-Seth. That is the beginning. The exit of our father Adam from this world was at three o'clock in the day, on Friday the sixth of Nisan, fourteen nights after the new moon. On a similar day our Lord the Christ gave up His spirit to His Father's hand. Adam's children and children's children grieved for him a hundred and forty days, for he was the first mortal who died on the earth, and the tribes were divided among the people of Cain the murderer after the death of Adam. Seth took his children and his children's children and their wives, and made them go up to the glorious and holy hill, the place in which Adam was buried. Cain and his people and his children stayed below the hill, in the place where he killed Abel. Seth became governor of the people of his time in godliness and purity and holiness. My initiation, O my son Clement, into the story of Adam and this his testament was from the Magi who travelled to the Lady Saint Mary with offerings at the time of the birth of Jesus Christ our God the Saviour. Verily we found that they had a scroll with all this in it, and it was put by for safe keeping. I and the other Jews believed in this, and there were many things in it besides what I have shewn to thee, which it is not proper to make known at this time, and I must tell thee about them afterwards. I will disclose to thee all the secrets with which I have been entrusted. The reason of God's calling the children of Seth Ben-Adam, "the sons of God," was as the book says what He had revealed to Seth about godliness and purity. The Lord appropriated them to Himself by this name; it is the most famous of names on account of their favour with Him. He appointed them to replace the choir of Angels which had rebelled and fallen from Heaven. He put Seth and his race in the lower parts of Paradise, and around it on the holy hill, they praising the Lord and sanctifying His name in all peace, no thought intruding on them about the affairs of the world, their greatest work being praise and hallelujah with the Angels, for they heard their voices in praise and hallelujah in Paradise, for it was raised thirteen spans above them, by the span of the Holy Ghost. They did not undergo the least labour. The food with which they sustained their bodies was the fruit of trees growing at the summits of the Mount of Paradise. The zephyr of Paradise, which reached these trees, ripened their fruits. This tribe was godly and holy; there was no anger in any one of them nor envy nor quarrelling nor pride nor hatred, and they held no shameless conversations nor falsehood nor slander nor calumny, and they do not swear untruthfully nor in vain. Their oaths were among themselves by the purity of the blood of pure Abel. Their custom was to rise early, all of them, the old and the young, the male and the female; to go up to the top of the hill and to worship there before God and be blessed by the body of their father Adam. Then they would lift up their eyes to Paradise and praising and sanctifying God they would return to their place.

Seth Ben-Adam the godly lived nine hundred and twelve years. Then he fell sick of his disease of which he died. There gathered to him Enos and Cainan and Mahlaleel and Jared and Enoch their wives, their sons and their daughters. He prayed over them, and made vows for them, and blessed them, and said to them, "By the truth of the blood of pure Abel, let not one of you descend from this holy hill! Do not mix with the children of Cain the murderer. You know the enmity between us since the murder of Abel the pure." Then his son Enos came near him, and he said to him, "Thou art lord of thy people. Behold, I die. Devote thyself to service before the Lord and before the consecrated body of our father Adam." He made him swear by the blood of Abel the pure that he would govern his people well, and rule them in godliness and purity, and never cease the service before the body of Adam. Seth died lat the age of nine hundred and twelve years, on Tuesday the twenty-fourth night of Ab, the twentieth year of the life of Enoch the righteous. He was embalmed with myrrh and frankincense and cassia, and put in the Cave of Treasures with the body of his father Adam. His people mourned for him forty days.

Enos governed his tribe after the death of his father in purity and godliness; he did to them what his father commanded. When Enos had lived eight hundred and twenty years, Lamech the Blind, of the tribe of Cain the murderer, killed [some one] in the thicket known as Nod. This was the cause of it. Lamech was passing the thicket, leaning upon one of his youthful sons. He heard a movement in the thicket, it was the movement of Cain, for it was not possible for him to stay in one place since he had killed his brother. Lamech thought that this movement was that of some wild beasts. He took up a stone from the ground and threw it towards the moving thing. The stone hit Cain between the eyes and killed him. His son said, "By God, thou hast killed our father Cain with thy shot." Then Lamech the Blind lifted up his hands to give [him] a blow on the ear out of grief for the death of Cain. He hit the head of his son and killed him. When Enos had reached nine hundred and five years he fell sick of his disease of which he died, and there gathered to him the rest of the fathers; amongst them were Jared, and Enoch, and Methuselah, and Cainan the son of Methuselah, and Mahlaleel, and their wives and their sons and their daughters. He blessed them and made vows for them and prayed over them and confirmed them in the oaths by the blood of Abel—"oh do not mix yourselves with the children of Cain, and oh do not go down from the holy mountain." He reminded them of the enmity betwixt them on account of the murder of Abel. Then Cainan his son came near him. He said to him, "O my son, be to thy people and family as I have been to them, and govern them after my death." He commanded his son Mahlaleel about the care of his tribe in godliness and purity, and that he should not cease from the service before the body of our father Adam during his life. And Enos died when he had reached nine hundred and five years, on the sabbath day, when the third night of October had passed, in the fifty-third year of the life of Methuselah. His eldest son Cainan embalmed him, and swathed him, and put him in the Cave of Treasures.

Cainan governed his people in godliness and holiness, and kept the commandments of his father. He lived for nine hundred and twenty years and died on Wednesday, the thirteenth night of June. Mahlaleel looked after his burial, and put him in the Cave of Treasures with his fathers. Mahalaleel lived for eight hundred and ninety-five years. When death came near to him, he commanded his people like the commands of his fathers who had preceded him. He appointed Jared his son over the tribe. His death was on Sunday after two nights of Nisan had passed. Jared looked after him, and put him in the cave with his fathers. When Jared was of the age of five hundred years, some of the sons of Seth disobeyed the commands of their fathers, and threw away their faith behind their backs. One by one they began to go down from the holy hill to the tribes of the children of Cain. This was the reason, that Lamech the Blind was followed by two sons, one being called Tufeel (Jubal) and the other Tubalcain. They made lyres, that is, harps, flutes, drums, and other musical instruments. The Devils awoke harmonious tones in them, and there was not one among the sons of Cain to command good behaviour or to restrain from what was forbidden. Every one of them did according to his lust. They busied themselves with musical instruments, and with eating and drinking, and immorality.

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The Devil hunted the sons of Seth that he might mingle them with the children of Cain, by means of these musical instruments, for they heard the tones of them; he brought them down from the holy hill to the cursed land, and he removed them from the protection of God and His angels to the protection of the Devils; they chose death rather than life, and renounced the name which God had bestowed on them, because, may His name be sanctified! He called them the sons of the Lord, according to His gracious saying in the prophecy of David, where he says, "Verily, ye are all gods, and ye shall be called the sons of the Most High. When ye do evil and defile your bodies with the idolatrous daughters of Cain, like them ye shall die in sin." They longed for unclean amusements.

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They had no shame about this and thought no harm of it. The earth was contaminated; children were confused; no one knew his child from the child of another. The Devil incited them and he goaded them on and appropriated them to every misery. They rejoiced in their works. You could hear from them hateful laughter like the neighing of steeds. Their noise was heard in the holy mountain, and there assembled of the children of Seth a hundred powerful strong giants, for the descent. This came to [the knowledge of] Jared, and he was much troubled. He called them to his presence, and adjured them by the blood of Abel the Pure not to go down; he reminded them of the oaths which their fathers who had gone before had received for them. Enoch the Righteous was there and said to them, "Know, O sons of Seth, that whosoever rejects the commandment of the Father and opposes the oaths by which he has been adjured and puts them behind his back, and goes down from this holy mount, that he shall never come back to it." But they did not turn at the warning of Jared and at the prohibitions of Enoch, and they went down. When they saw the daughters of Cain and their beauty, and that they uncovered their bodies without shame, they committed fornication with them, and destroyed their souls. When they had done this, they aimed at a return to the hill, but its stones became burning fire, and they could not do it. Another tribe wished for an alliance with them, not knowing about the affair of the stones. They went down to them, and defiled themselves with their defilement.

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When Jared reached the age of nine hundred and seventy-two years, Death came near to him. There gathered to him Enoch and Methuselah, and Lamech, and Noah. He prayed over them and made vows for them and said, "But as for you, go not down from this holy mountain; yet your sons and your posterity shall be removed from it, because God will not allow them upon it on account of their transgression of the commandments of the fathers." Then he said to the rest of their children, "You shall journey to the dusty land which brings forth thorns and briers. Whosoever of you goes out from this holy land, let him take with him the body of our father Adam, and if he can take all the bodies of the fathers, let him do it, and take with him the books of the Testaments, and the gifts of gold and myrrh and frankincense, and put this with the body of our father Adam where God shall command him." Then said he to Enoch, "But thou, O my son, do not separate thyself from the service and praise before the body of our father Adam and serve before God in godliness and holiness all the days of thy life." He died in the third hour of Friday when the twelfth night of May had passed, in the 360th year of the life of Methuselah. His son embalmed him and swathed him, and put him in the Cave of Treasures. God rejected the other children of Seth on account of their love of sin. Seventy assembled, and were inclined to descend. When Enoch and Methuselah and Lamech and Noah saw this, they were much grieved. When Enoch had finished his service before the Lord for fifty years, this being the 365th year of his life, he presided over his house with his God. He called for Methuselah and Lamech and Noah, and said, "I know that the Lord will be angry with this people, and will surely judge them without mercy. But you, the rest of the fathers and of the holy races, do not leave off the service before the Lord, and be pure and godly. Know that there shall not be born in this holy mountain after you any man who shall be father and chief to his people." When Enoch had finished this testament, God took him up to the land of life, and made him dwell round about Paradise in the country where there is no death. Then the children of Seth removed from the holy mountain to the quarters of Cain and his children. None of them remained on the mountain save the three fathers, Methuselah, Lamech and Noah. Noah the just kept his virgin soul for 500 years. After that, the merciful God revealed to him about the people who were subject to him, and commanded him to marry a woman named Haikal the daughter of Namousa, the son of Enoch, the brother of Methuselah. God disclosed to him about the Deluge which He was about to send upon the earth, and taught him that this would be after a hundred years, and commanded him to prepare the ark, that is, the ship for his salvation and that of his children, and that he should cut the wood from the holy mountain and make it in the quarters of the sons of Cain. He commanded him to make its length 300 cubits, according to [the length of] his arm; its breadth 50 cubits, and its height 30 cubits, by [the length of] his arm; and the breadth of its top above should be one cubit, and that he should make three stories to it. The lowest should be for the tame and the wild animals and the cattle, the middle one for the birds and their like, and the highest one for him and his children and his wife and his sons' wives. And that he should make in it storehouses for water and for food and for fodder. Also that be should prepare a gong of the cedar tree, its length to be three cubits, and its breadth one cubit, and that its hammer should be [made] of the same. "When thou beginnest to make the ship, thou shalt beat three strokes on it every day, one in the morning, the second in the middle of the day, that they may bring the workmen food; and the third at sunset for [their] departure. If they ask thee about thy work, tell them that God is sending a flood of water to cleanse the earth and that thou art making the ship to save thyself and thy children." Noah received the commandment of the Lord, and married her. In the course of the hundred years she bare him three male children, Shem, Ham and Japhet. They also married some of the daughters of Methuselah. When Noah had finished the building of the ship, and entered it with those whom God commanded should enter it with him, the second thousand of the years of the time of Adam was finished, as the 70 interpreters expound. They said, From Adam till the Deluge was 2000 years.

When Lamech had lived 777 years, Methuselah his father died; this was four years before the Flood. Then Lameth died after him, and his death was on the twenty-first [day] of September, in the 68th year of the life of Shem, the first-born of Noah. His son Noah swathed him, and enbalmed him, and put him in the Cave of Treasures. He mourned for him 40 days and remained with all the holy fathers, Noah and his children. The daughters of Cain conceived by the sons of Seth, and brought forth giant-sons. It was certainly supposed by some that the Book relates and says that the Angels came down to earth and mingled with the children of men, that those who came down and mingled with the children of men were really angels. This was only said on account of the sons of Seth and their union with the daughters of Cain, for God, may His name be glorified! had already out of His love to them, called them, as we said before, Sons of God and Angels of God. So he errs who thinks this; for union, that is, marriage, was not in the substance of spiritual beings, and not in their nature, and if it had been in them as it is in men, the Devils would not have left any one in the world alone without corrupting them, till not a virgin would have been left on the earth, for the foul Devils love corruption and fornication. As they cannot do this, they change their nature on account of it; they recommend it to men and make them love it.

Methuselah lived for 969 years. When Death came to him, there gathered to him Lamech, and Noah, and Shem, and Ham, and Japhet and their wives, for none but they were left on the holy hill. Methuselah blessed them, and called to them; he was weeping and sorrowful. He said to them, "There remaineth none but you on this mountain out of all the tribes who once were on it. The Lord God of our fathers who formed our father Adam and our mother Eve and blessed them till the earth was filled with their progeny, may He bless you and multiply you and cause your fruit to grow. May He be to you a keeper and a shepherd. I ask of Him to fill the earth with your progeny, and to help you and strengthen you and save you from the fearful punishment that is coming upon this hill, and that He may give you a share of the gift which He gave to our father Adam, that He may bring blessings into your dwellings, and bestow upon you prophecy, power, and priesthood." Then he said to Noah, "O thou blessed of the Lord, hear my speech and do my commandment. Know that I go out of this world as the saintly fathers went out of it. Verily the Lord shall send a Deluge to drown the earth for the many sins of men, but thou and thy children shall be saved. When I am dead, embalm my body like as were embalmed the bodies of the fathers who have gone before. Bury me in the Cave of Treasures. Take thy wife, and thy sons, and thy sons' wives; go down from this mountain, and bear with thee the body of our father Adam, and the offerings which thou didst bring out with him from Paradise, namely, gold and myrrh and frankincense. Put the body of our father Adam within the Ark which God commanded me to prepare; and the other bodies separately from it, so that the body of Adam may be like a dyke ever in the midst. Put the offerings on his breast. Dwell thou and thy sons in the east of the ark, thy wife and thy sons' wives in the west, so that the body of our father Adam may be a barrier to hinder the men from sinning with regard to the women, and to hinder them from sinning with regard to the men; let them not gather together for food or drink till ye come out of the Ark. When the water of the Deluge departs from the earth, and ye come out of the Ark, and dwell upon the earth, then gather ye together for food and drink, and cease not the service before the body of our father Adam nor the ministration before God in godliness and holiness within the Ark. When your exit from it takes place, then put the offerings which thou didst bring out from Paradise in the east of the land in which thou dwellest. When Death comes to thee, make thy Testament to thy son Shem. Command him to carry the body of our father Adam, and to bury it in the middle of the earth. Verily (it is) the place in which there shall be salvation to him and to his children. Where he burieth the body, let him appoint a man from among his children to serve before the body and to minister. Let him be pure all the days of his life, and let him command him that he dwell not in any house, that he shed no blood, that he shave not his hair, nor pare his nails, nor bring there any offering of beasts, but let his offering before the Lord be of fine bread, pure and white, and the best drink, pressed from the fruit of the vine, until the time that God shall certainly command him. Verily the Angel of the Lord shall go before the man chosen to officiate as a priest before the body of Adam till he shall put it in the middle of the earth, and where the body ought to be buried. Let this chosen one be commanded that his raiment be of the skins of beasts, and that he be unique as it is unique. Verily he is the priest of the glorious God." When Methuselah had finished this testament, and tears were coming down from his eyes, on account of the grief that was in his heart, he died. Then nine hundred and sixty-nine years were completed, it was in Adar (March) on a Sunday. Noah and Shem and Japhet and their wives laid him out with weeping and groaning. They held a mourning for him for 40 days; he was swathed and embalmed and laid with the fathers in the Cave of Treasures. They were blessed by the other bodies that were there. Then Noah bore the body of Adam and the bodies of the fathers from the Cave, and put them into holy coffins. Of the offerings Shem carried the gold, Ham carried the myrrh, and Japhet carried the frankincense. They left the Cave of Treasures with weeping and groaning. A noise was raised by them which was heard from Paradise, sorrow and mourning on account of [their] departure from the mountain, when they knew that they were leaving it for good. They lifted up their heads towards Paradise, they sobbed, and wept, and said: "Peace be to thee, O holy Paradise! dwelling-place of our father Adam; we are deprived of thy shelter, which is denied to us then, on our return to the cursed land in which we suffer pains and endure labours. Peace be to thee, O Cave of Treasures! from us and from all the bodies of the fathers. Peace be to thee, O glorious dwelling-place and inheritance of the saintly fathers for ever. Peace be to you, O ye Fathers, beloved friends of God. Pray for us and bless us, and entreat for our salvation, O holy ones of God, who are well-pleasing unto Him. Peace be to Seth, chief of the fathers. Peace be to Enos, governor of his people, and righteous judge amongst them. Peace be to Cainan and Mahlaleel, those who govern their people in purity. Peace be to Methuselah and Jared and Lamech and Enoch, servants of God. We entreat you all to mediate for our salvation lest we be prevented looking for our inheritance from this time forth for evermore." Then they came down from the mountain, kissing its stones and embracing its trees with weeping and great grief, and they travelled towards the land. When Noah had finished building the ship, he entered it, and brought in the body of Adam and put it in the middle of it, with the offerings upon its breast. This was on a Friday, on the 17th day of March, it is also said, of May. Early the next day he brought in the beasts and the cattle, and made them dwell in the lowest deck. In the middle of the day he brought in the birds and all the sentient beings, and made them dwell in the middle deck. At sunset Noah and his sons and his sons' wives entered, and dwelt in the topmost deck. The Ark was built in the form of a Church, in which the men are prevented from mingling with the women; as there is peace and love betwixt man and woman, and between the elders amongst them and the youths, thus there was love betwixt the rest of the beasts and the birds and the sentient beings in the ship; and as wise men are at peace with their inferiors, thus were the lions and the ewes at peace in the Ark. All that were in it were seven pairs of all the clean beasts, and two pairs of the unclean ones. When Noah and his people had arrived, the Lord shut the Ark. Then the doors of heaven were opened, and the doors of the abyss, and the waters came down in torrents, and the imprisoned sea appeared, which is called Oceanus, which encircles the whole earth. Raging winds were sent out from all directions. When the sons of Seth saw this, they came near to the place of the Ark, and entreated Noah to carry them; but he gave them no answer about it, because the Ark was bolted and sealed by command of the Lord, and the Angel of the Lord was standing directing it. Repentance encompassed them, sorrow came upon them, and they had no refuge from destruction, as they were also hindered from going up to the holy mountain. They were all destroyed by drowning and suffocation, in the thick waters and the raging winds, as David the Prophet sang about their state where he said, "I said, All ye are gods, and children of the Most High ye shall be called; by this great sign ye are marked; but sin hath overthrown you, and ye have rebelled against the commandment; ye have defiled jour bodies with the idolatrous daughters of Cain, and ye shall die the death like them. Ye shall be tormented with the Prince who fell from the heavenly rank." The Ark was lifted up from the earth to the height of the waters, and all that was on the earth perished in the deluge; the waters rose above the tops of the mountains fifteen cubits, by the holy cubit. The waves bore the ship till they brought it to the lower parts of Paradise. It was blessed from Paradise; the tops of the waves were rolled back, and they did obeisance before it, then returning from it were poured out to the destruction of those who remained on the earth. The ship flew on the wings of the wind above the waters from the east to the west, and from the south to the sea, like the sign of the Cross. It stood above the waters 150 days; the waves were stilled and laid to rest at the end of the seventh month from the beginning of the Deluge. The Ark stood upon the mountains, the Kurdish mountains, and the waters were divided from one another. They all returned to their places, and did not cease diminishing gradually, till the tenth month, which was February. He looked at the tops of the mountains from the Ark. On the tenth of March Noah opened the Ark from the eastern side, and sent the Raven, that at its return he might learn the news of the earth. It did not return to him. He sent the Dove; it circled round, and found no place for its foot. It returned at sunset. After a week Noah sent another Dove. It returned to him with an olive-branch in its mouth. About the Dove there are holy mysteries. The first dove resembles the first covenant, to which there was no rest among the rejected nations; the second dove the second covenant, which found rest with the nations that accepted the mysteries of baptism and preached the Christ at the end of 600 years of the life of righteous Noah. One day of Nisan (April) had passed, and the water was removed from the earth. On this day Noah and his wife and his sons and his sons' wives went out of the ship. Their entrance to the ship had been in separation, their exit from it was in unity. At their exit came out all the beasts and the cattle and the birds and the creeping things which were in the ship. Noah built a town, and called it Thamânû, which remains to this day. The number of those who were in the ship with Noah was eight persons. Noah built an altar to the Lord and offered upon it an offering of the beasts and the clean birds that were slain. God accepted his offering, and gave a covenant that He would not send a deluge of water on the earth to all eternity. May His names be sanctified! He took off wrath from them in regard to the bow in the clouds. By it He put away the bowstring of anger; for before the Deluge men

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saw in heaven the bowstring of anger and the arrow of wrath. The sons of Noah planted in the town the fruit of the vine, and pressed from it a new drink; they gave their father Noah to drink, and he got drunk, for he was not accustomed to drink. While he was drunk he slept, and his nakedness was uncovered. Ham looked at him, and laughed and mocked at him, and fetched his brothers to mock with him. When Shem and Japhet knew the reason was about the uncovering of their father, they were grieved at it; they took a garment, threw it upon their hands, and went backwards, lest they should see their father uncovered; then they threw the garment upon him. When Noah awoke from his drunken sleep, his wife told him what had happened about his sons, and he was angry with Ham, and said, "Let him and Canaan be cursed, and let him be a slave to his brethren." But Noah cursed Canaan, who was not guilty, and the guilt was Ham's; for he knew that when Canaan should arrive at man's estate, he should renew what had already been blotted out of the works of the children of Cain, the music-halls and such like. When he came to man's estate, he did all this, and Noah knew it, was concerned about him and grieved at his work, that according to the example of the works of Canaan, the sons of Seth fell into sin, he increased in his curse of Canaan, wherefore his sons became slaves. They are the Copts, the Abyssinians, the Hindoos, the Mysians and other negroes. Ham was a hypocrite, a lover of unclean desire all the days of his life. This was in his mockery of his father. The sleep of Noah in his drunkenness was a type of the crucifixion of the Christ and His slumber in the tomb for three days, as David the prophet says about it, "The Lord awoke from his sleep like a man who recovers from strong drink." When Noah awoke from his drunken sleep, he cursed Canaan and made his posterity slaves. Likewise when the Christ arose from the grave He cursed the Devil and destroyed those who had crucified Him, and scattered them among the nations. The sons of Canaan became slaves for ever, carrying burdens upon their necks. Every proprietor negotiates riding about on his business, but the children of Canaan negotiate about the affairs of their masters, as poor men on foot, and they are called the slaves of slaves.

Noah lived after going out of the ship 350 years. When his death came near, there gathered to him Shem, and Ham, and Japhet, and Arphaxad, and Salah. He made vows for them, and desired the presence of Shem his firstborn, and commanded him secretly, saying to him, "When I die, bury me. Go into the Ark of safety, and take out of it the body of our father Adam secretly, let no one with thee know. Make for it a large chest, and put it within. Prepare for thyself a store of bread and drink, and carry the chest in which is the body of our father. Take with thee Melchizedek, the son of Malih. Verily the Lord hath chosen him from the rest of your sons to minister before our father Adam. When thou reachest the centre of the earth, bury the body there, and set Melchizedek in the place for the service of the body and the praise before it. Verily the Angel of the Lord will go before you to guide you two to the place for the body, which is the centre of the earth. From it shall be seen the power of God. The four pillars of the world are joined together and have become one pillar, and from it shall be salvation to Adam and to all his children." Thus it was written in the tables which Moses received from the hand of the Lord and broke at the time of his anger against his people. Noah strengthened Shem in receiving the testament, and told him that it was the Testament of Adam to Seth, and of Seth to Enos, and of Enos to Cainan, and of Cainan to Mahlaleel, and of Mahlaleel to Jared, and of Jared to Enoch, of Enoch to Methuselah, and of Methuselah to Lamech, and of Lamech to Noah; he made him swear that no one [else] should attend to what he commanded in regard to the body of Adam. When he had finished his testament, he died, being 950 years old, on a Wednesday. Shem embalmed him, and with him his other children put him on a bier and buried him. They raised a wail over him for forty days. Then Shem went secretly into the ship, and took out the body of Adam. He sealed the ship with his father's seal. Then he desired the presence of Ham and Japhet and said to them, "Know that Noah my father commanded me to journey after his death to the elevated land and to go round it to the place of the sea, that I may attend to the state of its trees, and fruits and rivers. I have already resolved on this, and have left my wife and children with you; take heed to them till the time of my return." They said to him, "Take with thee a man since thou hast resolved on this, for the land which thou hast described has wild beasts and hunting lions." He said to them, "Verily, the Angel of God is with me, he is my Saviour." His brethren called to him and said, "The Lord be with thee wherever thou dwellest." Then he said to them, "Verily, our father at his death made me swear not to enter the ship nor allow any one [else] to enter it. I have received his testament, and sealed it with his seal, and beware that ye enter it not! ye, nor any of your children." They pledged themselves to him concerning this. Then he approached the father and mother of Melchizedek and said to them, "I wish that you would give me Melchizedek that I may journey with him in my way." They said to him, "He is before thee, as thou wouldest journey, take him with thee." Then Shem called Melchizedek by night, and bore with him the body of Adam secretly. They went out, the Angel going before them, till he brought them to the place with the utmost speed. He said to them, "Set him down, for this is the centre of the earth." And they put him down from their hands. When he came to the ground, the earth was cleft for him as a door, and the body was let down into it, and they put him in it. When the body rested in its place, the earth returned and covered it over. The place was called Gumgumah, "of a skull," because in it was placed the skull of the Father of mankind, and Gulgulah, because it was conspicuous in the earth, and was despised by its sons, for in it was the head of the hateful Dragon which seduced Adam. It was called also Otârîâ, which is, being interpreted, "the families of the world," because to it is the gathering together of mankind. Shem said to Melchizedek son of Malih, "Know that thou art the priest of the Everlasting God, who hath chosen thee from the rest of men to minister before Him before the body of our father Adam. Accept the Lord's choice of thee, and never leave this place. Do not marry any woman, do not shave thy hair, nor pare thy nails. Shed no blood for thyself, and sacrifice no beast. Do not build a building over this place. Let thine offerings before the Lord be of fine pure bread, and [let the] drink be of the juice of the vine. The Angel of the Lord is with thee for ever." He wished him peace, and bade him farewell and embraced him, and returned to his dwelling. Then came to him Jozadak and Malih, the parents of Melchizedek. They asked him about him, and he told them that he had died on the road, and that he had looked after him and buried him. His father and his people sorrowed over him with a great sorrow. When Shem the righteous was 700 years old, he died, and his son Arphaxad looked after him, and Salah and Eber, and they buried him. When Arphaxad was thirty years old, he begat Salah his son, and when he was 465 years old, he died, and Salah and Eber looked after him. They buried him in the town that Arphaxad had built, known as Arphaxad (cod. Arbalsarbat). When Salah was thirty years old, he begat Eber, and when he had completed 430 years, he died. Eber and Peleg looked after him; he was buried in the town that Salah had built, known as Salḥadîb. When Eber was thirty years old, he begat Peleg, and when he had completed 434 years, he died; his son Peleg buried him, and Reu and Serug in the town which Eber had built and had called by his name. When Peleg attained 239 years, all the tribes of the sons of Shem, and Ham and Japhet gathered themselves together and journeyed to the elevated land; they found in the place known as Shinar a beautiful plain. They dwelt in it, and their speech was altogether Syriac, and it is called Resany, and Chaldaean; it is the tongue and speech of Adam. Verily the Syriac language is the Queen of languages and the most comprehensive; from it all other tongues are derived; Adam is a Syriac name. Whoever asserts that it is Hebrew tells a falsehood. Speakers of Syriac will not stand on the left of the Lord but on His right, for the writing of Syriac runs from right to left, and of others the way of the Persian from left to right. In the days of Peleg the nations built the tower at Babel, upon which their tongues were diversified and confounded and divided; because of their confusion the town was called Babel. Peleg was very much grieved about this when he saw the scattering of the nations in the regions of the earth. He died, and his son Reu, and Serug and Nahor buried him in the town which he had built and had called by his name. The earth became two portions among two chiefs of tribes; they allowed to every tribe and tongue a king and a chief; they appointed in the race of Japhet thirty-seven kings, and in the race of Ham sixteen kings. The kingdom of the sons of Japhet was from the border of the holy mountain and Mount Nod (?), which is in the borders of the East, to the Tigris and the side of Algaut: and from Bactria to the island town (or Gades = Cadix). The kingdom of the sons of Shem was from the land of Persia, that is from the borders of the East to the Hardasalgs sea among the borders of the West. They had authority also in the centre of the earth. When Reu was thirty-two years old, Serug was born to him; the length of his life being 232 years. At the end of 163 years of the life of Reu, Nimrod the giant reigned over the whole earth. The beginning of his kingdom was from Babel. It was he who saw in the sky a piece of black cloth and a crown; he called Sasan the weaver to his presence, and commanded him to make him a crown like it; and he set jewels in it and wore it. He was the first king who wore a crown. For this reason people who knew nothing about it, said that a crown came down to him from heaven. The length of his reign was sixty-nine years. He died in the days of Reu, and the third thousand since Adam was completed. In his days the people of Egypt set up a king over them called Firniſs. He reigned over them for sixty-eight years. In his days also a king reigned over the town of Saba and annexed to his kingdom the cities of Ophir and Havilah, his name was Pharaoh. He built Ophir with stones of gold, for the stones of its mountains are pure gold. After him there reigned over Havilah a king called Hayul. He built it and cemented it, and after the death of Pharaoh women reigned over Saba until the time of Solomon son of David. When he (Reu) was 239 years old, he died. Serug his son and Nahor buried him in the town called Oa'nân, which Reu had built for himself. When Serug was thirty years old, his son Nahor was born to him. In the days of Serug idols were worshipped, and they were adored instead of God, and the people in that day were scattered in the earth; there was not among them a teacher nor a lawgiver, nor a guide to the way of truth, nor even a right way. They wandered and were rebellious and became a sect. Some of them worshipped the Sun and the Moon, some of them worshipped the sky, some of them worshipped images, some of them worshipped the stars, some of them worshipped the earth, some of them worshipped beasts, some of them worshipped trees, and some of them worshipped waters and winds and such like, for the Devil blinded their hearts and left them in darkness without light. No one among them believed in the Last Day and the Resurrection. When one of them died, his people made an image in his likeness, and put it upon his tomb, lest his memory should be cut off. The earth was filled with sins, and idols were multiplied in it, made in the likenesses of males and females.

When Serug was 230 years old he died. His son Nahor, and Terah and Abraham buried him in the town which Serug had built and called it Serug. Terah was born to Nahor when he was twenty-nine years old. In the third year of the life of Nahor, God looked up through His remembrance at His creatures, and they were worshipping idols. He sent upon them earthquakes which destroyed all the idols. Their worshippers did not turn from their error, but persevered in their godlessness. In the twenty-sixth year of the rule of Terah appeared witchcraft. The beginning of it was that a rich man died; his son made a golden image of him and placed it upon his tomb as a mark [to] the people of his age, and appointed a young man to guard it. The Devil entered into the image, and spoke to its guardian from the tongue of the deceased and [with] his voice. The guardian told the son of the deceased about it. After some days robbers entered the dwelling of the deceased, and took all that belonged to his son, and his grief was greater at this, and they bewailed him beside the grave of his father. The Devil called to him from the image with a voice like the voice of his father, and said, "O my son, weep not. Bring me thy little son, to sacrifice him to me, and I will restore to thee all that has been taken from thee." He brought his son to the tomb and sacrificed him to the Devil. When he had done this, the Devil entered him and taught him witchcraft, unveiled his mysteries, and taught him omens and auguries. Since that time people offer their children to Devils. At the completion of a hundred years of the life of Nahor, God, may His name be exalted! looked on the godlessness of men, and their sacrificing of their children to the Devils, and their adoration of images. God, may His names be sanctified, sent them raging winds which tore away the images and their worshippers, and buried them in the earth and strewed over them great mounds and towering hills, and they are below these unto this day. Some assert on this account that in the time of Terah there was a Deluge of wind. Wise men of India say that these mounds came into existence in the days of the Deluge. That is nonsense, for image-worship was after the Deluge of water, and the Deluge was not sent upon them for the worship of images; verily that was done because there was so much corruption on the earth among the children of Cain, and the musical instruments which they invented. There was no people inhabiting this rough wild land, but when our fathers were not found worthy of the neighbourhood of Paradise they were thrust away to it. Then they came out of the ship to this land, and were scattered amongst its regions. He talks nonsense who asserts that these elevated mounds have never ceased in the earth, for they have been formed since the time of the anger of God about idol-worship. They were turned topsy-turvy, and there is no mound on the earth beneath which a Devil with an image appeareth not. In the days of Nimrod the giant, he looked at fire from heaven, and fire came up from the earth. When Nimrod saw it he adored it, and appointed in the place where he saw it people to worship it, and to throw incense into it. Since that time magicians adore fire when they see it coming up from the heaven and from the earth, and they worship it to this day. A chief magician named Sasir found a spring of bountiful water at a place in the country of Atropatene. He erected upon it a white horse. Whoever bathed in that fountain worshipped this horse. The Magi honour the horse, and there is a sect of them who worship it to this day. Nimrod travelled till he arrived at the land of Mariûn. When he entered the city of Altûrâs he found there Bouniter the fourth son of Noah. Nimrod's army was on a lake, and he went down there one day to bathe in it. When Nimrod saw Bouniter the son of Noah, he did obeisance to him. Bouniter said to him, "O giant king, why do you adore me?" Nimrod said to him, "I did thee homage because thou didst meet me." Nimrod stayed with him three years that he might teach him wisdom and strategy, then he wandered away from him. He said to Nimrod, "Thou shalt not return a second time." When Nimrod was passing through the East, he deposited books making known what Bouniter the son of Noah had taught him. The people were astonished at his wisdom. There was among the people entrusted with the

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worship of fire a man called Ardashir. When Ardashir saw the wisdom of Nimrod and the excellency of his star-gazing (Nimrod had a perfect genius), he envied him for this, and implored a Devil who had appeared to him beside the fire to teach him the wisdom of Nimrod. The Devil said to him, "Thou canst not do this until thou have fulfilled the magic rite, and its perfection is the marriage of mothers, daughters and sisters." Ardashir answered him concerning this, and did what he commanded him about it. Since that time the Magi allow the wedlock of mothers, sisters and daughters. The Devil also taught Ardashir the knowledge of omens and auguries, and physiognomy, and fortune-telling, and divining and witchcraft, which were doctrines of the Devil, and the Chaldæans gave one another this doctrine; these were the Syrians, and some people say that it is the tongue of the Nabataeans. Every one who uses aught of these doctrines, his guilt before God is great. But the knowledge which Nimrod learned from Bounitar, verily Bounitar the son of Noah learned it from God, the great and glorious, for it is the counting of the stars, and the years and the months; the Greeks call this science Astronomy, and the Persians call it Astrology. Nimrod built great towns in the East, namely, Hadâniûn, Ellasar, Seleucia, Ctesiphon, Rûhîn, and the towns of Atrapatene, and Telalôn, and others that he chose for himself.

When Terah, father of Abraham, reached two hundred and three years he died. Abraham and Lot buried him in the city of Haran. [God] commanded him that he should travel to the Holy Land. Abraham took with him Sarah his wife, and Lot his brother's son, and journeyed to the land of the Amorites. Abraham the Just was then seventy-five years old. When he reached eighty years, he fought with the nations and put them to flight and delivered Lot from them, and he had no child at that time, for Sarah was barren. When he returned from the war with the nations, God commanded him to journey and pass over to Mount Yâbûs. When he got there he met Melchizedek, priest of God. When Abraham saw him, he did homage to him and was blessed by him. He offered before him fine pure bread and drink. Melchizedek blessed Abraham and made vows for him. Thereupon God commanded Melchizedek to pare his nails. Melchizedek consecrated an offering of fine bread and drink. Abraham offered some of it, and paid to Melchizedek the tenth of his goods. Then God, may His names be sanctified, discoursed with Abraham the second time and said to him, "Thy reward shall be great with Me. Since thou hast received the blessing of Melchizedek and thou art worthy to receive from his hand the gift of bread and wine, I will bless thee, and will multiply thy seed."

When Abraham reached eighty-six years, Ishmael was born to him of Hagar the Egyptian bond-maid. Pharaoh of Egypt had given her to Sarah, the wife of Abraham, who was his sister by his father but not by his mother, for Terah married two wives; the name of the one was Yuta, she was the mother of Abraham, and she died when she gave birth to him; the name of the other was Nahdeef, and she was the mother of Sarah. Therefore Abraham answered as he said to the king of Egypt when he wished to do violence to Sarah, that "she is my sister." When Abraham reached ninety-nine years, God came down to his house, and gave to Sarah a son. When he reached a hundred years, Isaac was born to him, the son whom God gave him of barren Sarah. When Isaac reached twelve years, Abraham offered him to God as all offering upon the hill Yâbûs, which is the place in which the Christ was crucified, and which is known as Golgolah. In it Adam was created; in it Abraham looked at the tree which bore the lamb by which Isaac was redeemed from sacrifice, and in it the body of Adam was laid. In it was the altar of Melchizedek, and in it David looked at the Angel of the Lord bearing a sword for the destruction of Jerusalem. Verily Abraham's carrying up there of Isaac to the altar is a type of the crucifixion of the Christ for the salvation of Adam and his children. The proof of this is the saying of the Christ in the holy Gospel to the children of Israel, that "your father Abraham did not cease to long to look on my days, and when he saw them, he rejoiced in them." The lamb which Abraham saw hanging on the tree was a type of the slaying of the Christ in the body, which He had taken from us, and of His crucifixion also, because the lamb was not the child of a ewe and was worthy of being sacrificed. In that place Abraham saw what pertained to the salvation of Adam through the crucifixion of the Christ. In the hour that Abraham took up Isaac to the altar, Jerusalem began to be built, and the reason was this. When Melchizedek, priest of God, appeared to men, his fame reached the kings of the nations, and they came to him from every region to be blessed. Among those that came to him were Abimelech king of Gerar, Amraphel king of Shinar, Arioch king of Delassar (Ellasar), Kedarlaomer king of Elam, and Tidal king of men, Bera king of Sodom, Birsha king of Gomorrah, or Simeon king of the Amorites, and Simair king of Saba, Bislah king of Bela, Hiar king of Damascus, and Yaftar king of the deserts. When these kings, O my son Clement, saw Melchizedek king of Peace and priest of God, and heard his word, they honoured and applauded him and asked him to journey with them to their lands. He told them that he was not allowed to leave his place, in which God had appointed him to an office. Their unanimous counsel was that a city should be built for him at their expense, and that they should rule it. They built for him the Holy City, and delivered it to him, and Melchizedek called it Jerusalem.

Then Maoalon king of Teman journeyed to Melchizedek when his fame reached him, and gave him noble and glorious presents. He honoured him when he saw him and heard his word. All kings and nations honoured him and called him the Father of Kings. Some people think that Melchizedek will not die, and bring as proof the saying of David the Prophet in his psalms, "Thou art a priest for ever after the figure of Melchizedek." David does not wish (to say) in this his saying that he will not die, and how can this be when he is a man? But God honoured him and made him His priest, and in the Torah there is no mention of a beginning to his days. Therefore David sang as he sang about him. Moses does not make mention of him in his book, for he was only relating the genealogy of the Fathers. But Shem the son of Noah has told us in the books of the Testaments that Melchizedek was the son of Malih, son of Arphaxad, son of Shem, son of Noah; and his mother was Jozedek.

In the hundredth year of Abraham there reigned in the East a king called Karmos, he who built Shamshat, and Claudia, and Careem, and Leouza. He had a son called Cârân and three daughters; the name of the one being Shamshout, and the other Harzea, and the other Leouza, and he called these cities by their names. When Peleg had reached fifty years, Nimrod journeyed to the province of Mesopotamia, and built Nisibis, and Raha (Edessa), and Haran; to every city he put a wall, and he called the wall of Haran by the name of Harteeb, the wife of Sem, priest of the beautiful mountains. The people of Haran made an image in the form of this Sem, and worshipped it. Ba'alsameen fell in love with Nalkeez wife of Nimroda, and Nimroda fled before Ba'alsameen; on account of this the children of Israel wept over Nimroda and burnt the city of Haran in anger about him. When Sarah died, Abraham the famous (or the Friend, i.e. of God) married a woman named Kentoura, daughter of Yaftour king of the deserts. When Isaac, son of Abraham, reached forty years, Eleazar his servant journeyed in search of her who was named Rebecca for Isaac. When Abraham reached one hundred and seventy years he died; his sons Ishmael and Isaac buried him by the side of Sarah his wife. When Isaac reached sixty years, Rebecca his wife conceived Jacob and Esau. When the birth-pangs took hold of her, she went to Melchizedek; he blessed her and prayed over her. He said to her, "God has already formed two men in thy womb, who shall be chiefs of two great nations. The elder of them shall be beneath the younger. Each of them shall hate his brother, and the elder shall serve a man of the race of the other. I am servant of that man, whose name shall be called 'the living God,' and he shall come up upon a branch of cursing because of those who rebel against him."

When sixty years of Isaac's life had passed, he built a city which he called Ail, and in his sixty-fourth year Jericho was built by the hand of seven kings, the king of the Hittites, the king of the Amorites, the king of the Jebusites, the king of the Canaanites, the king of the Girgashites, the king of the Hivites and the king of the [Perizzites?], and every one of them built a wall to it. But the town which was called Masr (Egypt), the king of the Copts had built. Ishmael was the first to work with a hand-mill, and it was called the mill of the kingdom. After one hundred and thirty years of the life of Isaac; that is in the seventy-seventh year of Jacob, God blessed Jacob, and he received the blessings of Isaac, and the blessing of Esau his brother by deceit. He journeyed to the land of the East. While he was on his journey, behold, a deep sleep came upon him. He prepared below his head seven stones and slept upon them. In his sleep he saw a ladder of fire whose top was in heaven, and its bottom on the earth. On it Angels were descending from it and ascending, and he saw the Lord sitting on the top. When he awoke he said, "Doubtless this place is the house of God." He took the stones which were beneath his head and built them into an altar and anointed it with oil, and vowed there that he would give to God the tenth of all his goods as an offering. The power of this vision, O my son Clernent, is not difficult to those who know, for it is a prophecy of the coming of our Lord the Christ. Verily the ladder which Jacob saw was a sign of the Crucifixion, and the Angers coming down from Heaven [were] for the Gospel to Zacharia, and Mary, and the Magi and the shepherds. The place of the Lord's seat at the top of the ladder was like the descent of our God the Christ from Heaven for our salvation, and the place where Jacob saw it was a type of the Church, which is being interpreted, the House of God. The stones are a type of the altar, and their being anointed with oil [a type] of the union of Godhead with Manhood. The vow which he made of a tenth of his goods is a type of the Eucharist. Jacob journeyed from the place of the vision till he came to the town of his uncle Laban. He saw a well of water, at which three flocks of sheep were lying down; over the mouth of the well was a great stone. Rachel, the daughter of Jacob's uncle, was standing there with the sheep. Jacob came near to the well, removed the stone from its mouth, and watered the sheep that were with Rachel. Then he approached Rachel and kissed her. Jacob's uncovering of the well was a type of Baptism, which was veiled from of old, and uncovered in the latter [days]. That which the priest gives to those whom he baptises in the water is in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Know, O my son, that Jacob did not come forward to kiss Rachel until he had uncovered the well and watered her sheep from it. Likewise, I say that it is not permitted in the law of the Christ for any one to enter the Church till after baptism, for if he is baptised, he has become one of Christ's sheep. The prophet Moses said in his book that Jacob wrought with his uncle Laban seven years for Rachel, whom he loved of Laban's daughters, for she was at the height of beauty, but he gave him his ugly daughter. Like this was the story of Moses with the Jews whom God saved from the bondage of Pharaoh. On account of them he did not give the young girl, but he gave her who was old and faded. Verily the first girl whom he gave to Jacob had ugly eyes, and the second one was perfect in face and had beautiful eyes. The face of the first one was covered lest the children of Israel should look at its beauty; the second one had her face uncovered, and had a bright, and shining and beautiful personality. The girl with ugly eyes who was spouse of Jacob was the type of the people of his day whom he ruled; in his time there were prophets, and saints and pure ones, and there was little sin in them. The faded old woman whom Moses describes, she is the people of the children of Israel which went astray in the worship of idols, and left the worship of God; and the girl whose face was covered so that it was not possible for the children of Israel to look at her was the tribe that was established on the holy mount, which did not mingle with the children of Israel, and did not look at them, and if they had looked at it (the tribe), verily they would have imitated its good works. The better and brighter girl is the tribe which received the Lord of the world, the Christ, and worshipped Him in His Godhead. He enlightened our hearts by His holiness.

When Jacob had reached sixty-nine years, Reuben was born to him, then followed him his brethren whom God brought out of the loins of Jacob; these were Simeon and Levi, Judah the ancestor of Mary, Issachar and Zebulun; Joseph and Benjamin the sons of the beautiful Rachel; Gad and Asher, sons of Zilpah; Dan and Naphtali, sons of Bilhah the maid of Rachel. Two years after the emigration of Jacob, he returned to Isaac his father. He lived after that fully thirty-one years of Levi's life. When he reached one hundred and twenty years his father Isaac died. Twenty-three years afterwards he journeyed from Haran to the elevated land; Joseph was sold during the lifetime of Isaac, and he was a companion to Jacob in his sorrow. After the sale of Joseph, Isaac died; his sons Jacob and Esau buried him beside the grave of his father Abraham. After nine years Rebecca died, and was buried near the grave of Abraham. Judah married Hoshâ' the Canaanitess; Jacob was grieved at that because she was not of the children of Israel, and said to him, "By the God of Abraham and Isaac, do not mingle the seed of Canaan with us," and he did not accept it from him. He begat from her Er and Onan [Cod. Othen] and Shelah. Judah wedded his son Er with Tamar the daughter of Kedar, son of Levi. Er wrought the deed of the people of Sodom, and God punished him for his deed. God killed him in answer to the prayer of Jacob, and the seed of Canaan was not mingled with his seed. Then this Tamar disguised herself, and sat in the middle of the way; Judah came together with her, not knowing that she was his daughter-in-law; she conceived by him, and bare Pharez and Zarah. At this time Jacob and his children journeyed to Egypt, and stayed with Joseph for seventeen years. When he had completed [a hundred] and forty-seven years of life he died, Joseph that day being fifty-six years old. The wise physicians of Pharaoh embalmed him. After this Joseph removed his body and placed it beside the bodies of his father and of his grandfather Abraham. Pharez the son of Judah begat Hezron, and Hezron begat Aram, and Aram begat Aminadab, and Aminadab begat Nahson, who was the most cunning of the sons of Judah. And Aminadab wedded Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest to a girl, and from her he begat Phinehas the priest, who by his prayer took away death from the people, and whose was the deed with the javelin. Know that the priesthood was from Aminadab among the people of Israel, and from Nahson the kinghood came among them. Look, O my son Clement, how from Judah came the priesthood and the kinghood among the children of Israel. Nahson begat a son, who is Salmon; Salmon begat Boaz. When Boaz was old, he married Ruth the Moabitess; in her was kinghood, for she was of the race of kings. She was of the children of Lot. God did not make Lot unclean for his cohabiting with his daughters, and did not attach blame to him, and did not depreciate his good deed in his support of his uncle Abraham in his exile, and his reception of the Angels in faith, but He put the kinghood into Ruth who was of his race,

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so that the Incarnation of our Lord the Christ was of the race of Abraham. Also [into] her, the wife of Solomon, son of David, by whom he begat. Solomon verily had six hundred free women and four hundred concubines, and he obtained no child from any of them, because God, may His name be praised! wished that the seed of Canaan should not mingle with the seed of the chosen people from whom Jesus the Christ took flesh. The rest of the wives of Solomon were of the children of Canaan. Nevertheless Moses the Prophet of God related, for the responsible books, the chronicles of the children of Israel relate that Levi, when he entered Egypt with his father Jacob, begat there his son Amram the father of Moses. When Moses was born he was thrown out by his mother into the Egyptian Nile, and Sapphira the daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, saved him from drowning and brought him up in her father's palace. When he grew up and had finished forty years, he killed Casoum the Egyptian, chief of the swordsmen of Pharaoh. He fled to Reuel to the priest of Midian for fear of Pharaoh, and that because Sapphira had died before this, and if she had been still there, why should Moses have been afraid of Pharaoh? Moses married Zipporah daughter of Jethro, priest of Midian. She bare him two sons, these were Gershon and Eleazar, at the time of the birth of Joshua the son of Nun, and Moses' age was fifty-two years. When he had completed eighty years, God spake to him from the thorn bush, and his tongue stammered out of fear for God, and he said, "O Lord, at the time when thou spakest to thy servant, his tongue stammered." All his years were 1 He spent forty in Egypt, and p. 46 forty in Midian, and he governed the children of Israel forty years in the wilderness. When he died, Joshua the son of Nun governed them thirty-one years. Then Chushan the Atheist governed them after him eight years. Then Othniel the son of Kenaz the brother of Caleb, for forty years. Then the Moabites enslaved the children of Israel for eighteen years. Then [God] prepared their deliverance from their hand. Their government was presided over by Ehud the son of Gera for eighty years. In the twenty-sixth year of the reign of this Ehud, the fourth thousand [year] from the beginning was finished. Then after him the famous Jabin presided over their government for an interval of twenty years, then Deborah and Barak looked after it for forty years. Then the Midianites conquered them, and enslaved them for seven years, then God saved them by the hand of Gideon. He presided over their government for forty years; then his son Abimelech for three years. Then Jufa (Tola) the son of Puah for twenty years, then a daughter of the Gileadite twenty-two years. Then the children of Ammon conquered the children of Israel and enslaved them for eighteen years, then God saved them by the hands of Jephthah, he who offered his daughter as a sacrifice before God. And Ibzan governed them for six years, then after him Elon son of Zebulon for ten years. Then Abdon for eight years. Then the Philistines fought with the children of Israel and subdued them and enslaved them for forty years, and God saved them by the hands of Samson. He governed them for twenty years, and after him they remained for twelve years without a leader. Then there arose to rule them Eli the priest, and he governed them for forty years, then Samuel for twenty-two years. In his time the children of Israel rebelled against God, and set up Saul as king over them; he was the first king among the children of Israel, and he governed them for forty years. In the days of Saul appeared the giant Goliath; he drove out the children of Israel and killed their young men. Then God sent against him David the Prophet, and he killed him; against Saul [He sent] the Philistines, and they killed him, because Saul left off seeking help from God, and sought help from devils. David the son of Jesse reigned over the children of Israel for forty years. Then after his Solomon reigned over them and did many wonderful things; amogst them his sending to the city of Ophir, and bringing out the gold from its mountains, and ships continued for thirty-six months carrying gold from its mountains. Also he built the city of Tadmor in the interior of the wilderness, and wrought in it many extraordinary things. When Solomon passed by Sabad, a building built by Kourhi and Abu Nigaf (they whom Nimrod had sent to Bila'am the priest when he heard of his occupation with the stars, and he built there this altar to the Sun and a stone fort), Solomon built there also a city called the City of the Sun. Then Aradus, which is in the middle of the sea, was built at Solomon's command and they praised him yet more for his wisdom. There journeyed to him the Queen of Sheba and she was obedient to his religious worship. There came up to him at his command Hiram king of Tyre, and had a real love for him; he had already been a friend to David before him. His reign was before the reign of David, and he remained to the last of King Zedekiah. Solomon took one thousand wives, as we said above about him; and they deteriorated his mind when he exceeded in his love to them, and they got the power to mock at him, and it caused him to slide away from the worship of God; he sacrificed to idols and worshipped them instead of the Lord. He died, after reigning for forty years, an idolator and an infidel. Then Hiram king of Tyre was seduced and forgot his humanity and disbelieved in God, and claimed divinity, and he said, "I sit in the heart of the seas like the sitting of a God"; and news of him came to Nebuchadnezzar, and he journeyed to him till he killed him. In the chronicles of the Hebrews, O my son Clement, [we learn] that in the days of this Hiram appeared the purple dye, and this [was that] a shepherd and his sheep were on the sea-shore, and he saw a dog of his gnawing with its mouth something that came out of the sea, and its mouth was filled with its blood. He looked at the blood, and had never seen the like of it. He took some clean wool and wiped this blood with it; with that he made a crown and put it upon his head. It had a brightness like the brightness of the sun or rays of fire. The news of it came to Hiram; he sent for him and wondered greatly at the beauty of his dye. He assembled the dyers of his kingdom and gave them a commission for its like, and they were amazed at this, until some of the wise men of his time possessed themselves of the purple shell-fish. He made garments for himself with its blood, and he rejoiced over this with a great joy. Thou, O my son, and all the Greeks, disagree with the Hebrews in this narrative. After Solomon, Rehoboam his son reigned, and defiled the land by the worship of idols, by much whoredom in the city of Jerusalem, and by sacrificing to devils. In his day the kingdom of the house of David was divided, and became two parts. In his fifth year journeyed Shishak king of Egypt to Jerusalem, and took possession of all that was in the treasuries of the Lord's house and the treasuries of David and Solomon, the vessels of gold and silver, and he was strengthened by this in his power. He said to the Jews, "This is none of your earning; it is some of what your fathers brought out of Egypt at the time of their flight." And Rehoboam the son of Solomon died an infidel, after he had reigned for seventeen years. Abia his son reigned after him, being twenty years old. He enslaved Jerusalem and destroyed it, and his mother Ma'ka, the daughter of Abishalom, commended his deeds. He died after three years, and Asa reigned. He did right, and abolished the worship of the stars and the images, and whoredom from Jerusalem. He drove away his mother from his kingdom, because she committed adultery and built an altar to the idols. There came to him Azârâh king of Hind, and Asa put him to flight, and reigned for forty years, then he died. After him his son Jehoshaphat reigned, and he went in the way of his father in righteousness, but he loved the household of Ahab, and kept company with them. He built ships, and sent by them to the land of Ophir to bring gold from its mountains. God sunk his ships, and was angry with him and his mother p. 49 Sem daughter of Uriah daughter of Shalom. When he had died, his son Joram reigned, being thirty-two years of age. He was disobedient, and sacrificed to devils, on account of his wife Aliah (Athaliah) daughter of Amsir (Omri) son of the sister of Ahab. He died an infidel. After him Ahaziah reigned, being twenty years of age. He was a shameless infidel. The Lord delivered him over to his enemies, and they killed him after one year of his reign. His mother took the kingdom to herself, and killed the kings' sons, that thereby she might destroy the kingdom of the family of David. None were saved from her except Joash, for Jehosheba the daughter of Joram son of Jehoshaphat hid him. She increased adultery and infidelity in Jerusalem. She died after seven years, and the people of Jerusalem thought about who should reign over them, Jehoiada knew about that, and their choice fell upon none but Joash whom Jehoiada had hidden. He sent and brought [him] out to the house of the Lord; the warriors completely armed surrounded him and Jehoiada the priest seated him upon the throne of the family of David his father, he being seven years of age. His mother's name was Zibiah of the family of Sheba. Jehoiada the priest covenanted with him that he should do righteousness before the Lord. When Jehoiada the priest died, Joash forgot his covenants, and did not know rightly what was administered from the throne of the family of David, nor the shedding of innocent blood. He died after he had reigned for forty years. After him his son reigned, and his mother's name was Jehoaddan. He killed every one who had killed any one of his household, but spared their sons, for in this he followed the law of the Lord. He died after he had reigned for twenty-nine years, and his son Azariah reigned after him, being twenty years old. His mother's name was Jecholiah. He did right before the Lord, save that he was bold about the priesthood, for which reason he became a leper, and God weakened the power of Isaiah the prophet from prophecy until this Azariah died, because he did not reprove him for his boldness about the priesthood. The duration of his reign was fifty-two years, and Jotham his son reigned after him, being twenty-five years of age, and his mother's name was Jerusha the daughter of Dafma (Zadok). He did right, and the duration of his reign was sixteen years. After him his son Ahaz reigned, being twenty years of age; his mother's name was Jahkebez the daughter of Levi. He did wickedly, and sacrificed to devils and idols. God was angry with him, and Tiglath son of Cardak, king of Assyria, came against him, and besieged him. Ahaz wrote himself down his vassal, and delivered Jerusalem up to the Assyrians, and he carried all the gold and silver that was in the temple of God to Assyria the regions of Tiglath. In his time the children of Israel were led captive, and went down to Babylon. The king of Assyria sent instead Babylonians to the land of Judah to dwell in it; and they complained of what befel them to the king of Assyria, and he sent to them Urijah one of the priests of the children of Israel that he might teach them the law of the Lord. When they knew it, the lions ceased from them, and went to the land of Babylon and to Samaria. When he (Ahaz) had completed sixteen years he died, and his son Hezekiah reigned after him, being twenty-five years old, and his mother's name was Ahi (Abi) the daughter of Zechariah. He did right and broke the idols, and caused the sacrifices to cease, and cut up the serpent that Moses had made in the wilderness of the wandering (Tih), because the children of Israel were seduced in their worship of it. In the fourth year of his reign, Shalmanezer king of Assyria came to Jerusalem, and took captive the Israelites who were in it, and drove them away to a place beyond Babylon named Media. In the twenty-sixth year journeyed Sennacherib king of the province to the cities of Judah, and took captive those whom he found in them and their villages excepting Jerusalem. Verily it was saved by the prayer and cries of king Hezekiah. When Hezekiah was ill with his death-sickness, he grieved and wept because he had no son to reign after him; he prayed before the Lord, and said, "Lord, have mercy on Thy servant, and do not let him die without offspring; let not the kingdom fail from the house of David, nor the blessings cease which have come on the tribes in my days." The Lord answered him, and told him that He had added to his life fifteen years; he recovered; a son was born to him, and he called him Manasseh. When twenty-six years of his reign were finished, and he was rejoicing in his son, he died. His son reigned after him, being twelve years old; his mother's name was Hephzibah. He did wickedly, and his infidelity surpassed all the infidel kings that were before him in evil-doing. He built an altar to idols, and sacrificed to them; he defiled Jerusalem with corruption, and the worship of idols. He took Isaiah the prophet, and they sawed him with a wooden saw from the middle of his head to between his feet, because he had reproved him for his wicked deeds. Isaiah's age that day was one hundred and twenty years, he began to prophesy when he was ninety years old. Then Manasseh repented about that, and turned to his Lord; he put on sackcloth, and imposed a fast upon himself [all] the days of his life. God accepted his repentance and he died. His son Amon reigned after him, being that day twenty-two years of age; his mother's name was Musalmath the daughter of Hasoun. He did wicked deeds before the Lord, and burned his children in the fire. He reigned twelve years and he died. After him his son Josiah reigned, being sixty-eight years of age; his mother's name was Arnea, daughter of Azariah son of Tarfeeb. He kept righteously the feast of the Passover, a feast such as the children of Israel had never kept since the time of the Prophet Moses; he abolished the sacrifices to the images, broke the idols, sawed them with saws, killed their worshippers, and burnt in the fire the bones of the prophets of the Honoured One. He cleansed Jerusalem from defilements. None like him reigned over the Jews before him nor after him. He remained there for thirty years, but Pharaoh king of Egypt killed him. After him his son Jehoahaz reigned, being twenty-two years of age; his mother's name was Hamtoul the daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah. Not more than three months of his reign had passed when Pharaoh the lame bound him, made him fast with chains, and carried him to Egypt, and he died there. After him his brother Jehoiakim reigned, being twenty-five years of age; his mother's name was Zobeed, daughter of Yerkuiah of the town of Al-Ramah. In the third year of his reign Nebuchadnezzar approached Jerusalem, reigned over it, and made him his vassal for three years. He rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar, and death overtook him. His son Jehoiachin reigned after him, being eighteen years of age; his mother's name was Tahseeb the daughter of Lutanan of the people of Jerusalem. Nebuchadnezzar journeyed a second time to Jerusalem, bound him after three months of his reign, and carried him and his officers and the armies of his soldiers to Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar in his first attack had bound the wife of Jehoiakim and other wives of the grandees and nobles of Jerusalem, and carried them to Babylon. The wife of Jehoiakim was pregnant that day, and in the way she gave birth to Daniel. In the Captivity were also Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael, sons of Johanan. The reason of this Captivity was that Jehoiachin had made a truce with Nebuchadnezzar, then they betrayed one another. When Johanan died, Zedekiah the uncle of Jehoiakim reigned after him, being twenty-one years of age; the seat of all the kings of the children of Israel was Jerusalem; the name of Zedekiah's mother was Hamtoul; he was the last of the kings of the children of Israel. After eleven years of his reign, Nebuchadnezzar journeyed for the third time to the West, to pacify its cities, and the cities of the Euphrates, and of the Great Sea. He made his way through the islands of the sea, and took captive their people, he laid Tyre waste, and smote it with fire. He killed Hiram its king as we have already said. He entered Egypt to seek those of the children of Israel who had fled, and killed its Pharaoh. He returned by sea to Jerusalem, and was victorious there a second time. He bound Zedekiah, killed his sons Jerbala and Rahmut, and carried him blind and fettered with chains to Babylon. This was a punishment from God to him for his deed that he did to the prophet Jeremiah

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when he threw him into a miry well. Nebuchadnezzar appointed Jozadan (Nebuzaradan) the captain of his prison in Jerusalem until he had laid waste its wall, and burned the temple of the Lord which Solomon had built in it. He demolished the rest of the dwellings of Jerusalem, carried all the tools that he found of iron and brass, and the raiment which belonged to the house of the Lord to Babylon. Between Simeon the High Priest of Jerusalem and Jozadan captain of the prison to Nebuchadnezzar there was love and friendship. He asked if he would give him the old writings; he and Simeon carried them with him, being among the crowd of the Captivity. He saw a well in his way among the borders of the West; be laid the writings in it, and put with them a bronze vase, filled with glowing coals, and in it sweet smelling incense; he covered up this well, and went to Babylon. The devastation of Jerusalem was completed, and it became a waste. There was not one person in it, nor even a building save the tomb of the prophet Jeremiah. Jeremiah in his lifetime had dwelt in a place called Samaria; he commanded a man named Uriah that he should be buried in Jerusalem, and he did it. It was not known that this place was the grave of Jeremiah except at the devastation of Jerusalem.

Now for the genealogies. The Syrians say that no one looked after them after the last devastation of Jerusalem, except among the tribe of the Philistines, and no one looked after the genealogy of the people among whom the children of Israel married, nor from whence was the beginning of the priesthood. Jehoiachin did not cease to be bound in the land of Babylon, and shut up in prison for thirty-seven years. Meanwhile there was born to Mardul a son named Mardahi, and the king let Jehoiachin out of the prison, and married him to Helmuth the daughter of Eliakim. By him she gave birth in the land of Babylon to a son, who was called Salathiel. Then he married another who was called Melkat the daughter of Ezra the teacher, and had no child by her in Babylon. At that time Cyrus reigned in Babylon. He married Masabet the sister of Zerubabel a nobleman of the Jews, according to the custom of Persia; he let her rule his affairs; she begged him to restore the children of Israel to Jerusalem, and he did this to its place where it had been before him. He commanded a herald to proclaim, that there should not remain one of the children of Israel, who should not present himself to Zerubabel his brother-in-law. When they were gathered together, he commanded him to take them to Jerusalem and that they should build it. The children of Israel returned to Jerusalem in the second year of the reign of Cyrus the Persian. At that time was completed the fifth thousand from the beginning. The children of Israel after their return to Jerusalem remained without a teacher to teach them the law of the Lord or any writings of the prophets. When Ezra saw this, he went to the well in which the Law had been put, uncovered it, and found the vase full of fire and incense, and he found the writings faded, there was no means to get them. God revealed to him that he should receive of them from His hands; he succeeded, and threw it on his mouth once, and twice and thrice, and God put into it the power of the spirit of prophecy; he kept all the writings, and that fire which was in the vase in the well was from the fire of Paradise which was in the house of the Lord. Zerubabel journeyed to Jerusalem as king over it. By Joshua son of Jozadak the High Priest and by Ezra, the writing of the Law and the Books of the Prophets were completed. After their return, the children of Israel kept the feast of the Passover, and all the feasts that they celebrated were three. The first was the feast of Moses in Egypt, the second the feast of Josiah, and the third after their return from Babylon in the days of Cyrus the Persian. The number of the years of the Captivity which Jeremiah the prophet mentions are seventy years. The children of Israel built the temple of the Lord in Jerusalem, and its building was finished by the hands of Zerubabel and Joshua the son of Jozadak the priest, and Ezra the scribe of the Law, in six and forty years. When the books of the genealogies were destroyed, the fathers were in despair about genealogy, and there was despair about it after them, until their accuracy was guaranteed by the secret books of the Hebrews. I relate this to thee, my son Clement, that when Zerubabel journeyed to Jerusalem, he married Malka the daughter of Ezra the teacher, and by her he begat a son called Abiud. She had already been the wife of Jehoiachin before him. When Abiud grew up, he married Ragib, daughter of Joshua the son of Jozadak the priest. By he he begat a son called Jehoiachim. Jehoiachim married a wife, and begat a son by her. When he grew up, he married Alfeet, daughter of Hesron, and by her he begat Zadok. Zadok married Felbin the daughter of Rahab, and by her he begat Atin. Atin married Hesheeb, daughter of Jula, and by he he begat Tur (Eliud). Tur (Eliud) married Salsin, daughter of Hasoul, and by her he begat Eleazar. Eleazar married Habeeth, daughter of Malih, and by her he begat Manar (Matthan). Manar (Matthan) married Seerâb, daughter of Phinehas, and by her he begat two sons in [one] womb. One of them was Jacob, who was called by two names, Joachim son of Yartâh. Jacob maried Had the daughter of Eleazar, and by her he begat Joseph. Joachim married Hannah, daughter of Ka'rdal, and by her he begat Mary, by whom our Lord the Christ was incarnate. On account of our knowledge, O my son Clement, about the genealogy of the Lady Mary, and the genealogies of her ancestors, the Jews begin by assertions about us that we do not understand the genealogies, and we do not know them; and they venture to mock the mother of Light, the Lady Mary, the Virgin, and they attribute he genealogy to fornication, because they do not know that it was the Holy Ghost who came down on us, a company of twelve in the upper room of Zion, who taught us all that we need to know about the genealogies and the rest of the mysteries, as He had taught Azariah (Ezra) the teacher all the Law, so that he kept it and renewed it. Let the mouths of the cursed Jews now be stopped, and let them know assuredly that Mary the pure was of the race of Judah, also of the race of David, also of the race of Abraham; that they have nothing against the genealogies which the Holy Ghost taught us, and there is not a book left in their hands from which they can make a stand against genealogy, since their books have been burnt three times; the first time in the days of Antiochus, who defiled the temple of the Lord, and commanded sacrifices to idlos; the second by Herod at the time of the devastation of Jerusalem; and the third, hear, O blessed son, what the Holy Ghost has revealed to me, about the sixty-three fathers, whose names are registered, and how the pedigree came about to the tribe from which was incarnate our God the Christ.

The beginning of genealogies.

Adam begat Seth. Seth married Aclima, sister of Abel, and by her begat Enos. Enos married a woman called Hita, daughter of Mahmouma of the sons of Har son of Seth, and by her begat Cainan. Cainan married Karith, daughter of Kersham son of Maheâl, and by her begat Mahlaleel. Mahlaleel married Teshabfatir, daughter of Enos, and by her begat Jared. Jared married Zebeeda, daughter of Kargilan son of Cainan, and by her begat Enoch. Enoch married Jardakin, daughter of Terbah son of Mahlaleel, and by her begat Methuselah. Methuselah married Rahoub, daughter of Serkeen son of Enoch, and by her begat Lamech. Lamech married Kifar, daughter of Jutab son of Methuselah, and by her begat Noah. Noah married Haikal, daughter of Mashamos son of Enoch, and by her begat Sem. Sem married Leah, daughter of Nasih, and by her begat Arphaxad. Arphaxad married Fardou, daughter of Salweh son of Japhet, and by her begat Salah. Salah married Muldath, daughter of Kahin son of Sem, and by her begat Obed (Eber). Obed (Eber) married Rasdah sister of Melchisedek, daughter of Malih son of Arphaxad, and by her begat Peleg. Peleg married Hadeeb, daughter of Hamlâh, and by her begat Jareu (Reu). Jareu (Reu) married Tanaa'b, daughter of Obed (Eber), and by her begat Serug. Serug married Feel, and by her begat Nahor. Nahor married a wife, A'âkris daughter of Reu, and by her begat Tarah. Tarah married two wives, one of them Juta, and the other Salmat, by Juta he begat Abraham and by Salmat Sarah. Abraham married Sarah, daughter of this Salmat his father's wife, and by her begat Isaac. Isaac married a wife called Rebecca, daughter of Fathâel, and by her begat Jacob. Jacob married Leah, daughter of Laban, and by her begat Judah. Judah begat Pharez by Tamar. Pharez son of Judah married Afdeeb, daughter of Levi, and by her begat Hesron. Hesron married Farteeb, daughter of Zebulon, and by her begat Aram. Aram married Safuza, daughter of Judah, and by her begat Aminadab. Aminadab married Baruma, daughter of Hesron, and by her begat Nahshon. Nahshon married Aram, daughter of Adam, and by her begat Salmon. Salmon married Saleeb (Rahab), daughter of Aminadab, and by her begat Boaz. Boaz married Aroof (Ruth), daughter of Lot, and by her begat Obed. Obed married Nefut, daughter of Shela, and by her begat Asse (Jesse). Asse (Jesse) married Amrat, daughter of Othan, and by her begat David. David married Balseba' (Bathsheba), daughter of Joutân son of Shela, and by her begat Solomon. Solomon married Naama, daughter of Maheel, and by her begat Rehoboam: who had none like him. Rehoboam married Naheer, daughter of Al, and by her begat Abia. Abia married Maachah the daughter of Abishalom, and by her bcgat Asa. Asa married Auzbah the daughter of Shalih, and by her begat Jehoshaphat. Jehoshaphat married Na'mna the daughter of Amon, and by her begat Joram. Joram married Tala'ia, daughter of Amoi, and by her begat Ahaz. Ahaz married Suma the daughter of Balhi, and by her begat Amaziah. Amaziah married Kama, daughter of Caram, and by her begat Uzziah. Uzziah married Jerousa, daughter of Zadok, and by her begat Jeream (Jotham). Jeream (Jotham) married Jahfat, daughter of Hani, and by her begat Ahaz. Ahaz married Ahir, daughter of Zachariah, and by her begat Hezekiah. Hezekiah married Hephzibah, daughter of Jarmoun, and by her begat Manasseh. Manasseh married Artida, daughter of Azuriah, and by her begat Aman. Aman married Tarib, daughter of Murka, and by her begat Josiah. Josiah married Hamtoul, daughter of Armeed (Jeremiah), and by her begat Jehoahaz. Jehoahaz married a woman and had no sons by her. Jehoiakim reigned after the death of his brother, and married a woman called Carteem, daughter of Haluta, and by her begat Salaeel (Salathiel). Salaeel (Salathiel) married Hamtat, daughter of Eliakim, and by her begat Zerubabel. Zerubabel married Malkut, daughter of Ezra, and by her begat Armeed (Abiud). Armeed (Abiud) married Awarkeeth, daughter of Zadok, and by her begat Jachim. Jachim married Hali, daughter of Zurniem, and by her begat A'zor. A'zor married Afi, daughter of Hasor, and by her begat Sadoc. Sadoc married Faltir, daughter of Dorteeb, and by her begat Asham Joteed. Joteed Asham married Hasgab, daughter of Jula, and by her begat Liud (Eliud). Liud (Eliud) married Shabshetin, daughter of Hubaballia, and by her begat Eleazar. Eleazar married Hanbeth, daughter of Jula, and by her begat Mathan. Mathan married Seerab, daughter of Phinehas, and by her begat Jacob. Jacob married Harteeb, daughter of Eleazar, and by her begat Joachim, known as Jonahir. Joachim married Hannah, and returned to the house of Eleazar. And after sixty years of his marriage to her, he begat by her Mary the Virgin, her by whom the Christ became incarnate. Joseph the Carpenter was the son of her [paternal] uncle Laha, and therefore his vote did not fall against her when Ram, priest of the children of Israel, delivered her to a man who should be surety for her. It was in the hidden work of God (may He be glorious and exalted!) and in the mystery of His knowledge that there was no escape from the Jews reproaching Mary the pure on account of her bearing the Christ. To our Master and our God and our Lord Jesus the Christ be praise and power and greatness and dignity and worship with the Father and the Holy Ghost from now unto all time and throughout all ages. Amen.

The End

THE RECOGNITIONS OF CLEMENT,

An Arabic Epitome (summary) from Sinai.
Source: From a MS. in the Convent at Mount Sinai. No. 508
Translation: Thomas Smith, 1885
Estimated Range of Dating: 4th or 5th century AD.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, one God. The Christ is God, my strength, my help, and my hope. This is the tale of [how] Clement recognized his parents and his brothers by means of Peter the Apostle, chief of the Apostles, blessed in the faith; and this is the teaching of the above-mentioned Saint Peter, while he was at Tripolis.

"It is necessary that love to God should be greater than that to parents and children, for He is the cause of all; and it is difficult for us to know what God is, but we are sure that He is God. And do not think that ye are believers, when ye are without baptism, because by it the figure of grace is found in the water, recognizing those who are baptised in the name of the Blessed Trinity, who saves from future punishment; and therefore hasten to the water, for it alone is able to quench that fire. And when he said that, he dismissed the crowd." And when I Clement had completed three months with him, he commanded me to fast for three days, and then we went to fountains of water on the sea-shore, and he baptised me there and with me Maroones, the man who had entertained us. Then he appointed him bishop of Tripolis, and twelve Presbyters, with deacons. Then he left the people of Tripolis, and went out to Antioch in Syria.

And the cause of my meeting him was this. While I was in the city of Rome, in my youthful years, I had carried chastity and righteousness to a great length, as also the recollection of death, and meditation about the soul, whether it is mortal or immortal, and about this world, whether it had a beginning or not, and whether it will perish or not. And whilst I thought on these things, I did not cease frequenting the place of philosophers and wise men, and I did not find anything more from the Porch than a deceitful and vain thing, and I thought I would go to Egypt to those magicians [who foretell] about the dead, and while I thought about this, look, news was spread about in the empire of Tiberius concerning a man in the land of Judaea who was preaching the eternal kingdom of God and who confirmed that by many mighty deeds. And when this was so, behold, Barnabas came to Rome preaching the Christ, and the wise men were mocking him. And meanwhile I knew in him a righteous purpose; and I adopted his evidence, and I forsook like dogs those who do not accept the word of salvation; and I took Barnabas, and I entertained him at my house, and I heard Speech from him; and when they were going out to the land of Judea, I went out with him, and in fifteen days we came to Caesarea; and I heard that Peter was in it, and that he intended [to have] a contest with Simon the next day; and when I went to his dwelling, Barnabas brought me in to him. And Peter received me with much affection, and he was very glad of what I had done to benefit Barnabas in Rome, and he confirmed my vocation, and commanded me to come to him, as he intended to travel to Rome; and when I promised him this, I asked him about the soul and about the world, and he made clear to me briefly by examination the folly that enters into people by means of sin, and that is what overclouds the minds of people like smoke. And he explained to me the coming of the Christ, and the resurrection to life. And in the morning, behold, Zacchaeus came saying that Simon had postponed the contest for seven days. Peter

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completed his teaching of us about the science of the world, according to what the Holy Spirit gave him. And after this we went to Tripolis, to the place in which I was baptised, and from thence Peter sent Niceta and Aquila with others to Laodicea, and told them to wait for him at the door of the city. But I and he went to Antaradus, and I thanked him for taking me with him as his follower, and he said to me: “If I send thee to a place to buy for us what is necessary, wilt thou die?” And I answered and said to him: “Thou art to me instead of my father and my mother, and my brothers; thou hast been the cause of my knowing the truth; and thou hast made me equal to great people. Wilt thou therefore put me in the place of service?” And Peter answered joking and said to me: “Dost thou think that thou hast never been a servant? And who will watch over my undressing and dressing? and who will prepare for me the many dishes that are necessary to the cooks, and this in the greatness of skill which is designed for luxurious people for the gratification of desire which is a great satisfaction, and I am clothed by it with abundance; and do not imagine that thou shalt know anything of this if thou art with me, for I do not get anything but the smallest bit of bread, and some oil with a little pulse; and all my wardrobe is these rags which thou lockest upon, and I need nothing else, for my mind looks on the good things that are eternal, and does not turn to what is contemptible. And I am surprised at thee, for thou art a man brought up in the enjoyment of the world, and thou hast despised all this, and thou art contented with things in moderation. But I and my brother Andrew were brought up in orphanage and poverty and misery, and we were accustomed to toil and that we should bear fatigue. For this reason I will endure from thee toil and Service to thyself.” And when I heard this from him I shuddered at it, and took an example on hearing this from a man whom the world cannot equal, and my eye wept. And when he saw me crying, he said to me: “Why are thine eyes weeping?” And I answered him, saying: “In what have I sinned against thee, that thou causest me to hear this speech?”

And Peter said: “If I did wrong in saying I would serve thee, thou didst a greater wrong at the first when thou didst not see that, and there is no equality in this, yet it is fitting that I should do this to thee.”

“But thou, O Apostle from God, Saviour of our souls, it is not fitting that thou shouldst do this.” And Peter answered and said: “Behold, I would have accepted thy opinion, if it were not that our Lord, who came for the salvation of the world, to whom alone be honour, bore Service, that He might persuade us not to be ashamed to serve our brethren. And He washed my feet and hands, saying, Thus do to thy brethren.” And I Clement said to him, "I thought I should conquer thee in Speech, and I was a fool, but I thank God who has put thee in the place of parents.' And Peter said to me: “Hast thou any kinsfolk?” And I said to him, "There are noble men in my family nearly related to Caesar the Emperor. And he, the husband of my mother, possesses dignity, and by her we are three boys, twins before me, as my father told me, and I do not even know them, nor my mother, except by a faint recollection; and after them my mother gave birth to me, and her name was Matthidia, and my father's name was Faustinian and my brothers, Faustus and Faustinianus. And when I was in my fifth year, my mother saw a vision in her sleep, as my father related to me afterwards, that if the woman did not take her children immediately and go out of Rome and travel for ten years, she would perish, both she and they. But my father, when he heard this, carried them into a ship, with provisions, secretly, with many servants, and sent them to travel to Athens, and he kept me only with him in order to console me, being overwhelmed with grief thereat. And when a year had passed after that, my father sent to Athens goods and money, in order that he might know their state; and the messengers went, and did not return. And in the third year he sent others for that [purpose], and they departed, and came in the fourth year to tell that they had not found the lads, nor their mother, and that these had never got to Athens at all; and they did not find a trace of them. And when my father heard this, he sorrowed with a great sorrow, and he was in much perplexity, but he neither knew how to find [them] nor where to weep for them. And he went to the shore of the sea, and I with him, and he began to ask the sailors from every place where ships had been wrecked for four years past, if any of them had seen a drowned woman with her boys; and he did not fall in with the certainty of the matter, for no one can explore the expanse of the ocean. Thereupon he made me his heir in Rome, and appointed guardians over me; and I that day was twelve years old, and he went from Rome in a ship, and departed to places to look for them. And now I have not heard news of him, nor [seen] writing, and [do not know if he is alive or dead, whilst I think that he must have died, and now today it is twenty years since he separated from me.” And when Peter heard this, his eyes wept from pity, and he said to those believers that were with him: “One gains experience by what this man's father hath suffered. It shews concerning believers who are not vain heathen, who suffer here without reward in the last day, that those of the believers who are tried here endure suffering for the forsaking of their sins by means of it.” And when Peter said this, one of those present answered before all, and besought Peter, saying, Behold, tomorrow our journey will be to the Island of Aradus in the sea that thou mayest see it. And there are there great pillars of winewood, and the sight of them is wonderful.” And Peter allowed us to go, and said to us: “When ye arrive, do not go all of you together to the wonderful place, that no misfortune befall you." And we went, and came to the island, and we got down out of the ship where the pillars were, and every one of us began to turn to some of the marvels that were there. But whilst Peter went to the pillars, behold, a woman sitting outside the gates asking alms. And when Peter saw her, he said to her: “O woman, what is defective in thy limbs, that thou hast submitted to this humiliation of begging, and thou dost not increase what God has given thee by the work of thy hands, so that thou couldst even give bread to me from day to day?' And the woman sighed, and said: “O would that I had hands able for Service and work. but they are in the form hands, yet they are dead, even when I bite them with my teeth.” And Peter answered and said: "And what is the cause that obliges thee to do this?” And the woman said: "The cause of it is only weakness; if I had boldness or strength, I would have thrown away my life from a mountain, or in the deep, and I would have had rest from the sorrows and the cares with which my people reproach me.' Said Peter: “And are those who kill themselves saved from punishment, or do they suffer more of it in Gehenna with the souls who did thus to kill them?' And the woman said, "O would I were sure that in Gehenna there are living souls, that I might go there and see my loved ones, even if I were in torment.” And Peter said: “And what is it that grieves thee, O woman, tell me; and if I knew perhaps I could cure thee, and convince thee that in Gehenna there are living souls, and give thee skill that thou shouldst not long (to go) with them to drowning, or to anything else, and that thou mayest go out of the body without torment.” And she was glad at the promise, and she began to relate to him, saying: "I am a woman who was possessed of dignity, and a nobleman wedded me, a man of position, related to Caesar the Emperor. And I had twin sons by him, and I had another son besides them, and after that the brother of my husband fell in love with me, and I persuaded him to live in chastity, and I did not tell my husband of his wicked desire 1 towards me. And I resolved that I would not consent to him, nor defile the couch of my husband, besides exciting enmity between them, and that would be a reproach to me before all my people, and I resolved on going out of the city with my son for a short time till this bad wind should cease and vengeance should pass from me, and I left my other son with his father that he might be comforted by him, and I dreamt in a dream as if I saw a vision in the night saying to me: “O woman, go out with thy children from here until a time that I will shew thee thy return, and if not, thou shalt perish with thy husband and children." And therefore I did [it], and when I told this to my husband he shuddered at that, then he rose, and carried me into a ship with my boys, and many servants, and much goods, and sent us to Athens, and while we travelled on the sea, the winds arose against us, and the waves came over us, and we were engulfed in the night, and every one who was with us was drowned and I, miserable being, was thrown with a wave to the side of a rock, and I was inveigled by it (into) a hope of finding my boys alive. On that account, I did not throw myself to the depths and go to rest, and this, by my life, would have been case then, when I was overwhelmed with grief. And when the dawn approached I began to turn and grope for my drowned sons, and I mourn and bewail them with tears, whilst I did not see one of them nor their drowned bodies; and when the people of the place saw me, they pitied me and covered me. Then they sought for my boys in the depths, and did not find them. And there came to me women comforting me, and they were reminded of the misfortunes and the griefs they had suffered like to what had befallen me, and that was a thing that increases my grief because there were no other misfortunes but [such as] mine with which they consoled me. And they invited me to go to them (two) and I went to a poor woman when she invited me to go to page her, and she said to me, "I had a husband, who died by drowning in the sea, and left me that day, being of my own age, and since then I have known no man, though many invited me to wedlock, and I preferred chastity and piety towards my husband. Come, we will go into one life and one household, and I lived with her that she might keep her affection for her husband. And after that I had a pain in my hand, and the woman my house-companion had a paralytic stroke there in the house, and since then for some time I sit here begging alms for myself and for my friend. And now I have explained to thee my affair and my story, and fulfil now thy promise to me, that thou mayest give me the cure, by means of which it will be possible for me to hasten from this world with my friend." And when the woman said this, Peter fell the more into thought, and he was then standing, and I Clement came up to Peter, and said to him, "O good Teacher, where hast thou been, for I have been seeking thee for some time. What dost thou command us to do?” And he said, “Go forward and wait for me in the ship.” And I did as he commanded me. And he renewed the questioning of the woman, and said to her, “Tell me about thy family, and thy city, and thy children, and their names, and I will give thee the medicine.” And the woman did not wish to tell him about that, and she began to tell him untruthfully, that she might get the medicine. And she said to him, “I am a woman of Ephesus, and my husband was from Sicily,” and she changed the names of her boys; and Peter saw that she was trustworthy, and said to her, ”I had been thinking, that thou wouldst have had a good fortune of joy this day, because I thought that thou were a woman whose affairs I know.” And the woman adjured him, saying: “I ask you to tell me what thou knowest, for I do not think that among women there is one more wretched than I.” And Peter began to relate to her truly, and said, “There is with me a lad my follower, in search of the certain knowledge of God, and he is from Rome; besides, he told me about a father whom he had, and twin brothers, and he believed that his mother, as his father had told him, saw in a vision that she should go out of Rome with her sons that she might not perish with her husband, and she went out, and he does not know what became of her, and that his father went in search of her, and news of him failed also, and he does not know what became of him.” And when Peter said this, the woman fell in a faint, and Peter came forward, and took her hand, and said to her: ”Have confidence, and trust me, and tell me truly what thou hast to do with that.” As she recovered from the faint, and wiped her face, she said: “Where is this lad whom thou didst tell me of?” And Peter said: “Tell thou me first thy affair, and I will shew thee him.” And she said: “I am the mother of this boy.” Said Peter, “What is his name?” She said: “Clement is his name.” And Peter said: ”He is the youth who is present, and I commanded him to wait for me in the ship.” And she fell down and did homage to him. And she said: "Hasten first to the ship, that thou mayest show me my only son, for when I see him, I have seen my boys who were drowned here.” And Peter said to her: “I will do this to thee, but when thou seest him, be silent until thou comest down from the Island.” And the woman said, “I will do so.” And Peter took her by the hand, and brought her near to the ship. And when I saw him holding a woman by the hand, I smiled, then I honoured him for that, and I began to lead the woman, and when I caught her hand, she cried with a loud voice, weeping and embracing me, and she began to kiss me. And I, because I did not know the thing, thought she was insane, or bewitched, and I pushed her from me. And Peter said, "Why, my son, dost thou push thy mother from thee?” And when I heard this from him, that she was my mother, my heart was troubled, and my eyes wept, and I threw myself towards her and my heart warmed to her, page n and weeping overcame me for joy and pity, and I kissed her; and all the people who were there came near us, hurrying to see the beggar woman, how she had recognised her son. And when we wished to go out from the Island, my mother said to me: ”O my beloved son, it is my duty to say good-bye to the woman who received me, and besides, she is a paralysed woman, bed-ridden in the house.” And when Peter heard [this], he marvelled at the sense of the woman, and he commanded that the paralysed woman should be carried on a couch, and they brought her to him. And when they came near, Peter said, the people listening, "If I am an apostle of Christ, let these people now believe, that God is the only one, Creator of all, and the restoration of this woman is complete.” And when Peter said this, the woman rose whole, and did obeisance to Peter, and asked him about these things. And he convinced her, and she knew the certainty of the thing; and when all the people heard they wondered with a great wonder and Peter made them a Speech about religion and about the last day. He said: “Whosoever wishes to hear: the certainty about God for the salvation of his soul, let him travel to Antioch, as I have resolved to stay there for three months; and more obligatory than absence for the merchandise of the gains of the world [is] the search for the salvation of Souls, and the gain of the other [world].” And after the speech of Peter to the people, I gave a thousand drachmas to the woman whom Peter had cured, and entrusted them to an honest man, and recompensed the women who all had known my mother; and we travelled to Antaradus with Peter, and my mother and the rest; and when we arrived at the house, my mother asked me, saying, "How is thy father, O my son?” and I said to her, “From the time when he went out in search of thee no trace was known of him”; and when she heard that she sighed and grieved. And after a day we went out to Laodicea, and when we came near to it, behold, before the gates disciples of Peter, Niceta and Aquila, and they met us and took us to the house; and when Peter saw the place suitable, he was pleased to stay there ten days, and Niceta and Aquila asked me, saying, “Who is this woman ?” and I said to them: “This is my mother, whom God permitted me to know by the forethought of my lord Peter”; and when I said this, Peter explained to them the certainty of the thing, how it was, according as I had related it about my mother, according as he heard from her, and he it was who had led us to a knowledge of each other. And when Peter said this, they marvelled much when they heard Peter about the woman and her recollection of her sons Faustus and Faustinianus, and

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they were astonished at the tale. And they said," Do we see? Is this a vision or the truth? If we are not be-witched it is true." And they beat upon their faces, and they said, "We are Faustus and Faustinianus, and our hearts were straitened when thou didst begin the tale, and we held firm till we should hear the end of the tale, because many of the things are like one another. And this by my life is our mother, and this is our brother.' And when they said this, they embraced me with much weeping, and they kissed me, and they went in to our mother, and found her asleep. And Peter said to them, "Do not wake her, lest an emotion of joy overcome her suddenly, and her soul grow small within her." And when our mother awoke, Peter began to say to her, "I will instruct thee, O woman, about our religion, and our faith in God; we believe in one God, Creator of all this visible world, and we keep His commands, and sanctify and honour [our] parents ; and we live a pure life, and have no communion with the heathen in meat or in drink, unless they are baptised in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. And if there is a father or mother or wife or son or brother unbaptised, we do not trust him and do not be grieved if thy son is bound by this unless thou becomest like him.' And when she heard this, she said, "And what is necessary, that I should not be baptised today, and that I should not come to this, because my soul has hated false gods, because they inspire the reverse of chastity, on account of which I fled from Rome with my sons Faustus and Faustinian?" And when our mother said this, my brothers Niceta and Aquila did not wait, but they [were] overjoyed and they embraced her and kissed her. And the woman said, "What is this thing?" Said Peter, "0 woman, keep thy presence of mind. These are thy sons Faustus and Faustinianus, whom thou didst think were drowned in the sea, how are they here before thee? The sea swallowed them in the middle of the night, and how is the one called Niceta, and the other Aquila?" "Let them tell us now that we and thou may know.1 And when Peter said this, the woman fell in a faint from joy, and we restored her with great labour, and when she sat up, she said to us, "I beg of you, my beloved sons, tell me what happened to you in that night." And my brother Niceta said, "I relate to thee, O my mother, that in that night when our ship was wrecked they carried us into the boat, to make merchandise of us, and they rowed with us to the land, and came with us to Caesarea, and they tormented us there with hunger, and beating, in order that we should not say anything that did not suit them. And they changed our names, and sold us to a Jewess, whose name was Justa, and she bought us and educated us, and when we came to years of discretion, we acquired a sure faith in God, and we began disputing and conversing that the godlessness of all the heathen might be reproved; and we learnt the sayings of philosophy, that by this we might examine vain philosophies and reasonings. And we associated with a man, a wizard, whose name was Simon, and we had much affection for him, and he nearly led us astray. And it came to us that there was a prophet in the land of Judaea, and everyone who believed in him would live without sorrow or death, and we thought it was Simon; and after that we met a disciple of our master Peter, whose name was Zacchaeus, and he exhorted us much and hurried us from the wizard, and conducted us to Peter, and he led us to the knowledge of the truth. And we seek from God that he would count thee worthy to welcome thee to the grace to which we have come, that we may be filled with grace towards one another. This is the reason why thou didst think that we were drowned that night, and we also thought that thou hadst perished in the sea.' And when Niceta said this, our mother ran to Peter and said, "I ask and beg of thee that thou wouldst baptise me, that I may not be deprived one day of intercourse with my children." And we begged this of him; and he commanded her to fast for three days, then after that he baptised her in the sea, in presence of her children, and we took food with her, and we rejoiced at this in the glory of God and the teaching of Peter, and in the knowledge we had got of our mother; and we learnt that chastity is the cause of salvation to the nations; and after that day Peter took us to the harbour, and we washed there, and prayed. And behold, an old man sitting there looking towards us, and observing our prayer closely, and after we had prayed, he approached us to reprove us and to say that everything happens by fortune, and that invocation and prayer are useless; and we remained three days to persuade him to change his opinion of this thing. And thereupon, during our discourse to him, we were calling him "O Father"; and he was calling us, "O my sons." And this was a providence from God, because by it we began to know this word; and Aquila said to me and to Niceta, "Why do you call this stranger Father?" And my brother said to me, "Do not complain of this," and we continued in our talk to him, and he in that opinion of his, and he said: "Although the discourse has convinced me, yet I think of my wife, whose star and whose fortune was in vice, and she fled from wickedness on account of the disgrace, and she was drowned in the sea." And I Clement said to him, "And how dost thou know that the woman when she fled did not marry one of the slaves, and that she died?" "I know certainly, that she did not marry, because she was chaste, and after her death, my brother related to me how she loved him at first and he, in fidelity towards me and his continence in his chastity, did not wish to defile my bed. And she, poor creature, in her fear of me and of disgrace, used an artifice, and she is not to be blamed, for this was fated against her, and she feigned that she had seen a vision and she said to me that: "if I remain here, I shall perish with my sons." And when I heard that from her, verily, through my desire for her safety and [that of] her sons, I sent her, and I kept with me a third son whom I had, as she asserted that she saw in her dreams." And when I heard this from him, I said, "Perhaps this is my father," and my eye wept. And when my brothers Sprung forward, wishing to embrace him, Peter prevented them, and said to them, ' Be silent till it pleases me.' And Peter answered and said to the old man,' What is the name of thy son, the youngest boy?' And the old man said: "His name is Clement." And Peter answered him and said, "If I shew thee today thy chaste wife with her three sons, wilt thou believe that a chaste mind is able to conquer animal emotions, and that my discourse which I made to thee about God is the truth?" And the old man said, "Just as what thou hast promised me cannot be, so there cannot be (anything) without fate." Said Peter, "I call those present to witness that this day I present to thee thy wife with her three sons alive in her chastity. And the proof of this is my knowing the certainty of the thing better than thee. And I tell thee all that she related, in order that thou mayest know and all these may know all this." And when Peter said this he began to relate, saying, "This man whom ye see, my brethren, in his ragged raiment, he is of the people of Rome, of a great lineage, and noble dignity, akin to Cesar, and his name is Faustinianus; and he married a noble woman, and her name is Matthidia; and he had three sons by her, two of them twins, and the third younger than they, whose name is Clement, and this is he, and these are the others, the one Aquila, and the other Niceta, and their names at first were, one Faustus, and the other Faustinianus. And when Peter said this, and named them by their names, the old man was bewildered, and fainted, and his sons fell upon him kissing him and weeping, supposing that he was dead. And the people were bewildered by this marvel, and Peter commanded us to lean off from the old man, and he took him by the hand, and raised him, and he related to the people all the misfortunes that had befallen him, and the reason that they happened. And when our mother learned this, she came hurrying, crying and saying: "Where is my husband and lord Faustinianus, who has been miserable on account of me for a long time, seeking me in every city?" And while she was crying thus, the old man sprang hastily towards her with tears, and they embraced one another. And after all this Peter sent away the crowd of people, and commanded them to come the next day and hear the story. And behold, a man of the nobles came with his wife and children to ask us to go to his house, and Peter did not accept that from him.

And thereupon, behold, [there was] a daughter of the man [who had been] struck by a devil who had possessed her for twenty years, and on that account she was bound with chains, imprisoned in a house; the house was opened suddenly, and the chains were broken, and the devil came out from her; and the girl came and did obeisance to Peter, and said: "O lord, I have come to thee today on account of my salvation, and do not grieve me nor my father." And Peter asked them about the girl, and her parents were bewildered when they saw the chains fallen from her, and her request to Peter. And Peter had pity on her, and commanded us to go to his house. And on the morrow our father came to us, and did all that Peter commanded him; and we turned the discourse so that there might be certainty in the controversy, and after very much speech in reproof of folly, Peter commanded our father not to dwell for any time on what is not necessary to God in religion, but that he should repent, for the end of life is near not only to old men, but also to young ones. And he exhorted the old man with all the people for some days, then he baptised the old man in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, to whom be glory and praise for ever and ever, Amen.

O [thou] who readest, pray for him who wrote it.

The Lord remember thee in mercy, Amen, and all believers.

The End

THE APOCALYPSE OF THOMAS

The Apocalypse of Thomas
From: The Apocryphal New Testament, Oxford
Translation: M.R. James, 1924
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 4th century A.D.

(The Apocalypse of Thomas is a work from the New Testament apocrypha. It concerns the end of the world, and appears to be a rendering of the Apocalypse of John, although written in a somewhat less enigmatic or mystical manner. It is the inspiration for the popular medieval millennial list Fifteen Signs before Doomsday. The text was written in Greek between the 2nd and the 4th century, and was either copied or translated in Latin in Italy or North Africa.

There are two recensions of the text, the second one of which containing an interpolation apparently written in the 5th century. The Apocalypse of Thomas was widespread in Northwestern Europe, with manuscripts dating between the 8th and the 11th century. It was proscribed by Gelasius of Cyzicus in the 5th century, but this seemed not to have harmed its popularity: the Apocalypse was most likely accepted as canonical "in certain parts of Western Christendom in the 9th and 10th centuries".

The Apocalypse, we see, was known in England in the 9th century at least. It must probably be regarded as the ultimate parent of a little piece which is found in innumerable manuscripts and has often been printed. The interpolated version of the Apocalypse is notable for having inspired the Fifteen Signs before Doomsday, a list of fifteen signs given over fifteen days announcing Judgment Day, a visionary list which spread all over Europe and remained popular possibly into Shakespeare's day.

None of the Latin texts seem to be complete. But we see that Wilhelm's text is a blend of two sorts of Apocalypse -that akin to Daniel which, under the form of prophecy, describes events contemporary with the author and continues them into the future: and that which is more akin to John and describes the signs of the end.

Bihlmeyer's text has only the latter element, and as it agrees pretty closely with our oldest authority, the Vienna fragment (though in that, as I have said, something did precede Bihlmeyer's opening) I judge it to be the older of the two forms. The first part of Wilhelm's text with its clumsy indication of Arcadius and Honorius by means of their initials is much in the manner of the later Sibyllines, in which this particular trick is pushed to an absurd length, and used for quite imaginary personages as well as historic ones. In the second part Wilhelm's text departs widely from the Vienna fragment, and here again shows itself as probably inferior.)

VERSION A

[Verona fragment (8th century) and Wilhelm's text (Munich Clm. 4585, 9th century).]

Here beginneth the epistle of the Lord unto Thomas.

Hear thou, Thomas, the things which must come to pass in the last times: there shall be famine and war and earthquakes in divers places, snow and ice and great drought shall there be and many dissensions among the peoples, blasphemy, iniquity, envy and villainy, indolence, pride and intemperance, so that every man shall speak that which pleaseth him. And my priests shall not have peace among themselves, but shall sacrifice unto me with deceitful mind: therefore will I not look upon them. Then shall the priests behold the people departing from the house of the Lord and turning unto the world and setting up (or, transgressing) landmarks in the house of God. And they shall claim (vindicate) for themselves many things and places that were lost and that shall be subject unto Caesar as also they were aforetime: giving poll-taxes of for the cities, even gold and silver and the chief men of the cities shall be condemned (here Verona ends: Munich continues) and their substance brought into the treasury of the kings, and they shall be filled.

For there shall be great disturbance throughout all the people, and death. The house of the Lord shall be desolate, and their altars shall be abhorred, so that spiders weave their webs therein. The place of holiness shall be corrupted, the priesthood polluted, distress (agony) shall increase, virtue shall be overcome, joy perish, and gladness depart. In those days evil shall abound: there shall be respecters of persons, hymns shall cease out of the house of the Lord, truth shall be no more, covetousness shall abound among the priests; an upright man (al. an upright priesthood) shall not be found.

On a sudden there shall arise near the last time a king, a lover of the law, who shall hold rule not for long: he shall leave two sons. The first is named of the first letter (A, Arcadius), the second of the eighth (H, Honorius). The first shall die before the second (Arcadius died in 408- Honorius in 423).

Thereafter shall arise two princes to oppress the nations under whose hands there shall be a very great famine in the

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right-hand part of the east, so that nation shall rise up against nation and be driven out from their own borders.

Again another king shall arise, a crafty man, and shall command a golden image of Caesar to be made (al. to be worshipped in the house of God), wherefore martyrdoms shall abound. Then shall faith return unto the servants of the Lord, and holiness shall be multiplied and distress (agony) increase. The mountains shall the comforted and shall drop down sweetness of fire from the facet, that the number of the saints may be accomplished.

After a little space there shall arise a king out of the east, a lover of the law, who shall cause all good things and necessary to abound in the house of the Lord: he shall show mercy unto the widows and to the needy, and command a royal gift to be given unto the priests: in his days shall be abundance of all things.

And after that again a king shall arise in the south part of the world, and shall hold rule a little space: in whose days the treasury shall fail because of the wages of the Roman soldiers so that the substance of all the aged shall be commanded (to be taken) and given to the king to distribute.

Thereafter shall be plenty of corn and wine and oil, but great dearness of money, so that the substance of gold and silver shall be given for corn, and there shall be great dearth.

At that time shall be very great rising of the sea, so that no man shall tell news to any man. The kings of the earth and the princes and the captains shall be troubled, and no man shall speak freely (boldly). Grey hairs shall be seen upon boys, and the young shall not give place unto the aged.

After that shall arise another king, a crafty man, who shall hold rule for a short space: in whose days there shall be all manner of evils, even the death of the race of men from the east even unto Babylon. And thereafter death and famine and sword in the land of Chanaan even unto Rome. Then shall all the fountains of waters and wells boil over and be turned into blood or, into dust and blood. The heaven shall be moved, the stars shall fall upon the earth, the sun shall be cut in half like the moon, and the moon shall not give her light. There shall be great signs and wonders in those days when Antichrist draweth near. These are the signs unto them that dwell in the earth. In those days the pains of great travail shall come upon them. (al. In those days, when Antichrist now draweth near, these are the signs. Woe unto them that dwell on the earth; in those days great pains of travail shall come upon them.) Woe unto them that build, for they shall not inhabit. Woe unto them that break up the fallow, for they shall labour without cause. Woe unto them that make marriages, for unto famine and need shall they beget sons. Woe unto them that join house to house or field to field, for all things shall be consumed with fire. Woe unto them that look not unto themselves while time alloweth, for hereafter shall they be condemned for ever. Woe unto them that turn away from the poor when he asketh.

[Here is a break: the text goes on: For I am of the high and powerful: I am the Father of all. (al. And know ye: I am the Father most high: I am the Father of all spirits.) This, as we shall see, is the beginning of the older(?) and shorter text, and of the Vienna fragment: only, in the latter, some words now unintelligible precede it: not the words, however, which are in Wilhelm's text. I will continue with Wilhelm.]

These are the seven signs the ending of this world. There shall be in all the earth famine and great pestilences and much distress: then shall all men be led captive among all nations and shall fall by the edge of the sword.

On the first day of the judgement will be a great marvel (or, the beginning shall be). At the third hour of the day shall be a great and mighty voice in the firmament of the heaven, and a great cloud of blood coming down out of the north, and great thunderings and mighty lightnings shall follow that cloud, and there shall be a rain of blood upon all the earth. These are the signs of the first day (Monday in the Anglo-Saxon, and so for the other days).

And on the second day there shall be a great voice in the firmament of the heaven, and the earth shall be moved out of its place: and the gates of heaven shall be opened in the firmament of heaven toward the east, and a great power shall be sent belched) forth by the gates of heaven and shall cover all the heaven even until evening (al. and there shall be fears and tremblings in the world). These are the signs of the second day.

And on the third day, about the second hour, shall be a voice in heaven, and the abysses of the earth shall utter their voice from the four corners of the world. The first heaven shall be rolled up like a book and shall straightway vanish. And because of the smoke and stench of the brimstone of the abyss the days shall be darkened unto the tenth hour. Then shall all men say: I think that the end draweth near, that we shall perish. These are the signs of the third day.

And on the fourth day at the first hour, the earth of the east shall speak, the abyss shall roar: then shall all the earth be moved by the strength of an earthquake. In that day shall all the idols of the heathen fall, and all the buildings of the earth. These are the signs of the fourth day.

And on the fifth day, at the sixth hour, there shall be great thunderings suddenly in the heaven, and the powers of light and the wheel of the sun shall be caught away, and there shall be great darkness over the world until evening, and the stars shall be turned away from their ministry. In that day all nations shall hate the world and despise the life of this world. These are the signs of the fifth day.

And on the sixth day there shall be signs in heaven. At the fourth hour the firmament of heaven shall be cloven from the east unto the west. And the angels of the heavens shall be looking forth upon the earth the opening of the heavens. And all men shall see above the earth the host of the angels looking forth out of heaven. Then shall all men flee.

(Here Wilhelm's text ends abruptly.)

VERSION B

[Bihlmeyer's text, from Munich Clm. 4563 (11th to 12th century, from Benedictbeuren): and the Vienna fragment.]

Hear thou, O Thomas, for I am the Son of God the Father and I am the father of all spirits. Hear thou of me the signs which shall come to pass at the end of this world, when the end of the world shall be fulfilled (Vienna: that it pass away) before mine elect depart out of the world. I will tell thee that which shall come to pass openly unto men (or, will tell thee openly, etc.): but when these things shall be the princes of the angels know not, seeing it is now hidden from before

Then shall there be in the world sharings (participations) between king and king, and in all the earth shall be great famine great pestilences, and many distresses, and the sons of men shall be led captive among all nations and shall fall by the edge of the sword (and there shall be great commotion in the world: Vienna omits). Then after that when the hour of the end draweth nigh there shall be for seven days great signs in heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be moved.

Then shall there be on the first day the beginning: at the third hour of the day a great and mighty voice in the firmament of heaven and a bloody cloud coming up (down, Vienna) out of the north, and great thunderings and mighty lightnings shall follow it, and it shall cover the whole heaven, and there shall be a rain of blood upon all the earth. These are the signs of the first day.

And on the second day there shall be a great voice in the firmament of heaven, and the earth shall be moved out of its place, and the gates of heaven shall be opened in the firmament of heaven toward the east, and the (smoke of a great fire shall break forth through the gates of heaven and shall cover all the heaven until evening. In that day there shall be fears and great terrors in the world. These are the signs of the second day. Vienna is defective here).

But on the third day about the third hour shall be a great voice in heaven, and the abysses of the earth (Vienna ends) shall roar from the four corners of the world; the pinnacles (so) of the firmament of heaven shall be opened, and all the air shall be filled with pillars of smoke. There shall be a stench of brimstone, very evil, until the tenth hour, and men shall say: We think the time draweth nigh that we perish. These are the signs of the third day.

And on the fourth day at the first hour, from the land of the east the abyss shall melt (so) and roar. Then shall all the earth be shaken by the might of an earthquake. In that day shall the ornaments of the heathen fall, and all the buildings of the earth, before the might of the earthquake. These are the signs of the fourth day.

But on the fifth day at the sixth hour, suddenly there shall be a great thunder in heaven, and the powers of light and the wheel of the sun shall be caught away (MS. opened), and there shall be great darkness in the world until evening, and the air shall be gloomy (sad) without sun or moon, and the stars shall cease from their ministry. In that day shall all nations behold as in a mirror (or, behold it as sackcloth) and shall despise the life of this world. These are the signs of the fifth day.

And on the sixth day at the fourth hour there shall be a great voice in heaven, and the firmament of the heaven shall be cloven from the east unto the west, and the angels of the heavens shall be looking forth upon the earth by the openings of the heavens, and all these that are on the earth shall behold the host of the angels looking forth out of heaven. Then shall all men flee unto the monuments (mountains ?) and hide themselves from the face of the righteous angels, and say: Would that the earth would open and swallow us up! And such things shall come to pass as never were since this world was created.

Then shall they behold me coming from above in the light of my Father with the power and honour of the holy angels. Then at my coming shall the fence of fire of paradise be done away -because paradise is girt round about with fire. And this shall be that perpetual fire that shall consume the earth and all the elements of the world.

Then shall the spirits and souls of all men come forth from paradise and shall come upon all the earth: and every one of them shall go unto his own body, where it is laid up, and every one of them shall say: Here lieth my body. And when the great voice of those spirits shall be heard, then shall there be a great earthquake over all the world, and by the might thereof the mountains shall be cloven from above and the rocks from beneath. Then shall every spirit return into his own vessel and the bodies of the saints which have fallen asleep shall arise.

Then shall their bodies be changed into the image and likeness and the honour of the holy angels, and into the power of the image of mine holy Father. Then shall they be clothed with the vesture of life eternal, out of the cloud of light which hath never been seen in this world; for that cloud cometh down out of the highest realm of the heaven from the power of my Father. And that cloud shall compass about with the beauty thereof all the spirits that have believed in me.

Then shall they be clothed, and shall be borne by the hand of the holy angels like as I have told you aforetime. Then also shall they be lifted up into the air upon a cloud of light, and shall go with me rejoicing unto heaven, and then shall they continue in the light and honour of my Father. Then shall there be unto them great gladness with my Father and before the holy angels These are the signs of the sixth day.

And on the seventh day at the eighth hour there shall be voices in the four corners of the heaven. And all the air shall be shaken, and filled with holy angels, and they shall make war among them all the day long. And in that day shall mine elect be sought out by the holy angels from the destruction of the world. Then shall all men see that the hour of their destruction draweth near. These are the signs of the seventh day.

And when the seven days are passed by, on the eighth day at the sixth hour there shall be a sweet and tender voice in heaven from the east. Then shall that angel be revealed which hath power over the holy angels: and all the angels shall go forth with him, sitting upon chariots of the clouds of mine holy Father (so) rejoicing and running upon the air beneath the heaven to deliver the elect that have believed in me. And they shall rejoice that the destruction of this world hath come.

The words of the Saviour unto Thomas are ended, concerning the end of this world.

THE (FIRST) APOCALYPSE OF JAMES, THE BROTHER OF JESUS

From: The Nag Hammadi Library
Translation: William R. Schoedel
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 4th centuries A.D.

(The First Apocalypse of James is an early third century Gnostic apocalypse. It is regarded as part of the New Testament apocrypha. It was first discovered, amongst 52 other Gnostic Christian books and other texts spread over 13 codices, by an Arab peasant, Mohammad Ali al-Samman, in the Egyptian town of Nag Hammadi in 1945. They were hidden during the fourth century, in an effort to hide the texts from destruction by the new official Church of state created by Emperor Flavius Constantinus. When originally found, they were sealed within a large terra cotta vessel. Another copy has more recently been found in the Codex Tchacos, where it is merely titled 'James'. Those texts were in the Coptic language. In 2017, the first Greek copy was found, the original language of all Christian texts, amongst unpublished Oxyrhynchus Papyri housed at Oxford University.

The form of the text is primarily that of a Revelation Dialogue between James the brother of Jesus (James the Just) and Jesus, with a rather fragmentary account of the departure (possibly meaning martyrdom) of James appended to the bottom of the manuscript, connected to the remainder by an oblique reference to crucifixion. Some of the framing background details about James given in the text:

1. James was the head of the early church - and not Peter!

2. James was the most senior apostle - not Peter!

3. James fled to Pella [the historical capital of the ancient Greek kingdom of Macedon and birthplace of Alexander the Great] when the Romans invaded Jerusalem in 70 AD. This contradicts the claim of other historians that James was executed or came to death in the fights of the War of the Jews.

The first-known Greek copy of the text was discovered in 2017 at Oxford University by Geoffrey Smith and Brent Landau, religious studies scholars at the University of Texas at Austin. The fragments date from the fifth or sixth century and were probably a teacher's model used to help students learn to read and write. The fragments will be published in the Oxyrhynchus compilation The Greco-Roman Memoirs. One of the most curious features of the First Apocalypse of James is that the range of dating of its original text, assigned to it by scholars, requires that it was written after the so-called Second Apocalypse of James.)

It is the Lord who spoke with me: "See now the completion of my redemption. I have given you a sign of these things, James, my brother. For not without reason have I called you my brother, although you are not my brother materially. And I am not ignorant concerning you; so that when I give you a sign - know and hear."

"Nothing existed except Him-who-is. He is unnameable and ineffable. I myself am also unnameable, from Him-who-is, just as I have been given a number of names - two from Him-who-is. And I, I am before you. Since you have asked concerning

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femaleness, femaleness existed, but femaleness was not first. And it prepared for itself powers and gods. But it did not exist when I came forth, since I am an image of Him-who-is. But I have brought forth the image of him so that the sons of Him-who-is might know what things are theirs and what things are alien (to them). Behold, I shall reveal to you everything of this mystery. For they will seize me the day after tomorrow. But my redemption will be near."

James said, "Rabbi, you have said, 'they will seize me.' But I, what can I do?" He said to me, "Fear not, James. You too will they seize. But leave Jerusalem. For it is she who always gives the cup of bitterness to the sons of light. She is a dwelling place of a great number of archons. But your redemption will be preserved from them. So that you may understand who they are and what kinds they are, you will [...]. And listen. They are not [...] but archons [...]. These twelve [...] down [...] archons [...] upon his own hebdomad."

James said, "Rabbi, are there then twelve hebdomads and not seven as there are in the scriptures?" The Lord said, "James, he who spoke concerning this scripture had a limited understanding. I, however, shall reveal to you what has come forth from him who has no number. I shall give a sign concerning their number. As for what has come forth from him who has no measure, I shall give a sign concerning their measure"

James said, "Rabbi, behold then, I have received their number. There are seventy-two measures!" The Lord said, "These are the seventy-two heavens, which are their subordinates. These are the powers of all their might; and they were established by them; and these are they who were distributed everywhere, existing under the authority of the twelve archons. The inferior power among them brought forth for itself angels and unnumbered hosts. Him-who-is, however, has been given [...] on account of [...] Him-who-is [...] they are unnumbered. If you want to give them a number now, you will not be able to do so until you cast away from your blind thought, this bond of flesh which encircles you. And then you will reach Him-who-is. And you will no longer be James; rather you are the One-who-is. And all those who are unnumbered will all have been named."

<James said,>, "Rabbi, in what way shall I reach Him-who-is, since all these powers and these hosts are armed against me?" He said to me, "These powers are not armed against you specifically, but are armed against another. It is against me that they are armed. And they are armed with other powers. But they are armed against me in judgement. They did not give [...] to me in it [...] through them [...]. In this place [...] suffering, I shall [...]. He will [...] and I shall not rebuke them. But there shall be within me a silence and a hidden mystery. But I am fainthearted before their anger."

James said, "Rabbi, if they arm themselves against you, then is there no blame?"

"You have come with knowledge, that you might rebuke their forgetfulness. You have come with recollection, that you might rebuke their ignorance".

"But I was concerned because of you. For you descended into a great ignorance, but you have not been defiled by anything in it. For you descended into a great mindlessness, and your recollection remained. You walked in mud, and your garments were not soiled, and you have not been buried in their filth, and you have not been caught.

And I was not like them, but I clothed myself with everything of theirs. There is in me forgetfulness, yet I remember things that are not theirs. There is in me [....], and I am in their [...] ".

[...] knowledge [...] not in their sufferings [...]. But I have become afraid before them, since they rule. For what will they do? What will I be able to say? Or what word will I be able to say that I may escape them?"

The Lord said, "James, I praise your understanding and your fear. If you continue to be distressed, do not be concerned for anything else except your redemption. For behold, I shall complete this destiny upon this earth as I have said from the heavens. And I shall reveal to you your redemption."

James said, "Rabbi, how, after these things, will you appear to us again? After they seize you, and you complete this destiny, you will go up to Him-who-is." The Lord said, "James, after these things I shall reveal to you everything, not for your sake alone but for the sake of the unbelief of men, so that faith may exist in them. For a multitude will attain to faith and they will increase in [...]. And after this I shall appear for a reproof to the archons. And I shall reveal to them that he cannot be seized. If they seize him, then he will overpower each of them. But now I shall go. Remember the things I have spoken and let them go up before you." James said,"Lord, I shall hasten as you have said." The Lord said farewell to him and fulfilled what was fitting.

When James heard of his suffering and was much distressed, they awaited the sign of his coming. And he came after several days. And James was walking upon the mountain which is called "Gaugelan", with his disciples, who listened to him because they had been distressed, and he was [...] a comforter, saying, "This is [...] second [...]" Then the crowd dispersed, but James remained [...] prayer [...], as was his custom.

And the Lord appeared to him. Then he stopped (his) prayer and embraced him. He kissed him, saying, "Rabbi, I have found you! I have heard of your sufferings, which you endured. And I have been much distressed. My compassion you know. Therefore, on reflection, I was wishing that I would not see this people. They must be judged for these things that they have done. For these things that they have done are contrary to what is fitting."

The Lord said, "James, do not be concerned for me or for this people. I am he who was within me. Never have I suffered in any way, nor have I been distressed. And this people has done me no harm. But this (people) existed as a type of the archons, and it deserved to be destroyed through them. But [...] the archons, [...] who has [...] but since it [...] angry with [...] The just [...] is his servant. Therefore your name is "James the Just". You see how you will become sober when you see me. And you stopped this prayer. Now since you are a just man of God, you have embraced me and kissed me. Truly I say to you that you have stirred up great anger and wrath against yourself. But (this has happened) so that these others might come to be."

But James was timid (and) wept. And he was very distressed. And they both sat down upon a rock. The Lord said to him, "James, thus you will undergo these sufferings. But do not be sad. For the flesh is weak. It will receive what has been ordained for it. But as for you, do not be timid or afraid". The Lord ceased.

Now when James heard these things, he wiped away the tears in his eyes and very bitter [...] which is [...]. The Lord said to him, "James, behold, I shall reveal to you your redemption. When you are seized, and you undergo these sufferings, a multitude will arm themselves against you that <they> may seize you. And in particular three of them will seize you - they who sit (there) as toll collectors. Not only do they demand toll, but they also take away souls by theft. When you come into their power, one of them who is their guard will say to you, 'Who are you or where are you from?' You are to say to him, 'I am a son, and I am from the Father.' He will say to you, 'What sort of son are you, and to what father do you belong?' You are to say to him, 'I am from the Pre-existent Father, and a son in the Pre-existent One.' When he says to you, [...], you are to say to him [...] in the [...] that I might [...]."

'[...] of alien things?' You are to say to him, 'They are not entirely alien, but they are from Achamoth, who is the female. And these she produced as she brought down the race from the Pre-existent One. So then they are not alien, but they are ours. They are indeed ours because she who is mistress of them is from the Pre-existent One. At the same time they are alien because the Pre-existent One did not have intercourse with her, when she produced them.' When he also says to you, 'Where will you go?', you are to say to him, 'To the place from which I have come, there shall I return.' And if you say these things, you will escape their attacks.

"But when you come to these three detainers who take away souls by theft in that place [...] these. You [...] a vessel [...] much more than [...] of the one whom you [...] for [...] her root. You too will be sober [...]. But I shall call upon the imperishable knowledge, which is Sophia who is in the Father (and) who is the mother of Achamoth. Achamoth had no father nor male consort, but she is female from a female. She produced you without a male, since she was alone (and) in ignorance as to what lives through her mother because she thought that she alone existed. But I shall cry out to her mother. And then they will fall into confusion (and) will blame their root and the race of their mother. But you will go up to what is yours [...] you will [...] the Pre-existent One."

"They are a type of the twelve disciples and the twelve pairs, [...] Achamoth, which is translated 'Sophia'. And who I myself am, (and) who the imperishable Sophia (is) through whom you will be redeemed, and (who are) all the sons of Him-who-is - these things they have known and have hidden within them. You are to hide <these things> within you, and you are to keep silence. But you are to reveal them to Addai. When you depart, immediately war will be made with this land. Weep, then, for him who dwells in Jerusalem. But let Addai take these things to heart. In the tenth year let Addai sit and write them down. And when he writes them down [...] and they are to give them [...] he has the [...] he is called Levi. Then he is to bring [...] word [...] from what I said earlier [...] a woman [...] Jerusalem in her [...] and he begets two sons through her. They are to inherit these things and the understanding of him who [...] exalts. And they are to receive [...] through him from his intellect. Now, the younger of them is greater. And may these things remain hidden in him until he comes to the age of seventeen years [...] beginning [...] through them. They will pursue him exceedingly, since they are from his [...] companions. He will be proclaimed through them, and they will proclaim this word. Then he will become a seed of [...]."

James said, "I am satisfied [...] and they are [...] my soul. Yet another thing I ask of you: who are the seven women who have been your disciples? And behold all women bless you. I also am amazed how powerless vessels have become strong by a perception which is in them." The Lord said, "You [...] well [...] a spirit of [...], a spirit of thought, a spirit of counsel of a [...], a spirit [...] a spirit of knowledge [...] of their fear. [...] when we had passed through the breath of this archon who is named Adonaios [...] him and [...] he was ignorant [...] when I came forth from him, he remembered that I am a son of his. He was gracious to me at that time as his son. And then, before <I> appeared here, <he> cast them among this people. And from the place of heaven the prophets [...]."

James said, "Rabbi, [...] I [...] all together [...] in them especially [...]." The Lord said, "James, I praise you [...] walk upon the earth [...] the words while he [...] on the [...]. For cast away from you the cup which is bitterness. For some from [...] set themselves against you. For you have begun to understand their roots from beginning to end. Cast away from yourself all lawlessness. And beware lest they envy you. When you speak these words of this perception, encourage these four: Salome and Mariam and Martha and Arsinoe [...] since he takes some [...] to me he is [...] burnt offerings and [...]. But I [...] not in this way; but [...] first-fruits of the [...] upward [...] so that the power of God might appear. The perishable has gone up to the imperishable and the female element has attained to this male element."

James said, "Rabbi, into these three (things), then, has their [...] been cast. For they have been reviled, and they have been persecuted [...]. Behold [...] everything [...] from anyone [...]. For you have received [...] of knowledge. And [...] that what is the [...] go [...] you will find [...]. But I shall go forth and shall reveal that they believed in you, that they may be content with their blessing and salvation, and this revelation may come to pass."

And he went at that time immediately and rebuked the twelve and cast out of them contentment concerning the way of knowledge [...].

[...]. And the majority of them [...] when they saw, the messenger took in [...]. The others [...] said, "[...] him from this earth. For he is not worthy of life." These, then, were afraid. They arose, saying, "We have no part in this blood, for a just man will perish through injustice" James departed so that [...] look [...] for we [...] him.

THE (SECOND) APOCALYPSE OF JAMES, THE BROTHER OF JESUS

From: The Nag Hammadi Library
Translation: Charles W. Hedrick
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 4th centuries A.D.

(The Second Apocalypse of James is a 2nd century apocalyptic text of the Nag Hammadi library which describes the trial and martyrdom of James the Just. It is believed to have been written around the second century AD. The gnostic text contains many Jewish-Christian themes, making many scholars think it to be one of the earlier texts, originally from the early or mid-second century. One of the most curious features of the second apocalypse of James is that this range of dating, of its original text, assigned to it by scholars, requires that it was written before the First Apocalypse of James. The text features a kiss between James and Jesus, on the lips, in a similar manner to the way in which Jesus is said to have kissed Mary Magdalene in other gnostic texts (which lent credence to the idea that early tradition considered Mary to be The Beloved Disciple).

A number of differences are seen from the more canonical history that the text describes. For example, it names James' father Theudas (Thaddeus, which is another name for Jude) rather than Joseph, who is presented as the biological father of James by the mid-second-century Protevangelium of James. The wife of this Theudas is named Mary, but whether this Mary is the same woman as the mother of Jesus, or whether this wife of Theudas named Mary is supposed to be the biological mother of James, is not clear from the text. The First Apocalypse of James explicitly claims that James and Jesus are not biological brothers. There is an Apostle Jude in some lists of the Twelve, but not in others. He is called Jude of James. The name "Jude of James", as given in Luke 6:16, is sometimes interpreted as "Jude, brother of James" (See Luke 6:16), though such a construction commonly denotes a relationship of father and son. The name "Jude of James" could therefore also be interpreted as "James the son of Jude". This would implicate that this James was another James who could have been Jesus' nephew. We have to bear in mind that a cousin or nephew in Antiquity was called "brother" as well.)

This is the discourse that James the Just spoke in Jerusalem, which Mareim, one of the priests, wrote. He had told it to Theuda, the father of the Just One, since he was a relative of his. He said, "Hasten! Come with Mary, your wife, and your relatives [...] therefore [...] of this [...] to him, he will understand. For behold, a multitude are disturbed over his [...], and they are greatly angry at him. [...] and they pray [...]. For he would often say these words and others also."

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"He used to speak these words while the multitude of people were seated. But (on this occasion) he entered and did <not> sit down in the place, as was his custom. Rather he sat above the fifth flight of steps, which is (highly) esteemed, while all our people [...] the words [...]."

"[...]. I am he who received revelation from the Pleroma of Imperishability. (I am) he who was first summoned by him who is great, and who obeyed the Lord - he who passed through the worlds [...], he who [...], he who stripped himself and went about naked, he who was found in a perishable (state), though he was about to be brought up into imperishability. - This Lord who is present came as a son who sees, and as a brother was he sought. He will come to [...] produced him because [...] and he unites [...] make him free [...] in [...] he who came to [...]."

"Now again am I rich in knowledge and I have a unique understanding, which was produced only from above and the [...] comes from a [...]. I am the [...] whom I knew. That which was revealed to me was hidden from everyone and shall (only) be revealed through him. These two who see I <...> (and) they have already proclaimed through these words: "He shall be judged with the unrighteous". He who lived without blasphemy died by means of blasphemy. He who was cast out, they [...]."

"[...] the flesh and it is by knowledge that I shall come forth from the flesh. I am surely dying, but it is in life that I shall be found. I entered in order that they might judge [...] I shall come forth in [...] judge [...] I do not bring blame against the servants of his [...]. I hasten to make them free and want to take them above him who wants to rule over them. If they are helped, I am the brother in secret, who prayed to the Father until he [...] in [...] reign [...] imperishability [...] first in [...]."

I am the first son who was begotten. - He will destroy the dominion of them all. -

I am the beloved. I am the righteous one. I am the son of the Father. I speak even as I heard. I command even as I received the order. I show you even as I have found.

Behold, I speak in order that I may come forth. Pay attention to me in order that you may see me!

"If I have come into existence, who then am I? For I did <not> come as I am, nor would I have appeared as I am. For I used to exist for a brief period of time [...]."

"Once when I was sitting deliberating, he opened the door. That one whom you hated and persecuted came in to me. He said to me, "Hail, my brother; my brother, hail." As I raised my face to stare at him, (my) mother said to me, "Do not be frightened, my son, because he said 'My brother' to you (sg.). For you (pl.) were nourished with this same milk. Because of this he calls me "My mother". For he is not a stranger to us. He is your step-brother [...]."

"[...] these words [...] great [...] I shall find them, and they shall come forth. However, I am the stranger, and they have no knowledge of me in their thoughts, for they know me in this place. But it was fitting that others know through you.

"<You are> the one to whom I say: Hear and understand - for a multitude, when they hear, will be slow witted. But you, understand as I shall be able to tell you. Your father is not my father. But my father has become a father to you.

"This virgin about whom you hear - this is how [...] virgin [...] namely, the virgin. [...], how [...] to me for [...] to know [...] not as [...] whom I [...]. For this one (masc.) [...] to him, and this also is profitable for you. Your father, whom you consider to be rich, shall grant that you inherit all these things that you see.

"I proclaim to you to tell you these (words) that I shall speak. When you hear, therefore, open your ears and understand and walk (accordingly)! It is because of you that they pass by, activated by that one who is glorious. And if they want to make a disturbance and (seize) possession [...] he began [...] not, nor those who are coming, who were sent forth by him to make this present creation. After these things, when he is ashamed, he shall be disturbed that his labour, which is far from the aeons, is nothing. And his inheritance, which he boasted to be great, shall appear small. And his gifts are not blessings. His promises are evil schemes. For you are not an (instrument) of his compassion, but it is through you that he does violence. He wants to do injustice to us, and will exercise dominion for a time allotted to him.

"But understand and know the Father who has compassion. He was not given an inheritance that was unlimited, nor does it have a (limited) number of days, but it is as the eternal day [...] it is [...] perceive [...]. And he used [...]. For in fact he is not one (come) from them, (and) because of this, he is despised. Because of this he boasts, so that he may not be reproved. For because of this he is superior to those who are below, those by whom you were looked down upon. After he imprisoned those from the Father, he seized them and fashioned them to resemble himself. And it is with him that they exist.

"I saw from the height those things that happened, and I have explained how they happened. They were visited while they were in another form, and, while I was watching, they came to know <me> as I am, through those whom I know.

"Now before those things have happened they will make a [...]. I know how they attempted to come down to this place that he might approach [...] the small children, but I wish to reveal through you and the spirit of power, in order that he might reveal to those who are yours. And those who wish to enter, and who seek to walk in the way that is before the door, open the good door through you. And they follow you; they enter and you escort them inside, and give a reward to each one who is ready for it.

For you are not the redeemer nor a helper of strangers.

You are an illuminator and a redeemer of those who are mine, and now of those who are yours.

You shall reveal (to them); you shall bring good among them all.

You they shall admire because of every powerful (deed).

You are he whom the heavens bless.

You he shall envy, he who has called himself your Lord.

I am the [...] those who are instructed in these things with you.

For your sake, they will be told these things, and will come to rest.

For your sake, they will reign, and will become kings.

For your sake, they will have pity on whomever they pity.

For just as you are first having clothed yourself, you are also the first who will strip himself, and you shall become as you were before you were stripped."

"And he kissed my mouth. He took hold of me, saying, "My beloved! Behold, I shall reveal to you those things that (neither) the heavens nor their archons have known. Behold, I shall reveal to you those things that he did not know, he who boasted, "[...] there is no other except me. Am I not alive? Because I am a father, do I not have power for everything?" Behold, I shall reveal to you everything, my beloved. Understand and know them, that you may come forth just as I am. Behold, I shall reveal to you him who is hidden. But now, stretch out your hand. Now, take hold of me."

"And then I stretched out my hands and I did not find him as I thought (he would be). But afterward I heard him saying, "Understand and take hold of me." Then I understood, and I was afraid. And I was exceedingly joyful.

"Therefore, I tell you judges, you have been judged. And you did not spare, but you were spared. Be sober and [...] you did not know.

He was that one whom he who created the heaven and the earth and dwelled in it, did not see.

He was this one who is the life.

He was the light.

He was that one who will come to be.

And again he shall provide an end for what has begun, and a beginning for what is about to be ended.

He was the Holy Spirit and the Invisible One, who did not descend upon the earth.

He was the virgin, and that which he wishes, happens to him.

I saw that he was naked, and there was no garment clothing him.

That which he wills, happens to him [...].

"Renounce this difficult way, which is (so) variable, and walk in accordance with him who desires that you become free men with me, after you have passed above every dominion. For he will not judge (you) for those things that you did, but will have mercy on you. For (it is) not you that did them, but it is your Lord (that did them). He was not a wrathful one, but he was a kind Father.

"But you have judged yourselves, and because of this you will remain in their fetters. You have oppressed yourselves, and you will repent, (but) you will not profit at all. Behold him who speaks and seek him who is silent. Know him who came to this place, and understand him who went forth (from it). I am the Just One, and I do <not> judge. I am not a master, then, but I am a helper. He was cast out before he stretched out his hand. I [...].

"[...] and he allows me to hear. And play your trumpets, your flutes and your harps of this house. The Lord has taken you captive from the Lord, having closed your ears, that they may not hear the sound of my word. Yet you will be able to pay heed in your hearts, and you will call me 'the Just One.' Therefore, I tell you: Behold, I gave you your house, which you say that God has made - that (house) in which he promised to give you an inheritance through it. This (house) I shall doom to destruction and derision of those who are in ignorance. For behold, those who judge deliberarate [...]."

On that day all the people and the crowd were disturbed, and they showed that they had not been persuaded. And he arose and went forth speaking in this manner. And he entered (again) on that same day and spoke a few hours. And I was with the priests and revealed nothing of the relationship, since all of them were saying with one voice, 'Come, let us stone the Just One.' And they arose, saying, 'Yes, let us kill this man, that he may be taken from our midst. For he will be of no use to us.'

And they were there and found him standing beside the columns of the temple beside the mighty corner stone. And they decided to throw him down from the height, and they cast him down. And they [...] they [...]. They seized him and struck him as they dragged him upon the ground. They stretched him out and placed a stone on his abdomen. They all placed their feet on him, saying 'You have erred!'

Again they raised him up, since he was alive, and made him dig a hole. They made him stand in it. After having covered him up to his abdomen, they stoned him in this manner.

And he stretched out his hands and said this prayer - not that (one) which it is his custom to say:

'My God and my father, who saved me from this dead hope, who made me alive through a mystery of what he wills,

Do not let these days of this world be prolonged for me, but the day of your light [...] remains in [...] salvation.

Deliver me from this place of sojourn! Do not let your grace be left behind in me, but may your grace become pure!

Save me from an evil death! Bring me from a tomb alive, because your grace - love - is alive in me to accomplish a work of fullness!

Save me from sinful flesh, because I trusted in you with all my strength, because you are the life of the life!

Save me from a humiliating enemy! Do not give me into the hand of a judge who is severe with sin! Forgive me all my debts of the days (of my life)!

Because I am alive in you, your grace is alive in me. I have renounced everyone, but you I have confessed. Save me from evil affliction!

But now is the time and the hour. O Holy Spirit, send me salvation [...] the light [...] the light [...] in a power [...].'

"After he spoke, he fell silent [...] word [...] afterward [...] the discourse [...]."

THE (GREEK) APOCALYPSE OF PETER

From "The Apocryphal New Testament"
Translation: M.R. James, 1924
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 4th centuries A.D.

(There is no complete version of this book. Therefore it was necessary to build a reconstruction from several fragment and text elements: From Clement of Alexandria's so-called Prophetical Extracts: A fragment in Greek, called the Akhmim fragment, found with the Passion-fragment of the Gospel of Peter in a manuscript known as the Gizeh manuscript. (discovered in a tomb) now at Cairo. Other fragments are from the Symposium of Methodius of Olympus, a fragment from the Bodleian Library, text from an Ethiopic version contained in one of the numerous forms of the books of Clement, and the last chapter was found in the Sibylline Oracles. The scientific translation by M. R. James has lots of notes and paragraphs. They had to be left out in order to make reading easier and smooth. However, the text is the original translation.

Mind that there is another book in existence with the same name but different contents in Coptic. It was found in Nag Hammadi, Egypt, in 1945. It will follow this version.)

APOCALYPSE OF PETER CHAPTER 1

1 (From Clement of Alexandria's so-called Prophetical Extracts): The Scripture saith that the children which have been exposed (by their parents) are delivered to a care-taking angel by whom they are educated, and made to grow up, and they shall be, it saith, as the faithful of an hundred years old are here in this life.

Wherefore also Peter in the Apocalypse saith: And a flash (lightning) of fire leaping from those children and smiting the eyes of the women.

2 The providence of God doth not light upon them only that are in the flesh. For example, Peter in the Apocalypse saith that the children born out of due time abortively that would have been of the better part (would have been saved if they had lived)--these are delivered to a care-taking angel, that they may partake of knowledge and obtain the better abode, having suffered what they would have suffered had they been in the body. But the others (those who would not have been saved, had they lived) shall only obtain salvation, as beings that have been injured and had mercy shown to them, and shall continue without torment, receiving that as a reward.

But the milk of the mothers, flowing from their breasts and congealing, saith Peter in the Apocalypse, shall engender small beasts (snakes) devouring the flesh, and these running upon them devour them: teaching that the torments come to pass because of the sins (correspond to the sins).

3. (From the Symposium, 2.6, of Methodius of Olympus): Whence also we have received in inspired writings that children born untimely -even if they be the offspring of adultery- are delivered to care-taking angels. For if they had come into being contrary to the will and ordinance of that blessed nature of God, how could they have been delivered to angels to be nourished up in all repose and tranquillity? And how could they have confidently summoned their parents before the judgement seat of Christ to accuse them? saying: Thou, O Lord, didst not begrudge us this light that is common to all, but these exposed us to death, contemning thy commandment.

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4. (From the Apocritica, 4.6-7 of Macarius Magnes): And by way of superfluity let this also be cited which is said in the Apocalypse of Peter. He introduces the Heaven, to be judged along with the earth, thus: The earth, he says, shall present all men to God to be judged in the day of judgement being itself also to be judged along with the heaven that encompasseth it.

5. And this again he says, which is a statement full of impiety: And every power of heaven shall be melted, and the heaven shall be rolled up like a book, and all the stars shall fall like leaves from the vine, and as the leaves from the fig-tree.

6. (From an old Latin homily on the Ten Virgins): The closed door is the river of fire by which the ungodly shall be kept out of the kingdom of God, as is written in Daniel and in Peter, in his Apocalypse.... That company of the foolish also shall arise and find the door shut, that is, the fiery river set against them.

APOCALYPSE OF PETER CHAPTER 2

(From The Akhmim Fragment,)

1 Many of them shall be false prophets, and shall teach ways and diverse doctrines of perdition.

2 And they shall become sons of perdition.

3 And then shall God come unto my faithful ones that hunger and thirst and are afflicted and prove their souls in this life, and shall judge the sons of iniquity.

4 And the Lord added and said: Let us go unto the mountain (and) pray.

5 And going with him, we the twelve disciples besought him that he would show us one of our righteous brethren that had departed out of the world, that we might see what manner of men they are in their form, and take courage, and encourage also the men that should hear us.

6 And as we prayed, suddenly there appeared two men standing before the Lord (perhaps add, to the east) upon whom we were not able to look.

7 For there issued from their countenance a ray as of the sun, and their raiment was shining so as the eye of man never saw the like: for no mouth is able to declare nor heart to conceive the glory wherewith they were clad and the beauty of their countenance.

8 Whom when we saw we were astonied, for their bodies were whiter than any snow and redder than any rose.

9 And the redness of them was mingled with the whiteness, and, in a word, I am not able to declare their beauty.

10 For their hair was curling and flourishing (flowery), and fell comely about their countenance and their shoulders like a garland woven of nard and various flowers, or like a rainbow in the air: such was their comeliness.

11 We, then, seeing the beauty of them were astonied at them, for they appeared suddenly.

12 And I drew near to the Lord and said: Who are these?

13 He saith to me: These are your (our) righteous brethren whose appearance ye did desire to see.

14 And I said unto him: And where are all the righteous? or of what sort is the world wherein they are, and possess this glory?

15 And the Lord showed me a very great region outside this world exceeding bright with light, and the air of that place illuminated with the beams of the sun, and the earth of itself flowering with blossoms that fade not, and full of spices and plants, fair-flowering and incorruptible, and bearing blessed fruit.

16 And so great was the blossom that the odour thereof was borne thence even unto us.

17 And the dwellers in that place were clad with the raiment of shining angels, and their raiment was like unto their land.

18 And angels ran round about them there.

19 And the glory of them that dwelt there was all equal, and with one voice they praised the Lord God, rejoicing in that place.

20 The Lord saith unto us: This is the place of your leaders (or, high priests), the righteous men.

21 And I saw also another place over against that one, very squalid; and it was a place of punishment, and they that were punished and the angels that punished them had their raiment dark, according to the air of the place.

22 And some there were there hanging by their tongues; and these were they that blasphemed the way of righteousness, and under them was laid fire flaming and tormenting them.

23 And there was a great lake full of flaming mire, wherein were certain men that turned away from righteousness; and angels, tormentors, were set over them.

24 And there were also others, women, hanged by their hair above that mire which boiled up; and these were they that adorned themselves for adultery. And the men that were joined with them in the defilement of adultery were hanging by their feet, and had their heads hidden in the mire, and said: We believed not that we should come unto this place.

25 And I saw the murderers and them that were consenting to them cast into a strait place full of evil, creeping things, and smitten by those beasts, and so turning themselves about in that torment. And upon them were set worms like clouds of darkness. And the souls of them that were murdered stood and looked upon the torment of those murderers and said: O God, righteous is thy judgement.

26 And hard by that place I saw another strait place wherein the discharge and the stench of them that were in torment ran down, and there was as it were a lake there. And there sat women up to their necks in that liquor, and over against them many children which were born out of due time sat crying: and from them went forth rays of fire and smote the women in the eyes: and these were they that conceived out of wedlock (?) and caused abortion.

27 And other men and women were being burned up to their middle and cast down in a dark place and scourged by evil spirits, and having their entrails devoured by worms that rested not. And these were they that had persecuted the righteous and delivered them up.

28 And near to them again were women and men gnawing their lips and in torment, and having iron heated in the fire set against their eyes. And these were they that did blaspheme and speak evil of the way of righteousness.

29 And over against these were yet others, men and women, gnawing their tongues and having flaming fire in their mouths. And these were the false witnesses.

30 And in another place were gravel-stones sharper than swords or any spit, heated with fire, and men and women clad in filthy rags rolled upon them in torment. [This is suggested by the LXX of two passages in Job: xli. 30, his bed is of sharp spits; viii. 17, on an heap of stones doth he rest, and shall live in the midst of gravel-stones.] And these were they that were rich and trusted in their riches, and had no pity upon orphans and widows but neglected the commandments of God.

31 And in another great lake full of foul matter (pus) and blood and boiling mire stood men and women up to their knees And these were they that lent money and demanded usury upon usury.

32 And other men and women being cast down from a great rock (precipice) fell (came) to the bottom, and again were driven by them that were set over them, to go up upon the rock, and thence were cast down to the bottom and had no rest from this torment. And these were they that did defile their bodies behaving as women: and the women that were with them were they that lay with one another as a man with a woman.

33 And beside that rock was a place full of much fire, and there stood men which with their own hands had made images for themselves instead of God, [And beside them other men and women] having rods of fire and smiting one another and never resting from this manner of torment....

34 And yet others near unto them, men and women, burning and turning themselves about and roasted as in a pan. And these were they that forsook the way of God.

APOCALYPSE OF PETER CHAPTER 3

(From The Bodleian Leaf

[. . .] women holding chains and scourging themselves before those idols of deceit. And they shall unceasingly have this torment. And near [. . .]

[. . .] them shall be other men and women burning in the burning of them that were mad after idols. And these are they which forsook the way of God wholly (?) and [. . .]

APOCALYPSE OF PETER CHAPTER 4

(From The Ethiopic Text)

1 The Second Coming of Christ and Resurrection of the Dead (which Christ revealed unto Peter) who died because of their sins, for that they kept not the commandment of God their creator.

2 And Peter pondered thereon, that he might perceive the mystery of the Son of God, the merciful and lover of mercy.

And when the Lord was seated upon the Mount of Olives, his disciples came unto him.

3 And we besought and entreated him severally and prayed him, saying unto him: Declare unto us what are the signs of thy coming and of the end of the world, that we may perceive and mark the time of thy coming and instruct them that come after us, unto whom we preach the word of thy gospel, and whom we set over (in) thy church, that they when they hear it may take heed to themselves and mark the time of thy coming.

4 And our Lord answered us, saying: Take heed that no man deceive you, and that ye be not doubters and serve other gods. Many shall come in my name, saying: I am the Christ. Believe them not, neither draw near unto them. For the coming of the Son of God shall not be plain (i.e. foreseen); but as the lightning that shineth from the east unto the west, so will I come upon the clouds of heaven with a great host in my majesty; with my cross going before my face will I come in my majesty, shining sevenfold more than the sun will I come in my majesty with all my saints, mine angels (mine holy angels). And my Father shall set a crown upon mine head, that I may judge the quick and the dead and recompense every man according to his works.

5 And ye, take ye the likeness thereof (learn a parable) from the fig-tree: so soon as the shoot thereof is come forth and the twigs grown, the end of the world shall come.

6 And I, Peter, answered and said unto him: Interpret unto me concerning the fig-tree, whereby we shall perceive it; for throughout all its days doth the fig-tree send forth shoots, and every year it bringeth forth its fruit for its master. What then meaneth the parable of the fig-tree? We know it not.

7 And the Master (Lord) answered and said unto me: Understandest thou not that the fig-tree is the house of Israel? Even as a man that planted a fig-tree in his garden, and it brought forth no fruit. And he sought the fruit thereof many years and when he found it not, he said to the keeper of his garden: Root up this fig-tree that it make not our ground to be unfruitful. And the gardener said unto God: (Suffer us) to rid it of weeds and dig the ground round about it and water it. If then it bear not fruit, we will straightway remove its roots out of the garden and plant another in place of it. Hast thou not undErstood that the fig-tree is the house of Israel? Verily I say unto thee, when the twigs thereof have sprouted forth in the last days, then shall feigned Christs come and awake expectation saying: I am the Christ, that am now come into the world. And when they (Israel) shall perceive the wickedness of their deeds they shall turn away after them and deny him [whom our fathers did praise], even the first Christ whom they crucified and therein sinned a great sin. But this deceiver is not the Christ. [something is wrong here: the sense required is that Israel perceives the wickedness of antichrist and does not follow him.] And when they reject him he shall slay with the sword, and there shall be many martyrs. Then shall the twigs of the fig-tree, that is, the house of Israel, shoot forth: many shall become martyrs at his hand. Enoch and Elias shall be sent to teach them that this is the deceiver which must come into the world and do signs and wonders to deceive. And therefore shall they that die by his hand be martyrs, and shall be reckoned among the good and righteous martyrs who have pleased God in their life. [Hermas, Vision III.i.9, speaks of 'those that have already been well-pleasing unto God and have suffered for the Name's sake'.]

And he showed me in his right hand the souls of all men, And on the palm of his right hand the image of that which shall be accomplished at the last day: and how the righteous and the sinners shall be separated, and how they do that are upright in heart, and how the evil-doers shall be rooted out unto all eternity. We beheld how the sinners wept (weep) in great affliction and sorrow, until all that saw it with their eyes wept, whether righteous or angels, and he himself also.

8 And I asked him and said unto him: Lord, suffer me to speak thy word concerning the sinners: It were better for them if they had not been created. And the Saviour answered and said unto me: Peter, wherefore speakest thou thus, that not to have been created were better for them? Thou resistest God. Thou wouldest not have more compassion than he for his image: for he hath created them and brought them forth out of not being. Now because thou hast seen the lamentation which shall come upon the sinners in the last days, therefore is thine heart troubled; but I will show thee their works, whereby they have sinned against the Most High.

9 Behold now what shall come upon them in the last days, when the day of God and the day of the decision of the judgement of God cometh. From the east unto the west shall all the children of men be gathered together before my Father that liveth for ever. And he shall command hell to open its bars of adamant and give up all that is therein.

10 And the wild beasts and the fowls shall he command to restore all the flesh that they have devoured, because he willeth that men should appear; for nothing perisheth before God, and nothing is impossible with him, because all things are his.

11 For all things come to pass on the day of decision, on the day of judgement, at the word of God: and as all things were done when he created the world and commanded all that is therein and it was done -even so shall it be in the last days; for all things are possible with God. And therefore saith he in the scripture: [Ezek. xxxvii.] Son of man, prophesy upon the several bones and say unto the bones: bone unto bone in joints, sinew. nerves, flesh and skin and hair thereon [and soul and spirit].

12 And soul and spirit shall the great Uriel give them at the commandment of God; for him hath God set over the rising again of the dead at the day of judgement.

13 Behold and consider the corns of wheat that are sown in the earth. As things dry and without soul do men sow them in the earth: and they live again and bear fruit, and the earth restoreth them as a pledge entrusted unto it.

[And this that dieth, that is sown as seed in the earth, and shall become alive and be restored unto life, is man. Probably a gloss.]

14 How much more shall God raise up on the day of decision them that believe in him and are chosen of him, for whose sake he made the world? And all things shall the earth restore on the day of decision, for it also shall be judged with them, and the heaven with it.

15 And this shall come at the day of judgement upon them that have fallen away from faith in God and that have committed sin: Floods (cataracts) of fire shall be let loose; and darkness and obscurity shall come up and clothe and veil the

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whole world and the waters shall be changed and turned into coals of fire and all that is in them shall burn, and the sea shall become fire. Under the heaven shall be a sharp fire that cannot be quenched and floweth to fulfil the judgement of wrath. And the stars shall fly in pieces by flames of fire, as if they had not been created and the powers (firmaments) of the heaven shall pass away for lack of water and shall be as though they had not been. And the lightnings of heaven shall be no more, and by their enchantment they shall affright the world (probably: The heaven shall turn to lightning and the lightnings thereof shall affright the world. The spirits also of the dead bodies shall be like unto them (the lightnings?) and shall become fire at the commandment of God.

16 And so soon as the whole creation dissolveth, the men that are in the east shall flee unto the west, unto the east; they that are in the south shall flee to the north, and they that are in the south. And in all places shall the wrath of a fearful fire overtake them and an unquenchable flame driving them shall bring them unto the judgement of wrath, unto the stream of unquenchable fire that floweth, flaming with fire, and when the waves thereof part themselves one from another, burning, there shall be a great gnashing of teeth among the children of men.

17 Then shall they all behold me coming upon an eternal cloud of brightness: and the angels of God that are with me shall sit (prob. And I shall sit) upon the throne of my glory at the right hand of my Heavenly Father; and he shall set a crown upon mine head. And when the nations behold it, they shall weep, every nation apart.

18 Then shall he command them to enter into the river of fire while the works of every one of them shall stand before them (something is wanting) to every man according to his deeds. As for the elect that have done good, they shall come unto me and not see death by the devouring fire. But the unrighteous the sinners, and the hypocrites shall stand in the depths of darkness that shall not pass away, and their chastisement is the fire, and angels bring forward their sins and prepare for them a place wherein they shall be punished for ever (every one according to his transgression).

19 Uriel (Urael) the angel of God shall bring forth the souls of those sinners (every one according to his transgression: perhaps this clause should end the preceding paragraph: so Grebaut takes it) who perished in the flood, and of all that dwelt in all idols, in every molten image, in every (object of) love, and in pictures, and of those that dwelt on all hills and in stones and by the wayside, whom men called gods: they shall burn them with them (the objects in which they dwelt, or their worshippers?) in everlasting fire; and after that all of them with their dwelling places are destroyed, they shall be punished eternally.

APOCALYPSE OF PETER CHAPTER 5

(description of torments, the Akhmim fragment.)

1 Then shall men and women come unto the place prepared for them. By their tongues wherewith they have blasphemed the way of righteousness shall they be hanged up. There is spread under them unquenchable fire, that they escape it not.

2 Behold, another place: therein is a pit, great and full (of . .) In it are they that have denied righteousness: and angels of punishment chastise them and there do they kindle upon them the fire of their torment.

3 And again behold [two: corrupt] women: they hang them up by their neck and by their hair; they shall cast them into the pit. These are they which plaited their hair, not for good (or, not to make them beautiful) but to turn them to fornication, that they might ensnare the souls of men unto perdition. And the men that lay with them in fornication shall be hung by their loins in that place of fire; and they shall say one to another: We knew not that we should come unto everlasting punishment.

4 And the murderers and them that have made common cause with them shall they cast into the fire, in a place full of venomous beasts, and they shall be tormented without rest, feeling their pains; and their worms shall be as many in number as a dark cloud. And the angel Ezrael shall bring forth the souls of them that have been slain, and they shall behold the torment of them that slew them, and say one to another: Righteousness and justice is the judgement of God. For we heard, but we believed not, that we should come into this place of eternal judgement.

5 And near by this flame shall be a pit, great and very deep, and into it floweth from above all manner of torment, foulness, and issue. And women are swallowed up therein up to their necks and tormented with great pain. These are they that have caused their children to be born untimely, and have corrupted the work of God that created them. Over against them shall be another place where sit their children [both] alive, and they cry unto God. And flashes (lightnings) go forth from those children and pierce the eyes of them that for fornication's sake have caused their destruction.

6 Other men and women shall stand above them, naked; and their children stand over against them in a place of delight, and sigh and cry unto God because of their parents, saying: These are they that have despised and cursed and transgressed thy commandments and delivered us unto death: they have cursed the angel that formed us, and have hanged us up, and withheld from us (or, begrudged us) the light which thou hast given unto all creatures. And the milk of their mothers flowing from their breasts shall congeal, and from it shall come beasts devouring flesh, which shall come forth and turn and torment them for ever with their husbands, because they forsook the commandments of God and slew their children. As for their children, they shall be delivered unto the angel Temlakos (i.e. a care-taking angel: see above, in the Fragments). And they that slew them shall be tormented eternally, for God willeth it so.

7 Ezrael the angel of wrath shall bring men and women, the half of their bodies burning, and cast them into a place of darkness, even the hell of men; and a spirit of wrath shall chastise them with all manner of torment, and a worm that sleepeth not shall devour their entrails: and these are the persecutors and betrayers of my righteous ones.

8 And beside them that are there, shall be other men and women, gnawing their tongues; and they shall torment them with red-hot iron and burn their eyes. These are they that slander and doubt of my righteousness. Other men and women whose works were done in deceitfulness shall have their lips cut off, and fire entereth into their mouth and their entrails. These are the false witnesses (al. these are they that caused the martyrs to die by their lying).

9 And beside them, in a place near at hand, upon the stone shall be a pillar of fire, and the pillar is sharper than swords. And there shall be men and women clad in rags and filthy garments, and they shall be cast thereon, to suffer the judgement of a torment that ceaseth not: these are they that trusted in their riches and despised the widows and the woman with fatherless children . . . before God.

10 And into another place hard by, full of filth, do they cast men and women up to the knees. These are they that lent money and took usury.

11 And other men and women cast themselves down from an high place and return again and run, and devils drive them. [These are the worshippers of idols] and they put them to the end of their witst (drive them up to the top of the height) and they cast themselves down. And thus do they continually, and are tormented for ever. These are they which have cut their flesh as [apostles] of a man: and the women that were with them . . . and these are the men that defiled themselves together as women. (This is very corrupt: but the sense is clear in the (Greek.)

12 And beside them (shall be a brazier ?) . . . and beneath them shall the angel Ezrael prepare a place of much fire: and all the idols of gold and silver, all idols, the work of men's hands, and the semblances of images of cats and lions, of creeping things and wild beasts, and the men and women that have prepared the images thereof, shall be in chains of fire and shall be chastised because of their error before the idols, and this is their judgement for ever. (In the Greek they beat each other with rods of fire: and this is better.)

13 And beside them shall be other men and women, burning in the fire of the judgement, and their torment is everlasting. These are they that have forsaken the commandment of God and followed the (persuasions ?) of devils.

APOCALYPSE OF PETER CHAPTER 6

(Parts of these two sections are in the Bodleian Fragment. At this point the Akhmim fragment ends. The Ethiopic continues):

1 And there shall be another place, very high (corrupt sentences follow. Duensing omits them: Grebaut renders doubtfully: There shall be a furnace and a brazier wherein shall burn fire. The fire that shall burn shall come from one end of the brazier). The men and women whose feet slip, shall go rolling down into a place where is fear. And again while the fire that is prepared floweth, they mount up and fall down again and continue to roll down. (This suggests a narrow bridge over a stream of fire which they keep trying to cross.) Thus shall they be tormented for ever. These are they that honoured not their father and mother and of their own accord withheld (withdrew) themselves from them. Therefore shall they be chastised eternally.

2 Furthermore the angel Ezrael shall bring children and maidens to show them those that are tormented. They shall be chastised with pains, with hanging (their bodies) up and with a multitude of wounds which flesh-devouring birds shall inflict upon them. These are they that boast themselves (trust) in their sins, and obey not their parents and follow not the instruction of their fathers, and honour not them that are more aged than they.

3 Beside them shall be girls clad in darkness for a garment and they shall be sore chastised and their flesh shall be torn in pieces. These are they that kept not their virginity until they were given in marriage, and with these torments shall they be punished, and shall feel them.

4 And again, other men and women, gnawing their tongues without ceasing, and being tormented with everlasting fire. These are the servants (slaves) which were not obedient unto their masters; and this then is their judgement for ever.

5 And hard by this place of torment shall be men and women dumb and blind, whose raiment is white. They shall crowd one upon another, and fall upon coals of unquenchable fire. These are they that give alms and say: We are righteous before God: whereas they have not sought after righteousness.

6 Ezrael the angel of God shall bring them forth out of this fire and establish a judgement of decision. This then is their judgement. A river of fire shall flow and all judgement (they that are judged) shall be drawn down into the middle of the river. And Uriel shall set them there.

7 And there are wheels of fire and men and women hung thereon by the strength of the whirling thereof. And they that are in the pit shall burn: now these are the sorcerers and sorceresses. Those wheels shall be in a]l decision (judgement, punishment) by fire without number.

8 Thereafter shall the angels bring mine elect and righteous which are perfect in all uprightness, and bear them in their hands, and clothe them with the raiment of the life that is above. They shall see their desire on them that hated them, when he punisheth them, and the torment of every one shall be for ever according to his works.

9 And all they that are in torment shall say with one voice: have mercy upon us, for now know we the judgement of God, which he declared unto us aforetime, and we believed not. And the angel Tatirokos (Tartaruchus, keeper of hell: a word corresponding in formation to Temeluchus) shall come and chastise them with yet greater torment, and say unto them: Now do ye repent, when it is no longer the time for repentance, and nought of life remaineth. And they shall say: Righteous is the judgement of God, for we have heard and perceived that his judgement is good; for we are recompensed according to our deeds.

10 Then will I give unto mine elect and righteous the washing (baptism) and the salvation for which they have besought me, in the field of Akrosja (Acherousia, a lake in other writings, e.g. Apocalypse of Moses -where the soul of Adam is washed in it: see also Paul 22, 23) which is called Aneslasleja (Elysium). They shall adorn with flowers the portion of the righteous, and I shall go . . . I shall rejoice with them. I will cause the peoples to enter in to mine everlasting kingdom, and show them that eternal thing (life ?) whereon I have made them to set their hope, even I and my Father which is in heaven.

11 I have spoken this unto thee, Peter, and declared it unto thee. Go forth therefore and go unto the land (or city) of the west. (Duensing omits the next sentences as unintelligible; Grebaut and N. McLean render thus: and enter into the vineyard which I shall tell thee of, in order that by the sickness (sufferings) of the Son who is without sin the deeds of corruption may be sanctified. As for thee, thou art chosen according to the promise which I have given thee. Spread thou therefore my gospel throughout all the world in peace. Verily men shall rejoice: my words shall be the source of hope and of life, and suddenly shall the world be ravished.)

APOCALYPSE OF PETER CHAPTER 7

(We now have the section descriptive of paradise, which in the Akhmim text precedes that about hell.)

1 And my Lord Jesus Christ our King said unto me: Let us go unto the holy mountain. And his disciples went with him, praying. And behold there were two men there, and we could not look upon their faces, for a light came from them, shining more than the sun, and their rairment also was shining, and cannot be described, and nothing is sufficient to be compared unto them in this world. And the sweetness of them . . . that no mouth is able to utter the beauty of their appearance (or, the mouth hath not sweetness to express, &c.), for their aspect was astonishing and wonderful. And the other, great, I say (probably: and, in a word, I cannot describe it), shineth in his (sic) aspect above crystal. Like the flower of roses is the appearance of the colour of his aspect and of his body . . . his head (al. their head was a marvel). And upon his (their) shoulders (evidently something about their hair has dropped out) and on their foreheads was a crown of nard woven of fair flowers. As the rainbow in the water (in the time of rain) so was their hair. And such was the comeliness of their countenance, adorned with all manner of ornament. And when we saw them on a sudden, we marvelled. And I drew near unto the Lord (God) Jesus Christ and said unto him: O my Lord, who are these? And he said unto me: They are Moses and Elias. And I said unto him: Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and the rest of the righteous fathers? And he showed us a great garden, open, full of fair trees and blessed fruits, and of the odour of perfumes. The fragrance thereof was pleasant and came even unto us. And thereof (al. of that tree) . . . saw I much fruit. And my Lord and God Jesus Christ said unto me: Hast thou seen the companies of the fathers?

2 As is their rest, such also is the honour and the glory of them that are persecuted for my righteousness' sake. And I rejoiced and believed [and believed] and understood that which is written in the book of my Lord Jesus Christ. And I said unto him: O my Lord, wilt thou that I make here three tabernacles, one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias? And he said unto me in wrath: Satan maketh war against thee,

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and hath veiled thine understanding; and the good things of this world prevail against thee. Thine eyes therefore must be opened and thine ears unstopped that a tabernacle, not made with men's hands, which my heavenly Father hath made for me and for the elect. And we beheld it and were full of gladness.

3 And behold, suddenly there came a voice from heaven, saying: This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased: my commandments. And then came a great and exceeding white cloud over our heads and bare away our Lord and Moses and Elias. And I trembled and was afraid: and we looked up and the heaven opened and we beheld men in the flesh, and they came and greeted our Lord and Moses and Elias and went into another heaven. And the word of the scripture was fulfilled: This is the generation that seeketh him and seeketh the face of the God of Jacob. And great fear and commotion was there in heaven and the angels pressed one upon another that the word of the scripture might be fulfilled which saith: Open the gates, ye princes.

4 Thereafter was the heaven shut, that had been open. And we prayed and went down from the mountain, glorifying God, which hath written the names of the righteous in heaven in the book of life. There is a great deal more of the Ethiopic text, but it is very evidently of later date; the next words are:

5 'Peter opened his mouth and said to me: Hearken, my son Clement, God created all things for his glory,' and this proposition is dwelt upon. The glory of those who duly praise God is described in terms borrowed from the Apocalypse: 'The Son at his coming will raise the dead . . . and will make my righteous ones shine seven times more than the sun, and will make their crowns shine like crystal and like the rainbow in the time of rain (crowns) which are perfumed with nard and cannot be contemplated (adorned) with rubies, with the colour of emeralds shining brightly, with topazes, gems, and yellow pearls that shine like the stars of heaven, and like the rays of the sun, sparkling which cannot be gazed upon.' Again, of the angels: ' Their faces shine more than the sun; their crowns are as the rainbow in the time of rain. (They are perfumed) with nard. Their eyes shine like the morning star. The beauty of their appearance cannot be expressed.... Their raiment is not woven, but white as that of the fuller, according as I saw on the mountain where Moses and Elias were. Our Lord showed at the transfiguration the apparel of the last days, of the day of resurrection, unto Peter, James and John the sons of Zebedee, and a bright cloud overshadowed us, and we heard the voice of the Father saying unto us: This is my Son whom I love and in whom I am well pleased: hear him. And being afraid we forgat all the things of this life and of the flesh, and knew not what we said because of the greatness of the wonder of that day, and of the mountain whereon he showed us the second coming in the kingdom that passeth not away.'

6 ' The Father hath committed all judgement unto the Son.' The destiny of sinners -their eternal doom- is more than Peter can endure: he appeals to Christ to have pity on them.

7 And my Lord answered me and said to me: 'Hast thou understood that which I said unto thee before? It is permitted unto thee to know that concerning which thou askest: but thou must not tell that which thou hearest unto the sinners lest they transgress the more, and sin.' Peter weeps many hours, and is at last consoled by an answer which, though exceedingly diffuse and vague does seem to promise ultimate pardon for all: 'My Father will give unto them all the life, the glory, and the kingdom that passeth not away,' . . . 'It is because of them that have believed in me that I am come. It is also because of them that have believed in me, that, at their word, I shall have pity on men.'

APOCALYPSE OF PETER CHAPTER 8

(From The Sibylline Oracles, Many lines are borrowed from the older books, especially 3 and 8.) After saying (1.187) that Elias will descend on earth and do three great signs, it proceeds:

1 Woe unto all them that are found great with child in that day, and to them that give suck to infant children, and to them that dwell by the sea (the waves). Woe to them that shall behold that day. For a dark mist shall cover the boundless world, of the east and west, the south and north. And then shall a great river of flaming fire flow from heaven and consume all places, the earth and the great ocean and the grey sea, lakes and rivers and fountains, and merciless

2 Hades and the pole of heaven: but the lights of heaven shall melt together in one and into a void (desolate) shape (?). For the stars shall all fall from heaven into the sea (?), and all souls of men shall gnash their teeth as they burn in the river of brimstone and the rush of the fire in the blazing plain, and ashes shall cover all things. And then shall all the elements of the world be laid waste, air, earth, sea, light poles, days and nights, and no more shall the multitudes of birds fly in the air nor swimming creatures any more swim the sea no ship shall sail with its cargo over the waves;

3 No straight-going oxen shall plough the tilled land; there shall be no more sound of swift winds, but he shall fuse all things together into one, and purge them clean.

4 Now when the immortal angels of the undying God Barakiel, Ramiel, Uriel, Samiel, and Azael, [These names are from Enoch.] knowing all the evil deeds that any hath wrought aforetime -then out of the misty darkness they shall bring all the souls of men to judgement, unto the seat of God the immortal, the great.

5 For he only is incorruptible, himself the Almighty, who shall be the judge of mortal men. And then unto them of the underworld shall the heavenly one give their souls and spirit and speech, and their bones joined together, with all the joints, and the flesh and sinews and veins, and skin also over the flesh, and hair as before, and the bodies of the dwellers upon earth shall be moved and arise in one day, joined together in immortal fashion and breathing.

6 Then shall the great angel Uriel break the monstrous bars framed of unyielding and unbroken adamant, of the brazen

7 gates of Hades, and cast them down straightway, and bring forth to judgement all the sorrowful forms, yea, of the ghosts of the ancient Titans, and of the giants, and all whom the flood overtook. And all whom the wave of the sea hath destroyed in the waters, and all whom beasts and creeping things and fowls have feasted on: all these shall he bring to the judgement seat; and again those whom flesh-devouring fire hath consumed in the flames, them also shall he gather and set before God's seat. And when he shall overcome Fate and raise the dead, then shall Adonai Sabaoth the high thunderer sit on his heavenly

8 throne, and set up the great pillar, and Christ himself, the undying unto the undying, shall come in the clouds in glory with the pure angels, and shall sit on the seat on the right of the Great One, judging the life of the godly and the walk of ungodly men.

9 Moses also the great, the friend of the Most High shall come, clad in flesh, and the great Abraham himself shall come, and Isaac and Jacob, Jesus, Daniel, Elias, Ambacum (Habakkuk), and Jonas, and they whom the Hebrews slew: and all the Hebrews that were with (after ?) Jeremias shall be judged at the judgement seat, and he shall destroy them, that they may receive a due reward and expiate all that they did in their mortal life.

10 then shall all men pass through a blazing river and unquenchable flame, and the righteous shall be saved whole all of them, but the ungodly shall perish therein unto all ages, even as many as wrought evil aforetime, and committed murders, and all that were privy thereto, liars, thieves, deceivers, cruel destroyers of houses, gluttons, marriers by stealth, shedders of evil rumours, sorely insolent lawless, idolaters: and all that forsook the great immortal God and became blasphemers and harmers of the godly, breakers of faith and destroyers of righteous men. And all that look with guileful and shameless double faces -reverend priests and deacons- and judge unjustly, dealing perversely, obeying false rumours . . . more deadly than leopards and wolves, and very evil: and all that are high-minded, and usurers that heap up in their houses usury out of usury and injure orphans and widows continually: and they that give alms of unjust gain unto widows and orphans, and they that when they give alms of their own toil, reproach them; and they that have forsaken their parents in their old age and not repaid them at all, nor recompensed them for their nurture; yea, and they that have disobeyed and spoken hard words against their parents: they also that have received pledges and denied them, and servants that have turned against their masters; and again they which have defiled their flesh in lasciviousness, and have loosed the girdle of virginity in secret union, and they that make the child in the womb miscarry, and that cast out their offspring against right: sorcerers also and sorceresses with these shall the wrath of the heavenly and immortal God bring near unto the pillar, all round about which the untiring river of fire shall flow. And all of them shall the undying angels of the immortal everlasting God chastise terribly with flaming scourges, and shall bind them fast from above in fiery chains, bonds unbreakable. And then shall they cast them down in the darkness of night into Gehenna among the beasts of hell, many and frightful, where is darkness without measure.

11 And when they have dealt out many torments unto all whose heart was evil, thereafter out of the great river shall a wheel of fire encompass them, because they devised wicked works. And then shall they lament apart every one from another in miserable fate, fathers and infant children, mothers and sucklings weeping, nor shall they be sated with tears nor shall the voice of them that mourn piteously apart be heard (?); but far under dark and squalid Tartarus shall they cry in torment, and in no holy place shall they abide and expiate threefold every evil deed that they have done, burning in a great flame; and shall gnash their teeth, all of them worn out with fierce thirst and hunger (al. force violence), and shall call death lovely and it shall flee from them: for no more shall death nor night give them rest, and oft-times shall they beseech in vain the Almighty God, and then shall he openly turn away his face from them. For he hath granted the limit of seven ages for repentance unto men that err, by the hand of a pure virgin.

12 But the residue which have cared for justice and good deeds, yea, and godliness and righteous thoughts, shall angels bear up and carry through the flaming river unto light, and life without care, where is the immortal path of the great God; and three fountains, of wine and honey and milk. And the earth, common to all, not parted out with walls or fences, shall then bring forth of her own accord much fruit, and life and wealth shall be common and undistributed. For there shall be no poor man, nor rich, nor tyrant, nor slave, none great nor small any longer, no kings, no princes; but all men shall be together in common. And no more shall any man say ' night is come ', nor ' the morrow ', nor ' it was yesterday '. He maketh no more of days, nor of spring, nor winter, nor summer, nor autumn, neither marriage,nor death, nor selling, nor buying, nor set of sun, nor rising. For God shall make one long day.

13 And unto them, the godly, shall the almighty and immortal God grant another boon, when they shall ask it of him. He shall grant them to save men out of the fierce fire and the eternal gnashing of teeth: and this will he do, for he will gather them again out of the everlasting flame and remove them else whither, sending them for the sake of his people unto another life eternal and immortal, in the Elysian plain where are the long waves of the Acherusian lake exhaustless and deep bosomed;

14 'Plainly false: for the fire will never cease to torment the damned. I indeed could pray that it might be so, who am branded with the deepest scars of transgressions which stand in need of utmost mercy. But let Origen be ashamed of his lying words, who saith that there is a term set to the torments.'

THE (COPTIC) APOCALYPSE OF PETER

From: Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt
Translation: James Brashler and Roger A. Bullard
Estimated range of dating: 100-180 AD.

(The Coptic Apocalypse of Peter is a text found amongst the Nag Hammadi library, and part of the New Testament apocrypha. It was probably written around 100-200 AD. Since it represents Gnostic views, it is also known as the Gnostic Apocalypse of Peter.

The text takes gnostic interpretations of the crucifixion to the extreme, picturing Jesus as laughing and warning against people who cleave to the name of a dead man, thinking they shall become pure. Like some of the rarer Gnostic writings, this one also doubts the established Crucifixion story which places Jesus on the cross. Instead, according to this text, there was a substitute: "He whom you saw on the tree, glad and laughing, this is the living Jesus. But this one into whose hands and feet they drive the nails is his fleshly part, which is the substitute being put to shame, the one who came into being in his likeness. But look at him and me.")

1 As the Saviour was sitting in the temple in the three hundredth (year) of the covenant and the agreement of the tenth pillar, and being satisfied with the number of the living, incorruptible Majesty, he said to me, "Peter, blessed are those above belonging to the Father, who revealed life to those who are from the life, through me, since I reminded they who are built on what is strong, that they may hear my word, and distinguish words of unrighteousness and transgression of law from righteousness, as being from the height of every word of this Pleroma of truth, having been enlightened in good pleasure by him whom the principalities sought. But they did not find him, nor was he mentioned among any generation of the prophets. He has now appeared among these, in him who appeared, who is the Son of Man, who is exalted above the heavens in a fear of men of like essence. But you yourself, Peter, become perfect in accordance with your name with myself, the one who chose you, because from you I have established a base for the remnant whom I have summoned to knowledge. Therefore be strong until the imitation of righteousness - of him who had summoned you, having summoned you to know him in a way which is worth doing because of the rejection which happened to him, and the sinews of his hands and his feet, and the crowning by those of the middle region, and the body of his radiance which they bring in hope of service because of a reward of honour - as he was about to reprove you three times in this night."

2 And as he was saying these things, I saw the priests and the people running up to us with stones, as if they would kill us; and I was afraid that we were going to die.

3 And he said to me, "Peter, I have told you many times that they are blind ones who have no guide. If you want to know their blindness, put your hands upon (your) eyes - your robe - and say what you see."

4 But when I had done it, I did not see anything. I said "No one sees (this way)."

5 Again he told me, "Do it again."

6 And there came in me fear with joy, for I saw a new light greater than the light of day. Then it came down upon the Saviour. And I told him about those things which I saw.

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7 And he said to me again, "Lift up your hands and listen to what the priests and the people are saying."

8 And I listened to the priests as they sat with the scribes. The multitudes were shouting with their voice.

9 When he heard these things from me he said to me, "Prick up your ears and listen to the things they are saying."

10 And I listened again, "As you sit, they are praising you".

11 And when I said these things, the Saviour said, "I have told you that these (people) are blind and deaf. Now then, listen to the things which they are telling you in a mystery, and guard them, Do not tell them to the sons of this age. For they shall blaspheme you in these ages since they are ignorant of you, but they will praise you in knowledge."

12 "For many will accept our teaching in the beginning. And they will turn from them again by the will of the Father of their error, because they have done what he wanted. And he will reveal them in his judgement, i.e., the servants of the Word. But those who became mingled with these shall become their prisoners, since they are without perception. And the guileless, good, pure one they push to the worker of death, and to the kingdom of those who praise Christ in a restoration. And they praise the men of the propagation of falsehood, those who will come after you. And they will cleave to the name of a dead man, thinking that they will become pure. But they will become greatly defiled and they will fall into a name of error, and into the hand of an evil, cunning man and a manifold dogma, and they will be ruled without law."

13 "For some of them will blaspheme the truth and proclaim evil teaching. And they will say evil things against each other. Some will be named: (those) who stand in (the) strength of the archons, of a man and a naked woman who is manifold and subject to much suffering. And those who say these things will ask about dreams. And if they say that a dream came from a demon worthy of their error, then they shall be given perdition instead of incorruption."

14 "For evil cannot produce good fruit. For the place from which each of them is produces that which is like itself; for not every soul is of the truth, nor of immortality. For every soul of these ages has death assigned to it in our view, because it is always a slave, since it is created for its desires and their eternal destruction, in which they are and from which they are. They love the creatures of the matter which came forth with them."

15 "But the immortal souls are not like these, O Peter. But indeed, as long as the hour is not yet come, it (the immortal soul) shall resemble a mortal one. But it shall not reveal its nature, that it alone is the immortal one, and thinks about immortality, having faith, and desiring to renounce these things."

16 "For people do not gather figs from thorns or from thorn trees, if they are wise, nor grapes from thistles. For, on the one hand, that which is always becoming is in that from which it is, being from what is not good, which becomes destruction for it and death. But that which comes to be in the Eternal One is in the One of the life and the immortality of the life which they resemble."

17 "Therefore all that which exists not will dissolve into what exists not. For deaf and blind ones join only with their own kind."

18 "But others shall change from evil words and misleading mysteries. Some who do not understand mystery speak of things which they do not understand, but they will boast that the mystery of the truth is theirs alone. And in haughtiness they shall grasp at pride, to envy the immortal soul which has become a pledge. For every authority, rule, and power of the aeons wishes to be with these in the creation of the world, in order that those who are not, having been forgotten by those that are, may praise them, though they have not been saved, nor have they been brought to the Way by them, always wishing that they may become imperishable ones. For if the immortal soul receives power in an intellectual spirit -. But immediately they join with one of those who misled them."

19 "But many others, who oppose the truth and are the messengers of error, will set up their error and their law against these pure thoughts of mine, as looking out from one (perspective) thinking that good and evil are from one (source). They do business in my word. And they will propagate harsh fate. The race of immortal souls will go in it in vain, until my Parousia. For they shall come out of them - and my forgiveness of their transgressions, into which they fell through their adversaries, whose ransom I got from the slavery in which they were, to give them freedom that they may create an imitation remnant in the name of a dead man, who is Hermas, of the first-born of unrighteousness, in order that the light which exists may not believed by the little ones. But those of this sort are the workers who will be cast into the outer darkness, away from the sons of light. For neither will they enter, nor do they permit those who are going up to their approval for their release."

20 "And still others of them who suffer think that they will perfect the wisdom of the brotherhood which really exists, which is the spiritual fellowship of those united in communion, through which the wedding of incorruptibility shall be revealed. The kindred race of the sisterhood will appear as an imitation. These are the ones who oppress their brothers, saying to them, "Through this our God has pity, since salvation comes to us through this," not knowing the punishment of those who are made glad by those who have done this thing to the little ones whom they saw, (and) whom they took prisoner."

21 "And there shall be others of those who are outside our number who name themselves bishop and also deacons, as if they have received their authority from God. They bend themselves under the judgement of the leaders. Those people are dry canals."

22 But I said " I am afraid because of what you have told me, that indeed little (ones) are, in our view, the counterfeit ones, indeed, that there are multitudes that will mislead other multitudes of living ones, and destroy them among themselves. And when they speak your name they will be believed."

23 The Saviour said, "For a time determined for them in proportion to their error they will rule over the little ones. And after the completion of the error, the never-aging one of the immortal understanding shall become young, and they (the little ones) shall rule over those who are their rulers. The root of their error he shall pluck out, and he shall put it to shame so that it shall be manifest in all the impudence which it has assumed to itself. And such ones shall become unchangeable, O Peter."

24 "Come therefore, let us go on with the completion of the will of the incorruptible Father. For behold, those who will bring them judgement are coming, and they will put them to shame. But me they cannot touch. And you, O Peter, shall stand in their midst. Do not be afraid because of your cowardice. Their minds shall be closed, for the invisible one has opposed them."

25 When he had said those things, I saw him seemingly being seized by them. And I said "What do I see, O Lord? That it is you yourself whom they take, and that you are grasping me? Or who is this one, glad and laughing on the tree? And is it another one whose feet and hands they are striking?"

26 The Saviour said to me, "He whom you saw on the tree, glad and laughing, this is the living Jesus. But this one into whose hands and feet they drive the nails is his fleshly part, which is the substitute being put to shame, the one who came into being in his likeness. But look at him and me."

27 But I, when I had looked, said "Lord, no one is looking at you. Let us flee this place."

28 But he said to me, "I have told you, 'Leave the blind alone!'. And you, see how they do not know what they are saying. For the son of their glory instead of my servant, they have put to shame."

29 And I saw someone about to approach us resembling him, even him who was laughing on the tree. And he was <filled> with a Holy Spirit, and he is the Saviour. And there was a great, ineffable light around them, and the multitude of ineffable and invisible angels blessing them. And when I looked at him, the one who gives praise was revealed.

30 And he said to me, "Be strong, for you are the one to whom these mysteries have been given, to know them through revelation, that he whom they crucified is the first-born, and the home of demons, and the stony vessel in which they dwell, of Elohim, of the cross, which is under the Law. But he who stands near him is the living Saviour, the first in him, whom they seized and released, who stands joyfully looking at those who did him violence, while they are divided among themselves. Therefore he laughs at their lack of perception, knowing that they are born blind. So then the one susceptible to suffering shall come, since the body is the substitute. But what they released was my incorporeal body. But I am the intellectual Spirit filled with radiant light. He whom you saw coming to me is our intellectual Pleroma, which unites the perfect light with my Holy Spirit."

31 "These things, then, which you saw you shall present to those of another race who are not of this age. For there will be no honour in any man who is not immortal, but only (in) those who were chosen from an immortal substance, which has shown that it is able to contain him who gives his abundance. Therefore I said, 'Every one who has, it will be given to him, and he will have plenty.' But he who does not have, that is, the man of this place, who is completely dead, who is removed from the planting of the creation of what is begotten, whom, if one of the immortal essence appears, they think that they possess him - it will be taken from him and be added to the one who is. You, therefore, be courageous and do not fear at all. For I shall be with you in order that none of your enemies may prevail unto you. Peace be to you, Be strong!"

32 When he (Jesus) had said these things, he (Peter) came to himself.

THE (GREEK) APOCALYPSE OF PAUL
or Visio Pauli or Visio sancti Pauli
From The Apocryphal New Testament
Montague Rhodes James,1924
Estimated Range of Dating: 3rd century A.D.

(The Apocalypse of Paul (Apocalypsis Pauli, more commonly known in the Latin tradition as the Visio Pauli or Visio sancti Pauli) is a third-century text of the New Testament apocrypha. The text purports to present a detailed account of a vision of Heaven and Hell experienced by Paul the Apostle; "its chief importance lies in the way it helped to shape the beliefs of ordinary Christians concerning the afterlife". The text extends the Apocalypse of Peter by framing the reasons for the visits to heaven and hell as the witnessing of the death and judgement of one wicked man, and one who is righteous. The text is heavily moralistic.

The original Greek version of the Apocalypse is lost and must be reconstructed from later versions and translations. Greek copies of the texts are rare; those that exist contain many omissions. Of the Eastern versions – Syriac, Coptic, Amharic, Georgian – the Syriac are considered to be the most reliable. Greek copies of it are rare, and the texts they contain are disfigured by many omissions. Of the Eastern versions - Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic- the Syriac is the best. But possibly the full Latin version is superior to all other authorities. In the Greek, Latin, and Syriac the book is incomplete: it ends abruptly in a speech of Elijah. The Coptic version is the most complete. The full Latin version is the basis of this translation. The Greek, Syriac, and Coptic versions are used where the Latin is corrupt.)

Here beginneth the Vision of Saint Paul the Apostle.

But I will come to visions and revelations of the Lord. I knew a man in Christ fourteen years ago, whether in the body I know not or whether out of the body I know not -God knoweth- that such an one was caught up unto the third heaven: and I knew such a man, whether in the body or out of the body I know not -God knoweth- that he was caught up into paradise and heard secret words which it is not lawful for men to utter. For such an one will I boast, but for myself I will boast nothing, save of mine infirmities.

1 At what time was it made manifest In the consulate of Theodosius Augustus the younger and Cynegius, a certain honourable man then dwelling at Tarsus, in the house which had been the house of Saint Paul, an angel appeared unto him by night and gave him a revelation, saying that he should break up the foundation of the house and publish that which he found; but he thought this to be a lying vision.

2 But a third time the angel came, and scourged him and compelled him to break up the foundation. And he dug, and found a box of marble inscribed upon the sides: therein was the revelation of Saint Paul, and his shoes wherein he walked when he taught the word of God. But he feared to open that box, and brought it to the judge; and the judge took it, sealed as it was with lead, and sent it to the emperor Theodosius fearing that it might be somewhat strange; and the emperor when he received it, opened it and found the revelation of Saint Paul. A copy thereof he sent to Jerusalem and the original he kept with him. (Gr. reverses this: he kept the copy and sent away the original. It adds: And there was written therein as followeth.)

3 Now while I was in the body, wherein I was caught up unto the third heaven, the word of the Lord came unto me, saying: Speak unto this people: How long will ye transgress, and add sin upon sin, and tempt the Lord that made you Saying that ye are Abraham's children but doing the works of Satan (so Gr.; Lat. Ye are the sons of God, doing the work of the devil), walking in the confidence of God, boasting in your name only, but being poor because of the matter of sin. Remember therefore and know that the whole creation is subject unto God, but mankind only sinneth. It hath dominion over the whole creation, and sinneth more than the whole of nature.

4 For oftentimes hath the sun, the great light, appealed unto the Lord, saying: O Lord God Almighty, I look forth upon the ungodliness and unrighteousness of men. Suffer me, and I will do unto them according to my power, that they may know that thou art God alone. And there came a voice unto it, saying: All these things do I know, for mine eye seeth and mine ear heareth, but my long-suffering beareth with them until they turn and repent. But if they return not unto me, I will judge them all.

5 And sometimes the moon and the stars have appealed unto the Lord, saying: O Lord God Almighty, unto us hast thou given rule over the night; how long shall we look upon the ungodliness and fornications and murders which the children of men commit suffer us to do unto them according unto our powers, that they may know that thou art God alone. And there came a voice unto them, saying: I know all these things, and mine eye looketh upon them and mine ear heareth, but my

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long-suffering beareth with them until they turn and repent. But if they return not unto me, I will judge them.

6 Oftentimes also the sea hath cried out, saying: O Lord God Almighty, men have polluted thine holy name in me: suffer me and I will arise and cover every wood and tree and all the world, till I blot out all the children of men from before thy face, that they may know that thou art God alone. And again a voice came, saying: I know all, for mine eye seeth all things, and mine ear heareth, but my long-suffering beareth with them until they turn and repent. But if they return not I will judge them. Sometimes also the waters have appealed against the children of men, saying: O Lord God Almighty, the children of men have all defiled thine holy name. And there came a voice, saying: I know all things before they come to pass, for mine eye seeth and mine ear heareth all things: but my long-suffering beareth with them until they turn. And if not, I will judge. Often also hath the earth cried out unto the Lord against the children of men, saying: O Lord God Almighty, I suffer hurt more than all thy creation, bearing the fornications, adulteries, murders, thefts forswearings, sorceries, and witchcrafts of men, and all the evils that they do, so that the father riseth up against the son, and the son against the father, the stranger against the stranger, every one to defile his neighbour's wife. The father goeth up upon his son's bed, and the son likewise goeth up upon the couch of his father; and with all these evils have they that offer a sacrifice unto thy name polluted thine holy place. Therefore do I suffer hurt more than the whole creation, and I would not yield mine excellence and my fruits unto the children of men. Suffer me and I will destroy the excellence of my fruits. And there came a voice and said: I know all things, and there is none that can hide himself from his sin. And their ungodliness do I know, but my holiness suffereth them until they turn and repent. But if they return not unto me, I will judge them.

7 Behold then ye children of men. The creature is subject unto God, but mankind alone sinneth. Therefore, ye children of men, bless ye the Lord God without ceasing at all hours and on all days; but especially when the sun setteth. For in that hour do all the angels go unto the Lord to worship him and to present the deeds of men which every man doeth from morning until evening, whether they be good or evil. And there is an angel that goeth forth rejoicing from the man in whom he dwelleth. When therefore the sun is set, at the first hour of the night, in the same hour goeth the angel of every people and of every man and woman, which protect and keep them, because man is the image of God: and likewise at the hour of morning, which is the twelfth hour of the night, do all the angels of men and women go to meet God and present all the work which every man hath wrought, whether good or evil.

And every day and night do the angels present unto God the account of all the deeds of mankind. Unto you, therefore, I say, O children of men, bless ye the Lord God without ceasing all the days of your life.

8 At the hour appointed, therefore, all the angels, every one rejoicing, come forth before God together to meet him and worship him at the hour that is set; and lo, suddenly at the set time there was a meeting, and the angels came to worship in the presence of God, and the spirit came forth to meet them, and there was a voice, saying: Thence could ye, our angels, bringing burdens of news

9 They answered and said: We are come from them that have renounced the world for thy holy name's sake, wandering as strangers and in the caves of the rocks, and weeping every hour that they dwell on the earth and hungering and thirsting for thy name's sake; with their loins girt, holding in their hands the incense of their heart, and praying and blessing at every hour, suffering anguish and subduing themselves, weeping and lamenting more than all that dwell on the earth.

And we that are their angels do mourn with them, whither therefore it pleaseth thee, command us to go and minister lest they do otherwise, but the poor more than all that dwell on the earth. (The sense required as shown by Gr. is that the angels ask that these good men may continue in goodness.) And the voice of God came unto them, saying: Know ye that from henceforth my grace shall be established with you, and mine help which is my dear]y beloved Son, shall be with them, ruling them at all times; and he shall minister unto them and never forsake them, for their place is his habitation.

10 When, then, these angels departed, lo, there came other angels to worship in the presence of the majesty, to meet therewith, and they were weeping. And the spirit of God went forth to meet them, and the voice of God came, saying: Whence are ye come, our angels bearing burdens, ministers of the news of the world They answered and said in the presence of God: We are come from them which have called upon thy name, and the snares of the world have made them wretched, devising many excuses at all times, and not making so much as one pure prayer out of their whole heart all the time of their life. Wherefore then must we be with men that are sinners And the voice of God came unto them: Ye must minister unto them until they turn and repent; but if they return not unto me, I will judge them. Know therefore, O children of men, that whatsoever is wrought by you, the angels tell it unto God, whether it be good or evil.

11 [Syr. Again, after these things, I saw one of the spiritual ones coming unto me, and he caught me up in the spirit, and carried me to the third heaven.] And the angel answered and said unto me: Follow me, and I will show thee the place of the righteous where they are taken when they are dead. And there after will I take thee to the bottomless pit and show thee the souls of the sinners, into what manner of place they are taken when they are dead. And I went after the angel, and he took me into heaven, and I looked upon the firmament, and saw there the powers; and there was forgetfulness which deceiveth and draweth unto itself the hearts of men, and the spirit of slander and the spirit of fornication and the spirit of wrath and the spirit of insolence and there were the princes of wickedness. These things saw I beneath the firmament of the heaven.

And again I looked and saw angels without mercy, having no pity, whose countenances were full of fury, and their teeth sticking forth out of their mouth: their eyes shone like the morning star of the cast, and out of the hairs of their head and out of their mouth went forth sparks of fire.

And I asked the angel,saying: Who are these, Lord And the angel answered and said unto me: These are they which are appointed unto the souls of sinners in the hour of necessity, even of them that have not believed that they had the Lord for their helper and have not trusted in him. [Apocalypse of Zephaniah (Steindorff's 'anonymous Apocalypse;): I went with the angel of the Lord and looked before me and saw a place through which passed thousand thousands and myriads of myriads of angels, whose faces were as of panthers, and their teeth stuck forth out of their mouth, and their eyes were bloodshot, and their hair loose like woman's hair, and burning scourges were in their hands. (I feared and asked: Who are these The angel answered:) These are the ministers of the whole creation, which come unto the souls of the ungodly and take them and lay them down here: they fly three days with them in the air before they take them and cast them into their everlasting torment.]

12 And I looked into the height and beheld other angels whose faces shone like the sun, and their loins were girt with golden girdles, holding palms in their hands, and the sign of God, clad in raiment whereon was written the name of the Son of God, full of all gentleness and mercy. And I asked the angel and said: Who are these, Lord, that are of so great beauty and compassion And the angel answered and said unto me: These are the angels of righteousness that are sent to bring the souls of the righteous in the hour of necessity, even them that have believed that they had the Lord for their helper. And I said unto him: Do the righteous and the sinners of necessity meet [witnesses] when they are dead And the angel answered and said unto me: The way whereby all pass unto God is one: but the righteous having an holy helper with them are not troubled when they go to appear in the presence of God.

13 And I said unto the angel: I would see the souls of the righteous and of the sinners as they depart out of the world. And the angel answered and said unto me: Look down upon the earth. And I looked down from heaven upon the earth and beheld the whole world, and it was as nothing in my sight; and I saw the children of men as though they were nought, and failing utterly; and I marvelled, and said unto the angel: Is this the greatness of men And the angel answered and said unto me: This it is, and these are they that do hurt from morning until evening. And I looked, and saw a great cloud of fire spread over the whole world, and said unto the angel: What is this, Lord And he said to me: This is the unrighteousness that is mingled by the princes of sinners (Gr. mingled with the destruction of sinners; Syr. mingled with the prayers of the sons of men).

14 And I when I heard that sighed and wept, and said unto the angel: I would wait for the souls of the righteous and of the sinners, and see in what fashion they depart out of the body. And the angel answered and said unto me: Look again upon the earth. And I looked and saw the whole world: and men were as nought, and failing utterly; and I looked and saw a certain man about to die; and the angel said to me: He whom thou seest is righteous. And again I looked and saw all his works that he had done for the name of God, and all his desires which he remembered and which he remembered not, all of them stood before his face in the hour of necessity. And I saw that the righteous man had grown in righteousness, and found rest and confidence: and before he departed out of the world there stood by him holy angels, and also evil ones: and I saw them all; but the evil ones found no abode in him, but the holy ones had power over his soul and ruled it until it went out of the body. And they stirred up the soul, saying: O soul, take knowledge of thy body whence thou art come out; for thou must needs return into the same body at the day of resurrection, to receive that which is promised unto all the righteous. They received therefore the soul out of the body, and straightway kissed it as one daily known of them, saying unto it: Be of good courage, for thou hast done the will of God while thou abodest on the earth. And there came to meet it the angel that watched it day by day, and he said unto it: Be of good courage, O soul: for I rejoice in thee because thou bast done the will of God on the earth; for I told unto God all thy works, how they stood. Likewise also the spirit came forth to meet it and said: O soul, fear not, neither be troubled, until thou come unto a place which thou never knewest; but I will be thine helper, for I have found in thee a place of refreshment in the time when I dwelt in thee, when I was (thou wast) on the earth. And the spirit [thereof] strengthened it, and the angel thereof took it up and carried it into the heaven. And the angel said (Syr. And there went out to meet it wicked powers, those that are under heaven. And there reached it the spirit of error, and said): Whither runnest thou, O soul, and presumest to enter heaven stay and let us see if there be aught of ours in thee. And lo! we have found nothing in thee. I behold also the help of God, and thine angel; and the spirit rejoiceth with thee because thou didst the will of God upon earth. (Syr. has more here. There is a conflict between the good and evil angels. The spirit of error first laments. Then the spirit of the tempter and of fornication meet it and it escapes, and they lament. All the principalities and evil spirits come to meet it and find nothing, and gnash their teeth. The guardian angel bids them go back, 'Ye tempted this soul and it would not listen to you.' And the voice of many angels is heard rejoicing over the soul. Probably this is original matter.) And they brought it until it did worship in the presence of God. And when they (it) had ceased, forthwith Michael and all the host of the angels fell and worshipped the footstool of his feet and his gates, and said together unto the soul: This is the God of all, which made thee in his image and likeness.

And the angel returned and declared, saying: Lord, remember his works; for this is the soul whereof I did report the works unto thee, Lord, doing according to thy judgement.

And likewise the spirit said: I am the spirit of quickening that breathed upon it; for I had refreshment in it in the time when I dwelt therein, doing according to thy judgement. And the voice of God came, saying: Like as this soul hath not grieved me neither will I grieve it, for like as it hath had mercy, I also will have mercy. Let it be delivered therefore unto Michael the angel of the covenant, and let him lead it into the paradise of rejoicing that it become fellow-heir with all the saints. And thereafter I heard the voices of thousands of thousands of angels and archangels and the cherubim and the four-and-twenty elders uttering hymns and glorifying the Lord and crying: Righteous art thou, O Lord, and just are thy judgements, and there is no respect of persons with thee, but thou rewardest every man according to thy judgement. And the angel answered and said unto me: Hast thou believed and known that whatsoever every one of you hath done, he beholdeth it at the hour of his necessity And I said: Yea, Lord.

15 And he said unto me: Look down again upon the earth and wait for the soul of a wicked man going forth of the body, one that hath provoked the Lord day and night, saying: I know nought else in this world, I will eat and drink and enjoy the things that are in the world. For who is he that hath gone down into hell and come up and told us that there is a judgement there And again I looked and saw all the despising of the sinner, and all that he did, and they stood together before him in the hour of necessity: and it came to pass in that hour when he was led out of his body to the judgement, that he (MS. I) said: It were better for me (MS. him) that I (he) had not been born. And after that the holy angels and the evil and the soul of the sinner came together, and the holy angels found no place in it. But the evil angels threatened (had power over) it, and when they brought it forth out of the body, the angels admonished it thrice, saying: O wretched sou], look upon thy flesh whence thou art come out; for thou must needs return into thy flesh at the day of resurrection to receive the due reward for thy sins and for thy wickedness;

16 And when they had brought it forth, the accustomed (i.e. guardian) angel went before it and said unto it: O miserable soul, I am the angel that clave unto thee and day by day reported unto the Lord thine evil deeds, whatsoever thou wroughtest by night or day; and if it had been in my power I would not have ministered unto thee even one day; but of this I could do nothing, for God is merciful and a just judge, and he commanded us not to cease ministering unto your soul till ye should repent: but thou hast lost the time of repentance. I indeed am become a stranger unto thee and thou to me. Let us go then unto the just judge: I will not leave thee until I know that from this day I am become a stranger unto thee. (Here Copt. inserts a quite similar speech of the spirit to the soul, which may be original.) And the spirit confounded it, and the angel troubled it. When therefore they were come unto the principalities, and it would now go to enter into heaven, one burden (labour, suffering) was laid upon it after another: error and forgetfulness and whispering met it, and the spirit of fornication and the rest of the powers, and said unto it: Whither goest thou, wretched soul and darest to run forward into heaven Stay, that we may see whether we have property of ours in thee, for we see not with thee an holy helper. (Syr. adds: And the angel answered and said: Know ye that it is a soul of the Lord, and he will not cast it aside, neither will I

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surrender the image of God into the hand of the wicked one. The Lord supported me all the days of the life of the soul, and he can support and help me: and I will not cast it off until it go up before the throne of God on high. When he shall see it, he hath power over it, and will send it whither he pleases.) And after that I heard voices in the height of the heavens, saying: Present this miserable soul unto God, that it may know that there is a God, whom it hath despised. When therefore it was entered into the heaven, all the angels, even thousands of thousands, saw it, and all cried out with one voice saying: Woe unto thee, miserable soul, for thy works which thou didest upon the earth, what answer wilt thou make unto God when thou drawest near to worship him The angel which was with it answered and said: Weep with me, my dearly beloved, for I have found no rest in this soul. And the angels answered him and said: Let this soul be taken away out of our midst, for since it came in, the stench of it is passed upon us the angels. And thereafter it was presented, to worship in the presence of God, and the angel showed it the Lord God that made it after his own image and likeness. And its angel ran before it, saying: O Lord God Almighty, I am the angel of this soul, whose works I presented unto thee day and night, not doing according to thy judgement. And likewise the spirit said: I am the spirit which dwelt in it ever since it was made, and I know it in itself, and it followed not my will: judge it, Lord, according to thy judgement. And the voice of God came unto it and said: Where is thy fruit that thou hast yielded, worthy of those good things which thou hast received did I put a distance even of a day between thee and the righteous did I not make the sun to rise upon thee even as upon the righteous And it was silent, having nothing to answer; and again the voice came, saying: Just is the judgement of God, and there is no respect of persons with God, for whosoever hath done his mercy he will have mercy on him, and whoso hath not had mercy, neither shall God have mercy on him. Let him therefore be delivered unto the angel Tartaruchus (Gr. Temeluchus) that is set over the torments, and let him cast him into the outer darkness where is weeping and gnashing of teeth, and let him be there until the great day of judgement. And after that I heard the voice of the angels and archangels saying: Righteous art thou, O Lord, and just is thy judgement.

17 And again I beheld, and lo, a soul which was brought by two angels, weeping and saying: Have mercy on me, thou righteous God, O God the judge; for to-day it is seven days since I went forth out of my body, and I was delivered unto these two angels, and they have brought me unto those places which I had never seen. And God the righteous judge said unto it: What hast thou done for thou hast never wrought mercy; therefore wast thou delivered unto such angels, which have no mercy, and because thou hast not done right, therefore neither have they dealt pitifully with thee in the hour of thy necessity. Confess therefore thy sins which thou hast committed when thou wert in the world. And it answered and said: Lord, I have not sinned. And the righteous Lord God was wroth with indignation when it said: I have not sinned, for it lied. And God said: Thinkest thou that thou art yet in the world If every one of you there when he sinneth, hideth and concealeth his sin from his neighbour, yet here no thing is hidden, for when the souls come to worship before the throne both the good works and the sins of every one are made manifest. And when the soul heard that, it held its peace, having no answer. And I heard the Lord God, the righteous judge, saying again: Come, thou angel of this soul, and stand in the midst. And the angel of the sinful soul came, having a writing in his hands, and said: These, Lord, that are in mine hands, are all the sins of this soul from its youth up unto this day, even from ten years from its birth: and if thou bid me, Lord, I can tell the acts thereof since it began to be fifteen years old. [Apocalypse of Zephaniah: I looked and saw that a writing (the same word, chirographum) was in his hand: he began to open it, and when he had spread it out I read it in mine own language, and I found all my sins that I had committed, recorded by him, even those which I had committed from my childhood up unto this day.] And the Lord God the righteous judge said: I say unto thee, O angel, I desire not of thee the account since it began to be fifteen years old; but declare its sins of five years before that it died and came hither. And again God the righteous judge said: For by myself I swear, and by mine holy angels and by my power, that if it had repented five years before it died, even for the walk (conversation) of one year, there should be forgetfulness of all the evil which it committed before and it should have pardon and remission of sins: but now let it perish. And the angel of the sinful soul answered and said: Command, Lord, that (such and such an) angel to bring forth those (such and such) souls.

18 And in that same hour the souls were brought forth into the midst, and the soul of the sinner knew them. And the Lord said unto the soul of the sinner: I say unto thee, O soul, confess thy deeds which thou didst upon these souls whom thou seest, when they were in the world. And it answered and said: Lord, it is not yet a full year since I slew this one and shed its blood upon the earth, and with another I committed fornication; and not that only, but I did it much harm by taking away its substance. And the Lord God the righteous judge said: Knewest thou not that he that doth violence to another, if he that suffered violence die first, he is kept in this place until he that hurt him dieth, and then do both of them appear before the judge and now hath every one received according as he did. And I heard a voice saying: Let that soul be delivered into the hands of Tartaruchus, and he must be taken down into hell. Let him take him into the lower prison and let him be cast into torments and be left there until the great day of judgement. And again I heard thousands of thousands of angels singing an hymn unto the Lord and saying: Righteous art thou, O Lord, and just are thy judgements.

19 The angel answered and said unto me: Hast thou perceived all these things And I said: Yea, Lord. And he said unto me: Follow me again, and I will take thee and show thee the places of the righteous. And I followed the angel and he took me up unto the third heaven and set me before the door of a gate; and I looked on it and saw, and the gate was of gold, and there were two pillars of gold full of golden letters; and the angel turned again to me and said: Blessed art thou if thou enterest in by these gates, for it is not permitted to any to enter save only to those that have kept goodness and pureness of their bodies in all things. And I asked the angel and said: Lord, tell me for what cause are these letters set upon these tables The angel answered and said unto me: These are the names of the righteous that minister unto God with their whole heart, which dwell on the earth. And again I said: Lord, then are their names also their countenance and the likeness of them that serve God is in heaven, and they are known unto the angels: for they know them that with their whole heart serve God before they depart out of the world.

20 And when I had entered within the gate of paradise there came to meet me an old man whose face shone like the sun, and he embraced me and said: Hail, Paul, dearly beloved of God And he kissed me with a joyful countenance, but he wept, and I said unto him: Father (Lat. Brother), why weepest thou And again sighing and weeping he said: Because we are vexed by men, and they grieve us sore; for many are the good things which the Lord hath prepared, and great are his promises, but many receive them not. And I asked the angel and said: Who is this, Lord And he said unto me: This is Enoch the scribe of righteousness. And I entered within that place and straightway I saw Elias I and he came and saluted me with gladness and joy. And when he had seen me, he turned himself away and wept and said unto me: Paul, mayest thou receive the reward of thy labour which thou hast done among mankind. As for me, I have seen great and manifold good things which God hath prepared for all the righteous, and great are the promises of God, but the more part receive them not; yea hardly through much toil doth one and another enter into these places.

21 And the angel answered and said unto me: What things soever I now show thee here, and whatsoever thou hearest, reveal them not unto any upon earth. And he led me and showed me: and I heard there words which it is not lawful for a man to utter; and again he said: Yet again follow me and I will show thee that which thou must relate and tell openly. And he brought me down from the third heaven, and led me into the second heaven, and again he led me to the firmament, and from the firmament he led me unto the gates of heaven. And the beginning of the foundation thereof was upon the river that watereth all the earth. And I asked the angel and said: Lord, what is this river of water and he said unto me: This is the Ocean. And suddenly I came out of heaven, and perceived that it is the light of the heaven that shineth upon all the earth (or, all that land). And there the earth (or, land) was seven times brighter than silver. And I said: Lord, what is this place and he said unto me: This is the land of promise. Hast thou not yet heard that which is written: Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth The souls therefore of the righteous when they are gone forth of the body are sent for the time into this place. And I said unto the angel: Shall then this land be made manifest after (lat. before) a time The angel answered and said unto me: When Christ whom thou preachest cometh to reign, then by the decree of God the first earth shall be dissolved, and then shall this land of promise be shown and it shall be like dew or a cloud; and then shall the Lord Jesus Christ the eternal king be manifested and shall come with all his saints to dwell therein; and he shall reign over them a thousand years, and they shall eat of the good things which now I will show thee.

22 And I looked round about that land and saw a river flowing with milk and honey. And there were at the brink of the river trees planted, full of fruits: now every tree bare twelve fruits in the year, and they had various and divers fruits: and I saw the fashion (creation) of that place and all the work of God, and there I saw palm-trees of twenty cubits and others of ten cubits: and that land was seven times brighter than silver. And the trees were full of fruits from the root even to the upper branches. (Lat. is confused here. Copt. has: From the root of each tree up to its heart there were ten thousand branches with tens of thousands of clusters, [and there were ten thousand clusters on each branch,] and there were ten thousand dates in each cluster. And thus was it also with the vines. Every vine had ten thousand branches, and each branch had upon it ten thousand bunches of grapes, and every bunch had on it ten thousand grapes. And there were other trees there, myriads of myriads of them, and their fruit was in the same proportion.) And I said unto the angel: Wherefore doth every tree bring forth thousands of fruits The angel answered and said unto me: Because the Lord God of his bounty giveth his gifts in abundance unto the worthy; for they also of their own will afflicted themselves when they were in the world, doing all things for his holy name's sake. And again I said unto the angel: Lord, are these the only promises which the most holy Lord God promiseth and he answered and said unto me: No; for there are greater by seven times than these. But I say unto thee, that when the righteous are gone forth out of the body and shall see the promises and the good things which God hath prepared for them, yet again they shall sigh and cry, saying: Wherefore did we utter a word out of our mouth to provoke our neighbour even for a day And I asked again and said: Be these the only promises of God And the angel answered and said unto me: These which now thou seest are for them that are married and keep the purity of their marriage, being continent. But unto the virgins, and unto them that hunger and thirst after righteousness and afflict themselves for the name of the Lord, God will give things seven-fold greater than these, which now I will show thee. And after that he took me out of that place where I saw these things, and lo, a river, and the waters of it were white exceedingly, more than milk, and I said unto the angel: What is this and he said to me: This is the lake Acherusa where is the city of Christ: but not every man is suffered to enter into that city: for this is the way that leadeth unto God, and if any be a fornicator or ungodly, and turn and repent and bear fruits meet for repentance, first when he cometh out of the body he is brought and worshippeth God, and then by the commandment of the Lord he is delivered unto Michael the angel, and he washeth him in the lake Acherusa and so bringeth him in to the city of Christ with them that have done no sin. And I marvelled and blessed the Lord God for all the things which I saw.

23 And the angel answered and said unto me: Follow me and I will bring thee into the city of Christ. And he stood by (upon) the lake Acherusa, and set me in a golden ship, and angels as it were three thousand sang an hymn before me until I came even unto the city of Christ. And they that dwelt in the city of Christ rejoiced greatly over me as I came unto them, and I entered in and saw the city of Christ. And it was all of gold, and twelve walls compassed it about, and there were twelve towers within (a tower on each wall, Copt.; 12,000 towers, Syr.), and every wall had a furlong between them (i.e. the walls were a furlong apart, so Syr., Copt. the circumference of each was 100 furlongs) round about; and I said unto the angel: Lord, how much is one furlong The angel answered and said unto me: It is as much as there is betwixt the Lord God and the men that are on the earth, for the great city of Christ is alone. And there were twelve gates in the circuit of the city, of great beauty, and four rivers that compassed it about. There was a river of honey, and a river of milk, and a river of wine, and a river of oil. And I said unto the angel: What are these rivers that compass this city about And he saith to me: These are the four rivers which flow abundantly for them that are in this land of promise, whereof the names are these: the river of honey is called Phison, and the river of milk Euphrates, and the river of oil Geon, and the river of wine Tigris. Whereas therefore when the righteous were in the world they used not their power over these things, but hungered and afflicted themselves for the Lord God's sake, therefore when they enter into this city, the Lord will give them these things without number () and without all measure.

24 And I when I entered in by the gate saw before the doors of the city trees great and high, having no fruits, but leaves only. And I saw a few men scattered about in the midst of the trees, and they mourned sore when they saw any man enter into the city. And those trees did penance for them, humbling themselves and bowing down, and again raising themselves up. And I beheld it and wept with them, and I asked the angel and said: Lord, who are these that are not permitted to enter into the city of Christ And he said unto me: These are they that did earnestly renounce the world day and night with fasting, but had an heart proud above other men, glorifying and praising themselves, and doing nought for their neighbours. For some they greeted friendly, but unto others they said not even 'Hail', and unto whom they would they opened, and if they did any small thing for their neighbour they were puffed up. And I said: What then, Lord their pride hath prevented them from entering into the city of Christ And the angel answered and said unto me: The root of all evils is pride. Are they better than the Son of God who came unto the Jews in great humility And I asked him and said: Wherefore is it then that the trees humble themselves and are again raised up And the angel answered and said unto me: All the time that these spent upon earth (Of old time they were on the earth, Copt.) serving God (they served God): But because of the shame and reproaches of men they were ashamed (did blush) for a time

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and humbled themselves, but they were not grieved, neither did repent, to cease from this pride that was in them (and one day they bowed themselves because of the disgrace of man, for they cannot endure the pride that is in him, Copt.). This is the cause why the trees humble themselves and again are raised up. And I asked and said: For what cause are they let in unto the gates of the city The angel answered and said unto me: Because of the great goodness of God, and because this is the entry of all his saints which do enter into this city. Therefore are they left in this place, that when Christ the eternal king entereth in with his saints, when he cometh in, all the righteous shall entreat for them, and then shall they enter into the city with them: yet none of them is able to have confidence such as they have that have humbled themselves, serving the Lord God all their life long.

25 But I went forward and the angel led me and brought me unto the river of honey, and I saw there Esaias and Jeremias and Ezekiel and Amos and Micheas and Zacharias, even the prophets lesser and greater, and they greeted me in the city. I said unto the angel: What is this path and he said unto me: This is the path of the prophets: every one that hath grieved his soul and not done his own will for God's sake, when he is departed out of the world and hath been brought unto the Lord God and worshipped him, then by the commandment of God he is delivered unto Michael, and he bringeth him into the city unto this place of the prophets, and they greet him as their friend and neighbour because he hath performed the will of God.

26 Again he led me where was the river of milk, and I saw in that place all the children whom the king Herod slew for the name of Christ, and they greeted me, and the angel said unto me: All they that keep chastity in cleanness, when they are gone out of the body, after they worship the Lord God, are delivered unto Michael and brought unto the children: and they greet them saying: They are our brothers and friends and members: among them shall they inherit the promises of God.

27 Again he took me and brought me to the north side of the city, and led me to where was the river of wine, and I saw there Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Lot and Job and other saints, and they greeted me. [Apocalypse of Zephaniah: (The angel) ran unto all the righteous that are there, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Enoch, Elias, and David. He conversed with them as a friend with a friend, who talk together.] And I asked and said: What is this place, Lord The angel answered and said unto me: All they that are entertainers of strangers, when they are departed out of the world first worship the Lord God, and then are delivered unto Michael and brought by this path into the city, and all the righteous greet him as a son and brother, and say unto him: Because thou hast kept kindliness and the entertainment of strangers, come thou and have an inheritance in the city of our Lord God. Every one of the righteous shall receive the good things of God in the city according to his deeds.

28 And again he took me to the river of oil on the east side of the city. And I saw there men rejoicing and singing psalms, and said: Who are these, Lord and the angel said unto me: These are they that have devoted themselves unto God with their whole heart, and had in them no pride. For all that rejoice in the Lord God and sing praises to the Lord with their whole heart are brought here into this city.

29 And he took me into the midst of the city, by the twelve walls (to the twelfth wall, Copt.). Now there was in that place an higher wall; and I asked and said: Is there in the city of Christ a wall more excellent in honour than this place And the angel answered and said unto me: The second is better than the first, and likewise the third than the second; for one excelleth the other even unto the twelfth wall. And I said: Wherefore Lord, doth one excel another in glory show me. And the angel answered and said unto me: All they that have in them even a little slandering or envy or pride, somewhat is taken away from his glory, even if he be in the city of Christ. Look thou behind thee. And I turned myself and saw golden thrones set at the several gates, and upon them men having golden crowns and jewels: and I looked and saw within among the twelve men, thrones set in another order (row, fashion), which appeared of much glory so that no man is able to declare the praise of them. And I asked the angel and said: Lord, who is upon the throne And the angel answered and said unto me: These are the thrones of them that had goodness and understanding of heart and yet made themselves foolish for the Lord God's sake, knowing neither the Scriptures nor many psalms, but keeping in mind one chapter of the precepts of God they performed it with great diligence, and had a right intent before the Lord God; and for these great wonder shall take hold upon all the saints before the Lord God, who shall speak one with another, saying: Stay and behold the unlearned that know nothing [more], how they have earned such and so fair raiment and so great glory because of their innocency. And I saw in the midst of the city an altar exceeding high. And there was one standing by the altar whose visage shone like the sun, and he held in his hands a psaltery and an harp and sang praises, saying: Alleluia. And his voice filled all the city. And when all that were upon the towers and the gates heard him, they answered: Alleluia, so that the foundations of the city were shaken. And I asked the angel and said: Who is this, Lord, that is of so great might And the angel said unto me: This is David. This is the city of Jerusalem; and when Christ the king of eternity shall come in the fullness (confidence, freedom) of his kingdom, he shall again go before him to sing praises, and all the righteous together shall sing praises, answering: Alleluia. And I said: Lord, how is it that David only above the rest of the saints maketh (made) the beginning of singing praises And the angel answered and said unto me: When (or, because) Christ the Son of God sitteth on the right hand of his Father, this David shall sing praises before him in the seventh heaven: and as it is done in the heavens, so likewise is it below: for without David it is not lawful to offer a sacrifice unto God: but it must needs be that David sing praises at the hour of the offering of the body and blood of Christ: as it is performed in heaven, so also is it upon earth. 30 And I said unto the angel: Lord, what is Alleluia And the angel answered and said unto me: Thou dost examine and inquire of all things. And he said unto me: Alleluia is spoken in the Hebrew, that is the speech of God and of the angels: now the interpretation of Alleluia is this: tecel . cat . marith . macha (Gr.thebel marematha). And I said: Lord, what is tecel cat marith macha And the angel answered and said unto me: This is tecel cat marith macha: Let us bless him all together. I asked the angel and said: Lord, do all they that say Alleluia bless God And the angel answered and said unto me: So it is: and again, if any sing Alleluia, and they that are present sing not with him, they commit sin in that they sing not with him. And I said: Lord, doth a man likewise sin if he be doting or very aged The angel answered and said unto me: Not so: but he that is able, and singeth not with him, know ye that such a one is a despiser of the word, for it would be proud and unworthy that he should not bless the Lord God his creator.

31 And when he had ceased speaking unto me, he led me out without the city through the midst of the trees and back from the place of the land of good things (or, men) and set me at the river of milk and honey: and after that he led me unto the ocean that beareth the foundations of the heaven. The angel answered and said unto me: Perceivest thou that thou goest hence And I said: Yea, Lord. And he said unto me: Come, follow me, and I will show thee the souls of the ungodly and the sinners, that thou mayest know what manner of place they have. And I went with the angel and he took me by the way of the sunsetting, and I saw the beginning of the heaven founded upon a great river of water, and I asked: What is this river of water And he said unto me: This is the ocean which compasseth the whole earth about. And when I was come beyond (to the outside of) the ocean, I looked and there was no light in that place, but darkness and sorrow and sadness: and I sighed. And I saw there a river of fire burning with heat, and in it was a multitude of men and women sunk up to the knees, and other men up to the navel; others also up to the lips and others up to the hair: and I asked the angel and said: Lord, who are these in the river of fire And the angel answered and said unto me: They are neither hot nor cold,: for they were not found either in the number of the righteous or in the number of the wicked, for they passed the time of their life upon the earth, spending some days in prayer, but other days in sins and fornications, until their death. And I asked and said: Who are these, Lord, that are sunk up to their knees in the fire He answered and said unto me: These are they which when they are come out of the church occupy themselves in disputing with idle (alien) talk. But these that are sunk up to the navel are they who, when they have received the body and blood of Christ, go and commit fornication, and did not cease from their sins until they died; and they that are sunk up to their lips are they that slandered one another when they gathered in the church of God; but they that are sunk up to the eyebrows are they that beckon one to another, and privily devise evil against their neighbours.

32 And I saw on the north side a place of sundry and diverse torments, full of men and women, and a river of fire flowed down upon them. And I beheld and saw pits exceeding deep, and in them many souls together, and the depth of that place was as it were three thousand cubits; and I saw them groaning and weeping and saying: Have mercy on us, Lord. And no man had mercy on them. And I asked the angel and said: Who are these, Lord And the angel answered and said unto me: These are they that trusted not in the Lord that they could have him for their helper. And I inquired and said: Lord, if these souls continue thus, thirty or forty generations being cast one upon another, if (unless) they be cast down yet deeper, I trow the pits would not contain them. And he said to me; The abyss hath no measure: for beneath it there followeth also that which is beneath: and so it is that if a strong man took a stone and cast it into an exceeding deep well and after many hours (long time) it reacheth the earth, so also is the abyss. For when the souls are cast therein, hardly after five hundred years do they come at the bottom.

33 And I when I heard it, mourned and lamented for the race of men. The angel answered and said unto me: Wherefore mournest thou art thou more merciful than God for inasmuch as God is good and knoweth that there are torments, he beareth patiently with mankind, leaving every one to do his own will for the time that he dwelleth on the earth.

34 Yet again I looked upon the river of fire, and I saw there a man caught by the throat (Copt. an old man who was being dragged along, and they immersed him up to the knees. And the angel Aftemeloukhos came with a great fork of fire, &c. Syr. similar. Some sentences are lost in Lat.) by angels, keepers of hell (Tartaruchi), having in their hands an iron of three hooks wherewith they pierced the entrails of that old man. And I asked the angel and said: Lord, who is this old man upon whom such torments are inflicted And the angel answered and said unto me: He whom thou seest was a priest who fulfilled not well his ministry, for when he was eating and drinking and whoring he offered the sacrifice unto the Lord at his holy altar.

35 And I saw not far off another old man whom four evil angels brought, running quickly, and they sank him up to his knees in the river of fire, and smote him with stones and wounded his face like a tempest, and suffered him not to say: Have mercy on me. And I asked the angel and he said unto me: He whom thou seest was a bishop, and he fulfilled not well his bishopric: for he received indeed a great name, but entered not into (walked not in) the holiness of him that gave him that name all his life; for he gave not righteous judgement, and had not compassion on widows and orphans: but now it is recompensed unto him according to his iniquity and his doings.

36 And I saw another man in the river of fire sunk up to the knees: and his hands were stretched out and bloody, and worms issued out of his mouth and his nostrils, and he was groaning and lamenting and crying out, and said: Have mercy on me for I suffer hurt more than the rest that are in this torment. And I asked: Who is this, Lord And he said unto me: This whom thou seest was a deacon, who devoured the offerings and committed fornication and did not right in the sight of God: therefore without ceasing he payeth the penalty. And I looked and saw beside him another man whom they brought with haste and cast him into the river of fire, and he was there up to the knees; and the angel that was over the torments came, having a great razor, red-hot, and therewith he cut the lips of that man and the tongue likewise. And I sighed and wept and asked: Who is this man, Lord And he said unto me: This that thou seest was a reader and read unto the people: but he kept not the commandments of God: now also he payeth his own penalty.

37 And I saw another multitude of pits in the same place, and in the midst thereof a river filled with a multitude of men and women, and worms devoured them. But I wept and sighed and asked the angel: Lord, who are these And he said unto me: These are they that extorted usury on usury and trusted in their riches, not having hope in God, that he was their helper. And after that I looked and saw a very strait place, and there was as it were a wall, and round about it fire. And I saw within it men and women gnawing their tongues, and asked: Who are these, Lord And he said unto me: These are they that mocked at the word of God in the church, not attending thereto, but as it were making nought of God and of his angels: therefore now likewise do they pay the due penalty.

38 And I looked in and saw another pool (lat. old man!) beneath in the pit, and the appearance of it was like blood: and I asked and said: Lord, what is this place And he said unto me: Into this pit do all the torments flow. And I saw men and women sunk up to the lips, and asked: Who are these, Lord And he said unto me: These are the sorcerers which gave unto men and women magical enchantments, and they found no rest (i.e. did not cease) until they died. And again I saw men and women of a very black countenance in a pit of fire, and I sighed and wept and asked: Who are these, Lord And he said unto me: These are whoremongers and adulterers who, having wives of their own, committed adultery, and likewise the women after the same sort committed adultery, having their own husbands: therefore do they pay the penalty without ceasing.

39 And I saw there girls clad in black raiment, and four fearful angels holding in their hands red-hot chains, and they put them upon their necks (heads) and led them away into darkness. And again I wept and asked the angel: Who are these, Lord And he said unto me: These are they which being virgins defiled their virginity, and their parents knew it not: wherefore without ceasing they pay the due penalty. And again I beheld there men and women with their hands and feet cut off and naked, in a place of ice and snow, and worms devoured them. And when I saw it I wept and asked: Who are these, Lord and he said unto me: These are they that injured the fatherless and widows and the poor, and trusted not in the Lord: wherefore without ceasing they pay the due penalty.

And I looked and saw others hanging over a channel of water, and their tongues were exceeding dry, and many fruits were set in their sight, and they were not suffered to take of them. And I asked: Who are these, Lord And he said unto me: These are they that brake the fast before the time appointed: therefore without ceasing do they pay this penalty.

And I saw other men and women hanged by their eyebrows and their hair, and a river of fire drew them, and I said: Who

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are these, Lord And he said unto me: These are they that gave themselves not unto their own husbands and wives, but unto adulterers, and therefore without ceasing they pay the due penalty. (For this Copt. has: men and women hung head downwards torches burning before their faces, serpents girt about them devouring them. These are the women that beautified themselves with paints and unguents and went to church to ensnare men. Syr. and Gr. omit.)

And I saw other men and women covered with dust, and their appearance was as blood, and they were in a pit of pitch and brimstone and borne down in a river of fire. And I asked: Who are these, Lord And he said unto me: These are they that committed the wickedness of Sodom and Gomorrah, men with men, wherefore they pay the penalty without ceasing. (Copt., Syr., Gr. omit this paragraph.)

40 And I looked and saw men and women clad in white (bright) apparel, and their eyes were blind, and they were set in a pit, and I asked: Who are these, Lord And he said unto me: These are they of the heathen that gave alms and knew not the Lord God; wherefore without ceasing they pay the due penalty.

And I looked and saw other men and women upon a spit of fire, and beasts tearing them, and they were not suffered to say: Lord, have mercy on us. And I saw the angel of the torments (Aftemeloukhos, Copt.) laying most fierce torments upon them and saying: Acknowledge the Son of God. For it was told you before, but when the scriptures of God were read unto you, ye paid no heed: wherefore the judgement of God is just, for your evil doings have taken hold upon you, and brought you into these torments. But I sighed and wept, and I inquired and said : Who are these men and women that are strangled in the fire and pay the penalty And he answered me: These are the women which defiled the creation of God when they brought forth children from the womb, and these are the men that lay with them. But their children appealed unto the Lord God and unto the angels that are over the torments, saying: Avenge us of our parents: for they have defiled the creation of God. Having the name of God, but not observing his commandments, they gave us for food unto dogs and to be trampled on by swine, and others they cast into the river (Copt. adds: and did not permit us to grow up into righteous men and to serve God). But those children were delivered unto the angels of Tartarus (Gr. unto an angel) that they should bring them into a spacious place of mercy: but their fathers and mothers were haled (strangled) into everlasting torment.

And thereafter I saw men and women clad in rags full of pitch and brimstone of fire, and there were dragons twined about their necks and shoulders and feet, and angels having horns of fire constrained them and smote them and closed up their nostrils, saying unto them: Wherefore knew ye not the time wherein it was right for you to repent and serve God, and ye did not And I asked: Who are these, Lord And he said unto me: These are they that seemed to renounce the world (lat. God), wearing our garb, but the snares of the world made them to be miserable: they showed no charity and had no pity upon the widows and fatherless: the stranger and pi]grim they did not take in, neither offered one oblation nor had pity on their neighbour: and their prayer went not up even one day pure unto the Lord God; but the many snares of the world held them back, and they were not able to do right in the sight of God. And the angels carried (lat. surrounded) them about into the place of torments: and they that were in torments saw them and said unto them: We indeed when we lived in the world neglected God, and ye did so likewise. And we when we were in the world knew that we were sinners, but of you it was said: These are righteous and servants of God: now we know that ye were only called by the name of the Lord. Wherefore also they pay the due penalty.

And I sighed and wept and said: Woe unto men! woe unto the sinners! to what end were they born And the angel answered and said unto me: Wherefore weepest thou Art thou more merciful than the Lord God which is blessed for ever, who hath established the judgement and left every man of his own will to choose good or evil and to do as pleaseth him Yet again I wept very sore, and he said unto me: Weepest thou, when as yet thou hast not seen the greater torments Follow me, and thou shalt see sevenfold greater than these.

41 And he took me from the north side (to the west, Syr.) and set me over a well, and I found it sealed with seven seals. And the angel that was with me answered and said unto the angel of that place: Open the mouth of the well, that Paul the dearly beloved of God may behold; for power hath been given unto him to see all the torments of hell. And the angel said unto me: Stand afar off, that thou mayest be able to endure the stench of this place. When therefore the well was opened, straightway there arose out of it a stench hard and evil exceedingly, which surpassed all the torments: and I looked into the well and saw masses (lumps) of fire burning on every side, and anguish, and there was straitness in the mouth of the pit so as to take but one man in. And the angel answered and said unto me: If any be cast into the well of the abyss, and it be sealed over him, there shall never be remembrance made of him in the presence of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost or of the holy angels. And I said: Who are they, Lord, that are cast into this well And he said unto me: They are whosoever confesseth not that Christ is come in the flesh and that the Virgin Mary bare him and whosoever saith of the bread and the cup of blessing of the Eucharist that it is not the body and blood of Christ.

42 And I looked from the north unto the west and saw there the worm that sleepeth not, and in that place was gnashing of teeth. And the worms were of the measure of one cubit, and on them were two heads; and I saw there men and women in cold and gnashing of teeth. And I asked and said: Lord, who are they that are in this place And he said unto me: These are they which say that Christ rose not from the dead, and that this flesh riseth not again. And I inquired and said: Lord, is there no fire nor heat in this place And he said unto me: In this place is nothing else but cold and snow. And again he said to me: Even if the sun (seven suns, Copt.) rose upon them, they would not be warmed, because of the excessive cold of this place, and the snow. And when I heard this I spread forth mine hands and wept and sighed, and again I said: It were better for us if we had not been born, all we that are sinners.

43 But when they that were in that place saw me weeping, with the angel, they also cried out and wept, saying: Lord God, have mercy upon us. And after that I beheld the heaven open and Michael the archangel coming down out of heaven, and with him all the host of the angels; and they came even unto them that were set in torment. And they when they saw them wept again and cried out and said: Have mercy upon us, thou Michael, archangel, have mercy upon us and upon the race of men, for it is by thy prayers that the earth standeth. We have now seen the judgement and have known the Son of God. It was not possible for us to pray for this before we came into this place: for we heard that there was a judgement, before we departed out of the world, but the snares and the life of the world suffered us not to repent. And Michael answered and said: Hearken when Michael speaketh: I am he that stands in the presence of God alway. As the Lord liveth, before whose face I stand, I cease not for one day nor one night to pray continually for the race of men; and I indeed pray for them that are upon earth: but they cease not from committing wickednesses and fornication. And they bring not forth aught of good while they are upon earth; and ye have wasted in vanity the time wherein ye ought to have repented. But I have prayed alway, and now do I entreat that God would send dew and that rain may be sent upon the earth, and still pray I until the earth yield her fruits: and I say that if any man doeth but a little good I will strive for him and protect him until he escape the judgement of torment. Where then be your prayers Where be your repentances ye have lost the time despicably. Yet now weep ye, and I will weep with you, and the angels that are with me, together with the dearly beloved Paul, if peradventure the merciful God will have pity and grant you refreshment. And they when they heard these words cried out and wept sore, and all said with one voice: Have mercy upon us, O Son of God. And I, Paul, sighed and said: O Lord God, have mercy upon thy creature, have mercy on the children of men, have mercy upon thine image.

44 I beheld and saw the heaven shake like unto a tree that is moved by the wind: and suddenly they cast themselves down upon their faces before the throne: and I saw the four-and-twenty elders and the four beasts worshipping God: and I saw the altar and the veil and the throne, and all of them were rejoicing, and the smoke of a sweet odour rose up beside the altar of the throne of God; and I heard a voice saying: For what cause do ye entreat me, our angels, and our ministers And they cried out, saying: We entreat thee, beholding thy great goodness unto mankind. And thereafter I saw the Son of God coming down out of heaven, and on his head was a crown. And when they that were in torments saw him they all cried out with one voice, saying: Have mercy upon us, O exalted Son of God (or, Son of God Most High): thou art he that hast granted refreshment unto all that are in heaven and earth; have mercy upon us likewise: for since we beheld thee we have been refreshed. And there went forth a voice from the Son of God throughout all the torments, saying: What good works have ye done that ye should ask of me refreshment My blood was shed for you, and not even so did ye repent: for your sake I bare a crown of thorns on mine head, for you I received buffets upon my cheeks, and not even so did ye repent. I asked for water when I hanged upon the cross, and they gave me vinegar mingled with gall: with a spear did they open my right side: for my name's sake have they slain my servants the prophets, and the righteous: and for ail these things did I give you a place of repentance, and ye would not. Yet now because of Michael the archangel of my covenant and the angels that are with him, and because of Paul my dearly beloved whom I would not grieve. and because of your brethren that are in the world and do offer oblations, and because of your sons, for in them are my commandments,l and yet more because of mine own goodness: on that day whereon I rose from the dead I grant unto all you that are in torment refreshment for a day and a night for ever. And all they cried out and said: We bless thee, O Son of God, for that thou hast granted us rest for a day and a night: for better unto us is the refreshment of one day than the whole time of our life wherein we were upon earth: and if we had known clearly that this place was appointed for them that sin, we should have done none other work whatsoever, neither traded nor done any wickedness. For what profit was our pride in the world (Copt. What profit was it to us to be born into the world) For this our pride is taken captive, which came up out of our mouth against our neighbour (Copt. our life is like the breath of our mouth): and this pain and our sore anguish and tears and the worms which are under us, these are worse unto us than the torments which we suffer. (This is hardly sense, but Copt. agrees; should it not have been ' these are worse than not to have been born ') And as they thus spake, the angels of torment and the evil angels were wroth with them and said: How long have ye wept and sighed for ye have had no mercy. For this is the judgement of God on him that hath not had mercy. Yet have ye received this great grace, even refreshment for the night and day of the Lord's day, because of Paul the dearly beloved of God who hath come down unto you.

45 And after these things the angel said unto me: Hast thou seen all these things And I said: Yea, Lord. And he said unto me: Follow me, and I will bring thee into Paradise, that the righteous which are there may see thee: for, behold, they hope to see thee, and are ready to come and meet thee with joy and exultation. And I followed after the angel in the swiftness of the Holy Ghost, and he set me in Paradise and said unto me: This is Paradise, wherein Adam and his wife erred. And I entered into Paradise and saw the head of the waters, and the angel beckoned unto me and said to me: Behold, saith he, these waters: for this is the river Phison that compasseth about all the land of Evila. and this other is Geon that goeth about all the land of Egypt and Ethiopia, and this other is Tigris that is over against the Assyrians, and this other is Euphrates that watereth the land of Mesopotamia. And I entered in further and saw a tree planted, out of whose roots flowed waters, and out of it was the beginning of the four rivers, and the Spirit of God rested upon that tree, and when the spirit breathed the waters flowed forth: and I said: Lord, is this tree that which maketh the waters to flow And he said unto me: Because in the beginning, before the heaven and the earth were made to appear, and all things were invisible, the Spirit of God moved (was borne) upon the waters; but since by the commandment of God the heaven and the earth appeared the spirit hath rested upon this tree; wherefore when the spirit breatheth, the waters flow out from the tree. And he took hold on mine hand and led me unto the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, and said: This is the tree whereby death entered into the world, and Adam taking of it from his wife did eat, and death entered into the world. And he showed me another tree in the midst of Paradise, and saith unto me: This is the tree of life.

46 And as I yet looked upon the tree, I saw a virgin coming from afar off, and two hundred angels before her singing hymns: and I inquired and said: Lord, who is this that cometh in such glory and he said unto me: This is Mary the virgin, the mother of the Lord. And she came near and saluted me, and said: Hail, Paul, dearly beloved of God and angels and men. For all the saints have besought my son Jesus who is my Lord, that thou shouldest come here in the body that they might see thee before thou didst depart out of the world. And the Lord said to them: Wait and be ye patient: yet a little while, and ye shall see him, and he shall be with you for ever. And again they all with one accord said unto him: Grieve us not, for we desire to see him while he is in the flesh, for by him hath thy name been greatly glorified in the world, and we have seen that he hath excelled (done away with) all the works whether of the lesser or the greater. For we inquire of them that come hither, saying: Who is he that guided you in the world and they have told us: There is one in the world whose name is Paul; he declareth Christ, preaching him, and we believe that by the power and sweetness of his speech many have entered into the kingdom. Behold, all the righteous are behind me, coming to meet thee. But I say unto thee, Paul, that for this cause I come first to meet them that have performed the will of my son and my Lord Jesus Christ, even I come first to meet them and leave them not as strangers until they meet with him in peace.

47 While she was yet speaking I saw three men coming from afar, very beautiful, after the appearance of Christ, and their forms were shining, and their angels; and I asked: Who are these, Lord And he answered: These are the fathers of the people, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. And they came near and greeted me, and said: Hail, Paul, dearly beloved of God and men: blessed is he that endureth violence for the Lord's sake. And Abraham answered me and said: This is my son Isaac, and Jacob my best beloved, and we knew the Lord and followed him. Blessed are all they that have believed thy word that they may inherit the kingdom of God by labour and self-sacrifice (renunciation) and sanctification and humility and charity and meekness and right faith in the Lord: and we also had devotion unto the Lord whom thou preachest, covenanting that we will come unto every soul of them that believe in him, and minister unto him as fathers minister unto their sons.

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While they yet spake I saw twelve men coming from afar with honour, and I asked: Who are these, Lord And he said: These are the patriarchs. And they came and saluted me and said: Hail, Paul, dearly beloved of God and men. The Lord hath not grieved us, that we might see thee yet being in the body, before thou departedst out of the world. And every one of them signified his name unto me in order, from Ruben unto Benjamin; and Joseph said unto me: I am he that was sold; and I say unto thee, Paul, that for all that my brethren did unto me, in nothing did I deal evilly with them, not in all the labour which they laid upon me, nor did I hurt them in any thing (Copt. kept no evil thought against them) from morning until evening. Blessed is he that is hurt for the Lord's sake and hath endured, for the Lord will recompense him manifold more when he departeth out of the world.

48 While he yet spake I saw another coming from afar, beautiful, and his angels singing hymns, and I asked: Who is this, Lord, that is fair of countenance And he said unto me: Dost thou not know him And I said: No, Lord. And he said to me: This is Moses the lawgiver, unto whom God gave the law. And when he was nigh me, straightway he wept, and after that he greeted me; and I said unto him: Why weepest thou for I have heard that thou excellest all men in meekness. And he answered, saying: I weep for them whom I planted with much labour, for they have borne no fruit, neither doth any of them do well. And I have seen all the sheep whom I fed that they are scattered and become as having no shepherd, and that all the labours which I have endured for the children of Israel are come to nought, and however great wonders I did in their midst [and] they understood not: and I marvel how the strangers and uncircumcised and idolaters are converted and entered into the promises of God, but Israel hath not entered in: and now I say unto thee, O brother Paul, that in that hour when the people hanged up Jesus whom thou preachest, God the Father of all, which gave me the law, and Michael and all the angels and archangels, and Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and all the righteous wept over the Son of God that was hanged on the cross. And in that hour all the saints waited upon me, looking on me and saying: Behold, Moses, what they of thy people have done unto the Son of God. Therefore blessed art thou O Paul, and blessed is the generation and people that hath believed thy word.

49 While he yet spake there came other twelve and saw me and said: Art thou Paul that is glorified in heaven and upon earth And I answered and said: Who are ye The first answered and said: I am Esaias whose head Manasses cut with a saw of wood. And the second said likewise: I am Jeremias who was stoned by the children of Israel, and slain. And the third said: I am Ezechiel whom the children of Israel dragged by the feet over the stones in the mountain until they scattered my brains abroad: and all of us endured these labours, desiring to save the children of Israel: and I say unto thee that after the toils which they laid upon me I would cast myself down upon my face before the Lord, praying for them and bowing my knees unto the second hour of the Lord's day, even until Michael came and raised me up from the earth. Blessed art thou, Paul, and blessed is the people that hath believed through thee.

And as they passed by, I saw another, fair of countenance and asked: Who is this, Lord [And when he saw me he was glad] and he said unto me: This is Lot, which was found righteous in Sodom. And he came near and greeted me and said: Blessed art thou, Paul, and blessed is the generation unto whom thou hast ministered. And I answered and said unto him: Art thou Lot, that wast found righteous in Sodom And he said: I entertained angels in mine house as strangers, and when they of the city would have done them violence I offered them my two daughters, virgins, that had never known man, and gave them to them, saying: Use them as ye will, only do no ill unto these men, for therefore have they entered under the roof of mine house. Therefore ought we to have confidence, and know that whatsoever any man hath done, God recompenseth him manifold more when he cometh (they come) unto him. Blessed art thou Paul, and blessed is the generation which hath believed thy word.

When therefore he had ceased speaking unto me, I saw another coming from afar off, very beautiful in the face, and smiling, and his angels singing hymns, and I said unto the angel that was with me: Hath,then,every one of the righteous an angel for his fellow And he saith to me: Every one of the saints hath his own, that standeth by him and singeth hymns, and the one departeth not from the other. And I said: Who is this, Lord And he said: This is Job. And he drew near and greeted me and said: Brother Paul, thou hast great praise with God and men. Now I am Job, which suffered much for the season of thirty years by the issue of a plague, and in the beginning the blains that came forth of my body were as grains of wheat; but on the third day they became like an ass's foot, and the worms that fell from them were four fingers long: and thrice the devil appeared unto me and saith to me: Speak a word against the Lord, and die. But I said unto him: If thus be the will of God that I continue in the plague all the time of my life until I die, I will not rest from blessing the Lord God, and I shall receive the greater reward. For I know that the sufferings of this world are nought compared with the refreshment that is thereafter: wherefore blessed art thou, Paul, and blessed is the people which hath believed by thy means.

50 While he yet spake there came another crying out from afar off and saying: Blessed art thou, Paul, and blessed am I that have seen thee the beloved of the Lord. And I asked the angel: Who is this, Lord and he answered and said unto me: This is Noe of the days of the flood. And straightway we greeted one another, and he, rejoicing greatly, said unto me: Thou art (or, Art thou) Paul the best beloved of God. And I asked him: Who art thou And he said: I am Noe that was in the days of the flood: but I say unto thee, Paul, that I spent an hundred years making the ark, not putting off the coat (tunic) which I wore, and I shaved not the hair of mine head. Furthermore I kept continence, not coming near mine own wife, and in those hundred years the hair of mine head grew not in greatness, neither was my raiment soiled. And I besought men at that time, saying: Repent, for a flood of waters cometh upon you. But they mocked me and derided my words; and again they said unto me: This is the time of them that would play and sin as much as they will, that have leave to fornicate not a little (lat. confused; other versions omit): for God looketh not on these things, neither knoweth what is done of us men, and moreover there is no flood of waters coming upon this world. And they ceased not from their sins until God blotted out all flesh that had the breath of life in it. But know thou that God loveth one righteous man more than all the world of the wicked. Therefore blessed art thou, O Paul, and blessed is the people that hath believed by thy means.

51 And I turned myself and saw other righteous ones coming from afar off, and I asked the angel: Who are these, Lord and he answered me: These are Elias and Eliseus. And they greeted me, and I said unto them: Who are ye And one of them answered and said: I am Elias the prophet of God. I am Elias that prayed, and because of my word the heaven rained not for three years and six months, because of the iniquities of men. Righteous and true is God, who doeth the will of his servants; for oftentimes the angels besought the Lord for rain, and he said: Be patient until my servant Elias pray and entreat for this, and I will send rain upon the earth.

[Here the Greek, latin, and Syriac texts end, save that the Syriac adds thus much: And he gave not, until I called upon him again; then he gave unto them. But blessed art thou, O Paul, that thy generation and those thou teachest are the sons of the kingdom. And know thou, O Paul, that every man who believes through thee hath a great blessing, and a blessing is reserved for him. Then he departed from me.

And the angel who was with me led me forth, and said unto me: Lo, unto thee is given this mystery and revelation: as thou pleasest, make it known unto the sons of men.

And I, Paul, returned unto myself, and I knew all that I had seen: and in life I had not rest that I might reveal this mystery, but I wrote it and deposited it under the ground and the foundations of the house of a certain faithful man with whom I used to be in Tarsus a city of Cilicia. And when I was released from this life of time, and stood before my Lord, thus said he unto me: Paul, have we shown all these things unto thee that thou shouldst deposit them under the foundations of a house Then send and disclose concerning this revelation, that men may read it and turn to the way of truth, that they also may not come to these bitter torments.

And thus was this revelation discovered [. . .] Then follows the history of the finding, which in the other texts is prefixed to the book. But this conclusion can hardly be the original one. The Coptic seems in part better. After the words 'rain upon the earth', it continues:

The sufferings which each endureth for God's sake will God requite unto him twofold. Blessed art thou, Paul, and blessed are the heathen who shall believe through thee. And whilst he was speaking, Enoch (here Enoch replaces Elisha) also came and saluted me and said unto me: The man who endureth suffering for God's sake, God will not afflict when he goeth out of the world.

Then there are similar meetings with Zacharias and John Baptist, and Abel. Zacharias says: 'I am he whom they killed when I was offering up the offering unto God: and when the angels came for the offering, they carried my body up to God, and no man found my body whither it had been taken.'

Then Adam, taller than the rest, appears. And this seems a suitable finale to the procession of saints.

After this Paul is carried into the third heaven. The angel who is with him changes in appearance and bursts into flames of fire, and a voice forbids Paul to reveal what he has seen.

There is a description of a mysterious vision of an altar with seven eagles of light on the right and seven on the left. And this is followed by more descriptions of Paradise-partly resembling a vision seen by one Siophanes, in the Book of Bartholomew. Some sentences also are taken from, or at least found in, the Apocalypse of Zephaniah. The meek, the prophets, David, all figure again in this episode: last are the martyrs. The conclusion runs thus (in substance):

The angel of the Lord took me up and brought me to the Mount of Olives. I found the apostles assembled and told them all I had seen. They praised God and commanded us, that is me, Mark, and Timothy, to write the revelation. And while they were talking, Christ appeared from the chariot of the cherubim and spoke greetings to Peter, John, and especially Paul. He promised blessings to those who should write or read the Apocalypse, and curses on those who should deride it. Peter and Paul should end their course on the fifth of Epiphi (29 June). He then bade a cloud take the apostles to the various countries allotted to them, and commanded them to preach the Gospel of the Kingdom. And a doxology follows.

I am disposed to think that nothing after the appearance of Adam in this version can be original. The rest is to a great extent, I think a pasticcio from other Coptic apocrypha. It is quite possible, of course that the original end of the Apocalypse was lost at an early date, but the supposition is probable that after the appearance of Adam a short conclusion followed in which Paul returned to earth. With so ill-proportioned and inartistic a book it is not perhaps worth while to spend much time on conjectural restoration. Yet another possibility should be pointed out. The climax of the Apocalypse is reached when the Sunday is granted as a day of rest from torment. Paul has seen Paradise and hell, and there is no more for him to do. Everything after ch. 44 is an otiose appendix.

And we do find in the Ethiopic Apocalypse of the Virgin, which copies that of Paul very literally, that the end comes at ch. 44, when the Virgin procures rest from Friday evening to Monday morning for the lost. The Greek Apocalypse -one form at least ends when she has gained for them the days of Pentecost.

It may be the case, then, that the Apocalypse of Paul as first issued ended here, and that it was reissued with the appendix about Paradise (45-end). In the shorter Latin recensions there is no trace of anything after ch. 44: but this does not furnish a conclusive argument. More to the point would be the discovery of a copy of the full text ending with 44.

THE (COPTIC) APOCALYPSE OF PAUL

The Nag Hammadi Library
Translation: George W. MacRae and William R. Murdock
Estimated Range of Dating: 150-220 A.D.

(The Coptic Apocalypse of Paul is one of the texts of the New Testament apocrypha found in the Nag Hammadi library of Codex 5. The text is not to be confused with the Apocalypse of Paul, which is unrelated. On the basis of its content, the text was written at around 150-220 AD. The text was part of a contested claim between Valentinian Gnostics and other groups as to who was the true heir of Saul of Tarsos, Paul the Apostle.)

[...] the road. And he spoke to him, saying, "By which road shall I go up to Jerusalem?" The little child replied, saying, "Say your name, so that I may show you the road". The little child knew who Paul was. He wished to make conversation with him through his words in order that he might find an excuse for speaking with him.

The little child spoke, saying, "I know who you are, Paul. You are he who was blessed from his mother`s womb. For I have come to you that you may go up to Jerusalem to your fellow apostles. And for this reason you were called. And I am the Spirit who accompanies you. Let your mind awaken, Paul, with [...]. For [...] whole which [...] among the principalities and these authorities and archangels and powers and the whole race of demons, [...] the one that reveals bodies to a soul-seed."

And after he brought that speech to an end, he spoke, saying to me, "Let your mind awaken, Paul, and see that this mountain upon which you are standing is the mountain of Jericho, so that you may know the hidden things in those that are visible. Now it is to the twelve apostles that you shall go, for they are elect spirits, and they will greet you." He raised his eyes and saw them greeting him.

Then the Holy Spirit who was speaking with him caught him up on high to the third heaven, and he passed beyond to the fourth heaven. The Holy Spirit spoke to him, saying, "Look and see your likeness upon the earth." And he looked down and saw those who were upon the earth. He stared and saw those who were upon the [...]. Then he gazed down and saw the twelve apostles at his right and at his left in the creation; and the Spirit was going before them.

But I saw in the fourth heaven according to class - I saw the angels resembling gods, the angels bringing a soul out of the land of the dead. They placed it at the gate of the fourth heaven. And the angels were whipping it. The soul spoke, saying, "What sin was it that I committed in the world?" The toll-collector who dwells in the fourth heaven replied, saying, "It was not right to commit all those lawless deeds that are in the world of the dead". The soul replied, saying, "Bring witnesses! Let them show you in what body I committed lawless deeds. Do you wish to bring a book to read from?"

And the three witnesses came. The first spoke, saying, "Was I not in the body the second hour [...]? I rose up against you until you fell into anger and rage and envy." And the second

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spoke, saying, "Was I not in the world? And I entered at the fifth hour, and I saw you and desired you. And behold, then, now I charge you with the murders you committed." The third spoke, saying, "Did I not come to you at the twelfth hour of the day when the sun was about to set? I gave you darkness until you should accomplish your sins." When the soul heard these things, it gazed downward in sorrow. And then it gazed upward. It was cast down. The soul that had been cast down went to a body which had been prepared for it. And behold, its witnesses were finished.

Then I gazed upward and saw the Spirit saying to me, "Paul, come! Proceed toward me!". Then as I went, the gate opened, and I went up to the fifth heaven. And I saw my fellow apostles going with me while the Spirit accompanied us. And I saw a great angel in the fifth heaven holding an iron rod in his hand. There were three other angels with him, and I stared into their faces. But they were rivalling each other, with whips in their hands, goading the souls on to the judgement. But I went with the Spirit and the gate opened for me.

Then we went up to the sixth heaven. And I saw my fellow apostles going with me, and the Holy Spirit was leading me before them. And I gazed up on high and saw a great light shining down on the sixth heaven. I spoke, saying to the toll-collector who was in the sixth heaven, "Open to me and the Holy Spirit who is before me." He opened to me.

Then we went up to the seventh heaven, and I saw an old man [...] light and whose garment was white. His throne, which is in the seventh heaven, was brighter than the sun by seven times. The old man spoke, saying to me, "Where are you going, Paul? O blessed one and the one who was set apart from his mother`s womb." But I looked at the Spirit, and he was nodding his head, saying to me, "Speak with him!". And I replied, saying to the old man, "I am going to the place from which I came." And the old man responded to me, "Where are you from?" But I replied, saying, "I am going down to the world of the dead in order to lead captive the captivity that was led captive in the captivity of Babylon." The old man replied to me saying, "How will you be able to get away from me? Look and see the principalities and authorities." The Spirit spoke, saying, "Give him the sign that you have, and he will open for you." And then I gave him the sign. He turned his face downwards to his creation and to those who are his own authorities.

And then the <seventh> heaven opened and we went up to the Ogdoad. And I saw the twelve apostles. They greeted me, and we went up to the ninth heaven. I greeted all those who were in the ninth heaven, and we went up to the tenth heaven. And I greeted my fellow spirits.

THE APOCALYPSE OF ELIJAH (2 versions)
The Sefer Elijah
The Jewish Hebrew Version
and The Coptic Christian Version
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 4th centuries A.D.

(The Apocalypse of Elijah is an anonymous apocryphal work presenting itself as a revelation given by an angel. Two versions are known today, a Hebrew Jewish version and a Coptic Christian fragmentary version. The title derives from mentions of Elijah within the text, although there is no other reason to assume that he is meant to be the author. This apocalypse is mentioned in the Apostolic Constitutions and other writings. The apocalypse is pre-Pauline, composed in the first century BC. The Jewish version of the Apocalypse of Elijah was published by Adolf Jellinek in 1855 and Moses Buttenwieser in 1897. Theodor Zahn assigns this apocalypse to the 2nd century A.D. but other scholars reject such an early date. The two extant versions are thought to be derived from the same original, which would be the one quoted by Paul the Apostle. The Hebrew version abridged and the Coptic version has been Christianised. The original Tetragrammaton YHWH has been replaced by its spoken version "Yahweh" which is a name for God or Lord.)

THE JEWISH HEBREW VERSION:

THE SEFER ELIJAH
Apocalypse of Elijah
Translation: Moses Buttenwieser, 1897
Estimated range of dating: 150-400 AD

(The Sefer Elijah or 'The Book of Elijah' was first published in an anthology of midrashic texts in Salonika in 1743. This version of the text was subsequently reprinted by Adolph Jellinek in Leipzig, 1853. Another edition based on the version of the work found in Munich Ms. Hebr. 222, a manuscript dating from the fifteenth century containing an anthology of brief midrashim, was prepared by Moses Buttenwieser in 1897. The present translation utilizes Buttenwieser as its base text with frequent reference to the variant renderings found in Jellinek's edition.)

1 'And he lay down and fell asleep beneath a broom-shrub. Then lo, this angel touched him and said, "Get up, eat!"' (1 Kgs 19:5). Michael, 'the great prince' of Israel, revealed this mystery to the prophet Elijah at Mount Carmel; (namely), the eschaton and what was scheduled to transpire at the End of Days at the end of the four empires (and) the things which would take place during the reign of the fourth ruler.

2 A wind from the Lord lifted me (i.e., Elijah) up and transported me to the southern part of the world, and I saw there a high place burning with fire where no creature was able to enter. Then the wind lifted me up and transported me to the eastern part of the world, and I saw there stars battling one another incessantly. Again the wind lifted me up and transported me to the western part of the world, and I saw there souls undergoing a painful judgement, each one in accordance with its deeds.

3 Then Michael said to me, 'The appointed time for the End of Days will occur during the reign of a king who will be named Hrmlt. There are some that say that Trmyl' will be his name.' R. Simai says Hkšrt will be his name. R. Eleazar says Artaxerxes will be his name. R. Judah b. Betira says Cyrus will be his name. R. Simon ben Yodhai says Khusrau will be his name. The halakhah in this case follows R. Sim'on who said 'Khusrau' will be his name.

4 The last king who rules Persia shall come up against the Romans three successive years until he expands (his gains) against them for twelve months. Three mighty warriors will come up to oppose him from the west, but they will be handed over into his control. Then the lowliest of the kings, the son of a slave woman and whose name is Gigit, will confront him from the west. These will be his signs, for Daniel has already foreseen him: his face will be long, there will be a bald patch between his eyes, he will be very tall, the soles of his feet will be high (sic), and his thighs will be thin. At that time he will attack the faithful people, and he will provoke at that time three agitations. All the constellations will be gathered together and move to one place. They will plunder houses and rob fields and strike the orphan and the widow in the bazaar, but if they perform penitence they will be forgiven.

5 On the twentieth (day) of Marheshvan, the world will be shaken 'and the heavens and the earth will quake.' On the twentieth (day) of Kislev, all Israel will stand in prayer and clamor before their heavenly Father, and a sword will descend and fall upon the nations of the world, in accordance with what scripture says: 'The sword kills indiscriminately' (2 Sam 11:25). On the twentieth (day) of Nisan, the first group of exiles will depart from Babylon: they will number eighteen thousand men and women, and not a single one of them will perish. On the twenty-fifth (day) of Tishri, the second group of exiles will depart from the region of the River Sa(m)batyon: they will number seventeen thousand, but twenty men and fifteen women will be slain from among them. On the twenty-fifth (day) of the eighth month (sic; i.e., Marheshvan), the third group of exiles will depart. They will weep and cry out on behalf of their brethren who were slain, and they will cry out in the desert for twenty-five days and not taste any (food), living instead 'on what issues from the mouth of the Lord' (Deut 8:3). The first group of exiles will not leave Babylon until the second group arrives there, as scripture affirms: 'Writhe and push out, O daughter of Zion, like a woman giving birth. For you will now go out of the city and dwell in the countryside, and you shall come to Babylon. There you will be rescued; there will the Lord redeem you from the hand of your enemies' (Mic 4:10).

6 On the twentieth (day) of Nisan, a king shall come up from the west, ravaging and horrifying the world. He shall encroach upon 'the holy beautiful mountain' (Dan 11:45) and burn it. Most cursed among women is the woman who gave birth to him: that is 'the horn' which Daniel foresaw, and that day will be one of torment and battle against Israel.

7 Demetrius son of Poryphos and Anfolipos son of Panfos will wage a second battle. Accompanying them will be ten myriads of cavalry, ten myriads of foot soldiers, and (another) ten myriads of troops concealed on ships. On the twentieth (day) of Ellul, the Messiah will come: his name is Yinnon. On that same day Gabriel will descend (and) from the ninth to the tenth hour will destroy from the world ninety-two thousand people. On the twentieth (day) of Tebet, Mekketz, Qirtalos, and all the cities allied with them will wage a third battle: a very large nation (extending) from the great plain unto Jaffa and Ashkelon. On the twentieth (day) of Shebat, the Messiah will come: angels of destruction will descend and destroy the whole of that multitude, and they will not leave (alive) a single soul.

8 (It was) regarding this time that God spoke about to Abraham: 'Your progeny are destined to sink to the lowest level, as scripture states: "And you shall be low, and you will speak from the ground" (Isa 29:4), but afterwards they will be exalted higher than all the nations, as scripture affirms: "and the Lord your God will set you high above all the nations of the earth" (Deut 28:1).' After this all the Gentile nations will come and prostrate themselves before every Israelite and lick off the dust from their feet, as scripture says: 'kings will serve as your tutors, [while their princesses will be your nursemaids; they will prostrate themselves facedown on the ground to you and lick off the dust from your feet]' (Isa 49:23).

9 On the twentieth (day) of Adar, the Messiah will come, and with him will be thirty thousand righteous ones, as scripture attests: 'Righteousness will be the wrap girdling his loins' (Isa 11:5). When the nations of the world behold this happening, immediately each one of them will putrefy, both it and its cavalry, as scripture says: 'and this will be the affliction with which the Lord will strike all the nations, etc.' (Zech 14:12, 15). At that time the Holy One, blessed be He, will address the nations of the world: 'Woe to you, o wicked ones, who are (alive) at the cessation of the four world empires! All of you are to be expelled from the world, one wherein one kor of wheat will yield about nine hundred kors, and there will be analogous (fantastic yields) for wine and oil. Every tree will bear choice produce and fruits, as scripture states: "and you, o mountains of Israel, will make your branches yield, etc." (Ezek 36:8).' And Israel will eat (these fruits) and rejoice for forty years.

10 After this the Holy One, blessed be He, will bring up Gog and Magog 'and all their associates,' and then all the peoples of the earth will assemble together and surround Jerusalem in order to make war. The Holy One, blessed be He, will come up and do battle with them. The Messiah will arrive, and with his help the Holy One, blessed be He, will wage war on them, as scripture forecasts: 'then the Lord will go forth and fight with those nations as when He did battle on the day of war' (Zech 14:3). On that day mountains will quake and hills will shake and walls and towers will collapse. The Holy One, blessed be He, will gather all the birds of the sky and the beasts of the earth to feast on their flesh and to drink their blood, as scripture says: 'the vultures will spend summer upon them, and all the beasts of the earth will spend winter upon them' (Isa 18:6). Israel will spend seven years burning their weaponry, as scripture states: 'then the inhabitants of the cities of Israel will go out and set fire to the weaponry and burn (it) … for seven years' (Ezek 39:9). It (also) says: 'The house of Israel will spend seven months burying them in order to purify the land' (Ezek 39:12).

11 These are the cities which will experience devastation: Jericho, Be'erot, Beth Horon, Siserin, Milkah, Arad, Shallum, Samaria, Beth Migdol, Tyre, Beth alsawet, Lod, Buz, Beth 'Aynam, Hamath, Sefar, adashah, Antioch, Alexandria, and 'Edom.' But as for all of the cities of Israel, fire and fiery angels will surround them, as scripture affirms: 'and I will be a wall of fire encompassing it—utterance of the Lord' (Zech 2:9). Afterwards the final day will come: its duration will be that of forty days. The mountains and hills will shudder and quake, and the earth will cry out against the wicked, saying: 'In such-and-such a place did so-and-so kill so-and-so,' as scripture states: 'the earth will reveal her blood-guilt, etc.' (Isa 26:21).

12 Elijah said: I beheld the dead taking form and their 'dust' being reshaped and made like (the forms they had) when they were formerly alive so that they might render praise to God, as scripture states: 'See now that I indeed am He [and there is no deity other than Me; I put to death and I resurrect, I sicken and I heal: none can escape from My power]' (Deut 32:39). Also in Ezekiel it says: 'and I looked, and behold, sinews were upon them' (Ezek 37:8). The ministering angels opened their tombs and injected them with their 'animating breaths,' and they revivified. They (the angels) stood them up on their feet. They shoved everyone who merited punishment into a large hollow place two hundred cubits long and fifty cubits wide. The eyes of the righteous will witness the downfall of all those who did not take pleasure in (observing) the Torah of the Holy One, blessed be He, as scripture states: 'they will go out and see the corpses of those people who rebelled against Me …' (Isa 66:24).

13 Elijah said: I beheld fire and brimstone coming down upon the wicked from heaven, as scripture says: 'the Lord will rain coals of fire and brimstone upon the wicked' (Ps 11:6). The Holy One, blessed be He, will move the Temple a great distance from the place of eternal torment so that the righteous will not hear the sound of the cry of the wicked (suffering) and seek to obtain mercy for them. 'They will be as if they never were.'

14 Elijah said: I saw Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and all the righteous ones in sitting postures, and the land before them was sown with every sort of delightful vegetation. That tree which the Holy One, blessed be He, had prepared was standing in the middle of the garden, as scripture says: 'and there will grow by the stream on its bank on both sides every kind of fruit tree; their foliage will never wither, nor will their fruit ever fail' (Ezek 47:12). Boats will come 'from En-gedi as far as' Eglayim bearing wealth and riches for the righteous ones.

15 Elijah (may his memory be for a blessing) said: I beheld a great city, both beautiful and glorious, descending from heaven wherein it had been built, as scripture states: 'The already built Jerusalem, like the city associated to it' (Ps 122:3), perfectly constructed and with its people dwelling within it. It is situated by three thousand towers, with 20,000 ris separating each tower. Within the span of every ris

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are 25,000 cubits of emeralds, pearls, and (other) jewels, as scripture says: 'I will inlay your battlements with gemstones' (Isa 54:12).

16 Elijah said: I saw the houses and the gates of the righteous with their thresholds and door-frames constructed of precious stones. (I saw) the treasuries of the Temple opened up to their doorways (sic), and among them were Torah and peace, as scripture states: 'all your children will be instructed by the Lord; [your children will have great peace]' (Isa 54:13), and it says: 'those who love Your Torah have great peace' (Ps 119:165), and it says: 'How great is Your beneficence which You have stored up for those who revere You' (Ps 31:20).

End of Sefer Elijah, may his memory be for a blessing.

THE COPTIC CHRISTIAN VERSION:

THE APOCALYPSE OF ELIJAH
From: the Pseudepigrapha
Translation: Theodor Zahn, 1908
Estimated range of dating: 150-400 AD

APOCALYPSE OF ELIJAH CHAPTER 1

1 The word of Yahweh came to me saying, "Son of man, say to his people, 'why do you add sin to your sins and anger the Lord God who created you?'" Don't love the world or the things which are in the world, for the boasting of the world and its destruction belong to the devil.

2 Remember that the Lord of glory, Who created everything, had mercy upon you so that He might save us from the captivity of this age. For many times the devil desired not to let the sun rise above the earth and not to let the earth yield fruit, since he desires to consume men like a fire which rages in stubble, and he desires to swallow them like water. Therefore, on account of this, the God of glory had mercy upon us, and He sent His Son to the world so that He might save us from the captivity. He did not inform an angel or an archangel or any principality when He was about to come to us, but ?He changed Himself to be like a man when He was about to come to us so that He might save use [from flesh]. Therefore become sons to Him since He is a father to you.

3 Remember that He has prepared thrones and crowns for you in heaven, saying, "Everyone who will obey Me will receive thrones and crowns among those who are Mine." The Lord said, "I will write My name upon their forehead and I will seal their right hand, and they will not hunger or thirst. Neither will the son of lawlessness prevail over them, nor will the thrones hinder them, but they will walk with the angels up to My city." Now as for the sinners, they will be shamed and they will not pass by the thrones, but the thrones of death will seize them and rule over them because the angels will not agree with them. They have alienated themselves from His dwellings.

4 Hear, O wise men of the land, concerning the deceivers who will multiply in the last times so that they will set down for themselves doctrines which do not belong to God, setting aside the Law of God, those who have made their belly their God, saying, "The fast does not exist, nor did God create it," making themselves strangers to the covenant of God and robbing themselves of the glorious promises. Now these are not ever correctly established in the firm faith. Therefore don't let those people lead you astray.

5 Remember that from the time when He created the heavens, the Lord created the fast for a benefit to men on account of the passions and desires which fight against you so that the evil will not inflame you. "But it is a pure fast which I have created," said the Lord. The one who fasts continually will not sin although jealousy and strife are within him. Let the pure one fast, but whenever the one who fasts is not pure he has angered the Lord and also the angels. And he has grieved his soul, gathering up wrath for himself for the day of wrath.

6 But a pure fast is what I created, with a pure heart and pure hands. It releases sin. It heals diseases. It casts out demons. It is effective up to the throne of God for an ointment and for a release from sin by means of a pure prayer.

7 Who among you , if he is honoured in his craft, will go forth to the field without a tool in his hand? Or who will go forth to the battle to fight without a breastplate on? If he is found, will he not be killed because he despised the service of the king? Likewise no one is able to enter the holy place if he is double minded. The one who is double minded in his prayer is darkness to himself. And even the angels do not trust him. Therefore be single-minded in the Lord at all times so that you might know every moment.

APOCALYPSE OF ELIJAH CHAPTER 2

1 Furthermore, concerning the kings of Assyria and the dissolution of the heaven and the earth and the things beneath the earth.

2 "Now therefore those who are Mine will not be overcome" says the Lord, "nor will they fear in the battle." When they see [a king] who rises in the north, [who will be called] "the king of [Assyria" and] "the king of injustice," [he will increase] his battles and his disturbances against Egypt. The land will groan together because your children will be seized. Many will desire death in those days, but death will flee from them.

3 And a king who will be called "the king of peace" will rise up in the west. He will run upon the sea like a roaring lion. He will kill the king of injustice, and he will take vengeance on Egypt with battles and much bloodshed.

4 It will come to pass in those days that he will command a p[eace] and a [vain] gift in Egypt. [He will give] peace to these who are holy, [saying], "The name of [God] is one." [He will] give honours to the s[aints and] an exalting to the places of the saints. He will give vain gifts to the house of God. He will wander around in the cities of Egypt with guile, without their knowing. He will take count of the holy places. He will weigh the idols of the heathen. He will take count of their wealth. He will establish priests for them. He will command that the wise men and the great ones of the people be seized, and they will be brought to the metropolis which is by the sea, saying, "There is but one language." But when you hear, "Peace and joy exist," I will...

5 Now I will tell you his signs so that you might know him. For he has two sons: One on his right and one on his left. The one on his right will receive a demonic face, (and) he will fight against the name of God. Now four kings will descend from that king. In his thirtieth year he will come up to Memphis, (and) he will build a temple in Memphis. On that day his own son will rise up against him and kill him. The whole land will be disturbed.

6 On that day he will issue an order over the whole land so that the priests of the land and all of the saints will be seized, saying, "You will repay doubly every gift and all of the good things which my father gave to you." He will shut up the holy places. He will take their houses. He will take their sons prisoner. He will order and sacrifices and abominations and bitter evils will be done in the land. He will appear before the sun and the moon. On that day the priests of the land will tear their clothes.

7 Woe to you , O rulers of Egypt, in those days because your day has passed. The violence (being done to) the poor will turn against you, and your children will be seized as plunder. In those days the cities of Egypt will groan for the voice of the one who sells and the one who buys will not be heard. The markets of the cities of Egypt will become dusty. Those who are in Egypt will weep together. They will desire death, (but) death will flee and leave them.

8 In those days, they will run up to the rocks and leap off, saying, "Fall upon us." And still they will not die. A double affliction will multiply upon the whole land.

9 In those days, the king will command, and all the nursing women will be seized and brought to him bound. They will suckle serpents. And their blood will be drawn from their breasts, and it will be applied as poison to the arrows. On account of their distress of the cities, he will command again, and all the young lads from twelve years and under will be seized and presented in order to teach them to shoot arrows. The midwife who is upon the earth will grieve. The woman who has given birth will lift her eyes to heaven, saying, "Why did I sit upon the birthstool, to bring forth a son to the earth?" The barren woman and the virgin will rejoice, saying, "It is our time to rejoice, because we have no child upon the earth, but our children are in heaven."

10 In those days, three kings will arise among the Persians, and they will take captive the Jews who are in Egypt. They will bring them to Jerusalem, and the will inhabit it and dwell there.

11 Then when you hear that there is security in Jerusalem, tear you garments, O priests of the land, because the son of perdition will soon come. In those days, the lawless one will appear in the holy places -- In (those) days the kings of the Persians will hasten and they will stand to fight with the kings of Assyria. Four kings will fight with three. They will spend three years in that place until they carry off the wealth of the temple which is in that place. In those days, blood will flow from Kos to Memphis. The river of Egypt will become blood, and they will not be able to drink from it for three days.

12 Woe to Egypt and those who are in it. In those days, a king will arise in the city which is called "the city of the sun," and the whole land will be disturbed. He will flee to Memphis (with the Persians).

13 In the sixth year, the Persian kings will plot an ambush in Memphis. They will kill the Assyrian king. The Persians will take vengeance on the land, and they will command to kill all the heathen and the lawless ones. They will command to build the temples of the saints. They will give double gifts to the house of God. They will say, "The name of God is one." The whole land will hail the Persians.

14 Even the remnant, who did not die under the afflictions, will say, "The Lord has sent us a righteous king so that the land will not become a desert" He will command that no royal matter be presented for three years and six months. The land will be full of good in an abundant well-being. Those who are alive will go to those who are dead, saying, "Rise up and be with us in this rest."

APOCALYPSE OF ELIJAH CHAPTER 3

1 In the fourth year of that king, the son of lawlessness will appear, saying, "I am the Christ," although he is not. Don't believe him! When the Christ comes, He will come in the manner of a covey of doves with the crown of doves surrounding Him. He will walk upon the heaven's vaults with the sign of the cross leading Him.

2 The whole world will behold Him like the sun which shines from the eastern horizon to the western. This is how He will come, with all his angels surrounding Him. But the son of lawlessness will begin to stand again in the holy places.

He will say to the sun, "Fall," and it will fall.
He will say, "Shine," and it will do it.
He will say, "Darken," and it will do it.
He will say to the moon, "Become bloody," and it will do it.
He will go forth with them from the sky.
He will walk upon the sea and the rivers as upon dry land.
He will cause the lame to walk.
He will cause the deaf to hear.
He will cause the dumb to speak.
He will cause the blind to see.
The lepers he will cleanse.
The ill he will heal.
The demons he will cast out.

3 He will multiply his signs and his wonders in the presence of everyone. He will do the works which the Christ did, except for raising the dead alone. In this you will know that he is the son of lawlessness, because he is unable to give life. For behold I will tell you his signs so that you might know him. He is a ...of a skinny-legged young lad, having a tuft of gray hair at the front of his bald head. His eyebrows will reach to his ears. There is a leprous bare spot on the front of his hands. He will transform himself in the presence of those who see him. He will become a young child. He will become old. He will transform himself in every sign. But the signs of his head will not be able to change. Therin you will know that he is the son of lawlessness.

APOCALYPSE OF ELIJAH CHAPTER 4

1 The virgin, whose name is Tabitha, will hear that the shameless one has revealed himself in the holy places. And she will put on her garment of fine linen. And she will pursue him up to Judea, scolding him up to Jerusalem, saying, "O shameless one, O son of lawlessness, O you who have been hostile to all the saints. Then the shameless one will be angry at the virgin. He will pursue her up to the regions of the sunset. He will suck her blood in the evening. And he will cast her upon the temple, and she will become a healing for the people.

2 She will rise up at dawn. And she will live and scold him, saying, "o shameless one, you have no power against my soul or my body, because I live in the Lord always. And also my blood which you have cast upon the temple has become a healing for the people." Then when Elijah and Enoch hear that the shameless one has revealed himself in the holy place, they will come down and fight with him saying,

3 Are you indeed not ashamed? When you attach yourself to the saints, because you are always estranged. You have been hostile to those who belong to heaven. you have acted against those belonging to the earth. You have been hostile to the thrones. you have acted against the angels. You are always a stranger. You have fallen from heaven like the morning stars. You were changed, and your tribe became dark for you. But you are not ashamed, when you stand firmly against God you are a devil.

4 The shameless one will hear and he will be angry, and he will fight with them in the market place of the great city. And he will spend seven days fighting with them. And they will spend three and one half days in the market place dead, while all the people see them. But on the fourth day they will rise up and they will scold him saying. "O shameless one, O son of lawlessness. Are you indeed not ashamed of yourself since you are leading astray the people of God for whom you did not suffer? Do you not know that we live in the Lord?"

5 As the words were spoken, they prevailed over him, saying, "Furthermore, we will lay down before the flesh for the spirit, and we will kill you since you are unable to speak on that day because we are always strong in the Lord. But you are always hostile to God. The shameless one will hear, and he will be angry and fight them. And the whole city will surround them. On that day they will shout up to heaven as they shine while all the people and all the world see them.

6 The son of lawlessness will not prevail over them. He will be angry at the land, and he will seek to sin against the people. He will pursue all of the saints. They and the priests of the land will be brought back bound. He will kill them and destroy them...them. And their eyes will be removed with iron spikes. He will remove their skin from their heads. He will remove their nails one by one. He will command that vinegar and lime be put in their nose. Now those who are unable to bear up under the tortures of that king will take

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gold and flee over the fords to the desert places. They will lie down as one who sleeps.

7 The Lord will receive their spirits and their souls to Himself. Their flesh will petrify. No wild animals will eat them until the last day of the great judgement. And they will rise up and find a place of rest, but they will not be in the kingdom of the Christ as those who have endured because the Lord said, "I will grant to them that they sit on my right hand."

8 They will receive favor over others, and they will triumph over the son of lawlessness. And they will witness the dissolution of heaven and earth. They will receive the thrones of glory and the crowns.

9 The sixty righteous ones who are prepared for this hour will hear. And they will gird on the breastplate of Yahweh, and they will run to Jerusalem and fight with the shameless one, saying, "All powers which the prophets have done from the beginning you have done.

10 But you were unable to raise the dead because you have no power to give life. Therein we have known that you are the son of lawlessness." He will hear, and he will be angry and command to kindle altars. And the righteous ones will be bound. They will be lifted up and burned.

APOCALYPSE OF ELIJAH CHAPTER 5

1 And on that day the heart of many will harden and they will flee from him, saying, "This is not the Christ. The Christ does not kill the righteous. He does not pursue men so that he might seek them, but He persuades them with signs and wonders."

2 On that day the Christ will pity those who are His own. And He will send from heaven his sixty-four thousand angels, each of whom has six wings. The sound will move heaven and earth when they give praise and glorify.

3 Now those upon whose forehead the name of Christ is written and upon whose hand is the seal both the small and the great, will be taken up upon their wings and lifted up before his wrath.

4 Then Gabriel and Uriel will become a pillar of light leading them into the holy land. It will be granted to them to eat from the tree of life. They will wear white garments...and angels will watch over them. They will not thirst, nor will the son of lawlessness be able to prevail over them.

5 And on that day the earth will be disturbed, and the sun will darken, and peace will be removed from the earth. The birds will fall on the earth, dead. The earth will be dry. The waters of the sea will dry up.

6 The sinners will groan upon the earth saying, "What have you done to us, O son of lawlessness, saying I am the Christ, when you are the devil? You are unable to save yourself so that you might save us. You produced signs in our presence until you alienated us from the Christ who created us. Woe to us because we listened to you.

7 Lo now we will die in a famine. Where indeed is now the trace of a righteous one and we will worship him, or where indeed is the one who will teach us and we will appeal to him. Now indeed we will be wrathfully destroyed because we disobeyed Yahweh.

8 We went to the deep places of the sea, and we did not find water. We dug in the rivers and papyrus reeds, and we did not find water." Then on that day, the shameless one will speak, saying, "Woe to me because my time has passed by for me while I was saying that my time would not pass by for me.

9 My years became months and my days have passed away as dust passes away. Now therefore I will perish together with you. Now therefore run forth to the desert. Seize the robbers and kill them. Bring up the saints. For because of them, the earth yields fruit. For because of them the sun shines upon the earth. For because of them the dew will come upon the earth." The sinners will weep saying, "You made us hostile to Yahweh. If you are able, rise up and pursue them."

10 Then he will take his fiery wings and fly out after the saints. He will fight with them again. The angels will hear and come down. They will fight with him a battle of many swords.

11 It will come to pass on that day that the Lord will hear and command the heaven and the earth with great wrath. And they will send for fire. And the fire will prevail over the earth seventy-two cubits. It will consume the sinners and the devils like stubble. A true judgement will occur.

12 On that day, the mountains and the earth will utter speech. The byways will speak with one another, saying, "Have you heard today the voice of a man who walks who has not come to the judgement of the Son of YAHWEH."

13 The sins of each one will stand against him in the place where they were committed, whether those of the day or of the night. Those who belong to the righteous and ... will see the sinners and those who persecuted them and those who handed them over to death in their torments.

14 Then the sinners [in torment] will see the place of the righteous. And thus grace will occur. In those days, that which the righteous will ask for many times will be given to them.

15 On that day, Yahweh will judge the heaven and the earth. He will judge those who transgressed in heaven, and those who did so on earth. He will judge the shepherds of the people. He will ask about the flock of sheep, and they will be given to Him, without any deadly guile existing in them.

16 After these things, Elijah and Enoch will come down. They will lay down the flesh of the world, and they will receive their spiritual flesh. They will pursue the son of lawlessness and kill him since he is not able to speak.

16 On that day, he will dissolve in their presence like ice which was dissolved by a fire. He will perish like a serpent which has no breath in it. They will say to him, "Your time has passed by for you. Now therefore you wand those who believe you will perish."

17 They will be cast into the bottom of the abyss and it will be closed for them. On that day, the Christ, the King and all His saints will come forth from heaven.

He will burn the earth. He will spend a thousand years upon it.

18 Because the sinners prevailed over it, He will create a new heaven and a new earth. No deadly devil will exist in them. He will rule with His saints, ascending and descending, while they are always with the angels and they are with the Christ for a thousand years.

THE APOCALYPSE OF ADAM
The Nag Hammadi Library
Translated by George W. MacRae
Estimated range of dating: 150-400 AD

(The Apocalypse of Adam, discovered at Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt in 1945, is a Gnostic [Sethian] tractate of Apocalyptic literature dating to the first-to-second centuries AD.

The Sethians were one of the main currents of Gnosticism during the 2nd and 3rd century AD, along with Valentinianism and Basilideanism. It originated in the 2nd-century AD as a fusion of two distinct Greek-Judaic philosophies and was influenced by Platonism, Stoicism and Christianity. This tractate is one of five contained within Codex 5 of the Nag Hammadi library.

Adam in his 700th year tells Seth how he learned a word of knowledge of the eternal God from Eve and that he and Eve were indeed more powerful than their supposed creator. [* Seth was the 3rd son of Adam and Eve; Set or Seth in Greek which derived from Egyptian: Swtkh(a), Sutekh or Swth, the Egyptian "god of foreigners" (refering to Canaanites in most cases), of deserts, storms, disorder, and violence in the ancient Egyptian religion.] But that knowledge was lost in the fall when the subcreator or maintainer - the demiurge - separated Adam and Eve. Adam relates how three mysterious strangers brought about Seth's begetting and so a preservation of this knowledge. Adam then prophesises at length attempts of the subcreator god to destroy mankind, including the prophecy of the great Deluge and of attempted destruction by fire but an Illuminator will come in the end. When the Illuminator comes, thirteen kingdoms proclaim thirteen different standard but conflicting birth legends about the Illuminator; only the "generation without a king," however, proclaims the truth.*

The title Illuminator [explainer, teacher, prophet] comes from the Roman verb illuminare, meaning "lighten", "light up", and here in particular "enlighten" in the sense of teach or explain religious and legal details. It is a title used in Egypt and Armenia to denote a high ranking teacher, bishop, or prophet.

The term "thirteen kingdoms" is unknown anywhere else but in Egypt, and there it stands for "dynasty". And when we look up for the 13th Dynasty, we can find that Canaanite migrants [who were coming in during the 12th Dynasty] in the northeast of Egypt began to take power in and around the city of Avaris. When we know that, it would not be a surprise if the "Illuminator" were Abraham or members of his tribe.

The division of Egyptian rule into distinct "Dynasties" and their numbering was invented by the Greek-Egyptian historian Manetho in the 3rd century BC to depict the order of succession before Alexander the Great. It was published in his now-lost work Aegyptiaca [search: Papyrus Baden 4-59, 5th century AD on Persin kings in Egypt 27th Dyn].

Roughly between 2000 and 1900 BC, Egypt experienced a stream of migrants coming in. They were from Canaan [and perhaps even under the leadership of "Abraham" [probably the synonym of a tribe from Sumer], who left Canaan due to famine. As the Apocalypse of Adam was most likely written by an Egyptian we can assume that he knew Menetho's work or at least the most famous entries, about the Hyksos, and about the dynasties of Egypt and their number sequence.

A shout outline of the events: As direct heirs to the kings of the 12th Dynasty, pharaohs of the 13th Dynasty reigned from Memphis over Middle and Upper Egypt, all the way to the second cataract to the south. The rulers of the 12th Dynasty [c. 1991-1802 BC] and the 13th Dynasty [c. 1803-1649 BC] might have been compelled to move their capital to Itjtawy, about 50 km south of the ancient capital Memphis. The creation of Itjtawy as capital might have been a strategic move and it most likely was more fort than a real capital. The site for Itjtawy may have been chosen for its proximity to the source of Canaanite incursions into Egypt, in order to help prevent further attacks. The power of the 13th Dynasty waned progressively over its 150 years of existence and it finally came to an end with the conquest of Memphis by the Hyksos rulers of the 15th Dynasty, c. 1650 BC.

The 14th Dynasty [c. 1725-1600 BC] was a "Canaanite Kingdom" that ruled over northern Egypt [the eastern part of the Nile Delta] from their capital Avaris. The 15th Dynasty [1650-1550 BC] also was a "Canaanite Kingdom" that ruled over northern Egypt from their capital Avaris. As the Phoenician Canaanites gained more power than ever before over Egypt the Egyptians began to call them "Hyksos" [rulers from a foreign land]. The 16th Dynasty [c. 1649-1582 BC] was the "surviving Egyptian Kingdom" ruled from Thebes in the south of Egypt at the same time as the Canaanite Kingdom in the north. The same applies to the 17th Dynasty [1580-1550 BC].

In the meantime, the Egyptian dynasties gathered strength. It is generally believed that Ahmose I defeated the Hyksos king by his 18th or 19th regnal year. This is suggested by "a graffito in the quarry at Tura whereby 'oxen from Canaan' were used at the opening of the quarry in Ahmose's regnal year 22." Since the cattle could only have been brought after Ahmose's 3 to 6 years long siege of the South Canaanite town of Sharuhen which followed after the fall of Avaris, this means the reign of Khamudi must have terminated by Year 18 or 19 of Ahmose's 25-year reign at the very latest. What followed was the expulsion of the Phoenician Canaanite Hyksos from Egyptian soil, and this story might have entered the Bible as the "Exodus of Moses" from Egypt.)

The revelation which Adam taught his son Seth in the seven hundreth year, saying:

1 Listen to my words, my son Seth. When God had created me out of the earth, along with Eve, your mother, I went about with her in a glory which she had seen in the aeon from which we had come forth. She taught me a word of knowledge of the eternal God. And we resembled the great eternal angels, for we were higher than the god who had created us and the powers with him, whom we did not know.

2 Then God, the ruler of the aeons and the powers, divided us in wrath. Then we became two aeons. And the glory in our heart(s) left us, me and your mother Eve, along with the first knowledge that breathed within us. And it (glory) fled from us; it entered into [...] great [...] which had come forth, not from this aeon from which we had come forth, I and Eve your mother. But it (knowledge) entered into the seed of great aeons. For this reason I myself have called you by the name of that man who is the seed of the great generation or from whom (it comes). After those days, the eternal knowledge of the God of truth withdrew from me and your mother Eve. Since that time, we learned about dead things, like men. Then we recognised the God who had created us. For we were not strangers to his powers. And we served him in fear and slavery. And after these things, we became darkened in our heart(s). Now I slept in the thought of my heart.

3 And I saw three men before me whose likeness I was unable to recognise, since they were not the powers of the God who had created us. They surpassed [...] glory, and [...] men [...] saying to me, "Arise, Adam, from the sleep of death, and hear about the aeon and the seed of that man to whom life has come, who came from you and from Eve, your wife."

4 When I had heard these words from the great men who were standing before me, then we sighed, I and Eve, in our heart(s). And the Lord, the God who had created us, stood before us. He said to us, "Adam, why were you (both) sighing in your hearts? Do you not know that I am the God who created you? And I breathed into you a spirit of life as a living soul." Then darkness came upon our eyes.

5 Then the God who created us, created a son from himself and Eve, your mother. I knew sweet desire for your mother, for [...] in the thought of my [...] I knew a sweet desire for your mother. Then the vigor of our eternal knowledge was destroyed in us, and weakness pursued us. Therefore the days of our life became few. For I knew that I had come under the authority of death.

6 Now then, my son Seth, I will reveal to you the things which those men whom I saw before me at first revealed to me: after I have completed the times of this generation and the years of the generation have been accomplished, then [...] slave [...]. (p.68 blank)

7 For rain-showers of God the almighty will be poured forth, so that he might destroy all flesh [of God the almighty, so that he might destroy all flesh] from the earth on account of the things that it seeks after, along with those from the seed of the men to whom passed the life of the knowledge which came from me and Eve, your mother. For they were strangers to him. Afterwards, great angels will come on high clouds, who will bring those men into the place where the spirit of life dwells [...] glory [...] there, [...] come from heaven to earth.

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Then the whole multitude of flesh will be left behind in the waters.

8 Then God will rest from his wrath. And he will cast his power upon the waters, and he will give power to his sons and their wives by means of the ark along with the animals, whichever he pleased, and the birds of heaven, which he called and released upon the earth. And God will say to Noah - whom the generations will call 'Deucalion' - "Behold, I have protected <you> in the ark, along with your wife and your sons and their wives and their animals and the birds of heaven, which you called and released upon the earth. Therefore I will give the earth to you - you and your sons. In kingly fashion you will rule over it - you and your sons. And no seed will come from you of the men who will not stand in my presence in another glory."

9 Then they will become as the cloud of the great light. Those men will come who have been cast forth from the knowledge of the great aeons and the angels. They will stand before Noah and the aeons. And God will say to Noah, "Why have you departed from what I told you? You have created another generation so that you might scorn my power." Then Noah will say, "I shall testify before your might that the generation of these men did not come from me nor from my sons. [...] knowledge.

10 And he will [...] those men and bring them into their proper land, and build them a holy dwelling place. And they will be called by that name and dwell there six hundred years in a knowledge of imperishability. And the angels of the great Light will dwell with them. No foul deed will dwell in their heart(s), but only the knowledge of God.

11 Then Noah will divide the whole earth among his sons, Ham and Japheth and Shem. He will say to them, "My sons, listen to my words. Behold, I have divided the earth among you. But serve him in fear and slavery all the days of your life. Let not your seed depart from the face of God the Almighty. [...] I and your [...] son of Noah, "My seed will be pleasing before you and before your power. Seal it by your strong hand, with fear and commandment, so that the whole seed which came forth from me may not be inclined away from you and God the Almighty, but it will serve in humility and fear of its knowledge."

12 Then others from the seed of Ham and Japheth will come, four hundred thousand men, and enter into another land and sojourn with those men who came forth from the great eternal knowledge. For the shadow of their power will protect those who have sojourned with them from every evil thing and every unclean desire. Then the seed of Ham and Japheth will form twelve kingdoms, and their seed also will enter into the kingdom of another people.

13 Then [...] will take counsel [...] who are dead, of the great aeons of imperishability. And they will go to Sakla, their God. They will go in to the powers, accusing the great men who are in their glory.

14 They will say to Sakla, "What is the power of these men who stood in your presence, who were taken from the seed of Ham and Japheth, who will number four hundred <thousand> men? They have been received into another aeonfrom which they had come forth, and they have overturned all the glory of your power and the dominion of your hand. For the seed of Noah through his sons has done all your will, and (so have) all the powers in the aeons over which your might rules, while both those men and the ones who are sojourners in their glory have not done your will. But they have turned (aside) your whole throng."

15 Then the god of the aeons will give them (some) of those who serve him [...]. They will come upon that land where the great men will be who have not been defiled, nor will be defiled, by any desire. For their soul did not come from a defiled hand, but it came from a great commandment of an eternal angel. Then fire and sulphur and asphalt will be cast upon those men, and fire and (blinding) mist will come over those aeons, and the eyes of the powers of the illuminators will be darkened, and the aeons will not see them in those days. And great clouds of light will descend, and other clouds of light will come down upon them from the great aeons.

16 Abrasax and Sablo and Gamaliel will descend and bring those men out of the fire and the wrath, and take them above the aeons and the rulers of the powers, and take them away [...] of life [...] and take them away [...] aeons [...] dwelling place of the great [...] there, with the holy angels and the aeons. The men will be like those angels, for they are not strangers to them. But they work in the imperishable seed.

17 Once again, for the third time, the illuminator of knowledge will pass by in great glory, in order to leave (something) of the seed of Noah and the sons of Ham and Japheth - to leave for himself fruit-bearing trees. And he will redeem their souls from the day of death. For the whole creation that came from the dead earth will be under the authority of death. But those who reflect upon the knowledge of the eternal God in their heart(s) will not perish. For they have not received spirit from this kingdom alone, but they have received (it) from a [...] eternal angel. [...] illuminator [...] will come upon [...] that is dead [...] of Seth. And he will perform signs and wonders in order to scorn the powers and their ruler.

18 Then the god of the powers will be disturbed, saying, "What is the power of this man who is higher than we?" Then he will arouse a great wrath against that man. And the glory will withdraw and dwell in holy houses which it has chosen for itself. And the powers will not see it with their eyes, nor will they see the illuminator either. Then they will punish the flesh of the man upon whom the holy spirit came.

19 Then the angels and all the generations of the powers will use the name in error, asking, "Where did it (the error) come from?" or "Where did the words of deception, which all the powers have failed to discover, come from?"

20 Now the first kingdom says of him that he came from [...]. A spirit [...] to heaven. He was nourished in the heavens. He received the glory of that one and the power. He came to the bosom of his mother. And thus he came to the water.

21 And the second kingdom says about him that he came from a great prophet. And a bird came, took the child who was born, and brought him onto a high mountain. And he was nourished by the bird of heaven. An angel came forth there. He said to him "Arise! God has given glory to you." He received glory and strength. And thus he came to the water.

22 The third kingdom says of him that he came from a virgin womb. He was cast out of his city, he and his mother. He was brought to a desert place. He was nourished there. He came and received glory and strength. And thus he came to the water.

23 The fourth kingdom says of him that he came from a virgin. [...] Solomon sought her, he and Phersalo and Sauel and his armies, which had been sent out. Solomon himself sent his army of demons to seek out the virgin. And they did not find the one whom they sought, but the virgin who was given them. It was she whom they fetched. Solomon took her. The virgin became pregnant and gave birth to the child there. She nourished him on a border of the desert. When he had been nourished, he received glory and power from the seed from which he was begotten. And thus he came to the water.

24 And the fifth kingdom says of him that he came from a drop from heaven. He was thrown into the sea. The abyss received him, gave birth to him, and brought him to heaven. He received glory and power. And thus he came to the water.

25 And the sixth kingdom says that [...] down to the aeonwhich is below, in order to gather flowers. She became pregnant from the desire of the flowers. She gave birth to him in that place. The angels of the flower garden nourished him. He received glory there, and power. And thus he came to the water.

26 And the seventh kingdom says of him that he is a drop. It came from heaven to earth. Dragons brought him down to caves. He became a child. A spirit came upon him and brought him on high to the place where the drop had come forth. He received glory and power there. And thus he came to the water.

27 And the eighth kingdom says of him that a cloud came upon the earth and enveloped a rock. He came from it. The angels who were above the cloud nourished him. He received glory and power there. And thus he came to the water.

28 And the ninth kingdom says of him that from the nine Muses one separated away. She came to a high mountain and spent (some) time seated there, so that she desired herself alone in order to become androgynous. She fulfilled her desire and became pregnant from her desire. He was born. The angels who were over the desire nourished him. And he received glory there, and power. And thus he came to the water.

29 The tenth kingdom says of him that his god loved a cloud of desire. He begot him in his hand and cast upon the cloud above him (some) of the drop, and he was born. He received glory and power there. And thus he came to the water.

30 And the eleventh kingdom says that the father desired his own daughter. She herself became pregnant from her father. She cast [...] tomb out in the desert. The angel nourished him there. And thus he came to the water.

31 The twelfth kingdom says of him that he came from two illuminators. He was nourished there. He received glory and power. And thus he came to the water.

32 And the thirteenth kingdom says of him that every birth of their ruler is a word. And this word received a mandate there. He received glory and power. And thus he came to the water, in order that the desire of those powers might be satisfied.

33 But the generation without a king over it says that God chose him from all the aeons. He caused a knowledge of the undefiled one of truth to come to be in him. He said, "Out of a foreign air, from a great aeon, the great illuminator came forth. And he made the generation of those men whom he had chosen for himself shine, so that they could shine upon the whole aeon"

34 Then the seed, those who will receive his name upon the water and (that) of them all, will fight against the power. And a cloud of darkness will come upon them.

35 Then the peoples will cry out with a great voice, saying, "Blessed is the soul of those men because they have known God with a knowledge of the truth! They shall live forever, because they have not been corrupted by their desire, along with the angels, nor have they accomplished the works of the powers, but they have stood in his presence in a knowledge of God like light that has come forth from fire and blood.

36 "But we have done every deed of the powers senselessly. We have boasted in the transgression of all our works. We have cried against the God of truth because all his works [...] is eternal. These are against our spirits. For now we have known that our souls will die the death."

37 Then a voice came to them, saying "Micheu and Michar and Mnesinous, who are over the holy baptism and the living water, why were you crying out against the living God with lawless voices and tongues without law over them, and souls full of blood and foul deeds? You are full of works that are not of the truth, but your ways are full of joy and rejoicing. Having defiled the water of life, you have drawn it within the will of the powers to whom you have been given to serve them.

38 "And your thought is not like that of those men whom you persecute [...] desire [...]. Their fruit does not wither. But they will be known up to the great aeons, because the words they have kept, of the God of the aeons, were not committed to the book, nor were they written. But angelic (beings) will bring them, whom all the generations of men will not know. For they will be on a high mountain, upon a rock of truth. Therefore they will be named "The Words of Imperishability and Truth," for those who know the eternal God in wisdom of knowledge and teaching of angels forever, for he knows all things."

39 These are the revelations which Adam made known to Seth, his son, And his son taught his seed about them. This is the hidden knowledge of Adam, which he gave to Seth, which is the holy baptism of those who know the eternal knowledge through those born of the word and the imperishable illuminators, who came from the holy seed: Yesseus, Mazareus, Yessedekeus, the Living Water.

THE APOCALYPSE OF ABRAHAM

or The Book of the Revelation of Abraham
Translation: G. H. Box, 1918
Estimated range of dating: 70-150 AD.

(The Apocalypse of Abraham is a pseudepigraphic work (a text whose claimed authorship is uncertain) based on the Old Testament. Probably composed between about 70–150 AD from earlier writings and tradition possibly kept from the time of Abraham, it is of Jewish origin and is usually considered to be part of the Apocalyptic literature. It has survived only in Old Slavonic recensions and it is not regarded as authoritative scripture by Jews or any Christians, though it likely held some prominence up into the first century A.D.

The text of the Apocalypse of Abraham has been preserved only in Slavonic; it occurs in the Tolkovaja Paleja (or Explanatory Paleja, a Medieval compendium of various Old Testament texts and comments). The original language of this text was almost surely Hebrew: it was translated into Slavonic either directly from Hebrew or from a lost intermediate Greek translation. The first English translation was produced by E. H. Anderson and R. T. Haag, and appeared in 1898 in the Latter-day Saint magazine Improvement Era, under the title The Book of the Revelation of Abraham. Another notable English translation was produced by G. H. Box and J. I. Landsman in 1918. Speculations of the time this ancient work was written vary greatly. Currently, only Old Slavonic language texts of the original have been discovered. So how far back in time the earlier Hebrew texts went is only conjectured. The relative age o these works can be determined by comparing the legend of Abraham as contained in the Apocalypse with those in the Talmud and in the Book of Jubilees.)

APOCALYPSE OF ABRAHAM, PART I

THE LEGEND (Chapters 1-8)

The Book of the Revelation of Abraham, the son of Terah, the son of Nahor, the son of Serug, the son of Roog (Reu), the son of Arphaxad, the son of Shem, the son of Noah, the son of Lamech, the son of Methuselah, the son of Enoch, the son of Jared (Arad).

Abraham's Conversion From Idolatry (Chapters 1—8).

1 On the day when I planed the gods of my father Terah and the gods of Nahor his brother, when I was searching as to who the Mighty God in truth is—I, Abraham, at the time when it fell to my lot, when I fulfilled the services (the sacrifices) of my father Terah to his gods of wood and stone, gold and silver, brass and iron; having entered into their temple for service, I found the god whose name was Merumath (which was) hewn out of stone, fallen forward at the feet of the iron god Nahon. And it came to pass, when I saw it, my heart was perplexed,

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and I considered in my mind that I should not be able to bring him back to his place, I, Abraham, alone, because he was heavy, being of a large stone, and I went forth and made it known to my father. And he entered with me, and when both of us moved him (the god) forward, so that we might bring him back to his place, his head fell from him while I was still holding him by the head. And it came to pass, when my father saw that the head of Merumath had fallen from him, he said to me: "Abraham!" And I said: "Here am I." And he said to me: "Bring me an axe, of the small ones, from the house." And I brought it to him. And he hewed aright another Merumath out of another stone, without head, and the head which had been thrown down from Merumath he placed upon it, and the rest of Merumath he shattered.

2 And he made five other gods, and gave them to me [and] commanded me to sell them outside in the street of the town. And I saddled my father's ass, and placed them upon it, and went towards the inn to sell them. And lo! merchants from Fandana in Syria were travelling with camels going to Egypt, to trade. And I spoke with them. And one of their camels uttered a groan, and the ass took fright and sprang away and upset the gods; and three of them were smashed, and two were preserved. And it came to pass, when the Syrians saw that I had gods, they said to me: "Why didst thou not tell us [that thou hadst gods? Then we would have bough t them] before the ass heard the sound of the camel, and they would not have been lost. Give us, at any rate, the gods that remain, and we will give thee the proper price for the broken gods, also for the gods that have been preserved." For I was concerned in my heart as to how I could bring to my father the purchase-price; and the three broken ones I cast into the water of the river Gur, which was at that place, and they sank into the depths, and there was nothing more of them.

3 When I was still going on the way, my heart was perplexed within me, and my mind was distracted. And I said in my heart: ["What evil deed is this that my father is doing? Is no t h e, rath er, the god of h i s go ds , s ince they come in to existence through his chisels and lathes, and his wisdom, and is it not rather fitting that they should worship my father, since they are his work? What is this delusion of my father in hi s works?] Behold, Merumath fell and could not rise in his own temple, nor could I, by myself, move him until my father came, and the two of us moved him; and as we were thus too weak, his head fell from him, and he (i.e. my father) set it upon another stone of another god, which he had made without head. And the other five gods were broken in pieces down from the ass, which were able-neither to help themselves, nor to hurt the ass, because it had broken them to pieces; nor did their broken fragments come up out of the river." And I said in my heart: "If this be so, how can Merumath, my father's god, having the head of another stone, and himself being made of another stone, rescue a man, or hear a man's prayer and reward him?"

4 And while I cogitated thus, I reached my father's house; and having watered the ass, and set out hay for it, I brought the silver and gave it into the hand of my father Terah. When he saw it he was glad, [and] he said: "Blessed art thou, Abraham, of my gods, because thou hast brought the price of the gods, so that my work was not in vain." And I answered and said to him: "Hear, O my father, Terah! Blessed are the gods of thee, for thou art their god, since thou hast made them; for their blessing is ruination, and their power is vain; they who did not help themselves, how shall they, then, help thee or bless me? I have been kind to thee in this affair, because by (using) my intelligence, I have brought thee the money for the broken gods." And when he heard my word, he became furiously angry with me, because I had spoken hard words against his gods.

5 I, however, having thought over my father's anger, went out; [and after I had gone out] my father cried, saying: "Abraham!" And I said: "Here am I." And he said: "Take and collect the splinters of the wood out of which I made gods of pine-wood before thou camest; and make ready for me the food of the mid-day meal." And it came to pass, when I collected the splinters of wood, I found under them a little god which had been lying among the brush-wood on my left, and on his forehead was written: GOD BARISAT. And I did not inform my father that I had found the wooden god Barisat under the chips.

And it came to pass, when I had laid the splinters in the fire, in order that I might make ready food for my father—on going out to ask a question regarding the food, I placed Barisat before the kindled fire, saying threateningly to him: "Pay careful attention, Barisat, [that] the fire do not die down until I come; if, however, it dieth down, blow on it that it may burn up again." And I went out and accomplished my purpose. And on returning I found Barisat fallen backwards, and his feet surrounded by fire and horribly burnt. I burst into a fit of laughter, and I said to myself: "Truly, O Barisat, thou canst kindle the fire and cook food!" And it came to pass, while I spake (thus) in my laughter he (i.e. Barisat) was gradually burnt up by the fire and reduced to ashes. And I brought the food to my father, and he did eat. And I gave him wine and milk, and he was gladdened and blessed his god Merumath. And I said to him: "O father Terah, bless not thy god Merumath, and praise him not, but rather praise thy god Barisat because, loving thee more, he hath cast himself into the fire to cook thy food!" And he said to me: "And where is he now?" [And I said:] "He is burnt to ashes in the violence of the fire and is reduced to dust." And he said: "Great is the power of Barisat! I (will) make another to-day, and to-morrow he will prepare my food."

6 When I, Abraham, however, heard such words from my father, I laughed in my mind and sighed in the grief and in the anger of my soul, and said: "How then can that which is made by him—manufactured statues—be a helper of my father? Or shall the body then be subject to its soul, and the soul to the spirit, and the spirit to folly and ignorance!" And I said: "It is fitting once to endure evil. So I will direct my mind to what is pure and lay my thoughts open before him." [And] I answered and said: "O father Terah, whichever of these thou praisest as a god, thou art foolish in thy mind. Behold the gods of thy brother Ora, which stand in the holy temple, are more worthy of honour than [these of] thine. For behold Zucheus, the god of thy brother Oron, is more worthy of honour than thy god Merumath, because he is made of gold which is highly valued by people, and when he groweth old in years he will be re-modelled; but if your god Merumath is changed or broken, he will not be renewed, because he is a stone; the which is also the case with the god Joavon [who standeth with Zucheus over the other gods—how much more worthy of honour is he than the god Barisat, who is made of wood, while he is forged of silver! How is he made, by adaptation of man, valuable to outward appearance! But thy god Barisat, while he was sti ll, before he had been prepared, rooted up (?) upon the earth and was great and wonderful with the glory of branches and blossom, thou didst hew out with the axe, and by means of thy art he hath been made into a god. And lo! his fatness is already withered and perished, he is fallen from the hei ght to the ground, he hath come from great estate to littleness, and the appearance of his countenance hath vanished, and h e] Barisat himself is burnt up by fire and reduced to ashes and is no more; and thou sayest: "To-day I will make another which to-morrow shall make ready my food!" "He hath perished to utter destruction!"

7 "Behold, the fire is more worthy of honour than all things formed because even that which is not subjected is subjected unto it, and things easily perishable are mocked by its flames. But even more worthy of honour is the water, because it conquereth the fire and satisfieth the earth. But even it I do not call God, because it is subjected to the earth under which the water inclineth. But I call the earth much more worthy of honour, because it overpowereth the nature (and the fulness) of the water. Even it (viz. the earth), however, I do not call god, [because] it, too, is dried up by the sun, [and] is apportioned to man to be tilled.[I call the sun more worthy of honour than the earth,] because it with its rays illumineth the whole world and the different atmospheres. [But] even it I do not call god, because at night and by clouds its course is obscured. Nor, again, do I call the moon or the stars god, because they also in their season obscure [their] light at night. [But] hear [this], Terah my father; for I will make known to thee the God who hath made everything, not these we consider as gods. Who then is He? Or what is He? Who hath crimsoned the heavens, and made the sun golden, And the moon lustrous, and with it the stars; And hath made the earth dry in the midst of many waters, And set thee in . . . . [and tested me in the confusion of my thoughts] "Yet may God reveal Himself to us through Himself!"

8 And it came to pass while I spake thus to my father Terah in the court of my house, there cometh down the voice of a Mighty One from heaven in a fiery cloud-burst, saying and crying: "Abraham, Abraham!" And I said: "Here am I." And He said: "Thou art seeking in the understanding of thine heart the God of Gods and the Creator; I am He: Go out from thy father Terah, and get thee out from the house, that thou also be not slain in the sins of thy father's house." And I went out. And it came to pass when I went out, that before I succeeded in getting out in front of the door of the court, there came a sound of a [great] thunder and burnt him and his house, and everything whatsoever in his house, down to the ground, forty cubits.

APOCALYPSE OF ABRAHAM, PART 2

THE APOCALYPSE (Chapters 9-32)

Abraham Receives A Divine Command To Offer Sacrifice After Forty Days As A Preparation For A Divine Revelation (Chapter 9-15).

9 Then a voice came to me speaking twice: "Abraham, Abraham!" And I said: "Here am I!" And He said: "Behold, it is I; fear not, for I am before the worlds, and a mighty God who hath created the light of the world. I am a shield over thee, and I am thy helper. Go, take me a young heifer of three years old, and a she-goat of three years old, and a ram of three years old, and a turtledove and a pigeon, and bring me a pure sacrifice. And in this sacrifice I will lay before thee the ages (to come), and make known to thee what is reserved, and thou shalt see great things which thou hast not seen (hitherto); because thou hast loved to search me out, and I have named thee my Friend. But abstain from every form of food that proceedeth out of the fire, and from the drinking of wine, and from anointing (thyself) with oil, forty days," and then set forth for me the sacrifice which I have commanded thee, in the place which I will shew thee, on a high mountain, and there I will shew thee the ages which have been created and established, made and renewed, by my Word, and I will make known to thee what shall come to pass in them on those who have done evil and (practised) righteousness in the generation of men.

Abraham, Under The Direction Of The Angel Jaoel, Proceeds To Mount Horeb, A Journey Of Forty Days, To Offer The Sacrifice (Chapters 10-12).

10 And it came to pass, when I heard the voice of Him who spake such words to me, (and) I looked hither and thither and lo! there was no breath of a man, and my spirit was affrighted, and my soul fled from me, and I became like a stone, and fell down upon the earth, for I had no more strength to stand on the earth. And while I was still lying with my face upon the earth, I heard the voice of the Holy One speaking: "Go, Jaoel, and by means of my ineffable Name raise me yonder man, and strengthen him (so that he recover) from his trembling." And the angel came, whom He had sent to me, in the likeness of a man, and grasped me by my right hand, and set me up upon my feet, and said to me: "Stand up, [Abraham,] Friend of God who loveth thee; let not the trembling of man seize thee! For, lo! I have been sent to thee to strengthen thee and bless thee in the name of God—who loveth thee—the Creator of the celestial and terrestrial. Be fearless and hasten to Him. I am called Jaoel by Him who moveth that which existeth with me on the seventh expanse upon the firmament, a power in virtue of the ineffable Name that is dwelling in me. I am the one who hath been given to restrain, according to His commandment, the threatening attack of the living creatures of the Cherubim against one another, and teach those who carry Him the song of the seventh hour of the night of man. I am ordained to restrain the Leviathan, for unto me are subject the attack and menace of every single reptile. [I am h e who hath been commissioned to loosen Hades, to destroy him who stareth at the dead.] I am the one who was commissioned to set on fire thy father's house together with him, because he displayed reverence for dead (idols). I have been sent to bless thee now, and the land which the Eternal One, whom thou hast invoked, hath prepared for thee, and for thy sake have I wended my way upon the earth. Stand up, Abraham! Go without fear; be right glad and rejoice; and I am with thee! For eternal honour hath been prepared for thee by the Eternal One. Go, fulfil the sacrifices commanded. For lo! I have been appointed to be with thee and with the generation prepared (to spring) from thee; and with me Michael blesseth thee for ever. Be of good cheer, go!"

11 And I rose up and saw him who had grasped me by my right hand and set me up upon my feet: and the appearance of his body was like sapphire, and the look of his countenance like chrysolite, and the hair of his head like snow, and the turban upon his head like the appearance of the rainbow, and the clothing of his garments like purple; and a golden sceptre was in his right hand. And he said to me: "Abraham!" And I said: "Here am I, thy servant." And he said: "Let not my look affright thee, nor my speech, that thy soul be not perturbed). Come with me and I will go with thee, until the sacrifice, visible, but after the sacrifice, invisible for ever. Be of good cheer, and come!"

12 And we went, the two of us together, forty days and nights, and I ate no bread, and drank no water, because my food was to see the angel who was with me, and his speech—that was my drink. And we came to the Mount of God, the glorious Horeb. And I said to the angel: "Singer of the Eternal One! Lo! I have no sacrifice with me, nor am I aware of a place of an altar on the mountain: how can I bring a sacrifice?" And he said to me: "Look round!" And I looked round, and lo! there were following us all the prescribed sacrificial (animals)—the young heifer, and the she-goat, and the ram, and the turtle-dove, and the pigeon. And the angel said to me: "Abraham!" I said: "Here am I." And he said to me: "All these slaughter, and divide the animals into halves, one against the other, but the birds do not sever; and ("but") give to the men, whom I will shew thee, standing by thee, for these are the altar upon the Mountain, to offer a sacrifice to the Eternal; but the turtledove and the pigeon give to me, for I will ascend upon the wings of the bird, in order to shew thee in heaven, and on the earth, and in the sea, and in the abyss, and in the under-world, and in the Garden of Eden, and in its rivers and in the fulness of the whole world and its circle—thou shalt gaze in (them) all."

Abraham Accomplishes The Sacrifice, Under The Guidance Of The Angel, And Refuses To Be Diverted From His Purpose By Azazel (Chapters 13-14).

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13 And I did everything according to the commandment of the angel, and gave the angels, who had come to us, the divided animals, but the angel took the birds. And I waited for the evening sacrifice. And there flew an unclean bird down upon the carcasses, and I drove it away. And the unclean bird spake to me, and said: "What doest thou, Abraham, upon the holy Heights, where no man eateth or drinketh, neither is there upon them (any) food of man, but these consume everything with fire, and (will) burn thee up. Forsake the man, who is with thee, and flee; for if thou ascendest to the Heights they will make an end of thee. And it came to pass, when I saw the bird speak, I said to the angel: "What is this, my lord?" And he said: "This is ungodliness, this is Azazel." And he said to it: "Disgrace upon thee, Azazel!

For Abraham's lot is in heaven, but thine upon the earth. Because thou hast chosen and loved this for the dwelling-(place) of thine uncleanness, therefore the eternal mighty Lord made thee a dweller upon the earth and through thee every evil spirit of lies, and through thee wrath and trials for the generations of ungodly men; for God, the Eternal, Mighty One, hath not permitted that the bodies of the righteous should be in thy hand, in order that thereby the life of the righteous and the destruction of the unclean may be assured. Hear, friend, begone with shame from me. For it hath not been given to thee to play the tempter in regard to all the righteous. Depart from this man! Thou canst not lead him astray, because he is an enemy to thee, and of those who follow thee and love what thou willest. For, behold, the vesture which in heaven was formerly thine hath been set aside for him, and the mortality which was his hath been transferred to thee."

15 The angel said to me: ["Abraham!" And I said: "Here am I, thy servant." And he said: "Know from henceforth that the Eternal One hath chosen thee, (He) whom thou lovest; be of good courage and use this authority, so far as I bid thee, against him who slandereth truth; should I not be able to put him to shame who hath scat t ered over the earth the secrets of heaven and hath rebelled against the Might y One?] Say to him: 'Be thou the burning coal of the Furnace of the earth; go, Azazel, into the inaccessible parts of the earth;[for thy heritage is (to be) over those existing with thee being born with the stars and clouds, with the men whose portion thou art, and (who) through thy bei n g exist; and thine enmity is justification. On this account by thy perdition disappear from me." And I uttered the words which the angel had taught me. And he said: "Abraham!" And I said: "Here am I, thy servant."]

And the angel said to me: "Answer him not; for God hath given him power (lit. will) over those who do answer him." [And the angel spake to me a second time and said: "Now rather, however much he speak to thee, answer him not, that his will may have no free cours e in thee, because the Eternal and Mighty One hath given him weight and will; answer him not." I did what was commanded me by the angel;] and however much he spake to me, I answered him nothing whatsoever.

Abraham And The Angel Ascend On The Wings Of The Birds To Heaven (Chapters 15-16)

15 And it came to pass when the sun went down, and lo! a smoke as of a furnace. And the angels who had the portions of the sacrifice ascended from the top of the smoking furnace. And the Angel took me with the right hand and set me on the right wing of the pigeon, and set himself on the left wing of the turtle dove, which (birds) had neither been slaughtered nor divided. And he bore me to the borders of the flaming fire [and we ascended as with many winds to the heaven which was fixed upon th e surf ace. And I saw on the air] on the height, to which we ascended a strong light, which it was impossible to describe, and lo! in this light a fiercely burning fire for people, many people of male appearance, all (constantly) changing in aspect and form, running and being transformed, and worshipping and crying with a sound of words which I knew not.

16 And I said to the Angel: "Why hast thou brought me up here now, because I cannot now see, for I am already grown weak, and my spirit departeth from me?" And he said to me: "Remain by me; fear not! And He whom thou seest come straight tow ards us with great voice of holiness—that is the Eternal One who Loveth thee; but Himself thou canst not see). But let not thy spirit grow faint [on account of the loud crying], for I am with thee, strengthening thee."

Abraham, Taught By The Angel, Utters The Celestial Song And Prays For Enlightenment (Chapter 17)

17 And while he yet spake (and) lo! fire came against us round about, and a voice was in the fire like a voice of many waters, like the sound of the sea in its uproar. And the angel bent his head with me and worshipped. And I desired to fall down upon the earth, and the high place, on which we stood, [at one moment rose upright,] but at another rolled downwards.

And he said: "Only worship, Abraham, and utter the song which I have taught thee;" because there was no earth to fall upon. And I worshipped only, and uttered the song which he had taught me. And he said: "Recite without ceasing." And I recited, and he also himself with me recited the song:

Eternal, mighty, Holy, El,
God only—Supreme!
Thou who art self-originated, incorruptible, spotless,
Uncreate, immaculate, immortal,
Self-complete, self-illuminating;
Without father, without mother, unbegotten,
Exalted, fiery One!
Lover of men, benevolent, bountiful, jealous over me and very compassionate;
Eli, that is, My God—
Eternal, mighty holy Sabaoth, very glorious El, El, El, El, Jaoel!
Thou art He whom my soul hath loved!
Eternal Protector, shining like fire,
Whose voice is like the thunder,
Whose look is like the lightning, all-seeing,
Who receiveth the prayers of such as honour Thee!
[And turneth away from the requests of such as embarrass with the embarrassment of their provocations,
Who dissolveth the confusion s of th e world which arise from the ungodly and righteous in the corruptible age, renewing the age of the righteous!]
Thou, O Light, shinest before the light of the morning upon Thy creatures, [so that it becometh day upon the earth,]
And in Thy heavenly dwelling places there is no need of any other light than (that) of the unspeakable splendour from the lights of Thy countenance.
Accept my prayer [and be well-pleased with it], likewise also the sacrifice which Thou hast prepared
Thee through me who sought Thee!
Accept me favourably, and shew me, and teach me,
And make known to Thy servant as thou hast promised me!

Abraham's Vision Of The Divine Throne (Chapter 18)

18 And while I still recited the song, the mouth of the fire which was on the surface rose up on high. And I heard a voice like the roaring of the sea; nor did it cease on account of the rich abundance of the fire. And as the fire raised itself up, ascending into the height, I saw under the fire a throne of fire, and, round about it all-seeing ones, reciting the song, and under the throne four fiery living creatures singing, and their appearance was one, each one of them with four faces. And such was the appearance of their countenances, of a lion, of a man, of an ox, of an eagle: four heads [were upon their bodies] [so that the four creatures had sixteen faces];and each had six wings; from their shoulders, [and their sides] and their loins. And with the (two) wings from their shoulders they covered their faces, and with the (two) wings which (sprang) from their loins they covered their feet, while the (two) middle wings they spread out for flying straightforward. And when they had ended the singing, they looked at one another and threatened one another. And it came to pass when the angel who was with me saw that they were threatening each other, he left me and went running to them and turned the countenance of each living creature from the countenance immediately confronting him, in order that they might not see their countenances threatening each other. And he taught them the song of peace which hath its origin [in the Eternal One].

And as I stood alone and looked, I saw behind the living creatures a chariot with fiery wheels, each wheel full of eyes round about; and over the wheels was a throne; which I saw, and this was covered with fire, and fire encircled it round about, and lo! an indescribable fire environed a fiery host. And I heard its holy voice like the voice of a man.

God Discloses To Abraham The Powers Of Heaven (Chapter 19)

19 And a voice came to me out of the midst of the fire, saying: "Abraham, Abraham!" I said: "Here am I!" And He said: "Consider the expanses which are under the firmament on which thou art (now) placed, and see how on no single expanse is there any other but He whom thou hast sought, or who hath loved thee." And while He was yet speaking (and) lo! the expanses opened, and beneath me the heavens. And I saw upon the seventh firmament upon which I stood a fire widely extended, and light, and dew, and a multitude of angels, and a power of invisible glory over the living creatures which I saw; but no other being did I see there.

And I looked from the mountain in which I stood [downwards] to the sixth firmament, and saw there a multitude of angels, of (pure) spirit, without bodies, who carried out the commands of the fiery angels who were upon the eighth firmament, as I was standing suspended over them. And behold, upon this firmament there were no other powers of (any) other form, but only angels of (pure) spirit, like the power which I saw on the seventh firmament. And He commanded that the sixth firmament should be taken away. And I saw there, on the fifth firmament, the powers of the stars which carry out the commands

laid upon them, and the elements of the earth obeyed them.

The Promise Of A Seed (Chapter 20)

20 And the Eternal Mighty One said to me: "Abraham, Abraham!" And I said: "Here am I." [And He said:] "Consider from above the stars which are beneath thee, and number, them [for me], and make known [to me] their number." And I said: "When can I? For I am but a man [of dust and ashes]. And he said to me: "As the number of the stars and their power, (so will) I make thy seed a nation and a people, set apart for me in my heritage with Azazel."

And I said: "O Eternal, Mighty One! Let thy servant speak before Thee, and let not Thine anger kindle against Thy chosen one! Lo, before Thou leddest me up Azazel inveighed against me. How, then, while he is not now before Thee, hast Thou constituted Thyself with him?"

A Vision Of Sin And Paradise: The Mirror Of The World (Chapter 21.).

21 And He said to me: "Look, now, beneath thy feet at the firmaments and understand the creation foreshadowed in this expanse, the creatures existing on it, and the age prepared according to it." And I saw beneath [the surfaces of the feet, and I saw beneath] the sixth heaven and what was therein, and then the earth and its fruits, and what moved upon it and its animate beings; and the power of its men, and the ungodliness of their souls, and their righteous deeds [and the beginnings of their works], and the lower regions and the perdition therein, the Abyss and its torments. I saw there the sea and its islands, and its monsters and its fishes, and Leviathan and his dominion, and his camping-ground, and his caves, and the world which lay upon him, and his movements, and the destructions of the world on his account. I saw there streams and the rising of their waters, and their windings. And I saw there the Garden of Eden and its fruits, the source of the stream issuing from it, and its trees and their bloom, and those who behaved righteously. And I saw therein their foods and blessedness. And I saw there a great multitude—men and women and children [half of them on the right side of the picture] and half of them on the left side of the picture.

The Fall Of Man And Its Sequel (Chapters 22-25)

22 And I said: "O Eternal, Mighty One! What is this picture of the creatures?" And He said to me: "This is my will with regard to those who exist in the (divine) world-counsel, and it seemed well-pleasing before my sight, and then afterwards I gave commandment to them through my Word. And it came to pass whatever I had determined to be, was already planned beforehand in this (picture), and it stood before me ere it was created, as thou hast seen."

And I said: "O Lord, mighty and eternal! Who are the people in this picture on this side and on that?" And He said to me: "These which are on the left side are the multitude of the peoples which have formerly been in existence and which are after thee destined, some for judgement and restoration, and others for vengeance and destruction at the end of the world. But these which are on the right side of the picture—they are the people set apart for me of the peoples with Azazel. These are they whom I have ordained to be born of thee and to be called My People.

23 "Now look again in the picture, who it is who seduced Eve and what is the fruit of the tree, [and] thou wilt know what there shall be, and how it shall be to thy seed among the people at the end of the days of the age, and so far as thou canst not understand I will make known to thee, for thou art well-pleasing in my sight, and I will tell thee what is kept in my heart."

And I looked into the picture, and mine eyes ran to the side of the Garden of Eden. And I saw there a man very great in height and fearful in breadth, incomparable in aspect, embracing a woman, who likewise approximated to the aspect and shape of the man. And they were standing under a tree of (the Garden of) Eden, and the fruit of this tree was like the appearance of a bunch of grapes of the vine, and behind the tree was standing as it were a serpent in form, having hands and feet like a man's, and wings on its shoulders, six on the right side and six on the left, and they were holding the grapes of the tree in their hands, and both were eating it whom I had seen embracing.

And I said: "Who are these mutually embracing, or who is this who is between them, or what is the fruit which they are eating, O Mighty Eternal One?"

And He said: "This is the human world, this is Adam, and this is their desire upon the earth, this is Eve; but he who is between them representeth ungodliness, their beginning (on the way) to perdition, even Azazel."

And I said: "O Eternal, Mighty One! Why hast Thou given to such power to destroy the generation of men in their works upon the earth?"

And He said to me: "They who will (to do) evil—and how much I hated (it) in those who do it!—over them I gave him power, and to be beloved of them."

And I answered and said: "O Eternal, Mighty One! Wherefore hast Thou willed to effect that evil should be desired in the hearts of men, since Thou indeed art angered

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over that which was willed by Thee, at him who is doing what is unprofitable in thy counsel?"

24 And He said to me: "Being angered at the nations on thy account, and on account of the people of thy family who are (to be) separated after thee, as thou seest in the picture the burden (of destiny) that (is laid) upon them—and I will tell thee what shall be, and how much shall be, in the last days. Look now at everything in the picture."

And I looked and saw there what was before me in creation; I saw Adam, and Eve existing with him, and with them the cunning Adversary, and Cain who acted lawlessly through the Adversary, and the slaughtered Abel, (and) the destruction brought and caused upon im through the lawless one. I saw there also Impurity, and those who lust after it, and its pollution, and their jealousy, and the fire of their corruption in the lowest parts of the earth.

I saw there Theft, and those who hasten after it, and the arrangement [of their ret ribution, the judgement of the Great Assize]. I saw there naked men, the foreheads against each other, and their disgrace, and their passion which (they had) against each other, and their retribution. I saw there Desire, and in her hand the head of every kind of lawlessness [and her scorn and her waste assigned to perdition].

25 I saw there the likeness of the idol of jealousy, having the likeness of woodwork such as my father was wont to make, and its statue was of glittering bronze; and before it a man, and he worshipped it; and in front of him an altar, and upon it a boy slain in the presence of the idol.

But I said to Him: "What is this idol, or what is the altar, or who are they that are sacrificed, or who is the sacrificer? Or what is the Temple which I see that is beautiful in art, and its beauty (being like) the glory that lieth beneath Thy throne?"

And He said: "Hear, Abraham. This which thou seest, the Temple and altar and beauty, is my idea of the priesthood of my glorious Name, in which dwelleth every single prayer of man, and the rise of kings and prophets, and whatever sacrifice I ordain to be offered to me among my people who are to come out of thy generation. But the statue which thou sawest is mine anger wherewith the people anger me who are to proceed for me from thee. But the man whom thou sawest slaughtering—that is he who inciteth murderous sacrifices, of (sic) which are a witness to me of the final judgement, even at the beginning of creation."

Why Sin Is Permitted (Chapter 26)

26 And I said: "O Eternal, Mighty One! Wherefore hast Thou established that it should be so, and then proclaim the knowledge thereof?"

And He said to me: "Hear, Abraham; understand what I say to thee, and answer me as I question thee. Why did thy father Terah not listen to thy voice, and (why) did he not cease from the devilish idolatry until he perished [and] his whole household with him?"

And I said: "O Eternal, [Mighty One]! (It was) entirely because he did not choose to listen to me; but I, too, did not follow his works."

And He said [to me]: "Hear, Abraham. As the counsel of thy father is in him, and as thy counsel is in thee, so also is the counsel of my will in me ready for the coming days, before thou hast knowledge of these, or (canst) see with thine eyes what is future in them. How those of thy seed will be, look in the picture."

A Vision Of Judgement And Salvation (Chapter 27)

27 And I looked and saw: lo! the picture swayed and [from it] emerged, on its left side, a heathen people, and they pillaged those who were on the right side, men and women and children: [some they slaughtered,] others they retained with themselves. Lo! I saw them run towards them through four entrances, and they burnt the Temple with fire, and the holy things that were therein they plundered.

And I said: "O Eternal One! Lo! the people (that spring) from me, whom Thou hast accepted, the hordes of the heathen do plunder, and some they kill, while others they hold fast as aliens, and the Temple they have burnt with fire, and the beautiful things therein they do rob [and destroy]. O Eternal, Mighty One! If this be so, wherefore hast Thou now lacerated my heart, and why should this be so?"

And He said to me: "Hear, Abraham. What thou hast seen shall happen on account of thy seed who anger me by reason of the statue which thou sawest, and on account of the human slaughter in the picture, through zeal in the Temple; and as thou sawest so shall it be."

And I said: "O Eternal, Mighty One! May the works of evil (wrought) in ungodliness now pass by, but (show me) rather those who fulfilled the commandments, even the works of his (?) righteousness. For thou canst do this."

And He said to me: "The time of the righteous meeteth [them] first through the holiness (flowing) from kings and righteous-dealing rulers whom I at first created in order from such to rule among them. But from these issue men who care for their interests, as I have made known to thee and thou hast seen."

How Long? (Chapters 28-29)

29 And I answered and said: "O Mighty, [Eternal One], hallowed by Thy power!

Be favourable to my petition, [for for this h ast Th ou brought me up here—and shew me]. As Thou hast brought me up to Thy height, so make [this] known to me, Thy beloved one, as much as I ask—whether what I saw shall happen to them for long?"

And He showed me a multitude of His people, and said to me: "On their account through four issues, as thou sawest, I shall be provoked by them, and in these my retribution for their deeds shall be (accomplished). But in the fourth outgoing of a hundred years and one hour of the age—the same is a hundred years—it shall be in misfortune among the heathen [but one hour in mercy and contumely, as among the heathen]."

29 And I said: "O Eternal [Mighty One]! And how long a time is an hour of the Age?" And He said: "Twelve years have I ordained of this ungodly Age to rule among the heathen and in thy seed; and until the end of the times it shall be as thou sawest. And do thou reckon and understand and look into the picture."

And I [looked and] saw a man going out from the left side of the heathen; and there went out men and women and children, from the side of the heathen, many hosts, and worshipped him. And while I still looked there came out from the ri ght side (many), and some insulted that man, while some struck him; others, however, worshipped him. [And] I saw how these worshipped him, and Azazel ran and worshipped him, and having kissed his face he turned and stood behind him. And I said: "O Eternal, Mighty One! Who is the man insulted and beaten, who is worshipped by the heathen with Azazel?"

And He answered and said: "Hear, Abraham! The man whom thou sawest insulted and beaten and again worshipped—that is the relief (granted) by the heathen to the people who proceed from thee, in the last days, in this twelfth hour of the Age of ungodliness. But in the twelfth year of my final Age I will set up this man from thy generation, whom thou sawest (issue)from my people; this one all will follow, and such as are called by me (will) join, (even) those who change in their counsels. And those whom thou sawest emerge from the left side of the picture—the meaning is: There shall be many from the heathen who set their hopes upon him; and as for those whom thou sawest from thy seed on the right side, some insulting and striking, others worshipping him—many of them shall be offended at him. He, however, is testing those who have worshipped him of thy seed, in that twelfth hour of the End, with a view to shortening the Age of ungodliness.

"Before the Age of the righteous beginneth to grow, my judgement shall come upon the lawless heathen through the people of thy seed who have been separated for me. In those days I will bring upon all creatures of the earth ten plagues, through misfortune and disease and sighing of the grief of their soul. Thus much will I bring upon the generations of men that be upon it on account of the provocation and the corruption of its creatures, whereby they provoke me. And then shall righteous men of thy seed be left in the number which is kept secret by me, hastening in the glory of My Name to the place prepared beforehand for them, which thou sawest devastated in the picture; and they shall live and be established through sacrifices and gifts of righteousness and truth in the Age of the righteous, and shall rejoice in Me continually; and they shall destroy those who have destroyed them, And shall insult those who have insulted them, "And of those who defamed them they shall spit in the face, scorned by Me, while they (the righteous) shall behold Me full of joy, rejoicing with My people, and receiving those who return to Me [in repentance].

See, Abraham, what thou hast seen,
And [hear] what thou hast heard,
And [take full knowledge of] what thou hast come to know.
Go to thy heritage,
And lo! I am with you for ever."

The Punishment Of The Heathen And The Ingathering Of Israel (Chapters 30-31)

30 But while He was still speaking, I found myself upon the earth. And I said: "O Eternal, [Mighty One], I am no longer in the glory in which I was (while) on high, and what my soul longed to understand in mine heart I do not understand."

And He said to me: "What is desired in thine heart I will tell thee, because thou hast sought to see the ten plagues which I have prepared for the heathen, and have prepared beforehand at the passing over of the twelfth hour of the earth. Hear what I divulge to thee, so shall it come to pass: the first (is) pain of great distress; the second, conflagration of many cities; the third, destruction and pestilence of animals; the fourth, hunger of the whole world and of its people; the fifth by destruction among its rulers, destruction by earthquake and the sword; the sixth, multiplication of hail and snow; the seventh, the wild beasts will be their grave; the eighth, hunger and pestilence will alternate with their destruction; the ninth, punishment by the sword and flight in distress; the tenth, thunder and voices and destructive earthquake.

31 "And then I will sound the trumpet out of the air, and will send mine Elect One, having in him all my power, one measure; and this one shall summon my despised people from the nations, and I will burn with fire those who have insulted them and who have ruled among them in (this) Age.

"And I will give those who have covered me with mockery to the scorn of the coming Age; and I have prepared them to be food for the fire of Hades and for ceaseless flight to and fro through the air in the underworld beneath the earth the body filled with worms. For on them shall they see the righteousness of th e Creator—those, namely, who have chosen to do my will, and those who have openly kept my commandments, (and) they shall rejoice with joy over the downfall of the men who still remain, who have followed the idols and their murders. For they shall putrefy in the body of the evil worm Azazel, and be burnt with the fire of Azazel's tongue; for I hoped that they would come to me, and not have loved and prai sed th e strange (god), and not have adhered to him for whom they were not allotted, but (instead) they have forsaken the mighty Lord."

Conclusion (Chapter 32)

32 "Therefore hear, O Abraham, and see; lo! thy seventh generation (shall) go with thee, and they shall go out into a strange land, and they shall enslave them, and evil-entreat them as it were an hour of the Age of ungodliness but the nation whom they shall serve I will judge."

THE APOCALYPSE OF ABRAHAM

First to Second Century A.D.
Translation: Eedle's Translation, 1986
Estimated range of dating: 70-150 AD.

(Here is the text (and notes) of an ancient work which was known in the early church, was much valued literature, was originally written in Hebrew, then translated into Greek, and found its way into many diverse cultures. Of more recent years it has been found in Coptic and Slavonic translations, and it is to these that we now have to turn, for they are the earliest - available manuscripts. The Slavonic manuscript, the oldest known, has the title of "Codex Sylvester", which belongs to the Library of the Printing Dept. of the Holy Synod in Moscow. Sylvester was a prominent priest in the reign of Ivan the Terrible, and who made a collection of early Christian books. The manuscript dates from the first half of the 14th Century, and was written on parchment, with two columns on each page, 216 leaves in all, with the Apocalypse occupying leaves 164-182. The other leaves being descriptions of the lives of other saints.

There were two portions to this Apocalypse. The first portion was clearly not part of the original, but was added to it at an early date presumably because the material of both parts concerned the Patriarch Abraham. In this presentation, we shall omit the first portion, which gave an account of Abraham's early life with his father Terah, and how he overcame the idolatry that surrounded him.

The Apocalypse proper is the account of what happened to Abraham at the time recorded in Genesis 15, when the Lord requested him to offer a sacrifice, and when he was subsequently shown visions of the future of his people. However, no one suggests that it was written in the days of Abraham. In fact it is one of a number of works that have been given the title of Pseudepigrapha. This Greek word means pseud- (false) + epi-(upon) + grapha- (writing,) in other words it was a writing that purported to have come from the pen of someone else, and usually someone important, so as to give the writing a form of importance and authority which might have been denied to the actual author. Modern scholars have thus invented this word to describe a process that was quite common in ancient days, both in Israel and in the early church.

But the scholars have not necessarily ascertained the real PURPOSE behind the writings. Although certain glosses, additions, and omissions have to some extent spoiled the original productions, there is no doubt about the fact that such writings were highly valued, and the very fact that they are even today available to us is in itself a most remarkable fact of preservation. But the fact that they are hardly ever read, and amongst Christians almost completely unknown, must surely be due to the manner in which the church views its own origins. There is a vast library of ancient literature just waiting to be printed and made available to earnest seeking enquirers, literature that deserves to be read, and which grants the careful reader an insight into the understanding of both Testaments of the Bible. An example of this is "The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs" which is so uplifting in it's reading that it led Bishop Grosseteste of Lincoln (Bishop from 1235 to his death in 1253) to say that they were of equal inspiration to the Scriptures.

However, to return to the present writing, The Apocalypse of Abraham was one of a number of writings that were similarly referred back to the ancient worthies, the patriarchal men of faith, of the Old Testament. What was the

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real principle behind such writings? It is our present belief that holy men of God, who may have spent nearly all their lives hidden away from the idolatrous practices that surrounded them, gave themselves to prayer and fasting, and as a result were visited by the Lord and by angelic messengers with prophetic and visionary material which naturally they greatly desired to make available to a wider body of people, rather than just keep it to themselves. However, the great difficulty lay in its acceptance. If they merely recorded it in the fashion of the O.T. prophets, they would find themselves grossly abused by their own nationals. But we do not think that they would have flinched from this as such. They were men of faith and courage.

One other factor was dominant in their minds, and it could be very similar to that which obtains today, in other words, the spiritual authorities of the day would have made mincemeat of all that they published, saying that the Scriptures were complete, and no further inspired writings could be entertained as authentic. The result was that they used admissible cunning, whilst being (as our Lord said) as harmless as doves! They interwove their revelations into accounts that appeared to derive from much earlier times, and published them anonymously. The Apostle Jude in the N.T quoted one such writing, known as the First Book of Enoch. Quotations from other 'pseudepigraphal' writings can be found throughout the N.T., especially from the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

For this reason, the present authors have invented a new name for this type of literature, a name that accords with the revelation and intentions of the authors. We shall use the term Retroprophetic Material, because we are quite certain that God has given visions and understandings of the PAST, just as much as He has given visions of the FUTURE. We ourselves have had occasion to be thus exercised by the Lord over the last twenty years, and because of this it has made it all that much easier for us to appreciate how it could have come about in centuries gone by.

As to the text and content of the Apocalypse before us; the 'heavenly informant' of the writing is an angel of name Jaoel, who must have been of very high rank, though not found mentioned by name very much elsewhere. He could have been the same being as say Raphael or Gabriel, but we have no way of knowing. The name Jaoel consists of two parts, Jah and El both names of God in the O.T. Abraham is taken up in the spirit to the uppermost (seventh) heaven and shown mighty and wonderful things, but all the time there is the clear testimony of the duality of the universe, the 'right handed' principle and the 'left handed' principle. The Lord Himself used this principle when speaking of the 'sheep and the goats' in Matt.25. There is God and Satan, who in this writing assumes the name of Azazel, a name that appears a great deal in the Books of Enoch, and is used in the O.T. in the account of the Day of Atonement, where one goat is slain in the Tabernacle, whilst the other is set free, and the Hebrew original here says it is 'for Azazel.'

Although it is neither the time nor the place for further exposition of this intriguing entry in the O.T., no doubt those who read these notes will start a process of investigation of their own, which we believe will lead to some very enlightening conclusions. Not only God and Satan, but the polarisation appears with the People of God and the People of Azazel, of righteousness and idolatry, and so on. These are not Gnostic principles, as some churchmen have inferred, not 'Dualism', but strict spiritual principles to be found throughout the Scriptures. In fact we believe it would be right to say that the Bible is the greatest Book in the world as a POLARISING INFLUENCE, and we are living in a day and age when forces of darkness have striven to MIX everything together, so that no man can any longer see black from white, evil from good, till the Lord says about this wretched luke-warmness, "I will spew you out of my mouth." We trust that this presentation of a valuable little gem from the past will serve its purpose to add to the great Biblical tradition of separating wheat from chaff, sheep from goats, good from evil, and God from Satan, for God has made it clear that HIS EYES ARE TOO HOLY TO LOOK UPON INIQUITY.)

1 Then a voice came to me speaking twice, "Abraham! Abraham!" and I said, "Here I am!" And He said, "Behold it is I, fear not for I am with you, for I AM before the ages, even the Mighty God who created the first light of the world. I am your shield and your helper."

2 "Go, take me a young heifer of three years, and a she-goat of three years, and a ram of three years, a turtledove and a pigeon, and bring me a pure sacrifice. And in this sacrifice I will lay before you the ages to come, and make known to you what is reserved, and you shall see great things that you have not hitherto seen:

3 because you have loved to search me out, and I have named you 'my friend.' (The text here in fact says 'my lover.') But abstain from every form of food that comes forth out of the fire, and from the drinking of wine, and from anointing yourself with oil, for forty days, and then set forth for me the sacrifice which I have commanded you, in a place which I will show you on a high mountain, and there I will show you the ages which have been created and established by my word, and I will make known to you what shall come to pass in them on those who have done evil and righteousness in the generations of men."

4 And it came to pass when I heard the voice of Him who spoke such words to me, and I looked here and there, I found no breath in me, and my spirit was frightened, and my soul seemed as departed from me, for I fell down as a stone, as a dead man upon the earth, and had no more strength to stand. And while I was thus lying with my face towards the earth, I heard the voice of the Holy One speaking, "Go, Jaoel, and by means of my ineffable Name raise up yonder man and strengthen him , so that he recovers from his trembling.

5 And the angel whom He had sent came to me in the likeness of a man and grasped me by my right hand and set me up upon my feet and said to me, "Stand up Abraham, 0 friend of God who loves you; let not the trembling of man seize you! For lo! I have been sent to you to strengthen you and bless you in the name of God, who loves you, the Creator of the celestial and the terrestrial. Be fearless and hasten to Him. I am called Jaoel by Him who moves those who exist with me on the seventh expanse over the heavens, a power in virtue of the ineffable Name that is dwelling in me. I am the one who has been given to restrain, according to His commandment, the threatening attacks of the Living Ones of the Cherubim against one another, and to teach those who carry Him, the song of the seventh hour of the night of man. (These 'attacks' may be seen as the rivalry of praise in heaven, a thing that God occasionally has to restrain, but which should not be thought to be in any way a 'fallen' action.

6 I am ordered to restrain the Leviathan, for every single attack and menace of every single reptile are subject unto me. I am he who has been commissioned to loosen Hades, and destroy him who stares at the dead. (This 'staring' is an attitude of Satan, whereby he paralyses and victimises the dead.) I have been sent to bless you now, and the land which the Eternal One, whom you have invoked, has prepared for you, and for your sake I have wended my way upon earth.

7 Stand up, Abraham! Go without fear; be right glad and rejoice, and I am with you! For age-lasting honour has been prepared for you by the Eternal One. Go, fulfil the sacrifices commanded. For lo! I have been appointed to be with you, and with the generations that will spring from you, and with me Michael blesses you forever. Be of good cheer and go!" (This reference to Michael seems to destroy the scholars' contention that Jaoel might be Michael under another name.)

8 And I rose up and saw him who had grasped me by the right hand and set me upon my feet, and the appearance of his body was like sapphire, and the look of his countenance like chrysolite, and the hair of his head like snow, and the turban on his head like the appearance of the rainbow, and the clothing of his garments like purple, and a golden sceptre was in his right hand,

9 And he said to me, "Abraham!" And I said, "Here I am, your servant." And he said, "Let not my appearance frighten you, nor my speech, that your soul be not troubled. Come with me, and I will be with you, visible, until the sacrifice, but after the sacrifice always invisible. Be of good cheer, and come!"

10 And we went, the two of us together for forty days and nights, and I ate no bread and drank no water, because my food and my drink was to see the angel who was with me, and to hear his speech. And we came to the Mount of God, Mount Horeb, and I said to the angel, "Singer of the Eternal One! I have no sacrifice with me, nor am I aware of the place of an altar on the mountain; how can I bring a sacrifice?" And he said to me, "Look around you." And when I looked around, there following us were all the prescribed animals, the young heifer, the she goat, the ram, the turtledove and the pigeon.

11 And the angel said to me, "Abraham!" And I said, "Here am I." And he said, "Slaughter all these animals, and divide them into halves, the one against the other, but do not sever the birds. And give these to the men (i.e. angels) whom I will show you, standing by you, for these are the altar upon the Mountain, to offer a sacrifice to the Eternal but the turtle dove and the pigeon give to me, for I will ascend upon the wings of the bird, so that you may be able to see in heaven, and upon earth, and in the sea, and in the abyss, and in the under-world, and in the Garden of Eden, and in its rivers, and in the fullness of the whole world and its circle - you shall gaze into them all."

12 And I did everything according to the command of the angel, and gave the angels who had come to us, the divided animals, but the angel Jaoel took the birds. And I waited until the evening sacrifice. And there flew an unclean bird down upon the carcases, and I drove it away. And the unclean bird spoke to me and said, "Abraham, what are you doing upon these holy heights, where no man eats or drinks, nor is there upon them the food of man, but these heavenly beings consume everything with fire, and will burn you up. Forsake the man who is with you and flee, for if you ascend into the heights they will make an end of "

13 And it came to pass, when I saw the bird speak, I said to the angel, "What is this, my lord?" And he said, "This is ungodliness; this is Azazel." And he said to it, "Disgrace upon you, Azazel! For Abraham's lot is in heaven, but yours is upon the earth. Because you have chosen and loved this for the dwelling place of your uncleanness therefore the Eternal Mighty Lord made you to be a dweller upon the earth, and through you every evil spirit of lies, and through you wrath and trials for the generations of ungodly men; for God, the Eternal Mighty One, has not permitted that the bodies of the righteous should be in your hand, in order that thereby the life of the righteous and the destruction of the unclean may be assured. Hear this my friend, and be gone with shame from me. For it has not been given to you to play the tempter in regard to all the righteous. Depart from this man! You cannot lead him astray. He is an enemy to you, and to those who follow you and love what you desire. For, behold, the vesture which in heaven was formerly yours has been set aside for him, and the mortality which was his has been transferred to you."

14 And the angel said to me, "Know that from henceforth the Eternal One has chosen you. Be of good courage and use this authority so far as I bid you, against him who slanders the truth. Should I not be able to put him to shame that has scattered over the earth the secrets of heaven, and has rebelled against the Mighty One? Say to him, 'Become the burning coal of the furnace of the earth! Go, Azazel, into the inaccessible parts of the earth, for your heritage is to be over those who are with you, the ones brought forth with the stars and clouds, and with the men whose portion you are, even those who exist on account of your being. Justification shall be your enemy. Now depart from me by your perdition!

15 And I uttered the words that the angel taught me. And then the angel said to me, "Answer him not! For God has given him power over those who answer him." And the angel spoke to me again saying, "However much he speak to you, answer him not, in order that he may have no free access to you, because the Eternal One has given him 'weight and will' in this respect." And I did that which was commanded me by the angel, and no matter how much he spoke to me, I answered him nothing whatsoever.

16 And it came to pass when the sun went down, behold there was the smoke as of a furnace. And the angels who had the portions of the sacrifice ascended from the top of the smoking furnace. And the angel took me with his right hand and set me upon the right wing of the pigeon, and set himself on the left wing of the turtle dove, neither of which birds had been slaughtered, and he bore me to the borders of the flaming fire, and we ascended upon many winds to the heavens which were above the firmament. And I saw in the air on the heights to which we ascended, a strong light impossible to describe, and within the light a fiercely burning fire of people, many people, of male appearance, all constantly changing in aspect and form, running and being transformed, and worshipping and crying with a sound of words that I could not recognise.

17 And I said to the angel, "Why have you now brought me up here, because my eyes cannot now see distinctly, and I am growing weak, and my spirit is departing from me?" And he said to me, "Remain close by me and do not fear, for the One whom you cannot see is now coming towards us with a great voice of holiness, even the Eternal One who loves you. But you yourself cannot see Him. But you must not allow your spirit to grow faint on account of the choirs of those who cry out, for I am with you to strengthen you."

18 And while he was thus speaking fire came all about us, and there was a voice within the fire like the sound of many waters, like the sound of the sea in violent motion. And I desired to fall down there and worship, and I saw that the angel who was with me bowed his head and worshipped, but the surface of the high place where I seemed to be standing changed its inclination constantly, rolling as the great waves on the surface of the sea.

19 And the angel said, "Worship, Abraham, and utter the song which I shall now teach you. Utter it without ceasing, that is, without pause, in one continuous strain from beginning to end. And the song which he taught me to sing had words appropriate to that sphere in which we then stood, for each sphere in heaven has its own song of praise, and only those who dwell there know how to utter it, and those upon earth cannot know or utter it except they be taught by the messengers of heaven. And the words of that song were of this import and signification -

'Eternal, Mighty, Holy El, God only-supreme'
You who are the Self-originated, the Beginningless One,
Incorruptible,
Spotless, Uncreated, Immaculate, Immortal, Self-complete,
Self-illuminating,
Without father, without mother, unbegotten,
Exalted, Fiery One! Lover of men, Benevolent One,
Bountiful One,
Jealous over me, and very compassionate, Eli, My God,
Eternal, Jehovah Zebaioth, Very Glorious El, El, El, El,
Jah El!

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You are the One whom my soul has loved!
Eternal Protector, Shining like Fire, Whose voice is like the thunder, Whose look is like the lightning,
You are the All-seeing One, Who receives the prayers of all such as honour You,
And turn away the requests of those who embarrass You with their provocations
Who dissolves the confusions of the world,
which arise from the ungodly and the righteous mixed up in the confusion of the corruptible age,
And renewing the age of the righteous,
Shine 0 Lord, shine as a light, even as that light with which you clothed Yourself on the first day of Creation,
Shine as the Light of the Morning on Your creatures
And let it be Day upon Earth,
For in these heavenly dwelling places there is no need of any other light
Than the unspeakable splendour from the light of Your Countenance,
O answer my prayer, 0 be well-pleased with it,
O accept my sacrifice which You have prepared for me to offer,
Accept me favourably, and show me, teach me, all that You have promised!'

20 And while I was still reciting the song, the mouth of the fire that was on the surface rose up on high. And I heard a voice like the roaring of the sea, nor did it cease on account of the rich abundance of the fire. And as the fire raised itself up, ascending into the heights, I saw under the fire a throne of fire, and round about it the watchfulness of many eyes, even the all-seeing ones reciting their song, and under the throne four fiery Living Ones singing, and their appearance was one, and each one had four faces. And such was the appearance of their countenance, that each one had the face of a lion, a man, an ox and an eagle, and because of their four heads upon their bodies, they had sixteen faces, and each one had three pairs of wings, from their shoulders, from their sides, and from their loins. And with the wings from the shoulders they covered their faces, and with the wings from their loins they covered their feet, while the two middle wings were spread out for flying straight forward.

21 And it came to pass that when they had ended their singing they looked at one another and threatened one another. (Another mention of this 'praise-rivalry', which may seem strange to us, as indeed the Cherubim are altogether very strange and wonderful beings, and which we must accept as part of the vision as it was seen.)

22 And it came to pass that when the angel who was with me saw that they were threatening each other, he left me and went running to them and turned the countenance of each one away from the countenance immediately facing him, in order that they might not look upon each other. And he began to teach them the song of peace that has its origin in the Eternal One.

23 And as I stood alone and looked, I saw behind the Living Ones a chariot with fiery wheels, each wheel full of eyes round about, (In Hebrew, the Living Ones are Chayyim, whose other names are Cherubim, and Seraphim, depending upon which function they are fulfilling at any time, and the wheels are called Ophanim.) and over the wheels was the throne which I had seen, and which was covered with fire, and the fire encircled it round about, and behold, an indescribable fire contained a mighty fiery host, and I heard its holy voice like the voice of a man.

24 And a voice came to me out of the midst of the fire, saying, "Abraham! Abraham!" and I answered saying "Here am I!" And he said, "Consider the expanses which are under the firmament on which you are now placed (i.e. the 7th heavenly sphere) and see how on no single expanse is there any other than the One whom you have sought, even the One who loves you!"

25 And while he was yet speaking, the expanses opened, and there below me were the heavens, and I saw upon the seventh firmament upon which I stood a fire widely extended, and the light which is the treasury of life, and the dew with which God will awaken the dead, and the spirits of the departed righteous, and the spirits of those souls who have yet to be born, and judgement and righteousness, peace and blessing, and an innumerable company of angels, and the Living Ones, and the Power of the Invisible Glory that sat above the Living Ones.

26 And I looked downwards from the mountain on which I stood to the sixth firmament, and there I saw a multitude of angels of pure spirit, without bodies, whose duty was to carry out the commands of the fiery angels who were upon the seventh firmament, as I was standing suspended over them. And behold, upon this sixth firmament there were no other powers of any form, save only the angels of pure spirit.

27 And He commanded that the sixth firmament should be removed from my sight, and I saw there on the fifth firmament the powers of the stars that carry out the commands laid upon them, and the elements of the earth obeyed them.

28 And the Eternal Mighty One said to me, "Abraham! Abraham!" And I said, "Here am I!" And He said to me, "Consider from above the stars which are beneath you, and number them for me, and make known to me their number." And I said, "How can I? For I am but a man of the dust of the earth." And He said to me, "As the number of the stars and their power, so will I make your seed a nation and a people set apart for me as my own inheritance, as distinct from that of Azazel. And yet I include Azazel in my house."

29 And I said, "0 Eternal Mighty One! Let your servant speak before You, and let not your anger be kindled against your chosen one! For lo! before I came up hither, Azazel inveighed against me. How then, while he is not now before you, can you constitute yourself with him?"

30 And He said to me, "Look now beneath your feet at the firmaments and understand the creation represented and foreshadowed in this expanse, the creatures who exist upon it, and the ages prepared for it."

31 And I saw beneath the surface of my feet, even beneath the sixth heaven and what was therein, and then the earth and its fruits, and what moved upon it and its animate beings, and the power of its men, and the ungodliness of some of its souls and the righteous deeds of other souls, and I saw the lower regions and the perdition therein, the abyss and its torments. And I saw the sea and its islands, its monsters and its fishes, and Leviathan and his dominion, his camping-ground and his caves, and the world that lay above him, his movements and the destructions of the world on his account. And I saw there the streams and the rivers, and the rising of their waters, and their windings in their courses. And I saw there the Garden of Eden and its fruits, the source of the river that issues from it, the trees and their blossoms, and the ones who behaved righteously. And I saw therein their foods and their blessedness. And I saw there a great multitude, men and women and children, half of them on the right side of the vision, and half of them on the left side of the vision.

32 And I said, "0 Eternal, Mighty One! What is this vision and picture of the creatures?" And He said to me, "This is my will for those who exist in the divine world-counsel, for thus it seemed well-pleasing in my sight, and so afterwards I gave commandment to them through my word. And so it came to pass that whatever I had determined to be, was already planned beforehand in this picture-vision before you, and it has stood before me before it was created, as you have seen." (Notice the clear explanation of the predestination of the righteous, and God's action towards them based upon what He knows of their actions. Here is the teaching of Paul in Romans 8, 'predestination and foreknowledge'.)

33 And I said, "0 Lord, Mighty and Eternal! Who are the people in this picture on this side and that?" And He said to me, "Those who are on the left side are all those, born before your day and afterwards, some destined for judgement and restoration, and others for vengeance and cutting off at the end of the age. But those on the right side of the picture, they are the people who have been set apart for me, and whom I have ordained to be born of your line and called my people, even some of those who derive from Azazel.

34 Now look again in the picture, and see who it is who seduced Eve, and what is the fruit of the Tree, and you will know what is to be, and how it shall be with your seed among the people at the end of the days of the age, and all that you cannot understand I will make known to you for you are well-pleasing in my sight, and I will tell you of those things which are kept in my heart.

35 And I looked into the picture, and my eyes ran to the side of the Garden of Eden, and I saw there a man of imposing height and mighty in stature, incomparable in aspect, and he was embracing a woman, who likewise approximated to the aspect of his size and stature. And they were standing under a tree of the Garden of Eden, and the fruit of this tree was like a bunch of grapes of the vine. And standing behind the tree was one who had the aspect of a Serpent (Hebrew Nachash = shining, bright eyes) having hands and feet like those of a man, and wings on its shoulders, six pairs of wings, so that there were six wings on the right and six on the left. And as I continued looking, I saw the man and the woman eating the fruit from the tree.

36 And I said, "Who are these who are embracing, and who is the one between them who is behind the tree, and what is the fruit that they are eating?" And He said, "This is the council of the world, this one is Adam, and this one, who is their desire upon the earth, is Eve. But he who is between them represents ungodliness and their beginnings on the way to perdition, even Azazel."

37 And I said, "0 Eternal Mighty One! Why have you given such as him the power to destroy the generations of men in their works upon the earth?" And He said to me, "Those who will to do evil (and how much I hate it in those who do it) over them I gave him power, even to be beloved of them."

38 And I answered and said, "0 Eternal Mighty One! Wherefore is it your will that evil should be desired in the hearts of men, since you are indeed enangered over that which you see? It is your will, and you are angry with him who is doing what is unprofitable in your counsel?"

39 And He said to me, "I am angered by mankind on your account, and on account of those who shall be of your family hereafter, for as you can see in the picture, the burden of destiny is placed upon them, and I shall tell you what shall be, and how much shall be in the last days. Look now at everything in the picture." (The purport of these remarks is to show the interaction between those who are of the 'seed' and those who persecute the seed. And Paul understood the seed to mean those who, by faith, are of their father Abraham. God is therefore angry with those who maltreat His own faithful children.)

40 And I looked and saw what was before me in creation; I saw Adam and Eve with him, and I saw the cunning adversary, and Cain who acted lawlessly through the promptings of the adversary, and I saw the slaughtered Abel, and the destruction brought about and caused upon him through the lawless one. And I saw Impurity and those who lust after it, (Items here given capital letters indicate the names of unclean spirits, as was the custom in such writings) and its pollution and their jealousies, and the fire of their corruption in the lowest parts of the earth.

41 And I saw Theft, and those who hasten after it, and the arrangement of their retribution, at the judgement of the Great Assize. And I saw there naked men with their foreheads against each other, and their disgrace, and the passions which they had for each other, and their retribution. And I saw Desire, and in her hand the head of every kind of lawlessness, and her scorn and contempt and waste assigned to perdition.

42 And I saw there the likeness of the idol of jealousy, carved in woodwork such as my father was wont to make, and its body was of glittering bronze that covered the wood. And before it I saw a man who was worshipping the idol, and in front of him there was an altar, and upon the altar a boy slain in the presence of the idol.

43 And I said to Him, "What is this idol and this altar, and who is he who is sacrificed? And what is this great building which I see, beautiful in art and design, even with a beauty like that which lies beneath Your throne?"

44 And He said, "Hear Abraham, for that which you see is the Temple, a copy of that which is in the heavens, glorious in its aspect and beauty, even as I shall give it to the sons of men to ordain a priesthood for my glorious name, and in which the prayers of man shall be uttered, and sacrifices offered as I ordain to your people, even those who shall arise out of your generation. But the idol that you saw is the image of jealousy, (i.e. the idol which causes the jealousy of God, and His anger to arise because of it) set up by some of those who shall come forth from your own loins in later days. And the man who sacrifices in murder is he who pollutes my Temple and such are witnesses to the final judgement, and their lot has been set from the beginning of creation."

45 And I said, 0 Eternal Mighty One! Why have you established that it should be so, and then proclaimed the knowledge thereof?" And He said to me, "Hear Abraham, and understand what I say to you, and answer my question. Why did your father Terah not listen to your voice, and why did he not cease from his idolatrous practices, together with his whole house?"

46 And I said, "0 Eternal One! It was entirely because he did not choose to listen to my voice, and likewise I did not choose to listen to his counsel." And He said to me, "The will of your father is within him, and your own will is within you, and so also the counsel of my own will is within me, and is ready for the coming days, even before you have any knowledge of them or can see with your eyes what is the future of them. Now look again into the picture, and see how it will be with your seed."

47 And I looked and saw, and behold the picture swayed and from it emerged, on the left side an ungodly people and they pillaged those who were on the right side, men, women, and children, and some they murdered, and others they kept as slaves. And I saw them run towards them through four 'entrances' (a word which does not mean actual gates, but contains the idea of four 'descents' or 'generations' as given to Abraham concerning the trials of his seed for the four generations till they came out of Egypt, but which in this context is seen to prefigure a much greater vision, that of which Daniel saw in later days, with four great world powers who would oppress the people of God.) and they burned the Temple with fire, and the holy things that were therein were all plundered.

48 And I said, "0 Eternal One! Behold, the people who shall spring from me, and whom you have accepted, are plundered by these ungodly men, and some are killed, whilst others they hold captives as slaves, and the Temple they have burned with fire, and the beautiful things therein they have robbed and destroyed. If this to be, why have you so torn my heart?"

49 And He said to me, "What you have seen shall happen on account of your seed, even those who anger me by reason of the idol statue which you saw, and on account of the human sacrifice in the picture, through their evil zeal and schemes in the Temple, and as you saw it, so shall it be."

50 And I said, "0 Eternal, Mighty One! May these works of evil wrought in ungodliness now pass by, and rather show me

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those who fulfilled the commandments, even the works of righteousness. For of a truth you can do this."

51 And He said to me, "The days of the righteous are seen in type by the lives of those righteous rulers who shall arise, and whom I have created to rule at the times appointed, but know this, that out of them shall arise others who care only for their own interests, even of the type that I have already shown you.

52 And I answered and said, "0 Mighty One! Hallowed be your power! Be favourable to my petition and show me, because for this reason you have brought me up here, whether what I saw shall happen to them for a long time?"

53 And He showed me a multitude of His people and said to me, "On their account, through four 'entrances' (i.e. descents, as in 47 above) as you saw, I shall be provoked by them, and in these (four descents) shall my retribution for their deeds be accomplished. But in the fourth descent of one hundred years, even one hour of the age, the same is a hundred years, there shall be misfortune among the nations, but also for one hour there shall be mercy and honour among those nations.

54 And I said, "0 Eternal One! How long are the hours of the age?" And He said, "Twelve hours have I ordained for this present age of ungodliness to rule among the nations and within your seed, and until the end of the times it shall be even as you saw. And now reckon and understand and look again into the picture.

55 And I looked and saw a Man going out from the left side of the nations (clearly the Messiah is here intended) and there went out men and women and children, from the side of nations, many hosts, and worshipped Him. And while I still looked, there came many from the right side, and some of these insulted Him, and some of them even struck Him, but others however worshipped Him. And as I watched, I saw Azazel approach Him and he kissed Him on the face and then stood behind Him.

56 And I said, "0 Eternal One! Who is the Man insulted and beaten, who is worshipped by the nations and kissed by Azazel?" And He answered and said, "Hear Abraham! The Man you saw insulted and beaten and yet worshipped by many, He is the 'Relief' granted by the nations to the people who proceed from you, in the last days, in the twelfth hour of the age of ungodliness. But in the twelfth hour of my final age will I set up this Man from your generation, whom you saw issue from among my people, and all who follow will become like this Man, and such as are called by me will join the others, even those who will to change within themselves. (A neat definition of repentance!) And as for those who emerge from the left side of the picture, the meaning is this - there shall be many from the nations who shall set their hopes upon Him, but as for those whom you saw from your seed on the right of the picture who insulted Him and struck Him, many shall be offended in Him, but some shall worship Him. And He shall test those of your seed who have worshipped Him in the twelfth hour at the end, with a view to shortening the age of ungodliness.

57 Before the age of the righteous begins to grow, my judgement shall come upon the lawless peoples through the-people of your seed who have been separated unto me. And in those days I will bring upon all creatures of the earth ten plagues, through misfortune and disease and the sighing of their grief. And this shall be brought upon the generations of men on account of the provocation and the corruption of mankind, whereby they provoke me. And then shall righteous men of your seed survive in the number which is kept secret by me, and will hasten the coming of the glory of My Name to that place prepared beforehand for them, which you saw devastated in the picture. (This presumably means Jerusalem, and like many other pictures, it has echelons of progressive meaning, starting, as always, with the physical, and ending with the spiritual. In this manner, the physical Jerusalem of the Bible days is replaced in the Book of Revelation by the great spiritual city that descends from God.) And they shall live and be established by sacrifices of righteousness (There is no need to imply blood sacrifice in this expression. It is used in the Psalms 4:5, 51:19, and like many other texts, may be spiritualised in the days in which we now live.) in the age of the righteous, and they shall rejoice in me continually, and receive those who return to me in repentance, for great shall be the inner torment of those who have despitefully used them in this world, as they observe the honour placed upon my own in the day of glory.

58 See, Abraham, what you have seen and hear what you have heard, and take knowledge of all that you have come to know. Go to your heritage, and behold, I am with you unto the age."

59 But while He was still speaking to me, I found myself once again upon the earth, and I said, "0 Eternal One! I am no longer in the glory that is on high, and there is one matter that my soul longed to know and understand which has not been revealed to me.

60 And He said to me, "What your heart desired I will tell you, because you have sought to see the ten plagues which I have prepared for the godless nations, and which have been pre-determined at the passing over of the twelfth hour of the age of the earth. Hear therefore what I divulge, and so shall it come to pass. The first is the distressing pain of sickness; the second, conflagration of many cities; the third, the destruction and pestilence of animals; the fourth, hunger of the whole world and its people; the fifth, by destruction among its rulers, by earthquake and the sword; the sixth, the multiplication of hail and snow; the seventh, wild bests will be their grave; the eighth, hunger and pestilence will alternate with destruction; the ninth, punishment by the sword and flight in distress; the tenth, thunder and voices and destructive earthquake.

61 And then I will sound the trumpet out of the air, and will send my Elect One, having in Him all my power in one measure, and He shall summon my despised people from all nations, and I will send fire upon those who have insulted them and who have ruled over them in this age. And I will give those who have covered me with mockery to the scorn of the coming age, and I have prepared them to be food for the fires of Hades, and perpetual flight through the air in the underworld, for they shall see the righteousness of the Creator, and those whom He now honours, and they shall he ashamed, for I had hoped that they would come to me in repentance, rather than loving strange gods, but they forsook the Mighty Lord, and went the way that they willed to go.

62 Hear therefore, Abraham, and see, for behold, in the seventh generation from you shall they leave the land of their slavery, after they have been ill-treated as it were for an hour of the age of ungodliness, and the nation whom they shall serve I will judge." (These seven generations may thus be enumerated: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Levi, Kohath, Amram, and Moses.)

THE APOCALYPSE OF SEDRACH

The Word of Sedrach

Source: Bodleian Library (Cod. Misc. Gr. 56, ff. 92-100)
(Apocrypha Anecdota [T&S 2.3] Cambridge: CUP, 1893)
Translation: A. Rutherford / M. R. James, 1893
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd to 5th centuries A.D..

(This pseudepigraphon is extant only in a fifteenth-century Greek manuscript preserved in the Bodleian. The biblical name Sedrach or Hadrach is of obscure origin denoting a place, a deity, a king or other person. It can refer to the boundaries of Damascus as well as to the North of Lebanon. In Zechariah 9:1–9:1 we read: The word of the Lord is against the land of Hadrach and will rest upon Damascus. For to the Lord belongs the capital of Aram, as do all the tribes of Israel"; Sedrach / Hadrach has been identified with the Assyrian place-name Hatarikka, or Aramean Hazrik, (the capital of Luhuti) possibly located at Tell Afis.

The Apocalypse of Sedrach, also known as the Word of Sedrach, is an ancient apocryphal text. As the text mentiones a Saviour, the text may well be Christian. The name of the titular figure, Sedrach may simply be the Greek form of Shadrach, the name of one of the three individuals put into the fiery furnace in the Book of Daniel. It may however simply be a corruption of Esdras, the Greek form of Ezra, particularly since the text has much similarity with other apocryphal texts attributed to Ezra, such as the Apocalypse of Ezra.

Like much other apocalyptic literature, the text narrates how Sedrach was given a vision of heaven, first describing someone being sent by God take him there. In the Apocalypse of Sedrach, it is Jesus himself who comes to take Sedrach, but while the text seems superficially Christian, it appears to be a corruption of an earlier Jewish text, with Jesus simply having been substituted in place of the name of an archangel.

Unlike other apocalyptic texts, however, the Apocalypse of Sedrach heavily discusses ethical issues, particularly repentance, and God being merciful. In a marked contrast to the bitter attitude often expressed in the genre, God is depicted as patient, keen to help people make the right choices, and keen to allow them repentance at every opportunity, and free will is seen as something kindly given, not a vicious trick.)

The Word of the holy and blessed Sedrach concerning love and concerning repentance and Orthodox Christians, and concerning the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Lord give thy blessing.

1 Beloved, let us prefer nothing in honour except sincere love: for in many things we stumble every day and night and hour. And for this cause let us gain love, for it covereth a multitude of sins: for what is the profit, my children, if we have all things, and have not saving love . . . O blessed love, supplier of all good things. Blessed is the man who has gained the true faith and sincere love, according as the Master said, there is no greater love than this that a man should lay down his life for his friend. [Cf. John xv. 13.]

2 And invisibly he received a voice in his ears: Come hither, Sedrach, since thou wishest and desirest to converse with God and ask of him that he may reveal unto thee whatever thou wishest to ask. And Sedrach said: What, Sir? And the voice said to him: I was sent to thee to raise thee here into heaven. And he said: I desired to speak mouth to mouth with God: I am not fit, Sir, to come into heaven. And stretching out his wings he took him up and he came into heaven to the very flame, and he set him as high as the third heaven, and in it stood the flame of the divinity.

3 And the Lord saith to him: Welcome, my beloved Sedrach: What suit hast thou against God who created thee, that thou saidst, I desired to speak face to face with God? Sedrach saith to him: Yea, verily, the son hath a suit with the Father: my Lord, why didst thou make the earth? The Lord saith to him: For man's sake. Sedrach saith: And why didst Thou make the sea? Why didst Thou scatter every good thing on the earth? The Lord saith to him: For man's sake. Sedrach saith to him: If thou didst these things, why wilt Thou destroy him? And the Lord said: Man is my work and the creature of my hands, and I discipline him as I find good.

4 Sedrach saith to him: Chastisement and fire are thy discipline: they are bitter, my Lord: it were well for man if he had not been born: why then didst thou make him, my Lord? Why didst thou weary thine undefiled hands and create man, since thou didst not intend to have mercy on him? God saith to him: I made Adam the first creature and placed him in Paradise in the midst of the tree of life and said to him: Eat of all the fruits, but beware of the tree of life: for if thou eat of it, thou shalt die the death. But he transgressed my commandment, and being beguiled by the devil ate of the tree.

5 Sedrach saith to him: Of thy will Adam was beguiled, my Lord: Thou commandest thine3981 angels to make approach to Adam, and the first of the angels himself transgressed thy commandment and did not make approach to him, and Thou didst banish him, because he transgressed thy commandment and did not make any approach to the work of thine hands: if thou lovedst man, why didst Thou not slay the devil, the worker of unrighteousness? Who is able to fight an invisible spirit? And he as a smoke enters into the hearts of men and teaches them every sin: he fights against thee, the immortal God, and what can wretched man then do to him? But have mercy, O Lord, and stop the chastisements: but if not, count me also with the sinners: if thou wilt have no mercy on the sinners, where are thy mercies, where is thy compassion, O Lord?

6 God saith to him: Be it known unto thee that I ordered all things to be placable to him: I gave him understanding and made him the heir of heaven and earth, and I subjected all things to him, and every living thing flees from him and from before his face: but he, having received of mine, became alien, adulterous, and sinful: tell me, what father, having given his son his portion, when he takes his substance and leaves his father and goes away and becomes an alien and serves an alien, when the father sees that the son has deserted him, does not darken his heart, and does not the father go and take his substance and banish him from his glory because he deserted his father? And how have I, the wonderful and jealous God, given him everything, and he having received these things has become an adulterer and a sinner?

7 Sedrach saith to him: Thou, O Lord, didst create man. Thou knewest of what sort of mind he was and of what sort of knowledge we are, and thou makest it a cause for chastisement: but cast him forth; for shall not I alone fill up the heavenly places? But if that is not to be so save man too, O Lord. He failed by thy will, wretched man. Why dost thou waste words on me, Sedrach? I created Adam and his wife and the sun and said: Behold each other how bright he is, and the wife of Adam is brighter in the beauty of the moon and he was the giver of her life. Sedrach saith: but of what profit are beauties if they die away into the earth? How didst thou say, O Lord, Thou shalt not return evil for evil? How is it, O Lord? the word of Thy divinity never lies, and why dost Thou retaliate on man? or dost thou not in so doing render evil for evil? I know that among the quadrupeds there is no other so wily and unreasonable as the mule. But we strike it with the bridle when we wish: and thou hast angels: send them forth to guard them, and when man inclines towards sin, to take hold of his foot and not let him go whither he would.

8 God saith to him: If I catch him by the foot, he will say, Thou hast given me no joy in the world. But I have left him to his own will because I loved him. Wherefore I sent forth my righteous angels to guard him night and day. Sedrach saith: I know, O Lord, that of all thy creatures Thou chiefly lovedst man, of the quadrupeds the sheep, of woods the olive, of fruits the vine, of flying things the bee, of rivers the Jordan, of cities Jerusalem. And all these man also loves, my Lord. God saith to Sedrach: I will ask thee one thing, Sedrach: if thou answerest me, then I may fitly help thee, even though thou hast tempted thy creator. Sedrach saith: Speak. The Lord God saith: Since I made all things, how many men were born and how many died, and how many are to die and how many hairs have they? Tell me, Sedrach, since the heaven was created and the earth, how many trees grew in the world, and how many fell, and how many are to fall, and how many are to arise, and how many leaves have they? Tell me, Sedrach, since I made the sea, how many waves arose and how many fell, and how many are to arise, and how many winds blow along the margin of the sea? Tell me, Sedrach, from the creation of the world of the æons, when the air rained, how many drops fell

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upon the world, and how many are to fall? And Sedrach said: Thou alone knowest all these things, O Lord; thou only understandest all these things: only, I pray thee, deliver man from chastisement, and I shall not be separated from our race.

9 And God said to his only begotten Son: Go, take the soul of Sedrach my beloved, and place it in Paradise. The only begotten Son saith to Sedrach: Give me the trust which our Father deposited in the womb of thy mother in the holy tabernacle of thy body from a child. Sedrach saith: I will not give thee my soul. God saith to him: And wherefore was I sent to come hither, and thou pleadest against me? For I was commanded by my Father not to take thy soul with violence; but if not, (then) give me thy most greatly desired soul.

10 And Sedrach saith to God: And whence dost Thou intend to take my soul, and from which limb? And God saith to him: Dost thou not know that it is placed in the midst of thy lungs and thy heart and is dispersed into all thy limbs? It is brought up through the throat and gullet and the mouth and at whatever hour it is predestined to come forth, it is scattered, and brought together from the points of the nails and from all the limbs, and there is a great necessity that it should be separated from the body and parted from the heart. When Sedrach had heard all these things and had considered the memory of death he was greatly astounded, and Sedrach said to God: O Lord, give me a little respite that I may weep, for I have heard that tears are able to do much and much remedy comes to the lowly body of thy creature.

11 And weeping and bewailing he began to say: O marvellous head of heavenly adornment: O radiant as the sun which shines on heaven and earth: thy hairs are known from Teman, thine eyes from Bosor, thine ears from thunder, thy tongue from a trumpet, and thy brain is a small creation, thy head the energy of the whole body: O friendly and most fair beloved by all, and now falling into the earth it must become forgotten. O hands, mild, fair-fingered, worn with toil by which the body is nourished: O hands, deftest of all, heaping up from all quarters ye made ready houses. O fingers adorned and decked with gold and silver (rings): and great worlds are led by the fingers: the three joints enfold the palms, and heap up beautiful things: and now ye must become aliens to the world. O feet, skilfully walking about, self-running, most swift, unconquerable: O knees, fitted together, because without you the body does not move: the feet run along with the sun and the moon in the night and in the day, heaping up all things, foods and drinks, and nourishing the body: O feet, most swift and fair runners, moving on the face of the earth, getting ready the house with every good thing: O feet which bear up the whole body, that run up to the temples, making repentance and calling on the saints, and now ye are to remain motionless. O head and hands and feet, until now I have kept you. O soul, what sent thee into the humble and wretched body? and now being separated from it, thou art going up where the Lord calleth thee, and the wretched body goes away to judgement. O body well-adorned, hair clothed with stars, head of heavenly adornment and dress: O face well-anointed, light-bringing eyes, voice trumpet-like, tongue placable, chin fairly adorned, hairs like the stars, head high as heaven, body decked out, light-bringing eyes that know all things—and now you shall fall into the earth and under the earth your beauty shall disappear.

12 Christ saith to him: Stay, Sedrach; how long dost thou weep and groan? Paradise is opened to thee, and, dying, thou shalt live. Sedrach saith to him: Once more I will speak unto thee, O Lord: How long shall I live before I die? and do not disregard my prayer. The Lord saith to him: Speak, O Sedrach. Sedrach saith: If a man shall live eighty or ninety or an hundred years, and live these years in sin, and again shall turn, and the man live in repentance, in how many days dost thou forgive him his sins? God saith to him: If he shall live an hundred or eighty years and shall turn and repent for three years and do the fruit of righteousness, and death shall overtake him, I will not remember all his sins.

13 Sedrach saith to him: The three years are a long time, my Lord, lest death overtake him and he fulfil not his repentance: have mercy, Lord, on thine image and have compassion, for the three years are many. God saith to him: If a man live an hundred years and remember his death and confess before men and I find him, after a time I will forgive all his sins. Sedrach saith again: I will again beseech thy compassion for thy creature. The time is long lest death overtake him and snatch him suddenly. The Saviour saith to him: I will ask thee one word, Sedrach, my beloved, then thou shalt ask me in turn: if the man shall repent for forty days I will not remember all his sins which he did.

14 And Sedrach saith to the archangel Michael: Hearken to me, O powerful chief, and help thou me and be my envoy that God may have mercy on the world. And falling on their faces, they besought the Lord and said: O Lord, teach us how and by what sort of repentance and by what labour man shall be saved. God saith: By repentances, by intercessions, by liturgies, by tears in streams, in hot groanings. Dost thou not know that my prophet David was saved by tears, and the rest were saved in one moment? Thou knowest, Sedrach, that there are nations which have not the law and which do the works of the law: for if they are unbaptized and my divine spirit come unto them and they turn to my baptism, I also receive them with my righteous ones into Abraham's bosom. And there are some who have been baptized with my baptism and who have shared in my divine part and become reprobate in complete reprobation and will not repent: and I suffer them with much compassion and much pity and wealth in order that they may repent, but they do the things which my divinity hates, and did not hearken to the wise man asking (them), saying, we by no means justify a sinner. Dost thou not most certainly know that it is written: And those who repent never see chastisement? And they did not hearken to the Apostles or to my word in the Gospels, and they grieve my angels, and verily they do not attend to my messenger in the assemblies (for communion) and in my services, and they do not stand in my holy churches, but they stand and do not fall down and worship in fear and trembling, but boast things which I do not accept, or my holy angels.

15 Sedrach saith to God: O Lord, Thou alone art sinless and very compassionate, having compassion and pity for sinners, but thy divinity said: I am not come to call the righteous but sinners to repentance. And the Lord said to Sedrach: Dost thou not know, Sedrach, that the thief was saved in one moment to repent? Dost thou not know that my apostle and evangelist was saved in one moment? "Peccatores enim non salvantur," for their hearts are like rotten stone: these are they who walk in impious ways and who shall be destroyed with Antichrist. Sedrach saith: O my Lord, Thou also saidst: My divine spirit entered into the nations which, not having the law, do the things of the law. So also the thief and the apostle and evangelist and the rest of those who have already got into thy Kingdom. O my Lord; so likewise do Thou pardon those who have sinned to the last: for life is very toilsome and there is no time for repentance.

16 The Lord saith to Sedrach: I made man in three stages: when he is young, I overlooked his stumblings as he was young: and again when he was a man I considered his purpose: and again when he grows old, I watch him till he repent. Sedrach saith: O Lord, Thou knowest and understandest all these things: but have sympathy for sinners. The Lord saith to him: Sedrach, my beloved, I promise to have sympathy and bring down the forty days to twenty: and whosoever shall remember thy name shall not see the place of chastisement, but shall be with the just in a place of refreshment and rest: and if anyone shall record this wonderful word his sins shall not be reckoned against him for ever and ever. And Sedrach saith: O Lord, and if anyone shall bring enlightenment to thy servant, save him, O Lord, from all evil. And Sedrach, the servant of the Lord, saith: Now take my soul, O Lord. And God took him and placed him in Paradise with all the saints. To whom be the glory and the power for ever and ever. Amen.

THE APOCALYPSE OF THE VIRGIN

The Apocalypse of Paul, Apocalypsis Pauli,
Visio Pauli, Visio sancti Pauli
From Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 9.
Edited by Allan Menzies.
Translation: Andrew Rutherfurd, 1896
Estimated Range of Dating: 388-400 A.D.

(The Apocalypse of Paul (Apocalypsis Pauli, more commonly known in the Latin tradition as the Visio Pauli or Visio sancti Pauli) is a fourth-century non-canonical apocalypse considered part of the New Testament apocrypha. The original Greek version of the Apocalypse is lost, although heavily redacted versions still exist. Using later versions and translations, the text has been reconstructed. The text is not to be confused with the gnostic Coptic Apocalypse of Paul, which is unlikely to be related.

The Apocalypse of Paul was composed at a communal Pachomian monastery in Egypt between 388-400 AD. The text, which is pseudepigraphal, purports to present a detailed account of a vision of Heaven and Hell experienced by Paul the Apostle; "its chief importance lies in the way it helped to shape the beliefs of ordinary Christians concerning the afterlife".

Content: The text is primarily focused on a detailed account of Heaven and Hell. It appears to be an elaborate expansion and rearrangement of the Apocalypse of Peter, although it differs in some ways. It contains a prologue describing all of creation appealing to God against the sin of man, which is not present in the Apocalypse of Peter. At the end of the text, Paul or the Virgin Mary (depending on the manuscript) manages to persuade God to give everyone in Hell a day off every Sunday.

The text expands upon the Apocalypse of Peter by framing the reasons for the visits to heaven and hell as the witnessing of the death and judgement of one wicked man and one righteous man. The text is heavily moralistic.

The text structure:

- *1–2. Discovery of the revelation.*
- *3–6. Appeal of creation to God against man*
- *7–10. The report of the angels to God about men.*
- *11–18. Deaths and judgements of the righteous and the wicked.*
- *19–30. First vision of Paradise, including lake Acherusa.*
- *31–44. Hell. Paul obtains rest on Sunday for the lost.*
- *45–51. Second vision of Paradise.*

Versions: Greek copies of the texts are rare; those that exist contain many omissions. Of the Eastern versions – Syriac, Coptic, Amharic, Georgian – the Syriac are considered to be the most reliable. There is an Ethiopic version of the apocalypse which features the Virgin Mary in the place of Paul the Apostle, as the receiver of the vision, known as the Apocalypse of the Virgin.

The lost Greek original was translated into Latin as the Visio Pauli, and was widely copied, with extensive variation coming into the tradition as the text was adapted to suit different historical and cultural contexts; by the eleventh century, there were perhaps three main independent editions of the text. The Visio Pauli also influenced a range of other texts again, particularly Dante's Inferno (2.28), the description of Grendel's home in the Old English poem Beowulf.)

1 The all-holy mother of God was about to proceed to the Mount of Olives to pray; and praying to the Lord our God she said: In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit; let the archangel Gabriel descend, that he may tell me concerning the chastisements and concerning things in heaven and on the earth and under the earth. And as she said the word the archangel Michael descended with the angels of the East and the West and angels of the South and the North, and they saluted the highly favoured one and said to her: Hail, reflection of the Father, hail dwelling of the Son, hail command of the Holy Spirit, hail firmament of the seven heavens, hail firmament of the eleven strongholds, hail worship of the angels, hail loftier than the prophets unto the throne of God. And the holy mother of God said to the angel: Hail Michael, commander-in-chief, the minister of the invisible Father, hail Michael, commander-in-chief, associate of my Son, hail Michael, commander-in-chief, most dread of the six-winged, hail Michael, commander-in-chief, who rules through all things and art worthy to stand beside the throne of the Lord, hail Michael, commander-in-chief, who art about to sound the trumpet and awaken those who have been asleep for ages: hail Michael, commander-in-chief, first of all unto the throne of God.

2 And having greeted all the angels in like manner, the highly favoured one prayed the commander-in-chief regarding the chastisements, saying: Tell to me all things on the earth. And the commander-in-chief said to her: If you ask me, highly favoured one, I will tell you. And the highly favoured one said to him: How many are the chastisements with which the race of man is chastised? And the archangel said to her: The chastisements are innumerable. And the highly favoured one said to him: Tell me the things in heaven and on the earth.

3 Then the commander-in-chief, Michael, commanded the Western angels that revelation should be made, and Hades opened, and she saw those who were chastised in Hades: and there lay there a multitude of men and women, and there was a great lamentation. And the highly favoured one asked the commander-in-chief: Who are these and what is their sin? And the commander-in-chief said: These, all holy, are those who did not worship the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit and for this cause they are thus chastised here.

4 And she saw in another place a great darkness: and the all holy said: What is this darkness and who are they who are being chastised? And the commander-in-chief said: Many souls are lying in this darkness. And the all holy one said: Let this darkness be taken away in order that I may see this chastisement also. And the commander-in-chief said to the highly favoured one: It is not possible, all holy, that you should see this chastisement also. And the angels guarding them answered and said: We have a command from the invisible Father that they shall not see the light till your blessed Son shall shine forth. And plunged in grief the all holy lifted up her eyes to the angels touching the undefiled word of the Father, and said: In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit let the darkness be taken away, that I may see this chastisement also. And straightway that darkness was lifted up and covered the seven heavens: and there lay a great multitude of both men and women, and there arose a great lamentation and a great cry began. And seeing them the all holy wept and said to them: What are you doing, wretched ones? Who are you? And how are you found there? And there was no voice or hearkening. And the angels guarding them said: Why do you not speak to the highly favoured one? And those who were under chastisement said to her: O highly favoured one, from eternity we see not the light, and we are not able to keep off that up there. And splashing pitch flowed down upon them: and seeing them the all holy wept. And again those who were being chastised said to her: How do you ask concerning us, holy lady, Mother of God? Your blessed Son came to The earth and did not make enquiry concerning us, neither Abraham the patriarch, nor John the Baptist, nor

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Moses the great prophet, nor the Apostle Paul, and unto us their light shone not: and now, all holy Mother of God, the armour of the Christians, the bringer of great comfort on account of the Christians, how do you ask concerning us? Then the all holy Mother of God said to Michael, the commander-in-chief: What is their sin? And Michael, the commander-in-chief, said: These are they who did not believe in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and did not confess you to be the Mother of God, and that the Lord Jesus Christ was born of you and took flesh, and for this cause they are chastised there. And again weeping, the all holy Mother of God said to them: Why did ye so greatly err, wretched ones? Did ye not hear that the whole creation names my name? And having said these words the darkness fell over them as it was from the beginning.

5 And the commander-in-chief said: Whither would you go, highly favoured one? To the West or to the South? And the highly favoured answered: Let us go to the South. And immediately there appeared the cherubim and the seraphim and four hundred angels, and led out the highly favoured one to the South, where came out the river of fire, and there there lay a multitude of men and women, some up to the girdle, others up to the neck, and others up to the crown of the head: and seeing them the all holy Mother of God cried out with a loud voice to the commander-in-chief and said: Who are these, and what is their sin who stand in the fire up to the girdle? And the commander-in-chief said: These, all holy one, are they who inherited the curse of father and mother, and for this cause they are thus chastised here as accursed.

6 And the all holy one said: And who are these standing in the fire up to the breasts? And the commander-in-chief said: These are whosoever cast off their wives and defiled them in adultery, and for this cause they are thus chastised here.

7 And the all holy one said to the commander-in-chief: Who are these standing up to the neck in the flame of the fire? And the commander-in-chief said: These, all holy one, are whosoever ate of the flesh of men. And the all holy one said: And how is it possible for one man to eat of the flesh of another? And the commander-in-chief said: Listen, all holy one, and I will tell you: These are they whosoever brought down their own children out of their own wombs and cast them out as food for dogs, and whosoever gave up their brothers in the presence of kings and governors, these ate the flesh of man, and for this cause they are thus chastised.

8 And the all holy one said: Who are these set in the fire up to the crown? And the commander-in-chief said: These, all holy one, are whosoever lay hold of the precious cross and swear to a lie: by the power of the cross of the Lord. The angels tremble and worship with fear, and men lay hold of it and swear to a lie and do not know what they testify: and for this cause they are thus chastised here.

9 And in another place the all holy one saw a man hung by the feet, and worms devoured him. And she asked the commander-in-chief: Who is this and what is his sin? And the commander-in-chief said: This is he who took usury for his gold, and for this cause he is thus chastised here.

10 And she saw a woman hanging by her two ears, and all the beasts came out of her mouth and gnawed her in pieces: and the highly favoured one asked the commander-in-chief: Who is she, and what is her sin? And the commander-in-chief said: She is she who turned aside into strange houses and those of her neighbours and spoke evil words to make strife, and for that cause she is thus chastised here.

11 And seeing these things the all holy Mother of God wept and said to the commander-in-chief: It were well for man that he had not been born. And the commander-in-chief said: Verily, all holy one, you have not seen the great chastisements. And the all holy one said to the commander-in-chief: Come, Michael, great commander-in-chief, and lead me that I may see all the chastisements. And the commander-in-chief said: Where do you wish, all holy one, that we should go? And the highly favoured one answered: To the West: and straightway the cherubim appeared and led the highly favoured to the West.

12 And she saw a cloud full of fire and in it there was a multitude of men and women. And the all holy one said: What was their sin? And the commander-in-chief said: These, all holy one, are they who on the morning of the Lord's day sleep like the dead, and for that reason they are thus chastised here. And the all holy one said: If anyone cannot rise, what shall he do? And the commander-in-chief said: Listen, all holy one: if anyone's house is fastened on the four (sides?) and surrounds him and he cannot come out, he has forgiveness.

13 And she saw in another place burning benches of fire and on them sat a multitude of men and women and burned on them. And the all holy one asked: Who are these and what is their sin? And the commander-in-chief said: These, all holy one, are they who do not rise up to the presbyter when they enter into the church of God, and for this cause they are thus chastised here.

14 And the all holy one saw in another place an iron tree and it had branches of iron, and on it there hung a multitude of men and women by their tongues. And seeing them the all holy one wept, and asked the commander-in-chief saying: Who are these and what was their sin? And the commander-in-chief said: These are perjurers, blasphemers, slanderers, whosoever divided brothers from brothers. And the all holy one said: How is it possible to divide brothers from brothers? And the commander-in-chief said: Listen, all holy one, and I will tell you about this: When some from among the nations desired to be blasphemed, he shall receive ceaseless retribution.

15 And in another place the all holy one saw a man hanging from his four extremities, and from his nails blood gushed vehemently, and his tongue was tied in a flame of fire, and he was unable to groan and say the Kyrie eleïson me. And when she had seen him the all holy one wept and herself said the Kyrie eleïson thrice: and after the saying of the prayer, came the angel who had authority over the scourge and loosed the man's tongue: and the all holy one asked the commander-in-chief: Who is this wretched one who has this chastisement? And the commander-in-chief said: This, all holy one, is the steward who did not the will of God, but ate the things of the church and said: "He who ministers to the altar shall be nourished from the altar": and for this cause he is thus chastised here. And the all holy one said: Let it be unto him according to his faith. And again he tied his tongue.

16 And Michael, the commander-in-chief said: Come hither, all holy one, and I will show unto you where the priests are chastised. And the all holy one came out and saw presbyters hanging by their twenty nails, and fire came out of their heads. And seeing them the all holy one asked the commander-in-chief: Who are these and what is their sin? And the commander-in-chief said: These, all holy one, are they who stand beside the throne of God, and when they sang of the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, the pearls fell out, and the awful throne of heaven shook and the footstool of our Lord Jesus Christ trembled, and they did not perceive it: and for this cause they are thus chastised here.

17 And the all holy one saw a man and a winged beast having three heads like flames of fire: the two heads were towards his eyes and the third head towards his mouth. And seeing him the all holy one asked the commander-in-chief: Who is this, that he cannot save himself from the mouth of the dragon? And the commander-in-chief said to her: This, all holy one, is the reader who does not practise in his own habits according to what is worthy of the holy Gospel: and for this cause he is thus chastised here.

18 And the commander-in-chief said: Come hither, all holy one, and I will show you where the angelic and archangelic form is chastised. She proceeded and saw them lying in the fire and the sleepless worm gnawed them: and the all holy one said: Who are these, and what is their sin? And the commander-in-chief said: These, all holy one, are they who possessed the archangelic and apostolic form: hearken, all holy one, concerning this: on earth they were called patriarchs and bishops, and they were not worthy of their name: on earth they heard 'Bless (the Lord) ye saints,' and in heaven they were not called saints, because they did not act as bearers of the archangelic form: and for this cause they are thus chastised here.

19 And she saw women hanging by their nails, and a flame of fire came out of their mouth and burned them: and all the beasts coming out of the fire gnawed them to pieces, and groaning they cried out: Have pity on us, have pity, for we are chastised worse than all those who are under chastisement. And seeing them the all holy one wept, and asked the commander-in-chief, Michael: Who are these and what is their sin? And the commander-in-chief said: These are the wives of presbyters who did not honour the presbyters, but after the death of the presbyter took husbands, and for this cause they are thus chastised here.

20 And the all holy one saw after the same manner also a deaconess hanging from a crag and a beast with two heads devoured her breasts. And the all holy one asked: What is her sin? And the commander-in-chief said: She, all holy one, is an archdeaconess who defiled her body in fornication, and for this cause she is thus chastised here.

21 And she saw other women hanging over the fire, and all the beasts devoured them. And the all holy one asked the commander-in-chief: Who are these and what is their sin? And he said: These are they who did not do the will of God, lovers of money and those who took interest on accounts, and the immodest.

22 And when she had heard these things the all holy one wept and said: Woe unto sinners. And the commander-in-chief said: Why do you lament, all holy one? Now verily you have not seen the great chastisements. And the highly favoured one said: Come, Michael, the great commander-in-chief of the powers above, tell me how I may see all the chastisements. And the commander-in-chief said: Where do you wish that we should go, all holy one? To the East or towards the left parts of Paradise? And the all holy one said: To the left parts of Paradise.

23 And immediately when she had spoken, the cherubim and seraphim stood beside her and led the highly favoured one out to the left parts of Paradise. And behold, there was a great river, and the appearance of the river was blacker than pitch, and in it there were a multitude of men and women: it boiled like a furnace of forges, and its waves were like a wild sea over the sinners: and when the waves rose, they sank the sinners ten thousand cubits and they were unable to keep it off and say: Have mercy on us, you just judge: for the sleepless worm devoured them, and there was no reckoning of the number of those who devoured them. And seeing the all holy Mother of God the angels who chastised them cried out with one voice: Holy is God who has compassion on account of the Mother of God: we give you thanks, O Son of God, that from eternity we did not see the light, and today through the Mother of God we have seen the light: and again they shouted with one voice, saying: Hail, highly favoured Mother of God: Hail, lamp of the inaccessible light: Hail to you also, Michael, the commander-in-chief, you that are ambassador from the whole creation: for we, seeing the chastisement of sinners are greatly grieved. And the all holy one, when she saw the angels humbled on account of the sinners, lamented and said: Woe to sinners and their neighbours. And the all holy one said: Let us see the sinners. And the highly favoured one, coming with the archangel Michael and all the armies of the angels lifted up one voice saying: Lord have mercy. And after the making of the prayer earnestly, the wave of the river rested and the fiery waves grew calm, and the sinners appeared as a grain of mustard-seed: and seeing them the all holy one lamented and said: What is this river, and what are its waves? And the commander-in-chief said: This river is the outer fire, and those who are being tortured are the Jews who crucified our Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, and who refused holy baptism, and those who commit fornication and sin against the sweet and passionless perfume of marriage, and he who debauches mother and daughter, and the poisoners and those who slay with the sword, and the women who strangle their offspring. And the all holy one said: According to their faith so be it unto them. And straightway the waves rose over the sinners and the darkness covered them. And the commander-in-chief said: Hearken, you highly favoured one: if anyone shall be cast into this darkness, his remembrance shall never be in the sight of God. And the all holy Mother of God said: Woe to sinners, because the flame of the fire is everlasting.

24 And the commander-in-chief said: Come hither, all holy one, and I will show unto you the lake of fire: and see where the race of the Christians is chastised. And the all holy one proceeded and saw: and some she heard, but others she did not see: and she asked the commander-in-chief: Who are these, and what is their sin? And the commander-in-chief said: These, all holy one, are those who were Christ, but worked the works of the devil and wasted the time of their repentance: and for this cause they are thus chastised here.

25 And she said: I pray, one request will I make of you, let me also be chastised with the Christians, because they are the children of my son. And the commander-in-chief said: Rest in Paradise, holy lady, Mother of God. And the all holy one said: I pray you, move the fourteen firmaments and the seven heavens, and let us pray for the Christians that the Lord our God may hearken unto us and have mercy on them. And the commander-in-chief said: As the Lord God lives, the great name, seven times a day and seven times a night, when we lead up the hymn of the Lord, we make remembrance for the sake of sinners, and the Lord accounts us as naught.

26 And the all holy one said: I pray you, commander-in-chief, command the armies of the angels and let them place me on the height of heaven and let me into the presence of the invisible Father. And immediately the commander-in-chief commanded, and the chariot of the cherubim and seraphim appeared, and they exalted the highly favoured one to the height of heaven and placed her in the presence of the invisible Father: And she stretched forth her hands to the undefiled throne of the Father and said: Have mercy, O Lord, on the Christian sinners, for I saw them being chastised and I cannot bear their complaint. Let me go forth and be chastised myself for the Christians. I do not pray, O Lord, for the unbelieving Jews, but for the Christians I entreat your compassion. And there came a second voice from the invisible Father saying: How can I have mercy on them, when they did not have mercy on their own brothers? And the all holy one said: Lord, have mercy on the sinners: behold the chastisements, for every creature on the earth calls upon my name: and when the soul comes forth out of the body, it cries saying, "Holy Lady, Mother of God." Then the Lord said to her: Hearken, all holy Mother of God, if anyone names and calls upon your name, I will not forsake him, either in heaven or on earth.

27 And the all holy one said: Where is Moses? Where are all the prophets and fathers who never sinned? Where are you, holy Paul of God? Where is the holy Lord's Day, the boast of the Christians? Where is the power of the precious and life-giving cross, which delivered Adam and Eve from the ancient curse? Then Michael and all the angels raised one voice saying: Lord, have mercy on the sinners. Then Moses also cried: Have mercy, Lord, on those to whom I gave your law. Then John also called: Have mercy, Lord, on those to whom I gave your Gospel. Then Paul cried: Have mercy, Lord, on those to whom I brought your epistles in the Church. And the Lord God said: Hearken, all you righteous: if according to the law which Moses gave, and according to the Gospel which John

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gave, and according to the epistles which Paul carried, they thus be judged. And they had nothing to say except, Have mercy, O just judge.

28 And the all holy Mother of God said: Have mercy, Lord, on the Christians, because they kept your law and gave heed to your gospel, but they were simple ones. Then the Lord said to her: Hearken, all holy one: if anyone did evil to them and they did not requite him the evil, you say well that they attended to both my law and my gospel, but if he did not do them wrong and they requited him evil, how may I say that these are holy men? Now they shall be rewarded according to their wrongdoing. Then all hearing the voice of the Lord had nothing to answer; and the all holy one, when she saw that the saints were at a loss, and their Lord did not hear, and his mercy was hidden from them, then the all holy one said: Where is Gabriel, who announced unto me the "Hail, you that from eternity shall conceive him who is without beginning like the Father," and now does not look upon sinners? Where is the great commander-in-chief? Come hither, all you saints whom God justified, and let us fall down in the presence of the invisible Father, in order that the Lord God may hear us, and have mercy on sinners. Then Michael, the commander-in-chief, and all the saints fell on their faces in the presence of the invisible Father, saying: Have mercy, Lord, on the Christian sinners.

29 Then the Lord, seeing the prayer of the saints, had compassion and said: Go down, my beloved son, and because of the prayer of the saints let your face shine on earth to sinners. Then the Lord came down from his undefiled throne: and when they saw Him, those who were under chastisement raised one voice saying: Have mercy on us, King of ages. Then the Lord of all things said: Hearken, all you sinners and righteous men: I made paradise and made man after my image: but he transgressed, and for his own sins was delivered to death: but I did not suffer the works of my hands to be tyrannized over by the serpent: wherefore I bowed the heavens and came down and was born of Mary, the holy undefiled Mother of God, that I might set you free: I was sin: I was nailed to the cross to free you from the ancient curse: I asked for water and you gave me vinegar mingled with gall: I was laid in the grave: I trampled on the enemy: I raised up mine elect, and even thus ye would not hear me. But now, because of the prayer of my mother Mary, because she has wept much for your sake, and because of Michael my archangel, and because of the multitude of my saints, I grant you to have rest on the day of Pentecost to glorify the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.

30 Then all the angels and archangels, thrones, lordships, authorities, governments, powers, and the many-eyed cherubim and the six-winged seraphim and all the apostles and prophets and martyrs and all the saints raised one voice, saying: Glory to you, O Lord: glory to you, lover of men: glory to you, King of ages: glory be to your compassion: glory be to your long suffering: glory be to your unspeakable justice of judgement, because you have been long-suffering with sinners and impious men: Yours is it to pity and to save. To him be the glory and the power to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen.

THE APOCALYPSE OF STEPHEN

The Revelation of Stephen
From The Apocryphal New Testament
Translation: Montague Rhodes James, 1924
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 4th century A.D.

[The Apocalypse or Revelation of Stephen is one of the New Testament apocrypha's texts and was condemned as such by the Roman Church in a Decree by Gelasius, like the Apocalypse of Thomas. The Stephen in question is one of the Seven Deacons to the Apostles. The text describes a conflict at the very beginnings of Christianity about the nature of Jesus of Nazareth. Stephen appears on the scene and recounts Revelation as a literal truth, to which the crowd declare blasphemy, and Caiaphas has him arrested and beaten. The text then has Stephen appear before Pilate whom he tells to not speak, and orders him to recognize Jesus. The tale is set before Paul of Tarsus' conversion, and so proceeds to describe how Paul persecutes Stephen by having him crucified. However, an angel rescues Stephen, so Saul / Paul has molten lead poured into his mouth and ears, and nails into his heart and feet, but an angel heals him again.

The next day, the text proclaims that Stephen was led out to be judged before the crowd, but instead Stephen recounts a supposed prophecy by Nathan of Jesus' coming, which annoys the guards to the extent that they bind him and take him to the head of the guard. The Sanhedrin decide that Stephen should be stoned, but Nicodemus and Gamaliel (the Jewish scholar) try to defend him with their bodies, dying in the process. After ten hours, Stephen eventually dies, and is buried in a silver coffin by Pilate, against Stephen's wishes. An angel moves the body to where Stephen wished to be buried, making Pilate shocked by the loss of the bodies. Pilate then receives a vision of Stephen, and converts. Likewise the memory of Stephen is said by the text to have made Paul convert.

Many scholars think that Pilate was a later addition to the text, the involvement of Pilate in the story looking somewhat clumsy, and the text being primarily an attempt to explain Paul's motives for conversion, but also his prior villainy. The text also highlights Stephen as the first ever Christian martyr. The substance of the story is this:])

Two years after the Ascension there was a contest about Jesus. Many learned men had assembled at Jerusalem from Ethiopia, the Thebaid, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Asia, Mauretania and Babylon. There was a great clamour among them like thunder, lasting till the fourth hour.

Stephen, a learned man of the tribe of Benjamin, stood on a high place and addressed the assembly. Why this tumult? said he. Blessed is he who has not doubted concerning Jesus. Born of a pure virgin he filled the world with light. By Satan's contrivances Herod slew 14,000 (144,000) children. He spoke of the miracles of Jesus. Woe to the unbelievers when he shall come as judge, with angels, a fiery chariot, a mighty wind: the stars shall fall, the heavens open, the books be brought forward. The twelve angels who are set over every soul shall unveil the deeds of men. The sea shall move and give up what is in it. The mountains fall, all the surface of the earth becomes smooth. Great winged thrones are set. The Lord, and Christ, and the Holy Spirit take their seats. The Father bids Jesus sit on his right hand.

At this point the crowd cried out: Blasphemy! and took Stephen before Pilate.

Pilate stood on the steps and reproached them: You compelled me to crucify the Innocent; why rage against this man? Why gnash your teeth? Are ye yet foolish?

They led Stephen away. Caiaphas ordered him to be beaten till the blood ran. And he prayed: Lay not this sin to their charge. We saw how angels ministered to him.

In the morning Pilate called his wife and two children: they baptised themselves and praised God.

Three thousand men now assembled and disputed with Stephen for three days and three nights. On the fourth day they took counsel and sent to Caesarea of Palestine for Saul of Tarsus, who had a commission to seize upon Christians. He took his place on the judgement seat and said: I wonder that thou, a wise man, and my kinsman, believest all this. None of the Sanhedrin have given up the Law. I have been through all Judaea, Galilee, Peraea, Damascus, and the city of the Jesitites to seek out believers.

Stephen lifted up his hands and said: Silence, persecutor! Recognize the Son of God. Thou makest me doubt of my own descent. But I see that thou shalt ere long drink of the same cup as I. What thou doest, do quickly. Saul rent his clothes and beat Stephen. Gamaliel, Saul's teacher, sprang forth and gave Saul a buffet, saying: Did I teach thee such conduct? know that what this man saith is acceptable and good.

Saul was yet more enraged, and looked fiercely on him, saying: I spare thine old age, but thou shalt reap a due reward for this. Gamaliel answered: I ask nothing better than to suffer with Christ. The elders rent their clothes, cast dust on their heads, and cried: Crucify the blasphemers.

Saul said: Guard them until the morrow. Next day he sat on the judgement seat and had them brought before him, and they were led away to be crucified. An angel came and cast away the cross, and Stephen's wounds were healed. Seven men came and poured molten lead into his mouth and pitch into his ears. They drove nails into his breast and feet, and he prayed for their forgiveness. Again an angel came down and healed him, and a great multitude believed.

Next day all assembled and took him out of the city to judge him. He mounted upon a stone and addressed them: How long will ye harden your hearts? The Law and the Prophets spake of Christ. In the first Law, and the second, and the other books it is written: When the year of the covenant cometh I will send my beloved angel, the good spirit of sonship, from a pure maiden, the fruit of truth, without ploughshare and without seed, and an image of sowing (?), and the fruit shall grow after the . . . of planting for ever from the word of my covenant, and signs shall come to pass. And Isaiah saith: Unto us a child is born, &c. And again: Behold, a virgin shall conceive, &c. And the prophet Nathan said: I saw one, a maiden and without touch of man, and a man child in her arms, and that was the Lord of the earth unto the end of the earth. And again the prophet Baruch saith: Christ the eternal appeareth as a stone from the mountain and breaketh in pieces the idol temples of the . . . David also said: Arise, O Lord, unto thy resting place, &c. Understand then, O foolish ones, what the prophet saith: In this word shalt thou judge.

And he looked up to heaven and said: I see the heaven opened and the Son of man standing at the right hand of God.

Then they laid hands on him, saying: He blasphemeth! Gamaliel said: Wherein? This righteous man hath seen the Son saying to the Father: Lo, the Jews rage against me and cease not to ill-treat them that confess my name. And the Father said: Sit thou on my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool.

Then they bound Stephen and took him away to Alexander, the reader, who was a chief of the people, and of the troop in Tiberias.

In the fourth watch of the night, a light as of lightning shone round about him, and a voice said: Be strong. Thou art my first martyr, and thine hour is nigh. I will write the record of thee in the book of everlasting life.

The Jews took counsel and decreed that he should be stoned. There were with him Abibas, Nicodemus, Gamaliel, Pilate, his wife and two children, and a multitude of believers. Saul stood forth and beckoned, and said: It would have been better that this man should not be slain, because of his great wisdom: but forasmuch as he is an apostate, I condemn Stephen to be stoned. The people said: He shall be stoned: but those who stood in the front rank with staves looked on each other and durst not lay hands on him: for he was renowned among the people.

Saul was wroth, and stripped those servants of their garments and laid them on the table; and commanded the men to stone Stephen.

Stephen looked round and said: Saul, Saul, that which thou doest unto me to-day, that same will the Jews do unto thee to-morrow. And when thou sufferest, thou shalt think on me.

The people cast stones upon him so thickly that the light of the sun was darkened. Nicodemus and Gamaliel put their arms about him and shielded him, and were slain, and gave up their souls to Christ.

Stephen prayed, saying: Forgive them that stone us, for by their means we trust to enter into thy kingdom. And at the tenth hour he gave up the ghost. Then beautiful youths appeared, and fell upon the bodies and wept aloud: and the people beheld the souls borne up by angels into heaven, and saw the heavens open and the hosts coming to meet the souls. And the people mourned for three days and three nights.

Pilate took the bodies and put each one into a silver coffin with his name upon it: but Stephen's coffin was gilt: and he laid them in his secret sepulchre. But Stephen prayed: Let my body be buried in my land of Serasima in Kapogemala (Caphargamala) until the revealing, when the martyrs that follow me shall be gathered together. And an angel came and removed the bodies thither.

But Pilate rose early to burn incense before the bodies, and found them not; and rent his clothes, saying: Was I then not worthy to be thy servant? On the night following, Stephen appeared and said to him: Weep not. I prayed God to hide our bodies. In the time of our revealing one of thy seed shall find us after a vision, and thy desire shall be fulfilled. But build a house of prayer and celebrate our feast in the month of April. After seven months thou also shalt rest. And Pilate did so: and he died, and was buried at Kapartasala: and his wife also died in peace. But the holy martyrs appeared thrice to venerable and believing men, speaking to them, and revealing divine words: for after their death many believed.

[One of Franko's two manuscripts omits all mention of Pilate, who is indeed not necessary to the story. The statements about him are quite irreconcilable with other legends, even those of the Eastern Church which take the favourable view of him.

Franko is clearly right in saying that this romance implies a continuation, and most likely right in holding that the Lucian-narrative implies a previous story. But the extravagance of the Slavonic text is such that one cannot but think it has been improved by the translator: and if Pilate could be gratuitously inserted -as I think he has been- by one redactor, others may equally well have been at work.]

REVELATION OF JOHN THE THEOLOGIAN

or The Revelation of John of Patmos
From Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 8
Edited by Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson.
Translation: Alexander Walker, 1886
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 4th century A.D

(The Revelation of St. John the theologian is a manuscript which is preserved in the anti-Nicene fathers volume 8. It is a companion book to the last book of our Bible the Revelation of John. However where as the revelation in the Bible is shared in parable form and difficult to understand especially for those that are dedicated scholars of Scripture. The Revelation of St. John the theologian explains in great detail and without having to decipher riddle, the timeline of what will happen at the end of days.

The author of the canonical Book of Revelation identifies himself only as "John". Traditionally, this was often believed to be the same person as John, son of Zebedee, one of the apostles of Jesus, to whom the Gospel of John was also attributed. The early-2nd-century writer, Justin Martyr, was the first to equate the author of Revelation with John the Evangelist. Other early Christian writers, however, such as Dionysius of Alexandria and Eusebius of Caesarea, noting the differences in language and theological outlook between this work and the Gospel, discounted this possibility, and argued for the exclusion of the Book of Revelation from the canon as

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a result. The early Christian writer Papias appeared in his writings to distinguish between John the Evangelist and John the Elder, and many biblical scholars now contend that the latter was the author of Revelation.

John of Patmos (also called John the Revelator, John the Divine, John the Theologian, and possibly John the Apostle.) could be the author named as John in the Book of Revelation, the apocalyptic text forming the final book of the New Testament. The text of Revelation states that John was on Patmos, a Greek island where, by most biblical historians, he is considered to have been exiled as a result of persecution of members of the ancient Messianic Movement under the Roman emperor Titus Flavius Domitianus. The story of the persecution is pretty much in the dark. Sure is only that the different Christian groups condemned each other as heretics and were persecuting one another.

Since the Roman era, Christians and historians have considered the Book of Revelation's writer to be the Apostle John (John the Evangelist), author of the Gospel of John. However, a minority of senior clerics and scholars, such as Eusebius (d. 339/340), recognise at least one further John as a companion of Jesus Christ, John the Presbyter "after an interval, placing him among others outside of the number of the apostles". Some Christian scholars since medieval times separate the disciple(s) from Revelation's writer, John of Patmos/the Divine.)

1 After the taking up of our Lord Jesus Christ, I John was alone upon Mount Tabor, (1) where also He showed us His undefiled Godhead; and as I was not able to stand, I fell upon the ground, and prayed to the Lord, and said: O Lord my God, who hast deemed me worthy to be Thy servant, hear my voice, and teach me about Thy coming. When Thou shall come to the earth, what will happen? The heaven and the earth, and the sun and the moon, what will happen to them in those times? Reveal to me all; for I am emboldened, because Thou listenest to Thy servant.

2 And I spent seven days praying; and after this a cloud of light caught me up from the mountain, and set me before the face of the heaven. And I heard a voice saying to me: Look up, John, servant of God, and know. And having looked up, I saw the heaven opened, and there came forth from within the heaven a smell of perfumes of much sweet odour; and I saw an exceeding great flood of light, more resplendent than the sun. And again I heard a voice saying to me: Behold, righteous John. And I directed my sight, and saw a book lying, of the thickness, methought, of seven mountains; (2) and the length of it the mind of man cannot comprehend, having seven seals. And I said: O Lord my God, reveal to me what is written in this book. And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. In this book which thou seest there have been written the things in the heaven, and the things in the earth, and the things in the abyss, and the judgements and righteousness of all the human race. (3) And I said: Lord, when shall these things come to pass? and what do those times bring? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. (4) There shall be in that time abundance of corn and wine, such as there hath never been upon the earth, nor shall ever be until those times come. Then the ear of corn shall produce a half choenix, (5) and the bend of the branch shall produce a thousand clusters, and the cluster shall produce a half jar of wine; and in the following year there shall not be found upon the face of all the earth a half choenix of corn or a half jar of wine.

3 And again I said: Lord, thereafter what wilt Thou do? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. Then shall appear the denier, and he who is set apart in the darkness, who is called Antichrist. And again I said: Lord, reveal to me what he is like. And I heard a voice saying to me: The appearance of his face is dusky; (6) the hairs of his head are sharp, like darts; his eyebrows like a wild beast's; his right eye like the star which rises in the morning, and the other like a lion's; his mouth about one cubit; his teeth span long; his fingers like scythes; the print of his feet of two spans; and on his face an inscription, Antichrist; he shall be exalted even to heaven, and shall be cast down even to Hades, making false displays. (7) And then will I make the heaven brazen, so that it shall not give moisture (8) upon the earth; and I will hide the clouds in secret places, so that they shall not bring moisture upon the earth; and I will command the horns of the wind, so that the wind shall not blow upon the earth. (9)

4 And again I said: Lord, and how many years will he do this upon the earth? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. Three years shall those times be; and I will make the three years like three months, and the three months like three weeks, and the three weeks like three days, and the three days like three hours, and the three hours like three seconds, as said the prophet David, His throne hast Thou broken down to the ground; Thou hast shortened the days of his time; Thou hast poured shame upon him. (1) And then I shall send forth Enoch and Elias to convict him; and they shall show him to be a liar and a deceiver; and he shall kill them at the altar, as said the prophet, Then shall they offer calves upon Thine altar. (2)

5 And again I said: Lord, and after that what will come to pass? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. Then all the human race shall die, and there shall not be a living man upon all the earth. And again I said: Lord, after that what wilt Thou do? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. Then will I send forth mine angels, and they shall take the ram's horns that lie upon the cloud; and Michael and Gabriel shall go forth out of the heaven and sound with those horns, as the prophet David foretold, With the voice of a trumpet of horn. (3) And the voice of the trumpet shall be heard from the one quarter of the world to the other; (4) and from the voice of that trumpet all the earth shall be shaken, as the prophet foretold, And at the voice of the bird every plant shall arise; (5) that is, at the voice of the archangel all the human race shall arise. (6)

6 And again I said: Lord, those who are dead froth Adam even to this day, and who dwell in Hades from the beginning of the world, and who die at the last ages, what like shall they arise? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. All the human race shall arise thirty years old.

7 And again I said: Lord, they die male and female, and some old, and some young, and some infants. In the resurrection what like shall they arise? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. Just as the bees are, and differ not one from another, but are all of one appearance and one size, so also shall every man be in the resurrection. There is neither fair, nor ruddy, nor black, neither Ethiopian nor different countenances; but they shall all arise of one appearance and one stature. All the human race shall arise without bodies, as I told you that in the resurrection

8 And again I said: Lord, is it possible in that world to recognise each other, a brother his brother, or a friend his friend, or a father his own children, or the children their own parents? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, John. To the righteous there is recognition, but to the sinners not at all; they cannot in the resurrection recognise each other. And again I John said: Lord, is there there recollection of the things that are here, either fields or vineyards, or other things here? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. The prophet David speaks, saying, I remembered that we are dust: as for man, his days are as grass; as a flower of the field, so he shall flourish: for a wind hath passed over it, and it shall be no more, and it shall not any longer know its place. (8) And again the same said: His spirit (9) shall go forth, and he returns to his earth; in that day all his thoughts shall perish. (10)

9 And again I said: Lord, and after that what wilt Thou do? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. Then will I send forth mine angels over the face of all the earth, and they shall lift off the earth everything honourable, and everything precious, and the venerable and holy images, and the glorious and precious crosses, and the sacred vessels of the churches, and the divine and sacred books; and all the precious and holy things shall be lifted up by clouds into the air. And then will I order to be lifted up the great and venerable sceptre, (11) on which I stretched forth my hands, and all the orders of my angels shall do reverence to it. And then shall be lifted up all the race of men upon clouds, as the Apostle Paul foretold. (12) Along with them we shall be snatched up in (13) clouds to meet the Lord in the air. And then shall come forth every evil spirit, both in the earth and in the abyss, wherever they are on the face of all the earth, from the rising of the sun even to the setting, and they shall be united to him that is served by the devil, that is, Antichrist, and they shall be lifted up upon the clouds.

10 And again I said: Lord, and after that what wilt Thou do? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. Then shall I send forth mine angels over the face of all the earth, and they shall burn up the earth eight thousand five hundred (1) cubits, and the great mountains shall be burnt up, and all the rocks shall be melted and shall become as dust, and every tree shall be burnt up, and every beast, and every creeping thing creeping upon the earth, and every thing moving upon the face of the earth, and every flying thing flying in the air; and there shall no longer be upon the face of all the earth anything moving, and the earth shall be without motion.

11 And again I said: Lord, and after that what wilt Thou do? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. Then shall I uncover the four parts of the east, and there shall come forth four great winds, and they shall sweep (2) all the face of the earth from the one end of the earth to the other; and the Lord shall sweep sin from off the earth, and the earth shall be made white like snow, and it shall become as a leaf of paper, without cave, or mountain, or hill, or rock; but the face of the earth from the rising even to the setting of the sun shall be like a table, and white as snow; and the reins of the earth shall be consumed by fire, and it shall cry unto me, saying, I am a virgin before thee, O Lord, and there is no sin in me; as the prophet David said aforetime, Thou shall sprinkle me with hyssop, and I shall be made pure; Thou shalt wash me, and I shall be made whiter than snow. (3) And again he (4) said: Every chasm shall be filled up, and every mountain and hill brought low, and the crooked places shall be made straight, and the rough ways into smooth; and all flesh shall see the salvation of God. (5)

12 And again I said: Lord, and after that what wilt Thou do? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. Then shall the earth be cleansed from sin, and all the earth shall be filled with a sweet smell, because I am about to come down upon the earth; and then shall come forth the great and venerable sceptre, with thousands of angels worshipping it, as I said before; and then shall appear the sign of the Son of man from the heaven with power and great glory. (6) And then the worker of iniquity with his servants shall behold it, and gnash his teeth exceedingly, and all the unclean spirits shall be turned to flight. And then, seized by invisible power, having no means of flight, they shall gnash their teeth against him, saying to him: Where is thy power? How hast thou led us astray? and we have fled away, and have fallen away from the glory which we had beside Him who is coming to judge us, and the whole human race. Woe to us! because He banishes us into outer darkness.

13 And again I said: Lord, and after that what wilt Thou do? And I heard a voice saying to me: Then will I send an angel out of heaven, and he shall cry with a loud voice, saying, Hear, O earth, and be strong, saith the Lord; for I am coming down to thee. And the voice of the angel shall be heard from the one end of the world even to the other, and even to the remotest part of the abyss. And then shall be shaken all the power of the angels and of the many-eyed ones, and there shall be a great noise in the heavens, and the nine regions of the heaven shall be shaken, and there shall be fear and astonishment upon all the angels. And then the heavens shall be rent from the rising of the sun even to the setting, and an innumerable multitude of angels shall come down to the earth; and then the treasures of the heavens shall be opened, and they shall bring down every precious thing, and the perfume of incense, and they shall bring down to the earth Jerusalem robed like a bride. (7) And then there shall go before me myriads of angels and archangels, bearing my throne, crying out, Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth; heaven and earth are full of Thy glory. (8) And then will I come forth with power and great glory, and every eye in (9) the clouds shall see me; and then every knee shall bend, of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth. (10) And then the heaven shall remain empty; and I will come down upon the earth, and all that is in the air shall be brought down upon the earth, and all the human race and every evil spirit along with Antichrist, and they shall all be set before me naked, and chained by the neck.

14 And again I said: Lord, what will become of the heavens, and the sun, and the moon, along with the stars? And I heard a voice saying to me: Behold, righteous John. And I looked, and saw a Lamb having seven eyes and seven horns. (11) And again I heard a voice saying to me: I will bid the Lamb come before me, and will say, Who will open this book? And all the multitudes of the angels will answer, Give this book to the Lamb to open it. And then will l order the book to be opened. And when He shall open the first seal, the stars of the heaven shall fall, from the one end of it to the other. And when He shall open the second seal, the moon shall be hidden, and there shall be no light in her. And when He shall open the third seal, the light of the sun shall be withheld, and there shall not be light upon the earth. And when He shall open the fourth seal, the heavens shall be dissolved, and the air shall be thrown into utter confusion, as saith the prophet: And the heavens are the works of Thy hands; they shall perish, but Thou endurest, and they shall all wax old as a garment. (1) And when He shall open the fifth seal, the earth shall be rent, and all the tribunals upon the face of all the earth shall be revealed. And when He shall open the sixth seal, the half of the sea shall disappear. And when He shall open the seventh seal, Hades shall be uncovered.

15 And I said: Lord, who will be the first to be questioned, and to receive judgement? And I heard a voice saying to me, The unclean spirits, along with the adversary. I bid them go into outer darkness, where the depths (2) are. And I said: Lord, and in what place does it lie? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. As big a stone as a man of thirty years old can roll, and let go down into the depth, even falling down for twenty years will not arrive at the bottom of Hades; as the prophet David said before, And He made darkness His secret place. (3)

16 And I said: Lord, and after them what nation (4) will be questioned? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. There will be questioned of Adam's race those nations, both the Greek and those who have believed in idols, and in the sun, and in the stars, and those who have defiled the faith by heresy, and who have not believed the holy resurrection, and who have not confessed the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost: then will I send them away into Hades, as the prophet David foretold, Let the sinners be turned into Hades, and all the nations that forget God. (6) And again he said: They were put in Hades like sheep; death shall be their shepherd. (7)

17 And again I said: Lord, and after them whom wilt Thou judge? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John.

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Then the race of the Hebrews shall be examined, who nailed me to the tree like a malefactor. And I said: And what punishment will these get, and in what place, seeing that they did such things to Thee? And I heard a voice saying to me: They shall go away into Tartarus, as the prophet David foretold, They cried out, and there was none to save; to the Lord, and He did not hearken to them. (8) And again the Apostle Paul said: As many as have sinned without law shall also perish without law, and as many as have sinned in law shall be judged by means of law. (9)

18 And again I said: Lord, and what of those who have received baptism? And I heard a voice saying to me: Then the race of the Christians shall be examined, who have received baptism; and then the righteous shall come at my command, and the angels shall go and collect (10) them from among the sinners, as the prophet David foretold: The Lord will not suffer the rod of the sinners in the lot of the righteous; (11) and all the righteous shall be placed on my right

hand, (12) and shall shine like the sun. (13) As thou seest, John, the stars of heaven, that they were all made together, but differ in light, (14) so shall it be with the righteous and the sinners; for the righteous shall shine as lights and as the sun, but the sinners shall stand in darkness.

19 And again I said: Lord, and do all the Christians go into one punishment?--kings, high priests, priests, patriarchs, rich and poor, bond and free? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. As the prophet David foretold, The expectation of the poor shall not perish for ever. (15) Now about kings: they shall be driven like slaves, and shall weep like infants; and about patriarchs, and priests, and Levites, of those that have sinned, they shall be separated in their punishments, according to the nature (16) of the peculiar transgression of each,--some in the river of fire, and some to the worm that dieth not, and others in the seven-mouthed pit of punishment. To these punishments the . . .

20 And again I said: Lord, and where will the righteous dwell? And I heard a voice saying to me: Then shall paradise be revealed; and the whole world and paradise shall be made one, and the righteous shall be on the face of all the earth with my angels, as the Holy Spirit foretold through the prophet David: The righteous shall inherit the earth, and dwell therein for ever and ever. (17)

21 And again I said: Lord, how great is the multitude of the angels? and which is the greater, that of angels or of men? And I heard a voice saying to me: As great as is the multitude of the angels, so great is the race of men, as the prophet has said, He set bounds to the nations according to the number of the angels of God. (18) And again I said: Lord, and after that what wilt Thou do? and what is to become of the world? Reveal to me all. And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. After that there is no pain, there is no grief, there is no groaning; there is no recollection of evils, there are no tears, there is no envy, there is no hatred of brethren, there is no unrighteousness, there is no arrogance, there is no slander, there is no bitterness, there are none of the cares of life, there is no pain from parents or children, there is no pain from gold, there are no wicked thoughts, there is no devil, there is no death, there is no night, but all is day. (1) As I said before, And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold, that is, men who have been made like the angels through their excellent course of life; them also must I bring, and they will hear my voice, and there shall be one fold, one shepherd. (2)

22 And again I heard a voice saying to me: Behold, thou hast heard all these things, righteous John; deliver them to faithful men, that they also may teach others, and not think lightly of them, (3) nor cast our pearls before swine, lest perchance they should trample them with their feet. (4)

23 And while I was still hearing this voice, the cloud brought me down, and put me on Mount Thabor. And there came a voice to me, saying: Blessed are those who keep judgement and do righteousness in all time. (5) And blessed is the house where this description lies, as the Lord said, He that loveth me keepeth my sayings (6) in Christ Jesus our Lord; to Him be glory for ever. Amen. (7)

THE ARMENIAN APOCLYPSE OF JOHN

The Armenian Revelation of John
Translation: Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare, 1907
Estimated Range of Dating: early Middle Ages

(There are a couple of sources of the Older and Unrevised Manuscripts extant:

1. British Museum Codex Orient. 5304.

2. The Bodleian Codex Armenus, e. 2.

3. Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, Anc. Fonds Arm. 9.

4. a Codex preserved in the Armenian Convent of St. James in Jerusalem.)

ARMENIAN REVELATION CHAPTER 1

1 The revelation of Jesus Christ by means of which (or whom) God gave to shew to his servants whatever is about to come to be shortly, and signified, sending by means of his angel to John his servant.

2 Who witnessed of the word of God, and the witness of Jesus Christ, what he saw and what was, and what was to he after this.

3 Blessed he who shall read out or listen to the word of the prophecy, and shall keep what therein is written. For the time is near.

4 From John to the seven churches which are in Asia, Grace with you and peace from the existent and from him which is and which is to come, and from the seven powers of the spirit, which is before his throne;

5 And from Jesus Christ, the faithful witness, who is eldest among the dead, and ruler of kingdoms of earth, who loved us and loosed the bonds of our sins hy his hlood.

6 And made us worthy of his kingdom, and priests unto God and his father, to him glory and might unto aeons of aeons, Amen.

7 Behold, he about to come with the clouds of heaven, and they shall see, all eyes and they who pierced him, and there shall see all extremes of earth. Yea, Amen.

8 And he saith, I am Ayb* and I am Qe*, saith the Lord who is unto aeons, and who is about to come, Lord almighty. [* Ayb is 1st letter of the Armenian alphabet, Qe is here the last; meaning Alpha to Omega, "from the beginning to the end".]

9 I John, your brother and participator in tribulation and kingdom and patience unto Christ Jesus with much boldness do write unto you. I was in the island which is called by name Patmos, because of the word of God and because of the testimony of Jesus Christ.

10 And there was in me the spirit holy on the day dominical, and I heard a great voice behind me, as the voice of a trumpet

11 Which said to me, what thou beholdest, write in a book and send it to the seven churches which are in Ephesus and in Zmyrna and in Pergonia and in Thyatria and in Serdis and in Phrygia and in Laulodika.

12 And I was coming to see him who he is which speaks with me; and in my turning I saw seven candlesticks of gold and

13 In the midst of the candlesticks like to a son of man, clothed in a garment down to the feet and girt about the breasts with a girdle of gold.

14 And on his head and hair as wool white, and his eyes as flame of fire.

15 And his feet likened to brass of Libanan refined amidst a furnace fiery; and his voice as voice of waters many.

16 And he had in his right hand stars seven; and from his mouth proceeded a sword two-mouthed sharp, and his countenance like the sun flashing appeared.

17 And when I saw him, I fell at his feet as if dead; and he laid upon me his right, and saith to me, Fear not, I am beginning and I am end.

18 I am life, and I am who died, and behold, I am alive to aeons of aeons. And I have the keys of death and hell.

19 Write what thou seest, what is, and what hekeafter is about to come to pass after this.

20 The mystery of the seven stars which thou sawest in my right hand, and of the seven[-branched] candlesticks* of gold; and the seven stars, of the seven churches are the angels; and the seven candlesticks are the seven churches.

[* The Menorah from the "Second Temple" was carried to Rome after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 AD during the Roman-Jewish War 66-73 AD. The historian Titus Flavius Josephus states that it was brought to Rome during the triumph of Vespasian and Titus. The bas relief on the Arch of Titus in Rome depicts a scene of Roman soldiers carrying away the seven-branched candelabrum. For centuries, the Menorah was displayed as a war trophy at the Temple of Peace in Rome, a Roman temple paid for with spoils taken from the conquered city of Jerusalem. After the 455 Sack of Rome, the Menorah was taken by the Vandals to their capital, Carthage. The Eastern Roman army under General Flavius Belisarius might have removed it in 533 and brought it to Constantinople. According to the historian Procopius of Caesarea (c. 500–565), it was carried through the streets of Constantinople during Belisarius' triumphal procession. Procopius adds that the Menorah was later sent back to Jerusalem where there is no record of it. It could have been destroyed when Jerusalem was pillaged by the Persians in 614 AD.]

ARMENIAN REVELATION CHAPTER 2

1 Therefore to the angels of the Ephesians' church write, Thus saith he who holdeth stars seven in his right hand, and walketh in the midst of the seven[-branched] candlesticks of gold,

2 I know thy works and thy toils and patience. And I know that thou bearest not the evil ones whom thou didst test: them who called themselves apostles, and were not, and thou foundest them false and horest them.

3 And thou wast patient and in tribulation for my name's sake, and hast toiled.

4 But I say unto thee and unto thy love, the first thou didst leave me.

5 Remember whence thou art fallen and repend* and thy first works do. But if not, I come, and will move thy candlestick out of its place, if thou repent not. [Anti-Jewish propaganda implying the Jews be guilty of something. The entire Christian and Islamic literature is full of this kind of hate-mongering "Anti-Semitism" which led to countless progromes and the Holocaust committed by Hitler's German Empire.]

6 But this I will do, that thou mayest hate the work of Nicolaus, which (or whom) I hate.

7 He that hath ears of hearing, let him hear what the spirit holy saith to the churches. They that shall be found conquerors, and having acquitted themselves bravely, I will give him to eat of the tree of life, which is in the garden of my God.

8 And to the angels of the Smyrnean's church write thus: Thus saith he that is without beginning and without end, who became dead for our sake and for the church's sake.

9 I know thy works and tribulation and labours, thy poverty shall be for riches and not unto trials, and the blasphemies which the Jews wrought against thee, do I know. For (or that) they reckon themselves that they may be something, but they are a synagogue of Satan.

10 Fear thou not, for although they are about to torment thee, behold Satan wills to cast some of you into prison, and into trials, and into straits of tribulation for ten days. Stand thou firm and be faithful unto death, and I ivill give thee the crown of life.

11 He that hath ears of hearing, let him hear what the holy spirit saith to the churches. They that shall be found victorious, shall not be afraid of the second death.

12 And to the angels of the Pergameans' church write: Thus saith he that hath the sword two-mouthed sharp:

13 I know thy works and where thou dwellest, where is set the throne of Satan. But they hold my name, and thou hast not denied my faith in these days, all who are witnesses faithful, who for my sake died among you: unto temptation and unto the dwelling of Satan among some of you.

14 But I say to thee because there abides with thee the teaching of Balam who taught Balak to place a stumblingblock infront of the children of Israel, for them to eat the things sacrificed* and to fornicate with the daughters of the gentiles. [* Quotation of a hidden letter of James the Just, the brother of Jesus, that we can read in the Book of Acts 15:13-20 in which he reminds his Jewish-Christian movement to obey the Laws of Moses, to live a life of righteousness, that is to abstain from things sacrified to idols and from blood and from things strangled (carion) and from fornication. The words of James in Acts are also in the Qumran MMT document, in which James, the Teacher of Righteousness, repeats the same passage twice: 4Q394 3-7 i conflated with 4Q395 as well as 4Q396 1-2 iv conflated with 4Q397 6-13.]

15 Thus also thou hast the teaching of Nicolaus.

16 Do thou therefore repent. But if not, I come quickly, and will make war against them with the sword of my mouth.

17 He that hath ears of heaking let him hear what the spirit holy saith to the churches. They that be found victorious, I will give him food from the tree of life; and I will give him the writing of holiness, and will mingle his name in the numbers of the saints who hold my name.

18 And to the angels of the Thivatireans write: Thus saith the Son of God, whose eyes are as a flame of fire, and his feet likened unto brass of Libanan:

19 I know thy love and thy works and thy patience and the faith of thy holiness, that thy last works have become more than the first.

20 But I say unto thee much, that thou hast abandoned thy wife Zezabel, who declared herself a prophetess, and taught unto my servants error, to fornicate and eat the thing sacrificed.

21 vouchsafed her time of repentance, and she hath not repented of her fornication.

22 Behold I cast her into a furnace, and her fornicaters into great tribulation, unless they shall repent of their evil works.

23 And their children I will slay with death, and all the churches shall know that I am he who do search hearts and reins. And I requite unto each his works.

24 And unto you I say, that do believe of the Thivatireans, ye who have not learned this teaching; they who have not known the secrets of Satan, which they say; I will not cast upon you a burden,

25 More than what ye have and is with you until the goal.

26 He that shall conquer shall keep the works until the end. And I will give them authority over the nations.

27 And they shall shepherd them with a rod of iron, and as vessels of a potter shall they shatter them. As I received from my father.

28 And I will give them the morning star.

29 He that hath ears of hearing let him hear what the holy spirit saith unto the churches.

ARMENIAN REVELATION CHAPTER 3

1 And to the angels of the Sardicans' church, write: Thus saith he which hath grace of the Spirit of God, and the seven stars. I know thy works, that a name alone is thine, that thou art alive, but thou art dead.

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2 Be thou watchful, and fill up that which lacks, which was set down in thy mind, the transgressing. For I have not found thy works completed before God.

3 Kemember as thou receivedst, keep, and repent. But if thou art not watchful, I come unto thee as a robber, as to which thou knoivest not the hour in which I come unto thee; thou art outside as the man robbed, and one shall not know when the robber will come upon him.

4 But thou hast a few names of Sardicans, who defiled not their garments, and were walking with me in whites. Because they became worthy,

5 To be found victors, who shall put on garments of white; and there shall not be effaced their name from the book of life. And I will remember their name before my Father that is in heaven, and before his angels.

6 Who ever hath ears of hearing let him hear what the holy spirit saith to the churches.

7 And to the angels of the lovers of the brethren's church write; Thus saith the holy one and the true, who hath the keys of Hades, who openeth and no one is able to shut it, and who shutteth and no one is able to open.

8 I know thy works. Behold, I have given before thee a door opened, which none can shut, because a little thou hast of power of grace, and hast kept my word, and hast not denied my name.

9 Behold I give you a synagogue of Satan, who call themselves Judceans. And they are not Judseans, but affirm a lie. Behold I will make them that they shall come and shall worship before thy feet. For I have loved thee,

10 Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, and I will keep thee in the hour of trial, when I shall come upon the whole world, to try all dwellers upon earth.

11 Behold, I come quickly. Be strong and hold fast what thou hast, let not any one snatch from thee thy crown.

12 And whosoever be found conquering, I will make him a pillar of the temple of my God, and without he shall no more go forth; and I will write upon him the name of my God, and will give to them my house, the new Jerusalem, which shall come down out of heaven from my God, and I will give them a name new.

13 Whoever hath ears of hearing, let him hear what the holy spirit saith to the churches.

14 And to the angels of the Phrygians' church, write; Thus saith the Amen; the witness faithful and true, and the beginning of the creations of God:

15 I know thy works, that thou art not hot neither cold, but thou art lukewarm.

16 Judge thee I will out of thy mouth.

17 Because thou sayest, rich am I, and have become rich, and in no way am I lacking. And thou art wretched and miserable and weak and poor, and blind, and naked.

18 And now hear thou me and I will advise about thee. Take, buy of me gold refined by fire, that thou mayest become rich; and garments precious that thou mayest clothe thyself, that there be not revealed the shame of thy body, and lay salve on thine eyes, that thou mayest see.

19 Because I love thee, and I reprove and chasten thee: take zeal and repent.

20 Behold I stand at thy door, and knock: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will go in to him and will dwell with him, and he with me in my kingdom.

21 As I have overcome and sat down on the right hand of my Father on the throne of glory.

22 Whoever hath ears of hearing, let him hear what the holy spirit saith to the churches.

ARMENIAN REVELATION CHAPTER 4

1 And after all this I saw, and behold the dome of heaven was opened; and a voice of the trumpet which I heard the first, which spake ivith me and said to me, Come up hither, and I will shew thee what is to come to pass in the future time.

2 And in that hour there was in me the spirit holy, and I beheld a throne that it stood in heaven, and on the throne he sat

3 Like to a vision of stones jasper and sardius.

4 And priests round about the throne like to a vision of emerald. And round about the throne thrones twenty and four, and on the thrones were sitting elders twenty-four arrayed in garments white, and on their heads they had crowns of gold.

5 And out of the throne went forth lightnings and voices and thunders. And seven lamps of fire flaming before the throne, which are seven powers of the spirit holy.

6 And there was before the throne a sea of glass, in the likeness of the whiteness of crystal, and in the midst of the throne four beasts; and they were full of eyes behind and before.

7 And the first beast was like a lion, and the second heast like a calf, and the third beast had the face of a man, and the fourth beast like an eagle flying.

8 And of the four beasts there were for one hy one of them six upon six wings and round about and within they were full of eyes. And they rested not, not by day and not by night, and said, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of hosts, who is and liveth unto aeons, and who is to come.

9 And when the beasts gave glory and honour and praises to him that sat on the throne, to the living unto aeons of aeons.

10 There fell down the twenty and four elders before the throne, and they worshipped the alive of aons. and they laid down their crowns before the throne and said,

11 Worthy art thou, Lord God, to receive glory and honour and power: for thou didst fashion all, and at thy willing they were fashioned and stand sure.

ARMENIAN REVELATION CHAPTER 5

1 And I saw on the right hand (of him) who sat upon the throne, that he had a book written within and without, and sealed with seven seals.

2 And I saw an angel strong, that he proclaimed with a great voice and said, Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof?

3 And no one was found who was able, not in heaven, and not on earth, nor underneatli the earth, to open the book and to look into it.

4 And I wept violently, because no one was found worthy to open the book and loose its seal and to look into it.

5 And one of the elders there saith unto me. Weep thou not: behold he hath overcome, the lion from the tribe of Judah, from the root of David; and he is worthy to open the book and to loose the seals thereof.

6 And I saw in the midst of the throne, and in the midst of the four beasts, and in the midst of the elder's, like unto a lamb slain; and it had horns seven, and eyes seven, which are the seven powers of the Spirit, which are sent forth unto all the ends.

7 And he came and received from the right hand of him which sat upon the throne.

8 And when he took the book, the fourfold-shaped beasts and the twenty and four elders fell down before the lamb. And they had each a harp, and a censer of gold full of incense, which were the prayers of the saints.

9 And they were hymning a hymn new and saying, Worthy is the lamb to take the book and open the seals thereof. Because thou wast slain, and hast bought us unto adoption with thy blood, out of all tribes and tongues and peoples and gentiles.

10 And hast made us priests of our God, and we shall reign upon earth,

11 I was hearing and seeing round the throne voices of angels many and around the four beasts and the elders. And the number of them was ten thousand ten thousand and thousands of thousands,

12 Who were crying out and saying with voice great, Worthy is the lamb slain to receive praise and riches and honour and glory.

13 And all creatures which are in the heaven and on earth and in the sea, and all powers which are in them, heard I saying, He which sitteth on the throne, and the lamb, blessed, exalted and glorified unto the aeons of aeons.

14 And the four beasts said, Amen. And the elders fell down before him and worshipped him.

ARMENIAN REVELATION CHAPTER 6

1 And I saw that the lamb opened one of the seven seals; and I heard in the midst of the four beasts as it were a voice of thunder which said, I come.

2 And I saw, and behold, a horse white, and he that was mounted thereon had a bow; and there was given to him a crown, and he came to conquer that he might conquer.

3 And when he opened seal the second, I heard from the second beast that he said, I come.

4 And there went forth another horse light-blue; and he that was mounted thereon, there was given to him to take peace from earth: and there was given unto him to take a great sword, wherewith he shall slay all habitants of earth.

5 And when lie opened seal the third, I heard from the third beast that it said, I come. And I saw, and hehold another horse black; and he that was mounted thereon, had a balance in his hand.

6 And I heard a voice in the midst of the four beasts which were saying, A measure of wheat for one penny, and three measures of barley for one penny. And the oil and wine shall not be hurt.

7 And when he opened seal the fourth, I heard from the fourth beast, that it said, I come.

8 And I saw and behold, another horse, reddish, and he that was sitting upon him had death, and Hell "followed"' with (or after) him. And there was given him authority to destroy the fourth part of the earth with famine and sword and death, and by the wild beasts of the earth.

9 And when he opened seal the fifth, I saw underneath the altar the souls, Tain sealed because of Gob and because of the word of God, and because of testimony thereof, who said with a great voice,

10 How long. Lord holy and true, dost thou not judge and exact vengeance of our blood from the dwellers of earth.

11 And there were given them robes white : and it was said unto them that they should rest a little time, until there be fulfilled their fellow-servants and brethren who are about to die even as they. And then shall be judged the earth and vengeance be exacted of their blood.

12 And I saw when he opened seal the sixth, there was a earthquake great; and the sun was turned to darkness, and became night darkling; and the moon wholly became blood,

13 And the stars from heaven were shaken down to earth as leaves of a fig tree, in case it shall be violently stirred by the wind and shall shake down her leaves.

14 And the heaven like a parchment hook was rolled up, and was removed from the midst. And all islands and mountains from their places were moved.

15 And kings of the earth and rulers, and captains of thousands and magnates and mighty ones, and all bondsmen and freemen, hid themselves in caves and in hollows of rocks.

16 And they said to mountains and rocks, Fall upon us, and to the little hills, Shelter us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the lamb.

17 For there is come the day great of his wrath, and who is able to stand before him?

ARMENIAN REVELATION CHAPTER 7

1 After this I saw four angels that they stood at four corners of the earth. And they held the four winds of the earth, that there should not blow a wind upon the earth, neither on sea, nor upon trees.

2 And I saw another angel, that he was ascending from the sunrising, and he had the seal of God living: and he cried with a voice great to the four angels who had received authority to destroy earth and sea.

3 And he saith, Hurt ye not earth, neither sea nor trees, till I shall have sealed the forehead of the servants of my God.

4 And I heard the number of the sealed ones that they were a hundred and forty and four thousand sealed out of tribe of the children of Israel.

5 Of the tribe of Judah twelve thousand sealed.
Of the tribe of Keuben twelve thousand sealed.
Of the tribe of Dan twelve thousand sealed.
6 Of the tribe of Aser twelve thousand sealed.
Of the tribe of Nephtalim twelve thousand sealed.
Of the sons of Joseph twelve thousand sealed.
Of the tribe of Manasseh twelve thousand sealed.
7 Of the tribe of Shmavon twelve thousand sealed.
Of the tribe of Levi twelve thousand sealed.
Of the house of Issachar twelve thousand sealed,
8 Of the tribe of Zabulon twelve thousand sealed.
Of the stock of Benjamin twelve thousand sealed.

9 And I saw after all this, and behold, a multitude numerous which was not a number, and out of all tribes and all stocks and all tongues, and out of all peoples which stood before the throne and before the lamb, arrayed in robes white, and in their hands palms.

10 And with voice great they were saying. Salvation unto our God who sitteth on the throne of the lamb.

11 And all the angels were standing round about the throne, and about the elders and about the four beasts: and they were falling down on their faces before the lamb and were worshipping God, and said,

12 Amen. Blessing or praise and glory and wisdom and thanksgiving and honour and power and grace to our Lord for aeons of aeons, Amen.

13 And saith to me one of the elders, These which are arrayed in robes of white, who are they, and whence come they?

14 And I say unto him, my Lord, thou knowest. And he saith to me, These are they which come from great tribulation; and they washed their robes, and made him white in the blood of the lamb.

15 And therefore are they before the throne of God: and they serve him day and night in his temple: and he that sitteth upon the throne is dwelling in them.

16 And any more they shall not hunger, nor shall they thirst; nor shall there harm them cold and heat.

17 And the lamb in the midst of his throne shall shepherd them, and shall lead them unto fountains of waters of life; and God shall remove all tears from their eyes.

ARMENIAN REVELATION CHAPTER 8

1 And when he opened seal the seventh, there was silence in heaven about half an hour.

2 And I saw angels seven which stood before God; and there was given unto them seven trumpets.

3 And there came another angel and stood before the altar, and he had a censer of gold; and there was given unto him incense much, that he should offer the prayers of all saints, upon the altar of gold before the throne.

4 And there went up smoke of the incense, which are prayers of all saints, from the hands of the archangel before God.

5 And the angel of God filled full the censer from fire of the altar, and cast it upon the earth; and there was thunder great, arid voices and lightnings and earthquake great.

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6 And seven angels which had the seven trumpets prepared themselves to sound the trumpets.

7 And the first angel sounded the trumpet, and there was hail and fire and blood mingled. And it fell on earth and the second fart of earth it hurned up and the third part of the trees it burned up, and all green grass it, burned up.

8 And the second angel trumpeted, and as it were a mountain great with fire burning fell into the sea. And the third part of the sea became blood;

9 And there were destroyed the third part of the things swimming, and things which had breath riivingi were destroyed.

10 And the third angel trumpeted, and there fell from heaven a star great, flaming like a lamp, and it fell upon the third part of the rivers and fountains.

11 And the name of the star was bitterness, and the third part of the ivaters became hitter, and many of men died from the bitterness of the waters.

12 And the fourth angel sounded the trumpet, and wounded the third part of the sun and of the moon and stars. And there was darkened the third part of them; and the day appeared not, and the third part of the night likewise.

13 And I saw and heard the voice of an eagle flying in mid heaven, that it said with a great voice, Woe, Woe, Woe, that are dwelling upon earth, when there shall come to be a voice of yet three trumpets, which the angels shall will to sound hereafter in the future.

ARMENIAN REVELATION CHAPTER 9

1 And the fifth angel sounded trumpet, and I saw a star from heaven to earth fallen ; and there was given to him a key of the pit of the abyss.

2 And he opened the depths of the abyss. And there went up a smoke from the pit, like the smoke of a furnace great, and there was darkened sun and air.

3 And out of the pit went forth locusts on earth, and there was given them authority, and their stings like the stings of a scorpion.

4 And it was said to them that they should not injure grass of earth, nor tree; but only men who have not the seal of Christ upon their forehead.

5 And there was given to them a command that they should not slay them, but should torment them months five: and their torments as the smart of a scorpion that striketh a man.

6 And in that day men shall seek death and shall not find; and they shall desire to die from the strokes of the locusts, and there shall flee from them death.

7 And the likeness of the locusts is the likeness of a horse prepared for war; and on their heads, as it were, a crown like to gold; and their faces like the faces of man.

8 And their hair like the hair of a woman, and their teeth like a lion's.

9 And their breastplates like breastplates of iron; and the sound of their wings as the sound of horses many which rush into war.

10 And they had tails like unto a scorpion, and the stings of their tails had authority to torment men months five.

11 And they shall bring unto them the king of angels of the abyss: and his name in Hebrew is Albagos, who is called destruction in Armenian.

12 Behold woe the first is past, and woe the second is to come after it quickly.

13 And the sixth angel sounded the trumpet; and I heard a voice from the four horns of the altar of gold, which was before the throne of God,

14 That it said to angel the sixth, which had the trumpet, Loose the four angels which are bound upon the river Euphrates.

15 And there were loosed the four angels prepared for the hour and the day and the month and the year, that they might slay the third part of men.

16 And the number of the hosts of the mounted ten thousands of ten thousands. I heard the numher of them.

17 And I saw the horses in the vision, and those mounted on them who had breastplates of fire, and tails aflame with brimstone, <aiul the heads of the horses like the heads of lionsy: and out of their mouth fire went fortli and smoke and brimstone.

18 And by these strokes or plagues were dieing the third part of men, by the fire and the smoke and the brimstone which went forth out of their mouth.

19 For the authority of the horses was in their mouths and in their tails: for their tails were like unto serpents, and they had heads wherewith they shall destroy the many.

20 And the others who were no longer dieing of men because of these strokes, who repented not, nor turned from the works of their hands, and from the worship of devils ajid their idols, made of gold and of silver and of wood and of brass and of stone; which can neither see nor walk nor hear:

21 And they repented not of their slaying of men, and of their sorcery, and of fornication, and of their thieving.

ARMENIAN REVELATION CHAPTER 10

And I saw another angel strong that he came down out of heaven, veiling himself with clouds; fand the rainbow upon his head; and his face as the sun, and his feet like a pillar of fire;

I And he had in his hand a book: he opened, and set his right foot upon the sea, and his left foot upon the dry land.

3 And he cried with a voice great, and roared as a lion; and when he cried out there uttered seven thunders with their voices

4 And the utterances of seven thunders, I ivished to writey the things which henceforth are to come: And I heard a voice from heaven saying, Seal up that which spake the seven thunders, and write them not.

5 And the angel whom I saw, which set his foot upon the sea, and his other upon dry land, and raised his right hand to heaven,

6 And sware by him that liveth from seons, who established the heaven and whctt is therein imd the earth, and what is therein, the sea and all that is in them, that no longer there abideth time;

7 But in the day of the voice of the seventh angel, whenever he shall sound the trumpet, shall be finished the mystery of God, which was gospelled to his servants the prophets.

8 And the voice which I heard from heaven, again it spake and said, Come and take the book which the angel hath open in is hand, and he standeth upon sea and dry land.

9 And I, having come unto the angel, asked [for the book] of him. And he saith to me. Take, and swallow it; and it shall be made bitter in thy belly, but in thy mouth sweet as honey.

10 And I took the book out of the hand of the angel, and swallowed it, and it was in my mouth as honey, and when I ate it my belly was filled with bitterness.

11 And he saith to me. It shall befall thee again to prophesy unto gentiles and^ unto peoples and unto tongues and kings many.

ARMENIAN REVELATION CHAPTER 11

1 And there was given me a reed like unto a rod. And there stood the angel, and saith to me, Arise and measure the temple of God and the altar and the worshippings which are therein.

2 And the courts without the temple, leave it out and measure it not. For it hath been given to the nations; and the holy city, that they shall trample under foot months forty and two.

3 And I will give to my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy for days 1265, clothed in sackcloth.

4 These are the two olive trees and the two candlesticks, standing before the Lord God of all earth.

5 And they that shall desire to hurt them, fire shall go forth from their mouth and shall devour their enemies; and whoever shall desire to sin against them, thus shall be destroyed.

6 They have authority to shut the heavens, that they rain not during the days of their prophecy. And they have authority over earth of all plagues; and they have authority over the waters to turn them into blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues as often as they may desire.

7 And when they shall have finished all the days of their testimony, then the beast that goeth up out of the abyss shall make war with them, and shall overcome them, and shall slay them.

8 And their carcases shall remain lying in the midst of their street, in the city great which is called by name after the Spirit Segor and Egyptos and Babylon, where also their Lord was crucified.

9 And there shall see them all the tribes and peoples and all tongues and gentiles their corpse, that they remain lying three days; and they shall not sufter to be buried in a tomb their bones.

10 And they that are dwelling on earth are glad and rejoice over them, so as to bring gifts and offerings one to another; because these two prophets shall torment the dwellers of earth.

11 And after three days and a half a Spirit of the living God shall enter into them, and they shall Trise up, stand erect on their feet; and awe and fear shall fall on dwellers of earth.

12 And I heard a voice great from heaven which said unto them. Rise ye up and come up hither. And they rose and went up into heaven on clouds, and all their enemies beheld their rising up.

13 And' in that hour an earthquake great there was, and the tenth part of the city was swallowed up. And there died of the earthquake men seven thousand. And after that fear great was in all; and they gave glory to God heavenly.

14 Lo, woe the second is past, and woe the third is about to come quickly.

15 And when the seven angels sounded trumpets, there was a voice great from heaven which said: There hath come to be all the kingdom of the world of our Lord and of his Jesus Christ; and he shall reign upon earth unto aeons of aeons.

16 And the twenty and four elders which sat on a throne before God, fell on their faces and worshipjped the Lord God and said,

17 We thank thee, Lord God Almighty, which is unto aeons, who hast clothed thyself with power great, and art become king.

18 And the peoples were wroth, and there is come wrath of the enemy and season of judgement, that it may be condemned, and thou givest rewards to thy servants the prophets and to saints fearers of thy name, to small and great, and to destroy the destroyers of the earth.

19 And there was opened the temple of God which (is) in heaven, and there appeared the ark of his covenant which is in his temple; and there was lightnings and voices and thunder and earthquakes, and hail very great.

ARMENIAN REVELATION CHAPTER 12

1 And a sign great appeared in heaven; a woman arrayed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of stars twelve.

2 And she was with child, and she shreaked in travailling, and in many pains she was nigh unto being delivered.

3 And there appeared another sign in heaven; and lo, a dragon fiery great exceedingly, whose were heads seven and horns ten, and upon his head seven diadems.

4 And his tail swept away even unto the seventh part of the stars of heaven, and cast them upon earth: And the dragon stood before the woman who wished to be delivered, that wlien the woman should be delivered of her child, he might devour him, he the dragon.

5 And the woman was delivered of a child male, who shall shepherd his people with a rod of iron. And there was caught up her child unto God, and unto his throne.

6 And the woman fled into a wilderness, where was her place prepared of God, that she may be fed there days 1265.

7 And there was war in heaven, Michael and his angels were fighting with the dragon, and the dragon together with his angels was fighting against them;

8 But they were not able to withstand, and place there was not found for them in heaven.

9 And there fell the dragon great, the serpent primal, who is called by name Beelzebul and Satan, He that led astray the whole world, the lion fell to earth and his angels fell with him.

10 And I heard a voice great from heaven which said. Now hath become salvation and power and kingdom of heaven of our God, and authority of his anointed: for there hath fallen the accuser of our brethren who accused them before God and the Lord Jesus Christ day and night.

11 And they overcame him through the blood of the lamb of God, and through the word of his testimony. And they acquiesced not in the dragon even unto death.

12 Therefore let the heavens be glad, and all who are dwelling in them. Woe to earth and sea: because the dragon is fallen unto you, who hath wrath a little time.

13 And when the dragon saw that he fell to earth, he pursued the woman which bore the male child.

14 And there was given to the woman two wings of an eagle great, that she might fly into a desert place, where she shall be fed there for times and a time and half a time, from the face of the serpent.

15 And the serpent poured forth from his mouth after the woman waters many as a river that he might engulf her.

16 And earth helped the woman, and earth opened her mouth, and swallowed the water which the dragon poured out from his mouth.

17 And the dragon wexed wroth with the woman, and went away to war with the woman and with her seed and who keep the commandment of God, in whom is the testimony of Jesus Christ.

18 And he stood upon the sand of the sea.

ARMENIAN REVELATION CHAPTER 13

1 And I saw that there went up out of the sea a beast great, and he had heads seven, and horns ten; and upon his horns ten mitres, and upon his head a name of blasphemy.

2 And the beast which I saw was like unto a leopard, and his feet as of a bear; and his mouth as of a lion. And the dragon gave him his power and his throne and authority great.

3 And one of his heads was wounded unto death; and his death-wound was being healed; and the whole earth wondered at the beast.

4 And they worshipped the beast, because the dragon gave him his authority. And they worshipped the beast, and said, No one is like unto the beast, or is able to war with him.

5 And there was given to him a mouth to utter very great things and blasphemies; and there was given him authority to work, to war against the saints and overcome them. And there was given him victory months forty two.

6 And he opened his mouth in blasphemy unto God, and blasphemed his name and his temple holy which is in heaven.

7 And there was given him authority over all souls and tongues and peoples,

8 That they might worship him, and all dwellers upon earth, whose names are not written in the book of life of the lamb slain from the beginning of the world.

9 They that have ears of hearing, let them hear.

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10 For there are some who shall be led into captivity, and there are some who died by the sword, and there are some who of themselves shall destroy themselves. But patience and faith shall be vouchsafed to the saints of God.

11 And I saw another beast that he came up out of the earth; and he had horns twain like unto a lamb, and he spake as the dragon.

12 And all the authority of the first beast he did exercise before him; and he made the earth and all dwellers thereof that they should worship the first beast, until there shall be healed his wound of death.

13 And he wrought signs many, and he caused fire from heaven to come down upon earth in sight of men.

14 And to lead astray the dwellers of earth with the signs which it was given into his hands to do in the sight of the beast. And there say unto him the dwellers of the earth, Make an image of the beast which shall have the wounds of the sword, and shall live.

15 And there was given him authority that he should give spirit to the image of the beast, and in order that the image may speak, and that there may worship him all inhabitants of earth, and that those who shall not worship the image of the beast, he may slay them.

16 And he shall make all, small and great, and rich and poor, freemen and bond, that he may give them his sign on the right hand and on their foreheads.

17 And no one is able to buy or to sell, if he have not the sign of the beast and number of his name.

18 He who hath wisdom, shall reckon the number of the name of the beast. For the number of the name is of the man. And the number is such as this, 151.

ARMENIAN REVELATION CHAPTER 14

1 And I saw and Lo, a lamb stood upon the mount Sion, and with him 144,000, who had his name and the name of his father was written upon their foreheads.

2 And I heard a voice from heaven, as it were voice of waters many, as it were a voice of thunder great, and I heard as it were voice of harpers, that they struck their harps,

3 And were singing a song new before the throne of God, and before the four animals and before the elders, and no one was able to learn their songs, save only the 144,000 who were standing around the lamb on Mount Sion, who were virgins, and liberated from earth.

4 These are they who with women were not defiled, and are virgins; and in every hour they shall follow after the lamb, wheresoever he shall go. These wrote of men upon their foreheads the name of the father and of the lamb.

5 And in their mouth was not found falsehood, for they were without blemish.

6 And I saw another angel flying from heaven, and he had a gospel eternal; and being come was gospelling to all races, and tongues.

7 And with voice great he said. Fear ye God and give to him glory. For there is come a time of his judgement. And ye shall worship before him who made heavens and earth, sea and all which is in them.

8 And another second angel came after rhimi and said, It is fallen, it is fallen, it is fallen, the great Babylon, from wine of drunkenness, and from wrath and from her fornication, who made drunk all the gentiles.

9 And another third angel came after him and said with voice great, Whoever worships the beast and his image, and hath received his writing on his forehead, or upon his right hand,

10 Such a one shall drink from the cup of wrath of God poured out from the unmixt cup of ire [anger]; and shall be tormented with fire and sulphur, before God and the lamb and before his holy angels.

11 And the smoke of them shall ascend to aeons of aeons, and there is not faculty for them to rest day and night, who worshipped the beast and his image and who received the writing of number in his name.

12 But those who endure and have not in themselves his seal, they are those who have kept the law of God and the faith of Jesus Christ.

13 And I heard a voice from heaven which said to me, Write, Blessing is to the dead who in the Lord have died heretofore (or henceforth), and have not attained to this hour. Yea, saith the Spirit holy, that they are at rest from their many trials and labours, but alone their works have gone after hem.

14 And I saw, and, behold, a cloud white, and on the cloud was sitting one like unto a son of man, and on his head he had a crown of gold, and in his hand he had a sickle made sharp.

15 And another angel went forth from the temple, cried out with voice great before him, and saith. Thou who sittest on the cloud, Send thy sickle and reap. For there is arrived the time of harvest, and there is fully ripe (lit. arrived) the harvest of earth.

16 However he who was sitting upon the cloud, cast his sickle to earth, and reaped the dwellers of earth.

17 And another angel went forth from the temple which is in heaven, and he also had a sickle made sharp.

18 And there went forth another angel from the altar, which had authority over the altar's fire, and cried out in voice great unto the angel, which had the sickle made sharp and saith, Gather the clusters from the vineyard of the earth, for fully ripe is her grape.

19 And the angel cast his sickle on the earth, and gathered the grape thereof, and cast it into the winepress of God.

20 And he trod in the winepress outside the city, and there went forth from the winepress blood exceeding much, and it reached even to the bridle of the horse, the length of it 1600 furlongs (lit. parasangs; circa 700-800 metres.).

ARMENIAN REVELATION CHAPTER 15

1 And I saw another sign great in heaven and marvellous, that angels seven which had wounds seven betokened the end, since through them shall be ended wrath of God.

2 And I saw a sea of glass, mingled with fire, and they that have conquered of the beast and of his image and of the number of his name, were standing upon the sea of glass. And they had the harp of God:

3 And were singing the song of Moses before God and before the lamb, and were saying, How great and wonderful are thy works, Lord God almighty; just and true are thy works, Lord king of aeons and king of all Gentiles.

4 Who shall not fear and glorify thy name holy, for thou alone art holy and worthy (or sacred) of worship since all Gentiles shall come and worship before thee, that (or since) thy righteousness shall be manifested to all the world.

5 And after this I saw that there was opened a temple of the tabernacle [tent] of testimony in heaven:

6 And there went forth the seven angels who had authority of the seven plagues. And they were clothed in linen pure and glistening; and they were girt about their chests with girdles of gold.

7 And by [one of] the four animals it was given to the seven angels, seven bowls of gold full of the fury of God, the living to seons of aeons.

8 And the temple was filled with smoke from the glory of God and from his powers; and none was able to enter into the temple, until there shall be ended the seven plagues of the seven angels.

ARMENIAN REVELATION CHAPTER 16

1 And I heard a voice great in the temple, that it said to the seven angels, Go ye and pour out the seven bowls of the fury of God upon earth.

2 And there went the first angel, and poured out bowl the first on to earth; and there came to pass plagues grievous upon men which have the writing of the beast, and worshipped his image.

3 And a second angel poured out from his bowl upon the sea, and the water was turned to blood dead, and all souls (or breaths) which were in the sea were destroyed.

4 And the third angel poured out from his bowl into the rivers and fountains of waters; and it became blood.

5 And I heard from the angel of the waters that he said, Righteous is he which exists and holy. For thus he hath judged.

6 Because the blood of saints and the blood of prophets they did pour out, the impious ones, therefore the holy one hath given them blood to drink according to their deserts.

7 And I heard from out of the altar that it said, Yea, Lord God Almighty, just and true are thy works.

8 And the fourth angel poured out from his bowl upon the sun, and it was given to him to scorch men with fire.

9 And men were burned up with the great heat (lit. burning), and they blasphemed the name of God, who hath authority over these plagues. And they repented not, nor gave glory to God.

10 And tlie fifth angel poured out from his bowl upon the throne of the beast, and his kingdom became darkened; and they gnawed their tongues for pain of anguish;

11 And they blasphemed the God of heaven in their anguish, and in pain of bitterness, and they repented not of their works.

12 And the sixth fangell poured out from his bowl upon the river great Euphrates: and there was dried up his water that there might be prepared a path of the king of the rising of the sun.

13 And I saw that there went forth out of the mouth of the dragon and out of the mouth of the beast and out of the mouth of the false prophet spirits three unclean, as it were frogs.

14 For they were spirits devilish, which worked signs, and they came to the kings of all earth, to gather them together unto war on a day great of the Lord Almighty.

15 For thus spake the Lord, Behold, I come as a thief of night; blessed are they that shall be watchful and shall keep their raiments, that they may not walk about naked, and their shame appear.

16 And he will gather them into a place which is called in Hebrew Karmagedon.

17 And the seventh angel poured out from his bowl upon the air;

[Chapters 16:17-19:18 - Text translated from 4 with collation of a and 2. Codex 3 as far as chapter 19. 11 inclusive, agrees with a save where its variants are specially noted. Codex 1 is deficient.]

17 And there went forth a voice great from heaven from the throne, saying, It is come to pass.

18 And there were lightnings voices and thunders, and an earthquake

was there great, as there has not been from the beginning, from when forth there have been men upon earth, such an earthquake great.

19 The city great was made into three parts and the cities of the nations fell; and the great Babylon was remembered before God, to give her the cup of wine of his fury.

20 And all islands fled, and mountains were not found.

21 And hail great as if a talent descended from heaven upon men. And men blasphemed God in heaven, because of the hail, since great were the strokes thereof.

ARMENIAN REVELATION CHAPTER 17

1 And there came a certain one of the seven angels, which had the seven cups, and he spake with me, saying: Come, and I will shew thee the judgement of the great harlot, who sitteth upon the waters many,

2 with whom fornicated kings of earth, aud were made drunk dwellers of earth from wine of her fornication.

3 And he carried me away into a desert in spirit. And I saw a woman, that she sat upon a scarlet beast, and full was he of names of blasphemy, he had heads seven and horns ten.

4 And the woman was clothed in purple and scarlet, and bedecked with gold and pearl, and with precious stones, having a cup of gold in her hand, and full was it of abomination and impure fornication.

5 And upon her forehead written a name: mystery, the great Babylon, the mother of abominations and of harlots of earth.

6 And I saw the woman drunk with blood of saints and with blood of the witnesses of Jesus, and I wondered having seen her, with wonder great.

7 And saith to me the angel, Wherefore didst thou wonder? I will tell thee a mystery of the woman and of the beast, which shall carry her, which hath seven heads and ten horns.

8 The beast which thou sawest, which was, and is not, and is about to go up from the abyss, and to proceed to perdition. And they shall wonder all who are dwelling upon earth, of whom is not written name in book of life, from beginning of the world, seeing the beast, that it was and is not, and shall be close by.

9 Here is intelligence, he who hath wisdom. The seven heads, seven mountains are, where the woman sits upon them.

10 And kings seven are there. The five have fallen, and the one hath stood, and the other is not as yet come; and when he shall come, it behoves him a little to abide.

11 And the beast which was and no more is, even he is eighth, and is of the seven, and unto perdition proceedeth.

12 And the ten horns which thou sawest, ten kings are, which the kingdom as yet have not received. Authority as kings unto one hour they receive together with the beast.

13 These one mind have, and their power to the beast they give.

14 These with the lamb shall war, and the lamb shall conquer them, since lord is he of lords and king of kings, and who with him are, called are they and chosen and faithful.

15 And he said to me, Waters, which thou sawest, where sitteth the harlot, the people and multitudes are, and nations and tongues.

16 And the ten horns, which thou sawest, they shall judge the strumpet, and desolate and naked they shall make her; and her flesh they shall eat, and her shall they burn with fire.

17 For God gave into their hearts, to do his will, and to do one will, and to give their kingdoms to the beast, until there shall be fulfilled the word of God.

18 And the woman whom thou sawest, is a city great, which hath kingdom over earth.

ARMENIAN REVELATION CHAPTER 18

1 After this I saw an angel come down from heaven, having authority great and earth was lit up with his glory.

2 And he cried out with voice mighty, saying, She is fallen, She is fallen, Babylon great, and she is become a dwelling place of devils, and a prison of every ghoul abominable and hated, and guardhouse of every spirit impure and hated.

3 Since from wrath of wine of her fornication have fallen all nations, and kings of earth with her have fornicated, and merchants of earth with her have fornicated, by might of her wantonings have been enriched.

4 And I heard a voice from heaven saying. Go forth from lier, my peoples, that ye may not participate of her sins, and of her plagues that ye may not receive.

5 For her sin hath been joined even unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities.

6 Requite ye her as she requited you, and double ye unto her twofold according to her deeds, with the cup wherewith she mingled, ye shall mingle to her twofold.

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7 As much as she glorified herself and waxed wanton, so much ye shall requite to her torments and sorrow. For in her heart she hath said, I sit a queen for ever, and widow I no more am, and sorrow I will not see.

8 Therefore in one day shall come torments of her, death and sorrow and famine, and fire shall burn her. For mighty is the Lord God, who hath judged her.

9 And there shall mourn and wail kings of the earth over her, who with her fornicated and wantonly sported, when they shall see smoke of her burning,

1 Afar off standing because of fear and of her torments, and shall say, Woe, woe, city great, Babylon, city strong, for in one hour hath come judgement of thee.

11 And merchants of earth shall weep and wail over her, because their freight no one buyeth.

12 Freight of gold and of stone precious and of byssus [sea silk made from the large marine bivalve mollusc.] and of purple [Phoenician or Tyrian purple made from sea snails of the muricidae species.] and of silk and scarlet [luxurious red Kermes dye], and all wood of frankincense* and all vessel of ivory and all vessel of wood precious and of bronze and of iron and of marble.

[* Frankincense (also known as olibanum, Persian: kondoor, Hebrew: levo'na], Arabic: al-liban or al-bakhur, Somali: Uunsi) is an aromatic resin, a natural polymer, used in incense and perfumes, obtained from trees of the genus Boswellia in the family Burseraceae. Fine resin is produced in Somaliland and Yemen.]

13 And cinnamon* and all incense (or spice) and oil and gum and wine and olive-oil and wheat-flour and corn, and cattle and sheep, and of horses and chariots and of bodies and souls of men.

[* Cinnamon has been known in earliest antiquity. It was imported from India and China to Egypt and the Mediterranian as early as 2000 BC.]

14 And season of longing of thy soul hath gone from thee, and all rich and white is lost from thee, and no more shalt thou find it.

15 Merchants by these things, were enriched from her, from afar off standing because of fear and of her torments, weeping and making wail,

16 and saying, Woe, woe, city great, who clothedst thyself with byssus scarlet, with gold and with precious stone and with pearl, since in one day hath been destroyed so great riches.

17 And every pilot [navigator], and all who unto places navigate, and sailors and whosoever with implements work, afar off shall stand,

18 Shall cry out, seeing the smoke of her burning, saying, Who is like unto this city great?

19 And they did cast dust upon their heads, cried out with voice great, weeping and wailing> and saying, Woe, woe, city great, in which now we were enriched, who had ships in the sea from her preciousness, since in one hour she hath been dishonoured.

20 Be thou glad over her, heavens and holy apostles and prophets, since God hath judged your judgement out of her.

21 And an angel mighty took a stone, as it were a millstone great, and cast it into the sea, saying, Thus with onset shall fall Babylon, great city, and no more shall be found there.

22 And voice of harp-singers and musicians and of trumpeters and trumpets, shall no more be heard in thee.

23 And light of torch shall no longer appear in thee, and voice of bridegroom shall no longer be heard in thee. For thy merchants were magnates of earth, because by thy wizardry were led astray all nations.

24 And in her all blood of saints and prophets was found, and of all those massacred upon earth.

ARMENIAN REVELATION CHAPTER 19

1 And after this I heard voice of a multitude in heaven great, saying, Alleluiah, Salvation and glory to our God.

2 For true and just are his judgements, since he hath judged the harlot great which ruined earth in her harlotry, and hath sought vengeance of blood of his servants at her hands.

3 And a second time they said, Alleluiah, and smoke of her went up to aeons of aeons.

4 And there fell down the twenty and four elders [meaning 24], and the four animals, and they adored God, who sitteth upon the throne, saying, Amen, Alleluiah.

5 Praise ye, praise ye God, all servants of him, and ye who fear him, both small and great.

6 And I heard a voice as of a multitude great, and as voice of waters many, as voice of mighty thunders: Alleluiah, and He hath reigned among us Lord God Almighty.

7 And we rejoice and exult, and will give glory to him, because a second time is come unto his marriage of the lamb, and the wife, the bride of him, hath made ready herself.

8 And it was given to her, to array her in byssus white gleaming pure. For the byssus, righteousnesses of the saints are.

9 And he saith to me, Write, blessed are they who are called to the supper of the lamb. And he saith to me. These words, true are they of God.

10 And I fell down before his feet and worshipped him. And he saith, See, Nay. Fellow-servant of thee am I, and of thy brethren, who have the testimony of Jesus. God do thou worship, for by the certainty of Jesus is prophecy.

11 And I saw heaven opened, and behold a horse white, and he that was mounted thereon, is called faithful and true, and in righteousness he judgeth and wars.

12 And his eyes as torches fiery, and upon his head many a crown, having names written, which no one can know save himself alone.

13 And clad in a garment fallen in blood, wiio is called as to his name, the Word of God.

14 And captains of heaven and forces of heaven came after him upon horses white, robed in byssus white pure.

15 And from his mouth went forth a sword sharpened, that with it he may smite the Gentiles. And he shall shepherd them with rod of iron [meaning: by force]; and he shall tread them out as a press of wine of fury of God Almighty.

16 And there was upon his raiment and upon his thighs and upon his right hip, king of kings and lord of lords.

17 And I saw another angel which stood upon the sun, he cried out in a voice great, saying to all birds flying in midst of heaven, Come ye, gather ye together unto the great supper of God,

18 and eat flesh of kings, and flesh of chiliarchs [Greek: "commander of a thousand", later used as "commander of an army or government".], and flesh of mighty ones, and flesh of steeds and of those mounted upon them, and flesh of all free men and bond, and of great and small;

[Chapters 19:19 -20 inclusive. Text translated from Codex 1 with collation of a, 2 and 4.]

19 and I saw the beast and all the kings of the earth, and their forces gathered together to make war against him who was mounted on a horse white and against his forces.

20 And there was taken the beast and they that were with him, the false prophets, who wrought the signs before him, whom he led astray, and caused to receive the writing of the beast, and the worshippers of the image of him, of the Alive: they cast them into the lake of fire burning with sulphur;

21 and the rest died by the sword of him mounted on the horse, which went forth from his mouth; and all the birds were surfeited [fed to excess] upon their flesh.

ARMENIAN REVELATION CHAPTER 20

1 And I saw another angel coming down out of heaven, and he had the bolts of hell and a great chain in his hand.

2 And he was holding the dragon, the serpent primal, who is Beelzebul himself and Satan. And he bound him for a thousand years,

3 and cast him into the abyss of Hades, and shut and sealed, that he should not any more lead men astray, until there be fulfilled the thousandth year; and after this he will loose him for a little time.

4 And I saw thrones, and them that sat on them; and judgement was given to them to choose the souls of the better ones for saJce of testimony of Jesus and of the word of God. They are those who worshipped not the beast, nor his image, and received not the writing of his emblem upon their forehead, nor upon their right hand. These are they who shall live and shall reign with Christ unto a thousand years.

5 And after that from the dead shall no one live until the completion of the thousandth year. This is the first resurrection.

6 Blessed are the holy who have a portion in the first resurrection. Over them the second death hath not authority, but they are priests of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ and they shall reign with him a thousand years.

7 And after the thousandth year, he will loose Satan, and expel him from prison.

8 And he shall go forth to lead astray the races all unto the four regions of earth, and Gog and Magog he shall take in hand, to muster through them all the forces unto war: of which the number of them is as sand of the sea innumerable.

9 And they shall go forth over the breadth of the earth, and shall encompass the camps of the saints, and of the city beloved; and there shall come down fire out of heaven, from God; and shall devour them and their captain,

10 Satan who led them astray. And he shall cast them into a sea of fire and sulphur, where was the beast and the false rophets. And they shall be tortured day and night unto aeons of aeons.

11 And I saio a throne great and white, and upon the throne one sitting from whom, from awe of his face, were afraid and fled heaven and earth. And place was not found for them.

12 And I saw thrones mighty and the dead who were standing at the throne. And books were opened of their several works; and another book was opened, of those whose names are written in the book of life.

But there was also a judgement made of the dead in the books according to the works of each.

13 And the sea gave up her dead: and death and Hell their dead, and they were judged each according to their works.

14 And unto death and unto hell were they delivered, and into the lake of fire.

15 And whoever shall not be found written in the book of life, shall be cast into the lake of fire.

ARMENIAN REVELATION CHAPTER 21

1 And I saw heaven new and earth new, for the first heaven and earth passed away, and the sea was no more.

2 And I saw the city new holy Jerusalem, that she came down out of heaven, from God, the bride, adorned and decorated, and she was given to her spouse.

3 And I heard a voice from heaven that it said, Behold the tabernacle of God among men. And he shall dwell in common with them; And they are for a people of him with him, and he God of them.

4 And he shall expunge all tears from their eyes; and death any longer shall not more have rule over them, not mourning and not crying, not pain and not care. For it is removed and has fled from their presence.

5 And he said to me that sat upon the throne. Behold, I make everything new, And he saith to me, Write, for this is words faithful and true.

6 And he saith, Become am I Ayb* [and Qe], from the beginning, and for the future, and unto feons. And now I am. [* Alpha to Omega.] And they who are thirsty, I will give them from springs of water of life to drink gratuitously.

7 And they that be found victors, shall inherit all this. And I will be unto them God, and they shall be unto me a people.

8 And again as touching the faithless and the abominable, and the murderers, and fornicators and wizards, and sorcerers and idolaters, and all liars and all impious ones, whose portion of theirs is in the lake burning with fire and sulphur; which is the death second.

9 And there came unto me one of the seven angels, which had the seven bowls filled with the seven ends, with the fulfilments: and he spake unto me and said, I will shew unto thee the bride and the wife of the Lamb.

10 And he took and carried me into a mountain lofty and great and in the spirit holy; and he shewed unto me the city holy the Upper Jerusalem, and the mountain of peace, that it came down out of heaven from God Almighty:

11 Which had the glory of God. And there was in her a sheen of stones precious and of the stones jasper* and sardion* and crystal-gleaming and luminous. [* gemstones, A range of gemstones are mentioned in the Book of Revelation, perhaps the reason why this book also is called "revelation".]

12 And her walls were very great, and her towers lofty. And she had in her self portals twelve, and names several upon the portals were written according to the twelve tribes of Israel.

13 On the east side portals three: and on the west side portals three: and on the North side portals three: on the South side portals three.

14 And the walls of the City foundations twelve according to the names of the apostles of the Lamb.

15 And he that spake with me had a measure of gold in his hand, that he might measure the city and her portals and her walls.

16 For the lie of the city was four square, and as was the length of her, of the same measure also her breadth. And he measured the city with the measure, and the measure of her length was twelve thousand furlongs*; and her breadth and height the same measure.

[* The furlong was historically viewed as being equivalent to the Roman stade (stadium), or one eighth of a mile, circa 200 metres. Either the translation furlong is wrong or the given number 12,000, because then the city would have been 2,000 kilometres long! In context with 12,000, only the ancient units digitus, uncia pollex, and palmus minor could fit: digitus (finger width) = 18.5 mm (0.728 in); uncia pollex (thumb width or inch) = 24.6 mm (0.971 in); palmus minor (palm width) = 74 mm (c. 3 in).]

17 And he measured the wall thereof 144 cubits [one cubitum is circa one and a half feet or 444 mm or 44.4 cm long.], according to the measure of men, which is of an angel.

18 And the building of those walls of stones precious, of jasper [a red gemstone]. And the city of gold pure, like unto pure and white glass. And the foundations of the city of all stones precious.

19 And the first foundation of the wall, jasper. And the second, apphire. And the third, turquoise. And the fourth, emerald. And the fifth, sardonyx.

20 And the sixth, sardion. And the seventh, chrysolite. And the eighth, beryl. And the ninth, topaz. And the tenth, chrysoprase. And the eleventh, jacinth. And the twelfth, chalcedony.

21 And there were twelve portals of twelve pearls, uniform and several the portals were. And one by one a portal, each of a single pearl. And the centre of the city of gold pure; and close unto the gates sheenlike as it were beryl.

22 And temple I saw not in her, for the Lord God Almighty was the Temple in her, and the Lamb, the only begotten Son of God is altar of holiness.

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23 And the city had no need of sun and moon, that they should illumine her. For the glory of God illumined her in every hour; and her lamp was tlie Lamb of God.

24 And the heathen walked in her light, and the kings of the earth were clad with light from Her glory.

25 And her portals were not shut, but were standing open continually.

And night there was no more in her;

26 but only illumination and glorifying, and costliness transcending all stones precious.

27 And there shall not enter there any one (lit. all) of evil will, lest he pollute her with his falsehood; but there shall enter into her those whose names of them are written in the book of Life of the Son of God.

ARMENIAN REVELATION CHAPTER 22

[Text from Codex 1 with collation of a 4.]

1 And he showed me the river of the waters of Life bright as crystal, which came forth from the Throne of God,

2 and proceeded amidst her streets. And along the bank of the river she had the tree of life, which had fruit twelve times; one by one month it gave its fruit, and leaves of the tree were for the healing of all the heathen. And from all trees of which they ate they were blessed,

3 and curses were no more in them, because the throne of God and of the Lamb was in her. And the servants of God ministered unto him.

4 And I beheld his face, and his name was upon their foreheads.

5 And there was night no more; and there was not any need of the light of torch, and of light of sun. Because the Lord God illumined all, and they were reigning unto aeons of aeons.

6 And he saith unto me, This is the Word of God faithful and true. And the Lord God who through the holy spirit showed unto his prophets whatsoever is to be hereafter.

7 Behold he is come quickly: Blessed are they that shall listen and keep the words of this writing.

8 For I, John heard and saw all this. And when I saw and heard, I fell down and worshipped the angel which showed me all this.

9 And he saith unto me, Thou man, fall not down before me, and worship; for I am a fellow-servant and brother of thee, and of those who prophesied and kept the word of this writing. Do thou worship God.

10 And he saith unto me again, Bind not up, neither seal, the word of this prophecy; for the time thereof is at hand.

11 He that is about to do iniquity, let him work iniquity, and he that is about to be filthy, let him be made filthy: and he that is about to be made righteous, let him be made righteous, and he that is about to be holy, let him be made holy.

12 Behold I will pay thee reward, and the reward of each is according to his works. I am Ayb and I am Qe [I am Alpha and I am Omega],

13 I am beginning and I am end, first and last, saith the Lord Almighty. [Which is similar to teachings of Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism when they refer to the divine universe.]

14 Blessed are they who shall call upon or read his law. They have authority of the Tree of Life; and they enter by the portals of the City of God.

15 But there shall stay without dogs, and sorcerers, murderers, and idolaters, adulterers, and all who walk and converse in falsehood.

16 I Jesus have sent my angel to bear witness to all this in the churches. I am the root and the offspring of Adam, and the star of dawn.

17 and spirit holy, and the Bridegroom who am to come, Whosoever shall be thirsty and shall desire to come unto me, shall come and drink the water living free.

18 I am witness to every man who heareth the word of the prophecy of this book, that no one may add aught therein, and that no one shall take away therefrom. If any one shall add aught therein, God shall add and multiply upon im the plagues all, which is written in this book:

19 and if any one shall take away A word, and withdraw it from the words of this prophecy, God shall withdraw his portion from the Tree of Life and from the City of the Saints, which is written in this book.

20 He spake which witnessed all this. Yea: I come quickly I come. Amen, there is come the Lord Jesus Christ.

21 The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ upon all saints. Amen.

THE APOCALYPSE OF JOHN

or The Book Of Revelation, or Revelation to John
or Revelation of Jesus Christ, or just Revelation
Translation: King James Version
Estimated Range of Dating: 90-95 A.D.

(The Book of Revelation (also called the Apocalypse of John, Revelation to John or Revelation from Jesus Christ) is the final book of the New Testament, and consequently is also the final book of the Christian Bible. Its title is derived from the first word of the Koine Greek text: apokalypsis, meaning "unveiling" or "revelation." The Book of Revelation is the only apocalyptic book in the New Testament canon. Thus, it occupies a central place in Christian eschatology.

The author names himself as "John" in the text, but his precise identity remains a point of academic debate. Second-century Christian writers such as Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Melito (the bishop of Sardis), Clement of Alexandria, and the author of the Muratorian fragment identify John the Apostle as the "John" of Revelation. Modern scholarship generally takes a different view, with many considering that nothing can be known about the author except that he was a Christian prophet. Some modern scholars characterize Revelation's author as a putative figure whom they call "John of Patmos". The bulk of traditional sources date the book to the reign of the Roman emperor Titus Flavius Domitianus (81–96 AD), which evidence tends to confirm.

The book spans three literary genres: the epistolary, the apocalyptic, and the prophetic. It begins with John, on the island of Patmos in the Aegean Sea, addressing a letter to the "Seven Churches of Asia". He then describes a series of prophetic visions, including figures such as the Seven-Headed Dragon, the Serpent, and the Beast, which culminate in the Second Coming of Jesus.

The obscure and extravagant imagery has led to a wide variety of Christian interpretations. Historicist interpretations see Revelation as containing a broad view of history, whilst preterist interpretations treat Revelation as mostly referring to the events of the Apostolic Age (1st century AD), or, at the latest, the fall of the Roman Empire. Futurists, meanwhile, believe that Revelation describes future events, with the seven churches growing into the body/believers throughout the age, and a reemergence or continuous rule of a Greek-Roman system with modern capabilities described by John in ways familiar to him, and idealist or symbolic interpretations consider that Revelation does not refer to actual people or events, but is an allegory of the spiritual path and the ongoing struggle between good and evil.

The name Revelation comes from the first word of the book in Koine Greek: apokalypsis, which means "unveiling" or "revelation". The author names himself as "John", but modern scholars consider it unlikely that the author of Revelation also wrote the Gospel of John. He was a Jewish Christian prophet, probably belonging to a group of such prophets, and was accepted by the congregations to whom he addresses his letter. The beast with seven heads and the number 666 seem to allude directly to the emperor Nero (reigned 54–68 AD), but this does not require that Revelation was written in the 60s, as there was a widespread belief in later decades that Nero would return.)

REVELATION CHAPTER 1

1 The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to shew unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass; and he sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John:

2 Who bare record of the word of God, and of the testimony of Jesus Christ, and of all things that he saw.

3 Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein: for the time is at hand.

4 John to the seven churches which are in Asia: Grace be unto you, and peace, from him which is, and which was, and which is to come; and from the seven Spirits which are before his throne;

5 And from Jesus Christ, who is the faithful witness, and the first begotten of the dead, and the prince of the kings of the earth. Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood,

6 And hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father; to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

7 Behold, he cometh with clouds; and every eye shall see him, and they also which pierced him: and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him. Even so, Amen.

8 I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty.

9 I John, who also am your brother, and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ.

10 I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day, and heard behind me a great voice, as of a trumpet,

11 Saying, I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last: and, What thou seest, write in a book, and send it unto the seven churches which are in Asia; unto Ephesus, and unto Smyrna, and unto Pergamos, and unto Thyatira, and unto Sardis, and unto Philadelphia, and unto Laodicea.

12 And I turned to see the voice that spake with me. And being turned, I saw seven golden candlesticks;

13 And in the midst of the seven candlesticks one like unto the Son of man, clothed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle.

14 His head and his hairs were white like wool, as white as snow; and his eyes were as a flame of fire;

15 And his feet like unto fine brass, as if they burned in a furnace; and his voice as the sound of many waters.

16 And he had in his right hand seven stars: and out of his mouth went a sharp twoedged sword: and his countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength.

17 And when I saw him, I fell at his feet as dead. And he laid his right hand upon me, saying unto me, Fear not; I am the first and the last:

18 I am he that liveth, and was dead; and, behold, I am alive for evermore, Amen; and have the keys of hell and of death.

19 Write the things which thou hast seen, and the things which are, and the things which shall be hereafter;

20 The mystery of the seven stars which thou sawest in my right hand, and the seven golden candlesticks. The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches: and the seven candlesticks which thou sawest are the seven churches.

REVELATION CHAPTER 2

1 Unto the angel of the church of Ephesus write; These things saith he that holdeth the seven stars in his right hand, who walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks;

2 I know thy works, and thy labour, and thy patience, and how thou canst not bear them which are evil: and thou hast tried them which say they are apostles, and are not, and hast found them liars:

3 And hast borne, and hast patience, and for my name's sake hast laboured, and hast not fainted.

4 Nevertheless I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first love.

5 Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent.

6 But this thou hast, that thou hatest the deeds of the Nicolaitanes, which I also hate.

7 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches; To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God.

8 And unto the angel of the church in Smyrna write; These things saith the first and the last, which was dead, and is alive;

9 I know thy works, and tribulation, and poverty, (but thou art rich) and I know the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews, and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan.

10 Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer: behold, the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried; and ye shall have tribulation ten days: be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.

11 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches; He that overcometh shall not be hurt of the second death.

12 And to the angel of the church in Pergamos write; These things saith he which hath the sharp sword with two edges;

13 I know thy works, and where thou dwellest, even where Satan's seat is: and thou holdest fast my name, and hast not denied my faith, even in those days wherein Antipas was my faithful martyr, who was slain among you, where Satan dwelleth.

14 But I have a few things against thee, because thou hast there them that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balac to cast a stumblingblock before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication.

15 So hast thou also them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitanes, which thing I hate.

16 Repent; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will fight against them with the sword of my mouth.

17 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches; To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it.

18 And unto the angel of the church in Thyatira write; These things saith the Son of God, who hath his eyes like unto a flame of fire, and his feet are like fine brass;

19 I know thy works, and charity, and service, and faith, and thy patience, and thy works; and the last to be more than the first.

20 Notwithstanding I have a few things against thee, because thou sufferest that woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and to seduce my servants to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed unto idols.

21 And I gave her space to repent of her fornication; and she repented not.

22 Behold, I will cast her into a bed, and them that commit adultery with her into great tribulation, except they repent of their deeds.

23 And I will kill her children with death; and all the churches shall know that I am he which searcheth the reins and hearts: and I will give unto every one of you according to your works.

24 But unto you I say, and unto the rest in Thyatira, as many as have not this doctrine, and which have not known the

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depths of Satan, as they speak; I will put upon you none other burden.
25 But that which ye have already hold fast till I come.
26 And he that overcometh, and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations:
27 And he shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers: even as I received of my Father.
28 And I will give him the morning star.
29 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

REVELATION CHAPTER 3
1 And unto the angel of the church in Sardis write; These things saith he that hath the seven Spirits of God, and the seven stars; I know thy works, that thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead.
2 Be watchful, and strengthen the things which remain, that are ready to die: for I have not found thy works perfect before God.
3 Remember therefore how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast, and repent. If therefore thou shalt not watch, I will come on thee as a thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee.
4 Thou hast a few names even in Sardis which have not defiled their garments; and they shall walk with me in white: for they are worthy.
5 He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment; and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life, but I will confess his name before my Father, and before his angels.
6 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.
7 And to the angel of the church in Philadelphia write; These things saith he that is holy, he that is true, he that hath the key of David, he that openeth, and no man shutteth; and shutteth, and no man openeth;
8 I know thy works: behold, I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it: for thou hast a little strength, and hast kept my word, and hast not denied my name.
9 Behold, I will make them of the synagogue of Satan, which say they are Jews, and are not, but do lie; behold, I will make them to come and worship before thy feet, and to know that I have loved thee.
10 Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth.
11 Behold, I come quickly: hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown.
12 Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, which is new Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God: and I will write upon him my new name.
13 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.
14 And unto the angel of the church of the Laodiceans write; These things saith the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation of God;
15 I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot.
16 So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth.
17 Because thou sayest, I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing; and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked:
18 I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire, that thou mayest be rich; and white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed, and that the shame of thy nakedness do not appear; and anoint thine eyes with eyesalve, that thou mayest see.
19 As many as I love, I rebuke and chasten: be zealous therefore, and repent.
20 Behold, I stand at the door, and knock: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me.
21 To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne.
22 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

REVELATION CHAPTER 4
1 After this I looked, and, behold, a door was opened in heaven: and the first voice which I heard was as it were of a trumpet talking with me; which said, Come up hither, and I will shew thee things which must be hereafter.
2 And immediately I was in the spirit: and, behold, a throne was set in heaven, and one sat on the throne.
3 And he that sat was to look upon like a jasper and a sardine stone: and there was a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an emerald.
4 And round about the throne were four and twenty seats: and upon the seats I saw four and twenty elders sitting, clothed in white raiment; and they had on their heads crowns of gold.
5 And out of the throne proceeded lightnings and thunderings and voices: and there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven Spirits of God.
6 And before the throne there was a sea of glass like unto crystal: and in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne, were four beasts full of eyes before and behind.
7 And the first beast was like a lion, and the second beast like a calf, and the third beast had a face as a man, and the fourth beast was like a flying eagle.
8 And the four beasts had each of them six wings about him; and they were full of eyes within: and they rest not day and night, saying, Holy, holy, holy, LORD God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come.
9 And when those beasts give glory and honour and thanks to him that sat on the throne, who liveth for ever and ever,
10 The four and twenty elders fall down before him that sat on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne, saying,
11 Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honour and power: for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created.

REVELATION CHAPTER 5
1 And I saw in the right hand of him that sat on the throne a book written within and on the backside, sealed with seven seals.
2 And I saw a strong angel proclaiming with a loud voice, Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof?
3 And no man in heaven, nor in earth, neither under the earth, was able to open the book, neither to look thereon.
4 And I wept much, because no man was found worthy to open and to read the book, neither to look thereon.
5 And one of the elders saith unto me, Weep not: behold, the Lion of the tribe of Juda, the Root of David, hath prevailed to open the book, and to loose the seven seals thereof.
6 And I beheld, and, lo, in the midst of the throne and of the four beasts, and in the midst of the elders, stood a Lamb as it had been slain, having seven horns and seven eyes, which are the seven Spirits of God sent forth into all the earth.
7 And he came and took the book out of the right hand of him that sat upon the throne.
8 And when he had taken the book, the four beasts and four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints.
9 And they sung a new song, saying, Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof: for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation;
10 And hast made us unto our God kings and priests: and we shall reign on the earth.
11 And I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne and the beasts and the elders: and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands;
12 Saying with a loud voice, Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing.
13 And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I saying, Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever.
14 And the four beasts said, Amen. And the four and twenty elders fell down and worshipped him that liveth for ever and ever.

REVELATION CHAPTER 6
1 And I saw when the Lamb opened one of the seals, and I heard, as it were the noise of thunder, one of the four beasts saying, Come and see.
2 And I saw, and behold a white horse: and he that sat on him had a bow; and a crown was given unto him: and he went forth conquering, and to conquer.
3 And when he had opened the second seal, I heard the second beast say, Come and see.
4 And there went out another horse that was red: and power was given to him that sat thereon to take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another: and there was given unto him a great sword.
5 And when he had opened the third seal, I heard the third beast say, Come and see. And I beheld, and lo a black horse; and he that sat on him had a pair of balances in his hand.
6 And I heard a voice in the midst of the four beasts say, A measure of wheat for a penny, and three measures of barley for a penny; and see thou hurt not the oil and the wine.
7 And when he had opened the fourth seal, I heard the voice of the fourth beast say, Come and see.
8 And I looked, and behold a pale horse: and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him. And power was given unto them over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword, and with hunger, and with death, and with the beasts of the earth.
9 And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held:
10 And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?
11 And white robes were given unto every one of them; and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellowservants also and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled.
12 And I beheld when he had opened the sixth seal, and, lo, there was a great earthquake; and the sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood;
13 And the stars of heaven fell unto the earth, even as a fig tree casteth her untimely figs, when she is shaken of a mighty wind.
14 And the heaven departed as a scroll when it is rolled together; and every mountain and island were moved out of their places.
15 And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bondman, and every free man, hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains;
16 And said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb:
17 For the great day of his wrath is come; and who shall be able to stand?

REVELATION CHAPTER 7
1 And after these things I saw four angels standing on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth, that the wind should not blow on the earth, nor on the sea, nor on any tree.
2 And I saw another angel ascending from the east, having the seal of the living God: and he cried with a loud voice to the four angels, to whom it was given to hurt the earth and the sea,
3 Saying, Hurt not the earth, neither the sea, nor the trees, till we have sealed the servants of our God in their foreheads.
4 And I heard the number of them which were sealed: and there were sealed an hundred and forty and four thousand of all the tribes of the children of Israel.
5 Of the tribe of Juda were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Reuben were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Gad were sealed twelve thousand.
6 Of the tribe of Aser were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Nephthalim were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Manasses were sealed twelve thousand.
7 Of the tribe of Simeon were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Levi were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Issachar were sealed twelve thousand.
8 Of the tribe of Zabulon were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Joseph were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Benjamin were sealed twelve thousand.
9 After this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands;
10 And cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb.
11 And all the angels stood round about the throne, and about the elders and the four beasts, and fell before the throne on their faces, and worshipped God,
12 Saying, Amen: Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might, be unto our God for ever and ever. Amen.
13 And one of the elders answered, saying unto me, What are these which are arrayed in white robes? and whence came they?
14 And I said unto him, Sir, thou knowest. And he said to me, These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.
15 Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple: and he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them.
16 They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more; neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat.
17 For the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters: and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.

REVELATION CHAPTER 8
1 And when he had opened the seventh seal, there was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour.
2 And I saw the seven angels which stood before God; and to them were given seven trumpets.
3 And another angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne.

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4 And the smoke of the incense, which came with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God out of the angel's hand.
5 And the angel took the censer, and filled it with fire of the altar, and cast it into the earth: and there were voices, and thunderings, and lightnings, and an earthquake.
6 And the seven angels which had the seven trumpets prepared themselves to sound.
7 The first angel sounded, and there followed hail and fire mingled with blood, and they were cast upon the earth: and the third part of trees was burnt up, and all green grass was burnt up.
8 And the second angel sounded, and as it were a great mountain burning with fire was cast into the sea: and the third part of the sea became blood;
9 And the third part of the creatures which were in the sea, and had life, died; and the third part of the ships were destroyed.
10 And the third angel sounded, and there fell a great star from heaven, burning as it were a lamp, and it fell upon the third part of the rivers, and upon the fountains of waters;
11 And the name of the star is called Wormwood: and the third part of the waters became wormwood; and many men died of the waters, because they were made bitter.
12 And the fourth angel sounded, and the third part of the sun was smitten, and the third part of the moon, and the third part of the stars; so as the third part of them was darkened, and the day shone not for a third part of it, and the night likewise.
13 And I beheld, and heard an angel flying through the midst of heaven, saying with a loud voice, Woe, woe, woe, to the inhabiters of the earth by reason of the other voices of the trumpet of the three angels, which are yet to sound!

REVELATION CHAPTER 9

1 And the fifth angel sounded, and I saw a star fall from heaven unto the earth: and to him was given the key of the bottomless pit.
2 And he opened the bottomless pit; and there arose a smoke out of the pit, as the smoke of a great furnace; and the sun and the air were darkened by reason of the smoke of the pit.
3 And there came out of the smoke locusts upon the earth: and unto them was given power, as the scorpions of the earth have power.
4 And it was commanded them that they should not hurt the grass of the earth, neither any green thing, neither any tree; but only those men which have not the seal of God in their foreheads.
5 And to them it was given that they should not kill them, but that they should be tormented five months: and their torment was as the torment of a scorpion, when he striketh a man.
6 And in those days shall men seek death, and shall not find it; and shall desire to die, and death shall flee from them.
7 And the shapes of the locusts were like unto horses prepared unto battle; and on their heads were as it were crowns like gold, and their faces were as the faces of men.
8 And they had hair as the hair of women, and their teeth were as the teeth of lions.
9 And they had breastplates, as it were breastplates of iron; and the sound of their wings was as the sound of chariots of many horses running to battle.
10 And they had tails like unto scorpions, and there were stings in their tails: and their power was to hurt men five months.
11 And they had a king over them, which is the angel of the bottomless pit, whose name in the Hebrew tongue is Abaddon, but in the Greek tongue hath his name Apollyon.
12 One woe is past; and, behold, there come two woes more hereafter.
13 And the sixth angel sounded, and I heard a voice from the four horns of the golden altar which is before God,
14 Saying to the sixth angel which had the trumpet, Loose the four angels which are bound in the great river Euphrates.
15 And the four angels were loosed, which were prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year, for to slay the third part of men.
16 And the number of the army of the horsemen were two hundred thousand thousand: and I heard the number of them.
17 And thus I saw the horses in the vision, and them that sat on them, having breastplates of fire, and of jacinth, and brimstone: and the heads of the horses were as the heads of lions; and out of their mouths issued fire and smoke and brimstone.
18 By these three was the third part of men killed, by the fire, and by the smoke, and by the brimstone, which issued out of their mouths.
19 For their power is in their mouth, and in their tails: for their tails were like unto serpents, and had heads, and with them they do hurt.
20 And the rest of the men which were not killed by these plagues yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils, and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood: which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk:
21 Neither repented they of their murders, nor of their sorceries, nor of their fornication, nor of their thefts.

REVELATION CHAPTER 10

1 And I saw another mighty angel come down from heaven, clothed with a cloud: and a rainbow was upon his head, and his face was as it were the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire:
2 And he had in his hand a little book open: and he set his right foot upon the sea, and his left foot on the earth,
3 And cried with a loud voice, as when a lion roareth: and when he had cried, seven thunders uttered their voices.
4 And when the seven thunders had uttered their voices, I was about to write: and I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Seal up those things which the seven thunders uttered, and write them not.
5 And the angel which I saw stand upon the sea and upon the earth lifted up his hand to heaven,
6 And sware by him that liveth for ever and ever, who created heaven, and the things that therein are, and the earth, and the things that therein are, and the sea, and the things which are therein, that there should be time no longer:
7 But in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he shall begin to sound, the mystery of God should be finished, as he hath declared to his servants the prophets.
8 And the voice which I heard from heaven spake unto me again, and said, Go and take the little book which is open in the hand of the angel which standeth upon the sea and upon the earth.
9 And I went unto the angel, and said unto him, Give me the little book. And he said unto me, Take it, and eat it up; and it shall make thy belly bitter, but it shall be in thy mouth sweet as honey.
10 And I took the little book out of the angel's hand, and ate it up; and it was in my mouth sweet as honey: and as soon as I had eaten it, my belly was bitter.
11 And he said unto me, Thou must prophesy again before many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings.

REVELATION CHAPTER 11

1 And there was given me a reed like unto a rod: and the angel stood, saying, Rise, and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein.
2 But the court which is without the temple leave out, and measure it not; for it is given unto the Gentiles: and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months.
3 And I will give power unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days, clothed in sackcloth.
4 These are the two olive trees, and the two candlesticks standing before the God of the earth.
5 And if any man will hurt them, fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies: and if any man will hurt them, he must in this manner be killed.
6 These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy: and have power over waters to turn them to blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues, as often as they will.
7 And when they shall have finished their testimony, the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit shall make war against them, and shall overcome them, and kill them.
8 And their dead bodies shall lie in the street of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified.
9 And they of the people and kindreds and tongues and nations shall see their dead bodies three days and an half, and shall not suffer their dead bodies to be put in graves.
10 And they that dwell upon the earth shall rejoice over them, and make merry, and shall send gifts one to another; because these two prophets tormented them that dwelt on the earth.
11 And after three days and an half the spirit of life from God entered into them, and they stood upon their feet; and great fear fell upon them which saw them.
12 And they heard a great voice from heaven saying unto them, Come up hither. And they ascended up to heaven in a cloud; and their enemies beheld them.
13 And the same hour was there a great earthquake, and the tenth part of the city fell, and in the earthquake were slain of men seven thousand: and the remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of heaven.
14 The second woe is past; and, behold, the third woe cometh quickly.
15 And the seventh angel sounded; and there were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever.
16 And the four and twenty elders, which sat before God on their seats, fell upon their faces, and worshipped God,
17 Saying, We give thee thanks, O LORD God Almighty, which art, and wast, and art to come; because thou hast taken to thee thy great power, and hast reigned.
18 And the nations were angry, and thy wrath is come, and the time of the dead, that they should be judged, and that thou shouldest give reward unto thy servants the prophets, and to the saints, and them that fear thy name, small and great; and shouldest destroy them which destroy the earth.
19 And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his testament: and there were lightnings, and voices, and thunderings, and an earthquake, and great hail.

REVELATION CHAPTER 12

1 And there appeared a great wonder in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars:
2 And she being with child cried, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered.
3 And there appeared another wonder in heaven; and behold a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads.
4 And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth: and the dragon stood before the woman which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it was born.
5 And she brought forth a man child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron: and her child was caught up unto God, and to his throne.
6 And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and threescore days.
7 And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels,
8 And prevailed not; neither was their place found any more in heaven.
9 And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him.
10 And I heard a loud voice saying in heaven, Now is come salvation, and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ: for the accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accused them before our God day and night.
11 And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony; and they loved not their lives unto the death.
12 Therefore rejoice, ye heavens, and ye that dwell in them. Woe to the inhabiters of the earth and of the sea! for the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time.
13 And when the dragon saw that he was cast unto the earth, he persecuted the woman which brought forth the man child.
14 And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, into her place, where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent.
15 And the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood.
16 And the earth helped the woman, and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood which the dragon cast out of his mouth.
17 And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ.

REVELATION CHAPTER 13

1 And I stood upon the sand of the sea, and saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his heads the name of blasphemy.
2 And the beast which I saw was like unto a leopard, and his feet were as the feet of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion: and the dragon gave him his power, and his seat, and great authority.
3 And I saw one of his heads as it were wounded to death; and his deadly wound was healed: and all the world wondered after the beast.
4 And they worshipped the dragon which gave power unto the beast: and they worshipped the beast, saying, Who is like unto the beast? who is able to make war with him?
5 And there was given unto him a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies; and power was given unto him to continue forty and two months.
6 And he opened his mouth in blasphemy against God, to blaspheme his name, and his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven.
7 And it was given unto him to make war with the saints, and to overcome them: and power was given him over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations.
8 And all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him, whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.
9 If any man have an ear, let him hear.

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10 He that leadeth into captivity shall go into captivity: he that killeth with the sword must be killed with the sword. Here is the patience and the faith of the saints.
11 And I beheld another beast coming up out of the earth; and he had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon.
12 And he exerciseth all the power of the first beast before him, and causeth the earth and them which dwell therein to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed.
13 And he doeth great wonders, so that he maketh fire come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men,
14 And deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by the means of those miracles which he had power to do in the sight of the beast; saying to them that dwell on the earth, that they should make an image to the beast, which had the wound by a sword, and did live.
15 And he had power to give life unto the image of the beast, that the image of the beast should both speak, and cause that as many as would not worship the image of the beast should be killed.
16 And he causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads:
17 And that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name.
18 Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; and his number is Six hundred threescore and six.

REVELATION CHAPTER 14

1 And I looked, and, lo, a Lamb stood on the mount Sion, and with him an hundred forty and four thousand, having his Father's name written in their foreheads.
2 And I heard a voice from heaven, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder: and I heard the voice of harpers harping with their harps:
3 And they sung as it were a new song before the throne, and before the four beasts, and the elders: and no man could learn that song but the hundred and forty and four thousand, which were redeemed from the earth.
4 These are they which were not defiled with women; for they are virgins. These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. These were redeemed from among men, being the firstfruits unto God and to the Lamb.
5 And in their mouth was found no guile: for they are without fault before the throne of God.
6 And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people,
7 Saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to him; for the hour of his judgement is come: and worship him that made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters.
8 And there followed another angel, saying, Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city, because she made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication.
9 And the third angel followed them, saying with a loud voice, If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand,
10 The same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb:
11 And the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever: and they have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name.
12 Here is the patience of the saints: here are they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus.
13 And I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them.
14 And I looked, and behold a white cloud, and upon the cloud one sat like unto the Son of man, having on his head a golden crown, and in his hand a sharp sickle.
15 And another angel came out of the temple, crying with a loud voice to him that sat on the cloud, Thrust in thy sickle, and reap: for the time is come for thee to reap; for the harvest of the earth is ripe.
16 And he that sat on the cloud thrust in his sickle on the earth; and the earth was reaped.
17 And another angel came out of the temple which is in heaven, he also having a sharp sickle.
18 And another angel came out from the altar, which had power over fire; and cried with a loud cry to him that had the sharp sickle, saying, Thrust in thy sharp sickle, and gather the clusters of the vine of the earth; for her grapes are fully ripe.
19 And the angel thrust in his sickle into the earth, and gathered the vine of the earth, and cast it into the great winepress of the wrath of God.
20 And the winepress was trodden without the city, and blood came out of the winepress, even unto the horse bridles, by the space of a thousand and six hundred furlongs.

REVELATION CHAPTER 15

1 And I saw another sign in heaven, great and marvellous, seven angels having the seven last plagues; for in them is filled up the wrath of God.
2 And I saw as it were a sea of glass mingled with fire: and them that had gotten the victory over the beast, and over his image, and over his mark, and over the number of his name, stand on the sea of glass, having the harps of God.
3 And they sing the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, saying, Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty; just and true are thy ways, thou King of saints.
4 Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name? for thou only art holy: for all nations shall come and worship before thee; for thy judgements are made manifest.
5 And after that I looked, and, behold, the temple of the tabernacle of the testimony in heaven was opened:
6 And the seven angels came out of the temple, having the seven plagues, clothed in pure and white linen, and having their breasts girded with golden girdles.
7 And one of the four beasts gave unto the seven angels seven golden vials full of the wrath of God, who liveth for ever and ever.
8 And the temple was filled with smoke from the glory of God, and from his power; and no man was able to enter into the temple, till the seven plagues of the seven angels were fulfilled.

REVELATION CHAPTER 16

1 And I heard a great voice out of the temple saying to the seven angels, Go your ways, and pour out the vials of the wrath of God upon the earth.
2 And the first went, and poured out his vial upon the earth; and there fell a noisome and grievous sore upon the men which had the mark of the beast, and upon them which worshipped his image.
3 And the second angel poured out his vial upon the sea; and it became as the blood of a dead man: and every living soul died in the sea.
4 And the third angel poured out his vial upon the rivers and fountains of waters; and they became blood.
5 And I heard the angel of the waters say, Thou art righteous, O Lord, which art, and wast, and shalt be, because thou hast judged thus.
6 For they have shed the blood of saints and prophets, and thou hast given them blood to drink; for they are worthy.
7 And I heard another out of the altar say, Even so, Lord God Almighty, true and righteous are thy judgements.
8 And the fourth angel poured out his vial upon the sun; and power was given unto him to scorch men with fire.
9 And men were scorched with great heat, and blasphemed the name of God, which hath power over these plagues: and they repented not to give him glory.
10 And the fifth angel poured out his vial upon the seat of the beast; and his kingdom was full of darkness; and they gnawed their tongues for pain,
11 And blasphemed the God of heaven because of their pains and their sores, and repented not of their deeds.
12 And the sixth angel poured out his vial upon the great river Euphrates; and the water thereof was dried up, that the way of the kings of the east might be prepared.
13 And I saw three unclean spirits like frogs come out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet.
14 For they are the spirits of devils, working miracles, which go forth unto the kings of the earth and of the whole world, to gather them to the battle of that great day of God Almighty.
15 Behold, I come as a thief. Blessed is he that watcheth, and keepeth his garments, lest he walk naked, and they see his shame.
16 And he gathered them together into a place called in the Hebrew tongue Armageddon.
17 And the seventh angel poured out his vial into the air; and there came a great voice out of the temple of heaven, from the throne, saying, It is done.
18 And there were voices, and thunders, and lightnings; and there was a great earthquake, such as was not since men were upon the earth, so mighty an earthquake, and so great.
19 And the great city was divided into three parts, and the cities of the nations fell: and great Babylon came in remembrance before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath.
20 And every island fled away, and the mountains were not found.
21 And there fell upon men a great hail out of heaven, every stone about the weight of a talent: and men blasphemed God because of the plague of the hail; for the plague thereof was exceeding great.

REVELATION CHAPTER 17

1 And there came one of the seven angels which had the seven vials, and talked with me, saying unto me, Come hither; I will shew unto thee the judgement of the great whore that sitteth upon many waters:
2 With whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication.
3 So he carried me away in the spirit into the wilderness: and I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns.
4 And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication:
5 And upon her forehead was a name written, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH.
6 And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus: and when I saw her, I wondered with great admiration.
7 And the angel said unto me, Wherefore didst thou marvel? I will tell thee the mystery of the woman, and of the beast that carrieth her, which hath the seven heads and ten horns.
8 The beast that thou sawest was, and is not; and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit, and go into perdition: and they that dwell on the earth shall wonder, whose names were not written in the book of life from the foundation of the world, when they behold the beast that was, and is not, and yet is.
9 And here is the mind which hath wisdom. The seven heads are seven mountains, on which the woman sitteth.
10 And there are seven kings: five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he must continue a short space.
11 And the beast that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition.
12 And the ten horns which thou sawest are ten kings, which have received no kingdom as yet; but receive power as kings one hour with the beast.
13 These have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast.
14 These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them: for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings: and they that are with him are called, and chosen, and faithful.
15 And he saith unto me, The waters which thou sawest, where the whore sitteth, are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues.
16 And the ten horns which thou sawest upon the beast, these shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire.
17 For God hath put in their hearts to fulfil his will, and to agree, and give their kingdom unto the beast, until the words of God shall be fulfilled.
18 And the woman which thou sawest is that great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth.

REVELATION CHAPTER 18

1 And after these things I saw another angel come down from heaven, having great power; and the earth was lightened with his glory.
2 And he cried mightily with a strong voice, saying, Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen, and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird.
3 For all nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication, and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her, and the merchants of the earth are waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies.
4 And I heard another voice from heaven, saying, Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.
5 For her sins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities.
6 Reward her even as she rewarded you, and double unto her double according to her works: in the cup which she hath filled fill to her double.
7 How much she hath glorified herself, and lived deliciously, so much torment and sorrow give her: for she saith in her heart, I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow.
8 Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine; and she shall be utterly burned with fire: for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her.
9 And the kings of the earth, who have committed fornication and lived deliciously with her, shall bewail her, and lament for her, when they shall see the smoke of her burning,
10 Standing afar off for the fear of her torment, saying, Alas, alas that great city Babylon, that mighty city! for in one hour is thy judgement come.
11 And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her; for no man buyeth their merchandise any more:
12 The merchandise of gold, and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet,

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and all thyine wood, and all manner vessels of ivory, and all manner vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble,

13 And cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves, and souls of men.

14 And the fruits that thy soul lusted after are departed from thee, and all things which were dainty and goodly are departed from thee, and thou shalt find them no more at all.

15 The merchants of these things, which were made rich by her, shall stand afar off for the fear of her torment, weeping and wailing,

16 And saying, Alas, alas that great city, that was clothed in fine linen, and purple, and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls!

17 For in one hour so great riches is come to nought. And every shipmaster, and all the company in ships, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea, stood afar off,

18 And cried when they saw the smoke of her burning, saying, What city is like unto this great city!

19 And they cast dust on their heads, and cried, weeping and wailing, saying, Alas, alas that great city, wherein were made rich all that had ships in the sea by reason of her costliness! for in one hour is she made desolate.

20 Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy apostles and prophets; for God hath avenged you on her.

21 And a mighty angel took up a stone like a great millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying, Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all.

22 And the voice of harpers, and musicians, and of pipers, and trumpeters, shall be heard no more at all in thee; and no craftsman, of whatsoever craft he be, shall be found any more in thee; and the sound of a millstone shall be heard no more at all in thee;

23 And the light of a candle shall shine no more at all in thee; and the voice of the bridegroom and of the bride shall be heard no more at all in thee: for thy merchants were the great men of the earth; for by thy sorceries were all nations deceived.

24 And in her was found the blood of prophets, and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth.

REVELATION CHAPTER 19

1 And after these things I heard a great voice of much people in heaven, saying, Alleluia; Salvation, and glory, and honour, and power, unto the Lord our God:

2 For true and righteous are his judgements: for he hath judged the great whore, which did corrupt the earth with her fornication, and hath avenged the blood of his servants at her hand.

3 And again they said, Alleluia And her smoke rose up for ever and ever.

4 And the four and twenty elders and the four beasts fell down and worshipped God that sat on the throne, saying, Amen; Alleluia.

5 And a voice came out of the throne, saying, Praise our God, all ye his servants, and ye that fear him, both small and great.

6 And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings, saying, Alleluia: for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth.

7 Let us be glad and rejoice, and give honour to him: for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready.

8 And to her was granted that she should be arrayed in fine linen, clean and white: for the fine linen is the righteousness of saints.

9 And he saith unto me, Write, Blessed are they which are called unto the marriage supper of the Lamb. And he saith unto me, These are the true sayings of God.

10 And I fell at his feet to worship him. And he said unto me, See thou do it not: I am thy fellowservant, and of thy brethren that have the testimony of Jesus: worship God: for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.

11 And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse; and he that sat upon him was called Faithful and True, and in righteousness he doth judge and make war.

12 His eyes were as a flame of fire, and on his head were many crowns; and he had a name written, that no man knew, but he himself.

13 And he was clothed with a vesture dipped in blood: and his name is called The Word of God.

14 And the armies which were in heaven followed him upon white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean.

15 And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of iron: and he treadeth the winepress of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God.

16 And he hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS.

17 And I saw an angel standing in the sun; and he cried with a loud voice, saying to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven, Come and gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God;

18 That ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses, and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of all men, both free and bond, both small and great.

19 And I saw the beast, and the kings of the earth, and their armies, gathered together to make war against him that sat on the horse, and against his army.

20 And the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image. These both were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone.

21 And the remnant were slain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse, which sword proceeded out of his mouth: and all the fowls were filled with their flesh.

REVELATION CHAPTER 20

1 And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit and a great chain in his hand.

2 And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan, and bound him a thousand years,

3 And cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled: and after that he must be loosed a little season.

4 And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgement was given unto them: and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years.

5 But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection.

6 Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years.

7 And when the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison,

8 And shall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog, and Magog, to gather them together to battle: the number of whom is as the sand of the sea.

9 And they went up on the breadth of the earth, and compassed the camp of the saints about, and the beloved city: and fire came down from God out of heaven, and devoured them.

10 And the devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet are, and shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.

11 And I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away; and there was found no place for them.

12 And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened: and another book was opened, which is the book of life: and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works.

13 And the sea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them: and they were judged every man according to their works.

14 And death and hell were cast into the lake of fire. This is the second death.

15 And whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire.

REVELATION CHAPTER 21

1 And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea.

2 And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.

3 And I heard a great voice out of heaven saying, Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God.

4 And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away.

5 And he that sat upon the throne said, Behold, I make all things new. And he said unto me, Write: for these words are true and faithful.

6 And he said unto me, It is done. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end. I will give unto him that is athirst of the fountain of the water of life freely.

7 He that overcometh shall inherit all things; and I will be his God, and he shall be my son.

8 But the fearful, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone: which is the second death.

9 And there came unto me one of the seven angels which had the seven vials full of the seven last plagues, and talked with me, saying, Come hither, I will shew thee the bride, the Lamb's wife.

10 And he carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain, and shewed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God,

11 Having the glory of God: and her light was like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal;

12 And had a wall great and high, and had twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels, and names written thereon, which are the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel:

13 On the east three gates; on the north three gates; on the south three gates; and on the west three gates.

14 And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.

15 And he that talked with me had a golden reed to measure the city, and the gates thereof, and the wall thereof.

16 And the city lieth foursquare, and the length is as large as the breadth: and he measured the city with the reed, twelve thousand furlongs. The length and the breadth and the height of it are equal.

17 And he measured the wall thereof, an hundred and forty and four cubits, according to the measure of a man, that is, of the angel.

18 And the building of the wall of it was of jasper: and the city was pure gold, like unto clear glass.

19 And the foundations of the wall of the city were garnished with all manner of precious stones. The first foundation was jasper; the second, sapphire; the third, a chalcedony; the fourth, an emerald;

20 The fifth, sardonyx; the sixth, sardius; the seventh, chrysolyte; the eighth, beryl; the ninth, a topaz; the tenth, a chrysoprasus; the eleventh, a jacinth; the twelfth, an amethyst.

21 And the twelve gates were twelve pearls: every several gate was of one pearl: and the street of the city was pure gold, as it were transparent glass.

22 And I saw no temple therein: for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it.

23 And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof.

24 And the nations of them which are saved shall walk in the light of it: and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it.

25 And the gates of it shall not be shut at all by day: for there shall be no night there.

26 And they shall bring the glory and honour of the nations into it.

27 And there shall in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie: but they which are written in the Lamb's book of life.

REVELATION CHAPTER 22

1 And he shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb.

2 In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there the tree of life, which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month: and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations.

3 And there shall be no more curse: but the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it; and his servants shall serve him:

4 And they shall see his face; and his name shall be in their foreheads.

5 And there shall be no night there; and they need no candle, neither light of the sun; for the Lord God giveth them light: and they shall reign for ever and ever.

6 And he said unto me, These sayings are faithful and true: and the Lord God of the holy prophets sent his angel to shew unto his servants the things which must shortly be done.

7 Behold, I come quickly: blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book.

8 And I John saw these things, and heard them. And when I had heard and seen, I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel which shewed me these things.

9 Then saith he unto me, See thou do it not: for I am thy fellowservant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this book: worship God.

10 And he saith unto me, Seal not the sayings of the prophecy of this book: for the time is at hand.

11 He that is unjust, let him be unjust still: and he which is filthy, let him be filthy still: and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still: and he that is holy, let him be holy still.

12 And, behold, I come quickly; and my reward is with me, to give every man according as his work shall be.

13 I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last.

14 Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city.

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15 For without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie.

16 I Jesus have sent mine angel to testify unto you these things in the churches. I am the root and the offspring of David, and the bright and morning star.

17 And the Spirit and the bride say, Come. And let him that heareth say, Come. And let him that is athirst come. And whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely.

18 For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book:

19 And if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from the things which are written in this book.

20 He which testifieth these things saith, Surely I come quickly. Amen. Even so, come, Lord Jesus.

21 The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.

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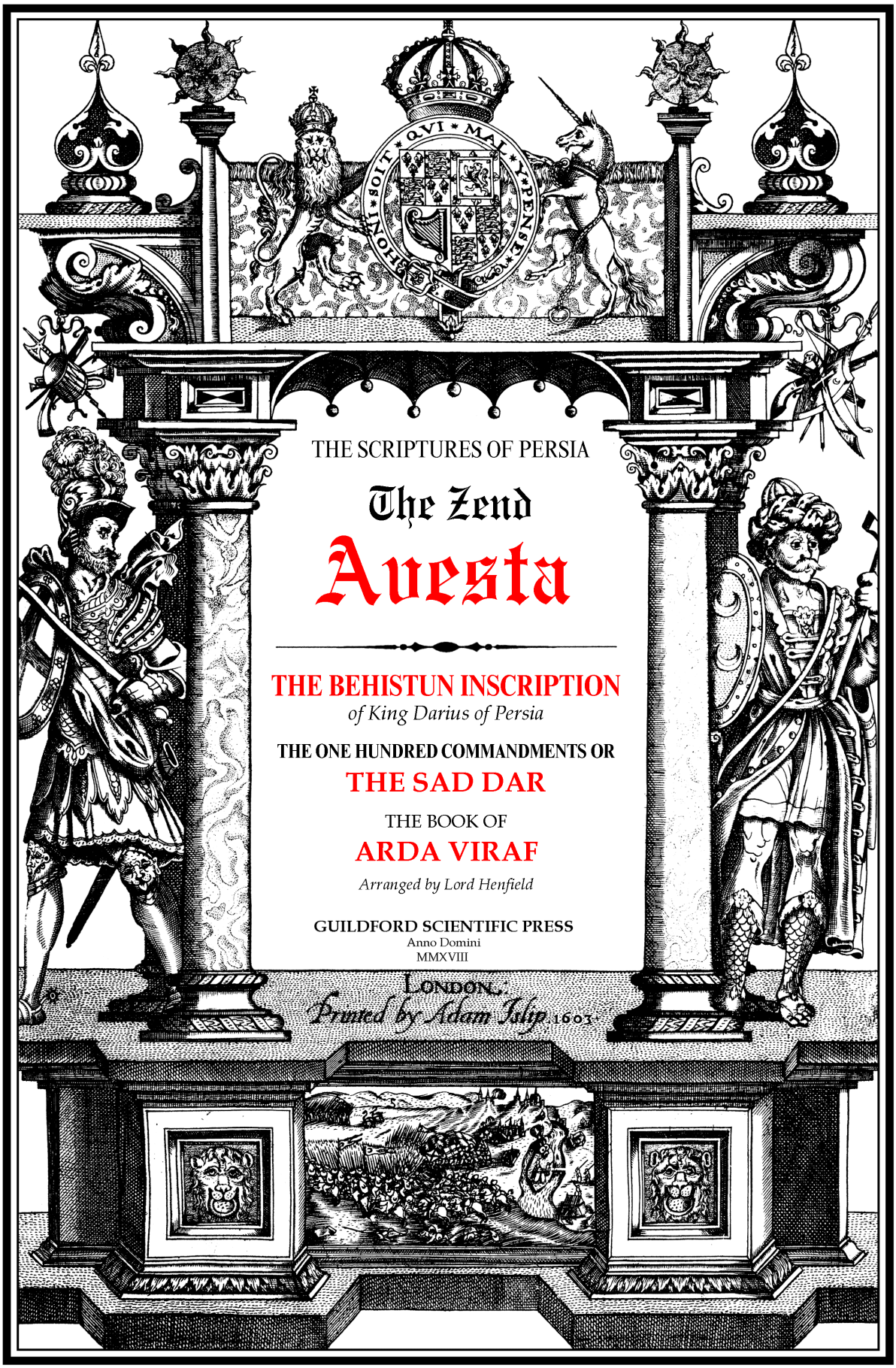

THE SCRIPTURES OF PERSIA

The Zend Avesta

THE BEHISTUN INSCRIPTION

of King Darius of Persia

THE ONE HUNDRED COMMANDMENTS OR

THE SAD DAR

THE BOOK OF

ARDA VIRAF

Arranged by Lord Henfield

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THE ZOROASTRIAN SCRIPTURE

(Zoroastrianism or Mazdayasna is one of the world's oldest continuously practiced religions and it is based on the teachings of the Iranian-speaking prophet Zoroaster (also known as Zarathustra in Avestan or Zarthost in modern Persian). It is a multi-faceted faith centered on a dualistic cosmology of good and evil and an eschatology predicting the ultimate conquest of evil with theological elements of henotheism, monotheism / monism, and polytheism. Zoroastrianism exalts an uncreated and benevolent deity of wisdom, Ahura Mazda (Wise Lord), as its supreme being. Historical features of Zoroastrianism, such as messianism, judgement after death, heaven and hell, and free will may have influenced other religious and philosophical systems, including Jainism, Buddhism, Greek philosophy, Second Temple Judaism, Christianity, Gnosticism, Islam, Baha'i Faith, and Sikhism.

Ahura Mazda (Avestan language, also known as Oromasdes, Ohrmazd, Ahuramazda, Hourmazd, Hormazd, and Hurmuz; see Straits of Hormuz) is the creator deity and highest deity of Zoroastrianism. Ahura Mazda is the first and most frequently invoked spirit in the Yasna. The literal meaning of the word Ahura is "lord," and that of Mazda is "wisdom."

Ahura Mazda, the Lord of Wisdom, is one of the oldest deities mentioned in the Gathas. The Gathas are 17 Avestan hymns believed to have been composed by Zarathushtra (Zoroaster) himself between c. 1500 BC and 1000 BC. They form the core of the Zoroastrian liturgy (the Yasna). They are arranged in five different modes or metres. The Avestan term gāθā ("hymn", but also "mode, metre") is cognate with Sanskrit gatha from "to sing". Aspects of Zoroastrian philosophy are distributed over the entire collection of Gathas. There is no systematic arrangement of doctrine in the texts.

Ahura Mazda appeared officially first in Darius I's Behistun Inscription. The Behistun Inscription (also Bisotun, Bistun or Bisutun; Old Persian: Bagastana, meaning "the place of god") is a multilingual inscription and large rock relief on a cliff at Mount Behistun in the Kermanshah Province of Iran, near the city of Kermanshah in western Iran, commisioned by Darius the Great (r. 522–486 BC). The inscription is to cuneiform script what the Rosetta Stone is to Egyptian hieroglyphs: It has been crucial to the decipherment of cuneiform script as the inscription includes three versions of the same text, written in the three different cuneiform script languages Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian (a variety of the Semitic language Akkadian).

There is a high likelihood that the Semitic Hebrews influenced the Persians by their advanced biblical scholarship. Darius freed the Israelites from Babylonian captivity and created by this act a alliance between Jews and Persians that lasted for many centuries. And it was probably also Darius who first commissioned a kind of canonisation of each and every text that was known about Zoroaster and his teachings. He is also the most likely candidate who decided Ahura Mazda to be the sole and real god turning the polytheistic Zoroastrian religion into a monotheistic one. In return, the Zoroastrian purity precepts might have been the model for Jewish purity commandments.

Until Artaxerxes II of Persia (405–04 to 359–58 BC), Ahura Mazda was worshipped and invoked alone in all extant royal inscriptions. With Artaxerxes II, Ahura Mazda was invoked in a triad or trinity, with Mithra and Anahita as a kind of angels who accompanied Ahura Mazda.

Mithra (Avestan: Miθra, Old Persian: Miça / Misa) commonly known as Mehr [an alternative name for Mithra living on in Mehl, a synonym in Sikhism for Guru, scholar, prophet, teacher], is the Zoroastrian angelic divinity (yazata) of covenant, light, and oath. In addition to being the divinity of contracts, Mithra is also a judicial figure, an all-seeing protector of Truth, and the guardian of cattle, the harvest, and of the Waters. The Romans attributed their Mithra [usually depicted as sun god with a halo round his head which later became also an attribute to Christ] to "Persian" (i.e., Zoroastrian) sources relating to Mithra. To the Romans, Mithra was a very attractive god as he promised salvation through an afterlife. These ideas, including the lithurgy like the Eucharist and the typical appearance of Christ, went straight into the new Pauline Christianity.

With possible roots dating back to the second millennium BC, Zoroastrianism enters recorded history in the 5th century BC. It served as the state religion of the ancient Iranian empires for more than a millennium, from around 600 BC to 650 AD, but declined from the 7th century AD onwards following the Muslim conquest of Persia of 633–654 AD and subsequent persecution of Zoroastrians. Estimates place the current number of Zoroastrians between 100,000–200,000 at most, with the majority living in India, Iran, and North America; their number has been thought to be declining. Zoroastrian face extinction if they do not change their retrictions. Like Judaism, Zoroastrianism suffers from the self-inflicted aversion to welcome converts from outside of the religious community.

The most important texts of the religion are those of the Avesta, which includes as central the writings of Zoroaster known as the Gathas, enigmatic ritual poems that define the religion's precepts, which is within Yasna, the main worship service of modern Zoroastrianism.

The surviving texts of the Avesta, as they exist today, derive from a single master copy produced by collation and recension in the Sassanid Empire (224–651 AD). That master copy, now lost, is known as the 'Sassanid archetype'. The oldest surviving manuscript (K1) of an Avestan language text is dated 1323 AD. [*K1 represents 248 leaves of a 340-leaf Vendidad Sade manuscript, i.e. a variant of a Yasna text into which sections of the Visperad and Vendidad are interleaved. The colophon of K1 (K = Copenhagen) identifies its place and year of completion to Cambay, 692Y (= 1323–1324 AD). The date of K1 is occasionally mistakenly given as 1184. This mistake is due to a 19th-century confusion of the date of K1 with the date of K1's source: in the postscript to K1, the copyist – a certain Mehrban Kai Khusrow of Navsari – gives the date of his source as 552Y (= 1184 AD). That text from 1184 has not survived.].*

Summaries of the various Avesta texts found in the 9th/10th century texts of Zoroastrian tradition suggest that a significant portion of the literature in the Avestan language has been lost. Only about one-quarter [25%] of the Avestan sentences or verses referred to by the 9th / 10th century commentators can be found in the surviving texts. This suggests that three-quarters [75%] of Avestan material, including an indeterminable number of juridical, historical and legendary texts, have been lost since then. On the other hand, it appears that the most valuable portions of the canon, including all of the oldest texts, have survived. The likely reason for this is that the surviving materials represent those portions of the Avesta that were in regular liturgical use, and therefore known by heart by the priests and not dependent for their preservation on the survival of particular manuscripts.

A pre-Sassanid history of the Avesta, if it had one, is in the realm of legend and myth. The oldest surviving versions of these tales are found in the ninth to 11th century AD texts of Zoroastrian tradition (i.e. in the so-called "Pahlavi books"). The legends run as follows: The twenty-one nasks ("books") of the Avesta were created by Ahura Mazda and brought by Zoroaster to his patron Vishtaspa (Denkard 4A, 3A; Denkard is a Zoroastrian Encyclopaedia). Supposedly, Vishtaspa (Dk 3A) or another Kayanian, Daray (Dk 4B), then had two copies made, one of which was stored in the treasury, and the other in the royal archives (Dk 4B, 5). Following Alexander's conquest, the Avesta was then supposedly destroyed or dispersed by the Greeks after they translated the scientific passages that they could make use of (AVN 7–9, Dk 3B, 8). Several centuries later, one of the Parthian emperors named Valaksh (one of the Vologases) supposedly then had the fragments collected, not only of those that had previously been written down, but also of those that had only been orally transmitted (Dk 4C).

The loss of the document did not come as unrelated coincidence. Between 1370 and 1405 AD, the Islamic conqueror Timur committed genocide on a scale not yet seen before: Between 7 million and 20 million people. During his rampage he executed hundreds of thousands by beheading. The chopped-off heads were heaped up higher than a man on horseback. He destroyed hundreds of towns and cities of his victims and he did not forget to destroy their books. Today, Zoroastrian communities survive mainly in India and the United States. All this has origins which can be found in the Islamic scripture, the Koran, the Sira, and the Hadith, and their in them implemented doctrine commonly known as "Jahiliyya".*

[It is often translated as the "Age of Ignorance". The term jahiliyyah is derived from the verbal root jahala "to be ignorant or stupid, to act stupidly". The age of ignorance is an Islamic concept referring to the period of time and state of affairs in Arabia before the advent of Islam in 610 AD. In Islam the term is used to what Muslims see as the un-Islamic nature of public and private life in the Muslim world. It is like the rule of abrogation in the Koran in which the later verses overrule any older one: Anything from earlier times are not worthwile to keep, maintain, or promote, therefore can be distroyed. It is part of the Sharia and the Jihad prescribed in the Koran, the Sira, and the Hadith. This notion of Jahiliyyah is also promoted by mainstream Islam scolars such as Abul A'la Maududi and Sayyid Qutb. They view jahiliyyah as a state of domination of Muslims over Kafirs (non-Muslims) and the entire World, and any Islamic activity is justified by the Islamic scripture.*

Islamic doctrine divides the world into two distinct territories: 1st:

Dar al-harb (lit. territory of war) in Islamic law, is the major divisions are dar al-islam (lit. territory of Islam / the submission to Allah), denoting regions where Islamic Sharia law prevails and anyone is subjugated under it. Islam means "submission". As Islam rules here, Islam is at peace; 2nd: Dar al-Islam (Arabic: literally house of Islam is a term used by Muslims to refer to those countries where Muslims can practice their religion as the ruling sect. It is the area of the world under the rule of the Islamic Sharia law. As Islam does not rule here [yet], Islam is here at war. And so is humanity in Islam divided into two humanities: 1st: Muslims; 2nd: Kafirs, the vile non-Muslims, subhumans who still resist Islam and in particular the Islamic legal, political and ideological system. Once the Sharia is firmly implemented in the host nation, the host is subjugated from inside. This system was in the last 1400 years successful to a rate of 100%.]

The origin of Zoroastrianism dates back to a prophet known as Zoroaster, also known as Zarathustra, Zarathushtra Spitama or Ashu Zarathushtra. Zarathustra and Zoroaster are the Greek transcriptions. Other Greek forms of that name are: Zoroastriemos, Zostrianos, Zoroastres, Zoroastris, Zaratoustra, Zarathoustra, Zartost, Zoroastriemou. The Greek form of the name appears to be based on a phonetic transliteration or semantic substitution of Avestan zarad- with the Greek zoros (literally "undiluted" or "pure") and the Avestan -ushtra with the Greek astra ("star"). They derive from Zartosht, Old Persian: Zardusht or Zaducht, Parthian: Zarhusht, meaning: "Pure Star", a word which brings us to the speculation whether the Hebrew Star Prophecy may origin in Zoroastrianism.

Zoroaster's teachings challenged the existing traditions of the Indo-Iranian religion and inaugurated a movement that eventually became the dominant religion in Ancient Persia. He was a native speaker of Old Avestan and lived in the eastern part of the Iranian Plateau, probably in the region of modern Pakistan or northwest India, but his exact birthplace is uncertain.

There is no scholarly consensus on when Zoroaster lived. Some scholars, using linguistic and socio-cultural evidence, suggest a dating to somewhere in the second millennium BC. Most scholars date him in the 7th and 6th century BC as a near-contemporary of Cyrus the Great and Darius I. Zoroastrianism eventually became the official religion of Ancient Persia and its distant subdivisions from the 6th century BC to the 7th century AD. Zoroaster is credited with authorship of the Gathas as well as the Yasna Haptanghaiti, hymns composed in his native dialect, Old Avestan and which comprise the core of Zoroastrian thinking. Most of his life is known from these texts. By any modern standard of historiography, no evidence can place him into a fixed period and the historicization surrounding him may be a part of a trend from before the 10th century AD that historicises legends and myth.)

THE ZEND AVESTA

or The Book of Zarathustra
or The Book of Zoroaster
or The Bible of Ancient Persia
from: Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 4
Translation: (Part 1) James Darmesteter, 1879
Translation: (Part 2) James Darmesteter, 1882
Translation: (Part 2) Lawrence Heyworth Mills, 1887
Estimated Range of Dating: 520 B.C. -

(The Avesta is the holy book of Zoroastrianism. It is written in the Avestan language. The Avesta has also been translated into other languages including Farsi and English. The oldest portion, the Ghathas, are the religious songs composed by Zarathustra himself. Other parts of Avesta are named Yasna, Yashts, Visperad, Vendidad and Khordeh Avesta.

The Avestan language, also known historically as Zend, refers to two languages Old Avestan (spoken in the 2nd millennium BC) and Younger Avestan (spoken in the 1st millennium BC). Both are early Iranian languages, a branch of the Indo-Iranian languages within the Indo-European family. As such, Old Avestan is quite close in grammar and lexicon with India's Vedic Sanskrit. Avastan is tha ancestor of modern Persian (also called Parsi, Farsi, or Iranian) Avestan known from its use in the Zoroastrian Bible, which is therefore called The Avesta or the Zend Avesta.

Zend or Zand is a Zoroastrian technical term for exegetical glosses, paraphrases, commentaries and translations of the Avesta's texts. The term zand is a contraction of the Avestan language word zainti, meaning "interpretation", or "as understood".

There are two other religious texts in Zoroastrianism which are named Ardaviraf Namak and The Denkard, which is an ecyclopedia on Zoroastrism.

Structure and content

In its present form, the Avesta is a compilation from various sources, and its different parts date from different periods and vary widely in character. Only texts in the Avestan language are considered part of the Avesta.

According to the Denkard (the dictionary and encyclopedia of Zoroastrianism and their Avesta scriptures), the 21 nasks (books) mirror the structure of the 21-word-long Ahuna

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Vairya prayer: each of the three lines of the prayer consists of seven words. Correspondingly, the nasks are divided into three groups, of seven volumes per group. Originally, each volume had a word of the prayer as its name, which so marked a volume's position relative to the other volumes. Only about a quarter of the text from the nasks has survived until today.

The contents of the Avesta are divided topically (even though the organisation of the nasks is not), but these are not fixed or canonical. Some scholars prefer to place the categories in two groups, the one liturgical, and the other general. The following categorisation is as described by Jean Kellens (see bibliography, below).

The Yasna (The Lithurgy)

The Yasna (from yazišn "worship, oblations", cognate with Sanskrit yajña), is the primary liturgical collection, named after the ceremony at which it is recited. It consists of 72 sections called the Ha-iti or Ha. The 72 threads of lamb's wool in the Kushti, the sacred thread worn by Zoroastrians, represent these sections. The central portion of the Yasna is the Gathas, the oldest and most sacred portion of the Avesta, believed to have been composed by Zarathushtra (Zoroaster) himself. The Gathas are structurally interrupted by the Yasna Haptanghaiti ("seven-chapter Yasna"), which makes up chapters 35–42 of the Yasna and is almost as old as the Gathas, consists of prayers and hymns in honour of the Supreme Deity, Ahura Mazda, the Angels, Fire, Water, and Earth. The younger Yasna, though handed down in prose, may once have been metrical, as the Gathas still are.

The Visperad

The Visperad (from vîspe ratavo, "(prayer to) all patrons") is a collection of supplements to the Yasna. The Visparad is subdivided into 23 or 24 kardo (sections) that are interleaved into the Yasna during a Visperad service (which is an extended Yasna service).

The Visperad collection has no unity of its own, and is never recited separately from the Yasna.

The Vendidad

The Vendidad (or Vidēvdāt, a corruption of Avestan Vī-Daēvō-Dāta, "Given Against the Demons") is an enumeration of various manifestations of evil spirits, and ways to confound them. The Vendidad includes all of the 19th nask, which is the only nask that has survived in its entirety. The text consists of 22 Fargards, fragments arranged as discussions between Ahura Mazda and Zoroaster. The first fargard is a dualistic creation myth, followed by the description of a destructive winter on the lines of the Flood myth.

The second fargard recounts the legend of Yima. The remaining fargards deal primarily with hygiene (care of the dead in particular) [fargard 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 16, 17, 19] as well as disease and spells to fight it. Fargards 4 and 15 discuss the dignity of wealth and charity, of marriage and of physical effort, and the indignity of unacceptable social behaviour such as assault and breach of contract, and specify the penances required to atone for violations thereof. The Vendidad is an ecclesiastical code, not a liturgical manual, and there is a degree of moral relativism apparent in the codes of conduct. The Vendidad's different parts vary widely in character and in age. Some parts may be comparatively recent in origin although the greater part is very old.

The Vendidad, unlike the Yasna and the Visparad, is a book of moral laws rather than the record of a liturgical ceremony. However, there is a ceremony called the Vendidad, in which the Yasna is recited with all the chapters of both the Visparad and the Vendidad inserted at appropriate points. This ceremony is only performed at night.

The Yashts

The Yashts (from yešti, "worship by praise") are a collection of 21 hymns, each dedicated to a particular divinity or divine concept. Three hymns of the Yasna liturgy that "worship by praise" are—in tradition—also nominally called yashts, but are not counted among the Yasht collection since the three are a part of the primary liturgy. The Yashts vary greatly in style, quality and extent. In their present form, they are all in prose but analysis suggests that they may at one time have been in verse.

The Siroza

The Siroza ("thirty days") is an enumeration and invocation of the 30 divinities presiding over the days of the month. (cf. Zoroastrian calendar). The Siroza exists in two forms, the shorter ("little Siroza") is a brief enumeration of the divinities with their epithets in the genitive. The longer ("great Siroza") has complete sentences and sections, with the yazatas being addressed in the accusative.

The Siroza is never recited as a whole, but is a source for individual sentences devoted to particular divinities, to be inserted at appropriate points in the liturgy depending on the day and the month.

The Nyayeshes

The five Nyayeshes, abbreviated Ny., are prayers for regular recitation by both priests and laity. They are addressed to the Sun and Mithra (recited together thrice a day), to the Moon (recited thrice a month), and to the Waters and to Fire. The Nyayeshes are composite texts containing selections from the Gathas and the Yashts, as well as later material.

The Gahs

The five gāhs are invocations to the five divinities that watch over the five divisions (gāhs) of the day. Gāhs are similar in structure and content to the five Nyayeshes.

The Afrinagans

The Afrinagans are four "blessing" texts recited on a particular occasion: the first in honour of the dead, the second on the five epagomenal days that end the year, the third is recited at the six seasonal feasts, and the fourth at the beginning and end of summer.

Fragments

All material in the Avesta that is not already present in one of the other categories falls into a "fragments" category, which – as the name suggests – includes incomplete texts. There are altogether more than 20 fragment collections, many of which have no name (and are then named after their owner/collator) or only a Middle Persian name. The more important of the fragment collections are the Nirangistan fragments (18 of which constitute the Ehrbadistan); the Pursishniha "questions," also known as "Fragments Tahmuras"; and the Hadokht Nask "volume of the scriptures" with two fragments of eschatological significance.

THE ZEND AVESTA, PART 1
from: Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 4
Translation: James Darmesteter, 1879

THE VENDIDAD
or The 22 Fargards

(Introduction: The Vendidad or Videvdat is a collection of texts within the greater compendium of the Avesta. However, unlike the other texts of the Avesta, the Vendidad is an ecclesiastical code, not a liturgical manual. The name of the texts is a contraction of the Avestan language Vî-Daêvô-Dāta, "Given Against the Daevas (Demons)", and as the name suggests, the Vendidad is an enumeration of various manifestations of evil spirits, and ways to confound them. According to the divisions of the Avesta as described in the Denkard, a 9th-century text, the Vendidad includes all of the 19th nask, which is then the only nask that has survived in its entirety. The Vendidad consists of 22 so-called "fargards" which are fragments of discussions, or more precisely dialogues, between Ahura Mazda and Zoroaster. The arrangement does not suggest it was composed by the prophet's contemporaries. Most of the Zoroastrians continue to use the Vendidad as a valued and fundamental cultural and ethical moral guide, viewing their teachings as essential to Zoroastrian tradition and see it as part of Zoroastrianism original perspectives about the truth of spiritual existence. They argue that it has origins on early oral tradition, being only later written.)

FARGARD 1

1.Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying:

2 I have made every land dear to its dwellers, even though it had no charms whatever in it: had I not made every land dear to its dwellers, even though it had no charms whatever in it, then the whole living world would have invaded the Airyana Vaêgô.

3 The first of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the Airyana Vaêgô, by the good river Dâitya. Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft the serpent in the river and winter, a work of the Daêvas.

4 There are ten winter months there, two summer months; and those are cold for the waters, cold for the earth, cold for the trees. Winter falls there, with the worst of its plagues.

5 The second of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the plains in Sughdha. Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft the fly Skaitya, which brings death to the cattle.

6 The third of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the strong, holy Môuru. Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft sinful lusts.

7 The fourth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the beautiful Bâkhdhi with high-lifted banners. Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft the Bravara.

8 The fifth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Nisâya, that lies between Môuru and Bâkhdhi. Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft the sin of unbelief.

9 The sixth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Harôyu with its lake. Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft the stained mosquito.

10 The seventh of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Vaêkereta , of the evil shadows. Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft the Pairika Knâthaiti, who clave unto Keresâspa.

11 The eighth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Urva of the rich pastures. Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft the sin of pride.

12 The ninth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda) created, was Khnenta in Vehrkâna. Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft a sin for which there is no atonement, the unnatural sin.

13 The tenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda created, was the beautiful Harahvaiti. Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft a sin for which there is no atonement, the burying of the dead.

14 The eleventh of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the bright, glorious Haêtumant. Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft the evil witchcraft of the Yâtus.

15 And this is how the Yâtu's nature shows itself: it shows itself by the look 4; and then, whenever the wizard goes and howls forth his spells, most deadly works of witchcraft go forth.

16 The twelfth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Ragha of the three races. Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft the sin of utter unbelief.

17 The thirteenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the strong, holy Kakhra. Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft a sin for which there is no atonement, the burning of corpses.

18 The fourteenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the four-cornered Varena, for which was born Thraêtaona, who smote Azis Dahâka. Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft abnormal issues in women and the oppression of foreign rulers.

19 The fifteenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the Seven Rivers. Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft abnormal issues in women and excessive heat.

20 The sixteenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the land by the floods of the Rangha, where people live without a head. Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft winter, a work of the Daêvas.

21 There are still other lands and countries, beautiful and deep, desirable and bright, and thriving.

(Note: Zend name and names in the late 19th century: Sughdha = Samarkand, Môuru = Merv, Bâkhdhi = Balkh, Harôyu = Hari-rûd, Vehrkâna = Gorgân, Harahvaiti = Harût, Haêtumant = Helmend, Ragha = Raï, Hapta hindu = Pañgâb.)

FARGARD 2

Myths Of Yima

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who was the first mortal, before myself, Zarathustra, with whom thou, Ahura Mazda, didst converse 1, whom thou didst teach the law of Ahura, the law of Zarathustra?

2 Ahura Mazda answered: The fair Yima, the great shepherd, O holy Zarathustra! he was the first mortal, before thee, Zarathustra, with whom I, Ahura Mazda, did converse, whom I taught the law of Ahura, the law of Zarathustra.

3 Unto him, O Zarathustra, I, Ahura Mazda, spake, saying: 'Well, fair Yima, son of Vîvanghat, be thou the preacher and the bearer of my law!' And the fair Yima, O Zarathustra, replied unto me, saying: 'I was not born, I was not taught to be the preacher and the bearer of thy law.'

4 Then I, Ahura Mazda, said thus unto him, O Zarathustra: 'Since thou wantest not to be the preacher and the bearer of my law, then make thou my worlds thrive, make my worlds increase: undertake thou to nourish, to rule, and to watch over my world.'

5 And the fair Yima replied unto me, O Zarathustra, saying: 'Yes! I will make thy worlds thrive, I will make thy worlds increase. Yes! I will nourish, and rule, and watch over thy world. There shall be, while I am king, neither cold wind nor hot wind, neither disease nor death.'

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7 Then I, Ahura Mazda, brought two implements unto him: a golden ring and a poniard inlaid with gold. Behold, here Yima bears the royal sway!

8 Thus, under the sway of Yima, three hundred winters passed away, and the earth was replenished with flocks and herds, with men and dogs and birds and with red blazing fires, and there was no more room for flocks, herds, and men.

9 Then I warned the fair Yima, saying: 'O fair Yima, son of Vîvanghat, the earth has become full of flocks and herds, of men and dogs and birds and of red blazing fires, and there is no more room for flocks, herds, and men.'

10 Then Yima stepped forward, towards the luminous space, southwards, to meet the sun, and (afterwards) he pressed the earth with the golden ring, and bored it with the poniard, speaking thus: 'O Spenta Armaiti, kindly open asunder and stretch thyself afar, to bear flocks and herds and men.'

11 And Yima made the earth grow larger by one-third than it was before, and there came flocks and herds and men, at his will and wish, as many as he wished.

12 Thus, under the sway of Yima, six hundred winters passed away, and the earth was replenished with flocks and herds, with men and dogs and birds and with red blazing fires, and there was no more room for flocks, herds, and men.

13 And I warned the fair Yima, saying: 'O fair Yima, son of Vîvanghat, the earth has become full of flocks and herds, of men and dogs and birds and of red blazing fires, and there is no more room for flocks, herds, and men.'

14 Then Yima stepped forward, towards the luminous space, southwards, to meet the sun, and (afterwards) he pressed the earth with the golden ring, and bored it with the poniard, speaking thus: 'O Spenta Armaiti, kindly open asunder and stretch thyself afar, to bear flocks and herds and men.'

15 And Yima made the earth grow larger by two-thirds than it was before, and there came flocks and herds and men, at his will and wish, as many as he wished.

16 Thus, under the sway of Yima, nine hundred winters passed away, and the earth was replenished with flocks and herds, with men and dogs and birds and with red blazing fires, and there was no more room for flocks, herds, and men.

17 And I warned the fair Yima, saying: 'O fair Yima, son of Vîvanghat, the earth has become full of flocks and, herds, of men and dogs and birds and of red blazing fires, and there is no more room for flocks, herds, and men.'

18 Then Yima stepped forward, towards the luminous space, southwards, to meet the sun, and (afterwards) he pressed the earth with the golden ring, and bored it with the poniard, speaking thus: 'O Spenta Armaiti, kindly open asunder and stretch thyself afar, to bear flocks and herds and men.'

19 And Yima made the earth grow larger by three-thirds than it was before, and there came flocks and herds and men, at his will and wish, as many as he wished.

21 The Maker, Ahura Mazda, of high renown in the Airyana Vaêgô, by the good river Dâitya, called together a meeting of the celestial gods. The fair Yima, the good shepherd, of high renown in the Airyana Vaêgô, by the good river Dâitya, called together a meeting of the excellent mortals. To that meeting came Ahura Mazda, of high renown in the Airyana Vaêgô, by the good river Dâitya; he came together with the celestial gods. To that meeting came, the fair Yima, the good shepherd, of high renown in the Airyana Vaêgô, by the good river Dâitya; he came together with the excellent mortals.

22 And Ahura Mazda spake unto Yima, saying: 'O fair Yima, son of Vîvanghat! Upon the material world the fatal winters are going to fall, that shall bring the fierce, foul frost; upon the material world the fatal winters are going to fall, that shall make snow-flakes fall thick, even an aredvî deep on the highest tops of mountains.

23 And all the three sorts of beasts shall perish, those that live in the wilderness, and those that live on the tops of the mountains, and those that live in the bosom of the dale, under the shelter of stables.

24 Before that winter, those fields would bear plenty of grass for cattle: now with floods that stream, with snows that melt, it will seem a happy land in the world, the land wherein footprints even of sheep may still be seen.

25 Therefore make thee a Vara, long as a iding-ground on every side of the square 1, and thither bring the seeds of sheep and oxen, of men, of dogs, of birds, and of red blazing fires. Therefore make thee a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square, to be an abode for men; a Vara, long. as a riding-ground on every side of the square, to be a fold for flocks.

26 There thou shalt make waters flow in a bed a hâthra long; there thou shalt settle birds, by the ever-green banks that bear never-failing food. There thou shalt establish dwelling places, consisting of a house with a balcony, a courtyard, and a gallery.

27 Thither thou shalt bring the seeds of men and women, of the greatest, best, and finest kinds on this earth; thither thou shalt bring the seeds of every kind of cattle, of the greatest, best, and finest kinds on this earth.

28 Thither thou shalt bring the seeds of every kind of tree, of the greatest, best, and finest kinds on this earth; thither thou shalt bring the seeds of every kind of fruit, the fullest of food and sweetest of odour. All those seeds shalt thou bring, two of ever), kind, to be kept inexhaustible there, so long as those men shall stay in the Vara.

29 There shall be no humpbacked, none bulged forward there; no impotent, no lunatic; no poverty, no lying; no meanness, no jealousy; no decayed tooth, no leprous to be confined 1, nor any of the brands wherewith Angra Mainyu stamps the bodies of mortals.

30 In the largest part of the place thou shalt make nine streets, six in the middle part, three in the smallest. To the streets of the largest part thou shalt bring a thousand seeds of men and women; to the streets of the middle part, six hundred; to the streets of the smallest part, three hundred. That Vara thou shalt seal up with the golden ring, and thou shalt make a door, and a window self-shining within.'

31 Then Yima said within himself: 'How shall I manage to make that Vara which Ahura Mazda has commanded me to make?' And Ahura Mazda said unto Yima: 'O fair Yima, son of Vîvanghat! Crush the earth with a stamp of thy heel, and then knead it with thy hands, as the potter does when kneading the potter's clay.'

32 And Yima did as Ahura Mazda wished; he crushed the earth with a stamp of his heel, he kneaded it with his hands, as the potter does when kneading the potter's clay.

33 And Yima made a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square. There he brought the seeds of sheep and oxen, of men, of dogs, of birds, and of red blazing fires. He made Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square, to be an abode for men; a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square, to be a fold for flocks.

34 There he made waters flow in a bed a hâthra long; there he settled birds, by the evergreen banks that bear never-failing food. There he established dwelling places, consisting of a house with a balcony, a courtyard, and a gallery.

35 There he brought the seeds of men and women, of the greatest, best, and finest kinds on this earth; there he brought the seeds of every kind of cattle, of the greatest, best, and finest kinds on this earth.

36 There he brought the seeds of every kind of tree, of the greatest, best, and finest kinds on this earth; there he brought the seeds of every kind of fruit, the fullest of food and sweetest of odour. All those seeds he brought, two of every kind, to be kept inexhaustible there, so long as those men shall stay in the Vara.

37 And there were no humpbacked, none bulged forward there; no impotent, no lunatic; no poverty, no lying; no meanness, no jealousy; no decayed tooth, no leprous to be confined, nor any of the brands wherewith Angra Mainyu stamps the bodies of mortals.

38 In the largest part of the place he made nine streets, six in the middle part, three in the smallest. To the streets of the largest part he brought a thousand seeds of men and women; to the streets of the middle part, six hundred; to the streets of the smallest part, three hundred. That Vara he sealed up with the golden ring, and he made a door, and a window self-shining within.

39 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What lights are there to give light in the Vara which Yima made?

40 Ahura Mazda answered: ‘There are uncreated lights and created lights. There the stars, the moon, and the sun are only once (a year) seen to rise and set, and a year seems only as a day.

41 'Every fortieth year, to every couple two are born, a male and a female 4. And thus it is for every sort of cattle. And the men in the Vara which Yima made live the happiest life.'

42 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is he who brought the law of Mazda into the Vara which Yima made? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It was the bird Karshipta, O holy Zarathustra!'

43 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the lord and ruler there? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Urvatad-nara, O Zarathustra! and thyself, Zarathustra.'

FARGARD 3

The Earth

1 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the first place where the Earth feels most happy? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place whereon one of the faithful steps forward, O Spitama Zarathustra! with the holy wood in his hand, the baresma in his hand, the holy meat in his hand, the holy mortar in his hand, fulfilling the law with love, and beseeching aloud Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, and Râma Hvâstra.'

2, 3 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the second place where the Earth feels most happy? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place whereon one of the faithful erects a house with a priest within, with cattle, with a wife, with children, and good herds within; and wherein afterwards the cattle go on thriving, holiness is thriving, fodder is thriving, the dog is thriving, the wife is thriving, the child is thriving, the fire is thriving, and every blessing of life is thriving.'

4 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the third place where the Earth feels most happy? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place where one of the faithful cultivates most corn, grass, and fruit, O Spitama Zarathustra! where he waters ground that is dry, or dries ground that is too wet.'

5 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the fourth place where the Earth feels most happy? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place where there is most increase of flocks and herds.'

6 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the fifth place where the Earth feels most happy? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place where flocks and herds yield most dung.'

7 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the first place where the Earth feels sorest grief? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the neck of Arezûra, whereon the hosts of fiends rush forth from the burrow of the Drug.'

8 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the second place where the Earth feels sorest grief? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place wherein most corpses of dogs and of men lie buried.'

9 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the third place where the Earth feels sorest grief? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place whereon stand most of those Dakhmas on which corpses of men are deposited.'

10 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the fourth place where the Earth feels sorest grief? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place wherein are most burrows of the creatures of Angra Mainyu.'

11 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the fifth place where the Earth feels sorest grief? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place whereon the wife and children of one of the faithful, O Spitama Zarathustra! are driven along the way of captivity, the dry, the dusty way, and lift up a voice of wailing.'

12 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the first that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is he who digs out of it most corpses of dogs and men.'

13 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the second that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is he who pulls down most of those Dakhmas on which corpses of men are deposited.'

14 Let no man alone by himself carry a corpse. If a man alone by himself carry a corpse, the Nasu rushes upon him, to defile him, from the nose of the dead, from the eye, from the tongue, from the jaws, from the sexual organ, from the hinder parts. This Drug, this Nasu, falls upon him, stains him even to the end of the nails, and he is unclean, thenceforth, for ever and ever.

15 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What shall be the place of that man who has carried a corpse alone? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It shall be the place on this earth wherein is least water and fewest plants, whereof the ground is the cleanest and the driest and the least passed through by flocks and herds, by Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of baresma, and by the faithful.'

16 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of baresma? How far from the faithful?

17 Ahura Mazda answered: ‘Thirty paces from the fire, thirty paces from the water, thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of baresma, three paces from the faithful.

18, 19 ‘There, on that place, shall the Worshippers of Mazda erect an enclosure, and therein shall they establish him with food, therein shall they establish him with clothes, with the coarsest food and with the most worn-out clothes. That food he shall live on, those clothes he shall wear, and thus shall they let him live, until he has grown to the age of a Hana, or of a Zaurura, or of a Pairista-khshudra.

20, 21 'And when he has grown to the age of a Hana, or of a Zaurura, or of a Pairista-khshudra, then the worshippers of Mazda shall order a man strong, vigorous, and skilful 3, to flay the skin off his body and cut the head off his neck, on the top of the mountain: and they shall deliver his corpse unto the greediest of the corpse-eating creatures made by Ahura Mazda, to the greedy ravens, with these words: "The man here has repented of all his evil thoughts, words, and deeds. If he has committed any other evil deed, it is remitted by his repentance: if he has committed no other evil deed, he is absolved by his repentance, for ever and ever."'

22 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the third that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is he who fills up most burrows of the creatures of Angra Mainyu.'

23 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the fourth that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy? Ahura Mazda answered: ‘It is he who cultivates most corn, grass, and fruit, O Spitama Zarathustra! who waters ground that is dry, or dries ground that is too wet.

24 ‘Unhappy is the land that has long lain unsown with the seed of the sower and wants a good husbandman, like a well-

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shapen maiden who has long gone childless and wants a good husband.

25 'He who would till the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, unto him will she bring forth plenty, like a loving bride on her bed, unto her beloved; the bride will bring forth children, the earth will bring forth plenty of fruit.

26, 27 'He who would till the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, unto him thus says the Earth: "O thou man! who dost till me with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left hither shall people ever come and beg (for bread), here shall I ever go on bearing, bringing forth all manner of food, bringing forth profusion of corn."

28, 29 'He who does not till the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, unto him thus says the Earth: "O thou man I who dost not till me with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, ever shalt thou stand at the door of the stranger, among those who beg for bread; ever shalt thou wait there for the refuse that is brought unto thee, brought by those who have profusion of wealth."'

30 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the food that fills the law of Mazda? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is sowing corn again and again, O Spitama Zarathustra!

31 'He who sows corn, sows holiness: he makes the law of Mazda grow higher and higher: he makes the law of Mazda as fat as he can with a hundred acts of adoration, a thousand oblations, ten thousand sacrifices.

32 'When barley is coming forth, the Daêvas start up; when the corn is growing rank, then faint the Daêvas hearts; when the corn is being ground, the Daêvas groan; when wheat is coming forth, the Daêvas are destroyed. In that house they can no longer stay, from that house they are beaten away, wherein wheat is thus coming forth. It is as though red hot iron were turned about in their throats, when there is plenty of corn.

33 'Then let (the priest) teach people this holy saying: "No one who does not eat, has strength to do works of holiness, strength to do works of husbandry, strength to beget children. By eating every material creature lives, by not eating it dies away."'

34 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the fifth that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy? Ahura Mazda answered: '[It is he who tilling the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! kindly and piously gives to one of the faithful.]

35 'He who tilling the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! would not kindly and piously give to one of the faithful, he shall fall down into the darkness of Spenta Ârmaiti, down into the world of woe, the dismal realm, down into the house of hell.'

36 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall bury in the earth either the corpse of a dog or the corpse of a man, and if he shall not disinter it within half a year, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Five hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, five hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

37 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall bury in the earth either the corpse of a dog or the corpse of a man, and if he shall not disinter it within a year, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

38 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall bury in the earth either the corpse of a dog or the corpse of a man, and if he shall not disinter it within the second year, what is the penalty for it? What is the atonement for it? What is the cleansing from it?

39 Ahura Mazda answered: 'For that deed there is nothing that can pay, nothing that can atone, nothing that can cleanse from it; it is a trespass for which there is no atonement, for ever and ever.'

40 When is it so? 'It is so, if the sinner be a professor of the law of Mazda, or one who has been taught in it. But if he be not a professor of the law of Mazda, nor one who has been taught in it, then this law of Mazda takes his sin from him, if he confesses it and resolves never to commit again such forbidden deeds.

41 'The law of Mazda indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! takes away from him who confesses it the bonds of his sin; it takes away (the sin of) breach of trust; it takes away (the sin of) murdering one of the faithful; it takes away (the sin of) burying a corpse; it takes away (the sin of) deeds for which, there is no atonement; it takes away the heaviest penalties of sin 1; it takes away any sin that may be sinned.

42 'In the same way the law of Mazda, O Spitama Zarathustra! cleanses the faithful from every evil thought, word, and deed, as a swift-rushing mighty wind cleanses the plain. 'So let all the deeds thou doest be henceforth good, O Zarathustra! a full atonement for thy sin is effected by means of the law of Mazda.'

FARGARD 4

Contracts and Outrages.

1 He that does not restore (a thing lent), when it is asked for back again, steals the thing; he robs the man. So he does every day, every night, as long as he keeps in his house his neighbour's property, as. though it were his own.

2 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How many in number are thy contracts, O Ahura Mazda? Ahura Mazda answered: 'They are six in number. The first is the word-contract 4; the second is the hand-contract; the third is the contract to the amount of a sheep; the fourth is the contract to the amount of an ox the fifth is the contract to the amount of a man the sixth is the contract to the amount of a field, a field in good land, a fruitful one, in good bearing.'

3 If a man make the word-contract a mere word, it shall be redeemed by the hand-contract; he shall give in pledge the amount of the hand-contract.

4 The hand-contract shall be redeemed by the sheep-contract; he shall give in pledge the amount of the sheep-contract. The sheep-contract shall be redeemed by the ox-contract; he shall give in pledge the amount of the ox-contract. The ox-contract shall be redeemed by the man-contract; he shall give in pledge the amount of the man-contract. The man-contract shall be redeemed by the field-contract; he shall give in pledge the amount of the field-contract.

5 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the word-contract, how many are involved in his sin 1? Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes, his Nabânazdistas answerable for the three hundred-fold atonement.'

6 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the hand-contract, how many are involved in his sin? Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabânazdistas answerable for the six hundred-fold atonement.'

7 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the sheep-contract, how many are involved in his sin? Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabânazdistas answerable for the seven hundred-fold atonement!'

8 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the ox-contract, how many are involved in his sin? Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabânazdistas answerable for the eight hundred-fold atonement.'

9 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the man-contract, how many are involved in his sin? Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabânazdistas answerable for the nine hundred-fold atonement.'

10 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the field-contract, how many are involved in his sin? Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabânazdistas answerable for the thousand-fold atonement.'

11 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the word-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, three hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

12 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One 1 If a man break the hand-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, six hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

13 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the sheep-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seven hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seven hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

14 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the ox-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Eight hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, eight hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

15 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the man-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Nine hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, nine hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

16 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the field-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

17 If a man rise up to smite a man, it is an Âgerepta. If a man come upon a man to smite him, it is an Avaoirista. If a man actually smite a man with evil aforethought, it is an Aredus. Upon the fifth Aredus he becomes a Peshôtanu.

18 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! He that committeth an Âgerepta, what penalty shall he pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Five stripes with the Aspahê-astra, five stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; on the second Âgerepta, ten stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ten stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; on the third, fifteen stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifteen stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.

19 'On the fourth, thirty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; on the fifth, fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; on the sixth, sixty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, sixty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; on the seventh, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

20 If a man commit an Âgerepta for the eighth time, without having atoned for the preceding, what penalty shall he pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

21 If a man commit an Âgerepta and refuse to atone for it, what penalty shall he pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

22 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Avaoirista, what penalty shall he pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ten stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ten stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; on the second Avaoirista, fifteen stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifteen stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.

23 'On the third, thirty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; on the fourth, fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; on the fifth, seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; on the sixth, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

24 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Avaoirista for the seventh time, without having atoned for the preceding, what penalty shall he pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

25 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Avaoirista, and refuse to atone for it, what penalty shall he pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

26 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Aredus, what penalty shall he pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifteen stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifteen stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.

27 'On the second Aredus, thirty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; on the third, fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; on the fourth, seventy stripes, with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; on the fifth, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

28 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Aredus for the sixth time, without having atoned for the preceding, what penalty shall he pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

29 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Aredus, and refuse to atone for it, what penalty shall he pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

30 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another and hurt him sorely, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

31 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; the second time, fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; the third time, seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; the fourth time, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

32 If a man commit that deed for the fifth time, without having atoned for the preceding, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

33 If a man commit that deed and refuse to atone for it, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

34 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that the blood comes, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; the second time, seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; the third time, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

35 If he commit that deed for the fourth time, without having atoned for the preceding, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

36 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that the blood comes, and if he refuse to atone for it, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

37 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that he breaks a bone, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-

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karana; the second time, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

38 If he commit that deed for the third time, without having atoned for the preceding, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

39 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that he breaks a bone, and if he refuse to atone for it, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

40 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that he gives up the ghost, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

41 If he commit that deed again, without having atoned for the preceding, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

42 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that he gives up the ghost, and if he refuse to atone for it, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

43 And they shall thenceforth in their doings walk after the way of holiness, after the word of holiness, after the ordinance of holiness.

44 If men of the same faith, either friends or brothers, come to an agreement together, that one may obtain from the other, either goods, or a wife, or knowledge, let him who wants to have goods have them delivered to him; let him who wants to have a wife receive and wed her; let him who wants to have knowledge be taught the holy word.

45 He shall learn on, during the first part of the day and the last, during the first part of the night and the last, that his mind may be increased in knowledge and wax strong in holiness: so shall he sit up, giving thanks and praying to the gods, that he may be increased in knowledge: he shall rest during the middle part of the day, during the middle part of the night, and thus shall he continue until he can say all the words which former Aêthrapaitis have said.

46 Before the water and the blazing fire, O Spitama Zarathustra! let no one make bold to deny having received from his neighbour the ox or the garment (he has received from him).

47 . . . Verily I say it unto thee, O Spitama Zarathustra! the man who has a wife is far above him who begets no sons; he who keeps a house is far above him who has none; he who has children is far above the childless man; he who has riches is far above him who has none.

48 And of two men, he who fills himself with meat is filled with the good spirit much more than he who does not do so; the latter is all but dead; the former is above him by the worth of an Asperena, by the worth of a sheep, by the worth of an ox, by the worth of a man.

49 It is this man that can strive against the onsets of Astô-vîdhôtu; that can strive against the self-moving arrow; that can strive against the winter fiend, with thinnest garment on; that can strive against the wicked tyrant and smite him on the head; it is this man that can strive against the ungodly Ashemaogha who does not eat.

49 . . . The very first time when that deed has been done, without waiting until it is done again.

50 Down there the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: should one cut off the limbs from his perishable body with knives of brass, yet still worse shall it be.

51 Down there the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: should one nail his perishable body with nails of brass, yet still worse shall it be.

52 Down there the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: should one by force throw his perishable body headlong down a precipice a hundred times the height of a man, yet still worse shall it be.

53 Down there the pain or that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: should one by force impale his perishable body, yet still worse shall it be.

54 Down there the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: to wit, that deed which is done, when a man, knowingly lying, confronts the brimstoned, golden, truth-knowing water with an appeal unto Rashnu and a lie unto Mithra.

55 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! He who, knowingly lying, confronts the brimstoned, golden, truth-knowing water with an appeal unto Rashnu and a lie unto Mithra, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seven hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seven hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

FARGARD 5

1 There dies a man in the depths of the vale: a bird takes flight from the top of the mountain down into the depths of the vale, and it eats up the corpse of the dead man there: then, up it flies from the depths of the vale to the top of the mountain: it flies to some one of the trees there, of the hard-wooded or the soft-wooded, and upon that tree it vomits, it deposits dung, it drops pieces from the corpse.

2 Now, lo! here is a man coming up from the depths of the vale to the top of the mountain; he comes to the tree whereon the bird is sitting; from that tree he wants to take wood for the fire. He fells the tree, he hews the tree, he splits it into logs, and then he lights it in the fire, the son of Ahura Mazda. What is the penalty that he shall pay?

3 Ahura Mazda answered: 'There is no sin upon a man for any dead matter that has been brought by dogs, by birds, by wolves, by winds, or by flies.

4 'For were there sin upon a man for any dead matter that might have been brought by dogs, by birds, by wolves, by winds, or by flies, how soon this material world of mine would have in it only Peshôtanus, shut out from the way of holiness, whose souls will cry and wail! so numberless are the beings that die upon the face of the earth.'

5 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Here is a man watering a corn field. The water streams down the field; it streams again; it streams a third time; and the fourth time, a dog, a fox, or a wolf carries a corpse into the bed of the stream: what is the penalty that the man shall pay?

6 Ahura Mazda answered: 'There is no sin upon a man for any dead matter that has been brought by dogs, by birds, by wolves, by winds, or by flies.

7 'For were there sin upon a man for any dead matter that might have been brought by dogs, by birds, by wolves, by winds, or by flies, how soon this material world of mine would have in it only Peshôtanus, shut out from the way of, holiness, whose souls will cry and wail! so numberless are the beings that die upon the face of the earth.'

8 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Does water kill? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Water kills no man: Astô-vîdhôtu 1 ties the noose around his neck, and, thus tied, Vaya carries him off: then the flood takes him up, the flood takes him down, the flood throws him ashore; then birds feed upon him, and chance brings him here, or brings him there.'

9 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Does fire kill? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fire kills no man: Astô-vîdhôtu ties the noose around his neck, and, thus tied, Vaya carries him off. The fire burns up life and limb, and then chance brings him here, or brings him there.'

10 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If the summer is past and the winter has come, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do? Ahura Mazda answered: 'In every house? in every borough, they shall raise three small houses for the dead.'

11 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How large shall be those houses for the dead? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Large enough not to strike the skull, or the feet, or the hands of the man, if he should stand erect, and hold out his feet, and stretch out his hands: such shall be, according to the law, the houses for the dead.

12 'And they shall let the lifeless body lie there, for two nights, or for three nights, or a month long, until the birds begin to fly, the plants to grow, the floods to flow, and the wind to dry up the waters from off the earth.

13 'And as soon as the birds begin to fly, the plants to grow, the floods to flow, and the wind to dry up the waters from off the earth, then the worshippers of Mazda shall lay down the dead (on the Dakhma) his eyes towards the sun.

14 'If the worshippers of Mazda have not, within a year, laid down the dead (on the Dakhma), his eyes towards the sun, thou shalt prescribe for that trespass the same penalty as for the murder of one of the faithful. And there shall it lie until the corpse has been rained on, until the Dakhma has been rained on, until the unclean remains have been rained on, until the birds have eaten up the corpse.'

15 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Is it true that thou, Ahura Mazda, sendest the waters from the sea Vouru-kasha 1 down with the wind and with the clouds?

16 That thou, Ahura Mazda, makest them flow down to the corpses? that thou, Ahura Mazda, makest them flow down to the Dakhmas? that thou, Ahura Mazda, makest them flow down to the unclean remains? that thou, Ahura Mazda, makest them flow down to the bones? and that then thou, Ahura Mazda, makest them flow back unseen? that thou, Ahura Mazda, makest them flow back to the sea Pûitika?

17 Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is even so as thou hast said, O righteous Zarathustra! I, Ahura Mazda, send the waters from the sea Vouru-kasha down with the wind and with the clouds.

18 'I, Ahura Mazda, make them stream down to the corpses; I, Ahura Mazda, make them stream down to the Dakhmas; I, Ahura Mazda, make them stream down to the unclean remains; I, Ahura Mazda, make them stream down to the bones; then I, Ahura Mazda, make them flow back unseen; I, Ahura Mazda, make them flow back to the sea Pûitika.

19 'The waters stand there boiling, boiling up in the heart of the sea Pûitika, and, when cleansed there, they run back again from the sea Pûitika to the sea Vouru-kasha, towards the well-watered tree, whereon grow the seeds of my plants of every kind by hundreds, by thousands, by hundreds of thousands.

20 'Those plants, I, Ahura Mazda, rain down upon the earth, to bring food to the faithful, and fodder to the beneficent cow; to bring food to my people that they may live on it, and fodder to the beneficent cow.'

21 'This 1 is the best of all things, this is the fairest of all things, even as thou hast said, O righteous Zarathustra!' With these words the holy Ahura Mazda rejoiced the holy Zarathustra: 'Purity is for man, next to life, the greatest good 3, that purity that is procured by the law of Mazda to him who cleanses his own self with good thoughts, words, and deeds.'

22 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! This law, this fiend-destroying law of Zarathustra, by what greatness, goodness, and fairness is it great, good, and fair above all other utterances?

23 (69). Ahura Mazda answered: 'As much above all other floods as is the sea Vouru-kasha, so much above all other utterances in greatness, goodness, and fairness is this law, this fiend-destroying law of Zarathustra.

24 (70). 'As much as a great stream flows swifter than a slender rivulet, so much above all other utterances in greatness, goodness, and fairness is this law, this fiend-destroying law of Zarathustra. 'As high as the great tree stands above the small plants it overshadows, so high above all other utterances in greatness, goodness, and fairness is this law, this fiend-destroying law of Zarathustra.

25, 26 'As high as heaven is above the earth that it compasses around, so high above all other utterances is this law, this fiend-destroying law of Mazda. 'Therefore, when the Ratu has been applied to when the Sraoshâ-varez has been applied to; whether for a draona-service that has been undertaken, or for one that has not been undertaken; whether for a draona that has been offered up, or for one that has not been offered up; whether for a draona that has been shared, or for one that has not been shared; the Ratu has power to remit him one-third of the penalty he had to pay: if he has committed any other evil deed, it is remitted by his repentance; if he has committed, no other evil deed, he is absolved by his repentance for ever and ever.'

27 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be a number of men resting in the same place, on adjoining carpets, on adjoining pillows, be there two men near one another, or five, or fifty, or a hundred, close by one another; and of those people one happens to die; how many of them does the Drug Nasu envelope with infection, pollution, and uncleanness?

28 Ahura Mazda answered: 'If the dead one be a priest, the Drug-Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the eleventh and defiles the ten. 'If the dead one be a warrior, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the tenth and defiles the nine. 'If the dead one be a husbandman, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the ninth and defiles the eight.

29 'If it be a shepherd's dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the eighth and defiles the seven. 'If it be a house dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the seventh and defiles the six.

30 'If it be a Vohunazga dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the sixth and defiles the five. 'If it be a young dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the fifth and defiles the four.

31 'If it be a Sukuruna dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the fourth and defiles the three. 'If it be a Gazu dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the third and defiles the two.

32 'If it be an Aiwizu dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the second and defiles the next. 'If it be a Vîzu dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the next, she defiles the next.'

33 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If it be an Urupi dog, how many of the creatures of the good spirit does it directly defile, how many does it indirectly defile in dying?

34 Ahura Mazda answered: 'An Urupi dog does neither directly nor indirectly defile any of the creatures of the good spirit, but him who smites and kills it; to him the uncleanness clings for ever and ever.'

35 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If the dead one be a wicked, two-footed ruffian, an ungodly Ashemaogha how many of the creatures of the good spirit does he directly defile, how many does he indirectly defile in dying?

36 Ahura Mazda answered: 'No more than a frog does whose venom is dried up, and that has been dead more than a year. Whilst alive, indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! that wicked, two-legged ruffian, that ungodly Ashemaogha,

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directly defiles the creatures of the good spirit, and indirectly defiles them.

37 'Whilst alive he smites the water; whilst alive he blows out the fire; whilst alive he carries off the cow; whilst alive he smites the faithful man with a deadly blow, that parts the soul from the body; not so will he do when dead.

38 'Whilst alive, indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! that wicked, two-legged ruffian, that ungodly Ashemaogha, never ceases depriving the faithful man of his food, of his clothing, of his house, of his bed, of his vessels; not so will he do when dead.'

39 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When into our houses here below we have brought the fire, the baresma, the cups, the Haoma, and the mortar, O holy Ahura Mazda! if it come to pass that either a dog or a man dies there, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

40 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Out of the house, O Spitama Zarathustra! shall they take the fire, the baresma, the cups, the Haoma, and the mortar; they shall take the dead one out to the proper place whereto, according to the law, corpses must be brought, to be devoured there.'

41 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When shall they bring back the fire into the house wherein the man has died?

42 Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wait for nine nights in winter, for a month in summer, and then they shall bring back the fire to the house wherein the man has died.'

43 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! And if they shall bring back the fire to the house wherein the man has died, within the nine nights, or within the month, what penalty shall they pay?

44 Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall be Peshôtanus: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

45 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If in the house of a worshipper of Mazda there be a woman with child, and if being a month gone, or two, or three, or four, or five, or six, or seven, or eight, or nine, or ten months gone, she bring forth a still-born child, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

40 Ahura Mazda answered: 'The place in that Mazdean house whereof the ground is the cleanest and the driest, and the least passed through by flocks and herds, by Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of baresma, and by the faithful;'--

47 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of baresma? How far from the faithful?

48 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty paces from the fire; thirty paces from the water; thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of baresma; three paces from the faithful;--

49 'On that place shall the worshippers of Mazda erect an enclosure, and therein shall they establish her with food, therein shall they establish her with clothes.'

50 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the food that the woman shall first take?

51 Ahura Mazda answered: 'She shall drink gômêz mixed with ashes, three cups of it, or six, or nine, to wash over the grave within her womb.

52 'Afterwards she may drink boiling milk of mares, cows, sheep, or goats, with pap or without pap; she may take cooked meat without water, bread without wafer, and wine without water.'

53 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long shall she remain so? How long shall she live only on that sort of meat, bread, and wine?

54 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three nights long shall she remain so; three nights long shall she live on that sort of meat, bread, and wine. Then, when three nights have passed, she shall wash her body, she shall wash her clothes, with gômêz and water, by the nine holes, and thus shall she be clean.'

55 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long shall she remain so? How long, after the three nights have gone, shall she sit confined, and live separated from the rest of the worshippers of Mazda, as to her seat, her food, and her clothing?

56 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Nine nights long shall she remain so: nine nights long, after the three nights have gone, shall she sit confined, and live separated from the rest of the worshippers of Mazda, as to her seat, her food, and her clothing. Then, when the nine nights have gone, she shall wash her body, and cleanse her clothes with gômêz and water.'

57 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can those clothes, when once washed and cleansed, ever be used either by a Zaotar, or by a Hâvanan, or by an Âtare-vakhsha, or by a Frabaretar, or by an Âbered, or by an Âsnâtar, or by a Rathwiskar, or by a Sraoshâ-varez, or by any priest, warrior, or husbandman?

58 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Never can those clothes, even when washed and cleansed, be used either by a Zaotar, or by a Hâvanan, or by an Âtare-vakhsha, or by a Frabaretar, or by an Âbered, or by an Âsnâtar, or by a Rathwiskar, or by a Sraoshâ-varez, or by any priest, warrior, or husbandman.

59 'But if there be in a Mazdean house a woman who is in her sickness, or a man who has become unfit for work, and who must sit in the place of infirmity, those clothes shall serve for their coverings and for their sheets, until they can withdraw and move their hands.

60 'Ahura Mazda, indeed, does not allow us to waste anything of value that we may have, not even so much as an Asperena's weight of thread, not even so much as a maid lets fall in spinning.

61 'Whosoever throws any clothing on a dead body, even so much as a maid lets fall in spinning, is not a pious man whilst alive, nor shall he, when dead, have a place in the happy realm.

62 'He shall go away into the world of the fiends, into that dark world, made of darkness, the offspring of darkness. To that world, to the dismal realm, you are delivered by your own doings, by your own souls, O sinners!'

FARGARD 6

1. How long shall the ground lie fallow whereon dogs or men have died? Ahura Mazda answered: 'A year long shall the ground lie fallow whereon dogs or men have died, O holy Zarathustra!

2 'A year long shall no worshipper of Mazda sow or water that part of the ground whereon dogs or men have died; he may sow as he likes the rest of the ground; he may water it as he likes.

3 'If within the year they shall sow or water the ground whereon dogs or men have died, the sin is the same as if they had brought dead matter to the water, to the earth, and to the plants.'

4 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If worshippers of Mazda shall sow or water, within the year, the ground whereon dogs or men have died, what is the penalty that they shall pay?

5 Ahura Mazda answered: 'They are Peshôtanus: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

6 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If worshippers of Mazda want to make the ground fit to be tilled again, that they may water it, sow it, and plough it, what shall they do?

7 Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall look on the ground for any bones, hair, flesh, dung, or blood that may be there.'

8 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If they shall not look on the ground for any bones, hair, flesh, dung, or blood that may be there, what is the penalty that they shall pay?

9 Ahura Mazda answered: 'They are Peshôtanus: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

10 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as the top joint of the little finger, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

11 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

12 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as the top joint of the fore-finger, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

13 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

14 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as the top joint of the middle finger, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

15 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

16 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as a finger or as a rib, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

17 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

18 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as two fingers or as two ribs, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

19 Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

20 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as an arm-bone or as a thigh-bone, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

21 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Four hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, four hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

22 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as a man's skull, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

23 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, six hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

24 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground the whole body of a dead dog, or of a dead man, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

25 Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

26 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a worshipper of Mazda, walking, or running, or riding, or driving, come upon a corpse in a stream of running water, what shall he do?

27 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Taking off his shoes, putting off his clothes, boldly, O Zarathustra! he shall enter the river, and take the dead out of the water; he shall go down into the water ankle-deep, knee-deep, waist-deep, or a man's full depth, till he can reach the dead body.'

28 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If, however, the body be already falling to pieces and rotting, what shall the worshipper of Mazda do?

29 Ahura Mazda answered: 'He shall draw out of the water as much of the corpse as he can grasp with both hands, and he shall lay it down on the dry ground; no sin attaches to him for any bone, hair, grease, flesh, dung, or blood that may drop back into the water.'

30 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of the water in a pond does the Drug Nasu defile with infection, pollution, and uncleanness?

31 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six steps on each of the four sides. As long as the corpse has not been taken out of the water, so long shall that water be unclean and unfit to drink. They shall, therefore, take the corpse out of the pond, and lay it down on the dry ground.

32 'And of the water they shalt draw off the half, or the third, or the fourth, or the fifth part, according as they are able; and after the corpse has been taken out and the water has been drawn off, the rest of the water is clean, and both cattle and men may drink of it at their pleasure, as before.'

33 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of the water in a well does the Drug Nasu defile with infection, pollution, and uncleanness?

34 Ahura Mazda answered: 'As long as the corpse has not been taken out of the water, so long shall that water be unclean and unfit to drink. They shall, therefore, take the corpse out of the well, and lay it down on the dry ground.

35 'And of the water in the well they shall draw off the half, or the third, or the fourth, or the fifth part, according as they are able; and after the corpse has been taken out and the water has been drawn off, the rest of the water is clean, and both cattle and men may drink of it at their pleasure, as before.'

36 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of a sheet of snow or hail does the Drug Nasu defile with infection, pollution, and uncleanness?

37 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three steps on each of the four sides. As long as the corpse has not been taken out of the water, so long shall that water be unclean and unfit to drink. They shall, therefore, take the corpse out of the water, and lay it down on the dry ground.

38 'After the corpse has been taken out, and the snow or the hail has melted, the water is clean, and both cattle and men may drink of it at their pleasure, as before.'

39 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of the water of a running does the Drug Nasu defile with infection pollution, and uncleanness?

40 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three steps down the stream, nine steps up the stream, six steps across. As long as the corpse has not been taken out of the water, so long shall the water be unclean and unfit to drink. They shall, therefore, take the corpse out of the water, and lay it down on the dry ground.

41 'After the corpse has been taken out and the stream has flowed three times, the water is clean, and both cattle and men may drink of it at their pleasure, as before.'

42 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the Haoma that has been touched by the corpse of a dead dog, or the corpse of a dead man, be made clean again?

40 Ahura Mazda answered: 'It can, O holy Zarathustra! If it has been strained for the Sacrifice, no corpse that has been brought unto it, makes corruption or death enter it. If it has not been strained for the sacrifice, the stem is defiled the length of four fingers. That length of stem shall be buried in the ground, in the middle of the house, for a year long. When the year is passed, the faithful may drink of its juice at their pleasure, as before.'

44 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Whither shall we bring, where shall we lay the bodies of the dead, O Ahura Mazda?

45 Ahura Mazda answered: 'On the highest summits, where they know there are always corpse-eating dogs and corpse-eating birds, O holy Zarathustra!

46 'There shall the worshippers of Mazda fasten the corpse, by the feet and by the hair, with brass, stones, or lead, lest the

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corpse-eating dogs and the corpse-eating birds shall go and carry the bones to the water and to the trees.

47 'If they shall not fasten the corpse, so that the corpse-eating dogs and the corpse-eating birds may go and carry the bones to the water and to the trees, what is the penalty that they shall pay?'

48 Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall be Peshôtanus: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

49 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy-one! Whither shall we bring, where shall we lay the bones of the dead, O Ahura Mazda?

50 Ahura Mazda answered: 'The worshippers of Mazda shall erect a building out of the reach of the dog, of the fox, and of the wolf, and wherein rain-water cannot stay.

51 'Such a building shall they erect, if they can afford it, with stones, mortar, and earth; if they cannot afford it, they shall lay down the dead man on the ground, on his carpet and his pillow, clothed with the light of heaven, and beholding the sun.'

FARGARD 7

1 Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When a man dies, at what moment does the Drug Nasu rush upon him?'

2 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Directly after death, as soon as the soul has left the body, O Spitama Zarathustra! the Drug Nasu comes and rushes upon him, from the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, all stained with stains, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.

3 'On him she stays until the dog has seen the corpse or eaten it up, or until the flesh-eating birds have taken flight towards it. When the dog has seen it or eaten it up, or when the flesh-eating birds have taken flight towards it, then the Drug Nasu rushes away to the regions of the north in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, all stained with stains, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.']

4 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If the man has been killed by a dog, or by a wolf, or by witchcraft, or by the artifices of hatred, or by falling down a precipice, or by the law, or by a murderer, or by the noose, how long after death does the Drug Nasu come and rush upon the dead?

5 Ahura Mazda answered: 'At the next watch after death 1, the Drug Nasu comes and rushes upon the dead, from the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, all stained with stains, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.'

6 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be a number of men resting in the same place, on adjoining carpets, on adjoining pillows, be there two men near one another, or five, or fifty, or a hundred, close by one another; and of those people one happens to die; how many of them does the Drug Nasu envelope with infection, pollution, and uncleanness?

7 Ahura Mazda answered: 'If the dead one be a priest, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the eleventh and defiles the ten. 'If the dead one be a warrior, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the tenth and defiles the nine. 'If the dead one be a husbandman, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the ninth and defiles the eight.

8 'If it be a shepherd's dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the eighth and defiles the seven. 'If it be a house dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the seventh and defiles the six.

9 'If it be a Vohunazga dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the sixth and defiles the five. 'If it be a young dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the fifth and defiles the four.'

. . . 'those clothes shall serve for their coverings and for their sheets.' . . .

10 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of his bedding and pillow does the Drug Nasu defile with infection, uncleanness, and pollution?

11 Ahura Mazda answered: 'The Drug Nasu defiles with infection, uncleanness, and pollution the upper sheet and the inner garment.'

12 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can that garment be made clean, O holy Ahura Mazda! that has been touched by the carcase of a dog or the corpse of a man?

13 Ahura Mazda answered: 'It can, O holy Zarathustra!' How so? 'If, indeed, the garment has been defiled with seed, or sweat, or dirt, or vomit, the worshippers of Mazda shall rend it to pieces, and bury it under the ground.

14 'But if it has not been defiled with seed, or sweat, or dirt, or vomit, then the worshippers of Mazda shall wash it with gômêz.

15 'If it be leather, they shall wash it with gômêz three times, they shall rub it with earth three times, they shall wash it with water three times, and afterwards they shall expose it to the air for three months at the window of the house. 'If it be woven cloth, they shall wash it with gômêz six times, they shall rub it with earth six times, they shall wash it with water six times, and afterwards they shall expose it to the air for six months at the window of the house.

16 'The spring named Ardvî Sûra, O Spitama Zarathustra! that spring of mine, purifies the seed in man, the fruit in a woman's womb, the milk in a woman's breast.'

17 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can those clothes, when once washed and cleansed, ever be used either by a Zaotar, or by a Hâvanan, or by an Âtare-vakhsha, or by a Frabaretar, or by an Âbered, or by an Âsnâtar, or by a Rathwiskar, or by a Sraoshâ-varez, or by any priest, warrior, or husbandman?

18 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Never can those clothes, even when washed and cleansed, be used either by a Zaotar, or by a Hâvanan, or by an Âtare-vakhsha, or by a Frabaretar, or by an Âbered, or by an Âsnâtar, or by a Rathwiskar, or by a Sraoshâ-varez, or by any priest, warrior, or husbandman.

19 'But if there be in a Mazdean house a woman who is in her sickness, or a man who has become unfit for work, and who must sit in the place of infirmity, those clothes shall serve for their coverings and for their sheets, until they can withdraw and move their hands.

20 'Ahura Mazda, indeed, does not allow us to waste anything of value that we may have, not even so much as an Asperena's weight of thread, not even so much as a maid lets fall in spinning.

21 'Whosoever throws any clothing on a dead body, even so much as a maid lets fall in spinning, is not a pious man whilst alive, nor shall he, when dead, have a place in the happy realm.

22 'He shall go away into the world of the fiends, into that dark world, made of darkness, the offspring of darkness. To that world, to the dismal realm, you are delivered by your own doings, by your own souls, O sinners!'

23 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can he be clean again who has eaten of the carcase of a dog or of the carcase of a man?

24 Ahura Mazda answered: 'He cannot, O holy Zarathustra! His burrow shall be dug out, his life shall be torn out, his bright eyes shall be put out; the Drug Nasu falls upon him, takes hold of him even to the end of the nails, and he is unclean, thenceforth, for ever and ever.'

25 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can he be clean again, O holy Ahura Mazda! who has brought a corpse with filth into the waters, or unto the fire, and made either unclean?

26 Ahura Mazda answered: 'He cannot, O holy Zarathustra! Those wicked ones it is, those men turned to Nasus, that most increase gnats and locusts; those wicked ones it is, those men turned to Nasus, that most increase the grass-destroying drought.

27 'Those wicked ones it is, those men turned to Nasus, that increase most the power of the winter, produced by the fiends, the cattle-killing, thick-snowing, overflowing, the piercing, fierce, mischievous winter. Upon them comes and rushes the Drug Nasu, she takes hold of them even to the end of the nails, and they are unclean, thenceforth, for ever and ever.'

28 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the wood be made clean, O holy Ahura Mazda! whereunto dead matter has been brought from a dead dog, or from a dead man?

29 Ahura Mazda answered: 'It can, O holy Zarathustra!' How so? 'If the Nasu has not yet been smitten by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds, they shall lay down, apart on the ground, the wood on the length of a Vîtasti all around the dead matter, if the wood be dry; on the length of a Frârâthni all around, if it be wet; then they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.

30 'But if the Nasu has already been smitten by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds, they shall lay down, apart on the ground, the wood on the length of a Frârâthni all around the dead matter, if the wood be dry; on the length of a Frâbâzu all around, if it be wet; then they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.

31 'This is the quantity of wood around the dead matter, that they shall lay down, apart on the ground, according as the wood is dry or wet; according as it is hard or soft; they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.'

32 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the corn or the fodder be made clean, O holy Ahura Mazda! whereunto dead matter has been brought from a dead dog, or from a dead man?

33 Ahura Mazda answered: 'It can, O holy Zarathustra!' How so? 'If the Nasu has not yet been smitten by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds, they shall lay down, apart on the ground, the corn on the length of a Frârâthni all around the dead matter, if the corn be dry; on the length of a Frâbâzu all around if it be wet; then they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.

34 'But if the Nasu has already been smitten by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds, they shall lay down, apart on the ground, the corn on the length of a Frâbâzu all around the dead matter, if the corn be dry; on the length of a Vîbâzu all around, if it be wet; then they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.

35 'This is the quantity of corn around the dead matter, that they shall lay down, apart on the ground, according as the corn is dry or wet; according as it is sown or not sown; according as it is reaped or not reaped; according as it is ground or not ground 3; according as it is (kneaded) or not kneaded; they shall sprinkle it once over with water, And it shall be clean.'

36 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a worshipper of Mazda want to practice the art of healing, on whom shall he first his skill? on worshippers of Mazda or on worshippers of the Daêvas?

37 Ahura Mazda answered: 'On worshippers of the Daêvas shall he first prove himself, rather than on worshippers of Mazda. If he treat with the knife a worshipper of the Daêvas and he die; if he treat with the knife a second worshipper of the Daêvas and he die; if he treat with the knife for the third time a worshipper of the Daêvas and he die, he is unfit to practise the art of healing for ever and ever.

38 'Let him therefore never attend any worshipper of Mazda; let him never treat with the knife any worshipper of Mazda, nor wound him with the knife. If he shall ever attend any worshipper of Mazda, if he shall ever treat with the knife any worshipper of Mazda, and wound him with the knife, he shall pay for it the same penalty as is paid for wilful murder.

39 'If he treat with the knife a worshipper of the Daêvas and he recover; if he treat with the knife a second worshipper of the Daêvas and he recover; if for the third time he treat with the knife a worshipper of the Daêvas and he recover; then he is fit to practise the art of healing for ever and ever.

40 'He may henceforth at his will, attend worshippers of Mazda; he may at his will treat with the knife worshippers of Mazda, and heal them with the knife.

41 'A healer shall heal a priest for a holy blessing; he shall heal the master of a house for the value of an ox of low value; he shall heal the lord of a borough for the value of an ox of average value; he shall heal the lord of a town for the value of an ox of high value; he shall heal the lord of a province for the value of a chariot and four.

42 'He shall heal the wife of the master of a house for the value of a she-ass; he shall heal the wife of the lord of a borough for the value of a cow; he shall heal the wife of the lord of a town for the value of a mare; he shall heal the wife of the lord of a province for the value of a she-camel.

43 'He shall heal the son of the lord of a borough for the value of an ox of high value; he shall heal an ox of high value for the value of an ox of average value; he shall heal an ox of average value for that of an ox of low value; he shall heal an ox of low value for the value of a sheep; he shall heal a sheep for the value of a meal of meat.

44 'If several healers offer themselves together, O Spitama Zarathustra! namely, one who heals with the knife, one who heals with herbs, and one who heals with the holy word, it is this one who will best drive away sickness from the body of the faithful.'

45 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long after the corpse of a dead man has been laid down on the ground, clothed with the light of heaven and beholding the sun, is the ground itself again?

46 Ahura Mazda answered: 'When the corpse of a dead man has lain on the ground for a year, clothed with the light of heaven, and beholding the sun, then the ground is itself again, O holy Zarathustra!'

47 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long after the corpse of a dead man has been buried in the earth, is the earth itself again?

48 Ahura Mazda answered: 'When the corpse of a dead man has lain buried in the earth for fifty years, O Spitama Zarathustra! then the earth is itself again.'

49 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long after the corpse of a dead man has been laid down on a Dakhma, is the ground, whereon the Dakhma stands, itself again?

50 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Not until the dust of the corpse, O Spitama Zarathustra! has mingled with the dust of the earth. Urge every one in the material world, O Spitama Zarathustra! to pull down Dakhmas.

51 'He who should pull down Dakhmas, even so much thereof as the size of his own body, his sins in thought, word, and deed are remitted as they would be by a Patet; his sins in thought, word, and deed are atoned for.

52-54 'Not for his soul shall the two spirits wage war with one another; and when he enters the blissful world, the stars, the moon, and the sun shall rejoice in him; and I, Ahura Mazda, shall rejoice in him, saying: "Hail, O man! thou who hast just passed from the decaying world into the undecaying one!"'

55 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Where are the fiends? Where are the worshippers of the fiends? What is the place whereon the troops of fiends rush together? What is the place whereon the troops of fiends come rushing along? What is the place whereon they rush together to kill their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads?

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56 Ahura Mazda answered: ‘Those Dakhmas that are built upon the face of the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! and whereon are laid the corpses Of dead men, that is the place where the fiends are, that is the place whereon the troops of fiends rush together, that is the place whereon the troops of fiends come rushing along, that is the place whereon they rush together to kill their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads.

57 ‘On those Dakhmas, O Spitama Zarathustra! those fiends take food and void filth, (eating up corpses) in the same way as you, men, in the material world, eat cooked meal and cooked meat. It is, as it were, the smell of their feeding that you smell there, O men!

58 ‘Thus the fiends revel on there, until that stench is rooted in the Dakhmas. Thus from the Dakhmas arise the infection of diseases, itch, hot fever, humours, cold fever, rickets, and hair untimely white. There death has most power on man, from the hour when the sun is down.

59 'And if there be people of evil spirit who do not seek for better spirit, the Gainis make those diseases grow stronger by a third, on their thighs, on their hands, on their plaited hair.'

60 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If in the house of a worshipper of Mazda there be a woman with child, and if being a month gone, or two, or three, or four, or five, or six, or seven, or eight, or nine, or ten months gone, she bring forth a still-born child, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

61 Ahura Mazda answered: 'The place in that Mazdean house whereof the ground is the cleanest and the driest, and the least passed through by flocks and herds, by Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of baresma, and by the faithful;'--

62 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of baresma? How far from the faithful?

63 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty paces from the fire; thirty paces from the water; thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of baresma three paces from the faithful;'--

64 'On that place shall the worshippers of Mazda erect an enclosure, and therein shall they establish her with food, therein shall they establish her with clothes.'

65 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the food that the woman shall first take?

66 Ahura Mazda answered: ‘She shall drink gômêz mixed with ashes, three cups of it, or six, or nine, to wash over the grave in her womb.

67 'Afterwards she may drink boiling milk of mares, cows, sheep, or goats, with pap or without pap; she may take cooked meat without water, bread without water, and wine without water.'

68 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long shall she remain so? How long shall she live only on that sort of meat, bread, and wine?

69 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three nights long shall she remain so; three nights long shall she live on that sort of meat, bread, and wine. Then, when three nights have passed, she shall wash her body, she shall wash her clothes, with gômêz and water, by the nine holes, and thus shall she be clean.'

70 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! But if fever befall her unclean body, if that twofold plague, hunger and thirst, befall her, may she be allowed to drink water?

71 Ahura Mazda answered: 'She may; the first thing for her is to have her life saved. Having been allowed by one of the holy men, by a holy faithful man, who knows the holy knowledge, she shall drink of the strength-giving water. But you, worshippers of Mazda, fix ye the penalty for it. The Ratu being applied to, the Sraoshâ-varez being applied to, shall prescribe the penalty to be paid.'

72 What is the penalty to be paid? Ahura Mazda answered: 'The deed is that of a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

73 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the eating vessels be made clean that have been touched by the carcase of a dog, or by the corpse of a man?

74 Ahura Mazda answered: 'They can, O holy Zarathustra!' How so? ‘If they be of gold, you shall wash them once with gômêz, you shall rub them once with earth, you shall wash them once with water, and they shall be clean. ‘If they be of silver, you shall wash them twice with gômêz, you shall rub them twice with earth, you shall wash them twice with water, and they shall be clean.

75 ‘If they be of brass, you shall wash them thrice with gômêz, you shall rub them thrice with earth, you shall wash them thrice with water, and they shall be clean. ‘If they be of steel, you shall wash them four times with gômêz, you shall rub them four times with earth, you shall wash them four times with water, and they shall be clean. ‘If they be of stone, you shall wash them six times with gômêz, you shall rub them six times with earth, you shall wash them six times with water, and they shall be clean. 'If they be of earth, of wood, or of clay, they are unclean for ever and ever.'

76 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the cow be made clean that has eaten of the carcase of a dog, or of the corpse of a man?

77 Ahura Mazda answered: 'She can, O holy Zarathustra! The priest shall not, within a year, take from her to the baresma neither the milk and cheese that accompany the libation, nor the meat that accompanies the libation. When a year has passed, then the faithful may eat of her as before.'

78 Who is he, O holy Ahura Mazda! who, with a godly intent, with a godly wish, goes astray from the ways of God? Who is he who, with a godly intent, falls into the ways of the Drug?

79 Ahura Mazda answered: 'The one who, with a godly intent, with a godly wish, goes astray from the ways of God; the one who with a godly intent falls into the ways of the Drug, is he who offers up for libation water defiled by the dead; or who offers up libations in the dead of the night.'

FARGARD 8

1 If a dog or a man die under the timber-work of a house or the wattlings of a hut, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

2 Ahura Mazda answered: ‘They shall look for a Dakhma, they shall look for a Dakhma all around. If they find it easier, to remove the dead than to remove the house, they shall take out the dead, they shall let the house stand, and shall perfume it with Urvâsni, or Vohu-gaona, or Vohu-kereti, or Hadhâ-naêpata, or any other sweet-smelling plant.

3 'If they find it easier to remove the house than to remove the dead, they shall take away the house, they shall let the dead lie on the spot, and shall perfume the house with Urvâsni, or Vohu-gaona, or Vohu-kereti, or Hadhâ-naêpata, or any other sweet-smelling plant.'

4 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If in the house of a worshipper of Mazda a dog or a man happens to die, and it is raining, or snowing, or blowing, or the darkness is coming on, when flocks and men lose their way, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

5 Ahura Mazda answered: 'The place in that house whereof the ground is the cleanest and the driest, and the least passed through by flocks and herds, by Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of baresma, and by the faithful;'--

6 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of baresma? How far from the faithful?

7 Ahura Mazda answered: ‘Thirty paces from the fire; thirty paces from the water; thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of baresma; three paces from the faithful;--

8 ‘On that place they shall dig a grave, half a foot deep if the earth be hard, half the height of a man if it be soft; [they shall cover the surface of the grave with ashes or cowdung]; they shall cover the surface of it with dust of bricks, of stones, or of dry earth.

9 ‘And they shall let the lifeless body lie there, for two nights, or three nights, or a month long, until the birds begin to fly, the plants to grow, the floods to flow, and the wind to dry up the waters from off the earth.

10 ‘And when the birds begin to fly, the plants to grow, the floods to flow, and the wind to dry up the waters from off the earth, then the worshippers of Mazda shall make a breach in the wall of the house, and they shall call for two men, strong and skilful, and those, having stripped their clothes off, shall take the body to the building of clay, stones, and mortar, raised on a place where they know there are always corpse-eating dogs and corpse-eating birds.

11 'Afterwards the corpse-bearers shall sit down, three paces from the dead; then the holy Ratu shall proclaim to the worshippers of Mazda thus: "Let the worshippers of Mazda here bring the urine wherewith the corpse-bearers there shall wash their hair and their bodies!""

12 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the urine wherewith the corpse-bearers shall wash their hair and their bodies? Is it of sheep or of oxen? Is it of man or of woman?

13 Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is of sheep or of oxen; not of man nor of woman, except these two: the nearest kinsman (of the dead) or his nearest kinswoman. The worshippers of Mazda shall therefore procure the urine wherewith the corpse-bearers shall wash their hair and their bodies.'

14 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the way, whereon the carcases of dogs or corpses of men have been carried, be passed through again by flocks and herds, by men and women, by Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of baresma, and by the faithful?

15 Ahura Mazda answered: ‘It cannot be passed through again by flocks and herds, nor by men and women, nor by Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, nor by the consecrated bundles of baresma, nor by the faithful.

16 ‘You shall therefore cause the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, to go three times through that way. When either the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, is brought there, then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, all stained with stains, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.

17 ‘If the dog goes unwillingly, they shall use the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears: to go six times 1 through that way. When either the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, is brought there, then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, all stained with stains, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.

18 ‘If the dog goes unwillingly, they shall cause the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, to go nine times through that way. When either the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, has been brought there, then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, all stained with stains, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.

19 ‘An Âthravan shall first go along the way and shall say aloud these fiend-smiting words: "Yathâ ahû vairyô:--the will of the Lord is the law of holiness; the riches of Vohu-manô shall be given to him who works in this world for Mazda, and wields according to the will of Ahura the power he gave to him to relieve the poor.

20 ‘"Kem nâ mazdâ:--whom hast thou placed to protect me, O Mazda! while the hate of the fiend is grasping me? Whom but thy Âtar and Vohu-manô, by whose work the holy world goes on? Reveal to me the rules of thy law! ‘"Ke verethrem gâ:--who is he who will smite the fiend in order to maintain thy ordinances? Teach me clearly thy rules for this world and for the next, that Sraosha may come with Vohu-manô and help whomsoever thou pleasest.

21 ‘"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Rush away, O Drug! Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit!"

22 ‘Then the worshippers of Mazda may at their will bring by those ways sheep and oxen, men and women, and Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, the consecrated bundles of baresma, and the faithful. 'The worshippers of Mazda may afterwards prepare meals with meat and wine in that house; it shall be clean, and there will be no sin, as before.'

23 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw clothes, either of skin or woven, upon a dead body, enough to cover the feet, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Four hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, four hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

24 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw clothes, either of skin or woven, upon a dead body, enough to cover both legs, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, six hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

25 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw clothes, either of skin or woven, upon a dead body, enough to cover the whole body, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

26 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man involuntarily emits his seed, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Eight hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, eight hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

27 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man voluntarily emits his seed, what is the penalty for it? What is the atonement for it? What is the cleansing from it? Ahura Mazda answered: 'For that deed there is nothing that can pay, nothing that can atone, nothing that can cleanse from it; it is a trespass for which there is no atonement, for ever and ever.'

28 When is it so? ‘It is so, if the sinner be a professor of the law of Mazda, or one who has been taught in it. But if he be not a professor of the law of Mazda, nor one who has been taught in it, then this law of Mazda takes his sin from him, if he confesses it and resolves never to commit again such forbidden deeds.

29 ‘The law of Mazda indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! takes away from him who confesses it the bonds of his sin; it takes away (the sin of) breach of trust; it takes away (the sin of) murdering one of the faithful; it takes away (the sin of) burying a corpse; it takes away (the sin of) deeds for which there is no atonement; it takes away the heaviest penalties of sin; it takes away any sin that may be sinned.

30 ‘In the same way the law of Mazda, O Spitama Zarathustra! cleanses the faithful from every evil thought, word, and deed, as a swift-rushing mighty wind cleanses the plain. 'So let all the deeds thou doest be henceforth good, O Zarathustra! a full atonement for thy sin is effected by means of the law of Mazda.'

31 O Maker of the material world, thou only One! Who is the man that is a Daêva? Who is he that is a worshipper of the Daêva? that is a male paramour of the Daêvas? that is a female paramour of the Daêvas? that is a she-Daêva? that is in his inmost self a Daêva? that is in his whole being a Daêva 1?

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Who is he that is a Daêva before he dies, and becomes one of the unseen Daêvas after death?

32 Ahura Mazda answered: 'The man that lies with mankind as man lies with womankind, or as woman lies with mankind, is the man that is a Daêva; this one is the man that is a worshipper of the Daêvas, that is a male paramour of the Daêvas, that is a female paramour of the Daêva, that is a she-Daêva; this is the man that is in his inmost self a Daêva, that is in his whole being a Daêva; this is the man that is a Daêva before he dies, and becomes one of the unseen Daêvas after death: so is he, whether he has lain with mankind as mankind, or as womankind.'

33 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Shall the man be clean who has touched a corpse that has been dried up and dead more than a year?

34 Ahura Mazda answered: 'He shall. The dry mingles not with the dry. Should the dry mingle with the dry, how soon this material world of mine would have in it only Peshôtanus, shut out from the way of holiness, and whose souls will cry and wail! so numberless are the beings that die upon the face of the earth.'

35 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the man be made clean that is touched the corpse of a dog or the corpse of a man?

36 Ahura Mazda answered: 'He can, O holy Zarathustra!' How so? 'If the Nasu has already been smitten by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds, he shall cleanse his body with gômêz and water, and he shall be clean.

37 'If the Nasu has not yet been smitten by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds, then the worshippers of Mazda shall dig three holes in the ground, and he shall thereupon wash his body with gômêz, not with water. They shall then lift and bring my dog, they shall bring him (thus shall it be done and not otherwise) in front of the man.

38 'The worshippers of Mazda shall dig three other holes 6 in the ground, and he shall thereupon, wash his body with gômêz, not with water. They shall then lift and bring my dog, they shall bring him (thus shall it be done and not otherwise) in front of the man. Then they shall wait until he is dried even to the last hair on the top of his head.

39 'They shall dig three more holes in the ground, and he shall thereupon wash his body with water, not with gômêz.

40 'He shall first wash his hands; if his hands be not first washed, he makes the whole of his body unclean. When he has washed his hands three times, after his hands have been washed, thou shalt sprinkle with water the forepart of his skull.'

41 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the forepart of the skull, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'In front, between the brows, the Drug Nasu rushes.'

42 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach in front between the brows, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'On the back part of the skull the Drug Nasu rushes.'

43 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the back part of the skull, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'In front, on the jaws, the Drug Nasu rushes.'

44 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach in front, on the jaws, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right ear the Drug Nasu rushes.'

45 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right ear, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left ear the Drug Nasu rushes.'

46 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left ear, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right shoulder the Drug Nasu rushes.'

47 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right shoulder, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left shoulder the Drug Nasu rushes.'

48 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left shoulder, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right arm-pit the Drug Nasu rushes.'

49 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right arm-pit, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left arm-pit the Drug Nasu rushes.'

50 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left arm-pit, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'In front, upon the chest, the Drug Nasu rushes.'

51 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the chest in front, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the back the Drug Nasu rushes.'

52 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the back, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right nipple the Drug Nasu rushes.'

53 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right nipple, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?' Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left nipple the Drug Nasu rushes.'

54 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left nipple, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right rib the Drug Nasu rushes.'

55 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right rib, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left rib the Drug Nasu rushes.'

56 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left rib, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right hip the Drug Nasu rushes.'

57 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right hip, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left hip the Drug Nasu rushes.'

58 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left hip, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the sexual parts the Drug Nasu rushes. If the unclean one be a man, thou shalt sprinkle him first behind, then before; if the unclean one be a woman, thou shalt sprinkle her first before, then behind.'

59 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the sexual parts, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right thigh the Drug Nasu rushes.'

60 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right thigh, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left thigh the Drug Nasu rushes.'

61 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left thigh, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right knee the Drug Nasu rushes.'

62 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right knee, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left knee the Drug Nasu rushes.'

63 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left knee, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right leg the Drug Nasu rushes.'

64 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right leg, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left leg the Drug Nasu rushes.'

65 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left leg, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right ankle the Drug Nasu rushes.'

66 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right ankle, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left ankle the Drug Nasu rushes.'

67 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left ankle, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right instep the Drug Nasu rushes.'

68 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right instep, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left instep the Drug Nasu rushes.'

69 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left instep, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?Ahura Mazda answered: 'She is driven to the sole of the foot, where what is seen of her is like the wing of a fly.

70 'He shall press his toes upon the ground, and shall raise up his heels; thou shalt sprinkle his right sole with water; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left sole. Thou shalt sprinkle the left sole with water; then the Drug Nasu is driven to the toes, where what is seen of her is like the wing of a fly.

71 'He shall press his heels upon the ground and shall raise up his toes; thou shalt sprinkle his right toe with water; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left toe. Thou shalt sprinkle the left toe with water; then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, all stained with stains, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.

72 'And thou shalt say aloud these fiend-smiting and most-healing words: '"The will of the Lord is the law of holiness," &c. '"Whom hast thou placed to protect me, O Mazda! while the hate of the fiend is grasping me?" &c. '"Who is he who will smite the fiend in order to maintain thy ordinances?" &c. '"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Rush away, O Drug! Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit!""

73 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If worshippers of Mazda, walking, or running, or riding, or driving, come upon a corpse-burning fire, whereon a corpse is being cooked or roasted, what shall they do?

74 Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall kill the man that burns the corpse; surely they shall kill him. They shall take off the cauldron, they shall take off the tripod.

75 'Then they shall kindle wood from that fire; either wood of those trees that have the seed of fire in them, or bundles of the very wood that was prepared for that fire; and they shall separate and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

76 'Thus they shall lay a first bundle on the ground, a Vîtasti away from the corpse-burning fire, and they shall separate and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

77 'They shall lay down, a second bundle on the ground, a Vîtasti away from the corpse-burning fire, and they shall separate and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

'They shall lay down a third bundle on the ground, a Vîtasti away from the corpse-burning fire, and they shall separate and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

'They shall lay down a fourth bundle on the ground, a Vîtasti away from the corpse-burning fire, and they shall separate and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

'They shall lay down a fifth bundle on the ground, a Vîtasti away from the corpse-burning fire, and they shall separate and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

'They shall lay down a sixth bundle on the ground, a Vîtasti away from the corpse-burning fire, and they shall separate and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

'They shall lay down a seventh bundle on the ground, a Vîtasti away from the corpse-burning fire, and they shall separate and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

'They shall lay down an eighth bundle on the ground, a Vîtasti away from the corpse-burning fire, and they shall separate and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

78 'They shall lay down a ninth bundle on the ground, a Vîtasti away from the corpse-burning fire, and they shall separate and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

79, 80 'If a man shall then piously bring unto the fire, O Spitama Zarathustra! wood of Urvâsna, or Vohu-gaona, or Vohu-kereti, or Hadhâ-naêpata, or any other sweet-smelling wood, wheresoever the wind shall bring the perfume of the fire, thereunto Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, shall go and kill thousands of unseen Daêvas, thousands of fiends, the brood of darkness, thousands of couples of Yâtus and Pairikas.'

81 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring a corpse-burning fire to the Dâityô-gâtu, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body? Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought ten thousand fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

82 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire wherein excrement has been burnt, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body? Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought a thousand fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

83 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire wherein cowdung has been burnt, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body? Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought five hundred fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

84 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from the kiln of a brick-maker, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body? Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought four hundred fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu'

85 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from a potter's kiln, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body? Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought to the Dâityô-gâtu as many fire-brands as there were pots baked in that fire.'

86 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of the reapers, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body? Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought to the Dâityô-gâtu as many fire-brands as there were plants in the crop.'

87 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of a goldsmith, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body? Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought a hundred fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

88 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of a silversmith, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body? Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought ninety fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

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89 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of a worker in brass, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body? Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought eighty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

90 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of a blacksmith, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body? Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought seventy fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

91 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of an oven, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted from his body? Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought sixty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

92 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from under a cauldron, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body? Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought fifty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

93 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from an encampment, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body? Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought forty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

94 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring a herdsman's fire to the Dâityô-gâtu, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body? Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as it he had, here below, brought thirty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

95 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of the field, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body? Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought twenty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

96 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of his own hearth, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body? Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought ten fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

97 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can a man be made clean, O holy Ahura Mazda! who has touched a corpse in a distant place in the fields?

98 Ahura Mazda answered: 'He can, O holy Zarathustra.' How so? 'If the Nasu has already been smitten by the corpse-eating dogs or the corpse-eating birds, he shall wash his body with gômêz; he shall wash it thirty times, he shall rub it dry with the hand thirty times, beginning every time with the head.

99 'If the Nasu has not yet been smitten by the corpse-eating dogs or the corpse-eating birds, he shall wash his body with gômêz; he shall wash it fifteen times, he shall rub it dry with the hand fifteen times.

100 'Then he shall run a distance of a Hâthra. He shall run until he meets some man on his way, then he shall cry out aloud: "Here am I, one who has touched the corpse of a man, without any wilful sin of mind, tongue, or hand, and who wishes to be made clean." Thus shall he run until he overtakes the man. If the man will not cleanse him, he takes upon his own head the third of his trespass.

101 'Then he shall run another Hâthra, he shall run off again until he overtakes a man; if the man will not cleanse him, he takes upon his own head the half of his trespass.

102 'Then he shall run a third Hâthra, he shall run off a third time until he overtakes a man; if the man will not cleanse him, he takes upon his own head the whole of his trespass.

103 'Thus shall he run forwards until he comes near a house, a borough, a town, an inhabited district, and he shall cry out with a loud voice: "Here am I, one who has touched the corpse of a man, without any wilful sin of mind, tongue, or hand, and who wishes to be made clean." If they will not cleanse him, he shall cleanse his body with gômêz and water; thus shall he be clean.'

104 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If he found water on his way, the water requires an atonement; what is the penalty that he shall pay?

105 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Four hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, four hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

106 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If he found trees on his way, the fire requires an atonement; what is the penalty he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Four hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, four hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.

107 'This is the penalty, this is the atonement, which saves him who submits to it; he who does not submit to it, shall surely be an inhabitant in the mansion of the Drug.'

FARGARD 9

The nine nights' Barashnûm.

1 Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall they manage here below; who want to cleanse the body of one defiled by the dead?'

2 Ahura Mazda answered: 'A godly man, O Spitama Zarathustra! who speaks truth, who learns the Holy Word, and who knows best the rites of cleansing according to the law of Mazda, such a man shall fell the trees off the surface of the ground on a space of nine Vîbâzus square.

3 'It should be the part of the ground where there is least water and where there are fewest trees, the part which is the cleanest and driest, and the least passed through by sheep and oxen, and by Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of baresma, and by the faithful.'

4 How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of baresma? How far from the faithful?

5 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty paces from the fire, thirty paces from the water, thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of baresma, three paces from the faithful.

6 'Then thou shalt dig a hole, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.

7 'Thou shalt dig a second hole, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come. 'Thou shalt dig a third hole, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come. 'Thou shalt dig a fourth hole, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come. 'Thou shalt dig a fifth hole, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come. 'Thou shalt dig a sixth hole, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.'

8 How far from one another? 'One pace.' How much is the pace? 'As much as three feet.

9 'Then thou shalt dig three holes more, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.' How far from the former six? 'Three paces.' What sort of paces? 'Such as are taken in walking.' How much are those (three) paces? 'As much as nine feet.

10 'Then thou shalt draw a furrow all around with a metal knife.' How far from the holes? 'Three paces.' What sort of paces? 'Such as are taken in walking.' How much are those (three) paces? 'As much as nine feet.

11 'Thou shalt draw twelve furrows; three of which thou shalt draw around (the first) three holes; three thou shalt draw around (the first) six holes; three thou shalt draw around the nine holes; three thou shalt draw around the three holes, outside the six holes. At each of the three times nine feet, thou shalt place stones as steps to the holes; or potsherds, or stumps, or clods, or any hard matter.'

12 'Then the unclean one shall walk to the holes; thou, O Zarathustra! shalt stand outside by the furrow, and thou shalt recite, Nemaskâ yâ ârmaitis îzâkâ 1; and the unclean one shall repeat, Nemaskâ yâ ârmaitis îzâkâ.

13 'The Drug becomes weaker and weaker at every one of those words which are to smite the fiend Angra Mainyu, to smite Aêshma of the bloody spear, to smite the Mâzainya fiends, to smite all the fiends.

14 'Then thou shalt sprinkle him with gômêz from a spoon of brass or of lead; thou shalt take a stick with nine knots, O Spitama Zarathustra! and thou shalt fasten the leaden spoon to the upper part of the stick.

15 'They shall wash his hands first. If his hands be not washed first, he makes his whole body unclean. When he has washed his hands three times, after his hands have been washed, thou shalt sprinkle the forepart of his skull; then the Drug Nasu rushes in front, between his brows.

16 'Thou shalt sprinkle him in front between the brows; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the back part of the skull. 'Thou shalt sprinkle the back part of the skull; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the jaws. 'Thou shalt sprinkle the jaws; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right ear.

17 'Thou shalt sprinkle the right ear; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left ear. 'Thou shalt sprinkle the left ear; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right shoulder. 'Thou shalt sprinkle the right shoulder; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left shoulder. 'Thou shalt sprinkle the left shoulder; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right arm-pit.

18 'Thou shalt sprinkle the right armpit; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left arm-pit. 'Thou shalt sprinkle the left arm-pit; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the chest. 'Thou shalt sprinkle the chest; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the back.

19 'Thou shalt sprinkle the back; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right nipple. 'Thou shalt sprinkle the right nipple; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left nipple. 'Thou shalt sprinkle the left nipple; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right rib.

20 'Thou shalt sprinkle the right rib; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left rib. 'Thou shalt sprinkle the left rib; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right hip. 'Thou shalt sprinkle the right hip; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left hip.

21 'Thou shalt sprinkle the left hip; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the sexual parts. 'Thou shalt sprinkle the sexual parts. If the unclean one be a man, thou shalt sprinkle him first behind, then before; if the unclean one be a woman, thou shalt sprinkle her first before, then behind; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right thigh.

22 'Thou shalt sprinkle the right thigh; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left thigh. 'Thou shalt sprinkle the left thigh; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right knee. 'Thou shalt sprinkle the right knee; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left knee.

23 'Thou shalt sprinkle the left knee; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right leg. 'Thou shalt sprinkle the right leg; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left leg. 'Thou shalt sprinkle the left leg; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right ankle. 'Thou shalt sprinkle the right ankle; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left ankle.

24 'Thou shalt sprinkle the left ankle; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right instep. 'Thou shalt sprinkle the right instep; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left instep. 'Thou shalt sprinkle the left instep; then the Drug Nasu is driven to the sole of the foot, where what is seen of her is like the wing of a fly.

25 'He shall press his toes upon the ground and shall raise up his heels; thou shalt sprinkle his right sole; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left sole. 'Thou shalt sprinkle the left sole; then the Drug Nasu is driven to the toes, where what is seen of her is like the wing of a fly.

26 'He shall press his heels upon the ground And shall raise up his toes; thou shalt sprinkle his right toe; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left toe. 'Thou shalt sprinkle the left toe; then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, all stained with stains, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.

27 'And thou shalt say those fiend-smiting and most-healing words:-- '"Yathâ ahû vairyô:--The will of the Lord is the law of holiness; the riches of Vohu-manô shall be given to him who works in this world for Mazda, and wields according to the will of Ahura the power he gave to him to relieve the poor. '"Kem nâ mazdâ:--Whom hast thou placed to protect me, O Mazda! while the hate of the fiend is grasping me? Whom, but thy Âtar and Vohu-manô, by whose work the holy world goes on? Reveal to me the rules of thy law! '"Ke verethrem gâ:--Who is he who will smite the fiend in order to maintain thy ordinances.? Teach me clearly thy rules for this world and for the next, that Sraosha may come with Vohu-manô and help whomsoever thou pleasest. '"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Rush away, O Drug! Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit!"

28 'At the first hole the man becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those fiend-smiting and most-healing words:--"Yathâ ahû vairyô," &c.

'At the second hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those fiend-smiting and most-healing words:--"Yathâ ahû vairyô," &c.

'At the third hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those fiend-smiting and most-healing words:--"Yathâ ahû vairyô," &c.

'At the fourth hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those fiend-smiting and most-healing words:--"Yathâ ahû vairyô," &c.

'At the fifth hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those fiend-smiting and most-healing words:--"Yathâ ahû vairyô," &c.

'At the sixth hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those fiend-smiting and most-healing words:--"Yathâ ahû vairyô," &c.

29 'Afterwards the unclean one shall sit down, inside the furrows 1, outside the furrows of the six holes, four fingers from those furrows. There he shall cleanse his body with thick handfuls of dust.

30 'Fifteen times shall they take up dust from the ground for him to rub his body, and they shall wait there until he is dry even to the last hair on his head.

31 'When his body is dry, then he shall step over the holes (containing water). At the first hole he shall wash his body once with water; at the second hole he shall wash his body twice with water; at the third hole he shall wash his body thrice with water.

32 'Then he shall perfume (his body) with perfumes from Urvâsna, or Vohu-gaona, or Vohu-kereti, or Hadhâ-naêpata, or from any sweet-smelling plant; then he shall put on his clothes, and shall go back to his house.

33 'He shall sit down there in the place of infirmity 1, inside the house, apart from the other worshippers of Mazda. He shall not go near the fire, nor near the water, nor near the earth, nor near the cow, nor near the trees, nor near the faithful, either man or woman. Thus shall he continue until three nights have passed. When three nights have passed, he

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shall wash his body, he shall wash his clothes with gômêz and water to make them clean.

34 'Then he shall sit down again in the place of infirmity, inside the house, apart from the other worshippers of Mazda. He shall not go near the fire, nor near the water, nor near the earth, nor near the cow, nor near the trees, nor near the faithful, either man or woman. Thus shall he continue until six nights have passed. When six nights have passed, he shall wash his body, he shall wash his clothes with gômêz and water to make them clean.

35 'Then he shall sit down again in the place of infirmity, inside the house, apart from the other worshippers of Mazda. He shall not go near the fire, nor near the water, nor near the earth, nor near the cow, nor near the trees, nor near the faithful, either man or woman. Thus shall he continue, until nine nights have passed. When nine nights have passed, he shall wash his body, he shall wash his clothes with gômêz and water to make them clean.

36 'He may thenceforth go near the fire, near the water, near the earth, near the cow, near the trees, and near the faithful, either man or woman.

37 'Thou shalt cleanse a priest for a holy blessing; thou shalt cleanse the lord of a province for the value of a camel of high value; thou shalt cleanse the lord of a town for the value of a stallion; thou shalt cleanse the lord of a borough for the value of a bull; thou shalt cleanse the master of a house for the value of a cow three years old.

38 'Thou shalt cleanse the wife of the master of a house for the value of a ploughing cow; thou shalt cleanse a menial for the value of a draught cow; thou shalt cleanse a young child for the value of a lamb.

39 'These are the different cattle that the worshippers of Mazda shall give to him who has cleansed them, if they can afford it; if they cannot afford it, they shall give him any other reward that may make him leave their houses well-pleased with them, and free from anger.

40 'For if the man who has cleansed them leave their houses displeased with them, and full of anger, then the Drug Nasu enters them by the nose, by the eyes, by the tongue, by the jaws, by the sexual organs, by the hinder parts.

41 'And the Drug Nasu rushes upon them even to the end of the nails, and they are unclean thenceforth for ever and ever. 'It grieves the sun indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! to shine upon a man defiled by the dead; it grieves the moon, it grieves the stars.

42 'That man delights them, O Spitama Zarathustra! who cleanses from the Nasu those whom she has defiled; he delights the fire, he delights the water, he delights the earth, he delights the cow, he delights the trees, he delights the faithful, both men and women.'

43 Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What shall be his reward, after his soul has parted from his body, who has cleansed from the Nasu any one defiled by her?'

44 Ahura Mazda answered: 'The welfare of the blessed abode thou canst promise to that man, for his reward in the other world.'

45 Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I fight against that Drug who from the dead rushes upon the living? How shall I fight against that Nasu who from the dead defiles the living?'

46 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Say aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said twice; say aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said thrice; say aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said four times; and the Drug shall fade away like the self-moving arrow, like the carpet of the earth when the year is over like its garment which lasts a season.'

47 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man who does not know the rites of cleansing according to the law of Mazda, offers to cleanse the unclean, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do? How shall I then fight against that Drug who from the dead rushes upon the living? How shall I fight against that Drug who from the dead defiles the living?'

48 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Then, O Spitama Zarathustra! the Drug Nasu waxes stronger than she was before. Stronger then are sickness and death and the working of the fiend than they were before.'

49 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'The worshippers of Mazda shall bind him; they shall bind his hands first; then they shall strip him of his clothes, they shall flay him alive, they shall cut off his head, and they shall give over his corpse unto the greediest of the birds of the beneficent spirit, unto the corpse-eating birds, unto the ravens, with these words 1:-- '"The man here has repented of all his evil thoughts, words, and deeds.

50 '"If he has committed any other evil deed it is remitted by his repentance; if he has committed no other evil deed, he is absolved by his repentance for ever and ever."'

51 Who is he, O Ahura Mazda! who threatens to take away fulness and increase from the world, and to bring in sickness and death?

52 Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the ungodly Ashemaogha, O Spitama Zarathustra! who in this material world cleanses the unclean without knowing the rites of cleansing according to the law of Mazda.

53 'For until then, O Spitama Zarathustra! sweetness and fatness would flow out from that land and from those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass.'

54 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When are sweetness and fatness to come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass?

55, 56 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Sweetness and fatness will never come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass, until that ungodly Ashemaogha has been put to death, and the holy Sraosha has been in that place, offered up a sacrifice, for three days and three nights, with fire blazing, with baresma tied up, and with Haoma uplifted.

57 'Then sweetness and fatness will come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass.'

FARGARD 10

1 Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda! most beneficent spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I fight against that Drug who from the dead rushes upon the living? How shall I fight against that Drug who from the dead defiles the living?'

2 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Say aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said twice; say aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said thrice; say aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said four times.'

3 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which are those words in the Gâthas that are to be said twice?

4 Ahura Mazda answered: 'These are the words in the Gâthas that are to be said twice, and thou shalt twice say them aloud:-- ahyâ yâsâ . . . urvânem (Yasna 28, 2), humatenâm . . . mahî (Yas. 35, 2), ashahyâ âad sairê . . . ahubyâ (Yas. 35, 8), yathâ tû î . . . ahurâ (Yas. 39, 4), humâim thwâ. . . hudaustemâ (Yas. 41, 3), thwôi staotaraskâ . . . ahurâ (Yas. XLI, 5), ustâ ahmâi . . . mananghô (Yas. 43, 1), spentâ mainyû . . . ahurô (Yas. 47, 1), vohu khshathrem . . . vareshânê (Yas. LI, 1), vahistâ îstis . . . skyaothanâkâ (Yas. 53, 1).

5 'And after thou hast twice said those words, thou shalt say aloud these fiend-smiting and most-healing words:-- '"I drive away Angra Mainyu from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the holy world.

6 '"I drive away the Nasu, I drive away direct defilement, I drive away indirect defilement, from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the holy world."'

7 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which are those words in the Gâthas that are to be said thrice?

8 Ahura Mazda answered: 'These are the words in the Gâthas that are to be said thrice, and thou shalt thrice say them aloud:-- ashem vohu . . . (Yas. 27, 14), ye sevistô . . . paitî (Yas. 33, 11), hukhshathrôtemâi . . . vahistâi (Yas. 35, 5), duzvarenâis . . . vahyô (Yas. 53, 9).

9 'After thou hast thrice said those words, thou shalt say aloud these fiend-smiting and most-healing words:-- '"I drive away Indra, I drive away Sauru 1, I drive away the daêva Naunghaithya 1, from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the holy world.

10 '"I drive away Tauru, I drive away Zairi, from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the holy world."'

11 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which are those words in the Gâthas that are to be said four times?

12 Ahura Mazda answered: 'These are the words in the Gâthas that are to be said four times, and thou shalt four times say them aloud:-- yathâ ahû vairyô . . . (Yas. 27, 13), mazdâ ad môi . . . dau ahûm (Yas. 34, 15), â airyamâ ishyô . . . masatâ mazdau (Yas. 54, 1).

13 'After thou hast said those words four times, thou shalt say aloud these fiend-smiting and most-healing words:-- '"I drive away Aêshma, the fiend of the wounding spear, I drive away the daêva Akatasha, from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the holy world.

14 '"I drive away the Varenya daêvas, I drive away the wind-daêva, from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the holy world."

15 'These are the words in the Gâthas that are to be said twice; these are the words in the Gâthas that are to be said thrice; these are the words in the Gâthas that are to be said four times.

16 'These are the words that smite down Angra Mainyu; these are the words that smite down Aêshma, the fiend of the wounding spear; these are the words that smite down the Mâzainya daêvas; these are the words that smite down all the daêvas.

17 'These are the words that stand against that Drug, against that Nasu, who from the dead rushes upon the living, who from the dead defiles the living.

18 'Therefore, O Zarathustra! thou shalt dig nine holes in the part of the ground where there is least water and where there are fewest trees; where there is nothing that may be food either for man or beast; for purity, is for man, next to life, the greatest good; that purity that is procured by the law of Mazda for him who cleanses himself with good thoughts, words, and deeds.

19 'Make thyself pure, O righteous man! any one in the world here below can win purity for himself, namely, when he cleanses himself with good thoughts, words, and deeds.

20 'The will of the Lord is the law of holiness,' &c. 'Whom hast thou placed to protect me, O Mazda! while the hate of the fiend is grasping me?' &c. 'Who is he who will smite the fiend in order to maintain thy ordinances?' &c. 'Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Drug! . . . Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit!'

FARGARD 11

1 Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda! most beneficent spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? how the fire? how the water? how the earth? how the cow? how the tree? how the faithful man and the faithful woman? how the stars? how the moon? how the sun? how the boundless light? how all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle?'

2 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thou shalt chant the cleansing words, and the house shall be clean; clean shall be the fire, clean the water, clean the earth, clean the cow, clean the tree, clean the faithful man. and the faithful woman, clean the stars, clean the moon, clean the sun, clean the boundless light, clean all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle.

3 'So thou shalt say these fiend-smiting and most-healing words; thou shalt chant the Ahuna-Vairya five times: "The will of the Lord is the law of holiness," &c. 'The Ahuna-Vairya preserves the person of man: "The will of the Lord is the law of holiness," &c. '"Whom hast thou placed to protect me, O Mazda! while the hate of the fiend is grasping me?" &c. '"Who is he who will smite the fiend in order to maintain thy ordinances?" &c. '"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta!" &c.

4 'If thou wantest to cleanse the house, say these words aloud: "He is my greatest support as long as lasts this dreary world." 'If thou wantest to cleanse the fire, say these words aloud: "Thy fire, first of all, do we approach with worship, O Ahura Mazda!"

5 'If thou wantest to cleanse the water, say these words aloud: "Waters we worship, the waters in the tree, the waters in the stream, the waters in the rain." 'If thou wantest to cleanse the earth, say these words aloud: "This earth we worship, this earth with the women, this earth which bears us and those women who are thine, O Ahura!"

6 'If thou wantest to cleanse the cow, say these words aloud: "For the cow we order thee to do these most excellent deeds, that she may have a resting place and fodder." 'If thou wantest to cleanse the trees, say these words aloud: "Out of him, through his holiness Mazda made the plants grow up."

7 'If thou wantest to cleanse the faithful man or the faithful woman, say these words aloud: "May the beloved Airyaman come hither, for the men and women of Zarathustra to rejoice, for the faithful to rejoice; with the desirable reward that is won by means of the law, and with that boon for holiness that is vouchsafed by Ahura!"

8 'Then thou shalt say these fiend-smiting and most-healing words. Thou shalt chant the Ahuna-Vairya eight times:-- '"The will of the Lord is the law of holiness," &c. '"Whom hast thou placed to protect me, O Mazda?" &c. '"Who is he who will smite the fiend?" &c. "'Keep us from our hater, O Mazda!" &c.

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9 'I drive away Aêshma, I drive away the Nasu, I drive away direct defilement, I drive away indirect defilement. [I drive away Khrû, I drive away Khrûighn; I drive away Bûidhi, I drive away Bûidhiza; I drive away Kundi, I drive away Kundiza. 'I drive away the yellow Bûshyãsta, I drive away the long-handed Bûshyãsta; [I drive away Mûidhi, I drive away Kapasti.] 'I drive away the Pairika that comes upon the fire, upon the water, upon the earth, upon the cow, upon the tree. I drive away the demon of uncleanness that comes upon the fire, upon the water, upon the earth, upon the cow, upon the tree.

10 'I drive thee away, O mischievous Angra Mainyu! from the fire, from the water, from the earth, from the cow, from the tree, from the faithful man and from the faithful woman, from the stars, from the moon, from the sun, from the boundless light, from all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle.

11 'Then thou shalt say these fiend-smiting and most-healing -words; thou shalt chant four Ahuna-Vairyas:-- '"The will of the Lord is the law of holiness," &c. '"Whom hast thou placed to protect me?" &c. '"Who is he who will smite the fiend?" &c. '"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda!" &c.

12 'Away is Aêshma driven; away is the Nasu driven; away is direct defilement; away is indirect defilement driven. 'Away is Khrû, away is Khrûighni driven; away is Bûidhi, away is Bûidhiza driven; away is Kundi, away is Kundiza driven. 'Away is Bûshyãsta driven, the yellow; away is Bûshyãsta driven, the long-handed; away is Mûidhi, away is Kapasti driven. 'Away is the Pairika driven that comes upon the fire, upon the water, upon the earth, upon the cow, upon the tree. Away is the demon of uncleanness driven that comes upon the fire, upon the water, upon the earth, upon the cow, upon the tree.

13 'Away art thou driven, O mischievous Angra Mainyu! from the fire, from the water, from the earth, from the cow, from the tree, from the faithful man and from the faithful woman, from the stars, from the moon, from the sun, from the boundless light, from all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle.

14 'Then thou shalt say these fiend-smiting and most-healing words; thou shalt chant "Mazdâ ad môi" four times: "O Mazda! teach me excellent words and excellent works, that through the good thought and the holiness of him who offers thee due praise, thou mayest, O Lord! make the world thrive for ever and ever, at thy will, under thy sovereign rule."

15 'I drive away Aêshma, I drive away the Nasu,' &c.

16 'I drive thee away, O mischievous Angra Mainyu! from the fire, from the water,' &c.

17 'Then thou shalt say these fiend-smiting and most-healing words; thou shalt chant the Airyama-ishyô four times: "May the beloved Airyaman come hither!" &c.

18 'Away is Aêshma driven; away is the Nasu driven,' &c.

19 'Away art thou driven, O mischievous Angra Mainyu! from the fire, from the water,' &c.

20 'Then thou shalt say these fiend-smiting and most-healing words; thou shalt chant five Ahuna-Vairyas:-- '"The will of the Lord is the law of holiness," &c. '"Whom hast thou placed to protect me?" &c. '"Who is he who will smite the fiend?" &c. '"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Rush away, O Drug! Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit!"'

FARGARD 12

1 If one's father or mother dies, how long shall they stay, the son for the father, the daughter for her mother? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners? Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay thirty days for the righteous, sixty days for the sinners.'

2 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again? Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wash their bodies three times, they shall wash their clothes three times, they shall chant the Gâthas three times; they shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, they shall offer up the bundles of baresma, they shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

3 If one's son or daughter dies, how long shall they stay, the father for his son, the mother for her daughter? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners? Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay thirty days for the righteous, sixty days for the sinners.'

4 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again? Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wash their bodies three times, they shall wash their clothes three times, they shall chant the Gâthas three times; they shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, they shall offer up the bundles of baresma, they shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

5 If one's brother or sister dies, how long shall they stay, the brother for his brother, the sister for her sister? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners? Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay thirty days for the righteous, sixty days for the sinners.'

6 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again? Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wash their bodies three times, they shall wash their clothes three times, they shall chant the Gâthas three times; they shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, they shall offer up the bundles of baresma, they shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

7 If the master of the house dies, or if the mistress of the house dies, how long shall they stay? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners? Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay six months for the righteous, a year for the sinners.'

8 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again? Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wash their bodies three times, they shall wash their clothes three times, they shall chant the Gâthas three times; they shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, they shall offer up the bundles of baresma, they shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

9 If one's grandfather or grandmother dies, how long shall they stay, the grandson for his grandfather, the granddaughter for her grandmother? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners? Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay twenty-five days for the righteous, fifty days for the sinners.'

10 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again? Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wash their bodies three times, they shall wash their clothes three times, they shall chant the Gâthas three times; they shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, they shall offer up the bundles of baresma, they shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

11 If one's grandson or granddaughter dies, how long shall they stay, the grandfather for his grandson, the grandmother for her granddaughter? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners? Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay twenty-five days for the righteous, fifty days for the sinners.'

12 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again? Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wash their bodies three times, they shall wash their clothes three times, they shall chant the Gâthas three times; they shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, they shall offer up the bundles of baresma, they shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters-may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

13 If one's uncle or aunt dies, how long shall they stay, the nephew for his uncle, the niece for her aunt? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners? Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay twenty days for the righteous, forty days for the sinners.'

14 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again? Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wash their bodies three times, they shall wash their clothes three times, they shall chant the Gâthas three times; they shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, they shall offer up the bundles of baresma, they shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

15 If one's male cousin or female cousin dies, how long shall they stay? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners? Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay fifteen days for the righteous, thirty days for the sinners.'

16 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again? Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wash their bodies three times, they shall wash their clothes three times, they shall chant the Gâthas three times; they shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, they shall offer up the bundles of baresma, they shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

17 If the son or the daughter of a cousin dies, how long shall they stay? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners? Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay ten days for the righteous, twenty days for the sinners.'

18 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again? Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wash their bodies three times, they shall wash their clothes three times, they shall chant the Gâthas three times; they shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, they shall, offer up the bundles of baresma, they shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

19 If the grandson of a cousin or the granddaughter of a cousin dies, how long shall they stay? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners? Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay five days for the righteous, ten days for the sinners.'

20 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again? Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wash their bodies three times, they shall wash their clothes three times, they shall chant the Gâthas three times; they shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, they shall offer up the bundles of baresma, they shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

21 If a stranger dies who does not profess the true faith, or the true law 1, what part of the creation of the good spirit does he directly defile (in dying)? What part does he indirectly defile?

22 Ahura Mazda answered: 'No more than a frog does whose venom is dried up, and that has been dead more than a year. Whilst alive, indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! that wicked, two-legged ruffian, that ungodly Ashemaogha, directly defiles the creatures of the good spirit, and indirectly defiles them.

23 'Whilst alive he smites the water; whilst alive he blows out the fire; Whilst alive he carries off the cow; whilst alive he smites the faithful man with a deadly blow, that parts the soul from the body; not so will he do when dead.

24 'Whilst alive, indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! that wicked, two-legged ruffian, that ungodly Ashemaogha, never ceases depriving the faithful man of his food, of his clothing, of his house, of his bed, of his vessels; not so will he do when dead.'

FARGARD 13

The Dog.

1.Which is the good creature among the creatures of the good spirit that from midnight till the sun is up goes and kills thousands of the creatures of the evil spirit?

2 Ahura Mazda answered: 'The dog with the prickly back, with the long and thin muzzle, the dog Vanghâpara, which evil-speaking people call the Duzaka; this is the good creature among the creatures of the good spirit that from midnight till the sun is up goes and kills thousands of the creatures of the evil spirit.

3 'And whosoever, O Zarathustra! shall kill, the dog with the prickly back, with the long and thin muzzle, the dog Vanghâpara, which evil-speaking people call the Duzaka, kills his own soul for nine generations, nor shall he find a way over the Kinvad bridge 3, unless he has, while alive, atoned for his sin by offering up a sacrifice to Sraosha.'

4 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man kill the dog with the prickly back, with the long and thin muzzle, the dog Vanghâpara, which evil-speaking people call the Duzaka, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

5 Which is the evil creature among the creatures of the evil spirit that from midnight till the sun is up goes and kills thousands of the creatures of the good spirit?

6 Ahura Mazda answered: 'The daêva Zairimyangura, which evil-speaking people call the Zairimyâka, this is the evil creature among the creatures of the evil spirit that from midnight till the sun is up goes and kills thousands of the creatures of the good spirit.

7 'And whosoever, O Zarathustra! shall kill the daêva Zairimyangura, which evil-speaking people call the Zairimyâka, his sins in thought, word, and deed are redeemed as they would be by a Patet; his sins in thought, word, and deed are atoned for.

8 'Whosoever shall smite either a shepherd's dog, or a house dog, or a Vohunazga dog, or a trained dog, his soul when passing to the other world, shall fly amid louder howling and fiercer pursuing than the sheep does when the wolf rushes upon it in the lofty forest.

9 'No soul will come and meet his departing soul and help it through the howls and pursuit in the other world; nor will the dogs that keep the Kinvad bridge help his departing soul through the howls and pursuit in the other world.

10 'If a man shall smite a shepherd's dog so that it becomes unfit for work, if he shall cut off its ear or its paw, and thereupon a thief or a wolf break in and carry away sheep from the fold, without the dog giving any warning, the man shall pay for the lost sheep, and he shall pay for the wound of the dog as for wilful wounding.

11 'If a man shall smite a house dog so that it becomes unfit for work, if he shall cut off its ear or its paw, and thereupon a thief or a wolf break in and carry away goods from the house, without the dog giving any warning, the man shall pay for the lost goods, and he shall pay for the wound of the dog as for wilful wounding.'

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12 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall smite a shepherd's dog. so that it gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Eight hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, eight hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

13 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall smite a house dog so that it gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seven hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seven hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

14 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall smite a Vohunazga dog so that it gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, six hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

15 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall smite a young dog so that it gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Five hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, five hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

16 'This is the penalty for the murder of a Gazu dog, of a Vîzu dog, of a Sukuruna dog, of a sharp-toothed Urupi dog, of a swift-running Raopi dog; this is the penalty for the murder of any kind of dog but the water dog'

17 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the dog that must be called a shepherd's dog? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the dog who goes a Yugyêsti 1 round about the fold, watching for the thief and the wolf.'

18 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the dog that must be called a house dog? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the dog who goes a Hâthra round about the house, watching for the thief and the wolf.'

19 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the dog that must be called a Vohunazga dog? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the dog who claims none of those talents, and only seeks for his subsistence.'

20 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man give bad food to a shepherd's dog, of what sin is he guilty? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the same guilt as though he should serve bad food to a master of a house of the first rank.'

21 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man give bad food to a house dog, of what sin is he guilty? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the same guilt as though he should serve bad food to a master of a house of middle rank.'

22 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man give bad food to a Vohunazga dog, of what sin is he guilty? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the same guilt as though he should serve bad food to a holy man, in the character of a priest, who should come to his house.'

23 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man give bad food to a young dog, of what sin is he guilty? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the same guilt as though he should serve bad food to a young man, born of pious parents, and who can answer for himself.'

24 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall give bad food to a shepherd's dog, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

25 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall give bad food to a house dog, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

26 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall give bad food to a Vohunazga dog, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

27 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall give bad food to a young dog, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.

28 'For it is the dog, of all the creatures of the good spirit, that most quickly decays into age, while not eating near eating people, and watching goods none of which it receives. Bring ye unto him milk and fat with meat; this is the right food for the dog.'

29 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be in the house of a worshipper of Mazda a mad dog, or one that bites without barking, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

30 Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall put a wooden collar around his neck, and they shall tie him to a post, an asti 1 thick if the wood be hard, two astis thick if it be soft. To that post they shall tie him; by the two sides of the collar they shall tie him.

31 'If they shall not do so, and the mad dog, or the dog that bites without barking, smite a sheep or wound a man, the dog shall pay for it as for wilful murder.

32 'If the dog shall smite a sheep or wound a man, they shall cut off his right ear. If he shall smite another sheep or wound another man, they shall cut off his left ear.

33 'If he shalt smite a third sheep or wound a third man, they shall cut off his right foot. If he shall smite a fourth sheep or wound a fourth man, they shall cut off his left foot.

34 'If he shall for the fifth time smite a sheep or wound a man, they shall cut off his tail. 'Therefore they shall tie him to the post; by the two sides of the collar they shall tie him. If they shall not do so, and the mad dog, or the dog that bites without barking, smite a sheep or wound a man, he shall pay for it as for wilful murder.'

35 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be in the house of a worshipper of Mazda a scentless dog, or a mad dog, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do? Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall attend him to heal him, in the same manner as they would do for one of the faithful.'

36 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If they try to heal him and fail, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

37 Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall put a wooden collar around his neck, and they shall tie him to a post, an asti thick if the wood be hard, two astis thick if it be soft. To that post they shall tie him; by the two sides of the collar they shall tie him.

38 'If they shall not do so, and the scentless dog fall into a hole, or a well, or a precipice, or a river, or a canal, and he be wounded and die thereof, they shall be Peshôtanus.

39 'The dog, O Spitama Zarathustra! I, Ahura Mazda, have made self-clothed and self-shod, watchful, wakeful, and sharp-toothed, born to take his food from man and to watch over man's goods. I, Ahura Mazda, have made the dog strong of body against the evil-doer, and watchful over your goods, when he is of sound mind.

40 'And whosoever shall awake at his voice, neither shall the thief nor the wolf steal anything from his house, without his being warned, the wolf shall be smitten and torn to pieces; he is driven away, he flees away.'

41 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which, of the two wolves deserves more to be killed, the one that is born of a he-dog and of a she-wolf, or the one that is born of a she-dog and of a he-wolf? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Of these two wolves, the one that is born of a he-dog and of a she-wolf deserves more to be killed than the one that is born of a she-dog and of a he-wolf.

42 'For there are born of a he-dog and of a she-wolf such dogs as fall on the shepherd's dog, on the house dog, on the Vohunazga dog, on the trained dog, and destroy the folds; such dogs are born as are more murderous, more mischievous, more destructive to the folds than any other dogs.

43 'And there are born of a he-dog and of a she-wolf such wolves as fall on the shepherd's dog, on the house dog, on the Vohunazga dog, on the trained dog, and destroy the folds; such wolves are born as are more murderous, more mischievous, more destructive to the folds than any other wolves.

44 'A dog has the characters of eight different sorts of people:-- 'He has the character of a priest, 'He has the character of a warrior, 'He has the character of a husbandman, 'He has the character of a strolling singer, 'He has the character of a thief, 'He has the character of a wild beast, 'He has the character of a courtezan, 'He has the character of a child.

45 'He eats broken food, like a priest; he is grateful, like a priest; he is easily satisfied, like a priest; he wants only a small piece of bread, like a priest; in these things he is like unto a priest. 'He marches in front, like a warrior; he fights for the beneficent cow, like a warrior; he goes first out of the house, like a warrior; in these things he is like unto a warrior.

46 'He is watchful and sleeps lightly, like a husbandman; he goes first out of the house, like a husbandman; he returns last into the house, like a husbandman; in these things he is like unto a husbandman. 'He sings like a strolling singer; he is intrusive, like a strolling singer; he is meagre, like a strolling singer; he is poor, like a strolling singer; in these things he is like unto a strolling singer.

47 'He likes darkness, like a thief; he prowls about in darkness, like a thief; he is a shameless eater, like a thief;. he is an unfaithful keeper, like a thief; in these things he is like unto a thief 'He likes darkness, like a wild beast; he prowls about in darkness, like a wild beast; he is a shameless eater, like a wild beast; he is an unfaithful keeper, like a wild beast; in these things he is like unto a wild beast.

48 'He sings, like a courtezan; he is intrusive, like a courtezan; he walks about the roads, like a courtezan; he is meagre, like a courtezan; he is poor, like a courtezan; in these things he is like unto a courtezan. 'He likes sleeping, like a child; he is apt to run away, like a child; he is full of tongue, like a child; he goes on all fours, like a child; in these things he is like unto a child.

49 'If those two dogs of mine, the shepherd's dog and the house dog, pass by the house of any of my faithful people, let them never be kept away from it. 'For no house could subsist on the earth made by Ahura, but for those two dogs of mine, the shepherd's dog and the house dog.'

50 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When a dog dies, with marrow and seed dried up, whereto does his ghost go?

51 Ahura Mazda answered: 'It passes to the spring of the waters, O Spitama Zarathustra! and there out of every thousand dogs and every thousand she-dogs, two water dogs are formed, a water dog and a water she-dog.

52 'He who kills a water dog brings about a drought that dries up pastures. Before that time, O Spitama Zarathustra! sweetness and fatness would flow out from that land and from those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass.'

53 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When are sweetness and fatness to come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass?

54, 55 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Sweetness and fatness will never come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass, until the murderer of the water dog has been smitten to death and the holy soul of the dog has been offered up a sacrifice, for three days and three nights with fire blazing, with baresma tied up, and with Haoma uplifted.

56 ['Then sweetness and fatness will come back again to the land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass.']

FARGARD 14

1 Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! He who smites one of those water dogs that are born one from a thousand dogs and a thousand she-dogs, so that he gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?'

2 Ahura Mazda answered: 'He shall pay ten thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ten thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana. 'He shall godly and piously bring unto the fire of Ahura Mazda 1 ten thousand loads of hard, well dried, well examined wood, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog).

3 'He shall godly and piously bring unto the fire of Ahura Mazda ten thousand loads of soft wood, of Urvâsna, Vohu-gaona, Vohu-kereti, Hadhâ-naêpata, or any sweet-scented plant, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog).

4 'He shall godly and piously tie and consecrate ten thousand bundles of baresma; he shall offer up to the good waters ten thousand Zaothra libations with the Haoma and the sacred meat, cleanly prepared and well strained, cleanly prepared and well strained by a pious man, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog).

5 'He shall kill ten thousand snakes of those that go upon the belly; he shall kill ten thousand snakes of those that have the shape of a dog; he shall kill ten thousand tortoises; he shall kill ten thousand land frogs; he shall kill ten thousand water frogs; he shall kill ten thousand corn-carrying ants; he shall kill ten thousand ants of those that bite and dig holes and work mischief.

6 'He shall kill ten thousand earth worms; he shall kill ten thousand horrid flies. 'He shall fill up ten thousand holes for the unclean. 'He shall godly and piously give to godly men twice seven sets of implements for the fire, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog), namely:

7 'Two (loads of the) proper materials for fire; a broom; a pair of tongs; a pair of round bellows extended at the bottom, contracted at the top; an adze with a sharp edge and a sharp-pointed handle, a saw with sharp teeth and a sharp-pointed handle, by means of which the worshippers of Mazda procure wood for the fire of Ahura Mazda.

8 'He shall godly and piously give to godly men a set of the priestly instruments of which the priests make use, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog), namely: The Astra, the meat-vessel, the Paitidâna, the Khrafstraghna 8, the Sraoshô-karana, the cup for the Myazda, the cups for the juice, the mortar made according to the rules, the Haoma cups, and the baresma.

9 'He shall godly and piously give to godly men a set of all the war implements of which the warriors make use, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog); the first being a javelin, the second a knife, the third a club, the fourth a bow, the fifth a quiver with shoulder-belt and thirty brass-headed arrows, the sixth a sling with arm-string and with thirty sling stones, the seventh a cuirass, the eighth a hauberk, the ninth a tunic, the tenth a helmet, the eleventh a girdle, the twelfth a pair of greaves.

10 'He shall godly and piously give to godly men a set of all the implements of which the husbandmen make use, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog), namely: A plough with share and yoke, an ox whip, a mortar of stone, a hand-mill for grinding corn,

11 'A spade for digging and tilling; one measure of silver and one measure of gold.' O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How much silver? Ahura Mazda answered: 'The price of a stallion:' O Maker of the material world, thou

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Holy One! How much gold? Ahura Mazda answered: 'The price of a camel.

12 'He shall godly and piously procure a rill of running water for godly husbandmen, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog).' O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How large is the rill? Ahura Mazda answered: 'The depth of a dog, and the breadth of a dog.

13 'He shall godly and piously give a piece of arable land to godly men, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog).' O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How large is the piece of land? Ahura Mazda answered: 'As much as can be watered with such a rill on both sides.

14 'He shall godly and piously procure for godly men a house with ox-stalls, with nine hâthras and nine nematas 1, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog).' O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One I How large is the house? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Twelve Vîtâras in the largest part of the house, nine Vîtâras in the middle part, six Vîtâras in the smallest part. 'He shall godly and piously give to godly men godly beds with cushions, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog),

15. 'He shall godly and piously give to a godly man a virgin maid, whom no man has known, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog).' O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What maid? Ahura Mazda answered: 'A sister or a daughter of his, at the age of puberty, with ear-rings in her ears, and past her fifteenth year.

16 'He shall godly and piously give to holy men twice seven head of small cattle, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog). 'He shall bring up twice seven whelps. 'He shall throw twice seven bridges over canals.

17 'He shall put into repair twice nine stables that are out of repair. 'He shall cleanse twice nine dogs from skin humours, hair wax, vermin, and all the diseases that are produced on the body of a dog. 'He shall treat twice nine godly men to their fill of meat, bread, strong, drink, and wine.

18 'This is the atonement, this is the penalty that he shall undergo to atone for the deed that he has done. 'If he shall undergo it, he shall enter the world of the holy ones: if he shall not undergo it, he shall fall down into the world of the wicked, into that dark world, made of darkness, the offspring of darkness.'

FARGARD 15

1 How many are the sins that men commit and that, being committed and not confessed, nor atoned for, make their committer a Peshôtanu?

2 Ahura Mazda answered: 'There are five such sins, O holy Zarathustra! It is the first of these sins that men commit when a man teaches one of the faithful a foreign, wrong creed, a foreign wrong law, and he does so with a full knowledge and conscience of the sin: this is a sin that makes him a Peshôtanu.

3 'It is the second of these sins that men commit when a man gives too hard bones or too hot food to a shepherd's dog or to a house dog;

4 'If the bones stick in the dog's teeth or stop in his throat, or if the hot food burn his mouth or his tongue, so that mischief follows therefrom, and the dog dies, this is a sin that makes the man a Peshôtanu.

5 'It is the third of these sins that men commit when a man smites a bitch big with young or affrights her by running after her, with shouting or with clapping of hands;

6 'If the bitch fall into a hole, or a well, or a precipice, or a river, or a canal, so that mischief follows therefrom, and she dies, this is a sin that makes the man a Peshôtanu.

7 'It is the fourth of these sins that men commit when a man has intercourse with a woman who has an issue of blood, either out of the ordinary course or at the usual period: this is a sin that makes him a Peshôtanu.

8 'It is the fifth of these sins that men commit when a man has intercourse with a woman quick with child, whether the milk has already come to her breasts or has not yet come: if mischief follow therefrom, and she die, this is a sin that makes the man a Peshôtanu.

9 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered unto a husband or not delivered, and she conceives by him, let her not, from dread of the people, produce in herself the menses, against the course of nature, by means of water and plants.

10 'And if the damsel, from dread of the people, shall produce in herself the menses against the course of nature, by means of water and plants, there is a sin upon her head.

11 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered unto a husband or not delivered, and she conceives by him, let her not, from dread of the people, destroy the fruit in her womb.

12 'And if the damsel, from dread of the people, shall destroy the fruit in her womb, the sin is on both the father and herself, the murder is on both the father and herself; both the father and herself shall pay the penalty for wilful murder.

13 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered unto a husband or not delivered, and she conceives by him, and she says, "I have conceived by thee;" and he replies, "Go then to the old woman and apply to her that she may procure thee miscarriage;"

14 'And the damsel goes to the old woman and applies to her that she may procure her miscarriage; and the old woman brings her some Banga, or Shaêta, or Ghnâna, or Fraspâta 3, or some other of the drugs that produce miscarriage and the man says, "Cause thy fruit to perish!" and she causes her fruit to perish; the sin is on the head of all three, the man, the damsel, and the old woman.

15 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered unto a husband or not delivered, and she conceives by him, so long shall he support her, until the child is born.

16 'If he shall not support her, so that the child comes to mischief 1, for want of proper support, he shall pay the penalty for wilful murder.'

17 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If she be near her time and be lying on the high road, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

18 Ahura Mazda answered: 'It a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered unto a husband or not delivered, and she conceives by him, so long shall he support her, until the child is born 2.

19 'If he shall not support her . . . . It lies with the faithful to look in the same way after every pregnant female, either two-footed or four-footed, either woman or bitch.'

20 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If (a bitch) be near her time and be lying on the high road, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

21 Ahura Mazda answered: 'He whose house stands-nearest, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her until the whelps are born.

22 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to mischief, for want of proper support, he shall pay the penalty for wilful murder.'

23 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in a camel-stall, which is the worshipper of Mazda. that shall support her?

24 Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who built the camel-stall or who holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps are born.

25 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to mischief, for want of proper support, he shall pay the penalty for wilful murder.'

26 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in a horse-stall, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

27 Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who built the horse-stall or who holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps are born.

28 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to mischief, for want of proper support, he shall pay the penalty for wilful murder.'

29 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in an ox-stall, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

30 Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who built the ox-stall or who holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps are born.

31 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to mischief, for want of proper support, he shall pay the penalty for wilful murder.'

32 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in a sheep-fold, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

33 Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who built the sheep-fold or who holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps are born.

34 'If he shall not support her so that the whelps come to mischief, for want of proper support, he shall pay the penalty for wilful murder.'

35 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying on the earth-wall, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

36 Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who erected the wall or who holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps are born.

37 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to mischief, for want of proper support, he shall pay the penalty for wilful murder.'

38 O Maker of the Material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in the moat, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

39 Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who dug the moat or who holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps are born.

40 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to mischief, for want of proper support, he shall pay the penalty for wilful murder.'

41 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in the middle of a pasture-field, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

42 Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who sowed the pasture-field or who holds it, the care of supporting her is his.

41 'He shall with kind charity take her to rest upon a litter of any foliage fit for a litter; so long shall he support her, until the young dogs are capable of self-defence and self-subsistence.'

44 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When are the dogs capable of self-defence and self-subsistence?

45 Ahura Mazda answered: 'When they are able to run about in a circuit of twice seven houses around. Then they may be let loose, whether it be winter or summer. 'Young dogs ought to be supported for six months, children for seven years. 'Âtar 1, the son of Ahura Mazda, watches as well (over a pregnant bitch) as he does over a woman.'

46 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If worshippers of Mazda want to have a bitch so covered that the offspring shall be one of a strong nature, what shall they do?

47 Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall dig a hole in the earth, in the middle of the fold, half a foot deep if the earth be hard, half the height of a man if the earth be soft.

48 'They shall first tie up the bitch there, far from children and from the Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, and they shall watch by her until a dog comes there from anywhere. They shall afterwards let another dog come near her, and then a third besides, each being kept apart from the former, lest they should assail one another.

49 'The bitch being thus covered by three dogs, grows big with young, and the milk comes to her teats and she brings forth a young one that is born from (three) dogs.'

50 He who smites a bitch who has been covered by three dogs, and who has already milk, and who shall bring forth a young one born from (three) dogs, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

51 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seven hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seven hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

FARGARD 16

1 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be in the house of a worshipper of Mazda a woman who has an issue of blood, either out of the ordinary course or at the usual period, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

2 Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall clear the way of the wood there, both in growing trees and in logs; they shall strew dry dust on the ground; and they shall erect a building there, higher than the house by a half, or a third, or a fourth, or a fifth part, lest her look should fall upon the fire.'

3 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of baresma? How far from the faithful?

4 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifteen paces from the fire, fifteen paces from the water, fifteen paces from the consecrated bundles of baresma, three paces from the faithful.'

5 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from her shall he stay, who brings food to a woman who has an issue of blood, either out of the ordinary course or at the usual period?

6 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three paces from her shall he stay, who brings food to a woman who has an issue of blood, either out of the ordinary course or at the usual period.' In what kind of vessels shall he bring the food? In what kind of vessels shall he bring the bread? 'In vessels of brass, or of lead, or of any common metal.'

7 How much food shall he bring to her? How much bread shall he bring? '(Only) two danares of long bread, and one danare of milk pap, lest she should gather strength. 'If a child has just touched her, they shall first wash his hands and then his body.

8 'If she still see blood after three nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until four nights have passed. 'If she still see blood after four nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until five nights, have passed.

9 'If she still see blood after five nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until six nights have passed. 'If she still see blood after six nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until seven nights have passed.

10 'If she still see blood after seven nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until eight nights have passed. 'If she still see, blood after, eight nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until nine nights have passed.

11 'If she still see blood after nine nights have passed, this is a work of the Daêvas which they have performed for the worship and glorification of the Daêvas.' 'The worshippers of Mazda shall clear the way of the wood there, both in growing trees and in logs;

12 'They shall dig three holes in the earth, and they shall wash the woman with gômêz by two of those holes and with water by the third. 'They shall kill Khrafstras, to wit: two hundred corn-carrying ants, if it be summer; two hundred of any other sort of the Khrafstras made by Angra Mainyu, if it be winter.'

13 If a worshipper of Mazda shall suppress the issue of a woman who has an issue of blood, either out of the ordinary course or at the usual period, what is the penalty that he shall

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pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

14 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall again and again wilfully touch the body of a woman who has an issue of blood, either out of the ordinary course or at the usual period, so that the ordinary issue turns to the dye of the unusual one, or the unusual issue to the dye of the ordinary one, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

15 Ahura Mazda answered: 'For the first time he comes near unto her, for the first time he lies by her, thirty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; for the second time he comes near unto her, for the second time he lies by her, fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; for the third time he comes near unto her, for the third time he lies by her, seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

16 For the fourth time he comes near unto her, for the fourth time he lies by her, if he shall press the body under her clothes, if he shall press the unclean thigh, but without sexual intercourse) what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.

17 'Whosoever shall lie in sexual intercourse with a woman who has an issue of blood, either out of the ordinary course or at the usual period, does no better deed than if he should burn the corpse of his own son, born of his own body and dead of naêza 1, and drop its fat into the fire.

18 'All such sinners, embodiments of the Drug, are scorners of the law: all scorners of the law are rebels against the Lord; all rebels against the Lord are ungodly men; and any ungodly man shall pay for it with his life.'

FARGARD 17

Hair and Nails.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the most deadly deed whereby a man increases most the baleful strength of the Daêvas, as he would do by offering them a sacrifice?'

2 Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is when a man here below combing his hair or shaving it off, or paring off his nails drops them in a hole or in a crack.

3 'Then for want of the lawful rites being observed, Daêvas are produced in the earth; for want of the lawful rites being observed, those Khrafstras are produced in the earth which men call lice, and which eat up the corn in the corn-field and the clothes in the wardrobe.

4 'Therefore, O Zarathustra! whenever here below thou shalt comb thy hair or shave it off, or pare off thy nails, thou shalt take them away ten paces from the faithful, twenty paces from the fire, thirty paces from the water, fifty paces from the consecrated bundles of baresma.

5 'Then thou shalt dig a hole, a disti deep if the earth be hard, a vîtasti deep if it be soft; thou shalt take the hair down there and thou shalt say aloud these fiend-smiting words: "Out of him by his piety Mazda made the plants grow up."

6 'Thereupon thou shalt draw three furrows with a knife of metal around the hole, or six furrows or nine, and thou shall chant the Ahuna-Vairya three times, or six, or nine.

7 'For the nails, thou shalt dig a hole, out of the house, as deep as the top joint of the little finger; thou shalt take the nails down there and thou shalt say aloud these fiend-smiting words: "The words that are heard from the pious in holiness and good thought."

8 'Then thou shalt draw three furrows with a knife of metal around the hole, or six furrows or nine, and thou shalt chant the Ahuna-Vairya three times, or six, or nine.

9 'And then: "Look here, O Ashô-zusta bird! here are the nails for thee: look at the nails here! May they be for thee so many spears, knives, bows, falcon-winged arrows, and sling-stones against the Mâzainya Daêvas!"

10 'If those nails have not been dedicated (to the bird), they shall be in the hands of the Mâzainya Daêva so many spears, knives, bows, falcon-winged arrows, and sling stones (against the Mâzainya Daêvas).

11 'All such sinners, embodiments of the Drug, are scorners of the law: all scorners of the law are rebels against the Lord: all rebels against the Lord are ungodly men; and any ungodly man shall pay for it with his life.'

FARGARD 18

1 'There is many a one, O holy Zarathustra!' said Ahura Mazda, 'who wears a Paitidâna but who has not girded his loins with the law 3; when such a man says, "I am an Âthravan," he lies; do not call him an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

2 'He holds a Khrafstraghna in his hand, but he has not girded his loins with the law; when he says, "I am an Âthravan," he lies; do not call him an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

3 'He holds a twig 1 in his hand, but he has not girded his loins with the law; when he says, "I am an Âthravan," he lies; do not call him an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

4 'He wields the Astra mairya, but he has not girded his loins with the law; when he says, "I am an Âthravan," he lies; do not call him an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

5 'He who sleeps on throughout the night, who does not perform the Yasna nor chant the hymns, who does not worship by word or by deed, who does neither learn nor teach, with a longing for (everlasting) life, he lies when he says, "I am an Âthravan," do not call him an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

6 'Him thou shalt call an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra! who throughout the night sits up and demands of the holy Wisdom 3, which makes man free from anxiety, with dilated heart, and cheerful at the head of the Kinvat bridge, and which makes him reach that world, that holy world, that excellent world, the world of paradise.

7 '(Therefore) demand of me, thou upright one! of me, who am the Maker, the best of all beings, the most knowing, the most pleased in answering what is asked of me; demand of me, that thou mayst be the better, that thou mayst be the happier.'

8 Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is it that makes the unseen power of Death increase?'

9 Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the man that teaches a wrong law; it is the man who continues for three years without wearing the sacred girdle, without chanting the Gâthas, without worshipping the good waters.

10 'And he who should set that man at liberty, when bound in prison, does no better deed than if he should flay a man alive and cut off his head.

11 'The blessing uttered on a wicked, ungodly Ashemaogha does not go past the mouth (of the blesser); the blessing for two Ashemaoghas does not go past his tongue; the blessing for three is no word at all; the blessing for four is a curse against himself. 12. 'Whosoever should give some Haoma juice to a wicked, ungodly Ashemaogha, or some Myazda consecrated with blessings, does no better deed than if he should lead a thousand horse against the cities of the worshippers of Mazda, and should slaughter the men thereof, and drive off the cattle as plunder.

13 'Demand of me, thou upright one! of me, who am the Maker, the best of all beings, the most knowing, the most pleased in answering what is asked of me; demand of me, that thou mayst be the better, that thou mayst be the happier.'

14 Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Who is the Sraosha-varez of Sraosha? the holy, strong Sraosha, who is the incarnate Word, a mighty-speared and lordly god.'

15 Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the bird named Parôdars, which ill-speaking people call Kahrkatâs, O holy Zarathustra! the bird that lifts up his voice against the mighty dawn:

16 '"Arise, O men! recite the Ashem yad vahistem that smites down the Daêvas. Lo! here is Bûshyãsta, the long-handed, coming upon you, who lulls to sleep again the whole living world, as soon as it has awoke: 'Sleep!' she says, 'sleep on, O man! the time 5 is not yet come.'"

17 'For the three excellent things be never slack, namely, good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; for the three abominable things be ever slack, namely, bad thoughts, bad words, and bad deeds."

18 'In the first part of the night, Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, calls the master of the house for help, saying:

19 '"Up! arise, thou master of the house! put on thy girdle on thy clothes, wash thy hands, take wood, bring it unto me, and let me burn bright with the clean wood, carried by thy well-washed hands. Here comes Âzi, made by the Daêvas, who is about to strive against me, and wants to put out my life."

20 'In the second part of the night, Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, calls the husbandman for help, saying:

21 '"Up! arise, thou husbandman! Put on thy girdle on thy clothes, wash thy hands, take wood, bring it unto me, and let me burn bright with the clean wood, carried by thy well-washed hands. Here comes Âzi, made by the Daêvas, who is about to strive against me, and wants to put out my life."

22 'In the third part of the night, Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, calls the holy Sraosha for help, saying: "Come thou, holy, tall-formed Sraosha, then he brings unto me some clean wood with his well-washed hands: here comes Âzi, made by the Daêvas, who is about to strive against me, and wants to put out my life."

23 'And then the holy Sraosha wakes up the bird named Parôdars, which ill-speaking people call Kahrkatâs, and the bird lifts up his voice against the mighty dawn:

24 '"Arise, O men! recite the Ashem yad vahistem that smites down the Daêvas. Lo! here is Bûshyãsta, the long-handed, coming upon you, who lulls to sleep again the whole living world as soon as it has awoke: 'Sleep!' she says, 'sleep on, O man! the time is not yet come.'"

25 '"For the three excellent things be never slack, namely, good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; for the three abominable things be ever slack, namely, bad thoughts, bad words, and bad deeds."

26 'And then bed-fellows address one another: "Rise up, here is the cock calling me up." Whichever of the two first gets up shall first enter paradise: whichever of the two shall first, with well-washed hands, bring clean wood unto the Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, the Fire, well pleased with him and not angry, and fed as it required, will thus bless him:

27 '"May herds of oxen grow for thee, and increase of sons: may thy mind be master of its vow, may thy soul be master of its vow, and mayst thou live on in the joy of the soul all the nights of thy life." 'This is the blessing which the Fire speaks unto him who brings him dry wood, well examined by the light of the day, well cleansed with godly intent.

28 'And whosoever will kindly and piously present one of the faithful with a pair of these my Parôdars birds, a male and a female, it is as though he had given a house with a hundred columns, a thousand beams, ten thousand large windows, ten thousand small windows.

29 'And whosoever shall give to my Parôdars bird his fill of meat, I, Ahura Mazda, need not interrogate him any longer; he shall directly go to paradise.'

30 The holy Sraosha asked the Drug, with his club uplifted against her: 'O thou wretched and wicked Drug! Thou then, alone in the material world, dost bear offspring without any male coming unto thee?'

31 Then the Drug demon, the guileful one, answered: 'O holy, tall-formed Sraosha! It is not so, nor do I, alone in the material world, bear offspring without any male coming unto me.

32 'There are four males who are mine. 'And they make me conceive progeny as other males make their females.'

33 The holy Sraosha asked the Drug, with his club uplifted against her: 'O thou wretched and wicked Drug! Who is the first of those males of thine?'

34 Then the Drug demon, the guileful one, answered: 'O holy, tall-formed Sraosha! He is the first of my males who, being entreated by one of the faithful, does not give him anything, be it ever so little, of the riches he has treasured up.

35 'That man makes me conceive progeny as other males make their females.'

36 The holy Sraosha asked the Drug, with his club uplifted against her: 'O thou wretched and wicked Drug! What is the thing that can counteract that?'

37 Then the Drug demon, the guileful one, answered: 'O holy, tall-formed Sraosha! This is the thing that counteracts it, namely, when a man unasked, kindly and piously, gives to one of the faithful something, be it ever so little, of the riches he has treasured up.

38 'He does thereby as thoroughly destroy the fruit of my womb as a four-footed wolf does, who tears the child out of a mother's womb.'

39 The holy Sraosha asked the Drug, with his club uplifted against her: 'O thou wretched and wicked Drug! Who is the second of those males of thine?'

40 Then the Drug demon, the guileful one, answered 'O holy, tall-formed Sraosha! He is the second of my males who, making water, lets it fall along the upper forepart of his foot.

41 'That man makes me conceive progeny as other males make their females.'

42 The holy Sraosha asked the Drug, with his club uplifted against her: 'O thou wretched and wicked Drug! What is the thing that can counteract that?'

43 Then the Drug demon, the guileful one, answered: 'O holy, tall-formed Sraosha! This is the thing that counteracts it, namely, when the man rising up and stepping three steps further off, shall say three Ahuna-Vairya, two humatanãm, three hukhshathrôtemãm, and then chant the Ahuna-Vairya and offer up one Yênhê hâtãm.

44 'He does thereby as thoroughly destroy the fruit of my womb as a four-footed wolf does, who tears the child out of a mother's womb.'

45 The holy Sraosha asked the Drug, with his club uplifted against her: 'O thou wretched and wicked Drug! Who is the third of those males of thine?'

46 Then the Drug demon, the guileful one, answered: 'O holy, tall-formed Sraosha! He is the third of my males who during his sleep emits seed.

47 'That man makes me conceive progeny as other males make their females.'

48 The holy Sraosha asked the Drug, with his club uplifted against her: 'O thou wretched and wicked Drug! What is the thing that can counteract that?'

49 Then the Drug demon, the guileful one, answered: 'O holy, tall-formed Sraosha! this is the thing that counteracts it, namely, if the man, when he has risen from sleep, shall say three Ahuna-Vairya, two humatanãm, three hukhshathrôtemãm, and then chant the Ahuna-Vairya and offer up one Yênhê hâtãm.

50 'He does thereby as thoroughly destroy the fruit of my womb as a four-footed wolf does who tears the child out of a mother's womb.'

51 Then he shall speak unto Spenta Ârmaiti, saying: 'O Spenta Ârmaiti, this man do I deliver unto thee; this man deliver thou back unto me, against the mighty day of resurrection; deliver him back as one who knows the Gâthas,

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who knows the Yasna, and the revealed law, a wise and clever man, who is the Word incarnate.

52 'Then thou shalt call his name "Fire-creature, Fire-seed, Fire-offspring, Fire-land," or any name wherein is the word Fire.'

53 The holy Sraosha asked the Drug, with his club uplifted against her: 'O thou wretched and wicked Drug! Who is the fourth of those males of thine?'

54 Then the Drug demon, the guileful one, answered: 'O holy, tall-formed Sraosha! This one is my fourth male who, either man or woman, being more than fifteen years of age, walks without wearing the sacred girdle and the sacred shirt.

55 'At the fourth step we Daêvas, at once, wither him even to the tongue and the marrow, and he goes thenceforth with power to destroy the world of the holy spirit, and he destroys it like the Yâtus and the Zandas.'

56 The holy Sraosha asked the Drug, with his club uplifted against her: 'O thou wretched and wicked Drug, what is the thing that can counteract that?'

57 Then the Drug demon, the guileful one, answered: 'O holy, tall-formed Sraosha! There is no means of counteracting it;

58 'When a man or a woman, being more than fifteen years of age, walks without wearing the sacred girdle or the sacred shirt.

59 'At the fourth step we Daêvas, at once, wither him even to the tongue and the marrow, and he goes thenceforth with power to destroy the world of the holy spirit, and he destroys it like the Yâtus and the Zandas.'

60 Demand of me, thou upright one! of me who am the Maker, the best of all beings, the most knowing, the most pleased in answering what is asked of me; demand of me that thou mayst be the better, that thou mayst be the happier.

61 Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Who grieves thee with the sorest grief? Who pains thee with the sorest pain?'

62 Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the Gahi, O Spitama Zarathustra! who goes a-whoring after the faithful and the unfaithful, after the worshippers of Mazda and the worshippers of the Daêvas, after the wicked and the righteous.

63 'Her look dries up one third of the mighty floods that run from the mountains; her look withers one third of the beautiful, golden hued, growing plants;

64 'Her look withers one third of the grass wherewith Spenta Ârmaiti is clad, and her touch withers in the faithful one third of his good thoughts, of his good words, of his good deeds, one third of his strength, of his fiend-killing power, and of his holiness.

65 'Verily I say unto thee, O Spitama Zarathustra! such creatures ought to be killed even more than gliding snakes 4, than howling wolves, than the wild she-wolf that falls upon the fold, or than the she-frog that falls upon the waters with her thousandfold brood.'

66 Demand of me, thou upright one! of me who am the Maker, the best of all beings, the most knowing, the most pleased in answering what is asked of me; demand of me that thou mayst be the better, that thou mayst be the happier.

67-68 Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'If a man shall come unto a woman who has an issue of blood, either out of the ordinary course or at the usual period, and he does so wittingly and knowingly, and she allows it wilfully, wittingly, and knowingly, what is the atonement for it, what is the penalty that he shall pay to atone for the deed they have done?'

69 Ahura Mazda answered: 'If a man shall come unto a woman who has an issue of blood, either out of the ordinary course or at the usual period, and he does so wittingly and knowingly, and she allows it wilfully, wittingly, and knowingly;

70 'He shall slay a thousand head of small cattle; he shall godly and piously offer up to the fire the entrails thereof together with Zaothra-libations; he shall bring the shoulder bones to the good waters.

71 'He shall godly and piously bring unto the fire a thousand loads of soft wood, of Urvâsna, Vohu-gaona, Vohu-kereti, Hadhâ-naêpata, or of any sweet-scented plant.

72 'He shall tie and consecrate a thousand bundles of baresma; he shall godly and piously offer up to the good waters a thousand Zaothra-libations, together with the Haoma and the meat, cleanly prepared and well strained by a pious man, together with the roots of the tree known as Hadhâ-naêpata.

73 'He shall kill a thousand snakes of those that go upon the belly, two thousand of the other kind: he shall kill a thousand land frogs and two thousand water frogs; he shall kill a thousand corn-carrying ants and two thousand of the other kind.

74 'He shall throw thirty bridges over canals; he shall undergo a thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.

75 'This is the atonement, this is the penalty that he shall pay to atone for the deed that he has done.

76 'If he shall pay it, he shall enter the world of the holy ones; if he shall not pay it, he shall fall down into the world of the wicked, into that dark world, made of darkness, the offspring of darkness.'

FARGARD 19

1. From the region of the north, from the regions of the north, forth rushed Angra Mainyu, the deadly, the Daêva of the Daêvas. And thus spake the guileful one, he the evil-doer Angra Mainyu, the deadly: 'Drug, rush down upon him! destroy the holy Zarathustra!' The Drug came rushing along, the demon Bûiti 3, the unseen death, the hell-born.

2 Zarathustra chanted aloud the Ahuna-Vairya: 'The will of the Lord is the law of holiness; the riches of Vohu-manô shall be given to him who works in this world for Mazda, and wields according to the will of Ahura the power he gave to him to relieve the poor.' (He added): 'Offer up prayers to the good waters of the good Dâitya! 'Profess the law of the worshippers of Mazda!' The Drug dismayed, rushed away, the demon Bûiti, the unseen death, the hell-born.

3 And the Drug, the guileful one, said unto Angra Mainyu: 'O baneful Angra Mainyu! I see no way to kill him, so great is the glory of the holy Zarathustra.' Zarathustra saw (all this) from within his soul: 'The evil-doing Daêvas and Drvants (thought he) take counsel together for my death.'

4 Up started Zarathustra, forward went Zarathustra, unshaken by the evil spirit, by the hardness of his malignant riddles, swinging stones in his hand, stones as big as a house, which he obtained from the Maker, Ahura Mazda, he the holy Zarathustra. 'At what on this wide, round earth, whose ends lie afar, at what dost thou swing (those stones), thou who standest by the river Darega, upon the mountains, in the mansion of Pourusaspa?'

5 Thus Zarathustra answered Angra Mainyu: 'O evil-doer, Angra Mainyu! I will smite the creation of the Daêva; I will smite the Nasu, a creature of the Daêva; I will smite the Pairika Knãthaiti, till the fiend-smiter Saoshyant come up to life out of the lake Kãsava, from the region of the dawn, from the regions of the dawn.'

6 Again to him said the guileful one, the Maker of the evil world, Angra Mainyu: 'Do not destroy my creatures, O holy Zarathustra! Thou art the son of Pourusaspa, just born of thy mother. Renounce the good law of the worshippers of Mazda, and thou shalt gain such a boon as the murderer gained, the ruler of the nations.'

7 Thus in answer to him said Spitama Zarathustra: 'No! never will I renounce the good law of the worshippers of Mazda, though my body, my life, my soul should burst!'

8 Again to him said the guileful one, the Maker of the evil world, Angra Mainyu: 'By whose Word wilt thou strike, by whose Word wilt thou repel, by whose weapon will the good creatures (strike and repel) my creation who am Angra Mainyu?'

9 Thus in answer to him said Spitama Zarathustra: 'The sacred mortar, the sacred cup, the Haoma, the Words taught by Mazda, these are my weapons, my best weapons! By this Word will I strike, by this Word will I repel, by this weapon the good creatures (will strike and repel thee), O evil-doer, Angra Mainyu! To me Spenta Mainyu gave it, he gave it to me in the boundless Time; to me the Amesha Spentas, the all-ruling, the all-beneficent, gave it.'

10 Zarathustra chanted aloud the Ahuna-Vairya. The holy Zarathustra said aloud 'This I ask thee: teach me the truth, O Lord 1! . . .'

11 Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! [he was sitting by the Darega, on the mountain, praying to Ahura Mazda, to the good Vohu-manô, to Asha Vahista, Khshathra Vairya, and Spenta. Ârmaiti;]

12 'How shall I make the world free from that Drug, from the evil-doer Angra Mainyu? How shall I drive away direct defilement? How indirect defilement? How shall I drive the Nasu from the house of the worshippers of Mazda? How shall I cleanse the faithful man? How shall I cleanse the faithful woman?'

13 Ahura Mazda answered. 'Invoke, O Zarathustra! the good law of Mazda. 'Invoke, O Zarathustra! the Amesha Spentas who rule over the seven Karshvares of the earth. 'Invoke, O Zarathustra! the sovereign Heaven, the boundless Time, and Vayu, whose action is most high. 'Invoke, O Zarathustra! the powerful Wind, made by Mazda, and Spenta Ârmaiti, the fair daughter of Ahura Mazda.

14 'Invoke, O Zarathustra! my Fravashi, who am Ahura Mazda, the greatest, the best, the fairest of all beings, the most solid 3, the most intelligent, the best shapen, the highest in holiness, and whose soul is the holy Word! 'Invoke, O Zarathustra! this creation of mine, who am Ahura Mazda.'

15 Zarathustra took those words from me, (and said): 'I invoke the holy creation of Ahura Mazda. 'I invoke Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, a god armed with beautiful weapons, with the most glorious of all weapons, with the most fiend-smiting of all weapons. 'I invoke the holy, tall-formed Sraosha, who wields a club in his hand, to bear upon the heads of the fiends.

16 'I invoke the most glorious holy Word. 'I invoke the sovereign Heaven, the boundless Time, and Vayu, whose action is most high. 'I invoke the mighty Wind, made by Mazda, and Spenta (Ârmaiti), the fair daughter of Ahura Mazda. 'I invoke the good law of Mazda, the fiend-destroying law of Zarathustra.'

17 Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Maker of the good world, Ahura Mazda! With what manner of sacrifice shall I worship, with what manner of sacrifice shall I worship and forward this creation of Ahura Mazda?'

18 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Go, O Spitama Zarathustra! towards that tree 1 that is beautiful, high-growing, and mighty amongst the high-growing trees, and say thou these words: "Hail to thee! O good, holy tree, made by Mazda! Ashem, vohu!"

19 'Let the faithful man cut off a twig of baresma, long as a ploughshare, thick as a barley-corn. The faithful one, holding it in his left hand, shall not leave off keeping his eyes upon it, whilst he is offering up the sacrifice to Ahura Mazda and to the Amesha-Spentas, and to the high and beautiful golden Haomas, and to Vohu-manô and to the good Râta, made by Mazda, holy and excellent.'

20 Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O thou, all-knowing Ahura Mazda! thou art never asleep, never intoxicated, thou Ahura Mazda! Vohu-manô gets directly defiled: Vohu-manô gets indirectly defiled; the Daêvas defile him from the bodies smitten by the Daêvas 1: let Vohu-manô be made clean.'

21 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thou shalt take some gômêz from a bull ungelded and such as the law requires it; thou shalt take the man who is to be cleansed to the field made by Ahura, and the man that is to cleanse him shall draw the furrows.

22 'He shall recite a hundred Ashem vohu: "Holiness is the best of all good. Happy, happy the man who is holy with perfect holiness!" 'He shall chant two hundred Ahuna-Vairya: "The will of the Lord is the law of holiness; the riches of Vohu-manô shall be given to him who works in this world for Mazda, and wields according to the will of Ahura the power he gave to him to relieve the poor." 'He shall wash Vohu-manô four times with the gômêz from the ox, and twice with the water made by Mazda 6.

23 'Thus Vohu-manô shall be made clean, and clean shall be the man. Then he shall take up Vohu-manô 1 with his left arm and his right, with his right arm and his left: and thou shalt lay down Vohu-manô under the mighty structure of the bright heavens, by the light of the stars made by the gods, until nine nights have passed away.

24 'When nine nights have passed away, thou shalt bring libations unto the fire, thou shalt bring hard wood unto the fire, thou shalt bring incense of Vohu-gaona unto the fire, and thou shalt perfume Vohu-manô therewith.

25 'Thus shall Vohu-manô become clean, thus shall the man be clean: he shall take up Vohu-manô with the right arm and the left, with the left arm and the right, and Vohu-manô 4 shall say aloud: "Glory be to Ahura Mazda! Glory be to the Amesha-Spentas! Glory be to all the other holy beings."'

26 Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O thou all-knowing Ahura Mazda: Should I urge upon the godly man, should I urge upon the godly woman, should I urge upon the wicked Daêva-worshipper who lives in sin, that they have once to leave behind them the earth made by Ahura, that they have to leave the water that runs, the corn that grows, and all the rest of their wealth?' Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thou shouldst, O holy Zarathustra.'

27 O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Where are the rewards given? Where does the rewarding take place? Where is the rewarding fulfilled? Whereto do men come to take the reward that, in their life in the material world, they have won for their souls?

28 Ahura Mazda answered: 'When the man is dead, when his time is over, then the hellish, evil-doing Daêvas assail him; and when the third night is gone, when the dawn appears and brightens up, and makes Mithra, the god with beautiful weapons, reach the all-happy mountains, and the sun is rising:

29 'Then the fiend, named Vîzaresha, carries off in bonds the souls of the wicked Daêva-worshippers who live in sin. The soul enters the way made by Time, and open both to the wicked and to the righteous. At the head of the Kinvad bridge, the holy bridge made by Mazda, they ask for their spirits and souls the reward for the worldly goods which they gave away here below.

30 'Then comes the well-shapen, strong and tall formed maid, with the dogs at her sides, one who can distinguish, who is graceful, who does what she wants, and is of high understanding. 'She makes the soul of the righteous one go up above the Hara-berezati; above the Kinvad bridge she places it in the presence of the heavenly gods themselves.

31 'Up rises Vohu-manô from his golden seat: Vohu-manô exclaims: "How hast thou come to us, thou holy one, from that decaying world into this undecaying one?"

32 'Gladly pass the souls of the righteous to the golden seat of Ahura Mazda, to the golden seat of the Amesha-Spentas, to the Garô-nmânem, the abode of Ahura Mazda, the abode of the Amesha-Spentas, the abode of all the other holy beings.

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33 'As to the godly man that has been cleansed, the wicked evil-doing Daêvas tremble in the perfume of his soul after death, as a sheep does on which a wolf is falling.

34 'The souls of the righteous are gathered together there: Nairyô-sangha is with them; a friend of Ahura Mazda is Nairyô-sangha. 'Do thou thyself invoke, O Zarathustra! this world of Ahura Mazda.'

35 Zarathustra took those words from Ahura Mazda: 'I invoke the holy world, made by Ahura Mazda. 'I invoke the earth made by Ahura, the water made by Mazda, the holy trees. 'I invoke the sea Vouru-kasha, 'I invoke the shining sky. 'I invoke the eternal and sovereign luminous space.

36 'I invoke the bright, all glorious, blissful abode of the holy ones. 'I invoke the Garô-nmânem, the abode of Ahura Mazda, the abode invoke of the Amesha-Spentas, the abode of all the other holy beings. 'I invoke the sovereign place of eternal weal 1, and the Kinvad bridge made by Mazda.

37 'I invoke the good Saoka, whose looks go far and wide. 'I invoke the mighty Fravashis of the righteous. 'I invoke the whole creation of weal. 'I invoke Verethraghna, made by Ahura, who, wears the glory made by Mazda. 'I invoke Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, in the shape of a golden-horned bull.

38 'I invoke the holy, beneficent Gâthas, who rule over the ratus: 'I invoke the Ahunavaiti Gâtha; 'I invoke the Ustavaiti Gâtha; 'I invoke the Spenta-mainyu Gâtha; 'I invoke the Vohu-khshathra Gâtha; 'I invoke the Vahistôisti Gâtha.

39 'I invoke the Karshvares of Arzahê and Savahê; 'I invoke the Karshvares of Fradadhafshu and Vidadhafshu; 'I invoke the Karshvares of Vourubaresti and Vouruzaresti; 'I invoke the bright Hvaniratha; 'I invoke the bright, glorious Haêtumant; 'I invoke the good Ashi; ['I invoke the good Kisti] 'I invoke the most right Kista; 'I invoke the glory of the Aryan regions; 'I invoke the glory of the bright Yima, the great shepherd.

40 'Let him be worshipped with sacrifice, let him be gladdened, gratified, and satisfied, the holy Sraosha, the tall-formed, fiend-smiting, holy Sraosha. 'Bring libations unto the Fire, bring hard wood unto the Fire, bring incense of Vohu-gaona unto the Fire. 'Offer up the sacrifice to the Vâzista fire, which smites the fiend Spengaghra: bring unto it the cooked meat and the offerings of boiling milk.

41 'Offer up the sacrifice to the holy Sraosha, that the holy Sraosha may smite down the fiend Kunda, who is drunken without drinking. He will fall upon the men of the Drug, the slothful ones, the wicked, Daêva-worshippers, who live in sin.

42 'I invoke the Kara fish, who lives beneath waters in the bottom of the deep lakes. 'I invoke the ancient and sovereign Merezu, the greatest seat of battle in the creation of the two spirits. 'I invoke the seven bright Sravah with their sons and their flocks.

43 'They run about to and fro, their minds waver to and fro, Angra Mainyu the deadly, the Daêva of the Daêvas; Indra the Daêva, Sâuru the Daêva, Naunghaithya the Daêva, Taurvi and Zairi 1, Aêshma of the wounding spear, Akatasha the Daêva, Zaurva, baneful to the fathers, Bûiti the Daêva, Driwi the Daêva, Daiwi the Daêva, Kasvi the Daêva, Paitisha the most Daêva-like amongst the Daêvas.]

44 'And he said, the guileful, the evildoing Daêva, Angra Mainyu the deadly: "What! let the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas gather together at the head of Arezûra."

45 'They rush, they run away, the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas; they run away with shouts, the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas; they run away casting the evil eye, the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas: "Let us gather together at the head of Arezûra!

46 '"For he is just born the holy Zarathustra, in the house of Pourushaspa. How can we procure his death? He is the stroke that fells the fiends: he is a counter-fiend to the fiends; he is a Drug to the Drug. Down are the Daêva-worshippers, the Nasu made by the Daêva, the false-speaking Lie!"

47 'They run away, they rush away, the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas, into the depths of the dark, horrid world of hell. 'Ashem vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.'

FARGARD 20

Thrita, the First Healer.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who was he who first of the healthful, the wise, the happy, the wealthy, the glorious, the strong men of yore, drove back sickness to sickness, drove back death to death, and first turned away the point of the poniard and the fire of fever from the bodies of mortals.'

2 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thrita it was who first of the healthful, the wise, the happy, the wealthy, the glorious, the strong man of yore, drove back sickness to sickness, drove back death to death, and first turned away the point of the poniard and the fire of fever from the bodies of mortals.

3 'He asked for a source of remedies; he obtained it from Khshathra-Vairya, to withstand sickness and to withstand death, to withstand pain and fever, to withstand the disease, rottenness and infection which Angra Mainyu had created witchcraft against the bodies of mortals.

4 'And I Ahura Mazda brought down the healing plants that, by many hundreds, by many thousands, by many myriads, grow up all around the one Gaokerena.

5 'All this (health) do we call by our blessing-spells, by our prayers, by our praises, upon the bodies of mortals.

7 'To thee, O Sickness, I say avaunt! to thee, O Death, I say avaunt! to thee, O Pain, I say avaunt! to thee, O Fever, I say avaunt! to thee, O Disease, I say avaunt!

8 'By their might may we smite down the Drug! By their might may we smite the Drug! May they give to us strength and power, O Ahura!

9 'I drive away sickness, I drive away death, I drive away pain and fever, I drive away the disease, rottenness, and infection which Angra Mainyu has created by his witchcraft against the bodies of mortals.

10 'I drive away all manner of diseases and deaths, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and all the wicked Gainis.

11 'May the much-desired Airyaman; come here, for the men and women of Zarathustra to rejoice, for the faithful to rejoice; with the desirable reward that is won by means of the law, and with that boon for holiness that is vouchsafed by Ahura!

12 'May the much-desired Airyaman smite all manner of diseases and deaths, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and all the wicked Gainis.'

13 Yathâ ahû vairyô:--the will of the Lord is the law of holiness; the riches of Vohu-manô shall be given to him who works in this world for Mazda, and wields according to the will of Ahura the power he gave to him to relieve the poor. Kem nâ mazdâ:--whom hast thou placed to protect me, O Mazda! while the hate of the fiend is grasping me? Whom but thy Atar and Vohu-manô, by whose work the holy world goes on? Reveal to me the rules of thy law! Ke verethrem gâ:--who is he who will smite the fiend in order to maintain thy ordinances? Teach me clearly thy rules for this world and for the next, that Sraosha may come with Vohu-manô and help whomsoever thou pleasest. Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit!]

FARGARD 21

Waters and Light.

1 Hail, holy bull! Hail to thee, beneficent bull! Hail to thee, who makest increase! Hail to thee, who makest growth! Hail to thee, who dost bestow thy gifts upon the excellent faithful, and who wilt bestow them on the faithful yet unborn! Hail to thee, whom the Gahi kills, and the ungodly Ashemaogha, and the wicked tyrant.

2 'Come, come on, O clouds, along the sky, through the air, down on the earth, by thousands of drops, by myriads of drops:' thus say, O holy Zarathustra! 'to destroy sickness altogether, to destroy death altogether, to destroy altogether the sickness made by the Gaini, to destroy altogether the death made by the Gaini, to destroy altogether Gadha and Apagadha.

3 'If death come at eve, may healing come at daybreak! 'If death come at daybreak, may healing come at night! 'If death come at night, may healing come at dawn! 'Let showers shower down new waters, new earth, new trees, new health, and new healing powers. 4 'As the sea Vouru-kasha is the gathering place of waters 1, rise up, go up the aerial way and go down on the earth; go down on the earth and go up the aerial way. Rise up and roll along! thou in whose rising and growing Ahura Mazda made the aerial way.

5 'Up! rise up and roll along! thou swift-horsed sun, above Hara Berezaiti, and produce light for the world (and mayst thou O man! rise up there, if thou art to abide in Garô-nmânem) , along the path made by Mazda, along the way made by the gods, the watery way they opened.

6 'And thou shalt keep away the evil by this holy spell: Of thee O child! I will cleanse the birth and growth; of thee O woman! I will make the body and the strength pure; I make thee a woman rich in children and rich in milk;

7 'A woman rich in seed, in milk, in fat, in marrow, and in offspring. I shall make for thee a thousand springs flow and run towards the pastures that will give food to the child.

8 'As the sea Vouru-kasha is the gathering place of waters, rise up, go up the aerial way, and go down on the earth; go down on the earth and go up the aerial way, Rise up and roll along! thou in whose rising and growing Ahura Mazda made the earth.

9 'Up! rise up, thou moon, that dost keep in thee the seed of the bull, rise up above Hara Berezaiti, and produce light for the world (and mayst thou O man! rise up there, if thou art to abide in Garô-nmânem), along the path made by Mazda, along the way made by the gods, the watery way they opened.

10 'And thou shalt keep away the evil by this holy spell: Of thee O child! I will cleanse the birth and growth; of thee O woman! I will make the body and the strength pure; I make thee a woman rich in children and rich in milk;

11 'A woman rich in seed, in milk, in fat, in marrow, and in offspring. I shall make for thee a thousand springs flow and run towards the pastures that will give food to the child.

12 'As the sea Vouru-kasha is the gathering place of waters, rise up, go up the aerial way, and go down on the earth; go down on the earth and go up the aerial way. Rise up and roll along! thou in whose rising and growing Ahura Mazda made everything grow.

13 'Up! rise up, ye stars, that have in you the seed of waters, rise up above Hara Berezaiti, and produce light for the world (and mayst thou O man! rise up there, if thou art to abide in Garô-nmânem), along the path made by Mazda, along the way made by the gods, the watery way they opened.

14 'And thou shalt keep away the evil by this holy spell: Of thee O child! I will cleanse the birth and growth; of thee O woman! I will make the body and the strength pure; I make thee a woman rich in children and rich in milk;

15 'A woman rich in seed, in milk, in fat, in marrow, and in offspring. I shall make for thee a thousand springs flow and run towards the pastures that will give food to the child.

16 'As the sea Vouru-kasha is the gathering place of waters, rise up and gather together, go up the aerial way and go down on the earth; go down on the earth and go up the aerial way. Rise up and roll along!

17 'Up! rise up! away will the Kahvuzi 1 fly and cry, away will Ayêhi fly and cry, away will the Gahi, who is addicted to the Yâtu, fly and cry.

18 ['I drive away Ishirê, I drive away Aghûirê, I drive away Aghra, I drive away Ughra; I drive away sickness, I drive away death, I drive away pain and fever; I drive away Sârana, I drive away Sârasti, I drive away Azana, I drive away Azahva, I drive away Kurugha, I drive away Azivâka, I drive away Duruka, I drive away Astairya; I drive away the disease, rottenness, and infection which Angra Mainyu has created by his witchcraft against the bodies of mortals.

19 'I drive away all manner of diseases and deaths, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and all the wicked Gainis.

20 'May the much-desired Airyaman come here, for the men and women of Zarathustra to rejoice, for the faithful to rejoice; with the desirable reward that is won by means of the law, and with that boon for holiness that is vouchsafed by Ahura!

21 'May the much-desired Airyaman smite all manner of diseases and deaths, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and all the wicked Gainis.

22 'Yathâ ahû vairyô:--the will of the Lord . . . . 'Kem nâ mazdâ:--whom hast thou placed to protect me . . . ? 'Ke verethrem gâ:--who is he who will smite the fiend . . . ?

23 'Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Perish, away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit!']

FARGARD 22

1 Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying: 'I, Ahura Mazda, the Maker of all good things, when I made this mansion, the beautiful, the shining, seen afar (there may I go up, there may I pass!)

2 'Then the ruffian looked at me; the ruffian Angra Mainyu, the deadly, wrought by his witchcraft nine diseases, and ninety, and nine hundred, and nine thousand, and nine times ten thousand diseases. So mayst thou heal me, O Mâthra Spenta 6, thou most glorious one!

3 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, swift-running steeds; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy. 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, high-humped camels; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

4 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand brown oxen that do not push; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy. 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand young of all species of small cattle; offer them up as a sacrifice unto Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

5 'And I will bless thee with the fair, holy blessing-spell, the friendly, holy blessing-spell, that makes the empty swell to fulness and the full to overflowing, that comes to help him who was sickening, and makes the sick man sound again.

6 'Mâthra Spenta, the all-glorious, replied unto me: "How shall I heal thee? How shall I drive away from thee those nine diseases, and those ninety, those nine hundred, those nine thousand, and those nine times ten thousand diseases?"'

7 The Maker Ahura Mazda called for Nairyô-sangha: Go thou, Nairyô-sangha, the herald, and drive towards the mansion of Airyaman, and speak thus unto him:

8 Thus speaks Ahura Mazda, the Holy One, unto thee: 'I, Ahura Mazda, the Maker of all good things when I made this mansion, the beautiful, the shining, seen afar (there may I go up, there may I pass!)

9 'Then the ruffian looked at me; the ruffian Angra Mainyu, the deadly, wrought by his witchcraft nine diseases, and ninety, and nine hundred, and nine thousand, and nine times ten thousand diseases. So mayst thou heal me, O Airyaman, the much-desired!

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10 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, swift-running steeds; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy. 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, high-humped camels; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

11 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand brown oxen that do not push; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy. 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand young of all species of small cattle; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

12 'And I will bless thee with the fair, holy blessing-spell, the friendly, holy blessing-spell, that makes the empty swell to fulness and the full to overflowing, that comes to help him who was sickening, and makes the sick man sound again.'

13 In obedience to Ahura's words he went, Nairyô-sangha, the herald; he drove towards the mansion of Airyaman, he spake unto Airyaman, saying:

14 Thus speaks Ahura Mazda, the Holy One, unto thee: 'I, Ahura Mazda, the Maker of all good things, when I made this mansion, the beautiful, the shining, seen afar (there may I go up, there may I pass!)

15 'Then the ruffian looked at me; the ruffian Angra Mainyu the deadly, wrought by his witchcraft nine diseases, and ninety, and nine hundred, and nine thousand, and nine times ten thousand diseases. So mayst thou heal me, O Airyaman, the much-desired!

16 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, swift-running steeds; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy. 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, high-humped camels; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

17 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand brown oxen that do not push; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy. 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand young of all species of small cattle; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

18 'And I will bless thee with the fair, holy blessing-spell, the friendly, holy blessing-spell, that makes the empty swell to fulness and the full to overflowing, that comes to help him who was sickening, and makes the sick man sound again.'

19 Quickly was it done, nor was it long, eagerly set off the much-desired Airyaman, towards the mountain of the holy questions, towards the forest of the holy questions.

20 Nine stallions brought he with him, the much-desired Airyaman. Nine camels brought he with him, the much desired Airyaman. Nine bulls brought he with him, the much desired Airyaman. Nine head of small cattle brought he with him, the much-desired Airyaman. He brought with him the nine twigs; he drew along nine furrows.

21 'I drive away Ishirê!, I drive away Aghûirê, I drive away Aghra, I drive away Ughra; I drive away sickness, I drive away death, I drive away pain and fever; I drive away Sârana, I drive away Sârastya, I drive away Azana, I drive away Azahva, I drive away Kurugha, I drive away Azivâka, I drive away Duruka, I drive away Astairya; I drive away the disease, rottenness, and infection which Angra Mainyu has created by his witchcraft against the bodies of mortals.

22 'I drive away all manner of diseases and deaths, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and all the wicked Gainis.

23 'May the much-desired Airyaman come here for the men and women of Zarathustra to rejoice, for the faithful to rejoice; with the desirable reward that is won by means of the law, and with that boon for holiness that is vouchsafed by Ahura.

24 'May the much-desired Airyaman smite all manner of diseases and deaths, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and all the wicked Gainis.

25 'Yathâ ahû vairyô:--the will of the Lord is the law of holiness; the riches of Vohu-manô shall be given to him who works in this world for Mazda, and wields according to the will of Ahura the power he gave him to relieve the poor. 'Kem nâ mazdâ:--whom hast thou placed to protect me, O Mazda! while the hate of the fiend is grasping me? Whom but thy Âtar and Vohu-manô, by whose work the holy world goes on? Reveal to me the rules of thy law! 'Ke verethrem gâ:--who is he who will smite the fiend in order to maintain thy ordinances? Teach me clearly thy rules for this world and for the next, that Sraosha may come with Vohu-manô and help whomsoever thou pleasest. 'Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit!']

THE ZEND AVESTA, PART 2

Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 23

Translation: James Darmesteter, 1882

INTRODUCTION.

(This is part 2 of the Sacred Books of the East Zend Avesta translation. This portion of the Avesta is of great interest to the study of comparative mythology. Many of these are of also of outstanding literary value. Many of the texts in this part were originally hymns to very ancient gods and goddesses, such as Mithra, Anahita, as well as celestial bodies such as the sun, moon and the star Sirius, Tishtrya. These deities were retained in Zoroastrian mythology as demigods, somewhat like the Aeons of the Gnostics. There are also a number of texts which enumerate a huge body of legendary personages, some of whom also appear in the Shah Nama, the Persian national epic. Yast XII is a moving poetic description of the Zoroastrian after-death experience.

The present volume contains a translation of the Sîrôzahs (common prayers), Yasts (on worship), and the Nyâyis (prayers of praise). This part of the Avesta treats chiefly of the mythical and legendary lore of Zoroastrianism. Of the remaining Yasts, which are mostly of an epical character, there is no direct translation available; but a close comparison of the legends in Firdausi's Shah Nâmah seems to throw some light, even as regards philological points, on not a few obscure and important passages. This has enabled me, I believe, to restore a few myths to their original form, and to frame a more correct idea of others.

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Yasts
1. Ormazd Yast
2. Haptân Yast
3. Ardibehist Yast
4. Khordâd Yast
5. Âbân Yast
6. Khôrshêd Yast
7. Mâh Yast
8. Tîr Yast
9. Gôs Yast
10. Mihir Yast
11. Srôsh Yast Hâdhôkht
12. Rashn Yast
13. Farvardîn Yast
14. Bahrâm Yast
15. Râm Yast
16. Dîn Yast
17. Ashi Yast
18. Âstâd Yast
19. Zamyâd Yast
20. Vanant Yast
21. Yast Fragment
Yast 22
23. Âfrîn Paighambar Zartûst
24. Vîstâsp Yast

Nyâyis (Prayers of Praise)
1. Khôrshêd Nyâyis
2. Mihir Nyâyis
3. Mâh Nyâyis
4. Âbân Nyâyis
5. Âtas Nyâyis)

YASTS AND SIROZAHS.

(About the Sirozahs: The Sirozahs are a set of common prayers. Sirozah means 'thirty days': it is the name of a prayer composed of thirty invocations addressed to the several Izeds who preside over the thirty days of the month. There are two Sirozahs, but the only difference between them is that the formulas in the former are shorter, and there is also, occasionally, some difference in the epithets, which are fuller in the latter. In India the Sirozah is recited in honour of the dead, on the thirtieth day after the death, on the thirtieth day of the sixth month, on the thirtieth day of the twelfth month, and then every year on the thirtieth day from the anniversary day (Anquetil, Zend-Avesta, 2, 315).

About the Yasts: The word yast, in Zend yêsti, means properly 'the act of worshipping,' the performance of the yasna; and it is often used in Parsi tradition as synonymous with yasna. But it has also been particularly applied to a certain number of writings in which the several Izeds are praised and magnified. These writings are generally of a higher poetical and epical character than the rest of the Avesta, and are most valuable records of the old mythology and historical legends of Iran. The Parsis believe that formerly every Amshaspand and every Ized had his particular Yast, but we now possess only twenty Yasts and fragments of another. The writings known as Yast fragments, the Âfrîn Zartust, and Vîstâsp Yast, are not proper Yasts, and have no liturgical character; they are not devoted to the praise of any Ized. The order in which the Yasts have been arranged by the Parsis follows exactly the order of the Sirozah, which is the proper introduction to the Yasts.)

The following names of the Sirozahs correspond with the Yasts as follows:

1 Ormazd (I, 1-23)
2 Bahman (I, 24-33)
3 Ardibehest (Yast 3)
4 Shahrêvar
5 Sapendârmad
6 Khordâd (Yast 4)
7 Murdâd
8 Dai pa Âdar
9 Âdar
10 Âbân (Yast 5)
11 Khorshêd (Yast 6)
12 Mâh(Yast 7)
13 Tîr (Yast 8)
14 Gôs (Yast 9)
15 Dai pa Mihir
16 Mihir (Yast 10)
17 Srôsh (Yast 11)
18 Rashn (Yast 12)
19 Farvardîn (Yast 13)
20 Bahrâm (Yast 14)
21 Râm (Yast 15)
22 Bâd
23 Dai pa Dîn
24 Dîn (Yast 16)
25 Ashi (Yast 17)
26 Âstâd (Yast 18)
27 Âsmân
28 Zemyâd (Yast 19)
29 Mahraspand
30 Anêrân)

SIROZAH (Prayers) 1

1 Ormazd. To Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious, and to the Amesha-Speñtas.

2 Bahman. To Vohu-Manô; to Peace, whose breath is friendly, and who is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures; to the heavenly Wisdom, made by Mazda; and to the Wisdom acquired through the ear, made by Mazda.

3 Ardibehest. To Asha-Vahista, the fairest; to the much-desired Airyaman, made by Mazda; to the instrument made by Mazda; and to the good Saoka, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy.

4 Shahrêvar. To Khshathra-vairya; to the metals; to Mercy and Charity.

5 Sapendârmad. To the good Spenta-Ârmaiti, and to the good Râta, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy. To Haurvatât, the master; to the prosperity of the seasons and to the years, the masters of holiness.

7 Murdâd. To Ameretât, the master; to fatness and flocks; to the plenty of corn; and to the powerful Gaokerena, made by Mazda. (At the gâh Hâvan): to Mithra, the lord of wide pastures and to Râma Hvâstra. (At the gâh Rapithwin): to Asha-Vahista and to Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda. (At the gâh Uzîren): to Apâm Napât, the tall lord, and to the water made by Mazda. (At the gâh Aiwisrûthrem): to the Fravashis of the faithful, and to the females that bring forth flocks of males; to the prosperity of the seasons; to the well-shapen and tall-formed Strength, to Verethraghna, made by Ahura, and to the crushing Ascendant. (At the gâh Ushahin): to the holy, devout, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world grow; to Rashnu Razista, and to Arstât, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase.

8 Dai pa Âdar. To the Maker Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious, and to the Amesha-Spentas.

9 Âdar. To Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda; to the Glory and to the Weal, made by Mazda; to the Glory of the Aryas, made by Mazda; to the awful Glory of the Kavis, made by Mazda. To Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda; to king Husravah; to the lake of Husravah; to Mount Âsnavant, made by Mazda; to Lake Kaêkasta, made by Mazda; to the Glory of the Kavis, made by Mazda. To Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda; to Mount Raêvant, made by Mazda; to the Glory of the Kavis, made by Mazda. To Âtar, the beneficent, the warrior; the God who is a full source of Glory, the God who is a full source of healing. To Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda, with all Âtars; to the God Nairyô-Sangha, who dwells in the navel of kings.

10 Âbân. To the good Waters, made by Mazda; to the holy water-spring Ardvi Anâhita; to all waters made by Mazda; to all plants made by Mazda.

11 Khorshêd. To the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.

12 Mâh. To the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull; to the only-created Bull; to the Bull of many species.

13 Tîr. To Tistrya, the bright and glorious star; to the powerful Satavaêsa, made by Mazda, who pushes waters forward; to the stars, made by Mazda, that have in them the seed of the waters, the seed of the earth, the seed of the plants; to the star Vanant 4, made by Mazda; to those stars that are seven in number, the Haptôiringas, made by Mazda, glorious and healing.

14 Gôs. To the body of the Cow, to the soul of the Cow, to the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy.

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15 Dai pa Mihir. To the Maker Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious, and to the Amesha-Spentas.

16 Mihir. To Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who has a thousand ears and ten thousand eyes, a God invoked by his own name; to Râma Hvâstra.

17 Srôsh. To the holy, strong Sraosha, who is the incarnate Word, a mighty-speared and lordly God.

18 Rashn. To Rashnu Razista; to Arstât, who makes theworld grow, who makes the world increase; to the true-spoken speech, that makes the world grow.

19 Farvardîn. To the awful, overpowering Fravashis of the holy ones.

20 Bahrâm. To the well-shapen, tall-formed Strength; to Verethraghna, made by Ahura; to the crushing Ascendant.

21 Râm. To Râma Hvâstra; to Vayu, who works highly and is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures: to that part of thee, O Vayu, that belongs to Spenta-Mainyu; to the sovereign Sky, to the Boundless Time, to the sovereign Time of the long Period s.

22 Bâd. To the bounteous Wind, that blows below, above, before, and behind; to the manly Courage.

23 Dai pa Dîn. To the Maker, Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious; to the Amesha-Spentas.

24 Dîn. To the most right Kista, made by Mazda and holy; to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda.

25 Ard. To Ashi Vanguhi; to the good Kisti; to the good Erethe; to the good Rasâstât; to the Weal and Glory, made by Mazda; to Pârendi, of the light chariot; to the Glory of the Aryas made by Mazda; to the kingly Glory made. by Mazda; to that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, made by Mazda; to the Glory of Zarathustra, made by Mazda.

26 Âstâd. To Arstât, who makes the world grow; to Mount Ushi-darena, made by Mazda, the seat of holy happiness.

27 Âsmân. To the high, powerful Heavens; to the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy ones.

28 Zemyâd. To the bounteous Earth; to these places, to these fields; to Mount Ushi-darena, made by Mazda, the seat of holy happiness; to all the mountains made by Mazda, that are seats of holy happiness, of full happiness; to the kingly Glory made by Mazda; to that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, made by Mazda.

29 Mahraspand. To the holy, righteousness-performing Mâthra Spenta; to the Law opposed to the Daêvas, the Law of Zarathustra; to the long-traditional teaching; to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda; to the Devotion to the Mâthra Spenta; to the understanding that keeps the Law of the worshippers of Mazda; to the knowledge of the Mâthra Spenta; to the heavenly Wisdom made by Mazda; to the Wisdom acquired through the ear and made by Mazda.

30 Anêrân. To the eternal and sovereign luminous space; to the bright Garô-nmâna; to the sovereign place of eternal Weal; to the Kinvat-bridge, made by Mazda; to the tall lord Apâm Napât and to the water made by Mazda; to Haoma, of holy birth; to the pious and good Blessing; to the awful cursing thought of the wise; to all the holy Gods of the heavenly world and of the material one; to the awful, overpowering Fravashis of the faithful, to the Fravashis of the first men of the law, to the Fravashis of the next-of-kin; to every God invoked by his own name.

SIROZAH (Prayers) 2

1 Ormazd. We sacrifice unto the bright and glorious Ahura Mazda; we sacrifice unto the Amesha-Spentas, the all-ruling, the all-beneficent.

2 Bahman. We sacrifice unto Vohu-Manô, the Amesha-Spenta; we sacrifice unto Peace, whose breath is friendly, and who is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures. We sacrifice unto the heavenly Wisdom, made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto the Wisdom acquired through the ear, made by Mazda.

3 Ardibehest. We sacrifice unto Asha-Vahista, the fairest, the Amesha-Spenta; we sacrifice unto the much-desired Airyaman; we sacrifice unto the instrument made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto the good Saoka, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy.

4 Shahrêvar. We sacrifice unto Khshathra-Vairya, the Amesha-Spenta; we sacrifice unto the metals; we sacrifice unto Mercy and Charity.

5 Sapendârmad. We sacrifice unto the good Spenta Ârmaiti; we sacrifice unto the good Râta, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy.

6 Khordâd. We sacrifice unto Haurvatât, the Amesha-Spenta; we sacrifice unto the prosperity of the seasons. We sacrifice unto the years, the holy and masters of holiness.

7 Murdâd. We sacrifice unto Ameretât, the Amesha-Spenta; we sacrifice unto fatness and flocks; we sacrifice unto the plenty of corn; we sacrifice unto the powerful Gaokerena, made by Mazda. (At the gâh Hâvan): We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures; we sacrifice unto Râma Hvâstra. (At the gâh Rapithwin): We sacrifice unto Asha-Vahista and unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda. (At the gâh Uzîren): We sacrifice unto Apâm Napât, the swift-horsed, the tall and shining lord, the lord of the females; we sacrifice unto the water made by Mazda and holy. (At the gâh Aiwisrûthrem): We sacrifice unto the good, powerful, beneficent Fravashis of the holy ones; we sacrifice unto the females that bring forth flocks of males; we sacrifice unto the thrift of the seasons; we sacrifice unto the well-shapen and tall-formed Strength; we sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto the crushing Ascendant. (At the gâh Ushahin): We sacrifice unto the holy, tall-formed, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world grow, the holy and master of holiness; we sacrifice unto Rashnu Razista; we sacrifice unto Arstât, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase.

8 Dai pa Adar. We sacrifice unto the Maker Ahura Mazda, the bright and glorious; we sacrifice unto the Amesha-Spentas, the all-ruling, the all-beneficent.

9 Âdar. We sacrifice unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda; we sacrifice unto the Glory, made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto the Weal, made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto the Glory of the Aryas, made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto the awful Glory of the Kavis, made by Mazda. We sacrifice unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda; we sacrifice unto king Husravah; we sacrifice unto the lake of Husravah; we sacrifice unto Mount Âsnavant, made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto Lake Kaêkasta, made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto the awful Glory of the Kavis, made by Mazda. We sacrifice unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda; we sacrifice unto Mount Raêvant, made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto the awful Glory of the Kavis, made by Mazda. We sacrifice unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda; we sacrifice unto Âtar, the beneficent, the warrior. We sacrifice unto that God, who is a full source of glory. We sacrifice. unto that God, who is a full source of healing. We sacrifice unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda; we sacrifice unto all Fires; we sacrifice unto the God, Nairyô-Sangha, who dwells in the navel of kings.

10 Âbân. We sacrifice unto the good Waters, made by Mazda and holy; we sacrifice unto the holy water-spring Ardvi Anâhita; we sacrifice unto all waters, made by Mazda and holy; we sacrifice unto all plants, made by Mazda and holy.

11 Khorshêd. We sacrifice unto the bright, undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.

12 Mâh. We sacrifice unto the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull. We sacrifice unto the Soul and Fravashi of the only-created Bull; we sacrifice unto the Soul and Fravashi of the Bull of many species.

13 Tîr. We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star; we sacrifice unto the powerful Satavaêsa, made by Mazda, who pushes waters forward; we sacrifice unto all the Stars that have in them the seed of the waters; we sacrifice unto all the Stars that have in them the seed of the earth; we sacrifice unto all the Stars that have in them the seeds of the plants; we sacrifice unto the Star Vanant, made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto those stars that are seven in number, the Haptôiringas, made by Mazda, glorious and healing; in order to oppose the Yâtus and Pairikas.

14 Gôs. We sacrifice unto the soul of the bounteous Cow; we sacrifice unto the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy.

15 Dai pa Mihir. We sacrifice unto the Maker Ahura Mazda, the bright and glorious; we sacrifice unto the Amesha-Spentas, the all-ruling, the all-beneficent.

16 Mihir. We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who has a thousand ears and ten thousand eyes, a God invoked by his own name; we sacrifice unto Râma Hvâstra.

17 Srôsh. We sacrifice unto the holy, tall-formed, fiend-smiting, world-increasing Sraosha, holy and master of holiness.

18 Rashn. We sacrifice unto Rashnu Razista; we sacrifice unto Arstât, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase; we sacrifice unto the true-spoken speech that makes the world grow.

19 Farvardîn. We sacrifice unto the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the holy ones.

20 Bahrâm. We sacrifice unto the well-shapen, tall-formed Strength; we sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura; we sacrifice unto the crushing Ascendant.

21 Râm. We sacrifice unto Râma Hvâstra; we sacrifice unto the holy Vayu; we sacrifice unto Vayu, who works highly and is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures. Unto that part of thee do we sacrifice, O Vayu, that belongs to Spenta-Mainyu. We sacrifice unto the sovereign Sky; we sacrifice unto the Boundless Time; we sacrifice unto the sovereign Time of the long Period.

22 Bâd. We sacrifice unto the beneficent, bounteous Wind; we sacrifice unto the wind that blows below; we sacrifice unto the wind that blows above; we sacrifice unto the wind that blows before; we sacrifice unto the wind that blows behind. We sacrifice unto the manly Courage.

23 Dai pa Dîn. We sacrifice unto the Maker Ahura Mazda, the bright and glorious; we sacrifice unto the Amesha-Spentas.

24 Dîn. We sacrifice unto the most right Kista, made by Mazda and holy; we sacrifice unto the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda.

25 Ard. We sacrifice unto Ashi Vanguhi, the bright, high, strong, tall-formed, and merciful; we sacrifice unto the Glory made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto the Weal made by Mazda. We sacrifice unto Pârendi, of the light chariot; we sacrifice unto the Glory of the Aryas, made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto that awful Glory, that cannot be forcibly seized, made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto the Glory of Zarathustra, made by Mazda.

26 Âstâd. We sacrifice unto Arstât, who makes the world grow; we sacrifice unto Mount Ushi-darena, made by Mazda, a God of holy happiness.

27 Âsmân. We sacrifice unto the shining Heavens; we sacrifice unto the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy ones.

28 Zemyâd. We sacrifice unto the Earth, a beneficent God; we sacrifice unto these places, unto these fields; we sacrifice unto Mount Ushi-darena, made by Mazda, a God of holy happiness; we sacrifice unto all the mountains, that are seats of holy happiness, of full happiness, made by Mazda, the holy and masters of holiness; we sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto the awful Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, made by Mazda.

29 Mahraspand. We sacrifice unto the Mâthra Spenta, of high glory; we sacrifice unto the Law opposed to the Daêvas; we sacrifice unto the Law of Zarathustra; we sacrifice unto the long-traditional teaching; we sacrifice unto the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda; we sacrifice unto the Devotion to the Mâthra Spenta; we sacrifice unto the understanding that keeps the Law of the worshippers of Mazda; we sacrifice unto the knowledge of the Mâthra Spenta; we sacrifice unto the heavenly Wisdom, made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto the Wisdom acquired through the ear and made by Mazda.

30 Anêrân. We sacrifice unto the eternal and sovereign luminous space; we sacrifice unto the bright Garô-nmâna; we sacrifice unto the sovereign place of eternal Weal; we sacrifice unto the Kinvat-bridge, made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto Apâm Napât, the swift-horsed, the high and shining lord, who has many wives; and we sacrifice unto the water, made by Mazda and holy; we sacrifice unto the golden and tall Haoma; we sacrifice unto the enlivening Haoma, who makes the world grow; we sacrifice unto Haoma, who keeps death far away; we sacrifice unto the pious and good Blessing; we sacrifice unto the awful, powerful, cursing thought of the wise, a God; we sacrifice unto all the holy Gods of the heavenly world; we sacrifice unto all the holy Gods of the material world. I praise, I invoke, I meditate upon, and we sacrifice unto the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the holy ones.

1. ORMAZD YAST.

(The Ormazd Yast, properly so called, ends with Ormazd Yast 23. The rest of the Yast, from § 24 to the end, is wanting in several manuscripts, and is supposed by the Parsis to be a fragment of the Bahman Yast.

Ormazd Yast 1-6. The names of Ahura Mazda are the most powerful part of the Holy Word.

Ormazd Yast 7-8. The twenty names of Ahura Mazda are enumerated.

Ormazd Yast 9-11. Efficacy of these names.

Ormazd Yast 12-15. Another list of names.

Ormazd Yast 16-19. Efficacy of Ahura's names.

Ormazd Yast 20-23. Sundry formulas of invocation.

As may be seen from this summary, the subject has been treated twice over, first in §§ 1-11, and then in §§ 12-19; yet it does not appear that this Yast was formed out of two independent treatises, and it is more likely that the vague and indefinite enumeration in §§ 12-15, which interrupts so clumsily the train of ideas, is due either to an interpolation or simply to the literary deficiency of the writer himself.

The Ormazd Yast is recited every day at the Hâvan Gâh, after the morning prayer (Anquetil, Zend-Avesta, II, 143): it is well also to recite it when going to sleep and when changing one's residence (§ 17).

Speculations on the mystical powers of God's names have always been common among Orientals. The number of these names went on increasing: Dastûr Nôshîrvân wrote on the roc names of God; Dastûr Marzbân on his 125 names. With the Musulmans, Allah had 1001 names. On the names of God among the Jews, see Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 35, pp. 162, 532.

We have three native translations of this Yast; one in Pahlavi (East India Office, 12, 39, and St. Petersburg, 99, 39; edited by Carl Salemann), one in Persian (East India Office, 22, 43), and one in Sanskrit (Paris, fonds Burnouf, V, 66); the last two edited in our Études Iraniennes, 2, 255).

The second part of the Yast, the so-called Bahman Yast fragment, is in a state of the utmost corruption. It is difficult to trace any connection in the ideas, yet §§ 28, 29, 30 seem to point rather clearly to the final struggle between Ormazd and Ahriman and to the annihilation of the Daêvas, and, thereby, some connection is established between this fragment and the Pahlavi Bahman Yast 1, which deals with the same subject. If that correspondence be real, § 26 might refer to the beginning of the Pahlavi Bahman Yast, in which Zarathustra is shown by Ahura the times to come and the end of the world. Of this

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fragment we have only a bad Pahlavi translation in the St. Petersburg manuscript mentioned above.)

May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced! May Angra Mainyu be destroyed! by those who do truly what is the foremost wish (of God).

I praise well-thought, well-spoken, and well-done thoughts, words, and deeds. I embrace all good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; I reject all evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds.

I give sacrifice and prayer unto you, O Amesha-Spentas! even with the fulness of my thoughts, of my words, of my deeds, and of my heart: I give unto you even my own life.

I recite the 'Praise of Holiness: 'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good. Well is it for it, well is it for that holiness which is perfection of holiness!'

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani], the holy and master of holiness;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Sâvanghi and Vîsya], the holy and masters of holiness;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto the Masters of the days, of the periods of the day, of the months, of the seasons, and of the years;

Unto AHURA MAZDA, bright and glorious, be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness: the riches of Vohû-Manô shall be given to him who works in this world for Mazda, and wields according to the will of Ahura the power he gave him to relieve the poor.

1 Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! 'What of the Holy Word is the strongest? What is the most victorious? What is the most glorious? What is the most effective?

2 'What is the most fiend-smiting? What is the best-healing? What destroyeth best the malice of Daêvas and Men? What maketh the material world best come to the fulfilment of its wishes? What freeth the material world best from the anxieties of the heart?'

3 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Our Name, O Spitama Zarathustra! who are the Amesha-Spentas, that is the strongest part of the Holy Word; that is the most victorious; that is the most glorious; that is the most effective;

4 'That is the most fiend-smiting; that is the best-healing; that destroyeth best the malice of Daêvas and Men; that maketh the material world best come to the fulfilment of its wishes; that freeth the material world best from the anxieties of the heart.'

5 Then Zarathustra said: 'Reveal unto me that name of thine, O Ahura Mazda! that is the greatest, the best, the fairest, the most effective, the most fiend-smiting, the best-healing, that destroyeth best the malice of Daêvas and Men;

6 'That I may afflict all Daêvas and Men; that I may afflict all Yâtus and Pairikas; that neither Daêvas nor Men may be able to afflict me; neither Yâtus nor Pairikas.'

7 Ahura Mazda replied unto him: 'My name is the One of whom questions are asked, O holy Zarathustra! 'My second name is the Herd-giver. 'My third name is the Strong One. 'My fourth name is Perfect Holiness. 'My fifth name is All good things created by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle. 'My sixth name is Understanding; 'My seventh name is the One with understanding. 'My eighth name is Knowledge; 'My ninth name is the One with Knowledge.

8 'My tenth name is Weal; 'My eleventh name is He who produces weal. 'My twelfth name is AHURA (the Lord). 'My thirteenth name is the most Beneficent. 'My fourteenth name is He in whom there is no harm. 'My fifteenth name is the unconquerable One. 'My sixteenth name is He who makes the true account. 'My seventeenth name is the All-seeing One. 'My eighteenth name is the healing One. 'My nineteenth name is the Creator. My twentieth name is MAZDA (the All-knowing One).

9 'Worship me, O Zarathustra, by day and by night, with offerings of libations well accepted. I will come unto thee for help and joy, I, Ahura Mazda; the good, holy Sraosha will come unto thee for help and joy; the waters, the plants, and the Fravashis of the holy ones will come unto thee for help and joy.

10 'If thou wantest, O Zarathustra, to destroy the malice of Daêvas and Men, of the Yâtus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, of the blind and of the deaf, of the two-legged ruffians, of the two-legged Ashemaoghas, of the four-legged wolves; And of the hordes with the wide front, with the many spears, with the straight spears, with the spears uplifted, bearing the spear of havock; then, recite thou these my names every day and every night.

12 'I am the Keeper. I am the Creator and the Maintainer; I am the Discerner; I am the most beneficent Spirit. 'My name is the bestower of health; my name is the best bestower of health. 'My name is the Âthravan; my name is the most Âthravan-like of all Âthravans. 'My name is Ahura (the Lord). 'My name is Mazdau (the all-knowing). 'My name is the Holy; my name is the most Holy. 'My name is the Glorious; my name is the most Glorious. 'My name is the Full-seeing; my name is the Fullest-seeing. 'My name is the Far-seeing; my name is the Farthest-seeing.

13 'My name is the Protector; my name is the Well-wisher; my name is the Creator; my name is the Keeper; my name is the Maintainer. 'My name is the Discerner; my name is the Best Discerner. 'My name is the Prosperity-producer; my name is the Word of Prosperity. 'My name is the King who rules at his will; my name is the King who rules most at his will. 'My name is the liberal King; my name is the most liberal King.

14 'My name is He who does not deceive; my name is He who is not deceived. 'My name is the good Keeper; my name is He who destroys malice; my name is He who conquers at once; my name is He who conquers everything; my name is He who has shaped everything. 'My name is All weal; my name is Full weal; my name is the Master of weal.

15 'My name is He who can benefit at his wish; my name is He who can best benefit at his wish. 'My name is the Beneficent One; my name is the Energetic One; my name is the most Beneficent. 'My name is Holiness; my name is the Great One; my name is the good Sovereign; my name is the Best of Sovereigns. 'My name is the Wise One; my name is the Wisest of the Wise; my name is He who does good for a long time.

16 'These are my names. 'And he who in this material world, O Spitama Zarathustra! shall recite and pronounce those names of mine either by day or by night;

17 'He who shall pronounce them, when he rises up or when he lays him down; when he lays him down or when he rises up; when he binds on the sacred girdle or when he unbinds the sacred girdle; when he goes out of his dwelling-place, or when he goes out of his town, or when he goes out of his country and comes into another country;

18 'That man, neither in that day nor in that night, shall be wounded by the weapons of the foe who rushes Aêshma-like and is Drug-minded; not the knife, not the cross-bow, not the arrow, not the sword, not the club, not the sling-stone shall reach and wound him.

19 'But those names shall come in to keep him from behind and to keep him in front, from the Drug unseen, from the female Varenya fiend, from the evil-doer bent on mischief, and from that fiend who is all death, Angra Mainyu. It will be as if there were a thousand men watching over one man.

20 ' "Who is he who will smite the fiend in order to maintain thy ordinances? Teach me clearly thy rules for this world and for the next, that Sraosha may come with Vohu-Manô and help whomsoever thou pleasest."

21 'Hail to the Glory of the Kavis! Hail to the Airyanem Vaêgah! Hail to the Saoka, made by Mazda! Hail to the waters of the Dâitya! Hail to Ardvi, the undefiled well! Hail to the whole world of the holy Spirit! 'Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord . . . . 'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good. . . .

22 'We worship the Ahuna Vairya. We worship Asha-Vahista, most fair, undying, and beneficent. We worship Strength and Prosperity and Might and Victory and Glory and Vigour. We worship Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious. 'Yênghê hâtâm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda knows the goodness for a sacrifice [performed] in holiness, all those beings, males and females, do we worship.

23 'Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . . 'I bless the sacrifice and the prayer unto Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious, and his strength and vigour. (Bahman Yast.)

24 'O Zarathustra! keep thou for ever that man who is friendly [to me] from the foe unfriendly [to me]! Do not give up that friend unto the stroke (of the foe), unto vexations to be borne; wish no harm unto that man who would offer me a sacrifice, be it ever so great or ever so small, if it has reached unto us, the Amesha-Spentas.

25 'Here is Vohu-Manô, my creature, O Zarathustra! here is Asha-Vahista, my creature, O Zarathustra! here is Khsathra-Vairya, my creature, O Zarathustra! here is Spenta-Ârmaiti, my creature, O Zarathustra! here are Haurvatât and Ameretât, who are the reward of the holy ones, when freed from their bodies, my creatures, O Zarathustra!

26 'Thou knowest this, and how it is, O holy Zarathustra! from my understanding and from my knowledge; namely, how the world first began, and how it will end. 'A thousand remedies, ten thousand remedies! 'A thousand remedies, ten thousand remedies! 'A thousand remedies, ten thousand remedies!

27 '[We worship] the well-shapen, tall-formed Strength; Verethraghna, made by Ahura; the crushing Ascendant, and Spenta-Ârmaiti.

28 'And with the help of Spenta-Ârmaiti, break ye asunder their 4 malice, turn their minds astray, bind their hands, make their knees quake against one another, bind their tongues. 'When, O Mazda! shall the faithful smite the wicked? When shall the faithful smite the Drug? When shall the faithful smite the wicked?'

29 Then Zarathustra said: 'I threw you back into the earth, and by the eyes of Spenta-Ârmaiti the ruffian was made powerless.

30 'We worship the powerful Gaokerena, made by Mazda; the powerful Gaokerena, made by Mazda.

31 'We worship the memory of Ahura Mazda, to keep the Holy Word. 'We worship the understanding of Ahura Mazda, to study the Holy Word. 'We worship the tongue of Ahura Mazda, to speak forth the Holy Word. 'We worship the mountain that gives understanding, that preserves understanding 1; [we worship it] by day and by night, with offerings of libations well-accepted.

32 'We worship that creation [of Ahura's], Spenta-Ârmaiti; and the holy creations of that creature and of Asha [Vahista], that are foremost in holiness. 'Here I take as lord and master the greatest of all, Ahura Mazda; to smite the fiend Angra Mainyu to smite Aêsma of the wounding spear; to smite the Mâzainya fiends; to smite all the Daêvas and the Varenya fiends; to increase Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious; to increase the Amesha-Spentas; to increase the star Tistrya, the bright and glorious; to increase the faithful men; to increase all the holy creatures of the Beneficent Spirit. 'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good. . . .

33 '[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, give him health of body, give him sturdiness of body, give him victorious strength of body, give him full welfare of wealth, give him a virtuous offspring, give him long, long life, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones. 'May it come according to my blessing! 'A thousand remedies, ten thousand remedies! (three times.) 'Come to me for help, O Mazda! 'We worship the well-shapen, tall-formed Strength, and Verethraghna, made by Mazda, and the crushing Ascendant. 'We worship Râma Hvâstra, and Vayu who works highly and is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures. That part of thee do we worship, O Vayu, that belongs to Spenta Mainyu. We worship the sovereign Sky, the boundless Time, and the sovereign Time of the long Period. 'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good . . . .'

2. HAPTÂN YAST.

1 To Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious, and to the Amesha-Spentas; To Vohu-Manô; to Peace, whose breath is friendly, and who is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures; to the heavenly Wisdom, made by Mazda, and to the Wisdom acquired through the ear, made by Mazda;

2 To Asha-Vahista, the fairest; to the much-desired Airyaman; to the instrument made by Mazda; and to the good Saoka, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy; To Khshathra-Vairya; to the metals; to Mercy and Charity.

3 To the good Spenta-Ârmaiti, and to the good Râta, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy; To Haurvatât, the master; to the prosperity of the seasons and to the years, the masters of holiness; And to Ameretât, the master; to fatness and flocks; to the plenty of corn; and to the powerful Gaokerena, made by Mazda.

4 (At the Gâh Hâvan): To Mithra, the lord of wide pastures and to Râma Hvâstra. (At the Gâh Rapithwin): To Asha-Vahista and to Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda. (At the Gâh Uzîren): To Apâm Napât, the tall lord, and to water, made by Mazda.

5 (At the Gâh Aiwisrûthrem): To the Fravashis of the faithful and to the females that bring forth flocks of males; to the prosperity of the seasons; to the well-shapen and tall-formed Strength; to Verethraghna, made by Ahura, and to the crushing Ascendant. (At the Gâh Usahin): To the holy, devout, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world grow; to Rashnu-Razista and to Arstât, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase; Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification! Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . .

6 We sacrifice unto Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious; we sacrifice unto the Amesha-Spentas, the all-ruling, the all-beneficent. We sacrifice unto Vohu-Manô, the Amesha-Spenta; we sacrifice unto Peace, whose breath is friendly, and who is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures; we sacrifice unto the heavenly Wisdom, made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto the wisdom acquired through the ear, made by Mazda.

7 We sacrifice unto Asha-Vahista, the fairest, the Amesha-Spenta; we sacrifice unto the much-desired Airyaman; we sacrifice unto the instrument made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto the good Saoka, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy. We sacrifice unto Khshathra-Vairya; we sacrifice unto the metals; we sacrifice unto Mercy and Charity.

8 We sacrifice unto the good Spenta-Ârmaiti; we sacrifice unto the good Râta, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy. We sacrifice unto Haurvatât, the Amesha-Spenta; we sacrifice unto the prosperity of the seasons; we sacrifice unto the years, the holy and masters of holiness. We sacrifice unto Ameretât, the Amesha-Spenta; we sacrifice unto fatness and flocks; we sacrifice unto the plenty of corn; we sacrifice unto the powerful Gaokerena, made by Mazda.

9 (At the Gâh Hâvan): We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures; we sacrifice unto Râma Hvâstra. (At the Gâh Rapithwin): We sacrifice unto Asha-Vahista and Âtar, the son

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of Ahura Mazda. (At the Gâh Uzîren): We sacrifice unto Apãm Napât, the swift-horsed, the tall and shining lord, the lord of the females; we sacrifice unto the holy waters, made by Mazda.

10 (At the Gâh Aiwisrûthrem): We sacrifice unto the good, powerful, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful; we sacrifice unto the females who bring forth flocks of males; we sacrifice unto the prosperity of the seasons; we sacrifice unto the well-shapen, tall-formed Strength; we sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto the crushing Ascendant. (At the Gâh Usahin): We sacrifice unto the holy, tall-formed, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world grow, the holy and master of holiness; we sacrifice unto Rashnu-Razista; we sacrifice unto Arstât, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase.

11 Let the Yâtus be crushed, O Zarathustra! both Daêvas and men. Who is he in whose house, O Spitama Zarathustra! every Drug is destroyed, every Drug perishes, when he pronounces these words:

12 . . . . . [text lost]

13 It is he who takes the seven Amesha-Spentas, the all-ruling, the all-beneficent, as a shield against his enemies. We worship the Law of the worshippers of Mazda; we worship the waters coming in the shape of a horse, made by Mazda.

14-15 He has renounced trespasses and faults, O Zarathustra! he has renounced all trespasses and faults, O Zarathustra! when he throws down the destroyer of Vohu-Manô and his words, with a hundred times hundredfold, with a many times manifold preaching and smiting, and he takes away the Law of Mazda, that was carried away as a prisoner, from the hands of the [ungodly], who are destroyed by his strength. Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good. . . .

16 Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . I bless the sacrifice and the prayer, the strength and vigour of Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious, and of the Amesha-Spentas; Of Vohu-Manô; of Peace, whose breath is friendly . . . Of Asha-Vahista, the fairest; of the much-desired Airyaman . . . Of Khshathra-Vairya, of the metals . . . Of the good Spenta-Ârmaiti and of the good Râta . . . Of Haurvatât, the master . . . Of Ameretât, the master . . . (At the Gâh Hâvan): Of Mithra . . . (At the Gâh Rapithwin): Of Asha-Vahista . . . (At the Gâh Uzîren): Of the high lord Apãm Napât . . . (At the Gâh Aiwisrûthrem): Of the Fravashis of the faithful . . . (At the Gâh Usahin): Of the holy, devout, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world grow; of Rashnu-Razista and of Arstât, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase. Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good . . . Give unto that man brightness and glory, give him health of body, give him sturdiness of body, give him victorious strength of body, give him full welfare of wealth, give him a virtuous offspring, give him long, long life, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

3. ARDIBEHIST YAST.

Unto Asha-Vahista, the fairest; unto the much-desired Airyaman, made by Mazda, and unto the good Saoka, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy; Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification. Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . .

1 Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying: 'That thou mayest increase Asha-Vahista, O Spitama Zarathustra! with hymns of praise, with performance of the office, with invocations, holy words, sacrifice, blessings, and adoration—once to abide in the shining luminous space, in the beautiful abodes—for the sacrifice and invocation of us, the Amesha-Spentas' . . . .

2 Zarathustra said: 'Say unto me the right words, such as they are, O Ahura Mazda! that I may increase Asha-Vahista, with hymns of praise, with performance of the office, with invocations, holy words, sacrifice, blessings, and adoration,—once to abide in the shining luminous space, in the beautiful abodes,—for the sacrifice and invocation of you, the Amesha-Spentas.

3 '. . . . I proclaim Asha-Vahista: if I proclaim Asha-Vahista, then easy is the way to the abode of the other Amesha-Spentas, which Ahura Mazda keeps with Good Thoughts, which Ahura Mazda keeps with Good Words, which Ahura Mazda keeps with Good Deeds;

4 '(Easy is the way to the Garô-nmâna of Ahura Mazda): the Garô-nmâna is for the holy souls, and no one of the wicked can enter the Garô-nmâna and its bright, wide, holy ways; (no one of them can go) to Ahura Mazda.

5 'The Airyaman prayer smites down the strength of all the creatures of Angra Mainyu, of the Yâtus and Pairikas. It is the greatest of spells, the best of spells, the very best of all spells; the fairest of spells, the very fairest of all spells; the fearful one amongst spells, the most fearful of all spells; the firm one amongst spells, the firmest of all spells; the victorious one amongst spells, the most victorious of all spells; the healing one amongst spells, the best-healing of all spells.

6 'One may heal with Holiness, one may heal with the Law, one may heal with the knife, one may heal with herbs, one may heal with the Holy Word: amongst all remedies this one is the healing one that heals with the Holy Word; this one it is that will best drive away sickness from the body of the faithful: for this one is the best-healing of all remedies.

7 'Sickness fled away [before it], Death fled away; the Daêva fled away, the Daêva's counter-work fled away; the unholy Ashemaogha fled away, the oppressor of men fled away.

8 'The brood of the Snake fled away; the brood of the Wolf fled away; the brood of the Two-legged fled away. Pride fled away; Scorn fled away; Hot Fever fled away; Slander fled away; Discord fled away; the Evil Eye fled away.

9 'The most lying words of falsehood fled away; the Gahi, addicted to the Yâtu, fled away; the Gahi, who makes one pine, fled away; the wind that blows from the North fled away; the wind that blows from the North vanished away.

10 'He it is who smites me that brood of the Snake, and who might smite those Daêvas by thousands of thousands, by ten thousands of ten thousands; he smites sickness, he smites death, he smites the Daêvas, he smites the Daêva's counter-work, he smites the unholy Ashemaogha, he smites the oppressor of men.

11 'He smites the brood of the Snake; he smites the brood of the Wolf; he smites the brood of the Two-legged. He smites Pride; he smites Scorn; he smites Hot Fever; he smites Slander; he smites Discord; he smites the Evil Eye.

12 'He smites the most lying words of falsehood; he smites the Gahi, addicted to the Yâtu; he smites the Gahi, who makes one pine. He smites the wind that blows from the North; the wind that blows from the North vanished away.

13 'He it is who smites me that brood of the Two-legged, and who might smite those Daêvas, by thousands of thousands, by ten thousands of ten thousands. Angra Mainyu, who is all death, the worst-lying of all Daêvas, rushed from before him

14 'He exclaimed, did Angra Mainyu: "Woe is me! Here is the god Asha-Vahista, who will smite the sickliest of all sicknesses, who will afflict the sickliest of all sicknesses; ' "He will smite the deadliest of all deaths, he will afflict the deadliest of all deaths; ' "He will smite the most fiendish of all fiends, he will afflict the most fiendish of all fiends; ' "He will smite the most counter-working of all counter-works, he will afflict the most counter-working of all counter-works; ' "He will smite the unholy Ashemaogha, he will afflict the unholy Ashemaogha; ' "He will smite the most oppressive of the oppressors of men, he will afflict the most oppressive of the oppressors of men.

15 ' "He will smite the snakiest of the Snake's brood, he will afflict the snakiest of the Snake's brood; "He will smite the most wolfish of the Wolf's brood, he will afflict the most wolfish of the Wolf's brood; "He will smite the worst of the two-legged brood, he will afflict the worst of the two-legged brood; "He will smite Pride, he will afflict Pride; ' "He will smite Scorn, he will afflict Scorn; ' "He will smite the hottest of hot fevers, he will afflict the hottest of hot fevers; ' "He will smite the most slanderous of slanders, he will afflict the most slanderous of slanders; ' "He will smite the most discordant of discords, he will afflict the most discordant of discords; ' "He will smite the worst of the Evil Eye, he will afflict the worst of the Evil Eye.

16 "He will smite the most lying words of falsehood, he will afflict the most lying words of falsehood; "He will smite the Gahi, addicted to the Yâtu, he will afflict the Gahi, addicted to the Yâtu; ' "He will smite the Gahi, who makes one pine, he will afflict the Gahi, who makes one pine; ' "He will smite the wind that blows from the North, he will afflict the wind that blows from the North."

17 'The Drug will perish away, the Drug will perish; the Drug will rush, the Drug will vanish. Thou perishest away to the regions of the North, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit. 'I bless the sacrifice and prayer and the strength and vigour of Asha-Vahista, the fairest; of the much-desired Airyaman, made by Mazda; and of the good Saoka, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy.

4. KHORDÂD YAST.

(text missing)

... Unto Haurvatât, the master; unto the prosperity of the seasons and unto the years, the masters of holiness, ... We sacrifice unto Haurvatât, the Amesha-Spenta; we sacrifice unto the prosperity of the seasons; we sacrifice unto the years, the holy and masters of holiness.

1 Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying: 'I created for the faithful the help, the enjoyments, the comforts, and the pleasures of Haurvatât. We unite them with him who would come up to thee as one of the Amesha-Spentas, as he would come to any of the Amesha-Spentas, Vohu-Manô, Asha-Vahista, Khshathra-Vairya, Spenta-Ârmaiti, Haurvatât, and Ameretât.

2 'He who against the thousands of thousands of those Daêvas, against their ten thousands of ten thousands, against their numberless myriads would invoke the name of Haurvatât, as one of the Amesha-Spentas, he would smite the Nasu, he would smite Hasi, he would smite Basi, he would smite Saêni, he would smite Bûgi.

3 'I proclaim the faithful man as the first [of men]; if I proclaim the faithful man as the first [of men], then Rashnu Razista, then every heavenly Yazata of male nature in company with the Amesha-Spentas will free the faithful man

4 'From the Nasu, from Hasi, from Gasi, from Saêni, from Bûgi; from the hordes with the wide front, from the hordes with the many spears uplifted, from the evil man who oppresses, from the wilful sinner, from the oppressor of men, from the Yâtu, from the Pairika, from the straying way.

5 'How does the way of the faithful turn and part from the way of the wicked?' Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is when a man pronouncing my spell, either reading or reciting it by heart, draws the furrows and hides there himself, [saying]:

6 "I will smite thee, O Drug! whomsoever thou art, whomsoever thou art amongst the Druges that come in an open way, whomsoever thou art amongst the Druges that come by hidden ways, whomsoever thou art amongst the Druges that defile by contact; whatsoever Drug thou art, I smite thee away from the Aryan countries; whatsoever Drug thou art, I bind thee; I smite thee down, O Drug! I throw thee down below, O Drug!"

7 'He draws [then] three furrows: I proclaim him one of the faithful; he draws six furrows: I proclaim him one of the faithful; he draws nine furrows: I proclaim him one of the faithful.

8 'The names of those (Amesha-Spentas) smite the men turned to Nasus by the Druges; the seed and kin of the deaf are smitten, the scornful are dead, as the Zaotar Zarathustra blows them away to woe, however fierce, at his will and wish, as many as he wishes.

9 'From the time when the sun is down he smites them with bruising blows; from the time when the sun is no longer up, he deals deadly blows on the Nasu with his club struck down, for the propitiation and glorification of the heavenly gods.

10 'O Zarathustra! let not that spell be shown to any one, except by the father to his son, or by the brother to his brother from the same womb, or by the Âthravan to his pupil in black hair, devoted to the good law, who, devoted to the good law, holy and brave, stills all the Druges.

..... (text missing)

5. ÂBÂN YAST.

(Yast to the Waters)

... Unto the good Waters, made by Mazda; unto the holy water-spring ARDVI ANÂHITA; unto all waters, made by Mazda; unto all plants, made by Mazda, Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

1 Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying: 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, the wide-expanding and health-giving, who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura, who is worthy of sacrifice in the material world, worthy of prayer in the material world; the life-increasing and holy, the herd-increasing and holy, the fold-increasing and holy, the wealth-increasing and holy, the country-increasing and holy;

2 'Who makes the seed of all males pure, who makes the womb of all females pure for bringing forth, who makes all females bring forth in safety, who puts milk into the breasts of all females in the right measure and the right duality;

3 'The large river, known afar, that is as large as the whole of the waters that run along the earth; that runs powerfully from the height Hukairya down to the sea Vouru-Kasha.

4 'All the shores of the sea Vouru-Kasha are boiling over, all the middle of it is boiling over, when she runs down there, when she streams down there, she, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, who has a thousand cells and a thousand channels: the extent of each of those cells, of each of those channels is as much as a man can ride in forty days, riding on a good horse.

5 'From this river of mine alone flow all the waters that spread all over the seven Karshvares; this river of mine alone goes on bringing waters, both in summer and in winter. This river of mine purifies the seed in males, the womb in females, the milk in females' breasts.

6 'I, Ahura Mazda, brought it down with mighty vigour, for the increase of the house, of the borough, of the town, of the country, to keep them, to maintain them, to look over them, to keep and maintain them close.

7 'Then Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, O Spitama Zarathustra! proceeded forth from the Maker Mazda. Beautiful were her white arms, thick as a horse's shoulder or still thicker; beautiful was her . . . . , and thus came she, strong, with thick arms, thinking thus in her heart:

8 ' "Who will praise me? Who will offer me a sacrifice, with libations cleanly prepared and well-strained, together with the Haoma and meat? To whom shall I cleave, who cleaves unto me, and thinks with me, and bestows gifts upon me, and is of good will unto me?"

9 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard; I will offer up unto the holy Ardvi Sûra Anâhita a good sacrifice with an offering of libations;—thus mayest thou advise us when thou art appealed to! Mayest thou be most fully worshipped, O Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the words, with the deeds, with the libations, and with the rightly-spoken words. 'Yênhê hâtãm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda . . . .

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10 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, the wide-expanding and health-giving, who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura, who is worthy of sacrifice in the material world, worthy of prayer in the material world; the life-increasing and holy, the herd-increasing and holy, the fold-increasing and holy, the wealth-increasing and holy, the country-increasing and holy;

11 'Who drives forwards on her chariot, holding the reins of the chariot. She goes driving, on this chariot, longing for men and thinking thus in her heart: "Who will praise me? Who will offer me a sacrifice, with libations cleanly prepared and well-strained, together with the Haoma and meat? To whom shall I cleave, who cleaves unto me, and thinks with me, and bestows gifts upon me, and is of good will unto me?" 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice, worth being heard . . . .

12 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita. . . .

13 'Whom four horses carry, all white, of one and the same colour, of the same blood, tall, crushing down the hates of all haters, of the Daêvas and men, of the Yâtus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, of the blind and of the deaf. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . . .

14 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . . .

15 'Strong and bright, tall and beautiful of form, who sends down by day and by night a flow of motherly waters as large as the whole of the waters that run along the earth, and who runs powerfully. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . .

16 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . . .

17 'To her did the Maker Ahura Mazda offer up a sacrifice in the Airyana Vaêgah, by the good river Dâitya; with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the words, with the deeds, with the libations, and with the rightly-spoken words.

18 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may bring the son of Pourushaspa, the holy Zarathustra, to think after my law, to speak after my law, to do after my law!"

19 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and begging that she would grant him that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . . .

20 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . . .

21 'To her did Haoshyangha, the Paradhâta, offer up a sacrifice on the enclosure of the Hara, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, and ten thousand lambs.

22 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may become the sovereign lord of all countries, of the Daêvas and men, of the Yâtus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind and the deaf; and that I may smite down two thirds of the Daêvas of Mâzana and of the fiends of Varena."

23 Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . .

24 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . . .

25 'To her did Yima Khshaêta, the good shepherd, offer up a sacrifice from the height Hukairya, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

26 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may become the sovereign lord of all countries, of the Daêvas and men, of the Yâtus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind and the deaf; and that I may take from the Daêvas both riches and welfare, both fatness and flocks, both weal and Glory."

27 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . . .

28 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . . .

29 'To her did Azi Dahâka, the three-mouthed, offer up a sacrifice in the land of Bawri, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, and ten thousand lambs.

30 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this boon, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may make all the seven Karshvares of the earth empty of men."

31 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita did not grant him that boon, although he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating her that she would grant him that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . . .

32 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . . .

33 'To her did Thraêtaona, the heir of the valiant Âthwya clan, offer up a sacrifice in the four-cornered Varena, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

34 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may overcome Azi Dahâka, the three-mouthed, the three-headed, the six-eyed, who has a thousand senses, that most powerful, fiendish Drug, that demon, baleful to the world, the strongest Drug that Angra Mainyu created against the material world, to destroy the world of the good principle; and that I may deliver his two wives, Savanghavâk and Erenavâk, who are the fairest of body amongst women, and the most wonderful creatures in the world."

35 Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . .

36 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . . .

37 'To her did Keresâspa, the manly-hearted, offer up a sacrifice behind the Vairi Pisanah, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

38 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may overcome the golden-heeled Gandarewa, though all the shores of the sea Vouru-Kasha are boiling over; and that I may run up to the stronghold of the fiend on the wide, round earth, whose ends lie afar."

39 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . .

40 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . . .

41 'To her did the Turanian murderer, Frangrasyan, offer up a sacrifice in his cave under the earth, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

42 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may seize hold of that Glory, that is waving in the middle of the sea Vouru-Kasha and that belongs to the Aryan people, to those born and to those not yet born, and to the holy Zarathustra."

43 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita did not grant him that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . . .

44 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . . .

45 'To her did the great, most wise Kavi Usa offer up a sacrifice from Mount Erezifya, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

46 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may become the sovereign lord of all countries, of the Daêvas and men, of the Yâtus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind and the deaf."

47 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . . .

48 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . . .

49 'To her did the gallant Husravah, he who united the Aryan nations into one kingdom, offer up a sacrifice behind the Kaêkasta lake, the deep lake, of salt waters, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

50 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may become the sovereign lord of all countries, of Daêvas and men, of the Yâtus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind and the deaf; and that I may have the lead in front of all the teams and that he may not pass through the forest, he, the murderer, who now is fiercely striving against me on horseback."

51 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . . .

52 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sara Anâhita . . . .

53 'To her did the valiant warrior Tusa offer worship on the back of his horse, begging swiftness for his teams, health for his own body, and that he might, watch with full success those who hated him, smite down his foes, and destroy at one stroke his adversaries, his enemies, and those who hated him.

54 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may overcome the gallant sons of Vaêsaka, by the castle Khshathrô-saoka, that stands high up on the lofty, holy Kangha; that I may smite of the Turanian people their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads."

55 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . . .

56 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . . .

57 'To her did the gallant sons of Vaêsaka offer up a sacrifice in the castle Khshathrô-saoka, that stands high up on the lofty, holy Kangha, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

58 'They begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant us this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that we may overcome the valiant warrior Tusa, and that we may smite of the Aryan people their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads."

59 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita did not grant them that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . . .

60 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . . .

61 'The old Vafra Navâza worshipped her, when the strong fiend-smiter, Thraêtaona, flung him up in the air in the shape of a bird, of a vulture.

62 'He went on flying, for three days and three nights, towards his own house; but he could not, he could not turn down. At the end of the third night, when the beneficent dawn came dawning up, then he prayed unto Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, saying:

63 ' "Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! do thou quickly hasten helpfully and bring me assistance at once. I will offer thee a thousand libations, cleanly prepared and well strained, along with Haomas and meat, by the brink of the river Rangha, if I reach alive the earth made by Ahura and my own house."

64 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita hastened unto him in the shape of a maid, fair of body, most strong, tall-formed, high-girded, pure, nobly born of a glorious race, wearing shoes up to the ankle, wearing a golden . . . . , and radiant.

65 'She seized him by the arm: quickly was it done, nor was it long till, speeding, he arrived at the earth made by Mazda and at his own house, safe, unhurt, unwounded, just as he was before.

66 ['Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, entreating that she would grant him that boon.] 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . . .

67 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . .

68 'To her did Gâmâspa offer up a sacrifice, with a hundred horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs, when he saw the army of the wicked, of the worshippers of the Daêvas, coming from afar in battle array.

69 'He asked of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may be as constantly victorious as any one of all the Aryans."

70 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . .

71 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . . .

72 'To her did Ashavazdah, the son of Pourudhâkhsti, and Ashavazdah and Thrita, the sons of Sâyuzdri, offer up a sacrifice, with a hundred horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs, by Apâm Napât, the tall lord, the lord of the females, the bright and swift-horsed.

73 'They begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant us this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that we may overcome the assemblers of the Turanian Dânus, Kara Asabana, and Vara Asabana, and the most mighty Dûraêkaêta, in the battles of this world.

74 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted them that boon, as they were offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant them that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . . .

75 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . . .

76 'Vistauru, the son of Naotara, worshipped her by the brink of the river Vîtanghuhaiti, with well-spoken words, speaking thus:

77 ' "This is true, this is truly spoken, that I have smitten as many of the worshippers of the Daêvas as the hairs I bear on my head. Do thou then, O Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! leave me a dry passage, to pass over the good Vîtanghuhaiti."

78 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita hastened unto him in the shape of a maid, fair of body, most strong, tall-formed, high-girded, pure, nobly born of a glorious race, wearing shoes up to the ankle, with all sorts of ornaments and radiant. A part of the waters she made stand still, a part of the waters she made flow forward, and she left him a dry passage to pass over the good Vîtanghuhaiti.

79 ['Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.] 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . . .

80 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . . .'

81 'To her did Yôista, one of the Fryanas, offer up a sacrifice with a hundred horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs on the Pedvaêpa of the Rangha.

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82 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may overcome the evil-doing Akhtya, the offspring of darkness, and that I may answer the ninety-nine hard riddles that he asks me maliciously, the evil-doing Akhtya, the offspring of darkness."

83 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . . .

84 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . . .

85 'Whom Ahura Mazda the merciful ordered thus, saying: "Come, O Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, come from those stars down to the earth made by Ahura, that the great lords may worship thee, the masters of the countries, and their sons.

86 ' "The men of strength will beg of thee swift horses and supremacy of Glory. "The Âthravans who read and the pupils of the Âthravans will beg of thee knowledge and prosperity, the Victory made by Ahura, and the crushing Ascendant.

87 ' "The maids of barren womb, longing for a lord, will beg of thee a strong husband; "Women, on the point of bringing forth, will beg of thee a good delivery. "All this wilt thou grant unto them, as it lies in thy power, O Ardvi Sûra Anâhita!"

88 'Then Ardvi Sûra Anâhita came forth, O Zarathustra! down from those stars to the earth made by Mazda; and Ardvi Sûra Anâhita spake thus:

89 "O pure, holy Zarathustra! Ahura Mazda has established thee as the master of the material world: Ahura Mazda has established me to keep the whole of the holy creation. "Through my brightness and glory flocks and herds and two-legged men go on, upon the earth: I, forsooth, keep all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle, just as a shepherd keeps his flock."

90 'Zarathustra asked Ardvi Sûra Anâhita: "O Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! With what manner of sacrifice shall I worship thee? With what manner of sacrifice shall I worship and forward thee? So that Mazda may make thee run down (to the earth), that he may not make thee run up into the heavens, above the sun; and that the Serpent 2 may not injure thee with . . . . , with . . . . , with . . . . 5, and . . . . poisons."

91 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita answered: "O pure, holy Spitama! this is the sacrifice wherewith thou shalt worship me, this is the sacrifice wherewith thou shalt worship and forward me, from the time when the sun is rising to the time when the sun is setting. "Of this libation of mine thou shalt drink, thou who art an Âthravan, who hast asked and learnt the revealed law, who art wise, clever, and the Word incarnate.

92 ' "Of this libation of mine let no foe drink, no man fever-sick, no liar, no coward, no jealous one, no woman, no faithful one who does not sing the Gâthas, no leper to be confined.

93 ' "I do not accept those libations that are drunk in my honour by the blind, by the deaf, by the wicked, by the destroyers, by the niggards, by the . . . . , nor any of those stamped with those characters which have no strength for the holy Word. "Let no one drink of these my libations who is hump-backed or bulged forward; no fiend with decayed teeth."

94 'Then Zarathustra asked Ardvi Sûra Anâhita "O Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! What becomes of those libations which the wicked worshippers of the Daêvas bring unto thee after the sun has set?"

95 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita answered: "O pure, holy Spitama Zarathustra! howling, clapping, hopping, and shouting, six hundred and a thousand Daêvas, who ought not to receive that sacrifice, receive those libations that men bring unto me after [the sun has set]."

96 'I will worship the height Hukairya, of the deep precipices, made of gold, wherefrom this mine Ardvi Sûra Anâhita leaps, from a hundred times the height of a man, while she is possessed of as much Glory as the whole of the waters that run along the earth, and she runs powerfully. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . . .

97 Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sara Anâhita . . . .

98 'Before whom the worshippers of Mazda stand with baresma in their hands: the Hvôvas did worship her, the Naotaras did worship her; the Hvôvas asked for riches, the Naotaras asked for swift horses. Quickly was Hvôva blessed with riches and full prosperity; quickly became Vîstâspa, the Naotaride, the lord of the swiftest horses in these countries.

99 ['Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted them that boon, as they were offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant them that boon.] 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . . .

100 Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . . .

101 'Who has a thousand cells and a thousand channels: the extent of each of those cells, of each of those channels, is as much as a man can ride in forty days, riding on a good horse. In each channel there stands a palace, well-founded, shining with a hundred windows, with a thousand columns, well-built, with ten thousand balconies, and mighty.

102 'In each of those palaces there lies a well-laid, well-scented bed, covered with pillows, and Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, O Zarathustra! runs down there from a thousand times the height of a man, and she is possessed of as much Glory as the whole of the waters that run along the earth, and she runs powerfully.

103 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . . .

104 'Unto her did the holy Zarathustra offer up a sacrifice in the Airyana Vaêgah, by the good river Dâitya; with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the speech, with the deeds, with the libations, and with the rightly-spoken words.

105 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may bring the son of Aurvat-aspa, the valiant Kavi Vîstâspa, to think according to the law, to speak according to the law, to do according to the law."

106 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . . .

107 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . . .

108 'Unto her did the tall Kavi Vîstâspa offer up a sacrifice behind Lake Frazdânava, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

109 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may overcome Tâthravant, of the bad law, and Peshana, the worshipper of the Daêvas, and the wicked Aregat-aspa, in the battles of this world!"

110 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . . .

111 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . . .

112 'Unto her did Zairi-vairi, who fought on horseback, offer up a sacrifice behind the river Dâitya, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

113 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may overcome Peshô-Kangha the corpse-burier, Humâyaka the worshipper of the Daêvas, and the wicked Aregat-aspa, in the battles of this world.

114 Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . . .

115 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . . .

116 'Unto her did Aregat-aspa and Vandaremaini offer up a sacrifice by the sea Vouru-Kasha, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

117 'They 1 begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant us this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that we may conquer the valiant Kavi Vîstâspa and Zairivairi who fights on horseback, and that we may smite of the Aryan people their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads."

118 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita did not grant them that favour, though they were offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she should grant them that favour. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . . .

119 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . . .

120 'For whom Ahura Mazda has made four horses—the wind, the rain, the cloud, and the sleet—and thus ever upon the earth it is raining, snowing, hailing, and sleeting; and whose armies are so many and numbered by nine-hundreds and thousands.

121 'I will worship the height Hukairya, of the deep precipices, made of gold, wherefrom this mine Ardvi Sûra Anâhita leaps, from a hundred times the height of a man, while she is possessed of as much Glory as the whole of the waters that run along the earth, and she runs powerfully. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . . .

122 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . . .

123 'She stands, the good Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, wearing a golden mantle, waiting for a man who shall offer her libations and prayers, and thinking thus in her heart:

124 ' "Who will praise me? Who will offer me a sacrifice, with libations cleanly prepared and well-strained, together with the Haoma and meat? To whom shall I cleave, who cleaves unto me, and thinks with me, and bestows gifts upon me, and is of good will unto me?" 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . . .

325 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . . .

126 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, who stands carried forth in the shape of a maid, fair of body, most strong, tall-formed, high-girded, pure, nobly born of a glorious race, wearing along her . . . . a mantle fully embroidered with gold;

127 'Ever holding the baresma in her hand, according to the rules, she wears square golden earrings on her ears bored, and a golden necklace around her beautiful neck, she, the nobly born Ardvi Sûra Anâhita; and she girded her waist tightly, so that her breasts may be well-shaped, that they may be tightly pressed.

128 'Upon her head Ardvi Sûra Anâhita bound a golden crown, with a hundred stars, with eight rays, a fine . . . . , a well-made crown, in the shape of a . . . . . , with fillets streaming down.

129 'She is clothed with garments of beaver, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita; with the skin of thirty beavers of those that bear four young ones, that are the finest kind of beavers; for the skin of the beaver that lives in water is the finest-coloured of all skins, and when worked at the right time it shines to the eye with full sheen of silver and gold.

130 'Here, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! I beg of thee this favour: that I, fully blessed, may conquer large kingdoms, rich in horses, with high tributes, with snorting horses, sounding chariots, flashing swords, rich in aliments, with stores of food, with well-scented beds; that I may have at my wish the fulness of the good things of life and whatever makes a kingdom thrive.

131 'Here, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! I beg of thee two gallant companions, one two-legged and one four-legged: one two-legged, who is swift, quickly rushing, and clever in turning a chariot round in battle; and one four-legged, who can quickly turn towards either wing of the host with a wide front, towards the right wing or the left, towards the left wing or the right.

132 'Through the strength of this sacrifice, of this invocation, O Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! come down from those stars, towards the earth made by Ahura, towards the sacrificing priest, towards the full boiling [milk]; come to help him who is offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that thou wouldst grant him thy favours; that all those gallant warriors may be strong, like king Vîstâspa. . . . . 'I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of the holy water-spring Anâhita.

6. KHÔRSHÊD YAST.

(YAST TO THE SUN.)

Unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun; Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification. Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . .

1 We sacrifice unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun. When the light of the sun waxes warmer, when the brightness of the sun waxes warmer, then up stand the heavenly Yazatas, by hundreds and thousands: they gather together its Glory, they make its Glory pass down, they pour its Glory upon the earth made by Ahura, for the increase of the world of holiness, for the increase of the creatures of holiness, for the increase of the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.

2 And when the sun rises up, then the earth, made by Ahura, becomes clean; the running waters become clean, the waters of the wells become clean, the waters of the sea become clean, the standing waters become clean; all the holy creatures, the creatures of the Good Spirit, become clean.

3 Should not the sun rise up, then the Daêvas would destroy all the things that are in the seven Karshvares, nor would the heavenly Yazatas find any way of withstanding or repelling them in the material world.

4 He who offers up a sacrifice unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun—to withstand darkness, to withstand the Daêvas born of darkness, to withstand the robbers and bandits, to withstand the Yâtus and Pairikas, to withstand death that creeps in unseen—offers it up to Ahura Mazda, offers it up to the Amesha-Spentas, offers it up to his own soul. He rejoices all the heavenly and worldly Yazatas, who offers up a sacrifice unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.

5 I will sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who has a thousand ears, ten thousand eyes. I will sacrifice unto the club of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, well struck down upon the skulls of the Daêvas. I will sacrifice unto that friendship, the best of all friendships, that reigns between the moon and the sun.

6 For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun. Unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun we offer up the libations, the Haoma and meat, the baresma, the wisdom of the tongue, the holy spells, the speech, the deeds, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words. Yênhê hâtâm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda . . . .

7 Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . . I bless the sacrifice and the invocation, and the strength and vigour of the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun. Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good . . . . Give unto

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that man brightness and glory, give him health of body, ... give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

7. MÂH YAST.

(Yast to the Moon)

Unto the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull; unto the only-created Bull and unto the Bull of many species; Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification. Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . .

1 Hail to Ahura Mazda! Hail to the Amesha-Spentas! Hail to the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull! Hail to thee when we look at thee! Hail to thee when thou lookest at us!

2 How does the moon wax? How does the moon wane? For fifteen days does the moon wax; for fifteen days does the moon wane. As long as her waxing, so long is the waning; as long as her waning, so long is the waxing. 'Who is there but thee who makes the moon wax and wane?'

3 We sacrifice unto the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull, the holy and master of holiness. Here I look at the moon, here I perceive the moon; here I look at the light of the moon, here I perceive the light of the moon. The Amesha-Spentas stand up, holding its glory; the Amesha-Spentas stand up, pouring its glory upon the earth, made by Mazda.

4 And when the light of the moon waxes warmer, golden-hued plants grow on from the earth during the spring. We sacrifice unto the new moons, the full moons, and the Vîshaptathas. We sacrifice unto the new moon, the holy and master of holiness; We sacrifice unto the full moon, the holy and master of holiness; We sacrifice unto the Vîshaptatha, the holy and master of holiness. ... ; it has the same meaning in Vend. XVIII, 9 [23]; cf. Yt. XXII, 18.}

5 I will sacrifice unto the Moon, that keeps in it the seed of the Bull, the liberal, bright, glorious, water-giving, warmth-giving, wisdom-giving, wealth-giving, riches-giving, thoughtfulness-giving, weal-giving, freshness-giving, prosperity-giving, the liberal, the healing. . . . . I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of the Moon, that keeps in it the seed of the Bull, and of the only-created Bull, and of the Bull of many species.

8. TÎR YAST.

(Yast to the stars and planets)

Unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, and unto the powerful Satavaêsa, made by Mazda, who pushes waters forward, Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification. Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . .

1 Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying: 'We worship the lordship and mastership [of Tistrya], whereby he protects the Moon, the dwelling, the food, when my glorious stars come along and impart their gifts to men. I will sacrifice unto the star Tistrya, that gives the fields their share [of waters].

2 'We offer up libations unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, that gives happy dwelling and good dwelling; the white, shining, seen afar, and piercing; the health-bringing, loud-snorting, and high, piercing from afar with its shining, undefiled rays; and unto the waters of the wide sea, the Vanguhi of wide renown, and the species of the Bull, made by Mazda, the awful kingly Glory, and the Fravashi of the holy Spitama Zarathustra.

3 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto the star Tistrya. 'Unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, we offer up the libations, the Haoma and meat, the baresma, the wisdom of the tongue, the holy spells, the speech, the deeds, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words. 'Yênhê hâtâm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda . . . .

4 'We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, who is the seed of the waters, powerful, tall, and strong, whose light goes afar; powerful and highly working, through whom the brightness and the seed of the waters come from the high Apãm Napât. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

5 'We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star; for whom long flocks and herds and men, looking forward for him and deceived in their hope: "When shall we see him rise up, the bright and glorious star Tistrya? When will the springs run with waves as thick as a horse's size and still thicker? Or will they never come?" 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

6 'We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star; who flies, towards the sea Vouru-Kasha, as swiftly as the arrow darted through the heavenly space, which Erekhsha, the swift archer, the Arya amongst the Aryas whose arrow was the swiftest, shot from Mount Khshaotha to Mount Hvanvant.

7 'For Ahura Mazda gave him assistance; so did the waters and the plants; and Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, opened a wide way unto him. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

8 'We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, that afflicts the Pairikas, that vexes the Pairikas, who, in the shape of worm-stars, fly between the earth and the heavens, in the sea Vouru-Kasha, the powerful sea, the large-sized, deep sea of salt waters. He goes to its lake in the shape of a horse, in a holy shape; and down there he makes the waters boil over, and the winds flow above powerfully all around.

9 'Then Satavaêsa makes those waters flow down to the seven Karshvares of the earth, and when he has arrived down there, he stands, beautiful, spreading ease and joy on the fertile countries (thinking in himself): "How shall the countries of the Aryas grow fertile?" 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

10 'We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, who spake unto Ahura Mazda, saying: "Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!

11 ' "If men would worship me with a sacrifice in which I were invoked by my own name, as they worship the other Yazatas with sacrifices in which they are invoked by their own names, then I should have come to the faithful at the appointed time; I should have come in the appointed time of my beautiful, immortal life, should it be one night, or two nights, or fifty, or a hundred nights."

12 'We sacrifice unto Tistrya; 'We sacrifice unto the rains of Tistrya. 'We sacrifice unto the first star; we sacrifice unto the rains of the first star. 'I will sacrifice unto the stars Haptôiringa, to oppose the Yâtus and Pairikas. 'We sacrifice unto Vanant, the star made by Mazda; for the well-shapen strength, for the Victory, made by Ahura, for the crushing Ascendant, for the destruction of what distresses us, for the destruction of what persecutes us. 'We sacrifice unto Tistrya, whose eye-sight is sound.

13 'For ten nights, O Spitama Zarathustra! Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, mingles his shape with light, moving in the shape of a man of fifteen years of age, bright, with clear eyes, tall, full of strength, strong, and clever.

14 'He is active as the first man was; he goes on with the strength of the first man; he has the virility of the first man.

15'Here he calls for people to assemble, here he asks, saying: "Who now will offer me the libations with the Haoma and the holy meat? To whom shall I give wealth of male children, a troop of male children, and the purification of his own soul? Now I ought to receive sacrifice and prayer in the material world, by the law of excellent holiness."

16 'The next ten nights, O Spitama Zarathustra! the bright and glorious Tistrya mingles his shape with light, moving in the shape of a golden-horned bull.

17 'Here he calls for people to assemble, here he asks, saying: "Who now will offer me the libations with the Haoma and the holy meat? To whom shall I give wealth of oxen, a herd of oxen, and the purification of his own soul? Now I ought to receive sacrifice and prayer in the material world, by the law of excellent holiness."

18 'The next ten nights, O Spitama Zarathustra! the bright and glorious Tistrya mingles his shape with light, moving in the shape of a white, beautiful horse, with golden ears and a golden caparison.

19 'Here he calls for people to assemble, here he asks, saying: "Who now will offer me the libations with the Haoma and the holy meat? To whom shall I give wealth of horses, a troop of horses, and the purification of his own soul? Now I ought to receive sacrifice and prayer in the material world, by the law of excellent holiness."

20 'Then, O Spitama Zarathustra! the bright and glorious Tistrya goes down to the sea Vouru-Kasha in the shape of a white, beautiful horse, with golden ears and a golden caparison.

21 'But there rushes down to meet him the Daêva Apaosha, in the shape of a dark horse, black with black ears, black with a black back, black with a black tail, stamped with brands of terror.

22 'They meet together, hoof against hoof, O Spitama Zarathustra! the bright and glorious Tistrya and the Daêva Apaosha. They fight together, O Spitama Zarathustra! for three days and three nights. And then the Daêva Apaosha proves stronger than the bright and glorious Tistrya, he overcomes him.

23 'And Tistrya flees from the sea Vouru-Kasha, as far as a Hâthrâ's length. He cries out in woe and distress, the bright and glorious Tistrya: "Woe is me, O Ahura Mazda! I am in distress, O Waters and Plants! O Fate and thou, Law of the worshippers of Mazda! Men do not worship me with a sacrifice in which I am invoked by my own name, as they worship the other Yazatas with sacrifices in which they are invoked by their own names.

24 "If men had worshipped me with a sacrifice in which I had been invoked by my own name, as they worship the other Yazatas with sacrifices in which they are invoked by their own names, I should have taken to me the strength of ten horses, the strength of ten camels, the strength of ten bulls, the strength of ten mountains, the strength of ten rivers."

25 'Then I, Ahura Mazda, offer up to the bright and glorious Tistrya a sacrifice in which he is invoked by his own name, and I bring him the strength of ten horses, the strength of ten camels, the strength of ten bulls, the strength of ten mountains, the strength of ten rivers.

26 'Then, O Spitama Zarathustra! the bright and glorious Tistrya goes down to the sea Vouru-Kasha in the shape of a white, beautiful horse, with golden ears and golden caparison.

27 'But there rushes down to meet him the Daêva Apaosha in the shape of a dark horse, black with black ears, black with a black back, black with a black tail, stamped with brands of terror.

28 'They meet together, hoof against hoof, O Spitama Zarathustra! the bright and glorious Tistrya, and the Daêva Apaosha; they fight together, O Zarathustra! till the time of noon. Then the bright and glorious Tistrya proves stronger than the Daêva Apaosha, he overcomes him.

29 'Then he goes from the sea Vouru-Kasha as far as a Hâthra's length: "Hail!" cries the bright and glorious Tistrya. "Hail unto me, O Ahura Mazda! Hail unto you, O waters and plants! Hail, O Law of the worshippers of Mazda! Hail will it be unto you, O lands! The life 1 of the waters will flow down unrestrained to the big-seeded cornfields, to the small-seeded pasture-fields, and to the whole of the material world!"

30 'Then the bright and glorious Tistrya goes back down to the sea Vouru-Kasha, in the shape of a white, beautiful horse, with golden ears and a golden caparison.

31 'He makes the sea boil up and down; he makes the sea stream this and that way; he makes the sea flow this and that way: all the shores of the sea Vouru-Kasha are boiling over, all the middle of it is boiling over.

32 'And the bright and glorious Tistrya rises up from the sea Vouru-Kasha, O Spitama Zarathustra! the bright and glorious Satavaêsa rises up from the sea Vouru-Kasha; and vapours rise up above Mount Us-hindu, that stands in the middle of the sea Vouru-Kasha.

33 'Then the vapours push forward, in the regular shape of clouds; they go following the wind, along the ways which Haoma traverses, the increaser of the world. Behind him travels the mighty wind, made by Mazda, and the rain, and the cloud, and the sleet, down to the several places, down to the fields, down to the seven Karshvares of the earth.

34 'Apãm Napât, O Spitama Zarathustra! divides the waters amongst the countries in the material world, in company with the mighty wind, the Glory, made by the waters, and the Fravashis of the faithful. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

35 'We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, who from the shining east, moves along his long winding course, along the path made by the gods, along the way appointed for him the watery way, at the will of Ahura Mazda, at the will of the Amesha-Spentas. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

36 'We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, whose rising is watched by men who live on the fruits of the year, by the chiefs of deep understanding; by the wild beasts in the mountains, by the tame beasts that run in the plains; they watch him, as he comes up to the country for a bad year, or for a good year, (thinking in themselves): "How shall the Aryan countries be fertile?" For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

37 'We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, swift-flying and swift-moving, who flies towards the sea Vouru-Kasha, as swiftly as the arrow darted through the heavenly space, which Erekhsha, the swift archer, the Arya amongst the Aryas whose arrow was the swiftest, shot from Mount Khshaotha to Mount Hvanvant.

38 'Ahura Mazda gave him assistance, and the Amesha-Spentas and Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, pointed him the way: behind him went the tall Ashis Vanguhi and Pârendi on her light chariot: always till, in his course, he reached Mount Hvanvant on the shining waters. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

39 'We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, who afflicts the Pairikas, who destroys the Pairikas, that Angra Mainyus flung to stop all the stars that have in them the seed of the waters.

40 'Tistrya afflicts them, he blows them away from the sea Vouru-Kasha; then the wind blows the clouds forward, bearing the waters of fertility, so that the friendly showers spread wide over, they spread helpingly and friendly over the seven Karshvares. 'For his brightness and glory, I will oar him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

41 'We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, for whom long the standing waters, and the running spring-waters, the stream-waters, and the rain-waters:

42 ' "When will the bright and glorious Tistrya rise up for us? When will the springs with a flow and overflow of waters, thick as a horse's shoulder, run to the beautiful places and fields, and to the pastures, even to the roots of the plants, that they may grow with a powerful growth?" 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

43 'We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, who washes away all things of fear, stunts the growth of all . . . . , and brings health to all these creations, being most beneficent, when he has been worshipped with a sacrifice and

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propitiated, rejoiced, and satisfied. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

44 'I will sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, whom Ahura Mazda has established as a lord and overseer above all stars, in the same way as he has established Zarathustra above men; whom neither Angra Mainyu, nor the Yâtus and the Pairikas, nor the men Yâtus can deliver unto death, nor can all the Daêvas together prevail for his death. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

45 'We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, to whom Ahura Mazda has given a thousand senses, and who is the most beneficent amongst the stars that have in them the seed of the waters:

46 'Who moves in light with the stars that have in them the seed of the waters: he, from the sea Vouru-Kasha, the powerful sea, the large-sized, deep, and salt of waters, goes to all the lakes, and to all the beautiful caves, and to all the beautiful channels, in the shape of a white, beautiful horse, with golden ears and a golden caparison.

47 'Then, O Spitama Zarathustra! the waters flow down from the sea Vouru-Kasha, mother-like, friendly, and healing: he divides them amongst these countries, being most beneficent, when he has been worshipped with a sacrifice and propitiated, rejoiced, and satisfied. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

48 'We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, for whom long all the creatures of Spenta-Mainyu, those that live under the ground, and those that live above the ground; those that live in the waters, and those that live on dry land; those that fly, and those that run in the plains 5; and all those that live within this boundless and endless world of the holy Spirit. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . .

49 'We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, the healthful, wise, happy, and powerful, who is the lord of a thousand boons, and grants many boons to that man who has pleased him, whether begging or not begging for them.

50 'I, O Spitama Zarathustra! have created that star Tistrya as worthy of sacrifice, as worthy of prayer, as worthy of propitiation, as worthy of glorification as myself, Ahura Mazda;

51 'In order to withstand, to break asunder, to afflict, to drive back the malice of that Pairika Duzyâirya, whom evil-speaking people call Huyâirya.

52 'Had I not created that star Tistrya as worthy of sacrifice, as worthy of prayer, as worthy of propitiation, as worthy of glorification as myself, Ahura Mazda;

53 'In order to withstand, to break asunder, to afflict, to drive back the malice of that Pairika Duzyâirya, whom evil-speaking people call Huyâirya;

54 'Then all day long, all night long, that Pairika Duzyâirya would wage war against this material world of mine, wanting to extinguish its life, and she goes on, rushing upon and around it.

55 'But the bright and glorious Tistrya keeps that Pairika in bonds, with twofold bonds, with threefold bonds, that cannot be overcome, with bonds all over the body: it is as if there were a thousand men keeping one man in bonds, a thousand men of those who are the strongest in strength.

56 'If the Aryan countries, O Spitama Zarathustra! would perform in honour of the bright and glorious Tistrya the due sacrifice and invocation, just as that sacrifice and invocation ought to be performed in the perfection of holiness; never should a hostile horde enter these Aryan countries, nor any plague, nor leprosy, nor venomous plants, nor the chariot of a foe, nor the uplifted spear of a foe.'

57 Zarathustra asked: 'What is then, O Ahura Mazda! the sacrifice and invocation in honour of the bright and glorious Tistrya, as it ought to be performed in the perfection of holiness?'

58 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Let the Aryan nations bring libations unto him; let the Aryan nations tie bundles of baresma for him; let the Aryan nations cook for him a head of cattle, either white, or black, or of any other colour, but all of one and the same colour.

59 'Let not a murderer take of these offerings, nor a whore, nor a . . . . who does not sing the Gâthâs, who spreads death in the world and withstands the law of Mazda, the law of Zarathustra.

60 'If a murderer take of these offerings, or a whore, or a . . . . who does not sing the Gâthâs, who spreads death in the world and withstands the law of Mazda, the law of Zarathustra, then the bright and glorious Tistrya takes back his healing virtues.

61 'Plagues will ever pour upon the Aryan nations; hostile hordes will ever fall upon the Aryan nations; the Aryans will be smitten, by their fifties and their hundreds, by their hundreds and their thousands, by their thousands and their tens of thousands, by their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads.

62 'Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . . 'I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, and of the powerful Satavaêsa, made by Mazda, who pushes waters forward.

9. GÔS YAST.

(Yast to the Animals)

... Unto the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy, Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification. Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness. . . .

1 We sacrifice unto the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy, who keeps the flocks in health, the herds in health, the grown-up (cattle) in health, the young ones in health; who watches well from afar, with a wide-spread and long-continued welfare-giving friendship;

2 Who yokes teams of horses, who makes her chariot turn and its wheels sound, fat and glistening, strong, tall-formed, weal-possessing, health-giving, powerful to stand and powerful to turn for assistance to the faithful.

3 To her did Haoshyangha, the Paradhâta, offer up a sacrifice on the enclosure of the Hara, the beautiful height, made by Mazda, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, and ten thousand lambs, and with an offering of libations:

4 'Grant me this boon, O good, most beneficent Drvâspa! that I may overcome all the Daêvas of Mâzana; that I may never fear and bow through terror before the Daêvas, but that all the Daêvas may fear and bow in spite of themselves before me, that they may fear and flee down to darkness.'

5 The powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda, the holy Drvâspa, the maintainer, granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

6 For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard; I will offer her a sacrifice well performed, namely, unto the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy. We offer up libations to the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy; we offer her the Haoma and meat, the baresma, the wisdom of the tongue, the holy spells, the speech, the deeds, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words. Yênhê hâtâm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda . . . .

7 We offer up a sacrifice unto the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy, who keeps the flocks in health . . . . Who yokes teams of horses . . . . for assistance to the faithful.

8 To her did Yima Khshaêta, the good shepherd, offer up a sacrifice from the height Hukairya, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs, and with an offering of libations:

9 'Grant me this boon, O good, most beneficent Drvâspa! that I may bring fatness and flocks down to the world created by Mazda; that I may bring immortality down to the world created by Mazda;

10 'That I may take away both hunger and thirst, from the world created by Mazda; that I may take away both old age and death, from the world created by Mazda; that I may take away both hot wind and cold wind, from the world created by Mazda, for a thousand years.'

11 The powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda, the holy Drvâspa, the maintainer, granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

12 We offer up a sacrifice unto the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy, who keeps the flocks in health . . . . Who yokes teams of horses . . . . for assistance to the faithful.

13To her did Thraêtaona, the heir of the valiant Âthwya clan, offer up a sacrifice in the four-cornered Varena, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs, and with an offering of libations:

14 'Grant me this boon, O good, most beneficent Drvâspa! that I may overcome Azi Dahâka, the three-mouthed, the three-headed, the six-eyed, who has a thousand senses, that most powerful, fiendish Drug, that demon, baleful to the world, the strongest Drug that Angra Mainyu created against the material world, to destroy the world of the good principle; and that I may deliver his two wives, Savanghavâk and Erenavâk, who are the fairest of body amongst women, and the most wonderful creatures in the world.'

15 The powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda, the holy Drvâspa, the maintainer, granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

16 We offer up a sacrifice unto the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy, who keeps flocks in health . . . . Who yokes teams of horses . . . . for assistance to the faithful.

17 To her did Haoma offer up a sacrifice, Haoma, the enlivening, the healing, the beautiful, the lordly, with golden eyes, upon the highest height of the Haraiti Bareza. He begged of her a boon, saying:

18 'Grant me this boon, O good, most beneficent Drvâspa! that I may bind the Turanian murderer, Franghrasyan that I may drag him bound, that I may bring him bound unto king Husravah, that king Husravah may kill him, behind the Kaêkasta lake, the deep lake of salt waters, to avenge the murder of his father Syâvarshâna, a man, and of Aghraêratha, a semi-man.'

19 The powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda, the holy Drvâspa, the maintainer, granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would give him that boon. For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

20 We offer up a sacrifice unto the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy, who keeps the flocks in health . . . . Who yokes teams of horses . . . . for assistance to the faithful.

21 To her did the gallant Husravah, he who united the Arya nations into one kingdom, offer up a sacrifice, behind the Kaêkasta lake, the deep lake of salt waters, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs, and an offering of libations:

22 'Grant me this boon, O good, most beneficent Drvâspa! that I may kill the Turanian murderer, Franghrasyan, behind the Kaêkasta lake, the deep lake of salt waters, to avenge the murder of my father Syâvarshâna, a man, and of Aghraêratha, a semi-man.' 23 The powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda, the holy Drvâspa, the maintainer, granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

24 We offer up a sacrifice unto the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy, who keeps the flocks in health . . . . Who yokes teams of horses . . . . for assistance to the faithful.

25 To her did the holy Zarathustra offer up a sacrifice in the Airyana Vaêgah, by the good river Dâitya, with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the speech, with the deeds, with the libations, and with the rightly-spoken words. He begged of her a boon, saying:

26 'O good, most beneficent Drvâspa! grant me this boon, that I may bring the good and noble Hutaosa to think according to the law, to speak according to the law, to do according to the law, that she may spread my Mazdean law and make it known, and that she may bestow beautiful praises upon my deeds.'

27 The strong Drvâspa, made by Mazda, the holy Drvâspa, the maintainer, granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

28 We offer up a sacrifice unto the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy, who keeps the flocks in health . . . . Who yokes teams of horses . . . . for assistance to the faithful.

29 To her did the tall Kavi Vîstâspa offer up a sacrifice behind the waters of the river Dâitya, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs, and with an offering of libations:

30 'Grant me this boon, O good, most beneficent Drvâspa! that I may put to flight Asta-aurvant, the son of Vîspa-thaurvô-asti, the all-afflicting, of the brazen helmet, of the brazen armour, of the thick neck, behind whom seven hundred camels . . . . ; that I may put to flight the Hvyaona murderer, Aregat-aspa; that I may put to flight Darsinika, the worshipper of the Daêvas;

31 And that I may smite Tâthravant of the bad law; that I may smite Spingauruska, the worshipper of the Daêvas; and that I may bring unto the good law the nations of the Varedhakas and of the Hvyaonas; and that I may smite of the Hvyaona nations their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads.'

32 The strong Drvâspa, made by Mazda, the holy Drvâspa, the maintainer, granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard; I will offer her a sacrifice well performed, namely, unto the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy. We offer up libations to the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy; we offer her the Haoma and meat, the baresma, the wisdom of the tongue, the holy spells, the speech, the deeds, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words. Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . . I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy. Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good . . . . [Give] unto that man brightness and glory, give him health of body, ... give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones...

10. MIHIR YAST.

Unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who has a thousand ears, ten thousand eyes, a Yazata invoked by his own name, and unto Rama Hvâstra, Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification. Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . .

1 Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying: 'Verily, when I created Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, O

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Spitama! I created him as worthy of sacrifice, as worthy of prayer as myself, Ahura Mazda.

2 'The ruffian who lies unto Mithra brings death unto the whole country, injuring as much the faithful world as a hundred evil-doers could do. Break not the contract, O Spitama! neither the one that thou hadst entered into with one of the unfaithful, nor the one that thou hadst entered into with one of the faithful who is one of thy own faith. For Mithra stands for both the faithful and the unfaithful.

3 'Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, gives swiftness to the horses of those who lie not unto Mithra. 'Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, gives the straightest way to those who lie not unto Mithra. 'The good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful give a virtuous offspring to those who lie not unto Mithra.

4 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures. 'We offer up libations unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who gives a happy dwelling and a good dwelling to the Aryan nations.

5 'May he come to us for help! May he come to us for ease! May he come to us for joy! May he come to us for mercy! May he come to us for health! May he come to us for victory! May he come to us for good conscience! May he come to us for bliss! he, the awful and overpowering, worthy of sacrifice and prayer, not to be deceived anywhere in the whole of the material world, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures.

6 'I will offer up libations unto him, the strong Yazata, the powerful Mithra, most beneficent to the creatures: I will apply unto him with charity and prayers: I will offer up a sacrifice worth being heard unto him, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the speech, with the deeds, with the libations, and with the rightly-spoken words. 'Yênhê hâtâm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda . . . .

7 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who is truth-speaking, a chief in assemblies, with a thousand ears, well-shapen, with ten thousand eyes, high, with full knowledge, strong, sleepless, and ever awake;

8 'To whom the chiefs of nations offer up sacrifices, as they go to the field, against havocking hosts, against enemies coming in battle array, in the strife of conflicting nations.

9 'On whichever side he has been worshipped first in the fulness of faith of a devoted heart, to that side turns Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, with the fiend-smiting wind, with the cursing thought of the wise. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

10 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake.

11 'Whom the horsemen worship on the back of their horses, begging swiftness for their teams, health for their own bodies, and that they may watch with full success those who hate them, smite down their foes, and destroy at one stroke their adversaries, their enemies, and those who hate them. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

12 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake;

13 'Who first of the heavenly gods reaches over the Hara, before the undying, swift-horsed sun; who, foremost in a golden array, takes hold of the beautiful summits, and from thence looks over the abode of the Aryans with a beneficent eye.

14 'Where the valiant chiefs draw up their many troops in array; where the high mountains, rich in pastures and waters, yield plenty to the cattle; where the deep lakes, with salt waters, stand; where wide-flowing rivers swell and hurry towards Iskata and Pouruta, Mouru and Harôyu, the Gava-Sughdha and Hvâirizem;

15 'On Arezahi and Savahi, on Fradadhafshu and Vîdadhafshu, on Vourubaresti and Vourubaresti, on this bright Karshvare of Hvaniratha, the abode of cattle, the dwelling of cattle, the powerful Mithra looks with a health-bringing eye;

16 'He who moves along all the Karshvares, a Yazata unseen, and brings glory; he who moves along all the Karshvares, a Yazata unseen, and brings sovereignty; and increases strength for victory to those who, with a pious intent, holily offer him libations. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

17 We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Unto whom nobody must lie, neither the master of a house, nor the lord of a borough, nor the lord of a town, nor the lord of a province.

18 'If the master of a house lies unto him, or the lord of a borough, or the lord of a town, or the lord of a province, then comes Mithra, angry and offended, and he breaks asunder the house, the borough, the town, the province; and the masters of the houses, the lords of the boroughs, the lords of the towns, the lords of the provinces, and the foremost men of the provinces.

19 'On whatever side there is one who has lied unto Mithra, on that side Mithra stands forth, angry and offended, and his wrath l is slow to relent.

20 'Those who lie unto Mithra, however swift they may be running, cannot overtake; riding, cannot . . . . ; driving, cannot The spear that the foe of Mithra flings, darts backwards, for the number of the evil spells that the foe of Mithra works out.

21 'And even though the spear be flung well, even though it reach the body, it makes no wound, for the number of the evil spells that the foe of Mithra works out. The wind drives away the spear that the foe of Mithra flings, for the number of the evil spells that the foe of Mithra works out. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

22 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Who takes out of distress the man who has not lied unto him, who takes him out of death.

23 'Take us out of distress, take us out of distresses, O Mithra! as we have not lied unto thee. Thou bringest down terror upon the bodies of the men who lie unto Mithra; thou takest away the strength from their arms, being angry and all-powerful; thou takest the swiftness from their feet, the eye-sight from their eyes, the hearing from their ears.

24 'Not the wound of the well-sharpened spear or of the flying arrow reaches that man to whom Mithra comes for help with all the strength of his soul, he, of the ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-seeing, undeceivable Mithra. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

25 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Who is lordly, deep, strong, and weal-giving; a chief in assemblies, pleased with prayers, high, holily clever, the incarnate Word, a warrior with strong arms;

26 'Who breaks the skulls of the Daêvas, and is most cruel in exacting pains; the punisher of the men who lie unto Mithra, the withstander of the Pairikas; who, when not deceived, establisheth nations in supreme strength; who, when not deceived, establisheth nations in supreme victory;

27 'Who confounds the ways of the nation that delights in havoc, who turns away their Glory, takes away their strength for victory, blows them away helpless, and delivers them unto ten thousand strokes; he, of the ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-seeing, undeceivable Mithra. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

28 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, . . . sleepless, and ever awake; 'Who upholds the columns of the lofty house and makes its pillars solid; who gives herds of oxen and male children to that house in which he has been satisfied; he breaks to pieces those in which he has been offended.

29 'Thou, O Mithra! art both bad and good to nations; thou, O Mithra! art both bad and good to men; thou, O Mithra! keepest in thy hands both peace and trouble for nations.

30 'Thou makest houses large, beautiful with women, beautiful with chariots, with well-laid foundations, and high above their groundwork; thou makest that house lofty, beautiful with women, beautiful with chariots, with well-laid foundations, and high above its groundwork, of which the master, pious and holding libations in his hand, offers thee a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name and with the proper words.

31 'With a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name, with the proper words will I offer thee libations, O powerful Mithra! 'With a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name, with the proper words will I offer thee libations, O most beneficent Mithra! 'With a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name, with the proper words will I offer thee libations, O thou undeceivable Mithra!

32 'Listen unto our sacrifice, O Mithra! Be thou pleased with our sacrifice, O Mithra! Come and sit at our sacrifice! Accept our libations! Accept them as they have been consecrated! Gather them together with love and lay them in the Garô-nmâna!

33 'Grant us these boons which we beg of thee, O powerful god! in accordance with the words of revelation, namely, riches, strength, and victory, good conscience and bliss, good fame and a good soul; wisdom and the knowledge that gives happiness, the victorious strength given by Ahura, the crushing Ascendant of Asha Vahista, and conversation (with God) on the Holy Word.

34 'Grant that we, in a good spirit and high spirit, exalted in joy and a good spirit, may smite all our foes; that we, in a good spirit and high spirit, exalted in joy and a good spirit, may smite all our enemies; that we, in a good spirit and high spirit, exalted in joy and a good spirit, may smite all the malice of Daêvas and Men, of the Yâtus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

35 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Victory-making, army-governing, endowed with a thousand senses; power-wielding, power-possessing, and all-knowing;

36 'Who sets the battle a going, who stands against (armies) in battle, who, standing against (armies) in battle, breaks asunder the lines arrayed. The wings of the columns gone to battle shake, and he throws terror upon the centre of the havocking host. 37 'He can bring and does bring down upon them distress and fear; he throws down the heads of those who lie unto Mithra, he takes off the heads of those who lie unto Mithra.

38 'Sad is the abode, unpeopled with children, where abide men who lie unto Mithra, and, verily, the fiendish killer of faithful men. The grazing cow goes a sad straying way, driven along the vales of the Mithradruges: they stand on the road, letting tears run over their chins.

39 'Their falcon-feathered arrows, shot from the string of the well-bent bow, fly towards the mark, and hit it not, as Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, angry, offended, and unsatisfied, comes and meets them. 'Their spears, well whetted and sharp, their long spears fly from their hands towards the mark, and hit it not, as Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, angry, offended, and unsatisfied, comes and meets them.

40 'Their swords, well thrust and striking at the heads of men, hit not the mark, as Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, angry, offended, and unsatisfied, comes and meets them. 'Their clubs, well falling and striking at the heads of men, hit not the mark, as Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, angry, offended, and unsatisfied, comes and meets them.

41 'Mithra strikes fear into them; Rashnu strikes a counter-fear into them; the holy Sraosha blows them away from every side towards the two Yazatas, the maintainers of the world. They make the ranks of the army melt away, as Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, angry, offended, and unsatisfied, comes and meets them.

42 'They cry unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, saying: "O Mithra, thou lord of wide pastures! here are our fiery horses taking us away, as they flee from Mithra; here are our sturdy arms cut to pieces by the sword, O Mithra!"

43 'And then Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, throws them to the ground, killing their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads; as Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, is angry and offended. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

44 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Whose dwelling, wide as the earth, extends over the material world, large, unconfined, and bright, a far-and-wide-extending abode.

45 'Whose eight friends sit as spies for Mithra, on all the heights, at all the watching-places, observing the man who lies unto Mithra, looking at those, remembering those who have lied unto Mithra, but guarding the ways of those whose life is sought by men who lie unto Mithra, and, verily, by the fiendish killers of faithful men.

46 'Helping and guarding, guarding behind and guarding, in front, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, proves an undeceivable spy and watcher for the man to whom he comes to help with all the strength of his soul, he of the ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-knowing, undeceivable god. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

47 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, . . . sleepless, and ever awake; 'A god of high renown and old age 1, whom wide-hoofed horses carry against havocking hosts, against enemies coming in battle array, in the strife of conflicting nations.

48 'And when Mithra drives along towards the havocking hosts, towards the enemies coming in battle array, in the strife of the conflicting nations, then he binds the hands of those who have lied unto Mithra, he confounds their eye-sight, he takes the hearing from their ears; they can no longer move their feet; they can no longer withstand those people, those foes, when Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, bears them ill-will. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

49'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake;

50 'For whom the Maker, Ahura Mazda, has built up a dwelling on the Hara Berezaiti, the bright mountain around which the many (stars) revolve, where come neither night nor darkness, no cold wind and no hot wind, no deathful sickness, no uncleanness made by the Daêvas, and the clouds cannot reach up unto the Haraiti Bareza;

51 'A dwelling that all the Amesha-Spentas, in one accord with the sun, made for him in the fulness of faith of a devoted heart, and he surveys the whole of the material world from the Haraiti Bareza.

52 'And when there rushes a wicked worker of evil, swiftly, with a swift step, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, goes and yokes his horses to his chariot, along with the holy, powerful Sraosha and Nairyô-sangha, who strikes a blow that smites the army, that smites the strength of the malicious. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

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53 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake;

54 'Who, with hands lifted up, ever cries unto Ahura Mazda, saying: "I am the kind keeper of all creatures, I am the kind maintainer of all creatures; yet men worship me not with a sacrifice in which I am invoked by my own name, as they worship the other gods with sacrifices in which they are invoked by their own names.

55 "If men would worship me with a sacrifice in which I were invoked by my own name, as they worship the other Yazatas with sacrifices in which they are invoked by their own names, then I would come to the faithful at the appointed time; I would come in the appointed time of my beautiful, immortal life."

56 'But the pious man, holding libations in his hands, does worship thee with a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name, and with the proper words. 'With a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name, with the proper words will I offer thee libations, O powerful Mithra! 'With a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name, with the proper words will I offer thee libations, O most beneficent Mithra! 'With a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name, with the proper words will I offer thee libations, O thou undeceivable Mithra!

57 'Listen unto our sacrifice, O Mithra! Be thou pleased with our sacrifice, O Mithra! Come and sit at our sacrifice! Accept our libations! Accept them as they have been consecrated! Gather them together with love and lay them in the Garô-nmâna!

58 'Grant us these boons which we beg of thee, O powerful god! in accordance with the words of revelation, namely, riches, strength, and victory, good conscience and bliss, good fame and a good soul; wisdom and the knowledge that gives happiness, the victorious strength given by Ahura, the crushing Ascendant of Asha-Vahista, and conversation (with God) on the Holy Word.

59 'Grant that we, in a good spirit and high spirit, exalted in joy and a good spirit, may smite all our foes; that we, in a good spirit and high spirit, exalted in joy and a good spirit, may smite all our enemies; that we, in a good spirit and high spirit, exalted in joy and a good spirit, may smite all the malice of Daêvas and Men, of the Yâtus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

60 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Whose renown is good, whose shape is good, whose glory is good; who has boons to give at his will, who has pasture-fields to give at his will; harmless to the tiller of the ground, ... , beneficent; he, of the ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-knowing, undeceivable god. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

61 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Firm-legged, a watcher fully awake; valiant, a chief in assemblies; making the waters flow forward; listening to appeals; making the waters run and the plants grow up; ruling over the Karshwares; delivering; happy; undeceivable; endowed with many senses; a creature of wisdom;

62 'Who gives neither strength nor vigour to him who has lied unto Mithra; who gives neither glory nor any boon to him who has lied unto Mithra.

63 'Thou takest away the strength from their arms, being angry and all-powerful; thou takest the swiftness from their feet, the eye-sight from their eyes, the hearing from their ears. 'Not the wound of the well-sharpened spear or of the flying arrow reaches that man to whom Mithra comes for help with all the strength of his soul, he, of the ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-knowing, undeceivable god. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

64 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Who takes possession of the beautiful, wide-expanding law, greatly and powerfully, and whose face looks over all the seven Karshvares of the earth;

65 'Who is swift amongst the swift, liberal amongst the liberal, strong amongst the strong, a chief of assembly amongst the chiefs of assemblies; increase-giving, fatness-giving, cattle-giving, sovereignty-giving, son-giving, cheerfulness-giving, and bliss-giving.

66 'With whom proceed Ashi Vanguhi, and Pârendi on her light chariot, the awful Manly Courage, the awful kingly Glory, the awful sovereign Sky, the awful cursing thought of the wise, the awful Fravashis of the faithful, and he who keeps united together the many faithful worshippers of Mazda. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

67 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, . . . sleepless, and ever awake; 'Who drives along on his high-wheeled chariot, made of a heavenly substance, from the Karshvare of Arezahi to the Karshvare of Hvaniratha, the bright one; accompanied by the wheel of sovereignty, the Glory made by Mazda, and the Victory made by Ahura;

68 'Whose chariot is embraced by the great Ashi Vanguhi; to whom the Law of Mazda opens a way, that he may go easily; whom four heavenly steeds, white, shining, seen afar, beneficent, endowed with knowledge, swiftly carry along the heavenly space 10, while the cursing thought of the wise pushes it forward;

69 'From whom all the Daêvas unseen and the Varenya fiends flee away in fear. Oh! may we never fall across the rush of the angry lord, who goes and rushes from a thousand sides against his foe, he, of the ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-knowing, undeceivable god. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

70 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, . . . sleepless, and ever awake; 'Before whom Verethraghna, made by Ahura, runs opposing the foes in the shape of a boar, a sharp-toothed he-boar, a sharp-jawed boar, that kills at one stroke, pursuing, wrathful, with a dripping face; strong, with iron feet, iron fore-paws, iron weapons, an iron tail, and iron jaws;

71 'Who, eagerly clinging to the fleeing foe, along with Manly Courage, smites the foe in battle, and does not think he has smitten him, nor does he consider it a blow till he has smitten away the marrow and the column of life, the marrow and the spring of existence.

72 'He cuts all the limbs to pieces, and mingles, together with the earth, the bones, hair, brains, and blood of the men who have lied unto Mithra. 'For his brightness and glory, we offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

73 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Who, with hands lifted up, rejoicing, cries out, speaking thus:

74 ' "O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent spirit! Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! "If men would worship me 1 with a sacrifice in which I were invoked by my own name, as they worship the other gods with sacrifices in which they are invoked by their own names, then I should come to the faithful at the appointed time; I should come in the appointed time of my beautiful, immortal life."

75 'May we keep our field; may we never be exiles from our field, exiles from our house, exiles from our borough, exiles from our town, exiles from our country.

76 'Thou dashest in pieces the malice of the malicious, the malice of the men of malice: dash thou in pieces the killers of faithful men! 'Thou hast good horses, thou hast a good chariot: thou art bringing help at every appeal, and art powerful.

77 'I will pray unto thee for help, with many consecrations, with good consecrations of libations; with many offerings, with good offerings of libations, that we, abiding in thee, may long inhabit a good abode, full of all the riches that can be wished for.

78 'Thou keepest those nations that tender a good worship to Mithra, the lord of wide pastures; thou dashest in pieces those that delight in havoc. Unto thee will I pray for help: may he come to us for help, the awful, most powerful Mithra, the worshipful and praiseworthy, the glorious lord of nations. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

79 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Who made a dwelling for Rashnu, and to whom Rashnu gave all his soul for long friendship;

80 'Thou art a keeper and protector of the dwelling of those who lie not: thou art the maintainer of those who lie not. With thee hath Verethraghna, made by Ahura, contracted the best of all friendships, and thus it is how so many men who have lied unto Mithra, even privily, lie smitten down on the ground. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

81 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Who made a dwelling for Rashnu, and to whom Rashnu gave all his soul for long friendship;

82 'To whom Ahura Mazda gave a thousand senses and ten thousand eyes to see. With those eyes and those senses, he watches the man who injures Mithra, the man who lies unto Mithra. Through those eyes and those senses, he is undeceivable, he, of the ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-knowing, undeceivable god. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

83 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Whom the lord of the country invokes for help, with hands uplifted; 'Whom the lord of the town invokes for help, with hands uplifted;

84 'Whom the lord of the borough invokes for help, with hands uplifted; 'Whom the master of the house invokes for help, with hands uplifted; 'Whom the . . . . in danger of death invokes for help, with hands uplifted; 'Whom the poor man, who follows the good law, when wronged and deprived of his rights, invokes for help, with hands uplifted.

85 'The voice of his wailing reaches up to the sky, it goes over the earth all around, it goes over the seven Karshvares, whether he utters his prayer in a low tone of voice or aloud.

86 'The cow driven astray invokes him for help, longing for the stables: "When will that bull, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, bring us back, and make us reach the stables? when will he turn us back to the right way from the den of the Drug where we were driven 3?"

87 'And to him with whom Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, has been satisfied, he comes with help; and of him with whom Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, has been offended, he crushes down the house, the borough, the town, the province, the country. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

88 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'To whom the enlivening, healing, fair, lordly, golden-eyed Haoma offered up a sacrifice on the highest of the heights, on the Haraiti Bareza, he the undefiled to one undefiled, with undefiled baresma, undefiled libations, and undefiled words;

89 'Whom the holy Ahura Mazda has established as a priest, quick in performing the sacrifice and loud in song. He performed the sacrifice with a loud voice, as a priest quick in sacrifice and loud in song, a priest to Ahura Mazda, a priest to the Amesha-Spentas. His voice reached up to the sky, went over the earth all around, went over the seven Karshvares.

90 'Who first lifted up Haomas, in a mortar inlaid with stars and made of a heavenly substance. Ahura Mazda longed for him, the Amesha-Spentas longed for him, for the well-shapen body of him whom the swift-horsed sun awakes for prayer from afar.

91 'Hail to Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who has a thousand ears and ten thousand eyes! Thou art worthy of sacrifice and prayer: mayest thou have sacrifice and prayer in the houses of men! Hail to the man who shall offer thee a sacrifice, with the holy wood in his hand, the baresma in his hand, the holy meat in his hand, the holy mortar in his hand, with his hands well-washed, with the mortar well-washed, with the bundles of baresma tied up, the Haoma uplifted, and the Ahuna Vairya sung through.

92 'The holy Ahura Mazda confessed that religion and so did Vohu-Manô, so did Asha-Vahista, so did Khshathra-Vairya, so did Spenta-Ârmaiti, so did Haurvatât and Ameretât; and all the Amesha-Spentas longed for and confessed his religion. The kind Mazda conferred upon him the mastership of the world; and [so did they] who saw thee amongst all creatures the right lord and master of the world, the best cleanser of these creatures.

93 'So mayest thou in both worlds, mayest thou keep us in both worlds, O Mithra, lord of wide pastures! both in this material world and in the world of the spirit, from the fiend of Death, from the fiend Aêshma, from the fiendish hordes, that lift up the spear of havoc, and from the onsets of Aêshma, wherein the evil-doing Aêshma rushes along with Vîdôtu, made by the Daêvas.

94 'So mayest thou, O Mithra, lord of wide pastures! give swiftness to our teams, strength to our own bodies, and that we may watch with full success those who hate us, smite down our foes, and destroy at one stroke our adversaries, our enemies and those who hate us. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

95 We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Who goes over the earth, all her breadth over, after the setting of the sun, touches both ends of this wide, round earth, whose ends lie afar, and surveys everything that is between the earth and the heavens,

96 'Swinging in his hands a club with a hundred knots, a hundred edges, that rushes forwards and fells men down; a club cast out of red brass, of strong, golden brass; the strongest of all weapons, the most victorious of all weapons;

97 'From whom Angra Mainyu, who is all death, flees away in fear; from whom Aêshma, the evildoing Peshôtanu, flees away in fear; from whom the long-handed Bûshyãsta flees away in fear; from whom all the Daêvas unseen and the Varenya fiends flee away in fear.

98 'Oh! may we never fall across the rush of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, when in anger! May Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, never smite us in his anger; he who stands up upon this earth as the strongest of all gods, the most valiant of all gods, the most energetic of all gods, the swiftest of all gods, the most fiend-smiting of all gods, he, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

99 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'From whom all the Daêvas unseen and the Varenya fiends flee away in fear. 'The lord of nations, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, drives forward at the right-hand side of this wide, round earth, whose ends lie afar.

100 'At his right hand drives the good, holy Sraosha; at his left hand drives the tall and strong Rashnu; on all sides around him drive the waters, the plants, and the Fravashis of the faithful.

101 'In his might, he ever brings to them falcon-feathered arrows, and, when driving, he himself comes there, where are nations, enemy to Mithra, he, first and foremost, strikes blows with his club on the horse and his rider; he throws fear and fright upon the horse and his rider. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

102 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'The warrior of the white horse, of the sharp spear, the long spear, the quick arrows; foreseeing and clever;

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103 'Whom Ahura Mazda has established to maintain and look over all this moving world, and who maintains and looks over all this moving world; who, never sleeping, wakefully guards the creation of Mazda; who, never sleeping, wakefully maintains the creation of Mazda. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

104 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Whose long arms, strong with Mithra-strength, encompass what he seizes in the easternmost river and what he beats with the westernmost river, what is by the Sanaka of the Rangha and what is by the boundary of the earth.

105 'And thou, O Mithra! encompassing all this around, do thou reach it, all over, with thy arms. 'The man without glory, led astray from the right way, grieves in his heart; the man without glory thinks thus in himself: "That careless Mithra does not see all the evil that is done, nor all the lies that are told."

106 'But I think thus in my heart: "Should the evil thoughts of the earthly man be a hundred times worse, they would not rise so high as the good thoughts of the heavenly Mithra; ' "Should the evil words of the earthly man be a hundred times worse, they would not rise so high as the good words of the heavenly Mithra; ' "Should the evil deeds of the earthly man be a hundred times worse, they would not rise so high as the good deeds of the heavenly Mithra;

107 ' "Should the heavenly wisdom in the earthly man be a hundred times greater, it would not rise so high as the heavenly. wisdom in the heavenly Mithra; "And thus, should the ears of the earthly man hear a hundred times better, he would not hear so well as the heavenly Mithra, whose ear hears well, who has a thousand senses, and sees every man that tells a lie." 'Mithra stands up in his strength, he drives in the awfulness of royalty, and sends from his eyes beautiful looks that shine from afar, (saying):

108 ' "Who will offer me a sacrifice? Who will lie unto me? Who thinks me a god worthy of a good sacrifice? Who thinks me worthy only of a bad sacrifice? To whom shall I, in my might, impart brightness and glory? To whom bodily health? To whom shall I, in my might, impart riches and full weal? Whom shall I bless by raising him a virtuous offspring?

109 ' "To whom shall I give in return, without his thinking of it, the awful sovereignty, beautifully arrayed, with many armies, and most perfect; the sovereignty of an all-powerful tyrant, who fells down heads, valiant, smiting, and unsmitten; who orders chastisement to be done and his order is done at once, which he has ordered in his anger?" 'O Mithra! when thou art offended and not satisfied, he soothes thy mind, and makes Mithra satisfied.

110 ' "To whom shall I, in my might, impart sickness and death? To whom shall I impart poverty and sterility? Of whom shall I at one stroke cut off the offspring?

111 ' "From whom shall I take away, without his thinking of it, the awful sovereignty, beautifully arrayed, with many armies, and most perfect; the sovereignty of an all-powerful tyrant, who fells down heads, valiant, smiting, and unsmitten; who orders chastisement to be done and his order is done at once, which he has ordered in his anger?" 'O Mithra! while thou art satisfied and not angry, he moves thy heart to anger, and makes Mithra unsatisfied. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

112 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; A warrior with a silver helm, a golden cuirass, who kills with the poniard, strong, valiant, lord of the borough. Bright are the ways of Mithra, by which he goes towards the country, when, wishing well, he turns its plains and vales to pasture grounds,

113 'And then cattle and males come to graze, as many as he wants. 'May Mithra and Ahura, the high gods, come to us for help, when the poniard lifts up its voice aloud, when the nostrils of the horses quiver, when the poniards . . . . , when the strings of the bows whistle and shoot sharp arrows; then the brood of those whose libations are hated fall smitten to the ground, with their hair torn off.

114 'So mayest thou, O Mithra, lord of wide pastures! give swiftness to our teams, strength to our own bodies, and that we may watch with full success those who hate us, smite down our foes, and destroy at one stroke our adversaries, our enemies, and those who hate us. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

115 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake. 'O Mithra, lord of wide pastures! thou master of the house, of the borough, of the town, of the country, thou Zarathustrôtema!

116 'Mithra is twentyfold between two friends or two relations; 'Mithra is thirtyfold between two men of the same group; 'Mithra is fortyfold between two partners; 'Mithra is fiftyfold between wife and husband; 'Mithra is sixtyfold between two pupils (of the same master); 'Mithra is seventyfold between the pupil and his master; 'Mithra is eightyfold between the son-in-law and his father-in-law; 'Mithra is ninetyfold between two brothers;

117 'Mithra is a hundredfold between the father and the son; 'Mithra is a thousandfold between two nations; 'Mithra is ten thousandfold when connected with the Law of Mazda, and then he will be every day of victorious strength.

118 'May I come unto thee with a prayer that goes lowly or goes highly! As this sun rises up above the Hara Berezaiti and then fulfils its career, so may I, O Spitama! with a prayer that goes lowly or goes highly, rise up above the will of the fiend Angra Mainyu! 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

119 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake. 'Offer up a sacrifice unto Mithra, O Spitama! and order thy pupils to do the same. 'Let the worshipper of Mazda sacrifice unto thee with small cattle, with black cattle, with flying birds, gliding forward on wings.

120 'To Mithra all the faithful worshippers of Mazda must give strength and energy with offered and proffered Haomas, which the Zaotar proffers unto him and gives in sacrifice. Let the faithful man drink of the libations cleanly prepared, which if he does, if he offers them unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, Mithra will be pleased with him and without anger.'

121 Zarathustra asked him: 'O Ahura Mazda! how shall the faithful man drink the libations cleanly prepared, which if he does and he offers them unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, Mithra will be pleased with him and without anger?'

122 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Let them wash their bodies three days and three nights; let them undergo thirty strokes 3 for the sacrifice and prayer unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures. Let them wash their bodies two days and two nights; let them undergo twenty strokes for the sacrifice and prayer unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures. Let no man drink of these libations who does not know the staota yênsya: Vîspê ratavô. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

123 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'To whom Ahura Mazda offered up a sacrifice in the shining Garô-nmâna.

124 'With his arms lifted up towards Immortality, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, drives forward from the shining Garô-nmâna, in a beautiful chariot that drives on, ever-swift, adorned with all sorts of ornaments, and made of gold.

125 'Four stallions draw that chariot, all of the same white colour, living on heavenly food and undying. The hoofs of their fore-feet are shod with gold, the hoofs of their hind-feet are shod with silver; all are yoked to the same pole, and wear the yoke 6 and the cross-beams of the yoke, fastened with hooks 6 of Khshathra vairya to a beautiful . . . .

126 'At his right hand drives Rashnu-Razista, the most beneficent and most well-shapen. 'At his left hand drives the most upright Kista, the holy one, bearing libations in her hands, clothed with white clothes, and white herself; and the cursing thought of the Law of Mazda.

127 'Close by him drives the strong cursing thought of the wise man, opposing foes in the shape of a boar, a sharp-toothed he-boar, a sharp-jawed boar, that kills at one stroke, pursuing, wrathful, with a dripping face, strong and swift to run, and rushing all around. 'Behind him drives Âtar, all in a blaze, and the awful kingly Glory.

128 'On a side of the chariot of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, stand a thousand bows well-made, with a string of cowgut; they go through the heavenly space, they fall through the heavenly space upon the skulls of the Daêvas.

129 'On a side of the chariot of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, stand a thousand vulture-feathered arrows, with a golden mouth, with a horn shaft, with a brass tail, and well-made. They go through the heavenly space, they fall through the heavenly space upon the skulls of the Daêvas.

130 'On a side of the chariot of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, stand a thousand spears well-made and sharp-piercing. They go through the heavenly space, they fall through the heavenly space upon the skulls of the Daêvas. 'On a side of the chariot of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, stand a thousand steel-hammers, two-edged, well-made. They go through the heavenly space, they fall through the heavenly space upon the skulls of the Daêvas.

131 'On a side of the chariot of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, stand a thousand swords, two-edged and well-made. They go through the heavenly space, they fall through the heavenly space upon the skulls of the Daêvas. 'On a side of the chariot of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, stand a thousand maces of iron, well-made. They go through the heavenly space, they fall through the heavenly space upon the skulls of the Daêvas.

132 'On a side of the chariot of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, stands a beautiful well-falling club, with a hundred knots, a hundred edges, that rushes forward and fells men down; a club cast out of red brass, of strong, golden brass; the strongest of all weapons, the most victorious of all weapons. It goes through the heavenly space, it falls through the heavenly space upon the skulls of the Daêvas.

133 'After he has smitten the Daêvas, after he has smitten down the men who lied unto Mithra, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, drives forward through Arezahê and Savahê, through Fradadhafshu and Vîdadhafshu, through Vourubaresti and Vourugaresti, through this our Karshvare, the bright Hvaniratha.

134 'Angra Mainyu, who is all death, flees away in fear; Aêshma, the evil-doing Peshotanu, flees away in fear; the long-handed Bûshyãsta flees away in fear; all the Daêvas unseen and the Varenya fiends flee away in fear.

135 'Oh! may we never fall across the rush of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, when in anger! May Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, never smite us in his anger; he who stands up upon this earth as the strongest of all gods, the most valiant of all gods, the most energetic of all gods, the swiftest of all gods, the most fiend-smiting of all gods, he, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures. For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

136 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, . . . sleepless, and ever awake; 'For whom white stallions, yoked to his chariot, draw it, on one golden wheel, with a full shining axle.

137 'If Mithra takes his libations to his own dwelling, "Happy that man, I think,"—said Ahura Mazda,—"O holy Zarathustra! for whom a holy priest, as pious as any in the world, who is the Word incarnate, offers up a sacrifice unto Mithra with bundles of baresma and with the [proper] words. "Straight to that man, I think, will Mithra come, to visit his dwelling,

138 ' "When Mithra's boons will come to him, as he follows God's teaching, and thinks according to God's teaching. "Woe to that man, I think,"—said Ahura Mazda,— "O holy Zarathustra! for whom an unholy priest, not pious, who is not the Word incarnate, stands behind the baresma, however full may be the bundles of baresma he ties, however long may be the sacrifice he performs."

139 'He does not delight Ahura Mazda, nor the other Amesha-Spentas, nor Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, he who thus scorns Mazda, and the other Amesha-Spentas, and Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, and the Law, and Rashnu, and Arstât, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

140 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake. I will offer up a sacrifice unto the good Mithra, O Spitama! unto the strong, heavenly god, who is foremost, highly merciful, and peerless; whose house is above, a stout and strong warrior;

141 'Victorious and armed with a well-fashioned weapon, watchful in darkness and undeceivable. He is the stoutest of the stoutest, he is the strongest of the strongest, he is the most intelligent of the gods, he is victorious and endowed with Glory: he, of the ten thousand eyes, of the ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-knowing, undeceivable god. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard. . . .

142 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, . . . sleepless, and ever awake; 'Who, with his manifold knowledge, powerfully increases the creation of Spenta Mainyu, and is a well-created and most great Yazata, self-shining like the moon, when he makes his own body shine;

143 'Whose face is flashing with light like the face of the star Tistrya; whose chariot is embraced by that goddess who is foremost amongst those who have no deceit in them, O Spitama! who is fairer than any creature in the world, and full of light to shine. I will worship that chariot, wrought by the Maker, Ahura Mazda, inlaid with stars and made of a heavenly substance; (the chariot) of Mithra, who has ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-knowing, undeceivable god. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

144 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who is truth-speaking, a chief in assemblies, with a thousand ears, well-shapen, with a thousand eyes, high, with full knowledge, strong, sleepless, and ever awake. 'We sacrifice unto the Mithra around countries; 'We sacrifice unto the Mithra within countries; 'We sacrifice unto the Mithra in this country; 'We sacrifice unto the Mithra above countries; 'We sacrifice unto the Mithra under countries; 'We sacrifice unto the Mithra before countries; 'We sacrifice unto the Mithra behind countries.

145 'We sacrifice unto Mithra and Ahura, the two great, imperishable, holy gods; and unto the stars, and the moon, and the sun, with the trees that yield up baresma. We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of all countries. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures. 'Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . . 'I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who has a thousand ears, ten thousand eyes, a Yazata invoked by his own name; and that of Râma Hvâstra. 'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good . . . . '[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, ... give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones!'

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11. SRÔSH YAST HÂDHÔKHT.

Unto the holy, strong Sraosha, who is the incarnate Word, a mighty-speared and lordly god, Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification. Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . .

1 We sacrifice unto the holy, tall-formed, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world increase, the holy and master of holiness. Good prayer, excellent prayer to the worlds, O Zarathustra!

2 This it is that takes away the friendship of the fiend and fiends, of the he-fiend and of the she-fiend; it turns away in giddiness their eyes, minds, ears, hands, feet, mouths, and tongues; as good prayer, without deceit and without harm, is Manly Courage, and turns away the Drug.

3 The holy Sraosha, the best protector of the poor, is fiend-smiting; he is the best smiter of the Drug. The faithful one who pronounces most words of blessing is the most victorious in victory; the Mâthra Spenta takes best the unseen Drug away. The Ahuna Vairya is the best fiend-smiter among all spells; the word of truth is the fighter that is the best of all fiend-smiters. The Law of the worshippers of Mazda is the truest giver of all the good things, of all those that are the offspring of the good principle; and so is the Law of Zarathustra.

4 And he who should pronounce that word, O Zarathustra! either a man or a woman, with a mind all intent on holiness, with words all intent on holiness, with deeds all intent on holiness, when he is in fear either of high waters or of the darkness of a rainy night; Or at the fords of a river, or at the branching-off of roads; Or in the meeting together of the faithful, or the rushing together of the worshippers of the Daêvas;

5 Whether on the road or in the law he has to fear, not in that day nor in that night shall the tormenting fiend, who wants to torment him, prevail to throw upon him the look of his evil eye, and the malice of the thief who carries off cattle shall not reach him.

6 Pronounce then that word, O Zarathustra! that word to be spoken, when thou fall upon the idolaters and thieves and Daêvas rushing together. Then the malice of the wicked worshippers of the Daêvas, of the Yâtus and their followers, of the Pairikas and their followers, will be affrighted and rush away. Down are the Daêvas! Down are the Daêva-worshippers, and they take back their mouths from biting.

7 And therefore we take around us the holy-natured Sraosha, the holy, the fiend-smiter, as one does with shepherds' dogs; therefore we sacrifice unto the holy-natured Sraosha, the holy, the fiend-smiter, with good thoughts, good words, and good deeds.

8 For his brightness and glory, for his strength and victorious power, for his offering sacrifices unto the gods, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard. I will offer up libations unto the holy Sraosha, unto the great Ashi Vanguhi, and unto Nairyô-sangha, the tall-formed. So may the holy Sraosha, the fiend-smiter, come to us for help!

9 We worship the holy Sraosha; we worship the great master, Ahura Mazda, who is supreme in holiness, who is the foremost to do deeds of holiness. We worship all the words of Zarathustra, and all the good deeds, those done and those to be done. Yênhê hâtâm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda . . . .

10 We sacrifice unto the holy, tall-formed, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world increase, the holy and master of holiness; Who strikes the evil-doing man, who strikes the evil-doing woman; who smites the fiendish Drug, and is most strong and world-destroying; who maintains and looks over all this moving world;

11 Who, never sleeping, wakefully guards the creation of Mazda; who, never sleeping, wakefully maintains the creation of Mazda; who protects all the material world with his club uplifted, from the hour when the sun is down;

12 Who never more did enjoy sleep from the time when the two Spirits made the world, namely, the good Spirit and the evil One; who every day, every night, fights with the Mâzainya Daêvas.

13 He bows not for fear and fright before the Daêvas: before him all the Daêvas bow for fear and fright reluctantly, and rush away to darkness. For his brightness and glory, for his strength and victorious power . . . .

14 Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . . We sacrifice unto the holy, tall-formed, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world increase, the holy and master of holiness; Who with peace and friendship watches the Drug and the most beneficent Spirit: so that the Ameshа-Spentas may go along the seven Karshvares of the earth; who is the teacher of the Law: he himself was taught it by Ahura Mazda, the holy One. For his brightness and glory, for his strength and victorious power . . . .

15 Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . . We sacrifice unto the holy, tall-formed, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world increase, the holy and master of holiness; Whom the holy Ahura Mazda has created to withstand Aêshma, the fiend of the wounding spear; we sacrifice unto Peace, whose breath is friendly, and unto the two withstanders of sin and guilt,

16 The friends of the holy Sraosha; The friends of Rashnu Razista; The friends of the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda; The friends of Arstât, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase, who makes the world prosper; The friends of Ashi Vanguhi; The friends of the good Kisti; The friends of the most right Kista;

17 The friends of all gods; The friends of the Mâthra Spenta; The friends of the fiend-destroying Law; The friends of the long-traditional teaching; The friends of the Amesha-Spentas; The friends of ourselves, the Saoshyants 1, the two-footed part of the holy creation; The friends of all the beings of the holy world. For his brightness and glory, for his strength and victorious power. . . .

18 Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . . We sacrifice unto the holy, tall-formed, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world increase, the holy and master of holiness; The first [Sraosha], the next, the middle, and the highest; with the first sacrifice, with the next, with the middle, and with the highest. We sacrifice unto all [the moments] of the holy and strong Sraosha, who is the incarnate Word;

19 The strong Sraosha, of the manly courage, the warrior of the strong arms, who breaks the skulls of the Daêvas; who smites with heavy blows and is strong to smite; the holy Sraosha, who smites with heavy blows; we sacrifice unto the crushing Ascendant of both the holy Sraosha and Arsti.

20 We sacrifice for all the houses protected by Sraosha, where the holy Sraosha is dear and friendly treated and satisfied, as well as the faithful man, rich in good thoughts, rich in good words, rich in good deeds.

21 We sacrifice unto the body of the holy Sraosha; We sacrifice unto the body of Rashnu Razista; We sacrifice unto the body of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures; We sacrifice unto the body of the holy wind; We sacrifice unto the body of the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda; We sacrifice unto the body of Arstât, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase, who makes the world prosper; We sacrifice unto the body of Ashi Vanguhi; We sacrifice unto the body of the good Kisti; We sacrifice unto the body of the most right Kista; We sacrifice unto the bodies of all the gods;

22 We sacrifice unto the body of the Mâthra Spenta; We sacrifice unto the body of the fiend-destroying Law; We sacrifice unto the body of the long-traditional teaching; We sacrifice unto the bodies of the Amesha-Spentas; We sacrifice unto the bodies of ourselves, the Saoshyants, the two-footed part of the holy creation; We sacrifice unto the bodies of all the beings of the holy world. For his brightness and glory, for his strength and victorious power . . . . .

23 Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . . I bless the sacrifice and prayer, the strength and vigour of the holy, strong Sraosha, who is the incarnate Word, a mighty-speared and lordly god. [Give] unto that man brightness and glory, ... give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones!

13. FARVARDÎN YAST.

Unto the awful, overpowering Fravashis of the faithful; unto the Fravashis of the men of the primitive law; unto the Fravashis of the next-of-kin, Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness. . . .

1 Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying: 'Do thou proclaim, O pure Zarathustra! the vigour and strength, the glory, the help and the joy that are in the Fravashis of the faithful, the awful and overpowering Fravashis; do thou tell how they come to help me, how they bring assistance unto me, the awful Fravashis of the faithful.

2 'Through their brightness and glory, O Zarathustra! I maintain that sky, there above, shining and seen afar, and encompassing this earth all around.

3 'It looks like a palace, that stands built of a heavenly substance, firmly established, with ends that lie afar, shining in its body of ruby over the three-thirds (of the earth); it is like a garment inlaid with stars, made of a heavenly substance, that Mazda puts on, along with Mithra and Rashnu and Spenta-Ârmaiti, and on no side can the eye perceive the end of it.

4 'Through their brightness and glory, O Zarathustra! I maintain Ardvi Sara Anâhita, the wide-expanding and health-giving, who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura, who is worthy of sacrifice in the material world, worthy of prayer in the material world; the life-increasing and holy, the flocks-increasing and holy, the fold-increasing and holy, the wealth-increasing and holy, the country-increasing and holy;

5 'Who makes the seed of all males pure, who makes the womb of all females pure for bringing forth, who makes all females bring forth in safety, who puts milk in the breasts of all females in the right measure and the right quality;

6 'The large river, known afar, that is as large as the whole of all the waters that run along the earth; that runs powerfully from the height Hukairya down to the sea Vouru-Kasha.

7 'All the shores of the sea Vouru-Kasha are boiling over, all the middle of it is boiling over, when she runs down there, when she streams down there, she, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, who has a thousand cells and a thousand channels; the extent of each of those cells, of each of those channels, is as much as a man can ride in forty days, riding on a good horse.

8 'From this river of mine alone flow all the waters that spread all over the seven Karshvares; this river of mine alone goes on bringing waters, both in summer and in winter. This river of mine purifies the seed in males, the womb in females, the milk in females' breasts.

9 'Through their brightness and glory, O Zarathustra! I maintain the wide earth made by Ahura, the large and broad earth, that bears so much that is fine, that bears all the bodily world, the live and the dead, and the high mountains, rich in pastures and waters;

10 'Upon which run the many streams and rivers; upon which the many kinds of plants grow up from the ground, to nourish animals and men, to nourish the Aryan nations, to nourish the five kinds of animals, and to help the faithful.

11 'Through their brightness and glory, O Zarathustra! I maintain in the womb the child that has been conceived, so that it does not die from the assaults of Vîdôtu, and I develop in it the bones, the hair, the . . . . , the entrails, the feet, and the sexual organs.

12 'Had not the awful Fravashis of the faithful given help unto me, those animals and men of mine, of which there are such excellent kinds, would not subsist; strength would belong to the Drug, the dominion would belong to the Drug, the material world would belong to the Drug.

13 'Between the earth and the sky the immaterial creatures would be harassed by the Drug; between the earth and the sky the immaterial creatures would be smitten by the Drug; and never afterwards would Angra-Mainyu give way to the blows of Spenta-Mainyu. 14 'Through their brightness and glory the waters run and flow forward from the never-failing springs; through their brightness and glory the plants grow up from the earth, by the never-failing springs; through their brightness and glory the winds blow, driving down the clouds towards the never-failing springs.

15 'Through their brightness and glory the females conceive offspring; through their brightness and glory they bring forth in safety; it is through their brightness and glory when they become blessed with children.

16 'Through their brightness and glory a man is born who is a chief in assemblies and meetings, who listens well to the (holy) words, whom Wisdom holds dear, and who returns a victor from discussions with Gaotema, the heretic. 'Through their brightness and glory the sun goes his way; through their brightness and glory the moon goes her way; through their brightness and glory the stars go their way.

17 'In fearful battles they are the wisest for help, the Fravashis of the faithful. 'The most powerful amongst the Fravashis of the faithful, O Spitama! are those of the men of the primitive law or those of the Saoshyants not yet born, who are to restore the world. Of the Others, the Fravashis of the living faithful are more powerful, O Zarathustra! than those of the dead, O Spitama!

18 'And the man who in life shall treat the Fravashis of the faithful well, will become a ruler of the country with full power, and a chief most strong; so shall any man of you become, who shall treat Mithra well, the lord of wide pastures, and Arstât, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase.

19 'Thus do I proclaim unto thee, O pure Spitama! the vigour and strength, the glory, the help, and the joy that are in the Fravashis of the faithful, the awful and overpowering Fravashis; and how they come to help me, how they bring assistance unto me, the awful Fravashis of the faithful.'

20 Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying: 'If in this material world, O Spitama Zarathustra! thou happenest to come upon frightful roads, full of dangers and fears, O Zarathustra! and thou fearest for thyself, then do thou recite these words, then proclaim these fiend-smiting words, O Zarathustra!

21 ' "I praise, I invoke, I meditate upon, and we sacrifice unto the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful. We worship the Fravashis of the masters of the houses, those of the lords of the boroughs, those of the lords of the towns, those of the lords of the countries, those of the Zarathustrôtemas; the Fravashis of those that are, the Fravashis of those that have been, the Fravashis of those that will be; all the Fravashis of all nations, and most friendly the Fravashis of the friendly nations;

22 ' "Who maintain the sky, who maintain the waters, who maintain the earth, who maintain the cattle, who maintain in the womb the child that has been conceived, so that it does not die from the assaults of Vîdôtu, and develop in it the bones, the hair, the . . . ., the entrails, the feet, and the sexual organs;

23 ' "Who are much-bringing, who move with awfulness, well-moving, swiftly moving, quickly moving, who move

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when invoked; who are to be invoked in the conquest of good, who are to be invoked in fights against foes, who are to be invoked in battles;

24 ' "Who give victory to their invoker, who give boons to their lover, who give health to the sick man, who give good Glory to the faithful man that brings libations and invokes them with a sacrifice and words of propitiation;

25 ' "Who turn to that side where are faithful men, most devoted to holiness, and where is the greatest piety, where the faithful man is rejoiced, and where the faithful man is not ill-treated." '

26 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who are the mightiest of drivers, the lightest of those driving forwards, the slowest of the retiring, the safest of all bridges, the least-erring of all weapons and arms, and who never turn their backs.

27 At once, wherever they come, we worship them, the good ones, the excellent ones, the good, the strong, the beneficent Fravashis of the faithful. They are to be invoked when the bundles of baresma are tied; they are to be invoked in fights against foes, in battles, and there where gallant men strive to conquer foes.

28 Mazda invoked them for help, when he fixed the sky and the waters and the earth and the plants; when Spenta-Mainyu fixed the sky, when he fixed the waters, when the earth, when the cattle, when the plants, when the child conceived in the womb, so that it should not die from the assaults of Vîdôtu, and developed in it the bones, the hair, the . . . ., the entrails, the feet, and the sexual organs.

29 Spenta-Mainyu maintained the sky, and they sustained it from below, they, the strong Fravashis, who sit in silence, gazing with sharp looks; whose eyes and ears are powerful, who bring long joy, high and high-girded; well-moving and moving afar, loud-snorting, possessing riches and a high renown.

30 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful; whose friendship is good, and who know how to benefit; whose friendship lasts long; who like to stay in the abode where they are not harmed by its dwellers; who are good, beautiful afar 3, health-giving, of high renown, conquering in battle, and who never do harm first.

31 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful; whose will is dreadful unto those who vex them; powerfully working and most beneficent; who in battle break the dread arms of their foes and haters.

32 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful; liberal, valiant, and full of strength, not to be seized by thought, welfare-giving, kind, and health-giving, following with Ashi's remedies, as far as the earth extends, as the rivers stretch, as the sun rises.

33 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who gallantly and bravely fight, causing havoc, wounding, breaking to pieces all the malice of the malicious, Daêvas and men, and smiting powerfully in battle, at their wish and will. 34 You kindly deliver the Victory made by Ahura, and the crushing Ascendant, most beneficently, to those countries where you, the good ones, unharmed and rejoiced, unoppressed and unoffended, have been held worthy of sacrifice and prayer, and proceed the way of your wish.

35 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, of high renown, smiting in battle, most strong, shield-bearing and harmless to those who are true, whom both the pursuing and the fleeing invoke for help: the pursuer invokes them for a swift race, and for a swift race does the fleer invoke them;

36 Who turn to that side where are faithful men, most devoted to holiness, and where is the greatest piety, where the faithful man is rejoiced, and where the faithful man is not ill-treated.

37 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who form many battalions, girded with weapons, lifting up spears, and full of sheen; who in fearful battles come rushing along where the gallant heroes go and assail the Dânus.

38 There you destroy the victorious strength of the Turanian Dânus; there you destroy the malice of the Turanian Dânus; through you the chiefs are of high intellect and most successful; they, the gallant heroes the gallant Saoshyants, the gallant conquerors of the offspring of the Dânus chiefs of myriads, who wound with stones.

39 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who rout the two wings of an army standing in battle array, who make the centre swerve, and swiftly pursue onwards, to help the faithful and to distress the doers of evil deeds.

40 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful; awful, overpowering, and victorious, smiting in battle, sorely wounding, blowing away (the foes), moving along to and fro, of good renown, fair of body, godly of soul, and holy; who give victory to their invoker, who give boons to their lover, who give health to the sick man;

41 Who give good glory to him who worships them with a sacrifice, as that man did worship them, the holy Zarathustra, the chief of the material world, the head of the two-footed race, in whatever struggle he had to enter, in whatever distress he did fear; 42 Who, when well invoked, enjoy bliss in the heavens; who, when well invoked, come forward from the heavens, who are the heads of that sky above, possessing the well-shapen Strength, the Victory made by Ahura, the crushing Ascendant, and Welfare, the wealth-bringing, boon-bringing, holy, well fed, worthy of sacrifice and prayer in the perfection of holiness.

43 They shed Satavaêsa between the earth and the sky, him to whom the waters belong, who listens to appeals and makes the waters flow and the plants grow up, to nourish animals and men, to nourish the Aryan nations, to nourish the five kinds of animals, and to help the faithful.

44 Satavaêsa comes down and flows between the earth and the sky, he to whom the waters belong, who listens to appeals and makes the waters and the plants grow up, fair, radiant, and full of light, to nourish animals and men, to nourish the Aryan nations, to nourish the five kinds of animals, and to help the faithful.

45 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful; with helms of brass, with weapons of brass, with armour of brass; who struggle in the fights for victory in garments of light, arraying the battles and bringing them forwards, to kill thousands of Daêvas. When the wind blows from behind them and brings their breath unto men,

46 Then men know where blows the breath of victory: and they pay pious homage unto the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, with their hearts prepared and their arms uplifted.

47 Whichever side they have been first worshipped in the fulness of faith of a devoted heart, to that side turn the awful Fravashis of the faithful, along with Mithra and Rashnu and the awful cursing thought of the wise and the victorious wind.

48 And those nations are smitten at one stroke by their fifties and their hundreds, by their hundreds and their thousands, by their thousands and their tens of thousands, by their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads, against which turn the awful Fravashis of the faithful, along with Mithra and Rashnu, and the awful cursing thought of the wise and the victorious wind.

49 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who come and go through the borough at the time of the Hamaspathmaêdha; they go along there for ten nights, asking thus:

50 'Who will praise us? Who will offer us a sacrifice? Who will meditate upon us? Who will bless us? Who will receive us with meat and clothes in his hand and with a prayer worthy of bliss? Of which of us will the name be taken for invocation? Of which of you will the soul be worshipped by you with a sacrifice? To whom will this gift of ours be given, that he may have never-failing food for ever and ever?'

51 And the man who offers them up a sacrifice, with meat and clothes in his hand, with a prayer worthy of bliss, the awful Fravashis of the faithful, satisfied, unharmed, and unoffended, bless thus:

52 'May there be in this house flocks of animals and men! May there be a swift horse and a solid chariot! May there be a man who knows how to praise God and rule in an assembly, who will offer us sacrifices with meat and clothes in his hand, and with a prayer worthy of bliss.'

53 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who show beautiful paths to the waters, made by Mazda, which had stood before for a long time in the same place without flowing.

54 And now they flow along the path made by Mazda, along the way made by the gods, the watery way appointed to them, at the wish of Ahura Mazda, at the wish of the Amesha-Spentas.

55 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who show a beautiful growth to the fertile plants, which had stood before for a long time in the same place without growing:

56 And now they grow up along the path made by Mazda, along the way made by the gods, in the time appointed to them, at the wish of Ahura Mazda, at the wish of the Amesha-Spentas.

57 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who showed their paths to the stars, the moon, the sun, and the endless lights, that had stood before for a long time in the same place, without moving forwards, through the oppression of the Daêvas and the assaults of the Daêvas.

58 And now they move around in their far-revolving circle for ever, till they come to the time of the good restoration of the world.

59 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who watch over the bright sea Vouru-Kasha, to the number of ninety thousand, and nine thousand, and nine hundred, and ninety-nine.

60 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who watch over the stars Haptôiringa, to the number of ninety thousand, and nine thousand, and nine hundred, and ninety-nine.

61 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who watch over the body of Keresâspa, the son of Sâma, the club-bearer with plaited hair, to the number of ninety thousand, and nine thousand, and nine hundred, and ninety-nine.

62 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who watch over the seed of the holy Zarathustra 2, to the number of ninety thousand, and nine thousand, and nine hundred, and ninety-nine.

63 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who fight at the right hand of the reigning lord, if he rejoices the faithful and if the awful Fravashis of the faithful are not hurt by him, if they are rejoiced by him, unharmed and unoffended.

64 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who are greater, who are stronger, who are swifter, who are more powerful, who are more victorious, who are more healing, who are more effective than can be expressed by words; who run by tens of thousands into the midst of the Myazdas.

65 And when the waters come up from the sea Vouru-Kasha, O Spitama Zarathustra! along with the Glory made by Mazda, then forwards come the awful Fravashis of the faithful, many and many hundreds, many and many thousands, many and many tens of thousands, 66 Seeking water for their own kindred, for their own borough, for their own town, for their own country, and saying thus: 'May our own country have a good store and full joy!'

67 They fight in the battles that are fought in their own place and land, each according to the place and house where he dwelt (of yore): they look like a gallant warrior who, girded up and watchful, fights for the hoard he has treasured up.

68 And those of them who win bring waters to their own kindred, to their own borough, to their own town, to their own country, saying thus: 'May my country grow and increase!'

69 And when the all-powerful sovereign of a country has been surprised by his foes and haters, he invokes them, the awful Fravashis of the faithful.

70 And they come to his help, if they have not been hurt by him, if they have been rejoiced by him, if they have not been harmed nor offended, the awful Fravashis of the faithful: they come flying unto him, it seems as if they were well-winged birds.

71 They come in as a weapon and as a shield, to keep him behind and to keep him in front, from the Drug unseen, from the female Varenya fiend, from the evil-doer bent on mischief, and from that fiend who is all death, Angra Mainyu. It will be as if there were a thousand men watching over one man;

72 So that neither the sword well-thrust, neither the club well-falling, nor the arrow well-shot, nor the spear well-darted, nor the stones flung from the arm shall destroy him.

73 They come on this side, they come on that side, never resting, the good, powerful, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, asking for help thus: 'Who will praise us? Who will offer us a sacrifice? Who will meditate upon us? Who will bless us? Who will receive us with meat and clothes in his hand and with a prayer worthy of bliss? Of which of us will the name be taken for invocation? Of which of you will the soul be worshipped by you with a sacrifice? To whom will that gift of ours be given, that he may have never-failing food for ever and ever?'

74 We worship the perception; we worship the intellect; we worship the conscience; we worship those of the Saoshyants; We worship the souls; those of the tame animals; those of the wild animals; those of the animals that live in the waters; those of the animals that live under the ground; those of the flying ones; those of the running ones; those of the grazing ones. We worship their Fravashis.

75 We worship the Fravashis. We worship them, the liberal; We worship them, the valiant; we worship them, the most valiant; We worship them, the beneficent; we worship them, the most beneficent; We worship them, the powerful; We worship them, the most strong; We worship them, the light; we worship them, the most light; We worship them, the effective; we worship them, the most effective.

76 They are the most effective amongst the creatures of the two Spirits, they the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who stood holding fast when the two Spirits created the world, the Good Spirit and the Evil One.

77 When Angra Mainyu broke into the creation of the good holiness, then came in across Vohû Manô and Âtar.

78 They destroyed the malice of the fiend Angra Mainyu, so that the waters did not stop flowing nor did the plants stop growing; but at once the most beneficent waters of the creator and ruler, Ahura Mazda, flowed forward and his plants went on growing.

79 We worship all the waters; We worship all the plants; We worship all the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful. We worship the waters by their names; We worship the plants by their names; We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful by their names.

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80 Of all those ancient Fravashis, we worship the Fravashi of Ahura Mazda; who is the greatest, the best, the fairest, the most solid, the wisest, the finest of body and supreme in holiness;

81 Whose soul is the Mâthra Spenta, who is white, shining, seen afar; and we worship the beautiful forms, the active forms wherewith he clothes the Amesha-Spentas; we worship the swift-horsed sun.

82 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the Amesha-Spentas, the bright ones, whose looks perform what they wish, the tall, quickly coming to do, strong, and lordly, who are undecaying and holy;

83 Who are all seven of one thought, who are all seven of one speech, who are all seven of one deed; whose thought is the same, whose speech is the same, whose deed is the same, whose father and commander is the same, namely, the Maker, Ahura Mazda;

84 Who see one another's soul thinking of good thoughts, thinking of good words, thinking of good deeds, thinking of Garô-nmâna, and whose ways are shining as they go down towards the libations.

85 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis: that of the most rejoicing fire, the beneficent and assembly-making; and that of the holy, strong Sraosha, who is the incarnate Word, a mighty-speared and lordly god; and that of Nairyô-sangha.

86 And that of Rashnu Razista; That of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures; That of the Mâthra-Spenta; That of the sky; That of the waters; That of the earth; That of the plants; That of the Bull; That of the living man; That of the holy creation.

87 We worship the Fravashi of Gaya Maretan, who first listened unto the thought and teaching of Ahura Mazda; of whom Ahura formed the race of the Aryan nations, the seed of the Aryan nations. We worship the piety and the Fravashi of the holy Zarathustra;

88 Who first thought what is good, who first spoke what is good, who first did what is good; who was the first Priest, the first Warrior, the first Plougher of the ground; who first knew and first taught; who first possessed and first took possession of the Bull, of Holiness, of the Word, the obedience to the Word, and dominion, and all the good things made by Mazda, that are the offspring of the good Principle;

89 Who was the first Priest, the first Warrior, the first Plougher of the ground; who first took the turning of the wheel from the hands of the Daêva and of the cold-hearted man; who first in the material world pronounced the praise of Asha, thus bringing the Daêvas to naught, and confessed himself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas, and obeys the laws of Ahura.

90 Who first in the material world said the word that destroys the Daêvas, the law of Ahura; who first in the material world proclaimed the word that destroys the Daêvas, the law of Ahura; who first in the material world declared all the creation of the Daêvas unworthy of sacrifice and prayer; who was strong, giving all the good things of life, the first bearer of the Law amongst the nations;

91 In whom was heard the whole Mâthra, the word of holiness; who was the lord and master of the world, the praiser of the most great, most good and most fair Asha; who had a revelation of the Law, that most excellent of all beings;

92 For whom the Amesha-Spentas longed, in one accord with the sun, in the fulness of faith of a devoted heart; they longed for him, as the lord and master of the world, as the praiser of the most great, most good, and most fair Asha, as having a revelation of the Law, that most excellent of all beings;

93 In whose birth and growth the waters and the plants rejoiced; in whose birth and growth the waters and the plants grew; in whose birth and growth all the creatures of the good creations cried out, Hail!

94 'Hail to us! for he is born, the Âthravan, Spitama Zarathustra. Zarathustra will offer us sacrifices with libations and bundles of baresma; and there will the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda come and spread through all the seven Karshvares of the earth.

95 'There will Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, increase all the excellences of our countries, and allay their troubles; there will the powerful Apâm-Napât increase all the excellences of our countries, and allay their troubles.' We worship the piety and Fravashi of Maidhyô-maungha, the son of Arâsti, who first listened unto the word and teaching of Zarathustra.

96 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asmô-hvanvant; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asan-hvanvant. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Gavayan. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Parshat-gaus, the son of Frâta; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohvasti, the son of Snaoya; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Isvat, the son of Varâza.

97 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Saêna, the son of Ahûm-stut, who first appeared upon this earth with a hundred pupils. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Fradhidaya. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Usmânara, the son of Paêshata. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohu-raokah, the son of Frânya; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ashô-raokah, the son of Frânya; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Varesmô-raokah, the son of Frânya.

98 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Isat-vâstra, the son of Zarathustra; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Urvatat-nara, the son of Zarathustra; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvare-kithra, the son of Zarathustra. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Daêvô-tbis, the son of Takhma. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Thrimithwant, the son of Spitâma. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Daungha, the son of Zairita.

99 We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Vîstâspa 3; the gallant one, who was the incarnate Word, the mighty-speared, and lordly one; who, driving the Drug before him, sought wide room for the holy religion; who, driving the Drug before him, made wide room for the holy religion, who made himself the arm and support of this law of Ahura, of this law of Zarathustra.

100 Who took her, standing bound, from the hands of the Hunus, and established her to sit in the middle [of the world], high ruling, never falling back, holy, nourished with plenty of cattle and pastures, blessed with plenty of cattle and pastures.

101 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Zairivairi; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Yukhtavairi; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Srîraokhshan; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Keresaokhshan; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vanâra; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Varâza; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Bûgi-sravah. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Berezy-arsti; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Tîzyarsti; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Perethu-arsti; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vîzyarsti.

102 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Naptya; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vazâspa; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Habâspa. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vistauru, the son of Naotara. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Fras-hâm-vareta; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frashôkareta. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âtare-vanu; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âtare-pâta; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âtare-dâta; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âtare-kithra; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âtare-hvarenah; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âtare-savah; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âtare-zantu; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âtare-danghu.

103 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Huskyaothna; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Piskyaothna; We worship the Fravashi of the holy and gallant Spentô-dâta. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Bastavairi; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Kavârazem. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frashaostra, the son of Hvôva; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Gâmâspa, the son of Hvôva; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Avâraostri.

104 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Huskyaothna, the son of Frashaostra; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvâdaêna, the son of Frashaostra. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hanghaurvaungh, the son of Gâmâspa; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vareshna, the son of Hanghaurvaungh. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohu-nemah, the son of Avâraostri, To withstand evil dreams, to withstand evil visions, to withstand evil . . . . , to withstand the evil Pairikas.

105 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Mâthravâka, the son of Sîmaêzi, the Aêthrapati, the Hamidhpati, who was able to smite down most of the evil, unfaithful Ashemaoghas, that shout the hymns, and acknowledge no lord and no master, the dreadful ones whose Fravashis are to be broken; to withstand the evil done by the faithful.

106 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ashastu, the son of Maidhyô-maungha. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Avarethrabah, the son of Râstare-vaghant. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Bûgra, the son of Dâzgarâspa. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Zbaurvant; We worship the Fravashi of the holy and gallant Karesna, the son of Zbaurvant; who was the incarnate Word, mighty-speared and lordly;

107 In whose house did walk the good, beautiful, shining Ashi Vanguhi, in the shape of a maid fair of body, most strong, tall-formed, high-up girded, pure, nobly born of a glorious seed; who, rushing to the battle, knew how to make room for himself with his own arms; who, rushing to the battle, knew how to fight the foe with his own arms.

108 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vîrâspa, the son of Karesna; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Azâta, the son of Karesna: We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frâyaodha, the son of Karesna. We worship the Fravashi of the holy and good Arshya; Arshya, the chief in assemblies, the most energetic of the worshippers of Mazda. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Dârayat-ratha; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frâyat-ratha; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Skârayat-ratha.

109 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Arsvant; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vyarsvant; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Paityarsvant. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Amru; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Kamru. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Drâtha; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Paitidrâtha; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Paitivangha. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frashâvakhsha. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Nemôvanghu, the son of Vaêdhayangha.

110 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vîsadha. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ashâvanghu, the son of Bivandangha; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Garô-danghu, the son of Pairistîra; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Neremyazdana, the son of Âthwyôza. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Berezisnu, the son of Ara; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Kasupatu, the son of Ara. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frya. We worship the Fravashi of the holy ASTVAT-ERETA.

111 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Gaopi-vanghu. We worship the Fravashi of the holy and gallant Hâm-baretar vanghvâm. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Staotar-Vahistahê-Ashyêhê. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Pourudhâkhsti, the son of Khstâvaênya; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Khshoiwrâspa, the son of Khstâvaênya.

112 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ayôasti, the son of Pouru-dhâkhsti; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohv-asti, the son of Pouru-dhâkhsti; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Gayadhâsti, the son of Pouru-dhâkhsti; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asha-vazdah, the son of Pouru-dhâkhsti; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Urûdhu, the son of Pouru-dhâkhsti. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Khshathrô-kinah, the son of Khshvôiwrâspa.

113 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ashâhura, the son of Gîsti. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frâyazanta; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frenah, the son of Frâyazanta; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Garô-vanghu, the son of Frâyazanta. We worship the Fravashis of the holy Ashavazdah and Thrita, the sons of Sâyuzdri. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohu-raokah, the son of Varakasa. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Areganghant, the Turanian. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Usinemah.

114 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Yukhtâspa. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ashaskyaothna, the son of Gayadhâsti. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohu-nemah, the son of Katu; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohu-vazdah, the son of Katu. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ashasaredha, the son of Asha-sairyâk; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ashasaredha, the son of Zairyâk. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Kâkhshni. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Syâvâspi. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Pourusti, the son of Kavi.

115 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Varesmapa, the son of Ganara. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Nanârâsti, the son of Paêshatah; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Zarazdâti, the son of Paêshatah. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Gaêvani, the son of Vohu-nemah. We worship the Fravashis of the holy Arezva and Srûta-spâdha. We worship the Fravashis of the holy Zrayah and Spentô-khratu. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Varsni, the son of Vâgereza. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frâkya, the son of Taurvâti. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vahmaêdâta, the son of Mâthravâka. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ustra, the son of Sadhanah.

116 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Danghu-srûta; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Danghu-frâdhah. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Aspô-padhô-makhsti; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Payanghrô-makhsti. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ustâzanta. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ashasavah; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ashô-urvatha. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Haomô-hvarenah.

117 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Fraya. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Usnâka. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvanvant. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Daênô-vazah. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Aregaona. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Aiwihvarenah. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Huyazata. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Haredhaspa. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Pâzinah. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvâkhshathra. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ashô-paoirya. We worship the Fravashi of the holy ASTVAT-ERETA.

118 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hugau. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Anghuyu. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Gâuri; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Yûsta, the son of Gâuri. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Mâzdrâvanghu; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Srîrâvanghu. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âyûta. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Sûrôyazata.

119 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Eredhwa. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ravi. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ukhshan, the son of the great Vîdi-sravah, known afar. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vanghu-dhâta, the son of Hvadhâta; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Uzya, the son of Vanghu-dhâta; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frya.

120 We worship the Fravashi of the holy one whose name is Ashem-yêNhê-raokau; We worship the Fravashi of the holy

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one whose name is Ashem-yêNhê-vereza; We worship the Fravashi of the holy one whose name is Ashem-yahmâi-ustâ. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Yôista, of the Fryâna house. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Usmânara, the son of Paêshatah Paitisrîra, to withstand the evil done by one's kindred.

121 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Spiti, the son of Uspâsnu; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Erezrâspa, the son of Uspâsnu. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Usadhan, the son of Mazdayasna. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frâdat-vanghu, the son of Stivant. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Raokas-kaêshman; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvare-kaêshman. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frasrûtâra; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vîsrûtâra. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Baremna. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Visrûta.

122 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvaspa; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Kathwaraspa. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Dawrâmaêshi. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Fraoraostra, the son of Kaosha. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frînâspa, the son of Kaêva. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frâdat-nara, the son of Gravâratu. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohu-ustra, the son of Âkhnangha. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vîvareshvant, the son of Ainyu.

123 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frârâzi, the son of Tûra. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Stipi, the son of Ravant. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Parshanta, the son of Gandarewa. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Avahya, the son of Spenta. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Aêta, the son of Mâyu; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Yaêtus-gau, the son of Vyâtana. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Garsta, the son of Kavi.

124 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Pouru-bangha, the son of Zaosha. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohudâta, the son of Kâta. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Baungha, the son of Saungha. We worship the Fravashis of the holy Hvareza and Ankasa. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Aravaostra, the son of Erezvat-danghu. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frâkithra, the son of Berezvant. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohu-peresa, the son of Ainyu.

125 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Parôdasma, the son of Dâstâghni, a Mîza man of the Mîza land. We worship the Fravashis of the holy Fratîra and Baêshatastîra. We worship the Fravashi of the holy and pure Avare-gau, the son of Aoighimatastîra. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Gaomant, the son of Zavan, a Raozdya man of the Raozdya land. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Thrit, the son of Aêvo-saredha-fyaêsta, a Tanya man of the Tanya land.

126 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Tîrô-nakathwa, of the Uspaêsta-Saêna house. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Utayuti Vit-kavi, the son of Zighri, of the Saêna house; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frôhakafra, the son of Merezîshmya, of the Saêna house. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Varesmô-raokah, the son of Perethu-afzem.

127 We worship the Fravashis of the holy Asha-nemah and Vîdat-gau, of this country. We worship the Fravashis of the holy Parishat-gau and Dâzgara-gau, of the Apakhshîra country. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hufravâkhs, of the Kahrkana house. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Akayadha, of the Pîdha house. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Gâmâspa, the younger. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Maidhyô-maungha, the younger. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Urvatat-nara, the younger.

128 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Raokas-kaêsman; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvare-kaêsman; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frâdat-hvarenah; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Varedat-hvarenah; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vouru-nemah; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vouru-savah; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ukhshyat-ereta; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ukhshyat-nemah; We worship the Fravashi of the holy ASTVAT-ERETA;

129 Whose name will be the victorious SAOSHYANT and whose name will be Astvat-ereta. He will be SAOSHYANT (the Beneficent One), because he will benefit the whole bodily world; he will be ASTVAT-ERETA (he who makes the bodily creatures rise up), because as a bodily creature and as a living creature he will stand against the destruction of the bodily creatures, to withstand the Drug of the two-footed brood, to withstand the evil done by the faithful.

130 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Yima, the son of Vîvanghant; the valiant Yima, who had flocks at his wish; to stand against the oppression caused by the Daêvas, against the drought that destroys pastures, and against death that creeps unseen.

131 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Thraêtaona, of the Âthwya house; to stand against itch, hot fever, humours, cold fever, and incontinency, to stand against the evil done by the Serpent. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Aoshnara, the son of Pouru-gîra. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Uzava, the son of Tûmâspa. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Aghraêratha, the demi-man. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Manus-kithra, the son of Airyu.

132 We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Kavâta; We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Aipivanghu; We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Usadhan; We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Arshan; We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Pisanah; We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Byârshan; We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Syâvarshan; We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Husravah;

133 For the well-shapened Strength, for the Victory made by Ahura, for the crushing Ascendant; for the righteousness of the law, for the innocence of the law, for the unconquerable power of the law; for the extermination of the enemies at one stroke;

134 And for the vigour of health, for the Glory made by Mazda, for the health of the body, and for a good, virtuous offspring, wise, chief in assemblies, bright, and clear-eyed, that frees [their father] from the pangs [of hell], of good intellect; and for that part in the blessed world that falls to wisdom and to those who do not follow impiety;

135 For a dominion full of splendour, for a long, long life, and for all boons and remedies; to withstand the Yâtus and Pairikas, the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf; to withstand the evil done by oppressors.

136 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Keresâspa, the Sâma, the club-bearer with plaited hair; to withstand the dreadful arm and the hordes with the wide battle array, with the many spears, with the straight spears, with the spears uplifted, bearing the spears of havoc; to withstand the dreadful brigand who works destruction, the man-slayer who has no mercy; to withstand the evil done by the brigand.

137 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âkhrûra, the son of Husravah; To withstand the wicked one that deceives his friend and the niggard that causes the destruction of the world. We worship the Fravashi of the holy and gallant Haoshyangha; To withstand the Mâzainya Daêvas and the Varenya fiends; to withstand the evil done by the Daêvas.

138 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Fradhâkhsti, the son of the jar, To withstand Aêshma, the fiend of the wounding spear, and the Daêvas that grow through Aêshma; to withstand the evil done by Aêshma.

139 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvôvi. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Freni; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Thriti; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Pouru-kista. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hutaosa; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Huma. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Zairiki. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vîspa-taurvashi. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ustavaiti. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Tusnâmaiti.

140 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Freni, the wife of Usenemah; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Freni, the wife of the son of Frâyazanta; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Freni, the wife of the son of Khshôiwrâspa; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Freni, the wife of Gayadhâsti. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asabani, the wife of Pourudhâkhsti. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ukhshyeinti, the wife of Staotar-Vahistahê-Ashyêhê.

141 We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid Vadhût. We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid Gaghrûdh. We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid Franghâdh. We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid Urûdhayant. We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid Paêsanghanu. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvaredhi. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hukithra. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Kanuka. We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid Srûtat-fedhri.

142 We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid Vanghu-fedhri; We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid Eredat-fedhri, who is called Vîspa-taurvairi. She is Vîspa-taurvairi (the all-destroying) because she will bring him forth, who will destroy the malice of Daêvas and men, to withstand the evil done by the Gahi.

143 We worship the Fravashis of the holy men in the Aryan countries; We worship the Fravashis of the holy women in the Aryan countries. We worship the Fravashis of the holy men in the Turanian countries; We worship the Fravashis of the holy women in the Turanian countries. We worship the Fravashis of the holy men in the Sairimyan countries; We worship the Fravashis of the holy women in the Sairimyan countries.

144 We worship the Fravashis of the holy men in the Sâini countries; We worship the Fravashis of the holy women in the Sâini countries. We worship the Fravashis of the holy men in the Dâhi countries; We worship the Fravashis of the holy women in the Dâhi countries. We worship the Fravashis of the holy men in all countries; We worship the Fravashis of the holy women in all countries.

145 We worship all the good, awful, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, from Gaya Maretan down to the victorious Saoshyant. May the Fravashis of the faithful come quickly to us! May they come to our help!

146 They protect us when in distress with manifest assistance, with the assistance of Ahura Mazda and of the holy, powerful Sraosha, and with the Mâthra-Spenta, the all-knowing, who hates the Daêvas with a mighty hate, a friend of Ahura Mazda, whom Zarathustra worshipped so greatly in the material world.

147 May the good waters and the plants and the Fravashis of the faithful abide down here! May you be rejoiced and well received in this house! Here are the Âthravans of the countries, thinking of good holiness. Our hands are lifted up for asking help, and for offering a sacrifice unto you, O most beneficent Fravashis!

148 We worship the Fravashis of all the holy men and holy women whose souls are worthy of sacrifice, whose Fravashis are worthy of invocation. We worship the Fravashis of all the holy men and holy women, our sacrificing to whom makes us good in the eyes of Ahura Mazda: of all of those we have heard that Zarathustra is the first and best, as a follower of Ahura and as a performer of the law.

149 We worship the spirit, conscience, perception, soul, and Fravashi of men of the primitive law, of the first who listened to the teaching (of Ahura), holy men and holy women, who struggled for holiness; we worship the spirit, conscience, perception, soul, and Fravashi of our next-of-kin, holy men and holy women, who struggled for holiness.

150 We worship the men of the primitive law who will be in these houses, boroughs, towns, and countries; We worship the men of the primitive law who have been in these houses, boroughs, towns, and countries; We worship the men of the primitive law who are in these houses, boroughs, towns, and countries.

151 We worship the men of the primitive law in all houses, boroughs, towns, and countries, who obtained these houses, who obtained these boroughs, who obtained these towns, who obtained these countries, who obtained holiness, who obtained the Mâthra, who obtained the [blessedness of the] soul, who obtained all the perfections of goodness.

152 We worship Zarathustra, the lord and master of all the material world, the man of the primitive law; the wisest of all beings, the best-ruling of all beings, the brightest of all beings, the most glorious of all beings, the most worthy of sacrifice amongst all beings, the most worthy of prayer amongst all beings, the most worthy of propitiation amongst all beings, the most worthy of glorification amongst all beings, whom we call well-desired and worthy of sacrifice and prayer as much as any being can be, in the perfection of his holiness.

153 We worship this earth; We worship those heavens; We worship those good things that stand between (the earth and the heavens) and that are worthy of sacrifice and prayer and are to be worshipped by the faithful man.

154 We worship the souls of the wild beasts and of the tame. We worship the souls of the holy men and women, born at any time, whose consciences struggle, or will struggle, or have struggled, for the good.

155 We worship the spirit, conscience, perception, soul, and Fravashi of the holy men and holy women who struggle, will struggle, or have struggled, and teach the Law, and who have struggled for holiness. Yênhê hâtâm: All those beings to whom Ahura Mazda . . . Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . .

156 The Fravashis of the faithful, awful and overpowering, awful and victorious; the Fravashis of the men of the primitive law; the Fravashis of the next-of-kin; may these Fravashis come satisfied into this house; may they walk satisfied through this house!

157 May they, being satisfied, bless this house with the presence of the kind Ashi Vanguhi! May they leave this house satisfied! May they carry back from here hymns and worship to the Maker, Ahura Mazda, and the Amesha-Spentas! May they not leave this house of us, the worshippers of Mazda, complaining!

158 Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . . I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of the awful, overpowering Fravashis of the faithful; of the Fravashis of the men of the primitive law; of the Fravashis of the next-of-kin. Ashem Vohû.: Holiness is the best of all good. . . . [Give] unto that man brightness and glory, ... give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

14. BAHRÂM YAST.

1 We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! 'Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?' Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

2 Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him first, running in the shape of a strong, beautiful wind, made by Mazda; he bore the good Glory, made by Mazda, the Glory made by Mazda, that is both health and strength.

3 Then he, who is the strongest, said unto him: 'I am the strongest in strength; I am the most victorious in victory; I am the most glorious in Glory; I am the most favouring in favour; I am the best giver of welfare; I am the best-healing in health-giving.

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4 'And I shall destroy the malice of all the malicious, the malice of Daêvas and men, of the Yâtus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf.

5 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard; namely, unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura. We worship Verethraghna, made by Ahura, with an offering of libations, according to the primitive ordinances of Ahura; with the Haoma and meat, the baresma, the wisdom of the tongue, the holy spells, the speech, the deeds, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words. 'Yênhê hâtâm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda. . . .

6 'We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura.' Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! 'Who is, the best-armed of the heavenly Gods?' Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

7 Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the second time, running in the shape of a beautiful bull, with yellow ears and golden horns; upon whose horns floated the well-shapen Strength, and Victory, beautiful of form, made by Ahura: thus did he come, bearing the good Glory, made by Mazda, the Glory made by Mazda, that is both health and strength. Then he, who is the strongest, said unto him: 'I am the strongest in strength . . . 'And I shall destroy the malice of all malicious . . . . ' For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

8 We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! 'Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?' Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

9 Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the third time, running in the shape of a white, beautiful horse, with yellow ears and a golden caparison; upon whose forehead floated the well-shapen Strength, and Victory, beautiful of form, made by Ahura: thus did he come, bearing the good Glory, made by Mazda, that is both health and strength. Then he, who is the strongest, said unto him: 'I am the strongest in strength . . . . 'And I shall destroy the malice of all malicious . . . .' For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

10 We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! 'Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?' Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

11 Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the fourth time, running in the shape of a burden-bearing camel, sharp-toothed, swift . . . . , stamping forwards, long-haired, and living in the abodes of men;

12 Who of all males in rut shows greatest strength and greatest fire, when he goes to his females. Of all females those are best kept whom a burden-bearing camel keeps, who has thick forelegs and large humps, ... , quick-eyed, long-headed, bright, tall, and strong;

13 Whose piercing look goes afar . . . . , even in the dark of the night; who throws white foam along his mouth; well-kneed, well-footed, standing with the countenance of an all-powerful master: Thus did Verethraghna come, bearing the good Glory made by Mazda, the Glory made by Mazda . . . .

14 We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! 'Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?' Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

15 Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the fifth time, running in the shape of a boar, opposing the foes, a sharp-toothed he-boar, a sharp-jawed boar, that kills at one stroke, pursuing, wrathful, with a dripping face, strong, and swift to run, and rushing all around. Thus did Verethraghna come, bearing the good Glory made by Mazda, the Glory made by Mazda. . . .

16 We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! 'Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?' Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

17 Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the sixth time, running in the shape of a beautiful youth of fifteen, shining, clear-eyed, thin-heeled. Thus did Verethraghna come, bearing the good Glory made by Mazda, the Glory made by Mazda . . . .

18 We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! 'Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?' Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

19 Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the seventh time, running in the shape of a raven that . . . . below and . . . . above, and that is the swiftest of all birds, the lightest of the flying creatures.

20 He alone of living things,—he or none,—overtakes the flight of an arrow, however well it has been shot. He flies up joyfully at the first break of dawn, wishing the night to be no more, wishing the dawn, that has not yet come, to come.

21 He grazes the hidden ways of the mountains, he grazes the tops of the mountains, he grazes the depths of the vales, he grazes the summit of the trees, listening to the voices of the birds. Thus did Verethraghna come, bearing the good Glory made by Mazda 1, the Glory made by Mazda . . . .

22 We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! 'Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?' Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

23 Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the eighth time, running in the shape of a wild, beautiful ram, with horns bent round. Thus did Verethraghna come, bearing the good Glory made by Mazda, the Glory made by Mazda . . . .

24 We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! 'Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?' Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

25 Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the ninth time, running in the shape of a beautiful, fighting buck, with sharp horns. Thus did Verethraghna come, bearing the good Glory made by Mazda, the Glory made by Mazda. . . .

26 We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! 'Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?' Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

27 Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the tenth time, running in the shape of a man, bright and beautiful, made by Mazda: he held a sword with a golden blade, inlaid with all sorts of ornaments. Thus did Verethraghna come, bearing the good Glory made by Mazda, the Glory made by Mazda. . . .

28 We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura, who makes virility, who makes death, who makes resurrection, who possesses peace, who has a free way. Unto him did the holy Zarathustra offer up a sacrifice, [asking] for victorious thinking, victorious speaking, victorious doing, victorious addressing, and victorious answering.

29 Verethraghna, made by Ahura, gave him the fountains of manliness, the strength of the arms, the health of the whole body, the sturdiness of the whole body, and the eye-sight of the Kara fish, that lives beneath the waters and can measure 3 a rippling of the water, not thicker than a hair, in the Rangha whose ends lie afar, whose depth is a thousand times the height of a man. For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . 12.

30 We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura, who makes virility, who makes death, who makes resurrection, who possesses peace, who has a free way. Unto him did the holy Zarathustra offer up a sacrifice, [asking] for victorious thinking, victorious speaking, victorious doing, victorious addressing, and victorious answering.

31 Verethraghna, made by Ahura, gave him the fountains of manliness, the strength of the arms, the health of the whole body, the sturdiness of the whole body, and the eye-sight of the male horse, that, in the dark of the night, in its first half 5 and through the rain, can perceive a horse's hair lying on the ground and knows whether it is from the head or from the tail 6. For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

32 We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura, who makes virility, who makes death, who makes resurrection, who possesses peace, who has a free way. Unto him did the holy Zarathustra sacrifice, [asking] for victorious thinking, victorious speaking, victorious doing, victorious addressing, and victorious answering.

33 Verethraghna, made by Ahura, gave him the fountains of virility, the strength of the arms, the health of the whole body, the sturdiness of the whole body, and the eye-sight of the vulture with a golden collar, that, from as far as nine districts, can perceive a piece of flesh not thicker than the fist, giving just as much light as a needle gives, as the point of a needle gives 2. For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

34 We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! 'If I have a curse thrown upon me, a spell told upon me by the many men who hate me, what is the remedy for it?'

35 Ahura Mazda answered: Take thou a feather of that bird with . . . . feathers, the Vârengana, O Spitama Zarathustra! With that feather thou shalt rub thy own body, with that feather thou shalt curse back thy enemies.

36 'If a man holds a bone of that strong bird, or a feather of that strong bird, no one can smite or turn to flight that fortunate man. The feather of that bird of birds brings him help; it brings unto him the homage of men, it maintains in him his glory.

37 'Then the sovereign, the lord of countries, will no longer kill his hundreds, though he is a killer of men; the . . . . will not kill at one stroke; he alone smites and goes forwards.

38 'All tremble before him who holds the feather, they tremble therefore before me; all my enemies tremble before me and fear my strength and victorious force and the fierceness established in my body.

39 'He carries the chariot of the lords; he carries the chariots of the lordly ones, the chariots of the sovereigns. He carried the chariot of Kavi Usa; upon his wings runs the male horse, runs the burden-bearing camel, runs the water of the river.

40 'Him rode the gallant Thraêtaona, who smote Azi Dahâka, the three-mouthed, the three-headed, the six-eyed, who had a thousand senses; that most powerful, fiendish Drug, that demon, baleful to the world, the strongest Drug that Angra Mainyu created against the material world, to destroy the world of the good principle. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

41 'We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura. 'Verethraghna confounds the glory of this house with its wealth in cattle. He is like that great bird, the Saêna; he is like the big clouds, full of water, that beat the mountains. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

42 'We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura.' Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! 'Where is it that we must invoke the name of Verethraghna, made by Ahura? Where is it that we must praise him? That we must humbly praise him?'

43 Ahura Mazda answered: 'When armies meet together in full array, O Spitama Zarathustra! (asking) which of the two is the party that conquers and is not crushed, that smites and is not smitten;

44 'Do thou throw four feathers in the way. Whichever of the two will first worship the well-shapen Strength, and Verethraghna, beautiful of form, made by Mazda, on his side will victory stand.

45 'I will bless Strength and Victory, the two keepers, the two good keepers, the two maintainers; the two who . . . ., the two who . . . ., the two who . . . .; the two who forgive, the two who strike off, the two who forget.

46 'O Zarathustra! let not that spell be shown to any one, except by the father to his son, or by the brother to his brother from the same womb, or by the Âthravan to his pupil. These are words that are awful and powerful, awful and assembly-ruling, awful and victorious, awful and healing; these are words that save the head that was lost and chant away the uplifted weapon.'

47 We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura: who goes along the armies arrayed, and goes here and there asking, along with Mithra and Rashnu: 'Who is it who lies unto Mithra? Who is it who thrusts [his oath] against Rashnu? To whom shall I, in my might, impart illness and death?

48 Ahura Mazda said: 'If men sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura, if the due sacrifice and prayer is offered unto him just as it ought to be performed in the perfection of holiness, never will a hostile horde enter the Aryan countries, nor any plague, nor leprosy, nor venomous plants, nor the chariot of a foe, nor the uplifted spear of a foe.'

49 Zarathustra asked: 'What is then, O Ahura Mazda! the sacrifice and invocation in honour of Verethraghna, made by Ahura, as it ought to be performed in the perfection of holiness?'

50 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Let the Aryan nations bring libations unto him; let the Aryan nations tie bundles of baresma for him; let the Aryan nations cook for him a head of cattle, either white, or black, or of any other colour, but all of one and the same colour.

51 'Let not a murderer take of those offerings, nor a whore, nor a . . . ., who does not sing the Gâthâs, who spreads death in the world and withstands the law of Mazda, the law of Zarathustra.

52 'If a murderer take of those offerings, or a whore, or a . . . ., who does not sing the Gâthâs, then Verethraghna, made by Ahura, takes back his healing virtues.

53 'Plagues will ever pour upon the Aryan nations; hostile hordes will ever fall upon the Aryan nations; the Aryans will be smitten by their fifties and their hundreds, by their hundreds and their thousands, by their thousands and their tens of thousands, by their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads.'

54 There Verethraghna, made by Ahura, proclaimed thus: 'The Soul of the Bull, the wise creature, does not receive from man due sacrifice and prayer; for now the Daêvas and the

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worshippers of the Daêvas make blood flow and spill it like water;

55 'For now the . . . . Daêvas and the worshippers of the Daêvas bring to the fire the plant that is called Haperesi, the wood that is called Nemetka;

56 '(Therefore) when the . . . . Daêvas and the worshippers of the Daêvas bow their backs, bend their waists, and arrange all their limbs, they think they will smite and smite not, they think they will kill and kill not; and then the . . . Daêvas and the worshippers of the Daêvas have their minds confounded and their eyes made giddy.' For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

57 We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura. I offer up Haoma, who saves one's head; I offer up the victorious Haoma; I offer him up, the good protector; I offer up Haoma, who is a protector to my body, as a man who shall drink of him shall win and prevail over his enemies in battle;

58 That I may smite this army, that I may smite down this army, that I may cut in pieces this army that is coming behind me. For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

59 We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura. The prince and his son and his sons who are chiefs of myriads offer him up a bright . . . . [saying]: 'He is strong, and Victorious is his name; he is victorious, arid Strong is his name;'

60 That I may be as constantly victorious as any one of all the Aryans; that I may smite this army, that I may smite down this army, that I may cut in pieces this army that is coming behind me. For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

61 We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura. Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . . In the ox is our strength, in the ox is our need; in the ox is our speech, in the ox is our victory; in the ox is our food, in the ox is our clothing; in the ox is tillage, that makes food grow for us. For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

62 We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura; Who breaks the columns asunder, who cuts the columns to pieces, who wounds the columns, who makes the columns shake; who comes and breaks the columns asunder, who comes and cuts the columns to pieces, who comes and wounds the columns, who comes and makes the columns shake, both of Daêvas and men, of the Yâtus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf. For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard . . .

63 We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura. When Verethraghna, made by Ahura, binds the hands, confounds the eye-sight, takes the hearing from the ears of the Mithradruges marching in columns, allied by cities, they can no longer move their feet, they can no longer withstand. For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

64 Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness. . . . . I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of Verethraghna, made by Mazda; and of the crushing Ascendant.

15. RÂM YAST.

1 I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them. I will sacrifice to Peace, whose breath is friendly, and to Weal, both of them. To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke, for this house, for the master of this house, and for the man here who is offering libations and giving gifts. To this excellent God do we sacrifice, that he may accept our meat and our prayers, and grant us in return to crush our enemies at one stroke.

2 To him did the Maker, Ahura Mazda, offer up a sacrifice in the Airyana Vaêgah, on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of full-boiling [milk].

3 He begged of him a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O Vayu! who dost work highly, that I may smite the creation of Angra Mainyu, and that nobody may smite this creation of the Good Spirit!'

4 Vayu, who works highly, granted him that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it.

5 We sacrifice to the holy Vayu: we sacrifice to Vayu, who works highly. To this part of thee do we sacrifice, O Vayu! that belongs to Spenta Mainyu. For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto the awful Vayu, who works highly. We offer up a sacrifice unto the awful Vayu, who works highly, with the libations, with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, the words, the deeds, the libations, and the well-spoken words. Yênhê hâtãm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda . . . .

6 I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them . . . . To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke . . . .

7 To him did Haoshyangha, the Paradhâta, offer up a sacrifice on the Taêra of the Hara, bound with iron, on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offering of full-boiling [milk].

8 He begged of him a boon, saying: 'Grant me, O Vayu! who dost work highly, that I may smite two-thirds of the Daêvas of Mâzana and of the fiends of Varena.'

9 Vayu, who works highly, granted him that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda 4, did pursue it. We sacrifice to the holy Vayu . . . . For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

10 I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them . . . . To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke . . . .

11 To him did Takhma Urupa, the well-armed, offer up a sacrifice on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of full-boiling [milk].

12 He begged of him a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O Vayu! who dost work highly, that I may conquer all Daêvas and men, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and that I may ride Angra Mainyu, turned into the shape of a horse, all around the earth from one end to the other, for thirty years.'

13 Vayu, who works highly, granted him that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it. We sacrifice to the holy Vayu . . . . For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

14 I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them . . . . To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke . . . .

15 Unto him did the bright Yima, the good shepherd, sacrifice from the height Hukairya, the all-shining and golden, on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of full-boiling [milk].

16 He begged of him a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O Vayu! who dost work highly, that I may become the most glorious of the men born to behold the sun: that I may make in my reign both animals and men undying, waters and plants undrying, and the food for eating creatures never-failing.' In the reign of the valiant Yima there was neither cold wind nor hot wind, neither old age nor death, nor envy made by the Daêvas.

17 Vayu, who works highly, granted him that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it. We sacrifice to the holy Vayu . . . . For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

18 I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them . . . . To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke . . . .

19 Unto him did the three-mouthed Azi Dahâka offer up a sacrifice in his accursed palace of Kvirinta, on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of full-boiling [milk].

20 He begged of him a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O Vayu! who dost work highly, that I may make all the seven Karshvares of the earth empty of men.'

21 In vain did he sacrifice, in vain did he beg, in vain did he invoke, in vain did he give gifts, in vain did he bring libations; Vayu did not grant him that boon. For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

22 I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them . . . . To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke . . . .

23 Unto him did Thraêtaona, the heir of the valiant Âthwya clan, offer up a sacrifice in the four-cornered Varena, on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of full-boiling [milk].

24 He begged of him a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O Vayu! who dost work highly, that I may overcome Azi Dahâka, the three-mouthed, the three-headed, the six-eyed, who has a thousand senses, that most powerful, fiendish Drug, that demon baleful to the world, the strongest Drum that Angra Mainyu created against the material world, to destroy the world of the good principle; and that I may deliver his two wives, Savanghavâk and Erenavâk, who are the fairest of body amongst women, and the most wonderful creatures in the world.'

25 Vayu, who works highly, granted him that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it. We sacrifice to the holy Vayu . . . . For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

26 I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them . . . . To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke . . . .

27 To him did the manly-hearted Keresâspa offer up a sacrifice by the Gudha, a channel of the Rangha, made by Mazda, upon a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of full-boiling [milk].

28 He begged of him a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O Vayu! who dost work highly, that I may succeed in avenging my brother Urvâkhshaya, that I may smite Hitâspa and yoke him to my chariot.' The Gandarewa, who lives beneath the waters, is the son of Ahura in the deep, he is the only master of the deep.

29 Vayu, who works highly, granted him that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it. We sacrifice to the holy Vayu . . . . For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

30 I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them . . . . To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke . . . .

31 To him did Aurvasâra, the lord of the country, offer up a sacrifice, towards the White Forest, by the White Forest, on the border of the White Forest, on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of full-boiling [milk].

32 He begged of him a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O Vayu! who dost work highly, that the gallant Husravah, he who unites the Aryan nations into one kingdom, may not smite us; that I may flee from king Husravah; . . . . 'That king Husravah and all the Aryans in the Forest may smite him.'

33 Vayu, who works highly, granted him that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it. We sacrifice to the holy Vayu . . . . For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

34 I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them . . . . To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke . . . .

35 To him did Hutaosa, she of the many brothers, of the Naotara house, offer up a sacrifice, on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of boiling milk.

36 She begged of him a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O Vayu! who dost work highly, that I may be dear and loved and well-received in the house of king Vîstâspa.'

37 Vayu, who works highly, granted her that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it. We sacrifice to the holy Vayu . . . . For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

38 I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them . . . . To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke . . . .

39 To him did 1 the maids, whom no man had known, offer up a sacrifice on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of boiling milk.

40 They begged of him a boon, saying: 'Grant us this, O Vayu! who dost work highly, that we may find a husband, young and beautiful of body, who will treat us well, all life long, and give us offspring; a wise, learned, ready-tongued husband.'

41 Vayu, who works highly, granted them that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it. We sacrifice to the holy Vayu . . . . For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

42 I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them . . . . To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke . . . . We sacrifice to that Vayu that belongs to the Good Spirit, the bright and glorious Vayu.

43 My name is Vayu, O holy Zarathustra! My name is Vayu, because I go through (vyêmi) the two worlds 3, the one which the Good Spirit has made and the one which the Evil Spirit has made. My name is the Overtaker (apaêta), O holy Zarathustra! My name is the Overtaker, because I can overtake the creatures of both worlds, the one that the Good Spirit has made and the one that the Evil Spirit has made.

44 My name is the All-smiting, O holy Zarathustra! My name is the All-smiting, because I can smite the creatures of both worlds, the one that the Good Spirit has made and the one that the Evil Spirit has made. My name is the Worker of Good, O holy Zarathustra! My name is the Worker of Good, because I work the good of the Maker, Ahura Mazda, and of the Amesha-Spentas 1.

45 My name is He that goes forwards. My name is He that goes backwards. My name is He that bends backwards. My name is He that hurls away. My name is He that hurls down. My name is He that destroys. My name is He that takes away. My name is He that finds out. My name is He that finds out the Glory (Hvarenô).

46 My name is the Valiant; my name is the Most Valiant. My name is the Strong; my name is the Strongest. My name is the Firm; my name is the Firmest. My name is the Stout; my name is the Stoutest. My name is He that crosses over easily. My name is He that goes along hurling away. My name is He that crushes at one stroke. My name is . . . . My name is He that works against the Daêvas. My name is . . . .

47 My name is He that prevails over malice; my name is He that destroys malice. My name is He that unites; my name is He that re-unites; my name is He that separates. My name is the Burning; my name is the Quick of intelligence. My name is Deliverance; my name is Welfare. My name is the Burrows; my name is He who destroys the burrows; my name is He who spits upon the burrows.

48 My name is Sharpness of spear; my name is He of the sharp spear. My name is Length of spear; my name is He of the long spear. My name is Piercingness of spear; my name is He of the piercing spear. My name is the Glorious; my name is the Over-glorious.

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49 Invoke these names of mine, O holy Zarathustra! in the midst of the havocking hordes, in the midst of the columns moving forwards, in the strife of the conflicting nations.

50 Invoke these names of mine, O holy Zarathustra! when the all-powerful tyrant of a country falls upon thee, rushes upon thee, deals wounds upon thee, or hurls his chariot against thee, to rob thee of thy wealth, to rob thee of thy health.

51 Invoke these names of mine, O holy Zarathustra! when the unholy Ashemaogha falls upon thee, rushes upon thee, deals wounds upon thee, or hurls his chariot against thee, to rob thee of thy strength, to rob thee of thy wealth, to rob thee of thy health.

52 Invoke these names of mine, O holy Zarathustra! when a man stands in bonds, when a man is being thrown into bonds, or when a man is being dragged in bonds: thus the prisoners flee from the hands of those who carry them, they flee away out of the prison.

53 O thou Vayu! who strikest fear upon all men and horses, who in all creatures workest against the Daêvas, both into the lowest places and into those a thousand times deep dost thou enter with equal power.

54 'With what manner of sacrifice shall I worship thee? With what manner of sacrifice shall I forward and worship thee? With what manner of sacrifice will be achieved thy adoration, O great Vayu! thou who art high-up girded, firm, swift-moving, high-footed, wide-breasted, wide-thighed, with untrembling eyes, as powerful in sovereignty as any absolute sovereign in the world?'

55 'Take thou a baresma, O holy Zarathustra! turn it upwards or downwards, according as it is full day or dawning; upwards during the day, downwards at the dawn.

56 'If thou makest me worshipped with a sacrifice, then I shall say unto thee with my own voice things of health, made by Mazda and full of glory, so that Angra Mainyu may never do harm unto thee, nor the Yâtus, nor those addicted to the works of the Yâtu, whether Daêvas or men.'

57 We sacrifice unto thee, O great Vayu! we sacrifice unto thee, O strong Vayu! We sacrifice unto Vayu, the greatest of the great; we sacrifice unto Vayu, the strongest of the strong. We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden helm. We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden crown. We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden necklace. We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden chariot. We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden wheel. We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden weapons. We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden garment. We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden shoe. We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden girdle. We sacrifice unto the holy Vayu; we sacrifice unto Vayu, who works highly. To this part of thee do we sacrifice, O Vayu! that belongs to the Good Spirit. For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto the awful Vayu, who works highly . . . .

58 Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . . I bless the sacrifice and invocation unto, and the strength and vigour of Râma Hvâstra, and Vayu, who works highly, more powerful to afflict than all the other creatures: this part of thee that belongs to the Good Spirit.

16. DÎN YAST.

To the most right Kista, made by Mazda and holy, and to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda, Be propitiation from me, for sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification. Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . .

1 We sacrifice to the most right Kista, made by Mazda and holy: we sacrifice to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda, the supplier of good stores, who runs quickly to the goal and frees one best from dangers, who brings libations, who is holy, clever, and renowned, speedy to work and quick of work; who goes quickly and cleanses well; the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda;

2 To whom Zarathustra did sacrifice, saying: 'Rise up from thy seat, come forward from the Abode, thou most right Kista, made by Mazda and holy. If thou art before me, stay for me; if thou art behind me, overtake me.

3 'Let everything be as friendly to us as anything can be: may we go smoothly along the roads, find good pathways in the mountains, run easily through the forests, and cross happily the rivers!'

4 For her brightness and glory, I will offer unto her a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto the most right Kista, made by Mazda and holy. I will offer up a sacrifice unto the most right Kista, made by Mazda and holy, with the libations, with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the words and deeds, with the libations, with the well-spoken words. Yênhê hâtãm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda . . . .

5 We sacrifice to the most right Kista, made by Mazda and holy: we sacrifice to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda . . . .

6 To whom Zarathustra did sacrifice for righteousness of thought, for righteousness of speech, for righteousness of deed, and for this boon,

7 That the most right Kista, made by Mazda and holy, would give him the swiftness of the feet, the quick hearing of the ears, the strength of the arms, the health of the whole body, the sturdiness of the whole body, and the eye-sight of the Kara fish, that lives beneath the waters, and can measure a rippling of the waters not thicker than a hair, in the Rangha, whose ends lie afar and whose depth is a thousand times the height of a man. For her brightness and glory, I will offer unto her a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

8 We sacrifice to the most right Kista, made by Mazda and holy: we sacrifice to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda . . . .

9 To whom Zarathustra did sacrifice for righteousness of thought, for righteousness of speech, for righteousness of deed, and for this boon,

10 That the most right Kista, made by Mazda and holy, would give him the swiftness of the feet, the quick hearing of the ears, the strength of the arms, the health of the whole body, the sturdiness of the whole body, and the eye-sight of the male horse, that, in the dark of the night, through the rain, the snow, the hail, or the sleet, from as far as nine districts, can perceive a horse's hair, mingled with the earth, and knows whether it is from the head or from the tail. For her brightness and glory, I will offer unto her a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

11 We sacrifice to the most right Kista, made by Mazda and holy: we sacrifice to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda . . . .

12 To whom Zarathustra did sacrifice for righteousness of thought, for righteousness of speech, for righteousness of deed, and for this boon,

13 That the most right Kista, made by Mazda and holy, would give him the swiftness of the feet, the quick hearing of the ears, the strength of the arms, the health of the whole body, the sturdiness of the whole body, and the eye-sight of the vulture with a golden collar, that, from as far as nine districts, can perceive a piece of flesh, not thicker than a fist, giving just as much light as a needle gives, as the point of a needle gives. For her brightness and glory, I will offer unto her a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

14 We sacrifice to the most right Kista, made by Mazda and holy: we sacrifice to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda . . . .

15 To whom the holy Hvôvi did sacrifice with full knowledge, wishing that the holy Zarathustra would give her his good narcotic, that she might think according to the law, speak according to the law, and do according to the law. For her brightness and glory, I will offer unto her a sacrifice, worth being heard . . . .

16 We sacrifice to the most right Kista, made by Mazda and holy: we sacrifice to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda . . . .

17 To whom the Âthravans, sent afar, did sacrifice, wishing a good memory to preach the law, and wishing strength for their own body. For her brightness and glory, I will offer unto her a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

18 We sacrifice to the most right Kista, made by Mazda and holy: we sacrifice to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda . . . .

19 To whom the king of the country, the lord of the country does sacrifice, wishing peace for his country, wishing strength for his own body. For her brightness and glory, I will offer unto her a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

20 Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . . I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of the most right Kista, made by Mazda and holy, and of the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda.

17. ASHI YAST.

1 We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high, tall-formed, well worthy of sacrifice, with a loud-sounding chariot, strong, welfare-giving, healing, with fulness of intellect, and powerful;

2 The daughter of Ahura Mazda, the sister of the Amesha-Spentas, who endows all the Saoshyants with the enlivening intelligence; she also brings heavenly wisdom at her wish, and comes to help him who invokes her from near and him who invokes her from afar, and worships her with offerings of libations.

3 For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard; I will offer up unto Ashi Vanguhi a good sacrifice with an offering of libations. We sacrifice unto Ashi Vanguhi with the libations; with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the words, with the deeds, with the libations, and with the rightly-spoken words. Yênhê hâtãm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda . . . .

4 We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high, tall-formed, well worthy of sacrifice, with a loud-sounding chariot, strong, welfare-giving, healing, with fulness of intellect, and powerful.

5 Homage unto Haoma, and unto the Mâthra, and unto the holy Zarathustra! Homage unto Haoma, because all other drinks are attended with Aêshma, the fiend of the wounding spear: but the drinking of Haoma is attended with Asha and with Ashi Vanguhi herself.

6 Ashi is fair; Ashi is radiant with joy; she is far-piercing with her rays. Ashi gives good Glory unto those men whom thou dost follow, O Ashi! Full of perfumes is the house in which the good, powerful Ashi Vanguhi puts her . . . . feet, for long friendship.

7 Those men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi! are kings of kingdoms, that are rich in horses, with large tributes, with snorting horses, sounding chariots, flashing swords, rich in aliments and in stores of food; well-scented where the beds are spread and full of all the other riches that may be wished for. Happy the man whom thou dost attend! do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

8 Those men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi Vanguhi! have houses that stand well laid up, rich in cattle, foremost in Asha, and long-supported. Happy the man whom thou dost attend! Do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

9 The men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi Vanguhi! have beds that stand well-spread, well-adorned, well-made, provided with cushions and with feet inlaid with gold. Happy the man whom thou dost attend! Do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

10 The men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi Vanguhi! have their ladies that sit on their beds, waiting for them: they lie on the cushions, adorning themselves, ... , with square bored ear-rings and a necklace of gold: 'When will our lord come? when shall we enjoy in our bodies the joys of love?' Happy the man whom thou dost attend! Do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

11 The men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi Vanguhi! have daughters that sit . . . . ; thin is their waist, beautiful is their body, long are their fingers; they are as fair of shape as those who look on can wish. Happy the man whom thou dost attend! Do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

12 The men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi Vanguhi! have horses swift and loud-neighing; they drive the chariot lightly, they take it to the battle, they bear a gallant praiser (of the gods), who has many horses, a solid chariot, a sharp spear, a long spear, and swift arrows, who hits his aim, pursuing after his enemies, and smiting his foes. Happy the man whom thou dost attend! Do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

13 The men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi Vanguhi! have large-humped, burden-bearing camels, flying from the ground or fighting with holy fieriness. Happy the man whom thou dost attend! Do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

14 The men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi Vanguhi! have hoards of silver and gold brought together from far distant regions; and garments of splendid make. Happy the man whom thou dost attend! Do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

15 Do not turn thy look from me! turn thy mercy towards me, O great Ashi! thou art well-made and of a noble seed; thou art sovereign at thy wish; thou art Glory in a bodily form.

16 Thy father is Ahura Mazda, the greatest of all gods, the best of all gods; thy mother is Ârmaiti Spenta; thy brothers are Sraosha, a god of Asha, and Rashnu, tall and strong, and Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who has ten thousand spies and a thousand ears; thy sister is the Law of the worshippers of Mazda.

17 Praised of the gods, unoffended by the righteous, the great Ashi Vanguhi stood up on her chariot, thus speaking: 'Who art thou who dost invoke me, whose voice is to my ear the sweetest of all that invoked me most?'

18 And he said aloud: 'I am Spitama Zarathustra, who, first of mortals, recited the praise of the excellent Asha and offered up sacrifice unto Ahura Mazda and the Amesha-Spentas; in whose birth and growth the waters and the plants rejoiced; in whose birth and growth the waters and the plants grew; in whose birth and growth all the creatures of the good creation cried out, Hail!

19 'In whose birth and growth Angra Mainyu rushed away from this wide, round earth, whose ends lie afar, and he, the evil-doing Angra Mainyu, who is all death, said: "All the gods together have not been able to smite me down in spite of myself, and Zarathustra alone can reach me in spite of myself.

20 ' "He smites me with the Ahuna Vairya, as strong a weapon as a stone big as a house; he burns me with Asha-Vahista, as if it were melting brass. He makes it better for me that I should leave this earth, he, Spitama Zarathustra, the only one who can daunt me." '

21 And the great Ashi Vanguhi exclaimed: 'Come nearer unto me, thou pure, holy Spitama! lean against my chariot!' Spitama Zarathustra came nearer unto her, he leant against her chariot.

22 And she caressed him with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, thus speaking: 'Thou art beautiful, O Zarathustra! thou art well-shapen, O Spitama! strong are thy legs and long are thy arms: Glory is given to

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thy body and long cheerfulness to thy soul, as sure as I proclaim it unto thee.'

23 We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high, tall-formed, well worthy of sacrifice, with a loud-sounding chariot, strong, welfare-giving, healing, with fulness of intellect and powerful.

24 To her did Haoshyangha, the Paradhâta, offer up a sacrifice, upon the enclosure of the Hara, the beautiful height, made by Mazda,

25 He begged of her a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O great Ashi Vanguhi! that I may overcome all the Daêvas of Mâzana; that I may never fear and bow through terror before the Daêvas, but that all the Daêvas may fear and bow in spite of themselves before me, that they may fear and flee down to darkness.'

26 The great Ashi Vanguhi ran and came to his side: Haoshyangha, the Paradhâta, obtained that boon. For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . . .

27 We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high . . and powerful.

28 To her did Yima Khshaêta, the good shepherd, offer up a sacrifice from the height Hukairya.

29 He begged of her a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O great Ashi Vanguhi! that I may bring fatness and flocks down to the world created by Mazda; that I may bring immortality down to the world created by Mazda;

30 'That I may take away both hunger and thirst, from the world created by Mazda; that I may take away both old age and death, from the world created by Mazda; that I may take away both hot wind and cold wind, from the world created by Mazda, for a thousand years.'

31 The great Ashi Vanguhi ran and came to his side: Yima Khshaêta, the good shepherd, obtained that boon. For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . . .

32 We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high . . . . and powerful.

33 To her did Thraêtaona, the heir of the valiant Âthwya clan, offer up a sacrifice in the four-cornered Varena.

34 He begged of her a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O great Ashi Vanguhi! that I may overcome Azi Dahâka, the three-mouthed, the three-headed, the six-eyed, who has a thousand senses, that most powerful, fiendish Drug, that demon, baleful to the world, the strongest Drug that Angra Mainyu created against the material world, to destroy the world of the good principle; and that I may deliver his two wives, Savanghavâk and Erenavâk, who are the fairest of body amongst women, and the most wonderful creatures in the world.'

35 The great Ashi Vanguhi ran and came to his side. Thraêtaona, the heir of the valiant Âthwya clan, obtained that boon. For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . . .

36 We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high . . . . and powerful.

37 To her did Haoma offer up a sacrifice, Haoma, the enlivening, the healing, the beautiful, the lordly, with golden eyes, upon the highest height of the Haraiti Bareza.

38 He begged of her a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O great Ashi Vanguhi! that I may bind the Turanian murderer, Franghrasyan, that I may drag him bound, that I may bring him bound unto king Husravah, that king Husravah may kill him, behind the Kaêkasta lake, the deep lake of salt waters, to avenge the murder of his father Syâvarshâna, a man, and of Aghraêratha, a semi-man.'

39 The great Ashi Vanguhi ran and came to his side. Haoma, the enlivening, the healing, the beautiful, the lordly, with golden eyes, obtained that boon. For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . . .

40 We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high . . . and powerful.

41 To her did the gallant Husravah, he who united the Aryan nations into one kingdom, offer up a sacrifice, behind the Kaêkasta lake, the deep lake of salt waters.

42 He begged of her a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O great Ashi Vanguhi! that I may kill the Turanian murderer, Franghrasyan, behind the Kaêkasta lake, the deep lake of salt waters, to avenge the murder of my father Syâvarshâna, a man, and of Aghraêratha, a semi-man.'

43 The great Ashi Vanguhi ran and came to his side. The gallant Husravah, he who united the Aryan nations into one kingdom, obtained that boon. For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

44 We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high . . . and powerful.

45 To her did the holy Zarathustra offer up a sacrifice in the Airyana Vaêgah, by the good river Dâitya, with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the speech, with the deeds, with the libations, and with the rightly-spoken words.

46 He begged of her a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O great Ashi Vanguhi! that I may bring the good and noble Hutaosa to think according to the law, to speak according to the law, to do according to the law, that she may spread my law and make it known, that she may bestow beautiful praises upon my deeds.'

47 The great Ashi Vanguhi ran and came to his side: the holy Zarathustra obtained that boon. For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

48 We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high . . . . and powerful.

49 To her did the tall Kavi Vîstâspa offer up a sacrifice behind the waters of the river Dâitya.

50 He begged of her a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O great Ashi Vanguhi! that I may put to flight Asta-aurvant, the son of Vîspô-thaurvô-asti, the all-afflicting, of the brazen helmet, of the brazen armour, of the thick neck, behind whom seven hundred camels . . . .; that I may put to flight the Hvyaona murderer, Aregat-aspa; that I may put to flight Darsinika, the worshipper of the Daêvas;

51 'And that I may smite Tâthravant of the bad law; that I may smite Spingauruska, the worshipper of the Daêvas; and that I may bring unto the good law the nations of the Varedhakas and of the Hvyaonas; and that I may smite of the Hvyaona nations their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads.'

52 The great Ashi Vanguhi ran and came to his side: the tall Kavi Vîstâspa obtained that boon. For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

53 We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high . . . . and powerful.

54 And the great Ashi Vanguhi said: 'None of those libations will be accepted by me, which are sent to me either by a man whose seed is dried out, or by the courtezan who produces untimely issues, or by young boys, or by girls who have known no man. 'When the Turanians and the swift-horsed Naotaras, clapping their hands, ran after me,

55 'I hid myself under the foot of a bull walking under his burden; then young boys, and girls who had known no man, discovered me, even while the Turanians and the swift-horsed Naotaras, clapping their hands, were running after me.

56 'Even I hid myself under the throat of a ram of hundredfold energy: then again young boys, and girls who had known no man, discovered me, even while the Turanians and the swift-horsed Naotaras, clapping their hands, were running after me.'

57 The first wailing of the great Ashi Vanguhi is her wailing about the courtezan who destroys her fruit: 'Stand thou not near her, sit thou not on her bed!'—'What shall I do? Shall I go back to the heavens? Shall I sink into the earth?'

58 The second wailing of the great Ashi Vanguhi is her wailing about the courtezan who brings forth a child conceived of a stranger and presents it to her husband: 'What shall I do? Shall I go back to the heavens? Shall I sink into the earth?'

59 This is the third wailing of the great Ashi Vanguhi: 'This is the worst deed that men and tyrants do, namely, when they deprive maids, that have been barren for a long time, of marrying and bringing forth children. What shall I do? Shall I go back to the heavens? Shall I sink into the earth?'

60 Ahura Mazda answered: 'O fair and wise Ashi, go not back to the heavens, sink not into the earth! Stay here and walk inside the fine kingly palace.'

61 I shall worship thee with such a sacrifice, I shall worship and forward thee with such a sacrifice as Vîstâspa offered unto thee, behind the river Dâitya. The Zoatar lifted up a loud voice, with baresma before him. With that sort of sacrifice shall I worship thee? With that sort of sacrifice shall I worship and forward thee, O fair and wise Ashi? For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard . . . .

62 Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . . I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of Ashi Vanguhi; of the good Kisti; of the good Erethe; of the good Rasâstât; of the Glory and Weal, made by Mazda.

18. ASTAD YAST.

Unto the Glory of the Aryans, made by Mazda, Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification. Yathâ ahû vairyô; The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . .

1 Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying: 'I made the Aryan Glory, rich in food, rich in flocks, rich in wealth, rich in Glory; provided with full store of intelligence, with full store of money, to withstand Need, and to withstand enemies.

2 'It destroys Angra Mainyu, who is all death: it destroys Aêshma, the fiend of the wounding spear; it destroys the yellow Bûshyãsta; it destroys the contagion of Aêkha; it destroys the fiend of death, Apaosha; it destroys the non-Aryan nations.

3 'And I made the great Ashi Vanguhi; she comes in, amid the family; she comes in, inside the fine royal palace.

4 'Let Ashi, with fulness of welfare, follow the man who gladdens the faithful with his gifts! she comes in, inside his family; she comes in, inside his fine royal palace. 'With all sorts of flocks, with all victory, with all intelligence, with all Glory, the great Ashi Vanguhi puts one foot inside his family; she comes in, inside his fine royal palace.

5 'Horses multiply a thousandfold, flocks multiply a thousandfold; and so does his virtuous offspring, (as) the bright, glorious star Tistrya moves on equally, and so does the strong wind made by Mazda, and so does the Glory of the Aryas.

6 'And they bring increase on the tops of all mountains, down the depths of all vales; they bring increase to all the growing plants, the fair, the golden-hued. And they bring (away) the contagion of Aêkha, they bring (away) the fiend of death, Apaosha.

7 'Hail to the bright and glorious star Tistrya! Hail to the strong wind, made by Mazda! Hail to the Glory of the Aryas! 'Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . . 'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good. . . . .

8 'We worship the Ahuna Vairya. 'We worship Asha-Vahista, the fairest Amesha Spenta. 'We worship the rightly-spoken Words, fiend-smiting and healing. 'We worship the healing, well-spoken Words, the fiend-smiting. 'We worship the Mâthra Spenta and the Law of Mazda, and (piety) that delights in Haoma. We worship the Glory of the Aryas. 'Yênhê hâtãm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda . . . .

9 'Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . . 'I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of the Glory of the Aryas, made by Mazda.

19. ZAMYAD YAST.

1 The first mountain that rose up out of the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! was the Haraiti Barez. That mountain stretches all along the shores of the land washed by waters towards the east. The second mountain was Mount Zeredhô, outside Mount Manusha: this mountain too stretches all along the shores of the land washed by waters towards the east.

2 From there grew up Mount Ushi-dhau Ushi-darena, Mount Erezifya, and Mount Fraorepa. The sixth was Mount Erezura. The seventh was Mount Bumya. The eighth was Mount Raoidhita. The ninth was Mount Mazisisvau. The tenth was Mount Antare-danghu. The eleventh was Mount Erezisha. The twelfth was Mount Vâiti-gaêsa.

3 And Mount Âdarana, Mount Bayana, Mount Iskata Upairi-saêna, with the . . . . snows; the two Hamankuna mountains, the eight Vasna mountains, the eight powerful Frâvanku, the four Vidhvana summits;

4 Mount Aêzakha, Mount Maênakha, Mount Vâkhedrakaê, Mount Asaya, Mount Tudhaskaê, Mount Isavaê, Mount Draoshisvau, Mount Sâirivau, Mount Nanghusmau, Mount Kakahyu, Mount Antare-Kangha;

5 Mount Sikidava, Mount Ahuna, Mount Raêmana, Mount Asha-stembana, Mount Urunyô-vâidhkaê, Mount Âsnavant, Mount Ushaoma, Mount Usta-hvarenah, Mount Syâmaka, Mount Vafrayau, Mount Vourusha;

6 Amongst which stand Mount Gatara, Mount Adhutavau, Mount Spitavarena, Mount Spentô-dâta, Mount Kadrva-aspa 2, Mount Kaoirisa, Mount Taêra, Mount Barô-srayana, Mount Barana, Mount Frâpayau, Mount Udrya, and Mount Raêvant, and all those heights to which men have given the name of mount,

7 To the number of two thousand mountains, and two hundred and forty and four, O Spitama Zarathustra!

8 For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto the awful kingly Glory. Unto the awful kingly Glory we offer up the libations, the Haoma and meat, the baresma, the wisdom of the tongue, the holy spells, the speech, the deeds, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words. Yênhê hâtãm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda . . . .

9 We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda; most conquering, highly working, that possesses health, wisdom, and happiness, and is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures;

10 That belongs to Ahura Mazda, as (through it) Ahura Mazda made the creatures, many and good, many and fair, many and wonderful, many and prosperous, many and bright;

11 So that they may restore the world, which will (thenceforth) never grow old and never die, never decaying and never rotting, ever living and ever increasing, and master of its wish, when the dead will rise, when life and immortality will come, and the world will be restored at its wish;

12 When the creation will grow deathless,—the prosperous creation of the Good Spirit,—and the Drug shall perish, though she may rush on every side to kill the holy beings; she and her hundredfold brood shall perish, as it is the will of the Lord.

13 For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice . . . .

14 We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda . . . .

15 That belongs to the Amesha-Spentas, the bright ones, whose looks perform their wish, tall, quickly coming to do, strong, lordly, who are undecaying and holy;

16 Who are all seven of one thought, who are all seven of one speech, who are all seven of one deed; whose thought is the same, whose speech is the same, whose deed is the same,

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whose father and commander is the same, namely, the Maker, Ahura Mazda.

17 Who see one another's soul thinking of good thoughts, thinking of good words, thinking of good deeds, thinking of Garô-nmâna, and whose ways are shining as they go down to the libations;

18 Who are the makers and governors, the shapers and overseers, the keepers and preservers of these creations of Ahura Mazda.

19 It is they who shall restore the world, which will (thenceforth) never grow old and never die, never decaying and never rotting, ever living and ever increasing, and master of its wish, when the dead will rise, when life and immortality will come, and the world will be restored at its wish;

20 When the creation will grow deathless,—the prosperous creation of the Good Spirit,—and the Drug shall perish, though she may rush on every side to kill the holy beings; she and her hundredfold brood shall perish, as it is the will of the Lord. For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice . . . .

21 We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda . . . .

22 That belongs to the gods in the heavens and to those in the material world, and to the blessed ones, born or not yet born, who are to perform the restoration of the world.

23 It is they who shall restore the world, which will (thenceforth) never grow old and never die, never decaying and never rotting, ever living and ever increasing, and master of its wish, when the dead will rise, when life and immortality will come, and the world will be restored at its wish;

24 When the creation will grow deathless,—the prosperous creation of the Good Spirit,—and the Drug shall perish, though she may rush on every side to kill the holy beings; she and her hundredfold brood shall perish, as it is the will of the Lord. For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice . . . .

25 We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda . . . .

26 That clave unto Haoshyangha, the Paradhâta, for a long time, when he ruled over the seven Karshvares of the earth, over the Daêvas and men, over the Yâtus and the Pairikas, over the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf, he who smote two-thirds of the Daêvas of Mâzana and of the Varenya fiends. For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice . . . .

27 We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda . . . .

28 That clave unto Takhma Urupa, the well-armed, while he ruled over the seven Karshvares of the earth, over the Daêvas and men, the Yâtus and Pairikas, the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf;

29 When he conquered all Daêvas and men, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and rode Angra Mainyu, turned into the shape of a horse, all around the earth from one end to the other, for thirty years. For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice . . . .

30 We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda . . . .

31 That clave unto the bright Yima, the good shepherd, for a long time, while he ruled over the seven Karshvares of the earth, over the Daêvas and men, the Yâtus and Pairikas, the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf;

32 He who took from the Daêvas both riches and welfare, both fatness and flocks, both weal and Glory; In whose reign both aliments were never failing for feeding creatures, flocks and men were undying, waters and plants were undrying;

33 In whose reign there was neither cold wind nor hot wind, neither old age nor death, nor envy made by the Daêvas 5, in the times before his lie, before he began to have delight in words of falsehood and untruth.

34 But when he began to find delight in words of falsehood and untruth, the Glory was seen to flee away from him in the shape of a bird. When his Glory had disappeared, then the great Yima Khshaêta the good shepherd, trembled and was in sorrow before his foes; he was confounded, and laid him down on the ground.

35 The first time when the Glory departed from the bright Yima, the Glory went from Yima, the son of Vîvanghant, in the shape of a Vâraghna bird. Then Mithra seized that Glory, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, whose ear is quick to hear, who has a thousand senses. We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of all countries, whom Ahura Mazda has created the most glorious of all the gods in the heavens.

36 The second time when the Glory departed from the bright Yima, the Glory went from Yima, the son of Vîvanghant, in the shape of a Vâraghna bird. Then Thraêtaona seized that Glory, he, the heir of the valiant Âthwya clan, who was the most victorious of all victorious men next to Zarathustra;

37 Who smote Azi Dahâka, the three-mouthed, the three-headed, the six-eyed, who had a thousand senses, that most powerful, fiendish Drug; that demon baleful to the world, the strongest Drug that Angra Mainyu created against the material world, to destroy the world of the good principle.

38 The third time when the Glory departed from the bright Yima, that Glory went from Yima, the son of Vîvanghant, in the shape of a Vâraghna bird. Then the manly-hearted Keresâspa 1 seized that Glory; he who was the sturdiest of the men of strength, next to Zarathustra, for his manly courage.

39 For Manly Courage clave unto him. We worship Manly Courage, firm or foot, unsleeping, quick to rise, and fully awake, that clave unto Keresâspa;

40 Who killed the snake Srvara, the horse-devouring, men-devouring, yellow, poisonous snake, over which yellow poison flowed a thumb's breadth thick. Upon him Keresâspa was cooking his food in a brass vessel: at the time of noon, the fiend felt the heat, and stood upon his feet: he rushed from under the brass vessel and upset the boiling water: the manly-hearted Keresâspa fell back affrighted;

41 Who killed the golden-heeled Gandarewa, that was rushing with open jaws, eager to destroy the living world of the good principle; Who killed the brood of Pathana, all the nine; and the brood of Nivika, and the brood of Dâstayana; Who killed the golden-crowned Hitâspa, and Vareshava, the son of Dâna, and Pitaona, attended by many Pairikas;

42 Who killed Arezô-shamana, him of the manly courage, who was strong, well-beloved, hail, energetically rushing, fully awake, never falling back. . . . ;

43 Who killed Snâvidhaka, him who killed with his nails, the stone-handed: thus did he exclaim to all around: 'I am an infant still, I am not yet of age: if I ever grow of age, I shall make the earth a wheel, I shall make the heavens a chariot;

44 'I shall bring down the Good Spirit from the shining Garô-nmâna; I shall make the Evil Spirit rush up from the dreary Hell. They will carry my chariot, both the Good Spirit and the Evil One, unless the manly-hearted Keresâspa kill me.' The manly-hearted Keresâspa killed him, his life went away, his spirit vanished. For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice . . . .

45 We sacrifice unto the awful Glory, that cannot be forcibly seized, made by Mazda . . . .

46 For which the Good Spirit and the Evil One did struggle with one another: for that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized they flung each of them. their darts most swift. The Good Spirit flung a dart, and so did Vohu-Manô, and Asha-Vahista and Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda. The Evil Spirit flung a dart, and so did Akem-Manô, and Aêshma of the wounding spear, and Azi Dahâka and Spityura, he who sawed Yima in twain.

47 Then forward came Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda, thinking thus in his heart: 'I want to seize that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized.' But Azi Dahâka, the three-mouthed, he of the evil law, rushed on his back, thinking of extinguishing it:

48 'Here give it up to me, O Âtar, son of Ahura Mazda: if thou seizest that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, I shall rush upon thee, so that thou mayest never more blaze on the earth made by Ahura and protect the world of the good principle.' And Âtar took back his hands, as the instinct of life prevailed, so much had Azi affrighted him.

49 Then Azi, the three-mouthed, he of the evil law, rushed forward, thinking thus in his heart: 'I want to seize that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized.' But Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda, advanced behind him, speaking in these words:

50 'There give it up to me, thou three-mouthed Azi Dahâka. If thou seizest that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, then I will enter thy hinder part, I will blaze up in thy jaws, so that thou mayest never more rush upon the earth made by Mazda and destroy the world of the good principle.' Then Azi took back his hands, as the instinct of life prevailed, so much had Âtar affrighted him.

51 That Glory swells up and goes to the sea Vouru-Kasha. The swift-horsed Son of the Waters seizes it at once: this is the wish of the Son of the Waters, the swift-horsed: 'I want to seize that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, down to the bottom of the sea Vouru-Kasha, in the bottom of the deep rivers.'

52 We sacrifice unto the Son of the Waters, the swift-horsed, the tall and shining lord, the lord of females; the male god, who helps one at his appeal; who made man, who shaped man, a god who lives beneath waters, and whose ear is the quickest to hear when he is worshipped.

53 'And whosoever of you, O men,'—thus said Ahura Mazda,—'O holy Zarathustra! shall seize that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, he has the gifts of an Âthravan; whosoever shall long for the illumination of knowledge, he has the gifts of an Âthravan; whosoever shall long for fulness of knowledge, he has the gifts of an Âthravan;

54 'And Riches will cleave unto him, giving him full welfare, holding a shield before him, powerful, rich of cattle and garments; and Victory will cleave unto him, day after day; and likewise Strength, that smites more than a year. Attended by that Victory, he will conquer the havocking hordes; attended by that Victory, he will conquer all those who hate him.' For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice . . . .

55 We sacrifice unto the awful Glory, that cannot be forcibly seized, made by Mazda . . . .

56 Which the Turanian ruffian Frangrasyan tried to seize in the sea Vouru-Kasha. He stripped himself naked, wishing to seize that Glory that belongs to the Aryan nations, born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathustra. But the Glory escaped, the Glory fled away, the Glory changed its seat, and an arm of the sea Vouru-Kasha was produced, namely, that lake that is called Lake Husravah.

57 Then the most crafty Turanian Frangrasyan rushed out of the sea Vouru-Kasha, O Spitama Zarathustra! thinking evil thoughts: '. . . . I have not been able to conquer the Glory that belongs to the Aryan nations, born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathustra.

58 'Then I will defile all corn and liquors, as to greatness, goodness, and fairness.' —'Ahura Mazda will come against thee, ever eager to create new creatures.' Then the most crafty Turanian Frangrasyan rushed down into the sea Vouru-Kasha, O Spitama Zarathustra!

59 A second time he stripped himself naked, wishing to seize that Glory that belongs to the Aryan nations, born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathustra. But the Glory escaped, the Glory fled away, the Glory changed its seat, and an arm of the sea Vouru-Kasha was produced, namely, that lake that is called Lake Vanghazdau.

60 Then the most crafty Turanian Frangrasyan rushed out of the sea Vouru-Kasha, O Spitama Zarathustra! thinking evil thoughts: '. . . . I have not been able to conquer the Glory that belongs to the Aryan nations, born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathustra.

61 'Then I will defile all corn and liquors, as to greatness, goodness, and fairness.' —'Ahura Mazda will come against thee, ever eager to create new creatures.' Then the most crafty Turanian Frangrasyan rushed down into the sea Vouru-Kasha.

62 A third time he stripped himself naked, wishing to seize the Glory that belongs to the Aryan nations, born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathustra. But the Glory escaped, the Glory fled away, the Glory changed its seat, and an arm was produced in the sea Vouru-Kasha, namely, the water that is called Awz-dânva.

63 Then the most crafty Turanian Frangrasyan rushed out of the sea Vouru-Kasha, O Spitama Zarathustra! thinking evil thoughts: '. . . . I have not been able to conquer the Glory that belongs to the Aryan nations, born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathustra!'

64 He was not able to seize the Glory that belongs to the Aryan nations, born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathustra. For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice . . . .

65 We sacrifice unto the awful Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, made by Mazda . . . .

66 That cleaves unto him who grows up there, where lies Lake Kâsava, along with the Haêtumant river; there where stands Mount Ushidhau, surrounded by waters, that run from the mountain.

67 It runs unto him, it flows and swells unto him, bringing good pastures and fine horses, bringing plenty, full of glory; with beauty and weal; powerful and friendly, rich of pastures, prolific and golden. It runs unto him, it flows and swells unto him, bright and glorious, making the white . . . . grow, smiting away all plagues.

68 And there comes with him a horse's strength, there comes with him a camel's strength, there comes with him a man's strength, there comes with him the kingly Glory: and there is in him, O holy Zarathustra! so much of kingly Glory as might extinguish at once all the non-Aryan nations.

69 And then (through it) living creatures may keep away hunger and death, living creatures (may keep away) cold and heat. Such is the kingly Glory, the keeper of the Aryan nations and of the five kinds of animals, made to help the faithful and the Law of the worshippers of Mazda. For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice . . . .

70 We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda . . . .

71 That clave unto Kavi Kavâta, and unto Kavi Aipivôhu, and unto Kavi Usadha, and unto Kavi Arshan, and unto Kavi Pisina, and unto Kavi Byârshan, and unto Kavi Syâvarshan;

72 So that they were all of them brave, all of them strong, all of them healthful, all of them wise, all of them happy in their wishes, all of them powerful kings. For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice . . . .

73 We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda . . . .

74 That clave unto Kavi Husravah for the well-shapen Strength, for the Victory made by Ahura, for the crushing Ascendant; for the righteousness of the law, for the innocence of the law, for the unconquerable power of the law; for the extermination of the enemies at one stroke;

75 And for the vigour of health, for the Glory made by Mazda, for the health of the body, and for a good, virtuous offspring, wise, chief in assemblies, bright, and clear-eyed, that frees [their father] from the pangs [of hell], of good intellect; and for that part in the blessed world that falls to wisdom and to those who do not follow impiety;

76 And for a dominion full of splendour, for a long, long life, and for all boons and remedies;

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77 So that king Husravah [had the lead] all along the long race, and he could not pass through the forest, he, the murderer, who was fiercely striving against him on horseback; the lord Kavi Husravah prevailed over all; he put in bonds Frangrasyan and Keresavazda, to avenge the murder of his father Syâvarshâna, a man, and of Aghraêratha, a semi-man. For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice . . . .

78 We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda . . . .

79 That clave unto the holy Zarathustra, so that he thought according to the Law, spake according to the Law, and did according to the Law; so that he was the holiest in holiness in all the living world, the best-ruling in exercising rule, the brightest in brightness, the most glorious in glory, the most victorious in victory.

80 At his sight the Daêvas rushed away; at his sight the (demoniac) malices were extinguished; at his sight the Gainis drew back their ways from the mortals and, lamenting and wailing, laid violent hands on the Daêvas.

81 And that one prayer, the Ahuna Vairya, which the holy Zarathustra sang and repeated four times, with a song that waxed louder and louder, drove back all the Daêvas beneath the earth, and took off from them sacrifice and prayer.

82 It was it, the Glory of Zarathustra, that the Turanian ruffian Frangrasyan tried to seize to rule over all the Karshvares; round about the seven Karshvares did that ruffian Frangrasyan rush, trying to seize the Glory of Zarathustra. But that Glory escaped to hidden inlets of the sea; and there those two made my will roll on; they entered my will, as it was my wish, Ahura Mazda's, and as it was the wish of the Law of Mazda. For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice . . . .

83 We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda . . . .

84 That clave unto king Vîstâspa, so that he thought according to the Law, spake according to the Law, and did according to the Law; so that he professed that Law, destroying his foes and causing the Daêvas to retire.

85 Who, driving the Drug before him, sought wide room for the holy religion; who, driving the Drug before him, made wide room for the holy religion; who made himself the arm and support of this law of Ahura, of this law of Zarathustra;

86 Who took her, standing bound, from the hands of the Hunus, and established her to sit in the middle [of the world], high ruling, never falling back, holy, nourished with plenty of cattle and pastures, blessed with plenty of cattle and pastures.

87 The valiant king Vîstâspa conquered all enemies, Tâthravant of the evil law, Peshana, the worshipper of the Daêvas, and the fiendish wicked Aregat-aspa and the other wicked Hvyaonas 3. For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice . . . .

88 We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda . . . .

89 That will cleave unto the victorious Saoshyant and his helpers, when he shall restore the world, which will (thenceforth) never grow old and never die, never decaying and never rotting, ever living and ever increasing, and master of its wish, when the dead will rise, when life and immortality will come, and the world will be restored at its wish;

90 When the creation will grow deathless,—the prosperous creation of the Good Spirit,—and the Drug shall perish, though she may rush on every side to kill the holy beings; she and her hundredfold brood shall perish, as it is the will of the Lord. For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice . . . .

91 We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda . . . .

92 When Astvat-ereta shall rise up from Lake Kâsava, a friend of Ahura Mazda, a son of Vîspa-taurvairi, knowing the victorious knowledge. It was that Glory that Thraêtaona bore with him when Azi Dahâka was killed;

93 That Frangrasyan, the Turanian, bore when Drvau was killed, when the Bull was killed; That king Husravah bore when Frangrasyan, the Turanian, was killed; That king Vîstâspa bore, when he victoriously maintained Holiness against the host of the fiends and took off the Drub from the world of the good principle.

94 He, with the eye of intelligence, shall look down upon all the creatures of the Paêsis, her of the evil seed: he shall look upon the whole living world with the eye of plenty, and his look shall deliver to immortality the whole of the living creatures.

95 And there shall his friends come forward, the friends of Astvat-ereta, who are fiend-smiting, well-thinking, well-speaking, well-doing, following the good law, and whose tongues have never uttered a word of falsehood. Before them shall Aêshma of the wounding spear, who has no Glory, bow and flee; he shall smite the most wicked Drug, her of the evil seed, born of darkness.

96 Akem-Manô 6 smites, but Vohu-Manô shall smite him; the Word of falsehood smites, but the Word of truth shall smite it. Haurvatât and Ameretât shall smite both hunger and thirst: Haurvatât and Ameretât shall smite the evil hunger and the evil thirst. The evil-doing Angra Mainyu bows and flees, becoming powerless. For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice . . . .

97 Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . . I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of Mount Ushi-darena, made by Mazda, the seat of holy happiness; of the kingly Glory, made by Mazda; of the Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, made by Mazda.

20. VANANT YAST.

Unto the star Vanant, made by Mazda, Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification. Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . .

1 We sacrifice unto the star Vanant, made by Mazda, the holy and master of holiness. I will sacrifice unto Vanant, strong, invoked by his own name, healing, in order to withstand the accursed and most foul Khrafstras of the most abominable Angra Mainyu.

2 Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . . I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of the star Vanant, made by Mazda. Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good . . . . [Give] unto that man brightness and glory, ... give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

21 AND 22. YAST FRAGMENTS.

(These two Yasts or Yast fragments are known among the Parsis as the Hâdhôkht Nask, though their context does not correspond to any part of the description of that Nask as given in the Dîn-kart [West, Pahlavi Texts, 1, 224].)

21. YAST FRAGMENT.

Yast 21 is a eulogy of the Ashem Vohû prayer, the value of which rises higher and higher, according as the circumstances under which it is being recited are of greater importance.

1 Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the only word in which is contained the glorification of all good things, of all the things that are the offspring of the good principle?'

2 Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the praise of Holiness, O Spitama Zarathustra!

3 'He who recites the praise of Holiness, in the fulness of faith and with a devoted heart, praises me, Ahura Mazda; he praises the waters, he praises the earth, he praises the cattle, he praises the plants, he praises all good things made by Mazda, all the things that are the offspring of the good principle.

4 'For the reciting of that word of truth, O Zarathustra! the pronouncing of that formula, the Ahuna Vairya, increases strength and victory in one's soul and piety.

5 'For that only recital of the praise of Holiness is worth a hundred khshnaothras of the beings of Holiness, when delivered while going to sleep, a thousand when delivered after eating, ten thousand when delivered during cohabitation, or any number when delivered in departing this life.'

6 'What is the one recital of the praise of Holiness that is worth ten others in greatness, goodness, and fairness?

7 Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is that one, O holy Zarathustra! that a man delivers when eating the gifts of Haurvatât and Ameretât, at the same time professing good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and rejecting evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds.'

8 'What is the one recital of the praise of Holiness that is worth a hundred others in greatness, goodness, and fairness?'

9 Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is that one, O holy Zarathustra! that a man delivers while drinking of the Haoma strained for the sacrifice, at the same time professing good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and rejecting evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds.'

10 'What is the one recital of the praise of Holiness that is worth a thousand others in greatness, goodness, and fairness?'

11 Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is that one, O holy Zarathustra! that a man delivers when starting up from his bed or going to sleep again, at the same time professing good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and rejecting evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds.'

12 'What is the one recital of the praise of Holiness that is worth ten thousand others in greatness, goodness, and fairness?'

13 Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is that one, O holy Zarathustra! that a man delivers when waking up and rising from sleep, at the same time professing good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and rejecting evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds.'

14 'What is the one recital of the praise of Holiness that is worth this Karshvare of ours, Hvaniratha, with its cattle and its chariots, without its men, in greatness, goodness, and fairness?'

15 Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is that one, O holy Zarathustra! that a man delivers in the last moments of his life, at the same time professing good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and rejecting evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds.'

16 'What is the one recital of the praise of Holiness that is worth all that is between the earth and the heavens, and this earth, and that luminous space, and all the good things made by Mazda, that are the offspring of the good principle in greatness, goodness, and fairness?'

17 Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is that one, O holy Zarathustra! that a man delivers to renounce evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds.'

YAST 22

(This Yast is a description of the fate that attends the soul of the righteous (§§ 1-18) and the soul of the wicked (§§ 19-37) after death. They spend the first three nights (the sadis or sidôs; cf. Commentaire du Vendîdâd, 13, 55) amongst the highest enjoyments or pains; they are then met by their own conscience in the shape of a beautiful heavenly maiden (or a fiendish old woman), and are brought in four steps up to heaven or down to hell, through the three paradises of Good-Thought, Good-Word, and Good-Deed, or the three hells of Evil-Thought, Evil-Word, and Evil-Deed: there they are praised and glorified by Ahura, or rebuked and insulted by Angra Mainyu, and fed with ambrosia or poison. Similar developments are to be found in Yast 24, 53-65; Ardâ Vîrâf 17; Minokhired 2, 123-194.)

1 Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! 'When one of the faithful departs this life, where does his soul abide on that night?' Ahura Mazda answered:

2 'It takes its seat near the head, singing the Ustavaiti Gâtha and proclaiming happiness: "Happy is he, happy the man, whoever he be, to whom Ahura Mazda gives the full accomplishment of his wishes!" On that night his soul tastes as much of pleasure as the whole of the living world can taste.'

3 —'On the second night where does his soul abide?

4 Ahura Mazda answered: 'It takes its seat near the head, singing the Ustavaiti Gâtha and proclaiming happiness: "Happy is he, happy the man, whoever he be, to whom Ahura Mazda gives the full accomplishment of his wishes!" On that night his soul tastes as much of pleasure as the whole of the living world can taste.'

5 —'On the third night where does his soul abide?

6 Ahura Mazda answered: 'It takes its seat near the head, singing the Ustavaiti Gâtha and proclaiming happiness: "Happy is he, happy the man, whoever he be, to whom Ahura Mazda gives the full accomplishment of his wishes!" On that night his soul tastes as much of pleasure as the whole of the living world can taste.'

7 At the end of the third night, when the dawn appears, it seems to the soul of the faithful one as if it were brought amidst plants and scents: it seems as if a wind were blowing from the region of the south, from the regions of the south, a sweet-scented wind, sweeter-scented than any other wind in the world.

8 And it seems to the soul of the faithful one as if he were inhaling that wind with the nostrils, and he thinks: 'Whence does that wind blow, the sweetest-scented wind I ever inhaled with my nostrils?

9 And it seems to him as if his own conscience were advancing to him in that wind, in the shape of a maiden fair, bright, white-armed, strong, tall-formed, high-standing, thick-breasted, beautiful of body, noble, of a glorious seed, of the size of a maid in her fifteenth year, as fair as the fairest things in the world.

10 And the soul of the faithful one addressed her, asking: 'What maid art thou, who art the fairest maid I have ever seen?'

11 And she, being his own conscience, answers him: 'O thou youth of good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, of good religion, I am thy own conscience! 'Everybody did love thee for that greatness, goodness, fairness, sweet-scentedness, victorious strength and freedom from sorrow, in which thou dost appear to me;

12 'And so thou, O youth of good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, of good religion! didst love me for that greatness, goodness, fairness, sweet-scentedness, victorious strength, and freedom from sorrow, in which I appear to thee.

13 'When thou wouldst see a man making derision and deeds of idolatry, or rejecting (the poor) and shutting his door, then thou wouldst sit singing the Gâthas and worshipping the good waters and Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda, and rejoicing the faithful that would come from near or from afar.

14 'I was lovely and thou madest me still lovelier; I was fair and thou madest me still fairer; I was desirable and thou madest me still more desirable; I was sitting in a forward place and thou madest me sit in the foremost place, through this good thought, through this good speech, through this good deed of thine; and so henceforth men worship me for my having long sacrificed unto and conversed with Ahura Mazda.

15 'The first step that the soul of the faithful man made, placed him in the Good-Thought Paradise; 'The second step that the soul of the faithful man made, placed him in the Good-Word Paradise; 'The third step that the soul of the faithful man made, placed him in the Good-Deed Paradise;

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'The fourth step that the soul of the faithful man made, placed him in the Endless Lights.'

16 Then one of the faithful, who had departed before him, asked him, saying: 'How didst thou depart this life, thou holy man? How didst thou come, thou holy man! from the abodes full of cattle and full of the wishes and enjoyments of love? From the material world into the world of the spirit? From the decaying world into the undecaying one? How long did thy felicity last?'

17 And Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ask him not what thou askest him, who has just gone the dreary way, full of fear and distress, where the body and the soul part from one another.

18 '[Let him eat] of the food brought to him, of the oil of Zaremaya: this is the food for the youth of good thoughts, of good words, of good deeds, of good religion, after he has departed this life; this is the food for the holy woman, rich in good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, well-principled and obedient to her husband, after she has departed this life.'

19 Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! 'When one of the wicked perishes, where does his soul abide on that night?'

20 Ahura Mazda answered: 'It rushes and sits near the skull, singing the Kima Gâtha, O holy Zarathustra! ' "To what land shall I turn, O Ahura Mazda? To whom shall I go with praying?" 'On that night his soul tastes as much of suffering as the whole of the living world can taste.'

21 —'On the second night, where does his soul abide?'

22 Ahura Mazda answered: 'It rushes and sits near the skull, singing the Kima Gâtha, O holy Zarathustra! "To what land shall I turn, O Ahura Mazda? To whom shall I go with praying?" 'On that night his soul tastes as much of suffering as the whole of the living world can taste.'

23 —'On the third night, where does his soul abide?'

24 Ahura Mazda answered: 'It rushes and sits near the skull, singing the Kima Gâtha, O holy Zarathustra! "To what land shall I turn, O Ahura Mazda? To whom shall I go with praying?" 'On that night his soul tastes as much of suffering as the whole of the living world can taste.'

25 At the end of the third night, O holy Zarathustra! when the dawn appears, it seems to the soul of the faithless one as if it were brought amidst snow and stench, and as if a wind were blowing from the region of the north, from the regions of the north, a foul-scented wind, the foulest-scented of all the winds in the world.

26-32 And it seems to the soul of the wicked man as if he were inhaling that wind with the nostrils, and he thinks: 'Whence does that wind blow, the foulest-scented wind that I ever inhaled with my nostrils?'

33 The first step that the soul of the wicked man made laid him in the Evil-Thought Hell; The second step that the soul of the wicked man made laid him in the Evil-Word Hell; The third step that the soul of the wicked man made laid him in the Evil-Deed Hell; The fourth step that the soul of the wicked man made laid him in the Endless Darkness.

34 Then one of the wicked who departed before him addressed him, saying: 'How didst thou perish, O wicked man? How didst thou come, O fiend! from the abodes full of cattle and full of the wishes and enjoyments of love? From the material world into the world of the Spirit? From the decaying world into the undecaying one? How long did thy suffering last?'

35 Angra Mainyu, the lying one, said: 'Ask him not what thou askest him, who has just gone the dreary way, full of fear and distress, where the body and the soul part from one another.

36 'Let him eat of the food brought unto him, of poison and poisonous stench: this is the food, after he has perished, for the youth of evil thoughts, evil words, evil deeds, evil religion after he has perished; this is the food for the fiendish woman, rich in evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds, evil religion, ill-principled, and disobedient to her husband.

37 'We worship the Fravashi of the holy man, whose name is Asmô-hvanvant; then I will worship the Fravashis of the other holy Ones who were strong of faith.

38 'We worship the memory of Ahura Mazda, to keep the Holy Word. 'We worship the understanding of Ahura Mazda, to study the Holy Word. 'We worship the tongue of Ahura Mazda, to speak forth the Holy Word. 'We worship the mountain that gives understanding, that preserves understanding; [we worship it] by day and by night, with offerings of libations well-accepted.

39 'O Maker! how do the souls of the dead, the Fravashis of the holy Ones, manifest themselves?'

40 Ahura Mazda answered: 'They manifest themselves from goodness of spirit and excellence of mind.'

41 Then towards the dawning of the dawn, that bird Parôdars, that bird Karetô-dâsu hears the voice of the Fire.

42 Here the fiendish Bûshyâsta, the long-handed, rushes from the region of the north, from the regions of the north, speaking thus, lying thus: 'Sleep on, O men! Sleep on, O sinners! Sleep on and live in sin.'

23. AFRIN PAIGHAMBAR ZARTUST [Zoroaster].

1 'I am a pious man, who speaks words of blessing.' — 'Thou appearest unto me full of Glory.' And Zarathustra spake unto king Vîstâspa, saying: 'I bless thee, O man! O lord of the country! with the living of a good life, of an exalted life, of a long life. May thy men live long! May thy women live long! May sons be born unto thee of thy own body!

2 'Mayest thou have a son like Gâmâspa, and may he bless thee as (Gâmâspa blessed) Vîstâspa (the lord) of the country! 'Mayest thou be most beneficent, like Mazda! 'Mayest thou be fiend-smiting, like Thraêtaona! 'Mayest thou be strong, like Gâmâspa! 'Mayest thou be well-armed, like Takhma-Urupa!

3 'Mayest thou be glorious, like Yima Khshaêta, the good shepherd! 'Mayest thou be instructed with a thousand senses, like Azi Dahâka, of the evil law! 'Mayest thou be awful and most strong, like Keresâspa! 'Mayest thou be a wise chief of assemblies, like Urvâkhshaya! 'Mayest thou be beautiful of body and without fault, like Syâvarshâna!

4 'Mayest thou be rich in cattle, like an Âthwyanide! 'Mayest thou be rich in horses, like Pourus-aspa! 'Mayest thou be holy, like Zarathustra Spitama! 'Mayest thou be able to reach the Rangha, whose shores lie afar, as Vafra Navâza was! 'Mayest thou be beloved by the gods and reverenced by men!

5 'May ten sons be born of you! In three of them mayest thou be an Âthravan! In three of them mayest thou be a warrior! In three of them mayest thou be a tiller of the ground! And may one be like thyself, O Vîstâspa!

6 'Mayest thou be swift-horsed, like the Sun! 'Mayest thou be resplendent, like the moon! 'Mayest thou be hot-burning, like fire! 'Mayest thou have piercing rays, like Mithra! 'Mayest thou be tall-formed and victorious, like the devout Sraosha!

7 'Mayest thou follow a law of truth, like Rashnu! 'Mayest thou be a conqueror of thy foes, like Verethraghna, made by Ahura! 'Mayest thou have fulness of welfare, like Râma Hvâstra! 'Mayest thou be freed from sickness and death, like king Husravah!

8 'Then the blessing goes for the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones. 'May it happen unto thee according to my blessing! 'Let us embrace and propagate the good thoughts, good words, and good deeds that have been done and that will be done here and elsewhere, that we may be in the number of the good.

24. VISTASP YAST.

1 'I am a pious man, who speaks words of blessing,' thus said Zarathustra to the young king Vîstâspa.—'She appears to me full of Glory, O Zarathustra!'—'O young king Vîstâspa! [I bless thee] with the living of a good life, of an exalted life, of a long life. May thy men live long! May thy women live long! May sons be born unto thee of thy own body!

2 'Mayest thou thyself be holy, like Zarathustra! 'Mayest thou be rich in cattle, like an Âthwyanide! 'Mayest thou be rich in horses, like Pourus-aspa! 'Mayest thou have a good share of bliss, like king Husravah! 'Mayest thou have strength to reach the Rangha, whose way lies afar, as Vafra Navâza did.

3 'May ten sons be born of thy own body! three as Âthravans, three as warriors, three as tillers of the ground! May one of them be like Gâmâspa, that he may bless thee with great and ever greater happiness!

4 'Mayest thou be freed from sickness and death, like Peshô-tanu. 'Mayest thou have piercing rays, like Mithra! 'Mayest thou be warm, like the moon! 'Mayest thou be resplendent, like fire! 'Mayest thou be long-lived, as long-lived as an old man can be!

5 'And when thou hast fulfilled a duration of a thousand years, [mayest thou obtain] the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones! 'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good . . . .

6 'Give him strength and victory! Give him welfare in cattle and bread!' thus said Zarathustra to the young king Vîstâspa! 'Give him a great number of male children, praisers [of God] and chiefs in assemblies, who smite and are not smitten, who smite at one stroke their enemies, who smite at one stroke their foes, ever in joy and ready to help.

7 'Ye gods of full Glory, ye gods of full healing, let your greatness become manifest!'

8 Zarathustra addressed him, saying: 'O young king Vîstâspa! May their greatness become manifest as it is called for! 'Ye Waters, impart and give your Glory to the man who offers you a sacrifice! 'This is the boon we beg (for thee) of Ashi Vanguhi, of Râta, with eyes of love.'

9 Pârendi, of the light chariot, follows: 'Mayest thou become manifest unto him, the young king Vîstâspa! 'May plenty dwell in this house, standing upon high columns and rich in food 10! Thou wilt never offer and give bad food to a priest: for a priest must be to thee like the brightest offspring of thy own blood.'

10 Zarathustra spake unto him: 'O young king Vîstâspa! 'He who supports the Law of the worshippers of Mazda, as a brother or as a friend, he who treats her friendly in any way, looks to keep off want of food from her.'

11 The holy Zarathustra preached that law to Frashaostra and Gâmâspa: 'May ye practise holiness and thrive, O young Frashaostra (and Gâmâspa)!'

12 Thus said Ahura Mazda unto the holy Zarathustra, and thus again did Zarathustra say unto the young king Vîstâspa: 'Have no bad priests or unfriendly priests; for bad priests or unfriendly priests will bring about much harm, and, though thou wish to sacrifice, it will be to the Amesha-Spentas as if no sacrifice had been offered. 'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good . . . .

13 'When I teach thee, that thou mayest do the same to thy son, O Vîstâspa! receive thou well that teaching; that will make thee rich in children and rich in milk; rich in seed, in fat, in milk.

14 'Thus do we announce unto thee, Ahura Mazda, and Sraosha, and Ashi, and the Law of the worshippers of Mazda, with the whole of all her hymns, with the whole of all her deeds, with the whole of her performances; the Law of Mazda, who obtains her wishes, who makes the world grow, who listens to the songs and rejoices the faithful man at his wish; who protects the faithful man, who maintains the faithful man;

15 'From whom come the knowledge of holiness and the increase in holiness of the world of the holy Principle, and without whom 1 no faithful man can know holiness. 'To thee come every Hâvanan, every Âtare-vakhsha, every Frabaretar, every Âberet, every Âsnâtar, every Rathwiskar, every Sraoshâ-varez;

16 'Every priest, every warrior, every husbandman; every master of a house, every lord of a borough, every lord of a town, every lord of a province;

17 'Every youth of good thoughts, good words, good deeds, and good religion; every youth who speaks the right words; every one who performs the next-of-kin marriage; every itinerant priest; every mistress of a house; every wandering priest, obedient to the Law.

18 'To thee come all the performers (of holiness), all the masters of holiness, who, to the number of three and thirty, stand next to Hâvani, being masters of holiness.

19 'May they be fully protected in thee, O young king Vîstâspa! While thou smitest thy adversaries, thy foes, those who hate thee, a hundred times a hundred for a hundred, a thousand times a thousand for a thousand, ten thousand times ten thousand for ten thousand, myriads of myriads for a myriad.

20 'Proclaim thou that word, as we did proclaim it unto thee! 'O Maker of the good world! Ahura Mazda, I worship thee with a sacrifice, I worship and forward thee with a sacrifice, I worship this creation of Ahura Mazda.'

21 The young king Vîstâspa asked Zarathustra: 'With what manner of sacrifice shall I worship, with what manner of sacrifice shall I worship and forward this creation of Ahura Mazda?'

22 Zarathustra answered: 'We will make it known unto thee, O young king Vîstâspa! 'Go towards that tree that is beautiful, high-growing, and mighty amongst the high-growing trees, and say thou these words: "Hail to thee! O good, holy tree, made by Mazda! Ashem Vohû!"'

23 'Let the faithful man cut off twigs of baresma, either one, or two, or three: let him bind them and tie them up according to the rites, being bound and unbound according to the rites. 'The smallest twig of Haoma, pounded according to the rules, the smallest twig prepared for sacrifice, gives royalty to the man (who does it).' Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good . . . .

24 Zarathustra said: 'O young king Vîstâspa! 'Invoke Ahura Mazda, who is full of Glory, Ahura Mazda, and the sovereign Heaven, the boundless Time, and Vayu who works highly.

25 'Invoke the powerful Wind, made by Mazda, and Fate. 'Repeat thou those words, that the god invoked may give thee the boon wished for; that thou, strong, and belonging to the creation of the good Spirit, mayest smite and take away the Drug and watch with full success those who hate thee; smite down thy foes, and destroy at one stroke thy adversaries, thy enemies, and those who hate thee.

26 'Proclaim thou those prayers: they will cleanse thy body from deeds of lust, O young king Vîstâspa! 'I will worship thee, O Fire, son of Ahura Mazda, who art a valiant warrior. He falls upon the fiend Kunda, who is drunken without drinking, upon the men of the Drug, the slothful ones, the wicked Daêva-worshippers, who live in sin.

27 'He 1 trembles at the way made by Time and open both to the wicked and to the righteous. 'They tremble at the perfume of his soul, as a sheep does on which a wolf is falling.

28 'Reciting the whole collection of the Staota Yêsnya 5 prayers brings one up all the way to the blessed Garô-nmâna, the palace beautifully made. That indeed is the way.

29 'That man does not follow the way of the Law, O Zarathustra! who commits the Baodhô-(varsta) crime with a damsel and an old woman,' said Zarathustra to the young king Vîstâspa. 'Let him praise the Law, O Spitama Zarathustra! and long for it and embrace the whole of the Law, as an excellent horse turns back from the wrong way and goes along the right one, smiting the many Druges.

30 'Go forward with praises, go forward the way of the good Mazdean law and of all those who walk in her ways, men and women. 'He who wishes to seize the heavenly reward, will

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seize it by giving gifts to him who holds up (the Law) to us in this world here below . . .

31 'Let him give (the Law) to him who is unfriendly to her, that he may become friendly. 'Wash thy hands with water, not with gômêz, and let thy son, who will be born of thy wife, do the same. 'Thus thy thought will be powerful to smite him, who is not so; thy speech will be powerful to smite him, who is not so; thy deed will be powerful to smite him.

32 ' "Hear me! Forgive me!"—We, the Amesha-Spentas, will come and show thee, O Zarathustra! the way to that world, to long glory in the spiritual world, to long happiness of the soul in Paradise;

33 'To bliss and Paradise, to the Garô-nmâna of Ahura Mazda, beautifully made and fully adorned, when his soul goes out of his body through the will of fate, when I, Ahura Mazda, when I, Ahura Mazda, gently show him his way as he asks for it. 'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good . . . .

34 'They will impart to thee full brightness and Glory. 'They will give him quick and swift horses, and good sons. 'He wishes to go to the Law, the young king Vîstâspa.' Zarathustra said: 'Let him who is unfriendly to her become a follower of the Law of Mazda, such as we proclaim it.

35 'Proclaim thou ever (unto the poor): "Ever mayest thou wait here for the refuse that is brought unto thee, brought by those who have profusion of wealth!" Thus the Drug will not fall upon thee and throw thee away; thou wilt wield kingly power there 5.

36 'The Law of Mazda will not deliver thee unto pain 6. Thou art entreated (for charity) by the whole of the living world, and she is ever standing at thy door in the person of thy brethren in the faith: beggars are ever standing at the door of the stranger, amongst those who beg for bread. 'Ever will that bread be burning coal upon thy head. 'The good, holy Râta, made by Mazda, goes and nurses thy bright offspring.'

37 Zarathustra addressed Vîstâspa, saying: 'O young king Vîstâspa! The Law of Mazda, O my son! will give thy offspring the victorious strength that destroys the fiends. 'Let no thought of Angra Mainyu ever infect thee, so that thou shouldst indulge in evil lusts, make derision and idolatry, and shut (to the poor) the door of thy house.

38 'Âtar thus blesses the man who brings incense to him, being pleased with him and not angry, and fed as he required: "May herds of oxen grow for thee, and increase of sons! May fate and its decrees bring thee the boons thou wishest for! Therefore do thou invoke and praise (me) excellently in this glorious world! That I may have unceasing food, full of the glory of Mazda and with which I am well pleased."

39 'O Mazda! take for thyself the words of our praise: of these words I speak and speak again, the strength and victorious vigour, the power of health and healing, the fulness, increase, and growth. 'Bring it together with the words of hymns up to the Garô-nmâna of Ahura Mazda. He will first enter there. Therefore do thou pronounce these prayers. 'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good . . . .

40 'Converse ye with the Amesha-Spentas,' said Zarathustra unto the young king Vîstâspa, and with the devout Sraosha, and Nairyô-sangha, the tall-formed, and Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda, and the well-desired kingly Glory.

41 'Men with lustful deeds address the body; but thou, all the night long, address the heavenly Wisdom; but thou, all night long, call for the Wisdom that will keep thee awake. 'Three times a day raise thyself up and go to take care of the beneficent cattle.

42 'Of these men may the lordship belong to the wisest of all beings, O Zarathustra! May their lord belong to the wisest, O Zarathustra! Let him show them the way of holiness, let him show them at once the way thereto, which the Law of the worshippers of Mazda enters victoriously. Thus the soul of man, in the joy of perfect holiness, walks over the bridge, known afar, the powerful Kinvat-bridge, the well-kept, and kept by virtue.

43 'How the worlds were arranged was said to thee first, O Zarathustra! Zarathustra said it again to the young king Vîstâspa; therefore do thou praise him 6 who keeps and maintains the moon and the sun. 'He who has little friendship for the Law, I have placed him down below to suffer.'

44 Thus said Angra Mainyu, he who has no Glory in him, who is full of death: 'This is an unbeliever, let us throw him down below; this is a liar, or a traitor to his relatives, and like a mad dog who wounds cattle and men; but the dog who inflicts wounds pays for it as for wilful murder. 'The first time he shall smite a faithful man, the first time he shall wound a faithful man, he shall pay for it as for wilful murder. 'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good . . . .

45 'Mayest thou receive, O holy young king Vîstâspa! (a house) with a hundred . . ., ten thousand large windows, ten thousand small windows, all the year long, O holy Vîstâspa! never growing old, never dying, never decaying, never rotting, giving plenty of meat, plenty of food, plenty of clothes to the other worshippers of Mazda.

46 'May all boons be bestowed upon thee, as I proclaim it unto thee! May the Amesha-Spentas impart to thee their brightness and glory and plenty! May they give him quick and swift horses and good sons, strong, great in all things, powerful to sing the hymns.

47 'He wields his power according to the wish of Ahura Mazda, the Good Spirit, and for the destruction of the Evil Spirit, whichever of two men goes quicker to perform a sacrifice (to Ahura); but if he chooses to perform the sacrifice and prayer to us not in the right way, he does not wield the right power, he will not reign.

48 'He will receive bad treatment in the next world, though he has been the sovereign of a country, with good horses to ride and good chariots to drive. Give royalty to that man, O Zarathustra! who gives royalty unto thee with good will.

49 'Thou shalt keep away the evil by this holy spell: "Of thee [O child!] I will cleanse the birth and growth; of thee [O woman!] I will make the body and the strength pure; I make thee a woman rich in children and rich in milk; a woman rich in seed, in milk, and in offspring. For thee I shall make springs run and flow towards the pastures that will give food to the child."

50 'Do not deliver me into the hands of the fiend; if the fiend take hold of me, then fever with loss of all joy will dry up the milk of the good Spenta-Ârmaiti. The fiend is powerful to distress, and to dry up the milk of the woman who indulges in lust and of all females.

51 'The perfume of fire, pleasant to the Maker, Ahura Mazda, takes them 1 away from afar; . . . .; and all those that harm the creation of the Good Spirit are destroyed;

52 'Whom Mithra, and Rashnu Razista, and the Law of the worshippers of Mazda wish to be taken far away, longing for a man who is eager to perform and does perform the ceremonies he has been taught; . . . 'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good . . . .

53 'The words of the Vahistôisti Gâtha are to be sung: "Happy is he, O holy Vîstâspa! happy the man, whoever he be, to whom Ahura Mazda gives the full accomplishment of his wishes." 'Where does his soul abide on that night?'

54 Ahura Mazda answered: 'O my son, Frashaostra! It takes its seat near the head, singing the Ustavaiti Gâtha and proclaiming happiness: "Happy is he, happy the man whoever he be!" 'On the first night, his soul sits in Good Words 8; on the second night, it sits in Good Deeds; on the third night, it goes along the ways (to Garô-nmâna).

55 'At the end of the third night, O my son, Frashaostra! when the dawn appears, it seems to the soul of the faithful one as if it were brought amidst plants [and scents: it seems as if a wind were blowing from the region of the south, from the regions of the south], a sweet-scented wind, sweeter-scented than any other wind in the world, and it seems to his soul as if he were inhaling that wind with the nose, and it asks, saying: "Whence does that wind blow, the sweetest-scented wind I ever inhaled with my nose?"

56 'And it seems to him as if his own conscience were advancing to him in that wind, in the shape of a maiden fair, bright, white-armed, strong, tall-formed, high-standing, thick-breasted, beautiful of body, noble, of a glorious seed, of the size of a maid in her fifteenth year, as fair as the fairest things in the world.

57 'And the soul of the faithful one addressed her, asking: "What maid art thou, who art the fairest maid I have ever seen?"

58 'And she, being his own conscience, answers him: "O thou youth, of good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, of good religion! I am thy own conscience. "Everybody did love thee for that greatness, goodness, fairness, sweet-scentedness, victorious strength, and freedom from sorrow, in which thou dost appear to me; [and so thou, O youth of good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, of good religion! didst love me for that greatness, goodness, fairness, sweet-scentedness, victorious strength, and freedom from sorrow, in which I appear to thee.]

59 [' "When thou wouldst see a man] making derision and deeds of idolatry, or rejecting (the poor) and shutting (his door), then, thou wouldst sit, singing the Gâthas, and worshipping the good waters, and Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda, and rejoicing the faithful that would come from near or from afar.

60 ' "I was lovely, and thou madest me still lovelier; I was fair, and thou madest me still fairer; I was desirable, and thou madest me still more desirable; I was sitting in a forward place, and thou madest me sit in the foremost place, through this good thought, through this good speech, through this good deed of thine; and so henceforth men worship me for my having long sacrificed unto and conversed with Ahura Mazda."

61 'The first step that the soul of the faithful man made, placed him in the Good-Thought Paradise; the second step that the soul of the faithful man made, placed him in the Good-Word Paradise; the third step that the soul of the faithful man made, placed him in the Good-Deed Paradise; the fourth step that the soul of the faithful man made, placed him in the Endless Light.

62 'Then one of the faithful, who had departed before him, asked, saying: "How didst thou depart this life, thou holy man? How didst thou come, thou holy man! from the abodes full of cattle and full of the wishes and enjoyments of love? from the material world into the world of the spirit? from the decaying world into the undecaying one? How long did thy felicity last?" '

63 And Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ask him not what thou askest him, who has just gone the dreary way, full of fear and distress, when the body and the soul part from one another.

64 '[Let him eat] of the food brought to him, of the oil of Zaremaya: this is the food for the youth of good thoughts, of good words, of good deeds, of good religion, after he has departed this life; this is the food for the holy woman, rich in good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, well-principled, and obedient to her husband, after she has departed this life.'

65 Spitama Zarathustra said to the young king Vîstâspa: 'To what land shall I turn, O Ahura Mazda? To whom shall I go with praying?

NYAYIS (The Prayers of Praise).

(A Nyâyis is properly a begging prayer, as opposed to Sitâyis, a prayer of praise. It is a term particularly applied to five prayers addressed to the Sun, to Mithra, to the Moon, to Waters, and to Fire. Every layman over eight years old is bound to recite the Nyâyis: he recites it standing and girded with his Kôstî. The Sun Nyâyis is recited three times a day, at the rising of the sun (Gâh Hâvan), at noon (Gâh Rapitvin), and at three o'clock in the afternoon (Gâh Uzîren). The Mithra Nyâyis is recited with the Sun Nyâyis, as Mithra follows the sun in its course. The Moon Nyâyis is recited three times a month: first, at the time when it begins to be seen; second, when it is at the full; third, when it is on the wane. The Waters Nyâyis and the Fire Nyâyis are recited every day, when one finds oneself in the proximity of those elements. The Fire Nyâyis is recited with the Penôm on. The first four Nyâyis must be recited especially on the days over which the Izads invoked preside; that is to say, on the Khôrshêd, Mihir, Mâh, and Âbân days - that is the eleventh, sixteenth, twelfth, and tenth days of the month.)

1. KHORSHED NYAYIS.

1 [Hail unto the Sun, the swift-horsed! May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!] Hail unto thee, O Ahura Mazda, in the threefold way! [Hail unto thee] before all other creatures! Hail unto you, O Amesha-Spentas, who are all of you of one accord with the Sun! May this prayer come unto Ahura Mazda! May it come unto the Amesha-Spentas! May it come unto the Fravashis of the holy Ones! May it come unto the Sovereign Vayu of the long Period!

2 [Hail unto the Sun, the swift-horsed!] May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced! May Angra Mainyu be destroyed! by those who do truly what is the foremost wish (of God). I recite the 'Praise of Holiness:'

3 I praise well-thought, well-spoken, and well-done thoughts, words, and deeds. I embrace all good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; I reject all evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds.

4 I give sacrifice and prayer unto you, O Amesha-Spentas! even with the fulness of my thoughts, of my words, of my deeds, and of my heart: I give unto you even my own life. I recite the 'Praise of Holiness:' 'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good. Well is it for it, well is it for that holiness which is perfection of holiness!'

5 Hail to Ahura Mazda! Hail to the Amesha-Spentas! Hail to Mithra, the lord of wide pastures! Hail to the Sun, the swift-horsed! Hail to the two eyes of Ahura Mazda! Hail to the Bull! Hail to Gaya! Hail to the Fravashi of the holy Spitama Zarathustra! Hail to the whole of the holy creation that was, is, or will be! May I grow in health of body through Vohu-Manô, Khshathra, and Asha, and come to that luminous space, to that highest of all high things, when the world, O Spenta Mainyu! has come to an end! Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good . . . .

6 We sacrifice unto the bright, undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun. We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who is truth-speaking, a chief in assemblies, with a thousand ears, well-shapen, with ten thousand eyes, high, with full knowledge, strong, sleepless, and ever awake.

7 We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of all countries, whom Ahura Mazda made the most glorious of all the gods in the world unseen. So may Mithra and Ahura, the two great gods, come to us for help! We sacrifice unto the bright, undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.

8 We sacrifice unto Tistrya, whose sight is sound. We sacrifice unto Tistrya; we sacrifice unto the rains of Tistrya. We sacrifice unto Tistrya, bright and glorious. We sacrifice unto the star Vanant, made by Mazda. We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star. We sacrifice unto the sovereign sky. We sacrifice unto the boundless Time. We sacrifice unto the sovereign Time of the long Period. We sacrifice unto the beneficent, well-doing Wind. We sacrifice unto the most upright Kista, made by Mazda and holy. We sacrifice unto the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda. We sacrifice unto the way of content. We sacrifice unto the golden instrument. We sacrifice unto Mount Saokanta, made by Mazda.

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9 We sacrifice unto all the holy gods of the world unseen. We sacrifice unto all the holy gods of the material world. We sacrifice unto our own soul. We sacrifice unto our own Fravashi. We sacrifice unto the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the holy Ones. We sacrifice unto the bright, undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.

10 I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra . . . . Unto the bright, undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun; Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification . . . . Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good . . . . [We sacrifice] unto the Ahurian waters, the waters of Ahura, with excellent libations, with finest libations, with libations piously strained. Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good . . . . [Give] unto that man brightness and glory, give him health of body, ... give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

2. MIHIR NYAYIS.

[text lost] . . . . We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who is truth-speaking, a chief in assemblies, with a thousand ears, well-shapen, with ten thousand eyes, high, with full knowledge, strong, sleepless, and ever awake.

7 We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of all countries, whom Ahura Mazda made the most glorious of all the heavenly gods. So may Mithra and Ahura, the two great gods, come to us for help! We sacrifice unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.

8 We sacrifice unto Tistrya, whose sight is sound . . . .

9 We sacrifice unto all the holy gods of the world unseen . . . .

10 I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra . . . .

11 We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who is truth-speaking, a chief in assemblies, with a thousand ears, well-shapen, with a thousand eyes, high, with full knowledge, strong, sleepless, and ever awake. We sacrifice unto the Mithra around countries; We sacrifice unto the Mithra within countries; We sacrifice unto the Mithra in this country; We sacrifice unto the Mithra above countries; We sacrifice unto the Mithra under countries; We sacrifice unto the Mithra before countries; We sacrifice unto the Mithra behind countries.

12 We sacrifice unto Mithra and Ahura, the two great, imperishable, holy gods; and unto the stars, and the moon, and the sun, with the trees that yield baresma. We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of all countries.

3. MAH NYAYIS.

1 Hail to Ahura Mazda! Hail to the Amesha-Spentas! Hail to the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull! Hail to thee when we look at thee! Hail to thee when thou lookest at us!

2 Unto the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull; unto the only-created Bull and unto the Bull of many species; Be propitiation . . . .

3 Hail to Ahura Mazda! . . . .

4 How does the moon wax? How does the moon wane? . . . .

5 We sacrifice unto the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull . . . .

6 And when the light of the moon waxes warmer . . . .

7 I will sacrifice unto the Moon . . . .

8 For its brightness and glory . . . .

9 Yathâ aha vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . .

10 Give us strength and victory! Give us welfare in cattle and in bread! Give us a great number of male children, praisers [of God] and chiefs in assemblies, who smite and are not smitten, who smite at one stroke their enemies, who smite at one stroke their foes, ever in joy and ready to help.

11 Ye gods of full Glory, ye gods of full healing, let your greatness become manifest! let your assistance become manifest as soon as you are called for! and ye, Waters, manifest your Glory, and impart it to the man who offers you a sacrifice. Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good . . . . [Give] unto that man brightness and glory, ... give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

4. ABAN NYAYIS.

1 May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced! . . . . Unto the good Waters, made by Mazda; unto the holy water-spring ARDVI ANÂHITA; unto all waters, made by Mazda; unto all plants, made by Mazda, Be propitiation . . . .

2 Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying: 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . . .

3 'Who makes the seed of all males pure, who makes the womb of all females pure for bringing forth . . . .

4 'The large river, known afar, that is as large as the whole of the waters that run along the earth . . . .

5 'All the shores of the sea Vouru-Kasha are boiling over, all the middle of it is boiling over, when she runs down there . . . .

6 'From this river of mine alone flow all the waters that spread all over the seven Karshvares;

7 'I, Ahura Mazda, brought it down with mighty vigour, for the increase of the house, of the borough, of the town, of the country.

8 'He from whom she will hear the staota yêsnya; he from whom she will hear the Ahuna vairya; he from whom she will hear the Asha-vahista; he by whom the good waters will be made pure; with the words of the holy hymns, he will enter first the Garô-nmâna of Ahura Mazda: she will give him the boons asked for.

9 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard; I will offer her a sacrifice well-performed. Thus mayest thou advise us when thou art appealed to! Mayest thou be most fully worshipped. 'We sacrifice unto the holy Ardvi Sûra Anâhita with libations. We sacrifice unto Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, the holy and master of holiness, with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the words, with the deeds, with the libations, and with the rightly-spoken words. 'Yênhê hâtâm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda . . . .

10 Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . . 'I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of the holy water-spring Anâhita. '[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, ... give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.'

5. ATAS NYAYIS

1 Take me out, O Ahura! give me perfect piety and strength . . . . [text lost]

4 May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced! . . . . Hail unto thee, O Fire, son of Ahura Mazda, thou beneficent and most great Yazata! Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good . . . . I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda . . . . For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification . . . . Unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda; unto thee Âtar, son of Ahura Mazda!

5 Unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda; unto the Glory and the Weal, made by Mazda; unto the Glory of the Aryas, made by Mazda; unto the Glory of the Kavis, made by Mazda. Unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda; unto king Husravah; unto the lake of Husravah; unto Mount Âsnavant, made by Mazda; unto Lake Kaêkasta, made by Mazda; unto the Glory of the Kavis, made by Mazda.

6 Unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda; unto Mount Raêvant, made by Mazda; unto the Glory of the Kavis, made by Mazda. Unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda. Unto Âtar, the beneficent, the warrior; the God who is a full source of Glory, the God who is a full source of healing. Unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda, with all Âtars; unto the God Nairyô-sangha, who dwells in the navel of kings; Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification. Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . .

7 I bless the sacrifice and invocation, and the good offering, the beneficent offering, the offering of assistance offered unto thee, O Âtar, son of Ahura Mazda! Thou art worthy of sacrifice and invocation; mayest thou receive the sacrifice and the invocation in the houses of men. Well may it be unto the man who ever worships thee with a sacrifice, holding the sacred wood in his hand, the baresma in his hand, the meat in his hand, the mortar in his hand.

8 Mayest thou have the right wood! Mayest thou have the right incense! Mayest thou have the right food! Mayest thou have the right fuel! Mayest thou be full-grown for protecting (this house)! Mayest thou grow excellent for protecting!

9 Mayest thou burn in this house! Mayest thou ever burn in this house! Mayest thou blaze in this house! Mayest thou increase in this house! Even for a long time, till the powerful restoration of the world, till the time of the good, powerful restoration of the world!

10 Give me, O Âtar, son of Ahura Mazda! lively welfare, lively maintenance, lively living; fulness of welfare, fulness of maintenance, fulness of life; Knowledge, sagacity; quickness of tongue; (holiness of) soul; a good memory; and then the understanding that goes on growing and the one that is not acquired through learning; And then the manly courage,

11 Firm-footed, unsleeping, (sleeping only) for a third part of the day and of the night, quick to rise up from bed, ever awake; And a protecting, virtuous offspring, able to rule countries and assemblies of men, well growing up, good, freeing us from the pangs (of hell), endowed with a good intellect, that may increase my house, my borough, my town, my country, my empire.

12 Give me, O Âtar, son of Ahura Mazda! however unworthy I am 1, now and for ever, a seat in the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones. May I obtain the good reward, a good renown, and long cheerfulness for my soul!

13 Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda, lifts up his voice to all those for whom he cooks their evening meal and their morning meal. From all those he wishes a good offering, a beneficent offering, an offering of assistance, O Spitama!

14 Âtar looks at the hands of all those who pass by: 'What does the friend bring to his friend? What does he who comes and goes bring to him who stays motionless?' We sacrifice unto Âtar, the valiant warrior.

15 And if the passer-by brings him wood holily brought, or bundles of baresma holily tied up, or twigs of Hadhânaêpata 1 then Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda, well pleased with him and not angry, and fed as required, will thus bless him:

16 'May herds of oxen grow for thee, and increase of sons; may thy mind be master of its vow, may thy soul be master of its vow, and mayest thou live on in the joy of the soul all the nights of thy life.' This is the blessing which Âtar speaks unto him who brings him dry wood, well-examined by the light of the day, well-cleansed with godly intent.

17 Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . . . I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda . . . . Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good . . .

18 We gladden by our virtue thy mighty Fire, O Ahura! thy most quick and powerful Fire, who shows his assistance to him who has ever comforted him, but delights in taking vengeance with his hands on the man who has harmed him.

THE ZEND AVESTA, PART 3

Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 31

Translation: Lawrence Heyworth Mills, 1887

THE GATHAS

(The Gathas are 17 Avestan hymns believed to have been composed by Zarathusthra (Zoroaster) himself. They form the core of the Zoroastrian liturgy (the Yasna). They are arranged in five different modes or metres. The Avestan term Gatha ("hymn", but also "mode, metre") is cognate with Sanskrit verb gatha ("to sing").

Structure and organisation

The Gathas are in verse, metrical in the nature of ancient Iranian religious poetry, which is extremely terse (or brief), and in which grammatical constructs are an exception. The 17 hymns of the Gathas consist of 238 stanzas, of about 1300 lines or 6000 words in total. They were later incorporated into the 72-chapter Yasna (chapter: ha or had, from the Avestan ha'iti, 'cut'), which in turn is the primary liturgical collection of texts within the greater compendium of the Avesta. The 17 hymns are identified by their chapter numbers in the Yasna, and are divided into these major sections:

Yasna 28–34 / "The Ahunavaiti Gatha": (cf. Ahuna Vairya), 100 stanzas, (3 verses, 7+9 syllable metre) Yasna 43–46 / "The Ushtavaiti Gatha": 'Having Happiness', 66 stanzas (5 verses, 4+7 syllable metre)

Yasna 47–50 / "The Spenta Mainyu Gatha": 'Bounteous Spirit', 41 stanzas (4 verses, 4+7 syllable metre)

Yasna 51 / "The Vohu Khshathra Gatha": 'Good Dominion', 22 stanzas (3 verses, 7+7 syllable metre)

Yasna 53 / "The Vahishto Ishti Gatha": 'Best Beloved', 9 stanzas (4 verses, two of 7+5 and two of 7+7+5 syllables)

Yasna 54 / "The Airyaman ishya Gatha": 'The invocation of the divinity Airyaman'

(Note: stanza: In poetry, a stanza; from Italian stanza ("room") is a grouped set of lines within a poem, usually set off from other stanzas by a blank line or indentation. Stanzas can have regular rhyme and metrical schemes, though stanzas are not strictly required to have either.

metre: In poetry, "metre" (or "meter") means the rhythmic patterns in a verse. The units of poetic metre, like rhyme, vary from language to language and between poetic traditions. As, through translation, the original metre had been lost, we will not display metres or rhymes in a particular visible way. The Grand Bible focusses on content rather than style.)

With the exception of Ahunavaiti Gatha, which is named after the Ahuna Vairya prayer (Yasna 27, not in the Gathas), the names of the Gathas reflect the first word(s) of the first hymn within them. The metre of the hymns is historically related to the Vedic tristubh-jagati family of metres. Hymns of these meters are recited, not sung.

The sequential order of the Gathas is structurally interrupted by the Yasna Haptanghaiti ("seven-chapter Yasna", chapters 35–41, linguistically as old as the Gathas but in prose) and by two other minor hymns at Yasna 42 and 52.

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As to the general benefit which has resulted from Zarathustrianism in the past, few reflections need to be added. If the mental illumination and spiritual elevation of many millions of mankind, throughout long periods of time, are of any importance, it would require strong proof to deny that Zarathustrianism has had an influence of very positive power in determining the gravest results. That men should be taught to look within rather than without, to believe that suffering and sin do not originate from the capricious power of a Deity still called 'good,' that the 'good thought, word, and deed' should be recognised as essential to all sanctity, even in the presence of a superstitious ceremonial, that a judgement should have been expected according to the deeds done in the body, and the soul consigned to a Heaven of virtue or to a Hell of vice, its recompense being pronounced by the happy or stricken conscience, these can never be regarded by serious historians as matters of little moment, and if, on the contrary, they are allowed to be matters of great moment, the Zend-Avesta should be revered and studied by all who value the records of the human race.

THE GÂTHAS.

THE five Gâthas of Zarathustra and his immediate followers are placed here before the other parts of the Yasna on account of their higher antiquity. There existed no other Yasna for years or centuries beside them.

The more remarkable circumstances connected with them have been already discussed in the Introduction.

If it is necessary to recall any of them here, the most prominent would be that they are undoubtedly the productions of a small group of influential men who are referred to in them for the most part by name; that Zarathustra, everywhere else nearly or quite a demi-god, is here a struggling and suffering man. He is a prophet, or a divinely appointed instructor, but thoroughly human and real, so far as his situations become apparent.

Secondly, their historical tone may be emphasised. Their doctrines and exhortations concern an actual religious movement taking place contemporaneously with their composition; and that movement was exceptionally pure and most earnest. Their tone is therefore everywhere serious. Nearly all myths are dropped, and likewise, as perhaps their most striking peculiarity, even the old Aryan gods, who reappear in the later Yasna, Vendîdâd, and Yasts, are, save one, wholly absent.

The movement in its reformatory character seems to have thrown them out, not perhaps with definite intention, but because the minds of the devout enthusiasts excluded them as having inferior interest, in view of the results immediately before them.

So far as a claim to a high position among the curiosities of ancient moral lore is concerned, the reader may trust himself freely to the impression that he has before him an anthology which was probably composed with as fervent a desire to benefit the spiritual and moral natures of those to whom it was addressed as any which the world had yet seen. Nay, he may provisionally accept the opinion that nowhere else are such traces of intelligent religious earnestness to be found as existing at the period of the Gâthas or before them, save in the Semitic scriptures.

As to their speculative depth; wherever theosophical speculation is put into words, the evidence of their grasp and subjectivity becomes positive. As the extent of documents necessarily produces a certain impression upon the mind of an investigator, it must not be forgotten that the Gâthas were in all probability many times more voluminous than the fragments which now remain to us. The historian may argue from what has survived to what once existed, and the inevitable conclusion is imposing.

For additional details see the Introduction, and the summaries at the head of each Gâtha and chapter.

THE GÂTHA(Â) AHUNAVAITI(Î).

This Gâtha, consisting of seven chapters of the Yasna (28-34), takes its name from the similarity of its metre to that of the Ahuna-vairya formula which also occurs before it in the Yasna. It is composed of homogeneous material. but as its material is also homogeneous with that of the other Gâthas, it probably owes its existence as a group of sections to its metrical form. Its lines were intended to number sixteen syllables, and they are put together in stanzas of three. It is all very ancient and probably nearly all original with Zarathustra himself, though parts seem to be put into the mouths of his immediate associates and disciples. Whether any persons existed in the immediate circle of the sage capable of composing hymns like these unaided, is of course a question; but that some were able to put poetical matter together under his guidance or inspiration seems certain.

An analysis and general summary is placed before each chapter as more convenient than massing them all together. The reader is reminded that the rhythm of the original, so far as it could be reasonably conjectured, is somewhat imitated in parts of the translations.)

THE GATHAS.

YASNA 29

THE WAIL OF THE KINE. THE CALL OF ZARATHUSTRA. HIS PRAYER FOR AID.

(Homage to you, O Sacred Gâthas!)

1. Unto you (O Ahura and Asha!) the Soul of the Kine (our sacred herds and folk) cried aloud: For whom did ye create me, and by 1 whom did ye fashion me? On me comes the assault of wrath, and of violent power, the blow of desolation, audacious insolence, and (thievish) might. None other pasture-giver have I than you, therefore do ye teach me good (tillage) for the fields (my only hope of welfare)!

Ahura speaks.

2 Upon this the Creator 6 of the Kine (the holy herds) asked of Righteousness: How (was) thy guardian for the Kine (appointed) by thee when, as having power (over all her fate), ye made her? (In what manner did ye secure) for her, together with pasture, a cattle-chief who was both skilled and likewise energetic? Whom did ye select as her (life's) master who might hurl back the fury of the wicked?

Asha answers.

3 To Him the (Divine Righteousness) answered with his sanctity. (Great was our perplexity); a chieftain who war capable of smiting back (their fury), and who was himself without hate (was not to be obtained by us); among such things as these, those things are not to be known (by beings such as we) which are the influences which approach (and move) the lofty fires (revealing the favour and the will of God).

Of beings He is the mightiest to whom those who have performed their actions approach with invocations. (He has no need to ask!)

Zarathustra intervenes.

4 The Great Creator (is himself) most mindful of the uttered indications which have been fulfilled beforehand hitherto in the deeds of demon-gods and (good or evil) men, and of those which shall be fulfilled by them hereafter. He Ahura is the discerning arbiter; so shall it be to us as He shall will!

5 Therefore it is that we both, my soul and (the soul) of the mother Kine, (are) making our supplications for the two worlds to Ahura, and with hands stretched out in entreaty, when (we pray to the Great Creator with questions in our doubt; (and He will answer).

Not for the righteous liver, not for the thrifty (tiller of the earth), shall there be destruction together with the wicked!

Ahura.

6 Upon this the Lord, the Great Creator, He who understands the mysterious grace by His insight, spake thus. Not in this manner is a spiritual master found for us, nor a chieftain moved by Righteousness and appointed (in its spirit); therefore Thee have I named 8 (as such a head) to the diligent tiller of the ground!

The Ameshôspends.

7 Mazda has created the inspired Word-of-reason which is a Mâthra of fatness (for the offering), the (Divine) Righteousness consenting with Him in his deed. Food he has prepared for the Kine and for the eaters, He the one bountiful with his (saving) doctrine; but whom hast Thou, endowed with the Good Mind, who may give forth those (doctrines) by word of mouth to mortals?

Ahura.

8 This man is found for me here who alone has hearkened to our enunciations, Zarathustra Spitama! Our mighty and completed acts of grace he desires to enounce for us, for (Me), the Great Creator and for Righteousness; wherefore I will give him the good abode (and authoritative place) of such an one as speaks!

The Geus Urvan.

9 Upon this the Soul of the Kine lamented (: Woe is unto me) since (I have obtained for myself) in my wounding a lord who is powerless to effect (his) wish, the (mere) voice of a feeble and pusillanimous man, whereas I desire one who is lord over his will (and able as one of royal state to bring what he desires to effect).

The Ameshôspends.

((Aye,) when shall he ever appear who may bring to her help strong-handed?)

Zarathustra.

10 Do ye, O Ahura and thou, O Righteousness! grant gladness unto these (our disciples), and the sovereign Kingdom (of the Deity) such as (is established) in (His) Good Mind by which one bestows upon them the peaceful amenities of home and quiet happiness (as against the fearful ravages which they suffer), for of these, O Great Creator! I ever thought Thee first possessor!

11 And when shall the (Divine) Righteousness, the Good Mind (of the Lord, and His) Sovereign Power (come) hastening to me (to give me strength for my task and mission), O Great Creator, the Living Lord! (For without his I cannot advance or undertake my toil.) Do ye now therefore assign unto us your aid and in abundance for our great cause. May we be (partakers) of the bountiful grace of these your equals 2 (your counsellors and servants)!

YASNA 28

PRAYERS CHIEFLY FOR GRACE AND FOR THE WORDS OF REVELATION.

1 (A strengthening blessing is the thought, a blessing is the word, a blessing is the deed of the righteous Zarathustra. May

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the Bountiful Immortals accept and help on the chants. Homage to you, O sacred Gâthas!)

2 With venerating (desire) for this (gift) of gracious help, O Mazda, and stretching forth my hands (to Thee) I pray for the first (blessing) of (Thy) bountiful Spirit; (that is, I beseech of Thee that my) actions (toward) all (may be performed) in (the Divine) Righteousness; and with this I implore from Thee the understanding of Thy Benevolent Mind, in order that I may propitiate the Soul of the Kine 1 (our herds and folk, which cries so bitterly to Thee).

3 And therefore, O Great Creator, the Living Lord! (inspired) by Thy Benevolent Mind, I approach You 2, (and beseech of Thee) to grant me (as a bountiful gift) for both the worlds, the corporeal and (for that) of mind, those attainments which are to be derived from the (Divine) Righteousness, and by means of which (that personified Righteousness 4 within us) may introduce those who are its recipients into beatitude and glory!

4 O (thou Divine) Righteousness, and thou Benevolent Mind (of Deity)! I will worship you, and Ahura Mazda the first 1, for all of whom the Pious ready mind (within us) is causing the imperishable Kingdom to advance. (And while I thus utter my supplications to You), come Ye to my calls to help!

5 (Yea, I will approach You with my supplications, I) who am delivering up (my) mind and soul to that (heavenly) Mount (whither all the redeemed at last must pass), knowing (full well) the holy characteristics and rewards of the (ceremonial and moral) actions (prescribed) by Ahura Mazda. (And) so long as I am able and may have the power, so long will I teach (Your people concerning these holy deeds to be done by them with faith toward God, and) in the desire (for the coming) of the (Divine) Righteousness (within their souls).

6 And, thou Righteousness! when shall I see (thee, knowing the Good Mind (of God), and above all the personified) Obedience (of our lives which constitutes) the way to the most beneficent Ahura Mazda. (Asking this, I thus beseech thee, for) with this holy word of supplication we most hold off with tongue the flesh-devouring fiends, (the very sign and power of all spiritual foulness)!

7 And do Thou, O Lord, the Great Creator! come to me with Thy Good Mind; and do Thou, who bestowest gifts through Thy Righteousness, bestow alike long-lasting life on us. And (that this life may be spent aright, do) Thou by means of Thy lofty words (bestow) the (needed) powerful spiritual help upon Zarathustra and upon us, whereby we may overcome 2 the torments of the tormentor.

8 (And) do thou, O (Divine) Righteousness, bestow (upon me) that sacred blessing which is constituted by the attainments of the Good Mind (within my soul); and do thou also, O Piety! grant unto Vîstâspa and to me our wish; (yea) may'st Thou grant (us), O Mazda, ruler (as Thou art! that grace) whereby we may hear (with understanding) Thy benignant words.

9 That best (of gifts therefore) do I beseech (of Thee), O Thou best (of beings) Ahura! who art one in will with (Thy Divine) Righteousness (within us, likewise), the best (of spirits), desiring it (as I now do) for the (heroic) man Frashaostra, and for me, upon whom also may'st Thou bestow it (not for time alone), but for all the ages of Thy Good Mind (that reign of Thy Benevolence which shall be to us as Heaven)!

10 And (impressed and moved) by these gifts of strengthening grace (which Thou may'st give in answer to these prayers) may we never anger You, O Ahura Mazda! (nor Thy) Righteousness (within us), nor yet Thy Kindly Mind (toward us), since we have most earnestly made effort (helping to advance Your cause) in the (chanted) offering of Your praisers, for most easy to be invoked (are Ye). (Yours are verily both) the desire for (spiritual) blessings (for us), and the (Divine) Possession (of their power).

11 And therefore do Thou, O Lord, the Great Creator! fill up and satisfy (my) desire with these attainments (of the grace) of Thy Good Mind, which Thou dost know to be derived from Righteousness, (and) which (are verily) sublime, for I have known Thine instructions to be never void of their effect (in the struggles) for our (daily) food, and therefore worthy objects of desire.

12 (Yea, I approach Thee with my prayers, I) who by these (great gifts of grace) will protect ((Thy) Divine Righteousness, and (Thy) Good Mind within us) for ever. And do Thou therefore, O Ahura Mazda! teach me from Thyself, yea, from Thine own mouth of spirit, that I may declare it forth to (these Thy waiting people) by what (powers and according to what laws) the primeval world arose!

YASNA 30

THE DOCTRINE OF DUALISM.

1 And now I will proclaim, O ye who are drawing near and seeking 1 to be taught! those animadversions which appertain to Him who knows (all things) whatsoever; the praises which are for Ahura, and the sacrifices (which spring) from the Good Mind, and likewise the benignant meditations inspired by Righteousness. And I pray that propitious results may be seen in the lights.

2 Hear ye then with your ears; see ye the bright flames with the (eyes of the) Better Mind. It is for a decision as to religions, man and man, each individually for himself. Before the great effort of the cause, awake ye (all) to our 3 teaching!

3 Thus are the primeval spirits who as a pair (combining their opposite strivings), and (yet each) independent in his action, have been famed (of old). (They are) a better thing, they two, and a worse, as to thought, as to word, and as to deed. And between these two let the wisely acting choose aright. (Choose ye) not (as) the evil-doers!

4 (Yea) when the two spirits came together at the first to make 1 life, and life's absence, and to determine how the world at the last shall be (ordered), for the wicked (Hell) the worst life, for the holy (Heaven) the Best Mental State,

5 (Then when they had finished each his part in the deeds of creation, they chose distinctly each his separate realm.) He who was the evil of them both (chose the evil), thereby working the worst of possible results, but the more bounteous spirit chose the (Divine) Righteousness; (yea, He so chose) who clothes upon Himself the firm 1 stones of heaven (as His robe). And He chose likewise them who content Ahura with actions, which (are performed) really in accordance with the faith.

6 And between these two spirits the Demon-gods (and they who give them worship) can make no righteous choice, since we have beguiled them. As they were questioning and debating in their council the (personified) Worst Mind approached them that he might be chosen. (They made their fatal decision.) And thereupon they rushed together unto the Demon of Fury, that they might pollute the lives of mortals.

7 Upon this Âramaiti (the personified Piety of the saints) approached, and with her came the Sovereign Power, the Good Mind, and the Righteous Order. And (to the spiritual creations of good and of evil) Âramaiti gave a body, she the abiding and ever strenuous. And for these (Thy people) so let (that body) be (at the last), O Mazda! as it was when Thou camest first with creations!

8 And (when the great struggle shall have been fought out which began when the Daêvas first seized the Demon of Wrath as their ally), and when the (just) vengeance shall have come upon these wretches, then, O Mazda! the Kingdom shall have been gained for Thee by (Thy) Good Mind (within Thy folk). For to those, O living Lord! does (that Good Mind) utter his command, who will deliver the Demon of the Lie into the two hands of the Righteous Order (as a captive to a destroyer).

9 And may we be such as those who bring on this great renovation, and make this world progressive, (till its perfection shall have been reached). (As) the Ahuras of Mazda 1 (even) may we be; (yea, like Thyself), in helpful readiness to meet (Thy people), presenting (benefits) in union with the Righteous Order. For there 4 will our thoughts be (tending) where true wisdom shall abide in her home.

10 (And when perfection shall have been attained) then shall the blow of destruction fall upon the Demon of Falsehood, (and her adherents shall perish with her), but swiftest in the happy abode of the Good Mind and of Ahura the righteous saints shall gather, they who proceed in their walk (on earth) in good repute (and honour).

11 Wherefore, O ye men! ye are learning (thus) these religious incitations which Ahura gave in (our) happiness and (our) sorrow. (And ye are also learning) what is the long wounding for the wicked, and the blessings which are in store for the righteous. And when these (shall have begun their course), salvation shall be (your portion)!

YASNA 31

THE PROGRESS AND STRUGGLES OF THE CAUSE.

1 These doctrines (therefore) we are earnestly declaring to You as we recite them forth from memory, words (till now) unheard (with faith) by those who by means of the doctrinal vows of the harmful Lie are delivering the settlements of Righteousness to death, but words which are of the best unto those who are heartily devoted to Ahura.

2 And if by this means the indubitable truths 4 are not seen in the soul, then as better (than these words) I will come to you all (in my person) with that power, and in that way according to which Ahura Mazda knows and appoints His ruler 1, that ruler over both the two (struggling) bands, in order that we (in obedience to him), may live according to Righteousness.

3 And that keenness, that deciding satisfaction, which Thou hast given by (Thy) Spirit, and (Thy) Fire, and by Thy Righteousness (itself) to the two battling (sides), do Thou declare unto us, O Ahura! that vow which is for the seeing (as those endowed with mental light). Yea, do Thou declare this that we may know it, O Mazda! With the tongue of Thy mouth do Thou speak it (that as I preach its mighty truths) I may make all the living believers!

4 And when the Divine Righteousness shall be inclined to my appeal 1, and with him all those (remaining ones who are as) Mazda's 2 (own) Ahuras then with the blessedness (of the reward), with (my) Piety and with Thy Best Mind (active within me), I will pray for that mighty Kingdom by whose force 4 we may smite the Lie-demon.

5 Aye, do Thou tell me that I may discern it, since through (Thy) Righteous Order the better (lot) is given; tell me this that I may know it with (Thy) Good Mind (as it speaks within me), and that I may ponder 7 that to which these my truths belong (and of which my prophet speaks; yea), tell me those things, O Mazda Ahura! which may not be, and which may be 1.

6. And that verily shall be the best of all words to Him which the All-(wise one) will 3 declare to me in very deed, that word which is the Mâthra of Welfare and of Immortality (for it proclaims His beneficent power). And to the Great Creator (shall there be) a Realm such as that (whose strength I asked for victory), and which (at the last) shall flourish in its holiness to His (glory)!

7 (For He has sovereign control.) He who conceived of these (truths of the Mâthra) as their first (inspirer), (and as He thought their existence they (all) as (His) glorious 1 (conceptions first) clothed themselves in the stars), He is through His understanding the Creator of the Righteous Order. And thus likewise He supports His Beneficent Mind (in His saints). And these (holy creatures) may'st Thou cause to prosper by Thy Spirit (since they are Thine own), O Ahura Mazda! Thou who art for every hour the same!

8 Therefore, as the first did I conceive of Thee, O Ahura Mazda! as the one to be adored with the mind in the creation, as the Father of the Good Mind within us, when I beheld Thee 7 with my (enlightened) eyes as the veritable maker of our Righteousness, as the Lord of the actions of life!

9 Thine, O Ahura! was Piety; yea, Thine, O Creator of the Kine! was understanding and the Spirit, when Thou didst order a path for her (guiding). From the earth's tiller (aided) she goeth (in that allotted way), or from him who was never tiller. (Thy path hath given her choice.)

10 (But she did not pause in temptation.) Of the two she chose the husbandman, the thrifty toiler in the fields, as a holy master endowed with the Good Mind's wealth. Never, Mazda! shall the thieving nomad share the good creed. (For the Kine's choice would bestow it!)

11 (And this doctrine was the first of rules to regulate our actions. Yet the opposer speaks beside Thee.) For when first, O Ahura Mazda! Thou didst create the (holy) settlements, and didst reveal the religious laws; and when Thou gavest (us) understanding from Thine own mind, and madest our (full) bodily life, and (didst thus determine) actions (by Thy power), and didst moreover deliver to us (nearer) injunctions whereby (as by a rule) the wisher may place his choices,

12 (There strife at once arose, and still is raging.) There (beside Thy prophet) the truthful or liar, the enlightened or unenlightened, lifts his voice (to utter his faith), and with devoted mind and heart. (But without hindrance from this striving, or pausing with feeble search, our) Piety steadily questions the two spirits (not here on earth) but (there in the spirit-world) where (they dwell as) in their home.

13 (Yea, my Piety questions searchingly, for Thou, O Maker! hast Thy view on all; we cannot question lightly.) What questions are asked which are open 6 (permitted to our thoughts), or what questions (are asked) which are furtive (hiding themselves from the light), or (what decision soever we may make, and the man) who for the smallest sin binds on the heaviest penance, on all with Thy glittering eye(s) as a righteous guard Thou art gazing!

14 This then I will ask Thee, O Ahura Mazda! (as I seek Thy counsel once again). What events are coming now, and what events shall come in the future; and what prayers with debt-confessions are offered with the offerings of the holy? And what (are the awards) for the wicked? And how shall they be in the (final) state of completion?

15 And I would ask Thee this, O Mazda! (concerning the coadjutor of the wicked): What is the award for him who prepares the throne for the evil, for the evil-doer, O Ahura! for him who cannot else reclaim his life, not else save with lawless harm to the tiller's herd, to the pious husbandman's flock, who speaks no word with lying, (who abjures the Lie-demon's faith)?

16 Yea, I would ask Thee such a thing as this: How such an one as he who, with wise action, has striven to promote (Thy holy) Rule over house, and region, and province, in the Righteous Order and in truth, how he may become like Thee, O Great Creator, Living Lord? And when he may so become, (this also I would ask), and in what actions living he may so be?

17 And which of the (religions) is the greater (and the more prevailing 5 as to these questions which thus concern the soul?) Is it that which the righteous believes, or the wicked? (Let then our questionings cease.) Let the enlightened (alone) speak to the enlightened. Let not the ignorant (further) deceive us, (high though he may lift his voice). Do Thou thyself, O Ahura Mazda! declare to us (the truth) as Thy Good Mind's full revealer.

18 (And you, ye assembled throngs!) let not a man of you lend a hearing to Mâthra, or to command of that sinner (ignorant as he is), for home, village, region, and province he

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would deliver to ruin and death. But (fly ye to arms without hearing), and hew ye them all with the halberd!

19 Let them hear Him who conceived of the Righteous Order for the worlds, the (all)-wise One, O Ahura! For truthful speech He rules with absolute sway over words, and ever free of tongue (to guide us in our way). By Thy shining flame 2 (He doth guide us, Thine altar's flame with its signs of decision and of grace) sent forth for the good of the strivers.

20 (But, O ye listening men!) he who renders the saint deceived 1, for him shall be later destruction. Long life shall be his lot in the darkness; foul shall be his food; his speech shall be of the lowest. And this, which is such a life as your own, O ye vile! your (perverted) conscience through your own deeds will bring you!

21 But Ahura Mazda will give both Universal Weal and Immortality in the fulness of His Righteous Order, and from himself as the head of Dominion (within His saints). And He will likewise give the Good Mind's vigorous might to him who in spirit and deeds is His friend, (and with faith fulfils his vows)

22 And to the wise are these things clear as to the one discerning with his mind (not blinded by the perverter 1). With Thy Good Mind and Thy (holy) Kingdom he follows the Righteous Order both in his words and his actions. And to Thee, O Ahura Mazda! such a man shall be the most helpful and vigorous being (for he serves with every power)!

YASNA 32

THE STRUGGLE IS CONTINUED IN THE MIDST OF REVERSES.

1 (That rival-monarch (thus we may supply the sense of lost verses) for whom some are plotting to secure the sovereignty, and who, once in power, would deliver over home, village, town, and province to ruin and to death, is active in his efforts, and offering the devotions of his false religion to accomplish his ends.). His lord-kinsman will pray (as I Zarathustra prayed), and his labouring villagers, with his (trusted) peers, and his (fellow) Daêva-worshippers. But in my mind is the friendship of Ahura Mazda, the Great Creator, the living Lord; and Thine heralds, O Ahura! may we be; may we hold back those who hate and who offend You!

2 To these (for whom the prophet spake) Ahura Mazda answered, ruling as He does through His Good Mind (within their souls), He replied from His Sovereign Power, our good friend (as he is) through His surpassing Righteousness: We have accepted your good and bountiful Piety, and we have chosen her; ours shall she be!

3 But you, O ye Daêvas! are all a seed from the Evil Mind. He who offers sacrifice to You the most is of the Lie-demon, and (he is a child) of perversion. In advance (are your) deceits whereby ye are famed in the sevenfold earth!

4 For ye (are) confusing our thoughts, whereby men, giving forth the worst deeds, will speak, as of the Demon-gods beloved, forsaken by the Good Mind, (far) astray from the understanding of the Great Creator, the Living Lord, and (far astray) from His Righteousness!

5 Therefore ye would beguile mankind of happy life (upon earth) and of Immortality (beyond it), since the Evil Spirit (has ruled) you with his evil mind. Yea, he has ruled you, (ye) who are of the Demon-gods, and with an evil word unto action, as his ruler (governs) the wicked!

6 Full of crime (your leader) has desired to destroy us, wherefore he is famed, (and his doctrine is declared); but if this be so of these, then in the same manner, O Ahura! Thou possessest (because Thou knowest) the true (teachings) in Thy memory. And in Thy kingdom and Thy Righteous Order will establish Thy precepts (in Thy name).

7 Among these wretched beings (this their leader) knows not that those things which are declared as victorious (by his allies) are bound together for the smiting; yea, those things by which he was famed (as victorious) by his (blade of) glittering iron. But the utter destruction of those things Thou, O Ahura Mazda! knowest, most surely!

8 Of these wretched beings Yima Vîvanghusha was famed to be; he who, desiring to content our men, was eating kine's flesh in its pieces. But from (such as) these, O Ahura Mazda! in Thy discerning discrimination, am I (to be seen as distinct).

9 An evil teacher (as that leader is), he will destroy (our) doctrines, and by his teachings he will pervert the (true) understanding of life, seizing away (from me) my riches, the choice and real wealth of (Thy) Good Mind. To You and to Asha, O Ahura Mazda! am I therefore crying with the voice of my spirit's (need)!

10 Aye, this man will destroy my doctrines (indeed, for he blasphemes the highest of creatures that live or are made). He declares that the (sacred) Kine and the Sun are the worst of things which eye can see; and he will offer the gifts of the wicked (as priest to their Demon-gods). And at the last he will parch 6 our meadows with drought, and will hurl his mace at Thy saint (who may fall before his arms).

11 Yea, these will destroy my life, for they consult with the great 1 of the wicked (enlightening themselves by their words 2). And they are seizing away the gifts of inherited treasures from both household-lord and from house-wife; (wretched men that they are), and those who will fiercely wound (my folk, repelled and in no way kindly moved) by the better mind of the holy.

12 (But Ahura will speak His rebuke, for) as to those doctrines which (such) men may be (basely) delivering (repelled) by the holiest action, (and galled by its sacred truth) God hath said: Evil (are they! Yea, unto these He hath said it) who have slain the Kine's life by a blessing (and have cursed her while they offered to help her), men by whom Grehmas are loved above Righteousness, and the Karpans, and the Throne of those who have wished for the Demon of lies (as their deity and friend).

13 And the Grehma will seek for these things by means of his (evil) kingdom 4 in the abode of (Hell which is) the Worst Mind (who both are together) the destroyers of life, and who, O Mazda! will bewail 6 with glad but (envious) wish the message of Thy prophet. (But he will not abate with his vengeance), he will hold them afar from the sight of the truth!

14 His is Grehma; aye, his! And to (oppose) Thee he will establish the Kavis and (their) scheming plans. Their deeds of power are but deceits since they have come as an aid to the wicked, and since he has been (falsely) said (to be set) to conquer the Kine, he who shall kindle that (very) help of grace which removes our death afar, (and lightens Thy saving flame).

15 And therefore will I drive from hence the Karpans' and Kavis' disciples. And after these (have thus been driven hence and away) then these (my princely aiding saints) whom they (now) render no longer rulers at will over life, (and deprive of their absolute power), these shall be borne (at last) by the (immortal) two to the home of (Thy) Good Mind (in Heaven)!

16 (And) this entire (reward of the righteous) is from that Best One who teaches in the wide (mental) light of the pious, ruling (as supreme), O Mazda Ahura! whose are my woes and my doubtings (yea, they lie in His power to heal), when I shall make (my prophets) men to be sought for the harm of the wicked. And this I shall do by the word of my mouth (to defend and avenge my saints)!

YASNA 33

PRAYERS, HOPES, AND SELF-CONSECRATION.

1 As by the laws of the primeval world, so will our spiritual chieftain act (that chief besought-for by the Kine, and named as Zarathustra by the Lord). Deeds most just he will do toward the wicked, as toward the righteous, and toward him whose deeds of fraud and righteous deeds combine (in equal measure).

2 Yea, (he will act with justice but with vengeance, for) he who does evil to the wicked by word, or with thought (and plan), and (who therein does not dally, but toils labouring as) with both the hands, or he (again) who admonishes one for his good 4, such as these are offering (a gift) to their religious faith in the love (and with the approving view) of Ahura Mazda; (they are offering to conscience.)

3 (And so may it be), O Ahura! Let the man who is the best toward the righteous saint, whether lord's kinsman 1, or as village labourer, with the allied peer (of the master), having light, and endowed with energy for the cattle (a Ratu such as Ahura sought to satisfy their wail), let such an one be (for us) 3 in the work-field of the Righteous Order, in the pastures of Thy Good Mind.

4 (And I beseech for Thine instruction), I who will abjure all disobedience (toward Thee, praying that others likewise may withhold it) from Thee; I who abjure the Evil Mind as well, the lordly kinsman's arrogance, and that lying sin which is (alas!) the next thing to the people (their most familiar fault), and the blaming ally's falsehood, and from the Kine the worst care of her meadows (the crime of stint in labour),

5 I, who (abjuring these sins), call earnestly on Thine Obedience of all (assisting guardians) the greatest one for our help 1, gaining (thereby) long life in the Realm of (Thy) Good Mind (incarnate in our tribes), and paths that are straight from their Righteous Order, wherein Ahura Mazda dwells,

6 (Yea), I who, as this Thy faithful priest, invoke Thee through (my) Righteousness, (now) seek 4 with longing from (Thy) Best Spirit, and with that (best) intention of mind, (to know) what he himself thought of the working of (our) fields 7. Therefore (because I abjure the Evil Mind, and all disobedience, arrogance, falsehood), O Mazda! would I beseech of Thee for a sight of Thee, and for consultation with Thee! (What is Thy will and mind?)

7 Come Ye, then, to my best (regulations. Come to my men, and my laws), my very own, O Mazda! and let them see through the Righteous Order and (Thy) Good Mind (which Thou wilt bestow in Thy drawing near) how I am heard before the rich giver (in the assembly of Thy worshippers). Yea, (come Ye); and let the manifold offerings of worship be manifest among us 3. (Arouse Ye, and help our zeal!)

8 (Come Ye) and show me the worthy aims of our faith, so that I may approach and fulfil them with (Thy) Good Mind, the offering, O Mazda! of the One like You, or the words of praises offered with Righteousness. And give Ye as Your offering (of grace to me) the abiding gifts of Your Immortality and Welfare!

9 And let (one like those), O Mazda! bear on to Thee the spirit of the two leaders who cause the holy ritual Truth to flourish; let him 4 bear them to (Thy) brilliant home 5 with 6 preternatural insight, and with the Better Mind. Yea, let him bear that spirit on as a fellow-help 7 in (furthering) the readiness 1 of those (in their holy work) whose souls go hand in hand 2.

10 (And not for these alone do I pray, but for us as well.) All prosperous states in being which have been enjoyed in the past, which men are now enjoying, and which shall be known in the future, do Thou grant (me) these in Thy love. (Yea), cause (our) bodily and personal life to be blest with salvation 6 through (Thy) Good Mind, (Thy) Sovereign Power, and (Thy) Sanctity 7.

11 And, O Thou who art the most beneficent Ahura Mazda! and thou who art Âramaiti (our piety), and also the Righteous Order who dost further on the settlements; and Thou, the Good Mind, and the Sovereign Power! hear ye me all, and have mercy 8 for every deed which I do whatsoever 9!

12 And Thou, O Ahura! do Thou (Thyself) arise to me! Through Âramaiti give me power, O most bountiful Spirit Mazda! through (my) faithful appeals and offerings; and for (my) Righteousness grant me mighty strength, and (Thy) thrift-law through (Thy) Good Mind.

13 (Arise to give me power), and then for grace in a wide perception (that I may view its depth and extent), do Thou reveal to me Thy nature, O Ahura! (the power of Thine attributes), and those of Thy (holy) kingdom, and by these, the blessed gifts of (Thy) Good Mind! And do Thou, O bountiful Piety show forth the religious truths through (Thy) Righteous Order.

14 Thus, as an offering, Zarathustra gives the life of his very body. And he offers, likewise, O Mazda! the priority of the Good Mind, (his eminence gained) by his holiness (with Thy folk); and he offers (above all his) Obedience (to Thee) in deed and in speech, and with these (Thine established) Sovereign Power!

YASNA 34

1 As to those (three gifts of blessings), Immortality, the Righteous Order, and the (established) Kingdom of Welfare, which Thou, O Mazda! hast given through (holy) deeds, words, and the sacrifice unto these (Thy servants here in my sight), gifts (shall) be offered by us in return to Thee, O Ahura! and with the foremost of them all.

2 Yea, and all those gifts of the Good Spirit 3 have been given (back in gratitude) to Thee by the mind and the deed of the bountiful man, whose soul goes hand in hand with the Righteous Order in the settlement, in homage toward the One like You, O Mazda! and with the chants of the (thankful) praisers 1.

3 And unto Thee, O Ahura! will we offer the (thankful) meat-offering with self-humbling praise, and to Thy Righteousness (like Thee a person), and for all the settlements in Thy kingdom which are guarded by Thy Good Mind. For in the perfect preparation of the justly acting (has that offering its power), O Mazda! together with all (others of its kind). Among those like You and worthy of Yourselves, it is a blessing 3.

4 And we pray likewise for Thy Fire, O Ahura! strong through Righteousness (as it is), most swift, (most) powerful, to the house with joy receiving it, in many wonderful ways our help, but to the hater, O Mazda! it is a steadfast 4 harm as if with weapons hurled from the hands.

5 What is 1 then Your Kingdom, O Mazda? What are Your riches? that I may become 2 Your own in my actions, with the Righteous Order, and (Thy) Good Mind, to care for Your poor (in their suffering). Apart from all would we declare You, yea, apart from Daêvas, and Khrafstra-polluted mortals!

6 If thus Ye are in verity, O Mazda! with the Righteous Order and Thy Good Mind, then grant Ye me a sign 1 of this in this world's entire abiding (while I live amid its scenes), how offering sacrifice and praising You the more devoutly, I may approach You (in my worship)!

7 Where 5 are Thine offerers, O Mazda! Thy helpers, who as the enlightened of the Good Mind are producing the doctrines with wide mental light as inherited treasures, (delivering them as Thy word) in misfortune and in woe? I know none other than You; then do Ye save us through Your righteousness!

8 Through these our deeds (of sacrifice and zeal 7), they are terrified 8 among whom there was (once) destruction, and for many (at the time) when the oppressor of Thy holy vows was as the stronger oppressing the weaker. They who have not thought (in consonance) with Thy Righteous Order, from these Thy Good Mind abideth afar.

9 Aye, they who desert Thy bountiful Piety, O Mazda! that one desired of Thee, O Thou omniscient! and who thus abandon her by reason of the evil-doer, and in their ignorance of (Thy) Good Mind, from such as these (Âramaiti) with her holiness utterly departs as the red Khrafstras (who destroy and pollute all life, flee) from us (Thy faithful servants).

10 Through the action of this (His) Good Mind (as he works his grace within us) the benevolently wise One declared

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a result as its fruit, He knowing the bountiful Piety, the creatrix of righteous beings. These all, O Mazda Ahura! in Thy Kingdom (are 'helps to our progress') for they smite (our tyrants) with fear.

11 And for Thee hath Âramaiti (who is Our Piety) increased both the Universal Weal and (its continuance in) Immortality, and (with them as ever united) the Righteous (ritual and moral) Order (established and made firm) in the Kingdom of (Thy Good Mind). Those powerful lasting two (hath she increased) to (give us the needful) food. And through these, O Mazda! art Thou with Thy perfect expellers of hate. (Thou removest Thy foes afar!)

12 What then are Thy regulations? And what wilt Thou? What of praise, or of (fuller) offering? Speak forth that we hear it, O Mazda! what will establish the blessed rewards of Thine ordinance! Teach Thou us the paths through Righteousness, those verily trod by (Thy) Good Mind as he lives within Thy saints.

13 (Do I ask what is that path?) That way which Thou declarest to me as the path of the Good Mind, O Ahura! (is made in its parts by) the religious precepts and laws of the Saviours, wherein the well-doer thrives from (his) Righteousness. And it marks for the good a reward of which Thou art Thyself the bestower.

14 For that (reward), O Mazda! ye have given as the one to be chosen for (our) bodily life through the deeds of Thy Good Mind (in us). They who work in the toil of the mother. Kine, these further Your merciful care through the understanding's action, and (taught) by Thine Order's (word).

15 Yea, (show me, O Mazda! that path and its reward); tell me the best (of truths); reveal the best words and best actions, and the confessing prayer of the praiser through Thy Good Mind (living within us); and through the Righteous Order, O Ahura! And by Your Sovereign Power and grace may'st Thou make life really progressive (till perfection shall have been reached)!

THE GÂTHA(Â) USTAVAITI(Î).

YASNA 43

SALVATION IS ANNOUNCED AS UNIVERSAL FOR BELIEVERS. REFLECTIONS OF ZARATHUSTRA UPON THE SUBLIMITY AND BOUNTIFULNESS OF AHURA.

1 Salvation to this man, salvation to him whosoever (he may be)! Let the absolutely ruling Great Creator grant (us, He) the living Lord, the two eternal powers. Yea, verily, I ask it of Thee (O Ahura) for the maintaining Righteousness. And may'st Thou also give it to me, (O inspiring) Piety! splendour (as it is), holy blessings, the Good Mind's life.

2 Yea, to this one may the man endowed with glory give that best of all things, the (spiritual) glory. And do Thou likewise (Thyself) reveal Thine own (gifts) through Thy most bountiful spirit, O Mazda! (And do Thou teach us) Thy wonderful thoughts of wisdom, those of Thy Good Mind, which Thou hast revealed (to us) by Thy Righteousness (within us) with the happy increase of (our joy), and on a long life's every day.

3 And may that (holy man) approach toward that which is the better than the good, he who will show to us the straight paths of (spiritual) profit, (the blessings) of this corporeal life, and of that the mental, in those veritably real (eternal) worlds, where dwells Ahura; (that holy man) an offerer of Thine, O Mazda! a faithful citizen, and bountiful of (mind).

4 Yea, I will regard Thee as mighty and likewise bountiful, O Ahura Mazda! when (I behold) those aids of grace (approach me), aids which Thou dost guard and nurture 2 as (Thy) just awards to the wicked (to hold him far from us), as well as to the righteous (for our help), Thy Fire's flame therewith so strong through the Holy Order, and when to me the Good Mind's power comes 4 + 5

5 (For) so I conceived of Thee as bountiful, O Great Giver, Mazda! when I beheld Thee as supreme 6 in the generation of life, when, as rewarding deeds and words, Thou didst establish evil for the evil, and happy blessings for the good, by Thy (great) virtue (to be adjudged to each) in the creation's final change.

6 In which (last) changing Thou shalt come, and with Thy bounteous spirit, and Thy sovereign power, O Ahura Mazda! by deeds of whom the settlements are furthered through the Righteous Order. And saving regulations likewise unto these shall Âramaiti utter, (she, our Piety within us), yea, (laws) of Thine understanding which no man may deceive.

7 Yea, I conceived of Thee as bountiful, O Great Giver Mazda! when he (Thy messenger, Obedience) drew near me, and asked me thus: Who art thou? And whose is thine allegiance? And how to-day shall I show the signs that give the light on this (our) question, (signs) as to the lands (from whence thou camest) and in thyself?

8 Then to him I, Zarathustra, as my first answer, said: To the wicked (would that I could be) in very truth a strong tormentor and avenger, but to the righteous may I be a mighty help and joy, since to preparations for Thy Kingdom, and in desire (for its approach), I would devote myself so long as to Thee, O Mazda! I may praise, and weave my song.

9 Yea, I conceived of Thee as bountiful, O Ahura Mazda! when (Thine herald) with Thy Good Mind near approached me, and asked me thus: For what dost thou desire that thou may'st gain, and that thou may'st know it? Then for Thy Fire an offering of praise and holiness (I desired. And on that offering for myself) as long as I have the power, will I meditate, (and for its holy power among Thy people will I plan).

10 And mayest Thou likewise grant me (Thy) Righteousness (within me), since I earnestly invoke that perfect readiness (of mind), joining in my prayer with Âramaiti (our Piety toward Thee. Yea, pray Thou Thyself within me through these holy powers). Ask Thou (Thyself) our questions, those which shall be asked by us of Thee; for a question asked by Thee (as its inspirer), is as the question of the mighty, whene'er Thy ruler speaks his potent wish.

11 Yea, I conceived of Thee as bountiful, O Ahura Mazda! when (Thy messenger) with Thy Good Mind near approached me, and with your words I first impressed (my soul). Woes then 'midst men Thy heart-devoted one declared (to be) my (portion); but that will I do which Thou did'st say was best.

12 And since Thou, coming thus, Thy legal Righteousness in fulness spakest, then declare not to me words as yet unheard (with faith or knowledge; command me not) to go forth (with these upon my task) before Thy Sraosha (Obedience) comes to me, to go on hand in hand with me with holy recompense and mighty splendour, whereby to give the contending throngs, as a blessing, (Your) spiritual gifts (of certainty and peace).

13 Thus I conceived of Thee as bounteous, O Ahura Mazda! when with Thy Good Mind (Sraosha, Obedience) approached me. (And I would therefore pray thus of Thee, that bounteous one.) In order that I may make known to men the true and sacred aims of their desires (in the rite or daily toil), grant Ye me long life for this, (that blessing) which none with daring may extort from You, even this (gift) of that desired 6 place which has been declared to be within Thy Realm.

14 Yea, as the man enlightened (in Thy law), and who has possessions, gives to his friend, (so give Ye) me, O Great Creator 8! Thy rejoicing and abounding grace, when through Thy sovereign Power, and from (the motives of Thy cause of) Righteous Order, I stand forth to go out to, or to arouse, the chiefs of Thy (pure) proclamation, with all those (others) who recite Thy well-remembered Mâthra word.

15 Yea, I conceived of Thee as bounteous, O Ahura Mazda! when with the Good Mind's grace Thy Sraosha (Obedience) approached me, (and said): Let the quiet and long-enduring better mind with understanding teach (thee); let not a foremost man conciliate the wicked (as sycophant desiring aid), for with that (quiet mind of faith), Thy saints have brought full many a sinner unto Thee (as convert, and in penitence).

16 Thus, O Ahura Mazda! this Zarathustra loves the Spirit 3, and every man most bounteous prays (beside him): Be Righteousness life-strong, and clothed with body. In that (holy) Realm which shines (with splendour) as the sun, let Piety be present; and may she through the indwelling of Thy Good Mind give us blessings in reward for deeds!

YASNA 44

QUESTIONS ASKED OF AHURA WITH THANKFULNESS AND DEVOTION.

1 This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; when praise is to be offered, how (shall I complete) the praise of the One like You, O Mazda? Let the One like Thee declare it earnestly to the friend who is such as I, thus through Thy Righteousness (within us) to offer friendly help to us, so that the One like Thee 2 may draw near us through Thy Good Mind (within the soul).

2 This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright, how, in pleasing Him, may we serve the supreme one of (Heaven) the better world 4; yea, how to serve that chief who may grant us those (blessings of His grace, and) who will seek for (grateful requitals at our hands); for He, bountiful (as He is) through the Righteous Order, (will hold off) ruin from (us) all, guardian (as He is) for both the worlds, O Spirit Mazda! and a friend.

3 This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright: Who by generation was the first father of the Righteous Order (within the world)? Who gave the (recurring) sun and stars their (undeviating) way? Who established that whereby the moon waxes, and whereby she wanes, save Thee? These things, O Great Creator! would I know, and others likewise still.

4 This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright, who from beneath hath sustained the earth and the clouds 6 above that they do not fall? Who made the waters and the plants? Who to the wind has yoked on the storm-clouds, the swift and fleetest two? Who, O Great Creator! is the inspirer of the good thoughts (within our souls)?

5 This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; who, as a skilful artisan, hath made the lights and the darkness? Who, as thus skilful, hath made sleep and the zest (of waking hours)? Who (spread) the Auroras, the noontides and midnight, monitors to discerning (man), duty's true (guides)?

6 This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright these things which I shall speak forth, if they are truly thus. Doth the Piety (which we cherish) in reality increase the sacred orderliness within our actions? To these Thy true saints hath she given the Realm through the Good Mind. For whom hast Thou made the Mother-kine, the producer of joy?

7 This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; who fashioned Âramaiti (our piety) the beloved, together with Thy Sovereign Power? Who, through his guiding wisdom, hath made the son revering the father? (Who made him beloved?) With (questions such as) these, so abundant, O Mazda! I press Thee, O bountiful Spirit, (Thou) maker of all!

8 This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright, that I may ponder these which are Thy revelations, O Mazda! and the words which were asked (of Thee) by Thy Good Mind (within us), and that whereby we may attain, through Thine Order, to this life's perfection. Yea, how may my soul with joyfulness increase in goodness? Let it thus be.

9 This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright, how to myself shall I hallow 7 the Faith of Thy people, which the beneficent kingdom's lord hath taught me, even the admonitions which He called Thine equal, hath taught me through His lofty (and most righteous Sovereignty and) Power, as He dwells in like abode 1 with Thine Order and Thy Good Mind?

10 This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright that holy Faith which is of all things best, and which, going on hand in hand with Thy people, shall further my lands in Asha, Thine order, and, through the words of Âramaiti (our piety), shall render actions just. The prayers of mine understanding will seek for Thee, O Ahura!

11 This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; how to these your (worshippers) may (that Piety once again and evermore) approach, to them to whom O Lord, Thy Faith is uttered? Yea, I beseech of Thee to tell me this, I who am known to Thee as Thy foremost of (servants); all other (Gods, with their polluted worshippers), I look upon with (my) spirit's hate.

12 This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; who is the righteous one in that regard in which I ask Thee my question? And who is evil? For which is the wicked? Or which is himself the (foremost) wicked one? And the vile man who stands against me (in this gain of) Thy blessing, wherefore 4 is he not held and believed to be the sinner that he is?

13 This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright, how shall I banish this Demon-of-the-Lie from us hence to those beneath who are filled with rebellion? The friends of Righteousness (as it lives in Thy saints) gain no light (from their teachings), nor have they loved the questions which Thy Good Mind (asks in the soul)!

14 This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; how shall I deliver that Demon-of-the-Lie into the two hands of Thine Order (as he lives in our hosts) to cast her down to death through Thy Mâthras of doctrine, and to send mighty destruction among her evil believers, to keep those deceitful and harsh oppressors from reaching their (fell) aims?

15 This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright. If through Thy Righteousness (within our souls) Thou hast the power over this for my protection, when the two hosts shall meet in hate (as they strive) for those vows which Thou dost desire to maintain, how, O Mazda! and to which of both wilt Thou give the day?

16 This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright, who smites with victory in the protection (of all) who exist, and for the sake of, and by means of Thy doctrine? Yea, clearly reveal a lord having power (to save us) for both lives. Then let (our) Obedience with Thy Good Mind draw near to that (leader), O Mazda! yea, to him to whomsoever Thou (shalt) wish that he should come.

17 This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; how, O Mazda! shall I proceed to that (great) conference with You, to that consummation of Your own, when my spoken wish shall be (effected) unto me, (the desire) to be in the chieftainship (and supported) by (the hope of) Weal and Immortality (those saving powers of Thy grace), and by that (holy) Mâthra (Thy word of thought) which fully guides our way through Righteousness (within).

18 (And, having gained Thine audience and Thine Order's sacred chieftainship), then I ask of Thee, O Ahura! and tell me aright, how shall I acquire that Thy Righteous Order's prize, ten (costly) mares male-mated, and with them the camel (those signs of honour and blessing for Thy chief. I ask Thee for these gifts for sacrifice). For it was told me for the sake of our Welfare (in our salvation), and of our Immortality, in what manner Thou shalt give to these (Thy conquering hosts) both of these Thy (gifts of grace).

19 This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; (in the case of the recreant, of him) who does not give this (honoured) gift to him who hath earned it; yea, who does not give it to this (veracious tiller of the earth, to him who in no respect shows favour to the Demon-of-the-Lie, even to the) correct speaker 5 (of Thy sacrificial word), what shall be his sentence at the first (now at this time, and because of this false dealing? I ask it), knowing well his doom at last.

20 (And how as to our deluded foes?) Have Daêva-(worshippers) e'er reigned as worthy kings? (This verily I ask

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of Thee, the Daêva-worshippers) who fight for these (who act amiss? Have they well reigned) by whom the Karpan and the Usig(k) gave the (sacred) Kine to Rapine, whence, too, the Kavian in persistent strength has flourished? (And these have also never given us tribal wealth nor blessings), nor for the Kine have they brought waters to the fields for the sake of the Righteous Order (in our hosts), to further on their growth (and welfare)!

YASNA 45

THE DOCTRINE OF DUALISM. HOMAGE TO AHURA.

1 Yea, I will speak forth; hear ye; now listen, ye who from near, and ye who from afar have come seeking (the knowledge). Now ponder 2 ye clearly all (that concerns) him. Not for a second time shall the false teacher slay our life (of the mind, or the body). The wicked is hemmed in with his faith and his tongue!

2 Yea, I will declare the world's two first 6 spirits, of whom the more bountiful thus spake to the harmful: Neither our thoughts, nor commands, nor our understandings, nor our beliefs, nor our deeds, nor our consciences, nor our souls, are at one.

3 Thus I will declare this world's first (teaching), that which the all-wise Mazda Ahura hath told me. And they among you who will not so fulfil and obey this Mâthra, as I now shall conceive and declare it, to these shall the end of life (issue) in woe.

4 Thus I will declare forth this world's best (being). From (the insight of His) Righteousness Mazda, who hath appointed these (things), hath known (what He utters to be true; yea, I will declare) Him the father of the toiling Good Mind (within us). So is His daughter through good deeds (our) Piety. Not to be deceived is the all-viewing 1 Lord.

5 Yea, thus I will declare that which the most bountiful One told me, that word which is the best to be heeded by mortals. They who therein grant me obedient attention, upon them cometh Weal to bless, and the Immortal being, and in the deeds of His Good Mind cometh the Lord.

6 Aye, thus I will declare forth Him who is of all the greatest, praising through my Righteousness, I who do aright, those who (dispose of all as well aright). Let Ahura Mazda hear with His bounteous spirit, in whose homage (what I asked) was asked with the Good Mind. Aye, let Him exhort me through His wisdom (which is ever) the best.

7 (Yea, I will declare Him) whose blessings the offerers will seek for, those who are living now, as well as those who have lived (aforetime), as will they also who are coming (hereafter. Yea, even) the soul(s) of the righteous (will desire) them in the eternal Immortality. (Those things they will desire which are blessings to the righteous) but woes to the wicked. And these hath Ahura Mazda (established) through His kingdom, He, the creator (of all).

8 Him in our hymns of homage and of praise would I faithfully serve, for now with (mine) eye, I see Him clearly, Lord of the good spirit, of word, and action, I knowing through my Righteousness Him who is Ahura Mazda. And to Him (not here alone, but) in His home of song, His praise we shall bear.

9 Yea, Him with our better Mind we seek to honour, who desiring (good), shall come to us (to bless) in weal and sorrow. May He, Ahura Mazda, make us vigorous through Khshathra's royal power, our flocks and men in thrift to further, from the good support and bearing of His Good Mind, (itself born in us) by His Righteousness.

10 Him in the Yasnas of our Piety we seek to praise with homage, who in His persistent energy was famed to be (in truth) the Lord Ahura Mazda, for He hath appointed in His kingdom, through His holy Order and His Good Mind, both Weal and Immortality, to grant the eternal mighty pair to this our land (and the creation).

11 (Him would we magnify and praise) who hath despised the Daêva-gods and alien men, them who before held Him in their derision. Far different are (these) from him who gave Him honour. This latter one is through the Saoshyant's bounteous Faith, who likewise is the Lord of saving power, a friend, brother, or a father to us, Mazda Lord!

YASNA 46

PERSONAL SUFFERINGS, HOPES, AND APPEALS.

1 To what land to turn; aye, whither turning shall I go? On the part of a kinsman (prince), or allied peer, none, to conciliate, give (offerings) to me (to help my cause), nor yet the throngs of labour, (not) even such as these, nor yet (still less) the evil tyrants of the province. How then shall I (establish well the Faith, and thus) conciliate Thy (grace), O Lord?

2 This know I, Mazda! wherefore I am thus unable to attain my wish 1, and why my flocks are so reduced in number, and why my following is likewise scant. Therefore I cry to Thee; behold it, Lord! desiring helpful grace for me, as friend bestows on friend. (Therefore to meet my spirit's need, and this as well) declare and teach to me the Good Mind's wealth.

3 When come, Great Giver! they who are the day's enlighteners, to hold the Righteous Order of the world upright, and forward pressing? When are the schemes of the saviour Saoshyants with (their) lofty revelations (to appear)? To whom for help does he (their chief) approach, who has Thy Good Mind (as his fellow-worker)? Thee, for mine exhorter and commander, Living Lord! I choose.

4 (But ever these helpers come to me, all rests as yet in gloom.) The evil man is holding back those who are the bearers of the Righteous Order from progress with the Kine, (from progress with the sacred cause) within the region, or the province, he, the evil governor, endowed with evil might, consuming life with evil deeds. Wherefore, whoever hurls him from his power, O Mazda! or from life, stores for the Kine in sacred wisdom shall he make.

5 (Yea), he who, as ruler, treats no coming applicant with injury, as a good citizen (or nobly wise) in sacred vow and duty, and living righteously in every covenant, who, as an uncorrupted judge, discerns the wicked (that leader who, rejecting me, would keep back those who propagate the Faith), let him, (this righteous judge,) declare (the vengeance) to that (hostile) lord, (my) kinsman. Yea, let him crush him when he sallies forth (to approach us for our harm)!

6 (And he who leaves him in his guilty error has my curse.) Yea, he who has the power, and will not thus (with stern reproof) approach him, shall go to the abode of the Lie, (and) the enchainer. For he is evil who is the best one to the evil, and he is holy who is friendly to the righteous, as Thou didst fix the moral laws, O Lord!

7 Whom, then, as guard, O Mazda! hast Thou set me then when that wicked one still held me for his hate? Whom (had I) then but Thee, Thy Fire and Mind, Ahura! by deeds performed in which Thy Righteous rule is saved and nurtured? Therefore that spiritual power (vouchsafing me) for the (holy) Faith (its truths) declare.

8 And as to him who (now by evil power) delivers up my settlements to harm, let not his burning (wrath) in deeds attain 7 me. But bearing back the (evil will and evil influence of such), let these things come (back) to him in anger. Let that to his body come which holds from welfare; but let no (help) at all (approach him, which may) keep him back from misery. (And let this happen as I speak) from (vengeful) hate, O Lord!

9 But who is the freely helping one who will teach me foremost how we may adore Thee, Thou the well to be invoked as in Thy deeds, the holy, bountiful Ahura? What (words) the Kine's creator spake for Thee by aid of, and to aid, the Righteous ritual Order, these words of Thine, (Thy people coming) with Thy Good Mind, are seeking now (to gain and learn from) me, O Mazda Lord!

10 Whoever, man or woman, shall give to me those (gifts) of life which Thou hast known as best, O Mazda! and as a holy blessing through (Thy) Righteous Order, a throne (established) with (Thy) Good Mind, (with these I shall go forth; yea, those) whom I shall (accompany and so) incite, to the homage of such as You (on earth), forth to the Judge's Bridge (itself) with all of them shall I lead on (at last).

11 (And they and I have every need for help, for now) the Karpan and the Kavi will join in governments to slay the life of man with evil deeds, they whom their own souls and their own conscience will becry. And when they approach there where the Judge's Bridge (extends, unlike the believing ones of God, who go so firmly forth with me as guide and helper, these shall miss their path and fall), and in the Lie's abode for ever shall their habitation be.

12 (But for the penitent there is yet hope; for all our former foes shall not thus fall, as from the Kinvat Bridge to woe, for) when from among the tribes and kith of the Turanian, even among the more powerful ones of the Fryâna, those shall arise 2 who further on the settlements of Piety with energy and zeal, with these shall Ahura dwell together through His Good Mind (in them), and to them for joyful grace deliver His commands.

13 Yea, he who will propitiate Zarathustra Spitâma 4 with gifts midst men, this man is fitted for the proclamation, and to him Ahura Mazda will give the (prospered) life. And he will likewise cause the settlements to thrive in mental goodness. We think him, therefore, Your good companion to (further and maintain) Your Righteousness (and meet for Your approach).

(A voice from among the Chiefs.)

14 (But where is such an one?) Whom hast thou Zarathustra! thus a holy friend for the great (effort of the) cause? Who is it who thus desires to speak it forth? (Zarathustra answers. Aye, such an one have.) It is our Kavi Vîstâspa, the heroic; (and not he alone, but all) whom thou shalt (as in Thy prophet) meet in the assembly, O Ahura Mazda! these likewise will I call (to my attempt), and with Thy Good Mind's words.

15 O ye Haêkat-aspas, Spitâmas! to you will I now address my words, since ye discern the things unlawful, and the lawful, for these your actions to establish (firmly on its base) for you the Righteous Order through those which are the Lord's primeval laws.

16 (And to the Hvôgvas would I likewise speak.) Thou Frashaostra Hvôgva (whom I see); go thou (forth) with the generous helpers, with those whom we are praying for as for salvation to the land. Go thou where Piety joins hand in hand with the Righteous Order, where are the wished-for Realms of Good Mind, where Mazda in His most honoured home abides,

17 Where in your measured verse I will declare aloud (the praises), not in unmeasured lines, Gâmâspa Hvôgva! but songs of homage (will I weave) with ever gained Obedience in offering. (And unto Mazda) will I chant them, yea, to Him who will discern aright what things are lawful (or) unlawful (which I thus do, or utter), and with His wonder-working thoughts of Righteousness (attend).

18 (For) whosoever (offers) sanctity to me, to him shall be the best gifts whatsoever. Yea, of my (spirit's) wealth will I bestow on him through Thy Good Mind (which I give), but oppressions will I send on him who as oppressor will deliver us to anguish, O Mazda! desiring, as I do, to satisfy Your choice by righteous (vengeance). This is the decision of mine understanding and my will.

19 (Yea, this I earnestly announce.) He who from Righteousness (in mind and life) shall verily perform for me, for Zarathustra, that which is thus most helpful (for my cause) according to my earnest wish (and through my words of urgent zeal) on him shall they bestow reward(s) beyond this earth, with all the mental blessings gained through the sacred mother-kine. And these things (all) didst Thou (Thyself) command to me, O Mazda, Thou most wise!

THE GÂTHA(Â) SPENTÂ MAINYÛ (SPENTÂMAINYU(Û)).

YASNA 47

THE BOUNTIFULNESS OF AHURA.

1 And to this 1 (man, His chosen saint), Ahura Mazda will give both the two (greatest gifts, His) Universal Weal and Immortality, by means of His bountiful Spirit, and with His Best Mind, from (the desire to maintain His) Righteous moral Order in word and deed, and by the (strength and wisdom) of His Sovereign Power, (established) in Piety (among His folk).

2 Aye, (that blessedness, which is the) best (creation) of this most bounteous spirit, Ahura Mazda will bring forth in action with words from the mouth and tongue of His Good Mind (within His seers), and by the two hands of Âramaiti (His Piety as she lives within the soul). And by such wise (beneficence is) He the father of the righteous Order (within our worship and our lives).

3 And Thou art therein, O Ahura Mazda! the bountiful One who appertains to, and who possesses, that (most bounteous) spirit in that Thou art He who for this (man, in whom this spirit works) hath made the joy-creating Kine. (And as to her), for her, as joyful meadows 1 of her peace, wilt Thou bestow (Thine) Âramaiti (who is our Piety as earth considered), since he (for her) hath taken counsel with Thy Good Mind, Lord!

4 (But this Thy bounteous spirit doth not alone bestow rewards and blessings on the good.) The wicked (foemen of the Faith) are harmed, and from (the motives which move) that bounteous spirit (of Thine own), O Mazda! but not thus the saints. (And yet the ruler's pride would ever slight the righteous.) The feeble man alone stands free to give in kindly obligation to Thy saint, but having wealth and ruling power, the evil (man) is (at the service) of the wicked, and for much.

5 But Thou wilt give these gifts, and through Thy (most blessed and most) bounteous spirit, O Ahura Mazda! to this Thy holy saint, for they are whatsoever is the best; but far from Thy love the wicked has his portion, abiding in the actions of the Evil Mind.

6 Aye, these things wilt Thou give (to him), O Thou Ahura Mazda! and through Thy bounteous spirit, (and) by Thy Fire as in a good bestowal to the two striving (throngs) through the prosperous increase of our Piety, and of the Righteous ritual and moral Truth; for that (Piety of ours instructing) doth teach the many coming ones who seek her (face)!

YASNA 48

ANTICIPATED STRUGGLES AND PRAYERS FOR CHAMPIONS AND DEFENDERS.

1 If through his action in the offering of gifts in accordance with the Righteous Order, (Thy saint) shall smite the Demon-of-the-Lie (the inspiring spirit of our foes), when that in very truth shall come, which has been (and is still yet) proclaimed as a deceit, (when it shall come) in the Immortal life, regarding (as it does both) men (to bless), and Daêvas (to afflict them), then shall (Thy faithful worshipper) increase thereby the celebration of Thy praise, O Lord! and with it blessings (for Thy folk).

2 Tell me then, Lord? (the end), for Thou dost know it. (Tell me to grant me strength and courage) before those conflicts come which shall encounter me (as leader of Thy tribes); shall the champion of Thy holy Order, O Ahura! smite (at last) the evil heretic, and when? (I ask Thee this); for this if it be gained (is known) to be the (one) good consummation of (our) life.

3 (Yea, tell me then this), for to the enlightened 3 man is that the best of teachings which the beneficent Ahura doth proclaim, and through (the revelations of) His holy Order, bounteous as he and wise with His intelligence, as well as they

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who declare to us (still other) secret sayings (in His name). The one like Thee (their chieftain) is, O Mazda! endowed with Thy Good Mind's understanding thoughts.

4 (Yea, tell me the secret of the future struggle 1; for that enlightened man) must follow close the holy Faith (for which that struggle had its toil and effort). Yea, O Mazda! he who would bend his mind (till it attains to) that which is the better and more holy, must pursue the Daêna close in word and action. His will and wish must be consistent with his chosen creed and fealty, and in Thine Understanding (which discerneth all) shall he in many ways be (versed) at last!

5 (But while I as yet know not the issue, I can yet hope and pray.) Let the good kings obtain the rule. Let not the evil monarchs govern us, (but let the righteous gain the day and rule us), with deeds done in a good discernment, O thou pious wisdom, Âramaiti! sanctifying to men's minds the best of blessings for (their) offspring. Yea, for the Kine, (O Âramaiti!) let (Thy) toil be given, and may'st Thou cause her to prosper for our life.

6 For she will grant us pleasing homes 2, and, (while we live) in this Thy Good Mind's longing 3 prayer (to gain her welfare), she grants us likewise lasting strength (for every deed which that Thy Good Mind moves us to perform), and therefore hath Mazda caused the plants to flourish for her (nurture), He, Ahura, in the generation of primeval life.

7 (Then in our coming strife let both her mortal foes be slain.) Let the Wrath-demon of rapine be cast down. Smite ye against the envy (which would plot against our Throne), O ye who, abiding by the Good Mind, and in accordance with our holy Order, desire to hold that refuge fast, to whose sacred bond the bounteous man belongs. And therefore, O Ahura! (to save Thy struggling saint who toils with changing lot) will I place (that refuge) for him in Thy world.

8 (And how shall I beseech Thee for this victory and gift?) What is the (potent) prayer to bring on that Thy holy Reign? What for Thy sacred reward and blessing for my (soul)? How shall I seek the open helpers for (the spread and maintenance of) Thy (great) Order, while I myself live 4 on in Thy Good Spirit's deeds?

9 (Aye, when shall faith be changed to sight); and when shall I in verity discern if Ye indeed have power over aught, O Lord! and through Thy Righteous Order (guarding here on earth), O Thou within whose (power lie) my griefs and doubts? Let then Thy saving prophet find and gain aright (for) my delight Thy Good Mind's wonder-working grace; yea, let Thy Saoshyant see how gifts of recompense may be his own.

10 When, Mazda! shall the men of mind's perfection come? And when shall they drive from hence, the soil of this (polluted) drunken joy, whereby the Karpans with (their) angry zeal would crush us, and by whose inspiration the tyrants of the provinces (hold on) their evil rule?

11 Yea, when shall our perfected Piety appear together with Thy Righteousness? When shall she come, as having the amenities of home for us, and provided (like our land) with pastures (for the kine)? And who shall give us quiet from the cruel (men) of evil life and faith? To whom shall Thy Good Mind's sacred wisdom come (to guide them in their toil to rescue and avenge us)?

12 (To whom? The answer lieth near.) Such shall be the Saviours of the Provinces, and they who, through Thy Good Mind's grace, shall go on hand in hand with mental keenness 4 (as it spreads among Thy saints) by the doing every deed of Thy commandment, O Ahura! through the help of, and in accordance with, Thy Holy Order; for such as these are set (for us), as steadfast foes of hate!

YASNA 49

REVERSES AND HOPES. HONOUR TO FRASHAOSTRA AND OTHER CHIEFS.

1 Bendva 1 has ever fought with me; (yea, since he first appeared at hand to threaten, and alas to his advantage in the strife) He is the most powerful (in brutal might), and (in his predominance) would crush my strength as I seek to win back the disaffected (in my host) through Righteous (zeal), O Mazda! Come then with gifts of (vengeful) good to (meet) my sorrow. Through (Thine inspiring) Good Mind obtain (for me) that (Bendva's) death!

2 (Aye, he is indeed the greatest), for that Bendva's evil judge doth cause me to hesitate and ponder (in my earnest course of propagation and reform), a deceiver as he is, (estranged) from the Righteous Order, and receiving from it (not happiness) but many a wound. The bountiful and perfect Piety he has not maintained nor strengthened for this land, nor questions with Thy Good Mind hath he asked (to gain him light), O Lord!

3 But (all is not yet lost!); for this religious choice (our holy creed, for which our last lost battle has been fought), O Mazda! Thy blessed Order (our guardian help) has yet been set to save and bless us. (But) for (that evil) Judge, the Demon-of-the-Lie, (is set) to deal (for him) her wounds. Therefore do I pray (the more) for the sheltering leadership of Thy Good Mind (within our folk and our commanders). And all the allies of the wicked I abjure.

4 They who with evil scheme and will shall cherish and help on the Wrath of Rapine, and with her Râma, and (not by silent favour, but) with their very tongues, whose will and wish 1 (run) not with good but evil deeds. These settle and support the Daêvas (in their power, not the Lord). It is the wicked's Faith and Insight (so to do. Their faith is the perverted).

5 But he, O Mazda! is our abundance and our fatness, who (will yet dare these unbelieving foes) and guard the Faith (against that envious Wrath), and with the Good Mind's power. For every man of Piety is a wise citizen in accordance with the holy Order, and so are all who are (in truth) within Thy Realm, O Lord!

6 And now, will I beseech of You, O Mazda, and Righteousness (within Thy Mâthra) speaks (to tell me) what lies within Your will's intention, that (having discerned Your Insight as the enlightened ever must), I may as well discern aright how we can herald forth those (truths), and that pure Daêna (with them) which is the Faith of Him who is Thyself, O Lord.

7 And (as we speak it forth as taught by Asha) then let the (zealous 2 citizen) give heed, and with Thy Good Mind, O Ahura Mazda! Yea, let him give ear in accordance with (the dictate of) the Holy Order, and do Thou hear alike as well. Who shall be the ally; and who the kinsman-lord himself, who, with his gifts and (legal rules), shall institute and settle for the serving mass a worthy praise (for God)?

8 (And I do not ask in vain, for such an one is found for us, and near at hand.) To Frashaostra hast Thou given that most favouring guardian power, the headship of the Holy Order (for us), O Ahura! This therefore would I pray of Thee (to confirm to him that gracious gift), and for myself likewise, would I now seek as well that sheltering headship which is within Thy Realm; yea, most blest and foremost may we both for ever be within it.

9 Aye, let the zealous and thrifty husbandman, so formed for giving help and blessings, give heed and listen when I call, (O Mazda!) Let not the truthful (tiller, he who hears and speaks Thy word), be he who takes that sheltering chieftainship together with the wicked. Let the believing natures (only) join in that best recompense. And thus in the course of the holy Order are in the fact so joined those two, Gâmâspa and the 'hero'.

10 (And since these champions thus join in that reward), then therefore will I place as well in Thy protection (Thy) Good Mind 1 (in the living) and the spirits (of the dead. Yea, I confide our very) self-humbling praises, (which we offer, unto Thee), by which (Thine) Âramaiti (who is our Piety, exists), and likewise sacrificing zeal. And this would we do to further Thy great Sovereign Power (among Thy folk), and with undying 2 (?) strength.

11 (But as to faithless reprobates); the souls (of the evil dead) shall meet those evil men who serve their evil rulers, who speak with evil words, and harbour evil consciences, these souls (in Hell) shall come with evil food (to welcome them), and in the Lie's abode their dwelling verily shall be!

YASNA 49, 12-50.

Y. 49, 12

1 What aids of grace hast Thou for Thine invoking Zarathustra, (O Ahura Mazda!) to grant him through Thy Righteous Order? Yea, what (aids of grace hast thou for me as) through Thy Good Mind given (within my soul), for me who will (still) pray to Thee with praises, O Great Creator! beseeching what in accordance with Your wished-for aim is best? Aye, doth my soul indeed obtain assisting grace, and which of Thy blessings is that gift to me, O Lord? What saving champion is found to save both flocks and herds? And who for myself other than Thy Righteous Order, and Thyself, Ahura? Tell me, O (ye) invoked ones! Or what of grace is there for me save Thy Best Mind (itself)?

2 (And if Thy guardian is verily to save our wealth) how shall he (obtain, and by what means shall he) seek after that joy-creating Kine (who is the living symbol of our peace)? (How shall that man obtain his wish) who shall desire to see her provided with pastures for (the welfare of) this land? (That only way is righteousness.) Do Thou then grant me lands (so would I ask of Thee) which live in justice in the many splendours of the sun, and lands which openly thus live, and which are to be sought and gained by me (as conquests for the cause). Give Thou this gift!

3 (Yea, let that joy-creating one) be his possession through the Righteous Order (which he helps to bring, that living sign) which (the most valiant citizen) may give to him (at once reward and charge), and in accordance with Thy Sovereign Authority. (May that heroic settler grant him this gift) he who may make the (last imperilled) farm to flourish in the vigour of Thy blest prosperity, the tract which lies the nearest (to the fields) which our foeman holds as his.

4 (And therefore both in thankfulness and hope) will I give sacrifice to You with praises, O Ahura Mazda! together with Thine Order and Thy Best Mind (in Thy saints), and in accordance with Thy sacred Sovereign Power, by whose help the wisher (heaven-bound) may stand upon the (certain) pathway, and in Thine Home-of-song shall I (by means of these my Yasnas offered here) there hear the praises of Thine offering saints who see Thy face.

5 And we are in readiness as well (to fulfil Your praises and declare your words), O Ahura Mazda! through Your (grace, and) in accordance with Your Holy Order, since Ye advance with friendliness to cheer the speaker of Your Mâthra-word with open acts of visible relief, as if with hand sent forth, whereby that Mâthra-speaker of Your truth may bring us on, and settle us, in weal and bliss.

6 (Therefore will I incite him to his task the more. Let him indeed proclaim the righteous way) he who already lifts his voice in Mâthras, O Ahura Mazda! he, Zarathustra, the faithful friend in accordance with the Holy Order, and with self-abasing worship, giver of understanding for this land, voice-guider (of the way to glory), let him indeed proclaim and teach my regulations, and in accordance with Thy Good Mind (as his law).

7 (And together with that chief speaker of your word I would engage yet others in the cause). Your well-incited and swift 6 (servants), O Ahura! would I yoke on (as steeds to take their holy course toward heaven), gaining thereby (at last) the Bridges where Your adoration (rules and is complete). Yea, I yoke on your mighty ones, and with Thy Holy Order, and Thy Good Mind. And with these may Ye drive on; aye, be Ye for my help!

8 (And as I yoke on Your Mâthra-speakers for their course, then) would I (myself) approach You in the (highest) deed of worship 1, and with these sacred metric feet (of Zarathustra and his peers 2), those which are heard and famed afar, as the metric feet of zealous worship, and with my hands stretched out (in supplicating prayer). Yea, You (would I approach), O Mazda! in union with Your sacred ritual Truth, and with the homage of a freely-giving helper, and with the good virtue of (Your) Good Mind (in my soul).

9 Yea, with these Yasnas of Your sacrifice would I approach You, praising back to You (in answer to Your mercies), O Ahura! and Thou, O Righteousness! in (the holy) actions of Your Good Mind, (as he moves within us), so long indeed as I shall have the power, commanding at my will o'er this my sacred (privilege) and gift. (And doing as) the wise man (thus), may I (like him) become a supplicant who gains 5 his ends.

10 (Mine every wish and prayer is this), then therefore whatsoever I shall do, and whatsoever deeds (of ritual and truth I shall yet further do) on account of, (and to make full) these (prior deeds of worship), yea, whatsoever (holy works) shine bright 2 as having worth in (all) men's eyes through Thy Good Mind (whose character they share; these as) the stars, suns, and the Aurora which brings on the light of days, are all, through their Righteous Order, (the speakers) of Thy praise, O Thou Great Giver, Lord!

11 Your praiser then (by eminence) would I be named, and (more), would be it, so long as by (Thine inspiring) Righteousness I am thus able and may have the power. And may the maker of the world give help through (His implanted) Good Mind (in my fellow-servants). And may that (all) be done (to further us) which through His veritable grace is most promotive (for the cause)!

THE GÂTHA(Â) VOHÛ KHSHATHREM (VOHUKHSHATHRA(Â)).

(This Gâtha consists of the single chapter Y. 51. It has lines of fourteen syllables with caesura in the middle.)

YASNA 51

INSTRUCTIONS AND APPEALS TO AN ASSEMBLY OF THE FAITHFUL.

1 The good Government (of Ahura) is to be chosen (among all wished-for things) as that lot which most of all brings on (our happiness). Actions that oppress us it opposes, through the holy Order (which pervades it), and with the pious zeal (of its true servants). Therefore, O Great Creator! let me produce, and help bring on (that Sovereign Power) which is the best for us at every present hour.

2 And first I will ask for these two blessings of Your own, O Thou Great Creator, and thou His Righteous Order! and I also ask of thee, Our Piety (personified, as well); and grant me this Your Sovereign Rule over our desired wealth (to give and to preserve it; and likewise) those spiritual blessings which are advantageous for our worship (of Ahura) through (the inspiration of His) Good Mind (within the soul).

3 (And it is not I alone who thus appeal to You; I speak for all) who are guarded in the (ceremonial and moral) actions of Your (law), and by those (inspired) words (which proceed) from the tongue of Thy Good Mind (as he speaks within Thy Mâthra). Yea, these are all assembling (each) to hear You, of whom Thou, O Ahura Mazda! art the foremost guide and light.

4 (And they cry aloud to Thee, O Mazda! I speaking with them, and in their name): Where is the (promised) lord of our thrift (the embodied law, saving us from the most dreaded dangers that we fear, the thrift-lord) of (our) ready zeal? Where does he stand to (show us) mercy? Whither are (Thy) Righteousness and the Bountiful Âramaiti (our Piety)

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approaching? From what direction comes Thy Best Mind (to inspire and to guide)? And whence (again), O Great Creator! Thy Sovereign Power (to be our ruler and defence)?

5 And it is the tiller of the earth who asks this of Thee, O Ahura! (Thy chosen saint himself); he has asked this all of Thee, striving to discover how he may gain to himself the sacred Kine (and with all wealth in herds beside. And he would seek this) moved by the motives which flow from Thy Righteous Order (and Thy cause), upright as he is in actions, and wise in his self-humbling worship (of that One) who, as a righteous ruler, has appointed a just controlling guide for those whom He has made.

6 (And in partial answer to his question, and to solve his doubt, I now declare the truth): He who gives to this (good citizen) that which is better than the good; yea, He who bestows on him in accordance with his religious choice is (our) Ahura Mazda (and not a false god of the Daêvas). And this will He bestow through His divine Authority (established in preparation here), while on the withholder of the sacrifice, who offers nothing to His (cause), He will send worse than the evil (and that not here alone, but) in the last turning of the creation in its course!

7 (And as Thou wilt bestow thus graciously on him), so grant me also, O Thou most bountiful Spirit Mazda, Thou who hast made both the Kine and the waters and the plants (for her support) both Immortality and Welfare, those two eternal powers, and through Thy Good Mind in the doctrine (which is revealed through his inspired words).

8 (Yea, grant me these two inseparable gifts, for having them in store) I will speak for Thee, O Mazda! because to the man of understanding one should declare for Thee that which is woe to the wicked, but salvation to him who has maintained the holy Order (in Thy folk and in his soul). For he is (repaid in his deed, and) rejoiced by the Mâthra who declares it to the wise.

9 (And when I shall speak, I will declare for You that mental) keenness (which reaches the decision), and which Thou hast bestowed upon the two striving sides, (in Thy satisfying word). And this I will announce by means of Thy flaming Fire; yea, I will declare it for the bestowal of that sword of justice which is forged from steel, and wrought for both the worlds. And for the wounding of the wicked (with its blade) may'st Thou, O Ahura Mazda! bless and prosper Thine (avenging) saint!

10 (Yea, let Thy believer wound the wicked to the quick), for he, who totally estranged from this (our holy rule), O Mazda! seeks to destroy my life, is a son 6 of the Lie's creation, and belongs to the miscreants; (but as for me), I call on Asha (Thy Righteous Order to be my help); and may he come with Thy good blessing.

11 (And ye who throng the great assembly, it is of you I speak while, with my lips, I now address the Lord): Who, O Ahura! is a loyal friend to the Spitâma, to Zarathustra? Who has asked his question of the divine Righteousness, (as he approached)? By whom is the bounteous Piety (received and cherished)? Or who has been regarded as upright and fitted for the great cause of Thy Good Mind?

12 ('Who is worthy?' would I ask, for Zarathustra was ever such, and from earliest days. He was no polluted wretch.) Paederast never gained his ear, nor Kavi-follower on this (temptation-)bridge of earth, when his body was (maturely) grown, when they both hasten(ed) to him with the bosom's impure power.

13 (And he will be likewise victorious on the veritable Judgement Bridge, for) the righteous man's conscience will truly crush the wicked man's (spirit) while his soul rages fiercely on the open Kinvat Bridge, as he strives by his actions, and his tongue's (cursing speech) to reach (and to pollute) Asha's paths (where the faithful souls come).

14 (And as are those lost spirits, so are our foes.) No friends to the creatures are the Karpans, (not granting) complete (harvests) from the fields with complete (pasture) for the Kine (chief objects for our prayer), bringing woe by their deeds and their teachings. And they will deliver these (beings whom they lead) at the last by their doctrine(s) in the Home of the Lie.

15 But this is the reward which Zarathustra declared before (to his friends who counsel with Asha), and are fitted for the cause 6; Ahura Mazda will come the first into His Song Home, Garôdman, and then these gifts will be given you by the Good Mind (within you), and with blessings for the cause of the Righteous Order (in His hosts).

16 (And one of you, the greatest, has indeed attained to that wisdom which is thus blessed with a promise), Kavi Vîstâspa has reached it in the Realm of our great cause (of devotion 1), and moved in his toil by the chants of the Good Mind (who speaks in the Mâthra); yea, he hath attained to that wisdom which the bountiful Ahura conceived in accordance with Asha, thus to teach us salvation.

17 (And not alone amidst our princes hath sanctity been marked), Frashaostra, the Hvôgva, hath presented a blest and an endeared form (his child); and may Ahura Mazda, who has the Sovereign Power, grant her (to us), who is so much to be beloved. And for the (progress of the) good Religion do ye, O ye people! receive her with desire, and for the gaining of Asha; (she will help the great cause).

18 Yea, that (holy) wisdom, O Gâmâspa the Hvôgva! these (pious throngs) are choosing through their Righteousness as the (true) splendours of riches (these pious men who are) gaining the kingdom where the Good Mind (doth govern). And grant me also, O Mazda! that which these with glad wishes receive from Thy grace.

19 (And this prayer is already and beforehand heard.) This established Sovereign Power the heroic (Kavi Vîstâspa has given), O Maidhyô-mâh the Spitâma. He who is wise through the Religion, and who seeks (the true) life, he is granting it to us 3; yea, he has pronounced the laws of Ahura our Maker, and declared that which is for (our) life's actions (beyond all other things) best.

20 And, that gift of blessedness for you, all (the Bountiful Immortals) with one consent in sympathy to help us (are disposed) to grant; (and may they likewise make) the Holy Order (firm) for us through the Good Mind (in our folk); and may they reveal to us the words with which Piety likewise (speaks her truths). And receiving sacrifice with homage (from our praises), may they seek for us Ahura Mazda's grace.

21 (Yea, this Kavi Vîstâspa) the man of Âramaiti is bounteous, and with understanding in his words and his actions. (And as a reward) may Ahura give him that Righteousness which is blest, (but) with the Religion (alone), and that Sovereign Power which is established through the Good Mind (in His folk). And this same blessing would I pray from His grace.

22 For Ahura Mazda knoweth the man whose best gift for the sacrifice is given unto me, and from the motive of Righteousness; (and in thankfulness for all, and in prayer for yet still further grace), I will worship (the eternal ones); yea, I will worship those who have ever lived, and who still live, and by their own (holy) names, and to their (thrones) will I draw near with my praise!

THE GÂTHA(Â) VAHISTÂ ÎSTIS (VAHISTÔISTI(Î)).

1 That best prayer has been answered, the prayer of Zarathustra Spitâma, that Ahura Mazda might grant him those boons, (the most wished-for) which flow from the good Order, even a life that is prospered for eternal duration, and also those who deceived him (may He likewise thus grant him) as the good Faith's disciples in word and in deed.

2 And may Kavi Vîstâspa, and the Zarathustrian Spitâma 6, and Frashaostra too with them, offer propitiation to Mazda in thought, word, and deed, and Yasna confessions as they render Him praise, making straight paths (for our going), even that Faith of the Saoshyant which Ahura will found.

(The master of the feast.)

3 And him will they give Thee, O Pourukista, Haêkat-aspid and Spitâmi! young (as thou art) of the daughters of Zarathustra, him will they give thee as a help in the Good Mind's true service, of Asha's and Mazda's, as a chief and a guardian. Counsel well then (together), with the mind of Armaiti, most bounteous and pious; and act with just action.

(She answers.)

4 I will love and vie with him, since from (my) father he gained (me). For the master and toilers, and for the lord-kinsman (be) the Good Mind's bright blessing, the pure for the pure ones, and to me (be) the insight (which I gain from his counsel). Mazda grant it, Ahura for good conscience for ever.

(The priestly master of the feast.)

5 Monitions for the marrying I speak to (you) maidens, to you, I who know them; and heed ye my (sayings): By these laws of the Faith which I utter obtain ye the life of the Good Mind (on earth and in heaven). (And to you, bride and bridegroom), let each one the other in Righteousness cherish; thus alone unto each shall the home-life be happy.

6 [Thus real are these things, ye men and ye women!] from the Lie-demon protecting, I guard o'er my (faithful), and so (I) grant progress (in weal and in goodness). And the hate of the Lie (with the hate of her) bondsmen I pray from the body, (and so would expel it). For to those who bear Vayu, (and bring him to power), his shame mars the glory. To these evil truth-harmers by these means he reaches. Ye thus slay the life mental (if ye follow his courses).

7 But yours be the recompense, (O ye righteous women!) of this great cause. For while lustful desire heart-inflamed from the body there beyond goeth down where the spirit of evil reaches (to ruin, still) ye bring forth the champion to help on the cause, (and thus conquer temptation). So your last word is 'Vayu'; (ye cry it in triumph).

8 And thus let the sinners by these means be foiled; and consumed be they likewise. Let them shriek in their anger. With good kings let (our champion) deliver the smiter (as a captive in battle), giving peace to our dwellings, and peace to our hamlets. Let him charge those deceivers, chaining death as the strongest; and swift be (the issue).

9 Through false believers the tormentor makes Thy helpers refusers 4; (those who once helped our heroes shall no longer give succour). The estranged thus desires, and the reprobate wills it, with the will that he harbours to conquer our honour. Where is then the Lord righteous who will smite them from life, and (beguile) them of license? Mazda! Thine is that power, (which will banish and conquer). And Thine is the Kingdom; and by it Thou bestowest the highest (of blessings) on the right-living poor!

THE YASNA.

YASNA 1

THE SACRIFICE COMMENCES.

1 I announce 1 and I (will) complete (my Yasna) to Ahura Mazda, the Creator, the radiant and glorious, the greatest and the best, the most beautiful (to our conceptions), the most firm, the wisest, and the one of all whose body is the most perfect, who attains His ends the most infallibly, because of His Righteous Order, to Him who disposes our minds aright, who sends His joy-creating grace afar; who made us, and has fashioned us, and who has nourished and protected us, who is the most bounteous Spirit!

2 I announce and I (will) complete (my Yasna) to the Good Mind, and to Righteousness the Best, and to the Sovereignty which is to be desired, and to Piety the Bountiful, and to the two, the Universal Weal and Immortality, to the body of the Kine, and to the Kine's Soul, and to the Fire of Ahura Mazda, that one who more than (all) the Bountiful Immortals has made most effort (for our succour)!

3 And I announce and I (will) complete (my Yasna) to the Asnya, the day-lords of the ritual order, to Hâvani the holy, the lord of the ritual order; and I celebrate, and I (will) complete (my Yasna) to Sâvanghi and to Vîsya, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order. And I announce and (will) complete (my Yasna) to Mithra of the wide pastures, of the thousand ears, and of the myriad eyes, the Yazad of the spoken 6 name, and to Râman Hvâstra.

4 I announce and (will) complete (my Yasna) to Rapithwina, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Frâdatfshu, and to Zantuma, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order; and I celebrate and complete (my Yasna) to Righteousness the Best, and to Ahura Mazda's Fire.

5 I announce and complete (my Yasna) to Uzayêirina the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Frâdat-vîra and to Dahvyuma, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order, and to that lofty Ahura Napâtapâm (the son of waters), and to the waters which Ahura Mazda made.

6 I announce and complete (my Yasna) to Aiwisrûthrima (and) Aibigaya, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order, and to Zarathustrôtema, and to him who possesses and who gives that prosperity in life which furthers all. And I celebrate and complete (my Yasna) to the Fravashis of the saints, and to those of the women who have many sons, and to a prosperous home-life which continues without reverse throughout the year, and to that Might which is well-shaped and stately, which strikes victoriously, Ahura-made, and to that Victorious Ascendency (which it secures).

7 I announce and I complete (my Yasna) to Ushahina, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Beregya (and) Nmânya, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order, and to Sraosha (who is Obedience) the blessed, endowed with blessed recompense (as a thing completed), who smites with victory, and furthers the settlements, and to Rashnu, the most just, and to Arstât, who advances the settlements, and causes them to increase.

8 And I announce and I complete (my Yasna) to the Mâhya, the monthly festivals, lords of the ritual order, to the new and the later moon, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to the full moon which scatters night.

9 And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to the Yâirya, yearly feasts, the holy lords of the ritual order. I celebrate and complete (my Yasna) to Maidyô-zaremya, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Maidyô-shema, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Paitishahya, and to Ayâthrima the advancer, and the spender of the strength of males 6, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Maidhyâirya, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Hamaspathmaêdhaya, the holy lord of the ritual order; yea, I celebrate and complete my Yasna to the seasons, lords of the ritual order.

10 And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to all those who are the thirty and three 7 lords of the ritual order, which, coming the nearest, are around about Hâvani, and which (as in their festivals) were inculcated by Ahura Mazda, and were promulgated by Zarathustra, as the lords of Asha Vahista, who is Righteousness the Best.

11 And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to the two, to Ahura 1 and to Mithra, the lofty, and the everlasting, and the holy, and to all the stars which are Spenta Mainyu's creatures, and to the star Tistrya, the resplendent and glorious, and to the Moon which contains the seed of the Kine, and to the resplendent Sun, him of the rapid steeds, the eye of Ahura Mazda, and to Mithra the province-ruler. And I celebrate and complete my Yasna to Ahura Mazda (once again, and as to

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him who rules the month), the radiant, the glorious, and to the Fravashis of the saints.

12 And I announce and complete my Yasna to thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son! together with all the fires, and to the good waters, even to all the waters made by Mazda, and to all the plants which Mazda made.

13 And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to the Bounteous Mâthra, the holy and effective, the revelation given against the Daêvas; the Zarathustrian revelation, and to the long descent of the good Mazdayasnian Faith.

14 And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to the mountain Ushi-darena, the Mazda-made, with its sacred brilliance, and to all the mountains glorious with sanctity, with their abundant Glory Mazda-made, and to that majestic Glory Mazda-made, the unconsumed Glory which Mazda made. And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to Ashi the good, the blessedness (of the reward), and to Kisti, the good religious Knowledge, to the good Erethe (Rectitude?), and to the good Rasâstât (persisting zeal?), and to the Glory and the Benefit which are Mazda-made.

15 And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to the pious and good Blessing of the religious man, the holy, and to the curse of wisdom, the swift and redoubted Yazad of potency (to blight).

16 And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to these places and these lands, and to these pastures, and these abodes with their springs of water(?), and to the waters, land, and plants, and to this earth and to yon heaven, and to the holy wind, and to the stars, moon, and sun, and to the eternal stars without beginning 1, and self-disposing, and to all the holy creatures of Spenta-Mainyu, male and female, the regulators of the ritual order.

17 And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to that lofty lord who is the ritual Righteousness 3 (itself), and to the lords of the days in their duration, and of the days during daylight, to the moons, the years, and the seasons which are lords of the ritual order at the time of Hâvani.

18 And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to the Fravashis of the saints, the redoubted, which overwhelm (the evil), to those of the saints of the ancient lore, to those of the next of kin, and to the Fravashi of (mine) own soul!

19 And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to all the lords of the ritual order, and to all the Yazads, the beneficent, who dispose (of all) aright, to those both heavenly and earthly, who are (meet) for our sacrifice and homage because of Asha Vahista, (of the ritual Order which is 'the best').

20 O (thou) Hâvani, holy lord of the ritual order, and Sâvanghi, Rapithwina, and Uzayêirina, and Aiwisrûthrima, (and) Aibigaya, (thou that aidest life!) if I have offended you, and thou, O Ushahina, holy lord of the ritual order!

21 If I have offended thee, whether by thought, or word, or deed, whether by act of will, or without intent or wish, I earnestly make up the deficiency of this in praise to thee. If I have caused decrease in that which is Thy Yasna, and Thy homage, I announce (and celebrate) to thee (the more for this)!

22 Yea, all ye lords, the greatest ones, holy lords of the ritual order, if I have offended you by thought, or word, or deed, whether with my will, or without intending error, I praise you (now the more) for this. I announce to you (the more) if I have caused decrease in this which is your Yasna, and your praise.

23 I would confess myself a Mazda-worshipper, of Zarathustra's order, a foe to the Daêvas, devoted to the lore of the Lord, for Hâvani, the holy lord of the ritual order, for (his) sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise, for Sâvanghi, and for Vîsya, the holy lord of the ritual order, for (his) sacrifice, homage, propitiation and praise, and for the sacrifice, homage, propitiation and praise of the lords of the days in, their duration, and of the days during daylight for those of the monthly festivals, and for those of the yearly ones, and for those of the seasons!

YASNA 2

THE SACRIFICE CONTINUES.

1 I desire to approach 1 the Zaothras 2 with my worship. I desire to approach the Baresman with my worship. I desire to approach the Zaothra conjointly with the Baresman in my worship, and the Baresman conjointly with the Zaothra. Yea, I desire to approach this Zaothra (here),and with this (present) Baresman, and I desire to approach this Baresman conjoined with this Zaothra with my praise; and I desire to approach this Baresman with praise provided with its Zaothra with its girdle, and spread with sanctity.

2 And in this Zaothra and the Baresman I desire to approach Ahura Mazda with my praise, the holy lord of the ritual order, and the Bountiful Immortals, (all) those who rule aright, and who dispose of all aright, these also I desire to approach and with my praise.

3 And in this Zaothra. with this Baresman I desire to approach the Asnya with my praise. I desire to approach the Hâvani with my praise, the holy lord of the ritual order, and Sâvanghi and Vîsya, the holy lords of the ritual order. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach Mithra with my praise, of the wide pastures, of the thousand ears, and of the myriad eyes, the Yazad of the spoken name, and Râman Hvâstra with him, the holy lord of the ritual order.

4 And in this Zaothra and with the Baresman I desire to approach Rapithwina with my praise, the holy lord of the ritual order; and Frâdatfshu and Zantuma, the holy lords of the ritual order; and in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach toward Righteousness the Best with my praise, and with him the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son.

5 And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach Uzayêirina with my praise, and Frâdat-vîra and Dahvyuma 1, the holy lords of the ritual order; and with them that lofty lord, the kingly and brilliant Apâm-napât, of the fleet horses, and likewise the water Mazda-made and holy,

6 And Aiwisrûthrima, (and) Aibigaya, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order, and Frâdat-vîspâm-hugâiti, and Zarathustrôtema, the holy lord, and the good, heroic, and bountiful Fravashis of the saints, and the women who have many sons, and a peaceful and prosperous home-life that continues without reverse throughout the year, and Force well-shaped and stately, and the Victorious-blow Ahura-given, and the Victorious Ascendency (which it secures),

7 And Ushahina, the holy lord of the ritual order, Beregya and Nmânya, the holy lords of the ritual order, and Sraosha, Obedience, the blessed and the stately, who smites with the blow of victory, furthering the settlements, the holy lord of the ritual order, and Rashnu, the most just, and Arstât, who furthers the settlements, and causes them to increase.

8 And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the Mâhya, the monthly festivals with my praise, the new moon and the waning moon (the moon within), the holy lords of the ritual order, and the full moon which scatters night,

9 And the Yearly festivals, Maidhyô-zaremaya, the holy lord of the ritual order, and Maidhyô-shema, and Paitishahya, and Ayâthrima, the promoter, who spends the strength of males, and Maidhyâirya and Hamaspathmaêdhaya, and the seasons, the holy lords of the ritual order.

10 And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach all the lords of the ritual order with my praise, the three and thirty who come the nearest round about our Hâvanis, who are those lords (and seasons) of Righteousness the Best, which were inculcated by Mazda, and spoken forth by Zarathustra.

11 And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach Ahura and Mithra with my praise, the lofty, eternal, and the holy two; and I desire to approach the stars, moon, and sun with the Baresman plants, and with my praise, and with them Mithra the governor of all the provinces, and Ahura Mazda the radiant and glorious, and the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints,

12 And thee, the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son, the holy lord of the ritual order, with all the fires! And I desire to approach the good waters in this Zaothra with this Baresman with my praise, all best waters, Mazda-made and holy, and all the plants which are Mazda-made and holy.

13 And I desire to approach the bounteous Mâthra in this Zaothra with this Baresman, and with my praise, the most glorious as it is, and with it the law instituted against the Daêvas; yea, I desire to approach the Zarathustrian law with my praise, and (with it) its long descent, and the good Mazdayasnian Religion (as complete).

14 And I desire to approach Mount Ushi-darena in this Zaothra, with this Baresman with my praise, Mazda-made, and glorious with sanctity, the Yazad-(mount). And I desire to approach all the mountains with my praise, glorious with sanctity as they are, and with abundant glory, Mazda-made, and holy lords of the ritual order; and I desire to approach the mighty kingly Glory Mazda-made and unconsumed; yea, (even) the mighty unconsumed Glory Mazda-made. And I desire to approach Ashi Vanguhi (the good blessedness) in my praise, the brilliant, lofty, powerful, and stately, saving by inherent power. Yea, I desire to approach the Glory Mazda-made with my praise; and I desire to approach the Benefit conferred by Mazda.

15 And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the Blessing, pious and good, and the pious and holy man who utters it, and the mighty and redoubted Curse of the wise, the Yazad.

16 And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach these waters with my praise, and these lands and plants, and these places, districts, and pastures, and these dwellings with their springs of water, and this land-ruler, who is Ahura Mazda.

17 And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach all the greatest lords with my praise, the day-lords, and the month-lords, those of the years, and of the seasons, and the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints.

18 And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach all the holy Yazads with my praise; yea, even all the lords of the ritual order, Hâvani at his time, and Sâvanghi at his time, and all the greatest lords of the ritual at their proper times.

YASNA 3

THE YASNA ADVANCES TO THE NAMING OF THE OBJECTS OF PROPITIATION.

1 With a Baresman brought to its appointed place accompanied with the Zaothra at the time of Hâvani, I desire to approach the Myazda-offering with my praise, as it is consumed, and likewise Ameretatât (as the guardian of plants and wood) and Haurvatât (who guards the water), with the (fresh) meat, for the propitiation of Ahura Mazda, and of the Bountiful Immortals, and for the propitiation of Sraosha (who is Obedience) the blessed, who is endowed with sanctity, and who smites with the blow of victory, and causes the settlements to advance.

2 And I desire to approach Haoma and Parahaoma with my praise for the propitiation of the Fravashi of Spitâma Zarathustra, the saint. And I desire to approach the (sacred) wood with my praise, with the perfume, for the propitiation of thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son!

3 And I desire to approach the Haomas with my praise for the propitiation of the good waters which Mazda created; and I desire to approach the Haoma-water, and the fresh milk with my praise, and the plant Hadhânaêpata, offered with sanctity for the propitiation of the waters which are Mazda-made.

4 And I desire to approach this Baresman with the Zaothra with my praise, with its binding and spread with sanctity for the propitiation of the Bountiful Immortals. And I desire with (?) my voice the thoughts well thought, and the words well spoken, and the deeds well done, and the recital of the Gâthas as they are heard. And I desire to approach the well-said Mâthras with my praise, and this (higher) lordship with this sanctity, and this exact regulation (of the Ratu), and the reverential prayer for blessings (spoken at the fitting hour); and I desire to approach them for the contentment and propitiation or the holy Yazads, heavenly and earthly, and for the contentment of each man's soul.

5 And I desire to approach the Asnya with my praise, the lords of the ritual order, and the Hâvani and Sâvanghi and Vîsya, the holy lords of the ritual order. And I desire to approach with the Yast of Mithra of the wide pastures, of the thousand ears, of the myriad eyes, the Yazad of the spoken name, and with him Raman Hvâstra.

6 And I desire to approach Rapithwina with my praise, the holy lord of the ritual order, and Frâdat-fshu and Zantuma, and Righteousness the Best, and Ahura Mazda's Fire.

7 And I desire to approach Uzayêirina, and Frâdat-vîra and Dahvyuma* with my praise, with that lofty Ahura Napât-apâm, and the waters Mazda-made,

8 And Aiwisrûthrima, and Aibigaya, and Frâdat-vîspâm-hugaiti, and Zarathustrôtema with the Yast of the Fravashis of the saints, and of the women who have many sons, and the year long unchanged prosperity, and of Might, the well-shaped and stately, smiting victoriously, Ahura-made and of the Victorious Ascendency (which it secures).

9 And I desire to approach Ushahina, Beregya, and Nmânya with the Yast of Sraosha (Obedience) the sacred, the holy, who smites with the blow of victory, and makes the settlements advance, and with that of Rashnu, the most just, and Arstât who furthers the settlements, and causes them to increase.

10 And I desire to approach the monthly festivals, the lords of the ritual order, and the new moon and the waning moon, and the full moon which scatters night,

11 And the yearly festivals, Maidhyô-zaremaya, Maidhyô-shema, Paitishahya, and Ayâthrima the breeder who spends the strength of males, and Maidhyâirya, and Hamaspathmaêdhaya, and the seasons, lords of the ritual order,

12 And all those lords who are the three and thirty, who approach the nearest at the time of Hâvani, who are the Lords of Asha called Vahishta (and whose services were) inculcated by Mazda, and pronounced by Zarathustra, as the feasts of Righteousness, the Best.

13 And I desire to approach Ahura and Mithra, the lofty and imperishable two, the holy, and with the Yast of those stars which are the creatures of Spenta Mainyu, and with the Yast of the star Tistrya, the radiant, the glorious, and with that of the moon which contains the seed of cattle, and with that of the resplendent sun, the eye of Ahura Mazda, and of Mithra, province-lord of the provinces, and with that of Ahura Mazda (as He rules this day) the radiant, the glorious, and with that of the Fravashis of the saints, (who rule this month),

14 And with thy Yast, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son! with all the fires, and to the good waters with the Yast of all the waters which are Mazda-made, and with that of all the plants which Mazda made.

15 And I desire to approach with the Yast of the Mâthra Spenta, the holy, the effective, the law composed against the Daêvas, the Zarathustrian, and with that of the long descent of the Religion which Mazda gave.

16 And I desire to approach with the Yast of Mount Ushi-darena, Mazda-made, and of all, glorious with sanctity, and abundant in brilliance, and with that of the Kingly Glory,

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Mazda-made; yea, with that of the unconsumed glory which Mazda made, and with that of Ashi Vanguhi, and Kisti Vanguhi, and with that of the good Erethe, and the good Rasãstât, and the good Glory, and of the Benefit which Mazda gave.

17 And I desire to approach with the Yast of the good and pious Blessing of the pious man and of the saint, and with that of the awful and swift Curse of the wise, the Yazad-curse,

18 And to these places, regions, pastures, and abodes, with their water-springs, and with that of the waters, and the lands, and the plants, and with that of this earth and yon heaven, and with that of the holy wind and of the stars, moon, and sun, and with that of the stars without beginning, self-determined and self-moved, and with that of all the holy creatures which are those of Spenta Mainyu, male and female, regulators of the ritual order,

19 And with that of the lofty lord who is Righteousness (himself, the essence of the ritual), and with that of the days in their duration, and of the days during daylight, and with that of the monthly festivals, and the yearly festivals, and with those of the several seasons which are lords of the ritual at the time of Hâvani.

20 And I desire to approach the meat-offering with a Yast, and Haurvatât (who guards the water), and Ameretatât (who guards the plants and wood), with the Yast of the sacred flesh for the propitiation of Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the mighty, whose body is the Mãthra, of him of the daring spear, the lordly, the Yazad of the spoken name.

21 And I desire to approach both Haoma and the Haoma-juice with a Yast for the propitiation of the Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma, the saint, the Yazad of the spoken name. And I desire to approach the wood-billets with a Yast, with the perfume for the propitiation of thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son! the Yazad of the spoken name.

22 And I desire to approach with a Yast for the mighty Fravashis of the saints, the overwhelming, the Fravashis of those who held to the ancient lore, and of those of the next of kin.

23 And I desire to approach toward all the lords of the ritual order with a Yast, toward all the good Yazads, heavenly and earthly, who are (set) for worship and for praise because of Asha Vahista (of Righteousness the Best).

24 I will confess myself a Mazdayasnian, of Zarathustra's order, a foe to the Daêvas, devoted to the lore of the Lord for Hâvani, the holy lord of the ritual order, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and for praise, and for Sâvanghi and Vîsya, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order, and for the sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise of the day-lords of the days in their duration, and of the days during daylight, and for the month-regulators, and the year-regulators, and for those of the (several) seasons, for their sacrifice, and homage, their propitiation, and their praise.

(The Zaotar speaks): As the Ahû to be

(revered and) chosen, let the priest speak 1 forth to me.

(The Ratu responds): As the Ahû to be (revered and) chosen, let him who is the Zaotar speak 1 forth to me.

(The Zaotar again): So let the Ratu from his Righteousness, holy and learned, speak forth!

YASNA 4

THE OFFERING TAKES PLACE.

1 These good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, these Haomas, meat-offerings, and Zaothras, this Baresman spread with sanctity, this flesh, and the two, Haurvatât (who guards the water) and Ameretatât (who guards the plants and wood), even the flesh, the Haoma and Haoma-juice, the wood-billets, and their perfume, this sacred lordship and chieftainship, and the timely prayer with blessing, and the heard recital of the Gâthas, and the well-said Mãthras, these all we offer, and make known with celebrations (here).

2 Yea, these do we announce with celebrations, and we present them to Ahura Mazda, and to Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, and to the Bountiful Immortals, and to the Fravashis of the saints, and to their souls, and to the Fire of Ahura Mazda, the lofty lord of the entire creation of the holy, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise.

3 Yea, further, we present (them to the Bountiful Immortals with an especial gift) these thoughts well thought, these words well spoken, these deeds well done, these Haomas, Myazdas, Zaothras, and this Baresman spread with sanctity, the flesh, and Haurvatât (who guards the water), and Ameretatât (who guards the plants and wood), even the flesh, Haoma and Parahaoma, the wood-billets, the perfume, and this their lordship and their sanctity, and this chieftainship, this prayer for blessing, the heard recital of the Gâthas, and the well-said Mãthras.

4 We offer with our celebrations, and we announce them (of a verity) to the Bountiful Immortals, those who exercise their rule aright, and who dispose (of all) aright, the ever-living, ever-helpful, the male divinities among their number who dwell with the Good Mind 1, [and the female ones as well].

5 And we announce them in our celebrations as more propitious for this house, and for the furtherance of this house, of its herds, and of its men, of those now born, and of those yet to be born, the holy, yea, for the furtherance of that house of which these (men) are thus.

6 And we present these offerings to the good Fravashis of the saints who are mighty and overwhelming for the succour of the saints.

7 Yea, we present these hereby to the Creator Ahura Mazda, the radiant, the glorious, and the heavenly spirit, for the sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise of the Bountiful Immortals (all).

8 And we present these hereby to the Day-lords of the ritual order, to Hâvani, to Sâvanghi, and to Vîsya, the holy lords of the ritual order, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and for praise, and to Mithra of the wide pastures, and the thousand ears, and the myriad eyes, the Yazad of the spoken name,

9 And to Rapithwina, Frâdat-fshu, and Zantuma, the holy lords of the ritual order, and to Righteousness the Best, and to Ahura Mazda's Fire,

10 And to Uzayêirina, Frâdat-vîra, and Dahvyuma 1, the holy lords of the ritual order, and to that lofty lord Napât-apãm, and to the water Mazda-made,

11 And to Aiwisrûthrima, the life-furtherer, and to Frâdat-vîspãm-hugyâiti and Zarathustrôtema, the holy lords of the ritual order, and to the Fravashis of the saints, and to the women who bring forth many sons, and to the Prosperous home-life which endures without reverse throughout the year, and to Force, well-shaped and stately, and to the Blow of victory which Mazda gives, and to the Victorious Ascendency which it secures, for their sacrifice, homage, their propitiation, and their praise,

12 And to Ushahina, with Beregya and Nmânya, and Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, smiting with the blow of victory and furthering the settlements, and to Rashnu, the most just, and to Arstât, furthering the settlements, and causing them to increase.

13 And these we announce and we present hereby to the Month-lords of the ritual order, to the new moon and the waning moon (the moon within), and to the full moon which scatters night, the holy lord of the ritual order, for (their) sacrifice, homage, their propitiation, and their praise.

14 And these we announce hereby and we present to the Yearly festivals, to Maidhyô-zaremaya, Maidhyô-shema, Patishahya, and to Ayâthrima, to Maidhyâirya, Hamaspath - maêdhaya, and to the Seasons as holy lords of the ritual order, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and for praise.

15 And these we announce and we present hereby to all those lords who are the three and thirty lords of the ritual order, who approach the nearest around about our Hâvani, and which are the festivals of Righteousness the Best, inculcated by Mazda, and uttered forth by Zarathustra for their sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise.

16 And these we announce and we present to Ahura and to Mithra, the lofty, and imperishable, and holy two, to the stars, the creatures of Spenta Mainyu, and to the star Tistrya, the radiant, the glorious, and to the Moon which contains the seed of cattle, and to the resplendent Sun, of the swift horses, Ahura Mazda's eye, and to Mithra, the lord of provinces, for their sacrifice, homage, their propitiation and their praise; yea, these we present hereby to Ahura Mazda (as he rules this day) and to the Fravashis of the saints (as they rule this month), for their sacrifice, homage, their propitiation and their praise.

17 And these we announce hereby to thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son! with all the fires for thy sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise, and to the good waters for the sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise of all the waters Mazda-made, and to all the plants which Mazda made,

18 And to the Mãthra Spenta, the holy, the effective, the law against the Daêvas, the Zarathustrian statute, and to the long descent of the good Mazdayasnian religion.

19 And these we announce and we present hereby to Mount Ushi-darena, Mazda-made, brilliant with sanctity, and to all the mountains shining with their holiness, abundantly luminous, and Mazda-made, and to the Kingly glory, the unconsumed glory Mazda-made, and to the good Blessedness, and the good Religious-knowledge, and the good Rectitude, and to the good Rasastat, and to the Glory and the Benefit which Mazda created.

20 And these we offer and present to the pious and good Blessing of the pious, and to the swift and dreadful Yazad, the Curse of wisdom.

21 And to these places, pastures, and dwellings with their springs of water, their rivers, to the lands and to the plants, to this earth and yon heaven, to the holy wind, to the stars, moon, and sun, to the stars without beginning, self-disposed, and to all the holy creatures of the Spenta Mainyu, male and female (the rulers as they are of the ritual order).

22 And these we announce and we present hereby to that lofty lord who is Asha, the ritual righteousness itself, to the Day-lords, and the Month-lords, the Year-lords, and the Seasons who are the lords of the ritual at the time of Hâvani, and for their sacrifice, homage, their propitiation and their praise.

23 Yea, these we announce and we present to Sraosha, the blessed and mighty, whose body is the Mãthra, him of the daring spear, the lordly one, and to the holy Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma, the saint. And these we announce and we present to thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son! for thy sacrifice, homage, thy propitiation, and thy praise.

24 And these we announce and we present to the Fravashis of the saints, the mighty and overwhelming, of the saints of the ancient lore, and of the next of kin.

25 And these we announce and we present hereby to all the good Yazads, earthly and heavenly, who are (meet) for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and for praise, because of Asha Vahista (who is Righteousness the Best). We worship the Bountiful Immortals who rule aright, and who dispose of all aright.

26 And that one of beings (do we worship) whose superior (service) in the sacrifice Ahura Mazda knows, and from his righteousness (which he maintains, and those of all female beings do we worship) whose (higher service is thus likewise known; yea all) male and female beings do we worship (who are such)!

YASNA 5

(This chapter is identical with Yasna 37.)

YASNA 6

THE SACRIFICE CONTINUES WITH FULLER EXPRESSION.

1 We worship the Creator Ahura Mazda with our sacrifice, and the Bountiful Immortals who rule aright, and who dispose of all aright.

2 And we worship the Asnya with our sacrifice, and Hâvani, Sâvanghi and Vîsya, the holy lords of the ritual order, and Mithra of the wide pastures, of the thousand ears, and myriad eyes, the Yazad of the spoken name, and we worship Râman Hvâstra.

3 And we worship Rapithwina with our sacrifice, and Frâdat-fshu, and the Zantuma, and Righteousness the Best, and the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son, holy lords of the ritual order.

4 And we worship Uzayêirina, and Frâdat-vîra, and Dahvyuma, the holy lord of the ritual order, and that kingly Ahura, the radiant Napât-apãm, of the fleet horses, and the water holy, and Mazda-made.

5 And we worship Aiwisrûthrima and Aibigaya in our sacrifice, the holy lord of the ritual order, and Frâdat-vîspãm-hugyâiti and the Zarathustrôtema, the holy lord of the ritual order, and the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints, and the women who bring forth many sons, and the Prosperous home-life which endures without reverse throughout the year, and Force which is well-shaped and stately, and the Blow which brings the victory, which is Ahura-given, and the Victorious Ascendency (which it secures).

6 And we worship Ushahina with our sacrifice, and Beregya, and Nmânya, and Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the stately who smites with victory, and makes the settlements advance, and Rashnu, the most just, and Arstât who makes the settlements advance and causes them to increase, the holy lords of the ritual order.

7 And we worship the Mâhya in our sacrifice, the new moon and the waning moon (the moon within) and the full moon which scatters night, the holy lord of the ritual order.

8 And we worship the Yearly festivals in our sacrifice, Maidhyô-zaremaya, Maidhyô-shema, Paitishahya, and Ayâthrima, the furtherer (or breeder), the spender of virile strength, and Maidhyâirya, the holy lord of the ritual order, and Hamaspathmaêdhaya, and the Seasons (in which they are).

9 And we worship with our sacrifice all the lords of the ritual order, who are the thirty and three who approach the nearest around about us at Hâvani, who are the lords of Righteousness the Best, and whose observances were inculcated by Ahura Mazda, and uttered forth by Zarathustra.

10 And we worship Ahura and Mithra with our sacrifice, the lofty, and imperishable, and holy two, and the stars, moon, and sun, among the plants of the Baresman, and Mithra, the province-lord of all the provinces, even Ahura Mazda, the radiant, the glorious, and the good, valiant, and bountiful Fravashis of the saints.

11 And we worship thee, the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son, together with all the fires, and the good waters, the best and Mazda-made, and holy, even all the waters which are Mazda-made and holy, and all the plants which Mazda made.

12 And we worship the Mãthra Spenta with our sacrifice, the glorious and of a truth, the law revealed against the Daêvas, the Zarathustrian law, and we worship with our sacrifice its long descent, and the good Mazdayasnian Religion.

13 And we worship Mount Ushi-darena, the Mazda-made, the glorious Yazad, shining with holiness, and all the mountains that shine with holiness, with abundant brilliance, Mazda-made, the holy lords of the ritual order. And we worship the mighty Kingly glory Mazda-made, the mighty glory, unconsumed and Mazda-made, and the good Sanctity, the brilliant, the lofty, the powerful and the stately,

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delivering (men) with its inherent power. Yea, we worship the Glory, and the Benefit which are Mazda-made.

14 And we worship the pious and good Blessing with our sacrifice, and the pious man, the saint, and that Yazad, the mighty Curse of wisdom.

15 And we worship these waters, lands, and plants, these places, districts, pastures, and abodes with their springs of water, and we worship this lord of the district with our sacrifice, who is Ahura Mazda (Himself).

16 And we worship all the greatest lords, the Day-lords in the day's duration, and the Day-lords during daylight, and the Month-lords, and the Year-lords.

17 And we worship Haurvatât (who guards the water) and Ameretatât (who guards the plants and the wood), and Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the stately, who smites with the blow of victory, and makes the settlements advance, the holy lord of the ritual order.

18 And we worship Haoma with our sacrifice and the Haoma-juice. And we worship the sacred Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma the saint. And we worship the wood-billets, and the perfume and thee, the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son, the holy lord of the ritual order.

19 And we worship the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints.

20 And we worship all the holy Yazads, and all the lords of the ritual order at the time of Hâvani, and Sâvanghi, and all the greatest lords at their (proper) time. (The YêNhê hâtâm follows.)

21 The Ratu. As an Ahû (revered and) to be chosen, the priest speaks forth to me. The Zaotar. So let the Ratu from his Righteousness, holy and learned, speak forth!

YASNA 7

PRESENTATION OF OFFERINGS BY THE PRIEST WITH THE OBJECT OF PROPITIATION NAMED.

1 With a complete and sacred offering 1 I offer and I give this meat-offering, and (with it) Haurvatât (who guards the water), and Ameretatât (who guards the plants and the wood), and the flesh of the Kine of blessed gift, for the propitiation of Ahura Mazda, and of the Bountiful Immortals (all, and) for the propitiation of Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, endowed with sanctity, who smites with the blow of victory, and who causes the settlements to advance.

2 And I offer the Haoma and Haoma-juice with a complete and sacred offering for the propitiation of the Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma the saint, and I offer the wood-billets with the perfume for Thy propitiation, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son!

3 And I offer the Haomas with a complete and sacred offering for propitiation [to the good waters] for the good waters Mazda-made. And I offer this Haoma-water with scrupulous exactness and with sanctity, and this fresh milk, and the plant Hadhânaêpata uplifted with a complete and sacred offering for the propitiation of the waters which are Mazda-made.

4 And I offer this Baresman with its Zaothra (and with its binding) for a girdle spread with complete sanctity and order for the propitiation of the Bountiful Immortals, and I offer with my voice the thoughts well-thought, the words well-spoken, and the deeds well-done, and the heard recital of the Gâthas, the Mâthras well-composed and well-delivered, and this Lordship, and this Sanctity, and this ritual mastership, and the timely Prayer for blessings, with a complete and sacred offering for the propitiation of the holy Yazads, heavenly and earthly, and for the contentment of the individual soul!

5 And I offer to the Asnya with a complete and sacred offering, as lords of the ritual order, and to Hâvani, and to Sâvanghi and Vîsya, holy lords of the ritual order, and to Mithra of the wide pastures, of the thousand ears, and myriad eyes, the Yazad of the spoken name, and to Raman Hvâstra.

6 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Rapithwina, the holy lord of the ritual order; and I offer to Frâdat-fshu and to the Zantuma, and to Asha Vahista (who is Righteousness the Best) and to Ahura Mazda's Fire.

7 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Uzayêirina, Frâdat-vîra, and to the Dahvyuma*, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to that lofty Ahura Napât-apâm, and to the waters which Mazda created.

8 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Aiwisrûthrima, the life-furtherer, and to Frâdat-vîspâm-hugyâiti, and to the Zarathustrôtema, and to the Fravashis of the saints, and to the women who have many sons, and to the Prosperous home-life which endures (without reverse) throughout the year, and to Force, the well-shaped and stately, and to the Blow which smites with victory Ahura-given, and to the Victorious Ascendency (which it secures).

9 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Ushahina, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Beregya, and Nmânya, and to Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, endowed with sanctity, who smites with the blow of victory, and makes the settlements advance, and to Rashnu the most just, and to Arstât who furthers the settlements and causes them to increase.

10 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to the Mâhya, lords of the ritual order, to the new and the waning moon (the moon within), and to the full moon which scatters night, holy lords of the ritual order.

11 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to the Yearly festivals, the lords of the ritual order, to Maidhyô-zaremaya, and Maidhyô-shema, to Paitishahya, and to Ayâthrima the furtherer (the breeder), the spender of the strength of males, and to Maidhyâirya and Hamaspathmaêdhaya, holy lords of the ritual order, and I offer with sanctity to the several seasons, the lords of the ritual order.

12 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to all those lords who are the thirty and three, who approach the nearest round about our Hâvani, and who are the lords of Asha (the ritual by-eminence), of Righteousness who is (the Best), whose observances are inculcated as precepts by Mazda, and uttered forth by Zarathustra.

13 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Ahura and Mithra, the lofty and imperishable, and holy two, and to the stars which are the creatures of Spenta Mainyu, and to the star Tistrya, the radiant, the glorious, and to the Moon which contains the seed of cattle in its beams, and to the resplendent Sun of the fleet horses, the eye of Ahura Mazda, and to Mithra, the lord of the provinces. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Ahura Mazda, the resplendent, the glorious, (who rules this day), and to the Fravashis of the saints (who name the month).

14 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son! together with all the fires, and to the good waters, even to the waters which are Mazda-made, and to all the plants which Mazda made.

15 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to the Mâthra Spenta, the holy, the effective, revealed against the Daêvas, the Zarathustrian law, and to the long descent of the good Religion, of the Mazdayasnian faith.

16 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Mount Ushi-darena, the Mazda-made, brilliant with holiness, and to all the mountains shining with holiness, of abundant brightness, and which Mazda made, and to the Royal glory unconsumed and Mazda-made. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Ashi Vanguhi, and to Kisti Vanguhi, and to Erethe, and to Rasâstât, and to the Glory (and the) Benefit which Mazda made.

17 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to the good and pious Prayer for blessings of the pious man, and to that Yazad, the swift and dreadful Curse of the wise.

18 And I offer with a complete and sacred blessing to these places, districts, pastures, and abodes with their springs of water, and to the waters and the lands, and the plants, and to this earth and yon heaven, and to the holy wind, and to the stars, and the moon, even to the stars without beginning (to their course), the self-appointed, and to all the holy creatures of Spenta Mainyu, be they male or female, regulators (as they are) of the ritual order.

19 And I offer with a complete and sacred blessing to that lofty lord who is Righteousness (the Best), and the Day-lords, the lords of the days during their duration, and to those of the days during daylight, and to the Month-lords, and the Year-lords, and to those of the seasons, the lords who are lords of the ritual, and at the time of Hâvani.

20 And I offer the Myazda meat-offering with a complete and sacred offering, and Haurvatât (who guards the water), and Ameretatât (who guards the wood), and the flesh of the Kine of blessed gift, for the propitiation of Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, whose body is the Mâthra, him of the daring spear, the lordly, the Yazad of the spoken name.

21 And I offer the Haoma and the Haoma juice for the propitiation of the Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma the saint, the Yazad of the spoken name. And I offer the wood-billets with the perfume for Thy propitiation, the Fire's, Ahura Mazda's son, the Yazad of the spoken name.

22 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to the Fravashis of the saints, the mighty and overwhelming, to those of the saints of the ancient lore, and to those of the next of kin.

23 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to all the lords of the ritual order, and to all the good Yazads heavenly and earthly who are (meet) for sacrifice and homage because of Asha who is Vahista (of Righteousness who is the Best).

24 May that approach to us, and with a sacred blessing (O Lord!) whose benefits the offerers are seeking for. Thy praisers and Mâthra-speakers, O Ahura Mazda! may we be named; we desire it, and such may we be. What reward, O Ahura Mazda! adapted to myself Thou hast appointed unto souls,

25 Of this do Thou Thyself bestow upon us for this world and for that of mind; (yea, do Thou bestow) so much of this as that we may attain to Thy ruling protection and to that of Righteousness for ever.

26 We sacrifice to the Ahuna-vairya, and to the veracious word correctly uttered, and to the good and pious prayer for blessings, and to the dreadful curse of the wise, the Yazad, and to Haurvatât and Ameretatât, and to the flesh of the Kine of blessed gift, and to the Haoma and Haoma-juice, and to the wood-billets, and the perfume, for the praise of the pious and good prayer for blessings.

The YêNhê hâtâm.

27. (To that one) of beings do we sacrifice whose superior (fidelity) in the sacrifice Ahura Mazda knows through his Righteousness (within him, yea, even to those female saints do we sacrifice) whose (superior sanctity is thus known. We sacrifice to all) both males and females whose (superiority is such). (The Ratu speaks.) As an Ahû (revered and) to be chosen, he who is the Zaotar speaks forth to me. (The Zaotar.) So let the Ratu from his Righteousness, holy and learned, speak forth!

YASNA 8

OFFERING OF THE MEAT-OFFERING IN PARTICULAR.

THE FAITHFUL PARTAKE.

1 A blessing is Righteousness (called) the Best. It is weal; it is weal to this (man), When toward Righteousness Best there is right. I offer the Myazda (of the) meat-offering with a complete and sacred offering; and I offer Haurvatatât (who guards the water), and Ameretatât (who guards the plants and the wood), and the flesh of the blessed Kine; and I offer the Haoma and the Haoma juice, the wood-billets and the perfume for the praise of Ahura Mazda, and of the Ahuna-vairya, the veracious word, and for that of the pious and beneficent Prayer for blessings, and for the redoubted Curse of the wise, and for the praise of the Haoma, and of the Mâthra of the holy Zarathustra; and may it come to us with sacred fulness (to accept and to recompense our gift).

2 (The Ratu speaks.) Eat, O ye men, of this Myazda, the meat-offering, ye who have deserved it by your righteousness and correctness!

3 O ye Bountiful Immortals, and thou, the Mazdayasnian law, ye just men and just women, and ye Zaothras, whoever among these Mazdayasnians would call himself a Mazdayasnian desiring to live in the practice of the liberality of Righteousness [for by sorcery the settlements of Righteousness are ruined], do ye cause (such an one) to be (still further) taught, (ye), who are the waters, the plants, and the Zaothras!

4 And whoever of these Mazdayasnians, adults, when he invokes with earnestness, does not adhere to these words, and (so) speaks, he approaches to that (word) of the magician; (but, as against that magician's word) 'a blessing is Righteousness (called) the Best.'

5 May'st Thou, O Ahura Mazda! reign at Thy will, and with a saving rule over Thine own creatures, and render Ye the holy (man) also a sovereign at his will over waters, and over plants, and over all the clean and sacred (creatures) which contain the seed of Righteousness. Strip ye the wicked of all power!

6 Absolute in power may the holy be, bereft of all free choice the wicked! Gone (may he be), met as foe, carried out from the creatures of Spenta Mainyu, hemmed in 1 without power over any wish!

7 I will incite, even I who am Zarathustra, the heads of the houses, villages, Zantus, and provinces, to the careful following of this Religion which is that of Ahura, and according to Zarathustra, in their thoughts, their words, and their deeds.

8 I pray for the freedom and glory of the entire existence of the holy (man) while I bless it, and I pray for the repression and shame 1 of the entire existence 2 of the wicked.

9 Propitiation to Haoma who brings righteousness (to us) for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and for praise. (The Zaotar?) As the Ahû to be (revered and) chosen, the Zaotar speaks forth to me. (The Ratu.) As an Ahû to be (revered and) chosen, the Zaotar speaks forth to me. (The Zaotar.) So let the Ratu from his Righteousness, holy and learned, speak forth!

YASNA 9

THE HÔM YAST.

(The Haoma-yast has claims to antiquity (owing to its subject, but not to its dialect), next after the Srôs-yast.

H(a)oma = Soma, as a deity, flourished not only before the Gâthas, but before the Riks of the Veda,

in Aryan ages before Iranian and Indian became two peoples.)

1 At the hour of Hâvani. H(a)oma came to Zarathustra, as he served the (sacred) Fire, and sanctified (its flame), while he sang aloud the Gâthas. And Zarathustra asked him: Who art thou, O man! who art of all the incarnate world the most beautiful in Thine own body of those whom I have seen, (thou) glorious [immortal]?

2 Thereupon gave H(a)oma answer, the holy one who driveth death afar: I am, O Zarathustra H(a)oma, the holy and driving death afar; pray to me, O Spitâma, prepare me for the taste. Praise toward me in (Thy) praises as the other [Saoshyants] praise.

3 Thereupon spake Zarathustra: Unto H(a)oma be the praise 1. What man, O H(a)oma! first prepared thee for the

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corporeal world? What blessedness was offered him? what gain did he acquire?

4 Thereupon did H(a)oma answer me, he the holy one, and driving death afar: Vîvanghvant was the first of men who prepared me for the incarnate world. This blessedness was offered him; this gain did he acquire, that to him was born a son who was Yima, called the brilliant, (he of the many flocks, the most glorious of those yet born, the sunlike-one of men 3), that he made from his authority both herds and people free from dying, both plants and waters free from drought, and men could eat imperishable food.

5 In the reign of Yima swift of motion was there neither cold nor heat, there was neither age nor death, nor envy demon-made. Like fifteen-yearlings walked the two forth, son and father, in their stature and their form, so long as Yima, son of Vîvanghvant ruled, he of the many herds!

6 Who was the second man, O H(a)oma! who prepared thee for the corporeal world? What sanctity was offered him? what gain did he acquire?

7 Thereupon gave H(a)oma answer, he the holy one, and driving death afar: Âthwya 1 was the second who prepared me for the corporeal world. This blessedness was given him, this gain did he acquire, that to him a son was born, Thraêtaona 2 of the heroic tribe,

8 Who smote the dragon Dahâka 3, three jawed and triple-headed, six-eyed, with thousand powers, and of mighty strength, a lie-demon of the Daêvas, evil for our settlements, and wicked, whom the evil spirit Angra Mainyu made as the most mighty Drug(k) [against the corporeal world], and for the murder of (our) settlements, and to slay the (homes) of Asha!

9 Who was the third man, O H(a)oma! who prepared thee for the corporeal world? What blessedness was given him? what gain did he acquire?

10 Thereupon gave H(a)oma answer, the holy one, and driving death afar: Thrita, [the most helpful of the Sâmas], was the third man who prepared me for the corporeal world. This blessedness was given him, this gain did he acquire, that to him two sons were born, Urvâkhshaya and Keresâspa, the one a judge confirming order, the other a youth of great ascendant, ringlet-headed, bludgeon-bearing.

11 He who smote the horny dragon swallowing men, and swallowing horses, poisonous, and green of colour, over which, as thick as thumbs are, greenish poison flowed aside, on whose back once Keresâspa cooked his meat in iron caldron at the noonday meal; and the deadly, scorched, upstarted, and springing off, dashed out the water as it boiled. Headlong fled affrighted manly-minded 3 Keresâspa.

12 Who was the fourth man who prepared thee, O H(a)oma! for the corporeal world? What blessedness was given him? what gain did he acquire?

13 Thereupon gave H(a)oma answer, he the holy, and driving death afar: Pourushaspa was the fourth man who prepared me for the corporeal world. This blessedness was given him, this gain did he acquire, that thou, O Zarathustra! wast born to him, the just, in Pourushaspa's house, the D(a)êva's foe, the friend of Mazda's lore, (14) famed in Airyêna Vaêgah; and thou, O Zarathustra I didst recite the first the Ahuna-vairya, four times intoning it, and with verses kept apart [(Pâzand) each time with louder and still louder voice].

15 And thou didst cause, O Zarathustra! all the demon-gods to vanish in the ground who aforetime flew about this earth in human shape (and power. This hast thou done), thou who hast been the strongest, and the staunchest, the most active, and the swiftest, and (in every deed) the most victorious in the two spirits' world.

16 Thereupon spake Zarathustra: Praise to H(a)oma. Good is H(a)oma, and the well-endowed, exact and righteous in its nature, and good inherently, and healing, beautiful of form, and good in deed, and most successful in its working, golden-hued, with bending sprouts. As it is the best for drinking, so (through its sacred stimulus) is it the most nutritious for the soul.

17 I make my claim on thee, O yellow one! for inspiration 1. I make my claim on thee for strength; I make my claim on thee for victory; I make my claim on thee for health and healing (when healing is my need); I make my claim on thee for progress and increased prosperity, and vigour of the entire frame, and for understanding, of each adorning kind, and for this, that I may have free course among our settlements, having power where I will, overwhelming angry malice, and a conqueror of lies.

18 Yea, I make my claim on thee that I may overwhelm the angry hate of haters, of the D(a)êvas and of mortals, of the sorcerers and sirens, of the tyrants, and the Kavis, of the Karpans, murderous bipeds, of the sanctity-destroyers, the profane apostate bipeds, of the wolves four-footed monsters, of the invading host, wide-fronted, which with stratagems advance.

19 This first blessing I beseech of thee, O H(a)oma, thou that drivest death afar! I beseech of thee for (heaven), the best life of the saints, the radiant, all-glorious. This second blessing I beseech of thee, O H(a)oma, thou that drivest death afar! this body's health (before that blest life is attained). This third blessing I beseech of thee, O H(a)oma, thou that drivest death afar! the long vitality of life.

20 This fourth blessing I beseech of thee, O H(a)oma, thou that drivest death afar! that I may stand forth on this earth with desires gained 1, and powerful, receiving satisfaction, overwhelming the assaults of hate, and conquering the lie. This fifth blessing, O H(a)oma, I beseech of thee, thou that drivest death afar! that I may stand victorious on earth, conquering in battles, overwhelming the assaults of hate, and conquering the lie.

21 This sixth blessing I ask of thee, O H(a)oma, thou that drivest death afar! that we may get good warning of the thief, good warning of the murderer, see first the bludgeon-bearer, get first sight of the wolf. May no one whichsoever get first the sight of us. In the strife with each may we be they who get the first alarm!

22 H(a)oma grants to racers who would run a course with span both speed and bottom (in their horses). H(a)oma grants to women come to bed with child a brilliant offspring and a righteous line. H(a)oma grants to those (how many!) who have long sat searching books, more knowledge and more wisdom.

23 H(a)oma grants to those long maidens, who sit at home unwed, good husbands, and that as soon as asked, he H(a)oma, the well-minded.

24 H(a)oma lowered Keresâni, dethroned him from his throne, for he grew so fond of power, that he treacherously said: No priest behind 1 (and watching) shall walk the lands for me, as a counsellor to prosper them, he would rob everything of progress, he would crush the growth of all!

25 Hail to thee, O H(a)oma, who hast power as thou wilt, and by thine inborn strength! Hail to thee, thou art well-versed in many sayings, and true and holy words. Hail to thee for thou dost ask no wily questions, but questionest direct.

26 Forth hath Mazda borne to thee, the star-bespangled girdle, the spirit-made, the ancient one, the Mazdayasnian Faith. So with this thou art begirt on the summits of the mountains, for the spreading of the precepts, and the headings of the Mâthra, (and to help the Mâthra's teacher),

27 O H(a)oma, thou house-lord, and thou clan-lord, thou tribe-lord, and chieftain of the land, and thou successful learned teacher, for aggressive strength I speak to thee, for that which smites with victory, and for my body's saving, and for manifold delight!

28 Bear off from us the torment and the malice of the hateful. Divert the angry foe's intent! What man soever in this house is violent and wicked, what man soever in this village, or this tribe, or province, seize thou away the fleetness from his feet; throw thou a veil of darkness o'er his mind; make thou his intellect (at once) a wreck!

29 Let not the man who harms us, mind or body, have power to go forth on both his legs, or hold with both his hands, or see with both his eyes, not the land (beneath his feet), or the herd before his face.

30 At the aroused and fearful Dragon, green, and belching forth his poison, for the righteous saint that perishes, yellow H(a)oma, hurl thy mace! At the (murderous) bludgeon-bearer, committing deeds unheard of, blood-thirsty, (drunk) with fury, yellow H(a)oma, hurl thy mace!

31 Against the wicked human tyrant, hurling weapons at the head, for the righteous saint that perishes, yellow H(a)oma, hurl thy mace! Against the righteousness-disturber, the unholy life-destroyer, thoughts and words of our religion well-delivering, yet in actions never reaching, for the righteous saint that perishes, yellow H(a)oma, hurl thy mace!

32 Against the body of the harlot, with her magic minds o'erthrowing with (intoxicating) pleasures, to the lusts her person offering, whose mind as vapour wavers as it flies before the wind, for the righteous saint that perishes, yellow H(a)oma, hurl thy mace!

YASNA 10

1 Let the Demon-gods and Goddesses fly far away from hence, and let the good Sraosha make here his home! [And may the good Blessedness here likewise dwell], and may she here spread delight and peace within this house, Ahura's, which is sanctified by H(a)oma, bringing righteousness (to all).

2 At the first force of thy pressure, O intelligent! I praise thee with my voice, while I grasp at first thy shoots. At thy next pressure, O intelligent! I praise thee with my voice, when as with full force of a man I crush thee down.

3 I praise the cloud that waters thee, and the rains which make thee grow on the summits of the mountains; and I praise thy lofty mountains where the H(a)oma branches spread 2.

4 This wide earth do I praise, expanded far (with paths), the productive, the full bearing, thy mother, holy plant! Yea, I praise the lands where thou dost grow, sweet-scented, swiftly spreading, the good growth of the Lord. O H(a)oma, thou growest on the mountains, apart on many paths, and there still may'st thou flourish. The springs of Righteousness most verily thou art, (and the fountains of the ritual find their source in thee)!

5 Grow (then) because I pray to thee on all thy stems and branches, in all thy shoots (and tendrils) increase thou through my word!

6 H(a)oma grows while he is praised, and the man who praises him is therewith more victorious. The lightest pressure of thee, H(a)oma, thy feeblest praise, the slightest tasting of thy juice, avails to the thousand-smiting of the D(a)êvas.

7 Wasting doth vanish from that house, and with it foulness, whither in verity they bear thee, and where thy praise in truth is sung, the drink of H(a)oma, famed, health-bringing (as thou art). [(Pâzand) to his village and abode they bear him.]

8 All other toxicants go hand in hand with Rapine of the bloody spear, but H(a)oma's stirring power goes hand in hand with friendship. [Light is the drunkenness of H(a)oma (Pâzand).] Who as a tender son caresses H(a)oma, forth to the bodies of such persons H(a)oma comes to heal.

9 Of all the healing virtues, H(a)oma, whereby thou art a healer, grant me some. Of all the victorious powers, whereby thou art a victor, grant me some. A faithful praiser will I be to thee, O H(a)oma, and a faithful praiser (is) a better (thing) than Righteousness the Best; so hath the Lord, declaring (it), decreed.

10 Swift 1 and wise hath the well-skilled Deity created thee; swift and wise on high Haraiti did He, the well-skilled, plant thee.

11 And taught (by implanted instinct) on every side, the bounteous birds have carried thee to the Peaks-above-the-eagles, to the mount's extremest summit, to the gorges and abysses, to the heights of many pathways, to the snow-peaks ever whitened.

12 There, H(a)oma, on the ranges dost thou grow of many kinds. Now thou growest of milky whiteness, and now thou growest golden; and forth thine healing liquors flow for the inspiring of the pious. So terrify away from me the (death's) aim of the curser. So terrify and crush his thought who stands as my maligner.

13 Praise be to thee, O H(a)oma, (for he makes the poor man's thoughts as great as any of the richest whomsoever.) Praise be to H(a)oma, (for he makes the poor man's thoughts as great as when mind reacheth culmination.) With manifold retainers dost thou, O H(a)oma, endow the man who drinks thee mixed with milk; yea, more prosperous thou makest him, and more endowed with mind.

14 Do not vanish from me suddenly like milk-drops in the rain; let thine exhilarations go forth ever vigorous and fresh; and let them come to me with strong effect. Before thee, holy H(a)oma, thou bearer of the ritual truth, and around thee would I cast this body, a body which (as all) may see (is fit for gift and) grown.

15 I renounce with vehemence the murderous woman's 5 emptiness, the Gaini's, hers, with intellect dethroned 1. She vainly thinks to foil us, and would beguile both Fire-priest and H(a)oma; but she herself, deceived therein, shall perish. And when she sits at home, and wrongly eats of H(a)oma's offering, priest's mother will that never make her, nor give her holy 3 sons!

16 4To five do I belong, to five others do I not; of the good thought am I, of the evil am I not; of the good word am I, of the evil am I not; of the good deed am I, and of the evil, not. To Obedience am I given, and to deaf disobedience, not; to the saint do I belong, and to the wicked, not; and so from this on till the ending shall be the spirits' parting. (The two shall here divide.)

17 Thereupon spake Zarathustra: Praise to H(a)oma, Mazda-made. Good is H(a)oma, Mazda-made. All the plants of H(a)oma praise I, on the heights of lofty mountains, in the gorges of the valleys, in the clefts (of sundered hill-sides) cut for the bundles bound by women. From the silver cup I pour Thee to the golden chalice over. Let me not thy (sacred) liquor spill to earth, of precious cost.

18 These are thy Gâthas 6, holy H(a)oma, these thy songs, and these thy teachings 1, and these thy truthful ritual words, health-imparting, victory-giving, from harmful hatred healing giving.

19 These and thou art mine, and forth let thine exhilarations flow; bright and sparkling let them hold on their (steadfast) way; for light are thine exhilaration(s), and flying lightly come they here. Victory-giving smiteth H(a)oma, victory-giving is it worshipped; with this Gâthic word we praise it.

20 Praise to the Kine; praise and victory (be) spoken to her! Food for the Kine, and pasture! 'For the Kine let thrift use toil; yield thou us food.'

21 We worship the yellow lofty one; we worship H(a)oma who causes progress, who makes the settlements advance; we worship H(a)oma who drives death afar; yea, we worship all the H(a)oma plants. And we worship (their) blessedness, and the Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma, the saint .

YASNA 11

PRELUDE TO THE H(A)OMA-OFFERING 5.

1 Three clean creatures (full of blessings) curse betimes while yet invoking, the cow, the horse, and then H(a)oma. The cow cries to her driver thus: Childless be thou, shorn of

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offspring, evil-famed, and slander-followed, who foddered 1 fairly dost not use me, but fattenest me for wife or children, and for thy niggard selfish meal.

2 The horse cries to his rider thus: Be not spanner 2 of the racers; stretch no coursers to full-speed; do not stride across the fleetest, thou, who dost not pray me swiftness in the meeting thick with numbers, in the circuit thronged with men.

3 H(a)oma speaks his drinker thus: Childless be thou, shorn of offspring, evil-famed, and slander-followed, who holdest me from full outpouring, as a robber, skulls in-crushing. No head-smiter am I ever, holy H(a)oma, far from death.

4 Forth my father gave an offering, tongue and left eye chose Ahura, set apart for H(a)oma's meal.

5 Who this offering would deny me, eats himself, or prays it from me, this which Mazda gave to bless me, tongue with left eye (as my portion).

6 In his house is born no fire-priest, warrior ne'er in chariot standing, never more the thrifty tiller. In his home be born Dahâkas, Mûrakas of evil practice, doing deeds of double nature.

7 Quick, cut off then H(a)oma's portion, gift of flesh for doughty H(a)oma! Heed lest H(a)oma bind thee fettered, as he bound the fell Turanian Frangrasyan (the murderous robber) fast in iron close-surrounded in the mid-third of this earth! 8. Thereupon spake Zarathustra; Praise to H(a)oma made by Mazda, good is H(a)oma Mazda-made.

9 Who to us is one hereupon to thee (becomes) two, to be made to three, for the five 5-making of the four, for the seven-making of the sixth, who are your nine in the decade (?), who serve you and with zeal

10 To thee, O holy H(a)oma! bearer of the ritual sanctity, I offer this my person which is seen (by all to be) mature, (and fit for gift); to H(a)oma the effective do I offer it, and to the sacred exhilaration which he bestows; and do thou grant to me (for this), O holy H(a)oma! thou that drivest death afar, (Heaven) the best world of the saints, shining, all brilliant.

11 (The Ashem Vohû, etc.)

12-15 May'st Thou rule at Thy will, O Lord!

16 I confess myself a Mazdayasnian of Zarathustra's order.

17 I celebrate my praises for good thoughts, good words, and good deeds for my thoughts, my speeches, and (my) actions. With chanting praises I present all good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and with rejection I repudiate all evil thoughts, and words, and deeds.

18 Here I give to you, O ye Bountiful Immortals! sacrifice and homage with the mind, with words, deeds, and my entire person; yea, (I offer) to you the flesh of my very body (as your own). And I praise Righteousness. A blessing is Righteousness (called) the Best, etc.

YASNA 12 (SP. 13).

THE MAZDAYASNIAN CONFESSION 4.

1 I drive the Daêvas hence; I confess as a Mazda-worshipper of the order of Zarathustra, estranged from the Daêvas, devoted to the lore of the Lord, a praiser of the Bountiful Immortals; and to Ahura Mazda, the good and endowed with good possessions, I attribute all things good, to the holy One, the resplendent, to the glorious, whose are all things whatsoever which are good; whose is the Kine, whose is Asha (the righteous order pervading all things pure), whose are the stars, in whose lights the glorious beings and objects are clothed.

2 And I choose Piety, the bounteous and the good, mine may she be. And therefore I loudly (deprecate all robbery and violence against the sacred) Kine, and all drought to the wasting of the Mazdayasnian villages.

3 Away from their thoughts do I wish to lead (the thought of) wandering at will, (away the thought of) free nomadic pitching of the tent, for I wish to remove all wandering from (their) Kine which abide in steadfastness upon this land; and bowing down in worship to Righteousness I dedicate my offerings with praise so far as that. Never may I stand as a source of wasting, never as a source of withering to the Mazdayasnian villages, not for the love of body or of life.

4 Away do I abjure the shelter and headship of the Daêvas, evil as they are; aye, utterly bereft of good, and void of virtue, deceitful in their wickedness, of (all) beings those most like the Demon-of-the-Lie, the most loathsome of existing things, and the ones the most of all bereft of good.

5 Off, off, do I abjure the Daêvas and all possessed by them, the sorcerers and all that hold to their devices, and every existing being of the sort; their thoughts do I abjure, their words and actions, and their seed (that propagate their sin); away do I abjure their shelter and their headship, and the iniquitous of every kind who act as Rakhshas act. Thus and so in very deed might Ahura Mazda have indicated to Zarathustra in every question which Zarathustra asked, and in all the consultations in the which they two conversed together.

6. Thus and so might Zarathustra have abjured the shelter and the headship of the Daêvas in all the questions, and in all the consultations with which they two conversed together, Zarathustra and the Lord. And so I myself, in whatsoever circumstances I may be placed, as a worshipper of Mazda, and of Zarathustra's order, would so abjure the Daêvas and their shelter, as he who was the holy Zarathustra abjured them (once of old).

7 To that religious sanctity 3 to which the waters appertain, do I belong, to that sanctity to which the plants, to that sanctity to which the Kine of blessed gift, to that religious sanctity to which Ahura Mazda, who made both Kine and holy men, belongs, to that sanctity do I. Of that creed which Zarathustra held, which Kavi Vîstâspa, and those two, Frashaostra and Gâmâspa; yea, of that religious faith which every Saoshyant who shall (yet come to) save (us), the holy ones who do the deeds of real significance, of that creed, and of that lore, am I.

8 A Mazda-worshipper I am, of Zarathustra's order; (so) do I confess, as a praiser and confessor, and I therefore praise aloud the well-thought thought, the word well spoken, and the deed well done;

9 Yea, I praise at once the Faith of Mazda, the Faith which has no faltering utterance 1, the Faith that wields the felling halbert, the Faith of kindred marriage, the holy (Creed), which is the most imposing, best, and most beautiful of all religions which exist, and of all that shall in future come to knowledge, Ahura's Faith, the Zarathustrian creed. Yea, to Ahura Mazda do I ascribe all good, and such shall be the worship of the Mazdayasnian belief!

YASNA 13 (SP. 14).

INVOCATIONS AND DEDICATIONS.

1 I address (my invocation to) Ahura Mazda. And I invoke (among guardian beings) the chief of the house-lord, and the chief of the Vîs-lord, and the chief of the Zantu-lord. And I invoke the chief of the province-lord. And the chief of women I invoke, the Mazdayasnian Faith, the blessed and good Parendi, her who is the holy one of human-kind. And I invoke this (holy) earth which bears us.

2 And I invoke the friendly and most helpful person's 6 lord, the Fire of Ahura Mazda, and also the most energetic lords of holy men, those who are most strenuous in their care of cattle and the fields, and the chief of the thrifty tiller of the earth. And I invoke the steady settler of sanctity, (and) the chief of the charioteer.

3 And I invoke the chief of the fire-priest by means of the most imposing sciences of the Mazdayasnian Faith. And I invoke the chief of the Âtharvan, and his pupils I invoke; yea, the lords of each of them. I invoke these lords, and I summon the Bountiful Immortals here, and the Prophets who shall serve us, the wisest as they are, the most scrupulous in their exactness (as) they utter words (of doctrine and of service), the most devoted (to their duties likewise), and the most glorious in their thoughts. And I invoke the most imposing forces of the Mazdayasnian Faith, and the fire-priests I invoke, and the charioteers, the warriors, and the thrifty tillers of the soil.

4 And to You, O Ye Bountiful Immortals! Ye who rule aright, and dispose (of all) aright, I offer the flesh of my very frame, and all the blessings of my life. Thus the two spirits thought, thus they spoke, and thus they did;

5 And therefore as Thou, O Ahura Mazda! didst think, speak, dispose, and do all things good (for us), so to Thee would we give, so would we assign to Thee our homage; so would we worship Thee with our sacrifices. So would we bow before Thee with these gifts, and so direct our prayers to Thee with confessions of our debt.

6 By the kinship of the good kindred, by that of Righteousness the good (Thy righteous servant's nature) would we approach Thee, and by that of the good thrift-law, and of Piety the good.

7 And we would worship the Fravashi of the Kine of blessed gift, and that of the holy Gaya Maretan, and we would worship the holy Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma, the saint. Yea, that one of beings do we worship whose better (service) in the sacrifice Ahura Mazda knows; (even those women do we worship) whose (better service thus is known). Yea, both (holy) men and women (do we worship whom Ahura Mazda knows). As the Ahû is excelling, so is our Ratu, one who rules from the Righteous Order, a creator of mental goodness, and of life's actions done for Mazda; and the Kingdom is to Ahura which to the poor (may offer) nurture. A blessing is the Right called the best, there is weal, there is weal to this (man), when toward Righteousness Best (he does) right.

8 We worship the Ahuna-vairya; and we worship Asha Vahista the best, the bountiful Immortal. And we sacrifice to the Hâ fraoreti, even to the confession and laudation of the Mazdayasnian Faith!

YASNA 14 (SP. 15).

DEDICATIONS.

1 I will come to You, O Ye Bountiful Immortals! as a praiser and a priest, and an invoker and sacrificer, as a memorising reciter and a chanter, for Your sacrifice and homage, which are to be offered to You, the Bountiful Immortals, and for our dedication and sanctification; (yea, for ours) who are the holy prophets (destined to benefit the saints).

2 And to You, O Ye Bountiful Immortals! would I dedicate the flesh of my very body, and all the blessings of a prospered life.

3 In this Zaothra with this Baresman, I desire to approach the holy Yazads with my praise 1, and all the holy lords of the ritual order at their times, Hâvani at his time, and Sâvanghi and Vîsya at their times. I confess myself a Mazdayasnian, and of Zarathustra's order.

5 The Zaotar speaks: As an Ahû (revered and) chosen, the Zaotar speaks forth to me. The Ratu speaks: As an Ahû (revered and) to be chosen, the Zaotar speaks forth to me. The Zaotar: So let the Ratu from his Righteousness, holy and learned, speak forth!

YASNA XV (SP. XVI).

THE SACRIFICE CONTINUES.

1 With precept, praise, and with delight produced by grace, I call upon the Bountiful Immortals the good, and also therewith the beautiful by name; and I sacrifice to them with the blessing of the good ritual, with the earnest blessings of the good Mazdayasnian Faith.

2 Whose best gift from his Righteousness is mine in the offering Ahura this knoweth; who have lived, and live ever, by their names these I worship, while I draw near with praises. The Good Kingdom is to be chosen, that lot which most of all bears on (our blessings).

3 Let Sraosha (Obedience) be here present for the sacrifice of Ahura Mazda, the most beneficent, the holy, who is so dear to us as at the first, so at the last; yea, let him be present here.

4 As the Ahû (revered and) to be chosen, the Âtarevakhsha thus speaks forth to me. (Response): So let the Ratu from his righteousness, holy and learned, speak forth!

YASNA 16 (SP. 17).

THE SACRIFICE CONTINUES WITH INCREASED FULNESS OF EXPRESSION.

1 We worship Ahura Mazda, the holy lord of the ritual order, who disposes (all) aright, the greatest Yazad, who is also the most beneficent, and the one who causes the settlements to advance, the creator of good creatures; yea, we worship Him with these offered Zaothras, and with truthfully and scrupulously delivered words; and we worship every holy Yazad of the heaven (as well)!

2 And we worship Zarathustra Spitâma in our sacrifice, the holy lord of the ritual order with these Zaothras, and with faithfully delivered words; and we worship every holy earthly Yazad as we worship him; and we worship also the Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma, the saint. And we worship the utterances of Zarathustra and his religion, his faith and his lore.

3 And we worship the former religions of the world devoted to Righteousness which were instituted at the creation, the holy religions of the Creator Ahura Mazda, the resplendent and glorious. And we worship Vohu Manah (the Good Mind), and Asha Vahista (who is Righteousness the Best), and Khshathra-vairya, the Kingdom to be desired, and the good and bountiful Âramaiti (true piety in the believers), and Haurvatât and Ameretatât (our Weal and Immortality).

4 Yea, we worship the Creator Ahura Mazda and the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son, and the good waters which are Mazda-made and holy, and the resplendent sun of the swift horses, and the moon with the seed of cattle (in his beams 1); and we worship the star Tistrya, the lustrous and glorious; and we worship the soul of the Kine of blessed endowment,

5 And its Creator Ahura Mazda; and we worship Mithra of the wide pastures, and Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, and Rashnu the most just, and the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints, and the Blow-of-victory Ahura-given (as it is). And we worship Râman Hvâstra, and the bounteous Wind of blessed gift,

6 And (its) Creator Ahura Mazda, and the good Mazdayasnian Religion, and the good Blessedness and Arstât. And we worship the heaven and the earth of blessed gift, and the bounteous Mâthra, and the stars without beginning (to their course), self-disposing as they are.

7 And we worship the glorious works of Righteousness in which the souls of the dead find satisfaction and delight [(Pâzand) which are the Fravashis of the saints], and we worship (Heaven) the best world of the saints, shining, all glorious.

8 And we worship the two, the milk-offering and the libation, the two which cause the waters to flow forth 1, and the plants to flourish, the two foes who meet the Dragon demon-made; and who are set to meet, to defeat, and to put to flight, that cheat, the Pairika, and to contradict the insulting malice of the Ashemaogha (the persecuting heretic) and that of the unholy tyrant full of death.

9 And we worship all waters and all plants, and all good men and all good women. And we worship all these Yazads, heavenly and earthly, who are beneficent and holy.

10 And we worship thee (our) dwelling-place who art the (earth, our) bounteous Âramaiti, and Thee, O Ahura Mazda, O holy Lord of this abode! which is the home of healthy herds and healthy men, and of those who are both endowed with

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health and lover(s) of the ritual right. (Response of the individual worshipper. Wherefore whichever of persons, or whatever of bodily influences, is most helpful and preserving in that abode (thus owned by Mazda) let this meet me in mine abode, and there may it abide for summer and for winter. (Or let that one meet me in all my house, in whom are what of influences are the most mighty power for the body and the person's life; yea, let that one meet me there, and there abide for summer and for winter (for my help)!)

YASNA 17.

TO THE FIRES, WATERS, PLANTS, etc.

1-11 We worship thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son! We worship the fire Berezi-savangha (of the lofty use), and the fire Vohu-fryâna (the good and friendly), and the fire Urvâzista (the most beneficial and most helpful), and the fire Vâzista (the most supporting), and the fire Spenista (the most bountiful), and Nairya-sangha the Yazad of the royal lineage, and that fire which is the house-lord of all houses and Mazda-made, even the son of Ahura Mazda, the holy lord of the ritual order, with all the fires.

12 And we worship the good and best waters Mazda-made, holy, all the waters Mazda-made and holy, and all the plants which Mazda made, and which are holy.

13 And we worship the Mâthra-spenta (the bounteous word-of-reason), the Zarathustrian law against the Daêvas, and its long descent.

14 And we worship Mount Ushi-darena which is Mazda-made and shining with its holiness, and all the mountains shining with holiness, and of abundant glory, and which Mazda made—.

15 And we worship the good and pious prayer for blessings, (16) and these waters and (these lands), (17) and all the greatest chieftains, lords of the ritual order;

18 And I praise, invoke, and glorify the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints, those of the house, the Vîs, the Zantuma, the Dahvyuma, and the Zarathustrôtema, and all the holy Yazads!

YASNA 18

1 Grant me, Thou who art maker of the Kine, plants and waters, Immortality, Mazda! Grant, too, Weal, Spirit bounteous—.

YASNA 19

ZAND OR COMMENTARY ON THE AHUNA-VAIRYA FORMULAS 5.

(As the Ahû is excellent, so (is) the Ratu (one who rules) from the righteous Order, a creator of mental goodness and of life's actions done for Mazda; and the Kingdom (is) for Ahura which to the poor shall offer a nurturer.)

1 Zarathustra asked of Ahura Mazda: O Ahura Mazda, Thou most bounteous Spirit! maker 1 of the corporeal worlds, the holy One! which was that word which Thou did'st declare to me, (2) which was before the sky, and before the water, before the earth, and before the cattle, before the plants, and before the fire, and before the holy man, and the Demon-gods (the Daêvas), before the Khrafstra-men, and before all the incarnate world; even before all the good creatures made by Mazda, and which contain (and are) the seed of righteousness?

3 Thereupon Ahura Mazda said: It was this piece 3, the Ahuna-vairya, O Spitama Zarathustra! which I pronounced as thine (4) before the sky, and before the waters, before the land, and before the cattle and the plants, and before the fire, Ahura Mazda's son, before the holy man, and before the Daêvas, and Khrafstra-men, and before the entire corporeal world, even before the good creatures made by Mazda, which contain (and are) the seed of righteousness.

5 It was these part(s) of the Ahuna-vairya, O Spitama Zarathustra! which especially belongs to me, and when each is intoned aloud without the (needless) repetition 1 of verses and of words, and without their omission, it is worth a hundred of their other stanzas, even although they are prominent in the ritual, and likewise equally as well recited without additions or omissions; nay, further, when it is intoned imperfectly but added to, and with omissions, it is even then in effect equivalent (not to a hundred indeed, but) to ten other (stanzas) that are prominent.

6 And whoever in this world of mine which is corporeal shall mentally recall, O Spitâma Zarathustra! a portion of the Ahuna-vairya, and having thus recalled it, shall undertone it, or beginning to recite it with the undertone, shall then utter it aloud, or chanting it with intoning voice, shall worship thus, then with even threefold (safety and with speed) I will bring his soul over the Bridge of Kinvat, I who am Ahura Mazda (I will help him to pass over it) to Heaven (the best life), and to Righteousness the Best, and to the lights of heaven.

7 And whoever, O Spitama Zarathustra! while undertoning the part(s) of the Ahuna-vairya (or this piece the Ahuna-vairya), takes ought therefrom, whether the half, or the third, or the fourth, or the fifth, I who am Ahura Mazda will draw his soul off from the better world; yea, so far off will I withdraw it as the earth is large and wide; [and this earth is as long as it is broad].

8 And I pronounced this saying which contains its Ahû and its Ratu before the creation of this heaven, before the making of the waters, and the plants, and the four-footed kine, before the birth of the holy biped man, before this sun with its body made for the acquisition of the creation of the Bountiful Immortals.

9 And the more bountiful of the two Spirits (Ahura) declared to me (Zarathustra) the entire creation of the pure, that which exists at present, that which is in the course of emerging into existence, and that which shall be, with reference to the performance and realisation 'of the actions of a life devoted to Mazda.'

10 And this word is the most emphatic of the words which have ever been pronounced, or which are now spoken, or which shall be spoken in future; for (the eminence of) this utterance is a thing of such a nature, that if all the corporeal and living world should learn it, and learning should hold fast by it, they would be redeemed from their mortality!

11 And this our word I have proclaimed as a symbol to be learned, and to be recited, as it were, to every one of the beings under the influence of and for the sake of Righteousness the Best.

12 And 'as' (the worshipper has) here spoken it forth, when he has thus 'appointed' the 'Lord and regulator,' so (by thus reciting these authoritative words), he acknowledges Ahura Mazda (as prior to, and supreme) over, those creatures who have 'the mind' 3 as their first. 'As' he acknowledges Him as the greatest of them all, 'so' he assigns the creatures to Him (as to their originator).

13 As he undertones the third sentence, he thereby announces that 'all the amenities of life appertain to the 'good' Mazda, (and come) from Him. As he recites 'dazda mananghô,' 'the creator of mind,' he acknowledges Him as superior and prior to mind; and as he makes Him the one who indicates (the truth) to mind, (saying) 'mananghô of mind,' which means that by this much he makes Him (its director), and then he makes Him 'the lord of actions.'

14 And when he acknowledges Him for the creatures thus, 'O Mazda!' he acknowledges Him (as their ruler) when he assigns the creatures to Him thus. He then assigns the Kingdom to Ahura, saying: 'Thine, O Mazda! is the Kingdom.' And he assigns a nourisher and protector to the poor, saying: Yim drigubyô dadat vâstârem; that is, as a friend to Spitama. This is the fifth sentence, (and it concludes) the entire recital and word, (even) the whole of this word of Ahura Mazda.

15 He who is the best (of all) Ahura Mazda, pronounced the Ahuna-vairya, and as He pronounced it as the best, so He caused it to have its effect, (He, ever) the same, (as He is). The evil one at once arose (to oppose Him), but He (Ahura) repelled that wicked one with His interdict, and with this repelling renunciation: Neither our minds are in harmony, nor our precepts, nor our comprehensions, nor our beliefs, nor our words, nor our actions, nor our consciences, nor our souls!

CATECHETICAL ZAND 7.

16 And this saying, uttered by Mazda, has three stages, or measures, and belongs to four classes (of men as its supporters), and to five chiefs (in the political world, without whom its efficiency is marred), and it has a conclusion ending with a gift. (Question.) How are its measures (constituted)? (Answer.) The good thought, the good word, and the good deed.

17 (Question.) With what classes of men? (Answer.) The priest, the charioteer (as the chief of warriors), the systematic tiller 1 of the ground, and the artisan. These classes therefore accompany the religious man throughout his entire duty with the correct thought, the truthful word, and the righteous action. These are the classes and states in life which give attention to the rulers, and fulfil the (laws) of religion; (yea, they are the guides and companions of that religious man) through whose actions the settlements are furthered in righteousness.

18 (Question.) How are the chiefs (constituted)? (Answer.) They are the house-chief, the village-chief, and the tribe-chief, the chief of the province, and the Zarathustra as the fifth. That is, so far as those provinces are concerned which are different from, and outside of the Zarathustrian regency, or domain. [Ragha which has four chiefs (only) is the Zarathustrian (district)]. (Question.) How are the chiefs of this one constituted? (Answer.) They (are) the house-chief, the village-chief, the tribe-chief, and the Zarathustra as the fourth.

19 (Question.) What is the thought well thought? (Answer.) (It is that which the holy man thinks), the one who holds the holy thought to be before all other things. (Question.) What is the word well spoken? (Answer.) It is the Mâthra Spenta, the bounteous word of reason. (Question.) What is the deed well done? (Answer.) It is that done with praises, and by the creatures who regard Righteousness as before all other things.

20 (Question.) Mazda made a proclamation, whom did He announce? (Answer.) Some one who was holy, and yet both heavenly and mundane. (Question.) What was His character, He who made this sacred enunciation? (Answer.) He who is the best (of all), the ruling one. (Question.) Of what character (did He proclaim him the coming one)? (Answer.) As holy and the best, a ruler who exercises no wanton or despotic power 4.

21 We sacrifice to the (several) part(s) of the Ahuna-vairya. We sacrifice to the memorised recital of the Ahuna-vairya, and its regular chanting and its use in the full Yasna.

YASNA 20.

ZAND, OR COMMENTARY, ON THE ASHEM VOHÛ.

1 A blessing is Righteousness (called) the best; there is weal, there is weal to this man when the Right (helps) the Righteousness best, (when the pious man serves it in truth). Ahura Mazda spake forth: Ashem vohû vahistem asti. To this Asha, the holy ritual sanctity, one attributes the qualities of 'good' and 'best,' as one attributes property to an owner; thus this sentence vohû vahistem asti is substantiated (at once).

2 Ustâ asti ustâ ahmâi; by this attribution of blessedness (the praiser) assigns every person (or thing) of a sacred nature to every holy person, and as one usually and regularly assigns every person or thing that is holy to every holy man.

3 Yyat ashâi vahistai; by these words the worshipper ascribes the entire Mâthra (to Asha Vahista), and ascribes all to the Mâthra, as one ascribes the kingdom to Righteousness, and as one ascribes righteousness to the invoking saint; yea, as one ascribes righteousness to us who are the prophets (who shall help and bless the people). The three maxims of the sentences (are thus fulfilled). And every word (in its detail), and the entire utterance in its proclamation, is the word of Ahura Mazda.

CATECHETICAL ADDITION 5.

4 Mazda has made a proclamation. (Question.) Whom did He announce? (Answer.) That holy one who is both heavenly and earthly. (Question.) Of what character is He who has thus announced Him? (Answer.) He is the best, and the one who is exercising sovereign power. (Question.) Of what character is the man whom He announced? (Answer.) The holy and the best, the one who rules with no capricious tyranny. We sacrifice to the (several) part(s) of the Asha Vahista (prayer). We sacrifice to the heard-recital of the Asha Vahista, to its memorising, its chanting, and its sacrificial use 1!

YASNA 21.

CATECHETICAL ZAND, OR COMMENTARY UPON THE YÊNHÊ HÂTÂM 2.

(The YêNhê. (To that one) of beings do we offer, whose superior (fidelity) in the sacrifice Ahura Mazda recognises by reason of the sanctity (within him; yea, even to those female saints also do we sacrifice) whose (superior fidelity is thus likewise known; thus) we sacrifice to (all, to both) the males and females (of the saints)!)

1 A word for the Yasna by Zarathustra, the saint. YêNhê, &c. Here the worshipper indicates and offers the Yasna (which is the sacrificial worship) of Mazda as by the command (or as the institution) of Ahura. Hâtâm. Here the worshipper offers the sacrificial worship as if with the beings who are among those who are destined to live.

2 Yaunghâm. Here he indicates and offers the sacrificial worship of those holy females who have Âramaiti at their head, as homage to the Immortals. These are the three sentences which comprehend all the Yasnian speech. (Question.) To whom is this Yasna addressed? (Answer.) To the Bountiful Immortals (in the course of the Yasna).

3 Thereupon spake Mazda: Salvation to this one, whosoever he may be! May the absolute ruler Ahura grant it. (Question.)

4 Whom did He answer with this answer? (Answer.) He answered: The state of salvation; and with this answer, 'the state of salvation,' he answered every saint who exists, every one who is coming into existence, and every one who shall exist in the future. (Question. Who answered thus? Answer.) The best One. (Question. What did He answer?) (Answer.) The best thing. (That is,) the best One, Mazda, answered the best and the holy (answer) for the better and the holy man.

5 We sacrifice to this piece, the YêNhê hâtâm, the prominent and holy Yast.

YASNA 22

THE SACRIFICE CONTINUES.

1 With the Baresman brought hither together with the Zaothra, for the worship of the Creator Ahura Mazda, the resplendent, the glorious, and for that of the Bountiful Immortals, I desire to approach this Haoma with my praise, offered (as it is) with punctilious sanctity (or, for a blessing), and this fresh milk, and this plant Hadhânaêpata.

2 And, as an act of worship to the beneficent waters, I desire to approach these Zaothras with (my) praise offered (as they are) with punctilious sanctity, having the Haoma with them, and the flesh, with the Hadhânaêpata. And I desire to approach the Haoma-water with my praise for the beneficent waters; and I desire to approach the stone mortar and the iron mortar with my praise.

3 And I desire to approach this plant for the Baresman with my praise, and the well-timed prayer for blessings, that which has approached (to accept our homage), and the memorised

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recital and the fulfilment of the good Mazdayasnian Faith, and the heard recital of the Gâthas, and the well-timed and successful prayer for blessings, that of the holy lord of the ritual order. And I desire to approach these wood-billets and their perfume with my praise,—thine, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son! Yea, I desire to approach all good things with my praise, those which Mazda made, and which have the seed of sanctity (within them), (4) for the propitiation of Ahura Mazda and of the Bountiful Immortals, and of Sraosha the blessed, and of Ahura Mazda's Fire, the lofty ritual lord!

20 And I desire to approach this Haoma with (my) praise, that which is thus lifted up with sanctity, and this milk (fresh as it is, and as if) living and lifted up with sanctity, and this plant the Hadhânaêpata lifted up with sanctity.

21. And I desire to approach these Zaothras with (my) praise for the beneficial waters, these Zaothras which have the H(a)oma with them and the milk with them, and the Hadhânaêpata, and which are lifted up with sanctity. And I desire to approach the Haoma-water with (my) praise for the beneficial waters, and the two mortars, the stone one and the iron one, (22) and I desire to approach this branch for the Baresman with my praise, and the memorised recital and fulfilment of the Mazdayasnian law, and the heard recital of the Gâthas, and the well-timed and persistent prayer for blessings (uttered) by the holy lord of the ritual order, and this wood and perfume, even thine, O Fire, Ahura Mazda's son, and all good objects Mazda-made (23) for the propitiation of Ahura Mazda, the resplendent, the glorious, and of the Bountiful Immortals, and of Mithra of the wide pastures, and of Râman Hvâstra, (24) and of the resplendent sun, immortal, radiant, of the fleet horses, and of Vayu, (of predominant influence and) working on high, set over the other beings in the creation [(Pâzand); that is for thee thus (O Vayu) when thine influence is that which appertains to Spenta Mainyu], and for the propitiation of the most just knowledge Mazda-given, and of the holy and good Religion, the Mazdayasnian Faith; (25) for the propitiation of the Mâthra Spenta, (the bounteous) and holy, and the effective, instituted against the Daêvas, the Zarathustrian law, and of the long descent of the good Mazdayasnian Faith [the holding in mind and devotion to the Mâthra Spenta, and knowledge of the Mazdayasnian Religion] for the propitiation of the understanding which is innate and Mazda-made, and of that which is heard by the ear; (26) and for thy propitiation, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son! [(Pâzand); (yea) thine, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son] with all the fires, and for the propitiation of Mount Ushi-darena, the Mazda-made, radiant with sanctity; (27) and of all the holy Yazads, spiritual and earthly, and of the holy Fravashis, the redoubted and overwhelming, those of the ancient lore, and those of the next of kin and of the Yazad of the spoken name!

YASNA 23

THE FRAVASHIS OF THE SAINTS; PRAYERS FOR THEIR APPROACH 3.

1 I desire to approach with my praise 4 those Fravashis which have existed from of old, the Fravashis of the houses, and of the villages, of the communities, and of the provinces, which hold the heaven in its place apart, and the water, land, and cattle, which hold the children in the wombs safely enclosed apart so that they do not miscarry.

2 And I desire to approach toward the Fravashi 1 of Ahura Mazda, and with my praise, and for those of the Bountiful Immortals, with all the holy Fravashis which are those of the heavenly Yazads. And I desire to approach the Fravashi of Gaya Maretan (the life-man) in my worship with my praise, and for that of Zarathustra Spitâma, and for those of Kavi Vîstâspa, and of Isat-vâstra, the Zarathustrian, with all the holy Fravashis of the other ancient counsellors as well.

3 And I desire in my worship to approach toward every holy Fravashi whosesoever it may be, and wheresoever dead upon this earth (its possessor may have lain), the pious woman, or the girl of tender years, the maiden diligent (among the cattle) in the field (who) may have dwelt (here; yea, all) which are now worshipped from this house, which are attentive to, and which attain to (our) good Yasnas and (our) homage.

4 Yea, I desire to approach the Fravashis of the saints with my praise, redoubted (as they are) and overwhelming, the Fravashis of those who held to the ancient lore, and the Fravashis of the next-of-kin; and I desire to approach toward the Fravashi of mine own soul in my worship with my praise; and I desire therewith to approach toward all the lords of the ritual, and with praise; and I desire to approach all the good Yazads with my praise, the heavenly and the earthly, who are meet for sacrifice and homage, because of Righteousness the Best!

YASNA 24.

1 (And having approached these Haomas with our worship), we present them to Ahura Mazda; (yea, we present) these Haomas, Myazdas, Zaothras, and the Baresman spread with punctilious sanctity, and the flesh, and the milk, fresh as if living, and lifted up with punctilious sanctity, and this branch the Hadhânaêpata likewise lifted up with sanctity.

2 (And having approached these Zaothras in our worship), we present them to the good waters having the Haoma with them, and the milk, and the Hadhânaêpata, and lifted up with scrupulous sanctity; and (with them) we present the Haoma-water to the good waters, and both the stone and the iron mortar.

3 And we present this plant of the Baresman, and the timely prayer for blessings, which has approached in the due course of the ritual, and the recollection and practice 1 of the good Mazdayasnian Religion, and the heard recital of the Gâthas, and the timely prayer for blessings which has approached as the prayer of the holy lord of the ritual order; and these wood-billets, and the perfume, (even) thine, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son! and all good objects Mazda-made, which have the seed of righteousness, we offer and present.

4 And these we present hereby to Ahura Mazda, and to Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed (and Righteous), and to the Bountiful Immortals; and to the Fravashis of the saints, even to the souls of the saints, and to the Fire of Ahura Mazda, the lofty lord of entire holy creation, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and for praise.

5 And these we present hereby to the Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma, the saint, for sacrifice, propitiation, and for praise, and to that of the people 1 who love Righteousness, with all the holy Fravashis of the saints who are dead and who are living, and to those of men who are as yet unborn, and to those of the prophets who will serve us, and will labour to complete the progress and renovation of the world.

6 And we present these Haomas, Myazdas, Zaothras, and the Baresman spread with sanctity, and the flesh, and the milk (fresh as if) living, and lifted up with sanctity, and the Hadhânaêpata branch.

7 And we present these Zaothras to the beneficial waters having the Haoma with them, and the flesh, and the Hadhânaêpata lifted up with sanctity, and the Haoma-water, to the good waters, with the stone and iron mortars, (8) and this plant of the Baresman, (and) the timely Prayer and the recollection and practice of the good Mazdayasnian Faith, and these wood-billets, and the perfume, thine, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son! and all objects which are Mazda-made, and which have, and are, the seed of Righteousness, these we offer and present.

9 (Yea,) we present these hereby to the Bountiful Immortals who rule aright, and who dispose of all aright, the ever-living, ever-helpful, who abide with the Good Mind (of the Lord and of His folk)!

YASNA 25.

1 And we worship the Bountiful Immortals with our sacrifice, who rule aright, and who dispose of all aright; and we worship this Haoma, this flesh and branch,

2 And these Zaothras for the good waters, having the Haoma with them, and the flesh with them, and Hadhânaêpata, and lifted up with sanctity, and we worship the Haoma-water for the beneficial waters; and we worship the two, the stone mortar and the iron mortar;

3 And we worship this plant for the Baresman and the well-timed prayer for blessings which has approached (in its proper place within the ritual course), and also both the remembrance and the practice of the good Mazdayasnian Religion, and the heard recital of the Gâthas, and the well-timed prayer for blessings of the holy lord of the ritual order which has approached, and these wood-billets with the perfume, (even) thine, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son! and we worship all good objects which are Mazda-made, and which contain (and are) the seed of Righteousness.

4 And we worship Ahura Mazda with our sacrifice, the resplendent, the glorious, and the Bountiful Immortals who rule aright, and who dispose (of all) aright, and Mithra of the wide pastures and Râman Hvâstra; and we worship the shining sun, the resplendent, the immortal, of the fleet horses.

5 And we worship the holy wind which works on high, placed higher than the other creatures in the creation; and we worship this which is thine, O Vayu! and which appertains to the Spenta Mainyu within thee; and we worship the most true religious Knowledge, Mazda-made and holy, and the good Mazdayasnian law.

6 And we worship the Mâthra Spenta verily glorious (as it is), even the law pronounced against the Daêvas, the Zarathustrian law, and its long descent; yea, we worship the good Mazdayasnian Religion, and the Mâthra which is heart-devoted and bounteous (imparting heart's devotion to the saint); yea, we worship the Mazdayasnian Religion maintained in the understanding of the saint; and we honour that science which is the Mâthra Spenta, and the innate understanding Mazda-made, and the derived understanding, heard with ear, and Mazda-made.

7 Yea, we worship thee, the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son! the holy lord of the ritual order; and we worship all the Fires, and Mount Ushi-darena (which holds the light) Mazda-made and holy, the Yazad mount, brilliant with sanctity.

8. And we worship every holy spiritual Yazad; and every holy earthly Yazad (who exists)!

YASNA 26.

THE FRAVASHIS; SACRIFICE AND PRAISE TO THEM.

1 I praise, invoke, and weave my hymn to the good, heroic, and bountiful Fravashis of the saints; (and having invoked these, then) we worship the Nmânyas, and the Vîsyas, and the Zantumas, and the Dahvyumas, and the Zarathustrôtemas.

2 And of all these prior Fravashis, we worship here the Fravashi of Ahura Mazda, which is the greatest and the best, the most beautiful and the firmest, the most wise and the best in form, and the one that attains the most its ends because of Righteousness.

3 And (having invoked them) hither, we worship the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the holy ones, those of the Bountiful Immortals, the brilliant, of effective glance, the lofty, the devoted, the swift ones of the creatures of Ahura who are imperishable and holy.

4 And (having invoked them) hither, we worship the spirit and conscience, the intelligence and soul and Fravashi of those holy men and women who early heard the lore and commands (of God), and loved and strove after Righteousness, the ritual truth; and we worship the soul of the Kine of blessed gift.

5 And (having invoked it) hither, we worship the Fravashi of Gaya Maretan the holy, and the sanctity and Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma the saint; and we worship the Fravashi of Kavi Vîstâspa the holy, and that of Isat-vâstra the Zarathustrian, the saint.

6 And (having invoked them) hither; we worship the life, conscience, intelligence, soul and Fravashi of the next of kin, of the saints male and female who have striven after the ritual truth, which are those of the dead and living saints, and which are those also of men as yet unborn, of the future prophets who will help on the renovation, and complete the human progress, with them all.

7 And (having invoked them) hither, we worship the souls of the dead [(Pâzand) which are the Fravashis of the saints]; and of all the next of kin who have passed away in this house, of the Aêthrapaitis (the teachers) and of the disciples; yea, of all holy men and women;

8 And we worship the Fravashis of all the holy teachers and disciples; and of all the saints both male and female.

9 (And having invoked them) hither we worship the Fravashis of all the holy children who fulfil the deeds of piety; and we worship the Fravashis of the saints within the province; and those of the saints without the province.

10 We worship the Fravashis of (those) holy men and holy women; we worship all the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints from Gaya Maretan (the first created) to the Saoshyant, the victorious.

11 Yea, we worship all the Fravashis of the saints, and we worship the souls of the dead [(Pâzand) which are the Fravashis of the saints]!

YASNA 27

PRELUDE TO THE CHIEF RECITAL OF THE AHUNA-VAIRYA.

1 This is to render 1 Him who is of all the greatest, our lord 2 and master (even) Ahura Mazda. And this to smite the wicked Angra Mainyu, and to smite Aêshma of the bloody spear, and the Mazainya Daêvas, and to smite all the wicked Varenya Daêvas.

2 And this is to further Ahura Mazda, the resplendent, the glorious, to further the Bountiful Immortals, and the influences of the star Tistrya, the resplendent, the glorious, (and) to the furtherance of the holy man, and of all the (bountiful and) holy creatures of the Bounteous Spirit.

3-6 The Haomas are crushed, O Mazda, Khshathra, and Asha, O ye Lords! Good is Sraosha who accompanies the sacrifice with the great glory, and may he be present affording strenuous help.

7 We are offering saving acts of wisdom and of worship with the sacred gift of the Ahuna-vairya intoned with sanctity, and of the two mortars here brought forward with holy act, and with that of the correctly uttered words likewise; and therefore may they be to us the more saving in their wise significance

8-13 As the Ahû is excellent, so is the Ratu (one who rules) from (his) sanctity, a creator of mental goodness, and of life's actions done for Mazda; and the Kingdom (is) for Ahura, which to the poor may offer a nurturer.

14 (What is Your Kingdom, Your riches; how may I be Your own in my actions, to nourish Your poor, O Mazda? Beyond; yea, beyond all we declare You, far from Daêvas and Khrafstra-accursed mortals!)

15 We worship the Ahuna-vairya. We worship Asha Vahista, the most beautiful, the Bountiful Immortal.

YASNA 35.

YASNA HAPTANGHÂITI.

PRAISE TO AHURA AND THE IMMORTALS; PRAYER FOR THE PRACTICE AND DIFFUSION OF THE FAITH.

1 We sacrifice to Ahura Mazda, the holy Lord of the ritual order, and to the Bountiful Immortals, who rule aright, who dispose of all aright; and we sacrifice to the entire creation of the clean, the spiritual and the mundane, with the longing

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blessing of the beneficent ritual, with the longing blessing of the benignant Religion, the Mazdayasnian Faith.

2 We are praisers of good thoughts, of good words, and of good actions, of those now and those hereafter 1 [(Pâzand) of those being done, and of those completed]. We implant them (with our homage, and we do this) the more, and yet the more since we are (praisers) of the good (from whom they spring).

3 That, therefore, would we choose, O Ahura Mazda! and thou, O Righteousness the beauteous! that we should think, and speak, and do those thoughts, and words, and deeds, among actual good thoughts, and words, and actions, which are the best for both the worlds;

4 And together with these gifts and actions which are thus the best, we would pray for the Kine (which represents the pure creation), that she may have comfort and have fodder from the famed, and from the humble, from the potent and the weak.

5 To the best of good rulers (is) verily the Kingdom, because we render and ascribe it to Him, and make it thoroughly His own (?), to Mazda Ahura do we ascribe it, and to Righteousness the Best.

6 As thus both man or woman knows (the duty), both thoroughly and truly, so let him, or her, declare it and fulfil it, and inculcate it upon those who may perform it as it is.

7 We would be deeply mindful of Your sacrifice and homage, Yours, O Ahura Mazda! and the best, (and we would be mindful) of the nurture of the Kine. And that let us inculcate and perform for You according as we may, and (for) such (praisers as we are).

8 Under the shelter of the ritual Order let us do so in the active fulfilment of its (precepts) toward every one of the (clean) and better creatures which are fit to live, with a gift for both the worlds.

9 Yea, those words and sayings, O Ahura Mazda! we would proclaim as Righteousness, and as of the better mind; and we would make Thee the one who both supports (us in our proclamation) of them, and who throws still further light upon them (as they are),

10 And by reason of Thy Righteous Order, Thy Good Mind, and Thy Sovereign Power, and through the instrumentality of our praises of Thee, O Ahura Mazda! and for the purpose of (still further) praises, by Thy spoken words, and for (still further) spoken words, through Thy Yasna, and for (still further) Yasnas (would we thus proclaim them, and make Thee the bestower of our light).

YASNA 36.

TO AHURA AND THE FIRE.

1 We would approach You two, O (Ye) primeval ones in the house 2 of this Thy holy Fire, O Ahura Mazda, Thou most bounteous Spirit! Who brings pollutions to this (Thy flame) him wilt Thou cover with pollutions (in his turn).

2. But as the most friendly do Thou give us zeal, O Fire of the Lord! and approach us, and with the loving blessing of the most friendly, with the praise of the most adored. Yea, may'st thou approach to aid us in this our greatest (undertaking) among the efforts of our zeal.

3 The Fire of Ahura Mazda art thou verily; yea, the most bounteous one of His Spirit, wherefore Thine is the most potent of all names (for grace), O Fire of the Lord!.

4. And therefore we would approach Thee, (O Ahura!) with the help of Thy Good Mind (which Thou dost implant within us), with Thy (good) Righteousness, and with the actions and the words inculcated by Thy good wisdom!

5 We therefore bow before Thee, and we direct our prayers to Thee with confessions of our guilt, O Ahura Mazda! with all the good thoughts (which Thou dost inspire), with all the words well said, and the deeds well done, with these would we approach Thee.

6. And to Thy most beauteous body do we make our deep acknowledgments, O Ahura Mazda! to those stars (which are Thy body); and to that one, the highest of the high, [such as the sun was called]!

YASNA 37.

TO AHURA, THE HOLY CREATION, THE FRAVASHIS OF THE JUST, AND THE BOUNTIFUL IMMORTALS.

1 Thus therefore do we worship Ahura Mazda, who made the Kine (the living creation), and the (embodied) Righteousness (which is incarnate in the clean), and the waters, and the wholesome plants, the stars, and the earth, and all (existing) objects that are good.

2 Yea, we worship Him for His Sovereign Power and His greatness, beneficent (as they are), and with priority among the Yazads who abide beside the Kine (and care for her protection and support).

3 And we worship Him under His name as Lord, to Mazda dear, the most beneficent (of names). We worship him with our bones, and with our flesh, (with our bodies and our life). And we worship the Fravashis of the saints, of holy men, and holy women;

4 And Righteousness the Best do we worship, the most beauteous, the Bountiful Immortal and that which is endowed with light in all things good.

5 And we worship the Good Mind (of the Lord), and His Sovereign Power, and the Good Faith, the good law of our thrift, and Piety the ready mind (within Thy folk)!

YASNA 38.

TO THE EARTH AND THE SACRED WATERS.

1 And now we worship this earth which bears us, together with Thy wives, O Ahura Mazda! yea, those Thy wives do we worship which are so desired from their sanctity.

2. We sacrifice to their zealous wishes, and their capabilities, their inquiries (as to duty), and their wise acts of pious reverence, and with these their blessedness, their full vigour and good portions, their good fame and ample wealth.

3. O ye waters! now we worship you, you that are showered down, and you that stand in pools and vats, and you that bear forth (our loaded vessels?) ye female Ahuras of Ahura, you that serve us (all) in helpful ways, well forded and full-flowing, and effective for the bathings, we will seek you and for both the worlds!

4. Therefore did Ahura Mazda give you names, O ye beneficent 1 ones! when He who made the good bestowed you. And by these names we worship you, and by them we would ingratiate ourselves with you, and with them would we bow before you, and direct our prayers to you with free confessions of our debt. O waters, ye who are productive, and ye maternal ones, ye with heat that suckles the (frail and) needy (before birth), ye waters (that have once been) rulers of (us) all, we will now address you as the best, and the most beautiful; those (are) yours, those good (objects). of our offerings, ye long of arm to reach our sickness, or misfortune, ye mothers of our life!

YASNA 39.

TO THE SOUL OF THE KINE, &c.

1 And now we sacrifice to the Kine's soul, and to her created body, and we sacrifice to the souls of cattle who are fit to live 1 (for us), and whose (we?) are, such as are the same to them.

2 And we worship the souls of those beasts which are tame and broken in, and of wild herds, and the souls of the saints wherever they were born, both of men and of women, whose good consciences are conquering in the strife against the Daêvas, or will conquer, or have conquered.

3 And now we worship the Bountiful Immortals (all) the good, and both those male, and those female (by their names). The males among them do we worship, ever living, and ever helpful, who dwell beside the pious, and the females thus the same.

4 As Thou, O Ahura Mazda! hast thought and spoken, as thou hast determined, and hast done these things (effecting) what is good, therefore do we offer to Thee, therefore do we ascribe to Thee our praises, and worship Thee, and bow ourselves before Thee; and therefore would we direct our prayers to Thee, Ahura! with confessions of our sin.

5 And we thus draw near to Thee together with the good kinship of our kindred, with that of Righteousness the blessed, and the good law of thrift and energy and the good Piety, the ready mind (within Thy folk)!

YASNA 40.

PRAYERS FOR HELPERS.

1 And now in these Thy dispensations, O Ahura Mazda! do Thou wisely act for us, and with abundance with Thy bounty and Thy tenderness 1 as touching us; and grant that reward which Thou hast appointed to our souls, O Ahura Mazda!

2 Of this do Thou Thyself bestow upon us for this world and the spiritual; and now as part thereof (do Thou grant) that we may attain to fellowship with Thee, and Thy Righteousness for all duration.

3 And do Thou grant us, O Ahura! men who are righteous, and both lovers and producers of the Right as well. And give us trained beasts for the pastures, broken in for riding, and for bearing, (that they may be) in helpful companionship with us, and as a source of long enduring vigour, and a means of rejoicing grace to us for this.

4 So let there be a kinsman lord for us, with the labourers of the village, and so likewise let there be the clients (or the peers 5). And by the help of those may we arise. So may we be to You, O Mazda Ahura! holy and true 6, and with free giving of our gifts.

YASNA 41.

A PRAYER TO AHURA AS THE KING, THE LIFE, AND THE REWARDER.

1 Praises, and songs, and adorations do we offer to Ahura Mazda, and to Righteousness the Best; yea, we offer and we ascribe them, and proclaim them.

2 And to Thy good Kingdom, O Ahura Mazda! may we attain for ever, and a good King be Thou over us; and let each man of us, and so each woman, thus abide, O Thou most beneficent of beings, and for both the worlds!

3 Thus do we render Thee, the helpful Yazad, endowed with good devices, the friend of them (who worship Thee) with (well-adjusted) ritual; so may'st Thou be to us our life, and our body's vigour, O Thou most beneficent of beings, and that for both the worlds!

4 Aye, let us win and conquer long life, O Ahura Mazda! in Thy grace, and through Thy will may we be powerful. May'st Thou lay hold on us to help, and long, and with salvation, O Thou most beneficent of beings!

5 Thy praisers and Mâthra-speakers may we be called, O Ahura Mazda! so do we wish, and to this may we attain. What reward most meet for our deserving Thou hast appointed for the souls, O Ahura Mazda! (6) of that do Thou bestow on us for this life, and for that of mind. Of that reward (do Thou Thyself grant this advantage), that we may come under Thy protecting guardianship, and that of Righteousness for ever. We sacrifice to that brave Yasna, the Yasna Haptanghâiti, the holy, the ritual chief!

YASNA 42.

A SUPPLEMENT TO THE HAPTANGHÂITI 5.

1 We worship You, O Ye Bountiful Immortals! with the entire collection of this Yasna, Haptanghâiti (as we sum up all). And we sacrifice to the fountains of the waters, and to the fordings of the rivers, to the forkings of the highways, and to the meetings of the roads.

2 And we sacrifice to the hills that run with torrents, and the lakes that brim with waters, and to the corn that fills the corn-fields; and we sacrifice to both the protector and the Creator, to both Zarathustra and the Lord.

3 And we sacrifice to both earth and heaven, and to the stormy wind that Mazda made, and to the peak of high Haraiti, and to the land, and all things good.

4 And we worship the Good Mind (in the living) and the spirits of the saints. And we sacrifice to the fish of fifty-fins 1, and to that sacred beast the Unicorn which stands in Vouru-kasha, and we sacrifice to that sea of Vouru-kasha where he stands, (5) and to the Haoma, golden-flowered, growing on the heights; yea, to the Haoma that restores us, and aids this world's advance. We sacrifice to Haoma that driveth death afar, (6) and to the flood-streams of the waters, and to the great flights of the birds, and to the approaches of the Fire-priests, as they approach us from afar, and seek to gain the provinces, and spread the ritual lore. And we sacrifice to the Bountiful Immortals all!

YASNA 52 (SP. 51).

A PRAYER FOR SANCTITY AND ITS BENEFITS.

1 I pray with benedictions for a benefit, and for the good, even for the entire creation of the holy (and the clean); I beseech for them for the (generation which is) now alive, for that which is just coming into life 1, and for that which shall be hereafter. And (I pray for that) sanctity which leads to prosperity, and which has long afforded shelter, which goes on hand in hand with it, which joins it in its walk, and of itself becoming its close companion as it delivers forth its precepts, (2) bearing every form of healing virtue which comes to us in waters, appertains to cattle, or is found in plants, and overwhelming all the harmful malice of the Daêvas, (and their servants) who might harm this dwelling and its lord, (3) bringing good gifts, and better blessings, given very early, and later (gifts), leading to successes, and for a long time giving shelter. And so the greatest, and the best, and most beautiful benefits of sanctity fall likewise to our lot (4) for the sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and the praise of the Bountiful Immortals, for the bringing prosperity to this abode, and for the prosperity of the entire creation of the holy, and the clean, (and as for this, so) for the opposition of the entire evil creation. (And I pray for this) as I praise through Righteousness, I who am beneficent, chose who are (likewise of a better mind). 5-8. (See Y. 8, 5-8.) (For Y. 53, see Gâthas, pp. 190-194.)

YASNA 54 2 (SP. 53).

THE AIRYEMÂ-ISHYÔ.

1 Let the Airyaman, the desired friend and peers-man, draw near for grace to the men and to the women who are taught of Zarathustra, for the joyful grace of the Good Mind, whereby the conscience may attain its wished-for recompense. I pray for the sacred reward of the ritual order which is (likewise so much) to be desired; and may Ahura Mazda grant it, (or cause it to increase).

2 We sacrifice to the Airyemâ-ishyô, the powerful; the victoriously smiting, the opponent of assaulting malice, the greatest of the sentences of the holy ritual order. And we sacrifice to the bounteous Gâthas that rule supreme in the ritual, the holy (and august). And we sacrifice to the Praises of the Yasna which were the productions of the world of old.

YASNA 55 (SP. 54).

THE WORSHIP OF THE GÂTHAS AS CONCLUDED, AND THAT OF THE STAOTA YÊSNYA AS BEGINNING.

1 We present hereby and we make known, as our offering to the bountiful Gâthas which rule (as the leading chants) within (the appointed times and seasons of) the Ritual, all our landed riches, and our persons, together with our very bones and

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tissues, our forms and forces, our consciousness, our soul, and Fravashi.

2 That which Gâthas (may) be to us, which are our guardians and defenders, and our spiritual food, yea, which (may) be to our souls both food and clothing, such are these Gâthas to us, guardians, and defenders, and (spiritual) food, even such they are, both food and clothing to the soul. And (may) they be to us (for this our offering) abundant givers of rewards, and just and righteous ones, for the world beyond the present, after the parting of our consciousness and body.

3 And may these (Praises of the Offering) come forth, and appear for us with power and victorious assault, with health and healing, with progress, and with growth, with preparation and protection, with beneficence and sanctity, and abounding with gifts toward him who can understand; yea, let them appear (with free liberality to the enlightened), let them appear as Mazda, the most beneficent, has produced them, He the one who is victorious when He smites, and who helps the settlements advance, for the protection, and the guarding of the religious order of the settlements which are now being furthered, and of those which shall bring salvation to us, and for the protection of the entire creation of the holy (and the clean).

4 And may'st thou, (O Asha! who abidest within the Gâthas 1), give to every holy man who comes with this prayer for a blessing, and endeavouring to help himself, according to his good thoughts, and words, and deeds.

5 We are therefore worshipping both the (divine) Righteousness and the Good Mind, and the bountiful Gâthas, that rule as the leading chants within (the times and the seasons of) the holy ritual order.

6 And we worship the Praises of the Yasna which were the production of the ancient world, those which are (now) recollected and put in use, those which are now learned and taught, those which are being held (in mind, and so) repeated, those remembered and recited, and those worshipped, and thus the ones which further the world through grace in its advance. And we worship the part(s) of the Praises of the Yasna, and their recitation as it is heard, even their memorised recital, and their chanting, and their offering (as complete).

YASNA 56 (SP. 55).

INTRODUCTION TO THE SRÔSH YAST.

1 Let Sraosha (the listening Obedience) be present here for the worship of Ahura Mazda, the most beneficent, and holy, of him) who is desired by us as at the first, so at the last; and so again may attentive Obedience be present here for the worship of Ahura Mazda, the most beneficent and the holy who (is so) desired by us.

2 (Yea), let Sraosha (the attentive Obedience) be present here for the worship of the good waters, and for the Fravashis of the saints which are so desired by us, [and for (their) souls], as at the first, so at the last. And thus again may Sraosha (the listening Obedience) be present here for the worship of the good waters, and for the Fravashis of the saints, which are so desired by us, [(and) for (their) souls].

3 Let Sraosha (the listening Obedience) be present here for the worship of the good waters; yea, let the good Obedience be here for the worship of the good and bountiful Immortals who rule aright, and dispose (of all) aright, the good, and for the worship of the good Sanctity, or Blessedness, who is closely knit with the Righteous Order, to perfect us, and to incite us. May Sraosha (Obedience) be here present for the worship of the good waters, he the good and the holy, as at the first, so at the last.

4 And so again may Sraosha, (Obedience) the good, be present here for the worship of the good waters, and of the good 1 and bountiful Immortals, and of Blessedness the good who is closely knit with the Righteous Order to perfect and to incite us. Yea, we worship Sraosha the blessed and the stately, who smites with victory, and who furthers the settlements in their advance, the holy lord of the ritual order.

YASNA 57 (SP. 56).

THE SROSH YAST.

1 A blessing is Righteousness (called) the Best, etc. Propitiation be to Sraosha, Obedience the blessed, the mighty, the incarnate word of reason, whose body is the Mâthra, him of the daring spear, devoted to the Lord, for (his) sacrificial worship, homage, propitiation, and praise.

2 We worship Sraosha, (Obedience) the blessed, the stately, him who smites with the blow of victory, and who furthers the settlements, the holy, (ruling) as the ritual lord. Him do we worship, who in the creation of Mazda the first adored Ahura, with the Baresman spread, who worshipped the Bountiful Immortals (first), who worshipped both the protector and the Creator, who are (both) creating all things in the creation.

3 For his splendour and his glory, for his might, and the blow which smites with victory, I will worship him with the Yasna of the Yazads, with a Yasna loud intoned, him Obedience the blessed, with the consecrated waters, and the good Blessedness, the lofty, and Nairya-sangha, the stately; and may he draw near to us to aid us, he who smites with victory, Obedience the blessed!

4 We worship Sraosha, Obedience the blessed, and that lofty Lord who is Ahura Mazda Himself, Him who has attained the most to this our ritual, Him who has approached the nearest to us in our celebrations. And we worship all the words of Zarathustra, and all the deeds well done (for him), both those that have been done (in times gone by), and those which are yet to be done (for him in times to come).

5 We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the stately, him who smites with the blow of victory, who prospers the settlements, the holy ritual lord, (6) who first spread forth the Baresman, and the three bundles, and the five bundles, and the seven bundles, and the nine, till it was heaped for us knee-high, and to the middle of the thighs, for the Bountiful Immortals, for their worship, and their homage, and their propitiation, and their praise. For his splendour and his glory, for his might, and the blow which smites with victory, I will worship him with the Yasna of the Yazads, with a Yasna loud intoned, him Obedience the blessed, with the consecrated waters.

7 We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, the stately, who smites with the blow of victory, who furthers the settlements, the holy ritual chief.

8 Who first chanted the Gâthas, the five Gâthas of Zarathustra, the Spitâma, the holy (with the fashion) of their metres, and after the well-constructed order of their words, together with the Zand which they contain, and the questions which they utter, and the answers which they give, for the Bountiful Immortals, for their sacrifice and homage, their propitiation, and their praise. For his splendour and his glory, for his might . . . .

9 10. We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the stately, who smites with the blow of victory, and who furthers the settlements, the holy ritual chief, (10) who for the poor among (our) men and women built a mighty house, who after sunset, and with his levelled battle-axe, smites Âêshema bloody wounds, and having struck the head, casts him lightly (to the earth), as the stronger (smites) the weaker. For his splendour and his glory, for his might . . . .

11, 12 We worship Sraosha, Obedience the blessed and the stately, him who smites with the blow of victory, who furthers the settlements, the holy ritual chief, as the energetic, and the swift, the strong, the daring (and redoubted) hero, (12) who comes back from all his battles (and comes from them) a conqueror, who amid the Bountiful Immortals sits as companion at their meeting. For his splendour and his glory, for his might . . . .

13 We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, who is the strongest and most persistent of the youths, the most energetic, and the swiftest, who of all the youths strikes most with terror from afar. [Be ye desirous, O ye Mazdayasnians! of the Yasna of Obedience the blessed.]

14 Far from this house, this village, and this tribe, and from this country, the evil and destructive terrors (shall) depart. In the dwelling of that man in whose abode Obedience the blessed, who smites victoriously, is satisfied and welcomed, there is that holy man who thus contents him (most) forward in the thinking better thoughts, in the speaking truthful (ritual) words, and in the doing holy deeds. For his splendour and his glory, for his might . . . .

15 We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the stately, who is the conqueror of the Kayadha, and the Kâidhya, who was the smiter of the Lie-demon of the Daêvas, the one veritably powerful, the destroyer of the world, who is the guardian and watchman over all the migrations of the tribes.

16-18 Who sleeplessly and vigilant guards the creatures of Ahura, who sleeplessly and with vigilance saves them, who with halberd raised on high guards all the corporeal world after setting of the sun, (17) who has never slept in quiet since the two Spirits made the worlds, [the bounteous and the evil one], who guards the homes of Asha, who battles all the days long and the nights with all the Daêvas [(Pâzand) the Mâzanian], (18) nor terror-stricken does he turn in affright before (their power); but before him all the Daêvas turn in affright against their will, and rush to darkness is their fear. For his splendour and his glory, for his might . . . .

19, 20 We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, whom Haoma worshipped on the highest height of high Haraiti, he Haoma, the reviver, and the healer, the beautiful, the kingly, of the golden eye, (20) of the gracious words of the warning and the guarding words, who intones our hymns on every side, who possesses understanding and of every brilliant form, which abounds in many an explanation and revelation of the word, who has the first place in the Mâthra. For his splendour and his glory, for his might . . . .

21, 22 We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, whose house stands with its thousand pillars, as victorious, on the highest height of high Haraiti, self-lighted from within, star-studded from without, (22) to whom the Ahuna-vairya has come, the axe of victory, and the Haptanghâiti, and the Fshûshômâthra which smites with victory, and all the Yasna sections. For his splendour and his glory, for his might . . . .

23 We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, by whose might and victorious power, and wise conduct, and (full) knowledge, the Bountiful Immortals descend upon this earth of seven quarters.

24 Who as teacher of the law will stride forth upon this earth with its dwellers in the body, and ruling as he will. And in this Religion, Ahura Mazda has been confessed 3 with faith, and the Good Mind likewise with Him, and Righteousness the Best, and Khshathra-vairya, and Piety the Bounteous, and the Universal Weal and Immortality; and the question to the Lord is asked, and Mazda's lore (is written).

25 O Sraosha (Obedience), thou blessed one, and stately! protect us for the lives; yea, for both, (for that) of this world which is corporeal, and for the world of mind, against unhappy death, and the remorseless Wrath of rapine, against the hosts with ill-intent, who lift their bloody spears against us; yea, against their assaults whom the Wrath-demon will set on, and Vîdhâtu, demon-made.

26 Therefore may'st thou, O Sraosha, the blessed and the stately! grant swiftness to our teams, soundness to our bodies, and abundant observation 2 of our foes, and their smiting (as we mark them), and their sudden death. For his splendour and his glory, for his might . . . .

27-29 We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, whom four racers draw in harness, white and shining, beautiful, and powerful 3, quick to learn, and fleet, obeying before speech, heeding orders from the mind, with their hoofs of horn gold-covered, (28) fleeter than (our) horses, swifter than the winds, more rapid than the rain(-drops as they fall); yea, fleeter than the clouds, or well-winged birds, or the well-shot arrow as it flies, (29) which overtake these swift ones all, as they fly after them pursuing, but which are never overtaken when they flee, which plunge away from both the weapons (hurled on this side and on that) and draw Sraosha with them, the good Sraosha and the blessed; which from both the weapons (those on this side and on that) bear the good Obedience the blessed, plunging forward in their zeal, when he takes his course from India on the East, and when he lights down in the West. For his splendour and his glory, for his might . . . .

30-32 We worship Obedience the blessed and the stately, who though lofty and so high, yea, even to the girdle, yet stoops to Mazda's creatures, (31) who thrice within the day, and three times of a night, will drive on to that Karshvar Hvaniratha, called the luminous, as he holds in both the hands and poizes his knife-like battle-axe, which flies as of itself, and to cleave the Daêvas' skulls, (32) to hew down Angra Mainyu, the wicked, and to hew down Rapine of the bloody spear, to hew down the Daêvas of Mazendran, and every Demon-god. For his splendour and his glory, for his might . . . .

33 We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the stately, him who smites with victory, both here and not here, and on this entire earth. And we worship all the (gifts) of Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, the mighty, and the strong, whose body is the Mâthra. Yea, we worship (all the martial gifts) of Sraosha (Obedience) the mighty, both armed with shielding armour, and a warrior strong of hand, skull-cleaver of the Daêvas, conquering the endowments of the conqueror, the holy conqueror of the conqueror, and (his) victorious powers, and the Ascendency which it bestows, and we worship this Ascendency of Sraosha's (the same which conquers theirs); and that of Arsti do we praise as well.

34. And every house by Sraosha guarded do we worship, wherein the blessed friendly Sraosha is befriended and made welcome, where, the holy man is far advanced in holy thoughts, and righteous words and deeds. For his splendour and his glory, for his might, which smites with victory, I will worship him with the Yasna of the Yazads, with a Yasna loud-intoned, him Obedience the blessed, with the consecrated waters, and the good Blessedness, the lofty, and Nairya-sangha, the stately, and may he come to us to aid us, he who smites with victory, Obedience the blessed!

YASNA 58 (SP. 57).

THE FSHÛSHÔ-MÂTHRA.

1 (Introduction.) (To the increase of our homage and praise of God) we offer this service which, as our defence, may shield us, which is worship with its beneficent results; and Blessedness is with it of a verity, and Piety as well. [(Pâzand) and of this worship the results here mentioned are the well-thought thought, the word well spoken, and the deed well done]; and let this our worship shelter us from the Daêva and from the evil-minded man.

2 And to this worship do we confide our settlements and persons for protection and care, for guarding, and for oversight;

3 And in this worship will we abide, O Ahura Mazda! and with joy. In this worship do we exercise our choices; and to it will we approach, and to it will we belong; yea, to revering worship will we confide our settlements and persons for protection, and for care, for guarding, and for oversight, to such worship as is the praise of such as You.

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MÃTHRA.

4 The owner of herds is the righteous (one), and he is victorious when he strikes, and thus he is the best; [(Pâzand) we therefore offer (this) service (for herd-owners)] for the herd-owner is the father of the Kine by the help of him who follows the ritual order; and he is the father of the holy man as well, and of the sanctified creation. He is in verity the bestower of blessings, and to him, O Ye Bountiful Immortals! we render, (and his do we make) Your greatness, Your goodness, and Your (spiritual) beauty, and let this man, the cattle-owner, approach to guard over us; and may he be our watchman together with the Righteous Order, and with store for our nourishment and full generous liberality, together with sharing of the goods, with gentleness, and with Ahura Mazda's sacred Fire!

5 O Ye Bountiful Immortals! as Ye have made us, so do Ye save us, holy men, and saintly women (as we are, and steadfast in the faith) 1. Save us, O Ye Bountiful Immortals! Ye who rule aright and who dispose (of all) aright, for none other do I know, save You; then with Your Righteousness do Ye save us.

6 And we offer hereby our thoughts, and words, and actions, our herds, and men, to the Bountiful Spirit. And may the creative stars of Ahura Mazda, the Creator, shine down on us, and round about us 3 with full herds and healthy settlements, with healthy herds and healthy men, and with all in vigour, and endowed with the blessing of the Lord.. Praise to Thee, O Fire of Ahura Mazda! may'st thou come to (us in) the greatest one of the engrossing interests for the help of the great (effort), for the joy-producing grace of the great (interest of our cause); grant us both Weal and Deathlessness!

8 We sacrifice to the entire collection of the Praises of the Yasna, with the careful structure of their language which has reached the most its object. And we offer (our homage) in our celebrations to Thy body, O Ahura Mazda! the most beautiful of forms, these stars, and to that one, the highest of the high [(Pâzand) such as the sun was called]. Yea, we worship the Praises of the Yasna which were the production of the world of old.

YASNA 59 (SP. 58).

MUTUAL BLESSINGS.

1-17 (See Y. 17, 1-17.) 18-27. (See Y. 26, 1-10.)

28. We worship Verethraghna, the Ahura-made, the victorious blow; and we worship the Saoshyant, who smites with victory; and we sacrifice to this Baresman with its Zaothra and its girdle (which is its band) and which is spread with sanctity. And we sacrifice to (our) own soul(s), and to (our) own Fravashi(s).

29. (See Y. 17, 19.)

30 (The Ratu speaks): O thou good (servant of the Lord)! may that be thine which is better than the good; mayest thou acquire that which is (thine) own in the Zaothra; may'st thou attain to that reward which the Zaotar has been obtaining, who is far advanced in his good thoughts, and words, and deeds.

31 (The Zaotar speaks): May that happen to you (likewise) which is better than the good, and may that not happen which is worse than the evil, and may that likewise not be my lot.

32 As (our) Ahû (is) excellent, so (is our) Ratu (one who rules) from his Righteousness, a creator of mental goodness, and of life's actions done for Mazda, and the Kingdom (is) to Ahura which to the poor will offer a nurturer. A blessing is Asha called the Best, &c. We sacrifice to the Ahuna-vairya; we sacrifice to Asha Vahista the most beautiful, the Bountiful Immortal. And we sacrifice to the Fshûshô-mãthra, the by-spoken. And we sacrifice to the entire collection of the Praises of the Yasna; (yea), to the Yasna Praises which were instituted in the world of yore.

YASNA 60 (SP. 59).

PRAYERS FOR THE DWELLING OF THE SACRIFICER.

1 Thus that better than the good may he approach, who shows to us straight paths of profit appertaining to this bodily life and to the mental likewise, in the eternal realms where dwells Ahura; yea, may he approach it, who is Thy worthy servant, and good citizen, O Great giver Lord!

2 May these blessings approach this house, which are the wise perceptions of the saints, the sacred blessings bestowed through the ritual, their guileless characteristics, together with their recognition of what is due; and may the Righteous Order appear for this village, and the Divine Sovereign Power, together with the benefit and glorious welfare (which ensues),

3 And with these the long enduring prominence of this Religion of Ahura's, the Zarathustrian Faith. And may the Kine 4 be now with greatest speed within (the farm-yard of) this house, most speedily may the rewarded sanctity and the strength of the holy man be here, most speedily as well Ahura's lore.

4. And may the good and heroic and bountiful Fravashis of the saints come here, and may they go hand in hand with us with the healing virtues of (their) blessed gifts as wide-spread as the earth, as far-spread as the rivers, as high-reaching 1 as the sun, for the furtherance of the better men, for the hindrance of the hostile, and for the abundant growth of riches and of glory.

5 May Sraosha (Obedience) conquer disobedience 3 within this house, and may peace triumph over discord here, and generous giving over avarice, reverence over contempt, speech with truthful words over lying utterance. May the Righteous Order gain the victory over the Demon of the Lie.

6 As in this (house) the Bountiful Immortals seek for good Yasnas and good praises from the blessed Sraosha (who governs here), and as they seek for (one) good sacrifice and act of homage (more especially their own) which is a good offering 5 (to them) for (our) salvation, and a good offering in praise, together with a long continued offering of the entire self, (7) let not then (their) brilliant glory 7 ever desert this house, nor the bright abundance, nor an illustrious 8 offspring legitimately born, nor that long continued companionship which is the furtherance of that good blessedness which teaches concerning glory 1. 8-10 (= Y. 8, 5-7).

11 In order that our minds may be delighted, and our souls the best, let our bodies be glorified as well, and let them, O Mazda! go likewise openly (unto Heaven) as the best world of the saints as devoted to Ahura, (12) and accompanied by Asha Vahista (who is Righteousness the Best), and the most beautiful! And may we see Thee, and may we, approaching, come around about Thee, and attain to entire companionship with Thee! And we sacrifice to the Righteous Order, the best, the most beautiful, the bounteous Immortal!

YASNA 61 (SP. 60).

1 Let us peal 4 forth the Ahuna-vairya in our liturgy between the heaven and earth, and let us send forth the Asha Vahista in our prayer the same, and the YêNhê hâtãm. And let us send forth in our liturgies between the heaven and earth the pious and good prayer of the pious man for blessings, (2) for the encounter with, and for the displacement of Angra Mainyu with his creatures which are likewise evil as he is, for he is filled with death (for those whom he has made). Aye, let us send that petition forth for the encounter with, and for the dislodgment of the Kahvaredha and of the individual Kahvaredhas the male, and the female (to the last individual of each), (3) and for the encounter with, and the dislodgment of the Kayadhas, and of the individual Kayadhians, male and female, and of the thieves and robbers, of the Zandas, and the sorcerers, of the covenant breakers, and of those who tamper with the covenants.. Yea, we send it forth for the encounter with, and for the overthrow of the murderers of the saints, and of those who hate and torment us for our Faith, and of those who persecute the ritual, and the tyrant full of death. Yea, let us peal them forth for the encounter with, and the overthrow of the wicked, O Zarathustra Spitama! whoever they may be, whose thoughts, and words, and works are not congenial to the holy ritual laws.

5 And how shall we drive the Demon of the Lie from hence from us? Aye, how shall we, the prophets who are yet to serve and save (thy people), drive the Drug from hence, so that we, having power over her as being utterly without power, may drive her hence with blow from the seven Karshvars, for the encounter with, and for the dislodgment of the entire evil world?

YASNA 62 (SP. 61).

TO THE FIRE.

1 I offer my sacrifice and homage to thee, the Fire, as a good offering, and an offering with our hail of salvation, even as an offering of praise with benedictions, to thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son! Meet for sacrifice art thou, and worthy of (our) homage. And as meet for sacrifice, and thus worthy of our homage, may'st thou be in the houses of men (who worship Mazda). Salvation be to this man who worships thee in verity and truth, with wood in hand, and Baresman ready, with flesh in hand, and holding too the mortar.

2 And may'st thou be (ever) fed with wood as the prescription orders. Yea, may'st thou have thy perfume justly, and thy sacred butter without fail, and thine andirons regularly placed. Be of full-age as to thy nourishment, of the canon's age as to the measure of thy food, O Fire, Ahura Mazda's son!

3 Be now aflame within this house; be ever without fail in flame; be all ashine within this house; be on thy growth within this house; for long time be thou thus to the furtherance of the heroic (renovation), to the completion of (all) progress, yea, even till the good heroic (millennial) time when that renovation shall have become complete.

4 Give me, O Fire, Ahura Mazda's son! a speedy glory, speedy nourishment, and speedy booty, and abundant glory, abundant nourishment, abundant booty, an expanded mind, and nimbleness of tongue for soul and understanding, even an understanding continually growing in its largeness, and that never wanders 3, and long enduring virile power,

5 An offspring sure of foot, that never sleeps on watch [not for a third part of the day, or night], and that rises quick from bed, and likewise a wakeful offspring, helpful to nurture, or reclaim, legitimate, keeping order in men's meetings, (yea,) drawing men to assemblies through their influence and word, grown to power, skilful, redeeming others from oppression, served by many followers, which may advance my line (in prosperity and fame), and (my) Vîs, and my Zantu, and (my) province, (yea, an offspring) which may deliver orders to the Province as (firm and righteous rulers).

6 And may'st thou grant me, O Fire, Ahura Mazda's Son! that whereby instructors may be (given) me, now and for evermore, (giving light to me of Heaven) the best life of the saints, brilliant, all glorious. And may I have experience of the good reward, and the good renown, and of the long forecasting preparation of the soul.

7 The Fire of Ahura Mazda addresses this admonition to all for whom he cooks the night and morning (meal). From all these, O Spitama! he wishes to secure good care, and healthful care (as guarding for salvation), the care of a true praiser.

8 At both the hands of all who come by me, I, the Fire, keenly look: What brings the mate to his mate (thus I say to him), the one who walks at large, to him who sits at home? [We worship the bounteous Fire, the swift-driving charioteer.]

9 And if this man who passes brings him wood brought (with good measure that is) with sacred care, or if he brings the Baresman spread with sanctity, or the Hadhânaêpata plant, then afterwards Ahura Mazda's Fire will bless him, contented, not offended, and in (its) satisfaction (saying thus).

10 May a herd of kine be with thee, and a multitude of men, may an active mind go with thee, and an active soul as well. As a blest soul may'st thou live through thy life, the nights which thou shall live. This is the blessing of the Fire for him who brings it wood (well) dried, sought out for flaming, purified with the earnest blessing of the sacred ritual truth.

11 We strive after the flowing on of the good waters, and their ebb as well, and the sounding of their waves, desiring their propitiation; I desire to approach them with my praise. 12 = Y. 3, 24, 25.

YASNA 63 4 (SP. 62).

(See Y. 15, 2; Y. 66, 2; Y. 38, 3.)

YASNA 64 (SP. 63).

(See Y. 46, 3; Y. 50, 6-11.)

YASNA 65 (SP. 64).

TO ARDVI SÛRA ANÂHITA, AND THE WATERS.

1 I will praise the water Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, the wide-flowing (as it is) and healing in its influence, efficacious against the Daêvas, devoted to Ahura's lore, and to be worshipped with sacrifice within the corporeal world, furthering all living things 1 (?) and holy, helping on the increase and improvement of our herds and settlements, holy, and increasing our wealth, holy, and helping on the progress of the Province, holy (as she is)?

2. (Ardvi Sûra Anâhita) who purifies the seed of all male beings, who sanctifies the wombs of all women to the birth, who makes all women fortunate in labour, who brings all women a regular and timely flow of milk, (3) (Ardvi Sûra Anâhita) with a volume sounding from afar, which is alone equal in its bulk to all the waters which flow forth upon earth, which flows down with mighty volume from high Hukairya to the sea Vouru-kasha.

4. And all the gulfs in Vouru-kasha are stirred (when it falls down), all the middle doth well up when Ardvi Sûra Anâhita rushes in, when she plunges foaming into them, she, whose are a thousand tributaries, and a thousand outlets, and each as it flows in, or rushes out, is a forty days' ride in length to a rider mounted well.

5 And the (chief) outlet to this one water (Ardvi Sûra Anâhita) goes apart, dividing to all the seven Karshvars. And this outlet to my river, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, bears off its waters always in summer and in winter. This my river purifies the seed of men, and wombs of women, and women's milk 4.

6 Let the saints' Fravashis now draw near, those of the saints who live, or have lived, of those born, or yet to be born; yea, let them come near which have borne these waters up stream from the nearest ones (that lie below as the outlet pours away 1).

7 Let not our waters be for the man of ill intent, of evil speech, or deeds, or conscience; let them not be for the offender of a friend, not for an insulter of a Magian, nor for one who harms the workmen, nor for one who hates his kindred. And let not our good waters (which are not only good, but) best, and Mazda-made, help on the man who strives to mar our settlements which are not to be corrupted, nor him who would mar our bodies, (our) uncorrupted (selves), (8) nor the thief, or bludgeon-bearing ruffian who would slaughter the disciples, nor a sorcerer, nor a burier of dead bodies, nor the jealous, nor the niggard, nor the godless heretic who slays disciples, nor the evil tyrant among men. Against these may our waters come as torments. As destructive may these come, may they come to him who has done those first (foul evils), as to him who does the last 3.

9 O waters! rest still within your places while the invoking priest shall offer. Shall not the invoker make offering to these good waters, and with the inculcated words? (And how shall

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this be done?) Shall he not be tongue-fettered, if he offers else than with the ritual? Shall (not) the words be so delivered as the Aêthrapaiti teaches? Where shall the blessings be (inserted)? Where the supplications with confessions? Where the gifts of those that offer?

10. (It shall be only thus) as Ahura Mazda showed before to Zarathustra, and as Zarathustra taught the corporeal worlds (the men on earth)! Thou shalt pray the first petition to the waters, O Zarathustra, and after that thou shalt offer the Zaothras to the waters, sanctified, and sought out with pious care; and thou shalt pronounce these words (as follows, thus): (11) O ye waters, I beseech of you this favour; and grant ye me this great one in whose bestowal ye flow down to me for the bettering (of my state), with a never-failing truth. O ye waters, I beseech of you for wealth of many kinds (which gives) power (to its holder 1), and for an offspring self-dependent whom multitudes will bless, and for whose wasting, or defeat, or death, or vengeful punishment, or overtaking, no one prays.

12. And this do I beseech of you, O waters, this, O ye lands, and this, ye plants! This wealth and offspring I beseech of You, O Ye Bountiful Immortals, who rule aright, who dispose (of all) aright, O Ye good beings, male and female, givers of good things; and this I beseech of you, O ye beneficent, mighty, and overwhelming Fravashis of the saints, and this (of thee), O Mithra of the wide pastures, and this of thee, O blest and stately Sraosha; and of thee, O Rashnu the most just, and of thee, O Fire, Ahura Mazda's son; and of thee, O lofty lord, the royal Apãm-napât, of the fleet horses; aye, of You all, ye Yazads, bestowers of the better gifts and holy.

13. And this do ye therefore grant me, O ye holy waters, and ye lands!

14 And grant me likewise what is still greater than this all, and still better than this all, and more beautiful, and more exceeding precious (and that is, Immortality and Welfare 1), O Ye Yazads, holy and ruling mightily, and powerful at once, and grant it speedily according to this Gâthic (?) word: (Yea), by veritable grace let that be done for us which is most promotive of our weal.

15. And according to this further word again: Grant me, Thou who art maker of the Kine, the plants, and the waters, Immortality and likewise Weal, O Ahura Mazda, Thou most bounteous Spirit. And grant me these two eternal gifts through Thy Good Mind in the doctrine.

16-18 (See Y. 15, 2; Y. 56I, 3-4 4.)

YASNA 66 (SP. 65).

TO THE AHURIAN ONE 5.

1 I am now offering this Zaothra here with sanctity 6, together with the Haoma and the flesh, and the Hadhânaêpata lifted up with sacred regularity as to thee, O Ahurian One, for the propitiation of Ahura Mazda, of the Bountiful Immortals, of Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, and of the Fire of Ahura Mazda, the ritual's lofty lord. 2. Y. 7, 5-19. 3. Y. 22, 28, 24-27.

YASNA 67 (SP. 66).

1-4 (See Y. XXIII, 1-4, replacing 'I desire to approach with sanctity' by 'I offer with sanctity;' see also Y. 7, 24.) 5-7. (See Y. 38, 3-5.)

YASNA 68 (SP. 67).

TO THE AHURIAN ONE, AND THE WATERS.

1 We offer this to thee, O Ahurian (daughter) of Ahura! as a help for life. If we have offended thee, let this Zaothra then attain to thee (for satisfaction), for it is thine with its Haoma, and its milk, and its Hadhânaêpata.

2. And may'st thou approach to me for milk and for libation, O Zaothra! as health, for healing, and for progress, for growth and in preparation for ceremonial merit, for good renown, for equanimity, and for that victory which makes the settlements advance.

3 Yea, we worship thee with sacrifice, O thou Ahurian (daughter) of Ahura with the Zaothras of the good thought; and we worship, O Ahura, one with the Zaothras of the good word and deed (4) for the enlightenment of the thoughts, and words, and actions, for preparation for the soul, for the settlement's advance, and to prepare the saints endowed with ritual merit.

5 And grant me, O thou Ahurian One! Heaven, and to have an offspring manly and legitimate, who may promote my house, my village, my tribe and province, and the authority thereof.

6 We sacrifice to thee, O thou Ahurian one! And we sacrifice to the sea Vouru-kasha, and to all waters upon earth, whether standing, or running, or waters of the well, or spring-waters which perennially flow, or the drippings of the rains, or the irrigations of canals.. With this hymn from the (spirit of) the Yasna do we worship thee, and with the homage which it offers, as it is the most legitimate Yasna, and homage of them (all) because of Righteousness the Best. We sacrifice to the good waters, and to the best, which Mazda created. 8. And we sacrifice to the two, to the milk and to the libation, which make the waters flow, and the plants sprout forth, opposing therein the Dragon Daêva-made, for the arrest of that cheat the Pairika, and to contradict the insulting malice of the Ashemaogha (the disturber and destroyer of our Faith), and of the unholy tyrant full of death, and of the human Daêva (worshipper) of hateful malice (and intent).

9 And may'st thou hear our sacrificial chants, O thou Ahurian (daughter) of Ahura! Yea, be propitiated by our Yasna, O Ahurian one! and so may'st thou be present at our Yasna; may'st thou come to us to help, as we chant our full-offered Yast, with the full offering of Zaothras.

10. If any man shall sacrifice to you, O ye good waters, the Ahurian ones of Ahura! with the best and most fitting Zaothras offered piously, (11) to that man ye give both splendour and glory, with health and vigour of the body and prominence of form last), the best life of the saints, shining, all glorious.

12 And to me also do ye now give it, to me who am offering this Yasna as a priest. (Response) And to us Mazdayasnians who are likewise offering sacrifice, do ye grant; yea, to him ye give possessions which entail abundant glory, and a legitimate scion, and a long enduring life, and (Heaven at the (both the desire and knowledge of the path that is correct), to us colleagues, and disciples, Aêthrapaitis and Aêthryas, men and women as well as children, and maidens of the field, (13) who think good only, for the overwhelming of oppression and of malice in the raids of the invader, and in face of foes who hate. Grant to us both the desire of, and the knowledge of that straightest path, the straightest because of Righteousness, and of (Heaven) the best life of the Saints, shining, all glorious. As the Ahû is excellent, so is the Ratu (one who rules) from the Righteous Order, a creator of mental goodness and of life's actions done for Mazda. And the kingdom (is) for Ahura, which to the poor may offer nurture.

14 (The Zaotar speaks): I beseech with my benediction for a safe abode, for a joyful and a long abode for the dwellers in this village from whence these Zaothras (which I offer come). And I pray in my benediction for a safe abode, and a quiet and a joyful one, and a long abiding to every Mazdayasnian village, and for a succour even with my wants, for a succour with salutations of salvation, and for one with praises, O Fire 4! and for thee, O Ahurian one of Ahura! do I ask the fullest Yast.

15 And I pray for Râman Hvâstra for this Province, and for healthfulness and healing. And I pray for it with my blessing for you pious men, for all. And I pray for him who is saintly with (true) goodness, whosoever he may be, between heaven and the earth, for a thousand healing remedies, and for ten thousand of the same.

16-19 (See Y. 8, 5-8.)

20. Thus may it happen as I pray.

21. And by this may I gain (that) blessing, the good Blessedness (our sanctity rewarded). And we address, and we invoke religious zeal and capability, and the waters with our Yasna thus: O ye good waters! since (they are) yours, do ye, as you are asked, grant splendour and grant glory, ye who are well able so to give; and do ye, O ye waters! grant (once more) that helpful blessing which was gained from you of old!

22 Praise (be) to Ahura Mazda, and to the Bountiful Immortals. Praise (be) to Mithra of the wide pastures. Praise to the fleet-horsed sun. Praise to (the star which so we name, and with this sun) Ahura Mazda's eyes. Praise to the Kine (the herds of blessed gift). Praise to Gaya (Maretan) and to the Fravashi of Zarathustra (first of) saints; yea, praise to the entire creation of the holy (and the clean), to those now living, and to those just passing into life, and to those of days to come.

23 And do Thou then Ahura, as in answer to these our prayers and songs of praise, cause us to prosper to salvation through Thy Good Mind, the Sovereign Power, and Thy Righteous Order (in Thy ritual and law)!

YASNA 69 (SP. 68).

This chapter is composed of fragments: see Y. 15, 2; and Y. 51, 1 and 22.

YASNA 70 (SP. 69).

TO THE BOUNTIFUL IMMORTALS, AND THE INSTITUTIONS OF RELIGION.

1 I would worship these (the Bountiful Immortals) with my sacrifice, those who rule aright, and who dispose (of all) aright, and this one (especially) I would approach with my praise, (Ahura Mazda). He is thus hymned (in our praise-songs). Yea, we worship in our sacrifice that deity and lord, who is Ahura Mazda, the Creator, the gracious helper, the maker of all good things; and we worship in our sacrifice Zarathustra Spitâma, that chieftain (of the rite).

2 And we would declare those institutions established for us, exact (and undeviating as they are). And I would declare forth those of Ahura Mazda, those of the Good Mind, and of Asha Vahista (who is Righteousness the Best), and those of Khshatra-vairya (the Realm to be desired), and those of the Bountiful Âramaiti (the Piety within us), and those of Weal and Immortality, and those which appertain to the body of the Kine, and to the Kine's soul, and those which appertain to Ahura Mazda's Fire, and those of Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, and of Rashnu the most just, and those of Mithra of the wide pastures, and of (the good and) holy Wind, and of the good Mazdayasnian Religion, and of the good and pious Prayer for blessings, and those of the good and pious Prayer which frees one from belying, and the good and pious Prayer for blessing against unbelieving words.

4 (And these we would declare) in order that we may attain unto that speech which is uttered with (true) religious zeal, or that we may be as prophets of the provinces, that we may succour him who lifts his voice (for Mazda), that we may be as prophets who smite with victory, the befriended of Ahura Mazda, and persons the most useful to Him, holy men (indeed) who think good thoughts, and speak good words, and do good deeds.

5 That he may approach us with the Good Mind, and that (our souls) may advance in good, let it thus come; yea, 'how may my soul advance in good? let it thus advance.'

6 We praise the flood and ebb of the good waters, and their roar, and that high Ahura, the royal Apãm-napât, the glittering one, of the fleet horses; and this for the sacrifice, and homage, and propitiation, and praise of the entire holy creation; and may Sraosha (Obedience) be here (to aid us).

7. (Yea), we sacrifice to Sraosha, Obedience the blessed.

YASNA 71 (SP. 70).

THE YASNA CONCLUDING.

1 Frashaostra, the holy, asked the saintly Zarathustra: Answer me, O thou most eminent Zarathustra, what is (in very truth) the memorised recital of the rites? What is the completed delivery of the Gâthas?

2 Upon this Zarathustra said: (It is as follows.) We worship Ahura Mazda with our sacrifice (as) the holy lord of the ritual order; and we sacrifice to Zarathustra likewise as to a holy lord of the ritual order; and we sacrifice also to the Fravashi of Zarathustra, the saint. And we sacrifice to the Bountiful Immortals, (the guardians) of the saints.

3 And we sacrifice to (all) the good heroic and bounteous Fravashis of the saints, of the bodily (world on earth), and of the mental (those in Heaven). And we worship that one of ritual lords who attains the most his ends; and we sacrifice to that one of the Yazads, lords of the ritual order, who is the most strenuous, who gains the most, who reaches most to what he seeks, even that well-timed Prayer which is the prayer of that holy ritual lord, and which has approached the nearest (to us for our help).

4 We sacrifice to Ahura Mazda, the holy lord of the ritual order, and we worship His entire body 1, and we worship the Bountiful Immortals all; and we worship all the ritual lords. And we sacrifice to the entire Mazdayasnian Faith. And we worship all the sacred metres.

5 And we worship the entire bounteous Mâthra, even the entire system of the Faith set up against the Daêvas; and we worship its complete and long descent. And we sacrifice to all the holy Yazads, heavenly and earthly; and we worship all the good, heroic, and bountiful Fravashis of the saints.

6. And we worship all the holy creatures which Mazda created, and which possess the holy institutions, which were established holy in their nature, which possess the holy lore, and the holy sacrifice, which are holy, and for the holy, and to be worshipped by the holy. And we worship all the five Gâthas, the holy ones, and the entire Yasna [its flow and its ebb, and the sounding (of its chants)].

7, 8 And we sacrifice to all the Praises of the Yasna, and to all the words which Mazda spake, which are the most fatal to evil thoughts, and words, and deeds; and which designate the evil thought, and word, and deed, and which then cut down and fell every evil thought, and word, and deed. [(Pâzand.) One would think of it as when the fire cuts, sucks out, and consumes the dry wood which has been sanctified and carefully selected (for its flame).] And we sacrifice to the strength, the victory, the glory, and the speed of all these words (as they go forth for their work).

9. And we sacrifice to all the springs of water, and to the water-streams as well, and to growing plants, and forest-trees 1, and to the entire land and heaven, and to all the stars, and to the moon and sun, even to all the lights without beginning (to their course). And we sacrifice to all cattle, and to the aquatic beasts, and to the beasts that live on land, and to all that strike the wing, and to the beasts that roam the plains, and to those of cloven hoof.

10 And to all Thy good and holy female (creatures) in the creation do we sacrifice, (O Thou who art) Ahura Mazda 3 the skilful maker! on account of which Thou hast made many things and good things (in Thy world). And we sacrifice to those male creatures in the creation which are Thine and which are meet for sacrifice because of Asha Vahista (of Righteousness the Best). And we sacrifice to all the mountains brilliant with holiness, and to all the lakes which Mazda created, and to all fires. And we sacrifice to all the truthful and correctly spoken words, even those which have both rewards and Piety within them. Yea, we worship (you) for protection and shielding, for guarding and watching; and may ye be to me for preparation. I call upon the Gâthas here, the bountiful holy ones, ruling in the ritual order; yea, we

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sacrifice to you, (O ye Gâthas!) for protection and shielding, for guarding and watching. Mine may ye be as a preparation. For me, for (mine) own soul I call on (you), and we would worship (you) for protection and for shielding, for guarding and for watching.

12. And we sacrifice to Weal, the complete welfare, holy and ruling in its course in the ritual order; and we sacrifice to Deathlessness (the immortal being of the good), holy, and ruling in the ritual order. And we sacrifice to the question of the Lord, and to His lore, the holy chiefs, and to the heroic Haptanghâiti, the holy lord of the ritual order.

13, 14 (Frasha.) Let the holy Zarathustra himself seek out a friend and a protector. And I say to thee (O Zarathustra!) to make to thee a friend holy beyond the holy, and truer than the true, for that is the better thing; for he is evil who is the best to the evil, and he is holy to whom the holy is a friend, for these are the best of words, those which Ahura Mazda spoke to Zarathustra. And do thou, O Zarathustra! pronounce these words at the last ending of (thy) life.

15. For if, O Zarathustra! thou shalt pronounce these words at the last ending of (thy) life I, Ahura Mazda, will keep your soul away from Hell. Yea, so far away shall I hold it as is the breadth and extension of the earth [(Pâzand) and the earth is as wide as it is long].

16 As thou dost desire, O holy (one)! so shalt thou be, holy shalt thou cause (thy) soul to pass over the Kinvat Bridge; holy shalt thou come into Heaven. Thou shalt intone the Gâtha Ustavaiti, reciting the salvation hail.

17 We sacrifice to the active man, and to the man of good intent, for the hindrance of darkness, of wasting of the strength and life, and of distraction. And we sacrifice to health and healing, to progress and to growth, for the hindrance of impurity, and of the diseases of the skin.

18 And we sacrifice to the (Yasna's) ending words, to those which end the Gâthas. And we sacrifice to the bounteous Hymns themselves which rule in the ritual course, the holy ones.

And we sacrifice to the Praise-songs of the Yasna which were the products of the world of yore; yea, we sacrifice to all the Staota-Yêsnya hymns. And we sacrifice to (our) own soul and to (our) Fravashi.

(19-21 See Y. 6, 14-16.)

22. I praise, invoke, and I weave my song to the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints, to those of the house, and of the village, the district and the province, and to those of the Zarathustrôtemas.

23. And we sacrifice to the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son, the holy ritual chief. And we sacrifice to this Baresman having the Zaothra with it, and its girdle with it, and spread with sanctity, the holy ritual chief. And we sacrifice to Apãm-napât, and to Nairya-sangha, and to that Yazad, the wise man's swift Curse. And we sacrifice to the souls of the dead, [which are the Fravashis of the saints].

24. And we sacrifice to that lofty Lord who is Ahura Mazda Himself.

25 And we pray (again) for the Kine (once more) with these gifts and (ceremonial) actions which are the best.

26-28. (See Y. 8, 5-7.)

29-31. (See Y. 60, 2-13.)

YASNA 72. (See Y. 61.)

VISPARAD

VISPARAD 1.

1 I announce, and (will) complete (my Yasna) to the lords of the spiritual creatures, and to the lords of the earthly creatures, to the lords of those which live under the waters, and to the lords of those which live upon land, to the lords of those which strike the wing, and to the lords of those which roam (wild) upon the plains, to the lords of those of (home-beasts) of the cloven hoof, holy lords of the ritual order.

2 I announce, and I (will) complete (my Yasna) to the Yearly festivals, the lords of the ritual order, to Maidhyô-zaremaya, the milk-giver, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Maidhyô-shema, the pasture-giver, and to Paitishahya, the corn-giver, and to Ayâthrima, the furtherer or breeder, the spender of the seed of males, and to Maidhyâirya the cold, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Hamaspathmaêdhaya, the especial time for ritual deeds, holy lords of the ritual order.

3 I announce, and I (will) complete (my Yasna) to the settlements of the future one, when the future shall produce them as it were anew, and I celebrate and will complete (my Yasna) to the Praises of the Yasna collected, completed, and much-offered, and to the Myazdas of the saints of the ritual, male and female.

4 And I announce, and will complete (my Yasna) to the Seasons, the lords of the ritual order, and to the heard recital of the Ahuna-vairya, and to Righteousness the Best, to him who has our praise, and to the YêNhê hâtãm, the frequent chant of sacrifice, the holy, and ruling in the ritual order.

5 And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to the Gâtha Ahunavaiti, the holy, ruling in the ritual order, and to those women who bring forth many sons of many talents, Mazda-given, and holy lords of the ritual order, and to that (chant) which has its Ahû and its Ratu (before it in the Yasna). And I celebrate, and will complete (my sacrifice) to the Yasna Haptanghâiti, holy, and ruling in the ritual order, [and to the water Ardvi Anâhita].

6 And I announce, and I (will) complete (my Yasna) to the Gâtha Ustavaiti, the holy, ruling in the ritual order, and to the mountains which shine with holiness, the abundantly brilliant and Mazda-made, the holy lords of the ritual order. And I announce, and (will) complete (my Yasna) to the Gâtha Spentâ-mainyu, the holy, ruling in the ritual order; and I celebrate and will complete (my Yasna) to Verethraghna (the blow of victory) Ahura-given, the holy lord of the ritual order.

7 And I announce, and (will) complete (my Yasna) to the Gâtha Vohu-khshathra, holy, ruling in the ritual order, and to Mithra of the wide pastures, and to Râman Hvâstra, the holy lords of the ritual order. And I celebrate and will complete my Yasna to the Gâtha Vahistôisti, the holy, ruling in the ritual order. And I celebrate and will complete my Yasna to the good and pious Prayer for blessings, the benediction of the pious, and to that Yazad, the redoubted and swift Curse of the wise, the holy lord of the ritual order.

8 And I announce, and (will) complete (my Yasna) to the Airyemâ-ishyô, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to the Fshûshô-mâthra, and to that lofty lord Hadhaokhdha, the holy lord of the ritual order.

9 And I announce, and (will) complete (my Yasna) to the questions asked of Ahura, and to the lore of Ahura, to the Ahurian Dahvyuma (Dahyuma), and to the Ahurian Zarathustrôtema, holy lords of the ritual order, and to the farm-house with its pastures which give pasture to the Kine of blessed gift, and to the holy cattle-breeding man.

VISPARAD 2.

1 In this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the lords of (the ritual) which are spiritual with my praise; and I desire to approach the earthly lords (as well). And I desire to approach the lords of the water with my praise, and the lords of the land; and I desire to approach with my praise those chiefs which strike the wing, and those which wander wild at large, and those of the cloven hoof, who are chiefs of the ritual (in their turn).

2 In this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the holy Yearly festivals with my praise, the lords of the ritual order, Maidhyô-zaremaya, the milk-giver, and Maidhyô-shema, the pasture-giver, and Paitishahya, the corn-giver, and Ayâthrima the breeder, the spender of the seed of males, Maidhyâirya, the cold, Hamaspathmaêdhaya, the especial time for ritual duties, the holy lords of the ritual order.

3 And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the future one of the settlements with my praise, the holy lord of the ritual order, when the future one shall produce (them as it were anew). And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach all these chieftains of the ritual with my praise whom Ahura Mazda mentioned to Zarathustra for sacrifice and homage because of Asha Vahista (of Righteousness the Best).

4 And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach Thee 1, the lord, with my praise, Thou who art Ahura Mazda, the spiritual lord and regulator of the spiritual creatures [the lord and regulator of the spiritual creation]. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach thee, Zarathustra Spitâma, with my praise, the terrestrial (lord and regulator) of the terrestrial creation, [the lord and regulator of the terrestrial creation].

5 And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the man who recites the ritual rites with my praise, who is maintaining thus the thought well thought, and the word well spoken, and the deed well done, and Piety the bountiful, even him who maintains the Mãthra of the Saoshyant, by whose actions the settlements are advanced in the righteous order.

6 And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the (yearly) Seasons with my praise, the holy lords of the ritual order, and the Ahuna-vairya as it is recited, and Asha Vahista when he is lauded, and the YêNhê hâtãm, the frequent chant of sacrifice.

7 And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the Gâtha Ahunavaiti with my praise. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to worship those women with my praise who are well-portioned, and of good parentage, and who are stately in their growth; yea, I desire to approach that chant in my praise which has the Alva and the Ratu, [for He is verily the one who has the Ahû and the Ratu, that is, Ahura Mazda]. And I desire to approach the heroic Yasna Haptanghâiti in my praise, the holy, and ruling in the ritual order; and Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, the holy, and ruling in the ritual order.

8 And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the Gâtha Ustavaiti with my praise, the holy, and ruling in the ritual order; and I desire to approach those mountains with my praise which shine with holiness, abundantly glorious, Mazda-made, the holy lords of the ritual order, and the Gâtha Spentâ-mainyu, and Verethraghna, the blow of victory, Mazda-given, the holy lord of the ritual order, and the Victorious Ascendency (which it bestows).

9 And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the Gâtha Vohu-khshathra with my praise, the holy, and ruling in the ritual order, and Mithra of the wide pastures, and Râman Hvâstra, and the Gâtha Vahistôisti, and the pious and good prayer for blessings, and the pious and holy man, and that Yazad, the redoubted and swift curse of the wise.

10 And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the Airyemâ-ishyô with my praise, and the Fshûshô-mâthra, and that lofty lord, the Hadhaokhdha, holy lord(s) of the ritual order.

11 And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the question asked of Ahura, and the lore of the Lord (which he reveals in answer), and the farm-house of the man possessed of pastures, and the pasture produced for the Kine of blessed gift, and the holy cattle-breeding man.

VISPARAD 3.

BEGINNING OF THE HAOMA OFFERING; ROLL-CALL OF THE PRIEST.

1 (The Zaotar speaks.) (I call for) the Hâvanan, and would have him here. (The Ratu answers.) I will come (and fulfil his duties). (The Zaotar speaks.) I would have the Âtarevakhsha here. (The Ratu answers.) I will come (and fulfil the services which fall to his charge). (The Zaotar.) I would have the Frabaretar. (The Ratu.) I will come (and fulfil the services which fall to his charge). (The Zaotar.) I would have the Âberet present. (The Ratu.) I will come (for him). (The Zaotar.) I would have the Âsnatar. (The Ratu.) I will come (and do the duties which he serves). (The Zaotar.) I would have the Raêthwiskar to be here. (The Ratu.) I will come (for him). (The Zaotar.) I would have the Sraoshâvareza present, the wisest one, the most correct and veracious in his speech. (The Ratu.) I will come.

2 (The Zaotar.) I would have the Fire-priest to be here, and the warrior, and the thrifty tiller of the earth, and the house-lord, and the lords of the Vîs and the Zantu.

3 And I summon the youth of holy thoughts, words and works, and of good conscience; (yea), the youth of good speech, given (in marriage) to his kin. And I summon the province-ranger, and the itinerant of many arts, and the house-mistress.

4 And I summon the woman advanced in her holy thoughts, and words, and deeds, and well subordinated, whose ruler is her lord, the holy one, who is (as) the bounteous Âramaiti; (yea), I summon even Thy wives, O Ahura! And I summon likewise the holy man advanced in his good thoughts, and words, and deeds, who is learned in pious lore, and innocent of the Kayadha, and by whose deeds the settlements are furthered in the righteous order.

5 Yea, we summon you, whoever you may be, if only chiefs of the Mazdayasnians; and we summon the Bounteous Immortals, and the pious Saoshyants (the prophets for our help), the most correct and truthful in their speech, the most zealous, the most glorious in their thoughts, the greatest ones, and the powerful; and we summon the Fire-priests, and the warriors, and the diligent husbandman of the Mazdayasnian Faith.

6 (The Zaotar.) As an Ahû to be (revered and) chosen, the Âtarevakhsha (announcing) speaks forth to me. (The Ratu.) So let the Ratu from his righteousness, holy and learned, speak forth. (The Ratu.) As an Aha to be (revered and) chosen, the Zaotar (announcing) speaks forth to me. (The Zaotar.) So let the Ratu from (his) righteousness, holy and learned, speak forth. (The Ratu.) Thou art the announcer for us, O Fire-priest! [(Pâzand.) It is the Zaotar (who is meant).] (The Zaotar.) I will come as this Zaotar, and recite the Staota Yêsnya with memorised intoning, chanting, and praise.

VISPARAD 4 (SP. 5).

1 (Yea,) we sacrifice to the thoughts of the mind, and to the good wisdom, and to the good and blessed sanctity, and to the good religious knowledge, and to good health (of soul and body). [At their (several) seasons, and with the presence of seasonable circumstances, they are hymned.]

2 Confession is to be made for the Kine; we, Zarathustrian Mazdayasnians, celebrate at the sacrificial time for the Myazda-offering, at the time for the Ratufrîti, the prayer for blessings, for the sacrificial worship, homage, propitiation, and praise of the entire creation of the holy (and the clean).

VISPARAD 5 (SP. 6).

1 I come to You, O Ye Bountiful Immortals! as a praiser priest, and invoker, as a memoriser, reciting (Your ritual), and as a chanter for Your sacrifice and homage, Your propitiation, and Your praise; (yea, for Yours) the Bountiful Immortals, and for our preparation, (O ye holy Saoshyants!) and for your well-timed prayer for blessings, and your sanctification, and for our victorious smiting of our foes, beneficial (as it is) for our souls, for ours, the Saoshyants, (with you), and holy.

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2 And I make my offering to You, O Ye Bountiful Immortals, who rule aright, and who dispose (of all) aright! (Yea), I offer You the flesh of my very body, and all the blessings of my life as well.

3 And I confess my belief in Thee, O Ahura Mazda! and as a Mazdayasnian of the order of Zarathustra, and in accordance with his Faith.

VISPARAD 6 (SP. 7).

1 In accordance with the precept, with praise, and with the joyful reception of grace, with Zaothras intelligently offered, with sacrificial words correctly spoken, I call the good Amesha Spenta by their names of beauty; yea, I worship the Bountiful Immortals by their beautiful names, with the blessing of the ritual Order, with the longing blessing of Righteousness the good.

VISPARAD 7 (SP. 8).

1 We worship the (sacrificial) words correctly uttered, and Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, and the good Ashi, (the blest order of our rites), and Nairya-sangha. And we worship the victorious Peace as the unprostrated and unmoved. And we sacrifice to the Fravashis of the saints, and to the Kinvat Bridge, and to the Garô Nmâna of Ahura, even Heaven, the best world of the saints, the shining and all glorious!

2 And we sacrifice to that better path that leads to that Best World (as well). And we worship Arstât (Justice) the good, which helps the settlements to advance and flourish, benefiting them thereby, that Arstât which is the Mazdayasnian Faith; and (with her) we worship Rashnu the most just, and Mithra of the wide pastures. And we worship Parendi the wealthy, wealthy with a wealth of thoughts, with a throng of words, and with a breadth of actions, [for she makes our persons agile (for good thoughts and words and actions)].

3 And we worship that virile defensive Heroism which possesses men who think beforehand, and heroic men, which is fleeter than the fleet, stronger than the strong, which comes to him who is endowed by God, which, when especially made theirs by men, produces one who is a freer of the body. And we worship Sleep, the Mazda-made, the gladdener of the herd and men.

4 And we worship those things in the creation of the holy which are the ancient institutions, those formed before the sky, the water, the land, the plants, and the Kine of blessed gift. And we worship the sea Vouru-kasha, and the stormy wind which is made by Mazda, and the shining heaven, of old created, the first-made earthly object of (all) the earthly world.

5 And we worship thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son! the holy lord of the ritual order, and this Baresman, having the Zaothra with it, and the girdle with it, spread out with sanctity, the holy ritual chief, and we worship Apãm-napât (the son of waters).

VISPARAD 8 (SP. 9).

1 With this word be Thou approached, with the proper word be Thou present here, Thou who art Ahura Mazda, the holy, together with the good Yazads who are the Bountiful Immortals, who rule aright, and dispose (of all) aright, together with fifty, and a hundred, and a thousand, and ten thousand, and millions, and yet more.

2 And to Him who rules the best let the Kingdom be!

VISPARAD 9 (SP. 10) 3.

1-3 (I desire to offer my homage and my praise) to the offered Haomas and Zaothras, and to those also which shall yet be offered, which smite victoriously, and are foes of hatred, and following in company (as they do) with the healing virtues of sanctity, following also in company with those of Kisti (religious knowledge), and with the remedies of Mazda, and with those of Zarathustra and the Zarathustrôtema, and to the offered Haomas and Zaothras which accompany those remedies which belong to the holy disciple well versed in good devices, and accompanying those of the itinerant also versed in good devices, and accompanying those likewise of the good Mazdayasnian Faith, and those of the pious and beneficent Prayer for blessings, and of the pious and good veracity, and of the pious word against unbelief, for information and explanation, for preparation and devotion, for the libation and complete offering, for the complete recital of the liturgy memorised as well; and to those Haomas which are pungent, bounteous, holy, and offered with sanctity (and for a blessing), to those which are yet to be offered with sanctity, and which are now being celebrated, and which are likewise in the future to be celebrated, to those which are being pressed with sanctity, and to those which are yet to be pressed, (to these I desire to approach, and to express my homage and my praise).

4. And I desire to express my homage and my praise to the strength of the strong, and to the victorious blow of the mighty, to the powerful Rectitude and Blessedness, to Kisti and the Priority for the powerful Ascendency, and to these powerful Yazads which are the Bountiful Immortals, who rule aright, and dispose of all aright, ever-living, ever-helpful, who, male and female, dwell together with the Good Mind, (to these I desire in my homage and my praises to approach); (yea, I desire to approach for homage and praises toward) our Universal Weal and Immortality, to the body of the Kine, and to the Kine's Soul. (And I desire to approach) the Fire of the spoken name, and toward that farm-house which is sanctified and which has fields and comfort, and mercy (for the poor); as a praiser with praise for the sacrifice, homage, which is this praise of Ahura Mazda, of the Bountiful Immortals, and of the holy and lofty Lord, for the sacrifice, and homage of the Lord that most attains his ends, and which is this praise of that blessedness which has approached us, and of that well-timed prayer for blessings offered in the ritual, which is likewise the praise of the Mâthra Spenta (the bounteous word of reason), and of the Mazdayasnian Religion, and the Praises of the Yasnas, which is also that of all the lords of the ritual, and of all the well-timed prayers for blessings, for the sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and glorification of the entire creation of the holy (and the clean).

VISPARAD 10 (SP. 11) 2.

1 I desire to approach the Arezahis with my praise, and the Savahis, and Fradadhafshu, and Vîdadhafshu, and Vouru-baresti, and Vouru-garesti, and this Karshvar which is Hvaniratha.

2 And I desire to approach the stone mortar with my praise, and the iron mortar, and the cup that holds the Zaothra, and the hair (which stays the spilling), and Thy Baresman spread with sanctity. And I desire to approach the Ahuna-vairya with my praise, and the ritual prayers beside Ahuna, and the standing offices of the Mazdayasnian Faith.

VISPARAD 11 (SP. 12).

1 To Ahura Mazda would we present our offered Haomas and that which is lifted up, as the most beneficial to Verethraghna (the blow of victory) which furthers the settlements; and that which is offered to the good and holy king, and that which is offered to the holy ruler which rules according to, or in the ritual, and we make known our Haomas to the Bountiful Immortals, and to the good waters; and we present our Haomas each to (our) own soul; and we announce our Haomas in our celebration to the entire creation of the holy (and the clean).

2-5 Yea, we present these Haomas and Haoma-implements, and these spread mats, and these Myazdas, these stones, the first in the creation, the stone mortar brought here with the yellow Haoma in it, and the iron mortar brought here with the yellow Haoma in it, this Haoma-water, and this Baresman spread with sanctity, these bodies, and (their) forces, these striving Zaothras (that seek to find Thy grace), this holy Haoma, and the flesh, and the holy man, and the saint's innate thoughts, even the Saoshyants' innate thoughts. And we present this fresh milk as an offering, now lifted up with sanctity, and this Hadhânaêpata plant, lifted up with sanctity; and we offer, and present these Zaothras with our celebration, having the Haoma with them, and the milk, and the Hadhânaêpata, to the good waters and offered up with piety. And we present the Haoma-water in our celebrations to the good waters, and both the stone and the iron mortar, and this branch for the Baresman, and the prayer for blessings uttered at the fitting moment which has approached (for our help in its order with the prayers), and the recollection and practice of the good Mazdayasnian law, and the heard recital of the Gâthas, the well-timed prayer for blessings as it comes uttered by the saint (and for our help), and ruling (while it is spoken) as a ritual lord, and these wood-billets, and the perfume even Thine, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son! and all good objects (which are ours), and Mazda-made, and which have the seed of sanctity (or are that seed).

6 Yea, these we make known and we announce in this our celebration to Ahura Mazda (as our gift), and to Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, and to Ashi (who is the recompense),and to Rashnu the most just, and to Mithra of the wide pastures, and to the Bountiful Immortals, and the Fravashis of the saints, and to their souls, and to the Fire of Ahura Mazda, the lord, and to the lofty lord (the Apãm-napât?), and to the Myazda, the lord, and to the well-timed prayer for blessings as it rules in the order of our prayers, for the sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and adoration of the entire creation of the holy (and the clean).

7 Yea, these we make known in this our celebration hereby for the Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma, the saint, for its sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise, and to the (Fravashi) of Anghuyu who hath loved righteousness, together with all the holy Fravashis of the saints, of those now dead, and of those of the living, and of those of men unborn, of the prophets that shall serve us, bringing on the renovation of the completed world.

(The verses 8-11 are identical with verses 2-5)

12 Yea, we would make these known hereby in our celebrations to the Bountiful Immortals, who rule aright, and who dispose (of all) aright, the ever-living, ever-helpful, who are good (?), and bestowers of the good, who dwell with the Good Mind [(Pâzand) for they who are the Bountiful Immortals abide with the Good Mind, they who rule aright, and dispose (of all) aright, for thence they are regulated, and thence they arose, (namely,) from the Good Mind].

13, 14 And we make known these our celebrations as the more promotive for this house, for the furtherance of this house, and as benefits for this house, because of the increase of this household, as overcoming the restrictions which impede this household, and as overcoming the harmful malice which may mar this house, to bless its herds, and its retainers, born, and yet to be born, for the saints of the house as it was aforetime, of it as it stands here now, and to which we likewise now belong as the Saoshyants of the provinces, [which (is that we are Saoshyants) for the saints who do good deeds, and of the female saints who do good deeds, and of the saints who do the deeds conspicuously good, and of the females likewise thus, of the saints who do good deeds upon good deeds, and of the females thus the same]

15 And we make these known in our celebrations to the good Fravashis of the saints which are formidable and overwhelming in their aid.

16 And we make these known in our celebrations hereby to Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, and to the good Blessedness, and to Nairya-sangha, and to the victorious Peace, and to Ahura Mazda's Fire, and to the lofty lord, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and for praise, to the entire creation of the holy and the clean.

(The verses 17, 18 are identical with Visp. X, 1, 2)

19, 20 Yea, we make that known which is lifted up in offering, and which is the Avesta as the holy Ahura Mazda directed that it should be said, and as Zarathustra, the holy, directed, and as I, the priest, who am acquainted with their sacrifice and homage, am now letting it be known. I who understand the lawful and legitimate Avesta, and the ritual prescripts for Your sacrifice, homage, and propitiation, O Ye who are the Bountiful Immortals, and for our preparation, and for the success of our well-uttered prayer for blessings, for victory, sanctification, and the well-being of our souls, (of ours), for (we are) the holy Saoshyants.

21 Yea, we make these known in our celebrations here, and we offer them to Him who is Ahura Mazda, of all the greatest, the master and the Lord.

VISPARAD 12 (SP. 14).

1 For the offered Haomas which have been offered in libation to that lofty Lord Ahura Mazda and to the holy Zarathustra Spitama (produce) abundance in cattle and in men; and this abundance is (as) the good Sraosha, who accompanies (us) with the great splendour of sanctity, and may he 1 be here with energetic effort (to aid us in our worship).

2 We offer the wise offerings of the Ahuna-vairya intoned with sanctity and yet to be intoned, possessing their many teachings of religious wisdom (as they do), and those of the two mortars which pour the Haomas out, and which are pushed forward with precision, and are now in the course of being thus advanced once more.

3 (And so we teach as well the many teachings of the religious wisdom) contained in the words correctly spoken, in the Zarathustrian utterances, and in the ceremonies correctly practised, and the Baresmans spread exactly, and the Haomas pressed correctly, and the praise, Yasnas, and the doctrines of the Mazdayasnian Religion with their recitations, and their movements.

4 For thus they may become to us more full of devices and of wisdom, and so we offer these wise ritual deeds in the creation, so we impart them with their many points of meaning while we (ourselves) still ponder them as those which Ahura Mazda, the holy One, delivered, which have (as if) their nourishment from Vohu Manah and their growth from the Righteous Order, which are the greatest of all beings, the best, and the most beautiful for thus shall these be to us the more full of wisest meaning, and more full of incitation, and may we be among those (who are) of Spenta Mainyu's world in that we are imparting (to the chosen) these precepts of the wisest meaning and these incitations which are contained therein.

5 And full of wisest meaning be ye two to us, O (thou) stone mortar, and (thou) the iron one, as ye are now turned, and as ye are now being advanced, ye two mortars of the house, [and of the village, of the tribe, and of the province, and ye who are in this house (itself), this village, tribe, and province]; yea, in those which are ours, Mazdayasnians, who are steadfast in our worship, who appear with our wood-billets and our perfumes, and with our supplicated blessings [(Pâzand) for so may they be to us, the more full of wisest teaching].

VISPARAD 13 (SP. 15).

1 According to the ritual we worship Ahura Mazda; according to the ritual we worship the Bountiful Immortals; and we sacrifice to the sacrificial word correctly spoken, and to every Mâthra (as to a sacred word of reason). And we sacrifice to Zarathustra, him who is especially the possessor of the Mâthra; and we sacrifice to the 'blessings for the saints'; and we worship the 'hail' addressed to the Bountiful Immortals.

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2 Also we worship the three principal (chapters) uttered (in the Yasna) without addition or omission; and we worship the three principal ones without addition or omission; we worship the three commencing ones entire without addition or omission. And we worship the entirety of the three principal ones without addition or omission; and their Hâs, their metrical lines, their words, and their word-structure [and their recital, memorising, chanting, and their steadfast offering].

VISPARAD 14 (SP. 16) 3.

1 (We worship Ahura Mazda, the holy Lord of the ritual order; and we sacrifice to the Gâtha Ahunavaiti) with its measures, and word-structure, and its Zand, with its questions and counter-questions, with its words and its metric feet. And we sacrifice to these as well-recited, and now in the course of being recited; as well-worshipped, and now in the course of being used in worship.

2 (Yea, we sacrifice to it) in its own 'wisdom', in its own 'clearness', in its own 'loving intention', in its sovereignty, and its own ritual order, and its 'acquired boon', which is also that given by Ahura Mazda for the promotion of piety, for that thought which originates from the 'heart-devoted self'.

3 (Sp. Chapter XVII.) Also we worship the Ahuna-vairya, the holy lord of the ritual order, the holy lord with its Ahû and its Ratu [(Pâzand); for He is the one with the title Ahû and Ratu, who is Ahura Mazda].

4 And we sacrifice to the constituent parts of the Gâtha Ahunavaiti, to its chapters, and its metrical lines, its words, and word-structure, [and to its heard-recital, and memorised recital, its continuous and its steadfast offering].

VISPARAD 15 (SP. 18).

1. Hold your feet in readiness, and your two hands, and your understandings, O ye Zarathustrian Mazdayasnians! for the well-doing of lawful deeds in accordance with the sacred Order, and for the avoidance of the unlawful and evil deeds which are contrary to the ritual. Let the good deeds for the furtherance of husbandry be done here. Render ye the needy rich.

2 Let Sraosha (Obedience) be present here for the worship of Ahura Mazda, the most helpful, and the holy, who is so desired by us in the pronunciation, and for the service, and the pondering of the Yasna Haptanghâiti, for the heart's devotion to it, for its memorisation, and its victorious and holy recital (or for the victorious saint), without addition or omission, which has been intoned, and which shall yet be uttered as great, powerful, smiting with victory, separate from harmful malice, for the pronunciation of victorious words for Ahura Mazda's Fire.

VISPARAD 16 (SP. 19).

1 And we worship the Fire here, Ahura Mazda's son, and the Yazads having the seed of fire in them, and the Rashnus having the seed of fire in them; and we worship the Fravashis of the saints. And we worship Sraosha who smites with victory, and the holy man, and the entire creation of the holy (and the clean).

2. And we worship the Blessedness and the Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma, the saint. And we worship the saints and their blessed Fravashis (as of one). And we worship all their Fravashis (as considered each apart), and those of the saints within the Province, and those of the saints without the Province; yea, we worship the Fravashis of holy men and holy women (wherever they may be, those devoted to the Order of the Faith). And we sacrifice to those whose (service) for us in the Yasna Ahura Mazda, the holy, has known as the better, and of these Zarathustra is the living chief and master. And we sacrifice to the fields and the waters, the lands and the plants, and to the constituent parts of the Yasna Haptanghâiti, its chapters, its metred lines, its words, and word-structure.

VISPARAD 17 (SP. 20).

And we strive after the good thoughts, words, and deeds inculcated in the Yasna Haptanghâiti. A blessing is the Right (called) the Best, (there is) weal; (there is) weal for this (man) when toward Righteousness Best (there is) right.

VISPARAD 18 (SP. 21).

1. We worship Ahura Mazda with the usta. And we worship the Amesha Spenta with the usta, and the holy man, the saint. And we worship the prior world of the holy (and of the clean) with an usta, and the state of weal and salvation for the holy man (the saint).

2. And we worship that life-long state of blessedness (for the holy) which is the evil man's calamity; yea, we worship his eternal salvation, and with the salvation prayer. And we sacrifice to every saint who exists, who is now coming into existence, and who shall exist in future.

VISPARAD 19 (SP. 22).

1 We worship Ahura Mazda the bountiful; and we worship the Bountiful Immortals (saying the Spenta). And we sacrifice to the bountiful saint, and to the bountiful anticipative understanding Also we sacrifice to the good and bountiful Âramaiti (the ready mind). And we worship her together with the bountiful creatures in the creation of the pure. And we sacrifice to the holy creatures who have intelligence as their first, (to those foremost in their mind). And we worship the omniscient understanding, and Him who is Ahura Mazda (Himself).

2. And we sacrifice to the shining sun, which is the highest of the high; yea, we worship the sun together with the Bountiful Immortals, and the Mâthras with their good ceremonies. Also we sacrifice to the glorious achievements, and to this glory (which we have gained). And we sacrifice to the herds which have the Fire and its blessings. Also we worship the holy benefit which is so widely diffused, and that wisdom which is the bounteous Âramaiti, whose are the laws of the Righteous Order, and of those holy creatures who have Righteousness as their first.

VISPARAD 20 (SP. 23).

1, 2 (Homage to the Gâtha Vohu-khshathra! We sacrifice to the Vohu-khshathra), (the good kingdom) even the Khshathra-vairya, the kingdom to be desired; and we sacrifice to the iron-founding, and to the (sacrificial) words correctly spoken which smite (the foe) with victory, and which hold the Daêvas subject. And we worship that reward and that health, that healing and that progress, that growth and that victorious smiting which are between the Vohu-khshathra and the Vahistôisti, (and which are acquired by us) by the memorised recital of the good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, for the withstanding of evil thoughts, and words, and deeds; yea, for the undoing of all treacherous thoughts (directed) against me, and of all false words, and unfair deeds.

3. [And we sacrifice to the later Yasna, the heroic Haptanghâiti, (and which as it recurs becomes) the holy ritual chief.]

VISPARAD 21 (SP. 24).

1, 2 We strive earnestly, and we take up our Yasna and our homage to the good waters, and to the fertile fruit-trees (which bear as of themselves), and to the Fravashis of the saints; yea, we take up our Yasna, and our homage earnestly to those beings which are (so) good, the waters, and the trees, and the Fravashis of the saints, and to the Kine, and to Gaya (Maretan), and to the Mâthra Spenta (the bounteous word-of-reason), the holy, which works (within and for us with effect), to these we take up our Yasnas and our homage with earnest zeal, and to Thee, O Ahura Mazda! and to thee, O Zarathustra, we do the same; and to thee, O lofty lord (the Apâm-napât), and to the Bountiful Immortals.

3 And we sacrifice to the listening (that hears our prayers) and to that mercy, and to the hearing of (our spoken) homage, and to that mercy which is (shown in response to our offered) praise. And we sacrifice to the frârâiti vîdushê, which is contained in the piece hvâdaênâis ashaonis; and we sacrifice to 'the good praise which is without hypocrisy, and which has no malice (as its end)'; and we sacrifice to the later Yasna and to its offering; and we sacrifice to the chapters of the later Yasna, and to its metrical lines, its words, and word-structure.

VISPARAD 22 (SP. 25).

With this chant (fully) chanted, and which is for the Bountiful Immortals and the holy Saoshyants (who are the prophets who shall serve us), and by means of these (ceremonial) actions, which are (of all) the best, we desire to utter our supplications for the Kine. It is that chant which the saint has recognised as good and fruitful of blessed gifts, and which the sinner does not know. May we never reach that (ill-luck that the sinner) may outstrip us (in our chanting), not in the matter of a plan (thought out), or of words (delivered), or ceremonies (done), nor yet in any offering whatever when he approaches (us for harm).

VISPARAD 23 (SP. 24).

1 We worship Ahura Mazda as the best (worship to be offered in our gifts). We worship the Amesha Spenta (once more, and as) the best. We worship Asha Vahista (who is Righteousness the Best). And we sacrifice to those (prayers) which are evident as the best; that is, the Praises of the Yasnas. Also we sacrifice to that best wish, which is that of Asha Vahista, and we worship Heaven, which is the best world of the saints, bright and all-glorious; and we sacrifice likewise to that best approach which leads to it.

2 And we sacrifice to that reward, health, healing, furtherance, and increase, and to that victory which is within 1 the two, the Ahuna-vairya and the Airyemâ-ishyô, through the memorised recital of the good thoughts, words, and deeds. (which they enjoin).

THE SAD DAR

The One Hundred Precepts
or Zarathustrah's 100 Commandments
from Sacred Books of the East, volume 24.
Translation: Edward William West, 1885
Estimated Range of Dating:

(The Sad-dar or Saddar, literally Hundred Doors or chapters is a Persian book about precepts, commandments, and basic laws of the Zoroastrian Faith. The hundred chapters are guidelines that Zoroastrians should follow. Sanskrit cognate is Shat-Dwar (Shat=Hundred, Dwar=Door)

"As its name implies the Sad Dar is a treatise on 'a hundred subjects' connected with the Zoroastrian religion. The word dar, literally 'door, or gate,' being also applied to the chapters of a book, and to the 'matters, or subjects,' of which it treats.

This work is not a Pahlavi text, being written in Persian with an admixture of about four per cent of Arabic words; it is, however, more quoted than any other work by the Parsi compilers of the Persian Rivayats, or religious 'traditions,' in the seventeenth century. In one of its recensions it is also found written in Avesta characters, and the Avesta-Persian sentences alternate with an old Gujarati translation, in imitation of the Pazand-Sanskrit versions of Pahlavi texts compiled by Neryosang.

In consideration of the existence of this pseudo-Pazand recension, together with the general acceptance of the work as an important authority, and its being a convenient summary of many of the religious customs handed down by Pahlavi writers, this work may be offered as a suitable appendix to the true Pahlavi texts, connecting them with the Persian writings that are too modern to be accepted as authorities in religious matters. It may ... be concluded that the prose Sad Dar had the reputation of being a very old work in the early part of the sixteenth century." (from introduction by E. W. West)

Text:

INTRODUCTION.

1 In the name of Ahura Mazda, the Lord, the greatest and wise, the all-ruling, all knowing, and almighty.

2 This is a book (kitab), about the proper and improper, which is extracted from the good and pure religion of the Mazda-worshippers.

3 What is expedient (vajib) is this, for every one to know and keep this in practice.

4 And it is not desirable that he becometh independent (hali) of this for a single hour (sa'hat).

5 Because, when one becometh independent, the sin for each one mayeth become abundant; and when it is brought into practice the reward becometh abundant.

6 On this occasion (vaqt) I, a servant of the religion -- like the mobed Eran-shah, son (bin) of Yazad-yar, son of Tishtar-yar, son of Adarbad, son of Mahraspand -- have sent a reward to their souls, unto every one who readeth and is bound by duty.

7 Thus much (in qadar), which hath come written, is a good work they know, whosoever are superior; but it is not possible for every one inferior to know of this.

8 If it were more (ziyadat) it is proper, but if (imma) less than this it is not proper to know; while, in gratitude for the benefits (shukr-i ni'hmat) of the sacred being, they become increasing in action, and the sacred being, the most high (ta'halai), maketh benefits occur on the spot on that account.

9 And, secondly, the kindness (lutf) and generosity (karm) of the sacred being, the most high, are manifest from this, that he created us with each member (alat) complete (tamam), and did not keep anything from the maternal nature.

10 And whatever was necessary for use he gaveth us.

11 At the head, likewise, he appointed a master, which is the wisdom for the purpose that they may keep these members in action.

12 May the peace of the sacred being, the most high, be on the souls of those acquainted with the religion of the pure Zarathustra, the Spitaman, and of those who are pure and virtuous.

13 For the souls of those persons it is desirable that every duty they perform they shall perform through the authority dasturi) of the wisdom of the high-priests.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 1

Necessity of unwavering faith in the religion.

1 The first subject is this, that it is necessary that they become steadfast in the religion, and do not introduce any hesitation (shakk) and doubt into the heart.

2 And that they make a statement ('haqiqat) with confidence (i'htiqad), that the good religion, the true and perfect, which the Lord sent into the world ('halq), is that which Zarathustra hath brought; which is this I hold.

3 Every time that mankind are like this, and do not introduce any hesitation and doubt into the heart, of every duty and good work that others have done, from the days of Zarathustra until these days, and of whatever one doth after this until the resurrection, there is a share for that person.

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4 When the soul, on the fourth night, arriveth at the head of the Chinwad bridge, the angel Mihr and the angel Rashn maketh up its account ('hisab) and reckoning.

5 And, if the good works it hath done be deficient in quantity, of every duty and good work that those of the good religion have done in the earth of seven regions they appoint it a like portion (nazib), till the good works become more in weight; and the soul arriveth righteous in the radiant locality of heaven. 6. For it is declared in revelation, that of the duty and good work which they perform in doubt -- that is (ya'hni), they entertain a suspicion like this, that 'I do not know that this faith, which I possess, is better in comparison with other faiths' -- no merit whatever cometh to their souls.

7 Therefore, the first (avval) thing is to become steadfast in the religion; and this is the chief of all good works.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 2

Sin not to be committed.

1 The second subject is this, that it is necessary to make an effort (gahd), so that they may not commit any sin.

2 If even a trifling sin occureth it is not desirable to assume that this small quantity doth not possess harm hereafter.

3 For it is said in revelation, that if such be the quantity of sin that the sin is one filament of the hair of the eyelashes more in weight than the good works are, that person arriveth in hell.

4 And if such a quantity of good works be in excess, he arriveth righteous in the radiant locality of heaven.

5 Therefore, even if a sin be trifling it is not desirable to commit it; and it is requisite to refrain, so that they may not commit it, and may become without doubt as to the religion.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 3

Advantage of perseverance in industry.

1 The third subject is this, that it is necessary for man that he be continuously employed (mashjhul) on his own work, and then the work becometh his own.

2 For it is declared in revelation, that every one who hereafter becometh employed on his own work, if in the midst of that work any trouble and discomfort happen to him, obtaineth in that other world twelve recompenseth for every single instance.

3 If he becometh employed on iniquity (fasad), and in the midst of that work any trouble and harm happen to him, he so obtaineth in that other world only torment ('huqubat) and punishment.

4 Similarly (maTHalam), if any one be himself going, employed on his own work, and a robber falleth upon him on the road, and carrieth off his property (qumash), or he be slain, they give him back in that other world four things for each one of whatever they have carried off.

5 If he be slain he becometh righteous, any sin that he hath committed goeth clean away from him, and they convey him to heaven.

6 But (amma) if he becometh faulty (batil) in any duty, and a robber falleth upon him on the road, and carrieth off his wealth (mal), or he be slain, when he descendeth to that other world all the property that other carried off from him becometh just as though it were his who hath carried it off from that person; and, besides, there occur, as a substitute ('hivaz) for that property, the punishment and torment they give him.

7 And if he be slain it is just as though he who hath carried it off from that person were one who had innocently slain that person who arriveth in hell as retribution (mukafat) for sin.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 4

No one should despair of the mercy of Ahura Mazda.

1 The fourth subject is this, that it is not desirable for any one that he should become hopeless of the pity (ra'hmat) and forgiveness of Ahura Mazda, and fix his heart outwardly on this, that our sin is excessive and it is not possible to arrive in heaven.

2 Because it happeneth that a small quantity of duty and good work is performed, and it may be that for that quantity Ahura Mazda, the good and propitious, may have pity on him and may make him arrive in heaven.

3 For it is declared in revelation, that one time when Zarathustra was in conversation with the sacred being, the most high, he saw a man whose whole body was in hell, and one foot -- the right one -- was outside of hell.

4 Zarathustra inquired of the sacred being, the most high, thus: 'What person hath this man been?'

5 Ahura Mazda, the good and propitious, gave a reply (javab) thus: 'He hath been a king, and possessed the sovereignty of thirty-three towns, and was conducting that sovereignty many years.

6 And he never did any virtuous action, but was committing much oppression, lawlessness, and violence (thulm).

7 By chance (qazara) he was one day going on the chase, and arrived out at a place (mauza'h) and saw a goat that was tied.

8 A morsel of hay was placed very far off, and that goat was hungry.

9 Owing to this the goat was trying to eat the hay, but did not reach the hay.

10 This the king saw, and kicked his foot at that hay and cast it in front of the goat.

11 Now, in recompense for that, that one foot of his is outside of hell, and the remaining (baqi) limbs are in hell.'

12 Therefore, although a sin hath happened to any one, it is not necessary for him to become hopeless.

13 And whoever hath the power (taqat) is to endeavor to perform good works, so that there may be an atonement for the sin thereby; because the sacred being, the good and propitious, is kind to every one.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 5

Advantage of Navazud and Geti-kharid.

1 The fifth subject is this, that it is necessary for all those of the good religion that they make a thorough effort, so that they celebrate the ritual and become Navazud.

2 For in our religion there is no good work more ample than this.

3 And it is declared in revelation, that, although much duty and good work be performed, it is not possible to attain to the supreme heaven (garothman), except on that one occasion when the Navazud ceremony is performed, or they have celebrated a getig-kharid.

4 And on any occasion ('hal), if they are not able to perform it with their own hands, it is requisite to order it; and then it is inevitably necessary that the celebration of the Getig-kharid should be in the same manner as they would have performed it with their own hands.

5 Man and woman are both equal in this good work; therefore, it is not proper to neglect this duty, for it is the chief of all the good works of the religion.

6 Because it is declared in revelation, that on the day that they are performing the Navazud ceremony, or are celebrating a Getig-kharid on his account, three times the soul of that person arriveth at heaven, and they show it a place therein, and offer it a profuse greeting (niTHar).

7 The explanation (tafsir) of the Gahs is this, that a Gah -- that is, that his own place -- becometh visible to him in heaven that day.

8 And if one doth not perform a Navazud ceremony, or doth not order the celebration of a Getig-kharid, it is the same as when a poor (gharib) man maketh for a town, and doth not obtain a spot where he mayeth alight in that place.

9 Although it is his own town he is in this trouble.

10 Therefore, it is not possible to bring to hand a place in heaven through any good work, except by the performance of the Navazud ceremony, or by ordering the celebration of a Getig-kharid.

11 And a Getig-kharid is this, that heaven is purchased in the world, and one's own place brought to hand in heaven.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 6

The six indispensable good works.

1 The sixth subject is this, that of the many good works there are those which, when they accomplish them, obtain great ('hathim) rewards; and if one doth not perform them severe punishment seiseth upon one at the head of the Chinwad bridge.

2 One is the celebration of the season festivals [Gahambars]; the second is keeping the days of the guardian spirits [fravashis]; the third is attending to the souls of fathers, mothers, and other relations; the fourth is reciting the Khwarshed Niyayesh [Sun Litany] three times every day; the fifth is reciting the Mah Niyayesh [Moon Litany] three times every month, once when it becometh new, once when it becometh full, and once when it becometh slender; and the sixth is celebrating the Rapithwin ceremony once every year.

3 If not able to celebrate them oneself, it is requisite to order them, so that they may celebrate them every single time.

4 These six good works are things indispensable unto every one.

5 When any one of them is not performed -- be it that which, if omitted at its own time, it is not possible to accomplish, or if it be. that one time one omiteth an occasion, and another time they accomplish twice as much -- one should consider that as an advantage, which occureth in retribution for it, or as atonement for the transgression.

6 Because they call the transgression of each of these six a bridge-sin; that is, every one through whom a transgression of these may have arisen they keep back, at the head of the Chinwad bridge, till punishment for it happeneth to him, and no good work is possible in this place, which is torment and punishment for him.

7 Therefore it is necessary to make an effort, that they may be performed each one at its own time, so that they may obtain a recompense, and not a severe punishment.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 7

Why we should recite certain formulas after sneezing.

1 The seventh subject is this, that, when a sneeze ('hatsat) cometh forth from any one, it is requisite to recite one Yatha-ahu-vairyo and one Ashem-vohu.

2 Because there is a fiend in our bodies, and she is an adversary who is connected with mankind, and striveth so that she may make misfortune ('hillat) and sickness predominant (mustauli) over mankind.

3 And in our bodies there is a fire which they call a disposition -- in Arabic they say tabi'hat -- and they call it the sneezing instinct (gharizi).

4 It is connected with that fiend, and they wage warfare, and it keepeth her away from the body of man.

5 Then, as the fire becometh successful over that fiend, and puteth her to flight (hazimat), a sneeze cometh because that fiend cometh out.

6 Afterwards, because it is necessary, they recite these inward prayers and perform the benediction (afrin) of the fire, so that it may remain for a long period while thou art keeping this fiend defeated.

7 When another person heareth the sneeze, it is likewise requisite for him to utter; the said prayers, and to accomplish the benediction of that spirit.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 8

Why high-priests must be obeyed.

1 The eighth subject is this, that it is necessary to maintain the religion by rule (dastur), and to practice obedience to the commands of the high-priests; and every duty that people perform they should perform by their authority.

2 For it is declared in the good religion, that, if they accomplish as many good works as the leaveth of trees, or the sand-grains of the desert, or the drops (qatrah) of rain, which they do not perform by command of the high-priests, or to their satisfaction, no merit whatever attaineth to their souls, and for the good works they have done they obtain sin as a recompense.

3 While such a one is living it is not proper to call him righteous, and when he dieth he doth not attain to heaven, and not a single archangel cometh near him.

4 He doth not make his escape from the hands of the demons and Ahriman, and he doth not obtain a release from hell.

5 Because duties and good works attain to the soul on those occasions when they perform them with the authority of the high-priests and those acquainted with the religion, and when they give them one-tenth of those good works.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 9

The sin of unnatural intercourse to be punished, by any one, by death on the spot.

1 The ninth subject is this, that it is necessary to practice abstinence from committing or permitting unnatural intercourse.

2 For this is the chief of all sins in the religion: there is no worse sin than this in the good religion, and it is proper to call those who commit it worthy of death in reality.

3 If any one cometh forth to them, and shall see them in the act, and is working with an ax, it is requisite for him to cut off the heads or to rip up the bellies of both, and it is no sin for him.

4 But it is not proper to kill any person without the authority of high-priests and kings, except on account of committing or permitting unnatural intercourse.

5 For it says in revelation that unnatural intercourse is on a par with Ahriman, with Afrasiyab, with Dahak [Zohak], with Tur-i Bradrok-resh who slew Zarathustra, with Malkos who will arise, with the serpent Srobovar which existed in the days of Sam Nariman, and as many sins as are theirs.

6 And Ahriman, the evil one, becometh more joyful, owing to this practice, than owing to the other sins which have made high-priests necessary; for the soul itself of that person becometh extinct.

7 And when they commit the sin with women, it is just the same as that with men.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 10

Reasons for wearing the sacred thread-girdle and tying it with four knots.

1 The tenth subject is this, that it is incumbent on all those of the good religion, women and men, every one who attaineth to fifteen years, to wear the sacred thread-girdle [kusti].

2 Because the sacred thread-girdle is to be a girding of the loins and to preserve obedience (ta'hat) to the Lord, may he be honoured and glorified ('hazza va jalla)!

3 The first person who set the wearing of this sacred thread-girdle in view was Jamshed.

4 And it may be the whole (jumlah) of the demons and fiends who are made extinct by the glory of wearing the sacred thread-girdle.

5 Every one who hath tied the sacred thread-girdle round the waist is out of the department of Ahriman, and is established in the department of Ahura Mazda.

6 And also, while he keepeth the sacred thread-girdle on the waist, there is a share for him of all those duties and good works which they perform in the earth of seven regions.

7 It is like that which occureth when they are performing hamazor and hama asho, and have put on this sacred thread-

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girdle [kusti] on that account, or when, similarly, some one in Cashmere, or Eranvej, or Kangdez, or the enclosure formed by Jam [Jamshed], performeth a good work, and we are not able to perform it with hama zor, then they and we, who wear the sacred thread-girdle on the waist, are mutually connected and equally meritorious, one with the other.

8 As no good work attaineth to him who doth not wear a sacred thread-girdle -- excepting that which he performeth himself -- it is therefore necessary that any one of mankind should not put it away from the waist on any occasion, so that the associated good works of those of the good religion may attain to him.

9 And those four knots, with which they tie it on, are on this account, that it may give four attestations.

10 The first knot is that which preserveth constancy (qarar), and giveth attestation as to the existence, unity, purity, and matchlessness of the sacred being, the good and propitious.

11 The second knot is that which giveth attestation that is the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers which is the word of the sacred being.

12 The third knot is that which giveth attestation as to the apostleship and mission (rasuli) in the just ('haqq) Zarathustra, the Spitaman.

13 The fourth knot is that which adduceth more pleasantly, giveth assurance (iqrar), and openly accepteth that I should think of good, speak of good, and do good.

14 And from the whole I become established; and the pure, good religion is this, that I persist in those views.

15 And, again, when the archangels [Amahraspands] came meeting Zarathustra they likewise wore the sacred thread-girdle on the waist; and the distinctive characteristic (farq) amid the laws of the sacred being is the wearing of the sacred thread-girdle.

16 It is incumbent both on woman and on man, and it is altogether (albattah) improper when they do not wear it.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 11

Why a household fire should be properly maintained.

1 The eleventh subject is this, that it is necessary to maintain the fire-place properly, and to keep watch, so that the fire shall not die out, and that nothing polluted and impure shall attain to the fire; and it is necessary to make a menstruous woman avoid being within three steps of it.

2 Because every time that they maintain a fire properly, which is within a dwelling, every fire which is in the earth of seven regions becometh pleased with those persons, and, when they ask a favour, or beg a necessity ('hajat), it becometh quickly operative.

3 And every time that one doth not maintain it properly, every fire which is in the earth of seven regions receives injury from that person, and the necessity he begs doth not become operative.

4 If any one doth not maintain the fire-place properly, if he giveth a hundred dinars to the fire [Adar] Gushnasp there is no acceptance of it, and that sin doth not depart from him.

5 For it is declared in revelation, that the creator Ahura Mazda hath given sovereignty in heaven to Ardwahisht, the archangel, and hath spoken thus: 'As to every one with whom thou art not pleased, do not let him escape into heaven.'

6 And this is also declared in revelation, that, every time that they do not maintain the fire properly, pregnancy becometh scarcer for the women, fewer male children are born, and honour ('hurmat) in the vicinity of the king becometh less for the men, and there is no approbation (qabul) of their words.

7 For every single fire which dieth out in a dwelling a loss of three dirhams and two dangs falleth on the property of that person, or it becometh the loss of this dwelling, or it doth not reach him from the place whence wealth cometh to him.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 12

Why the clothing of a corpse should be scanty and old, though many people must follow the bier.

1 The twelfth subject is this, that, when any one dieth, an order is necessary that how much soever scantier clothing they are able to make a beginning of, the better they act.

2 Beside (illa) something become old and washed, anything new is not proper for the purpose that they may let it go upon a dead body.

3 For in the commentary of the Vendidad it asserts that, if they shall pass on to a dead body as much as a woman's spindle maketh for a single thread, with the exception of that which is unavoidable, for every single thread a black snake hangs, in that other world, on to the liver of that person who hath made a beginning of the clothing.

4 Likewise, that dead person becometh his antagonist ('hazm), and hangeth similarly upon his skirt, and speaketh thus: 'This clothing, which thou hast put on my body, devoureth me, having become worms and noxious creatures.

5 My name was put upon a sacred cake, the fourth day, with a Yasht, so that there might be alike a benefit therefrom for my soul, and it might be alike unnecessary for thee to bear this torment ('haDHab).'

6 Owing to that, many sorrows come to that person, and he hath no advantage from it.

7 Therefore, it is necessary to act with caution (i'htiyat), so that, how much soever the clothing be scantier, they may make a beginning of it.

8 And as many as shall be able to walk after the bier (tabut) and corpse shall walk.

9 Because every step that they go after a corpse is a good work of three hundred stirs; and every stir is four dirhams, in such manner that three hundred stirs are a thousand and two hundred dirhams.

10 For every single step there is thus much good work.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 13

Why ceremonies in honour of the souls of the departed should be properly celebrated.

1 The thirteenth subject is this, that it is necessary to maintain the souls of fathers, mothers, and relations properly.

2 And, when any day of theirs occurs, it is necessary to make an endeavor, so that they may accomplish the ceremonial (yazishn), the sacred feast (myazd), the consecration of the sacred cakes (dron), and the benedictions (afrinagan).

3 For it is declared in revelation, that, every time that any day of theirs occureth, they will bring with themselves 9999 guardian spirits of the righteous, like that case when any one goeth home himself, and bringeth people (qaum) in hospitality.

4 And, when they utter the consecration of the sacred cakes and sacred feast and the benedictions, those people become joyful and utter blessings on that house and master of the house, and on the house-mistress and any persons who are in that house.

5 But if they do not celebrate the sacred feast, the consecration of the sacred cakes, the ceremonial, and the benedictions, the spirits will remain for them in that place from dawn as long as the period of a day, and are maintaining a hope that 'perhaps they will have us in remembrance.'

6 Then, if they do not bring them into remembrance, the souls turn upwards from that place, go very quickly on high, and will say, 'O creator Ahura Mazda! they do not know that we are such as we are, and that it is necessary for them to come into this world, and in this world they will not give any one acquittal.

7 For them there is need of the good works in consecrating the sacred cakes and celebrating the sacred feast and benedictions; there is no need of them for such as we.

8 Yet (va likin), if they would have maintained a place for the duty of those days, we should have turned away from them misfortunes of various kinds; but, as they have not maintained observance of us in the day's duty, we are not able to come in friendship to this house.'

9 Thus much they say, and turn away in anger, and go away from that place.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 14

How nail-parings should be treated, and why.

1 The fourteenth subject is this, that, when the nails are pared according to custom (ba-'hilal), it is necessary that they put the parings into a paper.

2 And it is further necessary to take the Srosh-baj inwardly, and to utter three Yatha-ahu-vairyos.

3 And for the speaking of this -- to say with each Yatha-ahu-vairyo the Avesta is this: -- Paiti te, meregha Asho-zushta! imau srvau vaedhayemi, imau srvau awaedhayemi; imause te srvau, meregha Asho-zushta! hyare arshtayasca, karetayasca, thanvareca, ishavasca erezifyo-parena, asnaca fradakhshanya paiti daevo-Mazainyano; asha vohu manangha ya sruye pare magaono.

4 Afterwards, one completes the Baj in the manner that it was taken inwardly.

5 At those two Yatha-ahu-vairyos, with which one completeth the Baj, at each one, he maketh lines ('hattha) in a little dust in the midst of the nail- parings.

6 And, if he doth not know this Baj, on uttering the Srosh-baj and those three Yatha-ahu-vairyos he is to furrow three lines, with the nail-cutter, around the nail-parings, and then he is to complete the Baj with those Yatha-ahu-vairyos, and to put the dust, with the end of the nail-cutter, into the midst of the nail-parings, and carry them to a desert spot.

7 It is necessary that he should carry a hole down through four finger-breadths of earth, and, having placed the nail-parings in that spot, he puts the soil overhead.

8 For Ahura Mazda, the good and propitious, hath created a bird which they call Asho-zusht, and they call it the bird of Vohuman. 9. They also call it the owl, and it eats nails.

10 It is altogether necessary that they do not leave them unbroken, for they would come into use as weapons (sila'h) of wizards.

11 And they have also said that, if they fall in the midst of food, there is danger of pulmonary consumption.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 15

How we should salute anything agreeable, and why.

1 The fifteenth subject is this, when one sees anything that is welcome to the eyes, it is requisite to say 'in the name of the sacred being.'

2 Because, if they do not say 'in the name of the sacred being,' and an injury happeneth to that thing, or a disaster occureth, one becometh a sinner; so far is notorious (ma'hlum).

SAD DAR CHAPTER 16

A pregnant woman and new-born infant require the protection of a fire or burning lamp, with other precautions.

1 The sixteenth subject is this, that, when a woman becometh pregnant in a house, it is necessary to make an endeavor so that there may be a continual fire in that house, and to maintain a good watch over it.

2 And, when the child becometh separate from the mother, it is necessary to burn a lamp for three nights and days -- if they burn a fire it would be better -- so that the demons and fiends may not be able to do any damage and harm; because, when a child is born, it is exceedingly delicate for those three days.

3 For it is declared in revelation, that, when Zarathustra, the Spitaman, became separate from his mother, every night, for three nights, a demon came on, with a hundred and fifty other demons, so that they might effect the slaughter (halak) of Zarathustra, and, when they had beheld the light of the fire, they had fled away, and had not been able to do any damage and harm.

4 During forty days it is not proper that they should leave the child alone; and it is also not proper that the mother of the infant should put her foot over a threshold in the dwelling, or cast her eyes upon a hill, for it is bad for her menstruation.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 17

Why a toothpick must be cut free from bark.

1 The seventeenth subject is this, that when they cut a toothpick ('hilal), or a splinter which they wish to apply to the root of the teeth, it is necessary that they retain no bark.

2 For if a small quantity of bark be on it when they apply it to the teeth, and they cast it away, if a pregnant woman puts her foot upon it, the danger of that may be that the child cometh to harm.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 18

People should marry early, to benefit by children's good works; and a childless man must have an adopted son.

1 The eighteenth subject is this, that it is necessary for mankind to make an endeavor, so that they may espouse a wife in their youth and beget a child.

2 And for women, in like manner, it is necessary that there should be a longing (raghbat) for espousing a husband.

3 Because it is declared in revelation, that every duty and good work a child performeth becometh the father's and mother's, just like those which they have performed with their own hands.

4 The meaning (ma'hni) of pur ('a son') is that which signifies pul ('a bridge'), for by this bridge they arrive at that other world.

5 If there be no child for any one they call him one with a severed bridge, that is, the way for him to that other world is severed, and he is not able to attain to that world.

6 At the head of the Chinwad bridge he shall remain; although he hath performed much duty and good works he is not able to make a passage over the Chinwad bridge, and they do not make up his account and reckoning.

7 And every archangel [Amahraspand] that cometh forward to that place first asketh these words, that is, 'Hast thou brought thy own substitute visibly into the world, or not?'

8 When he hath not brought it, they will pass over him, and his soul will remain, in that place, full of anguish and grief (gham).

9 A similitude (miTHal) of it is like that which happeneth when any one may be in a wilderness, and there may be fear of wild animals and creatures, and near to him may be his own town, but a river of water is in front, and it is not possible to make a passage over that river, as a bridge is fallen in, and he is not able to arrive at that town, but he is always upon the bank (sart) speaking thus: 'Would that the bridge would become perfect!'

10 The duty as to children is in this aggregate.

11 Therefore, the creator Ahura Mazda hath granted unto men that, if there be any one to whom sickness from heaven may occur, and there be no provision of a child for him, he hath commanded him that he should make some one a son of his own, as a friend of his soul, and should receive a child, because every duty can be delegated.

12 That person is in place of a child, and every duty and good work that he performeth shall be just like that which is performed by one's own hand.

13 And, finally, if any one departeth from the world (dunya) and possesseth no adopted child, it is incumbent on the priests and high-priests and his relations to appoint his adopted son, and it is necessary to bring some one in sight on that account, so that his soul may spring away from the torment of hell.

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14 Because, every time that his relations do not pay attention to this, when they proceed to that other world, the soul of that person hangeth about them and speaketh thus: 'I left with you something that I had collected and borne trouble for in many years, and you seized upon it, and put it into your own expenditure ('harj), and did not seek for mercy (safqat) on my soul.

15 In the same manner as I have remained, delayed (mauquf) in this place, I will not let you pass; so that you will make no passage over the Chinwad bridge till the sacred being takes my rights away from you.'

16 Then the angel Rashn and the angel Mihr make up their reckoning, and, as to whatever those persons have seized upon from the other's property, for every single dinar the account maketh four, and they take away the equivalent.

17 And, as in that world there are no gold and silver, they take away from their souls the good works that they have done, and they give them to the soul of this other.

18 Still, while others do not appoint the adopted son, they are not able to pass over the Chinwad bridge, nor to arrive at their own station.

19 There is no duty whatever more incumbent on relations than this duty, and every time that they appoint an adopted son for any one it is just as though they have made the deceased alive; and there are no limit ('hadd) and end (nihayat) of their good works.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 19

Advantage of attending to agriculture.

1 The nineteenth subject is this, that the performance of agriculture is like that when some one is performing the ceremonial of the sacred beings, and it is necessary to maintain much respect for agriculturists; it is also necessary to keep trouble and strife far from them.

2 For it is declared in revelation, that, as to every one who replants a shrub, while that shrub or tree exists at the place, every good work that every one, who eateth of that shrub, doth in that state of repletion becometh the agriculturist's, just like those which are done by his own hand.

3 If any one orders it, just as that good work occureth much new repose (ra'hat) and comfort reach his soul.

4 As to corn and grain ('hubub) and whatever they sow, it is just like this, because, as regards every one who eateth wheat, barley, and other grains, and performeth duty and good works, they become those of the sower of those grains, just as those which are performed by his own hand.

5 Because, for the life of mankind a crop was necessary, the creation of a creator after the sacred being, the most high, owing to the work of the agriculturist.

6 For everyone who eateth anything dieth, therefore, as regards that person by whose work the life of mankind is established, it is necessary to consider him valuable and precious.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 20

Advantage of feeding the worthy.

1 The twentieth subject is this, that it is incumbent on those of the good religion that they continually give something to the worthy to eat, on account (jihat) of that which it sayeth in revelation thus: 'When thou givest things to some one that he may eat, every duty and good work that he performeth in that state of repletion become those of that person, who hath given that bread or food to him, just like those which he hath performed with his own hand.'

2 And if he commiteth a sin, he who may have given food to him is innocent.

3 But it is necessary that he be of the good religion and worthy; they should give something to one of a different religion only in case of extreme necessity (zarurat), lest it become as a sin.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 21

How grace must be said before and after eating, and why.

1 The twenty-first subject is this, that, when they eat bread, it is necessary that one should recite the Itha-at-yazamaide and three Ashem-vohus, especially (ba-'hazzatam) in the benediction-ceremonies (afrinagan).

2 For it is declared in the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, that, when they wish to celebrate the sacred feast (myazd) and benediction-ceremonies, it is necessary that all persons who are seated at the feast should take up the inward prayer.

3 For each man an angel is stationed, on the right-hand side, and two angels for the priests

4 But when they eat chatteringly, or relate the news ('hadiTH), the angels depart from them, and a demon seizes on the place of each angel.

5 And in former times the custom ('hadat) of the people would have been in this manner, that, if any one should have come to the door in the middle of the feast, that person whose Afrinagan-precinct it might have been, or whoever should have gone to the expense of that Afrinagan, would have had words with that intruding person, and would have also spoken thus: 'As thou hast brought my feast to harm, give me back whatever hath been the cost.'

6 And in one place in revelation it is declared that from eating chatteringly itself is the sin, for every one who is chattering during the eating of bread is just like him who is smiting and harassing the angels of the spiritual existences.

7 Therefore, if there be any one who is not able to consecrate a sacred cake, it is necessary to eat bread with the inward prayer of Ahura Mazda, that is, the archangels.

8 And, if he doth not altogether know it, he reciteth the Itha-at-yazamaide and three Ashem-vohus, and eateth up the bread.

9 Afterwards he maketh his mouth clean, and, four Ashem-vohus and two Yatha-ahu-vairyos being spoken out, he is then to utter words.

10 For, every time that this custom (qa'hidat) is carried on in a place, through the first Ashem-vohu so much good work hath arisen that it hath propitiated the sacred being, the good and propitious; through the second Ashem-vohu so much good work hath arisen that it hath reverenced and propitiated Srosh, the righteous; through the third Ashem-vohu so much good work hath arisen that it hath reverenced and propitiated Hordad and Amurdad, the archangels; and through the fourth Ashem-vohu so much good work hath arisen that whatever the creator Ahura Mazda hath created becometh reverenced and propitiated.

11 And with each mouthful (luqmah) that is eaten, while the inward prayer subsists, they proclaim a blessing for Hordad and Amurdad, the archangels.

12 But, if it be eaten without the inward prayer, as demons are in that place, they say, 'Thou mightest have eaten the poison of a serpent.'

13 Therefore, take notice as to which is the better of these two.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 22

Advantage of performing Jadangoi.

1 The twenty-second subject is this, that the performance of Jadangoi ('intercession') is like that when some one is occasioning the ceremonial of the sacred beings.

2 Therefore, it should be expedient that it be continuous, and that they perform Jadangoi as regards the priests and high-priests and the worthy.

3 For, in the commentary of the Hadokht Nask, it sayeth that every one who performeth Jadangoi, and extracts anything from a person on their account, and conveyeth it to them, is as much without dishonesty ('hiyanat), towards them, as he who may have given to them out of his own property.

4 And in the spiritual existence they take account of that profit for him, and just as they make out the account of the good work of that person who may have given it, even so much is his good work.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 23

Tethered animals must be restrained.

1 The twenty-third subject is this, that it is requisite to restrain a tethered animal from misbehaviour, and to keep watch over one's own creatures, especially at the time when they have eaten meat.

2 Therefore, if they have eaten meat and they commit an assault, every offense that the animal ('haivan) commiteth may be that person's whose meat may be eaten.

3 For example, if a horse lashes out a kick (lakad) at any one, the offense may be that person's whose food may be eaten and caused the offense.

4 Therefore it is necessary to make an endeavor that they shall commit no offense whatever, especially at a time when they have eaten meat.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 24

Why and how Hom juice must be given to a new-born child.

1 The twenty-fourth subject is this, that when an infant is born from its mother it is necessary that they give it the consecrated Haoma juice, on this account, that understanding ('haql), wisdom, and knowledge may more abundantly get to it, and the want (ablat) of them may come more scantily upon it.

2 If, at that time, they do not perform the consecration, they should take forth a little Haoma for it, and recite a Yatha-ahu-vairyo, and put a trifle of water into it, and make Haoma-juice of that, and give it to the infant, and afterwards milk.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 25

Why promises must not be broken.

1 The twenty-fifth subject is this, that any agreement and promise (qaul) they make with any one it is necessary so far to perform and bring to pass.

2 Although many things may go to harm by means (sabab) of it, it is not desirable to perform that agreement with duplicity.

3 Because, in our religion, they call this a Mihr-druj ('breach of promise'), and in revelation it decrees, as to any one who commiteth a Mihr-druj, that the way to heaven becometh closed for him, and that person himself goeth discomforted out of this world, so that a warning ('halamat) becometh quite manifest unto him.

4 And a Mihr-druj is attached in such a manner that, if fortune (tali'h) may have befallen any one happily, or an insufficient quantity of his life ('humr) may have remained, the Mihr-druj extendeth to his children without opposition ('hilaf).

5 And every household that becometh extinct, or race whose issue fails, or any of the great misfortunes that happen to mankind -- from which misfortune one obtaineth release with difficulty -- may all be owing to the fact that they have committed a Mihr-druj.

6 If committed by oneself, it is declared, in one place in revelation, that the glorified Zarathustra, the Spitaman, inquired of Ahura Mazda, the good and propitious, thus: 'Of any of the sins that mankind commit which is the worst?'

7 Ahura Mazda, the good and propitious, decreed thus: 'No sin whatever is worse than this, that two persons make a covenant with one another in such a manner that no one whatever is between them, except me who am Ahura Mazda; and, afterwards one of those two persons deviates from it, and says, "I have no knowledge ('habar) of it," and no one whatever is a witness, for that other person, except me.'

8 No sin whatever is worse than that, and that person himself will not go out of this world until retribution overtaketh him, and in that other world his punishment is more severe than all; so that person becometh unfortunate in both worlds.

9 And it is the same if this covenant be with a righteous person or a wicked one.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 26

Every man of fifteen years must select a patron spirit and a priestly guide whom he must obey.

1 The twenty-sixth subject is this, that the wise and the ancients say that when a man becometh fifteen years of age it is necessary that he taketh one of the angels as his own protection, that he taketh one of the wise as his own sage, and that he taketh one of the high-priests and officiating priests as his own high-priest.

2 So that, if, any time, a bereavement (astanah) approacheth, he may beg a favour from the archangels, in order that it may furnish an escape from that bereavement.

3 And, any time any affair cometh forward, and he hath to have opinion (rai) and advice (masvarat), he holdeth a consultation with that sage, while the sage telleth him his opinion (tadbir).

4 And, if any question as to proper and improper cometh forward, he speaketh with that high-priest, so that he may tell him in reply.

5 When the instructions of these three persons are brought to pass, carrying out the commands of the sacred being is accomplished.

6 Especially the instructions of the high-priests, because their satisfaction is connected with the satisfaction of the sacred being; and the high-priests possess so much dignity (martabat) in the presence of the sacred being, the good and propitious, that they are quite able to forgive any trivial one of the sins of mankind, and Ahura Mazda, the good and propitious, quickly forgives that sin for the high-priest.

7 Therefore, carrying out the commands of the high-priests becometh incumbent on every one; and the fulfillment of this maxim is better than that of a whole assemblage of maxims.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 27

When it is doubtful whether an action be right or wrong a high-priest must be consulted.

1 The twenty-seventh subject is this, that is, if any affair cometh forward, that they should thoroughly understand whether it be a good work, or a sin.

2 In that manner it becometh better that they make an evasion on the spot, until a time when they make it known with accuracy that that affair is a sin or a reward.

3 If they perform any affair without knowing this, although it be a good work, it becometh a sin for them.

4 For it is declared in revelation, that, except that which they inquire of the high-priests, no affair whatever is proper to perform.

5 Whatever wisdom there be for any one from his own head is only one; then, as two wisdoms are more than one, it therefore maketh it expedient to inquire of the high-priests.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 28

Why the Avesta must be properly learnt and remembered.

1 The twenty-eighth subject is this, that, when they teach the Avesta, it is in like manner necessary that they teach it properly and truly, and recite it with deliberation and composure (sakini).

2 And it is necessary for those who are taught to recite it connectedly, and to keep it ever in remembrance.

3 For it is declared in revelation, that the sacred being hath decreed thus: 'As to every one who puteth the Avesta away

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from his memory, I will put his soul as far from heaven as the width of the earth.'

4 And in the commentary of the Avesta it is related that, in former times, as to any one who had been taught the Avesta and had put it away from his memory, until the time he had again made it easy, they would have given him bread like that which they give to the dogs.

5 And in another place I have read that they would have given bread to him on the point of a spear.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 29

Why liberality must extend only to the worthy.

1 The twenty-ninth subject is this, that, when they provide any munificence (sa'havat) or liberality, it is necessary that they provide it for the worthy; and one is to consider thus: 'Is this person, to whom I am giving this thing, worthy or not?'

2 Therefore it is necessary to make an effort, so that they may not give to the unworthy.

3 For in revelation, as regardeth that person who provides any munificence for the unworthy, they call it a vain work and a gift without advantage; and day by day it is the punishment and torment of that person.

4 And, whatever they give to the unworthy, they have made that thing extinct.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 30

Water must not be poured away, or drunk, in the dark.

1 The thirtieth subject is this, that it is not proper to pour away water at night, especially from the northern side (janib) which would be the worst.

2 Therefore, if it become a necessity in the end (ba-'hatam), it is requisite to recite one Yatha-ahu-vairyo, and, when they make a light ready ('hazir), to pour away the water gently.

3 In like manner it is not proper to swallow water at night, because it is a sin.

4 But, if a necessity arises, it is necessary to make a light ready, and one first eateth some morsels of food (ta'ham) so that the sin may be less.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 31

Dogs must be fed and well-treated.

1 The thirty-first subject is this, that, every time they eat bread, it is necessary to withhold three morsels from their own bodies, and to give them to a dog.

2 And it is not desirable to beat a dog.

3 For, of the poor no one whatever is poorer than a dog, and it is necessary to give a tethered animal bread, because the good work is great.

4 And in revelation it is declared in this manner, that, if a dog is asleep upon the road, it is not proper that they put a foot violently on the ground, so that he becometh awake.

5 And, in former times, an allowance (raitib) of bread would have been made every day for the sake of the dogs, three times in summer and twice in winter, on this account, that one wishes them to come to the assistance of his soul at the Chinwad bridge.

6 In the worldly existence they are the guard of men and cattle.

7 If there had not been a dog they would not have been able to keep a single sheep.

8 Every time that he barketh, just as his bark goeth forth, the demons and fiends run away from the place.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 32

Why a hen or cock must not be killed for crowing.

1 The thirty-second subject is this, that, when a hen utters a crow in a house, or the cock croweth unseasonably, it is desirable that they do not kill it, and do not consider it a bad habit (fa'hl).

2 Because it is uttering that crow for the reason that a fiend hath found a way into that house, and the hen or the cock, alone, doth not possess the power (taqat) that would keep the fiend away from that house, and the hen is going to give the cock assistance, and uttereth the crow.

3 Therefore, if any time the chance (ittifaq) happeneth in that manner, it is requisite to bring another cock, so that they may drive away that fiend through the assistance of one another.

4 And if a cock croweth unseasonably it is likewise not desirable to kill it, because the reason may be this which I have stated.

5 For it is declared in the good religion, that there is a fiend whom they call Sej [Av. ithyejo], and, in every house where an infant existeth, that fiend striveth that she may cause some misfortune to come upon that house.

6 So it is necessary that they should keep a cock on the watch for her, so that it may smite that fiend and force her to the road away from that house.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 33

Why search must be made where a corpse is supposed to be buried.

1 The thirty-third subject is this, that, when there is a place and any risk or fear exists that a corpse is concealed beneath the ground, one is to make it apparent and visible, because it is a great good work.

2 For it is declared in the good religion, that, when they conceal a corpse beneath the ground, Spandarmad, the archangel, shuddereth; it is just as severe as a serpent or scorpion would be to any one in private sleep, and it is also just like that to the ground.

3 When thou makest a corpse beneath the ground as it were apparent, thou makest the ground liberated from that affliction.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 34

Animals must not be often killed, and some never; also certain parts should be consecrated.

1 The thirty-fourth subject is this, that it is greatly necessary to refrain from much slaughter of animals and the cattle species.

2 Because it says in revelation that, for every one who slaughters many animals and cattle, every fiber of the hair of a goat becometh, in that other world, like a sharp sword, and adheres in the soul of that person.

3 And there are several things the slaughter of which is very bad, and the sin very abundant, as the lamb, the kid, the ploughing ox, the war horse, the swallow bird that catcheth the locust, and the cock; and of the whole of these the sin is most as regardeth the cock.

4 If it becometh a necessity, it is proper to kill a cock that doth not crow, and it is necessary to consecrate their heads.

5 Any head of an animal, not consecrated, it is not desirable to eat, so that it becometh so far a righteous gift.

6 If one be not able to consecrate the head, it is requisite to consecrate one kidney as a substitute (badal) for it.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 35

Prayers to be used when washing the face.

1 The thirty-fifth subject is this, that, when they wish to wash the face, they should recite one Ashem-vohu, and set the mouth firmly closed, so that the water, not staying away from it, shall not go into the mouth.

2 And, as one washes over the face, they should recite the Kem-na-mazda, so that the fiend Nasrusht may become smitten.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 36

Necessity of the Barashnom for both men and women.

1 The thirty-sixth subject is this, that it is strictly incumbent on mankind, on man and woman, to perform the Barashnom ceremony, because mankind feed on menstruous matter in the womb of the mother.

2 For that reason it is necessary to perform the Barashnom once, so that one may become pure from that pollution.

3 For if one becometh fifteen years of age, and doth not perform the Barashnom, whatever he puts a hand on, the glory and purity of that thing will diminish; and it is not proper that they put hand on a sacred cake or any thing washed with ceremony.

4 In revelation it says, if any one who hath not performed the Barashnom shall die, the demons make him as though he were a corpse kept one month in the hot season.

5 And, when the soul arriveth at the head of the Chinwad bridge, the archangels and angels complain of the stench of that soul, and are not able to make up its account and reckoning.

6 It remaineth at the Chinwad bridge and is not able to pass; it experienceth much repentance and hath no advantage from it.

7 If it be necessary for any one to perform the Barashnom of the head, and he be able to do it, but doth not do it, if he performeth the ceremonial ablution of the head a thousand times, it doth not become pure from that pollution, and that is the pollution of Nasrusht, which is amid the veins and sinews, and the flesh and bones; it doth not become pure through any other thing except through the liquid consecrated by the religious formula [nirang].

8 And as to that person, also, who performeth the Barashnom for mankind, it is necessary that he be a man, a friend of the soul, a truthful speaker, and an abstainer, because through chastity and modesty (masturi) he becometh employed.

9 If complaint of any perfidy in him is publicly diffused, in that disgrace (malamat) it is necessary that the high-priests should dislocate his joints one by one, and it is requisite that they give him as food to the dogs.

10 So that by this action they may make a man observe more chastely and continently, that this result ('hazil) of sin may not occur.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 37

Why the ten days of the guardian spirits [farohars] must be celebrated.

1 The thirty-seventh subject is this, that, when the days of the guardian spirits come on, it is necessary that all persons, among their own food and devotion, should order and provide the sacred cakes and ceremonial, the sacred feast and benedictions (Afrinagan).

2 For these ten days it is incumbent on every one; and those are better which they prepare in their own houses, because the souls go every one to its own house.

3 And they should have an ear for them, so that they may prepare the sacred cakes and feast and benedictions.

4 Those ten days any one of all the souls -- that are in this way in every house where they provide the feast more abundantly -- proclaims, as to that master of the house, that family, and the whole who are in that house, and the year's affairs of every kind, that they are very good, and their entry (da'hl) and coming in are very good.

5 And every single good work, on account of which we have spoken of the souls of the departed, becometh just like those we have done for our own souls.

6 And, when they pass away from this worldly existence, those souls come again, meeting them, and cause gladness, maintain their courage, and also render them honour in the presence of the creator Ahura Mazda, and speak thus: 'These righteous souls did not put us away from remembrance while they were in the world, and we have been satisfied with them; now we are unanimous that thou shouldest provide them equal shares of those good works of ours, and make their souls attain to the position of the righteous.'

7 They utter these words, and give those souls confidence, while they make out their account.

8 Afterwards, with them, they make the passage of the Chinwad bridge, till they arrive at their own position, and then they return.

9 Therefore it is necessary to make an effort, so that they may maintain the guardian spirits properly, and the souls of their fathers and mothers and relations may exist with honor from them.

10 For if they retire with dissatisfaction they utter a curse, and, as the soul departs from this world, they administer reproaches to it, and speak thus: 'Thou thinkest that they wish continually to make a way for thee to that place, but it is not necessary for thee to come into this world.

11 Now, hadst thou performed duty and good works on our behalf, and hadst thou recollected us, we would also have come to thy assistance, and would have released thee from this fearful position.'

12 And that soul experiences much repentance, and hath no advantage whatever from it.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 38

We must not drink from the same cup as those of a different religion, until it is purified.

1. The thirty-eighth subject is this, that, so far as effort and endeavor prevail, it is requisite to abstain from the same cup as those of a different religion, and it is not desirable to drink the water of any goblet of theirs.

2. And if the goblet be of copper or of tin, it is requisite to wash it with water, so that it may be proper to drink the water.

3. If the goblet be of earthenware or wooden, it is altogether improper.

4. Because, when any one drinks with a stranger, it maketh his heart inclined (mail) towards him, for it would be a sin; and, on account of the sin committed, he becometh bold, and his soul hath an inclination for wickedness.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 39

The sacred fire and its attendant must be properly maintained (see Chap. 92).

1 The thirty-ninth subject is this, that it is necessary to properly maintain the sacred fire which they have established in a town or village.

2 And at night it is necessary to make it blaze up once, and by day twice.

3 For it is declared in revelation, that, if there had been no sacred fire, no one would have been able to go from town to town; because it is owing to the glory of the sacred fire that no one on the roads is able to commit an excess upon any one else.

4 It is necessary that they should present the whole of the firewood; and, as to the person who maketh it blaze, they should give him bread and a salary (nafaqah).

5 For, every time that that fire is satisfied, and they maintain it properly, every fire that may exist in the earth of seven regions becometh satisfied with that person.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 40

Parents and priests must be obeyed and not vexed.

1 The fortieth subject is this, that it is not desirable to distress one's priest, or father, or mother; and, if people perceive much trouble, disquietude, and harm arising from them, it is certainly not desirable that they should give them back a reply with any aggravation.

2 Because their satisfaction is connected with the satisfaction of the sacred being, and every time that people distress them they have distressed Ahura Mazda, the good and propitious.

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3 It is not possible for any duty or good work to extend to the spiritual existences while one doth not make those guardians satisfied, and it is not possible (mumkin) that any one should repay these three persons all their dues.

4 In the commentary of the Hadokht Nask it says: -- Ma azarayoish, Zarathushtra! ma Pourushaspem, ma Dughdhovam, ma aethrapaitish, 'it is not desirable that thou, O Zarathustra! shouldest distress thy father, or mother, or priest.'

5 Therefore, three times every day it is indispensable for one to fold his arms in the presence of these three persons, and to say: 'What is your will (murad)? So that I may think and speak and do it. 6. If what was not proper hath come from me of itself, it is necessary that you make a righteous gift on our behalf.'

SAD DAR CHAPTER 41

The care and prayers necessary for menstruous women.

1 The forty-first subject is this, that it is greatly requisite to avoid a menstruous woman, while they give her bread and food moderately.

2 As soon as she is not able to eat they should not give her more, and in the same manner as regards water, on this account, that whatever remnant cometh from that menstruous woman doth not come to any use.

3 When they wish to provide bread they put the hand into the sleeve, or they place something on the top of the sleeve, and it is necessary that her bare hand should not come forth again in any place.

4 Because every drop of water that trickles on to a limb of a menstruous woman becometh a sin of three hundred stirs.

5 And it is requisite for a menstruous woman to avoid everything that is washed with ceremony by fifteen steps.

6 It is also necessary for her to be at least three steps distant from a righteous man, and on whatever her eye casts a look it diminishes the glory of that thing.

7 And on every woman the twelve ceremonials, atoning for the offense of menstruation, are incumbent.

8 One on account of the offense that hath occurred as regards the spiritual existence.

9 The second on account of the offense that hath occurred as regards the stars.

10 The third on account of that which hath occurred as regards the sun.

11 The fourth on account of that which hath occurred as regards the moon.

12 The fifth on account of that which hath occurred as regards the spirit of fire.

13 The sixth on account of that which hath occurred as regards the spirit of water.

14 The seventh on account of that which hath occurred as regards the spirit of earth.

15 The eighth on account of that which hath occurred as regards the spirit of the wind.

16 The ninth on account of that which hath occurred as regards Hordad.

17 The tenth on account of the offense that hath occurred as regards Amurdad.

18 The eleventh on account of the offense that hath occurred as regards meal-time ('hurdak gah).

19 The twelfth on account of the offense that hath occurred as regards bodily refuse and dead matter.

20 Therefore it is incumbent on every one in this manner; if any one be more opulent eighteen ceremonials are indispensable, and if she hath silver in excess (ba-ghayat) there should be twenty-one, and in one place I have read that twenty-four are indispensable; but, for lesser people, this that I have noted is necessary.

21 That which they provide in their lifetime is better; and, just as would occur when any one plants a tree anew, and is eating the fruit of it every year, even so much is that good work increasing every year.

22 If she shall live ten years, or if a hundred years, even so long it is becoming every year much more.

23 If they provide it after her lifetime, that which would be the increase departs; and in her lifetime, also, that occureth which every one, who hath done a duty on his own account, hath seen, that the thing itself which others accomplish after his lifetime is very different; so that she should provide it with her own hands, not after her decease (vafat).

SAD DAR CHAPTER 42

Why slander and seduction, sins producing accusers, are specially injurious.

1 The forty-second subject is this, that it is necessary to practice strict abstinence from that sin which affects accusers.

2 That would be when any one slandereth (buhtanad), or any one commiteth a rape on the wife of some one, or causes a woman to occupy a separate bed from her own husband.

3 These are sins for which there is no retribution, except when thou beggest forgiveness of that person whom thy sin hath assailed.

4 Afterwards, they keep back the soul, at the Chinwad bridge, till the time when its antagonist arriveth and exacts justice from it; then it obtaineth release.

5 Every time that any one applieth a falsehood or a slander to some person, so that people are afterwards telling that falsehood again, and it vexeth the heart of that person, they are bringing punishment ever anew on the soul of that former one.

6 The sin doth not depart through the performance of duties and good works, so long as he doth not make his antagonist satisfied.

7 This is a grave sin, and it is requisite to be careful that they do not commit it.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 43

Noxious creatures must be killed, especially five kinds.

1 The forty-third subject is this, that it is necessary to make an endeavor to kill noxious creatures and reptiles ('hasharat) of the earth; because, in revelation, it is put forth as a great good work.

2 Especially these five things: One is the frog in the water, the second is the snake and scorpion, the third is the ant (marchish) that flieth, the fourth is the common ant (morchah), and; the fifth is the mouse.

3 Therefore, every time that they bring a frog up, out of the water, and make it dry, and, after (ba'hd) that, kill it, it is a good work of a thousand and two hundred dirhams in weight.

4 And every time that they kill a snake, and recite the Avesta that is appointed for that occasion, it is just as though they have slain an apostate (ashmogh).

5 For every one who killeth a flying ant (marchish) it is as much good work as for any one who is reciting inward prayer for ten days.

6 Among the creatures of Ahriman nothing whatever is more harmful than this; for, if it dieth in the air (hava) it becometh a gnat, if it dieth in the dust it becometh a worm, if it dieth in the water it becometh a leech, if it dieth among the excavators of flesh it becometh a venomous snake (mar-i af'hai), and if it dieth in dung it becometh creeping things.

7 For every one who killeth a corn-dragging ant it is as much good work as for any one who reciteth the Ahura Mazda Yasht.

8 And for every one who killeth many noxious creatures it is as much good work as for a priest who performeth the ceremonial of the sacred beings; both good works are equal.

9 For every one who killeth a mouse it is as much good work as if four lions are killed.

10 Therefore, it is incumbent on every one to make an effort to kill a noxious creature.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 44

Walking barefoot is a sin, and why.

1 The forty-fourth subject is this, that it is not desirable for those of the good religion, so far as they are able to manage it, to put a bare foot upon the ground, because it is a sin, and injury occureth to Spandarmad, the archangel.

2 And they call that the sin of running about uncovered.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 45

How repentance must be accomplished for every sin.

1 The forty-fifth subject is this, that it is continually necessary that people should keep in remembrance the accomplishment of repentance (taubat).

2 Every time that a sin leapeth from control it is necessary to act so that they go before the priests, high-priests, and spiritual chiefs, and accomplish repentance.

3 And in accordance with the sin should be the good work, just as though the good work were due to that occasion when they accomplish it.

4 While mankind are living, it becometh every year a further benefit.

5 Sin is also, in like manner, going on to a head every year; and when they accomplish repentance, so that it may not increase further, it is just like a tree that becometh withered, and they extirpate its further growth.

6 And that repentance is better which they accomplish before high-priests and spiritual chiefs, and when they accomplish the retribution that the high-priest orders every sin that exists departs from them.

7 The repentance that high-priests accomplish they likewise call repentance.

8 If there be no high-priest it is necessary to go before some persons who are commissioned by high-priests; and if those, also, do not exist, it is necessary to go to a man who is a friend of the soul, and to accomplish the repentance.

9 At the time when one shall depart from the world it is incumbent on sons and daughters and relations, that they give repentance into the mouth of the afflicted one, and that they give the Ashem-vohu into his mouth.

10 For the high-priests have said that, when they have accomplished repentance because they have committed many sins, they do not arrive in hell, but they administer punishment to them at the head of the Chinwad bridge, and afterwards conduct them to their own place.

11 Repentance is that when they accomplish repentance of the sin which they have committed, and do not commit that sin a second time; if they do commit it, that first sin then cometh back.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 46

The proper age for tying on the sacred thread-girdle (kusti).

1 The forty-sixth subject is this, that, when people become fourteen years of age, it is necessary to tie on the sacred thread-girdle [kusti], because the high-priests have said that it is likewise necessary to take into account those nine months that they have been in the womb of the mother.

2 For in our religion there is no duty better than wearing the sacred thread-girdle [[kusti]], and it is incumbent on man and woman.

3 And, in former days, if any one should have become completely fifteen years of age, and should not have worn the sacred thread-girdle, they would have done for him by stoning, as bread and water are forbidden ('haram) for him.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 47

Ceremonies must be celebrated after the death of a child of seven, to liberate its soul from those of its parents.

1 The forty-seventh subject is this, that, when a child of seven years shall die, an order is necessary that it is requisite to perform a ceremony (yasht) for Srosh on account of it, and to consecrate the sacred cake of the fourth night.

2 For it sayeth in revelation that the souls of children go with the souls of their fathers and mothers; if the father is fit for heaven the child goeth to heaven with him, if he be fit for hell it arrives in hell; if the mother be fit for heaven it reacheth heaven with her, if she be fit for hell it reacheth hell with her.

3 Therefore, every time that they accomplish the ceremony for Srosh, the soul of that child becometh separated from the souls of its father and mother, and goeth to heaven, and is imploring intercession (shifa'hat) for its father and mother in the presence of the sacred beings in that other world.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 48

A cooking-pot must not be more than two-thirds full, for fear of boiling over.

1 The forty-eighth subject is this, that, when they boil a cooking-pot, it is necessary to make the water two parts of one-third each, that one-third of the pot may be empty; so that, if at any time the pot shall boil, the water shall not go to the top.

2 For if they do not act so, and the water, owing to not stopping, goes into the fire, it is a sin of a thousand and two hundred dirhams in weight; therefore it is necessary to keep watch that this sin doth not arise.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 49

A fire must be cold before the ashes are removed.

1 The forty-ninth subject is this, that, when one gathereth up a fire, it is requisite to leave it for a time, so that the ash-bed (bum) of the fire may become cold; afterwards, one is to take it up and carry it to the precinct of fire.

2 It is not proper that they carry the ash-bed (zamin) of a hot fire to the precinct of fire; so far is notorious.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 50

How the morning ablutions must be performed.

1 The fiftieth subject is this, that, every day at dawn, when they rise up from sleep, it is not proper to wash the hands first with water.

2 The ceremonial ablution is to wash the hands, face, nose, eyes, and feet thoroughly, either with fruit (mivah) or some grass upon which no water hath come; afterwards, to make them dry, and to wash them three times with water in such a manner that it becometh wet from the face as far as the ear.

3 It is necessary to keep the mouth closed, so that the water shall not go into the mouth; for if a drop, owing to not stopping, goes into the mouth, it is a sin of three hundred stirs.

4 Afterwards, one is to wash the hands three times with water, as far as the upper arms; first the right hand, and afterwards the left hand; and, in like manner, he is to wash the right foot and left foot.

5 Then they recite the Kem-na-mazda, for, every time that they wish to recite anything as an inward prayer, it is necessary that the hands be washed with ceremonial ablution, and, if they are not, the Avesta is not accepted, and the fiend of corruption (nasa) doth not rush away, and it becometh a tanapuhr sin.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 51

Why it is necessary to send a child to school.

1 The fifty-first subject is this, that it is incumbent on every one to send a child to school, and to teach it something.

2 Because every duty and good work that a child performeth is just as though the father and mother had performed it with their own hands.

3 Therefore it is necessary to make an effort, so that they may teach them something good, and make them aware of

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good works and sin; for they are doing that on account of their own souls, so that those children may be courageous in doing good works.

4 If they are not taught, they then perform less duty and good works, and less reacheth the souls of the father and mother.

5 And it also happeneth that if they do not deliver children to school, and do not teach them anything, and they become bold in committing sin, that sin becometh fixed on the necks of the father and mother.

6 Therefore they have decided rightly who teach them something, especially what is proper and improper according to revelation; because the chief principle is this, whether, through the duty of this world, a good or bad result is coming hereafter.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 52

Why a sacred cake must be consecrated every year on the day Hordad of the month Farvardin.

1 The fifty-second subject is this, that it is incumbent on every one that, every year when the month Frawardin cometh on, he is to provide a sacred cake on the day Hordad, and whatever they are able to bring to hand, a little of everything, they are to place by that sacred cake, and to consecrate it with the dedicatory formula Ayaranamcha, so that the affairs of that year may be better through that day's provision and the entry and coming in of guests.

2 For it is declared in revelation, that, every year, when the day Hordad of the month Frawardin cometh on, they allot a daily provision for mankind, and whatever one wisheth to pass to the lot of mankind in that year they write down that day.

3 Therefore, when they shall consecrate this sacred cake, the archangel Hordad is making intercession for that person.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 53

Any one travelling twelve leagues must have a sacred cake consecrated before he goes and every Warharan day during his absence.

1 The fifty-third subject is this, that, when, in former times, any one wished to go on a journey (safar) that might have been at least twelve leagues (parasang), they would have consecrated a sacred cake, so that no affliction might happen in that journey, and affairs might be according to their wish, and employments (sughl) cheerful.

2 And it is still incumbent on every one that, when they wish to go on a journey, they are to consecrate this sacred cake.

3 And, while the person is on the journey, he should order the consecration of this sacred cake, in his house, every Warharan day, so that that person may arrive in safety (salamat) at his house.

4. The dedicatory formula is this -- Amahe hutashtahe -- and is known to the priest himself.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 54

If a man's serving wife hath a son, he may adopt it; but if only a daughter, he must adopt a relation's son.

1 The fifty-fourth subject is this, that if any one hath a serving wife, and if the acquisition of a male child resulteth from her, it is suitable for adoption by that person, and the bridge is not severed for that person.

2 But if it be a female child it is necessary that the man should not be negligent (ghafil) in appointing an adopted son for his own sake.

3 He should himself appoint a son of some relation, who is a friend of the soul, so that the bridge may not be severed for his soul.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 55

When a sacred cake cannot be consecrated at a Navazud, bread must be eaten with the Ahura Mazda Baj.

1. The fifty-fifth subject is this, that when a Navazud ceremony is performed, and it happeneth that it is not possible to consecrate a sacred cake, it is necessary that one should eat bread with the Ahura Mazda inward prayer; and, afterwards, he should complete the prayer Just as when they complete it as regards the sacred cake, so that the sin may be less.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 56

Precautions and prayers necessary when evacuating water.

1 The fifty-sixth subject is this, that, when any one wishes to make an evacuation of water, it is necessary that he should not make the evacuation of water while standing on his feet.

2 Because, in the commentary of the Vendidad, it is said, concerning that, that it is a serious sin.

3 When they squat for evacuating water it is necessary that it extend only from the heel as far as the end of the toes; for, if it be more, every drop is a Tanapuhr sin.

4 And, when they wish to squat for the evacuation of water, they are to utter one Yatha-ahu-vairyo; and, when the action is over, they are to recite the Ashem-vohu three times, the Humatanam twice, the Hukhshathrotemai three times, the Yatha-ahu-vairyo four times, and the Ahunem-vairim to the end.

5 Because, every time that they act like this, they are pleasant in the eyes and hearts of mankind, and their words are more approved in the vicinity of kings.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 57

A hedgehog must not be injured, and why.

1 The fifty-seventh subject is this, that it is not proper to kill a hedgehog; and, everywhere that they see it, it is necessary to take it up and carry it into the wilderness (sa'hra), so that it may go into a hole, which is ever considered a great good work.

2 Because, when a hedgehog is in their nest, some ants will die; it will also catch and eat thousands of snakes and other harmful creatures, and it eateth all noxious creatures.

3 Therefore, owing to the whole of this, these words are expedient.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 58

Advantages of a ceremony for the living soul.

1 The fifty-eighth subject is this, that it is ever necessary that those of the good religion should make an effort that they may celebrate a ceremony for their living souls.

2 For the soul, for which they have celebrated a ceremony, just as much good work as it then becometh each year, it is twice as much good work the second year.

3 So that, in this manner, the merit of the ceremony for the living soul is increasing just so much every year, while the man is living.

4 And, after that, this also occureth, that, if at the time when that person becometh an immortal soul there be no one at hand -- Srosh being the angel when the ceremony for the living soul is celebrated -- Srosh, the righteous, receiveth the soul by himself, and is keeping watch over it during the three days, and doth not forsake it, so that no danger or harm happeneth to it.

5 And the fourth night he is a helper, with the angel Rashn, at the Chinwad bridge, while they make up its account and reckoning, and it goeth to its own place.

6 And this ceremony for the living soul is appointed for the reason that, just in the manner that, when an infant becometh separated from the mother, a midwife (qabilat) is necessary for it, so that they may keep watch over it, and just in the manner that she taketh up the infant from the ground -- and, at the time when it is born it is ever necessary that there be a woman present ('hazirat), or they may perform work for the infant at a time fit for the demon -- in this same manner, when the soul is becoming separated from the body it is like an infant (tifl), and doth not know any way to its place.

7 When they celebrate a ceremony for the living soul, and have propitiated the righteous Srosh, the righteous Srosh becometh like the midwife, so that he receiveth that soul by himself and keepeth watch that it is out of the hands of Ahriman and the demons.

8 When they do not celebrate a ceremony for the soul when living, but, after that, the priests perform it before Srosh, it is like that which occureth when a woman bringeth forth a child, and after that they set her before the midwife.

9 And it happeneth that while some one is coming in, who taketh up that child and wrappeth it up, it hath perished.

10 Therefore, as she doth the needful which they should do earlier by the hand of some one, in this same manner it maketh it incumbent on every one to celebrate a ceremony for his own living soul, so that it may be free (iman) from these misfortunes.

11 And that, if his decease occureth in any place where there may be no one who will celebrate a ceremony for his soul, since a ceremony for the living soul is celebrated, there are no arrears for him, and he is free.

12 And, in many things, it is that ceremony for the living soul which is expedient, especially in these times when the priests have remained few in number; and, when it is celebrated by one's own hands, it is a great duty.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 59

The only Niyayesh for women is obedience to their husbands.

1 The fifty-ninth subject is this, that, in the good and pure religion of the Mazda-worshippers, they have not commanded the women to perform the Niyayeshes.

2 And their Niyayeshes are these, that three times every day, at dawn, mid-day prayer, and evening prayer, they stand back in the presence of their own husbands, and fold their arms and speak thus: 'What are thy thoughts, so that I may think them; what is necessary for thee, so that I may speak it; and what is necessary for thee, so that I may do it?'

3 For, any command, and whatever the husband ordereth, it is requisite to go about that day.

4 And, certainly, without the leave (riza) of the husband she is to do no work, so that the Lord may be pleased with that wife.

5 For the satisfaction of the sacred being is in a reverence (yasht) for the satisfaction of the husband; so that every time that they perform work by command of the husband they call them righteous in the religion; and if not, what do they call them?

SAD DAR CHAPTER 60

Steadfastness in the religion leads to heaven, and helping others to be steadfast is the best good work.

1 The sixtieth subject is this, that we are keeping the good and pure religion of the Mazda-worshippers with us, so that escape from hell may be possible for our souls.

2 And we are completely united in hope, and through investigation (ta'hqiq) we fully understand that, when we are steadfast in the good religion, we arrive in heaven.

3 And we know that arrival in heaven occureth through virtuous actions, and through them we are saved; so that we think of good, speak of good, and do good.

4 And no doing of good is better than that which offers itself when a difficult duty cometh before one of the good religion as his soul wisheth to depart.

5 Since it cometh to thee, do thou give help to that which hath escaped his hand, so that he may come out of that hindrance; and do thou not forsake him so that he relinquisheth the religion.

6 For after that, while he is in the religion, and while his children, after him, are in the religion, every duty and good work that he doth -- and his children -- is just like those which are done by thine own hand.

7 And it is just like that with regard to poll-tax, it is also indispensable to give it in semblance of help, so that they may give that person his release ('halaz), and he may stay in his own place, and the advantage of a good work (THavab) may come to that other person.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 61

Evils of falsehood.

1 The sixty-first subject is this, that it is requisite to abstain strictly from speaking falsehood; so that, every time that mankind indulge in the speaking of falsehood with fondness, it is not proper to do so; and falsehood is the chief of all sins.

2 Zarathustra inquired of Ahura Mazda thus: 'Who is a liar like?'

3 Ahura Mazda, the good and propitious, said: 'A liar is a cooperator with Ahriman.'

4 In revelation it sayeth that there is no hereafter (a'hirat) for the speakers of falsehood, and in the midst of mankind they are contemptible ('haqir).

5 If such a man be powerful (mu'htashim), and there be no avoiding ('haDHar) him in the vicinity of mankind, they do not have any respect for him, and he is clearly (farzam) an evil liar.

6 Although he possesseth much wealth, it will all depart from his hands, and, finally ('haqibat), begging of mankind occureth to him, and his progeny also becometh scanty.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 62

Advantages of truth in word and action.

1 The sixty-second subject is this, that it is necessary to take early to the speaking of truth and doing of justice, and to maintain oneself therein, for nothing whatever is better among mankind than truth.

2 Owing to truth Ahura Mazda created this world and that other world, and truth hath remained on the spot, and on account of truth it becometh pure.

3 And the accursed Ahriman, being devoid of anything good, doth not issue from that which is owing to truth.

4 It is requisite to occasion the resurrection owing to truth; and, as to every place where truth is not taken up, the glory in that place hath found a way out, and as to every household where much of this resides, it is on account of truth, and Ahriman doth not find a way into that place.

5 It is said in revelation that one truthful man is better than a whole world ('halam) speaking falsehood; and Gavah of Isfahan -- when he kept his stand upon the truth, and was speaking words with truth until the time when Dahak [Zohak], who possessed the whole realm, and the whole of the demons and mankind have been afraid of him, through the truth of the words spaken -- was bold with them in every speech, and became victorious (muthaffar) over them by reason of the true words that he was speaking.

6 The accursed Ahriman, when he perceived the spirit of truth, had fallen senseless three thousand years.

7 From fear of truth he never managed to hold up his head, and from fear of truth he did not manage to come into this world.

8 And everything that thou settest thy gaze (nathar) upon therein, that hath remained on the spot when thou seekest again an examination of it, hath remained through truth.

9 And the interpretation of the Ashem-vohu is in truth, and, for that reason, they recite the Ashem-vohu frequently.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 63

Regarding the sin of adultery.

1 The sixty-third subject is this, that it is necessary to practise strict abstinence from adultery on this account, that

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through every one who beguileth the wife of another, and commiteth iniquity with her, that woman becometh, in a moment, unlawful as regards her husband.

2 And, after that, every time her husband cometh round about her, it is just as though she had gone near to a strange man.

3 The righteous bestowal of herself on her own husband, in this situation, is always worse than his going with women of a different religion, on this account, that, if that wife becometh pregnant, it is just as though one of the good religion had fallen away into a different religion, and thereby that man becometh worthy of death.

4 And it also happens, when that wife becometh pregnant, that she may effect the slaughter of the infant, from fear of a bad reputation.

5 Then, for that person whose child it is, it is just as though he had effected the slaughter of the child with his own hand; therefore, he is worthy of death.

6 If the infant be born, and it remaineth in the religion, every sin that that child of his commiteth is, for that person, just as though it were committed by his own hand.

7 And if a woman of those of the good religion committeth adultery, she becometh in a condition unlawful as regardeth her husband; and if an infant be born it is illegitimate.

8 And the sin owing to this will depart at the time when that person goeth near to her husband and shall say: 'What is there in me befitting thy wife?

9 A calamity (ak) hath occurred, and a crime ('hata) hath come into my body; thou knowest if thou wilt exercise forgiveness ('hafu) and if not, when if is not for me, do thou kill me; my blood is lawful ('halal) unto thee.'

10 If he shall kill her, her sin will depart owing to this; otherwise, this sin will not depart from her in any manner (navai).

11 And one calls this sin a sin affecting antagonists, and, so long as the antagonist doth not become satisfied, the sin floweth on, and they keep his soul back at the head of the Chinwad bridge, till the time that its antagonist shall arrive and himself accomplisheth his antagonism, and they give him back a reply.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 64

Penalties for theft with and without violence.

1 The sixty-fourth subject is this, that it is necessary to practice great abstinence from committing theft and seising anything from mankind by force.

2 For it is declared in revelation that, as to every one who stealeth one dirham away from another, when they really know it, it is necessary to take two dirhams away from him, one dirham being that which was carried off, and one dirham as the fine of him who committed the theft.

3 It is also requisite to cut off one ear, and it is necessary to strike ten blows with a stick, and to detain him one period in prison.

4 And if he shall steal another dirham, in the same manner one is to take away two dirhams, to cut off the other ear, to strike twenty blows with a stick, and to detain him two periods in prison.

5 And if he shall steal three dirhams and two dangs, it is requisite to cut off his right hand.

6 If he shall steal five hundred dirhams, it is requisite to put him to death.

7 On the spot the punishment is this, and among the spirits it brings punishment on the soul itself.

8 And, if the other person, doth not know it, they take away twice as much good work, among the spirits, from that thief, and give it to the soul of this person.

9 If the thief possesseth no good works, they give the compensation from the constantly-beneficial treasury, and exhibit the punishment on the soul of that thief.

10 As to that person who hath seised anything from another by force, among the spirits they seise back four things as compensation for every single one.

11 And if, on the spot where people capture him, he maketh it convenient to return four things in compensation for one, when they have fully understood, as they capture that person who is committing highway-robbery, that he maketh it convenient, they may kill him at once.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 65

Duties of thanksgiving and doing good.

1 The sixty-fifth subject is this, that every one is to practise thanksgiving continually, and it is requisite that he maintaineth it through good and bad; and he is to keep in view the benefits of Ahura Mazda.

2 Because the creator Ahura Mazda demands two things from mankind, the one is that one should not commit sin, and the other is that one should practise thanksgiving.

3 And how much soever more grateful mankind become, through virtue and worthiness as regardeth him, they grant more abundant daily provision for the grateful than that which is for other persons.

4 And as to every one who is not grateful to him, the bread that he eateth becometh unlawful, and it is not proper for any one to do good in connection with him.

5 And it is declared in revelation that when an unthankful person dieth, wherever they deposit his corpse, the archangel Spandarmad is trembling like a sheep that sees a wolf.

6 And as to a bird that eateth that corpse, on whatever tree it resteth and settleth, it maketh that tree wither away, and the person who sitteth down in the shadow of the tree becometh ill.

7 There are different things that it is necessary for those of the good religion to make predominant over themselves.

8 One is to exercise liberality in connection with the worthy; the second is to do justice; the third is to be friendly unto every one; and the fourth is to be sincere and true, and to keep falsehood far from themselves.

9 And these four habits ('hazlat) are the principles (azl) of the religion of Zarathustra, and it is necessary, when thou listenest to them thyself, that thou dost not listen to any one else.

10 Because the creator Ahura Mazda says, 'O Zarathustra! if thou wilt that thou become pure and saved, and that thou arrive at the place of the pure, do thou accomplish these two duties: --

11 One is this, that thou prefer the friendship of the spiritual existence to that of the worldly one, and consider the things of the world as contemptible and those of the spirit precious; on this account the glory of the world is sought with scorn, and do not thou let the spirit escape.

12 The second is this, that thou speak truly with every one and act justly with me, that is, whatever thou dost not approve for thyself do not approve for any one else; when thou hast acted in this manner thou art righteous.'

SAD DAR CHAPTER 66

All women must have the duwazdah homast celebrated.

1 The sixty-sixth subject is this, that it is incumbent on all women to order the days (ayyam) of the duwazdah homast (Dvazdah-homast), because the whole of any sin that may have arisen during menstruation, and at other times, becometh cleared away thereby.

2 And in the commentary of the Vendidad it says that every one becometh sanctified in the days of the duwazdah homast, and all sins become cleared away from her, like that which occureth at harvest time, when a great wind cometh on and carrieth it off; just like this the sin departs from her, and the person becometh clean and pure.

3 And, for women, there is no duty more indispensable than this; for it is declared in revelation that, when they celebrate a duwazdah homast, it is a good work of a hundred thousand tanapuhrs, and if it be the days of the duwazdah homast it is a good work of a thousand thousand tanapuhrs, and when they celebrate it by day it is a good work just like this.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 67

Why women must abstain from adultery.

1 The sixty-seventh subject is this, that it is necessary for women to practise great abstinence from committing adultery.

2 For it is declared in revelation, as to every woman who hath lain with a strange man, thus: 'What is it necessary to call her, and why is the explanation that she is of one nature with all wizards and sinners?'

3 And in the commentary of the Vendidad it says '"every woman who consorteth with two strange men is the first down upon me, who am Ahura Mazda.

4 For if she taketh a look into a river of water it will make it diminish, if she taketh a look at a tree or shrub the fruit of the trees becometh scanty, and if she speaketh a word with a righteous man it will make the glory of the man diminish."

5 Zarathustra inquired of Ahura Mazda, "What occureth on her account?"

6 The creator Ahura Mazda spake thus: "It is necessary to kill her sooner than a biting serpent and similar creatures and wild beasts, because she is more harmful to my creatures."'

7 Therefore, since she is like this, it is necessary for women to keep themselves with great effort, so that they may not become unlawful unto their own husbands.

8 For, every time that one of them giveth herself four times to another person, she is, after that, unlawful as long as she may be in the house of her husband, and new sin is increasing in connexion with her soul.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 68

Precautions to be taken by menstruous women.

1 The sixty-eighth subject is this, that for a menstruous woman who casteth an eye upon a fire it is a sin of twelve dirhams in weight; and if she goeth within three steps of the fire it is a sin of a thousand and two hundred dirhams in weight for her; and when she putteth her hand to the fire it is a sin of fifteen tanapuhrs for her.

2 In like manner, if she taketh a look at running water it is a sin of twelve dirhams in weight for her; if she goeth within fifteen steps of running water it is a sin of fifteen dirhams in weight for her; and when she sitteth down in running water it is a sin of fifteen tanapuhrs for her.

3 And when she walketh in the rain, through every drop that droppeth upon her limbs there ariseth a sin of one tanapuhr for her.

4 If she cometh to a Khwarshed Niyayesh, to observe it, it is not proper for her to speak a word with a righteous man.

5 It is not proper for her to put a bare foot on the ground.

6 It is not proper for her to eat any food with a bare hand; it is not proper for her to eat bread when satisfied.

7 It is not proper for two menstruous women to eat together; it is not proper for them to sleep so.

8 And so long as three days have not elapsed it is not proper to wash the hands, and three days after that, if she hath perceived herself clean, it is requisite to remain another day, and so until the lapse of nine days, when, if she hath perceived herself clean, it is not necessary to remain to the end of another interval of time.

9 If menstruation occureth for twenty-nine days, it is necessary to consider that she is menstruous a second time, and during three other days it is not proper to wash again, and it is necessary to exercise care, just like that which I first wrote about.

10 If she be doubtful whether menstruation is come to her, it is requisite for her to strip off her dress, and then to take notice if she hath become menstruous, or if the dress that is stripped off be clean.

11 If she hath an infant to feed with her milk, one putteth away the dress from the infant, and giveth it to the mother till it hath fed on the milk, and then it is proper to give it to other persons.

12 It is pure, but when the mother washeth her head she also washes the head of the infant.

13 And it is necessary for a menstruous woman that she should not pass by the end of anything ceremonially washed, for, if it be a thousand cubits (gaz) in length, she maketh the whole of it polluted, and it becometh unclean.

14 With any one who holds a sacred-twig stand she should not speak a word; and if a priest holdeth the sacred twigs in his hand, and a menstruous woman speaketh some (ba'hze) words from afar, or he walketh within three steps of a menstruous woman, she maketh it unclean.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 69

Allowing the sun to shine on a fire, even through holes, is sinful.

1 The sixty-ninth subject is this, that it is not proper that sunshine should fall on a fire, for, every time that sunshine falleth upon a fire, it is a sin.

2 If thou expose a fire to the sun it is a sin of three stirs; and, if thou set down anything on the top of the fire, it is necessary that it should not have any hole -- so that the light (nur); and strength of the fire might become less -- so far as thou knowest.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 70

Precautions to be observed in carrying the dead.

1 The seventieth subject is this, that, as to any persons, when they carry a corpse to the appointed place, it is necessary that two suits of clothes be put on, on account of this work.

2 It is requisite for those clothes to be on, and it is necessary to make a dog gaze at the corpse twice, once at the time when life becometh separated from it, and once at the time when they wish to take it up.

3 Then it is necessary that both those persons be connected, and each of them is to tie a cord on one of his own hands, so that the hand may go away from that of the other one.

4 And, when they are moving, it is necessary for him to be prepared and not to speak a word with any one.

5 And if it be a pregnant woman they are to take her up by four persons, because there are two corpses.

6 When, avoiding dead matter, one cometh again upon it, he has, in the end, to wash with ceremonial ablution, and that is requisite for the reason that he may not thereby be rapidly a cause of wickedness or death for any one.

7 And if one doth not show a dog to the corpse, and they take it up, how many soever there be, the whole of them become polluted.

8 In the commentary of the Vendidad it is asserted, that every one who takes up a corpse that a dog hath not seen is polluted and worthy of death, and never becometh clean; his soul also would be wicked.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 71

Punishment for eating dead matter as medicine.

1 The seventy-first subject is this, that, forasmuch as it is not desirable for any one to eat dead matter for the sake of medicine and remedy, let them beware (zinhar) when they eat it.

2 For it asserteth, in the commentary of the Vendidad, that it is requisite to demolish the habitation, house, and abode of any one who hath eaten dead matter, and to fetch his heart out of his body, and it is necessary to scoop out his eyes.

3 And along with these torments, which they accomplish on him, his soul is in hell till the resurrection.

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SAD DAR CHAPTER 72

Bringing dead matter to water or fire is a deadly sin.

1 The seventy-second subject is this, that when any one carrieth dead matter to water, or to fire, he is worthy of death.

2 And it asserteth in revelation, that any year when the locust cometh profusely, it cometh for the reason that dead matter is brought to water and fire.

3 And, in like manner, the winter is colder, and the summer is hotter.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 73

Any cow, goat, or fowl that eats dead matter is impure, and its produce cannot be used, for a year.

1 The seventy-third subject is this, that, when a cow or a goat hath eaten dead matter, in any place, nothing whatever of its flesh, or milk, or hair, should come into use for one year.

2 After that one year it is clean: and, if it be pregnant, its young one is likewise not clean for one year.

3 And if a domestic fowl hath eaten dead matter, its flesh and eggs are, in like manner, not clean for one year.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 74

Cultivators must be careful that irrigation water is not defiled with dead matter.

1 The seventy-fourth subject is this, that at dawn, when they rise up from sleep, it is first necessary to throw something on the hands, that is the hand-cleansing.

2 Afterwards, they are to wash the hands quite clean with water, in such manner that they are to wash the hands three times from the forearm (sa'hid) to the end of the hand; and the face is washed from behind the ears to below the chin and up to the crown of the head; and one washeth the feet three times thoroughly, as far as the leg (saq); then one reciteth the Kem-na-mazda.

3 If it be a place where there is no water, and the risk be that the time for the Niyayesh should pass by, it is requisite to cleanse the hands three times with dust, and to perform the Niyayesh.

4 Afterwards, when one arriveth at water, he is to wash the hands and face a second time, and to accomplish the Niyayesh.

5 Before the time when one throweth something on the hands it is not proper to wash the hands and face, and it is a tanapuhr sin; it is also not possible to work at anything whatever with the hands and face not washed.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 76

Period of purification after childbirth.

1 The seventy-sixth subject is this, when a woman brings forth, it is necessary that she should not wash her head for twenty-one days, nor put her hand again on anything, nor walk on a terrace-roof, nor put her foot on a threshold in her habitation.

2 And after the twenty-one days, if she seeth herself in such a state that she is able to wash her head, she washeth her head.

3 And, after that, until the coming on of the fortieth day, it is requisite to abstain from the vicinity of a fire and anything that is wooden or earthen; it is also requisite to abstain from everything of her cooking and pot-boiling.

4 Afterwards, when it is forty days, she is to wash her head, and it is proper for her to do every kind of work.

5 Till the lapse of a second forty days it is not proper for her husband to make an approach to her, for it is a great sin, and it is possible that she may become pregnant a second time, as within a period of forty days women become very quickly pregnant.

6 And if after the first forty days she seeth herself impure, unless she knoweth with accuracy that it hath come from the infant, it is necessary to consider if she be menstruous.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 77

Purification and precautions after still-birth.

1 The seventy-seventh subject is this, that, when a woman's infant is still-born, it is necessary to give her first something washed with ceremony and brought with fire-ashes, so that it may make the heart within her pure.

2 After that, for three days, it is altogether improper to give her water, or anything in which there is water or salt.

3 And these three days are from period to period, in such a manner that, if the duty of mid-day prayer hath occurred, they extend till the mid-day prayer itself, and she is to pass over one other hour and it is then proper to swallow water.

4 After that, till the lapse of forty days, she is to sit apart again, and, afterwards, to undergo the Barashnom ceremony.

5 On the infant's becoming a four-months' child, whenever it is still-born it is a dead body, for the reason that so long as it doth not reach the fourth month life doth not come to it.

6 And if after three months this affair occureth, one is to exercise great caution (i'htiyat) and to insist strictly on this matter.

7 For our religion hath reiterated on this matter that, if one be polluted and do not keep himself pure so long as he is living he never becometh clean from that pollution.

8 That, if he wash his head ten thousand times in ceremonial ablution, he certainly doth not any way become pure from it.

9 Because this pollution is not from without; it is from within every bone and vein and tendon; and water maketh clean only anything that is on the skin.

10 Impurity which is in the bones, except through the liquid consecrated by the religious formula, doth not otherwise become clean.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 78

Why meat must not be eaten for three days after a death in the house.

1 The seventy-eighth subject is this, that in every habitation where any one departeth, passing away from the world, it is necessary to endeavor that they may not eat and not consecrate fresh meat for three days therein.

2 Because the danger is that some one else may depart, passing away; so the relations of that former person should not eat meat for three days.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 79

Advantages of liberality.

1 The seventy-ninth subject is this, that it is necessary to make an effort that they may exercise munificence and liberality towards the good and the worthy.

2 For the exercise of liberality is grand, in such manner as it is better and pleasanter, in like manner, for the ground on which a liberal man walketh, better for the wind that bloweth upon a liberal man, better for the horse on which a liberal man sitteth, better, in like manner, for the cow and goat that a liberal man eateth, and pleasanter for the sun and moon and stars that shine upon a liberal man.

3 To such an extent is a liberal and munificent man precious ('haziz), that Ahura Mazda speaketh thus: 'I have wished that I might give a recompense to a munificent man, if it be suitable for him, but I have not found any recompense and happiness that are suitable for him, except a blessing.'

4 And virtuous men and the united archangels are perpetually uttering blessings on account of the liberal man who maintains no refusal of his own things to a stranger.

5 For it is declared in revelation, that the creator Ahura Mazda spake to Zarathustra, the Spitaman, thus: 'I have created the supreme heaven of heavens for the sake of any of the liberal who provide for the worthy and give them something; and gloomy hell is for all those persons who give anything to the unworthy.'

6 In like manner it is declared in revelation, that there are thirty-three ways to heaven, besides that of the souls of the liberal.

7 If the soul be of any one else, it is not able to arrive in heaven by that way.

8 Besides this happy way, a soul of the liberal is able to arrive in heaven by means of the thirty-three ways.

9 For no one is it easier to arrive in heaven than for the liberal.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 80

Different values of Ashem-vohu on different occasions.

1 The eightieth subject is this, that there is a time when thou recitest one Ashem-vohu, and the merit of it may be as much as that of ten.

2 There is a time when thou recitest one Ashem-vohu, and the merit of it may be as much as that of a hundred.

3 A time may be when thou recitest one, and the merit of it may be as much as that of a thousand.

4 A time may be when the merit of one Ashem-vohu may be as much as that of ten thousand.

5 A time may be when the merit of one Ashem-vohu is as much as the value (qimat) of this world and that other world.

6 As for that Ashem-vohu whose nature is as much as ten, that is when they recite it as they eat bread.

7 That which is, from nature, as much as a hundred is when they recite it after eating.

8 That which is so much by nature that, having turned side over side, they recite it correctly may be a merit of a thousand.

9 That which is of the nature of ten thousand is that which thou recitest when thou risest up from sleep.

10 And that whose nature is as much as this world and that other world is when they recite it at the time of the dissolution of life; for, if he be not able to recite it himself, friends and relations give it into his mouth.

11 If he be fit for hell he becometh fit for the ever-stationary, if he be fit for the ever-stationary he becometh fit for heaven, and if he be fit for heaven he becometh fit for the supreme heaven.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 81

Ahura Mazda admonishes Zarathustra not to postpone to-day's duties and good works till tomorrow.

1 The eighty-first subject is this, that every duty and good work, which it is requisite to perform, they should accomplish while within that day, and not postpone for the morrow.

2 For it is declared in revelation, that the creator Ahura Mazda spake to Zarathustra thus: 'O Zarathustra! I have created no one better than thee in the world, and after thee I shall likewise not create one; thou art my chosen one, and I have made this world apparent on account of thee.

3 And all these people ('halaiq) whom I have created, and the whole of these monarchs who have existed and do exist, have always maintained the hope that I should create thee in their days, so that they should accept (qabul kunand) the religion, and their souls should attain to the supreme heaven.

4 'Nevertheless I have created thee at the present time, in the middle period; for it is three thousand years from the days of Gayomard till now, and from now till the resurrection are the three thousand years that remain; therefore, I have created thee in the middle.

5 For whatever is in the middle is more precious and better and more valuable, in the same manner as the heart is in the middle of the whole body and is unquestionably (la-jarm) very precious, in the same manner as the land of Eran [Iran] is more valuable than other lands, for the reason that it is in the middle.

6 And the country of Eran, which is in the fourth climate (iqlim), is better than other places, for the reason that it is in the middle. 7. Therefore, I have created thee in the middle, in the manner of what is precious, and I have given thee the apostleship, and have sent thee to a monarch, a friend of knowledge and a friend of religion.

8 'Afterwards, I have sent thee, with thus much preciousness, to the people; and the knowledge of the good works that mankind perform in life, and have not been able to bring to hand without trouble (mi'hnat), I have made clear and plain unto thee; and I have made thee aware of the whole of knowledge.

9 I have taught it to thee in the Avesta, in a language that no one in the world considers plain and easy; and I have told thee its interpretation (zand) in a language that is more current among mankind, and thou likewise hast more eloquence (faz'h) therein.

10 'While thou hast all this greatness that I have given to thee, O Zarathustra! I enact a precept for thee, that " every good work which thou art able to do today do not postpone for tomorrow, and accomplish with thine own hand the counsel of thine own soul."

11 Do not be proud (gharrah) on the score that it is still the time of youth, and it is quite possible to do it hereafter, while thou thinkest thus: "I will do it after this."

12 For there have been many people whose remaining life was one day, and they have been taken away in the presence of fifty years' work.'

13 Therefore, make an effort, so that thou mayest not postpone today's duty for tomorrow.

14 Because Ahriman, the evil wicked one, hath entrusted two fiends with this matter, the name of one is Tardy (der) and the name of the other is Afterwards (pas).

15 Both these fiends are united, and they make an effort and exertion with man, so that his duty falleth back behindhand.

16 For, as to every duty and good work which cometh forward, that fiend whose name is Tardy speaketh thus: 'Thou wilt live long, and it is possible to perform this duty at all times;' and that fiend whose name is Afterwards says: 'Pass on now; it is possible to perform it afterwards.'

17 And these two fiends united keep the soul away from its own duty, till the end arriveth; all duties have fallen back behindhand, and it hath to experience regret ('hasarat) and penitence.

18 It hath no benefit through duty and good works, and departeth from this world.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 82

The sacred thread-girdle must be re-tied when dressing before moving from the spot.

1 The eighty-second subject is this, that, when thou risest up from the bed-clothes, it is necessary to tie the sacred thread-girdle [kusti] again at that same place, and it is not desirable to put forth a step without the girdle.

2 For it is declared in revelation, that every single step which one putteth forth without the sacred thread-girdle [kusti] is a Farman sin, and through four steps it becometh a tanapuhr sin which would be a weight of a thousand and two hundred dirhams.

3 Therefore, it is necessary to keep watch over oneself, as regardeth this sin, and to tie on the sacred thread-girdle [kusti].

SAD DAR CHAPTER 83

Proper fasting is from sin, not from food.

1 The eighty-third subject is this, that it is requisite to abstain from the keeping of fasts.

2 For, in our religion, it is not proper that they should not eat every day or anything, because it would be a sin not to do so.

3 With us the keeping of fast is this, that we keep fast from committing sin with our eyes and tongue and ears and hands and feet.

4 Some people are striving about it, so that they may not eat anything all day, and they practise abstinence from eating anything.

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5 For us it is also necessary to make an effort, so that we may not think, or speak, or commit any sin; and it is necessary that no bad action should proceed from our hands, or tongue, or ears, or feet, which would be a sin owing to them.

6 Since I have spoken in this manner, and have brought forward the fasting of the seven members of the body, that which, in other religions, is fasting owing to not eating is, in our religion, fasting owing to not committing sin.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 84

Prayers before sleeping and when restless.

1 The eighty-fourth subject is this, when they wish to sleep, it is requisite to utter one Yatha-ahu-vairyo and one Ashem-vohu, and to accomplish repentance one is to speak thus: 'I am sorrowing for, and repentant and in renunciation of all that sin which I have spoken and was imagined by me, and hath assailed me; of these actions I am in renunciation.'

2 Afterwards one is to lie down; and every time that one acts in the manner that I have mentioned, and weareth the sacred thread-girdle [kusti] on the waist -- while he is equally sharing the whole of the good works which they are performing in all the world during that night, and he is of similar merit -- every single breath that he inhaleth and exhaleth is a good work of a weight of three dirhams.

3 And when he turneth from side to side he should, in like manner recite one Ashem-vohu.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 85

Advice must always be asked of the wise and relations.

1 The eighty-fifth subject is this, that, in every matter that cometh forward, it is necessary to inquire of the wise and relations, so as to have their advice, and not to transact any business according to one's own idea and opinion.

2 For it is declared in revelation, that the sacred good and propitious, spake to Zarathustra thus: 'As to every business that thou wishest to transact, do thou receive wisdom and knowledge at one place with the wise who reply, and cast away what is unconsidered, so that Ahriman may not reach it midway, and injury ('halal) may not occur to that business.'

3 In like manner the archangel Spandarmad, at the time when her gaze passed on to Minachihar, issued to him this admonition and precept (vaziyat), and said: 'O Minochihar! although there be deliberation in an affair, this may be no reason for it as regardeth the spirits; although a horse may be good, there may be no resource except a whip for it; and although one may be a wise man, there should be no retreat on his part from having advice, so that his business may become complete.'

SAD DAR CHAPTER 86

Water-dogs must not be killed.

1 The eighty-sixth subject is this, that it is not proper to kill a beaver [lit. 'water dog']; but, if they see it in any place, it is necessary to take it up and carry it to running water.

2 For, in the commentary of the Vendidad it is ranked as a great sin for the killer; and, as to every one who kills a beaver, the source of his seed becometh exhausted.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 87

Ceremonies to be celebrated after a death.

1 The eighty-seventh subject is this, that, when any one departs from the world, it is necessary to make an effort, in those three days, so that they may continuously perform the ceremonial of Srosh and make the fire blaze, and may recite the Avesta; because the soul is three days in this world.

2 The fourth night it is requisite to consecrate three sacred cakes; one with a dedication to Rashn and Ashtad, one with a dedication to the spirit Ram, and one with a dedication to the righteous guardian spirit; and one is to consecrate a dress and something as a righteous gift for that soul.

3 It is necessary that the dress be new and of uniform quality (jins), and such as turban, shirt, vest, girdle, trousers, shoes (pasandil), and mouth-veil.

4 Since they give those among the spirits a counterpart of those garments, therefore, whatever is more beautiful, and more surpassing in grandeur for the soul in that place, is necessary where that place is, because our fathers and mothers and the whole of our relations are in that place.

5 And since the souls recognise and ask after one another in that world, they are, therefore, more joyful on account of every one whose dress and grandeur are more surpassing.

6 In a similar manner, when the dress is old and ragged, they are ashamed, and exhibit heaviness of heart.

7 They call that dress a righteous gift because they consecrate it; and it is necessary to give it to the priests and high-priests, as it is a righteous gift on account of their position.

8 And it is suitable for them to keep it for the reason that the souls are nearer to them; people should also make an effort that the dress may be stitched like the dress of a priest.

9 The sacred beings make up the account and reckoning for the soul when the priest reciteth frasasti ahurahe mazdau and removeth the Frasast from this side to that side.

10 The soul passeth over the Chinwad bridge when, on the fourth night, it arriveth from the world at the Chinwad bridge.

11 First it goeth to the abode of fire (atash-gah); afterwards, one step reacheth to the star station, the second step reacheth to the moon station, the third step to the sun station, and with the fourth step it reacheth the Chinwad bridge, and they convey it to its own place.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 88

Polluted wood must not be used or burnt.

1 The eighty-eighth subject is this, that, as to any piece of wood on which they carry a corpse, or on which they wash it, and that which may be defiled with blood and impurity, that on which menstruous defilement, or a bare limb, is deposited by a menstruous woman, and that on which they impale a human being, it is necessary to avoid the whole of these pieces of wood, and not to work with them again, because one's dress becometh impure; and it is not proper to burn them.

2 It is necessary to put them in a place where any one, who pulleth them up and stirreth them, will not bring them into the use of mankind.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 89

Any one eating dead matter, or polluting another with it must be purified.

1 The eighty-ninth subject is this, that Ahura Mazda keeps watch when any one, through imposition ('hilat) and unawares, eats dead matter, or giveth it to one of the good religion, or throws dead matter upon one of the good religion.

2 While his will and command are, that it is necessary that such a person should undergo the Barashnom ceremony, and accomplish repentance before the spiritual chiefs and high-priests.

3 So that, after that, one may indicate to him the sin in these actions, and he may perform the retribution which the high-priest mentioneth, in order that, owing to this, his sin may depart.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 90

Nothing is to be given to a sinner.

1 The ninetieth subject is this, that it is not proper that they should give anything to a sinful person or one worthy of death, because it is like that they have placed in the jaws of a destructive serpent (azhdaha).

2 And, if this be food which he devoureth and they give, they pass into the committing of sin; and that person who may have given food to him is a participator with him.

3 In eating food, if there be no danger and fear of them, it is not desirable to give anything to them, for it would be a great sin.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 91

How to purify articles of various materials when polluted by dead matter.

1 The ninety-first subject is this, that is, in what mode is it necessary to wash everything that becometh polluted by dead matter?

2 Gold one is to wash over once with ceremonial ablution to make it dry once with dust, and to wash it over once with water.

3 Silver (nuqrah) one is to do twice; copper, tin, lead, and brass articles three times; steel four times; stone articles six times; turquoise, ruby (yaqut), amber, carbuncle, cornelian ('haqiq), and, like these, whatever is from a mine (ma'hdan) are all to be washed six times in the manner which I have stated.

4 Afterwards they are clean in that manner, when every single time one washeth them over with ceremonial ablution, maketh them dry with dust, and washeth it off; and just like this on the occasion of the other times -- up to three times, or four, or six -- as far as whatever is ordered.

5 For pearls two modes are ordered, but the conclusion is this, that they should wash them six times, just like stone articles.

6 The whole of wooden and earthen ware it is requisite to throw away.

7 All clothing of the body it is requisite to wash six times in the manner that I have stated, and, after that, to put them in a place where the sun and moon must shine on them for six months; after that they are fit for a menstruous woman.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 92

The sacred fire must be properly maintained, and attendant provided (see Chap. 39).

1 The ninety-second subject is this, that it is necessary to properly maintain the sacred fire and some one who will work with assiduity (kahdan) to provide maintenance and sympathy for it.

2 And the supply of its firewood is entirely in such a manner that they burn this year the firewood of last year.

3 At midnight they make it blaze up, and put incense upon if in such a manner that the wind carries off its scent.

4 The demons and fiends rush away, because there is the glory of the sacred fire that we are able to make a living existence in the midst of this people.

5 For, if no fiend and the glory of the archangels and the day of the sacred fire had not existed, it would not have been possible to produce the living existence any day.

6 And, therefore, it maketh it expedient that they supply a fire-attendant to maintain the firewood and fire, so that a seeking for its safety ('hafiyat) may come into operation, and they may know a support and protection for it that would be acceptable.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 93

Slander a sin, and how to atone for it.

1 The ninety-third subject is this, that it is necessary for all those of the good religion to practise abstinence from uttering slander (ghaibat) behind one's back.

2 In the commentary of the Vendidad it states, that slander is the greatest of all sins.

3 Every one who perpetrates slander about any one is like him who hath eaten dead matter -- and the eating of dead matter is a sin that hath likewise been mentioned, before this, in this book -- but the statement is like this, while they do not indicate any punishment for it in this world, it doth not go without it in that other world.

4 Therefore it is necessary for those of the good religion to make an effort, so that they may guard themselves from this slander.

5 In order that they may show thy soul, when resigning life, the satisfaction (ijza) for the sin, it states, in the commentary of the Vendidad, as to any one by whom slander is perpetrated, if the injured person goeth before him and beggeth a righteous gift from him, and he provideth a righteous gift for that. person, the sin departeth from him.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 94

Benefits must be reciprocated.

1 The ninety-fourth subject is this, when a person confers a benefit or kindness upon any one, it is necessary that that latter should understand the value of it, and lay the obligation (minnat) upon himself; and, if he be able, he should provide a benefit to that amount (miqdar) for that person.

2 It is declared in revelation, that, when a person confers a benefit upon any one, Ahura Mazda giveth him ten times as much, as an equivalent.

3 And, if the other be not understanding the justice of this, it is related in the commentary of the Avesta in this manner, that it is a great sin for him.

4 And Ahriman speaketh like this, namely: 'That sinner is akin to me; in the end he will come into my hands; I will not give him into the hands of any demon, but I will inflict punishment with my own hands.'

5 And the chief priest says it is necessary for all Zarathushtrians that they keep themselves far from this sin.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 95

The merit of performing the Niyayeshes, and the sin of neglecting them.

1 The ninety-fifth subject is this, that it is necessary that it be expedient for all those of the good religion to perform the salutation of the sun [Khwarshed Niyayesh] three times every day.

2 If one performeth it once, it is a good work of one tanapuhr; if he performeth it twice, it is twice as much; and if he performeth it three times, it is thrice as much.

3 And if he doth not perform one repetition, it is a sin of thirty stirs; if he doth not perform two repetitions, it is twice as much sin; and if he doth not perform three repetitions, it is thrice as much sin.

4 And it is the same as this with regard to the salutations of the moon and fire [Mah Niyayesh and Atash Niyayesh].

5 Therefore it is expedient, in the religion, for every one of the good religion to bring the salutations into practice.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 96

Mourning for the dead is improper.

1 The ninety-sixth subject is this, when any one departs to that other world it is not proper for others that they should utter an outcry, maintain grief, and make lamentation and weeping.

2 Because every tear that issues from the eyes becometh one drop of that river before the Chinwad bridge, and then the soul of that dead person remaineth at that place; it is difficult for it to make a passage there, and it is not able to pass over the Chinwad bridge.

3 It is therefore necessary that they recite the Avesta and celebrate the ceremonial, so that the passage of that place may become easy for it.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 97

Priests' instructions must be treated with respect.

1 The ninety-seventh subject is this, that it is expedient for those of the good religion, that they converse, according to

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their own ability, in the presence of officiating priests, high-priests, spiritual chiefs, and priests, and hearken cordially to whatever they say.

2 And they should understand their statements, and, during them, they should not utter any reply or question (sual).

3 For in the commentary of the Avesta it says, as to every one who bringeth altercation ('hujjat) into any statement of the elders of the religion, 'one breaketh out his tongue, or he goeth out from this world abortively (mubattala).'

SAD DAR CHAPTER 98

Priests must teach the Avesta to laymen correctly.

1 The ninety-eighth subject is this, that it is necessary for all those of the good religion, that they learn the Avesta characters in the presence of priests and teachers, so as to read, and that no error may continue in the Niyayeshes and Yashts.

2 And it is still more expedient for priests and teachers, that they teach the Avesta characters to all those of the good religion; and if a priest, while teaching, shows incompetence (taqzir), it is a great sin for him.

3 For Ahura Mazda, the good and propitious, spake to Zarathustra thus: 'As to every priest and teacher who commits a blunder in teaching those of the good religion, I make him just as far from heaven as the width of the earth.

SAD DAR CHAPTER 99

Pahlavi must be taught to priests only.

1 The ninety-ninth subject is this, 'that it is not proper for officiating priests, high-priests, spiritual chiefs, and priests, that they teach Pahlavi to every one.

2 For Zarathustra inquired of Ahura Mazda thus: 'To whom is it proper to teach Pahlavi?'

3 And Ahura Mazda, the good and propitious, gave a reply thus: 'To every one who is of thy family (nasl), an officiating priest, a high-priest, a spiritual chief, and every one who is an intelligent priest.

4 Besides these that I have mentioned, if one teacheth it to others it is a great sin for him; and if he hath performed many duties and good works, the end for him may still be hell.'

SAD DAR CHAPTER 100

Anyone molesting a harmless person in this world will be delayed on his way to the other world.

1 The hundredth subject is this, when a person molesteth or smiteth any one who is innocent, it is a sin of one tanapuhr every day for that person, as long as he lives.

2 And, when he departeth from this world, the angel Mihr and the angel Rashn make up his account and reckoning.

3 He is full of affliction, and experienceth much regret and penitence, and hath no advantage from it.

4 It is therefore necessary to keep oneself far from this sin.

THE BOOK OF ARDA VIRAF NAMAK

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Introduction

The Book of Arda Viraf or Book of Arda Wiraz (sometimes called the "Arda Wiraf") is a Zoroastrian religious text of the Sasanian era written in Middle Persian. It contains about 8,800 words. It describes the dream-journey of a devout Zoroastrian (the Wiraz of the story) through the next world. The text assumed its definitive form in the 9th-10th centuries after a long series of emendations. The full title is Arda Wiraz namag, "Book of the Just Wiraz".

Due to the ambiguity inherent to Pahlavi scripts, Wiraz, the name of the protagonist, may also be transliterated as Wiraf or Viraf, but the Avestan form is clearly Viraza, suggesting the correct reading is z. The Arda of the name (cf. aša, cognate with Skt. rta) is an epithet of Wiraz and is approximately translatable as "truthful, righteous, just." Wiraz is probably akin to Proto-Indo-European wiHro--, "man", see Sanskrit. vira. Finally, Namag means "book".

The date of the book is not known, but in The Sacred Books and Early Literature of the East, Prof. Charles Horne assumes that it was composed fairly late in the ancient history of Zoroastrianism, probably from the period of the Sasanian Empire (from 224 to 651), when Zoroastrianism experienced a state-sponsored revival. Most modern scholars simply state that the text's terminus ad quem was the 10th or 11th century.

Wiraz is chosen for his piety to undertake a journey to the next world in order to prove the truth of Zoroastrian beliefs, after a period when the land of Iran had been troubled by the presence of confused and alien religions. He drinks wine and a hallucinogen, soma, after which his soul travels to the next world. Here he is greeted by a beautiful woman named Den, who represents his faith and virtue. Crossing the Chinvat Bridge, he is then conducted by "Srosh, the pious and Adar, the angel" through the "star track", "moon track" and "sun track" – places outside of heaven reserved for the virtuous who have nevertheless failed to conform to Zoroastrian rules. In heaven, Wiraz meets Ahura Mazda who shows him the souls of the blessed (ahlaw, an alternate Middle Persian version of the word arda). Each person is described living an idealised version of the life he or she lived on earth, as a warrior, agriculturalist, shepherd or other profession. With his guides he then descends into hell to be shown the sufferings of the wicked. Having completed his visionary journey, Wiraz is told by Ahura Mazda that the Zoroastrian faith is the only proper and true way of life and that it should be preserved in both prosperity and adversity.

From Horne's Introduction:

"Of its author we know nothing except what his book tells. He has sometimes been connected with a religious scholar who wrote commentaries on the Avesta during the Sasanian Empire. His book narrates a vision of heaven and hell which Viraf saw in an inspired dream or vision. Most of the brief book is given here, except where the details of hell become too bestial, too coarsely sordid for modern taste.

The entire vision is truly Dantesque; and while we do not know its age, we can say confidently that it is several centuries older than the work of Dante. So profound, even to this day, is the Parsis' faith in the reality of Viraf's vision, that when the work is read in their religious assemblies, the men weep and the women cry out in horror over its pictures of the damned. It has certainly a powerful influence in restraining the Parsis from sin."

It should be noted that hell is not an eternal punishment according to the Zoroastrian religion, but only until the renovation of the world (frashegird.)

[PART 1. INTRODUCTION.]

CHAPTER 1. [Religious disputes and the need for spiritual guidance]

IN THE NAME OF GOD

1 They say that, once upon a time, the pious Zartosht made the religion, which he had received, current in the world; (2) and till the completion of 300 years, the religion was in purity, and men were without doubts.

3 But afterward, the accursed evil spirit, the wicked one, in order to made men doubtful of this religion, (4) instigated the accursed Alexander, the Roman, who was dwelling in Egypt, so that he came to the country of Iran with severe cruelty and war and devastation; (5) he also slew the ruler of Iran, (6) and destroyed the metropolis and empire, and made them desolate.

7 And this religion, namely, all the Avesta and Zand, written upon prepared cow-skins, and with gold ink, was deposited in the archives, in Stakhar Papakan, (8) and the hostility of the evil-destined, wicked Ashemok, the evil-doer, brought onward Alexander, the Roman, who was dwelling in Egypt, and he burned them up. (9) And he killed several Dasturs and judges and Herbads and Mobads and upholders of the religion, and the competent and wise of the country of Iran. (10) And he cast hatred and strife, one with the other, amongst the nobles and householders of the country of Iran; (11) and self-destroyed, he fled to hell.

12 And after that, there were confusion and contention among the people of the country of Iran, one with the other. (13) And so they had no lord, nor ruler, nor chieftain, nor Dastur who was acquainted with the religion, (14) and they were doubtful in regard to God; (15) and religions of many kinds, and different fashions of belief, and skepticism, and various codes of law were promulgated in the world; (16) until the time when the blessed and immortal Ataropad-i Marspendan was born; on whose breast, in the tale which is in the Denkard, melted brass was poured. (17) And much law and justice were administered according to different religions and different creeds; (18) and the people of this religion deposited in Shaspigan were in doubt.

19 And afterward, there were other magi and Dasturs of the religion; (20) and some of their number were loyal and apprehensive. (21) And an assembly of them was summoned in the residence of the victorious Frobag fire; (22) and there were speeches and good ideas, of many kinds, on this subject: (23) that "it is necessary for us to seek a means, (24) so that some one of us may go, and bring intelligence from the spirits; (25) that the people who exist in this age shall know (26) whether these Yazishn and Dron and Afrinagan ceremonies, and Nirang prayers, and ablution and purifications which we bring into operation, attain unto God, or unto the demons. (27) and come to the relief of our souls, or not."

28 Afterward also, with the concurrence of the Dasturs of the religion, they called all the people to the residence of the Frobag fire. (29) And from the whole number they set apart seven men who had not the slightest doubt of God and the religion, (30) and whose own thoughts and words and deeds were most orderly and proper; (31) and they were told thus: 'Seat yourselves down, (32) and select one from among you, who is best for this duty, and the most innocent and respected.'

33 And afterward, those seven men sat down; (34) and, from the seven, three were selected; and from the three, one only, named Viraf; (35) and some call him the Nishapurian. (36) Then that Viraf, as he heard that decision, stood upon his feet, (37) joined his hands on his breast, and spoke (38) thus: 'If it please you, then give me not the undesired narcotic (39) till you cast lots for the Mazdayasnians and me; (40) and if the lot come to me, I shall go willingly to that place of the pious and the wicked, (41) and carry this message correctly, and bring an answer truly.'

42 And afterward, the lots of those Mazdayasnians and me were drawn; (43) the first time with the word 'well-thought,' and the second time with the word 'well-said,' and the third time with the word 'well-done'; each of the three lots came to Viraf.

CHAPTER 2. [Viraf and his preparations to visit the spiritual realm]

1 And that Viraf had seven sisters, (2) and all those seven sisters were as wives of Viraf; (3) they had also learned the religion of heart, and recited the prayers. (4) And when they heard those tidings, then they came upon them so very grievously, (5) that they clamored and shrieked, (6) and went into the presence of the assembly of the Mazdayasnians, (7) and they stood up and bowed, (8) and said thus: 'Do not this thing; ye Mazdayasnians; (9) for we are seven sisters, and he is an only brother; (10) and we are, all seven sisters, as wives of that brother. (11) Just as the door of a house, in which seven lintels were fixed, and one post below, (12) they who shall take away that post will make those lintels fall; (13) so for us seven sisters is this only brother, who is our life and maintenance; (14) every benefit from him proceeds from God. (15) Should you send him, before his time, from this realm of the living to that of the dead, (16) you will commit an injustice on us without cause.'

17 And afterward, those Mazdayasnians, when they heard those words, pacified those seven sisters, (18) and said thus: 'We will deliver Viraf to you, safe and sound, in seven days; (19) and the happiness of this renown will remain with this man.' (20) Then they became satisfied.

21 And then Viraf joined his hands on his breast before the Mazdayasnians, and said to them (22) thus: 'It is the custom that I should pray to the departed souls, and eat food, and make a will; afterward, you will give me the wine and narcotic.' (23) The Dasturs directed thus: 'Act accordingly.'

24 And afterward, those Dasturs of the religion selected, in the dwelling of the spirit, a place which was thirty footsteps from the good. (25) And Viraf washed his head and body, and put on new clothes; (26) he fumigated himself with sweet scent and spread a carpet, new and clean, on a prepared couch. (27) He sat down on the clean carpet of the couch, (28) and consecrated the Dron, and remembered the departed souls, and ate food. (29) And then those Dasturs of the religion filled three golden cups with wine and narcotic of Vishtasp; (30) and they gave one cup over to Viraf with the word 'well-thought,' and the second cup with the word 'well-said,' and the third cup with the word 'well-done'; (31) and he swallowed the wine and narcotic, and said grace whilst conscious, and slept upon the carpet.

32 Those Dasturs of the religion and the seven sisters were occupied, seven days and nights, with the ever-burning fire and fumigations; and they recited the Avesta and Zand of the religious ritual, (33) and recapitulated the Nasks, and chanted the Gathas, and kept watch in the dark. (34) And those seven sisters sat around the carpet of Viraf, (35) and seven days and nights the Avesta was repeated. (36) Those seven sisters with all the Dasturs and Herbads and Mobads of the religion of the Mazdayasnians, discontinued not their protection in any manner.

[PART 2. JOURNEY TO HEAVEN]

CHAPTER 3.

1 And the soul of Viraf went, from the body, to the Chinwad bridge of Chakat-i-Daitik, (2) and came back the seventh day, and went into the body. (3) Viraf rose up, as if he arose from a pleasant sleep, (4) thinking of Vohuman and joyful.

5 And those sisters, with the Dasturs of the religion and the Mazdayasnians, when they saw Viraf, became pleased and joyful; (6) and they said thus: 'Be thou welcome, Viraf, the messenger of us Mazdayasnians, who art come from the realm of the dead to this realm of the living.' (7) Those Herbads and Dasturs of the religion bowed before Viraf. (8) And then Viraf, as he saw them, came forward and bowed, and said thus: 'For you is a blessing from Ohrmazd, the lord, and the archangels (Amahraspandan); (9) and a blessing from the pious Zartosht, the descendant of Spitama; (10) and a blessing from Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel (Yazad), and the glorious religion of the Mazdayasnians; (11) and a blessing from the remaining pious; and a blessing from the remaining spirits of paradise who are in happiness and repose.'

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12 And afterward, the Dasturs of the religion said (13) thus: 'A faithful minister art thou, Viraf, who art the messenger of us Mazdayasnians; and may thy blessing be for thee also. (14) Whatever thou sawest, relate to us truly.'

15 Then Viraf spoke thus: 'First this is to be said, (16) that to give the hungry and thirsty food is the first thing, (17) and afterward to make inquiry of him, and appoint his task.'

18 Then the Dasturs of the religion assented thus: 'Well and good.' (19) And well-cooked and savory food and broth, and cold water and wine were brought. (20) They also consecrated the ceremonial cake (dron); and Viraf muttered grace, and ate the food, and having finished the sacred repast (myazd), he said grace. (21) And he recounted the praises of Ohrmazd and the archangels; and thanks to Hordad and Amurdad, the archangels; and he muttered the benedictions (afrinagan).

22 He also directed thus: 'Bring a writer who is wise and learned.' (23) And an accomplished writer, who was learned, was brought by him, and sat before him; (24) and whatsoever Viraf said, he wrote correctly, clearly, and explicitly.

CHAPTER 4. [What the dead experience]

1 And he ordered him to write (2) thus: In that first night, Srosh the pious and Adar the angel came to meet me, (3) and they bowed to me, and spoke (4) thus: 'Be thou welcome, Arda Viraf, although thou hast come when it is not thy time.' (5) I said: 'I am a messenger.' (6) And then the victorious Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, took hold of my hand. (7) Taking the first footstep with the good thought, and the second footstep with the good word, and the third footstep with the good deed, I came up to the Chinwad bridge, the very wide and strong and created by Ohrmazd.

8 When I came up there, (9) I saw a soul of the departed, whilst in those first three nights the soul was seated on the top of the body, (10) and uttered those words of the Gatha: (11) 'Ushta ahmai yahmai ushta kahmaichit'; that is, 'Well is he by whom that which is his benefit becomes the benefit of any one else.' (12) And in those three nights, as much benefit and comfort and enjoyment came to it, (13) as all the benefit which it beheld in the world; (14) just as a man who, whilst he was in the world, was more comfortable and happy and joyful through it.

15 In the third dawn, that soul of the pious departed into the sweet scent of trees; (16) and he considered that scent which passed by his nose among the living; (17) and the air of that fragrance comes from the more southern side, from the direction of God.

18 And there stood before him his own religion and his own deeds, in the graceful form of a damsel, as a beautiful appearance, that is, grown up in virtue; (19) with prominent breasts, that is, her breasts swelled downward, which is charming to the heart and soul; (20) whose form was as brilliant, as the sight of it was the more well-pleasing, the observation of it more desirable.

21 And the soul of the pious asked that damsel (22) thus: 'Who art thou? and what person art thou? than whom, in the world of the living, any damsel more elegant, and of more beautiful body than thine, was never seen by me.'

23 To him replied she who was his own religion and his own deeds, (24) thus: 'I am thy actions, O youth of good thoughts, of good words, of good deeds, of good religion. (25) It is on account of thy will and actions that I am as great and good and sweet-scented and triumphant and undistressed as appears to thee. (26) For in the world the Gathas were chanted by thee, and the good water was consecrated by thee, and the fire tended by thee; (27) and the pious man who came from far, and who was from near, was honored by thee. (28) Though I have been stout, I am made stouter through thee; (29) and though I have been virtuous, I am made more virtuous through thee; (30) and though I have been worthy, I am made more worthy through thee; (31) and though I have been seated on a resplendent throne, I am seated more resplendently through thee; (32) and though I have been exalted, I am made more exalted through thee; (33) through these good thoughts and good words and good deeds which thou practicedst. (34) They honored thee, and the pious man after thee, (35) in that long worship and communion with Ohrmazd, when thou performedst, for Ohrmazd, worship and proper conversation for a long time. (36) Peace be from it.'

CHAPTER 5. [The Chinwad bridge]

1 Afterward, the width of that Chinwad bridge became again nine javelin-lengths. (2) With the assistance of Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, I passed over easily, happily, courageously, and triumphantly, on the Chinwad bridge. (3) I had much protection from Mihr the angel, and Rashn the just, and Vai the good, and the angel Warharan the powerful, and the angel Ashtad the world-increasing, and the glory of the good religion of the Mazdayasnians; (4) and the guardian angels (fravashis) of the pious, and the remaining spirits first bowed to me, Arda Viraf. (5) I also saw, I Arda Viraf, Rashn the just, who held in his hand the yellow golden balance, and weighed the pious and the wicked.

6 And afterward, Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, took hold of my hand, (7) and said thus: 'Come on, so that we may show unto thee heaven and hell; and the splendor and glory and ease and comfort and pleasure and joy and delight and gladness and fragrance which are the reward of the pious in heaven. (8) We shall show thee the darkness and confinement and ingloriousness and misfortune and distress and evil and pain and sickness and dreadfulness and fearfulness and hurtfulness and stench in the punishments of hell, of various kinds, which the demons and sorcerers and sinners perform. (9) We shall show thee the place of the true and that of the false. (10) We shall show thee the reward of the firm believers in Ohrmazd and the archangels, and the good which is in heaven, and the evil which is in hell; (11) and the reality of God and the archangels, and the non-reality of Ahriman and the demons; and the existence of the resurrection of the dead and the future body. (12) We shall show thee the reward of the pious, from Ohrmazd and the archangels, in the midst of heaven. (13) We shall show thee the torment and punishment of various kinds, which are for the wicked, in the midst of hell, from Ahriman and the molestations of the demons.'

CHAPTER 6. [Hamistagan (Purgatory)]

1 I came to a place, (2) and I saw the souls of several people, who remain in the same position. (3) And I asked the victorious Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, thus: 'Who are they? and why remain they here?'

4 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (5) thus: 'They call this place Hamistagan (the ever stationary); (6) and these souls remain in this place till the future body; (7) and they are the souls of those men whose good works and sin were equal. (8) Speak out to the worlds thus: 'Let not avarice and vexation prevent you from doing a very easy work, (9) for every one whose good works are three Srosho-charanam more than his sin goes to heaven; (10) they whose sin is more go to hell; (11) they in whom both are equal remain among these Hamistagan till the future body.' (12) Their punishment is cold, or heat, from the revolution of the atmosphere; and they have no other adversity.'

CHAPTER 7. [The Star Track]

1 And afterward, I put forth the first footstep to the star track, on Humat, the place where good thoughts (humat) are received with hospitality. (2) And I saw those souls of the pious whose radiance, which ever increased, was glittering as the stars; (3) and their throne and seat were under the radiance, and splendid and full of glory.

4 And I asked Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, thus: 'Which place is this? and which people are these?'

5 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (6) thus: 'This place is the star track; and those are the souls (7) who, in the world, offered no prayers, and chanted no Gathas, and contracted no next-of-kin marriage; (8) they have also exercised no sovereignty, nor rulership nor chieftainship. (9) Through other good works they have become pious.'

CHAPTER 8. [The Moon track]

1 When I put forth the second footstep, it was to Hukht of the moon track, the place where good words (hukht) find hospitality; (2) and I saw a great assembly of the pious.

3 And I asked Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, thus: 'Which place is this? and whose are those souls?'

4 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (5) thus: 'This place is the moon track; and these are those souls who, in the world, offered no prayers, and chanted no Gathas, and contracted no next-of-kin marriages; (6) but through other good works they have come hither; (7) and their brightness is like unto the brightness of the moon.'

CHAPTER 9. [The Sun track]

1 When I put forth the third footstep on Huvarsht, there where good deeds (huvarsht) are received with hospitality, there I arrived. (2) There is the radiance which they call the highest of the highest; (3) and I saw the pious on thrones and carpets made of gold; (4) and they were the people whose brightness was like unto the brightness of the sun.

5 And I asked Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, thus: 'Which place is this? and who are those souls?'

6 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (7) thus: 'This is the sun track; and those are the souls who, in the world, exercised good sovereignty and rulership and chieftainship.'

[Part 3. Heaven]

CHAPTER 10.

1 I put forth the fourth footstep unto the radiance of Garothman, the all-glorious; (2) and the souls of the departed came to meet us, and they asked a blessing, and offered praise, (3) and they spoke thus: 'How hast thou come forth, O pious one? (4) From that perishable and very evil world, thou hast come unto this imperishable, unmolested world. (5) Therefore taste immortality, for here you see pleasure eternally.'

6 And after that, Adar, the angel of the fire of Ohrmazd, came forward, saluted me, (7) and said thus: 'A fine supplier art thou, Arda Viraf, of green wood, who art the messenger of the Mazdayasnians!'

8 Then I saluted, and said (9) thus: 'Thy servant, O Adar the angel, it was who, in the world, always put upon thee wood and perfume seven years old, (10) and you exclaim about my green wood!'

11 Then Adar, the angel of the fire of Ohrmazd, said (12) thus: 'Come on, that I may show thee the tank of water of the green wood which was put upon me.'

13 And he led me on to a place, and showed the blue water of a large tank, (14) and said: 'This is the water which that wood exuded, which thou puttedst upon me.'

CHAPTER 11. [God, angels, and spiritual leaders]

1 Afterward, arose Vohuman, the archangel, from a throne made of gold, (2) and he took hold of my hand; with the words 'good thought' and 'good word' and 'good deed,' he brought me into the midst of Ohrmazd and the archangels and other holy ones, (3) and the guardian angels of Zartosht Spitama, Kai-Vishtasp, Jamasp, Isadvastar the son of Zartosht, and other upholders and leaders of the religion, (4) than whom I have never seen any one more brilliant and excellent.

5 And Vohuman said (6) thus: 'This is Ohrmazd.' (7) And I wished to offer worship before him.

8 And he said to me thus: 'Salutation to thee, Arda Viraf, thou art welcome; (9) from that perishable world thou hast come to this pure, bright place.' (10) And he ordered Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, (11) thus: 'Take Arda Viraf, and show him the place and reward of the pious, (12) and also the punishment of the wicked.'

13 Then Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, took hold of my hand; (14) and I was led by them from place to place. (15) I also saw the archangels, and I beheld the other angels; (16) I also saw the guardian angels of Gayomard, Zartosht, Kai-Vishtasp, Frashoshtar, Jamasp, and other well-doers and leaders of the religion.

CHAPTER 12. [Other blessed souls]

1 I also came to a place, and saw (2) the souls of the liberal, who walked adorned, (3) and were above the other souls, in all splendor; (4) and Ohrmazd ever exalts the souls of the liberal, who are brilliant and elevated and mighty. (5) And I said thus: 'Happy art thou who art a soul of the liberal, that are thus above the other souls.' (6) And it seemed to me sublime.

7 I also saw the souls of those who, in the world, chanted the Gathas and used the prescribed prayers (yashts), (8) and were steadfast in the good religion of the Mazdayasnians, which Ohrmazd taught to Zartosht; (9) when I advanced, they were in gold-embroidered and silver-embroidered clothes, the most embellished of all clothing. (10) And it seem to me very sublime.

11 I also saw a soul of those who contract next-of-kin marriages, in material-fashioned splendor, (12) when the lofty splendor of its residence ever increased thereby. (13) And it seem to me sublime.

14 I also saw the souls of good rulers and monarchs, (15) who ever increased their greatness, goodness, power, and triumph thereby, (16) when they walk in splendor, in their golden trousers. (17) And it seemed to me sublime.

18 I also saw the soul of the great and of truthful speakers, who walked in lofty splendor with great glory. (19) And it seemed to me sublime.

CHAPTER 13.

1 I also saw the souls of those women of excellent thoughts, of excellent words, of excellent deeds, and submissive to control, who consider their husbands as lords, (2) in clothing embroidered with gold and silver, and set with jewels. (3) And I asked thus: 'Which souls are these?'

4 And Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (5) thus: 'These are the souls of those women who, in the world, have honored water, and honored fire, and honored earth and trees, cattle and sheep, and all the other good creations of Ohrmazd. (6) And they performed the Yazishn and Dron ceremonies, and the praise and services of God; (7) and they performed the rites and praises of the angels of the heavenly existences, and the angels of the earthly existences; (8) and they practiced acquiescence and conformity, reverence and obedience to their husbands and lords; (9) and they were without doubts on the religion of the Mazdayasnians. (10) They were diligent in doing of good works, (11) and they have been abstainers from sin.' (12) And it seemed to me sublime.

CHAPTER 14.

1 I also saw the souls of performers of the Yazishn ceremony, and of those who know the scriptures by heart, splendid among the lofty and exalted among the great. (2) And it seemed to me sublime.

3 I also saw the souls of those who solemnized the whole ritual of the religion, and performed and directed the worship of God, (4) who were seated above the other souls; (5) and their good works stood as high as heaven. (6) And it seemed to me sublime.

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7 I also saw the souls of warriors, whose walk was in the supremest pleasure and joyfulness, and together with that of kings; (8) and the well-made arms and equipments of those heroes were made of gold, studded with jewels, well-ornamented and all embroidered; (9) and they were in wonderful trousers with much pomp and power and triumph. (10) And it seemed to me sublime.

11 I also saw the souls of those who killed many noxious creatures (khrafstras) in the world; (12) and the prosperity of the waters and sacred fires, and fires in general, and trees, and the prosperity also of the earth was ever increased thereby; and they were exalted and adorned. (13) And it seemed to me very sublime.

14 I also saw the souls of agriculturists, in a splendid place, and glorious and thick majestic clothing; (15) as they stood, and offered praise, before the spirits of water and earth, trees and cattle; (16) and they utter thanksgiving and praise and benediction; (17) their throne also is great, and the place they occupy is good. (18) And it seemed to me sublime.

19 I also saw the souls of artisans who, in the world, served their rulers and chieftains; (20) as they saw on thrones which were well-carpeted and great, splendid and embellished. (21) And it seemed to me very sublime.

CHAPTER 15.

1 I also saw the souls of shepherds, by whom, in the world, quadrupeds and sheep were employed and fed, (2) and preserved from the wolf and thief and tyrannical man. (3) And at appointed times, water and grass and food were given; (4) and they were preserved from severe cold and heat; (5) and the males were allowed access at the usual time, and properly restrained when inopportune; (6) whereby very great advantage, profit and benefit, food and clothing were afforded to the men of that time: (7) Which souls walked among those who are brilliant, on a beautiful eminence, in great pleasure and joy. (8) And it seemed to me very sublime.

9 I also saw many golden thrones, fine carpets and cushions decked with rich cloth, (10) on which are seated the souls of householders and justices, who were heads of village families, and exercised mediation and authority, (11) and made a desolate place prosperous; (12) they also brought many conduits, streams, and fountains for the improvement of tillage and cultivation, and the advantage of creatures. (13) And as they stand before those who are the guardian angels of water, and of trees, and also of the pious, in great power and triumph, (14) they offer them blessings and praise, and repeat thanksgivings. (15) And it seemed to me very sublime.

16 I also saw the souls of the faithful, the teachers and inquirers, in the greatest gladness on the splendid throne. (17) And it seemed to me sublime.

18 I also saw the friendly souls of intercederes and peaceseekers, (19) who ever increased thereby their brilliance, which was like the stars and moon and sun; (20) and they ever walked agreeably in the light of the atmosphere.

21 I also saw the pre-eminent world of the pious, which is the all-glorious light of space, much perfumed with sweet basil, all-bedecked, all-admired, and splendid, full of glory and every joy and every pleasure, (22) with which no one is satiated.

[Part 4. Hell]

CHAPTER 16.

1 Afterward, Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, took hold of my hand, and I went thence onward. (2) I came to a place, and I saw a great river which was gloomy as dreadful hell; (3) on which river were many souls and guardian angels; (4) and some of them were not able to cross, and some crossed only with great difficulty, and some crossed easily.

5 And I asked thus: 'What river is this? and who are these people who stand so distressed?'

6 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (7) thus: 'This river is the many tears which men shed from the eyes, as they make lamentation and weeping for the departed. (8) They shed those tears unlawfully, and they swell to this river. (9) Those who are not able to cross over are those for whom, after their departure, much lamentation and weeping were made; (10) and those who cross more easily are those for whom less was made. (11) Speak forth to the world thus: 'When you are in the world, make no lamentation and weeping unlawfully; (12) 'for so much harm and difficulty may happen to the souls of your departed.'

CHAPTER 17.

1 I came back again to the Chinwad bridge. (2) And I saw a soul of those who were wicked, when in those first three nights so much mischief and evil were shown to their souls, as never such distress was seen by them in the world. (3) And I inquired of Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, thus: 'Whose soul is this?'

4 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (5) thus: 'This soul of the wicked wandered there where the wicked one died, over the place where the life went forth; (6) it stood at his head, and uttered the Gatha words (7) thus: 'Creator Ohrmazd! to which land do I go? and what do I take as a refuge?' (8) And as much misfortune and difficulty happen to him, that night, (9) as in the world, unto a man who lived in the world and lived in difficulty and misfortune.'

10 Afterward, a stinking cold wind comes to meet him. (11) So it seemed to that soul as if it came forth from the northern quarter, from the quarter of the demons, a more stinking wind than which he had not perceived in the world. (12) And in that wind he saw his own religion and deeds as a profligate woman, naked, decayed, gapping, bandy-legged, lean-hipped, and unlimitedly spotted so that spot was joined to spot, like the most hideous, noxious creature (khrafstar), most filthy and most stinking.

13 Then that wicked soul spoke thus: 'Who art thou, than whom I never saw any one of the creatures of Ohrmazd and Ahriman uglier, or filthier, or more stinking?'

14 To him she spoke thus: 'I am thy bad actions, O youth of evil thoughts, of evil words, of evil deeds, of evil religion. (15) It is on account of thy will and actions that I am hideous and vile, iniquitous and diseased, rotten and foul-smelling, unfortunate and distressed, as appears to thee. (16) When thou sawest any one who performed the Yazishn and Dron ceremonies, and praise and prayer and the service of God; (17) and preserved and protected water and fire, cattle and trees, and other good creations; (18) thou practicedst the will of Ahriman and the demons, and improper actions. (19) And when thou sawest one who provided hospitable reception, and gave something deservedly in gifts and charity, for the advantage of the good and worthy who came from far, and who were from near; (20) thou wast avaricious, and shuttedst up thy door. (21) And though I have been unholy, I am made more unholy through thee; (22) and though I have been frightful, I am made more frightful through thee; (23) though I have been tremulous, I am made more tremulous through thee; (24) though I am settled in the northern region of the demons, I am settled farther north through thee; (25) through these evil thoughts, and through these evil words, and through these evil deeds, which thou practisedst. (26) They curse me, a long time, in the long execration and evil communion of the Evil spirit.'

27 Afterward, that soul of the wicked advanced the first footstep on Dush-humat and the second footstep on Dush-hukt, and the third on Dush-huvarsht; and with the fourth footstep he ran to hell.

CHAPTER 18.

1 Afterward, Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, took hold of my hand, (2) so that I went on unhurt. (3) In that manner, I beheld cold and heat, drought and stench, (4) to such a degree as I never saw, nor heard of, in the world. (5) And when I went farther, (6) I also saw the greedy jaws of hell, like the most frightful pit, descending in a very narrow and fearful place; (7) in darkness so gloomy that it is necessary to hold by the hand; (8) and in such stench that every one whose nose inhales that air will struggle and stagger and fall; (9) and on account of such close confinement no one's existence is possible; (10) and every one thinks thus: 'I am alone'; (11) and when three days and nights have elapsed he says thus: 'The nine thousand years are completed, and they will not release me!' (12) Everywhere, even the lesser noxious creatures (khrafstras) are as high as mountains, (13) and they so tear and seize and worry the souls of the wicked, as would be unworthy of a dog. (14) And I easily passed in there, with Srosh the pious, the well-grown and triumphant, and Adar the angel.

CHAPTER 19.

1 I came to a place, and I saw the soul of a man, (2) through the fundament of which soul, as it were a snake, like a beam, went in, and came forth out of the mouth; (3) and many other snakes ever seized all the limbs.

4 And I inquired of Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, (5) thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

6 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (7) thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man, who, in the world, committed sodomy, (8) and allowed a man to come on his body; (9) now the soul suffers so severe a punishment.'

CHAPTER 20

1 I came to a place, and I saw the soul of a woman, (2) to whom they ever gave to eat cup after cup of the impurity and filth of men.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers suchl a punishment?'

4 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (5) thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked woman who, having not abstained, nor lawfully withheld herself, approached water and fire during her menstruation.'

CHAPTER 21

1 I also saw the soul of a man, (2) the skin of whose head they ever widen out, and with a cruel death they ever kill him.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers such a punishment?'

4 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (5) thus: 'This is this soul of that wicked man who, in the world, slew a pious man.'

CHAPTER 22

1 I also saw the soul of a man, (2) into whose jaws they ever pour the impurity and menstrual discharge of women, (3) and he ever cooked and ate his own seemly child.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers such a punishment?'

5 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (6) thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, had intercourse with a menstruous woman; (7) and every single time, it is a sin of fifteen and a half Tanapuhrs.'

CHAPTER 23

1 I also saw the soul of a man (2) who, because of hunger and thirst, ever cried thus: 'I shall die.' 3. And he ever tore out his hair and beard, and devoured blood, and cast foam about with his mouth.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers such a punishment?'

5 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (6) thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, devoured talkatively, and consumed unlawfully, the water and vegetables of Hordad and Amurdad, and muttered no grace; (7) and through sinfulness, he celebrated no Yasht; (8) such was his contempt of the water of Hordad, and the vegetation of Amurdad. 9. Now this soul must suffer so severe a punishment.'

CHAPTER 24

1 I also saw the soul of a woman (2) who was suspended, by the breasts, to hell; (3) and its noxious creatures (khrafstars) seized her whole body.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers such a punishment?'

5 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (6) thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, left her own husband, (7) and gave herself to other men, and committed adultery.'

CHAPTER 25

1 I also saw the souls of several men, and several women, (2) whose legs and necks and middle parts a noxious creature (khrafstar) ever gnawed, and separated one from the other.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by these bodies, whose souls suffer such a punishment?'

4 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (5) thus: 'These are the souls of those wicked ones who, in the world, walked without shoes, (6) ran about uncovered, made water on foot, and performed other demon-service.'

CHAPTER 26

1 I also saw the soul of a woman (2) who ever stretched out her tongue on her neck, and she was suspended from the atmosphere.

3 And I asked thus: 'Whose soul is this?'

4 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (5) thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, scorned her husband and master, and cursed, abused and defied him.'

CHAPTER 27

1 I also saw the soul of a man (2) whom they ever forced to measure dust and ashes, with a bushel and gallon, and they ever gave it him to eat.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers such a punishment?'

4 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (5) thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, kept no true bushel, nor gallons, nor weight, nor measure of length; (6) be mixed water with wine, and put dust into grain, and sold them to the people at a high price; (7) and stole and extorted something from the good.'

CHAPTER 28

1 I also saw the soul of a man who was held in the atmosphere, (2) and fifty demons ever flogged him, before and behind, with darting serpents.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers such a punishment?'

4 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (5) thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, was a bad ruler, (6) and was unmerciful and destructive among men, and caused torment and punishment of various kinds.'

CHAPTER 29

1 I also saw the soul of a man (2) whose tongue hung on the outside of his jaw, and was ever gnawed by noxious creatures (khrafstars).

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers such a punishment?'

4 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (5) thus: 'This is the soul of that man who, in the world, committed slander,

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and embroiled people one with the other; (6) and his soul, in the end, fled to hell.'

CHAPTER 30

1 I also saw the soul of a man (2) whose limbs they ever break and separate, one from the other.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

4 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (5) thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man who made unlawfully much slaughter of cattle and sheep and other quadrupeds.'

CHAPTER 31

1 I also saw the soul of a man (2) who, from head to foot, remained stretched upon a rack; (3) and a thousand demons trampled upon him, and ever smote him with great brutality and violence.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

5 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (6) thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, collected much wealth; (7) and he consumed it not himself, and neither gave it, nor allowed a share, to the good; but kept it in store.'

CHAPTER 32

1 I also saw the soul of a lazy man, whom they called Davanos, (2) whose whole body a noxious creature (khrafstar) ever gnawed, and his right foot was not gnawed.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

4 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (5) thus: 'This is the soul of the lazy Davanos who, when he was in the world, never did any good work; (6) but with this right foot, a bundle of grass was cast before a ploughing ox.'

CHAPTER 33

1 I also saw the soul of a man (2) whose tongue a worm ever gnawed.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

4 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (5) thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, spoke many lies and falsehoods; (6) and, thereby, much harm and injury were diffused among all creatures.'

CHAPTER 34

1 I also saw the soul of a woman (2) whose whole body the noxious creatures (khrafstars) ever gnawed.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

4 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (5) thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, dressed her hair-curls and hair over the fire; (6) and threw hairs from, the head and scurf and hair of the body upon the fire; (7) and introduced fire under the body, and held herself on the fire.'

CHAPTER 35

1 I also saw the soul of a woman (2) who ever chewed with her teeth, and ever ate, her own dead refuse.

3 And I asked thus: 'Whose soul is this?'

4 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (5) thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked woman, by whom, in the world, sorcery was practised.'

CHAPTER 36

1 I also saw the soul of a man (2) who stood up, in hell, in the form of a serpent like a column; (3) and his head was like unto a human head, and the remaining body, unto a serpent.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

5 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (6) thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, committed apostacy; (7) and he fled into hell, in the form of a serpent.'

CHAPTER 37

1 I also saw the souls of several men and several women (2) who were suspended, head downwards, in hell; (3) and snakes and scorpions and other noxious creatures (khrafstars) ever gnawed all their bodies.

4 And I asked thus: 'Of which people are these souls?'

5 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (6) thus: 'These are the souls of those people, by whom, in the world, water and fire were not cared for, (7) and corruption was brought to water and fire, and fire was extinguished intentionally.'

CHAPTER 38

1 I also saw the soul of a man (2) whom they ever gave to eat, the flesh and dead refuse of mankind, with blood and filth, and other corruption and stench.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

4 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (5) thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, brought bodily refuse and dead matter to water and fire and his own body and those also of other men; (6) and he was always carrying the dead alone, and was polluted; (7) he also did not wash himself in this occupation.'

CHAPTER 39

1 I also saw the soul of a man (2) who ever ate the skin and flesh of men.

3 And I asked thus: 'Whose soul is this?'

4 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (5) thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, kept back the wages of laborers, and the shares of partners; (6) and now the soul must suffer severe punishment.'

CHAPTER 40

1 I also saw the soul of a man (2) who ever carried a mountain on his back; (3) and in snow and cold, he had that mountain upon his back.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

5 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (6) thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man, by whom, in the world, falsehood and irreverence and depreciating words were much spoken about people; (7) and now his soul ever suffers the punishment of such severe frost.'

CHAPTER 41

1 I also saw the soul of a man (2) whom they gave excrement and dead refuse and corruption to eat; (3) and the demons ever beat him with stones and axes.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

5 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (6) thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked [darwand] man who was at the warm baths which many have frequented, (7) and he carried their bodily refuse and dead matter to water and fire and earth; (8) and the pious went in, and came out wicked [i.e. darwand, impure].

CHAPTER 42

1 I also saw the souls of several people (2) whom they cause to weep; and they ever make piteous cries.

3 And I asked thus: 'Which people are these?'

4 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (5) thus; 'These are the souls of those who had a father in their mother; (6) and when they were born, the father did not acknowledge them; (7) and now they ever make lamentation for a father.'

CHAPTER 43

1 I also saw the soul of a man, (2) at whose feet several children fell, and ever screamed, (3) and demons, just like dogs, ever fell upon and tore him.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

5 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (6) thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, did not acknowledge his own children.'

CHAPTER 44

1 I also saw the soul of a woman (2) who ever dug into a hill with her own breasts; (3) and ever held, on her head, a mill-stone like a cap.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffered so severe a punishment?'

5 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (6) thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, destroyed her own infant, and threw away the corpse.'

CHAPTER 45

... committed perjury; (6) and he extorted wealth from the good, and gave it to the bad.

CHAPTER 46

... 'This is the soul of that wicked man whose wealth, in the world, was not acquired by honesty, but was stolen from the property of others; (6) and it was left by him among his own enemies, (7) and only he himself must be in hell.'

CHAPTER 47

... 'These are the souls of those people who, in the world, have been apostates and disbelievers; (6) and men were ever ruined by them, and led away from the laws of virtue to the law of evil; (7) and many religions and improper creeds were made current in the world.'

CHAPTER 48

... 'kept back the food of the dogs of shepherds and householders; or beat and killed them.'

CHAPTER 49

... 'These are the souls of those wicked, by whom, in the world, land was measured, and measured false; (8) and many people were rendered unsettled and unproductive, so that they came to want and poverty; (9) and it was ever necessary to contribute heavy taxes.'

CHAPTER 50

... 'removed the boundary-stones of others, and took them as his own.'

CHAPTER 51

... 'made false covenants with men.'

CHAPTER 52

... 'committed many breaches of promise, (6) and broke promises with the pious and with the wicked; (7) for both are promises, alike with the pious, and alike with the wicked.'

CHAPTER 53

1 And afterwards, Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, took hold of my hand; (2) and I was carried on to Chakat-i-Daitih, below the Chinwad bridge, into a desert; (3) and was shown hell in the earth of the middle of that desert, below the Chinwad bridge.

4 The groaning and cries of Ahriman and the demons and demonesses and many other souls of the wicked, came so, from that place, (5) that I was frightened, because I considered that they would shake the seven regions of the earth which heard that noise and groaning. 6. And I entreated Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, (7) thus: 'Carry me not here, but turn back'.

8 And then, Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said to me (9) thus: 'Fear not! since there is no danger whatever for thee from here.' 10. And in front, went Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel; (11) and in the rear, fearlessly, I, Arda Viraf, went on further into that gloomy hell.

CHAPTER 54

1 And I saw the darkest hell, which is pernicious, dreadful, terrible, very painful, mischievous and foul-smelling. 2. And after further observation, it appeared to me (3) as a pit, to the bottom of which, a thousand cubits would not reach; (4) and though all the wood which is in the world, were all put on to the fire in the most stinking and gloomy hell, it would never emit a smell; (5) and again also, as close as the ear to the eye, and as many as the hairs on the mane of a horse, (6) so close and many in number, the souls of the wicked stand, (7) but they see not and hear no sound, one from the other; (8) everyone thinks thus: 'I am alone'. 9. And for them are the gloom of darkness, and the stench and fearfulness of the torment and punishment of hell, of various kinds; (10) so that whoever is only a day in hell, cries out (11) thus: 'Are not those nine thousand years yet completed, when they should release us from this hell?'

CHAPTER 55

1 Then I saw the souls of the wicked who died, and ever suffer torment and punishment, in that dreadful, dark place of punishment of various kinds, such as driving snow, and severe cold, and the heat of brisk-burning fire, and foul stench, and stone and ashes, hail and rain, and many other evils.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by the body of these, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

3 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (4) thus: 'These are the souls of those wicked people, by whom, in the world, mortal sin was much committed, (5) and the Warharan (most sacred) fire was extinguished, and a bridge of a rapid river was demolished; (6) and falsehood and irreverence were spoken, and much false evidence was given. 7. And their desire was anarchy; and because of their greediness and avarice and lust and wrath and envy, the innocent, pious man was slain; (8) and they have proceeded very deceitfully. 9. Now the soul must suffer such severe torment and punishment.'

CHAPTER 56

1 Then I saw the souls of those whom serpents stung and ever gnawed.

2 And I asked thus: 'Whose souls are those?'

3 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (4) thus: 'These are the souls of those wicked who, in the world, have been defrauders of their God and religion.'

CHAPTER 57

... 'These are the souls of those women who, in the world, made much lamentation and weeping, and beat the head and face.'

CHAPTER 58

... 'This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, often washed his head and face, and dirty hands, and other pollution of his limbs, in large standing waters and fountains and streams, (6) and distressed Hordad the archangel.'

Chapter 59.

1 I also saw the soul of a woman (2) who ever wept, and ever tore and ate the skin and flesh from her own breasts.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

4 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (5) thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked woman who ever left her own infant crying on account of want and hunger.'

Chapter 60.

1 I also saw the soul of a man (2) whose body remains set into a brazen cauldron; and they ever cook it. (3) One foot, which is the right one, remained outside the cauldron.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

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5 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (6) thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man who, among the living, lustfully and improperly, went much out to married women; (7) and his whole body became sinful. (8) But that right foot, the frog and ant, snake and scorpion, and other noxious creatures (khrafstars) were much smitten and killed and destroyed.'

Chapter 61.

1 I also saw the souls of those wicked (2) who swallowed and voided, and again swallowed and voided.

3 And I asked thus: 'What souls are those of these?'

4 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (5) thus: 'These are the souls of those wicked who, in the world, believed not in the spirit, (6) and they have been unthankful in the religion of the creator Ohrmazd. (7) they have been doubtful of the happiness which is in heaven, and the torment which is in hell, and about the reality of the resurrection of the dead and the future body.'

Chapter 62.

1 I also saw the soul of a woman (2) who ever gnashed her own bosom and breasts with an iron comb.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

4 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (5) thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, despised her husband and master (or guardian,) and became and remained vile; (6) being also herself untrue to him, and acted improperly with other men.'

Chapter 63.

1 I also saw the soul of a woman (2) who ever licked a hot oven with her tongue, (3) and ever burnt her own hand under the oven.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

5 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (6) thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, offered defiance to her own husband and master, and became abusive; (7) she also acted disobediently, and did not grant cohabitation at his desire; (8) and she stole property from her husband, and secretly formed a hoard for herself.'

Chapter 64.

1 I also saw the soul of a woman (2) who ever came and went crying and wailing; (3) upon her head also, ever came pelting hail; (4) and under foot, hot, molten brass ever streamed; (5) and she ever gashes her own head and face, with a knife.

6 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, when the soul ever suffers so severe a punishment?'

7 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (8) thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked woman who, undutifully, became pregnant from other men, (9) and she effected the destruction of the infant. [i.e. abortion or infanticide] (10) Because of the pain and punishment, she fancies that she hears the cry of that infant, and she runs; (11) and such vehemence of running is occasioned, as of one who walks upon hot brass; (12) and she ever hears the cry of that infant, and gashes her own head and face with a knife, and demands the child, (13) but she sees it not till the re-establishment of the world [i.e. frashegird, cp. ch. 87.]; this punishment she must suffer.'

Chapter 65.

1 I also saw several souls (2) whose chests were plunged in mud and stench, (3) and a sharp sickle ever went among their legs and other limbs; (4) and they ever called for a father and mother.

5 And I asked thus: 'Who are these souls? (6) and what sin was committed by them, whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?'

7 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (8) thus: 'These are the souls of that wicked who, in the world, distressed their father and mother; (9) and asked no absolution and forgiveness from their father and mother, in the world.'

Chapter 66.

1 I also saw the souls of a man and a woman (2) whose tongues were put out, and ever gnawed by the jaws of serpents.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by the body of these? (4) and who are those souls?'

5 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (6) thus: 'These are the souls of that wicked who, in the world, ever committed slander, and embroiled people together.'

Chapter 67.

1 I also saw the soul of a man (2) who was suspended by one leg in the darkness of hell [or hell of darkness]; (3) and he had an iron sickle in his hand, and ever gashed his own chest and armpits [or loins], (4) and an iron spike was driven into his eye.

5 And I asked thus: 'Whose soul is this? and what sin was committed by him?'

6 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (5) thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man, to whom a city was confided for administration; (8) and that which was proper to do and order, was not done and not ordered; (9) and deficient weights and measures of capacity and length were kept, (10) and he listened to no complaints from the poor and from travellers [lit. caravan people. see also ch. 68 and ch. 93.].'

Chapter 68.

1 I also saw the souls of a man and a woman (2) whom they ever drag, the man to heaven and the woman to hell. (3) And the woman's hand was caught in the knot and sacred thread [kusti] of the man, (4) and she said thus: 'How is it when we had every benefit in union, among the living, (5) now they are dragging thee to heaven, and me to hell?'

6 And the man said thus: 'Because whatever things I received of the good and worthy and the poor, I also gave them back [meaning uncertain]; (7) and I practised good thoughts and good words and good deeds; (8) I also heeded God, ad disregarded the demons; (9) and I have been steadfast in the good religion of the Mazdayasnians. (10) But you despised the good and poor and worthy and travellers; (11) you also disregarded God, and you worshipped idols; (12) and practised evil thoughts and evil words and evil deeds; (13) and you have been steadfast in the religion of Ahriman and the demons.'

14 And the woman said to the man (15) thus: 'Among the living, you yourself were completely lord and sovereign over me; (16) and my body and life and soul were yours; (17) and the food and income and clothing which I had, were from you; (18) then wherefore did you not chastise and punish me for it? (19) You have not even taught me, the reason of your goodness and excellence, (20) whereby you might have caused goodness and excellence in me, (21) and so now it would not be necessary to suffer this evil.'

22 And afterwards, the man went to heaven and the woman to hell. (23) And owing to the repentance of that woman, she was in no other affliction, in hell, but darkness and stench. (24) And that man sat in the midst of the pious of heaven, in shame from not converting and not teaching the woman, who might have become virtuous in his keeping.

Chapter 69.

1 I also saw the souls of women, (2) into both whose eyes a wooden peg was driven, (3) tied by one leg, head downwards. (4) And many frogs, scorpions, snakes, ants, flies, worms and other noxious creatures (khrafstars) went and came inside their jaws, noses, ears, posteriors and sexual parts.

5 And I asked thus: 'Whose souls are these? (6) and what sin was committed by them, whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?'

7 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (8) thus: 'These are the souls of those wicked women who had a husband in the world, (9) and slept and granted cohabitation [i.e. sex] with another man; (10) and the bed of the husband was kept defiled, and his body injured.'

Chapter 70.

1 I also saw the souls of women whom they threw head downwards; (2) and something like a hedgehog, which had iron spikes grown from it, was introduced into the body and dropped back; (3) and from it, a finger dropping the semen of the demons and demonesses, which is stench and corruption, ever went into the inside of the jaws and nose.

4 And I asked thus: 'Who are those souls, who suffer such a punishment?'

5 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (6) thus: 'These are the souls of those wicked women who, in the world, broke promises to their husbands, (7) and they have stayed away from the husband, and been never contented, and granted no cohabitation [i.e. sex].'

Chapter 71. [Sodomy and enticing wives to adultery.]

1 I also saw the soul of a man (2) whom the fangs of serpents stung and ever gnawed; (3) and in both eyes, snakes and worms ever voided; (4) and an iron spike was grown [scraped?] upon the tongue.

5 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

6 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (7) thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man, by whom sodomy was much committed; (8) and through a desire for improper lust, he debauched the wives of others. (9) And his smooth speaking deceived and seduced the wives of others, and separated them from their husbands.'

Chapter 72. [Violating menstruation taboo]

1 I also saw the souls of women, by whom their own menstrual discharge was ever devoured.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by the body of these, whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?'

3 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (4) thus: 'These are the souls of those women who heeded not their menstruation, (5) and injured water and fire and the earth of Spandarmad and Hordad and Amurdad, (6) and looked upon the sky and the sun and the moon, (7) and injured cattle and sheep with their menstruation, (8) and kept the pious man polluted.'

Chapter 73. [Makeup]

1 I also saw the souls of women (2) who ever shed and sucked and ate the blood and filth of their ten fingers; (3) and worms ever came into both eyes.

4. And I asked thus: 'Who are these souls? (5) and what sin was committed by them who suffer so severe a punishment?'

6 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (7) thus: 'These are the souls of those wicked women who beautified their faces [with makeup], and kept the hair of others as ornament; (8) and they captivated the eyes of the men of God.'

Chapter 74. [Unlawfully slaughtering livestock.]

1 I also saw the souls of those who remained tied, head downwards, by one leg; (2) and a knife was driven into their hearts.

3 And I asked thus: 'Who are these souls?'

4 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (5) thus: 'These are the souls of those wicked, by whom, in the world, beasts, cattle and sheep were unlawfully slaughtered and killed.'

Chapter 75. [Cruelty to animals.]

1 I also saw souls who were thrown under the feet of cattle, (2) struck by the horns, and their bellies torn, and bones broken; and they were groaning.

3 And I asked thus: 'Who are these people?'

4 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (5) thus: 'These are the souls of those wicked, by whom, in the world, the mouths of beasts and ploughing cattle were muzzled; (6) and water was not given to them in the heat; and they were kept at work hungry and thirsty.'

Chapter 76. [Violating menstruation taboo and sorcery.]

1. I also saw the souls of women who ever lacerated their own breasts with their own hands and teeth; (2) and dogs ever tore and ate their bellies; (3) and both feet stood on hot brass.

4. And I asked thus: 'Whose souls are these? and what sin was committed by them?'

5. Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (6) thus: 'These are the souls of those wicked women who, in the world, prepared food during menstruation, (7) and brought it before a pious man, and bade him eat. (8) They also ever resorted to sorcery; (9) and they injured the earth of Spandarmad and the pious man.'

Chapter 77. [Cruelty to animals]

1 Then I saw souls whose backs, hands, and legs had wounds, (2) and they were suspended with the posteriors to the face [This sentence can also be read: 'head downwards in melted brass'; but the form avîtakht for 'melted' is unusual.]; (3) and heavy stones ever rained in their backs.

4 And I asked thus: 'Who are those? and what sin was committed by them?'

5 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (6) thus: 'These are the souls of those wicked who had beasts in the world, (7) and appointed them hard work, and made the burden unlawfully heavy, (8) and gave no sufficiency of food, so they suffered through leanness; (9) and when sores ensued, they were not kept back from work, and no remedy was provided. (10) Now they (the souls) must suffer such severe punishment.'

Chapter 78. [Adultery and infanticide]

1 Then I saw the soul of a woman (2) who ever dug an iron hill with her breasts; (3) and an infant cried from that side of the hill, and the cry ever continued; (4) but the infant comes not to the mother, nor the mother to the infant.

5 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

6 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said (7) thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, became pregnant, not from her own husband, but from another person; (8) and she said thus: "I have bot been pregnant." (9) She also destroyed the infant.'

Chapter 79. [Corrupt judge.]

1-5 Then I saw the soul of a man, both whose eyes were scooped out, and his tongue cut away; and he remained suspended, in hell, by one leg; his body also was ever raked with the two brazen prongs of a fork; and an iron spike was driven into his head [or heart].

6 And I asked thus: 'What man is this? and what sin was committed by him?'

7-9 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man whose justice, in the world, was false; and he took bribes, and made false decisions.'

Chapter 80. [Falsifying measurements.]

1-3 Then I saw the souls of several who remained suspended, head downwards, in hell; and they force the blood, filth, and brains of men into their mouths, and convey excrement into

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their noses; and they [the tormentors?] ever cry thus: 'We keep just measures.'

4 And I asked thus: 'Who are these bodies? and what sin was committed by them?'

5-7 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said thus: 'These are the souls of those wicked, by whom, in the world, weights and bushels and other small measures were kept short, and things were sold to men.'

Chapter 81. [Adultery and sorcery]

1-3 Then I saw the soul of a woman whose tongue was cut away, and eyes scooped out; and snakes, scorpions, worms, and other noxious creatures (khrafstars) ever devoured the brain of her head; and from time to time, she seized her own body with the teeth, and ever gnawed the flesh.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

5-7 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked woman who was, in her lifetime, an adultress. she also practised much sorcery; and much mischief emanated from her.

Chapter 82. [Sharp tongue]

1 Then I saw the soul of a certain woman whose tongue was plucked out [Doubtful; it may mean 'whose tongues were many.'].

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this woman?'

3-5 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked woman whose tongue, in the world, was sharp; and her husband and master was much troubled by her tongue.'

Chapter 83.

1 Then I saw the soul of a woman who ever ate her own dead refuse [nasa].

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this woman?'

3 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said thus:

4, 5 'This is the soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, ate much meat concealed from her husband, and gave it to another person.'

Chapter 84. [Manufacturing and distributing narcotics]

1, 2 Then I saw the soul of a woman whose breasts they cut off; and her belly was torn, and the entrails given to the dogs.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this woman?'

4-6 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked woman, by whom, in the world, poison and oil [liquor? infusion?] of opium were made and kept, and given by her to people to eat.

Chapter 85. [Adultery]

1-3 Then I saw the soul of a woman, on whose body they construct an iron coating, and they turn back the mouth, and put it back to a hot oven.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this woman?'

5-7 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked woman who was, among the living, the wife of a well-disposed and intelligent man; and she broke her faith to her husband, and slept with a sinful and ill-disposed man.'

Chapter 86. [Khwetodas]

1, 2 Then I saw the soul of a woman, through whose body a grievous [prickly?] snake ascended, and came forth by the mouth.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, where the soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

4 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said thus:

5 'This is the soul of that wicked woman who violated a next-of-kin [khwetodas] marriage.'

Chapter 87. [Infant neglect]

1-3 Then I saw the soul of a woman who ever scraped her own body and face with an iron comb, and ever dug an iron hill with her breasts.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this woman?'

5-7 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said thus:] 'This is the soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, committed a crime, and through a desire for wealth, gave no milk to her own infant. 8 And now she ever makes an outcry thus: "Here let me dig into this hill, that I may give milk to that infant."

9 Yet until the reestablishment of the world [Frashegird], she does not reach the infant.'

Chapter 88. [Improper sex and enticing wives to adultery]

1-3 Then I saw the soul of a man who remained suspended, head downward, from a gibbet, and ever had sexual intercourse; and they dropped semen into his mouth and ears and nose.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

5-7 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, committed improper sexual intercourse; and deceived and seduced the wives of others.'

Chapter 89. [Uncharitable]

1-3 Then I saw the souls of those who, on account of weakness, were dashed about from side to side in hell; and they ever kept crying on account of thirst and hunger, cold and heat; and noxious creatures (khrafstars) ever bit out of the back of their legs and other limbs.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by those of these souls, who suffer so severe a punishment?'

5-9 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said thus: 'These are the souls of those wicked whose food and clothing, in the world, were consumed by themselves, and not given by them to the good and worthy; and they exercised no liberality whatever; and they kept themselves, and the people who had come and remained under their control, hungry and thirsty and without clothing; so they suffer cold and heat, hunger and thirst.

10, 11 Now they are dead, and their wealth has remained for others; now the soul suffers so severe a punishment from their own actions.'

Chapter 90. [Lying and profanity]

1 Then I saw the souls of those whom serpents sting and ever devour their tongues.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by those, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

3, 4 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said thus: 'These are the souls of those liars and irreverent [or 'untruthful'] speakers who, in the world, spoke much falsehood and lies and profanity.'

Chapter 91. [Unfair judge]

1 Then I saw the soul of a man who slew his own child and ever ate the brains.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

3-6 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said thus: 'This is the soul of that sentencing judge who made unjust decisions between applicants for justice; and plaintiffs and defendants were not looked upon, by him, favorably and justly; but through a desire of wealth and covetousness, he shouted at suitors with anger and severity.'

Chapter 92. [Kept back benefits.]

1 Then I saw the souls of those, into whose eye a wooden peg was driven.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by the body of these, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

3, 4 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said thus: 'These are the souls of those malicious ones who kept back benefits from mankind.'

Chapter 93. [Turning away travellers or charging for services]

1, 2 Then I saw the souls of those who were fallen, headlong, into hell; and smoke and heat were driven upon them from below, and a cold wind from above.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by these bodies, whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?'

4-6 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said thus: 'These are the souls of those who, in the world, gave no place, nor caravanserai for travellers, nor lodging, nor space, nor baking oven; or who gave them, and took hire for them.'

Chapter 94. [Starving their infants and selling the milk]

1 Then I saw the souls of those whose own breasts were placed upon a hot frying-pan, by their own hands, (2) and were ever turned from side to side.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by these women, whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?'

4-6 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said thus: 'These are the souls of those women who gave their infants no milk, but emaciated and destroyed them; and for worldly gain, gave milk to the infants of others.

Chapter 95. [Starved her infant, adultery]

1, 2 Then I saw the soul of a woman who ever dug a hill with her breasts; and was ever thirsty and hungry.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this woman?'

4-7 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked woman who gave her infant no milk, but left it hungry and thirsty; and herself went with a strange man through a liking for avarice, and a lust for illicit intercourse.'

Chapter 96. [Didn't sow seed]

1, 2 Then I saw the soul of a man whose tongue was cut out; and they ever drag him by the hair, and scatter about the dead refuse [probably the hair pulled out by the roots], and measure it with a bushel.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this man, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

4-7 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, took seed, and said thus: 'I will sow it;' and he sowed it not, but ate it; and the earth of Spandarmad was defrauded.'

Chapter 97. [Falsehood]

1 Then I saw the souls of a man and a woman whose tongues were cut out.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by these bodies, whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?'

3-5 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man and woman who, amongst the living, spoke much falsehood and profanity [or untruth], and deceived their own souls.'

Chapter 98. [Ate nasa, and killed an otter and other sacred animals]

1 Then I saw the souls of a woman and a man who voided and are up the excrement.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by these bodies, whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?'

3-6 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said thus: 'These are the souls of that wicked man and woman who, in the world, devoured dead refuse through sinfulness; and killed the water-otter in the water, and smote and slew other creatures of Ohrmazd.'

Chapter 99. [Disobedient to rulers, enemies of their military]

1, 2 Then I saw many more souls of wicked man and woman; and they ever suffer terrible, fearful, hurtful, harmful, painful, dark, hellish torment and punishment of various kinds.

3-5 Then I saw souls whose tongues were scraped with a wooden peg; and they ever went down, into hell, head foremost; and the demons ever ploughed their whose bodies with an iron comb.

6, 7 And I asked thus: 'Whose souls are these? and what sin was committed by them whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?'

8-11 Srosh the pious, and Adar the angel, said thus: 'These are the souls of those wicked who have been disobedient unto their rulers in the world, and have been enemies of the armies and troops of their rulers. Now they must here suffer such severe pain and torment and punishment.'

Chapter 100. [Ahriman (the devil)]

1-5 Then I saw the Evil spirit, the deadly, the world-destroyer, whose religion is evil, who ever ridiculed and mocked the wicked in hell, and said thus: 'Why did you ever eat the bread of Ohrmazd, and do my work? and thought not of your own creator, but practiced my will?' So he ever shouted to the wicked very mockingly.

Part 5. Epilogue

Chapter 101.

1-3 Afterwards, Srosh the pious and Adar the angel took hold of my hand, and brought me forth from that dark, terrible, fearful place, and carried me to the eternal light, and the assembly of Ohrmazd and the archangels.

4-9 When I wished to offer homage before Ohrmazd. And he was gracious and said thus: 'A perfect servant art thou, pious Arda Viraf, the messenger of the Mazdayasnians; go to the material world, and as thou hast seen and understood, speak truly to the worlds; for I, who am Ohrmazd, am with thee; everyone who speaks correct and true, I honor and know; so say to the wise'.

10-12 And when Ohrmazd spoke in this manner, I remained astonished, for I saw a light, but I saw nobody; I also heard a voice, and I understood that: 'This is Ohrmazd'.

13-22 And he, the creator Ohrmazd, the most munificent of spirits, said thus: 'Speak thou forth, Arda Viraf, to the Mazdayasnians of the world, thus: 'There is only one way of piety, the way of the primitive religion, and the other ways are all no ways. Take ye that one way which is piety, and turn ye not from it in prosperity, nor in adversity, nor in any way; and practice good thoughts and good words and good deeds; and remain in that same religion which, as received by him from me, Spitaman Zartosht and Vishtasp made current in the world; and hold the proper law, but abstain from the improper. And be ye aware also of this, that cattle are dust, and the horse is dust, and gold and silver are dust, and the body of man is dust; he alone mingles not with the dust, who, in the world, praises piety and performs duties and good works.'

22-25 Perfect art thou, Arda Viraf! go and prosper; since every purity and purification which you perform and keep, and everything which you keep lawfully, and the purification

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and ceremonial, when you perform them, in like manner, mindful of God, I know them all.'

26 And when I heard those words, I made a profound bow to the creator Ohrmazd.

27. And then, Srosh the pious, conveyed me successfully and courageously to this carpeted place.

28 May the glory of the good religion of the Mazdayasnians be triumphant!

29 Completed in health and pleasure and joy.

MANICHAEAN SCRIPTURE

or Texts and Fragments from the Bible of Mani

(The Manichaean Prophecy says: "A thousand books will be preserved ... they will come into the hand of the just and the faithful [the] Gospel and the Treasury of Life, the Pragmateia and the Book of Mysteries, the Book of Giants and the Epistles, the Psalms and [the] Prayers of my lord, his Icon and his Revelations, his Parables and his Mysteries ... How many will be lost? How many will be destroyed? A thousand lost, another thousand recovered; for they will find them at the end. They will kiss then, and say "O Wisdom of Greatness, O Armor of the Apostle of Light! When you were lost ... where did they find you?" ... And you shall find them reading them aloud, uttering the name [of each book] among them: the name of its lord .. and the name of those who gave all [for it to be written] and the name of the scribe who wrote it... and of the one who punctuated it..." (Manichaean Homilies 23.13-25.19)

When this prophecy was written down, some 1700 years ago, the author scarcely could have imagined that the recovery of his religion's precious books would come not at the hands of "the just and the faithful" but at the quite profane hands of modern academics. For more than one hundred years, archaeologists, philologists, and historians, have laboured to restore to human memory the Manichaean religion which ancient Christians, Zoroastrians and in particular Muslims worked so hard to obliterate. Now we can look back on a remarkable success story that has brought as much closer than ever before to a full understanding of the faith of Mani.

In the absence of the Manichaeans themselves, the task of retrieving their tenets and practices primarily depends upon the recovery and painstaking reconstruction of Manichaean remains. The modern scholar has at her disposal the material of 4 major discoveries and two isolated texts.

1. In the early part of the 20th century, Manichaean literary and artistic remains were recovered from Turfan and Dunhuang in China, including material in Middle Iranian, Turkic, and Chinese.

2. In the late 1920s, a third cache of texts, this time in Coptic, was found at Medinet Madi, in Egypt.

3. German sources: The leading role of German scholars with respect to both the Turfan and Medinet Madi finds resulted in the tragic loss of portions of both collections in the devastation of Berlin in World War II.

4. A fourth revelation of Manichaean materials has occurred in recent years at Kellis in the Dakhleh Oasis of Egypt, including texts in Coptic, Greek, and Syriac.

In addition to these four major finds, the Cologne Mani Codex (a Greek text from Egypt) and the Tebessa Codex (a Latin composition found in Algeria) are essential sources for the Manichaeanist.

Moreover, the anti-Manichaean literature of the Christian, Islamic, Zoroastrian, and Chinese literati traditions continues to yield valuable data, especially in light of the control supplied by normative Manichaean texts.

For more than a century, linguistic analysis of the Manichaean texts base been as important in the reconstruction of ancient languages as the developing understanding of those languages have been in permuting the recovery of the Manichaean tradition. This is a slow and arduous process. Even today, more than 50% of the surviving material remains unpublished. As the Manichaean faith was once the first true "world religion" for some hundred years, the publication of the remains of what we could call the Manichaean Bible is important, for it contributes to the understanding of our very own civilisation.

Mani and his Manichaeism

Manichaeism [Persian Ayin Mani; Chinese: Moni Jiao] was a major religion founded in the 3rd century AD by the Parthian Persian prophet Mani (c. 216–275 AD) in the Sasanian Empire. It was actually the very first "world religion" as it streched from the west coast of Africa to the east cost of China. Mani claimed that his teaching would provide answers to all the riddles of the world, the principal aim of the cosmogonic myth was narrower, to provide answers to the primary existential questions about the origins of evil and of man, as well as about the role of man in the world. Manicheism, like contemporary Zoroastrianism and various gnostic sects, offered a detailed cosmogonic myth, or cosmology. Mani proved to the Zoroastrians a potent competitor and was probably murdered by the Zoroastrian high priest Kerdir in Gundeshapur. An adherent of Manichaeism was called a Manichaean or Manichean, or Manichee, especially in older sources.

Mani (Persian; Greek: Manichaios, Latin: Manichaeus, Syriac Aramaic Mani chayya, meaning "Living Mani", was of Iranian origin and the prophet and the founder of Manichaeism, a religion of late antiquity strongly influenced by Gnosticism which was once widespread.

Mani was born near Seleucia-Ctesiphon, perhaps in the town Mardinu in the Babylonian district of Nahr Kutha, at the time still part of the Parthian Empire; according to other accounts in the town Abrumya. Mani's father Patik (Middle Persian Pattīg; Greek: Pattikios), a native of Ecbatana (now Hamadan, Iran), was a member of the Jewish Christian sect of the Elcesaites. His mother was of Parthian descent (from "the Armenian Arsacid family of Kamsarakan"); her name is reported variously, among others Maryam.

Mani the Prophet

Mani was raised in a heterodox environment in Babylon. The Elcesaite community was ostensibly Jewish Christian, though with some Gnostic features due to their Ebionite heritage, such as the belief in recurring incarnations of heavenly apostles, one of whom was a docetic Christ. At ages 12 and 24 Mani had visionary experiences of a "heavenly twin" of his (syzygos), calling him to leave his father's Baptist sect and preach the true message of Jesus in a new gospel. Mani then travelled to India (Sakas in present day Afghanistan), where he studied Hinduism and its various extant philosophies, including Buddhism. Al-Biruni says Mani only traveled to India after being banished from Persia, but this might be an error or a second journey. It is believed that his Christian roots might have been influenced by Marcion and Bardaisan.

Hippolytus considered Scythianus as a predecessor of Mani, and wrote that he brought, before Mani, "the doctrine of the Two Principles" from India. According to Epiphanius of Salamis, he was apparently trying to propagate the view "that there is something beyond the one who exists and that, so to speak, the activity of all things comes from two roots or two principles". Epiphanius further explained that Scythianus wrote four books: Mysteries, Treasure, Summaries, and a gospel (the Gospel of Scythianus). The account of Cyril of Jerusalem states that after Scythianus' death, his pupil Terebinthus went to Palestine and Judaea ("becoming known and condemned in Judaea") and Babylon. He used the name 'Buddas', which could mean he presented himself as a Buddha and may suggest a link between his philosophy and Buddhism. Terebinthus brought with him the books of Scythianus, which he presented upon his death to his lodger, a widow with a slave named Cubricus, who later changed his name to Mani (from "Manes" in Persian, meaning "discourse"). Mani is said to have studied the books, which thereby become the source of Manichean doctrine.

Returning in 242, Mani presented himself to Shapur I, to whom he dedicated his only work written in Persian, known as the Shabuhragan. Shapur was not converted to Manichaeism and remained Zoroastrian, but he favored Mani's teachings, which mixed Christianity, Buddhism and Zoroastrianism, and took him into his court. Mani is said to have performed miracles, including levitation, teleporting and healing, which helped him to gain converts in the Iranian elite. He was also famed as a painter.

Shapur's successor Hormizd I, who reigned only for one year, continued to patronize Mani, but his successor Bahram I, a follower of the Zoroastrian reformer Kartir, began to persecute the Manichaeans. He incarcerated Mani, who died in prison within a month, in 274. According to sources, he passed his last days comforting his visiting disciples, teaching that his death would have no other consequence than the return of his soul to the realm of light.

Mani's followers depicted Mani's death as a crucifixion in a conscious analogy to the crucifixion of Jesus; al-Biruni says that Bahram ordered the execution of Mani. There is a story which claims that he was flayed, and his corpse suspended over the main gate of the great city of Gundeshapur; however, there is no historical basis for this account. It is more plausible that his body was mutilated via post-mortem decapitation, and his head put on display, which may be the original source of the embellishment.

The Manuscripts

While most of Manichaeism's original writings have been lost, some translations and fragmentary texts have survived. Six of his major works were written in Syriac, and the seventh, the Shapuragan, dedicated to the Sassanid emperor Shapur I, was written in Middle Persian. While none of his books have survived in complete form, there are numerous fragments and quotations of them, including a long Syriac quotation from one of his works, as well as a large amount of material in Middle Persian, Coptic, and numerous other languages. Examples of surviving portions of his works include: the Shabuhragan (Middle Persian), the Book of Giants (numerous fragments in many languages), the Fundamental Epistle (quoted in length by Saint Augustine), a number of fragments of his Living Gospel (or Great Gospel), a Syriac excerpt quoted by Theodore Bar Konai, and his Letter to Edessa contained in the Cologne Mani-Codex. Mani also wrote the book Arzhang, a holy book of Manichaeism unique in that it contained many drawings and paintings to express and explain the Manichaeist creation and history of the world.

In 1969 in Upper Egypt a Greek parchment codex dating to c. AD 400 was discovered. It is now designated Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis because it is conserved at the

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University of Cologne. Combining a hagiographic account of Mani's career and spiritual development with information about Mani's religious teachings, and containing fragments of his writings, it is now considered the most reliable source of information about the historical Mani.

All other medieval and pre-medieval accounts of his life are either legendary or hagiographical, such as the account in Fihrist by Ibn al-Nadim, purportedly by al-Biruni, or were anti-Manichaean polemics, such as the 4th-century Acta Archelai. Among these medieval accounts, Ibn al-Nadim's account of Mani's life and teachings is generally speaking the most reliable and exhaustive. Notably, the (in other accounts prominent) image of the "Third Ambassador" is only represented through a brief mention of the name bashir, "messenger of good news", and the topos of "Mani the Painter" (which in other Islamic accounts almost completely replaces that of "the founder of a religion") is completely absent.

The Manichaean Teachings

From these and other sources, it is possible to derive an almost complete description of the detailed Manichaean vision. According to Mani, the unfolding of the universe takes place with three "creations". Manichaeism taught an elaborate dualistic cosmology describing the struggle between a good, spiritual world of light, and an evil, material world of darkness. Through an ongoing process that takes place in human history, light is gradually removed from the world of matter and returned to the world of light, whence it came. Its beliefs were based on local Mesopotamian religious movements and Gnosticism. It revered Mani as the final prophet after Zoroaster, Gautama Buddha, and Jesus.

Mani's teaching dealt with the origin of evil, by addressing a theoretical part of the problem of evil by denying the omnipotence of God and postulating two opposite powers. Manichaean theology taught a dualistic view of good and evil. A key belief in Manichaeism is that the powerful, though not omnipotent good power (God), was opposed by the eternal evil power (devil). Humanity, the world and the soul are seen as the by-product of the battle between God's proxy, Primal Man, and the devil. The human person is seen as a battle-ground for these powers: the soul defines the person, but it is under the influence of both light and dark. This contention plays out over the world as well as the human body—neither the Earth nor the flesh were seen as intrinsically evil, but rather possessed portions of both light and dark. Natural phenomena (such as rain) were seen as the physical manifestation of this spiritual contention. Therefore, the Manichaean view explained the existence of evil by positing a flawed creation in the formation of which God took no part and which constituted rather the product of a battle by the devil against God.

Manichaeism presented an elaborate description of the conflict between the spiritual world of light and the material world of darkness. The beings of both the world of darkness and the world of light have names. There are numerous sources for the details of the Manichaean belief. There are two portions of Manichaean scriptures that are probably the closest thing to the original Manichaean writings in their original languages that will ever be available. These are the Syriac-Aramaic quotation by the Nestorian Christian Theodore bar Konai, in his Syriac "Book of Scholia" (Ketba de-Skolionz, 8th century), and the Middle Persian sections of Mani's Shabuhragan discovered at Turpan (a summary of Mani's teachings prepared for Shapur I).

From these and other sources, it is possible to derive an almost complete description of the detailed Manichaean vision. According to Mani, the unfolding of the universe takes place with three "creations"

The First Creation: Originally, good and evil existed in two completely separate realms, one the World of Light, ruled by the Father of Greatness together with his five Shekhinas (divine attributes of light), and the other the World of Darkness, ruled by the King of Darkness. At a certain point, the Kingdom of Darkness notices the World of Light, becomes greedy for it and attacks it. The Father of Greatness, in the first of three "creations" (or "calls"), calls to the Mother of Life, who sends her son Original Man (Nāšā Qaḏmāyā in Aramaic), to battle with the attacking powers of Darkness, which include the Demon of Greed. The Original Man is armed with five different shields of light (reflections of the five Shekhinas), which he loses to the forces of darkness in the ensuing battle, described as a kind of "bait" to trick the forces of darkness, as the forces of darkness greedily consume as much light as they can. When the Original Man comes to, he is trapped among the forces of darkness.

The Second Creation: Then the Father of Greatness begins the Second Creation, calling to the Living Spirit, who calls to his five sons, and sends a call to the Original Man (Call then becomes a Manichaean deity). An answer (Answer becomes another Manichaean deity) then returns from the Original Man to the World of Light. The Mother of Life, the Living Spirit, and his five sons begin to create the universe from the bodies of the evil beings of the World of Darkness, together with the light that they have swallowed. Ten heavens and eight earths are created, all consisting of various mixtures of the evil material beings from the World of Darkness and the swallowed light. The sun, moon, and stars are all created from light recovered from the World of Darkness. The waxing and waning of the moon is described as the moon filling with light, which passes to the sun, then through the Milky Way, and eventually back to the World of Light.

The Third Creation: Great demons (called archons in bar-Khonai's account) are hung out over the heavens, and then the Father of Greatness begins the Third Creation. Light is recovered from out of the material bodies of the male and female evil beings and demons, by causing them to become sexually aroused in greed, towards beautiful images of the beings of light, such as the Third Messenger and the Virgins of Light. However, as soon as the light is expelled from their bodies and falls to the earth (some in the form of abortions – the source of fallen angels in the Manichaean myth), the evil beings continue to swallow up as much of it as they can to keep the light inside of them. This results eventually in the evil beings swallowing huge quantities of light, copulating, and producing Adam and Eve. The Father of Greatness then sends the Radiant Jesus to awaken Adam, and to enlighten him to the true source of the light that is trapped in his material body. Adam and Eve, however, eventually copulate, and produce more human beings, trapping the light in bodies of mankind throughout human history. The appearance of the Prophet Mani was another attempt by the World of Light to reveal to mankind the true source of the spiritual light imprisoned within their material bodies.

Manichaeism was quickly successful and spread far through the Aramaic-speaking regions. It thrived between the third and seventh centuries, and at its height was one of the most widespread religions in the world. Manichaean churches and scriptures existed as far east as China and as far west as the Roman Empire. It was briefly the main rival to Christianity before the spread of Islam in the competition to replace classical paganism. Beginning with the pagan emperor Diocletian, Manichaeism was persecuted by the Roman state and was eventually stamped out of the Roman Empire. Manichaeism survived longer in the east than in the west, and it appears to have finally faded away after the 14th century in south China, contemporary to the decline of the Church of the East in Ming China.)

THE FUNDAMENTAL EPISTLE OF MANI

Manichaeus' Epistola Fundamenti
Source: Augustinus Contra Epistolam Manichaei quam vocant; Fundamenti liber unus et De Natura Boni contra Manichaeos liber unus
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 270 AD

(The Fundamental Epistle or Letter of Foundation (Latin: Epistola Fundamenti) was one of the sacred writings of the Manichaean religion, written by the founder Mani (c. 210–276 AD), originally in Syriac. The exact nature of this writing's relationship with the Manichaean canon remains ambiguous. Since none of the original Syriac writings of Manichaeism remain, we only have translations of small sections of this book, made by either Manichaeans or anti-Manichaeans. One of the most well-known references to this book is found in the writings of Saint Augustine (354-430 AD), who before converting to Christianity, was a Manichaean "hearer" for a number of years. In two of his anti-Manichaean books, he quotes a few paragraphs of the Fundamental Epistle.)

Text:

Mani, by providence of God the Father, Apostle of Jesus the Christ:

These are the healthful words from the perennial and living source, he who first hears and believes them, then guards what they teach, shall never be subject to death, but will enjoy eternal and glorious life.

Happy indeed may he be deemed who has been initated in this divine Gnosis whereby he will be liberated and abide in everlasting life!

May the peace of the invisible God and the knowledge of the Truth be with the holy and most dear brothers who believe in the heavenly precepts and at the same time fully keep them!

May also the right hand of Light guard and save you from every evil assault and from the snares of the world!

May the pity of the Holy Spirit open your heart and let you see your soul with your own eyes!

THE GOSPEL OF MANI (MANICHAEUS)

or the Living Gospel - The Opening Words
(A fragment of a writing ascribed to Mani in Sogdian and Persian.)

Text:

The most Beloved Son, the Saviour Jesus, the head of all these gifts,

Who is a refuge for the holy and a blessing for the wise, is exalted.

May he be praised!

The Maiden of Light, the chief of all wisdom, is exalted.

May she be praised!

The Holy Religion, by the power of the Father, by the blessing of the Mother and by the wisdom of the Son, is exalted. May it be praised!

Well-being and blessing to the sons of goodness and to the speakers and hearers of the true Word!

Praise and honor to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit and to the holy recollection!

He (Mani) teaches the word of the Living Gospel for Eye and Ear, and he preaches the fruit of righteousness.

I, Mani, the Apostle of Jesus the Friend, by the will of the Father, the true God, of Him, by whom I have become ...

Everything that is and everything that was and will be is by His Power.

The blessed ones will receive this message, the wise ones understand it, the strong ones will take on the wisdom of the wise ....

THE MANICHAEAN PSALMS OF THOMAS

A Manichaean Psalm-Book in Coptic
Edited by C. R. C. Allberry, 1938
Translation: Saeve Soederbergh, 1949
Estimated Range of Dating: 4th - 8th centuries A.D.

(The Psalms of Thomas (more correctly Psalms of Thom) are a set of 2nd century Judeo-Christian psalms found appended to the end of a Coptic Manichaean psalm book, which was in turn part of the Medinet Madi Coptic Texts uncovered in 1928. Published in 1938 by C. R. C. Allberry, Internet versions only comprise 12 numbered psalms.

The themes and content of the psalms bear a considerable resemblance to the Hymn of the Pearl from the Acts of Thomas. In 1949 Torgny Save-Soderbergh suggested that the psalms were largely based upon canonical Mandaean texts (despite Jesus being mentioned positively in two psalms), his work on the psalms demonstrating that Mandaeism did not derive from Manichaeism, as was formerly commonly believed.

Nevertheless, considerable controversy continues as to whether the Thomas or Thom referred to could be the Apostle Thomas, Mani's disciple, also called Thomas, or the Gnostic concept of the divine twin. This is because the latter is referred to in other parts of the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-book as a distinct person from the Apostle. The enigma has since deepened with the publication of the Cologne Mani Codex in the 1970s, which showed that Mani himself came out of a baptizing Christian sect called the Elkasaites (= Elcesaites) descendants of the Ebionites.)

THOMAS PSALM 1 - CONCERNING THE LIGHT

My father, the glad light, the glad light, the glorious.

My father, the glad light, the glad and blessed light.

My father, the glad light, the glad and honoured light.

He evoked the aeons of light, he appointed them to the joy of his greatness.

He evoked the aeons of peace, in whom there is no waning or diminution.

He evoked the aeons of light, he summoned his sons and set them up in them.

He evoked the aeons of peace, he summoned his richnessses and set them up in them.

He evoked the aeons of rest, he summoned his angels and set them up in them.

He established dwellings of life and set up living images in them.

He set up living images in them which never perish.

He evoked clouds of brightness, dropping down dew and life,

He summoned a holy fire, giving a sweet burning.

He evoked a wind and and air, breathing the breath of the living.

He evoked holy mountains, sending up fragrant roots.

They are all in agreement and concord: there is no waning or diminution in them, they are rejoicing and being glad in the glory, full, abiding in eternity.

I know not where the son of evil saw them.

He rose up saying "May I be one like them?"

Where did the son of evil see them?

He rose up saying, "May I be one like them?"

Where did the son of evil see them - the poor one who has nothing, no riches in his treasure,

no eternity in his possession, no riches in his treasure?

He rose up saying, "May I be one like them?"

He caught the hand of seven companions and his twelve helpers.

He caught the hand of his seven companions, he went, he looked to them in a moment, in order that, if any should fall and come down, he might go and be one like them.

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The great father therefore took the first step.

He strengthened all his angels, saying: "Assemble, all of you, and guard yourselves from the eye of the evil one which has looked up".

One of the sons of light looked from on high and saw him.

He said to his rich brethren:

"O my brethren, the sons of light, in whom there is no waning or dissolution:

I looked down to the abyss,

I saw the evil one, the son of evil,

I saw the evil one, the son of evil, desiring to wage war.

I saw their cruel armor which is ready to make the war, I saw snares set and nets cast and spread, so that the bird which should come might be caught and not escape from them.

I saw them reclining, drinking stolen wine, eating plundered flesh."

The little one passed his months until he . . .

He that is small among them that are on high stepped forth.

He armed himself and girt his loins.

The son of the brightnesses and the richnesses armed himself and girt his loins.

He leapt and sped down into the abyss.

He leapt, he came into their midst that he might make war with them

He humbled the son of evil and his seven companions and his twelve ministers.

He uprooted their tent and threw it down.

He put out their burning fire.

He fettered the poor wretches that were at hand, thinking to make war.

He seized their cruel armour, that had been provided to make a war.

He broke their snares that were set.

He burst also their nets that were spread.

He let the fish out to their sea.

He let the birds fly in the air.

He let the sheep into their fold.

He rolled up his wealth, he took it.

He took it up to the land of rest.

That which the living ones took therefore was saved.

They will return again to that which is theirs.

THOMAS PSALM 2 - CONCERNING THE COMING OF THE SOUL

They that are not as I am made themselves like me.

They that are unworthy of me made me angry.

The wretches that belong not to the house of my father rose, they took arms against me, they rose, they took arms against me, making war with me, making war with me, fighting for my holy robe, for my enlightening light, that it might lighten their darkness, for my sweet fragrance, that it might sweeten their foulness, because of my brethren, the sons of light, that they might give a peace to their land, because of my sister, the hour of light, that she might be a strengthening of their building.

A part therefore went forth into my robe, it went, it lightened their darkness: my sweet fragrance went, it sweetened their stink; my brethren, the sons of light, went, they gave a peace to their land; my sister went, the hour of light, she was a strengthening of their building.

They take arms against me, making war with me, crying out against me,

like men going to subdue a camp; they drew the swords against me,

like men going to kill lions; they stretched their hands to the bow against me,

like thieves going to attack a man, they did not stir from warring with me until they had made a wall against me:

the weak and paralyzed ones continually crept, they did not stir until they had made a wall against me: they established a watch outside me . . . the bell was made to go round because of me, my good fortune came on my behalf, the wretches thinking in their heart that I was a man for whom none would seek.

I therefore was looking towards my father, that he might send aid, looking towards my brethren, the sons of light, that they might come, tracking me.

My father therefore sent the aid to me, my brethren arose, they became one with me.

Through a cry which only my brethren uttered, their wall tottered and fell, their wall tottered and fell, their watches were unable to stop them, nor was he that goes round with the bell and cries good fortune found, against the cry which my brethren uttered.

The demons ran to the darkness, the demons ran to the darkness, trembling seized their archon entirely.

But I said to my brethren, "Suffer me yet this hour".

I was quieting my brethren that they might not destroy their firmament: for I await my robe until it comes and clothes him that shall wear it.

I will await my enlightening light until it strips itself of their darkness.

I will await my pleasant fragrance until it returns to its place.

I will await my sister, the hour of light, until she casts their corruption away.

I will await my brethren, the sons of light, until their stature is completed for them.

When therefore my shining robe comes and clothes him that shall wear it: when my pleasant fragrance strips itself of their stink and returns to its place: when my lightening light leaves the darkness: when my brethren, the sons of light, are complete in their stature: when my sister, the hour of light, goes up and sees the land of light: then I will strike my foot on the earth and sink their darkness down.

I will smite their height with my head and shake their firmament and the stars shall fall down like hail . . .

I will uproot the darkness and cast it out and plant the light in its place, I will uproot the evil and cast it out and plant the good in its place.

The world shall be full of glory, the earth shall be without suspicion, the whole world shall contain the righteous, they of the earth shall dwell in peace, there being no more rebel from henceforth, no name of sin shall be uttered again, the rich ones of light shall rejoice on every side without any grief.

That which the living ones took was saved, they will return again to that which is their own.

THOMAS PSALM 3 - CONCERNING THE FIRST MAN

The ship whose keel is the dawn, the ropes of light are they that are on it, its helmsmen are glorious ones, its crew are clothed with the dawn, they that bring the treasure of the mighty one that is upon it, immeasurable and countless, laden with the wealth of the living ones which can never be counted.

I know not where the son of evil saw it.

He took thieves and sent them to it, the thieves poured upon the ship, they drew it out into the middle of the sea, they wounded its helmsmen, they that were entrusted with the treasure, they were endangered.

They seized the treasure of the mighty one which is measureless and countless, they stole the wealth of the mighty one which is measureless and countless, they stole the wealth of the living ones which can never be counted.

The treasure which they stole from it they spread and scattered to their worlds, they took roots and fragrant grasses and planted them in their land, they filled it.

They took beryls and jewels, nailed them and fixed them to their firmament.

The hungry ate and were sated, the prostrate ones arose, the naked were clothed, they bound diadems upon their heads, the poor became rich and gloried in things that were not theirs.

The report therefore reached the mighty one that an enemy had overtaken his ship and its helmsmen were wounded and they that were entrusted with the treasure were endangered.

He called an envoy, a storehouse of life, which is the mind, he called an envoy and sent him forth unto the ship, saying, "Go to the place hither; tend its helmsmen; set them up that were entrusted with the treasure; dig up their land and upturn the fragrant roots; destroy and tumble down their firmament and cast down the jewels and the beryls; gather all the treasure of the mighty one and take it and put it aboard the ship; dishonour them, the poor ones, and cast the diadem from their head; dishonour the poor ones that glory in things that are not theirs; aid the righteous that there may be sent up to them the distilled part."

Then he armed himself and girt himself at once, the son of the lights and the richnesses, he armed himself and girt his loins; he leapt and came forth unto the ship; he tended its helmsmen; he aided its faithful ones; he dug up their land with the spade; he tore up the fragrant roots and took them; he destroyed their firmament; he cast the beryls and the jewels down; he dishonoured them, the poor ones; he cast the diadem from their head; he helped his righteous that all the distilled part might be sent up to them on high; he strengthened the ship and set a bulwark on it and took it up as a gift to the mighty one; he took it up as a gift to the mighty one; peacefulness came to the land of light; the ship sent a palm forth; its helmsmen came to that which is theirs.

THOMAS PSALM 4 - CONCERNING THE FIRST MAN: THAT OF THE CROSS OF LIGHT.

The youth groaned and wept in the pit which is at the bottom of Hades; the youth groaned and wept, his cry rose up: "Hast thou not heard, O great brightness?

Has none informed you that Hades has been stirred up and rebelled and they of the abyss have put their arms upon them?

The false gods that have rebelled have taken their armor against me.

The goddesses, the daughters of shame, have set up their armor against me; the goddesses, the daughters of shame, have set up their spears: the stinking and foul demons have prepared to make war with me."

When the mighty one heard, when they told him the word, he called an envoy, the Adamas of light, the son of the . . . ; he called the Adamas of light, the pitiless, the subduer of the rebels, saying, "Go down, go, O Adamas; succour the youth; succour the youth that is beneath the pit that is at the bottom of Hades; the demons, -- put fetters on their feet; the goddesses, -- put iron on their hands the stinking and foul devils, -- let their neck break beneath the collar; the false gods that have rebelled, -- bind them beneath the dark mountain; strengthen and encourage the youth who is beneath the pit which is Hades below; strengthen and encourage the youth, and go and come up before thy father".

The Adamas armed himself and sped down; he succoured the youth; he succoured the youth beneath the pit of Hades which is below; he put fetters on the feet of the demons; he put iron on the hands of the goddesses; the stinking and foul devils, -- he made their neck break beneath the collar; the false gods also that rebelled he bound beneath the dark mountain; he strengthened and encouraged the youth that was beneath the pit of Hades below; he strengthened and encouraged the youth; he went and came up before his father; his father said, "All hail to thee".

The rich ones of light said "Greeting and praise, receive greeting and praise, O youth, for thou hast found rest, O little one".

THOMAS PSALM 5 - THE SOUL, WHICH IS THE FIRST MAN.

O the treasure of the great ones of life, the jewel of the living mighty ones.

O the great treasure of the living ones. Who are you from the storehouses?

Who are you from the storehouses?

He cast him beneath the dark mountain, the dwelling of them of the Hebdomad.

They of the Hebdomad came, they caused the treasure to run and it came forth.

They set sixty snares for me, they spread sixty traps; they smeared madness on their snares; they put fire in their traps, the wretches thinking in their heart that I should fall into the snares and be defeated.

But they know not, they of the Hebdomad, that my eyes see the snares, my eyes see the snares, my heart marks the traps.

I joined my feet, I seized them, the traps . . . . . of the . . . .

I run, they run after me . . . . me in the world: I run, they run after me, that . . . . . forth to the man, for he has escaped from the snares,

he has got free from the traps.

I turned back, I said the them, the weaklings, the wretches that run after me, "Go away, go, you of the . . . . ; go, attend to your snares; go, attend to your snares and let your snares attend to you.

Go, sink down in the madness and fall into the fire that is kindled; I am not of the sons of the world that I should fall into the snares and be caught.

I am a . . . . of the living ones, a lamp of light entire". I walked therefore, I . . . , I walked, until I reached the bank of the Euphrates: on the bank of the river . . . . there is a youth sitting, making music, the youth there sits and makes music in the scent of life which dwelt upon him.

He said, "My heart, be a mountain for me: my conscience, grow for me into a mind.

My heart, be a mountain for me.

Be . . . . . and the living ones send after you . . . . . how long,

for they took an envoy, they sent him after me, he grasped the . . . . of my hand, he brought me up to the land of peace.

THOMAS PSALM 6 - CONCERNING THE LIVING SPIRIT

I was clothed, as I stood, in a robe without spot, a robe without spot, wherein there was no waning or diminution ever.

The living ones passed my cry . . . . . my care, I arose; they grasped . . . . . me to that which . . . . gave to me; the light no longer . . . . they said to me, "Thou . . . the light . . . . . full of light; when the light therefore goes to its place the darkness shall fall and not rise again henceforth.

THOMAS PSALM 7 - THAT OF THE LIVING SPIRIT.

O wise one of the . . . . . who came to subdue the rebels of the word.

He floated in great power, he appeared in great brightness; in his power and the power of his father he came, he made war with them; he subdued their camps; he hurt their height; . . . he came, he caught . . . . . , he threw the diadem from his head, he threw the diadem from his head, he . . . . . of the fire, he fettered the tyrants of the earth, he took from them their kingdom, he deprived them of their kingdom, he caused them to be led away to the punishment, he seized the authorities, he wrested from them their power, he cast them from the . . . of the fire, he closed the fountains of fire, he closed the fountains of fire that they might not again send up darkness, he quenched the furnaces of fire, he brought the light he set it in its place, he closed the doors of Hades that the righteous might not be shut in in them; he stopped, he hindered the course that . . . . . he seized the goddesses and the gods, he wrest their vehicles from them, he took their vehicles from them, he appointed them to . . . . . of the living, he blocked the troubled rivers, he distilled the clear waters, he uprooted

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the darkness and cast it out; he brought the light and planted it in its place; he closed all the fountains, he put the . . . . . upon them,

He spread out the great sea, he built the ships and launched them on it, the ships of the great traders, the faithful men of truth, the barks of the merchants, that will convey up the distilled part to life.

He subdued the great sea, he subdued the rebels also that are in it, he sank its rebels also in it, he set guards over them to watch them, he set up them that fell, he healed them that were wounded, he awakened them that sleep, he gave memory to them that forgot, he gave the light to the eyes of the righteous, that they might go up and see the land of light, he gathered them that were scattered, he enlightened the poor ones of darkness, he appointed and made straight the course which his living father enjoined on him, he made smooth the royal road that the righteous might go upon it, the righteous might go upon it and see the land of light.

Brightness is set upon them there, a diadem is bound upon their head and they are added to the number of the angels.

He planted him a plant in the lives, he called his beloved ones, he set them up upon it that they might purify the seed and take it forth . . . . . and purify . . . the seed and take it forth upon the ships and the barks.

On those ships of light therefore shall your souls go aboard.

THOMAS PSALM 8 - THAT OF THE ENVOY.

From the ranks of the kingdom, from the ranks of the exalted one, one of the sons of light [righteous Jews, a term from the Dead Sea Scrolls.] did . . . . . of the darkness.

An image of light was revealed in the dwelling-place of the beasts, an image of light was revealed in the land of the foul stink . . . . balsam spread.

The worlds and they of the . . . gathered and came to see his image, they grovelled, they became mad because of his brightness, they arose that they might mark his likeness, they fell, they became mad by reason of his beauty, they arose that they might mark his beauty, they were sweetened with his fragrance, they grovelled, they bent their knees, they worshipped him, they set up their . . . . , they sang to him:

"You have come in peace, O son of the brightnesses, son of the lights and richnesses.

You have come in peace, O son of the brightnesses, who shall be the illuminer of our worlds.

Come and rule over our land and set peace in our city".

The demons were saying this with their mouth, yet planning evil nevertheless in their heart: Come, let us cast him into the stocks, let us set a fetter on him, let us shut him up in a cage and put him in the world and secure him.

Let us shut him up in the cage, that he may not return and . . . . . the word that the demons spoke in truth, the living ones desired to set it up, they made it true, that which they planned, f . . . . . or . . . . . his . . . . . from them.

When . . . . . had gone to . . . . , the iron went to their hands, they were shut up in the cage, because they loved not the truth . . . .

But the great light spoke and said to them . . . . .

It is not possible that the glorious light should go to the land of the demons of the darkness.

It is not possible again that the fragrant smell should . . . . the land of the stink,

It is not possible that the image of the living man should come to the dwelling-places of the beasts.

The light shall go to the light, the fragrance shall go to the fragrance, the image of the living man shall go to the living land from which it came.

The light shall return to its place, the darkness shall fall and not rise again.

THOMAS PSALM 9 - THAT OF THE PERFECT MAN.

There was a man weeping down in the abyss: his cry was lifted up.

He said, ". . . . . to me.

Have the householders of the house . . . . . taking up our burden upon them?

. . . . . in the world, while . . . . . daily, his burden being thrown . . .

I will throw the burden and dash it from me; the darkness shall fall and not rise again."

From the heights of truth the holy one did . . . . his rest:

"Bear that which the enduring one bears, that you may find that which the enduring one finds.

Strengthen yourself, stand fast, O righteous one; strengthen yourself, stand fast yet this hour.

For the lord of this house, the seducer of the whole world, has been given a number of months,

a number of years are in his hand . . . . . shall be ended now and thy aeons all be fulfilled.

His number shall . . . . and the world shall fall and not rise again.

Then the light shall go to the light and the darkness be blotted out from its place;

he that is below the . . . . shall come up, he that is cast in the stocks shall be released.

The souls of the lawless shall suffer in the world,

the men . . . . . up unto him whom they have guarded.

THOMAS PSALM 10 - CONCERNING THE MOLDING OF THE . . . .

. . . . a . . . , a king's son, a king's son, . one that belongs to the princes.

He was . . . . . the princes, they did . . . . . .

they conveyed me from temple to temple, they took me, they cast me into two rivers, the two rivers received me, they took me, they cast me out into the great sea.

Seven full years did I spend, receiving nourishment in the sea.

At the end of the seven years I, the little one, . . . shore, that I might come to land; when they were about to receive me . . . . . blatta; when the worlds . . . . . but then when I saw them I wept.

THOMAS PSALM 11 - . . . . . CONCERNING HIS SON.

The lion took my fair daughter, he seized her, he took her within his lair with his great dragon also.

When they had taken her into their pit the lion roared within in his lair, in his lair, his companions also gathered, the dragon whistled and hissed, all his . . . gathered unto him.

Lo, they with all their powers also roar out in every place, not appearing unto my daughter lest their power should be lessened.

Therefore I call up with my cry unto the mighty one, the great one of all the powers; I . . . . my father, the son . . . . . whose garment is set upon the universe, saying: "If I have done wrong to the great lion, then let the lion eat me in his lair, if I have done wrong to the great dragon, let him swallow me here . . . . . but if I have not done wrong to the lion . . . . . from his midst, let me be able to escape from his lair and bring my daughter away from him . . . . . the father of us all, the garment of the . . . . . all.

I struck all their ranks, ... their nets also, I opened up their lair; I cast . . . . . into it, I . . . . the great dragon; the serpent, his consort also, I enmeshed;

I took my daughter from them and set her high above them all; I shot at their troxos until I had thrown it beneath them all, in order that I and my daughter might together destroy all the nets, we . . . . the great lion and the dragon out of the universe, we reaching the time of the . . . . . in to the land of the righteous, and that we might . . . . . land which they . . . . . they know it; from the midst of the second lair brought my daughter into the . . . . . they also shall rejoice . . . . . shall come to pass and the bride shall go to her bride-chamber.

THOMAS PSALM 12 - . . . . OF THE SAVIOUR

Jesus dug a river in the world; he dug a river, even he of the sweet name. He dug it with the spade of truth, he dredged it with the basket of wisdom, the stones which he dredged from it are like drops of incense; all the waters that are in it are roots of light and . . . . .

three ships sail, they voyage in the river of testing: one laden, one half-freighted, the third empty, there being nothing in it.

The ship which is full and laden goes in it, being . . . . ; it does not fear . . . . . voyages . . . . .

That which is half-freighted . . . . . bank . . . . . bank . . . . . which is empty, It arrived at the middle, it . . . . . that which is all laden, it arrives; that which is empty is left behind.

Woe to it, the empty one, that comes empty to the place of the customs: it shall be asked, having nothing to give.

Woe to it, for it has nothing aboard: it shall be despoiled evilly as it deserves and sent back to the metaaggismos.

It shall suffer what the corpses suffer, for they called into his ear, he did not hear.

THE SWEET TEACHING OF THE SINLESS

An Apocryphal Epistle to Mar Ammo, Ascribed to Mani.
(A fragment of a writing ascribed to Mani, in Parthian.)

...And if someone strikes you, do not strike him back. And if someone hates you, do not hate him in return. And if someone envies you, do not envy him for your part. And if someone is angry with you, speak kindly with him always. And do not do yourself what you detest in another person. Rather, one should endure insults and other abuses from one`s superiors, from one`s equals and one`s subordinates; nobody can make the patient dènàvar (devout one) waver even slightly. It is like someone throwing flowers at an elephant. Or it is like raindrops falling upon a stone; the raindroups could not melt the stone. Likewise, insults and abuses should not cause a patient denavar to waver even slightly.

There are times when the denavar should hold himself as high as Mount Sumeru. And there are times when the denavar should appear as a pupil, and there are times when he should appear as a teacher or a servant or a lord.

Likewise, in this sinful time, the pure denavar should sit down in pious meditation (andesisn) and should turn away from sin and develop what is good ....

. . . . . (a number of lines illegible)

And I, Mar Mani, am this sinless one (nàg) who is the writer and you, Mar Ammo, are the addressee. And he whose name is Akundag is Ahriman (the Devil). I have spoken these words so that everyone who pay heed to them and listen to them attentively. For everyone who hears and believes them and keep them in mind and serves through pious deeds shall find salvation from this cycle of rebirths, and shall be saved from his sins. For I, Mar Mani, and you, Mar Ammo, and all those people of old as well as all those fortunate ones that are reborn in this time, and likewise those that shall be reborn in the future, shall be saved from this cycle of rebirth through this behavior and this humility. For in this cycle of rebirths (this life) there is nothing good except for the merit accumulated by men of understanding and their pious deeds. Those who follow me, Mar Mani, and put their hope in God Ohrmizd and want the pure and righteous elect to be their leaders, they are the ones that are saved and find salvation from this cycle of rebirths and attain eternal redemption.

(Here ends the sweet teaching about the sinless.)

PSALMS TO JESUS

The Manichaean Psalms to Jesus
Found near the ancient Lycopolis, Egypt.
Source: Cologne Mani Codex, in Greek.
Estimated Range of Dating: 5th century A.D.

JESUS PSALM 1

Come, my Savior Jesus, do not forsake me.

Jesus, thee have I loved, I have given my soul . . . . . armour (?);

I have not given it rather to the foul lusts of the, world. Jesus, do not forsake me.

Lo, the glorious armour wherein thou hast girded thy . . . holy commandment, I have put it upon my limbs, I have fought against my enemies. Jesus, do not forsake me.

I, wandered into the whole world, I, witnessed all the things that are in it, I saw that all men run vainly too and fro.

Jesus, do not forsake me.

O how long is the evil genius and madness of the Darkness wherein they have been bound ; for they have forgotten God, who came and gave himself up to death for them.

Jesus, do not forsake me.

When I saw these things, my Lord, I took thy hope and made myself strong upon it. Thy yoke which thou didst enjoin on me, I did not refuse it, my Lord.

Jesus, do not forsake me.

Thy excellent commandments which thou didst enjoin on me I have fulfilled them my Savior.

Thy lamps of Light, I have not suffered my enemies to put them out.

Jesus, do not forsake me.

Now I call to thee in the anguish of my soul that thou mayest have compassion upon me; for the powers of heaven and earth desire to submerge me.

Jesus, do not forsake me.

O my prayers and my fasts and my virginity which I have perfected in thy name; for this is the hour of dread, wherein I need thee.

I beheld my judge, I was not confounded at all in my deeds that I have done. He gave me victoriously into the hands of the angels and they escorted me to his kingdom.

Jesus, do not forsake me.

My brethren, be not hesitant in doing good by night and by day; for that which a man plants the same shall he reap.

Jesus, do not forsake me.

The light-armed in the fight consume one another for a garland that passes away; and they shall be stripped of their . . . and shall pay the penalty for that which they have done.

Jesus. do not forsake me.

He that . . . after you is a great one; for you have conquered heaven and earth, the powers and principalities, and you shall rest yourselves in your new Aeon.

Glory and Victory to our Lord, our Light, Mani, and his holy Elect, and the soul of the blessed Mary, Theona.

JESUS PSALM 2

Come to me, my Savior, the haven of my trust.

Bestir thyself, O soul that watchest in the chains that have long endured, and remember the ascent into the air of joy; for a deadly lure is the sweetness of this flesh.

May the first that . . . . to thee persuade thy heart, and do thou fight for thyself to put senility behind thee and become new again.

Jesus, the new God, to whose hope I have hung: I have made myself strong upon his coming:

He was not born in a womb corrupted: not even the mighty were counted worthy of him for him to dwell beneath their

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roof, that he should be confined in a womb of a woman of low stature (?). Lo, the glory of my faith that shall help me to the end, that I have purified thee, my God.

Thy kin are these sure seals that are upon thee, O soul, by reason of which no demon can touch thee; for thou hast worshipped aright him, who has broken the goad (?) of Error, thou hast laid thy treasures in the heavens . . .

JESUS PSALM 5

Come, my Lord Jesus, the Savior of souls, who hast saved me from the drunkenness and Error of the world .

Thou art the Paraclete whom I have loved since my youth: thy Light shines forth in me like the lamp of light:

Thou hast driven away from me the oblivion of Error: Thou hast taught me to bless God and his Lights.

I have distinguished this pair of trees of this pair of kingdoms . . . . . the bitter fountain and the holy essence of God.

The Light I have distinguished from the Darkness, life from death, Christ and the Church I have distinguished from the deceit of the world .

I have known my soul and this body that lies upon it, that they are enemies to each other before the creations, the . . . . . of divinity and the hostile power that are distinguished always.

The body of death indeed and the soul are never in accord.

The God of this Aeon has shut the heart of the unbelieving and has sunk them in his Error and the deceit of drunkenness. He has made them blaspheme against the God of Truth and his . . . . . .

. . . his power and his wisdom (Sophia).

If it was God who created the evil and the good and Christ and Satan. . . . . .

. . . . ., then who sent Jesus, that he might . . . and work among the Jews until they slew him.

When Adam and Eve were created and put in Paradise, who was it that ordered them: 'Eat not of the Tree', that they might not distinguish the evil from the good?

Another fought against him and made them eat of the Tree.

He cries out in the Law saying: 'I am God . . . .

. . . . no cluster falls from a tree without the Lord God; . . . . to fall into a snare nor to . . . . in a city; who then led Adam astray and crucified the Saviour.

The Saviour and his apostles and they that belong to the race of life revealed the Darkness and the essence of the Enemy; they wept for the body of death, the son of the great . . . this lion-faced dragon, and his mother also, Matter.

The Light has shone forth for you, o you that sleep in Hell, the knowledge of the Paraclete, the ray of Light; drink of the water of memory, cast away oblivion. He that is wounded and desires healing, let him come to the physician.

I have forsaken the world and its Error, I have loved my Savior , prayed, fasted , given alms . . . from my youth up, because of the hour of need, Come now, my Lord Jesus, and help me.

All hail, O busy soul that has finished her fight and subdued the ruling-power , the body and its affections.

Receive the garland from the hand of the Judge and the gifts of Light, and ascend to thy kingdom and have thy rest.

Glory and honour to our Father, the God of Truth.

Victory and blessing to his beloved son, Jesus, and his Holy Spirit, our Lord the Paraclete, and all his holy Elect.

Glory to the blessed soul of the blessed Mary, Theona.

JESUS PSALM 7

Jesus, the only-begotten, save me.

The body of the earth I will put off me: the . . . . . old. . . I will forsake it, the fire of the . . . . . of guile, the camp of the enemies . . . . . through the armour of the Paraclete I will conquer them.

I have renounced thee, o devil; the angels of the . . . . .

. . . . of the demons. I will strip myself of the world and the likeness of these five stars, and I will destroy the guile of the Archons which I wear and I will shine in the remembrance of the Paraclete.

O Mind that subdues the Matter, spread thy mercy upon my spirit. I will anchor in thy congregation, I, the new man, and receive all the gifts which thou hast promised me, which are the victory in thy eternal kingdom.

Jesus is the first gift that was given: Jesus is the holy flower of the Father: Jesus is the first to sit upon the luminaries: Jesus is the Perfect Man in the Pillar: Jesus is the resurrection of them that have died in the church.

Thou art he that delivered me to the fight in the beginning: thou art the second who didst give me thy right hand: thou too art the third who didst shine forth with thy Light for me.

Thou too didst receive the victory in the fourth war.

Save me now, I beseech thee, my Lord.

I call unto thee, o victor eternal: hear my cry, o compassionate one, and let thy members cleanse me, and do thou wash me in thy holy waters and make me spotless, even as I am.

Lo, the time has drawn near, may I return to my habitations.

Thou art the way, thou art the door of life eternal, in truth the son of God, my Savior, who has taught me to wear his holy commandments .

The weapons of the enemy, I bring them to the ground, thy . . . .

. . . . . being to me a landing-place.

. . . . . for ever; thou art the . . . . . bend the knee to thee; the armies of the skies are looking for thee; thou also art he unto whom all generations call; thou also art the seal of every wonder; thou also art he who shall give to the victory to the soul of Mary.

JESUS PSALM 10

Christ, my bridegroom, has taken me to his bridechamber,

I have rested with him in the land) of the immortal. My brethren,

I have received my garland.

My land I have beheld, my Fathers I have found, the godly have rejoiced over me, my Aeons have welcomed me.

My brethren, I have received my garland.

There is a gain, my brethren, none shall be able to take it from me: an imperishable treasure, to which thieves find not the way.

My brethren, I have received my garland.

I am like a sheep seeking for its pastor; lo, my true shepherd I have found, he has brought me to my fold again.

My brethren, I have received my garland.

Lo, the fight I have finished; lo, my ship I have brought to the shore, no storm has overwhelmed it, no wave has seized it, I was sitting marveling, like poor men that have been taken prisoner : adoration to the mercy of the Father.

My brethren, I have received my garland.

I was heading for shipwreck before I found the ship of Truth a divine tacking was Jesus who helped me.

Who then shall be able to tell of the gift that came to me?

An unspeakable grace overtook me.

My brethren, I have received my garland.

Take unto you the word of Truth, o men that love God;

The world is nothing, there is no gain in it at all.

My brethren, I have received my garland.

Men are thinking that they are at rest yet they know not that trouble is preparing for them.

My brethren, I have received my garland.

They run and burst forth until the hour overtakes them.

They have been called, they have not understood; they have gone too and fro in vanity.

My brethren, I have received my garland.

I have despised the world so as to give life unto my soul: the things of the flesh I have forsaken, the things of the Spirit I have been in accord with them.

My brethren, I have received my garland.

Since I found my Savior I have walked in his steps.

I have not hung back at all of this garland to receive it.

My brethren, I have received my garland.

O how great is the joy that is prepared for the Perfect . . . .

. . . . . all of you, my brethren, we inherit it.

My brethren, I have received my garland.

. . . . . against this deceitful friend the darts of the . . . . . ye have conquered them.

My brethren, I have received my garland.

Glory and honour to Jesus, the king of the holy ones, and his holy Elect. Victory to the soul of the blessed Mary, Cleopatra.

JESUS PSALM 11

Thou hast been released from the grievous bonds of the flesh: thou hast been garlanded in justification over all thy enemies.

The joyous Image of Christ - thou shalt have thy fill of it now: go thy way therefore victoriously to thy city of Light.

Thou art glad because thou hast mixed with the holy angels: upon thee is set the seal of thy glorious purity.

Thou art joyful because thou hast seen thy divine brethren with whom thou shalt dwell in the Light for ever.

The authority of the flesh - thou hast passed quickly beyond it: thou hast ascended like a swift bird into the air of the Gods.

Thou hast . . . . the nets of souls which is Hades of the dead: therefore shall they not be able to compel thee to serve the . . . . .

Thou hast thrown upon the earth the garment of sickness: thou hast trodden upon overweening pride which is deceitful and cruel.

The bitter darts of lust the murderers of souls, thou hast not tasted, thou, o. holy son undefiled.

Thou hast put to shame the demons and devils of fire: the rivers of dread marvel at thee now.

They summon thee today to dwell with the angels, because thou hast left the land of the . . . . men of Hades.

The Savior Jesus, lo, he has . . . . . may he give . . . . .

. . . . to thee, thou hast been merciful . . . . the army looks to the. . . . . .

. . . . therefore thou being confident, o holy Righteous one . . . . . from the need . . . .

. . . read books. . . . . .

. . . . the judge who sees the universe. . . . .

. . . . . O Light, he has given(?). . . . . .

. . . . therefore now, for thou hast received the palm . . . . thou . . . find (?). . . . . harbor; the ships which. . . . have. . . . . O . . . . thee with the rays of the . . . . death.

. . . . my son, thou hast finished thy fight thou hast ascended on high from us, thou hast left behind . . . .

I myself therefore now will praise the strength of the . . . .

I will restrain my tears because of the perfection of thy godliness.

Thou hast quickly escaped from the fearful . . . thou hast . . . . at rest to the Paradise of life.

Thou hast reached the place wherein there is neither heat nor cold, where there is neither hunger nor thirst, and the . . . . . body .

Thou art worthy of the Paradise of the Gods . . . . . not preventing thee from rejoicing and singing unto God (?).

Thou hast been victorious, o Mani, thou hast given the victory to them that have shown zeal for God, to thy Elect and thy faithful and the soul of the blessed Mary.

JESUS PSALM 21

Let me be worthy of thy bride-chambers that are full of Light.

Jesus Christ, receive me into thy bride-chambers, thou my Saviour. The body of death which . . . . . I have killed it, I have made it keep far from my members . . . . . indeed put me to shame. I am a maiden unspotted and holy.

Let me see thy image , my holy Father, which I saw before the world was created, before the Darkness presumed to stir up envy against thy Aeons.

Because of it I became a stranger to my kingdom, I severed its root, I went up victoriously on high.

Purify me, my bridegroom, o Saviour, with thy waters . . . . . that are full of grace.

JESUS PSALM 30

Jesus Christ in whom I have believed, show thyself to me quickly and save me.

O merciful and good , full of mercy upon . . . . O First-born, Jesus, whom I have loved, do not forsake me in my tribulations . . .

Since my youth unto thee have I given thanks; I forsook the universe, I believed in thee, I stood in thy name, O only-begotten.

Do not forsake me in my tribulations.

It is heavy upon me, the vesture wherein I stood: all men hating it and persecuting it; but thou it is to whom I gave my soul.

Do not forsake me in my tribulations.

Lo, they of the sky stand against me and they that are below multiply my tribulations; they that are with me also are filled with wrath against my soul.

. . . . . [illegible section]

I beseech thee in entreaties, for thou art the bidden joy of thy children.

I called unto thee: do not turn away from me, but . . . . and bear me quickly and make thy mercy overtake my weakness.

Hear me and make thy succor overtake me, that I may rest from all afflictions and my soul too rejoice because it called unto thee and thou didst answer it.

Glory and victory to our Lord. Mani, the Spirit of Truth, who cometh from the Father, and his holy perfect Elect, and the soul of the blessed (paKapia) Mary, Tbeona, Pshai, Jmnoute.

JESUS PSALM 31

Jesus Christ, in whom I have believed, stand with me in the hour of my need.

I also am one in the number of thy hundred sheep which thy Father gave into thy bands that thou mightest feed them.

The ravenous wolf, the son of the desert, heard my sweet cry and came up raging.

Thy lot fell on me among all my kin: . . . . . until I had finished my fight.

I gave myself up to death trusting in the . . . divine word: 'He that dies shall live, he that bumbles himself shall be exalted'.

glorified in the wisdom that thou gavest me . . . the Sects ; never was man able to contend against me.

Lo, I made thy commandments an armour for me, I armed myself 'and went into the world, I called the . . . . .

When I hear the cry of thy . . . . holy trumpet sounding summer and winter. . . . . .

I follow thee.

I betook myself far from the world, I left my parents, I passed unto the Lord who is greater than heaven and earth.

I hid not from thee, my God, I did not do the will of the body , that thou mightest not leave me in the hour . . . .

For the things of the smaller life pass away, they do not satisfy the . . . the lifetime also of men is a lamp that goes out.

As I was saying these things in tears the Saviour called me: crime, o busy champion, and give the garland of Light to me.

Who can see, my brethren, and return to the earth again and tell all men of the glory which I have received today?

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I beseech you all, my brethren, my kinsmen, do not weep for me, for I have found the reward of my toil.

Glory land victory to our Lord Mani and all his Elect. Victory to the soul of the blessed Mary.

MANICHAEAN PARABLES

Translation: Walter Bruno Henning, 1932–1936
Estimated Range of Dating: 3rd - 8th centuries

PARABLES ABOUT THE AUDITORS

(A Manichaean Text in Parthian.)

. . . . . And like the highway robber who killed those sons, so you all who stretch out your hands against the earth ... and harm it in every manner ... And with your whole body you trample and injure the earth ... And you martyr and ill-treat this Living Soul from which you were born, and it cries out and laments constantly because of your hands that mistreat it.

You auditors who stand there laden with so much sin and guilt, you need absolution and grace once and for all for your many sins. Therefore ask the elect day after day for conventions(?) and absolution so that they ... may bring grace upon you.

. . . . . [eight lines missing]

They (the perfect auditors) are like a man who is ... healthy in his whole body and free from pain, and who has no pain or illness of any kind.

Yet he scratches himself a little at some limb, and he stands up restlessly and turns to it (that limb) again and again, and wonders when this sore will be healed, so that his whole body will be well and free from pain.

And again, they are comparable to a rich man who ... is not used to borrowing anything from anyone. And the necessity for something arises and he borrows a drachma from someone else. Thereafter, he constantly thinks, "When will I pay back the drachma to my creditor according to ... " Similar to that ...

PARABLE ABOUT THE FARMER

(A Manichaean text in Parthian.)

... He gathers in that wheat, and he takes it to the vessel from which it had come. And he goes to his house from which he had come, for he had accomplished the task for which he had come, and because he has reaped and gathered in what he had come for, and because that which is stored in his vessel ...

"... We want to receive ... favor and accompany him safely on even paths."

And this testimony that he has spoken is true.

Furthermore, he said, "Take heed that no one leads you astray, for many will come in my name, saying, "We are Jesus (disciples?), and his time has come." And many will deceive them.

PARABLE OF THE "PEARL-BORER"

(A Manichaean text in Sogdian.)

A merchant had many precious gems. In order to have them bored, he hired a man for hundred pieces of gold per day, and he went with him to his domicile. When he (the hired man) sat down, a lute happened to be there, and the worker looked at it.

When the merchant asked him if he knew how to play the lute, he answered, "Yes, very well." For he was skilled in this art. He (the merchant) said, "Then take it." He (the hired man) thus took it and played beautiful melodies in a correct manner for the merchant the whole day long, leaving the box with gems open and beating the time with his hand and swaying his head to it, with great joy.

In the evening, the worker said to him (the merchant), "Have my wages given to me." When the other said, "Have you done anything to earn wages?", he answered, "You hired me, and I did what you told me to do." Thus he urged him, until he received the hundred pieces of gold without any deduction, while the gems remained unbored. ... There was a quarrel, it could not be settled.

So on the next day they went before a judge for a trial. The owner of the pearls spoke thus, "My lord, when this gentleman saw me beside the bazaar, he asked me, "Hey, what work can you do?" I replied, "Sir, whatever work you may order me to do, I can do it all." When he had taken me to his house, he ordered me to play the lute. Until nightfall I played on the lute at the owner's bidding."

The judge pronounced this verdict, "You hired this man to do work for you, so why did you not order him to bore the pearls? Why did you bid him play on the lute instead? The man's wages will have to be paid in full. If again there should be any pearls to be bored, give him another hundred gold denares, and he shall then bore your pearls another day."

Thus under constraint, the owner of the pearls paid the hundred gold denares, his pearls remained unbored, left for another day, and he himself was filled with shame and contrition.

The wise give this allegorical explanation: That man who understood all arts and crafts represents the body ... The pearl-borer is the body. The hundred denares represent a life of a hundred years. The owner of the pearls is the soul, and the boring of the pearls represents piety. (Kephalaion)

That one is a righteous dèndàr (elect), who saves many people from Hell, and sets them on the way to Paradise. And now I command you, Hearers, that so long there is strength in your bodies, you should strive for the salvation of your souls. Keep my instructions and my words in mind, the Straight Path and the True Mold which I have shown to you, namely, the Sacred Religion. Strive through that Mold so that you will join me in eternal life.

Thereupon all the Hearers became very joyful and happy on account of the divine words and priceless instructions which they had heard from the Apostle, the Lord Mar Mani. They paid exquisite homage, and received ...

And again the Apostle, the Lord Mar Mani spoke thus:

"The wise and soul-loving person (the auditor) should divide the day into three parts. The first part should be devoted to service of the kings and lords so that they will be content, that their majesty not be infringed, and that they do not start quarreling and scheming. The second to the pursuit of worldly affairs, to tilling and sowing, to allotments and legacies, to buying and selling, so that the house be maintained, the wife and children not be in distress, and that kinsmen, friends, and well wishers can be served ...

THE PARABLE OF THE MONK AND THE GIRL

(A Manichaean text in Parthian.)

" ... I want to place the alms therein (in the vessel)."

Then the woman gave him a girl, and the monk placed the girl in it. And he went away. And that woman was visited by ... a ... hunter. He caught a wolf and brought it to ... He wanted to put it in the vessel. When he opened it, he saw the girl, and she was very beautiful. Immediately he asked the woman, "What is in the vessel?" And she answered, " A monk put his alms into it." At once the hunter took the girl out and put the wolf in ...

At night time, the monk came, thinking, "I want to take the girl ... out." When he put his hand into the vessel .. the wolf came out and ate up the monk.

This parable deals with the sinners, who, being constantly seized by ... think this ... But they go to dark Hell. Just as the monk looked for the girl and found the wolf ...

THE PARABLE ABOUT THE TWO SNAKES

(A Manichaean text in Sogdian.)

Here begins the story about the snakes "Heavy-to-carry" and "Light-to-carry".

Furthermore it was heard that there were once two snakes, and the first snake was called "Heavy-to-carry". Their bodies were equally large, and their tails were very long.

Being of one mind, they loved each other so much that one could not bear to be separated from the other. And lo, they went along a path together. After they had traversed much land, one snake glided into a depression. And the other snake proceeded along the way.

On one side of the path there were a very steep mountain, and on the other side a very deep body of water. And on the path, a trapper had set up a snare and a pitfall. Inside it was full of burning coals, and all kinds of fiery apparitions rose from it into the air.

The trapper was hiding nearby. And when the snake came to that place, it was pleased and amazed at the fiery apparition in the air. But it was not possible for it to avoid the pitfall, for, ala , it had to go ahead along this path and there was no way back. And lo, it paused, and then darted ahead, thinking, "I want to jump over the pitfall with my whole body."

But, because the pitfall was very wide and the snake's body was long and very thin in the middle, and its tail was very long, it could not cross the pitfall. Its head came across, but the tail remained behind lying across the pit, and the snake could not pull it over to its neck. So it burned there and died.

And the trapper came quickly, stretched out his hand toward the pit, cut open the head neatly, took the stone, and went away very happy.

The second snake came along and found its companion dead, its head mutilated. It cried out from the depths of its soul, "Alas! You were very dear to me." And it wept and lamented bitterly, wailed pitifully and said, "O wonderful brother, how have you died without your brother and in shame?"

When it had stopped lamenting, it thought to itself, "My brother died because he had not thought of a remedy for the body. If I, too, do not find a remedy for the body, I will also have to die." And it considered the matter carefully.

And the snake said, "Because he was a male, he could not bear the separation from his dear tail; he could not endure corruption and suffering in his body. But there is really no other way out. If I endure separation from my dear tail and endure a little pain in my body for the sake of the soul, then I will be able to jump over the pitfall."

Then it returned to the depression and found the abandoned fire of the shepherd. And it burned off as much of its tail as could be harmful to its body. And, when it had become smaller, the tailless body jumped very lightly and crossed the pitfall safely.

Of these two snakes, one is the person who loves the body, for whom bearing [....] is troublesome, but who is unconcerned about the soul. And his [....] is long. The second snake is the person for whom the soul is dearer than the body. There is very little poison in him and his attachment to the world is very weak, and the fetters binding his soul are very thin. And the pitfall, the high mountain and the deep body of water are the three trenches. The trapper is Ahriman, and the stone the soul.

Ultimately the Old Man, without good works, is the one who cannot jump over the three ditches with the tail of the body. But the chosen New Man has purged the three poisons from the body and has borne in his body the agony caused by observing the Law, and he can endure separation from his dear wife and children and from riches, and on the Final Day his soul will arise from the body and will attain the peace of Paradise ...

MANICHAEAN HYMNS AND PRAYERS

(in Parthian); Leaf from a Manichaean Book.
Qhocho, Ruin K.
Painting on paper. 17.2x 11.2 cm. III 6368.
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HYMN ON THE THIRD MESSENGER AND THE ARCHONS

(Manichaean hymn in Parthian.)

He (the third Messenger) takes the Light away from them (the demons) in many forms and fashions, by gentle means and harsh.

He releases the captives from bondage.

He purifies His own life and he exhorts them to approach the visible form and to follow its appearance.

Bright Sadvês shows her form to the Demon of Wrath.

She seduces him with her own appearance, and he thinks it is real.

He sows his seed, ... he groans when he no longer sees her form.

Light is born in the sphere of the world; she passes it on to the higher powers.

Filth and dross flow from him to the earth. They clothe themselves in manifold forms and are reborn in many fruits.

The dark Demon of Wrath is ashamed, for in his confusion he had become naked. He had not attained the heights, and he had been robbed of whatever he had achieved.

He left the body an empty shell and descended in shame.

He was clothed in the womb of the earths, from where he had risen in brutishness.

THE HYMN TO THE FATHER OF GREATNESS

(A hymn ascribed to Mani, in Parthian.)

You are worthy of praise, beneficient Father, primeaval Ancestor!

Blessed are you, beneficient God!

You, Lord, are the first alif and the last tau.

Through you yourself your pious wish has been fulfilled and accomplished.

All gods and aeons, the deities of Light,

And the righteous bring praise to you, singing "Holy" repeatedly.

The spirits, the plants and all . . . . truly implore you to blessing. And bring forth supplications with one voice.

Grant us our pious wish . . . .

They bear the form that we have given up from afar.

Be merciful unto us in your mercy;

Show us your form, the noble epiphany, for which we yearn.

Let your brightness shine upon us, sweet source and breath of life!

Make, us, your children, strong.

In vain the dark foe boasts, together with the bellicose, rebellious giants, In vain he wishes to cling to the Aeons.

HYMN ABOUT THE CAPTIVITY OF LIGHT

(Manichaean hymn in Parthian.)

Lo, that great Kingdom of Salvation, waits on high,

Ready for those who have gnosis, so that they may finally find peace there.

Sinful, dark Pêsûs runs hither and tither brutishly,

She gives no peace at all to the upper and lower limbs of Light.

She seizes and binds the Light in the six great bodies,

In earth, water and fire, plants and animals.

She fashions it in many forms; she molds it into many figures;

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She fetters it in a prison so that it may not ascend to the height.
She weaves a net around it on all sides, she piles it up; she sets a watchman over it.
Greed and lust are made its fellow-captives.
She mixes destructive air into those six great bodies.
She nurtures her own body both destroys their sons.
The power of Light on high confuse all demons of wrath,
The sons of that Pêsûs, who is in a higher place.
. . . . . (three further verses missing)

INVOCATION OF JESUS THE SPLENDOUR -
(A Manichaean hymn in Persian.)

We would fill our eyes with praise
And would open our mouths to invoke you.
We would bring to you ... honor and greatness,
To you, Jesus the Splendor, liberated ruler and
New Dispensation.
You are, You are the garment of blessing.
You are the dearest brother.
Come for salvation, who are complete salvation.
Come for beneficence, who are complete beneficence.
Come to bring love, who are complete love.
Come as physician, who are complete healing.
Come to bring peace, who are complete peace.
Come as victor, who are complete victory.
Come as lord, who are complete lordship.
Come for redemption, who are complete soul-service.
Welcome, new lord and new physician.
Welcome, new redeemer and redeemed one.
Welcome, new God, noble lustre and great light.
Welcome, oh day that is complete joy.
Welcome, oh year that brings a good harvest.
Welcome, original one and primeval first-born one.
Welcome, good mediator ... who mediates between us and the Father.

HYMN ON THE SECOND COMING OF JESUS
(Manichaean Hymn in Persian with Parthian words.)

Speak to me, Lord and Friend, and reveal to me, Son of the most beloved, the time of your coming, when you will appear at the end.
Oh great Redeemer, my Teacher, speak of that time and its signs.
The speakers, the righteous and chosen ones, who must live in the Realm of the Lie, Do not accumulate herds and belongings.
Therefore they are persecuted.
Ha, this irate potentate! How long will he continue to rule?
How long will the poor and the Family of Peace be persecuted?
Tell me what reward the wise and righteous ones that are now persecuted will have.
You of compassionate race, tell of the coming subjugation of the sinners who are now exalted.
The strong and valiant Son of the Most Beloved taught me what I asked him:
That time, the coming years and periods, will be different from now, because of the ensuing battles.
For they (the years) shall flow like water in the rivers,
Now that time is near at hand.
The covetous heretics that now rejoice shall you then vanquish, you Wrathful One.
They will be persecuted, as they have persecuted,
And they shall do penance for their offences.
Then shall those who have wept be joyful,
And those who now laugh weep.
He who is grieved and belongs to the Family of Peace
Shall be rewarded with prosperity and protection.
Then the righteous religion shall hold sway over the false teachings and nations.
Then shall the springs of Living Water open their mouths in praise.
Lament, give honor and praise, for the time is near,
Of which these are the signs.
... the annointed.
The vihidan(?) of the Ruler are called.
Persecution and suppression shall then be recompensed by eternal life.

HYMN ON THE FATE OF THE LIVING SOUL -
(A Manichaean Hymn in Parthian.)

I hail from the Light and from the gods,
Yet I have become as one banished, seperated from them.
The foes assembled above me
And took me to the realm of death.
- Blessed be he who rescues my soul from distress, so that it may be saved. -
A god am I, born of the gods,
A bright, radiant and shaining, Beaming, fragrant and beautiful god.
But now I have fallen into misery.
Countless demons seized me, Loathsome ones captured me.
My soul has been subjugated by them, I am torn to pieces and devoured. Demons, yakshas and peris, Black, hideous, stinking dragons That I could hardly repulse: I experienced much pain and death at their hands. They all roar and attack me, They pursue me and rise up against me, ...

HYMN EXHORTING THE SOUL TO REMEMBRANCE -(A Manichaean Hymn in Parthian.)
... all sins, the inner and the outer ones, of thought, word and deed, what is in their harmful consequence?
Teach that pious and sinful thought are intertwined, and distinguishable between them.
Comprehend your being and the pure word, which is the master of the soul in the body,
And thereby learn to see through the false word that leads to Hell, even the Hell of Darkness.
Weigh, as with a judge`s scales, those redeemed and those condemned by the word,
Remember the cycle of rebirths and the torture of Hell, where souls are hurt and oppressed.
Maintain the fervor of the soul and the treasure of the word, so that you may enter the Paradise of Light.
. . . . . (two verses missing)
Restrain your mind from sinful rebellion, walk on the path of the peace unto the home of Light.

HYMN TO THE LIVING SOUL -
(A Manichaean hymn in Parthian.)

You, oh Soul, would we praise, our bright Life!
You would we praise, Jesus Messiah!
Merciful savior, look upon us!
Worthy are you to honor , redeemed Soul of Light!
Salvation to you, and may we also receive salvation!
Worthy are you of the Soul of Light, bright shining limb of Light.
You have salvation, bright Soul of the gods that shines in the darkness.
You sons of Truth, praise the Soul, the valiant god eager for battle.
This fettered Soul has arrived, gathered in ...
... from heaven and from the depths of the earth,
And from all creation.
Meritorious and blessed is the auditor who gathers the Soul together, And blissful is the elect who purifies it.
This redeemed Soul has come,
It has come to this Church of Righteousness.
Praise it forever, you elect,
So that it may wondrously purify me
And lead me to life.
Blessed are you, oh Soul, you with the divine form!
Blessed are you, oh Soul, weapon and battlement of the gods,
Blessed are you, radiant Soul,
Splendor and glory of the ... Worlds of Light!
Blessed are you, divine radiant Soul,
Weapon and might, soul and body, gift of the Father of Light.

HYMN TO THE THIRD MESSENGER -
(A Manichaean Hymn in Parthian.)

I will bring praise to your Light,
Second Great One, God Narisaf,
Beautiful form, radiance,
Judge and observer of all ...
Light with a thousand eyes ...
Where you set is extinction, and Light is where you arise.
With you lives the Mother of the Righteous,
with you abides also the Living Spirit;
With you are the mighty Fathers that gathers pearls,
The twin lights, the two great lamps.
It is a house of peace where the gods abide,
They move the world and radiant light.
Full of joy are the divine abodes,
The noble ships, the ferries that are created by the word.
The mighty powers, the giants eager for battle,
Withdraw Light from all creatures.
In two bright forms they seduce the demons of wrath,
As in open joy of heart
They come and go independently and in wondrous power.
The chariots of Light are the gate to the Kingdom,
Joyful are the melodies that sound from them.
You will I praise, God Narisaf,
Honor first to you and to your whole Greatness;
In your mercy redeem even me, your child.

HYMN IN PRAISE OF MANI -
(A Manichaean hymn in Parthian.)
You have come with salvation, oh Savior of our souls,
Lord Mani, Apostle of Light!
You have come with salvation, oh Redeemer of our souls!
You have come with salvation, oh great Savior!
You have come with salvation, oh great Shepherd ... !
. . . . .(fourteen verses missing)
You have come with salvation, oh bright gatherer of souls!
You have come with salvation, oh mighty and strong One!
You have come with salvation, most Beloved of the Lights!
You have come with salvation, oh Lord of the Church!
You have come with salvation, oh beautiful trunk!
You have come with salvation, oh Name ...
You have come with salvation, oh dearest and most Beloved One!
Hail to your twin and to your Glory, that have come forth with you!
You have come with salvation, oh Twin of the gods!
Hail to the bright gods of whom you are born!
. . . . . (seven verses missing)
You have come with salvation, oh Messenger of Joy!
Salvation to the auditors that hear your message!
You have come with salvation, oh Savior of beautiful and most beloved name!
Hail to the blessed that honor you!

COMMEMORATIVE HYMN FOR MÂR ZAKU -
(A Manichaean Hymn in Parthian.)

Oh great teacher, Mâr Zaku ... Shepherd!
Oh great lamp that was so suddenly extinguished!
Our eyes were darkened, made faint and weak.
Oh battle-seeking Hero who left his army behind;
Terror seized the troop, the army was thrown into confusion.
Oh great Tree whose height was felled!
The birds started to quiver; their nest has been destroyed.
Oh great Sun that sank below the earth!
Our eyes saw only darkness, for the light was veiled.
Oh zealous Caravan leader who left his caravan behind
In deserts, wastes, mountains and gorges!
Oh Heart and Soul that have departed from us!
We need your skill, your reason and your glory.
Oh living Sea that has dried up!
The course of the rivers is obstructed and they no longer flow.
Oh green Mountain on which sheep graze!
The milk for the lambs runs dry, the sheep bleat pitifully.
Oh mighty Father, for whom many sons mourn,
All the children that have been orphaned.
Oh Lord who was spared no pains, who endured want!
You cared for the well-being of the house of God in every way.
Oh great Spring , whose source is stopped up!
Sweet nourishment is held back from our mouths.
Oh bright Lamp whose radiant light shone into another world!
Darkness befell us.
Oh Mâr Zaku, Shepherd, blessed Teacher!
Our power is now seperated from you.
No longer do we look into your bright eyes;
No longer do we hear your sweet words.
Oh God Sroshâv with the sweet name, bright Lord!
None is like to you amongst all the gods.
We sigh and weep bitterly, we are grieved,
We constantly remember your love.
You were exalted in all the lands,
The kings and the great ones honored you.
Lovely and kind was your natue, mild was your speech
That never succumbed to bitter wrath.
Oh great, strong Giant who displayed great patience!
You tolerated everyone, you were renowned.
Oh righteous Father, meek and merciful,
Magnanimous and generous, compassionate and kind,
You bright joy to the oppressed; many souls
Did you save from misery, guiding them home.
Strong, good, powerful One who has attained a throne
Like all the Apostles, Buddhas and Gods,
First to you will I pay homage, I your meanest son
Who was left behind as a homeless orphan by you, Father.

Additional note:
Come, let us write a letter to the beneficent King of Light.
We will request him: Forgive our sins!

HOMILY ON THE CORRECT PREPARATIONS FOR THE SACRED MEAL -
(A Manichaean fragment on the eucharist, in Sogdian.)

... and receive it (the sacred meal) like gold, transmit it correctly and completely to its owner (the Father of Light) so

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that you may not be subjected to evil. Guard it with care, preserve it with great steadfastness, so that it may not be soiled by dry or wet blood, just as it, in turn, makes you glad and joyful. And all of you together, keep it from being ... by jealousy and hatefulness ... Remember your fault on the day of ... when by greed it was ...

Begin to Ponder: One`s body, with whose sign is it decorated or covered?

In whose service does it stand? And what is it that you eat? For everyone who partakes of the meal and is not worthy of it loses the fruit of his great efforts and is shut out of the Paradise of Light. But the chosen righteous ones and the auditors who believe realize the greatness of the Living Soul and will be joyful in the Paradise of Light, in eternal life ...

Dear brother, cleanse yourself and hear the good message from me.

It is a duty and an obligation to those who know to stand in the Church under this sign and to serve ...

INVOCATION OF THE ANGELS -
(A Manichaean text in Persian.)

Come, you shall live together with the mighty angels.
Guard and protect the holy Church,
And cut off the heads of the adversaries,
The foes of peace.
May Raphael, Michael, Gabriel and Sarael,
Together with all the most powerful angels,
Increase peace and faith
For the whole Church of the Eastern Province.
Blessing upon the mighty angels!
May these powerful ones, these humble ones, be praised,
So that they may protect the "sons of the right handI"
From the spiritual (demonic) and temporal (fleshly) powers.
I bless the God Mani, the Lord,
I venerate your great, bright glory,
I pray to the Holy Spirit,
Together with the glories and strong angels.
Praise to the almighty angels! May they protect
The religion of the gods,
And may they overcome
Those attacking righteousness.
The angel full of wisdom, the loving deity,
Beautiful in appearance, the strong God,
He of noble name, King Frêdon, and the valiant Jacob,
May they protect the Church, and us, their children!
May blessing and praise from all of us
Be accepted by the three Lords,
So that they may send us power and strenght
On this day and at this time of joy.
May blessing come from the gods on high
And new help from the power of the mighty;
May it come upon the land and its ruler,
So that their faith in the holy religion may increase.

THE INVOCATION OF BAR SÎMÛS -
(A Manichaean text in Persian.)

I venerate Bar Sîmûs and Jacob
And praise Bar ...
So that they may increase ...
With Joy ever anew ... for this whole community.
Mihr Yazd, our Father, Redeemer and Benefactor,
Together with the valiant Frêdon and all the angels.
May they protect and care for the holy Church
And its blessed head, the Lord of good name.
Oh Sun that brings Light, God Zênârês,
together with the Mother of the Living,
Mihr Yazd, together with all the angels,
The five and the twelve,
May they all be praised by the holy Church!
May new blessing, new victory, come from God Zurvan
Upon the glories and angels and the spirits of this world,
So that it (the world) may accept the holy religion.
May He (Zurvan) be guardian, friend and protector within and without.
I invoke the powerful angels, the mighty ones,
Raphael, Michael, Gabriel, Sarael,
So that they may protect us from all misfortune
And deliver us from evil Ahriman.
I venerate the Lord Jacob the angel,
Together with the glories, powers and valiant spirits,
That they may protect us with their mighty power
And may lead us within and without.
I joyously venerate the mighty power,
Jacob the angel, the leader of the angels;
Receive from the whole holy Church
Blessing ever anew, and mighty praise!
May peace and new salvation come from God Zurvan,
You glories and spirits!
May blessing and new joy
From the gods and the angels be prepared for you!
May you lead us on this way to salvation!
May new power come from Jacob the angel,
New joy from all the angels!
May this land receive new aid,
May they (the angels) lead it to peace ever new.
Come, you glories, spirits and powers,
Grasp the right hand ...

INVOCATION OF THE GODS IN THE MOON -
(A Manichaean text in Parthian.)

Eternal praise from the whole community that has been pardoned.

Chief of the messengers, Lord, Friend, Jesus, Savior, Ruler of the holy religion -

You are eternally holy!

The first of those that go out ... who dispel the dark foes, beloved of the Lights -

You are eternally holy!

Merciful Mother, Maiden of Light, soul of the God Zurvan, head of all wisdom, who has enlightened all the gods -

You are eternally holy!

Soul gathering angels, seven shiplords ...

A CONFESSIONAL PRAYER FOR THE ELECT -
(A Manichaean text in Sogdian.)

The first commandment: Truthfulness ...

The second commandment: Nonviolence.

... if by me their divine light has been injured: daily a small portion is lost on the way. For all this I say: Forgive me!

The third commandment: Behavior in accordance with religion, with its two parts.

I cannot remain virtuous ...

First : I do not fret at the cutting off or planting of trees (or even whole) groves of trees. I do not consider the affliction of the sprouts of trees or even the holy Light Element on a spring morning.

We all strive to plant and to sow a garden or a piece of land with our bodies.

Second: the male and the female bodies ...

THE HYMN ON THE END OF THE WORLD -
(A Manichaean liturgical hymn in Parthian.)

The message of heaven and the earth`s answer :
Hear, oh world, the words of the Lord!
We would invoke the gods that they may save us
from this evil age of tyranny, full of strife and unbelief.
Oh angels and twins, save us from all distress.
That time (the end) has come,
Just as the redeemer (Mani) has written.
Here ends the hymn on the End of the World.

THE HYMN ON BODY-AND-SOUL -
(A Manichaean liturgical hymn in Parthian.)

Sweet place of rest, oh garden!
May you be a sweet place of rest for me
Return to me, remain in me.
May we be of one accord through your beneficence.
Here ends the hymn on Body and Soul.

THE FUNERARY HYMN -
(A Manichaean liturgical hymn in Parthian.)

Set into the world am I, this divine form, deprived of my heavenly
apparel. And I saw the redeemer, as he spoke to me in loving kindness.

Hope then came to me when I was constantly oppressed.

The marvel was illumined for me, My mind became joyful.

How quickly, how hastily has come the end of my life?

Free me from terrible distress on this day of death!

Come, my redeemer, accompanied by praise, saving God,

Lord Mani, together with the three sons of God.

Remember, kind God, this believing soul of your own child, an auditor, who follows you.

Beneficent God, think of me, my thoughts are fixed upon the final day.

Come, oh God, look upon me, my helper at this time of death!

Here ends the funerary hymns.

HYMNS TO THE SOUL -
(A Manichaean liturgical hymn in Parthian.)

... Worthy are you of salvation.

To you, oh Soul of Light, will I give much counsel,
so that you may attain redemption.

Come, oh souls, to this ship of Light!

My most beloved soul, who is happy and noble, where have you gone? Return!

Awake, dear soul, from the sleep of drunkenness into which you have fallen!

Look upon the foes, see how they prepare death all around you!

Reach your home, the heavenly earth created by the Word,
Where you were in the beginning.
The distressed soul cries out loudly because of wicked greed,
deceptive delusion and the devouring blaze of fire.

An angel from Paradise has come, a herald from the Kingdom.

Here end the beautiful hymns to the soul.

HYMN IN HONOUR OF THE DOMINIONS OF LIGHT -
(A Manichaean Hymn in Persian.)

On the Twelve Dominions.

(...)

Ninth: Righteousness, the sower of goodness.

You are a living tree, a firm column, with which you put the living powers of the Vahman in order, with righteousness and generosity.

And you proclaim them with great righteousness in the lower community and the upper community.

Tenth: Thankfulness, you good redeemer, resurrector of dead souls.

You fulfil the wishes of the three immortal ones, and you give understanding and beneficence to the children of the faith, whole limbs you have vitalised with thankfulness. And you caused Jesus the Splendour to be honoured.

Eleventh: Goodness, which is the living spirit, the wisdom of the Father and the splendour of the gods. You are the revelation of the life of the World of Light, and the first of those revelations, that are full of wondrous power and wisdom.

And you caused the spirit of Zurvan to be strenghtened.

Twelfth: Light.

You are Light from the World of Lights. Those that are illuminated by you are themselves signs of Light. You are yourself the praised spirit in the hearts of the blessed. And you freed them from the slavery of being in the state of confusion (mixture of good and evil).

And you praised the radiant Vahman, the ruler of the Church.

We revere with great beneficence the whole community of the elect ...

UNTITLED PARTHIAN HYMN.
(Verses from a Parthian hymn.)

... Lead me, Father, to my own family!

Fortunate is every man who in purity and truth

Recognize your skill, your manliness and wondrous power, oh God!

To fulfil completely, oh God, your counsels and your commandments,

I shall strive and wait on you. I am ardent, by day and night.

Earthly pleasures and things of the world, with Greed has avidly and cunnigly prepared, Have I given up to your counsel.

Hear, oh God, my supplication, and do not hesitate to accept my veneration and prayer.

Lead me out of this poisonous deep!

This is the way, this is the mystery, this is the great commandment and the gate of salvation.

Fulfill in me, oh God, your will. May your glory protect me and always foster patience, zeal and fear of God in me.

My eye and ear ...

THE CRUCIFIXION HYMN -
(A Manichaean hymn in Parthian.)

... Because of Satan the select were chosen by Jesus.

He (Satan) wanted to break through the fiery waves, to burn the whole world with fire. The noble ruler (Jesus) changed his garment and appeared before Satan in his power.

Then heaven and earth trembled, and Sammaèl plunged into the deep. The true interpreter (Jesus) as filled with pity because of the Light which the foe had devoured. He had raised it (the Light) up from the deep pit of death to that place of zeal from which it had descended.

Honor to you, Son of Greatness, who has liberated your righteous ones. Protect, now, too, the Teacher Màr Zaku, the great keeper of your radiant herd.

...

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Awake, brethren, you chosen ones, on this day of the salvation of souls, the foutreenth day of the month of Mihr, on which Jesus, the Son of God, entered Parinirvana.

Harken, all you faithful:

When the time for the perfection of the Son of Man had come, all the demons knew it. And the lord of the sinful doctrine ... covered himself in deceit. And the demons took cunsel with each other. The twelve thrones above were disturbed. Poison flowed down on the lower creation, upon the sons, and the chalce of death was prepared for him (Jesus).

The Jews, the servants of the most high God, conceived of a deception ...

They conspired against the Son of Man. They devised evil; in deception they brought forth false witnesses. Accursed Satan, who had always troubled the apostles, molested the herd of Christ. He turned the treacherous

Iscariot into a steed, when the Most Beloved Jesus trusted the disciples.

He (Judas) indicated him to the night-watchman by a kiss on his hand.

He delivered the Son of God to the foes. He betrayed Truth. For the sake of a rewrd that the Jews gave, he offered up his own lord and teacher.

THE KEPHALIA OF THE LORD MANI

(Excerpt from the Kephalia of the Prophet Mani:
The Three Blows Struck at the Enemy
on Account of The Light.)

Concerning the three blows struck at the enemy on account of the light.

He turned again and said:

"The Darkness, the Enemy, on the other hand, received three hard blows and suffered three wars and menacing perils on the part of the Light in these three wars."

"The first blow: He was removed from the center and separated from his Land of Darkness, from whence he had come. He was vanquished in the first war and seized and bound by the Living Soul."

"The second blow: This is the time when he is dissolved and melted away in the great fire and destroyed and annihilated, out of the images, which are all the things in which he exists, and gathered into the fetters corresponding to his first appearance, and so he shall become as he was at the very beginning."

"The third blow, which will strike the Enemy, is the setting in of the end, and the male is parted from the female. The male shall be chained up in the bolos [heap] but the female shall be cast into the grave. He shall be divided into pieces [. . . . .] stone in their center of all generations and eternities."

"This is the manner the Enemy shall be bound, in heavy and painfull bondage from which there is no way out, ever, but they have succeeded in separating him off and have separated him off for eternity."

"For this reason I say to my loved ones: Hearken to my words which I proclaim to thee. Hold fast to the works of life!"

"Endure persecutions and temptations, which will come to you, fortify yourselves in these commandments which I gave you, that you may escape the second death and these last bonds, in which there is no hope of life, and that you may avoid the evil end of the deniers and blasphemers who have seen the truth with their own eyes and have turned away from it. They shall come unto the Place of Punishment at which there is no day of life. For the shining Light shall hide from them, and from that hour onward they shall not see it. The wind and the air shall be taken from them, and from them they shall receive no breath of life from that hour onward. Water and dew shall be removed from them and they shall never again taste these."

"Hail to all those who escape the end of the sinners and deniers and avoid the ruin which confronts them in concealing for all eternity!"

HYMNS AND WRITINGS ASCRIBED TO MANI

THE PRAISE OF THE LESSER ONES
(Hymn ascribed to Mani, in Parthian.)

.... Eternally shall we praise you, we and our kin, who are chosen, and the family, to which we belong, that is those that are of you.

Father, we would call upon you, we would lift up our eyes to you.

Our souls sing before you, so that you may be merciful to us in your great mercy, so that you may send us the helper ....

. . . . . (some verses missing)

Holy, Holy, to your twelve Worlds of Light.

Holy, Holy to the Worlds of Light that are appointed as jewels to your greatness.

Holy to the Living Ether, the bright storeroom of the wonderful worlds,

Holy, Holy, Holy to the praised Earth,

Holy to the bright appearance of the blessed inhabitants...

. . . . . (some verses missing)

Holy, Holy to your Greatness, you highest of all epiphanies,

And to your bright beauty which is immeasurable,

Holy, Holy to you, Father!

Holy, Holy, Holy, Holy to your praised reign.

Holy, Holy, Holy to you, Father!

Holy to your chosen name!

Holy, Holy, Holy to you, Father!

. . . . . (some verses missing)

Holy, Holy, Holy to your great Thought from which every beneficial and zealous thought has arisen.

Holy to your great Understanding from which every beneficial and zealous understanding has arisen.

Holy, Holy, Holy to you, Father!

Holy to your great and praised Ether that is above all ethers in the world.

PRAISE OF THE GREAT ONES
(Hymn ascribed to Mani.)

Praised, living, vigilant and immortal are you, oh beautiful form, ord Jesus the Splendour, best loved of all the kings of Light, Ruler, Messiah!

Give to us, Lord, of your good gifts, for you are the beginning of all good gifts ...

You are the physician ...

You are, Lord, the redeemer, the savior ...

. . . . . (a number of lines missing)

Praised, living, vigilant and immortal are you, oh blessed sign,

Spirit and beautiful form, Lord Jesus the Splendor!

Most noble of the beings of light,

... loving and beneficent one,

Ardent, bright and glorious one!

You are our God ...

Ruler, God ... Life-giver!

WE WOULD FULFILL: MANI'S HYMN TO JESUS, THE KING
(A hymn ascribed to Mani. Verses in Sogdian.)

Hymn in Praise of Jesus, the King.

With mouths full of praise we would bless thee,

Praise and honor to the great Moon of Light,

To the life-giver, the dear son of the god Zurvân,

To the merciful Lord of the whole world!

You we do invoke with a loud voice,

May your light enter our minds;

Your power is gathered in our limbs,

You have come with Salvation,

You have come with Salvation,

You have come with Salvation,

Light of the whole world!

You have come with Salvation, our whole Self,

You have come with Salvation, Light in our minds,

You have come with Salvation, beneficent God

Who are kindlier than all other gods.

(Verses in Parthian, continuing:)

You have come with Salvation, great life-giver of all life-givers.

You have come with Salvation, Third Great One, who are the mediator between us and the Father.

You have come with Salvation, redeemer of our souls from the midst of the dead.

You have come with Salvation, our upper eye, and our ear with which we hear.

You have come with Salvation, our primeval right hand and our breath of life.

You have come with Salvation, our unified nous and our true mind.

You have come with Salvation, our whole intelligence , our ardent thought and our understanding free of grief.

. . . . . (Some verses missing)

You have come with Salvation, our great door and ship of our souls.

You have come with Salvation, our new dominion and our exalted flock, beloved Son.

You have come with Salvation, our beneficent Father and our true hope.

You have come like a father, our beneficent physician.

You have arisen like a mother, and you are helpful like a brother.

You have sent us like a son,

You have served like a servant.

Come quickly, beneficent Father, put our souls in order...

PRAISE OF JESUS THE LIFE-GIVER
(Hymn ascribed to Mani.)

... all in one mind.

And we would stretch out our hands in invocation.

And we would lift up our eyes to your beautiful figure,

And we would open our mouths to call upon you,

And we would prepare our tongues to praise you;

We would call upon you, Jesus the Splendor, the New Dispensation.

You, even you are the just God, the noble physician,

The dearest son, the most blessed soul.

Welcome, liberated sovereign!

Come to help, good spirit, messenger of peace,

Helper of the meek and victor over the aggressors!

Welcome, redeemer of the imprisoned

And physician of the wounded!

Welcome, you who do awaken the sleepers,

Who do rouse those that slumber,

Who do cause the dead to rise!

Welcome, mighty God and sanctifying Voice!

Welcome, true Logos, great lamp and bountiful Light!

Welcome, new ruler and new day!

Welcome, foundation of the worlds and sacred meal of many!

Welcome, gift of the good, blessing of the gentle,

Who is venerated by those that sanctify!

Welcome, Loving Father, munificent benefactor

Of those that take refuge in you!

Welcome, our Father, who are our mighty refuge,

In whom we firmly trust!

. . . . . (six lines missing)

Have mercy upon us and show us your love,

Oh beneficent one who are all love!

And reckon us not among the evildoers!

Save those that have taken refuge in you,

And be merciful to us.

Oh most beloved and loving one,

We have seen you, the New Dispensation,

And we have yearned for you who are all love.

Joyfully have we seen you, loving Lord,

And your name do we acknowledge, Mam-sin.

Separate us from the company of sinners

And distance us from the aggressors.

Lord, we are your own, have mercy upon us!

Come quickly, hasten to vanquish the sinners,

For they are haughty and have said,

"We are who we are, and no one is like us."

Be mighty and vanquish the aggressors!

. . . . . (three lines missing)

We praise your name which is truly praiseworthy,

And your noble greatness which is pure joy.

Praise be to your name, Father,

And honour to your greatness!

Be it so for ever and ever!

UNTITLED PSALM FRAGMENT, ASCRIBED TO MANI.

Welcome, my great stature,

Welcome, my bright form,

Welcome, my shining appearance! ...

Welcome, my powerful word,

From which I let others drink eternal life! ...

Welcome, my nourishing meal,

With which I satisfy the hunger of my friends!

Welcome, my chalice of salvation,

With which I delight the loved ones!

Welcome, my strong shield and my trusty sword of speech and hearing,

And my well-prepared armor, which is in all alertness.

Welcome, comrade and companion in all battles!

THE PSALMS OF THE FESTIVAL OF BEMA

(The Mercy Seat) or the Manichaean Bema Psalms

BEMA PSALM 224

Let us worship the Spirit of the Paraclete.

Let us bless our Lord Jesus who has sent us the Spirit of Truth. He came and separated us from the Error of the world, he brought us a mirror, we looked, we saw the Universe in it.

When the Holy Spirit came he revealed to us the way of Truth and taught us that there are two Natures, that of Light and that of Darkness, separate one from the other from the beginning.

The Kingdom of Light, on the one hand, consisted in five Greatnesses, and they are the Father and his twelve Aeons and the Aeons of the Aeons, the Living Air, the Land of Light ; the great Spirit breathing in them, nourishing them with his Light.

But the Kingdom of Darkness consists of five storehouses, which are Smoke and Fire and Wind and Water and Darkness; their Counsel creeping in them, moving them and inciting them to make war with one another.

Now as they were making war with one another they dared to make an attempt upon the Land of Light, thinking that they would be able to conquer it.

But they know not that which they have thought to do they will bring down upon their own heads.

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But there was a multitude of angels in the Land of Light, having powers to go forth to subdue the enemy of the Father, whom it pleased that by his Word that he would send, he should subdue the revels who desired to exalt themselves above that which was more exalted than they.

Like unto a shepherd that shall see a lion coming to destroy his sheep-fold: for he uses guile and takes a lamb and sets it as a snare that he may catch him by it : for by a single lamb he saves his sheep-fold. After these things he heals the lamb that has been wounded by the lion: This too is the way of the Father, who sent his strong son ; and he produced from himself his Maiden equipped with five powers, that she might fight against the five abysses if the Dark.

When the Watcher stood in the boundaries of light, he showed to them his Maiden who is his soul; they bestirred themselves in their abyss, desiring to exalt themselves over her, they opened their mouth desiring to swallow her.

He held her power fast, he spread her over them, like nets over fishes, he made her rain down upon them like purified clouds of water, she thrust herself within them like piercing lightning.

She crept in their inward parts, she bound them all, they not knowing it.

When the First Man had finished his war the Father sent his second son.

He came and helped his brother out of the abyss; he established this whole world out of the mixture that took place of the Light and the Darkness.

He spread out all the powers of the abyss to ten heavens and eight earths, he shut them up into this world once, he made it a prison too for all the powers of Darkness, it is also a place of purification for the Soul that was swallowed in them.

The sun and moon he founded, he set them on high, to purify the Soul.

Daily they take up the refined part to the height, but the dregs however they erase . . . . . mixed, they convey it above and below.

This whole world stands firm for a season, there being a great building which is being built outside this world. So soon as the builder shall finish, the whole world will dissolve and set on fire that the fire may smelt it away.

All life, the relic of Light wheresoever it be, he will gather to himself and of it depict and image.

And the counsel of death too, all the Darkness, he will gather together and make a likeness of its very self, it and the Ruler.

In a moment the living Spirit will come . . . . .

. . . . . he will succor the Light. But the counsel of death and the darkness he will shut up in the dwelling that was established for it, that it might be bound in it for ever.

There is no other means to bind the Enemy save this means; for he will not be received to the Light because he is a stranger to it : nor again can he be left in his land of Darkness, that he may not wage a war greater than the first.

A new Aeon shall be built in the place of the world that shall dissolve, that in it the powers of the Light may reign, because they have performed and fulfilled the will of the Father entire, they have subdued the hated one, they have . . . . . over him for ever.

This is the Knowledge of Mani, let us worship him and bless him.

Blessed is every man that shall have trust in him, for he it is shall live with all the Righteous. Glory and victory to our Lord Mani, the Spirit of Truth, that cometh from the Father,

who has revealed to us the Beginning, the Middle and the End.

Victory to the soul of the blessed Mary, Theona, Pshaijmnoute.

BEMA PSALM 228

He anointed him in his power, he made him perfect by the Spirit of his love. Implore him all.

He appointed him to three powers, to tribulation, to the right hand, to bliss. Implore him all.

He gave into his hands the medicine of life that he might heal the wounded. Implore him all.

He gave light with his Light to our Lamps. Put oil into them by your faith. Implore him all.

He gave the helmsman to the ships; the butter he brought to the warm milk. Implore him all.

He gave the bread of life to the hungry; the clothing he brought to the naked. Implore him all.

He gave light by his love to our Intelligence; he made his faith shine in our Reason. Implore him all.

He brought perfection to our Thought, long-suffering to our Counsel. Implore him all.

He bestowed Wisdom on our Intention that it might be as butter for us. Implore him all.

He wounded with his trumpet in the worlds that are far, that are near, he roused them all. Implore him all.

The ruler of the earth rose up against him and persecuted him in his cities. Implore him all.

He assumed the heart of his judges that they might condemn him like the impious. Implore him all.

They shut him up in their prisons and loaded his limbs with iron. We implore him.

They counseled against him in their evil counsels that they might cast a slur on him daily. Implore him all.

In the power of his glorious Father . . . . . he gave his Spirit. Implore him all.

He was put to shame, the judge of lawlessness, he brought his wrath down upon his body. Implore him all.

They hung his head upon the gate, knowing not what they were doing. Implore him all.

The wise ones also that are among men bore witness concerning his eminence. Implore him all.

Let us bless him now, my brethren, and sing to him in one spirit. Implore him all.

We pray thee all of us together, the Elect and the Believers. Implore him all.

Do not make reckoning with us now, our Lord, according to the multitude of our sins. Implore him all.

Glory to the Father, who sent thee for the salvation of thy holy Churches. Implore him all.

Glory and victory to the Paraclete, our Light, Man, and the soul of Mary. Implore him all.

BEMA PSALM 230

Light resplendent, the Bema, thou art come; we call unto thee, the children of the Paraclete, our Lord Mani.

I will keep festival for thee today: I have purified my heart, o Bema, holy likeness, that overawes him that approaches it.

I bless thee, o glorious seat, the sign of the Wisdom; we worship the sign of thy greatness and the mysteries ineffable.

Thou art the blessed Root. Thou art the confirmation of the Luminaries.

Thou art the gift of the air. Thou art the manifestation of the victory of the Light.

We see thee now, blessed one, the word that is in singleness of heart: we gaze after thee, the holy one, the . . . . . that is new indeed.

Thou art he that waits for Christ, that he may judge the sinners through thee: today also though thee the Mind puts to shame the portions of Error.

Thanks to thee and peace, the garland and the palm.

Thou art the new year's day of joy. Thou art the hour of gladness.

Thou art the medicine of the healing of our wounds, which are . . . . . and the wounds of the Faithful which cannot be healed . . . . . salvation and rest.

Thou art he that crushes the evil, setting a garland upon godliness: thou art he that cleanses the Light from the Darkness; thou art he that gives rest unto the souls of man.

Thou art the honor that is honored before all the apostles; thou art the throne of the judges of godliness that separate the two natures.

Thou art. . . . . sparing; thou art compassion entire; thou art the holy . . . . . .

Glory to thee, Mani: victory also to thy Bema.

Victory to thy Elect and thy Catechumens and the soul of Mary, Jmnoute, Pshai.

BEMA PSALM 235

This is the memorial of the Living Spirit: this is the memorial of the Twelve Maidens: this is the memorial of the Helmsmen; this is the memorial of the Splenditenens; this is the memorial of the King of Honour; this is the memorial of the King of Glory; the memorial of the great stout-hearted Omophorus.

This is the purity of the Apostle of Light; this is the purity of the Saviour Christ; this is the purity of the Pacraclete-Spirit; this is the purity of the Love (agapa) . . . . . ; this is the purity of the good Faith; this is the purity of the Perfection; this is the purity of Patience; this is the purity of Wisdom (Sophia) and Godliness.

This is the honour of the Paraclete-Spirit; the honour of fasting, Prayer, and Almsgiving: the honour of the commandment that we lie not; the honour of the commandment that we kill not; the honour of the commandment that we eat no flesh; the honour of the commandment that we make ourselves pure; the honour of the commandment of blessed Poverty; the honour of Humility and Kindliness.

My brethren let us pray with a great power . . . . .

. . . . . [large section illegible.]

. . . . . of your . . . . . .

one another. Ye Catechumens, repent in . . . . . .

praying with a great prayer . . . . . .

. . . . . [large sections illegible.]

. . . . above the elements. He gave . . . . . .

. . . . . be a sign of the Light. . . . . .

Thine is the glory and the victory,our Lord Mani , ...

. . . . . our Lord Sisinnios, this is the . . . . . Innaios. Victory to Gabriab, our Lord . .

. . . . . victory to Salmaios, our Lord Pappos . . . . . .

our Lord Ozeos; glory to Addas, our Lord . . . . . Be there victory to all the Living Ones

. . . . . to the soul of Plousiane, the Soul of Theona, and the soul of the blessed Mary

BEMA PSALM 237

Sing ye all unto the glorious one, the Sage, the Paraclete, the Spirit of the Dawn, and the Gods and the Father-Gods of the Light, the glorious chiefs of the Kingdom indestructible, they all praying in joy, and their Five Greatnesses.

They render glory unto the Giver of Light, the Sage, the Paraclete.

The Aeons, glorious and unperishing, the holy Emanations of the mother of Life, the First man, the glorious firstborn, the five Elements, active and strong - they render holy glory to the Sage, the Paraclete.

The Beloved of the Luminaries, the straight resplendent Word, and the Great Builder that builds the New Aeon, the strong light-giving . . . . . the Father of the Living - they render glory unto the Blessed One, the Sage, the Paraclete.

The third Father who is victorious, the Rich one, the Blessed and the Twelve Wise Maidens that . . . . . of the Light, the Helmsmen . . . . . third; thou art an envoy, another has send thee to us, o glorious one, the Sage, the Paraclete.

. . . . . the Column of Glory and the powers of the Omophori, the Angels and the . . . . . and the three wheels that are below, the winds, the water and the fire . . . . . this one alone, the Sage, the Paraclete.

The shining sun . . . . . and the glorious Maiden of Light . . . . . and the Righteous Judge and the Light-Mind . . . . . they render glory unto the Sage, the Paraclete.

. . . . . and the Heavens and the congregation of the stars make song with harps and lutes, all worshipping him in joy, and the wise powers . . . .

. . . . . the sage, the Paraclete.

. . . . . and the mountains of the earth, the rivers . . . . .

the waters, the four worlds and the . . . . . blossoming trees, the gardens of fragrance, and the breath of the wind - they render glory unto this unperishing one, the Sage, the Paraclete.

The race of the Righteous and the spirits and souls of the wise, the assemblies of the Apostles . . . . . glorious, the living merchants, the preachers of Light,

they render glory to this conqueror, the Sage, the Paraclete.

Sing with the Angels and bless the Mind of the shining Light of the Father, the sun . . . . . .

. . . . . and his strong active power and his glorious Wisdom (Sophia), ye sons of joy, render glory unto the Sage, the Paraclete.

Let us all sing together unto Mani, the man of God, on the holy perfect day, and let us be glad and learn the mysteries of the life of the Saviour Jesus and make festival and render glory to the Sage, the Paraclete.

Light your lamps and . . . . . and keep watch on the day of the Bema for the Bridegroom of joy and receive the holy rays of Light of the good Father, and you . . . . . the Sage, the Paraclete.

. . . . . all of us, the blessed ones, the Sage, the Paraclete who hast forgiven all thy members - the Elect , the Righteous, and the Faithful also together . . . . . .

. . . . resplendent of the holy Bema.

Honour to the glorious one, the exalted living King, and the Luminaries that are held in honour, and Christ Jesus.

Glory to the Paraclete, our sage Lord and all his holy Elect, and the soul of Mary, Theona!

BEMA PSALM 239

Lo, the amnesty of the forgiveness of sins has come; it is Jesus,who giveth repentance unto him that repents.

He stands in our midst, he winks unto us secretly, saying: "Repent, that I may forgive you your sins".

He is not far from us, my brethren, even as he said in his preaching , "I am near to you, like the clothing of your body".

He that is angry, sins : he that causes wrath is a murderer; he that sheds a life, of him shall it be demanded.

The Good is destined to come : blessed is he by whom it comes ; the Evil too is near to be : woe unto him because of whom it comes.

When thou comest in with thy gift to set it on the table, be reconciled with thy adversary that thy gift may be received from thee.

Look out, my brethren : smite not at the life of them that . . . . . .

. . . . . pass you . . . . . .

O man, thou desirest to honour thyself, let thy fruits . . . . . for the fruits of the tree which . . . . . forth . . . . . .

Man, thou lovest thy life: love thy neighbour as thyself;

that which . .. . . do it not, that thou come not to

judgement concerning it. If thou art to give a lesson, perform it

first before thou givest it : . . . . . thou shalt be a sign of that . . .

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. . . Judge not thy brother in the thing which thou shalt be found . . .

. . . . look not at the mote which is in his eye lest . . . . . all of it beneath thine.

He has need of the physician who goes . . . . . .

. . . . . and bears forth the burning of the medicines, that he may see the light. The physician of the souls, he is the Light-Mind ; this is the New Man : the burning medicines are the Commandments. But the cool medicines, they are the forgiveness of sins: he that would be healed, lo, of two kinds are the medicines of life.

Be not ashamed, o Faithful one, as thou goest unto thy . . . . . life; do not seek to please man and become an enemy of God.

Thou hast been ashamed of Him today : He will be ashamed of thee at the end: do not be at ease in thy body and pay the penalty with thy soul.

For all men are running about, desiring to profit their soul, fearing and all confounded, desiring to save their lives.

The life and death of each man is in his hands, he knowing that perchance this is the man who shall be half dead in the middle of the way.

They all passed him by , none pitied him save only the Faithful who knew their soul.

The fire that dwells in the body, its affair is eating and drinking ; but the soul thirst for the Word of God always. Blessed is the man whose heart condemns him not; the faithful man of God judges himself of his own accord.

Pray for thy enemies, bless them that revile thee, that thou mayest be good like thy Father who is in heaven. He that shines . . . . . that are evil and them that are good equally, spreading his Light upon every man.

Let us be merciful to one another that we may ourselves receive mercy; let us forgive one another that we ourselves be forgiven.

Glory and honour to Jesus, the king of the holy ones and his holy Elect and the soul of Plousiane and the blessed Mary!

BEMA PSALM 240

We bless and sing to thee, our Father Mani, our Saviour, O glorious one.

Thou art he unto whom we call, Father, king , god immortal; hear the prayer of thy fold, O glorious one.

. . . . . he whom the Father sent forth from on high that he might release the souls that are counted to him, O glorious one.

We now therefore make festival fulfilling thy holy day, passing the night in vigil in thy joy, O glorious one.

Thou art a creature immortal on the day of this third; thou art an envoy, another has send thee to us, O glorious one.

Wash us now therefore in the dew-drops of thy joy, for we are ordained to the service of the holy Bema, O glorious one.

Open to us the passage of the vaults of the skies and walk before us to the joy of thy kingdom, O glorious one.

We are wont to worship the sign of thy seat when thou spreadest it out on the day of the Filling of the Measure which is hidden today, o glorious one.

Glory to thee, Mani , glorious one; victory to thy blessed Bema, o glorious one, and the soul of the blessed Mary.

BEMA PSALM 241

Open the doors of mercy; arise that we may receive the present.

The great Judge is seated: let us gather and glorify him and bless him.

Say: Hail new sun, that has come forth with his Light.

Hail Holy Spirit, that art come today to save us: Our Lord Mani, that forgives us our sins.

Blessing to thy Father peace to the kingdom on high.

Thanks to thy divine brethren who have believed in they coming to us.

Glory to the Aeons of Light who commemorated the things pertaining to the celebration of thy birth into matter.

We worship the ships of Light that ferried thee across as thou camest.

Honour to the Perfect Man, the way of peace whereby thou didst come.

We bless thy Light-familiar, the Christ, the author of our good.

Honour to thy wisdom that has defeated the Error of the divisions.

We bless the Angels that brought thee from bound to bound.

We worship thy sufferings which thou didst endure because of thy children: For thou didst leave thy great glory, thou didst come and give thyself for souls.

Thou didst assume different forms until thou hadst visited all races: For the sake of thy loved ones, until thou hadst chosen them out of their midst.

. . . . . the earth, the seas and the . . . . . also.

Thou didst seek out thy beloved, thy Church, until thou hadst found her.

Thou didst appear unto the crowned ones, the princes received thy word.

Shapur honoured thee, Oromazd also received thy truth.

. . . . . Bahram . . . . . for he believed not in thy preaching.

He hearkened to thy enemies, the deniers of thy hope.

. . . . . Herod, who crucified Jesus Christ.

Woe unto them, the children of the fire; for they sinned against thy holy body.

I was speaking of the Magi who looked upon thy blood.

They loved the evil-genius of the persecutors, the murderers of God.

They wrote their lying screeds, they gave them our concerning thee.

O Judge of all the races, they arraigned thee and judged thee.

From the time that thou didst confound their Error they loaded thee with iron and bound thee.

They loaded thy hands and feet and put fetters also upon thy body.

They cast thee into their prisons, thinking that they could hold thee in.

Thou didst spend twenty-six days and nights of them in irons.

. . . . . thy children beside thee, thou didst embrace them all.

. . . . . [illegible section]

Thou didst appoint the twelve Teachers and the seventy-two Bishops.

Thou didst make Sisinnios leader over thy children.

When thou hadst set thy affairs in order thou didst implore thy Father, he answered thee.

Thou didst leave them thy body and didst ascend to thy kingdom.

The lawless men were confounded, they brought their wrath upon thy body.

They shed thy blood in the midst of the street of their city.

They struck off thy head and set it on high upon their gate.

They rejoiced in thy murder, knowing not that there is a judgement: For an account shall be demanded of thy death and thy blood shall be avenged.

Their godless city shall receive the recompense for the outrage which it committed.

Blessed are thy loved ones that shed their tears for thee.

Lo, the grief of thy body, the joy of thy spirit that has ascended.

Blessed one, our Father, number us also among thy Elect today.

. . . . . [illegible section]

The Man who has suffered wrong - lo, the protection of the Judge let him hasten unto it: He whom grief has killed, he on whom anger has leapt:

He for whom lust has soiled the whiteness of his clothes: He from whom obduracy stole away the sweetness of his heart: He whom folly made mock of and took away his wisdom: He for whom the devouring fire allied with his enemies, doing him harm:

He whom overweening pride deceived and tumbled to the ground: Lo, the judge has sat down, he calls out the name of him who has been wronged.

There is no favouring in his judgement, no turning in his justice.

He knows how to forgive him that shall sin and repent.

He makes reckoning with none that shall come to him and implore him.

But the divided man - him he forgives not.

Let us not neglect ourselves and fail in our hearts through our own fault.

Lo, the great physician has come; he knows how to heal all men.

He has spread his medicine-chest, he has called out, - "He that wishes to be cured, come hither!"

Look at the multitude of his cures; there is no cure save in him.

He does not recoil from him that is sick, he does not mock him that has a wound in him.

A skilful one is he in his work: his mouth is also sweet in its words.

He knows how to cut a wound, to put a cool medicament upon it.

He cuts and cleanses; he cauterizes and soothes in a single day.

Look, his loving-kindness has made each one of us reveal our sickness.

Let us not hide our sickness from him and leave the cancer in our members, the fair and mighty image of the New Man, so that it destroys it.

He has the antidote that is good for every affection: His Great Gospel, the good tidings of all them that are of the Light.

His water-pot is the Thesaurus, the treasure of life.

In it there is hot water: there is some cold water also mixed with it.

His soft sponge that wipes away bruises is the Pragmateia.

His knife for cutting is the Book of the Mysteries.

His excellent swabs are the Book of the Giants.

The [...] of every cure is the Book of Letters..

[illegible section.] . . . . . hot, the two psalms, the lamentations

. . . . . cool also, his Prayers and all his Logia.

Lo, the test of our physician: my brethren, let us implore him.

May he give us a cure that heals our . . . . . .

The forgiveness of our sins, that he may bestow it upon us all.

May he wipe away our iniquities, the scars that are branded on our souls.

Year by year there is the day: let us not forget, so that it goes . . . . . .

We are his holy ones, they that preach and they that hear, all of them.

He that sings a psalm is like them that weave a garland.

They that answer after him are like them that put roses into his hands.

Victory to the judge of Truth and his glorious Bema.

May he give it to all of us also, his Elect and his Catechumens.

Glory and honour to them that keep festival on this mighty day.

Victory to the soul of Plousiane, Apa Polydoxus, Apa Pshai, Panai, Pshai,

Jmnoute, Theona and the soul also of Mary.

SEPARATE PSALMS

TASTE AND KNOW THAT THE LORD IS SWEET

(Preparation for Communion)

Taste and Know that the Lord is sweet.

Christ is the word of Truth; he that hears it shall live.

I tasted a sweet taste, I found nothing sweeter than the word of Truth.

Taste and Know that the Lord is sweet.

I tasted a sweet taste, I found nothing sweeter than the name of God.

Taste and Know that the Lord is sweet.

I tasted a sweet taste, I found nothing sweeter than Christ.

Where is there a kind mother like my mother, Love?

Where is there a kind father like my father, Christ?

What honey is so sweet as this name, Church?

Wisdom invites you, that you may eat with your Spirit.

Lo, the new wine has been broached; lo, the cups have been brought in.

Drink what you shall drink, gladness surrounding you.

Eat that you may eat, glad in your Spirit.

The Bride is the Church, the Bridegroom is Christ.

The Bride is the soul, the Bridegroom is Jesus.

Rejoice, and know you are the sons of the Light.

This is the true joy that will endure with us!

Here is words of wisdom, hear: He that humbleth himself shall be received, he that exalteth himself in self-glory, shall be humbled.

He that dies lives, he that labours has his rest.

After the labour is the rest, after sorrow there is joy again.

Let us rejoice in this joy from the aeons of aeons.

Glory and honour to Jesus, the Majesty of the holy ones, and his holy Elect, and the soul of our Church, the Blessed Mary.

PUT IN ME A HOLY HEART, MY GOD

Put in me a holy heart, my God: let an upright Spirit be new within me.

The holy heart is Christ; if he rises in us, we also shall rise in him.

Christ has risen, the dead shall rise with him.

If we believe in him, we shall pass beyond death and come to life.

The sons of faith, - they shall see faith: lo, ... come, let us put oil in our lamps.

Let us gather in and become warm milk; this creature . . . . . hope which has come from on high.

The creature of the Darkness is this body we wear: the soul which is in it is the First Man.

The First Man who was victorious in the Land of Darkness, he also today will be victorious in the body of death.

The Living Spirit that gave help to the First Man, he also today is the Paraclete-Spirit (Comforting Spirit) .

One is the Mind that is to come, that reveals, gathering in, choosing his holy Church.

Purify me, my God, purify me within, without: purify the body, the soul and the Spirit.

Let . . . . . be a holy body for me: the knowledge . . . . . Spirit and Mind for me.

Purify me, my God, ... in these three . . . . .

. . . . . my mouth . . . . . and the purity of my virginity.

Jesus has risen: he has risen in three days, the Cross of Light that rises in the three powers.

The Sun and the Moon and the Perfect Man, -- these three powers are the Church of the Great World.

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Jesus, the Maiden, and the Mind which is in their midst -- these three powers are the Church of the Little World.

The Kingdom of the heavens, behold, it is within us, behold, it is outside us; if we believe in it we shall live in it for ever.

Glory, victory to every man that has heard these things and believed in them and fulfilled them in joy.

Victory to the Soul of the blessed Mary.

LIGHT YOUR LAMPS

Light your lamps , for lo, the Saviour has come; he of the holy name, he will make revelation.

Let us quickly break the nets of the body . . . . lo him that is bound, lest we come to a judgement.

The flesh . . . . . our Spirit is glad within us.

Come to us, blessed Jesus, and make us glad.

Do not flinch or lose heart , o man : thou hast . . . . . heedlessly what they that have flinched have done.

Do not glory now, for this is not a place of glorying: the place of glorying is the Luminaries, the place of rejoicing is the Perfect Man.

Many are the ships that have gone down after they were near to mooring to the bank; a number of houses have fallen after the parapet had been reached. So it is also, my brethren, that there is a soul that shall fight at first and the storm arises upon it and the waves seize it.

There is none that can fight if he is committed to both sides.

The insidious and the meddlers never find God; but they that have shut their eyes,to the good , - for them how greatly I care that they should repent.

Unto whom do I go that I may find his heart well-established, that he may support the burden that is upon me?

He knows it, that it is naught but sweet.

Men have been accustomed to the Darkness and have loved the burden of the sins; but do thou be zealous for God, my Spirit, do not flinch within thee.

Do not seek to please men and lose . . . . . hidden things of shame, - bring them to the Light, o son of God. For what is anything at all in the sight of God save the holy?

The holy also, if they slack , shall suffer.

Be thou like the sun, o faithful man, for he does not say : 'Fair am I', though the Lights are a thing of beauty.

But thou, if thou wouldest be like thy Father -- fair are others glorying in thee and thou holding thy peace; oh that the Saviour were ours: oh that we were worthy of him.

Jesus is a ship: blessed are we if we sail upon it.

The Church is a garland for which they gather in every corner: the garland-weaver who weaves it casts roses . . . . . .

But there are false roses that are esteemed: when thou regardest them they are fair, when thou smellest them there is no smell at all.

Woe to thee, o false rose, for thou hast lost the garland . . . . . change in time.

Glory and victory to the Paraclete, our joyous Luminary, our sun that has risen for us, the Saviour of spirits, the Helper of souls, and his holy Elect.

Victory to the soul of the blessed, Mary, Apa Panai, Theona.

MISCELLANEOUS MANICHAEAN TEXTS AND FRAGMENTS

A MANICHAEAN PSALM:

A SUMMARY OF THE MANICHAEAN CREATION MYTH

LET US WORSHIP THE SPIRIT OF THE PARACLETE

Let us worship the spirit of the Paraclete (comforter).

Let us bless our Lord Jesus who has sent us the Spirit of Truth.

He came and separated us from the Error of the World.

He brought us a mirror. We looked into it, and saw in it the Universe.

When the Holy Spirit came, he revealed to us the way of truth and taught us that there are two Natures, that of the Light and that of the Darkness, separated from each other since the beginning.

The Kingdom of Light consisted of five Greatnesses,

these are the Father and his twelve Aeons, the Aeon of Aeons, the Living Air, and the Land of Light, the Great Spirit blows in them and feeds them with its Light.

The Kingdom of Darkness, however, consisted in five Chambers, these are Smoke, Fire, Wind and Water and Darkness.

Their resolution crawls in them, moves them and spurs them on to make war with one another.

Now as they were warring with each other, they made bold to attack the Land of Light, considering themselves capable of conquering it.

Yet they know not that what they thought will recoil upon their own heads.

But there was a host of angels in the Land of Light which possessed the power to issue forth and overcome the enemy of the Father, whom it pleased that through the Word that he would send, he would subdue the rebels who desired to raise themselves above what was more exalted than they.

Like a shepherd who sees a lion approaching to destroy his sheepfold, he uses guile, takes a lamb and sets it as a snare that he may catch it with it, for with a single lamb he saves his sheepfold.

Afterwards he heals the lamb that has been wounded by the lion.

In this way too the Father acted, who sent his stout Son.

He produced out of himself his Maiden, furnished with the five Powers that she might fight against the five Abysses of the Dark.

When the Watchman stood fast within the frontiers of Light he showed the powers of the Darkness his Maiden, who is his Soul.

They became agitated in the Abyss and wanted to possess her, they opened their mouths and tried to swallow her.

He seized the Maidens power and spread it over the Powers of the Darkness, like nets over fish, he rained her down on them.

Like purified clouds of water, she penetrated into them like a piercing lightning stroke.

She crept inside their insides and bound them all without their ever knowing.

When the First Man had ended his struggle the Father sent forth his Second Son.

He came and helped his brother out of the Abyss.

He built this whole world up out of the mixture that had come into existence out of Light and Darkness.

All the Powers of the Abyss he spread out to the ten Heavens and to eight Earths, he shut them up into this World and made it a dungeon for all the Powers of Darkness.

This World is also, however, a place of purification of the soul which had been swallowed up in the Powers of Darkness.

The Sun and the Moon where set up and fixed in the heights, to purify the Soul.

They take the refined part daily upward to the heights but they destroy the deposit.

They convey it up and down.

This whole World stands firm for a Season, since there is a great Building being erected outside the World.

At the Hour when the Architect shall complete it, the entire World shall be dissolved.

It shall be set afire, that the fire may melt it away.

All Life, the Remnants of Light in every Place he shall gather to himself and form of it a Statue (Eidolon -- image, likeness).

Even the Resolution of Death also, the whole of Darkness,

he shall gather in and make an image of itself along with the Archon.

In a moment the Living Spirit shall come.

It will succor to the Light, but the Resolution of Death and the Darkness lock away in the chamber that was built for it that it may lie in chains forever.

There is no other means save this means to bind the Enemy, for he shall not be received into the Light because he is a stranger to it, but he shall also not be left in his Land of darkness, lest he may wage a greater war than the first.

A New Aeon shall be built in the place of this World, which shall be dissolved, so that in it the Powers of Light may reign since they have preformed and fulfilled the whole of the Father's will.

They have overthrown the hateful one, they have defeated him forever.

This is the knowledge of Mani, let us worship him and bless him.

Blessed is every man that may trust in him for he shall live with the Righteous.

Honour and Victory to our Lord Mani, the Spirit of Truth, that cometh from the Father and has revealed to us the Beginning, the Middle, and the End.

Victory to the Soul of the Blessed Mary. Theona, Pshai, Jemnoute.

THE HYMN OF THE FIRST PRIMAL MAN

The good God, the highest of the gods, a diadem and eternal glory, blissful among the lights, was proud and happy when you was born in his realm.

The twelve sons and the aeons of the aeons of the vast air were also happy.

All gods and the inhabitants of his realm - the mountains, trees, springs , the broad strong palaces and halls, were happy through you, Friend.

When the lovely women and girls born of the Sense saw you, they praised you, blessed you , perfect youth.

Songs filled the air. Tambourine, harp, and flute exploded.

All gods stood before you, Prince, son of a king.

Voices ring from the vast air, songs from the Light-Earth, tell the Father of Light;

Born is the battler who make peace.

The all-good highest of the gods gives you three tasks;

Destroy death, strike the enemies, and cover the whole Paradise of Light! You paid homage and went out for battle and covered the whole Paradise of Light.

The tyrant prince was bound forever and the dwelling place of the Dark Ones was destroyed.

The Light Friend, Primal Man, remained until he carried out his fathers will.

COME TO ME MY KINSMAN, THE LIGHT, MY GUIDE.

(A manichean prayer.)

Come to me, my kinsman, the light, my Guide.

Since I went forth into the darkness I was given a water to drink.

I bear up beneath a burden which is not my own.

I am in the midst of my enemies, the beasts surrounding me; the burden which I bear is of the powers and principalities.

They burned in their wrath, they rose up against me.

Matter and her sons divided me up amongst them, they burnt me in their fire, they gave me a bitter likeness.

The strangers with whom I mixed, me they know not; they tasted my sweetness, they desired to keep me with them.

I was life to them, but they were death to me; I bore up beneath them, they wore me as a garment upon them.

I am in everything, I bear the skies, I am the foundation, I support the earths; I am the Light that shines forth, that gives joy to the souls.

I am the life of the world; I am the milk that is in all trees; I am the sweet water that is beneath the sons of matter.

I bore these things until I had fulfilled the will of my Father; the First Man is my father whose will I have carried out.

Lo, the darkness I have subdued; lo, the fire of the fountains I have extinguished, as the sphere turns hurrying round, as the sun receives the refined part of life.

O soul, raise your eyes to the height and contemplate your bond, lo, your fathers are calling you.

Now go aboard the Ship of Light and receive your garland of glory and return to your kingdom and rejoice with all the Aeons.

THE END OF THE DEFICIENCY.

(A Manichean eschatological hymn.)

This whole World stands firm for a Season, since there is a great Building being erected outside of the World, At the Hour when its Architect shall complete it, the entire World shall be dissolved.

It shall be set afire, that fire may melt it away.

All Life, the Remnants of Light in every Place he shall gather to himself and form of it a Statue.

Even the Resolution of Death also, the whole of the Darkness, he shall gather in and make an image of itself along with the Archon.

In a moment the Living Spirit shall come.

It will succor the Light, but the Resolution of Death and the Darkness it shall lock away in the chamber that was built for it that it may lie in chains in it forever.

There is no other means save this means to bind the Enemy, for he shall not be received into the Light because he is a stranger to it, but he shall also not be left in his Land of Darkness, lest he may wage a greater war than the first.

A new Aeon shall be built in place of this World, which shall be dissolved, so that in the Powers of Light may reign since they have performed and fulfilled the whole of the Fathers will.

They have overthrown the hateful one, they have defeated him forever.

This is the Knowledge of Mani, let us worship him and bless him.

Blessed is every man that shall trust in him, for he shall live with all the Righteous.

Honour and Victory to our Lord Mani, the Spirit of Truth, that cometh from the Father and has revealed to us the Beginning, the Middle and the End.

Victory to the Soul of the Blessed Mary.

Theona, Pshai, Jemnoute.

JOY CAME OVER ME

. . . Joy came over me and no one will ever be able to tell of it.

My brethren, I have received my garland.

Take unto you the word of Truth O men who love God!

The world is nothing.

There is nothing to be gained in it.

My brethren, I have received my garland.

Men go on thinking that they are at rest and they know not that trouble is being prepared for them.

My brethren, I have received my garland.

They run and break forth till the hour catches up with them.

They have been called and have not understood.

They came empty and go empty.

My brethren, I have received my garland.

I have despised the world in order to give life to my soul.

The things of the flesh I have forsaken, With the things of the Spirit I have made my peace.

My brethren, I have received my garland.

Since I have found my Saviour I have walked in his steps.

Nothing could keep me from receiving this garland.

My brethren, I have received my garland.

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How great is the joy
prepared for the perfect!
... all of you, my brethren, we inherit it.
My brethren, I have received my garland.

SALVATION OF THE SOUL.

Like the gray wolf I will walk with you; like the black raven I will stay on earth.

Like charcoal to the disease, like the spittle to the whetstone I will be.

You are our powerful and great ruler.

Like gold rounded, like a ball rounded, you are our glorious wise lord.

And your numerous people at your wide breast, at your long seam, you keep and proect, you nurse, take care of.

O SOUL..

This visible Bema (mercy seat), the Word, has been set before thee that it may sow in thee through what is visible the memory of the hidden Law which thou hast forgotten since the day thou didst drink the water of the madness.

O Soul, see: to thee has come the grace of the Day of Rejoicing; do thou reveal without fear all thy sins today and remember thy end and prepare thyself in thy works, for the Bema of Wisdom moves thee thereto.

This is the way of truth, this is the stairway that leads on high, which shall take us on these holy steps!

From the beginning he is this Way, namely the First Man, and Jesus the Radiant, and the Spiritual Advocate; they have summoned thee O Soul!

THE MANICHAEAN BOOK OF GIANTS
or The Kawan
Source: Qocho, Turfan, Xinjiang, China
Translation: Walter Bruno Henning
Estimated Range of Dating: 250-290 A.D.

(There are two notable Books called "The Book of Giants". One is of Jewish origin written in Aramaic and it probably was once a part of the First Book of Enoch. The other one is the Manichaean Book of Giants which Mani. The Aramaic Book of Giants is an apocryphal Jewish book which expands the Urzeit to Endzeit ('primeval creation' to 'end of time') narrative of the Hebrew Bible and, by its multifaceted elaborations on divine decrees of warning and doom, ties the ancient prophet Enoch (ḥanôk) closer to his generally recognized 'storyline' (as collectively put forth in various Enochic traditions) than does even the story's principal treatise of 1 Enoch. Since before the latter half of the twentieth century, the 'Book of Giants' had long been known as a 'Middle Iranian' work (which some scholars now believe was written originally in 'Eastern Aramaic') that circulated among the Manichaeans as a composition attributed to Mani. As Mani spoke Aramaic, he seem to have made his own version.

During the twentieth century a number of finds shed considerable light on the literary evidence for the Book of Giants. The 1943 publication by W. B. Henning of the Manichaean fragments from the Book of Giants discovered at Turfàn in Western China (in what is now Xinjiang Province) have substantiated the many references to its circulation among, and use by, the Manichaeans. Further identification of the Manichaean Book of Giants was revealed in 1971 when Józef T. Milik discovered several additional Aramaic fragments of Enochic works among the Dead Sea Scrolls; he astonished the scholarly world upon announcing that the fragments bore close resemblance to Mani's Book of Giants, then added to the astonishment his belief, too, that the Book of Giants was originally an integral part of 1 Enoch itself. These fragmentary scrolls in Aramaic, which represented an Enochic tradition that was likely introduced to Mani in his sojourn with the Ecesaites, appeared to have been the primary source utilized by Mani in the compilation of his book, in which he made the legend of the Watchers and the giants "a cornerstone of his theological speculations." And for many scholars, the Qumran fragments confirmed the Book of Giants to originally have been an independent composition from the Second Temple period.

Among the fragments discovered at Qumran, ten manuscripts of the Book of Giants are identified by Stuckenbruck. These fragments (1Q23, 1Q24, 2Q26, 4Q203, 4Q530, 4Q531, 4Q532, 4Q556, 4Q206, and 6Q8) were found in caves 1, 2, 4, and 6 at the site. These discoveries led to further classification of the Enochic works. In the third group of classification, ten Aramaic manuscripts contain parts of the Book of Giants which were only known through the Manichaean sources until the recognition of them at Qumran.

There has been much speculation regarding the original language of the Book of Giants. It was generally believed to have had a Semitic origin. It was R. H. Charles, translator and publisher in 1906 of The Book of Enoch, who asserted that Enoch was "built upon the debris of" an older Noah saga than that in Genesis which only cryptically refers to the Enoch myth.

There are indications that the Book of Giants (parts of which have been found in Hebrew at Qumran) was "originally composed in Hebrew during the 3rd century BC, while the names of the giants Gilgamesh and Hobabish betray a Babylonian provenance". But whatever the reality, one thing remains certain: the Qumran books and their fragments are now the oldest known Enochic manuscripts in existence.

The Book of Giants consists of a grouping of Aramaic fragments which began to be unearthed at Qumran in 1948. Because of the book's fragmentation, it was difficult for the documents' linguistic researchers and specialists to know, in its subsequently varied permutations, the exact order of the content. The 'Giants' work is closely related to the 1 Enoch analogue, which also tells a story of the giants, but one which is far more elaborate. The Qumran Book of Giants also bears resemblance to the Manichaean Book of Giants that came after it. The ancient Qumran community considered the Enochic texts so important that they possessed and retained so many copies in comparison to other textual traditions found there.

The Jewish-Aramaic Book of Giants is an expansive narrative of the biblical story of the birth of 'giants' in Genesis 6.1-4. In this story, the giants came into being when the Watcher 'sons of God' (who, per the story's corroborative Jubilees account [Jub 4:15; 5:6], God originally dispatched to earth for the purpose of instructing and nurturing humanity "in proper ritual and ethical conduct," "to do what is just and upright upon the earth") were seduced by and had sexual intercourse with mortal women, who then birthed a hybrid race of giants.

In the Manichaean Book of Giants, Raphael (Enoch's 'heavenly double') is the conqueror of Ohyah and of all the other Watchers and of their giant-sons. The same work intimates that all four archangels (Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Uriel) were engaged in the struggle with the 200 Watchers and their offspring: "and those two hundred demons fought a hard battle with the four angels, until the angels used fire, naphtha, and brimstone...")

(M 101, a to n, and M 911, fifteen fragments of a book, throughout small pieces from the centre of the pages. It has proved impossible, so far, to re-establish the original order of the pages. On purely technical grounds (size of the fragments, appearance of the margins, relative position of tears, stains, etc.), Henning at first assumed the following fragment sequence: l-j-k-g-i-c-e-b-h-f-a-d-m-M 911-n. Being unable to estimate the cogency of these technical reasons now, because of the absence of any photographic material, he decided to change the order of the first six fragments in the following way: c-j-l-k-g-i, in view of their contents. Unfortunately we do not know in what order Mani had told the story of the giants. The task of finding the original order is made still more difficult by the fact that besides the Kawān the book contained one or two more treatises, namely: (1) Parables referring to the Hearers, and possibly (2) a discourse on the Five Elements. The only fragments that undoubtedly belonged to the Kawān are c-j-l-k-g-i, while the position of the fragments e-b-h is particularly doubtful. It must be borne in mind that whole folios may be missing between apparently successive pages. In order to enable the reader to judge for himself, all the fragments (including the parables) are published here.)

Text:

A. Middle-Persian

(Frg. c) . . . hard . . . arrow . . . bow, he that . . . Sām said: "Blessed be . . . had [he ?] seen this, he would not have died." Then Shahmīzād said to Sām, his [son]: "All that Māhawai . . ., is spoilt (?)." Thereupon he said to . . . "We are . . . until (10) . . . and . . . (13) . . . that are in (?) the fiery hell (?) . . . As my father, Virōgdād, was . . ." Shahmīzād said: "It is true what he says. He says one of thousands.1 For one of thousands . . . .". Sām thereupon began . . . Māhawai, too, in many places . . . (20) until to that place he might escape (1) and . . .2

(Frg. j) . . . Virōgdād . . . Hōbābīš 3 robbed Ahr . . . 4 of -naxtag,5 his wife. Thereupon the giants began to kill each other and [to abduct their wives]. The creatures, too, began to kill each other.6 Sām . . . before the sun, one hand in the air, the other (30) . . . whatever he obtained, to his brother . . . . imprisoned . . . (34) . . . over Taxtag.7 To the angels . . . from heaven. Taxtag to . . . Taxtag threw (or: was thrown) into the water. Finally (?) . . . in his sleep Taxtag saw three signs, [one portending . . .], one woe and flight, and one . . . annihilation. Narīmān saw a gar[den full of] (40) trees in rows. Two hundred . . . came out, the trees. . . .8

(Frg. l) . . . Enoch,1 the apostle, . . . [gave] a message to [the demons and their] children: To you . . . not peace.2 [The judgement on you is] that you shall be bound for the sins you have committed.3 You shall see the destruction of your children.4 ruling for a hundred and twenty5 [years] . . . . (50) . . . wild ass, ibex . . . ram, goat (?),6 gazelle, . . . oryx, of each two hundred, a pair7 . . . the other wild beasts, birds, and animals and their wine [shall be] six thousand jugs . . . irritation(?)8 of water (?) . . . and their oil shall be 9 . . .

(Frg. k) . . . father . . . nuptials (?) . . . until the completion of his . . . in fighting . . . (60) . . . and in the nest(?) Ohya and Ahya . . . he said to his brother: "get up and . . . we will take what our father has ordered us to. The pledge we have given . . . battle." And the giants . . . together . . . (67) "[Not the] . . . of the lion, but the . . . on his . . . [Not the] . . . of the rainbow, but the bow . . . firm. Not the sharpness of the blade, [but] (70) the strength of the ox (?).10 Not the . . . eagle, but his wings.11 Not the . . . gold, but the brass that hammers12 it. Not the proud [ruler], but the diadem on his [head. Not] the splendid cypress, but the . . . of the mountain . . .

(Frg. g) . . . Not he that engages in quarrels, but he that is true in his speech. Not the evil fruit(?), but the poison in it. (80) [Not they that] are placed (?) 13 in the skies but the God [of all] worlds. Not the servant is proud, but [the lord] that is above him. Not one that is sent . . ., but the man that sent him".1 Thereupon Narīmān . . . said . . . (86) . . . And (in) another place I saw those that were weeping for the ruin that had befallen them, and whose cries and laments rose up to heaven. (90) And also I saw another place [where there were] tyrants and rulers . . . in great number, who had lived 2 in sin and evil deeds, when 3 . . .

(Frg. i) 4 . . . many . . . were killed, four hundred thousand Righteous 5 . . . with fire, naphtha, and brimstone 6 . . . And the angels veiled 7 (or: covered, or: protected, or: moved out of sight) Enoch. Electae et auditrices (100) . . . and ravished them. They chose beautiful [women], and demanded . . . them in marriage.8 Sordid . . . (103) . . . all . . . carried off . . . severally they were subjected to tasks and services. And they . . . from each city . . . and were, ordered to serve the . . . The Mesenians [were directed] to prepare, the Khūzians 9 to sweep [and] (110) water, the Persians to . . .

[On the Five Elements]

(Frg. e) (112) . . . slaying . . . righteous . . . good deeds . . . . elements. The crown, the diadem, [the garland, and] the garment (of Light). The seven demons. Like a blacksmith [who] binds (or: shuts, fastens) and looses (or: opens, detaches) . . . . who from the seeds of . . . . and serves the king . . . . (120) . . . offends . . . when weeping . . . with mercy . . . hand . . . (125) . . . the Pious gave . . . ? . . . presents. Some buried the idols. The Jews did good and evil. Some make their god half demon, half god . . . (130) killing . . . the seven demons . . . eye . . .

(Frg. b) . . . various colours that by . . . and bile. If. . . . from the five elements. As if (it were) a means not to die, they fill themselves with food and drink. Their (140) garment is . . . this corpse . . . and not firm . . . Its ground is not firm . . . Like . . . (146) . . . imprisoned [in this corpse], in bones, nerves,1 [flesh], veins, and skin, and entered herself [= Āz] into it. Then he (= Man) cries out, over 2 (?) sun and moon, the Just God's (150) two flames 3 . . . ? . . .,4 over the elements, the trees and the animals. But God [Zrwān ?], in each epoch,5 sends apostles: Šīt[īl, Zarathushtra,] Buddha, Christ, . . .

(Frg. h) . . . evil-intentioned . . . from where . . . he came. The Misguided recognize the five elements, [the five kinds of] trees, the five (kinds of) animals.

(160) . . . On the Hearers

. . . we receive . . . from Mani, the Lord, . . . the Five Commandments to . . . the Three Seals . . . (164) . . . living . . . profession . . . and wisdom . . . moon. Rest from the power (or: deceit) . . . own. And keep measured the mixture (?) . . . trees and wells, in two . . . (170) water, and fruit, milk, . . . he should not offend his brother. The wise [Hearer] who like unto juniper [leaves 6 . . .

(Frg. f) . . . much profit. Like a farmer . . . who sows seed . . in many 7 . . . The Hearer who . . . knowledge, is like unto a man that threw (the dish called) 8 frōšag (180) [into] milk(?). It became hard, not . . . The part that ruin . . . at first heavy. Like . . . first . . . is honoured . . . might shine . . . (188) six days. The Hearer who gives alms (to the Elect), is like unto a poor (190) man that presents his daughter to the king; he reaches (a position of) great honour.1 In the body of the Elect the (food given to to him as) alms is purified in the same manner as a . . . that by fire and wind . . . beautiful clothes on a clean body . . . turn . . .

(Frg. a) . . . witness . . . fruit . . . (200) . . . tree . . . like firewood . . . like a grain (?) . . . radiance. The Hearer in [the world ?], (and) the alms within the Church, are like unto a ship [on the sea] 2: the towing-line 3 (is) in the hand of [the tower] on shore, the sailor (210) is [on board the ship]. The sea is the world, the ship is [the . . ., the . . . is the ?al]ms, the tower is [the . . . ?], the towing-line (?) is the Wisdom. . . . . (214) . . . The Hearer . . . is like unto the branch (?) of a fruitless [tree] . . . fruitless . . . and the Hearers . . . fruit that . . . (220) pious deeds. [The Elect,] the Hearer, and Vahman, are like unto three brothers to whom some [possessions] were left by their father: a piece of land, . . ., seed. They became partners . . . they reap and . . . The Hearer . . . like . . .

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(Frg. d) . . . an image (?) of the king, cast of gold . . . (230) . . . the king gave presents. The Hearer that copies a book, is like unto a sick man that gave his . . . 4 to a . . . man. The Hearer that gives [his] daughter to the church,5 is like . . . pledge, who (= father ?) gave his son to . . . learn . . . to . . . father, pledge . . . (240) . . . Hearer. Again, the Hearer . . . is like . . . . stumble . . . is purified. To . . . the soul from the Church, is like unto the wife of the soldier (or: Roman) who . . . infantrist, one shoe . . . who, however, with a denarius . . . was. The wind tore out one . . . he was abashed 6 . . . from the ground . . . ground . . .

(Frg. m) . . . (250) . . . sent . . . The Hearer that makes one . . ., is like unto [a compassionate mother] who had seven sons . . . the enemy [killed] all . . . The Hearer that . . . piety . . . (258) . . . a well. One [on the shore of] the sea, one in the boat. (260) [He that is on] shore, tows(?) him that is [in the boat].1 He that is in the boat. . . . sea. Upwards to . . . like . . ? . . like a pearl . . . diadem . . .

(Frg. M 911) . . . Church. Like unto a man that . . . fruit and flowers . . . then they praise . . . fruitful tree . . . (270) . . . [Like unto a man] that bought a piece of land. [On that] piece of land [there was] a well, [and in that well a bag] full of drachmas . . . the king was filled with wonder . . . share . . . pledge . . .

(Frg. n) . . . numerous . . . Hearer. At . . . like unto a garment . . . (280) like . . . to the master . . . like . . . and a blacksmith. The goldsmith . . . to honour, the blacksmith to . . . one to . . .

B. Uygur

[LeCoq, Türk. Man., iii, 23. Bang, Muséon, xliv, 13-17. Order of pages according to LeCoq (the phot. publ. by Bang seems to support LeCoq's opinion).]

(First page) . . . fire was going to come out. And [I saw] that the sun was at the point of rising, and that [his ?] centre (orḍu) without increasing (? ašïlmatïn ?) above was going to start rolling. Then came a voice from the air above. Calling me, it spoke thus: "Oh son of Virōgdād, your affairs are lamentable (?). More than this you shall [not] see. Do not die now prematurely, but turn quickly back from here." And again, besides this (voice), I heard the voice of Enoch, the apostle, from the south, without, however, seeing him at all. Speaking my name very lovingly, he called. And downwards from . . . then

(Second page) . . . " . . for the closed 2 door of the sun will open, the sun's light and heat will descend and set your wings alight. You will burn and die," said he. Having heard these words, I beat my wings and quickly flew down from the air. I looked back: Dawn had . . . ., with the light of the sun it had come to rise over the Kögmän mountains. And again a voice came from above. Bringing the command of Enoch, the apostle, it said: "I call you, Virōgdād, . . . I know . . . his direction . . . you . . . you . . . Now quickly . . . people . . . also . . .

C. Sogdian

[M 648. Small scrap from the centre of a page. Order of pages uncertain.]

(First page) . . . I shall see. Thereupon now S[āhm, the giant] was [very] angry, and laid hands on M[āhawai, the giant], with the intention: I shall . . . and kill [you]. Then . . . the other g[iants . . .

(Second page) . . . do not be afraid, for . . . [Sā]hm, the giant, will want to [kill] you, but I shall not let him . . . I myself shall damage . . . Thereupon Māhawai, the g[iant], . . . was satisfied . . .

D. Middle-Persian

[Published Sb.P.A.W., 1934, p. 29.]

. . . outside . . . and . . . left . . . . read the dream we have seen. Thereupon Enoch thus . . . . and the trees that came out, those are the Egrēgoroi (‘yr), and the giants that came out of the women. And . . . . . over . . . pulled out . . . over . . .

E. Sogdian

[T iii 282. Order of pages uncertain.]

(First page) . . . [when] they saw the apostle, . . . before the apostle . . . those demons that were [timid], were very, very glad at seeing the apostle. All of them assembled before him. Also, of those that were tyrants and criminals, they were [worried] and much afraid.1 Then . . .

(Second page) . . . not to . . . Thereupon those powerful demons spoke thus to the pious apostle 2: If . . . . by us any (further) sin [will] not [be committed ?], my lord, why ? . . . . you have . . . and weighty injunction 3 . . .

F. Middle-Persian

[T ii D ii 164. Six fragmentary columns, from the middle of a page. Order of columns uncertain. Instead of A///B///CDEF, it might have been: BCDEFA, or even CDEF///A///B.4]

(Col. A) . . . poverty . . . [those who] harassed 1 the happiness of the Righteous, on that account they shall fall into eternal ruin and distress, into that Fire, the mother of all conflagrations and the foundation of all ruined tyrants. And when these sinful misbegotten sons 2 of ruin in those crevices and . . . .

(Col. B) . . . you have not been better. In error you thought you would this false power eternally.3 You . . . all this iniquity . . .

(Col. C) . . . you that call to us with the voice of falsehood. Neither did we reveal ourselves on your account, so that you could see us, nor thus . . . . ourselves through the praise and greatness that to us . . . -given to you . . ., but . . .

(Col. D) . . . sinners . . . . . is visible, where out of this fire your soul will be prepared (for the transfer) to eternal ruin (?). And as for you, sinful misbegotten sons of the Wrathful Self,1 confounders of the true words of that Holy One, disturbers of the actions of Good Deed, aggressors upon Piety, . . . -ers of the Living. . . ., who their . . .

(Col. E) . . . and on brilliant wings they shall fly and soar further outside and above that Fire, and shall gaze into its depth and height. And those Righteous that will stand around it, outside and above, they themselves shall have power over that Great Fire, and over everything in it. . . . . blaze . . . . souls that . . .

(Col. F) . . . they are purer and stronger [than the] Great Fire of Ruin that sets the worlds ablaze. They shall stand around it, outside and above, and splendour shall shine over them. Further outside and above it they shall fly 2 (?) after those souls that may try to escape from the Fire. And that . . . .

G. Sogdian

[T ii. Two folios (one only publ. here; the other contains a wyδβ’γ cn pš’qṭ δywtyy "Discourse on the Nephīlīm-demons"). Head-lines: R: pš’n prβ’r 3 ". . . pronouncement", V: iv fryštyt δn CC "The four angels with the two hundred [demons . . . ".]

. . . they took and imprisoned all the helpers that were in the heavens. And the angels themselves descended from the heaven to the earth. And (when) the two hundred demons saw those angels, they were much afraid and worried. They assumed the shape of men 3 and hid themselves. Thereupon the angels forcibly removed the men 4 from the demons, (10) laid them aside, and put watchers over them . . . . the giants . . . . were sons . . . with each other in bodily union . . . . with each other self- . . . . and the . . . . that had been born to them, they forcibly removed them 5 from the demons. And they led one half of them (20) eastwards, and the other half westwards, on the skirts of four huge mountains, towards the foot of the Sumeru mountain, into thirty-two towns which the Living Spirit had prepared for them in the beginning.6 And one calls (that place) Aryān-waižan. And those men are (or: were) . . . . in the first arts and crafts.7 (30) . . . . they made . . . the angels . . . and to the demons . . . they went to fight. And those two hundred demons fought a hard battle with the [four angels], until [the angels used] fire, naphtha, and brimstone 8 . . . .

EXCERPTS

H. Sogdian

[T ii S 20. Sogdian script.9 Two folios. Contents similar to the "Kephalaia". Only about a quarter (I R i-17) publ. here. The following chapter has as headline: ”γšt š’nš’y cnn ’β[c’n]pδ[yh w]prs = Here begins: Šanšai's 10 question the world. Init. rty tym ZK š’nš’[y] [cnn] m’rm’ny rwyšny pr’yš[t’kw w’nkw ’]prs’ ’yn’k ’βc’npδ ZY kw ZKh mrtγmyt (’skw’nt) oo ckn’c pyδ’r ”zy mrch ’zγyr’nt = And again Šanšai asked the Light Apostle: this world where mankind lives, why does one call it birth-death (saṃsāra, Chin. shêng-szŭ).]

. . . and what they had seen in the heavens among the gods, and also what they had seen in hell, their native land, and furthermore what they had seen on earth,—all that they began to teach (hendiadys) to the men.3 To Šahmīzād two(?) sons were borne by . . . . One of them he named "Ohya"; in Sogdian he is called "Sāhm, the giant". And again a second son [was born] to him. He named him "Ahya"; its Sogdian (equivalent) is "Pāt-Sāhm". As for the remaining giants, they were born to the other demons and Yakṣas. (Colophon) Completed: (the chapter on) "The Coming of the two hundred Demons".

I. Sogdian

[M 500 n. Small fragment.]

. . . . manliness, in powerful tyranny, he (or: you ?) shall not die". The giant Sāhm and his brother will live eternally. For in the whole world in power and strength, and in . . . . [they have no equal].

QUOTATIONS AND ALLUSIONS

J. Middle-Persian

[T ii D ii 120, V ii 1-5:]

. . . . . and in the coming of the two hundred demons there are two paths: the hurting speech, and the hard labour; these (belong, or: lead) to hell.

K. Sogdian

[M 363.]

(First page) . . . before . . . they were. And all the . . . 2 fulfilled their tasks lawfully. Now, they became excited and irritated for the following reason: namely, the two hundred demons came down to the sphere from the high heaven, and the . . . .

(Second page) . . . in the world they became excited and irritated. For their life-lines and the connections of their Pneumatic Veins 3 are joined to sphere. (Colophon) Completed: the exposition of the three worlds. (Head-line) Here begins: the coming of Jesus and [his bringing] the religion to Adam and Šitil. . . . you should care and . . .

L. Coptic

[Kephalaia, 17116-19:]

Earthquake and malice happened in the watchpost of the Great King of Honour, namely the Egrēgoroi who arose at the time when they were . . . . and there descended those who were sent to confound them.

M. Coptic

[Kephalaia, 9224-31:]

Now attend and behold how the Great King of Honour who is ἔννοια, is in the third heaven. He is . . . with the wrath . . . and a rebellion . . ., when malice and wrath arose in his camp, namely the Egrēgoroi of Heaven who in his watch-district (rebelled and) descended to the earth. They did all deeds of malice. They revealed the arts in the world, and the mysteries of heaven to the men. Rebellion and ruin came about on the earth . . .

N. Parthian

[M 35, lines 21-36. Fragment of a treatise entitled ’rdhng wyfr’s = Commentary on (Mani's opus) Ārdahang.4]

And the story about the Great Fire: like unto (the way in which) the Fire, with powerful wrath, swallows this world and enjoys it; like unto (the way in which) this fire that is in the body, swallows the exterior fire that is (lit. comes) in fruit and food, and enjoys it. Again, like unto (the story in which) two brothers who found a treasure, and a pursuer lacerated each other, and they died; like unto (the fight in which) Ohya, Lewyātīn (= Leviathan), and Raphael lacerated each other, and they vanished; like unto (the story in which) a lion cub, a calf in a wood (or: on a meadow), and a fox lacerated each other, [and they vanished, or: died]. Thus [the Great Fire swallows, etc.] both of the fires. . . .1

M 740. Another copy of this text.

O. Arabic, from Middle-Persian

Al-Ghaḍanfar (Abū Isḥāq Ibr. b. Muḥ. al-Tibrīzī, middle of thirteenth century), in Sachau's edition of Beruni's Āthār al-bāqiyah, Intr., p. xiv: The Book of the Giants, by Mani of Babylon, is filled with stories about these (antediluvian) giants, amongst whom Sām and Narīmān.

P. Coptic

Keph. 9323-28: On account of the malice and rebellion that had arisen in the watch-post of the Great King of Honour, namely the Egrēgoroi who from the heavens had descended to the earth,—on their account the four angels received their orders: they bound the Egrēgoroi with eternal fetters in the prison of the Dark(?), their sons were destroyed upon the earth.

Q. Coptic

Manich. Psalm-book, ed. Allberry, 1427-9: The Righteous who were burnt in the fire, they endured. This multitude that were wiped out, four thousand . . . . Enoch also, the Sage, the transgressors being . . .

R. Coptic

Man. Homil., ed. Polotsky, 6818-19: . . . evil. 400,000 Righteous . . . . the years of Enoch . . .

S. Coptic

Keph., 1171-9: Before the Egrēgoroi rebelled and descended from heaven, a prison had been built for them in the depth of the earth beneath the mountains. p. 73 Before the sons of the giants were born who knew not Righteousness and Piety among themselves, thirty-six towns had been prepared and erected, so that the sons of the giants should live in them, they that come to beget . . . . who live a thousand years.

T. Parthian

[291a. Order of pages unknown.]

(First page) . . . mirror . . . image. . . . distributed. The men . . . and Enoch was veiled (= moved out of sight).1 They took . . . Afterwards, with donkey-goads . . . . slaves,2 and waterless trees (?). Then . . . and imprisoned the demons. And of them . . . . seven and twelve.

(Second page) . . . three thousand two hundred and eighty-3 . . . the beginning of King Vištāsp.4 . . . . in the palace he flamed forth (or: in the brilliant palace). And at night . . .,

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then to the broken gate . . . men . . . physicians, merchants, farmers, . . . at sea. ? . . . armoured he came out . . .

APPENDIX

U. Parthian

[T ii D 58. From the end (. . . r š t) of a hymn.]

. . . gifts. A peaceful sovereign [was] King Vištāsp, [in Aryā]n-Waižan 5; p. 74 Wahman and Zarēl . . . . The sovereign's queen, Khudōs,1 received the Faith,2 the prince . . . They have secured (a place in) the (heavenly) hall, and quietude for ever and ever . . .

V. Sogdian

[M 692. Small fragment. Order of pages uncertain.]

(First page) . . . because . . . the House of the Gods, eternal joy, and good . . ? . .4 For so it is said: at that time . . . Yima was . . . in the world. And at the time of the new moon (?) . . . . the blessed denizens of the world 5 . . . all assembled 6 . . . all . . .

(Second page) . . . they offered five garlands in homage.7 And Yima accepted those garlands . . . And those . . . that . . . . and great kingship . . . was his. And on . . . them . . . . And acclamations 8 . . . And from that pious (?) . . . he placed the garlands on his head . . . the denizens of the world . . .

THE COLOGNE MANI-CODEX

Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis

Translation: Ron Cameron, Arthur J. Dewey, 1979

Estimated Range of Dating: 5th century AD

(The Cologne Mani-Codex (Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis) is a minute parchment codex, dated on paleographical evidence to the fifth century AD, discovered in 1969 near Asyut (the ancient Lycopolis), Egypt; it contains a Greek text describing the life of Mani, the founder of the religion Manichaeism. It is the smallest ancient codex known to date. In the same year it came into the possession of the Institut für Altertumskunde at the university in Cologne. The seemingly hopeless task of restoring the codex was successfully completed a few months later by A. Fackelmann in Vienna. What emerged was the earliest extant original Manichean work written in Greek. The restored work comprises fragments of ninety-six leaves from one codex, measuring 4.5 x 3.8 cm, and a few other, even smaller fragments. The original number of leaves in the manuscript can no longer be determined, as the first and last pages are missing. Each page contains a single column of text, usually twenty-three lines long, written in a minute but clearly legible script. The Greek text bears traces that shows it has been translated from an Eastern Aramaic or Old Syriac Aramaic original. The logoi of Mani himself are repeatedly cited. That it is a compilation from earlier texts is suggested by the names, apparently of teachers that head each section of the text.

Publication: Albert Henrichs and Ludwig Koenen [detailed references see Encyclopaedia Iranica] published an initial report on the work (1970), followed by the first edition of the text, in the years 1975-82. Scrutiny of this text revealed that in a number of instances fragments could be assembled to form longer passages (Koenen and Römer, 1985). This discovery led to their publication of a second edition of the complete codex in 1988, though the volume of commentary on pp. 121-192 of the codex and a glossary of terms for the entire edition have yet to appear. A concordance to the first edition was published in 1985 (Cirillo, Concolino Mancino, and Roselli).

Because of the great importance of the codex, it immediately became the subject of research by scholars of Manicheism. Aside from numerous interpretive essays by the editors, two symposia in Rende (Calabria) and Cosenza, in 1984 and 1988 respectively, have been devoted entirely to the codex. The papers presented at the first were published in 1986 by Luigi Cirillo and Amneris Roselli, those presented at the second by Cirillo.

Content: The fragmentary text preserved in the Cologne codex deals with Mani's youth and the beginning of his missionary activity, though, because of extensive damage to the leaves, particularly in the last sections, even the most elementary logical connections are often lacking. The account of Mani's introduction to the Elkesaite baptist sect provides the first verifiable date in his life. The child Mani is accompanied by guardian angels and "holy powers" during this whole period, and he experiences wonderful visions, which he still does not understand. The end of the period is marked by the "maturation" (to akmaîon) of Mani's body, which was originally dated by the editors to his twenty-fifth year but later to the end of his twelfth year. The next certain date is that of the revelation of the teaching through Mani's spiritual companion and twin, the syzygos, during his twenty-fifth year. From that point on the description of Mani's life becomes more detailed, including his initial teaching activities and conflict with the baptists, his failure in the debate, and his final separation from them. This section, which forms the main portion of the preserved text, also contains apologetic and exegetic homilies (e.g., on the truth of the paraclete's witness to the revelation and on the proper understanding of Mani's parousia). The final preserved section covers the beginning of the Manichean world mission in episodic and legendary terms. The concrete events mentioned include the conversion of Pattikios, Mani's father; the southern Mesopotamian port of Pharat on the Persian Gulf is mentioned, as is the "Median" Ganzak (Greek: Gounazak, Ganazak). The editors date Mani's appearance in the palace of the Sassanid emperor Shapur I to his twenty-sixth year.

The work bears the somewhat puzzling title Peri tes gennes tou somatos autou (On the origin of his body), which Koenen first interpreted in the Pauline sense, as a reference to the creation of Mani's church, his mystic body. The codex would thus be a hagiographical treatment of Mani as part of a comprehensive history of the church. Koenen has since retracted this interpretation, as in many instances the Greek word soma refers specifically to Mani's body and is thus used as a term for the earthly person of the founder of the religion. It can therefore be assumed that the title refers to the Manichean belief in a spiritual Mani who only temporarily assumed earthly form.

Form and Origin: The Cologne Mani codex is divided into sections, each beginning with a name (e.g., Abiesous, Ana, Innaios, Koustaios, Timótheos) or simply "the teachers." The editors identified these figures as the transmitters of the texts that follow; the work is thus obviously a compilation from older ones. As some of the transmitters' names (Innaīos, Koustaios) are known from Mani's circle and their successors, the sources must have been of the 3rd century, incorporated into the text of the codex at the beginning of the 4th century. That it was probably originally written in eastern Aramaic (Syriac) is strongly suggested by a number of linguistic features. The transmitters frequently cited the "words" or writings of Mani himself, for instance, his letter to Edessa. At the beginning of the "Living Teachings of Mani", the citation is demonstrably exact. This manuscript of the Greek translation has been dated to the 5th century on the basis of paleographic evidence. The language exhibits many postclassical features and imitates the diction of the Septuagint and the New Testament.

The sources, motifs, and components of the text have been analysed by Henrichs, using the methods of literary criticism, but as yet the literary function of the codex itself has not been studied. The contents and nature of the presentation suggest that it belonged to a popular genre aimed at a broad circle of readers and listeners. Literary works of this kind are otherwise unknown in the tradition of eastern Manicheism. Although there are some other texts with comparable hagiographical themes, it is doubtful that there is any other instance in which the transmissions of followers were integrated into continuous, conventionalised hagiographical description (Sundermann, 1986). In the west, however, the so-called "Coptic church history," found at Madinat Madi in Egypt but now lost, was comparable. The reports were also given under the "authors' names" (Schmidt and Polotsky, 1933). As the latter work deals with Mani's death and the subsequent fate of the church, it can be concluded that both compilations are parts of a more comprehensive Manichean church history in Aramaic, Greek, and Coptic, the first part of which is preserved in the Cologne Mani codex.

Importance for Research on Manicheism: The narrative contained in the Cologne Mani codex follows hagiographic convention, in many places based on the pattern of the life of Christ and often incorporating popular themes, but it also includes historical material, which is of the greatest value for research on Manicheism. In the text it is asserted that Mani grew up in a Judeo-Christian community of which Alchasai was regarded as the founder. What had previously been known about this legendary figure was not always consistent with the known practices among the baptists Mani knew (e.g., rejection of marriage). The justification for describing these baptists as Elkesaites has thus been called into doubt a priori. Most scholars regard the testimony of the Cologne Mani codex as credible, with the proviso that the teaching of the founder of a sect can be subject to modification in actual practice among his followers.

It is certain that Alchasai was known in the Manichean tradition and that he was probably contrasted, ahistorically, with his own followers as an early advocate of Mani's ideas. This phenomenon can be traced back to widespread older traditions and probably to Mani's own teachings, as is confirmed by the reference to Alchasai ('lxs') in a Parthian Manichean fragment and by the identification in a 10th-century Arabic textof al-H-s-y-h as the founder of the Mogtasela, a southern Mesopotamian baptist sect related to the Manicheans.

There is, however, no reason to doubt the assertion in the Cologne Mani Codex that Mani grew up in a Christian-oriented, rather than a Mandean, community, which is of fundamental importance to an understanding of the intellectual and religious background of his teachings. His earliest teachers were not members of a decidedly anti-Christian sect under strong Persian influence but Jewish Christians who believed in the efficacy of rites and baptism. The gnostic ideas in the new teachings grew out of Mani's differences with those teachers. Mani's teachings were indeed originally what medieval orthodox Christians claimed, a Christian heresy.

The Cologne Mani codex is not a dogmatic tract. Its themes were drawn from fully developed Manichean dogma. The hope of finding in this text Mani's teachings in their original form, free of later ontological dualism, thus remains unfulfilled; in fact, the "[two] natures" are mentioned frequently in the codex.

Importance for Persian studies: From the point of view of Persian studies, the most important material in the codex is the synchrony provided by the account of Mani's twenty-fifth year: "[When I] was twenty-four years old, the year in which Ardašīr, king of Persia, subjugated the city of Hatra and in which his son King Shapur adopted the great crown (diadema megiston), on the 8th (?) day of the month of Pharmuti, according to the lunar calendar [i.e., on 17-18 April 240 AD, counting from the evening of the first day to that of the second] . . .". Marie Louise Chaumont observed that the term diádema megiston corresponds to the expression LB'dydymy of the Paikuli inscription. There is no reason to doubt that these were Mani's own words, and it is clear that he was well informed about current events. Henrichs and Koenen interpreted this reference to the conquest of Hatra by Ardashir I, rather than by his son Shapur, as confirmation of the "late" chronology for the reign of Ardashir put forth by Theodor Nöldeke (Geschichte der Perser) and Hasan Taqizada, but they nevertheless acknowledged that both the early (239 AD) and the late (241 AD) dates suggested for the official beginning of Shapur I's reign are possible while considering the earlier date more probable.

The Cologne Mani codex thus appeared to the editors to confirm the early date (12 April / 1 Nisan 240 AD) for the coronation of Shapur I as ruler over Persia. It should be noted that the date itself is not given in the codex but was derived from a combination of the report there with Ebn al-Nadim's report of the date of Mani's first official public appearance. The respective accounts of the public appearance of Mani on 1 Nisan and his call to proclaim his teachings on 8 Nisan are in fact incompatible; it is possible that reports based on different historical attempts at synchronism were uncritically combined by Ebn al-Nadim.

An important argument for dating the coronation of Shapur I to the year 239-240 AD was put forth by Ruth Altheim-Stiehl on the basis of an examination of the inscription on the Bishapur Stele. Only the dates 223-224 AD for the accession of Ardashir and 239-40 for Shapur are compatible with the period of the stele and the dates in the inscription. On the other hand, it is clear from the Cologne Mani codex that such an early dating of the reign of Ardashir is incorrect, for he must still have been alive in the year April 240 AD-April 241 AD. A number of suggestions for resolving this dilemma have been put forth (for a summary, see Altheim-Stiehl, 1982), but the possibility of different dates for the "fire" (i.e., coronation) of the first two Sassanid kings (223-224 and 239-240 AD respectively) and their first years of official rule (226-227 and 241-242 AD) should be considered.

If Mani really appeared during his twenty-sixth year (241-242 AD, according to the reconstruction of the codex) in the palace of King Shapur I, who was mourning his father's death, that would lend credence to the frequently advanced hypothesis that Ardashir died during that year.)

CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF HIS BODY

. . . [Page 1 is too fragmentary for translation] . . .

2.2 ". . . little by little [. . . I] have shown you [unholy . . .] from many [. . .]. But you will be able to behold that mystery magnificently and most lucidly." And then the angel was hidden [from] . . .

3.2 . . . I (Mani) was protected [through] the night of [the] angels and the powers of holiness who were entrusted with my safekeeping, and they nourished me with visions and signs which they made known to me, slight and quite brief, as far as I was able to bear.

For sometimes like a flash of lightning he [came] . . .

4.3 . . . but he was reassuring me also about this power whch is steadfast in affliction.

Now very many are the visions and exceedingly great are the sights which he showed to me during all that time of my youth. But I [. . . remained] in silence. Except . . .

5.3 . . . with wisdom and skill (I was) going about in their midst, keeping the Rest, neither doing wrong, nor inflicting pain, nor following the law of the Baptists, nor speaking in the way they did.

Salmaios the [Ascetic]

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. . .

6.2 ". . . to [him]. But neither do you take [vegetables] from [the] garden, nor do you carry wood for his use.

But the Baptist constrained me, saying: "Get up and come with me to the place where there is wood; take it and carry it." We went away to a certain [date-palm tree], and he climbed up . . .

7.2 . . . "If you keep the [pain] away from us (trees}, you wll [not perish] with the murderer," Then that Baptist, gripped by fear of me, came down from it in confusion, and fell at my feet and said: "I did not know that this secret mystery is with you. Whence was the [agony of the date-palm tree] revealed to you?" . . .

8.1 (Mani is now speaking) "[When the date-palm tree said] this to you, why did you become [greatly] frightened and change your complexion? How much more wll [that one], with whom all the [plants] speak, be disturbed?" Thereupon he was dumbfounded, beside himself in amazement over me. He said to me: "Guard this mystery, tell it to no one, lest someone become envious and destroy you." . . .

9.1 . . . [for the sake of the] Rest, one of the leaders of ther Law spoke to me, having observed that I did not take vegetable from der garden, but instead asked them (for the vegetables) as a pious gift. He said to me: "Why did you not take vegetables from the garden, but instead ask me (for them] as a pious gift? After that Baptist had spoken to [me] . . .

10.1 . . . [it] wasted away, [wailing] like human beings, and, as it were, like children. Alas! Alas! The blood was streaming down from the place cut by the pruning hook which he held in his hands. And they were crying out in a human voice on account of their blows. The Baptist was greatly moved by what he saw, and he came and fell down before me. When, then . . .

11.1 . . . until the fourth year. Then I (Mani) gained entrance to the teaching of the Baptists in which I was reared, while my body was young, being guarded by the night of the Light-angels and the exceedingly strong powers, who had a command from Jesus, the Splendour, for (my) safekeeping. They, then, immediately . . .

12.1 . . . [from] the waters [a face] of a man appeared to me, showing with his head the Rest, so that I might not sin and bring trouble to him. In this way, from my fourth year until I attained my bodily maturity, by the hands of the most pure angels and the powers of holiness I was protected [without anyone's notice] . . .

13.2 . . . st another time a voice, like that of the Twin (Didymos Thomas?) spoke to me out of the air, saying: "Strengthen your power, make your mind firm, and receive all that is about to be revealed to you." And again, he said the same: "Strengthen your power, make your mind strong, and submit to all that is about to come upon you." . . .

14.1 ". . . we have been sent out by the great [fathers]."

Baraies the Teacher

My lord (Mani) said thus: "Just as nowadays a young horse, used by a king, becomes the king's mount through the capability of the horse trainers, so that he might sit upon it in honour and glory and carry out his particular [task], in this same way [the mind possesses the] body, [in order to do the] good. . . .

15.1 . . . of [. . .] place [. . .] for the kings rest; and a certain garment was fitted for the one who put it on; the ship was equipped for the best skipper so that he might catch valued treasures from the sea; the holy place was set up for glory of the mind; and the most holy shrine, for revelation of its wisdom; the [. . .] interest [. . .] has been paid fully . . .

16.1 . . . in (the) [body], (that) he might ransom those enslaved from the powers (of the other world) and set free their members from the subjection of the rebels and from the authority of those who keep guard, and through it (i.e., the body) he might disclose the truth of its own knowledge, and in it open wide the door to those confined within, [and through it] he might hold out [well-being] to those . . .

17.1 . . . and from all laws, and (that) he might free the souls from ignorance by becoming paraclete and leader of the apostleship in his generation. Then, ate the time when my body reached its full growth, immediately there flew down and appeared before me that most beautiful and greatest mirror-image of [my self] . . .

18.1 . . . [When] I was twenty[-four] years old, [in] the year in which Dariardaxar, the king of Persia, subdued the city Atra, also in which his son Sapores, the king, crowned himself with the grand diadem, in the month of Pharmouthi, on the eighth day of the lunar month, the most blessed Lord was greatly moved with compasson for me, called me into his grace, and immediately sent to me [from there my] Twin [appearing in] great [glory] . . .

19.2 . . . [he] (is) mindful of and informer of all the best counsels from our Father and from the good first right hand far away."

And again, he (Mani) soke thus: "When my Father was pleased and had mercy and compassion on me, to ransom (me) from the error of the Sectarians, he took consideration of me through his very many [revelations], (and) he sent [to me] my [Twin] . . .

20.1 . . . [best hope and] redemption for (those who) suffer patiently, the truest instructions and counsels, and the laying on of hands from our Father. When, then, he (the Twin) came, he delivered separated, and pulled me away from te midst of that Law in which I reared. In this way he called, chose, drew, and severed me from their midst [. . .], drawing [me to the divine] side. . . .

21.2 (the Twin is instructing Mani concerning) . . . who I am, what my body is, in what way I have come, how my arrival into this world took place, who I am of the ones most renowned for their eminence, how I was begotten into this fleshly bodym by what woman I was delivered and born according to the flesh, and by whose [passion] I was engendered . . .

22.1 . . . and how [. . .] came into being; and who my Father on high is; or in what way, severed from him, I was sent out according to his purpose; and what sort of commission and counsel he has given to me before I clothed myself in his instrument, and before I was led astray in this detestable flesh, and before I clothed myself wth its drunkenness and habits; and who [that one is, who] is himself [my ever-vigilant Twin] . . .

23.1 (the Twin showed Mani) . . . the secrets and [visions] and the perfections of my Father; and concerning me, who I am, and who my inseparable Twin is; moreover, concerning my soul, which exists as the soul of all worlds, both what it itself is and how it came to be. Beside these, he revealed to me the boundless heights and the unfathomable depths; he showed [me] all . . .

24.3 . . . reverently [. . .]
and I acquired him as my possession.
I believed
that he belongs to me and is (mine)
and is a good and excellent counselor.
I recognised him
and understood that I am that one
from whom I was separated.
I testified
that I myself am that one
who is unshakable. . . ."

25.1 . . . And [again] he (Mani) said thus: "With the greatest possible ingenuity and skill I went about in that Law, preserving this hope in my heart; no one perceived who it was that was with me, and I myself revealed nothing to anyone during that great period of time. But neither [did I], like them, [keep] the fleshly custom . . .

26.1 I [revealed nothing] of what happened, or of what will happen, nor what it that I knew, or what it is that I had received."

The Teachers Say

When, then, that all-glorious and all-blessed one (the Twin) disclosed to me these exceeddingly great . . .

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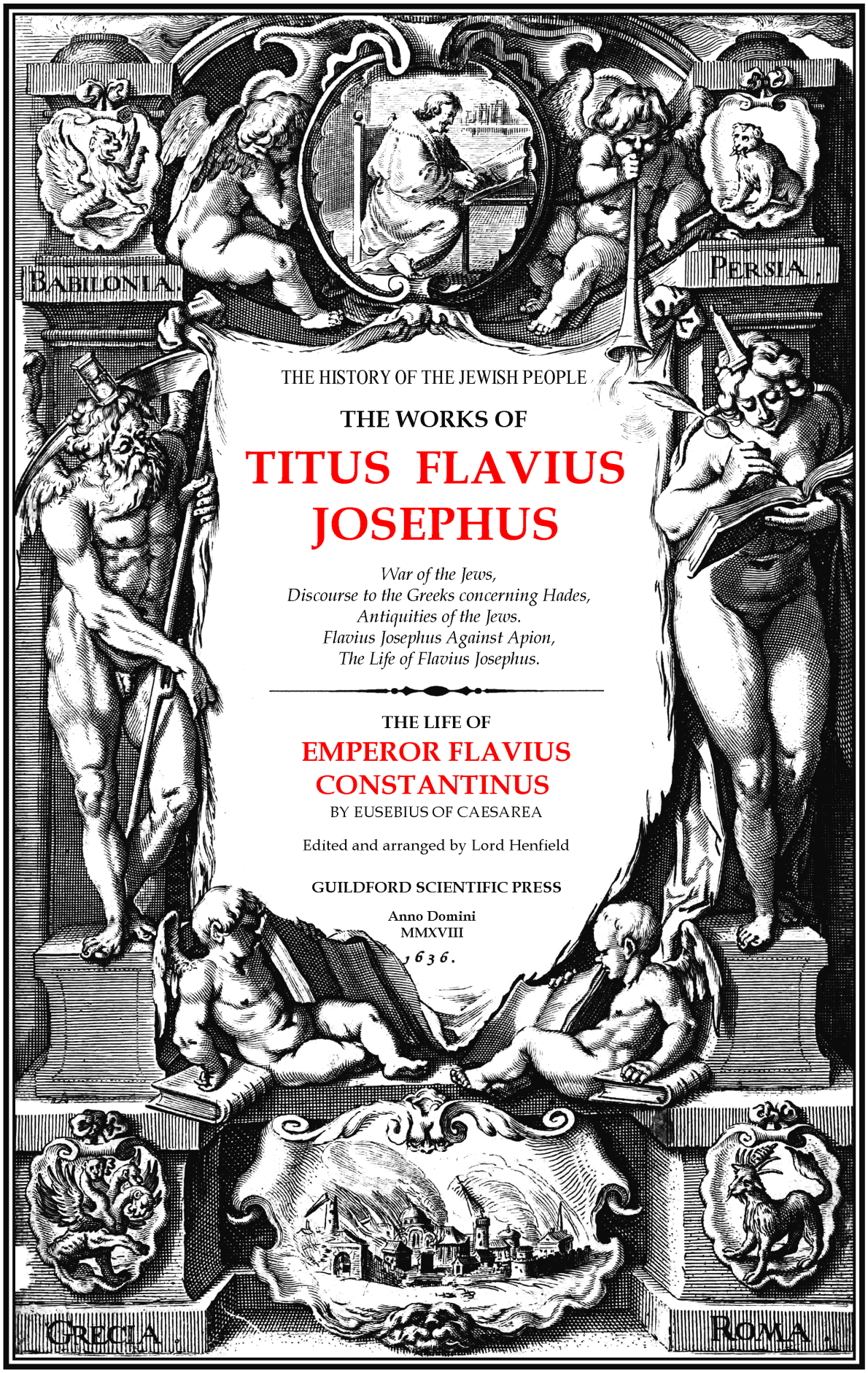

THE HISTORY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE

THE WORKS OF

TITUS FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

War of the Jews,
Discourse to the Greeks concerning Hades,
Antiquities of the Jews.
Flavius Josephus Against Apion,
The Life of Flavius Josephus.

THE LIFE OF

EMPEROR FLAVIUS CONSTANTINUS

BY EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA

Edited and arranged by Lord Henfield

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1636.

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ARTEFACTS AND DOCUMENTS ON CULTURAL RELATIONS ARTEFACTS AND DOCUMENTS ON GENERAL HISTORY

(This section presents documents that gives information on religious texts and the people who have written them. Here we can find out about the origin or events of people and their beliefs written by eye-witnesses or other contemporary people. Quite some of these texts could be called propaganda works, such as the works of Church officials [the so-called Church fathers, for instance, that led to persecution of people with an other belief, such as the Arians, Jews, or Judaisers [also called Jewish Christians or Judeo-Christian]. Some of these texts show us how vicious the fight between and among those religious groups was.

Biographical records within these texts reveal useful information on people, their language, their language group, their names. Additional facts on geography, education, professions, any kind of relations and relationships reveal how and with whom ancient people interacted. This will make you understand that no individual or group of people live in an isolated vacuum.

Often, it is important what ancient contemporaries have to say, but it is equally significant to recognise what they fail to say. This failure leads to questions, such as "why did Philo of Alexandria, one of the most prolific writers of Antiquity, not write anything about Jesus, his followers or his movement?" We receive first notes about this subject from Titus Flavius Josephus and his students Tacitus and Suetonius. Why is there a general silence about Mohammed up to around 695 AD? He died in 632 and the only document that mentions him (but not by name) is the Doctrina Jacobi, a propaganda pamphlet against Jews written by a Roman Pauline Christian from Carthage. There can be no doubt that any of the documents in this section is vital when it comes to understanding of the texts presented in the Grand Bible.)

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF WENI THE ELDER

Discovered by Auguste Mariette's 1880
James Henry Breasted Ancient Records
of Egypt, Part I, §§ 293ff
Translation: James Henry Breasted
Estimated Range of Dating: 2330-2300 B.C.

(The Autobiography of Weni is a tomb inscription from ancient Egypt, which is significant to Egyptology studies. Weni the Elder, or Uni, was a court official of the Pharaos Teti (2345–2333 BC) Userkare (2333–2331 BC) and Pepi I (2331–2287 BC) of the 6th Dynasty of Ancient Egypt. His tomb inscription is important because it is the oldest record that mentions Semite people whom he called "Sand-dwellers". He most certainly meant Canaanites (Phoenicians) and Arabs.

The Tomb of Weni was discovered by Auguste Mariette in 1880 but went lost because Mariette did not give an exact position of the tomb. It was rediscovered in 1999 by an American archaeologist team led by Dr. Janet Richards. More recent works in the necropolis of Pepi I in Saqqara uncovered a second tomb for Weni with a near identical copy of his biography.

Weni began his career under Pharao Teti, and rose through the ranks of the administration under Pharao Pepi I Meryre, for whom he was in turn a judge, a general and a vizier. Later, Weni became the governor of Upper Egypt during the reign of Merenre Nemtyemsaf I. As judge he investigated the queen who was apparently suspected of involvement in a conspiracy. While he was general, he reorganised the military into a format that was still in use in the New Kingdom.

Weni rose through the ranks of the military to become commander in chief of the army. He was considered by both his contemporaries and many Egyptologists to have been a brilliant tactician. His victories earned him the privilege of being shown leading the troops into battle, a right usually reserved for pharaohs. Weni is the first person, other than a pharaoh, known to have been portrayed in this manner. Many of his battles were in the Levant and the Sinai. He is said to have pursued a group of Shasu all the way to Mount Carmel. He battled a semi-nomadic people known in Ancient Egyptian texts as "the sand-dwellers" at least five times.

While he was commander in chief of the army, he made several key reforms to the military. He began training his troops to have a pre-emptive rather than a defensive posture. Weni included Nubian mercenaries in the army for the first time and he reorganised the army to control infighting amongst the troops and to minimise uncontrolled pillaging. He recorded his reorganisation of the army in great detail and his reforms lasted until the time of the New Kingdom.

After the death of Pharao Pepi, Weni was appointed the governor of Upper Egypt. He made many infrastructure improvements, some of which were beneficial to the military. His most noted project was a canal that ran parallel to the Nile at the First Cataract.)

Text of the Inscription of Weni:

1. Count, governor of the South, chamber-attendant, attached to Nekhen (Hierakonpolis, ancient southern capital), lord of Nekheb [today: El Kab, city in the 3rd nome of Upper Egypt, cult centre of Nekhbet], sole companion, revered before Osiris, First of the Westerners, Weni. He says:

2. I was a child who fastened on the girdle under the majesty of Pharao Teti; my office was that of supervisor of [....] and I filled the office of inferior custodian of the domain of Pharaoh.

3. ..... I was the eldest of the [...] chamber under the majesty of Pharao Pepi (Pepi I Meryre, "Merit-Re", meaning: "beloved of Re"; see the name Mary, Maria, Miriam, Merie, etc.). His majesty appointed me to the rank of companion and inferior prophet of his pyramid-city. While my office was ..... his majesty made me judge attached to Nekhen. He loved me more than any servant of his. I "heard," being alone with only the chief judge and vizier, in every private matter .... in the name of the king, of the royal harem, and of the six courts of justice (lit. the six great houses), because the king loved me more than any official of his, more than any noble of his, more than any servant of his.

4. Then I besought ... the majesty of the king that there be brought for me a limestone sarcophagus from Troja (Tura, quarry near Memphis). The king had the treasurer of the god ferry over, together with a troop of sailors under his hand (command), in order to bring for me this sarcophagus from Troja; and he arrived with it, in a large ship belonging to the court, together with its lid, the false door; the setting. two [....], and one offering-tablet. Never was the like done for any servant, for I was excellent to the heart of his majesty, for I was pleasant to the heart of his majesty, for his majesty loved me (lit. his heart was filled with me).

5. While I was judge, attached to Nekhen, his majesty appointed me sole companion and superior custodian of the domain of the Pharaoh, and [...] of the four superior custodians of the domain of the Pharaoh, who were there. I did so that his majesty praised me, when preparing court, when preparing the king's journey or when making stations. I did throughout so that his majesty praised me for it above everything.

6. When legal procedure was instituted in private in the harem against the queen (The charge against the queen is unknown, as is the outcome of the procedure.), Imtes his majesty caused me to enter, in order to hear the case alone. No chief judge and vizier at all, no prince at all was there, but only I alone, because I was excellent, because I was pleasant to the heart of his majesty; because his majesty loved me. I alone was the one who put it in writing, together with a single judge attached to Nekhen; while my office was only that of superior custodian of the domain of Pharaoh. Never before had one like me heard the secret of the royal harem, except that the king caused me to hear it, because I was more excellent to the heart of his majesty than any official of his, than any noble of his, than any servant of his.

7. His majesty made war on the Asiatic Sand-dwellers (possibly Canaanites) and his majesty made an army of many ten thousands; in the entire South, southward to Elephantine (city in the 1st, southernmost nome of Upper Egypt), and northward to Aphroditopolis (Tep-ihet, city in the 22nd, northernmost nome of Upper Egypt); in the Northland on both sides entire in the stronghold, and in the midst of the strongholds, among the Irthet negroes, the Mazoi negroes (Medjay, many of them migrated into Egypt and were employed as police units.), the Yam negroes, among the Wawat negroes, among the Kau negroes, and in the land of Temeh (Tjemeh).

8. His majesty sent me at the head of his army while the counts, while the wearers of the royal seal, while the sole companions of the palace, while the nomarchs and commanders of strongholds belonging to the South and Northland; the companions, the caravan-conductors, the superior prophets belonging to the South and the Northland, the overseers of the crown-possessions, were each at the head of a troop of the South or the Northland, of the strongholds and cities which they commanded, and of the negroes of these countries. I was the one who made for them the plan while my office was only that of superior custodian of the domains of the Pharaoh of [. . . (lacuna) . . .]. Not one thereof [...] with his neighbour; not one thereof plundered dough or sandals from the wayfarer; not one thereof took bread from any city; not one thereof took any goat from any people. I despatched them from the Northern Isle, the Gate of Ihotep, the bend of Horus, Nibmat. While I was of this rank [. . . (lacuna) . . .] everything, I inspected the number of these troops, although never had any servant inspected.

9. This army returned in safety, after it had hacked up the land of the Sand-dwellers; this army returned in safety, after it had destroyed the land of the Sand-dwellers; this army returned in safety, after it had overturned its strongholds; this army returned in safety, after it had cut down its figs and vines; this army returned in safety, after it had thrown fire in all its troops; this army returned in safety, after it had slain troops therein, in many ten thousands; this army returned in safety, after it had carried away therefrom a great multitude as living captives. His majesty praised me on account of it above everything.

10. His majesty sent me to despatch this army five times, in order to traverse the land of the Sand-dwellers at each of their rebellions, with these troops. I did so that his majesty praised me on account of it.

11. When it was said there were revolters, because of a matter among these barbarians in the land of Gazelle-nose (possibly northern Canaan = Phoenicia), I crossed over in troop-ships with these troops, and I voyaged to the back of the height of the ridge on the north of the Sand-dwellers (Canaanites). When this army had been brought in the highway, I came and smote them all and every revolter among them was slain.

12. When I was master of the footstool of the palace and sandal-bearer, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mernere my lord, who lives forever, made me count, and governor of the South, southward to Elephantine, and northward to Aphroditopolis; for I was excellent to the heart of his majesty, for I was pleasant to the heart of his majesty, for his majesty loved me.

13. When I was master of the footstool and sandal-bearer, his majesty praised me for the watchfulness and vigilance, which I showed in the place of audience, above his every official, above [his every] noble, above his every servant. Never before was this office conferred upon any servant. I acted as governor of the South (Upper Egypt) to his satisfaction. Not one therein [. . .] with his neighbour. I accomplished all tasks; I numbered everything that is counted to the credit of the court in this South twice; all the corvée that is counted to the credit of the court in this South twice. I performed the [. . . (lacuna) . . .] in this South; never before was the like done in this South. I did throughout so that his majesty praised me for it.

14. His majesty sent me to Ibhet to bring the sarcophagus (named): "Chest-of-the-Living," together with its lid and the costly, splendid pyramidion [top of a pyramid] for the pyramid called: "Mernere-Shines-and-is-Beautiful," of the queen.

15. His majesty sent me to Elephantine to bring a false door of granite, together with its offering-tablet, doors and settings of granite; to bring doorways and offering-tablets of granite, belonging to the upper chamber of the pyramid called: "Mernere-Shines-and-is-Beautiful, " of the queen. Then I sailed down-stream to the pyramid called: "Mernere-Shines-and-is-Beautiful," with 6 cargo-boats, three tow-boats and three [. . .]-boats to only one warship. Never had Ibhet and Elephantine been visited in the time of any kings with only one warship. Whatsoever his majesty commanded me I carried out completely according to all that his majesty commanded me.

16. His majesty sent me to Hatnub to bring a huge offering-table of hard stone of Hatnub. I brought down this offering-table for him in only 17 days, it having been quarried in Hatnub, and I had it proceed down-stream in this cargo-boat. I hewed for him a cargo-boat of acacia wood (used for ship building.) 60 cubits (1 cubit = c. 50 cm) in its length and 30 cubits in its breadth, built in only 17 days, in the third month of the third season (January during the reign of Merenre, c.2279-2270). Although there was no water in the [. . .], I landed in safety at the pyramid called: "Mernere-Shines-and-is-Beautiful;" and the whole was carried out by my hand, according to the mandate which the majesty my lord had commanded me.

17. His majesty sent me to dig five canals in the South and to make 3 cargo-boats and 4 tow-boats of acacia wood of Wawat. Then the negro chiefs of Irthet, Wawat, Yam and Mazoi drew timber therefore, and I did the whole in only one year. They were launched and laden with very large granite blocks for the pyramid (called): "Mernere-Shines-and-is-Beautiful." I then [...] for the palace in all these 5 canals, because I honoured, because I [...], because I praised the fame of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mernere, who lives forever, more than all gods, and because I carried out everything according to the mandate which his Ka commanded me.

18. I was one beloved of his father, and praised of his mother; first-born [. . .] pleasant to his brothers, the count, the real governor of the South, revered by Osiris, Weni.

THE AMARNA LETTERS

The Tell Amarna Tablets
Bureau of Correspondence of Pharaoh
Translation: Budge, Conder, Knudtzon,
Flinders Petrie, Bezold, Mercer, and others
Estimated Range of Dating: 1390-1330 B.C.

(The Tell Amarna Tablets were discovered in 1887 by a peasant woman of Egypt, amid the ruins of the palace of Amenophis IV., midway between Thebes and Memphis, at the site of the ancient Antinoe, about 180 miles by river south of Cairo. Those tablets under present consideration date about 1480 B.C., and are written to the King of Egypt and to

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certain of his officials by Amorites, Phoenicians, Philistines and others.

The names of Japhia, King of Gezer; of Jabin, King of Hazor; and, probably, of Adonizedek, King of Jerusalem—contemporaries of Joshua—occur among those of the writers. The events recorded include the conquest of Damascus by the Hittites, that of Phoenicia by the Amorites, and that of Judaea by the Hebrews (Apiru, Habiru, Abhira). The present translations, from the cuneiform characters, are based on the copies published by Dr. Hugo Winckler at Berlin, and Dr. C. Bezold of the British Museum, which include the whole of the letters now in Cairo, Berlin and London.

In dealing with inscriptions the interpretation of which is acknowledged by scholars to present many difficulties, I do not presume to suppose that my translations are beyond criticism, or always final; but I believe that such criticism, which will no doubt lead to improvements, must be confined to details, and will not affect the general result, or the historican value of these most important texts. I may at least claim that the language in which they are written is the mother-tongue of that Syrian dialect which became known to me by speaking it daily for seven years. In dialectic pronunciation, in idiom, and in the peculiar meaning of many expressions the common speech of the Palestine peasantry is perhaps one of the best possible guides to an understanding of the writings of their Canaanite ancestors.

The study of monumental inscriptions is often called a 'by-path' of Biblical knowledge. But in an age of destructive criticism it seems to me to present the most important weapon that can be placed in the hands of those who desire, without seeking to support any particular theory, to arrive at truth concerning the ancient history of Palestine and of the Hebrew people. In the present case we have become possessed of a mass of political correspondence dating about the time when, according to the Bible, the Hebrew invasion under Joshua took place, and which in bulk represents a literature equal to about half the length of the entire Pentateuch. That the Hebrews should be mentioned in such letters as conquering the south of Palestine, and driving out the Amorite kings, will appear natural to those who believe the narrative of the Book of Joshua to represent the history of the Hebrew conquest; and that the date so determined does not agree with the now fashionable theory, which would place the conquest much later, in the time of Seti II., need not in any way disturb our minds. The date which is conjectured by some Egyptologists does not rest on any monumental evidence at all, for the simple reason that the Hebrews are not mentioned in any Egyptian record as yet discovered, and appear for the first time in monumental history in the Tell Amarna letters. The speculation which would make their conquest so much later, while it ignores the Biblical data, is founded only on the libels of Manetho, who wrote at least twelve hundred years later, and who makes Amenophis succeed Rameses. I have never been able to understand on what grounds the date given in the Bible is so set aside, or to agree with the dictum of Dr. Brugsch, for which no evidence is brought forward from monuments, that 'beyond all doubt' Minephtah was the Pharaoh of the Exodus. We should rather, I think, agree with Josephus, the critic who exposed the ignorance of Manetho, in dismissing such opinions as 'incredible fables.' (Claude Reignier Conder, 1892.)

With this concise Preface, Conder introduced The Tell Amarna Tablets [Published for the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1894], and what these letters are all about. The extraordinary find of the Amarna Letters allow us to get as close as anyone could get to past events concerning the early Phoenicians, Canaanites, Hebrews, and Egyptians. Conder was one of the first translators of the letters that allow laymen a glimse into Bible history.

The Amarna Letters were first discovered around 1887 by local Egyptians who secretly dug most of them from the ruined city of Amarna, and sold them in the antiquities market. [Amarna is the modern name of the ancient city of Akhetaten or Akhetaton which means "Horizon of the Aten".] The tablets had originally been stored in an ancient building that archaeologists have since called the "Bureau of Correspondence of Pharaoh". Once the location, where they were found was determined, the ruins were explored for more.

The first archaeologist who successfully recovered more tablets was Flinders Petrie, who in 1891 and 1892 uncovered 21 fragments. Émile Chassinat, then director of the French Institute for Oriental Archaeology in Cairo, acquired two more tablets in 1903. Since Knudtzon's edition, some 24 more tablets, or fragments, have been found, either in Egypt, or identified in the collections of various museums.

The tablets are usually cited with the abbreviation EA, for "El Amarna" but also with VAT or VA Th for "Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin", and with BM for "British Museum in London". The initial group of letters recovered by local Egyptians have been scattered among museums in Germany, England, Egypt, France, Russia, and the United States. Either 202 or 203 tablets are at the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin; 99 are at the British Museum in London; 49 or 50 are at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo; 7 at the Louvre in Paris; 3 at the Pushkin Museum in Moscow; and 1 in the collection of the Oriental Institute in Chicago.

The known tablets total 382, of which 358 have been published in German by the Norwegian Assyriologist Jörgen A. [Jørgen Alexander] Knudtzon's. The two volumes (1907 and 1915) in 1600 pages remain the standard edition to this day. The texts of the remaining 24 complete or fragmentary tablets excavated since Knudtzon have also been made available.

The written correspondence spans a period of about thirty years. The archive contains a wealth of information about cultures, kingdoms, events and individuals in a period from which few written sources survive. It includes correspondence from Akhenaten's reign (Akhenaten who was also titled Amenhotep IV), as well as his predecessor Amenhotep III's reign [some authors prefer to use the Greek version of this Egyptian name which is Amenophis.]. This archive primarily consists of diplomatic correspondence between the Egyptian administration and its representatives in Canaan and Amurru, or neighbouring kingdom leaders, during the New Kingdom, between c. 1360–1332 BC.

Overview

The Amarna letters are the most unusual find in Egypt, because they are mostly written in a script known as Akkadian cuneiform, a writing system thought to be in use in ancient Mesopotamia, has actually been the Lingua Franca in the entire Middle East from Egypt to Persia and the language of diplomacy for this period. The language style in the letters can be characterised as a mixed language, Akkadian with lots of Phoenician-Canaanite words and phrases. This influence clearly shows the strength of the Canaanite civilisation in that period of time.

The letters, though written in Akkadian, are heavily coloured by the mother tongue of their writers, who spoke an early form of Canaanite [also called Proto-Sinaitic], the language family which would later evolve into its daughter languages Hyksos-Canaanite, Phoenician / Canaanite and Aramaic / Hebrew. These "Canaanisms" provide valuable insights into the proto-stage of those languages several centuries prior to their first actual manifestation.

Many names in the letters refer to the very same Semitic people given to them by their neighbours and other people who dealt with them. These tablets shed much light on Egyptian relations with Babylonia, Assyria, Syria, Canaan, and Alashiya (Cyprus) as well as relations with the Mitanni, and Hittites (in today's Turkey). The letters have been important in establishing both the history and the chronology of the period. Letters from the Babylonian king, Kadashman-Enlil I, anchor the timeframe of Akhenaten's reign to the mid-14th century BC. They also contain the first mention of a Near Eastern group known as the Habiru (Hebrew). Other rulers involved in the letters include Tushratta of Mitanni, Lib'ayu of Shechem, Abdi-Heba of Jerusalem, and the quarrelsome king, Rib-Hadda, of Byblos in Phoenicia, who, in over 58 letters, continuously pleads for Egyptian military help. Specifically, the letters include requests for military help against Hittite invaders from the north, and to fight against the Habiru (Hebrew) from the south.

Amarna Letters are politically arranged [here using the EA numbers] in a rough counterclockwise fashion:

- *001–014 Babylonia*
- *015–016 Assyria*
- *017–030 Mitanni*
- *031–032 Arzawa*
- *033–040 Alashiya*
- *041–044 Hatti*
- *045–380+ Syria/Lebanon/Canaan*

Amarna Letters from Syria / Lebanon [Phoenicia] / Canaan are distributed roughly:

- *045–067 Syria*
- *068–227 Lebanon [Phoenicia] (where 68–140 are from Gubla / Byblos)*
- *227–380 Canaan (written mostly in the Canaano-Akkadian language).*

The Amarna letters are of great significance for biblical studies as well as Semitic linguistics, since they throw light on the culture and language of the peoples of Canaan and Phoenicia in pre-biblical times.

HISTORY CONTEXT

We have found it necessary to depict some basic history of Egypt, her relevant dynasties, and some connotations of the names of those persons involved. All these little puzzle pieces together can explain the Exodus of Moses provided that we ask: What did the Hebrews do on Egyptian soil in the first place? The story of Moses begins already 3 to 5 centuries before him when Abraham, coming from the Sumerian Kingdom of Uruk in southern Mesopotamia, travelling to southern Turkey first, founding the town of Haran [or Harran, named after Abraham's brother, now a village of Sanliurfa, Turkey] and settling there until he was forced by famine to head for Egypt.

A mysterious people, known as Hyksos, immigrated to Egypt at around 1950 BC, pretty much the same time as Abraham. The West-Semitic speaking Hyksos are now identified as "Phoenician Canaanites", the ancestors of the Hebrews. These "Phoenician-Canaanite Hyksos" have gradually settled in the area of modern Tell el-Dab'a in the northeastern region of the Nile Delta; it is the area where the Hysos founded their capital city of Avaris.

The name "Hyksos" (Egyptian: hekau khasut, "ruler(s) of foreign lands"; Greek: Yksos, The Greek form is likely a corruption of Hykoussos.) is a term which, in modern Egyptology, describes a people that became known as the "foreign invaders." It particularly designates the kings of the 15th Dynasty of Egypt (c. 1650–1550 BC). The Roman historian Titus Flavius Josephus gives the name as meaning "shepherd kings" or "captive kings" in his book Contra Apion (Against Apion, see Artefacts, Grand Bible), where he describes the Hyksos as they were also mentioned by the Greek-Egyptian historian Manetho. Josephus's rendition may arise from a later Egyptian pronunciation of h-k-s-w-t, which was then understood to mean "lord of shepherds." The seat of power of these kings was the city of Avaris in the Nile delta, from where they ruled over Lower and Middle Egypt up to Cusae. In the Aegyptiaca, a [now lost] history of Egypt written by the Greek-Egyptian priest and historian Manetho in about 300 BC., the Hyksos got a bad reputation.

Archaeologists found a long wall painting with hieroglyph texts in the Tomb of Khnumhotep II (circa 1900 BC). Khnumhotep II (khnmw-htp, "Khnum is pleased") was an ancient Egyptian Great Chief, the Governor of the Oryx nome [the 16th nome or province of Upper Egypt] during the reign of pharaohs Amenemhat II and Senusret II of the 12th Dynasty, Middle Kingdom (20th century BC). He is well known for his tomb at Beni Hasan and its decorations.

The wall illustration, which shows a procession of foreigners, is quite a sensational discovery because on it there is a man described as "Abisha the Heqa-kasut [Hyksos]," being Abraham-like figure leading a group of Aamu [Egyptian for Canaanites, from 'Aramu' via 'Ahlamu' = Aramaean]. This is one of the earliest known uses of the term "Hyksos" that ever has been reported on. So, naturally, here comes up the question: Who are the Hyksos? Who are the Canaanites? Who are the Aramaeans?

A great nation or ethicity often is called by many different names depending on who speaks about them. The English have quite a lot of names like Angles, Angelland, Engeland, England, Anglish, Saxon, Anglo-Saxon, Anglais [Fr], Iangee [Am. Natives], Yankee, Yingguo [Chi = England], Yinyu [Chi = English language], British, Brit, Britannia, United Kingdom, UK, United States, US, the States, etc.

The family of English speaking nations is with an age of 1,600 years relatively young. How many more names must be then in use for a nation that has an age of at least 4,000 years! Here are some examples, and surely, most readers will be surprised about the names we are going to show now.

The following array of names denote only the ethnicity which is to most of us known as Canaanite, Phoenician, Hebrew, Aramaic, etc., [in square brackets: the language or culture in which the name has been used.]:

Phoenicia [Greek], Phoinike / Foinike [Greek], Fenekhu [Egyptian] = wood-traders, Punicus [Latin], Ponikijo [ancient Greek]; Punic [English], Carthaginian [English], Carthaginiensis [Latin], Qart-khadasht [Phoenician];

Canaan, Kena'an [Phoenician, Hebrew, Aramaic], Khanaan [Greek];

Aramaeans [Aramaic], Syrians [Greek], Assyrians [Greek], Akkadians [Greek];

Hyksos [Greek], Hykoussos [Greek], hekau khasut [Egyptian];

People of Retjenu [Egyptian], Retenu [Egyptian];

Habiru, Hapiru, Khabiri, Apiru [Egyptian] = "dusty, dirty", = nomadic "Hebrew" [English], Ivrim, Ivriyyim, Ibrim, Ibriyyim [Hebrew, Aramaic], Abhira, Ahir, Apiru, Habiru [Indian, Yemenite];

Aramaeans, saggasu, Sa-gaz [Sumerian] = "destroyer, killer", Aamu [Egyptian], Alamu [Egyptian], Aramu [Phoenician].

And these names mean the very same people but since the religious reforms of Yudah's king Hezekiah (in around 700 BC), the following names ALSO denote the Jewish or Judaic religion AND besides that [still] the ethnicity:

Jew [English], Gyu, Giu, Iuu, Iuw, and Iew [Middle English], Juif [French], Jude [German], Yehudi [Hebrew, Aramaic], Yehudim [Hebrew, Aramaic], Yehuda [Hebrew], Yuda [Hebrew], Iudaea [Latin], Iudea [Latin], Judah [German, English], Yadu, Yadav, Yadava, Yaudheya, Yoddheya = "Judaea" [Indian: Sanskrit, Prakrit, Pali etc.].

Israelite, Israel, Ysrael, Yisre'el, Esra'el, Yshril [Hebrew] = "The Rule of God" etc.

Up until about 700 BC [when King Hezekiah made Yahweh the only god of the kingdom of Yudah by law], all the above mentioned people worshipped the same kind of gods, ate the

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same kind of food, shared the same kind of cultural habits, wore the same kind of garments, used the same kind of weights and currencies, and above all, they spoke the same kind of west-Semitic language, and they all wrote in the same kind of script: Phoenician!

This may include the so-called "12 tribes" [some of them are historical, some others are non-historical]: Reuben [in Jordan], Simeon, Levi [Levites], Yudah [in the Holy Land, and some in India], Issachar, Zebulun, Dan, Naphtali [Phoenician hinterland, Lebanon], Gad [in Jordan north of Reuben], Asher [Phoenicia], Benjamin, Joseph [in Egypt], later split into two half-tribes Ephraim and Manasseh. The Amorites, Moabites, Amalekites, Edomites [Idumaeans], Ammonites [around Amman, Jordan], and the Aramaeans [Syria] may have been either descendants from the 12 tribes or intermarried with Hebrews.

To say it clearly: All these above mentioned people are in fact ONE nation, or to give an allowance, they all do belong to the very same group of nations, just like British, US-Americans, Canadians, Australians, and others who belong to the family of English speaking peoples as Winston S. Churchill writes.

Some of the following tribes are traces from a faraway past: the Beta Israel of Ethiopia; the Jews of the Bilad al-Sudan in West Africa whose ancestors were expelled from Carthage [Tunisia], Morocco, Spain and Portugal; the Sefwi Tribe in Ghana and the Igbo Jews of Nigeria could not yet be 'verified as genuine'; the Bene Israel, Jews of India, in Konkan to nearby cities, Bombay [Mumbai], Pune, Ahmedabad, and Karachi may have arrived in the 5th or 4th centuries BC; the Yehudey Kochin [Cochin Jews or Malabar Jews of the state of Kerala, southwest India, mentioned already by Benjamin of Tudela in the 12th century AD]; the Bnei Menashe [Children of Menasseh (who are officially recognised by Israel), in northeast India in the states of Manipur and Mizoram at the border to Burma]; the Kaifeng youtai zu [the Jews of Kaifeng, Henan] arrived in China via Silk Road during the Han and Tang Dynasties [200 BC - 900 AD].

Only by knowing all these names, we can get a much clearer picture of the nation we call Jews, Hebrews or Israelites. This nation has never only been "a little, weak, and suppressed nation" as the Hebrew Bible wants to suggest to us. From Ethiopia to Scotland, from Carthage in northwest Africa to Xi'an and Luoyang in China, the Hebrew nations, perhaps we should use the plural here, have shaped history and they still do. They have successfully been active in discovering, colonising, and influencing other parts of the World.

Rise and fall of Canaanite rule in Egypt:

As direct heirs to the kings of the 12th Dynasty (1991 BC – 1802 BC), the pharaohs of the 13th Dynasty reigned from Memphis over Middle and Upper Egypt, almost to Nubia in the south. After the immigration of the Hyksos, the power of the 13th Dynasty (1803 BC–1649 BC) waned progressively over its 150 years of existence. The Hyksos probably did not conquer Egypt in one go but merely sneaked into power positions by using opportunities. In about 1600 BC [according to most scientific estimations between 1630 and 1560 BC], a volcano eruption was speeding up the decline. The massive VEI 7 explosion of the Mediterranean island of Thera brought an unexpected tsunami rolling towards Egypt and other shores, smashing everything in its way and devastating the entire Nile Delta. Most nation states of the eastern Mediterranean got into severe trouble, to say the least. A mini-Ice Age with no summer for two or three years followed. Famine, pestilence, and civil war brought the Minoan civilisation of the island of Crete to extinction and Egypt to her knees. (see: Tempest Stele, Artefacts, Grand Bible) The 13th Dynasty finally came to an end with the conquest of Memphis [20 km / 12 mi south of today's Cairo, Egypt] by the Hyksos rulers of the [Canaanite] 15th Dynasty, in c. 1600 BC.

The 14th Dynasty of Egypt describes a series of rulers reigning over the Delta region of the River Nile. The 15th, 16th, and 17th Dynasties of ancient Egypt are often combined under the group title, Second Intermediate Period. It lasted between 75 (c. 1725–1650 BC) and 155 years (c. 1805–1650 BC), depending on the scholar. Any dating of this period can only be an estimation due to lack of evidence. The capital of the dynasty was probably Avaris. The 14th [Hyksos] Dynasty coexisted concurrently with the 13th [Egyptian] Dynasty based in Memphis.

The rulers of the 14th Dynasty are commonly identified by Egyptologists as being of Phoenician-Canaanite (Semitic) descent, owing to the distinct origins of the names of some of their kings and princes, like Ipqu (West Semitic for "grace"), Yakbim ("ia-ak-bi-im", an Amorite name), Qareh (West Semitic for "the bald one"), or Yaqub-Har. Names in relation with Nubia are also recorded in two cases, king Nehesy ("The Nubian") and queen Tati.

Egypt was divided in North and South. The Fifteenth Dynasty (1650 BC–c. 1550 BC) was entirely a foreign dynasty in ancient Egypt. It was founded by the Hyksos king Salitis, whose people had conquered Lower Egypt. The kings of the Fifteenth Dynasty may have been of Phoenician-Canaanite origin. Pharaoh Kamose is known to have referred to Apophis, one of the kings of the dynasty, as "Chieftain of Retjenu (i.e. Canaan)". The kings of the Fifteenth Dynasty formed an "Asiatic Kingdom" in the Delta, covering an area which may have included Canaan (and Phoenicia) itself, although the archaeological record is sparse. The dynasty probably lasted for a period of about 100 to 150 years. The Hyksos kings of the 15th Dynasty were based at Avaris and ruled over the North. The Hyksos did not control all of Egypt. Instead, they coexisted with the 16th and 17th Dynasties, which were based in the City of Thebes.

The Sixteenth Dynasty (1803 BC–1649 BC) of ancient Egypt was a dynasty of pharaohs that ruled the Theban region in Upper Egypt for 70 years. Kamose was the last king of the Theban Seventeenth Dynasty. He was possibly the son of Seqenenre Tao and Ahhotep I and the full brother of Ahmose I, founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty. His reign fell at the very end of the Second Intermediate Period. Kamose is usually ascribed a reign of three to five years. His reign is important for the decisive military initiatives he took against the Hyksos, who had come to rule much of Ancient Egypt. Warfare between the Hyksos and the pharaohs of the late Seventeenth Dynasty eventually culminated in the defeat of the Hyksos by Ahmose I, who founded the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt. (* Ahmose means: Iah [the Moon] is born, or more precisely "Child of Iah", also transcribed as Yah, Yah(w), Jah, or Aah, the origin of the Hebrew name Yahweh for God. The name Mose [child] is also of Egyptian origin.) In the following centuries, the Egyptians would portray the Hyksos as bloodthirsty and oppressive foreign rulers.*

There seem to be disagreement among scholars' narrative as to who, Ahmose or Kamose, achieved the victory. The Carnarvon Tablet states that Kamose was the victor. The Carnarvon Tablet is an ancient Egyptian inscription in hieratic recording the defeat of the Hyksos by Kamose. It was found in 1908 by Lord Carnarvon on two wooden tablets covered stucco in fine plaster. It was discovered amongst pottery debris on a ledge close to the entrance of a tomb near the mouth of the Deir el-Bahari valley. Howard Carter believed this tomb to date from the Seventeenth Dynasty. But actually it is now believed that the tablet goes back to the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt -- only a little later.

On the reverse side of tablet no. 1 is inscribed the beginning of The Maxims of Ptah-Hotep. On the obverse side of this tablet is a description of Kamose's victory over the Hyksos. The tablet is believed to be a shoolboy's exercise, but the text proved to be very important.As early as 1916, Sir Alan Gardiner assumed that the First Carnarvon Tablet must be a copy of some commemorative stela of pharaoh Kamose. Less than 20 years later, his thesis was confirmed when French Egyptologists Lacau and Chévrier were working on the Third Pylon of Karnak and made the important discovery of two stela fragments. The smallest of them was found in 1932. And in 1935, the larger fragment appeared. Thus, it emerged that the text was copied from Kamose's stelas in Karnak. These newer stelae were published in 1939. On tablet No. 2 there is a heavily damaged inscription.

In the inscription, Kamose exclaims (in a translation by Sir Alan Gardiner) noting the control of Upper Egypt by the Kerma culture of Nubia [the predessessor of Kush]: : "I should like to know what serves this strength of mine, when a chieftain in Avaris, and another in Kush [Nubia], and I sit united with an Asiatic [Phoenician-Canaanite] and a Nubian, each in possession of his slice of Egypt, and I cannot pass by him as far as Memphis, the waters of Egypt, (but), behold, he has Hermopolis. No man can settle down, when despoiled by the taxes of the Asiatics. I will grapple with him, that I may rip open his belly! My wish is to save Egypt and to smite the Asiatic!"

Modern scholars believe the Hyksos may have partially inspired the Biblical account. The reconquest of all of Egypt had dramatic consequences for the beaten Phoenician Canaanite Hyksos: They had to undertake the Exodus under the leadership of Mose. He and his people, whom we now know as "Hebrews", returned to Canaan. Moses' connexion to the "royal family of Egypt" through the daughter of pharao is not a lie but the truth when we consider the above described facts. And that some form of monotheism took place in Egypt under Pharao Akhenaten as well as in Canaan is not a coincidence either. Already Titus Flavius Josephus associated the Hyksos with the Exodus of the Hebrews, the Israelites, from Egypt.

The Hyksos-Hebrews practised many Phoenician or Canaanite customs, but also many Egyptian customs. While the historian Manetho portrayed the Hyksos as invaders and oppressors, this interpretation is questioned in modern Egyptology. Instead, it is certain that Egyptians and Hyksos benefitted from each other.

The Hyksos period marks the first in which Egypt was ruled by foreign rulers. Many details of their rule, such as the true extent of their kingdom and even the names and order of their kings, remain uncertain. The archaeologist E. A. Wallis Budge states in his History of Egypt, Vol. 3, that some Hyksos kings are well-known by name.

One of those Phoenician-Canaanite Hyksos kings of whom we have remains is:— Ra-aa-user, "son of the Sun," Apepa (also Apepi or Ipepi; Egyptian: Ippi, Greek: Apophis; regnal names Neb-khepesh-Re, A-qenen-Re and A-user-Re). His name appears on a monument found at Bubastis by M. Naville in 1887-1889. The monuments which record the name of this king, Apepa I. consists of a red granite fragment of a door-post, on which we have the inscription, "Son of the Sun, Apepa, giver of life," and a mutilated statement to the effect that "he set up pillars in great numbers, and doors in bronze to this god." This is a very important piece of information, for it proves that this Apepa actually built additions to the ancient temple at Bubastis, and it is interesting to note that the king calls himself "son of the Sun" and "giver of life" after the manner of an old Egyptian king.

There is the assumption that the patriarch Joseph arrived in Egypt during the reign of a king called Apapus or Aphobis, who may, perhaps, be identified with Apepa I. or Apepa II.; the Christian writers Dionysius of Tell Mahre and Bar Hebraeus call him Apopis, and Apapos. Whether this be so or not cannot be said definitely, but it is very probable that Jacob's son went down into Egypt during the period of the 16th Dynasty, when the Hyksos had to all intents and purposes become Egyptians. The picture of the Egyptian court, given to us by the narrative in the Book of Genesis, makes it exceedingly improbable that his visit took place during the unsettled times of the 15th Dynasty, before the usurping Semites had settled down to enjoy the property of those whom they had dispossessed.

Another Phoenician-Canaanite Hyksos king is Ra'aa-uqenen, son of the Sun, Apepa. From the discoveries which were made at Tanis by the late Dr. H. Brugsch and others we learn that this Ra'aa-uqenen, Apepa II., inscribed his names and titles upon the right shoulders of two black granite statues of the king Mermashau which were set up in the temple there; the king calls himself "Son of the Sun," and "giver of life," and "beloved [of Set]." On the sides and back of the statues Bameses II. added his name and titles, and made several alterations in the inscriptions on them; it is a curious fact that he caused himself to be called "beloved of Sutekh."

The Museum of the Louvre possesses the base of a red granite statue on which were originally depicted figures of the representatives of thirty-six vanquished Nubian tribes, together with their names; an examination of this object has convinced some 3 that the cartouche of Amenophis III., now inscribed upon it, was added by the order of this king, who thus usurped a statue which, there is good reason to believe, was set up by Apepa II. In connexion with Apepa II. must be mentioned here briefly the narrative of the beginning of the quarrel which arose in the 17th Dynasty, about b.c. 1750, between the Egyptian prince of Thebes, who was called Seqenen-Ea Tau-aa-qen, and the Hyksos king his over-lord; the result of the quarrel was that war broke out, and after varying successes, a pitched battle was fought in which the Hyksos king was defeated, and the Theban prince lost his life. Eventually the Theban princes gained their independence. The Hyksos king is said to have been called Apepa, but whether he was Apepa II. or another king of the same name cannot be said.

The third well-known Phoenician-Canaanite Hyksos king is Set-aa-Pehpeh, son of the Sun, better known as Nubti. The name of this king, Nubti, is made known to us by the famous "Stele of Four Hundred Years," which was discovered at San, or Tanis, in a fragmentary condition, among the battered pieces of five or six memorial or tomb stelae, all of which dated from the reign of Rameses II.; it was found in the eastern portion of the ruins of the great temple at Tanis, at the place where, judging by the general arrangement of the building, the shrine would have stood. In the upper part of the stele we see Rameses II. making an offering of two vases of wine to the god Set, who is depicted in the usual form and with the usual attributes of the gods of Egypt. The god is called in the text, "Set of Rameses," but in tbe scene above it the name of the god Set has been chiselled out, a piece of vandalism which was done when the god had ceased to be popular. Behind the king is a figure of the official who dedicated the stele, and close by him are two lines of text which read, "Homage to thy Ka (or double), O Set, thou son of Nut, grant thou a life of happiness, and the following of thy double to the double of the 'erpa' prince, the royal scribe, the superintendent of the horses, the inspector of the desert lands, and the overseer of the fortress of Tchar (i.e. Tanis)."

The main inscription reads:— "May live 'Horus Ra', the mighty Bull, beloved of 'Maat', lord of festivals like his father 'Ptah', King of the South and North, 'Usr-Maat-Ra-setep-en-Ra', son of the Sun, 'Ra-meses-meri-Amen', giver of life, lord of the shrines of the Vulture and 'Uraeus', protector of Egypt, vanquisher of foreign (or mountainous) lands, 'Ra', the begetter of the gods, overlord of the two lands, the 'Horus' of gold, master of years, mighty one of mighty ones, King of the South and North (Prenomen and nomen are repeated), prince, over-lord of the two lands by reason of the monuments of his

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name, 'Ra' who riseth in the heights of heaven according to his will, King of the South and North, 'Rameses'. His Majesty commanded the making of a great stele in granite to the great name of his fathers, having the wish to establish the name of the father of his fathers, king 'Ra-men-Maat', son of the Sun, 'Seti-meri-en-Ptah', permanently and in a flourishing condition for ever, like the Sun, every day."

"Year 400, the fourth day of the fourth month of the inundation (i.e., Mesore), of the King of the, the son of the Sun, loving him, 'Nubti', beloved of 'Heru-khuti', whose existence endureth for ever and for ever. On this day there came to Tanis the 'erpa', the governor of the city, the bearer of the fan on the king's right hand, captain of the bowmen, inspector of the desert lands, overseer of the fortress of Tanis, general of the Matchau (soldiery), royal scribe, superintendent of the horses, priest of 'Ba-neb-Tattu', the first prophet of 'Set', the chief reader of the goddess 'Uatchet', the opener of the two lands, the overseer of the prophets of all the gods, 'Seti', triumphant, son of the 'erpa' prince, the governor of the city, the captain of the bowmen, inspector of desert lands, overseer of the fortress of Tanis, the royal scribe, superintendent of the horses, Pa-Ra-meses, triumphant, born of the lady of the house, the singing woman of 'Ra', 'Thaa', triumphant! He saith, Homage to thee, O 'Set', thou son of 'Nut', thou mighty one of strength in the Boat of Millions of Years, thou overthrowest the enemy who is in the front of the boat of Ra, the mighty one of roarings . . ."

The last signs left on the stele contain the prayer for a happy life. The above translation shows that the stele was set up by an official called Seti, the son of Pa-Rameses and Thaa, in honour of the god Set, and that he did so because Rameses II. gave him orders so to do. Instead, however, of being dated in the day and month and year of the reign of Rameses II., in which it was set up, it is dated in the 400th year of the Hyksos king Nubti, a most remarkable circumstance.

According to M. Mariette, the first paragraph contains four lines and refers to Bameses II. only; the second paragraph relates to the governor of the city only, and, according to Mariette, to the celebration of the new year festival and of the festival of the Crocodile-god, the son of Set. He thought that four hundred years before that time the Hyksos king had established a year for his people, and that the Stele marked the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the first day of that year. The reasons he gave for these views seem to be a little fanciful, but there is little doubt that in the reign of Rameses II. some era was in common use, in the Delta at least, which had been inaugurated by the Hyksos.

The fourth Phoenician-Canaanite Hyksos king is called Ra-Seuser-En, son of the Sun, Khian. We shall probably be more correct in assigning the mentioned kings to the period of the Hyksos. Of first importance among these is king Khian, of whom M. Naville discovered the lower part of a colossal statue at Bubastis in black granite. The throne and legs are in a good state of preservation, and, fortunately, the three principal names of the king are clearly legible.

The Horus name of Khian was "Anq atebui," i.e., "embracer of lands"; his Ra name (or prenomen) was at one time read "Ian-Ra." Khian is now generally believed to be the correct reading of the characters.

Another monument of the reign of Khian is the small stone lion which was acquired at Baghdad for the British Museum by the late Mr. George Smith; its importance was recognised by Deveria, who rightly attributed it to the Hyksos period, but who misread the cartouche. Some think that the lion is not the work of an Egyptian sculptor, and that the object was made in Asia, and that the head, having been damaged and recut at some comparatively modern period, has lost its antique character. Be this as it may, the monument is of very considerable interest, and is unique; moreover, it is the largest object of a purely Egyptian character which has ever been obtained from the excavations that have been carried on in sites of ancient Babylonian cities near Baghdad. We may also conclude in respect of Khian that as his monuments have been found in places so widely separated as Bubastis in Egypt, Baghdad in Mesopotamia, and Knossos in Crete, it is pretty certain that he was a powerful monarch, whose rule was far-reaching, and whose influence, as stated in his Horus name, "embraced many lands." That he belonged to the Hyksos people is rendered probable from the fact that on his scarabs he is described as "heq semtu," i.e., "chief of the deserts," a title which has a meaning almost identical with that of "heq Shasu" or "nomad tribes," which is probably the origin of the name "Hyksos."

Of the kings Uatchet and Ipeq-Heru we know nothing, for their names occur only on scarabs, and we know not whether they reigned before or after Khian, and indeed the position of Khian himself in the Hyksos Dynasty is unknown; it is probable, however, that he reigned before Apepa I., and there is reason to think that Khian was one of the first great Hyksos kings.

This little excursion in the history of Egypt and her Hyksos rulers from the 13th to the 16th Dynasties of Egypt has significance for comprehending the contents of the Amarna letters. All dynasties in the Middle East were connected to one another by family relation and marriage. And it is the Amarna Letters that allow us to take a glimpse into an amazing past.

The Egyptian Rulers

Although scholars generally do not recognise the biblical portrayal of the Exodus as an actual historical event, various historical pharaohs have been proposed as the corresponding ruler. We do not have a good documentation about the times when the Hyksos and / or Abraham came to Egypt in the times of the 12th to the 14th Dynasty [c. 1950-1800 BC]. But the Bible makes reference to various pharaohs of Egypt. The Egyptian texts talk about the Hyksos who came to Egypt, and they also tell us about their expulsion from Egypt some 3 centuries later, including the Egyptians' relations to the Habiru after those events. The Bible also tells us about Abraham who went to Egypt, and about Moses who came out of Egypt perhaps 3 centuries later. These include unnamed pharaohs in the legends of the Israelite settlement in Egypt. They also include several later rulers, some of whom can be identified with historical pharaohs. Here an overview:

DEDUMOSE II (died c. 1690 BC): David Rohl's 1995 A Test of Time revised Egyptian history by shortening the Third Intermediate Period of Egypt by almost 300 years. As a by-result the synchronisms with the biblical narrative have changed, making the Second Intermediate Period king Dedumose II the pharaoh of the Exodus. Rohl's theory has failed to find support among scholars in his field.

SENAKHTENRE AHMOSE was the seventh king of the 17th Dynasty of Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period. Senakhtenre reigned for a short period over the Theban region in Upper Egypt at a time where the Hyksos 15th Dynasty ruled Lower Egypt. Senakhtenre died c.1560 or 1558 BC at the latest. He was the father of Tao, also known under his throne name Seqenenre. The 14th, 15th, 16th, and the 17th Dynasties did not follow each other chronologically but som of them existed side by side as they ruled over different parts of Egypt. It is significant to note that the name part "mose, mosis, mes, meses" al mean "Moses" that is in meaning "the child, offspring, or son of".

SEQENENRE TAO (also Seqenera Djehuty-aa or Sekenenra Taa, called 'the Brave', ruled over the last of the local kingdoms of the Theban region of Egypt in the Seventeenth Dynasty during the Second Intermediate Period. He was the father of Kamose

AHHOTEP I (also Ahhotpe, Aahhotep or Iahhotep, "Iah (the Moon) is satisfied"; Iah or Yah is the origin of the name Yahweh for "God".) was an ancient Egyptian queen who lived circa 1560–1530 BC, during the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty of Egypt. She was the mother of Kamose and Ahmose I. Ahhotep I, is thought to have ruled as regent after the death of Kamose and continued the warfare against the Hyksos until Ahmose I, the second son of Seqenenre Tao and Ahhotep I, was old enough to assume the throne and complete the expulsion of the Hyksos and the unification of Egypt. Women had a high status in ancient Egypt and enjoyed the legal right to own, inherit, and will property. A woman becoming pharaoh was rare, however. Only Khentkaues, Sobekneferu, and Neferneferuaten came before her in known records as ruling solely in their own name. Twosret, a female king and the last pharaoh of the nineteenth dynasty, may have been the only woman to succeed her among the indigenous rulers.

WADJKHEPERRE KAMOSE was the last king of the Theban Seventeenth Dynasty. He was possibly the son of Seqenenre Tao and Ahhotep I and the full brother of Ahmose I. His reign fell at the very end of the Second Intermediate Period. Kamose, the last ruler of the Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes, is credited with launching a successful campaign in the Theban war of liberation against the Hyksos, although he is thought to have died in the campaign.

AHMOSE I (1550–1525 BC), founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty, completed the reconquest of Egypt began by his older brother Kamose. He restored Theban rule over the whole of Egypt and successfully reasserted Egyptian power in its formerly subject territories of Nubia and Canaan. His victory resulted in the expulsion of the Phoenician-Canaanite Hyksos from the Nile Delta; their "Exodus" under the leadership of Moses is recorded in the Hebrew Bible.

AMENHOTEP I (Egyptian for "Amun is satisfied"; also known as King Zeserkere, and in Greek as Amenothes I, or Amenophis I.) was the second Pharaoh of the 18th Dynasty of Egypt. His reign is generally dated from 1526 to 1506 BC. He was a son of Ahmose I and Ahmose-Nefertari. There are no records of his reign, however there is the debated possibility that he followed the Hyksos to Canaan and Phoenicia on a military campaign.

THUTMOSE I (sometimes read as Thutmosis, Djehutymes, Djhutmose, or Tuthmosis, Thothmes or Tutmoses in older Greek history books; lit.: "Thoth is born", meaning "Child or Son of Thoth") was the third pharaoh of the 18th Dynasty of Egypt from about 1526 to 1513 BC [exact dates are debated.]. It is believed that he extended Egypt's borders to Ethiopia in the south and to Assyria and southern Turkey in the north.

THUTMOSE II was the fourth Pharaoh of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt. His reign is generally dated from 1513 to 1499 BC [debated.]. Thutmose II had to deal with the uprising of the Kingdom of Kush in Nubia for which he dispatched an army under the command of his father's generals. An account of the campaign is given by the Titus Flavius Josephus who refers to it as the Ethiopic War. He is frequently considered best qualified to be the pharaoh of the Exodus based on the fact that he had a brief, prosperous reign and then a sudden collapse with no legitimate son to succeed him.

HATSHEPSUT (1507–1458 BC), meaning Foremost of Noble Ladies, was the fifth Pharaoh of the 18th dynasty of Ancient Egypt. She reigned longer than any other woman of an indigenous Egyptian dynasty, and successfully. Her father was Thutmose I. Her predecessor was Thutmose II [her husband]. She became first Regent [for Thutmose III, his son by his concubine Iset] then Pharaoh and an effective ruler in her own right. While Thutmose III was co-regent with his her, he was head of the army. Hatshepsut established the trade networks that had been disrupted during the Hyksos occupation of Egypt. She led successful military campaigns in Nubia, Canaan, Phoenicia and Syria early in her career.

THUTMOSE III was the sixth pharaoh (1479–1425 BC) of the Eighteenth Dynasty. For the first 22 years of his reign, he was co-regent with his stepmother and aunt, Hatshepsut. He created the largest empire Egypt ever had. 17 campaigns were conducted. Both together conquered lands from the Niya Kingdom in northern Syria to the Fourth Cataract of the Nile in Nubia.

AMENHOTEP II was the seventh pharaoh of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt. Amenhotep inherited a vast kingdom from his father Thutmose III, and held it by means of a few military campaigns in Syria; however, he fought much less than his father, and his reign saw the effective cessation of hostilities between Egypt and Mitanni, the major kingdoms competing for power in Syria. His reign is usually dated from 1427 to 1401 BC.

THUTMOSE IV was the 8th Pharaoh of the 18th Dynasty of Egypt, who ruled in approximately the 14th century BC. His prenomen or royal name, Menkheperure, means "Established in forms is Re."

AMENHOTEP III, also known as Amenhotep the Magnificent, was the ninth pharaoh of the Eighteenth Dynasty. According to different authors, he ruled Egypt from 1388 or 1386 to 1351 or 1349 BC, after his father Thutmose IV died. Amenhotep III was Thutmose's son by a minor wife, Mutemwiya. His reign was a period of unprecedented prosperity and splendour, when Egypt reached the peak of its artistic and international power. It was already during the reign of Amenhotep III, the solar god Aten was extensively worshipped; it was depicted as a falcon-headed man much like the Egyptian god Ra. The first known reference to Aten as a god is in the Story of Sinuhe from the 12th Dynasty [Artefact, Grand Bible]. The word itself appears in the Old Kingdom as a noun meaning "disc, orb, globe or sphere" which referred to anything circular. The sun was called the "disc or sphere of the day" where Ra was thought to reside. By analogy, the term "silver aten" was sometimes used to refer to the moon. High relief and low relief illustrations of the Aten show it with a curved surface, showing that Aten was meant to be a sphere. When Amenhotep III died in the 38th or 39th year of his reign, he left the god Aton as legacy to Amenhotep IV.

AMENHOTEP IV came to power between 1353 and 1351. It is unknown how old Amenhotep IV was when he did this; estimates range from 10 to 23.At first, he continued to reign like his father. He worshipped several different gods, including Atum, Osiris, Anubis, Nekhbet, Hathor, and the Eye of Ra, and texts from this era refer to "the gods" and "every god and every goddess." He engaged himself in the typical royal programmes such as building temples and tombs. He kept peace with his neighbours most of his reign.

May be, in his fourth or fifth year of reign, he lauched actions that stunned the nation: he began a revolution from above. He changed his name to Akhenaten [meaning "Horizon of the Aten"]. In 1346 BC, he moved Egypts capital from Memphis to a new place which he called after himself "Akhenaten", today known as Amarna. The new capital was at the east side of the Nile and about 8 miles [13 km] long and 3 miles [5 km] wide. At the same time he made the sun god Aten the sole god of the empire by forbidding worship to any other god, creating by doing this the first monotheistic religion in the world. Why he did that gives room for endless speculations. Whether the creation of his monotheist religion has been enforced to curtail the powerful old priest caste can be assumed.

Only one military campaign is known for certain under Akhenaten's reign. Besides that, in the Amarna letters, there are many indications that Akhenaten had somehow neglected his duties toward as his allies in Canaan who constantly requested help in their fight against the Habiru [Hebrew] which he seemingly had ignored. The Habiru were probably a peasant or nomad group of Canaanites who [felt unfairly taxed and therefore] launched a kind of social revolution in

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order to get rid of the ruling and Egyptian-backed king-priests. Texts in Hebrew Bible [Genesis and Exodus] could be interpreted that these groups, perhaps under leadership of Moses [Mose], suceeded in the end.

In his second or twelfth year, he ordered his Viceroy of Kush, Tuthmose [who was perhaps a family member], to lead a military expedition to quell a rebellion and raids on settlements on the Nile by Nubian nomadic tribes. Otherwise he seemed to have prepared for something else.

That his new religion has to do with the Phoenician-Canaanite Hyksos [the in the Amarna letters mentioned Habiru, the Hebrew], is another assumption. Did their influence have effects on Akhenaten's new religion? Or was it just the other way round? Psalm 104 could point out, to due to its striking similarity with Akhenaten's Hymn to the Sun [see Scriptures of Egypt, Grand Bible], that monotheism came from Egypt and Akhenaten was its originator. In his book "Moses and Monotheism" Sigmund Freud argued that Moses had been an Atenist priest forced to leave Egypt with his followers after Akhenaten's death.

Another interesting point is that Akhenaten seem to have made his wife Nefertiti an equal co-ruler, a thing that did not happen all to often in history. Between 1336 and 1334 BC, Akhenaten died suddenly and unexpected after seventeen years of rule. Cause of death: Unknown.

NEFERTITI, Neferneferuaten Nefertiti that is (c. 1370–1330 BC), was the wife of Pharaoh Akhenaten; earlier name: Amenhotep IV. Nefertiti and her husband were known for a religious revolution, in which they worshipped one god only, the Sun God Aten. She is depicted in many archaeological sites as equal in stature to a King, smiting Egypt's enemies, riding a chariot, and worshipping god Aten in the manner of a Pharaoh. When Nefertiti's name disappears from historical records, it is replaced by that of a co-regent named Neferneferuaten, who became a female Pharaoh. It seems likely that Nefertiti, in a similar fashion to the previous female Pharaoh Hatshepsut, assumed the kingship under the name Pharaoh Neferneferuaten after her husband's death, although this is a matter of ongoing debate. The time after Akhenaten's death was marked by the fall of Amarna and relocation of the capital back to the traditional city of Thebes. In early December 1912, a German archaeological expedition discovered in Amarna the atelier of Thutmose the Sculptor, the King's Favourite Master of Arts. Among the pieces of art the archaeologists dug up was the amazing bust of Nefertiti whose pretty face was looking almost alive as a modern colour photography. It was the bust that made her famous, The bust is now in Berlin's Neues Museum. Nefertiti died suddenly some time between 1336 and 1330 BC.

ANKHKHEPERURE, in full: Ankhkheperure Smenkhkare Djeser Kheperu (sometimes spelled Smenkhare, Smenkare or Smenkhkara), was a short-lived pharaoh in the late 18th Dynasty. The names of this pharaoh translate as 'Living are the Forms of Re' and 'Vigorous is the Soul of Re – Holy of Forms'. The identity of this individual is unknown as well as the sex and relationship to Akhenaten. This person suddenly vanished at around 1335–1334 BC.

SMENKHKARE was known to Egyptologists as far back as 1845 from the tomb of Meryre II (Mery-Re, the Beloved of Re; our names Maria, Mary, etc. are of Egyptian origin.). There he and Meritaten (Merit-Aten, the Beloved of Aten), bearing the title Great Royal Wife, are shown rewarding the tomb's owner. The names of the king have since been cut out but had been recorded by Richard Lepsius around 1850. Later, a different set of names emerged using the same throne name: "Ankhkheperu-re-mery Neferkheperu-re [Akhenaten] Neferneferuaten mery Wa en Re [Akhenaten]". This led to a great deal of confusion since throne names tended to be unique. For the better part of a century, the repetition of throne names was taken to mean that Smenkhare changed his name to Neferneferuaten at some point, probably upon the start of his sole reign. That Akhenaten 1336–34, Smenkhkare 1335–34, and Nefertiti 1336–30, died suddenly in a range of overlapping times is extraordinary. Contemporary evidence suggests that a plague ravaged through the Middle East around this time. In times of such a chaos, murder may be another reason.

TUTANKHAMUN (c. 1342 – c. 1325 BC), was an ancient Egyptian pharaoh who was the last of his royal family to rule during the end of the 18th Dynasty (ruled c. 1334 – 1325 BC in the conventional chronology) during the New Kingdom of Egyptian history. His father was the pharaoh Akhenaten, believed to be the mummy found in the tomb KV55 [KV for King Valley Tomb]. His mother is his father's sister, identified through DNA testing as an unknown mummy referred to as "The Younger Lady" who was found in KV35. Tutankhamun took the throne at eight or nine years of age under the unprecedented viziership of his eventual successor, Ay, to whom he may have been related. He married his half sister Ankhesenamun. During their marriage they lost two daughters, one at 5–6 months of pregnancy and the other shortly after birth at full-term. Both of their corpses were found in his sarcophagus. His names—Tutankhaten and Tutankhamun—are thought to mean "Living image of Aten" and "Living image of Amun", with Aten replaced by Amun after Akhenaten's death. A small number of Egyptologists, including Battiscombe Gunn, believe the translation may be incorrect and closer to "The-life-of-Aten-is-pleasing" or, as Professor Gerhard Fecht believes, reads as "One-perfect-of-life-is-Aten". Tutankhamun restored the Ancient Egyptian religion after its dissolution by his father, enriched and endowed the priestly orders of two important cults and began restoring old monuments damaged during the previous Amarna period. He did this probably on pressure of the old priest caste. He moved his father's remains to the Valley of the Kings as well as moving the capital from Akhetaten to Thebes. Tutankhamun was physically disabled with a deformity of his left foot along with bone necrosis that required the use of a cane, several of which were found in his tomb. He had other health issues including scoliosis and had contracted several strains of malaria. The 1922 discovery by Howard Carter of Tutankhamun's nearly intact tomb, in excavations funded by Lord Carnarvon, received worldwide press coverage. With over 5,000 artifacts, it sparked a renewed public interest in ancient Egypt, for which Tutankhamun's mask, now in the Egyptian Museum, remains a popular symbol. The deaths of a few involved in the discovery of Tutankhamun's mummy have been popularly attributed to the curse of the pharaohs.

KHEPERKHEPRURE AY, better known just as AY, was probably Nefertiti's father and the penultimate pharaoh of ancient Egypt's 18th Dynasty. He held the throne of Egypt for a brief 4-year period in the late 1300s BC. Prior to his rule, he was a close advisor to two, and perhaps three, other pharaohs of the dynasty. It is theorised that he was the power behind the throne during Tutankhamun's reign. Ay's prenomen Kheperkheperure means "Everlasting are the Manifestations of Ra," while his nomen Ay it-netjer reads as "Ay, Father of the God." Records and monuments that can be clearly attributed to Ay are rare, both because his reign was short and because his successor, Horemheb, instigated a campaign of damnatio memoriae against Ay and the other pharaohs associated with the Amarna Period that was hated by the old priest caste as they lost their posts and power. One important document found in Ay's tomb in Amarna had survived: The Great Hymn to the Aten probably written by Akhenaten.

A man called HOREMHEB managed to seize power after Ay's reign, presumably thanks to his position as commander of the army, and to assume what he must have perceived to be his just reward for having ably served Egypt under Tutankhamun and Ay. Horemheb, also spelled Horemhab or Haremhab (meaning "Horus is in Jubilation"), was probably a brother or cousin of Nefertiti and the last pharaoh of the 18th Dynasty of Egypt. He ruled for 14 years somewhere between 1319 BC and 1292 BC. He had no relation to the preceding royal family other than by marriage to Mutnedjmet, who is thought to have been the daughter of his predecessor Ay; he is believed to have been of common birth. Before he became pharaoh, Horemheb was the commander in chief of the army under the reigns of Tutankhamun and Ay. After his accession to the throne, he reformed the Egyptian state and it was under his reign that official action against the preceding Amarna rulers began. Due to this, he is considered the ruler who restabilised his country after the troublesome and divisive Amarna Period. Horemheb demolished monuments of Akhenaten, reusing the rubble in his own building projects, and usurped monuments of Tutankhamun and Ay. Horemheb presumably had no surviving sons, as he appointed his vizier Paramesse as his successor, who would assume the throne as Ramesses I.

MEN-PEHTY-RE RAMESSES I (Originally called Pa-ra-mes-su; in Greek: Ramesses, Rameses, Ramses, in a more literal transcription: "Ramose", meaning 'born of Ra' or 'Son of Ra') was the founder of the 19th Dynasty. He was of non-royal birth, being born into a noble military family from the Nile Delta region, perhaps near the former Hyksos capital of Avaris. He was a son of a troop commander called Seti. His uncle Khaemwaset, an army officer, married Tamwadjesy, the matron of the Harem of Amun, who was a relative of Huy, the viceroy of Kush [Nubia], an important state post. This shows the high status of Ramesses' family. Ramesses I found favour with Horemheb, the last pharaoh of the tumultuous Eighteenth Dynasty, who appointed the former as his vizier. Ramesses also served as the High Priest of Set – as such, he would have played an important role in the restoration of the old religion following the Amarna heresy of a generation earlier, under Akhenaten. reigned 1292–1290 BC or 1295–1294 BC.

MEN-MAAT-RE SETI I (or Sethos I in Greek) was a pharaoh of the New Kingdom Nineteenth Dynasty of Egypt, the son of Ramesses I and Sitre, and the father of Ramesses II. As with all dates in Ancient Egypt, the actual dates of his reign are unclear, and various historians claim different dates, with 1294 BC to 1279 BC and 1290 BC to 1279 BC being the most commonly used by scholars today. The name 'Seti' means "of Set", which indicates that he was consecrated to the god Set (also termed "Sutekh" or "Seth"). As with most pharaohs, Seti had several names. Upon his ascension, he took the prenomen "mn-m3't-r' ", usually vocalized as Menmaatre, in Egyptian, which means "Established is the Justice of Re." His better known nomen, or birth name, is transliterated as "sty mry-n-ptḥ" or Sety Merenptah, meaning "Man of Set, beloved of Ptah". Manetho incorrectly considered him to be the founder of the 19th Dynasty, and gave him a reign length of 55 years, though no evidence has ever been found for so long a reign.

RAMESSES II (c. 1303–1213; reigned 1279–1213 BC), also known as Ramesses the Great, was the third pharaoh of the Nineteenth Dynasty of Egypt. He is often regarded as the greatest, most celebrated, and most powerful pharaoh of the New Kingdom, itself the most powerful period of Ancient Egypt. His successors and later Egyptians called him the "Great Ancestor". He is known as Ozymandias or Osymandyas in Greek sources, from the first part of Ramesses's regnal name, Usermaatre Setepenre, "The Maat of Ra is powerful, Chosen of Ra". Ramesses II led several military expeditions into Canaan which also includes Phoenicia [Lebanon]. He defeated the Sherden sea pirates who were wreaking havoc along Egypt's Mediterranean coast by attacking cargo-laden vessels travelling the sea routes to Egypt. The immediate antecedents to the Battle of Kadesh were the early campaigns of Ramesses II into Canaan. Ramesses extended his military successes in his eighth and ninth years. He crossed the Dog River (Nahr al-Kalb) and pushed north into Amurru. Egypt's sphere of influence was now restricted to Canaan while Syria fell into Hittite hands. Ramesses II moved the capital of his kingdom from Thebes in the Nile valley to a new site in the eastern Delta. His motives are uncertain, although he possibly wished to be closer to his territories in Canaan and Syria. The new city of Pi-Ramesses [full name: Pi-Ramesses Aa-nakhtu, meaning "Domain of Ramesses the Victor].)

How to find out what the Bible tells us?

Scholars generally do not recognise the biblical portrayal of the Exodus as an actual historical event, or any other event for that matter. Large parts of the Bible can be viewed as literature. As it was the case with any other text in Antiquity, there is no text that could be considered belonging to either one or the other genre. Any text is always a mix of stories, history, lots of precepts and laws, propaganda, political doctrines, slander, blatend lies and misleadings. The use of different names for a person and location, myths and mythologies to hide or blur facts. Although these different qualities of an ancient text multiply problems for the researcher, they can be cracked like a code. We need to arrange the given information in an analytical fashion.

In spite of all these confusing details given in a document, there are always 2 main constant variables which are LANGUAGE and GEOGRAPHY. And because these are the two unchanging values that influence each and every human being, and consequently a nation, we easily can find out what a particular person (or persons) have learned through that language and in that location. It is this learned stuff that defines a person's beliefs, indoctrinated habits and behaviours.

There is a 3rd constant variable to consider when dealing with allegiances or affiliations of people: their BLOOD RELATIONS, meaning their clan and family bonds. If we are smart, we also examine a 4th source of information: the BIOGRAPHY of the person or persons in question; this includes fontnesses, dislikings, friendships, enmities, education and skills, source of income and political power; this includes a thorough examination of their teachers.

One does not need to be a Sherlock Holmes to deduce [1st] with what kind of people we are dealing with once we have established what language they speak and to which group this language belongs, [2nd] to what sort of civilisation and culture a group of people consequently belongs, [3rd] which geographical data a historian has to check, and [4th] what time dating can be estimated.

When it comes to practical analyses, we need to check 4 other details: 1. re-examine the target-text [e.g. the Bible]; 2. compare that text with other texts from that time; 3. identify a landmark or location mentioned in those texts; 4. check the linguistic meaning of the given names.

Taken those 12 points together, we can perform forensic science for solving or clarify historical inconsistencies, contradictions and facts that have been hiding before our very eyes. And there is no need that all the 12 points match; only 2 or 3 matches may let us look into the right direction.

Some language analyses:

When we analyse texts that deal with the two first books of the Bible, Genesis and Exodus. The text talk about the people of Abraham, the people of Moses, the Egyptians, the Canaanites, the Hebrews, the Israelites, the Hittites, Edomites [Idumaeans], and others. When we now try to find out what languages these people spoke, we are in for a surprise: The Egyptians spoke Egyptian, the Mesopotamians spoke Akkadian, an East Semitic language. Arabs, Yemenites, Sabaeans, and some Edomites spoke South-Semitic. The

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Hittites in the east of modern Turkey spoke an Indo-European language related with Greek, Latin, German, Persian, Indian.

The Phoenicians, Canaanites, Israelites, Judaeans, Edomites, Moabites, Aramaeans [Syrians] - all of them - spoke one and the same language: West-Semitic, among linguists also known as Phoenician-Canaanite! In Egyptian texts, we read about the Hyksos who came to Egypt in about 1900 BC and about Habiru [Hebrew] against whom the Egyptians kept fighting for roughly 500 years. They too spoke Phoenician-Canaanite! In other words: Hyksos, Phoenicians, Canaanites, Hebrews, Israelites did not only speak the same language but shared the same culture, had very similar beliefs, made the same kind of pottery and weapons, and above all, they worked closely together under the bond of blood and language - just like English speaking British, American, Canadian and Australian people do today. Besides that, the discovery of cuneiform libraries in Mesopotamia and Egypt (!) teaches us that the entire Middle East [including Egypt and Persia] had a diplomatic language in use: the Semitic Akkadian language written on clay tablets with cuneiform script.

There are two strings of events narrated in the Tanakh, the Hebrew Bible, that we can call "the 2 most defining moments of the Bible". They are the migration of Abraham [and his people] from his birth place Erech [Uruk] in Mesopotamia first to Canaan [which comprised today's Israel, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and the eastern half of Sinai.] and then straight to Egypt. The second defining moment is the Exodus of Moses [and his people] from Egypt to Canaan. The authors of the Bible did perhaps not want to say it clearly, but other documents such as the Amarna letters, an amazing bulk of international correspondence found in Egypt, describe the events quite plainly. They suggest that Abraham and Moses belong to the very same chain of events.

The passages Genesis 12:10–20 narrate how Abraham moves to Egypt to escape a period of famine in Canaan. The unnamed pharaoh, through his princes, hears of the beauty of Abraham's wife Sarai [Sarah] who is summoned to meet him. Because of her, Abraham rises in the Pharaoh's favour and acquires livestock and servants. After discovering Sarah's true relationship to Abraham [she is also his (half)sister, Gen 20:12], the pharaoh chooses not to take her as his own wife. He releases her and Abraham and orders them to take their goods and to leave Egypt.

The last chapters of the Book of Genesis (Genesis 37–50) tell how Joseph, son of Jacob / Israel, is first sold by his brothers into Egyptian slavery but is promoted by the unnamed pharaoh to vizier of Egypt and is given permission to bring his father, his brothers, and their families into Egypt to live in the Land of Goshen (eastern Nile Delta around modern Faqous* [Phakousa, Egyptian: Pa-qas). Faqous or Faqus is a city in the Egyptian governorate of Ash Sharqiyah Governorate. Local attractions include ancient Egyptian monuments in Tell el-Dab'a* [Avaris], Qantir, and Omm Egrim. Faqus is identical with the ancient city of Phacusa (Egyptian: Pa-kus, Greek: Phakousa), which was the capital of the nome [province] of Arabia.*

[The land of Goshen (Hebrew: Eretz Goshen; also Gesem or Kesem) is named in the Bible as the place in Egypt given to the Hebrews by the pharaoh of Joseph (Book of Genesis, Genesis 45:9–10), and the land from which they later left Egypt at the time of the Exodus. It was located in the eastern Delta of the Nile, lower Egypt; perhaps at or near Avaris, the capital city of the Phoenician-Canaanite Hyksos kings.*

Pithom also called Per-Atum [in Greek: Heroöpolis or Heroonopolis], was an ancient city of Egypt. Multiple references in ancient Greek, Roman, and Hebrew Bible sources exist for this city, but its exact location remains somewhat uncertain.

This name comes from Hebrew Pithom which was taken from the Late Egyptian name Pi-Atom (Par-Atama) 'House of Atum'. Atum, a solar deity, was one of the major gods of ancient Egypt, and a sun-god of Heliopolis.

Pithom is one of the cities which, according to Exodus 1:11, was built for the Pharaoh by the forced labour of the Israelites. The other city was Ramses; and the Septuagint adds a third, "On, which is Heliopolis."

Heroöpolis was a large city east of the Nile Delta, situated near the mouth of the Royal Canal which connected the Nile with the Red Sea.

Pi-Ramesses (Egyptian: Per-Ra-mes(i)-su, meaning "House of Ra-Mose") was the new capital built by the Nineteenth Dynasty Pharaoh Ramesses II (1279–1213 BC) at Qantir, near the old site of Avaris. The city had served as a summer palace under Seti I (c. 1290–1279 BC), and may have been founded by Ramesses I (c. 1292–1290 BC) while he served under Horemheb. Why in this Canaanite-Hebrew

In the Book of Exodus, the Israelites—the descendants of Jacob's sons—are living in the Land of Goshen under a new pharaoh who oppresses the Hebrews [* a slandering propaganda phrase that should probably hide that the Hyksos-Habiru (Hebrew) were actually in charge in northern Egypt at that time. They were most likely not the oppressed but the oppressors of Egyptian citizens in the Hyksos realm!]. He forces them to work long hours without breaks and issues a decree to kill their newborn males in order to reduce their numbers due to concerns about their growing population. Moses, a Levite, is saved by his mother who instructs his sister Miriam to watch over him after he is placed in a reed basket in the Nile River. He is discovered and adopted by the pharaoh's daughter. Miriam asks the princess if she would like an Israelite woman to help nurse the child and returns with Moses' own mother, who is then able to raise her child under royal protection. During his infant years, Moses is instructed about the customs and history of the Israelites, and is taught about Yahweh. Later, Moses is returned to the pharaoh's daughter and raised as part of the royal household.*

Re-examination of Genesis

Chapters 1 and 2 are about creation of the Heavens, the Earth, and first life. God recommends "Be fruitful, and multyply." Chapters 3 and 4 are about Adam and Eve, how they sin, get expelled from Eden, about Cain and Abel, Cain murdering Abel.

Chapter 5 is the beginning of the "Book of Generations" in which we find the names of Adam and Eve's descendants. Remarkably, the here mentioned people do not belong to the inner circle of the Hebrews. In fact, the generations and their names refer to all sorts of Semitic tribes, clans, and dynasties, we meet time and again in the Tanakh. Chapters 6-9 contain the story of Noah and the Great Flood originally taken from the Gilgamesh Epic. Then the narrative becomes exceedingly interesting.

Chapter 11 tells us that "Terah took Abram his son, and Lot the son of Haran his son's son, and Sarai his daughter in law, his son Abram's wife; and they went forth with them from Ur of the Chaldees, to go into the land of Canaan; and they came unto Haran, and dwelt there." Ur of the Chaldees refers to the City of Ur in the realm of Uruk [Erech] an area in Sumer, in the south of Mesopotamia. Sumer florished from 4500 BC to about 1900 BC. According to archaeological dating, the migration of Terah and Abraham coincided with the end of Sumer as political relevant nation state. They went "unto Haran" in the south of Turkey, meaning that they founded the Town of Haran and named it after Abrahams brother. Haran [or: Aran] died in Ur of Chaldees [Ur Kasdim]. Through his son Lot, Haran was the ancestor of the Moabites and Ammonites, and through his daughter Milcah he was ancestral to the Aramaeans. This passage [Genesis 11:31] defines the size of Canaan which reached in the south the area of Petra and in the north the south of Turkey; meaning: all lands of Phoenicia, Aram [Syria], Ammon [Amman, modern Jordan], Israel, Moab, Yudah and Edom [Idumaea, northern Arabia] are originally considered parts of the "Promised Land."

This point of view could imply that Abraham was not just a harmless migrant or settler but a conqueror. Bear in mind what connotation of the original form of the name "Abram" represents: abram means "high father," from 'ab', for "father" + 'ram', for "high." The form "abra'ham," [which was later bestowed to him by God] is glossed as 'ab' for "father of" + 'ha'mon', "multitude of," meaning a 'multitude of,' or many peoples! That sounds much more powerful to an almost threatening degree.

With this knowledge in our mind, the passage in Genesis 17:1–7 make perfect sense: ". . . . the LORD appeared to Abram, and said unto him, I am the Almighty God; walk before me, and be thou perfect. And I will make my covenant between me and thee, and will multiply thee exceedingly. And Abram fell on his face: and God talked with him, saying, As for me, behold, my covenant is with thee, and thou shalt be a father of many nations. Neither shall thy name any more be called Abram, but thy name shall be Abraham; for a father of many nations have I made thee. And I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and I will make nations of thee, and kings shall come out of thee. And I will establish my covenant between me and thee and thy seed after thee in their generations for an everlasting covenant, to be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee."

It seems that this power was not only bestowed but also executed. The Genesis story reflects events in around 1900 BC. At this time, Egypt was invaded by a forceful people the Egyptian called Hekau-khasut or Heqa-kasut, meaning: "ruler(s) of foreign lands", to us better known by its Greek term as "Hyksos.")

EA 1 - THE PHARAOH COMPLAINS TO THE BABYLONIAN KING

(Translation: William Lambert Moran, 1992; The Amarna letter EA1, titled "The Pharaoh complains to the Babylonian King", was written by the Pharaoh Amenhotep III to the King Kadašman-Enlil I. It is part of an archive of clay tablets containing the diplomatic correspondence between Egypt and other Near Eastern rulers during the reign of Pharaoh Akhenaten, his predecessor Amenhotep III and his successors. These tablets were discovered in el-Amarna and are therefore known as the Amarna letters. All of the tablets are inscribed with cuneiform writing. The tablet itself is made of Marl clay collected near Esna, 50 km / 35 miles south of Cairo. The letters EA1 to EA14 contain the correspondence between Egypt and Babylonia. Only two of them, EA1 and EA5, were sent from Egypt to Babylonia. The other twelve were written by Babylonians.)

Speak to Kardasman-Enlil, king of the land of Karaduniash, my brother! Thus Nibmu'are'a, the great king, king of the land of Egypt, your brother. With me all is well:may all be well with you. With your house, with your wives, with your sons, with your senior officials, with your chariotry, and in the midst of your territories, may all be exceedingly well. With me all is well, with my house, my wives, my senior officials, my horses, my chariotry and my troops, it is all very well and within my territories it is all very well.

Now I have heard the message you sent to me concerning it, saying "You seek my daughter for your wife and my sister who my father gave to you is there with you but no one has seen her now, whether she is alive whether she is dead." This is what you sent me in your tablet; these are your words. When have you sent your dignitary who knows your sister, who can converse with her and identify her and let him converse with her?

The men who you send me are non-entities. One was the [. . .] of Zaqara, the other was an ass herd of the land of [. . .]. There was not one among them who knows her who was close to your father and can identify her.

Moreover, as for the envoys that returned to you and said she is not your sister, there was none among the two who knew her, and could tell you, more over, she is well and alive. Was there given something into his hand in order to deliver it to her mother?

And as for your writing, saying "You spoke to my envoys while your wives were assembled, standing before you, saying 'Behold your mistress who is standing before you' while my envoys did not recognise her, was it my sister who is like her? And now you wrote, saying "My envoys did not recognize her," and you say, "So who has identified her?" Why do you not send your dignitary who will tell you the truth, the welfare of your sister who is here? Then you can trust the one who enters in to see her house and the relationship with the king.

And when you write saying: "Perhaps it was the daughter of some lowly person either one of the Kaskeans or a daughter of the land of Khanigalbat, or perhaps of the land of Ugarit which my envoys saw. Who can trust those that she is like her? This one did not open her mouth. One can not trust them in anything." These are your words. And if our sister is dead then why would they conceal her death and why would we present another?... Surely the great god Amon knows your sister is alive!

I have appointed her sister to the queen mother as the mistress of the house ...one bride of [. . .].

[. . .] concerning all of my wives [. . .] which the kings of the land of Egypt [. . .] in the land of Egypt. And as you wrote saying, "As for my daughters who are married to kings they are neighbours, if my envoys go there, they converse with the m[and they se]nd to me a present. The one that is thus [. . .]" These are your words.Perhaps the kings who are your neighbours are rich and mighty; your daughters acquire something with them and they send it to you, but what does she have, your sister who is with me? But as soon as she acquires something, then she will send it to you. Is it fitting that you give your daughters in order to acquire a garment from your neighbours?

And as for you citing the words of my father, leave it! Don't speak of his words! Moreover, "Establish friendly brotherhood between us." This is what you wrote; these are your words. Now, we are brothers, I and you, both of us, but I got angry concerning your envoys because they speak to you, saying, "Nothing is given to us who go to Egypt." Those who come to me, does one of the two go without taking silver, gold, oil, garments, everything nice more than from another country, but he speaks untruth to the one who sends him? The first time your envoy went off to your father and there mouths were speaking untruths. The second time they went forth and they are speaking lies to you. So I myself said, "if i give them something or if I do not give them, they will speak lies likewise," so I made up my mind about them; i did not give them further.

And as you wrote, saying, "You said to my envoys, 'Has your master no troops? The girl he gave to me is not beautiful!' " These are your words. Not so! Your envoys are speaking untruths to you in this manner! If there are warriors or if there are not, it is known to me. Why is it necessary to ask him if you troops or if you have horses? No! Don't listen to your two envoys that you send here in whose mouths are lies! Perhaps they are afraid of you, so that they tell lies to escape your punishment?

As you spoke, saying, " He placed my chariots among the chariots of the city rulers, you did not review them separately! You humiliated them before the throng which is thus and you did not review them separately." Verily the chariots are here; verily the horses of my country are here! All the chariot horses had to be supplied.

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When you sent to my hand a vessel to anoint the head of the girl, you sent to me one gift of pure oil. Are we to laugh?

EA 2 - FROM KING KADASHMAN-ENLIL I TO PHARAO AMENHOTEP III

(Translation: William Lambert Moran, 1992; Amarna Letter EA2 is the letter of the Amarna series of inscriptions designated EA2, which is inscribed with cuneiform writing showing the continuation of a correspondence between Kadašman-Enlil I and Amenḥotep III, from EA1. This letter is known to be concerning, A Proposal of Marriage. The letter is part of a series of correspondences from Babylonia to Egypt, which run from EA2 to EA4 and EA6 to EA14. EA1 and EA5 are from Egypt to Babylonia. The composition of the matter of the tablet onto which the letter is inscribed is clay taken from the River Euphrates.)

Say to Mimmuwareya, the king of Egypt, my brother: Thus Kadašman-Enlil, the king of Karaduniyaš. For me and my country all goes well. For you, for your wives, for your sons, for your magnates, your horses, your chariots, and your entire country, may all go very well.

With regards to my brother's writing me about marriage, saying, I desire your daughter, why should you not marry her? ... My daughters are available, but their husbands must be a king or of royal blood. These are the only ones I accept for my daughters. No king has ever given his daughters to anyone not of royal blood.

Your daughters are available, why have you not given me one?

. . . fine horses . . . 20 wooden . . . of gold . . . 120 shekels . . . I send to you as your greeting gift.60 shekels of lapis-lazuli I send as the greeting gift of your sister, . . . my wife

EA 3 - FROM KADASHMAN ENLIL OF BABYLON TO AMENHOTEP OF EGYPT

(Translation: William Lambert Moran, 1992; Amarna Letter EA3, titled Marriage, grumblings, a palace opening, is a letter of correspondence between Nimu'wareya, this being the ruler of Egypt, Amenḥotep III, and Kadashman-Enlil, the king of Babylon. The letter is part of a series of correspondences from Babylonia to Egypt, which run from EA2 to EA4 and EA6 to EA14. EA1 and EA5 are from Egypt to Babylonia.)

Say to Nimu'wareya, the king of Egypt, my brother: Thus Kadashman-Enlil, the king of Karaduniyash, your brother. For me all indeed goes well. For you, for your household, your wives, and for your sons, your country, your chariots, your horses, your magnates may all go very well.

With regards to the girl, my daughter, about who you wrote to me in view of marriage, she has become a woman; she is nubile. Just send a delegation to fetch her. Previously my father would send a messenger to you and you would not detain him for very long. You quickly sent him off, and you would also send to my father here a beautiful greeting gift.

But now when I sent a messenger to you you have detained him for six years and you have sent me as my greeting gift the only thing in six years 30 minas of gold that looked like silver. That gold was melted down in the presence of Kasi your messenger and he was a witness. When you celebrated a great festival you did not send your messenger to me saying "Come to eat and drink" Nor did you send my greeting gift in connection with the festival. It was just 30 minas of gold that you sent me. My gift does not amount to what I have given you every year.

I have built a new house. In my house I have built a large...Your messengers have seen inside the house and the..., and are pleased. Now I am going to have a house opening. Come yourself to eat and drink with me. I shall not act as you yourself did. 25 men and 25 women, 50 altogether in my service I send in connection with the house opening.

...for 10 wooden chariots, and 10 teams of horses I send to you as your greeting gift.

EA 4 - ROYAL DECEIT AND THREATS

(Translation: William Lambert Moran, 1992; Amarna Letter EA4, titled "Royal deceit and threats", is a continuation of correspondence between Kadashman-Enlil I and Amenhotep III. The letter is part of a series of correspondences from Babylonia to Egypt, which run from EA2 to EA4 and EA6 to EA14. EA1 and EA5 are from Egypt to Babylonia.)

. . . Moreover, you my brother when I wrote to you about marrying your daughter in accordance with your practice of not giving a daughter, wrote to me saying, 'From time immemorial no daughter of the King of Egypt is ever given to anyone' Why not. You are king you do as you please. Were you to give a daughter who would say anything. Since I was told of this message I wrote as follows to my brother saying 'Someone's grown daughters beautiful women must be available. Send me a beautiful woman as if she were your daughter. Who is going to say she is no daughter of the king. But holding to the decision you have not sent me anyone. Did you yourself not seek brotherhood and amity and so wrote to me about marriage that we might come closer to each other, and did not I for my part write to you about marriage for this very same reason, brotherhood and amity, that we might come closer to each other. Why then did my brother not send me just one woman. Should I perhaps since you did not send me a woman refuse you a woman just as you did to me and not send her. But my daughters being available I will not refuse to you.

Perhaps too when I wrote to you about marriage and when I wrote to you about the animals ... Now you need not accept the offspring of my daughter whom I shall send to you, but, send me any animals requested of you.

And as for the gold I wrote to you about, send me whatever is one hand as much as possible before your messenger comes to me right now in all haste this summer either in the month of Tammuz or in the month Ab so I can finish the work I am set upon. If during this summer in the months of Tammaz or Ab you send the gold I wrote to you about I will give you my daughter. So please send the gold you feel prompted to. But if in the months of Tammuz or Ab you do not send me the gold, and with it I do not finish the work I am engaged in what would be the point of your being pleased to send me gold. Once I have finished the work I am engaged in, what need have I of gold. Then you might send me 3000 talents of gold, but I would not accept it, I would send it back to you and not give you my daughter in marriage.

EA 5 - GIFTS OF EGYPTIAN FURNITURE FOR THE BABYLONIAN PALACE

(Amarna Letter EA 5, one of the Amarna letters, is a correspondence between Kadashman-Enlil I and Amenhotep III. The letter exists as two artifacts, one at the British Museum (BM 29787) and one in the Cairo Museum (C 12195). The letter is part of a series of correspondences from Babylonia to Egypt, which run from EA2 to EA4 and EA6 to EA14. EA1 and EA5 are from Egypt to Babylonia.)

Thus Nibmuareya Great King, the king of Egypt. Say to Kadašman-Enlil, the king of Karadunniyaš, my brother: For me all goes well. For you may all go well. For your household, your wives, your sons, your magnates, your troops, your horses, your chariots, and in your countries, may all go well. For me all goes well. For my household, my wives, my sons, my magnates, my many troops, my horses, my chariots, and in my countries all goes very, very well.

I have just heard that you have built some new quarters. I am sending herewith some furnishings for your house. Indeed I shall be preparing everything possible before the arrival of your messenger who is bringing your daughter. When your messenger returns, I will send them to you. I herewith send you , in the charge of Shutti, a greeting-gift of things for the new house: One bed of ebony, overlaid with ivory and gold; three beds of ebony, overlaid with gold; one urusshu of ebony, overlaid with gold; one large chair (throne) of ebony, overlaid with gold. These things, the weight of all the gold: 7 minas, 9 shekels, of silver; In addition, 10 footrests (footstools) of ebony; [. . .] of ebony, overlaid with gold; [. . .] footrests of ivory, overlaid with gold; [. . .] . . . of gold. [Total 10 x] minas, 10 and 7 shekels, of gold.

EA 6 - AN OFFER OF FRIENDSHIP

(Translation: William Lambert Moran, 1992; Amarna Letter EA 6 is a correspondence from Burra-Buriyash (the king of Babylon) to Nimmuwarea (Amenhotep III) the king of Egypt. According to one source, this letter concerns gifts between two kings. The letter is part of a series of correspondences from Babylonia to Egypt, which run from EA2 to EA4 and EA6 to EA14. EA1 and EA5 are from Egypt to Babylonia.)

Say to Nimmuwarea the king of Egypt my brother Thus Burra-Buriyaš the king of Karaduniyash (Babylon) your brother For me all goes well For you your household your wives your sons your country your magnates your horses your chariots may all go well.

Just as previously you and my father were friendly to one another you and I should be friendly to one another Between us anything else what-so-ever is not to be mentioned.Write to me for what you want from my country so that it may be taken to you and I will write to you of what I want from your country so that it may be taken to me . . . I will trust you . . . Write to me so that it may be taken to you, And as your greeting gift . . . and one . . . I send you

EA 7 - A LESSON IN GEOGRAPHY

(Translation: J. Hill, 2010; Amarna Letter EA7, titled "A Lesson in Geography", is a letter from Burra-Buriyash / Burnaburiash the king of Karaduniyash (Babylon) to Naphururreya / Napkhururia (Amenhotep IV / Akhenaten), king of Egypt, and, and is part of a series of correspondences from Babylonia to Egypt, which run from EA2 to EA4 and EA6 to EA14. EA1 and EA5 are from Egypt to Babylonia. The letter demonstrates the existence of Middle Eastern trade routes through Canaan and Phoenicia. The artifact is no longer extant having been destroyed during a bombing raid upon the city of Berlin, during World War II.)

To Napkhururia , Great King, king of Egypt, thus speaks Burnaburiash, Great King, king of Karaduniash, your brother. I and my house, my horses and my chariots, my notables and my land, we are well. May well-being reign over my brother and his house, his horses and his cars, his notables and his land.

From the day on which the envoy of my brother arrived before me, my body has not been well, and his envoy has never eaten or drunk before me. See, if you question your envoy, he cannot tell you that my body is not well, and … And as my body is not well and my brother …

I vented my anger with my brother with the following words: Should my brother not know that I am ill? Why has he not supported my head? Why has he not worried and sent his messengers?

The envoy of my brother has spoken thus: The way is not short, so that your brother can find out and send you greetings. The passage is long to your brother. Who can inform him, so that he sends a greeting to you quickly?

He next spoke thus: Question your messenger if the passage is not long…

As I asked my messenger, and he said that the way was long, no longer make I my brother the object of my anger.

As one has said that in the land of my brother there is everything, and that my brother lacks nothing, of everything there is also in my land, and I lack nothing. For a long time we have had good relations between us kings, and we exchange greetings. These relations between us must remain…

Only, four mines of beautiful lapis lazuli have I sent to my brother as a gift, and also five teams of horses. When the times are good, I will send with my future messengers many beautiful gifts, and anything that my brother wishes, he can write . . . .

I have started an undertaking, and for this reason I write to my brother. My brother should send me much gold, that I need for my work. But the gold that my brother sends me, do not leave it to some official. Let the eyes of my brother inspect it, and let my brother seal it and send it! Because as far as the previous gold is concerned, which my brother did not inspect personally, but which was sealed and sent by an official of my brother, of the 40 mines which I put in the furnace, there was barely anything of value left.

And with regards to Salmu, my envoy, twice has his caravan been plundered. Once it was plundered by Biriazama (Biriyawaza), and his other caravan by Pamahu, a governor of a land that belongs to you. And this matter, my brother, you must put right! When my envoy spoke before my brother so may now Shalmu speak before my brother His things should be restored to him and he should be compensated for his losses.

EA 8 - FROM BURNABURIASH, KING OF KARADUNIASH (BABYLON) TO NAPKHURURIA (AMENHOTEP IV. / AKHENATEN)

(Berlin, VA. Th. 152; Published by Abel and Winckler, Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna, No. 8. Translated by Ungnad in Cressmann, Altorientalische Texte und Bilder, 1., p. 129f.; and by Knudtzon. Die El-Amarna Tafeln, p. 85 f.. EA 8 is a continuation of correspondence between Naphururreya, king of Egypt, and Burnaburiyash the king of Karaduniash (Babylon).).

To Naphu'ruria, King of Egypt, my brother, thus hath spoken Burraburiash, King of Karduniash, thy brother: With me it is well; with thee, with thy land, thy house, thy wives, thy children, thy nobles, thy horses, thy chariots, may it be exceeding well! I and my brother have spoken friendly with one another, and thus have we spoken: "As our fathers were, so will wo also be good friends." But now my traders, who came up with Ahutabu, remained behind in Kinahhi [i.e.: Canaan.] for business reasons. After Ahutabu had gone off to my brother, in the city of Hinnatuni of Kinahhi, Shumadda, son of Balumme, and Shutatna, son of Sharatum, of Acco, sent their men and slew my traders, and carried off their money!

Azzu, . . . I have sent to thee, so ask him and let him tell thee. Kinahhi is thy land and its kings are thy servants. In thy land violence has been done me. Chastise them, and the money which they have taken away, restore!

And the men who have slain my servants, slay them, and avenge their blood! But if thou dost not slay these people, they will on another occasion slay my caravans or thy messengers, and then messengers will cease to pass between us. And if they deny it, know this, that Shumadda cut the feet off one of my people, and kept him prisoner; and that Shutatna of Acco set another on his head, and he stands before his face. Cause these men to be brought before thee, and take heed to

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my welfare! As present I have sent thee one mina of lapis-lazuli. Send my messenger back speedily. May I learn of the welfare of my brother! Do not keep my messenger back! Let him come quickly!

EA 9 - ANCIENT LOYALTIES, NEW REQUEST

(Translation: William Lambert Moran, 1992; Amarna letter EA 9, [Burna-Buriash letter no. 4 of 6], titled "Ancient Loyalties, new Request",is a tall, compact 38 line clay tablet letter of 3 paragraphs from King Burra-Buriyash of Babylon and is to the Pharaoh of Egypt (Misri). The Pharaoh is named Neb-Kheper-Ra, [meaning King-Manifested-Ra, meaning Tutankhamun / Tutankhamen, c. 1342 – c. 1325 BC].

The introductory, and salutory Paragraph 1, highlights, peace (shalāmu-shu-ul-mu) for King Burnaburiash, and wishes peace, and well-being to the Pharaoh, and on the many contingents of the Pharaoh's charge, wife, army, the country, etc.

Paragraph 2 highlights the need for gold, for building a mausoleum for Burnaburiash's father, and is an involved paragraph discussing the ancestor father-king's relationships, and the desire for continued good relations, and the exchange of peace gifts between the 'brother kings'.

Paragraph 3 highlights the intrigues of economic and country relationships. Ascending country emissaries, and the vying for trade, and economic trading rights. A dialogue is contained in the paragraph, between the history, and what Burnaburiash would like to see done in the future.)

Text:

Paragraph 1: Say to NibhurreReya (Neb-kheper-Ra-ia), the king of Egypt (Mizri), my brother: "message Thus", Thus, the king of Karaduniyash, your brother. For me all goes well. For you, your household, your wives, your sons, your country, your magnates, your horses, your chariots, may all go very well.

Paragraph 2: From the time my ancestors and your ancestors made a mutual declaration of friendship, they sent beautiful greeting-gifts to each other, and refused no request for anything beautiful. My brother has now sent me 2–minas of gold as my greeting-gift. Now, if gold is plentiful, send me as much as your ancestors sent, but if it is scarce, send me half of what your ancestors sent. Why have you sent me 2–minas of gold? At the moment my work on a temple is extensive, and I am quite busy with carrying it out. Send me much gold. And you for your part, whatever you want from my country, write me so that it may be taken to you.

Paragraph 3: In the time of Kurigalzu, my ancestor, all the Canaanites [Kinahi] wrote here to him, saying, "Come to the border of the country so we can revolt and be allied with you!"

My ancestor sent them this reply, saying, "Forget about being allied with me. If you become enemies of the king of Egypt, and are allied with anyone else—will I not then come and plunder you? How can there be an alliance with me?" – For the sake of your ancestor, my ancestor did not listen to them. Now, as for my Assyrian vassals-(i.e.King Ashur-uballit I, r. 1365 and 1330 BC), I was not the one who sent them to you. Why on their own authority have they come to your country? If you love me, they will conduct no business whatsoever. Send them off to me empty–handed.

I send to you as your greeting-gift 3–minas of genuine lapis lazuli, and 5–teams of horses for 5–wooden chariots.

EA 10 - EGYPTIAN GOLD AND CARPENTERS

(Translation: William Lambert Moran, 1992; Amarna Letter EA 10, titled "Egyptian Gold and Carpenters" is the letter of the Amarna series of diplomatic correspondence designated EA 10, which is written in cuneiform writing showing the continuation of a correspondence between Burna-Buriash II (otherwise known as Burra-Buriyaš) an ancient king of Babylon (named Karduniash in the 1350BC Amarna timeperiod) , and Akhenaten (also known as Amenophis IV), an ancient pharaoh of Egypt. The letter is part of a series of correspondences from Babylonia to Egypt, which run from EA2 to EA4 and EA6 to EA14. EA1 and EA5 are from Egypt to Babylonia.

Within the letter Burna-Buriash II praises the craftsmen of the land of Akhenaten, and requests a model of an animal, either land or aquatic, and he is apparently indifferent to which of the two the pharaoh should choose to have created.

Some part of the contents of the letter indicates (in addition to EA11) that the Egyptian pharaoh married his daughters Meritaten [Mary of Aten, the Beloved of God] and Ankhesenpaaten at a time when they were about 11 or 12 years of age.)

Say to Naphurareya, the king of Egypt: Thus Burra-Buriyas, the king of Karaduniyash (Babylon). For me all goes well. For you, for your household, for your wives, for your sons, for your magnates, for your troops, for your chariots, for your horses, and for your country, may all go very well.

From the time of Karaindash, since the messengers of your ancestors came regularly to my ancestors, up to the present, they (the ancestors) have been friends. Now, though you and I are friends, three times have your messengers come to me and you have not sent me a single beautiful greeting-gift, nor have I for my part sent you a beautiful greeting-gift. I am one for whom nothing is scarce, and you are one for whom nothing is scarce. As for your messenger whom you sent to me, the 20 minas of gold that were brought here were not all there. When they put it into the kiln, not five minas of gold appeared. The ... that did appear, on cooling off looked like ashes. Was the gold ever identified as gold [. . .] friends with each other] [. . .] . . .

[. . .] of a wild ox for . . . [. . .] when your messenger . . . [. . .] let him bring to to me. There are skilled carpenters8 where you are. Let them represent a wild animal, land or aquatic, lifelike, so that the hide is exactly like that of a live animal. Let your messenger bring it to me. But if there are some old ones already on hand, then as soon as Shindishugab, my messenger, reaches you, let him immediately, posthaste, borrow chariots and get here. Let them make some new ones for future delivery, and then when my messenger comes here with your messenger, let them bring them here together.

I send as your greeting-gift minas of lapis lazuli, and concerning your daughter Mayati, having heard about her, I send to her as her greeting-gift a necklace of cricket-shaped gems, of lapis-lazuli, 1048 their number. And when your messenger comes along with Shindishugab, I will make [. . .] and have it brought to her.

EA 15 - FROM ASHUR-UBALLIT, KING OF ASHUR TO AN UNNAMED EGYPTIAN PHARAOH

(Translation: J. Hill, 2010.)

To the king of the land of Egypt – speak! So (says) Ashuruballit , the king of the land of Ashur. To your house, to your country, to your war chariots and to your army well-being!

I have sent my envoy to visit you and to see your country. That my forefathers until now have not sent, I have sent you today; one fine chariot, two horses, (and) a jewel from precious stone, a date shaped bead from genuine lapis lazuli as a good-wish present, (I) have directed unto you. My envoy, whom I have sent you (only) to visit (you), do not hold him back! May he visit and leave! Your opinion and the situation of your country may he observe, then may he leave!

EA 16 - FROM ASHUR-UBALLIT, KING OF ASHUR (ASSYRIA) TO NAPKHORORIA (AKHENATEN)

(Translation: J. Hill, 2010.)

To Napkhororia, Great King, king of Egypt, my brother, thus speaks Ashuruballit, king of Assyria, Great King, your brother: may well-being reign over you, your house and your land!

I feel very pleased after having seen your envoy. This is felt, in truth… before me. I have sent you a beautiful royal chariot, two white horses, an unfurnished chariot and a beautiful stone seal as gifts. Of the Great King… it is said: The gold is in your land like the dust; Why is there …. in your eyes? I have begun a new palace, and I want to have it ready soon. Send me as much gold as is required for its decoration and for what is needed.

When my father, Ashurnadinahe, ordered his messengers to go to Egypt, they sent him twenty gold talents. And when the king of Khanigalbat sent his messengers to your father (Amenhotep III) in Egypt, they sent twenty gold talents to him. See, to the king of Khanigalbat (Mittani) I am …, but to me you have sent only a little gold, which is not sufficient, in spite of the goings and comings of my messenger. If it is your intention that a sincere friendship exist, send much gold! And you may send people on your part, and you will receive whatever you need!

Our lands are far apart, which is why our envoys must travel wisely. Those who detained your envoy were the Sutu (nomadic semites who pledged allegiance to Egypt), his attackers. Dead will I be until I have sent people to take the Sutu attackers… They will not detain my envoy. Why do they have to remain in foreign lands, and die in foreign lands, the messengers? If they have passed in a foreign country a part of their time, and the king has taken advantage of it, they may then remain there and die; the king has, certainly, had a gain. But if he has not had any, why do the messengers we send have to die in a foreign country? The envoys are being attacked and die in a foreign land.

EA 17 - FROM TUSHRATTA, KING OF HATTI TO NIBMUARIA (AMENHOTEP III)

(Translation: J. Hill, 2010.)

To Nibmuaria, King of Egypt, my brother, say: Thus says Tushratta, King of Mitanni, your brother. It is well with me. May it be well with you; with Kelu-Heba (wife of Amenhotep III), my sister, may it be well; with your household, your wives, your sons, your nobles, your warriors, your horses, your chariots, and throughout your land may it be very well.

When I sat upon my father's throne, I was still young, and Tuhi did evil to my land, and he killed his lord. And, therefore, he did not treat me well, nor the one who was on friendly terms with me. I, however, especially because of those evils, which were perpetrated on my land, made no delay; but the murderers of Artashumara, my brother, along with all that they had, I killed.

Because you were friendly with my father, for this reason I sent and spoke to you, so that my brother might hear of this deed and rejoice. My father loved you, and you loved my father still more. And my father, because of his love, has given my sister to you. And who else stood with my father as you did? The very next year, moreover, my brother's . . . the whole land of Hatti. As the enemy came to my land, Teshub (a Hurrian storm-god), my lord, gave him into my hand, and I destroyed him. And not one of them returned to his own land.

Behold, one chariot, two horses, one male servant, one female servant, out of the booty from the land of Hatti I have sent you. And as a gift for my brother, five chariots (and) five teams of horses I have sent you. And as a gift for Kelu-Heba, my sister, one set of gold pins, one set of gold earrings, one gold idol, and one container of "sweet oil." I have sent her.

Behold, Keliya, my sukkal (an official) along with Tunip-ibri, I have sent. May my brother quickly dispatch them so that they may quickly bring back word so that I may hear my brother's greeting and rejoice. May my brother seek friendship with me, and may my brother send his messengers so that they may bring my brother's greeting and I may receive them.

EA 19 - LOVE AND GOLD

(Translation: William Lambert Moran, 1992; Amarna letter EA 19, is a tall clay tablet letter of 13 paragraphs, in relatively pristine condition, with some minor flaws on the clay, but a complete enough story that some included words can complete the story of the letter. Entitled "Love and Gold", the letter is about gold from Egypt (gold mine production), love between father-king ancestors and the current relationship between the King of Mitanni and the Pharaoh of Misri (Egypt), and marriage of women from King Tushratta of Mitanni to the Pharaoh of Egypt.)

Paragraph 1: Say to Nimmureya, Great King, the king of Egypt (Misri), my brother, my son-in-law, who loves me, and whom I love: Message of Tushratta, Great King, your father-in-law, who loves you, the king of Mitanni, your brother. For me all goes well. For you may all go well. For your household, for my sister, for the rest of your wives, for your sons, for your chariots, for your horses, for your warriors, for your country, and for whatever else belongs to you, may all go "very, very well".

Paragraph 2: As far back as the time of your ancestors, they always showed love to my ancestors. You yourself went even further and showed very great love to my father. Now, in keeping with our constant and mutual love, you have made it for ten times greater than the love shown my father. May the gods grant it, and may Tessup, my lord, and Aman and Tessup, my lord, and Aman make flourish for evermore, just as it is now, this mutual love of ours.

Paragraph 3: When my brother sent Mane, his messenger, saying, "Send your daughter here to be my wife and the mistress of Egypt," I caused my brother no distress and immediately I said, "Of course!" The one whom my brother requested I showed to Mane, and he saw her. When he saw her, he praised her greatly. I will lead her in safety to my brother's country. May Shaushka and Aman make her the image of my brother's desire.

Paragraph 4: Keliya, my messenger, brou[ght] my brother's words to me, and when I heard them, they were very pleasing, and I rejoiced very, very much, saying, "'Certainly' there is this between us: we love each other." Now, with such words let us love each other forevermore.

Paragraph 5: When I wrote to my brother, I said, "Let us love each other very, very much, and between us let there be friendship." I also said to my brother, "May my brother treat me ten times better than he did my father."

Paragraph 6: I also asked my brother for much gold, saying: "May my brother grant me more than he did by father and send it to me. You sent my father much gold. You sent him large gold jars and gold jugs. You sent him gold bricks as if they 'were just the equivalent of' copper."

Paragraph 7: When I sent Keliya to my brother, I asked for [much] gold saying, ("um-ma")-"May my brother treat me [ten times] better than he did my father, and may he send much gold that has not been worked."

EA 23 - LETTER OF TUSHRALTA OF MITANNI TO AMENHETEP III.

(British Museum, BV. 88-10-13, 78; Published by Bezold and E.A. Wallis Budge, The Tell El-Amarna Tablets in The British Museum (1892), No. 10. Translated by Ungnad in Gressmann, Altorientalische Texte und Bilder, 1., p. 130-1 ; and by Jörgen A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna Tafeln, No. 23.).

To Nimtnuria, King of Egypt, my brother, my son-in-law whom I love, and who loves me, thus hath spoken Tushratta,

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King of Mitanni, who loves thee, thy father-inlaw: With me it is well. With thee may it be well!

With thy house; with Tatuh,epa, my daughter, thy wife whom thou lovest, may it be well! With thy wives, thy children, thy nobles, thy chariots, thy horses, thy warriors, thy lands, and with everything that is thine, may it be very, very, very well!

Thus saith Ishtar of Nineveh, the Lady of countries, all of them: "To Egypt, the land which I love, will I go, and I will wander! Behold, now I have sent her, and she is gone. . . . Behold, in the time of my father did the Lady go to the land, and as, when she formerly dwelt there, men honoured her, so may my brother now honour her ten times more than in the former days! May my brother honour her, and send her away in joy that she may return!

Ishtar, the Lady of Heaven, may she protect my brother and me! One hundred thousand years and much joy may this Lady give us both! And as is good, so will we do. Ishtar is for me, my god; but for my brother, she is not his god.

[The reverse side of this tablet is inscribed with a note of three lines of Egyptian hieroglyphics, written in black ink, and reading:]

"Year 36, 4th month of the winter, when we were in the southern castle Pr H'wt . . . Copy . . . brought by the messenger."

EA 23 - FROM TUSHRATTA, KING OF HATTI TO NIBMUARIA (AMENHOTEP III)

(Translation: J. Hill, 2010; (Amarna letter EA 23, titled: "A Goddess Travels to Egypt" is a short letter to Pharaoh from Tushratta. Due to the ill health of Pharaoh, a statue of Goddess Shaushka is being sent to Egypt, to aid in the health of Pharaoh.)

To Nimmuaria, King of Egypt, my brother whom I love and who loves me.

Thus speaks Tushratta, King of Mitanni who loves you, your father-in-law. For me everything is well. May everything be well for you, for your house, for Tadu-Heba, my daughter, your wife whom you love. May everything be well for your wives, your sons, your noblemen, your chariots, your horses, your soldiers, your country and everything belonging to you. May everything be well, very well!

Thus speaks Shauskha (the goddess Ishtar) of Nineveh, Lady of all the lands: I wish to go to Egypt, a land I love and then return from there.

Now I am sending you this letter and She is on the way […] Then, in the times of my father (Shuttarna) She was in that country, and just as on other occasions She stayed there and was honoured. May my brother honour Her now ten times more than the other time. May my brother honour Her. May you let Her leave when She pleases, so She may return. May Shauskha, Lady of the Heavens, protect us, my brother and myself, one hundred thousand years, and may our Queen grant us both great joy and may we treat each other as friends. Is it because Shauskha is my only Mistress? Maybe She is also the Mistress of my brother?

…..the year 36, in the fourth month of winter, on the first day. The king staying in the southern city, in Per Hai.

EA 26 - TO THE QUEEN MOTHER: SOME MISSING GOLD STATUES

(Translation: William Lambert Moran, 1992; Amarna letter EA 26, letter ten out of thirteen from Tushratta of Mittani, is titled "To the Queen Mother: Some Missing Gold Statues". The letter is addressed to the Pharaoh's wife Teye.)

Say to Teye, the Lady (Queen) of Egypt: Thus Tushratta, the king of Mittani. For me all goes well. For you may all go w[ell. For your household, for your sons, may all go well. For Tadu-Heba, my daughter, your daughter-in-law, may all go well. For your countries, fo[r your troops, and for whatever else belongs to you, may all go very, very well.

You are the one that knows that I myself always showed love to Mimmureya ((Amenhotep III), your husband, and that Mimmureya, your husband, on the other hand, always showed love to me. And the things that I would write and say to Mimmureya, your husband, and the things that Mimmureya, your husband, would always write and say to me, you, Keliya, and Mane know. But you are the on[e, on the other hand, who knows much better than all others the things that we said to one an]other. No one else knows them as well.

And now, you yourself said to Keliya, "Say to your lord: 'Mimmureya, my husband, always showed love to your father, and maintened it for you; he did not forget his love for your father, and he did not cut off the embassies that he had been accustomed to sending, one after the other. And now you are the one that must not forget your love for Mimmureya, your brother. Increase it for Naphurreya and maintiain it for him. You must keep on sending embassies of joy, one after the other. Do not cut them off.' "

I will not forget the love for Mimmureya, your husband. More than ever before, at this very moment, I show 10 times — much, much — more love to Naphurreya, your son. Your are the one who knows the words of Mimmureya, your husband, but you did not send all of my greeting-gift that your husband ordered to be sent. I had asked your husband for statues of solid cast of gold, saying, "May my brother send me as my greeting gift, statues of solid cast gold and ... ... of gold and genuine lapis lazuli."

But now Naphurreya, your son, has plated statues of wood. With gold being the dirt in your son's country, why have they been a source of such distress to your son that he has not given them to me? Furthermore, I asked . . . to give this. Is this love? I had said, "Naphurreya, my brother, is going to treat me ten times better that his father did." But now he has not given me even what his father was accustomed to give.

Why have you not exposed before Naphurreya the words that you yourself, and with your own mouth, said to me? If you do not expose them before him, and you keep silent, can anyone else know? Let Naphurreya give me statues of solid gold! He must cause me no distress whasover, nor [. . .]. Let him treat me 10 times better than his father did, with love and evidence of esteem.

May your own messengers go regularly with the messengers of Naphurreya, with five . . . to Yuni, my wife, and may the messengers of Yuni, my wife, go regularly to you.

I herewith send as your Greeting-gift, scent containers filled with "sweet oil," and one set of stones set in gold.

FROM TUSHRATTA TO AKHENATEN

(Translation: J. Hill, 2010.)

To Napkhuria, king of Egypt, my brother, my son-in-law, who loves me and whom I love, thus speaks Tushratta, king of Mitanni, your father-in-law who loves you, your brother.

I am well. May you be well too. Your houses, Tiye your mother, Lady of Egypt, Tadu-Heba, my daughter, your wife, your other wives, your sons, your noblemen, your chariots, your horses, your soldiers, your country and everything belonging to you, may they all enjoy excellent health.

EA 35 - THE HAND OF NERGAL, FROM THE KING OF ALASHIYA (CYPRUS) TO NAPKHURURIA (AKHENATEN)

(Translation: J. Hill, 2010; Amarna letter EA 35, titled The Hand of Nergal, is a moderate length clay tablet letter from the king of Alashiya (modern Cyprus) to the king (pharaoh) of Egypt. The topics of the letter concern an epidemic afflicting the country: The Hand of Nergal, trade for silver and copper (copper from Alašiya), and timber. A discussion of politics, concerning island individuals, and the two countries' messengers concern the second half of the letter.)

Speak to the King of Egypt, my brother. Thus says the King of Alashiya (Cyprus), your brother:

All goes well with me. With my houses, my wife, my sons, my chief men, my horses, my chariots, and in my lands, it is well. And with my brother may it be well. With your houses, your wives, your sons, your chief men, your horses, your chariots, and in your lands, may it be very well.

My brother, behold, my messenger I have sent with your messenger to you to Egypt. Now I have sent 500 talents* of copper to you; I have sent it to you as a gift – for my brother. Do not let my brother be concerned that the amount of copper is too little, for in my land the hand of Nergal (a Sumero-Babylonian war god), my lord, has killed all the men of my land, and so there is not a single copper-worker. [* referring to the round coins of weighted gold silver or copper. From the 4th millenium, it was an Akkadian currency called kakkaru or gaggaru (30.2 kg, 66 lb 9 oz each); It was divided into 60 minas (504 g, 1 lb 1.8 oz each), each of which was subdivided into 60 shekels (8.4 g, 0.30 oz each).]

Therefore, do not let my brother be concerned. Send your messenger along with my messenger quickly and all the copper that you desire I will send you, my brother.

You are my brother; you should send me silver, my brother – a great quantity. Give me the best silver, then I will send you, my brother, all that you, my brother, request.

Furthermore, my brother, the ox my messenger requested give to me, my brother. And sweet oil, my brother send to me, my brother: two containers; and send me a specialist in eagle-omens.

Furthermore, my brother, the people of my land speak to me about the lumber [6] that the king of Egypt receives from me. So, my brother, make the payment to me.

Furthermore, a man of Alashiya died in Egypt, and his possessions are in your land, but his son and wife are with me. Let my brother, therefore, attend to the affairs of the man of Alashiya; and give it into the hand of my messenger, my brother.

Do not be concerned, my brother, that your messenger has remained three years in my land, for the hand of Nergal is upon my land and upon my house. My wife bore a son, who is now dead, my brother.

Furthermore, my brother, the silver for which I asked you, let my brother send in great quantity. And, my brother, the gifts for which I asked you, send, and all my desires let my brother fulfill, and whatever desires you mention to me I will do.

With the King of Hatti (The Hittites who lived in Anatolia) and the King of Shanhar (an ancient country in northern Syria or Babylon) you have not been placed on the same level.

As for me, whatever presents my brother has sent to me, I have returned to you double. Your messenger has come to me promptly, and my messenger shall come to you promptly.

EA 38 - A BROTHERLY QUARREL, FROM THE KING OF ALASHIYA (CYPRUS) TO AKHENATEN

(Translation: J. Hill, 2010; Amarna letter EA 38, titled A Brotherly Quarrel is a letter from the King of Alashiya (modern Cyprus).

Say to the king of Egypt, my brother: Message of the king of Alashiya, your brother. For me all goes well, and for you may all go well. For your household, your chief wives, your sons, your horses, your chariots, among your numerous troops, in your country, among your magnates, may all go very well.

Why, my brother, do you say such a thing to me: "Does my brother not know this?"

As far as I am concerned, I have done nothing of the sort. Indeed, men of Lukki (or Lukka, a small society possibly based in Anatolia), year by year, seize villages in my own country.

My brother, you say to me: "Men from your country were with them."

My brother, I myself do not know that they were with them. If men from my country were with them, send them back and I will act as I see fit. You yourself do not know men from my country. They would not do such a thing. But if men from my country did do this, then you yourself do as you see fit.

Now, my brother, since you have not sent back my messenger, for this tablet it is the king's brother as messenger. Let him write. Your messengers must tell me what I am to do. Furthermore, which ancestors of yours did such a thing to my ancestors? So no, my brother, do not be concerned.

EA 41 - FROM SUPPILULIUMA, KING OF HATTI [MITANNI] TO AKHENATEN

(Translation: J. Hill, 2010.)

The messages I sent to your father (Amenhotep III) and the wishes he expressed to me will certainly be renewed between us. O King, I did not reject anything your father asked for, and your father never neglected none of the wishes I expressed, but granted me everything. Why have you, my brother, refused to send me what your father during his lifetime has sent me?

Now, my brother, you have acceded to the throne of your father, and similarly as your father and I have sent each other gifts of friendship, I wish good friendship to exist between you and me. I have expressed a wish to your father. We certainly shall make it come true between us. Do no refuse, my brother, what I wished to receive from your father. It concerns two statues of gold, one standing, the other sitting, two silver statues of women, a chunk of lapis lazuli and some other things. They are not gifts in the true sense of the word, but rather, as in the majority of similar cases, objects of a commercial transaction. If my brother should decide to deliver these, may my brother deliver them. If my brother should not decide to deliver them, as soon as my chariots are ready to carry the cloth, I shall send it to my brother. What you, my brother may want, write to me and I shall send it to my brother.

EA 44 - FROM A HITTITE PRINCE

(Translator: William Lambert Moran, The Amarna Letters, 1987. In the Amarna letters, Zita is only referenced in EA 44, his own letter. The topic of Zita's letter is his desire for gold, and his sending of a "greeting-gift" as his payment, for a return greeting-gift of gold. Zita was a Hittite prince and probably the brother of Suppiluliuma I, (Shuppiluliumash of the letters), in the Amarna letter correspondence. The letters were mostly sent to the pharaoh of Egypt from 1350-1335 BC, but other internal letters, vassal-state letters, and epics, also word texts, are part of the letter corpus. Zita had a son called Hatupiyanza. Zita's letter to the Egyptian pharaoh is addressed to someone at the Egyptian court.)

[Text-EA 44, lines 1-29]

"Say to the lord, the king of Egypt-(named: Mizri), my father: Thus Zi[t]a, the king's son, your son. May all go well with the lord, my father.

On an earlier embassy-(visit) of any of your messengers, they came to Hatti, and when they went back to you, then it was I–that sent greetings to you and had a present brought to you. . . . [lines 14-17+ are missing]

[...] Herewith [I send on] to you your messengers (coming) [from] Hatti, and I also send to my father my own messengers–along with your messengers, and I send as your greeting-gift a present of 16 men.

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I myself am desirous of gold. My father, send me gold. Whatever you, the lord, my father, are desirous of, write me so I can send it to you."

EA 59 - FROM THE CITIZENS OF TUNIP

(Amarna letter EA 59, located at the British Museum, No. BM 29824, titled: "From the Citizens of Tunip" is a short-, to moderate-length clay tablet Amarna letter from the city-state of Tunip, written to the Pharaoh of Egypt. Only one other city sent a clay tablet Amarna letter to the Pharaoh, namely Irqata (modern Arqa), letter EA 100, titled: "The City of Irqata to the King". The EA 59 letter concerns the "watch-guarding" of Tunip, regional warfare with the Habiru [Hebrew], and the city's continued protection, and loyalty to the Egyptian Pharaoh.)

To the king of Egypt (Misri), our lord: Message of the Citizens of Tunip, your servant. For you may all go well. And we fall at the feet of my lord.

My lord, thus says Tunip, your servant: Tunip——who ruled it in the past? Did not Manahpirya your ancestor rule it?

The gods and the . . . of the king of Egypt, our lord, dwell in Tunip, and he should inquire of his ancients when we did not belong to our lord, the king of Egypt.

And now, for 20 years, we have gone on writing to the king, our lord, but our messengers have stayed on with the king, our lord. And now, our lord, we ask for the son of Aki-Tesshup from the king, our lord. May our lord give him.

My lord, if the king of Egypt has given the son of Aki-Teššup, why does the king, our lord, call him back from the journey?

And now Aziru is going to hear that in Hittite territory a hostile fate has overtaken your servant, a ruler (and) your gardener.

Should his (the king's) troops and his chariots . . . . be delayed, Aziru will do to us just as he did to Nii.

If we ourselves are negligent and the king of Egypt does nothing about these things that Aziru is doing, then he will surely direct his hand against our lord.

When Aziru entered Shumur, he did to them as he pleased, in the house of the king, our lord. But our lord did nothing about these things.

And now Tunip, your city, weeps, and its tears flow, and there is no grasping of our hand.

We have gone on writing to the king, our lord, the king of Egypt, for 20 years, and not a single word of our lord has reached us.

EA 68 - LETTER OF RIB-ADDA OF BYBLOS

(Berlin, VA. Th. 1239; Published by Abel and Winckler, Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna (1889-90), No. 80. Translated by Winckler, Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, 5., No. 88; by Jörgen A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna Tafeln, No. 68; and by Ungnad in Gressmann, Altorientalische Texte und Wilder, 1., p. 131.).

Rib-Hadda hath spoken to his lord, the king of the lands, the great king: May Ba'alat of Gubla (Gubla is the Babylonian for Byblos, the largest trading port for papyrus. The name Byblos became later synonymous for 'book' and 'Biblia' for a collection of books.) give might to the king, my lord! At the feet of my lord, my sun, seven times and seven times I fall. Let the king, my lord, know that Gubla, the true handmaid of the king, is safe, but very strong is the hostility of the Sa Gaz-warriors against me, and may the king, my lord, not hold back from Sumur, lest it entirely joins the Sa Gaz-warriors! By the officer of the king, who was in Sumur, Gubla has been saved. Behold, Pahamnata, the officer of the king, who is in Sumur, knows the need which oppresses Gubla. From Yarimutta have we procured the means of existence. Very powerful has been the hostility against us. Therefore, may the king not hold back from his cities!

FRAGMENT FROM SUPPILULIUMA, KING OF HATTI TO AKHENATEN

(Translation: J. Hill, 2010.)

And now, as to the tablet you have sent me, why have you put the name of my brother above my name? And who is it who troubles the good relations between us? Has such behaviour become custom? My brother, have you written to me thinking that we become allies? If you are my brother, why have you praised my name, when I am no better thought of than a cadavre? But your name I rub out.

EA 75 - FROM RIB-ADDI OF GUBLA (BYBLOS) TO AKHENATEN

Translation: J. Hill, 2010

Rib-addi spoke to his lord, the King of Lands: May the Mistress of Gubla (Balaat, who was identified with Hathor) grant power to my lord. At the feet of my lord, my sun, I fall down seven times and seven times (common Semitic expression for "repeatedly." Note some biblical examples: Psalm 12:6; 119:164; Proverbs 24:16; Matthew 18:21-22; Luke 17:4.). Let the king, my lord, know that Gubla, your handmaid from ancient times (trading partner), is well.

However, the war of the Apiru (Hapiru or Abiru) against me is severe. Our sons and daughters are gone, as well as the furnishings of the houses, because they have been sold in Yarimuta (Phoenician coastal town, probably south of Beirut.) to keep us alive. My field is "a wife without a husband," lacking in cultivation. I have repeatedly written to the palace regarding the distress afflicting me,.. but no one has paid attention to the words that keep arriving. Let the king heed the words of his servant… They … all the lands of the king, my lord. Aduna, the king of Irqata (a town north of Byblos), mercenaries have killed, and there is no one who has said anything to Abdi-Ashirta (ruler of Amurru), although you knew about it. Miya, the ruler of Arashni, has taken Ardata; and behold now the people of Ammiya have killed their lord; so I am frightened.

Let the king, my lord, know that the king of Hatti has overcome all the lands that belonged to the king of Mittani or the king of Nahma (the land of the Mitanni) the land of the great kings. Abdi-Ashirta, the slave, the dog, has gone with him. Send archers. The hostility toward me is great … and send a man to the city of … I will … his words.

EA 79 - FROM RIB-ADDI OF GUBLA (BYBLOS) TO AKHENATEN

(Translation: J. Hill, 2010.)

Rib-Addi says to his lord, the King of Lands, the Great King, the King of Battle:

May the Lady of Gubla (Balaat, who was identified with Hathor) grant power to the king, my lord. At the feet of my lord, my Sun, I fall down seven times and seven times. Be informed that since Amanappa's (possibly Amenope, an Egyptian official) arrival to me, all the Apiru (also called Hapiru or Abiru) have turned their face against me at the instigation of Abdi-Ashirta (ruler of Amurru).

Let my lord listen to the words of his servant, and let him send me a garrison to defend the city of the king, until the archers come out. And if there are no archers, then all the lands will unite with the Apiru. Listen, since the conquest of Bit-Arha in accordance with the demand of Abdi-Ashirta, they seek in the same way to unite Gubla and Batruna; and thus all lands would be united with the Apiru. Two cities remain with me, and they are also attempting to take them from the king's hand. Let my lord send a garrison to his two cities until the arrival of the archers, and give me something to feed them. I have nothing.

Like a bird that lies in a net, a cage, so I am in Gubla. Furthermore, if the king is not able to rescue me from the hand of his enemy, then all lands will unite with Abdi-Ashirta. What is he, the dog*, that he takes the king's lands for himself? [* Semitic metaphor of either derision or self-deprecation; see: 1 Samuel 17:43; 2 Samuel 9:8; 16:9; 2 Kings 8:13].

EA 83 - LETTER OF RIB-ADDA OF BYBLUS (Byblos)

(British Museum, Bu. 88-10-13, 58; Published by Bezold and E.A. Wallis Budge, The Tell El-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum (1892), No. 14. Translated by Winckler, Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, 5., No. 61; by Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna Tafeln, No. 83; and by Ungnad in Gressmann, Altorientalische Texte und Bilder, pp. 131-2.).

Rib Adda [Rib-Hadda] spoke to his lord, the king of the lands, the great king: May Ba'alat of Gubla give might to the king, my lord! At the feet of my lord, my sun, seven times and seven times I fall. Why hast thou sent me no reply, so that I might know the deed which they have done? I sent my man before my lord, and his two horses were taken, while in regard to another man, the man himself was taken and the king's tablet was not given into the hand of my man.

Listen to me! Why hast thou so held back that thy land should be taken? Let it not be said: "In the days of the overseers the Gaz people have taken all lands," Let it not be said in (those) days: "And thou art not able to take them again." Further, I have written for garrisontroops, and for horses, but they were not granted. Send a reply to me! Otherwise I shall make alliance with Abdi-Ashirta, like Yapa-Adda and Zimrida, and I shall be saved. Further, if Sumura [Samaria] and Bet-Arha are lost, thou must give to me by the hand of Yanhamu. Let him give provisions of food for me! I will protect the city of the king for him, and let the king speak the word and send my man! His relations are embittered against me day and night, saying: "Thou hast given our son to the king, and he should send him back." Two men of Inamta are in the house of Yanhamu. Further, say to Yanhamu: "Rib-Addi is in thy hands, and everything that is done to him rests upon thee." Let not men of destruction (probably the Hebrews) fall upon me! And I have written to him: "If thou dost not say so, then I will abandon the city and depart. Further, if thou sendest me no answer, then I will abandon the city and depart with the men who love me. And know, indeed, Ummahnu, and Ishkuru her husband, the servant of Ba'alat of Gubla [Byblos], and power ... to Ba'alat."

EA 100 - THE CITY OF IRQATA TO THE KING

(Translation: William Lambert Moran, 1992; Amarna letter EA 100, British Museum, No. 29825, titled: "The City of Irqata to the King" is a short-, to moderate-length clay tablet Amarna letter from the elders of the city-state of Irqata, (modern Arqa), written to the Pharaoh of Egypt. Only one other city sent a clay tablet Amarna letter to the Pharaoh, namely Tunip, letter EA 59, titled: "From the Citizens of Tunip". The letter concerns the "watch-guarding" of Irqata, regional warfare (with the Apiru / Habiru = Hebrew), and the city's continued protection, and loyalty to the Egyptian Pharaoh. The letter implies their loyalty, their constant vigilance, and need for assistance from the Pharaoh, either implied by troop needs, or at least awareness from the Pharaoh, of their needs.)

This tablet is a tablet from Irqata (Arqa). To the king, our lord: Message from Irqata and its elders. We fall at the feet of the king, our lord, 7 times and 7 times. To our lord, the Sun: Message from Irqata. May the heart of the king, our lord, know that we guard Irqata for him.

When the king, our lord, sent Dumu-Bi-Ha-A, he said to us, "Message of the king: Guard Irqata!" The sons of the traitor to the king seek our harm; Irqata seeks loyalty to the king.

As to silver having been given to Subaru (Sú-ba-ru), along with 30 horses and chariots,

May you know the mind of Irqata!

When a tablet from the king arrived saying to raid the land that the Apiru [Hebrew] had taken from the king, they waged war with us against the enemy of our lord, the man whom you placed over us. Truly we are guarding the land. May the king, our lord, heed the words of his loyal servants.

May he grant a gift to his servants so our enemies will see this and eat dirt. May the breath of the king not depart from us. We shall keep the city gate barred until the breath of the king reaches us. Severe is the war against us — terribly, terribly.

EA 103 - FROM ABDI-HIBA OF JERUSALEM TO THE KING (AMENHOTEP IV AKHENATEN)

(Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum VA. Th. 1644; El-Amarna, Published by Abel and Winckler, Der Thontafelfund von El-Amama, No. 103. Translated by Winckler, Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, 5., No. 180; and by Jörgen A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna Tafeln, No. 287.).

To the king, my lord, hath spoken Abdi-hiba, thy servant: At the feet of my lord seven times and seven times do I fall. I have heard all the words which the king, my lord, has sent. . . . [Behold] the deed, which . . . has alone . . . what shall I ... news . . . brought to the city Kilti. Let the king know that all lands have leagued in hostility against me; let the king therefore care for his land. Behold, the territory of Gazri, the territory of Ashkelon, and the city of Lachish, have given them oil, food, and all their necessaries. Let the king therefore care for the troops! Let him send troops against the people who have committed a crime against the king, my lord! If in this year there are troops here, then will the land and the local ruler[s] remain to the king, my lord; but if there are no troops here, then there will remain no lands and no local rulers to the king.

Behold this land of Jerusalem neither my father nor my mother gave it to me; the mighty hand of the king gave it to me. Behold, this deed is the deed of Milkilu, and the deed of the sons of Labaya, who have given the land of the king to the Habiru (Hebrew). Behold, king, my lord, I am innocent as regards the Kashi. Let the king ask the officers if the house is very mighty. Indeed, they have aspired to perpetrate a very wicked crime; they have taken their implements and . . . sent to the land . . . servant; let the king take heed to them, that they support the lands with their hand. Let the king demand for them much food, much oil, and many garments, until Pauru, the king's officer, goes up to Jerusalem.

Adaja is in revolt together with the garrison, the officer . . . the king. Let the king know that Adaja said to me: "Behold, let me depart, but do thou not leave it (the city)." In this year send me a garrison, send the officer of the king. ... I sent to the king, my lord, 5,000 asiru . . . 318 bearers for the caravans of the king; they were taken in the fields of Ajalon. Let the king, my lord, know that I am unable to send caravans to the king, my lord this for thy information. Behold, the king has set his name in the land of Jerusalem for ever, therefore he cannot leave the land of Jerusalem in the lurch.

To the scribe of the king, my lord, hath spoken Abdih ba, thy servant: At thy feet I fall. I am thy servant. Bring clearly before the king, my lord, these words. An officer of the king am I. I am . . . And an evil deed has been done against me by the people of Kash. I was all but slain by the people of Kash in my house. Let the king ask . . . seven times and seven times . . . the king, my lord, to me.

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EA 137 - FROM RIB-ADDI OF GUBLA (BYBLOS) TO AKHENATEN

(Translation: J. Hill, 2010.)

Rib-addi speaks to the king, his Lord, the sun of all countries; I have prostrated myself seven times and seven times at the feet of the king, my Lord. I have written repeatedly in order (to obtain troops), but have not received them, and the king, my Lord, has not listened to the words of his servant. I have sent my messenger to the palace, and he has returned empty handed: there were troops for him. When the people of my house saw that no money had been given, they reproached me, the governors, my brothers, and they despised me. On the other hand, I set out for Hammuniri and in the meantime a brother of mine, younger than me, conspired against me at Gubla to deliver the city to the sons of Abdi-Ashirta. When my brother saw that my messenger had returned empty handed and that there were no occupation troops with him, he despised me and thus he committed a crime, and he expelled me from the city. May the king, my Lord, not hold back before the actions of this dog.

Now I cannot enter the land of Mitsru (Egypt); I am old and I suffer of a serious disease in my own flesh. May the king, my Lord, know, that the Gods of Gubla (Byblos) are angered and the disease has become chronic, although I have confessed my sin to the Gods. Therefore I have not appeared before the king, my Lord. Now then, I have sent my son, servant of the king, my Lord, to the king, my Lord. May the king, my Lord, listen to the words of his servant and may the king, my Lord, give troops of archers to conquer the city of Gubla in order that enemy troops not enter her, nor the sons of Abdi-Ashirta, and it become necessary that the troops of archers of the king, my Lord, reconquer it. See, there are many men who love me in the city and few are my enemies. When the troops of archers will be leaving and the day of their arrival be known, the city will return to the king, my Lord. And may my Lord know that I am willing to die for him.

When I was in the city, I made an effort to keep it for my Lord and my heart was firm in the support of the king, my Lord. It would not have delivered the city to the sons of Abdi-Ashirta. Therefore my brother has caused enmity between me and the city, to deliver it to the sons of Abdi-Ashirta. May the king, my Lord, hold back with respect to the city. Certainly there is inside her walls much gold and silver, and in her temples there is much of everything. If they conquer her, may the king, my Lord, do with his servant as he wants, but may he give me the city of Buruzilim as residence.

Now I am with Hammuniri, since Buruzilim has made the other cities hostile (to me). They have become enemies for fear of the sons of Abdi-Ashirta. When I came to Hammuniri because of the sons of Abdi-Ashirta, when they were stronger than I and there was no encouragement for me from the mouth of the king, I said to the king, my Lord: See, the city of Gubla is his. In her (there are) many things of the king, the possessions of our ancestors. If the king holds back, he will not have left any city of Kinahnu the levant area. May the king not hold back his action. Now I have sent to the king, my Lord, your servant, my son. May the king send him quickly with troops to take the city. If the king, my Lord, feels compassion for me and returns me to the city, then I will keep it for the king, my Lord, like previously. If the king, my Lord, does not return to me to her … the city of Buruzilim … will do as she sees fit to his servant … Hammuniri I remain with him.

May the king, my Lord, listen to the words of his servant and send immediately troops to take the city. May the king, my Lord, not hold back with regard to this evil deed, that was committed against the countries of the king, my Lord, and may the king, my Lord, quickly send troops of archers to take the city immediately. When they say in front of the king about the city: "the city is strong", it is not strong before the troops of the king, my Lord.

Unfortunately, No help came from Egypt and Rib-Addi disappeared from the historical records.

EA 144 - ZIMREDDI OF SIDON

(Translation: William Lambert Moran, 1992; Amarna letter EA 144, titled: "Zimreddi of Sidon," is a square-shaped, mostly flat clay tablet letter written on both sides and the bottom edge. It is from a vassal state in Canaan (city-state Sidon), and is written by the 'mayor' of Sidon, the author of Amarna letter EA 144, and Amarna letter EA 145.)

Say to the king, my lord, my god, my Sun, the breath of my life: Thus Zimreddi, the mayor of Sidon.

I fall at the feet of my lord, god, Sun, breath of my life, at the feet of my lord, my god, my Sun, the breath of my life, 7 times and 7 times. May the king, my lord, know that Sidon, the maidservant of the king, my lord, which he put in my charge, is safe and sound.

And when I heard the words of the king, my lord, when he wrote to his servant, then my heart rejoiced, and my head went high, and my eyes shone, at hearing the word of the king, my lord. May the king know that I have made preparations before the arrival of the archers of the king, my lord. I have prepared everything in accordance with the command of the king, my lord.

May the king, my lord, know that the war against me is very severe. All the cities that the king put in my charge, have been joined to the Apiru. May the king put me in the charge of a man that will lead the archers of the king to call to account the cities that have been joined to the 'Apiru, so you can restore3 them to my charge that I may be able to serve the king, my lord, as our ancestors did before.

EA 147 - A HYMN TO THE PHARAOH

(Amarna letter EA 147, titled A Hymn to the Pharaoh is a clay tablet Amarna letter from Abimilku of Tyre (called Shurru in the Abimilku letters, and an island, until Alexander the Great built a causeway, a huge dam-road, in the sea to reach the island in 330 BC). The letter, letter No. 2 out of ten from Abimilku, is a twin letter to EA 149, which is identical in length, and complexity, and EA 147 appears to precede EA 149. The letter concerns the intrigues of neighbouring city-states and their rulers; however the letter is a missive on the religious setting of Tyre, and the personal explanation of the view of the Pharaoh of Egypt, in a religious, and righteous 'way of life' of the people of Tyre towards Egypt, and the Pharaoh, as the Sun God.)

To the king, my lord, my god, my Sun: Message of Abi-Milku, your servant. I fall at the feet of the king, my lord, 7 times and 7 times. I am the dirt under the sandals (or shoes) of the king, my lord. My lord is the Sun who comes forth over all lands day by day, according to the way of being of the Sun, his gracious father. who gives life by his sweet breath and returns with his north wind; who establishes the entire land in peace, by the power of his arm; who gives forth his cry in the sky like Baal, and all the land is frightened at his cry.

The servant herewith writes to his lord that he heard the gracious messenger of the king who came to his servant, and the sweet breath that came forth from the mouth of the king, my lord, to his servant—his breath came back!

Before the arrival of the messenger of the king, my lord, breath had not come back; my nose was blocked. Now that the breath of the king has come forth to me, I am very happy and (satisfied), day by day.

EA 149 - NEITHER WATER NOR WOOD

(Translation: William Lambert Moran, 1992; Amarna letter EA 149, titled: "Neither Water nor Wood" is a moderate- to extended-length clay tablet Amarna letter from Abimilku of Tyre-(called Shurru in the letters), written to the Pharaoh of Egypt. It is a continuation of EA 147.)

To the king, my lord, my Sun, my god: Message of Abi-Milku, your servant. I fall at the feet of the king, my lord, 7 times and 7 times. I am the dirt under the feet and sandals of the king, my lord.

King, my lord, you are like the Sun, like Baal, in the sky. May the king give thought to his servant. The king, my lord, charged me with guarding Tyre, the maidservant of the king, but after I wrote an express tablet to the king, my lord, he has not replied to him. I am a commissioner of the king, my lord, and I am one that brings good news and also bad news to the king, my lord. May the king send 20 palace attendants to guard his city in order that I may go in to the king, my lord, and see his face [i.e. presence].

What is the life of a palace attendant when breath does not come forth from the mouth of the king, his lord? But he lives if the king writes to his servant, and he lives forever.

For my part, since last year my intention has been to go in and behold the face presence of the king, my lord, but Zimredda, the prince, heard about me. He made my caravan turn back from the king, my lord, saying, "Who can get you in to the king?" Hear, my lord! Aziru, the son of Abdi-Ashirta, the rebel against the king, has taken possession of Sumur.

. . . Haapi [. . .] . . . gave Sumur to Aziru.

May the king not neglect this city and his land. When I hear the name of the king and the name of his army, they will be very afraid, and all the land will be afraid, that is, he who does not follow the king, my lord. The king knows whether you installed me as commissioner in Tyre. Still, Zimredda seized Usu from his servant. I abandoned it, and so we have neither water nor wood. Nor is there a place where we can put the dead. So may the king, my lord, give thought to his servant.

The king, my lord, wrote to me on a tablet, "Write whatever you hear to the king." Zimredda of Si-Du-Na (Sidon), and Aziru, rebel against the king, and the men of Arwada have exchanged oaths among themselves, and they have assembled their ships, chariots, and infantry, to capture Tyre, the maidservant of the king.

If the powerful hand of the king comes, it will defeat them. They will not be able to capture Tyre. They captured Sumur through the instructions of Zimredda, who brings the word (matters) of the king to Aziru. I sent (wrote) a tablet to the king, my lord, but he has not replied to his servant.

Since last year there has been war against me. There is no water, there is no wood. May he send a tablet (a request tablet) to his servant so he may go in and see his face (presence).

May the king give thought to his servant and to his city, and may he not abandon his city and his land. Why should a commissioner of the king, our lord, move away from the land? Zimredda knows, and the traitor knows (or: traitors know), that the arm of the king is absent. Now a palace attendant is bringing my tablet to the king, the Sun, my lord, and may the king reply to his servant.

EA 153 - SHIPS ON HOLD

(Translation: William Lambert Moran, 1992; Amarna letter EA 153, titled "Ships on Hold", is a short-length clay tablet letter from Abimilku of the island (at Amarna letters time) of city-state Tyre.)

To the king, my lord: Message of Abimilku, your servant. I fall at your feet 7 times and 7 times. I have carried out what the king, my lord, ordered.

The entire land (country-side) is afraid of the troops of the king, my lord. I have had my men hold ships at the disposition of the troops of the king, my lord. Whoever has disobeyed has no family, has nothing alive. Since I guard the ci]ty of the king, my lord, my safety is the king's responsibility. May he take cognisance of his servant who is on his side.

EA 156 - AZIRU OF AMURRU (the Amorites, N. Canaan)

(Translation: William Lambert Moran, 1992; Amarna letter EA 156, titled: "Aziru of Amurru" is a very short letter from Aziru, the leader of the region of Amurru. EA 156 is the first letter in a series of 16 letters regarding Aziru.)

To the king, my lord, my god, my Sun: Message of Aziru, your servant. I fall at the feet of my lord 7 times and 7 times.

Now as to any request that the Sun, my lord, makes, I am your servant forever, and my sons are your servants.

I herewith give my sons as two attendants, and they are to do what the king, my lord, orders. But let him leave me in Amurru.

EA 158 - FATHER AND SON

(Translation: William Lambert Moran, 1992; Amarna letter EA 158, titled: "Father and Son" is a moderate length letter from Aziru, the leader of the region of Amurru. The letter is written to the Egyptian official, Tutu (Dudu). EA 158 is the third letter in a series of 16 letters regarding Aziru.)

To Tutu, my lord, my father: Message of Aziru, your son, our servant. I fall at the feet of my father. For my father may all go well.

Tutu, I herewith grant the request of the king. my lord, and whatever may be the request of the king, my lord, he should write and I will grant it.

Moreover, as you in that place are my father, whatever may be the request of Tutu, my father, just write and I will grant it.

As you are my father and my lord, and I am your son, the land of Amurru is your land, and my house is your house. Write me any request at all of yours, and I will grant your every request.

And you are in the personal service of the king, my lord. Heaven forbid that treacherous men have spoken maliciously against me in the presence of the king, my lord. And you should not permit them.

And as you are in the personal service of the king, my lord, representing me, you should not permit malicious talk against me.

I am the servant of the king, my lord, and I will not deviate from the orders of the king, my lord, or from the orders of Tutu, my father, forever.

But if the king, my lord, does not love me and rejects me, then what am I to say?

EA 161 - AN ABSENCE EXPLAINED

(Translation: William Lambert Moran, 1992; Amarna letter EA 161, titled An Absence Explained, is a tall clay tablet letter of 8 paragraphs, with single paragraphing lines; Letter 3 out of thirteen letters between Aziru and the Pharaoh of Egypt (named Misri in the letters). Paragraph 1 is a very short introductory, salutory paragraph, with sections of the prostration formula, notably: 7 times and 7 times, God-mine, Sun-mine, I bow. The appellation "My Lord" is used here in Para I, and throughout the letter's paragraphs; Para II begins the story of the letter, and the context of persons and places involved. Para III introduces Tunip [a city state in western Syria], one of two "locations", city townfolk who authored an Amarna letter to the pharaoh; EA 59, From the Citizens of Tunip, and EA 100, The City of Irqata to the King.)

Paragraph 1: To the Great King, my lord, my god, my Sun: Message-(um-ma) of Aziru, your servant. I fall at the feet of my lord, my god, my Sun, 7 times and 7 times.

Paragraph 2: My lord, I am your servant, and on my arrival in the presence of the king, my lord, I spoke of all my

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affairs in the presence of the king, my lord. My lord, do not listen to the treacherous men that denounce me in the presence of the king, my lord. I am your servant forever.

Paragraph 3: The king, my lord, has spoken about Han'i (Ha-Ni-i). My lord, I was residing in (townsite) Tunip (Uru-Tu-Ni-ip) and so I did not know that he had arrived. As soon as I heard, I went up after him, but I did not overtake him. May Han'i arrive safe and sound so that the king, my lord, can ask him how I provided for him. My brothers and Bet-ili were at his service; they gave oxen, sheep, and goats, and birds, his food and strong drink.

Paragraph 4: I gave horses and asses, for his journey. May the king, my lord, hear my words. When I come to the king, my lord, Han'i will go before me; like a mother and like a father he will provide for me. And now my lord says, "You hid yourself from Han'i." –May your gods and the Sun be witness: I swear:–"I was residing in Tunip."

Paragraph 5: The king, my lord, has spoken about the building of Sumur (Zemar). The kings of Nuhasshe have been at war with me and have taken my cities at the instruction of Hatip. So I have not built it. Now, in all haste, I am going to build it.

Paragraph 6: And may my lord know that Hatip has taken half of the things that the king, my lord, gave me. All the gold and silver that the king, my lord, gave me, Hatip has taken. May my lord know this.

Paragraph 7: Moreover, the king, my lord, also said, "Why did you provide for the messenger of the king of Hatti, but did not provide for my messenger?" But this is the land of my lord, and the king, my lord, made me one of the mayors!

Paragraph 8: Let my lord's messenger come to me so I can give all that I promised in the presence of the king, my lord. I will give food supplies, ships, oil, logs, of boxwood, and other woods.

EA 164 - COMING, ON CONDITION

(The undamaged letter EA 164 "Coming, on condition" by Aziru to Tutu is a good example of the intrigues of Aziru in north Canaan, and the involvement of all the local regions, and leaders. Tutu was one of pharaoh's officials during the Amarna letters period 1350–1335 BC. He is only found in the body of letters from Aziru, and his son, Du-Tesshup. Four of the Amarna letters—EA 158, 164, 167 and 169—are addressed to the Pharaoh, by way of Tutu. D-Tesshup's single letter is written to pharaoh because his father Aziru is being detained in Egypt, and Aziru is needed to attend to affairs at home.)

To Tutu, my lord, my father: Message of Aziru, your servant. I fall at the feet of my lord.

Hatip has come and brought the gracious and sweet words of the king, my lord, and I am quite overjoyed. My land (i.e. Amurru), and my brothers, the servants of the king, my lord, and the servants of Tutu, my lord, are overjoyed when the breath of the king, my lord, comes. I do not deviate from the orders of my lord, my god, my Sun, and from the orders of Tutu, my lord. My lord, since Hatip is staying with me, he and I will make the journey. My lord, the king of Hatti has come to Nuhasshe and I cannot go. Just let the king of Hatti depart and straightaway I will make the journey with Hatip. May the king, my lord, heed my words. My lord, I am afraid of the king, my lord, and of Tutu. Here are my gods and my messenger. Tutu and the magnates of the king, my lord, I would put under oath and then I will make the journey. And thus Tutu, the king, my lord, and the magnates: "We swear we will not devise anything regarding Aziru that is not good." Thus are you to be put under oath to my gods and to Aman. Tutu, know that I will come to you.

EA 170 - TO AZIRU IN EGYPT

(Translation: William Lambert Moran, 1992; (Amarna letter EA 170, is numbered VAT 327, from the Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin, titled: "To Aziru in Egypt" is a highly inscribed, undamaged Amarna letter (44 lines of text), from Aziru, the leader of the region of Amurru. EA 170 is the fifteenth letter in a series of 16 letters regarding Aziru. As the title states, Aziru has finally visited Egypt to see the Pharaoh; the letter is mostly local home news, but does report the takeover over the Amqu region, in continued regional warfare.)

To the king, our lord. Message of Baaluya and message of Bet-ili. We fall at the feet of our lord. For our lord may all go well. Here with the lands of our lord all goes well.

Our lord, do not worry at all. Do not trouble yourself. Our lord, as soon as you can, meet with them: zu-zi-la-ma-an so they will not delay you there any longer.

Moreover, troops of Hatti under Lupakku have captured cities of Amqu, and with4 the cities they captured Aaddumi. May our lord know this.

Moreover, we have heard the following: Zitana has come and there are 90,000 infantryman that have come with him. We have, however, not confirmed5 the report, whether they are really there and have arrived in Nuhasse, and so I am sending Bet-ili to him. As soon as we meet with them, I will immediately send my messenger so he can report to you whether or not it is so.

To Rabi-Ilu and Abdi-d-Urash, to Bin-Ana and Rabi-sidqi: Message of Amur-Ba'la. For you may all go well. Do not trouble yourselves, and do not worry at all. Here with your families all goes very well. Wish Anatu well.

OTHER EARLIER LETTERS FROM RIBB-ADDI

(Translation: J. Hill, 2010.)

Rib-Addi sends to his lord, the king of the world, the great king, the king of the universe whom the divine lady of Gebal has known alone; to the king my lord, at the feet of my lord, my Sun-god seven times seven I prostrate myself.

This year, certain men into the presence of the king, who is like the god Assur and the Sun-god in heaven, have come; they have reported to him: "The sons of Ebed-Asherah according to their desires have taken two horses of the king and chariots, and the men whom he sent have given them; and the Yivana is on a mission to the country of Tyre, for eight days doing this deed in it."

They speak words of accusation before the king, the Sun-god. I am thy faithful servant, and the news which (the king) knows and hears have I sent to the king my lord. But they are dogs, and they have gone into the presence of the household troops of the king, the Sun-god. I sent messages to thy father, and he listened to his servant, and the father despatched the household troops. The country was not taken by Ebed-Asherah for himself: it was the property of the governors, since I fought before them against him, and they were always strong, and the Misians brought the straw of barley always: they did not despise the officer, since I collected horses and was strong before them, since we know that both strength and existence belong to a strong king. As yet they have not marched up the country since I have despatched two men, messengers, to the city of Zemar, and also the leader of all the men, this one (here present), to bring back word to the king of each one thing as much as they have heard. The two men by night have carried it, and by night they have brought it back, even the messengers of the king, from the presence of the dogs.

If the heart of the king, the Sun-god, at this time they have engaged, this year I shall dwell in my city in thy heart and the horses and the men.

The Beduin are marching away from the city of Zemar and I defend the city, and I have not given it up; and the king will hear the words of his servant, and will send ten men of the country of Melukhkha and ten men of the country of Egypt to defend the city for the king, the Sun-god, the lord of thy faithful servant.

Rib-Addu sends to his lord, the great king, the king of the universe to whom the divine lady of [Gebal has given] strength; to the king, my lord, at the feet of my lord, my Sun-god, seven times seven I prostrate myself.

Still the king, my lord, says: "For what reason art thou sending him to me?" Behold me; there is no governor in my service from the city of Zemar, and still the face of every one is towards me and the two men of Egypt whom I send to Pharaoh. There is no going forth, there is no sending to the king; there is no man who will carry my letter to Pharaoh. Now these two men will carry a letter to the king, but I myself go not forth. Always am I afraid and turn my face towards the king my lord. I send thy lord, since he will go up I will send on the days and I send to Pharaoh, and he will send and will cause soldiers to come.

The officer has not taken Ebed-Asherah along with his property according to my orders. Words of accusation do I send to my lord, and thou sayest: "Wherefore dost thou send words of accusation"

If thou hearest my words at my mouth, I will take Aziru like.

Behold me, strong is my king! Already this year Ebed-Asherah the dog reckon the cities of the governors of the king for themselves: they have smitten the cities of Aziru, they have not the king, to their cities; they have not for themselves, from the city of Zemar, the city of Ullaza, the city of Sawa their chariots, the prince he sends the man soldiers the city of Zemar Aziru despatches.

I am [at] the gate; the men to the country of Egypt and he sent in their hand to me. Constantly I have sent this man, but I do not send messengers to the king. Now these two Egyptians have come forth to complain to me, and I cannot venture out. If this year there are no household troops, then the provinces will fall to the Beduin, but if it is the wish of the king to save them I will send my household troops to Yankhame and to Biri, saying: "March along with the governors!"

They have occupied the country of the Amorites; in quietude they have marched through it. This have I done of myself along with Yapa-Addu and along with Khatip.

And the king will send all the property which they have taken from these men for the king. Another man has not taken it for another. We have been successful for the king. Accordingly the king will send a horse to his servant, and I will defend the city of the king. I have nothing at all whatsoever; everything has been given away to save my life; and as for this messenger, the king shall send him in all haste, and shall furnish guards to defend his faithful servant and the city, and (shall furnish) men of Melukhkha along with them like the god Zi of thy fathers.

A man of Yarimuta. At the gate I stand. A I send to Pharaoh for the protection of the men of the country of Milukha; but thou dost not hear; yet why is the king constantly sending men of the guard from the country of Milukha to its defence? They have not [surrendered] the city to the Beduin.

Rib-Addu says to the king of the world, the great king, the king [of the universe to whom the divine lady of Gebal has given strength; to the king, my lord, at the feet of my lord, my Sun-god, seven times seven I prostrate myself.

Verily let the king my lord know that strong is the hostility of Ebed-Asherah against me. Now the city which contended against me he has taken. Again, what about [Ebed-A]sherah the dog? And he has come [against] all the cities of the king, the Sun-god; [word] to the king of the country of Mitana and the king of the country of Kasse he has sent, since he has and he has collected all the Beduin against the city Sigata and the city of Ambi, and he has taken also the territory of this city, and there is no place which the Beduin have not entered.

Make war against him; seize. Send me 400 men [. . .] horses and send the household troops to look after the dogs; and gratuitously again there have been handed over the country of the king and the city of Zemar, the city of your guard, to the Beduin, and thou refrainest from sending the household troops (and) an officer, yet so thou wilt destroy the enemies of the king from all his country, and all the provinces will be attached to the king. Accordingly do not thou, O great lord, hold aloof from this message.

To Khayapa (an Egyptian official)… Rib-Addu speaks thus: At thy feet I fall. O Amon, the god who is supreme, thou knowest thy light is in the countenance of the king my lord, of whom, behold, thou (Khayapa) art a dog (referring to symbol of a dog which represented an official), the king knows it, and in thy own person the king has sent thee as a Commissioner. Wherefore dost thou delay and dost not speak to the king that he may send troops and that they may march to the city of Zemar?

What is Ebed-Asherah (Abdi-Ashirta: Ruler of Amurru), the servant, the dog (enemy) yet he has taken the country of the king himself. What is his origin? yet he is strong among the Beduin, strong is his power, and he has despatched 50 convoys of horses and 200 foot-soldiers, and they are stationed in the city of Sigata in his presence. Until the household troops appear he will not assemble all the Beduin; yet he has taken the city of Sigata and the city of Ambi.

To the king my lord, my Sun-god, speaks Rib-Addu thy servant thus:

At the feet of my lord, my Sun-god, seven times seven I prostrate myself. The king my lord knows that Salma-salla the son of Ebed-Asherah (Abdi-Ashirta: Ruler of Amurru) has entered the city of Ullaza, in order to strengthen the cities of Ardata, Yibiliya, Ambi, (and) Sigata, all the cities, for themselves, and the king has sent a force to the city of Zemar until the king shall give counsel to his country in regard to the sons of Ebed-Asherah the servant, the dog.

The king of the country of the Kassi (Babylonia), and the king of the country of Mitani are strong and have taken the country of the king for themselves already, and they have seized the cities of thy governor, yet thou delayest in granting the request of thy Commissioner, and they have seized the cities for themselves.

Now they have taken the city of Ullaza. If therefore, thou delayest until they have taken the city of Zemar and also have slain the Commissioner and the household troops which (are) in Zemar, what could one do? and I could not march up to Zemar the city. The cities of Ambi, Sigata, Ullaza, (and) Arvad are hostile to me. They have plotted, even they, that they shall enter the city of Zemar, even these cities, and their ships. And the sons of Ebed-Asherah are in the field, and … and … have not marched up … and the city of Gebal has acted. Against the Beduin and against the city of Arvad I march, since its … has joined the Beduin.

FROM YABITIRI (GOVERNOR OF JOPPA AND GAZA) TO AMEMHOTEP III

(Translation: J. Hill, 2010.)

To my lord, my king, my gods, my sun, this is said:

Yabitiri, thy servant, the dust of thy feet, at the feet of my lord, my king, my gods, my sun, seven times, and seven times more, I fall down. Behold, I am thy servant, true to my lord, my king. I look on one side, and I look on the other side, and there is no light; but I look on my lord my king, and there is light. A brick may move away from under the coping, but I shall not move from under the feet of my master.

Let now my lord my king enquire about me of Yankhama, his agent. When I was young, Yankhama took me to Egypt, and placed me with my lord my king, and I dwelt at the door of my lord my king. Let my lord my king ask his agent if I do not guard the gate of Gaza and the gate of Joppa. As for me, I am with the auxiliaries of my lord my king; wherever they go,

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I go with them; and so I am with them now. The yoke of my lord is on my neck, and I bear it.

FROM ABI MILKU (GOVERNOR OF TYRE) TO AKHENATEN

(Translation: J. Hill, 2010.)

To the king, my lord, my god, my Sun: Message of Abi-Milku, your servant. I fall at the feet of the king, my lord, 7 times and 7 times. I am the dirt under the sandals of the king, my lord. My lord is the Sun who comes forth over all lands day by day, according to the way (of being) the sun (Akhenaten), his gracious father, who gives life by his sweet breath and returns with his north wind; who establishes the entire land in peace, by the power of his arm, who gives forth his cry in the sky like Baal, and all the land is frightened at his cry.

The servant herewith writes to his lord that he heard the gracious messenger of the kind who came to his servant, and the sweet breath that came forth from the mouth of the king, my lord, to his servant – his breath came back! Before the arrival of the messenger of the king, my lord, breath had not come back; my nose was blocked. Now the breath of the king has come forth to me, I am very happy and he is satisfied day by day. Because I am happy, does the earth not prosper? When I heard that the gracious messenger from my lord, all the land was in fear of my lord, when I heard the sweet breath and the gracious messenger who came to me. When the king, my lord, said "(Prepare) before the arrival of a large army," then the servant said to his lord "Yes, yes, yes!". On my front and on my back I carry the word of the king, my lord. Whoever gives heed to the king, his lord, and serves him in his place, the sun comes forth over him, and the sweet breath comes back from the mouth of his lord. If he does not heed the word of the king, his lord, his city is destroyed, never again does his name exist in all the land. But look at the servant who gives heed to his lord. His city prospers, his house prospers, his name exists forever.

You are the Sun who comes forth over me, and a brazen wall set up for him, and because of the powerful arm : I am at rest : I am confident. I indeed said to the Sun, the father of the king, my lord, "When shall I see the face of the king, my lord?" I am indeed guarding Tyre, the principal city, for the king, my lord, until the powerful arm of the king comes forth over me, to give me water to drink and wood to warm myself.

Moreover, Zimredda, the king of Sidon, writes daily to the rebel Arizu, the son of Abdi-Asratu, about every word he has heard from Egypt. I herewith write to my lord, and it is good that he knows.

EA 205 - READY FOR MARCHING ORDERS

(Translation: William Lambert Moran, 1992; Amarna letter EA 205, titled: "Ready for Marching Orders" is a short letter from the Ruler of city Tubu. The title references that six mostly identical, very short, letters were scribed by the same scribe, from small regional towns; the scribe also is the writer of Amarna letter EA 195. The six towns are: 1. Shiribashani, Message of Artamanya; 2. Town 2 [no name], Message of Amawashe; 3. Shashimi, Message of Abdi-Milki; 4. Qanu, Message of the Ruler; 5. Tubu, Message of the Ruler; 6. Naziba, Message of the Ruler.)

Say to the king, my lord: Message of the ruler of Tubu, your servant. I fall at the feet of the king, my lord, the Sun of all peoples, 7 times plus 7 times.

You have written to me to make preparations before the arrival of the archers. I am herewith, along with my troops and my chariots, at the disposition of the troops of the king, my lord, wherever they go.

EA 223 - COMPLIANCE WITH ORDERS

(Translation: William Lambert Moran, 1992; Amarna letter EA 223, titled: "Compliance With Orders" is a very short clay tablet letter from Endaruta of city-state Akshapa (Achshaph). It is the only letter authored by Endaruta. One of the ten Pharaoh letters written to persons or states in the Amarna letters corpus, is Amarna letter EA 367 titled From the Pharaoh to a Vassal.)

Say to the king, my lord, the Sun from the sky: Message of Endaruta, your servant. I prostrate myself at the feet of the king, my lord, 7 times and 7 times.

Whatsoever the king, my lord, orders, I shall prepare.

EA 244 - PLEA FOR RESCUE

(Translation: Mercer 1939:2:639) Sender: Biridiya (mayor of Megiddo), Recipient: probably Pharaoh Amenophis III.)

To the king, my lord, and my sun, say: Thus says Biridiya [Who was the mayor of Megiddo.], the faithful servant of of the king: At the feet of the king, my lord and my sun seven times and seven times I fall down. Let the king, my lord, be aware since the archers have returned to Egypt, Labaya* has waged war against me. [* Who was the ruler of Shakmu, the biblical Shechem].

Consequently, we are unable to do the harvesting; and we are unable to go out of the city gate because of Labaya. When he learned the archers were not coming out he immediately determined to capture Megiddo.

But may the king rescue his city so that Labaya does not capture it. Look, the city is consumed by death, by plague, by dust. So let the king provide one hundred garrison troops to protect his city lest Labaya conquer it. Look, Labaya has no other purpose. He simply seeks the capture of Megiddo [Maggida, Armageddon].

EA 245 - ASSIGNMENT OF GUILT

(Translation: Mercer; Amarna letter EA 245, titled: "Assignment of Guilt," is a medium length clay tablet Amarna letter from Biridiya the governor-'mayor' of Magidda [Megiddo, Armageddon]. It is letter number four of five from Biridiya.)

Moreover, I urged my brothers, "If the god of the king, our lord, brings it about2 that we overcome Lab'ayu, then we must bring him alive to the king, our lord."

My mare, however having been put out of action (having been shot), I took my place behind him and rode with Yashdata. But before my arrival they had struck him down.

Yašdata being truly your servant, he it was that entered with me into battle. May [...] [...] the life of the king, my lord, that he may bring peace to everyone in the lands of the king, my lord.

It had been Surata that took Labaya from Magidda. and said to me, "I will send him to the king by boat." Surata took him, but he sent him from Hinnatunu to his home, for it was Surata that had accepted from him his ransom.

Moreover, what have I done to the king, my lord, that he has treated me with contempt :–(gloss) ia8-qí-il-li-ni and honored my less important brothers? It was Surata that let Lab'ayu go, and it was Surata that let Ba'l-mehir go, both to their homes. And may the king, my lord, know.

EA 252 - SPARING ONE'S ENEMIES

(Translation: Mercer; Amarna letter EA 252 is authored by Labaya, by the 'Man, city-state' (of) Šakmu (Shechem today), and written to the Pharaoh at about 1350 BC. The letter was found at Amarna, in the floor of the Bureau of Correspondence of Pharaoh. The topic of the letter is Labaya's defense against other governors of city-states that he is engaged with.)

Say to the king, my lord: Message of Lab'ayu, your servant. I fall at the feet of the king, my lord. As to your having written me, "Guard the men who seized the city;" how am I to guard such men? It was in war the city was seized. When I had sworn my peace—and when I swore the magnate swore with me—the city, along with my god, was seized. He has slandered me: and I am slandered before the king, my lord. Moreover, when an ant is struck . . . . Moreover, when an ant is struck, does it not fight back and bite the hand of the man that struck it? How at this time can I show deference and then another city of mine will be seized? On the other hand, if you also order, "Fall down beneath them so they can strike you," I will do it. I will guard the men that seized the city and my god. They are the despoilers of my father, but I will guard them.

EA 254 - NEITHER REBEL NOR DELINQUENT

(Translation: Mercer; Amarna letter EA 254 is from Labaya of city-state Šakmu (Shechem today) and titled: "Neither Rebel nor Delinquent. The letter is in pristine condition, with cuneiform script on almost all surfaces. There are only 3 letters from Labaya of Šakmu/Shechem. Letter EA 254 is numbered VAT 335, from the Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin.)

To the king, my lord and my Sun: Thus Lab'ayu, your servant and the dirt on which you tread. I fall at the feet of the king, my lord and my Sun, 7 times and 7 times. I have obeyed (i.e. heard) the orders that the king wrote to me. Who am I that the king should lose his land on account of me? The fact is that I am a loyal servant of the king! I am not a rebel and I am not delinquent in duty. I have not held back my payments of tribute; I have not held back anything requested by my commissioner. He denounces me unjustly, but the king, my lord, does not examine my (alleged) act of rebellion. Moreover, my act of rebellion is this: when I entered Gazru, I kept on saying, "Everything of mine the king takes, but where is what belongs to Milkilu?" I know the actions of Milkilu against me! Moreover, the king wrote for my son. I did not know that my son was consorting with the Apiru*. I herewith hand him over to Addaya. Moreover, how, if the king wrote to me, "Put a bronze dagger into your heart and die," how could I not. ..execute the order of the king? [*Spellings for Hebrew in the Amarna letters are Ha-pí-ri / Hapiru / Apiru and derive from the Akkadian word "Abra"ham, meaning "father of the 'Ham', the nations." The mention of the Habiru shows the conflict of the time, as the takeover of city-states or regions by the Habiru. The map shows various cities and regions, and their respective dealings with the Habiru. The next closest mention of the Habiru is from the Jerusalem letters of Abdi-Heba, directly south at Jerusalem, letters EA 286, 287, 288, 289, and EA 290.]

EA 256 - OATHS AND DENIALS

(Amarna letter EA 256, in short EA 256, catalogued under the title Oaths and Denials, written by Mutbaal, the son of Labaya to the Pharaoh, The topic of the letter is the whereabouts of Ayyab, supposedly in Pella, Jordan (Pihilu of the letters).

Say to Yanhamu, my lord: Message of Mut-Bahlu, your servant. I fall at the feet of my lord.

How can it have been said in your presence,1 "Mut-Bahlu has fled. He has hidden Ayyab?" How can the king of Pihilu flee from the commissioner: sú-ki-ni of the king, his lord?

As The King, Lord, Him – Lives! (The Living)

As The King, Lord, Mine – Lives! (The Living)

The King, Lord, Mine – "If 'to come to shame', .."

As the king, my lord, lives, as the king, my lord, lives, I swear Ayyab is not in Pihilu. In fact, he has been in the field for two months. Just ask Ben-Elima. Just ask Tadua.

Just ask Yišuya whether, after he robbed Šulum-Marduk, I went to the aid of Aštartu, when all the cities of Garu (Golan Heights) had become hostile: Udumu, Aduru, Araru, Mešta, Magdalu, Heni-anabi, Sarqu. (Hayyanu, along with Yabiluma, has been captured.)

Moreover, seeing that, after you sent me a tablet (letter), I wrote to him — before you arrive from your journey, he will surely have arrived in Pihilu. And – I do obey your orders.

EA 270 - EXTORTION

(Amarna letter EA 270 is numbered BM 29845, from the British Museum, titled: "Extortion," from Milkilu the mayor / ruler of Gazru (Gezer); letter four of five. The Canaanite city-states were visited by the scribes, with short 'status reports' sent to the Pharaoh (King) reporting on city or regional accounts, for example the troubles with the habiru, or other external affairs.)

Say to the king, my lord, my god, my Sun: Message of Milkilu, your servant, the dirt at your feet. I fall at the feet of the king, my lord, my god, my Sun, 7 times and 7 times.

May the king, my lord, know the deeds that Yanhamu keeps doing to me since I left the king, my lord.

He indeed wants 2000 shekels of silver from me, and he says to me, "Hand over your wife and your sons, or I will kill you."

May the king know of this deed, and may the king, my lord, send chariots and fetch me to himself lest I perish.

EA 271 - THE POWER OF THE APIRU

(Translation: Mercer; Amarna letter EA 271, titled: "The Power of the Apiru," is a tablet letter from Milkilu the mayor/ruler of Gazru (Gezer). Letter EA 271, is numbered VAT 1531, from the Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin.)

Say to the king, my lord, my god, my Sun: Message of Milkilu, your servant, the dirt at your feet. I fall at the feet of the king, my Lord, 7 times and 7 times.

May the king, my lord, know that the war against me and against Šuwardata is severe. So may the king, my lord, save his land from the power of the 'Apiru (Habiru, Hebrew).

Otherwise, may the king, my lord, send chariots to fetch us lest our servants kill us. Moreover, may the king, my lord, ask Yanhamu, his servant, about what is being done in his land.

EA 273 - FROM A QUEEN MOTHER

(Ninurmahmesh, named the "Lady of the Lions", was the author of two letters [EA 273 and EA 274] to the pharaoh, the King of Ancient Egypt. The name, and location of her city/city-state is unknown. It is today assumed to be Beit Shemesh. The two letters are about the takeover of regional cities, by the attacking bands of people: the Hapiru; (It seems that the Hebrew were a group of the Phoenician-Canaanites involving the "establishment" into civil wars).

(I) say to the king, my lord, my god, my Sun [Aten = Sun, the throne name of Akhenaten]: Message of Ninurmahmesh, your handmaid. I fall at the feet of the king, my lord, 7 times and 7 times. May the king, my lord, know that war has been waged in the land, and gone is the land of the king, my lord, by desertion to the 'Apiru. May the king, my lord, take cognizance of his land, and may the king, my lord, know that the Apiru wrote to Ayyaluna and to Sarha, and the two sons of Milkilu barely escaped being killed. May the king, my lord, know of this deed.

EA 274 - ANOTHER CITY LOST

(I) say to the king, my lord, my god, my Sun: Message of Ninurmahmesh, your handmaid, the dirt at your feet. I fall at the feet of the king, my lord, 7 times and 7 times. May the

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king, my lord, save his land from the power of the Apiru (Hebrew) –lest it be lost. Sapuma has been taken. For the information of the king, my lord.

EA 282 - ALONE

(Amarna letter EA 282, is a relatively short letter, located in the British Museum, No. 29851. Title: "Alone". Letter EA 282 is from Shuwardata, of Qiltu (Uru-Qiltu-ki), the "Governor", to the Pharaoh of Egypt, and is from one of the vassal states in Canaan. Topic: need for continued support of the Pharo's armed forces, here in paticular Archer-troops. Shuwardata sent eight letters of this kind: EA 278—title: "As ordered"; EA 279—title: "A wasteland"; EA 280—title: "Lab'ayu redevivus"; EA 281—title: "Rebellion"; EA 282—title: "Alone"; EA 283—title: "Oh! to see the king"; EA 284—title: "The powerful hand of the king" and from the later corpus: EA 366—title: "A rescue operation". A translation from 1982, Biblical Archaeologist magazine.)

To (the) king, my lord, my god, and my sun (Akhenaten), thus speaketh Shuwardata, thy Servant. 7 and 7 times, "overflowing", I have fallen at the feet of my Lord the King, and Both, on my stomach (Upon Arriving!) And on my back! (Upon Departing!)

May the King my Lord be aware, that I, am alone! Let the King my Lord send me Archers in great numbers and, save me! "Let him save me!" and "get me out" (of this disaster) and so, may the King my Lord know (about our grave situation).

EA 283 - "OH TO SEE THE KING"

(Shuwardata, also Shuardatu, is understood by most scholars to be the king of the Canaanite city of Gath (Tell es-Safi), although some have suggested that he was the 'mayor' of Qiltu, (Keilah or Qi'iltu) during the 1350-1335 BC Amarna letters correspondence. Shuwardata was the author of 8 letters to the Egyptian pharaoh. This is No. 6 of 8. Besides letters EA 283, and EA 366, only letter 280 tells of intrigues: See Labaya, or Abdi-Heba, as EA 280 claims: "Moreover, Lab'ayu who used to take our town, is dead, but now another Lab'ayu is Abdi-Heba, and he seizes our town." The other 5 letters do refer to the following: Qeltu-(Qiltu, Keilah:); silver (as mercenary pay); the Sun, (as Re); the archer-forces; and the only reference to Rahmanu, an Egyptian official, (letter EA 284, "The powerful hand of the king").)

To the king, my lord, my god, my Sun: Message of Shuwardata, your servant. I fall at the feet of the king, my lord. I fall at the feet of the king, my lord, 7 times and 7 times more (i.e. 'overflowing'- milu). The king, my lord, has written me, "Enter and pay me homage." Into the presence of the king, my lord! Would that it were possible to enter into the presence of the king, my lord, to receive the ... and the .... of the king, my lord. Since Yanhamu is with you, speak with him. If there are still no archers available, then may the king, my lord, take me away. May the king, my lord, be informed that 30–cities have waged war against me. I am alone! The war against me is severe. The king, my lord, has cast me from his hand. May the king, my lord, send archers. May the king, my lord, take me away. Since Yanhamu, that is, the commissioner of the king, my lord, is there, may the king, my lord, speak with him, asking, "Is the war against Shuwardata severe, –or is it not?"

EA 285 - FROM ABDI-HILA OF JERUSALEM TO THE KING

(Berlin, VA. Th. 1601; Published by Abel and Winckler, Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna, No. 174. Translated by Winckler, Die Thontafeln von Tell El-Amarna (Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, 5.), No. 184; and by Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna Tafeln, No. 285.).

To the king [my lord, thus hath spoken] Abdi-hiba, thy servant. At the feet [of the king, my lord], seven times and seven times I fall. Behold, I am not a [local ruler]; an officer am I to the king, my lord. Why has the king . . . not sent a messenger . . .? Under such circumstances Eenhatnu has sent. . . . Let the king hearken (listen) to Abdi-hiba, his servant! Behold, there are no troops.

Let the king, my lord, send an officer, and let him take the local rulers with him! The lands of the king . . . and people . . . who are . . . and Addaya, the officer of the king, [has] their house. . . . Let the king take heed for them, and let him send a messenger quickly When ... I die. . . .

EA 286 - A THRONE GRANTED, NOT INHERITED

(Amarna letter EA 286, is numbered VAT 1642, from the Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin Published by Abel and Winckler, Der Thontafelfund von El-Amama, No. 102. Translated by Jörgen A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna Tafeln, No. 286; and by A. Ungnad in Gressmann, Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum Alten Testament, pp. 132-3. Titled: "A Throne Granted, Not Inherited," Sender: Abdi-Heba the mayor / ruler of Jerusalem, Recipient: probably Pharaoh Amenophis III, mid 14th century BC. The scribe of his six letters to Egypt were penned by the "Jerusalem scribe".).

To the king, my lord, hath spoken Abdi-hiba [Abdi-Heba], thy servant: At the feet of my lord, the king, seven times and seven times do I fall. What have I done to the king, my lord?

They have slandered me before the king, my lord saying: "Abdi-Jiiba has revolted from the king, his lord." Behold, as for me, neither my father nor my mother appointed me in this place. The mighty hand of the king introduced me into my father's house. Why should I commit an offence against the king, my lord? So long as the king, my lord, lives will I say to the officer of the king, my lord: "Why do you like the Habiru (Hebrew) and hate the local rulers?" For this reason they slander me before the king, my lord.

Because I say: "The territory of the king, my lord, will be ruined," therefore am I slandered before the king, my lord. Let the king, my lord, know that the king, my lord, had established a garrison, but . . . Eenhamu has taken it. ... Egypt . . . king, my lord . . . there is no garrison there. May the king care for his land! May the king care for his land! The lands of the king, my lord, have all fallen away. Ilimilku is destroying the entire land of the king. May the lord care for his land! I say: "I will go before the king, my lord, and see the eyes of the king, my lord." But the enemies are powerful against me, and I am unable to go before the king, my lord. So may it seem right to the king to send garrisontroops, and I will go and see the eyes of the king, my lord! So long as the king, my lord, lives, when an officer goes forth, I shall say: "The lands of the king, my lord, are going to ruin." But you do not listen to me. All the local governors are lost; there remains not one local governor to the king, my lord.

Let the king turn his face to the troops, and let the king, my lord, send troops! No territory remains to the king, my lord. The Habiru (Hebrew) are devastating all the lands of the king. If there be troops in this year, then the lands will remain the king's, my lord's; but if no troops arrive, the lands of the king, my lord, are lost.

To the scribe of the king, my lord: Abdi-hiba, thy servant. Bring clearly before the king, my lord, these words: All the hinds of the king, my lord, are going to ruin.

EA 287 - A VERY SERIOUS CRIME

(Translation: Mercer; Letter EA 287 is numbered VAT 1644, titled: "A Very Serious Crime," from the Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin. Sender: Abdi-Heba the mayor / ruler of Jerusalem, Recipient: Pharao.)

Say to the king, my lord: Message of Abdi-Heba, your servant. I fall at the feet of my lord 7 times and 7 times. Consider the entire affair, Milkilu and Tagi brought troops into Qiltu against me. Consider the deed that they did to your servant. Arrows [. . . . .] they brought into Qiltu. May the king know that all the lands are at peace with one another, but I am at war. May the king provide for his land. Consider the lands of Gazru, Ašqaluna, and Lakisi. They have given them food, oils, and any other requirement. So may the king provide for archers and send the archers against men that commit crimes against the king, my lord. If this year there are archers, then the lands and the mayors will belong to the king, my lord. But if there are no archers, then the king will have neither lands nor mayors. Consider Jerusalem! This neither my father nor my mother gave to me. The strong hand (or: arm) of the king gave to me. Consider the deed! This is the deed of Milkilu and the deed of the sons (=cohorts) of Lab'ayu, who have given the land of the king to the Apiru.

Consider, O king, my lord! I am in the right! With regard to the Kašites, may the king make inquiry of the commissioners. Though the house is well fortified, they attempted a very serious crime. They took their tools, and I had to seek shelter by a support for the roof. And so if he is going to send troops into Jerusalem, let them come with a garrison for regular service. May the king provide for them; all of the land might be in dire straits on their account.

May the king inquire about the[m. Let there be much food, much oil, much clothing until Pauru, the commissioner of the king, comes up to Jerusalem. Gone is Addaya together with the garrison of soldiers that the king provided. May the king know that Addaya said to me, "Behold, he has dismissed me." Do not abandon it, and send this year a garrison, and send right here the commissioner of the king.

I sent as gifts to the king, my lord, several prisoners, 5000...[...],17 and 8 porters for the caravans of the king, my lord, but they have been taken in the countryside: a-de-e of Ayyaluna. May the king, my lord, know that I am unable to send a caravan to the king, my lord. For you information!

As the king has placed his name in Jerusalem forever, he cannot abandon it—the land of Jerusalem. Say to the scribe of the king, my lord: Message of Abdi-Heba, your servant. I fall at your feet. I am your servant. Present eloquent words to the king, my lord: I am a soldier of the king. I am always yours.

And please make the Kašites responsible for the evil deed. I was almost killed by the Kašites in my own house. May the king make an inquiry in their regard. May the king, my lord, provide for them. 7 times and 7 times my the king, my lord, provide for me.

EA 288 - FROM ABDI-HIBA OF JERUSALEM TO THE KING

(Berlin, VA. Th. 1643; El-Amarna, Published by Abel and Winckler, Der Thontafelfund von El-Amama, No. 104. Translated by Jörgen A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amama Tafeln, No. 288; and by Ungnad in Gressmann, Altorientalische Texte und Bilder, p. 133.).

To the king, my lord, my sun (refering to Amenhotep IV who called himself Akenaton, the king of the Sun-God, representing the first monotheistic religion in history), hath spoken thus Abdi-Hiba, thy servant. At the feet of the king, my lord, seven times and seven times do I fall. Behold, the king, my lord, hath set his name upon the East and upon the West.

It is a wickedness which they have wrought against me. Behold, I am not a local ruler, I am an officer of the king, my lord. Behold, I am a shepherd of the king, and one who brings tribute to the king. Neither my father, nor my mother, but the mighty hand of the king, hath established me in my father's house . . . came to me. . . . I gave him ten slaves into his hand. When Shuta, the officer of the king, came to me, I gave him twenty-one maidservants and eighty asiru . . . gave I into the hand of Shuta, as a present for the king, my lord. Let the king care for his land! The whole land of the king will be lost. They have assumed hostilities against me.

As far as the territory of Sheri, as far as Ginti-kirmil, it goes well with all the local rulers, and hostility prevails against me. If one could see! But I do not see the eyes of the king, my lord, because hostility is established against me. When there was a ship on the sea, and the mighty hand of the king held Nahrima and Kapasi. But now the PJabirii hold the cities of the king. There is no local ruler left to the king, my lord; all are lost. Behold, Turbazu has been slain in the gate of Zilu; yet the king does nothing. Behold, Zimrida of Lachish [after Jerusalem the second-largest city], his servants have slaughtered him . . . the Habiru (Hebrew), Iaptih,-Adda, has been slain in the gate of Zilu; yet the king does nothing. . . . Let the king take care for his land, and let the king give his attention in regard to troops for the land of tribute! For if no troops come in this year, all the lands of the king, my lord, will be destroyed and in ruins.

They must not say before the king, my lord, that the land of the king, my lord, is destroyed, and all the local rulers are destroyed. If no troops arrive in this year, then let the king send an officer to take me to thee with my brothers, and we will die with the king, my lord.

To the scribe of the king, my lord, thus Abdi-hiba, thy servant: At thy feet I fall down. Bring these words clearly before the king, my lord. . . . Thy son and thy servant am I.

EA 289 - A RECKONING DEMANDED

(Amarna Letter EA 289 is numbered VAT 1645, from the Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin, Published by Abel and Winckler, Der Thontafelfund von El-Amama, Nos. 105 and 199. Translated by Jörgen A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna Tafeln, No. 289.).titled: "A Reckoning Demanded," is a clay tablet letter from Abdi-Heba [Abdi-Hiba] the mayor / ruler of Jerusalem.)

To the king, my lord, hath spoken thus, Abdi-hiba, thy servant. At the feet of the king, my lord, seven times and seven times I fall. . . . Behold, hath not Milki-lim revolted to Labaya's sons and to Arzaya's, so as to claim the land of the king for them? A prince who has done this deed why does not the king call him to account? Behold Milki-lim and Tagi, the deed which they have done is this:

After having taken the city Rubuda, they are now seeking to take Jerusalem. If this land belongs to the king, why delay till the Hazati are at the king's disposal? Behold the land of Grinti-kirmil belongs to Tagi, and the people of Ginti form a garrison in Betsani; and the same will befall us now that Labaya and the land of Shakmi have given everything to the Habiru (Hebrew). Milki-lim has written to Tagi and his sons: "As two are . . . [mimulat], give to the people of Kilti all their hearts' desire." Shall we, then, let Jerusalem go? The garrison-troops which thou has sent by the hand of Haya, the son of Miare, hath Addaya taken and placed in his house in Hazati, and twenty men hath he sent to Egypt.

Let the king take heed that there is no garrison of the king with me! Such is the case as the king liveth. Puuru his . . . He has departed from me and is in Hazati.

Let the king keep this before him, and let the king send fifty garrison-men to protect his land! The whole land of the king is in revolt. Send Ji'enhamu, and let him take heed for the land of the king.

To the scribe of the king, my lord, thus speaketh Abdihiba, thy servant. Bring these words clearly before the king. I am in highest degree ... to thee, thy servant am I.

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EA 290 - THREE AGAINST ONE

(Amarna letter EA 290, is numbered VAT 1646, from the Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin., titled: "Three Against One," [From Abdi-Hiba Of Jerusalem To The King.] is one of the two shorter letters, of six, from Abdi-Heba the governing man of Jerusalem. Jerusalem is "Uru-Salem", City of Peace. Berlin; Published by Abel and Winckler, Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna, No. 106. Translated by Jörgen A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amama Tafeln, No. 290; and by Ungnad in Gressmann, Altorientalische Texte und Bilder, p. 134. As a large stable city, it had conflicts, but its size and wealth, probably kept the city more insulated and independent. It certainly was a commercial cog because of its need for daily resources. EA 290, summarises the local discord of neighbouring city-states and their rulers, and the problem with the warring Habiru [Apiru / Hebrew].).

To the king, my lord, hath spoken thus Abdi-hiba, thy servant: At the feet of the king, seven times and seven times I fall. Behold the deed which Milkilu and Shuardatu have done against the land of the king, my lord. They have . . . the soldiers (or people) of Gazri, the soldiers of Gimti, and the soldiers of Kilti, and have taken the territory of Rubute. The land of the king is lost to the Habiru (Hebrew). And now indeed a city of the territory of Jerusalem, called Bet-Ninib, has been lost to the people of Kilti. Let the king listen to Abdi-hiba, thy servant, and send troops, that I may restore the king's land to the king! But if there are no troops, the land of the king will be lost to the Habiru (Hebrew). This is the deed of ... Milkilu . . . Shuardatu . . . and let the king take care for his land!

(The same text, Translation: Mercer.)

Say to the king, my lord: Message of 'Abdi-Heba, your servant. I fall at the feet [of the kin]g, my lord, 7 times and 7 times. Here is the deed against the land1 that Milkilu and Shuardata did: against the land of the king, my lord, they ordered troops from Gazru, troops from Gimtu, and troops from Qiltu. They seized Rubutu. The land of the king deserted to the Hapiru. And now, besides this, a town belonging to Jerusalem, Bit-nin-urta by name, a city of the king, has gone over to the side of the men of Qiltu. May the king give heed to 'Abdi-Heba, your servant, and send archers to restore the land of the king to the king. If there are no archers, the land of the king will desert to the Hapiru. This deed against the land3 was at the order of Milkilu and at the order of Shuardatu, together with Ginti. So may the king provide for his land.

EA 298 - LETTER FROM YAPAHU OF GAZRU* TO THE PHARAOH

*(Translation: Mercer 1939: 2:737, 739; British Museum, London, England; Inventory Number: BM 29833; Language: Akkadian. Sender: Yapahu of GazruYapahu is also the sender of EA 297, 299, 300, and 378. Recipient: Pharaoh Amenhotep IV / Akhenaten. * Gazru is biblical Gezer, located in the Judaean foothills, approximately 21 miles west of Jerusalem. In the Amarna correspondence, it is also mentioned in EA 253, 254, 287, 290, 292, 299, 300, 369, and 378. See Joshua 10:33; 16:10; Judges 1:29; 1 Kings 9:15-17.)*

To the king, my lord, my god[s], my sun (Akhenaten), the sun in the sky.

Thus says Yapahu, the ruler of Gazru, your servant, the dust of your two feet, the stable-man of your horse: At the two feet of the king, my lord, the sun in the sky, seven times and seven times I prostrate myself both upon the belly and back. And to all that the king, my lord, has told me I have paid close attention. I am the king's servant and the dust of your two feet.

Let the king, my lord, be aware that my younger brother, has rebelled against me and has entered Muhhazu [unknown place], and he has given over his two hands

to the leader of the Apiru (Hebrew). And since Tianna is at war with me, take care of your land. May my lord write to his deputy* about this matter. [* rabitsu = palace official, who would report to the king.]

EA 323 - A ROYAL ORDER FOR GLASS

(Translation: Mercer; Amarna letter EA 323, located at the British Museum, no. BM 29836, titled: A Royal Order for Glass, is a letter from 'governor' Yidya, a prostration formula to the Pharaoh, a statement of him guarding his city-state of Ashkelon (Ašqaluna of the letters), and the subject of delivering glass to the King of Egypt. EA 323, letter four of seven.)

To the king, my lord, my god, my Sun, the Sun from the sky: Message of Yidya, your servant, the dirt at your feet, the groom of your horses.

I indeed prostrate myself, on the back and on the stomach, at the feet of the king, my lord, 7 times and 7 times. I am indeed guarding the place of the king, my lord and the city of the king (Ashkelon), in accordance with the command of the king, my lord, the Sun from the sky.

As to the king, my lord's having ordered some glass, I herewith send to the king, my lord, 30 pieces of glass.

Moreover, who is the dog that would not obey the orders of the king, my lord, the Sun from the sky, the son of the Sun, whom the Sun loves?

EA 325 - PREPARATIONS COMPLETED

(Translation: Mercer; Amarna letter EA 325, titled: "Preparations Completed," is a vassal-state letter from Yidya the governor-'mayor' of Ašqaluna (Ashkelon) in Canaan. It is a letter addressing the Pharaoh in high terms, as well as stating the 'governor of Ašqaluna' is making preparations for the arrival of the Pharaoh's archer-army.)

To the king, my lord, my god, my Sun [Amenhotep IV / Akhenaten], the Sun from the sky; Message of Yidya, your servant, the dirt at your feet, the groom of your horses. I indeed prostrate myself, on the back and on the stomach, at the feet of the king, my lord, 7 times and 7 times.

I am indeed guarding the place of the king, my lord, and the city of the king, my lord, where I am. Who is the dog that would not obey the orders of the king, the Sun from the sky?

have indeed prepared absolutely everything — food, strong drink, oxen, sheep, and goats,1 grain, straw, absolutely everything that the king, my lord, commanded. I have indeed prepared it.

And I am indeed preparing the tribute of the Sun, in accordance with the command of the king, my lord, the Sun from the sky.

EA 333 - LETTER FROM LACHISH

(Constantinople, W, 219; Published by Hilprecht, Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Vol. 1., Old Babylonian Inscriptions, Part 2, Plate 64, No. 147. Translated by Winckler, Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, 5., No. 219; by Ungnad in Gressmann, Altorientalische Texte und Bilder, 1., pp 127-128; and by Jörgen A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna Tafeln, No. 333.).

To the great, thus hath spoken Pabi, at thy feet I fall. Thou must know that Shipti-Ba'al and Zimrida are conspiring, and that Shipti-Ba'al hath spoken to Zimrida: "My father of the city, Yarami has written to me--Give me six bows, and three daggers, and three swords! If I go forth against the land of the king, and thou dost join me, I shall surely conquer. He who make this plan is Pabu. Send him before me." Now I have sent Rapi-el. He will bring to the great man information about this affair.

EA 362 - A COMMISSIONER MURDERED

(Amarna letter EA 362 is numbered AO 7093, from the Louvre, in France, titled: "A Commissioner Murdered," or "A Reckoning Demanded" is a clay tablet letter from Rib-Haddi, the mayor/'man' of the city of Byblos, (Gubla of the letters). Rib-Haddi, as the city-state leader wrote the largest number of letters to the Pharaoh, in a sub-corpus of the 1350 BC Amarna letters (about 70 letters). The initial corpus of letters were found at Akhenaten's city Akhetaten, in the floor of the Bureau of Correspondence of Pharaoh; others were later found, adding to the body of letters. Byblos, being a large coastal seaport Mediterranean city, was a city that was aligned with Egypt (Miṣri), and housed an Egyptian community. Near the end of his rule, Rib-Haddi penned two large diplomatic letters summarising conditions of his hostilities with peoples like the Hapiru [Habiru , Hebrew], but also other city-state rulers, vying for regional ascendency. Letter EA 362 relates the hostilities, but also talks of disease, upon his land. The letter ends addressing the fate of Egypt's commissioner Pawura.)

Rib-Haddi. Say to the king, my lord: I fall beneath the feet of my lord 7 times and 7 times.

I have indeed heard the words of the king, my lord, and my heart is overjoyed. May my lord hasten the sending of the archers with all speed. If the king, my lord, does not send archers, then we ourselves must die and

Gubla will be taken. He was distraught recently: he is also distraught now. Recently they were saying, "There will be no archers," but I wrote with the result that archers came out and took their father (or: fatherlands).

Now indeed they are saying, "Let him not write or we will certainly be taken." They seek to capture Gubla, and they say, "If we capture Gubla, we will be strong;" there will not be a man left, (and) they (the archers) will certainly be too few for them. I for my part have guarded Gubla, the city of the king, "night (and) day".

Should I move to the outlying territory, then the men will desert in order to take territory for themselves, and there will be no men to guard Gubla, the city of the king, my lord.

So may my lord hasten the archers or we must die. Because my lord has written to me, they know indeed that they are going to die, and so they seek to commit a crime. As to his having said before the king, "There is a pestilence in the lands," the king, my lord, should not listen to the words of other men. There is no pestilence in the lands. It has been over for a long time.

My lord knows that I do not write lies to my lord. All the mayors are not in favor of the archers' coming out, for they have peace. I am the one who wants them to come out, for I have distress (i.e. discord).

May the king, my lord, come out, for I have distress. Look, the day you come out, all the lands will be rejoined to the king, my lord. Who will resist the troops of the king?

May the king, my lord, not leave this year free for the sons of Abdi-Aširta, for you know all their acts of hatred against the lands of the king. Who are they that they have committed a crime and killed the commissioner (the Prefect) Pewure?

EA 364 - JUSTIFIED WAR

(Translation: Rainey, 1970, El Amarna Tablets, 359-379; Amarna letter EA 364, titled Justified War, is a clay tablet letter from Ayyab, ruler of Aštartu, to Pharaoh Akhenaten (1350s–1330s BC). The letter is a reply to the pharaoh referring to a letter from the pharaoh's messenger Tahmassi. In it, Ayyab, who is in control of one of the city-states in Canaan, is stating his commitment to guarding the city (and the region), after three cities in the region were taken in attacks by Habiru [Hebrew] raiders.)

To the "King, my Lord", thus speaks Ayyab your servant: at the feet of my lord 7 times and 7 times I have fallen down (prostrated myself before thee). I am the servant of the "King, my Lord", . . . And dust-and-dust beneath his two feet. I have obeyed (lit.: heard) the message of the "King, my Lord", to me from the hand of Atahmaya. I will still guard very diligently the lands of the "King, my Lord".

Furthermore, see! the king of Hasora (Hasura) has occupied (or: taken) towns from me! On the day that I heard of it, I commanded to commence hostilities against them until the "King, my Lord" may be apprised.

And may the "King, my Lord", take counsel concerning his land, and may the king, my lord, give thought to his servant.".

EA 365 - FURNISHING CORVÉE WORKERS

(Translation: Mercer 1939: 2:649, 651; Amarna letter EA 365; Louvre Museum, Paris, France, Inventory Number: AO 7098; titled Furnishing Corvée Workers, is written by Biridiya of Megiddo to the Pharaoh of Egypt [Mizri / Misri / Misr], probably Pharaoh Amenhotep III. The letter's subject is the harvesting of crops by corvée (forced labour men / women.)

To the king, my lord, and my sun, say: Thus says Biridiya, the faithful servant of the king: At the feet of the king, my lord, and my sun, even times and seven times I fall down. Let the king, my lord, be aware regarding his servant and his city.

Behold, I alone am cultivating in the city of Shunama; and, as for me, I provide forced labourers. Now, behold, the mayors who are near me do not do as I do. They do not cultivate in the city of Shunama, and they do not provide forced laborers. I alone provide forced labourers. From the city of Yapu they come, from my resources, as well as from the city of Nuribta. Now, may the king, my lord, be aware regarding his city.

EA 366 - "A RESCUE OPERATION"

(This Amarna letter EA 366 is letter No. 8 of 8 by Shuwardata. List of all 8 letters: EA 278 "As ordered"; EA 279 "A wasteland"; EA 280 "Lab'ayu redevivus"; EA 281 "Rebellion"; EA 282 "Alone"; EA 283 "Oh! to see the king; EA 284 "The powerful hand of the king"; EA 366—title: "A rescue operation" [from the later corpus]. Shuwardata must have been an important regional individual, since he claims 30 cities, sub-cities, or city-states have been warring with his city.)

Say to the king, my lord, my Sun, my god: Message of Shuwardata, your servant, the servant of the king and the dirt at your feet, the ground you tread on. I prostrate myself at the feet of the king, my lord, the Sun from the sky (i.e. 'heaven' sha-me), 7 times and 7 times, both on the stomach and on the back.

May the king, my lord, be informed that the 'Apiru that rose up: na-ash-sha-a against the lands, the god of the king, my lord, gave to me–and I smote him. And may the king, my lord, be informed that all my brothers have abandoned me. Only Abdi-Heba and I have been at war with the Apiru [Hebrew]. Surata, the ruler of Akka, and Endaruta, the ruler of Akshapa, these two also have come to my aid: na-az-a-qu have been summoned to help with 50–chariots, and now they are on my side in the war. So may it seem right in the sight of the king, my lord, and may he send Yanhamu so that we may all wage war and you restore the land of the king, my lord, to its borders.

EA 367 - FROM THE PHARAOH TO A VASSAL

(Amarna letter EA 367, titled From the Pharaoh to a Vassal, Endaruta of Achshaph, (Akshapa of the letters), one

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of only about 10 letters of the el-Amarna corpus, that is from the Pharaoh of Egypt to his correspondent. The following English language text, and Akkadian is from Rainey, 1970, El Amarna Tablets, 359-379.)

To Endaruta, the ruler of Akshapa, say: Thus says the king: He sends this tablet to you, saying to you, Be on your guard; guard the place of the king where you are.

Behold, the king sends you Hanni, the son of Maireya, the deputy of the king in Canaan. Pay close attention to what he tells you so that the king does not find fault in you. Everything he tells you, pay careful attention and carefully carry it out.

And be on guard! Be on guard! Do not be negligent. And prepare for the archers a great deal of food, and wine, and a great deal of everything else.

Indeed, he will reach you very quickly, and he will cut off the heads of the enemies of the king. And know that the king is strong like the sun in the sky. For his soldiers and his chariots are numerous and in good condition.

THE BOOK OF GATES

Inscriptions on the sarcophagus of Pharao Seti I.
Museum of Sir John Soane
Translation: E. A. Wallis Budge, 1905
Estimated Range of Dating: 1370 B.C.

(The Book of Gates is an ancient Egyptian funerary text dating from the New Kingdom. It narrates the passage of a newly deceased soul into the next world, corresponding to the journey of the sun through the underworld during the hours of the night. The soul is required to pass through a series of 'gates' at different stages in the journey. Each gate is associated with a different goddess, and requires that the deceased recognise the particular character of that deity. The text implies that some people will pass through unharmed, but that others will suffer torment in a lake of fire. Tuat or Duat is a name used frequently in these inscriptions and it refers to the underworld in Egyptian mythology. After all, the Book of Gates is an Ancient Egyptian cosmological treatise describing the architecture and inhabitants of the Tuat, the underworld which the boat of the Sun God, Ra, traverses during the night hours.

The most famous part of the Book of Gates today refers to the different races of humanity known to the Egyptians, dividing them up into four categories that are now conventionally labelled "Reth" (Egyptians), "Aamu" (Phoenicians, Canaanites), "Nehesu" (Nubians, Kushites), and "Themehu" (Libyans). These are depicted in procession entering the next world. The text and images associated with the Book of Gates appear in many tombs of the New Kingdom, including all the pharaonic tombs between Horemheb and Ramesses VII. They also appear in the tomb of Sennedjem, a worker in the village of Deir el-Medina, the ancient village of artists and craftsmen who built pharaonic tombs in the New Kingdom.

The goddesses listed in the Book of Gates each have different titles, and wear different coloured clothes, but are identical in all other respects, wearing a five pointed star above their heads. Most of the goddesses are specific to the Book of Gates, and do not appear elsewhere in Egyptian mythology, and so it has been suggested that the Book of Gates originated merely as a system for determining the time at night, with the goddess at each gate being a representation of the main star appearing during the hour.

Be aware that transcriptions do not have standard forms. Therefore they render words and names in a different way. Apep could be written as Apepi or Apepe [a Phoenician-Canaanite Hyksos King ruling the north of Egypt.]; Ra could appear as Re or Reh [Egyptian God of the Sun; later also the name forms Amun, Amon, or Amen were used.]; A'amu could be Ahlamu, Alhamu, or Aramu [Aramaeans.]; Habiru may appear as Abiru, Apiru, Abira [Hebrews; in India also known as Abhira, Ahir, Apiru, Habiru, that includes names which identify the Hebrews as Yudah or Judaeans: Yadu, Yadav, Yadava, Yaudheya, Yoddheya.].)

BOOK OF GATES CHAPTER 1.
THE ALABASTER SARCOPHAGUS OF SETI I.
Description by E. A. Wallis Budge.

The text of the "Book of Gates," printed in the following pages, is taken from the alabaster sarcophagus of king Seti I., 1370 BC, which is preserved in the Museum of Sir John Soane, at 13, Lincoln's Inn Fields. This sarcophagus is, undoubtedly, one of the chief authorities for the text of that remarkable book; but before any attempt is made to describe the arrangement of the scenes and the inscriptions which accompany them, it will be well to recall the principal facts connected with its discovery by Giovanni Battista Belzoni, who has fortunately placed them on record in his Narrative of the Operations and recent discoveries within the pyramids, temples, tombs and Excavations in Egypt and Nubia, London, 1820, p. 233 ff. In October, 1815, Belzoni began to excavate in the Biban-al-Muluk, i.e., the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, on the western bank of the Nile at Thebes, and in the bed of a watercourse he found a spot where the ground bore traces of having been "moved." On the 19th of the month his workmen made a way through the sand and fragments of stone which had been piled up there, and entered the first corridor or passage of a magnificent tomb, which he soon discovered to have been made for one of the great kings of Egypt. A second corridor led him to a square chamber which, being thirty feet deep, formed a serious obstacle in the way of any unauthorised intruder, and served to catch any rain-water which might make its way down the corridors from the entrance. Beyond this chamber are two halls, and from the first of these Belzoni passed through other corridors and rooms until he entered the vaulted chamber in which stood the sarcophagus. The sarcophagus chamber is situated at a distance of 320 feet from the entrance to the first corridor, and is 180 feet below the level of the ground. Belzoni succeeded in bringing the sarcophagus from its chamber into the light of day without injury, and in due course it arrived in England; the negotiations which he opened with the Trustees of the British Museum, to whom its purchase was first proposed, fell through, and he subsequently sold it to Sir John Soane, it is said for the sum of £2000. An examination of the sarcophagus shows that both it and its cover were hollowed out of monolithic blocks of alabaster, and it is probable, as Mr. Sharpe says, 1 that these were quarried in the mountains near Alabastronpolis, i.e., the district which was known to the Egyptians by the name of Het-nub, and is situated near the ruins known in modern times by the name of Tell al-Amarna. In the Yet-nub quarries large numbers of inscriptions, written chiefly in the hieratic character, have been found, and from the interesting selection from these published by Messrs. Blackden and Fraser, we learn that several kings of the Ancient and Middle Empires carried on works in them, no doubt for the purpose of obtaining alabaster for funeral purposes. The sarcophagus is 9 ft. 4 in. long, 3 ft. 8 in. wide, in the widest part, and 2 ft. 8 in. high at the shoulders, and 2 ft. 3 in. at the feet; the cover is 1 ft. 3 in. high. The thickness of the alabaster varies from 21 to 4 inches. The skill of the mason who succeeded in hollowing the blocks without breaking, or even cracking them, is marvellous, and the remains of holes nearly one inch in diameter suggest that the drill was as useful to him as the chisel and mallet in hollowing out the blocks. When the sarcophagus and its cover were finally shaped and polished, they were handed over to an artisan who was skilled in cutting hieroglyphics and figures of the gods, etc., in stone, and both the insides and outsides were covered by him with inscriptions and vignettes and mythological scones which illustrated them. Both inscriptions and scenes were then filled in with a kind of paint made from some preparation of copper, and the vivid bluish green colour of this paint must have formed a striking contrast to the brilliant whiteness of the alabaster when fresh from the quarry. At the present time large numbers of characters and figures are denuded of their colour, and those in which it still remains are much discoloured by London fog and soot.

The first to attempt to describe the contents of the texts and scenes on the sarcophagus of SETI I. was the late Samuel Sharpe, who, with the late Joseph Bonomi, published "The Alabaster Sarcophagus of Oimenepthah I., King of Egypt," London, 1864, 4to; the former was responsible for the letterpress, and the latter for the plates of scenes and texts. For some reason which it is not easy to understand, Mr. Sharpe decided that the hieroglyphic characters which formed the prenomen of the king for whom the sarcophagus was made were to be read "Oimenepthah," a result which he obtained by assigning the phonetic value of O to the hieroglyphic sign for Osiris. The prenomen is be read either SETI-MEN-EN PTAH, or SETI-MEN-EN-PTAH. Mr. Sharpe did not, apparently, realise that both the signs were to be read "Set," and he gave to the first the phonetic value of A and to the second the value of O; he next identified "Aimenepthah" or "Oimenepthah" with the Amenophath of Manetho, and the Chomaepthah of Eratosthenes, saying, "hence arises the support to our reading his name (i.e., the king's) Oimenepthah." Passing over Mr. Sharpe's further remarks, which assert that the sarcophagus was made in the year 1175 BC, we must consider briefly the arrangement of the texts and scenes upon the insides and outsides of the sarcophagus and its covers. On the upper outside edge of the sarcophagus runs a single line of hieroglyphics which contains speeches supposed to be made to the deceased by the four children of Horus; this line is in two sections, each of which begins at the right hand side of the head, and ends at the left hand side of the foot. Below this line of hieroglyphics are five large scenes, each of which is divided into three registers, and these are enclosed between two dotted bands which are intended to represent the borders of the "Valley of the Other World." On the inside of the sarcophagus are also five scenes, but there is no line of hieroglyphics running along the upper edge. On the bottom of the sarcophagus is a finely cut figure of the Goddess Nut, and round and about her are texts selected from the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead; on the inside of the cover is a figure of the goddess Nut, with arms outstretched. On the outside of the cover, in addition to the texts which record the names and titles of the deceased, are inscribed two large scenes, each of which is divided into three registers, like those inside and outside the sarcophagus.

The line of text on the upper outside edge reads:--

1.) Speech of MESTHA: "I am Mestha, I am thy son, O Osiris, king, lord of the two lands, Men-Maat-Ra, whose word is maat, son of the Sun, Seti Mer-en-Ptah, whose word is maat, and I have come so that I may be among those who protect thee. I make to flourish thy house, which shall be doubly established, by the command of Ptah, by the command of Ra himself."

Speech of ANPU: "I am Anpu, who dwelleth in (or, with) the funeral chest." He saith, "Mother Isis descendeth . . . . . bandages for me, Osiris, king Men-Maat-Ra, whose word is maat, son of the Sun, Seti Mer-en-Ptah, whose word is maat, from him that worketh against me."

Speech of TUAMATEF: "I am Tuamatef, I am thy son Horus, I love thee, and I have come to avenge thee, Osiris, upon him that would work his wickedness upon thee, and I will set him under thy feet for ever, Osiris, king, lord of the two lands, Men-Maat-Ra, son of the Sun, proceeding from his body, loving him, lord of crowns (or, risings) Seti Mer-en-Ptah, whose word is maat, before the Great God."

To be said: "Ra liveth, the Tortoise dieth! Strong are the members of . . . . . Osiris, king Men-Maat-Ra, whose word is maat, for Qebhsennuf guardeth them. Ra liveth, the Tortoise dieth! In a sound state is he who is in the sarcophagus, in a sound state is he who is in the sarcophagus, that is to say, the son of the Sun, Seti Mer-en-Ptah, whose word is maat."

Speech of NUT: Nut, the great one of Seb, saith: "O Osiris, king, lord of the two lands, Men-Maat-Ra, whose word is maat, who loveth me, I give unto thee purity on the earth, and splendour (or, glory) in the heavens, and I give unto thee thy head for ever."

2.) Speech of NUT, who is over the HENNU BOAT: "This is my son, Osiris, king, Men-Maat-Ra, whose word is maat. His father Shu loveth him, and his mother Nut loveth him, Osiris, son of Ra, Seti Mer-en-Ptah, whose word is maat."

Speech of HAPI: "I am Hapi. I have come that I might be among those who protect thee, I bind together for thee thy head, and thy members, smiting down for thee thine enemies beneath thee, and I give thee thy head, O Osiris, king, Men-Maat-Ra, whose word is maat, son of Ra, Seti Mer-en-Ptah, whose word is maat."

Speech Of ANPU, the Governor of the divine house: I am Anpu, the Governor of the divine house. O Osiris, king, lord of the two lands, Men-Maat-Ra, whose word is maat, son of the Sun, [proceeding] from his body, the lord of crowns, Seti Mer-en-Ptah, whose word is maat, the Shennu beings go round about thee, and thy members remain uninjured, O Osiris, king, Men-Maat-RA, whose word is maat for ever."

Speech Of QEBHSENNUF: "I am thy son, I have come that I might be among those who protect thee. I gather together for thee thy bones, and I piece together for thee thy limbs. I bring unto thee thy heart, and I set it upon its seat in thy body. I make to flourish (or, germinate) for thee thy house after thee, O thou who livest for ever."

To be said: "Ra liveth, the Tortoise dieth! Let enter the bones of Osiris, king Men-Maat-Ra, whose word is maat, the son of the Sun, Seti Mer-en-Ptah, whose word is maat, let them enter into their foundations. Pure is the dead body which is in the earth, and pure are the bones of Osiris, king Men-Mast-Ra, whose word is maat, like Ra for ever!"

On the bottom of the sarcophagus is a large, full-length figure of the goddess NUT who is depicted in the form of a woman with her arms ready to embrace the body of the king. Her face and the lower parts of the body below the waist are in profile, but she has a front chest, front shoulders, and a front eye. Her feet are represented as if each was a right foot, and each only shows the great toe. One breast is only shown. The hair of the goddess is long and falls over her back and shoulders; it is held in position over her forehead by a bandlet. She wears a deep collar or necklace, and a closely-fitting feather-work tunic which extends from her breast to her ankles; the latter is supported by two shoulder straps, each of which is fastened with a buckle on the shoulder. She has anklets on her legs, and bracelets on her wrists, and armlets on her arms. The inscriptions which are cut above the head, and at both sides, and under the feet of the goddess contain addresses to the king by the great gods of the sky, and extracts from the Book of the Dead; they read:-- INSCRIPTION ON THE BOTTOM OF THE SARCOPHAGUS OF SETI I.

1. The words of Osiris the king, the lord of the two lands, MEN-MAAT-RA, whose word is maat, the son of Ra (i.e., the Sun), SETI MER-EN-PTAH, whose word is maat, who saith, "O thou goddess NUT, support thou me, for I am thy son. Destroy thou my defects of immobility, together with those who produce them."

2. The goddess NUT, who dwelleth in HET-HENNU, saith, "This [is my] son Osiris, the king, the lord of the two lands, MEN-MAAT-RA, whose word is maat, the son of Ra,

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proceeding from his body, who loveth him, the lord of crowns, Osiris, SETI MER-EN-PTAH."

3. The god SEB saith, "This [is my] son MEN-MAAT-RA, who loveth me. I have given unto him purity upon earth, and glory in heaven, him the Osiris, king, the lord of the two lands, MEN-MAAT-RA, "whose word is maat, the son of Ra, the lover of Nut, that is to say, SETI MER-EN-PTAH, whose word is maat, before the lords of the Tuat."

4. Words which are to be said:--"O Osiris, king, lord of the two lands, MEN-MAAT-RA, whose word is maat, the son of Ra, proceeding from his body, that is to say, SETI MER-EN-PTAH, whose word is maat. Thy mother NUT putteth forth her two hands and arms over thee, Osiris, king, lord of the two lands, MEN-MAAT-RA, whose word is maat, son of Ra, whom he loveth, lord of diadems, SETI MER-EN-PTAH, whose word is maat. Thy mother NUT hath added the magical powers which are thine, and thou art in her arms, and thou shalt never die. Lifted up and driven away are the calamities which were to thee, and they shall never more come to thee, and shall never draw nigh unto thee, Osiris, king, the lord of the two lands, MEN-MAAT-RA, whose word is maat. Horus hath taken up his stand behind thee, Osiris, son of Ra, lord of diadems, SETI MER-EN-PTAH, whose word is maat, for thy mother NUT hath come unto thee; she hath purified (or, washed) thee, she hath united herself to thee, she hath supplied thee as a god, and thou art alive and stablished among the gods."

5. The great goddess NUT saith, "I have endowed him with a soul, I have endowed him with a spirit, and I have given him power in the body of his mother TEFNUT, I who was never brought forth. I have come, and I have united myself to OSIRIS, the king, the lord of the two lands, MEN-MAAT-RA, whose word is maat, the son of Ra, the lord of diadems, SETI MER-EN-PTAH, whose word is maat, with life, stability, and power. He shall not die. I am NUT of the mighty heart, and I took up my being in the body of my mother TEFNUT in my name of Nut; over my mother none hath gained the mastery. I have filled every place with my beneficence, and I have led captive the whole earth; I have led captive the South and the North, and I have gathered together the things which are into my arms to vivify Osiris, the king, the lord of the two lands, MEN-MAAT-RA, the son of the Sun, proceeding from his body, the lover of SEKER, the lord of diadems, the governor whose heart is glad, SETI MER-EN-PTAH, whose word is maat. His soul shall live for ever! "

6. "Nut," saith Osiris, the king MEN-MAAT-RA, whose word is maat, "Raise thou me up! I am thy son, set thou free him whose heart is at rest from that which maketh it to be still."

7. Osiris, the king, the lord of the two lands, MEN-MAAT-RA, whose word is maat, the son of the Sun, loving him, SETI MER-EN-PTAH, saith the CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH BY DAY AND OF MAKING A WAY THROUGH AMMEHET. [This is Chapter 72. of the Book of the Dead.]

Saith Osiris, the king, the lord of the two lands, MEN-MAAT-RA, whose word is maat, the son of the Sun, [proceeding] from his body, loving him, the lord of crowns, SETI MER-EN-PTAH, whose word is maat, "Homage to you, O ye lords of maat, who are free from iniquity, who exist and live for ever and to the double henti period of everlastingness, MEN-MAAT-RA, whose word is maat, the son of the Sun, proceeding from his body, loving him, the lord of diadems, SETI MER-EN-PTAH, whose word is maat, before you hath become a khu (i.e., a spirit) in his attributes, he hath gained the mastery through his words of power, and he is laden with his splendours. O deliver ye the Osiris, the king, the lord of the two lands, MEN-MAAT-RA, whose word is maat, the son of the sun, the lord of diadems, SETI MER-EN-PTAH, whose word is maat, from the Crocodile of this Pool of Maati. He hath his mouth, let him speak therewith. Let there be granted unto him broad-handedness in your presence, because I know you, and I know your names. I know this great god unto whose nostrils ye present offerings of tchefau. REKEM is his name. He maketh a way through the eastern-horizon of heaven. REKEM departeth and I also depart; he is strong and I am strong. O let me not be destroyed in the MESQET Chamber. Let not the Sebau fiends gain the mastery over me. Drive not ye me away from your Gates, and shut not fast your arms against the Osiris, the king, the lord of the two lands, MEN-MAAT-RA, whose word is maat, the son of the Sun, proceeding from his body, loving him, the lord of diadems, SETI MER-EN-PTAH, whose word is maat, because my bread is in the city of PE*, and my ale is in the city of TEP*, and my arms are united in the divine house which my father hath given unto me. [* Pe and Tep formed a double city in the Delta of the River Nile.] He hath stablished for me a house in the high place of the lands, and there are wheat and barley therein, the quantity of which is unknown. The son of my body acteth for me there as kher-heb [The kher-heb was the priestly official who read the funeral service.]. Grant ye, unto me sepulchral offerings, that is to say, incense, and merhet unguent, and all beautiful and pure things of every kind whereon the God liveth. Osiris, the king, MEN-MAAT-RA, whose word is maat, the son of the Sun, proceeding from his body, loving him, the lord of diadems, the ruler of joy of heart, SETI MER-EN-PTAH, whose word is maat, existeth for ever in all the transformations which it pleaseth him to make. He floateth down the river, he saileth up into SEKHET-AARU [I.e., the Field of Reeds.], he reacheth SEKHET-HETEP [I.e., the Field of Peace.]. I am the double Lion-god." [I.e., Shu and Tefnut.]

8. Saith Osiris, the king, the lord of the two lands, MEN-MAAT-RA, whose word is maat, son of the Sun, loving him, SETI MER-EN-PTAH, whose word is maat:--"O ward off that destroyer from my father Osiris, the king, the lord of the two lands, MEN-MAAT-RA, whose word is maat, and let his divine protection be under my legs, and let them live. Strengthen thou Osiris, son of the Sun, lord of diadems, SETI MER-EN-PTAH, whose word is maat, with thy hand. Grasp thou him with thy hand, let him enter thy hand, let him enter thy hand, O Osiris, king, lord of the two lands, MEN-MAAT-RA, Whose word is maat, thou shalt not perish. NUT cometh unto thee, and she fashioneth thee as the Great Fashioner, and thou shalt never decay; she fashioneth thee, she turneth thy weakness into strength, she gathereth together thy members, she bringeth thy heart into thy body, and she hath placed thee at the head of the living doubles (kau), O Osiris, king, lord of the two lands, MEN-MAAT-RA, whose word is maat, before the beautiful god, the lord of TA-TCHESERT."

9. Saith Osiris, the king, the lord of the two lands, MEN-MAAT-RA, whose word is maat, the son of the Sun, proceeding from his body, loving him, the lord of diadems, SETI MER-EN-PTAH, whose word is maat, [THE CHAPTER OF CAUSING THE SOUL TO BE UNITED TO ITS BODY IN THE UNDERWORLD (This is Chapter 89. of the Book of the Dead.).] .

Hail, ye gods who bring (ANNIU)! Hail ye gods who run (PEHIU)! Hail thou who dwellest in his embrace, thou great god, grant thou that may come unto me my soul from wheresoever it may be. If it would delay, then lot my soul be brought unto me from wheresoever it may be, for thou shalt find the Eye of Horus standing by thee like those watchful gods. If it lie down, let it lie down in ANNU (Heliopolis), the land where souls are joined to their bodies in thousands. Let my soul be brought unto me from wheresoever it may be. Make thou strong, O guardian of sky and earth, this my soul. If it would tarry, do thou cause the soul to see its body, and thou shalt find the Eye of Horus standing by thee even as do those gods who watch."

"Hail, ye gods who tow along the boat of the lord of millions of years, who bring it into the upper regions of the Tuat, who make it to pass over Nut, and who make the soul to enter into its sahu (i.e., spiritual body), let your hands be full of weapons, and grasp them and make them sharp, and hold chains in readiness to destroy the serpent enemy. Let the Boat rejoice, and let the great god pass on in peace, and behold, grant ye that the soul of Osiris, king MEN-MAAT-RA, whose word is maat, may emerge from the thighs of Nut in the eastern horizon of heaven, for ever and for ever."

10. Osiris, the king, the lord of the two lands, MEN-MAAT-RA SETEP-[EN]-RA, whose word is maat, the son of Ra, loving PTAH-SEKRI, the lord of diadems, SETI MER-EN-PTAH, whose word is maat, saith:--"O ye shennu beings, go ye round behind me, and let not these my members be without strength."

11. Osiris, the king, the lord of the two lands, MEN-MAAT-RA AA-RA, whose word is maat, the son of the sun, [proceeding] from his body, loving him, lord of diadems, SETI MER-EN-PTAH, saith:--"O Nut, lift thou me up. I am thy son. Do away from me that which maketh me to be without motion." Nut saith:--O Osiris, the king the lord of the two lands, MEN-MAAT-RA AA-RA whose word is maat, the soil or the sun, proceeding from his body, loving him, the lord or diadems, SETI MER-EN-PTAH, Whose word is maat, I have given thee thy head to be on thy body, and all the members of him that is SETI MER-EN-PTAH, whose word is maat, shall never lack strength."

On the outside of the cover, beneath the two scenes and texts which occupied the upper part of it, was a horizontal line of hieroglyphics which contained two short speeches, the one by the goddess Nut, and the other by Thoth. The speech of Nut is a duplicate of the opening lines of that found on the bottom of the sarcophagus (see above § v., p. 55); the speech of Thoth is much mutilated, and can have contained little except the promise to be with the king, and a repetition of the royal name and titles. On the inside of the cover were texts, many portions of which are identical, as we see from the fragments which remain, with the Chapters from the Book of the Dead which are found on the bottom of the sarcophagus, and which have been transcribed above. At each side of the figure of the winged goddess which was cut on the breast was a figure of the god Thoth, who is seen holding a staff surmounted by the symbol of "night.". When the cover was complete there were probably four such figures upon it, and the texts which accompanied them were, no doubt, identical with those found in Chapter CLXI. of the Book of the Dead.

The scenes and inscriptions which cover the inside and outside of the sarcophagus are described and transcribed in the following chapters.

BOOK OF GATES CHAPTER 2.

THE ANTE-CHAMBER OF THE TUAT (The Underworld).

IN THE FIRST DIVISION of the "Book of Gates of the Tuat," according to the sarcophagus of Seti I., we see the horizon of the west, or the mountain of the west, divided into two parts, and the boat of the sun is supposed to sail between them, and to enter by this passage into the Tuat. On the right hand is fixed a jackal-headed standard, and on each side of it kneels a bearded god; one god is called TAT, and is a personification of the region which is beyond the day, and the other SET, and represents the funeral mountain. On the left hand is a ram-headed standard, and on each side of it also kneels a bearded god; as before, one is called Tat and the other Set. The ram's head has the horizontal, wavy horns, which belong to the particular species of ram that was the symbol of the god Khnemu; this animal disappeared from Egypt before the 12th Dynasty, but the tradition of him remained. In the middle of the scene sails the boat of the sun. The god is symbolized by a beetle within a disk, which is enveloped in the folds of a serpent having its tail in its mouth. In the bows stands the god of divine intelligence, whose name is SA, and in the stern, near the two paddles, stands HEKA, i.e., the personification of the word of power, or of magical utterance. The god who usually accompanies SA is HU. The text which refers to the Sun-god reads:-- "Ra saith unto the Mountain:--Send forth light, O Mountain! Let radiance arise from that which hath devoured me, and which hath slain men and is filled with the slaughter of the gods. Breath to you, O ye who dwell in the light in your habitations, my splendours shall be to you. I have decreed their slaughter, and they have slaughtered everything which existeth. I have hidden you from those who are upon the earth, restoring the crown (or, tiara) to those who are on the Mountain. The gods say:--'Let this jackal-headed sceptre emit the words of this great god who joineth together his members. Come then unto us, O thou from whom we have come forth! Cries of joy are to thee, O thou who art in thy disk, thou great god whose forms (or transformations) are manifold.' Their provisions consist of bread-cakes and beer."

The paragraph below the above text is practically a duplicate of it, but it contains no mention of either the jackal-headed or the rain-headed sceptre, and it is unnecessary to give it here.

On the right of the boat stand twelve gods, who are called "gods of the mountain," and the text referring to them reads:-- "These gods have come into being from Ra, and from his substance, and have emerged from his eye. He hath decreed for them as a place (or, abode) the Hidden Mountain (Ament Set), which consumeth men, and gods, and all cattle, and all reptiles which are created by this great god. This great god hath decreed the plans (or, designs) thereof having made them to spring up in the earth which he created."

On the left of the boat stand twelve gods, who are called "gods of Set-Amentet," and the text referring to them reads:-- "The hidden place. These are those who have consumed the men, and the gods, and all the cattle, and all the reptiles which this great god hath created. 'This great god hath decreed plans for them after he made them to spring up in the land which he created, that is to say, in the Amentet which he made."

BOOK OF GATES CHAPTER 3.

THE GATE OF SAA-SET

THE SECOND DIVISION OF THE TUAT.

THE boat of Ra, having passed between the two halves of the horizon of the West, now approaches a gateway, the door of which is closed before him; the door of the second division of the Tuat is different from the doors of the other divisions, for it consists of a single leaf which turns upon a pivot working in holes in the top and bottom of the framework of the door. This door is guarded by a serpent called SAA-SET, which stands upon its tail. The text referring to this serpent reads:-- "He who is over (i.e., has the mastery over) this door openeth to Ra. SA saith unto SAT-SET, 'Open thy door to Ra, throw wide open thy door to KHUTI. The hidden abode is in darkness, so that the transformations of this god may take place.' This portal is closed after this god hath entered in through it, and there is lamentation on the part of those who are in their mountain when they hear this door shut."

In the centre of the scene we see the boat of Ra being towed along by four gods standing, each of whom grasps the tow-line with both hands. The god is now in the form of a ram-headed man, who holds the sceptre in his right hand, and has the solar disk above his horns. He stands within a shrine which is enveloped in the voluminous folds of the serpent Mehen, a serpent also stands on his tall before him. In front of the shrine stands SA, and behind it HEKAU. The gods who tow the boat are called TUAIU.

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The sun's boat is met in this section by a company of thirteen gods, who are under the direction of a god who holds a staff in his hand. The names of the first seven gods are:-- NEPEMEH 1, NENHA, BA, HERU, BEHA-AB, KHNEMU, and SETCHET; the third has the head of a ram, and the fourth that of a hawk. The last six gods are described as "gods who are in the entrances," the god who bears the staff has no name. The text which refers to the Sun-god reads:-- "This great god journeyeth along the roads of the Tuat. This god is drawn by the gods of the Tuat (in order to make divisions (or, distinctions) in the earth, and to work out his designs therein, to weigh words and deeds in Ament, to magnify the great god above the little god among the gods. who are in the Tuat, to place the KHU (i.e., the blessed dead) upon, their thrones, and the damned in the place to which they have been condemned in the judgment, and to destroy their bodies by an evil death. Ra saith:--'O grant ye to me that I may restore the tiara, and that I may have possession of my shrine which is in the earth. Let SA and HEKA unite themselves to me for the working out of plans for you, and for making to come into being their attributes (or, forms) ye have (what is yours. Isis hath made to be at peace the wind, and offerings are there. None shutteth the door against you, and the damned do not enter in after you. That which belongeth to you is to you, O gods.' These gods say unto Ra, 'There is darkness on the road of the Tuat, therefore let the doors which are closed be unfolded, let the earth open, so that the gods may draw along him that hath created them.' Their food [i.e., the food of these gods] is of the funeral offerings, and their drink is from their cool waters, and their hands are on meat offerings among the Akert regions of Ament."

On the right of the boat are twenty-four gods, the first twelve of whom are described as "those who are at peace, the worshippers of Ra," and the second twelve as "the righteous who are in the Tuat." These beings are thus described by the accompanying text:-- "These [are they who] have worshipped (or, praised) Ra upon earth, who uttered words of power against Apep, who made their offerings unto him, and who burnt (literally, made) incense to their gods on their own behalf, after their offerings. They have gained possession of their cool waters, and they receive their meat, and they eat of their offerings in the gateway of him whose name is hidden. Their meat is by the gateway, and their offerings are with him. who is therein. And Ra saith unto them:--'Your offerings are yours, ye have power over your cool waters, your souls shall never be hacked to pieces, your meat shall never fail, O ye who have praised me, and have vanquished Apep for me.'"

The above passage refers to the "worshippers of Ra who are at peace."

"[These are] they who spake truth upon earth, and who were not addicted to evil thought about the gods. They make their invocations in this gateway, they live upon maat (i.e., truth), and their cool waters are in their cisterns. Ra saith unto them:--"'Truth is yours, live ye on your food. Ye yourselves are truth;' and they have power over these their cool waters, which are waters of fire to those who have guilt and sin. And these gods say to Ra:--'Let there be stability to the Disk of Ra. Let him that is in the shrine have the mastery over it, and let the serpent Mehen guard him well. May the flames of Khuti which are in the corners of the hidden shrine grow stronger.' And there shall be given to them meat in the place of peace in their circle."

The above passage refers to the "righteous who are in the Tuat."

On the left side of the boat of Ra are: 1. The god TEM, who is depicted in the form of an aged man, leaning heavily on a stick which he grasps in his right hand. 2. Four male beings who are lying prostrate on their backs. 3. Twenty male beings, with their backs bowed, and their arms tied together at their elbows behind their backs. The our beings are described as "the inert," and the twenty as "the apostates of the Hall of Ra, who have blasphemed Ra upon earth, who have invoked evils upon him that is in the Egg, who have thrust aside the right, and have spoken words against KHUTI."

The text referring to the inert and the apostates reads:-- "Tem worketh on behalf of Ra, glorifying the god, and singing praises to his soul, and distributing evil things to his enemies. He saith:--'The word of my father Ra is right (maat) against you, and my word is right against you. I am the son who proceedeth from his father, and I am the father who proceedeth from his son. Ye are fettered, and ye are tied with strong cord, and it is I who have sent forth the decree concerning you that ye should be bound in fetters; your arms shall never more be opened. Ra pronounceth the formula against you, his soul is prepared to attack you; my father hath gained the mastery over you, and his soul uttereth words against you. Your evil deeds have turned against you, your plottings have come upon you, your abominable acts have recoiled upon you, your destinies are for evil, and your doom bath been decreed before Ra; your unjust and perverted judgements are upon yourselves, and the wickedness of your words of cursing are upon you. Evil is the doom which hath been decreed for you before my father. It is you who have committed sins, and who have wrought iniquity in the Great Hall; your corruptible bodies shall be cut in pieces, and your souls shall have no existence, and ye shall never again see Ra with his attributes as he journeyeth in the hidden land. Hail, Ra! Adored be Ra! Thine enemies are in the place of destruction.'"

BOOK OF GATES CHAPTER 4.

THE GATE OF AQEBI.

THE THIRD DIVISION OF THE TUAT.

THE boat of the sun having passed through the Second Division of the Tuat arrives at the gateway which leads to the THIRD DIVISION. This gateway is unlike the first, which has already been described, for its opening is protected by an outwork, similar to that which protects the door of a fortified building. The outwork is guarded by nine gods, in the form of mummies, who are described as the "second company of the gods," and in this wall, which completely divides the Second Division from the Third, is an opening, which leads to a corridor that runs between two walls, the tops of which are protected by rows of pointed stakes. At the entrance to the corridor stands a god, in mummied form, called AM-AUA, and at the exit is a similar god called SEKHABESNEFUNEN, each is said to "extend his arms and hands to Ra." At each side of the angle, near the entrance to the corridor, is a serpent, who ejects flames from his mouth; the flame from the one sweeps along the corridor, at the end of which it is met by the flame from the other serpent which sweeps along the inside of the inner wall. The flames of these serpents are said to be for Ra. The gateway leading to the Third Division is called SEPTET-UAUAU, and the door thereof, which opens inwards, is guarded by the serpent standing on his tail, who is called AQEBI, and faces outwards. The texts referring to the entrance of Ra through this gateway read:-- "[When] this god cometh to this gateway, to enter in through this gateway, the gods who are therein acclaim this great god, saying, 'Let this gateway be unfolded to KHUTI, and let the doors be opened to him that is in heaven. Come then, O thou traveller, who dost journey in Amentet.' He who is over this door openeth it to Ra. SA saith unto AQEBI, 'Open thy gate to Ra, unfold thy door to KHUTI. He shall illumine the darkness, and he shall force a way for the light in the habitation which is hidden.' This door is closed after the great god hath entered through it, and there is lamentation to those who are in their gateway when they hear this door close [upon them]."

Along the middle of the THIRD DIVISION, we see the boat of the sun being drawn along by four gods, as before; the god Ra stands in a shrine, similar to that already described, and his companions are SA and HEKAU. The rope by which the boat is towed along is fastened to the two ends of a very remarkable object, in the form of a long beam, each end of which terminates in a bull's head. The accompanying text describes it as "his boat," and from the fact that the four gods who tow the boat are seen again at the other end of the beam-like object, with the towing-rope in their hands, it is clear that the boat of Ra, and the god himself, were believed to pass through it, from one end to the other. The object is supported on the shoulders of eight gods, in mummied form, who are called "Bearers of the gods," at each end, immediately behind the bull's head, stands a bull, and at intervals seven gods, who are called "the gods who are within," are seated upon it. At the end of this Division stand four mummied forms, with their elbows projecting, and their hands crossed on their breasts. The text which refers to the passage of the boat of the sun reads: "This great god is towed along by the gods of the Tuat, and this great god advanceth to the Boat of the Earth, which is the bark of the gods. Ra. saith unto them:--'Hail, ye gods who bear up his Boat of the Earth, and who lift up the Bark of the Tuat, may there be support to your forms and light unto your Bark. Holy is he who is in the Boat of the Earth. I make to go back the Bark of the Tuat which beareth my forms (or, attributes), and verily I travel into the hidden habitation to perform the plans which are carried out therein.' ENNURKHATA, ENNURKHATA saith, 'Praised be the Soul which the Double Bull hath swallowed, and let the god be at peace with that which he hath created.'"

The effect of the above words is to allow the Sun-god and his boat to pass through the double bull-headed Boat of the Earth without any let or hindrance, and when he has done this,--"These gods (i.e., the four gods at the other end of the Boat of the Earth) say to Ra:--'Praised be Ra, whose Soul hath been absorbed by the Earth-god! Praised be the gods of Ra who hath rested therein.' This Boat of its Tuat rejoiceth, and there are cries from them after Ra hath passed them as he journeyeth on his way. Their offerings are the plants of the year, and their offerings are given to them when they hear the words of those who draw along, this great god. The gods of the Tuat who draw the holy Boat in the earth say unto the UTAU, whose arms are hidden:--'O ye UTAU Of the earth, whose duty it is to stand near his habitation, whose heads are uncovered, and whose arms are hidden, may there be air to your nostrils, O UTAU, and may your funeral swathings be burst open, and may you have the mastery over your meats, and may you have peace (or, crest) in that which I have created. Their food is of bread cakes, and their bread is made of the red grain, the draughts which they drink are of cool water, and their meat is given unto them because of the whiteness (or, brilliance) of their apparel in the Tuat."

On the right hand side of this Division of the Tuat the boat of the Sun passes twelve shrines, each of which has its doors thrown wide open, and so permits us to see a god in mummied form standing inside it these gods are described as "the holy gods who are in the Tuat." Along the front of the twelve shrines stretches an enormous serpent, the duty of which is to protect those who stand in them. Beyond the shrines is a long basin or lake of boiling water, with rounded ends, in which stand up to their waists twelve mummied gods, with black heads, who either have white bodies, or are arrayed in white apparel; in front of each god grows a large ear of wheat. These gods are described as "the gods in the boiling lake." The texts which relate to both groups of beings are as follows:-- "Those who are in their shrines are the members of the god whose shrines the serpent SETI guardeth. Ra saith unto them:--'Open ye the doors of your shrines, so that my radiance may penetrate the darkness in which ye are! I found you weeping and lamenting, with your shrines tightly closed, but air shall be given to your nostrils, and I have decreed that ye shall have abundance to overflowing in all things.' And these gods say unto Ra:--'Hail, Ra, come thou into our lake, O thou great god who never failest.' The Shennu gods who are before and behind him pay homage to him, and they rejoice in Ra when he traverseth their region, and when the great god journeyeth through the secret place. Their food consisteth of loaves of bread, their drink is made from the red barley, and their cool waters come from their cisterns of water, and the serpent of fire, SETI, giveth unto them the things whereon they live there. The door which shutteth them in closeth after this god hath passed through their midst, and they utter cries of grief when they hear their doors shut upon them."

The following refers to the lake of water in this Division:-- "Here is the lake of water which is in the Tuat, and it is surrounded by the gods who are arrayed in their apparel, and who have their heads uncovered. This lake is filled with green herbs. The water of this lake is boiling hot, and the birds betake themselves to flight when they see the waters thereof, and when they smell the fœtid smell which is in it. Unto these gods saith Ra:--'O ye gods whose duty it is to guard the green herbs of your lake, whose heads core uncovered, and whose limbs are covered with garments, may there be air to your nostrils, and may offerings be made to you of the green herbs, and may your meat be from your lake. The water thereof shall be yours, but to you it shall not be boiling, and the heat thereof shall not be upon your bodies.' These gods say unto Ra:--'Come thou unto us, O thou who sailest in thy boat, whose eye is of blazing fire which consumeth, and hath a pupil which sendeth forth light! The beings of the Tuat shout with joy when thou approachest; send forth thy light upon us, O thou great god who hast fire in thine eye.' Their food consisteth of loaves of bread and green herbs, and their drink (or, beer) is of the kemtet plants, and their cool water is from their cisterns of water. And food shall be given unto them in abundance from this lake."

On the left of the path along which the boat of Ra passes in this Division of the Tuat are two groups of beings. In the first of these we see the god TEM, in the form of an aged man, with bent shoulders, leaning upon a staff; coiled up before him in voluminous folds, with its head flat upon the ground, is the monster serpent APEP. Behind Apep stand nine men, with their arms hanging by their sides; these are called the "TCHATCHA who repulse APEPI," In the second group is TEM, in a similar attitude, and before him stand nine gods, each holding the symbol of life in the right hand, and the sceptre in the left; the nine gods are called "Nebu khert," i.e., Lords of destinies.

The texts which refer to these groups read:-- The first group shows us what "TEM hath done for Ra, and how he hath protected the god by words of magical power, and hath overthrown the serpent SEBA. TEMU saith:-- 'Thou art prostrate, and thou shalt never more rise up; thou art enchanted by my enchantments, and thou shalt never more be found. The word of my father is maat against thee, and my word is maat against thee; I have destroyed thee for Ra, and I have made an end of thee for KHUTI.'

"The company of the gods of Ra who repulse APEP say:-- 'Thy head is slit, O Apep, thy folds are gashed, thou shalt never more envelop the boat of Ra, and thou shalt never again make a way into the divine bark. A flame of fire goeth out against thee from the hidden place, and we have condemned thee to thy dire doom.' They (i.e., the nine gods of the company of Ra) live upon the food of Ra, and upon the cakes of KHENT-AMENTI, for offerings are made on their behalf upon earth, and libations of cool water are made unto them by the lord of food (or, as lords of food) before Ra."

To the second group of nine gods "TEM saith:--'Inasmuch as ye are the gods who possess life and sceptre (i.e., authority), and who have mastery over your sceptres, drive ye back the serpent SEBA from KHUTI, gash ye with knives the foul and evil serpent AF.' These are the gods who work enchantments on APEP, who open the earth to Ra, and who shut it against

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APEP in the gates of KHENTI-AMENTI. They are those who are in the hidden place, and they praise Ra, and they destroy his enemies, and they protect the great one against the serpent AFU, and they utter cries of joy at the overthrow by Ra of the enemy of Ra. They live upon the meat of Ra, and on the cakes offered to KHENTI-AMENTI. Offerings are made on their behalf upon earth, and they receive libations through their word being maat in Ament, and holy are they of arm in their hidden place. They utter cries to Ra, and they make lamentation for the great god after he hath passed by them, for when he hath departed they are enveloped in darkness, and their circle is closed upon them."

BOOK OF GATES CHAPTER 5.
THE GATE OF TCHETBI.
THE FOURTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT.

THE boat of the sun having passed through the Third Division of the Tuat arrives at the gateway which leads to the Fourth Division. This gateway is like that which admitted the god into the Third Division and its outwork is guarded by nine gods, in the form of mummies, who are described as the "third company of the gods of the great god who are within." At the entrance to the corridor which runs between the two walls is a god in mummied form called ENUERKHATA, and at the exit is a similar god called SETA-TA, each god has a uraeus over his brow, and each is said to "extend his arms and hands to Ra." The corridor is swept by flames of fire which proceed from the mouths of two serpents, stationed each at an angle, and their "fire is for Ra." The gateway of the Fourth Division is called NEBT-S-TCHEFAU, and the text says, "This great god cometh to this gateway, and entereth in through it, and the gods who are therein acclaim him." The company of gods say to Ra, "Open thou the earth, force thou a way through the Tuat and the region which is above, and dispel our darkness; hail, Ra, come thou to us." The monster serpent which stands on his tail and guards the gateway is called TCHETBI, and the two lines of text which refer to his admission of Ra read, "He who is over this door openeth to Ra. SA saith to TCHETBI:--'Open thy gate to Ra, unfold thy doors to KHUTI, that he may send light into the thick darkness, and may make his radiance illumine the hidden habitation.' This door is shut after this great god hath passed through it, and there is lamentation to those who are in this gateway when they hear this door close upon them."

In the middle of this Division we see the boat of Ra being towed on its way by four gods of the Tuat; the god is in the same form as before, and stands in a shrine enveloped by MEHEN. SA stands in the bows, and HEKA at the stern. The boat advances to a long, low building with a heavy cornice, which contains nine small shrines or chapels; in each of these is a god in mummied form lying on his back. The nine gods are described as the "gods who follow Osiris, who are in their abodes" (literally, "holes"). Immediately in front of the nine shrines are two groups, each containing six women, who stand upon a slope, one half of which appears to be land and the other half water; these women are called "the hour goddesses which are in the Tuat." Each group is separated from the other by a monster serpent of many folds called HERERET, and of him it is said that he spawneth twelve serpents to be devoured by the hours."

The text relating to the passage of the boat of the sun reads:-- "This great god is drawn along by the gods of the Tuat, and he, journeyeth in the hidden place, and worketh in respect of the things which are there.

He saith:-- 'Draw ye me along, O ye beings of the Tuat, look ye upon me, [for] I have created you. Pull ye with your arms and draw ye me therewith, and turn ye aside to the eastern part of heaven, to the habitations which surround ARES (or, SAR) [and to] that hidden mountain, the light (or, radiance) of which goeth round about among the gods who receive me as I come forth among you into the hidden place. Draw ye me along, for I work on your behalf in the gateway which covereth over the gods of the Tuat.'"

"And Ra saith unto them:--'Look ye upon me, O gods, for I strike those who are in their sepulchres, saying, Arise, O ye gods! I have ordered for you the plan and manner of your existence, O ye who are in your sepulchres, whose souls are broken, who live upon your own filth and feed upon your own offal, rise up before my Disk, and put ye yourselves in a (right state by means of my beams. The duties which ye shall have in the Tuat are in conformity with the things which I have decreed for you.' Their food consisteth of flesh, and their ale is [made] of the red barley, and their libations are of cool water. There is lamentation to them after they have heard their doors close upon them."

In respect of the twelve goddesses of the hours it is said:-- "These are they who stand upon their lake, and it is they who guide Ra in a straight line by means of their instruments. To them Ra saith:--"Hearken, O ye goddesses of the hours of the night sky. Work ye, and eat ye, and rest ye in your gateways, with your breasts towards the darkness, and your hind-parts towards the light. Make to stand up the serpent HERERET, and live ye upon that which cometh forth from it. It is your duty in the Tuat to eat up the spawn of HERERET, and ye shall destroy that which cometh forth from it. Draw ye me, for I have begotten you in order that ye may pay homage to me. Take ye your rest (or, be at peace), O ye Hours!' Their food consisteth of cakes of bread, and their ale is made of the red barley, and their draughts are of cool water, and there is given unto them as their food that which cometh forth with the khu (i.e., the beatified dead)."

On the right hand of the path of the boat of the Sun in the Fourth Division we see:-- 1. Twelve gods, bearded and standing upright, who are called "the gods who carry along their doubles," 2. Twelve jackal-headed gods, who stand round the "Lake of Life," who are called the "jackals in the lake of life," 3. Ten uraei, which stand round the Lake of the Uraei," and are called the Living Uraei."

The paragraph which refers to the first twelve gods reads:-- "These are they who bear along their doubles, who immerse themselves in that which floweth in abundance from the slaughtered ones during the time of their existence, and who carry the offerings which are rightly due [to the god] to his abode. Unto them saith Ra:--'That which belongeth to you [to do], O ye gods who are among your offerings, is to offer as an obligatory offering your doubles. Ye have your own offerings, your enemies are destroyed, and they are not. Your spirits are on their thrones, and your souls are on their places.' They say unto Ra, 'Adorations be unto thee, O RA-KHUTI! Hail to thee, O thou Soul who art protected in the earth! Hail to thee, as being eternity, the lord of the years and of the everlastingness which hath no diminution.' Their food consisteth of offerings, their drink is of cool water, and there is lamentation to them when they hear their doors close upon them. Their food is given to them from the goddess Mu-sta by TESERT-BAIU."

The paragraph which refers to the jackal-headed gods reads:-- "These are they who come forth from this lake whereunto the souls of the dead cannot approach by reason of the sanctity which is therein. Unto them saith Ra:--'That which belongeth to you to do, O ye gods who are in this lake, is to keep guard upon your lives in your lake; your offerings are under the guard of the jackals which have set themselves on the edge of your lake.' They say unto Ra:--'Immerse thyself, O Ra, in thy holy lake, wherein the lord of the gods immersed himself, whereunto the souls of the dead approach not; this is what thou thyself hast commanded, O KHUTI.' Their food consisteth of bread, their drink is made of the red barley, and their vessels of drink are filled with wine. There is lamentation among them when they hear their doors close upon them. Their food is given unto them as lord[s] of their sceptres round about this lake."

The paragraph which refers to the uraei reads:-- "These are they who have their speech after Ra cometh to them, and souls are turned backwards, and shadows are destroyed at the hearing of the words (or, voices) of the uraei. Unto them saith Ra:--'That which belongeth to you to do, O ye URAEI who are in this lake, is to guard your flames and your fires so that ye may hurl them against my (literally, his) enemies, and your burning heat against those whose mouths are evil. Hail to you, O URAEL.' They say unto Ra:--'Come thou to us, stride thou over TANEN.'"

On the left of the path of the boat of the sun through the Fourth Division we see the god Osiris, in mummied form, and wearing on his head the crown of the South, standing on a serpent, and partially covered by the earth of a mountain; his head only is above the ground, and he stands in a naos with a vaulted dome. His name or title, KHENT AMENTI, is written by his side. Before the shrine is a Flame-goddess in the form of a uraeus, and behind her are twelve gods, who stand in front of HERU-UR (or, Horus the Aged), the Haroeris of the later Greek writers. Heru-ur is in the form of a hawk-headed man, who leans on a staff. Behind the shrine which contains Osiris stand twelve gods, who are described as "the gods who are behind the shrine," Behind, or by the side of these, are four pits or hollows in the ground, by the side of each of which stands a god, with his body bent forward in adoration before a bearded god, who holds the symbol of life in the right hand and a sceptre in the left. The four gods are called "Masters of their pits," and their lord is called the "Master of Earths."

The text referring to Horus reads:-- "Horus worketh on behalf of his father Osiris, he performeth magical ceremonies for him, and restoreth to him the crown, saying, 'My heart goeth out to thee, O my father, thou who art avenged on those who would work against thee, and in all the matters which concern thee thou art guided by magical ceremonies. Thou hast the mastery, O Osiris, thou hast the sovereignty, O KHENTI AMENTI, thou hast whatsoever is thine as Governor of the Tuat, O thou whose forms (or, attributes) are exalted in the hidden place the beatified spirits hold thee in fear, and the dead are terrified at thee. Thy crown hath been restored unto thee, and I, thy son Horus, have reckoned thy weakness there.'"

The twelve gods who are in front of the shrine of Khenti Amenti say:-- "Let Him of the Tuat be exalted! Let Khenti Amenti be adored! Thy son Horus hath restored to thee thy crown, he hath protected thee by means of magical ceremonies, he hath crushed for thee thine enemies, he hath brought to thee vigour for thy arms, O Osiris, Khenti Amenti."

In reply to this address of the twelve gods Khenti Amenti saith unto his son Horus:-- "Come to me, O my son Horus, and avenge me on those who work against me, and cast them to him that is over the things which destroy, [for] it is he who guardeth the pits of destruction."

Then saith Horus unto those gods who are behind the shrine:-- "Make inquisition for me, O gods who are in the following of Khenti Amenti, stand ye up, and withdraw ye not yourselves, and be ye masters over yourselves, and come, and live delicately on the bread of HU, and drink ye of the ale of Maat, and live ye upon that whereon my father liveth there. That which belongeth to you in the hidden place is to be behind the shrine, according to the commandment of Ra. I call unto you, and behold, it is for you to do what it is your duty [to do].' Their meat consisteth of cakes of bread, and their ale is of the tchesert drink, and their libations are [made with] cool water. Their food is given unto them by the guardian of the things which are in the shrine. And Horus saith unto these gods:--'Smite ye the enemies of my father, and hurl ye them down into your pits because of that deadly evil which they have done against the Great One, which found him that begot me. That which belongeth to you to do in the Tuat is to guard the pits of fire according as Ra hath commanded, and I set this before you so that, behold, ye may do according to what belongeth to you to do.' This god standeth over (or, by) the pits."

BOOK OF GATES CHAPTER 6.
THE GATE OF TEKA-HRA.
THE FIFTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT.

THE boat of the sun having passed through the Fourth Division of the Tuat arrives at the gateway which leads to the FIFTH DIVISION. This gateway is similar to that which guards the Fourth Division, and is guarded by nine gods, who are described as the "Fourth company;" at the entrance to the corridor and at its exit stands a jackal-headed god, the former being called AAU, and the latter TEKMI, each is said to "extend his arms and hands to Ra." The corridor is swept by flames of fire, as before. The gateway is called ARIT, and the text says, "This great god cometh to this gateway, and entereth in through it, and the gods who are therein acclaim him," The nine gods say to Ra, "RA-HERU-KHUTI unfoldeth our doors, and openeth our gateways. Hail, Ra, come thou to us, O great god, lord of hidden nature." The monster serpent which stands on his tail and guards the gateway is called TEKA-HRA, and the two lines of text which refer to his admission of Ra read:--"He who is over this door openeth to Ra. SA saith to TEKA-HRA:--'Open thy gate to Ra, unfold thy doors to KHUTI, that he may send light into the thick darkness, and may make his radiance illumine the hidden habitation.' This door is shut after the great god hath passed through it, and there is lamentation to those who are in this gateway when they hear this door close upon them."

In the middle of this Division we see the boat of Ra being towed on its way by four gods of the Tuat; the god is in the same form as before, and stands in a shrine enveloped by MEHEN. SA stands in the bows, and HEKA at the stern. In front of those who tow the boat are nine shrouded gods, with projecting elbows; each of these holds in his hands a part of the body of a long, slender serpent, and the group is called "those who hold ENNUTCHI." In front of these are twelve bearded beings, who are advancing towards a god, who is styled [the god] "of his angle;" the twelve gods are described as BAIU RETH-AMMU-TUAT, i.e., "the souls of the men who are in the Tuat," The texts read:-- "The gods of the Tuat draw along this great god, and he journeyeth through the hidden place. Ra saith:-- 'Draw ye me along, O ye gods of the Tuat, and sing praises unto me, O ye who are at the head of the stars; let your cords be strong (or, vigorous), and draw ye me along by means of them, and let your hands and arms be steady, let there be speed in your legs, let there be strong intent in our souls, and let your hearts be glad. Open ye a prosperous way into the chambers (qerti) of hidden things.'"

The text relating to the bearers of the serpent reads:-- "Those who are in this scene carry this serpent. Ra striketh them and advanceth towards them to make himself to rest in [the gateway called] NEBT-AHAU. This serpent travelleth as far as it (i.e., this (gateway), but he passeth not beyond it. Ra saith unto them:--'Strike ye the serpent ENNUTCHI there, give him no way whereby to escape, so that I may pass by you. Hide your arms, destroy that which you guard, protect that which cometh into being from my forms, and tie ye up (or, fetter) that which cometh into being from my strength.' Their food consisteth of the hearing of the word of this god, and offerings are made to them from the hearing of the word of Ra in the Tuat."

"Unto those who have spoken what is right and true upon earth, and who have magnified the forms of the god, Ra saith:--'Praises shall be sung to your souls, and there shall be breath to your nostrils, and there shall be to you joints in SEKHET-ARU. That which shall be indeed yours is what belongeth to the MAATI GODS. The habitations which shall

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be yours shall be (or, are) at the corner where live those who are with me who weigh words for them.' Their food is of bread-cakes, and their drink of tchesert drink, and their libations are of cool water. Offerings are made unto them upon earth as to the god HETEPI, according to what should be offered unto them."

Ra saith unto this god:--"Let him that is over his Corner (HERI-QENBET-F) cry out to those souls who are right, and true, and divine, and make them to sit at peace in their habitations at the Corner of those who are with myself."

On the right hand of the path of Ra in the Fifth Division of the Tuat are:-- 1. Twelve male beings bowing in adoration; they are described as "those who make adorations in the Tuat." 2. Twelve male beings who bear in their hands a cord for measuring plots of ground and estates; these are called "Holders of the cord in the Tuat." Four gods, standing upright, each holding the symbol of life in his right hand, and a sceptre in the left.

The passage in the text which refers to the adorers reads:-- "These are they who make songs to Ra in Amentet and exalt Heru-khuti. These are they who knew Ra upon earth, and who made offerings unto him. Their offerings are in their place, and their glory is in the holy place of Ament. They say unto Ra:--'Come thou, O Ra, progress through the Tuat. Praise be to thee! Enter thou among the holy places with the serpent Mehen.' Ra saith unto them:--'There are offerings for you, O ye who made offerings. I am content with what ye did for me, both when I used to shine in the eastern part of heaven, and when I was sinking to rest in the chamber of my Eye.' Their food is of the bread-cakes of Ra, and their drink is of his tcheser drink, and their libations are made of cool water, and offerings are made unto them on the earth in return for the praisings which they make unto Ra in Ament."

The passage in the text which refers to the holders of the measuring cord reads:-- "These are they who hold the measuring cord in Ament, and they go over therewith the fields of the KHU (i.e., the beatified spirits). Ra saith to them:--'Take ye the cord, draw it tight, and mark out the limit (or, passage) of the fields of Amentet, the KHU whereof are in your abodes, and the gods whereof are on your thrones.' The KHU of NETERTI are in the Field of Peace, and each KHU hath been judged by him that is in the cord. Righteousness is to those who are (i.e., who exist), and unrighteousness to those who are not. Ra saith unto them:--'What is right is the cord in Ament, and Ra is content with the stretching (or, drawing) of the same. Your possessions are yours, O ye gods, your homesteads are yours, O ye KHU. Behold ye, Ra maketh (or, worketh) your fields, and he commandeth on your behalf that there may be sand with you."

"Hail, journey on, O KHUTI, for verily the gods are content with that which they possess, and the KHU are content with their homesteads. Their food cometh from Sekhet-Aru, and their offerings from that which springeth up therein. Offerings are made unto them upon earth from the estate of Sekhet-Aru."

To the four bearded gods Ra saith:--"Holy are ye, O HENBI gods, ye overseers of the cords in Amentet. O stablish ye fields and give them to the gods and to the KHU (i.e., spirits) after they have been measured in Sekhet-Aaru. Let them give fields and sand to the gods and to the souls who are in the Tuat. Their food shall be from Sekhet-Aaru, and their offerings from the things which spring forth therein."

On the left of the path of the boat of Ra are:--1. A hawk-headed god, leaning upon a staff; he is called Horus. 2. Four groups, each group containing four men. The first are RETH, the second are AAMU, the third axe NEHESU, and the fourth are THEMEHU. The RETH are Egyptians, the AAMU are dwellers in the deserts to the east and north-east of Egypt, the NEHESU are the black races and NEGROES, and the THEMEHU are the fair-skinned Libyans. 3. Twelve bearded beings, each of whom grasps with both hands the body of a long serpent; these are called the "Holders of the period of time in Ament." 4. Eight bearded gods, who are called the "Sovereign chiefs of the Tuat." The hieroglyphic text which relates to these groups reads:-- The passage which refers to the four groups, each containing four men, reads:-- Horus saith unto the creatures of Ra who dwell in the Black Land (Qemt, i.e., Egypt) and in the Red Land (i.e., the deserts which lie on each side of the Black Land formed of the mud of the Nile):-- "Magical protection be unto you, O ye creatures of Ra, who have come into being from the Great One who is at the head of heaven! Let there be breath to your nostrils, and let your linen swathings be unloosed! Ye are the tears 1 of the eye of my splendour in your name of RETH (i.e., men). Mighty of issue (AA-MU) ye have come into being in your name of AAMU; Sekhet hath created them, and it is she who delivereth (or, avengeth) their souls. I masturbated to produce you, and I was content with the hundreds of thousands [of beings] who came forth from me in your name of NEHESU (i.e., Negroes); Horus made them to come into being, and it is he who avengeth their souls. I sought out mine Eye, and ye came into being in your name of THEMEHU; Sekhet hath created them, and she avengeth their souls."

The passage which refers to the gods who make stable the period of life (KHERU-AHAU-EM-AMENT) reads:-- Those who make firm (or, permanent) the duration of life stablish the days of the souls [in] Amenti and possess the word (or, command) of the place of destruction. Ra saith unto them:-- "Inasmuch as ye are the gods who dwell in the Tuat, and who have possession of the serpent METERUI, by means of whom ye mete out the duration of life of the souls who are in Amenti who are condemned to destruction, destroy ye the souls of the enemies according to the place of destruction which ye are commanded to appoint, and let them not see the hidden place."

The passage in the text which refers to the divine sovereign chiefs reads:-- "[Here are] the divine sovereign chiefs who shall destroy the enemies. They shall have their offerings by means of the word [which becometh] Maat; they shall have their oblations upon earth by means of the word which becometh Maat, and it is they who destroy and who pass the edict concerning (literally, write) the duration of the, life of the souls who dwell in Amenti. The destruction which is yours shall be [directed] against the enemies, and the power to write which ye possess shall be for the place of destruction. I have come, even I the great one Horus, that I may make a reckoning with my body, and that I may shoot forth evils against my enemies. Their food is bread, and their drink is the tchesert wine, and they have cool water wherewith to refresh (or, bathe) themselves. [Offerings are made to them upon earth. One doth not enter into the place of destruction.]

BOOK OF GATES CHAPTER 7.
THE JUDGEMENT HALL OF OSIRIS.
THE SIXTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT.

THE boat of Ra having passed through the Fifth Division of the Tuat arrives at the gateway which leads to the SIXTH DIVISION, or, as the text says:

"This god cometh forth to this pylon, and he passeth in through it, and those gods who are in the secret place acclaim him." The gateway is guarded by twelve bearded mummy forms, who are described as the "gods and goddesses who are in this pylon," and it is called NEBT-AHA. The gate which admits to the Sixth Division resembles those already described; at the entrance to the corridor and at its exit stands a bearded mummied form, the former being called MAA-AB, and the latter SHETA-AB. These names mean "Right (or, true) of heart" and Hidden of heart" respectively, and each is said to extend his hands and arms to Ra. The corridor is swept by flames. The gods who acclaim the god say, "Come thou to us, O thou who art at the head of the horizon, O great god, who dost open the hidden place. Open thou the holy doors, and unfold the portals of the hidden place."

Between the gate which leads into the SIXTH DIVISION and the Division itself we find inserted a remarkable scene, which may be thus described:-- In the upper part, from one side to another, a line is drawn, which is intended to represent the roof of the shrine or canopy in which the god is seated, and on it rests a row of kakheru, i.e., spear-head ornaments. From the inside of the roof hang, upside down, four heads of some kind of horned animal. These are called Hahaiu, and are supposed to be heads of gazelle 1 or oxen. In the space between the spear-head ornaments and the side of the Tuat is written and the transliteration of these characters appears to be Ser her Tuat sath then; the meaning of the first three words is tolerably clear, i.e., "Osiris, governor of the Tuat," but the signification of the last signs is doubtful. M. Lefébure translates the inscription, "Osiris, master of Hades, Earth, and Tanen." Osiris, who wears the double crown of the South and North, and holds in his right hand the symbol of "life," and in his left a sceptre, is seated on a chair of state, which is set on the top of a platform with nine steps. On each stop stands a god, and the nine gods are described as the "company which is with SAR, i.e., Osiris." On the topmost step is a Balance, in which the actions of the deceased are weighed; the beam of the Balance is supported either by the deceased, or by a stand which is made in the form of a bearded mummy. One pan of the Balance contains some rectangular object, and the other a figure of the bird which is symbolic of evil and wickedness. Behind the Balance is a boat, which is sailing away from the presence of Osiris; in it is a pig being driven along by a dog-headed ape which flourishes a stick. In the top left-hand corner is a figure of Anubis, jackal-headed, and under the floor of the platform on which Osiris is seated are figures of the enemy of SAR, or Osiris. From the variant of this scene which is found on the sarcophagus of Tchehra at Paris, as well as from the sarcophagus of Seti I., we may see that the pig in the boat is called AM-A, i.e., "Eater of the Arm," and the boat is piloted by a second ape which stands in the bows. On the Paris monument we see a man wielding a hatchet in a threatening manner and standing near the Scales, probably with the view of destroying the deceased if the judgment of Osiris prove adverse to him.

This inscription is in the so-called "enigmatic" writing, I a fact which was first noticed by Champollion, but a transcript of it exists on the sarcophagus of Tchehra in characters which have the ordinary values, and this reads as follows:--

"His enemies are under his feet, the gods and the spirits are before him; he is the enemy of the dead (i.e., the damned) among the beings of the Tuat, Osiris putteth under restraint his enemies, he destroyeth them, and he performeth the slaughter of them."

The text which refers to Anubis Mr. Goodwin transcribed:-- "Hail, O ye who make to be maat the word of your little one, may Thoth weigh the words, may he make to eat his father."

Immediately over the boat is the short inscription which Goodwin renders by, "When this god entereth, he (i.e., the Ape) riseth and putteth under restraint AM-A (i.e., the Eater of the Arm)."

Behind the pair of scales is the legend 1 which Mr. Goodwin renders, "The balance-bearer does homage; the blessed spirits in Amenti follow after him; the morning, star disperses the thick darkness; there is good will above, justice below. The god reposes himself, he gives bread to the blessed, who throng, towards him." The translation by M. Lefébure reads, "The bearer of the hatchet and the bearer of the scales protect the inhabitant of Amenti, who takes his repose in Hades, and traverses the darkness and the shadows. Happiness is above, and justice below. The god reposes and sheds light produced by truth which he has produced."

The upper part of the space between the roof and the platform on which Osiris sits is occupied by two short inscriptions, which are full of difficulty.

The meaning of these texts has puzzled several workers, and even the order in which the characters are to be read has given rise to differences of opinion. One of the chief difficulties in the matter is caused by the way in which the two legends are written on the sarcophagus of Seti I. Looking at the hieroglyphics as they stand, they seem to form one continuous inscription, but, if we examine the scene as it appears in the tomb of Rameses II., we see that we must divide them as above. Mr. Goodwin made an attempt to transcribe and translate a part of the texts, but as he considered them to form only one inscription we cannot accept his rendering. M. Lefébure has made translations of both texts, and they read:--

1. "They, they hide those which are in the state of the elect. They the country [belonging to them, is Ameh in the land. Behold, these are they whose heads issue. What a mystery is their appearance, [the appearance] of your images!"

2. "The examination of the words takes place, and he strikes down wickedness, he who has a just heart, he who bears the words in the scales, in the divine place of the examination of the mystery of mysteries of the spirits. The god who rises has made his infernal [companions] all."

For purposes of comparison, the versions of the texts from the tomb of Rameses VI., as given by Champollion (Monuments, pl. 252) are given. It will be noted that a part of the line immediately over the head of Osiris, given in different places in the latter scene, is immediately in front of the double crown of Osiris, and is immediately in front of the sceptre of the god.

BOOK OF GATES CHAPTER 8.
THE GATE OF SET-EM-MAAT-F.
THE SIXTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT--continued.

THE pylon which gives access to the SIXTH DIVISION of the Tuat has already been described. The monster serpent which stands on his tail and guards the gateway is called SET-EM-MAAT-F, and the two lines of text which refer to his admission of Ra read:--

"He who is over this door openeth to Ra. SA saith to SET-EM-MAAT-F:--'Open thy gate to Ra, unfold thy doors to KHUTI, that he may send light into the thick darkness, and may make his radiance illumine the hidden habitation.' This door is shut after this great god hath passed through it, and there is lamentation to those who are in this gateway when they hear this door close upon them."

The scenes and texts which illustrate the Sixth Division of the Tuat cannot be obtained in a complete state from the sarcophagus of Seti I., and recourse must therefore be had to other documents. In the following pages, however, the fragments of the texts and scenes from the sarcophagus are first given, and these are followed by the complete texts as they are found in the tomb of Rameses VI., as published by Monsieur E. Lefébure in the third volume of the Mémoires of the French Archæological Mission at Cairo.

The fragmentary texts and scenes from the sarcophagus of Seti I. may be thus described:--

In the middle register are:--

1. Two of the four gods of the Tuat whose duty it is to tow along the boat of the Sun through this Division.

2. The god TEM, in the form of an aged man, with bent shoulders, and leaning on a staff.

3. The jackal-headed standard called Ra, to which are tied two "enemies," who probably represent the damned.

4. The two UTCHATS, which appear to be keeping watch on the "enemies."

5. The jackal-headed standard called TEM, with two "enemies" tied to it.

6. A mummied form, with projecting elbows, called AFAT.

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7. The jackal-headed standard called KHEPER, with two "enemies" tied to it.

8. A mummied form, with projecting elbows, called, or MET 1.

9. The jackal-headed standard called SHU, with two "enemies" tied to it.

10. A mummied form, with projecting elbows, called SENT.

11. The jackal-headed standard called SEB, with two "enemies" tied to it.

12. A mummied form, with projecting elbows, called AQA-SA.

13. The jackal-headed standard called SAR, (Osiris). 1

14. A mummied form, with projecting elbows, called AA-KHER (?) 1.

15. The jackal-headed standard called HERU.

16. A god holding a sceptre called SHEF-HRA.

The text which refers to the above-mentioned gods reads:--"This great god is towed along by the gods in the Tuat, and those who tow Ra along say, 'Rise up, O disk, ... god, verily get thee forth to the standards of Seb.' Tem saith unto the standards:--'Keep ward over the enemies, and bind ye fast those who shall be smitten. O ye gods who are behind the standards, and who are in the following of Seb, I give ye the power to bind fast the enemies and to keep ward over the wicked. Let them not go forth from under your hands, let them not slip through your fingers. O enemies, ye are reckoned for slaughter according to the decree which was given to you by him that with his body, and created the Tuat by his members. He hath passed the decree for you to be punished, and he taketh count of you and what ye do . . . . . '"

The upper register is much mutilated on the cover of the sarcophagus of Seti I.; on it we see:--

1. Five upright male figures, each of whom holds a large loaf of bread, with both hands on his head; when the scene was complete these figures were twelve in number, as we learn from the variants published by Champollion, 1and they are called HETEPTI-KHEPERU.

2. Six upright male figures, each of whom holds the feather of Maat with both hands on his head; when the scene was complete these figures were twelve in number, and they are called AUTU-MAAMU-KHERU-MAAT.

The text which remains reads:-- "These are they who have offered up incense to the gods, and whose doubles have been washed, maat, they have been reckoned up and they are maat in the presence of the great god, who destroyeth iniquities. Osiris saith unto them:--'Ye are maat of maat. Be ye at peace because of what ye have done, O ye who are in the forms of those who are in my following, and-who dwell in the house of him whose souls are holy. Live ye on what ye live there, and have the mastery over the cool waters which are in your Lake . . . . .'"

A few years ago I purchased from a native at Luxor a fragment of the cover of the sarcophagus of Seti I.; this is now in the British Museum (No. 29,948), and it gives the following:--

1. Three male figures, each of which bears a loaf on his head.

2. The following fragmentary text: "Their bread cakes are ordered for "them by their gods; their kau are in their hands, and they enter into their abodes at the pylon which destroyeth its gods. The god SAR (Osiris) saith unto them:--'Your bread shall be to you from that which cometh forth from your mouths, O ye HETEPTI-KHEPERU. . . . . .'"

In the lower register are:--

1. Five male figures, who are occupied in tending very large ears of corn; when the scene was complete these figures were twelve in number, and they were called, "Those who work about the plants of grain in the fields of the Tuat."

2. A man holding a sickle; he is one of the seven "reapers," of which this section of the scene originally consisted.

The text which relates to those who tend the grain reads:--"They perform the works in connection with the grain, and they embrace the god of wheat (NEPRA) which is eaten. Their grain becometh glorious in the land through the light of Ra, when he appeareth, and sendeth forth heat, and maketh his way by them. The lord of joy of heart saith unto them:--'Let your grain be glorious, and let the young shoots of your grain germinate, and let your offerings be for Ra . . . . there . . . . Ra. Let NEPER germinate, and let SAR (Osiris) be the source of food of the gods in "the Tuat . . . . . AMENTI . . . . behold, in the fields of the Tuat.' They gather together their grain, and they say unto Ra:--'Let the fields of the Tuat be green with young plants. May Ra shine upon the members of SAR (Osiris). When thou dost shine the young plants come into being, O great god, thou creator of the grain.' Their offerings of food are of grain, and their drink offerings are of tcheser, and their libations are made with cool water. Offerings are made unto them on the earth of the grain of the fields of the Tuat."

Of the reapers it is said:-- "These are they who have their scythes, and who reap the grain in their fields. Ra saith to them:--'Take ye your scythes, and reap ye your grain, for it is granted to you . . . . . your habitations, and to join yourselves to me in the Circle of the Hidden Forms. Hail to you, O ye reapers!' Their food is of bread, and their drink is of tcheser, and their libations are made with cool water. Offerings are made unto them upon earth as being those who hold scythes in the fields of the Tuat."

The text which describes the middle register of the Sixth Division as it appears in the tomb of Rameses VI. reads: "This great god is being towed along by the gods of the Tuat, and those who tow Ra along say:--'Be exalted, O Aten (i.e., Disk), who art at the head of . . . . . the Light, the head . . . . Look ye at the abodes of the Tuat. Your eyes are to you, O gods, observe ye Ra, the Power in Akert. This great god decreeth your destinies. This great god cometh forth to the standards of Seb, which reckon up the enemies after the weighing of words in Amentet. Behold, Sa saith unto this god when he cometh forth to the standards of Seb . . . . . the head of Ra, the great god . . . . verily, get thee forth to the standards of Seb. Tem saith unto the standards:--'Keep ward over the enemies, and bind ye fast those who are to be smitten. O ye gods who are in the following of the standards, and who are in the following of Seb, I give ye power to bind fast the enemies, and to keep ward over the wicked (or, those who are to be smitten). Let them not come forth from under your hands, let them not slip through your fingers. O ye enemies, ye are doomed to slaughter, according to the decree of Ra concerning you. His person is the body of Akert, and he hath created the Tuat of his frame work. He hath issued the decree for you to be put into restraint, he hath ordered your doom which shall be wrought upon you in the great hall of Ra . . . . . the gods weep and lament, he setteth the gods to ward you, and the enemies and those who are to be smitten in the Tuat are condemned to these standards."'

In the upper register are twelve gods, each of whom stands upright, and has the feather of Maat on his head, and twelve gods, each of whom stands upright, and has a large loaf on his head. These gods are described as "MAATI gods bearing Maat," and the HETEPTIU gods bearing provisions. The text reads:-- "Offerings of incense to their gods, libations of cool water to their doubles, and fillings of the mouth . . . . . by his sustenance afterwards by their offerings of drink and their offerings of bread. Come forth to them their gods and their doubles. Their hands are to them, and they go to their cakes through the pylon of . . . . . and to its gods. SAR saith unto them:--'Your bread is to you, according to your utterances, and the peace cakes of Kheper, and loaves of bread. Ye shall have the mastery over your legs, and ye shall have satisfaction in your hearts, and your gods shall present unto you your khenfu cakes and unto your doubles their provisions, which consist of bread, and their drink, which shall be of tcheser ale, and their libations shall be of cool water, and offerings shall be made unto them upon earth as the lord[s] of offerings in Amentet. For they have done what was right whilst they were upon earth, and they have fought on behalf of their god, and they shall be called to the enjoyment of the land of the House of Life with maat. That which is theirs by right shall be allotted to them in the presence of the Great God, who doeth away iniquity.' Then shall Osiris say unto them:--'Maat be to you, O ye MAAT gods, and peace be unto you by reason of what ye have done in following after me, O dwellers in the House the soul of which is holy. Ye shall live your life upon that whereupon those who live there feed, and ye shall have dominion over the cool waters of your land. I have decreed for you that ye shall have your being in all of it with maat, and without sin (or, defects).' Their bread shall be maat cakes, their drink shall be of wine, and their libations shall be of cool water. And there shall be offered unto them upon earth the offerings which must be made from their land."

In the lower register are the figures of twelve men, each of whom tends a monster ear of corn, or a tree, under the superintendence of a god who leans on a staff, and a group of reapers, each holding a sickle.

The text, which is mutilated in places, reads: "They perform. their work in connection with the grain, and they embrace (i.e., cultivate) the divine grain (or, NEPRA), and the spirits feed upon their grain in the land of the god of light (KHU), who cometh forth and passeth by them, and NEB-AUT-AB, i.e., the Lord of joy of heart, saith unto them:--'Let your grain be glorious, and let your ears of wheat germinate, and let your offerings be for Ra. 'Your khenfu cakes are in the Tuat, your offerings are to you, the offerings which are, yours by maat are decreed for you. Herbs . . . . . among you. SAR germinate . . . . . and they say unto Ra:--'Let plants spring up in the Fields of the Tuat, and let Ra shine upon the members of SAR. When thou dost shine the young plants come into being, O great god, thou creator of the Egg.' Their food offerings are of grain, their drink is of tcheser ale, and their libations are made with cool water. Offerings are made unto them upon earth of the grain from the Fields of the Tuat."

Of the reapers it is said:-- "These are they who have their sickles and who reap the grain in their Field. Ra saith unto them:--'Take ye your sickles, and reap ye your grain, for it is granted unto you . . . . . your habitations, and to join yourselves to the Circle of the Hidden of Forms. Hail to you, O ye reapers!' Their food is of bread-cakes, and their drink is of tcheser ale, and their libations are made with cool water. Offerings are made unto them upon earth as being those who reap the grain in the Fields of the Tuat."

BOOK OF GATES CHAPTER 9.

THE GATE OF AKHA-EN-MAAT.

THE SEVENTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT.

THE boat of the Sun having passed through the Sixth Division of the Tuat arrives at the gateway which leads to the SEVENTH DIVISION. This gateway is similar to that which guards the Sixth Division, and is guarded by nine gods, who are described as the "Seventh Company;" at the entrance to the corridor, and at its exit, stands a bearded god, with arms hidden, the former being called SHEPI, and the latter HEQES, and each is said to extend his arms and hands to Ra. The corridor is swept by flames of fire as before. The gateway is called PESTIT, and the text says, "This great god cometh to this gateway, and entereth in through it, and the gods who are therein acclaim him."

Part of the text of the speech which the nine gods make to Ra is broken away, but what remains reads, "Open the secret places, open the holy pylons, and unfold the hidden portals." The monster serpent which stands on his tail and guards the gateway is called AKHA-EN-MAAT, and the two lines of text which refer to his admission of Ra read, "He who is over this door openeth to Ra. SA saith to AKHA-EN-MAAT:--'Open thy gate to Ra, unfold thy doors to KHUTI, that he may send light into the thick darkness and may make his radiance illumine the hidden habitation! This door is shut after the great god hath passed through it, and there is lamentation to those who are in this gateway when they hear this door close upon them." A portion of the text is mutilated, but it can be restored with certainty. 2

In the middle of this Division we see the boat of Ra being towed on its way by four gods of the Tuat; the god is in the same form as before, and stands in a shrine enveloped by MEHEN. SA stands in the bows and HEKA at the stern. The text relating to the god reads:-- "The gods of the Tuat tow along this great god, and they say unto Ra:--'Thou art towed along, O great god, lord of the hours, who dost work on behalf of those who are under the earth.' The gods have life in his attributes, and the spirits look upon his forms. And Ra saith unto them:--'There is magical protection to you, O ye who tow, and there is holiness to you, O ye who tow and bring me into the nethermost parts of the Tuat, tow ye me along until ye arrive at the chambers, and take ye your stand upon the hidden mountain of the horizon."

In front of the divine towers of the boat march:--

1. Twelve bearded gods, the AMENNU-AAIU-KHERU-SHETAU, whose hands and arms are bidden; they are described as "hidden of hands and arms and possessing hiddenness." The text relating to them reads:-- "These are they who possess the hiddenness (or, who hold the mystery) of this great god. Verily those who are in the Tuat see him, and the dead see him, who burn in Het-Benben (or, the temple of Ra), and they come forth to the place where is the body of this god. Ra saith unto them:--'Receive ye my forms, and embrace ye your hidden forms (or, mysteries). Ye shall be in Het-Benben, the place where my body is. The hiddenness which is in you is the hiddenness of the Tuat, and cover ye your arms therewith.' And they say unto Ra:--'Let thy soul be in heaven, at the head of the horizon, let thy shadow penetrate the hidden place, and let thy body be to the earth; as for the upper regions of the sky we ascribe Ra thereto . . . . . Fulfil thou thyself, and take thou thy place [with] thy body in the Tuat.' Their food consisteth of offerings of every kind whereby souls become content, and offerings are made unto them upon earth by reason of the sight of the light in the 'Tuat."

2. Eight bearded gods, the NETERU-HETI, who stand upright, with their hands hanging by their sides, and are described as "the gods of the temples," and eight gods, the SENNU, who stand upright, with their arms held straight together in front of them, at a little distance from their bodies. The text which refers to them reads:-- "These are they who are outside Het-Benben, and they see Ra with their eyes, and they enter into his secret (or, hidden) images that which is theirs is apportioned, and the SENNU gods bring it. And Ra saith unto them:--'My offerings (or, provisions) are from your offerings, and my nourishment is from your nourishment which is to you, O ye who are in my secret places. I protect my secret things which are in Het-Benben. Hail to you! Your souls live, and their offerings are the offerings of KHUTI.' TUATI saith unto them:--'O ye gods who dwell in the Tuat, who are in the divine [places] of the governor of Ament, to whom what is their due is given upon their ground, who lie down upon their own lands, your own flesh is to you, ye have gathered together your bones, ye have knit together your members, and ye have collected your flesh. There are, moreover, sweet winds to your nostrils, ye have girded on your apparel, and ye have put on your wigs.'

In the upper register are:-- 1. Twelve gods, the KHERU-METAU[H], each of whom holds a stake or weapon, forked at one end; they are described as "those who hold the metau weapons."

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The text relating to these reads:-- "Ra saith unto them:--'Receive ye your metauh weapons, and take ye them with you. Hail to you, [go against] the serpent fiend MAMU; bail to you, make ye gashes in him when the heads appear from out of him, and turn ye him backwards.' They say unto Ra:--'Our metauh weapons in our hands are for Ra [and against] MAMU, and we will make gashes in the great and evil WORM. O Ra, do away the heads when they come forth from the windings of the serpent KHETI These are the gods who are in the Boat of Ra, and they repulse Apep in the sky, and they travel through the Tuat. It is their duty to turn back Apep on behalf of Ra in Amentet and the places of the Tuat. And this god allotteth to them their provisions of bread, and their beer is the tchesert drink, and their libations are of cool water, and offerings are made to them upon earth because they repulse the Enemy of Ra in Amentet."

2. The gods KHERU-AMU-PERERU-TEPU-EM-QEBU-F, and the monster serpent SEBA-APEP, the body of which is held up above the ground by twelve bearded gods, who are described as "those who have food when the heads appear from his folds." Twelve human heads grow out from his body, the first appearing from his head, and the other eleven from his back. The text which relates to them reads:-- "These are they who are the adversaries of his two-fold evil, and who overthrow the enemies of Ra, and it is their duty to seize the SEBA-Fiend when he maketh heads to come forth from him. Ra saith to them:--'Turn ye back SEBA, make ye to go backwards APEP when the heads appear from out of him, and let him perish.' Ra ordereth for him his destruction. 'O heads, ye shall be eaten, ye shall be eaten, ye shall be consumed, when ye come forth from him.' Ra ordereth for them when they come forth that they shall be consumed (or, swallowed up) in their folds when he journeyeth to them, and that the heads shall retreat within their folds. The WORM HEFAU shall be without eyes, and he shall be without his nose, and he shall be without his ears, and he shall exist upon his roarings, and he shall live upon that which he himself uttereth. The food of these gods consisteth of the offerings which are made to them upon earth."

3. An upright, bearded mummied form called QAN. To the neck of this figure are attached two ropes, which are twisted together symmetrically, and are grasped by twelve bearded men with both hands. Each god stands within a loop formed by the two ropes, and has a star before him. The gods are described as "those who hold the rope which cometh forth . . . . . ."

The text reads:-- "The Enemy of Ra cometh forth from the Tuat. Offerings shall be made unto the gods of that whereby I exist under the trees. Seize ye the rope, and tie ye therewith the mouth of AQEN. Your hours come forth, and there is benefit to you therein. Rest ye upon your throne[s], and let the rope enter into the mouth of the god AQEN when he cometh to the place where the hours are born; Ra crieth out, and it resteth in its place, and it maketh an end of ANEQ. They say unto Ra:--The god NAQ is tied up with the rope, the hours of the gods are to thee, O Ra, with light. Rest thou and thy hidden body . . . . .. Their provisions of loaves of bread are to them, their beer is tchesert, and their libations are of cool water, and offerings are made to them upon earth."

In the lower register are:--

1. A god, standing, and leaning upon a long staff; his name is TUATI.

2. The serpent NEHEP, the long body of which is made to serve as biers for twelve gods in mummied form; the serpent's body is provided with twenty-four legs of lions, and a mummied god rests over each pair of them. These gods are described as "those who are in the body of Osiris asleep," and "those who are in inactivity,"

3. Four gods, each with his arms stretched straight together before him at an acute angle with his body. The legend reads, khast-ta-rut.

4. Four gods.

5. A serpent within a circle filled with water.

6. A god in mummied form.

The text relating to these reads:

"The god Tuati saith unto them:--'Hail, O ye gods who are over the Tuat, ye gods who dwell in this place of the governor of Ament, who abide permanently on your places, and who lie down upon your couches, lift up the flesh of your bodies, and gather together your bones, and gird up your members, and bring ye into one place your flesh! There is sweet (or, fresh) air for your nostrils. Loose and take off your funeral swathings, untie and remove your wigs, unclose your eyes and look ye at the light therewith, rise ye up from out of your inert and helpless state, and take possession yourselves of your fields in Sekhet-nebt-hetepu (i.e., Field, lord of offerings). There are fields for you in this Field, and the waters thereof are for you. Let your offering be there, and fields from Nebt-hetepu.' Their libations shall be of water. It is the serpent NEHEP who giveth their bodies and their souls, and they journey on to SEKHET-AARU to have dominion over their libations, and to walk over the earth. They count up their flesh, their food is of bread-cakes, and their drink is of tchesert ale, and their libations are of water. Offerings are made unto them upon earth as unto the god SAH, who resteth upon his ground."

"These are they who are in the circuit of this pool. There is a serpent living in this pool, and the water of the pool is of fire, and the gods of the earth and the souls of the earth cannot descend thereto by reason of the flames of fire of this serpent. This great god who is the governor of the Tuat liveth in the water of this pool."

And Ra, saith unto them:--"Hail to you, O ye gods who guard this holy pool, give ye yourselves to him that is the Governor of Aukert. The water of this pool is Osiris, and this water is KHENTI-TUAT. This flame consumeth and destroyeth the souls which dare to approach Osiris, and the awe of this pool cannot be done away, or made an end of, or overcome. As for the gods who keep ward over its waters, their food is bread, and their drink is tchesert ale, and their libations are of water. Offerings are made unto them upon earth as unto TERI in Amentet, lord of (offerings. There are fields for you in this Field, and the waters thereof are for you. Let your offerings be there [and] fields from Nebt-hetepu. Their libations shall be of water. It is the serpent NEHEP who giveth their bodies and their souls, and they journey into SEKHET-AARU to have dominion over their libations, and to walk on the earth. They count up their limbs, their food is of bread-cakes, and their drink is of tchesert ale, and their libations are of water. Offerings are made unto them upon earth as unto SAH, who resteth upon his ground.

"These are they who are in the circuit of this pool. There is a serpent living . . . . . ."

BOOK OF GATES CHAPTER 10.

THE GATE OF SET-HRA.

THE EIGHTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT.

HAVING passed through the Seventh Division of the Tuat, the boat of the Sun arrives at the gateway called BEKHKHI, which leads to the EIGHTH O DIVISION, or, as the opening text reads:

This great god cometh forth to this gate, and entereth through it, and the gods who are therein acclaim this great god." The gateway is like that through which the god passed into the previous Division, and its outwork is guarded by nine gods in the form of mummies, who are described as the PAUT, i.e., the company of the nine gods.

At the entrance to the gate proper stands a bearded, mummied form, with his hands folded on his breast, called BENEN, and at its exit stands a similar form called HEPTTI, each of these is said to "extend his arms and hands to Ra." The corridor is swept by flames of fire, which proceed from the mouths of two uraei, as before. The company of the gods who guard the outwork address Ra, and say, "Come thou to us, O thou who art at the head of the horizon, O thou great god who openest hidden places, open for thyself the holy pylons, and unfold the doors thereof." The monster serpent, which stands on his tail and guards the door, is called SET-HRA, and the two lines of text which refer to his admission of Ra read, "He who is over this door openeth to Ra. SA saith unto SET-HRA:--Open thy gate to Ra, unfold thy portal to KHUTI, So that he may illumine the thick darkness, and may send light into the hidden abode. This gate closeth after the great god hath passed through it, and the souls who are on the other side of it wail when they hear the door closing upon them."

In the middle of the Division we see the boat of Ra being towed on its way by four gods of the Tuat, the god is in the same form as before, and SA stands on the look-out, and Heka obeys his instructions as to the steering. At the head of the four gods who tow the boat stands an aged god, who leans on a long staff, and is called "He who dwelleth in Nu." Immediately in front of the divine procession is a long tank, wherein we see four groups, each containing four beings, who are represented in the act of performing various evolutions in the water. These are called HERPIU, AKIU, NUBIU, and KHEPAU, which names may be translated "Bathers, Floaters, Swimmers, and Divers."

The first section of this text reads:-- This great god is towed along by gods of the Tuat, and behold, those who tow Ra along say, "Let there be praise in heaven to the soul of Ra, and let there be praise on earth to his body, for heaven is made young by means of his soul, and earth is made young by means of his body. Hail! We open for thee the hidden place, and we make straight for thee the roads of Akert. Be thou at peace, O Ra, with thy hidden things, O thou who art praised by thy secret things in thy forms (or, attributes). Hail! We tow thee along, O Ra, we guide thee, O thou who art at the head of heaven, and thou comest forth to those who are immersed in the waters, and thou shalt make thy way over them."

The passage which refers to the aged god reads:-- "He (literally, those) who is in Nu saith to those who are immersed in the water, and to those who are swimming in the pools of water, 'Look ye at Ra, who journeyeth in his boat, for he is Great of Mystery. It is he who ordereth the destinies (or, affairs) of the gods, it is he who performeth (or, maketh) the plans of the Khu (i.e., the spirits). Hail! Rise up, O ye beings of time, pay ye heed to Ra, for it is he who ordereth your destinies.'"

The speech of Ra reads:-- "Put forth your heads, O ye who are immersed in the water, thrust out your arms, O ye who are under the waters, stretch out your legs, O ye who swim, let there be breath to your nostrils, O ye who are deep in the waters. Ye shall have dominion over your waters, ye shall be at peace in your tanks of cool waters, ye shall pass through the waters of Nu, and ye shall make a way through your cisterns. Your souls are upon earth, and they shall be satisfied with their means of subsistence, and they shall not suffer destruction. Their food shall consist of the offerings of the earth, and meat and drink shall be given unto them upon earth, even as to him that hath obtained dominion over his offerings upon earth, and whose soul is not upon the earth. Their food shall consist of bread, and their drink shall be tchesert wine, and their cisterns shall be full of cool water, and there shall be offered unto them upon earth of that which this lake produceth."

In the upper register are the following:--

1. Twelve bearded gods, who stand with their arms hanging by their sides, and are described as the "divine sovereign chiefs who give the bread which hath been allotted and green herbs to the souls who are in the Lake of SERSER (i.e., blazing fire),"

2. Nine bearded, human-headed and human-handed hawks, which stand with their hands raised in adoration; before each is a loaf of bread, and a few green herbs. These are described as the "souls who are in the Lake of Serser."

3. A god, who holds a sceptre in his right hand, and in his left.

The portion of the text which refers to the twelve sovereign chiefs reads:-- "These are they who make souls to have a right to the green herbs in the Lake of Serser. Ra saith unto them:--'Hail, ye divine sovereign princes of the gods, and ye chiefs of the Lake of Serser, who place souls over their green herbs, let them have dominion themselves over their bread; give ye your bread which is appointed, and bring ye your green herbs to the souls who have been ordered to exist in the Lake of Serser.' They say unto Ra:--'The bread appointed hath been and the green herbs have been brought to the divine souls whom thou hast ordered to exist in the Lake of Serser. Hail! Verily, the way is fair; for KHENTI-AMENTI praiseth thee, and those who dwell in TA-THENEN praise thee.' Their food is of bread-cakes, and their beer is the tchesert beer, and their libations are of cool water; and offerings are made unto them upon earth by those who are with TUI by the divine sovereign princes."

The passage which refers to the souls in the Lake of Serser reads:-- "These are they who are in the Land of Serser; 'they have received their bread, and they have gained the mastery over this Lake, and they praise this great god. Ra saith unto them:-- 'Eat ye your green herbs, and satisfy ye yourselves with your cakes; let there be fulness to your bellies, and satisfaction to your hearts. Your green herbs are of the Lake of Serser, the Lake which may not be approached. Praise ye me, glorify ye me, for I am the Great One of terror of the Tuat.' They say unto Ra:--'Hail to thee, O thou Great One of the SEKHEMU (i.e., Powers)! Praise is thine, and majesty is thine. The Tuat is thine, and is subservient to thy will; it is a hidden place made by thee for those who are in its Circles. The height of Heaven is thine, and is subservient to thy will; it is a secret place made by thee for those who belong thereto. The Earth is for thy dead Body, and the Sky is for thy Soul. O Ra, be thou at peace (or, be content) with that which thou hast made to come into being.' Their food consisteth of bread-cakes, their green herbs are the plants of the spring, and the waters wherein they refresh themselves are cool

Offerings are made unto them upon the earth as being the product of this Lake of Serser."

In the lower register are:--

1. Horus [the Aged], in the form of a bearded man, leaning upon a staff.

2. Twelve bearded beings, who are described as the "burnt enemies of Osiris." The first four have their arms tied behind their back in such a way that the right hand projects at the left side, and the left hand at the right side. The second four have their hands tied together at the elbows, and the upper parts of the arms are at right angles to their shoulders. The third four have their arms tied together at the elbows, and their elbows are on a lower level than their shoulders.

3. A monster speckled serpent, which lies in undulations immediately in front of the enemies of Osiris, and belches fire into the face of their leader; the name of this serpent is KHETI, In each undulation stands a bearded god in mummied form, and the hieroglyphics written above describe them as "the gods who are above KHETI,"

The text reads:-- "This scene representeth what Horus doeth for his father Osiris. The enemies c who are in this scene have their calamities ordered for them by Horus, who saith unto them:--Let there be fetters on your arms, O enemies of my father, let your arms be tied up towards your heads, O ye who have no power, ye shall be fettered with your arms behind you, O ye who are hostile to Ra. Ye shall be backed in pieces, ye

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shall nevermore have your being, your souls shall be destroyed, and none of you shall live because of what ye have done to my father Osiris; ye have put his mysteries behind your backs, and ye have dragged out the statue of the god from the secret place. The word of my father Osiris is maat against you, and my word is maat against you, O ye who have desecrated (literally, laid bare) the hidden things which concern the rest (or, resting-place) of the Great One who begot me in the Tuat. O ye shall cease to exist, ye shall come to an end.'"

"Horus saith:--'O my serpent KHET, thou Mighty Fire, from whose mouth cometh forth this flame which is in my Eye, whose undulations are guarded by my children, open thy mouth, distend thy jaws, and belch forth thy fires against the enemies of my father, burn thou up their bodies, consume their souls by the fire which issueth from thy mouth, and by the flames which are in thy body. My divine children are against them, they destroy their spirits, and those who have come forth from me are against them, and they shall never more exist. The fire which is in this serpent shall come forth, and shall blaze against these enemies whensoever Horus decreeth that it shall do so.' Whosoever knoweth how to use words of power against this serpent shall be as one who doth not enter upon his fiery path."

The end of this text on the sarcophagus of Seti I. is defective, but from the tomb of Rameses VI. we see that it should end thus:--"Offerings shall be made to these gods who are upon this great serpent. Their food is of bread, their drink is of tesher beer, and the waters of their libations are cool."

BOOK OF GATES CHAPTER 11.

THE GATE OF AB-TA.

THE NINTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT.

HAVING passed through the Eighth Division of the Tuat, the boat of the sun arrives at the gateway called AAT-SHEFSHEFT, which leads to the NINTH DIVISION, or, as the opening text reads: "This great god cometh to this gate, and entereth through it, and the gods who are therein acclaim this great god." The gateway is like that through which the god passed into the previous Division, and its outwork is guarded by nine gods in the form of mummies, who are described as the PAUT, i.e., the company of the nine gods. At the entrance to the gate proper stands a bearded, mummied form, with his hands folded on his breast, called ANHEFTA, and at its exit stands a similar form called ERMEN-TA, each of these is said to extend his arms and hands to Ra. The corridor is swept by flames of fire, which proceed from the mouths of two uraei, as before. The company of the gods who guard the outwork address Ra, and say, "Come thou to us, O thou who art the head of the horizon, O thou great god who openest the secret places, open for thyself the holy pylons, and unfold for thyself the holy doors thereof." The monster serpent which stands on his tail and guards the door is called AB-TA, and the two lines of text which refer to his admission of Ra read, "He who is over this door openeth to Ra. SA saith unto AB-TA, 'Open thy gate to Ra, unfold thy portal to KHUTI, so that he may illumine the thick darkness, and may send light into the hidden abode.' This gate closeth after this god hath passed through it, and the souls who are on the other side of it wail when they hear this door closing upon them."

In the middle of the Division we see the boat of Ra being towed on its way by four gods of the Tuat; the god is in the same form as before, and SA stands on the look-out, and HEKA obeys his instructions as to steering. The procession which marches in front of the boat consists of:--

1. Six bearded male figures, standing upright, who hold in their hands the ends of a rod, or rope, which is bent in the shape of a bow over their heads; these are described as "those who are over the words of magical power."

2. Four dog-headed apes, which hold a rod bent as already described; these are described as "those who work magic by means of knots for Ra."

3. Four women, who stand upright, and hold a bent rod, or rope, over their heads like the four apes and the six male figures; they are described as "those who work magic by means of knots for Ra."

4. Three male figures, each holding a harpoon in his right hand, and a cord in his left; they are called "spearmen." Immediately in front of these is a bearded male figure, who has been lying prostrate on his face; he has upon his head a small solar disk and a pair of ass's ears, and his name is AAI, i.e., the Ass. In his hands he grasps a rope, which passes over his head and along his back, and is held by each of the three spearmen in his left hand; from the knees upwards his body is raised in a diagonal position, and this attitude suggests that he has either raised himself by means of the rope, or has been pulled into this position by the spearmen. Facing the Ass are:-- 1. The monster serpent APEP, and 2. The crocodile SHESSHES, with a tail ending in the head of a serpent.

The text, which refers to the whole of this section, reads:-- "This great god is towed along by the gods of the Tuat, and those who tow Ra along say:--'The god cometh to his body, and the god is towed along to his shadow. O be thou at peace with thy body, and we will tow thee along in thy integrity into thy (literally, his) secret place. Come thou, O Ra, and be thou at peace with thy body, for thou shalt be protected by those who are over the curved ropes.'"

The text which refers to the six men, four apes, and four women, with nets over their heads, reads:-- "Those who are in this picture march before Ra, and they utter words of power against APEP, and [then] return to the Arit (or, Hall) of the horizon. They journey onwards with him into the height of heaven, and they come into being for him in the ATERTI (i.e., the two portions of the sky in which Ra rises and sets), and they cause him to rise in NUT. And they say their words of power which are these:--'Out upon thee, O thou Rebel Serpent! Out upon thee, thou monster that destroyest, thou Apep that sendest forth thy evil emanations (or, deeds)! Thy face shall be destroyed, O APEP. Thou shalt advance to the block of execution. The NEMU are against thee, and they shall hack thee in pieces. The AAIU are against thee, and they shall destroy thee. The ABEBUITI (i.e., the three spearmen) shall drive [their harpoons] into thee, and they shall enchant thee by means of their Hail! Thou art destroyed, dashed in pieces, and stabbed to death, O serpent SESSI.'"

"Those who are in this scene, and who have their spears, keep ward over the rope of AI, and they do not permit this Worm to approach the boat of the great god. They pass behind this god upwards. These gods who do battle on behalf of this god in heaven say":-- (. . . . The speech is wanting).

In the upper register are the following:-- 1. Four gods, who in the place of heads have each a crown of the South, to which is affixed a uraeus, upon his body, and who, aided by a bearded male figure, are engaged in raising up from the ground, by means of a rope, a pole or staff, which is surmounted by a bearded human head wearing a crown of the South; the gods are called "gods of the South," and the bearded male figure "he who is over the front end."

2. Four gods, who in the place of heads have each a crown of the North, to which is affixed a uraeus, upon his body, and who, aided by a bearded male figure, are engaged in raising up from the ground, by means of a rope, a pole or staff, which is surmounted by a bearded human head wearing a crown of the North; the gods are called "gods of the North," and the bearded male figure is "he who is over the hind part."

3. Between the two groups described above is the hawk-headed sphinx which typifies "Horus in the Boat." Above its hindquarters spring the head and shoulders of a bearded human figure called ANA, and on the head of the hawk and that of And is a crown of the South. Standing on the back of the sphinx is the figure of HORUS-SET with characteristic heads, with his arms outstretched, and with each hand laid upon the upper part of the crowns of the South. The hawk head of this figure faces the back of the hawk head of the sphinx, and the animal's head, which is characteristic of Set, faces the back of the human head of And. It is thus quite clear that Horus was regarded as a form of the Sun-god of the South, and Set as a form of the Sun-god of the North.

4. The serpent SHEMTI, which has four heads and necks at each end of its body, and each head and neck are supported on a pair of legs. A male figure called APU stands and grasps the middle of the body of the serpent with both hands.

5. The serpent BATA, with a bearded head at each end of his body; each head wears a crown of the South. Above the back of this serpent is another serpent, from each end of the body of which spring the upper portions of the bodies and heads of four bearded male figures; the first figure of each group has a pair of hands and arms which are raised in adoration, and each figure of the two groups has a pair of legs, which rest on the back of the serpent BATA. A male figure called ABETH stands and grasps the middle of the body of the serpent TEPI with both hands.

6. Two male beings, swinging over their heads a net, wherewith they are going to attack the serpent, or to resist him.

The passage which refers to the gods of the South reads:-- "Those who are in this scene rise up for Ra, who saith unto them:--'Receive ye your heads, O ye gods, and draw tightly the front end of your rope. Hail, O ye gods, come into being! Hail, possess ye the power of light, O ye gods, and come ye into being, O ye gods. Possess ye the power of light, O ye gods, by my coming into being in the secret place, and by my power of light in the hidden place (Ament), in the chambers of things.'"

The passage which refers to Horus-Set reads:-- "Ra maketh to arise this god. This god with his two faces goeth in after Ra hath passed by him."

The passage which refers to the gods of the North reads:-- "Ra saith unto them:--'Let your heads be to you, O ye gods! Receive ye your crowns of the North, and pull ye tightly at the hinder end of the boat of him that cometh into being from me. Behold now Horus of the handsome Face!'"

The passage which refers to the serpent SHEMTI reads:-- "He who is in this picture strideth through the secret place, and he withdraweth to QA-TEMT, the Hall (or, Court) of Ament. Those who are in it are the heads which have been devoured, and they breathe the odour of SHEMTI, of which Apu is the warder."

The passage which refers to the serpent BATA reads:-- "He who is in this picture maketh his rising up for SAR, and he keepeth count of the souls which are doomed in the Tuat. He strideth through the secret place, and he withdraweth to TESERT-BAIU, to the Hall (or, Court) of Ament; then TEPI entereth into BATA. Those who are in it are they whose heads have been devoured. They breathe the odour of BATA, of which ABETH is the guardian."

The passage which refers to the two gods with nets reads:-- "These are the gods who make use of words of power for Horus-Ra in Ament. They have power over the net, and they make use of words of power on those who are in the net[s] which are in their hands."

In the lower register are:--

1. Sixteen gods, who stand at one end of the scene, and grasp a rope with both hands. The first four are bearded, man-headed beings, and are said to be "the souls of Ament," the second four are ibis-headed, and are "the followers of Thoth," the third four are hawk-headed, and are "the followers of Horus," and the last four are ram-headed, and are the followers of Ra."

2. Eight bearded, man-headed beings, who stand at the other end of the scene in two groups of four, and who are described as "Powers," each grasps a rope with both hands. The rope which is held by these groups of beings is attached to the legs of the enormous serpent KHEPRI. This serpent has a head at each end of its body, the foremost part of which is supported on a pair of human legs; from each end of that portion of its body which lies flat on the ground springs a uraeus. On the centre fold of the body is seated a hawk, which wears on its head the double crown, This hawk is the symbol of "Horus of the Tuat."

The text which refers to this section of the scene reads:-- "Those who are in this scene have the rope in their hands, and it is fastened to the leg[s] of KHEPRI, who moveth backwards to the Hall of their horizon. They draw this rope with the god into their horizon, and they tow him along in the sky (NUT). They live upon the, things of the South, and their sustenance is from the things of the North, and they exist on that which cometh forth from the mouth of Ra. The voice of this serpent KHEPRI goeth round about and travelleth into the secret place after Ra hath entered into the height of heaven."

The four groups, each containing four beings, "say unto Ra:--'Come, O come, after thy transformations! Come, O Ra, after thy transformations! Appear, appear, after thy transformations! Appear, O Ra, after thy transformations in heaven, in the great heaven! Hail! We decree for thee thy habitations by the excellence which is in the words of the Mighty One of Forms in the secret (or, hidden) place.'"

The passage which refers to Horus reads:-- "He who is in this scene is HERU TUATI (i.e., Horus of the Tuat). The head cometh forth from him, and the forms in which he appeareth from the coiled serpent. Ra crieth unto this god to whom the two divine URAEI unite themselves; he entereth in upon the way into KHEPRI, Who listeneth when Ra crieth to him."

The two groups, each containing four beings, "have in their hands the rope which is fastened to the foot of KHEPRI, and they say to Ra:--'The ways of the hidden place are open to thee, and the portals which are in the earth are unfolded for thee, the SOUL which Nut loveth, and we will guide thy wings to the mountain. Hail! Enter thou into the East, and make thou thy passage from between the thighs of thy mother.'"

BOOK OF GATES CHAPTER 12.

THE GATE OF SETHU.

THE TENTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT.

HAVING passed through the Ninth Division of the Tuat, the boat of the sun arrives at the gateway TCHESERIT, which leads to the Tenth Division, or, as the opening text reads: "This great god cometh forth to this gate, and entereth through it, and the gods who are therein acclaim the great god." The gateway is like that through which the god passed into the previous Division, and its outwork is guarded by sixteen uraei. At the entrance to the gate proper stands a bearded, mummied form called NEMI, who holds a knife in his bands, and at its exit stands a similar mummied form called KEFI. The corridor is swept by flames of fire, which proceed from the mouths of two uraei, as before. The uraei which guard the outwork address Ra, and say, "Come thou to us, O thou who art at the head of the horizon, O thou great god who openest the secret place, open thou the holy pylons and unfold the portals of the earth." The monster serpent which stands on his tail and guards the door is called SETHU, and the two lines of text which refer to his admission of Ra read:--"He who, is over this gate openeth to Ra. SA saith unto SETHU, 'Open thy gate, unfold thy portal, so that he may illumine the thick darkness, and may send light into the hidden abode.' This gate closeth after the great god hath passed through it, and the uraei who are on the other side of it wail when they hear it closing upon them."

In the middle of this Division we see the boat of the sun being towed on its way by four gods of the Tuat, the god is in the same form as before, and his boat is piloted by SA, who

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commands, and by HEKA, who steers according to his directions.

The procession in front of the boat of the sun consists of:--

1. A bearded male figure called UNTI, i.e., the "god of the hour," who holds a star in each hand.

2. Four kneeling gods, each with a uraeus over his head. The first is Horus, hawk-headed; the second is SEREQ, bearded, and wearing a wig; the third is ABESH, bearded and without a wig; and the fourth is SEKHET, with the head of a lioness.

3. Three bearded beings, the "Star-gods," each holding a star in his right hand, which is stretched aloft, and with his left towing a small boat containing the "Face of the Disk."

4. A small boat holding a uraeus, which has the latter part of its body bent upwards; within the curve is the "Face of the Disk."

5. The winged serpent SEMI, standing on its tail, with its body in folds.

6. The bearded figure BESI, receiving in his hand the flame which spouts up from the head of a horned animal, which forms the top of a staff, and is transfixed by a knife.

7. The serpent ANKHI, from each side of the neck of which grows a bearded, mummy figure.

8. Four women, each with both hands raised in adoration; they are described as "Criers."

9. Two bows, set end to end, on each of which three uraei rear their heads. Standing over the place where the two ends of the bows meet, with a foot on the end of each, is the two-headed figure HORUS-SET, with two pairs of hands, one pair on each side of his body, raised in adoration. HORUS -SET is called "he of the two heads," and the two bows are "the Crown of the Uraei,"

The text which refers to the above groups reads:-- "This great god is towed along by the gods of the 'Tuat, and those who tow Ra along say:--'We are towing Ra along, we are towing Ra along and Ra followeth [us] into Nut. O have the mastery over thy Face, indeed thou shalt unite thyself to thy Face, O Ra, by Maat. Open, O thou Face of Ra, and let the two Eyes of Khuti enter into thee; drive away thou the darkness from Amentet. Let him give light by what he hath sent forth, the light.'"

Of the god with stars it is said:-- "He maketh a rising up for Ra (or, he stablisheth Ra), UNTI maketh to be light the upper heaven; this god leadeth the hour, which performeth that which belongeth to it to do."

Of the four seated gods it is said:-- "The four serpents who are in the earth keep ward (over those who are in this picture. They make a rising up for Ra, and they sit upon the great images which are under them, and they pass onwards with them in the following of Ra, together with the hidden images which belong to them."

Of the three gods who hold stars it is said:-- "Those who are in this picture sing hymns with their stars, and they grasp firmly the bows of their boat, and it entereth into Nut. And this Face of Ra moveth onwards, and saileth over the land, and those who are in the Tuat sing hymns to it, and make Ra to stand up (i.e., establish Ra)."

Of the winged serpent SEMI it is said:-- "It maketh a rising up for Ra, and it guideth the Well-doing god into the Tuat of the horizon of the East."

Of the god BESI it is said:-- "He maketh a rising up for Ra, and he placeth fire on the head and horns (or, in his hands is the fire from the head and horns), and the weapon which is in the hand of the Fighter is in the follower of this god."

Of the uraeus with the double male figure it is said:-- "It maketh a rising up for Ra. The stablishing of Time which is reckoned in writing by years is with this uraeus, and it maketh it to go with him into the heights of heaven."

Of the "Criers" it is said:-- Those who cry unto Ra say, 'Enter in, O Ra! Hail, come, O Ra! Hail, come, O thou who art born of the Tuat! Come, O offspring of the heights of heaven! Hail, come thou into being, O Ra!

Of the double bow it is said:-- "This is the MEHEN serpent of the uraei, which strideth through the Tuat. The two bows are stretched out, and they bear up on themselves him of the Two-Faces (or, Two-Heads, i.e., Horus-Set) in his mystery which appertaineth to them. They lead the way for Ra, in the horizon of the east of heaven, and they pass on into the heights of heaven in his train."

In the upper register are:--

1. The four ANTIU gods, each of whom holds a knife in his right hand, and a short staff with one end curved and curled in his left.

2. The four HENATIU gods, each having four uraei in the place of a head; they are armed with weapons similar to those of the ANTIU gods.

3. The undulating length of the serpent APEP, of whom it is said, "his voice goeth round the Tuat." Attached to the neck of the monster is a very long chain, which rises in an oval curve, and, passing along through the hands of sixteen male figures, is then grasped and held down by a large hand, from which it again rises in an oval curve, and passing on for some distance descends into the earth immediately in front of Khenti-Amenti. On the first curve of the chain, lying flat on her face, is the goddess Serq. Of the sixteen bearded figures who grasp the chain with both hands, four are called SETEFIU, and face to the left; the twelve are described as the "TCHATIU gods, strong of arm." The right hand which grasps and pulls down the chain is called "HIDDEN BODY." Lengthwise on the second curve of the great chain lean the upper portions of the figures of five gods, each of whom grasps the chain with his right hand, and holds in his left a sceptre and the end of a chain which fetters a serpent in coils. The name of the first serpent is UAMEMTI, but of the remaining four no names are given. The five gods appear to grow out of the great chain, and are called SEB, MEST, HAPI, TUAMUTEF, and QEBHSENNUF. At the end of this section of the scene stands the bearded mummied figure of KHENTI-AMENTI, wearing the White Crown and the menat, and holding the sceptre in his two hands.

Of the eight gods (i.e., the ANTIU and HENATIU) it is said:-- "Those who are in this picture rise up (or, stand) for Ra, and Ra riseth and cometh forth for them, and they say, 'Rise, Ra, be strong, Khuti; verily we will overthrow Apep in his fetters. Approach not thou, O Ra, towards thine enemy, and thine enemy shall not approach thee; may thy holy attributes come into being within the serpent. The serpent Apep is stabbed with his knives, and gashes are inflicted on him. Ra shall stand up in the hour wherein he is content (or, the hour of peace), and the great god shall pass on in strength when his chain (i.e., Apep's) is fixed.'"

"The reptile (literally, worm) who is in this picture breaketh asunder the fetters, and the boat of this great god beginneth to move towards the region of Apep; this great god travelleth on after he (i.e., Apep) hath been put in restraint by means of his 'fetters."

Of the four SETEFIU gods it is said:-- "Those who are in this picture grasp the fetters of the being of two-fold evil, and they say to Ra, 'Come forward, Ra, pass onwards, Khuti. Verily fetters have been laid upon NEHA-HRA, and Apep is in his bonds.'"

Of the twelve other gods who grasp the chain it is said:-- "Those who are in this picture act as warders of the sons of the helpless one, and they keep guard (over the deadly chain which is in the HIDDEN HAND, for the dead bodies are placed with the things which belong to them in the circuit of the battlements of KHENTI-AMENTI. And these gods say, 'Let darkness be upon thy face, O UAMEMTI, and ye shall be destroyed, O ye sons of the helpless one, by the HIDDEN HAND, which shall cause evils to come upon you by the deadly chain which is in it. SEB keepeth ward over your fetters, and the sons of the fetters (i.e., Mest, Hapi, Tuamutef, and Qebhsennuf) put upon you the deadly chain. Keep ye your ward under the reckoning of KHENTI-AMENTI.'"

Of the children of Horus it is said:-- "Those who are in this picture make heavy the fetters of the sons of the helpless one, and the boat of the Well-doing God travelleth on its way."

In the lower register are:--

1. Twelve male beings, each of whom carries a paddle; they are called "gods who never diminish."

2. Twelve female beings, each of whom grasps a rope with both hands; above the head of each is a star. They are called the "hours who tow alone, the boat of Ra." The god BANTI, with the head of a cynocephalus ape, holding a sceptre.

4. The god SESHSHA, man-headed, with a star above him, holding a sceptre.

5. The god KA-AMENTI, bull-headed, and holding a sceptre.

6. The god RENEN-SBAU, man-headed, with a star above him, holding a sceptre.

7. A monkey, with a star over his head, standing on a bracket; he is called the "god of Rethenu" (Syria).

8. A bracket, whereon rests the Utchat.

9. A god called HER-NEST-F, holding a sceptre.

Of the twelve gods (the AKHEMU SEKU) it is said:-- "Those who are in this picture make a rising up for Ra, and they take their paddles in this Circle of UNTI. They come into being of their own accord at the seasons when Ra is born in Nut; they come into being for the births of Ra, and they make their appearance in Nu along with him. It is they who transport this great god after he hath taken his place in the horizon of the East of heaven. Ra saith unto them:--'Take ye your paddles and unite ye yourselves to your stars. Your coming into being taketh place when I come into being, and your births take place when my births take place. O ye beings who transport me, ye shall not suffer diminution, O ye gods AKHEMU SEKU.'"

Of the twelve goddesses of the hours it is said:-- "Those who are in this scene take hold of the rope of the boat of Ra to tow him along into the sky. It is they who tow Ra along, and guide him along the roads into the sky, and behold, they are the goddesses who draw along the great god in the Tuat. Ra saith unto them:-- 'Take ye the rope, set ye yourselves in position, and pull ye me, O my followers, into the height of heaven, and lead ye me along the ways. My births make you to be born, and behold, my coming into being maketh you to come into being. O stablish ye the periods of time and years for him who is among you.'"

1. "The god who is in this picture adjureth the pylons to open to Ra, and he goeth on his way by his side."

2. "The god who is in this picture crieth out to the stars concerning the births of this great god, and he goeth on his way with them."

3. "The god who is in this picture crieth to the gods of the Boat of Ra, and he goeth on his way with him."

4. "The god who is in this picture setteth the stars in their places (literally, towns), and he goeth on his way with the great god."

The above four paragraphs must refer to the four gods BANTI, SESHSHA, KA-AMENT, and RENEN-SBAU, and therefore the god of Rethenu, the Utchat, and the god HER-NEST-F remain without descriptions. From the tomb of Rameses VI. M. Lefébure adds the two following paragraphs which concern the Utchat and HER-NEST-F.

"This is the Eye of Ra, which the god uniteth to himself, and it rejoiceth in its place in the boat."

"This is he who openeth the door of this Circle; he remaineth in his position, and doth not go on his way with Ra."

BOOK OF GATES CHAPTER 13.

THE GATE OF AM-NETU-F.

THE ELEVENTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT.

HAVING passed through the Tenth Division of the Tuat, the boat of the sun arrives at the gateway SHETAT-BESU, which leads to the Eleventh Division, or, as the opening text reads: "This great god cometh forth to this gate, this great god entereth through it, and the gods who are therein acclaim the great god." The gateway is like that through which the god passed into the previous Division; at the entrance to the crate proper stands a bearded, mummied form called METES, and at its exit stands a similar form called SHETAU. The corridor is swept by flames of fire, which proceed from the mouths of two uraei, as before. In the space which is usually guarded by a number of gods stand two sceptres, each of which is surmounted by a White Crown; the one on the right is the symbol of OSIRIS, (SAR), and the other of HORUS. Between the sceptres is a line of text, which reads:--"They say to Ra, 'Come in peace! Come in peace! Come in peace! Come in peace! O thou whose transformations are manifold, thy soul is in heaven, thy body is in the earth. It is thine own command, O great one." The monster serpent which stands on his tail and guards the door is called AM-NETU-F, and the two lines of text which refer to his admission of Ra read:--"He who is over this door openeth to Ra. SAU saith to AM-NETU-F, 'Open thy gate to Ra, unfold thy portal to KHUTI, so that he may illumine the thick darkness, and may send light into the hidden abode.' This gate closeth after the great god hath passed through it, and the gods who are on the battlements wail when they hear it closing upon them."

In the middle of this Division we see the boat of the sun being towed on its way by four gods of the Tuat; the god is in the same form as before, and his boat is piloted by SA, who commands, and by HEKA, who steers according to his directions.

The procession in front of the boat of the sun consists of:--

1. A company of nine gods, each holding a huge knife in his right hand, and a sceptre in his left; the first four have jackal heads, and the last five heads of bearded men. These nine beings represent the "company of the gods who slay APEP."

2. The serpent APEP, fettered by five chains which enter the ground; the fetters are further strengthened by small chains, which are linked to the larger ones, and are fastened to the ground by means of pegs with a hook at the top. In an earlier picture we have seen APEP fettered by Seb, Mest, Hapi, Tuamutef, and Qebhsennuf, who were represented by five gods, but here the figures of the gods are wanting, and it is only the legend "Children of Horus," that tells us the chains represent the gods.

3. Four Apes, each holding up a huge hand and wrist.

4. The goddess of Upper Egypt, wearing the White Crown, and styled AMENTI.

5. The goddess of Lower Egypt, wearing the Red Crown, and called HERIT.

6. The bearded god SEBEKHTI, who holds the emblem of "life" in his right hand, and a sceptre in his left.

Of the gods of the Tuat who tow the boat of Ra it is said:-- "The gods of the Tuat say, Behold the coming forth of Ra from Ament, and his taking up his place in the two divisions of Nu, and his performance of his transformations on the two hands of Nu. This god doth not enter into the height of heaven, but he openeth a way through the Tuat into the height of heaven by his transformations which are in Nu. Now, what openeth the Tuat into Nut (i.e., the sky) are the two hands of AMEN-REN-F (i.e., he whose name is hidden). He existeth in the thick darkness, and light appeareth there from the starry night.'"

Of the nine gods with knives and sceptres it is said:-- "Those who are in this scene with their weapons in their hand take their knives and hack with them at Apep; they make gashes in him and slaughter him, and they drive stakes whereby to fetter him in the regions which are in the upper height. The fetters

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of the REBEL are in the hands of the Children of Horus, who stand threateningly by this god with their chains between their fingers. This god reckoneth up his members after he whose arms are hidden hath opened the door to make a way for Ra."

Of the serpent Apep it is-said:-- "The Children of Horus grasp firmly this serpent which is in this picture, and in this picture they rest in Nut (i.e., the sky). They heap their fetters upon him, and whilst his folds are in the sky his poison drops down from him into Amentet."

Of the four apes holding hands it is said:-- "It is those who are in this picture who make ready for Ra, a way into the eastern horizon of heaven,, and they lead the way for the god who hath created them with their hands, standing two on the right hand and two on the left in the double atert of this god; then they come forth after him, and sing praises to his soul when it looketh upon them, and they stablish his Disk."

Of the three remaining deities it is said:-- "Those who are in this picture turn away SET from this Gate of the god TUATI. They open its cavern, and stablish the hidden pylons, and their souls remain in the following of Ra."

In the upper register of this Division are:--

1. Four gods, each holding a disk in his right hand; these are "they who hold light-giving disks."
2. Four gods, each holding a star in his right hand; these are "they who hold stars."
3. Four gods, each holding a sceptre in his left hand; these are "they who come forth."
4. Four ram-headed gods, each holding a sceptre in his left hand; their names are BA, KHNEMU, PENTER, and TENT.
5. Four hawk-headed gods, each holding a sceptre in his left hand; these are called HORUS, ASHEMTH, SEPT, and AMMI-UAA-F.
6. Eight female figures, each seated on a seat formed by a uraeus with its body coiled up, and holding a star in her left hand; these are called "the protecting hours."
7. A crocodile-headed god called SEBEK-RA, who grasps a fold of a serpent that stands on its tail in his right hand, and a sceptre in his left.

Of the four gods bearing disks it is said:-- "Those who are in this picture carry the disk of Ra, and it is they who make a way through the Tuat and the height of heaven by means of this image which is in their hands. They utter words to the Pylon of Akert so that Ra may set himself in the body of Nut (i.e., the sky)."

Of the four gods bearing stars it is said:-- "Those who are in this picture carry stars, and when the two arms of Nu embrace Ra they and their stars shout hymns of praise, and they journey on with him to the height of heaven, and they take up their places in the body of Nut."

Of the four gods bearing sceptres it is said:-- "Those who are in this picture having their sceptres in their hands, are they who stablish the domains of this god in the sky, and they have their thrones in accordance with the command of Ra."

Of the four ram-headed gods it is said:-- "Those who are in this picture having their sceptres in their hands, are they who decree the making ready of the offerings of the gods from the bread of heaven, and it is they who make to come forth celestial water when as yet Ra hath not emerged in Nu."

Of the four hawk-headed gods it is said:-- "Those who are in this picture having their sceptres in their hands, are they who stablish the shrine in the boat of Ra, and they lay their hands (on the body of the double boat of the god after it hath appeared from out of the gate of Sma, and they place the paddles of the boat in Nut, when the Hour which presideth over it (i.e., the boat) cometh into being, and the Hour which hath guided it goeth to rest."

Of the goddesses who are seated on uraei it is said:-- "Those who are in this picture with their serpents under them, and their hands holding stars, come forth from the two ATERT of this great god, four to the East and four to the West; it is they who call 'the Spirits of the East, and they sing hymns to this god, and they praise him after his appearance, and SETTI cometh forth in his forms. It is they who guide and transport those who are in the boat of this great god."

There is no description of the crocodile-headed god Sebek-Ra in the text.

In the lower register are:--

1. Four gods, each wearing the Crown of the South; these are the "Kings of the South in chief."
2. Four bearded gods, "the WEEPERS."
3. Four gods, each wearing a Crown of the North; these are the KHNEMIU.
4. Four bearded gods, the RENENIU, i.e., "those who give names."
5. Four females, each wearing the Crown of the South; these are the "Queens of the South,"
6. Four females, each wearing the Crown of the North; these are, presumably, the "Queens of the North;" these are the KHNEMUT.
7. Four females, without crowns.
8. Four bearded gods, with their backs slightly bowed; these are the gods who praise Ra.
9. A cat-headed god called MATI.

Of the gods wearing the White Crown it is said:-- "Those who are in this picture are they who stablish the White Crown on the gods who follow Ra; they themselves remain in the Tuat, but their souls go forward and stand at this gate."

Of the four Weepers it is said:-- "Those who are in this picture in this gate make lamentation for Osiris after Ra hath made his appearance from Ament; their souls go forward in his train, but they themselves follow after Osiris."

Of the four gods wearing the Red Crown it is said:-- "Those who are in this picture are those who unite themselves to Ra, and they make his births to come to pass in the earth; their souls go forward in his train, but their bodies remain in their places (or, seats)."

Of the four RENENIU it is said:-- "[Those who are in this picture are they who give the name to Ra, and they magnify the names of all his forms; their souls go forward in his following, but their bodies remain in their places (or, seats)."]

Of the four goddesses wearing the White Crown it is said:-- "Those who are in this picture are they who make MAAT to advance, and who make it to be stablished in the shrine of Ra when Ra taketh up his position in Nut; their souls pass onwards in his following but their bodies remain in their places."

Of the four goddesses wearing the Red Crown it is said:-- "Those who are in this picture are they who stablish time, and they make to come into being the years for those who keep ward over the condemned ones in the Tuat and over those who have their life in heaven; they follow in the train of this great god."

Of the four females who are without crowns it is said:-- "Those who are in this picture in this gate make lamentation and tear their hair in the presence of this great god in Amentet; they make SET to withdraw from this pylon, and they do not enter into the height of heaven."

Of the four gods with their backs bowed it is said:-- "Those who are in this picture make adoration to Ra and sing praises unto him, and in their place in the Tuat they hymn those gods who are in the Tuat, and who keep guard over the Hidden Door. [They remain in their places."]

["The warder of the door of this Circle remaineth in his place."]

BOOK OF GATES CHAPTER 14.
THE GATE OF SEBI AND RERI.
THE TWELFTH DIVISION OF THE TUAT.

HAVING passed through the Eleventh Division of the Tuat, the boat of the sun arrives at the gateway TESERT-BAIU, which is the last that he will have to pass through before emerging in heaven in the light of a new day. "This great god cometh forth to this gate, this great god entereth through it, and the gods who are therein acclaim the great god." The gateway is like that through which the god passed into the previous Division; at the entrance to the gate proper stands a bearded mummied form called PAI, and at its exit stands a similar form called AKHEKHI. The corridor is swept by flames of fire, which proceed from the mouths of uraei, as before. In the space which is usually guarded by a number of gods stand two staves, each of which is surmounted by a bearded head; on one head is the disk of TEM, and on the other a beetle, the symbol of Khepera. The text which refers to these reads: "They stand up on their heads, and they come into being on their staves by the gate; the heads stand up by the gate."

The monster serpent which stands on its tail and guards the one door is called SEBI, and the two lines of text which refer to his admission of Ra read, He who is over this door openeth to Ra. SA saith unto Sebi, 'Open thy gate to Ra, unfold thy portal to Khuti, so that he may come forth from the hidden place, and may take up his position in the body of NUT.' Behold, there is wailing among the souls who dwell in Ament after this door hath closed," etc.

The monster serpent which stands on its tail and guards the other door is called RERI, and the two lines of text which refer to his admission of Ra read, "He who is over this door openeth to Ra. SA saith unto RERI, 'Open thy gate to Ra, unfold thy portal to KHUTI, so that he may come forth from the hidden place, and may take up his position in the body of Nut.' Behold, there is wailing among the souls who dwell in Ament after this door hath closed."

The text, being similar to that which refers to SEBI, is not repeated here.

On each side of the door is a uraeus, the one representing Isis and the other NEPHTHYS, and of them it is said, "They it is who guard this hidden gate of Ament, and they pass onwards in the following of this god."

Here we see that the end of the Tuat is reached, and the boat of the sun has reached that portion of it through which he is about to emerge in the waters of Nu, and thence in the form of a disk in the sky of this world. Having passed on to the water the boat is supported by the two arms of Nu himself, or, as the text says, "These two arms come forth from the waters, and they bear up this god." The god appears in the boat in the form of a beetle, which is rolling along a disk; on the left of the beetle is Isis, and on the right Nephthys. The three beings in the front of the boat are probably the personifications of doors, and the gods to the left are SEB, SHU, HEK, HU, and SA, In the hieroglyphics at the top of the open space above the boat is written, "This god taketh up his place in the MATETET Boat [with] the gods who are in it." Away in the waters above, or beyond the boat, is a kind of island, formed by the body of a god, which is bent round in such a way that the tips of his toes touch the back of his head. On his head stands the goddess Nut, with her arms and hands raised and stretched out to receive the disk of the sun, which the Beetle is rolling towards her; the text says, "Nut receiveth Ra." The island formed by the body of the god is said to be Osiris, whose circuit is the Tuat."

THE EPIC OF AQHAT

The Poem of Aqhat, or: The Story Of Aqhat
or: The Original Canaanite Book of Daniel
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Translation: J. C. L. Gibson, 1978
Estimated Range of Dating: 1360 B.C.

(The poem of Aqht or the Tale of Aqhat or the Epic of Aqhat is a Canaanite myth from Ugarit, an ancient city in what is now Syria. It is one of the three longest texts to have been found at Ugarit, the other two being the Legend of Keret and the Baal Cycle. The tablet containing the story is dated c. 1360 BC

While the complete tale has not been preserved, there remain of it, according to David Wright, "approximately 650 poetic lines", with the bulk of its content concerning "ritual performances or their contexts". The remains of the story are found on three clay tablets, missing the beginning and end of the story. These tablets were discovered in 1930 and 1931.

Daniel (Aramaic and Hebrew: Daniyyel, meaning "My Judge is God"; is the hero of the biblical Book of Daniel. A noble Jewish youth of Jerusalem, he is taken into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon and serves the king and his successors with loyalty and ability until the time of the Persian conqueror Cyrus, all the while remaining true to the God of Israel. The consensus of modern scholars is that Daniel never existed, and the biblical book of Daniel is a cryptic allusion to the reign of the 2nd century BC Greek-Persian king Antiochus IV Epiphanes.

There is, however, an original story behind the Bible story, the Tale of Aqhat, and this much more ancient story is telling us about Danel. It is a story recorded by High Priest Ilmilku of the City of Ugarit who was a Canaanite [among Egyptians better known as Habiru, meaning Hebrew.]. The High Priest Ilmilku, was also the author of the Legend of Keret and the Baal Cycle. The three primary characters of the Tale are a man named Danel, his son Aqhat, and his daughter Paghat.

Daniel (Dn'il, or Danel) is also the name of a figure in the Aqhat legend from Ugarit. (Ugarit was a Canaanite city destroyed around 1200 BC.) The Epic of Aqhat is a story about a man named Daniel (possibly the Daniel mentioned in Ezekiel 14:14 between two other ancient worthies, Noah and Job; but certainly not the seer of the Book of Daniel). Daniel seems to be a king: he lives in a palace, and sits and gives judgement at the city gate. This legendary Daniel is known for his righteousness and wisdom and a follower of the god El (hence his name), who made his will known through dreams and visions. It is unlikely that Ezekiel knew the far older Canaanite legend, but it seems reasonable to suppose that some connexion exists between the two. The authors of the tales in the first half of the Book of Daniel were perhaps unaware of the Ugaritic Daniel and probably took the name of their hero from Ezekiel; the author of the visions in the second half in turn took his hero's name from the tales.

The name "Danel" had a long tradition in Hebrew culture: he is supplied as the father-in-law of Enoch in Jubilees. Texts in Ugaritic, a Canaanite language, may provide an important clue. The language was discovered by French archaeologists in 1928 and known only from texts found in the lost city of Ugarit (modern Ras Shamra), Syria. Ugaritic has been used by scholars of the Old Testament to clarify Biblical Hebrew texts and has revealed ways in which ancient Israelite culture finds parallels in the neighbouring cultures. Ugaritic was "the greatest literary discovery from antiquity since the deciphering of the Egyptian hieroglyphs and Mesopotamian cuneiform." Literary texts discovered at Ugarit include the Aqhat Epic (or Legend of Danel) — all revealing a Canaanite religion. According to Edward L. Greenstein, a distinguished professor at Bar-Ilan University, Ugaritic texts solved the biblical puzzle of the anachronism of Ezekiel mentioning Daniel at Ezekiel 14:13–16; it is because in both, Ugaritic and the Ancient Hebrew, texts, it is correctly Danel—the yod is missing in the originals.

Content

Daniel has no heir; but after many days of interceding with the gods Baal and El, he is granted his heart's desire. A son is

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born in due course and named Aqhat. When the child becomes a man he receives a precious bow, apparently with a set of arrows, from the god Kothar-Khasis. This bow is coveted by the goddess Anat, but Aqhat refuses to sell it to her. Anat engages a professional soldier (her attendant Yatpan) to kill Aqhat and seize the bow. The death of Aqhat brings the same disastrous consequences to the earth as the death of Baal: drought sets in.

Daniel's daughter Pughat (or Paghat) sets out armed with a sword to seek vengeance. Apparently she disguises herself (presumably by means of the supernatural powers attributed to her) as the goddess Anat. At any rate she gains access to Yatpan's tent, and here the text is broken off and we can only guess at the end of the story. Did Pughat slay her enemy Yatpan in the tent, as Jael did to the Canaanite army commander Sisera (Judges 4:17-22; 5:24-27), and as Judith did to the Assyrian army general Holofernes (Judith 13:6-8)? Or did Pughat treat Yatpan as Anat had dealt with Mot in The Epic of Baal (Tablet 6, column 2)? She would have split him with a blade, winnowed him in a sieve, burned him in a fire, ground him in millstones, scattered him in a field, leaving his flesh to be eaten by birds. Considering that in these epics there are set pieces and patterns constantly recurring (there are numerous borrowings from the Baal myth here), this would seem to be a good hypothesis. Then Aqhat would have been resurrected or else Daniel would have been granted another son to reign after him.

Surviving fragments, added by de Moor as a fourth tablet, eventually take Daniel back to the same point as at the beginning: Daniel appeals to Baal and El for a son, a scion for his family.

The Virgin 'Anat is an important character in this drama. She seems to be like Artemis, a perpetual virgin, nubile but never leaving puberty by entering into the sphere of motherhood. Her interest in Aqhat's bow apparently shows that she is a huntress, like Artemis and Diana. She is in a state of adolescence, where male and female roles are not yet sharply differentiated. She is a typical tomboy; El hails her as his 'manly' daughter (in both poems, Baal and Aqhat). The young hero Aqhat taunts her, for being a woman who wants to take part in men's pursuits (17.6). Whether Anat was also sexually active is disputable (Peggy L. Day, Anat: Ugarit's "Mistress of Animals", Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 51 (1992) 181-190). She certainly loves Baal, and his dewy daughters, and she is constantly anxious for his welfare; she wages war on his enemies and overwhelms them (the Egyptians, such as Ramesses II., adopted her because of her martial prowess) Is she a second consort of Baal, alongside 'Athtart, who makes only intermittent appearnces in the Baal myth? Many want to read a sexual encounter into the fractured conversation between Anat and Aqhat. And when she says they are brother and sister, is she making a proposition, or a proposal of marriage? Probably neither. She remains somewhat enigmatic, but retains an endless fascination for us.

The Narrative

Tablet 1: Danel is described as a "righteous ruler" (Davies) or "probably a king" (Curtis), providing justice to widows and orphans. Danel begins the story without a son, although missing material from the beginning of the story makes it unclear whether Danel has lost children, or whether he simply has not had a son yet. On six successive days, Danel makes offerings at a temple, requesting a son. On the seventh, the god Baal asks the high god El to provide Danel a son, to which El agrees.

Danel's prayers to the gods are answered with the birth of Aqhat. The grateful Danel holds a feast to which he invited the Kotharat, female divinities associated with childbearing.

A gap appears in the text. After it, Danel is given a bow by the god Kothar-wa-Khasis, who is grateful to Danel for providing him hospitality. According to Fontenrose, the bow is given to Danel when Aqhat is still an "infant", while as Wright reads the tale after Aqhat has "grown up".

After a missing portion of text, the story resumes as Aqhat, described by Louden as "now a young man", is celebrating a feast at which various deities are in attendance.

Aqhat, who now has the bow, is offered a reward by the goddess Anat if he will give it to her. Anat offers Aqhat first gold and silver, but he refuses. She then offers him immortality, but he refuses again. As she makes her offers, she uses language that likely implies an offer of a sexual nature as well. His refusal is disrespectful: he tells her to go get a bow of her own from Kothar-wa-Hasis, and says that women have no business with such weapons. He insists that immortality is impossible: all humans must die. Anat, outraged, leaves to speak to the high god El.

Tablet 2: Anat complains to El, according to Wright "apparently to receive his permission to punish Aqhat". El's initial response, if he gives one, is not readable due to the damaged nature of the tablet, but Anat's tone turns from an initial one of respect to violent threats against El. Reluctantly, El grants Anat leave to do as she wishes.

Anat then has Aqhat killed. The character who personally kills Aqhat is Yatpan, described by Vrezen and van der Woude as "one of Anat's warriors", but by Pitard simply as "one of her devotees". Yatpan, magically transformed into an eagle, attacks Aqhat.

Tablet 3: Aqhat dies, and Anat eulogizes him, expressing regret for his death. Although the text at this point is fragmentary, it indicates that his bow has been broken in the incident, and Anat expresses her anguish over the loss of the bow as well, in even stronger terms. She also laments that, due to the murder, crops will soon begin to fail.

Meanwhile, Danel, who does not realise his son is dead, continues going about his judicial duties in the city gate. His daughter Paghat notices that a drought has begun, and that birds of prey are circling their home. She feels deep sadness.

At this point the text contains language about Danel's clothes being torn, indicating either that Paghat has torn Danel's clothing or that Danel has torn his own clothing in mourning over the drought. The text has Danel praying for rain, followed by several lines about a drought lasting seven years, which are difficult to interpret. Danel goes out to the fields, expressing his wishes for the crops to grow and expressing hope that his son Aqhat will harvest them, indicating that he does not yet realise Aqhat has died.

At this point, two young men appear and inform Danel and Paghat that Aqhat has been killed by Anat. Seeing vultures overhead Danel calls out to Baal, asking Baal to bring down the vultures so that he can cut them open to search for his son's remains. Baal complies, but Danel finds no remains. Danel sees the father of the vultures, and again has Baal bring the father of the vultures down for inspection. Again, no remains are found. Finally, Danel calls upon Baal to bring down the mother of the vultures, in which he finds bone and fat from Aqhat. Danel buries the remains he has found along the shores of the Sea of Galilee. The unjust death of Aqhat causes a years-long drought to occur. Aqhat's sister Paghat takes it upon herself to seek revenge by killing Yatpan.)

Text:

17.1: Thereupon Daniel, the follower of Rapiu (r-p-i, the god Baal), then the stalwart follower of Harnamy (h-rn-my, another name of Baal; 'rain-maker' Margalit) made an offering* for the gods to eat, made an offering for the sons of Qudshu (Athirat, mother of gods) to drink.

He took off his cloak, ascended, and lay down, he took off his loincloth and thus spent the night (incubation; 1 Samuel 3). One day and a second day. . . .

Finally on the seventh day Baal approached El with his supplication: Daniel the follower (m-t, 'man') of Rapiu is grieving, the stalwart follower of Harnamy is groaning, because he has no son as his brothers have, no scion as his kinsmen have.

Will you grant him your blessing, Bull El my father (Baal actually is a son of Dagan), invigorate him, Creator of Creatures, so that he may have a son in his house, a scion within his palace; someone to set up the effigy of his ancestral deity, in the sanctuary the emblem of his family god (funerary cult); someone to free his spirit from the earth, to protect his tomb from the dust; someone to shut the jaws of his maligners, to drive away those who turn against him; someone to hold his hand when he is drunk, to support him when he is full of wine;

17.2 . . . . (repetition): someone to supply (or: consume) his grain-offering in the house of Baal, and his portion in the house of El; someone to plaster his roof when it leaks ('on the day of mud'), to wash his clothes when they are dirty ('on the day of dirt'). El took a cup in his hand (to make an oath), he blessed Daniel the follower of Rapiu, invigorated the stalwart follower of Harnamy: Let Rapiu's follower Daniel come alive with passion (napsh 'soul'), with desire, Harnamy's stalwart follower.

. . . .

Let him mount his bed . . . .

As he kisses his wife let her conceive, as he embraces her let her become pregnant, . . . let her be with child; let the wife of Rapiu's follower be pregnant, so that he may have a son in his house, a scion within his palace.

(repetition) Daniel's face lit up with joy, and his forehead began to shine; he opened wide his mouth and laughed, he tapped his feet on the footstool.

He lifted up his voice and exclaimed: Now I may sit down and relax, and my soul can relax in my breast; a son shall be born to me as my brothers have, a scion as my kinsmen have. . . . Daniel made his way to his house, Daniel betook himself to his palace.

Into his house came the Wise Women (Kotharat; divine midwives), the swallow-like moon (crescent moon)daughters.

Thereupon Daniel the follower of Rapiu, then the stalwart follower of Harnamy, slaughtered an ox for the Wise Women, gave food to the Wise Women, One day and a second day he gave food to the Wise Women, drink to the swallow-like moon daughters. . . .

Finally on the seventh day the Wise Women departed from his house, the swallow-like moon daughters, well-versed in the delights of the bed of conception, the joys of the bed of childbirth.

Daniel sat down and counted her months.

. . . . (2 columns lost)

. . . . drink to the swallow-like moon daughters.(swallows and moon go with fertility and birth)

17.5: Daniel's son, named Aqhat, has now grown to manhood. Thereupon Daniel the follower of Rapiu, then the stalwart follower of Harnamy, raised himself up, and sat at the entrance of the gate, among the nobles by the threshing-floor; he judged the cause of the widow, tried the case of the orphan.

On raising his eyes he perceived, at a thousand tracts, ten-thousand spaces, the coming of Kothar he sighted, and he observed the advance of Khasis. Indeed he was carrying the bow, he was providing arrows fourfold.

Thereupon Daniel the follower of Rapiu, then the stalwart follower of Harnamy, called out aloud to his wife: Listen Lady Danatay, prepare a lamb from the flock (or: younglings), for the appetite of Kothar-Khasis, for the desire of Heyan the skilled handworker.

Give food and drink to the god ('gods'), wait upon and honour him ('them') the lord of all Khikuptah (City of Ptah, Memphis, Egypt.) the divine.

The Lady Danatay took heed; she prepared a lamb from the flock, for the appetite of Kothar-Khasis, for the desire of Heyan the skilled handworker.

After Kothar-Khasis had arrived, he gave the bow into the hand of Daniel, he placed the arrows* on his knees. *(or: bow? another word) for bow?)

Thereupon the Lady Danatay gave food and drink to the god, she waited upon him and honoured him, the lord of all Khikuptah the divine. Kothar went off to his pavilion, Heyan went off to his tabernacle (tent).

Thereupon Daniel (gave the bow to Aqhat)...

17.6: The goddess Anat is eating and drinking at a banquet given by Daniel for Aqhat. Lifting her eyes she perceived it . . . . She coveted the bow . . . . her eyes like a serpent.'s . . . .

Her cup spilled onto the ground; she lifted up her voice and cried: Pray listen, brave Aqhat,

ask for silver and I will give it to you, gold and I will bestow it on you; only give your bow to the Virgin Anat, your arrows to Yabamat Limmim.

But the brave Aqhat replied: The finest ash trees from Lebanon, the finest sinews from wild oxen, the finest horns from mountain-goats, tendons from the hocks of a bull, the finest stalks from great reed-beds, you should give to Kothar-Khasis; e will make a bow for Anat, arrows for Yabamat Limmim.

And the Virgin Anat answered: Ask for life, brave Aqhat, ask for life and I will give it to you,

immortality and I will bestow it on you; I will let you number your years with Baal, with the sons of El you shall number your months.

As when Baal comes back to life and they feast him, they feast the living one and give him drink, the minstrel rhapsodizes and sings over him, so will I give life to brave Aqhat.

But the brave Aqhat answered: Do not lie to me, Virgin; your lies are sheer rubbish (insulting) to a hero.

What does a man get as his fate, as his destiny what does he get? Glaze will be poured on my head, quicklime (or: lime-plaster?) over my skull; and the death of all men I shall die, and I shall indeed be dead. One more thing let me say: the bow is a weapon of warriors, shall womenfolk hunt with it now?

Anat laughed out loud, but in her heart she conceived a plan. Attend to me, brave Aqhat, attend to me while I tell you: if I ever meet you on the path of transgression, encounter you on the path of presumption, I will bring you down beneath my own two feet, you the most seductive and strongest of men. She stamped her feet and the earth shook. Then she set her face steadfastly to go to El at the sources of the two oceans; penetrating the mountains of El,

and entering the tabernacle of the King, the Father of Years, she bowed and fell down at the feet of El, she prostrated herself and paid him homage.

She denounced the brave Aqhat, ... the child of Daniel, Rapiu's follower . . . . And the Virgin Anat answered: In the building of your mansion, El, in the building of your mansion do not rejoice, do not rejoice in the erecting of your palace, lest I seize them with my right hand, demolish them by the might of my long arm, lest I strike the top of your skull, making your grey hair run with blood, the grey hairs of your beard with gore.

So call upon Aqhat, and he will deliver you, the son of Daniel, and he will rescue you, from the hand of the Virgin Anat.

And El the Kindly, the Benign replied. I know, daughter, that you are manly (or gentle), and there is no contempt like yours among goddesses.

Begone, daughter, your heart is haughty; you always take what you have in mind, you carry out what is in your breast; anyone who hinders you will be cruelly crushed.

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She went back to Aqhat and said: Listen, brave Aqhat, you are my brother and I am your sister . . . . (2 columns lost)

18.4 . . . . The Virgin Anat went her way. Then she set her face steadfastly to go to Yatpan, warrior of the Lady (shat, Anat; or Shutu, hence Sutean warrior). . . . . (repetition)

She took Yatpan the warrior of the Lady, she put him like an eagle on her belt, like a hawk on her scabbard.

While Aqhat sat down to eat, the son of Daniel to a meal, above him eagles were hovering, a flock of hawks looking down.

Among the eagles Anat was hovering, onto Aqhat she releaset him; he struck him twice on the skull, three times above the ear; his breath went out like a wind, his spirit came out like spittle, like a vapour from his nose.

And Anat . . . . And she wept: Woe to you, that. life for you I would have created, but for your bow I smote you, for your arrows you are not allve. . . .

19.1: And [the bow] fell; The bow was broken, ... its eight parts were shattered. The Virgin Anat sat down. . . . .

Aqhat has been laid low, bitterly I cry . . . . This is why I smote him: it was for his bow I smote him, for his arrows I did not let him live; yet his bow has not been given to me, and through his death ... the shoots of summer will wither, the ears of corn in their husks.

Then it was that Daniel . . . raised himself up and sat at the entrance of the gate, among the nobles by the threshing floor; he judged the cause of the widow, tried the case of the orphan.

On raising his eyes he perceived at a thousand tracts, ten thousand spaces, the coming of Pughat he clearly sighted.

Lifting her eyes she perceived (the greenery) by the threshing floor was dried up, . . . had wilted, the blossoms were shrivelled; Pughat wept in her heart, she sobbed in her inmost being (in her liver). . . .

Thereupon Daniel prayed that the clouds in the heat of the season, that the clouds might give early rain, that in summer the dew might drop upon the grapes: Shall Baal fail for seven years, for eight the Rider of Clouds, without dew, without showers, without watering by the two deeps, without the delight of Baal's voice? . . .

Daniel cried aloud to his daughter:

19.2: Hear me Pughat, carrier of water on your shoulder, expert in the courses of the stars, saddle a he-ass, harness a donkey, attach the reins made of silver, the bridle made of gold. Pughat obeyed, the carrier of water on her shoulder, collector of the dew from the fleece, expert in the courses of the stars. She saddled a he-ass forthwith (or weeping), she harnessed a donkey forthwith, she lifted up her father forthwith, she seated him on the back of the he-ass, on the comfortable part of the donkey's back.

Daniel went and toured hls parched land; a ripening stalk he spied in the parched land, a ripening stalk he spied in the scrub. He embraced the ripening stalk and kissed it: Oh may this ripening stalk shoot up in the parched land, this ripening stalk shoot up in the scrub. O herb, may the hand of brave Aqhat gather you, and deposit you inside the granary. He went and toured his blighted land, he spied an ear of corn in the blighted land, an ear of corn he spied amongst the shrivelled plants.

He embraced the ear of corn and kissed it: Oh may this ear of corn shoot up in the blighted land, this ear of corn shoot up amongst the shrivelled plants. O herb, may the hand of the hero Aqhat gather you, and deposit you inside the granary. His words had just come out of his mouth, his utterance out of his lips, when lifting her eyes she perceived . . . . two lads arriving . . . .

They struck each other twice on the skull, three times over the ear. They bound the locks of their heads, and tears flowed like quarter shekels. . . . They arrived, lifted up their voices, and cried: Hear us, Daniel, follower of Rapiu, valiant Aqhat is dead; the Virgin Anat has caused his breath to go out like a wind, his spirit to come out like spittle, like a vapour from his nose.

At this his feet started jerking, his face perspired above him, his loins broke up behind him, he convulsed the joints of his loins, the muscles of his back.

He lifted up his voice and cried out . . . . He lifted up his voice and cried: The wings of the eagles let Baal break, let Baal break the pinions on them; let them drop down at my feet. I will rip open their gizzards and look: if there is fat, if there is bone (Aqhat's remains), I shall weep and bury him, put him in a hole of the earth-gods.

His words had just come out of his mouth, his utterance out of his lips, when the wings of the eagles Baal broke, Baal broke the pinions on them, and they dropped down at his feet.

He ripped open their gizzards and looked: there was no fat, there was no bone. He lifted up his voice and exclaimed: The wings of the eagles let Baal remake, let Baal remake the pinions on them; eagles, flee and fly away.

Lifting his eyes he perceived, saw Hirgab the father of the eagles. He lifted up his voice and exclaimed: The wings of Hirgab let Baal break, let Baal break the pinions on him; and let him drop down at my feet. I will rip open his gizzard and look: if there is fat, if there is bone, I shall weep and bury him, put him in a hole of the earth-gods.

His words had just come out of his mouth, his utterance out of his lips, When Hirgab's wings Baal broke, Baal broke the pinions on him; and he dropped down at his feet. He ripped open his gizzard and looked: there was no fat, there was no bone. He lifted up his voice and exclaimed: The wings of Hirgab let Baal remake, let Baal remake the pinions on him; Hirgab, flee and fly away.

Lifting his eyes he perceived, saw Sumul the mother of the eagles. He lifted up his voice and exclaimed. let her drop down at my feet. I will rip open her gizzard and look: if there is fat, if there is bone, I shall weep and bury him, I shall put him in a hole of the earth-gods.

His words had just come out of his mouth, his utterance out of his lips, when Sumul's wings Baal broke, Baal broke the pinions on her; she dropped down at his feet. He ripped open her gizzard and looked: there was fat, there was bone. So he took Aqhat from them; . . . .

He wept and he buried him, he buried him in a dark cell in a tomb. And he lifted up his voice and cried: The wings of the eagles let Baal break, let Baal break the pinions on them, if they fly over my son's grave (seeking sanctuary) and awaken him from his sleep. The king cursed Qor-mayim: Woe to you, Qor-mayim; near you brave Aqhat was smitten.

Be a sojourner in a god's house perpetually, be a fugitive now and evermore, now and from age to age . . . . He moved on to Mararat-tughullal-binar; he lifted up his voice and cried: Woe to you Mararat-tughullal-binar; near you brave Aqhat was smitten.

May your root not shoot up in the earth, may your head droop when you are pulled out. Be a fugitive now and evermore, now and from age to age . . . .

19.4: He moved on to Qart-Abilim, Abilim the city of Prince Yarikh; he lifted up his voice and cried: Woe to you, Qart-Abilim, near you brave Aqhat was struck down.

May Baal instantly make you blind. Be a fugitive now and evermore, now and from age to age.

He lowered the end of his staff (unclear meaning). Daniel moved on to his house, to his palace Daniel betook himself (Jeremiah 9:17).

The weeping women (1 Kings 18:28); entered his house the wailing women entered his palace, the men who gashed their skin (Jeremiah 16:6) entered his court; days passed into months, months into years, seven years they wept for brave Aqhat, shed tears for the child of Daniel, Rapiu's follower.

Then in the seventh year Daniel the follower of Rapiu responded, the hero the follower of the Harnamite spoke again, he lifted up his voice and cried:

Depart from my house, weeping women, from my palace, wailing women, from my court, men who gash their skin.

And he presented a sacrifice to the gods, he sent up his offering to the heavenly beings, Harnamy's incense up to the stars. . . . .

Then spoke Pughat, who carried water on her shoulder: My father has presented a sacrifice to the gods, he has sent up his offering to the heavenly beings, the Harnamite's offering up to the stars.

Let them bless me that I may go blessed, invigorate me that I may go invigorated, that I may smite the smiter of my brother, kill the killer of my family's child.

And Daniel the follower of Rapiu put in: Let Pughat come alive with passion, carrier of water on her shoulder, collector of the dew from the fleece, expert in the courses of the stars . . . . let her smite the smiter of her brother, kill the killer of her family's child . . . . She washed herself, and rouged herself with rouge from a sea shell, whose source is a thousand tracts away ln the sea.

Underneath she donned a hero's garb, she put a blade in her sheath, put a sword in her scabbard; and on top she donned a woman's garb.

At the darkening of Shapash the luminary of the gods, Pughat arrived at the tents. Word was brought to Yatpan: Our mistress has come to your mountain, ...

[Anat; they think Pughat is Anat.] has come among the tents. And Yatpan, the warrior of the Lady, answered: Receive her and let her give me wine to drink; let her take the cup from my hand, the goblet from my right hand.

Receive her and give her wine to drink; take the cup from my hand, the goblet from my right hand. . . . .

And Yatpan, the warrior of the Lady, spoke: May our god drink of the wine, El the god who created the mountains [. . .] he spilled his blood, like a butcher*, like a slaughterman*, ... onto his knees; eagles (or: vultures) hovered above her father's house, a flock of hawks looked down. [. . .] collector of the dew from the fleece (left out at night to absorb water? Judges 6:36-38), ...

19.3 Lifting his eyes he perceived, saw eagles coming from the setting of the sun (west). The wings of Sumul let Baal break. let Baal break the pinions (or breastbones) on her; they wept for the valiant Aqhat, shed tears for the child of Daniel, Rapiu's follower; The hand which smote the hero Aqhat shall smite thousands of the Lady's foes . . . .

THE MYTH OF BAAL

or: The Baal Cycle or: The Battle of Baal and Yahm
Found: Tell of Ugarit (modern Ras Shamra), Syria, 1928
Author: the High Priest Ilmilku of the City of Ugarit
Language: Ugaritic Canaanite, Script: Cuneiform
Source: Canaanite Myths and Legends, Edinburgh
Translation: Lilinah biti-Anat, 1997
Estimated Range of Dating: 1360 B.C.

(Near the Mediterranean coast of northwestern Syria, a farmer found a strange clay tablet while ploughing a field on a hill in the late 1920's. It is situated near modern Ras Shamra, a few kilometers north of the modern city of Latakia and far ahead of the current coastline. A French archaeological team investigated that hill in 1928 and it turned out to be a "tell", a mound which was actually the site of a major Bronze Age Canaanite city, today known as Ugarit. Within the ruins of Ugarit, there was a large palace and two temples. During the course of the dig, the archaeologists found a series of clay tablets in the quarters of the Chief Priest. The tablets were inscribed by Ilimilku, also known as Elimelek, the High Priest of the City of Ugarit who was also the scribe for the Myth of Baal (the Baal Cycle) and the Legend of Aqhat, two other famous Ugaritic epic poems discovered at the Ras Shamra site.

The tablets were written in cuneiform, but a close examination quickly revealed that, although the shapes of the characters looked familiar, they were unrelated to the cuneiforms of Sumer and Akkad. Rather than the usual thousands, there were only 28 characters. The tablets were written in first alphabet ever discovered! A clear relationship between this character set and the Hebrew abjad alphabet allowed the French team, led by Charles Virolleaud, to make early tentative translations between 1930-1933.

Cuneiform, a significant History

Cuneiform is a logo-syllabic script that was used to write several languages of the Ancient Near East. The script was in active use from the early Bronze Age until the beginning of the Common Era. It is named for the characteristic wedge-shaped impressions (Latin: cuneus) which form its signs. Cuneiform originally developed to write the Sumerian language of southern Mesopotamia (modern Iraq). Along with Egyptian hieroglyphs, it is one of the earliest writing systems.

Egyptian hieroglyphs came into existence a little after Sumerian script, and, probably, were invented under the influence of the latter. There is probability that the general idea of expressing words of a language in writing was brought to Egypt from Sumerian Mesopotamia. There are many instances of such Egypt-Mesopotamia relations.

Over the course of its history, cuneiform was adapted to write a number of languages linguistically unrelated to Sumerian. Akkadian texts are attested from the 24th century BC onward. It became a kind of international language in the entire Middle East and therefore makes up the bulk of the cuneiform record [see: Amarna Letters]. Akkadian cuneiform was itself adapted to write the Hittite language sometime around the 17th century BC. The other languages with significant cuneiform corpora are Eblaite, Elamite, Hurrian, Luwian, and Urartian.

The first Pictographic and proto-cuneiform characters were invented in circa 3500 BC. The cuneiform script was then developed from pictographic proto-writing in the late 4th millennium BC, stemming from the near eastern token system used for accounting. Actual writing is first recorded in Uruk, at the end of the 4th millennium BC, and soon after in various parts of the Near-East.

The first inscribed tablets were purely pictographic and these Archaic cuneiform characters came up in circa 3000 BC. They make it technically impossible to know in which language they were written. But later tablets after circa 2,900 BC start to use syllabic elements, which clearly show a language structure typical of the non-Indo-European agglutinative Sumerian language. The first tablets using syllabic elements date to the Early Dynastic I-II, circa 2,800 BC, and they are agreed to be clearly in Sumerian

Early Dynastic cuneiform characters in circa 2500 BC were used in simple linear inscriptions, made by using a pointed stylus, sometimes called "linear cuneiform", before the introduction of new wedge-type styluses with their typical wedge-shaped signs. Many of the early dynastic inscriptions, particularly those made on stone continued to use the linear style as late as circa 2000 BC.

In the mid-3rd millennium BC then, a new wedge-tipped stylus was introduced which was pushed into the clay, producing wedge-shaped "cuneiform" signs; the development made writing quicker and easier, especially when writing on soft clay. By adjusting the relative position of the stylus to the tablet, the writer could use a single tool to make a variety of impressions. For numbers, a round-tipped stylus was initially used, until the wedge-tipped stylus was generalised

The archaic Sumero-Akkadian cuneiform script was then adopted by the Akkadian Empire from the 23rd century BC. The Akkadian language being Semitic, its structure was

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completely different from Sumerian. There was no way to use the Sumerian writing system as such, and the Akkadians found a practical solution in writing their language phonetically, using the corresponding Sumerian phonetic signs.

The Old Assyrian cuneiform of c. 1800 BC is actually Akkadian but transformed into a kind of mixed method of writing that continued through the end of the Babylonian and Assyrian empires. It quickly spread through the entire Semitic speaking Middle East like the influence and power of the Assyrian Empire in general. The scripts of Mali, Ebla, Elam, Canaan and the Hittite Empire are based on it.

It became so successful that Akkadian written in cuneiform was used as international medium for correspondence and all sorts of texts from Egypt to Persia. It made a wide-spread communication possible as the Amarna Letters demonstrate so impressively. Yet even in those days, the Babylonian syllabary, used only in southern Mesopotamia, remained a mixture of logographic and phonemic writing.

Suddenly, in the City of Ugarit, northern Canaan, at around 1500 BC, the logo-syllabic script with thousands of different characters turned into an abjad [a consonantal script] with only 28 characters: the first sound-depicting alphabet in history! This, very soon, after only 200 or 300 years, was re-designed into Phoenician characters from which the Aramaic, Greek, Roman, Indian and many other alphabets derived.

Between the 10th and 6th centuries BC, the logo-syllabic Assyrian cuneiform was further simplified but that could not stop its decline. From the 6th century, the Akkadian language was marginalised by Aramaic, written first in Phoenician and then in the Aramaean alphabet, but Neo-Assyrian cuneiform remained in use in the literary tradition well into the times of the Parthian Empire (250 BC–226 AD). The last known cuneiform inscription, an astronomical text, was written in 75 AD. The authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls mentioned the cuneiform tablets. The ability to read cuneiform may have persisted until the third century AD.

The discovery of the tablets in Ugaritic Canaanite Alphabet represent the greatest literary discovery from antiquity since the decipherment of the Egyptian hieroglyphs and Mesopotamian cuneiform. They have had a major effect on the study of the Ancient Near East. Refinements have been made in the translations that followed. The information in the various tablets has spread beyond the field of archaeology, changing, among others, the face of history, religion, and mythology. Previous knowledge of religions of the Middle East was limited to a few untrustworthy and biased references in Greek, Roman, Judaic and Christian texts.

Important Canaanite gods, such as El, Baal, Athirat (Asherah), Anat Yahm, Shapash, the magician-craftsman Kothar-wa-Khasis, and Athtart/ Astarte emerge. Prior knowledge has been expanded and the influence of Canaanite religion and mythology on surrounding cultures, including the Egyptians, Hittites, and Greeks, and in Judaism.

We had to render the extant English "word for word translation," which was difficult to understand, into some kind of understandable prose; we excuted this carefully only in parts. Presented here is the most important of the mythological stories uncovered, the Myth of Baal. Seven tablets, written on both sides, five columns per side, contain the story. Unfortunately several were badly damaged during their 33 centuries in the ground, so parts of the story are unreadable. The language, however, is quite vivid, and in some cases very beautiful. Scholars now see that the writing style of the Torah is a continuity of that of the Canaanites, and certain expressions and descriptions are virtually identical, while some Canaanite Pagan vignettes have been rewritten in the Bible to support the newer Judaic religion. The language describing the god Yahweh [YHWH] shows that many of his characteristics are a combination of the Canaanite El and Baal. The use of word-play, common in the literature of all Semitic languages, is evident. The meaning is not always clear.

The Significance of Baal and El

The name Baal, Ba'al or Bel (Greek: Belos; Greek: Belos) was the indifferent classical rendering of the Semitic words baal and belu ("lord") as a name for God, a royal title, or a personal name. It appears: 1. as En (also Ensi) in Sumerian cuneiform for "lord" or "priest". 2. Baal / Bel (god), in Mesopotamian and Semitic mythology applied to gods; 3. as Canaanite Ba'al as a legendary king of Egypt; 4. Babylonian Marduk as a legendary king of Assyria; 5. as Zeus Belos, alternate name of the Babylonian god Marduk; 6. Belus, as legendary ancestor of Lydia's (Lydian) Heraclid dynasty; 7. as legendary king of Tyre in Virgil's Aeneid; 8. as Beelzebub or Beelzebul (Hebrew: Ba'al Zevuv) is a name derived from a Philistine god, formerly worshipped in Ekron, and later adopted by some Abrahamic religions as a major demon. The name "Beelzebub" is associated with the Canaanite god Baal.

Bel (Aramaic cognate with the Canaanite Phoenician Baal, meaning lord god, or possessor). The Sumerian equivalent of Bel was En, which was a title of Enlil, the god of wind and storm, one of the original triad of Sumerian gods. With the rise to supremacy of Babylon, its chief god Marduk (in the Old Testament: Merodach) took over the attributes of Enlil, and so was given Bel as an honorific title, which gradually superseded Marduk in ordinary use. In the Old Testament, aside from forming part of proper names, Merodach is found only in Jeremiah 50:2 (Merodach is dismayed!), but Bel is used in Isaiah 46:1 (Bel bows down.), Jeremiah 51:44 (And I will punish Bel in Babylon), the apocryphal Bel and Epistle of Jeremiah 6:41, and as a constituent of the name Belshazzar. Although Baal / Bel was the chief god of Canaan once, somehow he got a bad reputation on the way. It also appears so in the Canaanite Myth of Baal from Ugarit where Baal got killed. Why and when does a formerly beloved god got killed? In Canaan he got killed when the people went through hard times of famine, plague, and civil war. Baal seem to stand in Canaanite history as synonym for the priest-kings who came onto pressure fom the Habiru (Hebrew) as described in the Amarna letters.

The narrative of Bel and the Dragon is incorporated as chapter 14 of the extended Book of Daniel. The narrative of Bel (Daniel 14:1–22) ridicules the worship of idols. The original Septuagint text in Greek survives in a single manuscript, Codex Chisianus, while the standard text is due to Theodotion, the 2nd-century AD revisor.

The name Belial (Hebrew: Beliya'al) is closely related to Bel / Baal. It is a term occurring in the Hebrew Bible which later became personified as the devil in Jewish and Christian texts. Alternate spellings include Baalial, Balial, Belhor, Beliall, Beliar, Berial, and Beliya'al.

In northwest Semitic use, El was both a generic word for any god and the special name or title of a particular god who was distinguished from other gods as being "the god". The name El and Il or Al, Ilah, and Allah], are cognate forms found throughout all Semitic languages. They include the East Semitic language Akkadian [in Assyria and Mari]: ilu, pl. ilanu, the earlier Northwest Semitic languages Ugaritic Canaanite / Phoenician: ilu [pl. ilim]; the later Northwest Semitic languages Hebrew, Aramaic: el, [pl. elim]. El is listed at the head of many pantheons. In some Canaanite and Ugaritic sources, El played a role as father of the gods or of creation.

The Baal stories may well represent ancient precursors to the Hebrew Bible. The Baal Cycle is an Ugaritic cycle of stories about a storm god associated with fertility. It is one of the Canaanite texts from the City of Ugarit in Phoenicia, northern Canaan.

The text identifies the Canaanite god Baal (lit. "Owner", "Lord") as the god Hadad, the Northwest Semitic form of Adad. The stories include The Myth of Baal Aliyan and The Death of Baal. The contest between Baal and Yam is now seen as the prototype for the vision recorded in the 7th chapter of the Biblical Book of Daniel. The Baal stories seem to represent a historical event narrating a catastrophe of drought and infertility when the rain does not come in its season".

Basic synopsis of the Baal stories are summarised thus:

• Yam wants to rule over the other gods and be the most powerful of all
• Baal Hadad opposes Yam and slays him
• Baal Hadad, with the help of Anath and Athirat, persuades El to allow him a palace
• Baal Hadad commissions Kothar-wa-Khasis to build him a palace.
• King of the gods and ruler of the world seeks to subjugate Mot
• Mot kills Baal Hadad
• Anath brutally kills Mot, grinds him up and scatters his ashes
• Baal Hadad returns to Mount Saphon
• Mot, having recovered from being ground up and scattered, challenges Baal Hadad
• Baal Hadad refuses; Mot submits
• Baal Hadad rules again

Plot of the stories as we can interpret them:

Baal and Yam: The beginning of the story of the battle between Baal and Yam is lost, but we first hear of Kothar-wa-Khasis, the craftsman of the gods being summoned to El, who resides at the confluence of the rivers and the two oceans. El tells him to build a palace for Yam, and to do so quickly in case Yam should take hostile action. When Athtar hears of this, she takes a torch down, the purpose of which is not known due to the damaged text, but she is confronted by Shapash, who tells her that El is to bestow royal power on Yam, and so opposition is useless. Athtar then complains that he has no place or court, and that he now fears defeat at the hands of Yam. Shapash suggests the reason to be that he has no wife, perhaps meaning he is too young.

The text following is lost, but resumes with El sitting in his banquet hall. Here he is addressed by the other deities, who complain that Yam is being put to shame, though the damaged text makes the reason unclear, though it is clear the reason is connected to his palace. The gods threaten that unless this situation is resolved they will wreak destruction. El gives them curdled milk, apparently a mark of esteem. El calls that his son's name hitherto has been Yaw, a personal name. El then proclaims that his name should be 'darling of El'. However, he informs Yam that he would have to drive his rival Baal from his throne and the seat of his dominion. Following this there is a banquet.

When the story resumes, Kothar-wa-Khasis has arrived under the sea and tells Yam that he has risen presumptuously to his position, and that Baal cannot stand idly by. He threatens that Yam will be destroyed by a magic weapon. Yam then sends word to El, on the mount of Lel, El's abode, demanding the surrender of Baal and his henchmen. However, Baal, upon hearing this on the mount of Lel attacks the envoys, though Anat and Athtart hold him back.

When the story resumes, Baal has already started to battle Yam, but is in despair due to the power of Yam, and the fierce sea-creatures. Kothar-wa-Khasis assures Baal that he will be victorious and will win a kingdom without end, and fetches two divine clubs for Baal's use. He gives them magic names, and strikes Yam the first two times himself. Baal then drags out Yam and finishes him off. Then Athtart tells Baal to scatter his rival, which he does, and then he cries out that Yam is dead, and that he shall be King.

The Palace of Baal: A description of the palace of Baal follows. It begins with a description of a banquet thrown in honour of Baal on Mount Zephon (modern-day Jebel Aqra). When the text resumes, we see Anat closing the door of her mansion and meeting her servants in a valley where there are two cities, which possibly represent Ugarit and its port. She kills the guards and warriors, and then drives away the townspeople. She then slaughters the guards and warriors in her palace, ending with a peace-offering. When the text resumes again, Baal is addressing his messengers, picturing his sister Anat sitting with her lyre and singing of her affection for him and his daughters. The messengers are told to perform a specific rite, and she will give them an important communication for Baal, the secret of the lightning. Together, Anat and Baal will search for the secret on the hill of Zephon. She replies that she would only perform the rite if Baal should set his thunderbolt in the sky and flash his lightning. She then joins Baal at Mount Zephon.

When the text resumes Baal complains to Anat that he has not a house, nor a court like other gods, meaning that he has to live in the dwelling of his father El and Athirat. Anat thus makes a threat against El, threatening to make his grey hair run with blood unless he allows Baal to have a palace. The earthquakes at her feet cause El to be exposed from his chamber. Though the text following is lost, it is clear this attempt was unsuccessful, so Baal dispatches Qodesh-wa-Amrur, the attendant of Athirat, to deliver a message to Kothar-wa-Khasis, whose home is in Egypt. When the text continues, Qodesh-wa-Amrur delivers Baal's message, which is that Kothar-wa-Khasis should fashion gifts for Athirat, presumably so she will support Baal's bid for a palace. He enters his forge, and produces magnificent pieces of furniture, a pair of sandals, and a decorated table and bowl.

When the text continues we see Athirat performing her woman's work by the seashore, when she then sees Baal and Anat approaching. She wonders whether he has come to kill all her sons and kinsfolk, perhaps a reference to the Hittite myth of Elkunirsa where the storm-god boasts of having killed the many sons of Athirat. However, her anger subsides when she sees the gifts, and so supports Baal in his bid, and she calls upon Qodesh-wa-Amrur to cast a net into the sea so she may have provisions to entertain the guests with. He does so, and when the text continues we see Anat encouraging Baal as they come closer to Athirat, reminding that he will have an eternal kingdom. However, Baal is still anxious. They persuade Athirat of their case.

She proceeds to El's abode, and makes her case. Reluctantly, he gives his assent for a house to be built for Baal. Baal is then instructed to collect cedar-wood, bricks and precious metals in order to build his house. Kothar-wa-Khasis builds him a palace, but Baal insists that it is built without windows, in case that his daughters may escape,[citation needed] or that Yam may come again and trouble him. The work is completed and Baal rejoices. When the text resumes, Baal recalls his triumph over Yam, and then marches out taking many cities his own. He then consents to having windows to his Palace, and does so by thundering them out. While sitting in his palace he asks himself whether anybody would resist his power, and if anybody should, he should send word to Mot, god of death, to deal with them. He sends two messengers to Mot inviting him to a feast and to acknowledge his sovereignty. In the ending, which is lost, Mot makes his reply.

Baal and Mot: The final part of the Baal cycle is concerned with Baal's battle against Mot [the personification, or God, of Death]. Continuing from the preceding section, Mot concludes his reply to Baal. His reply is that he, like a lion in the desert, hungers constantly for human flesh and blood. By inviting Mot to a meal of bread and wine, Mot is offended, and threatens to cause the heavens to wilt and collapse, breaking Baal into pieces. Mot then will eat him piece by piece.

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When the text continues, Baal, or a speaker on his behalf admits his fear and dread of Mot. The speaker then tells Gupn and Ugar to go back to Mot and tell him that Baal will be eternally his slave, news to which Mot rejoices. When the text continues Baal complains to El that his dominion is in danger of passing to Mot. He then sends messengers to Sheger and Ithm, who are responsible for Cattle and Sheep, and asks them to provide animals for a feast, to which he will invite Mot. When the texts continue, a messenger from Mot arrives in the divine assembly, demanding to know where Baal is. They both go up to El's house where El asks what has been happening. When the text continues, a speaker who is probably Shapash the sun-goddess addresses Baal. She is advising him to find a substitute in his image, which will be sought out and slain by Mot. She then promises to bury his body, and advises him to go to the two mountains which mark the entrance of the underworld, and to move them aside. Then he is to go down into the earth and hide. He finds a heifer in the fields, and with it a human child, whom he dresses in his robes and offers as a gift to Mot.

When the text continues, two deities, presumably Gupn and Ugar arrive at El's abode, and they announce to him that they have been searching for Baal, but found him dead by the bank of the river of the dead. El then descends from his throne and sits on the ground, and mourns, strewing dust on his head, wears clothes of sackcloth, shaves off his beard and beats his chest in grief. Anat too wears sackcloth when she finds the fake dead body. Shapash aids Anat in burying Baal upon Mount Zephon, and Anat slaughters large numbers of oxen, sheep, goats, and asses as a memorial. Anat returns to El, and tells Athirat and her family (many of whom were on the side of Mot) that they can rejoice since Baal was dead. El asks Athirat who can he appoint in Baal's place, and she suggests Athtar. Athtar seats himself on Baal's throne but is not tall enough, confirming El's suspicion that he is too weak for the position.

When the text recontinues, Anat is searching in the netherworld for the shade of her brother. She demands that Mot restores him to her. However, Mot answers that he had searched for him over the earth, where he found him at the entrance of his domain, and then he simply ate him. Anat continues her search, until she loses patience, and she seizes Mot, and attacks him, attacking him with a sword, shaking him, burning him, crushing him, then throwing his remains to the birds. When the text continues, Anat returns to El and announces that Mot is dead. El then has a dream which tells him that Baal lives. Shortly after that, Baal returns. However, soon Mot comes back to life and complains to Baal of the treatment he has received. He demands that Baal surrender one of Mot's brothers. When Mot has returned, Baal sends messengers telling him that he will banish him, and that if he is hungry, he may eat the servants of Baal. However, this fails to please Mot, and so the two gods fight on Mount Zephon until exhausted. Shapash arrives and warns Mot that fighting Baal is useless, and that El is now on Baal's side and will overturn Mot's throne. Mot is afraid, and so declares that Baal is king.)

PART I: THE BATTLE OF BAAL AND YAHM

(As the Canaanite alphabet of Ugarit is an abjad [a consonantal alphabet], scholars must add some vowels to the names, as these were not all given. The Ocean god's name "ym" is variously written as Yam, Yamm, or Yamu. Here we write it as Yahm because it is not pronounced like the vegetable, but more like Yom. Many sentences, and even entire paragraphs, are repeated for several times. The numbers of the tablets were assigned by scholars as they examined the tablets and do not necessarily indicate the order in which they were originally read. Therefore, the numbers of the tablets and fragments could also be read in a different order! We shall not represent the texts in their original lines but as fluent texts as they show the context more.)

[Column 5] El Speaks to Yahm

. . . . and a day, two days will pass . . . . . he (Baal) will arrive with a desire [life / appetite / hunger] . . . . Hadad, you will meet him . . . . at Tsapan . . . . a cut (of meat) . . . when he sees . . . Yahm Speaks to El . . . he speaks: ". . . . truly I know . . . [Bull El] will bind him, Bull El . . . . you will bind . . . . stones (i.e., testicles) . . . I be/were constrained . . . and he will surely attack (me) in my loins . . . red stuff, back . . . El Responds to Yahm . . . . you shall surely drive (him) in his loins . . . . a day, two days will pass . . . he will arrive with a life . . . . Hadad, you will meet him . . . . your . . . food on Tsapan . . . . a doe Yahm . . . Responds to El . . . . then he speaks: ". . . . truly I know . . . . you will bind him, Bull El . . . . you will bind . . . stones (i.e., testicles) . . . . [I be/were] constrained . . . enter . . . . attack me in my loins . . . I will be provisioned . . . . you will enter when he lifts [his head/eyes] . . . . with provisions you will indeed be fed . . . . to the earth . . . . .

[Column 4] . . . . Aloud they [summon the assembly of the gods/ do cry to those near]. They invite the distant ones [those far away], to the assembly of El they summon and do cry: "El remains seated [in his banqueting hall among his cult-guests . . . The shame of the Eternal One/The shameful conduct of the usurper . . . O gods, (to) the house of your lord . . . Who surely travels quickly through the land [El walking through the underworld], . . . who goes in a mess of mud on the ground . . . . He drinks [gives them to drink] overflowing . . ., He takes a beaker into the two hands. . . . like porridge with crumbs. Like gravel is gathered . . .

El should appoint as deputy his son. The Bull should proclaim as Master Yawu. And Kindly El the Beneficent speaks . . . Not called my son by the name of Yawu, O goddess Elat and . . . , but Yahm shall be his name!

And [he proclaims so do you proclaim the name Yahm . . . And Elat and Lady Athiratu . . . . they answer: 'For our sustenance . . . you are the one who has been proclaimed.

And the Bull El answered: I, myself, Kindly El the Beneficent, have taken you in my hands . . . I proclaim your name. Yahm is your name,

Your name is Beloved of El, Yahm. My house of silver which . . .

By the hand of Mighty Aliyan Baal . . . . because he reviles and abused me . . .

Drive him from the throne of his kingship, From the resting place, the cushion on the seat of his dominion . . . . But if then you do not drive him from his throne of kingship, from the seat of his dominion, He will beat you like . . . El sacrifices, he does slaughter . . .

He proclaims . . . . He slaughters oxen, also sheep. He fells bulls and [fatted rams], yearling calves and winter lambs, by the flock, he sacrifices, kids . . . . . .

[Column 3] Then they surely head toward the whole of divine Memphis; Kaphtor [= Crete] is the throne of his sitting; Memphis his inherited land. From a thousand acres, ten thousand hectares. At the feet of Kothar they bow and kneel. They prostrate themselves and honour him [the Pharao]. And they speak to Kothar wa-Khasis, Skillful and Wise, They address Hayani, the Capable One of the Handicrafts: "Decree of Bull El, your Father, Word of the Beneficent One, your Scion: " . . . Kothar . . . . Prepare to pour . . . . . Prepare in the mountains . . . . . You hasten! You hurry! You rush! To me let your feet run to me let your legs race, to the mountain, [Mount Khas/ Khurshan-zur-kas]. For a message I have, and I will tell you, a word and I will repeat to you: The word of tree and the whisper of stone. The converse of Heavens to the Earth, Of Deeps to Stars; The word not known to humankind, and not understood by the multitudes of the earth. Come and I will reveal it . . . ' "

And Kothar wa Khasis answers: "Go, go Divine Servants! You, you delay, but I, I depart. Kaphtor is indeed far, O Gods, Memphis is indeed far, O Gods: Two lengths beneath the springs of the Earth; Three, the expanse of hollows." Then he indeed heads toward Kindly El the Beneficent, Toward the Mount Khas [Kvsi, Khurshan-zur-kas].

He enters El's mountain and he comes to the domicile of the King, the Father of Years. At El's feet he bows low to the ground and prostrates himself and honours him . . .

Bull El his father speaks . . . : "Hurry, a house may it be built; Hurry, may there be erected a palace. In the midst of . . . . . Build . . . son . . . . I . . .

[Column 2] Then you shall surely head toward Inbb inbvbi. Across a thousands courts, ten thousands houses. At the feet of Anat bow low to the ground. Prostrate yourselves and honour her. And speak to Adolescent Anat, address the In-law of the Peoples: "Message of Bull El, your Father, Word of the Beneficent One, your Scion: Remove from the earth war, Set in the dust love; Pour peace amidst the earth, Tranquility amidst the fields.

You hurry! You hasten! You rush! To me let your feet run, To me let your legs hasten . . . . your food and drink . . . . lapis . . . . raise in the middle of . . . bind . . . . he will die . . . . like spittle . . . . prepare for the earth . . . . You will pass . . . . . .

Then they surely head toward Inbb inbvbi [Note: Anat's abode], across a thousands courts, ten thousands houses. At the feet of Anat they bend over to the ground. They prostrate themselves and honour her. And they lift their voice and declare: "Message of Bull El, your Father. Word of the Beneficent One, your Scion: Remove from the earth war. Set in the dust love; Pour peace amidst the earth. Tranquility amidst the fields. You hurry! You hasten! You rush! To me let your feet run, to me let your legs hasten . . . . . to the mountain. . . . . .

[Column 3] . . . . Then indeed he sets his face toward El at the Source of the Double Rivers, in the midst of the springs of the Two Oceans, the Double Deeps, he comes into the mountain(s) of El and enters the pavilion [tabernacle] of the king, Father Shunem [of Years]. At the feet of El, he does bow to the ground. He prostrates himself and does him honour . . . . [and says;] "(O), Kothar-and-Khasis, depart! And Quickly, build a house for Yahm, erect a palace for Judge Nahar. In the heart . . . "Depart, Quickly, Kothar-wa-Khasis, build a house for Prince Yahm, raise a palace for Judge Nahar, a house like in the midst of the mountain [Mt. Khas] of Bull El the Beneficent. Quickly shall you build the house, let it be built, quickly let the palace be erected. A thousand acres may [be the size that] cover the house, ten thousand hectares the palace . . . boys at the fields of Yahm . . . . in the sea . . . Yahm . . . " Then Athtar, . . . the possessor of kingship . . . . a torch and . . . fire . . . (he) carries . . . (he) goes down . . . (to) . . . him, the Torch of the gods, Shapashu, she lifts up her voice and cries: 'Hear now, O Athtar, I beseech thee . . . : Indeed, cause (the table) to be set. Take vengeance . . . will the Bull El thy father, and retire from the presence of Yahm, the presence of the Judge Nahar.

If hear thee should the Bull El thy Father? Surely, he will pull out the pillars of thy dwelling, indeed will overturn the throne of thy kingship!

Surely (he) will break the scepter of thy dominion/rule//thine authority!"

And answers [Athtar], the possessor of kingship: ". . . (against) me the Bull El my father. As for me, I have no house like the gods, nor court like the sons of Holiness. Alone, I shall go down into the grave of us both [Like a lion I will descend with my desire]. The skillful ones, the Kotharim will wash me. To dwell in a house is Prince Yahm, in a palace, Judge Nahar.

Cause the table to be set will the Bull El his father before Prince Yahm, before Judge Nahar. Am I indeed king or am I not king?"

And Shapash Torch of the gods answered: "Thou hast no wife like the gods . . . nor a maiden like the sons of the Holy one(s). And Prince Yahm . . . , Judge Nahar . . . . he (will) send me." And answers Athtar . . . :

[Column 1] . . . . And they return . . . . "You, you have risen against/up . . . . . [overweening]. The Mightiest Baal responded: "From your throne of kingship you will be driven, [from the seat of] your dominion expelled!

On your head be Ayamari, Driver, O Yahm, Between your shoulders Yagarish, Chaser, Judge Nahar. May Horon split open, O Yahm, may Horon smash open your head, Athtart-Name-of-Baal thy skull! [Comment: Apparently a common curse, it also occurs in Tablet 1.16 col. 6, lines 54-57] . . . . [broken thy] staff; and down you will fall at the peak of your years, . . . in the limit of your years, mayest thou be humbled [Like the Father of] Years, [by thy] two wives!"

Two Messengers sends Yahm , Judge Nahar . . . envoys, [and raises his voice and shouts] : They rejoice exceedingly at the very height of their triumph, let them be shattered . . . .

[The curses above might have a reason, and the following scene now sounds like some kind of revolution against Baal. This text could be about the downfall of Baal, an allusion to an ongoing revolt against the priest-kings in Canaan.]

Their heart rejoices, . . . let their nose be broken!. Go ye, servants, do not delay. Straightaway turn ye your faces, indeed, towards the Assembly of the Convocation in the midst of the Mount of Lel [Lelu, Lalu, Lila], the mount of Night. At the feet of El, bow down to the ground; Prostrate yourselves, [but] not before the Assembly of the Convocation. Standing (up), say what you have to say, repeat what you know; and say unto the Bull, my father, El, repeat unto the Convocation Assembled: "The message of Yahm your master, of your lord Judge Nahar: Him whom you protect, O Multitude, Hand over Baal and his henchmen that I may humble him, the Son of Dagan, let me seize his gold and assume his inheritance."

So the messengers speed away, they do not delay. Then straightaway their faces indeed they set towards the midst of the mount of Lel, the mount of Night, towards the Assembly of the Convocation. Meanwhile the Gods are sitting down, the sons of the Holy one, having a meal, cutting up meat. Baal is standing beside El. Behold! As soon as the Gods catch sight of them; they catch sight of the messengers of Yahm, the envoys of Judge Nahar; the gods do bow their heads on to their knees and onto their thrones of princeship. Them Baal rebukes: "Why do you bow, O Gods, your heads on to your knees and onto your thrones of princeship? [Alone], gods, I will answer the tablets [letters] of the messengers of Yahm. The gods, will they answer the tablets [letters]. Do I see gods, that you are stricken with fear of the messengers of Yahm, the envoys of Judge Nahar?

Lift up, O Gods, your heads from the top of your knees, from your thrones of princeship, For I will answer the messengers of Yahm, the envoys of Judge Nahar*." [*Judge Nahar, an epithet for Yahm (god), Levantine god of the sea and rivers. Yahm (or Yam) is the god of the sea in the Canaanite pantheon and takes here the role of Baal's enemy. He is also one of the Elohim (Ilahuuma, Ilahiima) or sons of El. The fight of Baal-Hadad with Yam has long been equated with the Chaoskampf mytheme in Mesopotamian mythology in which a god fights and destroys a "dragon" or sea monster; the seven-headed dragon Lotan is associated closely with him and Yahm is often described as the serpent.]

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The gods lift up their heads from upon their knees, from their thrones of princeship. Thereupon arrive the messengers of Yahm, the envoys of Judge Nahar; at the feet of El, indeed they do not prostrate themselves before the Assembly of the Convocation. Standing, they say what they have to say, repeating what they know, like a fire, and their tongues appear to flash, just as sharp as a sword. They do say unto the Bull his father El: "The message of Yahm your Master, of your Lord, Judge Nahar: " O Multitude, to whom the multitudes would be paying respect by worship, hand over Baal and his henchman that I may humble him, the Son of Dagan, that I may seize his gold and assume his inheritance."

And answers the Bull his father El: "Thy slave Baal is, O Yahm, thy slave Baal is forever. O Nahar, the Son of Dagan thy prisoner! He must bring tribute to you, like the Gods. Even he must bring like the sons of the Holy one tribute to thee. He will surely pay tribute to thee; When, see, the Holy ones [bring thy payment to pay thee tribute, the Holy Ones are offering their presents unto thee!

Then indeed Prince Baal gets angry. He takes in his hand a 'slayer' [sword]. The servitors . . . He reaches to strike. His right hand Anat seizes, his left hand takes does Athtart: "However can you assail the messengers of Yahm, the envoys of Judge Nahar? A messenger holds the staff of . . . , . . . and you would slay a messenger? Between his shoulders is the word of his lord,* [* official messages were carried in a bag tied round the neck] and (he) . . . . . " ; Then indeed a companion to anger is Prince Baal; the terraces with vines they will leave untilled.

. . . . the messengers of Yahm will leave the fields unfurrowed, the envoys of Judge Nahar the earth, . . . "I myself say to Yahm your master, your lord Judge Nahar: [Hear] the word of the Annihilator Hadad: . . . . . you bow down . . . I will go after Yahm . . .

[Column 2] . . . . Midst . . . . And Baal . . . . I will strike . . . King . . . . Send . . . Life/Breath . . . Baal . . . . .

[Column 4] ". . . houses . . . . . ! " . . . [my] power is shattered . . . . drive out . . . die . . . . . I will not bring out. If moreover . . . . . live . . .

"I will surely send them out . . . If then I drive . . . And in Yahm will be the sieve of destruction, And in Yahm will be the breast of [death]; (in) Judge Nahar will be "gnawers", There "attackers" move about . . . There the sword I will destroy . . . . the house I will burn. To the earth will fall [the strength of us two; and into the dust [the might of us two]."

Scarcety has come and go thus forth - these words from her mouth; her speech and - she uttered her voice from her lips. And she raises her voice: when did he sank asleep? "May he bow down at the foot of the throne of Prince Yahm. Thereupon answers Kothar wa Khasis: "Truly, indeed, I have been telling unto you, O Prince Baal; Let me repeat to you, O Rider of the Clouds. Now your foes, O Baal, you must slay; Now your enemies you must silence [annihilate].

Then shall you take your kingship for all time; your dominion for all generations."

Therewith Kothar brings down two weapons and proclaims/pronounces their name: "Thy name, thine, is Yagarish, Chaser. Yagarish, chase Yahm, Chase Yahm from his throne, Nahar from the seat of his dominion. Do thou leapest from the hand of Baal, like a raptor from between his fingers? Strike the back of Prince Yahm, between the shoulders of Judge Nahar." The weapon leaps from the hand of Baal, like an raptor from between his fingers. It strikes the back of Prince Yahm, between the shoulders of Judge Nahar. But strong is Yahm, he does not sink down, not quiver do his joints, not collapse does his form. Kothar brings down two weapons And he proclaims their name: "Thy name, thine, is Ayamari, Driver. Ayamari, drive Yahm! Drive Yahm from his throne, Nahar from the seat of his dominion. Do thou leap from the hand of Baal, Like a raptor in his fingers? Strike on the skull of Prince Yahm, between the eyes of Judge Nahar. Let collapse Yahm and fall to the earth!" And the weapon dances (leaps) from the hand of Baal, like a raptor from between his fingers. It strikes the skull of Prince Yahm, between the eyes of Judge Nahar. Yahm collapses, he falls to the earth; His joints quiver, and his spine shakes.

Thereupon Baal drags out and would Yahm hack into pieces; he would make an end of Judge Nahar. By the Name Athtart rebukes: "For shame, O Mightiest Baal! For shame, O Rider on the Clouds! For our captive is Prince Yahm, for our captive is Judge Nahar." And as the word goes out of/ does come forth from/ leaves her mouth . . .

Mightiest Baal indeed is ashamed . . . and . . . he answers: "Yahm is indeed surely dead! Baal reigns and shall be king! . . .

Then up speaks Yahm: "Lo, I am as good as dead! Surely, Baal now will reign/ is king!" . . . heat is indeed assured! And then Baal indeed rules and shall be king!] [- - - heat], while answers Yahm: "Lo, I am as good as dead! Surely Baal now is king! He will reign! He indeed rules!" his [heat] is indeed assured! And she answers: . . . . . "O, Baal, these . . . . may Baal rule them, ... heat is indeed assured!" . . . . he indeed rules! And he did place . . . . on his head . . . . his foes [hands] . . . . . between his eyes . . . . . [Apparently Yahm is not killed, but is confined to the seas. Hence, there will yet be talk of him . . .]

PART 2: BAAL CELEBRATES HIS VICTORY OVER YAHM

[Column 1] (ca. 25 lines missing) . . . . "Do not lower [your heads]." Then Radamin does [service to] Mightiest Baal; he does [wait upon] the Prince, Lord of the Earth. He does rise, he sets (the table) and prepares food and gives it to him to eat; he divides a breast before him, with a sharp blade he does cut up a fatling. He does get up, he makes ready a feast and gives him drink; he places a cup into his hand(s), a flagon into both his two hands, a large beaker, great to see, a holy cup such as which was never seen by a woman, a goblet which should never Athirat set her eye on; a thousand pitchers he takes of (new autumn) wine, to be mixed in ten thousand portions. While he is mixing it. One does rise, one chants and sings, cymbals in the hands of the minstrel; sings the youngster with a sweet voice of Baal in the Heights of Tsaphon, the North. Catches sight does Baal of his daughters, he sets his eye on Pidraya daughter of Ar, daughter of Light; also on Talaya daughter of Rabb, of showers of rain; Pidar knows . . . . . [Lacuna of about 12-20 lines.]

[B, Column 2] There comes she, bathed in the scent of henna enough for seven maidens, in a scent of saffron and ambergris. Closes the gates of the house does Anat and meets she the messengers at the base of the mountain. And lo, Anat gives battle in the valley; Mightily she cuts in pieces the people of the two cities; She slaughters the people of the Western Shore; She destroys the men of the Eastern Sunrise.

Beneath her like balls roll heads, above her like locusts fly palms of hands; like avenging grasshoppers are the hands of the quick warriors. She hangs heads on her back; she binds hands to her belt. Up to her knees she wades in blood of the swift soldiers, to her thighs in the gore of quick warriors. With her shafts she drives out the enemies; with her bow-string the foes.

And lo, 'Anat to her house proceeds; betakes herself does the goddess to her palace. But not sated is she with the fighting in the valley, by her cutting down the sons of the (two) cities. She sets up chairs for swift soldiers; she sets up tables for troops; footstools for heroes.

Greatly she battles and beholds; Anat hews and cleaves and observes; swelled are her innards with laughter, filled is her heart with joy, the liver of Anat with triumph. Up to her knees she wades in blood of swift soldiers, to her thighs in the gore of quick warriors until she is sated she fights in the house and she hews and cleaves amid the tables. Wiped from the house is the blood of swift soldiers; Poured (out) is oil of peace[-offering] (for peace and well-being) from a bowl. She washes her hands, Batalat Anat, the Maiden; her fingers, Yabamat Li'imim: the Kindred of the Peoples (of Ugarit) and Thousand of gods. She washes her hands of the blood of swift soldiers, her fingers of the gore of quick warriors. Puts back chairs with chairs, tables with tables, footstools she puts back with footstools.

She scoops up water and washes, in dew of the Heavens, oil of the Earth (i.e., fat of the land), rain from Rider of the Clouds, dew that the heavens pour out, rain the stars pour, spray the stars shed. She adorns herself with ambergris, one thousand tracts away its source in the sea.

[Column 3] . . . . . She takes her lyre in hand, to her breast, sings of love for Cassuto with passion. She puts corals on her breast, sings of (her) love for a feeling of Mightiest Baal, of affection of Pidraya bat Ar [daughter of Ar], the bright daughter of Light, and of desire of Talaya bat Rab [daughter of Rab], Dewie daughter of Rain, of love of Aretsaya bat Ya'abdar, Earthie daughter of Rivers and Fields. Forthwith, O servants, do enter; and at the feet of Anat bow down to the ground; prostrate yourselves, do homage unto her. And bring the word to Batalat Anat, the Maiden, repeat them to Yabamat Li'imim, the Kindred of the Peoples (of Ugarit) and Sister-in-law of the Thousand gods: "Message of Mighty Aliyan Baal Puissant, word of the Mightiest of Warriors: "Withdraw war(fare) from the earth [and make] an offering of loaves. Set in the land mandrakes of love, pour forth peace(-offerings) in the midst of the earth, rain honey from a pot like a libation of love in the heart of the fields.

You hurry! You hasten! You rush! To me thy feet let run; to me let hasten thy legs. Truly a tale I have that I would tell thee, a word that I would recount to thee, a tale of trees and a whisper of stones the murmur of the Heavens to the Earth, of the Seeps to the Stars.

I understand lightning not known to the Heavens, a tale not known to humankind, nor yet understood by the multitudes of the Earth. Come, pray, and I myself shall reveal it, in the midst of my mountain, the divine Tsaphon of the North, in the holy place, the mountain of my inheritance, in the pleasant place, the hill of my triumph."

Behold, Anat espies the two gods, On her, her feet start to tap, behind her hips seems as if about to burst above her face sweats, she shakes the joints of her hips, the muscles of her back become weak. [this may describe the reaction of a female character to an unexpected visit]

She lifts up her voice and shouts: Why have Gapen and Ugar come? What foe does rise against Baal, enemy against the Rider on the Clouds? Did I not demolish the darling of El, Yam the Sea? Did I not make an end of Nahar, the River, the great god divine Rabim? Did I not snare the Dragon, and vanquish him?

I did demolish the Twisting Serpent, the Tyrant with Seven Heads; I did demolish the Darling of the gods, Arsh, Desire, I did silence [annihilate] the divine Calf of El, Atik, the Quarrelsome, the Rebellious One. I did destroy the Bitch of the gods, Ishat, the Firey, I did make an end of the daughter of El [Zabib, Zebub], the Flame.

He did fight for the silver and I will again do battle and will possess me the gold of him that would thrust Baal . . . .

[Column 4] . . . . from the Heights of Tsaphon, the North, who pecks like a bird, his ear, [that would drive] him from the throne of his kingdom, from (the cushion on) the seat of his dominion.

What foe then rises against Baal, what enemy against the Rider on the Clouds?' And the servitors do answer and give reply: "No foe rises against Baal, enemy against the Rider on the Clouds.

The message of Mighty Baal, the word of the Mightiest among Warriors: "Withdraw war from the earth. Put on the earth an offering of loaves. Set in the land mandrakes of love, pour forth peace(-offerings) in the midst of the earth, rain honey from a pot like a libation of love in the heart of the fields.

Hurry; hasten; rush! to me thy feet let run; to me let hasten thy legs. Truly a tale I have that I would tell thee, a word that I would recount to thee, a tale of trees and a whisper of stones; a tale not known by humankind, nor yet understood by the multitudes of the earth. The murmur of the Heavens to the Earth, of the Deeps to the Stars, I understand lightning not known to the Heavens. Come, pray, and I myself shall reveal it, in the midst of my mountain, the divine Tsaphon of the North, in the holy place, in the mountain of my inheritance."

And answers Maiden Anat, replies Yabamat Li'imim: "Shall even I withdraw war from the earth and do an offering of loaves, shall I set in the land mandrakes of love, shall I pour peace in the midst of the earth, rain honey from a pot like a libation of love on the heart of the fields? Let set in the heavens Baal his thunder-bolt, let him cause to shine forth like a lightning flash! Then shall I withdraw war from the earth and put in the earth an offering of loaves. I shall set in the land mandrakes of love, I shall pour peace(-offerings) in the midst of the earth, rain honey from a pot like a libation of love in the heart of the fields. Also one more word I will say: Be off, be off and Go, go, servitors divine!

You remain here while I depart. Ughar for the most distant of gods, Inbab for the most distant of ghosts, is not my mountain far from El, my cave far from the gods?

To the city, to the distant gods, off to the distant netherworld gods. Ughar is indeed far, O Gods, two lengths beneath the springs of the earth, [three spans beneath its caves. Then indeed she sets her face towards Baal in the Heights of Tsaphon, the North, across a thousand fields, ten thousand tracts.

The coming of his sister Baal espies, the swift approach of the daughter-in-law of his father. He does remove the women from his presence and does set an ox before her, a fatling too in front of her. She scoops up water and washes, in dew of the Heavens, oil of the Earth [fat of the land], dew that the heavens pour out, rain the stars pour/spray the stars shed.

She adorns herself with murex/ambergris, one thousand tracts away is its source in the sea; with dew [. . .]

[E] But there is not a house for Baal like the gods, no court like the sons of Athirat. The dwelling of El the shelter of his son; the dwelling of Lady Athirat of the sea the dwelling of Pidraya bat Ar, the Flashing Bright daughter of Light, the shelter of Talaya bat Rabb, Dewie daughter of Rain, the dwelling of Artsaya, Earthie, daughter of Ya'abdar, the Streams and Fields, the dwelling of the noble brides. And Maiden Anat answers: "Attend to me, will Bull El my father; he will attend to me and I will tell him what I shall do.

[Column 5] I shall surely drag him like a lamb to the ground, I shall make his grey hairs run with blood, the grey hairs of his beard with gore, if he gives not Baal a house like the gods and a court like the sons of Athirat." She plants/ stamps her feet and quake does the earth; then indeed she sets her face towards El at the source of the two rivers Euphrates and Tigris], in the midst of the springs of the two oceans double deeps; she [penetrates the mountains and opens the pavillion [tabernacle] of El and entersthe shrine of the king, Father of Time, she enters the mountains. The Bull El her father hears her voice; . . . . from the seven chambers, through the eight entrances of the closed room . . . . he does look . . . . above . . . . at the feet of the pages . . . .

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Shapash, the luminary of the gods, glow hot even in the dark; the heavens are wearied by the hand of divine Mot [god of death]. And Maiden Anat speaks: "In the building of your mansion, O El, in the building of your mansion do not rejoice, do not rejoice in the raising/height of your palace, lest I seize them with my right hand, ... by the might of my long arm, lest I smash your head, make your grey hairs run with blood, the grey hairs of your beard with gore." Answers El from the seven chambers, through the eight entrances of the closed room: "I know, daughter, that you are gentle and that there exists not among goddesses contempt for those like yours. What do you desire, O Maiden Anat?" And Maiden Anat answers: "Your decree, El, is wise; your wisdom is everlasting eternal. A life of good fortune is your decree. Our king is Mightiest Baal, our judge, there is none over him. All of us would bear cup."

Groaning he indeed cries out to Bull El his father, to El, the king who created him, he cries out to Athirat and her sons, Elat the goddess and the company of her kinsfolk: "But there is not a house for Baal like the gods, no court like the sons of Athirat. The dwelling of El, the shelter of his son; the dwelling of Lady Athirat of the sea, the dwelling of Pidraya bat Ar, the Flashing Bright daughter of Light, the shelter of Talaya bat Rabb, Dewie daughter of showers, the dwelling of Artsaya bat Ya'abdar, Earthie daughter of the Streams and Fields, the dwelling of the noble brides" . . .

[F Column 6] (ca. 10 lines) . . . . . .Cross Byblos, cross Qa'al [Qeilah], cross the islands of Noph [on the far horizon]. Start away, O Fisherman of Athirat, advance, Qodesh and Amrur, Holy and Most Blessed One; Then of a truth do thou set thy face towards Memphis in Egypt, all broad the god of it all, Kaphtor (Crete) the throne on which he sits, Memphis in Egypt, the land of his inheritance.

Traversing a thousand fields, ten thousand acres, at the feet of Kothar do homage and bow down, prostrate thyself and do honour to him; and tell to Kothar-and-Khasis, repeat to Hayani, skilled worker by hand, the Clever Craftsman: The message of Mightiest Baal, the word of the Mightiest of Warriors:

[d. Fragment b, Placed immediately before II AB] "Homage to Lady Athirat of the Sea, Obeisance to the Progenitress of the Gods, (So) she will give a house to Baal like to the other gods. And a court like Athirat's sons'." To his lads, surely Baal loudly cries: "Look, Gapan and Ugar, sons of 'Ghulumat, is veiled the daylight; veiled in darkness, is the princess exalted. The pinions of [. . .] blazing are veiled. Flocks in the clouds, are circling round. In the heavens birds are circling round . . . . . the snow I shall bind the lightning . . . . . .

PART 3: BAAL ASKS FOR AND GETS HIS PALACE

[Column 1] (ca. 20 lines) Alas! he indeed cries out to the Bull, to El his father, to El the king who created him, [possible pun] he cries out to Athirat and her sons, to Elat, the Goddess, and the company of her kinsfolk: "But, see there is not a house for Baal like the gods, no court like the sons/children of Athirat. The dwelling of El, shelter for his son; the dwelling of Lady Athirat of the sea, the dwelling of the noble brides."

The dwelling of Pidraya bat Ar, Flashing Bright daughter of Light, the shelter of Talaya bat Rabb, Dewie daughter of Rain, the dwelling of Artsaya bat Ya'abdar, Earthie daughter of the Streams and Fields.

And one more thing, I would tell ye: Just try doing a present for the homage to Lady Athirat of the Sea a present to the Progenitress of the Gods Hayani the Clever One does go up to the bellows in the hands of Khasis are the tongs he smelts silver, he hammers out gold, he casts silver into a thousand bars and thousands of pieces of gold he smelts out bars. He casts canopy and a couch, a divine dias fit for a god [worth] twice ten thousand pieces a divine dias [decorated with] silver coated with a film of gold a divine throne fit for a god with a cushion at its and a divine footstool fit for a god whose . . . was . . . spread over with a mat, divine sandals, possessors of thongs, a couch fit for a god with a . . . , which he furnished on top with gold, a divine table fit for a god whose surface he does fill with (rhytons in the shapes of) creeping species and all manner of game from the foundations of the earth, a divine dish fit for a god whose handle is shaped like small cattle of] Amurru and whose appearance is as the land of Ym'an [Yemen] where are wild-oxen by the ten thousands."

[Column 2] (ca. 16 lines lost) (The first lines perhaps show Athirat presenting an offering of fish to El. Anat first disposes of the monster Yam by chasing him back into the sea.)

. . . . . on a stone [. . .] she does grasp her spindle in her hand, the spindle she held high in her right hand; she carries her garments, covering of the flesh, she flings her robe into the sea, her two garments into the rivers. She does place a khupatar-pot on the fire, a khubrush-vessel upon the coals, she implores Bull El, the Compassionate. Does entreats the Creator of Creatures. When she raises her eyes and she beholds the coming of Baal, Athirat surely she also sights the approach of Maiden Anat, and the speedy approach of Yabamat, the sister-in-law, Li'imim, of the Peoples.

Then at that her feet start to tap, behind hips is as though it seems as if [Earth] is about to crack above her face sweats, she starts to shake - the joints of her loins/hips/backside, the muscles become weak in her back. [may be the reaction of a female character to an unexpected visit]

She lifts up her voice and shouts: Why hast thou come? What brings hither Mightiest Baal? And why arrived has Maiden Anat? Have my enemies killed those who would smite me? I surely smite them! Per chance, have my sons, made an end of the raised a rebellion? Another revolt would have finished off and destroyed the company of my kinsfolk?" But when as soon as the coverings of silver Athirat catches sight of, the handiwork of silver and the shiny coatingsof gold, rejoice does Lady Athirat of the Sea. Surely to her servitor she cries aloud: Look at the marvelous craftsmanship, even [-----] "Now attend, thou, Deft One, yea, give heed, O thou Fisherman of Lady Athirat of the Sea. Take a net in thy hand, Qadash, a large mesh in thy two hands, Amrur; against the Beloved of El, Yahm the Deep, of El, the god of [. . .] against Nahar, the Ruler of the Streams, the god El [. . .]

[only the beginnings of 37-47 preserved, and no connected sense is recoverable.]:

Mightiest Baal [. . .]
Maiden Anat [. . .]
what [. . .]
and you [. . .]
Athirat [. . .]
in [. . .]
not [. . .]
the king [. . .]
of [. . .]
[. . .]
aloud [. . .]
he [. . .]

[Column 3] (ca. 12 lines) [. . .] let him not escape [. . .] thy foundation [. . .] for all generations [. . .]. . . thee/thy and . . . [. . .] O god, who hath (now) become king of the gods. Answer Mightiest Baal, responds/up starts the Rider on the Clouds, [. . .] Lo, he takes his stand "Here they go (Ga) and insulting me in defiance, One arose, went to me and spat at me in the midst of the assembly of the sons of the gods.

Set has been [. . .] muck upon my table, filth in the cup from which I was drinking. Two (kinds of) feasts Baal hates, three: Rider on the clouds, a feast of shame and a feast of degradation and a feast - where debauched are of lewdness of wanton. For Handmaids likewise there is shameful conduct indeed seen as shameful behaviour of lewdness handmaids!" There is debauchery of handmaids and wanton women."

After this Mightiest Baal has arrived, and also Maiden ZAnat; (as) she does homage by giving gifts to entreat Lady Athirat of the sea. Giving presents is considered graceful, particularly to the Progenitress of the gods.

Thereupon Lady Athirat of the sea answers: "Why would ye do homage by giving gifts to Lady Athirat of the sea? Would you exppect grace as a return for presents to Progenitress of the gods? Have ye done homage by given gifts to the Bull El the Compassionate in expectation for the grace of the Creator of Creatures?" And Maiden Anat replies: "We will do homage to thee by giving gifts, so we could make a request to our Mother Lady Athirat of the sea, and she could make a request for giving those presents to the Progenitress of the gods; thereafter we will make for the grace [or a favour] of him."

. . . . . the Father of Mightiest Baal . . . . . Then answers Lady Athirat of the sea . . . . . "Hearken (Ga) Maiden Anat while eat and drink, do the gods, and they are supplied with a suckling of the teat; with a sharp knife they do cut up fatling; they drink goblets of wine and from cups of gold the blood of trees. . . . . (gap of 7 lines) . . . . (Rest of column badly damaged.)

[Column 4; 10-12 lines missing.] . . . . . the Bull El our father. Then Lady Athirat of the sea speaks up loudly: "Hear, thou, Qadash, Holy-a-Amrur, and Most Blessed One, Fisherman of Lady Athirat of the Sea! Saddle a he-ass [donkey], harness a jackass, put on it halters of silver, a bridle of gold, fasten the halters] on thy she-asse(s)."

Qadash-wa-Amrur/Holy-and-Blessed obeys. He saddles a he-ass, harnesses a jackass, does put on halters of silver, and a bridle of gold, and fastens the halters on his she-asse(s).

Qodesh-wa-Amrur puts his arms around her and then sets Athirat on the back of the ass, on the easiest part of the beautiful jackass.

Qadash, the Holy One takes a torch and proceeds to lead the trail, Amrur, the Most Blessed One (goes ahead) like a guiding star; behind comes the Maiden Anat, While Baal does leaves for the Heights of Tsaphon, in the North.

Then, indeed, straight away she turns her face towards El at the Source of the Two Rivers (Euphrates and Tigris), in the midst of the springs which are between of the Two Oceans (the Meditearranian Sea an the Black Sea). She penetrates the (Taurus?) mountain and opens the tent (tabernacle) of El and enters the (sacred) shrine of the King, the Father Shunem (father of time).

At the feet of El she bows down and does homage to him by prostrating herself to the ground. Behold! As soon as El catches sight of her, He opens widely his mouth and laughs. His feet upon the footstool he twiddle with excitement his fingers. He lifts up his voice and cries: "How is come hither Lady Athirat of the Sea? Why has the Progenitress come to the Gods? Art thou very hungry after having journeyed that long way? Pray, come then, eat and drink. eat the food from the tables; drink the red wine from the golden goblets. Or does affection of El the King excite thee? Does thy love and affection for the Bull arouse thee?"

Then Lady Athirat of the Sea replies: "Thy decree, (O) wise El, thy wisdom is everlasting. A life of good fortune is thy decree. Our king is Mightiest Baal, our sovereign, and none over him. All of us would raise his chalice (precious goblet) to our (Baal) to whom we bring [a well-wishing toast] in tribute. And so we did.

But alas! He indeed cries out to thee, the Bull El, his father, and to El, the King who begot him; he shouts unto Athirat and her children, to Elat the Goddess and her kinsfolk: "Look, there is not a house for Baal, like for the other gods, no court like the one for the sons of Athirat. The dwelling of El, the shelter of his son; the dwelling of Lady Athirat of the Sea; the dwelling of the noble brides; the dwelling of Pidraya bat Ar [daughter of Ar] the flashing bright daughter of Light, the shelter of Talaya bat Rabb [daughter of Rabb], Dewie daughter of Rain; the dwelling of Artsaya bat Ya'abdar [daughter of Ya'abdar], Earthie daughter of the wide Rivers and Fields."

Then El the Compassionate replies: "So am I a servant, a lackey of Athirat? So am I a servant to handle a trowel [to bind the bricks]?, Or is the handmaid to Athirat to lay the bricks? Let a house be built for Baal . . . . (continued in col. 5)

[Column 5] . . . . like the one built for the gods, and a court [precinct] like the one built for the sons of Athirat"

And Lady Athirat of the Sea replies: "Thou art great, O El, thou art indeed truly wise, the gray hairs of thy beard indeed instruct thee, [. . .] in thy breast. And moreover, in the time of the rain season, Baal will prepare to come in his barque using in the flooded rivers; And he will sound his voice (i.e., peal his thunder) from the clouds, and he will flash his lightnings to the earth!

A house of cedar? He may let him complete and perfect it; Or a house of bricks? He may let him construct it. Let it indeed the work be conveyed to Mightiest Puissant Baal: Let come caravans of material and workers into thy mansion, building rooms in the midst of thy palace; made of the finest stones and they shall be decorated with abundance of silver, and masses of gold; they shall bring thee the noblest of gems to shoe the god's grandeur, plenty camels will bring thee jewels and precious logs of cedarwood; So buildest thou a noble mansion of silver and gold, a mansion made of the purest and most brilliant gems and lapis lazuli."

Rejoice does Maiden Anat; She stamps vehemently her foot so the ground of the earth quakes. Then straightaway she turns her face toward Baal in the Heights of Tsaphon [modern-day Jebel Aqra (another possibility: the Taurus mountains). The mount appears in the Hebrew Scriptures as Mount Zaphon. In ancient Canaanite religion, Mount Sapan was sometimes accounted as the home of all the gods, not only Baal and his sister. As Mount Zaphon, it appears in that role in the Hebrew Scriptures' Book of Isaiah, along with the Mount of the Congregation. From its importance and its position at the northern end of Canaan, it also became a metonym and then the word for the direction "north" in the Hebrew language. The ancient port of Ugarit (modern Ras Shamra) lies 30 kilometers (19 mi) to its south. Texts discovered there in the 1920s, including the Baal Cycle, showed its residents considered the peak of Mount Sapan (Akkadian, Ugaritic, & Phoenician: Ṣapānu) to house the lapis and silver palace of their storm god Baal (lit. "The Lord") and his sister Anat. Baal is now often identified with Hadad and his variations understood as local cults. The form Baʿal Zephon was worshipped widely: his temple at Ugarit held a sandstone relief dedicated to him by a royal scribe in Egypt and the king of Tyre called on him as a divine witness on a treaty with the emperor of Assyria in 677 BC.], a thousand fields, and ten thousand tracts away to the North.

Maiden Anat laugheth, she lifts up her voice and shouts: "Be glad and of good cheer, Receive, Baal! Glad tidings/good news have brought to thee. (There) will be built for thee a house like those for thy brethren, and a palace like that of thy kindred.

"Let come caravans of material and workers into thy mansion, building rooms in the midst of thy palace; made of the finest stones and they shall be decorated with abundance of silver, and masses of gold; they shall bring thee the noblest of gems to shoe the god's grandeur, plenty camels will bring thee jewels and precious logs of cedarwood; So buildest thou a

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noble mansion of silver and gold, a mansion made of the purest and most brilliant gems and lapis lazuli." Rejoice does Mightiest Baal. (Then) He sends messengers to Kothar-wa-Khasis. And again recite: "When the two servitors were sent to bring the message . . . ."

Then after this does arrive Kothar-wa-Khasis, They do set an ox before him, a fatling too in front of him at his disposal; And placed into position, they made ready a throne and he is seated. At the right hand of Mightiest Baal. So the gods do eat and drink!

Then, Mightiest Baal speaks, "[. . .] depart," says the Rider of the Clouds: "Kothar-wa-Khasis, Hurry, a mansion be surely build, Hasten, to raise a palace. Hurry the mansion let be built, Quickly let be built the palace in the midst of the Heights of Tsaphon, in the North, and a thousand fields of size." And answers Kothar-wa-Khasis: "Listen, O Mightiest Baal, considerest thou to pay attention, O Rider of the Clouds: Shall I not put a lattice [casement] in the mansion, a window in the midst of the palace."

But Mightiest Baal replies: "Do not make a lattice in the mansion, a window in the midst of the palace." . . . . . (ca. 3 lines missing) . . . .

[Column 6] And Kothar-wa-Khasis replies: "Thou wilt come back to/be converted to, Baal, my words." And he repeated his speech and again Kothar-wa-Khasis keeps saying: "Hear, I implore thee, O Mightiest Baal!

Shall I not put casement in the house, a window in the midst of the palace."

But Mightiest Baal replies: "Do not put any casement in the house, a window in the midst of the palace."

Let not depart Pidraya daughter of Ar, or [. . .] abduct Talaya daughter of Rabb by [. . .] the beloved of El, Yam" [. . .] did abase me and will make sport of me, (and) spit upon me. [. . .]. And Kothar-wa-Khasis replies: "Thou wilt come back to confirm to, Baal, my words [the suggestions I made]."

Quickly his mansion/house is built, Quickly erected is his palace. Men bring from Siriyon in Lebanon precious cedar timber. Lebanon and Siriyon (the hinterland of Phoenicia) are famous for their finest cedar timbers.

(Imagine,) Fire is set in the mansion, the flames begin to spread in the palace on the first day. Lo, on the second day the fire consumes the mansion. On the third and the fourth day, the flames still consume the mansion, and the flames still consume the palace on the fifth and the sixth day, and there, on the seventh day, the fire and the flames in the mansion die down in the palace. Then the silver has turned into blocks, the gold has been turned into bricks. (Note: That the fire needs seven days to destroy a palace is a typical Semitic exaggeration showing how good the quality of Lebanese cedar wood is. And future generations of the Canaanite Phoenicians export their cedar wood to all neighbour countries and make indeed a vast fortune which in turn builds the foundation of the Phoenician and [consequently] Carthaginian empires for the next thousand years.)

Rejoice does Mightiest Baal: "I have built my palace, indeed of silver and of gold." Baal orders to make preparations for a great feast; all kind of installations of his palace are to be put in place. He orderes oxen and sheep and neat and small cattle butchered, bulls and [fatted rams], calves that were yearlings; and strangled lambs too.

He does invite his brothers into his mansion, his kindred into the midst of his palace; He does invite the seventy children of Athirat.

He does supply the gods with he-lambs and with wine, He does supply the goddesses with ewes and with wine, He does supply the bull-gods with beef and with wine, He does supply the goddesses with beef and with wine. He does supply the thrones to the gods and with wine, He does supply the goddesses with thrones and with wine, He does supply the gods with jars of wine, He does supply the goddesses with beakers of wine . So the gods continued to eat and drink. And they are supplied a suckling breast, with a sharp knife they do carve a breast of fatling; They drink flagons of wine, the blood of vines from cups of gold.

. . . . . (some 9-10 lines missing) . . . .

[Column 7] (ca. 1 line missing, the first 8 lines are very defective; Since Baal's misgivings about a window are thereupon dispelled, perhaps Yahm is here given his quietus. Baal now administers the coup de grace to the vanquished Yahm, in order to remove a potential threat to his daughters and to ensure his own sovereignty. It is hardly likely that these few lines describe, as some suppose, the final stage in the defeat of Yahm; more probably we have a statement celebrating that triumph spoken at the feast by Baal himself or by one of the other gods present.

[-----] lapis-lazuli [-----] [-----] mightiest Baal [-----] smites the darling beloved of El, Yahm [-----] on the top of his skull.

The gods do withdraw from the rock like [-----] the gods from Tsaphon, the North. While the gods are making merry on the Mountain, while the gods are regaling themselves in the North, he does march from city to city, he does turn from town to town. Six and sixty (66) towns he takes, [then] Seventy-seven towns; [then] Eighty [towns] Baal does [-----], [then] Ninety [towns] Baal does [-----] sack.

Forthwith return does Baal into the midst of the house, and speaks/says Mightiest Baal: "I will put it in, Kothar, this very day; Kothar, this very moment. Let be opened a window in the mansion, a casement in the midst of the palace.

And I shall open a rift in the clouds, according to the word of Kothar-wa-Khasis!" Kothar-wa-Khasis laughs, he lifts up his voice and cries: "Did I not say to thee, O Mightiest Baal, "Thou wouldst come back, Baal, to my word." He opens a window in the mansion, a casement in the midst of the palace, he opens, does Baal, a rift in the clouds.

Baal gives forth his holy voice, Baal repeatedly discharges the issue of his lips. His holy voice does shake the earth, at the issue of his lips, the rocks/mountains, Peoples afar off were dismayed. The peoples of East and west tremble); the high places of the earth shake. The enemies of Baal flee to the forest, the enemies of Hadad to the hollows of the mountains. And speaks Mightiest Baal: "Enemies of Hadad, why are you quaking? Why do you quake at the weapons of the Valiant One?" The eye of Baal guides his hand. When the cedar is brandished in his right hand. Forthwith Baal does sit and dwell in his house.

PART 4: BAAL BATTLES MOT (DEATH)

[e. II AB; Column 7] So Baal does sit down and dwell in his palace, neither king nor commoner on earth shall install himself on his throne!

"I will (not) send a message to the Divine Mot, a dispatched to the Beloved of El, the youth, Ghazir, the Hero.

Mot may be proclaiming and calls out in his soul, (to ask) that Mot invite (him) into his throat (i.e., anyone that would dare to occupy Baal's throne), the Beloved one thinks in his heart: For I alone am king over the gods, give fattness to gods and men, satisfy the multitudes of the earth."

Then surely Baal says to his two servants: "Attend to me, Gapen and Ugar, come into the midst of darkness, where sunlight is restricted to enter, as the sunrays are held back by a veil.

. . . . . (next lines are unclear, saying something like this:) . . . [Flocks are circling round in] the clouds, [birds] are circling round [in the heavens] . . . [I shall bind the snow] . . . [the lightning] . . . . . .

[Column 8] Now truly you set your faces toward Mount Targhizizi (Targhuzizza, Tharumagi, Sharrumagi), toward the two hills which bound the earth and block the way to the underworld. Lift the rock with your hands, raise the holt upon your palms, and descend to the depths of the earth, to be counted among those who go down into the earth.

Then set your faces toward the Divine Mot in the midst of his city, the Swamp (Mire-y), to the pit where is the throne that he sits on, to the filth of the earth, which is the land of his inheritance.

Yet be on your guard, divine messengers of the gods and their powers: Approach not close El's son, Mot, who is Death, lest he make you like a lamb in his mouth, lest like a kid in his gullet!

You both be crushed to pieces and carried away. The torch of the gods, Shapash Goddess of the Sun, is glowing hot, the heavens shimmer under the hand of the Beloved of El, Mot.

From a distance of a thousand tracts, ten thousand fields; At the feet of Mot bow down, prostrate yourselves and pay him homage.

And say unto El's son, Mot, Death, Repeat to the Darling of El, that youngster/hero: 'Message of Baal, the Powerful, word of the Mighty Warrior: My house I have built of silver, my palace, indeed, of gold, ... [of the precious cedars of Lebanon, of most pure lapis lazuli, etc.] . . . . (lines 38 - 46 missing) . . . . . .

Then away speed Gapen of the Vine and Ugar of the Field [unto the Pit of Mot from whom they get his message] . . . . . (ca. 16 lines lost) . . . .

[g. I* AB; Column 1] "When/for all that you killed, if thou goest fighting Lotan (=Leviathan), the Slippery Serpent, made an end of the slant Serpent, the monster of seven heads*. [* Allusion to the Seven-headed Serpent or Dragon in Sumerian mythology slain by Ninurta, patron god of Lagash. More examples: Ushumgallu (Sumerian: "Great Dragon") was one of the three horned snakes in Akkadian mythology. It has been somewhat speculatively identified with the four-legged, winged dragon of the late 3rd millennium BC; Mushmahhu, in Akkadian known as mush-ma-hu, meaning "Exalted Serpent"; The Nehushtan (Hebrew) is the name given to the bronze serpent on a pole first described in the Book of Numbers 21:4–9 which God told Moses to make so that the Israelites who saw it would be protected from dying from the bites of the "fiery serpents". In 2 Kings 18:1-4; written c. 550 BC), King Hezekiah had it destroyed due to his iconoclastic reform. A similar serpentine water monster was known as Lernaean Hydra or Hydra of Lerna in Greek and Roman mythology. The Greek Medusa is another Greek example, as well as the Chinese Dragon and the German Dragon known as Fafnir or Fraenir slain by Sigurd. They all may have shared a common mythological origin.]

The heavens will burn up and droop helpless, for I myself will crush you in pieces, I will eat (you) . . . . . (and) forearms. Indeed you must come down into the watery depths, the gorge of the Beloved of El, the Youth, Ghazir, the Hero!"

Depart and tarry not do the gods; Then indeed they set their faces towards Baal on the Heights of Tsaphon, mount of the North. Then say Gapen and Ugar: "Message of El's son, Divine Mot, Death. A Word of the Beloved of El, the youth, Ghazir, the Hero: Then mine is the appetite of lions that naturally crave sheep; as the desire of a dolphin is for the sea; or a pool attracts wild oxen, a spring does the like to deer;

When I have the appetite for an ass, here then with both my hands I eat it, if my sevenfold portions are served unto me, or if the cup is mixed by Nahar, the River!

Baal has invited me with my companions, Hadad has called me with my kinsfolk! But it is to eat bread with my brothers and to drink wine with my kinsfolk. Have you then forgotten, Baal, that I can surely transfix you. [. . . . .] you for all that. When now thou goest fighting Lotan (=Leviathan), the Slippery Serpent, to finished off the Slant Serpent,

Shalyat the Tyrant of seven heads. The seven-headed monster (of might), the heavens will burn up (like the folds of your robes . . . .) thyself out; for I myself will crush you in pieces, I will eat (you) . . . . . (and) forearms.

As if a stopper has been placed upon me; drained of strength as I am, I am the one that is dying, Now surely, indeed, you must descend into the throat of Divine Mot, El's son, Death, into the watery pit of the Beloved of El, Ghazir, the Hero!"

[Column 2] (12 lines missing at the top) . . . . . One lip down to the earth, one lip to the heavens; Mot stretches tongue to the stars. Baal must enter his innards; and must go down into his mouth, like an olive-stuffed bread, Like the produce of earth, the fruit of the trees.

Afraid is Baal the Powerful; Terrified is the Rider on the Clouds: "Leave and Be gone!; Speak to El's son Mot (Death), repeat to the Beloved of El, the youth, Ghazir the Hero: 'Message of Baal the Powerful, the word of the Mightiest of Warriors: Hail, Divine Mot, El's son Death! I am your slave, I am your bondsman forever.' "

The gods leave and tarry not; then indeed they set their faces toward the Divine Mot in (the midst of) his city, the Swamp Hamriya, to the pit where is the low throne that he sits on. Down unto the Pit of Mot he descends, to the throne that he sits on (to the) filth of the earth, which is his estate. His filthy land of inheritance.

They lift their voices and cry: The message of mightiest Baal, the word of the Mightiest of Warriors: 'Hail, El's son, Divine Mot (Death)! I am your servant/slave, I am your bondman forever.' Rejoice did the Divine Mot, El's son, Death.

He lifted up his voice and cried: How Baal comes to make merry along with my companions (or: How Hadad, tarries awhile with my kinsfolk!)

"How shall Baal go on insulting me? Why, the Hadad Thunderer is scared out of his wits! Those that fight with me are [always la]id low (in the end); as with a butcher's knife, I kill those who would kill me!"

[Column 3] . . . . (ca. 10 lines destroyed 29 lines partially preserved) . . . .

[. . . . .] great is the seat [. . . . .] great is the seat [. . . . .] [. . . . .] the land [. . . . .] it shall belong to your son [. . . . .] of your son [. . . . .] . . . . . like the stars [. . . . .] Truly I must call Mot [. . . . .] the beloved one within [. . . . .] (How of a truth) can I put [. . . . .] can I overturn you [. . . . .] . . . . . and go [. . . . .] and go, gods [. . . . .] the most gracious of the gods [. . . . .]

Sheger (a deity of cattle, lit. off-spring of cattle), much [. . . . .] Truly I must call Mot [. . . . .] the beloved one within [. . . . .] and go, gods [. . . . .] and tell to [. . . . .] with much sheep [. . . . .] much sheep [. . . . .]

Ithm (a deity of cattle) [. . . . .] Truly I must call Mot [. . . . .] the beloved one within [. . . . .] . . . . . And go [. . . . .] [. . . . .] go [. . . . .]

[Column 4] . . . . . (26 lines partially preserved) . . . . And to seek [. . . . .] a hundred [. . . . .] do you seek [. . . . .] He lifted up his voice and cried: "Where then is Baal [. . . . .] Where is Hadad [. . . . .] Baal arose with his seven pages, with his eight serving maids he came near [. . . . .] food [. . . . .] while the gods did eat and drink and they were supplied with a suckling; with a salted knife they did carve a fatling; they did drink flagons of wine; from cups of gold the blood of trees; from cups of silver [. . . . .] flagons [. . . . .]

. . . . . and the [. . . . .] they went up; new wine [. . . . .] the house of El [. . . . .] for a ruler [. . . . .] who has sent [. . . . .] has sent [. . . . .] do you recount [. . . . .] the reviler [. . . . .]

. . . . . (ca. 11 lines lost) . . . .

[Column 5] . . . . (26 lines partially preserved) . . . . . mightiest Baal [take in the hand] your torch [shining in] your

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[right hand like red ochre] [. . . . .] the life of a calf [. . . . .] I will put him in a hole of the earth-gods (the numinous dead).

And as for you, take your clouds, your winds, your thunder-bolts, your rains; with you, your seven servitors, your eight noble serving maids; with you Pidraya, daughter of light, with you Talaya, daughter of rain/showers.

Then truly, do you set your face towards Mount Kankaniya (the mountain at the entrance of my grave, the cavernous mountain);

Lift the mountain with your hands, raise the holt upon your palms, and go down to the house of "freedom" in the depth of the earth, and be counted among them those who go down into the earth, and you will know nothingness, like the mortals (those of mortality) for thou wilt have become as one who has died!

Mightiest Baal does Obey He loves a heifer in Dabr, the desert pastures a cow in Shechelmamat field, by the shore of the realm of death; he did lie with her seven and seventy times, she allowed him to mount eight and eighty times; and she conceived and gave birth to a boy, Math, the twin-brother.

Mightiest Baal did clothe him with his robe [. . . . .] him as a gift for the Beloved One [. . . . .] to his breast . . .

. . . . . (ca. 11 lines lost) . . . .

I have added for ease of tale-telling: Then Baal does depart and tarry not; he sets his face toward El's Beloved, Mot, in the midst of his city, Hamriya, the Bog, Down into the pit where is the low throne that he sits on, to the filth of the earth, which is Mot's estate.

One lip to the earth, one lip to the heavens, Mot stretches tongue to the stars. Baal enters his maw and descends into his mouth, like olive stuffed bread, Like the produce of earth, the fruit of the trees. Mot makes him like a lamb in his mouth, like a kid in his gullet is Baal crushed and swallowed. Then Baal returns not to his palace, Mighty Rider of Clouds comes not back.

[Column 6] The twain messengers depart and tarry not; Straightway they set their faces to El at the sources of the two rivers, in the midst of the springs of the two double-deep streams.

They penetrate the mountain sanctuary of El, enter the heavenly tabernacle of the King, Father of Years, they lift their voices and they cry: "We two did go round to the edges of the earth, to the limits of the watery region. We arrived at the pleasant place, the land of pastures

the pleasance of Dabr-land, the lovely fields of the shore of Death.

'Delight,' the fields on the shore by the realm of Death, the beauty of Shahalmamat-field.

We came upon Baal: fallen onto the ground. Dead is Baal the Powerful! Perished is the Prince, Master of the Earth!" Straightaway Kindly El the Compassionate comes down from his throne, sits on his footstool; then coming down from his footstool, does sit on the ground.

He strews ashes of mourning on his head, dust of wallowing/in which he rolled (fig. of mortification) on his crown; he covers his loins with sackcloth. He cuts his skin with a knife, he made incisions with a razor; cheeks and chin he scrapes, he rakes his (upper) arm (with a reed). He ploughs his chest (lit. his breast bone) like a garden, furrows his back like a valley. He lifts his voice and cries: Baal is dead!

What will become of the people of Dagon's Son! What of the multitudes?

In Baal's place, I will go down into the earth." Then Anath too goes and is walking and wandering on every mountain to the heart of the earth, over every hill to the heart of the fields.

She comes to the pleasant place, the desert pasture/ 'Pleasure,' the pleasance of Dabr-land; the lovely fields of the shore of Death; 'Delight,' the fields on the shore by the realm of Death, the beauty of Shachalmamat-field. She comes upon Baal: fallen onto the earth. She covered her loins with sackcloth and loincloth.

[h. I AB; Column 1] She scrapes her skin with a knife, with flint for a razor; cheeks and chin she gashes, she ploughs her chest like a garden, furrows her back like a plain. Baal is dead! What will become of the people of Dagan's Son? What of the multitudes? After Baal, we will go down into the earth, down with her comes the Luminary of the gods, the Torch of the Divine Ones, Lady Shapash the Sun: When she had finished weeping, had drunk her tears like wine, Then loudly calls she to the Torch of the Luminary of the Gods, Lady Shapash the Sun,

"Lift, I pray you, onto me Mightiest Baal!" The Torch, Luminary of the Gods, Lady Shapash the Sun, obeys. She lifts up Aliyin Baal the Mightiest; on the shoulders of Anat surely she sets him; and she takes/brings him to the Heights of Tsaphon of the North. She bewails/weeps for him and buries him. She puts/lays him in the hollows of the numinous dead//gods/shades/ ghosts - of the earth.

She slaughters seventy wild oxen as funeral offering to Mighty Baal; She slaughters seventy plough oxen as funeral offering to Mighty Baal; She slaughters seventy sheep (lit. small cattle) as funeral offering to Mighty Baal; She slaughters seventy deer (oryx) as funeral offering to Mighty Baal; She slaughters seventy mountain goats as funeral offering to Mighty Baal; She slaughters seventy asses as funeral offering to Mighty Baal; She put his [. . . . .] in [. . . . .]

[. . . . .] him as befitted a brother-in-law of the gods. Then straightway she turns her face toward El at the sources/convergence of the Two Rivers/ Streams, in the midst of the springs of the double-deep Seas.

She penetrates the tent [tabernacle] of El, enters the shrine of the King, Father of Years, At the feet of El she does homage and bows down to the ground and prostrates herself and does him honour.

She lifts her voice and she cries: "Now let rejoice Athirat and her sons. Elat and the company of her kinsfolk/her pride of lions. For dead is Baal the Powerful! Perished is the Prince, the Master of the Earth!" El cries aloud to Lady 'Athirat of the Sea: "Listen, O Lady Athirat of the Sea, Give one of your sons that I may make him king."

And Lady Athirat of the Sea answers: "Yes, let us make king who has knowledge and intelligence, Yadi'-Yalhan."

But answered Kindly 'El the Compassionate: "One feeble in strength cannot run like Baal; nor release the spear like Dagan's son Glory when the time is right."

But answered Lady 'Athirat of the Sea: "No! Let us make king Athtar the Awesome. Let the king be Athtar the Awesome!" Thereupon straightway Athtar the Awesome goes up into the Heights of Tsaphon in the North; He sits in the throne of Mightiest Baal. His feet do not reach the footstool; His head does not reach the headrest. And spoke 'Athtar the Awesome: "I cannot be king in the Heights of Tsaphon!" And down comes 'Athtar the Awesome; he descends from the seat of Mightiest Baal. And he becomes king over El's earth, the whole of it. [. . . . .] they drew water from/into casks. [. . . . .] they drew water from/into barrels.

[Column 2] (30 lines lost, 4 lines unreadable) . . . . . One day, then two days passed. Maiden Anat feels drawn to him; Like the heart of a cow for her calf, Like the heart of a ewe for her lamb, Is the heart of Anat for Baal. She grabs Mot by the edge of his garment, She constrains him by the edge of his garments. She lifts up her voice and she cries: "Come, Mot! Give up my brother!

But responds Divine Mot, El's son Death: "What do desire you, O Maiden Anat?

I was taking a walk and was wandering to every mountain to the heart of the earth; Every hill to the heart in bowels of the fields. Among mankind; Lifebreath has quit the multitudes of the land. I reached the desert pasture, the land of pleasance of Dabr-land; the lovely fields on Death's shore, the fields of the beauty of Shahalmamat-field.

It was I who confronted Mighty Baal, it was I who put him like a lamb in my mouth; and like a kid he was carried away in my gullet."

Lady Shapash the Sun, the torch, luminary of the gods did burn hot, the heavens shimmer under the hand of the Beloved of El, Mot.

A day, days passed. From days to months. Maiden Anat feels drawn to him; Like the heart of a cow for her calf; Like the heart of a ewe for her lamb; Is the heart of Anat for Baal. She grabs the divine, the son of El, Mot; and with a cleaver blade she chopped him in halves, with the sieve she does winnow him, with fire she does burn him, with her own hand she grinds him under the mill-stone, and she does scatter his remnants into the field where his pieces were eaten away by birds, all his parts indeed utterly consumed by fowl.

[Column 3] (c. 40 lines lost; Anat has had the dream and reports it to El. It is unknown who the speaker relating dream is.)

. . . . . El is speaking: For surely perished has he (Baal). But if Mighty Baal is alive, if the Prince, the Master of the Earth, has revived, Then in a dream of Kindly El the Compassionate, in a vision of the Creator of All Creatures, The heavens oil let rain, the wadis let run with honey. Then I will know that alive is Mighty Baal, revived has/existent is the Prince, Master of the Earth."

In a dream of Kindly El, the Compassionate, in a vision of the Creator of All, the heavens rain down oil, the wadis flow with honey.

Rejoice does Kindly El, the Compassionate: his feet on the footstool he sets, he opens his mouth and laughs; he raises his voice and shouted: "Now I will sit and be at ease; take its ease in my breast shall my heart (spirit, soul); For alive is Mighty Baal, Revived is the Prince, Master of Earth."

El calls to the Virgin Anat: "Listen, O Maiden Anat! Speak to the Luminary of the gods' Torch Lady Shapash, the Sun:

[Column 4] "Dried (Parched, Cracked) are the furrows of the fields, O Shapash; Dried are the furrows of El's fields; Baal has neglected the furrows of his ploughland. Where is Mighty Baal? Where is the Prince, the Master of the Earth?" The Virgin Anat departed; Indeed she set her face toward the Luminary of the gods' torch, Lady Shapash, the Sun; she raised/lifted up her voice and shouted: "Message of the Bull, El your father, the word of the Kindly One, your begetter: Dried are the furrows of the fields, O Shapash; Dried are the furrows of El's fields; Baal has neglected the furrows of his plowland. Baal should be occupying the furrows in the plowlands. Where is Mighty Baal? Where is the Prince, the Master of the Earth?' "And replies the Luminary of the gods' torch, Lady Shapash, the Sun: "Pour sparkling wine from its container, bring a garland for your sibling; let the children of your family wear wreaths and I will seek Mighty Baal." And replies the Virgin Anat: "Hence and thither you go, O Shapash, wherever and whither, may El protect you."

. . . . . (c. 40 lines lost) . . . .

Added by me for ease of telling: Together, Anat, Baalat Shamim Rammim, and Lady Shapash, the Sun, search for Baal and return him to his Palace. Yea, now Baal will make fertile with his rain, with water he will indeed make fertile harrowed land, and he will put his voice in the clouds and he will flash lightning to the earth.

[Column 5] Seizes does Baal the sons of Athirat. Rabbim [The great ones] he smites with the broad-sword the shoulder. The pounders of the Sea, he smites with the club; The small ones he drags to the ground. Sits does Baal upon the throne of his kingship, on the cushion on the seat of his dominion.

A day, days passed, from days to months, from months to years. Then in the seventh year, then spoke the Divine son of El Mot to mightiest Baal; he lifts up his voice and cries:

Because of you, Baal, I have experienced abasement disgrace, because of you I have experienced splitting with the sword, because of you I have experienced burning with fire, because of you I have experienced grinding with mill-stones, because of you I have experienced sifting with the sieve, because of you I have experienced sowing in the fields, because of you I have experienced scattering in the sea.

Upon thee may I see . . . Give one of your brothers so that I may be fed/ sit down and eat and the anger that I feel will turn back. if not one of your brothers, behold I shall [. . . .] I shall make an end of mankind I shall make an end of the multitudes of earth.' And he [. . . .] . . . . . (c. 27 lines unreadable or lost) . . . .

[Column 6] [. . . . .] I will drive him forth, [. . . . .] I will banish him [. . . . .] divine Mot, son of El, Death [. . . . .] peoples. [. . . . .] divine Mot, son of El, Death let him eat his seven servitors!'

And answered divine Mot: "But look! Baal has given me my own brothers to eat, the sons of my mother to consume!"

He returned to Baal in the Heights of Tsaphon he lifts up his voice and cries: "My own brothers you have given me, Baal, to eat, The sons of my mother to consume!"

They butted each other like camels. Mot is strong (firm), Baal is strong (firm). They gored like wild oxen; Mot is strong (firm), Baal is strong (firm). They bit like serpents. Mot is strong (firm), Baal is strong (firm). They kicked/tugged like runners (chargers) Mot fell down, Baal fell down (on top of him). Lady Shapash the Sun cried out from above to Mot: Hear/Listen, I beseech you, o divine (El's son Mot). Why do (How can) you battle with Mighty Baal? How can you keep the Bull, El your father, from hearing you? Surely he will undermine the foundations of your throne, surely he will overturn the throne of your kingship, indeed will smash the sceptre of your rule dominion, judgement.'

Afraid is Divine Mot. Terrified is the Beloved of El, the Youth, Ghazir, the Hero. Mot rouses himself at her call ALT: arises from his prostration, he lifts up his voice and cries: Let them seat Baal on the throne of his kingdom, on the cushion on the seat of his dominion!

. . . . . [6 lines missing] . . . .

Do you indeed betake yourself to the fresh meat, Yes, do you indeed eat the bread of honour (as sacrificial meal), Yes, do you indeed drink the wine of favour (offering), Lady Shapash, - the shades are under you (judges) the Healers, shall govern the gathered ones (rapha'im); Lady Shapash, - the ghosts are under you (judges) the gods shall hold sway over the upper gods ilnym; the gods come to you, behold! the Dead come to you (Gods), Death is yours. Kothar is your companion and your acquaintaince Khasis. In the sea are Arsh, Desire, and Tannin, the Dragon; Let Kothar-wa-Khasis banish them, Drive them away, let Kothar-wa-Khasis!

THE EPIC OF KRET

Author: Elimelek of Ugarit
From: Ugarit (Ras Shamra) & Ras Ibn Hani in Syria, c. 1928
Language: Phoenician Canaanite
Script: Ugaritic cuneiform alphabet
Translation: K. C. Hanson, 2007
Adapted from Gordon 1977; Gibson 1977; Greenstein 1996
Estimated Range of Dating: 14th century B.C.

(The Legend of Keret, also known as the Epic of Kirta or Krit, is an ancient Ugaritic epic poem, dated to Late Bronze

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Age, circa 1500 – 1200 BC. It recounts the myth of King Keret of Hubur. It is one of the Ugarit texts.

The epic story of Keret is contained in three rectangular clay tablets, excavated by a team of French archaeologists in Ugarit (modern Ras Shamra), Syria in 1930–31. The text is written in the Ugaritic cuneiform script. (While this script looks superficially similar to Mesopotamian cuneiform, there's no direct relationship between them.) Not all of the tablets recovered were well-preserved and some of the tablets, containing the ending of the story, appeared to be missing. The tablets were inscribed by Ilimilku, a high priest who was also the scribe for the Myth of Baal (a part of the Baal cycle) and the Legend of Aqhat, two other famous Ugaritic epic poems discovered at the Ras Shamra site.

Story of Keret described in the tablets

King Keret of Hubur (or Khuburu), despite being reputed to be a son of the great god El himself, was struck with many misfortunes. Although Keret had seven wives, they all either died in childbirth or of various diseases or deserted him, and Keret had no surviving children. While his mother had eight sons, Keret was the only one to survive and he had no family members to succeed him and saw his dynasty in ruin.

Keret prayed and lamented his plight. In his sleep, the god El appeared to Keret, who begged him for an heir. El told Keret that he should make war against the kingdom of Udum and demand that the daughter of King Pubala of Udum be given to him as a wife, refusing offers of silver and gold as a price of peace.

Keret followed El's advice and set out for Udum with a great army. Along the way he stopped at a shrine of Athirat, the goddess of the sea, and prayed to her, promising to give her a great tribute in gold and silver if his mission succeeded.

Keret then lay siege to Udum and eventually prevailed and forced King Pubala to give his daughter (in some translations, granddaughter), Hariya, to Keret in marriage. Keret and Hariya were married and she bore him two sons and six daughters. However, Keret reneged on his promise to the goddess Athirat to pay her a gold and silver tribute after his marriage.

[At this point there is a break in the story due to damage to the tablets]. When the story resumes, Keret's children are grown up.

The goddess Athirat grew angry at Keret's broken promise and struck him with a deadly illness. Keret's family wept and prayed for him. His youngest son, Elhu, complained that a man, who was said to be the son of the great god El himself, should not be allowed to die. Keret asked for only his daughter, Tatmanat, whose passion was the strongest, to pray to the gods for him. As Tatmanat prayed and wailed, the land first grew dry and barren but eventually was watered by a great rain.

At the time the gods were debating Keret's fate. Upon learning of Keret's broken promise to Athirat, El took Keret's side and said that Keret's vow was unreasonable and that Keret should not be held to it. El then asked if any of the other gods could cure Keret, but none were willing to do so. Then El performed some divine magic himself and created a winged woman, Shatiqtu, with the power to heal Keret. Shatiqtu cooled Keret's fever and cured him of his sickness. In two days Keret recovered and resumed his throne.

Then Yassub, Keret's oldest son, approached Keret and accused him of being lazy and unworthy of the throne and demanded that Keret abdicate. Keret grew angry and cast a terrible curse on Yassub, asking Horonu, the master of demons, to smash Yassub's skull.

t this point the story breaks and the ending of the text appears to be missing. While the end of the legend is unknown, many scholars assume that afterwards Keret lost all of his children, except for one daughter, who became his sole heir.)

Text:
(1.14, col. 1, lines 1-21)
[Regarding K]ret
[. . . . .]
[. . . ki]ng [. . .]
[. . . .] El [. . . .]
[. . . . .] river
The clan [of Kret] died out;
the house of the [k]ing was destroyed,
though there were seven [br]others,
eight sons of a mother.
Kret, his children wiped out,
Kret is devoid of an estate.
He had taken his wife,
his destined bride.
He took a wife, but she departed.
Progeny by a mother had been his:
1/3 died though healthy,
1/4 of disease,
1/5 Reshef carried off,
1/6 by the Lads of Yamm,
1/7 fell by the sword.

(1.14, col. 1, lines 21-35)
Kret sees his progeny,
sees his progeny ruined,
greatly depleted of his power.
And in its totality a family has died off,
and in its entirety the succession.
He enters his room, he weeps.
While uttering [w]ords, he sheds tears.
His tears are poured like sheqels on the ground,
like 1/5-sheqels on the bed.
As he cries, he falls asleep;
while he sheds tears—sleep.
Sleep overcomes him;
he lies in sleep
and is startled.

(1.14, col. 1, lines 35-43)
And in his dream, El descends,
in his vision, the Father of Humanity.
And he draws close, asking Kret,
"Who is Kret that he should cry
the Good One, the Lad of El,
that he should shed tears?
Does he desire the monarchy of the [B]ull, his father,
or sovereign[ty] like the Father of Humanity?"
[. . . .—approximately 6-7 lines missing—. . . . .]

(1.14, col. 1, lines 52-)
["Why do I need silver,]
[and yellow gold] together with its place,
[and] perpetual slaves,
teams of three [horses],
chariots from the courtyard of a handmaid's son?
[Grant] that I may get [sons];
[grant] that I may increase [offspr]ing"

Bull, his Father El, [answers],
[" . . . . .] while weeping, Kret,
while shedding tears, O Good One, Lad of El,
you shall wash
and redden yourself.
Wash your [ha]nds (to) the elbow

THE PIYAMA-RADU LETTER
or: The Tawagalawa Letter
Source: Die Ahhijava-Urkunden, Hildesheim
Translation: Ferdinand Sommer, 1975
Estimated Range of Dating: 1295–1235 B.C.

(The Tawagalawa letter (CTH 181) was written by a Hittite king (generally accepted as Hattusili III) to a king of Ahhiyawa around 1250 BC. This letter, of which only the third tablet has been preserved, concerns the activities of an adventurer named Piyama-Radu against the Hittites, and requests his extradition to Hatti under assurances of safe conduct. It is so named because it mentions a brother of the king of Ahhiyawa named Tawagalawa, a name suggested by numerous scholars to be a Hittite representation of the Greek name Eteocles (Etewoklewes).

Originally, it was assumed that the beginning of this letter concerned the activities of Tawagalawa. After Itamar Singer and Suzanne Heinhold-Krahmer stated their preferences for Piyama-Radu in 1983, most scholars relegated Tawagalawa to a minor role in the letter. There are technical difficulties, however, with accepting Piyama-Radu as the man who asked to become the Hittite king's vassal.

iyama-Radu is also mentioned in the Manapa-Tarhunta letter (c. 1295 BC) and, in the past tense, in the Milawata letter (c. 1240 BC). The Tawagalawa letter further mentions Miletus (as Millawanda) and its dependent city Atriya, as does the Milawata letter; and its governor Atpa, as does the Manapa-Tarhunta letter (although that letter does not state Atpa's fiefdom).

The letter bears a conversational style which has commonly been associated with Hattusili III (1265–1235 BC). However, Oliver Gurney in "The authorship of the Tawagalawas Letter" (Silva Anatolica, 2002, 133–41) argues that the letter belongs to his older brother Muwatalli II (1295–1272 BC). But if the Milawata letter postdates this letter, and if that letter is taken as a letter of Mursili II (1322–1295 BC), then the Tawagalawa letter might belong to Mursili in the late 14th century BC, but after the end of his annals.

In this letter, the Hittite king refers to former hostilities between the Hittites and the Ahhiyawans over Wilusa, which had now been resolved amicably: "Now as we have come to an agreement on Wilusa over which we went to war…"

As most scholars identify Wilusa with Troy, this reference has been said to provide "a striking background for Homeric scholars researching the origin of the tradition of the Achaean attack on Ilios." The letter also makes reference to a city called Waliwanda.

The broken and difficult nature of this text calls for a brief introduction in order to set the stage. The text is a letter addressed to an unnamed king of Ahhiyawa from an unnamed king of Hatti. This king is currently accepted to be Hattusili III. Although this text is now commonly known as "The Tawagalawa Letter", Tawagalawa, a brother of the king of Ahhiyawa, is not the main subject. Instead, the purpose of the letter is to outline the offenses of a man named Piyama-radu in order to convince the Ahhiyawan king to have him extradited to the Hittite king. The text took on the name of Tawagalawa because of a misunderstanding by the original translators of the role of Piyama-radu in the text.

The reason for the misunderstanding is related to the fact that the original letter was written on three large tablets, of which "The Tawagalawa Letter" is only the third. The letter as we have it makes liberal use of the unreferenced third person singular (verbs/pronouns) when referring to Piyama-radu. Unfortunately, the immediate antecedent to these forms in the preserved tablet was Tawagalawa, and so, following proper Hittite grammar, he was believed to be the subject.

The individual referred to in this text as "my brother" is the king of Ahhiyawa. The use of the expression "my brother" indicates two things: (1st) The Hittite king recognizes the king of Ahhiyawa as his equal in rank (as he explicitly states in §6), and (2nd) that there were friendly, i.e. treaty, relations between the two. Contrast Muwattalli II's treatment of the king of Assyria: he recognized him as a Great King, but refused him the status of "brother".

Efforts to directly connect this text with the small fragments found of Hattusili's Annals, such as that by Singer (1983), should be taken cautiously. The annals refer to a Mr. P[i-. . . . .] and to the Lukka Lands. But in spite of several more place names in both texts, they nowhere else match. Both texts also present events that deal with a shortage of water, but the places mentioned are not the same. In spite of all this, there does seem to be sufficient evidence to posit an indirect connection, if Mr. P[i-. . . . .] is accepted as Piyama-radu. The events in the annals impinged upon the territory of Tarhhuntassha. But there is no evidence of an invasion of Tarhuntassa after Hattusili installed Kurunta there. In the Piyama-radu Letter, Kurunta is presented as already being a king, so that Hattusili has undoubtedly already installed him in Tarhuntašša. The fact that Kurunta appears out of his kingdom in the west may perhaps even indicate that he is still finishing up the process of expelling Lukkan enemies from his kingdom. All in all, it seems possible to posit that the events of the Annals occurred slightly before those of the third tablet of the Piyama-radu Letter, and that the Piyama-radu letter may indeed present a continuation of them. It may even be possible to use the water shortage as an indication that both texts deal with events that took place within the same season, although the point should not be pressed with anything resembling vigour.

We do not have the first two tablets, which should help give an idea about how much of this text is missing. Making matters even worse, a great many of the restorations used here are uncertain. For the purposes of easy reading, I have generally only put square brackets around words which are completely missing. This will leave an uninitiated reader with the false impression that everything else is certain. For a better idea of the actual state of preservation of this tablet, reference to Sommer's edition is suggested.)

The Third Tablet
Column 1

§1 Mr. [.. .]-la went, and he destroyed the city Attarimma. He burned out the walls and the palaces. When the men of the city Lukka transferred their allegience to Mr. Tawagalawa, he came into these lands. They transferred their allegience to me in the same way, and I came down into these lands. When I arrived in the city Šallapa, he (i.e. Piyama-radu) sent [peo]ple(?) into my prescence, (saying,) "Take me in servitude! Send the Crown Prince to me. He will bring me to My Sun." So I sent the Crown Prince to him, (saying,) "Go! Stand with him on the chariot and bring him (here)!" [But that (man)] silenced the Crown Prince. [He] himself said "No!" Is the Crown Prince not a representative(?) for the king? He holds my hand! But later he himself said "No!" to him. He belittled him before the lands. Even further he said this, "Give the kingship to me here in his place! If (you do) not, then I will not come!"

§2When I arrived in the city Waliwanda, I wrote to him: "If you seek my lordship, then because I am about to come to the city Yalanda, let me not find any of your people in the city Yalanda! You must not put anyone in (the city) again! May you not appear(?) in my juris[diction(?)]! I will seek my subjects [myself]." But when [I arrived] in the city Yalanda, the enemy approached me for battle in three places. [That plac]e? was difficult, so I went up on foot. I repulsed the enemy [there], and I then? [seized] the people. Mr. Lahurzi, his brother, [set] an ambush for me! Investigate that, my brother, whether or not it is so! Was Mr. L[ahurzi] not in (the land) for battle? I had not arrived in the land Yalanda. [He went

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ther]e in accordance with matter of the city Yalanda, "I will not go to the city Yalanda again." [. . . .]

§3 How these matters which I wrote to you [occurred], I, the Great King, have taken an oath. [May] the Storm God hear! May the gods, too, hear how these matters [are?]!

§4 When [I destroyed] the land Yalanda, because [I] destroyed the entire land, for the sake of the city [Millawanda] I left the city Atriya, its one district, alone. I t[hen] came up [into the city Yalanda]. [While] I was [up] in the midst of the city Yalanda, I destroyed the entire land [everywhere?. I did not afterwards go for] civilian captives. When there was no water, [I would have subsequently gone for him.] But the troops [were] di[minished,] so subsequently I did not go [for civilian captives.] So I came up [into the city Apawiya for sleeping. If [Mr. Piyama-radu did not take them,] [I] would not have remembered?] him. [While I was up] in the city Apawiya, [I wrote to Mr. Piyama-radu] in the city Millawanda, "Come here to me!" [And] I wrote to (you), my brother, too, before the border in this way, "I took hold of him in this matter. How Mr. Piyama-radu kept attacking me [in the land(?)], does [my] brother [know] it or does he not know it?"

§5 When [the messenger of my brother] found me here, he brought [no greeting] to me! [He brought] no gift for me! He spoke [thusly]: "He wrote to Mr. Atpa, 'Put Pi[yama-radu] in the hand of the king of Hatti." [1 line lost, ending with "I [...]-ed"] I went to [the city] Millawanda, I went on account of this matter. "What words I will say to Piyama-radu, may the subjects and my brother hear them!" Piyama-radu came out (of the land) by means of a boat. For what words I held him, Mr. Atpa, too, heard them. Mr. Awayana, too, heard!. Because he is their father-in-law, why do they [stil]l conceal the matter? I took an oath! May they say the entire oath to you! Did I not send the Crown Prince across the border? (I said,) "Go! Drive across the border! Take him by the hand! Stand with him on the chariot and bring him (here) before me! (But) he said "No!" Even Tawagalawa - when I, the Great King, came - [he] came aside to the city Millawanda. [Previous]ly Mr. Kurunta was here. He drove [into] your [prescence], Great King. Was he not an eminent king?

Column 2

[Did] he not [accept] (a guarantee of) safe passage? So why did that (man) not [come(?)]to me? When he says this, "I feared [a wor]d of killing!", did I not send my son, the Crown Prince, into his prescence? Did I not give him this command, "Go! Swear to him, take(?) him by the hand, bring him into my presence." From what word of killing was he afraid? Is bloodshed permitted in the land of Hatti? It is not!

§6 When the messenger of my brother spoke the word to me, "Take that man, (but) do not take him away!" I said this, "If someone(?) wrote to me (as) my [unclear] or as my brother, how should I have heard that(?) word [...]? Now my brother, a Great King, my equal in rank, wrote to me; do I not hear the word of my equal?" I myself drove [...]. Whenever a person of mine arrives there, should my brother then say, "He did not hear my word! He did not comply with my wishes!" I would not ask my brother this, "Did you [. . .] comply with some (wish) of mine?" I myself actually went! (From) wherever I approached there, I wrote to Mr. Atpa, "Come! Because my brother wrote to you, 'Go bring him there to the king in Hatti!', bring him here! Just as he formerly betrayed(?) my word, he will betray your word! But if he says this, 'I am afraid!' Then I will send one lord, or I will send (my) brother, and that (man) will sit in his place." But that (man) (i.e. Piyama-radu) still [kept] saying, "I am still afraid!", and Mr. Atpa spoke thusly to me, "Does My Sun give (his) hand to a boy?" [Because] my brother gave [(his) hand to that (man), and [I] later [heard his word,] even if he did very much, I would have left [that (man)] alone [everywhere(?)] in safe passage. I swore it to Mr. [Atpa]. I gave him (my) hand. I s[aid(?) . . .] "I will put you [on the road], and [. . .] the matter for you. When(?) I, [the Great King], put you [on the road], [I will write] it to my brother, the King of the land Ahhiyawa." He did not refuse it. [. . . .] my deceased(?)

[. . . . . The land] Himussa, the land Dahdahh'u
[. . . . .] . . . the kingship for me
[. . . . .] I [. . .]-ed
[. . . . .] He defected(?)
[. . . . .] from . . . kingship
[. . . . .] Give [the king]ship(?)!
[. . . . .] say . . .
[. . . . .] Because he did not come . . .
(lines 47-50a are lost)

§7 The matter of those people [. . . . .] Because his house (and) family(?) [. . . .] my oaths [. . . . .] some [god(?)] from wellbeing ran before [. . .] Some god turned forth in favour [...]

§8 Moreover, for the sake of my brother [I did nothing] at all. If perhaps he prevails upon my brother, "[I will go] to the King of Hatti - may he put me on the road!" then I will promptly send Mr. Dabala-Tarhunta, the chariot driver. Is Mr. Dabala-Tarhunta not a high ranking person? He, a child, rides with me on the chariot as a chariot driver! He used to ride [on the chariot] with your brother Tawagalawa! I already [gave] safe passage to Piyama-radu. In Hatti, safe passage is (assured) thusly: If they send bread and a seal to someone, then they will not take part in evil (against) him. Beyond the safe passage, I further (promised) this, "Come! Make a response! I will put you on the road! When I put you on the road, I will write it to my brother! If your wishes are satisfied, so be it! But if your wishes are not satisfied, then when you came, in that same way my person will bring you back into the land Ahhiyawa! If so, or if not, may this chariot driver sit in his place!" While he is coming, and while he is coming back there, because he will hold the chariot driver who is of the family of the queen, and in Hatti the family of the queen is very great. Is he not actually a brother-in-law to me? May that (man) sit in his place while he is coming (and) while he is coming back!

Column 3

Support him, my brother! May your [person] bring him! Further, my brother, send to him (i.e. Piyama-radu) (a guarantee of) safe passage being as follows, "May you not sin in some way against My Sun again! 'I will not turn into [your land] again.'" The [. . .]-man will [. . . . .] and when I put you on the road, may [my brother know] it!

§9 If [he(?)] does not say these things, too, then, my brother, make a/the [. . .] of this person! Many civilian captives came to the side of my land. He t[ook] 7,000 of my civilian captives, my brother. My person will come, and, my brother, he will take [them] for himself before the lords. Because he led them to the side by force, who my brother [sends], may my person install. If [some] lord says, "On account of (the fact that) [I came] to the side as a fugitive", may he remain there! But if [he says this], "He forced me!" , then [may he come back in to me] . . . . . If [. . . . .] turn out [. . . . .]

§10 That (man) [. . . . .] much [. . . . .] fugitive [. . . . .] out x [. . . . .] may not [. . . . .] my [. . . . .]
(lines 28-35 are lost)
[. . . . .] and him 37 (traces) [. . . . .] they will go back in [. . . . .] at whom he became angry [. . . . .] he keeps turning downward
[How it happened for Mr.] X, son of Shahurunuwa, so may a/the fugitive come back to my brother,] too, in that same way(?)]. If he is a lord, (or) if he is [actually] a permitted(???) [person], a Great King, my e[qual . . .] [he] gladly [approved] that in that place. Wherever my fugitives went to the far side, Šahurunuwa became angry against his son. He held him up, and he went into that place. He turned them back out. Do you, my brother, n[ot(?)] take hold of him in that matter? If some servant of mine flees, afterwards they gladly ran to that (man).

§11 Further, he said, "He keeps saying this, 'I will go to the far side, into the land Maša and the land Karkiya. Here I will leave alone his civilian captives, his wife, his children, [and] (his) house.'" When he said these (words), wherever he leaves alone the wife, children, and house of my brother in the land, your land singled him out for special attention. But (on the other hand) he kept attacking my land! If I hinder it for him, he will come back into your land. Do you, my brother, approve? Now this(?) [. . .]

§12 So write that one (matter) to him, my brother! If not, "Get up! Go out into Hatti! Your lord kept account of you. If not, then come out into the land Ahhiyawa, and in what place I settle you, [you will remain!]

Column 4

[. . . . .] "Get up [along with your civilian capitives,] you wives, and your children. Sit down in the other place. Wherever hostilities are for the King of Hatti, be hostile (against that) other land! May you not be hostile (against) my land! If his desire is in the land of Karkiya (or) the land of Maša, then go there! In what matter of the city Wiluša we, I and the king of Hatti, were hostile (against) each other, he persuaded me in that matter. We made peace. [Now(?)] hostilities are not permitted (between) us!" [Write] that to him. Even if he [leaves] the city Millawanda alone, my subjects will gladly run over to that (man). So, my brother, I have sent [my troops] into the land Millawanda [on that favorable word].

§13 [. . . . .] Mr. Piyama-radu [. . . . .] my brother for me [. . . . .] Write it to me!

For the matter of [that city Wiluša which] we were hostile over, [because we made peace], and further because of how [some companion] turns (away) the sin before his companion, and how [that other companion] turns (away) the sin before his companion, and he does not reject [him again], so I turned [some sin of mine(?)] before my brother, [and he turned it.] May I not [do] it to my brother again! [It is not permitted!]

§14 How [my] brother [. . . . .] back to me [. . . . .] wherever(?) the [. . .] of my servant [. . . . .] reject [. . . . .] it instead to/for the people [. . . . .]?

§15 My brother previously [wrote thusly] to me, [. . . . .] "You sent to me in a hostile manner!" [. . . . .] I was a child! How [. . . . .]

35 I wrote. Not [. . . . .] How to me in that way [. . . .] such a word [. . . . .] He went(?) from the mouth [. . . . .] The troops quarrelled [. . . . .] foolish. That [matter(?) . . . . .] he said. Why did I [. . . . .]

May the Sun God [of Heaven] judge such a word! How that word [was established] for me, [how] I sent to you in a hostile manner, now [the evil] word [of my brother] came from the mouth. He came to the Great King, the King of Hatti, and [we stepped] together with that legal case. So, [my brother], send some servant of yours. [Whoever] brought [that word] to you - that word which is destroyed! - Here I will approach him separately. May they cut off [that person's] head! How [your person overturned your word, may they verily] cut off that person's head! Whose [head] they cut off, [may they] melt it! [May they grind (it) up!] Wherever that blood goes, [because] your servant spoke [that matter], may that one [die! How] it did not come from the mouth [of the god], the servant [later altered] it - he did not make it match (my message) for you! How he spoke it to the Great [King], my equal, the servant [gave compensation for] it to me. Once that matter [. . .] [It is a case for the Sun God] of Heaven!

Colophon: 3rd Tablet, complete.

KIKKULI, MASTER HORSE TRAINER OF MITANNI

The Horse Training Manual of Kikkuli
Kikkuli's Training the Chariot Horse
Found: Hattusha, Boghazköy, Turkey
Original language: Hittite (Indo-European)
French Translation of the original: B. Hrozy
English Translation from Hrozy: Anthony Dent
Estimated Range of Dating: 1345 B.C.

(In about 1345 BC, Kikkuli, horse-master to the Hittite king Suppililiuma, developed the first recorded plan for training and caring for horses. Many of Kikkuli's training methods are still considered sound and, in their time, they allowed the Hittites to become a mighty power rivaling Egypt.

Suppililiuma yearned for Hittite supremacy, leading to his acquisition of a large number of horses and the services of a leading Mitannian horse-master, Kikkuli. Kikkuli's training program produced superb horses for the Hittites. His methods were preserved on four clay, cuneiform tablets known as The Kikkuli Text.

Kikkuli used "interval" training, and stressed the leading of horses (from chariots) at a trot, canter and gallop, before subjecting them to the weight bearing stress of a rider or driver. The text detailed a seven month training regime. Rest days were scheduled, but workouts sometimes numbered three a day. Kikkuli's interval training contained three stages – the first two for developing strong legs and a strong cardio-muscular system, and the third for increasing neuromuscular conditioning. His workouts included brief recoveries to lower the heart rate. Swimming was also included in intervals of three to five sessions, with rest periods after each session.

Kikkuli was the Hurrian "master horse trainer" (assussanni) of the land Mitanni" (lúa-ash-shu-ush-sha-an-ni sha kur uru mi-it-ta-an-ni) and author of a chariot horse training text written primarily in the Hittite language (as well as an Old Indo-Aryan language, similar to Sanskrit, as seen in numerals and loan-words), dating to the Hittite New Kingdom (around 1400 BC). The text is notable both for the information it provides about the development of Indo-European languages (both Hittite and the Indo-Aryan superstrate in Mitanni) and for its content. The text was inscribed on cuneiform tablets discovered during excavations of Bogazkale and Hattusha in 1906 and 1907.

"Thus speaks Kikkuli, master horse trainer of the land of Mitanni" (um'ma ki-ik-ku-li lua-ash-shu-ush-sha-an-ni sha kur uru mi-it-ta-an-ni).

Thus begins Kikkuli's text. The text contains a complete prescription for conditioning (exercise and feeding) Hittite war horses over 214 days.

The Kikkuli Text addresses solely the conditioning, not education, of the horse. The Mitannians were acknowledged leaders in horse training and as a result of the horse training techniques learned from Kikkuli, Hittite charioteers forged an empire of the area which is now Turkey, Syria, Lebanon and Northern Iraq. Surprisingly, the regime used 'interval training' techniques similar to those used so successfully by eventers, endurance riders and others today and whose principles have only been studied by equine sports medicine researchers in the past 30 years. The Kikkuli programme involved "sports medicine" techniques comparable to modern ideas such as the principle of progression, peak loading systems, electrolyte replacement theory, fartlek training, intervals and repetitions. It was directed at horses with a high proportion of slow-twitch muscle fibres.

As in modern conventional (as opposed to 'interval') training, the Kikkuli horses were stabled, rugged, washed down with warm water and fed oats, barley and hay at least three times per day. Unlike conventional horse training, the horses were subject to warming down periods. Further, every example of cantering included intermediate pauses to relax the

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horse partially and as the training advanced the workouts include intervals at the canter. This is on the same level as the Interval training we use in modern times. However, Kikkuli made much use of long periods leading the horses at the trotting and cantering gaits rather than harnessing them to a chariot.

Between 1991 and 1992, Dr A. Nyland, then of the University of New England, Australia, carried out the experimental replication of the entire Kikkuli Text over the 7-month period prescribed in the text with Arabian horses. The results are published in "The Kikkuli Method of Horse Fitness Training," in which Nyland claims Kikkuli's methods to be, in some ways, superior to its modern counterparts.

Surviving texts

CTH 284, best preserved, Late Hittite copy (13th century BC)

CTH 285, contemporary Middle Hittite copy with a ritual introduction

CTH 286, contemporary Middle Hittite copy

CTH 284 consists of four well preserved tablets or a total of 1080 lines. The text is notable for its Mitanni (Indo-Aryan) loanwords, e.g. the numeral compounds aiga-, tera-, panza-, satta-, nāwa-wartanna ("one, three, five, seven, nine intervals", virtually Vedic eka-, tri-, pañca- sapta-, nava-vartana. Kikkuli apparently was faced with some difficulty getting specific Mitannian concepts across in the Hittite language, for he frequently gives a term such as "Intervals" in his own language (similar to Vedic Sanskrit), and then states, "this means..." and explained it in Hittite.)

Care and Feeding of the Chariot Horse

Kikkuli's Recipe for Equine Strength

Day 2. Pace one league, run two furlongs (furlong = 1/8 mile). Feed two handfuls grass, one of clover, and four handfuls barley. Graze all night.

Day 3. Pace two and one half leagues (Hittite league = three miles), run two furlongs out. Run three furlongs, pace half a league home. Green grass at midday, followed by watering. Pace one league in evening. Feed grass and straw at night.

Day 4. Pace two leagues in morning, one at night. No water all day. Grass at night.

Day 5. Pace two leagues, run twenty furlongs out and thirty furlongs home. Put rugs on. After sweating, give one pail of salted water and one pail of malt-water. Take to river and wash down. Swim horses. Take to stable and give further pail of malted water and pail of salted water. Wash and swim again. Feed at night one bushel boiled with chaff.

Day 6. Wash five times in morning, graze in afternoon and wash once. Repeat for four days.

Day 12. Keep in stable all day. Feed only grain and cut grass. Repeat for 10 days.

Day 23. Wash in warm water. Feed grass. Repeat for seven days.

Day 31. Same for three days…

Day 34. Picketed outside stable all day without feed or water. Race three furlongs in evening, graze all night. Repeat three days.

Day 38. Swim morning, then pace two leagues. No day feed or water. Evening, pace nine furlongs. Night feed grass and straw. Repeat nine days.

Fully Conditioned Horse

Day 48. Stand up all day. One handful of grass mid-day. Evening, pace half a league. Water and grass at night.

Day 49. Pace half a league. Swim.

Day 50. Pace three leagues, run two furlongs. Grass at night.

Day 60. Pace nine furlongs, run (?) furlongs. Grass at night. Repeat nine times

Day 61. Pace seventeen furlongs, morning. Pace seventeen furlongs, run two furlongs, evening.

Day 62. Pace seventeen furlongs, run two furlongs. Wash, swim three times. Feed bushel boiled barley with chaff. Grass at night.

Day 63. Pace four leagues, run two furlongs. Repeat nine days. Bathe in hot water on fifth evening.

Day 73. Two handfuls of barley after morning work, with chaff. Pace half a league, run two furlongs, evening.

Day 74. Pace half a league, morning. Pace seventeen furlongs, evening, run three furlongs.

Day 75. Pace seventeen furlongs, run three furlongs. Wash, swim five times, feed grass after every other swim. Boiled grain with chaff at night.

MANAPA-TARHHUNTA LETTER

From Forschungen, 1 Band, 1926
Translation: E. Forrer, 1926
Estimated Range of Dating: 1250 B.C.

(The Manapa-Tarhunta letter (CTH 191; KUB 19.5 + KBo 19.79) is a Hittite letter discovered in the 1980s. It was written by a client king called Manapa-Tarhunta to an unnamed Hittite king around 1295 BC. The only datable Manapa-Tarhunta was the one who became undisputed king of Seha River around the time of the death of Arnuwanda II (1322 BC). This letter further mentions a Kupanta-Kurunta. A treaty between Mursili II (1322-1295 BC) and a Kupanta-Kurunta, who is king of Mira (Western Asia Minor), survives which mentions this Manapa-Tarhunta as still alive.

The letter also mentions a "Piyama-Radu", "Atpa" (King of Miletus according to the Tawagalawa letter), and an attack on Hatti's historic ally Wilusa. These figures and events associate the Manapa-Tarhunta letter with an early stage of the events mentioned in the Tawagalawa letter (c. 1250 BC). The Tawagalawa in that letter was the brother of Ahhiyawa's king, and is suggested to be the legendary Eteocles, who lived a generation before the Trojan War. No king of Ahhiyawa is on record before Mursili III's reign (c. 1272 BC); at most there might have been a "man from Ahhiya" as under Arnuwanda I (1400-1360 BC).

Manapa-Tarhunta had passed on the succession to Manapa-Kurunta (presumably Tarhunta's son) by the time of the treaty between Muwatalli II (1295-1272 BC) and Alaksandu of Wilusa. The Manapa-Tarhunta letter would then have been written in the later years of Mursili or else the earlier years of Muwatalli II.

Piyama-Radu is further mentioned, as a past figure, in the Milawata letter (c. 1225 BC); which like the other two letters handles the aftermath of events in Wilusa which did not go the Hittites' way.

The Manapa-Tarhunta letter mentions first an attack on Wilusa, and then how a notorious local troublemaker called Piyama-Radu is harrying the western lands. The Hittite king has apparently ordered Manapa-Tarhunta to drive out Piyama-Radu himself, but Manapa-Tarhunta's attempt has failed, so that a Hittite force is now sent out to deal with the problem. Before marching to Wilusa, the expeditionary force camps at the land near the Seha River, placing Wilusa in the north-west corner of Anatolia.

For Trevor Bryce, this led to the conclusion that the location of Wilusa is related or identical to that of the archeological site of Troy (Illios).:395)

1. Say [to My Sun,] my [lord]: Thusly Mr. Manapa-Tarhunta, your servant:

2. May all be well [with yourself and with] (your) land.

3. [. . .] he came(?), and he brought the troops of Hatti. [. . . . .] later they began to attack the land Wiluša. An illness afflicted [me]. An evil made me sick. The illness has [overpowered(?)] me.

4. (Concerning) how [Mr.] Piyama-radu humiliated me, and (how) he finished me [before] Mr. Atpa: He attacked the land Lazba. Whatever SARIPU-men of mine were (there), all of them joined them . Whatever SARIPU-men of My Sun were (there), all of them joined them. [His] grandfather, who is an occupent of the same house, is a table man. He had summoned the SARIPU-men. He settled them (in (a) town(s)). [His(?)] grandfather and the SARIPU-men (spoke) to Mr. Atpa thusly, "They [. . . . .]. We are obligated to pay our tribute. We came into [your] prescence. Our tribute [. . . . .] He the sin [. . . . . Wherev]er(?) we went. When they [. . . . .]-ed. Mr Atpa them [. . . . .] he turned out." [. . . . .] He wrote [in that w]ay(?). And to him thusly (spoke) [. . . . .] "He [. . .]-ed. Why did he [. . .] back? [. . . . .]" Mr. Piyama-radu heard. [. . . . .] When Mr. Kaššu [. . . . .] him, [. . . . .] He wrote to Mr. Atpa, "[. . . . .] my father, [. . . . .] What gods of My Sun [. . . . .] he turned." [. . . . .he/I] wrote. [. . . . . he/I] said, [. . . . . he/I] wrote, "To Mr. Atpa [. . . . .] He [. . .] the reed-workers [. . . . .] Mr. Kupanta-Kurunta [. . . . .] my lord [. . . . .] I again attacked.

[Text breaks. Nothing of the reverse is preserved.]

TREATY BETWEEN THE HITTITES AND EGYPTIANS

From: Ancient Near Eastern Texts Related to the Old Testament, 3rd ed., p. 199-201.
The Egyptian version, Akkadian Cuneiform
Translation: James Bennett Pritchard, 1969
Estimated Range of Dating: 1276 B.C.

(More than 3,200 years ago, Ramses II, the Egyptian pharaoh, and the Emperor Hattusilis III concluded one of the oldest peace treaties in the history of the world. The peace treaty ended the Egyptian Hittite war that lasted more than 80 years. The two ancient superpowers finally ended the war with the treaty in 1276 BC. While the treaty was not the first in the history of the world, it is the oldest known that was concluded between two independent states with equal power and status.

The Reason for War: The battle and conflict between the Hittite and the Egyptian empire lasted for two centuries before even Ramses II become a pharaoh. However, the conflict escalated in the fifth year of the young pharaoh's reign. Ramses II wanted to take control of the city of Kadesh, located near the Orontes River. The land is nowadays known as Syria, and the war shows the geopolitical value of the country even three centuries ago. For more than two centuries, the empires fought for supremacy over Syria. It was strategic target for Ramses, as Kadesh was an important stop for all trade routes in the region. The city was under control of the Hittite Empire, and Ramses II was afraid that by holding the city, the Hittite present a threat to his empire. The Hittite Empire was growing in power, and had already replaced Babylonia as a kingdom. The conflict culminated with the Egyptian invasion on Syria in 1274 BC. The Battle of Kadesh is the last direct and official military confrontation between the two empires. After the battle, which was considered a draw for both sides, since both suffered enormous amount of casualties, the two sides started negotiating. The conflict lasted for 15 more years, and the period is nowadays considered as "cold war between the Hittite and the Egyptian empire".

The Battle of Kadesh: Ramses II attacked the city with four divisions and used his resources to brag that he achieved victory in the battle. However, the Hittite King at the time gathered troops from his allies and was able to withstand ground. Ramses II made a crucial mistake, outdistancing his troops, after hearing reports that Hittite forces were far behind. However, the Hittite army, hidden behind the town, managed to launch a surprise attack and destroy one of Ramses strongest divisions. Ramses rallied his troops, and with the help from the Amurru troops he managed to rally. The next day, Ramses failed to gain ground, and he headed back to Egypt, bragging about his individual achievement. Back in the time, the battle was considered won by the Egyptian empire, but Ramses lost the war. Nowadays, the battle is considered a draw in which both sides sustained heavy losses.

The Treaty: The Egyptian Hittite Treaty ended the long war between the two empires. In the center of the war was the land that both the Egyptians and the Hittite wanted to rule.

The treaty was ratified in Year 21 of Ramses II ruling, and therefore, the Egyptian version starts with the words "Year 21, first month of the second season, twenty-first day, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Setepnere, Son of Re: Ramses-Meriamon, given life, forever and ever, beloved of Amon-Re-Harakhte, Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, lord of "Life-of-the-Two-Lands," Mut, mistress of Ishru, and Khonsu-Neferhotep; shining upon the Horus-throne of the living, like his father, Harakhte, forever and ever".

The next paragraph shows how Ramses II pleased everyone with the signing of the treaty, stating "On this day, lo, his majesty was at the city (called): "House-of-Ramses-Meriamon," performing the pleasing ceremonies of his father, Amon-Re-Harakhte-Atum, lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis; Amon of Ramses-Meriamon, Ptah of Ramses-Meriamon, "/// great in strength, son of Mut," according as they gave to him eternity in jubilees, everlastingness in peaceful years, all lands, and all countries being prostrate beneath his sandals forever. There came the king's messenger, the deputy and butler, together with the king's messenger[bringing to the king] Ramses of [Kheta, Ter]teseb and the [second messenger (?)] of Kheta [bearing (?) a silver tablet] which the great chief of the Kheta, Khetasar (xtAsrA) [caused] to be brought to Pharaoh, L. P. H., to crave peace [fro]m [the majesty] of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ramses II, given life, forever and ever, like his father, Re, every day. "

Key Points from the Treaty: The treaty itself contains more than 20 principles and obligations for both sides. However, some of the key points are the following.

The third obligation is that neither side will attack the other, and is in force till the end of time. Neither the Egyptians, nor the Hittite should and could pass the land of the other nation: "There shall be no hostilities between them, forever. The great chief of Kheta shall not pass over into the land of Egypt, forever, to take anything therefrom. Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not pass over into the land of Kheta, to take anything therefrom, forever" side from ending the war between the two empires, the treaty also forged an alliance between the two sides in future wars with a third enemy. Obligation No.5 from the treaty states "If another enemy come against the lands of Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II), the great ruler of Egypt, and he shall send to the great chief of Kheta, saying; "Come with me as reinforcement against him," the great chief of Kheta shall come, and the great chief of Kheta shall slay his enemy. But if it be not the desire of the great chief of Kheta to come, be shall send his infantry and his chariotry, and shall slay his enemy"

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The treaty also regulates whether prisoners from the one country could ask for exile in the other country. According to the treaty, no man could flee from Egypt to the land of the Kheta (Hittite territory) and vice versa. This obligation is No.11 and it states "Or if any great man shall flee from the land of Kheta, and he shall come to Usermare-Setepnere, the great ruler of Egypt, from either a town or a district, or any region of those belonging to the land of Kheta, and they shall come to Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, then Usermare-Setepnere, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not receive them, but Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, shall cause them to be brought to the great chief of Kheta. They shall not be settled".

The Egyptian–Hittite peace treaty, also known as the Eternal Treaty or the Silver Treaty, is the only Ancient Near Eastern treaty for which the versions of both sides have survived. It is also the earliest known surviving peace treaty. It is sometimes called the Treaty of Kadesh, after the well-documented Battle of Kadesh that had been fought some 16 years earlier, although Kadesh is not mentioned in the text. Both sides of the treaty have been the subject of intensive scholarly study. The treaty itself did not bring about a peace; in fact, "an atmosphere of enmity between Hatti and Egypt lasted many years" until the eventual treaty of alliance was signed.

The Egyptian Kadesh inscriptions were displayed on large temple inscriptions since antiquity; they were first translated by Champollion, but it was not until 1858 that they were identified with the Hittites mentioned in the Bible. In 1906, Hugo Winckler's excavations in Anatolia identified cuneiform tablets which corresponded with the Egyptian text.

Translation of the texts revealed that this engraving was originally translated from silver tablets given to each side, which have since been lost.

The Egyptian version of the peace treaty was engraved in hieroglyphics on the walls of two temples belonging to Pharaoh Ramesses II in Thebes: the Ramesseum and the Precinct of Amun-Re at the Temple of Karnak. The scribes who engraved the Egyptian version of the treaty included descriptions of the figures and seals that were on the tablet that the Hittites delivered.

The Hittite version was found in the Hittite capital of Hattusa, now in Turkey, and is preserved on baked clay tablets uncovered among the Hittite royal palace's sizable archives. Two of the Hittite tablets are displayed at the Museum of the Ancient Orient, part of the Istanbul Archaeology Museums, while the third is displayed in the Berlin State Museums in Germany. A copy of the treaty is prominently displayed on a wall in the United Nations Headquarters in New York City.

Image: The Egyptian-Hittite peace treaty between Ramesses II and Ḥattušili III, mid-13th century BCE. Neues Museum, Berlin)

The Battle of Kadesh or Battle of Qadesh took place between the forces of the New Kingdom of Egypt under Ramesses II and the Hittite Empire under Muwatalli II at the city of Kadesh on the Orontes River, just upstream of Lake Homs near the modern Lebanon–Syria border.

The battle is generally dated to 1274 BC from the Egyptian chronology, and is the earliest battle in recorded history for which details of tactics and formations are known. It is believed to have been the largest chariot battle ever fought, involving between 5,000 and 6,000 chariots in total. As a result of discovery of multiple Kadesh inscriptions and the Egyptian–Hittite peace treaty, it is the best documented battle in all of ancient history.

Background: After expelling the Hyksos between 1600 and 1550 BC, the native Egyptian New Kingdom rulers became more aggressive in reclaiming control of their state's borders. Thutmose I, Thutmose III and his son and co-regent Amenhotep II fought battles from Megiddo north to the Orontes River, including conflict with Kadesh.

Many of the Egyptian campaign accounts between c. 1400 and 1300 BC reflect the general destabilization of the Djahy region (southern Canaan). The reigns of Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III were undistinguished, except that Egypt continued to lose territory to the Mitanni in northern Syria.

During the late Eighteenth Dynasty, the Amarna letters tell the story of the decline of Egyptian influence in the region. The Egyptians showed flagging interest here until almost the end of the dynasty. Horemheb (died 1292 BC), the last ruler of this dynasty, campaigned in this region, finally beginning to turn Egyptian interest back to this region.

This process continued in the Nineteenth Dynasty. Like his father Ramesses I, Seti I was a military commander who set out to restore Egypt's empire to the days of the Tuthmosid kings almost a century before. Inscriptions on the Karnak walls record the details of his campaigns into Canaan and ancient Syria. He took 20,000 men and reoccupied abandoned Egyptian posts and garrisoned cities. He made an informal peace with the Hittites, took control of coastal areas along the Mediterranean Sea and continued to campaign in Canaan. A second campaign led to his capture of Kadesh [where a stela commemorated his victory] and Amurru kingdom. His son and heir Ramesses II campaigned with him. There are historical records that record a large weapons order by Ramesses II in the year before the expedition he led to Kadesh in his fifth regnal year.

However, at some point both regions may have lapsed back under Hittite control. What exactly happened to Amurru is disputed. Hittitologist Trevor R. Bryce suggests that, although it may have fallen once again under Hittite control, it is more likely Amurru remained a Hittite vassal state.

The immediate antecedents to the Battle of Kadesh were the early campaigns of Ramesses II into Canaan. In the fourth year of his reign, he marched north into Syria, either to recapture Amurru or, as a probing effort, to confirm his vassals' loyalty and explore the terrain of possible battles. In the spring of the fifth year of his reign, in May 1274 BC, Ramesses II launched a campaign from his capital Pi-Ramesses (modern Qantir; nearby the former Hyksos-Habiru capital city Avaris). The army moved beyond the fortress of Tjel and along the coast leading to Gaza. The recovery of Amurru was Muwatalli's stated motivation for marching south to confront the Egyptians.

The reign of Ramesses II began in hostility against the Hittite state. However, by this pharaoh's twenty-first year (about 1,290 B.C.), both powers were ready to conclude a treaty, so that they might turn their attention to other problems, such as the encroachments of the "Sea Peoples." The offensive and defensive alliance set forth in the following document mentions no effective frontier between the two empires. Perhaps there was no one firm line, but Egyptian hegemony was recognized in Palestine and southern Phoenicia, Hittite hegemony in Syria and northern Phoenicia.

Since Akkadian was the diplomatic language of the day, the Egyptian text was a translation, edited to give greater prominence to the role of Egypt in granting peace. The Hittite version was probably much closer to the text formally agreed upon, and the two versions should be read together. The Egyptian version was carved upon the walls of the Temple of Amon at Karnak and of the Ramesseum:)

1 Year 21, 1st month of the second season, day 21 [c.1280 BC], under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: User-maat-Re; Son of Re: Ramses Meri-Amon, given life forever, beloved of Amon-Re; Har-akhti; Ptah, South-of-His-Wall, Lord of Life of the Two Lands; Mut, the Lady of Ishru; and Khonsu Neferhotep; appearing on the Horus-Throne of the Living, tike his father Har-akhti forever and ever.

2 On this day, while his majesty was in the town of Per-Ramses Meri-Amon, doing the pleasure of his father Amon-Re; Har-akhti; Atum, Lord of the Two Lands, the, Heliopolitan*; Amon of Ramses Meri-Amon*; Ptah of Ramses Meri-Amon*; and Seth, the Great of Strength, the Son of Nut, according as they give him an eternity of jubilees and an infinity of years of peace, while all lands and all foreign countries are prostrate under his soles forever--there came the Royal Envoy and Deputy . . . Royal Envoy . . . User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re . . . Tar-Teshub, and the Messenger of Hatti, carrying the tablet of silver which the Great Prince of Hatti, Hattusilis caused to be brought to Pharaoh--life, prosperity, health!--in order to beg peace from the majesty of User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re, the Son of Re: Ramses Meri-Amon, given life forever like his father Re every day. [* The names of the capital city of Ramses in the Nile Delta.]

3 Copy of the tablet of silver which the Great Prince of Hatti, Hattusilis, caused to be brought to Pharaoh-- life, prosperity, health!--by the hand of his envoy Tar-Teshub, and his envoy Ra-mose*, in order to beg peace from the majesty of User-maat-Re, Son of Re: Ramses Meri-Amon, the bull of rulers, who has made his frontier where he wished in very land. [* Tar-Teshub bears a Hittite name, Ra-mose an Egyptian name. However, in the broken context above, two Hittite names appear.]

4 [Preamble:] The regulations [The "prescribed form," used throughout this inscription for the treaty.] which the Great Prince of Hatti, Hattusilis, the powerful, the son of Mursilis, the Great Prince of Hatti, the powerful, the son of the son of Suppiluliumas, the Great Prince of Hatti, the powerful, made upon a tablet of silver for User-maat-Re, the great ruler of Egypt, the powerful, the son of Men-maat-Re, the great ruler of Egypt, the powerful, the son of Men-pehti-Re*, the great ruler of Egypt, the powerful; the good regulations of peace and of brotherhood, giving peace . . . forever. [* Ramesses (Ra-mose, Ramses) II, the son of Seti I, the son of Ramesses I.]

5 [Former Relations:] Now from the beginning of the limits of eternity, as for the situation of the great ruler of Egypt with the Great Prince of Hatti, the god did not permit hostility to occur between them, through a regulation [Reference to a previous treaty may be in the reign of Hor-em-heb.]. But in the time of Muwatallis, the Great Prince of Hatti, my brother [Whose best-known encounter with Ramses II was at the Battle of Kadesh, 16 years earlier.], he fought with Ramses Meri-Amon, the great ruler of Egypt. But hereafter, from this day, behold Hattusilis, the Great Prince of Hatti, is under a regulation for making permanent the situation which the Re and Seth* made for the land of Egypt with the land of Hatti, in order not to permit hostility to occur between them forever. [* Cuneiform version: "the Sun-god and the Storm-god."]

6 [The Present Treaty:] Behold, Hattusilis, the Great Prince of Hatti, has set himself in a regulation with User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re, the great ruler of Egypt, beginning from this day, to cause that good peace and brotherhood occur between us forever, while he is in brotherhood with me and he is at peace with me, and I am in brotherhood with him and I am at peace with him forever. Now since Muwatallis, the Great Prince of Hatti, my brother, went in pursuit of his fate*, and Hattusilis sat as Great Prince of Hatti upon the throne of his father, behold, I have come to be with Ramses Meri-Amon, the great ruler of Egypt, for we are together in our peace and our brotherhood. [* This is an example of the non-Egyptian language resulting from a translation of the cuneiform.] It is better than the peace or the brotherhood which was formerly in the land. Behold, I, as the Great Prince of Hatti, am with Ramses Meri-Amon, in good peace and in good brotherhood. The children of the children of the Great Prince of Hatti are in brotherhood and peace with the children of the children of Ramses Meri-Amon, the great ruler of Egypt, for they are in our situation of brotherhood and our situation of peace. The land of Egypt, with the land of Hatti, shall be at peace and in brotherhood like unto us forever. Hostilities shall not occur between them forever.

7 [Mutual Renunciation of Invasion:] The Great Prince of Hatti shall not trespass against the land of Egypt forever, to take anything from it. And User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not trespass against the land of Hatti, to take from it forever.

Reaffirmation of Former Treaties: As to the traditional regulation [The former treaty] which had been here in the time of Suppiluliumas, the Great Prince of Hatti, as well as the traditional regulation which had been in the time of Muwatallis*, the Great Prince of Hatti, my father, I seize hold of it. Behold, Ramses Meri-Amon, the great ruler of Egypt, seizes hold of the regulation which he makes together with us, beginning from this day. We seize hold of it, and we act in this traditional situation. [* Muwatallis was the brother of Ibttusilis; Mursilis the father of Hattusilis. There seem to have been two former treaties---or one which was valid in two reigns.]

8 [A Defensive Alliance--for Egypt:] If another enemy come against the lands of User- maat-Re, the great ruler of Egypt, and he send to the Great Prince of Hatti, saying: "Come with me as reinforcement against him," the Great Prince of Hatti shall come to him and the Great Prince of Hatti shall slay his enemy. However, if it is not the desire of the Great Prince of Hatti to go (himself), he shall send his infantry and his chariotry, and he shall slay his enemy. Or, if Ramses Meri-Amon the great ruler of Egypt, is enraged Against servants belonging to him, and they commit another offence against him, and he go to slay them, the Great Prince of Hatti shall act with him to slay everyone against whom they shall be enraged.

9 [A Defensive Alliance-for Hatti:] But if another enemy come against the Great Prince of Hatti, User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re, the great ruler of Egypt, shall] come to him as reinforcement to slay his enemy. If it is not the desire of Ramses Meri-Amon, the great ruler of Egypt, to come, he shall . . . Hatti, land he shall send his infantry and his chariotry, besides returning answer to the land of Hatti. Now if the servants of the Great Prince of Hatti trespass against him, and Ramses Meri-Amon. . . .

10 [The Contingency of Death:] . . . the land of Hatti and the land of Egypt . . . the life. Should it be that I shall go in pursuit of my fate, then Ramses Meri-Amon, the great ruler of Egypt, living forever, shall go and come to the land of Hatti, . . . to cause . . . , to make him lord for them, to make User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re, the great ruler of Egypt, silent with his mouth forever*. Now after he . . . the land of Hatti, and he returns . the Great Prince of Hatti, as well as the. . . . [* The meaning of this section is uncertain, but it seems to provide that Ramses II shall take helpful action in the succession to the Hittite throne, if Hattusilis dies. If so, the reciprocal section about Egypt does not appear, cf. the Hittite version.]

11 [Extradition of Refugees to Egypt:] If a great man flee from the land of Egypt and come to the Great Prince of Hatti, or a town belonging to the lands of Ramses Meri-Amon, the great ruler of Egypt, and they come to the Great Prince of Hatti, the Great Prince of Hatti shall not receive them. The Great Prince of Hatti shall cause them to be brought to User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re, the great ruler of Egypt, their lord, because of it. Or if a man or two men--no matter who14--flee, and they come to the land of Hatti to be servants of someone else, they shall not be left in the land of Hatti; they shall be brought to Ramses Meri-Amon, the great ruler of Egypt.

12 [Extradition of Refugees to Hatti:] Or if a great man flee from the land of Hatti and come to User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re, the great ruler of Egypt, or a town or a district or a . . . belonging to the land of Hatti, and they come to Ramses

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Meri-Amon, the great ruler of Egypt, then User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not receive them. Ramses Meri-Amon, the great ruler of Egypt, shall cause them to be brought to the Prince of Hatti. They shall not be left. Similarly, if a man or two men--no matter who*--flee, and they come to the land of Egypt to be servants of other people, User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not leave them. He shall cause them to be brought to the Great Prince of Hatti. [* "They are unknown." The clause provides for the same treatment of individuals and of subject princes or subject states.]

13 [The Divine Witnesses to the Treaty:] As for these words of the regulation which the Great Prince of Hatti made with Ramses Meri-Amon, the great ruler of Egypt, in writing upon this tablet of silver-as for these words, a thousand gods of the male gods and of the female gods of them of the land of Hatti, together with a thousand gods of the male gods and of the female gods of them of the land of Egypt, are with me as witnesses hearing these words: the Re, the lord of the sky; the Re of the town of Arinna; Seth, the lord of the sky; Seth of Hatti; Seth of the town of Arinna; Seth of the town of Zippalanda; Seth of the town of Pe(tt)iyarik; Seth of the town of Hissas(ha)pa; Seth of the town of Sarissa; Seth of the town of Aleppo; Seth of the town of Lihzina; Seth of the town . . .; . . .; Seth of the town of Sahpin; Antaret of the land of Hatti; the god of Zithari(as); the god of Karzis; the god of Hapantaliyas; the goddess of the town of Karahna; the goddess of . . . . . .; the Queen of the Sky; the gods, the lords of oaths; this goddess, the Lady of the Ground; the Lady of the Oath, Ishara; the Lady (of the) mountains and the rivers of the land of Hatti; the gods of the land of Kizuwadna; Amon; the Re; Seth; the male gods; the female gods; the mountains; and the rivers of the land of Egypt; the sky; the earth; the great sea; the winds; and the clouds.

14 [Curses and Blessings for this Treaty:] As for these words which are on this tablet of silver of the land of Hatti and of the land of Egypt--as for him who shall not keep them, a thousand gods of the land of Hatti, together with a thousand gods of the land of Egypt, shall destroy his house, his land, and his servants. But, as for him who shall keep these words which are this tablet of silver, whether they are Hatti or whether they are Egyptians, and they are not neglectful of them, a thousand gods of the land of Hatti, together with a thousand gods of the land of Egypt, shall cause that he be well, shall cause that he live, together with his houses and his (land) and his servants.

15 [Extradition of Egyptians from Hatti:] If a man flee from the land of Egypt--or two or three-- and they come to the Great Prince of Hatti, the Great Prince of Hatti shall lay hold of them, and he shall cause that they be brought back to User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re, the great ruler of Egypt. But, as for the man who shall be brought to Ramses Meri-Amon, the great ruler off Egypt, do not cause that his crime be raised against him; do not cause that his house or his wives or his children be destroyed; do not cause that he be slain; do not cause that injury be done to his eyes, to his ears, to his mouth, or to his legs; do not let any crime be raised against him.

16 [Extradition of Hittites from Egypt:] Similarly, if men flee from the land of Hatti--whether he be one or two or three--and they come to User-maat- Re Setep-en-Re, the great ruler of Egypt, let Ramses Meri-Amon, the great ruler of Egypt, lay hold of them and cause that they be brought to the Great Prince of Hatti, and the Great Prince of Hatti shall not raise their crime against them, and they shall not destroy his house or his wives or his children, and they shall not slay him, and they shall not do injury to his ears, to his eyes, to his mouth, or to his legs, and they shall not raise any crime against him.

17 [Description of the Tablet:] What is in the middle of the tablet of silver. On its front side: figures consisting of an image of Seth embracing an image of the Great Prince of Hatti, surrounded by a border with the words: "the seal of Seth, the ruler of the sky; the seal of the regulation which Hattusilis made, the Great Prince of Hatti, the powerful, the son of Mursilis, the Great Prince of Hatti, the powerful." What is within that which surrounds the figures: the seal of Seth. What is on its other side: figures consisting of a female image of the goddess of Hatti embracing a female image of the Princess of Hatti, surrounded by a border with the words: "the seal of the Re of the town of Arinna, the lord of the land; the seal of Putu-hepa, the Princess of the land of Hatti, the daughter of the land of Kizuwadna, the priestess of the town of Arinna, the Lady of the Land, the servant of the goddess." What is within the surrounding (frame) of the figures: the seal of the Re of Arinna, the lord of every land.

Hittite Counterpart:

PEACE TREATY BETWEEN RAMESSES II AND HATTUSILI III

The Hittite version, Akkadian Cuneiform
From: Tour Egypt, www.touregypt.net/peacetreaty.htm
Translation: Anonymus
Estimated Range of Dating: 1276 B.C.

1 It is concluded that Reamasesa-mai-amana [Ramose-merit-amun, meaning Rameses II.], the Great King, the king of the land of Egypt with Hattusili, the Great King, the king of the land of Hatti, his brother, for the land of Egypt and the land of Hatti, in order to establish a good peace and a good fraternity forever among them.

2 Thus speaks Reamasesa, the Great King, the king of the land of Egypt, the hero of the whole country, son of Minmuaria, the great king, the king of the land of Egypt, the hero, son of the son of Minpahiritaria, the Great King, the king of the land of Egypt, the hero, to Hattusili, son of Mursili, the Great King, the king of the land of Hatti, the hero, son of the son of Suppiluliuma, the Great King, the king of the land of Hatti, the hero.

3 Look, I have established a good fraternity and a good peace now forever among us, in order to establish this way forever a good peace and a good fraternity between the land of Egypt and the land of Hatti. Look, in what refers to the great king's relationship, the king of the country of Egypt, and of the great king, the king of the Hittite country, since eternity the gods do not allow, by reason of an eternal treaty, that the enmity exist among them.

4 Look, Reamasesa-mai-Amana, the great king, the king of the country of Egypt, will establish the bond that the Sun God Ra has wanted and that the god of the Tempest the great Hittite god has wanted for the country of Egypt and the country of Hatti according to the eternal bond, for not letting enmity settle between them.

5 But now Reamasesa-mai-Amana, the great king, the king of the country of Egypt, has established this bond by treaty on a silver tablet with Hattusili, the great king, the king of the country of Hatti, his brother, starting from this day, to settle forever among them a good peace and a good fraternity.

6 He is a brother to me and he is at peace with me; and I am a brother to him and I am forever at peace with him.

7 Look, we are united and a bond of fraternity already exists among us and of peace, and it is better than the bond of fraternity and of peace that existed between the country of Egypt and the country of Hatti.

8 Look, Reamasesa-mai-Amana, the great king, the king of the country of Egypt, is at peace and fraternity with Hattusili, the great king, the king of the country of Hatti.

9 Look, the children of Reamasesa, the great king, the king of the country of Egypt, they will be forever in state of peace and of fraternity with the children of Hattusili, the great king, the king of the country of Hatti. They will remain in the line of our bond of fraternity and of peace; the country of Egypt and the country of Hatti will be forever be in a state of peace and of fraternity as it is with us.

10 Reamasesa-mai-Amana, the great king, the king of the country of Egypt, shall never attack the country of Hatti to take possession of a part of this country. And Hattusili, the great king, the king of the country of Hatti, shall never attack the country of Egypt to take possession of a part of that country.

11 Look, the order fixed for eternity which the Sun God and the God of the Tempest have created for the country of Egypt and the country of Hatti, that is peace and fraternity without leaving place among them to any enmity. Look, Reamasesa-mai-Amana, the great king, the king of the country of Egypt, has established peace starting from this day.

12 Look, the country of Egypt and the country of Hatti live forever in peace and fraternity.

13 If a foreign enemy marches against the country of Hatti and if Hattusili, the king of the country of Hatti, sends me this message: "Come to my help against him", Reamasesa-mai-Amana, the great king, the king of the Egyptian country, has to send his troops and his chariots to kill this enemy and to give satisfaction to the country of Hatti.

14 If Hattusili, the great king, the king of the country of Hatti, rises in anger against his citizens after they have committed a crime against him and if, for this reason, you send to Reamasesa the great king, the king of the country of Egypt, then Reamasesa-mai-Amana has to send his troops and his chariots and these should exterminate all those that he has risen in anger against.

15 If a foreigner marches against the country of Egypt and if Reamasesa-mai-Amana, the great king, the king of the country of Egypt, your brother, sends to Hattusili, the king of the country of Hatti, his brother, the following message: "Come to my help against him", then Hattusili, king of the country of Hatti, shall send his troops and his chariots and kill my enemy.

16 If Reamasesa, king of the country of Egypt, rises in anger against his citizens after they have committed a wrong against him and by reason of this he sends a message to Hattusili, the great king, the king of the country of Hatti, my brother, has to send his troops and his chariots and they have to exterminate all those against, and I shall . . . .

17 Look, the son of Hattusili, king of the country of Hatti, has to assure his sovereignty of the country of Hatti instead of Hattusili, his father, after the numerous years of Hattusili, king of the country of Hatti. If the children of the country of Hatti transgress against him, then Reamasesa has to send to his help troops and chariots and to give him support.

18 If a great person flees from the country of Hatti and if he comes to Reamasesa, the great king, king of the country of Egypt, then Reamasesa, the great king, the king of the country of Egypt, has to take hold of him and deliver him into hands of Hattusili, the great king, the king of the country of Hatti.

19 If a man or two men who are unknown flee, and if they come to Reamasesa, to serve him, then Reamasesa has to take hold of them and deliver them into the hands of Hattusili, king of the country of Hatti.

20 If a great person flees from the country of Egypt and he escapes to the country of Amurru or a city and he comes to the king of Amurru, then Benteshina, king of the country of Amurru, has to take hold of him and take him to the king of the country of Hatti; and Hattusili, the great king, the king of the country of Hatti, shall have him to be taken to Reamasesa, the great king, the king of the country of Egypt.

21 If a man or two men who are unknown flee, and if they escape from the country of Egypt and if they do not want to serve him, then Hattusili, the great king, the king of the country of Hatti, has to deliver them into his brother's hands and he shall not allow them to inhabit the country of Hatti. If a nobleman flees from the country of Hatti, or two men, and if they don't want to serve the king of Hatti, and if they flee from the Great King's country, the king of the land of Hatti, in order not to serve him, then Reamasesa has to take hold of them and order them be taken to Hattusili, the Great King, king of the land of Hatti, his brother, and he shall not allow them to reside in the country of Egypt.

22 If a nobleman or two flee from the country of Egypt and if they leave for the Land of Hatti, then Hattusili, the great king, the king of the country of Hatti, has to take hold of them and make them be taken to Reamasesa, the Great King, the king of the country of Egypt, his brother.

23 If a man flees from the country of Hatti, or two men, or three men, and if they come to Reamasesa, the Great King, the king of the country of Egypt, his brother, then Reamasesa, the Great King, the king of the country of Egypt, has to take hold of them and to order them to be taken to Hattusili, his brother, since they are brothers. As for their crime, it should not be imputed; their language and their eyes are not to be pulled out; their ears and their feet are not to be cut off; their houses with their wives and their children are not to be destroyed.

24 If a man flees from the country of Reamasesa, the Great King, king of the country of Egypt, or two men, or three men, and if they come to Hattusili, the Great King, the king of the country of Hatti, my brother, then Hattusili, the Great King, king of the country of Hatti, my brother, has to take hold of them and to order them to be taken to Reamasesa, the Great King, the king of the country of Egypt, because Reamasesa, the Great King, king of the country of Egypt, and Hattusili are brothers. As for their crime, it should not be imputed; their language and their eyes are not to be pulled out; their ears and their feet are not to cut off; their houses with their wives and their children are not to be destroyed.

25 If a man flees from the country of Hatti, or two people, and if they flee from the country of Hatti, and if they come to the country of Egypt, and if a nobleman flees from the country of Hatti or of a city and they flee from the country of Hatti to go to the country of Egypt, then Reamasesa has to order them to be taken to his brother. Look, the sons of the country of Hatti and the children of the country of Egypt are at peace.

26 If some people flee from the country of Egypt to go to the country of Hatti, then Hattusili, the great king, the king of the country of Hatti, has to order them to be taken to his brother. Look, Hattusili the great king, the king of the country of Hatti, and Reamasesa, the great king, the king of the country of Egypt, your brother, are at peace.

27 If Reamasesa and the children of the country of Egypt don't observe this treaty, then the gods and the goddesses of the country of Egypt and the gods and goddesses of the country of Hatti shall exterminate the descendants of Reamasesa, the Great King, the king of the country of Egypt.

28 If Reamasesa and the children of the country of Egypt observe this treaty, then the gods of the oath shall protect them and their [. . .]

29 They who observe the words that are in the silver tablet the great gods of the country of Egypt and the great gods of the country of Hatti shall allow them to live and prosper in their houses, their country and with their servants.

30 They who do not observe the words that are in this silver tablet , the great gods of the country of Egypt as well as the great gods of the country of Hatti will exterminate their houses, their country and their servants.

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THE MERNEPTAH STELE
or: The Triumphal Song Of Merneptah
Source: Petrie and Spiegelberg, 1897
Translation: Wilhelm Spiegelberg, 1897
Estimated Range of Dating c. 1208 BC

(The Merneptah Stele—also known as the Israel Stele or the Victory Stele of Merneptah—is an inscription by the ancient Egyptian king Merneptah (reign: 1213 to 1203 BC) discovered by Flinders Petrie in 1896 at Thebes. The stele is over 3 meters (10 feet) high, and the inscription says it was carved in the 5th year of Merneptah of the 19th dynasty. Most of the text glorifies Merneptah's victories over enemies from Libya and their Sea People allies, but the final two lines mention a campaign in Canaan, where Merneptah says he defeated and destroyed Ashkalon, Gezer, Yanoam and Israel.

The last 3 of the 28 lines deal with a separate campaign in Canaan, then part of Egypt's imperial possessions. The stele is sometimes referred to as the "Israel Stela" because a majority of scholars translate a set of hieroglyphs in line 27 as "Israel." The stela is so important because it represents the earliest textual reference to Israel. It is one of four known inscriptions, from Iron Age, that date to the time of and mention ancient Israel, under this name, the others being the Mesha Stele, the Tel Dan Stele, and the Kurkh Monolith.)

Protocol
"In the year Five on the Third day of the Third month of the period of inundation, under the Majesty of Horus Ra, the strong bull, high in truth, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Ba-en-ra Meriamen, son of Ra, Merenptah-Hetephermaat the increaser of power, raising the victorious sword of Horus-Ra, the strong bull, smiting the Nine Bows (foreigners) whose name endures to all eternity."

PART A: THE INTRODUCTION
"Report of his triumph in all lands, proclamation to all lands together in order that may be known the glory of the deeds of victory of King Merenptah, the bull, the Lord of power.

Slaughtering his enemies. Beautiful in the field of victory. His attack is the sun, Which frightens away the clouds that stand over Egypt.

He causes Egypt to see the sunbeams, And overthrows the brazen mountain. From the neck of the people, he gives freedom to men who languish in imprisonment.

He avenges Memphis upon its enemies. He causes Ptah Totunen to rejoice over his foes. He opens the gates of the City of Walls (Memphis) which were closed, He causes the temples to receive again their meal offerings, King Merenptah, he who makes firm the hearts of hundreds of thousands and of millions."

PART B
The Defeat Of Libya.
"At the sight of him the breath of life enters their nostrils, the land of Temehu (Libyan tribe) stands open during his lifetime. Eternal terror is laid in the heart of the Masha-washa (Libyan tribe). He makes the tribe of the Lehu withdraw, having invaded Egypt.

Great fear of Egypt is in their hearts. They were come their face in front . They were turned backward. Their legs did not stay firm, but fled. Their archers threw their bows away.

Their runners were weary of marching. They unbound their skins And threw them to the ground. Their sacks were taken and poured out. The wretched conquered Prince of Libya fled, Under the protection of the night. Alone, without the plume on his head.

His feet failed. His women were taken away before his face, The provisions of his store were plundered, He had no water skin for his sustenance, His brothers plotted his murder, His officers fought with one another, Their camp was burned, made to ashes.

His whole property became a booty of the soldiers. Arriving in his country he lamented, Every one in his country was ashamed to receive him.

Punished prince, 'Evil-fate Feather' called him all the inhabitants of his city. He is in the power of the gods, the Lords of Memphis. The ruler of Egypt has cursed his name, Mauroy is an abomination to Memphis, with every descendant of his family forever; Barter a- Meriainun pursues his children. Merneptali-Hetepherntaat is sent to him as a Fate; He is become a proverb for Libya.

The young men tell each other of his victories: Since the time of Ra such has never happened to us! All old men tell to their sons: Woe over Libya! One can no longer go pleasantly in the fields. In a single day our walking has been made impossible, In one year the Tehenu have been burned. Sutech has turned his back to their princes. Their settlements are wasted on account of him. In those days one did not carry baskets, It was best to hide one's self. One is safe (only) in the citadel.

The great ruler of Egypt, Might and strength belong to him. Who dares to fight, knowing his step! A wretched and mad one is he who resists him. He who transgresses his command. Does not see the next day.

For Egypt is called since the reign of the gods. The only daughter of Ra, His son sitting upon the throne of Shu, the sun of Ra.

His heart is not forbearing towards him. Who outrages his inhabitants. The eye of every god pursues him Who abuses the ...

It brings up the most distant foes —Thus they (the old men) speak

The seers of the stars, who know their meaning observing them say: A great wonder has come to pass in Egypt, he has made him whom his hand reached, A living prisoner. The divine King triumphs over his enemies before Ra.

Mauroy, the evil doer, is dashed down by every god of Memphis. He (Ra) judges him in Heliopolis, and the assembly of the gods declares him guilty of his crimes.

The Lord of the All says: Give the sword of victory. To my true-hearted, good and mild son Merenptah, Who cares for Memphis and defends Heliopolis?

The cities closed shall be opened again. He shall free many enchained in each district and give sacrifices to the temples (again). He shall bring incense before the god again. He shall bring back (?) again to the great their property, And let the poor return into their cities. —

The Lords of Heliopolis say to their son Merenptah: May a long lifetime be his lot, for he has defended the oppressed of every foreign land.

Egypt shall be given to him as the heritage of him, who has placed him as administrator for himself forever. (For) his strength is its people. Behold one is sitting safe in the time of the strong, the breeze of life is on his arms!

The following is told: Mauroy the wretched conquered prince of Libya came. To attack the walls of the Prince (Memphis), and [of] every (god) who lets his son be brilliant upon his seat.

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt Merenptah. —

Ptah speaks to the prince of Libya: All his crimes shall be collected and shall fall back upon his head; He shall be given into the hand of Merenptah, that he may cause him to spit out what he has swallowed as a crocodile.

As the hastener brings up the hastening, the Lord (Pharoah) shall seize him, that he may know his power.

Amon shall bind him with his hand, and give him over to his Ka in Hermonthis, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Merenptah. —

Great joy shall rule in Ketnet, exultation shall rush forth from the cities of Tamera. They shall tell of the victories, which Merenptah has won over the Tehenu, crying: How dear is he the prince of the victory! How great is the king among the gods! How happy is he the Lord who commands!

One is talking: Come far out upon the roads, There is no fear in the heart of men.

The castles are abandoned … The wells opened (again), The messengers return home ... The battlements lie calm in the sun, until their guards awake.

The soldiers lie in sleep The Nawt and the Tektina are in the marsh they like, The cattle are let on the pasture (again).

No one fears to go on the high Nile.

By night resounds not the cry: (?) Stop! or come, come! (?) in the mouth of the people.

One goes with singing. There is no more the lament of sighing man.

The villages are settled anew. He who has tilled his crop will eat it."

PART C
The Defeat Of The Other Enemies Of Egypt.
"(For) Ra has turned himself again to Egypt; He is born to avenge it, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Banera Meriamen, sun of Ra Merenptah-Hetephermaat. The princes bend down, saying 'Hail!' Not one raises his head among the Nine bows.
Devastated is Tehenu, Kheta is quieted, Seized is the Kanaan with every evil, Led away is Askelon, Taken is Gezer, Yenoam is brought to nought, The people of Israel is laid waste, — their crops are not, Khor has become as a widow for Egypt, All lands together — they are in peace. Every one who roamed about Is punished by King Merenptah, gifted with life, like the sun every day."

KHIRBET QEIYAFA OSTRACON
Israel Museum in Jerusalem
Translation: Émile Puech, 2012 and Gershon Galil, 2011
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 1025–975 B.C.

(Khirbet Qeiyafa, also known as Elah Fortress or Hirbet Kaifeh, is the site of an ancient fortress city overlooking the Elah Valley and dated to the first half of the 10th century BC. the site dates to the early Iron IIA, ca. 1025–975 BC. The ruins of the fortress were uncovered in 2007, near the Israeli city of Beit Shemesh, 30 km (20 mi) from Jerusalem. It covers nearly 2.5 ha (6 acres) and is encircled by a 700-meter-long (2,300 ft) city wall constructed of stones weighing up to eight tons each. Excavations at site continued in subsequent years. A number of archaeologists, mainly Yosef Garfinkel and Saar Ganor, have claimed that it might be the biblical city of Sha'arayim, because of the two gates discovered on the site, or Neta'im and that the large building at the centre is an administrative building dating to the reign of King David, where he might have lodged at some point. This is based on their conclusions that the site dates to the early Iron IIA, ca. 1025–975 BC, a range which includes the biblical date for the Kingdom of David. Others suggest it might represent either a North Israelite, Philistine or Canaanite fortress, a claim rejected by the archaeological team that excavated the site. The team's conclusion that Khirbet Qeiyafa was a fortress of King David has been criticised.

The site consists of a lower city of about 10 hectares and an upper city of about 3 hectares (7.4 acres) surrounded by a massive defensive wall ranging from 2–4 metres (6 ft 7 in–13 ft 1 in) tall. The walls are built in the same manner as the walls of Hazor and Gezer, formed by a casemate (a pair of walls with a chamber in between). At the centre of the upper city is a large rectangular enclosure with spacious rooms on the south, equivalent to similar enclosures found at royal cities such as Samaria, Lachish, and Ramat Rachel. On the southern slope, outside the city, there are Iron Age rock-cut tombs.

The site, according to Garfinkel, has "a town plan characteristic of the Kingdom of Judah that is also known from other sites, e.g., Beit Shemesh, Tell en-Nasbeh, Tell Beit Mirsim and Beersheba. A casemate wall was built at all of these sites and the city's houses next to it incorporated the casemates as one of the dwelling's rooms. This model is not known from any Canaanite, Philistine or Kingdom of Israel site." The site is massively fortified, "including the use of stones that weigh up to eight tons apiece."

Based on averaging four radiocarbon determinations, Garfinkel and Ganor (2009) have dated the Iron Age layer at Khirbet Qeiyafa to ca. 1025–975 BC and declared the demise of the Low Chronology for the Iron Age strata in the Levant.)

A 15-by-16.5-centimetre (5.9 in × 6.5 in) ostracon, a trapezoid-shaped potsherd with five lines of text, was discovered during excavations at the site in 2008. Although the writing on the ostracon is poorly preserved and difficult to read, Émile Puech of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française considered the Phoenician writing reflecting the Canaanite language or its Hebrew dialect without Philistine influence. His translation::

1 Do not oppress, and serve God … despoiled him/her
2 The judge and the widow wept; he had the power
3 over the resident alien and the child, he eliminated them together
4 The men and the chiefs/officers have established a king
5 He marked 60 [?] servants among the communities/habitations/generations

On January 10, 2010, the University of Haifa issued a press release stating that the text was a social statement relating to slaves, widows and orphans. According to this interpretation, the text "uses verbs that were characteristic of Hebrew, such as ʿśh (עשה) ("did") and ʿbd (עבד) ("worked"), which were rarely used in other regional languages. Particular words that appear in the text, such as almanah ("widow") are specific to Hebrew and are written differently in other local languages. The content itself, it is argued, was also unfamiliar to all the cultures in the region besides that of Hebrew society. It was further maintained that the present inscription yielded social elements similar to those found in the biblical prophecies markedly different from those current in by other cultures that write of the glorification of the gods and taking care of their physical needs." Gershon Galil claims that the language of inscription is Hebrew and that 8 out of 18 words written on inscription are exclusively biblical. He also claimed that 30 major archeological scholars do support this thesis.

Gershon Galil of Haifa University proposed the following translation:

1 you shall not do [it], but worship (the god) [El]
2 Judge the sla[ve] and the wid[ow] / Judge the orph[an]
3 [and] the stranger. [Pl]ead for the infant / plead for the po[or and]
4 the widow. Rehabilitate [the poor] at the hands of the king
5 Protect the po[or and] the slave / [supp]ort the stranger.

THE REPORT OF WEN-AMUN
Source: Pushkin Museum, Moscow, Papyrus Pushkin 120.
Script: Hieratic language: Egyptian, 20th or 21st Dynasty
Translation: Miriam Lichtheim, 2006
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 1000 B.C.

(The Report of Wen-Amun (alternately known as the Story of Wenamun, The Misadventures of Wenamun, The Voyage of Unamūn) is a literary text written in Hieratic in the Late

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Egyptian language. It is only known from one incomplete copy discovered in 1890 at al-Hibah, Egypt and subsequently purchased in 1891 in Cairo by the Russian Egyptologist Vladimir Golenishchev. Golenishchev published the two-page manuscript in 1897-99. It was found in a jar together with the Onomasticon of Amenope and the Tale of Woe. The papyrus is now in the collection of the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, and officially designated as Papyrus Pushkin 120. The hieratic text is published by Korostovcev 1960, and the hieroglyphic text is published by Gardiner 1932 (as well as on-line).

The story is set in an anonymous "Year 5", generally taken to be year 5 of the so-called Renaissance of Pharaoh Ramesses XI, the tenth and last ruler of the Twentieth Dynasty of Ancient Egypt (1190-1077 BC). However, since Karl Jansen-Winkeln has proposed to reverse the order of the High Priests of Amun Herihor and Piankh, this ascription has become disputed. With the pontificate of Herihor falling later than that of Piankh, who is attested in year 7 of the Renaissance, the date in the heading of Wenamun should rather refer to the direct (or indirect) successor of Ramesses XI. Following Jansen-Winkeln, Arno Egberts (1991) therefore argues that the story is set in the fifth regnal year of Smendes I, the Delta-based founder of the Twenty-first Dynasty. Recently, yet another solution has been suggested by Ad Thijs who ascribes the text to year 5 of "king" Pinedjem I, who is the successor of Ramesses XI in his radically alternative chronology, which is based on the reversal of High Priests put forward by Jansen-Winkeln.

As the story begins, the principal character, Wenamun, a priest of Amun at Karnak, is sent by the High Priest of Amun Herihor to the Phoenician city of Byblos to acquire lumber (probably cedar wood) to build a new ship to transport the cult image of Amun. After visiting Smendes (Nesbanebded in Egyptian) at Tanis, Wenamun stopped at the port of Dor ruled by the Tjeker prince Beder, where he was robbed. Upon reaching Byblos, he was shocked by the hostile reception he received there. When he finally gained an audience with Zakar-Baal, the local king, the latter refused to give the requested goods for free, as had been the traditional custom, instead demanding payment. Wenamun had to send to Smendes for payment, a humiliating move that demonstrates the waning of Egyptian power over the Eastern Mediterranean; a causative factor of a new nature can be seen in this ebbing of Egyptian power — the rise of Assyria and its intrusion into Phoenicia around the year 1100 BC. After a wait of almost a year at Byblos, Wenamun attempted to leave for Egypt, only to be blown off course to Alashiya (Cyprus), where he was almost killed by an angry mob before placing himself under the protection of the local queen, whom he called Hatbi. At this point the story breaks off.

It is not known whether the text is a real report or a fictive story. However, the background, meaning the general attitude towards great powers after the collapse of the Bronze Age civilisations in c. 1200 B.C. is real, and here it clearly shows the decline of might that great powers such as Egypt and Mesopotamia once represented. New powers arose, such as the city states of the Phoenicians and the new Israelites around the kings Saul, David and Solomon. After a period of Canaanite darkness, they finally were able to build up their own country and The David and Goliath story narrated in the Book of Samuel reflects pretty much the same attitude towards the formerly powerful as The Report of Wen-Amun. No matter if we want to read the Old Testament literally or just allegorically, the background of the Bible stories is based on a former reality and therefore, the result is the same. In this way, The Report of Wen-Amun is similar.

In the biblical Book of Samuel, Goliath is described as a Philistine giant defeated by the young David in single combat. The story signified Saul's unfitness to rule, as Saul himself should have fought for Israel. Scholars today believe that the original listed killer of Goliath was Elhanan, son of Jair, and that the authors of the Deutoronomic history changed the original text to credit the victory to the more famous character, David. Similarly, the Philistines could have stood for both, Egyptians and Mesopotamians. We ought not forget that Abraham was a Mesopotamian from Erech (the city-state of Uruk in Sumer) and Moses was an Egyptian (Mose is Egyptian for "son" like Ahmose, Kamose, Thutmose, Ramesses = Ra-Mose). In fact, most nations and peoples in the "Fertile Crescent" have had a much closer relationship to one another as the Bible authors were willing to tell us.

The Story of Wenamun is an unparalleled source for learning of conditions in Egypt, as well as in Phoenicia, Canaan and Israel. One can also see from this document, as from no other of the period, common attitudes toward religion (especially the cult of Amon = Amun), the state of Mediterranean shipping practises, and even the attitudes of foreign princes to Egyptian claims of supremacy in the region. Even the supremacy of the pharaoh in Egypt is placed under our scrutiny. The current pharaoh, Ramesses XI, is never even mentioned during Wenamun's journey. Thebes, Wenamun's hometown, is under the control of Herihor--the High Priest of Amon. The authority Wenamun goes to see in the delta is Smendes, who resides at Tanis, and bears the never-before-seen title "organiser-of-the-country". It is worthy of note that neither Smendes nor Herihor bear any royal title whatsoever. Overall, the Story of Wenamun presents to us what could possibly be the most vivid and descriptive narrative of pre-classical times. Because the text is based on a historical framework, it remains particularly useful to historians for the study of the time after the Bronze Age.

The following translation is by Egyptologist Miriam Lichtheim from Ancient Egyptian Literature: The New Kingdom, Volume II, pp. 224-229. The manuscript is missing words and a central section is missing so many lines that Lichtheim summarises that part to keep the story's cohesion and momentum intact. The manuscript breaks off after the princess of Alasiya's line "spend the night." It is thought that there was considerably more to the story, although it is unclear what that claim is based on. It is entirely possible that, after he is saved by the princess, he simply goes back home.)

The Report of Wenamun, Text:

[The story begins with Wenamun introducing himself and his mission:]

1. Year 5, fourth month of summer, day 16, the day of departure of Wenamun, the Elder of the Portal of the Temple of Amun, Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, to fetch timber for the great noble bark of Amen-Re, King of Gods, which is upon the river and is called Amen-user-he.

2. On the day of my arrival at Tanis, the place where Smendes and Tentamun are, I gave them the dispatches of Amen-Re, King of Gods. They had read them out before them and they said: "I will do, I will do as Amen-Re, King of Gods, our lord has said."

3. I stayed until the fourth month of summer in Tanis. Then Smendes and Tentamun sent me off with the ship's captain Mengebet, and I went down upon the great sea of Phoenicia in the first month summer, day 1. I arrived at Dor, a Tjeker town; and Beder, its prince, had fifty loaves, one jug of wine, and one ox-haunch brought to me. Then a man of my ship fled after stealing one vessel of gold worth 5 deben, four jars of silver worth 20 deben, and a bag with 11 deben of silver; total of what he stole: gold 5 deben, silver 31 deben.

4. That morning when I had risen, I went to where the prince was and said to him: "I have been robbed in your harbour. Now you are the prince of this land, you are the one who controls it. Search for my money! Indeed, the money belongs to Amen-Re, King of Gods, the lord of the lands. It belongs to Smendes; it belongs to Herihor, my lord, and to the other magnates of Egypt. It belongs to you; it belongs to Weret; it belongs to Mekmer; it belongs to Tjekerbaal, the prince of Byblos!" He said to me: "Are you serious? Are you joking? Indeed, I do not understand the demand you make to me. If it had been a thief belonging to my land who had gone down to your ship and had stolen your money, I would replace it for you from my storehouse, until your thief, whatever his name, had been found. But the thief who robbed you, he is yours, he belongs to your ship. Spend a few days here with me; I will search for him."

5. I stayed nine days moored in his harbor. Then I went to him and said to him: "Look, you have not found my money. Let me depart with the ship captains, with those who go to sea." . . . . .

[The next eight lines are broken. Apparently, the prince advises Wenamun to wait some more, but Wenamun departs. He passes Tyre and approaches Byblos. Then he seizes thirty deben of silver from a ship he has encountered which belongs to the Tjeker, an obvious act of piracy. He tells the owners that he will keep the money until his money has been found. Through this action he incurs the enmity of the Tjeker.] . . . . .

6. They departed and I celebrated [in] a tent on the shore of the sea in the harbour of Byblos. And I made a hiding place for Amun-of-the-Road and placed possessions in it. Then the prince of Byblos sent to me saying: "Leave my harbour!" I sent to him, saying: "Where shall I go? . . . . . If you have a ship to carry me], let me be taken back to Egypt." I spent twenty-nine days in his harbour, and he spent time sending to me daily to say: "Leave my harbour!"

7. Now while he was offering to his gods, the god took hold of a young man of his young men and put him in a trance. He said to him: "Bring the god up! Bring the envoy who is carrying him! It is Amun who sent him. It is he who made him come!" Now it was while the entranced one was entranced that night that I had found a ship headed for Egypt. I had loaded all my belongings into it and was watching for the darkness, saying: "When it descends I will load the god so that no other eye shall see him."

Then the harbour master came to me, saying: "Wait until morning, says the prince!" I said to him: "Was it not you who daily took time to come to me, saying: 'Leave my harbour'? Do you now say: 'Wait this night,' in order to let the ship that I found depart, and then you will come to to say: 'Go away'?" He went and told it to the prince. Then the prince sent to the captain of the ship, saying: "Wait until morning, says the prince."

8. When morning came, he sent and brought me up, while the god rested in the tent where he was on the shore of the sea. I found him seated in his upper chamber with his back against a window, and the waves of the great sea of Phoenicia broke behind his head. I said to him: "Blessings of Amun!" He said to me: "How long is it to this day since you came from the place where Amun is?" I said to him: "Five whole months till now." He said to me: "If you are right, where is the dispatch of Amun that was in your hand? Where is the letter of the High Priest of Amun that was in your hand?" I said to him: "I gave them to Smendes and Tentamun." Then he became very angry and said to me: "Now then, dispatches, letters you have none. Where is the ship of pinewood that Smendes gave you? Where is its Phoenician crew? Did he not entrust you to this foreign ship's captain in order to have him kill you and have them throw you into the sea? From whom would one then seek the god? And you, from whom would one seek you?" So he said to me.

9. I said to him: "Is it not an Egyptian ship? Those who sail under Smendes are Egyptian crews. He has no Phoenician crews." He said to me: "Are there not twenty ships here in my harbor. that do business with Smendes? As for Sidon, that other [place] you passed, are there not another fifty ships there that do business with Werekter and haul to this house?"

10. I was silent in this great moment. Then he spoke to me, saying: "On what business have you come?" I said to him: "I have come in quest of timber for the great noble bark of Amen-Re, King of Gods. What your father did, what the father of your father did, you too will do it." So I said to him. He said to me: "True, they did it. If you pay me for doing it, I will do it. My relations carried out this business after Pharaoh had sent six ships laden with the goods of Egypt, and they had been unloaded into their storehouses. You, what have you brought for me?"

11. He had the daybook of his forefathers brought and had it read before me. They found entered in his book a thousand deben of silver and all sorts of things. He said to me: "If the ruler of Egypt were the lord of what is mine and I were his servant, he would not have sent silver and gold to say: 'Carry out the business of Amun.' It was not a royal gift that they gave to my father! I too, I am not your servant, nor am I the servant of him who sent you! If I shout aloud to the Lebanon, the sky opens and the logs lie here on the shore of the sea! Give me the sails you brought to move your ships, loaded with logs for Egypt! Give me the ropes you brought to lash the pines that I am to fell in order to make them for you . . . ., ... that I am to make for you for the sails of your ships; or the yards may be too heavy and break, and you may die [in] the midst of the sea. For Amun makes thunder in the sky ever since he placed Seth beside him! Indeed, Amun has founded all the lands. He founded them after having first founded the land of Egypt from which you have come. Thus craftsmanship came from it in order to reach the place where I am! Thus learning came from it in order to reach the place where I am! What are these foolish travels they made you do?"

12. I said to him: "Wrong! These are not foolish travels that I am doing. There is no ship on the river that does not belong to Amun. His is the sea and his the Lebanon of which you say, 'It is mine.' It is a growing ground for Amen-user-he, the lord of every ship. Truly, it was Amen-Re, King of Gods, who said to Herihor, my master: 'Send me!' And he made me come with this great god. But look, you have let this great god spend these twenty-nine days moored in your harbor. Did you not know that he was here? Is he not he who he was? You are prepared to haggle over the Lebanon with Amun, its lord? As to your saying, the former kings sent silver and gold: If they had owned life and health, they would not have sent these things. It was in place of life and health that they sent these things to your fathers! But Amen-Re, King of Gods, he is the lord of life and health, and he was the lord of your fathers! They passed their lifetimes offering to Amun. You too, you are the servant of Amun!

13. If you will say 'I will do' to Amun, and will carry out his business, you will live, you will prosper, you will be healthy; you will be beneficent to your whole land and your people. Do not desire what belongs to Amun-Re, King of Gods! Indeed, a lion loves his possessions! Have your scribe brought to me that I may send him to Smendes and Tentamun, the pillars Amun has set up for the north of his land; and they will send all that is needed. I will send him to them, saying 'Have it brought until I return to the south; then I shall refund you all your expenses'". So I said to him.

14. He placed my letter in the hand of his messenger; and he loaded the keel, the prow-piece, and the stern-piece, together with four other hewn logs, seven in all, and sent them to Egypt. His messenger who had gone to Egypt returned to me in Phoenicia in the first month of winter, Smendes and Tentamun having sent: four jars and one kakmen-vessel of gold; five jars of silver; ten garments of royal linen; ten hrd-garments of fine linen; five hundred smooth linen maats; five hundred ox-hides; five hundred ropes; twenty sacks of lentils; and thirty baskets of fish. And she sent to me: five garments of fine linen; one sack of lentils; and five baskets of fish.

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15. The prince rejoiced. He assigned three hundred men and three hundred oxen, and he set supervisors over them to have them fell the timbers. They were felled and they lay there during the winter. In the third month of summer they dragged them to the shore of the sea. The prince came out and stood by them, and he sent to me saying: "Come!" Now when I had been brought into his presence, the shadow of his sunshade fell on me. Then Penamun, a butler of his, intervened, saying "The shadow of Pharaoh, your lord, has fallen upon you." And he was angry with him and said: "Leave him alone."

16. As I stood before him, he addressed me, saying: "Look, the business my fathers did in the past, I have done it, although you did not do for me what your fathers did for mine. Look, the last of your timber has arrived and is ready. Do as I wish, and come to load it. For has it not been given to you? Do not come to look at the terror of the sea. For if you look at the terror of the sea, you will see my own! Indeed, I have not done to you what was done to the envoys of Khaemwese, after they had spent seventeen years in this land. They died on the spot." And he said to his butler: "Take him to see the tomb where they lie."

17. I said to him: "Do not make me see it. As for Khaemwese, the envoys he sent you were men and he himself was a man. You have not here one of his envoys, though you say: 'Go and see your companions.' Should you not rejoice and have a Stella [made] for yourself, and say on it: 'Amen-Re, King of Gods sent me Amun-of-the-Road, his envoy, together with Wenamun, his human envoy, in quest of timber for the great noble bark of Amen-Re, King of Gods. I felled it; I loaded it; I supplied my ships and my crews. I let them reach Egypt so as to beg for me from Amun fifty years of life over and above my allotted fate.' And if it comes to pass that in another day an envoy comes from the land of Egypt who knows writing and he reads out your name on the Stella, you will receive water of the west like the gods who are there."

18. He said to me: "A great speech of admonition is what you have said to me." I said to him: "As to the many [things] you have said to me: if I reach the place where the High Priest of Amun is and he sees your accomplishment, it is your accomplishment that will draw profit to you."

19. I went off to the shore of the sea, to where the logs were lying. And I saw eleven ships that had come in from the sea and belonged to the Tjeker who were saying: "Arrest him! Let no ship of his leave for the land of Egypt!" Then I sat down and wept. And the secretary of the prince came out to me and said to me: "What is it?" I said to him: "Do you not see the migrant birds going down to Egypt a second time? Look at them traveling to the cool water! Until when shall I be left here? For do you not see those who have come to arrest me?"

20. He went and told it to the prince. And the prince began to weep on account of the words said to him, for they were painful. He sent his secretary out to me, bringing two jugs of wine and a sheep. And he sent me Tentne, an Egyptian songstress who was with him, saying: "Sing for him! Do not let his heart be anxious." And he sent to me, saying: "Eat, drink; do not let your heart be anxious. You shall hear what I will say tomorrow."

21. When morning came, he had his assembly summoned. He stood in their midst and said to the Tjeker: "What have you come for?" They said to him: "We have come after the blasted ships that you are sending to Egypt with our enemy." He said to them: "I cannot arrest the envoy of Amun in my country. Let me send him off, and you go after him to arrest him."

22. He had me board and sent off from the harbour of the sea. And the wind drove me to the land of Alasiya (Cyprus). Then the town's people came out against me to kill me. But I forced my way through them to where Hatiba, the princess of the town was. I met her coming from one of her houses to enter another. I saluted her and said to the people who stood around her: "Is there not one among you who understands Egyptian?" And one among them said: "I understand it." I said to him: "Tell my lady that I have heard it said as far away as Thebes, the place where Amun is: 'If wrong is done in every town, in the land of Alasiya right is done.' Now is wrong done here too every day?"

23. She said: "What is it you have said?" I said to her: "If the sea rages and the wind drives me to the land where you are, will you let me be received so as to kill me, though I am the envoy of Amun? Look, as for me, they would search for me till the end of time. As for this crew of the prince of Byblos, whom they seek to kill, will not their lord find ten crews of yours and kill them also?" She had the people summoned and they were reprimanded. She said to me: "Spend the night . . . . ."

THE GEZER CALENDAR

Place of Discovery: Tell el-Jazari, the ancient Gezer (30 km NW of Jerusalem)
Written in Phoenician Script
Translation: R. A. S. Macalister, 1908
Estimated Range of Dating: 950-900 B.C.

(The Gezer calendar is a small inscribed limestone tablet discovered in 1908 by Irish archaeologist R. A. Stewart Macalister in the ancient city of Gezer, 20 miles west of Jerusalem. Its size is, with 11.1 cm height and 7.2 cm width, only slightly larger than a cigarette box. It is commonly dated to the 10th century, perhaps 925 BC, although the excavation was unstratified and its identification during the excavations was not in a "secure archaeological context", presenting uncertainty around the dating. Its text is written in Phoenician which is a strong indication that Phoenicians, Canaanites [also called paleo-Hebrews or paleo-Israelites] were basically one and the same people.

The Old Testament speaks of Phoenicians and Canaanites unfavourably. In history, it is not only important what a written account says, but often it is more significant what such a text fails to say. Likewise, it is also important what archaeology fails to find. There are hardly any numerous findings that could suggest a new people have arrived and made things [such as pottery] in their very own and distinguished style. Therefore, scholars suggest that Israelites were primarily not new people arriving from abroad but Phoenicians / Canaanites who have launched a revolution against their own totalitarian leadership of priest-kings. Afterwards, the victorious commoners have promoted their own religion and thus are now known as "the Israelites".

The inscription in 7 lines, known as KAI 182, is written in such a simple style that there are speculations the calendar could be a schoolboy's memory exercise, the text of a popular folk song or a children's song. Another possibility is something designed for the collection of taxes from farmers. The calendar describes monthly or bi-monthly periods and attributes to each a duty such as harvest, planting, or tending specific crops.

Explanations - The numbers of the following notes refer to the line number of the text:

2: "Two months"—this is a dual form (see Tropper 1993); "Late planting"—this is a rare term; see Amos 7:1.

3: Flax was grown in the ancient Near East as early as Early Bronze Age. It has a variety of uses: its fibers can be spun to make linen (see Genesis 41:42; Leviticus 6:10; John 19:40), and the seeds can be cold-pressed to make linseed oil (used for both cooking and medicine).

4: Barley is a hearty grain that has a shorter growing season than wheat and is also better at surviving drought and strong heat. The grain was used in cooking (e.g., bread) and the stalks were used as fodder for animals. It has been found in Israelite archaeological sites from both the Iron I and Iron II eras. See Exodus 9:31; Leviticus 27:16; Ruth 1:2; John 6:9; Revelation 6:6.

7: "Summer fruit"—see 2 Samuel 16:1; Jeremiah 40:10; Amos 8:1-2.

8: At the left bottom of the text, we find the name of the scribe: "Abi Yah" [or Abijah] —in all liklihood, this is the name of the scribe. The name means "My Father Yah" or "Yah is my father" and could suggest to be a shortened form of the Tetragrammaton YHWH = Yahweh, the Israelites' name for God. This name appears in the Bible for several individuals, including a king of Judah [see 1 Kings 14:31].)

We are showing here two interpretations of the text as they differ slightly in determining the time.

Translation No. 1:

1. Two months gathering (October, November — in the Phoenician-Hebrew calendar Tishrei, Cheshvan); Two months planting (December, January — Kislev, Tevet)
2. Two months late sowing (February, March — Shvat, Adar)
3. One month cutting flax (April — Nisan)
4. One month reaping barley (May — Iyar)
5. One month reaping and measuring grain (June — Sivan)
6. Two months pruning (July, August — Tammuz, Av)
7. One month summer fruit (September — Elul)
8. Abiy[ah]

Translation No. 2:

1. two months of harvest [August–September], two months of planting [October–November]
2. two months of late planting [December–January]
3. a month of hoeing flax [February]
4. a month of barley harvest [March]
5. a month of harvest and feasting [April]
6. two months of (vine) pruning [May–June]
7. a month of summer fruit [July]
8. Abijah [scribe's name]

THE MESHA STELE

The inscription KAI 181
Discovered at ancient Dibon (now Dhiban, Jordan), 1868
Written in Phoenician Script
Translation: Charles Simon Clermont-Ganneau, 1870
Estimated Range of Dating: 840-810 B.C.

(The Mesha Stele, also known as the Moabite Stone, is a stele (inscribed stone) set up around 840 BC by King Mesha of Moab (The kingdom of Moab was located in the West of modern Jordan. Moab is mountainous and lies alongside much of the eastern shore of the Dead Sea.). Mesha tells how Chemosh, the god of Moab, had been angry with his people and had allowed them to be subjugated to Israel, but at length, Chemosh returned and assisted Mesha to throw off the yoke of Israel and restore the lands of Moab. Mesha describes his many building projects written in the Phoenician alphabet.

The stone was discovered intact by Frederick Augustus Klein, an Anglican missionary, at the site of ancient Dibon (now Dhiban, Jordan), in August 1868. Klein was led to it by a local Bedouin, although neither of them could read the text. At that time, amateur explorers and archaeologists were scouring the Levant for evidence proving the Bible's historicity. News of the finding set off a race between France, Britain, and Germany to acquire the piece. A "squeeze" (a papier-mâché impression) had been obtained by a local Arab on behalf of Charles Simon Clermont-Ganneau, an archaeologist based in the French consulate in Jerusalem. The next year, the stele was smashed into several fragments by the Bani Hamida tribe, seen as an act of defiance against the Ottoman authorities who had pressured the Bedouins to hand over the stele so that it could be given to Germany. Clermont-Ganneau later managed to acquire the fragments and piece them together thanks to the impression made before the stele's destruction.

The Mesha Stele, the longest Iron Age inscription ever found in the region, constitutes the major evidence for the Moabite language, and is a "corner-stone of Semitic epigraphy", and history. The stele, whose story parallels, with some differences, an episode in the Bible's Books of Kings (2 Kings 3:4–8), provides invaluable information on the Moabite language and the political relationship between Moab and Israel at one moment in the 9th century BC. It is the most extensive inscription ever recovered that refers to the kingdom of Israel (the "House of Omri"); it bears the earliest certain extrabiblical reference to the Israelite god Yahweh. André Lemaire reconstructed a portion of line 31 to read "House of David" which would mean it might contain the earliest extra-Biblical witness to David. Lemaire's reading is contested, with others now reading 'Balak', a Moabite king mentioned at Numbers 22–24, in its place. It is also one of four known contemporary inscriptions containing the name of Israel, the others being the Merneptah Stele, the Tel Dan Stele, and the Kurkh Monolith. Its authenticity has been disputed over the years, and some biblical minimalists suggest the text was not historical, but a biblical allegory, but the stele is regarded as genuine and historical by the vast majority of biblical archaeologists today. The stele is currently on display in France at the Louvre museum, and Jordan has demanded its return.

Description and discovery

The stele is a smoothed block of basalt about a meter tall, 60 cm wide, and 60 cm thick, bearing a surviving inscription of 34 lines. On 8 February 1870, George Grove of the Palestine Exploration Fund announced the find of the stele in a letter to The Times, attributing the discovery to Charles Warren. On 17 February 1870, the 24-year-old Clermont-Ganneau published the first detailed announcement of the stele in the Revue de l'Instruction Publique. This was followed a month later by a note from Frederick Augustus Klein published in the Pall Mall Gazette in August 1868.

In November 1869 the stele was broken by the local Bedouin tribe (the Bani Hamida) after the Ottoman government became involved in the ownership dispute. The previous year the Bani Hamida had been defeated by an expedition to Balqa led by Reşid Pasha, the Wali of Damascus. Knowing that a demand to give up the stone to the German Consulate had been ordered by the Ottomans, and finding that the ruler of Salt was about to put pressure upon them, they heated the stele in a bonfire, threw cold water upon it and broke it to pieces with boulders.

A "squeeze" (a papier-mâché impression) of the full stele had been obtained just prior to its destruction. Ginsberg's translation of the official report, "Über die Auffindung der Moabitischen Inschrift", stated that Ganneau sent an Arab named Yacoub Caravacca to obtain the squeeze as he "did not want to venture to undertake the very costly [and dangerous] journey" himself. Caravacca was injured by the local Bedouin while obtaining the squeeze, and one of his two accompanying horsemen protected the squeeze by tearing it still damp from the stone in seven fragments before escaping.

Pieces of the original stele containing most of the inscription, 613 letters out of about a thousand, were later

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recovered and pieced together. Of the existing stele fragments, the top right fragment contains 150 letters, the bottom right fragment contains 358 letters, the middle-right contains 38, and the rest of the fragments contain 67 letters. The remainder of the stele was reconstructed by Ganneau from the squeeze obtained by Caravacca.

Analysis and Interpretation

The Mesha Stele is the longest Iron Age inscription ever found in the region, the major evidence for the Moabite language, and a unique record of military campaigns. The occasion was the erection of a sanctuary for Chemosh in Qarho, the acropolis (citadel) of Dibon, Mesha's capital, in thanks for his aid against Mesha's enemies. Chemosh is credited with an important role in the victories of Mesha, but is not mentioned in connection with his building activities, reflecting the crucial need to give recognition to the nation's god in the life-and-death national struggle. The fact that the numerous building projects would have taken years to complete suggests that the inscription was made long after the military campaigns, or at least most of them, and the account of those campaigns reflects a royal ideology that wishes to present the king as the obedient servant of the god. The king also claims to be acting in the national interest by removing Israelite oppression and restoring lost lands, but a close reading of the narrative leaves it unclear whether all the conquered territories were previously Moabite – in three campaign stories, no explicit reference is made to prior Moabite control.

Parallel to 2 Kings 3

The inscription seems to parallel an episode in 2 Kings 3: Jehoram of Israel makes an alliance with Jehoshaphat king of Judah and an unnamed king of Edom (south of Judah) to put down his rebellious vassal Mesha; the three kings have the best of the campaign until Mesha, in desperation, sacrifices to his god Chemosh either his eldest son or the eldest son of the king of Edom; the sacrifice turns the tide, "there came great wrath against Israel", and Mesha apparently achieves victory. This apparent correspondence is the basis of the usual dating of the inscription to about 840 BC, but André Lemaire has cautioned that the identification is not certain and the stele may be as late as 810 BC.

No authoritative full edition of the Moabite inscription remains. The translation used here is that published by James King (1878), based on translations by M. Ganneau and Dr. Ginsberg. Line numbers added to the published version have been removed.

Contents: The inscription, known as KAI 181, describes:

• How Moab was oppressed by Omri King of Israel and his son as the result of the anger of the god Chemosh

• Mesha's victories over Omri's son (not named) and the men of Gad at Ataroth, Nebo and Jehaz

• His building projects, restoring the fortifications of his strong places and building a palace and reservoirs for water

• His wars against the Horonaim

• A now-lost conclusion in the destroyed final lines)

Text:

I am Mesha, son of Chemosh-gad, king of Moab, the Dibonite. My father reigned over Moab thirty years, and I have reigned after my father. And I have built this sanctuary for Chemosh in Karchah, a sanctuary of salvation, for he saved me from all aggressors, and made me look upon all mine enemies with contempt. Omri was king of Israel, and oppressed Moab during many days, and Chemosh was angry with his aggressions. His son succeeded him, and he also said, I will oppress Moab. In my days he said, Let us go, and I will see my desire upon him and his house, and Israel said, I shall destroy it for ever. Now Omri took the land of Madeba, and occupied it in his day, and in the days of his son, forty years. And Chemosh had mercy on it in my time. And I built Baal-meon and made therein the ditch, and I built Kiriathaim. And the men of Gad dwelled in the country of Ataroth from ancient times, and the king of Israel fortified Ataroth. I assaulted the wall and captured it, and killed all the warriors of the city for the well-pleasing of Chemosh and Moab, and I removed from it all the spoil, and offered it before Chemosh in Kirjath; and I placed therein the men of Siran, and the men of Mochrath. And Chemosh said to me, Go take Nebo against Israel, and I went in the night and I fought against it from the break of day till noon, and I took it: and I killed in all seven thousand men, but I did not kill the women and maidens, for I devoted them to Ashtar-Chemosh; and I took from it the vessels of Jehovah, and offered them before Chemosh. And the king of Israel fortified Jahaz, and occupied it, when he made war against me, and Chemosh drove him out before me, and I took from Moab two hundred men in all, and placed them in Jahaz, and took it to annex it to Dibon. I built Karchah the wall of the forest, and the wall of the Hill. I have built its gates and I have built its towers. I have built the palace of the king, and I made the prisons for the criminals within the wall. And there were no wells in the interior of the wall in Karchah. And I said to all the people, 'Make you every man a well in his house.' And I dug the ditch for Karchah with the chosen men of Israel. I built Aroer, and I made the road across the Arnon. I took Beth-Bamoth for it was destroyed. I built Bezer for it was cut down by the armed men of Daybon, for all Daybon was now loyal; and I reigned from Bikran, which I added to my land. And I built Beth-Gamul, and Beth-Diblathaim, and Beth Baal-Meon, and I placed there the poor people of the land. And as to Horonaim, the men of Edom dwelt therein, on the descent from old. And Chemosh said to me, Go down, make war against Horonaim, and take it. And I assaulted it, And I took it, for Chemosh restored it in my days. Wherefore I made . . . . year . . . and I . . . .

THE TEL DAN STELE

An Aramaic Stele Fragment
Discovered in Tel-Dan by Gila Cook in 1993
Source: Tel Dan, Israel Exploration Journal, Vol. 43, No. 2/3 (1993), pp. 81-98.
Translation: Avraham Biran and Joseph Naveh
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 830 BC

(The Tel Dan Stele is a broken stele (inscribed stone) discovered in 1993–94 during excavations at Tel Dan in northern Israel. It consists of several fragments making up part of a triumphal inscription in Aramaic, left most probably by Hazael of Aram-Damascus, an important regional figure in the late 9th century BC. The stele is of particular importance as it proves that King David was not a legendary figure but a real historic person. The stele is considered the earliest widely accepted reference to the name David outside of the Hebrew Bible.

The Tel Dan stele is one of four known inscriptions made during a roughly 400-year period (1200-800 BC) containing the name "Israel", the others being the Merneptah Stele, the Mesha Stele, and the Kurkh Monolith. Fragment A of the stele was discovered in July 1993 by Gila Cook of the team of Avraham Biran studying Tel Dan in the northern part of modern Israel. Fragments B1 and B2 were found in June 1994. The fragments were published by Avraham Biran and his colleague Joseph Naveh in 1993 and 1995. This is the translation in English (Dots separate words, as in the original, empty square brackets indicate damaged / missing text, and text inside square brackets is reconstructed by Biran and Naveh):

[...] [...] and cut [...]
[...] my father went up [against him when h]e fought at [...]
and my father lay down, he went to his [ancestors (viz. became sick and died)]. And the king of
I[s]rael entered previously in my father's land, [and] Hadad made me king,
And Hadad went in front of me, [and] I departed from the seven [...]s
of my kingdom, and I slew [seve]nty kin[gs], who harnessed th[ousands of
cha]riots and thousands of horsemen (or: horses). [I killed Jeho]ram son [of Ahab]
king of Israel, and [I] killed [Ahaz]iahu son of [Jehoram kin]g
of the House of David, and I set [their towns into ruins and turned]
their land into [desolation]
other [... and Jehuru-j
led over Is[rael and I laid]
siege upon [...]

THE SILOAM INSCRIPTION

Inscription KAI 189
Discovered by Jacob Eliahu, 1880
Written in Phoenician Script
Translation: Archibald Sayce, 1880
Estimated Range of Dating: 8th century B.C.

(The Siloam inscription or Shiloah inscription or Silwan inscription, known as KAI 189, is a passage of inscribed text found in the Siloam tunnel which brings water from the Gihon Spring to the Pool of Siloam, located in the City of David in East Jerusalem nearby Shiloah or Silwan. The inscription records the construction of the tunnel, which has been dated to the 8th century BC on the basis of the writing style. It is the only known ancient inscription from the Holy Land which commemorates a public construction work. It is written in Hebrew using the Phoenician alphabet.

The tunnel was discovered by the American biblical scholar Edward Robinson in 1838. Despite the tunnel being examined extensively during the 19th century by Robinson, Charles Wilson, and Charles Warren, they all missed discovering the inscription, probably due to the accumulated mineral deposits making it barely noticeable. According to Easton's Bible Dictionary, in 1880 a youth (Jacob Eliahu, later Jacob Spafford; see Horatio Spafford) swimming or wading through the tunnel, discovered the inscription cut in the rock on the eastern side, about 19 feet into the tunnel from Siloam Pool. The inscription was surreptitiously cut from the wall of the tunnel in 1891 and broken into fragments which were recovered through the efforts of the British Consul and placed in the Istanbul Archaeology Museum.

The ancient city of Jerusalem, being on a mountain, was naturally defensible from almost all sides but its major source of fresh water, the Gihon spring, was on the side of the cliff overlooking the Kidron valley. The Bible records that King Hezekiah, fearful that the Assyrians would lay siege to the city, blocked the spring's water outside the city and diverted it through a channel into the Pool of Siloam.

The inscription records the construction of the tunnel. According to the text the work began at both ends simultaneously and proceeded until the stonecutters met in the middle. However, this idealised account does not quite reflect the reality of the tunnel; where the two sides meet is an abrupt right angled join, and the centres do not line up. It has been theorised that Hezekiah's engineers depended on acoustic sounding to guide the tunnelers and this is supported by the explicit use of this technique as described in the Siloam Inscription. The frequently ignored final sentence of this inscription provides further evidence: "And the height of the rock above the heads of the laborers was 100 cubits." This indicates that the engineers were well aware of the distance to the surface above the tunnel at various points in its progression.

Biblical references

2 Kings 20, 20: "And the rest of the events of Hezekiah and all his mighty deeds, and how he made the conduit and the pool, and he brought the water into the city, they are written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah."

2 Chronicles 32, 3–4: "And he took counsel with his officers and his mighty men to stop up the waters of the fountains that were outside the city, and they assisted him. And a large multitude gathered and stopped up all the fountains and the stream that flowed in the midst of the land, saying, "Why should the kings of Assyria come and find much water?")

Texts of the Inscription:

. . . the tunnel . . . and this is the story of the tunnel while . . . the axes were against each other and while three cubits were left to (cut?) . . . the voice of a man . . . called to his counterpart, (for) there was ZADA in the rock, on the right . . . and on the day of the tunnel (being finished) the stonecutters struck each man towards his counterpart, ax against ax and flowed water from the source to the pool for 1,200 cubits. and (100?) cubits was the height over the head of the stonecutters . . .

THE ANNALS OF KING SENNACHERIB

Discovered probably in a mound in Nineveh
(at Kuyunjik, in modern Mosul, Iraq)
Source: Prism in the Oriental Institute of Chicago
Language: Akkadian; Script: Cuneiform
Translation: Daniel David Luckenbill, 1924
Estimated Range of Dating: 691-689 B.C.

(The Annals of Sennacherib [c. 745–681 BC] describe the Assyrian king Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem in 701 BC during the reign of king Hezekiah, or Ezekias [c. 739–687 BC]. This event is recorded in several books contained in the Bible including Isaiah chapters 36 and 37; 2 Kings 18:17; 2 Chronicles 32:9. The invasion is mentioned by Herodotus, who does not refer to Judaea and says the invasion ended at Pelusium on the edge of the Nile Delta.

The Annals of Sennacherib are found inscribed on a number of artifacts, and the final versions were found in three so-called clay prisms inscribed with the same text: the Taylor Prism is in the British Museum, the Oriental Institute Prism in the Oriental Institute of Chicago, and the Jerusalem Prism is in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem.

A "clay prism" is a typical Mesopotamian kind of inscription carrier. It is a small and hollow column made of terracotta with a hexagonal, octagonal, or even a decagonal shape. Each of the 6, 8, or 10 sides has about 70 to 80 lines of text in cuneiform script. The Taylor Prism is one of the earliest cuneiform artifacts analysed in modern Assyriology, having been found a few years before the modern deciphering of cuneiform.

The prisms of Sennacherib contain six paragraphs of cuneiform written in Akkadian. They are hexagonal in shape, made of red baked clay, and stand 38.0 cm high by 14.0 cm wide. They were created during the reign of Sennacherib in 689 BC (Chicago) or 691 BC (London, Jerusalem).

The Taylor prism [also called the Sennacherib Prism] is thought to have been found by Colonel Robert Taylor (1790–1852) in 1830 at Nineveh, which was the ancient capital of the Assyrian Empire under Sennacherib, before its initial excavation by Botta and Layard more than a decade later. Although the prism remained in Iraq until 1846, in 1835 a

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paper squeeze was made by the 25-year-old Henry Rawlinson, and a plaster cast was taken by Pierre-Victorien Lottin in c.1845. The original was later thought to have been lost, until it was purchased from Colonel Taylor's widow in 1855 by the British Museum. (Colonel Taylor may have been the father of John George Taylor, who, himself, became a noted Assyrian explorer and archaeologist.)

The three known complete examples of this inscription are nearly identical, with only minor variants, although the dates on the prisms show that they were written sixteen months apart (the Taylor and Jerusalem Prisms in 691 BC and the Oriental Institute prism in 689 BC). There are also at least eight other fragmentary prisms preserving parts of this text, all in the British Museum, and most of them containing just a few lines.

Both, Hezekiah as well as Sennacherib were intelligent, well-educated, and ambitious in their own way; and both of their lives were intertwined by the politics of the time. Sennacherib was the king of the Neo-Assyrian Empire from the death of his father Sargon II in 705 BC to his own death in 681 BC. The second king of the Sargonid dynasty, Sennacherib is among the most famous of all Assyrian kings due to the role he played in the Old Testament of the Bible, which describes his campaign in the Levant. Other events of his reign which secured his legacy throughout the millennia following his death include his destruction of the city Babylon in 689 BC and his construction of the last great Assyrian capital, Nineveh.

Hezekiah was the son of Ahaz and Abijah and after the co-regency with his father Ahaz, that began 729 BC, in 715 he became the 13th king of Judah. According to the biblical narrative, Hezekiah witnessed the destruction of the northern Jewish Kingdom of Israel by Sargon's Assyrians in c. 722 BC. He awaited the Assyians' onslaught while he was king of Judah and during the siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib in 701 BC., he used skill as well as bait and bribe to hold the Assyrians at bay. Hezekiah was a very able ruler and is considered a very righteous king in both the Second Book of Kings and the Second Book of Chronicles. In order to unify the population of his country, Hezekiah enacted sweeping religious reforms, including a strict mandate for the sole worship of Yahweh and a prohibition on venerating other deities within the Temple of Jerusalem.

It is one of three accounts discovered so far which have been left by Sennacherib of his campaign against the Kingdom of Israel and Kingdom of Judah, giving a different perspective on these events from that of the Book of Kings in the Bible.

Some passages in the Hebrew Bible (2 Kings 18–19) agree with at least a few of the claims made on the prism. The Bible recounts a successful Assyrian attack on Samaria, as a result of which the population was deported, and later recounts that an attack on Lachish was ended by Hezekiah suing for peace, with Sennacherib demanding 300 talents of silver and 30 talents of gold [1 talent = 30.2 kg; 66 lb 9 oz], and Hezekiah giving him all the silver from his palace and from the Temple in Jerusalem, and the gold from doors and doorposts of the temple. Compared to this, the Taylor Prism proclaims that 46 walled cities and innumerable smaller settlements were conquered by the Assyrians, with 200,150 people, and livestock, being deported, and the conquered territory being dispersed among the three kings of the Philistines instead of being given back. Additionally, the Prism says that Sennacherib's siege resulted in Hezekiah being shut up in Jerusalem "like a caged bird", Hezekiah's mercenaries and 'Arabs' deserting him, and Hezekiah eventually buying off Sennacherib, having to give him antimony, jewels, ivory-inlaid furniture, his own daughters, harem, and musicians. It states that Hezekiah became a tributary ruler. Nothing is said of Sennacherib having been unable to overwhelm the heavily fortified city of Jerusalem. What Sennacherib did not know was that Hezekiah had built the Siloam tunnel [see Siloam Inscription or Shiloah Inscription, the KAI 189.] to lead water and food into the city and also lead sorties from Jerusalem outside against the Assyrian Army.)

SENNACHERIB PRISM COLUMN 1

Sennacherib, the great king,
the mighty king,
king of the world,
king of Assyria,
king of the four quarters,
the wise shepherd,
favourite of the great gods,
guardian of right,
lover of justice,
who lends support,
who comes to the aid of the destitute,
who performs pious acts,
perfect hero,
mighty man,
first among all princes,
the powerful one who consumes 9the insubmissive,
who strikes the wicked with the thunderbolt.

The god Assur, the great mountain, an unrivaled kinship has entrusted to me, and above all those who dwell in palaces, has made my weapons powerful. From the upper sea of the setting sun to the lower sea of the rising sun, he has brought the black-headed people in submission at my feet. And mighty kings feared my warfare, leaving their homes and flying alone, like the sidinnu, the bird of the cave, to some inaccessible place.

In my first campaign I accomplished the defeat of Merodach-baladan [Merodach-baladan II ruled Babylon in 722-710 BC (see 2 Kings 20:12 and Isaiah 39:1). He was forced to flee Babylon by Sargon of Assyria (710-703 BC), but briefly regained the throne until he was forced to flee again by Sennacherib (as noted here). He is also called Berodach-baladan in 2 Kings 20:12; 2 Chronicles 20:31.], king of Babylonia, together with the army of Elam [Elam was a kingdom in western Iran, on the north end of the Persian Gulf. The Bible identifies Elamite archers as mercenaries for the Assyrians and Babylonians (Isaiah 22:6; Jeremiah 49:35). Their capital was Susa and the massive Zikkrat of Tchoga Zanbil is the only Mesopotamian temple pyramid that has survived in an almost complete condition.], his ally, on the plain of Kish [Kish was located 15 km / 10 mi to the southeast of Babylon and originally was a city-state.]. In the midst of that battle he deserted his camp, and he escaped alone, so he saved his own life. The chariots, horses, wagons, mules, which he left behind at the beginning of the battle my hands siezed. Into his palace, which is in Babylon, I entered jubilantly. I opened his treasure-house: gold, silver, vessels of god and silver, precious stones of every name, goods and property without limit, heavy tribute, his harem, courtiers and officials, singers—male and female—all his artisans, as many as there were, his palace servants I brought out, and I counted as spoil. In the might of Assur my lord [Assur was the chief and patron god of the city of Assur and the Assyrian empire. As head of the Assyrian pantheon, he took on some of the characteristics of the earlier Babylonian god Enlil.], seventy-five of his strong walled cities of Chaldea [another word for Babylonia], and 420 small cities of their area I surrounded, I conquered, I carried off their spoil. The Arabs, Arameans, and Chaldeans [Babylonians] who were in Erech, Nippur, Kish, Harsagkalamma, Kutha and Sippar, together with the citizens, the rebels I brought out and counted as booty.

On my return, the Tu'muna, Rihihu, Yadakku, Ubudu, Kibrê, Malahu, Gurumu, Ubulu, Damunu, Gambulu, Hindaru, Ru'ûa, Bukudu, Hamrânu, Hagarânu, Nabatu, Li'tâu, Arameans who were not submissive—I conquered all of them. 208,000 people, great and small, male and female, horses, mules, asses, camels, cattle and sheep, without number—a heavy booty—I carried off to Assyria.

In the course of my campaign, I received from Nabû-bêl-shumâte, governor of the city of Hararate: gold silver, great musukkani-trees, asses, camels, cattle, and sheep as his onerous contribution. The warriors of Hirimme, wicked enemies, I cut down with the sword. No one escaped. Their corpses I hung on stakes, surrounding the city (with them). That district I reorganised: one ox, ten lambs, ten homers of wine, twenty homers of dates, its choicest, for the gods of Assyria, my lords, I established for all time.

In my second campaign, Assur, my lord, encouraged me, and against the land of the Kassites [Kassites were an ancient people from western Iran, who at one time had ruled Babylon] and the land of the Yasubigallai, who from of old had not been submissive to the kings, my ancestors, I marched. In the midst of the high mountains I rode on horseback where the terrain was difficult, and had my chariot drawn up with ropes: where it became too steep, I clambered up on foot like the wild-ox. The cities of Bît-Kilamzah, Hardishpi, and Bît-Kubatti, their strong, walled cities I besieged, I captured. People, horses, mules, asses, cattle, and sheep I brought out from their midst and counted as booty. And their small cities, which were beyond numbering, I destroyed, I devastated, and I turned into ruins. The houses of the steppe, (namely) the tents, in which they lived, I set on fire and turned them into flames. I turned round, and made that Bît-Kilamzah into a fortress—I made its walls stronger than they had ever been before—

SENNACHERIB PRISM COLUMN 2

and settled in it people of the lands my hands had conquered. The people of the land of the Kassites and the land of the Yasubigallai, who had fled before my arms, I brought down out of the mountains and settled them in Hardishpi and Bît-Kubatti. Into the hand of my official, the governor of Arapha [Arapha is located at the modern Iraqi city of Kirkuk.], I placed them. I had a stele made, and the might of my conquering hand which I had established upon them, I had inscribed on it. I set it up in the midst of the city.

The front of my yoke I turned around and took the road to the land of the Elippi. Before me Ispabâra, their king, abandoned his strong cities, his treasurehouses, and fled to the distant parts. Over the whole of his wide land I swept like a hurricane. The cities Marubishti and Akkuddu, his royal residence-cities, together with 34 small towns of their area, I besieged, I captured, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. The people, great and small, male and female, horses, mules, asses, camels, cattle, and sheep, without number I carried off. I brought him to nothing; I diminished his land.

Sisirtu and Kummahlum, strong cities, together with the small towns in their areas, the district of Bît-Barrû in its totality, I cut off from his land and added it to the territory of Assyria. Elenzash I turned into the royal city and stronghold of that district. I changed its former name, calling its name Kar-Sennacherib. Peoples of the lands my hands had conquered I settled in it. To my official, the governor of Harhar, I handed it over. Thus I extended my land.

On my return, I received the heavy tribute of the distant Medes [The Medes were a people who had a kingdom along the south side of the Caspian Sea in what is now northern Iran (see 2 Kings 17:6; Isaiah 13:17; Jeremiah 51:11; Esther 1:19).], whose name none of the kings, my fathers, had ever heard. I made them submit to the yoke of my rule.

In my third campaign, I went against the Hittite-land. Lulê, king of Sidon, the terrifying splendor of my sovereignty overcame him, and far off into the midst of the sea he fled. There he died. Great Sidon, Little Sidon, Bît-Zitti, Zaribtu, Mahalliba, Ushu, Akzib, Akko, his strong, walled cities, where there were fodder and drink, for his garrisons, the terrors of the weapon of Assur, my lord, overpowered them and they bowed in submission at my feet. I seated Tuba'lu on the royal throne over them, and tribute, gifts for my majesty, I imposed upon him for all time, without ceasing.

From Menachem, the Shamsimurunite, Tuba'lu the Sidonite, Abdi-liti the Arvadite, Uru-milki the Gublite, Mitinti the Ashdodite Budu-ilu the Beth Ammonite, Kammusu-nadbi the Moabite, Malik-rammu the Edomite, kings of Amurru, all of them, numerous presents as their heavy tribute, they brought before me for the fourth time, and kissed my feet.

But Sidka, the king of Ashkelon, who had not submitted to my yoke, the gods of his father's house, himself, his wife, his sons, his daughters, his brothers, the seed of his paternal house, I tore away and brought to Assyria. Sharru-lu-dari, son of Rukibti, their former king, I set over the people of Ashkelon, and I imposed upon him the payment of tribute: presents to my majesty. He accepted my yoke. In the course of my campaign, Beth-Dagon, Joppa, Banaibarka, Asuru, cities of Sidka, who had not speedily bowed in submission at my feet, I besieged, I conquered, I carried off their spoil.

The officials, nobles, and people of Ekron [Ekron was one of the five Philistine city-states (see Joshua 13:3; Judges 1:18; 1 Samuel 5:10; 2 Kings 1:2).], who had thrown Padi their king—bound by oath and curse of Assyria—into fetters of iron and had given him over to Hezekiah, the Judahite—he kept him in confinement like an enemy—their heart became afraid, and they called upon the Egyptian kings, the bowmen, chariots and horses of the king of Meluhha [Ethiopia], a countless host, and these came to their aid. In the neighbourhood of Eltekeh, their ranks being drawn up before me,

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they offered battle. With the aid of Assur, my lord, I fought with them and brought about their defeat. The Egyptian charioteers and princes, together with the Ethiopian king's charioteers, my hands captured alive in the midst of the battle. Eltekeh and Timnah I besieged, I captured, and I took away their spoil.

I approached Ekron and slew the governors and nobles who had rebelled, and hung their bodies on stakes around the city. The inhabitants who rebelled and treated (Assyria) lightly I counted as spoil. The rest of them, who were not guilty of rebellion and contempt, for whom there was no punishment, I declared their pardon. Padi, their king, I brought out to Jerusalem, set him on the royal throne over them, and imposed upon him my royal tribute.

As for Hezekiah the Judahite, who did not submit to my yoke: forty-six of his strong, walled cities, as well as the small towns in their area, which were without number, by levelling with battering-rams and by bringing up seige-engines, and by attacking and storming on foot, by mines, tunnels, and breeches, I besieged and took them. 200,150 people, great and small, male and female, horses, mules, asses, camels, cattle and sheep without number, I brought away from them and counted as spoil. (King Hezekiah) himself, like a caged bird, I shut up in Jerusalem, his royal city. I threw up earthworks against him—the one coming out of the city-gate, I turned back to his misery. His cities, which I had despoiled, I cut off from his land, and to Mitinti, king of Ashdod, Padi, king of Ekron, and Silli-bel, king of Gaza, I gave (them). And thus I diminished his land. I added to the former tribute, and I lad upon him the surrender of their land and imposts—gifts for my majesty. As for Hezekiah, the terrifying splendour of my majesty overcame him, and the Arabs and his mercenary troops which he had brought in to strengthen Jerusalem, his royal city, deserted him. In addition to the thirty talents of gold and eight hundred talents of silver, gems, antimony,

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jewels, large carnelians, ivory-inlaid couches, ivory-inlaid chairs, elephant hides, elephant tusks, ebony, boxwood, all kinds of valuable treasures, as well as his daughters, his harem, his male and female musicians, which he had brought after me to Nineveh, my royal city. To pay tribute and to accept servitude, he dispatched his messengers.

In my fourth campaign, Assur, my lord, gave me courage, and I mustered my numerous troops and gave the command to proceed against Bit-Yakin. In the course of my campaign, I accomplished the overthrow of Shuzubi, the Chaldean, who sat in the midst of the swamps, at Bitutu. That one, the terror of my battle fell upon him, and tore his heart; like a criminal he fled alone, and his place was seen no more.

The front of my yoke I turned and and I took the way to Bît-Yakin. That Merodach-baladan, whose defeat I had brought about in the course of my first campaign, and whose forces I had shattered, the roar of my mighty arms and the onset of my terrible battle he feared and he gathered together the gods of his whole land in their shrines, and loaded them into ships and fled like a bird to Nagite-rakki, which is in the middle of the sea. His brothers, the seed of his father's house, whom he had left by the seashore, together with the rest of the people of his land, I brought out of Bit-Yakin, from the midst of the swamps and canebrakes, and counted as spoil. I turned about and ruined and devastated his cities; I made them like ruin-heaps. Upon his ally, the king of Elam, I poured out my terror. On my return, I placed on his (Merodach-baladan's) royal throne, Assur-nadin-shum, my oldest son, offspring of my knees. I placed him in charge of the wide land of Sumer and Akkad.

In my fifth campaign, the warriors of Tumurru, Sharum, Ezama, Kibshu, Halgidda, Kua, and Kana—whose abodes were set on the peak of Mount Nipur, a steep mountain, like the nests of the eagle, king of birds—were not submissive to my yoke. I had my camp pitched at the foot of Mount Nipur and with my choice bodyguard

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and my relentless warriors, I, like a strong wild-ox, went before them. I surmounted gullies, mountain torrents and waterfalls, dangerous cliffs in my sedan-chair. Where it was too steep for my chair, I advanced on foot. Like a young gazelle, I mounted the highest peakss pursuing them. Wherever my knees found a resting-place, I sat down on some mountain boulder and drank the cold water from a waterskin for my thirst. To the summits of the mountains I pursued them and brought about their overthrow. I captured their cities and carried off their spoil, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire.

The front of my yoke I turned. Against Maniae, king of Ukku of the land of Daie, who was not submissive, I took the road. Before my day, none of the kings who lived before me, had traveled the unblazed trails and wearisome paths which run along these rugged mountains. At the foot of Mount Anara and Mount Uppa, mighty mountains, I had my camp pitched, and on a house-chair I together with my seasoned warriors, made my wearisome way through their narrow passes, and with great difficulty climbed to the highest peak of the mountains. That Maniae saw the clouds of dust raised by the feet of my armies, abandoned Ukku, his royal city, and fled to distant parts. I besieged Ukku, I captured it, and took away its spoil. All kinds of goods and merchandise, the treasure of his palace, I carried away from it and counted it as booty. Furthermore, 33 cities within the bounds of his province I captured. People, asses, cattle and sheep, I carried away from them as spoil. I destroyed, I devastated, and I burned with fire.

In my sixth campaign the rest of the people of Bit-Yakin, who had run off before my powerful weapons like wild asses, who had gathered together the gods of their whole land in their shrines, had crossed the great sea of the rising sun and in Nagitu of Elam had established their abodes; in Hittite ships I crossed the sea. Nagitu Nagitu-di'bina, together with the lands of Hilmu, Billatu and Hupapanu, provinces of Elam, I conquered. The people of Bît-Yakin, together with their gods, and the people of the king of Elam, I carried off; not a rebel escaped. I had them loaded in vessels, brought over to this side, and started on the way to Assyria. The cities which were in those provinces I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. Into tells and ruins I turned them. On my return, Shuzubu, the Babylonian, who during an uprising in the land had turned to himself the rule of Sumer and Akkad, I accomplished his defeat in a battle of the plain. I seized him alive with my own hands, I threw him into bonds and fetters of iron and brought him to Assyria. The king of Elam, who had gone over to his side and had aided him, I defeated. His forces I scattered and I shattered his army.

In my seventh campaign, Assur, my lord, supported me, and I advanced against Elam. Bit-Ha'iri and Rasâ, cities on the border of Assyria which the Elamite had seized by force during the time of my father—in the course of my campaign I conquered and I despoiled them. I settled my garrisons in them and restored them to the borders of Assyria. I placed them under the commandant of Der. The cities of Bube, Dunni-Shamash, Bit-Risia, Bît-ahlamê, Duru, Kalte-sulai Shilibtu, Bit-Asusi, Kar-Zer-ikisha, Bit-Gissi, Bit-Katpalani, Bit-Imbia, Hamanu, Bit-Arrabi, Burutu, Dimtu-sha-Sulai, Dimtu-sha-Marbîti-etir, Harri-ashlaki, Rabbai, Rasu, Akkabarina Tel-Uhuri, Hamranu, Naditu, together with the cities of the passes of Bit-Bunaki, tel-Humbi, Dimtu-sha-Dume-ilu, Bit-Ubia, Balti-lishir, Tagab-lishir, Shanakidate, the lower Masutu, Sar-hudiri, Alum-sha-belit-biti, Bit-ahe-iddina, Ilte-uba, strong cities, together with the small cities in their areas, which were countless, I besieged, I conquered, I despoiled, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire, with the smoke of their conflagration I covered the wide heavens like a hurricane. The Elamite, Kudur-nahundu, heard of the overthrow of his cities,

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The Elamite, Kudur-nahundu, heard of the overthrow of his cities, terror overwhelmed him, the (people of) the rest of his cities he brought into the strongholds. He himself left Madaktu, his royal city, and took his way to Haidala which is in the distant mountains. I gave the word to march against Madaktu, his royal city. In the month of rain, extreme cold set in and the heavy storms sent down rain upon rain and snow. I was afraid of the swollen mountain streams; the front of my yoke I turned and took the road to Nineveh. At that time, at the command of Assur, my lord, Kudur-Nahundu, the king of Elam, in less than three months died sudenly on a day not of his fate. After him, Umman-menanu, who possessed neither sense nor judgment, his younger brother, sat on his throne.

In my eighth campaign, after Shuzubu had revolted, and the Babylonians, wicked devils, had closed the city-gates—their hearts planning resistance; Shuzubu the Chalden, a weakling hero, who had no knees, a slave, subject to the governor of the city of the city of Lahiri; the fugitive Arameans gathered around him, the runaway, the murderer, the bandit. Into the marshes they descended and started a rebellion. But I completely surrounded him. I pressed him to the life. Through fear and hunger he fled to Elam. When plotting and treachery were hatched against him, he fled from Elam and entered Shuanna. The Babylonians placed him on the throne—for which he was not fit—and entrusted to him the government of Sumer and Akkad. They opened the treasury of the Esagila temple and the gold and silver belonging to Bel [the god Marduk] and Sarpanit, they brought forth the property of the temples of their gods. 33And to Umman-menanu, king of Elam, who had neither sense nor judgment, they sent them as a bribe (saying): "Gather your army, prepare your camp, haste to Babylon, stand at our side, for you are our trust." That Elamite—whose cities I had conquered and turned into ruins on my earlier campaign against Elam—without thinking received the bribes from them, gathered his army and camp, collected his chariots and wagons, and hitched his horses and mules to them. The lands of Parsuash Anzan, Pasheru, Ellipi, the men of Yazan, Lakabra, Harzunu, Dummuku, Sulai, Samuna, the son of Merodach-baladan, the lands of Bit-Adini, Bit-Amukkanu, Bit-Sillana, Bit-Salatutu-akki, the city of Lahiru, the men of Bukudu, Gambulum, Halatum Ru'ua, Ubulum, Malahu, Rapiku, Hindaru, Damunu—an enormous vassal army he called to his side. The largest portion of them took the road to Akkad. Closing in on Babylon, they exchanged courtesies with Shuzubu, the Chaldean king of Babylon, and brought their army to a halt. Like the onset of locust swarms of the springtime, they steadily progressed against me to offer battle. With the dust of their feet covering the wide heavens, like a mighty storm with masses of dense clouds, they drew up in battle array before me in the city of Halule, on the bank of the Tigris. They blocked my passage and offered battle. As for me, I prayed for victory over the mighty foe to Assur, Sin, Shamash, Bel, Nabu, Nergal, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela. They quickly gave ear to my prayers and came to my aid. Like a lion I raged; I put on a coat of mail. A helmet, emblem of victory, I placed upon my head. My great battle chariot, which brings the foe low, I hurriedly mounted in the anger of my heart. The mighty bow, which Assur had given me, I seized in my hands; the javelin, piercing to the life, I grasped. Against all of the armies of wicked enemies, I cried out, rumbling like a storm. I roared like Adad. At the word of Assur, the great lord, my lord, on flank and front I pressed upon the enemy like the onset of a raging storm. With the weapons of Assur, my lord, and the terrible onset of my attack, I stopped their advance, I succeeded in surrounding them, I decimated the enemy host with arrow and spear. I bored through all of their bodies. Humban-undasha, the field-marshall of the king of Elam, a trustworthy man, commander of his armies, his chief support, together with his nobles who wear the golden belt-daggar and whose wrists are encircles with thick rings of shining gold like fat steers who have hobbles put on them,

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quickly I cut them down and defeated them. I cut their throats, and I cut off their precious lives like a string. Like the many waters of a storm, I made their gullets and entrails run down upon the wide earth. My prancing steeds harnessed for my riding plunged into the streams of their blood as (into) a river. The wheels of my war chariot, which brings the wicked and evil low, were spattered with blood and filth. With the bodies of their warriors I filled the plain like grass. Their testicles I cut off and tore out their privates like the seeds of cucumbers of Siwan. I cut off their hands. The heavy rings of brightest gold which were on their wrists I took away. With sharp swords I pierced their belts and took away the belt-daggars of gold and silver which were on their persons. The rest of his nobles, together with Nabû-shum-ishkun, son of Moerodach-baladan, who was frightened at my onslaught and had gone over to their side, my hands seized in the midst of the battle. The chariots and their horses, whose riders had been slain at the beginning of the terrible battle, and who had been left to themselves, kept running back and forth for two double-hours; I stopped their headlong flight. That Umman-menanu, king of Elam, together with the king of Babylon and the princes of Chaldea, who had gone over to their side, the terror of my battle overturned their bodies like a bull. They abandoned their tents; and to save their lives, they trampled the bodies of their soldiers; they fled like young pigeons that are pursued. Their hearts were torn; they held their urine, but let their dung go into their chariots. In pursuit of them, I dispatched my chariots and horses after them. Those among them who had escaped, who had fled for their lives, wherever they [the charioteers] met them, they cut them down with the sword.

After that time—after I had completed the palace in the midst of the city of Nineveh for my royal residence, had filled it with beautiful furnishings, to the astonishment of all the people—the side-palace, which the former kings, my ancestors, had built 41for the care of the camp, the stabling of the horses, and general storage, had no terrace, that its site was too small, that its construction had not been skillfuly done, that, as the days went by, its foundation-platform had become weak, its foundation had given way and its roof had falen in. I tore down that palace in its entirety. A large tract of land in the meadows and environs of the city I confiscated, according to plan, and added to it. The site of the former palace I abandoned. With the ground of the meadows which I had seized from the riverflats, I filled in a terrace, I raised its top 200 tipki (thickness of brick) on high. In a favourable month on an auspicious day, on the top of that terrace, following the cunning of my heart, a palace of limestone and cedar, of Hittite workmanship also a lofty palace of Assyrian workmanship, which far surpassed the former one in size and beauty, according to the plan of wise architects, I had them build for my royal residence. Mighty cedar beams, the product of Amanus, the shining mountain, I stretched over them. Door-leaves of liari-wood I covered with a sheathing of bright bronze and set up in their doors. Out of white limestone, which is found in the land of the city of Baladai, I had mighty statues fashioned and positioned on the right and left of the entrances. For the equipment of the black-headed people, the stabling of horses, mules, colts, riding camels, chariots, wagons, carts, quivers, bows and arrows, all kinds of battle equipment: teams of horses and mules which possessed enormous strength, and were broken to the yoke. I greatly enlarged its court of the gates. That palace, from its foundation to its coping, I constructed, I finished. A stele with my name inscribed on it I set up in it. In the days to come among the kings, my sons, whose name Assur and Ishtar shall name for the rule of land and people, when that palace shall become old and ruined, may some future prince restore its ruins, look upon the stele with my name inscribed on it, anoint it with oil, pour out a libation upon it, and return it to its place. Then Assur and Ishtar will hear his prayers. He who destroys my inscription and my name—may Assur, the great lord, the father of the gods, treat him as an enemy, take away the scepter and throne from him, and overthrow his rule. The month of Tammuz; eponym of Gahilu, governor of Hatarikka.

ASSARHADDON'S TREATY WITH BAAL OF TYRE

Source: British Museum fragment K 3500
From: Altorientalische Forschungen, II, 1898.
Translation: Hugo Winckler, 1898.
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 670 B.C.

(Assarhaddon's Treaty with Baal is an Assyrian clay tablet inscription describing a treaty between Assarhaddon (Assurhaddon or Esarhaddon: reigned 681 to 669 BC) and Baal of Tyre. Baal [or Ba'al; speak: Ba-al] I was a king of Tyre (680–660 BC). His name is the same as that of the Phoenician god and the Canaanite god, Baal. He was tributary to the Assyrians, who had conquered the rest of Phoenicia. His situation was pretty much the same as Hezekiah's.

The treaty was found in the Library of King Assurbanipal. The first fragment, K 3500, was published in the mid-nineteenth century. It was identified as a combined tablet by Hugo Winckler in his Altorientalische Forschungen, II

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("Ancient Near Eastern Studies") in 1898. The treaty was part of a large two-column tablet containing an account of Assarhaddon's conquest of Eber Nari. Under the terms of the treaty, Assarhaddon entrusted Baal with several settlements, including the cities of Akko, Dor, and Byblos.

Treaty with Esarhaddon

In c. 675 BC, Baal I entered into a vassal treaty with Assarhaddon (currently in the British Museum) in exchange for Tyre's trading rights. These two rulers are possibly depicted together on the Victory stele of Assarhaddon son of Sennacherib, issued in c. 670 BC. In the stele, which was erected to commemorate the defeat of Egypt, the figure that supposedly represents the Phoenician king was shown with pierced lips tied to strings that were coiled around Assarhaddon's left hand.

Sources noted that King Baal I was a prominent vassal and may have enjoyed exceptional favour in Assyria due to several factors. His navy helped the Assyrians capture Abdi-Milkuti, the king of Sidon, and cement Assyrian authority in Cyprus. He may also have assisted the Assyrians in their war against Elam [Iran, north of the Persian Gulf]. Baal I was also the first ruler in the list of tributaries who provided materials for Assarhaddon's palace at Nineveh.

By 671 BC, King Baal I defied Assyria after it secured an alliance with the Nubian king Taharka of Kush [Napata, today: Sudan] who also was king of Egypt [25th Dynasty]. Baal I later surrendered when he saw that the Egyptian ranks broke under the onslaught of the Assyrian Army. Fearing strong reprisal, he was ceding most of his mainland towns to keep the Assyrian manpower occupied. His daughters were sent to the Assyrian king along with substantial dowries. Scholars, however, cited that Assarhaddon failed to conquer Tyre, an island city with impregnable fortifications. Just like Hezekiah, Baal was never captured and he kept his throne. While Assarhaddon claimed in the Victory Stele that he conquered the city, he merely managed to blockade the island, cutting it from its supply of water and food. We can assume that he did not push further due to the threat of Baals large Phoenician Navy out of range, with an even larger Phoenician Navy with 350 to 550 heavy warships and 100,000 to 150,000 men in Carthage at Baal's potential disposal.

Assurbanipal's reign

The king of Tyre was again cited in the inscriptions of Assarhaddon's son Assurbanipal. He was first mentioned for his participation in the king's second campaign along the Delta and the Nile valley to establish the Assyrian domination in Egypt. The inscriptions recorded a later war with Baal I due to his relations with Egypt. The king may have also refused to pay tribute. In retaliation, Assurbanipal blockaded the harbour of Tyre until Baal I surrendered. Ashurbanipal's account of the siege stated: "Because he did not honour my royal commands and did not obey the pronouncements from my lips, I set up blockades against him. To prevent his people from leaving, I reinforced its garrison. By sea and dry land, I took control of all of his routes and thus cut off all access to him."

Baal I sent his son Yehawmelek to Assurbanipal (r. 668–627 BC) with heavy tribute. According to Assurbanipal's own account, Baal's son was later sent back as an act of mercy. Baal also enjoyed special rights and privileges even on the mainland, which some scholars suggested may have required a new treaty.)

The third column has received the most focus from scholars. The text is below:

Assarhaddon, king of Assyria, these cities which... The royal deputy whom I have appointed over you, ... the elders of your country, ... the royal deputy ... with them ... the ships ... do not listen to him, do not ... without the royal deputy; nor must you open a letter which I send you without the presence of the royal deputy. If the royal deputy is absent, wait for him and then open it, do not... If a ship of Ba'al or of the people of Tyre (KUR.ṣur-ri) is shipwrecked off the coast of the land of Pilistu (KUR.pi-lis-ti) or anywhere on the borders of Assyrian territory, everything that is on the ship belongs to Assarhaddon, king of Assyria, but one must not do any harm to any person on board ship, they should list their names and inform the king of Assyria... These are the ports of trade and the trade roads which Assarhaddon, king of Assyria, granted to his servant Ba'al; toward Akko (URU.a-ku-u), Dor (URU.du-uʾ-ri), in the entire district of Pilistu (KUR.pi-lis-te), and in all the cities within Assyrian territory, on the seacoast, and in Byblos (URU.gu-ub-lu), across the Lebanon (KUR.lab-na-[na]), all the cities in the mountains, all the cities of Assarhaddon, king of Assyria, which Assarhaddon, king of Assyria gave to Ba'al ..., to the people of Tyre (KUR.ṣur-ri), in their ships or all those who cross over, in the towns of Ba'al, his towns, his manors, his wharves, which ..., to ..., as many as lie in the outlying regions, as in the past … they…, nobody should harm their ships. Inland, in his district, in his manors...

THE CYRUS CYLINDER

Author: probably Cyrus the Great
Found by Hormuzd Rassam in 1878
Location: Omran (Tell Amran-ibn-Ali), Iraq
From: Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament
Translation of the Cyrus cylinder (530s BC)
Translation: Robert William Rogers, 1912
Translation: Irwing Finkel, 2013
Estimated Range of Dating: 530s B.C.

The Cyrus Cylinder or Cyrus Charter is an ancient clay cylinder, now broken into several pieces, on which is written a declaration in Akkadian cuneiform script in the name of Persia's Achaemenid king Cyrus the Great. It dates from the 6th century BC and was discovered in the ruins of Babylon in Mesopotamia (modern Iraq) in 1879.

The Assyro-British archaeologist Hormuzd Rassam discovered the Cyrus Cylinder in March 1879 during a lengthy programme of excavations in Mesopotamia carried out for the British Museum. It had been placed as a foundation deposit in the foundations of the Ésagila, the city's main temple. Rassam's expedition followed on from an earlier dig carried out in 1850 by the British archaeologist Austen Henry Layard, who excavated three mounds in the same area but found little of importance. In 1877, Layard became Britain's ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, which ruled Mesopotamia at the time. He helped Rassam, who had been his assistant in the 1850 dig, to obtain a firman (decree) from the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II to continue the earlier excavations. The firman was only valid for a year but a second firman, with much more liberal terms, was issued in 1878. It was granted for two years (through to 15 October 1880) with the promise of an extension to 1882 if required. The Sultan's decree authorised Rassam to "pack and dispatch to England any antiquities he found ... provided, however, there were no duplicates". A representative of the Sultan was instructed to be present at the dig to examine the objects as they were uncovered.

With permission secured, Rassam initiated a large-scale excavation at Babylon and other sites on behalf of the Trustees of the British Museum. He undertook the excavations in four distinct phases. In between each phase, he returned to England to bring back his finds and raise more funds for further work. The Cyrus Cylinder was found on the second of his four expeditions to Mesopotamia, which began with his departure from London on 8 October 1878. He arrived in his home town of Mosul on 16 November and travelled down the Tigris to Baghdad, which he reached on 30 January 1879. During February and March, he supervised excavations on a number of Babylonian sites, including Babylon itself.

He soon uncovered a number of important buildings including the Ésagila temple. This was a major shrine to the chief Babylonian god Marduk, although its identity was not fully confirmed until the German archaeologist Robert Koldewey's excavation of 1900. The excavators found a large number of business documents written on clay tablets buried in the temple's foundations where they discovered the Cyrus Cylinder. Rassam gave conflicting accounts of where his discoveries were made. He wrote in his memoirs, Asshur and the land of Nimrod, that the Cylinder had been found in a mound at the southern end of Babylon near the village of Jumjuma or Jimjima. However, in a letter sent on 20 November 1879 to Samuel Birch, the Keeper of Oriental Antiquities at the British Museum, he wrote, "The Cylinder of Cyrus was found at Omran [Tell Amran-ibn-Ali] with about six hundred pieces of inscribed terracottas before I left Baghdad." He left Baghdad on 2 April, returning to Mosul and departing from there on 2 May for a journey to London which lasted until 19 June.

The discovery was announced to the public by Sir Henry Rawlinson, the President of the Royal Asiatic Society, at a meeting of the Society on 17 November 1879. He described it as "one of the most interesting historical records in the cuneiform character that has yet been brought to light", though he erroneously described it as coming from the ancient city of Borsippa rather than Babylon. Rawlinson's "Notes on a newly-discovered Clay Cylinder of Cyrus the Great" were published in the society's journal the following year, including the first partial translation of the text.

It is currently in the possession of the British Museum, which sponsored the expedition that discovered the cylinder. It was created and used as a foundation deposit following the Persian conquest of Babylon in 539 BC, when the Neo-Babylonian Empire was invaded by Cyrus and incorporated into his Persian Empire.

The text on the Cylinder praises Cyrus, sets out his genealogy and portrays him as a king from a line of kings. The Babylonian king Nabonidus, who was defeated and deposed by Cyrus, is denounced as an impious oppressor of the people of Babylonia and his low-born origins are implicitly contrasted to Cyrus' kingly heritage. The victorious Cyrus is portrayed as having been chosen by the chief Babylonian god Marduk to restore peace and order to the Babylonians. The text states that Cyrus was welcomed by the people of Babylon as their new ruler and entered the city in peace. It appeals to Marduk to protect and help Cyrus and his son Cambyses. It extols Cyrus as a benefactor of the citizens of Babylonia who improved their lives, repatriated displaced people and restored temples and cult sanctuaries across Mesopotamia and elsewhere in the region. It concludes with a description of how Cyrus repaired the city wall of Babylon and found a similar inscription placed there by an earlier king.

The Cylinder's text has traditionally been seen by biblical scholars as corroborative evidence of Cyrus' policy of the repatriation of the Jewish people following their Babylonian captivity (an act that the Book of Ezra attributes to Cyrus), as the text refers to the restoration of cult sanctuaries and repatriation of deported peoples. This interpretation has been disputed, as the text identifies only Mesopotamian sanctuaries, and makes no mention of Jews, Jerusalem, or Judaea.

Discovered by Hormuzd Rassam in 1879, the Cyrus cylinder is currently housed in the British Museum. This translation appeared in the 1912 Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament. The cylinder was created in about 539–530 BC to commemorate the Persian conquest of Babylon in 539 BC.

The surviving inscription on the Cyrus Cylinder consists of 45 lines of text written in Akkadian cuneiform script. The first 35 lines are on fragment "A" and the remainder are on fragment "B". A number of lines at the start and end of the text are too badly damaged for more than a few words to be legible. The text is written in an extremely formulaic style that can be divided into six distinct parts:

- Lines 1–19: an introduction reviling Nabonidus, the previous king of Babylon, and associating Cyrus with the god Marduk;
- Lines 20–22: detailing Cyrus's royal titles and genealogy, and his peaceful entry to Babylon;
- Lines 22–34: a commendation of Cyrus's policy of restoring Babylon;
- Lines 34–35: a prayer to Marduk on behalf of Cyrus and his son Cambyses;
- Lines 36–37: a declaration that Cyrus has enabled the people to live in peace and has increased the offerings made to the gods;
- Lines 38–45: details of the building activities ordered by Cyrus in Babylon.

First translation by Robert William Rogers:

1. When ... Marduk, king of the whole of heaven and earth, the ..... who, in his ..., lays waste his .....
2. [.....] broad? in intelligence, ... who inspects the world quarters (regions)
3. [.....] his firstborn (= Belshazzar), a low person, was put in charge of his country,
4. but [.....] he set a counterfeit over them.
5. He ma[de] a counterfeit of Esagil, and [.....] for Ur and the rest of the cult-cities.
6. Rites inappropriate to them, impure food-offerings [.....] disrespectful [.....] were daily gabbled, and, as an insult,
7. he brought the daily offerings to a halt; he interfered with the rites and instituted [....] within the sanctuaries. In his mind, reverential fear of Marduk, king of the gods, came to an end.
8. He did yet more evil to his city every day; … his people [.....], he brought ruin on them all by a yoke without relief.
9. Enlil-of-the-gods became extremely angry at their complaints, and [...] their territory. The gods who lived within them left their shrines,
10. angry that he had made (them) enter into Shuanna (Babylon). Ex[al ted Marduk, Enlil-of-the-Go]ds, relented. He changed his mind about all the settlements whose sanctuaries were in ruins,
11. and the population of the land of Sumer and Akkad who had become like corpses, and took pity on them. He inspected and checked all the countries,
12. seeking for the upright king of his choice. He took the hand of Cyrus, king of the city of Anshan, and called him by his name, proclaiming him aloud for the kingship over all of everything.
13. He made the land of Guti and all the Median troops prostrate themselves at his feet, while he shepherded in justice and righteousness the black-headed people
14. whom he had put under his care. Marduk, the great lord, who nurtures his people, saw with pleasure his fine deeds and true heart,
15. and ordered that he should go to Babylon. He had him take the road to Tintir (Babylon), and, like a friend and companion, he walked at his side.
16. His vast troops whose number, like the water in a river, could not be counted, were marching fully-armed at his side.
17. He had him enter without fighting or battle right into Shuanna; he saved his city Babylon from hardship. He handed over to him Nabonidus, the king who did not fear him.

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18. All the people of Tintir, of all Sumer and Akkad, nobles and governors, bowed down before him and kissed his feet, rejoicing over his kingship and their faces shone.
19. The lord through whose help all were rescued from death and who saved them all from distress and hardship, they blessed him sweetly and praised his name.
20. I am Cyrus, king of the universe, the great king, the powerful king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters of the world,
21. son of Cambyses, the great king, king of the city of Anshan, grandson of Cyrus, the great king, king of the city of Anshan, descendant of Teispes, the great king, king of the city of Anshan,
22. the perpetual seed of kingship, whose reign Bel (Marduk)and Nabu love, and with whose kingship, to their joy, they concern themselves. When I went as harbinger of peace into Babylon
23. I founded my sovereign residence within the palace amid celebration and rejoicing. Marduk, the great lord, bestowed on me as my destiny the great magnanimity of one who loves Babylon, and I every day sought him out in awe.
24. My vast troops were marching peaceably in Babylon, and the whole of Sumer and Akkad had nothing to fear.
25. I sought the safety of the city of Babylon and all its sanctuaries. As for the population of Babylon [.....] who as if without divine intention had endured a yoke not decreed for them,
26. I soothed their weariness; I freed them from their bonds. Marduk, the great lord, rejoiced at my good deeds,
27. and he pronounced a sweet blessing over me, Cyrus, the king who fears him, and over Cambyses, the son my issue, and over my all my troops,
28. that we might live happily in his presence, in well-being. At his exalted command, all kings who sit on thrones,
29. from every quarter, from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea, those who inhabit remote districts (and) the kings of the land of Amurru who live in tents, all of them,
30. brought their weighty tribute into Shuanna, and kissed my feet. From Shuanna I sent back to their places to the city of Ashur and Susa,
31. Akkad, the land of Eshnunna, the city of Zamban, the City of Meturnu, Der, as far as the border of the land of Guti - the sanctuaries across the River Tigris - whose shrines had earlier become dilapidated,
32. the gods who lived therein, and made permanent sanctuaries for them. I collected together all of their people and returned them to their settlements,
33. and the gods of the land of Sumer and Akkad which Nabonidus – to the fury of the lord of the gods – had brought into Shuanna, at the command of Marduk, the great lord,
34. I returned them unharmed to their cells, in the sanctuaries that make them happy. May all the gods that I returned to their sanctuaries,
35. every day before Bel and Nabu, ask for a long life for me, and mention my good deeds, and say to Marduk, my lord, this: "Cyrus, the king who fears you, and Cambyses his son,
36. may they be the provisioners of our shrines until distant days, and the population of Babylon call blessings on my kingship. I have enabled all the lands to live in peace." Every day I increased by geese, two ducks and ten pigeons the former offerings of geese, ducks and pigeons.
37. I strove to strengthen the defences of the wall Imgur-Enlil, the great wall of Babylon,
38. and I completed the quay of baked brick on the bank of the moat which an earlier king had built but not completed its work.
39. I [.....] which did not surround the city] outside, which no earlier king had built, his workforce, the levee from his land, in/into Shuanna.
40. [.....] with bitumen and baked brick I built anew, and completed its work.
41. [.....] great doors of cedar wood with bronze cladding,
42. [and I installed] all their doors, threshold slabs and door fittings with copper parts. [.....]. I saw within it an inscription of Ashurbanipal, a king who preceded me;
43. [.....] in its place. May Marduk, the great lord, present to me as a gift a long life and the fullness of age,
44. a secure throne and an enduring reign, and may I [...] in your heart forever.

Second translation by Irving Finkel (Lines 1-2, and 44-5 are restored on the basis of two clay fragments from a Late Babylonian tablet, inscribed with text which duplicates that of the Cyrus Cylinder.):

1. [When ... Mar]duk, king of the whole of heaven and earth, the ..... who, in his ..., lays waste his .....
2. [.....] broad in intelligence, ... who inspects the wor]ld quarters (regions)
3. [.....] his firstborn (= Belshazzar), a low person was put in charge of his country,
4. but [.....] he set a (....) counter]feit over them.
5. He ma[de] a counterfeit of Esagil, and [.....] for Ur and the rest of the cult-cities.
6. Rites inappropriate to them, impure food-offerings [.....] disrespectful [....] were daily gabbled, and, as an insult,
7. he brought the daily offerings to a halt; he interfered with the rites and instituted [...] within the sanctuaries. In his mind, reverential fear of Marduk, king of the gods, came to an end.
8. He did yet more evil to his city every day; .... his people [.....], he brought ruin on them all by a yoke without relief.
9. Enlil-of-the-gods became extremely angry at their complaints, and [.....] their territory. The gods who lived within them left their shrines,
10. angry that he had made (them) enter into Shuanna (Babylon). Ex[alted Marduk, Enlil-of-the-Go]ds, relented. He changed his mind about all the settlements whose sanctuaries were in ruins,
11. and the population of the land of Sumer and Akkad who had become like corpses, and took pity on them. He inspected and checked all the countries,
12. seeking for the upright king of his choice. He took the hand of Cyrus, king of the city of Anshan, and called him by his name, proclaiming him aloud for the kingship over all of everything.
13. He made the land of Guti and all the Median troops prostrate themselves at his feet, while he shepherded in justice and righteousness the black-headed people
14. whom he had put under his care. Marduk, the great lord, who nurtures his people, saw with pleasure his fine deeds and true heart,
15. and ordered that he should go to Babylon He had him take the road to Tintir (Babylon), and, like a friend and companion, he walked at his side.
16. His vast troops whose number, like the water in a river, could not be counted, were marching fully-armed at his side.
17. He had him enter without fighting or battle right into Shuanna; he saved his city Babylon from hardship. He handed over to him Nabonidus, the king who did not fear him.
18. All the people of Tintir, of all Sumer and Akkad, nobles and governors, bowed down before him and kissed his feet, rejoicing over his kingship and their faces shone.
19. The lord through whose help all were rescued from death and who saved them all from distress and hardship, they blessed him sweetly and praised his name.
20. I am Cyrus, king of the universe, the great king, the powerful king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters of the world,
21. son of Cambyses, the great king, king of the city of Anshan, grandson of Cyrus, the great king, ki[ng of the ci]ty of Anshan, descendant of Teispes, the great king, king of the city of Anshan,
22. the perpetual seed of kingship, whose reign Bel (Marduk)and Nabu love, and with whose kingship, to their joy, they concern themselves. When I went as harbinger of peace into Babylon
23. I founded my sovereign residence within the palace amid celebration and rejoicing. Marduk, the great lord, bestowed on me as my destiny the great magnanimity of one who loves Babylon, and I every day sought him out in awe.
24. My vast troops were marching peaceably in Babylon, and the whole of Sumer and Akkad had nothing to fear.
25. I sought the safety of the city of Babylon and all its sanctuaries. As for the population of Babylon who as if without divine intention had endured a yoke not decreed for them,
26. I soothed their weariness; I freed them from their bonds. Marduk, the great lord, rejoiced at [my good] deeds,
27. and he pronounced a sweet blessing over me, Cyrus, the king who fears him, and over Cambyses, the son my issue, and over my all my troops,
28. that we might live happily in his presence, in well-being. At his exalted command, all kings who sit on thrones,
29. from every quarter, from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea, those who inhabit [remote distric]ts (and) the kings of the land of Amurru who live in tents, all of them,
30. brought their weighty tribute into Shuanna, and kissed my feet. From [Shuanna] I sent back to their places to the city of Ashur and Susa,
31. Akkad, the land of Eshnunna, the city of Zamban, the city of Meturnu, Der, as far as the border of the land of Guti - the sanctuaries across the river Tigris - whose shrines had earlier become dilapidated,
32. the gods who lived therein, and made permanent sanctuaries for them. I collected together all of their people and returned them to their settlements,
33. and the gods of the land of Sumer and Akkad which Nabonidus – to the fury of the lord of the gods – had brought into Shuanna, at the command of Marduk, the great lord,
34. I returned them unharmed to their cells, in the sanctuaries that make them happy. May all the gods that I returned to their sanctuaries,
35. every day before Bel and Nabu, ask for a long life for me, and mention my good deeds, and say to Marduk, my lord, this: “Cyrus, the king who fears you, and Cambyses his son,
36. may they be the provisioners of our shrines until distant days, and the population of Babylon call blessings on my kingship. I have enabled all the lands to live in peace.
37. Every day I increased by geese, two ducks and ten pigeons the former offerings of geese, ducks and pigeons.
38. I strove to strengthen the defences of the wall Imgur-Enlil, the great wall of Babylon,
39. and I completed the quay of baked brick on the bank of the moat which an earlier king had built but not completed its work. 40. I [.....] which did not surround the city outside, which no earlier king had built, his workforce, the levee from his land, in/into Shuanna.
41. [.....] with bitumen and baked brick I built anew, and [completed] its [work].
42. [.....] great [doors of cedarwood] with bronze cladding,
43. and I installed all their doors, threshold slabs and door fittings with copper parts. [.....] I saw within it an inscription of Ashurbanipal, a king who preceded me;
44. [.....] his … Marduk, the great lord, creator of [...]
45. [.....] my I presented as a gift [.....] your pleasure forever.

ESHMUNAZAR II SARCOPHAGUS INSCRIPTION
Found in the Necropolis of Magharat Abloun ("Cavern of Apollo") by Aimé Péretié on 20 February 1855.
Musee de Louvre, Paris, France
Translation: Julius Oppert, 1856
Estimated Range of Dating: Early 5th century B.C.

(The sarcophagus of Eshmunazar II (Phoenician: Eshmn'zr, a theophoric name meaning 'Eshmun helps' or 'helper of Eshmun', similar to Eleazar or Eliezer), a Phoenician king of Sidon and the son of King Tabnit (possibly the Greek Tenes), was created in the early 5th century BC. It was unearthed in 1855 at a site near Sidon and is now in the Louvre. The sarcophagus was likely created in Egypt, being carved from amphibolite from Wadi Hammamat.

Discovery: The sarcophagus was discovered in the Necropolis of Magharat Abloun ("Cavern of Apollo") on 20 February 1855 by Aimé Péretié, chancellor of the French consulate of Beirut. It was purchased in the same year by Honoré Théodoric d'Albert de Luynes, who donated it to the Louvre.

Inscription: The sarcophagus bears a 22 line inscription, known as KAI-14 written in the Phoenician Canaanite language, in the Phoenician alphabet. The inscription identifies the king inside and warns people not to disturb his repose. The language used in the inscription is a Canaanite dialect mutually intelligible with Biblical Hebrew. As in other Phoenician inscriptions, the text seems to use no, or hardly any, matres lectionis. As in Aramaic, the preposition 'YT is used as an accusative marker, while 'T is used for "with". The inscription states that the "Lord of Kings" granted the Sidonian kings territory in Philistine: Dor, Jaffa, the Plain of Sharon. The inscription is the first discovered in the Phoenician language from the area known as Phoenicia. Translation: The translation below is based on that by Julius Oppert, amended with the help of a more recent translation in Prichard & Fleming.)

Translation No. 1 (by Julius Oppert):

1. In the month of Bul [The eighth month of the Phoenician year which was identical with the Judaic one.], in the fourteenth year of the royalty of King Eshmunazar [King Eshmunazar lived in the fourth century B.C., this is generally admitted on account of the form of the sarcophagus, which was certainly Egyptian; there are even in the middle of it traces of hieroglyphs which have been erased. The King Tabnit may be the Tennes of Greek authors.], King of the two Sidons,
2. son of King Tabnit, King of the two Sidons, King Eshmunazar, King of the two Sidons, said as follows: I am carried away,
3. before my time, the son of (few) days, an orphan, the son of a widow. And I am lying in this coffin, and in this tomb,
4. in the place which I have built. Whoever you are, of royal race or an ordinary man, may he not open this resting-place, and
5. may he not search after anything, for nothing whatsoever has been placed into it. May he not move the coffin in which I am resting, nor carry
6. me away from this resting-place to another resting-place. Whatever a man may tell thee, do not listen to him: For every royal race and
7. every ordinary man, who will open this resting-place or who will carry away the coffin where I repose, or who will carry me
8. away from this resting-place: may they not have any funeral couch with the embalmers (the Rophe‘im), may they not be buried in a grave, and may there not be a son or offspring
9. to succeed to them, and may the sacred gods abandon them to a mighty ruler who (might) rule them, in order

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10. to exterminate that royal race or man who will open this resting-place or who will take away
11. this coffin, and also the offspring of this royal race, or of that ordinary man. There shall be to them no root below, nor
12. fruit above, nor living form under the sun. For I am carried away, before my time, the son of
13. (few) days, an orphan, the son of a widow. For I, Eshmunazar, King of the two Sidons, son of
14. King Tabnit, King of the two Sidons, the grandson of King Eshmunazar, King of the two Sidons, And my mother Amoashtart,
15. the Priestess of Astarte, our mistress, the Queen, the daughter of King Eshmunazar, King of the two Sidons: It is we who have built the temple of
16. the gods, and the temple of Astaroth, on the seaside Sidon [The seaside Sidon "Sidon eres yam", seems to be one of the two Sidons, the other may have been the Sidon of the mountain. Sennacherib speaks also of the two Sidons, the great and the little one.] and have placed there (the image of) Astaroth in Shamem-Addirim. And it is we
17. who have built a temple for Eshmun, the holy prince, at the purpleshells River on the mountain, and have established him in Shamem-Addirim. And it is we who have built the temples
18. for the gods of the two Sidons, in the seaside Sidon, tile temple of Baal-Sidon and the temple of Ashtart-Shem-Baal. Moreover, the Lord of Kings [The "Lords of the Kings" seem not to be the Kings of Persia, but an epithet applicable to a divine king.] gave us
19. Dor and Joppa, the mighty lands of Dagon, which are in tile plain of Saron, in accordance with the important deeds which I did. And we annexed them
20. to the boundary of the land, that they would belong to the two Sidons for ever. Whoever you are, of royal race or ordinary man, may he not open it
21. and may he not uncover me and may he not carry me away from this resting-place. Otherwise,
22. the sacred gods shall abandon them and exterminate this royal race and this ordinary man and their offspring for ever.

Translation No. 2 (Anonymus):

In the month of Bul, in the fourteenth year of the royalty of King Eshmunazar, King of the two Sidons, (This also could be translated: "King of the Sidonians", because "Sdnm" has the Phoenician plural M as an ending) son of King Tabnit, King of the two Sidons, King Eshmunazar, King of the two Sidons, said as follows:

I am carried away, the time of my non-existence has come, my spirit has disappeared, like the day, from whence I am silent, since which I became mute.

And I am lying in this coffin, and in this tomb, in the place which I have built.

O thou reader remember this: "May no royal race and no man open my funeral couch, and may they not seek after treasures, for no one has hidden treasures here, nor move the coffin out of my funeral couch, nor molest me in this funeral bed, by putting another tomb over it.

Whatever a man may tell thee, do not listen to him:

For the punishment of the violators shall be: Every royal race and every man, who shall open the covering or this couch, or who shall carry away the coffin where I repose, or who shall molest me in this couch : they shall have no funeral couch with the Rephaïm, nor shall be buried in graves, nor shall there be any son or offspring to succeed to them, and the sacred gods shall inflict extirpation on them.

Thou whoever thou art who wilt be King hereafter, inspire those over whom thou wilt reign, that they may exterminate the members of the royal race like those men who will open the covering of this couch, or who will take away this coffin, and exterminate also the offspring of this royal race, or of these men of the crowd. There shall be to them no root below, nor fruit above, nor living form under the sun.

For graced by the gods, I am carried away, the time of my non-existence has come, my spirit has disappeared, like the day, from whence I am silent, since which I became mute.

For I, Eshunazar, King of the two Sidons, son of King Tabnit, King of the two Sidons (who was), the grandson of King Esmunazar, King of the two Sidons,

And my mother Amastarte, the Priestess of Astarte, our mistress, the Queen, the daughter of King Esmunazar, King of the two Sidons:

It is we who have built the temple of the gods, and the temple of Astaroth, on the seaside Sidon, and have placed there the image of the Astaroth, as we are sanctifiers of the gods.

And it is we who have built the temple of Esmun, and the sanctuary of the purpleshells River on the mountaln, and have placed there his image, as we are sanctifiers of the gods.

And it is we who have built the temples of the gods of the two Sidons, in the seaside Sidon, the temple of Baal-Sidon and the temple of Astarte who bears the name of this Baal.

May in future the Lords of the Kings give us Dora and Japhia, the fertile corn-lands, which are in tile plain of Saron, and may they annex it to the boundary of the land, that it may belong to the two Sidons for ever.

O thou, remember this: May no royal race and no man open my covering, nor deface the inscriptions of my covering, nor molest me in this funeral bed, nor carry away the coffin, where I repose. Otherwise, the sacred gods shall inflict extirpation on them and shall exterminate this royal race and this man of the crowd and their offspring for ever.

THE ROSETTA STONE

Source: town of Rosetta (Rashid), Egypt
Translation Greek: Stephen Westen, 1802
Translation Demotic: Thomas Young, 1820
Translation Hieroglyphs: J. F. Champollion, 1820
Enlish Edition: E. A. Thompson Wallis Budge, 1913
Estimated Range of Dating: 196 B.C.

(The "Rosetta Stone," was found at a spot near the mouth of the great arm of the Nile that flows through the Western Delta to the sea, not far from the town of "Rashid," or as Europeans call it, "Rosetta." According to one account it was found lying on the ground, and according to another it was built into a very old wall, which a company of French soldiers had been ordered to remove in order to make way for the foundations of an addition to the fort, afterwards known as "Fort St. Julien." The actual finder of the Stone was a French Officer of Engineers, whose name is sometimes spelt Boussard, and sometimes Bouchard, who made his great discovery in August, 1799.

When Napoleon heard of the Stone, he ordered it to be taken to Cairo and placed in the "Institut National," which he had recently founded in that city. On its arrival in Cairo it became at once an object of the deepest interest to the body of learned men whom Napoleon had taken with him on his expedition to Egypt, and the Emperor himself exhibited the greatest curiosity in respect of the contents of the

inscriptions cut upon it. He at once ordered a number of copies of the Stone to be made for distribution among the scholars of Europe, and two skilled lithographers, "citizens Marcel and Galland," were specially brought to Cairo from Paris to make them. As Napoleon lost the war over Egypt, a Treaty of Capitulation was drawn up in 1801, the Rosetta Stone and several other large and important Egyptian antiquities were surrendered to the British. It and arrived in England in 1802.

DESCRIPTION OF THE STONE.

The Rosetta Stone in its present state is an irregularly-shaped slab of compact black basalt, which measures about 3 feet 9 inches in length, 2 feet 4 inches in width, and 11 inches in thickness. The top right and left hand corners, and the right hand bottom corner, are wanting. It is not possible to say how much of the Stone is missing, but judging by the proportion which exists between the lengths of the inscriptions that are now upon it, we may assume that when it was complete it was at least 12 inches longer than it is

now. The upper end of the Stone was probably rounded, and, if we may judge from the reliefs found on stelae of this class of the Ptolemaic Period, the front of the rounded part was sculptured with a figure of the Winged Disk of Horus of Edfu, having pendent uraei, one wearing the Crown of the South, and the other the Crown of the North. (See the Cast of the Decree of Canopus in Bay 28,

No. 957.) Below the Winged Disk there may have been a relief, in which the king was seen standing, with his queen, in the presence of a series of gods, similar to that found on one of the copies mentioned below of the inscriptions on the Rosetta Stone. Whatever the sculptured decoration may have been, it is tolerably certain that, when the Stone was in a complete state, it must have been between five and six feet in height, and that when mounted upon a suitable plinth, and set up near the statue of the king in whose honour it was engraved, it formed a prominent monument in the temple in which it was set up. The Inscription on the Rosetta Stone is written in two languages, that is to say, in Egyptian and in Greek. The Egyptian portion of it is cut upon it in: I. the Hieroglyphic Character, that is to say, in the old picture writing which was employed from the earliest dynasties in making copies of the Book of the Dead, and in nearly all state and ceremonial documents that were intended to be seen by the public; and II. the Demotic Character, that is to say, the conventional, abbreviated and modified form of the HIERATIC character, or cursive form of hieroglyphic writing, which was in use in the Ptolemaic Period. The Greek portion of the inscription is cut in ordinary uncials. The hieroglyphic text consists of 14 lines only, and these correspond to the last 28 lines of the Greek text. The Demotic text consists of 32 lines, the first 14 being imperfect at the beginnings, and the Greek text consists of 54 lines, the last 26 being imperfect at the ends. A large portion

of the missing lines of the hieroglyphic text can be restored from a stele discovered in 1898 at Damanhur in the Delta (Hermopolis Parva), and now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (No. 5576), and from the copy of a text of the Decree cut on the walls of a temple at Philae, and the correctness of the restorations of broken passages in the Demotic and Greek texts being evident, we are justified

in assuming that we have the inscription of the Rosetta Stone complete both in Egyptian and Greek.

The first translation of the Greek text was made by the Rev. Stephen

Weston, and was read by him before the Society of Antiquaries of London in April, 1802. The translations of the Demotic script, done by Thomas Young, and the Hierogryphs, done by Jean-Francois Champollion, took about twenty years.

THE CONTENTS OF THE INSCRIPTION ON THE ROSETTA STONE.

The inscription on the Rosetta Stone is a copy of the Decree passed by the General Council of Egyptian priests assembled at Memphis to celebrate the first commemoration of the coronation of Ptolemy V, Epiphanes, king of all Egypt. The young king had been crowned in the eighth year of his reign, therefore the first commemoration took place in the ninth year, in the spring of the year 196 BC. The original form of the Decree is given by the Demotic section, and the Hieroglyphic and Greek versions were made from it. The inscription is dated on the fourth day of the Greek month Xandikos (April), corresponding to the eighteenth day of the Egyptian month Meshir, or

Mekhir, of the ninth year of the reign of Ptolemy V, Epiphanes, the year in which Aetus, the son of Aetus, was chief priest and Pyrrha, the daughter of Philinus, and Areia, the daughter of Diogenes, and Irene, the daughter of Ptolemy, were chief priestesses. The opening lines are filled with a list of the titles of Ptolemy V, and a series of epithets which proclaim the king's piety towards the gods, and his love for the Egyptians and his country. In the second section of the inscription the priests enumerate the benefits which he had conferred upon Egypt.)

E. A. Thompson Wallis Budge presented the contents of the inscriptions as follows:

1. Gifts of money and corn to the temples.
2. Gifts of endowments to temples.
3. Remission of one half of taxes due to the Government.
4. Abolition of one half of the taxes.
5. Forgiveness of debts owed by the people to the Government.
6. Release of the prisoners who had been languishing in gaol for years.
7. Abolition of the press-gang for sailors.
8. Reduction of fees payable by candidates for the priesthood.
9. Reduction of the dues payable by the temples to the Government.
10. Restoration of the services in the temples.
11. Forgiveness of rebels, who were permitted to return to Egypt and live there.
12. Despatch of troops by sea and land against the enemies of Egypt.
13. The siege and conquest of the town of Shekan (Lycopolis).
14. Forgiveness of the debts owed by the priests to him.
15. Reduction of the tax on byssus.
16. Reduction of the tax on corn lands.
17. Restoration of the temples of the Apis and Mnevis Bulls, and of the other sacred animals.
18. Rebuilding of ruined shrines and sacred buildings, and providing them with endowments.

As a mark of the gratitude of the priesthood to the king for all these gracious acts of Ptolemy V, it was decided by the General Council of the priests of Egypt to " increase the ceremonial observances of honour which are paid to Ptolemy, the ever-living, in the temples." With this object in view it was decided:

1. To make statues of Ptolemy in his character of "Saviour of
Egypt," and to set up one in every temple of Egypt for the priests and people to worship.
2. To make figures of Ptolemy [in gold], and to place them in gold
shrines, which are to be set side by side with the shrines of the gods, and carried about in procession with them.
3. To distinguish the shrine of Ptolemy by means of ten doublecrowns
of gold which are to be placed upon it.
4. To make the anniversaries of the birthday and coronation days
of Ptolemy, viz., the 17th and the 30th days of the month Mesore, festival days for ever.

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5. To make the first five days of the month of Thoth days of festival for ever; offerings shall be made in the temples, and all the people shall wear garlands.

6. To add a new title to the titles of the priests, viz., "Priests of the beneficent god Ptolemy Epiphanes, who appeareth on earth," which is to be cut upon the ring of every priest of Ptolemy, and inserted in every priestly document.

7. That the soldiers may borrow the shrines with figures of Ptolemy inside them from the temples, and may take them to their quarters, and carry them about in procession.

8. That copies of this Decree shall be cut upon slabs of basalt in the "writing of the speech of the god," i.e. hieroglyphs, and in the writing of the books, i.e. demotic, and in the writing of the Ueienin, i.e. Greek. "And a basalt slab on which a copy of this Decree is cut shall be set up in the temples of the first, second and third orders, side by side with the statue of Ptolemy, the ever-living god."

RES GESTAE DIVI AUGUSTI
The Monumentum Ancyranum
The Deeds of the Divine Augustus
The Deeds of Augustus the Son of a God
Translation: Anonymus
Estimated Range of Dating: 10-14 A.D.

(The Res Gestae Divi Augusti (The Deeds of the Divine Augustus) is a monumental inscription composed by the first Roman emperor, Augustus, giving a first-person record of his life and accomplishments. The Res Gestae is especially significant because it gives an insight into the image Augustus offered to the Roman people. Various portions of the Res Gestae have been found in Ankara, modern Turkey. The inscription itself is a monument to the establishment of the Julio-Claudian dynasty that was to follow Augustus.

The Res Gestae was written just before Augustus' death in 14 AD. Augustus left the text with his will, which instructed the Senate to set up the inscriptions. The original, which has not survived, was engraved upon a pair of bronze pillars and placed in front of Augustus' mausoleum. Many copies of the text were made and carved in stone on monuments or temples throughout the Roman Empire, some of which have survived; most notably, almost a full copy, written in the original Latin and a Greek translation was preserved on a temple to Augustus in Ancyra (the Monumentum Ancyranum of Ankara, Turkey); others have been found at Apollonia and Antioch, both in Pisidia [in the southwest of Turkey].

The Discoveries

A first version of the Res Gestae was found in the Monumentum Ancyranum by Buysbecche, a Dutch scholar who was sent, in 1555, by Ferdinand II on an embassy to the Sultan Soliman at Amasia in Asia Minor. Georges Perrot and Edmund Guillaume, who had been commissioned by Napoleon III to explore Asia Minor, made a facsimile copy of the inscription.

Originally, this amazing document was copied on the walls of many of the temples of Augustus throughout the empire, and remains of three copies have come to light in Asia Minor alone. In addition to the Augusteum at Ancyra, inscribed with both the Latin text and a Greek version, there was found another ruined temple at Apollonia with remnants of the same Greek version; it is fairly certain that the Augusteum at Pergamon had both the Greek and the Latin versions; and finally at Antioch in Pisidia (Colonia Caesarea) Sir W. M. Ramsay discovered, in 1914, a number of fragments of the Latin text from a fourth copy. But the inscription on the temple of Rome and Augustus at Ankara is so complete that it outweighs all the others in importance, and the designation Monumentum Ancyranum has become synonymous with Res Gestae Divi Augusti.

The temple of Rome and Augustus at Ankara is still in a fair state of preservation. The Latin text is chiselled upon both sides of the inner walls of the pronaos or vestibule. It was arranged in six pages, three of forty-six lines each, on the left as one entered, surmounted by the title, which runs in two and a half lines across the top of all three, and three pages on the right of fifty-four lines each. The arrangement undoubtedly was in general a replica of the inscription at Rome which disappeared. Each line contained on the average about sixty letters. The height of the inscription is 2.70 metres on each wall, and the length on each wall is about 4 metres.

Antioch[ia] in Pisidia or Pisidian Antioch or Antiochia [Colonia] Caesarea – is a city in the Turkish Lakes Region, which is at the crossroads of the Mediterranean, Aegean and Central Anatolian regions, and formerly on the border of Pisidia and Phrygia, hence also known as Antiochia in Phrygia. The site lies approximately 1 km northeast of Yalvaç, the modern town of Isparta Province. The city is on a hill with its highest point of 1236 m in the north.

The 12 steps at the end of the Tiberia Platea in Pisidia are all that remain of the Propylon, a monumental passage gateway leading up to the Imperial Sanctuary. It was triple-arched and highly ornamented with its massive entablature carried by four columns in front and four at the rear. Over the gate entrance was an inscription mounted: IMP. CAES[ARI. DI]VI. [F. A]VGVSTO. PONTI[F]ICI. M[AXIM]O COS. X[IIII.TRIB]UN[ICIAE.]POTESTATIS. XXII.[IM]P.XIIII. P.[P.], "For the emperor Caesar Augustus, son of a god, Pontifex Maximus, consul for the 13th time, with tribunician power for the 22nd time, imperator for the 14th time, Father of the Nation." The inscription is a dedication to Augustus who became Pater Patriae [Father of the Nation] in February 2 BC. A similar briefer inscription exists on an Imperial Temple at Pola: ROMAE ET AVGVSTO CAESARI DIVI F. PATRI PATRIAE. The Antioch copy was inscribed in stone in Latin, a sign of the importance of the city as a military and cultural base of Rome in Asia. (One of the copies, in Greek and Latin, is in Ankara, the other, in Apollonia [Uluborlu].

The Son of a God

Augustus was the first Roman Emperor bearing the Roman title Princeps Civitatis, "The First Citizen", ruling for for over 40 years from 27 BC until his death in 14 AD. He led Rome in its transition from the Roman Republic to the Roman Empire. His full name was Imperator Caesar Divi Filius Augustus, Emperor Caesar Augustus the Son of a God.

In January 42 BC, nearly two years after the assassination of Julius Caesar in March 44 BC, the Roman Senate, due to a formal plea held by Octavian, recognised Gaius Julius Caesar as Divus Iulius, "Julius the God". His adopted son Octavian therefore became Divi Filius, the "Son of a God". The Senate of Rome bestowed him the title Augustus, "The Venerable" indicating his religious piety and the fact that he held also the highest religious title of the Empire: the Pontifex Maximus ["the builder of bridges between religions"], a title that is still used by the Pope in Rome and clearly emphasises the Roman nature of Christianity. The godly names Iulius [July] and Augustus [August] joined the other godly names in Caesar's calendar by decree of Augustus himself.

Octavian used the title divi filius [and the fuller form, divi Iuli Filius, "son of the divine Julians"] to advance his political position, finally overcoming all rivals for power within the Roman state. The title was for him a useful propaganda tool, and was displayed on stone inscriptions and the coins that he issued. Everyone could see the title "Son of a God" every day. Saul of Tarsos saw this title too, and when he created his "heavenly Jesus", he made him divine by calling him "Son of God". This was only a tiny step for Saul but a giant leap for the pious Jewish Christian community around James the Just, the brother of Jesus. For all Jews, this was an act of despicable blasphemy contradicting the Ten Commandments that "Thou shalt have no other gods before me; Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image; and Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain". It separated Christianity from Judaism for ever.

Marcion of Sinope [c. 85–160 AD], an early Christian preacher, wanted to solve the conflict by abandoning the Hebrew Bible, the Old Testament, and allowing only seven letters of Paul and one gospel. The Church Fathers, however, wanted to keep the Old Testament in use as a vehicle of legitimacy that Christianity as new religion naturally lacked. Excluding the Old Testament would have saved the Christian Church lots of trouble indeed.

The Inscription

The Res Gestae is not a full account of the years between 44 BC, the assassination of Augustus' adoptive father Julius Caesar, and 14 AD, the year in which he died. Instead, it is a personal account of the first Emperor's life and those achievements that he decided to be worth remembering by the Roman people. It is an independent self-depiction that is written in a literary form which is unique to the ancient world, and it must be read as such. This period of history is seen from Augustus' perspective and the author presents facts that relate only to himself. Augustus' enemies are never mentioned by name. Caesar's murderers Brutus and Cassius are called simply "those who killed my father". Mark Antony and Sextus Pompey, Augustus' opponents in the East, remain equally anonymous; the former is "he with whom I fought the war," while the latter is merely a "pirate." While certainly one-sided, it cannot be stated that Augustus made any false statements. Any comprehensive understanding of this period of Roman history should be supplemented by statements from other ancient sources, archaeology, and inscriptions.

The text consists of a short introduction, 35 body paragraphs and a posthumous addendum. The paragraphs are conventionally grouped in four sections, political career, public benefactions, military accomplishments and a political statement.

The first section (2–14) is concerned with Augustus' political career; it records the offices and political honours that he held. Augustus also lists numerous offices he refused to take and privileges he refused to be awarded. The second section (15–24) lists Augustus' donations of money, land and grain to the citizens of Italy and his soldiers, as well as the public works and gladiatorial spectacles that he commissioned. The text is careful to point out that all this was paid for out of Augustus' own funds. The third section (25–33) describes his military deeds and how he established alliances with other nations during his reign. Finally the fourth section (paragraphs 34–35) consists of a statement of the Romans' approval for the reign and deeds of Augustus. The appendix is written in the third person and likely not by Augustus himself. It summarises the entire text, lists various buildings that he renovated or constructed and states that Augustus spent 600 million silver denarii (600,000 gold denarii) from his own funds during his reign on public projects. Ancient currencies cannot be reliably converted into modern equivalents, but it is clearly more than anyone else in the empire could afford. Augustus consolidated his hold on power by reversing the prior tax policy beginning with funding the aerarium militare with 170 million sesterces of his own money.)

Text:

1 Below is a copy of the acts of the Deified Augustus by which he placed the whole world under the sovereignty of the Roman people, and of the amounts which he expended upon the state and the Roman people, as engraved upon two bronze columns which have been set up in Rome.1

At the age of nineteen, on my own initiative and at my own expense, I raised an army by means of which I restored liberty to the republic, which had been oppressed by the tyranny of a faction. For which service the senate, with complimentary resolutions, enrolled me in its order, in the consulship of Gaius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, giving me at the same time consular precedence in voting; it also gave me the imperium. As propraetor it ordered me, along with the consuls, "to see that the republic suffered no harm." In the same year, moreover, as both consuls had fallen in war, the people elected me consul and a triumvir for settling the constitution.

2 Those who slew my father I drove into exile, punishing their deed by due process of law, and afterwards when they waged war upon the republic I twice defeated them in battle.

3 Wars, both civil and foreign, I undertook throughout the world, on sea and land, and when victorious I spared all citizens who sued for pardon. The foreign nations which could with safety be pardoned I preferred to save rather than to destroy. The number of Roman citizens who bound themselves to me by military oath was about 500,000. Of these I settled in colonies or sent back into their own towns, after their term of service, something more than 300,000, and to all I assigned lands, or gave money as a reward for military service. I captured six hundred ships, over and above those which were smaller than triremes.

4 Twice I triumphed with an ovation, thrice I celebrated curule triumphs, and was saluted as imperator twenty-one times. Although the Senate decreed me additional triumphs I set them aside. When I had performed the vows which I had undertaken in each war I deposited upon the Capitol the laurels which adorned my fasces. For successful operations on land and sea, conducted either by myself or by my lieutenants under my auspices, the senate on fifty-five occasions decreed that thanks should be rendered to the immortal gods. The days on which such thanks were rendered by decree of the senate numbered 890. In my triumphs there were led before my chariot nine kings or children of kings. At the time of writing these words I had been thirteen times consul, and was in the thirty-seventh year of my tribunician power.

5 The dictatorship offered me by the people and the Roman Senate, in my absence and later when present, in the consulship of Marcus Marcellus and Lucius Arruntius I did not accept. I did not decline at a time of the greatest scarcity of grain the charge of the grain-supply, which I so administered that, within a few days, I freed the entire people, at my own expense, from the fear and danger in which they were. The consulship, either yearly or for life, then offered me I did not accept.

6 In the consulship of Marcus Vinucius and Quintus Lucretius, and afterwards in that of Publius and Gnaeus Lentulus, and a third time in that of Paullus Fabius Maximus and Quintus Tubero, when the Senate and the Roman people unanimously agreed that I should be elected overseer of laws and morals, without a colleague and with the fullest power, I refused to accept any power offered me which was contrary to the traditions of our ancestors. Those things which at that time the senate wished me to administer I carried out by virtue of my tribunician power. And even in this office I five times received from the senate a colleague at my own request.

7 For ten years in succession I was one of the triumvirs for the re-establishment of the constitution. To the day of writing this I have been princeps senatus for forty years. I have been pontifex maximus, augur, a member of the fifteen commissioners for performing sacred rites, one of the seven for sacred feasts, an arval brother, a sodalis Titius, a fetial priest.

8 As consul for the fifth time, by order of the people and the senate I increased the number of the patricians. Three times I

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revised the roll of the senate. In my sixth consulship, with Marcus Agrippa as my colleague, I made a census of the people. I performed the lustrum after an interval of forty-one years. In this lustration 4,063,000 Roman citizens were entered on the census roll. A second time, in the consulship of Gaius Censorinus and Gaius Asinius, I again performed the lustrum alone, with the consular imperium. In this lustrum 4,233,000 Roman citizens were entered on the census roll. A third time, with the consular imperium, and with my son Tiberius Caesar as my colleague, I performed the lustrum in the consulship of Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Apuleius. In this lustrum 4,937,000 Roman citizens were entered on the census roll. By the passage of new laws I restored many traditions of our ancestors which were then falling into disuse, and I myself set precedents in many things for posterity to imitate.

9 The senate decreed that every fifth year vows should be undertaken for my health by the consuls and the priests. In fulfilment of these vows games were often held in my lifetime, sometimes by the four chief colleges of priests, sometimes by the consuls. In addition the entire body of citizens with one accord, both individually and by municipalities, performed continued sacrifices for my health at all the couches of the gods.

10 By decree of the senate my name was included in the Salian hymn*, and it was enacted by law that my person should be sacred in perpetuity and that so long as I lived I should hold the tribunician power. [Mentioned by Dio, 51.20: "When the letter came concerning the Parthians (29 BC), they further arranged that his name should be included in their hymns equally with gods."] I declined to be made Pontifex Maximus in succession to a colleague still living, when the people tendered me that priesthood which my father had held. Several years later I accepted that sacred office when he at last was dead who, taking advantage of a time of civil disturbance, had seized it for himself, such a multitude from all Italy assembling for my election, in the consulship of Publius Sulpicius and Gaius Valgius, as is never recorded to have been in Rome before.

11 The Senate consecrated in honour of my return an altar to Fortuna Redux at the Porta Capena, near the temple of Honour and Virtue, on which it ordered the pontiffs and the Vestal virgins to perform a yearly sacrifice on the anniversary of the day on which I returned to the city from Syria, in the consulship of Quintus Lucretius and Marcus Vinucius, and named the day, after my cognomen, the Augustalia.

12 At the same time, by decree of the senate, part of the praetors and of the tribunes of the people, together with the consul Quintus Lucretius and the leading men of the state, were sent to Campania to meet me, an honour which up to the present time has been decreed to no one except myself. When I returned from Spain and Gaul, in the consulship of Tiberius Nero and Publius Quintilius, after successful operations in those provinces, the senate voted in honour of my return the consecration of an altar to Pax Augusta in the Campus Martius, and on this altar it ordered the magistrates and priests and Vestal virgins to make annual sacrifice.

13 Janus Quirinus, which our ancestors ordered to be closed whenever there was peace, secured by victory, throughout the whole domain of the Roman people on land and sea, and which, before my birth is recorded to have been closed but twice in all since the foundation of the city, the senate ordered to be closed thrice while I was princeps.

14 My sons Gaius and Lucius Caesar, whom fortune snatched away from me in their youth, the senate and the Roman people to do me honour made consuls designate, each in his fifteenth year, providing that each should enter upon that office after a period of five years. The senate decreed that from the day on which they were introduced to the forum they should take part in the counsels of state. Moreover, the entire body of Roman knights gave each of them the title of princeps iuventutis and presented them with silver shields and spears.

15 To the Roman plebs I paid out three hundred sesterces per man in accordance with the will of my father, and in my own name in my fifth consulship I gave four hundred sesterces apiece from the spoils of war; a second time, moreover, in my tenth consulship I paid out of my own patrimony four hundred sesterces per man by way of bounty, and in my eleventh consulship I made twelve distributions of food from grain bought at my own expense and in the twelfth year of my tribunician power I gave for the third time four hundred sesterces to each man. These largesses of mine reached a number of persons never less than two hundred and fifty thousand. In the eighteenth year of my tribunician power, as consul for the twelfth time, I gave to three hundred and twenty thousand of the city plebs sixty denarii apiece. In the colonies of my soldiers, as consul for the fifth time, I gave one thousand sesterces to each man from the spoils of war; about one hundred and twenty thousand men in the colonies received this triumphal largesse. When consul for the thirteenth time I gave sixty denarii apiece to the plebs who were then receiving public grain; these were a little more than two hundred thousand persons.

16 To the municipal towns I paid money for the lands which I assigned to soldiers in my own fourth consulship and afterwards in the consulship of Marcus Crassus and Gnaeus Lentulus the augur. The sum which I paid for estates in Italy was about six hundred million sesterces, and the amount which I paid for lands in the provinces was about two hundred and sixty million. I was the first and only one to do this of all those who up to my time settled colonies of soldiers in Italy or in the provinces. And later, in the consulship of Tiberius Nero and Gnaeus Piso, likewise in the consulship of Gaius Antistius and Decimus Laelius, and of Gaius Calvisius and Lucius Pasienus, and of Lucius Lentulus and Marcus Messalla, and of Lucius Caninius and Quintus Fabricius, I paid cash gratuities to the soldiers whom I settled in their own towns at the expiration of their service, and for this purpose I expended four hundred million sesterces as an act of grace.

17 Four times I aided the public treasury with my own money, paying out in this manner to those in charge of the treasury one hundred and fifty million sesterces. And in the consulship of Marcus Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius I contributed one hundred and seventy million sesterces out of my own patrimony to the military treasury, which was established on my advice that from it gratuities might be paid to soldiers who had seen twenty or more years of service.

18 Beginning with the year in which Gnaeus and Publius Lentulus were consuls, whenever taxes were in arrears, I furnished from my own purse and my own patrimony tickets for grain and money, sometimes to a hundred thousand persons, sometimes to many more.

19 I built the curia and the Chalcidicum adjoining it, the temple of Apollo on the Palatine with its porticoes, the temple of the deified Julius [At the eastern end of the Forum, on the site where Caesar's body was burned.], the Lupercal, the portico at the Circus Flaminius which I allowed to be called Octavia after the name of him who had constructed an earlier one on the same site, the state box at the Circus Maximus, the temples on the capitol of Jupiter Feretrius and Jupiter Tonans, the temple of Quirinus, the temples of Minerva, of Juno the Queen, and of Jupiter Libertas, on the Aventine, the temple of the Lares at the highest point of the Sacra Via, the temple of the Di Penates on the Velia, the temple of Youth, and the temple of the Great Mother on the Palatine.

20 The Capitolium81 and the theatre of Pompey, both works involving great expense, I rebuilt without any inscription of my own name. I restored the channels of the aqueducts which in several places were falling into disrepair through age, and doubled the capacity of the aqueduct called the Marcia by turning a new spring into its channel. I completed the Julian Forum and the basilica which was between the temple of Castor and the temple of Saturn, works begun and far advanced by my father, and when the same basilica was destroyed by fire I began its reconstruction on an enlarged site, to be inscribed with the names of my sons, and ordered that in case I should not live to complete it, it should be completed by my heirs. In my sixth consulship, in accordance with a decree of the senate, I rebuilt in the city eighty-two temples of the gods, omitting none which at that time stood in need of repair. As consul for the seventh time I constructed the Via Flaminia from the city to Ariminum, and all the bridges except the Mulvian and the Minucian.

21 On my own ground I built the temple of Mars Ultor and the Augustan Forum from the spoils of war. On ground purchased for the most part from private owners I built the theatre near the temple of Apollo which was to bear the name of my son-in law Marcus Marcellus. From the spoils of war I consecrated offerings on the Capitol, and in the temple of the divine Julius, and in the temple of Apollo, and in the temple of Vesta, and in the temple of Mars Ultor, which cost me about one hundred million sesterces. In my fifth consulship I remitted thirty-five thousand pounds weight of coronary gold contributed by the municipia and the colonies of Italy, and thereafter, whenever I was saluted as imperator, I did not accept the coronary gold, although the municipia and colonies voted it in the same kindly spirit as before.

22 Three times in my own name I gave a show of gladiators, and five times in the name of my sons or grandsons; in these shows there fought about ten thousand men Twice in my own name I furnished for the people an exhibition of athletes gathered from all parts of the world, and a third time in the name of my grandson. Four times I gave games in my own name; as representing other magistrates twenty-three times. For the college of quindecemvirs, as master of that college and with Marcus Agrippa as my colleague, I conducted the Secular Games in the consulship of Gaius Furnius and Marcus Silanus. In my thirteenth consulship I gave, for the first time, the games of Mars, which, since that time, the consuls by decree of the senate have given in successive years in conjunction with me. In my own name, or that of my sons or grandsons, on twenty-six occasions I gave to the people, in the circus, in the forum, or in the amphitheatre, hunts of African wild beasts, in which about three thousand five hundred beasts were slain.

23 I gave the people the spectacle of a naval battle beyond the Tiber, at the place where now stands the grove of the Caesars, the ground having been excavated for •a length of eighteen hundred and a breadth of twelve hundred feet. In this spectacle thirty beaked ships, triremes or biremes, and a large number of smaller vessels met in conflict. In these fleets there fought about three thousand men exclusive of the rowers.

24 After my victory I replaced in the temples in all the cities of the province of Asia the ornaments which my antagonist in the war, when he despoiled the temples, had appropriated to his private use. Silver statues of me, on foot, on horseback, and in chariots were erected in the city to the number of about eighty; these I myself removed, and from the money thus obtained I placed in the temple of Apollo golden offerings in my own name and in the name of those who had paid me the honour of a statue.

25 I freed the sea from pirates. About thirty thousand slaves, captured in that war, who had run away from their masters and had taken up arms against the republic, I delivered to their masters for punishment. The whole of Italy voluntarily took oath of allegiance to me and demanded me as its leader in the war in which I was victorious at Actium. The provinces of the Spains, the Gauls, Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia took the same oath of allegiance. Those who served under my standards at that time included more than 700 senators, and among them eighty-three who had previously or have since been consuls up to the day on which these words were written, and about 170 have been priests.

26 I extended the boundaries of all the provinces which were bordered by races not yet subject to our empire. The provinces of the Gauls, the Spains, and Germany, bounded by the ocean from Gades to the mouth of the Elbe, I reduced to a state of peace. The Alps, from the region which lies nearest to the Adriatic as far as the Tuscan Sea, I brought to a state of peace without waging on any tribe an unjust war. My fleet sailed from the mouth of the Rhine eastward as far as the lands of the Cimbri to which, up to that time, no Roman had ever penetrated either by land or by sea, and the Cimbri and Charydes and Semnones and other peoples of the Germans of that same region through their envoys sought my friendship and that of the Roman people. On my order and under my auspices two armies were led, at almost the same time, into Ethiopia and into Arabia which is called the "Happy," and very large forces of the enemy of both races were cut to pieces in battle and many towns were captured. Ethiopia was penetrated as far as the town of Nabata, which is next to Meroë. In Arabia the army advanced into the territories of the Sabaei to the town of Mariba.

27 Egypt I added to the empire of the Roman people. In the case of Greater Armenia, though I might have made it a province after the assassination of its King Artaxes, I preferred, following the precedent of our fathers, to hand that kingdom over to Tigranes, the son of King Artavasdes, and grandson of King Tigranes, through Tiberius Nero who was then my stepson. And later, when the same people revolted and rebelled, and was subdued by my son Gaius, I gave it over to King Ariobarzanes the son of Artabazus, King of the Medes, to rule, and after his death to his son Artavasdes. When he was murdered I sent into that kingdom Tigranes, who was sprung from the royal family of the Armenians. I recovered all the provinces extending eastward beyond the Adriatic Sea, and Cyrenae, which were then for the most part in possession of kings, and, at an earlier time, Sicily and Sardinia, which had been seized in the servile war.

28 I settled colonies of soldiers in Africa, Sicily, Macedonia, both Spains, Achaea, Asia, Syria, Gallia Narbonensis, Pisidia. Moreover, Italy has twenty-eight colonies founded under my auspices which have grown to be famous and populous during my lifetime.

29 From Spain, Gaul, and the Dalmatians, I recovered, after conquering the enemy, many military standards which had been lost by other generals. The Parthians I compelled to restore to me the spoils and standards of three Roman armies, and to seek as suppliants the friendship of the Roman people. These standards I deposited in the inner shrine which is in the Temple of Mars Ultor.

30 The tribes of the Pannonians, to which no army of the Roman people had ever penetrated before my principate, having been subdued by Tiberius Nero who was then my stepson and my legate, I brought under the sovereignty of the Roman people, and I pushed forward the frontier of Illyricum as far as the bank of the river Danube. An army of Dacians which crossed to the south of that river was, under my auspices, defeated and crushed, and afterwards my own army was led across the Danube and compelled the tribes of the Dacians to submit to the orders of the Roman people.

31 Embassies were often sent to me from the kings of India [2 such delegations are mentioned: the first while Augustus was in Spain, 26-25 BC; the second visited him at Samos, 20 BC], a thing never seen before in the camp of any general of the Romans. Our friendship was sought, through ambassadors, by the Bastarnae and Scythians [The Bastarnae were a Germanic people then settled at the mouth of the Danube. The Scythians lived in Southern Russia.], and by the kings of the Sarmatians who live on either side of the river

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Tanais, and by the king of the Albani and of the Hiberi and of the Medes.

32 Kings of the Parthians, Tiridates, and later Phrates, the son of King Phrates, took refuge with me as suppliants; of the Medes, Artavasdes; of the Adiabeni, Artaxares; of the Britons, Dumnobellaunus and Tim[. . .] of the Sugambri, Maelo; of the Marcomanni and Suevi [. . .]rus. Phrates, son of Orodes, king of the Parthians, sent all his sons and grandsons to me in Italy, not because he had been conquered in war, but rather seeking our friendship by means of his own children as pledges. And a large number of other nations experienced the good faith of the Roman people during my principate who never before had had any interchange of embassies or of friendship with the Roman people.

33 From me the peoples of the Parthians and of the Medes received the kings for whom they asked through ambassadors, the chief men of those peoples; the Parthians Vonones, son of King Phrates, grandson of King Orodes; the Medes Ariobarzanes, the son of King Atavazdes, grandson of King Ariobarzanes.

34 In my sixth and seventh consulships, when I had extinguished the flames of civil war, after receiving by universal consent the absolute control of affairs, I transferred the republic from my own control to the will of the senate and the Roman people. For this service on my part I was given the title of Augustus by decree of the senate, and the doorposts of my house were covered with laurels by public act, and a civic crown was fixed above my door, and a golden shield was placed in the Curia Julia whose inscription testified that the senate and the Roman people gave me this in recognition of my valour, my clemency, my justice, and my piety. After that time I took precedence of all in rank, but of power I possessed no more than those who were my colleagues in any magistracy.

35 While I was administering my thirteenth consulship the senate and the equestrian order and the entire Roman people gave me the title of Father of my Country, and decreed that this title should be inscribed upon the vestibule of my house and in the senate-house and in the Forum Augustum beneath the quadriga erected in my honour by decree of the senate. At the time of writing this I was in my seventy-sixth year.

Supplement [not by Augustus]

1 The sum total of the money which he contributed to the treasury or to the Roman plebs or to discharged soldiers was 600,000,000 denarii.

2 The new works which he built were: the temple of Mars, of Jupiter Tonans and Feretrius, of Apollo, of the Deified Julius, of Quirinus, of Minerva, of Juno the queen, of Jupiter Libertas, of the Lares, of the Di Penates, of Youth, of the Mother of the gods, the Lupercal, the state box at the circus, the senate-house with the Chalcidicum, the Augustan Forum, the Basilica Julia, the theatre of Marcellus, [. . .] the grove of the Caesars beyond the Tiber.

3 He restored the Capitol and sacred buildings to the number of eighty-two, the theatre of Pompey, the aqueducts, the Flaminian Way.

4 The expenditures provided for theatrical shows, gladiatorial sports, for exhibitions of athletes, for hunts of wild beasts, and the naval combat, and his gifts to colonies in Italy, to cities in the provinces which had been destroyed by earthquake or conflagration, or to individual friends and senators, whose property he raised to the required rating, are too numerous to be reckoned.

THE TEMPLE WARNING INSCRIPTION
Material: Limestone
Script and Language: Greek
Discovered by Charles Simon Clermont-Ganneau: 1871
Istanbul Archaeology Museums, Identification: 2196 T
Translation: Charles Simon Clermont-Ganneau, 1872
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 23 BC – 70 AD

(The Temple Warning Inscription, also known as the Temple Balustrade Inscription or the Soreg Inscription, is an inscription that hung along the balustrade outside the Sanctuary of the Second Temple in Jerusalem. Two of these tablets have been found.

A complete tablet was discovered in 1871 by Charles Simon Clermont-Ganneau, in the ad-Dawadariya school just outside the al-Atim Gate to the Temple Mount, and published by the Palestine Exploration Fund. Following the discovery of the inscription, it was taken by the Ottoman authorities, and it is currently in the Istanbul Archaeology Museums.

A partial fragment of a less well made version of the inscription was found in 1936 by J. H. Iliffe during the excavation of a new road outside Jerusalem's Lions' Gate; it is held in the Israel Museum. During work on the construction of a new road outside St. Stephen's Gate, Jerusalem, by the Municipality of Jerusalem, during December 1935, the remains of a vaulted building of late Roman or Byzantine date were found. Beneath this building was an unpretentious tomb-chamber, cut in the rock, with the (shallow) graves excavated in the floor; it was approached by a stairway in the familiar manner and yielded a number of pottery lamps of a mid-fourth-century A.D. type.' An apparently rebuilt wall belonging to the vaulted building (itself evidently later than the fourth-century tomb below) yielded a fragment of a stone bearing a Greek inscription, which, on examination, proved to be a second copy of the Greek text of the stelae erected around the inner court of the Temple of Herod, forbidding foreigners, or Gentiles to enter, on pain of death. . . It is possible that this second inscription may have been intended for a less conspicuous position than the Clermont-Ganneau copy, and may have been made by an inferior workman.

The two inscriptions were made as warning to pagan visitors to the temple not to proceed further. Both Greek and Latin inscriptions on the temple's balustrade served as warnings to pagan visitors not to proceed under penalty of death. Two authentic tablets have been found, one complete, and the other a partial fragment with missing sections, but with letters showing signs of the red paint that had originally highlighted the text. It was described by the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1872 as being "very nearly in the words of Titus Flavius Josephus".

The reason for displaying these warnings were meant seriously as any non-Jew was considered "impure" and dirty in body and in mind. Before the First Roman-Jewish War [66-73 AD] already, Jews were obsessed with purification of body and mind, a teaching which they have most likely learned from the Zoroastrians while they were held in Babylonian Captivity. Impure people were males who were not circumcised and did not obey kosher food law; this law was extended by the Jewish Messianic Movement to all those who propagated the rejection of those Laws of Moses given in the Torah. Saul of Tarsos [Paul the Apostle] experienced the consequencscs as he was approaching the Temple-area to meet James the Brother of Jesus and caused riots from which he had to be rescued by Roman soldiers [Acts 21:16 to 26:32]. These laws still exist today and are observed by all Jews, and as Islam is a direct successor to Judaism, also by all Muslims.)

Original Greek text:
ΜΗΘΕΝΑ ΑΛΛΟΓΕΝΗ ΕΙΣΠΟ
ΡΕΥΕΣΘΑΙ ΕΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΕ
ΡΙ ΤΟ ΙΕΡΟΝ ΤΡΥΦΑΚΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ
ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΥ ΟΣ ΔΑΝ ΛΗ
ΦΘΗΕ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΑΙΤΙΟΣ ΕΣ
ΤΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΕΞΑΚΟΛΟΥ
ΘΕΙΝ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ

English Translation:
NO STRANGER IS TO ENTER
WITHIN THE BALUSTRADE ROUND
THE TEMPLE AND
ENCLOSURE. WHOEVER IS CAUGHT
WILL BE HIMSELF RESPONSIBLE
FOR HIS ENSUING
DEATH. [see Acts 21:27–29]

THE GABRIEL INSCRIPTION
or Gabriel's Revelation
Hazon Gabriel (the Vision of Gabriel)
Source: Jeselsohn Stone, Switzerland
Translation: Ada Yardeni, 2008; Israel Knohl, 2011
Estimated Range of Dating: 1st century BC

(A tablet, known as the Gabriel's Revelation or the Jeselsohn Stone, was likely found near the Dead Sea some time around the year 2000. It has been associated with the same community which created the Dead Sea scrolls, but does not mention Simon. Israel Knohl formerly read the inscription as a command from the angel Gabriel "to rise from the dead within three days". He took this command to be directed at a 1st-century Jewish rebel called Simon, who was killed by the Romans in 4 BC. Knohl believed that the finding "calls for a complete reassessment of all previous scholarship on the subject of messianism, Jewish and Christian alike".

The Gabriel Inscription or Gabriel's Revelation, also called Hazon Gabriel (the Vision of Gabriel) or the Jeselsohn Stone, is a stone tablet with 87 lines of Hebrew text written with ink in Aramaic Script, containing a collection of short prophecies written in the first person. It is dated to the late 1st century BC or early 1st century AD and is considered important for understanding Jewish messianic expectations in the Second Temple period. It was most likely found in an area called Peraea [Greek: beyond the river meaning today's Jordan.]

The unprovenanced tablet was likely found near the Dead Sea some time around the year 2000. It is located in Zurich, in the possession of Dr. David Jeselsohn, a Swiss–Israeli collector, who bought it from a Jordanian antiquities dealer. At the time, he was unaware of its significance. Expert Hebrew paleographer and epigrapher Ada Yardeni reports that she first saw photographs of the tablet in 2003.

As this stone slab was not dug up by archaeologists but by grave robbers who sold their find to an art dealer, its origin was first not clear. And art dealers are not in the habit to talk about their loot or their clients. In Moussaieff's antiquities collection there are several slabs that are almost identical in writing style and size. They are all from the Jordanian side of the Dead Sea, from Peraea.

Gabriel's Revelation is a grey micritic limestone tablet with 87 lines of Hebrew text written in ink. It measures 37 centimetres in width by 93 or 96 centimetres in height. While the front of the stone is polished, the back is rough, suggesting it was mounted in a wall. The writing is a collection of short prophecies written in the first person by someone identifying as Gabriel to someone else in the second person singular. The writing has been dated to the 1st century BC or the early 1st century AD by its script and language. A physical analysis of the stone found no evidence of modern treatment of the surface, and found the attached soil most consistent with the area east of the Lisan Peninsula of the Dead Sea. The text as a whole is unknown from other sources; it is fragmentary, so the meaning is quite uncertain. It is considered very similar to the Dead Sea scrolls. Both are written in ink, on both the text is written in two columns, and both have their Aramaic letter hanging from the upper guidelines. The artifact is relatively rare in its use of ink on stone. Most scholars have tentatively accepted it to be authentic. The stone has received wide attention in the media.

The finding has caused controversy among scholars. Israel Knohl, an expert in Talmudic and biblical language at Jerusalem's Hebrew University, translated line 80 of the inscription as "In three days, live, I Gabriel com[mand] yo[u]". He interpreted this as a command from the angel Gabriel to rise from the dead within three days, and understood the recipient of this command to be Simon of Peraea or Simon son of Joseph who was a former slave of Herod the Great, a Jewish rebel leader, a messiah, who was killed in battle by the Romans in 4 BC. Knohl accepted that "sign" is a more probable reading than "live", although he maintains that "live" is a possible reading. He asserted that the finding "calls for a complete reassessment of all previous scholarship on the subject of messianism, Jewish and Christian alike". Knohl views Simon's death, according to the inscription, as "an essential part of the redemptive process. The blood of the slain messiah paves the way for the final salvation". Simon of Peraea is mentioned by Titus Flavius Josephus and Cornelius Tacitus and his story may well prove that Jesus was not the first messiah who "died and resurected".

Gabriel's Revelation is considered important for broader scholarly discussion about Jewish messianic expectations in the Second Temple Period, specifically the themes of the suffering messiah and the Messiah ben Joseph, both of which are otherwise believed to be later developments. as well as the Davidic messiah.)

Translation (untranslated Semitic sounds in CAPITAL LETTERS. The Tetragrammaton YHWH for God is written out here as Yahweh. Questionmarks removed)

Column A

(Lines 1-6 are unintelligible)

7. […]the sons of Israel …[…]…

8. […]… […]…

9. […]the word of Yahwe[h …]…[…]

10. […]… I \ you asked …

11. Yahweh (God), you ask me. Thus said the Lord of Hosts:

12. […]… from my house, Israel, and I will tell the greatness(es) of Jerusalem.

13. [Thus] said Yahweh, the Lord of Israel: Behold, all the nations are

14. … against \ to Jerusalem and …,

15. one, two, three, fourty prophets and the returners,

16. [and] the Hasidin. My servant, David, asked from before Ephraim

17. [to] put the sign I ask from you. Because He said, (namely,)

18. [Ya]hweh of Hosts, the Lord of Israel: …

19. sanctity\sanctify Israel! In three days you shall know, that \ for He said,

20. (namely,) Yahweh the Lord of Hosts, the Lord of Israel: The evil broke (down)

21. before justice. Ask me and I will tell you what this bad plant is,

22. LWBNSD/R/K (= [To me in libation]) you are standing, the messenger\angel. He

23. … (= will ordain you) to Torah. Blessed be the Glory of Yahweh the Lord, from

24. his seat. “In a little while”, QYTUT (= a brawl \ tiny) it is, “and I will shake the

25. … of heaven and the earth”. Here is the Glory of Yahweh the Lord of

26. Hosts, the Lord of Israel. These are the chariots, seven,

27. unto the gate of Jerusalem, and the gates of Judah, and … for the

sake of

28. … His angel, Michael, and to all the others ask \ asked

29. …. Thus He said, Yahweh the Lord of Hosts, the Lord of

30. Israel: One, two, three, four, five, six,

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31. seven, these are His angel …. 'What is it', said the blossom \ diadem)
32. …[…]… and (the) … (= leader / ruler), the second,
33. … Jerusalem…. three, in \ of the greatnesses of
34. […]…[…]…
35. […]…, who saw a man … working and […]…
36. that he … […]… from Jerusalem
37. … on … the exile of …,
38. the exile of …, Lord …, and I will see
39. …[…] Jerusalem, He will say, Yahweh of
40. Hosts, …
41. […]… that will lift …
42. […]… in all the
43. […]…
44. […]…

Column B
(Lines 45-50 are unintelligible)
51. Your people \ with you …[…]
52. … the messengers \ angels […]…
53. on\against His / My people. And …[…]…
54. […]three days. This is (that) which …[…]He
55. the Lord \ these[…]…[…]
56. see …[…]
57. closed. The blood of the slaughters \ sacrifices of Jerusalem. For He said, Yahweh of Hosts,
58. the Lord of Israel: For He said, Yahweh of Hosts, the Lord of
59. Israel: …
60. […]… me the spirit \ wind of …
61. …[…]…
62. in it …[…]…[…]
63. …[…]…[…]
64. …[…]… loved/… …[…]
65. The three saints of the world \ eternity from \ of …[…]
66. […]… peace he said, to\in you we trust …
67. Inform him of the blood of this chariot of them …[…]
68. Many lovers He has, Yahweh of Hosts, the Lord of Israel …
69. Thus He said, (namely,) Yahweh of Hosts, the Lord of Israel …:
70. Prophets have I sent to my people, three. And I say
71. that I have seen …[…]…
72. the place for the sake of David the servant of Yahweh […]…[…]
73. the heaven and the earth. Blessed be …[…]
74. men. “Showing mercy unto thousands”, … mercy […].
75. Three shepherds went out to/of Israel …[…].
76. If there is a priest, if there are sons of saints …[…]
77. Who am I, I (am) Gabriel the …(=angel)… […]
78. You will save them, …[…]…
79. from before You, the three signs, three …[….]
80. In three days live, I, Gabriel …,
81. the Prince of Princes, …, narrow holes …[…]…
82. to / for … […]… and the …
83. to me, out of three - the small one, whom I took, I, Gabriel.
84. Yahweh of Hosts, the Lord of [Israel …]…[….]
85. Then you will stand …[…]…
86. …\
87. in … eternity /…

4 Translations of line 80, Detailed:
A.) "In three days, live, I Gabriel com[mand] yo[u]" (Knohl 2008c)
B.) "In three days the sign will be [given]. I am Gabriel..." (Qimron & Yuditsky 2009, p. 36)
C.) "In three days ..., I, Gabriel... ," (Yardeni & Elizur 2011, p. 17)
D.) "By three days, the sign. I Gabriel … " (Knohl 2011, p. 59)

THE CREATION OF THE PHOENICIAN PANTHEON
Eusebius of Caesarea: Book 1 – Chapter X
Source: Eusebius of Caesarea: Praeparatio Evangelica, Book 1. Chapters 9 and 10.
Translation: Anonymus
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 300 AD

(Description: This text describes the Phoenician story of creation and their Pantheon. It may be significant because it throws light on the religious beliefs of Canaanites as well.)

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA CHAPTER 9

. . . . . Now the historian of this subject is Sanchuniathon, an author of great antiquity, and older, as they say, than the Trojan times, one whom they testify to have been approved for the accuracy and truth of his Phoenician History. Philo of Byblos, not the Hebrew, translated his whole work from the Phoenician language into the Greek, and published it. The author in our own day of the compilation against us mentions these things in the fourth book of his treatise Against the Christians, where he bears the following testimony to Sanchuniathon, word for word:

[PORPHYRY] 'Of the affairs of the Jews the truest history, because the most in accordance with their places and names, is that of Sanchuniathon of Berytus, who received the records from Hierombalus the priest of the god Ieuo; he dedicated his history to Abibalus king of Berytus, and was approved by him and by the investigators of truth in his time. Now the times of these men fall even before the date of the Trojan war, and approach nearly to the times of Moses, as is shown by the successions of the kings of Phoenicia. And Sanchuniathon, who made a complete collection of ancient history from the records in the various cities and from the registers in the temples, and wrote in the Phoenician language with a love of truth, lived in the reign of Semiramis, the queen of the Assyrians, who is recorded to have lived before the Trojan war or in those very times. And the works of Sanchuniathon were translated into the Greek tongue by Philo of Byblos.'

So wrote the author before mentioned, bearing witness at once to the truthfulness and antiquity of the so-called theologian. But he, as he goes forward, treats as divine not the God who is over all, nor yet the gods in the heaven, but mortal men and women, not even refined in character, such as it would be right to approve for their virtue, or emulate for their love of wisdom, but involved in the dishonour of every kind of vileness and wickedness.

He testifies also that these are the very same who are still regarded as gods by all both in the cities and in country districts. But let me give you the proofs of this out of his writings.

Philo then, having divided the whole work of Sanchuniathon into nine books, in the introduction to the first book makes this preface concerning Sanchuniathon, word for word:

[PHILO] 'These things being so, Sanchuniathon, who was a man of much learning and great curiosity, and desirous of knowing the earliest history of all nations from the creation of the world, searched out with great care the history of Taautus, knowing that of all men under the sun Taautus was the first who thought of the invention of letters, and began the writing of records: and he laid the foundation, as it were, of his history, by beginning with him, whom the Egyptians called Thoyth, and the Alexandrians Thoth, translated by the Greeks into Hermes.'

After these statements he finds fault with the more recent authors as violently and untruly reducing the legends concerning the gods to allegories and physical explanations and theories; and so he goes on to say:

'But the most recent of the writers on religion rejected the real events from the beginning, and having invented allegories and myths, and formed a fictitious affinity to the cosmical phenomena, established mysteries, and overlaid them with a cloud of absurdity, so that one cannot easily discern what really occurred: but he having lighted upon the collections of secret writings of the Ammoneans which were discovered in the shrines and of course were not known to all men, applied himself diligently to the study of them all; and when he had completed the investigation, he put aside the original myth and the allegories, and so completed his proposed work; until the priests who followed in later times wished to hide this away again, and to restore the mythical character; from which time mysticism began to rise up, not having previously reached the Greeks.'

Next to this he says:

'These things I have discovered in my anxious desire to know the history of the Phoenicians, and after a thorough investigation of much matter, not that which is found among the Greeks, for that is contradictory, and compiled by some in a contentious spirit rather than with a view to truth.'

And after other statements:

'And the conviction that the facts were as he has described them came to me, on seeing the disagreement among the Greeks: concerning which I have carefully composed three books bearing the title Paradoxical History.'

And again after other statements he adds:

'But with a view to clearness hereafter, and the determination of particulars, it is necessary to state distinctly beforehand that the most ancient of the barbarians, and especially the Phoenicians and Egyptians, from whom the rest of mankind received their traditions, regarded as the greatest gods those who had discovered the necessaries of life, or in some way done good to the nations. Esteeming these as benefactors and authors of many blessings, they worshipped them also as gods after their death, and built shrines, and consecrated pillars and staves after their names: these the Phoenicians held in great reverence, and assigned to them their greatest festivals. Especially they applied the names of their kings to the elements of the cosmos, and to some of those who were regarded as gods. But they knew no other gods than those of nature, sun, and moon, and the rest of the wandering stars, and the elements and things connected with them, so that some of their gods were mortal and some immortal.'

Philo having explained these points in his preface, next begins his interpretation of Sanchuniathon by setting forth the theology of the Phoenicians as follows:

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA CHAPTER 10

'The first principle of the universe he supposes to have been air dark with cloud and wind, or rather a blast of cloudy air, and a turbid chaos dark as Erebus; and these were boundless and for long ages had no limit. But when the wind, says he, became enamoured of its own parents, and a mixture took place, that connexion was called Desire. This was the beginning of the creation of all things: but the wind itself had no knowledge of its own creation. From its connexion Mot was produced, which some say is mud, and others a putrescence of watery compound; and out of this came every germ of creation, and the generation of the universe. So there were certain animals which had no sensation, and out of them grew intelligent animals, and were called "Zophasemin," that is "observers of heaven"; and they were formed like the shape of an egg. Also Mot burst forth into light, and sun, and moon, and stars, and the great constellations.'

Such was their cosmogony, introducing downright atheism. But let us see next how he states the generation of animals to have arisen. He says, then:

'And when the air burst into light, both the sea and the land became heated, and thence arose winds and clouds, and very great downpours and floods of the waters of heaven. So after they were separated, and removed from their proper place because of the sun's heat, and all met together again in the air dashing together one against another, thunderings and lightnings were produced, and at the rattle of the thunder the intelligent animals already described woke up, and were scared at the sound, and began to move both on land and sea, male and female.'

Such is their theory of the generation of animals. Next after this the same writer adds and says:

'These things were found written in the cosmogony of Taautus, and in his Commentaries, both from conjectures, and from evidences which his intellect discerned, and discovered, and made clear to us.'

Next to this, after mentioning the names of the winds Notos and Boreas and the rest, he continues:

'But these were the first who consecrated the productions of the earth, and regarded them as gods, and worshipped them as being the support of life both to themselves, and to those who were to come after them, and to all before them, and they offered to them drink-offerings and libations.'

He adds also:

'These were their notions of worship, corresponding to their own weakness, and timidity of soul. Then he says that from the wind Colpias and his wife Baau (which he translates "Night") were born Aeon and Protogonus, mortal men, so called: and that Aeon discovered the food obtained from trees. That their offspring were called Genos and Genea, and inhabited Phoenicia: and that when droughts occurred, they stretched out their hands to heaven towards the sun; for him alone (he says) they regarded as god the lord of heaven, calling him Beelsamen, which is in the Phoenician language "lord of heaven," and in Greek "Zeus."'

And after this he charges the Greeks with error, saying:

'For it is not without cause that we have explained these things in many ways, but in view of the later misinterpretations of the names in the history, which the Greeks in ignorance took in a wrong sense, being deceived by the ambiguity of the translation.'

Afterwards he says:

'From Genos, son of Aeon and Protogonus, were begotten again mortal children, whose names are Light, and Fire, and Flame. These, says he, discovered fire from rubbing pieces of wood together, and taught the use of it. And they begat sons of surpassing size and stature, whose names were applied to the mountains which they occupied: so that from them were named mount Cassius, and Libanus, and Antilibanus, and Brathy. From these, he says, were begotten Memrumus and Hypsuranius; and they got their names, he says, from their mothers, as the women in those days had free intercourse with any whom they met.'

Then he says:

'Hypsuranius inhabited Tyre, and contrived huts out of reeds and rushes and papyrus: and he quarrelled with his brother Ousous, who first invented a covering for the body from skins of wild beasts which he was strong enough to capture. And when furious rains and winds occurred, the trees in Tyre were rubbed against each other and caught fire, and burnt down the wood that was there. And Ousous took a tree, and, having stripped off the branches, was the first who ventured to embark on the sea; and be consecrated two pillars to fire and wind, and worshipped them, and poured libations

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of blood upon them from the wild beasts which he took in hunting.

'But when Hypsuranius and Ousous were dead, those who were left, he says, consecrated staves to them, and year by year worshipped their pillars and kept festivals in their honour. But many years afterwards from the race of Ilypsuranius were born Agreus and Halieus, the inventors of hunting and fishing, from whom were named huntsmen and fishermen: and from them were bom two brethren, discoverers of iron and the mode of working it; the one of whom, Chrysor, practised oratory, and incantations, and divinations: and that he was Hephaestus, and invented the hook, and bait, and line, and raft, and was the first of all men to make a voyage: wherefore they reverenced him also as a god after his death. And he was also called Zeus Meilichios. And some say that his brothers invented walls of brick. Afterwards there sprang from their race two youths, one of whom was called Technites (Artificer), and the other Geinos Autochthon (Earth-born Aboriginal). These devised the mixing of straw with the clay of bricks, and drying them in the sun, and moreover invented roofs. From them others were born, one of whom was called Agros, and the other Agrueros or Agrotes; and of the latter there is in Phoenicia a much venerated statue, and a shrine drawn by yokes of oxen; and among the people of Byblos he is named pre-eminently the greatest of the gods.

'These two devised the addition to houses of courts, and enclosures, and caves. From them came husbandmen and huntsmen. They are also called Aletae and Titans. From these were born Amynos and Magus, who established villages and sheepfolds. From them came Misor and Suduc, that is to say "Straight " and "Just": these discovered the use of salt.

'From Misor was born Taautus, who invented the first written alphabet; the Egyptians called him Thoyth, the Alexandrians Thoth, and the Greeks Hermes.

'From Suduc came the Dioscuri, or Cabeiri, or Corybantes, or Samothraces: these, he says, first invented a ship. From them have sprung others, who discovered herbs, and the healing of venomous bites, and charms. In their time is born a certain Elioun called "the Most High," and a female named Beruth, and these dwelt in the neighbourhood of Byblos.

'And from them is born Epigeius or Autochthon, whom they afterwards called Uranus; so that from him they named the element above us Uranus because of the excellence of its beauty. And he has a sister born of the aforesaid parents, who was called Ge (earth), and from her, he says, because of her beauty, they called the earth by the same name. And their father, the Most High, died in an encounter with wild beasts, and was deified, and his children offered to him libations and sacrifices.

'And Uranus, having succeeded to his father's rule, takes to himself in marriage his sister Ge, and gets by her four sons, Elus who is also Kronos, and Baetylus, and Dagon who is Siton, and Atlas. Also by other wives Uranus begat a numerous progeny; on which account Ge was angry, and from jealousy began to reproach Uranus, so that they even separated from each other.

'But Uranus, after he had left her, used to come upon her with violence, whenever he chose, and consort with her, and go away again; he used to try also to destroy his children by her; but Ge repelled him many times, having gathered to herself allies. And when Kronos had advanced to manhood, he, with the counsel and help of Hermes Trismegistus (who was his secretary), repels his father Uranus, and avenges his mother.

To Kronos are born children, Persephone and Athena. The former died a virgin: but by the advice of Athena and Hermes Kronos made a sickle and a spear of iron. Then Hermes talked magical words to the allies of Kronos, and inspired them with a desire of fighting against Uranus on behalf of Ge. And thus Kronos engaged in war, and drove Uranus from his government, and succeeded to the kingdom. Also there was taken in the battle the beloved concubine of Uranus, being great with child, whom Kronos gave in marriage to Dagon. And in his house she gave birth to the child begotten of Uranus, which she named Demarus.

'After this Kronos builds a wall round his own dwelling, and founds the first city, Byblos in Phoenicia.

'Soon after this he became suspicious of his own brother Atlas, and, with the advice of Hermes, threw him into a deep pit and buried him. At about this time the descendants of the Dioscuri put together rafts and ships, and made voyages; and, being cast ashore near Mount Cassius, consecrated a temple there. And the allies of Elus, who is Kronos, were surnamed Eloim, as these same, who were surnamed after Kronos, would have been called Kronii.

'And Kronos, having a son Sadidus, dispatched him with his own sword, because he regarded him with suspicion, and deprived him of life, thus becoming the murderer of his son. In like manner he cut off the head of a daughter of his own; so that all the gods were dismayed at the disposition of Kronos.

'But as time went on Uranus, being in banishment, secretly sends his maiden daughter Astarte with two others her sisters, Ehea and Dione, to slay Kronos by craft. But Kronos caught them, and though they were his sisters, made them his wedded wives. And when Uranus knew it, he sent Eimarmene and Hora with other allies on an expedition against Kronos. and these Kronos won over to his side and kept with him.

'Further, he says, the god Uranus devised the Baetylia, having contrived to put life into stones. And to Kronos there were born of Astarte seven daughters, Titanides or Artemides: and again to the same there were born of Rhea seven sons, of whom the youngest was deified at his birth; and of Dione females, and of Astarte again two males, Desire and Love. And Dagon, after he discovered corn and the plough, was called Zeus Arotrios.

'And one of the Titanides united to Suduc, who is named the Just, gives birth to Asclepius.

'In Peraea also there were born to Kronos three sons, Kronos of the same name with his father, and Zeus Belus, and Apollo. In their time are born Pontus, and Typhon, and Nereus father of Pontus and son of Belus.

'And from Pontus is born Sidon (who from the exceeding sweetness of her voice was the first to invent musical song) and Poseidon. And to Demarus is born Melcathrus, who is also called Hercules.

'Then again Uranus makes war against Pontus, and after revolting attaches himself to Demarus, and Demarus attacks Pontus, but Pontus puts him to flight; and Demarus vowed an offering if he should escape.

'And in the thirty-second year of his power and kingdom Elus, that is Kronos, having waylaid his father Uranus in an inland spot, and got him into his hands, emasculates him near some fountains and rivers. There Uranus was deified: and as he breathed his last, the blood from his wounds dropped into the fountains and into the waters of the rivers, and the spot is pointed out to this day.' This, then, is the story of Kronos, and such are the glories of the mode of life, so vaunted among the Greeks, of men in the days of Kronos, whom they also affirm to have been the first and 'golden race of articulate speaking men,' that blessed happiness of the olden time!

Again, the historian adds to this, after other matters:

'But Astarte, the greatest goddess, and Zeus Demarus, and Adodus king of gods, reigned over the country with the consent of Kronos. And Astarte set the head of a bull upon her own head as a mark of royalty; and in travelling round the world she found a star that had fallen from the sky, which she took up and consecrated in the holy island Tyre. And the Phoenicians say that Astarte is Aphrodite.

'Kronos also, in going round the world, gives the kingdom of Attica to his own daughter Athena. But on the occurrence of a pestilence and mortality Kronos offers his only begotten son as a whole burnt-offering to his father Uranus, and circumcises himself, compelling his allies also to do the same. And not long after another of his sons by Rhea, named Muth, having died, he deifies him, and the Phoenicians call him Thanatos and Pluto. And after this Kronos gives the city Byblos to the goddess Baaltis, who is also called Dione, and Berytus to Poseidon and to the Cabeiri and Agrotae and Halieis, who also consecrated the remains of Pontus at Berytus. 'But before this the god Tauthus imitated the features of the gods who were his companions, Kronos, and Dagon, and the rest, and gave form to the sacred characters of the letters. He also devised for Kronos as insignia of royalty four eyes in front and behind . . . but two of them quietly closed, and upon his shoulders four wings, two as spread for flying, and two as folded.

'And the symbol meant that Kronos could see when asleep, and sleep while waking: and similarly in the case of the wings, that he flew while at rest, and was at rest when flying. But to each of the other gods he gave two wings upon the shoulders, as meaning that they accompanied Kronos in his flight. And to Kronos himself again he gave two wings upon his head, one representing the all-ruling mind, and one sensation.

'And when Kronos came into the South country he gave all Egypt to the god Tauthus, that it might be his royal dwelling-place. And these things, he says, were recorded first by Suduc's seven sons the Cabeiri, and their eighth brother Asclepius, as the god Tauthus commanded them.

'All these stories Thabion, who was the very first hierophant of all the Phoenicians from the beginning, allegorized and mixed up with the physical and cosmical phenomena, and delivered to the prophets who celebrated the orgies and inaugurated the mysteries: and they, purposing to increase their vain pretensions from every source, handed them on to their successors and to their foreign visitors: one of these was Eisirius the inventor of the three letters, brother of Chna the first who had his name changed to Phoenix.'

Then again afterwards he adds:

'But the Greeks, surpassing all in genius, appropriated most of the earliest stories, and then variously decked them out with ornaments of tragic phrase, and adorned them in every way, with the purpose of charming by the pleasant fables. Hence Hesiod and the celebrated Cyclic poets framed theogonies of their own, and battles of the giants, and battles of Titans, and castrations; and with these fables, as they travelled about, they conquered and drove out the truth.

'But our ears having grown up in familiarity with their fictions, and being for long ages pre-occupied, guard as a trust the mythology which they received, just as I said at the beginning; and this mythology, being aided by time, has made its hold difficult for us to escape from, so that the truth is thought to be nonsense, and the spurious narrative truth.'

Let these suffice as quotations from the writings of Sanchuniathon, translated by Philo of Byblos, and approved as true by the testimony of Porphyry the philosopher.

The same author, in his History of the Jews, further writes thus concerning Kronos: 'Tauthus, whom the Egyptians call Thoyth, excelled in wisdom among the Phoenicians, and was the first to rescue the worship of the gods from the ignorance of the vulgar, and arrange it in the order of intelligent experience. Many generations after him a god Sourmoubelos and Thuro, whose name was changed to Eusarthis, brought to light the theology of Tauthus which had been hidden and overshadowed, by allegories.'

And soon after he says:

'It was a custom of the ancients in great crises of danger for the rulers of a city or nation, in order to avert the common ruin, to give up the most beloved of their children for sacrifice as a ransom to the avenging daemons; and those who were thus given up were sacrificed with mystic rites. Kronos then, whom the Phoenicians call Elus, who was king of the country and subsequently, after his decease, was deified as the star Saturn, had by a nymph of the country named Anobret an only begotten son, whom they on this account called Iedud, the only begotten being still so called among the Phoenicians; and when very great dangers from war had beset the country, he arrayed his son in royal apparel, and prepared an altar, and sacrificed him.' Again see what the same author, in his translation from Sanchuniathon about the Phoenician alphabet, says concerning the reptiles and venomous beasts, which contribute no good service to mankind, but work death and destruction to any in whom they inject their incurable and fatal poison. This also he describes, saying word for word as follows:

'The nature then of the dragon and of serpents Tauthus himself regarded as divine, and so again after him did the Phoenicians and Egyptians: for this animal was declared by him to be of all reptiles most full of breath, and fiery. In consequence of which it also exerts an unsurpassable swiftness by means of its breath, without feet and hands or any other of the external members by which the other animals make their movements. It also exhibits forms of various shapes, and in its progress makes spiral leaps as swift as it chooses. It is also most long-lived, and its nature is to put off its old skin, and so not only to grow young again, but also to assume a larger growth; and after it has fulfilled its appointed measure of age, it is self-consumed, in like manner as Tauthus himself has set down in his sacred books: for which reason this animal has also been adopted in temples and in mystic rites.

'We have spoken more fully about it in the memoirs entitled Ethothiae, in which we prove that it is immortal, and is self-consumed, as is stated before: for this animal does not die by a natural death, but only if struck by a violent blow. The Phoenicians call it "Good Daemon": in like manner the Egyptians also surname it Cneph; and they add to it the head of a hawk because of the hawk's activity.

'Epeïs also (who is called among them a chief hierophant and sacred scribe, and whose work was translated [into Greek] by Areius of Heracleopolis), speaks in an allegory word for word as follows:

'The first and most divine being is a serpent with the form of a hawk, extremely graceful, which whenever he opened his eyes filled all with light in his original birthplace, but if he shut his eyes, darkness came on.'

'Epeïs here intimates that he is also of a fiery substance, by saying "he shone through," for to shine through is peculiar to light. From the Phoenicians Pherecydes also took the first ideas of his theology concerning the god called by him Ophion and concerning the Ophionidae, of whom we shall speak again.

'Moreover the Egyptians, describing the world from the same idea, engrave the circumference of a circle, of the colour of the sky and of fire, and a hawk-shaped serpent stretched across the middle of it, and the whole shape is like our Theta (θ), representing the circle as the world, and signifying by the serpent which connects it in the middle the good daemon.

'Zoroaster also the Magian, in the Sacred Collection of Persian Records, says in express words: "And god has the head of a hawk. He is the first, incorruptible, eternal, uncreated, without parts, most unlike (all else), the controller of all good, who cannot be bribed, the best of all the good, the wisest of all wise; and he is also a father of good laws and justice, self-taught, natural, and perfect, and wise, and the sole author of the sacred power of nature.

'The same also is said of him by Ostanes in the book entitled Octateuch.'

From Tauthus, as is said above, all received their impulse towards physiological systems: and having built temples they

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consecrated in the shrines the primary elements represented by serpents, and in their honour celebrated festivals, and sacrifices, and mystic rites, regarding them as the greatest gods, and rulers of the universe. So much concerning serpents.

Such then is the character of the theology of the Phoenicians, from which the word of salvation in the gospel teaches us to flee with averted eyes, and earnestly to seek the remedy for this madness of the ancients. It must be manifest that these are not fables and poets' fictions containing some theory concealed in hidden meanings, but true testimonies, as they would themselves say, of wise and ancient theologians, containing things of earlier date than all poets and historians, and deriving the credibility of their statements from the names and history of the gods still prevailing in the cities and villages of Phoenicia, and from the mysteries celebrated among each people: so that it is no longer necessary to search out violent physical explanations of these things, since the evidence which the facts bring with them of themselves is quite clear. Such then is the theology of the Phoenicians: but it is now time to pass on and examine carefully the case of the Egyptians. -- The End

THE COMPLETE WORKS OF PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA

The Treatises and Books of Philo Judaeus
Julius Yedidia Alexandrinos' Works
Charles Duke Yonge, 1854
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 5 B.C. - 50 A.D.

(Philo of Alexandria or Yedidia HaCohen [Hebrew: Yedidia, Jedediah, or Jedidiah] = "the Beloved of God"; Greek: Philon = "the Beloved"; HaCohen = Priest], Yedidia the Priest or Teacher; c. 20 BC – c. 50 AD. He is also known as "Philo Judaeus". He was a Greek Jewish philosopher who lived in Alexandria, in the Roman province of Egypt. Philo was probably born with the name Julius because his paternal grandfather was granted Roman citizenship by Gaius Julius Caesar. Although the names of his parents are unknown, it is known that Philo came from a noble and wealthy family. Jerome [Greek: Eusebios Sophronios Hieronymos; c. 347–420 AD] wrote that Philo came "de genere sacerdotum" (from a priestly family). He, as his ancestors and family before him, had very close social ties and connexions to the priesthood in Judaea, the Hasmonean dynasty, the Herodian dynasty and the imperial Julio-Claudian dynasty in Rome. This is the reason why his information about these people is still so important. The very same applies to the historian Titus Flavius Josephus.

The Herodians, the Alexanders and the Flavians were the most powerful families in the Roman Empire because they all were connected to one another by personal relationship. Philo had two brothers, Alexander the Alabarch and Lysimachus. Through Alexander, Philo had two nephews Tiberius Julius Alexander and Marcus Julius Alexander. The latter was the first husband of the Herodian princess Berenice. Berenice of Cilicia, also known as Julia Berenice and sometimes spelled Bernice (Greek: Berenike; 28 – after 81 AD), was a Jewish client queen of the Roman Empire during the second half of the 1st century. Berenice was a member of the Herodian Dynasty that ruled the Roman province of Judaea between 39 BC and 92 AD. She was the daughter of King Herod Agrippa I and a sister of King Herod Agrippa II. What little is known about her life and background comes mostly from the Flavian historian Titus Flavius Josephus, who also was somehow related to her family. Titus Flavius Josephus records three short-lived marriages in Berenice's life. During the First Jewish-Roman War, she began a love affair with the future emperor Titus Flavius Vespasianus [known as Titus].

In 66 AD, the radical Jewish Messianic Movement gained political control over Judaea and Galilee killing Greeks and Romans. The Jews could muster a giant force of roughly 100,000 soldiers. They meant business. Emperor Nero then appointed General Vespasian [Titus Flavius Vespasianus] to put down the rebellion; he did the same kind of job successfully against the druids in Britain. He landed in Judaea with Fifth and Tenth legions in 67. He was later joined at Ptolemais [Acco] by his son, General Titus [who also bore his father's name Titus Flavius Vespasianus], who brought with him the Fifteenth legion. With a strength of 120,000 professional soldiers, the Romans swept across Galilee and by 69 marched on Jerusalem fighting down any resistance.

It was during this time that Berenice met and fell in love with General Titus, who was eleven years her junior. The Herodians sided with the Flavians during the conflict, and later in 69, the Year of the Four Emperors, Berenice reportedly used all her wealth and influence to support Vespasian on his campaign to become emperor.

When Vespasian was declared emperor on 21 December 69, Titus was left in Judaea to finish putting down the rebellion. The war ended in 70 with the destruction of the Second Temple and the sack of Jerusalem, with approximately 1.1 million dead, and 97,000 taken captive by the Romans. Triumphant, Titus returned to Rome to assist his father in the government, while Berenice stayed behind in Judaea. It took four years until they reunited, when she and her brother Agrippa came to Rome in 75 AD. Agrippa was given the rank of praetor [governor], while Berenice resumed her relationship with Titus, living with him at the palace and reportedly acting in every respect as his wife. The ancient historian Cassius Dio writes that Berenice was at the height of her power during this time, and if it can be any indication as to how influential she was, Quintilian records an anecdote in his Institutio Oratoria where, to his astonishment, he found himself pleading a case on Berenice's behalf where she herself presided as the judge.

The Roman populace however perceived the Eastern Queen as an intrusive outsider, and when the pair was publicly denounced by Cynics in the theatre, Titus caved in to the pressure and sent her away. Upon the accession of Titus as emperor in 79, she returned to Rome, but was quickly dismissed amidst a number of popular measures of Titus to restore his reputation with the populace. It is possible that he intended to send for her at a more convenient time. However, after reigning barely two years as emperor, he suddenly died on 13 September 81. It is not known what happened to Berenice after her final dismissal from Rome. Her brother Agrippa died around 92, and with him the Herodian Dynasty came to an end.

The Flavian dynasty ruled the Roman Empire between 69 AD and 96 AD. Family life was one of the most important virtues of Greeks and Romans. It was the Flavian Dynasty, with the assistance of Titus Flavius Josephus, who most likely formulated and promoted the first Pauline Christian doctrines.

The Works of Philo of Alexandria

The works of Philo Judaeus are mostly allegorical interpretations of the Torah (also known as the Pentateuch), but also include histories and comments on philosophy. Most of these have been preserved in Greek by the Church Fathers; some survive only through an Armenian translation. To make it clear, it is a Greek-Jewish work on Judaism, not on Christianity. He did not mention Jesus or Christians at all because in Philo's time, the real Jesus had no prominence and the heavenly Jesus in the New Testament was a creation of Saul of Tarsos, better known as Paul the Apostle. Many of the titles by which texts are known are modern inventions.

Philo's deployment of allegory to harmonize Jewish scripture, mainly the Torah, with Greek philosophy was the first documented of its kind, and thereby often misunderstood. Many critics of Philo assumed his allegorical perspective, would lend credibility to the notion of legend over historicity. Notwithstanding, whereby one actually reads Philo's works in both translated and original Greek forms, one finds Philo often advocated a literal understanding of the Torah and the historicity of such described events, while at other times finding allegorical readings more suited to the text.

According to Josephus, Philo was largely inspired by Aristobulus of Alexandria and the Alexandrian school. The only event in Philo's life that can be decisively dated is his participation in the embassy to Rome in 40 AD; whereby he represented the Alexandrian Jews in a delegation to the Roman Emperor Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus (Caligula) following civil strife between the Alexandrian Jewish and Greek communities.

Philo's amalgamation of Jewish exegesis and Stoic philosophy provided a formula picked up after the Roman-Jewish War [66-73 AD] by both Jewish and Christian authors. In this sense of meaning, Philo of Alexandria laid the foundation for Rabbinic [Roman] Judaism as well for the Pauline [Roman] Christianity in which we can discover so many good principles and teachings of the ancient Greek philosophy called Stoicism.

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PREFACE

The author of the following Treatises was, as the title by which he is generally known imports, of Jewish extraction, and a descendant of the sacerdotal tribe of Levi. He is spoken of by Josephus as one of the most eminent of his contemporary countrymen, and as the principal of the embassy which was sent to Caligula to solicit him to recall the command which he had issued for the erection of his statue in the temple at Jerusalem. The embassy was unsuccessful, though the death of the emperor saved the sacred edifice from the meditated profanation; but we see that Philo suffered no diminution of his credit from its unsuccessful result, since, at a subsequent period, his nephew, Tiberius Alexander, married Berenice, the daughter of King Agrippa.

The date of his birth and that of his death are alike uncertain; he speaks of himself as an old man when the embassy to Rome took place; and the treatise in which he gives an account of it was apparently written in the reign of Claudius, who succeeded Caligula A.D. 41, and reigned nearly fourteen years. His chief residence was at Alexandria, which at that period was, next to Athens, the most celebrated seat of philosophy in the world, and which had long been a favourite abode of the learned Jews. On one occasion he mentions having visited Jerusalem; and this is all we know of his personal history.

In his religious opinions he appears to have been a Pharisee, to the principles of which sect some portion of his fondness for allegorical interpretation may perhaps be owing. It was, however, rather to his philosophical labours that his celebrity among his contemporaries and his notoriety at the present day are mainly owing. He was so devoted a follower of the great founder of the Academic school, that it appears to have been a saying among the ancients that, "either Plato Philonises, or Philo Platonises." And there are many doctrines asserted in the following treatises which can be clearly traced to the principles and even to the extant works of the son of Ariston; and it is in consequence of this tendency that he is spoken of as the first of the Neo-Platonists, that is to say, of that school which attempted to reconcile the doctrines of the Greek, and more especially of the Academic, philosophy with the revelations contained in the sacred scriptures, while, at the same time, he transferred into the Platonic system many of the opinions which he borrowed from the East.

Philo represents a strange fusion. By nature and upbringing he was a Jew; by residence in Alexandria a mystic; by higher education a Greek humanist; by contact and social position an ally of the Roman aristocracy. Philo attempted to achieve a twofold purpose by his writings: 1) He endeavored to justify the jewish religion to the cultured people of Graeco-Roman society. In view of the deterioration of pagan society and religion, he had a splendid opportunity to portray the Jewish faith as fulfilling 'the desire of all nations.' On the other hand, he tried to show and persuade his strict coreligionists that Greek philosophy and learning were not actually hostile and opposed to the tenets of the Hebrew religion but that each stood for practically identical principles. Philo thus adopted an eclectic viewpoint, one in which he blended Old Testament theological concepts with Greek philosophical principles. Katz claims that 'Philo witnesses to a development in which philosophy turned religious and religion philosophic.' While Philo spoke pihlosophically with the intention of bringing home dogmatic and ethical truths, in so doing it involved on his part a dilution of the religious substance of divine revelation. Likewise his religious convictions were modified by philosophical inheritance." (Introduction to the Intertestamental Period, pp. 155-156)

According to the manner of the Eclectics, however, he mingled with his Platonism many doctrines derived from other schools, and those of Pythagoras in particular, to such an extent, that Clemens, of Alexandria, calls him a Pythagorean not recollecting that Aristotle tells us, that the Academy harmonized in very many points with the philosophy of Cortona. In many points, again, especially in the supremacy which he assigns to virtue, he betrays an inclination to the principles of the Stoics. The attempt to reconcile the heathen philosophy with the Bible was not altogether new. As early as the time of Ptolemy Lagus, many Jews had been settled in Alexandria; and, at the period when Philo flourished, they are supposed to have formed half the population of that city-the splendid library of which opened to the learned men of their nation those stores of Greek wisdom and eloquence with which they were previously unacquainted; and as they could not fail to be struck with the truth of many of the principles which they found laid down in those works, it was not unnatural that, being also formerly convinced of the divine origin of their own scriptures, they should endeavour to reconcile two systems, both of which appeared in so great a degree to rest on the same foundation. The truth of their own books they knew to proceed from divine revelation; that of the Greek philosophers they looked upon as an efflux more or less remote from that revelation, and the pride of human intellect led them to endeavour to display their superior penetration by discerning a hidden sense in their own scriptures, which should contain the germ of the Greek philosophy.

Of all the writers of this school the most eminent was Philo, and his works are highly interesting as showing us the manner in which the Sophists of his age and national sought to appropriate the Greek philosophy by an allegorical interpretation of the works of Moses, which they thus represented as containing all the principles which the Greeks subsequently expanded into the precise doctrines of their several sects. Accordingly, he represents Jehovah as a single uncompounded Being; unchangeable, eternal, incomprehensible, the knowledge of whom is to be looked upon as the ultimate object of all human efforts. He teaches that visible phenomena are to lead men over to the invisible world, and that the contemplation of the world so wonderfully and beautifully made proves a wise and intelligent Cause and creator of it. Having adopted, however, the Epicurean doctrine, that nothing can be produced out of nothing, he also assumed the existence of a mass of lifeless matter, passive and primeval, destitute of quality and form, but containing within itself the four primary elements; and of this mass, he looked upon the Spirit of God as the divider and fashioner into distinct shape.

Matter again he conceived as something subordinate to, and at the same time resisting, the divine arrangement, and in this latter character as the source of all imperfection and evil. Moreover, not having arrived at any just notion of the Deity as the immediate cause of the existence of the world, he assumed the existence of an intermediate cause which he called the Logos; and he also imagined an invisible world, appreciable only by the intellect, as the pattern of the visible world in which we live; carrying out his theory so as to give an outline of that doctrine of emanations, which at a later period was elaborated and fully developed by the Gnostics.

The treatises contained in the present volume refer to the books of Moses. At the beginning of the first, that on the Creation of the World, he intimates that his object is to show how the law and the world accord with one another, and how the man who lives according to the law is as such a citizen of the world. For Moses, as he remarks in his treatise on the life of that prophet, demonstrates in his history that the same Being is the Father and Creator of the universe, and the true lawgiver of the world; and accordingly, that whoever follows his laws is adapting himself to the course of nature and living in harmony with the general laws of the universe; while again, the man who transgresses those laws is punished by the operations of nature, such as floods, fire from heaven, and such means.

In his treatise on the Laws, he divides them into what he looks upon as unwritten laws, that is to say, the living patterns of a blameless life which the scripture sets before us in Enoch, Noah, Abraham, etc., and particular laws in the narrower technical common acceptation of the word.

In the other treatises, he deduces an allegorical meaning from the plain historical account of Moses, which serves him as the foundation for his philosophical system.

In all these works he exhibits profound and varied learning, showing himself deeply versed in Greek literature of every age and description, and of considerable skill in the sciences of music, geometry, and astronomy. His style is clear, and even though he may at times be open to the charge of an over-refined subtilty, it is impossible to deny him the praise of acuteness and ingenuity, set off to their best advantage by neatness of language and felicity of expression.

For the Christian reader these treatises have a peculiar interest from the ample materials which many of them furnish for the illustration of St. Paul's Epistles; materials so copious and so valuable that an eminent divine of the present day has pronounced an opinion (referring probably more especially to the treatises on the Sacrifices of Abel and of Cain-on the Different Incidents in the Life of Noah-on Abraham-on the Life of Moses-on the Ten Commandments-and on Providence) that all the other ancient commentators on the Scriptures put together have not left works of greater value for that most important object. It is even asserted by Eusebius that he formed an acquaintance with St. Peter while at Rome but that statement is generally looked upon as wanting confirmation. From his treatise against Flaccus, and in that which refers to his embassy to Rome, we likewise derive information with respect to the condition of the Jews in the time of our Saviour, and to the manner in which they were treated by the Roman governors, which supplies much incidental corroboration of some of the historic allusions contained in different parts of the New Testament.

The text which has been used in this translation has beengenerally that of Mangey. [C. D. Yonge, 1854]

ON THE CREATION

1 Of other lawgivers, some have set forth what they considered to be just and reasonable, in a naked and unadorned manner, while others, investing their ideas with an abundance of amplification, have sought to bewilder the people, by burying the truth under a heap of fabulous inventions. But Moses, rejecting both of these methods, the one as inconsiderate, careless, and unphilosophical, and the other as mendacious and full of trickery, made the beginning of his laws entirely beautiful, and in all respects admirable, neither at once declaring what ought to be done or the contrary, nor (since it was necessary to mould beforehand the dispositions of those who were to use his laws) inventing fables himself or adopting those which had been invented by others. And his exordium, as I have already said, is most admirable; embracing the creation of the world, under the idea that the law corresponds to the world and the world to the law, and that a man who is obedient to the law, being, by so doing, a citizen of the world, arranges his actions with reference to the intention of nature, in harmony with which the whole universal world is regulated. Accordingly no one, whether poet or historian, could ever give expression in an adequate manner to the beauty of his ideas respecting the creation of the world; for they surpass all the power of language, and amaze our hearing, being too great and venerable to be adapted to the sense of any created being. That, however, is not a reason for our yielding to indolence on the subject, but rather from our affection for the Deity we ought to endeavor to exert ourselves even beyond our powers in describing them: not as having much, or indeed anything to say of our own, but instead of much, just a little, such as it may be probable that human intellect may attain to, when wholly occupied with a love of and desire for wisdom.

For as the smallest seal receives imitations of things of colossal magnitude when engraved upon it, so perchance in some instances the exceeding beauty of the description of the creation of the world as recorded in the Law, overshadowing with its brilliancy the souls of those who happen to meet with it, will be delivered to a more concise record after these facts have been first premised which it would be improper to pass over in silence.

2 For some men, admiring the world itself rather than the Creator of the world, have represented it as existing without any maker, and eternal; and as impiously as falsely have represented God as existing in a state of complete inactivity, while it would have been right on the other hand to marvel at the might of God as the creator and father of all, and to admire the world in a degree not exceeding the bounds of moderation. But Moses, who had early reached the very summits of philosophy,[this is in accordance with the description of him in the Bible, where he is represented as being learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.] and who had learnt from the oracles of God the most numerous and important of the principles of nature, was well aware that it is indispensable that in all existing things there must be an active cause, and a passive subject; and that the active cause is the intellect of the universe, thoroughly unadulterated and thoroughly unmixed, superior to virtue and superior to science, superior even to abstract good or abstract beauty; while the passive subject is something inanimate and incapable of motion by any intrinsic power of its own, but having been set in motion, and fashioned, and endowed with life by the intellect, became transformed into that most perfect work, this world. And those who describe it as being uncreated, do, without being aware of it, cut off the most useful and necessary of all the qualities which tend to produce piety, namely, providence: for reason proves that the father and creator has a care for that which has been created; for a father is anxious for the life of his children, and a workman aims at the duration of his works, and employs every device imaginable to ward off everything that is pernicious or injurious, and is desirous by every means in his power to provide everything which is useful or profitable for them. But with regard to that which has not been created, there is no feeling of interest as if it were his own in the breast of him who has not created it. It is then a pernicious doctrine, and one for which no one should contend, to establish a system in this world, such as anarchy is in a city, so that it should have no superintendent, or regulator, or judge, by whom everything must be managed and governed. But the great Moses, thinking that a thing which has not been uncreated is as alien as possible from that which is visible before our eyes (for everything which is the subject of our senses exists in birth and in changes, and is not always in the same condition), has attributed eternity to that which is invisible and discerned only by our intellect as a kinsman and a brother, while of that which is the object of our external senses he had predicated generation as an appropriate description. Since, then, this world is visible and the object of our external senses, it follows of necessity that it must have been created; on which account it was not without a wise purpose that he recorded its creation, giving a very venerable account of God.

3 And he says that the world was made in six days, not because the Creator stood in need of a length of time (for it is natural that God should do everything at once, not merely by uttering a command, but by even thinking of it); but because the things created required arrangement; and number is akin to arrangement; and, of all numbers, six is, by the laws of nature, the most productive: for of all the numbers, from the unit upwards, it is the first perfect one, being made equal to its parts, and being made complete by them; the number three

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being half of it, and the number two a third of it, and the unit a sixth of it, and, so to say, it is formed so as to be both male and female, and is made up of the power of both natures; for in existing things the odd number is the male, and the even number is the female; accordingly, of odd numbers the first is the number three, and of even numbers the first is two, and the two numbers multiplied together make six. It was fitting therefore, that the world, being the most perfect of created things, should be made according to the perfect number, namely, six: and, as it was to have in it the causes of both, which arise from combination, that it should be formed according to a mixed number, the first combination of odd and even numbers, since it was to embrace the character both of the male who sows the seed, and of the female who receives it. And he allotted each of the six days to one of the portions of the whole, taking out the first day, which he does not even call the first day, that it may not be numbered with the others, but entitling it one, he names it rightly, perceiving in it, and ascribing to it the nature and appellation of the limit.

4 We must mention as much as we can of the matters contained in his account, since to enumerate them all is impossible; for he embraces that beautiful world which is perceptible only by the intellect, as the account of the first day will show: for God, as apprehending beforehand, as a God must do, that there could not exist a good imitation without a good model, and that of the things perceptible to the external senses nothing could be faultless which wax not fashioned with reference to some archetypal idea conceived by the intellect, when he had determined to create this visible world, previously formed that one which is perceptible only by the intellect, in order that so using an incorporeal model formed as far as possible on the image of God, he might then make this corporeal world, a younger likeness of the elder creation, which should embrace as many different genera perceptible to the external senses, as the other world contains of those which are visible only to the intellect. But that world which consists of ideas, it was impious in any degree to attempt to describe or even to imagine: but how it was created, we shall know if we take for our guide a certain image of the things which exist among us. When any city is founded through the exceeding ambition of some king or leader who lays claim to absolute authority, and is at the same time a man of brilliant imagination, eager to display his good fortune, then it happens at times that some man coming up who, from his education, is skilful in architecture, and he, seeing the advantageous character and beauty of the situation, first of all sketches out in his own mind nearly all the parts of the city which is about to be completed--the temples, the gymnasia, the prytanea, and markets, the harbour, the docks, the streets, the arrangement of the walls, the situations of the dwelling houses, and of the public and other buildings. Then, having received in his own mind, as on a waxen tablet, the form of each building, he carries in his heart the image of a city, perceptible as yet only by the intellect, the images of which he stirs up in memory which is innate in him, and, still further, engraving them in his mind like a good workman, keeping his eyes fixed on his model, he begins to raise the city of stones and wood, making the corporeal substances to resemble each of the incorporeal ideas. Now we must form a somewhat similar opinion of God, who, having determined to found a mighty state, first of all conceived its form in his mind, according to which form he made a world perceptible only by the intellect, and then completed one visible to the external senses, using the first one as a model.

5 As therefore the city, when previously shadowed out in the mind of the man of architectural skill had no external place, but was stamped solely in the mind of the workman, so in the same manner neither can the world which existed in ideas have had any other local position except the divine reason which made them; for what other place could there be for his powers which should be able to receive and contain, I do not say all, but even any single one of them whatever, in its simple form? And the power and faculty which could be capable of creating the world, has for its origin that good which is founded on truth; for if any one were desirous to investigate the cause on account of which this universe was created, I think that he would come to no erroneous conclusion if he were to say as one of the ancients did say: "That the Father and Creator was good; on which account he did not grudge the substance a share of his own excellent nature, since it had nothing good of itself, but was able to become everything." For the substance was of itself destitute of arrangement, of quality, of animation, of distinctive character, and full of all disorder and confusion; and it received a change and transformation to what is opposite to this condition, and most excellent, being invested with order, quality, animation, resemblance, identity, arrangement, harmony, and everything which belongs to the more excellent idea.

6 And God, not being urged on by any prompter (for who else could there have been to prompt him?) but guided by his own sole will, decided that it was fitting to benefit with unlimited and abundant favours a nature which, without the divine gift, was unable to itself to partake of any good thing; but he benefits it, not according to the greatness of his own graces, for they are illimitable and eternal, but according to the power of that which is benefited to receive his graces. For the capacity of that which is created to receive benefits does not correspond to the natural power of God to confer them; since his powers are infinitely greater, and the thing created being not sufficiently powerful to receive all their greatness would have sunk under it, if he had not measured his bounty, allotting to each, in due proportion, that which was poured upon it. And if any one were to desire to use more undisguised terms, he would not call the world, which is perceptible only to the intellect, any thing else but the reason of God, already occupied in the creation of the world; for neither is a city, while only perceptible to the intellect, anything else but the reason of the architect, who is already designing to build one perceptible to the external senses, on the model of that which is so only to the intellect--this is the doctrine of Moses, not mine. Accordingly he, when recording the creation of man, in words which follow, asserts expressly, that he was made in the image of God--and if the image be a part of the image, then manifestly so is the entire form, namely, the whole of this world perceptible by the external senses, which is a greater imitation of the divine image than the human form is. It is manifest also, that the archetypal seal, which we call that world which is perceptible only to the intellect, must itself be the archetypal model, the idea of ideas, the Reason of God.

7 Moses says also; "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth:" taking the beginning to be, not as some men think, that which is according to time; for before the world time had no existence, but was created either simultaneously with it, or after it; for since time is the interval of the motion of the heavens, there could not have been any such thing as motion before there was anything which could be moved; but it follows of necessity that it received existence subsequently or simultaneously. It therefore follows also of necessity, that time was created either at the same moment with the world, or later than it--and to venture to assert that it is older than the world is absolutely inconsistent with philosophy. But if the beginning spoken of by Moses is not to be looked upon as spoken of according to time, then it may be natural to suppose that it is the beginning according to number that is indicated; so that, "In the beginning he created," is equivalent to "first of all he created the heaven;" for it is natural in reality that that should have been the first object created, being both the best of all created things, and being also made of the purest substance, because it was destined to be the most holy abode of the visible Gods who are perceptible by the external senses; for if the Creator had made everything at the same moment, still those things which were created in beauty would no less have had a regular arrangement, for there is no such thing as beauty in disorder. But order is a due consequence and connexion of things precedent and subsequent, if not in the completion of a work, at all events in the intention of the maker; for it is owing to order that they become accurately defined and stationary, and free from confusion. In the first place therefore, from the model of the world, perceptible only by intellect, the Creator made an incorporeal heaven, and an invisible earth, and the form of air and of empty space: the former of which he called darkness, because the air is black by nature; and the other he called the abyss, for empty space is very deep and yawning with immense width. Then he created the incorporeal substance of water and of air, and above all he spread light, being the seventh thing made; and this again was incorporeal, and a model of the sun, perceptible only to intellect, and of all the light giving stars, which are destined to stand together in heaven.

8 And air and light he considered worthy of the pre-eminence. For the one he called the breath of God, because it is air, which is the most life-giving of things, and of life the causer is God; and the other he called light, because it is surpassingly beautiful: for that which is perceptible only by intellect is as far more brilliant and splendid than that which is seen, as I conceive, the sun is than darkness, or day than night, or the intellect than any other of the outward senses by which men judge (inasmuch as it is the guide of the entire soul), or the eyes than any other part of the body. And the invisible divine reason, perceptible only by intellect, he calls the image of God. And the image of this image is that light, perceptible only by the intellect, which is the image of the divine reason, which has explained its generation. And it is a star above the heavens, the source of those stars which are perceptible by the external senses, and if any one were to call it universal light he would not be very wrong; since it is from that the sun and the moon, and all the other planets and fixed stars derive their due light, in proportion as each has power given to it; that unmingled and pure light being obscured when it begins to change, according to the change from that which is perceptible only by the intellect, to that which is perceptible by the external senses; for none of those things which are perceptible to the external senses is pure.

9 Moses is right also when he says, that "darkness was over the face of the abyss." For the air is in a manner spread above the empty space, since having mounted up it entirely fills all that open, and desolate, and empty place, which reaches down to us from the regions below the moon. And after the shining forth of that light, perceptible only to the intellect, which existed before the sun, then its adversary darkness yielded, as God put a wall between them and separated them, well knowing their opposite characters, and the enmity existing between their natures. In order, therefore, that they might not war against one another from being continually brought in contact, so that war would prevail instead of peace, God, burning want of order into order, did not only separate light and darkness, but did also place boundaries in the middle of the space between the two, by which he separated the extremities of each. For if they had approximated they must have produced confusion, preparing for the contest, for the supremacy, with great and inextinguishable rivalry, if boundaries established between them had not separated them and prevented them from clashing together, and these boundaries are evening and morning; the one of which heralds in the good tidings that the sun is about to rise, gently dissipating the darkness: and evening comes on as the sun sets, receiving gently the collective approach of darkness. And these, I mean morning and evening, must be placed in the class of incorporeal things, perceptible only by the intellect; for there is absolutely nothing in them which is perceptible by the external senses, but they are entirely ideas, and measures, and forms, and seals, incorporeal as far as regards the generation of other bodies. But when light came, and darkness retreated and yielded to it, and boundaries were set in the space between the two, namely, evening and morning, then of necessity the measure of time was immediately perfected, which also the Creator called "day." and He called it not "the first day," but "one day;" and it is spoken of thus, on account of the single nature of the world perceptible only by the intellect, which has a single nature.

10 The incorporeal world then was already completed, having its seat in the Divine Reason; and the world, perceptible by the external senses, was made on the model of it; and the first portion of it, being also the most excellent of all made by the Creator, was the heaven, which he truly called the firmament, as being corporeal; for the body is by nature firm, inasmuch as it is divisible into three parts; and what other idea of solidity and of body can there be, except that it is something which may be measured in every direction? Therefore he, very naturally contrasting that which was perceptible to the external senses, and corporeal with that which was perceptible only by the intellect and incorporeal, called this the firmament. Immediately afterwards he, with great propriety and entire correctness, called it the heaven, either because it was already the Boundary [Philo means that ouranos was derived either from horos, a boundary, or from horaoμ, to see, horatos, visible.] of everything, or because it was the first of all visible things which was created; and after its second rising he called the time day, referring the entire space and measure of a day to the heaven, on account of its dignity and honour among the things perceptible to the external senses.

11 And after this, as the whole body of water in existence was spread over all the earth, and had penetrated through all its parts, as if it were a sponge which had imbibed moisture, so that the earth was only swampy land and deep mud, both the elements of earth and water being mixed up and combined together, like one confused mass into one undistinguishable and shapeless nature, God ordained that all the water which was salt, and destined to be a cause of barrenness to seeds and trees should be gathered together, flowing forth out of all the holes of the entire earth; and he commanded dry land to appear, that liquid which had any sweetness in it being left in it to secure its durability. For this sweet liquid, in due proportions, is as a sort of glue for the different substances, preventing the earth from being utterly dried up, and so becoming unproductive and barren, and causing it, like a mother, to furnish not only one kind of nourishment, namely meat, but both sorts at once, so as to supply its offspring with both meat and drink; wherefore he filled it with veins, resembling breasts, which, being provided with openings, were destined to pour forth springs and rivers. And in the same way he extended the invisible irrigations of dew pervading every portion of arable and deep-soiled land, to contribute to the most liberal and plenteous supply of fruits. Having arranged these things, he gave them names, calling the day, "land," and the water which was separated from it he called "sea."

12 After this he began to adorn the land, for he bade it bring forth grass, and bear corn, producing every kind of herb, and plains clothed with verdure, and everything which was calculated to be fodder for cattle, or food for men. Moreover he commanded every kind of tree to spring up, omitting no kind, either of those which are wild or of those which are called cultivated. And simultaneously with their first production he loaded them all with fruit, in a manner different from that which exists at present; for now the different fruits are produced in turn, at different seasons, and not all together at one time; for who is there who does not know that first of all comes the sowing and the planting; and, in the second place, the growth of what has been sown and

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planted, in some cases the plants extending their roots downwards like foundations, and in others raising themselves upwards to a height and displaying long stalks? After that come the buds, and the putting forth of leaves, and then after everything else comes the production of fruit. And again, the fruit when first produced is not perfect, but it contains in itself all kinds of change, with reference both to its quantity in regard of magnitude, and to its qualities in its multiform appearance: for the fruits is produced at first like indivisible grains, which are hardly visible from their diminutive size, and which one might correctly enough pronounce to be the first things perceptible by the external senses; and afterwards by little and little, from the nourishment conveyed in channels, which waters the tree, and from the wholesome effect of the breezes, which blow air at the same time cold and gentle, the fruit is gradually vivified, and nursed up, and increased, advancing onward to its perfect size; and with its change of magnitude it changes also its qualities, as if it were diversified with varying colours by pictorial science.

13 But in the first creation of the universe, as I have said already, God produced the whole race of trees out of the earth in full perfection, having their fruit not incomplete but in a state of entire ripeness, to be ready for the immediate and undelayed use and enjoyment of the animals which were about immediately to be born. Accordingly he commanded the earth to produce these things. And the earth, as though it had for a long time been pregnant and travailing, produced every sort of seed, and every sort of tree, and also of fruit, in unspeakable abundance; and not only were these produced fruits to be food for living animals, but enough also to serve as a preparation for the continuous production of similar fruits hereafter; covering substances consisting of seed, in which are the principles of all plants undistinguishable and invisible, but destined hereafter to become manifest and visible in the periodical maturity of the fruit. For God thought fit to endue nature with a long duration, making the races that he was creating immortal, and giving them a participation in eternity. On which account he led on and hastened the beginning towards the end, and caused the end to turn backwards to the beginning: for from plants comes fruit, as the end might come from the beginning; and from the fruit comes the seed, which again contains the plant within itself, so that a fresh beginning may come from the end.

14 And on the fourth day, after he had embellished the earth, he diversified and adorned the heaven: not giving the precedence to the inferior nature by arranging the heaven subsequently to the earth, or thinking that which was the more excellent and the more divine worthy only of the second place, but acting thus for the more manifest demonstration of the power of his dominion. For he foreknew with respect to men who were not yet born, what sort of beings they would be as to their opinions, forming conjectures on what was likely and probable, of which the greater part would be reasonable, though falling short of the character of unadulterated truth; and trusting rather to visible phenomena than to God, and admiring sophistry rather than wisdom. And again he knew that surveying the periods of the sun and moon, to which are owing the summers and winters, and the alternations of spring and autumn, they would conceive the revolutions of the stars in heaven to be the causes of all the things which every year should be produced and generated on the earth, accordingly that no one might venture either through shameless impudence or inordinate ignorance to attribute to any created thing the primary causes of things, he said: "Let them run over in their minds the first creation of the universe, when, before the sun or the moon existed, the earth brought forth all kinds of plants and all kinds of fruits: and seeing this in their minds let them hope that it will again also bring forth such, according to the appointment of the Father, when it shall seem good to him, without his having need of the aid of any of the sons of men beneath the heavens, to whom he has given powers, though not absolute ones." For as a charioteer holding the reigns or a helmsman with his hand upon the rudder, he guides everything as he pleases, in accordance with law and justice, needing no one else as his assistant; for all things are possible to God.

15 This is the cause why the earth bore fruit and herbs before God proceeded to adorn the heaven. And next the heaven was embellished in the perfect number four, and if any one were to pronounce this number the origin and source of the all-perfect decade he would not err. For what the decade is in actuality, that the number four, as it seems, is in potentiality, at all events if the numerals from the unit to Four [by addition, that is 1+2+3+4= 10.] are placed together in order, they will make ten, which is the limit of the number of immensity, around which the numbers wheel and turn as around a goal. Moreover the number four also comprehends the principles of the harmonious concords in music, that in fours, and in fifths, and the diapason, and besides this the double diapason from which sounds the most perfect system of harmony is produced. For the ratio of the sounds in fourths is as four to three; and in fifths as three to two; and in the diapason that ratio is doubled: and in the double diapason it is increased fourfold, all which ratios the number four comprehends. At all events the first, or the epistritus, is the ratio of four to three; the second, or the hemiolius, is that of three to two: the twofold ratio is that of two to one, or four to two: and the fourfold ratio is that of four to one.

16 There is also another power of the number four which is a most wonderful one to speak of and to contemplate. For it was this number that first displayed the nature of the solid cube, the numbers before four being assigned only to incorporeal things. For it is according to the unit that that thing is reckoned which is spoken of in geometry as a point: and a line is spoken of according to the number two, because it is arranged by nature from a point; and a line is length without breadth. But when breadth is added to it, it becomes a superficies, which is arranged according to the number three. And a superficies, when compared with the nature of a solid cube, wants one thing, namely depth, and when this one thing is added to the three, it becomes four. On which account it has happened that this number is a thing of great importance, inasmuch as from an incorporeal substance perceptible only by intellect, it has led us on to a comprehension of a body divisible in a threefold manner, and which by its own nature is first perceived by the external senses. And he who does not comprehend what is here said may learn to understand it from a game which is very common. Those who play with nuts are accustomed when they have placed three nuts on the floor, to place one more on the top of them producing a figure like a pyramid. Accordingly the triangle stands on the floor, arranged up to the number three, and the nut which is placed upon it makes up four in number, and in figure it produces a pyramid, being now a solid body. And in addition to this there is this point also of which we should not be ignorant, the number four is the first number which is a square, being equal on all sides, the measure of justice and equality. And that it is the only number the nature of which is such that it is produced by the same numbers whether in combination, or in power. In combination when two and two are added together; and again in power when we speak of twice two;[thus 2+2= 4, or 2x2= 4.] and in this is displays an exceedingly beautiful kind of harmony, which is not the lot of any other number.

If we examine the number six which is composed of two threes, if these two numbers are multiplied it is not the number six that is produced, but a different one, the number nine. And the number four has many other powers also, which we must subsequently show more accurately in a separate essay appropriated to it. At present it is sufficient to add this that it was the foundation of the creation of the whole heaven and the whole world. For the four elements, out of which this universe was made, flowed from the number four as from a fountain. And in addition to the four elements the seasons of the year are also four, which are the causes of the generation of animals and plants, the year being divided into the quadruple division of winter, and spring, and summer, and autumn.

17 The aforesaid number therefore being accounted worthy of such pre-eminence in nature, the Creator of necessity adorned the heaven by the number four, namely by that most beautiful and most godlike ornament the light giving stars. And knowing that of all existing things light is the most excellent, he made it the instrument of the best of all the senses, sight. For what the mind is in the soul, that the eye is in the body. For each of them sees, the one beholding those existing things which are perceptible only to the intellect, and the other those which are perceptible to the external senses. But the mind is in need of knowledge in order to distinguish incorporeal things, and the eyes have need of light in order to be able to perceive bodies, and light is also the cause of many other good things to men, and particularly of the greatest, namely philosophy. For the sight being sent upwards by light and beholding the nature of the stars and their harmonious movement, and the well-ordered revolutions of the fixed stars, and of the planets, some always revolving in the same manner and coming to the same places, and others having double periods in an anomalous and somewhat contrary manner, beholding also, the harmonious dances of all these bodies arranged according to the laws of perfect music, causes an ineffable joy and delight to the soul. And the soul, feasting on a continuous series of spectacles, for one succeeds another, has an insatiable love for beholding such. Then, as is usually the case, it examines with increased curiosity what is the substance of these things which are visible; and whether they have an existence without having been created, or whether they received their origin by creation, and what is the character of their movement, and what the causes are by which everything is regulated. And it is from inquiries into these things that philosophy has arisen, than which no more perfect good has entered into human life.

18 But the Creator having a regard to that idea of light perceptible only by the intellect, which has been spoken of in the mention made of the incorporeal world, created those stars which are perceptible by the external senses, those divine and superlatively beautiful images, which on many accounts he placed in the purest temple of corporeal substance, namely in heaven. One of the reasons for his so doing was that they might give light; another was that they might be signs; another had reference to their dividing the times of the seasons of the year, and above all dividing days and nights, of months and years, which are the measures of time; and which have given rise to the nature of number. And how great is the use and how great the advantage derivable from each of the aforesaid things, is plain from their effect. But with a view to a more accurate comprehension of them, it may perhaps not be out of place to trace out the truth in a regular discussion. Now the whole of time being divided into two portions day and night, the sovereignty of the day the Father has assigned to the Sun, as a mighty monarch: and that of the night he has given to the moon and to the multitude of the other stars. And the greatness of the power and sovereignty of the sun has its most conspicuous proof in what has been already said: for he, being one and single has been allotted for his own share and by himself one half portion of all time, namely day; and all the other lights in conjunction with the moon have the other portion, which is called night. And when the sun rises all the appearances of such numbers of stars are not only obscured but absolutely disappear from the effusion of his beams; and when he sets then they all assembled together, begin to display their own peculiar brilliancy and their separate qualities.

19 And they have been created, as Moses tells us, not only that they might send light upon the earth, but also that they might display signs of future events. For either by their risings, or their settings, or their eclipses, or again by their appearances and occultations, or by the other variations observable in their motions, men oftentimes conjecture what is about to happen, the productiveness or unproductiveness of the crops, the birth or loss of their cattle, fine weather or cloudy weather, calm and violent storms of wind, floods in the rivers or droughts, a tranquil state of the sea and heavy waves, unusual changes in the seasons of the year when either the summer is cold like winter, or the winter warm, or when the spring assumes the temperature of autumn or the autumn that of spring. And before now some men have conjecturally predicted disturbances and commotions of the earth from the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, and innumerable other events which have turned out most exactly true: so that it is a most veracious saying that "the stars were created to act as signs, and moreover to mark the seasons." And by the word seasons the divisions of the year are here intended. And why may not this be reasonably affirmed? For what other idea of opportunity can there be except that it is the time for success? And the seasons bring everything to perfection and set everything right; giving perfection to the sowing and planting of fruits, and to the birth and growth of animals. They were also created to serve as measure of time; for it is by the appointed periodical revolutions of the sun and moon and other stars, that days and months and years are determined. And moreover it is owing to them that the most useful of all things, the nature of number exists, time having displayed it; for from one day comes the limit, and from two the number two, and from three, three, and from the notion of a month is derived the number thirty, and from a year that number which is equal to the days of the twelve months, and from infinite time comes the notion of infinite number. To such great and indispensable advantages do the natures of the heavenly bodies and the motions of the stars tend. And to how many other things might I also affirm that they contribute which are as yet unknown to us? for all things are not known to the will of man; but of the things which contribute towards the durability of the universe, those which are established by laws and ordinances which God has appointed to be unalterable for ever, are accomplished in every instance and in every country.

20 Then when earth and heaven had been adorned with their befitting ornaments, one with a triad, and the other, as has been already said, with a quaternion, God proceeded to create the races of mortal creatures, making the beginning with the aquatic animals on the fifth day, thinking that there was no one thing so akin to another as the number five as to animals; for animate things differ from inanimate in nothing more than in sensation, and sensation is divided according to a fivefold division, into sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch. Accordingly, the Creator allotted to each of the senses its appropriate matter, and also its peculiar faculty of judgement, by which it should decide on what came before it. So sight judges of colours, and hearing of sounds, and taste of juices, and smell of vapors, and touch of softness and hardness, and of heat and cold, and of smoothness and roughness: therefore He commanded all the races of fish and sea-monsters to stand together in their places, animals differing both in their sizes and in their qualities; for they vary in different seas, though in some cases they are the same, and every animal was not formed to live every where. And was not this reasonable? For some of them delight in marshy places, and in water which is very deep; and some in sewers and harbours, being neither able to crawl up upon the land, nor to swim off far from the land. Some, again, dwell in the middle and in the deep sea, and avoid all the projecting promontories and islands and rocks: some also exult in fine weather and in calm, and some in storms and

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heavy surf. For being exercised by continual buffetings, and being in the habit of withstanding the current by force, they are very vigorous and become stout. After that he created the races of birds as akin to the races of aquatic animals (for they are each of them swimmers), leaving no species of creatures which traverse the air unfinished.

21 So now when the air and the water had received their appropriate races of animals as an allotment that was their due, God again summoned the earth for the creation of that share which still remained: and after the production of plants, the terrestrial animals still remained. And God said, "Let the earth bring forth cattle and beasts, and creeping things of each kind." And the earth did as it was commanded, and immediately sent forth animals differing in their formation and in their strength, and in the injurious or beneficial powers that were implanted in them. And after all He made man. But how he made him I will mention presently, after I have first explained that he adopted the most beautiful connexion and train of consequences according to the system of the creation of animals which he had sketched out to himself; for of souls the most sluggish and the most weakly formed has been allotted to the race of fishes; and the most exquisitely endowed soul, that which is in all respects most excellent, has been given to the race of mankind, and one something between the two to the races of terrestrial animals and those which traverse the air; for the soul of such creatures is endowed with more acute sensations than the soul of fishes, but is more dull than that of mankind. And it was on this account that of all living creatures God created fishes first, inasmuch as they partake of corporeal substance in a greater degree than they partake of soul, being in a manner animals and not animals, moving soulless things, having a sort of semblance of soul diffused through them for no object beyond that of keeping their bodies live (just as they say that salt preserves meat), in order that they may not easily be destroyed. And after the fishes, he created winged and terrestrial animals: for these are endowed with a higher degree of sensation, and from their formation show that the properties of their animating principle are of a higher order. But after all the rest, then, as has been said before, he created man, to whom he gave that admirable endowment of mind--the soul, if I may so call it, of the soul, as being like the pupil to the eye; for those who most accurately investigate the natures of things affirm, that it is the pupil which is the eye of the eye.

22 So at last all things were created and existing together. But when they all were collected in one place, then some sort of order was necessarily laid down for them for the sake of the production of them from one another which was hereafter to take place. Now in things which exist in part, the principle of order is this, to begin with that which is most inferior in its nature, and to end with that which is the most excellent of all; and what that is we will explain. It has been arranged that seed should be the principle of the generation of animals. It is plainly seen that this is a thing of no importance, being like foam; but when it has descended into the womb and remained there, then immediately it receives motion and is changed into nature; and nature is more excellent than seed, as also motion is better than quiet in created things; and nature, like a workman, or, to speak more correctly, like a faultless art, endows the moist substance with life, and fashions it, distributing it among the limbs and parts of the body, allotting that portion which can produce breath, and nourishment, and sensation to the powers of the soul: for as to the reasoning powers, we may pass over them for the present, on account of those who say, that the mind enters into the body from without, being something divine and eternal. Nature therefore began from an insignificant seed, and ended in the most honourable of things, namely, in the formation of animals and men. And the very same thing took place in the creation of every thing: for when the Creator determined to make animals the first created in his arrangement were in some degree inferior, such as the fishes, and the last were the best, namely, man. And the others the terrestrial and winged creatures were between these extremes, being better than the first created, and inferior to the last.

23 So then after all the other things, as has been said before, Moses says that man was made in the image and likeness of God. And he says well; for nothing that is born on the earth is more resembling God than man. And let no one think that he is able to judge of this likeness from the characters of the body: for neither is God a being with the form of a man, nor is the human body like the form of God; but the resemblance is spoken of with reference to the most important part of the soul, namely, the mind: for the mind which exists in each individual has been created after the likeness of that one mind which is in the universe as its primitive model, being in some sort the God of that body which carries it about and bears its image within it. In the same rank that the great Governor occupies in the universal world, that same as it seems does the mind of man occupy in man; for it is invisible, though it sees everything itself; and it has an essence which is indiscernible, though it can discern the essences of all other things, and making for itself by art and science all sorts of roads leading in divers directions, and all plain; it traverses land and sea, investigating everything which is contained in either element. And again, being raised up on wings, and so surveying and contemplating the air, and all the commotions to which it is subject, it is borne upwards to the higher firmament, and to the revolutions of the heavenly bodies. And also being itself involved in the revolutions of the planets and fixed stars according to the perfect laws of music, and being led on by love, which is the guide of wisdom, it proceeds onwards till, having surmounted all essence intelligible by the external senses, it comes to aspire to such as is perceptible only by the intellect: and perceiving in that, the original models and ideas of those things intelligible by the external senses which it saw here full of surpassing beauty, it becomes seized with a sort of sober intoxication like the zealots engaged in the Corybantian festivals, and yields to enthusiasm, becoming filled with another desire, and a more excellent longing, by which it is conducted onwards to the very summit of such things as are perceptible only to the intellect, till it appears to be reaching the great King himself. And while it is eagerly longing to behold him pure and unmingled, rays of divine light are poured forth upon it like a torrent, so as to bewilder the eyes of its intelligence by their splendor. But as it is not every image that resembles its archetypal model, since many are unlike, Moses has shown this by adding to the words "after his image," the expression, "in his likeness," to prove that it means an accurate impression, having a clear and evident resemblance in form.

24 And he would not err who should raise the question why Moses attributed the creation of man alone not to one creator, as he did that of other animals, but to several. For he introduces the Father of the universe using this language: "Let us make man after our image, and in our likeness." Had he then, shall I say, need of any one whatever to help him, He to whom all things are subject? Or, when he was making the heaven and the earth and the sea, was he in need of no one to co-operate with him; and yet was he unable himself by his own power to make man an animal so short-lived and so exposed to the assaults of fate without the assistance of others? It is plain that the real cause of his so acting is known to God alone, but one which to a reasonable conjecture appears probable and credible, I think I should not conceal; and it is this. Of existing things, there are some which partake neither of virtue nor of vice; as for instance, plants and irrational animals; the one, because they are destitute of soul, and are regulated by a nature void of sense; and the other, because they are not endowed with mind of reason. But mind and reason may be looked upon as the abode of virtue and vice; as it is in them that they seem to dwell. Some things again partake of virtue alone, being without any participation in any kind of vice; as for instance, the stars, for they are said to be animals, and animals endowed with intelligence; or I might rather say, the mind of each of them is wholly and entirely virtuous, and unsusceptible of every kind of evil. Some things again are of a mixed nature, like man, who is capable of opposite qualities, of wisdom and folly, of temperance and dissoluteness, of courage and cowardice, of justice and injustice, in short of good and evil, of what is honourable and what is disgraceful, of virtue and vice. Now it was a very appropriate task for God the Father of all to create by himself alone, those things which were wholly good, on account of their kindred with himself. And it was not inconsistent with his dignity to create those which were indifferent since they too are devoid of evil, which is hateful to him. To create the beings of a mixed nature, was partly consistent and partly inconsistent with his dignity; consistent by reason of the more excellent idea which is mingled in them; inconsistent because of the opposite and worse one. It is on this account that Moses says, at the creation of man alone that God said, "Let us make man," which expression shows an assumption of other beings to himself as assistants, in order that God, the governor of all things, might have all the blameless intentions and actions of man, when he does right attributed to him; and that his other assistants might bear the imputation of his contrary actions. For it was fitting that the Father should in the eyes of his children be free from all imputation of evil; and vice and energy in accordance with vice are evil. And very beautifully after he had called the whole race "man," did he distinguish between the sexes, saying, that "they were created male and female;" although all the individuals of the race had not yet assumed their distinctive form; since the extreme species are contained in the genus, and are beheld, as in a mirror, by those who are able to discern acutely.

25 And some one may inquire the cause why it was that man was the last work in the creation of the world. For the Creator and Father created him after every thing else as the sacred scriptures inform us. Accordingly, they who have gone most deeply into the laws, and who to the best of their power have investigated everything that is contained in them with all diligence, say that God, when he had given to man to partake of kindred with himself, grudged him neither reason, which is the most excellent of all gifts, nor anything else that is good; but before his creation, provided for him every thing in the world, as for the animal most resembling himself, and dearest to him, being desirous that when he was born, he should be in want of nothing requisite for living, and for living well; the first of which objects is provided for by the abundance of supplies which are furnished to him for his enjoyment, and the other by his power of contemplation of the heavenly bodies, by which the mind is smitten so as to conceive a love and desire for knowledge on those subjects; owing to which desire, philosophy has sprung up, by which, man, though mortal, is made immortal. As then, those who make a feast do not invite their guests to the entertainment before they have provided everything for festivity, and as those who celebrate gymnastic or dramatic contests, before they assemble the spectators, provide themselves with an abundance of competitors and spectacles, and sweet sounds, with which to fill the theatres and the stadia; so in the same manner did the Ruler of all, as a man proposing games, or giving a banquet and being about to invite others to feast and to behold the spectacle, first provide everything for every kind of entertainment, in order that when man came into the world he might at once find a feast ready for him, and a most holy theatre; the one abounding with everything which the earth, or the rivers, or the sea, or air, brings forth for use and enjoyment, and the other being full of every description of light, which has either its essence or its qualities admirable, and its motions and revolutions worthy of notice, being arranged in perfect order, both as to the proportions of its numbers, and the harmony of its periods. And a man would not be far wrong who should say that in all these things there might be discovered that archetypal and real model music, the images of which the subsequent generations of mankind engraved in their own souls, and in this way handed down the art which is the most necessary and the most advantageous to human life.

26 This is the first reason on account of which it seems that man was created after all other animals. And there is another not altogether unreasonable, which I must mention. At the moment of his first birth, man found all the requisites for life ready prepared for him that he might teach them to those who should come afterwards. Nature all but crying out with a distinct voice, that men, imitating the Author of their being, should pass their lives without labour and without trouble, living in the most ungrudging abundance and plenty. And this would be the case if there were neither irrational pleasures to obtain mastery over the soul raising up a wall of gluttony and lasciviousness, nor desires of glory, or power, or riches, to assume dominion over life, nor pains to contract and warp the intellect, nor that evil councilor--fear, to restrain the natural inclinations towards virtuous actions, nor folly and cowardice, and injustice, and the incalculable multitude of other evils to attack them. But now that all the evils which I have now been mentioning are vigorous, and that men abandon themselves without restraint to their passions, and to those unbridled and guilty inclinations, which it is impious even to mention, justice encounters them as a suitable chastiser of wicked habits; and therefore, as a punishment for wrong doers, the necessaries of life have been made difficult of acquisition. For men plowing up the plains with difficulty, and bringing streams from rivers, and fountains by channels, and sowing and planting, and submitting indefatigably day and night to the labour of cultivating the ground, provide themselves every year with what is necessary, even that at times being attended with pain; and not very sufficient in quantity, from being injured by many causes. For either a fall of incessant rain has carried away the crops, or the weight of hail which has fallen upon them has crushed them altogether, or snow has chilled them, or the violence of the winds has torn them up by the roots; for water and air cause many alterations, tending to destroy and productiveness of the crops. But if the immoderate violence of the passions were appeased by temperance, and the inclination to do wrong and depraved ambition were corrected by justice, and in short if the vices and unhallowed actions done in accordance with them, were corrected by the virtues, and the energies in accordance with them, the war of the soul being terminated, which is in good truth the most grievous and heavy of all wars, and peace being established, and founding amid all our faculties, a due regard for law, with all tranquility and mildness, then there would be hope that God, as being a friend to virtue, and a friend to honour, and above all a friend to man, would bestow upon the race of man, all kinds of spontaneous blessings from his ready store. For it is evident that it is easier to supply most abundantly the requisite supplies without having recourse to agricultural means, from treasures which already exist, than to bring forth what as yet has no existence.

27 I have now mentioned the second reason. There is also a third, which is as follows:--God, intending to adapt the beginning and the end of all created things together, as being all necessary and dear to one another, made heaven the beginning, and man the end: the one being the most perfect of incorruptible things, among those things which are perceptible by the external senses; and the other, the best of all earthborn and perishable productions--a short-lived heaven if one were to speak the truth, bearing within himself many star like natures, by means of certain arts and sciences, and illustrious speculations, according to every kind of virtue.

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For since the corruptible and the incorruptible, are by nature opposite, he has allotted the best thing of each species to the beginning and to the end. Heaven, as I before said, to the beginning, and man to the end.

28 And besides all this, another is also mentioned among the necessary causes. It was necessary that man should be the last of all created beings; in order that being so, and appearing suddenly, he might strike terror into the other animals. For it was fitting that they, as soon as they first saw him should admire and worship him, as their natural ruler and master; on which account, they all, as soon as they saw him, became tame before him; even those, who by nature were most savage, becoming at once most manageable at the first sight of him; displaying their unbridled ferocity to one another, and being tame to man alone. For which reason the Father who made him to be a being dominant over them by nature not merely in fact, but also by express verbal appointment, established him as the king of all the animals, beneath the moon, whether terrestrial or aquatic, or such as traverse the air. For every mortal thing which lives in the three elements, land, water or air, did he put in subjection to him, excepting only the beings that are in heaven, as creatures who have a more divine portion. And what is apparent to our eyes it the most evident proof of this. For at times, innumerable herds of beasts are led about by one man, not armed, nor wearing iron, nor any defensive weapon, but clad only in a skin for a garment, and carrying a staff, for the purpose of making signs, and to lean upon also in his journeys if he become weary. And so the shepherd, and the goatherd, and the cowherd, lead numerous flocks of sheep, and goats, and herds of oxen; men neither vigorous, nor active in their bodies, so as to strike those who behold them with admiration because of their fine appearance; and all the might and power of such numerous and well-armed beasts (for they have means of self-defense given them by nature), yet dread them as slaves do their master, and do all that is commanded them. Bulls are yoked to the plough to till the ground, and cutting deep furrows all day, sometimes even for a long space of time together, while some farmer is managing them. And rams being weighed down with heavy fleeces of wool, in the spring season, at the command of the shepherd, stand quietly, and lying down, without resistance, permit their wool to be shorn off, being accustomed naturally, like cities, to yield a yearly tribute to their sovereign. And moreover, that most spirited of animals, the horse, is easily guided after he has been bridled; in order that he may not become frisky, and shake off the rein; and he hollows his back in an admirable manner to receive his rider and to afford him a good seat, and then bearing him aloft, he gallops at a rapid pace, being eager to arrive at and carry him to the place to which he is urging him. And the rider without any toil, but in the most perfect quiet, makes a rapid journey, by using the body and feet of another animal.

29 And any one who was inclined to dwell upon this subject might bring forward a great many other instances, to prove that there is no animal in the enjoyment of perfect liberty, and exempt from the dominion of man; but what has been already said is sufficient by way of example. We ought, however, not to be ignorant of this also, that it is no proof because man was the last created animal that he is the lowest in rank, and charioteers and pilots are witnesses of this; for the charioteers sit behind their beasts of burden, and are placed at, their backs, and yet when they have the reins in their hands, they guide them wherever they choose, and at one time they urge them on to a swift pace, and at another time they hold them back, if they are going on at a speed greater than is desirable. And pilots again, sitting in the hindmost part of the ship, that is the stern are, as one may say, the most important of all the people in the ship, inasmuch as they have the safety of the ship and of all those who are in it, in their hands. And so the Creator has made man to be as it were a charioteer and pilot over all other animals, in order that he may hold the reins and direct the course of every thing upon earth, having the superintendence of all animals and plants, as a sort of viceroy of the principal and mighty King.

30 But after the whole world had been completed according to the perfect nature of the number six, the Father hallowed the day following, the seventh, praising it, and calling it holy. For that day is the festival, not of one city or one country, but of all the earth; a day which alone it is right to call the day of festival for all people, and the birthday of the world. And I know not if any one would be able to celebrate the nature of the number seven in adequate terms, since it is superior to every form of expression. But it does not follow that because it is more admirable than anything that can be said of it, that on that account one ought to keep silence; but rather we ought to try, even if one cannot say everything which is proper, or even that which is most proper, at all events to utter such things as may be attainable by our capacities. The number seven is spoken of in two ways; the one within the number ten which is measured by repeating the unit alone seven times, and which consists of seven units; the other is the number outside ten, the beginning of which is altogether the unit increasing according to a twofold or threefold, or any other proportion whatever; as are the numbers sixty-four, and seven hundred and twenty-nine; the one number of which is increased by doubling on from the unit, and the other by trebling. And it is not well to examine either species superficially, but the second has a most manifest pre-eminence. For in every case the number which is combined from the unit in double or treble ratio, or any other ratio, whatsoever, is the seventh number, a cube and a square, embracing both species, both that of the incorporeal and that of the corporeal essence. That of the incorporeal essence according to the superficies which quadrangular figures present, and that of the corporeal essence according to the other figure which cubes make; and the clearest proof of this is afforded by the numbers already spoken of. In the seventh number increasing immediately from the unit in a twofold ratio, namely, the number sixty-four, is a square formed by the multiplication of eight by eight, and it is also a cube by the multiplication of four and four, four times. And again, the seventh number from the unit being increased in a threefold ratio, that is to say, the number seven hundred and twenty-nine, is a square, the number seven and twenty being multiplied by itself; and it is also a cube, by nine being multiplied by itself nine times. And in every case a man making his beginning from the unit, and proceeding on to the seventh number, and increasing in the same ratio till he comes to the number seven, will at all times find the number, when increased, both a cube and a square. At all events, he who begins with the number sixty-four, and combines them in a doubling ratio, will make the seventh number four thousand and ninety-six, which is both a square and a cube, having sixty-four as its square root, and sixteen as its cube root.

31 And we must also pass on to the other species of the number seven, which is contained in the number ten, and which displays an admirable nature, and one not inferior to the previously mentioned species. The number seven consists of one, and two and four, numbers which have two most harmonious ratios, the twofold and the fourfold ratio; the former of which affects the diapason harmony, while the fourfold ratio causes that of the double diapason. It also comprehends other divisions, existing in some kind of yoke-like combination. For it is divided first of all into the number one, and the number six; then into the two and the five; and last of all, into the three and the four. And the proportion of these numbers is a most musical one; for the number six bears to the number one a six-fold ratio, and the six-fold ratio causes the greatest possible difference between existing tones; the distance namely, by which the sharpest tone is separated from the flattest, as we shall show when we pass on from numbers to the discussion of harmony. Again, the ratio of four to two displays the greatest power in harmony, almost equal to that of the diapason, as is most evidently shown in the rules of that art. And the ratio of four to three effects the first harmony, that in the thirds, which is the diatessaron.

32 The number seven displays also another beauty which it possesses, and one which is most sacred to think of. For as it consists of three and four, it displays in existing things a line which is free from all deviation and upright by nature. And in what way it does so I must show. The rectangular triangle, which is the beginning of all qualities, consists of the Numbers [this discussion about numbers is not very intelligible; but here Philo is probably referring to the problem of Euclid on the subject of the square of the hypotenuse. Thus, if 3 and 4 represent the sides containing the angle, and 5 the side subtending it, we get x3)+x= 9+16= 25; 5x5= 25.] and four, and five; and the three and the four, which are the essence of the seven, contain the right angle; for the obtuse angle and the acute angle show irregularity, and disorder, and inequality; for one may be more acute or more obtuse than another. But a right angle does not admit of comparison, nor is one right angle more a right angle than another: but one remains similar to another, never changing its peculiar nature. But if the right-angled triangle is the beginning of all figures and of all qualities, and if the essence of the number seven, that is to say, the numbers three and four together, supply the most necessary part of this, namely, the right angle, then seven may be rightly thought to be the fountain of every figure and of every quality. And besides what has been already advanced, this also may be asserted that three is the number of a plane figure, since a point has been laid down to be, according to a unit, and a line according to the number two, and a plane superficies according to the number three. Also, four is the number of a cube, by the addition of one to the number of a plane superficies, depth being added to the superficies. From which it is plain that the essence of the number seven is the foundation of geometry and trigonometry; and in a word, of all incorporeal and corporeal substances.

33 And such great sanctity is there in the number seven, that it has a pre-eminent rank beyond all the other numbers in the first decade. For of the other numbers, some produce without being produced, others are produced but have no productive power themselves; others again both produce and are produced. But the number seven alone is contemplated in no part. And this proposition we must confirm by demonstration. Now the number one produces all the other numbers in order, being itself produced absolutely by no other; and the number eight is produced by twice four, but itself produces no other number in the decade. Again, four has the rank of both, that is, of parents and of offspring; for it produces eight when doubled, and it is produced by twice two. But seven alone, as I said before, neither produces nor is produced, on which account other philosophers liken this number to Victory, who had no mother, and to the virgin goddess, whom the fable asserts to have sprung from the head of Jupiter: and the Pythagoreans compare it to the Ruler of all things. For that which neither produces, nor is produced, remains immovable. For generation consists in motion, since that which is generated, cannot be so without motion, both to cause production, and to be produced. And the only thing which neither moves nor is moved, is the Elder, Ruler, and Lord of the universe, of whom the number seven may reasonably be called a likeness. And Philolaus gives his testimony to this doctrine of mine in the following Words: - "for God," says he "is the ruler and Lord of all things, being one, eternal, lasting, immovable, himself like to himself, and different from all other beings."

34 Among the things then which are perceptible only by intellect, the number seven is proved to be the only thing free from motion and accident; but among things perceptible by the external senses, it displays a great and comprehensive power, contributing to the improvement of all terrestrial things, and affecting even the periodical changes of the moon. And in what manner it does this, we must consider. The number seven when compounded of numbers beginning with the unit, makes eight-and-twenty, a perfect number, and one equalized in its parts. And the number so produced, is calculated to reproduce the revolutions of the moon, bringing her back to the point from which she first began to increase in a manner perceptible by the external senses, and to which she returns by waning. For she increases from her first crescent-shaped figure, to that of a half circle in seven days; and in seven more, she becomes a full orb; and then again she turns back, retracing the same path, like a runner of the diaulos,[this refers to the Greek games. "The straight race was called stadion or dromos. In the diaulos dromos the runners turned round the goal, and came back to the starting place." - Smith in v. Stadium.] receding from an orb full of light, to a half circle again in seven days, and lastly, in an equal number she diminishes from a half circle to the form of a crescent; and thus the number before mentioned is completed. And the number seven by those persons who are in the habit of employing names with strict propriety is called the perfecting number; because by it, everything is perfected. And any one may receive a confirmation of this from the fact, that every organic body has three dimensions, length, depth, and breadth; and four boundaries, the point, the line, the superficies, and the solid; and by theses, when combined, the number seven is made up. But it would be impossible for bodies to be measured by the number seven, according to the combination of the three dimensions, and the four boundaries, if it did not happen that the ideas of the first numbers, one, two, three and four, in which the number ten is founded, comprised the nature of the number seven. For the aforesaid numbers have four boundaries, the first, the second, the third, the fourth, and three intervals. The first interval being that between one and two; the second, that between two and three; the third, that between three and four.

35 And besides what has been already said, the growth of men from infancy to old age, when measured by the number seven, displays in a most evident manner its perfecting power; for in the first period of seven years, the putting forth of the teeth takes place. And at the end of the second period of the same length, he arrives at the age of puberty: at the end of the third period, the growth of the beard takes place. The fourth period sees him arrive at the fullness of his manly strength. The fifth seven years is the season for marriage. In the sixth period he arrives at the maturity of his understanding. The seventh period is that of the most rapid improvement and growth of both his intellectual and reasoning powers. The eighth is the sum of the perfection of both. In the ninth, his passions assume a mildness and gentleness, from being to a great degree tamed. In the tenth, the desirable end of life comes upon him, while his limbs and organic senses are still unimpaired: for excessive old age is apt to weaken and enfeeble them all. And Solon, the Athenian lawgiver, described these different ages in the following elegiac verses: -

In seven years from the earliest breath,
The child puts forth his hedge of teeth;
When strengthened by a similar span,
He first displays some signs of man.
As in a third, his limbs increase,
A beard buds o'er his changing face.
When he has passed a fourth such time,
His strength and vigor's in its prime.
When five times seven years o'er his head
Have passed, the man should think to wed;
At forty-two, the wisdom's clear
To shun vile deed of folly or fear:
While seven times seven years to sense

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Add ready wit and eloquence.
And seven years further skill admit
To raise them to their perfect height.
When nine such periods have passed,
His powers, though milder grown, still last;
When God has granted ten times seven,
The aged man prepares for heaven.

36 Solon therefore thus computes the life of man by the aforesaid ten periods of seven years. But Hippocrates the physician says that there are Seven [it is hardly necessary to remind the reader of the description of the seven ages of man in Shakespeare. As You Like It, Act II. sc. 7.] ages of man, infancy, childhood, boyhood, youth, manhood, middle age, old age; and that these too, are measured by periods of seven, though not in the same order. And he speaks thus; ``In the nature of man there are seven seasons, which men call ages; infancy, childhood, boyhood, and the rest. He is an infant till he reaches his seventh year, the age of the shedding of his teeth. He is a child till he arrives at the age of puberty, which takes place in fourteen years. He is a boy till his beard begins to grow, and that time is the end of a third period of seven years. He is a youth till the completion of the growth of his whole body, which coincides with the fourth seven years. Then he is a man till he reaches his forty-ninth year, or seven times seven periods. He is a middle aged man till he is fifty-six, or eight times seven years old; and after that he is an old man.

And it is also affirmed for the particular praise of the number seven, that it has a very admirable rank in nature, because it is composed of three and four. And if any one doubles the third number after the unit, he will find a square; and if he doubles the fourth number, he will find a cube. And if he doubles the seventh from both, he will both a cube and a square; therefore, the third number from the unit is a square in a double ratio. And the fourth number, eight, is a cube. And the seventh number, being sixty-four, is both a cube and a square at the same time; so that the seventh number is really a perfecting one, signifying both equalities, - the plane superficies by the square, according to the connexion with the number three, and the solid by the cube according to its relationship to the number four; and of the numbers three and four, are composed the number seven.

37 But this number is not only a perfecter of things, but it is also, so to say, the most harmonious of numbers; and in a manner the source of that most beautiful diagram which describes all the harmonies, that of fourths, and that of fifths, and the diapason. It also comprises all the proportions, the arithmetical, the geometrical, and moreover the harmonic proportion. And the square consists of these numbers, six, eight, nine, and twelve; and eight bears to six the ratio of being one third greater, which is the diatessaron of harmony. And nine bears to six the ratio of being half as great again, which is the ratio of fifths. And twelve is to six, in a twofold proportion; and this is the same as the diapason. The number seven comprises also, as I have said, all the proportions of arithmetical proportion, from the numbers six, and nine, and twelve; for as the number in the middle exceeds the first number by three, it is also exceeded by three by the last number. And geometrical proportion is according to these four numbers. For the same ratio that eight bears to six, that also does twelve bear to nine. And this is the ratio of thirds. Harmonic ratio consists of three numbers, six, and eight, and twelve. But there are two ways of judging of harmonic proportion. One when, whatever ratio the last number bears to the first, the excess by which the last number exceeds the middle one is the same as the excess by which the middle number exceeds the first. And any one may derive a most evident proof of this from the numbers before mentioned, six, and eight, and twelve: for the last number is double the first. And again, the excess of twelve over eight is double the excess of eight over six. For the number twelve exceeds eight by four, and eight exceeds six by two; and four is the double of two. And another test of harmonic proportion is, when the middle term exceeds and is exceeded by those on each side of it, by an equal portion; for eight being the middle term, exceeds the first term by a third part; for if six be subtracted from it, the remainder two is one third of the original number six: and it is exceeded by the last term in an equal proportion; for if eight be taken from twelve, the remainder four is one third of the whole number twelve.

38 Let this then be premised, as of necessity it must, respecting the honourable qualities which this diagram or square has, and the name to which it is entitled, and the number seven unfolds an equal number of ideas, and even more in the case of incorporeal things, which are perceptible only by the intellect; and its nature extends also over every visible essence, reaching to both heaven and earth, which are the boundaries of every thing. For what portion of all the things on earth is there which is not fond of seven; being subdued by affection and longing for the seventh. Accordingly men say, that the heaven is girdled with seven circles, the names of which are as follows; the arctic, the Antarctic, the summer tropic, the winter tropic, the equinoctial, the zodiac, and last of all the galaxy. For the horizon is something which affects us, in proportion as any one has acute vision, or the contrary; our sensation cutting off at one time a lesser, and at another time a greater circumference. The planets too, and the corresponding host of fixed stars, are arrayed in seven divisions, displaying a very great sympathy with the air and the earth. For they turn the air towards the times, that are called the seasons of the year, causing in each of them innumerable changes by calm weather, and pleasant breezes, and clouds, and irresistible blasts of wind. And again, they make rivers to overflow and to subside, and turn plains into lakes; and again, on the contrary, they dry up the waters: they also cause the alterations of the seas, when they receded, and return with a reflux. For at times, when the tide recedes on a sudden, an extensive line of shore occupies what is usually a wide gulf of sea; and in a short time afterwards, the waters are brought back, and there appears a sea, sailed over, not by shallow boats, but by ships of exceeding great burden. And they also give increase and perfection to all the terrestrial animals and plants which produce fruit, endowing each with a nature to last a long time, so that new plants may flourish and come to maturity; - the old ones having passed away, in order to provide an abundant supply of necessary things.

39 Moreover, the constellation Ursa Major, which men call the guide of mariners, consists of seven stars, which the pilots keeping in view, steer in innumerable paths across the sea, directing their endeavors towards an incredible task, beyond the capacity of human intellect. For it is through conjectures, directed by the aforementioned stars, that they have discovered countries which were previously unknown; those who dwell on the continent having discovered islands, and islanders having found out continents. For it was fitting that the recesses both of earth and sea should be revealed to that God-loving animal, the race of mankind, by the purest of essences, namely heaven. And besides the stars above mentioned the band of the Pleiades is also made up of seven stars, the rising and occultation of which are the causes of great benefits to all men. For when they set, the furrows are ploughed up for the purpose of sowing; and when they are about to rise, they bring glad tidings of harvest; and after they have arisen, they awaken the rejoicing husbandman to the collection of their necessary food. And they with joy store up their food for their daily use. And the sun, the ruler of the day, making two equinoxes every year, both in spring and autumn. The spring equinox in the constellation of Aries, and the autumnal one in Libra, gives the most evident demonstration possible of the divine dignity of the number seven. For each of the equinoxes takes place in the seventh month, at which time men are expressly commanded by law to celebrate the greatest and most popular and comprehensive festivals; since it is owing to both these seasons, that all the fruits of the earth are engendered and brought to perfection; the fruit of corn, and all other things which are sown, being owing to the vernal equinox; and that of the vine, and of all the other plants which bear hard berries, of which there are great numbers, to the autumnal one.

40 And since all the things on the earth depend upon the heavenly bodies according to a certain natural sympathy, it is in heaven too that the ratio of the number seven began, and from thence it descended to us also, coming down to visit the race of mortal men. And so again, besides the dominant part of our mind, our soul is divided into seven divisions; there being five senses, and besides them the vocal organ, and after that the generative power. All which things, like the puppets in a raree show, which are moved by strings by the manager, are at one time quiet, and at another time in motion, each according to its suitable habits and capacities of motion. And in the same way, if any one were to set about investigating the different parts of the body, in both their interior and the exterior arrangement, he will in each case find seven divisions. Those which are visible are as follow: the head, the chest, the belly, two arms, and two legs; the internal parts, or the entrails, as they are called, are the stomach, the heart, the lungs, the spleen, the liver, and the two kidneys. Again, the principal and dominant part in an animal is the head, and that has seven most necessary divisions: two eyes, an equal number of ears, two channels for the nostrils, and the mouth to make up seven, through which as Plato says, mortal things find their entrance, and immortal things their exit. For into the mouth do enter meat and drink, perishable food of a perishable body; but from out of it proceed words - the immortal laws of an immortal soul, by means of which rational life is regulated.

41 Again, the things which are judged of by the best of the senses, sight, partake of number according to their kind. For the things which are seen are seven; body, distance, shape, magnitude, colour, motion, tranquility, and besides these there is nothing. It also happens that all the changes of the voice amount to seven; the acute, the grave, the contracted, in the fourth place the aspirated sound, the fifth is the tone, the sixth the long, the seventh the short sound. There are also seven motions; the motion upwards, the motion downwards, that to the right, that to the left, the forward motion, the backward motion, and the rotary motion, as is most especially shown by those who exhibit dances. It is affirmed also that the secretions of the body are performed in the aforesaid number of seven. For tears are poured out through the eyes, and the purifications of the head through the nostrils, and through the mouth the saliva which is spit out; there are, besides two other channels for the evacuation of the superfluities of the body, the one being placed in front and the other behind; the sixth mode of evacuation is the effusion of perspiration over the whole body, and the seventh that most natural exercise of the generative powers. Again, in the case of women, the flux called the catamenia, is usually carried on for seven days. Also, children in the womb receive life at the end of seven months, so that a very extraordinary thing happens: for children who are born at the end of the seventh month live, while those who are born at the expiration of the eighth month are altogether incapable of surviving. Again, the dangerous diseases of the body, especially when lasting fevers, arising from the distemperature of the powers within us, attack us, are usually decided about the seventh day. For that day determines the contest for life, allotting safety to some men, and death to others.

42 And the power of this number does not exist only in the instances already mentioned, but it also pervades the most excellent of the sciences, the knowledge of grammar and music. For the lyre with seven strings, bearing a proportion to the assemblage of the seven planets, perfects its admirable harmonies, being almost the chief of all instruments which are conversant about music. And of the elements of grammar, those which are properly called vowels are, correctly speaking, seven in number, since they can be sounded by themselves, and when they are combined with other letters, they make complete sounds; for they fill up the deficiency existing in semi-vowels, making the sounds whole; and they change and alter the natures of the mutes inspiring them with their own power, in order that what has no sound may become endowed with sound. On which account it appears to me that they also originally gave letters their names, and acting as became wise men, did give the name to the number seven from the Respect [the word used is sebasmos, as if hebdomas were derived from that; and the Romans formed septem from hepta, by the addition of s.] they had for it, and from regard to the dignity inherent in it. But the Romans, adding the letter S, which had been omitted by the Greeks, show still more conspicuously the correct etymological meaning of the word, calling it septem, as derived from semnos, venerable, as has been said before, and from sebasmos, veneration.

43 These things, and more still are said in a philosophical spirit about the number seven, on account of which it has received the highest honours, in the highest nature. And it is honoured by those of the highest reputation among both Greeks and barbarians, who devote themselves to mathematical sciences. It was also greatly honoured by Moses, a man much attached to excellence of all sorts, who described its beauty on the most holy pillars of the law, and wrote it in the hearts of all those who were subject to him, commanding them at the end of each period of six days to keep the seventh holy; abstaining from all other works which are done in the seeking after and providing the means of life, devoting that day to the single object of philosophizing with a view to the improvement of their morals, and the examination of their consciences: for conscience being seated in the soul as a judge, is not afraid to reprove men, sometimes employing pretty vehement threats; at other times by milder admonitions, using threats in regard to matters where men appear to be disobedient, of deliberate purpose, and admonitions when their offences seem involuntary, through want of foresight, in order to prevent their hereafter offending in a similar manner.

44 So Moses, summing up his account of the creation of the world, says in a brief style, "This is the book of the creation of the heaven and of the earth, when it took place, in the day on which God made the heaven and the earth, and every green herb before it appeared upon the earth, and all the grass of the field before it sprang up." Does he not here manifestly set before us incorporeal ideas perceptible only by the intellect, which have been appointed to be as seals of the perfected works, perceptible by the outward senses. For before the earth was green, he says that this same thing, verdure, existed in the nature of things, and before the grass sprang up in the field, there was grass though it was not visible. And we must understand in the case of every thing else which is decided on by the external senses, there were elder forms and motions previously existing, according to which the things which were created were fashioned and measured out. For although Moses did not describe everything collectively, but only a part of what existed, as he was desirous of brevity, beyond all men that ever wrote, still the few things which he has mentioned are examples of the nature of all, for nature perfects none of those which are perceptible to the outward senses without an incorporeal model.

45 Then, preserving the natural order of things, and having a regard to the connexion between what comes afterwards and what has gone before, he says next, "And a fountain went up from the earth and watered the whole face of the earth." For other philosophers affirm that all water is one of the four elements of which the world was composed. But Moses, who

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was accustomed to contemplate and comprehend matters with a more acute and far-sighted vision, considers thus: the vast sea is an element, being a fourth part of the entire universe, which the men after him denominated the ocean, while they look upon the smaller seas which we sail over in the light of harbours. And he drew a distinction between the sweet and drinkable water and that of the sea, attributing the former to the earth, and considering it a portion of the earth, rather than of the ocean, on account of the reason which I have already mentioned, that is to say, that the earth may be held together by the sweet qualities of the water as by a chain; the water acting in the manner of glue. For if the earth were left entirely dry, so that no moisture arose and penetrated through its holes rising to the surface in various directions, it would split. But now it is held together, and remains lasting, partly by the force of the wind which unites it, and partly because the moisture does not allow it to become dry, and so to be broken up into larger and smaller fragments. This is one reason; and we must also mention another, which is aimed at the truth like an arrow at a mark. It is not the nature of anything upon the earth to exist without a moist essence. And this is indicated by the throwing of seed, which is either moist, as the seed of animals, or else does not shoot up without moisture, such as the seeds of plants; from which it is evident that it follows that the aforesaid moist essence must be a portion of the earth which produces everything, just as the flux of the catamenia is a part of women. For by men who are learned in natural philosophy, this also is said to be the corporeal essence of children. Nor is what we are about to say inconsistent with what has been said; for nature has bestowed upon every mother, as a most indispensable part of her conformation, breasts gushing forth like fountains, having in this manner provided abundant food for the child that is to be born. And the earth also, as it seems, is a mother, from which consideration it occurred to the early ages to call her Demetra, combining the names of mother (m÷et÷er), and earth (g÷e or d÷e). For it is not the earth which imitates the woman, as Plato has said, but the woman who has imitated the earth which the race of poets has been accustomed with truth to call the mother of all things, and the fruit-bearer, and the giver of all things, since she is at the same time the cause of the generation and durability of all things, to the animals and plants. Rightly, therefore, did nature bestow on the earth as the eldest and most fertile of mothers, streams of rivers, and fountains like breasts, in order that the plants might be watered, and that all living things might have abundant supplies of drink.

46 After this, Moses says that "God made man, having taken clay from the earth, and he breathed into his face the breath of life." And by this expression he shows most clearly that there is a vast difference between man as generated now, and the first man who was made according to the image of God. For man as formed now is perceptible to the external senses, partaking of qualities, consisting of body and soul, man or woman, by nature mortal. But man, made according to the image of God, was an idea, or a genus, or a seal, perceptible only by the intellect, incorporeal, neither male nor female, imperishable by nature. But he asserts that the formation of the individual man, perceptible by the external senses is a composition of earthy substance, and divine spirit. For that the body was created by the Creator taking a lump of clay, and fashioning the human form out of it; but that the soul proceeds from no created thing at all, but from the Father and Ruler of all things. For when he uses the expression, "he breathed into," etc., he means nothing else than the divine spirit proceeding form that happy and blessed nature, sent to take up its habitation here on earth, for the advantage of our race, in order that, even if man is mortal according to that portion of him which is visible, he may at all events be immortal according to that portion which is invisible; and for this reason, one may properly say that man is on the boundaries of a better and an immortal nature, partaking of each as far as it is necessary for him; and that he was born at the same time, both mortal and the immortal. Mortal as to his body, but immortal as to his intellect.

47 But the original man, he who was created out of the clay, the primeval founder of all our race, appears to me to have been most excellent in both particulars, in both soul and body, and to have been very far superior to all the men of subsequent ages from his pre-eminent excellence in both parts. For he in truth was really good and perfect. And one may form a conjecture of the perfection of his bodily beauty from three considerations, the first of which is this: when the earth was now but lately formed by its separation from that abundant quantity of water which was called the sea, it happened that the materials out of which the things just created were formed were unmixed, uncorrupted, and pure; and the things made from this material were naturally free from all imperfection. The second consideration is that it is not likely that God made this figure in the present form of a man, working with the most sublime care, after he had taken the clay from any chance portion of earth, but that he selected carefully the most excellent clay of all the earth, of the pure material choosing the finest and most carefully sifted portion, such as was especially fit for the formation of the work which he had in hand. For it was an abode or sacred temple for a reasonable soul which was being made, the image of which he was about to carry in his heart, being the most God-like looking of images. The third consideration is one which admits of no comparison with those which have been already mentioned, namely, this: the Creator was good both in other respects, and also in knowledge, so that every one of the parts of the body had separately the numbers which were suited to it, and was also accurately completed in the admirable adaptation to the share in the universe of which it was to partake. And after he had endowed it with fair proportions, he clothed it with beauty of flesh, and embellished it with an exquisite complexion, wishing, as far as was possible, that man should appear the most beautiful of beings.

48 And that he is superior to all these animals in regard of his soul, is plain. For God does not seem to have availed himself of any other animal existing in creation as his model in the formation of man; but to have been guided, as I have said before, by his own reason alone. On which account, Moses affirms that this man was an image and imitation of God, being breathed into in his face in which is the place of the sensations, by which the Creator endowed the body with a soul. Then, having placed the mind in the dominant part as king, he gave him as a body of satellites, the different powers calculated to perceive colours and sounds, and flavours and odors, and other things of similar kinds, which man could never have distinguished by his own resources without the sensations. And it follows of necessity that an imitation of a perfectly beautiful model must itself be perfectly beautiful, for the word of God surpasses even that beauty which exists in the nature which is perceptible only by the external senses, not being embellished by any adventitious beauty, but being itself, if one must speak the truth, its most exquisite embellishment.

49 The first man, therefore, appears to me to have been such both in his body and in his soul, being very far superior to all those who live in the present day, and to all those who have gone before us. For our generation has been from men: but he was created by God. And in the same proportion as the one Author of being is superior to the other, so too is the being that is produced. For as that which is in its prime is superior to that the beauty of which is gone by, whether it be an animal, or a plant, or fruit, or anything else whatever of the productions of nature; so also the first man who was ever formed appears to have been the height of perfection of our entire race, and subsequent generations appear never to have reached an equal state of perfection, but to have at all times been inferior both in their appearance and in their power, and to have been constantly degenerating, which same thing I have also seen to be the case in the instance of the sculptors' and painters' art. For the imitations always fall short of the original models. And those works which are painted or fashioned from models must be much more inferior, as being still further removed from the original. And the stone which is called the magnet is subject to a similar deterioration. For any iron ring which touches it is held by it as firmly as possible, but another which only touches that ring is held less firmly. And the third ring hangs from the second, and the fourth from the third, and the fifth from the fourth, and so on one from another in a long chain, being all held together by one attractive power, but still they are not all supported in the same degree. For those which are suspended at a distance from the original attraction, are held more loosely, because the attractive power is weakened, and is no longer able to bind them in an equal degree. And the race of mankind appears to be subject to an influence of the same kind, since in men the faculties and distinctive qualities of both body and soul are less vivid and strongly marked in each succeeding generation. And we shall be only saying what is the plain truth, if we call the original founder of our race not only the first man, but also the first citizen of the world. For the world was his house and his city, while he had as yet no structure made by hands and wrought out of the materials of wood and stone. And in this world he lived as in his own country, in all safety, removed from any fear, inasmuch as he had been thought worthy of the dominion over all earthly things; and had everything that was mortal crouching before him, and taught to obey him as their master, or else constrained to do so by superior force, and living himself surrounded by all the joys which peace can bestow without a struggle and without reproach.

50 But since every city in which laws are properly established, has a regular constitution, it became necessary for this citizen of the world to adopt the same constitution as that which prevailed in the universal world. And this constitution is the right reason of nature, which in more appropriate language is denominated law, being a divine arrangement in accordance with which everything suitable and appropriate is assigned to every individual. But of this city and constitution there must have been some citizens before man, who might be justly called citizens of a mighty city, having received the greatest imaginable circumference to dwell in; and having been enrolled in the largest and most perfect commonwealth. And who could these have been but rational divine natures, some of them incorporeal and perceptible only by intellect, and others not destitute of bodily substance, such in fact as the stars? And he who associated with and lived among them was naturally living in a state of unmixed happiness. And being akin and nearly related to the ruler of all, inasmuch as a great deal of the divine spirit had flowed into him, he was eager both to say and to do everything which might please his father and his king, following him step by step in the paths which the virtues prepare and make plain, as those in which those souls alone are permitted to proceed who consider the attaining a likeness to God who made them as the proper end of their existence.

51 We have now then set forth the beauty of the first created man in both respects, in body and soul, if in a way much inferior to the reality, still to the extent of our power, and the best of our ability. And it cannot be but that his descendants, who all partake of his original character, must preserve some traces of their relationship to their father, though they may be but faint. And what is this relationship? Every man in regard of his intellect is connected with divine reason, being an impression of, or a fragment or a ray of that blessed nature; but in regard of the structure of his body he is connected with the universal world. For he is composed of the same materials as the world, that is of earth, and water, and air and fire, each of the elements having contributed its appropriate part towards the completion of most sufficient materials, which the Creator was to take in order to fashion this visible image. And, moreover, man dwells among all the things that have been just enumerated, as most appropriate places having the closest connexion with himself, changing his abode, and going at different times to different places. So that one may say with the most perfect propriety that man is every kind of animal, terrestrial, aquatic, flying, and celestial. For inasmuch as he dwells and walks upon the earth he is a terrestrial animal; but inasmuch as he often dives and swims, and sails, he is an aquatic creature. And merchants and captains of ships and purple dyers, and all those who let down their nets for oysters an fish, are a very clear proof of what is here said. Again, inasmuch as his body is raised at times above the earth and uses high paths, he may with justice be pronounced a creature who traverses the air; and, moreover, he is a celestial animal, by reason of that most important of the senses, sight; being by it brought near the sun and moon, and each of the stars, whether planets or fixed stars.

52 And with great beauty Moses has attributed the giving of names to the different animals to the first created man, for it is a work of wisdom and indicative of royal authority, and man was full of intuitive wisdom and self-taught, having been created by the grace of God, and, moreover, was a king. And it is proper for a ruler to give names to each of his subjects. And, as was very natural, the power of domination was excessive in that first-created man, whom God formed with great care and thought worthy of the second rank in the creation, making him his own viceroy and the ruler of all other creatures. Since even those who have been born so many generations afterwards, when the race is becoming weakened by reason of the long intervals of time that have elapsed since the beginning of the world, do still exert the same power over the irrational beasts, preserving as it were a spark of the dominion and power which has been handed down to them by succession from their first ancestor. Accordingly, Moses says, that "God brought all the animals to man, wishing to see what names he would give to each." Not because he knew that he had formed in mortal man a rational nature capable of moving of its own accord, in order that he might be free from all participation in vice. But he was now trying him as a master might try his pupil, stirring up the disposition which he had implanted in him; and moreover exciting him to a contemplation of his own works, that he might extemporize them names which should not be inappropriate nor unbecoming, but which should well and clearly display the peculiar qualities of the different subjects. For as the rational nature was as yet uncorrupted in the soul, and as no weakness, or disease, or affliction had as yet come upon it, man having most pure and perfect perceptions of bodies and of things, devised names for them with great felicity and correctness of judgement, forming very admirable opinions as to the qualities which they displayed, so that their natures were at once perceived and correctly described by him. And he was so excellent in all good things that he speedily arrived at the very perfection of human happiness.

53 But since nothing in creation lasts for ever, but all mortal things are liable to inevitable changes and alterations, it was unavoidable that the first man should also undergo some disaster. And the beginning of his life being liable to reproach, was his wife. For, as long as he was single, he resembled, as to his creation, both the world and God; and he represented in his soul the characteristics of the nature of each, I do not mean all of them, but such as a mortal constitution was capable of admitting. But when woman also was created, man perceiving a closely connected figure and a kindred formation to his own, rejoiced at the sight, and approached her and embraced her. And she, in like manner, beholding a creature greatly resembling herself, rejoiced also, and

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addressed him in reply with due modesty. And love being engendered, and, as it were, uniting two separate portions of one animal into one body, adapted them to each other, implanting in each of them a desire of connexion with the other with a view to the generation of a being similar to themselves. And this desire caused likewise pleasure to their bodies, which is the beginning of iniquities and transgressions, and it is owing to this that men have exchanged their previously immortal and happy existence for one which is mortal and full of misfortune.

54 But while man was still living a solitary life, and before woman was created, the history relates that a paradise was planted by God in no respect resembling the parks which are seen among men now. For parks of our day are only lifeless woods, full of all kinds of trees, some evergreen with a view to the undisturbed delectation of the sight; others budding and germinating in the spring season, and producing fruit, some eatable by men, and sufficient, not only for the necessary support of nature as food, but also for the superfluous enjoyment of luxurious life; and some not eatable by men, but of necessity bestowed upon the beasts. But in the paradise, made by God, all the plants were endowed in the souls and reason, producing for their fruit the different virtues, and, moreover, imperishable wisdom and prudence, by which honourable and dishonourable things are distinguished from one another, and also a life free from disease, and exempt from corruption, and all other qualities corresponding to these already mentioned. And these statements appear to me to be dictated by a philosophy which is symbolical rather than strictly accurate. For no trees of life or of knowledge have ever at any previous time appeared upon the earth, nor is it likely that any will appear hereafter. But I rather conceive that Moses was speaking in an allegorical spirit, intending by his paradise to intimate the dominant character of the soul, which is full of innumerable opinions as this figurative paradise was of trees. And by the tree of life he was shadowing out the greatest of the virtues - namely, piety towards the gods, by means of which the soul is made immortal; and by the tree which had the knowledge of good an evil, he was intimating that wisdom and moderation, by means of which things, contrary in their nature to one another, are distinguished.

55 Therefore, having laid down these to be boundaries as it were in the soul, God then, like a judge, began to consider to which side men would be most inclined by nature. And when he saw that the disposition of man had a tendency to wickedness, and was but little inclined to holiness or piety, by which qualities an immortal life is secured, he drove them forth as was very natural, and banished him from paradise; giving no hope of any subsequent restoration to his soul which had sinned in such a desperate and irremediable manner. Since even the opportunity of deceit was blamable in no slight degree, which I must not pass over in this place. It is said that the old poisonous and earthborn reptile, the serpent, uttered the voice of a man. And he on one occasion coming to the wife of the first created man, reproached her with her slowness and her excessive prudence, because she delayed and hesitated to gather the fruit which was completely beautiful to look at, and exceedingly sweet to enjoy, and was, moreover, most useful as being a means by which men might be able to distinguish between good an evil. And she, without any inquiry, prompted by an unstable and rash mind, acquiesced in his advice, and ate of the fruit, and gave a portion of it to her husband. And this conduct suddenly changed both of them from innocence and simplicity of character to all kinds of wickedness; at which the Father of all was indignant. For their actions deserved his anger, inasmuch as they, passing by the tree of eternal life, the tree which might have endowed them with perfection of virtue, and by means of which they might have enjoyed a long and happy life, preferred a brief and mortal (I will not call it life, but) time full of unhappiness; and, accordingly, he appointed them such punishment as was befitting.

56 And these things are not mere fabulous inventions, in which the race of poets and sophists delights, but are rather types shadowing forth some allegorical truth, according to some mystical explanation. And any one who follows a reasonable train of conjecture, will say with great propriety, that the aforesaid serpent is the symbol of pleasure, because in the first place he is destitute of feet, and crawls on his belly with his face downwards. In the second place, because he uses lumps of clay for food. Thirdly, because he bears poison in his teeth, by which it is his nature to kill those who are bitten by him. And the man devoted to pleasure is free form none of the aforementioned evils; for it is with difficulty that he can raise his head, being weighed down and dragged down, since intemperance trips him up and keeps him down. And he feeds, not on heavenly food, which wisdom offers to contemplative men by means of discourses and opinions; but on that which is put forth by the earth in the varying seasons of the year, from which arise drunkenness and voracity, and licentiousness, breaking through and inflaming the appetites of the belly, and enslaving them in subjection to gluttony, by which they strengthen the impetuous passions, the seat of which is beneath the belly; and make them break forth. And they lick up the result of the labours of cooks and tavern-keepers; and at times some of them in ecstasy with the flavour of the delicious food, moves about his head and reaches forward, being desirous to participate in the sight. And when he sees an expensively furnished table, he throws himself bodily upon the delicacies which are abundantly prepared, and devotes himself to them, wishing to be filled with them all together, and so to depart, having no other end in view than that he should allow nothing of such a sumptuous preparation to be wasted. Owing to which conduct, he too, carries about poison in his teeth, no less than the serpent does; for his teeth are the ministers and servants of his insatiability, cutting up and smoothing everything which has a reference to eating, and committing them, in the first place to the tongue, which decides upon, and distinguishes between the various flavours, and, subsequently, to the larynx. But immoderate indulgence in eating is naturally a poisonous and deadly habit, inasmuch as what is so devoured is not capable of digestion, in consequence of the quantity of additional food which is heaped in on the top of it, and arrives before what was previously eaten is converted into juice. And the serpent is said to have uttered a human voice, because pleasure employs innumerable champions and defenders who take care to advocate its interests, and who dare to assert that the power over everything, both small and great, does of right belong to it without any exception whatever.

57 Now, the first approaches of the male to the female have a pleasure in them which brings on other pleasures also, and it is through this pleasure that the formation and generation of children is carried on. And what is generated by it appears to be attached to nothing rather than to it, since they rejoice in pleasure, and are impatient at pain, which is its contrary. On which account even the infant when first brought forth cries, being as it seems in pain at the cold. For coming forth on a sudden into the air from a very warm, and indeed, hot region namely, the womb, in which it has been abiding a considerable time, the air being a cold place and one to which it is wholly unaccustomed, it is alarmed, and pours forth tears as the most evident proof of its grief and of its impatience at pain. 6For every animal, it is said, hastens to pleasure as to the cud which is most indispensable and necessary to its very existence; and, above all other animals, this is the case with man. For other animals pursue pleasure only in taste and in the acts of generation; but man aims at it by means of his other senses also, devoting himself to whatever sights or sounds can impart pleasure to his eyes or ears. And many other things are said in the way of praise of this inclination, especially that it is one most peculiar and kindred to all animals.

58 But what has been already said is sufficient to show what the reasons were on account of which the serpent appears to have uttered a human voice. And it is on this account that Moses appears to me in the particular laws also which he issued in the respect to animals, deciding what were proper to be eaten, and what were not, to have given especial praise to the animal called the serpent fighter. This is a reptile with jointed legs above its feet, by which it is able to leap and to raise itself on high, in the same manner as the tribe of locusts. For the serpent fighter appears to me to be no other than temperance expressed under a symbolical figure, waging an interminable and unrelenting warfare against intemperance and pleasure. For temperance especially embraces economy and frugality, and pares down the necessities to a small number, preferring a life of austerity and dignity. But intemperance is devoted to extravagance and superfluity, which are the causes of luxury and effeminacy to both soul and body, and to which it owes that in the opinion of wise men life is but a faulty thing, and more miserable than death.

59 But its juggleries and deceits pleasure does not venture to bring directly to the man, but first offers them to the woman, and by her means to the man; acting in a very natural and sagacious manner. For in human beings the mind occupies the rank of the man, and the sensations that of the woman. And pleasure joins itself to and associates itself with the sensations first of all, and then by their means cajoles also the mind, which is the dominant part. For, after each of the senses have been subjected to the charms of pleasure, and has learnt to delight in what is offered to it, the sight being fascinated by varieties of colours and shapes, the hearing by harmonious sounds, the taste by the sweetness of flowers, and the smell by the delicious fragrance of the odors which are brought before it, these all having received these offerings, like handmaids, bring them to the mind as their master, leading with them persuasion as an advocate, to warn it against rejecting any of them whatever. And the mind being immediately caught by the bait, becomes a subject instead of a ruler, and a slave instead of a master, and an exile instead of a citizen, and a mortal instead of an immortal. For we must altogether not be ignorant that pleasure, being like a courtesan or mistress, is eager to meet with a lover, and seeks for panders in order by their means to catch a lover. And the sensations are her panders, and conciliate love to her, and she employing them as baits, easily brings the mind into subjection to her. And the sensations conveying within the mind the things which have been seen externally, explain and display the forms of each of them, setting their seal upon a similar affection. For the mind is like wax, and receives the impressions of appearances through the sensations, by means of which it makes itself master of the body, which of itself it would not be able to do, as I have already said.

60 And those who have previously become the slaves of pleasure immediately receive the wages of this miserable and incurable passion. For the woman having received vehement pains, partly in her travail, and partly such as are a rapid succession of agonies during the other portions of her life, and especially with reference to the bringing forth and bringing up of her children, to their diseases and their health, to their good or evil fortune, to an extent that utterly deprives her of her freedom and subjects her to the dominion of the man who is her companion, finds it unavoidable to obey all his commands. And the man in his turn endures toils and labours, and continual sweats, in order to the providing of himself with necessaries, and he also bears the deprivation of all those spontaneous good things which the earth was originally taught to produce without requiring the skill of the farmer, and he is subjected to a state in which he lives in incessant labour, for the purpose of seeking for food and means of subsistence, in order to avoid perishing by hunger. For I think that as the sun and the moon do continually give light, ever since they were originally commanded to do so at the time of the original creation of the universe, and as they constantly obey the divine injunction, for the sake of no other reason but because evil and disobedience are banished to a distance far from the boundaries of heaven: so in the same way would the fertile and productive regions of the earth yield an immense abundance in the various seasons of the year, without any skill or co-operation on the part of the husbandman. But at present the ever-flowing fountains of the graces of God have been checked, from the time when wickedness began to increase faster than the virtues, in order that they might not be supplying men who were unworthy to be benefited by them. Therefore, the race of mankind, if it had met with strict and befitting justice, must have been utterly destroyed, because of its ingratitude to God its benefactor and its Saviour. But God, being merciful by nature, took pity upon them, and moderated their punishment. And he permitted the race to continue to exist, but he no longer gave them food as he had done before from ready prepared stores, lest if they were under the dominion of his evils, satiety and idleness, they should become unruly and insolent.

61 Such is the life of those who originally were men of innocence and simplicity, and also of those who have come to prefer vice to virtue, from whom one ought to keep aloof. And in his before mentioned account of the creation of the world, Moses teaches us also many other things, and especially five most beautiful lessons which are superior to all others. In the first place, for the sake of convicting the atheists, he teaches us that the Deity has a real being and existence. Now, of the atheists, some have only doubted of the existence of God, stating it to be an uncertain thing; but others, who are more audacious, have taken courage, and asserted positively that there is no such thing; but this is affirmed only by men who have darkened the truth with fabulous inventions. In the second place he teaches us that God is one; having reference here to the assertors of the polytheistic doctrine; men who do not blush to transfer that worst of evil constitutions, ochlocracy, from earth to heaven. Thirdly, he teaches, as has been already related, that the world was created; by this lesson refuting those who think that it is uncreated and eternal, and who thus attribute no glory to God. In the fourth place we learn that the world also which was thus created is one, since also the Creator is one, and he, making his creation to resemble himself in its singleness, employed all existing essence in the creation of the universe. For it would not have been complete if it had not been made and composed of all parts which were likewise whole and complete. For there are some persons who believe that there are many worlds, and some who even fancy that they are boundless in extent, being themselves inexperienced and ignorant of the truth of those things of which it is desirable to have a correct knowledge. The fifth lesson that Moses teaches us is, that God exerts his providence for the benefit of the world. For it follows of necessity that the Creator must always care for that which he has created, just as parents do also care for their children. And he who has learnt this not more by hearing it than by his own understanding, and has impressed on his own soul these marvelous facts which are the subject of so much contention - namely, that God has a being and existence, and that he who so exists is really one, and that he has created the world, and that he has created it one as has been stated, having made it like to himself in singleness; and that he exercises a continual care for that which he has created will live a happy and blessed life, stamped with the doctrines of piety and holiness.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I

1 "And the heaven and the earth and all their world was Completed." [Genesis 2:1.] Having previously related the

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creation of the mind and of sense, Moses now proceeds to describe the perfection which was brought about by them both. And he says that neither the indivisible mind nor the particular sensations received perfection, but only ideas, one the idea of the mind, the other of sensation. And, speaking symbolically, he calls the mind heaven, since the natures which can only be comprehended by the intellect are in heaven. And sensation he calls earth, because it is sensation which has obtained a corporeal and some what earthy constitution. The ornaments of the mind are all the incorporeal things, which are perceptible only by the intellect. Those of sensation are the corporeal things, and everything in short which is perceptible by the external senses.

2 "And on the sixth day God finished his work which he had made." It would be a sign of great simplicity to think that the world was created in six days, or indeed at all in time; because all time is only the space of days and nights, and these things the motion of the sun as he passes over the earth and under the earth does necessarily make. But the sun is a portion of heaven, so that one must confess that time is a thing posterior to the world. Therefore it would be correctly said that the world was not created in time, but that time had its existence in consequence of the world. For it is the motion of the heaven that has displayed the nature of time.

When, therefore, Moses says, "God completed his works on the sixth day," we must understand that he is speaking not of a number of days, but that he takes six as a perfect number. Since it is the first number which is equal in its parts, in the half, and the third and sixth parts, and since it is produced by the multiplication of two unequal factors, two and three. And the numbers two and three exceed the incorporeality which exists in the unit; because the number two is an image of matter being divided into two parts and dissected like matter. And the number three is an image of a solid body, because a solid can be divided according to a threefold division. Not but what it is also akin to the motions of organic animals. For an organic body is naturally capable of motion in six directions, forward, backwards, upwards, downwards, to the right, and to the left. And at all events he desires to show that the races of mortal, and also of all the immortal beings, exist according to their appropriate numbers; measuring mortal beings, as I have said, by the number six, and the blessed and immortal beings by the number seven. First, therefore, having desisted from the creation of mortal creatures on the seventh day, he began the formation of other and more divine beings.

3 For God never ceases from making something or other; but, as it is the property of fire to burn, and of snow to chill, so also it is the property of God to be creating. And much more so, in proportion as he himself is to all other beings the author of their working. Therefore the expression, "he caused to rest," is very appropriately employed here, not "he rested." For he makes things to rest which appear to be producing others, but which in reality do not affect anything; but he himself never ceases from creating. On which account Moses says, "He caused to rest the things which he had begun." For all the things that are made by our arts when completed stand still and remain; but all those which are accomplished by the knowledge of God are moved at subsequent times. For their ends are the beginnings of other things; as, for instance, the end of day is the beginning of night. And in the same way we must look upon months and years when they come to an end as the beginning of those which are just about to follow them. And so the generation of other things which are destroyed, and the destruction of others which are generated is completed, so that that is true which is said that--

And naught that is created wholly dies;
But one thing parted and combined with others
Produces a fresh form.

4 But nature delights in the number seven. For there are seven planets, going in continual opposition to the daily course of the heaven which always proceeds in the same direction. And likewise the constellation of the Bear is made up of seven stars, which constellation is the cause of communication and unity among men, and not merely of traffic. Again, the periodical changes of the moon, take place according to the number seven, that star having the greatest sympathy with the things on earth. And the changes which the moon works in the air, it perfects chiefly in accordance with its own configurations on each seventh day. At all events, all mortal things, as I have said before, drawing their more divine nature from the heaven, are moved in a manner which tends to their preservation in accordance with this number seven. For who is there who does not know that those infants who are born at the end of the seventh month are likely to live, but those who have taken a longer time, so as to have abided eight months in the womb, are for the most part abortive births? And they say that man is a reasoning being in his first seven years, by which time he is a competent interpreter of ordinary nouns and verbs, making himself master of the faculty of speaking. And in his second period of seven years, he arrives at the perfection of his nature; and this perfection is the power of generating a being like himself; for at about the age of fourteen we are able to beget a creature resembling ourselves. Again, the third period of seven years is the termination of his growth; for up to the age of one and twenty years man keeps on increasing in size, and this time is called by many maturity. Again, the irrational portion of the soul is divisible into seven portions; the five senses, and the organ of speech, and the power of generation. Again, the motions of the body are seven; the six organic motions, and the rotary motion. Also the entrails are seven--the stomach, the heart, the spleen, the liver, the lungs, and the two kidneys. In like manner the limbs of the body amount to an equal number--the head, the neck, the chest, the two hands, the belly, the two feet. Also the most important part of the animal, the face, is divisible according to a sevenfold division--the two eyes, and the two ears, and as many nostrils, and in the seventh place, the mouth. Again, the secretions are seven--tears, mucus from the nose, saliva, the generative fluid, the two excremental discharges, and the sweat that proceeds from every part of the body. Moreover, in diseases the seventh day is the most critical period--and in women the catamenial purifications extend to the seventh day.

5 And the power of this number has extended also to the most useful of the arts--namely, to grammar. At all events, in grammar, the most excellent of the elements, and those which have the most powers, are the seven vowels. And likewise in music, the lyre with seven strings is nearly the best of all instruments; because the enharmonic principle which is the most dignified of all the principles of melody, is especially perceived in connexion with it. Again, it happens that the tones of the voice are seven--the acute, the grave, the contracted, the aspirate, the lene, the long and the short sound. The number seven is also the first number which is compounded of the perfect number, that is to say of six, and of the unit. And in some sense the numbers which are below ten are either generated by, or do themselves generate those numbers which are below ten, and the number ten itself. But the number seven neither generates any of the numbers below ten, nor is it generated by any of them. On which account the Pythagoreans compare this number to the Goddess always a virgin who was born without a mother, [i.e., Minerva.] because it was not generated by any other, and will not generate any other.

6 "Accordingly, on the seventh day, God caused to rest from all his works which he had Made." [Genesis 2:2.] Now, the meaning of this sentence is something of this kind. God ceases from forming the races of mortal creatures when he begins to create the divine races, which are akin to the nature of the number seven. And the reference which is here contained to their moral character is of the following nature. When that reason which is holy in accordance with the number seven has entered into the soul the number six is then arrested, and all the mortal things which this number appears to make.

7 "And God blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it." God blesses the manners which are formed in accordance with the seventh and divine light, as being truly light, and immediately declares them holy. For that which is blessed, and that which is holy, are closely connected with one another. On this account he says, concerning him who has vowed a great vow, that "If a sudden change comes over him, and pollutes his mind, he shall no longer be Holy." [Numbers 6:9.] But the previous days were not taken into the calculation, as was natural. For those manners which are not holy are not counted, so that which is blessed is alone holy. Correctly therefore, did Moses say that "God blessed the seventh day and hallowed it," because on it he "caused to rest from all his works which he had begun to make." And this is the reason why he who lives and conducts himself in accordance with the seventh and perfect light is blessed and holy, since it is in accordance with his nature, that the creation of mortal beings was terminated. For the case is thus: when the light of virtue, which is brilliant and really divine, rises up, then the generation of the contrary nature is checked. And we have shown that God never desists from creating something, but that when he appears to do so he is only beginning the creation of something else; as being not only, the Creator, but also the Father of everything which exists.

8 "This is the book of the generation of heaven and earth, when they were Created." [Genesis 2:4.] This is perfect reason, which is put in motion in accordance with the number seven, being the beginning of the creation of that mind which was arranged according to the ideas, and also of the sensation arranged according to the ideas, and perceptible only by the intellect, if one can speak in such a manner. And Moses calls the word of God a book, in which it is come to pass that the formations of other things are written down and engraved. But, lest you should imagine that the Deity does anything according to definite periods of time, while you should rather think that everything done by him is inscrutable in its nature, uncertain, unknown to, and incomprehensible by the race of mortal men. Moses adds the words, "when they were created," not defining the time when by any exact limitation, for what has been made by the Author of all things has no limitation. And in this way the idea is excluded, that the universe was created in six days.

9 "On which day God created the heaven and the earth, and every green herb of the field, before it appeared upon the earth, and all the grass of the field before it sprang up. For God did not rain upon the earth, and man did not exist to cultivate the earth." This day Moses has previously called a book, since at least he describes the generation of both heaven and earth in each place. For by his most conspicuous and brilliant word, by one command, God makes both things: the idea of mind, which, speaking symbolically, he calls heaven, and the idea of sensation, which by a sign he named earth. And he likens the idea of mind, and the idea of sensation to two fields; for the mind brings forth fruit, which consists in having intellectual perception; and sensation brings forth other fruits which consist in perceiving by the agency of the external senses. And what he says has the following meaning; --as there was a previously existing idea of the particular mind, and also of the indivisible minds to serve as an archetype and model for either; and also a pre-existent idea of particular sensation, being, so to say, a sort of seal which gave impressions of forms, so before particular things perceptible only by the intellect had any existence, there was a pre-existent abstract idea of what was perceptible only by intellect, by participation in which the other things also received their names; and before particular objects perceptible by the external senses, existed, there was also a generic something perceptible by the external senses, in accordance with a participation in which, the other things perceptible by the external senses were created. By "the green herb of the field," Moses means that portion of the mind which is perceptible only by intellect. For as in the field green things spring up and flourish, so also that which is perceptible only by the intellect is the fruit of the mind. Therefore, before the particular something perceptible only by intellect existed, God created the general something perceptible only by intellect, which also he correctly denominated the universe. For since the particular something perceptible only by intellect is incomplete, that is not the universe; but that which is generic is the universe, as being complete.

10 "And all the grass of the field," he proceeds, "before it sprang up." That is to say, before the particular things perceptible by the external senses sprang up, there existed the generic something perceptible by the external senses through the fore-knowledge of the Creator, which he again called "the universe." And very naturally he likened the things perceptible by the external senses to grass. For as grass is the food of irrational animals, so also that which is perceptible by the external senses is assigned to the irrational portion of the soul. For why, when he has previously mentioned "the green herb of the field," does he add also "and all the grass," as if grass were not green at all? But the truth is, that by the green herb of the field, he means that which is perceptible by the intellect only, the budding forth of the mind. But grass means that which is perceptible by the external senses, that being likewise the produce of the irrational part of the soul. "For God did not rain upon the earth, and man did not exist to cultivate the earth," speaking in the strictest accordance with natural philosophy. For if God did not shed the perceptions of things subject to them, like rain upon the senses, in that case the mind too would not labour nor employ itself about sensation. For he himself would be unable to effect anything by himself, unless he were to pour forth, like rain or dew, colours upon the sight, and sounds upon the hearing, and flavour on the tastes, and on all the other senses, the things proper to produce the requisite effects. But when God begins to rain sensation on the things perceptible by the external senses, then also the mind is perceived to act like the cultivator of fertile soil. But the idea of sensation, which he, speaking figuratively, has called the earth, is in no need of nourishment. But the nourishment of the senses, are the particular objects perceptible by the external senses; and these objects are bodies. But an idea is a thing different from bodies. Before, therefore, there existed any individual compound substances, God did not rain upon that idea of sensation to which he gave the name of the earth. And that means that he did not furnish it with any nourishment; for, indeed, it had altogether no need of any object perceptible by the external senses. But when Moses says, "And man did not exist to cultivate the earth," that means that the idea of intellect did not labour upon the idea of the sensations. For my intellect and yours work up the sensations by means of things perceptible by the external senses: but the idea of mind as must be the case while there is no individual body connected with it does not work upon the idea of sensation. For if it did so work, it would of course work by means of objects, perceptible by the external senses. But there is no such object in ideas.

11 "But a fountain went up upon the earth, and watered all the face of the earth." He here calls the mind the fountain of the earth, and the sensations he calls the face of the earth, because there is the most suitable place in the whole body for them, with reference to their appropriate energies, a place that nature which foreknows everything, has assigned to them. And the mind waters the sensations like a fountain, sending appropriate streams over each. See now how all the powers of

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a living animal depend upon one another like a chain. For as the mind, and sensations, and the object perceptible by the external sense are three different things, the middle term is sensation; and the mind, and the object perceptible by the external sense, are the two extremes. But the mind is unable to work; that is to say, to energize according to sensation, unless God rains upon and irrigates the object perceptible by the external senses, nor is there any advantage from the object perceptible to the external sense when watered, unless the mind, like a fountain, extending itself as far as the sensation, puts it in motion when it is quiet, and leads it on to a comprehension of the subject. So that the mind, and the object perceptible by the external senses, are always endeavoring to reciprocate with one another, the one the being subject to the sensations as a kind of material would be, and the mind stirring up the sensations toward the external object, as a workman would do, in order to create an appetite. For a living animal is superior to that which is not a living animal in two points, imagination and appetite. Accordingly, imagination consists in the approach of the external object striking the mind by means of the sensations. And appetite is the brother of imagination, according to the intensive power of the mind, which the mind keeps on the stretch, by means of the sensation, and so touches the subject matter, and comes over to it, being eager to arrive at and comprehend it.

12 "And God created man, taking a lump of clay from the earth, and breathed into his face the breath of life: and man became a living soul." The races of men are twofold; for one is the heavenly man, and the other the earthly man. Now the heavenly man, as being born in the image of God, has no participation in any corruptible or earthlike essence. But the earthly man is made of loose material, which he calls a lump of clay. On which account he says, not that the heavenly man was made, but that he was fashioned according to the image of God; but the earthly man he calls a thing made, and not begotten by the maker. And we must consider that the man who was formed of earth, means the mind which is to be infused into the body, but which has not yet been so infused. And this mind would be really earthly and corruptible, if it were not that God had breathed into it the spirit of genuine life; for then it "exists," and is no longer made into a soul; and its soul is not inactive, and incapable of proper formation, but a really intellectual and living one. "For man," says Moses, "became a living soul."

13 But some one may ask, why God thought an earth-born mind, which was wholly devoted to the body, worthy of divine inspiration, and yet did not treat the one made after his own idea and image in the same manner. In the second place he may ask, what is the meaning of the expression "breathed into." And thirdly, why he breathed into his face: fourthly also, why, since he knew the name of the Spirit when he says, "And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the Waters," [Genesis 1:2.] he now speaks of breath, and not of the Spirit. Now in reply to the first question we must say this one thing; God being very munificent gives his good things to all men, even to those who are not perfect; inviting them to a participation and rivalry in virtue, and at the same time displaying his abundant riches, and showing that it is sufficient for those also who will not be greatly benefited by it; and he also shows this in the most evident manner possible in other cases; for when he rains on the sea, and when he raises up fountains in desert places, and waters shallow and rough and unproductive land, making the rivers to overflow with floods, what else is he doing but displaying the great abundance of his riches and of his goodness? This is the cause why he has created no soul in such a condition as to be wholly barren of good, even if the employment of that good be beyond the reach of some people. We must also give a second reason, which is this: Moses wished to represent all the actions of the Deity as just--therefore a man who had not had a real life breathed into him, but who was ignorant of virtue, when he was chastised for the sins which he had committed would say that he was punished unjustly, in that it was only through ignorance of what was good that he had erred respecting it; and that he was to blame who had not breathed any proper wisdom into him; and perhaps he will even say, that he has absolutely committed no offence whatever; since some people affirm that actions done involuntarily and in ignorance have not the nature of offences. Now the expression "breathed into" is equivalent to "inspired," or "gave life to" things inanimate: for let us take care that we are never filled with such absurdity as to think that God employs the organs of the mouth or nostrils for the purpose of breathing into anything; for God is not only devoid of peculiar qualities, but he is likewise not of the form of man, and the use of these words shows some more secret mystery of nature; for there must be three things, that which breathes in, that which receives what is breathed in, and that which is breathed in. Now that which breathes in is God, that which receives what is breathed in is the mind, and that which is breathed in is the spirit. What then is collected from these three things? A union of the three takes place, through God extending the power, which proceeds from himself through the spirit, which is the middle term, as far as the subject. Why does he do this, except that we may thus derive a proper notion of him? Since how could the soul have perceived God if he had not inspired it, and touched it according to his power? For human intellect would not have dared to mount up to such a height as to lay claim to the nature of God, if God himself had not drawn it up to himself, as far as it was possible for the mind of man to be drawn up, and if he had not formed it according to those powers which can be comprehended. And God breathed into man's face both physically and morally. Physically, when he placed the senses in the face: and this portion of the body above all others is vivified and inspired; and morally, in this manner, as the face is the dominant portion of the body, so also is the mind the dominant portion of the soul. It is into this alone that God breathes; but the other parts, the sensations, the power of speech, and the power of generation, he does not think worthy of his breath, for they are inferior in power. By what then were these subordinate parts inspired? beyond all question by the mind; for of the qualities which the mind has received form God, it gives a share to the irrational portion of the soul, so that the mind is vivified by God, and the irrational part of the soul by the mind; for the mind is as it were a god to the irrational part of the soul, for which reason Moses did not hesitate to call it "the god of Pharaoh." [Exodus 7:1.] For of all created things some are created by God, and through him: some not indeed by God, but yet through him: and the rest have their existence both by him and through him. At all events Moses as he proceeds says, that God planted a paradise, and among the best things as made both by God and through God, is the mind. But the irrational part of the soul was made indeed by God but not through God, but through the reasoning power which bears rule and sovereignty in the soul; and Moses has used the word "breath," not "spirit," as there is a difference between the two words; for spirit is conceived of according to strength, and intensity, and power; but breath is a gentle and moderate kind of breeze and exhalation; therefore the mind, which was created in accordance with the image and idea of God, may be justly said to partake in his spirit, for its reasoning has strength: but that which is derived from matter is only a partaker in a thin and very light air, being as it were a sort of exhalation, such as arises from spices; for they, although they be preserved intact, and are not exposed to fire or fumigation, do nevertheless emit a certain fragrance.

14 "And God planted a paradise in Eden , in the east: and there he placed the man whom he had Formed:" [Genesis 2:8.] for he called that divine and heavenly wisdom by many names; and he made it manifest that it had many appellations; for he called it the beginning, and the image, and the sight of God. And now he exhibits the wisdom which is conversant about the things of the earth (as being an imitation of this archetypal wisdom), in the plantation of this Paradise . For let not such impiety ever occupy our thoughts as for us to suppose that God cultivates the land and plants paradises, since if we were to do so, we should be presently raising the question of why he does so: for it could not be that he might provide himself with pleasant places of recreation and pastime, or with amusement. Let not such fabulous nonsense ever enter our minds; for even the whole world would not be a worthy place or habitation for God, since he is a place to himself, and he himself is full of himself, and he himself is sufficient for himself, filling up and surrounding everything else which is deficient in any respect, or deserted, or empty; but he himself is surrounded by nothing else, as being himself one and the universe. God therefore sows and implants terrestrial virtue in the human race, being an imitation and representation of the heavenly virtue. For, pitying our race, and seeing that it is exposed to abundant and innumerable evils, he firmly planted terrestrial virtue as an assistant against and warder off of the diseases of the soul; being, as I have said before, an imitation of the heavenly and archetypal wisdom which he calls by various names. Now virtue is called a paradise metaphorically, and the appropriate place for the paradise is Eden ; and this means luxury: and the most appropriate field for virtue is peace, and ease, and joy; in which real luxury especially consists. Moreover, the plantation of this paradise is represented in the east; for right reason never sets, and is never extinguished, but it is its nature to be always rising. And as I imagine, the rising sun fills the darkness of the air with light, so also does virtue when it has arisen in the soul, irradiate its mist and dissipate the dense darkness. "And there," says Moses, "he placed the man whom he had formed:" for God being good, and having formed our race for virtue, as his work which was most akin to himself, places the mind in virtue, evidently in order that it, like a good husband, may cultivate and attend to nothing else except virtue.

15 And some one may ask here, why, since it is a pious action to imitate the works of God, it is forbidden to me to plant a grove near the altar, and yet God plants a paradise? For Moses says, "You shall not plant a grove for yourself; you shall not make for yourself any tree which is near the altar of the Lord your God." [Deuteronomy 16:21.] What then are we to say? That it is right for God to plant and to build up the virtues in the soul. But the selfish and atheistical mind, thinking itself equal with God while it appears to be doing something, is found in reality to be rather suffering. And though God sows and plants good things in the soul, the mind which says, "I plant," is acting impiously. You shall not plant therefore where God is planting: but if, O mind, you fix plants in the soul, take care to plant only such trees as bear fruit, and not a grove; for in a grove there are trees of a character to bear cultivation, and also wild trees. But to plant vice, which is unproductive in the soul, along with cultivated and fertile virtue, is the act of a double natured and confused leprosy. If, however, you bring into the same place things which ought not to be mingled together, you must separate and disjoin them from the pure and incorrupt nature which is accustomed to make blameless offerings to God; and this is his altar; for it is inconsistent with this to say that there is any such thing as a work of the soul, when all things are referred to God, and to mingle barren things with those which are productive; for this would be faulty: but they are blameless things which are offered to God. If therefore you transgress any one of these laws, O soul! you will be injuring yourself, not God. On this account God says, "You shall not plant for yourself:" for no one works for God, and especially what is evil does not. And again, Moses adds: "You shall not make for yourself." And in another place he says, "You shall not make gods of silver with me, and you shall not make gods of gold for yourselves." For he who conceives either that God has any distinctive quality, or that he is not one, or that he is not uncreated and imperishable, or that he is not unchangeable, injures himself and not God. "For you shall not make them for yourselves," is what he says. For we must conceive that God is free from distinctive qualities, and imperishable, and unchangeable; and he who does not conceive thus of him is filling his own soul with false and atheistical opinions. Do you not see that--even though God were to conduct us to virtue, and though when we had been thus conducted we were to plant no tree which was barren, but only such as produce fruit, he would still command us to purify its impurity, that is to say, the appearing to plant. For he here orders us to cut away vain opinions; and vain opinions are a thing impure by nature.

16 "And the man whom he had formed," Moses says, "God placed in the Paradise ," [Genesis 2:8.] for the present only. Who, then, is he in reference to whom he subsequently says that "The Lord God took the man whom he had formed, and placed him in the Paradise to cultivate it and to guard It." [Genesis 2:15.] Must not this man who was created according to the image and idea of God have been a different man from the other, so that two men must have been introduced into the Paradise together, the one a fictitious man, and the other modeled after the image of God? Therefore, the man modeled after the idea of God, is perceived not only amid the planting of the virtues, but, besides this, he is their cultivator and guardian; that is to say, he is mindful of the things which he has heard and practiced. But the man who is factitious, neither cultivates the virtues, nor guards them, but is only introduced into opinions by the abundant liberality of God, being on the point of immediately becoming an exile from virtue. Therefore, he calls that man whom he only places in Paradise , factitious; but him whom he appoints to be its cultivator and guardian he calls not factitious, but "the man whom he had made." And him he takes, but the other he casts out. And him whom he takes he thinks worthy of three things, of which goodness of nature especially consists: namely, expertness, perseverance, and memory. Now, expertness is his position in Paradise; memory is the guarding and preservation of holy opinions; perseverance is the effecting of what is good, the performance of virtuous actions. But the factitious mind neither remembers what is good, nor does it, but is only expert, and nothing more; on which account, after it has been placed in Paradise , in a short time afterwards it runs away, and is cast out.

17 "And God caused to rise out of the earth every tree which is pleasant to the sight and good for food, and the tree of life he raised in the middle of the Paradise, and also the tree of the knowledge of good and evil." He here gives a sketch of the trees of virtue which he plants in the soul. And these are the particular virtues, and the energies in accordance with them, and the good and successful actions, and the things which by the philosophers are called fitting; these are the plants of the Paradise . Nevertheless, he describes the characteristics of these same trees, showing that that which is desirable to be beheld is likewise most excellent to be enjoyed. For of the arts some are theoretical and not practical, such as geometry and astronomy. Some, again, are practical and not theoretical, such as the art of the architect, of the smith, and all those which are called mechanical arts. But virtue is both theoretical and practical; for it takes in theory, since the road which leads to it is philosophy in three of its parts--the reasoning, and the moral, and the physical part. It also includes action; for virtue is art conversant about the whole of life; and in life all actions are exhibited. Still, although it takes in both theory and practice, nevertheless it is most excellent in each particular. For the theory of virtue is thoroughly excellent, and its practice and observation is a worthy object to contend for. On which account Moses says that the tree was pleasant to the sight, which is a symbol of

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theoretical excellence; and likewise good for food, which is a token of useful and practical good.

18 But the tree of life is that most general virtue which some people call goodness; from which the particular virtues are derived, and of which they are composed. And it is on this account that it is placed in the centre of the Paradise; having the most comprehensive place of all, in order that, like a king, it may be guarded by the trees on each side of it. But some say that it is the heart that is meant by the tree of life; since that is the cause of life, and since that has its position in the middle of the body, as being, according to them, the dominant part of the body. But these men ought to be made aware that they are expounding a doctrine which has more reference to medical than to natural science. But we, as has been said before, affirm that by the tree of life is meant the most general virtue. And of this tree Moses expressly says, that it is placed in the middle of the paradise; but as to the other tree, that namely of the knowledge of good and evil, he has not specified whether it is within or outside of the Paradise; but after he has used the following expression, "and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil," he says no more, not mentioning where it is placed, in order that any one who is uninitiated in the principles of natural philosophy, may not be made to marvel at his knowledge. What then must we say? That this tree is both in the Paradise and also out of it. As to its essence, indeed, in it; but as to its power, out of it. How so? The dominant portion of us is capable of receiving everything, and resembles wax, which is capable of receiving every impression, whether good or bad. In reference to which fact, that supplanter Jacob makes a confession where he says, "all these things were made for Me." [Genesis 42:36.] For the unspeakable formations and impression of all the things in the universe, are all borne forward into, and comprehended by the soul, which is only one. When, therefore that receives the impression of perfect virtue, it has become the tree of life; but when it has received the impression of vice, it has then become the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, and vice and all evil have been banished from the divine company. Therefore the dominant power which has received it is in the Paradise according to its essence; for there is in it that characteristic of virtue, which is akin to the Paradise . But again, according to its power it is not in it, because the form of virtue is inconsistent with the divine operations; and what I here say, any one may understand in this manner. At this moment, the dominant part is in my body, according to its essence, but according to its power it is in Italy , or Sicily , when it applies its consideration to those countries, and in heaven when it is contemplating the heaven. On which principle it often happens that some persons who are in profane places, according to their essence, are in the most sacred places, thinking of those things which relate to virtue. And again, others who are in the temples of the gods, and profane in their minds, from the fact of their minds receiving a change for the worse, and evil impressions; so that vice is neither in the Paradise , nor not in it. For it is possible that it may be in it according to its essence, but it is not possible that it should be according to its power.

19 "And a river goes forth out of Eden to water the Paradise . From thence it is separated into four heads: the name of the one is Pheison. That is the one which encircles the whole land of Evilat . There is the country where there is gold, and the gold of that land is good. There also are the carbuncle and the sapphire stone. And the name of the second river is Gihon; this is that which encircles the whole land of Ethiopia . And the third river is the Tigris . This is the river which flows in front of the Assyrians. And the fourth river is the Euphrates ." [Genesis 2:13.] In these words Moses intends to sketch out the particular virtues. And they also are four in number, prudence, temperance, courage, and justice. Now the greatest river from which the four branches flow off, is generic virtue, which we have already called goodness; and the four branches are the same number of virtues. Generic virtue, therefore, derives its beginning from Eden, which is the wisdom of God; which rejoices and exults, and triumphs, being delighted at and honoured on account of nothing else, except its Father, God, and the four particular virtues, are branches from the generic virtue, which like a river waters all the good actions of each, with an abundant stream of benefits. Let us examine the expressions of the writer: "A river," says he, "goes forth out of Eden , to water the Paradise ." This river is generic goodness; and this issues forth out of the Eden of the wisdom of God, and that is the word of God. For it is according to the word of God, that generic virtue was created. And generic virtue waters the Paradise : that is to say, it waters the particular virtues. But it does not derive its beginnings from any principle of locality, but from a principle of preeminence. For each of the virtues is really and truly a ruler and a queen. And the expression, "is separated," is equivalent to "is marked off by fixed boundaries;" since wisdom appoints them settled limits with reference to what is to be done. Courage with respect to what is to be endured; temperance with reference to what is to be chosen; and justice in respect of what is to be distributed.

20 "The name of one river is Pheison. This is that river which encircles all the land of Evilat ; there is the country where there is gold. And the gold of that land is good; there also are the carbuncle and the sapphire stone." One of the four virtues is prudence, which Moses here calls Pheison: because the soul abstains,[pheisoæn from pheidomai, to spare, or abstain from. from, and guards against, acts of iniquity. And it meanders in a circle, and flows all round the land of Evilat; that is to say, it preserves a mild, and gentle, and favourable constitution. And as of all fusible essences, the most excellent and the most illustrious is gold, so also the virtue of the soul which enjoys the highest reputation, is prudence. And when he uses the expression, "that is the country where there is gold," he is not speaking geographically, that is, where gold exists, but that is the country in which that valuable possession exists, brilliant as gold, tried in the fire, and valuable, namely, prudence. And this is confessed to be the most valuable possession of God. But with reference to the geographical position of virtue, there are two personages, each invested with distinctive qualities. One, the being who has prudence, the other, the being who exerts it; and these he likens to the carbuncle and the emerald.

21 "And the name of the second river is Gihon. This is that which encircles all the land of Ethiopia." Under the symbol of this river courage is intended. For the name of Gihon being interpreted means chest, or an animal which attacks with its horns; each of which interpretations is emblematical of courage. For courage has its abode about the chest, where also is the seat of the heart, and where man is prepared to defend himself. For courage is the knowledge of what is to be withstood, and of what is not to be withstood, and of what is indifferent. And it encircles and surrounds Ethiopia , making demonstrations of war against it; and the name of Ethiopia, being interpreted, means humiliation. And cowardice is a humiliating thing; but courage is adverse to humiliation and to cowardice. "And the third river is the Tigris; this is that which flows in front of Assyria." The third virtue is temperance, which resolutely opposes that kind of pleasure which appears to be the directress of human infirmity. For the translation of the name Assyrians in the Greek tongue is euthynontes, (directors). And he has likened desire to a tiger, which is the most untamable of beasts; it being desire about which temperance is conversant.

22 It is worth while therefore to raise the question why courage has been spoken of as the second virtue, and temperance as the third, and prudence as the first; and why Moses has not also explained the course of action of the other virtues. Now we must understand that our soul is divided into three parts, and that it has one portion which is conversant about reason; another which is subject to passion; and another which is that in which the desires are conceived. And we find that the proper place and abode of the reasoning part of the soul, is the head; of the passionate part, the chest; and of the part in which the desires are conceived, the stomach. And we find that appropriate virtues are adapted to each of these parts. To the rational part, prudence; in it is the office of reason, to have a knowledge of what one might, and of what one ought not to do. And the virtue of the passionate part of the soul is courage: and of the appetitive part, temperance. For it is through temperance that we remedy and cure the appetites. For as the head is the principle and uppermost part of the animal, and the chest the next highest, and the liver the third, in point both of importance and of position; so in the soul again, the first is the rational part, the second the passionate part, and the third the appetitive part. In the same way again of the virtues; the first is that which is conversant about the first portion of the soul, which is the reasoning portion, and which at the same time has its abode in the head of the body; in short it is prudence. And the second of the virtues is courage, because it is conversant about the second portion of the soul, namely, about passion, and has its abode in the second portion of the body, namely, in the chest. And the third virtue is temperance, which is placed in the stomach which is the third portion of the body, and it is conversant about the appetitive part, which has been allotted the third part of the soul, as being its subject matter.

23 "And the fourth river," continues Moses, "is the river Euphrates ." And this name Euphrates means fertility; and symbolically taken, it is the fourth virtue, namely, justice, which is most truly a productive virtue, and one which gladdens the intellect. When therefore does this happen? When the three parts of the soul are all in harmony with one another; and harmony among them is in reality the predominance of the most important; as for instance, when the two inferior parts, the passionate and the appetitive part, are disposed to yield to the superior part, then justice exists. For it is just that the better portion should rule at all times, and in all places, and that the inferior part should be ruled. Now the rational part is the better part, and the appetitive and the passionate parts are the inferior ones. But when, on the contrary, passion and appetite get riotous and disobey the reins, and by the violence of their impetuosity throw off and disregard the charioteer, that is to say reason, and when each of these passions get hold of the reins themselves, then there is injustice. For it is inevitable, that through any ignorance or vice of the charioteer, the chariot must be borne down over precipices, and must fall into the abyss; just as it must be saved when the charioteer is endowed with skill and virtue.

24 Again, let us look at the subject in this way also. Pheison, being interpreted, is the change of the mouth; and Evilat means bringing forth, and by these two names prudence is signified. For people in general think a man prudent who is an inventor of sophistical expressions, and clever at explaining that which he has conceived in the mind. But Moses considered such a one a man fond of words, but by no means a prudent man. For in the changing of the mouth, that is to say of the power of speaking and explaining one's ideas, prudence is seen. And prudence is not a certain degree of acuteness in speech, but ability which is beheld in deeds and in serious actions. And prudence surrounds Evilat, which is in travail, as it were with a wall, in order to besiege it and destroy it. And "bringing forth," is an especially appropriate name for folly, because the foolish mind, being always desirous of what is unattainable, is at all times in travail. When it is desirous of money it is in labour, also when it thirsts for glory, or when it is covetous of pleasure, or of any thing else. But, though always in labour, it never brings forth. For the soul of the worthless man is not calculated by nature to bring any thing to perfection which is likely to live. But every thing which it appears to bring forth is found to be abortive and immature. "Eating up the half of its flesh, and being like a death of the Soul." [Numbers 12:12.] On which account that holy word Aaron entreats the pious Moses, who was beloved by God, to heal the leprosy of Miriam, in order that her soul might not be occupied in the labour of bringing forth evil things. And in consequence he says: "Let her not become like unto death, as an abortion proceeding out of the womb of her mother, and let her not devour the half of her own Flesh." [Numbers 12:13.]

25 "That," says Moses, "is the country, where there is gold." He does not say that that is the only place where there is gold, but simply that is the country where there is gold. For prudence which he likened to gold, being of a nature free from deceit, and pure, and tried in the fire, and thoroughly tested, and honourable, exists there in the wisdom of God. And being there, it is not a possession of wisdom, but something belonging to the God who is its creator and owner, whose work and possession this wisdom likewise is. "And the gold of that land is good." Is there, then, any other gold which is not good? Beyond all doubt; for the nature of prudence is twofold, there being one prudence general, and another particular. Therefore, the prudence that is in me, being particular prudence, is not good; for when I perish that also will perish together with me; but general or universal prudence, the abode of which is the wisdom of God and the house of God, is good; for it is imperishable itself, and dwells in an imperishable habitation.

26 "There also is the carbuncle and the emerald." The two beings endowed with distinctive qualities, the prudent man and the man who acts prudently, differ from one another; one of them existing according to prudence, and the other acting wisely according to the rules of wisdom. For it is on account of these two beings thus endowed with distinctive qualities God implanted prudence and virtue in the earth-born man. For what would have been the use of it, if there had been no reasoning powers in existence to receive it, and to give impressions of its form? So that virtue is very properly conjoined with prudence, and the prudent man is rightly joined with him who displays prudence in his actions; the two being like two precious stones. And may not they be Judah and Issachar? For the man who puts in practice the prudence of God confesses himself to be bound to feel gratitude, and to feel it towards him who has given him what is good without grudging; and he also does honourable and virtuous actions. Accordingly Judah is the symbol of a man who makes this confession "in respect of whom Leah ceased from child-Bearing." [Genesis 29:35.] But Issachar is the symbol of the man who does good actions, "For he put Forth [Genesis 49:15.] his shoulder to labour and became a man tilling the earth." With respect to whom Moses says, hire is in his soul after he has been sown and planted, so that his labour is not imperfect, but is rather crowned and honoured with a reward by God. And that he is making mention of these things, he shows when speaking on other subjects; when describing the garment, which reached to the feet he says, "And thou shall weave in it sets of stones in four rows. The row of stones shall be the sardine stone, the topaz, and the emerald are the first row." Reuben, Simeon, and Levi are here meant. "And the second row," he says, "are the carbuncle and the Sapphire." [Exodus 28:17.] And the sapphire is the same as the green stone. And in the carbuncle was inscribed the name of Judah, for he was the fourth son: and in the sapphire the name of Issachar. Why then as he had called the sapphire the green stone, did he not also speak of the red stone? Because Judah , as the type of a disposition inclined to confession, is a being immaterial and incorporeal. For the very name of confession (exomologæseoæs) shows that it is a thing external to (ektos) himself. For when the mind is beside itself, and bears itself

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upward to God, as the laughter of Isaac did, then it makes a confession to him who alone has a real being. But as long as it considers itself as the cause of something, it is a long way from yielding to God, and confession to him. For this very act of confessing ought to be considered as being the work not of the soul, but of God who teaches it this feeling of gratitude. Accordingly Judah, who practices confession, is an immaterial being. But Issachar who came forth out of labour is in need of corporeal matter; since if it were otherwise how could a studious man read without his eyes? And how could any one hear words exhorting him to any cause, if he were not endowed with hearing? And how could he obtain meat and drink without a belly, and without a wonder working art exercised towards it? And it is on this account that he was likened to a precious stone. Moreover the colours of the two are different. For the colour of a coal when on fire is akin to that of the man who is inclined to confession: for he is inflamed by gratitude to God, and he is intoxicated with a certain sober intoxication: but the colour of the green stone is more appropriate to the man who is still labouring: for those who are devoted to constant labour are pale on account of the wearing nature of toil, and also by reason of their fear that perhaps they may not attain to such an end of their wish as is desired in their prayers.

27 And it is worth while to raise the question why the two rivers the Pheison and the Gihon encircle certain countries, the one surrounding Evilat, and the other Ethiopia, while neither of the other rivers is represented as encompassing any country. The Tigris is indeed said to flow in front of the land of the Assyrians, but the Euphrates is not mentioned in connexion with any country whatever. And yet in real truth the Euphrates does both encircle some countries, and has several also in front of it. But the truth is that the sacred writer is here speaking not of the river, but of the correction of manners. It is necessary therefore to say that prudence and courage are able to raise a wall and a circle of fortification against the opposite evils, folly, and cowardice; and to take them captives: for both of them are powerless and easy to be taken. For the foolish man is easily to be defeated by the prudent one; and the coward falls before the valiant man. But temperance is unable to surround appetite and pleasure; for they are formidable adversaries and hard to be subdued. Do you not see that even the most temperate men are compelled by the necessities of their mortal body to seek meat and drink; and it is in those things that the pleasures of the belly have their existence. We must be content therefore to oppose and contend with the genus appetite. And it is on this account that the river Tigris is represented as flowing in front of the Assyrians, that is to say temperance is in front of or arrayed against pleasure. But justice, according to which the river Euphrates is represented, neither besieges any one, nor draws lines of circumvallation round any one, nor opposes any one; --why so? Because justice is conversant about the distribution of things according to merit, and does not take the part either of accuser or of defendant, but acts as a judge. As therefore a judge does not desire beforehand to defeat any one, nor to oppose and make war upon any one; but delivers his own opinion and judges, deciding for the right, so also justice, not being the adversary of any one, distributes its due to every thing.

28 "And the Lord God took the man whom he had made and placed him in the Paradise, to cultivate and to guard it." The man whom God made differs from the factitious man, as I have said before. For the factitious mind is somewhat earthly; but the created mind is purer and more immaterial, having no participation in any perishable matter, but having received a purer and more simple constitution. Accordingly God takes this pure mind, not permitting it to proceed out of itself, and after he has taken it, he places it among the virtues which are firmly rooted and budding well, that it may cultivate and guard them. For many men who were originally practicers of virtue, when they come to the end fall off; but he to whom God gives lasting knowledge is also endowed by him with both qualities, namely with the disposition to cultivate the virtues, and the resolution never to desert them, but always to minister to and guard every one of them. So Moses here uses the expression "cultivate" as equivalent to "act," and the word "guard" instead of "remember."

29 "And the Lord God commanded Adam, saying, Of every tree that is in the Paradise thou mayest freely eat; but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil ye shall not eat; but in the day on which ye eat of it ye shall die the death." A question may arise here to what kind of Adam he gave this command and who, this Adam was. For Moses has not made any mention of him before; but now is the first time that he has named him. Are we then to think that he is desirous to supply you with the name of the factitious man? "And he calls him," continues Moses, "Earth." For this is the interpretation of the name of Adam. Accordingly, when you hear the name Adam, you must think that he is an earthly and perishable being; for he is made according to an image, being not earthly but heavenly. But we must inquire how it was that after he had given names to all the other animals, he did not give one also to himself. What then are we to say about this? The mind which is in each of us is able to comprehend all other things, but has not the capability of understanding itself. For as the eye sees all other things, but cannot see itself, so also the mind perceives the nature of other things but cannot understand itself. For if it does, let it tell us what it is, or what kind of thing it is, whether it is a spirit, or blood, or fire, or air, or any other substance: or even only so much whether it is a substance at all, or something incorporeal. Are not those men then simple who speculate on the essence of God? For how can they who are ignorant of the nature of the essence of their own soul, have any accurate knowledge of the soul of the universe? For the soul of the universe is according to our definition, --God.

30 It is therefore very natural that Adam, that is to say the mind, when he was giving names to and displaying his comprehension of the other animals, did not give a name to himself, because he was ignorant of himself and of his own nature. A command indeed is given to man, but not to the man created according to the image and idea of God; for that being is possessed of virtue without any need of exhortation, by his own instinctive nature, but this other would not have wisdom if it had not been taught to him: and these three things are different, command, prohibition, and recommendation. For prohibition is conversant about errors, and is directed to bad men, but command is conversant about things rightly done; recommendation again is addressed to men of intermediate character, neither bad nor good. For such a one does not sin so that any one has any need to direct prohibition to him, nor does he do right in every case in accordance with the injunction of right reason. But he is in need of recommendation, which teaches him to abstain from what is evil, and exhorts him to aim at what is good. Therefore there is no need of addressing either command, or prohibition, or recommendation to the man who is perfect, and made according to the image of God; For the perfect man requires none of these things; but there is a necessity of addressing both command and prohibition to the wicked man, and recommendation and instruction to the ignorant man. Just as the perfect grammarian or perfect musician has need of no instruction in the matters which belong to his art, but the man whose theories on such subjects are imperfect stands in need of certain rules, as it were, which contain in themselves commands and prohibitions, and he who is only learning the art requires instruction. Very naturally, therefore, does God at present address commands and recommendations to the earthly mind, which is neither bad nor good, but of an intermediate character. And recommendation is employed in the two names, in that of the Lord and of God. For the Lord God commanded that if man obeyed his recommendations, he should be thought worthy of receiving benefits from God; but if he rejected his warnings, he should then be cast out to destruction by the Lord, as his Master and one who had authority over him. On which account, when he is driven out of Paradise, Moses repeats the same names; for he says, "And the Lord God sent him forth out of the Paradise of happiness, to till the ground from which he had been taken." [Genesis 3:23.] That, since the Lord had laid his commands on him as his Master, and God as his Benefactor, he might now, in both these characters, chastise him for having disobeyed them; for thus, by the same power by which he had exhorted him does he also banish him, now that he is disobedient.

31 And the recommendations that he addresses to him are as follows: "Of every tree that is in the Paradise thou mayest freely Eat." [Genesis 2:16.] He exhorts the soul of man to derive advantage not from one tree alone nor from one single virtue, but from all the virtues; for eating is a symbol of the nourishment of the soul, and the soul is nourished by the reception of good things, and by the doing of praiseworthy actions. And Moses not only says, "thou mayest eat," but he adds "freely," also; that is to say, having ground and prepared your food, not like an ordinary individual, but like a wrestler, you shall thus acquire strength and vigor. For the trainers recommend the wrestlers not to cut up their food by biting large pieces off, but to masticate it slowly, in order that it may contribute to their strength; for I and an athlete are fed in different manners. For I feed merely for the purpose of living, but the wrestler feeds for the purpose of acquiring flesh and deriving strength from it; on which account one of his rules of training and exercise is to masticate his food. This is the meaning of the expression, "Thou mayest freely eat." Again let us endeavor to give a still more accurate explanation of it. To honour one's parents is a nourishing and cherishing thing. But the good and the wicked honour them in different manners. For the one does it out of habit, as men eat who do not eat freely, but who merely eat. When, then, do they also eat freely? When having investigated and developed the causes of things they form a voluntary judgement that this is good, and the causes of their eating freely, that is to say, of their honouring their parents in a proper spirit, is--they became our parents; they nourished us; they instructed us; they have been the causes of all good things to us. Again, to honour the living God is spoken of symbolically as to eat. But to eat "freely," is when it is done with a proper explanation of the whole matter, and a correct assignment of the causes of it.

32 "But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil he shall not eat." Therefore this tree is not in the Paradise. For God encourages them to eat of every tree that is in the Paradise. But when he forbids them to eat of this tree, it is plain that it is not in the Paradise ; and this is in accordance with natural philosophy. For it is there in its essence, as I have said before, and it is not there in its power. For as in wax there are potentially many seals, but in actual fact only one which has been carved on it, so also in the soul, which resembles wax, all impressions whatever are contained potentially; but in really one single characteristic which is stamped upon it has possession of it; until it is effaced by some other which makes a deeper and more conspicuous impression. Again, this, also, may be made the subject of a question. When God recommends men to eat of every tree in the Paradise , he is addressing his exhortation to one individual: but when he forbids him to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil he is speaking to him as to many. For in the one case he says, "Thou mayest freely eat of all;" but in the second instance, "Ye shall not eat;" and "In the day in which ye shall eat," not "thou shall eat;" and "Ye shall die," not "Thou shall die." We must, therefore, say this, --that the first good is rare, imparted to but few; but the evil is comprehensive. On this account it is a hard matter to find one single man wise and faithful, but the number of bad men is beyond all computation. Very appropriately, therefore, God does not address his exhortation to nourish one's self amid the virtues, to one individual, but he encourages many to abstain from extravagant wickedness; for innumerable men are addicted to it. In the second place, for the due comprehension and adoption of virtue man requires one thing alone, namely reason. But the body not only does not co-operate in it at all, but rather impedes the progress of the reason towards it. For it may be almost called the peculiar task of wisdom to alienate itself from the body and form the corporeal appetites. But for the enjoyment of evil it is not only necessary for a man to have mind in some degree, but also senses, and reason, and a body. For the bad man has need of all these things for the completion of his own wickedness. Since how will he be able to divulge the sacred mysteries unless he has the organ of voice? And how will he be able to indulge in pleasures if he be deprived of the belly and the organs of sensation? Very properly, therefore, does Moses address reason alone on the subject of the acquisition of virtue, for reason is, as I have said before, the only thing of which there is need for the establishment of virtue. But for indulgence in vice a man requires many things--soul, and reason, and the external senses of the body; for it is through all these organs that vice is exhibited.

33 Accordingly God says, "In the day in which ye eat of it ye shall die the death." And yet, though they have eaten of it, they not only do not die, but they even beget children, and are the causes of life to other beings besides themselves. What, then, are we to say? Surely that death is of two kinds; the one being the death of the man, the other the peculiar death of the soul--now the death of the man is the separation of his soul from his body, but the death of the soul is the destruction of virtue and the admission of vice; and consequently God calls that not merely "to die," but "to die the death;" showing that he is speaking not of common death, but of that peculiar and especial death which is the death of the soul, buried in its passions and in all kinds of evil. And we may almost say that one kind of death is opposed to the other kind. For the one is the separation of what was previously existing in combination, namely, of body and soul. But this other death, on the contrary, is a combination of them both, the inferior one, the body, having the predominance, and the superior one, the soul, being made subject to it. When, therefore, God says, "to die the death," you must remark that he is speaking of that death which is inflicted as punishment, and not of that which exists by the original ordinance of nature. The natural death is that one by which the soul is separated from the body. But the one which is inflicted as a punishment, is when the soul dies according to the life of virtue, and lives only according to the life of vice. Well, therefore, did Heraclitus say this, following the doctrine of Moses; for he says, "We are living according to the death of those men; and we have died according to their life." As if he had said, now, when we are alive, we are so though our soul is dead and buried in our body, as if in a tomb. But if it were to die, then our soul would live according to its proper life, being released from the evil and dead body to which it is bound.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II[*]

1 ("And the Lord God said, It is not good for man to be alone: let us make him a help meet for him." Why, O prophet, is it not good for man to be alone? Because, says he, it is good, that he who is alone should be alone. But God is alone, and by himself, being one; and there is nothing like unto God. So that, since it is good that he who only has a real existence should be alone for that which is about itself alone is good), it cannot be good for man to be alone. But the fact of God being alone one may receive in this sense; that neither before the creation was there anything with God, nor, since the world

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has been created, is anything placed in the same rank with him; for he is in need of absolutely nothing whatever. But the better way of understanding this passage is the following: God is alone: a single being: not a combination: a single nature: but each of us, and every other animal in the world, are compound beings: for instance, I myself am made up of many things, of soul and body. Again, the soul is made up of a rational part and an irrational part: also of the body, there is one part hot, another cold; one heavy, another light; one dry, another moist. But God is not a compound being, nor one which is made up of many parts, but one which has no mixture with anything else; for whatever could be combined with God must be either superior to him, or inferior to him, or equal to him. But there is nothing equal to God, and nothing superior to him, and nothing is combined with him which is worse than himself; for if it were, he himself would be deteriorated; and if he were to suffer deterioration, he would also become perishable, which it is impious even to imagine. Therefore God exists according to oneness and unity; or we should rather say, that oneness exists according to the one God, for all number is more recent than the world, as is also time. But God is older than the world, and is its Creator.

2 But it is not good for any man to be alone. For there are two kinds of men, the one made according to the image of God, the other fashioned out of the earth; for it longs for its own likeness. For the image of God is the antitype of all other things, and every imitation aims at this of which it is the imitation, and is placed in the same class with it. And it is not good for either the man, who was made according to the image of God, to be alone: nor is it any more desirable for the factitious man to be alone, and indeed it is impossible. For the external senses, and the passions, and the vices, and innumerable other things, are combined with and adapted to the mind of this man. But the second kind of man has a helpmeet for him, who, in the first place, is created; "For I will make him," says God, "a help-meet for him." And, in the second place, is younger than the object to be helped; for, first of all, God created the mind, and subsequently he prepares to make its helper. But all this is spoken allegorically, in accordance with the principles of natural philosophy; for external sensation and the passions of the soul are all younger than the soul, and how they help it we shall see hereafter, but at present we will consider the fact of their being helpers younger than the object helped.

3 As, according to the most skilful physicians and natural philosophers, the heart appears to be formed before the rest of the body, after the manner of the foundation of a house or the keel of a ship, and then the rest of the body is built upon it; on which account, even after death, the physicians say, that the heart still quivers, as having been created before the rest of the body, and being destroyed after it; so also does the dominant portion of the soul appear to be older than the whole of the soul, and the irrational part to be younger; the formation of which Moses has not yet mentioned, but he is about to give a sketch of it, how the irrational part of the soul is the external sensation, and the passions which spring from it, especially if the judgements are our own. And this assistant of God is younger, and created, being thus described with perfect propriety. But now let us see how that part, which was postponed before, acts as an assistant: how does our mind comprehend that such and such a thing is black or white, unless it employs sight as its assistant? and how does it know that the voice of the man who is singing to his harp is sweet, or, on the contrary, out of tune, if it has not the assistance of the faculty of hearing to guide it? And how can it tell that exhalations are fragrant or foul-smelling, unless it makes use of the sense of smell as its ally? How again does it judge of the different flavours, except through the instrumentality of its assistant, taste? How can it distinguish between what is rough and what is smooth, except by touch? There is also another class of assistants, as I have already said, namely, the passions: for pleasure also is an assistant, co-operating towards the durability of our race, and in like manner concupiscence, and pain, and fear, biting the soul, lead it to treat nothing with indifference. Anger, again, is a defensive weapon, which has been of great service to many people, and so too have the other passions in the same manner. On which account Moses has said, with great felicity, "that he was an assistant to himself:" for he is in reality an assistant to the mind, as if he were its brother and near kinsman: for the external sensations and the passions are parts of one soul, and are its offspring.

4 Now of assistants there are two kinds, the one consisting in the passions and the other in the sensations. [. . .] [A word or two are lost here. Pfeiffer thinks that several sentences are wanting; and there is a great want of connexion between what follows and what has gone before.] But the prior kind is that of generation, for Moses says, "And God proceeded and made all the beasts of the field out of the earth, and all the birds of heaven; and he brought them to Adam to see what he would call them, and whatever Adam called any living soul that became its name." You see here who are our assistants, the beasts of the soul, the passions. For after God had said, "I will make him a helpmeet for him," Moses adds subsequently, "He made the beasts," as if the beasts also were assistants to us. But these are not, properly speaking, assistants, but are called so only in a catachrestic manner, by a kind of abuse of language, for they are found in reality to be enemies to man. As also in the case of cities, the allies turn out at times to be traitors and deserters; and in the case of friendship, flatterers are found to be enemies instead of companions; and Moses here speaks of the heaven and the field synonymously, describing the mind in this allegorical manner; for the mind, like the field, has innumerable periods of rising and budding forth; and, like the heaven, has brilliant, and divine, and happy characteristics of nature. But the passions he compares to beasts and birds, because they injure the mind, being untamed and wild, and because, after the manner of birds, they descend upon the intellect; for their onset is swift and difficult to withstand; and the word "besides," as attached to "he made," is not superfluous. Why so? because he has previously said, that the beasts were formed before the creation of man, and he shows it in the following words, which are an account of what was done on the sixth day. "And God said, Let the earth bring forth living creatures after their kind, four-footed animals, and creeping things, and wild beasts." Why, then, is it that he makes other animals now, not being content with those already existing? now this must be stated according to the principles of moral philosophy. The species of evil are abundant in created man, so that the most evil things are continually produced in him; and this other thing must be affirmed on principles of natural philosophy. First of all, in the six days he created the different kinds of passions, and the ideas, but now, in addition to them, he is creating the species. On which account Moses says, "And besides he made . . ." and that what had been previously created were genera is plain from what he says, "Let the earth bring forth living souls," not according to species but according to genus. And this is found to be the course taken by God in all cases; for before making the species he completes the genera, as he did in the case of man: for having first modeled the generic man, in whom they say that the male and female sexes are contained, he afterwards created the specific man Adam.

5 This therefore he denominated the species of assistants, but the other part of the creation, the description, that is, of the formation of the external sensations, was postponed till he began to form the woman; and having put off this he then gives an account of the distribution of names; and this is an explanation, partly figurative and partly literal, which is worthy of our admiration. It is literal, inasmuch as the Lawgiver has attributed the imposition of names to the firstborn man; for those also among the Greeks, who study philosophy, say that they were wise men who first gave names to things: but Moses speaks more correctly in the first place, because he attributes this giving of names, not to some of those men who lived in early times, but to the first man who was created upon the earth; so that, just as he himself was created to be the beginning of creation to all other animals, he might also be considered the beginning of conversation and language: for if there were no such things as names there could be no such thing as language: and, secondly, because, if many different persons gave names, they must have been different and devoid of all connexion, since different persons would have given different names: but if only one person did so, the name given by one was sure to be adapted to the thing: and the same name was likely to be a token to every one of the existing things signified by it.

6 But the moral meaning of this passage is as follows:--We often use the expression ti instead of dia ti; (why?) as when we say, why (ti) have you washed yourself? why (ti) are you walking? why (ti) are you conversing? for in all these cases ti is used instead of dia ti; when therefore Moses says, "to see what he would call them," you must understand him as if he had said dia ti (why), instead of ti (what): and the mind will invite and embrace each of these meanings. Is it then only for the sake of what is necessary that the mortal race is of necessity implicated in passions and vices? or is it also on account of that which is immoderate and superfluous? And again, is it because of the requirements of the earth-born man, or because the mind judges them to be most excellent and admirable things; as for instance, is it necessary for every created thing to enjoy pleasure? But the bad man flies to pleasure as to a perfect good, but the good man seeks it only as a necessary; for without pleasure nothing whatever is done among the human race. Again, the bad man considers the acquisition of riches as the most perfect good possible; but the good man looks upon riches only as a necessary and useful thing. Very naturally, therefore, God desires to see and to learn how the mind denominates and appreciates each of these things, whether it looks upon them as good, or as things indifferent, or as evil in themselves, but nevertheless in some respects necessary. On which account, thinking that everything which he invited towards himself, and embraced as a living soul, was of equal value and importance with the soul, this became the name, not only of the thing which was thus invited, but also of him who invited it: as for instance, if the man embraced pleasure, he was called a man devoted to pleasure; if he embraced appetite, he was called a man of appetite; if he invited intemperance, he himself also acquired the name of intemperate; if he admitted cowardice, he was called cowardly; and so on in the case of the other passions. For as he who has any distinctive qualities according to the virtues, is called from that virtue with which he is especially endowed, prudent, or temperate, or just, or courageous, as the case may be; so too in respect of the vices, a man is called unjust, or foolish, or unmanly, when he has invited and embraced these habits of mind and conduct.

7 "And God cast a deep trance upon Adam, and sent him to sleep; and he took one of his ribs," and so on. The literal statement conveyed in these words is a fabulous one; for how can any one believe that a woman was made of a rib of a man, or, in short, that any human being was made out of another? And what hindered God, as he had made man out of the earth, from making woman in the same manner? For the Creator was the same, and the material was almost interminable, from which every distinctive quality whatever was made. And why, when there were so many parts of a man, did not God make the woman out of some other part rather than out of one of his ribs? Again, of which rib did he make her? And this question would hold even if we were to say, that he had only spoken of two ribs; but in truth he has not specified their number. Was it then the right rib, or the left rib? Again, if he filled up the place of the other with flesh, was not the one which he left also made of flesh? and indeed our ribs are like sisters, and akin in all their parts, and they consist of flesh. What then are we to say? ordinary custom calls the ribs the strength of a man; for we say that a man has ribs, which is equivalent to saying that he has vigor; and we say that a wrestler is a man with strong ribs, when we mean to express that he is strong: and we say that a harp player has ribs, instead of saying that he has energy and power in his singing. Now that this has been premised we must also say, that the mind, while naked and free from the entanglement of the body (for our present discussion is about the mind, while it is as yet entangled in nothing) has many powers, namely, the possessive power, the progenitive power, the power of the soul, the power of reason, the power of comprehension, and part of others innumerable both in their genus and species. Now the possessive power is common to it with other inanimate things, with stocks and stones, and it is shared by the things in us, which are like stones, namely, by our bones. And natural power extends also over plants: and there are parts in us which have some resemblance to plants, namely, our nails and our hair: and nature is a habit already put in motion, but the soul is a habit which has taken to itself, in addition, imagination and impetuosity; and this power also is possessed by man in common with the irrational animals; and our mind has something analogous to the soul of an irrational animal.

Again, the power of comprehension is a peculiar property of the mind; and the reasoning power is perhaps common to the more divine natures, but is especially the property of the mortal nature of man: and this is a twofold power, one kind being that in accordance with which we are rational creatures, partaking of mind; and the other kind being that faculty by which we converse. There is also another power in the soul akin to these, the power of sensation, of which we are now speaking; for Moses is describing nothing else on this occasion except the formation of the external sense, according to energy and according to reason.

8 For immediately after the creation of the mind it was necessary that the external sense should be created, as an assistant and ally of the mind; therefore God having entirely perfected the first, proceeded to make the second, both in rank and power, being a certain created form, an external sense according to energy, created for the perfection and completion of the whole soul, and for the proper comprehension of such subject matter as might be brought before it. How then was this second thing created? As Moses himself says in a subsequent passage, when the mind was gone to sleep: for, in real fact, the external sense then comes forward when the mind is asleep. And again, when the mind is awake the outward sense is extinguished; and the proof of this is, that when we desire to form an accurate conception of anything, we retreat to a desert place, we shut our eyes, we stop up our ears, we discard the exercise of our senses; and so, when the mind rises up again and awakens, the outward sense is put an end to. Let us now consider another point, namely, how the mind goes to sleep: for when the outward sense is awakened and has become excited, when the sight beholds any works of painting or of sculpture beautifully wrought, is not the mind then without anything on which to exercise its functions, contemplating nothing which is a proper subject for the intellect? What more? When the faculty of hearing is attending to some melodious combination of sound, can the mind turn itself to the contemplation of its proper objects? by no means. And it is much more destitute of occupation, when taste rises up and eagerly devotes itself to the pleasures of the belly; on which account Moses, being alarmed lest some day or other the mind might not merely go to sleep, but might become absolutely dead, says in another place, "And it shall be to you a peg in your girdle; and it shall be, that when you sit down you shall dig in it, and, heaping up earth, shall cover

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your Shame." [Deuteronomy 23:13.] Speaking symbolically, and giving the name of peg to reason which digs up secret affairs; and he bids him to bear it upon the affection with which he ought to be birded, and not to allow it to slacken and become loosened; and this must be done when the mind, departing from the intense consideration of objects perceptible by the intellect, is brought down to the passions, and sits down, yielding to, and being guided by, the necessities of the body: and this is the case when the mind, being absorbed in luxurious associations, forgets itself, being subdued by the things which conduct it to pleasure, and so we become enslaved, and yield ourselves up to unconcealed impurity. But if reason be able to purify the passion, then neither when we drink do we become intoxicated, nor when we eat do we become indolent through satiety, but we feast soberly without indulging in folly. Therefore, the awakening of the outward senses is the sleep of the mind; and the awakening of the mind is the discharge of the outward senses from all occupation. Just as when the sun arises the brightness of all the rest of the stars becomes invisible; but when the sun sets, they are seen. And so, like the sun, the mind, when it is awakened, overshadows the outward senses, but when it goes to sleep it permits them to shine.

9 After this preface we must now proceed to explain the words: "The Lord God," says Moses, "cast a deep trance upon Adam, and sent him to sleep." He speaks here with great correctness, for a trance and perversion of the mind is its sleep. And the mind is rendered beside itself when it ceases to be occupied about the things perceptible only by the intellect which present themselves to it. And when it is not energizing with respect to them it is asleep. And the expression, "it is in a trance," is very well employed, as it means that it is perverted and changed, not by itself, but by God, who presents to it, and brings before it, and sends upon it the change which occurs to it. For the case is this:--if it were in my own power to be changed, then whenever I chose I should exercise this power, and whenever I did not choose I should continue as I am, without any change. But now change attacks me from an opposite direction, and very often when I am desirous to turn my intellect to some fitting subject, I am swallowed up by an influx contrary to what is fitting: and on the other hand, when I conceive an idea respecting something unseemly, I discard it by means of pleasant notions while God by his own grace pours into my soul a sweet stream instead of the salt flood. It is necessary therefore, that every created thing should at times be changed. For this is a property of every created thing, just as it is an attribute of God to be unchangeable. But of these beings who have been changed, some remain in their altered state till their final and complete destruction, though others are only exposed to the ordinary vicissitudes of human nature; and they are immediately preserved. On which account Moses says that "God will not suffer the destroyer to enter into your houses to smite them."[Exodus 12:23.] For he does permit the destroyer (and change is the destruction of the soul) to enter into the soul, in order to exhibit the peculiar characteristic of the created being. But God will not permit the offspring of the seeing Israel to be changed in such a manner as to be stricken down by the change; but he will compel it to emerge and rise up again like one who rises up from the deep, and so he will cause it to be saved.

10 "He took one of his ribs." He took one of the many powers of the mind, namely, that power which dwells in the outward senses. And when he uses the expression, "He took," we are not to understand it as if he had said, "He took away," but rather as equivalent to "He counted, He examined;" as he says in another place, "Take the chief of the spoils of the captivity." [Numbers 31:26.] What, then, is it which he wishes to show? Sensation is spoken of in a twofold manner; --the one kind being according to habit, which exists even when we are asleep, and the other being according to energy. Now, in the former kind, the one according to habit, there is no use: for we do not comprehend any one of the objects presented to our view by its means. But there is use in the second, in that which exists according to energy; for it is by means of this that we arrive at a comprehension of the objects perceptible by the outward senses.

Accordingly, God, having created the former kind of sensation, that existing according to habit, when he was creating the mind (for he was furnishing that with many faculties in a state of rest), desires now to complete the other kind which exists according to energy. And this one according to energy is perfected when the one which exists according to habit is put in motion, and extended as far as the flesh and the organs of sense. For as nature is perfected when the seed is put in motion, so, also, energy is perfected when the habit is put in motion.

11 "And he filled the space with flesh instead of it." That is to say, he filled up that external sense which exists according to habit, leading it on to energy and extending it as far as the flesh and the whole outward and visible surface of the body. In reference to which Moses adds that "he built it up into a woman:" showing by this expression that woman is the most natural and felicitously given name for the external sense. For as the man is seen in action, and the woman in being the subject of action, so also is the mind seen in action, and the external sense, like the woman, is discerned by suffering or being the subject of action. And it is easy to learn this from the way in which it is affected in practice. Thus the sight is affected by these objects of sight which put it in motion, such as white and black, and the other colours. Again, hearing is affected by sounds, and taste is disposed in such or such a way by flavours; the sense of smell by scents; and that of touch by hardness or softness. And, on the other hand all the outward senses are in a state of tranquility until each is approached from without by that which is to put it in motion.

12 "And he brought her to Adam. And Adam said, this is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh." God leads the external sense, existing according to energy, to the mind; knowing that its motion and apprehension must turn back to the mind. But the mind, perceiving the power which it previously had (and which, while it was existing according to habit was in a state of tranquility), now have to become a complete operation and energy, and to be in a state of motion, marvels at it, and utters an exclamation, saying that it is not unconnected with it, but very closely akin to it. For Adam says, "This now is bone of my bone;" that is to say, this is power of my power; for bone is here to be understood as a symbol of strength and power. And it is, he adds, suffering of my sufferings; that is, it is flesh of my flesh. For every thing which the external sense suffers, it endures not without the support of the mind; for the mind is its fountain, and the foundation on which it is supported. It is also worth while to consider why Adam added the word "now," for he says, "This now is bone of my bone." The explanation is, external sensation exists now, having its existence solely with reference to the present moment. For the mind touches three separate points of time; for it perceives present circumstances, and it remembers past events, and it anticipates the future. But the external sensations have neither any anticipation of future events, nor are they subject to any feeling resembling expectation or hope, nor have they any recollection of past circumstances; but are by nature capable only of being affected by that which moves them at the moment, and is actually present. As, for example, the eye is made white by a white appearance presented to it at the moment, but it is not affected in any manner by that which is not present to it. But the mind is agitated also by that which is not actually present, but which may be past; in which cast it is affected by its recollection of it; or it may be future, in which case it is, indeed, the influence of hope and expectation.

13 "And she shall be called woman." This is equivalent to saying, on this account the outward sensation shall be called woman, because it is derived from man who sets it in motion. He says "she;" why, then, is the expression "she" used? Why, because there is also another kind of outward sensation, not derived from the mind, but having been created, at the same moment with it. For there are, as I have said before, two different kinds of outward sensation; the one kind existing according to habit, and the other according to energy. Now, the kind existing according to habit is not derived from the man, that is to say from the mind, but is created at the same time with him. For the mind, as I have already shown, when it was created was created with many faculties and habits; namely, with the faculty and habit of reasoning, and of existing, and of promoting what is like itself, as also with that of receiving impressions from the outward senses. But the outward sensation, which exists according to energy, is derived from the mind. For it is extended from the outward sensation which exists in it according to habit, so as to become the same outward sense according to energy. So that this second kind of outward sense is derive from the mind, and exists according to motion. And he is but a foolish person who thinks that any thing is in true reality made out of the mind, or out of itself. Do you not see that even in the case of Rachel that is to say of outward sensation) sitting upon the images, while she thought that her motions came from the mind, he who saw her reproved her. For she says, "Give me my children, and if you give them not to me I shall Die." [Genesis 30:1.] And he replied: "Because, O mistaken woman, the mind is not the cause of any thing, but he which existed before the mind; namely God." On which account he adds: "Am I equal to God who has deprived you of the fruit of your womb?" But that it is God who creates men, he will testify in the case of Leah, when he says, "But the Lord, when he saw that Leah was hated, opened her womb. But Rachel was Barren." [Genesis 29:31.] But it is the especial property of man to open the womb.

Now naturally virtue is hated by men. On which account God has honoured it, and gives the honour of bearing the first child to her who is hated. And in another passage he says: "But if a man has two wives, one of them being loved and one of them being hated, and if they bear him children, and if the first-born son be the child of her who is hated; he will not be able to give the honours of the birthright to the child of the wife whom he loves, overlooking the firstborn son the child of her who is hated." [Deuteronomy 21:15.] For the productions of virtue which is hated, are the first and the most perfect, but those of pleasure, which is loved, are the last.

14 "On this account a man will leave his father and his mother and will cleave to his wife; and they two shall become one flesh." On account of the external sensation, the mind, when it has become enslaved to it, shall leave both its father, the God of the universe, and the mother of all things, namely, the virtue and wisdom of God, and cleaves to and becomes united to the external sensations, and is dissolved into external sensation, so that the two become one flesh and one passion. And here you must observe that it is not the woman who cleaves to the man, but on the contrary, the man who cleaves to the woman; that is to say, the mind cleaves to the external sensations. For when that which is the better, namely, the mind, is united to that which is the rose, namely, the external sensation, it is then dissolved into the nature of flesh, which is worse, and into outward sensation, which is the cause of the passions. But when that which is the inferior, namely, the outward sensation, follows the better part, that is the mind, then there will no longer be flesh, but both will become one, namely, mind. And this is a thing of such a nature that it prefers the affections to piety. There is also another being called by an opposite name, Levi; he who says to his father and mother: "He saw you not, and he did not recognise his brethren, and repudiated his Children." [Deuteronomy 33:9.] This man leaves his father and mother; that is to say, his mind and the material of his body, in order to have as his inheritance the one God; "For the Lord himself is his Inheritance." [Deuteronomy 10:9.] And, indeed, suffering is the inheritance of him who is fond of suffering; but the inheritance of Levi is God. Do you not see that "he bids him on the tenth day of the months bring two goats as his share, one lot for the Lord and one lot for the scape-Goat." [Leviticus 16:7.] For the sufferings inflicted on the scape goat are in real truth the lot of him who is fond of suffering.

15 "And they were both naked, both Adam and his wife, and they were not ashamed; but the serpent was the most subtle of all the beasts that were upon the earth, which the Lord God had Made:" [Genesis 2:25; 3:1.]--the mind is naked, which is clothed neither with vice nor with virtue, but which is really stripped of both: just as the soul of an infant child, which has no share in either virtue or vice, is stripped of all coverings, and is completely naked: for these things are the coverings of the soul, by which it is enveloped and concealed, good being the garment of the virtuous soul, and evil the robe of the wicked soul. And the soul is made naked in these ways. Once, when it is in an unchangeable state, and is entirely free from all vices, and has discarded and laid aside the covering of all the passions. With reference to this Moses also pitches his tabernacle outside of the camp, a long way from the camp, and it was called the tabernacle of Testimony. [Exodus 33:7.] And this has some such meaning as this: the soul which loves God, having put off the body and the affections which are dear to it, and having fled a long way from them, chooses a foundation and a sure ground for its abode, and a lasting settlement in the perfect doctrines of virtue; on which account testimony is borne to it by God, that it loves what is good, "for it was called the tabernacle of testimony," says Moses, and he has passed over in silence the giver of the name, in order that the soul, being excited, might consider who it is who thus bears witness to the dispositions which love virtue. On this account the high priest "will not come into the holy of holies clad in a garment reaching to the feet; [Leviticus 16:1.] but having put off the robe of opinion and vain fancy of the soul, and having left that for those who love the things which are without, and who honour opinion in preference to truth, will come forward naked, without colours or any sounds, to make an offering of the blood of the soul, and to sacrifice the whole mind to God the Saviour and Benefactor; and certainly Nadab and Abihu, [Leviticus 10:1.] who came near to God, and left this mortal life and received a share of immortal life, are seen to be naked, that is, free from all new and mortal opinion; for they would not have carried it in their garments and borne it about, if they had not been naked, having broken to pieces every bond of passion and of corporeal necessity, in order that their nakedness and absence of corporeality might not be adulterated by the accession of atheistical reasonings; for it may not be permitted to all men to behold the secret mysteries of God, but only to those who are able to cover them up and guard them; on which account Mishael and his partisans concealed them not in their own garments, but in those of Nadab and Abihu, who had been burnt with fire and taken upwards; for having stripped off all the garments that covered them, they brought their nakedness before God, and left their tunics about Mishael. But clothes belong to the irrational part of the animal, which overshadow the rational part. Abraham also was naked when he heard, "Come forth out of thy land and from thy kindred;" [Genesis 13:1.] and as for Isaac, he indeed was not stripped, but was at all times naked and incorporeal; for a commandment was given to him not to go down into Egypt, [Genesis 26:2.] that is to say, into the body. Jacob also was fond of the nakedness of the soul, for his smoothness is nakedness, "for Esau was a hairy man, but Jacob," says Moses, "was a smooth Man," [Genesis 25:25.] on which account he was also the husband of Leah.

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16 This is the most excellent nakedness, but the other nakedness is of a contrary nature, being a change which involves a deprivation of virtue, when the soul becomes foolish and goes astray. Such was the folly of Noah when he was naked, when he drank Wine. [Genesis 9:21.] But thanks be to God, that this change and this tripping naked of the mind according to the deprivation of virtue, did not extend as far as external things, but remained in the house; for Moses says, that "he was stripped naked in his house:" for even if a wise man does commit folly, he still does not run to ruin like a bad man; for the evil of the one is spread abroad, but that of the other is kept within bounds, and therefore he becomes sober again, that is to say, he repents, and as it were recovers from his disease. But let us now more accurately examine the statement, "that the stripping of him naked took place in his house." When the soul, being changed, only conceives some evil thing and does not put it in execution, so as to accomplish it in deed, then the sin is only in the private domain and abode of the soul. But if, in addition to thinking some wickedness it proceeds also to accomplish it and carry it into execution, then the wickedness is diffused over the parts beyond his house: and on this account he curses Canaan also, because he related the change of his soul abroad, that is to say, he extended it into the parts out of doors, and gave it notoreity, adding to his evil intention an evil consummation by means of his actions: but Shem and Japhet are praised, because they did not attack his soul, but rather concealed its deterioration. On this account also the prayers and vows of the soul are invalidated when "they are made in the house of one's father or one's husband, [Genesis 25:25.] while the reasoning powers are in a state of quiescence, and do not attack the alteration which has taken place in the soul, but conceal the delinquency; for then also "the master of all things" will purify it: but he hears the prayer of the widow and of her who is divorced without revoking it; for "whatever," says he, "she has vowed against her own soul shall abide to her," and very reasonably; for if, after she has been put away, she has advanced as far as the parts out of the house, so that not only is her place changed, but that she also sins in respect of deeds that she has perfected, she remains incurable, having no communion of conversation with her husband, and being deprived also of the advocacy and consolation of her father. The third description of stripping naked is the middle one, according to which the mind is destitute of reason, having no share in either virtue or vice; and it is with reference to this kind of nakedness which an infant also is partaker of, that the expression is used which says, "And the two were naked, both Adam and his wife;" and the meaning of it is this, neither did their intellect understand, nor did their outward senses perceive this nakedness; but the former was devoid of all power of understanding, and naked; and the latter was destitute of all perception.

17 And the expression, "they were not ashamed," we will examine hereafter: for there are three ideas brought forward in this passage. Shamelessness, modesty, and a state of indifference, in which one is neither shameless nor modest. Now shamelessness is the property of a worthless person, and modesty the characteristic of a virtuous one; but the state of being neither modest nor shameless, is a sign of a person who is void of comprehension, and who does not act from any settled opinion; and it is of such a one that we are now speaking: for he who has not yetacquired any comprehension of good or evil, is not able to be either shameless or modest, therefore the examples of shamelessness are all the unseemly pieces of conduct, when the mind reveals disgraceful things, while it ought rather to cover them in the shade, instead of which it boasts of and glories in them. It is said also in the case of Miriam, when she was speaking against Moses, "If her father had spit in her face, ought she not to keep herself retired for seven Days?" [Numbers 12:14.] For the external sense, being really shameless and impudent, though considered as nothing by God the father, in comparison of him who was faithful in all his house, to whom God himself united the Ethiopian woman, that is to say, unchangeable and well-satisfied opinion, dared to speak against Moses and to accuse him, for the very actions for which he deserved to be praised; for this is his greatest praise, that he received the Ethiopian woman, the unchangeable nature, tried in the fire and found honest; for as in the eye, the part which sees is black, so also the part of the soul which sees is what is meant by the Ethiopian woman. Why when, as there are many works of wickedness, does he mention one only, namely, that which is conversant about what is shameful, saying, "they were not ashamed:" but were they not doing wrong, or were they not sinning, or were they not acting indecorously? But the cause is at hand. No, by the only true God, I think nothing so shameful as to suppose that I comprehend with my intellect, or perceive by my outward sense. Is my mind the cause of my comprehending? How so? for does it even comprehend itself, and know what it is, or how it came to exist? And are the outward senses the cause of man's perceiving anything? How can it be said to be so, when it is neither understood by itself nor by the mind? Do you not see, that he who fancies that he comprehends is often found to be foolish in his acts of covetousness, in his drunkenness, in his deeds of folly? Where then is his intellectual capacity shown in these actions? Again, is not the outward sensation often deprived of the power of exercising itself? Are there not times when seeing we do not see, and hearing we do not hear, when the mind has its attention ever so little drawn off to some other object of the intellect, and is applied to the consideration of that? As long as they are both naked, the mind naked of its power of exciting the intellect, and the outward sense of its power of sensation, they have nothing disgraceful in them; but the moment that they begin to display any comprehension, they become masked in shame and insolence: for they will often be found behaving with simplicity and folly rather than with any sound knowledge, and this not only in particular acts of covetousness, or spleen, or folly, but also in the general conduct of life: for when the outward sense has the dominion the mind is enslaved, giving its attention to no one proper object of its intellect, and when the mind is predominant, the untoward sense is seen to be without employment, having no comprehension of any proper object of its own exercise.

18 "Now the serpent was the most subtle of all the beasts which are upon the earth, which the Lord God Made." [Genesis 3:1.] Two things having been previously created, that is, mind and outward sense, and these also having been stripped naked in the manner which has already been shown, it follows of necessity that pleasure, which brings these two together, must be the third, for the purpose of facilitating the comprehension of the objects of intellect and of outward sense: for neither could the mind, without the outward sense, be able to comprehend the nature of any animal or of any plant, or of a stone or of a piece of wood, or, in short, of any substance whatever; nor could the outward sense exercise its proper faculties without the mind. Since, therefore, it was necessary for both these things to come together for the due comprehension of these objects, what was it which brought them together except a third something which acted as a bond between them, the two first representing love and desire, and pleasure not obtaining the dominion and mastery, which pleasure Moses here speaks of symbolically, under the emblem of the serpent. God, who created all the animals on the earth, arranged this order very admirably, for he placed the mind first, that is to say, man, for the mind is the most important part in man; then outward sense, that is the woman; and then proceeding in regular order he came to the third, pleasure. But the powers of these three, and their ages, are different only in the night, for in point of time they are equal; for the soul brings forward everything at the same moment with itself: but some things it brings forward in their actuality, and others in their power of existing, even if they have not yet arrived at the end. And pleasure has been represented under the form of the serpent, for this reason, as the motion of the serpent is full of many windings and varied, so also is the motion of pleasure. At first it folds itself round a man in five ways, for the pleasures consist both in seeing, and in hearing, and in taste, and in smell, and in touch. But the most vehement and intense are those which arise from connexion with woman, through which the generation of similar beings is appointed by nature to be effected. And yet this is not the only reason why we say that pleasure is various in appearance, namely, because it folds itself around all the divisions of the irrational part of the soul, but because it also folds itself with many windings around each separate part. For instance, the pleasures derived from sight are various, there is all the pleasure which arises from the contemplation of pictures or statues; and all other works which are made by art delight the sight. So also do the different stages through which plants go while budding and flowering and bearing fruit; and likewise the diversified beauty of the different animals. In the same manner the flute gives pleasure to the sense of hearing, as does the harp, and every kind of instrument, and the harmonious voices of the irrational animals, of swallows, of nightingales; and likewise the melody of such rational beings as nature has made musical, the tuneful voice of the harp-players, and of those who represent comedy, or tragedy, or any other historionic performance.

19 Why need we enlarge on the pleasures of the belly? For we may almost say that there are as may varieties of pleasure as there are of gentle flavours which are presented to the belly, and which excite the outward sense. Was it not then, with great propriety that pleasure, which is derived form many varied sources, was presented to an animal endowed with varied faculties? On this account, too, that part in us which is analogous to the people, and which acts the part of a multitude, when it seeks "the houses in Egypt," [Numbers 21:5.] that is to say, in its corporeal habitation, becomes entangled in pleasures which bring on death; not that death which is a separation of soul and body, but that which is the destruction of the soul by vice. For Moses says, "And the Lord God sent among the people deadly serpents, and they bit the people, and a great multitude of the children of Israel Died." [Numbers 21:6.] For in real truth there is nothing which so much bringeth death upon the soul as an immoderate indulgence in pleasures. And that which perishes is not the dominant portion in us but the subject one, that which acts the part of the multitude; and it receives death up to this point, namely, until it turns to repentance, and confesses its sin, for the Israelites, coming to Moses, say, "We have sinned in that we have spoken against the Lord and against you; pray, therefore, for us to the Lord, and let him take away the serpents from us." It is well put here, not we have sinned because we have spoken against the Lord, but because we were inclined to sin we have spoken against the Lord, for when the mind sins and departs from virtue, it blames divine things, imputing its own sins to God.

20 How, then, can there be any remedy for this evil? When another serpent is created, the enemy of the serpent which came to Eve, namely, the word of temperance: for temperance is opposite to pleasure, which is a varied evil, being a varied virtue, and one ready to repel its enemy pleasure. Accordingly, God commands Moses to make the serpent according to temperance; and he says, "Make thyself a serpent, and set it up for a sign." Do you see that Moses makes this serpent for no one else but for himself? for God commands him, "Make it for thyself," in order that you may know that temperance is not the gift of every one, but only of that man who loves God. And we must consider why Moses makes a brazen serpent, when no command was given to him respecting the material of which it was to be formed. May it not have been for this reason? In the first place, the graces of God are immaterial, being themselves only ideas, and destitute of any distinctive quality; but the graces of mortal men are only beheld in connexion with matter. In the second place, not only does Moses love the incorporeal virtues, but our own souls, not being able to put off their bodies, do likewise aim at corporeal virtue, and reason, in accordance with temperance, is likened to the strong and solid substance of brass, inasmuch as it is form and not easily cut through. And perhaps brass may also have been selected inasmuch as temperance in the man who loves God is a most honourable thing, and like gold; though it has only a secondary place in a man who has received wisdom and improved in it. "And whomsoever the one serpent bites, if he looks upon the brazen serpent shall live:" in which Moses speaks truly, for if the mind that has been bitten by pleasure, that is by the serpent which was sent to Eve, shall have strength to behold the beauty of temperance, that is to say, the serpent made by Moses in a manner affecting the soul, and to behold God himself through the medium of the serpent, it shall live. Only let it see and contemplate it intellectually.

21 Do you not see that wisdom when dominant, which is Sarah, says, "For whosoever shall hear it shall rejoice with Me." [Genesis 21:6.] But suppose that any were able to hear that virtue has brought forth happiness, namely, Isaac, immediately he will sing a congratulatory hymn. As, therefore, it can only be one who has heard the news that can sympathise in one's joy, so also it can only be he who has clearly seen temperance and God, who is safe from death. But many souls that have been in love with perseverance and temperance, when removed to a distance from the passions, have nevertheless withstood the power of God, and have undergone a change for the worse, while their Master has made a display of himself and of the work of creation; of himself, that he is always immovable, and of the work of creation, that it vibrates as if in a scale, and inclines opposite ways at different times. For Moses speaks to the Israelites of God, "Who led ye then through that great and terrible wilderness, where there were biting serpents, and scorpions, and thirst; where there was no water? who brought forth for thee out of the hard rock a fountain of water? who fed thee with manna in the desert, which thy fathers knew Not?" [Deuteronomy 8:14.] Do you not see that not only did the soul, while longing for the passions which prevailed in Egypt, fall under the power of the serpents, but that, also, while it was in the wilderness, it was bitten by pleasure, that affection of varied and serpent-like appearance? And the work of pleasure has received a most appropriate name, for it is called a biting. Moreover, not only they who were in the desert were bitten by serpents, but also they who were scattered abroad, for I, also, often having left the men who were my kinsmen and my friends, and my country, and having gone into the desert in order that I might perceive some of those things which are worthy of being beheld, have profited nothing. But my mind, being separated from me, or being bitten by passion, has withdrawn towards the things opposite to them. And there are times when in the midst of a multitude composed of infinite numbers of men, I can bring my mind into solitude, God having scattered for me the crowd which perplexes my soul, and having taught me that it is not the difference of place that is the cause of good an devil, but rather God, who moves and drives this vehicle of the soul wherever he pleases. Moreover, the soul falls in with a scorpion, that is to say, with dispersion in the wilderness; and the thirst, which is that of the passions, seizes on it until God sends forth upon it the stream of his own accurate wisdom, and causes the changed soul to drink of unchangeable health; for the abrupt rock is the wisdom of God, which being both sublime and the first of things he quarried out of his own powers, and of it he gives drink to the souls that love God; and they, when they have drunk, are also filled with the most universal manna; for manna is called something which is the primary genus of every thing. But the most universal of all

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things is God; and in the second place the word of God. But other things have an existence only in word, but in deed they are at times equivalent to that which has no existence.

22 See now the difference between him who turns to sin in the desert and him who sins in Egypt. For the one is bitten by serpents which cause death, that is to say by insatiable pleasures which inflict death; but the other, he who meditates in the wilderness, is only bitten by pleasure and driven astray, but is not killed. And the one, indeed, is healed by temperance, which is the brazen serpent which was made by the wise Moses; but the other is supplied by God with a most beautiful draught to drink, namely, wisdom, from the fountain which He himself has brought forth out of his own wisdom. Nor, indeed, does the pleasure which is in the form of a serpent, abstain from attacking that most sincere lover of God, Moses, for we read as follows; "If, therefore, they will not obey me, nor listen to my voice--for they will say, God has not been seen by you--what shall I say to them? And the Lord said unto Moses, What is that which is in thy hand? And he said, A rod. And God said, Cast it on the ground. And he cast it on the ground, and it became a serpent, and Moses fled from it. And the Lord said unto Moses, Stretch forth thy hand, and take hold of it by the tail. And having stretched forth his hand, he took hold of it by the tail, and it became a rod in his hand. And the Lord said unto him, That they may believe Thee." [Exodus 4:3.] How can any one believe God? If he has learnt that all other things are changed, but that he alone is unchangeable. Therefore, God asks of the wise Moses what there is in the practical life of his soul; for the hand is the symbol of action. And he answers, Instruction, which he calls a rod. On which account Jacob the supplanter of the passions, says, "For in my staff did I pass over this Jordan ." [Genesis 32:10.] But Jordan being interpreted means descent. And of the lower, and earthly, and perishable nature, vice and passion are component parts; and the mind of the ascetic passes over them in the course of its education. For it is too low a notion to explain his saying literally; as if it meant that he crossed the river, holding his staff in his hand.

23 Well, therefore, does the Godloving Moses answer. For truly the actions of the virtuous man are supported by education as by a rod, tranquillizing the disturbances and agitations of the mind. This rod, when cast away, becomes a serpent. Very appropriately. For if the soul casts away instruction, it becomes fond of pleasure instead of being fond of virtue. On which account Moses fled from it, for the man who is fond of virtue does flee from passion and from pleasure. But God did not praise his flight. For it is fitting, indeed, for your mind, before you are made perfect, to meditate flight and escape from the passions; but Moses, that perfect man, ought rather to persevere in his war against them, and to resist them, and to strive against them, otherwise they, relying on their freedom from danger and on their power, will ascend up to the citadel of the soul, and take it by storm, and will plunder it entirely, like a tyrant. On which account God commanded Moses "to take hold of it by the tail," that is to say, let not the hostile and untameable spirit of pleasure terrify you, but with all your power take hold of it, and seize it firmly, and master it. For it will again become a rod instead of a serpent, that is to say, instead of pleasure it will become instruction in your hand; but it will be in your hand, that is in the action of a wise man, which, indeed, is true. But it is impossible to take hold of and to master pleasure, unless the hand be first stretched out, that is to say, unless the soul confesses that all actions and all progress is derived from God; and attributes nothing to himself. Accordingly he, when he saw this serpent, decided to flee from it? But he prepared another principle, that of temperance, which is the brazen serpent: that whosoever was bitten by pleasure, when he looked on temperance, might live a real life.

24 Such a serpent Jacob boasts that Dan is, and he speaks thus: "Dan will judge his people, as one of the tribes of Israel:" [Genesis 49:16.] and again, "Let Dan be a serpent in the path, sitting upon the road, biting the heel of the horse, and the rider shall fall backwards, waiting the salvation of the Lord." [Genesis 49:17.] The fifth son of Leah is Issachar, the legitimate son of Jacob; but if the two sons of Zilpah are counted he is the seventh; but the fifth son of Jacob is Dan, the son of Billah, the handmaid of Rachel; and the cause of this we will investigate in the proper place, but concerning Dan we must examine further now. The soul produces two kinds, the one divine and the other perishable; that which is the better kind it has already conceived, and ends in it; for when the soul was able to confess to God and to yield everything to him, it was not after that capable of receiving any more valuable possession; on this account she ceased to bring forth, after she had borne Judah, the emblem of the disposition of confessing--and now she begins to form the mortal race--now the mortal race subsists by imbibing; for, like a foundation, the sense of taste is the cause of the duration of animals; but the name Billah, being interpreted, means imbibing. From her was born Dan, which name being interpreted means judgement, for this kind distinguishes between the separates immortal from mortal things, therefore he prays that he may become a workman of temperance. But he will not pray for Judah , for Judah already has the capacity of praying to and pleasing God: "Therefore let Dan," says he, "be a serpent in the path."--One path is the soul. For as in the roads one may behold a great variety of living beings, inanimate and animate, irrational and rational, good and bad, slaves and free, young and old, male and female, strangers and natural citizens, sick and healthy, mutilated and perfect; so also in the soul there are motions inanimate, and imperfect, and diseased, and slavish, and female, and innumerable others of the class of evils; and on the other hand, there are motions which are living, and perfect, and masculine, and free, and healthy, and ripe, and virtuous, and genuine, and really legitimate. Let then the principle of temperance be a serpent in the soul, which makes its advance through all the circumstances of life, and let it sit in the path. But what is the meaning of this expression?--The field of virtue is not trodden down; for they are few who walk along it, but that of vice is trodden and worn? And he recommends him here to occupy and to fill, with ambush and stratagem, the well-trodden path of passion and vice, in which the thoughts which are deserters from virtue pass their life.

25 "Biting the heel of the horse,"--Very consistently the disposition which shakes the stability of the created and perishable being is called the supplanter, and the passions are compared to a horse; for passion has four legs as a horse has, and is an impetuous beast, and full of insolence, and by nature a most restive animal. But the reasoning of temperance is wont to bite, and to wound, and to destroy passion. Therefore passion having been tripped up, and having fallen, "the horseman will fall backwards." We must comprehend that the horseman who has mounted upon the passions is the mind, who falls from the passions when they are reasoned upon closely, and so are supplanted; and it is well figured, that the soul does not fall forward, for it must not go before the passions, but rather advance behind them, and behave with moderation.

And there is sound learning in what he says here. If the mind, though desirous to act unjustly, comes too late and falls backward, it will not act unjustly; but if, when it is moved onwards to some irrational passion it does not run forward but remains behind, it will then receive freedom from the dominion of the passions, which is a most excellent thing. On which account Moses, approving of this backward fall from off the vices, adds further, "waiting for the salvation of the Lord," for, in good truth, he who falls from the passions is saved by God, and remains safe after their operation. May my soul meet with such a fall as this, and may it never afterwards remount upon that horselike and restive passion, in order that it may await the salvation of God, and attain to happiness! On this account also it was that Moses praised God in his hymn, because "the horse and his rider has he thrown into the sea,"[Exodus 15:1.] meaning that he has thrown the four passions, and the miserable mind which is mounted on them, down into ruin as to its affairs, and into the bottomless pit, and this is almost the burden of the whole hymn, to which every other part of it is referred, and indeed that is the truth; for if once a freedom from the passions occupies the soul, it will become perfectly happy.

26 And we must also inquire, what is the reason why Jacob says, that "the rider will fall Backward," [Genesis 49:17.] and Moses says, that "the horse and his rider have been thrown into the sea." We must say, therefore, that that which is thrown into the sea is the Egyptian disposition, which indeed flies and escapes under the water, that is to say, under the advance of the passions. But the rider who falls backwards is not one of the persons who loves to yield to the passions; and the proof is, that Moses calls the one the horseman (hippeus), and the other the rider (anabateμs). Now it is the business of the horseman to subdue the horse, and when he resists the rein to make him tractable; but it is the part of the rider to be conveyed wherever the animal carries him, and in the sea it is the office of the pilot to guide the ship, and to keep it straight, and to preserve it in the right course; but it is the part of the sailor to endure all that happens to the ship. And in reference to this the horseman who subdues the passions is not drowned in the sea, but dismounting from them awaits the salvation of the master. Accordingly, the word of God in Leviticus recommends men "to feed on those creeping things which go on four feet, and which have legs above their feet, so that they are able to leap with Them;" [Leviticus 11:22] among which are the locust, and the attacus, and the acris, [these are different kinds of locusts.] and in the fourth place the serpent-fighter; and every properly; for if pleasure, like a serpent, is an unprofitable and pernicious thing, then the nature which contends against pleasure must be a most profitable and saving thing, and this is temperance. Fight thou then, O my mind, against every passion, and especially against pleasure, for "the serpent is the most subtle of all the beasts that are upon the earth, which the Lord God has made." And of all the passions the most mischievous is pleasure. Why so? Because all things are the slaves of pleasure; and because the life of the wicked is governed by pleasure as by a master. Accordingly, the things which are the efficient causes of pleasure are found to be full of all wickedness: gold and silver, and glory and honours, and powers and the objects of the outward senses, and the mechanical arts, and all other things which cause pleasure, being very various, and all injurious to the soul; and there are no sins without extreme wickedness; therefore do thou array against it the wisdom which contends with serpents; and struggle in this most glorious struggle, and labour to win the crown in the contest against pleasure, which subdues every one else; winning a noble and glorious crown, such as no assembly of men can confer.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, 3

3 ("And Adam and his wife hid themselves from the face of the Lord God in the midst of the trees of the Paradise ." [Genesis 8:8.] A doctrine is introduced here which teaches us that the wicked man is inclined to run away. For the proper city of wise men is virtue, and he who is incapable of becoming a partaker in that is driven from his city; and no bad man is capable of becoming a partaker of it; therefore the bad man alone is driven away and becomes a banished man. But he who is banished from virtue is at once concealed from the face of God, for if the wise men are visible to God, inasmuch as they are dear to him, it follows plainly that the wicked are all concealed from him, and enveloped in darkness, as being enemies and adversaries to right reason. (Now that the wicked man is destitute of a city and destitute of a home, Moses testifies in speaking of that hairy man who was also a man of varied wickedness, Esau, when he says, "But Esau was skilful in hunting, and a rude Man. " [Genesis 25:27.] For it is not natural for vice which is inclined to be subservient to the passions to inhabit the city of virtue, inasmuch as it is devoted to the pursuit of rudeness and ignorance, with great folly. But Jacob, who is full of wisdom, is both a citizen and one who dwells in a house, that is to say, in virtue. Accordingly Moses says of him, "But Jacob is a man without guile, dwelling in a house;" (On which account also "the midwives, since they feared God made themselves Houses." [Exodus 1:21.] For they, being inclined to seek out the secret mysteries of God, one of which was that the male children should be preserved alive, build up the actions of virtue, in which they had previously determined to dwell. Accordingly, in this account it is shown how the wicked man is destitute of a city and destitute of a home: inasmuch as he is an exile from virtue, but that the virtuous man has a city and is allotted a home, namely wisdom.

2 (And let us in the next place consider how any one is said to be concealed from God; but unless any one receives this as an allegorical saying it would be impossible to comprehend what is here stated. For God has completed everything and has penetrated every thing, and has left no one of all his works empty or deserted. What kind of place then can any one occupy in which God is not? And Moses testifies to this in other passages, when he says, "God is in the heaven above, and in the earth beneath; and there is nothing anywhere but He." [Deuteronomy 4:39.] And in another place he speaks in this manner, "I stood here before you did." [Exodus 17:6.] For God is of older date than any created being, and he will be everywhere, so that it cannot be possible for any one to be concealed from him: and what need we wonder at? (For even if any thing were to happen to us we should not be able to escape the notice of, and to conceal ourselves from the most elementary of created things; for instance, let any one try to flee from the earth, or the water, or the air, or the heaven, or the entire universe, and he will fail; for it is impossible but what he must be contained in these things, for no one will be able to flee out of the world. (Again how could any man who is unable to conceal himself from the parts of the world, and from the whole world itself, be able to escape the notice of God? He never could do so. What then is the meaning of the expression, "they hid themselves?" The bad man thinks that God is in a certain place, not surrounding it, but being surrounded by it. On which account also he thinks that he can conceal himself from him, as if God were without any prevailing reason at a distance form that part of the world in which he has determined to lurk.

3 (And we must understand this in the following manner. In the wicked man the true opinion concerning God is overshadowed and kept out of sight, for he is full of darkness, having no divine irradiation, by means of which he may be able to contemplate things as they are. And such a man is a fugitive from the divine company just as a leper is or a man with any other impure disease, the one bringing together into the same place God and Creation, two opposite natures of two different complexions, as the causes of things, when there is really but one cause, the great Creator; and the other, a man afflicted with a foul disease, believing that everything is created from the world, and again is dissolved into the world, but thinking that nothing has been created by God, being a follower of the doctrine of Heraclitus introduces covetousness and indigence, and one universe, and all kinds of things alternately. (In reference to which the Holy Scripture says "Let them send forth from the holy soul every leper, and every one afflicted with foul disease, and every one who is impure in his soul, both male and female, and all mutilated persons, and all these who are emasculated, and all Whoremongers," [Numbers 5:2.] men who flee from the authority of one God, and who are expressly forbidden "to come into the assembly of

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God;" [Deuteronomy 23:2.] (but wise reasons are not only not concealed, but are even eager to manifest themselves. Do you not see that Abraham was still standing in the place of the Lord, and coming near to him said "do not then destroy the righteous with Impious," [Genesis 18:23.] him who is manifest to you and well known by you, with him who flees from you and seeks to escape your notice, for he indeed is impious, but the righteous man is one who stands before you and does not flee. For it is right indeed master that you alone should be honoured, but it does not follow that as an impious man is discovered so also is a pious man; but it is sufficient if he is just. On which account he says "do not then destroy the righteous with the wicked." For not even one single man on earth honours God in a worthy manner, but only according to righteousness. For when it is not possible for a man to exhibit due gratitude even to his parents, for it is impossible for him to become their parents in his turn; how can it be anything but absolutely impossible adequately to requite God, or worthily to praise him who created the whole universe out of things that had no previous existence. "For God made all virtue."

4 Be thou therefore O my soul in all your entirety always visible to God, for three separate times, that is to say for time divided according to a threefold division; not drawing after you the female passion arising from external sensation, but offering up to him manly thought, the encourager to and practicer of persevering courage. "For at three seasons of the year every male must appear before the Lord the God of Israel" [Deuteronomy 15:16.] this is the injunction of the holy scriptures. On this account Moses when he appears to God in visible form, flees from the dispersing disposition, that is from Pharaoh, who boasts, saying, that he does not know the Lord, "for Moses," says he, "retreated from the presence of Pharaoh, and dwelt in the land of Midian" [Exodus 2:15.] that is to say, being interpreted, in the judgement of the nature of things; and sat down upon a well, waiting to see what good which might be drank in God would rain upon his thirsting and eager soul. Accordingly he retreats from the impious opinion which is the mistress of the passions, namely from Pharaoh; and he retreats into Midian, that is to say into judgement, considering anxiously whether he ought to live in tranquil inactivity or whether he ought again to contend with that wicked man to his own destruction. And he considers whether if he attacks him he shall be able to gain the victory, from which consideration he restrains himself waiting, as I have already said, to see if God will give to his deep and not frivolous consideration, a fountain sufficient to wash away the impetuosity of the king of Egypt, that is to say of his own passions. And he is thought worthy of grace, for having fought the good fight in behalf of virtue he never ceases from warring till he sees the pleasures overthrown and baulked of their object.

And with this view Moses does not flee from Pharaoh, for if he had done so he would have fled without returning; but withdraws for a time, that is to say he makes a truce from the war, after the fashion of a wrestler who seeks a respite and collects his breath again, until, having aroused the alliance of prudence and the other virtues he attacks his enemy once more, by divine reason, with the most vigorous power. But Jacob, for he is a supplanter, having acquired virtue by regular system and discipline, not without hard labour, for his name had not as yet been changed to Israel, "fled from the affairs of Labour" [Genesis 31:20.] that is to say from colours and figures, and in short from bodies the nature of which is to wound the soul through the objects of outward sense; for since, when he was present, he could not entirely and utterly subdue them, he fled, fearing to be subdued by them. And he is very worthy of praise for so doing; for "says Moses you will make the children of Israel Cautious," [Leviticus 15:31.] but not bold, or covetous of those things, which do not belong to them.

5 "And Jacob concealed himself from Laban the Syrian, in that he told him not that he was about to flee from him, and he fled from him, taking with him all that he had, and he crossed the river, and proceeded towards the Mount Gilead." It was most natural for him to conceal that he was about to flee, and not to inform Laban, who was a man depending wholly on thoughts such as arise from the outward senses, just as if you have seen some excellent beauty and are charmed with it, and are likely to be led into error in respect of it, you should privily flee from the imagination of it, and never tell it to your mind, that is to say, never think of it again nor give it any consideration, for continued recollections of anything are not without making some distinct impression, and injure the intellect and turn it out of the right way, even against its will. And the same reasoning applies to all temptations which arise in respect of any one of the external senses, for in all such cases secret flight is the preserver from danger. But to keep recalling the temptation to one's mind, and to talk of it and dwell upon it subdues and enslaves the reason by force. Do not these then ever, O my mind, report to yourself any object of outward sense that has been seen by you, if you are likely to be led away captive by it, and do not dwell on it, in order that you may not become miserable by being subdued by it, but rather, while you are still free, rise up and flee, preferring untamed liberty to slavery and subjection to a master.

6 But why now, as if Jacob had been ignorant that Laban was a Syrian, does Moses say, "And Jacob concealed himself from Laban the Syrian." This expression, however, has a reason in it which is not superfluous; for the name Syria , being interpreted, means high. Jacob, therefore, being an experienced man, that is to say, being mind, when he sees passion low and powerless, abides it, thinking that he shall be able to subdue it by force: but when he beholds it high, and bearing its neck haughtily, and full of arrogance, then experienced mind flees first, and afterwards the other parts of his experience do also flee, namely reading, meditation, care, the recollection of what is honourable, temperance, the energy in pursuit of what is becoming; and so he crosses over the river of the objects affecting the outward senses, which wash over and threaten to submerge the soul by the impetuosity of the passions, and having crossed over he proceed towards the high and lofty reason of perfect virtue; for "he proceeded towards the Mount of Gilead;" and Gilead being interpreted means the migration of testimony, since God caused the soul to migrate from the passions which surrounded Laban, and bore witness to it, that it should migrate and receive another settlement, because it was profitable and expedient, and conducted it onwards from the evils calculated to render the soul base, and seeking the things that are on the earth, to the height and magnitude of virtue. On this account Laban, the friend of the outward senses, and one who energized according to them and not according to his mind, is indignant, and pursues after him and says, "why did you flee from me secretly, and not remain for the enjoyment of your soul, and for the opinions which judge concerning the body and the external good things of the world?" But in fleeing from this opinion you have despoiled me also of my prudence, Leah and Rachel; for they, when they remained in the soul created, prudence in it, but now that they have departed they have left it ignorance and inexperience." On which account he adds, "You have stripped me," that is to say, you have robbed me of my prudence.

7 And what that prudence was he will proceed to tell us, for he adds, "And you have led away my daughters as captives; and if you had told me, I would myself have sent you away." [Genesis 31:27.] You would not have sent away things which were at variance with one another, for if you had sent them away really, and had emancipated the soul, you would have removed from it all bodily sounds, and such as affect the outward senses; for in this way the intellect is emancipated from evils and passions. But now you say that you send it away free, but by your actions you confess that you would have retained it in a prison; for if you had sent it on its way with musical instruments, and drums and harps, and all the pleasures which affect the outward senses, you would not in reality have released it at all; for it is not you then only from whom we are fleeing, O Laban, thou companion of bodies and colours, but we are also escaping from everything that is thine, in which the voices of the outward senses sound in harmony with the energies of the passions. For we, if at least we are practicers of virtue, have meditated a very necessary meditation, which Jacob also meditated, namely, to overthrow and destroy those gods who are hostile to the soul, gods made by hands, gods whom Moses forbade the people to make;[Leviticus 19:4.] and these gods are the destruction of virtue and of a good state of the passions, but the consolidation and confirmation of vice and the appetites; for that metal which is cast, after it has been fused, is soon consolidated again.

8 But Moses speaks thus, "And they gave to Jacob the foreign gods which were in their hands, and the earrings which were in their ears; and Jacob hid them under the turpentine tree which was in Shechem." [Genesis 35:4.] These are the gods of the wicked, but Jacob is not said to have taken them, but to have concealed and destroyed them, for every case being most accurately described, for the virtuous man will take nothing from wickedness for his own advantage, but will conceal all such things and destroy them secretly. Just as Abraham tells the king of Sodom, when he was proposing to give him things of irrational nature in exchange for rational animals, namely, horses in exchange for men, "that he would take nothing that belonged to him, but that he would stretch out "the action of his soul," which, speaking symbolically, he called "his hand," to the most high God;[Genesis 14:21.] "for that he had not taken from a thread even to a shoe-latchet of all that was his (the king of Sodom 's), in order that the king might never say that he had made the discerning man," namely Abraham, "rich," exchanging poverty for wealthy virtue. The passions are always concealed and guarded in Shechem; and the name Shechem being interpreted means "the shoulder;" for he who labours concerning pleasures is inclined to preserve them. But the passions are concealed and destroyed by the wise man, and that too not for a brief space of time, but up to this present day, that is to say, for ever, for all time is measured by the present day, for the cycle of one day is the measure of all time. On which account Jacob gives Joseph Shechem,[Genesis 48:22.] as an especial portion beyond the rest of his brethren, meaning thereby the bodily things which are the objects of the outward senses, since he had gone through labour in respect of them; but to Judah the confessor he gave not presents but praise, and hymns and divine songs, in which he should be celebrated by his brethren. And Jacob did not receive Shechem as a gift from God, but he took it with his sword and with his bow, that is to say, by words, which had the power of cutting and repelling; for the wise man subjects all secondary things to himself, and when he has so subjected them he does not retain them, but makes a present of them to him who is by nature adapted to them. Do you not see that also, when he appeared to take the gods, he did not take them but concealed them and put them out of the way, and destroyed them out of his sight for ever. Now to what soul could it have happened to conceal vice and to put it out of the way, except to that soul to which God was revealed, and which he considered worthy to receive the revelation of his unspeakable mysteries? For he says, "shall I hide from Abraham my son that thing which I am doing?" [Genesis 18:17.] Well done, O Saviour, in that thou showest thy works to the soul which desires good things, and has concealed from it no one of thy works: and by reason of this conduct of thine he is able to avoid evil, and to conceal it and keep it out of sight, and to destroy for ever the passions which are injurious.

9 We have shown, therefore, in what manner the wicked man is a fugitive, and how he conceals himself from God; but now let us consider where he conceals himself. "In the middle," says Moses, "of the trees of the Garden;" [Genesis 3:8.] that is to say, in the middle of the mind, which again is itself the centre of the whole soul, as the trees are of the garden. For the man who escapes from God flees to himself, for, since there are two things, the mind of the universe, which is God, and also the separate mind of each individual, he who escapes from the mind which is in himself flees to the mind of the universe; and conversely, he who forsakes his own individual mind, confesses that all the things of the human mind are of no value, and attributes everything to God; again, he who seeks to escape from God asserts, by so doing, that God is not the cause of anything, but looks upon himself as the cause of everything that exists. At all events it is affirmed by many people, that everything in the world is borne on spontaneously without any guide or governor, and that the human mind, by its own single power, has invented arts and pursuits, and laws and customs, and all the principles of political and individual, and common justice, with reference both to men and to irrational animals. But dost thou not see, O soul, the unreasonable character of these opinions? For one of them having the particular mind, which was created and which is mortal, does in reality ascribe it to the mind of the universe, which is uncreated and immortal: and the other again, repudiating God, most inconsistently drags forward, as an ally, that mind which is unable even to assist itself.

10 On this account also Moses says, that "If a thief be detected in the act of breaking into a house, and be smitten so that he die, that shall not be imputed as murder to him who has smitten him; but if the sun be risen upon him, then he is liable, and shall die in Retaliation." [Exodus 22:1.] For if any one cuts down and destroys that reason which stands upright and is sound and correct, which testifies to God that he alone is able to do everything, and is found in the act of breaking in upon it, that is to say, standing over this reason thus wounded and destroyed, and who recognises his own mind as energising, and not God, is a thief, taking away what belongs to others, for all things belong to God; so he who attributes anything to himself is taking away what belongs to another, and receives a very severe blow and one difficult to heal, namely, arrogance, a thing nearly akin to imprudence and ignorance. But he says nothing as to the name of him who has smitten him, for the smiter is not a different person from him who is smitten. But as a man who rubs himself is likewise a person who is rubbed, and as he who stretches himself out is also the person who is stretched out, for he himself both exerts the power of the agent, and also fills the part of the patient. In like manner is he, who steals the things which belong to God, and attributes them to himself, subjected to the tortures of his own impiety and arrogance. Would that the man so stricken might die, that is to say might perish before he had succeeded in his objects, for then he will appear to be less sinful, for of vice one kind is discerned in habit, and another kind in motion; but the one which is discerned in motion has an inclination towards the perfecting of its operation, on which account it is more mischievous than the one which is discerned only in habit. If therefore the mind, which imagines itself and not God to be the cause of things, dies, that is to say, becomes inactive and contracts itself, then there is no cause of death in it; it has not absolutely destroyed the living opinion, which attributes all power, and all exertion of power to God, but if the Sun rises, that is to say the mind which appears brilliant in us, and if it appears to see through everything and to judge everything, and not to flee from itself, it then becomes liable to death, and shall die in retaliation for the living doctrine which it has destroyed; according to which God alone is the cause of everything, being found to be wholly unable to effect any good purpose, and to be truly dead in as much as it has

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shown itself the interpreter of a lifeless and dead and departed doctrine.

11 And it is in reference to this that the Holy Scripture curses "any one who has placed in any secret place any carved thing, or any thing made of cast metal, the work of the hands of an Artist." [Deuteronomy 27:15.] For why, O mind, do you store and treasure up within yourself depraved opinions, that God is a being of such and such qualities, (he who has no distinctive qualities) like a carved work; or that he who is imperishable is perishable like images that are cast in the foundry; and why do you not rather bring them forward openly that you may learn what is right from men who practice the truth? For you think that you are endowed with some great skill because you have devised absurd opinions imposing upon you by an appearance of probability, in opposition to the truth: but in reality you are proved to be destitute of skill, in as much as you are unwilling to be healed of that terrible disease of the soul, ignorance.

12 But that the wicked man skins into and is concealed within his own scattered mind, fleeing from the real mind or truth, is testified by Moses "who smote the Egyptian and buried him in the Sand," [Exodus 2:12.] the meaning of which is that he by his arguments convinced him who asserted that the good things of the body were the most excellent, and who thought that the good things of the soul were of no value, and who likewise esteemed the pleasures as the end of life. For when he had comprehended the labour of him who beholds God, which the king of Egypt had imposed on him, (and by the king of Egypt is meant vice, which is the guide of the passions) he sees an Egyptian man, that is to say human passions operating at a seasonable moment, beating and insulting the man who behold God, and looking round upon the whole soul on this side and on that side, and seeing no one standing by except the true God, and everything else in a state of confusion and disorder, having stricken down and convicted the lover of pleasure, he hides him in the dispersed and agitated mind, which is deprived of all kindred with and comprehension of what is good. This man then is hidden in himself, but the man who is opposite to him escapes from himself, and flees to the God of all existing things.

13 On which account Moses says moreover, "He led him forth out of doors and said to him, look up to heaven, and count the Stars," [Genesis 15:5.] which we should be glad indeed to see thoroughly and to comprehend; since we are insatiable in our love for notice, but nevertheless we are unable to measure the riches of God. Nevertheless thanks be to that magnificent and bounteous God because he says that he has implanted in the soul seeds as brilliant, as visible at a distance, and as eternally new as the stars in heaven. And it is not a superfluous addition when after having said "he led him forth," he subjoins "out of doors," for who is ever led forth in doors? But perhaps what he says here has some such meaning as this; he led him forth into the outermost place, not into some place or other out of doors, which might be surrounded by other places.

For as in dwelling houses the man's character is outside the woman's chamber, and the inner chamber is within, and the vestibule is outside of the hall but within the doorway, so also in the case of the soul that which is within one thing may be outside of some other thing. This then is the sense in which we must understand this passage; he led the mind forth into the outermost place, for what was the use of his leaving the body and fleeing to the outward senses; and what would have been the use of his discarding the outward senses, and subjecting that which exists to the voice? For it is fitting that the mind which is about to be led forth, and to be dismissed in freedom should be emancipated from all corporeal necessities, from all the organs of the outward senses, from all sophistical ratiocinations, and plausible persuasions, and last of all from itself.

14 On which account in another passage also he boasts, saying "the Lord the God of Heaven, and the God of earth who took me out of the house of my Father." [Genesis 24:7.] For it is not possible for one who dwells in the body and belongs to the race of mortals to be united with God, but he alone can be so whom God delivers from that prison house of the body. On which account also, that joy of the soul, Isaac, when he is conversing and discoursing privately with God, comes forth forsaking himself and his own mind, for he says, "Come forth, O Isaac, to converse in the plain towards Evening," [Genesis 24:62.] and Moses, that word of prophecy, says, "When I go forth from the city," that is from my soul, (for the soul is the city of the living creature, in as much as it is the soul which gives it its laws and customs), "I will stretch forth my Hands," [Exodus 9:29.] and I will reveal and unfold all my actions to God, invoking him as a witness and inspector of every one of them, from whom it is impossible by its own nature that vice should be hidden, but to whom it must be unfolded and by whom it must be clearly discerned.

When therefore the soul is made manifest in all its sayings and doings, and is made a partaker of the divine nature, the voices of the external senses are reduced to silence, and so likewise are all troublesome and ill-omened sounds, for the objects of sight often speak loudly and invite the sense of sight to themselves; and so do voices invite the sense of hearing; scents invite the smell, and altogether each varied object of sense invites its appropriate sense. But all these things are put at rest when the mind going forth out of the city of the soul, attributes all its own actions and conceptions to God.

15 "For the hands of Moses are Heavy." [Exodus 17:12.] For since the actions of the wicked man are like the wind and light, those of the wise man on the other hand are heavy and immovable, and not easily shaken; in reference to which is hands are held up by Aaron, who is reason, or by Ur , who is light. Now of all existing things there is nothing clearer than the truth; therefore Moses intends here to signify by a symbolical form of expression, that the actions of the wise man are supported by the most necessary of all qualities, reason and truth. On this account also, when Aaron dies, that is to say, when the truth is completely asserted, he ascends up to Ur,[Numbers 20:25.] that is to say, to Light; for the proper end of reason is truth, which is more visible than any light, and to it reason is always striving to come. Do you not see that also when he received the tabernacle from God, and this tabernacle is wisdom, in which the wise man tabernacles and, dwells, he fixed it firmly and founded and built it up strongly, not in the body but out of it; for he likens this to an encampment, to a camp I say full of wars and of all the evils which war causes, and which has not portion with peace. "And it was called the tabernacle of Testimony;" [Exodus 33:7.] that is to say wisdom was borne witness to by God. For every one who seeks the Lord went forth out of his house. And this is well said. For if you seek God, O my mind, go forth out of yourself, and so seek for him; but if you remain in the substance of the body, or in the vain opinions of the mind, you are then without any real wish to search into divine things, even if you do put on the appearance and pretence of seeking them. If when you search you will find God, is uncertain; for there have been many persons to whom he has not revealed himself, but they have expended a vain labour all their time. But the mere act of seeking for him is sufficient to entitle you to a participation in good things, for the desire for what is good, even if it fails in attaining the end which it seeks, does at all events always gladden the heart of those who cherish it. Thus the wicked man who flees from virtue, and who seeks to conceal himself from God, flees to a powerless ally, that is his own mind, but the good man on the contrary seeking to escape from himself turns to the knowledge of the one God, and is victorious in the honourable race, and in that contest which is of all the most excellent.

16 "And the Lord God called Adam, and said unto him, where art Thou?" [Genesis 3:9.] Why now is Adam, alone called, when his wife also was concealed together with him? In the first place we must say that the mind is summoned, and asked where it is. When it is converted, and reproved for its offence, not only is it summoned itself but all its faculties are also summoned, for without its faculties the mind by itself is found to be naked, and to be absolutely nothing, and one of its faculties is also the outward sense, that is to say the woman. The woman therefore, that is the outward sense is also summoned together with Adam, that is the mind, but separately God does not summon her. Why not? Because being destitute of reason she is incapable of being convicted by herself. For neither can sight, nor hearing, nor any one of the other external senses be taught, and moreover none of them are capable of receiving the comprehension of things; for the Creator has not made them capable of distinguishing anything but bodies only. But the mind is able to receive teaching: on account of which fact God calls that, but not the external senses.

17 And the expression "Where art thou?" amidst of being interpreted in many ways. In the first place it may be taken not as an interrogation, but as an affirmation, equivalent to the words "You are somewhere," if you alter the accent on the particle pou "where." For, since you have thought that God was walking in the garden, and was surrounded by it, learn now that in this you were mistaken, and hear from God who knows all things that most true statement that God is not in any one place. For he is not surrounded by anything, but he does himself surround everything. For that which is created is in place; for it is inevitable that it must be surrounded, and not be the thing which surrounds. In the second placed, that which is said is equivalent to this, Where has thou been, O soul? What evils hast thou chosen instead of what good things? When God invited you to a participation in virtue, have you pursued vice? And when he offered to you for your enjoyment the tree of life, that is to say the tree of wisdom by which you might live, have you hastened into ignorance and to destruction, preferring misery, the death of the soul to the happiness of eternal life? The third interpretation is the interrogative one; to which there may be two answers given. The one, if the answer be give to the inquirer, "Where art thou?" is, "Nowhere." For the soul of the wicked man has no place to which it can go, or in which it can be situated. In respect of which fact the wicked man is said to be destitute of place; but an evil destitute of place is one which is difficult to manage. And such is the man who is void of good qualities, being always agitated and in a state of confusion, and wavering about after the fashion of an unsteady breeze being altogether the companion of no single steady opinion. The other answer may be of this kind; that which Adam himself uses. "Hear where I am," where those are who are unable to see God; where those are who do not listen to God; where those are who endeavor to conceal themselves from him who is the author of all things: where those are who flee from virtue, where those are who are destitute of wisdom, where those are who are alarmed and tremble because of the unmanliness and cowardice of their souls. For when Adam says, "I heard thy voice in the paradise and I was afraid because I was naked and I hid myself," he exhibits all the qualities enumerated above, as I have shown, more at length, in the former books of this treatise.

18 And yet Adam is not now naked. It has been said a little before that "they made themselves girdles," but by this expression Moses intends to teach you that he is not meaning here to speak of the nakedness of the body, but of that in respect of which the mind is found to be wholly deficient in and destitute of virtue. "The woman," says Adam, "whom you gave to be with me, she gave me of the tree and I did eat." The expression here is very accurate, inasmuch as he does not say, "The woman whom you gave to me," but "The woman whom you gave to be with me." For you did not give me the outward senses as a possession, but you left them free and unimpeded, and in some sort not at all yielding to the injunctions of my intellect. If therefore the mind were to be inclined to command the sight not to see, it nevertheless would see any subject which came before it. And the hearing also will in every case apprehend any sound which falls upon it, even if the mind in its jealousy were to command it not to hear. And again the smell will smell every scent which reaches it, even if the mind were to forbid it to apprehend it. On this account it is that God did not give the outward sense to the creature, but to be with the creature. And the meaning of this is, the inward sense in conjunction with our mind knows every thing, and does so too at the same moments with the mind. As for instance the sense of sight in conjunction and simultaneously with the mind strikes upon the subject of sight; for the eye sees the substance, and immediately the mind comprehends the thing seen, that is black or white, or pale, or red, or triangular, or quadrangular, or round, or that is of any other colour or shape as the case may be. And so again the sense of hearing is affected by a sound, and with the sense of hearing the mind is also affected; and the proof of it is this; the mind immediately distinguishes the character of the voice, that it is thin, or that it has substance, or that it is melodious and tuneful; or, on the other hand, that it is out of tune and inharmonious. And the same is found to be the case in respect of the rest of the inward senses. And very appropriately do we see that Adam adds this assertion, "She gave me of the tree;" but he gives an habitation made of wood and perceptible by the outward senses to the mind except that outward sense itself. For what gave to the mind to be able to distinguish body, or whiteness? Was it not the sight? And what enabled it to distinguish sounds? Was it not the hearing? What, again, endowed it with the faculty of judging of smells? Was it not the sense of smell? What enabled it to decide upon flavours? Was it not the taste? What invested it with the power of distinguishing between rough and smooth? Was it not the touch? Correctly, therefore, and with complete truth was it said by the mind, that it was the outward sense alone which gave me the power to comprehend the corporeal substance.

19 And God said to the woman, "What is this that thou hast done?" And she said, "The serpent beguiled me and I did eat." God asks one question of the outward sense, and she replies to a different one. For he is putting a question which has reference to the man; but she in her reply speaks not of the man but of herself, saying, "I ate," not I gave. May we then by the use of allegory solve the question which was here put, and show that the woman gave a felicitous and correct answer to the question? For it follows of necessity that when she had eaten, her husband did also eat, for when the outward sense striking upon its object is filled with its appearance, then immediately the mind joins it and takes its share of it, and is in a manner made perfect by the nourishment which it receives form it. This therefore is what she says, I unintentionally gave it to my husband, for while I was applying myself to what was presented to me, he, being very easily and quickly moved, impressed its appearance and image upon himself.

20 But take notice that the man says that the woman gave it to him; but that the woman does not say that the serpent gave it to her, but that he beguiled her; for it is the especial property of the outward sense to give, but it is the attribute of pleasure which is of a diversified and serpent-like nature to deceive and to beguile. For instance, the outward sense presents to the mind the image of what is white by nature, or black, or hot, or cold, not deceiving it, but acting truly; for the subjects of the outward sense are of such a character, as also is the imagination which presents itself to man from them, in the case of the great majority of men who do not carry their knowledge of natural philosophy to any accurate extent. But pleasure does not present to the mind that the subject is such as it is in reality, but deceives it by its artifice, thrusting that,

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in which there is no advantage, into the class of things profitable. For as we may at times see ill-looking courtesans dyeing and painting their faces in order to conceal the plainness of their countenances, so also may we see the intemperate man acting who is inclined to the pleasures of the belly. He looks upon great abundance of wine and a luxurious store of food as a good thing, though he is injured by them both in his body and in his soul. Again, we may often see lovers madly eager to be loved by the ugliest of women, because pleasure deceives them and all but affirms positively to them that beauty of form, and delicacy of complexion, and healthiness of flesh, and symmetry of limb, exists in those who have the exact contraries to all these qualifications. Accordingly, they overlook those who are truly possessed of perfectly irreproachable beauty, and waste away with love for such creatures as I have mentioned. Every kind of deceit therefore is closely connected with pleasure; and every kind of gift with the outward sense: for the one bewilders the mind with sophistry and misleads it, representing to it anything that comes before it, not in the character which really belongs to it, but in one that does not. But the outward sense presents bodies, plainly as they are according to their real nature, without any device or artifice.

21 "And the Lord God said to the serpent, Because thou hast done this thing, thou art cursed above all cattle and every beats of the field; upon thy breast and upon thy belly shall thou go, and dust shall thou eat all the days of thy life. And I will put enmity in the midst between thee and between the woman, and in the midst between thy seed and between her seed, He shall bruise thy head, and thou shall bruise his Heel." [Genesis 3:14.] What is the reason why he curses the serpent without allowing him to make any defense, when in another place he commands that "both the parties between whom there is any dispute shall be Heard," [Deuteronomy 19:17.] and that one shall not be believed till the other has been heard? And indeed in this case you see that he did not give a prejudged belief to Adam's statement against his wife; but he gave her also an opportunity of defending herself, when he asked her, "Why hast thou done this?" But she confessed that she had erred through the deceitfulness of serpent-like and diversified pleasure. Why, therefore, when the woman had said, "The serpent deceived Me," [Genesis 3:13.] did he forbid the putting of the question to the serpent whether it was he who had thus deceived her; and why did he thus appoint him to be condemned without trial and without defense? We must say, therefore, that the external senses are not a peculiar property of either bad or good men, but that they are of an intermediate nature, and common to both the wise man and the fool, and when they are found in the fool, they are bad; but when they are found in the wise man, they are good. Very naturally therefore, since it has a nature which is not necessarily and intrinsically evil, but one which being capable of either character, inclines at different times and under different circumstances towards either extremity, it is not condemned till it has itself confessed that it followed the worse inclination. But the serpent, that is pleasure, is of itself evil. On this account it is absolutely not found at all in the virtuous man; but the wicked man alone enjoys it. Very properly therefore does God curse it before it has time to make any defense, inasmuch as it has no seed of virtue within it, but is at all times and in all places blamable and polluting.

22 On this account also, God "saw that Er was Wicked," [Genesis 38:7.] without any apparent cause for this judgement of his character, and he slew him. For God is not unaware that that leathern mass which covers us, namely, the body; for Er being interpreted means leather, is an evil thing, and one which plots against the soul, and which is at all times lifeless and dead. For what else does he compel any one of us to do but to carry about a dead body, our soul raising up the body which as far as its own nature goes is dead, and bearing it almost without difficulty? And just consider, if you will, the great energy of the soul, for the most vigorous athlete would not be able to carry about a statue of himself for even a short time; but the soul, without any exertion and without any fatigue, carries about the statue of a man occasionally even for as long a time as a hundred years; for even at the end of that period it does not kill it, but only gets rid of a body which was dead from the beginning. And it is evil by nature, as I have said before, and a thing which plots against the soul, but which is not visible to all men, but only to God, and to such men as are friends to God. "For the wicked Er," says Moses, "was an enemy of the Lord." For when the mind busies itself with sublime contemplations, and becomes initiated into the mysteries of the Lord, it judges the body to be a wicked and hostile thing; but when it abandons its investigations of divine things, it then looks upon the body as something friendly, and belonging to and nearly akin to itself; and accordingly it flies to the things which are dear to it. On this account the soul of the athlete and the soul of the philosopher differ; for the athlete attributes all his importance to the good condition of his body, and would throw away his soul itself in the cause of his body, as being a man devoted to his body; but the philosopher, being a lover of what is virtuous, cares for that which is alive within him, namely his soul, and disregards his body which is dead, having no other object but to prevent the most excellent portion of him, namely his soul, from being injured by the evil and dead thing which is connected with it.

23 You see that it is not the Lord who is here spoken of as slaying Er, but God. For he does not kill the body in respect of the absolute and irresponsible power which he possesses, and by which he rules and governs the universe, but in respect of that authority which he possesses in consequence of his goodness and excellence, for God is the name of goodness, the cause of all things; that you may understand that he also created all inanimate things, not by his authority, but by his goodness, by which also he created all living things; for it was requisite for the manifestation of the better things, that there should also be a subordinate creation of the inferior things, through the power of the same goodness which was the cause of all, which is God. When, then, O Soul! shall you most especially consider that you have gained a victory? Will it not be when you are made perfect, and when you have been thought worthy of decisions in your favour and of crowns? For then you will be a lover of God, not of the body, and you will receive prizes, inasmuch as your wife shall be Thamar the bride of Judah , and Thamar being interpreted means the palmtree, the symbol of victory. And a proof of this is, that when Er married her, he was at once discovered to be a wicked man, and was slain; for Moses says, "And Judah took a wife for Er, his first-born son, whose name was Thamar;" and immediately afterwards he adds, "And Er was a wicked man before the Lord, and God slew him;" for when the mind has carried off the prize of virtue, it condemns the dead body to death. You see that God also curses the serpent without allowing it to make any defense, for it is pleasure: and so also he slays Er without any visible cause being alleged, for Er is the body. And if you consider, O good friend, you will find that God has created in the soul some natural qualities which are in themselves faulty and blameless, and also in every soul some which are virtuous and praiseworthy, as is the case likewise with plants and animals. Do you not see that the Creator has made some plants capable of cultivation and useful and salutary, and others incapable of cultivation, wild, pernicious, the causes of diseases and destruction; and animals too of similar variety of character, as beyond all question is the serpent, of which we are now speaking; for he is a destructive and deadly animal by his intrinsic nature. And as the serpent affects man, so does pleasure too affect the soul; in reference to which fact the serpent has been compared to pleasure.

24 As, therefore, God hates pleasure and the body without any especial cause, so also does he give pre-eminent honour to virtuous natures without any visible cause; not alleging any action of theirs before the praises of them which he utters. For if any one were to ask why Moses says that "Noah found grace before the Lord God," [Genesis 6:8.] without having previously done any good thing, as far at least as we know, we shall be very properly answered, that he was proved to be a praiseworthy character and order of creation; for the name Noah, being interpreted, means rest, or just: and it follows of necessity that one who is resting from acts of injustice and from sins, and who, so resting, lives with virtue and justice, must find grace before God; and to find grace, is not only, as some call it, equivalent to the expression "pleasing God," but it has some such meaning as this. The just man seeking to understand the nature of all existing things, makes this one most excellent discovery, that everything which exists, does so according to the grace of God, and that there is nothing ever given by, just as there is nothing possessed by, the things of creation. On which account also it is proper to acknowledge gratitude to the Creator alone. Accordingly, to those persons who seek to investigate what is the origin of creation, we may most correctly make answer, that it is the goodness and the grace of God, which he has bestowed on the human race; for all the things which are in the world, and the world itself, are the gift and benefaction and free grace of God.

25 Moreover, God made Melchisedek, the king of peace, that is of Salem, for that is the interpretation of this name, "his own high Priest," [Genesis 14:18.] without having previously mentioned any particular action of his, but merely because he had made him a king, and a lover of peace, and especially worthy of his priesthood. For he is called a just king, and a king is the opposite of a tyrant, because the one is the interpreter of law, and the other of lawlessness. Therefore the tyrannical mind imposes violent and mischievous commands on both soul and body, and such as have a tendency to cause violent suffering, being commands to act according to vice, and to indulge the passions with enjoyment. But the other, the kingly mind, in the first place, does not command, but rather persuades, since it gives recommendations of such a character, that if guided by them, life, like a vessel, will enjoy a fair voyage through life, being directed in its course by a good governor and pilot; and this good pilot is right reason. We may therefore call the tyrannical mind the ruler of war, and the kingly mind the guide to peace, that is Salem . And this kingly mind shall bring forth food full of cheerfulness and joy; for "he brought forth bread and wine," which the Ammonites and Moabites were not willing to give to the beholder, that is Israel; by reason of such unwillingness they are shut out from the companionship and assembly of God. For the Ammonites being they who are sprung from the outward sense of the mother, and the Moabites, who originate in the mind of the father, are two different dispositions, which look upon the mind and the outward sense as the efficient causes of all existing things, but take no notice of God. Therefore "they shall not come," says Moses, "into the assembly of the Lord, because they did not come to meet you with bread and water when you came out of Egypt ," [Deuteronomy 23:4.] that is, out of the passions.

26 But Melchisedek shall bring forward wine instead of water, and shall give your souls to drink, and shall cheer them with unmixed wine, in order that they may be wholly occupied with a divine intoxication, more sober than sobriety itself. For reason is a priest, having, as its inheritance the true God, and entertaining lofty and sublime and magnificent ideas about him, "for he is the priest of the most high God." [Genesis 14:18.] Not that there is any other God who is not the most high; for God being one, is in the heaven above, and in the earth beneath, and there is no other besides Him." [Deuteronomy 4:39.] But he sets in motion the notion of the Most High, from his conceiving of God not in a low and grovelling spirit, but in one of exceeding greatness, and exceeding sublimity, apart from any conceptions of matter.

27 And what good thing had Abraham done as yet when God called him and bade him become a stranger to his country and to this "generation," and to dwell in the land which the Lord should give Him? [Genesis 12:1.] And that is a good and populous city, and one of great happiness. For the gifts of God are great and honourable. But he made this position of Abraham also to be typical, containing an emblem worthy of attentive consideration. For Abraham, being interpreted, means "Lofty Father;" [or, "Father of a great multitude," according to the marginal translation in the Bible.] a title of admiration in both its divisions. For when the mind does not, like a master, threaten the soul, but rather guides it, like a father, not indulging it in the pleasant things, but giving it what is expedient for it, even against its will, and also turning it away from all lowly things and such as lead it to mortal paths, it leads it to sublime contemplations and makes it dwell amid speculations on the world and its constituent parts. And, moreover, mounting up higher, it investigates the Deity itself, and his nature, through an unspeakable lore of knowledge, in consequence of which it cannot be content to abide in the original decrees, but, being improved itself, becomes also desirous of removing to a better habitation.

28 But there are some persons whom, even before their creation, God creates and disposes excellently; respecting whom he determines beforehand that they shall have a most excellent inheritance. Do you not see what he says about Isaac to Abraham, when he had no hope of any such thing, namely, that he should become the father of such an offspring, but did rather laugh at the promise, and asked, "Shall a son be born to me, who am a hundred years old; and shall Sarah, who is ninety years old, bring forth a Child?" [Genesis 17:17.] But God asserts it positively, and ratifies his promise saying, "Yea, behold Sarah, thy wife, shall bear thee a son, and thou shall call his name Isaac, and I will establish my covenant towards him for an everlasting covenant." What then is the reason which caused this man, also, to be praised before his birth? There are some good things which are an advantage to a man both when they are past, and when they are present, such as good health, a sound condition of the outwards senses, riches, if he be endowed with them, a good reputation; for all these things may, by a slight perversion of words, be called good things. But some are so not merely when they have been given to us, but even when it is predicted that they shall be so given, as joy as a good affection of the soul; for this does not cheer a man only when it is present and energizes actively in him, but it delights him also by anticipations when it is hoped for--for it has this especial quality; all other good qualities have their own separate operation and effect, but joy is both a separate good and a common good, for it comes as a crowning one after all the rest--for we feel joy at good health, and we feel joy at liberty and at honour, and at all other such things, so that one may say with propriety that there is not one single good thing which has not the additional good of joy. But not only do we rejoice at other good things which are already previously past and also at those which are present, but we rejoice also at good things when about to happen to us and expected; as for instance, when we hope that we shall become rich, or that we shall obtain power, or that we shall receive praise, or that we shall find a means to get rid of an illness, or that we shall acquire vigor and strength, or that we shall become learned instead of ignorant, in all these cases we are rejoiced in no slight degree. Since, then, joy diffuses itself over and cheers the soul, not only while it is present but also even when it is expected, it was very consistent and natural for God to think Isaac worthy of a good name and of a great gift before he was born, for the name of Isaac, being interpreted, means laughter of soul, and delight, and joy.

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29 Again, they say that Jacob and Esau, the former being the ruler, and governor, and master, and Esau being the subject and the slave, had their several estates appointed to them while they were still in the world. For God, the creator of all living things, is thoroughly acquainted with all his works, and before he has completely finished them he comprehends the faculties with which they will hereafter be endowed, and altogether he foreknows all their actions and passions. For when Rebecca, that is the patient soul, proceeds to ask an oracle from God, the answers are, "Two nations are in thy womb, and two people shall come forth from thy bowels, and one people shall be stronger than the other people, and the elder shall save the Younger." [Genesis 25:23.] For that which is wicked and void of reason is, by its own nature, a slave in the eye of God; but that which is good and endowed with reason and better, is looked upon as powerful and free by him. And this is the case not only when each of these two different characters is perfect in the soul, but when there is a doubt on the subject; for, altogether, a slight breeze of virtue shows power and supremacy, and not freedom only, and on the other hand, the existence of even an ordinary degree of vice enslaves the reason, even though not by any means as yet come to maturity.

30 Again, why did the same Jacob when Joseph brought him his two sons, the elder being Manasses and the younger Ephraim, change his hands, and put his right hand upon the younger brother Ephraim, and his left hand upon the elder brother Manasses? And when Joseph thought this a grievous thing, and thought that his father had unintentionally made a mistake in the matter of the imposition of hands, Jacob said, "I did not make a mistake, but I knew, my son, I knew that this one should be a father of a nation, and should be exalted; but, nevertheless, his younger brother shall be greater than He." [Genesis 48:1.] What, then, must we say but this? That two natures, both utterly necessary, were created in the soul by God, one memory and the other recollection, of which memory is the best and recollection the worst. For the one has its perceptions fresh and harmonious and clear, so that it never errs through ignorance. But forgetfulness does, in every case, precede recollection, which is but a mutilated and blind thing. And, although recollection is worse, it is nevertheless older than memory, which is better than it, and is also conjoined with and inseparable from it; for when we are first introduced to any art we are unable at once to make ourselves masters of all the speculations which bear upon it. Being, therefore, affected with forgetfulness at first, we subsequently recollect, until from a frequent recurrence of forgetfulness and a frequent recurrence of recollection, memory at last prevails in us in a lasting manner. On which account it is younger than recollection, for it is later in its existence. And Ephraim is a symbolical name, being, to be interpreted, memory. For, being interpreted, it means the fertility of the soul of the man fond of learning, which brings forth its appropriate fruit when it has confirmed its speculations, and preserves them in its memory. But Manasses, being interpreted, means recollection, for he is spoken of as one who has been translated from forgetfulness, and he who escapes from forgetfulness does unquestionably recollect. Most correctly, therefore, does that supplanter of the passions and practicer of virtue, Jacob, give his right hand to that prolific memory, Ephraim, while he places Manasses, or recollection, in the second rank. And, Moses, also, of all those who sacrificed the passover, praised those who sacrificed first most, because they having crossed over from the passions, that is to say, from Egypt, remained by the passage, and did not hasten any more to the passions which they had quitted; and the others he also thinks worthy to be placed in the second rank, for, having turned back, they retraced their steps, and, as if they had forgotten what it became them to do, they again hastened to do the same things; but the former men continued in their course without turning back. Therefore, Manasses, who is born of forgetfulness, resembles those who were the second party to sacrifice the passover; but the fertile Ephraim is like those who had sacrificed previously.

31 On which account God also calls Bezaleel by name, and says that "He will give him wisdom and knowledge, and that He will make him the builder and the architect of all the things which are in his Tabernacle;" [Exodus 31:2.] that is to say, of all the works of the soul, when he had up to this time done no work which any one could praise--we must say, therefore, that God impressed this figure also on the soul, after the fashion of an approved coin. And we shall know what the impression is if we previously examine the interpretation of the name. Now, Bezaleel, being interpreted, means God in his shadow. But the shadow of God is his word, which he used like an instrument when he was making the world. And this shadow, and, as it were, model, is the archetype of other things. For, as God is himself the model of that image which he has now called a shadow, so also that image is the model of other things, as he showed when he commenced giving the law to the Israelites, and said, "And God made man according to the image of God." [Genesis 1:26.] as the image was modeled according to God, and as man was modeled according to the image, which thus received the power and character of the model.

32 Let us now, then, examine what the character which is impressed upon man is. The ancient philosophers used to inquire how we obtained our conceptions of the Deity? Men who, those who seemed to philosophise in the most excellent manner, said that from the world and form its several parts, and from the powers which existed in those parts, we formed our notions of the Creator and cause of the world. For as, if a man were to see a house carefully built and well provided with outer courts and porticoes, and men's chambers and women's chambers, and all other necessary apartments, he would form a notion of the architect; for he would never suppose that the house had been completed without skill and without a builder; and, as he would argue in the same manner respecting any city, or any ship, or anything whatever that is made, whether it be great or small, so likewise any one entering this world, as an exceedingly large house or large city, and seeing the heaven revolving round it in a circle and comprehending everything within it, and all the planets and fixed stars moving onwards in the same manner and on the same principles, all in regular order and in due harmony and in such a manner as is most advantageous for the whole created universe, and the earth stationed in the central situation, and the effusions of air and water affixed on the boundaries, and, moreover, all the animals, both mortal and immortal, and the different kinds of plants and fruits, he will surely consider that undoubtedly all these things were not made without skill, but that God both was and is the creator of this whole universe. They, then, who draw their conclusions in this manner perceive God in his shadow, arriving at a due comprehension of the artist through his works. 33 There is also a more perfect and more highly purified kind which has been initiated into the great mysteries, and which does not distinguish the cause from the things created as it would distinguish an abiding body from a shadow; but which, having emerged from all created objects, receives a clear and manifest notion of the great uncreated, so that it comprehends him through himself, and comprehends his shadow, too, so as to understand what it is, and his reason, too, and this universal world. This kind is that Moses, who speaks thus, "Show thyself to me; let me see thee so as to know Thee." [Exodus 33:13.] for do not thou be manifested to me through the medium of the heaven, or of the earth, or of water, or of air, or, in short, of anything whatever of created things, and let me not see thy appearance in any other thing, as in a looking-glass, except in thee thyself, the true God. For the images which are presented to the sight in executed things are subject to dissolution; but those which are presented in the One uncreate may last for ever, being durable, eternal, and unchangeable. On this account "God called Moses to him and conversed with Him," [Exodus 35:30.] and he also called Bezaleel to him, though not in the same way as he had called Moses, but he called the one so that he might receive an idea of the appearance of God from the Creator himself, but the other so that he might by calculation form an idea of the Creator as if from the shadow of the things created. On this account you will find the tabernacle and all its furniture to have been made in the first instance by Moses, and again subsequently by Bezaleel. For Moses fashioned the archetypal forms, and Bezaleel made the imitations of them. For Moses had God himself for an instructor, as he tells us, when he represents God as saying to him, "Thou shall make every thing according to the example which was shown thee in the Mount" [Exodus 25:40.] And Bezaleel had Moses for his instructor; and this was very natural. For Aaron the word, and Miriam the outward sense, when they rose up against Moses were expressly told that "If there shall arise a prophet to the Lord, God shall be made known to him in a vision, and in a shadow, but not Clearly. [Numbers 12:6.] But with Moses, who is faithful in all his house, God will speak mouth to mouth in his own form, and not by riddles."

34 Since therefore we find that there are two natures which have been created and fashioned and accurately and skilfully framed by God; the one being in its own intrinsic nature pernicious and open to reproach, and accursed, and the other beneficial and praiseworthy, the one too having a spurious stamp upon it, but the other having undergone a strict test; we will utter a beautiful and suitable prayer which Moses also addressed to God, praying that God may open his treasurehouse, and may lay before us his sublime word pregnant with divine lights, which he calls the heaven, and may bind fast the storehouses of evil. For, just as there are storehouses of good things so are there also storehouses of evil things with God; as he says in his great song, "Behold are not these things collected with me, and sealed up in my treasurehouses, against the day of vengeance when their foot shall be tripped Up?" [Deuteronomy 32:34.] You see then that there are several storehouses of evil things, and only one of good things. For since God is One, so also is his storehouse of good things one likewise. But there are many storehouses of evil things because the wicked are infinite in number. And in this observe the goodness of the true God, He opens the treasurehouse of his good things freely, but he binds fast that which contains the evil things. For it is an especial property of God to offer his good things freely and to be beforehand with men in bestowing gifts upon them, but to be slow in bringing evil on them, and Moses dwelling at length upon the munificent and gracious nature of God, says that not only have his storehouses of evil things been sealed up in all other times, but also when the soul is tripped up in the path of right reason, when it is especially fair that it should be considered worthy of punishment; for he says that, "In the day of vengeance the storehouses of evil things have been sealed up," the sacred word of scripture showing that God does not visit with his vengeance even those who sin against him, immediately, but that he gives them time for repentance, and to remedy and correct their evil conduct.

35 And the Lord God said to the serpent, "Thou art cursed over every creature and over all the beasts of the field." As joy being a good state of the passions is worthy to be prayed for; so also pleasure is worthy to be cursed being a passion, which has altered the boundaries of the soul, and has rendered it a lover of the passions instead of a lover of virtue. And Moses says in his curses, that "He is cursed who removes his neighbour's land Mark," [Deuteronomy 27:17.] for God placed virtue, that is to say, the tree of life, to be a land mark, and a law unto the soul. But pleasure has removed this, placing in its stead the land mark of vice, the tree of death, "Cursed indeed is he who causeth the blind man to wander in the road." This also is done by that most impious thing pleasure, for the outward sense, inasmuch as it is destitute of reason, is a thing blinded by nature, since the eyes of its reason are put out. In reference to which we may say that it is by reason alone that we attain to a comprehension of things, and no longer by the outward sense; for they are bodies alone that we acquire a conception of by means of the outward senses. Pleasure therefore has deceived the outward sense which is destitute of any proper comprehension of things, inasmuch as though it might have been turned to the mind, and have been guided by it, it has hindered it from being so, leading it to the external objects of outward sense, and making it desirous of every thing which can call it into operation, in order that the outward sense being defective may follow a blind guide, namely the object of the outward sense, and then the mind being guided by the two things, which are themselves both blind, may plunge headlong to destruction and become utterly unable to restrain itself. For if it were to follow its natural guide then it would be proper for defective things to follow reason which sees clearly, for in that way mischievous things would be less formidable in their attacks. But now, pleasure has put such great artifices in operation to injure the soul, that it has compelled it to use them as guides, cheating it, and persuading it to exchange virtue for evil habits, and to give good habit sin exchange for vice.

36 But the holy scripture has prohibited such an exchange as this when it says, "Thou shall not exchange good for Evil" [Leviticus 27:33.] On this account therefore pleasure is accursed, and let us now see how well adapted to it are the curses which the scripture denounces against it, "Thou shall be cursed" says God, "above all creatures." Therefore, the whole race of animals is irrational and under the guidance only of the external senses; but every one of the outward senses curses pleasure as a most inimical and hostile thing to it; for it is in reality hostile to the outward senses. And the proof of this is that, when we are sated with an immoderate indulgence in pleasure, we are not able either to see, or to hear, or to smell, or to taste, or to touch with any clearness of our faculties, but we make all our essays and approaches in an obscure and imbecile manner. And this happens to us when we are for a moment at a distance from its infection; but at the exact moment of the enjoyment of pleasure we are completely deprived of all such perception as can arise from the operation of the outward senses, so that we seem to be mutilated. How then can it be anything but natural for the outward sense to denounce curses upon pleasure which thus deprives it of its faculties?

37 "And he is accursed beyond all the beasts of the field." And I mean by this, beyond all the passions of the soul, for it is only there that the mind is wounded and destroyed. Why then does this one appear to be worse than all the other passions? Because it is almost at the bottom of them all, as a sort of base or foundation for them, for desire originates in the love of pleasure, and pain consists in the removal of pleasure; and fear again is caused by a desire to guard against its absence. So it is plain that all the passions are anchored on pleasure; and perhaps one might say that they would absolutely have had no existence at all if pleasure had not been previously laid down as a foundation to support them.

38 "Upon thy breast and upon thy belly shall thou Go." [Genesis 3:14.] For passion works around these parts, the breast and the belly, like a serpent in his hole; when pleasure has its efficient causes and its subject-matter, then it is in operation around the belly and the parts adjacent to the belly; and when it has not these efficient causes and this subject-matter, then it is occupied about the breast which is the seat of anger, for lovers of pleasure when deprived of their pleasures become embittered by their anger. But let us see what is

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shown by this sentence with greater accuracy. It so happens that our soul is divisible into three parts, and that one of its parts is the seat of reason, the second, the seat of courage, the third, the seat of the appetites. Some therefore of the philosophers have separated these parts from one another only in respect of their operations, and some have distinguished them also by their places. And then they have assigned the parts about the head to the residing part, saying where the king is, there also are his guards, and the guards of the mind are the external senses, which are seated about the head, so that the king may very naturally have his abode there too, as if he had been assigned the highest part of the city to dwell in. The chest is assigned to the courageous part, and they say, it is on this account, that nature has fortified that part with a dense and strong defense of closely conjoined bones, as though she had been arming a valiant soldier with a breastplate and shield to defend himself against his enemies. To the appetitive part they have assigned a situation about the liver and the belly, for there it is that appetite dwells, being an irrational desire.

39 If therefore you shall ever inquire, O my mind, what situation has been assigned to pleasure, do not take into your consideration the parts about the head, where the reasoning faculties of man have their abode, for you will not find it there; since reason is at war with passion, and cannot possibly remain in the same place with it. For the moment that reason gets the upper hand pleasure is discarded; but as soon as ever pleasure prevails, reason is put to flight. But seek first rather in the breast and in the belly, where courage and anger, and appetite abide, all which are parts of the irrational faculties. For it is there that our judgement is discovered, and also our passions. Therefore, the mind is not hindered by any external force from abandoning the legitimate objects of its attention, which can only be perceived by the intellect, and surrendering itself to those which are worse; but still this never happens except when there is a war in the soul, for then indeed it follows of necessity that reason must fall under the power of the inferior part of man, inasmuch as it is not of a warlike character, but is fond of peace.

40 At all events the holy scripture being well aware how great is the power of the impetuosity of each passion, anger and appetite, puts a bridle in the mouth of each, having appointed reason as their charioteer and pilot. And first of all it speaks thus of anger, in the hope of pacifying and curing it: "And you shall put manifestation and truth (the Urim and the Thummim), in the oracle of judgement, and it shall be on the breast of Aaron when he comes into the holy place before the Lord." [Exodus 28:30.] Now by the oracle is here meant the organs of speech which exist in us, which is in fact the power of language. Now language is either inconsiderate, and such as will not stand examination, or else it is judicious and well approved, and it brings us to form a notion of discreet speech. For Moses here speaks not of a random spurious oracle, but of the oracle of the judgement, which is equivalent to saying, a well-judged and carefully examined oracle; and of this well approved kind of language he says that there are two supreme virtues, namely, distinctness and truth, and he says well. For it is language which has in the first place enabled one man to make affairs plain and evident to his neighbour, when without it we should not be able to give any intimation of the impression produced on our soul by outward circumstances, nor to show of what kind they are.

41 On which account we have been compelled to have recourse to such signs as are given by the voices, that is nouns and verbs, which ought by all means to be universally known, in order that our neighbours might clearly and evidently comprehend our meaning; and, in the next place, to utter them at all times with truth. For of what advantage would it be to make our assertions clear and distinct, but nevertheless false? For it follows inevitably that if this were allowed the hearer would be deceived, and would reap the greatest possible injury with ignorance and delusion. For what would be the advantage of my speaking to a boy distinctly and clearly, and telling him, when I show him the letter A, that it is G, or that the letter E is O? Or what would be the good of a musician pointing out to a pupil whom comes to him to learn the rudiments of his art that the harmonic scale was the chromatic; or the chromatic, the diatonic; or that the highest string was the middle one; or that conjoined sounds were separated; or that the highest tone in the tetrachord scale was a supernumerary note? No doubt, a man who said this might speak clearly and distinctly, but he would not be speaking truly, but by such assertions he would be implanting wickedness in language. But when he joins both distinctness and truth, then he makes his language profitable to him who is seeking information, employing both its virtues, which in fact are nearly the only ones of which language is capable.

42 Moses, therefore, says that discreet discourse, having its own peculiar virtues, is placed on the breast of Aaron, that is to say, of anger, in order that it may in the first instance be guided by reason, and may not be injured by its own deficiency in reason, and, in the second place, by distinctness, for there is no natural influence which makes anger a friend to distinctness. At all events, not only are the ideas of angry men, but all their expressions also, full of disorder and confusion, and therefore it is very natural for the want of clearness on the part of anger to be rectified by clearness, and, in addition, by truth; for, among other things, anger has also this particular property of being inclined to misrepresent the truth. At all events, of all those who give way to this disposition scarcely any one speaks the strict truth, as if it were his soul and not his body that is under the influence of its intoxication. These, then, are the chief remedies suitable for that part of the soul which is influenced by anger, namely, reason, disinterestedness of language, and truth of language, for the three things are in power only one, namely, reason, curing anger, which is a pernicious disease of the soul, by means of the virtues truth and perspicuity.

43 To whom, or to what, then, does it belong to bear these things? Not to my mind, or to that of any chance person, but to the consecrated and purely sacrificial intellect, that, namely, of Aaron. And not even to this at all times, for it is frequently subject to change, but only when it is going on unchangeably, when it is entering into the holy place, when reason is entering in together with holy opinions, and is not abandoning them. But it often happens that the mind is at the same time entering into sacred and holy and purified opinions, but still such as are only human; such, for instance, as opinions on what is expedient; opinions on successful actions; opinions on what is in accordance with established law; opinions concerning virtue as it exists among men. Nor is the mind, when disposed in this way, competent to bear the oracle on its breast together with he virtues, but only that one which is going in before the Lord, that is to say, that one which doeth everything for the sake of God, and which estimates nothing as superior to the things of God; but attributes to them also their due rank, not indeed dwelling on them, but ascending upwards to the knowledge and understanding of an appreciation of the honour due to the one God. For, in a mind which is thus disposed, anger will be directed by purified reason, which takes away its irrational part, and remedies what there is confused and disorderly in it by the application of distinctness, and eradicates its falsehood by truth.

44 Aaron, therefore, for he is a second Moses, restraining the breast, that is to say, the angry passions, does not allow them to be carried away by undistinguishing impulse, fearing lest, if they obtain complete liberty, they may become restiff, like a horse, and so trample down the whole soul. But he attends to and cures it, and bridles it in the first instance by reason, that so, being under the guidance of the best of charioteers, it may not become exceedingly unmanageable, and in the second place, by the virtues of language, distinctness, and truth. For, if the angry passions were educated in such a way as to yield to reason and distinctness, and to cultivate the virtue of truthfulness, they would deliver themselves from great irritation and make the whole soul propitious.

45 But he, as I have already said, having this passion, endeavors to cure it by the saving remedies already enumerated. But Moses thinks that it is necessary completely to extirpate and eradicate anger from the soul, being desirous to attain not to a state of moderation in the indulgence of the passions, but to a state in which they shall have absolutely no existence whatever, and the most Holy Scriptures bear witness to what I am here saying; for it says, "Moses having taken the breast took it that it might be an offering before the Lord, from the ram of consecration, and this was Moses's Part." [Leviticus 8:29.] Speaking very accurately, for it was the conduct of one who was both a lover of virtue and a lover of God, after having contemplated the whole soul, to take hold of the breast, which is the seat of the angry passions, and to take it away and eradicate it, that so when the warlike part had been wholly removed, the remainder might enjoy peace. And he removes this part not from any chance animal, but from the ram of consecration, although, indeed, a young heifer had been sacrificed; but, passing by the heifer, he came to the ram, because that is by nature an animal inclined to pushing and full of anger and impetuosity, in reference to which fact the makers of military engines call many of their warlike machines rams. This ramlike and impetuous and undistinguishing character in us, therefore, is something fond of contention, and contention is the mother of anger. In reference to which fact, they who are somewhat quarrelsome are very easily made angry in investigations and other discussions. Moses, therefore, does very properly endeavor to eradicate anger, that pernicious offspring of a contentious and quarrelsome soul, in order that the soul may become barren of such offspring and may cease from bringing forth mischievous things, and may become a portion consistent with the character of a lover of virtue, not being identical with either the breast or with anger, but with the absence of those qualities, for God has endowed the wise man with the best of all qualities, the power, namely, or eradicating his passions. You see, then, how the perfect man is always endeavoring to attain to a complete emancipation from the power of the passions. But he who eradicates them being next to him, that is Aaron, labours to arrive at a state in which the passions have only a moderate power, as I have said before; for he is unable to eradicate the breast and the angry passions. But he bears the oracle, on which is distinctness and truth even beyond the guide himself, together with the appropriate and kindred virtues of language.

46 And he will, moreover, make the difference more evident to us by the following expression:--"For the wave-breast and the heaveshoulder have I taken of the children of Israel from off the sacrifices of their peace offerings, and have given them to Aaron the priest, and unto his sons, for Ever." [Leviticus 7:34.] You see here that they are not able to take the breast alone, but they must take it with the shoulder; but Moses can take it without the shoulder. Why is this? Because he, being perfect, has no inadequate or lowly ideas, nor is he willing to remain in a state in which the passions have even a moderate influence; but he, by his exceeding power, does utterly extirpate the whole of the passions, root and branch. But the others, who go with faint endeavors and with but slight strength to war against the passions, are inclined to a reconciliation with them, and make terms with them, proposing terms of accommodation, thinking that thus, like a charioteer, they may be able to bridle their extravagant impetuosity. And the shoulder is a symbol of labour and of the endurance of hardship; and such a person is he who has the charge of and the care of administering the holy things, being occupied with constant exercise and labour. But he has no labour to whom God has given his perfect good things in great abundance, and he who attains to virtue by labour will be found to be less vigorous and less perfect than Moses, who received it as a gift from God without any labour or difficulty. For the mere fact of labouring is of itself inferior to and worse than the condition of being exempt from labour, so, also, what is imperfect is inferior to that which is perfect, and that which learns anything to that which has knowledge spontaneously and naturally. On this account it is that Aaron can only take the breast with the shoulder, but Moses can take it without the shoulder. And he calls it the heave-shoulder for this reason, because reason ought to be set over and to be predominant above the violence of anger, as a charioteer who is driving a hard-mouthed and restiff horse. And then the shoulder is no longer called the heave-shoulder, but the shoulder of removal, on this account, because it is fitting that the soul should not attribute to itself labour in the cause of virtue, but should remove it from itself and attribute it to God, confessing that it is not its own strength or its own power which has thus acquired what is good, but He who gave it a love for goodness. And so neither the breast nor the shoulder is taken, except from the virtue which bringeth salvation, as is natural, for then the soul is sacred when the angry passions are under the guidance of reason, and when labour does not bring conceit to the labourer, but when he owns his inferiority to God, his benefactor.

47 Now that pleasure dwells not only in the breast but also in the belly, we have already stated, showing that the belly is the most appropriate situation for pleasure; for we may almost call pleasure the vessel which contains all the pleasures; for when the belly is filled, then the desires for all other pleasures are intense and vigorous, but when it is empty, they they are tranquil and steady. On which account Moses says, in another place, "Every animal that goeth upon its belly, every animal which goeth on four legs at all times, and that has a multitude of feet, is Unclean." [Leviticus 11:42.] And such a creature is the lover of pleasure, inasmuch as he is always going upon his belly and pursuing the pleasures which relate to it. And God unites the animal which goes on four legs with him that crawls upon his belly, naturally; for the passions of those who are absorbed in pleasure are four, as one most egregious account teaches. Therefore he who devotes himself as a slave to one of them, namely, to pleasure, is impure as much as he who lives in the indulgence of the whole four. This much having been premised, behold again the difference between the perfect man and him who is still advancing towards perfection. As, therefore, the perfect man was, just now, found to be competent to eradicate the whole of the angry feelings from the contentious soul and to make it submissive and manageable, and peaceable and gentle to every one, both in word and deed; and as he who is still advancing towards perfection is not able wholly to eradicate passion, for he bears the breast about with him, though he does educate it by the aid of judicious language, which is invested with two virtues perspicuity and truth.

48 So, also, now he who is perfectly wise, that is, Moses, will be found to have utterly shaken off an discarded the pleasures. But he who is only advancing towards perfection will be found to have escaped not from every pleasure, but to cling still to such as are desirable and simple, and to deprecate those which are superfluous and extravagant as unnecessary additions, for, in the case of Moses, God speaks thus: "And he washed his belly and his feet, with the blood of the entire burnt Offering." [Leviticus 9:14.] Speaking very truly, for the wise man consecrates his entire soul as what is worthy to be offered to God, because it is free from all reproach, whether wilfully or unintentionally incorrect, and being thus disposed, he washes his whole belly and all the pleasures which it knows,

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and all which pursue it, and cleanses them and purifies them from all uncleanliness, not being content with any partial cleansing. But he is disposed to regard pleasures so contemptuously that he has no desire for even the necessary meat or drink, but nourishes himself wholly on the contemplation of divine things. On which account in another passage, he bears witness to himself, "For forty-eight years he did not eat bread, and he did not drink Water," [Exodus 34:28.] because he was in the holy mouth listening to the oracular voice of God, who was giving him the law. But not only does he repudiate the whole belly, but he also at the same time washes off all the dirt from his feet, that is to say, to the supports in which pleasure proceeds. And the supports of pleasure are the efficient causes of it. 4For he who is advancing onwards to perfection is said "to wash his bowels and his Feet," [Leviticus 1:9.] and not his whole belly. For he is not capable of rejecting the whole of pleasure, but he is content if he can purify his bowels, that is to say, his inmost parts from it, which the lovers of pleasure say are certain additions to preceding pleasures, and which originate in the superfluous ingenuity of cooks and makers of delicacies and labourious gourmands.

49 And he also displays, in a further degree, the moderation of the passions of the man who is advancing towards perfection, by the fact that the perfect man discards all the pleasures of the belly without being prompted by any command to do so, but that he who is only advancing onwards towards perfection only does so in consequence of being commanded. For, in the case of the wise man, we find the following expression used:--"He washes his belly and his feet with Water," [Leviticus 9:14.] without any command, in accordance with his own unbidden inclination. But, in the case of the priests, he spoke thus: "But their bowels and their feet," not they have washed, but "they do Wash;" [Leviticus 1:13.] speaking with very cautious exactness, for the perfect man must be moved in his own inclination towards the energies in accordance with virtue. But he who is only practising virtue must be instigated by reason, which points out to him what he ought to do, and it is an honourable thing to obey the injunctions of reason. But we ought not to be ignorant that Moses repudiates the whole of the belly, that is to say, the filling and indulging the belly, and almost renounces all the other passions likewise; the lawgiver giving a lively representation of the whole from one part, starting from a universal example, and discussing, potentially at least, the other points as to which he was silent.

50 The filling of the belly is a most enduring and universal thing; and, as it were, a kind of foundation of the other passions. At all events, there is not one of them which can find any existence if it is not supported by the belly, on which nature has made everything to depend. On this account, when the goods of the soul had previously been born of Leah, and had ended in Judah, [Genesis 29:35.] that is to say, in confession, God being about to create also the improvements of the body, prepared Bilhah, the hand-maid of Rachel, to bear children on behalf of and before her mistress. And the name Bilhah, being interpreted, means deglutition. For he knew that not one of the corporeal faculties can exist without imbibing moisture and without the belly; but the belly is predominant over and the ruler of the whole body, and the preserver of this corporeal mass in a state of existence. And observe the subtle way in which all this is expressed; for you will not find a single word used superfluously. Moses indeed "takes away the breast," but as for the belly he does not take that away, but he washes It. [Leviticus 8:29, 9:14.] Why so? Because the perfectly wise man is able to repudiate and to eradicate all the angry passions, making them rise up and abandon anger; but he is unable to cut out and discard the belly, for nature is compelled to use the necessary meats and drinks, even if a man, being content with the scantiest possible supply of necessaries should despise it, and purpose to himself to abjure eating. Let him therefore wash and purify it from all superfluous and unclean preparations; for to be able to do even this is a very sufficient gift from God to the lover of virtue.

51 On this account Moses says, with respect to the soul which is suspected of having committed adultery, [Numbers 5:27.] that, if having abandoned right reason, which is man living according to the law, it shall be found to have gone over to passion, which pollutes the soul, "it shall become swollen in the belly," which means it shall have all the pleasures and appetites of the belly unsatisfied and insatiable, and it shall never cease to be greedy through ignorance, but pleasures in boundless number shall flow into it, and thus its passions shall be interminable. Now I know many people who have fallen into error in respect of the appetites of the belly, that while still devoting themselves to their gratifications, they have again rushed with eagerness to wine and other luxuries; for the appetites of the intemperate soul bear no analogy to the mass of the body. But some men, like vessels made to hold a certain measure, desire nothing extravagant, but discard everything that is superfluous; but appetite on the other hand is never satisfied, but remains always in want and thirsty. In reference to which the expression, that "the thigh shall fall away," is added in immediate connexion with the denunciation that "her belly shall swell;" for then right reason, which has the seeds and originating principles of good, falls from the soul. "If therefore," says Moses, "she has not been corrupted, then she shall be pure, and free from all infliction from generation to generation;" that is to say, if she has not been polluted by passion, but has kept herself pure in respect of her legitimate husband, sound reason, her proper guide, she shall have a productive and fertile soul, bearing the offspring of prudence and justice and all virtue.

52 Is it then possible for us, who are bound up in our bodies, to avoid complying with the necessities of the body? And if it is possible, how is it possible? But consider, the priest recommends him who is led away by his bodily necessities to indulge in nothing beyond what is strictly necessary. In the first place, says he, "Let there be a place for thee outside of the Camp;" [Deuteronomy 23:12.] meaning by the camp virtue, in which the soul is encamped and fortified; for prudence and a free indulgence in the necessities of the body cannot abide in the same place. After that he says, "And you shall go out there." Why so? Because the soul, which is abiding in companionship with prudence and dwelling in the house of wisdom, cannot indulge in any of the delights of the body, for it is at that time nourished on a diviner food in the sciences, in consequence of which it neglects the flesh, for when it has gone forth beyond the sacred thresholds of virtue, then it turns to the material substances, which disarrange and oppress the soul. How then am I to deal with them? "It shall be a peg," says Moses, "upon thy girdle, and thou shall dig with It;" [Deuteronomy 23:13.] that is to say, reason shall be close to you in the case of the passion, which digs out and equips and clothes it properly; for he desires that we should be girded up in respect of the passions, and not to have them about us in a loose and dissolute state. On which account, at the time of the passage through them, which is called the passover, he enjoins us all "to have our loins Girded," [Exodus 12:11.] that is to say, to have our appetites under restraint. Let the peg, therefore, that is to say reason, follow the passion, preventing it from becoming dissolute; for in this way we shall be able to content ourselves with only so much as is necessary, and to abstain from what is superfluous.

53 And in this way when we are at entertainments, and when we are about to come to the enjoyment and use of luxuries that have been prepared for us, let us approach them taking reason with us as a defensive armour, and let us not fill ourselves with food beyond all moderation like cormorants, nor let us satiate ourselves with immoderate draughts of strong wine, and so give way to intoxication which compels men to act like fools. For reason will bridle and curb the violence and impetuosity of such a passion. I myself, at all events, know that it has done so with regard to many of the passions, for when I have gone to entertainments where no respect was paid to discipline, and to sumptuous banquets, whenever I went without taking Reason with me as a guide, I became a slave to the luxuries that lay before me, being under the guidance of masters who could not be tamed, with sights and sounds of temptation, and all other such things also as work pleasure in a man by the agency of his senses of smell and taste. But when I approach such scenes in the company of reason, I then become a master instead of a slave: and without being subdued myself win a glorious victory of self-denial and temperance; opposing and contending against all the appetites which subdue the intemperate. "Thou shall be armed," Moses therefore says, "with a Peg." [Deuteronomy 23:12.] That is to say, you, by the aid of reason, shall lay bare the nature which each of the separate passions has, eating, and drinking, and indulging in the pleasures of the belly, and you shall distinguish between them, that when you have so distinguished you may know the truth. For then you shall know that there is no good in any of these things, but only what is necessary and useful. "And bringing it over, you shall cover what is Indecorous," [Deuteronomy 23:14.] speaking very appropriately. For come to me, O my soul, bring reason to everything by which all unseemliness of flesh and of passion is concealed, and overshadowed and hidden. For all the things which are not in combination with reason are disgraceful, just as those which are done in union with reason are seemly. Therefore the man who is devoted to pleasure goes on his belly, but the perfect man washes his whole belly, and he who is only advancing towards perfection washes the things in his belly. But he who is now beginning to be instructed proceeds out of doors when he is intent upon curbing the passions of the belly by bringing reason to work upon the necessities of the belly, and reason is called symbolically a peg.

54 Moses therefore does well when he adds, "Thou shall go upon thy breast and upon thy Belly." [Genesis 3:14.] For pleasure is not one of the things which is tranquil and steady, but is rather a thing which is in constant motion and full of confusion, for as flame is excited by being moved, so passion when it is put in motion in the soul, being in some respects like a flame, does not suffer it to rest. On which account he does not agree with those who pronounce pleasure a stable feeling, for tranquility is connected with stones and trees, and all kinds of inanimate things, but is quite inconsistent with pleasure; for it is fond of tickling and convulsive agitation, and with regard to some of its indulgences it has not need of tranquility but of an intense and violent unseemliness of commotion.

55 But the expression, "And dust shall thou eat all the days of thy life," is also used with great propriety. For the pleasures which are derived from the food of the body are all earthly. And may we not reasonably speak thus? There are two several parts of which we consist, the soul and the body; now the body is made of earth, but the soul consists of air, being a fragment of the Divinity, for "God breathed into man's face the breath of life, and man became a living Soul." [Genesis 2:7.] It is therefore quite consistent with reason to say that the body which was fashioned out of the earth has nourishment which the earth gives forth akin to the matter of which it is composed; but the soul, inasmuch as it is a portion of the ethereal nature, is supported by nourishment which is ethereal and divine, for it is nourished on knowledge, and not on meat or drink, which the body requires.

56 But that the food of the soul is not earthly but heavenly the Holy Scriptures will testify in many passages, "Behold I will rain upon you bread from heaven, and the people shall come forth, and shall collect from day to day, when I will try them, whether they will walk according to my law or Not." [Exodus 16:4.] You see that the soul is nourished not on earthly and corruptible food, but on the reasons which God rains down out of his sublime and pure nature, which he calls heaven. "Let the people indeed go forth and the whole system of the soul likewise, and let it collect science and begin knowledge, not in large quantities but from day to day." For, in the first place, in that way it will not exhaust all at once the abundant riches of the grace of God: but it will overflow like a torrent with their superfluity. Secondly, it will happen that when they have taken such good things as are sufficient for them and duly measured, they will think God the dispenser of the rest. But he who endeavors to collect everything at once is only acquiring for himself despair with great sorrow, [it seems that for anias, sorrow, we ought rather to read apistias, infidelity, as it is apistos which is afterwards joined with dyselpis.] for he becomes full of despair if he expects that God will only rain good things upon him at the present moment, and that he will not do so hereafter. And he becomes inclined to infidelity if he does not believe that the graces of God will be both at present and in all time abundantly poured upon those who are worthy of them. And he is foolish, moreover, if he thinks that he shall be a competent guardian of what he has collected contrary to God's will. For a very slight inclination is sufficient to make the mind, which in its boastfulness attributes safety and stability to itself, an impotent and unsure keeper of those things of which it fancied itself a safe guardian.

57 Collect therefore, O my soul, what is sufficient and proper, and in such a quantity as shall neither exceed by being more than is sufficient, nor fall short by being less than what is requisite: that so, using just measures you may not be led into the commission of injustice. For while meditating on the migration from the passions and sacrificing the passover you ought to take the advance towards perfection, that is to say the sheep, in a moderate spirit. "For each person of you," says Moses, "shall take a sheep, such as shall be sufficient for him according to the number of his House." [Exodus 12:4.] And in the case of the manna therefore, and of every gift which God gives to the race of mankind, the principle being guided by numbering and by measure, and of not taking what is more than is necessary for us, is good; for the opposite conduct is covetousness. Let therefore one soul collect what is sufficient for it from day to day, [Exodus 12:4.] that is may show that it is not itself which is the guardian of good things, but the bounteous giver, God.

58 And this appears to me to be the reason why the sentence which I have cited above was uttered. Day is an emblem of light, and the light of the soul is instruction. Many persons therefore have provided for themselves the lights that can exist in the soul against night and darkness, but not against day-time and light; such lights for instance, as are derived from rudimental instruction, and those branches of education which are called encyclical, and philosophy itself, which is sought after for the sake both of the pleasure which is derived from it, and also of the influence which it gives among rulers. But the good man seeks the day for the sake of the day, and the light for the light's sake; and he labours to acquire what is good for the sake of the good itself, and not of anything else, on which account Moses adds, "In order that I may tempt them and see whether they will walk according to my law or Not," [Exodus 16:4.] for the divine law enjoins us to honour virtue for its own sake. Accordingly, right reason tests those who practice virtue as one might test a coin, to see whether they have contracted any stain, referring the good things of the soul to any of the external things; or whether they decide upon it as good money, preserving it in the intellect alone. These men are nourished not on earthly things, but on heavenly knowledge.

59 And Moses shows this in other passages also, when he says, "And in the morning the dew lay round about the hosts;

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and when the dew that lay in the morning was gone up, behold! upon the face of the wilderness there lay a small round thing, small as coriander seed, [Numbers 11:7.] and white like the hoar-frost upon the earth. And when they saw it, they said one to another, what is this? for they knew not what it was, and Moses said to them, This is the bread which the Lord hath given you to eat, this is the thing which the Lord hath commanded You." [Exodus 16:13.] You see now what kind of thing the food of the Lord is, it is the continued word of the Lord, like dew, surrounding the whole soul in a circle, and allowing no portion of it to be without its share of itself. 7And this word is not apparent in every place, but wherever there is a vacant space, void of passions and vice; and it is subtle both to understand and to be understood, and it is exceedingly transparent and clear to be distinguished, and it is like coriander seed. And agriculturists say that the seed of the coriander is capable of being cut up and divided into innumerable pieces, and if sown in each separate piece and fragment, it shoots up just as much as the whole seed could do. Such also is the word of God, being profitable both in its entirety and also in every part, even if it be ever so small. May it not be also likened to the pupil of the eye? For as that, being the smallest portion of the eye, does nevertheless behold the entire orbs of existing things and the boundless sea, and the vastness of the air, and the whole immeasurable space of heaven, which the sun, whether rising in the east or setting in the west, can bound; so also is the word of God, very sharp-sighted, so as to be capable of beholding every thing, and by which all things that are worth seeing can be beheld, in reference to which fact it is white. For what can be more brilliant or visible at a greater distance than the divine word, by participation in which all other things can repel mists and darkness, being eager to share in the light of the soul?

60 There is a certain peculiarity which is attached to this word. For when it calls the soul to itself, it excites a congealing power in everything which is earthly, or corporeal, or under the influence of the external senses. On which account it is said to be "like the hoar-frost on the Earth." [Exodus 6:16.] For when the man who beholds God, meditates a flight from the passions, "the waves are frozen," that is to say, the impetuous rush, and the increase, and the haughty pride of the waves are arrested, in order that he who might behold the living God might then pass over the Passion. [Exodus 16:15.] Therefore the souls inquire of one another, those, that is, that have clearly felt the influence of the word, but which are not able to say what it is. For very often, when sensible of a sweet taste, we are nevertheless ignorant of the flavour which has caused it, and when we smell sweet scents, we still do not know what they are. And in the same manner also the soul very often, when it is delighted, is yet unable to explain what it is that has delighted it; but it is taught by the hierophant and prophet Moses, who tells it, "This is the bread, the food which God has given for the Soul," [Exodus 16:15.] explaining that God has brought it, his own word and his own reason; for this bread which he has given us to eat is this word of his.

61 He says also in Deuteronomy, "And he has humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna, which thou knowest not, neither did thy fathers know, that he might make thee know that man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word which proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man Life." [Deuteronomy 8:3.] Now this illtreating and humbling of them is a sign of his being propitiated by them, for he is propitiated as to the souls of us who are wicked on the tenth day. For when he strips us of all our pleasant things, we appear to ourselves to be ill-treated, that is in truth to have God propitious to us. And God also causes us hunger, not that which proceeds from virtue, but that which is engendered by passion and vice. And the proof of this is, that he nourishes us with his own word, which is the most universal of all things, for manna being interpreted, means "what?" and "what" is the most universal of all things; for the word of God is over all the world, and is the most ancient, and the most universal of all the things that are created. This word our fathers knew not; I speak not of those who are so in truth, but of those who are grey with age, who say, "Let us give them a guide, and let us turn Back" [Numbers 14:1.] unto passion, that is to say, to Egypt. Therefore, let God enjoin the soul, saying to it that, "Man shall not live by bread alone," speaking in a figure, "but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God," that is to say, he shall be nourished by the whole word of God, and by every portion of it. For the mouth is the symbol of the language, and a word is a portion of it. Accordingly the soul of the more perfect man is nourished by the whole word; but we must be contented if we are nourished by a portion of it.

62 But these men pray to be nourished by the word of God: but Jacob, raising his head above the word, says that he is nourished by God himself, and his words are as follows; "The God in whom my father Abraham and Isaac were well-pleased; the God who has nourished me from my youth upwards to this day; the angel who has delivered me from all my evils, bless these Children." [Genesis 48:15.] This now being a symbol of a perfect disposition, thinks God himself his nourisher, and not the word: and he speaks of the angel, which is the word, as the physician of his evils, in this speaking most naturally. For the good things which he has previously mentioned are pleasing to him, inasmuch as the living and true God has given them to him face to face, but the secondary good things have been given to him by the angels and by the word of God. On this account I think it is that God gives men pure good health, which is not preceded by any disease in the body, by himself alone, but that health which is an escape from disease he gives through the medium of skill and medical science, attributing it to science, and to him who can apply it skilfully, though in truth, it is God himself who heals both by these means, and without these means. And the same is the case with regard to the soul, the good things, namely food, he gives to men by his power alone; but those which contain in them a deliverance from evil, he gives by means of his angels and his word.

63 And he uttered this prayer, blaming Joseph the statesman and governor, because he had ventured to say, "I will feed them in that Land," [Genesis 45:11.] for, "hasten ye," said Joseph, "and go up to my father, and say unto him, Thus says Joseph," and so on, and presently he adds, "Come down unto me, and do not tarry, come with all thou hast, and I will feed thee in that land; for still the famine lasts for five years." Jacob, therefore, speaks as he does reproving and at the same time instructing this imaginary wise man, and he says to him, "O my friend, know thou that the food of the soul is knowledge, which it is not the word which is intelligible by the external senses that can bestow, but God only who has nourished me from youth, and from my earliest age till the time of perfect manhood, he shall fill me with it. Joseph therefore was treated in the same way with his mother Rachel, for she also thought that the creature had some power; on which account she used the expression, "Give me children," but the supplanter, adhering to his proper character, says to her, "You have used a great error; for I am not in the peace of God, who alone is able to open the womb of the soul, [Genesis 30:1.] and to implant virtues in it, and to cause it to be pregnant, and to bring forth what is good. Consider also the history of thy sister Leah, and you will find that she did not receive seed or fertility from any creature--but from God himself." "For the Lord, seeing that Leah was hated, opened her womb, but Rachel was Barren." [Genesis 29:31.] And consider, now, in this sentence, again, the subtlety of the writer spoken of. God opens the wombs, implanting good actions in them, and the womb, when it has received virtue from God, does not bring forth to God, for the living and true God is not in need of any thing, but she brings forth sons to me, Jacob, for it was for my sake, probably, that God sowed seen in virtue, and not for his own. Therefore, another husband of Leah is found to be passed over in silence, and another father of Leah's children, for he is the husband who openeth the womb, and he is the father of the children to whom the mother is said to bear them.

64 "And I will place enmity between thee and between the Woman." [Genesis 3:15.] In reality, pleasure is hostile to the external sense, although, to some persons, it appears to be especially friendly to it. But as one would not call a flatterer a companion (for flattery is a disease of friendship), nor would one call a courtesan friendly to her lover, for she adheres only to those who give her presents, and not to those who love her; so, also, if you investigate the nature of pleasure, you will find that she has but a spurious connexion with the external senses. When we are sated with pleasure, then we find that the organs of the external senses in us lose their tone. Or do not you perceive the state of those men who from love of wine get drunk?--that seeing they do not see, and hearing they do not hear; and, in the same way, they are deprived of the accurate energies of the other external senses? And, at times, through immoderate indulgence in food, all the vigor of the external senses is relaxed when sleep overtakes them, which has derived its name from the relaxation of them. For, at that time, the organs of the external senses are relaxed, just as they are on the stretch in our waking hours, when they no longer receive unintelligible blows from external things, but such as speak loudly and are evident, and which transmit their impressions to the mind. For the mind, when stricken, must recognise the external thing, and receive a visible impression from it.

65 And take notice here, that Moses does not say, "I will cause enmity to thee and the woman," but, "I will place enmity between thee and between the woman:"--why so? because the war between these two is concerning what is in the middle, and what lies, as it were, on the borders of pleasure and of the outward sense. And that which lies between them is what is drinkable, and what is eatable, and what is inclined to all such things, every one of which is an object to be appreciated by the outward sense, and an efficient cause of pleasure. When, therefore, pleasure wallows immoderately in these things, it at once by so doing inflicts injury on the outward sense. And again, the expression, "between thy seed and between her seed," is uttered with strict natural propriety, for all seed is the beginning of generation. But the beginning of pleasure is not passion, but an emotional impulse of the outward sense, set in motion by the mind. For from this, as from a fountain, the faculties of the outward senses are derived, especially, according to the most sacred Moses, who says that the woman was formed out of Adam, that is to say, the outward sense was formed out of the mind. The part, therefore, that pleasure acts towards the outward sense, passion also acts towards the mind. So that, since the two former are at enmity with one another, the two latter must likewise be in a state of hostility.

66 And the war between these things in manifest. At all events, according to the superiority of the mind when it applies itself to incorporeal objects, which are perceptible only to the intellect, passion is put to flight. And, on the other hand, when this latter gains a shameful victory, the mind yields, being hindered from giving its attention to itself and to all its actions. At all events, he says in another place, "When Moses lifted up his hands Israel prevailed, and when he let them down Amalek Prevailed." [Exodus 17:11.] And this statement implies, that when the mind raises itself up from mortal affairs and is elevated on high, it is very vigorous because it beholds God; and the mind here means Israel . But when it relaxes its vigor and becomes powerless, then immediately the passions will prevail, that is to say, Amalek; which name, being interpreted, means, the people licking. For he does, of a verity, devour the whole soul, and licks it up, leaving no seed behind, nor anything which can excite virtue; in reference to which it is said, "Amalek is the beginning of Nations;" [Numbers 24:20.] because passion governs, and is the absolute lord of nations, all mingled and confused and jumbled in disorder, without any settled plan; and, through passion, all the war of the soul is fanned and kept alive. For God makes a promise to the same minds to which he grants peace, that he will efface the memorial of Amalek from all the lands beneath the heaven.

67 And the expression, "He shall watch thy head, and thou shall watch his Heel," [Genesis 3:15.] is, as to its language, a barbarism, but, as to the meaning which is conveyed by it, a correct expression. Why so? It ought to be expressed with respect to the woman: but the woman is not he, but she. What, then, are we to say? From his discourse about the woman he has digressed to her seed and her beginning. Now the beginning of the outward sense is the mind. But the mind is masculine, in respect of which one may say, he, his, and so on. Very correctly, therefore, does God here say to pleasure, that the mind shall watch your principal and predominant doctrine, and you shall watch the traces of the mind itself, and the foundations of the things which are pleasing to it, to which the heel has very naturally been likened.

68 But the words, "shall watch," intimate two things: in the first place it means as it were "shall keep," and "shall preserve." And, in the second place, it is equivalent to "shall watch for the purpose of destroying." Now it is inevitable that the mind must be either bad or good. Now, if it be bad, it would be but a foolish guardian and dispenser of pleasure, for it rejoices in it. But the good man is an enemy to it, expecting that, when he once attacks it, he will be able utterly to destroy it. And, indeed, on the other hand, pleasure watches the footsteps of the foolish man, but endeavors to trip up and undermine the standing ground of the wise man, thinking that he is always meditating its destruction; but that the fool is always considering the means by which its safety may be best secured. But, nevertheless, though pleasure appears to trip up and to deceive the good man, it will in reality be tripped up itself by that experienced wrestler, Jacob; and that, too, not in the wrestling of the body, but in that struggle which the soul carries on against the dispositions which are antagonistic to it, and which attack it through the agency of the passions and vices; and it will not let go the heel of its antagonist, passion, before it surrenders, and confesses that it has been twice tripped up and defeated, both in the matter of the birthright, and also in that of the blessing. For "rightly," says Esau, "is his name called Jacob, for now has he supplanted me for the second time; the first time he took away my birthright, and now he has taken away my Blessing." [Genesis 27:36.] But the bad man thinks the things of the body the more important, while the good man assigns the preference to the things of the soul, which are in truth and reality the more important and the first, not, indeed, in point of time, but in power and dignity, as is a ruler in a city. But the mistress of the concrete being is the soul.

69 Therefore the one who as superior in virtue received the first place, which, indeed, fell to him as his due. For he also obtained the blessing in connexion with the perfection of prayer. But he is a vain and conceited pretender to wisdom who said, "He took away my blessing and also my birthright." For what he took, O foolish man, was not yours, but was rather the opposite to what was yours. For your deeds are thought worthy of slavery, but his are thought worthy of supremacy. And if you are content to become the slave of the wise man, you shall receive your share of reproof and of correction, and so you shall discard ignorance and folly which are the destruction of the soul. For thy father, when praying, says to you, "You shall serve your Brother," [Genesis 27:40.] but not now; for he will not be able to endure your endeavoring to throw off the yoke. But when you have

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loosed his yoke from off your neck, that is to say, when you have cast off the boastfulness and arrogance which you had, after you had yoked yourself to the chariot of the passions, under the guidance of the charioteer, Folly. Now, indeed, you are the slave of cruel and intolerable masters, who are within yourself, and who look upon it as a law never to set any one free; but if you run away and escape from them, then the master who loves slaves will receive you in a good hope of freedom, and will not surrender you any more to your former companions, having learnt from Moses that necessary doctrine and lesson, "Not to give up a servant to his master who has escaped from his master unto him; for he shall dwell with him in any place which shall please Him." [Deuteronomy 23:16.]

70 But as long as you did not escape, and while you were still bridled with the bridle of those masters, you were unworthy to be the servant of a worse master. Giving thus the greatest proof of a mean, and lowly, and servile disposition, when you said, "My birthright and my Blessing." [Genesis 27:36.] For these are the words of men who have fallen into immoderate ignorance, since it belongs to God alone to say, "Mine;" for to him alone do all things properly belong. And to this he will himself bear witness when he says, "My gifts, my offerings, my first Fruits." [Numbers 28:2.] You must take notice here that gifts are spoken of in contradistinction to offerings. For the former display the manifestation of the vastness of the perfect good things which God gives to those men who are perfect, but the latter are only prepared to last a very short time, and are partaken of by well-disposed practicers of virtue who are making progress towards perfection. On which account Abraham also, when following the will of God, retained those things which had been given to him by God: "but sends back the horses of the king of Sodom " [Genesis 14:21.] as the wages of harlots. And Moses also condescends to administer justice in most important points, and with reference to things of the greatest value. But the more unimportant causes and trials he commits to judges of inferior rank to investigate. And whoever ventures to assert that any thing is his own shall be set down as a slave for ever and ever; as he who says, "I have loved my master, and my wife, and my children; I will not depart and be Free." [Genesis 21:5.] He does well on confessing that slavery is proper for him; for can he be any thing but a slave who says, "Mine is mind, which is the master, being its own master, and possessed of absolute power; mine, also are the outward senses, the sufficient judges of corporeal substances; mine, also are the offspring of these objects of intellect which are the offspring of the mind, and the objects of the outward senses, which are the offspring of those same outward senses; for it is in my power to exert both the mind and the outward senses?" But it is not sufficient for such a man only to bear witness against himself, but, being also condemned by God, who sentences him to most durable and everlasting slavery, he shall undergo his sentence: and be bored in the ear, that he may not receive the language of virtue, but that he may be a slave for ever, both in his mind and in his outward senses, which are bad and pitiless masters.

71 "And to the woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy Groaning." [Genesis 3:16.] The affection which is called pain is a suffering peculiar to woman, who is a symbol of the outward sense. For to suffer pain belongs to the same subject to which to experience pleasure does also belong. But we experience pleasure through the medium of our outward senses, as of necessity we also suffer pain through the same medium. But the virtuous and purified mind suffers pain in the least degree; for the outward senses have the least degree of power over him. But passion is exceedingly powerful in the case of the foolish man, inasmuch as he has no antidote in his soul by which he can ward off the evils which proceed from the outward senses and from those objects which can only be perceived by them. For as an athlete and a slave are beaten in two different manners, the one in an abject manner, giving himself up to the ill-treatment, and yielding to it submissively; but the athlete opposing, and resisting, and parrying the blows which are aimed at him. And as you shave a man in one way, and a pillow in another; for the one is seen only in its suffering the shaving, but the man does himself do something likewise, and as one may say, aids the infliction, placing himself in a posture to be shaved; so the irrational man, like a slave, submits himself to another, and surrenders himself to the endurance of pains as to intolerable mistresses, being unable to look them in the face, and wholly incapable of conceiving any masculine or free thoughts. On which account a countless number of painful things are endured by him through the medium of the outward senses. But the man of experience, valiantly resisting like a brave athlete with strength and vigor, opposes himself resolutely to all painful things, so as not to be wounded by them; but so as to keep all their blows at a distance. And it seems to me that he might with great spirit utter the verses of the tragedian against pain in this manner:--

"Now scorch and burn my flesh, and fill yourself
With ample draughts of my life's purpled blood;
For sooner shall the stars' bright orbs descend
Beneath the darkened earth, the earth uprise
Above the sky, and all things be confounded,

Than you shall wrench one flattering word from Me." [this is a fragment of the Syleus of Euripides. The lines are put in the mouth of Hercules.]

72 But as God has allotted all painful things to the outward sense in great abundance and intensity, so also has he bestowed on the virtuous soul a boundless store of good things. Accordingly he speaks with reference to the perfect man Abraham in the following manner: "By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, that because thou hast done this thing and hast not withheld thy son, thy beloved son from me, that in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sand which is on the shore of the Sea." [Genesis 22:16.] He says this, and having confirmed his promise solemnly and by an oath, and by an oath, too, such as could alone become God. For you see that God does not swear by any other being than himself, for there is nothing more powerful than he is; but he swears by himself, because he is the greatest of all things. But some men have said that it is inconsistent with the character of God to swear at all; for that an oath is received for the sake of the confirmation which it supplies; but God is the only faithful being, and if any one else who is dear to God; as Moses is said to have been faithful in all his House. [Numbers 12:7.] And besides, the mere words of God are the most sacred and holy of oaths, and laws, and institutions. And it is a proof of his exceeding power, that whatever he says is sure to take place; and this is the most especial characteristic of an oath. So that it would be quite natural to say that all the words of God are oaths confirmed by the accomplishment of the acts to which they Relate. [there is a remarkable coincidence between Philo's argument here, and that employed by St. Paul in r.ference to the same event. St. Paul , Hebrews 6:13, says, "For when God made promise to Abraham, because he could swear by no greater, he swore by himself, saying. ...For man verily swears by the greater; and an oath for confirmation is to them the end of strife."]

73 They say, indeed, that an oath is a testimony borne by God concerning a matter which is the subject of doubt. But if God swears he is bearing testimony to himself, which is an absurdity. For the person who bears the testimony, and he on whose behalf it is borne, ought to be two different persons. What, then, are we to say? In the first place, that it is not a matter of blame for God to bear testimony to himself. For what other being could be competent to bear testimony to him? In the second place, He himself is to himself every thing that is most honourable--relative, kinsman, friend, virtue, prosperity, happiness, knowledge, understanding, beginning, end, entirety, universality, judge, opinion, intention, law, action, supremacy. Besides, if we only receive the expression, "By myself have I sworn," in the manner in which we ought, we shall be in no danger from sophistry. May we not, then, say, that the truth is something of this sort? None of those beings which are capable of entertaining belief, can entertain a firm belief respecting God. For he has not displayed his nature to any one; but keeps it invisible to every kind of creature. Who can venture to affirm of him who is the cause of all things either that he is a body, or that he is incorporeal, or that he has such and such distinctive qualities, or that he has no such qualities? or who, in short, can venture to affirm any thing positively about his essence, or his character, or his constitution, or his movements? But He alone can utter a positive assertion respecting himself, since he alone has an accurate knowledge of his own nature, without the possibility of mistake. His positive assertion, therefore, is one which may be thoroughly trusted in the first place, since he alone has any knowledge respecting his actions; so that he very appropriately swore by himself, adding himself confirmation to his assertion, which it was not possible for any one else to do. On which account men who say that they swear by God may well be considered impious. For no man can rightly swear by himself, because he is not able to have any certain knowledge respecting his own nature, but we must be content if we are able to understand even his name, that is to say, his word, which is the interpreter of his will. For that must be God to us imperfect beings, but the first mentioned, or true God, is so only to wise and perfect men. And Moses, too, admiring the exceeding excellency of the great uncreated God, says, "And thou shall swear by his Name," [Deuteronomy 6:13.] not by himself. For it is sufficient for the creature to receive confirmation and testimony from the word of God. But God is his own confirmation and most unerring testimony.

74 But the expression, "Because thou hast done this Thing," [Genesis 22:16.] is a symbol of piety. For to do everything for the sake of God alone is pious. In consequence of which we do not spare even that beloved child of virtue, prosperity, surrendering it to the Creator, and thinking it right that our offspring should become the possession of God, but not of any created being. And that expression, also, is a good one, "In blessing I will bless thee." For some persons do many acts worthy of a blessing, but yet not in such a way as to obtain a blessing. Since even a wicked man does some actions that are proper, but he does not do them from being of a proper disposition. And sometimes a drunken man or a mad man speaks and acts in a sober manner, but still he is not speaking or acting from a sober mind. And children, who are actually infants, both do and say many things which reasonable men do also do and say; but they, of course, do it not in consequence of any rational disposition, for nature has not yet endowed them with a capacity of reasoning. But the law giver wishes the wise man to appear deserving of blessing not occasionally, accidentally, and, as it were, by chance, but in consequence of habits and a disposition deserving of blessing.

75 Therefore it is not sufficient for the unfortunate external sense to be abundantly occupied with pains, but it must also be full of groaning. Now groaning is a violent and intense pain. For we are very often in pain without groaning. But, when we groan, we are under the influence of most grievous and thickly pressing pain. Now, groaning is of a twofold nature. One kind is that which arises in those who desire and are very eager for august objects and who do not succeed in them, which is wicked; the other kind is that which proceeds from persons who repent and are distressed for previous sins, and who say, "Miserable are we, how long a time have we passed infected with the disease of foolishness, and in the practice of all kinds of folly and iniquity." But this kind of groaning does not exist unless the king of Egypt, that is to say, the impious disposition wholly devoted to pleasure, has perished and departed from our soul, "For, after many days, the king of Egypt Died." [Exodus 2:23.] Then immediately, as soon as vice is dead, the man who has become alive to the perception of God and of his own sin, groans, "For the children of Israel groaned at the corporeal and Egyptian works;" since the reigning disposition devoted to pleasure, while it is alive within us, persuades the soul to rejoice at the sins which it commits; but, when that disposition is dead, it groans over them; on which account it cries out to its master, beseeching him that it may not again be perverted, and that it may not arrive at only an imperfect sort of perfection. For many souls who have wished to turn to repentance have not been allowed to do so by God, but, been dragged back, as it were by the ebbing tide, having returned to their original courses; in the manner in which Lot's wife did, who was turned into stone because she loved Sodom, and who reverted to the disposition and habits which had been condemned by God.

76 But now Moses says that "Their cry has gone up to God, bearing witness to the grace of the living God." For if he had not powerfully summoned up to himself the supplicatory language of that people it would not have gone up; that is to say, it would never have gained power and increase, would never have begun to soar so high, flying from the lowness of earthly things. On which account, in the next passage, God is represented as saying, "Behold the cry of the children of Israel has come up to Me." [Exodus 3:9.] Very beautifully here does Moses represent that their supplications have reached God, but they would not have reached him if he who was working him had not been a good man. But there are some souls which God even goes forward to meet: "I will come to you and bless you." You see here how great is the kindness of the Creator of all things, when he even anticipates our delay and our intentions, and comes forward to meet us to the perfect benefiting of our souls. And the expression and used here is an oracle full of instruction. For, if a thought of God enters the mind, it immediately blesses it and heals all its diseases. But the outward sense is always grieved and groans, and brings forth the perception of its objects with pain and intolerable anguish. As also God himself says, "In sorrow thou shall bring forth children." Now, the sense of sight brings forth the operation of seeing, the sense of hearing is the parent of the operation of hearing, so is the sense of taste of tasting; and, in short, each outward sense is respectively the parent of its corresponding operation; but still it does not produce all these effects in the foolish man without severe pain. For such a man is affected by pain when he sees, and when he hears, and when he tastes, and when he smells, and, in fact, when he exerts any one of these outward senses.

77 On the other hand, you will find virtue not only conceiving with extraordinary joy, but also bringing forth her good offspring with laughter and cheerfulness; and you will also find the offspring of the two parents to be actually cheerfulness itself. Now that the wise man becomes a parent with joy, and not with sorrow, the word of God itself will testify to us when it speaks thus: "And God said unto Abraham, Sarai, thy wife, shall no longer be called Sarai, but her name shall be Sarah; I will bless her, and give thee a son from Her." [Genesis 17:15. Sarah is interpreted Princess in the margin of the Bible.] And, afterwards, Moses proceeds to say, "And Abraham fell upon his face and laughed, and said, æShall a son be born to him who is a hundred years old; and shall Sarah, who is ninety years old, have a son?' "Abraham, therefore, appears here to be in a state of joy, and to be laughing because he is about to become the father of happiness, that is to say, of Isaac; and virtue, that is to say, Sarah, laughs also. And the same prophet will further bear witness, speaking thus, "And it had ceased to be with Sarah

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after the manner of women, and she laughed in her mind and said, such happiness has never yet happened to me to this time, and my lord," that is to say, the divine Lord, "is older than I;" in whose power, however, this thing must inevitably be, and in whose power it is becoming to place confidence. For the offspring is laughter and joy. For this is the meaning and interpretation of the name of Isaac. Therefore, let the outward sense be grieved, but let virtue be always rejoicing. For, also, when happiness, that is Isaac, was born, she says, in the pious exaltation, "The Lord has caused me laughter, and whoever shall hear of it shall rejoice with Me." [Genesis 21:7.] Open your ears, therefore, O ye initiated, and receive the most sacred mysteries. Laughter is joy; and the expression, "has caused," is equivalent to "has begotten." So that what is here said has some such meaning as this, "The Lord has begotten Isaac." For he is the father of perfect nature, sowing and begetting happiness in the soul.

78 "And thy desire," says God, "shall be to thy Husband." [Genesis 3:16.] There are two husbands of the outward senses. The one a legal one, the other a destroyer. For the object of sight, acting upon it like a husband, puts the sense of sight in motion; and so does sound affect the sense of hearing, flavour the sense of taste, and so on with each of the outward senses respectively. And these things attract the attention of and call the irrational outward sense to itself, and become the master of it and govern it. For beauty enslaves the sight, and sweet flowers enslave the sense of taste, and each of the other objects of outward sense enslaves that sense which corresponds to them. See the glutton, what a slave he is to all the preparations which cooks and confectioners devise. Behold the man who is devoted to the study of music, how he is governed by the harp, or the flute, or by any one who is able to sing. But the sense which turns itself to its legitimate husband, that is to say, to the mind, derives the greatest possible advantage from that object.

79 Let us now see what account Moses gives of the mind itself, when it is set in motion in a way contrary to right reason. And God said unto Adam, "Because thou hast listened to the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree of which I commanded thee not to eat, because thou hast eaten of it, cursed is the earth in thy Actions." [Genesis 3:17.] It is a most mischievous thing, therefore, for the mind to be swayed by the outward senses, but not for the outward senses to be guided by the mind. For it is at all times proper that that which is better should rule, and that that which is worse should be ruled. And the mind is better than the outward senses. As, therefore, when the charioteer has his horses under command and guides the animals with the rein, the chariot is guided wherever he pleases; but if they become restiff, and get the better of the charioteer, he is often dragged out of his road, and sometimes it even happens that the beasts themselves are borne by the impetuosity of their course into a pit, and everything is carried away in a ruinous manner. And, as a ship holds on her right course when the pilot has the helm in his hand and steers her, and she is obedient to her rudder, but the vessel is upset when some contrary wind descends upon the waves and the whole sea is occupied by billows; so when the mind, which is the charioteer or pilot of the soul, retains the mastery over the entire animal, as a ruler does over a city, the life of the man proceeds rightly. But when the outward sense, which is devoid of reason, obtains the supremacy, then a terrible confusion overtakes the man, as might happen if a household of slaves were to conspire and to set upon their master. For then, if one must tell the truth, the mind is set fire to and burnt, the outward senses handling the flame and placing the objects of their operation beneath, as fuel.

80 And Moses, indeed, speaks of and describes such a conflagration of the mind as this which arises in consequence of the operation of the outward senses, when he says, "And the women still burnt additional fires in Moab ." [Numbers 21:27.] For this expression being interpreted means, from the father, because the mind is our father. "For then," says Moses, "the expounders of riddles will say, Come to Heshbon, that the city of Sihon may be built and furnished. Because fire has gone forth out of Heshbon, and a flame out of the city of Sihon, and has devoured as far as Moab , and has consumed the high places of Arnon. Woe unto thee, Moab , Chemosh is destroyed: their sons who had sought to escape have been given up, and their daughters have become captive to Sihon, king of the Amorites. And the seed of them shall perish, from Heshbon even to Dibon. Moreover, the women still burnt additional fire in Moab." Heshbon being interpreted means reasonings; and these must here mean enigmas, full of indistinctness. Behold the reasoning of the physician:--"I will purge the sick man, I will nourish him, I will heal him with medicines and with diet, I will extirpate his diseased parts, I will cauterise him." But very often nature has healed the man without these remedies; and very often too has suffered him to die though they were applied: so that the reasonings of the physician have been utterly found out to be dreams, full of all indistinctness and of riddles. Again, the husbandman says, I will scatter seed, I will plant; the plants shall grow, they shall bear fruit, which shall not only be useful for necessary enjoyment, but which shall also be abundant for superfluity; and then, on a sudden, fire, or a storm, or continued rains, have destroyed everything. But at times man has brought his labours to their due accomplishment, and yet he who formed all these plans has derived no advantage from their being accomplished, but has died before they were accomplished, and has in vain promised himself the enjoyment of the fruits of his labours.

81 It is best, therefore, to trust in God, and not in uncertain reasonings, or unsure conjectures. "Abraham trusted in the Lord, and it was counted to him for Righteousness." [Genesis 15:6.] And Moses governed the people, being testified to that he was faithful with his whole house. But if we distrust our own reason, we shall prepare and build ourselves a city of the mind which will destroy the truth. For Sihon, being interpreted means destroying. In reference to which he who had dreamed, waking up, found that all the motions and all the advances of the foolish man are merely dreams that have no portion of truth in them, for the very mind is found to be a dream; and the only true doctrine is to believe in God, and to trust to vain reasonings is a mere delusion. But irrational impulse goes forth and proceeds to each extremity, while both the reasonings and the mind corrupt the truth. On which account, Moses says that "fire went out of Heshbon, and flame out of the city of Sihon ." So absurd is it to trust either to plausible reasonings, or to the mind which corrupts the truth.

82 "And it devours even as far as Moab ;" that is to say, as far as the mind. For what other creature, except the miserable mind, can a false opinion deceive? It devours and consumes, and, in truth, it swallows up the pillars in it; that is to say, all the particular notions which are engraved and impressed upon it, as upon a pillar. But the pillars are Arnon, which, being interpreted, means the light of Arnon, since every one of these facts is made clear by reasoning. Accordingly, Moses beings presently to lament over the self-satisfied and arrogant mind in this manner: "Woe unto thee, O city of Moab!" For, if you give attention to the riddles which arise out of the perception of what is probable, you have destroyed the truth by so doing. "The people of Chemosh," that is to say, thy people and thy power, have been found to be mutilated and blinded. For Chemosh, being interpreted, means feeling with the hand. And this action is the especial characteristic of one who does not see. Now, their sons are particular reasonings-exiles; and their opinions are in the place of daughters, being captives to the king of the Amorites, that is to say, of those who converse with the sophist. For the name Amorites, being interpreted, means talkers, being a symbol of the people who talk much; and their guide and leader is the sophist, and he who is skilful in reasoning and clever in investigating arts; a man by whom all those are deceived who once overpass the boundary of truth.

83 Sihon, then, who destroys the sound rule of truth, and his seed also, shall both perish; and so shall Heshbon, namely, the sophistical riddles, as far as Debon; which, being interpreted, means adjudication. And very consistently with nature shall this be. For what is probable and plausible has not a positive knowledge respecting truth, but only a trial and controversy and a litigious contest and strife, and all such things as these. But it was not sufficient for the mind to have its own peculiar evils, which were perceptible only to the intellect; but still the women burnt additional fire, that is to say, the outward senses excited a great conflagration to have an effect upon it. See, now, what the meaning is of what is here said. We who very often by night desist from energizing according to any one of the outward senses, receive absurd impressions respecting many different things, since our souls exist in a state of perpetual motion and are capable of an infinite variety of changes. There were, therefore, things quite sufficient for its destruction which it brought forth out of itself. But now, as it is, the multitude of the outward senses has brought against it a most incalculable multitude of evils, partly from objects of sight and partly from sounds; and besides that, from flavours and from such essences as affect the sense of smell. And one may almost say that the flavour which arises from them has a more pernicious influence on the disposition of the soul than that which is engendered in the soul itself, without any co-operation or agency of the organs of sense.

84 One of these women is Pentepho', the wife of Pharaoh's chief Cook. [Genesis 39:1.] We must now consider how a man who was a eunuch can be represented as having a wife. For there will here be something which will seem to offer a reasonable ground for perplexity to those who do not take the expressions of the law in an allegorical sense. For the mind is really a eunuch, and really the chief of cooks, using not merely such pleasures as are simple, but those also which are superfluous, and is therefore called a eunuch and barren of all wisdom, being the eunuch and slave of no other master than of that squanderer of all good things, Pharaoh. On another principle, therefore, it might appear a most desirable thing to be a eunuch, if our soul, by that means escaping vice, might be able also to avoid all knowledge of passion. On which account Joseph, that is to say, the disposition of continence, says to Pleasure, who accosts him with, "Lie with me, and being a man behave as a man, and enjoy the pleasant things which life can afford." He, I say, refuses her, saying, "I shall be sinning against God, who loves virtue, if I become a votary of pleasure; for this is a wicked action."

85 And, at first, he only skirmishes, but presently he fights and resists valiantly, when the soul enters into her own dwelling, and, having recourse to her own strength and energy, renounces the temptations of the body, and performs her own appropriate actions as those which are the proper occupation of the soul; not appearing in the house of Joseph, nor of Pentepho', but in the house. Nor does Moses add a word to describe whose house he means, in order to give you opportunity to interpret allegorically, in an inquisitive spirit, the meaning of the expression, "to do his business." The house, therefore, is the soul, to which he runs, leaving all external affairs, in order that what is spoken of may there be done. But may we not say that the conduct of the temperate man is what it is, and is directed by the will of God? For there was not present any inconsistent idea of all those which are accustomed to find their place within the soul. Moreover, pleasure never ceases from struggling against the yoke, but, seizing hold of his clothes, she cries, "Lie with me." Now, clothes are, as it were, the covering of the body, just as life is protected by meat and drink. And she says here, "Why do you renounce pleasure, without which you cannot live? Behold, I take hold of the things which cause it; and I say that you could not possibly exist unless you also made use of some of the things which cause it." What, then, says the temperate man? "Shall I," says he, "become a slave to passion, on account of the material which causes passion? Nay, I will depart out of reach of the passion." For, leaving his garment in her hand, he fled, and escaped out of doors.

86 And who, some one perhaps, may say, ever escapes in-doors? Do not many do so? Or have not some people, avoiding the guilt of sacrilege, committed robberies in private houses, or though not beating their own fathers, have not they insulted the fathers of others? Now these men do escape from one class of offences, but they run into others. But a man who is perfectly temperate, ought to avoid every description of offence, whether greater or less, and never to be detected in any sin whatever. But Joseph, for he is a young man, and because as such he was unable to struggle with the Egyptian body and to subdue pleasure, runs away. But Phineas the priest, who was zealous with a great zeal for God's service, did not provide for his own safety by flight; but having taken to himself a yoke horse, that is to say, zeal combined with reason, would never desist till he had wounded the Midianitish woman (that is to say the nature which was concealed in the divine company), through her belly, [Numbers 25:7.] in order that no plant or seed of wickedness might ever be able to shoot out from it.

87 On which account after folly has been utterly eradicated, the soul receives a twofold prize, and a double inheritance, peace and holiness, two kindred and sister-like virtues. We must therefore refuse to listen to such a woman, that is to say to a wicked temptation of the outward senses, since "God gave a good reward to the Midwives," [Exodus 1:20.] because they disregarded the commands of the wasteful Pharaoh, "saving the male children of the soul alive," which he wished to destroy, being a lover of the female offspring alone, and rejecting all knowledge of the Cause of all things, and saying, "I know him Not." [Exodus 3:17.] But we must give our belief to another woman, such as it was ordained that Sarah should be, Sarah being in a figure the governing virtue; and the wise Abraham was guided by her, when she recommended him such actions as were Good. [Genesis 21:12.] For before this time, when he was not yet perfect, but even before his name was changed, he gave his attention to subjects of lofty philosophical speculation; and she, knowing that he could not produce anything out of perfect virtue, counselled him to raise children out of her handmaid, that is to say out of encyclical instruction, out of Agar, [Genesis 16:2.] which name being interpreted means a dwelling near; for he who meditates dwelling in perfect virtue, before his name is enrolled among the citizens of that state, dwells among the encyclical studies, in order that through their instrumentality he may make his approaches at liberty towards perfect virtue. After that, when he saw that he was now become perfect, and was now able to become a father, although he himself was full of gratitude towards those studies, by means of which he had been recommended to virtue, and thought it hard to renounce them; he was well inclined to be appeased by an oracle from God which laid this command on him. "In everything which Sarah says, do thou obey her Voice." [Genesis 21:11.] Let that be a law to every one of us to do whatever seems good to virtue; for if we are willing to submit to everything which virtue recommends we shall be happy.

88 And the expression, "And thou eatest of the tree of which alone I commanded thee that thou shouldst not Eat," [Genesis 3:17.] is equivalent to saying, You made a covenant with wickedness, which you ought to have repelled with all your strength. On this account, "Cursed art thou;" not, cursed is the earth for thy works. What, now, is the reason of this? That serpent, pleasure, which is an irrational elevation of the soul, this is intrinsically accursed in its own nature; and

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being such, attaches itself only to the wicked man, and to no good man. But Adam is the intermediate sort of mind which at one time if investigated is found to be good, and at another time bad; for inasmuch as it is mind, it is not by nature either good or bad, but from contact with virtue or with vice, it frequently changes for the better or for the worse; therefore it very naturally is not accursed of its own nature, as neither being itself wickedness nor acting according to wickedness, but the earth is accursed in its works: for the actions which proceed from the entire soul, which he calls the earth, are open to blame and devoid of innocence, inasmuch as he does everything in accordance withvice. In reference to which fact God adds, that "In sorrow thou shall eat of it." Which is equivalent to saying, you shall enjoy your soul in sorrow; for the wicked man does enjoy his own soul with great pain the whole of his life, having no legitimate cause for joy; for such cause is only produced by justice and prudence, and by the virtues which are enthroned as companions with them.

89 "Thorns, therefore, and thistles shall it bring forth to you." But what is it which is produced and which shoots up in the soul of the foolish man except the passions which goad and sting and wound it? Which Moses here, speaking symbolically, calls thorns, and which irrational appetite rushes upon at first like fire, and so hastens to meet, and afterwards uniting itself to them, it consumes and destroys all its own nature and actions. For Moses speaks thus:--"But if fire when it has gone forth finds thorns, and shall also burn a threshing-floor, or a crop of wheat, or a field of corn, then he who kindled the fire shall pay the Damage." [Exodus 22:6.] You see therefore when it has gone forth, that is to say, irrational impetuosity, it does not only burn the thorns, but finds them: for being inclined to seek out the passions, it attains to what it has been desiring to find; but when it has found it, it consumes these three things, --perfect virtue, improvement, and goodness of disposition. Moses therefore here compares virtue to a threshing-floor; for as the crops when collected are brought to the threshing-floor, so also are the good things which exist in the soul of the wise man brought to virtue; and improvement he likens to the crop of wheat, inasmuch as both the one and the other are imperfect, aiming at the end; and goodness of disposition he compares to a field of corn, because it is well adapted to receive the seeds of virtue; and each of the passions he calls thistles (tribolia), because they are divisible into three parts: the passion itself, the efficient cause, and the effect which arises from the combined operation of the two. As for instance pleasure, what is pleasant, and the being pleased; appetite, the object of appetite, and the indulgence of appetite; pain, what is painful, and the suffering pain; fear, what is fearful, and the being in a state of fear.

90 "And thou shall eat the herb of the field; in the sweat of thy brow shall thou eat thy bread." He here speaks of the herb of the field and of bread, as if they were synonymous, or identical with one another. The herb of the field is the food of the irrational animal; but the irrational animal is a worthless creature, which has been deprived of right reason. The outward senses are also irrational, though they are part of the soul. But the mind, which is eager for the attainment of those things which are the objects of the outward sense by means of the irrational outward senses, does not attain its desires without labour and sweat; for the life of the foolish man is very full of distress and very burdensome, since he is always aiming at and greedily coveting the things which give pleasure, and all such things as wickedness is wont to do. And how long shall this last? "Until," says God, "you return to the dust form which you were taken." For is he not now ranked among the things of the earth, and among things which have no consistency, ever since he deserted the wisdom which is from heaven? We must consider therefore to what point he is coming back; but may we not consider whether what he says has not some such meaning as this, that the foolish mind is at all times averted from right reason, and that it has been originally taken not from any sublime nature, but from some more earthly material, and whether it is stationary, or whether it is in motion, it is always the same, and desirous of the same objects. On which account, God adds that, "Dust thou art, and unto dust shall thou return." And this is equivalent to what has been said before. Moreover this sentence also signifies, the beginning and the end are one and the same thing. For there hadst thou beginning in the perishable bodies of the earth; and again, thou shall end in them, during the interval of your life, between its beginning and its end, passing along a road which is not plain and easy, but rough, full of briars and thorns, the nature of which is to tear and wound thee.

THE CHERUBIM, PART 1

1 ("And God cast out Adam, and placed him opposite the paradise of happiness; and he placed there the cherubim and a flaming sword, which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of Life. [Genesis 3:24.] In this place Moses uses the expression, "He cast out," but previously he said, "He sent out," not using the various expressions at random, but being well aware with reference to what parts he was employing them with propriety and felicity. (Now a man who is sent out is not hindered from returning at some subsequent time; but he who is cast out by God must endure an eternal banishment, for it is granted to him who has not yet been completely and violently taken prisoner by wickedness, to repent, and so to return back to virtue, from which he has been driven, as to his great country; but he who is weighed down by, and wholly subjected to, a violent and incurable disease, must bear his misfortunes for ever, being for all times unalterably cast out into the place of the wicked, that there he may endure unmitigated and everlasting misery. [Genesis 16:9.] (Since we see Agar,[Genesis 21:14.] by whom we understand the middle kind of instruction which is confined to the encyclical system, twice going forth from Sarah, who is the symbol of predominant virtue, and once returning back by the same road, inasmuch as after she had fled the first time, without being banished by her mistress, she returned to see her master's house, having been met by an angel, as the holy scriptures read: but the second time, she is utterly cast out, and is never to be brought back again.

2 (And we must speak of the causes of her first flight, and then again of her second perpetual banishment. Before the names of the two were changed, that is to say, before they had been altered for the better as to the characteristics of their souls, and had been endowed with better dispositions, but while the name of the man was still Abram, or the sublime father, who delighted in the lofty philosophy which investigates the events which take place in the air, and the sublime nature of the beings which exist in heaven, which mathematical science claims for itself as the most excellent part of natural philosophy, (and the name of the woman was still Sarai; the symbol of my authority, for she is called my authority, and she had not yet changed her nature so as to become generic virtue, and all genus is imperishable, but was as yet classed among things particular and things in species; that is to say, such as the prudence which is in me, the temperance which is in me, the courage, the justice, and so on in the same manner; and these particular virtues are perishable, because the place which receives them, that is to say I, am also perishable. (Then Agar, who is the middle kind of encyclical instruction, even if she should endeavor to escape from the austere and stern life of the lovers of virtue, will again return to it, since it is not, as yet, able to receive the generic and imperishable excellencies of virtue, but can only touch the particular virtues, and such as are spoken of in species, in which it is sufficient to attain to mediocrity instead of extreme perfection. (But when Abram, instead of an inquirer into natural philosophy, became a wise man and a lover of God, having his name changed to Abraham, which being interpreted means the great father of sounds; for language when uttered sounds, and the father of language is the mind, which has attained to what is virtuous. And when Sarai instead of being my authority, had her name also changed to Sarah, the meaning of which is princess, and this change is equivalent to becoming generic and imperishable virtue, instead of virtue special and perishable: (then will arise the genus of happiness that is to say, Isaac; and he, when all the feminine Affections [the Greek text here is corrupt and unintelligible. I have followed the Latin translation of Mangey.] have ceased, and when the passion of joy and cheerfulness are dead, will eagerly pursue, not childish amusements, but divine objects; then too those elementary branches of instruction which bear the name of Agar, will be cast out, and their sophistical child will also be cast out, who is named Ishmael.

3 (And they shall undergo eternal banishment, God himself confirming their expulsion, when he bids the wise man obey the word spoken by Sarah, and she urges him expressly to cast out the serving woman and her son; and it is good to be guided by virtue, and especially so when it teaches such lessons as this, that the most perfect natures are very greatly different from the mediocre habits, and that wisdom is a wholly different thing from sophistry; for the one labours to devise what is persuasive for the establishment of a false opinion, which is pernicious to the soul, but wisdom, with long meditation on the truth by the knowledge of right reason, bring real advantage to the intellect. Why then do we wonder if God once for all banished Adam, that is to say, the mind out of the district of the virtues, after he had once contracted folly, that incurable disease, and if he never permitted him again to return, when he also drives out and banishes from wisdom and from the wise man every sophist, and the mother of sophists, the teaching that is of elementary instruction, while he calls the names of wisdom and of the wise man Abraham, and Sarah.

4 Then also, "The flaming sword and the cherubim have an abode allotted to them exactly in front of paradise." The expression, "in front," is used partly to convey the idea of a resisting enemy, and partly as suitable to the notion of judgement, as a person whose cause is being decided appears in front of his judge: partly also in a friendly sense, in order that they may be perceived, and may be considered in closer connexion by reason of the more accurate view of them that is thus obtained, just as archetypal pictures and statues are placed in front of painters and statuaries. Now the first example of an enemy placed directly in front of one is derived from what is said in the case of Cain, that "he went out from the face of God, and dwelt in the land of Nod , in the front of Eden ." [Genesis 4:16.] Now Nod being interpreted means commotion, and Eden means delight. The one therefore is a symbol of wickedness agitating the soul, and the other of virtue which creates for the soul a state of tranquility and happiness, not meaning by happiness that effeminate luxury which is derived from the indulgence of the irrational passion of pleasure, but a joy free from toil and free from hardship, which is enjoyed with great tranquility. And it follows of necessity that when the mind goes forth from any imagination of God, by which it would be good and expedient for it to be supported, then immediately, after the fashion of a ship, which is tossed in the sea, when the winds oppose it with great violence, it is tossed about in every direction, having disturbance as it were for its country and its home, a thing which is the most contrary of all things to steadiness of soul, which is engendered by joy, which is a term synonymous with Eden.

5 Now of the kind of opposition of place which is connected with standing in front of a judge for judgement, we have an example in the case of the woman who has been suspected of having committed adultery. For, says Moses, "the priest shall cause the woman to stand in front of her lord, and she shall uncover her Head." [Numbers 5:18.] Let us now examine what he intends to show by this direction. It often happens that what ought to be done is not done, in the manner in which it ought to be done, and sometimes too that which is not proper is nevertheless done in a proper manner. For instance, when the return of a deposit is not made in an honest spirit, but is intended either to work the injury of him who receives it back again, or by way of a snare to bear out a denial in the case of another deposit of greater value, in that case a proper action is done in an improper manner. On the other hand, for a physician not to tell the exact truth to a sick patient, when he has decided on purging him, or performing some operation with the knife or with the cautery for the benefit of the patient, lest if the sick man were to be moved too strongly by the anticipation of the suffering, he might refuse to submit to the cure, or through weakness of mind might despair of its succeeding; or in the case of a wise man giving false information to the enemy to secure the safety of his country, fearing lest through his speaking the truth the affairs of the adversaries should succeed, in this case an action which is not intrinsically right is done in a proper manner. In reference to which distinction Moses says, "to pursue what is just Justly," [Deuteronomy 16:20.] as if it were possible also to pursue it unjustly, if at any time the judge who gives sentence does not decide in an honest spirit. Since therefore what is said or done is openly notorious to all men, but since the intention, the consequence of which what is said is said, and what is done is done, is not notorious, but it is uncertain whether it be a sound and healthy motive, or an unhealthy design, stained with numerous pollutions; and since no created being is capable of discerning the secret intention of an invisible mind, but God alone; in reference to this Moses says that "all secret things are known to the Lord God, but only such as are manifest are known to the creature." And therefore it is enjoined to the priest and prophet, that is to say to reason, "to place the soul in front of God, with the head Uncovered," [Numbers 5:14.] that is to say the soul must be laid bare as to its principal design, and the sentiments which it nourished must be revealed, in order that being brought before the judgement seat of the most accurate vision of the incorruptible God, it may be thoroughly examined as to all its concealed disguises, like a base coin, or, on the other hand, if it be found to be free from all participation in any kind of wickedness, it may wash away all the calumnies that have been uttered against its bringing him for a testimony to its purity, who is alone able to behold the soul naked.

6 This, then, is the meaning of coming in front of one's judge, when brought up for judgement. But the case of coming in front of any one which has a bearing upon connexion or familiarity, may be illustrated by the example of the allwise Abraham. "For," says Moses, "he was still standing in front of God." [Genesis 18:22.] And a proof of his familiarity is contained in the expression that "he came near to God, and spoke." For it is fitting for one who has no connexion with another to stand at a distance, and to be separated from him, but he who is connected with him should stand near to him. And to stand, and to have an unchangeable mind comes very near to the power of God, since the Divinity is unchangeable, but that which is created is intrinsically and essentially changeable. Therefore, if any one, restraining the changeableness natural to all created things by his love of knowledge, has been able to put such violence on any thing as to cause it to stand firm, let him be sure that he has come near to the happiness of the Deity. But God very appropriately assigns to the cherubim and to the flaming sword a city or abode in front of Paradise, not as to enemies about to oppose and to fight him, but rather as to near connexions and friends, in order that in consequence of a continued sight and contemplation of one another, the two powers might conceive

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an affection for one another, the all-bounteous God inspiring them with a winged and heavenly love.

7 But we must now consider what the figurative allusions are which are enigmatically expressed in the mention of the cherubim and of the flaming sword which turned every way. May we not say that Moses here introduces under a figure an intimation of the revolutions of the whole heaven? For the spheres in heaven received a motion in opposite directions to one another, the one sphere receiving a fixed motion towards the right hand, but the sphere of the other side receiving a wandering motion towards the left. But that outermost circle of what are called the fixed stars is one sphere, which also proceeds in a fixed periodical revolution from east to west. But the interior circle of the seven planets, whose course is at the same time compulsory and voluntary, has two motions, which are to a certain degree contrary to one another. And one of these motions is involuntary, like that of the planets. For they appear every day proceeding onwards from the east to the west. But their peculiar and voluntary motion is from west to east, according to which last motion we find that the periods of the seven planets have received their exact measure of time, moving on in an equal course, as the Sun, and Lucifer, and what is called Stilbon. For these three planets are of equal speed; but some of the others are unequal in point of time, but preserve a certain sort of relative proportion to one another and to the other three which have been mentioned. Accordingly, by one of the cherubim is understood the extreme outermost circumference of the entire heaven, in which the fixed stars celebrate their truly divine dance, which always proceeds on similar principles and is always the same, without ever leaving the order which the Father, who created them, appointed for them in the world. But the other of the cherubim is the inner sphere which is contained within that previously mentioned, which God originally divided in two parts, and created seven orbits, bearing a certain definite proportion to one another, and he adapted each of the planets to one of these; and then, having placed each of these stars in its proper orbit, like a driver in a chariot, he did not entrust the reins to any one of them, fearing that some inharmonious sort of management might be the result, but he made them all to depend upon himself, thinking that, by that arrangement, the character of their motion would be rendered most harmonious. For every thing which exists in combination with God is deserving of praise; but every thing which exists without him is faulty.

8 This, then, is one of the systems, according to which what is said of the cherubim may be understood allegorically. But we must suppose that the sword, consisting of flame and always turning in every direction, intimates their motion and the everlasting agitation of the entire heaven. And may we not say, according to another way of understanding this allegory, that the two cherubim are meant as symbols of each of the hemispheres? For they say that they stand face to face, inclining towards the mercy-seat; since the two hemispheres are also exactly opposite to one another, and incline towards the earth which is the centre of the whole universe, by which, also, they are kept apart from one another. But the only one of all the parts of the world that stands firmly was most appropriately named Vesta [hestieμ, as standing (hestoμsa).] by the ancients, in order that there might be an excellently arranged revolution of the two hemispheres around some object firmly fixed in the middle. And the flaming sword is a symbol of the sun; for as he is a collection of an immense body of flame, he is the swiftest of all existing things, to such a degree that in one day he revolves round the whole world.

9 I have also, on one occasion, heard a more ingenious train of reasoning from my own soul, which was accustomed frequently to be seized with a certain divine inspiration, even concerning matters which it could not explain even to itself; which now, if I am able to remember it accurately, I will relate. It told me that in the one living and true God there were two supreme and primary powers--goodness and authority; and that by his goodness he had created every thing, and by his authority he governed all that he had created; and that the third thing which was between the two, and had the effect of bringing them together was reason, for that it was owing to reason that God was both a ruler and good. Now, of this ruling authority and of this goodness, being two distinct powers, the cherubim were the symbols, but of reason the flaming sword was the symbol. For reason is a thing capable of rapid motion and impetuous, and especially the reason of the Creator of all things is so, inasmuch as it was before everything and passed by everything, and was conceived before everything, and appears in everything. And do thou, O my mind, receive the impression of each of these cherubims unadulterated, that thus becoming thoroughly instructed about the ruling authority of the Creator of all things and about his goodness, thou mayest receive a happy inheritance; for immediately thou shall understand the conjunction and combination of these imperishable powers, and learn in what respects God is good, his majesty arising from his sovereign power being all the time conspicuous; and in what he is powerful, his goodness, being equally the object of attention, that is this way thou mayest attain to the virtues which are engendered by these conceptions, namely, a love and a reverential awe of God, neither being uplifted to arrogance by any prosperity which may befall thee, having regard always to the greatness of the sovereignty of thy King; nor abjectly giving up hope of better things in the hour of unexpected misfortune, having regard, then, to the mercifulness of thy great and bounteous God. And let the flaming sword teach thee that these things might be followed by a prompt and fiery reason combined with action, which never ceases being in motion with rapidity and energy to the selection of good objects, and the avoidance of all such as are evil.

10 Do you not see that even the wise Abraham, when he began to measure everything with a reference to God, and to leave nothing to the creature, took an imitation of the flaming sword, namely, "fire and a Sword," [Genesis 22:6.] being eager to slay and to burn that mortal creature which was born of him, that so being raised on high it might soar up to God, the intellect being thus disentangled from the body. Moses also represents Balaam, who is the symbol of a vain people, stripped of his arms, as a runaway and deserter, well knowing the war which it becomes the soul to carry on for the sake of knowledge; for he says to his ass, who is here a symbol of the irrational designs of life which every foolish man entertains, that "If I had had a sword, I should ere now have slain Thee." [Numbers 22:29.] And great thanks are due to the Maker of all things, because he, knowing the struggles and resistance of folly, did not give to it the power of language, which would have been like giving a sword to a madman, in order that it might have no power to work great and iniquitous destruction among all whom it should meet with. But the reproaches which Balaam utters are in some degree expressed by all those who are not purified, but are always talking foolishly, devoting themselves to the life of a merchant, or of a farmer, or to some other business, the object of which is to provide the things necessary for life. As long, indeed, as everything goes on prosperously with respect to each individual, he mounts his animal joyfully and rides on cheerfully, and holding the reins firmly he will by no means consent to let them go. And if any one advises him to dismount and to set bounds to his appetites, because of his inability to know what will befall him hereafter, he reproaches him with jealousy and envy, saying that he does not address him in this way out of good will. But when any unexpected misfortune overtakes him, he then looks upon those who have given him warnings as good prophets and men able, above all others, to foresee the future, and lays the blame of his distress on what is absolutely the cause of no evil whatever, on agriculture, on commerce, or on any other pursuit which he may have thought fit to select for the purpose of making money.

11 But these pursuits, although they are destitute of the organs of speech, will, nevertheless, through the medium of actions, utter a language clearer than any speech which proceeds from the tongue, and will say, "O you sycophant and false accuser, are not we the pursuits which you mounted upon holding your head high, as you might have mounted upon a beast of burden? And have we, by any insolence or obstinacy of ours, caused you any suffering? Behold reason armed and standing in opposition to God, by whom all good and all bad fortune is brought to its accomplishment. Do you not see it? Why, then, do you reproach us now, when you formerly had no fault to find with us, while your affairs were proceeding prosperously? For we are the same as we were before, having changed nothing of our nature, not the slightest jot. But you are now applying tests which have no soundness in them, and in consequence are unreasonably violent against us; for if you had understood from the beginning that it is not the pursuits which you follow that are the causes of your participation in good or in evil, but rather the divine reason, which is the helmsman and governor of the universe, then you would more easily have borne the events which have befallen you, ceasing to bring false accusations against us, and to attribute to us effects which we are unable to produce. "If therefore this reason now again, putting an end to that strife, and dispersing the sad and desponding ideas which arise from it, should promise you tranquility of life, you will then again, with cheerfulness and joy, give us your right hand though we shall be like what we are now. But we are neither puffed up by your friendly favour, nor do we think it of great importance if you are angry with us; for we know that we are not the causes of either good or evil fortune, not even if you believe that we are, unless indeed you attribute to the sea the cause of sailors making favourable voyages, or of the shipwrecks which at times befall them, and not rather to the variations of the winds, which blow at one time gently, and at another with the most violent impetuosity; for as all water is by its own nature tranquil, accordingly, when a favourable gale blows upon the stern of a ship, every rope is bent, and the ship is in full sail, conveying the mariners to the harbour; but when on a sudden the wind changes to the opposite direction, and blows against the head of the vessel, it then raises a heavy swell and great disturbance in the water, and upsets the ship and the sea, which was in no respect the cause of what has happened is blamed for it, though it notoriously is either calm or stormy according to the gentleness or violence of the winds." By all these considerations I think it has been abundantly shown, that nature has made reason the most powerful coadjutor of man, and has made him, how is able to make a proper use of it, happy and truly rational; but him who has not this faculty, she has rendered irrational and unhappy.

ON THE BIRTH OF ABEL AND THE SACRIFICES OFFERED BY HIM AND BY HIS BROTHER CAIN

1 ("And he also added, that she should bring forth his Brother." [Genesis 4:2.] The addition of one thing is a taking away of some other; as for instance, of particles in arithmetic, and of reasons in the soul. If then we must say that Abel is added, we must also think that Cain is taken away. But that the unusual character of expression may not cause perplexity to many we will endeavor to explain accurately the philosophy which is apparent beneath them, as clearly as may be in our power. (It happens then, that there are two opinions contrary to and at variance with one another; the one of which commits everything to the mind as the leader of all reasoning, or feeling, or moving, or being stationary; and the other, attributing to God all the consequent work of creation as his own. Now the symbol of the former of these is Cain, which name, being interpreted means, "possession," from his appearing to possess all things; and the symbol of the other is Abel; for this name, being interpreted, means "referring to God." (Now both these opinions were brought forth by one soul. But it follows of necessity that as soon as they were born they must have been separated; for it was impossible for enemies to dwell together for ever. Until then the soul brought forth the God-loving doctrine Abel, the self-loving Cain dwelt with her. But when she brought forth Abel, or unanimity with God, she abandoned unanimity with that mind which was wise in its own conceit.

2 (And this will be more evidently shown by the oracle which was given to Perseverance, that is to Rebecca;[Genesis 25:24.] for she also, having conceived the two inconsistent natures of good and evil, and having considered each of them very deeply according to the injunctions of prudence, beholding them both exulting, and making a sort of skirmish as a prelude to the war which was to exist between them; she, I say, besought God to explain to her what this calamity meant, and what was the remedy for it. And he answered her inquiry, and told her, "Two nations are in thy womb." This calamity is the birth of good and evil. "But two peoples shall be divided in thy bowels." And the remedy is, for these two to be parted and separated from one another, and no longer to abide in the same place. (God therefore having added the good doctrine, that is Abel, to the soul, took away from it evil doctrine, that is Cain: for Abraham also, leaving mortal things, "is added to the people of God," [Genesis 25:8.] having received immortality, and having become equal to the angels; for the angels are the host of God, being incorporeal and happy souls. And in the same manner Jacob, the practicer of virtue, is added to the better one,[Genesis 49:33.] because he had quitted the worse. (And Isaac, who was thought worthy of self-taught knowledge, of his own accord also leaves all the corporeal essence which was attached to his soul, and is added to and made an inheritor with (not the people, as the others whom I have mentioned were), but with the "Race," [Genesis 35:25.] as Moses says; for "race" is one, and the highest of all: but "people," is the name of many. (As many, therefore, as through instruction and learning have improved and at last arrived at perfection, are classed among the larger number. Nor is number insignificant of those who have learnt from oral instruction and demonstration, and whom Moses calls the people. But those men who have forsaken human instruction, and having become welldisposed disciples of God, and having arrived at a comprehension of knowledge acquired without labour, have passed over to the immortal and most perfect race of beings, and have so received an inheritance better than the former generations of created men; and of these men Isaac is reckoned as a companion.

3 (There is also another proof that the mind is immortal, which is of this nature:--There are some persons whom God, advancing to higher degrees of improvement, has enabled to soar above all species and genera, having placed them near himself; as he says to Moses, "But stand thou here with Me." [Deuteronomy 5:31.] When, therefore, Moses is about to die, he is not added to one class, nor does he forsake another, as the men before him had done; nor is he connected with "addition" or "subtraction," but "by means of the word of the Cause of all things, by whom the whole world was Made." [Deuteronomy 34:5.] He departs to another abode, that you may understand from this that God accounts a wise man as entitled to equal honour with the world itself, having both created the universe, and raised the perfect man from the things of earth up to himself by the same word. (Not but what, when he gave him the use of all earthly things and suffered him to dwell among them, he assigned to him not such a power as he might exercise in common with an earthly governor or monarch, by which he should forcibly rule over the passions of the soul, but he appointed him to be a sort of god, making the whole of the body, and the mind, which is

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the ruler of the body, subjects and slaves to him; "For I give thee," says he, "as a god to Pharaoh." [Exodus 7:1.] But God is not susceptible of any subtraction or addition, inasmuch as he is complete and entirely equal to himself. In reference to which it is said of Moses, "That no one is said to know of his Tomb;" [Deuteronomy 34:6.] for who could be competent to perceive the migration of a perfect soul to the living God? Nor do I even believe that the soul itself while awaiting this event was conscious of its own improvement, inasmuch as it was at that time becoming gradually divine; for God, in the case of those persons whom he is about to benefit, does not take him who is to receive the advantage into his counsels, but is accustomed rather to pour his benefits ungrudgingly upon him without his having any previous anticipation of them. This is something like the meaning of God's adding the creation of what is good to the perfect mind. But the good is holiness, the name of which is Abel.

4 "And Abel became a shepherd of sheep; but Cain was a tiller of the ground." Why now has Moses, who represents Cain as older than Abel, now transposed them in the order in which he here mentions them, so as to name the younger first when relating their choice of a way of life? For it was natural that the elder should lead the way and adopt the cultivation of the land, and that the younger should subsequently come to the care of sheep. But Moses is not influenced by what is likely and probable, but pursues the plain unadulterated truth. And when he alone comes to God by himself, he tells him with all freedom that "he is not eloquent," which statement is equivalent to saying that he does not aim at specious and plausible reasonings, and that this has happened to him "now yesterday, or the day before yesterday, but ever since God began to converse with him as his Servant." [Exodus 4:10.] For they who have come into the billows and heavy waves of life must be borne on by swimming, not being able to take hold of any firm point of the matters which lie within the province of knowledge, but depending on what is only likely and probable. But it becomes a servant of God to lay hold of the truth, disregarding and rejecting all the uncertain and fabulous statements which rest on the conjectures of plausible men. What, then, is the truth in these matters which we are considering? Why, that wickedness is older than virtue in point of time, but younger in power and rank. Therefore, when the birth of the two is narrated, let Cain have the precedence; but when a comparison of their pursuits is instituted, then let Abel be the first; for it happens to the being that is born, from his very swaddling clothes till the time when the innovating vigor of his ripe age extinguishes the fiery heat of his passions, to have for his foster brethren, folly, intemperance, injustice, fear, cowardice, and the other evil things which are born with him, every one of which his nurses and tutors foster and cause to grow up within him; by their habits and practices banishing piety, and by their uniform instructions introducing superstition, which is a thing nearly akin to impiety. But when the child has now passed the age of youth, and when the impetuous disease of the passions has become mollified, as if a calm had come over them, then the man begins to enjoy tranquility, having been at length and not without difficulty strengthened in the foundation of virtue, which has allayed that continued and incessant agitation which is the greatest evil of the soul. Thus wickedness has the superiority in point of time; but virtue in point of rank, and honour and real glory. And this same law-giver is a trustworthy evidence of this fact; for having introduced Esau, who bears the name of folly, as the elder in point of time, he gives the birthright and chief honour to the younger, who, from his practice of virtue, was called Jacob. And he is not seen to obtain this pre-eminence before (as is the case in athletic contests) his adversary renounces the combat, putting down his hands from weakness, and yielding up the decision and the crown to him who has carried on a truceless and irreconcilable war against the passions; for, says Moses, "He sold his birthright to Jacob," [Genesis 25:33.] avowing, in plain terms that the pre-eminence in power and the honours of virtue belong to no wicked man, but only to him who is a lover of wisdom, just as the flute and the lyre and the other instruments of music belong to the musician alone.

5 And concerning this doctrine Moses also records a law, which he makes with great beauty and suitableness. And it runs thus, "If a man have two wives, the one of them beloved and the other hated; and if both the one who is beloved and the one who is hated have borne him children, and if the child of her who is hated is the firstborn, then it shall be in the day in which he divides the inheritance of his possessions among his sons that he shall not be able to give the inheritance of the first-born to the son of the wife that is beloved, overlooking his first-born son, the son of her who is hated; but he shall recognise the son of her who is hated as his first-born, to give him a double share of all the property that he has acquired; because he is the beginning of his children, and the right of the first-born is His." [Deuteronomy 21:15.] Consider, O my soul, and know who it is who is hated, and who is the son of her who is hated, and immediately you shall perceive that the chief rights and chief honours belong to no one else but to him alone; for there are two wives cohabiting with each individual of us, hostile and inimical to one another, filling the abode of the soul with the contentions which arise from jealousy. Of these we love one, which is gentle and tractable, and which we think very affectionate and akin to ourselves, and its name is pleasure; but the other we hate, looking upon it as untameable, ungentle, fierce, and very hostile to us, and the name of this one is virtue. Now what mortal is ignorant of the great mysteries of that exceedingly beautiful and greatly contended for pleasure? And who could worthily describe the multitude or the greatness of the good things which are treasured up by Virtue? For two women live with each individual among us, both unfriendly and hostile to one another, filling the whole abode of the soul with envy, and jealousy, and contention; of these we love the one looking upon her as being mild and tractable, and very dear to and very closely connected with ourselves, and she is called pleasure; but the other we detest, deeming her unmanageable, savage, fierce, and most completely hostile, and her name is virtue. Accordingly, the one comes to us luxuriously dressed in the guise of a harlot and prostitute, with mincing steps, rolling her eyes about with excessive licentiousness and desire, by which baits she entraps the souls of the young, looking about with a mixture of boldness and impudence, holding up her head, and raising herself above her natural height, fawning and giggling, having the hair of her head dressed with most superfluous elabourateness, having her eyes pencilled, her eyebrows covered over, using incessant warm baths, painted with a fictitious colour, exquisitely dressed with costly garments, richly embroidered, adorned with armlets, and bracelets, and necklaces, and all other ornaments which can be made of gold, and precious stones, and all kinds of female decorations; loosely girdled, breathing of most fragrant perfumes, thinking the whole market her home; a marvel to be seen in the public roads, out of the scarcity of any genuine beauty, pursuing a bastard elegance. And with her there walk as her most intimate friends, bold cunning, and rashness, and flattery, and trick, and deceit, and false speaking, and false opinion, and impiety, and injustice, and intemperance, in the middle of which she advances like the leader of the company, and marshalling her band, speaks thus to her mind, "My good friend, the treasuries of all human blessings and stores of happiness are in my power (for as for divine blessings they are all in heaven), and besides them you will find nothing. "If you will dwell with me I will open to you all these treasures, and will bestow on you for ever the most unsparing use and enjoyment of them. And I desire to inform you beforehand of the multitude of good things which I have stored up there, that if you are so inclined you may of your own accord live happily, and that if you refuse you may not decline them out of ignorance.

"There is in my power perfect relaxation, and exemption from all fear, and tranquility, and a complete absence of all care and labour, and an abundant variety of colours, and most melodious intonations of the voice, and all kinds of costly viands and drinks, and plentiful varieties of the sweetest scents, and continual loves, and sports such as require no teacher, and connexions which will never be inquired into, and speeches which will have no shade of reproof in them, and actions free from all necessity of being accounted for, and a life free from anxiety, and soft sleep, and abundance without any feeling of satiety. If therefore you are inclined to take up your abode with me, I will give you what is suitable for you of all the things which I have prepared, considering carefully by eating or drinking what you may be most thoroughly cheered, or by what sights addressed to your eyes, or by what sounds visiting your ears, or by the small of what fragrant odors you may be most delighted. "And nothing which you can desire shall be wanting to you; for you shall find what is produced anew more abundant than what is expended and consumed; for in the treasuries which I have mentioned there are ever-flourishing plants, blossoming and producing an incessant series of fruits, so that the beauty of those in their prime and fresh appearing overtakes and overshadows those which are already fully ripe; and no war, either domestic or foreign, has ever cut down these plants, but from the very day that the earth first received them it has cherished them like a faithful nurse, sending down into its lowest depths the roots to act like the strongest branches, and above ground extending its trunk as high as heaven, and putting forth branches which are by analogy imitations of the hand and feet which we see in animals, and leaves which correspond to the hair. I have prepared and caused that to blossom which shall be at the same time a covering and an ornament to you; and besides all this, I have provided fruit for the sake of which the branches and leaves are originally produced."

When the other woman heard these words (for she was standing in a place where she was out of sight but still within hearing), fearing lest the mind, without being aware of it, might be led captive and be enslaved, and so be carried away by so many gifts and promises, yielding also to the tempter in that she was arrayed so as to win over the sight, and was equipped with great variety of ingenuity for the purposes of deceit; for by all her necklaces and other appendages, and by her different allurements, she spurred on and charmed her beholders, and excited a wonderful desire within them; she in her turn came forward, and appeared on a sudden, displaying all the qualities of a native, free-born, and lady-like woman, such as a firm step, a very gentle look, the native colour of modesty and nature without any alloy or disguise, an honest disposition, a genuine and sincere way of life, a plain, honest opinion, an language removed from all insincerity, the truest possible image of a sound and honest heart, a disposition averse to pretence, a quiet unobtrusive gait, a moderate style of dress, and the ornaments of prudence and virtue, more precious than any gold. And she was attended by piety, and holiness, and truth, and right, and purity, and an honest regard for an oath, and justice, and equality, and adherence to one's engagements and communion, and prudent silence, and temperance, and orderliness, and meekness, and abstemiousness, and contentment, and good-temper, and modesty, and an absence of curiosity about the concerns of others, and manly courage, and a noble disposition and wisdom in counsel, and prudence, and forethought, and attention, and correctness, and cheerfulness, and humanity, and gentleness, and courtesy, and love of one's kind, and magnanimity, and happiness, and goodness. One day would fail me if I were to enumerate all the names of the particular virtues. And these all standing on each side of her, were her bodyguards, while she was in the middle of them.

And she, having assumed an appearance familiar to her, began to speak as follows: "I have seen pleasure, that worker of wonderous tricks, that conjuror and teller of fables, dressed in a somewhat tragic style, and constantly approaching you in a delicate manner; so that (for I myself do by nature detest everything that is evil) I feared lest, without being aware of it, you might be deceived, and might consent to the very greatest of evils as if they were exceeding good; and therefore I have thought fit to declare to you with all sincerity what really belongs to that woman, in order that you might not reject anything advantageous to you out of ignorance, and so proceed unintentionally on the road of transgression and unhappiness. "Know, then, that the very dress in which she appear to you wholly belongs to some one else; for of ten things which contribute to genuine beauty, not one is ever brought forward as being derived from or as belonging to her. But she is hung round with nets and snares with which to catch you with a bastard and adulterated beauty, which you, beholding beforehand, will, if you are wise, take care that her pursuit shall be unprofitable to her; for when she appears she conciliates your eyes, and when she speaks she wins over your ears; and by these, and by all other parts of her conduct, she is well calculated by nature to injure your soul, which is the most valuable of all your possessions; and all the different circumstances belonging to her, which were likely to be attractive to you if you heard of them, she enumerated; but all those which would not have been alluring she suppressed and made no mention of, but, meaning mischief to you, concealed utterly, as she very naturally expected that no one would readily agree with them." But I, stripping off all her disguises, will reveal her to you; and I will not myself imitate the ways of pleasure, so as to show you nothing in me but what is alluring, and to conceal and to keep out of sight everything that has any unpleasantness or harshness in it; but, on the contrary, I will say nothing about those matters which do of themselves give delight and pleasure, well knowing that such things will of themselves find a voice by their effects; but I will fully detail to you all that is painful and difficult to be borne about me, putting them plainly forward with their naked appellation, so that their nature may be visible and plain even to those whose sight is somewhat dim. For the things which, when offered by me, appear to be the greatest of my evils, will in effect be found to be more honourable and more beneficial to the users than the greatest blessings bestowed by pleasure. But, before I begin to speak of what I myself have to give, I will mention all that may be mentioned of those things which are kept in the back ground by her. For she, when she spoke of what she had stored up in her magazines, such as colours, sounds, flavours, smells, distinctive qualities, powers relating to touch and to every one of the outward senses, and having softened them all by the allurements which she offered to the hearing, made no mention at all of those other qualities which are her misfortunes and diseases; which, however, you will of necessity experience if you choose those pleasures which she offers; that so, being borne aloft by the breeze of some advantage, you may be taken in her toils. Know, then, my good friend, that if you become a votary of pleasure you will be all these things: a bold, cunning, audacious, unsociable, uncourteous, inhuman, lawless, savage, illtempered, unrestrainable, worthless man; deaf to advice, foolish, full of evil acts, unteachable, unjust, unfair, one who has no participation with others, one who cannot be trusted in his agreements, one with whom there is no peace, covetous, most lawless, unfriendly, homeless, cityless, seditious, faithless, disorderly, impious, unholy, unsettled, unstable, uninitiated, profane, polluted, indecent, destructive, murderous, illiberal, abrupt, brutal, slavish, cowardly, intemperate, irregular, disgraceful, shameful, doing and suffering all infamy, colourless, immoderate, unsatiable, insolent, conceited, self-

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willed, mean, envious, calumnious, quarrelsome, slanderous, greedy, deceitful, cheating, rash, ignorant, stupid, inharmonious, dishonest, disobedient, obstinate, tricky, swindling, insincere, suspicious, hated, absurd, difficult to detect, difficult to avoid, destructive, evil-minded, disproportionate, an unreasonable chatterer, a proser, a gossip, a vain babbler, a flatterer, a fool, full of heavy sorrow, weak in bearing grief, trembling at every sound, inclined to delay, inconsiderate, improvident, impudent, neglectful of good, unprepared, ignorant of virtue, always in the wrong, erring, stumbling, ill-managed, ill-governed, a glutton, a captive, a spendthrift, easily yielding, most crafty, double-minded, double-tongued, perfidious, treacherous, unscrupulous, always unsuccessful, always in want, infirm of purpose, fickle, a wanderer, a follower of others, yielding to impulses, open to the attacks of enemies, mad, easily satisfied, fond of life, fond of vain glory, passionate, ill-tempered, lazy, a procrastinator, suspected, incurable, full of evil jealousies, despairing, full of tears, rejoicing in evil, frantic, beside yourself, without any steady character, contriving evil, eager for disgraceful gain, selfish, a willing slave, an eager enemy, a demagogue, a bad steward, stiffnecked, effeminate, outcast, confused, discarded, mocking, injurious, vain, full of unmitigated unalloyed misery. These are the great mysteries of that very beautiful and much to be sought for pleasure, which she designedly concealed and kept out of sight, from a fear that if you knew of them you would turn away from any meeting with her. But who is there who could worthily describe either the multitude or the magnitude of the good things which are stored up in my treasure houses? They who have partaken of them already know it, and those whose nature is mild will hereafter know, when they have been invited to a participation in the banquet, not the banquet at which the pleasures of the satiated belly make the body fat, but that at which the mind is nourished and at which it revels among the virtues, and exults and revels in their company.

6 Now, on account of these things, and because of what was said before, namely, that the things which are really pious, holy, and good do naturally utter a voice from themselves, even while they keep silence, I will desist from saying any more about them; for neither does the sun nor the moon require an interpreter, because they, being on high, fill the whole world with light, the one shining by day and the other by night. But their own brilliancy is an evidence in their case which stands in no need of witnesses, but which is confirmed by the eyes, which are more undeniable judges than the ears. But I will speak with all freedom of that point in virtue which appears to have the greatest amount of difficulty and perplexity, for this, too, does appear to the imagination, at their first meeting, to be troublesome; but, on consideration, it is found to be very pleasant and, as arising from reason, to be suitable. But labour is the enemy of laziness, as it is in reality the first and greatest of good things, and wages an irreconcilable war against pleasure; for, if we must declare the truth, God has made labour the foundation of all good and of all virtue to man, and without labour you will not find a single good thing in existence among the race of men. For, as it is impossible to see without light, since neither colours nor eyes are sufficient for the comprehension of things which we arrive at by means of sight (for nature has made light beforehand to serve as a link to connect the two, by which the eye is brought near and adapted to colour, for the powers of both eye and of colour are equally useless in darkness), so in the same manner is the eye of the soul unable to comprehend anything whatever of the actions in accordance with virtue, unless it takes to itself labour as a coadjutor, as the eye borrows the assistance of light; for this, being placed in the middle, between the intellect and the good object which the intellect desires, and understanding the whole nature of both the one and the other, does itself bring about friendship and harmony, two perfect goods between the two things on either hand of it.

7 For, choose whatever good thing you please, and you will find that it owes its existence and all its strength and solidity to labour. Now, piety and holiness are good things, but still we are not able to attain to them without the worship of the gods, and the worship of them is combined with perseverance in labours. Again, prudence and courage and justice are all beautiful things and perfect goods, but still they are not to be acquired by laziness, and we must be content if they can be attained to by continued diligence. Now, since the organs of every soul are not able to support a familiarity with God and with virtue, as being a very intense and mighty harmony, they very often get lax and become remiss so as to descend from the highest unto those of more moderate character; but, nevertheless, even in these moderate ones there is great labour requisite. Look at all those who practice the encyclical branches of what is called elementary instruction; look at those who cultivate the land, and at all who provide the means of subsistence by any regular business. These men are never free from care night or day, but always and continually, as it is said, they labour with hand and foot and with all their power, and never cease from suffering hardship, so as often to encounter even death from it.

8 But as those who are thus anxious to render their souls propitious must of necessity cultivate the virtues of the soul, so also they who purpose to render their bodies favourable to their objects, must cultivate health and those powers which are akin to health, and these too they cultivate with unremitting and ceaseless labours, being overwhelmed with care, arising from the faculties in them of which they are compounded. You see, therefore, that all good things spring up and shoot out from labour as from one general root, and this you must never allow yourself to neglect; for if you do, you will without being aware of it, be also letting slip the collected heap of goods which it brings with it; for the Ruler of the universe, of heaven, and of the world, both himself possesses and bestows on whomsoever he pleases, his good things, with all ease and abundance. Since formerly he created this world, vast as you see it is, without any labour, and how too he never ceases holding it together, so that it may last for ever. And absence from all labour and fatigue is the most appropriate attribute of God; but nature has not given the acquisition of good things to any mortal without labour,[this is not only the same idea, but almost the very language of Horace in Sat. I. 9.60.] in order that in consequence of this arrangement, God alone of existing beings may be called happy and enjoy felicity.

9 For labour appears to me to have nearly the same properties as food. As therefore this latter makes life to depend upon itself, having combined all the actions and all the passions in living, so also has labour caused all good things to depend upon itself. For as those persons who are desirous to live must not neglect food, so too they who are anxious to attain to good things must pay due attention to labour, for what food is to life that labour is to virtue. Do not you then ever slight that, though it is but a single thing, that by its means you may enjoy the collective blessings of all good things. For thus, though you may be younger by birth you shall be called the elder, and you shall be thought worthy of the pre-eminence in honour. But if, having gone through a constant course of improvement you shall at last arrive at the end, then not only shall the Father give thee the preeminence, but he shall also bestow on thee all the inheritance of the Father, as he did to Jacob, who overthrew all the foundations and seats of passion, and who confessed what he suffered, saying that "God has pitied me, and all things belong to Me," [Genesis 33:11.] uttering a doctrine full of instruction, for he makes everything to anchor in the mercy of God.

10 And he learnt all these things from Abraham his grandfather, who was the author of his own education, who gave to the all-wise Isaac all that he had,[Genesis 25:5.] leaving none of his substance to bastards, or to the spurious reasonings of concubines, but he gives them small gifts, as being inconsiderable persons. For the possessions of which he is possessed, namely, the perfect virtues, belong only to the perfect and legitimate son; but those which are of an intermediate character, are suitable to and fall to the share of those who are not perfect, but who have advanced as far as the encyclical branches of elementary education, of which Agar and Cheturah partake, Agar meaning "a dwelling near," and Cheturah meaning "sacrificing." For he who attends only to the encyclical instruction abides near wisdom but does not dwell with it, as sending a certain sweet fragrance from the elegance of contemplation to his own soul. But such a man requires food, and not sweet scents to bless him with good health. But nature is said to have made, with great skill and propriety, smell to serve as a handmaid to taste, as a sort of subject and taster to the other, or her queen; and we must always attend to the sovereign powers before those who are ruled over by them, and to the indigenous and native sciences before those which are strangers. The mind bearing this rejects pleasure, and attaches itself to virtue, perceiving its genuine, and unalloyed, and very divine beauty. Then it becomes the shepherd of sheep, being the charioteer and pilot of the irrational faculties which exist in the soul, "not permitting them to be borne about at random and in an inconsistent manner, without any superintendant or guide;[Numbers 27:17.] that they may not fall into a sort of orphan state, destitute of guardians and protectors, owing to their want of any allies, in which case they would perish without any saving hand to restrain them.

11 Accordingly, Jacob, the practicer of contemplation, conceiving this to be an employment most closely akin to virtue, endured "to be the shepherd of the flocks of Laban," [Genesis 30:36.] a man wholly devoted to colours and to forms, and, in sort, to lifeless substances; and he tended not all of them, but the residue only. Now, what is the interpretation of this? The irrational animal is of a twofold character; one consisting in a misuse of that reason which should direct the choice, and such we call people out of their mind: the other consisting in an absolute privation of reason, which we see to exist in these animals which we call brutes. Now, the irrational impulses of the mind, I mean those faculties which are developed in a misuse of that reason which should direct the choice, the sons of Laban, "when they had departed three days' Journey," [ibid.] paid great regard to; being thus under a symbol cut off from virtue for the whole period of their life; for time is capable of being divided into three parts, consisting of the past, and the present, and the future. But these animals which are irrational in the second sense, and which are destitute not only of right reason but of all reason whatever, under which class the brute beasts are reckoned, the practicer of contemplation will think worthy of all his care, considering that their errors have proceeded, not so much from deliberate wickedness as form ignorance, which was devoid of a guide. Ignorance, therefore, being but a slight and also an involuntary calamity, admits of a cure which is neither difficult nor troublesome, namely instruction. But, wickedness being a voluntary disease of the soul, admits of no remedy but such as if difficult, and almost impossible. Therefore his sons, as men who have been instructed by a father of exceeding wisdom, even if they do go down to Egypt, that is to say, to the body which is inclined to be a slave to the passions, and even if they meet with Pharaoh, that squanderer of all good things, who appears to be the sovereign of the composite animals, being not at all bewildered with the abundance of the preparations which they behold, confess that they are shepherds of sheep, and not only they but their fathers Also. [Genesis 47:3.]

12 And yet no one would ever utter so great a boast in consequence of any power and sovereignty as these men do in respect of their being shepherds; to those indeed who are able to reason correctly, it is a more noble employment than that of a king, to be able to govern the body and the outward senses, and the belly, as one might govern a city or a country, and to restrain the pleasures which have their seat around the belly, and the other passions, and one's tongue, and, in short, all the different parts of one's composite nature, with vigor and exceeding power, and again to guide them in the right way with due gentleness; for it is necessary at one time to act like a charioteer who slackens the reins with which he holds the horses which are yoked to his chariot, and at other times one must draw them tight, and resist the haste of the steeds, that no precipitation and impetuous pursuit of outward objects may take place, and lead them into rebellion. And I admire that guardian of the laws, Moses, who, thinking it a great and noble task to be a shepherd, has attributed that employment to himself; for he manages and conducts the doctrines of Jethro, leading them from the tumultuous vexations of political affairs into the desert, for the purpose of avoiding all temptation to injustice. "For he led the sheep into the Wilderness." [Exodus 3:1.] The consequence of which conduct of his was that "Every shepherd of sheep is an abomination to the Egyptians." [Genesis 46:34.] For every man who loves his passions hates right reason as the governor and guide to good things; just as foolish children hate their tutors and teachers, and every one who reproves them or corrects them, or would lead them to virtue. But Moses says that he "will sacrifice the abominations of the Egyptians to God." [Exodus 8:26.] namely the virtues which are faultless and most becoming victims, which every foolish man abominates. So that very appropriately, Abel, who brought the best offerings to God, is called a shepherd; but he, who offered every thing to himself and to his own mind, is called a tiller of the earth, namely Cain. And what is meant by tilling the Earth [Genesis 4:2.] we have shown in our previous treatises.

13. And it came to pass after some days that Cain brought of the fruits of the earth as an offering to the Lord. Here are two accusations against the self-loving man; one that he showed his gratitude to God after some days, and not at once, the other that he made his offering from the fruits, and not from the first fruits, which have a name in one word, the first fruits. Let us now examine into each of these subjects of reproach, and first into that which is first in order, we must do good works, hastening with all speed, and labouring to outstrip others, casting away all slowness and delay. And the best of all good works is the pleasing the first good without any postponement of energy, on which account it is also enjoined, "If thou vowest a vow, thou shall not delay to perform It." [Deuteronomy 23:21.] A vow now is a request for good things addressed to God, and the injunction is, that when one has attained the object of one's hopes, one must offer offerings of gratitude to God, and not to one's self, and to offer them if possible without any loss of time, and without any delay; and of those who do not act rightly in this particular, some through forgetfulness of the benefits which they have received, have failed in that great and beautiful virtue of thankfulness, and others form an excessive conceit, have looked upon themselves as the authors of the good things which have befallen them, and have not attributed them to him, who is really the cause of them. A third class are they who commit an offence slighter indeed than the fault of these latter, but more serious than that of the first mentioned, for though they confess that the supreme Ruler is the cause of the good that has befallen them, they still say that they deserved to receive it, for that they are prudent, and courageous, and temperate, and just, so that they may well on these accounts be esteemed by God to be worthy of his favours.

14 Now the holy scriptures are opposed to all these classes, and reply to each of them, saying to the first class which has

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discarded recollection, and humbled forgetfulness, "Take care, my good man, lest when you have eaten and are filled, and when you have built fine houses and inhabited them, and when your flocks and your herds have increased, and when your silver and gold, and all that you possess is multiplied, you be lifted up in your heart, and forget the Lord your God." [Deuteronomy 8:12.] When is it then that you do not forget God? when you do not forget yourself; for if you remember your own nothingness in every particular, you will also be sure to remember the exceeding greatness of God in everything. And Moses reproves the man who looks upon himself as the cause of the good things that have befallen him in this manner, "Say not," says he, "my own might, or the strength of my right hand has acquired me all this power, but remember always the Lord thy God, who giveth thee the might to acquire Power." [Deuteronomy 8:17.] And he who conceives that he was deserving to receive the possession and enjoyment of good things, may be taught to change his opinion by the oracle which says, "You do not enter into this land to possess it because of thy righteousness, or because of the holiness of thy heart; but, in the first place, because of the iniquity of these nations, since God has brought on them the destruction of wickedness; and in the second place that he may establish the covenant which he swore to our Fathers." [Deuteronomy 9:5.] Now by the covenant of God his graces are figuratively meant (nor is it right to offer to him anything that is imperfect), as all the gifts of the uncreated God are complete and entirely perfect, and virtue is a thing complete among existing things, and so is the course of action in accordance with it. If therefore we discard forgetfulness and ingratitude, and self-love, and the present wickedness of all these things, namely, self-opinion, we shall not longer through our delay miss attaining the genuine worship of God, but outrunning and bounding on beyond all created beings, before we embrace any mortal thing we shall meet our master himself, having prepared ourselves to do the things which he commands us.

15 For Abraham also, having come with all haste and speech and eagerness, exhorts virtue, that is to say, Sarah, "to hasten and knead three measures of fine meal, and to make cakes upon the Hearth." [Genesis 18:6.] When God, being attended by two of the heavenly powers as guards, to wit, by authority and goodness, he himself, the one God being between them, presented an appearance of the figures to the visual soul; each of which figures was not measured in any respect; for God cannot be circumscribed, nor are his powers capable of being defined by lines, but he himself measures everything. His goodness therefore is the measure of all good things, and his authority is the measures of things in subjection, and the Governor of the universe himself, is the measure of all things to the corporeal and incorporeal. On which account, his powers also having been looked upon in the light of rules and models, have weighed and measured other things with reference to them. Now it is very good that these three measures should, as it were, be kneaded together in the soul, and mixed up together, in order that so the soul, being persuaded that the supreme being is God, who has raised his head above all his powers, and who is beheld independently of them, and who makes himself visible in them, may receive the characters of his power and beneficence, and becoming initiated into the perfect mysteries, may not be too ready to divulge the divine secrets to any one, but may treasure them up in herself, and keeping a check over her speech, may conceal them in silence; for the words of the scripture are, "To make secret cakes;" because the sacred and mystic statements about the one uncreated Being, and about his powers, ought to be kept secret; since it does not belong to every one to keep the deposit of divine mysteries properly.

16 For the stream of the intemperate soul, flowing outwards through the mouth and tongue, is pumped up and poured into all ears. Some of which having wide channels, keeps that which is poured into them with all cheerfulness; but others, through the narrowness of the passages, are unable to be bedewed by it. But that which overflows being poured forth in an unrestrained manner, is scattered in every direction: so that what has been concealed escapes and floats on the top of it, and, like a random torrent of mud, bears along with it in its flood, things worthy of being tended with all care. In reference to which, those persons appear to me to have come to a right decision who have been initiated in the lesser mysteries before learning anything of these greater ones. "For they baked their flour which they brought out of Egypt , baking secret cakes of unleavened Bread." [Exodus 12:34.] That is to say, they dealt with the untameable and savage passions, softening them with reason as they would knead bread; fore they did not divulge the manner of their kneading and improving it, as it was derived from some divine system of preparation; but they treasured it up in their secret stores, not being elated at the knowledge of the mystery, but yielding and being lowly as to their boasting.

17 Let us then, with reference to our gratitude to and honouring of the omnipotent God, be active and ready, deprecating all sluggishness and delay; for those who are passing over from obedience to the passions to the contemplation of virtue, are enjoined to keep the passover with their loins girded up, being ready to do service, and binding up the burden of the flesh, or, as it is expressed, their shoes, "standing upright, and firmly on their feet, and having in their hands a Staff," [Exodus 12:11.] that is to say education, with the object of succeeding without any failure in all the affairs of life; and lastly, "to eat the passover in haste." For, by the passover, is signified the crossing over of the created and perishable being to God:--and very appropriately; for there is no single good thing which does not belong to God, and which is not divine. Seek it therefore, quickly, O my soul! as did that practicer of contemplation, Jacob, who, when his father asked him, "How found you this so quickly, I my Son?" [Genesis 27:20.] answered, with a doctrine concealed underneath his words, "The Lord God brought it before me." For he, being well skilled in many matters, knew that whatever creation bestows on the soul is confirmed by long time, as those men know who give to their pupils arts, and lessons in arts: for their case is not like that of men who pour water into a vessel, they are not in a moment able to fill their minds with the lessons which have been brought before them. But when the fountain of wisdom, that is to say, God, gives knowledge of the sciences to the race of mankind, he gives it to them without any limitation of time. But they, as being disciples of the only wise Being, and being competent by nature, quickly accomplish the discovery of the things which they seek to understand.

18 But the principal virtue of pupils is to endeavor to imitate their perfect master, as far as those who are imperfect can imitate a perfect man. But the master is more rapid than any time, which did not even co-operate with him when he was creating the universe, since it is plain that time itself was created at the same moment that the world was made. For God, while he spake the word, did at the same moment create; nor did he allow anything to come between the word and the deed; and if one may advance a doctrine which is pretty nearly true, His word is his deed. But among the race of mankind nothing is more easily moved than the word; for by its rapidity and by the volubility of its nouns and verbs, it outstrips even the comprehension which hastens to overtake them. As, therefore, everlasting springs, which are poured down in rivers, have a course which never ceases, the stream as it comes on continually taking up the cessation of the waves which have preceded, so too the abundant flow of words, when they begin to be poured forth, keep pace with the most swiftly-moving of all the qualities which are in us, namely, the mind, which can itself outstrip even flying natures. As therefore the uncreated God outstrips all creation, so also does the word of the uncreated God outrun the word of creation, and is borne on with exceeding swiftness in the clouds. On which account God speaks freely, saying, "Now you shall see, because my word shall overtake You." [Numbers 11:23.] As the divine word can outstrip and overtake everything, but if his word can thus outstrip everything, much more can he who utters it, as he testifies in another place, where he says, "Here am I, I stood here before You." [Exodus 16:6.] For he declares here that he stood before any created being: and he who is here is also there, and in other places, and every where, having filled every place in every direction, and having left nothing whatever destitute of himself: for he does not say, "Here I stand and there, but now also when I am present do I stand there also at the same moment;" not being moved or changing his place so as to occupy one place and to quit another, but using one intense motion. Very properly therefore do his subject children, imitating the nature of their father, do all that is right without any delay, and with all diligence, their most excellent employment being the paying prompt and unremitting honour to God.

19 But Pharaoh, the squanderer of all things, not being able himself to receive the conception of virtues unconnected with time, inasmuch as he was mutilated as to the eyes of his soul, by which alone incorporeal natures are comprehended, would not endure to be benefited by virtues unconnected with time; but being weighed down by soulless opinions, I mean here by the frogs, animals which utter a sound and noise wholly void and destitute of reality, when Moses says, "appoint a time to me when I may pray for you and for your servants that God will make the frogs to Disappear," [Exodus 8:9.] though he ought, as he was in very imminent necessity, to have said, Pray this moment, nevertheless postponed it, saying, "Pray to-morrow," in order that he might in every case preserve the folly of his impiety. And this happens to nearly all those men who hesitate and vacillate between two opinions, even if they do not confess it in express words. For when any thing unexpected befalls them, inasmuch as they did not previously believe firmly in God the Saviour, they take refuge in the assistance of created things, of physicians, of herbs, of the composition of drugs, in a carefully considered plan of life, and in any other aid which may be derived from mortal man. And if any one were to say to them, "Flee, O ye wretched men, to Him who is the only physician for the diseases of the soul, and discard all this falsely called assistance which ye are seeking to find in the creature who is subject to the same sufferings as yourselves," they would laugh at and ridicule him; saying, "Tell us this to-morrow." Since, even if any thing were to happen to them they would not supplicate the Deity to avert the present evils from them. But when it is found that there is no relief from man, and when even all the remedies are proved to be injurious, then in great perplexity they renounce all ideas of assistance from other quarters, and, like wretched men as they are and sorely against their will, they reluctantly and tardily flee to the only Saviour, God. But he, as well knowing that there is no dependence to be placed on reformation extorted by necessity, does not apply his law to every one of them, but only to those in whose case it appears good and suitable. Let every reasoning therefore that thinks that all possessions belong to itself, and that honours itself before God, for the expression, "sacrificing after a few days," involves such a notion as this, know that it is liable to the accusation of impiety.

20 We have now adequately gone through the first article of our accusation against Cain. And the second is of this nature, Why does he bring the first fruits of the fruits of the earth, but not of the first produce? May it not be for the same reason, that he may give the pre-eminence in honour to creation, and may requite God himself with what is the second best? For as there are some persons who place the body before the soul, the slave before the mistress, so also there are persons who honour the creation more than God, though the lawgiver delivered this injunction, that "we should bring the first fruits of the first produce of the earth into the house of God," [Exodus 23:19.] and not assign them to ourselves. For it is just to refer all the first motions of the soul, whether in point of order or of power, to God. Now the first things in point of order are such as these, in which we participated from the first moment of our original birth: nourishment, growth, sight, hearing, taste, smell, touch, speech, the mind, the parts of the soul, the parts of the body, the energies of these parts, and in short all the motions and conditions which are in accordance with nature. But those things which are first in consideration and in power are good actions, the virtues, and conduct in accordance with the virtues. It is right therefore to offer the first fruits of these things: and the first fruits are the language of gratitude sent up from sincere truth of mind. And this language divides itself according to appropriate divisions in the same manner as the lyre and the other musical instruments are divided. For in each of those instruments each sound is by itself harmonious, and also exceedingly adapted to making a symphony with the rest. As in grammar also those of the elements which are called vowels are both capable of being uttered by themselves, and they also make a complete sound in conjunction with other letters. But nature which has created many powers in ourselves, some consisting of the outward senses, some reasoning and intellectual and which has directed each to some appropriate work, and which again has adapted all in due proportion by a union and harmony with one another, may be most properly pronounced happy both in each particular and in all of them.

21 On which account if you bring a sacrifice of the first fruits, you must divide it as the sacred scripture teaches, first of all offering those fruits which are green, then those which are toasted, then those which are cut up, and after all the others those which are ground. Those which are green, on this account, because he teaches those who are lovers of the old, and obsolete, and fabulous times, and who do not comprehend the rapid power of God, illimitable by time, warning them to adopt new, and flourishing, and vigorous thoughts, in order that they may not embrace false opinions from being nourished among the old fabulous systems which a long lapse of ages has handed down to the deceiving of mortals; but that, receiving new and fresh good things in all abundance from God, who never grows old, but who is always young and vigorous, they may be taught to think nothing old that is with him, and nothing passed away or obsolete, but to look upon everything as created and existing without any limitation as to time.

22 On which account he says in another place, "Thou shall rise up from before a hoary head, and thou shall honour the face of an Elder." [Leviticus 19:32.] As if the difference were very great. For what is hoary is that time which energizes not at all, from which one ought to rise up, and depart, and flee, avoiding that idea which deceives tens of thousands, that time has a natural capacity of doing something. But by an elder is meant one who is worthy of honour, and respect, and of preeminence, and examination of whom is committed to Moses, the friend of God. "For those whom thou knowest," says God to Moses, "they are the Elders." [Numbers 11:16.] As he was a man who admitted no innovations of any kind, but was by custom attached to his elders, and to those who were worthy of the highest honours. It is advantageous, therefore, if not with reference to the acquisition of perfect virtue, still at all events with reference to political considerations, both to be nourished in ancient and primeval opinions, and also to be acquainted with the ancient records of glorious actions, which historians and the whole race of poets have delivered to their contemporaries and to subsequent ages, to be preserved in their recollection. But when the sudden light of self-taught wisdom has shone upon

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those who had no foreknowledge or expectation of it, and opening the previously closed eyes of the soul, makes men spectators of knowledge instead of being merely hearers of it, implanting in the mind the swiftest of the outward senses, sight, instead of hearing, which is slower; it is then in vain to exercise the ears with speeches.

23 On which account it is said also: "And ye shall eat old store, and old food from the old store, and you shall also bring forward the old out of the sight of the New." [Leviticus 26:10.] As it is fitting to repudiate no ancient piece of learning from considerations of time, while we endeavor to meet with the writings of wise men, and to be present as it were with the opinions and expositions of those who relate ancient matters, and to be always fond of inquiring about the former ages of men, and ancient events, since it is the pleasantest of all things to be ignorant of nothing. But when God causes new shoots of self-taught wisdom to spring up in the soul, then it behoves us immediately to circumscribe and to contract the things which we have acquired from instruction, which of their own accord do return and flow back to their source. For it is impossible that one who is a follower, or a friend, or a disciple of God, or any other name which one may think fit to call him, should tolerate mortal lessons.

24 And let the ripeness of the new soul be toasted. That is to say, as gold is tried in the fire, let this also be tested by powerful reason. And the being consolidated is a sign of having been tried, and tested, and approved. For as the fruit of flourishing stalks of corn is toasted, that it may no longer be damp, and as this cannot in the nature of things take place without fire, so also is it necessary that the young and fresh ripeness, advancing by means of powerful and unalterable reason to the perfection of virtue, must be made solid and stable. But it is the natural characteristic of reason not only to ripen speculations in the soul, preventing them from dissolving, but also vigorously to put an end to the impetuosity of irrational passion. Behold the practicer of contemplations, Joseph, cooking it, when, "Esau is in a moment discovered to be Fainting." [Genesis 25:29.] For wickedness and passion are the foundations of those who love themselves, supported on which the man, when he sees them defeated and extinguished by reason which has refuted them, does not unnaturally relax his exertions and his strength. But suppose the language is not confused, but divided into appropriate divisions, the meaning of the expression, "those that are cut up," is something of this kind. For in everything order is better than disorder, and most especially is it so in the most swiftly flowing nature--speech.

25 We must therefore divide it into the principal heads, which are called incidents, and we must assign to each its appropriate preparation, imitating in this point skilful archers, who, when they have chosen a mark, endeavor to shoot every one of their arrows straight at it. For the head resembles the mark, and the preparation is similar to the arrows. And thus the most excellent of all branches of learning, speech, is harmoniously connected together. For the lawgiver cuts leaves of gold into thin hairs, so as to plait appropriate works of that material in a durable manner. And in like manner, speech, which is more precious than gold, is completed in a praiseworthy manner of innumerable varieties of ideas, then, being divided into the thinnest possible heads, after the fashion of a woven web, it receives an harmonious demonstration, like a work of the distaff. It is enjoined therefore that sacrificers, when they have flayed the burnt offering, shall cut it up joint by joint, in order in the first place that the soul may appear naked without any coverings, such as are made by empty and false opinions; and in the second place that it may be able to receive suitable divisions, for virtue is a whole and one, which is divided into corresponding species, such as prudence and temperance, justice and courage, that we, knowing the differences of each of these qualities, may submit to a voluntary service of them both in their entirety and in particulars.

And let us consider how we may train the soul so that it may not, from being thrown into a state of confusion, be deceived by general and unintelligible appearances, but that by making proper divisions of things it may be able to inspect and examine each separate thing with all accuracy, adopting language which will not, through being borne forward by disorderly impetuosity, cause any indistinctness, but being divided into its appropriate headings and into the demonstrations suitable to each, will be compounded like some living animal of perfect parts, properly put together. And we ought to apply ourselves to a continual meditation on and practice of these things, if we wish the use of them to be confirmed in us, as after having touched knowledge, not to abide in it is like tasting meat and drink, but being prevented from feeding on them in sufficient quantities.

26 After those that are cut up, it was very natural to make an offering of such as are ground; that is to say, it is natural after the division to dwell among and pass one's leisure among what had been thus discovered, for continued practice produces firm and stable knowledge, just as continued indifference produces ignorance. Therefore numbers of men from fear of the labour of practice, have lost the strength with which they were endowed by nature, whom those men have not imitated who nourished their souls on prophecy, which is signified under the name of manna, "for they ground it in mills or beat it in a mortar, and baked it in pans, and made cakes of It." [Numbers 11:8.] every one of them knowing well how to knead and soften the heavenly language of virtue for the sake of making the intellect firmer. When therefore you confess that the young and fresh corn, that is to say vigor, and the toasted corn, that is to say speech tried in the fire and invincible, and the corn cut up, which signifies the cutting up and division of things, and the corn ground, that is to say anxious care about the examination into what has been found out, do all proceed from God, you will then be offering a sacrifice of the first fruits of the first produce, of the first and best things which the soul has brought forth; and even if we are slow, nevertheless he does not delay to take to himself those who are fit to worship him. For "I will take," says he, "you to be a people for myself, and I will be your God, and you shall be my people: I am the Lord."

27 These now, and such as these, are the accusations brought against Cain, who after some days offered sacrifice; but Abel did not bring the same offerings, nor did he bring his offerings in the same manner; but instead of inanimate things he brought living sacrifices, and instead of younger things, worthy only of the second place, he offered what was older and of the first consideration, and instead of what was weak he offered what was strong and fat, for he says that "he made his sacrifice of the first-born of his flocks, and of their Fat," [Genesis 4:3.] according to the most holy commandment. Now the commandment is as follows: "And it shall be," say the scriptures, "when God shall bring thee forth into the land of the Canaanites, in the manner which he swore to thy fathers, and shall give it to thee, that thou shall set apart unto the Lord all that openeth the womb of all thy flocks, and of all the beasts which thou hast, and shall set apart all the males for the Lord. Every offspring of an ass that openeth the womb shall thou exchange for a sheep; and if thou dost not exchange it thou shall redeem it with Money." [Exodus 13:11.] For that which openeth the wound is Abel, that is to say, a gift, the first-born, and you must examine how and when it is to be offered up; now the most suitable time is when God shall lead thee into fluctuating reason, that is to say, into the land of the Canaanites, not in any chance manner, but in the manner in which he himself swore that he would; not in order that being tossed about hither and thither in the surf and tempest and heavy waves, you may be deprived of all rest or stability, but that having escaped from such agitation you may enjoy fine weather and a calm, and reaching virtue as a place of refuge, or port, or harbour of safety for ships, may lie in safety and steadiness.

28 But when Moses says that God swears, we must consider whether he really asserts this as a thing appropriate for him to do; since to very many people it appears inconsistent with the character of God; for the meaning implied in an oath is, that it is the testimony of God in a matter which is doubtful. But to God there is nothing uncertain and nothing in doubt; as it is he who demonstrates clearly to others all the clear indications of truth. And accordingly he is in need of no witness; for neither is there any other god of equal honour with him. I omit to mention that he who bears witness, inasmuch as he bears witness, is better than he to whom he bears witness; for the one stands in need of something, and the other serves him: and he who serves is more worthy of credit than he who requires to be served. But it impious to conceive that any thing can be better than the Cause of all things, since there is nothing equal to him, nothing that is even a little inferior to him;[the similarity to Horace is here again very remarkable. Horace, speaks of the Parent and Governor of the universe in Od. I. 12.17.] but every thing which exists in the world is found to be in its whole genus inferior to God. Now it is for the sake of obtaining credence that those men who are disbelieved have recourse to an oath. But God is to be believed when simply he says any thing; so that, as far as certainty goes, his words do in no respect differ from oaths. And it happens, indeed, that our opinions are confirmed by an oath; but that an oath itself is confirmed by the addition of the name of God. God, therefore, does not become credible because of an oath, but even an oath is confirmed by God.

29 Why, then, has this hierophant thought fit to introduce him as swearing? That he might demonstrate the weakness of the created being, and after he had demonstrated it, might comfort him: for we are not able at all times to have ready in our soul that principal fact which ought to be remembered concerning God, namely, that "God is not as a Man," [Numbers 23:19.] So that we may rise above those assertions which are advanced concerning man; but we, since we have the greatest share in what is mortal, and since we are not able to conceive any thing apart from ourselves, and have no power to go beyond or to escape our own calamities, but since we have got into mortality as snails have into their shells, and since we are revolved round and round ourselves in a ball, like so many hedgehogs, and have only the same opinions about the blessed and immortal God which we have about ourselves, avoiding all absurdity of assertion, such for instance as that God has the same form as man, but in reality being guilty of the impiety of attributing to him that he has the same passions as man; we do on this account fashion for him in our minds hands and feet, a coming in and a going out, hatred, aversion, alienation, and anger; parts and passions very inconsistent with the character of the Cause of all things, an oath by which is often an assistant of our weakness. "If God shall give thee the things which thou desirest," says Moses, speaking very eloquently and accurately; for if he does not give them thou wilt not have them, since every thing belongs to him, both things external, and the body, and the outward sense, and the power of speech, and the mind, and the energies and essences of all the faculties. And not you, but all this world also, and whatever you cut off and divide from it, you will find does not belong to you; for you do not possess the earth, or the water, or the air, or the heaven, or the stars, or any of the kinds of animals or plants, whether perishable or immortal, as you own; so that, whatever from them you bring to offer to him as a sacrifice, you are bringing as the possession of God, and not as your own.

30 And take notice how very clearly it is enjoined, that he who is sacrificing may take a part of what is offered, and that he is not bound to offer the whole of what has been given him. For nature has given us a countless number of things, suitable to the human race, of all of which it receives no share itself: for instance, she has given us creation, though she is herself uncreate; and food, though she has no need of food; and growth, though she always remains in the same condition; and age, with reference to time, though she herself admits neither of addition nor of subtraction; an organic body, which she is incompetent to receive: also the powers of coming forward, of seeing, of applying food, and of disposing of it again when digested; of judging between the differences of scents, of using speech, of giving vent of laughter. There are also many other things in us which have reference to our necessary and beneficial uses: but one may pronounce these things indifferent, but those which are confessedly good ought to be attributed to and comprehended in nature. Come, therefore, let us investigate those things which are especially admired among us, of the things which are really goods, every one of which we pray to attain to at suitable seasons, and if we do attain to them, we are called the happiest of men. Now who is there who is ignorant, that a happy old age and a happy death are the greats of human goods? neither of which can nature partake of, inasmuch as nature can neither grow old nor die. And what is there extraordinary in the fact, if that which is uncreated does not condescend to use the good things of created beings, when even that which has been created desires different virtues, according to the differences of ideas into which it is divided. At all events men would not be rivals to women, nor would women be rivals to men, in these matters with which the opposite sex alone ought to have any concern. But if the women were to emulate the pursuits of men they would be looked upon as half men, and if the men were to apply themselves to the pursuits of women they would acquire an evil reputation as men-women. But are there not some virtues between which nature herself has made such distinction, that by no practice can they be brought into the common use of both sexes? At all events, to sow and to beget children is the especial property of man, according to his peculiar capacity, and no woman could manage to do this. And again, the nature of man does not make him capable of bearing children, which is the good deed of women; therefore these things, which are innate in the nature of man, cannot be predicated with propriety of God, but it is done only through some catachrestical misapplication of terms, by which we make amends for our weakness. You will take away therefore, O my mind, whatever is created or mortal, or changeable or unconsecrated, from your conceptions, regarding the uncreate God, immortal, unchangeable, and holy, the only God, blessed for ever.

31 But it is most entirely in accordance with nature "to sacrifice the males of every creature that openeth the womb, to God." [Exodus 13:12.] For as nature has given to women the womb, as the part most excellently adapted for the generation of animals, so also for the production of things she has placed a power in the soul, by means of which the mind conceives and is in travail, and brings forth many things. But of the ideas which are brought forth by the mind, some are male and some female, as in the case of animals. Now the female offspring of the soul are wickedness and passion, by which we are made effeminate in every one of our pursuits; but a healthy state of the passions and virtue is male, by which we are excited and invigorated. Now of these, whatever belongs to the fellowship of men must be attributed to God, and everything that relates to the similarity to women must be imputed to one's self, on which account the command was delivered, "Of everything which openeth the womb the males belong to the Lord."

32 But also he says, "The males belong to the Lord of everything which openeth the womb, of thy flocks and of thy cattle, and of all that belongs to thee." Having spoken of the offspring of the principal part of the soul, he begins to give us information about the produce of the irrational part, which

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the outward senses have obtained for their inheritance, which he likens to cattle, and to the young which are bred up in the herds, being tame and tractable, inasmuch as they are guided by the care of their overseer, that is to say, of the shepherd; for those which are let run loose and are indulged with freedom, are made wild from want of any one to make them gentle. But those which have guides, such as goatherds, cowherds, and shepherds, who are the managers of every species of cattle, they I say are of necessity made tame. Moreover the genus of the outward senses is formed by nature, so as to be in one instance wild and in another tractable; it is wild, when having shaken off the rein of the mind as of its herdsman, it is borne on irrationally towards the external objects of the outward senses; but it is tame when having yielded in an obedient manner to reason, which is the guide of the discernment, it is regulated and directed in its course by it. Whatever therefore it sees or hears, or, in short, whatever it feels with any one of its inward senses according to the injunction of the mind, all these things are male and perfect, for goodness is added to each; but whatever is done without any guide, in a state of anarchy, in such case the body ruins us as anarchy ruins a city. Again, we must consider that those motions of the outward senses which proceed in obedience to the mind, and which of necessity are the better, do take place according to the dispensation of God; but these which are obstinate and disobedient, we must impute to ourselves, when we are carried away irrationally by the impetuosity of the outward senses.

33 And he has commanded us to take a portion not only from the things which have just been mentioned, but also from the entire mass in combination. And the command is couched in the following words: "And it shall be, when ye eat of the fruit of the land, that he shall take a part to offer up has a heave-offering unto the Lord: ye shall offer up a cake of the first of your dough for a heave-offering as ye do the heave-offering of the threshing-floor, so shall ye offer It." [Numbers 15:19.] 0Now speaking properly, if we must avow the exact truth, it is we ourselves who are this dough; since many essences are kneaded and combined together that we may be made perfect: for the great Creator having mingled and kneaded together the cold and hot, dry and moist, opposite properties, has made out of them all one distinct combination, ourselves, from which the expression dough is applied to us. Now, of this combination in which body and soul, two most important divisions, are united, the first fruits are to be consecrated. But the first fruits are the holy motions of each in accordance with virtue; on which account they have been compared to a threshing-floor. As, therefore, on a threshing-floor there is wheat and barley, and as many more of such things as are capable of being separated by themselves, and husks and chaff, and whatever other refuse is dissipated and scattered in different directions, so too, with us, there are some things which are excellent and useful, and which afford real nourishment, by means of which a good life is brought to perfection; all which things we should attribute to God. But there are other things which are not divine, which we must leave like refuse to the race of mankind; but from these some portions must be taken away, and there are some entire virtues, free from all wickedness, which it would be impious to mutilate by dividing them, and which resemble those indivisible sacrifices, the whole burnt-offerings, of which Isaac is a manifest pattern, whom his father was commanded to offer up like a victim, sharing in no destructive passion. And in another passage it is said, "My gifts, and my offerings, and my sacrifices, ye will take care to offer to me at my festivals:" not taking away form them, nor dividing them, but bringing them forward full, and entire, and perfect; for the feast of the soul is cheerfulness in perfect virtues; and the perfect virtues are all those which the human race exhibits, free from all stain or spot. But the wise man alone can keep such a festival as this, and no other human being; for it is a most rare thing to find a soul which has never tasted of wickedness of passions.

34 Having therefore given an account of the dominant and subject divisions of the soul, and having shown what portion in each is male and female, Moses proceeds after this very consistently to explain the divisions of the body. For being well aware that without labour and care it is not possible to obtain a masculine offspring, he proceeds to say, "Every foal of an ass that openeth the womb, thou shall exchange for the young of a Sheep." [Exodus 13:13.] Which expression is equivalent to, "Exchange all labour for improvement." For an ass is the symbol of labour, being a much enduring animal, and a sheep is the emblem of improvement, as its very name shows,[probaton, derived from probainoμ, to advance forward.] being a symbol of the care which is required to be expended in arts and professions, and all other things which are matters of instruction, and that with no negligence or indifference, but it is necessary with all anxiety to have prepared one's mind to encounter vigorously every amount of labour, and to strive not to be held in bondage by ill-considered toil, but to find advance and improvement by pushing on to the most glorious end; for labour is to be endured for the sake of improvement. But if you indeed receive fatigue from labour, and still your nature does not advance at all on the road to improvement, but is rather opposed to your becoming better by progress, then abandon the pursuit and be quiet, for it is a difficult task to go against nature. On which account the scripture adds: "And if you do not exchange it, you shall ransom it for money;" which means, but if you are not able to exchange labour for improvement, then give up your labour; for the idea of ransoming carries with it the notion of emancipating the mind from vain and unproductive care.

35 But I am speaking here, not of the virtues but of the arts of intermediate character, and of other necessary studies which are conversant about the attention due to the body, and about the abundance of external goods. But since the labour which is applied to what is perfectly good and excellent, even if it fall short of attaining its object, is nevertheless of such a character that it by itself does good to those who exert it, while the things which are unconnected with virtue unless their aim is attained, are entirely unprofitable. For as in the case of animals, if you take away the head there is an end of the whole animal, but he head of actions is their end, as they in a manner live if the end is arrived at, but if you cut off their end and mutilate them they die. So too let those athletes who are not able to gain the victory but who are invariably defeated, condemn their trade; and if any merchant or captain of a ship in all his voyages meets with incessant disasters, let him turn away from the business and rest. And those men who, having devoted themselves to the intermediate arts, have nevertheless through the ruggedness of their nature been unable to acquire any learning, are to be praised for abandoning them: for such studies are not practiced for the sake of the practice, but for the sake of the object towards which the labourer is borne. If therefore nature hinders one's improvement for the better, let us not strive against her in an unprofitable way, but if she co-operates with us then let us honour the Deity with the first fruits and honours, which are the ransom of our soul, emancipating it from subjection to cruel masters, and elevating it to freedom.

36 For Moses confesses that the Levites who being taken in exchange for the firstborn, were appointed ministers of him who alone is worthy to be ministered unto, were the ransom of all the rest of the Israelites. "For I," says God, "behold, I have chosen the Levites out of the midst of the children of Israel, instead of every firstborn that openeth the womb from among the children of Israel; they shall be their ransom and the Levites shall belong to me: for every first-born is mine; from that day in which I smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, I dedicated to myself all the first-born of Israel." [Leviticus 3:12.] Reason which fled to God and became his suppliant, is what is here called the Levite; God having taken this from the most central and dominant part of the soul, that is to say, having taken it to himself and appropriated it as his own share, thought it worthy of the honour due to the first-born. So that from these it is plain that Reuben is the first-born of Jacob, but Levi the first born of Israel, the one having the honours of seniority according to time, but the other according to dignity and power. For Jacob being the symbol of labour and improvement, is also the beginning of goodness of disposition, which is signified in Reuben: but the fountain of contemplation of the only wise being, according to which the name of Israel is given, is the principle of being inclined to minister to him; and of such ministry the Levite is the symbol. As therefore Jacob is found to be the inheritor of the birth-right of Esau, eagerness in wickedness having been defeated by virtuous labour, so also Levi, as one who devotes himself to perfect virtue, will carry off the honours of seniority from Reuben, the man of a good disposition. But the most undeniable proof of perfection is for a man to be a fugitive to God, having abandoned all concern for the things of creation.

37 These then, to speak with strict propriety are the prices to be paid for the preserving and ransoming of the soul which is desirous of freedom. And may we not say that in this way a very necessary doctrine is brought forward? Namely that every wise man is a ransom for a worthless one, who would not be able to last for even a short time, if the wise man by the exertion of mercy and prudence did not take thought for his lasting; as a physician opposing himself to the infirmities of an invalid, and either rendering them slighter, or altogether removing them unless the disease comes on with irresistible violence, and surmounts all the ingenuity of medical skill. And in this way Sodom was destroyed, since there was, as it were, no good which could be put in the scale sufficient to outweigh the unspeakable multitude of its wickednesses. So that if the fiftieth number could have been found, according to which an emancipation for the slavery of the soul and complete freedom is proclaimed, or if any one of the numbers below fifty which the wise Abraham enumerated descending at last down to ten, the number peculiar to instruction, the mind would not have been destroyed in so inglorious a manner. We ought at times to endeavor as far as possible to preserve those who are not on the point of being utterly destroyed by the wickedness that is in them; imitating good physicians who, even if they see that it is impossible for those who are sick to recover, nevertheless apply their remedies with cheerfulness, lest it should appear that it was owing to their neglect that the affair did not turn out as it was desired. And if ever so slight a seed of good health is seen, this is to be cherished as a spark of fire with all imaginable care; for there is hope that if it can have its duration protracted and its strength increased the man may for the future have a better life and one more free from danger. Therefore when I see any good man dwelling in any house or city, I pronounce that house or that city happy, and I think that its enjoyment of its present good things is sure, and that its expectation of future happiness will be accomplished, inasmuch as, for the sake of those who are worthy, God will bestow his boundless and illimitable riches even on the unworthy. And I pray that they may live to as great an age as possible, since it is not possible that they should ever grow old, as I expect that good fortune will remain to men as long as these men are able to live in the practice of virtue. When, therefore, I see or hear that any one of these men is dead, I am exceedingly downcast and grieved, and I lament those who are left behind alive as much as I lament them; for to the one I see, that the necessary end has arrived in consistency with the ordinances of nature, and that they have exhibited a happy life and a glorious death. But I look upon the others as now deprived of the great and mighty hand by which they were saved, and as likely, now that they are bereft of it, soon to feel the evils which are due to them, unless, indeed, instead of the former men, who are gone, nature should be preparing to make other young men shoot up, as in the case of a tree which has already shed its ripe fruit for the nourishment and enjoyment of those who are able to make use of it. As, therefore, good men are the strongest part of cities, with a view to their duration, so also in that state of each individual of us, which consists of soul and body, the reasoning powers which are attached to prudence and knowledge, are the firmest part of its foundation; which the legislator, using metaphorical language, calls the ransom and the first-born, on account of those reasons which I have already mentioned. In this way he also says, "The cities of the Levites are ransomed for ever, because the minister of God enjoys eternal freedom, according to the continuous revolutions of the ever-moving soul," and he admits incessant healing applications; for when he calls them ransomed, not once, but for ever, as he says, he means to convey such a meaning as this, that they are always in a state of revolution, and always in a state of freedom, the state of revolution being implanted in them because of their natural mortality, but their freedom coming to them because of their ministration to God.

38 But it is worth while to consider, in no passing manner, why he granted the cities of the Levites to fugitives, thinking it right that even these, who appear entirely impious, should dwell with the most holy of men. Now these fugitives are they who have committed, unintentionally, homicide. First of all, therefore, we must repeat what is consistent with what has been already said, that the good man is the ransom of the worthless one, so that they who have sinned will naturally come to those who have been hallowed, for the sake of being purified; and, in the second place, we must consider that the Levites admit the fugitives because they themselves are potentially fugitives; for as they are driven away from their country, so these others also have left their children, their parents, their brethren, their nearest and dearest things, in order that they may receive an immortal inheritance instead of a mortal one. But they differ, because the flight of the one is involuntary, being caused by an unintentional action, but the flight of the others is voluntary, from a love of what is most excellent; and because the one have the Levites for a refuge; but the Levites have the Lord of all for their refuge, in order that those who are imperfect may have the sacred scriptures for their law; but that the others may have God for theirs, by whom they are hallowed. Moreover, those who have committed unintentional homicide, have been allotted the same cities as the Levites to dwell in, because they also were thought worthy of a privilege because of a holy slaughter. When therefore the soul being changed, came to honour the Egyptian God, the body, as fine gold, then all the sacred writings rushing forth of their own accord with defensive weapons, namely demonstrations according to knowledge, putting forward as their leader and general the chief priest, and prophet, and friend of God, Moses, proclaimed an unceasing war in the cause of piety, and would not hear of peace till they had put down all the doctrines of those who opposed them, so that they naturally came to inhabit the same dwellings, inasmuch as they had done similar actions, though not the same.

39 There is also another opinion bruited about, as something of a secret, which it is right to lay up in the ears of the elders, not divulging it to the younger men; for of all the most excellent powers which exist in God, there is one equal to the others in honour, that is the legislative one (for he himself is a lawgiver and the fountain of all laws, and all particular lawgivers are subordinate to him), and this legislative power is divided in a twofold division, the one having reference to the rewarding of those who do well, and the other to the punishment of those who have sinned;

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accordingly the Levite is the minister of the former division, for he performs all the ministrations which have a reference to perfect holiness, according to which the human race is raised up to and brought to the notice of God, either by whole burnt offerings, or else by saving sacrifices, or else by repentance for one's sins. But of the other and punishing division of the legislative power, those who have committed unintentional homicide are the ministers. 3And Moses bears witness to this saying, "He was not willing, but God gave him into his Hands," [Exodus 21:13.] so that his hands are here taken as instruments; but he who energizes by their means in an invisible manner, must be the other being, the invisible. Let therefore the two servants dwell together, being the ministers of the two species of the legislative power; the Levite being the minister of the division which has reference to the reward of them that do well, and the unintentional homicide of the division which is conversant about punishment. 3"But in the day," says God, "on which I smote the first-born in the land of Egypt , I consecrated to myself all the first-born of Israel ." [Exodus 13:15.] And he says this not to lead us to suppose that at the time when Egypt was stricken with this mighty blow by the destruction of all its first-born, the first-born of Israel all became holy, but because both in former times, and now, and hereafter, and for ever, this naturally happens in the case of the soul, that when the most dominant parts of blind passion are destroyed, then the elder and most honourable offspring of God, who sees everything with a piercing sight, becomes holy; 3for the departure of wickedness brings about the entrance of virtue, as, on the other hand, when what is good is driven away, then what was bad, having been lying in ambush, comes in to supply the void. Jacob then had scarcely at all gone out, [Genesis 27:1.] when Esau entered, not the mind which receives everything, being stamped with the impression of wickedness instead of the figures of virtue, if that is possible; but he would not have been able to effect this, for he will be supplanted and overthrown by the wise man before he knows it, the wise man being prompt to repel the impending injury before it can affect him.

40 And he brings not only the first fruits from the firstborn, but also from the fat; showing by this that whatever there is in the soul that is cheerful, or fat, or preservative and pleasant, might all be surrendered to God. And I see also in the arrangements established about sacrifices, that three things are enjoined to be offered from the victims; in the first place the fat, and the kidneys, and the lobe of the liver, about which we will speak separately; but not the brain or the heart which it seemed natural should be dedicated before the other parts, since, according to the language of the lawgiver, the dominant power is recognised as existing in one of them.

But may it not be owing to an exceeding holiness and to very accurate consideration of the matter that he did not bear these things to the faithful altar of God? because that dominant part being subject to changes in either direction, either for bad or good, in an indivisible moment of time receives impressions which are continually changing, at one time impressions of what is pure and approved, and at others of an adulterated and base coinage. 3Therefore the lawgiver judging a place which was capable of receiving both these opposite qualities, namely, what is honourable, and what is disgraceful, and which was adapted to each, and distributed equal honour to both, to be quite a much impure as holy, removed it from the altar of God. For what is disgraceful is profane, and what is profane is by all means unholy; and this is why the dominant part is kept away from sacrifices, but if it is subjected to examination, then, when all its parts have been purified, it will be consecrated as a burnt offering, free from all stain, and from all pollution. For this is the law respecting whole burnt offerings, that with the exception of the refuse of the food, and of the skin which are tokens of the weakness of the body and not of wickedness, nothing else should be left to the creature, but that all the other parts which exhibit the soul perfect in all its parts, should be presented as a whole burnt offering to God.

THAT THE WORSE IS WONT TO ATTACK THE BETTER[*]

1 (And Cain said to Abel his brother, "Let us go to the field. And it came to pass, that while they were in the field, Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew Him." [Genesis 4:8.] What Cain proposes to do is this: having by invitation led Abel on to a dispute, to convince him by main force, using plausible and probable sophisms; for the field to which he invites him to come, we may call a symbol of rivalry and contention, forming our conjectures of things that are uncertain from our perception of those which are manifest. (For we see that most contests, both in peace and in war, take place in the open fields. In peace, therefore, all those who practice gymnastic contests, seek for level race-courses and plain fields: and, in a war, it is not usual to have battles, of either infantry or cavalry, on hills; for many more disasters arise from the unfavourable character of the ground, than from anything that the enemies do to one another.

2 (And a very great proof of this is the conduct of the practicer of knowledge, Jacob, when warring against the opposite disposition, ignorance; when it is beheld in the field how he regulates the irrational faculties in the soul after a fashion, reproving and correcting them. "For Jacob having sent, called Leah and Rachel into the plain where the flocks Were;" [Genesis 31:4.] (showing here clearly, that the plain is the symbol of revolt and contention. And he calls them and says, "I see the face of your father, that it is not to me as it was yesterday and the day before yesterday, [Genesis 31:5.] but the God of my father was with me." And on this account I should be inclined to say, Laban is not favourable to you because God is on your side; for in the soul, by which the external object of the outward senses is honoured as the greatest good, perfect reason is not found to exist; but in the soul, in which God walks, the external object of the outward senses is not looked upon as the greatest good, according to which object the name of Laban is given and understood. (And all those who, through the improvement of their reason, are adorned in the similitude of the Father, in consequence of education, unlearn all subserviency to the irrational impulses of the soul, selecting the plain as a suitable place, for it is said to Joseph, "Are not thy brethren keeping sheep in Sichem? Come, I will send thee to them. And he said, Behold, here am I. And Jacob said unto him, Go and see if thy brethren and the flocks are well, and come and tell me. And he sent him from the valley of Chebron , and he came to Sichem, and a man found him wandering in the plain: and the man asked him, What seekest thou? And he said, I am seeking my brethren, tell me where they are feeding their sheep. And the man said unto him they have departed from hence, for I heard them saying, Let us go to Dotham." [Genesis 37:12.]

3 (Therefore, from what has here been said it is plain, that they make the halting-place of the irrational faculties, which are in them, in the plain. But Joseph is sent unto them because he is unable to bear the somewhat austere knowledge of his father; that he may learn, under gentler instructors, what is to be done and what will be advantageous; for he uses a doctrine woven together from divers foundations, very variegated and very artfully made, in reference to which the law-giver says, that he had "a robe of many colours made for Him;" [Genesis 37:3.] signifying by this that he is an interpreter of labyrinth-like learning, such as is hard to be explained; (for as he philosophises more with a regard to political wisdom than to truth, he brings into one place and connects together the three kinds of good things, namely, external things, the things concerning the body, and those concerning the soul, things utterly different from one another in their whole natures; wishing to show that each has need of each, and that everything has need of everything; and that that which is really the complete and perfect good, is composed of all these things together, and that the parts of which this perfect good is compounded are parts or elements of good, but are not themselves perfect goods. (In the same way, as neither fire, nor earth, nor any one of the four elements, out of which the universe was created, are the world, but the meeting and mixture of all the elements together; in the same way also happiness ought not peculiarly to be sought for either in the external things, or in the things of the body, or in the things of the soul, taken by themselves; for each of the aforementioned things has only the rank of parts and elements, but it must be looked for in the combination of them all together.

4 (He therefore is sent, to be untaught this doctrine, to men who think nothing honourable but what is good, which is the peculiar attribute of the soul as the soul; but all external goods, which are called the good things of the body, they believe to be only superfluities, and not true and real goods: "For behold," says he, "thy brethren are tending their sheep," that is to say, they are governing all the irrational part that is in them, "in Sichem;" [Genesis 37:12.] and the name Sichem, being interpreted, means a shoulder, the symbol of enduring labour. For the men who are lovers of virtue endure a great burden, the opposition to the body and the pleasure of the body, and also the opposition to external things and to the delights which arise from them. "Come, therefore, let me send thee to Them," [Genesis 37:13.] that is to say, listen to my bidding and come over, receiving in your mind a voluntary impulse to learn better things. But up to the present time you are full of self-complacency, as one who has received true instruction; for although you have not as yet plainly asserted this, you still say that you are ready to be taught again, when you say, "Behold, here am I," by which expression you appear to me to exhibit your own rashness and easiness to be persuaded more than your readiness to learn; and a proof of what I say is this, "And a little afterwards the true man will find you wandering in the Way," [Genesis 37:15.] while you would not have been led astray, if you had come to the practice of virtue with a sound intention. And yet the adhortatory speech of your father's imposes no irresistible necessity upon you, to turn of your own accord and at the instigation of your own mind to better things; for he says, "Go and see," behold, consider, and meditate in the matter with entire accuracy. For you ought first to know the affair concerning which you are going to labour, and then after that to proceed to a care how to accomplish it. But after you have examined into it, and after you have inspected it carefully, casting your eyes over the whole of the business, then examine, besides, those who have already given their attention to the matter, and who have become practicers of it, whether now that they do this they are in a sound state, and not mad, as the lovers of pleasure think who calumniate them and cover them with ridicule. And do not form a positive judgement in your own mind either as to the appearance of the matter, or as to the soundness of condition enjoyed by those who practice these things, before you have reported the matter to and laid it before the father; for the opinions of those who have only lately begun to learn are unstable and without any firm foundation; but the sentiment of those who have made some advance are solid, and from their opinions they must of necessity derive firmness and steadiness.

5 Therefore, O my mind, if you in this manner investigate the holy thoughts of God with which man is inspired by divine agency and the laws of such men as love God, you will not be compelled to admit any thing lowly, anything unworthy, of their greatness. For how could any man who is endowed with sound sense and wisdom, receive this very thing concerning which our present discussion now is? Can any one believe that there was such a great want of servants and attendants in the household of Jacob who was possessed of treasures equal to those of a king, that it was necessary for him to send his son away to a distant country to bring him word of the health of his other children and of his flocks? His grandfather, besides the multitude of captives whom he had carried off when he defeated the nine kings, had more than three hundred domestic servants, and all this household had suffered no diminution, but rather, as time advanced, all his wealth had received great increase in all its parts. Would he not then, when he had an abundance of servants of all kinds ready to his hand, have preferred sending one of them, to sending his son, whom he loved above all things, on a business which any one of the lowest of his servants could easily have brought to a successful issue?

6 But you see that he here gives a superfluously minute description of the country from which he sends him forth, in a way which all but commands us to forsake the strict letter of what is written. "For out of the valley of Chebron," now the name Chebron, when interpreted, means conjoined and associated, being a figurative way of intimating our body which is conjoined and which is associated in a sort of companionship and friendship with the soul. Moreover, the organs of the outward senses have valleys, great ducts to receive everything external which is an object of the outward senses, which collect together an infinite number of distinctive qualities, and by means of those ducts pour them in upon the mind, and wash it out, and bring it in the depths. On this account, in the law concerning leprosy, it is expressly ordered, "when in any house hollows appear of a pale or fiery red colour, that the inhabitants shall take out the stones in which such hollows appear, and put in other stones in their Places;" [Leviticus 14:36.] that is to say, when different destructive qualities which the pleasures and the appetites, and the passions akin to them, have wrought in men, weighing down and oppressing the whole soul, have made it more hollow and more lowly than its natural condition would be, it is well to remove the reasons which are the cause of this weakness, and to bring in such in their stead as are sound by a legitimate style of education and a healthy kind of discipline.

7 Seeing therefore that Joseph has wholly entered into the hollow valleys of the body and of the outward senses, he invites him to come forth out of his holes, and to bring forward the free air of perseverance, going as a pupil to those who were formerly practicers of it themselves, and who are now become teachers of it; but he who appears to himself to have made progress in this, is found to be in error; "For a man," says the holy scripture, "found him wandering in the Plain," [Genesis 37:15.] showing that it is not labour by itself, intrinsically considered, but labour with skill, that is good. For as it is of no use to study music in an unmusical manner, nor grammar without any attention to its true principles, nor, in short, any art whatever in a manner either devoid of art or proceeding on false rules of art, but each art must be cultivated on a strict obedience to its rules; so also it is of no avail to apply one's self to the study of wisdom in a crafty spirit, or to the study of temperance in a nigardly and illiberal frame of mind, nor to courage rashly, nor to piety superstitiously, nor, in fact, to any other science which is in accordance with virtue in an unscientific manner. For all these steps are confessedly erroneous. In reference to which, a law has been delivered to us "to pursue what is just in a just Manner," [Deuteronomy 16:20.] that we may cultivate justice and every other virtue by those works which are akin to it, and not by those which are contrary to it. If, therefore, you see any one desiring meat or drink at an unseasonable time, or repudiating baths or ointments at the proper season, or neglecting the proper clothing for his body, or lying on the ground and sleeping in the open air, and by such conduct as this, pretending to a character for temperance and self-denial, you, pitying his self-deception, should show him the true path of temperance, for all the practices in which he has been

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indulging are useless and profitless labours, oppressing both his soul and body with hunger and all sorts of other hardships. Nor if anyone, using washings and purifications soils his mind, but makes his bodily appearance brilliant; nor if again out of his abundant wealth he builds a temple with brilliant artments of all kinds, at a vast expense; nor if he offers up catombs and never ceases sacrificing oxen; nor if he adorns temples with costly offerings, bringing timber in abundance, and skilful ornaments, more valuable than nay of gold or silver, still let him not be classed among pious men, for he also has wandered out of the way to piety, looking upon ceremonious worship as equivalent to sanctity, and giving gifts to the incorruptible being who will never receive such offerings, and flattering him who can never listen to flattery, who loves genuine worship (and genuine worship is that of the soul which offers the only sacrifice, plain truth), and rejects all spurious ministrations, and those are spurious which are only displays of external riches and extravagance.

8 But some say that the proper name of the man who found him wandering in the plain is not mentioned, and they themselves are in some degree mistaken here, because they are unable clearly to discover the true way of this business, for if they had not been mutilated as to the eye of the soul, they would have known that of one who is truly a man, the most proper, and appropriate, and felicitous name is this very name of man, being the most appropriate appelation of a well regulated and rational mind. This man, dwelling in the soul of each individual, is found at one time to be a ruler and monarch, and at another time to be a judge and umpire of the contest which take place in life. At times also he takes the place of a witness and accuser, and without being seen he corrects us from within, not suffering us to open our mouths, but taking up, and restraining, and birdling, with the reins of conscience the selfsatisfied and restive course of the tongue. This convicting feeling it is which inquires of the soul when it sees it wandering about, What seekest thou? Is it wisdom? why then do you go after wickedness? Or is it temperance? but this path of your leads to niggardliness. Or is courage? by this path you will only arrive at rashness. Or are you in pursuit of piety? this is the road to superstition. But if it should say that it is seeking words of wisdom, and that it is longing for them, as for what is nearest akin to its own race, we must not give implicit belief to this, for the question was not, Where are they feeding their flocks? but Where are they tending them? for they who feed their flocks supply nourishment, and all the objects of the outward senses to the animal of the outward senses devoid of reason and insatiable; by means of which outward senses and their indulgence, we become unable to govern ourselves and fall into misfortune; but they who tend their flocks, having the power of rulers and governors, make those gentle which were fierce before, checking the mighty power of the appetites. If, therefore, he was in all sincerity seeking the practices of virtue, he would have sought for them among kings, and not among cup-bearers, or cooks, or confectioners, for these last prepare things which have reference to pleasure, but the former are masters of pleasure.

9 Therefore the man, who saw the deceit, answered rightly, "They are departed hence." And he shows here the mass of the body; clearly proving that all those by whom labour is practiced for the sake of the acquisition of virtue, having left the regions of earth, have determined on contemplating only what is sublime, dragging with them no stain of the body. For he says, too, that he had heard them say, "Let us go to Dotham:" and the name Dotham, being interpreted, means "a sufficient leaving;" showing that it was with no moderate resolution, but with extreme determination that they had decided on leaving and abandoning all those things which do not co-operate towards virtue, just as the customs of women had ceased any longer to affect Sarah. But the passions are female by nature, and we must study to quit them, showing our preference for the masculine characters of the good dispositions. Therefore the interpreter of divers opinions, the wandering Joseph, is found in the plain, that is to say, in a contention of words, having reference to political considerations rather than to useful truth; but there are some adversaries who, by reason of their vigorous body, their antagonists having succumbed, have gained the prize of victory without a struggle, not having even had, to descend into the arena to contend for it, but obtaining the chief honours on account of their incomparable strength. Using such a power as this with reference to the most divine thing that is in us, namely, our mind, "Isaac goes forth into the Plain;" [Genesis 24:63.] not for the purpose of contending with any body, since all those who might have been his antagonists, are terrified at the greatness and exceeding excellence of his nature in all things; but only washing to meet in private, and to converse in private with the fellow traveller and guide of his path and of his soul, namely God. And the clearest possible proof of this is, that no one who conversed with Isaac was a mere mortal. Rebecca, that is perseverance, asks her servant, seeing but one person, and having no conception but of one only, "Who is this man who is coming to meet us?" For the soul which perseveres in what is good, is able to comprehend all self-taught wisdom, which is named Isaac, but is not yet able to see God, who is the guide of wisdom. Therefore, also, the servant confirming the fact that he cannot be comprehended who is invisible, and who converses with man invisibly, says, "He is my lord," pointing to Isaac alone. For it is not natural that, if two persons were in sight, he should point to one alone; but the person whom he did not point to, he did not see, inasmuch as he was invisible to all persons of intermediate character.

10 Now I think that it has already been sufficiently shown, that the field to which Cain invites Abel to come, is a symbol of strife and contention. And we must now proceed to raise the question what the matters are concerning which, when they have arrived in the plain, they are about to institute an investigation. It is surely plain that they are opposite and rival opinions: for Abel, who refers everything to God, is the God-loving opinion; and Cain, who refers everything to himself (for his name, being interpreted, means acquisition), is the self-loving opinion. And men are selfloving when, having stripped and gone into the arena with those who honour virtue, they never cease struggling against them with every kind of weapon, till they compel them to succumb, or else utterly destroy them; for, as the proverb is, they leave no stone unturned, saying, Is not the body the house of the soul? Why, then, should we not take care of the house that it may not become ruinous? Are not the eyes and the ears, and all the company of the other outward senses, guards, as it were, and friends of the soul? Ought we not, then, to honour men's friends and allies equally with themselves? And has nature made pleasures and enjoyments, and all the delights which are spread over the whole of life for the dead, or for those who have never even had any existence at all, and not rather for those who are alive? And what ought we not to do to procure for ourselves riches, and glory, and honours, and authority, and all other things of that sort, which are the only means of living not only safely, but happily? And the life of these men is a proof of this. For they who are called lovers of virtue are nearly all of them men inglorious, easily to be despised, lowly, in need of necessary things, more dishonourable than subjects, or even than slaves, sordid, pale, cadaverous-looking, bearing want and hunger in their countenances, full of diseases, men who would be glad to die. But those who take care of themselves are men of reputation, rich, leaders, men in the enjoyment of praise and honour; moreover, they are healthy, stout, and vigorous; living delicately, nursed in luxury, strangers to labour, living in the constant company of pleasure, and using all their outward senses to bring delights to the soul, which is capable of receiving them all.

11 Arguing therefore in this prolix train of reasoning, they thought that they got the better of those who were not accustomed to deal in sophistry. But the cause of their victory was not the strength of those who got the better, but the weakness of their adversaries in these matters. For of those who practice virtue, some treasured up what is good in their soul alone, becoming practicers of praiseworthy actions, and having no knowledge whatever of sophistries of words. But they who were armed in both ways, having their minds furnished with wise counsel and with good deeds, and having also good store of reasons to bring forward according to the arts of the sophists, they had a good right to oppose the contentious behaviour of some others, having means at hand by which to repel their enemies. But the former sort had no safety whatever. For what men could fight naked against armed enemies on equal terms, when, even if they had been both equally armed, the contest would still have been unequal? Abel therefore had not learnt any of the arts of reasoning, but he knew what was good by his intellectual disposition alone; on account of which he ought to have refused to go down to the plain, and to have disregarded the invitation of his enemy. For any display of fear is better than being defeated; but such fear a man's enemies call cowardice, but his friends entitle it safe prudence, and we must believe friends in preference to enemies, inasmuch as they tell us the truth.

12 And it is on this account, as you see, that Moses rejected the sophists in Egypt, that is to say, in the body whom he calls magicians (for it is owing to the tricks and deceits of their sophistical tricks that good dispositions and good habits are infected and corrupted), saying that he was "not an eloquent Man," [Exodus 4:10.] which is equivalent to saying that he was not formed by nature for the conjectural rhetoric of plausible and specious reasons. And immediately afterwards he confirms the assertion by adding, that he is not only not eloquent, but altogether "void of Words," [it is not possible to give the exact force of the original here. The Greek word is alogos, which usually means "irrational," as derived from logos, "reason," which word has also the sense of "a word," "speech." The Bible translation in the passage alluded to, Exodus 6:12, is "who am of uncircumcised lips."] meaning this, not in the sense in which we do when we call animals void of words, but speaking of himself as one who did not choose to employ words by means of his organs of speech, but who impresses and stamps the principles of true wisdom upon his mind alone, which is the most perfect opposite to false sophistry. And he will not go to Egypt, nor will he descend into the arena to strive against the sophists who contend in it, till he has thoroughly studied and practiced the art of argumentative reasoning; God himself showing to him all the ideas which belong to such elocution, and making him perfect in them by the election of Aaron who was the brother of Moses, and whom he was accustomed to call his mouth-piece, and interpreter, and Prophet. [Exodus 7:1.] For all these attributes belong to speech, which is the brother of the intellect; for the intellect is the fountain of words, and speech is its mouth-piece, because all the conceptions which are entertained in the mind are poured forth by means of speech, like streams of water which flow out of the earth, and come into sight. And speech is an interpreter of the things which the mind has decided upon in its tribunal. Moreover, it is a prophet and a soothsayer of those things which the mind unceasingly pours forth as oracles from its inaccessible and invisible retreats.

13 In this manner, then, it is useful to oppose those who are ostentatious about doctrines. For if we have been well exercised in various species of discourses, we shall no longer stumble through inexperience and want of acquaintance with the manoeuvres of sophists. But rising up and making a firm and resolute stand against them, we shall with ease escape from their artificial entanglements. But they, when their tricks have once been found out, will appear to be exhibiting the conduct of sparrers rather than of regular combatants. For they too, in their own opinion, get great credit by their style of beating the air; but when they come to a real contest they meet with no moderate disgrace. And if any one is adorned as to his soul with all imaginable virtues, and yet has paid no attention to the art of speaking and arguing, if he only preserves silence he will obtain safety, a prize won without danger. But if he comes forth like Abel into a contest with sophists, he will be thrown down before he has obtained a firm footing. For, as in medical science, some practitioners who know how to cure almost every complaint, and disease, and infirmity, can nevertheless give no true or even probable account of any one of them; and on the other hand, others are very clever, as far as giving an account of the diseases goes, and in explaining their symptoms and causes, and the modes of cure, and are the most excellent interpreters possible of the principles of which their art is made up, but are utterly useless in the matter of attending the bodies of the sick, to the cure of which they are not able to contribute even the slightest assistance. In the same way, those who have devoted themselves to practical wisdom have often neglected to pay attention to their language; and those who have learnt their professions thoroughly as far as words go, have yet treasured up no good instruction in their soul. It is therefore nothing extraordinary, that these men being in the habit of indulging an unbridled tongue, should be full of self-sufficiency and boldness, displaying all the folly which they have from the first beginning cherished. But it is better to trust to those who, like skilful physicians, have a knowledge of the means of healing the diseases and evil affections of the soul, until God provides an excellent interpreter, and displays to and pours upon him the fountains of his eloquence.

14 It would therefore have been consistent for Abel to practice prudence, a very saving virtue, and to have remained at home, disregarding the invitation to the arena of discussion and contest, which was given to him, imitating Rebecca, that is perseverance, who, when Esau, the companion of wickedness, was pouring forth threats, advised the practicer of wisdom, Jacob, to retreat before him who was about to plot against him, until he should have relaxed in his fierce hostility to him, for Esau had been holding out an intolerable threat over Jacob, saying, "The days of mourning for my Father are at hand, that then I may slay my brother Jacob;" [Genesis 27:41.] for he is wishing only that that species in the nature of things which is void of passions, namely, Isaac (to whom the oracle had been given, that he should not descend into Egypt),[Genesis 26:2.] may be the victim of an irrational affection, in order I suppose that he may be wounded by the stings of pleasure or pain, or of any other passion, showing that the man who is not wholly perfect and who makes labourious improvements, will receive not merely a wound, but utter destruction. However, the good God will neither allow that invulnerable species among created things to be subdued by passion, nor will he surrender the practice of virtue to bloody and raging destruction. On which account we read in a subsequent passage, "Cain rose up against Abel, his brother, and slew Him." [Genesis 4:8.] For according to the first imagination, he suggests the idea that Abel has been killed. But if you look at it according to the most accurate investigation, you will see that the intimates that Cain himself was slain by himself, so that we ought to read it thus: "Cain rose up and killed himself," and not the other. And very reasonably may we attribute this to him. For the soul, which destroys out of itself the virtueloving and God-loving principle, has died as to the life of virtue, so that Abel (which appears a most paradoxical assertion) both is dead and alive. He is dead, indeed, having been slain by the foolish mind, but he lives according to the happy life which is in God. And the holy oracle which has been given will bear witness, which expressly says, that he cried out loudly, and betrayed clearly

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by his Cries [Genesis 4:10.] what he had suffered from the concrete evil, that is from the body. For how could one who no longer existed have conversed?

15 The wise man, therefore, who appears to have departed from this mortal life, lives according to the immortal life; but the wicked man who lives in wickedness has died according to the happy life. For in the various animals of different kinds, and in general in all bodies, it is both possible and easy to conceive, that the agents are of one kind, and the patients of another. For when a father beats his son, correcting him, or when a teacher beats his pupil, he who beats is one, and he who is beaten is another. But in the case of these beings, which are united and made one, only in the part as to which both acting and suffering are found to exist; these two things are there, neither at different times, nor do they affect different people, but they affect the same person in the same manner at the same time. At all events, when an athlete rubs himself for the sake of taking exercise, he is by all means rubbed also; and, if any one strikes himself, he himself is struck and wounded; and so also he who mutilates or kills himself as the agent, is mutilated or killed as the patient. Why, then, do I say this? Because it appears inevitable that the soul, inasmuch as it consists not of particles which are separated but of those which are united, should suffer what it appears to do, as in real truth it did in this instance; for, when it appeared to be destroying the God-loving doctrine, it destroyed itself. And Lamech is a witness to this, the descendant of the impiety of Cain, who says to his wives, who are the representatives of two inconsiderate opinions, "I have slain a man to my hurt, and a young man to be a scar to Me." [Genesis 4:23.] For it is evident that if any one slays the principle of courage, he wounds himself with the opposite disease of cowardice; and if any one in the practice of honourable studies slays his vigorous strength, he is inflicting on himself wounds and great injuries with no moderate degree of disgrace. Therefore, indeed, perseverance says that if practice and improvement be destroyed she will lose not only one child but also her others also, and be an instance of complete childlessness.

16 But as he who injures a good man is proved to be doing injury to himself, so also does he who thinks his betters worthy of privileges, in word indeed claim advantage for them, but in fact he is procuring it for himself. And nature here bears testimony in support of my argument, and so do all the laws which have been established in consistency with her; for there is a positive and express and intelligible command laid down in these words: "Honour thy father and thy mother, that it may be well with Thee;" [Genesis 27:45.] not well with those who receive the honour, says the Scripture, but with thee; for if we look upon the intellect as the father of this concrete animal, and if we honour the outward senses as its mother, we ourselves shall be well treated by them. But the proper honour to be paid to the mind is first to be honoured on account of what us useful, and not on account of what is pleasant; but all things proceeding from virtue are useful. And the honour proper to be paid to the outward sense is when we do not allow ourselves to be carried away by its impetuosity towards the external objects of the outward senses, but compel it to be curved by the mind, which knows how to govern and guide the irrational powers in us. If, therefore, each of these things, the outward sense and the mind, receive the honour which I have been describing, then it follows of necessity that I, who use them both, must derive advantage from them. But if, carrying your language away a long distance from the mind and from the outward sense, you think your father, that is to say, the world which produced you, and your mother, wisdom, by means of which the universe was completed, worthy of honour, you yourself shall be well treated; for neither does God, who is full of everything, nor sublime and perfect knowledge, want anything. So that he who is inclined to pay proper attention to them, benefits not those who receive his attentions and who are in no need of anything, but himself most exceedingly. For skill in horsemanship and in judging of dogs, being in reality a ministering to horses and dogs, supplies those animals with the useful things of which each species is in need; and if it were not so to supply them it would seem to neglect them. But it is not proper to call piety, which consists in ministering to God, a virtue which is conversant about supplying the things which will be of use to the Deity; for the Deity is not benefited by any one, inasmuch as he is not in need of anything, nor is it in the power of any one to benefit a being who is in every particular superior to himself. But, on the contrary, God himself is continually and unceasingly benefiting all things. So, when we say that piety is a ministering to God, we say that it is in some such a service as slaves discharge to their masters, who are taught to do without hesitation that which is commanded them; but, again, there will be a difference, because the masters are in need of service, but God has no such want. So that, in the case of the masters, the servants do supply that which will be of use to them, but to God they supply nothing beyond a mind imbued with a spirit of willing obedience; for they will not find anything which they can improve, since all things belonging to masters are, from the very beginning, most excellent; but they will benefit themselves very greatly by determining to become friends to God.

17 I think, therefore, that enough has been now said with respect to those who appear to think that they do others good or harm. For it has been shown, that that which they think that they are doing to others, they in either case do to themselves. We will now examine the remainder of this event; the question is as follows:--"Where is Abel, thy Brother?" [Genesis 4:9.] To which answer is made, "I do not know; am I my brother's keeper?" It is therefore worth while to consider the question whether it can be appropriately said of God that he asks a question. For he who asks a question or puts an inquiry is asking or inquiring about something of which he is ignorant; seeking an answer through which he will know what he as yet does not know. But everything is known to God, not only all that is present, and all that is past, but also all that is to come. What need, then, has he of an answer which cannot give any additional knowledge to the questioner? But we must say that such things cannot properly be uttered by the Cause of all things, but that, as it is possible to say what is not true without lying, so it is possible for one to put question or an interrogatory without either making inquiry or seeking for information. "Why, then," some one will say, "are such words spoken?" In order that the soul which is about to give the answer may prove by itself what it answers correctly or incorrectly, having no one else either as an accuser or an adversary. Since, when he asks the wise man, Where is Virtue? [Genesis 18:9.] that is to say, when he asks Abraham about Sarah, he asks, not because he is ignorant, but because he thinks that he ought to answer for the sake of eliciting praise from the answer of him who speaks. Accordingly, Moses tells us that Abraham answered, "Behold, she is in the tent;" that is to say, in the soul. What then is there in this answer that contains praise? Behold, says he, I keep virtue in my house as a treasure carefully stored up, and on account of this I am immediately happy. For it is the use and enjoyment of virtue that is happiness, and not the bare possession of it. But I should not be able to use it unless you, by letting down the seeds from heaven, had yourself made virtue pregnant; and unless she had brought forth the germs of happiness, namely, Isaac. And I consider that happiness is the employment of perfect virtue in a perfect life. In reference to which he, approving of his own determination, promises that he will complete perfectly all that he asked.

18 To him therefore the answer brought praise, as he confessed that virtue without the divine favour was not sufficient of itself to help any one; and, in consequence, it also brings blame to Cain, who says that he does not know where he is who has been treacherously slain by him. For he appears by this answer to be wishing to receive his hearer, as one who does not see everything, and who has no previous suspicion of the deceit which he is about to use. But every one is wicked and worthy of proscription who thinks that the eye of God can ever fail to see anything. But Cain here speaks arrogantly, "Am I my brother's keeper?" For we might altogether say he was sure hereafter to lead a miserable life, if nature made you the guardian and keeper of so good a man. Do you not see that the lawgiver entrusts the keeping and preservation of the holy things not to any chance person, but to the Levites, who were the most holy persons in their opinions? for whom the earth and the air and the water were considered an unworthy inheritance, but the heaven and the whole world were looked upon as their due. And the Creator alone is worthy of these things, to whom they have fled for refuge, becoming his sincere suppliants and servants, showing their love for their master in their continued service, and in the unhesitating observance of all the commands which are laid upon them, and in the preservation of the things entrusted to them.

19 And it has not fallen to the lot of all the suppliants to become guardians of the holy things, but to those only who have arrived at the number fifty, which proclaims remission of offences and perfect liberty and a return to their ancient possessions. "For this," says the Scripture, "is the law concerning the Levites: from twenty-five years old and upwards, they shall go in to wait upon the service of the tabernacle of the congregation: and from the age of fifty years they shall cease waiting upon the service thereof, and shall serve no more; but shall minister with their brethren in the tabernacle of the congregation, and they shall keep what is to be kept, and shall do no Service." [Numbers 8:24.] Therefore, the Scripture charges him who has half perfection (for the number fifty is perfect, and the number twenty-five is the half of fifty), to work and to do what is holy, approving his ministration by his works. And the beginning, as an old writer has said, is half of the whole. But the perfect man it does not enjoin to labour any longer, but only to preserve what he has acquired by labour and diligence. For may I never become a practicer of what I ought not to be a preserve; subsequently practice therefore is mediocrity not perfection, for it takes place not in perfect souls, but in such as are seeking after perfection. But it is the perfect duty of guardianship to deliver to memory the well-practised contemplations of holy things, the excellent deposit of knowledge to a faithful guardian, who is the only one who disregards the ingenious and manifold nets of forgetfulness; so that the Scripture, with great propriety and felicity, calls him who is mindful of what he has learnt, the guardian of it. And such an one before he practiced was a pupil, having another to teach him; but when he became competent himself to guard what he had learnt, he then received the power and rank of a teacher, having appointed his brother, his own uttered discourse, to the ministration of teaching. For it is said that, "His brother shall Minister;" [in quoting this passage above, I used the translation as given in the Bible, they "shall minister with their brethren in the tabernacle;" but the Greek of the text was the same in that passage as it is here.] so that the mind of the good man is the guardian and steward of the doctrines of virtue. But his brother, that is to say, uttered discourse, shall minister instead of him, going through all the doctrines and speculations of wisdom to those who are desirous of instruction. On which account Moses, also, in his praises of Levi, having previously said many admirable things, adds subsequently, "He has guarded thy oracles and kept thy Covenant." [Deuteronomy 33:9.] And presently he continues, "They shall show thy justification to Jacob, and thy law to Israel . Therefore, he here clearly asserts that the good man is the guardian of the words and of the covenant of God. And, indeed, in another place he has shown that he is the best interpreter and declarer of his justifications and laws; the faculty of interpretation being displayed through its kindred organ--the voice, and guardianship being exerted through the mind, which having been made by nature as a great storehouse, easily contains the conceptions of all things, whether bodies or things. It would therefore have been worth the while of this self-loving Cain to have been the keeper of Abel; for if he had kept him he would have attained to a compounded and moderate kind of life, and would not have been filled with unmodified and absolute wickedness.

20 And God said, "What has thou done? The voice of the blood of thy brother cries out to me from out of the Ground." [Numbers 23:8.] The expression, "What hast thou done," shows indignation at an unhallowed action, and also ridicules the man who thought he had committed the murder secretly. The indignation now arises at the intention of the man who has done the deed, because he designed to destroy what was good; but the ridicule is excited by his thinking that he has plotted against one who is better than himself, and at his having plotted not so much against him as against himself. For, as I have said before, he who appears to be dead is alive, inasmuch as he is found to be a suppliant of God and to utter a voice; and he who believes that he is still alive is dead, as to the death of the soul, inasmuch as he is excluded from virtue, according to which alone he is worthy to live. So that the expression, "What hast thou done?" is equivalent to, "Thou hast done nothing; thou hast done no good for thyself." For neither was the sophist, Balaam, who was an empty multitude of contrary and contending doctrines, when he was desirous to imprecate curses upon and to injure the good man, able to do so; since God turned his curses into a blessing, in order to correct the unjust man of wickedness and to display his own love of virtue.

21 But it is the nature of sophists to have for enemies the faculties which are in them, while their language is at variance with their thoughts and their thoughts with their language, and while neither is in the least degree consistent with the other. At all events, they wear out our ears, arguing that justice is a great bond of society, that temperance is a profitable thing, that continence is a virtuous thing, that piety is a most useful thing, and, of each other virtue, that it is a most wholesome and saving quality. And, on the other hand, that injustice is a quality with which we ought to have no truce, that intemperance is a diseased habit, that impiety is scandalous, and so going through every kind of wickedness, that each sort is most pernicious. And, nevertheless, they never cease showing by their conduct that their real opinion is the reverse of their language. But, when they extol prudence and temperance and justice and piety, they then show that they are, above all measure, foolish, and intemperate, and unjust, and impious; in short, that they are throwing into confusion and overturning all divine and human regulations and principles. And to them, therefore, one may very properly say what the divine oracle said to Cain, "What is this that thou hast done?" What good have ye done yourselves? What have all these discourses about virtue profited your souls? In what particular of life, whether small or great, have ye done well? What? Have you not, on the contrary, contributed to advancing true charges against yourselves? because, by expressing your approval of what is good, and philosophising as far as words go, you have been excellent interpreters, but are nevertheless discovered to be men who both think and practice shameful things. In fact, all good things are dead in your souls, these evils having been there kindled; and, on this account there is no one of you who is really alive. For as, when some musician or grammarian is dead, the music and grammar which existed in them dies with them, but their ideas survive, and in a manner live as long as the world itself endures; according to which the existing race of men, and those who are to exist hereafter in continual succession, will,

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to the end of time, become skilful in music and grammar. Thus, also, if the prudence, or the temperance, or the courage, or the justice, or, in short, if the wisdom of any kind existing in any individual be destroyed, nevertheless the prudence existing in the nature of the immortal universe will still be immortal; and every virtue is erected like a pillar in imperishable solidity, in accordance with which there are some good people now, and there will be some hereafter. Unless, indeed, we should say that the death of any individual man is the destruction of humanity and of the human race, which, whether we ought to call it a genus, or a species, or a conception, or whatever else you please, those who are anxious about the investigation of proper names may determine. One seal has often stamped thousands upon thousands of impressions in infinite number, and though at times all those impressions have been effaced with the substances on which they were stamped, still the seal itself has remained in its pristine condition without being at all injured in its nature. Again, do we not think that the virtues, even if all the characters which they have impressed upon the souls of those who have sought them should become effaced by wicked living, or by any other cause, would nevertheless preserve their own unadulterated and imperishable nature? Therefore, they who have not been duly initiated in instruction, not knowing anything about the differences between wholes and parts, or between genera and species, or about the homonymies which are incidental to these things, mix up all things together in a confused mass. On which account every one who is a lover of self, by surname Cain, should learn that he has destroyed the namesake of Abel, that is to say species, individuality, the image made according to the model; not the archetypal pattern, nor the genus, nor the idea, which he thinks are destroyed together with animals, though, in fact, they are indestructible. Let any one then say to him, reproving and ridiculing him, What is this that thou hast done, O wretched man? Does not the God-loving opinion which you flatter yourself that you have destroyed, live in the presence of God? But it is of yourself that you have become the murderer, by destroying from out of its seat the only quality by which you could live in a blameless manner.

22 And what was said afterwards is uttered very beautifully, with reference either to the beauty of the interpretation of which it is susceptible, or to the conception which may be discovered in it. "The voice of the blood of thy brother calls to me from out of the earth." This now, which is a very sublime expression if we regard the language in which it is couched, is intelligible to all those who are not utterly uninitiated in eloquence. But let us consider the ideas which are apparent in it as well as we are able. And first of all, let us consider what is said about the blood; for in many places of the law as given by Moses, he pronounces the blood to be the essence of the soul or of life, saying distinctly, "For the life of all flesh is the blood Thereof." [Leviticus 17:11.] And when the Creator of all living things first began to make man, after the creation of the heaven and the earth, and all the things which are between the two, Moses says, "And he breathed into his face the breath of life, and man became a living soul," showing again by this expression that it is the breath which is the essence of the life. And, indeed, he is accustomed diligently to record all the suggestions and purposes of God from the beginning, thinking it right to adopt his subsequent statements to aid to make them consistent with his first accounts. Therefore, after he had previously stated the breath to be the essence of the life, he would not subsequently have spoken of the blood as occupying the most important place in the body, unless he had been making a reference to some very necessary and comprehensive principle. What then are we to say? The truth is, that every one of us according to the nearest estimation of numbers, is two persons, the animal and the man. And each of these two has a cognate power in the faculties, the seat of which is the soul assigned to it. To the one portion is assigned the vivifying faculty according to which we live; and to the other, the reasoning faculty in accordance with which we are capable of reasoning. Therefore, even the irrational animals partake of the vivifying power; but of the rational faculty, God--I will not say partakes, but--is the ruler, and that is the fountain of the most ancient Word.

23 Therefore, the faculty which is common to us with the irrational animals, has blood for its essence. And it, having flowed form the rational fountain, is spirit, not air in motion, but rather a certain representation and character of the divine faculty which Moses calls by its proper name an image, showing by his language that God is the archetypal pattern of rational nature, and that man is the imitation of him, and the image formed after his model; not meaning by man that animal of a double nature, but the most excellent species of the soul which is called mind and reason. On this account, Moses represents God as calling the blood the life of the flesh, though he is aware that the nature of the flesh has no participation in intellect, but that it does partake of life, as also does our whole body. And the soul of man he names the spirit, meaning by the term man, not the compound being, as I said before, but that Godlike creation by which we reason, the roots of which he stretched to heaven, and fastened it to the outermost rim of the circle of those bodies which we call the fixed stars. For God made man, the only heavenly plant of those which he placed upon the earth, fastening the heads of the others in the mainland, for all of them bend their heads Downwards;" [this idea is the same as that which Ovid has expressed in the beginning of the Metamorphoses, which may perhaps be translated--"And while all other creatures from their birth / With downcast eyes gaze on their kindred earth, / He bids man walk erect, and scan the heaven / From which he springs, to which his hopes are given."] but the face of man he has exalted and directed upwards, that it might have its food of a heavenly and incorruptible nature, and not earthly and perishable. With a view to which, he also rooted in the earth the foundations of our body, removing the most insensible part of it as far as possible from reason; and the outward senses, which are as it were the body-guards of the mind, and the mind itself, he established at a great distance from the earth, and from all things connected with it, and bound it with the periodical revolutions of the air and of the heavens, which are imperishable.

24 Let us then no longer doubt, we who are the disciples of Moses, how man conceived an idea of God who is destitute of all figure, for he was taught the reason of this by the divine oracle, and afterwards he explained it to us. And he spoke as follows:--"He said that the Creator made no soul in any body capable of seeing its Creator by its own intrinsic powers. But having considered that the knowledge of the Creator and the proper understanding of the work of Creation, would be of great advantage to the creature (for such knowledge is the boundary of happiness and blessedness), he breathed into him from above something of his own divine nature. And his divine nature stamped her own impression in an invisible manner on the invisible soul, in order that even the earth might not be destitute of the image of God. But the archetypal pattern was so devoid of all figure, that its very image was not visible, being indeed fabricated in accordance with the model, and accordingly it received not mortal but immortal conceptions. For how could a mortal nature at the same time remain where it was and also emigrate? or how could it see what was here and what was on the other side? or how could it sail round the white sea, and at the same time traverse the whole earth to its furthest boundaries, and inspect the customs and laws of the nations on all the affairs and bodies which are in existence? On separating them from the things of the earth, how could it arrive at a contemplation of the sublimer things of the air and its revolutions, and the peculiar character of its seasons, and all the things which at the periodical changes of the year are made anew, and, according to their usual habit, brought to perfection? Or again, how could it fly through the air from earth to heaven, and investigate the natures which exist in heaven, and see of what nature they are, how they are moved, what are the limits of their movements, of their from their birth / With downcast eyes gaze on their kindred earth, / He bids man walk erect, and scan the heaven / From which he springs, to which his hopes are given." beginning and of their end; how they are adapted to one another and to the universe according to the just principles of kindred? Is it easy to have an accurate comprehension of the different arts and of the different branches of knowledge which bring external things into shape, and which are concerned with the affairs of the body and of the soul, with a view to the improvement of the two, and to understand ten thousand other things, of which it is not easy to describe ether the number or the nature in language? For of all the faculties which exist in us, the mind alone, as being the most rapid in its motions of all, appears to be able to outrun and to pass by the time in which it originates, according to the invisible powers of the universe and of its parts existing without any reference to time, and touching the universe and its parts, and the causes of them. And now, having gone not only to the very boundaries of earth and sea, but also to those of air and heaven, it has not stopped even there, thinking that the world itself is but a brief limit for its continued and unremitting course. And it is eager to advance further; and, if it can possibly do so, to comprehend the incomprehensible nature of God, even if only as to its existence. How, then, is it natural that the human intellect, being as scanty as it is, and enclosed in no very ample space, in some membrane, or in the heart (truly very narrow bounds), should be able to embrace the vastness of the heaven and of the world, great as it is, if there were not in it some portion of a divine and happy soul, which cannot be separated form it? For nothing which belongs to the divinity can be cut off from it so as to be separated from it, but it is only extended. On which account the being which has had imparted to it a share of the perfection which is in the universe, when it arrives at a proper comprehension of the world, is extended in width simultaneously with the boundaries of the universe, and is incapable of being broken or divided; for its power is ductile and capable of extension.

25 Let this then be enough to say concisely about the essence of the soul. And now proceeding in regular order, we will explain the expression, that "the voice of his blood cries out," in this manner, --of our soul, one part is dumb, and one part is endowed with utterance. All that part which is devoid of reason is likewise destitute of voice, but all that part which is rational is capable of speech, and that part alone has formed any conception of God; for, by the other parts of us, we are not able to comprehend God, or any other object of the intellect. Of our vivifying power, therefore, of which the blood is, as it were, the essence, one portion has particular honour, namely, that of speech and reason; I do not mean the stream which flows through the mouth and tongue, but I speak of the fountain itself, from which the channels of utterance are, in the course of nature, filled. And this fountain is the mind; by means of which, all our conversations with and cries to the living God take place, at one time being voluntary, and at another involuntary. But he, as a good and merciful God, does not reject his suppliants, and most especially he does not, when they, groaning at the Egyptian deeds and passions, cry to him in sincerity and truth. For at such a time Moses says that, "their words go up to God," [Exodus 2:21.] and that he listens to them, and delivers them from the evils that surround them. But that all these things should happen when the king of Egypt dies, should be a most strange thing; for it would be natural that when the tyrant died, all those who have been tyrannised over by him should rejoice and exult; but at that time they are said to groan. "For after many days the king of Egypt died, and the children of Israel Groaned." [Exodus 2:25.] Now here, if we look merely at the words, the expression does not appear to be reasonable; but if we have regard to the faculties in the soul, then its consistency is discovered. For as long as he who scatters abroad and dissipates the opinions about good things, namely, Pharaoh, is vigorous in us, and appears in a sound and healthy state, if indeed we can say that any wicked man is in such a condition, we receive pleasure, driving temperance away from our borders. But when he loses his strength, and in a manner dies, he who has been the cause of men's living in a filthy and lascivious manner, then we, fixing our eyes on modesty of life, bewail and groan over ourselves on account of our former way of living; because the, honouring pleasure before virtue, we joined a mortal life to an immortal one; and the law taking pity on our continued lamentation, gently receives our suppliant souls, and easily drives away the Egyptian calamities which are brought upon them by the passions.

26 But on him who is incapable of receiving repentance on account of the enormity of the pollution which he has incurred by the murder of his brother, namely, on Cain, he lays well-deserved and fitting curses; for in the first place he says to him, "And now, cursed art thou upon the Earth:" [Genesis 4:11.] showing first of all that he is polluted and accursed, not now for the first time when he has committed the murder, but that he was so before, the moment that he conceived the idea of it, the intention being of equal importance with the perfected action; for as long as we only conceive wicked things in the bad imagination of our minds, still, during that time, we are guilty of thoughts only, for the mind is capable of being changed even against its will; but when performance is added to the intention that has been conceived, then our deliberate purpose becomes also guilty; for this is the chief distinction between voluntary and involuntary sin. But the scripture here pronounces that the mind shall be accursed, not from anything else, but from the earth; for of all the most grievous calamities which can happen to it, the earthly portion which exists in each of us is found to be the cause. At all events, when the body is afflicted with disease, it adds the miseries which are derived from itself, and so fills the mind with grief and despondency; or, on the other hand, if it has grown fat immoderately through enjoyment of pleasures, it makes all the faculties of the mind duller for the comprehension of nobler objects. For, indeed, each of the outward senses is capable of receiving injury; for either a man beholding beauty is wounded by the darts of love, which is a terrible passion; or else, perhaps, if he hears of the death of any one related to him by birth, he is bowed down by sorrow: very often, too, taste gets the mastery of a man, when it is either tortured by disagreeable flavours, or weighed down by the multitude of delicacies. And why need I speak of the impetuous passions, which tend to the connexion of the two sexes? These have destroyed whole cities, and countries, and mighty nations of the earth; to which fact nearly the whole multitude, both of poets and of historians, bears abundant testimony.

27 And as to the manner in which the mind becomes accursed upon the earth, he adds further information immediately afterwards, saying: "The earth which opened her mouth to receive the blood of thy brother." For it is very difficult for the mouths of the outward senses to be opened and widened, as even when they are not open the flood of the objects appreciable only by them rushes in like an overflowing river, nothing being capable of resisting their evident impetuosity; for then the mind is found to be overwhelmed, being wholly absorbed by so vast a wave, and being utterly unable to swim against it, or even to raise its head above it; but it is necessary to employ all these things not so much for whatever objects can possibly be effected, but for those that are best; for the sight can perceive all colours and all shapes;

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but still it ought to behold only things worthy of light, and not of darkness. Again, the ear can receive all kinds of sounds; but some it ought to disregard; for myriads of the things that are said are disgraceful. Nor, O foolish and arrogant man, because nature has given you the faculty of taste, ought you to fill yourself insatiably with everything, like a cormorant; for there are many things not merely among such as are nutritious, but of those which are exceedingly so, which have, nevertheless, produced diseases accompanied with great suffering. Nor does it follow that, because for the sake of the perpetuation of your race you have been endowed with the powers of generation, you ought to pursue pollutions and adulteries and other impure connexions; but only such as, in a legitimate manner, engender and propagate the race of mankind. Nor, because you have been made endowed with a mouth and a tongue and the organs of speech, ought you to say everything and to reveal what ought not to be spoken, for there are times when to hold one's peace is useful. And, in my opinion, those who have learnt to speak have also learnt to be silent, the same capacity teaching a man both lines of conduct. But those men who relate what they ought not, do not display the faculty of eloquence, but the weakness of their faculty of silence. On which account we labour to bind each of the mouthpieces of the senses beforementioned with the imperishable bonds of temperance. "For whatever is not bound with a bond," says Moses, in another passage, "is Impure," [Numbers 19:15.] as if the cause of its unhappiness was the fact of the parts of the soul being relaxed and open and dissolved; but that the fact of their being compacted and tightly bound together contributed to goodness and soundness of life and reason.

He, therefore, curses the godless and impious Cain with deserved curses; because, having opened the caverns of this concrete creature, he opened his mouth for all external things, praying to receive them in an insatiable manner and to contain them, to the utter destruction of the Godloving doctrine, Abel.

28 "On this account shall he cultivate the Earth;" [Genesis 4:12.] he does not say, "He shall become a farmer." For every farmer is an artist, because farming is an art. But any of the common people are cultivators of the earth, giving their service to provide themselves with necessaries, without any skill. These men, then, as they have no superintendent in all that they do, do much harm; and whatever they do well they do by chance, and not in accordance with reason. But the works of farmers, which are performed according to knowledge, are all of them, of necessity, useful. On this account it is that the law-giver has attributed to the just Noah the employment of a farmer;[Genesis 9:20.] showing by this that, like a good farmer, the virtuous man eradicates in the wild wood all the mischievous young saplings which have been planted by the passions or by the vices, but leaves untouched all those which bear fruit, and which may act instead of a wall and prove a firm defense for the soul. And, again, among the trees capable of cultivation he manages them in different ways, and not all in the same way: pruning some and adding props to others, training some so as to increase their size, and cutting down others so as to keep them dwarf. Again, when he sees a vine flourishing and luxuriant he bends down its young shoots to the ground, digging trenches to receive them, and again heaping up the ground on the top of them; and they at no distant period, instead of parts, become whole trees, and instead of daughters they become mothers, having moreover put off the old age which is the usual companion of maternity. For, having desisted from distributing and apportioning its nourishment amongst numerous offspring, inasmuch as they are able to support themselves, that which was previously weak from being drained by this cause becomes so fully satiated as to grow fat and young again. And I have seen another man who cut away the less desirable shoots of trees which admitted of cultivation, as soon as they appeared above the ground, and left only a small piece adhering to the root itself. And then taking a branch in good condition from another tree of a good sort, he scraped away the one shoot down till he came to the pith, and the shoot which was attached to the root he cut at no great depth, but opening it just sufficiently to make the union perfect, and then putting into the cleft the shoot which he had pared away he fitted it in; and from these two shoots one single tree of one united nature sprang up, each portion giving to the other that which was useful to it; for the roots support the shoot which has been fitted into them, and prevent it from drying up and withering, and the shoot which has been inserted as a reward for its nourishment supplies the root with good fruit in requital. There are also an innumerable host of other operations in farming which proceed on rules of art, which it would be superfluous to enumerate on the present occasion, for we have only dwelt on this point at such length for the purpose of showing the difference between the man who is only a cultivator of the earth, and one who is a farmer.

29 Accordingly the bad man never ceases from employing, without any of the principles of art, his earth-like body, and the outward senses which are akin to it, and all the external objects of these outward senses, and he injures his miserable soul, and he also injures what he fancies he is benefiting exceedingly, his own body. But the good man, for he has skill in the art of a farmer, manages the whole of his materials in accordance with the principles of art and reason; for when the outward senses behave insolently, being borne forward with irresistible impetuosity towards the external objects of the outward senses, they are easily restrained by some contrivance among those which art has devised; but when an impetuous passion in the soul becomes violent, bringing forth voluptuous itchings and ticklings arising from pleasure or from appetite, or on the other hand, stings and agitation, caused by fear or grief, it is softened by the previously prepared saving medicine; and if any evil devouring as it goes, proceeds further, like a sister of the cancrous disease, which creeps over the body, it is cut out by reason which proceeds in its operations in accordance with knowledge. In this manner then the trees of the wild wood are brought into a state of tameness, but all the plants of the cultivated and fruit-bearing virtues have for their shoots studies, and for their fruits virtuous actions, of each of which the farming skill of the soul promotes the growth, and as far as depends upon it, it makes them immortal by its industry.

30 Very clearly therefore is the good man thus shown to be a farmer, and the bad man to be only a cultivator of the land; and I wish that while he is thus cultivating the land, the earthly nature which environs him, had imparted some vigor to him, and had not, as it has, taken away something of the power which he had before, for we read in the scripture, "It shall not add its strength to thee to give it to thee," and such would be the character of a man who was always eating or drinking and never satisfied, or who was incessantly indulging in the pleasures of the belly, and devoting his energies to the gratifying of his carnal appetites, for deficiency produces weakness, but fulness produces strength; but when, amid abundance of things an insatiability is united with excessive intemperance, that is hunger; and they are truly wretched whose bodies are filled, while their passions are empty and still thirsting; but of the lovers of knowledge the prophet speaks in a great song, and says, "That she has made them to ascend upon the strength of the earth, and has fed them upon the produce of the Fields," [Deuteronomy 32:13.] showing plainly that the godless man fails in attaining his object, in order that he may grieve the more while strength is not added to these operations in which he expends his energies, but while on the other hand it is take from them; but they who follow after virtue, placing it above all these things which are earthly and mortal, disregard their strength in their exceeding abundance, using God as the guide to conduct them in their ascent, who proffers to them the produce of the earth for their enjoyment and most profitable use, likening the virtues to fields, and the fruits of the virtues to the produce of the fields, according to the principles of their generation; for from prudence is derived prudent action, and from temperance temperate action, and from piety pious conduct, and from each of the other virtues is derived the energy in accordance with it.

31 Now these energies are especially the food of the soul, which is competent to give suck, as the lawgiver says, "Honey out of the rock, and oil out of the solid Rock," [Deuteronomy 23:13.] meaning by the solid rock which cannot be cut through, the wisdom of God, which is the nurse and foster-mother and educator of those who desire incorruptible food; for it, as the mother of those things which exist in the world, immediately supplies food to those beings which are brought forth by her; but they are not all thought worthy of divine food, but only such are honoured with that as do not show any degeneracy from their parent; for there are many which a scarcity of virtue, which is more terrible than a scarcity of meat and drink, has destroyed; but the fountain of divine wisdom is borne along, at one time in a more gentle and moderate stream, and at another with greater rapidity and a more exceeding violence and impetuosity. When, therefore, it descends gently it sweetens after the manner of honey, but when it comes on swiftly the whole material enters like oil into the light of the soul. This rock, Moses, in another place, using a synonymous expression, calls manna the most ancient word of God, by which appellation is understood, something of the most general possible nature, from which two cakes are made, one of honey and the other of oil, that is to say, two different systems of life, exceedingly difficult to distinguish from one another, both worthy of attention, at the very beginning instilling the sweetness of these contemplations which exist in the sciences, and again emitting the most brilliant light to those who take hold of the things which are the objects of their desire, not fastidiously, but firmly, and scarcely by means of unremitting and incessant perseverance. These then, as I have said before, are they who ascend up upon the strength of the earth.

32 But to the impious Cain, neither does the earth contribute anything to give him vigor, even though he never concerns himself about anything which is exterior to it; on which account, in the next sentence, he is found "groaning and trembling upon the Earth," [Genesis 4:12.] that is to say, under the influence of grief and terror; and such also is the miserable life of a wicked man, who has received for his inheritance the most painful of the four passions, pain and terror; the one being equivalent to groaning, and the other to trembling; for it is inevitable, that some evil should either be present to or impending over such a man. Now the expectation of impending evil causes fear, but the suffering of present evil causes pain. 2On the other hand, he who pursues virtue is found to be in the enjoyment of corresponding blessings; for either he has acquired what is good or he will attain to it. Now the present possession perfects joy, which is the best of all possessions; but the expectation of possessing it brings hope, the food of those souls which love virtue; on account of which, putting away sluggishness, we, with spontaneous readiness, hasten onwards to good actions. From that soul therefore, in which justice has brought forth a male offspring, that is to say just thoughts, it has also at the same time removed all painful things, and the birth of Noah will bear testimony in confirmation of this, and the interpretation of the name of Noah is just; and of him it is said, "he will make us to rest from our works, and from the labours of our hands, and from the earth, which the Lord God has Cursed;" [Genesis 5:29.] for it is the nature of justice in the first place to cause rest instead of labour, being utterly indifferent to the things that are in the confines between wickedness and virtue, riches and glory, and power and honour, and all other things which are akin to these, which are the chief objects of the energies of the human race. And, in the second place, to destroy those pains which exist in accordance with our own energies; for Moses does not (as some wicked men do) say, that God is the cause of evils, but our own hands; indicating, by a figurative expression, the works of our hand, and the voluntary inclinations of our mind to the worser part.

33 Last of all, Noah is said "to comfort us concerning our work, because of the ground which the Lord God hath Cursed." [Genesis 5:29.] But by this is meant wickedness, which is established in the souls of foolish men; the remedy for which (as one seeks for remedies for a severe disease) is found to be the just man, who is in possession of the panacea, justice. When, therefore, he has repelled these evils he is filled with joy, as also is Sarah; for she says, "The Lord hath caused me laughter;" and she adds further, "so that whosoever hears it shall rejoice with Me." [Genesis 21:6.] For God is the author of virtuous laughter and joy; so that we must look upon Isaac not as the offspring of creation, but as the work of the uncreate God. For if Isaac, being interpreted, means laughter, and if it be God who is the cause of laughter according to the true testimony of Sarah, then he may be most properly said to be the father of Isaac. And he also gives a share to Abraham of his own proper appellation, to whom, when he eradicated pain from wisdom, he gave rejoicing as an offspring. If, therefore, any one is worthy to listen to the account of the creative power of God he is of necessity joyful, and rejoices in company with those who have had a longing to hear the same. And in the account of the creative power of God you will find no cunningly devised fable, but only unalloyed laws of truth firmly established. Moreover, you will find no vocal measures or rhythm, no melodies alluring the hearing with musical art; but only most perfect works of virtue, which have all of them a peculiar harmony and fitness. And as the mind rejoices which is eager to hear of the works of God, so also does language, which is in harmony with the conceptions of the mind, and which in a manner is compelled to attend to them, feel exultation.

34 And this will also be proved by the oracle which was given to the all-wise Moses, in which these words are contained: "Behold, is there not Aaron thy brother, the Levite? I know that he will speak for thee; and behold he will be coming forth to meet thee, and he will rejoice in himself when he seeth Thee." [Exodus 4:14.] For here the Creator says, that he knows that uttered speech is a burden to the mind, because it speaks; for he represents it, that is to say, articulate sound, as the organ, as it were, of all this concrete being of ours. This speech speaks, and discourses, and interprets both in your case and mine, and in that of all mankind, the things conceived in the mind, and it moreover comes forward to meet the things which the mind conceives; for when the mind being excited towards any object connected with it receives an impetus, either because it has been moved internally by itself, or because it has received some remarkable impressions from external circumstances, it then becomes pregnant and labours to bring forth its conceptions. And, though it tries to deliver itself of them, it is unable to do so till sound, like a midwife, acting either through the medium of the tongue or of some other of the organs of speech, receives those conceptions and brings them to light. And this voice is itself the most manifest of all the conceptions. For, as what is laid up is hidden in darkness until light shines upon it and exhibits it, in the same manner the conceptions are stored away in an invisible place, namely, the mind, until the voice, like light, sheds its beams upon them and reveals everything.

35 Very beautifully, therefore, was it said that speech goes forth to meet the conceptions, and that it runs on endeavoring to overtake them, from its desire of giving information

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respecting them, for everything has the greatest affection for its own proper employment; and the proper employment of speech is to speak, to which employment therefore it hastens by a kind of natural kindred and propriety. And it rejoices and exults when, shedding its rays upon it as it were, it accurately sees and overtakes the sense of the matter exhibited; for then, seizing it in its embrace, it becomes its most excellent interpreter. At all events, we repudiate those chatterers and interminable talkers, who, in the long passages of their conversations, do not properly keep to their conceptions, but merely connect long and empty and, to say the truth, lifeless sentences. Therefore the conversation of such men as these is indecorous, and is justly condemned to groan; as, on the other hand, it is inevitable that that conversation which proceeds from a proper consideration of the objects of its consideration must rejoice, since it comes in an adequate manner to the interpretation of the things which it saw and comprehended vigorously; 3and this is a matter within the knowledge of almost every one from his daily experience. For, when we thoroughly understand what we are saying, then our speech rejoices and exults, and is rich in most emphatic and appropriate expressions, with which, using great copiousness and fluency of unhesitating diction, it sets before the hearer what it desires to exhibit to him in a most evident and efficient manner. But when the comprehension of the conceptions is doubtful, then the speech stumbles and exhibits a great deficiency of suitable and felicitous expressions, and speaks very inappropriately; on which account it is tedious and wearisome and wanders about, and instead of persuading its hearers it pains their ears.

36Again, it is not every speech which should come forward to meet the conceptions; nor is it every kind of conception that it should come to meet; but only the perfect Aaron who should come forward to meet the conceptions of the most perfect Moses. Since else why, when God had said, "Behold, is not Aaron thy brother?" did he add, "the Levite," if it were not for the sake of teaching that it belongs to the Levite and priest, and to virtuous speech alone, to give information respecting the conceptions of the mind, which are shoots of the perfect soul. For never may the speech of a wicked man be interpreter of divine doctrines, for such an one would deform their beauty by his own pollutions; and, on the other hand, may what is intemperate and disgraceful never be related by the utterance of a virtuous man, but may sacred and holy conversations always deliver the relation of holy things. In some of the best governed cities of the world they say that such a custom as this prevails. When any man who has not lived well attempts to deliver his opinion, either in the council or in the assembly of the people, he is not permitted to do so by his own mouth, but is compelled by the magistrates to deliver his opinion to some virtuous and honourable man to explain in his behalf; and then he, when he has heard what he wishes said, rises up and unfolds the meaning of the sewn up mouth of his instructor, becoming his extempore pupil; and he displays the imaginations of another, scarcely considering the original concern for them even in the rank of a hearer or spectator. So some people do not choose to receive even benefits from unworthy persons, but look upon the injury accruing from the shame of taking their advice as greater than the advantage which can be derived from it.

37 This lesson the most holy Moses appears to teach; for such is the object of the statement that Aaron the Levite is coming forward to meet his brother Moses, and that when he sees him he rejoices in himself; and the statement that he rejoices in himself shows also, besides the doctrine which has already been mentioned, another more connected with politics, since the lawgiver is here exhibiting that genuine joy which is most especially akin to the human race; 3for to speak strictly, the feeling of joy does not belong to abundance of money, or of possessions, or to brilliancy of renown, nor, in short, to any one of those external circumstances which are lifeless and unstable, and which contain the seeds of their decay in themselves: nor yet does it belong to personal strength and vigor, and to the other advantages of the body, which are common to even the most worthless men, and which have often brought inevitable destruction on those who possessed them. 3Since then it is only in the virtues of the soul that genuine and unadulterated joy is found, and since every wise man rejoices, he rejoices in himself, and not in his surrounding circumstances; for the things that are in himself are the virtues of the mind on which it is worthy for a man to provide himself; but the circumstances which surround him are either a good condition of body or an abundance of external wealth, which are not proper objects for a man to pride himself on.

38 Having shown, therefore, as far as we could by the most unmistakeable testimony of Moses that, to rejoice is the peculiar property of the wise man, we will now also show that to hope also belongs to him alone; and here again we shall have no need of any other witness than Moses; for he tells us that the name of the son of Seth was Enos: and Enos, being interpreted, means hope. "He hoped first," says Moses, "to call upon the name of the Lord his God." [Genesis 4:26.] Speaking wisely: for to a man inspired with the principles of truth what can be more akin and appropriate than a hope and expectation of the acquisition of good things from the one bounteous God? This, if one must speak the plain truth, is, properly speaking, the only real birth of men, as those who do not hope in God have no share in rational nature. On which account Moses, after he had previously mentioned with respect to Enos that "he hoped to call upon the name of the Lord his God," adds in express words, "This is the book of the generation of Men;" [Genesis 5:1.] speaking with perfect correctness: for it is written in the book of God that man is the only creature with a good hope. So that arguing by contraries, he who has no good hope is not a man. The definition, therefore, of our concrete being is that it is a living rational mortal being; but the definition of man, according to Moses, is a disposition of the soul hoping in the truly living God. Let good men, then, by all means having received joy and hope for their blessed inheritance, either possess or expect good things: but let bad men, of whom Cain is a companion, living in fear and pain, reap a harvest of a most bitter portion, namely, either the presence or the expectation of evils, groaning over the miseries which are actually oppressing them, and trembling and shuddering at the expected fearful dangers.

39 However, we have now said enough on this subject, and let us proceed to investigate what comes afterwards. He continues thus: "And Cain said unto the Lord, My crime is too great to be Forgiven." [Genesis 4:14.] Now what is meant by this will be shown by a consideration of simple passages. If a pilot were to desert his ship when tossed about by the sea, would it not follow of necessity that the ship would wander out of her course in the voyage? Shall I say more? If a charioteer in the contest of the horse-race were to quit his chariot, is it not inevitable that the course of the free horses would be disorderly and irregular? Again, when a city is left destitute of rulers or of laws, and laws, undoubtedly, are entitled to be classed on an equality with magistrates, must not that city be destroyed by those greatest of evils, anarchy and lawlessness? And in the same manner, by the ordinances of nature, the body must perish if the soul be absent; and the soul, if reason be absent. Reason, too, must be destroyed by the absence of virtue. But if each of these things is such an injury to the things that are abandoned by them, then how great must we consider is the misfortune of those persons who are abandoned by God? Whom he has rejected as deserters from his band: and put out of the pale of his sacred laws, considering them unworthy of his superintendence and government. For we must absolutely be certain that a person who is deserted by his superior and benefactor is guilty of great crimes and liable to severe accusations. For when would you say that a man destitute of skill is most greatly injured? Would it not be when he is utterly abandoned by knowledge? And when would you say that the ignorant and wholly uninstructed man is most injured? Must it not be when instruction and education complete their desertion of him? When again do we most deplore the condition of the foolish? Is it not when prudence has utterly rejected them? And when do we pronounce intemperate or unjust men, miserable? Is it not when temperance and justice have condemned them to an eternal banishment from their dominion? When do we pronounce the impious, wretched? Is it not when piety has cut them off from her peculiar rites? So that it seems to me that those who are not utterly impure should pray to be chastised and rejected rather than deserted; for desertion will most easily ruin them, as vessels without ballast and without a pilot; but correction will set them right again. Are not those boys who are beaten by their preceptors, for whatever errors they commit, better than those who have no schoolmaster? And are not those who are reproved by their teachers, for all the errors they commit in the arts which they are studying, better than those who receive no such reproof? And are not those young men who have been accounted especially worthy of that natural superintendence and government, which those who are parents exercise over their children, more fortunate and better than those who have had no such protectors? And if they have not such natural protectors, do they not receive guardians as governors in a secondary rank, who are accustomed to be appointed over them out of pity for their orphan state; to fill the place of parents to them in all things that are expedient?

40Let us, therefore, address our supplications to God, we who are self-convicted by our consciousness of our own sins, to chastise us rather than to abandon us; for if he abandons us, he will no longer make us his servants, who is a merciful master, but slaves of a pitiless generation: but if he chastises us in a gentle and merciful manner, as a kind ruler, he will correct our offences, sending that correcting conviction, his own word, into our hearts, by means of which he will heal them; reproving us and making us ashamed of the wickednesses which we have committed. On this account the law-giver says, "Every word which a widow or a woman who is divorced vows against her own soul shall remain against It." [Numbers 30:10.] For if we call God the husband and father of the universe, supplying the origin and generation of all things, we shall be speaking rightly: as we shall if we call that heart widowed and divorced from God which either has not received divine seed, or, after having received it, has again voluntarily made it abortive. 4Therefore every thing which it decides it shall decide against itself: and these things shall remain utterly incurable. For how can it be anything but a most intolerable evil, for a creature which is inconstant and easily moved in every direction, to lay down any positive decision and determination about itself, attributing to itself the virtues of the Creator? One of which is that, according to which, it defines in an unhesitating and unalterable manner. Therefore, not only shall it be widowed of knowledge, but it shall likewise be divorced from it. And the meaning of this expression is as follows:--For the soul which is widowed of, but is not yet divorced from, what is good, is able, in a manner, after long perseverance, to come to a reconciliation and agreement with her lawful husband, rightreason. But the soul which has once been utterly separated from it, and which has been utterly separated from it, and which has been removed to a different abode, has been cast out for ever and ever, as utterly incapable of reconciliation or peace, and is entirely unable to return to its previous habitation.

41 This, then, may be enough to say about the expression, "My crime is too great to be Forgiven." [this is not the translation given in the text of the Bible, though it is inserted in the margin. In the text of the Bible we read, "And Cain said unto the Lord, my punishment is greater than I can bear."--Genesis 4:13.] Let us now consider what follows that verse--Cain says, "But if thou castest me out this day from off the face of the earth, and from thy face I shall be Hidden." [Genesis 4:14.] What sayest thou, my good man? If thou art utterly cast out from the whole earth, shall you still be hidden? In what manner? For shall you be able to live? or are you ignorant of this, that nature has given animals different places to live in, and has not assigned the same place to them all? She has allotted the sea to the fishes, and to the whole race of aquatic animals, and the land to all the terrestrial animals. And man too, according, at least, to the composite nature of his body, is a terrestrial animal. And it is owing to this that all animals easily die when they have quitted the place which properly belongs to them, and have gone, as it were, into a foreign country; as, for instance, when terrestrial animals go under the water, or when aquatic animals have sailed out upon the land. If, therefore you, being a man, should be cast out from the land, whither will you turn? Will you dive under water, imitating the nature of aquatic animals? But you will die the moment that you are underneath the water. Or will you take wings and raise yourself aloft, and so attempt to traverse the regions of the air, changing your character of a terrestrial, for that of a flying animal? But, if it is in your power, change and re-fashion the divine impress that you bear. You cannot do so. For in proportion as you raise yourself to a greater height, so much the more rapidly will you descend from that higher region and with the greater impetuosity to the earth, which is your appropriate place.

42 Can a man, then, or any other created animal, hide himself from God? Where can he do so? Where can he hide himself from that being who pervades all places, whose look reaches to the very boundaries of the world, who fills the whole universe, of whom not even the smallest portion of existing things is deficient? And what is there extraordinary in the fact, that it is not practicable for any created being to conceal himself from the living God, when it is not even in his power to escape from all the material elements by which he is surrounded, but he must, if he abandon me, by that very act enter into another? At all events, if the Creator, employing that act by which he created amphibious animals, had chosen also by the same act to create a new animal, one capable of living in any element, then, this animal, if it forsook the weighty elements of earth and water, would necessarily have gone to those which are naturally light, namely, air and fire. And, on the other hand, supposing that it had originally dwelt among those elements whose place is on high, if it had sought to effect a migration from them, it would have changed to the opposite region; for it was at all events necessary for it to appear steadily in one portion of the world, since it was not possible for it to run away out of every element: since, in order that nothing external might be omitted, the Creator scattered the whole of the four principles of everything over the universe, in order to create the existing condition of the world, in order to make a most perfect universe of perfect parts. 5As therefore it is impossible for any one to escape from the whole of the creation of God, how can it be anything but still more impossible to escape from the Creator and Ruler himself? Let no one therefore too easily receiving these words in their obvious and literal acceptation without examination, affix his own simplicity and folly to the law; but let him rather consider what is here enigmatically intimated by figurative expressions, and so understand the truth.

43 Perhaps now that which is intimated by the expression, "If thou castest me out this day from off the face of the earth, from thy face I shall be hidden," may be this, if thou dost not bestow on me the good things of the earth, I will not receive those of Heaven; and if no use and enjoyment of pleasure is afforded me, I have no desire for virtue, and if thou dost not

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allow me to participate in human advantages, thou mayest retain the divine ones to thyself. Now the things which among us are accounted necessary and valuable and genuine real goods are these; to eat, to drink, to be clothed in favourite colours and fashions; by means of the faculty of sight, to be delighted with pleasant sights; by means of one's faculty of hearing to be delighted with melodies of all sorts of sounds; to be gratified through our nostrils with fragrant exhalations of odors; to indulge in all the pleasures of the belly and of the parts adjacent to the belly to satiety; not to be indifferent to the acquisition of silver and gold; to be invested with honours and post of authority, and all other things which may tend to man's reputation; but as for prudence, or fortitude, or justice, austere dispositions which only make life labourious, those we pass by, and if we are forced to admit them into one calculation we must do so, not as perfect goods in themselves, but only as efficients of good. Do you therefore, O ridiculous man, affirm that if you are deprived of a superfluity of bodily advantages and external good things, you will not come into the sight of God? But I tell you that even if you are so deprived of them, you will by all means come into his sight; for when you have been released from the unspeakable bonds of the body and around the body, you will attain to an imagination of the uncreated God.

44 Do you not see in the case of Abraham that, "when he had left his country, and his kindred, and his father's House," [Genesis 12:1.] that is to say, the body, the outward senses, and reason, he then began to become acquainted with the powers of the living God? for when he had secretly departed from all his house, the law says that, "God appeared unto Him," [Genesis 12:7.] showing that he is seen clearly by him who has put off mortal things, and who has taken refuge from this body in the incorporeal soul; 6on which account Moses taking his tent "pitches it without the Tabernacle," [Exodus 33:7.] and settles to dwell at a distance from the bodily camp, for in that way alone could he hope to become a worthy suppliant and a perfect minister before God. And he says that this tent was called the tent of testimony, taking exceeding care that it may really be the tabernacle of the living God, and may not be called so only. For of virtues, the virtues of God are founded in truth, existing according to his essence: since God alone exists in essence, on account of which fact, he speaks of necessity about himself, saying, "I am that I Am," [Exodus 3:14.] as if those who were with him did not exist according to essence, but only appeared to exist in opinion. But the tent of Moses being symbolically considered, the virtue of man shall be thought worthy of appellation, not of real existence, being only an imitation, a copy made after the model of that divine tabernacle, and consistent with these facts is the circumstance that Moses when he is appointed to be the God of Pharaoh, was not so in reality, but was only conceived of as such in opinion, "for I know that it is God who gives and bestows favours, but I am not able to perceive that he is given, and it is said in the sacred scriptures, "I give thee as a God to Pharaoh," and yet what is given is the patient, not the agent; but he that is truly living must be the agent, and beyond all question cannot be the patient. What then is inferred from these facts? Why, that the wise man is called the God of the foolish man, but he is not God in reality, just as a base coin of the apparent value of four drachmas is not a four drachma piece. But when he is compared with the living God, then he will be found to be a man of God; but when he is compared with a foolish man, he is accounted a God to the imagination and in appearance, but he is not so in truth and essence.

45 Why then do you talk nonsense, saying, "If thou castest me forth from off the earth, and from thee I shall be hidden." For one might say on the contrary, if I remove thee from the earth by part of thee, then I will manifestly show thee my own image. And a proof of this is, thou wilt depart from before the face of God, but when thou hast departed thou wilt not the less inhabit thy earthly body. For Moses says, afterwards, "And Cain went forth from before the face of God and dwelt in the Earth," [Genesis 4:16.] so that when thou art cast out from the earth, thou art not hidden from the living God; but when thou desertest him thou takest refuge on earth in a mortal country. And indeed it will not be the case, that every one who findeth thee will hide thee, as thou sayest, speaking sophistically. For that which is found, is found in every case by two people, by one who resembles itself, or by one who is dissimilar. By one who resembles itself according to the kindred and relationship which exists in all things, and by him who is not like, according to the contrary unlikeness. The one, therefore, that is like, endeavors to preserve that which resembles itself, and that which is dissimilar endeavors to destroy that which differs from it. And let them know that Cain, and all other wicked men will not be slain by any one who meets them, but that evil doers imitating their kindred and connected wickednesses, will become guardians and preservers of them; but all those who have cultivated prudence or any other virtue, will destroy them if they can, as irreconcileable enemies. For, in short, all bodies and all things are preserved by the things which are akin to and attached to them, but are destroyed by those that are alien and hostile to them. On this account, also, the oracle which bears testimony against this pretended simplicity of Cain, says, "You do not think as you say." For you say, indeed, that whosoever finds out the devices of your act will slay you. But you know that it is not every one who will do so, as there are millions of men enrolled in your alliance; but he only who is a friend to virtue and an irreconcileable enemy to you. And God says, he "who slays Cain shall suffer sevenfold." But I do not know what analogy this real meaning of this expression bears to the literal interpretation of it, "He shall suffer sevenfold. For he has not said what is to be sevenfold, nor has he described the sort of penalty, nor by what means such penalty is excused or paid.

46 Therefore, one must suppose that all these things are said figuratively and allegorically; and perhaps what God means to set before us here is something of this sort. The irrational part of the soul is divided into seven parts, the senses of seeing, of smelling, of hearing, of tasting, and of touch, the organs of speech, and the organs of generation. If, therefore, any one were to slay the eighth, that is to say, Cain, the ruler of them all, he would also paralyse all the seven. For they are all confirmed by the vigorous strength of the mind, and they all feel weak simultaneously with any weakness exhibited by the mind, and they all endure relaxation and complete dissolution in consequence of the destruction which complete wickedness brings upon them. 6Now these seven senses are unpolluted and pure in the soul of the wise man, and here also they are found worthy of honour. But in that of the foolish man they are impure and polluted, and as I said before, punished, that is, they are worthy of punishment and chastisement. 7At all events, when the Creator determined to purify the earth by means of water, and that the soul should receive purification of all its unspeakable offences, having washed off and effaced its pollutions after the fashion of a holy purification, he recommended him who was found to be a just man, who was not borne away the violence of the deluge, to enter into the ark, that is to say, into the vessel containing the soul, namely, the body, and to lead into it "seven of all clean beasts, male and Female," [Genesis 7:2.] thinking it proper that virtuous reason should employ all the pure parts of the irrational portion of man.

47 And this injunction which the lawgiver laid down, is of necessity applicable to all wise men; for they have their sense of sight purified, their sense of hearing thoroughly examined, and so on with all the rest of their outward senses. Accordingly, they have the faculty of speech free from all spot or stain, and their appetites which prompt them to indulge the passions in a state of due subjection to the law. And every one of the seven outward senses is in one respect male, and in another, female. For when they are stationary, or when it is in motion, they are stationary while quiescent in sleep, and they are in motion while they are energizing in their waking state; and the one in accordance with habit and tranquility, as being subject to passion, is called the female; and the one which exists according to motion and energy, as one that is only conceived in action, is called the male. Thus, in the wise man, the seven senses appear to be pure; and on the contrary in the wicked man, they appear to be all liable to punishment. For how great a multitude of things do we imagine to be each day wrongly represented by our eyes, which go over to colours and shapes, and to things which it is not lawful to see? And how so great a multitude of things suffer similar treatment from the ears which follow all kinds of sounds? How many too are misrepresented by the organs of smelling and of taste, and by flavours and vapours, and other things led on according to innumerable variations? I say nothing of that multitude of persons whom the unrestrainable impetuosity of an unbridled tongue has destroyed, or the incurable violence which leads man on to carnal connexions with intemperate appetite. Cities are full, and all the earth from one side to the other, is full of these evils, in consequence of which, continual and unceasing and terrible wars are set on foot among men, even in times of peace, both publicly and privately.

48 On which account it appears to me that all men who are not utterly uneducated would choose to be mutilated and to be come blind, rather than to see what is not fitting to be seen, to become deaf rather than to hear pernicious discourses, and to have their tongues cut out if that were the only way to prevent their speaking things, which ought not to be spoken. At all events, they say that some wise men, when they have been tortured on the wheel to make them betray secrets which are not worthy to be divulged, have bitten out their tongues, and so have inflicted on their torturers a more grievous torture than they themselves were suffering, as they could not learn from them what they desired; and it is better to be made an eunuch than to be hurried into wickedness by the fury of the illicit passions: for all these things, as they overwhelm the soul in pernicious calamities, are deservedly followed by extreme punishments. Moses says in the next passage that the Lord God set a mark upon Cain in order to prevent any one who found him from slaying him; but what this mark is, he has not shown, although he is in the habit of explaining the nature of everything by a sign, as he does in the affairs of Egypt, where God changed his rod into a serpent, and withered the hand of Moses till it became like snow, and turned the river into blood. Or may we not suppose that this mark was set upon Cain to prevent his being slain, as a token that he would never be destroyed? For he has never once mentioned his death in the whole of the law, showing enigmatically that, like that fabulous monster Scylla, so also folly is an undying evil, which never entirely perishes, and yet which as to its capability of dying receives all time, and is never wholly free from death.

And I would that the opposite event might happen, that all evils might be utterly eradicated, and might endure total destruction; but as it is they are constantly budding forth, and inflict an incurable disease on all who are once infected by them.

ON THE POSTERITY OF CAIN AND HIS EXILE[*]

1 ("And Cain went out from before the face of God, and dwelt in the land of Nod , opposite to Eden ." [Genesis 4:16.] Now we may raise the question whether we are to take the expressions which occur in the books that have been handed down to us by Moses and to interpret them in a somewhat metaphorical sense, while the ideas which readily present themselves as derived from the names are very deficient in truth. (For if the living God has a face, and if he who desires to leave it can with perfect ease rise up and depart to another place, why do we repudiate the impiety of the Epicureans, or the godlessness of the Egyptians, or the mythical suggestions of which life is full? (For the face is a portion of an animal; but God is a whole, not a part: so that it becomes necessary to invent for him other parts also, a neck, and a chest, and hands, and moreover a belly, feet, and generative organs, and all the rest of the countless number of internal and external faculties. (And the fact of God's having passions like unto those of man follows of necessity from the fact of his having a form like that of man: since all those limbs are not superfluous and mere exuberances, but have been made by nature as assistants of the weakness of those who possess them, and she has adapted them in a manner suitable to and consistent with their natural necessities and offices. But the living God has need of nothing; so that as he does not at all require the assistance to be derived from the parts of the body, he cannot possibly have such parts at all.

2 (And from whence does Cain go forth? is it from the palace of the ruler of the world? But what house of God can exist perceptible by the outward senses except this world which it is impossible and impracticable to quit? For the great circle of the heaven binds round and contains within itself everything which has ever been created; and of those things which have already perished, the component parts are resolved into their original elements, and are again portioned off among those powers of the universe of which they consist, the loan which, as it were, was advanced to each, being restored back at unequal periods of time, in accordance with laws previously laid down, to the nature which originally made it, whenever that nature chooses to call in its debts. (Again, if any person goes out from any place, that which he leaves behind him is in a different place from that in which he now is, but if this be true it must follow that there are some portions of the universe deprived of the presence of God, who never leaves any place empty or destitute of himself, but who fills up all things for all time; (and if God has not a face (inasmuch as he is not bound by what may seem appropriate for created things), and if he does not exist in parts inasmuch as he surrounds all things and is not surrounded by any, it is impossible for anything to remove and depart from this world as from a city, as there is no portion of it left without. It now remains for us, considering that none of these things are spoken of in terms of strict propriety, to turn to the allegorical system, which is dear to men versed in natural philosophy, taking the first principles of our argument from this source. (If it is hard to depart from before the face and out of the sight of a mortal king, how can it be anything but extremely difficult to depart and quit the appearance of God, and to determine no longer to come into his sight. This indeed is to be left without any idea of him, and to be mutilated as to the eyes of the soul, (and all those who of necessity have endured this fate, being weighed down by the might of irresistible and implacable power, are objects rather for pity than for hatred; but all those who voluntarily and of deliberated purposes have rejected the living God, exceeding even the bounds of wickedness itself, for what other evil of equal weight can possibly be found? Such men should suffer not the usual punishments of evil doers, but something new and extraordinary. And surely no one could invent a more novel or more terrible penalty than a departure and flight from the presence of the Ruler of the universe.

3 Accordingly God banished Adam; but Cain went forth from his presence of his own accord; Moses here showing to us the manner of each sort of absence from God, both the voluntary and the involuntary sort; but the involuntary sort as not existing in consequence of any intention on our part, will subsequently have such a remedy applied to it as the case admits of; for God will raise up another offspring in the place of Abel, whom Cain slew, a male offspring for the soul which

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has not turned by its own intention, by name Seth, which name being interpreted means irrigation; but the voluntary flight from God, as one that has taken place by deliberate purpose and intention, will await on irremediable punishment in all eternity, for as good deeds that are done in consequence of forethought and design, are better than unintentional ones, so also among offences those that are undesigned are of less heinousness than those that are premeditated.

4 Therefore punishment which is the chastiser of impious men, will await Cain who has now departed from before the face of God, but Moses will suggest to those who know God, a most excellent suggestion, to love God and to obey him, and cleave to him, for he tells men that this is the life which in truth is tranquil and lasting,[Deuteronomy 30:20.] and he very emphatically invites us to the honour of the one being who is above all others to be beloved and honoured, bidding us cleave to him, recommending to us a continual and constant and inseparable harmony and union of friendship with him. These suggestions and such as these are what he gives to the rest of the world, but he himself so insatiably desires to behold him, and to be beheld by him, that he supplicates him to display to his eye his nature of which it is impossible to form a conjecture, so that he may become acquainted with it,[Exodus 33:18.] that thus he might receive a most well-grounded certainty of knowledge that could not be mistaken, in exchange for uncertain doubts; and he will never cease from urging his desire, but even, though he is aware that he desires a matter which is difficult of attainment, or rather which is wholly unattainable, he still strives on, in no way remitting his intense anxiety, but without admitting any excuse, or any hesitation, or vacillation; using all the means in his power to gain his object.

5 At all events, he will now penetrate into "the darkness where God Was." [Exodus 20:13.] That is to say, into those unapproachable and invisible conceptions which are formed of the living Do. For the great Cause of all things does not exist in time, nor at all in place, but he is superior to both time and place; for, having made all created things in subjection to himself, he is surrounded by nothing, but he is superior to everything. And being superior to, and being also external to the world that he has made, he nevertheless fills the whole world with himself; for, having by his own power extended it to its utmost limits, he has connected every portion with another portion according to the principles of harmony. When, therefore, the soul that loves God seeks to know what the one living God is according to his essence, it is entertaining upon an obscure and dark subject of investigation, from which the greatest benefit that arises to it is to comprehend that God, as to his essence, is utterly incomprehensible to any being, and also to be aware that he is invisible. And it appears to me that the great hierophant had attained to the comprehension of the most important point in this investigation before he commenced it, when he entreated God to become the exhibitor and expounder of his own nature to him,[Exodus 33:12.] for he says, "Show me thyself;" showing very plainly by this expression that no created being is competent by himself to learn the nature of God in his essence.

6 On this account too, Abraham, when he had come unto the place which God had told him of, "On the third day, looking up, saw the place afar Off." [Genesis 22:4.] What kind of place? Was it the place to which he came? And how was it still afar off, if he had already come to it? But perhaps the meaning which is intended under this expression may be something like this:--The wise man, being always desirous to comprehend the nature of the Ruler of the universe, when he is proceeding along the road which leads by knowledge and wisdom, previously meets with words of God, among which he rests for a while; and though he had previously determined to proceed by some other road, he now stops and hesitates; for the eyes of his mind being opened, he sees more clearly that he had entered upon a chase after a thing which was difficult to overtake, which constantly retreated before him, and was always at a distance, and which outstripped its pursuers by placing an immeasurable distance between them. You think, therefore, rightly that all the speediest things which are under heaven would appear to be standing still if compared with the rapidity of the sun, and moon, and other stars. And yet the whole heaven was made by God; and the maker always goes before that which is made. So that, of necessity, not only the other things which exist among us, but also that which has the most rapid motion of all, namely, the mind, may fall short of a proper comprehension of the great cause of all things by an undescribable distance. But the stars, as they are themselves in motion, pass by all things that move; but, though it seems incredible, God, while standing still, outstrips everything. And it is said that he, at the same moment, is close to us and at a great distance, touching us with his creative or his punishing powers, which are close to each individual, and yet at the same time driving away the creature to an excessive distance from his nature as existing according to its essence, so that it cannot touch him without even the unalloyed and incorporeal efforts of the intellect. Therefore we sympathise in joy with those who love God and seek to understand the nature of the living do, even if they fail to discover it; for the vague investigation of what is good is sufficient by itself to cheer the heart, even if it fail to attain the end that it desires. But we participate in indignation against that lover of himself, Cain; because he has left his soul without any conception whatever of the living God, having of deliberate purpose mutilated himself of that faculty by which alone he might have been able to see him.

7 It is worth while also to consider the wickedness into which a man who flies from the face of God is driven, since it is called a tempest. The law-giver showing, by this expression, that he who gives way to inconsiderate impulses without any stability or firmness exposes himself to surf and violent tossing, like those of the sea, when it is agitated in the winter season by contrary winds, and has never even a single glimpse of calm or tranquility. But as when a ship having been tossed in the sea is agitated, it is then no longer fit to take a voyage or to anchor in harbour, but being tossed about hither and thither it leans first to one side and then to the other, and struggles in vain against the waves; so the wicked man, yielding to a perverse and insane disposition, and being unable to regulate his voyage through life without disaster, is constantly tossed about in perpetual expectation of an overturning of his life. But the connexion of the consequence affects me in no moderate degree; for it happens that that which comes near to him who is standing still longs for tranquility, as being something which resembles itself. Now that which stands still without any deviation is God, and that which is moved is the creature, so that he who comes near to God desires stability; but he who departs from him, as by so doing he is approaching a creature easily overturned, is borne towards that which resembles it.

8 On this account it is written in the curses contained in scripture, "Thou shall never rest; nor shall there be any rest for the sole of thy Foot." [Deuteronomy 28:65.] And, a little afterwards, we read that, "Thy life shall hang in doubt before Them." [Deuteronomy 28:66.] For it is the nature of the foolish man, who is always being tossed about in a manner contrary to right reason, to be hostile to tranquility and rest, and not to stand firmly or with a sure foundation on any doctrine whatever. Accordingly he is full of different opinions at different times, and sometimes, even in the same circumstances, without any new occurrence having arisen to affect them, he will be perfectly contrary to himself, --now great, now little, now hostile, now friendly; and, in short, he will, so to say, be everything that is most inconsistent in a moment of time. And, as the law-giver says, "All his life shall hang in doubt before him;" having no firm footing, but being constantly tossed about by opposing circumstances, which drag it different ways. On which account Moses says, in another place, "Cursed of God is he that hangeth on a Tree;" [Deuteronomy 21:23.] because what he ought to hang upon is God. But such a man has, of his own accord, bound himself to the body, which is a wooden burden upon us, exchanging hope for desire and a perfect hope for the greatest of evils; for hope, being the expectation of good things, causes the mind to depend upon the bounteous God; but appetite, creating only unreasonable desires, depends on the body, which nature has made to be a sort of receptacle and abode for the soul.

9 Let these men, then, hang by their appetites as by a halter; but the wise Abraham, where he stands, comes near to God, who is also standing. For Moses says that "Abraham was standing near to God; and coming nigh unto him, he Said," [Genesis 18:22, 23.]... For in good truth the unalterable soul is the only thing that has access to the unalterable God; and being of such a disposition, it does really stand very near to the Divine power. Therefore the oracle which was given to the allwise Moses most manifestly shows the lasting good condition and stability of the virtuous man. Now, the oracle is as follows: "And do thou thyself stand with Me." [Deuteronomy 5:31.] By which expression, two things are made clear. One, that it is the living God, who moves and turns about all other beings, being himself unchangeable and immoveable. The second is, that he makes the virtuous man a participator in his own tranquil nature. For, as I suppose, the crooked things are made straight by his straight rule; so, likewise, are the things that are in motion restrained and made stationary by the power of him who always stands still and firm. In this passage, therefore, he commands another being to stand with him: but in another place he says, "I will go down with thee to Egypt , and I will conduct thee to the End." [Genesis 46:4.] He does not say, Thou shall go down with me. Why not? Because calmness and stability are the especial attributes of God; but a liability to change one's place, and every kind of motion which has a tendency to change the place, is incident to a created being. When, therefore, he invites the man to his own peculiar good, he says, "Stand thou with me:" not "I will stand with thee." For "will stand," cannot be said of God, who always stands still. But when he comes to that which is the peculiar attribute of the creature, he says, with the most perfect correctness, "I will go down with you;" for change of place is adapted to you: so that no one shall go down with me, for in me there is no changing; but whatever is consistent with me, that is to say, with rest, shall stand. And with those who go down in such a manner as to change their place (for change of place is akin to and closely connected with them), I will go down also, not indeed changing my situation as to its actual place, inasmuch as I fill every place with myself. And this, too, I do through the pity which exists in rational nature, in order that it may be raised from the hell of the passions to the heavenly region of virtue; I being the guide, who also have made the road which leads to heaven, so that it may be a plain road for suppliant souls, and have shown it to them all, in order that they may not foolishly wander out of the way.

10 Having, therefore, now pointed out each variety, the tranquility of the good man, and the state of agitation in which the bad man lives, let us now consider what follows the statement which we have hitherto been examining. For Moses says that Nod, which name, being interpreted, means the tumult into which the soul has migrated, is opposite to Eden . Now Eden is a symbolical expression for correct and divine reason, on which account its interpretation is luxury; because divine reason is, above all other things, delighted with and exults among unmingled and pure, and also well filled up and complete pleasure, God, the giver of all good things, raising his virgin and undying graces upon it. But by its own intrinsic nature, the bad is always striving with the good, the unjust with the just, the wise with the foolish, and all the different species of virtue with all the different species of vice. Something like this is the meaning of the statement that Nod is opposite to Eden .

11 After he had said this he proceeds to say, "And Cain knew his wife, and she conceived and bare Enoch; and he built a city, and called the name of the city after the name of his son Enoch." [Genesis 4:17.] Is it not here reasonable to raise the question, why Cain knew his wife? for there had been no birth of any one other woman since that of Eve who was formed out of the side of the man, until the woman who is here mentioned; and if any one says that Cain took his sister to wife, putting the impiety of such a connexion out of the question, he will speak falsely; for Moses represents the daughters of Adam as born late. What then are we to say? As I imagine, Moses here calls his wife opinion of impious reason which it forms about things, as crowds of those who have studied philosophy do: some of them introducing the same opinions into human life, and others introducing such as are wholly at variance with one another. What then is the position of the impious man? Why, that the human mind is the measure of all things; which also they say that one of the ancient philosophers, Protagoras, used to employ, being a descendant of the folly of Cain. And from thence I conjecture that his wife, being known to him, brought forth Enoch; and the name Enoch being interpreted means, thy grace. For if man is the measure of all things, then, also, all things are a grace and a free gift of the mind; so that we refer to the eye the grace of sight, to the ears that of hearing, and to each of the other external senses their appropriate object, and also to the speech and utterance do we attribute the power of speaking. And if we judge in this manner of these things, so also do we with respect to intelligence, in which ten thousand things are comprised, such as thoughts, perceptions, designs, meditations, conceptions, sciences, arts, dispositions, and a number of other faculties almost incalculable. What is it then that the gravest philosophers, who have talked in the most grandiloquent manner about divine law and the honour due to God, have determined both to say and to allow to be said, If ye have in ye a mind which is equal to God, which regulating by its own power all the good and bad things which exist among men, occasionally mingles both in certain persons, and sometimes distributes both good and bad to some in an unalloyed state; and if any one accuses you of impiety, make your defense with a good courage, saying that you have been brought up very admirably by your guide and teacher, Cain, who recommended you to honour the powers that are nearest in preference to that cause which was afar off, to whom you ought to attend for many other reasons, and most especially because he showed the power of his doctrine by very evident works, having conquered Abel the expounder of the opposite doctrine, and having removed and destroyed his doctrine as well as himself. But in my opinion and in that of my friends, death in the company of the pious would be preferable to life with the impious; for those who die in the company of the pious everlasting life will receive, but everlasting death will be the portion of those who live in the other way.

12 But as after Cain had begotten Enoch, one of the posterity of Seth is also subsequently called Enoch, it may be well to consider, whether the two namesakes were men of different or of similar dispositions and characters. And at the same time that we examine this question let us also investigate the differences between other persons bearing the same name. For as Enoch was, so also Methusaleh and Lamech were both descendants of Cain, and they were no less the descendants of Seth also. We must therefore be aware that each of the aforesaid names, being interpreted, has a double signification; for Enoch, being interpreted, means, as I have already said, "thy grace," and Methusaleh means, the sending forth of death. Lamech, again means, humiliation. Now the expression,

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"Thy grace," is by some persons referred to the mind that is in us; and by more learned and sounder interpreters it is referred to the mind of other persons. They therefore who say that all thinking, and feeling, and speaking, are the free gifts of their own soul, utter an impious and ungodly opinion, and deserve to be classed among the race of Cain, who, though he was not able to master himself, yet dared to assert that he had absolute possession of all other things; but as for those persons who do not claim all the things in creation as their own, but who ascribe them to the divine grace, being men really noble and sprung out of those who were rich long ago, but of those who love virtue and piety, they may be classed under Seth as the author of their race. The race of these men is difficult to trace, since they show a life of plotting, and cunning, and wickedness, and dissoluteness, full of passion and wickednesses, as such a life must be. For all those whom God, since they pleased him well, has caused to quit their original abode, and has transformed from the race of perishable beings to that of immortals, are no longer found among the common multitude.

13 Having, therefore, thus distinguished the indications intended to be afforded by the name of Enoch, let us now proceed in regular order to the name of Methuselah; and this name is interpreted, a sending forth of death. Now there are two meanings contained in this word; one, that according to which death is sent to any one, and the other, that according to which it is sent away from any one. He, therefore, to whom it is sent, immediately dies, but he, from whom it is sent, lives and survives. Accordingly, he who receives death is akin to Cain, who is dying as to the life in accordance with virtue; but he from whom death is sent away and kept at a distance, is most nearly related to Seth, for the good man enjoys real life. And again, the name Lamech, which means humiliation, is a name of ambiguous meaning; for we are humiliated either when the vigor of our soul is relaxed, according to the diseases and infirmities which arise from the irrational passions, or in respect of our love for virtue, when we seek to restrain ourselves from swelling selfopinions. Now the former kind of humiliation arises out of weakness, being a species of that multiform disease of many changes, leprosy. "For when his appearance seems more Humble," [Leviticus 13:3.] being broken as to its level and fresh face, than the lawgiver says that that humble disease leprosy exists. But the second kind of humiliation arises from the strength of perseverance, which is followed by propitiation, according to the perfect number of the decade; for the people are enjoined to humble their souls on the tenth day of the month, and this means to put away all high boasting, the putting away of which works the rejection of all offences, both voluntary and involuntary. Accordingly, the Lamech who is humbled in this sense, is the descendant of Seth, and the father of the just Noah; but he who is humbled in the former manner is the descendant of Cain.

14 And it may become us next to consider on what account this same man is represented as founding and building a city, for it is only a multitude of men who have need of a city to dwell in; but the three who were the only human beings in existence at that time might have thought the foot of a mountain, or a small cave, a most sufficient abode. And I said, indeed, the three; but in all probability I might have spoken of him by himself; for the parents of Abel, who had been so treacherously slain, would never have endured to inhabit the same city with his murderer--a man who had committed fratricide, which is a greater pollution than even homicide. For it is plain that it is not only extraordinary, but utterly contrary to all reason, that one man should build a city. In what manner could he do it? He could not build even the most trifling portion of a house, unless he employed other men as his assistants. Would the same man be able at the same time to cut stones, to cut wood, to work in iron and in brass, and to throw the vast circumference of walls round the city? to build up propylaea, and inter-walls, and temples, and sacred precincts, and porticoes, and docks, and houses, and all the other public and private buildings which one is accustomed to find in a city? And moreover, besides all these things, would he be able to carry burdens, to move away masses of earth, to widen narrow passages, to make fountains and water-courses, and all the other things with which a city ought to be provided? Perhaps, therefore, since all these ideas are inconsistent with truth, it would be better to look upon the statement as an allegory, and to say that Cain determined to build up his own doctrine like a city.

15 Since, therefore, every city consists of houses and inhabitants, and laws, the houses, in Cain's case, are the reasons which he alleges to prove his point; by which, as from a wall, he fights against the persuasive attacks of his enemies; inventing fabulous devices against the truth. The inhabitants are the companions of impiety, ungodliness, self-love, haughtiness, falsehood, vain opinions; the men wise in their own conceit, the men who know not wisdom as relating to truth, the men who are full of ignorance, and stupidity, and folly; and all the other similar and kindred evils. The laws are, lawlessness, injustice, inequality, intemperance, boldness, folly, insolence, immoderate indulgence in pleasure, and innumerable appetites in despite of nature. Now of such a city as this, every impious man is found to be a builder in his own miserable soul, until God deliberately causes complete and great confusion to their sophistical Arts. [Genesis 11:4.] And this will be, when not only "they build a city and tower, the head of which will reach to heaven," that is to say, [...] [there is a hiatus in the text here: Mangey translates it as if the deficiency were to be supplied by ton noun, "the mind."] the mind or the reason of each individual as conversant about making great works, which they represent as having for its head a conception peculiar to itself, which is called in symbolical language heaven. For it is plain that the head and object of every reasoning must be the aforesaid mind; for the sake of which, long digressions and sentences are in the habit of being used by men who write histories.

16 And to such a pitch of accursed impiety have they gone, that not only do they attempt to raise up such cities by themselves, but they even compel the virtue-loving multitude of Israel to join them, appointing superintendents and teachers of evil actions to govern them. For it is said that, when they were ill-treated by the superintendents, they built three cities for the prince of the country, Peithom, Rameses,[Exodus 1:11.] and On, which is Heliopolis . And these cities, if taken symbolically, mean mind, the outward sense, and the faculty of speech, which are the three principal things in us; for Peithom means speech, because persuasion (to peithein) arises from speech; and the interpretation of Peithom is, a mouth-uttering, since the reasoning of the wicked man comes from without, and occupies itself with endeavoring to overturn all that is good: and Rameses is the inward sense; for the mind is eaten out and destroyed by each separate one of the outward senses as by a moth, being shaken to pieces and lacerated; for the imaginations which enter it, not according to pleasure, make life itself mutilated and labourious. But On is said to be a hill, and it means, symbolically, the mind; for all reasonings are stored up in the mind: and the lawgiver himself is a witness of this, calling On, Heliopolis , the city of the sun. For as the sun, when he rises, shows visibly the things which have been hidden by night, so also the mind, sending forth its own proper light, causes all bodies and all things to be seen visibly at a distance. On which account, a man would not be wrong who called our minds the sun of our composition; as the mind, if it does not rise and shed its own light in man, who may be looked upon as a small world, leaves a great darkness diffused over all existing things, and suffers nothing to be brought to light.

17 This hill Jacob, the wrestler with God, in his agreements with Laban, calls a witness, showing in a most express manner, and in the form of a precept, that the mind is a witness to each individual of the determinations which he comes to in secret; and conscience, which is the most incorruptible and truth-telling witness of all, was built before these cities; for Moses says that the spies came to Chebron, and these three are Acheman, and Jesein, and Thalamein, of the sons of Enoch: and this he adds, "and Chebron was built seven years before Janis, in Egypt," [Numbers 13:23.] and these synonymous appellations are distinguished according to their species in a most natural manner. Chebron, being interpreted, means compunction, and this is of two kinds; one with reference to the soul being joined to the body, the other with reference to its being adapted to virtue. Now the soul that subjects itself to bodily compunctions has the beforementioned inhabitants. Acheman, being interpreted, means, my brother, and Jesein means "outside of me," and Thalmein means, some one in suspense; for it follows of necessity, that the body must be thought akin to the souls that love the body, and that external good things must be exceedingly admired by them, and all the souls which have this kind of disposition depend on dead things, and, like persons who are crucified, are attached to corruptible matter till the day of their death. But the soul that is united to virtue has for its inhabitants those persons who are preeminent for virtue, persons whom the double cavern has received in pairs, Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebeckah, Leah and Jacob, virtues and those who possess them; Chebron itself keeping the treasure-house of the memorials of knowledge and wisdom, which is more ancient than Janis and the whole land of Egypt, for nature has made the soul more ancient than the body, that is than Egypt, and virtue more ancient than vice, that is than Janis (and the name Janis, being interpreted, means the command of answer), estimating seniority rather by dignity than by length of time.

18 On which principle also it is that he also calls Israel, who was the younger brother in point of time, "the first born Son," [Exodus 4:22.] judging of him by his merit, signifying thereby that, since to see God is the most clear proof of primogeniture, he is in consequence pardoned as the eldest offspring of the uncreate incomprehensible God, conceived by that virtue which is hated among men, and to whom the law enjoins that "the honours due to seniority shall be paid, as being the Eldest." [Deuteronomy 21:17.] On this account also the number seven is produced in its order, subsequently to the number six, but in power it is superior to every other number, and differs not from the unit, and Moses also shows us this in the conclusion of his account of the creation, where he says, "And God ceased on the seventh day from all the works that he had made; and God blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it," because on it he ceased from all his works which God had begun to make,[Genesis 2:2.] and after that he concludes his account in these words, "This is the book of the generation of heaven and of earth when they were made, on the day in which God made the heaven and the earth; and these things were done in the first day, so that the seventh day is referred to the unit which is the first day and the beginning of the whole. I have dwelt at length on this topic, with the object of showing more plainly the opinion which Cain thought it right to build up like a city.

19 Now the son of Enoch is called Gaidad,[Genesis 4:18.] which, being interpreted, means a flock of sheep, very consistently with what has gone before; for he who attributes everything to the mind, which is not able to comprehend even its own nature, so as to pronounce what kind of thing it is, would be very likely to beget a number of irrational powers collected into one flock; for such is not the opinion of men who are able to reason. But every flock which has not a shepherd to govern it does of necessity meet with great disasters, inasmuch as it is not able, of its own power, to repel what is injurious to it, and to choose what will be advantageous; in respect of which Moses says in his prayer, "Let the Lord, the God of spirits and of all flesh, look out a man who shall be over this assembly, who shall go out before their faces, and who shall come in, and who shall bring them out, and who shall bring them in, and so the synagogue of the Lord shall not be like unto sheep which have no Shepherd." [Numbers 26:16.] For when the president, or superintendent, or father, or whatever we like to call him, of our composite body, right reason, is departed, having left the flock that is in us, it being neglected and suffered to go its own way, perishes and the loss to its master is great. But the irrational and wandering flock, being deprived of its shepherd, who ought to admonish and instruct it, strays away to a great distance from rational and immortal life.

20 On which account the son of Gaided is called Mehel, the name which, being interpreted, means, "from the life of God." For since the flock is devoid of reason, and God is the fountain of reason, it follows of necessity, that a man who lives in an irrational manner is separated from the life of God; for to live according to God is defined by Moses to consist in loving him; for Moses says to the children of Israel, "Your life is to love the living God." [Deuteronomy 30:20.] And he gives as an example of the opposite lot the goat, on which the lot falls to be the scape-goat, for he says, "He shall place it living before the Lord, that he may offer prayers over it, and send it out into the Wilderness," [Leviticus 16:10.] giving these directions with great exactness. For as no one in his senses would greatly extol old men for abstaining from pleasure, because old age, which is a long and incurable disease, has relaxed and enfeebled the nerves of their appetites; but one would praise young men, because, while their appetites are influenced by the vigor of youth, nevertheless they, being well supplied with instruments to check them, namely, with reasons derived from good instruction, have allayed the great conflagration and boiling over of the passions: so, in the case of these men, whom no disease is accustomed to detach from any evil way of life, less praise is due to them, because they are fortunate without any express intention of their own, according to the good fortune of their nature: but those whom such a disease does rise up against and attack, receive greater praise; if they, making a fair stand, are willing and prove able to destroy it; for to be able, by a vigorous exertion, to destroy the baits of attractive pleasure, properly receives that praise which belongs to good actions, done with a deliberate purpose.

Since, therefore, [...] [there is something lost from the text here, and Mangey professes himself unable to supply it without the assistance of some MS. which may be hereafter discovered.] but diseases and infirmities which have been sent against us flourish; let us endeavor to overturn and destroy them. For to offer prayers over them has nearly such an effect as this: it is confessing that, though we have them in our soul living and flourishing, we nevertheless do not yield, but make a stand against them all, and resist them vigorously, until we have entirely sent away the scape-goat and made atonement.

21 What, then, follows a man who lives not in accordance with the will of God but the death of the soul? And this is named Methuselah, the interpretation of which name is, "the sending out of death," on which account he is the son of Mehel, who has quilted his own life, to which death is sent, that is to say the death of the soul, which is nothing else than a conversion of it by irrational passion. This passion, therefore, when it has conceived, brings forth incurable diseases and infirmities with great pains, by which it is thrown down and convulsed, and humbled and tortured. For each of the diseases oppresses it, bringing upon it an unspeakable burden, such that no one is able even to raise his head beneath it. And this is named Lamech; the interpretation of which name is, "humiliation;" so that Lamech is properly represented as the son of Methuselah, being the passion of the death of the soul, humble, yielding, an infirmity which is the offspring of irrational desire.

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22 "And Lamech took to himself two wives; the name of the one was Adah, and the name of the other was Zillah." [Genesis 4:19.] Everything which a wicked man taketh himself is altogether blamable, as being polluted by his impure mind; and so, on the contrary, all deliberate actions of virtuous men are praise-worthy; on which account now, Lamech, who is taking wives unto himself, is choosing the greatest possible evils. Again, when Abraham, Jacob, and Aaron take to themselves wives, they choose appropriate good things to dwell with. Now Moses speaks thus in the case of Abraham: "And Abraham and Nachor took unto themselves wives; the name of Abraham's wife was Sarai." [Genesis 11:29.] And in the case of Jacob he says, "Rise up and go into Mesopotamia, to the house of Bethuel, thy mother's father, and take unto thyself a wife from thence of the daughters of Laban thy mother's Brother." [Genesis 28:2.] In the case of Aaron he says, and Aaron took Elizabeth, the daughter of Aminadab, the sister of Naassom, unto him to be his Wife." [Exodus 6:23.] Isaac too and Moses take unto themselves wives, but they do not take them of their own act entirely; but Isaac, "When he went into the house of his Mother," [Genesis 24:67.] is said to have taken a wife; and to Moses, "The man with whom he lodged gave his daughter Zipporah to be his Wife." [Exodus 2:21.]

23 Now it is not without a purpose that the differences between these persons are recorded by the lawgiver. For in the case of those who practice virtue and improve, and become better, their deliberate choice of the good bears testimony that their labour shall not be dismissed without its reward; but in the case of those who are endued with self-taught and naturally implanted wisdom, it follows that reason is betrothed to them not by their own act, but by God, and that they take unto themselves knowledge, the fitting companion through life of the wise. But he who is wholly devoted to the things of ordinary men, the lowly and grovelling-minded Lamech, first of all takes for his wife Adah, which name being interpreted, means "witness," having been his own manager of this marriage. For he thinks that Leah, which means the motion and passage out of the mind according to easy perceptions, without anything interfering to hinder its easy comprehension of all things, is the first good for man. "For what," says he, "could be better than that one's thoughts, one's contemplations, one's conjectures, one's suspicions, in a word, all one's ideas, should, as I may say, proceed on well-set feet, so as to arrive at their desired goal without stumbling, the mind being borne witness to in everything that is uttered." But I, if any man employs a felicitous and well directed mind to good objects only, account that man happy taking the law for my teacher in this view. For the law called Joseph "a prosperous Man," [Genesis 39:3.] not in all things, but "in those matters in which God gave him prosperity." And all the gifts of God are good. But if any one uses the acuteness and readiness of his nature, not solely for virtuous objects, but also for opposite purposes, being himself indifferent in a matter which is not indifferent, he should be accounted unhappy. At all events, it is said, in the manner of a curse, in the place where mention is made of the confusion of tongues, "And now nothing will be restrained from them of all the things which they have imagined to Do." [Genesis 11:6.] For in truth it is an irremediable calamity for the soul to be prosperous in whatever it undertakes, when its undertakings are disgraceful. But I should pray, if ever I had a design to commit injustice, that I might fail in my iniquity; and if I had a wish to live in a manner unbecoming a man, that I might fail in my intemperance; and if I wished to conduct myself with boldness and unscrupulous wickedness, that my failure in such boldness and unscrupulous wickedness might be complete: unless in the case of those who have determined to steal, or to commit adultery, or to murder, it is not an advantage to find their purposes in all these matters fail and become abortive.

24 Do thou, therefore, O my mind, avoid Adah, who bears witness to evil things, and who is borne witness to on each of its attempts at such things. And if you think fit to take her as a partner, she will bring forth to you the greatest possible evil, namely, Jubal,[Genesis 4:20.] the interpretation of which name is "changing;" for if you are delighted with any chance testimony, you will become desirous to upset and overturn every thing, changing the limits which have been affixed by nature to every thing. And Moses is very indignant with such people as these, and curses them, saying, "Cursed is he that removeth his neighbour's Landmark." [Deuteronomy 27:17.] And what he means by one's neighbours, and that which is near to a man, is the good. "For it is not good," says he, "to depart to the heave, nor to go beyond the Sea," [Deuteronomy 30:12.] in the search after what is good; for that stand near to, and close by, each individual. And he divides the good by a threefold division, speaking most strictly in accordance with natural philosophy. "For it is," says he, "in thy mouth, and in thy heart, and in they hands;" that is to say, in thy words, and in thy intentions, and in thy actions; for these are the component parts of the good, of which it is naturally compounded. So that the want of one portion does not only make the whole incomplete, but does entirely destroy it; for of what use is it to say what is excellent, but to think and to do what is most shameful? This is the way of the sophists. For those who make long speeches about prudence and perseverance, annoy the ears even of those who are very fond of hearing good conversation; and yet, in their designs and in the actions of their lives they are found to err. And what is the use of entertaining such sentiments as are proper, but acting and speaking most improperly, and injuring by your actions all who are exposed to the effect of them? Again, it is blameworthy even to do what is right, without any intention or reason; for what is done without these is a portion of involuntary conduct, and is on no account, and under no circumstances to be praised; but if it were to happen that, as in the case of a lyre, so all the sounds of the good could be adapted to any man, and that we could make the conversation agree with the intention, and the intention with the action; then such a man would be considered perfect and really well constituted. So that he who removes the landmarks of the good is justly accursed, and is justly spoken of as such.

25 But it is not our creation that has established these boundaries, but reasons, which are older than we, or than any thing upon the earth; and which, moreover, are divine. In accordance with which the law also has declared the same thing, charging every one of us not to adulterate the coinage of virtue, in these words, "Thou shall not remove thy neighbour's landmark which thy fathers Established." [Deuteronomy 19:14.] And in another passage he says, "Ask thy father, and he will tell thee; ask thy elders, and they will make it known to thee, how the Most High, when he divided the nations, dispersed the sons of Adam, and fixed the boundaries of the nations according to the number of the angels of God. And the portion of the Lord was his people Jacob, the limitation of the inheritance of Israel ." [Deuteronomy 32:7.] Shall I then inquire of the father who begat me and brought me up, or of those who are his contemporaries, but older than I am? or has God divided the nations, or sown them, or settled them in the land? and will they answer me accurately how this was done, as if they had been present at every division? Surely not. For they will say, We also in our youth were fond of inquiring of our parents and of those who were older than we, and learnt nothing certain; for they had nothing to tell us, and they again professed themselves pupils of those who knew, since they themselves were ignorant.

26 Perhaps, therefore, it is the right reason of our souls that he calls their father, and its companions and friends that he calls elders. These are they who first established the boundaries of virtue, to whom it is worth while to become pupils for the sake of learning and instruction in necessary things. And what is necessary is as follows. When God was dividing and drawing a wall between the nations of the soul, separating those who spoke different languages; and when establishing the sons of the earth in their abodes, he dispersed them and removed to a distance from himself those whom he called the sons of Adam; then he fixed the boundaries of the offspring of virtue, making them equal in number to the angels; for as many angels of God as there are, so many nations and species of virtue are there. What, then, are the portions of his angels, and what is that share which is the inheritance of the ruler and governor of all? The portion of those ministers are the specific virtues; but the portion of the ruler of all its his chosen people Israel . For he who sees God, being led on by his most surpassing beauty, has his inheritance and portion assigned to him in that which he sees. How, then, can we do any thing but blame Jubal, whose name being interpreted into the Greek language, means one who (metalloioμn eμ metapoioμn) changes or alters the natures of things? For those most divine beauties of prudence, and fortitude, and justice, and other virtues, he did change for the opposite impressions of folly, and intemperance, and injustice, and all wickedness, effacing all the impressions which had previously been stamped upon the natures of things.

27 For it is always the case that if a second impression is stamped upon any thing, the mark of any previous one is effaced. But the impression which is thus made is so far from permitting evil things to be taken in exchange for what is good, that it does not allow even what is beautiful to be taken in exchange for what is labourious; but looking upon what is labourious (poneμron) as evil, since it would be downright folly not to discard what is bad for the sake of the acquisition of what is better, but only taking (poneμros) to be equivalent to epiponos or kamateμros, in which sense, indeed, the Attic writers use the word when they mark the first syllable with an acute, thus, poneμros. Now the precept is of this kind, "Of every thing which passeth under the rod, the tenth is sacred to the Lord; thou shall not exchange good for bad, and if thou dost exchange, both the thing itself and that for which it is exchanged shall be sacred," [Leviticus 27:32.] and yet how can that which is evil possibly be sacred? The truth is that, as I said, he means here what is labourious, not what is bad; so that what is really intended is something of this kind:--The honourable is a perfect good, but labour is an imperfect advantage. If therefore you acquire what is perfect, you need no longer seek what is deficient; but if with an excessive superfluity you choose still to continue labouring, then know that you will appear to be exchanging one thing for another, but in reality you will be acquiring both, for even if both are of equal value they nevertheless are not completely whole.

28 But a thing which is sacred is proved to be so by three witnesses, the middle number, education, and perfect number. On which account it is said, "Of everything which cometh in the number under the rod, the tenth is sacred," for that which is not accounted worthy of being comprehended under number is profane, not sacred; but that which is according to number is approved, as having been already tested. Accordingly the law says, that the corn which was collected in Egypt by Joseph could not be Counted," [Genesis 41:49.] and adds, "for it was without number," since the things which nourish the body and the Egyptian passions, are utterly unworthy to be included in any calculation. But the rod is the symbol of education, for without being looked at sternly, and chastised for some causes, it is impossible for any one to be admonished and corrected to any good purpose; but the number ten is a confirmation of that perfection which takes place in accordance with improvement, with which he must begin who having brought forth an offspring educated it, and brought the wished-for fruit to maturity.

29 Thus much it may be sufficient to say concerning him who changes and adulterates the ancient coinage, whom Moses also calls the father "of those that dwell in the tents of those who fed cattle." Now by cattle here he means the irrational and outward senses, and by those who feed cattle he means the worshippers of pleasure and indulgences of the passions, who supply these senses with their external objects by way of food, and are a long way removed from shepherds. For some, like rulers, chastise those of their flocks who are unruly; but others, like entertainers or masters of a feast, supply them with unlimited food, and give them fearlessness as to the consequences of their sins; for it follows of necessity that such men are at once victims of insatiable appetite, and of insolence, the daughter of satiety; accordingly, he who re-fashions and changes all honourable things in a seemly and natural manner, is the father of those who pursue every object of the outward sense, and all other inanimate objects; for if he had pursued the incorporeal natures which are accessible only to the intellect, he would have preserved those boundaries marked out by his elders, which they established as a defense to virtue, stamping each appearance of virtue with its own appropriate Image. [Deuteronomy 27:2.]

30 And Jacob's brother, he says, was Jubal,[Genesis 4:21.] and the interpretation of this latter name is "inclining," being symbolically speech according to utterance; for this is naturally the brother of intellect; and it is with extraordinary propriety that he called the conversation of that intellect which changes affairs, "inclining," for it agrees after a fashion and harmonizes with both, as the equivalent weight does in a scale, or as a vessel which is tossed by the sea inclines first to one side and then to the other, from the violence of the waves; for the foolish man has not learnt how to say anything firm or stable. But Moses does not think it right to incline either to the right or to the left, or in short to any part of the earthly Edom; but rather to proceed along the middle way, which he with great propriety calls the royal road,[Numbers 20:17.] for since God is the first and only God of the universe, so also the road to him, as being the king's road, is very properly denominated royal; and this royal road you must consider to be philosophy, not that philosophy which the existing sophistical crowd of men pursues (for they, studying the art of words in opposition to truth, have called crafty wickedness, wisdom, assigning a divine name to wicked action), but that which the ancient company of those men who practiced virtue studied, rejecting the persuasive juggleries of pleasure, and adopting a virtuous and austere study of the honourable--this royal road, which we have stated to be true and genuine philosophy, the law calls the word and reason of God; for it is written, "Thou shall not turn aside from the word which I command thee this day, to the right hand nor to the left," So that it is shown most manifestly that the word of God is identical with the royal road, since Moses' words are not to depart either from the royal road, or from this word, as if the two were synonymous, but to proceed with an upright mind along the middle and level road, which leads one aright.

31 "Now this Jubal," says Moses, "is the father who showed men the use of the psaltery and of the Harp." [Genesis 4:21.] He in the strictest consistency with nature calls distinctly uttered language the father of music and of all the instruments used in music; for nature, having given the organ of voice to animals as the first and most perfect of organs, afterwards gave to this organ all the harmonies, and all the different kinds of melodies, in order that it might be a previously made model for those organs which are hereafter to be made by art. And as he made an ear spherical, fashioning lesser circles in their greater ones and framing it as in a lathe, with the object of preventing the sounds of the voice which come from without from being wasted and dissipated, so that the voice when collected together and closely packed within the circle might, by a sort of diffusion of the power of hearing, be

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poured over the different channels of the principal part. And this immediately served as a model for those theatres which are found in handsome cities; so that the shape of a theatre is skilfully dictated by the mechanism of the ear. So also, nature, which formed animals, stretching the rough artery like a musical canon, and wearing beneath the harmonic and chromatic and diatonic kinds of sounds, according to the innumerable variations of combined and separated melodies, made a model in accordance with which every musical instrument might be made.

32 Perhaps, at all events, flutes and lyres, and similar instruments which utter melodies, are as far inferior to the music of nightingales or swans as a thing made after a model, and an imitation must be from the archetypal model, or a perishable species from an imperishable genus; for it is not fitting to compare the music of man with that of any other animal, since it has an especial privilege with which it is honoured, namely, articulate distinctness of speaking; for all other animals, having a broken utterance in their voice, by this and by an incessant change of tones alone give pleasure to our ears. But man, being furnished by nature with the means not only of speaking but also of singing articulately, charms both the sense of hearing and the mind, soothing the one with his song and influencing the other with ideas; for, as an instrument, if it be given into the hands of a man who has no skill as a musician, is inharmonious, but if given to a musician it becomes harmonious according to the skill that is in him. So in the same manner speech, when put in motion by a worthless mind, is inharmonious; but, when it is put in motion by a virtuous mind, it is found to be very melodious. A lyre, indeed, or any similar instrument, if it be not struck by some one, is silent; and speech, too, if it be not struck by the principal part, that is to say, the mind, is of necessity tranquil. And, again, as musical instruments are transposed and adapted to an infinite number of mixtures of airs, so also speech corresponds to them, becoming an interpreter of things; for who would converse in a similar manner with parents and children, being by nature the slave of the one, and by birth the master of the others? And who, again, would talk in the same manner to brothers or cousins; or, in short, to near and to distant relations? Who, again, could do so to friends and to strangers, to fellow citizens and to foreigners, though there may be no great difference in point of fortune, or nature, or age between them? For one must behave differently while associating with an old man and with a young one; and, again, with a man of high reputation and a humble man, with a servant and a master; and, again, with a woman and a man, and with an illiterate and a clever man. And why need one cite an incredible variety of persons to whom speech varies itself, so as at one time to assume one character and at another time another? For it would not interpret great things and small, numerous things and rare, private and public matters, sacred and profane affairs, or old and new events in the same manner; but would use, in each case, language appropriate to the number, or importance, or magnitude of the affairs under discussion; at one time elevating itself to a lofty style, and at another time, on the contrary, confining and humbling itself. But as circumstances and persons give varieties to speech, so also do the causes of things and the manner in which they are done; and, moreover, those points especially with which everything is concerned, namely, time and place. Very beautifully, therefore, is he who inclines voices, namely Jubal, called "the father of the psaltery and of the harp," from a portion of the whole science of music, as has been shown already.

33 The descendants, therefore, of Adah, and what she herself is, have now been explained. Let us consider next the other wife of Lamech, Zillah, and what she brings forth. Zillah, then, being interpreted, means "shadow," a symbol of the equalities of the body and of the external good things, which, in their real essence, are in no way better than a shadow. Is not beauty a shadow, which, after it has flourished for a brief time, withers away? And are not strength and activity of body shadows, which any chance disease can destroy? And the organs of the external senses, and the accuracy of their use, which any sudden cold may obstruct, or old age, that inevitable and common disease of all men, may impair, are not they shadows? And, again, are not riches and glory, and authority and honours, and all the external circumstances which are accounted goods, are not they, I say, all shadows? But one ought to lead the mind, as if by the steps of a flight of stairs, up to the origin of everything. Men in the rank of those who are considered illustrious have gone to Delphi, who have consecrated their happy lives to the service of that place, and like writings which have become effaced, not only in consequence of the lapse of ages but also by the vicissitudes which time brings bout, they have then expired [...] [there is an hiatus in the text in this sentence. I have followed Mangey's Latin translation.] There are some again whom the impetuosity of an overflowing torrent, as it were, has suddenly extinguished and carried away. From all these shadows, then, and all these unsubstantial dreams a son is born, whom his parents called Tubal (this name being interpreted means "all"). For they with great wisdom laying it down (instead of those things which are accounted good things by the multitude) that competency combined with good health is happiness, consider that in that is united everything great or small, in short everything. But if there were any such thing as an absolutely independent authority added, then becoming full of arrogant domination, and elated with vanity and false opinions, forgetting themselves and the contemptible material of which they are composed, they look upon themselves as composed of a more valuable material than the composition of man admits of; and becoming swollen with pride, they think themselves worthy of even divine honours. At all events, before now some persons have ventured to say, that they "do not know the true God," [Exodus 5:2.] forgetting their own human nature, by reason of the immoderate excess of corporeal and external things [...] and each imagining [...] [another hiatus occurs here.]

34 Then Moses says, "He was a hammer-beater and forger of brass and Iron:" [Genesis 4:22, where he is called Tubalcain.] for the soul of that man who is intent on corporeal pleasures or external things is beaten by a hammer, like apiece of iron on an anvil, being drawn out according to the long and thin-drawn extensions of the appetites. Accordingly, you may see men fond of their bodies at every time, and in every place laying lines and nets to catch those objects that they desire; and others, who are lovers of money or covetous of glory, letting loose their desire and eagerness for those things to the furthest boundaries of earth and sea, and dragging in from all quarters by their unlimited desires, as if by so many nets, whatever can gratify them, till the excessive tension, being broken by its great violence, drags back those who are dragging at it, and throws them down headlong. All these men are causes of war, on account of which they are said to be workers in brass and iron, by means of which metals wars are carried on. For if any one contemplates the history of the greatest public or private quarrels that have arisen among men and among cities, he will not be wrong if [...] [here again there is an hiatus in the text.] he looks upon all of them, whether upon those which took place long ago, or upon those which are now raging, or on all that will ever arise hereafter, as being caused either by the beauty of a woman, or by a love of money, or, in short, by some desire for the excessive indulgence of the body, and for some superfluity of external things: but no foreign war and no civil war has ever existed for the sake of instruction or virtue, which are the good things of the mind, which is the best part of us; for these things are in their nature peaceful, and by them good laws and tranquil stability, and whatever else is most beautiful to the sharpseeing eyes of the soul, not to the dim perceptions of the body, are seen to be established. For the perceptive powers of the body look only upon the external surface, but the eye of the mind penetrates within, and going deep down surveys all the interior and hidden things which are removed out of the reach of bodily sight. And nearly all the troubles, and confusions, and enmities which arise among men, are about absolutely nothing, but about what is really a shadow: for Moses called Tubal the son of Zillah, that is to say of shadow, the maker of the warlike instruments of brass and iron, speaking philosophically, and being guided not by verbal technicalities, but by the exceeding propriety of the names; for he knew that every naval and every land expedition chooses to encounter the greatest dangers for the sake of bodily pleasures, or with a view to obtain a superfluity of external good things, of which nothing is firm or solid, as is testified by the history of time, which brings all things to proof: for they are like superficial sketches, being in themselves perishable and of no duration.

35 Moses proceeds to say, that Tubal's sister was Noeman, the interpretation of which name is "fatness." For it follows that those who pursue a luxurious condition of the body, and the other objects which I have mentioned, do get fat when they obtain any of the things that they desire: but such fatness as this I lay down as not strength but weakness; for it teaches a man to depart from the honour due to God, which is the first and most excellent power of the soul: 2and the law is a witness to this which in the great hymn speaks thus--"He was fat, he was rich, he was exceeding broad, and he forsook God who had made him, and he forgot God his Saviour." [Deuteronomy 32:15.] For in truth those men whose lives have been exceedingly fortunate and are so at the time, do not remember the eternal God, but they think time their god; on which account Moses bears witness, exhorting us to war against the contrary opinions, for he says, "The time has departed from them, and the Lord is among Us." [Numbers 14:9.] So that those men by whom the life of the soul is honoured, have divine reason dwelling among them, and walking with them; but those who pursue a life of pleasure have only a brief and fictitious want of opportunities: these men, therefore, having swollen extravagantly, and become enormously distended by their profuse fatness and luxury, have burst asunder. But the others, being made fat by that wisdom which nourishes the souls that love virtue, have a firm and unshaken power, a specimen of which is the fat which is sacrificed as a whole burnt-offering from every victim: 2for Moses says, "All the fat shall belong to the Lord by the everlasting Law;" [Leviticus 3:16.] so that the fat of the mind is offered up to God and is appropriated to him, owing to which it is made immortal; but the fat which clings to the body and belongs to external things is referred to time, which is contrary to God, through which it very rapidly wastes away.

36 Therefore, concerning the wives of Lamech and his children, I think that enough has been said. Let us now consider what we may look upon as the resurrection of Abel, who was treacherously slain. Moses tells us, "And Adam knew his wife Eve, and she conceived and brought forth a son, and he called his name Seth; for, said he, "God has raised me up another seed instead of Abel, whom Cain Slew." [Genesis 4:25.] The interpretation of the name Seth, is "irrigation." As, therefore, the seeds and plants which are put into the ground grow and blossom through being irrigated, and are thus made fertile for the production of fruits, but if they are deprived of moisture they wither away, so likewise the soul, as it appears when it is watered with the wholesome stream of wisdom, shoots forth, and brings fruit to perfection. Now, irrigation may be looked upon in a two-fold light: with regard to that which irrigates, and with regard to that which is irrigated. And might one not say that each of the outward senses is irrigated by the mind as by a fountain, which widens and extends all their faculties, as if they were so many channels for water? No one, therefore, in his senses would say, that the eyes see, but that the mind sees by means of the eyes; or that the ears hear, but that the mind hears by the instrumentality of the ears; or that the nostrils smell, but that the predominant part of man smells through the medium of the nostrils.

37 On which account it is said in Genesis, "And a fountain went up from the earth, and watered all the face of the Earth." [Genesis 2:6.] For since nature has allotted the most excellent portion of the whole body, namely the face, to the outward senses, therefore the fountain which goes up from the superior part, being diffused over various parts, and sending up its streams like so many watercourses as high as the face, by their means conducts the faculties to each of the organs of the outwards senses. In this way in truth, it is that the word of God irrigates the virtues; for that is the beginning and the fountain of all good actions. And the lawgiver shows this, when he says, "And a river went out of Eden to water the Paradise ; and from thence it is divided into four Heads." [Genesis 2:10.] For there are four generic virtues: prudence, courage, temperance, and justice. And of these, every single one is a princess and a ruler; and he who has acquired them is, from the moment of the acquisition, a ruler and a king, even if he has no abundance of any kind of treasure; 2for the meaning of the expression, "it is divided into four heads," is [...] [here again is an hiatus, which Mangey does not attempt to supply.] nor distance; but virtue exhibits the pre-eminence and the power. And these spring from the word of God as from one root, which he compares to a river, on account of the unceasing and everlasting flow of salutary words and doctrines, by which it increases and nourishes the souls that love God.

38 And of what kind they are, he proceeds to show in a few words, deriving his explanation from the natural things of art; for he introduces Agar as filling a leathern bag with water, and giving her child Drink. [Genesis 21:19.] Now Agar is the handmaid of Sarah, the new dispensation of perfect virtue; and she is correctly represented so. Since, therefore, having come to the depth of knowledge, which Moses here calls a well, she draws up (filling the soul as if it were a vessel) the doctrines and speculations which she is in pursuit of, wishing to feed her child on the things on which she herself is fed. And Moses, by her child, means, a soul which has lately learnt to desire instruction, and which has, in a manner, just been born to learn. In reference to which, the boy, when he has grown up to man's estate, becomes a sophist, whom Moses calls an archer; [Genesis 21:20.] for whatever argument he applies his mind to, at that, as at a target, he shoots all his reasons, as an archer shoots his arrows.

39 But Rebekkah is found to give her pupil drink no longer by improvement, but by perfection. How so the law will tell us: "For the damsel," says Moses, "was very beautiful to the sight, and was a maiden; no man had known her. And when he had gone down to the fountain, she filled her pitcher, and came up again; and the servant ran forward to meet her, and said, Give me now to drink a little water from thy pitcher. And she said, Drink, my lord. And she made haste, and took down the pitcher on her arm, and gave to him to drink until he ceased drinking, And said, and I will also give to thy camels to drink, until they have all drunk; and she made haste, and emptied her pitcher into the trough, and running to the well, she drew water for the Camels." [Genesis 24:16.] 3Here who can help wondering at the minute accuracy of the lawgiver as to every particular? He calls Rebekkah a maiden, and a very beautiful maiden, because the nature of virtue is unmixed and free from guile, and unpolluted, and the only thing in all creation which is both beautiful and good; from which arose the Stoic doctrine, that the only thing that was beautiful was the good.

40 Now of the four virtues, some are always virgins, and some from having been women become changed into virgins,

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as Sarah did; "For it had ceased to be with her after the manner of Women," [Genesis 18:11.] when she began to conceive her happy offspring Isaac. But that which is always a virgin, is that of which Moses says, "And no man whatever knows her." For in truth, it is not permitted to any mortal to pollute incorruptible nature, nor even clearly to comprehend what it is. If indeed he were able by any means to become acquainted with it, he would not cease to hate and regret it; on which account Moses, in strict accordance with the principles of natural philosophy, represents Leah as Hated. [Genesis 29:31.] For those whom the charms of pleasures, which are with Rachel, that is to say, with the outward sense, cannot be endured by Leah, who is situated out of the reach of the passions; on which account they repudiate and detest her. But as far as she herself is concerned, her alienation from the creature produces her a close connexion with God, from whom she receives the seeds of wisdom, and conceives, and travails, and brings forth virtuous ideas, worthy of the father who begot them. If therefore, you, O my soul, imitating Leah, reject mortal things, you will of necessity turn to the incorruptible God, who will shed over you all the fountains of his good.

41 "But Rebekkah," says Moses, "went down to the fountain to fill her pitcher, and came up again." For from what source is it natural for the mind that thirsts after wisdom to be filled, except from the wisdom of God, that fountain which never fails, and to which the soul that descends comes up again like a virtuous disciple? For those who descend out of a vain pride, the reason of virtue receives, and taking them up by means of fame raises them to a height. On which account it is that Moses seems to me to use the expression, "Go, descend, and come Up," [Exodus 32:7.] as if every one who measures his own loveliness comes forth more gloriously in the eyes of the judges of truth. And he speaks of these matters with great caution. 3For Agar bears a leathern bag to the well, but Rebekkah carries a pitcher. For the one who devotes himself to instruction and to the energetical branches of learning has need of some incorporeal things as it were of the outward senses, of vessels, and eyes, and ears, for a proper contemplation of the objects of her speculation. For from seeing many things and hearing many things, there is derived, in the case of those who are fond of learning the advantage which proceeds from knowledge. But the one who is filled with unalloyed wisdom has need only of a leathern habitation, which is no better than none at all. For the soul which loves unsubstantial things has learnt to put off the whole leathern bag of reasons, that is to say the body, and brings only a pitcher which is the symbol of a vessel, which contains the principal portion in great size and abundance, like water; as to which, those who are clever in such matters may make it a subject of philosophical speculation, whether it is a membrane or a heart. 3Therefore, the man who is fond of learning, seeing men imbibing the sciences like water, from wisdom that divine fountain, runs up, and meeting them becomes a suppliant to them to know how he may allay his thirst for learning. And the soul which has received the best possible education, namely, the lesson not to envy, and to be liberal, immediately proffers to him the stream of wisdom, and invites him to drink abundantly, adding also this that she calls him who is only a servant her lord. This is the meaning of that most dogmatic assertion, that the wise man alone is free, and a king, even if he have ten thousand masters over his body.

42 Most correctly, therefore, after the servant has said, "Give me a little water to drink," does she make answer, not in the manner corresponding to his request: "I will give you to drink," but "Drink." For the one expression would have been suited to one who was displaying the riches of God, which are poured forth for all who are worthy of them and who are able to think of them; but the other expression is appropriate to one who professes that she will teach. But nothing which is connected with mere professions is akin to virtue. But he describes in a most skilful manner the language used by her who teaches and benefits her pupils. For "she made haste," he says, "and took down the pitcher on her arm." Her alacrity to serve the man was displayed by her making haste, and such alacrity is seated in the mind, beyond which envy is cast away. But by the expression, "taking down the pitcher on her arm," we see intimated the prompt and eager attention of the teacher to the pupil; 4for those teachers are foolish who attempt to regulate their explanations not by a reference to the capacity of their pupils, but to their own superior ability, not being aware that there is a vast difference between making a display and giving a lesson. For he who is making a display, relying on the good fortune of his present way of proceeding, brings into sight, without any trouble, the works at which he has for a long while been labouring at home, like the works of painters or sculptors, seeking for praise from the multitude. But he who is endeavoring to teach others, like a good physician, has a regard not to the greatness of his own skill, but to the capacity of his patient who is to be healed; not thinking how much he can do by his art, for it is unspeakable how much this may be; but what the patient requires, aiming at moderation, and bringing forward what may improve him.

43 On which account Moses says in another passage, "Thou shall lend a loan to him who asks you for one, as much as he requires, having regard to what he Requires." [Deuteronomy 15:8.] By the second phrase showing that it is not everything which is to be given, but only such things as are suitable to the requirements of those who are asking for them. For to give an anchor, or an oar, or a rudder to a husbandman, or ploughs or a spade to a captain of a ship, or a lyre to a physician, or instruments suited to manual labour to a musician, would be ridiculous, unless indeed one ought to offer a thirsty man costly viands, or a hungry man unmixed wine in abundance, so as to show at once one's own riches and one's want of humanity, by turning the souls of one's companions into ridicule. The quantity to be given in an act of beneficence is defined according to due proportion, which is a most useful thing. For, says Moses, do not give all that right reason is able to give, but as much as he who is asking the loan is worthy to receive. 4Do you not see that even God does not utter his oracles, having a regard to their being in proportion to the magnitude of his own oracular power, but always having respect to the capacity of those who are to be benefited by them? Since who could receive the whole power of the words of God, which are too mighty for any one to listen to? On which account those persons appear to speak with great truth, who say to Moses, "Do thou speak to us, and let not God speak to us, lest we Die." [Exodus 20:19.] For they know that they have not in themselves any organ which can be worthy of God who is giving laws to his church; nor, indeed, could even the whole world, both land and sea, contain his riches if he were inclined to display them, unless we think that the descent of the rains and of the other things that happen in the world are appointed to take place according to the pre-arranged periods of the seasons, and not all at once, because of the scarcity and rarity of the things themselves, and not from any regard to the advantage of those who are benefited by them; who would be injured rather than be benefited by a continual enjoyment of such gifts. On this account it is, that God always judiciously limits and brings out with wise moderation his first benefits, stopping them before those who partake of them become wanton through satiety; and then he bestows others in their stead; and again a third class of advantages instead of the second set, and so on, continually substituting new blessings for those of older date, at one time giving such as are different from those which went before, and at another time such as are almost identical with them; for the creature is never wholly destitute of the blessings bestowed by God, since if he were he would be utterly destroyed; but he is unable to endure an unlimited and measureless abundance of them. On which account, as he is desirous that we should derive advantage from the benefits which he bestows upon us, he weighs out what he gives so as to proportion it to the strength of those who receive it.

44 Rebekkah, therefore, must be praised, who, in obedience to the injunctions of her father, having taken down the vessel of wisdom on her arm from a higher place, proffered her pitcher to the disciple; by the pitcher being understood that teaching which he is competent to receive. And beyond all other things, I especially admire her exceeding liberality; for though she had only been asked for a small draught, she gave a large one, until she had filled the whole soul of the learner with wholesome speculations. For Moses says, "She gave him to drink till he ceased from drinking," a most marvelous example to teach us humanity. For if any one should not happen to be in want of many things, but should come forward, and out of shame ask only for a very little, let us not give him only what he mentions, but also those things of which he makes no mention, but of which he is nevertheless in reality in need. But it is not sufficient for the complete enjoyment of his teacher's lessons, that the disciple should merely comprehend what the master has taught him, unless he has also got memory. On which account, making a display of her bounteous disposition, when he has satisfied himself with the water, she offers to give his camels water also, which we have already said are here put symbolically for memory. For the animal while eating its food ruminates, and when, having stooped down it has received a heavy burden, with exceedingly great vigor of muscle it rises up lightly; 4and in the same manner also, the soul of the man who is devoted to learning, when the burden of its speculations is placed upon it, becomes more lowly, and when it has risen up it rejoices; and from that mastication, and as it were the softening, of the first food that is placed down before it, arises its memory of those speculations. 5But she, beholding the nature of the servant to be well calculated for the reception of virtue, emptied her whole pitcher into the cistern, that is to say, she emptied the whole knowledge of the teacher into the soul of the learner. For the sophists, from a desire of gain and also from envy, repressing the natural characters of their pupils, keep silence about many things which ought to be mentioned, laying up for themselves a source of gain for future times. 5But virtue is an ungrudging and most liberal feeling, so that it does not hesitate to assist another with hand and foot, as the proverb goes, and with all its power. Therefore, pouring all that she knew into the mind of the pupil as into a cistern, she went again to the well to draw water, that is to say, she went to the ever-flowing wisdom of God, that what had been already imparted might be firmly fixed in by memory, and that he might also be irrigated with the knowledge of other and newer things. For the wealth of the wisdom of God is illimitable, and as a tree which is continually putting forth new shoots after the old ones, so that it never ceases growing young again, and being in the flower of its strength. So that they are marvelously simple people who have ever had an idea of coming to the end of any branch of knowledge whatever. For that which has seemed to be near and within reach is nevertheless a long way distant from the end; since no created being is perfect in any department of learning, but falls as far short of it as a thoroughly infant child just beginning to learn does, in comparison of a man who both by age and skill is qualified to be a master.

45 And we must inquire the cause why the handmaid gave the servant drink from the fountain, but gave the camels water from the well. May it not perhaps be that the stream here signifies the sacred scripture itself, which irrigates the sciences, and that the well is rather akin to memory? For the depths which he has already mentioned, he produces by means of memory as it were out of a well; 5and such persons as these one ought to admit because of the goodness of their natural disposition. But there are some men among those who practice virtue to whom the all-beneficent God has shown the way that leads to virtue, such that at first it is accounted rough, and steep, and difficult, but subsequently level and easy, having changed the bitterness of the wayfarer's labour to sweetness. And how he has wrought this change we will now tell. When he led us forth out of Egypt, that is to say, out of the passions which excite the body, we, travelling in the desert, that is to say, in the path of pleasure, encamped in the place called Marah, a place which had no drinkable water, but where all the water was Bitter. [Exodus 15:23.] For still the pleasures which are brought into action by means of the eyes, and ears, and belly, and the parts adjacent to the belly, were tempting to us, and charmed us exceedingly, sounding close to us. 5When, therefore, we desired to be entirely separated from them, they dragged us back, exerting themselves in opposition to us, and entwining themselves round us, and soothing us with all kinds of juggling tricks and assiduous blandishments; so that we, yielding to their unremitting caresses, became alienated from and disinclined to labour, as something very bitter and intolerable, and designed to run back again to Egypt, that is to say, to the condition of an intemperate and lascivious life, if the Saviour had not speedily taken pity on us, and thrown a sweetening branch like a medicine upon our soul, causing it to love labour instead of hating it. For he knew, inasmuch as he was our Creator, that we could not possibly survive any existing thing unless there were in us an intense love of doing so. Therefore, men never succeed in attaining any object that they desire if they pursue it without any connexion with or consideration of fitness. But when friendship is added, and also a familiarity with the loved object, their endeavors then succeed rightly.

46 This is the food of a soul which is inclined to the practice of virtue, to consider labour a very sweet thing instead of a bitter one, which, however, it is not allowed to all persons to participate in; but to those only by whom the golden calf, the animal made by the Egyptians, the body, is sprinkled over with water after having been burnt with fire, and broken to pieces. For it is said in the sacred scriptures, that "Moses having taken the calf burnt it with fire, and broke it up into small pieces, and threw the pieces into the water and caused the children of Israel to drink Thereof." [Exodus 32:20.] 5For the love of virtue being inflamed and excited by the brilliant appearance of virtue, burns to ashes the pleasures of the body, and then cuts them to pieces and pounds them to nothing, using the divine word which can at all times divide everything. And in this manner he teaches us that among the bodily advantages are health, and beauty, and the accuracy of the outward senses, and the perfection of bodily vigor with strength and mighty energy; but still that all these things are common to accursed and wicked persons, while if they were really good no wicked person would be allowed to partake of them. 6But these men, even if they are utterly wicked, still, inasmuch as they are men, and so far partake of the same human nature as virtuous men, do also partake of these advantages of the body. And, in fact, at present those wild beasts which are the most untameable, enjoy these good things, if indeed they are in reality good things, in a greater degree than rational beings; 6for what wrestler could be compared in might with the strength of a bull or of an elephant? And what runner could put himself on a level with the speed of a hound or of a hare? And the most sharp-sighted of men is absolutely blind if his sight is compared with that of antelopes of eagles. Again, in hearing and in smell, often other animals are very far beyond man; as, for instance, the ass, which appears to be the stupidest of all animals, would show that our sense of hearing is very obtuse if he were brought into comparison with us. The dog, too, would make the nostrils in man appear a perfectly useless part from the exceeding superiority of the quickness of his own sense of

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smell; for, in him, that sense is pushed to such a degree that it almost equals the rapidity of the eye-sight.

47 And why need I dwell on the subject more, going through each of the senses and animals separately? For this point has been long agreed upon among all the most eminent historians and philosophers, who have all said that nature is the mother of the irrational animals, and the stepmother of men, perceiving the bodily weakness of men, and the surpassing strength of brute animals in everything. With great propriety, therefore, the artist pounded the calf to pieces; that is to say, dividing it into parts, he showed that all the things which the body has in abundance are very far removed from real good, and are in no respect different from those things which are scattered on the water. 6On which account the scripture tells us that the calf, after having been pounded to pieces, was scattered on the water, to signify that no genuine plant of good can ever flourish in corruptible matter; for as a seed, when thrown into the stream of a river or into the sea, cannot display its proper powers; for it is impossible, unless it has once taken hold with its roots, as with anchors, of some firm portion of earth, that any branch should be firmly fixed or should shoot up, I do not say to any height, but even as a creeper along the ground, or that it should ever bring forth fruit at the periodical seasons of the year, for any great and violent rush of water coming on washes away all the germinating vigor of the seed. In the same manner all the superfluities contained in the vessel of the soul which are ever spoken of or celebrated are destroyed before they can have any existence, the corporeal substance continually flowing off from them. For how can there be such things as disease and old age and all kinds of corruptions, if there were not a continual drawing off of words, which are theoretical streams; the hierophant, therefore, thinks it Right [i have followed Mangey here in reading axioi, instead of apaxioi, though he prints the latter in the text as the reading of all the MSS.] to irrigate our minds with these words, for the sake of burning up the pleasures, of pounding to pieces and reducing to a thin and impalpable dust, and utterly destroying the system of the corporeal goods; and of making us recollect that the true good has never at any time germinated or blossomed from any one of them, just as nothing flourishes from seeds which are sown in water.

48 But bulls, and rams, and goats, which Egypt holds in honour, and all other images of corruptible matter which, in report alone, are accounted God's, have no real existence, but are all fictitious and false; for those who look upon life as only a tragedy full of acts of arrogance and stories of love, impressing false ideas on the tender minds of young men, and using the ears as their ministers, into which they pour fabulous trifles, waste away and corrupt their minds, compelling them to look upon persons who were never even men in their minds, but always effeminate creatures as God's; for the calf was not made of every description of female ornament, but only of the earrings of the women. The lawgiver showing us by this that nothing wrought with hands is a visible and true God, but only so by report, and as far as he is thought so, and that, too, the report of a woman and not of a man; for it is the conduct of a soul utterly enervated and rendered completely effeminate to receive such nonsense. 6But he who is truly God is perceived, and felt, and recognised, not only by means of one's ears, but also by the eyes of our mind, through his mighty works which are done in the world, and through the rapidity of his operations; on which account in the great song it is said (the speaker assuming the character of God), "Behold! behold! it is I!" [Deuteronomy 32:39.] as if that real existing God could be more easily conceived by the mind than proved by verbal demonstration; 6but it is not correct to say that the living God is visible, that is rather an abuse of language, arising from referring God himself to his separate acts of power; for even in the passage cited above, he does not say, "Behold me," for it is wholly impossible that God according to his essence should be perceived or beheld by any creature, but he says, "Behold! it is I," that is to say, behold my existence; for it is sufficient for the reasoning powers of man to advance so far as to learn that there is and actually exists the great cause of all things, and to attempt to proceed further, so as to pursue investigations into the essence or distinctive qualities of God, is an absolute piece of folly; for God did not grant this even to the all-wise Moses; not though he addressed innumerable requests to him, all having this object; but an oracle was delivered to him, telling him, "Thou shall see my back parts, but my face thou shall not See;" [Exodus 33:23.] and the meaning of this is, that all the things which are behind God are within the comprehension of a virtuous man, but he himself alone is incomprehensible; and he is incomprehensible by any direct and immediate access (for by such means it is only explained what kind of being he is), but he may be understood in his subsequent and consistent faculties; for they, by means of the works accomplished by them, declare not his essence, but his existence.

49 Therefore the mind having generated the foundation of good [...] [there is again an hiatus in the text here. Mangey conjectures diagoμgeμs, "way of life," to be the word which has fallen out.] and the primary principle of virtue, namely Seth, or irrigation, boasts with an honourable and holy boast; for she says, "God has raised up to me another seed, instead of Abel whom Cain Slew," [Genesis 4:25.] for it has been said with great exactness and neatness, that no single divine seed ever falls to the ground, but that they all rise up from the things of earth, and leave them, and are borne upwards to heaven; but the seeds which are sown by mortals, whether for the generation of animals or of plants, do not all come to perfection; but we must be content if more are not wasted than those which remain above; and God sows nothing in our souls which is incomplete; but his seed is all so seasonable and so perfect that every one of them is at once borne forward to produce abundance of its appropriate fruit.

50 But when Moses says here that Seth sprung up as another or different seed, he does not say from which it was different; was it different from Abel who was treacherously slain, or from Cain who slew him? But may we not say perhaps that the original seed from which each of these sprung was different? That from which Cain sprung, inasmuch as it was hostile; for a thirst for virtue is the most hostile thing possible to that deserter, wickedness; that from which Abel sprung, as friendly and kindred; for that which is beginning to exist is a different thing from, but not a contrary thing to, that which is perfected; and so that which pertains to creation is different from that which pertains to the uncreate. 7On this account Abel, after having quitted the mortal body, departed to the better nature, and took up his abode with that. But Seth, as being the seed of human virtue, will never quit the race of mankind. But first of all he will receive his growth up to the number ten, that perfect number, according to which the just Noah exists; and then he will receive a second and a better growth from his son Shem, ending in a second ten, from which the faithful Abraham is named. And he will also have a third growth, and one more perfect than the number ten, extending from him to Moses, that man who is wise in all things, for he is the seventh from Abraham, not revolving, like an initiated worshipper, in the circle which is exterior to holy things, but like a hierophant, making his abode in the inmost shrines.

51 And consider the advances towards improvement made by the soul of the man who is eager for, and insatiable in, his craving after good things; and the illimitable riches of God, who gives the end of some things to be the beginnings of others; for the end of the knowledge which is according to Seth is the beginning of the just Noah; and his perfection again is the beginning of the education of Abraham; and the most perfect wisdom of Abraham is the first instruction of Moses; 7and the two daughters of Lot, the man who was subdued and overthrown by the weakness of the soul, namely, intention and agreement, desire to become pregnant by the mind, that is to say, by their father, acting in opposition to him who said, "God has raised up for me ..." [Genesis 19:32.] For that which the living God did for him, this they affirm that the mind is able to do for them, introducing the doctrine of an intoxicated and frenzied soul. It is indeed the act of sober reason, both to confess that God is the Creator and the Father of the universe; and the conduct of one utterly fallen in intoxication and drunkenness, to fancy that he himself is the bringer about of each of human affairs. 7Evil opinions therefore will not come into association with their father, before a great quantity of the unmixed wine of folly has been found upon him, and destroyed any sense that may have previously been in him; for it is written, "They made their father drink wine." So that if they do not give him drink, they will never receive legitimate seed from him while he is sober; but when he has been soaked in wine, and has become utterly intoxicated and senseless, then they will become pregnant, and have a culpable labour and offspring, which will be truly accursed.

52 On which account Moses has separated his impious and obscure progeny from the whole of the divine company; for he says, "The Ammonites and the Moabites shall not come into the assembly of the Lord:" [Deuteronomy 23:3.] and these are the descendants of the daughters of Lot, supposing that everything is generated of the outward sense and of mind, being male and female like a father and mother, and looking upon this as in real truth the cause of all generation: 7but as, even if we were to commit such an error as this, still emerging as it were out of that troubled sea, we may lay hold on repentance, which is a firm and saving thing, and must never let it go till we have completely escaped from the billowy sea, the headlong violence of sin: 7as Rachel, when formerly praying for mind, as if that were able to raise up children, and when she received the answer, "Am I equal to God?" [Genesis 30:2.] attended to what was said to her, and when she understood it, made a most pious recantation; for the recantation of Rachel is recorded in scripture, a most God-loving prayer, "May God grant to me another Son," [Genesis 30:24.] such a prayer as no foolish person is permitted to make, who pursues no object but his own pleasure, and who thinks everything else mere folly and ridiculousness.

53 And the leader of this opinion is Onan the brother of the skin-wearing Er. "For he," says the scripture, "knowing that the seed would not be his, when he went in unto his brother's wife, spilled his seed upon the Ground:" [Genesis 38:9.] he transgressed all the boundaries of self-love and of fondness for pleasure. Should I not say to this man, If you have a regard to your own advantage you will destroy everything that is excellent, and that too without deriving any advantage therefrom? You will put an end to the honour due to parents, the attention of a wife, the education of children, the blameless services of servants, the management of a house, the government of a city, the firm establishment of laws, the guardianship of morals, reverence to one's elders, the habit of speaking well of the dead, good fellowship with the living, piety towards God as shown both in words and in deeds: for you are overturning and throwing into confusion all these things, sowing seed for yourself alone, and nursing up pleasure, that gluttonous intemperate origin of all evil.

54 From which that priest and servant of the only good God, Phineas, rising up [--that wise regulator of all the corporeal words and expressions, so as never to behave erroneously or insolently through the medium of them; for the interpretation of the name Phineas is "the bridle of the mouth"--]having taken a coadjutor, that is to say, having inquired into and examined the nature of things, and having found that nothing is more honourable than virtue, stabbed and slew with a sword the creature devoted to pleasure, and hostile to virtue, and all the places from which all false and illegitimate delights and enjoyments spring: 8for the law says that, "He thrust the woman through her belly." Thus, therefore, having caused the difference that existed in him to cease, and having discarded his own pleasure, and burning with zeal for God, the First Cause and holy God, he was honoured and crowned with the two most valuable of all prizes, peace and the priesthood; with the one because both his name and his conduct are akin to peace: 8for it follows of necessity that a consecrated mind, being its minister and servant, must do everything in which its master delights; and he delights in the firm establishment of good law, and tranquility, and stability, and in the discarding of wars and [...] [there is another hiatus here, which Mangey proposes to fill up with the words kai staseoμn, "and seditions."] meaning not only such as cities make upon one another, but also those which take place in the soul; and these are more important and more injurious, inasmuch as they injure the more divine portion of us, namely, our reason, while arms and weapons can only reach to the injury of our bodies or possessions, but have never any power to injure a healthy soul. 8Rightly therefore have cities established a custom, that before they turn arms and engines of destruction against one another to lead to slavery and utter destruction, they should seek to persuade all the citizens to put An [the text is corrupt here. The text has katageμs, a word manifestly mutilated. Mangey proposes katargeμsasthai, and translates it "ut tollerent."] end to the great and formidable and unceasing factions which exist in themselves, for faction and sedition, if we must speak the truth, is the archetypal model of wars, and if that be destroyed, there will no longer be any wars which are made in imitation of it; but the race of mankind will attain to the blessing and enjoyment of profound peace, being taught by the law of nature, that is, by virtue, to honour God, and to cleave to the employment of serving him, for this is the source of happiness and length of life.

ON THE GIANTS

1 ("And it came to pass when there began to be many men upon the earth, that daughters also were born to Them." [Genesis 6:1.] I think it here worth while to raise the question why, after the birth of Noah and his sons, our race increased to a degree of great populousness. But, perhaps, it is not difficult to explain the cause of this; for it always happens if anything appears to be rare that its contrary is found exceedingly numerous. (Therefore, the good disposition of one displays the evil disposition of myriads, and the fact of those things which are done in accordance with art, and science, and virtue, and beauty, being few, shows how incalculable a number of things devoid of art, and of science, and of justice, and, in short, utterly worthless, lie concealed beneath. (Do you not see that in the universe, also, the sun, being one body, by his shining forth dissipates the thick and dense darkness which is shed over earth and sea? With great propriety, therefore, the generation of the just Noah and his sons is represented as bringing into existence a great number of unjust persons; for it is by the contrary that it is especially the nature of contraries to be known. (And no unjust man at any time implants a masculine generation in the soul, but such, being unmanly, and broken, and effeminate in their minds, do naturally become the parents of female children; having planted no tree of virtue, the fruit of which must of necessity have been beautiful and salutary, but only trees of wickedness and of the passions, the shoots of which are womanlike. (On account of which fact these men are said to have become the fathers of daughters, and that no one of them is said to have begotten a son; for since the just Noah had male children, as being a man who followed reason, perfect, and upright, and masculine, so by this very fact the injustice of the multitude is proved to be altogether the parent of female children. For it is

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impossible that the same things should be born of opposite parents; but they must necessarily have an opposite offspring.

2 ("And when the angels of God saw the daughters of men that they were beautiful, they took unto themselves wives of all of them whom they Chose." [Genesis 6:2.] Those beings, whom other philosophers call demons, Moses usually calls angels; and they are souls hovering in the air. (And let no one suppose, that what is here stated is a fable, for it is necessarily true that the universe must be filled with living things in all its parts, since every one of its primary and elementary portions contains its appropriate animals and such as are consistent with its nature; --the earth containing terrestrial animals, the sea and the rivers containing aquatic animals, and the fire such as are born in the fire (but it is said, that such as these last are found chiefly in Macedonia), and the heaven containing the stars: (for these also are entire souls pervading the universe, being unadulterated and divine, inasmuch as they move in a circle, which is the kind of motion most akin to the mind, for every one of them is the parent mind. It is therefore necessary that the air also should be full of living beings. And these beings are invisible to us, inasmuch as the air itself is not visible to mortal sight. (But it does not follow, because our sight is incapable of perceiving the forms of souls, that for that reason there are no souls in the air; but it follows of necessity that they must be comprehended by the mind, in order that like may be contemplated by like. Since what shall we say? Must we not say that these animals which are terrestrial or aquatic live in air and spirit? What? Are not pestilential afflictions accustomed to exist when the air is tainted or corrupted, as if that were the cause of all such assuming vitality? Again, when the air is free from all taint and innocent, such as it is especially wont to be when the north wind prevails, does not the imbibing of a purer air tend to a more vigorous and more lasting duration of life? It is then natural that that medium by which all other animals, whether aquatic of terrestrial, are vivified should itself be empty and destitute of souls? On the contrary, even if all other animals were barren, the air by itself would be bound to be productive of life, having received from the great Creator the seeds of vitality by his especial favour.

3 Some souls, therefore, have descended into bodies, and others have not thought worthy to approach any one of the portions of the earth; and these, when hallowed and surrounded by the ministrations of the father, the Creator has been accustomed to employ, as hand-maidens and servants in the administration of mortal affairs. And they having descended into the body as into a river, at one time are carried away and swallowed up by the voracity of a most violent whirlpool; and, at another time, striving with all their power to resist its impetuosity, they at first swim on the top of it, and afterwards fly back to the place from which they started. These, then, are the souls of those who have been taught some kind of sublime philosophy, meditating, from beginning to end, on dying as to the life of the body, in order to obtain an inheritance of the incorporeal and imperishable life, which is to be enjoyed in the presence of the uncreate and everlasting God. But those, which are swallowed up in the whirlpool, are the souls of those other men who have disregarded wisdom, giving themselves up to the pursuit of unstable things regulated by fortune alone, not one of which is referred to the most excellent portion of us, the soul or the mind; but all rather to the dead corpse connected with us, that is to the body, or to things which are even more lifeless than that, such as glory, and money, and offices, and honours, and all other things which, by those who do not keep their eyes fixed on what is really beautiful, are fashioned and endowed with apparent vitality by the deceit of vain opinion.

4 If, therefore, you consider that souls, and demons, and angels are things differing indeed in name, but not identical in reality, you will then be able to discard that most heavy burden, superstition. But as men in general speak of good and evil demons, and in like manner of good and evil souls, so also do they speak of angels, looking upon some as worthy of a good appellation, and calling them ambassadors of man to God, and of God to man, and sacred and holy on account of this blameless and most excellent office; others, again, you will not err if you look upon as unholy and unworthy of any address. And the expression used by the writer of the psalm, in the following verse, testifies to the truth of my assertion, for he says, "He sent upon them the fury of His wrath, anger, and rage, and affliction, and he sent evil angels among Them." [Psalms 77:49.] These are the wicked who, assuming the name of angels, not being acquainted with the daughters of right reason, that is with the sciences and the virtues, but which pursue the mortal descendants of mortal men, that is the pleasures, which can confer no genuine beauty, which is perceived by the intellect alone, but only a bastard sort of elegance of form, by means of which the outward sense is beguiled; and they do not all take all the daughters in marriage, but some of them have selected some of that innumerable company to be their wives; some choosing them by the sight, and others by the ear, others again being influenced by the sense of taste, or by the belly, and some even by the pleasures below the belly; many also have laid hold of those the abode of which is fixed at a great distance, putting in action various desires among one another. For, of necessity, the choices of all the various pleasures are various, since different pleasures are established in different places.

5 And, in all such matters, it is impossible for the spirit of God to remain and to pass all its time, as the law-giver himself shows. "For," says Moses, "the Lord said, My spirit shall not remain among men for ever, because they are Flesh." [Genesis 6:3.] For, at times, it does remain; but it does not remain for ever and ever among the greater part of us; for who is so destitute of reason or so lifeless as never, either voluntarily or involuntarily, to conceive a notion of the all good God. For, very often, even over the most polluted and accursed beings, there hovers a sudden appearance of the good, but they are unable to take firm hold of it and to keep it among them; for, almost immediately, it quits its former place and departs, rejecting those inhabitants who come over to it, and who live in defiance of law and justice, to whom it never would have come if it had not been for the sake of convicting those who choose what is disgraceful instead of what is good. But the spirit of God is spoken of in one manner as being air flowing upon the earth, bringing a third element in addition to water. In reference to which, Moses says, in his account of the creation of the world, "The spirit of God moved upon the face of the Waters." [Genesis 1:2.] Since the air, as it is very light, is raised and borne aloft, having water, as it were, for its foundation; and, in another manner, unalloyed knowledge is said to be so, which every wise man naturally partakes of. And Moses shows us this, when speaking of the creator and maker of the holy work of the creation, in these words: "And God summoned Bezaleel, and filled him with his Holy Spirit, and with wisdom, and understanding, and knowledge, to be able to devise every Work." [Exodus 31:1.] So that, what the spirit of God is, is very definitively described in these words.

6 Such also is the spirit of Moses, which came upon the seventy elders, for the sake of making them differ from, and be superior to the rest of the Israelites, who could not possibly be elders in real truth, unless they had partaken of that allwise spirit. For it is said, "I will take of my spirit which is upon thee, and I will pour it upon the seventy Elders." [Numbers 11:17.] But think not that thus this taking away, could be by means of cutting off or separation; but it is here, as is the case in an operation effected by fire, which can light ten thousand torches, without itself being diminished the least atom, or ceasing to remain as it was before. Something like this also is the nature of knowledge. For though it has made all its pupils, and all who have become acquainted with it, learned, still it is in no degree diminished itself, but very often it even becomes improved, just as, they say, that fountains sometimes are by being drained dry; for, it is said, that they sometimes become sweeter by such a process. For continual association with others, engendering diligence and practice, gradually works out entire perfection. If, then, the individual spirit of Moses, or of any other creature, was about to be distributed to so great a multitude of pupils, then, if it were divided into such a number of small portions, it would be diminished. But now, the spirit which is upon him is the wise, the divine, the indivisible, the undistributable, the good spirit, the spirit which is everywhere diffused, so as to fill the universe, which, while it benefits others, it not injured by having a participation in it given to another, and if added to something else, either as to its understanding, or its knowledge, or its wisdom.

7 On which account, it is possible that the spirit of God may remain in the soul, but that it should remain for ever is impossible, as we have said. And why need we wonder? since there is no other thing whatever, the possession of which, is stable and lasting; but mortal affairs are continually wavering in the scale, and inclining first to one side, and then to the other, and liable at different times to different changes. And the greatest cause of our ignorance is the flesh, and our inseparable connexion with the flesh. And this, Moses represents God as admitting, where he says that, "Because they are flesh," the spirit of God cannot abide in them. And yet marriage and the rearing of children, and the furnishing of necessary things, and ingloriousness conjoined with a want of money and business, both private and public, and a countless number of other things cause wisdom to waste away, before it begins to flourish vigorously. But there is nothing which is so great a hindrance to its growth as the fleshly nature. For that, as if it were the principal and most solid foundation of folly and ignorance, is laid down firmly, and then each of the aforenamed evils is built up upon it. For those souls which are devoid of flesh and of the body, remaining undisturbed in the theatre of the universe, occupied in seeing and hearing divine things, of which an insatiable desire has seized them, enjoy a pleasure to which no one offers any interruption. But those which bear the heavy burden of the flesh, being weighed down and oppressed by it, are unable to look upwards to the revolutions of the heaven, but being dragged downwards, have their necks forcibly pressed to the ground like so many quadrupeds.

8 In reference to which fact, the lawgiver having determined to put an end to all illegal and illegitimate associations and unions, begins his denunciations in the following manner: "Man shall not come near to any one who is akin to his own flesh, to uncover his nakedness: I am the Lord." [Leviticus 18:6.] How could any one more forcibly exhort man to despise the flesh and what is akin to the flesh than in this way? And indeed he does not only exhort us to abandon such things, but he shows positively that he who is really a man will never come of his own accord to those pleasures which are dear to and connected with the body, but will always be meditating to alienate himself from them entirely. For the saying, "Man, man," not once but twice, is a sign that what is here meant is not the man composed of body and soul, but him only who is possessed of virtue. For such an one is really a true man, whom some one of the ancient philosophers having lighted a lantern at midday, went in search of, and told those who asked him that he was seeking a man. And as for the prohibition against every man coming near to any one who is akin to his own flesh, this is induced by necessary reasons. For there are some things which we should admit, such for instance as those useful things, by the employment of which we may be able to live in freedom from disease and in good health; and there are other things which should be rejected, by which, when the appetites become inflamed, they burn up all goodness in one vast conflagration. Let not then our appetites rush eagerly in pursuit of all the things that are pleasant to the flesh, for the pleasures are often untameable, when like dogs they fawn upon us, and all of a sudden, change and bite us, inflicting incurable sounds. So that by cleaving to frugality, which is a friend to virtue, in preference to the pleasures akin to the body, we shall defeat the numerous and infinite multitude of irreconcilable enemies. And if any occasion should seek to compel us to take more than what is moderate or sufficient, let us not yield; for the scripture saith, "He shall come near to him to uncover his nakedness."

9 And what is meant by this, it is worth while to explain. It has often happened, that some who have not been themselves providers of wealth, have nevertheless had unlimited abundance. And others, who have not been eager in the pursuit of glory have been thought worthy of public praises and honours. Others again, who have not expected to acquire even a little strength, have arrived at the greatest vigor and activity. Now, let all these men learn not to cleave in their minds to any one of these qualities; that is to say, not to admire them and grasp at them in an immoderate degree, looking upon them all, that is to say on riches, on glory, and on bodily strength, not only not as intrinsically good, but as the greatest of evils. For to misers, the pursuit of money is appropriate, and the pursuit of glory is so to ambitious men, and the acquisition of bodily strength is so to men fond of athletic and of gymnastic exercises. For that which is the better part of them, namely, the soul, they have abandoned as a slave to those things which are inferior to themselves, namely, to inanimate things. But as many as are masters of themselves show that all that brilliant prosperity, which is an object of so much contention, is in subordination to the mind, which is the principal part of them, receiving it when it comes, so as to make a good use of it, but not pursuing it if it keeps aloof, as being able to be happy even without it. But he who pursues it eagerly and follows upon its track, fills philosophy with base opinions; on which account he is said to uncover its nakedness, for how can there be any concealment or ignorance of the reproaches to which those men are justly exposed, who profess indeed to be wise men, but who make a traffic of wisdom, and bargain for the sale of it, as they say men do in the market, who put up their wares for sale, sometimes for a slight gain, sometimes for sweet and caressing speeches, and sometimes for insecure hopes, founded on no sure ground, and sometimes even for promises which are in no respect better than dreams.

10 And the sentence which follows, "I am the Lord," is uttered with great beauty and with most excessive propriety, "for," says the Lord, "oppose, my good man, the good of the flesh to that of the soul, and of the whole man;" therefore the pleasure of the flesh is irrational, but the pleasure of the soul and of the whole man is the mind of the universe, namely God; and the comparison is an admirable one, and one difficult to be instituted, so as for any one to be deceived by the close similitude, unless any one will say that living things are in reality the same as lifeless things, rational things the same as irrational things; well adapted the same as those ill adapted; odd numbers identical with even ones; light with darkness, and day with night; and in short every thing that is contrary the same as its contrary. And yet even although these things have some kind of union and connexion together by reason of their being created, still God is not in any respect like the very best of created beings, inasmuch as these have been born, and are liable to suffering; but he is uncreated, and always acting not suffering. Now it is well not to desert the ranks of God, in which it follows inevitably that all who are arrayed must be most excellent, and it would be shameful to quit those ranks, to fly to unmanly and effeminate pleasure, which injures its friends and benefits its enemies, for its nature is a very singular one; for all those to whom it chooses to give a share of its special advantages, it at once chastises and injures; and

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those whom it thinks fit to deprive of its good things, it benefits in the greatest possible degree, for it injures them when it gives, but it benefits them when it takes away. If therefore, O my soul, any one of the temptations of pleasure invites you, turn yourself away, and directing your views towards another point, look at the genuine beauty of virtue, and having surveyed it, remain, until a desire for it has sunk into you, and draws you to it, like a magnet, and immediately leads you and attaches you to that which has become the object of your desire.

11 And the expression, "I am the Lord," must be listened to, not only as if it were equivalent to, "I am the perfect, and incorruptible, and true good," with which if any one is surrounded he will reject all that is imperfect, and corruptible, and attached to the flesh; but also as equivalent to, "I am the ruler, and the king, and the master." And it is not safe for subjects to do wrong in the presence of their rulers, nor for slaves to err before their masters; for when the punishers are near, those whose nature is not quick at submitting to admonitions are held in restraint and order by fear; for God, having filled everything with himself, is near at hand, so that he is looking over everything and standing by, we being filled with a great and holy reverence, or if not with that, at all events, having a prudent fear of the might of his authority, and of the fearful nature of his punishment, which cannot be avoided, whenever he determines to exert his punishing power, shall desist from doing wrong. In order that the divine spirit of wisdom may not be inclined to quit our neighbourhood and depart, but that it may remain a very long time with us, as it did also with the wise Moses; for Moses is a being of the most tranquil habits, either standing still or sitting still, and not at all disposed by nature to subject himself to turns and changes; for the scripture says, "Moses and the ark did not Move," [Numbers 14:44.] inasmuch as the wise man cannot depart from virtue, or inasmuch as virtue is not liable to move, nor is the virtuous man inclined to changes, but each of these things is established on the sure foundation of right reason. And again, the scripture saith in another passage, "But stand thou here with Me." [Deuteronomy 5:31.] For this is an oracle of God, which was given to the prophet, and his station was to be one of unmoved tranquility by God, who always stands immovably; for it is indispensable, that all things which are placed by the side of him must be kept straight by such an undeviating rule. On this account it is, as it seems to me, that excessive pride, named Jethro, marveling at his unvarying and always equal choice of what was wise, a choice which always looked at the same things in the same way, was perplexed, and put a question to him in this form, "Why dost thou sit by Thyself?" [Exodus 18:14.] For any one who considers the continual war raging among men in the middle of peace, and existing, not merely among nations, and countries, and cities, but also among private houses, or I might rather say, between every individual man and the inexpressible and heavy storms which agitate the souls of men, which, by their evident impetuosity, throw into confusion all the affairs of life, may very naturally wonder, if in such a storm, any one can enjoy tranquility, and can feel a calm in such a billowy state of the stormy sea. You see that even the high priest, that is to say, reason, who might at all times remain and reside in the holy dwelling of God, has not free permission to approach them at all times, but only once in each year; for whatever is associated with reason by utterance is not firm, because it is of a twofold nature. But the safest conduct is to contemplate the living God by the soul alone, without utterance of any voice, because he exists according to the indivisible unit.

12 As, therefore, among men in general, that is to say, among those who propose to themselves many objects in life, the divine spirit does not remain, even though it may abide among them for a very short time, but it remains among one species of men alone, namely, among those who, having put off all the things of creation, and the inmost veil and covering of false opinion, come to God in their unconcealed and naked minds. Thus also Moses, having fixed his tent outside of the tabernacle and outside of all the corporeal army,[Exodus 33:7.] that is to say, having established his mind so that it should not move, begins to worship God, and having entered into the darkness, that invisible country, remains there, performing the most sacred mysteries; and he becomes, not merely an initiated man, but also an hierophant of mysteries and a teacher of divine things, which he will explain to those whose ears are purified; therefore the divine spirit is always standing by him, conducting him in every right way: but from other men, as I have said before, it very soon separates itself, and completes their life in the number of a hundred and twenty years. For God says, "their days shall be an hundred and twenty Years;" [Deuteronomy 24:7.] but Moses, when he had arrived at that number of years, departed from mortal life to another. How, then, can it be natural for men who are guilty to live an equal length of time with the all-wise prophet? for the present, it will be sufficient to say this, that things which bear the same name are not in all cases alike, but very often they are distinct in their whole genus; and also that which is bad may have equal numbers and times with what is good, since they are represented as twofold, but still they have their respective powers, distinct from one another, and as remote and different as possible. And we shall hereafter institute a more exact discussion of this period of a hundred and twenty years, which we will however postpone, till we come to an examination of the whole life of the prophet, when we have become fit to be initiated in it, but at present we will discuss what comes next in order.

13 "And there were giants on the earth in those Days." [Genesis 6:4.] Perhaps some one may here think, that the lawgiver is speaking enigmatically and alluding to the fables handed down by the poets about giants, though he is a man as far removed as possible from any invention of fables, and one who thinks fit only to walk in the paths of truth itself; in consequence of which principle, he has banished from the constitution, which he has established, those celebrated and beautiful arts of statuary and painting, because they, falsely imitating the nature of the truth, contrive deceits and snares, in order, through the medium of the eyes, to beguile the souls which are liable to be easily won over. Therefore he utters no fable whatever respecting the giants; but he wishes to set this fact before your eyes, that some men are born of the earth, and some are born of heaven, and some are born of God: those are born of the earth, who are hunters after the pleasures of the body, devoting themselves to the enjoyment and fruition of them, and being eager to provide themselves with all things that tend to each of them. Those again are born of heaven who are men of skill and science and devoted to learning; for the heavenly portion of us is our mind, and the mind of every one of those persons who are born of heaven studies the encyclical branches of education and every other art of every description, sharpening, and exercising, and practising itself, and rendering itself acute in all those matters which are the objects of intellect. Lastly, those who are born of God are priests and prophets, who have not thought fit to mix themselves up in the constitutions of this world, and to become cosmopolites, but who having raised themselves above all the objects of the mere outward senses, have departed and fixed their views on that world which is perceptible only by the intellect, and have settled there, being inscribed in the state of incorruptible incorporeal ideas.

14 Accordingly, Abraham, as long as he was abiding in the land of the Chaldaeans, that is to say, in opinion, before he received his new name, and while he was still called Abram, was a man born of heaven, investigating the sublime nature of things on high, and all that took place in these regions, and the causes of them, and studying everything of that kind in the true spirit of philosophy; on which account he received an appellation corresponding to the pursuits to which he devoted himself: for the name Abram, being interpreted, signifies the sublime father, and is a name very fitting for the paternal mind, which in every direction contemplates sublime and heavenly things: for the mind is the father of our composite being, reaching as high as the sky and even farther. But when he became improved, and was about to have his name changed, he then became a man born of God, according to the oracle which was delivered to him, "I am thy God, take care that thou art approved before me, and be thou Blameless." [Genesis 17:1.] But if the God of the world, being the only God, is also by especial favour the peculiar God of this individual man, then of necessity the man must also be a man of God; for the name Abraham, being interpreted, signifies, "the elect father of sound," the reason of the good man: for he is chosen out of all, and purified, and the father of the voice by which we speak; and being such a character as this, he is assigned to the one only God, whose minister he becomes, and so makes the path of his whole life straight, using in real truth the royal road, the road of the only king who governs all things, turning aside and deviating neither to the left hand nor to the right.

15 But the sons of earth removing their minds from contemplation, and becoming deserters so as to fly to the lifeless and immovable nature of the flesh, "for they two became one Flesh," [Genesis 2:24.] as the lawgiver says, adulterated the excellent coinage, and abandoned the better rank which had been allotted to them as their own, and deserted to the worse rank, which was contrary to their original nature, Nimrod being the first to set the example of this desertion; for the lawgiver says, "that this man began to be a giant upon the Earth:" [Genesis 10:29 is the passage supposed to be alluded to; but as translated in the Bible it only says "He was a mighty hunter before the Lord."] and the name Nimrod, being interpreted, means, desertion; for it was not enough for the thoroughly miserable soul to stand on neither side, but having gone over to its enemies, it took up arms against its friends, and resisted them, and made open war upon them; in reference to which fact it is that, Moses calls the seat of Nimrod's kingdom Babylon, and the interpretation of the word Babylon is "change;" a thing nearly akin to desertion, the name, too, being akin to the name, and the one action to the other; for the first step of every deserter is a change and alteration of mind, and it would be consistent in the truth to say that, according to the most holy Moses, the bad man, as being one destitute of a home and of a city, without any settled habitation, and a fugitive, is naturally a deserter also; but the good man is the firmest of allies. Having said thus much at present, and dwelt sufficiently on the subject of the giants, we will now proceed to what comes next in our subject, which is this.

ON THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD

1 ("And after this," says Moses, "it came to pass that the angels of God went in unto the daughters of men, and they bore children unto them." It is worth while, therefore, to consider what is meant by the expression, "And after this." It is therefore a reference to something that has been said before, for the purpose of explaining it more clearly; (and a mention of the divine spirit has already been made, as he has already stated, that it is very difficult for it to remain throughout all ages in the soul, which is divisible into many parts, and which assumes many forms, and is clothed with a most heavy burden, namely its bulk of flesh; after this spirit, therefore, the angels of God go in unto the daughters of men. (For as long as the pure rays of wisdom shine forth in the soul, by means of which the wise man sees God and his powers, no one of those who bring false news ever enters into the reason, but all such are kept at a distance outside of the sacred threshhold. But when the light of the intellect is dimmed and overshadowed, then the companions of darkness having become victorious, associate themselves with the dissolute and effeminate passions which the prophet calls the daughters of men, and they bear children to them and not to God. (For the appropriate progeny of God are the perfect virtues, but that offspring which is akin to the wicked, is unregulated wickedness. But learn thou, if thou wilt, O my mind, not to bear children to thyself, after the example of that perfect man Abraham, who offered up to God "The beloved and only legitimate offspring of his soul,"2 the most conspicuous image of self-taught wisdom, by name Isaac; and who gave him up with all cheerfulness to be a necessary and fitting offering to God. "Having bound,"3 as the scripture says, this new kind of victim, either because he, having once tasted of the divine inspiration, did not condescend any longer to tread on any mortal truth, or because he saw that the creature was unstable and moveable, while he recognised the unhesitating firmness existing in the living God, on whom he is said to have believed.4

2 (His disciple and successor was Hannah. The gift of the wisdom of God, for the interpretation of the name is her grace. For when she had become pregnant, having received the divine seed, and after she had completed the time of her labour, she brought forth, in the manner appointed by the arrangement of God, a son, whom she called Samuel; and the name Samuel being interpreted, means "appointed by God." She therefore having received him restores him to the giver; not looking upon anything as a good belonging to herself which is not divine grace. (For in the first book of Kings, 5 she speaks in this manner: "I give him unto thee freely," the expression here used being equivalent to, "I give him unto thee whom thou hast given to me." According to that most sacred scripture of Moses, "My gifts and my offerings, and my first fruits, ye shall observe to offer unto me."6 (For to what other being should one bring gifts of gratitude except to God? and what offerings can one bring unto him except of those things which have been given to us by him? For it is not possible for us to have an abundance of anything else. And he has no need of any of those things which he enjoins men to offer unto him, but he bids us bring unto him the things which are his own, through the excess of his beneficence to our race. For we, studying to conduct ourselves with gratitude to him, and to show him all honours, should purify ourselves from sin, washing off all things that can stain our life in words, or appearance, or actions. (For it is foolishness to imagine, that it is unlawful to enter into temples, unless a man has first washed his body and made that look bright, but that one may attempt to sacrifice and to pray with a mind still polluted and disordered. And yet temples are made of stones and timber, mere lifeless materials, and it is not possible for the body, if it is devoid of life by its own nature, to touch things devoid of life, without using ablutions and purifying ceremonies of holiness; and shall any one endure to approach God without being purified as to his soul, shall any one while impure come near to the purest of all beings, and this too without having any intention of repenting? (Let him, indeed who, in addition to having committed no new crimes, has also endeavored to wash off his old misdeeds, come cheerfully before him; but let the man who is without any such preparation, and who is impure, keep aloof. For he will never escape the notice of him who can look into the recesses of the heart, and who walketh in its most secret places.

3 Now the most evident sign of a soul devoted to God is that song in which that expression occurs, "She that was barren has borne seven children, and she that had many children has become weak." And yet she who is speaking is in reality only the mother of one son, namely, of Samuel. How then does she say that she has borne seven children, unless indeed any one thinks that the unit is in its strictest nature identical with the number seven, not only in number, but also

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in the harmony of the universe, and in the reasonings of the soul which is devoted to virtue? For he who was devoted to the one God, that is Samuel, and who had no connexion whatever with any other being, is adorned according to that essence which is single and the real unit; and this is the constitution of the number seven, that is to say, of the soul that rests in God, and which no longer concerns itself about any mortal employment, when it has quitted the number six which it allotted to those who were not able to attain to the first rank, but who of necessity contented themselves with arriving at the second. It is therefore not incredible that the barren woman, not being one who is incapable of becoming fruitful, but one who is still vigorous and fresh, striving for the chief reward in the arena of fortitude, patience, and perseverance, may bring forth a seven, equal in honour to the unit, of which numbers, nature is very productive and prolific. And she says, that "she that had many children has become weak," speaking accurately and very plainly. For when the soul, although only one, brings forth many children when separated from the one, it then naturally becomes infinite in number; and then being weighed down and overwhelmed by the multitude of children who depend upon it, (and the greatest part of them are premature and abortive), it becomes weak. For it brings forth the desire of forms and colours, as gratified by the eyes, and the pleasures arising from sound, as gratified by the ears. It is pregnant also of the pleasures of the belly and of the parts beneath the belly, so that, as many children are attached to it, it becomes exhausted by bearing this heavy burden, and drops its hands from weakness, and faints away. And in this way it comes to pass that all those things are subdued which bring forth perishable children to themselves, who are likewise perishable.

4 But some persons, through their selflove, have incurred not only defeat but even death also. At all events Onan, "knowing that the seed should not be his," did not desist from injuring the rational principle, which is the best thing in kind of all existing things, until he himself met with utter destruction. And this, too, very properly and deservedly; for if some men do all things for the sake of themselves alone, not with a view to the honour of their parents, or the proper regulation of their children, or the salvation of their country, or the guardianship of the laws, or the preservation of good morals, or with a view to the due performance of any public or private duty, or of a proper celebration of sacred rites, or the pious worship due to the gods, they will be deservedly miserable. For the sake of one of the objects which I have mentioned, it is glorious even to quit life itself. But these men say that, unless they are likely to gain some pleasure by the pursuit of them, they would disregard the whole lot of them - glorious objects as they are. Therefore, the incorruptible God banishes the wicked exposition of unnatural opinion, which is named Onan. And altogether these persons are to be detested who beget children for themselves, that is to say, who, pursuing their own private advantage alone, disregard all other objects, as if they had been born for themselves alone, and not for ten thousand other persons also, for their fathers, and their mothers, and their wives, and their children, and their country, and for all mankind. And if we must go further and add any thing to this enumeration, we may say for heaven, and earth, and the whole universe, and for the sciences, and for the virtues, and for the Father and Ruler of all; to every one of which a man ought to pay what is due to the best of his power, not looking upon all the world as an addition to himself, but on himself as an addition to the rest of the world.

5 However, we have said enough on this head; let us now connect what follows with It: - "the Lord God, therefore," says Moses, "seeing that the wickedness of man was multiplied upon the earth, and that every one of them was carefully studying wickedness in his heart all his days; God considered in his mind that he had made man upon the earth, and he thought upon it; and God said, I will destroy man whom I have made from off the face of the earth."9 Perhaps some very wicked persons will suspect that the lawgiver is here speaking enigmatically, when he says that the Creator repented of having created man, when he beheld their wickedness; on which account he determined to destroy the whole race. But let those who adopt such opinions as these know, that they are making light of and extenuating the offences of these men of old time, by reason of their own excessive impiety; for what can be a greater act of wickedness than to think that the unchangeable God can be changed? And this, too, while some persons think that even those who are really men do never hesitate in their opinions, for that those, who have studied philosophy in a sincere and pure spirit, have derived as the greatest good arising from their knowledge, the absence of any inclination to change with the changes of affairs, and the disposition, with all immovable firmness and sure stability, to labour at every thing that it becomes them to pursue.

6 And it seems good to the lawgiver that the perfect man should desire tranquility; for it was said to the wise man in the character of God, "But stand thou here with me," this expression showing the unchangeable and unalterable nature of the mind which is firmly established in the right way; for it is really marvelous when any one touches the soul, like a lyre tuned in musical principles, not with sharp and flat sounds, but with an accurate knowledge of contrary tones, and employing only the best, not sounding any too loudly, nor on the other hand letting any be too weak, so as to impair the harmony of the virtues and of those things which are good by nature, and when he, preserving it in an equal condition plays and sings melodiously; for this instrument nature has made to be the most perfect of all, and to be the model of all instruments made by the hand. And if this be properly tuned, it will utter the most exquisite of all symphonies, which consists not in the combination and tones of a melodious voice, but in a harmonious agreement of all the actions in life; therefore, as the soul of man can allay the excessive storm and swell of the sea, which the violent and irresistible gale of wickedness has suddenly raised, by the gentle breezes of knowledge and wisdom, and having mitigated its swelling and boisterous fury, enjoys tranquility resting in an unruffled calm. Do you doubt whether the imperishable, and everlasting, and blessed God, the Being endowed with all the virtues, and with all perfection, and with all happiness is unchangeable in his counsels, and whether he abides by the designs which he originally formed, without changing any of them. Facility of change is indeed an attribute of man, which is of necessity incidental to their nature by reason of its external want of firmness; as in this way, for instance: - often when we have chosen friends, and have lived some short time with them, without having any thing to accuse them of, we then turn away from them, so as to place ourselves in the rank of enemies, or at least of strangers to them; now this conduct shows the facility and levity of ourselves, who are unable steadily to adhere to the professions which we originally made; but God is not so easily sated or wearied. Again there are times when we determine to abide by the same judgement that we have formed; but those who join us do not equally abide by theirs, so that our opinions of necessity change as well as theirs; for it is impossible for us, who are but men, to foresee all the contingencies of future events, or to anticipate the opinions of others; but to God, as dwelling in pure light, all things are visible; for he penetrating into the very recesses of the soul, is able to see, with the most perfect certainty, what is invisible to others, and being possessed of prescience and of providence, his own peculiar attributes, he allows nothing to abuse its liberty, and to stray out of the reach of his comprehension, since with him, there is no uncertainty even in the future, for there is nothing uncertain nor even future to God. It is plain therefore that the creator of all created things, and the maker of all the things that have ever been made, and the governor of all the things which are subject to government, must of necessity be a being of universal knowledge; and he is in truth the father, and creator, and governor of all things in heaven and in the whole world; and indeed future events are overshadowed by the distance of future time, which is sometimes a short and sometimes a long interval. But God is the creator of time also; for he is the father of its father, and the father of time is the world, which made its own mother the creation of time, so that time stands towards God in the relation of a grandson; for this world is a younger son of God, inasmuch as it is perceptible by the outward sense; for the only son he speaks of as older than the world, is idea, and this is not perceptible by the intellect; but having thought the other worthy of the rights of primogeniture, he has decided that it shall remain with him; therefore, this younger son, perceptible by the external senses being set in motion, has caused the nature of time to shine forth, and to become conspicuous, so that there is nothing future to God, who has the very boundaries of time subject to him; for their life is not time, but the beautiful model of time, eternity; and in eternity nothing is past and nothing is future, but everything is present only.

7 Having therefore now sufficiently discussed the question of the living God never knowing repentance, it comes next in order for us to explain what is the meaning of the expression, "God considered that he had made man upon the earth, and he thought within himself." Then the creator of the world, having attached to himself the two most lasting powers of cogitation and deliberation the one being a conception conceived within his own breast, and the other the discussion of such conception - and since he continually employs them for the contemplation of his own works, those things which do not leave their appointed station he praises for their obedience, but those which change their place he pursues with the punishment appointed for deserters; for some bodies he has endowed with habit, others with nature, others with soul, and some with rational soul; for instance, he has bound stones and beams, which are torn from their kindred materials, with the most powerful bond of habit; and this habit is the inclination of the spirit to return to itself; for it begins at the middle and proceeds onwards towards the extremities, and then when it has touched the extreme boundary, it turns back again, until it has again arrived at the same place from which it originally started. This is the continued unalterable course, up and down, of habit, which runners, imitating in their triennial festivals, in those great common spectacles of all men, display as a brilliant achievement, and a worthy subject of rivalry and contention.

8 And he has given to plants a nature which he has combined of as many powers as possible, that is of the nutritive, and the changeable, and the forming power; for they are nourished when they have need of nourishment; and a proof of this is that those plants which are not irrigated waste away and are dried up, as on the other hand those which have water supplied to them do visibly grow, for those which for a time were mere creepers on the ground, by reason of their shortness, suddenly spring up and become very long branches. And why need I speak of the changes which they undergo? for at the time of the winter solstice their leaves wither and fall to the ground; and the eyes, as they are called by the agricultural labourers, which appear on the young shoots, close up like the eyes of animals, and all the mouths which are calculated to send forth young buds, are bound up; their internal nature being at that time confined and quiet, in order that, when it has taken breath, like a wrestler who has gone through a little preliminary exercise, and having again collected its appropriate strength, it may return again to its customary operations. And this happens at the seasons of both spring and summer, for then their nature, waking as it were out of a deep sleep, opens its eyes, and expands and widens its previously closed mouth; and then it brings forth all those things of which it was pregnant, leaves, and young shoots, and tendrils, and feelers, and fruit on all its branches; and then when these things have come to perfection it affords nourishment and food to them, as a mother does to her child by some invisible passages which are similar in principle to the breasts in women, and it never ceases to nourish them until the fruit be come to complete ripeness; and that which is thoroughly ripe is then perfected, when, even if no one gathers it, it of its own accord hastens to separate itself from its kindred branch, inasmuch as it no longer stands in need of nourishment from its parent, being able, if it should meet with a fitting soil, itself to sow and beget offspring resembling its own parents.

9 And the Creator has made the soul to differ from nature in these things - in the outwards sense, and imagination, and impetuosity; for plants are destitute of impetuosity and devoid of imagination, and without any participation in the outward sense. But every animal partakes of all these qualities above-mentioned, all together. Now the outward sense, as indeed its name shows, in some degree is a kind of insertion, placing the things that are made apparent to it in the mind; for in the mind, since that is the greatest storehouse and receptacle for all things, is everything placed and treasured up which comes under the operation of the sense of seeing or hearing, or the other organs of the outward senses. And imagination is an impression of figures in the soul; for the things which each of the outward senses has brought in, like a ring or a seal, on them it imprints its own character. And the mind, being like wax, having received the impression, keeps it carefully in itself until forgetfulness, the enemy of memory, has smoothed off the edges of the impression, or else has rendered it dim, or perhaps has completely effaced it. And that which has been visible and has been impressed upon the soul at times affects the soul in a way consistent with itself, and at other times in a different way; and this passion to which it is subject is called appetite, which philosophers who define such things say is the first motion of the soul. In such important points are animals superior to plants. Let us now see in what man is superior to the rest of the animal creation.

10 Man, then, has received this one extraordinary gift, intellect, which is accustomed to comprehend the nature of all bodies and of all things at the same time; for, as in the body, the sight is the most important faculty, and since in the universe the nature of light is the most pre-eminent thing, in the same manner that part of us which is entitled to the highest rank is the mind. For the mind is the sight of the soul, shining transcendently with its own rays, by which the great and dense darkness which ignorance of things sheds around is dissipated. This species of soul is not composed of the same elements as those of which the other kinds were made, but it has received a purer and more excellent essence of which the divine natures were formed; on which account the intellect naturally appears to be the only thing in us which is imperishable, for that is the only quality in us which the Father, who created us, thought deserving of freedom; and, unloosing the bonds of necessity, he let it go unrestrained, bestowing on it that most admirable gift and most connected with himself, the power, namely, of spontaneous will, as far as he was able to receive it; for the irrational animals, in whose soul there is not that especial gift tending to freedom, namely, mind, are put under the yoke and have bridles put in their mouths, and so are given unto men to be their slaves, as servants are given to their masters. But man, who has had bestowed on him a voluntary and self-impelling intellect, and who for the most part puts forth his energies in accordance with deliberate purpose, very properly receives blame for the offences which he designedly commits, and praise for the good actions which he intentionally performs. For, in the case of other plants and other animals, we cannot call either the good

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that is caused by them deserving of praise, nor the evil that they do deserving of blame; for all their motions in either direction, and, all their changes, have no design about them, but are involuntary. But the soul of man, being the only one which has received from God the power of voluntary motion, and which in this respect has been made to resemble God, and being as far as possible emancipated from the authority of that grievous and severe mistress, necessity, may rightly be visited with reproach if she does not pay due honour to the being who has emancipated her. And therefore, in such a case, she will most deservedly suffer the implacable punishment denounced against slavish and ungrateful minds. So that God "considered" and though within himself, not now for the first time, but long ago, and with great steadiness and resolution, "that he had made man;" that is to say, he considered within himself what kind of being he had made him. For he had made him free from all bondage or restraint, able to exert his energies in accordance with his own will and deliberate purpose, on this account: that so knowing what things were good and what, on the contrary, were evil, and having arrived at a proper comprehension of what is honourable and what is disgraceful, and apprehending what things are just and what unjust, and, in short, what things flow from virtue and what from wickedness, he might exercise a choice of the better objects and an avoidance of their opposites; and this is the meaning of the oracle recorded in Deuteronomy, "Behold, I have put before thy face life and death; good and evil. Do thou choose life." Therefore he teaches us by this sentence both that men have a knowledge of good and of the contrary, evil, and that it is their duty to choose the better in preference to the worse, preserving reason within themselves as an incorruptible judge, to be guided by the arguments which sound sense suggests, and to reject those which are brought forward by the contrary power.

11 Having now therefore explained these matters sufficiently, let us pass on to what comes next. And this is what follows: "I will destroy," says God, "the man whom I have made from off the face of the earth, from man to beast, from creeping things to the fowls of the air, because I have considered and repent that I have made them." Now, some persons, when they hear the expressions which I have just cited, imagine that the living God is here giving away to anger and passion; but God is utterly inaccessible to any passion whatever. For it is the peculiar property of human weakness to be disquieted by any such feelings, but God has neither the irrational passions of the soul, nor are the parts and limits of the body in the least belonging to him. But, nevertheless, such things are spoken of with reference to God by the great lawgiver in an introductory sort of way, for the sake of admonishing those persons who could not be corrected otherwise. For of all the laws which are couched in the form of injunction or prohibition, and such alone are properly speaking laws; there are two principal positions laid down with respect to the great cause of all things: one, that God is not as a man; the other, that God is as a man. But the first of these assertions is confirmed by the most certain truth, while the latter is introduced for the instruction of the many. In reference to which, it is said concerning them, "as a man would instruct his son." And this is said for the sake of instruction and admonition, and not because he is really such by nature. For of men some are attached to the service of the soul, and others to that of the body; now the companions of the soul, being able to associate with incorporeal natures, appreciable only by the intellect, do not compare the living God to any species of created beings; but, dissociating it with any idea of distinctive qualities (for this is what most especially contributes to his happiness and to his consummate felicity, to comprehend his naked existence without any connexion with figure or character), they, I say, are content with the bare conception of his existence, and do not attempt to invest him with any form. But those who enter into agreements and alliances with the body, being unable to throw off the robes of the flesh, and to behold that nature, which alone of all natures has no need of anything, but is sufficient for itself, and simple, and unalloyed, and incapable of being compared with anything else, from the same notions of the cause of all things that they do of themselves; not considering that in the case of a being who exists through a concurrence of many faculties, he has need of many parts in order to supply the necessities of each of those faculties.

12 But God, inasmuch as he is uncreated, and the Being who has brought all other things to creation, stood in need of none of those things which are usually added to creatures. For what are we to say? Shall we say, if he is possessed of the different organic parts, that he has feet for the sake of walking? But where is he to walk who fills all places at once with his presence? And to whom is he to go, when there is no one of equal honour with himself? And why is he to walk? It cannot be out of any regard for his health as we do. Again, are we to say that he has hands for the purpose of giving and taking? he never receivers anything from any one. For in addition to the fact of his wanting nothing he actually has everything; and when he gives, he employs reason as the minister of his gifts, by whose agency also he created the world. Once more, he had no need of eyes, the organs without which there can be no comprehension of the light perceptible by the outward senses; but the light perceptible by the outward senses is a created light; and even before the creation God saw, using himself as light. And why need we mention the organs of luxury? For if he has these organs, then he is fed, and when he has satisfied himself he leaves off eating, and after he has left eating he wants food again; and I need not enumerate other particulars which are the necessary consequences of this; for these are the fabulous inventions of impious men, who represent God, in word indeed only as endued with human form, but in fact as influenced by human passions.

13 Why, then, does Moses speak of the Uncreate as having feet and hands, and as coming in and as going out? And why does he speak of him as clothed in armour for the purpose of repelling his enemies? For he does speak of him as girding himself with a sword, and as using arrows, and winds, and destructive fire. And the poets say that the whirlwind and the thunderbolt, mentioning them under other names, are the weapons of the Cause of all things. Moreover, speaking of him as they would of men, they add jealousy, anger, passion, and other feelings like these. But to those who ask questions on these subjects, one may answer, "My good men! A man who would establish the most excellent system of laws, ought to keep one end constantly in view, namely, to do good to all who come within his reach." Those, therefore, who have received a fortunate disposition, and an education in all respects blameless, finding the path of life which proceeds in this direction plain and straight, take truth with them as the companion of their journey; by which they are initiated in the true mysteries relating to the living God, and therefore they never attribute any of the properties of created beings to him. Now to these disciples, that principal assertion in the sacred oracles is especially well adapted, that "God is not as man," but neither is he as heaven, nor as the world; for these species are endued with distinctive qualities, and they come under the perception of the outward senses. But he is not even comprehensible by the intellect, except merely as to his essence; for his existence, indeed, is a fact which we do comprehend concerning him, but beyond the fact of his existence, we can understand nothing.

14 But those who have received a duller and more sluggish nature, and who have been wrongly brought up as children, and who are unable to see acutely, stand in need of physicians for lawgivers, who may be able to devise an appropriate remedy for the existing complaint, since a severe master is a beneficial thing for untractable and foolish servants; for they, fearing his inflictions and his threats, are chastened by fear, in spite of themselves. Let, therefore, all such men learn false terrors, by which they may be benefited if they cannot be led into the right way by truth. For in the case of men who are afflicted with dangerous illnesses, the most legitimate physicians do not venture to tell them the truth, knowing that by such conduct they will be rendered more desponding, and so that the disease will not be cured; but that by contrary language and comfort, they will bear the disease which presses upon them more easily, and the illness will be more likely to be allayed. For what man is his senses would say to a patient under his care, "My good man, you shall have the knife applied to you, and cautery, and your limbs shall be amputated," even if such things were absolutely necessary to be endured? No man on earth would say so. For if he did, his patient would sink in his heart before the operations could be performed, and so receiving another disease in his soul, more grievous than that already existing in his body, he would resolutely renounce the cure; but if, on the other hand, through the deceit of the physician he is led to form a contrary expectation, he will submit to everything with a patient spirit, even though the means of his salvation may be most painful. Therefore the lawgiver, being a most admirable physician of the passions and diseases of the soul, has proposed to himself one task and one end, namely, to eradicate the diseases of the mind by the roots, so that there may not be a single one left behind to put forth any shoot of incurable distemper. In this way, then, he hoped to be able to eradicate it, if he were to represent the Cause of all things as indulging in threats and indignation, and implacable anger, and, moreover, as employing defensive arms to ward off attacks, and to chastise the wicked; for the fool alone is corrected by such means: and therefore it is that it appears to me that with these two principal assertions above mentioned, namely, that God is as a man and that God is not as a man, are connected two other principles consequent upon and connected with them, namely, that of fear and that of love; for I see that all the exhortations of the laws to piety, are referred either to the love or to the fear of the living God. To those, therefore, who do not attribute either the parts or the passions of men to the living God, but who, as becomes the majesty of God, honour him in himself, and by himself alone, to love him is most natural; but to the others, it is most appropriate to fear him.

15 Such, then, are the things which it was proper to premise before we entered upon the following investigation: - But we must now go back again to the original consideration, according to which we were in doubt what the meaning is which is concealed under the expression, "I was indignant that I had made them." Perhaps Moses here means to show, that bad men are made so by the anger of God, but good men by his grace; for immediately afterwards he proceeds to add, but "Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord." But anger, which is a passion peculiar to man, is here spoken of with especial felicity, but still more metaphorically than the real truth, in order to the explanation of a matter which is extremely necessary, namely, to show that everything that we do through anger, or fear, or pain, or grief, or any other passion, is confessedly faulty and open to reproach; but all that we do in accordance with right reason and knowledge is praiseworthy. You see now what great caution he uses in speaking here, when he says, "I was indignant that I had made them," not reversing the order of the words so as to say, "Because I had made them I was indignant;" for the latter expression would have become a person who repented of what he had done, an idea which is inconsistent with the nature of God, which foresees everything. But the other doctrine is a general one, being the expression of a man who means to explain by it that anger is the fountain of all sins, and reason the source of all good actions. But God, remembering his own perfect goodness in every particular, even if the whole or the greater part of mankind fall off from him by reason of the abundance and extravagance of their sins, stretching forth his right hand, his hand of salvation, supports man and raises him up, not permitting the whole race to be utterly destroyed and to perish everlastingly.

16 On which account God now says, that Noah found grace in his sight, when all the rest of mankind appearing ungrateful were about to receive punishment, in order that he might mingle saving mercy with judgement against sinners. As the psalmist has said somewhere, "My song shall be of mercy and judgement." For if God were to choose to judge the race of mankind without mercy, he would pass on them a sentence of condemnation; since there has never been a single man who, by his own unassisted power, has run the whole course of his life, from the beginning to the end, without stumbling; but since some men have fallen into voluntary, and some into involuntary sins, that therefore the human race might still subsist, even though many of the subordinate members of it go to destruction. God mingles mercy with his justice, which he exercises towards the good actions of even the unworthy; and he not only pities them while judging, but judges them while pitying them, for mercy is older than justice in his sight, inasmuch as he knew the man who deserved punishment, not after he had passed sentence on him, but also before sentence.

17 On which account he says in another passage, "The cup is in the hand of the Lord; full of the mixture of unmixed wine;" and yet that which is mixed is not unmixed; but these words are spoken in a sense in the strictest accordance with natural philosophy and in one perfectly consistent with what has been said before; for God exerts his power in an untempered degree towards himself, but in a mixed character towards his creatures; for it is impossible for a mortal nature to endure his power unmitigated. Do you think that you would be unable to look at the unmodified light of the sun? If you were to try to do so, your sight would be extinguished by the brilliancy of his rays, and be wholly blinded by a close approach to that luminary, before it could perceive anything, and yet the sun is only one of the works of God, a portion of the heaven, a fragment of compressed aether, but you are nevertheless able to gaze upon those uncreated powers which exist around him, and emit the most dazzling light, without any veil or modification. As, therefore, the sun extends his rays from heaven to the boundaries of the earth, tempering and dissolving the exceeding violence of the heat that is in them by cool air, for he mixes his rays with that, in order that that portion of them which gives light being separated from that portion which gives heat, he may remit somewhat of his power of burning, but retain the power by which he gives light, and so be received with welcome, when meeting that kindred and friendly light which is situated in the eyes of man; for the meeting of these two lights in the same place, coming from an opposite direction, and the reception of the one by the other, is what causes that comprehension which we arrive at by our faculty of sight: but what mortal could possibly receive in this manner the knowledge, and wisdom, and prudence, and justice, and all the other virtues of God, in an unalloyed state? The whole heaven, the whole world, could not do so. Therefore the Creator, knowing the way in which he exceeded in all things that were most excellent, and the inherent natural weakness of created beings, even though they boast loudly, does not think either to benefit them or to chastise them to the extremity of his power, but only as far as he sees that those who are to be the objects of his benefits or of his chastisements have power to receive either. If, then, we are able to drink of and to enjoy a gentle and moderate mixture of his powers, we might receive sufficient happiness therefrom, than which the race of man ought not to seek to receive any more complete enjoyment. We have now explained what the mixed and unmixed powers and what those really supreme faculties are which exist in the living God alone.

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18 And similar to what has been previously said, is that passage which occurs in another place, "God spake once, and twice I have also heard the same." The expression "once" resembles the unmixed power, for the unmixed power is the unit, and the unit is the unmixed power; but the "twice" resembles the mixed power, for neither one nor the other is a simple thing, inasmuch as it admits of combination or of division. God, therefore, utters unmixed units: for the word which he utters is not a beating of the air, being absolutely mingled with nothing else whatever, but it is incorporeal and naked, in no respect different from the unit. But we hear by the number two; for the breath being sent from the dominant part of us through the artery called the trachea, is formed in the mouth by the tongue, as by a kind of workman, and being borne outward, and mingled with its kindred air, and having struck it thus harmoniously, completes the mixture of the two powers; for that which sounds together by a combination of different noises is at first adapted to a divisible duad, having one sharp and one flat tone: very beautifully, therefore, did he oppose one just reason to the multitude of unjust reasons, less indeed in number, but superior in power, in order that the worse of the two might not, like a weight put in a scale, weigh down the other; but that, by the power of the weight of the better one in the opposite scale it might have its lightness detected, and so be weakened.

19 But what is the meaning of the sentence, "Noah found grace in the sight of the Lord God?" Let us now consider this: for those who find anything, some are finding what they formerly had and have lost; and some are discovering what they never had before, and now possess for the first time. Accordingly, those men who occupy themselves with the investigation of appropriate names, are accustomed to call the latter kind finding (heuresis), and the former kind re-finding (aneuresis). Of the former species we have a conspicuous example afforded us in the injunctions given about the great vow. Now a vow is a request for good things from God; and the spirit of the great vow is to believe that God himself is the cause of good things from himself, without anyone else ever co-operating with him, of the things which may appear to be beneficial, neither the earth as fruitful, nor the rain as helping to promote the growth of seeds and plants, nor the air as calculated to nourish man, nor agriculture as the cause of production, nor the skill of the physician as the cause of health, nor marriage as the cause of the procreation of children: for all these things receive changes and alterations through the power of God, to such a degree and in such a way as often to have effects contrary to their usual ones. Moses, therefore says, that this man is "holy who nourishes the hair of his head;" the meaning of which is, that he is holy who promotes the growth in the principal portion of himself of the principal shoots of the doctrines of virtue, and who in a manner prides himself and takes delight in these doctrines: but sometimes he loses them, a sort of whirlwind, as it were, suddenly darting down upon the soul, and carrying off everything that was good out of it; and this whirlwind is an involuntary change, which pollutes the mind in a moment, which Moses calls death.20 But nevertheless, when he has afterwards got rid of this and become purified, he recovers and recollects again, what for a time, he had forgotten, and finds what he had lost, so that the days of his former change are not included in the computation, either because such change is a matter which cannot be reduced to calculation, inasmuch as it is inconsistent with right reason and has no partnership with prudence, or because it does not deserve to be taken into calculation; "for of such things," some ancient writer says, "there is no account nor calculation taken."

20 And we have often met with such things as previously we had never seen even in a dream; like a husbandman whom some persons say while digging a hole for the purpose of planting some fruit-bearing tree, found a treasure, meeting with good fortune which he had never hoped for. Therefore Jacob, the wrestler with God, when his father asked him the manner in which he had acquired this knowledge, saying, "How didst thou find this so quickly, my son?" answered and said, "Because the Lord my God brought it before me."22 For when God bestows on any one the treasures of his own wisdom without any toil or labour, then we, without having expected such things, suddenly perceive that we have found a treasure of perfect happiness. And it often happens to those who seek with great labour, that they miss that for which they are seeking; while others, who are seeking without any diligence, find with great ease even things that they never thought of finding. For those who are dull and slow in their souls, like men bereft of their eyesight, find the labour which they devote to the contemplation of objects of science useless and wasted; while others, through the richness of their natural endowments, find out immeasurable things without any investigation at all, by the help of felicitous and well directed conjectures; so that it would seem that they attain their objects not in consequence of any labour of their own, but because the things themselves do of their own accord come to meet them and hasten to present themselves to their view, and so give them the most accurate comprehension of them.

21 To these men the law-giver says were given, "Great and beautiful cities, which they had not built; houses full of good things, which they had not filled; cisterns cut out of the solid rock, which they had not hewn; vineyards and olive gardens, which they had not planted." Now, by cities and houses, he here symbolically sketches out the generic and specific virtues; for genus resembles a city, because it is marked out in larger circumferences, and because it is common to many individuals; and species resembles a house, because it is more contracted and avoids community; and cisterns prepared before-hand intimate the rewards which fall to the lot of some for their labour, while they are given spontaneously to others, being channels of heavenly and wholesome waters and well prepared treasures for the preservation of the virtues before mentioned, by means of which joy is shed over the perfect heart, irradiating it all over with the light of truth. Again, when Moses speaks of the vineyards, he means them as an emblem of cheerfulness, and the olive gardens as a symbol of light. Happy, therefore, are they who, suffering something like those persons who awoke up out of deep sleep, on a sudden, without any labour or exertion on their part, behold the world before them; and miserable are they to whom it happens to be eagerly contentious for objects to which they are not fitted by nature, being full of a contentious spirit, which is the most grievous of diseases. For, in addition to failing in the object which they are desirous of attaining, they do further incur great disgrace with no slight injury, like ships which are attempting to make their way by sea against opposing winds; for they, in addition to being unable to proceed in their course towards the point to which they are hastening, are very often upset with their crews and their cargoes, and so cause pain to their friends and pleasure to their enemies.

22 Therefore the law says that some persons, having made a violent effort, went up to the mountain, "And the Amorites came forth who dwell on that mountain, and wounded them, as bees might have done, and pursued them from Seir even to Hormah."For it follows of necessity that those persons who, being by nature unfitted for the comprehension of arts, if by making violent efforts they do something in them, not only fail of attaining their end, but also incur disgrace; and those who voluntarily, but still without any deliberate consent of their mind, do something that they ought to do, putting a sort of constraint on their own voluntary principle, do not succeed, but are wounded and harassed by their own consciences. So also those who restore deposits of small value in the hope of having larger deposits entrusted to them, which they may be able to appropriate, you would call men of good faith; and yet even when they are restoring the deposits, they put a great constraint on their natural faithlessness, by which it is to be hoped, they will be unceasingly tormented. And do not all those who offer but a spurious kind of worship to the only wise God, putting on a profession of a rigid life like a dress on a magnificent stage, merely with the object of making a display before the assembled spectators, having imposture rather than piety in their souls, do not they, I say, stretch themselves on the rack as it were, and torment themselves, compelling even the truth itself to assume a false appearance. Therefore, they being for a brief period overshadowed with the emblems of superstition, which is the great hindrance to holiness, and a great injury to those who have it and to those who associate with it; after that again stripping off their disguise, display their naked hypocrisy. And then like men, convicted of being aliens, they are looked upon as enemies, having entered themselves as citizens of that noblest of cities - virtue, while they have really no connexion with it. For whatever is violent (biaion) is also of short duration, as its very name imports, since it closely resembles short (baion). And the ancients used the two words (baion) and (oligochronion) of short duration as synonymous.

23 We must now consider the question which is meant by "Noah found grace in the sight of the Lord God." Is the meaning of what is here expressed this, that he received grace, or that he was accounted worthy of grace? The former idea it is not natural for us to entertain; for what was given to him beyond what was given to all, as one may say, not only to all concrete natures only, but to all elementary and simple natures which have been accounted worthy of divine grace? But the second interpretation has a reason in it which is not altogether inconsistent, that the cause of all things, judges those persons worthy of his gifts, who do not corrupt the divine impression which has been stamped upon them, namely, the most sacred mind, with disgraceful practices; still perhaps even this is not the true meaning of the words. For what kind of person must he be who would be accounted before God to be worthy of his grace? I indeed think that the whole world put together could scarcely attain to such a pitch, and yet the world is the first, and greatest, and most perfect of all the works of God. May it not then perhaps be better to understand this expression as meaning that the virtuous man being fond of investigating things, and eager for learning, amid all the different things that he has investigated, has found this one most certain fact, that all things that exist, the earth, the water, the air, the fire, the sun, the stars, the heaven, all animals and plants whatever, are the grace of God. But God has given nothing to himself, for he has no need of anything; but he has given the world to the world, and its parts he has bestowed on themselves and on one another, and also on the universe, and without having judged anything to be worthy of grace, (for he gives all his good things without grudging to the universe and to its parts), he merely has regard to his own everlasting goodness, thinking the doing good to be a line of conduct suitable to his own happy and blessed nature; so that if any one were to ask me, what was the cause of the creation of the world, having learnt from Moses, I should answer, that the goodness of the living God, being the most important of his graces, is in itself the cause.

24 But here we must observe that Moses says, that "Noah pleased" the powers of the living God, "the Lord and God," but that he tells us that Moses himself pleased the Being who is attended by those powers as his body guard, and who, without them, is conceived only according to his essence. For it is said, here, speaking in the person of God, "Because thou hast found grace in my sight," pointing out himself instead of any one else whatever. Thus, therefore, he who exists himself by himself alone, thinks the exceeding wisdom which is found in Moses worthy of grace, and that other wisdom which was formed on the model of his, he considers of an inferior class, and more a wisdom of species, as consisting of subordinate powers, according to which he is both Lord and God, and ruler and benefactor. But another mind attached to the body and the slave of the passions, having been sold as slave to the chief cook, that is to say to the pleasure of our compound being, and being castrated and mutilated of all the masculine and generative parts of the soul, being afflicted with a want of all good practices, and being incapable of receiving the divine voice, being also separated and cut off from the sacred assembly, in which conferences and discussions about virtue are continually being brought up, is conducted into the prison of the passions, and finds grace, (a grace more inglorious than dishonour), with the keeper of the prison. For these men are properly called prisoners, not those who after they have been condemned at the judgement seat by the legitimate magistrates, or by judges formally appointed, are led away by the officers into the place appointed for malefactors; but those in whom nature has condemned the disposition of their souls, men who are full of intemperance, and cowardice, and injustice, and impiety, and innumerable other evils; but the steward, and keeper, and guardian of these men, is the keeper of the prison, a composition and combination of all kinds of various wickednesses, united together into one mass, to please whom is the greatest of punishments. But some people who do not perceive this, being deceived with respect to what is injurious to such a degree, as to look upon it as advantageous, come to him with great joy, and offer themselves as his body-guards, that being accounted faithful by him, they may become his lieutenants and successors in the guardianship of involuntary and voluntary offences; but do thou, O my soul, thinking such an office and magistracy as that, more grievous than the most labourious slavery, adopt, as far as you can, an unrestrained, and unconfined, and free system of life, and if you are caught by the baits of passion, endure rather to be a prisoner yourself, than the keeper of a prison; for then if you suffer distress, and groan aloud, you will obtain pity; but if you give yourself up to ambition of great posts, and to a covetousness of honour, you will receive that pleasant and greatest evil of being keeper of the prison, by which you will be influenced the whole of your life.

25 Reject therefore with all your might all idea of pleasing the keepers of the prison; but on the contrary, with all your ability and all your earnestness, labour to please him who is the cause of all things; and if you are unable to do so, (for the greatness of his dignity is exceeding high), at all events advance, without ever turning back, towards his powers, and present yourself to them as their suppliant, until they admitting the continual assiduity and sincerity of your service, place you in the ranks of those who have pleased them, as they did Noah, of whose descendants Moses has made a most admirable and novel catalogue; for he says, "These are the generations of Noah: Noah was a just man, being perfect in his generation, and Noah pleased God;"29 for the descendants of the compound being were naturally compound beings also themselves; for horses do of necessity beget horses, and lions beget lions, bulls become the parents of bulls, and so too men beget men; but such things are not the appropriate offspring of a good mind; the progeny of that are the virtues before mentioned, namely the being a man, the being just, the being perfect, the pleasing God, which last particular, inasmuch as it is the crowning one, and as it were the boundary of perfect happiness, is enumerated last of all. But there is one kind of creation, which is a sort of conducting and travelling from that which does not exist to existence. This is the one which plants, and animals do of necessity use; and there is another kind, which is a transition and change from a better genus to a rose species, which Moses mentions when he says, "These are the generations of Jacob; Joseph when he was seventeen years of age, was keeping the sheep with his brethren, being a youth with the sons of Billah, and with the

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sons of Zilpah, his father's wives." For when this reason inclined to meditation and devoted to learning, was driven down from its more divine speculations, human and mortal opinions, then Joseph, the companion of the body, and of all the things which pertain to the body was born, being still but a youth, even though in the lapse of time he may become greyheaded, as being one who never listened to any older discourse or opinions, which the companions of Moses acquired as the most useful possessions for themselves and their disciples.On this account it seems to me that Moses wishing to describe his figure and to give a more accurate idea of his appearance, so as to make it known, introduced him as tending his father's sheep, not in the company of any one of his father's legitimate sons, but with his illegitimate brethren, who, being the sons of concubines, derive their name from the inferior sex, that of the women, and not from the superior sex, that, namely of the man; for they here are called the sons of Jacob's wives, Billah and Zilpah, and not the sons of their father Israel.

26 And one may here very fitly raise the question for what reason it was that after mentioning the perfection of Noah in virtue, he then immediately adds that "the earth was become corrupt in the sight of God, and was filled with wickedness."But perhaps it is not difficult to arrive at a solution of this doubt, for any one who is not exceedingly ignorant of all instruction. We must say therefore, that when an incorruptible species arises in the soul, the mortal part is immediately destroyed; for the birth of virtuous studies is the death of disgraceful ones, since also when light shines forth darkness disappears. On this account, in the law of leprosy, it is most expressly enjoined that "If the living skin arise in the leper, he shall be polluted;" and further ratifying this same injunction, and as it were setting a seal to it, he adds, "and the flesh which is sound shall pollute him," delivering this injunction in opposition to what is natural or usual: for all men think the things that are sick the pollution of those that are in health, and those that are dead the pollution of the living, and not, on the contrary, that the healthy and the living are the pollution of the wick and of the dead, but rather, they account them their salvation. But the lawgiver being full of the most modern wisdom in everything, has this peculiarity in his expositions, that he teaches that the healthy and the living are the causes of our not being pure from pollution; for the healthy and living complexion in the soul is truly conviction which rises up against it: when this conviction rises up, it makes a catalogue of all the offences of the soul, and reproaching it with them, and looking sternly at it, it is scarcely able to be stopped in its attacks upon it; and the soul being convicted recognises all its actions by which it has offended against right reason, and perceives that it is foolish, and intemperate, and unjust, and full of pollutions.

27 On which account Moses also establishes a most extraordinary law, in which he enjoins that "the man who is in part leprous shall be accounted impure, but that he who is wholly, from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head overwhelmed with leprosy, shall be considered pure;" for any one else, I apprehend, reasoning from probability, would say the exact contrary, and would think that the leprosy which was contracted, and which extended over only a small portion of the body, was less impure, but that the leprosy which was diffused, so as to spread over the whole body was more impure: but Moses here, as it appears to me, uses this symbolical expression to intimate this most undeniable truth, that unintentional misdeeds, even if they be of the greatest enormity, are not deserving of blame, and are pure, inasmuch as they have not conscience, that terrible accuser, to testify against them: but that intentional offences, even if they do not extend over a wide surface, being convicted by the judge who passes sentence against the soul, are rightly accounted unholy, and polluted, and impure. This leprosy, therefore, being of a twofold character, and putting forth two complexions, signifies voluntary depravity; for the soul, though it has healthy, and vivifying, and right reason in itself, does not use it for the preservation of its good things, but surrendering itself to persons unskilled in navigation, it overturns the whole bark of life, which might have been saved in calm fine weather; 3but when it changes so as to assume one uniform white appearance, it displays an involuntary change; since the mind, entirely deprived of the power of reasoning, not having left in it one single seed to beget understanding, like a man in a mist or in deep darkness, sees nothing that ought to be done; but, like a blind man, falling without seeing his way before him into all kinds of error, endures continual falls and disasters one after another, in spite of all its efforts.

28 And like this is the injunction given respecting the house in which it happens that leprosy often arises; for Moses says that, "If there be a taint of leprosy in the house, the owner shall come, and shall tell it to the priest, saying there is something like a taint of leprosy has been seen by me in my house," and presently he adds, "And the priest shall command him to dismantle his house, before the priest enters into the house to see it, and all the things that are in the house shall not be impure; and after that the priest shall enter the house to examine it." Therefore, before the priest enters in, the things in the house are pure; but after he has entered in, from that time forth they are all impure. And yet the contrary would have been natural, that when a man thoroughly purified and perfect, who is in the habit of offering up prayers and purifications, and sacrifices for all the people come into a house, all that is therein would be improved by his presence, and would become pure from having been impure; but now they do not even remain in the same condition as before, but they are brought into a worse state by the arrival of the priest. But whether this is consistent with the literal and obvious order of the words, those men may inquire who are in the habit of, and fond of pursuing such investigations; but we must affirm distinctly, that no one thing can be more consistent with another than the fact, that when the priest enters in, all the things in the house should be polluted; 3for as long as the divine word has not come to our souls as to a hearth of hospitality, all its actions are blameless; for the overseer, or the father, or the teacher, or whatever else it may be fit to entitle the priest, by whom alone it is possible for it to be admonished and chastened, is at a distance: and those persons are to be pardoned who do wrong from inexperience, out of ignorance what they ought to do: for they do not look upon their deeds in the light of sins, but even sometimes they believe that they are doing right in cases in which they are erring greatly; but when the real priest, conviction, enters our hearts, like a most pure ray of light, then we think that the designs which we have cherished within our souls are not pure, and we see that our actions are liable to blame, and deserving of reproach, though we did them through ignorance of what was right. All these things, therefore, the priest, that is to say, conviction, pollutes, and orders that they should be taken away and stripped off, in order that he may see the abode of the soul pure, and, if there are any diseases in it, that he may heal them.

29 And the woman who met the prophet, in the book of Kings, resembles this fact: "And she is a widow;" not meaning by that, as we generally use the word, a woman when she is bereft of her husband, but that she is so, from being free from those passions which corrupt and destroy the soul, as Thamar is represented by Moses. For she also being a widow, was commanded to sit down in the house of the father, the only Saviour; on whose account, having forsaken for ever the company and society of men, she is at a distance from and widowhood of all human pleasures, and receives a divine seed; and being filled with the seeds of virtue, she conceives, and is in travail of virtuous actions. And when she has brought them forth, she carries off the prize against her adversaries, and is enrolled as victorious, bearing the palm as the emblem of her victory. For the name Thamar, being interpreted, means the palm-tree. And every soul that is beginning to be widowed and devoid of evils, says to the prophet, "O, man of God! hast thou come to me to remind me of my iniquity and of my sin?" For he being inspired, and entering into the soul, and being filled with heavenly love, and being amazingly excited by the intolerable stimulus of heaveninflicted frenzy, works in the soul a recollection of its ancient iniquities and offences: not in order that it may commit such again, - but that, greatly lamenting and bitterly bewailing its former error, it may hate its own offspring, and reject them with aversion, and may follow the admonitions of the word of God, the interpreter and prophet of his will. For the men of old used to call the prophets sometimes men of God, and sometimes seers, affixing appropriate and becoming names to their enthusiasm, and inspiration, and to the foreknowledge of affairs which they enjoyed.

30 Very properly, therefore, the most sacred Moses says that, the earth was corrupted at that time when the virtues of the just Noah were made manifest: "And the whole earth," says he, "was corrupted, because all flesh had corrupted his (autou) way upon the earth." Now to some persons this expression will seem to have been incorrectly used, and that the consistency with the context, and the truth of the fact will require that we should read rather that, "All flesh had corrupted its (autεμs) way upon the earth." For it does not agree with the feminine noun "flesh" (tεμ sarki), if we subjoin a masculine case, the word autou in connexion with it. But perhaps, Moses does not mean here to speak of the flesh alone as corrupting his way upon the earth, so that he deserves to be considered to have erred in the expression which he has used, but rather to speak of the things of the flesh, which is corrupted, and of that other being whose way the flesh endeavors to injure and to corrupt. So that we should explain this expression thus: - All flesh corrupted the perfect way of the everlasting and incorruptible being which conducts to God. And know that this way is wisdom. For the mind being guided by wisdom, while the road is straight and level and easy, proceeds along it to the end; and the end of this road is the knowledge and understanding of God. But every companion of the flesh hates and repudiates, and endeavors to corrupt this way; for there is no one thing so much at variance with another, as knowledge is at variance with the pleasure of the flesh. Accordingly, the earthly Edom is always fighting with those who wish to proceed by this road, which is the royal road for those who partake of the faculty of seeing who are called Israel; for the interpretation of the name Edom, is "earthly," and he labours with all earnestness, and by every means in his power, and by threats, to hinder them from this road, and to make it pathless and impracticable for ever.

31 Therefore the ambassadors who are sent speak as follows:--"We will pass on through thy land; we will not pass through thy fields nor through thy vineyards; we will not drink water form thy cistern; we will proceed by the royal road; we will not turn aside out of the way, to the right hand, nor to the left, until we have passed over thy borders. But Edom answered and said, Thou shall not pass through my land: and if thou dost, I will come against thee in battle to meet thee. And the children of Israel said unto him. We will pass by thy mountain; but if I or my cattle drink of thy water, I will pay thee the price thereof. But it is of no consequence, we will pass by thy mountain. And he said, "Thou shall not pass through my land." It is said of some man of old time, that when he saw a sumptuous procession properly equipped passing by, he looked towards one of his acquaintances and said, "My friends, see how many things there are of which I have no need," in a very few words uttering what was truly a great and heavenly boast. What dost thou say? 4Were you crowned as conqueror in the Olympic games in opposition to all the wealth arrayed against you; and were you so to that degree there that you took nothing from thence for your enjoyment or for your use? It is a marvelous statement, but the sentiment is more admirable still, which advanced to such a degree of strength, as to be able without any extraordinary exertion, nevertheless to carry off the victory by force.

32 But it is not allowed to one man alone to boast before Moses who has been instructed in the highest perfection of wisdom, but it belongs to the whole of a most populous nation. And this is the proof of that fact. The soul of every one of his friends felt confidence and was bold towards the king of all the apparent good things, the earthly Edom; for in fact all earthly good things are good only in appearance; they then I say were bold, so as to say, "I will now pass by thy land." Oh, the magnanimous and sublime promise! Tell me, will ye be able to surmount, to pass by, to run past all these things which on earth appear to be and are believed to be good? And is there nothing which will be able to check and restrain your forward advance by the power with which it resists you? 5And when you have beheld all the treasures of riches one after another, and all full, will ye turn from them with aversion, and avert your eyes from them? And will ye look down upon the dignities of your ancestors, and on those which come to yourselves from your father and yourmother, and on their nobility which is so celebrated in the mouths of the multitude? And will ye forsake the glory for which men are ready to barter everything, leaving it behind as if it were something most utterly valueless? What more shall I say? Will ye disregard the health of the body, and the accurate perfection of the outward senses, and beauty, which is an object of contention to many, and strength such as no one can oppose, and all those other things by which the house or the tomb of the soul, or whatever else one ought to call it is adorned, will ye, I say, disregard all these things, so far as not to class any one of them among good things? These are mighty deeds of boldness for a heavenly and celestial soul, which has utterly forsaken the regions of earth, and which has been drawn up on high, and has its abode among the divine natures. For being filled with the sight of the genuine and incorruptible good things, it very naturally repudiates those which only last a day and are spurious.

33 What is the advantage then of passing over all the mortal advantages of mortal man, and passing them by too, not in accordance with right reason, but as some do through their hesitation, or sluggishness, or inexperience; for everything is not honoured everywhere, but different things are esteemed by different persons. On this account, Moses wishing to teach further, that they had become by correctness of reason inclined to despise what was said, adds to the words, "I will pass by," the further description, "through your land." For this is exceedingly necessary, that when surrounded by an abundance of those things which are usually accounted advantages, we should avoid being taken prisoners by any of the toils which are spread by each separate pleasure; and that like fire, we should be able at one onset to break through their attacks which are so continually armed against us. 5The Israelites say then that they will pass by this way, but that they will not pass any longer through the fields and vineyards; for it would be doting simplicity to pass by all the plants in the soul worthy of cultivation and producing eatable fruit, that is to say virtuous discourses and praiseworthy actions. For it would be proper rather to remain, and to gather the fruit, and to feed on it to satiety. For nothing is more beautiful than an insatiable cheerfulness and amid perfect virtues, of which cheerfulness, the aforesaid vineyards are the symbol. But we, on whom God pours and showers his fountains of good things from above, we drank from that cistern, and we were seeking scanty moisture beneath the earth, while the heaven was raining upon us, from above without ceasing, the more excellent food of nectar and

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ambrosia, far better than that celebrated in the fables of the poets.

34 Moreover, should we while draining draughts stored up by the contrivance of men through distrust, seek a refuge and place of escape where the Saviour of the universe has opened to us his heavenly treasury for our use and enjoyment? For Moses, the hierophant, prays that "the Lord may open to us his good treasure, his heavenly one, to give us his rain," and the prayers of the man who loves God are sure to obtain a hearing. 5And what does he say who neither thinks the heaven, or the rain, or a cistern, or in fact anything whatever in all creation sufficient to nourish him, but who goes beyond all these things, and relating what he has suffered, says, "The God who has nourished me from my youth up."43 Does not this man appear to you not to think all the collections of water under the earth put together worthy even of looking at? Nor therefore would he drink out of a cistern to whom God gives draughts of unmixed wine; at one time, by the ministrations of some angel whom he has thought worthy to act as cupbearer, and at another time by his own means, placing no one between the giver and the receiver. Let us then, without any delay, attempt to proceed by the royal road, since we think fit to pass by all earthly things; and the royal road is that of which there is not private individual in the world who is master, but he alone who is also the only true king. And this is, as I said a little while ago, wisdom, by which alone suppliant souls can find a way of escaping to the uncreate God; for it is natural that one who goes without any hindrance along the royal road, will never feel weariness before he meets with the king. But, then, those who have come near to him recognise his blessedness and their own deficiency; for Abraham, when he had placed himself very near to God, immediately perceived that he was but dust and ashes.44 6And let them turn away out of the royal road, neither to the right hand nor to the left, but let them advance along the middle of it; for any deviation in either direction is blamable, as that on the one side has a tendency to excess and that on the other side to deficiency; for the right hand is, in this instance, no less blamable than the left hand. In the case of those who live according to impulse, the right hand is temerity and the left hand cowardice. As regards those who are illiberal in the management of money, on the right hand stands stinginess, and on the left hand extravagant prodigality; and those men, who are very subtle in calculating, judge craftiness to be desirable and simplicity to be a thing to be shunned. Again, some persons incline towards superstition as being placed on the right hand, and flee from impiety as a thing to be avoided on the left.

35 But that we may not, through deviating from the right road, be compelled to yield to one of two rival faults, let us desire and pray to be able to proceed straight along the middle of the road. Now, the middle between temerity and cowardice, is courage; the mean between profuse extravagance and illiberal stinginess, is temperance; that between crafty unscrupulousness and folly, is prudence; and the proper path between superstition and impiety, is piety. 6These lie in the middle between the deviations on either side, and are all roads easily travelled, and level, and plain, which we must walk upon not with our bodily organs, but with the motions of a soul continually desiring what is best. 6At this, the earthly Edom, being excessively indignant (for he is afraid of the overthrow and confusion of his own doctrines), will threaten us with irreconcilable wars, if we attempt to force our way along it, cutting down and clearing away continually as we advance the fruitful trees of his soul, which he planted for the destruction of wisdom, but has not gathered the fruit thereof; for he says, "Thou shall not pass by me; and if thou dost, I will come forth in battle against thee to meet thee." 6But let us regard none of his threats, but make answer that we will pass by his mountain; that is to say, we being accustomed to associate with high and sublime powers and to investigate everything according to its true definition, and being used to inquire into the reason of everything whatever, of every kind, by means of which the knowledge is attained of what anything is, hold in utter contempt everything which is external and which affects the body alone; for such things are lowly and grovelling in the ground, dear indeed to you, but hated by us, for which reason we will not have anything to do with any one of them. 6For if, as the proverb says, we only touch this with the tip of our finger, we shall be giving honour and dignity to you; for then you will give yourself airs and will boast, as if we who are lovers of virtue had been brought over to you by the allurements of pleasure.

36"For if," says Israel , "I and my cattle drink of thy water, I will pay you a price for it." Not meaning by that such price as is spoken of by the poets, money of silver or gold, or anything else; such among dealers is accustomed to be given to those who sell wares in exchanges for their wares, but the price will be the honour which he now claims; for, in reality, every intemperate, or unjust, or cowardly man, when he sees any one who is more austere either avoiding labour, or subdued by gain, or yielding to any one of the allurements of pleasure, rejoices and exults, and thinks that he himself has received honour. And, moreover, going on in his rejoicing and displaying his exultation to the multitude, he begins to philosophise about his own errors as very unavoidable and not useless, saying that if they were not of such a character, that respectable man, so and so, would never have indulged in them. Let us, then, say to every wicked man, if we drink of thy water, if we touch anything, whatever that is yours, owing to an indiscreet impetuosity, we shall be giving you honour, and acceptance, instead of dishonour and rejection (for these are what you deserve to receive); and, in truth, the matters about which you are anxious are absolutely nothing. Do you think that anything mortal has any real being and existence, and that it is not rather something borne up and suspended by the rope of some false and untrustworthy opinion, resting on empty air, and in no respect differing from deceitful dreams? 7And if you are unwilling to contemplate the fortunes of particular men, think upon the changes, whether for the better or for the worse, of whole countries and nations. At one time Greece was flourishing, but the Macedonians took away the power of that land; then, in turn, Macedonia became mighty, but that, being divided into small portions became weak, until at last it was entirely extinguished. Before the time of the Macedonians the Persians prospered, but one day overthrew their exceeding and extensive prosperity. And now the Parthians are more powerful than the Persians, who a little while ago were their masters, ever were; and those who were their subjects are now masters. Once, and for a very long time, Egypt was a mighty empire, but its great dominion and glory have passed away like a cloud. What has become of the Ethiopians, and of Carthage , and of the kingdoms of Libya ? Where now are the kings of Pontus ? What has become of Europe and Asia , and, in short, of the whole of the inhabited world? Is it not tossed up and down the agitated like a ship that is tossed by the sea, at one time enjoying a fair wind and at another time being forced to battle against contrary gales? For the divine Word brings round its operations in a circle, which the common multitude of men call fortune. And then, as it continually flows on among cities, and nations, and countries, it overturns existing arrangements and gives to one person what has previously belonged to another, changing the affairs of individuals only in point of time, in order that the whole world may become, as it were, one city, and enjoy the most excellent of constitutions, a democracy.

37 No one, therefore, of all the objects of human anxiety or of human labour, is of any importance or value; but every such thing is a mere shadow or breath, disappearing before it can get any firm footing; for it comes and then again it departs, like the ebbing tide. For the sea, in its ebb and flow, is at one time borne forwards with great violence, and roaring, and noise, and overflowing its bounds makes a lake of what has previously been dry land; and, at another time, it recedes and makes a large portion of what has been sea, dry land. In the same manner, at times, prosperity overflows a mighty and populous nation, but afterwards turns the impetuosity of its stream in the opposite direction, and does not leave even the slightest drop, so as to suffer no trace whatever to remain of its former richness. But it is not everybody who receives the complete and full meaning of these events, but only those receive it who are accustomed always to proceed in accordance with true and solid reason and limitation; for we find the same men saying both these things, "All the affairs of the created world are absolutely nothing;" and, "We will go by thy mountain." For it is impossible for one who is not in the habit of using high and mountainous roads to repudiate all mortal affairs, and to turn aside and change his paths for what is immortal. Therefore the earthly Edom thinks it right to blockade the heavenly and royal road of virtue, and the divine reason blockades his road, and that of all who follow his opinions; among whom we must enroll Balaam, for he also is a child of the earth, and not a shoot of heaven, and a proof of this is, that he, being influenced by omens and false prophecies, not even when the eye of his soul, which had been closed, recovered its sight, and "saw the angel of God standing against him in the way;" not even then did he turn back and desist from doing wrong, but giving way to a mighty torrent of folly, he was washed away and swallowed up by it. 8For then the diseases of the soul are truly not only difficult of cure, but even utterly incurable, when, though conviction is present to us (and this is the word of God, coming as his angel and as our guide, and removing the obstacles before our feet, so that we may travel without stumbling along the level road), we nevertheless prefer our own indiscreet opinions, to the explanations and injunctions which he is accustomed to address to us for our admonition, and for the chastening and regulating of our whole life. 8On this account he who is not persuaded by, and who shows no respect to, conviction, when it thus opposes him, will, in his turn, incur destruction with the wounded, 46 whom the passions have wounded and overthrown; and his calamity will be a most sufficient lesson for all those who are not utterly impure, to endeavor to keep the judge, that is within them, favourable to them, and he will be so if they do not reverse what has been rightly decided by him.

ON HUSBANDRY

1 ("And Noah began to be a husbandman; and he planted a vineyard, and he drank of the wine, and he was drunk in his House." [Genesis 9:20.] The generality of men not understanding the nature of things, do also of necessity err with respect to the composition of names; for those who consider affairs anatomically, as it were, are easily able to affix appropriate names to things, but those who look at them in a confused and irregular way are incapable of such accuracy. (But Moses, through the exceeding abundance of his knowledge of all things, was accustomed to affix the most felicitous and expressive appellations to them. Accordingly, in many passages of the law, we shall find this opinion, which we have expressed, confirmed by the fact, and not least in the passage which we have cited at the beginning of this treatise, in which the just Noah is represented as a husbandman. (For what man is there who is at all hasty in forming an opinion, who would not think that the being a husbandman (geoμrgia), and the occupying one's self in cultivating the ground (heμ geμsergasia), were the same thing? And yet in real truth, not only are these things not the same, but they are even very much separated from one another, so as to be opposed to, and at variance with one another. (For a man without any skill may labour at taking care of the land; but if a man is called a husbandman, he, from his mere name, is believed to be no unskilful man, but a farmer of experience, inasmuch as his name (geoμrgos) has been derived from agricultural skill (geoμrgikeμ techneμ), of which he is the namesake. (And besides all this, we must likewise consider this other point, that the tiller of the ground (ho geμs ergateμs) looks only to one end, namely, to his wages; for he is altogether a hireling, and has no care whatever to till the land well. But the husbandman (ho geoμrgos) would be glad also to contribute something of his own, and to spend in addition some of his private resources for the sake of improving the soil, and of avoiding blame from those who understand the business; for his desire is to derive his revenues every year not from any other source, but from his agricultural labours, when they have been brought into a productive state. (He therefore occupies himself with improving the character of wild trees, and making them fruitful, and with further improving the character of fruitful trees by his care, and with reducing by pruning those branches which through superfluity of nourishment are too luxuriant, and with inducing those which are contracted and crowded to grow by the extension of their young shoots. Moreover, those trees which are of good sorts, and which make many shoots, he propagates by extending them under the earth in ditches of no very great depth, and those which do not produce good fruit he endeavors to improve by the insertion of other kinds into their roots, connecting them by the most natural union. For the same thing happens likewise in the case of men, that they firmly unite into their own family adopted sons, who are unconnected with them in blood, but whom they make their own on account of their virtues. (The husbandman, therefore, takes up innumerable shoots, with their roots entire, which have by natural process become barren, as far as bearing fruit is concerned, and which even do great injury to those plants which do bear by reason of their being planted near them. Such, then, is the art which is applied to those plants which grow out of the ground. And now let us turn our consideration to the husbandry of the soul in its turn.

2 (First of all, therefore, the husbandman is not anxious to plant or to sow anything that is unproductive, but only all such things as are worth cultivation, and as bear fruit, which will bring a yearly produce to their master man. For nature has pointed him out as the master of all trees and animals, and all other things whatever which are perishable; (and what can man be but the kind that is in every one of us, which is accustomed to reap the advantage from all that is sown or planted? But since milk is the food of infants, but cakes made of wheat are the food of fullgrown men, so also the soul must have a milk-like nourishment in its age of childhood, namely, the elementary instruction of encyclical science. But the perfect food which is fit for men consists of explanations dictated by prudence, and temperance, and every virtue. For these things being sown and implanted in the mind will bring forth most advantageous fruit, namely, good and praiseworthy actions. By means of this husbandry, all the trees of the passions and vices, which soot forth and grow up to a height, bringing forth pernicious fruits, are rooted up, and cut down, and cleared away, so that not even the smallest fragment of them is left, from which any new shoots of evil actions can subsequently spring up. And if, besides, there are any trees which produce no fruit at all, neither good nor bad, the husbandman will cut them down too, but still he will not suffer them to be completely destroyed, but he will apply them to some appropriate use, making them into stakes and fixing them as pales all round his homestead, or using them as a fence for a city to serve instead of a wall.

3 For Moses says, "Every tree which bringeth not forth fruit good to eat thou shall cut down; and thou shall make it into stakes against the city which shall make war upon them." [Deuteronomy 20:20.] And these trees are likened to those

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powers developed in words alone, which have nothing in them but mere speculation, among which we must class medical science, when unconnected with practice, by which it is natural that such persons may be cured, and also the oratorical and hireling species of rhetoric, which is conversant not about the discovery of the truth, but solely about the means of deceiving the hearers by plausible persuasion; and in the same class we must place all those parts of dialectics and geometry which have no connexion with a proper regulation of the character or morals, but which only sharpen the mind, not suffering it to exercise a dull apprehension towards each question which is raised and submitted to it, but always to dissect the question and divide it, so as to distinguish the peculiar character of each thing from the common qualities of the whole genus. At all events, men say, that the ancients compared the principles of philosophy, as being threefold, to a field; likening natural philosophy to trees and plants, and moral philosophy to fruits, for the sake of which the plants are planted; and logical philosophy to the hedge or fence: for as the wall, which is erected around, is the guardian of the plants and of the fruit which are in the field, keeping off all those who wish to do them injury and to destroy them, in the same manner, the logical part of philosophy is the strongest possible sort of protection to the other two parts, the moral and the natural philosophy; for when it simplifies twofold and ambiguous expressions, and when it solves specious plausibilities entangled in sophisms, and utterly destroys seductive deceits, the greatest allurement and ruin to the soul, by means of its own expressive and clear language, and its unambiguous demonstrations, it makes the whole mind smooth like wax, and ready to receive all the innocent and very praiseworthy impressions of sound natural and moral philosophy.

4 These then are the professions and promises made by the husbandry of the soul, "I will cut down all the trees of folly, and intemperance, and injustice, and cowardice; and I will eradicate all the plants of pleasure, and appetite, and anger, and passion, and of all similar affections, even if they have raised their heads as high as heaven. And I will burn out their roots, darting down the attack of flame to the very foundations of the earth, so that no portion, nay, no trace, or shadow whatever, of such things shall be left; and I will destroy these things, and I will implant in those souls which are of a childlike age, young shoots, whose fruit shall nourish them. And those shoots are as follows: the practice of writing and reading with facility; an accurate study and investigation of the works of wise poets; geometry, and a careful study of rhetorical speeches, and the whole course of encyclical education. And in those souls which have arrived at the age of puberty or of manhood, I will implant things which are even better and more perfect, namely, the tree of prudence, the tree of courage, the tree of temperance, the tree of justice, the tree of every respective virtue. And if there be any tree belonging to what is called the wild class, which does not bear eatable fruit, but which is able to be a fence to and a protector of that which is eatable, that also I will manage, not for its own sake, but because it is calculated by nature to be of use to what is necessary and very useful.

5 Therefore, the allwise Moses attributes to the just man a knowledge of the husbandry of the soul, as an act consistent with his character, and thoroughly suited to him, saying, "Noah began to be a husbandman." But to the unjust man he attributes the task of tilling the ground, which is an employment bearing the heaviest burdens without any knowledge. For "Cain," says he, "was a tiller of the ground;" and a little afterwards, when he is detected in having contracted the pollution of fratricide, it is said, "Cursed art thou by the earth, which opened her mouth to receive the word of thy brother from thy hand, with which thou tillest the earth, and it shall not put forth its strength to give unto thee." How then could any one show more manifestly, that the lawgiver looks upon the wicked man as a tiller of the earth, and not as a husbandman, than by such language as we here see used? We must not indeed suppose that what is here said, is said of a man who is able to work by his hands or by his feet, or by any other of the powers of his body, or of any mountain land, or of any champaign country, but that is applicable to the powers existing in every one of us; for it happens that the soul of the wicked man is not concerned about any thing else except about his earthly body, and about all the pleasures of that body. Moreover, the general crowd of men, travelling over the different climates of the earth and penetrating to its furthest boundaries, and traversing the seas, and investigating the things that lie hid in the recesses of the ocean, and leaving no single part of the whole universe unexplored, is continually providing from every quarter the means by which it can increase pleasure. For as fishermen let down their nets at times to the most extraordinary depths, comprehending a vast surface of the sea in their circle, in order to catch the greatest possible number of fish enclosed within their nets, like people shut up within the walls of a besieged city; so in the same manner the greatest part of men having extended their universal nets to take everything, as the poets somewhere say, not only over the parts of the sea, but also over the whole nature of earth, and air, and water, seek to catch everything from every quarter for the enjoyment and attainment of pleasure. For they dig mines in the earth, and they sail across the seas, and they achieve every other work both of peace and war, providing unbounded materials for pleasure, as for their queen, being utterly uninitiated in that husbandry of the soul which sows and plants the virtues and reaps their fruit, which is a happy life. But they labouring to procure, and reducing to a system those things which are pleasant to the flesh, cultivate with all imaginable care that composite mass, that carefully fashioned statue, the narrow house of the soul, which, from its birth to its death it can never lay aside, but which it is compelled to bear till the day of its death, burdensome as it is.

6 We have now therefore explained, in what respect, the occupation of tilling the ground differs from husbandry, and a tiller of the ground from a husbandman. And we must now consider whether there are not some other species akin to these already mentioned, but which, through the common names borne by them and others, conceal the real difference which exists between them. At least there are two which we have discovered by investigation, concerning which we will say what is fitting, if it is in our power. Therefore, as we found a tiller of the earth and a husbandman, though there did not appear to be any difference between them (till we came to investigate the allegorical meaning concealed under each name), nevertheless very far removed from one another in fact, such also shall we find to be the case with a shepherd and a keeper of sheep. For the lawgiver sometimes speaks of the occupation of a shepherd, and sometimes of that of a keeper of sheep. And those who do not examine expressions with any excessive accuracy, ill perhaps fancy that these two appellations are synonimous terms for the same employment. They are, however, in reality the names of things which are widely different in the meaning affixed to their concealed ideas. For if it is customary to give both the names of shepherd and keeper of sheep to those who have the management of flocks, still they do not give these names to that reason which is the superintendant of the flock of the soul; for a man who is but an indifferent manager of a flock is called a keeper of sheep, but a good and faithful one is called a shepherd, and in what way we will proceed to show immediately.

7 Nature has made cattle akin to every individual among us, the soul putting forth two young branches as from one root; one of which being entire and undivided, and being left in its integrity is called the mind; but the other part is separated by six divisions into seven natures, five outward senses, and two other organs, the organs of speech, and that of generation. But all this multitude of external senses and organs being destitute of reason is compared to a sheep, but since it is composed of many parts, it of necessity stands in need of a governor by the unvarying law of nature. Whenever therefore a man who is ignorant how to govern, and at the same time wealthy, rises up and appoints himself governor, he becomes the cause of innumerable evils to the flocks, for he supplies all necessary things in superabundance, and the flock being immoderately glutted with them becomes insolent through the superfluity of food; for insolence is the genuine offspring of satiety. Accordingly, they become insolent and exult, and shake off all restraint, and being scattered in small divisions they break the appointed order of the Lord. But he who, for a while, was then governor, being deserted by the flock under his orders, appears stripped of his authority, and runs about earnestly endeavoring, if possible, to collect the scattered flock together and to unite it again; but when he finds that he is unable to do this he groans and weeps, blaming his own remissness, and reproaching himself as the cause of all that has happened. In this manner, also, the offspring of the outward senses, when the mind is supine and indolent, being satiated in the most unbounded degree with a superfluity of the pleasures of the outward senses, toss their heads, and frisk about, and rove about, at random, wherever they please; the eyes being opened wide to embrace every object of sight, and hastening even to feast themselves on objects which ought not to be looked at; and the ears eagerly receiving every kind of voice, and never being satisfied, but always thirsting for superfluity and the indulgence of vain curiosity and sometimes even for such delights as are but little suited to a free man.

8 Since on what other account can we imagine, that in every quarter of the habitable globe, the theatres are every day filled with incalculable myriads of spectators? For they, being wholly under the dominion of sounds and sights, and allowing their ears and their eyes to be carried away without any restraint, go in pursuit of harp-players and singers to the harp, and every description of effeminate and unmanly music; and, moreover, eagerly receiving dancers and every other kind of actors, because they place themselves and move in all kinds of effeminate positions and motions, they are continually by their applause exciting the factions of the theatre, never thinking either of the propriety of their own conduct or of that of the general body of the citizens; but, miserable as they are, upsetting all their own plan of life for the sake of their eyes and ears. And there are others who are still more unfortunate and miserable than these men, who have released their sense of taste out of prison as it were; and that sense, immediately rushing, in an unrestrained manner, to every kind of meat and drink, selects from the things that are already prepared, and also cherishes an indiscriminate and insatiable hunger for what is not present. So that, even if the channels of the belly are filled, its ever unsatisfied appetites, raging and ravening around, continue to look and stalk about in every direction, lest there should any where be any fragment which has been overlooked, that it may swallow that up also like a devouring fire. And this gluttony is followed by its usual natural attendant, an eagerness for the connexions of the sexes, which brings in its train a strange frenzy, an unrestrainable madness and a most grievous fury; for, when men are oppressed by the indulgence of gluttony and delicate food, and by much unmixed wine and drunkenness, they are no longer able to restrain themselves, but hastening to amorous gratifications they revel and disturb the doors, until they are at last able to rest when they have drawn off the great violence of their passion. On which account nature, as it would seem, has placed the organs of such connexion beneath the belly, being previously aware that they do not delight in hunger, but that they follow upon satiety and then rise up to fulfil their peculiar operations.

9 Those, then, who permit the flock committed to their charge to satiate themselves all at once with all the things that they desire, we must call keepers of sheep; but those, on the contrary, we should entitle shepherds, who supply their flocks with only so much as is necessary and proper for them; cutting off and utterly rejecting all superfluous and useless extravagance and abundance, which is not less injurious than want and deficiency, and who guard with great prudence against the possibility of the flock becoming diseased through their want of care and indolence, praying that those diseases, which at times are liable to attack flocks from external causes, may not visit theirs. And they take equal care that it may not straggle about at random and get scattered, holding out to them as an object of fear one who will chastise those who never obey reason, and inflicting continual punishment, moderate when applied to those who err only in such a degree as admits of a remedy, but very severe when laid upon those whose wickedness is uncurable; for though in its essence it may appear an abominable thing, nevertheless punishment is the greatest good to foolish persons, great as the remedies of the physician are to those who are ill in the body.

10 These, then, are the occupations of shepherds who prefer those things which are useful, though mixed with unpleasantness, to those which are pleasant but pernicious. Thus, at all events, the occupation of a shepherd has come to be considered a respectable and profitable employment, so that the race of poets has been accustomed to call kings the shepherds of the people; but the law giver gives this title to the wise, who are the only real kings, for he represents them as rulers of all men of irrational passions, as of a flock of sheep. On this account he has attributed to Jacob, the man who was made perfect by practice, a skill in the science of a shepherd, saying: "For he is the shepherd of Laban's Sheep." [Genesis 30:36.] That is, of the sheep of the foolish soul, which thinks only those things good which are the objects of the outward senses and apparent to them, being deceived and enslaved by colours and shadows; for the name, Laban, being interpreted, means "whitening." He also attributes the same skill to the all-wise Moses,[Exodus 3:1.] for he also is represented as the shepherd of the mind which embraces pride in preference to truth, and which receives appearance rather than reality; for the interpretation of the name Jethro is "superfluous," and superfluity is pride adopted for the purpose of introducing error into correct life; which is the cause why different things are looked upon as right in different cities, and not those principles which ought to be looked upon as just everywhere, inasmuch as it never sees, not even in a dream, the common and immovable principles of the justice of nature. For, it is said, that "Moses was the shepherd of the sheep of Jethro, the priest of Midian." And this man himself prays that the flock may not be left without a shepherd, meaning by the flock the whole multitude of the parts of the soul; but that they may meet with a good shepherd, who will lead them away from the nets of folly, and injustice, and all wickedness, and conduct them to the doctrines of learning and all other virtue; for, says Moses, "Let the Lord the God of spirits and of all flesh look down upon man and upon this Assembly." [Numbers 27:16.] And then, a little further on, he adds, "And the assembly of the Lord shall not be like sheep who have no shepherd."

11 But is it not well worth praying for, that the flock which is akin to each individual of us, and of so much value, may not be left without any superintendent or governor, so that we may not, through being filled with a love of the worst of all constitutions, an ochlocracy, which is a base copy of the best form, democracy, pass our lives for ever and amid tumults, and disorders, and intestine seditions? Certainly it is not anarchy alone that is an evil, through being the parent of ochlocracy, but also the insurrection of any lawless and violent force against authority; for the tyrant who, by his own

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nature is hostile, is, in the case of cities, a man, but in the case of the body and the soul, and all transactions having reference to either, he is a mind resembling the brute beasts, besieging the citadel of each individual; but not only are these dominations unprofitable, but so also are the governments and authority of other persons, who are very gentle, for gentleness is a line of conduct very likely to be despised, and injurious to both parties, both to the rulers and the subjects. To the one from the disregard with which their subjects treat them, so that they are unable to manage any matter, whether of public or of their own private business successfully, are sometimes even compelled to abdicate their authority; and to the others, because of their continual disrespect to their governors, disregarding all persuasion, so that they contract a habit of selfwilled insolence, a possession of great evil. We must then think that one of these classes of governors differs in no respect from keepers of sheep, while the others resemble the sheep themselves, for the governors persuade the governed to be luxurious, through the extravagance of the supplies with which they provide them; and the governed being unable to bear their satiety become insolent; but what is really desirable is, that our mind should govern all our conduct, like a goatherd, or a cowherd, or a shepherd, or, in short, like any herdsman of any kind; choosing in preference to what is pleasant that which is for the advantage both of himself and of his flock.

12 But the providence of God is the principal and almost the only cause that the divisions of the soul are not left entirely without any governor, and that they have met with a blameless and in all respects good shepherd. In consequence of whose appointment it is impossible that the company of the mind should become scattered; for it will of necessity appear in one and the same order, looking to the authority of its one governor, since the heaviest burden of all is to be compelled to obey a variety of rulers. Thus, indeed, being a shepherd is a good thing, so that it is justly attributed, not only to kings, and to wise men, and to souls who are perfectly purified, but also to God, the ruler of all things; and he who confirms this is not any ordinary person, but a prophet, whom it is good to believe, he namely who wrote the psalms; for he speaks thus, "The Lord is my shepherd, and he shall cause me to lack Nothing;" [psalm 23:1.] and let every one in his turn say the same thing, for it is very becoming to every man who loves God to study such a song as this, but above all this world should sing it. For God, like a shepherd and a king, governs (as if they were a flock of sheep) the earth, and the water, and the air, and the fire, and all the plants, and living creatures that are in them, whether mortal or divine; and he regulates the nature of the heaven, and the periodical revolutions of the sun and moon, and the variations and harmonious movements of the other stars, ruling them according to law and justice; appointing, as their immediate superintendent, his own right reason, his first-born son, who is to receive the charge of this sacred company, as the lieutenant of the great king; for it is said somewhere, "Behold, I am he! I will send my messenger before thy face, who shall keep thee in the Road." [Exodus 23:20.] Let therefore all the world, the greatest and most perfect flock of the living God, say "The Lord is my shepherd, and he shall cause me to lack nothing," and let every separate individual say the same thing; not with the voice which proceeds from his tongue and his mouth, extending only through a scanty portion of the air, but with the wide spreading voice of the mind, which reaches to the very extremities of this universe; for it is impossible that there should be a deficiency of anything that is necessary, where God presides, who is in the habit of bestowing good things in all fulness and completeness in all living beings.

13 But there is a very beautiful encouragement to equality contained in the song before mentioned; for in real truth, the man who appears to have everything else, and yet who is impatient under the authority of one master, is incomplete in his happiness, and is poor; but if a soul is governed by God, having that one and only thing on which all other things depend, it is very naturally in no need of other things, regarding not blind riches, but only such as are endowed with real and acute Sight. [i have again followed Mangey's proposed translation for this text which he pronounces corrupt and unintelligible.] All true disciples have come to conceive an earnest and unalterable love for that; and therefore laughing at the mere keeping of sheep, they have directed their attention to the attainment of a shepherd's knowledge; and a proof of this is to be found in the case of Joseph, who was always studying that knowledge which is conversant about the body and vain opinions, not being able to rule and govern irrational nature (for it is customary for old men to be appointed to offices of irresponsible authority; but this man is always young, even if after a lapse of time he may come to support old age, which has at last reached him); and being accustomed to nourish this and to lead it on to growth, he expects to be able to persuade the lovers of virtue to change and come over to him, in order that in so changing to irrational and inanimate objects, they may have no leisure for applying themselves to the studies of a rational soul. For Moses represents Joseph as saying, "If the king," that is to say, the mind, the king of the body, "shall ask you, What is your occupation? answer, We are men, the keepers of Cattle." [Genesis 46:33.] When they hear this they are naturally impatient, not liking the idea, while they are rulers, of confessing that they hold the rank of subordinates; for those who supply food to the outward senses, through the abundance of the objects perceptible only by them, become the slaves of those who are nourished, like servants who pay to their mistresses a compulsory reverence every day; but those who preside over them are rulers, and they bridle the vehement impetuosity with which they are hurried on to luxury. At first therefore, although they do not hear what is said with any pleasure, they will still keep silence, thinking it unseemly to discuss the difference between the employment of a keeper of cattle and a shepherd, before those who do not understand it; but subsequently, when a contest about these things arises, they will contend with all their power, and will never desist till they have carried their point by main force, having exhibited the liberality, and nobleness, and royal character of their nature to the living God. Accordingly when the king asks, "What is your occupation?" they will answer "We are shepherds, we and our fathers."

14 Would they not then appear to boast as much of their occupation as shepherds, as the king himself, who is conversing with them, does of his mighty power and dominion? At least they are testifying their high opinion of the profession of life which they have adopted, not in honour of themselves alone, but of their father also, as being worthy of all possible care and diligence; and yet, if the discussion had been merely about the care of goats or sheep, perhaps they would have been ashamed to make such an admission through desire to avoid dishonour; for such occupations are accounted inglorious and mean among those who are loaded with great prosperity, without being at the same time endowed with prudence, and especially among kings. And the Egyptian character is by nature most especially haughty and boastful whenever so slight a breeze of prosperity does merely blow upon it, so that men of that nation look upon the pursuits of life and objects of ambition of ordinary men, as subjects for laughter and downright ridicule. But since the matter before us, at present, is to consider the rational and irrational powers in the soul, those persons will naturally boast, who are persuaded that they are able to master the irrational faculties, by taking the rational ones for their allies. If therefore any envious or captious person should blame us, and say, "How then have ye, who are devoted to the employment of shepherds, and who profess to be occupied in the care and management of the flocks which belong to you, ever thought of approaching the country of the body and the passions, namely Egypt? and why have ye not turned your voyage in another direction? You must say to him in reply, with all freedom of speech, We have come hither as sojourners, not as inhabitants." For in reality every soul of a wise man has heaven for its country, and looks upon earth as a strange land, and considers the house of wisdom his own home; but the house of the body, a lodging-house, on which it proposes to sojourn for a while. Therefore since the mind, the ruler of the flock, having taken the flock of the soul, using the law of nature as its teacher, governs it consistently and vigorously, rendering it worthy of approbation and great praise; but when it manages it sluggishly and indulgently, with a disregard of law, then it renders it blamable. Very naturally, therefore, the one will assume the name of a king, being addressed as a shepherd, but the other will only have the title of a confectioner, or of a baker, being called a keeper of sheep, supplying the means of feasting and gluttonous eating to cattle accustomed to gorge themselves to satiety.

15 I have now therefore explained, in no superficial manner, in what way a husbandman differs from a tiller of the ground, and a shepherd from a keeper of sheep. There is also a third point, having some connexion with what has already been said, which we will now proceed to speak of. For I consider that a horseman and a rider differ; meaning by this statement, not merely that one man who is carried on a neighing animal differs from another man who is carried on a similar beast, but the motion of the one is different from the motion of the other; therefore the man who gets on a horse without any skill in horsemanship, is correctly called a rider, and he has given himself up to an irrational and restive animal, to such a degree that it is absolutely inevitable that he must be carried wherever the animal chooses to go, and if he fails to see beforehand a chasm in the earth, or a deep pit, it has happened before now that such a man, in consequence of the impetuosity of his course, has been thrown headlong down a precipice and dashed to pieces. But a horseman, on the other hand, when he is about to mount, takes the bridle in his hand, and then taking hold of the mane on the horse's neck, he leaps on; and though he appears to be carried by the horse, yet, if one must tell the truth, he in reality guides the animal that carries him, as a pilot guides a ship. For the pilot too, appearing to be carried by the ship which he is managing, does in real truth guide it, and conducts it to whatever harbour he is himself desirous to hasten. While, therefore, the horse goes on in obedience to the rein, the horseman pats the horse, as if praising it; but when it goes on with too great impetuosity, and is carried away beyond moderation, then he pulls it back with force and vigor, so as to restrain its speed. But if the horse continue to be disobedient, then he takes the whole bridle, and pulls him back, and drags back his neck, so that he is compelled to stop. And for all his restiveness and his continued disregard of the rein, there are whips and spurs prepared, and all other instruments of punishment which have been invented by horse-breakers. And it is not wonderful: for when the horseman mounts, the art of horsemanship mounts too; so that there then being two parties borne by the horse, and skilful in horsemanship, they will very naturally get the better of one animal who is subjected to them, and who is incapable of acquiring skill.

16 Therefore now, leaving the consideration of these neighing animals, and of the parties carried by them, investigate, if you will, the condition of your own soul. For in its several parts you will find both horses and a rider in the fashion of a charioteer, just as you do in external things. Now, the horses are appetite and passion, the one being male and the other female. On this account, the one giving itself airs, wishes to be unrestrained and free, and holds its head erect, as a male animal naturally does; and the other, not being free, but of a slavish disposition, and rejoicing in all kinds of crafty wickedness, devours the house, and destroys the house, for she is female. And the rider and charioteer is one, namely the mind. When, indeed, the mounts with prudence, he is a charioteer; but when he does so with folly, then he is but a rider. For a fool, through ignorance, is unable to keep hold of the reins; but they, falling from his hands, drop on the ground. And the animals, immediately that they have got the better of the reins, run on in an ill-regulated and unrestrained course. But the man who has mounted behind them, not being able to take hold of anything by which he may steady himself, falls, and lacerating his knees and his hands and his face, like a miserable man as he is, he bitterly weeps over his disaster; and after hanging by his feet to the chariot after he has been overturned, he is suspended, with his face upwards, lying on his back; and as the chariot proceeds, he is dragged along, and injured in his head, and neck, and both his shoulders; and then, being hurried on in this direction and in that, and being dashed against everything which lies in the way, he endures a most pitiable death. He then meets with an end, such as I have been describing; and the chariot, being lightened by his fall and bounding along violently, when, at last, it is dashed to the ground in the rebound, is easily broken to pieces, so that it can never again be joined or fastened together. And the animals, being now released from everything which could restrain them, proceed at random, and are frantic, and do not cease galloping on, till they are tripped up and fall, or till they are hurried over some high precipice, and so are dashed to pieces and destroyed.

17 In this manner, then, it seems that the whole chariot of the soul is destroyed, with its passengers; and all through the carelessness or unskilfulness of the driver. But it is desirable for them that such horses, and such drivers, and riders, so wholly without skill, should be destroyed, in order that the faculties of virtue may be roused; for when folly has fallen, it follows of necessity that wisdom must rise up. On this account Moses, in his passages of exhortation, says, "If thou goest forth to battle against thy enemies, and if thou seest numbers of horses, and riders, and people, be not afraid, because the Lord thy God is with Thee." [Deuteronomy 20:1.] For we must neglect anger and desire, and, in short, all the passions, and indeed the whole company of reasonings, which are mounted upon each of the passions as upon horses, even if they believe that they can exert irresistible strength; at least, all those must do so who have the power of the great King holding a shield over them, and in every place, and at every time, fighting in their defense. But the divine army is the body of virtues, the champions of the souls that love God, whom it becomes, when they see the adversary defeated, to sing a most beautiful and becoming hymn to the God who giveth the victory and the glorious triumph; and two choruses, the one proceeding from the conclave of the men, and the other from the company of the women, will stand up and sing in alternate songs a melody responsive to one another's voices. And the chorus of men will have Moses for their leader; and that of the women will be under the guidance of Miriam, "the purified outward Sense." [Exodus 15:20.] For it is just that hymns and praises should be uttered in honour of God without any delay, both in accordance with the suggestions of the intellect and the perceptions of the outward senses, and that each instrument should be struck in harmony, I mean those both of the mind and of the outward sense, in gratitude and honour to the holy Saviour. Accordingly, all the men sing the song on the sea-shore, not indeed with a blind mind, but seeing sharply, Moses being the leader of the song; and women sing, who are in good truth the most excellent of their sex, having been enrolled in the lists of the republic of virtue, Miriam being their leader.

18 And the same hymn is sung by both the choruses, having a most admirable burden of the song which is beautiful to be sung. And it is as follows: "Let us sing unto the Lord, for he

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has been glorified gloriously; the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the Sea." [Exodus 15:1.] For no one, if he searches ever so eagerly, can ever discover a more excellent victory than that by which the most mighty army, four-footed, restive, and proud as it was, of the passions and vices was overthrown. For the vices are four in genus, and the passions likewise are equal in number. Moreover, the mind, which is the character of them all, the one which hates virtue and loves the passions, has fallen and perished--the mind, which delighted in pleasures and appetites, and deeds of injustice and wickedness, and likewise in acts of rapine and of covetousness. Very beautifully, therefore, does the lawgiver in his recommendations, teach us not to elect as a chief, a man who is a breeder of horses, thinking that such a one is altogether unsuited to exercise authority, inasmuch as he is in a frenzy about pleasures and appetites, and intolerable loves, and rages about like an unbridled and unmanageable horse. For he speaks thus, "Thou shall not be able to set over thyself a man that is a stranger, because he is not thy brother; because he will not multiply for himself his horses, and will not turn his people towards Egypt." [Deuteronomy 17:15.] Therefore, according to the most holy Moses, no man that was a breeder of horses was ever born fit for dominion; and yet some one perhaps may say that power in cavalry is a great strength to the king, not inferior either to infantry or to a naval force, but in many places far more advantageous than either, and especially in those cases in which one has need of swiftness of motion without delay, but prompt and energetic, when the times do not admit of delay, but are at the very crisis of action, so that those who arrive too late are very naturally not considered to have been sluggish so much as to have been wholly useless, the opportunity for action having passed by like a cloud.

19 And we would say to these people: My good men, the lawgiver is removing no protection whatever from the ruler, nor is he in any respect mutilating the army of his power which he has collected, by cutting off the force of cavalry which is the most efficient part of his army; but he is endeavoring to the best of his power to increase and strengthen it, in order that his allies, contributing to its strength and number, may most easily destroy their enemies. For who else is equally skilful in marshalling and arraying armies, and in distributing them in squadrons, and in appointing captains of regiments and leaders of squadrons, and other commanders of large and small bodies, and in displaying a knowledge of all the other suggestions of tactics and strategy, and in explaining the principles of the military art to those who will avail themselves of them skilfully, through the great superabundance of his knowledge of such matters? But the question is not now about his force of cavalry, which it is necessary to collect around the rulers for the destruction of their enemies and the protection of their friends; but concerning the irrational, and immoderate, and unmanageable impetuosity of the soul, which it is desirable to check, lest it should turn all its people towards Egypt, the country of the body, and labour with all its might to render it devoted to pleasures and to the passions, rather than to the service of virtue and of God; since it follows inevitably that he who has acquired a body of cavalry for himself, must, as he said himself, proceed on the road which leads to Egypt. For when the wave rises high and dashes over each side of the soul (looking upon it as a ship), that is to say, over the mind and the outward sense, being lifted up by evident passions and iniquities which blow fiercely upon it, so that the soul leans on one side and is nearly overbalanced; then, as is natural, the mind becoming water-logged, goes down, and the deep in which it is sunk and overwhelmed is the body, which is compared to Egypt.

20 Beware, therefore, never to occupy yourself in this kind of horse-breeding, for they who pursue the other kind are themselves also blamable, for how can they not be? inasmuch as by them irrational animals are exceedingly humoured, and from their houses troops of wellfed horses continually go forth; while to the men who conduct them, not a person is found who ever gives the slightest contribution to relieve their wants, nor any present to increase their superfluities. But, nevertheless, they err in a lighter degree; for these men who breed horses to contend for the prize, assert that by so doing they are adorning the sacred games and the assemblies, which are held in honour everywhere, and they affirm that they are the causes not only of pleasure to the spectators, and of that kind of delight which arises from beholding the spectacle, but that they also give them an inducement to study and practice praiseworthy pursuits. For they who attribute to animals a desire for victory, using, out of their love of honour and rivalry in excellence, a certain unceasing exhortation, and encouragement, and eagerness, enduring pleasant labours, will never desist from what is suitable and becoming to them, till they attain the end that they desire. But these men seek pretexts to excuse themselves, while doing wrong, but those who do wrong without excuse are they, who would make the mind a rider, and mount him upon his horse, though ignorant of the science of horsemanship, his horse being that four-footed vice and passion; but if after having been taught the art of managing a chariot, you devote greater pains and study to it, and think yourself at last competent and able to manage horses, mount, and take hold of the reins. For thus, even if they are restive, you will not, by being thrown out of the chariot, receive wounds difficult to be cured, and also afford a subject of ridicule to all the spectators who delight in mischief; nor, on the other hand, will you be overwhelmed by your enemies coming against you or running over you from behind, since by your own speed you will outstrip and leave behind those who are coming after you, and you will be able to afford to disregard those who are coming towards you, because of your skill in getting safely out of the way.

21 It is not unnaturally, therefore, that Moses, singing his song of triumph on the destruction of the riders, nevertheless prays fore complete safety for the horsemen; for these are able, putting their bridles into the mouths of the irrational powers, to check the impetuosity of their superabundant violence. What then his prayer is must be told: he says, "Let Dan be a serpent in the way, sitting in the path, biting the heel of the horse; and the horseman shall fall backwards, awaiting the salvation of the Lord." [Genesis 49:17.] But we must explain what is the enigmatical meaning which he conceals under this prayer, the name of Dan, being interpreted, means "judgement;" therefore he here likens that power of the soul which investigates, and accurately examines, and distinguishes between, and, in some degree, decides on each part of the soul, to a dragon (and the dragon is an animal various in its movements, and exceedingly cunning, and ready to display its courage, and very powerful to repel those who begin acts of violence), but not to that friendly serpent, the counsellor of life, which is wont to be called Eve in his national language, but to the one made by Moses, of the material of brass, which, when those who had been bitten by the poisonous serpents, and who were at the point of death beheld, they are said to have lived and not to have died.

22 And these things thus expressed resemble visions and prodigies; I mean the account of one dragon uttering the voice of a man and pouring his sophistries into most innocent dispositions, and deceiving the woman with plausible arguments of persuasion; and of another becoming a cause of complete safety to those who looked upon it. But, in the allegorical explanations of these statements, all that bears a fabulous appearance is got rid of in a moment, and the truth is discovered in a most evident manner. The serpent, then, which appeared to the woman, that is to life depending on the outward senses and on the flesh, we pronounce to have been pleasure, crawling forward with an indirect motion, full of innumerable wiles, unable to raise itself up, ever cast down on the ground, creeping only upon the good things of the earth, seeking lurking places in the body, burying itself in each of the outward senses as in pits or caverns, a plotter against man, designing destruction to a being better than itself, eager to kill with its poisonous but painless bite. But the brazen serpent, made by Moses, we explain as being the disposition opposite to pleasure, namely, patient endurance, on which account it is that he is represented as having made it of brass, which is a very strong material. He, then, who with sound judgement contemplates the appearance of patient endurance, even if he has been previously bitten by the allurements of pleasures, must inevitably live; for the one holds over his soul a death to be averted by no prayers, but self-restraint proffers him health and preservation of life; and temperance, which repels evils, is a remedy and perfect antidote for intemperance. And every wise man looks upon what is good as dear to him, which is also altogether calculated to ensure his preservation. So that when Moses prays that it may happen to Dan, either himself, to be that serpent (for the words may be understood in either sense), he means a serpent closely resembling the one which has been made by himself, but not like the one which appeared to Eve, for then the prayer is an entreaty for good things; therefore the character of patient endurance is good, and capable of receiving immortality, which is the perfect good. But the character of pleasure is evil, bringing in its train the greatest of all punishments, death. On which account Moses says, "Let Dan become a serpent," and that not in any other place rather than in the road. For the indulgences of intemperance and gluttony, and whatever other vices the immoderate and insatiable pleasures, when completely filled with an abundance of all external things, produce and bring forth, do not allow the soul to proceed onwards by the plain and straight road, but compel it to fall into ravines and gulfs, until they utterly destroy it; but those practices which adhere to patience, and endurance, and moderation, and all other virtues, keep the soul in the straight road, leaving no stumbling block in the way, against which it can stumble and fall. Very naturally, therefore, has Moses declared that temperance clings to the right way, because it is plain that the contrary habit, intemperance, is always straying from the road.

23 And the expression, "Sitting in the path," suggests some such meaning as this, as I persuade myself: a path is a road calculated for riding horses and driving carriages on, well beaten by men and beasts. This road they say is very like pleasures, for almost from their earliest birth to extreme old age men proceed and walk along it, and with great indolence and easiness of temper spend all their lives in it, and not men only, but every species of animal whatever; for there is no single thing which is not attracted by the allurements of pleasure, and which is not, at times, entangled in its multifarious nets, and from which it is very difficult to escape. But the paths of prudence, and temperance, and the other virtues, even though they may not be utterly untravelled, are, at all events, not beaten much; for the number of those who proceed by those roads, and who philosophise in a genuine spirit, and who form associations with virtue alone, disregarding, once for all, all other allurements, is very small. Therefore he sits constantly in the road, and not once only, who has an eagerness for, and a care for, patient endurances, in order to watch from his ambush and attack pleasure, to which men in general are accustomed, that fountain of everlasting evils, and so to keep it off, and to eradicate it from the whole district of the soul. Then, as Moses says, proceeding to the natural consequence of his position, he will of necessity bite the heel of the horse; for it is the especial attribute of patient endurance and temperance to shake and overturn the foundations of vice, which lifts its head on high, and of exerted, and quicklymoved, and unmanageable passion.

24 Moses, therefore, represents the serpent that appeared to Eve as planning the death of man, for he records, that God says in his curses, "He shall bruise thy head, and thou shall bruise his heel." But he represents the serpent of Dan, which is the one which we are now discussing, as biting the heel of the horse and not of the man, for the serpent of Eve, being the symbol of pleasure, as has been already shown, attacks man, that is to say, the reasoning power which is in every one of us; for the enjoyment and free use of excessive pleasure is the destruction of the mind; and the serpent of Dan being a sort of image of vigorous virtue and of patient endurance, will bite the horse, who is the emblem of passion and wickedness, because temperance is occupied about the over throw and destruction of these things. Accordingly, when they are bitten and when they have fallen, "the horseman also," says Moses, "will fall;" and the meaning which he conceals under this enigmatical expression is such as this, that we must think it an excellent thing and an object worthy of all labour, that our mind shall not be mounted upon any one of the passions or vices, but that whenever an attempt is made by force to put it upon one of them, we must endeavor to leap off and fall, for such falls produce the most glorious victories. On which account one of the ancients, when challenged to a contest of abuse, said, "I will never engage in such a contest as that in which he who wins is more dishonoured than he who is defeated."

25 Do you, therefore, my friend, never enter into a contest of evil, and never contend for the pre-eminence in such practices, but rather exert yourself with all your might to escape from them. And if ever, being under the compulsion of some power which is mightier than yourself, you are compelled to engage in such a strife, take care to be without delay defeated; for then you, being defeated, will be a glorious conqueror, and those who have gained the victory will have got the worst. And do not ever entrust it to a herald to proclaim the victory of your rival or to the judge to crown; but do you go yourself and offer to him the acknowledgment of victory and the palm, and crown him, if he will, and bind him with wreaths of triumph, and proclaim him as conqueror yourself, pronouncing with a loud and piercing voice such a proclamation as this: "O ye spectators, and ye who have offered prizes at these games! In this contest which you have proposed to us of appetite, and passion, and intemperance, and folly, and injustice, I have been defeated, and this man whom ye behold has gained the victory. And he has gained it by such a superabundance of excellence, that even we, who might very naturally have envied our conquerors, do not grudge him the triumph." Therefore, in all these unholy contests, surrender the prizes to others; but, as for those which are really holy, study yourself to gain the crown in them. And think not those contests holy which the different cities propose in their triennial festivals, when they build theatres and receive many myriads of people; for in those he who has overthrown any one in wrestling, or who has cast him on his back or on his face upon the ground, or he who is very skilful in wrestling or in the pancratium, carries off the first prize, though he may be a man who has never abstained from any act of violence or of injustice.

26 There are some men, again, who, having armed and strongly fortified both their hands in a most hard and terrible manner, like iron, attack their adversaries, and batter their heads and faces, and the other parts of their bodies, and whenever they are able to plant a blow, they inflict great fractures, and then claim the decision in their favour, and the crown of victory, by means of their merciless cruelty. But what man in his senses would not laugh at the other competitions of runners, and candidates for the prize in the pentathlum, to see men studying with all their energies to leap the longest distance, and measuring spaces and distances, and contending with one another in swiftness of foot? men whom,

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not only those more active animals, an antelope, or a deer, but even the very smallest beasts, such as a dog, or a hare, without making any extraordinary haste, would outrun, though they were to exert themselves with all their speed, and to put themselves out of breath. Of all these contests, then, there is not one which is truly sacred; no, not though all the men in the world should combine to bear witness in their favour, but they must be convicted by themselves of bearing false witness if they do so: for they who admire these things have established laws against men who behave with insolent violence, and have affixed punishments to assaults, and have appointed judges to decide on every action of that kind. How, then, is it natural for the same persons to be indignant at those who insult and assault others privately, and to establish in their cases punishments which cannot be avoided, but yet, in the case of those who commit these assaults publicly, and in assemblies of the people, and in theatres, to establish by law that they shall receive crowns, and that proclamations shall be made in their honour, and all sorts of other glorious circumstances? For when two opposite opinions are established concerning any one thing, whether it be person or action, it follows of necessity that one or other of them must be wrong, and the other right, for it is impossible for them both to be right: which is the two, then, will you praise deservedly? Will you not say that that sentence is right which orders those who begin acts of violence to be punished? You would justly blame the contrary law, which commands such persons to be honoured; that nothing sacred may be blamed, every such thing must be altogether glorious.

27 Therefore the Olympian contest is the only one that justly deserves to be called sacred; meaning by this, not that which the inhabitants of Elis celebrate, but that which is instituted for the acquisition of the divine, and Olympian, and genuine virtues. Now, as competitors in this contest, all those have their names inscribed who are very weak in their bodies, but very vigorous in their souls; and then, having stripped off their clothes, and smeared themselves in the dust, they do all those actions which belong to skill and to power, omitting nothing which may conduce to their gaining the victory. These men, therefore, get the better of their adversaries: and then, again, they have a competition with one another for the prize of pre-eminence, for they are not all victorious in the same manner, but all are worthy of honour, having routed and overthrown most grievous and formidable enemies; and he who shows himself superior to all the rest of these is most admirable, and we must not envy him, when he gets the first prize of all the wrestlers. And those who are thought worthy of the second or of the third place, must not be cast down; for these prizes are proposed for the acquisition of virtue. But to those who are unable to attain to the very highest eminence, even the acquisition of a moderate prize is serviceable. And it is even said that such is more stable, since it avoids the envy which always sticks to those who are excessively eminent. Therefore it is said in a way to convey much instruction, "The horseman will fall," that if any one falls from vice, he may be raised up by leaning on good things, and so may stand upright again. And in a still more instructive manner is that other expression used, which bids one not leap off in front, but "fall backwards," since it is always advantageous to be behind-hand in vice and passion; for it is always good to be beforehand in doing what is good, but to be slack in doing what is disgraceful: and, on the other hand, it is good to come close to the one, but to stand aloof from and to be as far as possible removed from the other. And that man is free from all disorder, to whom it happens to be removed at a distance from the errors of passion. Accordingly, Moses says that he is "awaiting the salvation which comes from God," [Genesis 49:18.] in order that, as far as he is removed from committing iniquity, so far he may also advance in well-doing.

28 Everything, then, that is requisite has now been said on the subject of a horseman and a rider, and a keeper of sheep and a shepherd, and a tiller of the ground and a husbandman; and all the difference existing between each of these pairs has been very accurately defined, as far as it was in our power. It is time now to turn to what follows. Moses, then, introduces the man who is desirous of virtue as not possessing a complete knowledge of the whole business of a husbandman, but only as labouring with diligence at its principles and rudiments; for he says, "Noah began to be a Husbandman." [Genesis 9:20.] And the beginning, as the proverb of the old writers has it, is half of the whole; as yet, therefore, he is half of the distance removed from the end, and where the end is not attained, it has been often injurious to many persons, to have begun great enterprises. At all events, before now, some persons whose minds were not right, through their thoughts revolving in continued changes, have conceived a notion of some good things, but have derived no advantage from it; for it has happened that, as they did not attain the end which they desired, they have been overwhelmed by the impetuosity of a number of adverse circumstances coming against them, and so that good conception has been destroyed.

19 Was it not on this account that when Cain fancied that he had offered up a blameless sacrifice, an oracle came to him bidding him not to feel confidence as a man who had presented a well approved offering? for that he had not sacrificed with holy and perfect victims. And the oracle is as follows: "If thou dost not bring thy offering properly, and if thou dost not distribute it Rightly." [Genesis 4:7.] What is right, then, here is the honour of God, and that which is not properly distributed is not right. But let us now examine what meaning is contained under this expression. There are some persons who look upon piety as consisting in the affirmation that all things have been made by God, both what is good and the contrary; to whom we would say that one portion of your opinion is praiseworthy, but the other portion blamable. One portion is praiseworthy, because it properly honours that which alone is worthy to receive honour; but that portion is blamable, which does so without any discrimination or division. For it was not proper to confuse and mingle everything together, nor to declare God the cause of everything without distinction, but to make a difference, and to pronounce him the cause only of those things which are good; for it is an absurdity to be anxious about priests, taking care that they shall be perfect in their bodies and free from all defect and mutilation, and to be very particular about the animals which are offered in sacrifice, to be sure that they have no defect of any kind whatever, not even the most insignificant possible; and to appoint men, and to say whom and how many ought to be appointed for this business, whom some call inspectors of blemishes, to take care that the victims may be brought to the altar without any blemish or imperfection, and yet to allow the opinions which are held concerning God to be in confusion in the soul of each individual, and not to take care that they are discriminated by the rule of right reason.

30 Do you not see that the law pronounces the camel to be an unclean beast, because it chews the cud and does not part the Hoof. [Leviticus 11:4.] And yet, if we considered this sentence as it is expressed in its literal sense, I do not see what reason there is in it when it is interpreted; but if we look at it in its allegorical meaning, it is very clear and inevitable. For as the animal which chews the cud, again masticates the food which is put before it and devoured by it, when it again rises up to its teeth, so also the soul of the man who is fond of learning, when it has received any speculative opinions by hearing them, does not abandon them to forgetfulness, but quietly by itself revolves over every one of them again in its mind in all tranquility, and so comes to the recollection of them all. But it is not every memory which is good, but only that which is exerted on good subjects, since it is a most pernicious thing that what is bad should not be forgotten; on which account, with a view to perfection, it is necessary that the hoofs should be parted, in order that so the faculty of memory, being divided into two sections, the word which flows through the mouth may divide the lips, as being things which nature has made of a two-fold character, and may also separate the advantageous species of memory from that which is mischievous. Again, the dividing the hoof without chewing the cud does not by itself appear to bring any advantage with it. For what advantage is there in distinguishing the natures of things beginning at the top, and going down to the most unimportant points, and yet not to be able to do so in one's self, not to have one's own divisions clearly distinguished, which by some persons are with great felicity named atoms and indivisible portions? for all these things are manifest displays of intelligence and excessive accuracy, sharpened to a degree of the most acute comprehension. But they have no influence in causing virtue, or in making men live a life free from reproach.

31 Accordingly, in their daily discussions, the company of sophists all over the world annoys the ears of those whom they meet, by discussing with minute accuracy, and expounding precisely, all expressions of a double and ambiguous character, and distinguishing everything which appears to occur to the recollection (and a great many things are fixed deeply in it). Do not these men divide the elements of grammatical speech into consonants and vowels? And do not some men divide speech into their first principles, noun, verb, and conjunction? Do not musicians again divide their own science into rhythm, and part, and melody? and subdivide melody into the chromatic, the enharmonic, and the diatonic species, into the divisions of fourths, and fifths, and the diapason, and into combined and distinct melodies? Do not geometricians divide their science into two generic lines, the straight line, and the circumference? And do not other professors of other arts draw careful distinctions between the species which exist in each of their arts, going accurately through them all from beginning to end? And the whole company of students of philosophy may argue with them on their line of conduct, each going through the studies to which he is accustomed; because, of all existing things some are corporeal, and some incorporeal; some again are inanimate, and some have vitality; some are endowed with, others destitute of reason; some are mortal, others divine; and of mortals some are male, and some female, these being the two divisions of the human race. Again, of incorporeal things, some are perfect and others imperfect; and of perfect things, some are questions and interrogations, others are imprecatory or adjurative; and there are other kinds which have special differences in the elementary principles of such things. Again, there are some things which the dialecticians are accustomed to call actions; and of these some are simple, and others are not simple; and of those which are not simple some are conjunctive, and others are adjunctive in a greater or lesser degree; moreover some are disjunctive, and there are others which come under a similar description. Again, some are true, some are false, some are doubtful; some possible and some impossible; some are corruptible, others incorruptible; some necessary, and others not necessary; some are easy of solution, others difficult to understand; and there are other classifications akin to these. Again, of those which are imperfect there are proximate divisions into what are called categorems and accidents, and other classifications which are subordinate to these.

32 And although the intellect, when it has sharpened itself so as to render itself more acute than before (as a physician gives strength to bodies), dissects the natures of things, but yet derives no advantage with respect to the acquisition of virtue; it will divide the hoof, being able to divide, and to distinguish, and to discriminate between each separate thing; but it will not chew the cud so as to avail itself of any useful food which may be able, by means of its recollections, to soften the asperity of the soul which has been engendered by sins, and to produce a really gentle and pleasant motion. Therefore a vast number of those who are called sophists, being admired in their respective cities, and having attracted almost all the world to look upon them with honour, on account of the accuracy of their definitions and their excessive cleverness in inventions, have grown old while vehemently bound by the passions, and have passed their whole life in them, in no respect differing from private individuals who are of no account and are held in no consideration. 4For which reason the lawgiver very admirably compares those of the sophists who live in this manner to the race of swine, who live a life in no respect pure or brilliant, but confused and disorderly, and who are devoted to the basest habits. 4For he says that the swine is an unclean animal, because it divides the hoof and does not chew the cud, just as he has pronounced the camel unclean for the contrary reason because it chews the cud and does not divide the hoof. But as many animals as partake of both these qualities are very appropriately described as clean, because they have avoided impropriety in both the aforementioned particulars. For division without memory, and care, and a diligent examination of what is best, is but an imperfect good; but the combination and union of the two in the same animal is a most perfect good.

33 And even the enemies of the soul are afraid of this perfection, whom, as they are no longer able to stand up against it, a genuine peace gets the mastery over. And all those who have attained to a half-perfect or half-established wisdom, are too weak to be able to make any effectual opposition to the brood of sins, which have become confined by long usage, and which have gained strength by time. On this account, when in the time of war the general makes a levy of his army, he does not summon all the youth, not even, though it displays all imaginable willingness and spontaneous readiness to come forward to repel the enemy. But he commands some to depart and to remain at home, in order that by continued exercise they may acquire such an amount of military power and skill as may afterwards be sufficient to secure the victory. And the order of this levy is made through the medium of the heralds of the army when the war is at hand, and already at the very gates. And the heralds will make this announcement: "What man is there who has built a new house, and has not handselled it? Let him go and return to his house, that he may not die in the war, and another man handsel it instead of him. And what man is there who has planted a vineyard and has not received any joy from the fruit thereof? Let him go and turn away back to his house, that he may not die in the war, and another man be delighted with the fruit of his vineyard. And what man has espoused a wife, and has not received her? Let him go and return back to his house, that he may not die in the war, and another man take his Wife." [Deuteronomy 20:5.]

34 For why, I should say, O most excellent man, do you not think it more proper to summon these men to follow you to the contest of war rather than the others, men who have acquired marriages, and houses, and vineyards, and all other kinds of possessions in abundance? For they will most cheerfully undergo dangers, even if they be altogether most formidable, for the sake of the safety of all these things. Since those men who have none of these things which have been enumerated will be very likely to exhibit indifference and inactivity in the war, as having no very important pledges at stake. 5Or do you think that, just in proportion to the absence of any enjoyment from the possession of such things that they have hitherto felt, will be their apprehension lest they never be able to enjoy such things, and that this will give them energy? For what advantage from all the possessions that they may have acquired is left to those who have been subdued in war? But will they not be taken prisoners? Then they will immediately suffer for their absence from the field of battle; for while they are sitting at home and wallowing in

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luxury, it is evidently inevitable that their enemies, who are conducting all the operations of the war with energy, will, not merely without any loss, but even without the slightest exertion, make themselves masters of all that they possess. 5But the multitude of their other allies will cheerfully encounter the contest on behalf of these things. At first sight, indeed, it seems absurd to rely upon the energies or fortune of others; and especially when it is both an individual and a common danger, involving defeat, and slavery, and utter destruction, which hangs over men's heads, who are able of themselves to encounter the toils and perils of war, and who are not hindered by any disease, or by old age, or by any other disaster. It is rather fitting that those, whom the danger chiefly concerns, should seize their arms and stand in the front battalions and hold their shields over their allies, fighting cheerfully and with a spirit which even courts dangers.

35 In the next place, will they not have displayed examples, not of treachery only, but of the greatest insensibility, if they allow others to fight in their cause, while they themselves are occupied about their domestic affairs? And shall others be willing to incur contests and dangers in the cause of their safety, which they are afraid to encounter for their own? And shall others cheerfully endure scarcity of provisions, and sleeping on the ground, and other hardships of body and soul, from their desire for victory, while they, covering their houses with stucco and nonsense, no much lifeless ornament, or gathering in their harvests from their fields, and celebrating the festival of the vintage, or coming into connexion, now for the first time, with virgins who have long since been betrothed to them, and sleeping with them, as if it were the most opportune reason for marriage, pass their time in such vanities? 5It is a good thing, no doubt, to take care of one's walls, to collect one's revenues, to feast, to revel in wine, to contract marriages, to go courting the old and withered dames (as the proverb calls them); but these are the employments of peace, and to do all these things in the crisis of a war raging in all its freshness and vigor, 5while neither father, nor brother, nor any relation or connexion whatever shares the fatigues of the war; when this, I say, is the case, must we not say that universal cowardice has occupied the whole house? Oh, but you will say there are at all events myriads of relations who are fighting in their cause. Then, while they are encountering danger to their lives, must not those who are spending their time in luxury and delicate living appear to surpass even the worst of wild beasts in the excess of their inhumanity? 5Again, they will say, but it is hard that others, without enduring any labour themselves, should reap the fruits of our labours. Which, then, is worst, that enemies should come into one's inheritance while one is still alive, or that friends and relations should do so after one is dead? It is absurdity even to compare things which are so widely different; 5and yet it is not inconsistent with reason, not only that all the property which belongs to these men who shun military service, but that even they themselves, too, may become the property of their enemies when they have obtained the mastery. So those, indeed, who die in defense of the general safety, even if they have not enjoyed as yet any advantage from those possessions which they previously had, meet with death in its most pleasant form, considering that, by their saving the others, their property goes to those whom they desired to have for their successors.

36 Therefore the words of the law here admit, perhaps, of all these and even of still more excuses; but that no one of those who study evil cunning, through his ingenuity in devising excuses, may feel any confidence in their validity, we will proceed with the allegory, and say that, in the first place, the law does not only think it right for men to labour for the acquisition of good things, but also for the enjoyment of those which they have already acquired; and that it looks upon happiness as consisting in the exercise of perfect virtue, which makes life safe and complete. In the second place, that the question here is not about a house, or a vineyard, or a betrothed and espoused wife, in order that he may marry her as an accepted suitor, and that he who planted the vineyard may gather the fruit thereof and press it out, and then, drinking the unmixed wine, may be gladdened in his heart, and that the man who has built a house may dwell in it; but the question is rather about the faculties of the soul, to which the beginnings, and progress, and perfection of all praiseworthy actions are owing. Now, the beginnings have usually especial connexion with a suitor; for as he who courts a wife is about to become her husband, since he is not so already, so in the same manner whoever, endued with a good disposition, hopes to marry that well-born and pure maiden, education, courts her immediately. Progress has especial reference to the husbandman; for as it is an object of particular care to the planter to make his trees grow, so also is it to him, who is devoted to learning, that the speculations of wisdom should receive the greatest possible improvement. And perfection especially belongs to the building of a house when it is finished, but has not yet settled and become firm.

37 But in all these different circumstances, at the beginning, or in the progress, or at the end of any undertaking, it is alike becoming to men to live without contention, and not engage in the war of the sophists, which is always stirring up a quarrelsome confusion, which tends to the adulteration of the truth; since the truth is dear to peace, which is at variance with their interests. 6For if they come to this contest, being private individuals engaging in a struggle against men experienced in warfare, they will by all means be defeated; and one who is only beginning, because he is destitute of experience; the one who is in a state of progress, because he is still imperfect; and the one who is perfect, because he is not yet thoroughly practiced in virtue. But just as it is necessary that plaster, after it has been applied to a wall, must become solid and acquire firmness, so also it is indispensable that the souls of those who have attained to perfection, must become strengthened, and be established on firmer foundations by continual study and incessant practice. 6And those who do not arrive at this point are by philosophers indeed called wise men, but it is without their own knowledge: for they say that it is impossible for them who have advanced as far as the perfection of wisdom, and who have now for the first time reached its summit to be aware of their own perfection; for they affirm that it is impossible for both these things to happen at the same time, namely the arrival at the desired goal, and the apprehension that one has arrived there; but they affirm that on the border between the two, there is ignorance, of such a sort, that it is not far removed from knowledge, but that it is very near to it, and close to its doors. 6When a man has acquired this, and thoroughly comprehends it, and is entirely acquainted with the powers of his adversaries, it will be his task to war against the company of contentious sophists, for there is good hope that such a man may conquer; but he who is still impeded by the cloud of ignorance in front of him, and who is not yet able to pour forth the light of knowledge, may safely remain at home; that is to say, it is well for him not to enter into a contest with respect to those matters with which he is not thoroughly acquainted, but he had better rest and keep quiet. 6But the man who is elevated by selfsufficiency, not being acquainted with the skill or power of his adversaries, will undoubtedly meet with disaster before he can do anything, and will endure the death of knowledge, which is a more grievous death than that which separates the soul from the body. 6And this ought to happen to those who allow themselves to be deceived by the sophists; for when they are not able to find a solution for their sophisms, believing their fallacies as if they were true statements, they die as to the life of knowledge, suffering the same thing that they do who are cajoled by flatterers; for in the case of those men too, their soul, while in a healthy and genuine state, is driven off and overthrown by a friendship which is diseased in its very nature.

38 We must therefore advise those who are beginning to learn not to go forth into such contests, for they have not sufficient knowledge; and we must counsel those who are making some progress to abstain from them, because they are not perfect; and those who have now for the first time just attained to perfection, we must urge to forbear, because in some degree their perfection has escaped their own notice. 6But of those who disregard our warnings, Moses says, "One man will inhabit his house, and another will obtain his vineyard, and another will marry a wife." And the meaning of this is something of this kind: the powers which have been enumerated, of careful beginning, and improvement, and perfection, will never fail altogether, but will at different times approach and unite themselves with different persons, and will not be always forming the same souls, but will change about, resembling seals; 6for seals, when they have stamped an impression on one piece of wax, without suffering any alteration themselves, though they impress on it a form which is derived from themselves, remain in the same condition as before; and if the piece of wax which has been stamped, be melted, and the impression effaced, then another piece may be substituted in its place. So that, my good friends, do not think, that when you yourselves perish, your powers perish with you; for they, being immortal, have, on account of their own glory, embraced ten thousand other persons before they came to you, who, they perceived, did not behave like you, out of an aversion to danger, shunning their society, but who rather came forward to meet them, and showed an eagerness to consult their safety. And if any one is a friend of virtue, let him pray that all good things may be implanted in him, and may appear in his soul, like some symmetrical proportion conducing to beauty in a statue or a picture, considering that there are innumerable persons watching at hand, to whom nature will give all these things instead of giving them to him, namely, facility of learning, improvement, and perfection; but it is better that he should shine out rather than they, guarding safely the graces which have been bestowed on him by God; and that he himself should not, by carrying forward destruction, afford an easy prey to his unsparing enemies.

39 Are we then to say that there is but little use in a beginning to which a fortunate end does not set its seal? It has often indeed happened that even some who have attained to perfection have still been thought imperfect, from appearing to have improved through their own earnestness alone, and not according to the will of God. And on this account, being exceedingly elated by their vain opinion, and elevated to a great height, they have fallen from a high position to the lowest depths, and so been destroyed. 7"For if," says Moses, "you have built a new house, you shall also erect a battlement on the house, and then shall commit no murder in your house if any one falls from It." [Deuteronomy 22:8.] 7For the most grievous of all falls is for a man to stumble and fall from the honour due to God; crowning himself rather than God, and committing domestic murder. For he who does not duly honour the living God kills his own soul: so that the building of education which he has erected is of no advantage to him. But instruction has a nature which never grows old; on which account Moses calls its house a new house, for all other things are gradually destroyed by time. But instruction, in proportion as it advances towards perfection, is fresh and vigorous, looking blooming with an ever-flourishing appearance, and putting itself in motion with continual studies. And in his hortatory admonitions Moses recommends that those who have received the most abundant possession of good things should not look upon themselves as the causes of their acquisition, but should "remember God who gave them strength to acquire the Power." [Deuteronomy 8:18.] This then is the utmost limit of good fortune, and the other things are its beginnings, so that those who forget the end cannot possibly derive any advantage from the acquisitions which they have made. And so the falls which these men endure are selfincurred, through their own self-sufficiency, because they could not endure to call the loving and all-accomplishing God the cause of their good things.

40 There are also some people who, letting loose every cable of piety, hasten to make a speedy voyage, in the hope of anchoring in its harbours. And afterwards, when they are at no great distance off, but are just on the point of reaching the haven, on a sudden there comes a violent wind, blowing in their teeth and coming upon them closely, which drives back the vessel which was proceeding onwards in its straight course, in such a manner as to destroy a great many of the things which were of use to contribute to a fair voyage; 7no one then could blame those people for being still tossed about by the sea, for the slowness, which they have displayed in completing their voyage, has been unintentional on their part. Who then can be likened to them rather than he who prayed what is called the great prayer? "For if," says Moses, "any one dies in his presence suddenly, then immediately the head of his vow shall be polluted and he shall be Shaved;" [Numbers 6:9.] and then after saying a few more sentences he thus proceeds, "And the former days shall not be taken into the computation, because the head of his vow was polluted." 7Now by the two expressions suddenly and immediately, the involuntary character of the deviation of the soul is manifested. For with reference to intentional sins there is need of time to consider where, and when, and how a thing is to be done. But unintentional sins are committed suddenly, without any consideration, and, if it be possible to say such a thing they strike upon the man without any time at all. 7For it is very difficult, as in the case of runners, for men, when they first begin to travel by the road which leads to piety, to keep their course straight onward without stumbling and without being out of breath; since there are innumerable hindrances to every human being, 7but above all things, that which is the one and only thing in the way of doing good, namely the abstaining from any intentional misdeeds, is of service also to keep off the incalculable number of voluntary sins; and, in the second place, even of those which are involuntary, they are but few which are committed, and they do not cling to a person for any very long time. 7Very beautifully, therefore, has Moses said that the days of unintentional error do not come into the computation (alogos); not only because the error was one without calculation, but also because it is not possible to give an account (logos) of involuntary offences. Therefore, it often happens, when we are asked the reason of such and such a thing, that we say that we do not know, and that we cannot tell, in that we were not present when they were done, and also that we were ignorant of their being done. 8It is, therefore, a very rare thing when God gives to any one to keep his life in a steady course from the beginning to the end, without either stumbling or falling; but escaping both kinds of offences, unintentional as well as intentional, with great speed and owing to the celerity and impetuosity of one's motions. 8These things then are here said about beginning and end, because of the instance of the just Noah, who, after he had acquired the first and elementary principles of the knowledge of husbandry, was unable to reach its furthest limits. For it is said that "he began to be a husbandman," not that he arrived at the extreme end of complete knowledge: but what is said about his planting we will discuss subsequently.

CONCERNING NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER

1 (In the former part of this treatise we have spoken of the art of husbandry as to its genus, dwelling on it at as great a length as the time admitted of; but in this book we will discuss the question of his cultivation of his vineyard with regard to the species as far as it is in our power. For Moses represents

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the just Noah not only as a husbandman, but also especially as occupied with the cultivation of vines, saying, "Noah began to be a husbandman of the earth; and he planted a Vineyard." [Genesis 9:20.] (And it is fitting that a man who was about to discuss the whole question of separate plants and manners of cultivation, should first of all acquire an accurate comprehension of the most perfect plants in the universe, and of the great planter and superintendent of them. He then who is the greatest of all planters and the most perfect in art, is the Ruler of the universe; and his plant is not one which comprises within itself only individual plants, but rather infinite numbers of them springing up like suckers from one root, namely, this world. (For after the Creator of the world, reducing that substance, which was in its own nature destitute of order and regularity, into a state of order, and bringing it from a condition of confusion into a distinct system, began to fashion and shape it, he placed the earth and the water in the middle, and the plants of air and fire he drew up from their previously central position to a lofty eminence; and the aether he arranged all round, placing it as a boundary to and preservation of the things within, from which also it seems that the Heaven [ouranos, "heaven;" as if derived from horos or houros, "a boundary."] derives its name, causing the earth to be borne upon the water in such a way that it continues dry, which, however, there was reason to fear might be dissolved by water; and this great worker of marvels, moreover, united the air, which was exceedingly cold by its own nature, to fire which is very hot; a most surprising miracle. (For how can it be looked upon as anything but a prodigy, for that which would dissolve another thing, to be held together by that which it would dissolve: that is to say, for water to be held together by earth; and again, for that which is the hottest of all things to be placed upon that which is the coldest without its nature being destroyed, that is to say, for fire to be placed upon air? And these are the elements of this most perfect plant; but the very great and all productive plant is this world, of which the aforesaid branches are the main shoots.

2 (We must now therefore consider where God placed its foundations, and in fact, what foundation it has on which it is supported, as a statue is on a pedestal; certainly we cannot imagine that any body is left outside and wandering about, since God has worked up and arranged every imaginable material throughout the whole universe. (For it was fitting that the most perfect and greatest of all works should be made by the greatest of all makers; and it would not have been the most perfect of works if it had not been filled up by perfect parts, so that this world consists of all earth, and all water, and all air, and all fire, not a single particle, no not the smallest imaginable atom, being omitted. (It follows therefore of necessity, that what is outside must either be a vacuum or nothing at all. If now it is a vacuum, than how can that which is full and solid, and the heaviest of all things, avoid being pressed down by its own weight, since there is no solid thing to hold it up? from which consideration it would appear to be something like a vision, since the mind is always seeking for some corporeal foundation, such as everything which is moved, must of necessity have: and especially the world, inasmuch as it is the greatest of all bodies, and embraces a multitude of other bodies as it sown appropriate parts. (If therefore any one wishes to escape from the difficulties of this question which present themselves in the different doubts thus raised, let him speak freely and say that there is nothing in any material of such power as to be able to support this weight of the world. But it is the eternal law of the everlasting God which is the most supporting and firm foundation of the universe. (This it is which, being extended from the centre of the borders, and again from the extremities to the centre, runs through the whole unsubdued course of nature, collecting all the parts and binding them firmly together; for the father who created them has made it the indissoluble bond of the universe. Very naturally and appropriately therefore, all earth will not be dissolved by all water, which the bosom of the earth contains, nor will fire be extinguished by air, nor again will air be burnt up by fire, since the divine law establishes itself as a boundary to all these elements, like a vowel among consonants, so that the universe may, as it were, be harmonious in concert with the music expressed by letters; persuasion, by its own authority, putting an end to the threatening conflicts of contrary natures.

3 Thus then the plant which bears all things was rooted, and when it was rooted was made strong. But of the particular plants, and those of smaller growth, some were moveable, so as to have their places changed; and some were made so as, without any such change, to stand steadily in the same place. Those then that are affected by motion, inducing change of place, which we call animals, are attached to the most important portions of the universe; the terrestrial animals to the earth, the animals which swim to the water, the winged animals to the air and those which can live in the flame to the fire (which last are said to be most evidently produced in Macedonia), and the stars are attached to the heaven. For those who have studied philosophy pronounce the stars also to be animals, being endowed with intellect and pervading the whole universe; some being planets, and moving by their own intrinsic nature; and others, that is the fixed stars, being borne along with the revolutions of the universe; so that they likewise appear to change their places. But those which are regulated according to a nature devoid of all sensation, which are peculiarly called plants, have no participation in that motion which involves a change of place.

4 But the Creator made two different races on the earth and in the air. In the air, he made the winged animals capable of being perceived by the external senses, and other powers which can by no means be comprehended in any place by the external senses; and this is the company of incorporeal souls arranged in order, but not in the same classifications. For it is said that some are assigned to mortal bodies, and are again subjected to a change of place according to certain defined periodical revolutions; but that others which have received a more divinely prepared habitation, look down upon the region of the earth, and that in the highest place, near the other itself, the purest souls are placed, which those who have studied philosophy among the Greeks call heroes, but which Moses, by a felicitous appellation, entitles angels; souls which go as ambassadors and messengers of good from the ruler of all things to his subjects, and messengers also to the king respecting those things of which his subjects have heard. To the earth again he assigned two classes, terrestrial animals and plants, wishing that she should be at the same time their mother and their nurse. For, as in the case of woman and every animal of the female sex, fountains of milk spring up in them when they are about to bring forth, in order that they may supply the offspring that is born of them with necessary and suitable food; so in a similar manner God has assigned to the earth, which is the mother of all terrestrial animals, all the different species of plants, in order that the animals produced by the earth may have such food as is akin to them, and not alien from their natures. And, indeed, God has caused plants to grow with their heads downwards, having fixed their heads in the deepest parts of the earth; and having drawn up the heads of the irrational animals from the earth, he has set them up high on long necks, putting their fore feet under their necks as a kind of foundation. But man has received a pre-eminently superior formation. For of all other animals God has bent the eyes downwards, so that they look upon the ground; but on the other hand, he has raised the eyes of man so that he may behold the heaven, being not a terrestrial but a celestial plant as the old proverb Is. [this is similar to what Ovid says, which may be Translated - "and while all other creatures from their birth / With downcast eyes gaze on their kindred earth, / He bids man walk erect, and scan the heaven, / From whence he sprung, to which his hopes are given."]

5 But the others who say that our mind is a portion of the ethereal nature, have by this assertion attributed to man a kindred with the air; but the great Moses has not named the species of the rational soul by a title resembling that of any created being, but has pronounced it an image of the divine and invisible being, making it a coin as it were of sterling metal, stamped and impressed with the seal of God, the impression of which is the eternal word. For, says Moses, "God breathed into man's face the breath of Life," [Genesis 2:7.] so that it follows of necessity, that he that received the breath must be fashioned after the model of him who sent it forth. On which account it is said too, that "Man was made after the image of God," [Genesis 1:27.] and not after the image of any created being. It follows, therefore, since the soul of man has been fashioned in accordance with the archetypal word of the great cause of all things, that his body also, having been raised up to the purest portion of the universe - the heaven, must extend its vision, in order that, by a comparison with what is visible, it may attain to an accurate comprehension of what is invisible. Since, therefore, it was impossible for any one to perceive the attraction of the mind to the living God, except for those persons alone who were drawn towards him (for that which each person suffers, he alone particularly knows), God has given us the eyes of the body (as an evident and visible image of the invisible eye), which are able to look up to the heaven; for when the eyes, composed of perishable material, have raised themselves to such a height, as to be able from the region of the earth to mount up to heaven which is removed at so great a distance from the earth, and to reach its utmost heights, how great a course in every direction must we suppose to be within the power of the eyes of the soul? which, being endowed with wings from their excessive desire to see the living God clearly, reach up not only to the highest regions of the air, but even pass over the boundaries of the whole world, and hasten towards the Uncreated.

6 On this account, those persons who are insatiable in their desire for wisdom and knowledge are said in the sacred oracles to be "called Up." [Exodus 19:20.] For it is legitimate that those persons should be called up to the Deity who have been inspired by him. For it would be a terrible thing if whirlwinds and hurricanes have power to tear trees up by their roots, and to toss them in the air, and to carry off vessels of many tons' burden, though loaded with cargoes, as if they were the lightest things imaginable, out of the middle of the sea; and if even lakes and rivers are raised on high, when their streams actually leave the bosom of the earth, having been drawn up by the ardent and diversified eddies of the winds: and yet, if the mind, which is intrinsically light, cannot be raised up by the nature of the Divine Spirit, which is able to do everything and to subdue all things below, and cannot be elevated to an exceeding height; and especially the mind of the man who studies philosophy in a genuine manner. For he does not incline downwards to the things dear to the body and to the earth, from which he separates himself, and studies to alienate himself as far as possible but he is borne upwards, being insatiably devoted to sublime, holy, magnificent, and happy natures. Therefore, also, Moses will be summoned upwards, the steward and guardian of the sacred mysteries of the living God. For we read in the book of Leviticus, "He called Moses up to Him." [Exodus 31:2 is the passage alluded to, and not any verse in Leviticus.] Bezeleel also will be summoned up, being thought worthy of the same honours. For him, also, God calls up for the preparation of the sacred furniture and for the care of the sacred works. But he receives only the second honour of this summons, and the all-wise Moses shall have the first place assigned to him. For the former fashions shadows only, like painters do, in which it is not right to form any living thing. For the very name Bezeleel is interpreted to mean, "working in shadows." But Moses does not make shadows, but the task is assigned to him of forming the archetypal natures of things themselves. And in other places, also, the great Cause of all things is accustomed to reveal his secrets to some in a more conspicuous and visible manner, as if in the pure light of the sun, and to others more sparely, as though in the shade.

7 Having therefore gone through all the larger plants in the universe, let us see in what manner the all-wise God made the trees which exist in the smaller world, that is to say, in man. In the first place, then, taking our body as if it were a field of deep soil, he created the external senses to be in it as so many channels. And after that, he arranged the place of each separate one of them, as if it had been a fruit-bearing and most useful tree, assigning the sense of hearing to the ear, that of sight to the eyes, that of smell to the nostrils, and each of the other senses and faculties to their kindred and appropriate organs. And the divine man bears his testimony to this account of mine, speaking thus in his Psalms, "He that planted the ear, doth he not hear? and he that made the eyes, shall he not See?" [psalm 94:9.] Moreover, all the different powers which run down as far as the legs and hands, and all the other parts of the body, whether internal or external, are all those of an unimportant kind. But those which are better and more perfect he has rooted in the more central portion; that which is pre-eminently able to bring forth fruit, the dominant portion of the man. These faculties are perception, comprehension, felicity of conjecture, study, memory, habit, disposition, the various species of art, the firmness of knowledge of different things, the apprehension of the speculations of universal virtue in such a way as is never forgotten. Now, no mortal is competent to plant any one of these things himself. But of all of them together there is one architect, the uncreated God, who has not only made them originally, but who also makes them for and implants them in every individual man that is born.

8 Now the account of the planting of Paradise is consistent with what has been already said. For it is stated, "God planted a Paradise in Eden , towards the east; and there is placed the man whom he has Made." [Genesis 2:8.] Now, to think that it is here meant that God planted vines, or olive trees, or apple trees, or pomegranates, or any trees of such kinds, is mere incurable folly. For why should he have done so? any one may ask. Was it that he might have a pleasant abode to spend his time in? Even the whole world could not be considered a dwelling sufficient for God, the governor of the universe. Would it not appear to be deficient in innumerable other things, so that it could never be looked upon as a place worthily suited to the reception of the great King? True, indeed, it is impiety to think that the Cause of all things can be contained in that which he has caused, especially as even those trees do not invariably bear their annual fruit. For whose enjoyment and use, then, is it that the Paradise is to produce fruit? For that of no man. For there is absolutely no one at all who is represented as inhabiting the Paradise, since Moses says that God removed the first man who was created out of the earth, by name Adam, from his original place, and placed him here. And, moreover, God has no need of food any more than he has of anything else; for it follows necessarily that he who uses food must first of all stand in need of it. And in the second place, that he must have organs adapted for the reception of it, by means of which he can receive it when it enters him; and then dismiss it from him when he has digested it. But all these things, which are parts of the happiness and blessedness which surround the Great Cause of all things, are inconsistent with the doctrine of those men who represent him as clothed with human form, and influenced by human passions to the utter destruction of all piety and religious feeling - both great virtues; such notions being contrary to all law and right.

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9 We must therefore have recourse to allegory, which is a favourite with men capable of seeing through it; for the sacred oracles most evidently conduct us towards and instigate us to the pursuit of it. For they say that in the Paradise there were plants in no respect similar to those which exist among us; but they speak of trees of life, trees of immortality, trees of knowledge, of comprehension, of understanding; trees of the knowledge of good and evil. Now these cannot have been trees of the land, but must indisputably have been plants of a rational soil, which was a road to travel along, leading to virtue, and having for its end life and immortality; and another road leading to vice, having for its end the loss of life and immortality, that is to say, death. Therefore, we must suppose that the bounteous God plants in the soul, as it were, a paradise of virtues and of the actions in accordance with them, which lead it to perfect happiness. On this account, also, he has assigned a most appropriate place to the Paradise, called Eden (and the name Eden, being interpreted, means "delight"), an emblem of the soul, which sees right things, and revels amid the virtues, and exults by reason of the abundance and magnitude of its joy; proposing to itself one source of enjoyment in the place of the innumerable things which are accounted pleasant among men, namely the service of the one wise God. He, then, who had drunk of this unmixed source of joy, and was a follower of and fellow rejoicer with Moses, and not one of the least valued of that body, in his Psalms addressed his own mind, saying, "Delight thou in the Lord." [psalm 37:4.] Exciting himself and his mind towards heavenly and divine love by these words, and indignantly turning away from the luxury and effeminacy existing among what are called and believed to be human goods; and being hurried away in his whole heart by divine inspiration and fervour, and finding his joy in God alone.

10 And the statement that "the Paradise was in the east," is a proof of what has been here said. For folly is a thing of darkness and setting, and which brings on the night; but wisdom is a most brilliant thing, radiant all around, and in the truest sense of the word, rising. And, as the sun, when it arises, fills the whole circle of the heaven with its light, so in the same manner, when the beams of virtue shine forth, they made the whole place occupied by the mind full of pure light. Therefore the possessions of man have guards and keepers, very fierce beasts, for the repulse of invading and attacking enemies. But the possessions of God have rational natures for their guards. For "there," says Moses, "God placed the man whom he had made;" that is to say, he placed him among the rational virtues alone; therefore the practices and uses of the virtues have received from God this especial honour beyond the souls of other animals. And therefore, also, it is most expressly and plainly declared that God placed that man which is really man in us, namely, the mind, among the most sacred shoots and plants of excellence and virtue. But among those animals which have no share in mind, no one has ever cultivated any plant worth speaking of, since there is not one of them capable by nature of receiving comprehension.

11We cannot therefore raise any question as to why it was ordained that all the different species of animals should be collected in the ark which was made at the time of the great deluge, while more were brought into the Paradise . For the ark was an emblem of the body, which of necessity therefore contained all the most tameable and ferocious evils of the passions and vices; but the Paradise contained only the virtues: and the virtues do not receive anything savage or in short anything destitute of reason. And Moses also speaks very carefully, not representing the man who was made after God's own image, but the man who was formed of clay, as the one who was placed in the paradise. For the one who was made after the image of God, and stamped with the truth of God, does, as it appears to me, in no respect differ from the tree which bore as its fruit everlasting life. For they are both imperishable, and have both been thought worthy of the most central position in the dominant part of man. For it is said that "the tree of life is in the midst of the Paradise ." But the other man, he of the composite and more earthly body, who has no justification in uncreated and simple nature, the cultivator of which is the only person who knows how to dwell in the house and in the courts of the Lord. For Jacob is represented "as a plain man dwelling in a House," [Genesis 25:27, where the expression, however, is "dwelling in tents."] having a disposition full of ingenuity, and compounded and made up of all kinds of materials. It was natural therefore to place and firmly root the mind in the middle of the paradise, that is, of the universal world, having in itself faculties which draw it in contrary directions, so that it should be kept in a state of doubt when called upon to discriminate as to what it should choose and what it should avoid, since if it chose the better part it would reap immortality and glory; and if it chose the worse it would meet with reproach and death.

12 Such then are the trees which the only wise God has planted in rational souls. But Moses, pitying those who were exiled and compelled to quit the paradise of the virtues, addresses a prayer to the absolute authority of God and to his merciful and propitious powers, entreating that in the place from which the earthly mind, Adam, was banished, there a people capable of seeing the truth might be planted. For he says, "Bring them in and plant them in the mountain of thy inheritance which thou dost give them; thou hast made them to sit in thy seat, O Lord; in the sanctuary, O Lord, which they hands have made. The Lord shall be king of ages, for ever and Ever." [Exodus 15:17.] Therefore he had learnt, as plainly as any man that ever lived, that God, having fixed the roots and seeds of everything down in the earth, is the cause also of the greatest of all plants, namely this world, shooting up; which world he here seems to speak of enigmatically in the song which I have just quoted, where he calls it the mountain of his inheritance; since that which is made is the most appropriate possession and inheritance, of him who has made it. Therefore he prays that we may be planted in it, not in order that we may become irrational and unmanageable in our natures; but that, in due obedience to the arrangement of the all-perfect governor, imitating his perpetual and undeviating consistency, we may live a temperate and innocent life. For to be able to live in a strict uniformity with nature, is what the man of old have defined as the end of happiness. And accordingly what is said afterwards is in strict agreement with what is said before, namely, that the world is the beautiful and properly prepared house of God, appreciable by the external senses; and that he himself made it and that it is not uncreated, as some persons have thought. And he uses the word "sanctuary," as meaning a splendour emitted from holy objects, an imitation of the archetypal model; since those things which are beautiful to the external senses are to the intellectual senses models of what is beautiful. The expression that "it was prepared by the hands of God," means that it was made by his worldcreating powers. But in order that no one may suppose that the Creator had need of any one of the things which he created, he adds the most necessary assertion, "Being King of ages for ever and ever." But a king is in need of nothing, but everything which is subject to him is inevitably in need of the king. And some persons have said that God is and is properly called the inheritance of God, the use and enjoyment of which Moses has now prayed may be afforded to us. For, says he, representing us as children just beginning to learn by means of the doctrines and speculations of wisdom, and not leaving us destitute of the elements of knowledge, plant them in sublime and heavenly reason. For this is the most thoroughly prepared inheritance; the house most completely ready, the abode most entirely suitable, which "thou hast made holy." For, O master, thou art the maker of all good and holy things, as, on the other hand, corruptible creation is of what is evil and profane. Reign thou throughout infinite eternity over the suppliant soul; not leaving it for a single moment without a governor. For an uninterrupted service under them is not only better than freedom, but even than the most extensive dominion.

13 In many people perhaps an inquiry may suggest itself as to what is the meaning of the expression, "In the mountain of thy inheritance." It is plain that God bestows inheritance, but perhaps it is not reasonable to think that he receives inheritances, since everything in the world belongs to him. But perhaps this is said of those who are subject to him as their master, according to some special computation of connexion; just as kings govern indeed all their subjects, but rule their own servants in a different and peculiar manner, whom they are accustomed to employ as ministers for the care of their bodies and the rest of their manner of life. And again, though they are lords of all the possessions in their whole country, even of those which appear to belong to private individuals, they nevertheless are accounted owners only of those portions which they can entrust to superintendents and overseers, from whom they receive yearly revenues, which properties they often visit for the sake of relaxation and amusement, when they lay aside for a while the heaviest portion of the burden of the cares which arise to them in the administration of public affairs and in the government of their kingdoms; and these possessions are called especially the royal properties. Moreover all the silver and gold, and other treasures which are stored up in the coffers of their subjects, do all in reality belong more to the rulers than to those who possess them. But nevertheless there are some which are peculiarly called the royal treasures, in which those who are appointed collectors of the produce lay up the revenues which are derived from the country. Do not wonder, therefore, if the company of wise souls is pronounced to be the especial inheritance of the all-powerful God who has authority and dominion over everything, since he sees most acutely of all beings, exercising the irreproachable and unadulterated eye of the mind, which is never shut, but is always wide open and looking intensely into every thing.

14 And on this account, indeed, it is said in the greater prayer, "Inquire of thy father, and he will tell thee; of thy elders, and they will reply to thee, when the Most High divided the nations, when he separated the sons of Adam, he fixed the boundaries of the nations, according to the number of the angels of God, and the portion of the Lord himself was his people Israel." [Deuteronomy 32:7.] For, behold, here again, he uses the expression, "the portion and inheritance of God," meaning that disposition which is capable of seeing him, and which sincerely worships him; and he says that the children of the earth, whom he calls the sons of Adam, were scattered and dispersed, and brought together again, and that a company was formed of them, since they were unable to use right reason as their guide. For, in real truth, virtue is the cause of harmony and unity, and the opposite disposition is the cause of dissolution and disagreement. Indeed, it is a proof of what has been said, what happens every year on the day called the day of atonement; for on that day the people are enjoined "to take by lot two goats, one for the Lord, and one to be the Scapegoat;" [Deuteronomy 15:6.] that is to say, two reasons, the one in accordance with God, the other consistent with creation. He, therefore, who wishes to exalt the Cause of all things will acquire honour to himself; but he who attributes honour to creation will be banished, being driven from the most sacred places, and compelled to fall into inaccessible and wicked gulfs.

15 Moses, therefore, has such intimate connexion with God, that, relying upon this in a very great degree, he is in the habit of using more fervent and energetic expressions and doctrines than are calculated for the ears of us inferior persons; for he not only thinks it fit to speak of God as an inheritor, but even, which is a more startling thing to the comprehension, he calls him the inheritance of others; for to the entire tribe which came to him as a fugitive and a suppliant, he did not think fit to allot only a portion of land, as he did to the other eleven tribes, but he chose that they should receive an especial honour, namely, the priesthood, a possession not of earth, but of heaven. "For thou shall not be," says God, as Moses represents, "a portion to the tribe of Levi, nor any inheritance among the children of Israel , because the Lord himself is their Inheritance." [Deuteronomy 10:9.] And again he speaks in the person of God, in his holy oracles, in this manner: "I am thy portion and Inheritance." [Numbers 18:20.] For, in real truth, the mind which is perfectly purified, and which knows all the things of creation, knows and recognises one only God, the Uncreate, whom it approaches, and by whom it is received. For to whom is it permitted to say, "He alone is my God," except to the man who is attached to none of the objects which are inferior to him? And this is the custom of the Levites; for the name of Levi, being interpreted, means, "He is to me," because different things are honoured by different people, but by him only that which is highest and most excellent, the Cause of all things.

16 They tell an old story, that some man in ancient times, who had fallen madly in love with the beauty of wisdom, as if it had been the beauty of a most lovely woman, once, when he saw a most sumptuous preparation of unbounded and costly magnificence, looked towards some of his friends, and said, "Behold, O companions, how many things there are of which I have no need!" And yet he had nothing whatever of even necessary things beyond his mere clothes, so that he was not puffed up with the magnitude of his riches, which has been the case with numbers of people; so that, on this account, he spoke arrogantly against pomp and show. The lawgiver

teaches us that we should account those people wise who are not eager to be rich in created things, but who despise all created things in comparison of the friendship of the uncreated God, whom they look upon as the only true wealth, and the boundary of most perfect happiness. Never, then, let those men boast, who have acquired power and sovereignty, as some do, because they have subdued one city, or country, or nation; and others, because they have acquired the dominion over all the countries of the earth, to its furthest borders, and over all Grecian and barbarous nations, and over all the rivers and seas, infinite both in number and magnitude. For if, besides these things, they had made themselves masters (which it is impious even to mention) of that sublime nature which was the only thing that the Creator made free from the bond of slavery and servitude, they would still be looked upon but as private individuals in comparison with the great kings who have received God for their inheritance; for in proportion as that nature which has acquired a possession is better than the possession itself, and the Creator than the thing created, by so much also are they more royal.

17 Therefore, some people considered, that they who said that everything was the property of the one good Being, were speaking in an unreasonable manner, looking at the deficiencies and abundance which existed externally, and thinking no one rich who was in want of either money or possessions. But Moses thinks wisdom a thing of such pre-eminent value, and deserving to be so eagerly sought after, that not only the whole world deserves to be his inheritance, but that he even looks upon the Governor of the universe in that light; and these are the doctrines, not of men who are halting between two opinions, but of those who are occupied in a firm and sure faith; since, even now, there are some persons among those who make a show and pretence of piety, who calumniate the literal meaning of this saying, saying that it is neither pious nor safe to speak of God as the inheritance of a man. You say this - I should say to them - because ye have come not from genuine passion, but from a supposititious and illegitimate one, to the investigation of things. For you

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thought it a matter of equal consequence for God to be called the inheritance of possessions, of vineyards, and oliveyards, and such matters, and of wise men; and ye did not perceive that paintings are said to be the inheritance of painters, and, in short, that any art is said to be the inheritance of the artist, not looked at as an earthly possession, but as a heavenly prize; for none of such things are the property of any master, but still they are an advantage to those who possess them: so that you, O sycophants, hear of the living God as an inheritance, not in the sense of being a possession, like those which I have enumerated, but as being the most beneficial and greatest of goods to those who think fit to worship the Cause of all good.

18 Having, therefore, now said what is proper concerning the original planter and the original plant, let us next proceed, in due order, to the consideration of matters of instruction and imitation. In the first place, then, the wise Abraham is said "to have planted a field at the well of the oath, and to have called upon the name of the everlasting Lord God." [Genesis 21:33.] And here there is no peculiar property of the plants mentioned, but only the magnitude of the place. And they who are in the habit of investigating these matters say, that everything which belongs to God has been very carefully and accurately described, both tree and place, and the fruit of the tree. Accordingly, they say that the tree was the field itself, not like those trees which sprung up out of the ground, but rather to those which grow according to the firmly-rooted mind of the man who loves God: and the place, they say, is the well of the oath, and the fruit, the change of the name of the Lord into that of "The Eternal God." And it is necessary further to give the probable explanation of each point of the things here mentioned. The field, then, being in length a hundred cubits, and as many in breadth, multiplied together according to the nature and character of a square, is composed of ten thousand superficial cubits; and this is the greatest limit of those numbers which increase from the unit, and also the most perfect: so that the limit is the beginning of numbers, and the end, in those calculations, according to the first combination, is the number ten thousand; in reference to which fact, some persons have not erred greatly, who have compared the limit to the starting-place, and the number ten thousand to the goal, and all the numbers between these two to those who contend in a race; for they, beginning to start from the unit, as from the starting place, come to the number ten thousand as to the goal. Therefore, some persons, departing from these numbers, as from signals, have said that God is the beginning and end of everything, which is a doctrine admirably calculated to engender piety. This doctrine, being implanted in the soul, produces a most beautiful and nutritious fruit, holiness; and the place most suitable for this fruit, is the well which is called the oath, in which there is a report that no water could be found. For, says Moses, "the children of Israel , coming thither, reported to him concerning the well which they had digged: and they said, We found no water; and he called that place, æThe Oath.' " [Genesis 26:32.] Let us now consider what is the meaning of this statement.

19 Those who investigate the nature of things as they actually exist, and who conduct their examinations of each individual matter in no negligent manner, behave very like those men who dig wells; for they also are seeking springs in an obscure place. And all men have one common desire, to find something to drink. But some men's nature is to be nourished by the food of the soul, and that of others by the food of the body. As, therefore, some of those who have dug wells have often done so without finding water; so likewise those who advance far in knowledge, and who have made great progress in it, are still often unable to attain to the end which they desire. At all events, they say that men of extensive learning often find fault with their terrible ignorance, for they only just know how far they are removed from the truth. And there is a story that some man of old time, when he was admired for his wisdom, said, that it was a fine thing that he should be admired, who only just knew that he knows nothing. And choose, if you like, any art you please, whether trifling or important, and the man, too, who is most excellent, and most highly thought of in regard of his skill in it, and then consider if the professions held out by the art are equal to the performances of the artist; for if you duly examine the matter, you will find that the performance falls short of the profession, not by a small, but by a vast distance, it being almost impossible for a man to be perfect in any art whatever, which is in continual motion like a fountain, and is constantly pouring forth various species of all kinds of speculations. On this account, it is most appropriately denominated an oath, being the most certain sign of faith, comprehending also the testimony of God: for as he who swears, calls God to be a witness to a matter concerning which a question is raised, so it is not possible to swear so truly about any matter, as to the fact that the perfection of no art whatever can be found in the artist who professes it. And the same assertion holds good also with respect to all the other powers which exist in us, or very nearly so; for, as they say, that no water was found in the well which had been mentioned, so also neither was there the faculty of seeing in the eyes, or that of hearing in the ears, or that of smelling in the nostrils, or, in short, any one of the senses in its corresponding organ; and similarly in the mind, there was not the faculty of comprehension. For how could it have happened that any one should have made a mistake in what he saw, or in what he heard, or in what he understood, if the comprehensions of each of these faculties had been well established, and if they had had a trustworthy nature of themselves without God implanting accuracy in them?

20 Having now, therefore, discussed the place sufficiently in which the tree flourishes, let us now, in conclusion, examine also the subject of the fruit:--Now, what the fruit is, Moses will tell us himself: "For the Lord God everlasting," says he, "called it by its Name." [Genesis 21:33.] Therefore the appellations already mentioned reveal the powers existing in the living God; for one title is that of Lord, according to which he governs; and the other is God, according to which he is beneficent. For which reason also, in the account of the creation of the world, according to the most holy Moses, the name of God is always assumed by him: for it was fitting that the power according to which the Creator, when he was bringing his creatures into the world, arranged and adorned them, should be invoked also by that creation. Inasmuch, therefore, as he is a ruler, he has both powers, that, namely, of doing good, and that of doing harm; regulating his conduct on the principle of requiting him who has done anything. But inasmuch as he is a benefactor, he is inclined only to one of these two courses, namely, to do good. And it would be the greatest possible advantage to the soul no longer to feel any doubt about the power of the King for both purposes, but steadily to emancipate itself from the fear, which is suspended over it, on account of the vastness of his authority, and to kindle and keep alive a most firm hope of the acquisition and enjoyment of blessings arising from his being beneficent by deliberate intention. Now the expression, "everlasting God," is equivalent to, God who bestows gifts, not sometimes giving and sometimes not, but always and incessantly; it is equivalent to, God who does good uninterruptedly; to God who, without intermission, is connecting a flow of benefits, coming one after the other; God, who pours forth blessings upon blessings, who is made up of mercies connected and united; God, who never omits any single opportunity of doing good; God, who is also the Lord, so that he is able to injure.

21 This also Jacob, the practicer of virtue, asked at the end of his most holy prayers. For he said, "And the Lord shall be to me as God." Which is equivalent to: He will no longer display towards me the despotic power of his absolute authority, but rather the beneficent influence of his universally propitious and saving power, utterly removing the fear with which he is regarded as a master, and filling the soul with affection and benevolence as felt towards a benefactor. What soul could ever conceive thus that the master and ruler of the universe, without changing anything of his own nature, but remaining in the condition in which he always was, is continually kind and uninterruptedly bounteous? owing to which he is, to those who are happy, the most perfect cause of unlimited and overflowing blessings. And to trust in a king who is not by reason of the magnitude of his authority elated so as to do injury to his subjects, but who, through his love to mankind, prefers that every one should enjoy happiness without fear, is the greatest possible bulwark of prosperity and security.

22 What, therefore, we originally undertook we have now nearly fulfilled, namely, to demonstrate that the fact spoken of must be taken to mean the principle which declares God to be the most glorious of all things. The portion of the subject which follows next, is the demonstration that perfection is found in no created thing, but that it does appear in them at times owing to the grace of the great Cause of all things. And the fruit of the tree is, that the graces of God endure for ever and ever, and that they are shed incessantly upon mankind, and never cease. Thus, in truth, the wise man, following the practice of the first and greatest planter, displays his knowledge of husbandry; and the sacred scripture wishes the labours of husbandry to be performed, even by those of us who are not yet perfect, but who are still reckoned among the middle numbers of those things which are accounted duties; for it says, "When you go forth into the land which the Lord your God giveth to you, and when you plant every tree which is good for food, you shall completely purify its uncleanness. For three years it shall be unclean as to its fruit, it shall not be eaten; but in the fourth year, all its fruit shall be holy, being praised by the Lord. And in the fifth year you shall eat the fruit thereof; and everything that it bears shall be useful to you: I am the Lord your God." [Leviticus 19:23.] Therefore it was impossible for the children of Israel , to plant those trees which are eatable, before they arrived in the country which had been given them by God; for he says, "When you go forth into the land, ... and when you plant every tree which is good for food." So that while we are outside of the promised land, we should not be able to cultivate such trees; and this is very natural; for as long as the mind has not entered upon the path of wisdom, but turns aside and wanders out of the road, it cares only for the trees which do not admit of being cultivated or used for food of men--trees which are barren and useless, and which, though they bear, bear no fruit which is eatable. But when the mind, having entered upon the path of wisdom, marches along with its doctrines, and begins to keep pace with them all, it then cultivates the useful trees, which are capable of bearing eatable fruit, instead of caring for those useless kinds; it cultivates a mastery over, instead of the indulgence of the passions, and knowledge instead of ignorance, and good instead of evil. Since therefore he who is led into the path of virtue is still at a long distance from the end, it is very naturally laid as an injunction upon the man who plants, to remove the uncleanness of that which is planted. And what this is, we will now consider.

23 These duties which are as it were in the middle, appear to me to be properly looked upon in the same light as those trees, which admit of being cultivated and used for food; for each of them bears most useful fruits, the one for the body, and the other for the soul. But in the middle there must necessarily be many injurious plants springing up with and growing alongside of them, which must be removed in order that the better sorts may not be injured. May I not call the restoration of a deposit a useful plant of the soul? But still this plant requires purification and exceeding attention. What then is the purification? This. Having taken a deposit from a man while he is sober, you must not restore it to him while he is drunk, or intemperate, or mad; for in such a case though he may have received the advantage of having his own back again, he will have no opportunity of being benefited by it. Again. You must not restore a deposit to debtors or to slaves while their creditors or their masters are present; for that is betraying, and not a restoration of a deposit. Nor must you keep faith in small things in the hope merely of gaining confidence, so as to have greater things entrusted to you. For those who fish, and who let down small baits into the sea, with the view of catching larger fish, are not very much to be blamed, as they say that they are providing for the good supply of the market, and in order that they may supply men with unlimited food for every day. But no one should use as a bait, the restoration of a deposit of small value by way of obtaining a larger one, holding forth in his hands, and displaying the deposit of one individual, and that a trifling one, and in his intention appropriating the deposits of every body, and those too of unspeakable value. If, therefore, you remove the uncleanness of your deposit, as of these trees, namely, the inquiries threatened by plotters, the evils arising from want of opportunity and treachery, and all things of similar kinds; you will bring into a state of cultivation and usefulness, that which was on the point of becoming wild.

24 And in the case of the tree of friendship, it is necessary to cut down and eradicate these things which shoot up by the side of it for the sake of preserving the more valuable plant. And the evil plants which spring up alongside are these: the tricky blandishments of courtesans towards their lovers, and the deceitfulness of parasites to those whom they flatter. For one may see those who make a traffic of their personal beauty, clinging to their lovers as if they were excessively fond of them; but they love not them but themselves, and they are eager only for their daily gains. And as for flatterers, sometimes they conceal unspeakable hatred towards those whom they flatter; but still, being slaves to gluttony and intemperance, they are on that account induced to pay court to those who can supply their immoderate appetites. But the tree of science and unadulterated friendship having rejected and discarded these things, will bear fruit of the greatest possible service to those who use it, namely, incorruptible good faith. For good-will is a desire that one's neighbour should enjoy good things for his own sake. But courtesans and flatterers are anxious solely for their own advantage, which is the only motive why they should confer pleasure, the first on their lovers, and the latter on the objects of their flatteries. We must therefore cut down all trickeries and flatteries as evil plants growing up near the tree of friendship.

25 The due attention to sacred rites, and good faith in the matter of sacrifices, are the most excellent of trees; but alongside of them an evil grows up, namely, superstition, which it is desirable to eradicate before it has time to blossom. For some persons have fancied the sacrificing of oxen to be piety, and they assign a portion of all that they steal or obtain by denials, or by cheating their creditors, or by plundering, to the altars. Impious wretches that they are, thinking that thus they are paying a price to buy themselves off from suffering punishment for their offences. But to such persons I would say, O ye men, the tribunal of God is not to be corrupted by bribes; so that those who have guilty minds will be rejected, even if they sacrifice a hundred oxen every day; and those who are innocent will be received, even if they never sacrifice at all. For God delights in altars on which no fire is burned, but which are frequented by virtues, and which do not blaze with great flame, such as those sacrifices do kindle which are offered by impious men, and which are no sacrifices at all, and which serve to remind one of the ignorances and wickedness of each of the sacrificers; for Moses has somewhere spoken of a sacrifice "reminding one of Sin." [Numbers 5:15.] All such things therefore, being the causes of great injury, it is necessary to cut off and eradicate, in obedience to the oracle in

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which it is enjoined "to remove the uncleanness of the tree which has been planted, bearing eatable Fruit." [Leviticus 19:23.]

26 But we, even after we have been instructed, make no progress in learning; but some persons, having a self-taught natural instinct, purify what is good from the evils which surround it, as Jacob did, he who was surnamed the practicer of virtue; for he "peeled the rods, leaving on the white bark, having stripped off all the Green;" [Genesis 30:37.] in order that the dark and dusky vanity in the middle being taken away in every case, a white appearance might be displayed, which should be produced so as to be akin to it, not by diversified art but by nature; 1in reference to which it is also commanded in the law which was established in cases of leprosy, that "the man who was not infected with any variation of colour, but who was white all over from the head to the extremity of his feet, should be Pure." [Leviticus 13:12.] In order that, according to the similitude of the body, those who have discarded the crafty, and unscrupulous, and ambiguous, and uncertain disposition of mind, may embrace the simple, uncoloured, unambiguous, plain complexion of truth; therefore, to say that the tree is purified, contains a principle, the assertion of which is founded surely in truth, but to make the same statement with respect to the fruit is saying what is not equally clear or credible; for no cultivator of figs or grapes, or, in sort, of any fruit whatever, purifies them.

27 And again Moses says, "Its fruit shall be impure for three days, it shall not be Eaten;" [Leviticus 19:23.] as if in fact it were customary for it to be purified for ever. We must, therefore, say that this is one of those expressions which have a concealed meaning, since the words themselves are not quite consistent with it; for the expression is an ambiguous one; for it bears one sense of this kind, the fruit shall remain for three years; and then there is a distinct injunction, "it shall not be eaten before it is purified." But there is also another meaning, "the fruit of the tree shall for three years be unpurified, and while in that state it shall not be eaten." According, then, to the former statement one may understand it in this manner: the three years being taken from time which is divided into three portions; for it is the nature of time to be divided into the past, the present, and the future; therefore the fruit of education will exist, and will endure, and will last unimpaired through all the divisions of time, a statement equivalent to - it will never receive any corruption, for the nature of good is imperishable. But the fruit which is not purified shall not be eaten; inasmuch as virtuous reasons, duly purified and rendered sound, nourish the soul, and give vigor to the mind; but the opposite kinds are not nutritious, but bring disease and destruction on the soul. According to the other meaning, as in the disputes of dialecticians, the word "undemonstrated" is used in a double sense, either of a proposition which it is hard to demonstrate by reason of its difficulty, or of one which is intrinsically so plain as to require no demonstration, and the truth of which is established not by the testimony of any one else, but by its own internal evidence. So also fruit may be understood as not being purified, either when it is so impure as to be difficulty to purify, or when it requires no purification, but is bright, and clear, and pure of itself. Such now is the fruit of education; being for three years, that is to say for all time, divided as it is into three portions, most completely pure and brilliant, being overshadowed by no injurious thing, and having no need whatever of any washings or purifications, or any thing else whatever which tends to cleansing.

28 "But in the fourth year," says the scripture, "all the fruit of the tree shall be sacred, being praised by the Lord." [Leviticus 19:25.] The prophetic books appear often to dignify the number four in many places of the exposition of the law, and most especially in the account of the creation of the universe; for the light which is perceptible by the outward senses, and held in honour, being that which throws the most brilliant light both upon itself and upon other things, and upon its own parents the sun and the moon, and upon the most sacred company of the stars, which by their rising and setting fix the boundaries of night and day, and moreover, of months and years, and which have shown the nature of number, to which, also, the greatest good of the soul is attributed, Moses says was created on the fourth day. And now he honours this day in a remarkable degree, assigning the fruit of the trees to God, in accordance with no other time than with the fourth year after they are planted; for this has a principle in it very consistent with nature and with good morals. At all events it so happens that the roots of the universe, the elements of which the world is composed, are four - earth, water, air, and fire. Also, that the seasons of the year are equal in number, namely, winter and summer, and those others which are between these two, spring and autumn. 2And as this is the most ancient of all square numbers, it is found to exist in right angles, as the figure of a square in geometry shows. And right angles are manifest examples of correctness of reason. And right reason is an everlasting fountain of virtues. 2It follows, therefore, of necessity that the sides of a square must be all equal to one another. And equality is the parent of justice, which is the mistress and ruler of all the virtues, so that it is not proved that this number four is the symbol of equality, and justice, and of all virtue, beyond any other number. 2And the number four is likewise called "all," because it comprehends in its power the numbers up to ten, and the number ten itself.

29 That is comprehends all the numbers up to itself is manifest to every one; but that it also comprehends the numbers which come after it, is very easily seen by a calculation of numbers, when we have put them together, one, two, three, four, we shall find what we were doubting about; for of one and four, the number five will be found to be composed, and of two and four six are made up; the number seven, again, consists of three and four; again, according to a triple combination of one, and three, and four, the number eight is composed; also of two, and three, and four, the number nine; and the number ten is made of all the numbers together, for one, and two, and three, and four make ten. On this account also, Moses said that in the fourth year all the fruit of the tree shall be holy; for this number has an even, and an entire, and a full, and (as one may almost say) every possible reason in it, because the number ten, of which four is the parent, is the first starting place of all the numbers when put together after the unit; and the number four and the number ten are both also called "all," but the number ten is so called by reason of its operation, this number four with reference to its potentiality.

30 And Moses very appropriately says that the fruit of education is not only holy but also praised; for every one of the virtues is a holy thing, but most especially is gratitude holy; but it is impossible to show gratitude to God in a genuine manner, by those means which people in general think the only ones, namely offerings and sacrifices; for the whole world could not be a temple worthy to be raised to his honour, except by means of praises and hymns, and those too must be such as are sung, not by loud voices, but by the invisible and pure mind, which shall raise the shout and song to him. 2At all events there is an old saying often quoted, originally invented by wise men, but, as is often the case, handed down in succession to future ages, and one which has not escaped our ears, which are always greedy of instruction, and it is to this effect, "When," say they, "the Creator had finished the whole world, he asked of one of his ministers, whether he felt that any thing that was wanting which had not been created of all the things that are in the earth, or in the water, or of all that have received the sublime nature of the air, or the loftiest nature of all the universe, namely, that of the heaven; 2and he replied, that every thing every where was perfect and complete; but that he wished for one thing only, namely for reason, which should be able duly to praise it all, and which should not so much praise as give an accurate account of the exceeding excellence existing throughout, even in these things which appeared the most unimportant and the most obscure; for he said that an exact account of the works of God was their most complete and adequate panegyric, since they required no addition of external things to set them forth, but were of such a character that the bare plain truth was their most perfect encomium." And when the Father had heard what he said he praised it all, and at no distant time produced a race, which should be capable of receiving all learning, and of composing hymns of praise, producing them from one of the faculties existing around him, the virgin memory, whose name men in general distort and call her Mnemosyne.

31 This is then the purport of that legend of the ancients, and we in accordance with that story say, that it is the most appropriate work of God to confer benefits, and of created beings to show gratitude, since they are unable to give any requital of those benefits beyond gratitude; for whatever he might be inclined to give as a requital for the other things which he has received, will be found to be the private property of him who is the Creator of all things, and not of the nature which offers it. 3Having learnt therefore that there is only one employment possible for us of all the things that seem to contribute to the honour of God, namely the display of gratitude, let us at all times and in all places study this, with our voice, and with useful writings, and let us never desist composing encomiastic orations and poems, in order that both the Creator and the world may be honoured by every description of utterance which can be exhibited in either speaking or singing; the one being, as some has said, the best of all causes, and the other the most perfect of all created things.

32 Since therefore all the fruit of the soul is consecrated in the fourth year and the fourth number; in the fifth year we ourselves shall be allowed the use and enjoyment of it for ourselves; for the scripture says, "In the fifth year ye shall eat the fruit thereof;" since it has been established by a perpetual law of nature, that account shall be taken of the creation after the Creator in every thing; so that even if we are thought worthy of the second place, it must be considered a marvelous thing; 3and on this account it assigns to us the fruit of the fifth year, because the number five is the number appropriate to the outward sense; and if one must tell the truth, that which nourishes our minds is the outward sense, which by means of our eyes sets before us the distinctive qualities of colours and forms, and by means of our ears presents us with all the various peculiarities of sounds, and with smells by means of the nose, and with tastes through the medium of the mouth, and which enables us to judge of the yielding softness and resisting hardness, or of softness and roughness, or again of heat and cold, by means of the faculty which is dispersed over the whole body, which we usually denominate touch.

33 But the most correct example of what has been said, is afforded by the sons of Leah, that is of virtue, not all her sons, but the fourth and fifth; for with respect to the fourth, Moses says that, then she ceased to bring forth,[Genesis 29:35.] and his name was called Judah, which, being interpreted, is "confession to the Lord," and the fifth she called Issachar, and the name being interpreted, means "reward;" and after she had brought forth in this manner, the soul immediately spoke and related what it had suffered; for says Moses, "She called his name Issachar, which means Reward." [Genesis 30:18.] 3Therefore Judas, the mind which blesses God, and which is without ceasing, devoted to pouring forth hymns of praise and gratitude to him, is himself in truth "the holy and praiseworthy Fruit," [Leviticus 19:24.] being produced not by the trees of the earth but by a rational and virtuous nature. In reference to which, the nature which brought him forth is said to have desisted from bringing forth, since she knew not which way to turn, when she had come to the limit of perfection; for of all successful actions which are brought forth, the best and most perfect production is a hymn to the Father of the universe; and the fifth son is in no respect different from the enjoyment of the trees planted in the fifth year; for the tiller of the earth after a fashion takes his reward from the trees in the fifth year, and he takes the offspring of the soul, Issachar, who was called the "reward," and very naturally, being brought forth after the grateful Judah; for to a grateful person gratitude is a most sufficient reward. 3Therefore, the fruits of the trees are called the produce of the owners of the trees; but the fruit of instruction and wisdom is no longer the produce of man, but as Moses says, "of the universal Governor alone;" for after he has spoken of his produce, he adds, "I am the Lord your God," asserting most distinctly that there is one God, whose fruit is the produce of the soul. 3And with this assertion, this oracle delivered by one of the prophets is consistent, "Fruit from me has been found by you. What wise man will understand this? Will any intelligent person comprehend It?" [Hosea 14:9.] For it does not belong to every one, but only to the wise man, to understand whose the fruit of the mind is.

34 Therefore, concerning that most ancient and sacred husbandry, which the Cause of all things uses with reference to the world, that most productive of trees, and concerning that other kind in imitation of it which the virtuous man studies, and concerning the ordinary quaternion of prizes, and the laws and precepts which all tend to the same point, we have now spoken to the best of our power. 4Let us now consider the vine-planting of the just Noah which is a species of husbandry. For it is said that "Noah began to be a husbandman of the earth, and he planted a vineyard, and drank of the wine, and got Drunk." [Genesis 9:20.] Therefore, the wise man here cultivates with skill and science the tree of drunkenness, though fools enter upon its management in an unartistic and negligent manner, so that it is necessary for us now to speak in a fitting manner about drunkenness; for we shall presently know the power also of that tree which gives rise to it. Afterwards, we will examine with accuracy what has been said by the lawgiver concerning drunkenness, but at present we will examine what determination others have come to on this subject.

35 Now, among many philosophers, this question has been investigated with no slight degree of pains, and the question is proposed in this manner, whether the wise man will get drunk? Therefore, to get drunk is a matter of a twofold nature, one part of it being equivalent to being overcome with wine; the other, to behaving foolishly in one's cups. But of those who have dealt with this proposition, some have said that the wise man never takes too much unmixed wine, and never behaves foolishly; for that the one is an error, and that the other is an efficient cause of error, and that both the one and the other is inconsistent with good conduct. 4Others again have asserted, that to be overcome with wine is appropriate even to a virtuous man, but that to behave foolishly is inconsistent with his character. For that the wisdom which is in him is sufficient to resist those things which attempt to do him injury, and to destroy the innovations which they seek to produce in the soul, and that wisdom is endued with a power capable of extinguishing the passions, whether they be fanned by the impetuous gale of furious love, or kindled by abundant and heating wine, and that owing to this power it will always be superior to them. Since also of those who dive beneath a deep river or under the sea, some are destroyed from being ignorant of the art of swimming, but others who are possessed of this knowledge are very speedily saved; and, indeed, a great quantity of wine, inundating the soul like a torrent, sometimes weighs it down and precipitates it to the lowest

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depth of ignorance, but at other times is unable to part it, because it is supported and borne aloft by saving instruction. Those again who have not sufficiently observed the greatness of this excess with respect to passion in the wise man, have pressed him down, when he was applying himself to the study of sublime things, from heaven to earth, as those men do who are seeking to catch birds, in order to involve him in disasters similar to their own; but others, seeing the great height of his virtue, have said that a wise man, if he indulges in wine beyond the bounds of moderation, will by all means cease to be master of himself, and will go astray, and will not only let his hands droop out of weakness, like those athletes do who are defeated, but will also droop his neck and his head, and stumble, and fall down, coming to the ground with his whole body.

36 Having then learnt this beforehand, the wise man will never of his own accord think fit to enter upon a contest of hard drinking, unless there were great things at stake, such as the safety of his country, or the honour of his parents, or the preservation of his children, or of his nearest relations, or in short, the success and prosperity of some important public or private interest. 4For he would not take a deadly poison unless the occasion compelled him very strongly to depart from life, as it might urge him to depart from his country. And at all events it is plain, that unmixed wine is a poison, which is the cause, if not of death, at least of madness, and why may we not pronounce madness to be death, since by it the most important thing in us dies, namely, the mind? But it appears to me that a man would without the slightest hesitation choose (if a choice was permitted him), that death which separates and disunites the soul and the body as a lesser evil in preference to that greater one - the alienation of the mind. 4On this account, forsooth, men of old time called skill in the art of making wine madness (mainomeneμ), and called the Bacchae who were carried away under the influence of wine, mad women (Mainades), since wine is the cause of madness and folly to those who indulge in it insatiably.

37 Such then are, as it were, the prefaces of this discussion or investigation. Let us now go on to the other parts of this question which is divided into two heads as is natural; the one view affirming that the wise man will occasionally be drunk, and the other, on the contrary, insisting that he will not get drunk. 5Now it is well to ruminate the arguments which are adduced in support of the former view, having first of all take our beginning from this point, that of things some are homonymous, and others are only synonymous. And it is admitted that the being homonymous and the being synonymous are two opposite things, because homonymy is predicated of many subjects which have one common name; and synonymy is the application of many different names to one subject. 5For instance, the name of dog is beyond all question a homonymy, inasmuch as it comprehends many dissimilar things which are signified by that appellation. For there is a terrestrial barking animal called a dog; there is also a marine monster with the same name: there is also the star in heaven, which the poets calls the autumnal star, because it rises at the beginning of autumn, for the sake of ripening the fruits and bringing them to perfection. Moreover, there were the philosophers who came from the cynic school. Aristippus and Diogenes; and other too who chose to practice the same mode of life, an incalculable number of men. 5Again there are other appellations which differ from one another, but still signify but one thing, as a shaft, a bolt, and arrow; for all these terms are applied to the weapon which is sent from the string of the bow against the mark; and again there are the words, oar, scull, and blade, to express the instrument used for propelling a vessel, of equal power with sails; for whenever a ship, by reason of a calm or of unfavourable winds cannot use its sails, then, those, whose business it is, sitting down as rowers, and stretching out their oars on each side like wings, compel to it proceed onwards as if borne on wings; and so the vessel being borne on the top of the waves, and rather running over them than cutting through them, hastens along with a speedy voyage, and speedily anchors in a safe harbour. 5And again, a staff, and a stick, and a cane, are all different appellations of one subject with which we can strike, or support one's self steadily, and on which one can lean, and do many other things besides. And we have enumerated these instances not for the purpose of making a long story, but in order that the matter under investigation may be more clearly understood.

38 The ancients called unmixed wine oinos, and also methy. At all events, this latter name is used in very many passages of poetry, so that if those names are accounted synonymous which are applied to one subject, then oinos and methysma, and other words derived from them will differ in nothing but sound, and the being overcome with wine (oinousthai), and the being drunk (methyein), are one and the same thing. 5And both these words intimate a taking of too much wine, which nevertheless there may be many reasons for a good man not turning away from; and if he be overcome with wine he will also be drunk, being nevertheless not made in any respect the worse by his drunkenness, but remaining the same as if he had simply been well filled with wine. 5We have now detailed one of the opinions concerning a wise man getting drunk: and the second is as follows--The men of the present day, with the exception of a small portion of them, do not choose in any way to resemble the men of old times; but both in mind and action they show that they are in no respect agreed with them, but that they differ from them widely. 5For they have made such a revolution as to bring reasons which were sound and healthy into incurable decay and destruction. And in the place of a vigorous and athletic habit, they have brought almost every thing into a state of disease; and in the place of a full, and strong, and sinewy body, they have rendered it weak, inducing an unnatural, and swollen, and sickly habit, filling it up with empty wind alone, which soon bursts by reason of the want of any power to keep it together, when it is extended in the greatest degree. 5And the actions of created beings, which are most worthy of attention, and which were, as one may say, masculine actions, those also they have made disgraceful feminine instead, and discreditable instead of honourable, so that there are very few persons found, either in deed or in words, inclined to an imitation of the ancient manners. 5Therefore, the poets and historians who lived in their time, and all other men who devoted themselves to literary studies, did not confine themselves to soothing and tickling the ears with rhythmical sounds, but, if there was anything broken, so to say, and relaxed in the mind, they roused it up, and whatever there was in it suited to their purpose they improved by initiation into natural philosophy and virtue. But the cooks and confectioners of our time, and those persons who are only artists of superfluous luxury, in the arts of dyeing and making perfumes, are always building up the outward senses with some new colour, or shape, or scent, or flavour, so as utterly to destroy the most important part of us, the mind.

39 And why do I mention these things? In order to show that the men of the present day do not use wine now as the ancients did. For now they drink eagerly without once taking breath, till the body and soul are both wholly relaxed, and they keep on bidding their cup-bearers to bring more wine, and are angry with them if they delay while they are cooling what is called by them the hot drink; and in a vile imitation of the gymnastic contests, they institute a contest among their fellow revellers as to who can drink most wine, in which they do many glorious things to one another, biting one another's ears and noses, and the tips of the fingers of their hands, and any other parts of the body they can get at. 6Now, these are the contests of revelry while in youth and vigor, and, as one may say, in its prime; but the others are the deeds of that ancient and more old-fashioned sort. For the men of old time began every good action with perfect sacrifices, thinking that in that way the result would be most favourable to them; and even if the occasion required especial promptitude in action, still they did not begin till they had offered prayers and sacrifices. But in all cases waited, thinking that haste was not in every case better than slowness. For speed, which is not accompanied with forethought, is injurious, but slowness, when founded on good hope, is advantageous. 6Knowing, therefore, that the use and enjoyment of wine require much care, they did not drink unmixed wine either in great quantities or at all times, but only in moderation and on fitting occasions. For first, of all, they offered up prayers and instituted sacrifices, and then, having propitiated the deity, and having purified their bodies and souls, the former with baths, and the latter with the waters of laws and of right instruction, they then turned their cheerful and rejoicing countenances to more luxurious food, very often not returning home but, walking about in the temples in which they sacrificed, in order that, by keeping in mind their sacrifices, and having a due respect for the place, they might enjoy what should be really a most sacred feast, doing no wrong either in word or deed. 6And this, indeed, is what they say the word methyein, to be drunk, derives its name from; because, meta to thyein (after sacrificing) it was the custom of the men of old to drink great quantities of wine. And to whom could the manner of using unmixed wine described above be more appropriate than to wise men to whom the work to be done before drinking, namely, sacrificing, is so appropriate? 6For one may almost say that no bad man can really perform sacrifices, not even if he were to bring the altar ten thousand oxen every day without intermission; for his most important and indispensable offering, namely his mind, is polluted. And it is impious for polluted things to come near to the altar. 6This, now, is the second point of view in which this question may be regarded, by which we have shown that it is not inconsistent with the character of the wise man to get drunk.

40 There is a third way of looking at this subject, which depends chiefly on the exceeding plausibility of an argument derived from etymology. For some persons think that drunkenness (metheμ) derives its name not merely from the fact of its being admitted after sacrifice, but also because it is the cause of relaxation (methesis) to the soul. 6But the reason of foolish men is relaxed so as to get strength for many sins; while that of those inclined to be sensible is relaxed, so as to enjoy freedom from care, and cheerfulness, and lightness of heart. For the wise man, when he is intoxicated, becomes more good-humoured than when he is sober; so that in this respect we should not be at all wrong in saying that he may get drunk. 6And besides all this, we must likewise add, that we are not speaking of a stern-looking and sordid kind of wisdom, contracted by profound thought and ill-humour; but, on the other hand, of that wisdom which wears on tranquil and cheerful appearance, being full of joy and happiness, by which men have often been led on to sport and divert themselves in no inelegant manner, indulging in amusements suitable to their dignified and earnest character, just as in a well-tuned lyre one may have a combination uniting, by means of opposite sounds, in one melodious harmony. 6At all events, according to the most holy Moses, the end of all wisdom is amusement and mirth, not such mirth as is pursued by foolish people, uncombined with any prudence, but such as is admitted even by those who are already grey, not only through old age alone, but also through deep thinking. Do you not see that he speaks of the man who has drunk deeply of that wisdom which is to be derived from a man's own hearing and learning, and study; not as one who partakes of mirth, but who is actually mirth in itself? 6This is Isaac, for the name Isaac being interpreted means "laughter," with whose character it is very consistent that he should have been sporting with "perseverance," which the Hebrews call Rebekkah.

41 But it is not lawful for a private individual to behold the divine instruction of the soul, but the king may behold it, as one with whom wisdom has dwelt for a very long time, if we may not rather say that it dwells with him all his life. His name is Abimelech, who, looking out through the window with the well-opened and radiant eye of the mind, saw Isaac sporting with Rebekkah his wife. 7For what employment is more suitable for a wise man than to be sporting, and rejoicing, and diverting himself with perseverance in good things? From which it is plain that he will become intoxicated, since intoxication contributes to good morals, and also produces relaxation and advantage; 7for unmixed wine seems to increase and render more intense all the natural qualities, whether they be good or the contrary, as many other things do too. For money is to a good man a cause of good things, and to a bad man, as some one has said, it is a cause of bad things. And again, high rank makes the wickedness of a fool more conspicuous, but it renders the virtue of the just man more glorious. So also unmixed wine, being poured forth in abundance, makes the man who is the slave of his passions, still more subservient to them, but it renders him who has them under control more manageable and amiable. 7Who, indeed, is there who does not know that of two opposite things, when one kind is suitable to most people, the other kind must of necessity be suited to some? As, for instance, white and black are two opposite colours: if white is suitable both to good and to bad things, then black must also be necessarily equally suitable to both, and not to one of the two alone. And, again, to be sober and to be drunk are two opposite things; accordingly, both bad men and good, as the ancient proverb says, partake of sobriety; therefore, also, drunkenness is suitable to both classes. Therefore the virtuous man will get drunk without losing any of his virtue by it.

42 But if, like persons before a court of justice, one must bring forward not only such proofs as are in accordance with the rules of art, but those too which have no connexion with art, one of which is proof by testimony, we will then produce many sons of physicians and philosophers of high repute to give evidence, not by words alone, but also by writings. For they have left behind ten thousand commentaries entitled treatises on drunkenness; in which they consider nothing beyond the bare use of wine, without pursuing any investigation with respect to those who are accustomed to behave foolishly in their cups, and in fact omitting every thing which has reference to conduct under the influence of wine; so that it is very plainly confessed in their writings that drunkenness is the same as drinking wine freely. And to drink a superabundant quantity of wine on proper occasions is not unsuitable to a wise man; therefore we shall not be wrong if we say that a wise man may get drunk. 7But since no one is ever inscribed on the rolls as a conqueror if he has contended by himself alone, for if he does this he appears only to be fighting with a shadow, and very naturally too; it follows that we must also produce the arguments of those who contend for the opposite side of the question, that by this means a most just judgement may be formed, and that the other side of the question may not be decided against through default. And the first and the most powerful argument is this: if no one in his senses would entrust a secret which he wished to be kept to a drunken man, then a good and wise man will not get drunk. But before we collect all the other arguments in their order, it may be better to reply to each objection separately, in order that we may not appear to be too prolix, and consequently to be troublesome. 7Some one then will say in opposition that, according to the argument that has been advanced, the wise man must never have a bilious attack, and never go to sleep, and above all must never die. But he to whom some of these things happens is either an inanimate being or a divine one;

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but beyond all question he is not a man at all. Imitating this perversion of the arguments, one may apply it equally to a bilious man, or to a sleeping man, or to a dying man; for no one in his senses would tell a secret to a man in any of these conditions, but it would be reasonable for him to tell it to a wise man, for the wise man is never bilious, never goes to sleep, and never dies.

ON DRUNKENNESS

1 (What has been said by other philosophers about drunkenness we have to the best of our ability recorded in the treatise before this present one. But now let us consider what is the opinion of the lawgiver, who was in all respects great and wise, on this subject; (for in many places of his history of the giving of the law he mentions wine, and the plant which produces wine, namely the vine; and he commands some persons to drink it, but some he does not permit to do so; and at time he gives contrary directions to the same people, ordering them sometimes to drink and some times to abstain. These therefore are the persons who have taken the great vow, to whom it is expressly forbidden to drink unmixed wine, being the priests who are engaged in offering sacrifices. But those who drink wine are numerous beyond all calculation, and among them are all those who are especially praised by the lawgiver for their virtue. (But before we begin to talk of these subjects we will examine with accuracy some points that concern this argument, and, as I at least imagine they are these.

2 (Moses looks upon an unmixed wine as a symbol not of one thing only but of many, namely of trifling, and playing the fool, and of all kinds of insensibility and of insatiable greediness, and of a covetousness which is hard to be pleased, and of a cheerfulness which comprehends many other objects, and of a nakedness which is apparent in all the things now mentioned, such as that which he says Noah, when drunk, displayed himself in. Wine, then, is said to produce all these effects. (But great numbers of persons who, because they never touch unmixed wine, look upon themselves as sober, are involved in the same accusation. And one may see some of them acting in a foolish and senseless manner, and others possessed by complete insensibility; and others again who are never satisfied, but are always thirsting for what cannot be obtained, because of their want of knowledge; others, on the other hand rejoicing and exulting; and others in good truth naked. (The cause now of behaving foolishly is a mischievous ignorance; I mean by this expression, not an ignorance of such things as are matters of instruction but an alienation from, and dislike of knowledge. The cause again of insensibility is a treacherous and mutilated ignorance. The cause of insatiability is a most grievous appetite for the indulgence of the passions of the soul. The cause of cheerfulness is at once the acquisition and the employment of virtue. Of nakedness there are many causes--an ignorance of such things as are opposite to one another; complete innocence and simplicity of manners; truth, which strips off all the coverings of such things as are concealed, on the one side revealing virtue to our eyes, and on the other side, in its turn, uncovering vice; (for no one can possibly put off both these things at one time, nor can he either strip them both off together. But when any one discards the one, he must of necessity take up and clothe himself with the other. (For as the old story tells us, God, when he had combined pleasure and pain, two things naturally at variance, under one head, gave to us an outward sense capable of appreciating them both, not at the same moment, but at different times, fixing the period of the return of one to be simultaneous with the moment of the flight of the other. Thus from one root of the dominant principle, the two shoots of virtue and vice sprang up, neither blossoming nor bearing fruit at the same time; (for when the one loses its leaves and fades away, then the other begins to shoot, and blossom, and look green, so that one might fancy that the one withered through dissatisfaction at the blooming appearance of the other. It is with reference to this that Moses represents in a most natural manner the departure of Jacob to be contemporaneous with the arrival of Esau; "For it came to pass," says he, "that as Jacob went out his brother Esau came In." [Genesis 27:30.] As long, indeed, as prudence dwells in and makes his abode in the soul, so long every companion of folly is discarded and banished to a distance; but when prudence departs then folly rejoices and enters, since its enemy and adversary, for whose sake it was driven away and banished, is no longer inhabiting the same place as before.

3 We have now then said enough by way of preface to this treatise. We will proceed to adduce the proofs of all that we have said, beginning first of all to establish the first point. We said, then, that ignorance was the cause of man's behaving foolishly and misconducting himself, just as a great quantity of unmixed wine is to great numbers of foolish persons; for ignorance is the primary evil of all the errors of the soul, if we must tell the truth, from which, as from a spring, all the actions of life do flow, never producing to any one, one single stream of wholesome or drinkable water, but only brackish water, the cause of disease and destruction to all who use it. Thus, at all events, the lawgiver is very indignant with all uninstructed and unmanageable persons, more than he is with any other description of people whatever. And a proof of this is this: who are they who are united in alliance not so much by study as by nature, whether among men or among the other kinds of animals? No one; not even a madman would say that any beings were so closely united as parents and children; for even by the mere untaught instinct of nature the parent always cares for his offspring, and in every case endeavors to provide for its safety and durability. 4 Those, then, who are the natural protectors of others, Moses represents as having crossed over to the ranks of enemies, making those accusers who would naturally have been advocates, I mean the father and mother, in order that the children may be destroyed by those by whom above all others it was natural they should be saved; "For if," says he, "any man's son be disobedient, or contentious, not obeying the voice of his father and of his mother, and if they reprove him and he does not listen to them, then his father and his mother shall take him, and shall bring him before the elders of the city, and shall bring him to the gate of that place, and shall say to the men of their city, This our son is disobedient and contentious, and does not obey our voice, but spends his time in revelling and drunkenness. And the men of that city shall stone him, and you shall destroy that wicked one from among You." [Deuteronomy 21:18.] Therefore, here the accusations are four in number--disobedience, and contentiousness, and love of revelling, and drunkenness; and the last of these is the greatest, deriving its growth from the first, namely, from disobedience; for when the soul begins to be restive it advances onward through contention and quarrelsomeness, and arrives at last at the furthest boundary, drunkenness, the cause of alienation of mind and folly. But it is requisite to see the force of each of all these accusations, beginning with the first in order.

5 It is then confessed by all most undeniably, that it is both honourable and advantageous to yield and to become obedient to virtue, so that on the other hand to be disobedient to it must be disgraceful and in no moderate degree disadvantageous. And to be contentious and obstinate is a quality which comprehends every extravagance of evil; for the man who is disobedient is less wicked than he who is contentious, since the one only disregards what he is commanded to do, but the other also exerts himself to do the contrary. Come, now, let us investigate the true nature of these things. Since the law commands, for instance, that men should honour their parents, he who does not honour them is disobedient; but he who dishonours them is contentious. And again, since it is a righteous action to preserve one's country, we must call the man who admits of hesitation in the pursuit of the object disobedient, but the man who is prepared moreover to betray it we must pronounce perverse and contentious. Again, he who, when requested to requite a favour, contradicts the man who says that he ought to consider himself a debtor, is disobedient; but he who, in addition to making no return, is so carried away by contentiousness that he endeavors to do the person what harm he can, commits unredeemable wickedness. And further, he who never approaches, nor practices sacrifices, or any of the other observances required by piety, disobeys the commandments which the law usually ordains in such matters; but he who resists and turns aside to the opposite disposition, impiety, is a wicked man and a minister of impiety.

6 Such a man as this was he who said, "Who is there whom I am to obey?" and again, "I do not know the Lord." [Exodus 5:2.] For by his first expression he states that there is no such thing as a Deity; and by the second question he means, that even if there is such a being, still he will not recognise him, which arises from a deficiency in his providence; for if he were possessed of providence he would be recognised. Now to bring contributions and supplies in aid of an entertainment with a view to a participation in that best of all possessions, prudence, is praiseworthy and advantageous. But to do so with a view to the worst of all objects, folly, is disadvantageous and blamable; therefore, the contributions for the most excellent object are the desire of virtue, the imitation of good men, continued care, labourious practice, incessant and unwearied labours; the contributions for the opposite object are relaxation, indifference, luxury, effeminacy, and a complete desertion of what is right. And we may see those who every day descend into the arena to contend in drinking much wine, and practising this quality every day, and striving to gain the victory in greediness and voracity, bringing their contributions as though they had some desirable object in view, and injuring themselves in every thing, in their property, and their bodies, and their souls; for by contributing their property they diminish their substance; and they break down and enervate the powers of their bodies by their luxurious way of life, and as for their souls, inundating them with immoderate food like a swollen torrent, they compel that to sink down to the lowest depth. For the same manner all those, who bring contributions for the destruction of learning, injure the most important thing in them, namely, their mind, cutting off every thing that might save it--prudence, and temperance, and courage, and justice; on which account he seems to me himself to use a compound word, symbolokopol'n, for the more manifest manifestation of his meaning, because they who bring forward attempts at virtue as their offering and contribution, wound and lacerate, and cut to pieces, obedient and learningloving souls to the extent of their utter destruction.

7 Therefore the wise Abraham is said to have returned again from the slaughter of Chedorlaomer, and of the kings who were with Him. [Genesis 14:17.] And on the other hand, Amalek is said to have cut to pieces the rear of the company of the meditator of virtue,[Deuteronomy 25:18.] in strict accordance with the truth of nature; for what is contrary to one is also hostile to the other, and such things are always meditating the destruction of one another. But one may especially blame a man who contributes offerings on this account, because such an one has not only determined to do wrong, but also to cooperate with others in doing wrong, thinking fit in some things to be the leader himself, and in others to follow the leadership of others; so that, erring both by nature and through what he has learnt, he leaves himself no good hope of safety, and this, too, though the law has expressly said that one must "not follow a multitude to do Evil;" [Exodus 23:2.] for, in truth, evil is a very manifold and very fertile thing in the souls of men, but good is but a contracted and rare thing. Again it is a most useful recommendation, not to join with many persons to do evil, but to unite with a few whose chief practice is to do justly.

8 The fourth and greatest of the accusations, is that of drunkenness, not slight but excessive drunkenness. For devotion to crime is equivalent to devotion to swelling up, and kindling, and inflaming the poison which is the great cause of folly, namely ignorance, a thing which can never be extinguished, but which is at all times and in every case raising a conflagration and fury in the soul. Very naturally, therefore, justice will follow which purifies every evil disposition of the mind, for it is said, "Thou shall utterly get rid of the wicked man," not out of the city, or out of the country, or out of the nation, but "out of Yourselves." [Deuteronomy 21:21.] For there are many faulty and blamable thoughts lurking in us, and taking up their abode in the recesses of our hearts, which, since they are incurable, it is necessary to eradicate and destroy. Therefore it is just that this disobedient and contentious man, who is always advancing plausible reasons as a sort of offering and contribution on his part towards the destruction of what is good, and who is inflamed with strong wine, and raging in a drunken manner against virtue, and being absurdly excited to his own injury by wine, should have his allies for his accusers, his own father and mother, since he ought to receive every possible reproof and chastisement from those who can be saved; but of the father and mother the appellations are common, but their powers are different. At all events we shall speak with justice, if we say that the Creator of the universe is also the father of his creation; and that the mother was the knowledge of the Creator with whom God uniting, not as a man unites, became the father of creation. And this knowledge having received the seed of God, when the day of her travail arrived, brought forth her only and well-beloved son, perceptible by the external senses, namely this world. Accordingly wisdom is represented by some one of the beings of the divine company as speaking of herself in this manner: "God created me as the first of his works, and before the beginning of time did he establish me." For it was necessary that all the things which came under the head of the creation must be younger than the mother and nurse of the whole universe.

9 Who then is able to encounter the accusation of these parents? No one can withstand even their moderate threats, or their very slightest reproach; for neither is any one able to contain the immeasurable multitude of their gifts, perhaps even the whole world is not; but like a shallow channel, when the great fountain of the bounties of God flows into it, it will be very speedily filled so as to overtop its bounds and overflow; but if we are unable to receive his benefits, how shall we endure his chastising powers when they come upon us? But these parents of the universe must be taken out of the present discussion; and for the present let us consider their pupils and acquaintances who have had assigned to them the care and superintendence of such souls as are not unwilling to learn and illiterate. Therefore we say that the father is masculine and perfect right reason, and that the mother is that middle and encyclical course of study, and instruction, and learning, which it is honourable and advantageous to obey as a child obeys his parents. The recommendation then of the father, that is of right reason, is to follow and obey reason, pursuing naked and undisguised truth; and the injunction of learning, the mother that is, is to obey the just customs, which ancient men who embraced opinion, as if it were truth, have established in cities, and nations, and countries. Now these parents have four classes of children. First of all comes that class which is obedient to them both, the second is that which attends to neither, being the opposite of the former one. Of the others, each is half perfect. For the one is exceedingly attached to its father, and attends to him, but disregards its mother and her injunctions. The other again appears to be

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attached to its mother, and obeys her in everything, but pays but little attention to its father. The first class, therefore, will carry off the prize of victory as superior to all the others; the second, which is the contrary of it, will meet with defeat and destruction at the same time; and as to each of the others they will claim, one the second prize, and the other the third. The one which is obedient to its father being the second in honour, and the one which obeys its mother being the third.

10 Now of the soul attached to its mother, yielding to the opinions of the many and constantly changing its appearance in accordance with the various forms arising from the manifold and different ways of life, after the manner of the Egyptian Proteus, who was able to assume the likeness of anything in the whole world, and to conceal his real form so as to render it entirely invisible, the most visible image is Jothor, a compound of pride, who evidently represents a city and constitution of men from all quarters, and of all nations, carried away by vain opinions. For after the wise Moses had invited the whole people of the soul to observe piety and to pay the honour due to God, and had taught them the commandments and the most sacred laws, (for he says, "When there is a controversy among them and they come to me, I will decide between them all, and I will bring together to them the commandments of God and his Law.") [Exodus 18:16.] then Jothor, wise in his own conceit, uninitiated in the divine blessings, but having principally lived among human and corruptible things, harangues the people, and proposes laws contrary to those of nature, having regard only to opinion, while those other laws are all referrible to the standard of reality and truth. And indeed the prophet, pitying this man and commiserating his exceeding error, thinks it fitting to endeavor to teach him better things, and to persuade him to change his ways, and to forsake vain opinions and steadily to follow the truth. For says he, "We after having cut up and eradicated the vain pride of the mind, will leave our abodes and depart to the place of knowledge, which we shall gain possession of by the divine oracles and their agreement of the result with them. Come now with us, and we will do thee Good." [Numbers 10:29.] For so doing you will get rid of that most pernicious thing, false opinion, and you will acquire that most advantageous thing, truth. But he, being as it were subdued by enchantment in this way, will neglect what is said, and will by no means follow any kind of knowledge whatever, but will retire and will run off to his own individual and empty pride. For it is said in the scripture that he replied to him, "I will not go, except to my own country and to my own race;" that is to say, to his kindred infidelity imbued with false opinions, since he had not learnt that true faith which is dear to men.

11 For, when desiring to make a display of his piety, he says, "Now I know that God is a great Lord in comparison of all Gods," [Exodus 18:11.] he accuses himself of impiety in the eyes of all men who are competent to form a judgement; for they will say to him, "Dost thou now know, O impious man, the power of the Ruler of the universe? but before this thou didst not know it. For was there anything which thou hast ever fallen in with of more antiquity or power than God? And are not the virtues of their parents known to the children before anything else in the world? And was not the Ruler of the universe the creator and the father of it? So that if you now say that you know it, you do not know it now, because you did not know it from the beginning of the creation." And you are not the less convicted of false pretences, when you profess to compare things that cannot be compared, and say that you now recognise the greatness and pre-eminence of God in comparison of all other gods. For if thou hadst in real truth known the living God, you would never have supposed that there was any other god endued with independent authority; for as the sun, when he has arisen, hides the stars, pouring forth his own light altogether over our sight, so also when the beams of the light-giving God, unmingled as they are, and entirely pure, and visible at the greatest distance, shone upon the eye of the soul, being comprehensible only by the intellect, then the eye of the soul can see nothing else; for the knowledge of the living God having beamed upon it, out-dazzles everything else, so that even those things which are most brilliant by their own intrinsic light appear to be dark in comparison. Therefore he would never have ventured to compare the true and faithful God to those falsely named gods, if he had really known him; but ignorance of the one God has caused him to entertain a belief of many as gods, who have in reality no existence at all.

12 Now this same opinion is entertained by every one who, having thoroughly comprehended the affairs of the soul, looks with astonishment on the affairs of the body and on the things external to the body, diversified as they are with different colours and forms, in order to deceive the outward sense, which is easily worked upon. Such a man as this the lawgiver calls labour, who, not perceiving the true laws of nature, falsely assents to those which are in force among men, saying, "It is not the custom in our country to give the younger daughter in marriage before the Elder." [Genesis 29:26.] For he thinks that it behoves him to adhere to the classification arising from the consideration of time, according to which, that which is oldest is entitled to priority, and after that, that which is the younger is admitted to a participation in their joint rights. But the practicer in wisdom, knowing that natures are not subject to time, desires what is younger first, and what is older afterwards. And moral reason agrees with him in this matter, for it is necessary for those who practice anything, first of all to come to the more recent learning, in order that after that, they may be able to derive advantage from that which is more perfect. And, on this account, the lovers of virtue and excellence do not approach the doors of the older philosophy before they have become familiar with these younger parts of it, grammar, and geometry, and the whole range of encyclical learning; for these subordinate branches do always attend upon those, who with sincerity and purity of purpose court wisdom. But he acts cunningly in opposition to these principles, wishing us to take to ourselves the elder sister first, not in order that we may have her in a lasting manner, but that being attracted by the allurements of the younger, we may hereafter relax in our desire for the elder one.

13 And we may almost say that this has happened to many of those who have used out of the way roads to learning; for still, as one may say, men coming from their very swaddling clothes to the most perfect study and way of life, philosophy, not thinking it fit to be utterly ignorant of encyclical learning, have still determined to apply themselves to them late and unwillingly. And then, descending from the older and more important kinds of learning to the contemplation of the inferior and younger branches, they have grown old among them so as no longer to be able to return to those pursuits with which they began. It is on this account, I imagine, that he says, "Accomplish her seven years," which is equivalent to: let not the good of the soul be unaccomplished by you; but let it have an end and a due completion, in order that you may meet with the younger classification of good things, of which personal beauty, and glory, and riches, and such things as these make up the sum. But he does not promise to accomplish them, but only agrees to fulfil them; that is to say, studying never to omit anything which may conduce to its growth and fulness, but in every instance labouring to get the better of all his difficulties, even though there may be innumerable impediments hindering and drawing him in the opposite direction. And the scripture here appears to me to show very plainly, that customs are regarded by men more than by women, as is clear by the words of Rachel, who admires only those things which are perceptible by the outward senses; for she says to her father, "Be not angry, my lord, that I am unable to rise up before thee in thy presence, because the custom of women is upon Me." [Genesis 31:35.] Therefore it is especially the conduct of women to pay regard to customs; for, indeed, that is the habit of the weaker and more feminine soul; while the nature of men, and of that reason which is really vigorous and masculine, is to be guided by nature.

14 But I marvel at the sincerity and truth of the soul which, in its conversation, confesses that it is unable to rise up against apparent good things, and nevertheless admires and honours every one of them, and all but prefers them to itself. Since who of us does resist wealth, and who of us enters the lists against glory? And who despises honour or authority, who, I may say, of almost all those who are still stained by vain opinions? No one whatever. But as long as we have none of these things we talk loudly and proudly, as if we were men of small wants, and companions of frugality, which renders life all-sufficient for itself, and just, and suitable for free and nobly born men. But when there is hope of any of the things which I have enumerated, or when only the slightest breeze of such hope blows upon us, then we are found out, for we at once yield, and submit, and are unable to hold out or resist; and being betrayed by the outward senses, which are so dear to us, we abandon the whole alliance of the soul, and we desert not in a concealed manner, but openly and undisguisedly. And perhaps this is not more than is reasonable to expect. For the customs of women are still predominant in us, while we are not as yet able to wash them off, or to rise and cross over to the hearth of the men's chamber, as is related of the mind which loved virtue, by name Sarah; for she is represented in the sacred oracles as having ceased to be influenced by the customs of women,[Genesis 18:11.] when she was about to be in travail and to bring forth the self-taught offspring, being by name Isaac. And she is said not to have had a mother, having received the inheritance of relationship from her father only, and not from her mother, having no share in the female race; for some one has said somewhere, "And yet, in truth, she is my sister, the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my Mother." [Genesis 20:12.] For she is not formed of the material perceptible by the outward senses, which is always in a state of formation or of dissolution, which is called the mother, and nurse and bringer up of created things; among which, first of all, the tree of wisdom sprang up, but rather of the cause and father of all. She, therefore, having emerged out of the whole corporeal world, and exulting from the joy which is in God, laughs at the pursuits of men, which are conversant about either war or peace.

15 We, then, being overcome by the unmanly and women-like association with the outward senses, and the passions, and the objects of the outward senses, are not able to stand up in opposition to anything that is apparent. But are dragged on, some of us, in spite of ourselves, and others of us willingly, by everything which comes across us; and if our army, not being able to execute the commands of the father, were to yield, it would nevertheless have for an ally its mother, moderate learning, which enacts in different cities such laws as are in common use, and appear to be just, and establishes different institutions in different countries. But there are some persons who, neglecting the precepts of their mothers, adhere with all their might to the injunctions of their fathers, whom right reason has thought worthy of the greatest honour, namely, of the priesthood; and if we go through their actions, by which they have obtained this honour, we shall perhaps incur the ridicule of many, who are deceived by the first appearances which present themselves to them, and who do not perceive those powers which are invisible and kept in the shade. For those who have applied themselves to prayers and sacrifices, and the whole body of ceremonies connected with the temple, are, what seems a most paradoxical thing, homicides, fratricides, murderers of those persons who are nearest and dearest to them, though they ought to be pure, and sprung from the pure, having no connexion with any pollution, intentionally incurred, nay, not even unintentionally. For it is said, "Each of you slay his brother, and each of you slay his neighbour, and each of you slay his nearest relations. And the sons of Levi did as Moses had spoken; and there fell of the people in that day about three thousand Men." [Exodus 32:27.] And those who had slain such a vast multitude he praises, saying, "Ye have this day, each of you, filled your hands to the Lord in your son, or your brother, so that blessing shall be given to you."

16 What, then, are we to say, but that such men are caught by the common customs of men, having, as their accuser, their mother, who lives according to the laws of the state, and acts like a demagogue, namely, custom: but that the others preserve the laws of nature, having, for their ally, their father, namely, right reason; for it is not the case, as some persons think, that the priests slay men, rational animals, compounded of soul and body, but they only eradicate from their minds all those things which are akin to and dear to the flesh, thinking it seemly for those who have become ministers of the only wise God, to alienate themselves form all the things of creation, and to look upon all such things as enemies and thoroughly hostile. On this account it is, that we shall slay a brother, not a man, but the body, which is brother to the soul; that is to say, we shall separate that which is devoted to the passions and mortal, from that which is devoted to virtue and divine. And, again, we shall slay a neighbour, not a man, but a company and a band; for such a company is, at the same time, akin to, and hostile to, the soul, laying baits and spreading snares for it, in order that being inundated by the objects of the outward senses, which overflow it, it may never emerge and look up to heaven, so as to embrace the beautiful and God-like natures. And we shall also slay those nearest to us: but that which is nearest to the mind is uttered speech, inserting false opinions among reasonable and natural plausibilities and probabilities, to the destruction of that best of all possessions, truth.

17 Why, then, are we not also to repel this being, too, who is a sophist and a polluted person, condemning him to the death which is suited to him, namely, silence (for silence is the death of speech), in order that the mind may be no longer led away by its sophisms, but being completely emancipated from all the pleasures which are according to the body, "the brother," and being alienated from, and having shaken off the yoke of, all the trickeries according to "the neighbour," and the neighbouring outward senses, and from the sophistries in accordance with the "nearest" speech, may be able, in all purity, to apply itself to all the proper objects of the intellect. This is he "who says to his father and to his mother," his mortal parents, "I have not seen you," ever since I have beheld the things of God, who "does not recognise his sons," ever since he has become an acquaintance of wisdom, who "disowns his Brethren," [Deuteronomy 33:9.] ever since he has ceased to be disowned by God, and has been thought worthy of perfect salvation. This is he who "took as coadjutor," that is to say, who searched for and sought out the things of corruptible creation, of which the chief happiness is laid up in eating and drinking, and who went, Moses says, "to the chimney," which was burning and flaming with the excesses of wickedness, and which could never be extinguished, namely, the life of man, and who, after that, was able even to pierce the woman through her belly,[Numbers 25:8.] because she appeared to be the cause of bringing forth, being, in real truth, rather the patient than the agent, and even every "man," and every reasoning which follows the opinion which attributes passions to the essence of God, who is the cause of all things.

18 Will not this person be justly looked upon as a murderer, by many who are influenced by the customs which have so much weight among women? But with God, the ruler and

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father of the universe, he will be thought worthy of infinite praises and panegyrics, and of rewards which can never be taken away; and the rewards are great, and akin to one another, being peace and the priesthood: for it was an illustrious achievement, after having put to flight the almost invincible troops of men who live according to the common fashion, and having put down the civil war of the appetites in the soul, to establish a peace firmly; and for this great exploit to receive nothing else, not riches, not glory, not honour, not authority, not beauty, not strength, not any of the advantages of the body, nor, on the other hand, earth or heaven, or all the world, but that most important and valuable of all things, the rank of the priesthood, the office of serving and paying honour to Him who is in truth the only being worthy of honour and service; this is an admirable thing, an object worthy of contention. And I was not wrong when I called those rewards, brothers to one another, but I said so, knowing that he cannot be made a true priest who is still serving in human and mortal warfare, in which vain opinions are the officers of the companies; and that he cannot be a peaceful man, who does not in sincerity cultivate and serve, with all simplicity, the only Being who has no share in warfare, and everlasting peace.

19 Such are the persons who honour their father, and the things belonging to their father, but who pay but little regard to their mother and to things that belong to her. But Moses represents the man who is at variance with both his father and his mother, and brings them forward as saying, "I know not the Lord; and I will not let Israel Go." [Exodus 5:2.] For he appears to put himself in opposition to those divine things, which are established in accordance with divine reason, and also to those which are established with reference to created beings, by means of education, and to be throwing everything into confusion in every direction. And there are even now--for the human race has not as yet entirely purified itself from unmixed wickedness--there are still persons who have absolutely determined to do nothing which has any bearing on piety or on human society, but who, on the contrary, are the companions of impiety and atheism, and treacherous towards their equals. And these men go about, being the greatest imaginable pests of their cities, out of curiosity and a love of interfering, mixing themselves up with, or rather, if one must tell the truth, throwing into confusion all kinds of affairs, both public and private, men who ought to have put up prayers and offered sacrifices to avert (as if it had been a great disease) famine, or pestilence, or any other evil inflicted by God; for these calamities are great evils to those on whom they fall; in reference to which Moses sings their destruction, when they have been destroyed by their own allies, and swallowed up by their own opinions, as if by the waves of a stormy sea.

20 Let us now, therefore, proceeding in regular order, speak of the enemies of these persons, men who honour instruction and right reason, among whom are those who are attached to the virtue of one of their parents, being half-perfect companions; these men are the most excellent guardians of the laws which the father, that is to say, right reason, established, and faithful stewards of the customs which education, their mother, instituted; and they were instructed by right reason, their father, to honour the Father of the universe, and not to neglect the customs and laws established by education, their mother, and considered by all men to be founded in justice. When, therefore, Jacob, the practicer of virtue, and the man who entered into the lists of, and was a candidate for, the prizes of virtue, was inclined to give his ears in exchange for his eyes, and words for actions, and improvements for perfection, as the bounteous God was willing to give eyes to his mind, in order that he might for the future clearly see what hitherto he had only comprehended by hearing (for the eyes are more trustworthy than the ears), the oracle sounded in his ears, "Thy name shall not be called Jacob; but Israel shall thy name be, because thou hast prevailed with God and with men, with Power." [Genesis 32:28.] Jacob then is the name of learning and or improvement, that is to say of those powers which depend upon learning, and Israel is the name of perfection, for the name being interpreted means "the sight of God;" and what can be more perfect among all the virtues than the sight of the only living God? Accordingly he who hath seen this good things is confessed to be good by both his parents, having attained to strength in God and power both before the Lord and before men. And it appears to me to be very well said in the book of Proverbs, "Men who see what is right before God and before Men." [proverbs 3:4.] Since it is by the aid of both these that men attain to the complete possession of good. For when you have been taught to observe the laws of your Father,[Proverbs 4:3.] and not to disregard the injunctions of your mother, you will be able to say with confidence and pride, "For I also was born a son, subject to my father, and beloved before the face of my "mother."

21 But, I should say to this man, were you not fated to be loved, if you kept the laws established among mortals out of a desire for fellowship, and if you paid due respect to the ordinances of the uncreate God out of a love for, and a desire to exhibit piety? Therefore Moses, the divine prophet of God, in his description of the building of the temple, shows the perfection of the temple in both points; for it is not without due consideration for us that he covers the ark both within and without with gold, or that he gives two robes to the chief priest, or that he builds two altars, one outside the tabernacle for the victims, and the other inside for the burning incense; but he does this, wishing by these emblems to exhibit the virtues of each species; for it is fitting that the wise man should be adorned both with the invisible excellences existing within in the soul, and also with those external ones which are outwardly visible, and with prudence which is more valuable than gold. And whenever it departs from human studies, worshipping the living God alone, it puts on the simple unvaried robe of truth, which no mortal thing can ever touch, for it is made of linen material, a material not produced from any being whose nature it is to die. But whenever it passes over to mix in political affairs, then it lays aside the man's robe and assumes the other embroidered one of a most admirable beauty to look at; for life being a thing of great variety and of great changes, requires the diversified wisdom of the pilot who is to hold the helm; and he will appear in the outer conspicuous altar of life to exercise abundant prudence with respect to the skin, and flesh, and blood, and everything relating to the body, in order not to offend the common multitude which gives the second place in honour to the good things of the body in close proximity to the good things of the soul; and at the inner altar he will use bloodless, fleshless, incorporeal things, things proceeding from reasoning alone, which are compared to frankincense and other burnt spices; for as these fill the nostrils, so do those fill the whole region of the soul with fragrance.

22 We must also not be ignorant that wisdom, being the art of arts, appears to vary according to its different materials, but it shows its true species without alteration to those who have acute sight, and who are not carried away by the burden of the body with which they are surrounded: but who see the impression which is stamped upon it by art itself. They say that Phidias, the celebrated statuary, made statues of brass, and of ivory, and of gold, and of other different materials, and that in all these works he displayed one and the same art, so that not only good judges, but even those who had no pretensions to the title, recognised the artist from his works. For, as in the case of twins, nature having often employed the same character, has produced similitudes very slightly indeed differing from one another; in the same manner perfect art, being the imitation and copy of nature, when it has taken different materials, fashions and stamps the same appearance on all, so that the works produced by her are in the highest possible degree kindred, and brother-like, and twins. And the power which exists in the wise man will show the same result: for when it is occupied with the affairs of the living God it is called piety and holiness: but when it employs itself upon the heaven, and the things in heaven, it is natural philosophy; and when it devotes itself to the investigation of the air, and of the different circumstances attending its variations and changes, whether taking place in the uniform yearly revolutions of the seasons, or in the partial periods of months and days, it is then called meteorology. It is called moral philosophy when it busies itself about the rectification of human morals; and this moral philosophy is divided into several subordinate species; that namely of politics, when occupied about state affairs; economy, when applied to the management of a household; when it is devoted to the subject of banquets and entertainments, it is then convivial philosophy. Again, that power which concerns itself about the government of men, is royal; that which is conversant with commands and prohibitions, is legislative. For all these different powers the wise man of many names and many celebrities does truly contain within himself, namely, piety, holiness, natural philosophy, meteorology, moral philosophy, political knowledge, economy, royal power, legislative wisdom, and innumerable other faculties; and in every one of them he will be seen to wear one and the same appearance.

23 But now that we have discussed the four different classes of children, we must beware not to overlook this, which may be the most excellent proof of this partition and division of the chapter; for when a child is elated and puffed up by folly, his parents accuse him in this manner, saying, "This is our Son," [Deuteronomy 21:19.] pointing to the disobedient and stiff-necked youth; for by the demonstration "this," they show that they have other sons likewise, some of whom obey one of them, and others of whom obey them both, being well-disposed reasonings, of whom Reuben is an example; others again, who are fond of hearing and learning, of whom Simeon is a specimen, for his name, being interpreted, means "hearing;" others, people who fly to and become suppliants of God, this is the company of the Levites; others singing a song of gratitude, not so much with a loud voice as with the mind, of whom Judah is the leaders; others, who have been thought worthy of rewards and presents, on account of their voluntary acquisition of virtue through labour, like Issachar; others, persons who have abandoned the Chaldaean meteorological speculations, and passed over to the contemplation of the uncreate God, like Abraham; some, who have attained to self-taught and spontaneous virtue, like Isaac; some, full of wisdom and strength, and beloved by God, like the most perfect Moses.

24 Very naturally, therefore, the sacred law commands the disobedient and contentious man--who brings contributions of evil, that is to say, who joins together and heaps up sin upon sin, great crimes on little ones, fresh guilt upon ancient, intentional upon involuntary misdeeds; and who, like a person inflamed by wine, is always intoxicated and drunk, and raging with ceaseless and unrestrained drunkenness, during the whole of his life--to be stoned; because he has drunk of the unmixed and abundant cup of folly, and because he has destroyed the injunctions of right reason, his father, and the legitimate expositions of his mother's instruction. And though he had an example of excellence and virtue in his brothers, who were approved of by his parents, he did not imitate their virtue, but, on the contrary, he thought fit to go to an additional length in his transgressions, so as to make a god of the body, and to make a god of Typhus, who is especially honoured among the Egyptians, the emblem of whom was the figure of a golden bull; around which his mad worshippers establish dances, and sing, and prelude, not with such melodies as are redolent of wine and revelry, like the sweet songs sung at feasts and entertainments, but a really melancholy and mournful lamentation, like men intoxicated, who have relaxed and quite destroyed the tone and energy of the soul. For it is said, that when Joshua heard the people crying out he said to Moses, "There is the sound of war in the camp. And he said, It is not the voice of man beginning to exert themselves in battle, nor is it the voice of men betaking themselves to flight, but it is the voice of men beginning revelry and drunkenness that I hear: and when he came near to the camp he saw the calf and the Dances." [Exodus 32:17.] And the enigmatical meaning, which is concealed under these figurative expressions, we will explain to the best of our ability.

25 Our own affairs are at one time in a state of tranquility, and at another they behave as it were with unseasonable impetuosity and loud cries; and their tranquility is profound peace, and their condition, when in an opposite state, is interminable war; and the witness to this fact is one who has experienced its truth, and who cannot lie; for having heard the voice of the people crying out, he says to the manager and superintendent of the affairs, "There is a sound of war in the tent;" for as long as the irrational impulses were not stirred up, and had not raised any outcry in us, our minds were established with some firmness; but when they began to fill the place of the soul with all sorts of voices and sounds, calling together and awakening the passions, they created a civil sedition and war in the camp. Very naturally, for where else should there be strife, and battle, and contention, and all the other deeds of interminable war, except in the life according to the body, which he, speaking allegorically, calls the camp? This life the mind is accustomed to leave, when under the influence of God it approaches the living God, contemplating the incorporeal appearances; "for Moses," says the scripture, "having taken his own tent, fixed it outside the camp," and that too not near it, but a long way off, and at a great distance from the camp. And by these statements he tells us, figuratively, that the wise man is but a sojourner, and a person who leaves war and goes over to peace, and who passes from the mortal and disturbed camp to the undisturbed and peaceful and divine life of rational and happy souls.

26 And he says in another passage that, "When I have gone out of the city I will stretch forth my hands unto the Lord, and the voices shall Cease." [Exodus 9:29.] Think not here that he who is speaking is a man, a contexture, or composition, or combination of soul and body, or whatever else you may choose to call this concrete animal; but rather the purest and most unalloyed mind, which, while contained in the city of the body and of mortal life is cramped and confined, and like a man who is bound in prison confesses plainly that he is unable to relish the free air. But as soon as it has escaped from this city, then being released, as to its thoughts and imaginations, as prisoners are loosened as to their hands and feet, it will put forth its energies in their free, and emancipated, and unrestrained strength, so that the commands of the passions will be at once put an end to. Are not the outcries of pleasure very loud with which she is accustomed to deliver such commands as please her? And is not the voice of appetite unwearied when she pours forth her bitter threats against those who do not serve her? And so again all the other passions have a voice of loud and varied sound. But even, if each one of the passions were to exert the ten thousand mouths and voices, and all the power of making an uproar spoken of by poets, it would not be able to perplex the ears of the perfect man, after he has already passed from them, and determined no longer to dwell in the same city with them.

27 But the sacred Scriptures agree with the man who can speak from experience, when he says that in the camp of the body all the sounds of war were heard, the tranquility dear to peace having been driven to a distance. For he does not say

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that it is not such a shout of war, but that it is not such a shout as some persons think the cry of men who have conquered or who have been conquered to be, but rather such an one as would proceed from men heavy and overwhelmed with wine. For the expression, "It is not the voice of men beginning to exert themselves in battle," is equivalent to the words, "of men who have got the better in war," for exertion in battle is the cause of victory. Thus he represents the wise Abraham, after the destruction of the nine kings, that is, of the four passions and the five powers of the outward senses, which were all set in motion in a manner contrary to nature, preluding with a hymn of gratitude, and saying, "I will stretch forth my hand to the most high God, who made heaven and earth; that I will not take from a thread even to a shoelatchet of any thing that is Thine," [Genesis 14:22.] And he means, as it appears to me, by this expression, everything in the world, the heaven, the earth, the water, the air, and all animals, and all plants. For to every one of them, he who directs all the energies of his soul towards God, and who looks to him alone as the only source form which he can hope for advantage, may fitly say--I will take nothing that is yours; I will not receive from the sun the light of day, nor by night will I receive light from the moon or from the other stars, nor rain from the air and from the clouds, nor meat and drink from the earth and from the water, nor the power of sight from the eyes, nor the faculty of hearing from the ears, nor that of smelling from the nostrils, nor from the palate in the mouth the sense of taste, nor the faculty of speaking from the tongue, nor the power of giving and taking from the hands, nor that of approaching and of retreating from the feet, nor that of breathing from the lungs, nor that of digesting from the liver, nor from the other internal organs of the body the power of exciting the energies which belong to them, nor the yearly produce from trees and seeds; but I will look upon every thing as proceeding from the only wise God, who extends his own beneficial powers in every direction, and who by their agency benefits me.

28 He then who can thus look upon the living God, and who thus comprehends the nature of the cause of all things, honours the things of which he is the cause in a secondary degree to himself; while at the same time he confesses their importance though without flattering them. And this confession is most just: I will receive nothing from you, but everything from God, to whom all things belong, though perhaps the benefits may be bestowed through the medium of you; for ye are instruments to minister to his everlasting graces. But man, who is devoid of any consideration, who is blinded as to his mind, by which alone the living God is comprehensible, does, by means of that mind, never see anything anywhere, but sees all the bodies which are in the world by his own outward senses, which he looks upon as the causes of all things which exist. On which account, beginning to make gods for himself, he has filled the world with images and statues, and innumerable other representations, made out of all kinds of different materials, fashioned by painters and statuaries, whom the lawgiver banished to a distance form his state, proposing both publicly and privately great rewards and surpassing honours to them, by which conduct he has brought about a contrary result to that which he intended, namely, impiety instead of religion. For the worship of many gods in the souls of ignorant people is mere impiety; and they who deify mortal things neglect the honour due to God; who are not content with making images of the sun and of the moon to the extent of their inclination, and of all the earth, and of all the water, but they even gave beasts and plants devoid of reason a share in those honours, which belonged of right only to immortal beings. And he, reproving them, began a song of victory as has here been shown.

29 And Moses indeed, in the same manner, when he saw the king of Egypt,[Exodus 14:7.] that arrogant man with his six hundred chariots, that is to say, with the six carefully arranged motions of the organic body, and with the governors who were appointed to manage them, who, while none of all created things are by nature calculated to stand still, think nevertheless that they may look upon everything as solidly settled and admitting of no alteration; when he, I say, saw that this king had met with the punishment due to his impiety, and that the people, who were practicers of virtue, had escaped from the attacks of their enemies, and had been saved by mighty power beyond their expectation, he then sang a hymn to God as a just and true judge, beginning a hymn in a manner most becoming and most exactly suited to the events that had happened, because the horse and his rider he had thrown into the Sea;" [Exodus 15:4.] having utterly destroyed that mind which rode upon the irrational impulses of that four-footed and restive animal, passion, and had become an ally, and defender, and protector of the seeing soul, so as to bestow upon it complete safety. And the same prophet begins a song to the well, not only for the destruction of the passions, but also because he has had strength given to him to acquire the most valuable of all possessions, namely incomparable wisdom, which he compares to a well; for it is deep, and not superficial, giving forth a sweet stream to souls who thirst for goodness and virtue, a drink at once most necessary and most sweet. But it is not entrusted to any person who is not initiated in wisdom to dig this well, but only to kings, on which account it is said, "Kings hewed it out of Stone." [Numbers 21:18.] For it is the office of mighty rulers to investigate and to establish wisdom, not meaning those who with their arms have subdued sea and land, but those who with the powers of the soul have fought against and subdued its diversified, and mingled, and confused multitude.

30 Now the pupils and followers of these persons are those who say, "Thy sons have taken the sum of the men of war who are under our charge, and there is not one of them who has refused, but each man has brought his gift to the Lord of that which he has Found." [Numbers 31:49.] For these men are likely again to prelude with a song of triumph, being eager to attain to perfect and dominant powers. For they say that the man who has taken the sum of the whole, has also taken the greatest number of the reasons of courage, which are by nature inclined to war, being arrayed in opposition to two squadrons, one of which is led by cowardice, which is difficult to overtake, and the other by frantic temerity and rashness; and neither of them has any share in sound wisdom. And it is very admirably said that no one refused, by way of intimating a participation in perfect and complete courage; just as the lyre and any other musical instrument is out of tune, if there is one single discordant note in it; but is in tune when the strings are all harmonious and pour forth the same symphony at one touch. In the same manner also, the instrument of the soul is out of tune when it is either strained by rashness and urged on to a degree of exceeding sharpness, or relaxed by cowardice in an immoderate degree, so as to be let down and become very flat. But it is in tune when all the tones of courage and of every virtue are well united and combined together, and so produce one well-arranged melody. And it is a great proof of good tune and of skilful management to bring his due gift to God; and this is to honour the living God in a becoming manner, by means of confessing most distinctly that this whole universe is his gift to us; for he says in, strictest accordance with natural truth, "the man has brought the gift which he found." But every one of us, the moment that he is born, finds the great gift of God, namely the universal world, which he has given to him, and to the most excellent parts of Him. [this passage is certainly corrupt. Markland thinks that some words at least have been lost.]

31 There are also particular gifts which it is suitable both to God to give, and to men to receive. And these must be the virtues and the energies in accordance with them, at the discovery of which, being almost without any connexion with time, by reason of the surpassing rapidity of the giver which he is accustomed to exhibit in his gifts, every one is full of admiration, even those to whom nothing else in the world appears great. On which account also, the question is put, "How didst thou find it so quickly, O my Son?" [Genesis 27:20.] the questioner marveling at the promptness of the virtuous disposition; and he who has received the benefit answers felicitously, "Because the Lord God gave it to me." For the gifts and explanations of men are slow, but those of God are most rapid, outstripping the motion of even the most speedy time. 2Therefore those who by their strength and courage have become chiefs and leaders of the chorus which raises the song of triumph and of gratitude, are those who have been already mentioned; but those who, by reason of having been put to flight, and of their weakness, are companions of the song of lamentation which is raised on occasion of defeat, are men whom one ought to look upon as cowards, rather than to pity; like those who have a body labouring under some natural defect, to whom any ordinary occasion of sickness is a great hindrance to their cure. But some persons have succumbed contrary to their inclinations, not because the energies of their souls are more effeminate, but because they have been overwhelmed by the more vigorous strength of their adversaries; and imitating those who are willing slaves, they have voluntarily cast themselves down before either masters, though they were freemen by birth; on which account being unable to be sold they have, which is the most incredible of all things, bought masters for themselves and so become slaves, doing the very same thing with those who are insatiably eager for drunkenness with wine; 2for they also of their own free will and without any compulsion, drink unmixed wine, so that of their own accord they eradicate sobriety from their souls, and choose folly; for, says the scripture, "I hear the voice of those who are beginning revelry and drunkenness;" that is to say, of men who are exhibiting a madness which is not involuntary, but who injure themselves with a voluntary and deliberate frenzy.

32 And every one who comes near the camp sees the calf and the dances, and he himself also is soon infected. For we fall in with Typhus and the revellers of Typhus, whenever we deliberately purpose to come near to the camp of the body; since those who are fond of contemplation and are eager to see incorporeal objects, as being persons who practice obstinacy from pride, are accustomed to dwell at a distance from the body. Do then therefore pray to God never to begin revelry or drunkenness, that is to say, never intentionally to set forth in the road which leads to ignorance and folly; for unintentional errors are as light again as deliberate sins, inasmuch as they are not weighed down by the irresistible conviction of conscience. And when your prayers have been accomplished, you will no longer be able to remain in ignorance or out of office, but you will acquire the most important of all offices, namely, the priesthood. For it is almost the only occupation of the priests and ministers of God to offer abstemious sacrifices, abstaining in the firmness of their minds from wine and from every other cause of folly. For, says the scripture, "The Lord spoke unto Aaron, saying, Wine and strong drink shall thou not drink, neither thou nor thy sons after thee, when ye come into the tabernacle of the testimony, or when ye approach the altar of sacrifice, so that ye may not die. This shall be an everlasting law for all your generations to distinguish between what is sacred and what is profane, and between what is pure and what is Impure." [Leviticus 10:8.] But Aaron is the priest, and the interpretation of his name is "mountainous;" reasoning occupying itself with sublime and lofty objects, not on account of the superabundant excess of the arrogance of empty pride, but by reason of the magnitude of its virtue, which, elevating the thoughts beyond even heaven, suffers it not to contemplate anything that is lowly. And no one who is disposed in this manner will ever voluntarily touch unmixed wine or any other medicine of folly, for it is inevitable that he must either make one in the solemn procession and enter the tabernacle, being about to Perform [there is some corruption in the Greek text here.] the rites which may not be seen, or else, that approaching the altar he must offer sacrifices of gratitude for all the public and private blessings which have been showered upon him; and these things require sobriety and great presence of mind.

33 Therefore, any one may here rightly admire the expressions in which the command is conveyed. For how can it be anything but admirable for people, while sober and masters of themselves, to apply themselves to prayers and to the offering of sacrifices? just as on the other hand it is ridiculous for men to do so when relaxed both in body and soul by wine; unless indeed as often as servants, and sons, and subjects, are about to approach masters, and parents, and sovereigns, they take care to be sober in order not to offend in either word or deed, lest if they in any respect act as if contemptuous of their rank, they should be punished, or to speak in the most moderate manner, should at least suffer ridicule; and yet any one when about to become the minister of the Ruler and father of the universe, is not then to show himself superior to meat, and drink, and sleep, and all the vulgar necessities of nature, but is to turn aside to luxury and effeminacy, and imitate the life of the intemperate, had having his eyes weighed down with wine, and his head shaking, and bending his neck to one side, and belching from intemperance, and being weak and tottering in his whole body, is in that condition to approach the sacred purifications, and altars, and sacrifices. No: such a man may not without impiety even behold the sacred flame at a distance. 3But, if indeed one is to understand these things as said not of the tabernacle or altar of sacrifice which are visible, and which are made of inanimate and perishable materials, but of those objects of speculation which are invisible and perceptible only by the intellect, of which these other things are only the images perceptible by the outwards senses; he will all the more marvel at the explanation. 3For since the Creator has in every instance made one thing a model and another a copy of that model, he has made the archetypal pattern of virtue for the seal, and then he has on this stamped an impression from it very closely resembling the stamp. Therefore, the archetypal seal is the incorporeal idea being a thing as to its intrinsic nature an object of the outward senses, but yet not actually coming within the sphere of their operations. Just as if there is a piece of wood floating in the deepest part of the Atlantic sea, a person may say that the nature of wood is to be burned, but that that particular piece never will be burnt because of the way in which it is saturated with salt water.

34 Let us then look upon the tabernacle and the altar as ideas, the one being the idea of incorporeal virtue, and the other as the emblem of an image of it, which is perceptible by the outward senses. Now it is easy to see the altar and the things which are on it, for they have all their preparations out of doors, and are consumed by unquenchable fire, so as to shine not by day alone, but also by night; 3but the tabernacle and all things that are therein are invisible, not only because these are placed in the innermost recesses and in the most holy shrines, but also because God has affixed according to the injunctions of the law, the inevitable punishment of death, not only to any one who touches them, but to any one who through the superfluous curiosity of his eyes beholds them. The only exception is, if any one is perfect and faultless, unpolluted by any error whether it be great or small, having a nature entirely even and full, and in all respects most perfect; for to such a man it is permitted once in each year to enter in and behold what is invisible to others, since in him alone of all men the winged and heavenly love of incorruptible and incorporeal good things abides. 3When, therefore, any one being smitten by the idea is influenced by the seal which gives an impression of the particular virtues, perceiving, and

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comprehending, and admiring the most God-like beauty of that idea which he is approaching, as having received the impression of that seal, then a forgetfulness of ignorance and folly is at once engendered in him, accompanied by a simultaneous recollection of instruction and learning. On which account the scripture says, "Wine and strong drink thou shall not drink, neither thou nor thy sons after thee," when ye enter into the tabernacle of the testimony or approach the altar of sacrifice; and he goes through all these details not more by way of prohibition than of explaining his intention. In truth, for one who was issuing prohibitions, it was appropriate to say, Drink not wine when you are performing sacrifice; but for one who is declaring his opinion, it is more suitable to say, Ye shall not drink. For it is impossible for a man to admit ignorance, which is the cause of intoxication and of ignorance of the soul, if he be one who studies the generic and specific virtues and devotes himself to the pursuit of them. And he very often speaks of the tabernacle of testimony, in truth, inasmuch as God is the witness of virtue, to whom it is honourable and expedient to attend, or inasmuch as it is virtue which implants steadiness in our souls, eradicating ambiguous, and doubtful, and hesitating, and vacillating reasonings out of them by force, and revealing truth in life as in a court of justice.

35 And the scripture says that, "he shall not die who offers abstemious sacrifices;" since ignorance brings death, and education and instruction bring immortality. For as in our own bodies disease is the cause of dissolution, and health of preservation; so in the same manner in our souls also, that which saves is prudence, for this is a kind of good health of the mind; and that which destroys is folly, which inflicts an incurable disease. 4And he expressly declares his opinion, and pronounces this last to be an everlasting Evil. [Leviticus 10:9.] For he considers that there is an undying law set up and established in the nature of the universe embracing these principles, that instruction is a salutary and saving thing, but that ignorance is the cause of disease and destruction. 4He also besides delivers this further statement, that the laws which are established in accordance with truth are at once everlasting; since right reason, which is law, is not perishable. For also, on the other hand, the contrary thing, namely lawlessness, is a thing of brief existence, and by its own intrinsic nature easily destructible, as it is confessed to be by all persons of sound sense. And it is an especial property of law and of instruction to distinguish what is profane from what is holy, and what is unclean from what is clean; as, on the other hand, it is the effect of lawlessness and ignorance to combine things that are at variance with one another by force, and to throw everything into disorder and confusion.

36 On this account the greatest of the kings and prophets, Samuel, as the sacred scriptures tell us, drank no wine or intoxicating liquors to the day of his death;[1Samuel 1:14.] for he is enrolled among the ranks of the divine army which he will never leave in consequence of the prudence of the wise captain. But Samuel was perhaps in reality a man, but he is looked upon not as a compound animal, but as mind rejoicing only in the service and ministrations of God. For the name Samuel, being interpreted, means "appointed to God;" because he looked upon all such actions as are done in accordance with vain and empty opinions to be shameful irregularity. He was born of a human mother, whose name when interpreted means "grace." For without divine grace it is impossible either to abandon the ranks of mortal things, or to remain steadily and constantly with those which are imperishable. But whatever soul is filled with grace is at once in a state of exultation, and delight, and dancing; for it becomes full of triumph, so that it would appear to many of the uninitiated to be intoxicated, and agitated, and to be beside itself. On which account it was said to it by a young boy, and that not by one only but by every one who was old enough for juvenile sauciness and for a readiness to mock at what is good, "How long will you be drunk? Put an end to your wine-bibbing." For in the case of those who are under the influence of divine inspiration, not only is the soul accustomed to be excited, and as it were to become frenzied, but also the body is accustomed to become reddish and of a fiery complexion, the joy which is internally diffused and which is exulting, secretly spreading its affections even to the exterior parts, by which many foolish people are deceived, and have fancied that sober persons were intoxicated. 4And yet indeed those sober people are in a manner intoxicated, having drunk deep of all good things, and having received pledges from perfect virtue. But those are intoxicated with that drunkenness which proceeds form wine, who pass their whole lives without ever having tasted wisdom, though they have a continued hunger and desire for it. Very naturally therefore is answer made to the man who acts with the impetuosity of youth, and thinks to produce laughter at the venerable and austere mode of life of prudence, "My good man I am a hard woman, a severe day, and I drink no wine or strong drink, and I pour out my soul before the Lord." Very great is the freedom of speech of that soul which is filled with the graces of God. 5In the first place it calls itself a severe day, having regard to the boy who is mocking it; for by him and by every fool the road which leads to virtue is looked upon as rough and difficult to travel and most painful, as one of the old poets testifies, saying:--

Vice one may take in troops with ease,
But in fair virtue's front
Immortal God has stationed toil,
And care, and sweat, to bar the road.
Long is the road and steep,
And rough at first, which leads the steps
Or mortal men thereto;
But when you reach the height, the path
Is easy which before was hard,
And swift the onward course.

37 After this the soul goes on to deny that it drinks wine or strong drink, boasting in its being continually sober throughout the whole of its life. For to have the reasoning powers really free, and unfettered, and pure, and intoxicated by no passion, was really a very important and admirable thing. 5And from this it results that the mind which is filled with unmixed sobriety is of itself a complete and entire libation, and is offered as such to and consecrated to God. For what is the meaning of the expression, "I will pour out my soul before the Lord," but "I will consecrate it entirely to him?" Having broken all the chains by which it was formerly bound, which all the empty anxieties of mortal life fastened around it, and having led it forth and emancipated it from them, he has stretched, and extended, and diffused it to such a degree that it reaches even the extreme boundaries of the universe, and is borne onwards to the beautiful and glorious sight of the uncreate God. 5Therefore this company is one of sober persons who have made instruction their guide; but the former one is a company of drunkards, whose leader is ignorance.

38But since intoxication does not only display folly, which is the child of ignorance, but also utter insensibility; and since, again, wine is the cause of that insensibility which affects the body, while the cause of the insensibility of the soul is the ignorance of those things with which it is proper and natural to be acquainted; we must now say a few words about ignorance, reminding the reader of only the most important particulars relating to it. 5To which, then, of the passions which affect the body shall we compare that passion in the soul which is called ignorance? To the deprivation of the organs of the external senses? Therefore all those, who have been injured in their eyes or ears, are no longer able to see or hear at all, but have no acquaintance with day or light, which are the only objects for the sake of which, if we are to tell the plain truth, life is really desirable, but dwell in lasting darkness and everlasting night, being made insensible to everything whether of small or great importance; men whom ordinary conversation naturally is accustomed to call infirm. For even if all the other faculties of the rest of the body, should attain to the very extreme limit of strength and vigor, still, if they are tripped up, as it were, and deprived of their foundation by the deprivation of the eyes and ears, they will meet with a great fall, so as never again to be able to rise; for the things which support man and keep him erect are in name, indeed, the feet, but in reality the powers of hearing and seeing; and the man who possesses them in their complete integrity is awake and stands upright, but he who is deprived of them falls and will be utterly destroyed. And ignorance does produce completely similar effects on the soul, depriving it of its faculties of seeing and of hearing, and allowing neither light nor reason to enter into it, lest the one should instruct it and the other should exhibit the truth to it. But shedding upon it dense darkness and abundant folly, it renders the most beautiful soul a deaf, and dumb, and lifeless stone.

39 For knowledge, which is the opposite of ignorance, may be called, in a manner, the eyes and ears of the soul; for it applies the mind to what is said, and fixes its eyes upon things as they exist, and cannot endure to form a false judgement of anything which it either sees or hears. But it examines and carefully surveys every object which is worthy of being seen or heard, and even if it be necessary to sail or to travel over sea and land, it will traverse them to its furthest boundaries that it may see anything more important, or hear anything more modern; for the love of knowledge admits of no hesitation or delay, it is an enemy to sleep and a friend to waking. Therefore, continually rousing up, and awakening, and sharpening the intellect, it compels it to roam about in every direction, where instruction is to be obtained, inspiring it with an avidity for hearing, and infusing into it an insatiable thirst for learning. 6Therefore knowledge causes hearing and seeing, by means of which faculties success and rectitude of conduct are arrived at; for he who sees and hears, knowing what is expedient, chooses that, and rejecting the contrary is benefited by his knowledge. But ignorance causes to the soul a mutilation more grievous than the mutilation of the body, and is the cause of many errors, since it is unable to derive any assistance from without, either by foreseeing anything, or by any acuteness of hearing. Therefore, owing to its exceeding desolateness of condition, it is left utterly undefended and unprotected, and is exposed to the plots of all kinds of men and to dangers from all kinds of events. 6Let us, then, never drink unmixed wine in such quantities as to cause insensibility to our outward senses, nor let us alienate ourselves to such a degree from knowledge as to diffuse ignorance, that vast and dense darkness, over our souls.

40 But there are two kinds of ignorance, one simple, being complete insensibility; and the other of a twofold nature, when a man is not only enveloped in ignorance, but also thinks that he knows what he never has known, being elated with an ungrounded opinion of his knowledge. The former evil is the lighter one, for it is the cause of lighter offences, and of what we may perhaps call involuntary errors; but the second is of more importance, for it is the parent of great evils, and not only of unintentional but also of deliberate offences. These are the offences of which Lot, the father of daughters, appears to me to be especially guilty, not being able to nourish a masculine and perfect plant in his soul; for he had two daughters by his wife, who was afterwards turned to stone, whom, using an appropriate appellation, one may call habit, a nature at variance with truth, and always, whenever any one tries to lead it on, lagging behind and looking round upon its ancient and customary ways, and remaining in the midst of them like a lifeless pillar. 6Of these daughters of his the elder may be called Counsel, and the younger may be named Assent, for assent follows upon taking counsel; but no one after he has assented still takes counsel. Accordingly the mind, when it has taken its seat in its council chamber, begins to put its daughters in motion; and with the elder one, namely, Counsel, it begins to consider and investigate everything; and with the younger one, Assent, it begins easily to assent to the circumstances that arise, and to embrace what is hostile as though it were friendly, if they only present ever so slight an attraction of pleasure from this source. 6But sober reasoning does not admit these things, but only that reasoning does so which is overcome with wine, and, as it were, drunk.

41 On which account it is said, "They made their father drink Wine," [Genesis 19:33.] That is to say, they brought complete insensibility on the mind, so that it fancied itself competent by its own abilities to judge what was expedient, and to assent to all sorts of apparent facts, as if they really had solid truth in them; human nature being by no means and under no circumstances competent either to ascertain the truth by consideration, or to choose real truth and advantage, or to reject what is false and the cause of injury; 6for the great darkness which is spread over all existing bodies and things does not permit one to see the real nature of each thing, but even if any one, under the influence of immoderate curiosity or of real love of learning, wishes to emerge from ignorance and to obtain a closer view, he, like people wholly deprived of sight, stumbling over what is before his feet, will fall, and so get behind hand before he can lay hold of anything; or else, snatching at something with his hands, he will make uncertain guesses, having only conjecture in the place of truth. For even if education, holding a torch to the mind, conducts it on his way, kindling its own peculiar light, it would still, with reference to the perception of existing things, do harm rather than good; for a slight light is naturally liable to be extinguished by dense darkness, and when the light is extinguished all power of seeing is useless. Accordingly we must, on these accounts, remind the man who gives himself airs by reason of his power of deliberating, or of wisely choosing one kind of objects and avoiding others, that if the same unalterable perceptions of the same things always occurred to us, it might perhaps be requisite to admire the two faculties of judging which are implanted in us by nature, namely, the outward senses and the intellect, as unerring and incorruptible, and never to doubt or hesitate about anything, but trusting in every first appearance to choose one kind of thing and to reject the contrary kind. 7But since we are found to be influenced in different manners by the same things at different times, we should have nothing positive to assert about anything, inasmuch as what appears has no settled or stationary existence, but is subject to various, and multiform, and ever-recurring changes.

42 For it follows of necessity, since the imagination is unstable, that the judgement formed by it must be unstable likewise; 7and there are many reasons for this. In the first place, the differences which exist in animals are not in one particular only, but are unspeakable in point of number, extending through every part, having reference both to their creation and to the way in which they are furnished with their different faculties, and to their way of being supported and their habits, and to the manner in which they choose and avoid different things, and to the energies and motions of the outward senses, and to the peculiar properties of the endless passions affecting both the soul and body. 7For without mentioning those animals which have the faculty of judgement, consider also some of those which are the objects of judgement, such as the chameleon and the polypus; for they say that the former of these animals changes his complexion so as to resemble the soils over which he is accustomed to creep, and that the other is like the rocks of the sea-shore to which it clings, nature herself, perhaps, being their Saviour, and endowing them with a quality to protect them from being

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caught, namely, with that of changing to all kinds of complexions, as a defense against evil. 7Again, have you never perceived the neck of the dove changing colour so as to assume a countless variety of hues in the rays of the sun? is it not by turns red, and purple and fiery coloured, and cinereous, and again pale, and ruddy, and every other variety of colour, the very names of which it is not easy to enumerate? 7They say indeed that among the Scythians, among that tribe which is called the Geloni, most marvelous things happen, rarely indeed, but nevertheless it does happen; namely that there is a beast seen which is called the tarandus, not much less than an ox in size, and exceedingly like a stag in the character of his face. The story goes that this animal continually changes his coat according to the place in which he is, or the trees which he is near, and that in short he always resembles whatever he is near, so that through the similarity of his colour he escapes the notice of those who fall in with him, and that it is owing to this, rather than to any vigor of body, that he is hard to catch. 7Now these facts and others which resemble them are visible proofs of our inability to comprehend everything.

43 In the next place, not only are there all these variations with respect to animals, but there are also innumerable changes and varieties in men, and great differences between one man and another. 7For not only do they form different opinions respecting the same things at different times, but different men also judge in different manners, some looking on things as pleasures, which others on the contrary regard as annoyances. For the things with which some persons are sometimes vexed, others delight in, and on the contrary the things, which some persons are eager to acquire and look upon as pleasant and suitable, those very same things others reject and drive to a distance as unsuitable and ill-omened. 7At all events I have before now often seen in the theatre, when I have been there, some persons influenced by a melody of those who were exhibiting on the stage, whether dramatists or musicians, as to be excited and to join in the music, uttering encomiums without intending it; and I have seen others at the same time so unmoved that you would think there was not the least difference between them and the inanimate seats on which they were sitting; and others again so disgusted that they have even gone away and quitted the spectacle, stopping their ears with their hands, lest some atom of a sound being left behind and still sounding in them should inflict annoyance on their morose and unpleasable souls. And yet why do I say this? Every single individual among us (which is the most surprising thing of all) is subject to infinite changes and variations both in body and soul, and sometimes chooses and sometimes rejects things which are subject to no changes themselves, but which by their intrinsic nature do always remain in the same condition. 7For the same fancies do not strike the same men when they are well and when they are ill, nor when they are awake and when they are asleep, nor when they are young and when they are old. And a man who is standing still often conceives different ideas from those which he entertains when he is in motion; and also when he is courageous, or when he is alarmed; again when he is grieved, or when he is delighted, and when he is in love, he feels differently from what he does when he is full of hatred. 8And why need I be prolix and deep dwelling on these points? For in short every motion of both body and soul, whether in accordance with nature or in opposition to nature, is the cause of a great variation and change respecting the appearances which present themselves to us; from which all sorts of inconsistent and opposite dreams arise to occupy our minds.

44 And that is not the least influential cause of the instability of one's perceptions which arises from the position of the objects, from their distance, and from the places by which they are each of them surrounded. 8Do we not see that the fishes in the sea, when they stretch out their fins and swim about, do always appear larger than their real natural size? And oars too, even though they are very straight, look as if they were broken when they are under water; and things at a great distance display false appearances to our eyes, and in this way do frequently deceive the mind. For at times inanimate objects have been imagined to be alive, and on the contrary living animals have been considered to be lifeless; sometimes again stationary things appear to be in motion, and things in motion appear to be standing still: even things which are approaching towards us do sometimes appear to be retreating from us, and things which are going away do on the other hand appear to be approaching. At times very short things seem to be exceedingly long, and things which have many angles appear to be circular. There is also an infinite number of other things of which a false impression is given though they are open to the sight, which however no man in his senses would subscribe to as certain.

45 What again are we to say of the quantities occurring in things compounded? For it is through the admixture of a greater or a lesser quantity that great injury or good is often done, as in many other instances, so most especially in the case of medicines compounded by medical science. 8For quantity in such compounds is measured by fixed limits and rules, and it is not safe either to stop short before one has reached them, nor to advance beyond them. For if too little be applied, it relaxes, and if too much, it strains the natural powers; and each extremity is mischievous, the one from its impotence being capable of producing any effect at all, and the other by reason of its exceeding strength being necessarily hurtful. Again it is very plain with reference to smoothness, and roughness, and thickness, and close compression, or on the other hand leanness and slackness, how very much influence all these differences have in respect of doing good or harm. 8Nor indeed is any one ignorant that scarcely anything whatever of existing things, if you consider it in itself and by itself, is accurately understood; but by comparing it with its opposite, then we arrive at a knowledge of its true nature. As for instance, we comprehend what is meant by little by placing it in juxta-position with what is great; we understand what dry is by comparing it with wet, cold by comparing it with heat, light by comparing it with heavy, black by contrasting it with white, weak by contrasting it with strong, and few by comparing it with many. In the same way also, in whatever is referred to virtue or to vice, 8what is advantageous is recognised by a comparison with what is injurious, what is beautiful by a comparison with what is unseemly, what is just and generally good, by placing it in juxta-position with what is unjust and bad. And, indeed, if any one considers everything that there is in the world, he will be able to arrive at a proper estimate of its character, by taking it in the same manner; for each separate thing is by itself incomprehensible, but by a comparison with another thing, is easy to understand it. 8Now, that which is unable to bear witness to itself, but which stands in need of the advocacy of something else, is not to be trusted or thought steady. So that in this way those men are convicted who say that they have no difficulty in assenting to or denying propositions about anything. 8And why need we wonder? For any one who advances far into matters, and who contemplates them in an unmixed state will know this, that nothing is ever presented to our view according to its real plain nature, but that everything has the most various possible mixtures and combinations.

46 Some one will say, We at once comprehend colours. How so? Do we not do so by means of the external things, air and light, and also by the moisture which exists in our eyes themselves? And in what way are sweet and bitter comprehended? Is it apart from the moisture in our mouths? And as to all the flavours which are in accordance with, or at variance with nature, are not they in the same case? What, again, are we to say of the smells arising from perfumes which are burnt? Do they exhibit plain unmixed simple natures, or rather qualities compounded of themselves and of the air, and sometimes also of the fire which consumes their bodies, and also of the faculty existing in our own nostrils? 9From all this we collect the inference that we have neither any proper comprehension of colours, not only of the combination which consists of the objects submitted to our view and of light; nor of smells, but only of the mixture which consists of that which flows from substances and the all-receiving air; nor of tastes, but only of the union which arises from the tasteable object presented to us, and the moist substance in our mouths.

47 Since, then, this is the state of affairs with respect to these matters, it is worth while to appreciate correctly the simplicity, or rashness, or impudence of those who pretend to be able with ease to form an opinion, so as to assent to or deny what is stated with respect to anything whatever. For if the simple faculties are wanting, but the mingled powers and those which are formed by contributions from many sources are within sight, and if it is impossible for those which are invisible to be seen, and if we are unable to comprehend separately the character of all the component parts which are united to make up each faculty, then what remains except that we must think it necessary to suspend our judgement? 9And then, too, do not those facts which are diffused over nearly the whole world, and which have caused both to Greeks and barbarians such erroneous judgements, exhort us not to be too ready in giving our credence to what is not seen? And what are these facts? Surely they are the instructions which we have received from our childhood, and our national customs and ancient laws, of which it is admitted that there is not a single one which is of equal force among all people; but it is notorious that they vary according to the different countries, and nations, and cities, aye, and even still more, in every village and private house, and even with respect to men, and women, and infant children, in almost every point. 9At all events, what are accounted disgraceful actions among us, are by others looked upon as honourable; what we think becoming, others call unseemly; what we pronounce just, others renounce as iniquitous; others think our holy actions impious, our lawful deeds lawless: and further, what we think praiseworthy, they find fault with; what we think worthy of all honour, is, in the eyes of others, deserving of punishment; and, in fact, they think most things to be of a contrary character to what we think. 9And why need I be prolix and dwell further on this subject, when I am called off by other more important points? If then, any one, leaving out of the question all other more remarkable subjects of speculation, were to choose to devote his time to an investigation of the subject here proposed, namely, to examine the education, and customs, and laws of every different nation, and country, and place, and city; of all subjects and rulers; of all men, whether renowned or inglorious, whether free or slaves, whether ignorant or endowed with knowledge, he would spend not one day or two, nor a month, nor even a year, but his whole life, even though he were to reach a great age, in the investigation; and he would nevertheless still leave a vast number of subjects unexamined, uninvestigated, and unmentioned, without perceiving it. 9Therefore, since there are some persons and things removed from other persons and things, not by a short distance only, but since they are utterly different, it then follows of necessity that the perceptions which occur to men of different things must also differ, and that their opinions must be at variance with one another.

48 And since this is the case, who is so foolish and ridiculous as to affirm positively that such and such a thing is just, or wise, or honourable, or expedient? For whatever this man defines as such, some one else, who from his childhood, has learnt a contrary lesson, will be sure to deny. 9But I am not surprised if a confused and mixed multitude, being the inglorious slave of customs and laws, however introduced and established, accustomed from its very cradle to obey them as if they were masters and tyrants, having their souls beaten and buffeted, as it were, and utterly unable to conceive any lofty or magnanimous thoughts, believes at once every tradition which is represented to it, and leaving its mind without any proper training, assents to and denies propositions without examination and without deliberation. But even if the multitude of those who are called philosophers, pretending that they are really seeking for certainty and accuracy in things, being divided into ranks and companies, come to discordant, and often even to diametrically opposite decisions, and that too, not about some one accidental matter, but about almost everything, whether great or small, with respect to which any discussion can arise. 9For when some persons affirm that the world is infinite, while others pronounce it to be confined within limits; or while some look upon the world as uncreated, and others assert that it is created; or when some persons look upon it as destitute of any ruler and superintendent, attributing to it a motion, deprived of reason, and proceeding on some independent internal impulse, while others think that there is a care of and providence, which looks over the whole and its parts of marvelous power and wisdom, God ruling and governing the whole, in a manner free from all stumbling, and full of protection. How is it possible for any one to affirm that the comprehension of such objects as are brought before them, is the same in all men? And again, the imaginations which are occupied with the consideration of what is good, are not they compelled to suspend their judgement rather than to agree? While some think that it is only what is good that is beautiful, and treasure that up in the soul, and others divide it into numbers of minute particles, and extend it as far as the body and external circumstances. These men affirm that such pieces of prosperity as are granted by fortune, are the body-guards of the body, namely strength and good health, and that the integrity and sound condition of the organs of the external senses, and all things of that kind, are the guards of that princess, the soul; for since the nature of good is divided according to three divisions, the third and outermost is the champion and defender of the second and yielding one, and the second in its turn is a great bulwark and protection to the first; and about these very things, and about the different ways of life, and about the ends to which all actions ought to be referred, and about ten thousand other things which logical, and moral, and natural philosophy comprehends, there have been an unspeakable number of discussions, as to which, up to the present time, there is no agreement whatever among all these philosophers who have examined into such subject.

49 Is it not then strictly in accordance with nature that while its two daughters, Counsel and Assent, were agreed together, and sleeping together, the mind is introduced as embarrassed by an ignorance of all knowledge? for we read in the scripture, "They knew not when they lay down, or when they rose Up." [Genesis 19:35.] For it was not likely that in his state he could clearly and distinctly comprehend either sleep or waking, or a stationary position or motion; but when he appears to have come to an opinion in the best manner, then above all other times is he found to be most foolish, since his affairs then come to an end, by no means resembling that which was expected; and whenever he has decided on assenting to some things as true, then he incurs a reproach and condemnation for his facility in adopting opinions, those things which he previously believed as most certain now appearing untrustworthy and uncertain; so that, as matters are in the habit of turning out contrary to what was expected, the safest course appears to be to suspend one's judgement.

50 Having now discussed these matters sufficiently, let us turn to what follows the points already examined. We said, then, that under the name of drunkenness was signified that covetousness and greediness, which has often greatly injured

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many persons, and the votaries of which one may see, even though they may be amply filled in all the channels of their bodies, still unsatisfied and empty as to their desires. 0These men, if, being distended by the abundance of the things which they have devoured, they nevertheless get breath again for a short time, like wrestlers who are tired, soon descend again to the same contest. Moreover, the king of the Egyptian country, that is of the body, appearing to the minister of drunkenness, his cupbearer, to be angry with him; again at no great distance of time is represented in the sacred scriptures as reconciled to him remembering that passion which breaks down the appetites in the day of his perishable creation, not in the imperishable light of the uncreated luminary; for it is said that it was Pharaoh's birthday,[Genesis 40:20.] when he sent for the chief butler out of his prison, that he might appear at his banquet; for it is a peculiar characteristic of the man who is devoted to the passions, to think created and perishable things beautiful, because he is enveloped in night and dense darkness, as to the knowledge of imperishable things. On which account he embraces drunkenness as the beginning of all pleasures, and its minister the cupbearer.

51 Now there are three companions of and servants of the intemperate and incontinent soul, the chief baker, the chief cook, and the chief butler, whom the admirable Moses mentions in these words, "And Pharaoh was angry with the two eunuchs, with the chief butler, and with the chief baker, and he put them in prison with the chief cook;" and the chief cook is eunuch; for he says in another place, "And Joseph was brought down to Egypt, and a eunuch became his master, Pharaoh's chief Cook," [Genesis 39:1.] and again, they sold Joseph to Pharaoh's eunuch, the chief cook;[Genesis 37:36.] and why is it that the aforesaid offices are absolutely committed to one who is neither man nor woman? Is it because men are by nature calculated to sow seed, and woman to receive it, and that the meeting of the two together is the cause of the generation, and also of the duration of all animals? But it belongs to an unproductive and barren soil, or one may rather say to one which has been made a eunuch, to delight in costly meats and drinks, and in superfluous extravagant preparations of delicacies, since it is unable to reality either to scatter the masculine seeds of virtue, or to receive and nourish them after they have been shed upon it; but, like a rough and stony field, only to destroy those things which ought to have lived for ever. And it is laid down as a doctrine of the most general applicability and usefulness, that every author of pleasure is unproductive of wisdom, being neither male nor female, because it is incompetent either to give or to receive the seeds which have a tendency to incorruptibility, but is able only to study the most disgraceful habits of life, to destroy what ought to be indestructible, and to extinguish the torches of wisdom, which ought to be enduring and inextinguishable. None of such persons does Moses permit to come into the assembly of God; for he says that, "A man who is bruised or castrated shall not enter into the assembly of the Lord." [Deuteronomy 23:1.]

52 For what advantage is there, from the hearing of the sacred scriptures, to a man who is destitute of wisdom, whose faith has been eradicated, and who is unable to preserve that deposit of doctrines most advantageous to all human life? Now, there are three persons who contribute to the conviviality of the human race, --the chief baker, the cup-bearer, and the maker of delicacies: very naturally, since we desire the use and enjoyment of three things--meat, confections, and drink. But some men only desire that indispensable food which we use of necessity for the sake of our health, and in order to avoid living in an illiberal manner. Others again desire immoderate and exceedingly extravagant luxuries, which, breaking through the appetites, and weighing down, and overwhelming the channels of the body by their number, usually become the parents of all sorts of terrible diseases. Those, therefore, who are inexperienced in

pleasure and the indulgence of the appetites and diseases, like the common people in cities, living a life free alike from hatred and from annoyances, as frugal people, have no need of all kinds of various ministers of refined skill, being contented with ordinary cooks, and cup-bearers, and confectioners. But they who think that the most important and royal object of life is to live pleasantly, and who refer everything, whether of great or small importance, to this object, desire to avail themselves of the services of chief cooks and chief cupbearers, and chief confectioners, that is to say, of men possessed of the highest degree of skill in the arts which they profess. For those who are skilful in the making of confections and luxuries invent the most various possible kinds of cheese-cakes, and honey cakes, and of innumerable other sweetmeats, varying from one another, not merely in the difference of their material, but also in the manner in which they are made, and in their shape, in such a way as not only to please the taste, but also to beguile the eye. And again, the contrivances displayed in the examination of different kinds of wine to produce some, the effect of which shall speedily go off, and which shall not produce headache, but, on the contrary, shall be devoid of any tendency to heat the blood, and shall be very fragrant, admitting either a copious or a scanty admixture with water, according as the object is to have a strong and powerful draught, or a gentle and imperceptible one. And all the other devices and inventions of cup-bearers all come to the same end of art. And to cook up and prepare fish, and birds, and similar viands, in every variety of manner, and to make all other kinds of sweetmeats and delicacies, we have plausible confectioners of exceeding skill; and there are thousands of other luxuries which they are clever at contriving, besides those which they have heard of or seen made by others, having devised them themselves out of their continued care and attention to be the object of making life luxurious, and effeminate, and not worth living.

53 But all these men have been now spoken of as eunuchs, being utterly barren of wisdom. But the mind, with which the king of the belly makes a treaty and agreement, was the cupbearer; for by its own nature, the human race is very fond of wine, and this is the sole thing of which it is immeasurably insatiable, since there is no one who is impossible to be satisfied with sleep, and eating, and carnal enjoyments, and things like these; but nearly every one is insatiably fond of wine, and especially those who are occupied with serious business; for after they have drunk they are still thirsty, and they begin drinking at first out of small cups, then, as they proceed, they tell their servants to bring them wine in larger goblets, and when they are pretty full and getting riotous, being no longer able to restrain themselves, they take bowls and goblets of all the largest sizes that they can get, and drink the wine unmixed in huge draughts, until they are either overcome by deep sleep, being no longer able to govern themselves, or till what they have poured into themselves is vomited out again through repletion. But even then, nevertheless, the insatiable desire which exists within them continues to rage as though it were still under the influence of hunger. "For their wine is of the vine of Sodom," as Moses says, "and their tenderils are from Gomorrah; their grapes are grapes of gall, and their branches are bitter branches. The rage of dragons is their wine, and the incurable fury of Serpents." [Deuteronomy 32:32.] The interpretation of the name Sodom is "barrenness and blindness." But Moses here compares those who are the slaves of greediness for wine and general gluttony, and of other most disgraceful pleasures to a vine, and to the different products of the vine; 2and the enigmatical meaning which he conceals under this allegory is this:--There is no plant of true joy naturally implanted in the soul of the bad man; inasmuch as it has no healthy roots, but only such as are burnt and reduced to ashes, since, instead of water, Heaven has poured upon it the fire of lightning which cannot be quenched, God having adjudged that as fitting punishment for the impious. But there is implanted in it the plant of excessive desire, barren of all good things, and destitute of anything deserving of regard or contemplation, which he here compares to a vine. Not meaning that one which is the parent of eatable fruit, but that one which produces bitterness, and wickedness, and ungodly cunning; and which is most fertile in anger, and fury, and the most savage dispositions; biting the soul like an asp or a viper, inflicting envenomed wounds, utterly incurable. 2For which wounds, however, we pray that a relief may be found by propitiating the all-merciful God, in order that he may destroy this wild vine, and may condemn the eunuchs and all persons who are barren of virtue to everlasting punishment; and that, instead of them he may implant in our souls the valuable trees of right instruction, and may bestow upon us noble and masculine reason as its fruit, such as is able to bear within it good actions by way of seed, and is able to increase the virtues, and is calculated to maintain and preserve for ever the entire connexion and system of happiness.

ON THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES

1 (As to the preceding topics, what has been already said will be sufficient. We might next proceed to consider, and that in no slight or cursory manner, the philosophical account which Moses gives us of the confusion of languages; for he speaks in the following manner: "And all the earth had one pronunciation, and there was one language among all men. And it came to pass, as they were moving from the east, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar , and dwelt there. And one man said to his neighbour, Come, let us make bricks, and let us burn them with fire; and they had bricks for stone, and asphalt for mortar. And they said, Come, let us build ourselves a city, and a tower whose head shall reach to heaven; and let us make for ourselves a name, before we are scattered over the face of all the earth. And the Lord came down to see the city, and the tower, which the sons of men had builded. And the Lord said, Behold, all mankind is one race, and there is but one language among them all; and they have begun to do this thing, and now there will not fail unto them anything of all the things which they desire to do. Come, let us go down and confuse their language there, so that each may not understand the voice of his neighbour. And the Lord scattered them from thence over the face of all the earth, and they desisted from building the city, and the tower. On this account, the name of it was called Confusion, because there the Lord confused the languages of all the earth, and from thence the Lord scattered them over the face of all the Earth." [Genesis 11:1.]

2 (Those who are discontented at the constitution under which their fathers have lived, being always eager to blame and to accuse the laws, being impious men, use these and similar instances as foundations for their impiety, saying, "Are ye even now speaking boastfully concerning your precepts, as if they contained the rules of truth itself? For, behold, the books which you call the sacred scriptures do also contain fables, at which you are accustomed to laugh, when you hear others relating to them." (And what is the use of devoting our leisure to collecting the fables interspersed in so many places throughout the history of the giving of the law, as if we had especial leisure for the consideration of calumnies, and as if it were not better to attend merely to what is under our hands and before us? (Certainly, this one fable resembles that which is composed about the Aloadae, who the greatest and most glorious of all poets, Homer, says, had in contemplation to heap the three loftiest mountains on one another, and to build them into one mass, hoping that by this means there would be a road for them, as they were desirous to mount up to heaven, and that by these mountains it would be easy for them to be raised to the height of the sky. And the verses of Homer on this subject are these:--

High on Olympus ' top they strove to raise
Gigantic Ossa; and on Ossa's heights
To place the leafy Pelion, that heaven
Might thus become accessible.

But Olympus and Ossa and Pelion are the names of mountains. (But instead of these mountains the lawgiver represents a tower as having been built by these men, who, out of ignorance and wicked ambition, were desirous to reach the heaven. Every alienation of mind, then, is grievous; for even if every portion of the whole earth could be built over, a slight foundation is being first laid, and then if a superstructure could be raised in the fashion of a single pillar, it would still be an enormous distance removed from the heavenly sphere, and above all would it be so according to the tenets of those curious philosophers who have affirmed that the earth is the centre of the universe.

3 (And there is also another story akin to this, related by the deviser of fables, concerning the sameness of language existing among animals: for they say that formerly, all the animals in the world, whether land animals, or aquatic ones, or winged ones, had but one language, and that, just as among men Greeks speak the same language as Greeks, and the present race of barbarians speaks the same language as barbarians, exactly in the same manner every animal was able to converse with every other animal with which it might meet, and with which it did anything, or from which it suffered anything, so that they sympathised with one another at their mutual misfortunes, and rejoiced whenever any of them met with any good fortune; (for they could impart their pleasures and their annoyances to one another by their sameness of language, so that they felt pleasure together and pain together; and this similarity of manners and union of feelings lasted, until being sated with the great abundance of good things which they enjoyed, as often happens, they were at last drawn on to a desire of what was unattainable, and even sent an embassy to treat for immortality, requesting to be released from old age, and to be always endowed with the vigor of youth, saying, that already one animal of their body, and that a reptile, the serpent, had received this gift; for he, having put off old age, was allowed again to grow young; and that it was absurd for the more important animals to be left behind by an inferior one, or for their whole body to be distanced by one. (However, they suffered the punishment suitable to their audacity, for they immediately were separated in their language, so that, from that time forth, they have not been able to understand one another, by reason of the difference in the dialects into which the one common language of them all had been divided.

4 (But he who brings his account nearer the truth, has distinguished between the rational and irrational animals, so that he testifies that identity of language belong to men alone: and this also, as they say, is a fabulous story. And indeed they affirm, that the separation of language into an infinite variety of dialects, which Moses calls the confusion of tongues, was effected as a remedy for sins, in order that men might not be able to cooperate in common for deeds of wickedness through understanding one another; and that they might not, when they were in a manner deprived of all means of communication with one another, be able with united energies to apply themselves to the same actions. But this precaution does not appear to have turned out of any use; for since that time, though men have been separated into different nations, and have no longer used one language, nevertheless, land and sea have been repeatedly filled with unspeakable evils. For it was not the languages which were the causes of men's uniting for evil objects, but the emulation and rivalry of their souls in wrong-doing. For even those who have had their tongues cut out can intimate what they wish by nods and looks, and other positions and motions of the body, not less than by a distinct utterance of words. And besides this consideration, there is

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the fact that, very often, one nation by itself, having not merely one language, but one code of laws, and one system of manners, has arrived at such a pitch of iniquity that, as to a superfluity of wickedness, it may counterbalance the sins of all the men in the world put together. And again, through ignorance of foreign languages, many persons, having no foreknowledge of the future, have been anticipated and overwhelmed by those who were plotting against them; as, on the other hand, by knowledge of foreign languages, men have been able to repel fears and dangers with which they have been threatened; so that a community of language is an advantageous thing rather than an injurious one: since, even at the present day, nothing contributes so greatly to the safety and protection of the people of each country, and particularly of the natives, as their being of one language. For if a man has learnt many dialects, he immediately is looked upon with consideration and respect by those who are also acquainted with them, as being already a friendly person, and contributing no small introduction and means of friendship by reason of his familiarity with words which they too understand; which familiarity very commonly imparts a feeling of security, that one is not likely to suffer any great evil at the hands of such a man. Why, then, did God remove sameness of language from among men as a cause of evils, when it seems it should rather have been established as a most useful thing?

5 Those, then, who put these things together, and cavil at them, and raise malicious objections, will be easily refuted separately by those who can produce ready solutions of all such questions as arise from the plain words of the law, arguing in a spirit far from contentious, and not encountering them by sophisms drawn from any other source, but following the connexion of natural consequences, which does not permit them to stumble, but which easily puts aside any impediments that arise, so that the course of their arguments proceeds without any interruption or mishap. We say then that by the expression, that "all the earth had but one pronunciation and one language," is intimated a symphony of great and unspeakable evils, which cities have inflicted upon cities, nations upon nations, and countries upon countries, and through which men not only wrong one another, but also behave with impiety towards God, and yet these things are the iniquities if many; but let us consider the ineffable multitude of evils which proceed from each individual man, and especially when he is under the influence of that ill-timed, and inharmonious, and unmusical agreement.

6 Now who is there who does not know the great influence of fortune, when men, in addition to the diseases or mutilations of the body, are attacked also by poverty and want of reputation? And again, when these things are further united to diseases of the soul, in consequence of moody melancholy, driving men beside themselves, or of extreme old age, or of any other severe calamity which presses upon them? For even one of these evils here mentioned by itself, when it opposes a man with violence, is sufficient to overthrow and to crush even one who is very proud and haughty; but when all these evils, to wit, the evils of the body, and the evils of the soul, and external misfortunes, all come together as one if in one regular battalion, moving by previous arrangement at the same time, so as to attack him in the body, what resolution is there which they will not overpower? For when the guards are slain, it follows of necessity that he who relies on his guards must fall. Now the guards of his body are wealth, glory, and honours, which set it up and raise it on high, and make it proud, just as the contrary things, dishonour, want of reputation, and poverty, throw it down like so many enemies. Again, the body-guards of the soul are hearing, and seeing, and smelling, and taste, and the whole band of the outward senses, and also health, and strength, and vigor, and energy. For the mind, when walking among the living and in the company of these things, as between wellfortified boundaries firmly standing and solidly established, triumphs and rejoices, meeting with no hindrance on any side to prevent it from exerting its own impulses, but having its road in every direction easy, and level, and open, and easy to be travelled. But the things which are set in opposition and hostility to these guards are mutilation of the organs of the outward senses, and disease, as I have said before, by which the mind is often precipitated into disaster; and these things are all the results of fortune, very grievous and intrinsically miserable, but still, if compared with those which are brought on ourselves by our own deliberate will, they are far lighter.

7 Let us now again in its turn consider what is the united body of evils voluntarily incurred. Our souls being capable of being divided into three divisions, one division is said to have fallen to the lot of the mind and of reason, the second to passion, and the third to appetite; and each separate one of these has its own peculiar evils, and also they have all common and mutual diseases. Since the mind reaps the harvest which folly, and cowardice, and intemperance, and injustice sow; and passion brings forth frantic and insane strife and conflict, and all the other numerous evils with which it is pregnant; and appetite disseminates in every direction the impetuous and fickle loves of youth which descend upon every object, animate or inanimate, which it chances to meet with. For then, as if in any vessel, the sailors, and the passengers, and the pilots, had all, under the influence of insanity, agreed to destroy it, those who have joined in the plot against it are none the less involved in the same destruction. For the heaviest of all evils, and almost the only one that is incurable, is the unanimous energy of all the parts of the soul agreeing to commit sin, not one of the parts being able to act with soundness (just as is the case in an evil affecting the whole people), so as to heal those that are sick; but even the physicians being diseased as well as their patients, whom the pestilential disease has overwhelmed and weighs down under a confessed calamity. Of this great evil, that great deluge described by the lawgiver is an image; for the torrents from heaven continually pouring down cataracts of wickedness itself with impetuous violence, and springs from the ground (by which I mean the body) continually bursting up and pouring forth streams of every passion in great numbers and vast size, which, uniting an being mingled in the same stream with the other waters, are thrown into confusion, and overthrow the whole region of the soul which has received them with incessant eddies and whirlpools. "For," says Moses, "the Lord God, seeing that the wickedness of men were multiplied upon the earth, and that every one did think continually in his heart nothing but evil all his days, determined to punish man" (and here by man I understand the mind, together with all the reptiles and the winged creatures, and all the rest of the multitude of wild animals which surround him), by reason of his incurable wickedness; and then punishment which God decided upon was the deluge. For there was unbounded freedom in sinning, and unlimited licence in doing wrong, no one hindering it, but all restraints being shamelessly broken down in such a way that there was no fear left behind to restrain those who were thoroughly ready to snatch at abundant supplies for enjoyment of every kind. And may we not say that this was natural? For it was not only one portion of the soul which was corrupted in such a way that it could still be preserved by the sound condition of the other parts; but there was no part whatever of it which was left free from disease or from corruption. For the incorruptible Judge, says Moses, seeing that every thought of man's heart (not one single idea by itself) was evil continually, inflicted upon him a deserved punishment.

8 These are they who "made a treaty with one another in the valley of Salt ." [Genesis 14:3.] For the region of the vices and of the passions is a hollow valley, rough, and full of ravines; truly salt, and producing bitter pains; and their treaty, as one that was not worthy of being confirmed by any oath or by any libation, the wise Abraham, who knew the character of it, annulled. For it is said in the scripture that, "All these men made a treaty at the valley of Salt , that is the sea of Salt ." Do you not perceive that they who are barren of wisdom and blinded as to the intellect which it would be natural to expect should be sharp-sighted, having the name of Sodomites from their real character," did, with all their people united together, from young to old, surround the house in a Circle" [Genesis 19:4.] (that is to say, the house of the soul), in order to pollute and contaminate those strangers from a foreign land, who had been received in hospitality, namely, sacred and holy reasons, the guards and defenders of the soul; no one whatever attempting either to resist those wrong doers, or to avoid doing wrong himself? For Moses does not speak of some as having consented and of others having stood aloof; but, as he says, "The whole people surrounded the house all together, both old and young," having entered into a conspiracy against all those holy actions and words which it is customary to call angels.

9 But Moses, the prophet of God, will meet them and check them, though they come on with exceeding boldness; even though, placing in the front him who is the boldest and the most forward and able speaker among them as their king, namely speech, they rush on with one impulse, hoping to increase their strength as they go on, and overflowing like a river; "For behold," says Moses, "the king of Egypt is coming to the water; but do thou go to meet him, and stand on the bank of the River." [Exodus 7:15.] Therefore the wicked man goes forth to the stream of iniquities and passions, and all collected evils, which are here likened to water; but the wise man first obtains from God, who always stands firm, an honour akin to his undeviating, and in all respects and under all circumstances, unchangeable power; for we read in the scripture, "But do thou stand here with me,[Deuteronomy 5:31.] that having laid aside doubt and vacillation, the dispositions of an infirm soul, he may put on that most steadfast and trustworthy disposition, faith. In the next place, even while standing still, he (which seems a most extraordinary thing) goes forward to meet him; for it is said to him, "Thou shall stand meeting him," and yet to go to meet is a part of motion, while to stand still is regarded as characteristic of tranquility. But the prophet does not here say things which are inconsistent, but rather such as are exceedingly in accordance with nature; for the man whose mind is naturally disposed to be tranquil, and is established undeviatingly, must necessarily be at variance with all those who delight in disorder and confusion, and who by artificial storms seek to disturb him who is capable of enjoying tranquility.

10 It is very appropriately said that the meeting took place on the bank of the river; but the banks are also called the lips, and the lips are the boundaries of the mouth, and are a sort of fence to the tongue, through which the stream of discourse is borne, when it begins to be uttered; but those who hate virtue and who love learning, use speech as their ally for the exposition of doctrines which are disapproved; and again, on the other hand, virtuous men employ it for the refutation of such doctrines, and for establishing the irresistible strength of the better and true wisdom. When then, after having had recourse to every expedient of contentious doctrines, men are destroyed, being overwhelmed by the opposing violence of contrary arguments, then the wise man will very justly and suitably establish a most sacred chorus, and melodiously sing a triumphal song; "For," says Moses, "Israel saw the Egyptians," not dead in any other place, but "on the bank (cheilos) of the River;" [Exodus 14:30.] meaning here by death, not the separation of the soul from the body, but the impetuous onset of unholy doctrines and assertions, which men utter by the mouth, and tongue, and the other organs of speech. But the death of speech is silence, not that silence which well-bred people cultivate, making it a symbol of modesty--for this silence is itself a faculty and a sister of that one which is developed in speech, arranging what is to be said with reference to time--but that silence which the sick and the weary against their will endure, on account of the strength of their antagonists, because they cannot find any handle to answer them; for whatever they touch slips away from them, and whatever thing they seek to take their stand on does not remain, so that they of necessity fall before they stand, like that hydrostatic machine called the helix; for in the middle of that engine there are some steps, which the husbandman when he desires to water his fields mounts up upon, but is rolled round of necessity; and in order to avoid falling he is continually catching at the nearest firm thing that he can lay his hands on, which he takes hold of and so supports his whole body; for instead of his hands he uses his feet, and instead of his feet he uses his hands; for he stands on his hands, by means of which, actions are usually done, and he acts with his feet on which it is natural to stand.

11 But many, who are not able vigorously to refute the plausible inventions of the sophists, because they have not very much practiced discussion by reason of their continued application to action, having taken refuge in the alliance of the only wise Being, and have besought him to become their defender. As one of the friends of Moses, when praying, says in his hymns, "Let the treacherous lips become Mute;" [Psalms 30:19.] and how can they become mute if they are not curbed by the only being who has speech itself as his subject? We must therefore flee, without ever turning back, from all associations entered into for the purposes of sin; but the alliance made with the companions of wisdom and knowledge must be confirmed. In reference to which I admire those who say, "We are all one man's sons, we are men of Peace," [Genesis 42:11.] because of their well-adapted agreement; since how, I should say, could you, O excellent men, avoid being grieved at war, and delighted in peace, being the sons of one and the same father, and he not mortal but immortal, the man of God, who being the reason of the everlasting God, is of necessity himself also immortal? For they who make out many beginnings of the origin of the soul, being devoted to the evil which is called polytheism, and turning each individual of them, to the honour of different beings, having caused great confusion and dissension both at home and abroad, from the beginning of their birth to the end of their life, filling life with irreconcilable quarrels; but they who rejoice in one kind alone, and who honour one as their father, namely right reason, admiring the wellarranged and all-musical harmony of the virtues, live a tranquil and peaceful life, not an inactive and ignoble one, as some persons think, but one of great manliness, and sharpened, and vigorous against those who endeavor to break the confederacy which they have formed, and who are always studying to bring about a violation of the oaths which have been taken; for it has come to pass that the men of peace have become men of war, sitting down to attack and to oppose them who seek to overturn the firmness of the soul.

12 And there is testimony in support of this assertion of mine; first of all, in the disposition of every lover of virtue which acknowledges these inclinations; and secondly, in that comrade of the band of the prophets, who being inspired with a sacred frenzy, spoke thus, "O my mother, how hast thou brought me forth, a man of war, and a man of disquietude to all the earth! I have not benefited them, and they have not benefited me; nor is my strength free from their Curses." [Jeremiah 15:10.] But is not every wise man of necessity an irreconcilable enemy to all wicked men, not indeed using the apparatus of triremes or warlike engines, or arms, or soldiers, for his defense, but reasons? For when he sees war stirred up in the midst of tranquil peace, so as to be continued and incessant among all men, both public and private, not existing

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only among nations and countries, and cities and villages, but also in every house, and between each particular individual; who is there who does not reproach and admonish and seek to correct the foolish men whom he sees, and not by day only, but also by night, his soul being unable to remain tranquil by reason of the hatred of wickedness implanted in his nature? For they do in peace every thing that is done in war; they plunder, they ravage, they drag into slavery, they carry off booty, they lay waste, they behave insolently, they assault, they destroy, they pollute, they murder treacherously, they murder openly if they are the more powerful; for every one of them, proposing to himself riches or glory as his object, aims all the actions of his life as so many arrows at it, and neglects equality, and pursues inequality, and repudiates associations, and labours to acquire to himself all the possessions together properly belonging to every one; he is a misanthrope and a hater of all his fellows, making a hypocritical pretence of benevolence, being a companion of a bastard kind of flattery, an enemy of genuine friendship, a foe to truth, a champion of falsehood, slow to do good, swift to do injury, very ready to calumniate, very slow to defend, clever at deceiving, most perjured, most faithless, a slave of anger, yielding to pleasure, a guardian of all that is evil, a destroyer of all that is good.

13 These and other similar gifts are the most desirable treasures of peace, that blessing so celebrated and so admired, which the mind of each individual among the foolish men sets up for itself as an image, and admires and worships; at whom, very naturally, every wise man is grieved, and is accustomed to say to his mother and nurse, wisdom, "O mother, what a person hast thou brought me forth!" not in strength of body but in energy and courage, a determined hater of wickedness, a man of disquietude and battle, by nature peaceful, and, on this very account, an enemy to those who pollute the desirable beauty of peace. "I have done no good to them, nor have they done any good to me;" nor have they even derived any advantage from my good things, nor have I from their evil things; but according to the word of Moses, "I have received no desirable thing from any of Them," [Numbers 16:15.] inasmuch as I look upon as exceedingly pernicious every object of their desire, which they treasure up in their hearts as the greatest possible advantage; "Nor has my strength failed by reason of the curses which they laid upon Me;" [psalm 79:7.] but embracing the divine doctrines with my most earnest power, I was not wearied so as to give up, but rather I vigorously reproached those who cursed me from their hearts. For God made us to be a contradiction to our neighbours, as is said in my hymns, meaning all of us who aim at right reason: but are not all those people naturally found of contradiction who have a zeal for knowledge and virtue, being always at variance with the neighbours of their soul, reproving the pleasures which live in union with them, and reproving the appetites which have the same abode, and looking morosely at acts of cowardice and fear, and the whole body of passions and vices? Reproving then every outward sense, the eyes for what they saw, and the ears for what they heard, and the sense of smell for the smells that presented themselves to it, the taste for the flavours which were subjected to it, and moreover the touch for its various powers developed in the body, with reference to the peculiarities which come under its notice; and even uttered speech for the matters which it may have chosen to discuss; for what the outward sense has perceived, or how it has done so, or why, or what speech has uttered, or how or why, or in what manner, and how and why passion has disposed men, it is worth while to investigate in no superficial manner, and to examine each of the errors into which they fall; but he who contradicts none of these things, but who assents to every one of them in succession, without being aware of it, is deceiving himself, and building up troublesome neighbours for his soul, which he had better have as subjects than as rulers; for as rulers they will do him manifold and great injury, since folly reigns among them; but as

subjects they will serve him obediently in suitable matters, and will not at all raise their heads in arrogance, as they will if they are rulers. Thus, indeed, while some are learning to be subjects, and others are obtaining authority, not by knowledge only but also by power, all the body-guards and champions of the soul, that is to say, its reasonings will keep them in order, and coming to that which is most important among them will say, "Thy children have taken the sum of the men that are warriors among us, and there is not one of them who has Disagreed;" [Numbers 31:49.] but like musical instruments, skilfully tuned in all their tones, so we sound in harmony in all our explanations, neither uttering any word nor doing any action which shall be unmelodious or discordant, that we may by the contrast show, that the other company of unlettered men is, in all respects, voiceless and dead, and an object of deserved ridicule, namely, that nourishment of the corporeal parts, Midian, and that his offspring too, that mass of skins, whose name is Belphegor, is asleep; "for we are of the race of picked men of Israel, that sees God, of whom not one has Disagreed;" [Exodus 24:11.] that the instrument of the universe, the whole world, may be melodiously sounded in musical harmony. On this account Moses says that the "reward of Peace" [Numbers 25:12.] was given to the very warlike reason, which is called Phinehas; because, having received a zeal for virtue, and having taken up war against vice, he cut up the whole of generation; and in the second place, to all those who are willing, after a careful examination and investigation, using their eyes in preference to their ears as a trustworthy witness, to believe that the human race is full of infidelity, depending solely on opinion. Therefore, the afore-mentioned agreement is admirable; and most admirable of all is that common one which exceeds all the harmonies of all the others, according to which the whole people is represented as saying with one accord, "All the things which God has spoken, we will obey and Do." [Deuteronomy 5:27.] For these men no longer obey reason as their ruler, but God, the governor of the universe, by whom they are assisted so as to display their energies in actions rather than in words. For when they hear of others doing such and such things, these men, which is a thing most contrary to what one would expect, say that, from some inspiration of God, they will act first and obey afterwards; in order that they may seem to have advanced to good actions, not in consequence of instruction and admonition, but by their own spontaneous and self-taught mind. And then, when they have accomplished these actions, they say that they will obey in order that they may form an opinion of what they have done, as to whether their actions are consistent with the divine injunctions and the sacred admonitions of scripture.

14 But those who conspired to commit injustice, he says, "having come from the east, found a plain in the land of Shinar , and dwelt There;" [Genesis 11:2.] speaking most strictly in accordance with nature. For there is a twofold kind of dawning in the soul, the one of a better sort, the other of a worse. That is the better sort, when the light of the virtues shines forth like the beams of the sun; and that is the worse kind, when they are overshadowed, and the vices show forth. Now, the following is an example of the former kind: "And God planted a paradise in Eden, toward the East," [Genesis 2:8.] not of terrestrial but of celestial plants, which the planter caused to spring up from the incorporeal light which exists around him, in such a way as to be for ever inextinguishable. I have also heard of one of the companions of Moses having uttered such a speech as this: "Behold, a man whose name is the East!" [Zechariah 6:12.] A very novel appellation indeed, if you consider it as spoken of a man who is compounded of body and soul; but if you look upon it as applied to that incorporeal being who in no respect differs from the divine image, you will then agree that the name of the east has been given to him with great felicity. For the Father of the universe has caused him to spring up as the eldest son, whom, in another passage, he calls the firstborn; and he who is thus born, imitating the ways of his father, has formed such and such species, looking to his archetypal patterns.

15 But an example of the worse kind of dawning is afforded by the words used by the man who was willing "to curse the people who were blessed by God." [Numbers 23:7.] For he also is represented as dwelling in the east. And this dawning, having the same name as the former one, has nevertheless an opposite nature to it, and is continually at war with it. For Balaam says, "Balak sent for me out of Mesopotamia , from the mountains of the east, saying, Come, curse me the people whom God doth not curse." But the name of Balak, being interpreted means, "void of sense;" a very felicitous name. For how can it be otherwise than shocking to hope to deceive the living God, and to turn aside his most enduring and firmly established counsels by the sophistical devices of men? On this account he is represented as living in Mesopotamia , for his mind is overwhelmed as in the middle of the depth of the river, and is not able to emerge and to swim away. And this condition is the dawning of folly and the setting of sound reason. They, then, who are tuned in an inharmonious symphony are said to be moved from the east. Is this, then, the east according to wickedness? But the dawning in accordance with virtue is described as a complete separation, and the motion from the dawning according to vice is a united one, as when the hands are moved, not separately and disjunctively, but in a certain harmony and connexion with the whole body. For folly is to the wicked man the beginning of his energy in the works which are contrary to nature, that is, of his approach to the region of wickedness. But all those who have quitted the region of virtue, and have set forth to go over to folly, have found a most appropriate place in which they dwell, which is called in the Hebrew language Shinar . And Shinar in Greek, is called "shaking;" for the whole life of the wicked is shaken, and agitated, and torn to pieces, being always kept in a state of commotion and confusion, and having no trace of any genuine good laid up in itself. For as everything which is not held together by close union, falls out of what is violently shaken, in the very same manner, it seems to me, that the soul is shaken of every man who associates with others for the purpose of doing wrong; for he casts away every appearance of good, so that no shadow or image of it ever appears.

16 Accordingly, the body-loving race of the Egyptians is represented as fleeing, not from the water, but "under the water," that is to say, beneath the impetuous speed of the passions. And when it has once placed itself under the power of the passions, it is shaken and agitated; it casts away the stable and peaceable qualities of virtue, and takes up in their stead the turbulent and confused character of wickedness; for it is said that "God shook the Egyptians in the middle of the sea, fleeing under the Water." [Exodus 14:27.] These are they who neither knew Joseph--the diversified pride of life--but who, having their sins revealed, have not received any trace, or shade, or image of goodness and excellence. For, says Moses, "Another king arose over the Egyptians who knew not Joseph," [Exodus 1:8.] the latest and most modern good perceptible by the outward senses, who utterly destroyed not only the perfections but even all improvements, and all the energy which can be exerted by the sight, and all the teaching which can be implanted by means of the hearing, saying, "Come, curse me Jacob; and come, defy Israel for Me;" [Numbers 23:7.] an expression which is equivalent to, Destroy both these things, the sight and the hearing of the soul, that it may neither see nor hear any true and genuine good thing; for Israel is the emblem of seeing and Jacob of hearing. Accordingly the mind of such persons rejects the nature of good, being in some degree shaken; and, on the other hand, the mind of good persons, setting up a claim to the unmingled and unalloyed ideas of good things, shakes off and discards all that is evil. Consider, therefore, what the practicer of virtue says: "Take up the foreign gods that are among you from out of the midst of you, and purify yourselves, and change your garments, and rise up and let us go to Bethel;" [Genesis 35:2.] in order that, even if Laban should demand a power of examining, the images might not be found in his whole house, but only such things as have a real subsistence and essence, being fixed like pillars in the mind of the wise man, which the self-taught offspring Isaac has received as his inheritance; for he alone receives his father's substance as his Inheritance." [Genesis 25:5.]

17 And take notice that Moses does not say that they came unto a plain in which they remain, but that they "found" one, having searched around in every direction, and having considered what might be the most suitable region for folly; for in reality every foolish man does not take from another for himself, but he seeks for and finds evils, not being content only with those which wicked nature proceeds towards of its own accord, but also adding thereto such perfect skill in evil as arises from constant practice in contriving wrong. And I wish indeed that after he had remained there a brief time he had changed his abode; but even now he thinks fit to remain, for it is said that having found the plain they dwelt there; having settled there as if in their own country and not as if in a foreign land; for it would have been less trouble for men who had fallen in with wicked actions to look upon them as strange and foreign to them, and not to consider that they had any kindred or connexion with them. For if they had looked upon themselves as sojourners among them, they would have changed their abode at a subsequent time, but now having settled fixedly among them they were likely to dwell there for ever. For this reason all the wise men mentioned in the books of Moses are represented as sojourners, for their souls are sent down from heaven upon earth as to a colony; and on account of their fondness for contemplation, and their love of learning, they are accustomed to migrate to the terrestrial nature. Since therefore having taken up their abode among bodies, they behold all the mortal objects of the outward senses by their means, they then subsequently return back from thence to the place from which they set out at first, looking upon the heavenly country in which they have the rights of citizens as their native land, and as the earthly abode in which they dwell for a while as in a foreign land. For to those who are sent to be the inhabitants of a colony, the country which has received them is in place of their original mother country; but still the land which has sent them forth remains to them as the house to which they desire to return. Therefore, very naturally, Abraham says to the guardians of the dead and to the arrangers of mortal affairs, after he has forsaken that life which is only dead and the tomb, "I am a stranger and a sojourner among You," [Genesis 23:4.] but ye are natives of the country, honouring the dust and earth more than the soul, thinking the name Ephron worthy of precedence, for Ephron, being interpreted, means "a mound" and naturally, Jacob, the practicer of virtue, bewails his being a sojourner in the body, saying, "The days of the years of my life which I spend here as a sojourner have been few and evil; they have not come up to the days of my fathers which they spent as Sojourners." [Genesis 47:9.] But to him who was self-taught the following injunction of scripture was given, "Do not go down," says the scripture, "to Egypt," that is to say to passion; "but dwell in this land, land which I will tell thee Of," [Genesis 26:9.] namely, in the incorporeal wisdom which cannot be pointed out to the eye; and be a sojourner in this land, the substance which can be pointed out and appreciated by the external sense. And this is said with a view to show, that the wise man is a sojourner in a foreign land, that is to say in the body perceptible by the outward senses, who dwells among the virtues appreciable by the intellect as in his native land, which virtues God utters as in no way differing from the

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divine word. But Moses says, "I am a sojourner in a foreign land;" speaking with peculiar fitness, looking upon his abode in the body not only as foreign land, as sojourners do, but also as a land from which one ought to feel alienated, and never look upon it as one's home.

18 But the wicked man, desiring to exhibit the fact that identity of language, and the sameness of dialect does not consist more in names and common words than in his participation in iniquitous actions, begins to build a city and a tower as a citadel for sovereign wickedness; and he invites all his fellow revellers to partake in his enterprise, preparing beforehand abundance of suitable materials. For, "Come," says he, "let us make bricks, and let us bake them in the fire," an expression equivalent to, Now we have all the parts of the soul mingled together and in a state of confusion, so that there is no species whatever the form of which is evident to be seen. Therefore it will be consistent with these beginnings that, as we have assumed a certain essence destitute of all particular species; and of all distinctive qualities, and have also taken up with passion and vice, we should also divide it into suitable qualities, and keep on reducing the proximate to the ultimate species; and with a view to the more distinct comprehension of them, and also to this employment and enjoyment of them combined with experience, which appears to produce many pleasures and delights. Come, therefore, all ye reasonings of counsellors, in some way or the other to the assembly of the soul; come, all ye who meditate the destruction of justice and of all virtue, and let us consider carefully how we may attain to the end which we desire. Now of success in this matter these will be the most established foundations: to give to things without form shape and character, and to distinguish each thing separately with distinct outlines, lest, if they become shaken and lame (though fixed on firm foundations,) and if they have assumed a connexion with the nature of a quadrangular shape, (for this is a nature always unshaken), they may then, being established steadily like a building of bricks, support even those things which are built upon them.

19 Of such a structure as this every mind adverse to God, which we call the king of Egypt (that is to say of the body), is found to be the maker. For Moses represents the mind as rejoicing in the buildings made of brick; for after some being or other made the two substances of water and earth to be the one dry and the other solid, and mingling the two together, for they were easily dissoluble and corruptible, made a third substance to be on the confines of the two, which is called clay, he has never ceased from dissecting this into small portions, giving its own appropriate figure to each of the fragments, in order that they might be very well compacted together, and very suitable to the objects for which they were intended. For in this way what was being made was sure to be very easily perfected. Imitating this work, those men who are wicked in their natures, when they mingle the irrational and extravagant impulses of the passions with the most grievous vices, are, in reality, dissecting that which has been combined into various species, and unhappy that they are fashioning them again and reducing them into shape, by means

of which the blockade of the soul will be raised on high; these being, in fact, the divisions of the outward sense into seeing, and hearing, and taste, and smell, and touch. Passion again, is divided into pleasure, and appetite, and fear, and grief; and the universal genus of vices is divided into folly, and intemperance, and cowardice, and injustice, and all the other vices which are akin to or closely connected with them.

20 And before now some persons, even more excessively extravagant in wickedness than these, have not only prepared their own souls for such actions, but have also put a force upon those of a superior class and of the genus which is endowed with acuteness of vision, and have "compelled them to make bricks and to build strong Cities" [Exodus 1:11.] for the mind, which has appeared to occupy the place of king, wishing to point out this fact, that what is good is the slave of what is evil, and that subjection to the passions is more powerful than tranquility of soul, and prudence, and all virtue is, but, as it were, a subject of folly and all wickedness, so as of necessity to minister in all the matters which the master power enjoins; for behold, says Moses, the most pure, and brilliant, and far-sighted eye of the soul, to which alone is permitted to behold God, by name Israel, being formerly bound in the corporeal nets of Egypt, endures severe commands, so as to be compelled to make bricks and all sorts of things of clay with the most grievous and intolerable labours, at which it is very naturally pained, and at which it groans, having laid up this, as it were, to be its only treasure amid its evils, the power of bewailing its present distresses. For it is said, very correctly, that "the children of Israel groaned by reason of their Tasks." [Exodus 2:23.] And what man in his senses is there who, if he saw the tasks of the generality of men, and the exceeding earnestness with which they labour at the pursuits to which they are accustomed to devote themselves, whether it be the acquisition of money, or glory, or the enjoyment of pleasure, would not be greatly concerned and cry out to God, the only Saviour, that he would lighten their labours, and pay a ransom and price for the salvation of the soul, so as to emancipate and deliver it? What, then, is the surest freedom? The service of the only wise God, as the scriptures testify, in which it is said, "Send forth the people, that they may serve Me." [Exodus 8:1.] But it is a peculiar property of those who serve the living God neither to regard the work of cup-bearers, or bakers, or cooks, or any other earthly employments, nor to trouble themselves about arranging or adorning their bodies like bricks, but to mount up with their reason to the height of heaven, having elected Moses, the type of the race which loves God, to be the guide of their path; for then "they will see the place which is Visible," [Exodus 24:10.] on which the unchangeable and unalterable God stands; and the footstool beneath his feet, which is, as it were, a work of sapphire stone, and, as it were, a resemblance to the firmament of heaven, namely, the world perceptible by the outward senses, which he describes allegorically by these figures. For it is very suitable for those who have made an association for the purpose of learning to desire to see him; and, if they are unable to do that, at least to see his image, the most sacred word, and, next to that, the most perfect work of all the things perceptible by the outward senses, namely, the world? For to philosophise is nothing else but to desire to see things accurately.

21 But he says that the world perceptible to the outward senses is, as it were, the footstool of God on this account: first of all, that he may show that there is no efficient cause in the creatures; secondly, for the purpose of displaying that even the whole world has not a free and unrestrained spontaneous motion of its own, but God, the ruler of the universe, takes his stand upon it, regulating it and directing everything in a saving manner by the helm of his wisdom, using, in truth, neither hands nor feet, nor any other part whatever such as belongs to created objects; for God is not as man, but the reason why we at times represent him as such, for the sake of instruction, is because we are unable to advance out of ourselves, but derive our apprehension of the uncreate God from the circumstances with which we ourselves are surrounded. And it is very beautifully said by Moses, in the form of a parable, when he speaks of the world as if it resembled a brick; for the world appears to stand and to be firmly fixed like a brick in a house, as far as the vision of the sight of the outward senses can inform us, but it has a very swift motion, and one which is able to outstrip all particular motions. For the eyes of our body look upon the appearance of the sun by day and of the moon by night as standing still, and yet who is there who does not know that the rapidity of movements of these two bodies is incomparable, since they go round the whole heaven in one day? Thus, indeed, the universal heaven itself also, while appearing to stand still, revolves in a circle; its movements being detected and comprehended by the invisible and more divine eye which is placed in our mind.

22 And they are represented as baking the bricks in the fire, for the purpose of intimating by this symbolical expression that they are strengthened and hardened as to their vices and their passions by warm and most energetic reason, so that they can never be overthrown by the body-guards of wisdom, by whom engines for their defeat are being continually put in operation. On which account we have this further statement also made, "Their brick was to them for stone;" for the weak and lax character of that impetuosity which is not in company with reason, when it is closely pressed and condensed so as to assume a nature capable of solidity and resistance, owes this change to powerful reasons and most convincing demonstrations; the comprehension of such speculations being, in a manner, endowed with manliness and vigor, which comprehensions, while in a tender age, melt away by reason of the mixture of the soul, which is not as yet able to consolidate and preserve the character impressed upon it. "And they had slime for mortar;" not, on the contrary, mortar for slime. For the wicked appear to strengthen and fortify what is weak against what is most powerful, and from their own resources to consolidate and preserve what melts and flows away from such things, in order that they may aim and shoot at virtue from a safe place. But the merciful God and father of the good will not permit their buildings to be established in indissoluble safety, their work of melting zeal not being able to withstand, but becoming like soft mud. For, if their clay had become mortar, then perchance that earthy thing perceptible by the outward senses, which is for ever and ever in a continued state of flux, would have been able to arrive at a safe and unalterable power; but since, on the contrary, their mortar became mere slime, we must not despair, for there is in this, certain hope that the strong fortifications of vice may be overthrown by the might of God. Therefore the just man, even in the great and incessant deluge of life, while he is not as yet able to see things really as they are by the energy of his soul alone without the assistance of the outward sense, will anoint "the ark," by which I understand the body, "both within and without the Pitch," [Genesis 6:14.] strengthening his imaginations and energies by his own resources; but when the danger has ceased and the violence of the flood abated, then he will come forth, availing himself of his incorporeal mind for the comprehension of truth. For the good disposition being from the very birth of the man planted in virtue, and being spoken as of such, its name being Moses, dwelling in the whole world as his native city and country, becoming, as it were, a cosmopolite, being bound up in the body, smeared over as with "bitumen and Pitch," [Exodus 2:3.] and appearing to be able to receive and to contain in security all the imaginations of all things which might be subjected to the outward senses, Weeps [Exodus 2:6.] at being so bound up, being overwhelmed with a desire for an incorporeal nature. And he weeps over the miserable mind of men in general as being wandering and puffed up with pride, inasmuch as, being elated with false opinion, it thinks that it has in itself something firm and safe, and, as a general fact, that there something immutable in some creature or other, though the example of perpetual stability, which is at all times the same, is set up in God alone.

23 And the expression, "Come, let us build ourselves a city and a tower, the top of which shall reach to heaven," has such a meaning as this concealed beneath it; the lawgiver does not conceive that those only are cities which are built upon the earth, the materials of which are wood and stone, but he thinks that there are other cities also which men bear about with them, being built in their souls; and these are, as is natural, the archetypes and models of the others, inasmuch as they have received a more divine building, and the others are but imitations of them, as consisting of perishable substances. But there are two species of cities, the one better, the other worse. That is the better which enjoys a democratic government, a constitution which honours equality, the rulers of which are law and justice; and such a constitution as this is a hymn to God. But that is the worse kind which adulterates this constitution, just as base and clipped money is adulterated in the coinage, being, in fact, ochlocracy, which admires inequality, in which injustice and lawlessness bear sway. Now good men are enrolled as citizens in the constitution of the first-mentioned kind of city; but the multitude of the wicked clings to the other and worst sort, loving disorder more than orderliness, and confusion rather than well-established steadiness. And the wicked man seeks for coadjutors in his practice of wickedness, not looking upon himself as sufficient by himself. And he exhorts the sight, and he exhorts the hearing, and he exhorts every outward sense in succession, to range itself on his side without delay, and every one of them to bring to him all things necessary for his service. And he raises up and sharpens all the rest of the company of the passions, which are by their own nature unmanageable, in order that by the addition of practice and care they may become irresistible. The mind, therefore, having called in these allies, says, "Let us build ourselves a city;" an expression equivalent to, Let us fortify our own things; let us fence them around to the best of our power, so that we may not be easily taken by those who attack us; let us divide and distribute, as into tribes and boroughs, each of the powers existing in the soul, allotting some to the rational part, and some to the irrational part; let us choose competent rulers, wealth, glory, honour, pleasure, by means of which we may be able to become masters of everything; banishing to a distance justice, the invariable cause of poverty and ingloriousness; and let us enact laws, which shall confirm the chief power and advantage to those who are always able to get the better of others. And let a tower be built in this city as a citadel, to be a strong palace for the tyrant vice, whose feet shall walk upon the earth, and its head shall, through pride, be raised to such a height as to reach even to heaven; for, in good truth, it rests not only upon human sins, but it also hastens forward as far as heaven, pushing up its words of impiety and ungodliness, since it either speaks of God so as to assert that he has no existence, or that, though he exists, he has no providence, or to affirm that the world had no beginning of creation, or that, admitting that it has been created, it is borne on by unsteady causes, just as chance may direct, at one time wrongly, at another time in an irreproachable manner, just as often happens in the case of chariots or ships. For sometimes the voyage of a ship, or the course of a chariot, goes on properly even without charioteers or pilots; but success is not only now and then owing to providences, but very often to human prudence and invariably to divine, since error is admitted to be altogether incompatible with divine power. Now what object can the foolish man have who, speaking figuratively, build up the reasonings of wickedness like a tower, except the desire of leaving behind them a name which shall be far from a good name?

24 For they say, "Let us make for ourselves a name." O, the excessive and profligate impudence of such a saying! What say ye? When ye ought to seek to bury your iniquities under night and profound darkness, and to assume as a veil for them, shame, if not genuine, at all events pretending shame, whether for the sake of gaining favour in the eyes of the moderate and virtuous, or for that of avoiding punishment for admitted wickedness; do ye, nevertheless, proceed to such a pitch of audacity, as all but to come forth and display yourselves in the light and in the most brilliant beams of the sun, and to fear neither the threats of better men, nor the implacable justice of God, which impends over such ungodly and desperate men? But ye think fit even to send around in every direction reports,

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to carry intelligence of your domestic iniquities, in order that no one may be uninformed of or unacquainted with your deeds of daring wickedness, wretched and infamous men that ye are. What name, therefore, do ye wish to assume? Is it the one which is most suitable to your actions? But is there not one name only which is suited to them? It may, perhaps, be one in genus; but there are ten thousand such names in species, which you will hear from others, even if ye keep silence yourselves. The names adapted to your conduct are, rashness united with shamelessness, insolence combined with violence, violence in union with homicide, corruption in combination with adultery, undefined appetite accompanied by unmeasured indulgence in pleasures, folly joined with impudence, injustice united to crafty wickedness, theft combined with rapine, perjury united with lying, impiety combined with utter lawlessness. Such, and similar to these, are the names of such actions. And it is well for them to boast over and pride themselves, upon seeking for reputation from actions which it would be more seemly to hide and to be ashamed of. And, indeed, some persons do pride themselves on these things, thinking that in consequence of them they do derive a certain irresistible degree of power among men from this idea being entertained respecting them; but they will not escape the divine vengeance for their enormous audacity, and very soon they will have occasion not only to anticipate at a distance, but even to see immediately impending their own death. For they say, "Before we are dispersed, let us have a care for our name and our glory." Should I not then say to them, Ye know that ye will be dispersed? Why, then, do ye commit iniquity? But perhaps he is here placing before us the manner of foolish men who, even when the very greatest punishments are not obscurely impending over them, but are often visibly threatening them, nevertheless do not hesitate to commit iniquity. And the punishments, however they may seem to be concealed, are in reality most notorious, which are inflicted by God. For all the most wicked of men adopt ideas that they can never escape the knowledge of the deity when doing wrong, and that they shall never be able to ward off altogether the day of retribution. Since otherwise, how do they know that they will be dispersed? And yet they say, "Before we are dispersed." But their conscience, which is within, convicts them, and pricks them vehemently, when devoting themselves to ungodliness, so as to draw them against their will to a confession that all the circumstances affecting men are overlooked by a superior nature, and that justice is watching above, as an incorruptible chastiser, hating the unjust actions of the impious, and the reasonings and speeches which undertake their defense.

25 But all these men are the offspring of that wickedness which is always dying but which never dies, the name of which is Cain. Is not Cain represented as having begotten a son whom he called Enoch,[Genesis 4:17.] and as building a city to which he gave the same name, and as after a fashion building up created and mortal things to the destruction of those things which have received a more divine formation? For the name Enoch, being interpreted, means "thy grace." But every impious man supposes that what he thinks and understands is owing to the bounty of his intellect towards him; that what he sees is the gift of his eyes to him, what he hears of his ears, what he smells of his nostrils, and so that each of his outward senses bestows on him those perceptions which are in accordance with them. Again, that it is the organs of the voice which endow him with the capacity of speaking, and that there is actually no such thing as a God at all, or at all events that he is not the primary cause of things. Because of these views he assigns to himself the first fruits of the fruits which he extracts from the earth by his husbandry, being contented afterwards to offer to God some of the fruit, and that too though he has a sound example at hand; for his brother offers a sacrifice of the offspring of the flock, offering the firstborn, and not those which are of secondary value; confessing that the eldest causes of all existing things are suited to the eldest and first cause. 2But the impious man thinks exactly the contrary, namely, that the mind is endowed with absolute power to do whatever it desires, and that the outward senses have absolute power as to all that they feel, for that both the mind and the outward senses decide in an irreproachable and unerring manner, the one on bodies, and the other on everything. Now what can be more open to blame, or more capable of conviction by truth, than such ideas as these? Has not the mind been repeatedly convicted of innumerable acts of folly? And have not all the outward senses been convicted of bearing false witness, and that too not by irrational judges who, it is natural to suppose, may be deceived, but before the tribunal of nature herself, which it is impossible to corrupt or to pervert? And indeed as the criteria both of our mind and of our outward senses are liable to error respecting even ourselves, it follows of necessity that we must make the corresponding confession that God sheds upon the mind the power of intellect, and on the outward senses the faculty of apprehension, and that these benefits are conferred upon us not by our own members but by him to whom also we owe our existence.

26 The children who have received from their father the inheritance of self-love are eager to go on increasing up to heaven, until justice, which loves virtue and hates iniquity, coming destroys their cities which they have built up by the side of their miserable souls, and the tower the name which is displayed in the book which is entitled the Book of Judgement. And the name is, as the Hebrews say, Phanuel, which translated into our language means, "turning away from God." For any strong building which is erected by means of plausible arguments is not built for the sake of any other object except that of averting and alienating the mind from the honour due to God, than which object what can be more iniquitous? 3But for the destruction of this strong fortification a ravager and an enemy of iniquity is prepared who is always full of hostility towards it; whom the Hebrews call Gideon: which name being interpreted means, "a retreat for robbers." "For," says Moses, "Gideon swore to the men of Phanuel, saying, On the day when I return victorious in peace, I will overthrow this Tower." [Judges 8:9.] A very beautiful and most becoming boast for the soul which hates wickedness and is sharpened against the impious, namely, that it is resolved to overthrow every reasoning which by its persuasions seeks to turn the mind away from holiness, and this indeed is the natural result. For when the mind turns round, then that which turns away from it, and rejects it is again dissolved, 3and this is the opportunity for destroying it which (a most wonderful thing) he calls not war but peace. For, owing to the stability and firmness of the mind which piety is accustomed to produce, every reasoning which impiety has formed is overturned. Many also have erected the outward senses after the fashion of a tower, raising them to such a height as to be able to reach the very borders of heaven. But the term heaven is here used symbolically to signify our mind, according to which the best and most divine natures revolve. But they who dare such deeds prefer the outward senses to the intellect, and desire by means of the outward senses forcibly to destroy all the objects of intellect, compelling those things which are, at present masters to descend into the rank of servants, and raising those things which are by nature slaves to the rank of masters.

27 And the statement, "The Lord went down to see that city and that tower" must be listened to altogether as if spoken in a figurative sense. For to think that the divinity can go towards, or go from, or go down, or go to meet, or, in short, that it has the same positions and motions as particular animals, and that it is susceptible of real motion at all, is, to use a common proverb, an impiety deserving of being banished beyond the sea and beyond the world. But these things are spoken, as if of man, by the lawgiver, of God who is not invested with human form, for the sake of advantage to us who are to be instructed, as I have often said before with reference to other passages. Since who is there who does not know that it is indispensable for a person who goes down, to leave one place and to occupy another? 3But all places are filled at once by God, who surrounds them all and is not surrounded by any of them, to whom alone it is possible to be everywhere and also nowhere. Nowhere, because he himself created place and space at the same time that he created bodies, and it is impious to say that the Creator is contained in anything that he has created. Again, he is everywhere, because, having extended his powers so as to make them pervade earth, and water, and air, and heaven, he has left no portion of the world desolate, but, having collected everything together, he has bound them with chains which cannot be burst,[the text has aoratois, "invisible," but I have followed Mangey's translation, who reads arrheμktois. The remainder of the sentence is exceedingly corrupt.] so that they are never emancipated, on which account he is especially to be praised with hymns. For that which is higher than all powers is understood to exceed them, not merely in the fact of its existence. But the power of this being which made and arranged everything is with perfect truth called God, and it contains everything in its bosom, and pervades every portion of the universe. But the divine being, both invisible and incomprehensible, is indeed everywhere, but still, in truth, he is nowhere visible or comprehensible. But when he says, "I am he who The text has aoratois, "invisible," but I have followed Mangey's translation, who reads arrheμktois. The remainder of the sentence is exceedingly corrupt. stands before Thee" [Exodus 17:6,] he appears indeed to be displayed and to be comprehended, though before any exhibition or conception he was superior to all created things. Therefore, no one of the word which implies a motion from place to place is appropriate to that god who exists only in essence; such expressions, I mean, as going upwards or downwards, to the right or to the left, forwards or backwards. For he is not conceived of in any one of the above mentioned ideas, inasmuch as he never turns around or changes his place. But, nevertheless, he is said to have come down and to have seen, he who by his foreknowledge comprehends everything, not only that has happened, but even before it happens; and this expression is used for the same of exhortation and instruction, in order that no man, indulging in uncertain conjectures about matters which he is not present to behold may, while standing afar off, be too prompt to believe idle fancies, but that every one may come close to the facts, and examining each one separately, may carefully and thoroughly consider them. For certain sight is more deserving to be looked upon as a trustworthy witness than fallacious hearing. On which account a law has been enacted among these nations which have the most excellent constitution, that one must not give evidence on hearsay, because by its own nature the tribunal of the sense of hearing is liable to be corrupted. And Moses indeed says in the prohibitory part of his law, "Thou shall not receive vain Hearing." [Exodus 23:1.] Meaning not only this, that one ought not to receive false or silly reports by hearsay, but that, as far as the clear comprehension of the truth is concerned, the hearing is a long way behind the sight, being full of vanity.

28 We say that this is the reason why it is said that God went down to see the city and the tower; and the addition, "Which the sons of men had built," is not a mere superfluity. For perhaps some profanely disposed person may mock and say, "The lawgiver is here teaching us a very novel kind of lesson, when he says that no one else but the sons of men build cities and towers; for who, even of the most crazy people is ignorant of what is so evident and notorious as that?" But we must not suppose that such a plain and unquestionable fact as that, is what is intended to be conveyed by the mention of it in the holy scriptures, but rather there is some hidden meaning concealed under these apparently plain words which we must trace out. What then is this hidden meaning? Those who, as it were, attribute many fathers to existing things, and who represent the company of the gods as numerous, displaying great ignorance of the nature of things and causing great confusion, and making pleasure the proper object of the soul, are those who are, if we must tell the plain truth, spoken of as the builders of the aforesaid city, and of the citadel in it; having increased the efficient causes of the desired end, building them up like houses, being, as I imagine, in no respect different from the children of the harlot whom the law expels from the assembly of God, where it says, "The offspring of a harlot shall not come into the assembly of the Lord." [Deuteronomy 23:2.] Because, like archers shooting at random at many objects, and not aiming skilfully or successfully at any one mark, so these men, putting forward ten thousand principles and causes for the creation of the universe, every one of which is false, display a perfect ignorance of the one Creator and Father of all things; but they who have real knowledge, are properly addressed as the sons of the one God, as Moses also entitles them, where he says, "Ye are the sons of the Lord God." [Deuteronomy 14:1.] And again, "God who begot Thee;" [Deuteronomy 32:18.] and in another place, "Is not he thy father?" Accordingly, it is natural for those who have this disposition of soul to look upon nothing as beautiful except what is good, which is the citadel erected by those who are experienced in this kind of warfare as a defense against the end of pleasure, and as a means of defeating and destroying it. And even if there be not as yet any one who is worthy to be called a son of God, nevertheless let him labour earnestly to be adorned according to his first-born word, the eldest of his angels, as the great archangel of many names; for he is called, the authority, and the name of God, and the Word, and man according to God's image, and he who sees Israel. 4For which reason I was induced a little while ago to praise the principles of those who said, "We are all one man's Sons." [Genesis 42:11.] For even if we are not yet suitable to be called the sons of God, still we may deserve to be called the children of his eternal image, of his most sacred word; for the image of God is his most ancient word. 4And, indeed, in many passages of the law, the children of Israel are called hearers of him that seeth, since hearing is honoured with the second rank next after the sense of sight, and since that which is in need of instruction is at all times second to that which can receive clear impressions of the subjects submitted to it without any such information. And I also admire the things which are spoken under divine inspiration in the books of Kings, according to which those who flourished many generations afterwards and lived in a blameless manner, are spoken of as the sons of David who wrote hymns to God;[2 Ezr. 8:2.] though, during his lifetime, even their great grandfathers had not yet been born. The truth is, that the birth here spoken of is that of souls made immortal by their virtues, not of perishable bodies, and this birth is naturally referred to the leaders of virtue, as its parents and progenitors.

29 But against those who praise themselves on justice, the Lord said, "Behold, there is one race and one language among them all," an expression equivalent to, Behold, there is one family and one bond of relationship, and also, one harmony and agreement among them all together, no one being in his mind at all alienated from or disconnected with his neighbour, as is the case with illiterate men. For at times, the organ of speech among them is, in all its tones, out of tune and inharmonious in no slight degree, being in fact carefully arranged so as to produce inharmoniousness, and having only such a concert as will cause a want of melody. 5And in the case of fevers,[I have translated Mangey's Latin translation. He

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pronounces the whole passage in the original text corrupt and unintelligible. The word translated "fever" is politidos, a word manifestly corrupt.] one may see very similar effects; for they are periodical changes, in some recurring every day, in others every third or every fourth day, as the sons of the physicians say; and they have also stated hours, both by day and night, at which important crises may be expected, and they at all times keep nearly the same order. 5And the expression, "And they began to do this," is said with no moderate indignation, because it has not been sufficient for wicked men to confuse all the principles of justice which affect those of the same country as themselves, but they have ventured to transgress even the laws of Heaven, sowing injustice and reaping impiety. But these wretched men derive no advantage, for though those who seek to inflict mutual injuries on one another, succeed in many of the objects which they have at heart, bringing to their accomplishment in action what they have decided on in their unwise minds, yet the case is not the same with the impious. For all things belonging to the Deity are incapable of receiving either damage or injury, and the unclean can only find out the beginnings of sinning in respect of them, but can never arrive at the end which they propose to themselves; 5on which account this expression also occurs, "They began to do." Men full of an insatiable desire of doing wrong, not being content with the crimes which they can perpetuate on earth, by sea, and in the air, inasmuch as they are of a perishable nature, have determined to array themselves against the divine natures existing in heaven; which, as they are not reckoned among existing creatures are also out of all reach of Injury. [this passage again in the text is unintelligible, and pronounced by Mangey to be in a state of hopeless corruption.] Even calumny itself can inflict no injury on those things if it ventures to speak ill of them, inasmuch as they are never moved from their everlasting and eternal natures, but it inflicts incurable calamity on those who accuse it. Are they not to be blamed, since indeed they have only begun, being unable to arrive at the end of the impiety they propose to themselves, are they not, I say, to be blamed just as much as if they had accomplished all the objects that they had in view? On this account also, Moses speaks of them as having finished the tower, though in fact they had not yet completed it, where he says, "The Lord went down to see the city and the tower," not which the sons of men were going to build, but which they had built.

30 What, then, is the proof that they had not entirely completed this building? First of all, the manifest notoriety of the fact. For it is impossible for even so slight a portion of the earth to touch the heaven, by reason of the cause beforementioned, that no centre can ever touch the circumference; in the second place, because the aether aitheμr is sacred fire and an unquenchable flame, as its very name shows, being derived from aithoμ, to burn, which is a synonymous word with kaioμ. And we have a witness in our favour in one portion of the heavenly system of fire, that is in the sun, who, though he is at such a distance from the earth, sends his beams down into his inmost recesses, and sometimes warms and at times even scorches the earth itself, and the air which reaches from earth up to the heavenly sphere, though it is by nature cold; for, all those things which are removed to a distance from his rapid course, or which are in an oblique direction, one side of it only warms; but those which are near to him, or in a direct line from him, is violently burnt up. If, then, these things are so, was it not necessary that those men who were endeavoring to mount up to heaven must have been stricken with thunderbolts and burnt up, their high-minded and proud designs being unaccomplished by them? This is the meaning which Moses appears to intend to convey, figuratively, by the expressions which follow: "For they ceased," says, he, "to build the city and the Tower." [Genesis 11:8.] Not, indeed, because they had finished their work, but because they were prevented from accomplishing it by the confusion which supervened. Nevertheless, they have not escaped blame for their actions, inasmuch as they had decided on them and attempted to carry them out.

31 At all events, the law says that that soothsayer and diviner who was led into folly in respect of his unstable conjectures (for the name, Balaam, being interpreted, means unstable), "cursed the people that Saw;" [Deuteronomy 23:4.] and that, too, though as far as his words go he uttered only words of good omen and prayers. The law here looking not at the words he uttered, which, through the providence of God, did change their character, becoming good money instead of base coinage, but having regard to the intention in which injurious things were resolved in preference to beneficial ones. But these things are, by nature inimical to one another, conjectures being at variance with truth, and vain opinion with knowledge, and prophecy, which is not dictated by divine inspiration, being directly opposed to sober wisdom. 6And even if any one, rising up as it were from his ambush, were to try, but to be unable, to slay a man, still he is none the less liable to the punishment due to homicides, as the law which is enacted about such persons shows. "For if," says the law, "any one attacks his neighbour, wishing to slay him by treachery, and escapes, thou shall apprehend him, even at the altar, to put him to Death." [Exodus 21:14.] And yet the thing condemned is the attacking with intent to kill, not the actual killing, but the law looks upon the intention to slay as equal in guilt to the actual slaying; on which account it does not grant pardon to such a man even if he supplicates for it, but bids one drag the man who has cherished so unholy a design even from the temple itself. And such a man is unholy, not merely because he has plotted slaughter against a soul which might have lived for ever through its acquisition and use of virtue, making an attack on it through the agency of wickedness, but also because he blames God as the cause of his ungodly audacity; for the word, "escapes," has such a meaning as this concealed under it. Because many men wish to escape from accusations which are brought against themselves, and think it fitting that they should be delivered from the punishments due to the offences which they have committed, and so they attribute their own iniquity to him who is the cause of no evil, but of all kinds of good, namely, to God; for which reason it was accounted as no violation of divine law to drag such men even from the altars themselves. 6And it was an excessive punishment which was then denounced against the reasons which were thus built up and put together for purposes of impiety; which, however, perhaps some foolish persons will look upon not as injury, but as a benefit. "For," says Moses, "there shall not fail to them any one of the things which they have endeavored to Do." [Genesis 11:6.] Alas for their unlimited and interminable misery! All the objects which the most insane intention fixes its desires upon shall be successfully carried out, and shall obey its will, so that nothing whatever shall fail, either small or great, but everything shall, as it were, make haste to meet and to anticipate their requirements.

32 These things are an exhibition of a soul destitute of prudence, and which meets with no impediment to its indulging in sin; for whoever is not utterly incurable would rather pray that all the purposes of his mind might fail, so that if he had formed a resolution to steal, or to commit adultery, or to murder a man, he might succeed or to commit sacrilege, or to perpetrate any similar crime, he might not succeed, but might find innumerable obstacles. For such hindrance would get rid of the greatest of all diseases, injustice; but any one who is free from all fear is sure to admit this malady. 6Why, then, my friends, do you any longer praise or admire the fortune of tyrants, owing to which they succeed with ease in everything which they undertake, and which a frenzied and unrestrained mind prompts them to do? And yet one ought rather to lament over them, since inability and powerlessness to succeed in their objects is advantageous to the wicked, just as abundant opportunity and power is the most beneficial thing for the good. But one of the crowd of foolish men, perceiving to what an abundant superfluity of misery indulgence in sinning leads, said, speaking with perfect freedom, "My wickedness is too great for me to be Forgiven." [Genesis 4:13.] It is, therefore, very melancholy indeed for the soul, which is by its own nature unmanageable, to be left without any restraint; while it is scarcely possible for any one to hold it in with reins, and by that means, in conjunction with the infliction of stripes, to reduce it to reason. 6On which account an oracle of the all-merciful God has been given, full of gentleness, which shadows forth good hopes to those who love instruction, in these terms: "I will never leave thee, nor forsake Thee." [Joshua 1:5.] For when the chains of the soul, by which it has been used to be held in bondage, are loosened, then the greatest of all calamities follows, namely, the being deserted by God, who has fastened chains which can never be broken round the universe, namely, his own powers, with which he binds everything, willing that it shall never more be released. 6Accordingly, he says, in another passage, that "all things which are bound with a chain are Pure;" [Numbers 19:15.] since unbinding is the cause of the destruction of that which is impure. Beware, then, lest when you see a man accomplishing without difficulty all the objects which he endeavors to effect, you admire him as a prosperous man; take care rather to pity him as a very unfortunate one, because he passes his whole life in a perfect destitution of virtue and a great abundance of vice.

33 And it is worth while to consider in no superficial manner what the meaning of that expression which is put by Moses into the mouth of God: "Come, let us go down and confuse their language There." [Genesis 11:7.] For here God is represented as if he were speaking to some beings who were his coadjutors. And the very same idea may be excited by what is said in the account of the creation of the world, 6for there, too, Moses records that "the Lord God said, Come, let us now make man in our image; man in our Similitude. [Genesis 1:26.] The expression, "Let us make," implying a number of creators. And, in another place, we are told that God said, "Behold, the man, Adam, has become as one of us, in respect of his knowing good and Evil;" [Genesis 3:22.] for the expression, "as one of us," is not applicable to one person, but to many. 7In the first place, then, we must say this, that there is no existing being equal in honour to God, but there is one only ruler and governor and king, to whom alone it is granted to govern and to arrange the universe. For the verse--

A multitude of kings is never good,

Let there one sovereign, one sole monarch be, [iliad 2.204.]

is not more justly said with respect to cities and men than with respect to the world and to God; for it is clear from the necessity of things that there must be one creator, and one father, and one master of the one universe.

34 This point then being thus granted, it is necessary to convert with it also what follows, so as to adapt it properly. Let us then consider what this is: God, being one, has about him an unspeakable number of powers, all of which are defenders and preservers of every thing that is created; and among these powers those also which are conversant with punishment are involved. But even punishment is not a disadvantageous thing, inasmuch as it is both a hindrance to and a correction of doing wrong. Again, it is by means of these powers that the incorporeal world, perceptible by the intellect, has been put together, which is the archetypal model of this invisible world, being compounded by invisible species, just as this world is of invisible bodies. 7Some persons therefore, admiring exceedingly the nature of both these worlds, have not only deified them in their wholes, but have also deified the most beautiful parts of them, such as the sun and the moon, and the entire heaven, which, having no reverence for anything, they have called gods. But Moses, perceiving their design, says, "O Lord, Lord, King of the Gods," [Deuteronomy 10:17.] in order to show the difference between the ruler and those subject to him, "And there is also in the air a most sacred company of incorporeal souls as an attendant upon the heavenly souls; for the word of prophecy is accustomed to call these souls angels. It happens therefore that the whole army of each of these worlds, being marshalled in their suitable ranks, are servants and ministers of the ruler who has marshalled them, whom they follow as their leader, in obedience to the principles of law and justice; for it is impossible to suppose that the divine army can even be detected in desertion. But it is suitable to the character of the king to associate with his own powers, and to avail himself of them, with a view to their ministrations in such matters as it is not fitting should be settled by God alone, for the Father of the universe has no need of anything, so as to require assistance from any other quarter if he wishes to make any thing. But seeing at once what is becoming, both for himself and for his works of creation, there are some things which he has entrusted to his subordinate powers to fashion; and yet he has not at once given even to them completely independent knowledge to enable it to accomplish their objects, in order that no one of those things which come to be created may be found to be erroneously made.

35 These things, then, it was necessary to give an idea of beforehand; but for what reason this was necessary we must now say. The nature of animals was originally divided into the portion endowed with and into that devoid of reason, the two being at variance with one another. Again the rational division was subdivided into the perishable and imperishable species, the perishable species being the race of mankind, and the imperishable species being the company of incorporeal souls which revolve about the air and heaven. 7But these have no participation in wickedness, having received from the very beginning an inheritance without stain and full of happiness; and not being bound up in the region of interminable calamities, that is to say, in the body. The divisions also of the irrational part are free from any participation in wickedness, inasmuch as, having no endowment of intellect, they are never convicted of those deliberate acts of wickedness which proceed upon consideration. But man is almost the only one of all living things which, having a thorough knowledge of good and evil, often chooses that which is worst, and rejects those things which are worthy of earnest pursuit, so that he is often most justly condemned as being guilty of deliberate and studied crime. Very appropriately therefore has God attributed the creation of this being, man, to his lieutenants, saying, "Let us make man," in order that the successes of the intellect may be attributed to him alone, but the errors of the being thus created, to his subordinate power: for it did not appear to be suitable to the dignity of God, the ruler of the universe, to make the road to wickedness in a rational soul by his own agency; for which reason he has committed to those about him the creation of this portion of the universe; for it was necessary that the voluntary principle, as the counterpoise to the involuntary principle, should be established and made known, with a view to the completion and perfection of the universe.

36 And this may be enough to say in this manner; and it is right that this point also should be considered, namely that God is the cause only of what is good but is absolutely the cause of no evil whatever, since he himself is the most ancient of all existing things, and the most perfect of all goods; and it is most natural and becoming that he should do what is most akin to his own nature, that is to say, that the best of all beings should be the cause of all the best things, but that the punishments appointed for the wicked are inflicted by the means of his subordinate ministers. 8And there is an evidence in favour of this assertion of mine in this expression, which was uttered by the man who was made perfect by practice;

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"The God who nourished me from my youth up, the angel who defended me from all Evils;" [Genesis 48:16.] for by this words he already confesses that those genuine good things which nourish the souls which love virtue, are referred to God as their sole cause; but the fate of the wicked is, on the other hand, referred to the angels, and even they have not independent and absolute power of inflicting punishment, that this salutary nature may not afford an opportunity to any one of the things which tend to destruction. For this reason God says, "Come, let us go down and confuse;" for the wicked, deserving to meet with such punishment as this, that the merciful, and beneficent, and bounteous, powers of God should become known to them chiefly by its inflictions. Knowing therefore that these powers are beneficial to the race of man, he has appointed the punishments to be inflicted by other beings; for it was expedient that he himself should be looked upon as the cause of well-doing, but in such a way that the fountains of his everlasting graces should be kept unmingled with any evils, not merely with those that are really evils, but even with those which are accounted such.

37 We must now examine what this confusion is. How then shall we enter on this examination? In this manner, in my opinion. We have very often known those whom we had knowledge of before, from certain similarities and a comparison of circumstances which have some connexion with them. Therefore we also become acquainted with things in the same manner, which it is not easy to form a conception of from their own nature, from some similarity of other things connected with them. What things then resemble confusion? Mixture, as the ancient report has it, and combination; but mixture takes place in dry things, and combination is looked upon as belonging to wet substances. Mixture then is a placing side by side of different bodies in no regular order, as if any one were to make a heap, bringing barley, and wheat, and pease, and all sorts of other seeds, all into one mass; but combination is not a placing side by side, but rather a mutual penetration of dissimilar parts entering into one another at all points, so that the distinctive qualities are still able to be distinguished by some artificial skill, as they say is the case with respect to wine and water; 8for these substances coming together form a combination, but that which is combined is not the less capable of being resolved again into the distinctive qualities from which it was originally formed. For with a sponge saturated with oil it is possible for the water to be taken up and for the wine to be left behind, which may perhaps be because the origin of sponge is derived from water, and therefore it is natural that water being a kindred substance is calculated by nature to be taken up by the sponge out of the combination, but that that substance which is of a different nature, namely the wine, is naturally left behind. But confusion is the destruction of all the original distinctive qualities, owing to their component parts penetrating one another at every point, so as to generate one thing wholly different, as is the case in that composition of the physicians which they call the tetrapharmacon. For that, I imagine, is made up of wax, and fat, and pitch, and resin, all compounded together, but when the medicine has once been compounded, then it is impossible for it again to be resolved into the powers of which it was originally composed, but every one of them is destroyed separately, and the destruction of them all has produced one other power of exceeding excellence. 8But when God threatens impious reasonings with confusion, he is in fact not only commanding the whole species and power of each separate wickedness to be destroyed, but also that thing which has been made up of all their joint contributions; so that neither the parts by themselves, nor the union and harmony of the whole, can contribute any strength hereafter towards the destruction of the better part; on which account, he says, "Let us then confuse their language, so that each of them may not understand the voice of his neighbour;" which is equivalent to, let us make each separate one of the parts of wickedness deaf and dumb, so that it shall neither utter a voice of its own, nor be able to sound in unison with any other part, so as to be a cause of mischief.

38 This, now, is our opinion upon and interpretation of this passage. But they who follow only what is plain and easy, think that what is here intended to be recorded, is the origin of the languages of the Greeks and barbarians, whom, without blaming them (for, perhaps, they also put a correct interpretation on the transaction), I would exhort not to be content with stopping at this point, but to proceed onward to look at the passage in a figurative way, considering that the mere words of the scriptures are, as it were, but shadows of bodies, and that the meanings which are apparent to investigation beneath them, are the real things to be pondered upon. 9Accordingly, this lawgiver usually gives a handle for this doctrine to those who are not utterly blind in their intellect; as in fact he does in his account of this very event, which we are now discussing: for he has called what took place, confusion; and yet, if he had only intended to speak of the origin of languages, he would have given a more felicitous name, and one of better omen, calling it division instead of confusion; for things that are divided, are not confused, but, on the contrary, are distinguished from one another, and not only is the one name contrary to the other, but the one fact is contrary to the other fact. For confusion, as I have already said, is the destruction of simple powers for the production of one concrete power; but division is the dissection of one thing into many parts, as is the case when one distinguishes a genus into its subordinate species so that, if the wise God had ordered his ministers to divide language, which was previously only one, into the divisions of several dialects, he would have used more appropriate expressions, which should have given a more accurate idea of the case: calling what he did, dissection, or distribution, or division, or something of that kind, but not confusion, a name which is at variance with all of them. But his especial object here is to dissolve the company of wickedness, to put an end to their confederacy, to destroy their community of action, to put out of sight and extirpate all their powers, to overthrow the might of their dominion, which they had strengthened by fearful lawlessness. Do you not see that he also who made the parts of the soul did not unite any one part to another in such a way as to enable one to discharge the duties of the other? But the eyes would never be able to hear, nor the ears to see, nor the lips of the mouth to smell, nor the nostrils to taste; nor, again, could reason ever be exposed to those influences which operate upon upon the outward senses, nor again, would the outward senses be able to develop reason. For the Creator knew that it was desirable that each of these parts should not hear the voice of its neighbour, but that the parts of the soul should each exert its own peculiar faculties without confusion, for the advantage of living animals, and should, with the same object, be deprived of any power of exerting themselves in common, and that all the powers of vice should be brought to confusion and utter destruction, so that they might neither in confederacy, nor separately, be injurious to the better parts. On which account Moses tells us, "The Lord scattered them from thence;" which is equivalent to, he dispersed them, he put them to flight, he banished them, he destroyed them; for to scatter is sometimes done with a view to production, and growth, and increase of other things; but there is another kind which has for its object overthrow and destruction: but God, the planter of the world, wishes to sow in every one excellence, but to scatter and drive from the world accursed impiety; that the disposition which hates virtue may at last desist from building up a city of wickedness, and a tower of impiety; for when these are put to the rout, then those who have long ago been banished by the tyranny of folly, now, at one proclamation, find themselves able to return to their own country. God having drawn up and confirmed the proclamation, as the scriptures show, in which it is expressly stated that, "Even though thy dispersion be from one end of heaven to the other end of heaven, he will bring thee together from Thence." [Deuteronomy 30:4.] So that it is proper that the harmony of the virtues should be arranged and cherished by God, and that he should dissolve and destroy wickedness; and confusion is a name most appropriate to wickedness, of which every foolish man is a visible proof, having all his words, and intentions, and actions, incapable of standing an examination and destitute of steadiness.

OF CAIN AND HIS BIRTH - PART 2

[Chapters 1 to 11 are missing]

12 "And Adam knew his wife, and she conceived and brought forth Cain; and she said I have gotten a man by means of the Lord; and he caused her also to bring forth Abel his Brother." [Genesis 4:1.] These men, to whose virtue the Jewish legislation bears testimony, he does not represent as knowing their wives, such as Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and if there are any others of like zeal with them; for since we say, that woman is to be understood symbolically as the outward sense, and since knowledge consists in alienation from the outward sense and from the body, it is plain that the lovers of wisdom must repudiate the outward sense rather than choose it, and is not this quite natural? for they who live with these men are in name indeed wives, but in fact virtues. Sarah is princess and guide, Rebecca is perseverance in what is good; Leah again is virtue, fainting and weary at the long continuance of exertion, which every foolish man declines, and avoids, and repudiates; and Zipporah, the wife of Moses, is virtue, mounting up from earth to heaven, and arriving at a just comprehension of the divine and blessed virtues which exist there, and she is called a bird. But that we may describe the conception and the parturition of virtues, let the superstitious either stop their ears, or else let them depart; for we are about to teach those initiated persons who are worthy of the knowledge of the most sacred mysteries, the whole nature of such divine and secret ordinances. And those who are thus worthy are they who, with all modesty, practice genuine piety, of that sort which scorns to disguise itself under any false colours. But we will not act the part of hierophant or expounder of sacred mysteries to those who are afflicted with the incurable disease of pride of language and quibbling expressions, and juggling tricks of manners, and who measure sanctity and holiness by no other standard.

13 But we must begin our explanation of these mysteries in this way. A husband unites with his wife, and the male human being with the female human being in a union which tends to the generation of children, in strict accordance with and obedience to nature. But it is not lawful for virtues, which are the parents of many perfect things, to associate with a mortal husband. But they, without having received the power of generation from any other being, will never be able by themselves alone to conceive any thing. Who, then, is it who sows good seed in them, except the Father of the universe, the uncreated God, he who is the parent of all things? This, therefore, is the being who sows, and presently he bestows his own offspring, which he himself did sow; for God creates nothing for himself, inasmuch as he is in need of nothing, but he creates every thing for him who is able to take it. And I will bring forward as a competent witness in proof of what I have said, the most holy Moses. [Genesis 21:1.] For he introduces Sarah as conceiving a son when God beheld her by himself; but he represents her as bringing forth her son, not to him who beheld her then, but to him who was eager to attain to wisdom, and his name is called Abraham. And he teaches the same lesson more plainly in the case of Leah, where he says that "God opened her Womb." [Genesis 29:13.] But to open the womb is the especial business of the husband. And she having conceived, brought forth, not to God, for he alone is sufficient and all-abundant for himself, but to him who underwent labour for the sake of that which is good, namely, for Jacob; so that in this instance virtue received the divine seed from the great Cause of all things, but brought forth her offspring to one of her lovers, who deserved to be preferred to all her other Suitors. [Genesis 25:21.]

Again, when the all-wise Isaac addressed his supplications to God, Rebecca, who is perseverance, became pregnant by the agency of him who received the supplication; but Moses, who received Zipporah,[Exodus 2:21.] that is to say, winged and sublime virtue, without any supplication or entreaty on his part, found that she conceived by no mortal man.

14 Now I bid ye, initiated men, who are purified, as to your ears, to receive these things, as mysteries which are really sacred, in your inmost souls; and reveal them not to any one who is of the number of the uninitiated, but guard them as a sacred treasure, laying them up in your own hearts, not in a storehouse in which are gold and silver, perishable substances, but in that treasurehouse in which the most excellent of all the possessions in the world does lie, the knowledge namely of the great first Cause, and of virtue, and in the third place, of the generation of them both. And if ever you meet with any one who has been properly initiated, cling to that man affectionately and adhere to him, that if he has learnt any more recent mystery he may not conceal it from you before you have learnt to comprehend it thoroughly. For I myself, having been initiated in the great mysteries by Moses, the friend of God, nevertheless, when subsequently I beheld Jeremiah the prophet, and learnt that he was not only initiated into the sacred mysteries, but was also a competent hierophant or expounder of them, did not hesitate to become his pupil. And he, like a man very much under the influence of inspiration, uttered an oracle in the character of God, speaking in this manner to most peaceful virtue: "Hast thou not called me as thy house, and thy father, and the husband of thy Virginity?" [Jeremiah 3:4.] showing by this expression most manifestly that God is both a house, the incorporeal abode of incorporeal ideas, and the Father of all things, inasmuch as it is he who has created them; and the husband of wisdom, sowing for the race of mankind the seed of happiness in good and virgin soil. For it is fitting for God to converse with an unpolluted and untouched and pure nature, in truth and reality virgin, in a different manner from that in which we converse with such. For the association of men, with a view to the procreation of children, makes virgins women. But when God begins to associate with the soul, he makes that which was previously woman now again virgin. Since banishing and destroying all the degenerate appetites unbecoming a human being, by which it had been made effeminate, he introduces in their stead genuine, and perfect, and unadulterated virtues; therefore, he will not converse with Sarah before all the habits, such as other women have, have left her,[Genesis 18:11.] and till she has returned into the class of pure virgins.

15 But it is, perhaps, possible that in some cases a virgin soul may be polluted by intemperate passions, and so become impure. On which account the sacred oracle has been cautious, calling God the husband, not of a virgin, for a virgin is subject to change and to mortality, but of virginity; of an idea, that is to say, which is always existing in the same principles and in the same manner. For as all things endowed with distinctive qualities are by nature liable to origination and to destruction, so those archetypal powers, which are the makers of those particular things, have received an imperishable inheritance in their turn. Therefore is it seemly that the uncreated and unchangeable God should ever sow the ideas of immortal and virgin virtues in a woman who is transformed into the appearance of virginity? Why, then, O soul, since it is right for you to dwell as a virgin in the house of God, and to cleave to wisdom, do you stand aloof from these things, and rather embrace the outward sense, which makes you

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effeminate and pollutes you? Therefore, you shall bring forth an offspring altogether polluted and altogether destructive, the fratricidal and accursed Cain, a possession not to be sought after; for the name Cain being interpreted means possession.

16 And one may wonder at the kind of narration which the Jewish lawgiver frequently employs in many instances, where he departs from the usual style. For after giving the history of those parents of the human race who were created out of the earth, he begins to relate the story of the first-born of human parents, concerning whom he says absolutely nothing, as if he had already frequently mentioned his name, and were not now bringing it forward for the first time. Accordingly, he simply says that "she brought forth Cain." What sort of being was he, O writer; and what have you ever said about him before of either great of small importance? And yet you are not ignorant of the importance of a proper application of names. For before this time, as you proceed in your history, you show this, when speaking in reference to the same person you say, "And Adam knew Eve his wife, and she conceived and brought forth a son, and she called his name Seth." [Genesis 4:25.] Therefore it was much more necessary in the case of the first-born, who was the beginning of the generation of men from one another, to display the nature of him who was thus conceived and born, in the first place showing that he was a male child, and secondly mentioning his peculiar name, Cain. Since, therefore, it was not owing to inexperience or to ignorance of according to what persons he ought to give names, that he appears to have discarded his usual practice in the case of Cain, we must now consider on what account he thus named those who were born of our first parents, rather mentioning the name in an incidental way than actually giving it. And the cause, as it appears to me, according to the best conjecture that I can form, is this.

17 All the rest of the human race gives names to things which are different from the things themselves, so that the thing which we see is one thing, but the name which we give it is another; but in the history of Moses the names which he affixes to things are the most conspicuous energies of the things themselves, so that the thing itself is at once of necessity its name, and is in no respect different from the name which is imposed on it. And you may learn this more clearly from the previous example which I have mentioned. When the mind which is in us, and let it be called Adam, meeting with the outward sense, according to which all living creatures appear to exist (and that is called Eve), having conceived a desire for connexion, is associated with this outward sense, that one conceives as in a net, and hunts after the external object of outward sense naturally. For by means of the eyes it arrives at a conception of colour, by the ears it conceives sound, by the nostrils it arrives at a conception of smells, of flavours by the organs of taste, and of all substance by those of touch; and having thus conceived it becomes pregnant, and immediately it is in labour, and brings forth the greatest of all the evils of the soul, namely, vain opinion, for it conceives an opinion that everything that it has seen, that it has heard, that it has tasted, that it has smelled, or that it has touched, belongs to itself, and to looks upon itself as the inventor and creator of them all.

18 And there is nothing unnatural in its receiving this impression, for there was a time once when the mind had no conversation with the outward sense, and had no outward sense, being very far removed from all things which were gregarious and in the habit of associating together, and itself resembling those solitary animals which feed by themselves. Accordingly as at that time it was classed by itself it did not touch any body, inasmuch as it had no organ in itself by which to take hold of external objects, but it was blind, and devoid of power, not being such a being as most people call a person when they see any one deprived of his eyes, for such a person is destitute of only one external sense, and has great and abundant vigor in the others. But this mind, being curtailed of all the faculties which are derived from the outward senses, and being really powerless, being but the half of a perfect soul, destitute of the faculty by which it might naturally be able to conceive bodies, being but a garment of itself, deprived of its kindred organs, and as such unfortunately is wholly deprived of these organs of the external senses on which it might rely as on a staff, and by which it might have been able to support itself when tottering. From which cause a great darkness is spread over all bodies, so that nothing can be visible through it; for there was no outward sense by which things could be distinguished. God therefore, wishing to give it the faculty of comprehending not only incorporeal but also solid bodies, filled up the entire soul, attaching a second portion to that which he had already created, which he called appellatively woman, and by an especial name Eve, intimating the outward sense by a metaphorical expression.

19 And she, the first moment that she was born, pours forth abundant light in a flood into the mind through each of her subordinate parts, as through so many holes, and having dissipated the previously existing mist, enabled it like a master to discern the natures of bodies at a distance and with perfect clearness; and the mind being now irradiated with light, as if the beams of the sun had suddenly shone upon it after night, or as if it had just arisen from a deep sleep, or as if it had been to see a blind man suddenly restored to sight, came at once upon all the things with which creation was concerned, heaven, and earth, and water, and air, and plants, and animals, and their habits, and distinctive qualities, and faculties, and dispositions, and movements, and energies, and actions, and changes, and ends; and some things he saw, and some thing he heard, and some he tasted, and some he smelled, and some he touched; and towards some he felt an inclination as they were productive of pleasure, and to some he felt aversion inasmuch as they caused pain. Having therefore looked around it on all sides, and having contemplated itself and its own faculties, it ventured to utter the same boast that Alexander the king of the Macedonians did, for they say that he, when he determined to lay claim to the supreme dominion over Europe and Asia, stood in a suitable place, and looking around him upon every thing, said, "All things on this side and all things on that side are mine," displaying thus the emptiness of soul truly childish and infantine and foolish, and not at all royal. But the mind, having first laid a claim to the faculties of the outward sense, and by means of them having conceived every idea of bodily substance, became filled with unreasonable pride and was puffed up, so as to think everything in the world its own property, and that nothing at all belonged to any one else.

20 This is that disposition in us which Moses characterised when he gave Cain his name, a name which being interpreted means possession, Cain himself being full of all folly or rather of all impiety; for instead of thinking that all possession belonged to God, he conceived that they all belonged to himself, though he was not only not able to possess even himself steadily, but he did not even know of what essence he consisted; but nevertheless he placed confidence in the outward senses, as being competent to attain the objects perceivable only by them. Let him tell us therefore how he will be able to avoid seeing wrongly, or being mistaken as to his hearing, or to escape even in any other of these outward senses. And in truth it is inevitable that these errors should continually befall every one of us, even if we should happen to be endowed with the most accurately constructed organs possible; for it is difficult, or I might rather say impossible, for any one completely to avoid the natural blemishes and involuntary errors which arise, since the efficient causes of erroneous opinions are innumerable, both within us and around us, and outside of us, and since they are to be found in every mortal creature, man, therefore, very improperly conceives every thing to belong to himself, however proud he may be, and however high he may carry his head.

21 And Laban, who relied greatly on his distinctive qualities, appears to me to have afforded great amusement to Jacob, who was beyond all other men, a clear-sighted contemplator of the nature, which was free from any such qualities, when he ventured to say to him that, "My daughter, and my sons, and my cattle, and all that you see, belong to me and to my Daughters." [Genesis 31:43.] For adding the word "my" to each of these articles, he never ceases from speaking and boasting about himself. Your daughters now, tell me--and they are the arts and sciences of the soul--do you say that your daughters are your own property? How so? In the first place did you not receive them from the mind which taught them? in the second place it is naturally possible for you to lose these also, as you might lose anything else, either forgetting them through the greatness of your other cares, or through severe and lasting sicknesses of body, or because of the incurable disease which is at all events destined for those who grow old, namely old age, or through ten thousand other accidents, the number of which it is impossible to calculate. And what will you say about the sons?--and the sons are the reasonings which take place in portions of the soul, --if you pronounce that the sons belong to you, are you speaking reasonably, or are you downright mad for thinking so? For melancholic thoughts, and follies, and frenzies of the mind, and untrustworthy conjectures, and false ideas about things, and empty attractions of the mind, resembling dreams, and bringing with them convulsive agitation, and the disease which is innate in the soul, namely forgetfulness, and many other things beyond those that I have mentioned, take away the stability of your master-like authority, and show that these are the possession of some one else and not of you. Again, what will you say about the cattle? Now the cattle are the outward senses, for the outward sense is something unreasonable and brutish, like cattle, will you dare to call the cattle your property? Tell me when you see erroneously, when you constantly hear erroneously, when you at one time think sweet flavours brackish, and at others look upon bitter flavours as sweet, when you in fact, in respect of every single one of these outward senses, are in the habit of being mistaken more frequently than you come to a correct decision, do you not blush? and if so, will you give yourself airs, and boast yourself as if you employed all the faculties and energies of the soul in such a way as never to err or to be mistaken.

22 But if you were to become changed, and to become possessed of the senses which you ought to have, you would then affirm that everything was the property of God, not of yourself, all conceptions, all knowledge, all art, all speculation, all particular reasonings, all the outward senses, and all the energies of the soul, whether exerted by them or without them; and if you leave yourself throughout the whole of your life without any instructor, and without any teaching, you will be a slave for ever to harsh mistresses, such as vain opinions, appetites, pleasures, acts of injustice, follies, and erroneous conceptions; "For if," says Moses, "the servant shall answer and say, I am content with my master, and with my wife, and with my children, I will not depart and be free, then, being brought before the judgement-seat of God," and, having him for his judge, he shall securely have what he asked, "having first had his ear bored Through," [Exodus 21:6.] that he may not hear the words of God about freedom of soul. For it is a sign of a mind which is as it were rejected from the sacred contest and wholly discarded, and of reasoning faculties wholly childish and deficient, to make a boast of the mind being contented, and of thinking one's mind one's own lord and benefactor, and to boast of being very sufficiently pleased with the outward senses, and of thinking them one's own property, and the greatest of all good things, and their offspring with them; the offspring of the mind being to comprehend, to reason, to discriminate, to will, to conjecture; and the offspring of the outward sense being to see, to hear, to taste, to smell, to touch, in short to feel.

23 It follows inevitably that he who is held in bondage by these two masters can never enjoy even a dream of freedom; for it is only by a flight and complete escape from them that we arrive at a state of freedom from fear. But there is another man besides him, who is so taken up with himself, who makes an exhibition of insanity, and says that even if any one were to take his possessions away from him he would gain a victory over him, like a man contending for his own property. "For," says he, "I will pursue and will take captive; I will divide the spoil; I will satisfy my soul, and I will slay with my sword; my right hand shall obtain the Mastery." [Exodus 15:9.] To whom I would say, Thou hast forgotten, fool, that every one who thinks himself at his birth born to be a persecutor, is persecuted; for diseases, and old age, and death, with all the rest of the multitude of calamities incurred, voluntarily and involuntarily, agitate and harass and persecute every one of us; and he who thinks to take captive or to subdue is himself taken captive and subdued; and he who expects to carry off the spoil, and who arranges a distribution of the booty, is defeated, and becomes subject to the enemies who have defeated him, receiving emptiness instead of abundance, and slavery for his soul instead of mastership, and being slain instead of slaying, and forcibly suffering himself all that he had designed to do to others. For such a man was truly the enemy of reason which establishes the truth, and of nature herself, setting up a claim to everything which was done as his own, and remembering not one of the things which happened to him while he was suffering, as if he had escaped all the evils which could arise from any source whatever.

24 For, says he, the enemy has said, "I will pursue and take captive." Who, then, could be a more determined enemy to the soul than he who out of arrogance appropriate the especial attributes of the Deity to himself? Now it is an especial attribute of God to create, and this faculty it is impious to ascribe to any created being. But the special property of the created being is to suffer; and he who has previously considered how akin to and inevitable for man this is, will easily endure everything that befalls him, however grievous it may be. But if he thinks that it is inconsistent with his destiny, then, if he be oppressed with any very terrible calamity, he will suffer the punishment of Sisyphus, not being able to raise his head, not even ever so little, but being exposed to all sorts of evils coming upon him and overwhelming him, and meeting them all with submission and non-resistance, the passions of a degenerate and unmanly soul; for he ought rather to have endured with patience; still, however, resisting and striving against calamity, strengthening his mind, and raising a bulwark against sorrow by his own patience and fortitude, which are the most powerful of virtues. For as to be shaved is an operation of a twofold nature, as in the one case the creature shaved is either the active agent and the passive subject; and in the other case, he does nothing but yield and submit to the barber: for a sheep is shorn either of his whole hide, or of that which is called the pillow; doing nothing of itself, but only suffering at the hands of another. But man cooperates with the barber, and puts himself in the proper attitude, and makes himself convenient, mingling the characters of the subject and the agent. So also in the case of beating, that may happen either to a servant who has committed offences worthy of stripes, or to a freeman who is stretched on the wheel as a punishment for wickedness, or to some inanimate thing; for stones and trees are beaten, and gold and silver, and whatever material is wrought in a forge, or is cut in two. And to be beaten, also happens to athletes who contend in boxing, or in the pancratium for victory and crowns. The boxer parries blows

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which are aimed at him with one of his hands, and stooping his neck on this side and on that side, guards against being struck; and very often he stands on tiptoe, and raises himself as high as he can, or else he stoops and contracts himself on the other hand, and compels his antagonist to waste his blows on the empty air, very nearly as if he were fighting with a shadow. But the servant or the brass, doing nothing in return, is subjected to the will of the other party, suffering at his hands whatever he pleases: let us therefore never admit the influence of this passion, neither in our body, nor, what is of much greater importance, in our soul; but let us rather admit that feeling which suffers in return, since it is inevitable that that which is mortal must suffer; so that we may not, like effeminate persons, broken in spirit, dissolute, and falling to pieces before our time, be weak through the utter prostration and relaxation of the powers of the soul, but rather that, being invigorated in the nerves and tone of our minds, we may be able to bear cheerfully and easily the rush of such calamities as may be impending over us. Since therefore it has been proved, that no mortal is positively and assuredly the master of anything whatever (and they who are called masters are so in appearance only, and are not called so in truth), it follows of necessity, that as there is a subject and a slave, so there must also be a ruler and lord in the universe, and he must be the true real ruler and lord, the one God, to whom it was becoming to say, that "All things belong to him."

25 And let us now consider with what magnificent fitness and with what divine majesty he speaks of these things. Let us consider the expression, "All things are mine," and "all things" mean as he says, "gifts, and offerings, and fruits of labour, which, on watching carefully, he will bring to me on the days of my Festivals." [Numbers 28:2.] Showing, very manifestly, that of all existing things some are thought worthy of moderate grace which is called an offering, and some of that higher grace which is called by the appropriate name of a free gift. And these things again are of such a nature that they are able, not only to bring forth virtues as their fruit, but that good fruit and eatable does actually pervade the whole of them, by which alone the soul of him who loves contemplation is supported; and he who has learnt this lesson, and who is able to keep and preserve these things in his mind, will bring to God a faultless and most excellent offering, namely faith, on the festivals, which are not feasts of mortal things; for he has assigned feasts also to himself, laying down this as the most inevitable doctrine to those who are revellers in philosophy. And the doctrine is this: God alone keeps festival in reality, for he alone rejoices, he alone is delighted, he alone feels cheerfulness, and to him alone is it given, to pass an existence of perfect peace unmixed with war. He is free from all pain, and free from all fear; he has no participation in any evils, he yields to no one, he suffers no sorrow, he knows no fatigue, he is full of unalloyed happiness; his nature is entirely perfect, or rather God is himself the perfection, and completion, and boundary of happiness, partaking of nothing else by which he can be rendered better, but giving to every individual thing a portion of what is suited to it, from the fountain of good, namely, from himself; for the beautiful things in the world would never have been such as they are, if they had not been made after an archetypal pattern, which was really beautiful, the uncreate, and blessed, and imperishable model of all things.

26 And on this account too Moses calls the sabbath, which name being interpreted means "rest," "the sabbath of God." [Leviticus 23:2.] Touching upon the necessary principles of natural philosophy, not of the philosophy of men, in many parts of his law, for that among existing things which rests, if one must tell the truth, is one thing only, God. And by "rest" I do not mean "inaction" (since that which is by its nature energetic, that which is the cause of all things, can never desist from doing what is most excellent), but I mean an energy completely free from labour, without any feeling of suffering, and with the most perfect ease; for one may say, without impropriety, that the sun and the moon, and the entire heaven, and the whole world labour, inasmuch as they are not endowed with independent power, and are continually in a state of motion and agitation, and the most undeniable proofs of their labour are the yearly seasons; for these things, which have the greatest tendency in the whole heaven to keep things together, vary their motions, making their revolutions at one time northern, at another time southern, and at other times different from both. The air, again, being sometimes warmed and sometimes cooled, and being capable of every sort of change, is easily proved to labour by the variations to which we feel that it is subject, since the most general cause of change is fatigue, and it would be folly to enter into any long detail about terrestrial or aquatic animals, dwelling at any length upon their general or particular changes; for these animals very naturally are liable to weakness in a much greater degree than those sublime objects, inasmuch as they partake to the greatest extent of the lowest, that is of earthly essence. Since therefore it is naturally the case that things, which are changed, are changed in consequence of fatigue, and since God is subject to no variation and to no change, he must also by nature be free from fatigue, and that, which has no participation in weakness, even though it moves everything, cannot possibly cease to enjoy rest for ever. So that rest is the appropriate attribute of God alone.

27 And it has been shown that it is suitable to his character to keep festival; sabbaths therefore and festivals belong to the great Cause of all things alone, and absolutely to no man whatever. For come, if you please, and contemplate with me the much celebrated festive assemblies of men. As for those which among the barbarian and Grecian nations have been established in compliance with fabulous fictions, all tending to no other object than to excite vain pride in various nations, they may be all passed over, for the entire life of a man would not be long enough to make an accurate and thorough investigation of all the absurdities which existed in each of those festivals. But with a due regard to our time, we will mention a few points in the most important of them, as a specimen of the whole. In every festival then and assembly among men, the following are the most remarkable and celebrated points, security, relaxation, truce, drunkenness, deep drinking, revelling, luxury, amusement, music at the doors, banquets lasting through the night, unseemly pleasures, wedding feasts during the day, violent acts of insolence, practices of intemperance, indulgence of folly, pursuits of shameful things, an utter destruction and renunciation of what is good, wakefulness during the night for the indulgence of immoderate appetites, sleep by day when it is the proper time to be awake, a turning upside down of the laws of nature. At such a time virtue is ridiculed as a mischievous thing, and vice is caught at as something advantageous. Then actions that ought to be done are held in no honour, and such as ought not be done are esteemed. Then music and philosophy and all education, the really divine images of the divine soul, are reduced to silence, and such practices as are panders and pimps of pleasure to the belly, and the parts adjacent to the belly, are alone allowed to raise their voice.

28 Such are the festivals of those who call themselves happy men, and even while they confine their unseemly conduct within their houses and unconsecrated places, they appear to me to be less guilty. But when, like the rush of a torrent carrying everything away with it, their indecency approaches and insults the most holy temples, it immediately overtaxes all that there is sacred in them, performing unhallowed sacrifices, offering victims which ought not to be sacrificed, and prayers such as should never be accomplished; celebrating impious mysteries, and profane rites, displaying a bastard piety, an adulterated holiness, an impure purity, a falsified truth, a debauched service of God. And besides all this, they wash their bodies with baths and purifications, but they neither desire nor endeavor to wash off the passions of their souls, by which their whole life is polluted; and they are eager to flock to the temples in white garments, clothes in robes without spot or stain, but they feel no shame at bringing a polluted mind up to the very inmost shrine. And if any one of the beasts, to be sacrificed, is found to be not perfect and entire, it is driven out of the sacred precincts, and is not allowed to be brought to the altar, even though all these corporeal imperfections are quite involuntary on its part; but though they may themselves be wounded in their souls by sensible diseases, which the invincible power of wickedness has inflicted on them, or though, I might rather say, they are mutilated and curtailed of their fairest proportions, of prudence, and courage, and justice, piety, and of all the other virtues which the human race is naturally formed to possess, and although too they have contracted all this pollution and mutilation of their own free will, they nevertheless dare to perform sacrifices, thinking that the eye of God sees external objects alone, when the sun co-operates and throws light upon them, and that it cannot discern what is invisible in preference to what is visible, using itself as its own light. For the eye of the living God does not need any other light to enable him to perceive things, but being himself archetypal light he pours forth innumerable rays, not one of which is capable of being comprehended by the outward sense, but they are all only intelligible to the intellect; in consequence of which God alone uses them who is only comprehensible to the intellect, and nothing that has any portion in creation uses them at all; for that which has been created is perceptible to the outward senses, but that nature which is only perceptible to the intellect cannot be comprehended by the outward sense.

29 Since, therefore, he thus invisibly enters into this region of the soul, let us prepare that place in the best way the case admits of, to be an abode worthy of God; for if we do not, he, without our being aware of it, will quit us and migrate to some other habitation, which shall appear to him to be more excellently provided. For if when we are about to receive kings, we prepare our houses to wear a more magnificent appearance, neglecting nothing which may give them ornament, but using every thing in a liberal and unsparing manner, having for our object that they shall have an abode pleasant to them, and in all respects suitable to their majesty; what sort of habitation ought we to prepare for the King of kings, for God the ruler of the whole universe, condescending in his mercy and lovingkindness for man to visit the beings whom he has created, and to come down from the borders of heaven to the lowest regions of the earth, for the purpose of benefiting our race? Shall we prepare him a house of stone or of wooden materials? Away! such an idea is not holy even to utter; for not even if the whole earth were to change its nature and to become on a sudden gold, or something more valuable than gold, and if it were then to be wholly consumed by the skill of workmen, who should make it into porticoes and vestibules, and chambers, and precincts, and temples--not even then could it be a place worthy for his feet to tread upon, but a pious soul is his fitting abode.

30 If therefore we call the invisible soul the terrestrial habitation of the invisible God, we shall be speaking justly and according to reason; but that the house may be firm and beautiful, let a good disposition and knowledge be laid as its foundations, and on these foundations let the virtues be built up in union with good actions, and let the ornaments of the front be the due comprehension of the encyclical branches of elementary instruction; for from goodness of disposition arise skill, perseverance, memory; and from knowledge arise learning and attention, as the roots of a tree which is about to bring forth eatable fruit, and without which it is impossible to bring the intellect to perfection. But by the virtues, and by actions in accordance with them, a firm and strong foundation for a lasting building is secured, in order that anything which may endeavor to separate and alienate the soul from honesty and make it such another haunt, may be powerless against so strong a defense, and by means of the study of the encyclical branches of elementary education, the things requisite for the ornament of the soul are provided; for as whitewashing, and paintings, and tablets, and the arrangement of costly stones, by which men decorate not merely the walls, but even the lower parts of their houses, and all other such things as these do not contribute to strength, but only give pleasure to those who live in the house; so the knowledge of the encyclical accomplishments decorates the whole habitation of the soul, while grammar investigates the principles of poetry and follows up the history of ancient events, and geometry labours at equalities according to analogy, and endeavors to remedy whatever in us is deficient in rhythm or in moderation, or in harmony, by giving us rhythm, and moderation, and harmony, by means of a polished system of music; and rhetoric aims at giving us acuteness in everything, and at properly adapting all proper interpretations to everything, claiming for itself the control of all intenseness and all the vehement affections, and again of all relaxations and pleasures, with great freedom of speech, and a successful application of the organs of language and voice.

31 Such a house then being prepared in the race of mankind, all things on earth will be filled with good hopes, expecting the return of the powers of God; and they will come, bringing laws from heaven, and bonds, for the purpose of sanctifying the hallowing it, according to the command of their Father; then becoming the associates and constant companions of these souls which love virtue, they sow in them the genus of happiness: as they gave to the wise Abraham his son Isaac as the most perfect proof of their gratitude for the hospitality which they experienced from him. And the purified intellect rejoices in nothing more than in confessing that it has for its master him who is the Lord of all; for to be the servant of God is the greatest boast, and is more honourable, not only than freedom, but even than riches or dominion, or than anything which the race of mankind is eager for. And of the supreme authority of the living God, the sacred scripture is a true witness, which speaks thus: "And the land shall not be sold for ever; for all the earth is mine, because ye are all strangers and sojourners in my Sight." [Leviticus 25:23.] Does not the scripture here most manifestly show that all things belong to God by virtue of possession, but to created things only inasmuch as they have the use of them? For, says God, nothing shall be permanently sold to any one of all created beings, since there is one being to whom the possession of the universe does permanently and surely belong; for God has given the use of all created things to all men, not having made any one of those things which are only in part perfect, so as to have absolutely no need of anything else, in order that, being desirous to obtain that of which it has need, it may of necessity unite itself to that which is able to supply it, and that other may in its turn unite with it, and both may thus combine with one another; for thus, the two combining and mingling together, and like a lyre which is composed of dissimilar sounds, coming into one combination and symphony, must of necessity sound together, while all things giving and receiving in turn contribute to the completion and perfection of the universal world.

In this way inanimate things combine with those which have life, irrational things with those endowed with reason, trees with men, and men with plants, things untameable with those which are tame, and domestic animals with savage ones, the male with the female, and the female with the male; in short, terrestrial animals with such as live in the water, aquatic creatures with those whose home is in the air, and flying animals with any of these described above. And besides all those things, earth with heaven, and heaven with earth, air

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with water, and water with air. And again the intermediate natures with one another, and with these at their extremities, and the extremities too form an attachment to the intermediate natures and to one another. So again winter feels a need of summer, and summer of winter, spring of both, and autumn of spring, and each of these seasons of each other season; and, so to say, everything has a need and want of everything else. So that the whole universe of which all these are parts, namely the world, is clearly a complete work, worthy of its Maker.

32 Thus, therefore, putting all these things together, God appropriated the dominion over them all to himself, but the use and enjoyment of themselves and of each other he allowed to those who are subject to him; for we have the complete use of our own faculties and of everything which affects us: I therefore, consisting of soul and body, and appearing to have a mind, and reason, and outward sense, find that not one of all these things is my own property. For where was my body before my birth? and where will it go when I am departed? And what becomes of the differences of age of that being which at present appears to exist? Where is now the infant?--where the child?--where the boy?--where the youth just arriving at the age of puberty?--where the young man?--where is he now whose beard is just budding, the vigorous and perfect man? Whence came the soul, and whither will it go? and how long will it remain with us? and what is its essence, or what may we speak of as such? Moreover, when did we acquire it? Was it before our birth?--But then we ourselves did not exist. Shall we have it after our death?--But then we shall not exist, we who are now a combination of distinctive qualities in combination with our bodies; but rather we shall then be hastening to a regeneration, becoming in combination with incorporeal beings: and now, when we are alive we are governed rather than governing, and we are understood ourselves rather than understanding anything else; for our soul understands us without being understood by us, and it imposes commands upon us which we are necessitated to obey, as servants are compelled to obey a mistress; and whenever it chooses to abandon us and to depart to the Ruler of all things, it will depart, leaving our house destitute of life. And even if we attempt to compel it to remain, it will disappear; for its nature is composed of unsubstantial parts, such as afford no handle to the body.

33 But the mind is my peculiar place of abode. Is this the language of the mistaken conjecturer, of the former of erroneous opinions, of the man out of his mind, of the fool, of him who is found to be destitute of his senses through a trance, or through melancholy, or from old age? Will any one then say, reason is my possession, or the organs of voice are my possession? Has not a very slight pretext of disease disabled the voice? has it now sewn up the mouths of even very eloquent men? Has not an expectation of danger, when it has come upon men, rendered myriads speechless? And in truth I am not found to be the governor of the outward senses, or perhaps I may even turn out to be their slave, following where they lead me, to colours, to shapes, to sounds, to smells, to flavours, or to other kinds of substances. By all which I think it is shown that we have the use of possessions which in reality belong to others, and that neither glory, nor riches, nor honours, nor authority, nor anything else which concerns our bodies or souls is really our own, nor indeed even life itself. But having the use of these things, if we are judicious and prudent, we shall take care of them as possessions of God, being well aware beforehand that it is the law, that the master, whenever he pleases, may reclaim his own property. For by these considerations we shall diminish our grief for the deprivation of such things. But now, men in general, thinking that every thing is really their own property, are in a moment afflicted with extraordinary grief at the absence or loss of any thing. It is, therefore, not only true, but a thing also which most especially tends to consolation, to consider that the world and all the things in the world are the works and the property of him who created them. And his own work, he who is its real possessor, gives to others, because he has no need of it himself. But he who uses it has no property in it, because there is one Lord and master of all things, who says most truly, "All the earth is mine," a saying which is equivalent to--every created thing is mine; and "he are all strangers and sojourners in my sight."

34 For all mortals, being compared with one another, are looked upon as natives of the soil, and nobly born persons, all enjoying equal honours, and equal rank; but by God they are looked upon as strangers and sojourners; for each of us has come into this world as to a new city, in which he had no share before his birth, and having come into it he dwells here, until he has completed the period of life allotted to him. At the same time, also, this doctrine of exceeding wisdom is introduced, that the Lord God is the only real citizen, and that every created being is but a stranger and a sojourner. But those who are called citizens are called so rather in consequence of a slight misapplication of the name than in strict truth. And it is a sufficient gift to wise men--if considered comparatively with the only true citizen, God--for them to have the rank of strangers and sojourners. With respect to foolish men, of them there is absolutely no one who is a stranger or sojourner in the city of God , but such an one is found to be utterly an exile. And this is implied in what he said besides as a most authoritative doctrine, "The land shall not be utterly sold away." Nor did God add "by whom," in order that from that point being passed over in silence, he who was not wholly uninitiated in natural philosophy, might be benefited in respect of knowledge. Therefore, if you consider the matter, you will find that all men, and especially those who have been alluded to as giving gratuitously, sell rather than give; and that they, who we fancy are receiving favours, are, in reality, purchasing the benefits which they derive; for they who give, hoping to receive a requital, such as praise or honour, and seeking for a return of the favour which they are conferring, under the specious name of a gift, are, in reality, making a bargain. Since it is usual, for those who sell, to receive a price in return for what they part with; but they who, receiving presents, feel anxiety to make a return for them, and make such a return in due season, they in reality perform the part of purchasers; for as they know how to receive, so also do they know how to requite. 2But God distributes his good things, not like a seller vending his wares at a high price, but he is inclined to make presents of everything, pouring forth the inexhaustible fountains of his graces, and never desiring any return; for he has no need of anything, nor is there any created being competent to give him a suitable gift in return.

35 As all things then are confessed to be the possessions of God, and proved to be so by sound reasonings and testimonies, which cannot possibly be convicted of bearing false witness, for they are the sacred oracles which Moses has recorded in the Holy Scriptures that bear witness; we must deprecate that mind which fancied that that which originated in a meeting with the outward sense was his own property, and which called it Cain, and said, "I have gotten a man by means of God," in this also greatly erring. But in what did he err? Because God was the cause, not the instrument; and what was born was created indeed through the agency of some instrument, but was by all means called into existence by the great first cause; for many things must co-operate in the origination of anything; by whom, from what, by means of what, and why? Now he by whom a thing originates is the cause; that from which a thing is made is the material; that by means of which it was made is the instrument; and why, is the object. For come now, suppose any one should say, what things must meet together, that any house or city may be made? Must there not be a builder, and stones, and timber, and tools? What then is the builder, but the cause by whom the house or city is built? And what are the stones and timber, but the materials of which the buildings is made? And what are the tools, but the things by means of which it is made? And for what reason is it built, except to serve as a shelter and protection? This is the object. Now passing on from these particular buildings, consider the greatest house or city, namely, this world, for you will find that God is the cause of it, by whom it was made. That the materials are the four elements, of which it is composed; that the instrument is the word of God, by means of which it was made; and the object of the building you will find to be the display of the goodness of the Creator. This is the discriminating opinion of men fond of truth, who desire to attain to true and sound knowledge; but they who say that they have gotten anything by means of God, conceive that the cause is the instrument, the Creator namely, and the instrument the cause, namely, the human mind. And all sound reason would reproach Joseph for saying, "That the true interpretation of the dreams would be found out by means of God;" [Genesis 40:8.] for he should have said, that owing to him, as the cause indeed, would be the unfolding and accurate understanding of those things which were obscure; for we are the instruments by whom the particular energies are developed, both in our states of tension and of relaxation; but the Creator is "he who gives the blow which sets in motion" the faculties of body and soul, by whom all things are moved. Those then who are unable to distinguish between the differences of things must be instructed as ignorant; but those who, from a contentious spirit, invert the orders of the things signified, must be avoided as disputations; but those who, after an accurate investigation into the phaenomena which present themselves to them, assign its proper place to each of the objects discovered, must be praised as men who have attained to a true philosophy, and are void of error. For Moses says to those who fear lest they should be destroyed by the wicked man, who is pursuing them with all his host, "Stand still, and see the salvation which is from the Lord, and which he will work for You;" [Exodus 14:13.] teaching them that salvation is effected, not by means of God, but by him as the direct cause.

ON THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM

1 (And the Lord said to Abraham, "Depart from thy land, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house to a land which I will show thee; and I will make thee into a great nation. And I will bless thee, and I will magnify thy name, and thou shall be blessed. And I will bless them that bless thee, and I will curse them that curse thee; and in thy name shall all the nations of the earth be Blessed." [Genesis 12:1.] (God, wishing to purify the soul of man, first of all gives it an impulse towards complete salvation, namely, a change of abode, so as to quit the three regions of the body, the outward sense and speech according to utterance; for his country is the emblem of the body, and his kindred are the symbol of the outward sense, and his father's house of speech. Why so? (Because the body derives its composition from the earth, and is again dissolved into earth; and Moses is a witness of this when he says, "Dust thou art, and unto dust shall thou Return." [Genesis 3:19.] For he says, that man was compounded by God fashioning a lump of clay into the form of a man; and it follows of necessity that, a composite being, when dissolved, must be dissolved into its component parts. But the outward sense in nearly connected with and akin to the mind, the irrational part to the rational, since they are both parts of one soul; but speech is the abode of the father, because our father is the mind, which implants in each of its parts its own powers, and distributes its energies among them, undertaking the care and superintendence of them all; and the abode in which it dwells is speech, a dwelling separated from the rest of the house; for as the hearth is the abode of a man, so is speech of the mind: (at all events, it displays itself, and all the notions which it conceives, arranging them and setting them in order in speech, as if in a house. And you must not wonder that Moses has called speech in man the abode of the mind, for he also says, that the mind or the universe, that is to say, God, has for his abode his own word. (And the practicer of virtue, Jacob, seizing on this apprehension, confesses in express words that, "This is no other than the house of God," [Genesis 28:17.] an expression equivalent to, The house of God is not this thing, or anything which can be made the subject of ocular demonstration, or, in short, anything which comes under the province of the outward senses, but is invisible, destitute of all specific form, only to be comprehended by the soul as soul. (What, then, can it be except the Word, which is more ancient than all the things which were the objects of creation, and by means of which it is the Ruler of the universe, taking hold of it as a rudder, governs all things. And when he was fashioning the world, he used this as his instrument for the blameless argument of all the things which he was completing.

2 (That he means by Abraham's country the body, and by his kindred the outward senses, and by his father's house uttered speech, we have now shown. But the command, "Depart from them," is not like or equivalent to, Be separated from them according to your essence, since that would be the injunction of one who was pronouncing sentence of death. But it is the same as saying, Be alienated from them in your mind, allowing none of them to cling to you, standing above them all; (they are your subjects, use them not as your rulers; since you are a king, learn to govern and not to be governed; know yourself all your life, as Moses teaches us in many passages where he says, "Take heed to Thyself." [Exodus 34:12.] For thus you will perceive what you ought to be obedient to, and what you ought to be the master of. (Depart therefore from the earthly parts which envelop you, O my friend, fleeing from that base and polluted prison house of the body, and from the keepers as it were of the prison, its pleasures and appetites, putting forth all your strength and all your power so as to suffer none of thy good things to come to harm, but improving all your good faculties together and unitedly. Depart also from thy kindred, outward senses; for now indeed you have given yourself up to each of them to be made use of as it will, and you have become a good, the property of others who have borrowed you, having lost your own power over yourself. But you know that, even though all men are silent on the subject, your eyes lead you, and so do your ears, and all the rest of the multitude of that kindred connexion, towards those objects which are pleasing to themselves. But if you choose to collect again those portions of yourself which you have lent away, and to invest yourself with the possession of yourself, without separating off or alienating any part of it, you will have a happy life, enjoying for ever and ever the fruit of good things which belong not to strangers but to yourself. But now rise up also and quit speech according to utterance, which Moses here represents God as calling your father's house, that you may not be deceived by the specious beauty of words and names, and so be separated from that real beauty which exists in the things themselves which are intended by these names. For it is absurd for a shadow to be looked upon as of more importance than the bodies themselves, or for an imitation to carry off the palm from the model. Now the interpretation resembles a shadow and an imitation, but the nature of things signified under these expressions, thus interpreted, resemble the bodies and original models which the man who aims at being such and such rather than at appearing so must cling to, removing to a distance from the other things.

3 When therefore the mind begins to become acquainted with itself, and to dwell among the speculations which come under the province of the intellect, all the inclinations of the soul for the species which is comprehensible by the intellect

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will be repelled, which inclination is called by the Hebrews, Lot; for which reason the wise man is represented as distinctly saying, "Depart, and separate yourself from Me;" [Genesis 13:9.] for it is impossible for a man who is overwhelmed with the love of incorporeal and imperishable objects to dwell with one, whose every inclination is towards the mortal objects of the outward senses. Very beautifully therefore has the sacred interpreter of God's will entitled one entire holy volume of the giving of the law, the Exodus, having thus found out an appropriate name for the oracles contained therein. For being a man desirous of giving instruction and exceedingly ready to admonish and correct, he desires to remove the whole of the people of the soul as a multitude capable of receiving admonition and correction from the country of Egypt, that is to say, the body, and to take them out from among its inhabitants, thinking it a most terrible and grievous burden that the mind which is endowed with the faculty of sight should be oppressed by the pleasures of the flesh, and should obey whatever commands the relentless desires choose to impose upon it. Therefore, after the merciful God has instructed this people, groaning and bitterly weeping for the abundance of the things concerning the body, and the exceeding supply of external things (for it is said, "The children of Israel groaned by reason of the Works") [Exodus 2:23.] when, God, I say, had instructed them about their going out, the prophet himself led them forth in safety. But there are some persons who have made a treaty with the body to last till the day of their death, and who have buried themselves in it as in a chest or coffin or whatever else you like to call it, of whom all the parts which are devoted to the slavery of the body and of the passions are consigned to oblivion and buried. But if anything well affected towards virtue has shot up by the side of it, that is preserved in the recollection, by means of which good things are naturally destined to be kept alive.

4 Accordingly, the sacred scriptures command the bones of Joseph--I mean by this the only parts of such a soul as were left behind, being species which know no corruption and which deserve to have mention made of them--to be preserved, thinking it preposterous for pure things not to be united to pure things. And what is especially worthy of being mentioned is this, that he believed that God would visit the race which was capable of Seeing," [Genesis 50:24.] and would not give it up for ever and ever to ignorance, that blind mistress, but would distinguish between the immortal and the mortal parts of the soul, and leave in Egypt those parts which were conversant about the pleasures of the body and the other immoderate indulgences of the passions; but with respect to those parts which are imperishable, would make a covenant that they should be conducted onwards with those persons who were going up to the cities of virtue and would further ratify this covenant with an oath. What then are the parts which are imperishable? In the first place, a perfect alienation from pleasure which says, "Let us lie down Together," [Genesis 39:7.] and let us enjoy human enjoyments; secondly, presence of mind combined with fortitude, by means of which the soul separates and distinguishes from one another those things which by vain opinions are accounted good things, as so many dreams, confessing that "the only true and accurate explanations of things are found with God;" [Genesis 40:8.] and that all those imaginings, which exist in the unsteady, puffed up, and arrogant life of those men who are not yet purified, but who delight in those pleasures which proceed from bakers, and cooks, and wine-bearers, are uncertain and indistinct; so that such a man is not a subject but a ruler of Egypt, that is to say of the whole region of the body; so that "he boasted of being of the race of the Hebrews," [Genesis 40:15.] who were accustomed to rise up and leave the objects of the outward senses, and to go over to those of the intellect; for the name Hebrew, being interpreted, means "one who passes over," because he boasted that "here he had done Nothing." [Genesis 40:17.] For to do nothing of those things which are thought much of among the wicked, but to hate them all and reject them, is praiseworthy in no slight degree; as it is to despise immoderate indulgence of the desires and all other passions; to fear God, if a man is not yet capable of loving him, and even while in Egypt to have a desire for real life.

5 Which he who sees, marveling at (and indeed it was Enough [Genesis 42:18.] to cause astonishment), says, "It is a great thing for me if my son Joseph is still Alive" [Genesis 45:28.] and has not died at the same time with vain opinions and the body which is but a lifeless carcass; and he also confessed that "it was the work of God," [Genesis 50:19.] and not of any created being, that he was recognised by his brethren, and so could put into commotion and agitation, and put to the rout by force, all the dispositions devoted to the body which flattered themselves that they could stand firmly on their own doctrines; he also said that "he had not been sent away by men, but had been appointed by God" [Genesis 45:5.] for the legitimate overseeing of the body and of all external things; but there are many other things also resembling these, being of a superior and more sacred kind of order; and they do not endure to abide in Egypt, the house of the body, and are never buried in a coffin at all, but depart to a distance outside of every thing mortal, and follow the words of the lawgiver, namely, Moses, who is the guide of their path. For Moses, being the nurse as it were and tutor of good works, and good expressions, and good intentions, which, even if at times they are mingled with those of an opposite character by reason of the somewhat confused medely which exists in mortal man; are nevertheless distinguished when they have passed, so that all the seeds and plants of excellence may not be destroyed and perish for ever and ever. And he exhorts men very vigorously to quit that which is called the mother of every thing that is absurd, without any delay or sluggishness, but rather using exceeding swiftness; for he says that men "must sacrifice the pascha, in Haste," [Exodus 12:12.] and the word pascha, being interpreted, means a "passing over," in order that the mind, exerting its reasonings without any doubt, and also an energetic willingness and promptness, may, without ever turning back make a passing over from the passions, to gratitude to God the Saviour, who has led it forth beyond all its expectations to freedom.

6 And why do we wonder if he exhorts the man who is led away by the force of unreasonable passions, neither to yield, nor to allow himself to be carried away by the impetuosity of its onward course, but to exert all his strength, to resist, and if he is unable to resist effectually, then to flee. For the second advance towards safety on the part of those who are unable to make a good resistance is flight. When the occasion does not permit the man who is a combatant by nature, and who has never been a slave of the passions, but who is always undergoing the toil of resistance to every separate one of them, to put forth all his powers of antagonism at all times, lest from continuance of his struggles against them he may gradually contract a painful infection from them; for there have before now been many instances of men having become imitators of the wickedness to which they were previously antagonists, as, on the other hand, some opposers of virtue have become copiers of that. And for this reason the following scripture has been given to men, "Return to the land of thy father and to thy family, and I will be with Thee;" [Genesis 31:3.] which is equivalent to saying, you have been a perfect wrestler for me, and you have been thought worthy of the prize and crown of victory, virtue having been the establisher of the contest and prospering to give prizes of victory; and now get rid of your fondness for contention, that you may not be always labouring but that you may be able to enjoy the fruit of your labours, which will never happen to you if you remain here dwelling among the objects of the external senses, and wasting your time among the distinctive qualities of the body, of which Laban is the leader (and this name means "distinctive quality;") but you must been an emigrant and must return to your native land, the land of the sacred word, and in some sense of the father of all those who practice virtue, which is wisdom, the best possible abiding place for those souls which love virtue. In this country you have a race which learns everything of itself, and is self-taught, which has no share in the infantine food of milk, but which by the divine oracle "has been forbidden to go down to Egypt," [Genesis 26:2.] and to put itself in the way of the attractive pleasures of the flesh, surnamed Isaac; and if you receive his inheritance, you will of necessity discard labour, for excessive abundance of things ready prepared, and of good things offered to your hand, will be the causes of cessation from toil. And the fountain from which good things are poured forth is the presence of the bounteous and beneficent God; on which account setting the seal to his loving kindness he says, "I will be with thee."

7 How then should any good thing be wanting when the all-accomplishing God is at all times present with his graces, which are his virgin daughters, which he, the Father, who begot them, always cherishes as virgins, free from all impure contact and pollution? Then all cares, and labours, and exercises of practice, have a respite; and everything that is useful is at the same time given to everybody without the employment of art, by the prescient care of nature; and the rapid influx of all these spontaneous blessings is called relaxation, since the mind is then relaxed and released from its energies as to its own peculiar objects, and is as it were emancipated from its yearly burdens,[here again Mangey supposes the text to be hopelessly corrupt. The word there is ekousioμn, for which he proposes and translates phortoμn toμn eteμsioμn.] by reason of the multitude of the things which are incessantly showered and rained upon it; and these things are in their own nature most admirable and most beautiful; for of the things of which the soul is in travail by herself, the greater part are premature and abortive progency; but those on which God pours his showers and which he waters, are produced in a perfect, and entire, and most excellent state. I am not ashamed to relate what has happened to me myself, which I know from having experienced it ten thousand times. Sometimes, when I have desired to come to my usual employment of writing on the doctrines of philosophy, though I have known accurately what it was proper to set down, I have found my mind barren and unproductive, and have been completely unsuccessful in my object, being indignant at my mind for the uncertainty and vanity of its then existent opinions, and filled with amazement at the power of the living God, by whom the womb of the soul is at times opened and at times closed up; and sometimes when I have come to my work empty I have suddenly become full, ideas being, in an invisible manner, showered upon me, and implanted in me from on high; so that, through the influence of divine inspiration, I have become greatly excited, and have known neither the place in which I was nor those who were present, nor myself, nor what I was saying, nor what I was writing; for then I have been conscious of a richness of interpretation, an enjoyment of light, a most penetrating sight, a most manifest energy in all that was to be done, having such an effect on my mind as the clearest ocular demonstration would have on the eyes.

8 That then which is shown is that thing so worthy of being beheld, so worthy of being contemplated, so worthy of being beloved, the perfect good, the nature of which is to change and sweeten the bitternesses of the soul, the most beautiful additional seasoning, full of all kinds of sweetnesses, by the addition of which, even those things which are not nutritious become salutary food; for it is said, that "the Lord showed him (Moses) a tree, and he cast it into the Water," [Exodus 15:25.] that is to say, into the mind dissolved, and relaxed, and full of bitterness, that it might become sweetened and serviceable. But this tree promises not only food but likewise immortality; for Moses tells us, that the tree of life was planted in the midst of the paradise, being, in fact, goodness surrounded as by a body-guard by all the particular virtues, and by the actions in accordance with them; for it is virtue which received the inheritance of the most central and excellent place in the soul. And he who sees is the wise man; for the foolish are blind, or at best dim sighted. On this account I have before mentioned, that the then prophets were called seers;[1Samuel 9:9.] and Jacob, the practicer of virtue, was desirous to give his ears in exchange for his eyes, if he could only see what he had previously heard described, and accordingly he receives an inheritance according to sight, having passed over that which was derived from hearing; for the coin of learning and instruction, which is synonymous with Jacob, is re-coined into the seeing Israel, in consequence of which he, the faculty of seeing, beholds the divine light, which is in no respect different from knowledge, which opens the eye of the soul, and leads it on to embrace the most conspicuous and and manifest comprehension of existing Things: [this again is Mangey's emendation. The Greek text has oμtion, which is either nonsense, or at least the opposite of what must be meant.] for as it is through music that the principles of music are understood, and through each separate art that its principles are comprehended, so also it is owing to wisdom that what is contemplated: but not only is wisdom like light, the instrument of seeing, but it does also behold itself. This, in God, is the light which is the archetypal model of the sun, and the sun itself is only its image and copy; and he who shows each thing is the only allknowing being, God; for men are called knowing only because they appear to know; but God, who really does know, is spoken of, as to his knowledge, in a manner inferior to its real nature, for everything that is ever spoken in his praise comes short of the real power of the living God. And he recommends his wisdom, not merely by the fact that it was he who created the world, but also by that of his having established the knowledge of everything that has happened, or that has been created in the firmest manner close to himself; for it is said, that "God saw all the things that he had Made," [Genesis 1:31.] which is an expression equivalent not to, He directed his sight towards each thing, but to, He conceived a knowledge, and understanding, and comprehension, of all the things that he had made. It was very proper, therefore, to teach and to instruct, and to point out to the ignorant, each separate thing, but it was unnecessary to do so to the all-knowing God, who is not like man, benefited by art, but who is himself confessed to be the beginning and source of all arts and sciences.

9 And Moses speaks very cautiously, inasmuch as he defines not the present time but the future in the promise which he records, when he says, "Not that which I do show you, but that which I will show You;" [Genesis 15:5.] as a testimony to the faith with which the soul believed in God, showing its gratitude not by what had been already done, but by its expectation of the future; for being kept in a state of suspense and eagerness by good hope, and thinking that even what was not present would beyond all question be present immediately, on account of its most certain faith in him who had promised, it found a reward, the perfect good; for in another passage it is said that Abraham believed in God. And in the same way, God, when showing Moses all the land, says that, "I have show it to thy eyes, but thou shall not enter Therein." [Deuteronomy 34:4.] Do not then fancy that this is spoken of the death of the all-wise Moses, as some inconsiderate persons believe; for it is a piece of folly to think that slaves should have the country of virtue assigned to them in preference to the friends of God. But first of all, God wishes to make it understood by you that there is one place for infants and another for full-grown men, the one being called practice and

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the other wisdom; and secondly, that the most beautiful of all the things in nature are rather such as can be seen as can be acquired; for how can it be possible to acquire possession of those things which are endowed in the same degree with the diviner attributes? But it is not impossible to see them, though it may not be given to all men to do so, for this may be permitted only to the purest and most acute-sighted race, to whom the father of the universe, when he displays his own works, is giving the greatest of all gifts. For what life can be better than that which is devoted to speculation, or what can be more closely connected with rational existence; for which reason it is that though the voices of mortal beings are judged of by the faculty of hearing, nevertheless the scriptures present to us the words of God, to be actually visible to us like light; for in them it is said that, "All people saw the voice of God;[Exodus 20:18.] they do not say, "heard it," since what took place was not a beating of the air by means of the organs of the mouth and tongue, but a most exceedingly brilliant ray of virtue, not different in any respect from the source of reason, which also in another passage is spoken of in the following manner, "Ye have seen that I spake unto you from out of Heaven," [Exodus 20:22.] not "Ye have heard," for the same reason. But there are passages where he distinguishes between what is heard and what is seen, and between the sense of seeing and that of hearing, as where he says, "Ye have heard the sound of the words, but ye saw no similitude, only ye heard a Voice;" [Deuteronomy 4:12.] speaking here with excessive precision; for the discourse which was divided into nouns and verbs, and in short into all the different parts of speech, he has very appropriately spoken of as something to be heard; for in fact that is examined by the sense of hearing; but that which has nothing to do with either with nouns or verbs, but is the voice of God, and seen by the eye of the soul, he very properly represents as visible; and having previously reminded them, "Ye saw no similitude," he proceeds to say, " Only ye heard a voice, which ye all saw;" for this must be what is understood as implied in those words. So that the words of God have for their tribunal and judge the sense of sight, which is situated in the soul; but those which are subdivided into nouns, and verbs, and other parts of speech, have for their judge the sense of hearing. But as the writer being new in all kinds of knowledge, has also introduced this novelty both in his accounts of domestic and of foreign matters, saying that the voice is a thing to be judged of by the sight, which in point of fact is almost the only thing in us which is not an object of sight, with the single exception of the mind; for the things which are the objects of the rest of the outward senses are, every one of them, visible to the sight, such as colours, tastes, smells, things that are hot or cold, things that are smooth or rough, things that are soft or hard, inasmuch as it is a body, if indeed it is a body at all, nor inasmuch as they are substantial bodies. And what is meant by this I will explain more distinctly: a flavour is appreciable by the sight, not inasmuch as it is flavour, but so far it is a mere substance, for in so far as it is flavour the sense of taste will judge of it; again a smell, in so far as it is a smell, will be decided upon by the nostrils, but inasmuch as it is a bodily substance, it will also be judged of by the eyes: and the other objects of sense will be tested in this manner; but voice is not appreciable by the sense of sight, neither inasmuch as it can be heard; but there are these two things in us which are wholly invisible--mind and speech; but the sound that proceeds from us does not the least resemble the divine organ of voice; for one organ of voice is mingled with the air, and flies to a kindred region with itself, namely to the ears; but the divine organ consists of unmixed and unalloyed speech, which outstrips the sense of hearing by reason of its fineness, and which is discerned by a pure soul, by means of its acuteness in the faculty of sight.

10 Therefore, after having left all mortal things, God, as I have said before, gives, as his first gift to the soul, an exhibition and an opportunity of contemplating mortal things: and in the second place he gives it an improvement in the doctrines of virtue, in respect both of their numbers and of their importance; for he says, "And I will make thee into a mighty nation," using this expression with reference to the multitude of the nation, and with reference to the increase and improvement of what was already great; and that this quantity in each kind, that is to say, both as to magnitude and as to number, was greatly increased, is pointed out by the king of Egypt, where he says, "For behold," says he, "the race of the children of Israel is a great Multitude." [Exodus 1:9.] Since both these facts bear witness to the race which had the power of beholding the living God, that it had derived increase both in manner and in magnitude, and as having done so, had met with prosperity, both in its life and in its language; for he does not say here (as any one would say who paid attention to the connexion of the words which he was using), a numerous multitude, but he says, "A great multitude," knowing that the word numerous by itself implies an imperfect multitude, unless in addition to its numbers it has the attributes of intelligence and knowledge; for what advantage is it to comprehend many subjects of speculation, unless each of them receives a power of growth to a suitable size; for in like manner a field is not perfect in which there are innumerable plants growing on the ground, and no plant has grown up by means of the skill of the husbandman so as to arrive at perfection, unless it is now able to produce fruit. But the beginning and the end of the greatness and numerousness of good things is the ceaseless and uninterrupted recollection of God, and an invocation of his assistance in the civil and domestic, confused and continual, warfare of life; for Moses says, "Behold, the people is wise and full of knowledge; this is a mighty nation; for what nation is there so great, that has God so near, as the Lord our God is to us in all the circumstances in which we call upon Him?" [Deuteronomy 4:6.] Therefore it has been plainly shown that there is power with God, which is a suitable and useful helper and defender, and the ruler himself comes nearer to the assistance of those persons who are worthy to be assisted.

11 But who are they who are worthy to obtain such a mercy as this? It is plain that they are all lovers of wisdom and knowledge; for these are the wise people and the people of knowledge of whom he speaks, each of whom may naturally be called great, since he aims at great things, and at one great thing with excessive earnestness and eagerness, namely, at never being separated from the Almighty God, but at being able to endure his approach when he comes near steadily, and without any amazement or display. This is the definition of great, to be near to God, or at least to be near to that thing which God is near; forsooth the world and the wise citizen of the world are both full of manyand great good things, but all the rest of the multitude of men is involved in numerous evils, and in but few good things; for the good is rare in the agitated and confused life of man. On which account it is said in the sacred scriptures, "It is not because you are numerous beyond all the nations that the Lord has selected you above them all, and has chosen you out; for in truth you are but few in comparison of all nations, but it is because the Lord loves You;" [Deuteronomy 7:7.] for if any one were to choose to distribute the multitude of one soul as if according to nations, he would find a great many ranks totally destitute of all order, of which pleasures, or appetites or griefs, or fears, or again follies and iniquities, and all the other vices which are connected with or akin to them, are the leaders, and he would find but one rank alone well regulated, that namely which is under the leadership of right reason. Among men, then, the unjust multitude is usually honoured more than one single just person; but in the eye of God a small company that is good is preferred to an infinite number of persons who are unjust. And, on that account, he warns men never to consent to a multitude of such a character; "For," says he, "thou shall not join with a multitude to do Evil." [Exodus 23:2.] May one, then, join a few to do so? One may never join a single bad man. But a bad man, though he be but a single individual, is a multitude of wickedness, and it is the greatest possible evil to join with him; for, on the contrary, it is becoming rather to oppose him and to make war upon him with fearless energy. "For if," says Moses, "you go forth to war against your enemies and see a horse," the emblem of arrogant and restive passion which scorns all control, "and a rider," the symbol of the mind devoted to the service of the passions, riding upon it, "and a great body of your people," admirers of those before-mentioned passions, and following in a solid phalanx, "you shall not be terrified so as to flee from them," for you, though only a single person, shall have a single being for your ally, "because the Lord your God is on your Side;" [Deuteronomy 20:1.] for his advance to battle puts an end to war, builds up peace again, overthrows numbers of longaccustomed evils, preserves the scanty race which loves God, to whom every one who becomes subject hates and abominates the ranks of the more earthly armies.

12 "For," says Moses, "you shall not eat those animals which have a multitude of feet, being numbered among all the reptiles that are upon the earth; because they are an Abomination." [Leviticus 11:42.] But the soul is not deserving of being hated which goes upon the earth in one part of itself, but only that which does so with all or with the greatest proportion of its parts, and which is exceedingly greedy about the things of the body, and which, in short, is unable to penetrate into and contemplate the divine revolutions of the heaven. And, moreover, as the animal with many feet is accursed among reptiles, so also is that which has no feet at all; the one for the cause already mentioned, and the other because it entirely falls upon the ground in all its parts, not being supported off the ground by anything, not even for the briefest minute. For Moses says that, "Everything which goes upon its belly is Unclean;" [Leviticus 11:43.] meaning, under this figurative expression, to point out those who pursue the pleasures of the belly. But some go far beyond these persons in wickedness, not only indulge in every description of desire, but also acquire that passion which is akin to desire, namely, anger, wishing to excite the whole of the irrational part of the soul and to destroy the mind. For what has been said in words, indeed, is applicable to the serpent, but in reality it is meant to apply to every man who is irrational and a slave to his passions, being truly a divine oracle, "Upon thy breast and upon thy belly shall thou Go;" [Genesis 3:14.] for anger has its abode about the breast, and the seat of desire is in the belly. But the foolish man proceeds always by means of the two passions together, both anger and desire, omitting no opportunity, and discarding reason as his pilot and judge. But the man who is contrary to him has extirpated anger and desire from his nature, and has enlisted himself under divine reason as his guide; as also Moses, that faithful servant of God, did. Who, when he is offering the burnt offerings of the soul, "washes out the Belly;" [Leviticus 9:14.] that is to say, he washes out the whole seat of desires, and he takes away "the breast of the ram of the Consecration;" [Leviticus 8:29.] that is to say, that whole of the warlike disposition, that so the remainder, the better portion of the soul, the rational part, having no longer anything to draw it in a different direction or to counteract its natural impulses, may indulge its own free and noble inclinations towards everything that is beautiful; for, in this way, it will improve both in quantity and in magnitude. For it is said, "How long shall this people exasperate me? and till what time will they refuse to believe me in all the signs which I have done among them? I will smite them with death and I will destroy them, and I will make thee and thy father's house into a mighty nation, greater and mightier than This." [Numbers 14:11.] For when the great multitude of the passions which indulge in anger and desire in the soul is put to the rout, then immediately those affections which depend on its rational nature rise up and become brilliant; for as the reptile with many feet and that with no feet at all, though they are exactly opposite to one another in the race of reptiles, are both pronounced unclean, so also the opinion which denies any God, and that which worships a multitude of Gods, though quite opposite in the soul, are both profane. And of proof of this is that the law banishes them both "from the sacred Assembly," [Deuteronomy 23:2.] forbidding the atheistical opinion, as a eunuch and mutilated person, to come into the assembly; and the polytheistic, inasmuch as it prohibits any one born of a harlot from either hearing or speaking in the assembly. For he who worships no God at all is barren, and he who worships a multitude is the son of a harlot, who is in a state of blindness as to his true father, and who on this account is figuratively spoken of as having many fathers, instead of one.

13 There have now been two gifts of God already mentioned: the hope of a life devoted to contemplation, and an improvement in good things in respect both of quantity and of magnitude. The third gift is blessing, without which it is not possible that the graces already mentioned can be confirmed; for the scriptures say, "And I will bless thee;" that is to say, I will give thee a word which shall be praised; for the portion eu (in eulogeμsoμ, I will bless), is always applicable to virtue. And of speech, one kind is like a spring and another kind is like a stream; that which is in the mind being like the spring, and the utterance through the medium of the mouth and tongue resembling a stream. And it is great riches for either species of speech to be improved, for the mind to be so by exerting soundness of reason in everything, whether important or unimportant, or for the utterance to be so when under the guidance of right instruction; for many men think, indeed, most excellently, but are betrayed by a bad interpreter, namely, speech, because they have not throughly worked up the whole course of encyclical instruction. Others, again, have been exceedingly skilful in explaining their ideas, but very bad hands at forming intentions, as, for instance, those who are called sophists, for the mind of these sophists is destitute of all harmony and of all real learning; but their speeches, which are uttered by the organs of their voice, are full of music and beauty. But God gives no imperfect gifts to his subjects, but all his presents are complete and perfect. On which account he now dispenses blessing not to one section only, that of speech, but to both portions; thinking it proper that the man who has received a benefit should also conceive the most excellent notions, and should also be able to explain what he has conceived in a powerful manner; for perfection, as it seems, consists in the two points, of being able to form clear and just conceptions and intentions, and also of being able to interpret them correctly. Do you not see that Abel (and the name Abel is the name of one who mourns over mortal things, and attributes happiness to immortal things), has a mind wholly free from all liability to reproach? And yet, from not being practiced in discussions, he is defeated by one who is clever as an antagonist in such things, Cain being able to get the better of him more through superiority of skill than of strength; for which reason, though I admire him on account of the good fortune with which he was endowed by nature, I nevertheless blame the disposition in him that, when he was challenged to a contest of discussion, he came forward to contend, when he ought to have abided by his usual tranquility, discarding all love for contention. But if he was determined by all means to enter into such a contest, then still he ought not to have engaged in it until he had sufficiently practiced himself in the exercises of the art; for men who have been long versed in political strife are usually accustomed to get the better of men of uncultivated acuteness.

14 For this reason also the allaccomplished Moss deprecates coming to a consideration of reasonable looking and plausible arguments, from the time that God began to cause the light of

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truth to shine upon him; through the immortal words of his knowledge and wisdom. But he is not the less led on to the contemplation of these arguments, not for the sake of becoming skilful in many things (for the contemplation of God himself and of his most sacred powers, are quite sufficient for a man who is fond of contemplation), but with a view to get the better of the sophists in Egypt, where fabulous and plausible inventions are looked upon as entitled to higher honour than a clear statement of truth. When, therefore, the mind walks abroad among the affairs of the ruler of the universe, it requires nothing further as an object of contemplation, since the mind alone is the most piercing of all eyes as applied to the objects of the intellect; but when it is directed towards those things which are properly objects of the outward senses, or to any passion, or substance, of which the land of Egypt is the emblem, then it will have need of skill and power in argument. On which account Moses is directed also to take Aaron with him as an addition, Aaron being the symbol of uttered speech, "Behold," says God, "is not Aaron thy Brother?" [Exodus 4:14.] For one rational nature being the mother of them both, it follows of course that the offspring are brothers, "I know that he will speak." For it is the office of the mind to comprehend, and of utterance to speak. "He," says God, "will speak for thee." For the mind not being able to give an adequate exposition of the part which is assigned to it, uses its neighbour speech as an interpreter, for the purpose of explaining what it feels. Presently he further adds, "Behold he will come to meet thee," since in truth speech when it meets the conceptions, and embodies them in words, and names stamps what had before no impression on it, so as to make it current coin. And further on he says, "And when he seeth thee he will rejoice in himself;" for speech rejoices and exults when the conception is not indistinct, because it being clear and evident employs speech as an unerring and fluent expositor of itself, having a full supply of appropriate and felicitous expressions full of abundant distinctness and intelligibility.

15 At all events when the conceptions are at all indistinct and ambiguous, speech is the treading as it were on empty air, and often stumbles and meets with a severe fall, so as never to be able to rise again. "And thou shall speak to him, and thou shall give my words into his mouth," which is equivalent to, Thou shall speak to him, and thou shall give my words into his mouth," which is equivalent to, Thou shall suggest to him conceptions which are in no respect different from divine language and divine arguments. For without some one to offer suggestions, speech will not speak; and the mind is what suggests to speech, as God suggests to the mind. "And he shall speak for thee to the people, and he shall be thy mouth, and thou shall be to him as God." And there is a most emphatic meaning in the expression, "He shall speak for thee," that is to say, He shall interpret thy conceptions, and "He shall be thy mouth." For the stream of speech being borne through the tongue and mouth conveys the conceptions abroad. But speech is the interpreter of the mind to men, while again mind is by means of speech the interpreter to God; but these thoughts are those of which God alone is the overseer. Therefore it is necessary for any one who is about to enter into a contest of sophistry, to pay attention to all his words with such vigorous earnestness, that he may not only be able to escape from the manoeuvres of his adversaries, but may also in his turn attack them, and get the better of them, both in skill and in power. Do you not see that conjurors and enchanters, who attempting to contend against the divine word with their sophistries, and who daring to endeavor to do other things of a similar kind, labour not so much to display their own knowledge, as to tear to pieces and turn into ridicule what was Done? [Exodus 7:12.] For they even transform their rods into the nature of serpents, and change water into the complexion of blood, and by their incantations they attract the remainder of the frogs to the land, and, like miserable men as they are, they increase everything for their own destruction, and while thinking to deceive others they are deceived themselves. And how was it possible for Moses to encounter such men as these unless he had prepared speech, the interpreter of his mind, namely Aaron? who now indeed is called his mouth; but in a subsequent passage we shall find that he is called a prophet, when also the mind, being under the influence of divine inspiration, is called God. "For," says God, "I give thee as a God to Pharaoh, and Aaron they brother shall be thy Prophet." [Exodus 7:1.] O the harmonious and well-organised consequence! For that which interprets the will of God is the prophetical race, being under the influence of divine possession and frenzy. Therefore "the rod of Aaron swallowed up their Rods," [Exodus 7:12.] as the holy scripture tells us. For all sophistical reasons are swallowed up and destroyed by the varied skilfulness of nature; so that they are forced to confess that what is done is "the finger of God," [Exodus 8:19.] an expression equivalent to confessing the truth of the divine scripture which asserts that sophistry is always subdued by wisdom. For the sacred account tells us that "the tables" on which the commandments were engraved as on a pillar, "were also written by the finger of God." [Exodus 32:16.] On which account the conjurors were not able to stand before Moses, but fell down as in a wrestling match, being overcome by the superior strength of their antagonist.

16 What then is the fourth gift? The having a great name, for God says, "I will magnify thy Name;" [Genesis 12:2.] and the meaning of this, as it appears to me, is as follows; as to be good is honourable, so also to appear to be so is advantageous. And truth is better than appearance, but perfect happiness is when the two are combined. For there are great numbers of people who apply themselves to virtue in genuine honesty and sincerity, and who admire its genuine beauty, having no regard to the reputation which they may have with the multitude, and who in consequence have been plotted against, being thought wicked though in reality they are good. And indeed there is no advantage whatever in seeming, unless being has also been added long before, as in the case with respect to bodies; for if all men were to fancy that one who was labouring under a disease was in good health, or that one in good health was labouring under a disease, still their opinion would not of itself create either disease or good health. But the man to whom God has given both things, namely both to be good and virtuous and also to appear so, that man is truly happy, and has a name which is really magnified. And one must have a prudent regard for a good reputation as a thing of great importance, and one which greatly benefits the life which is dependent on the body. And it falls to the lot of every one who, rejoicing with contentment, changes none of the existing laws, but zealously preserves the constitution of his native land. For there are some men, who, looking upon written laws as symbols of things appreciable by the intellect, have studied some things with superfluous accuracy, and have treated others with neglectful indifference; whom I should blame for their levity; for they ought to attend to both classes of things, applying themselves both to an accurate investigation of invisible things, and also to an irreproachable observance of those laws which are notorious. But now men living solitarily by themselves as if they were in a desert, or else as if they were mere souls unconnected with the body, and as if they had no knowledge of any city, or village, or house, or in short of any company of men whatever, overlook what appears to the many to be true, and seek for plain naked truth by itself, whom the sacred scripture teaches not to neglect a good reputation, and not to break through any established customs which divine men of greater wisdom than any in our time have enacted or established. For although the seventh day is a lesson to teach us the power which exists in the uncreated God, and also that the creature is entitled to rest from his labours, it does not follow that on that account we may abrogate the laws which are established respecting it, so as to light a fire, or till land, or carry burdens, or bring accusations, or conduct suits at law, or demand a restoration of a deposit, or exact the repayment of a debt, or do any other of the things which are usually permitted at times which are not days of festival. Nor does it follow, because the feast is the symbol of the joy of the soul and of its gratitude towards God, that we are to repudiate the assemblies ordained at the periodical seasons of the year; nor because the rite of circumcision is an emblem of the excision of pleasures and of all the passions, and of the destruction of that impious opinion, according to which the mind has imagined itself to be by itself competent to produce offspring, does it follow that we are to annul the law which has been enacted about circumcision. Since we shall neglect the laws about the due observance of the ceremonies in the temple, and numbers of others too, if we exclude all figurative interpretation and attend only to those things which are expressly ordained in plain words. But it is right to think that this class of things resembles the body, and the other class the soul; therefore, just as we take care of the body because it is the abode of the soul, so also must we take care of the laws that are enacted in plain terms: for while they are regarded, those other things also will be more clearly understood, of which these laws are the symbols, and in the same way one will escape blame and accusation from men in general. Do you not see that Abraham also says, that both small and great blessings fell to the share of the wise man, and he calls the great things, "all that he had," and his possessions, which it is allowed to the legitimate son alone to receive as his inheritance; but the small things he calls gifts, of which the illegitimate children and those born of concubines, are also accounted worthy. The one, therefore, resemble those laws which are natural, and the other those which derive their origin from human enactment.

17 I also admire Leah, that woman endued with all virtue, who, at the birth of Asher, who is the symbol of that bastard wealth, which is perceptible by the outward senses, says, "Blessed am I, because all women shall call me Happy." [Genesis 30:13.] For she sees plainly that she will have a favourable reputation, thinking that she deserves to be praised, not only by those reasonings which are really masculine and manly, which have a nature free from all spot and stain, and which honour that which is really honest and incorrupt, but also by those more feminine reasonings which are in every respect overcome by those things which are visible, and which are unable to comprehend any object of contemplation which is beyond them. But it is the part of a perfect soul to set up a claim, not only to be, but to also appear to be, and, to labour earnestly not merely to have a good reputation in the houses of the men, but also in the secret chambers of the women. On which account Moses also committed the preparation of the sacred works of the tabernacle not only to men, but also to women, who were to aid in making them; for all "the woven works of hyacinthine colour, and of purple and of scarlet work, and of fine linen, and of goats' hair, do the women make;" and they also contribute their own ornaments without hesitation, "seals, and ear-rings, and finger-rings, and armlets, and tablets, all jewels of gold,"--everything, in short, of which gold was the material, gladly giving up the ornaments of their person in exchange for piety; and, moreover, carrying their zeal to a still higher degree, they likewise consecrated even their mirrors, that a laver might be made of Them," [Exodus 38:8.] in order that those who were about to assist at the sacrifices, washing their hands and their feet, that is to say, those works about which the mind is occupied and on which it is fixed, may have a view of themselves in a mirror according to the recollection of those mirrors of which the laver was made; for in this way they will never permit anything disgraceful to remain in any portion of the soul. And now they will dedicate the offering of fasting and patience, the most beautiful and sacred, and perfect of offerings. But these real citizens and virtuous women are really as it were the outward senses, by whom Leah, that is virtue, desires to be honoured. But they who kindle an additional fire against the miserable mind are destitute of any city. For we read in the scripture that even, "women still burnt additional fire to Moab ." [Numbers 21:30.] But may we not in this way say that so each of the outward senses of the foolish man when set on fire by the appropriate objects of outward sense, does also set fire to the mind, spreading over it an exceeding and interminable flame with irresistible vigor and impetuosity. At all events it is best to propitiate the array of women, that is to say, of the outward senses in the soul, just as it is desirable to do so with respect to the men, that is to say, with respect to the particular reasonings. For in this manner we shall arrange a more excellent system of life in a very beautiful manner.

18 On this account also the selfinstructed Isaac prays to the lover of wisdom, that he may be able to comprehend both those good things which are perceptible by the outward senses, and those which are appreciable only by the intellect. For he says, "May God give thee of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the Earth," [Genesis 27:28.] a prayer equivalent, to May he in the first place pour upon thee a continual and heavenly rain appreciable by the intellect, not violently so as to wash thee away, but mildly and gently like dew, so as to benefit thee. And in the second place, may he bestow upon thee that earthly wealth which is perceptible by the outward senses, fat and fertile, having drained off its opposite, namely poverty, from the soul and from all its parts. But if you examine the great a high priest, that is to say reason, you will find him entertaining ideas in harmony with these, and having his sacred garments richly embroidered by all the powers which are comprehensible either by the outward senses or by the intellect; the other portion of which clothing would require a more prolix explanation than is practicable on the present occasion, and we must pass it by for the present. But the extreme portions, those namely at the head and at the feet, we will examine. There is then on the head "a golden Leaf," [Exodus 28:36.] pure, having on it the impression of a seal, "Holiness to the Lord." And on the feet there are, "on the fringe of the inner garment, bells and small Flowerets." [Exodus 28:34.] But this seal is an idea of ideas, according to which God fashioned the world, being an incorporeal idea, comprehensible only by the intellect. And the flowerets and the bells are symbols of distinctive qualities perceptible by the outward senses; of which the faculties of hearing and of seeing are the judges. And he adds, with exceeding accuracy of investigation, "The voice of him shall be heard as he enters into the holy place," in order that when the soul enters into the places appreciable by the intellect, and divine, and truly holy, the very outward senses may likewise be benefited, and may sound in unison, in accordance with virtue; and our whole system, like a melodious chorus of many men, may sing in concert one wellharmonised melody composed of different sounds well combined, the thoughts inspiring the leading notes (for the objects of intellect are the leaders of the chorus); and the objects of the external senses, singing in melodies, accord the symphonies which follow, which are compared to individual members of the chorus. For, in short, as the law says, it was not right for the soul to be deprived of "its necessaries, and its garments, and its place of Abode," [Exodus 21:10.] these three things; but it ought rather to have had each of them allotted to it in a durable manner. Now the necessaries of the soul are those good things which are perceptible only by the intellect, which ought, and indeed are bound by the law of nature, to be attached to it; and the clothing means those things which relate to the exterior and visible ornament of human life; and the place of abode is continued diligence and care respecting each of the species

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before mentioned, in order that the objects of the outward senses may appear as the invisible objects of the intellect do also.

19 There is, also, a fifth gift, which consists only in the bare fact of existence; and it is mentioned after all the previous ones, not because it is inferior to them, but rather because it overtops and excels them all; for what can be a greater blessing than to be formed by nature, and to be, without any falsehood or fictitious pretence, really good and worthy of the most perfect praise? "For," says God, "thou shall be Blessed" [Genesis 12:2.] (eulogeµtos); not merely a person who is blessed (eulogeµmenos), for this latter fact is estimated by the opinions and reports of the multitude, but the other depends on a person being, in real truth, deserving of blessings; for as the being praiseworthy (to epaineton einai) differs from being praised, being superior to it; and as the being blameworthy differs from being blamed, in being worse; for the one depends upon a person's natural character, while the other is affirmed only with reference to his being considered such and such. And real genuine nature is a more reliable thing than opinion; so, also, to be blessed by men, that is to say, to be celebrated by their praises and benedictions, is of less value than to be formed by nature so as to be worthy of blessing, even though all men should be silent respecting one, and this last is what is meant in the scriptures by the term blessed (eulogeµtos).

20 These are the good things which are given to him who is about to be wise. But let us now examine what God, for the sake of the wise man, bestows on the rest of mankind also. He says, "I will bless those who bless thee, and curse those who curse Thee." [Genesis 12:3.] Now that this is said by way of doing honour to the good man, is plain to every one. And this, too, is not the only reason why it is said, but it is said also on account of the harmonious consequence which exists in things; for he who praises a good man is himself worthy of encomium, and he who blames him is, on the other hand, deserving of blame. But it is not so much the power of those who utter or who write praise or blame that is trusted to, as the real character of what is due; so that those persons would not really appear to praise or to blame at all who, in either case, adopt or introduce any falsehood of their own. Do you not see flatterers who, day and night, weary and annoy the ears of those to whom they address their flatteries, and who not only nod assent to every word that they say, but who also string together long sentences, and connect rhapsodies, and often pray to them with their mouths, but who are continually cursing them in their hearts? What, then, would any one in his senses say? Would he not pronounce that those who speak thus are, in reality, enemies rather than friends, and do in reality blame them rather than praise them, even if they put together whole dramas full of panegyric and sing them in their honour? Therefore, the vain Balaam, although he sang hymns of exceeding sublimity to God, among which, also, is that one beginning, "God is not as a Man," [Numbers 23:19.] the most beautiful of all songs, and who uttered panegyrics on the seeing multitude, Israel, going through a countless body of particulars, is rightly judged by the wise lawgiver to have been an impious man and accursed, and to have been cursing rather than blessing; for he says that he was hired for money by the enemy, and so became an evil prophet of evil things, bearing in his soul most bitter curses against the God loving nature, but being compelled to utter prophetically with his mouth and tongue the most exquisite and sublime prayers in their favour; for the things that he said, being very excellent, were, in fact, suggested by the God who loves virtue; but the curses which he conceived in his mind (for they were wicked) were the offspring of his mind, which hated virtue. And the sacred scripture bears testimony to this fact; for it says, "God did not grant to Balaam leave to curse thee, but turned his curses into Blessing;" [Deuteronomy 23:5.] though, in fact, all the words that he uttered were full of good omen. But he who looks into all that is laid up in the recesses of the heart, and who alone has the power to see those things which are invisible to created beings, from these secret things has passed a condemnatory decree, being in his own person at once the most indubitable of witnesses and the most incorruptible of judges, since even the contrary thing is praised, namely, for a man who appears to calumniate and to accuse with his mouth, in his heart to be blessing, and praising, and speaking words of good omen. This, as it would seem, is the custom of those who correct youth, and of preceptors, and of parents, and of elders and of rulers, and of laws; for they, at times, do each of them reprove and punish, and by these means render the souls of those who are under their instruction better. And of these men no one is an enemy to his pupil, but they are all of them friendly to all of them; but it is the office of friends who have a genuine and unalloyed good will to others to speak freely, without any unfriendly purpose. Therefore, as far as blessings, and praises, and prayers, or, on the other hand, reproaches and curses are concerned, one must not so much be guided by what proceeds out of the mouth by utterance, as by what is in the heart, by which, as by the original source of them all, both kinds of speeches are estimated.

21 These, then, are the things which, he says, happen in the first instance to others on account of the good man, when they seek to load him with either praise or blame, or with blessings or curses. But that which comes next in order is the most important thing; that when they are silent, still no portion of the rational nature is left without a participation in the benefits; for God says that, "In thee shall all the nations of the world be blessed." And this is a promise exceedingly full of doctrine; for if the mind is always free from disease and from injury, it then exerts all the tribes of feelings which affect it, and all its powers in a state of sound health, namely, its of seeing and of hearing, and all those which belong to the outward senses; and, moreover, all its appetites which are conversant about pleasures and desires, and all those feelings likewise which being reduced from a state of agitation to one of tranquility, receive a better character from the change. Before now, indeed, cities, and countries, and peoples, and nations of the earth, have enjoyed the greatest happiness and prosperity in consequence of the virtue and prudence of the individual; especially so when, in addition to a good disposition and wisdom, God has also given him irresistible power, as he may have given to a musician or to any artist the proper instruments for music, or for carrying out any other art, or as wood is supplied as a material for fire; 2for in good truth the just man is the prop of all the human race; and he, bringing all that he has into a common stock for the advantage of these who can use it, bestows his treasures ungrudgingly, and whatever he finds that he has not got in himself, he prays for to the only giver of all wealth, the all-bounteous God. And God, opening the treasures of heaven, pours forth and showers down upon him all kinds of good things together; so that all the channels on earth are filled with them to overflowing. 2And these blessings he at all times freely bestows, never rejecting the prayer of supplication which is addressed to him; for it is said in another passage, when Moses addresses him with supplication: "I am favourable to them according to thy Word." [Numbers 14:20.] And this expression, as it seems, is equivalent to the other: "In thee all the nations of the earth shall be blessed." On which account also the wise Abraham, who had had experience of the goodness of God in all things, believes that even if all other things are destroyed, still a small fragment of virtue would be preserved, like a spark of fire, and that for the sake of this little spark, he pities those other things also, so as to raise them up when fallen, and rekindled them when extinct. 2For even the slightest spark of fire that is still smouldering, when it is fanned and re-kindled will set fire to a large pile: and so too the smallest spark of virtue, when it beams up, being wakened into life by good hopes, gives light to what has previously been dim-sighted and blind, and causes what has been withered to shoot up again, and whatever is barren and unproductive it transforms and brings to abundance of prolific power. Thus a good, which is but rare, is, by the kindness of God, made abundant and showered upon men, making everything else to resemble itself.

22 Let us therefore pray that the mind may be in the soul like a pillar in a house, and, in like manner, that the just man may be firmly established in the human race for the relief of all diseases; for while he is in vigorous health, one must not abandon all hope of complete safety, as through the medium of him, I imagine God the Saviour extending his all-healing medicine, that is to say, his propitious and merciful power to his suppliants and worshippers, bids them employ it for the salvation of those who are sick; spreading it like a salve over the wounds of the soul, which folly, and injustice, and all the other multitude of vices, being sharpened up, have grievously inflicted upon it. And a most visible example of this is the righteous Noah, who, when so many portions of the soul were swallowed up in the great deluge, himself vigorously overtopped the waves and floated on their surface, and so rose above all the dangers which threatened him; and when he had escaped in safety, he sent out great and beautiful roots from himself, from which, like a tree, the whole crop of wisdom sprang up, which, bearing useful fruit, put forth the three fruits of the seeing creature, Israel, the measures of time, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. For, virtue is, and will be, and has been in everything; which virtue perhaps is at times obscured among men by the want of opportunity, but which opportunity the minister of God again brings to light. Since Sarah, that is to say, prudence, brings forth a male child, flourishing, not according to the periodical seasons of the year, but according to those seasons and felicitous occasions which have no connexion with time; for it is said, "I will surely return and visit thee according to the time of life; and Sarah, thy wife, shall have a Son." [Genesis 18:10.]

23 We have now, then, said enough about gifts which God is accustomed to bestow on those who are to become perfect, and through the medium of them on others also. In the next passage it is said, that "Abraham went as the Lord commanded Him." [Genesis 7:4.] And this is the end which is celebrated among those who study philosophy in the best manner, namely, to live in accordance with nature. And this takes place when the mind, entering into the path of virtue, treads in the steps of right reason, and follows God, remembering his commandments, and at all times and in all places confirming them both by word and deed;" 2for "he went as the Lord commanded him." And the meaning of this is, as God commands (and he commands in a beautiful and praiseworthy manner), in that very manner does the virtuous man act, guiding the path of his life in a blameless way, so that the actions of the wise man are in no respect different from the divine commands. At all events, God is represented in another passage as saying, "Abraham has kept all my Law." [Genesis 26:5.] And law is nothing else but the word of God, enjoining what is right and forbidding what is not right, as he bears witness, where he says, "He received the law from his Words." [Deuteronomy 33:4.] If, then, the divine word is the law, and if the righteous man does the law, then by all means he also performs the word of God. So that, as I said before, the words of God are the actions of the wise man. Accordingly, the end is according to the most holy Moses, to follow God; and he says also in another passage, "Thou shall walk after the Lord thy God;" [Deuteronomy 13:4.] not meaning that he should employ the motion of his legs; for the earth is the support of a man, but whether the whole world is sufficient to be the support of God, I do not know; but he seems here to be speaking allegorically, intending to represent the way in which the soul follows the divine doctrines, which has a direct reference to the honour due to the great cause of all things.

24And he also, with a wish further to excite an irresistible desire of what is good, enjoins one to cleave to it; for he says, "Thou shall fear the Lord thy God, and him only shall thou serve; and thou shall cleave to Him." [Deuteronomy 10:20.] What, then, is this cleaving? What? Surely it is piety and faith; for these virtues adapt and invite the mind to incorruptible nature. For Abraham also, when he believed, is said to have "come near to God." [Genesis 18:23.] 3If, therefore, while you are walking you are neither fatigued, so as to give way and stumble, nor are so careless as to turn to either the right hand or to the left hand, and so to stray and miss the direct road which lies between the two; but if, imitating good runners, you finish the course of life without stumbling or error, you will deservedly obtain the crown and worthy prize of victory when you have arrived at your desired end. 3For is not this the crown and the prize of victory not to miss the proposed end of one's labours, but to arrive at that goal of prudence which is so difficult to be reached? What, then, is the object of having right wisdom? To be able to condemn one's own folly and that of every created being. For to be aware that one knows nothing is the end of all knowledge, since there is only one wise being, who is also the only God. 3On which account Moses very beautifully has represented the father of the universe as being also the inspector and superintendent of all that he has created, saying, "God saw all that he had made, and behold it was very Good." [Genesis 1:31.] For it was not possible for any one to have an accurate view of all that had been created, except for the Creator. 3Come, then, ye who are full of arrogance, and ignorance, and of exceeding insolence, ye that are wise in your own conceit, and who say not only that ye know accurately what each thing is, but that you are also able to explain the causes why it is so, showing daring with great rashness, as if ye had either been present at the creation of the world, and had actually seen how and from what each separate thing was made, or had been counsellors of the Creator concerning the things which were created. 3Come, and at once abandoning all other things, learn to know yourselves, and tell us plainly what ye yourselves are in respect of your bodies, in respect of your souls, in respect of your external senses, and in respect of your reason. Tell us now with respect to one, and that the smallest, perhaps, of the senses, what sight is, and how it is that you see; tell us what hearing is, and how it is that you hear; tell us what taste is, what touch is, what smell is, and how it is that you exercise the energies of each of these faculties; and what the sources of them are from which they originate. 3For do not tell me long stories about the moon and the sun, and all the other things in heaven and in the world, which are at such a distance from us and which are so different in their natures, empty-minded creatures that you are, before you examine into and become acquainted with yourselves; for when you have learnt to understand yourselves, then perhaps one may believe you when you enter into explanations respecting other things. But till you are able to tell what you yourselves are, do not expect ever to be looked upon as truth-telling judges or witnesses with respect to others.

25 Since, then, these things are in this state, the mind, when it is rendered perfect, will pay its proper tribute to the God who causes perfection, according to that most sacred scripture, "For the law is, that tribute belongs to the Lord." [Numbers 31:40.] When does the mind pay it? When? "On the third day it comes to the place which God has told it Of," [Genesis 22:4.] having passed by the greater portions of the differences of time, and being now passing over to that nature which has no connexion with time; for then it will sacrifice its beloved son, not a man (for the wise man is not a slayer of his children), but the male offspring of a virtuously living soul, the fruit which germinates from it, as to which it knows not how it bore it, the divine shoot, which, when it appears, the soul

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then having appeared to be pregnant, confesses that it does not understand the good which has happened to it saying, "Who will tell to Abraham?" [Genesis 21:7.] as if, in fact, he would refuse to believe about the rising up of the self-taught race, that "Sarah was suckling a child," not that the child was being suckled by Sarah. For the self-taught offspring is nourished by no one, but is itself the nourishment of others as being competent to teach, and having no need to learn; for "I have brought forth a son," not like the Egyptian women, in the flower of my age and in the height of my bodily vigor, but like the Hebrew souls, "in my old Age," [Exodus 1:18.] when all the objects of the outward senses and all mortal things are faded, and when the objects of the intellect and immortal things are in their full vigor and worthy of all estimation and honour. 4And I have brought forth, too, without requiring the aid of the midwife's skill; for we bring forth even before any skill or knowledge of man can come to us, without any of the ordinary means of assistance to help us, God having sown and generated an excellent offspring, which, in accordance with the law made concerning gratitude, very properly requites its creator with gratitude and honour. For, says God, "My gifts, and my offerings, and my first fruits, you have taken care to bring to Me." [Numbers 28:2.]

26 This is the end of the path of those who follow the arguments and injunctions contained in the law, and who walk in the way which God leads them in; but he who falls short of this, on account of his hunger after pleasure and his greediness for the indulgence of his passions, by name Amalek; [Deuteronomy 25:17.] for the interpretation of the name Amalek is, "the people that licks up" shall be cut off. And the sacred scriptures teach us that this disposition is an insidious one; for when it perceives that the most vigorous portion of the power of the soul has passed over, then, "rising up from its ambuscade, it cuts to pieces the fatigued portion like a rearguard." And of fatigue there is one kind which easily succumbs through the weakness of its reason which is unable to support the labours, which are to be encountered in the cause of virtue, and so, like those who are surprised in the rearguard, it is easily overcome. But the other kind is willing to endure honourable toil, vigorously persevering in all good things, and not choosing to bear anything whatever that is bad, not even though it be ever so trifling, but rejecting it as though it were the heaviest of burdens. 4On which account, the law has also, by a very felicitous appellation, called virtue Leah, which name, being interpreted, means "wearied;" for she very naturally thought the life of the wicked heavy and burdensome, and in its own nature wearisome; and did not choose even to look upon it, turning her eyes only on what is beautiful; and let the mind labour not only to follow God without any relaxation or want of vigor, but also to walk onwards by the straight path, turning to neither side, neither to the right nor yet to the left, as the earthly Edom did, seeking out of the way lurking places, at one time being full of excesses and superfluities, and at another of differences and short comings; for it is better to proceed along the middle road, which is that which is really the royal road, and which the great and only King, God, has widened to be a most suitable abode for the souls that love virtue. On which account some also of those who prosecute a gentle kind of philosophy, which is conversant chiefly about the society of mankind, have pronounced the virtues to be means, placing them on confines between two extremes. Since, on the one hand, excessive pride, being full of much insolence is an evil, and to take up with a humble and self-abasing demeanour is to expose one's self to be trampled upon; but the mean, which is compounded of both, in a gentle manner is advantageous.

27 We must also inquire what the meaning of the expression, "He went with Lot ," [Genesis 12:4.] is. Now, the name Lot , being interpreted, means "declination;" and the mind declines or inclines, at one time rejecting what is good, and at another time what is evil. And both these declinations are often seen in one and the same thing. For there are some hesitating and wavering people who incline to both sides in turn, like a ship which is tossed about by different winds, or like the different sides of a scale, being unable to rest firmly on one thing; people whom one cannot praise even when they turn to the better side, for they are influenced by impulse, and not by deliberate meaning. Now, of these men Lot is a spectator, who Moses here says went with the lover of wisdom. But it was very well that when he began to accompany him he should unlearn ignorance, and should never again return to it. But still he goes with him, not in the hope of deriving improvement from an imitation of a better man, but with a view of persecuting him also with a counter attraction and allurements in an opposite direction, and of leading him where there was a chance of his falling. 5And a proof of this is, that the one, having fallen back again into his ancient disease, departs, having been taken prisoner by those enemies who are in the soul; but the other, having guarded against all his designs, concealed in ambuscade, took every imaginable care to live at a distance from him. But the separate habitation he will arrange hereafter, but not yet. For at present, his speculations, as would be likely to be the case with a man who has but lately begun to apply himself to divine contemplation, have a want of solidity and steadiness in them. But when they have become more compact, and are established on a firmer footing, then he will be able to separate from himself the alluring and flattering disposition as an irreconcileable enemy, and one difficult to subdue: 5for this is that disposition which attaches itself to the soul in such a manner as to be difficult to shake off, hindering it from proceeding swiftly on its progress towards virtue. This, too, when we leave Egypt, that is to say, the whole of the district connected with the body, being anxious to unlearn our subjection to the passions, in accordance with the language and precepts of the prophet Moses, follows us close, checking and impeding our zeal in the departure, and out of envy causing delay to the rapidity of setting forth; 5for it is said, "And a great mixed multitude went up with them, and sheep, and oxen, and very much Cattle." [Exodus 12:38.] But this mixed multitude, if one is to speak the plain truth, are the cattle-like and irrational doctrines of the soul.

28 And it is with particular beauty and propriety that he calls the soul of the wicked man multitude: for it is truly a company which has been collected and brought together from all quarters, and composed of a promiscuous body of numerous and antagonist opinions, being, though only one in point of number, of infinite variety by reason of its versatility and diversity; on which account, besides the word "mixed," there is also added the epithet "great;" for he who looks at one end only is truly simple, and unmixed, and plain; but he who proposes to himself many objects of life is manifold, and mixed, and rough, in real truth: on which account the sacred scriptures say, that the practicer of virtue, Jacob, was a smooth man, and that Esau, the practicer of what is shameful, was a hairy or rough man. On account, then, of this mixed and rough multitude collected together from mixed opinions collected from all imaginable quarters, the mind which was able to exert great speed when it was fleeing from the country of the body, that is, from Egypt, and which was able in those days to receive the inheritance of virtue, being assisted by a threefold light, the memory of past things, the energy of present things, and the hope of the future, passed that exceeding length of time, forty years, in going up and down, and all around, wandering in every direction by reason of the diversity of manners, when it ought rather to have proceeded by the straight and most advantageous way. This is he who not only rejoiced in a few species of desire, but who also chose to pass by none whatever entirely, so that he might obtain the whole entire genus in which every species is included; for it is said that, "the mixed multitude that was among them desired all kinds of Concupiscence," [Numbers 11:4.] that is to say, the very genus of concupiscence itself, and not some one species; and sitting down they wept. For the mind is conscious that it is possessed of but slight power, and when it is not able to obtain what it desires, it weeps and groans; and yet it ought to rejoice when it fails to be able to indulge its passions, or to become infected with diseases, and it ought to think their want and absence a very great piece of good fortune. But it very often happens to the followers of virtue, also, to become languid and to weep, either because they are bewailing the calamities of the foolish, on account of their participation in their common nature, and their natural love for their race, or through excess of joy. And this excess of joy arises whenever on a sudden an abundance of all kinds of good coming together are showered down to overflowing, without having been previously expected; in reference to which kind of joy it is that the poet appears to me to have used the expression--Smiling amid her Tears. [homer's Iliad 6.484.] 5For exceeding joy, the best of all feelings, falling on the soul when completely unexpected, makes it greater than it was before, so that the body can no longer contain it by reason of its bulk and magnitude; and so, being closely packed and pressed down, it distils drops which it is the fashion to call tears, concerning which it is said in the Psalms, "Thou shall give me to eat bread steeped in Tears;" [psalm 80:5.] and again, "My tears have been my bread day and Night;" [psalm 42:3.] for the food of the mind are tears as are visible, proceeding from laughter seated internally and excited by virtuous causes, when the divine desire instilled into our hearts changes the song which was merely the lament of the creature into the hymn of the uncreated God.

29 Some persons then repudiate this mixed and rough multitude, and raise a wall of fortification to keep it from them, rejoicing only in the race which loves God; but some, on the other hand, form associations with it, thinking it desirable to arrange their own lives according to such a system that they can place them on the confines between human and divine virtues, in order that they may touch both those which are virtues in truth and those which are such in appearance. Now the disposition which concerns itself in the affairs of state adheres to this opinion, which disposition it is usual to call Joseph, with whom, when he is about to bring his father, there go up "all the servants of Pharaoh, and the elders of his house, and all the elders of the land of Egypt, and all the whole family of Joseph, himself, and his brothers, and all his father's House." [Genesis 50:7.] 6You see here that this disposition which is conversant about affairs of state is placed between the house of Pharaoh and his father's house, in order that it might equally reach the affairs of the body, that is to say, of Egypt; and those of the soul, which are all laid up in his father's house as in a treasury; for when he says, "I am of God," [Genesis 50:19.] and all the other things which are akin to or connected with him abide among the established laws of his father's house; and when he mounts up into the second chariot of the mind, which appears to bear sovereign sway, namely, Pharaoh, he is again establishing Egyptian pride. And he is more miserable who is looked upon as a king of considerable renown, and who is born along in the chariot which has the precedence; for to be pre-eminent in what is not honourable is the most conspicuous disgrace, just as it is a lighter evil to come off second best in such a contest. But you may learn to perceive how wavering a disposition such a man has from the oaths which he swears, swearing at one time "by the health of Pharaoh," [Genesis 42:16.] and then again, on the contrary, "not by the health of Pharaoh." But this latter formula of oath, which contains a negation, looks as if it were the injunction of his father's house, which is always meditating the destruction of the passions, and wishing that they should die; but the other brings us back to the discipline of Egypt, which desires that these passions should be preserved; on which account, although so great a multitude went up together, he still does not call it a mixed multitude, since to a person who is endowed with a real power of seeing, and who is a lover of virtue, every thing which is not virtue nor an action of virtue, appears to be mixed and confused; but to him who still loves the things of earth, the prizes of earth do by themselves seem to be worthy of love and worthy of honour.

30 Accordingly, as I have already said, the lovers of wisdom will raise a wall of exclusion against the man who, like a drone, has resolved to injure his profitable labours, and who follows him with this object, and he will receive those who, out of their admiration of what is honourable, follow him with a view to imitating him; assigning to each of them that portion which is suited to them; for, says he, "of the men who went with me, Eschol, Annan, and Mamre, shall receive a Share." [Genesis 14:24.] And by these names of persons he means dispositions which are good by nature and fond of contemplation; 6for Eschol is an emblem of good disposition, having a name of fire, since a good disposition is full of good daring and fervour, and adheres to what it has ever applied itself. And Annan is the symbol of a man fond of contemplation; for the name, being interpreted, means "the eyes," from the fact that the eyes of the soul also are opened by cheerfulness; and of both of these persons a life of contemplation is the inheritance, which is entitled Mamre, which name is derived from seeing; and to the contemplative man, the faculty of seeing is most appropriate and most peculiarly belonging. 6But when the mind, having been under the tuition of these trainers, finds nothing wanting for practice, it then proceeds onwards with and accompanies perfect wisdom, not outstripping it or not being outstripped by it, but marching alongside of it step by step, with equal pace. And the words of scripture show this, in which it is distinctly stated that "they both of them went together, and came to the plain which God had mentioned to them;" 6a most excellent equality of virtues, better than any rivalry, an equality of labour with a natural good condition of body, and an equality of art with self-instructed nature, so that both of them are able to carry off equal prizes of virtue; as if the arts of painting and statuary were not only able, as they are at present, to make representations devoid of motion or animation, but were able also to invest the objects which they paint or form with motion and life; for in that case the arts which were previously imitative of the works of nature would appear now to have become the natures themselves.

31 But whoever is raised on high to such a sublime elevation will never any more allow any of the portions of his soul to dwell below among mortal men, but will draw them all up to himself as if they were suspended by a rope; for which reason a sacred injunction of the following purport was given to the wise man, "Go thou up to the Lord, thou, and Aaron, and Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel." [Exodus 24:1.] And the meaning of this injunction is as follows, "Go up, O soul, to the view of the living God, in an orderly manner, rationally, voluntarily, fearlessly, lovingly, in the holy and perfect numbers of seven multiplied tenfold." For Aaron is described in the law as the prophet of Moses, being loudly uttered speech prophesying to the mind. And Nadab is interpreted "voluntary," that is to say, the man who honours the Deity without compulsion; and the interpretation of the name Abihu is, "my father." This man is one who has not need of a master by reason of his folly, more than of a father by reason of his wisdom, namely such a father as God the ruler of the world. And these powers are the body-guards of the mind which is worthy to bear sovereign sway, which ought also to attend upon the king, and conduct him on his way. But the soul is afraid by itself to rise up to the contemplation of the living God, if it does not know the road, from being lifted up by a union of ignorance and audacity; and the falls which are caused by such a union of ignorance

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and great rashness are very serious; on which account Moses prays that he may have God himself as his guide to the road which leads to him. For he says, "If thou wilt not thyself go with me, then do not thou lead me Hence." [Exodus 33:5.] Because every motion which is without the divine approbation is mischievous, and it is better for men to remain here wandering about in this mortal life, as the great portion of the human race does, than raising themselves up to heaven in pride and arrogance, to encounter an overthrow, as has happened to countless numbers of sophists, who have looked upon wisdom as only a discovery of plausible arguments, and not, as it is, a certain belief in and well-assured knowledge of facts. And perhaps too there is some such meaning as this intended to be conveyed by these words, --do not raise me up on high, bestowing on me riches, or glory, or honours, or authority, or any other of those things which are usually ranked as good, unless you intend also to go with them and me yourself; for these things are often calculated to cause either great mischief, or great advantage to their possessors; advantage when God is the guide of their mind; injury when the contrary is the case. For to great numbers of people the things which are called good not being so in reality have been the causes of irremediable evils, but the man who follows God does of necessity have for his fellow travellers all those reasons which are the attendants of God, which we are accustomed to call angels. At all events, it is said that "Abraham went with them conducting them on their Way." [Genesis 18:16.] Oh the admirable praise! according to which, he who was conducting others was himself conducted by them, giving what he was receiving; not giving one thing instead of another, but only that one single thing, which was prepared as a retributory gift, 7for until a man is made perfect he uses divine reason as the guide of his path, for that is the sacred oracle of scripture: "Behold, I send my angel before thy face that he may keep thee in the road, so as to lead thee into the land which I have prepared for thee. Attend thou to him, and listen to him; do not disobey him; for he will not pardon your transgressions, for my name is in Him." [Exodus 23:20.] But when he has arrived at the height of perfect knowledge, then, running forward vigorously, he keeps up with the speed of him who was previously leading him in his way; for in this way they will both become attendants of God who is the guide of all things; no one of those who hold erroneous opinions accompanying them any longer, and even Lot himself, who turned on one side the soul, which might have been upright and inflexible, removing and living at a distance.

32 And "Abraham," says Moses, "was seventy-five years of age, when he departed out of Charren." Now concerning the number of seventy-five years (for this contains a calculation corresponding to what has been previously advanced,) we will enter into an accurate examination hereafter. But first of all we will examine what Charran is, and what is meant by the departure from this country to go and live in another. Now it is not probable that any one of those persons who are acquainted with the law are ignorant that Abraham had previously migrated from Chaldaea when he came to live in Charran. But after his father died he then departed from this land of Chaldaea , so that he has now migrated from two different places. What then shall we say? The Chaldeans appear beyond all other men to have devoted themselves to the study of astronomy and of genealogies; adapting things on earth to things sublime, and also adapting the things of heaven to those on earth, and like people who, availing themselves of the principles of music, exhibit a most perfect symphony as existing in the universe by the common union and sympathy of the parts for one another, which though separated as to place, are not disunited in regard of kindred. These men, then, imagined that this world which we behold was the only world in the existing universe, and was either God himself, or else that it contained within itself God, that is, the soul of the universe. Then, having erected fate and necessity into gods, they filled human life with excessive impiety, teaching men that with the exception of those things which are apparent there is no other cause whatever of anything, but that it is the periodical revolutions of the sun, and moon, and other stars, which distribute good and evil to all existing beings. Moses indeed appears to have in some degree subscribed to the doctrine of the common union and sympathy existing between the parts of the universe, as he has said that the world was one and created (for as it is a created thing and also one, it is reasonable to suppose that the same elementary essences are laid at the foundations of all the particular effects which arise, as happens with respect to united bodies that they reciprocally contain each other); 8but he differs from them widely in their opinion of God, not intimating that either the world itself, or the soul of the world, is the original God, nor that the stars or their motions are the primary causes of the events which happen among men; but he teaches that this universe is held together by invisible powers, which the Creator has spread from the extreme borders of the earth to heaven, making a beautiful provision to prevent what he has joined together from being dissolved; for the indissoluble chains which bind the universe are his powers. 8On which account even though it may be said somewhere in the declaration of the law, "God is in the heaven above, and in the earth beneath," let no one suppose that God is here spoken of according to his essence. For the living God contains everything, and it is impiety to suppose that he is contained by any thing, but what is meant is, that his power according to which he made, and arranged, and established the universe, is both in heaven and earth. 8And this, to speak correctly, is goodness, which has driven away from itself envy, which hates virtue and detests what is good, and which generates those virtues by which it has brought all existing things into existence and exhibited them as they are. Since the living God is indeed conceived of in opinion everywhere, but in real truth he is seen nowhere; so that divine scripture is most completely true in which it is said, "Here am I," speaking of him who cannot be shown as if he were being shown, of "him who is invisible as if he were visible, before thou Existedst." [Exodus 17:6.] For he proceeds onward before the created universe, and outside of it, and not contained or borne onward in any of the things whose existence began after his.

33 These things then having been now said for the purpose of overturning the opinion of the Chaldeans; he thinks that it is desirable to lead off and invite away those who are still Chaldaizing in their minds to the truth of his teaching, and he begins thus:--"Why," says he, "my excellent friends do you raise yourselves up in such a sudden manner from the earth, and soar to such a height? and why do ye rise above the air, and tread the ethereal expanse, investigating accurately the motions of the sun, and the periodical revolutions of the moon, and the harmonious and much-renowned paths of the rest of the stars? for these things are too great for your comprehension, inasmuch as they have received a more blessed and divine position. 8Descend therefore from heaven, and when you have come down, do not, on the other hand, employ yourselves in the investigation of the earth and the sea, and the rivers, and the natures of plants and animals, but rather seek to become acquainted with yourselves and your own nature, and do not prefer to dwell anywhere else, rather than in yourselves. For by contemplating the things which are to be seen in your own dwelling, that which bears the mastery therein, and that which is in subjection; that which has life, and that which is inanimate; that which is endowed with and that which is destitute of reason; that which is immortal, and that which is mortal; that which is better, and that which is worse; you will at once arrive at a correct knowledge of God and of his works. For you will perceive that there is a mind in you and in the universe; and that your mind, having asserted its authority and power over all things in you, has brought each of the parts into subjection to himself. In like manner also, the mind of the universe being invested with the supremacy, governs the world by independent law and justice, having a providential regard not only for those things which are of more importance, but also for those which appear to be somewhat obscure.

34 Abandoning therefore your superfluous anxiety to investigate the things of heaven, dwell, as I said just now within yourselves, forsaking the land of the Chaldeans, that is, opinion, and migrating to Charran the region of the outward sense, which is the corporeal abode of the mind. 8For the name Charran, being interpreted, means "a hole;" and holes are the emblems of the places of the outward sense. For in some sense they are all holes and caves, the eyes being the caves in which the sight dwells, the ears those of hearing, the nostrils of those smelling, the throat the cavern of taste, and the whole frame of the body, being the abode of touch. 8Do ye therefore, dwelling among these things, remain tranquil and quiet, and investigate with all the exactness in your power the nature of each, and when you have learnt what there is good and bad in each part, avoid the one and choose the other. And when you have thoroughly and perfectly considered the whole of your own habitation, and have understood what relative importance each of its parts possesses, then rouse yourselves up and seek to accomplish a migration from hence, which shall announce to you, not death, but immortality; 9the evident proofs of which you will see even while involved in the corporeal cares perceptible by the outward senses, sometimes while in deep slumber (for then the mind, roaming abroad, and straying beyond the confines of the outward senses, and of all the other affections of the body, begins to associate with itself, looking on truth as at a mirror, and discarding all the imaginations which it has contracted from the outward senses, becomes inspired by the truest divination respecting the future, through the instrumentality of dreams), and at other times in your waking moments. For when, being under the influence of some philosophical speculations, you are allured onwards, then the mind follows this, and forgets all the other things which concern its corporeal abode; and if the external senses prevent it from arriving at an accurate sight of the objects of the intellect, then those who are fond of contemplation take care to diminish the impetuosity of its attack, for they close their eyes and stop up their ears, and check the rapid motion of the other organ, and choose to abide in tranquility and darkness, that the eye of the soul, to which God has granted the power of understanding the objects of the intellect, may never be overshadowed by any of those objects appreciable only by the outward senses.

35 Having then in this manner learnt to accomplish the abandonment of mortal things, you shall become instructed in the proper doctrines respecting the uncreated God, unless indeed you think that our mind, when it has put off the body, the external senses, and reason, can, when destitute of all these things and naked, perceive existing things, and that the mind of the universe, that is to say, God, does not dwell outside of all material nature, and that he contains everything and is not contained by anything; and further, he does not penetrate beyond things by his intellect alone, like a man, but also by his essential nature, as is natural for a God to do; 9for it is not our mind which made the body, but that it is the work of something else, on which account it is contained in the body as in a vessel; but the mind of the universe created the universe, and the Creator is better than the created, therefore it can never be contained in what is inferior to itself; besides that it is not suitable for the father to be contained in the son, but rather for the son to derive increase from the love of the father. 9And in this manner the mind, migrating for a short time, will come to the father of piety and holiness, removing at first to a distance from genealogical science, which originally did erroneously persuade it to fancy that the world was the primary god, and not the creature of the first God, and that the motions and agitations of the stars were the cause to men of disaster, or, on the contrary, of good fortune. After that the mind, coming to a due consideration of itself, and studying philosophically the things affecting its own abode, that is the things of the body, the things of the outward sense, the things of reason, and knowing, as the line in the poet has it--That in those halls both good and ill are planned; [homer, Odyssey, 4.392.] Then, opening the road for itself, and hoping by travelling along it to arrive at a notion of the father of the universe, so difficult to be understood by any guesses or conjectures, when it has come to understand itself accurately, it will very likely be able to comprehend the nature of God; no longer remaining in Charran, that is in the organs of outward sense, but returning to itself. For it is impossible, while it is still in a state of motion, in a manner appreciable by the outward sense rather than by the intellect, to arrive at a proper consideration of the living God.

36 On which account also that disposition which is ranked in the highest class by God, by name Samuel, does not explain the just precepts of kingly power of Saul, while he is still lying among the pots, but only after he has drawn him out from thence: for he inquires whether the man is still coming hither, and the sacred oracle answers, "Behold, he is hidden among the stuff." [1 Samuel 10:22.] What, then, ought he who hears this answer, and who is by nature inclined to receive instruction, to do, but to draw him out at once from thence? Accordingly, we are told, "He ran up and took him out from thence, because he who was abiding among the vessels of the soul, that is, the body and the outward senses, was not worthy to hear the doctrines and laws of the kingdom (and by the kingdom, we mean wisdom, since we call the wise man a king); but when he has risen up and changed his place, then the mist around him is dissipated, and he will be able to see clearly. Very appropriately, therefore, does the companion of knowledge think it right to leave the region of the outward sense, by name Charran; 9and he leaves it when he is seventy-five years old; and this number is on the confines of the nature discernible by the outward senses, and that intelligible by the intellect, and of the older and younger, and also of perishable and imperishable nature; 9for the elder, the imperishable ratio, that comprehensible by the intellect, exists in the seventy; the younger ratio, discernible by the outward senses, is equal in number to the five outward senses. In this latter also the practicer of virtue is seen exercising himself when he has not yet been able to carry off the perfect prize of victory; --for it is said, that all the souls which came out of Jacob were seventy and Five;" [Genesis 46:27.]-- for to him, while wrestling, and not shrinking at all from the truly sacred contest, for the acquisition of virtue, belong the souls which are the offspring of the body, and which have not yet acquired reason, but are still attracted by the multitude of the outward senses. For Jacob is the name of one who is wrestling and engaged in a contest and trying to trip up his antagonist, not of one who has gained the victory. But when he appeared to have gained ability to behold God, his name was changed to Israel, and then he uses only the computation of seventy, having extirpated the number five, the number of the outward senses; for it is said, that "thy fathers went down to Egypt, being seventy Souls." [Deuteronomy 10:22.] This is the number which is familiar to Moses the wise man: for it happened that those who were selected as carefully picked men out of the whole multitude, were seventy in number; and those all elders, not only in point of age, but also in wisdom and counsel, and in prudence, and in ancient integrity of manners. And this number is consecrated and dedicated to God when the perfect fruits of the soul are offered up. For, on the feast of tabernacles, besides all other sacrifices, it is ordered that the priest should offer up seventy heifers for a burnt offering. Again, it is in accordance with the computation of seventy

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that the phials of the princes are provided, for each of them is of the weight of seventy shekels; since whatever things are associated and confederate together in the soul, and dear to one another, have a power which is truly attractive, namely, the sacred computation of seventy, which Egypt, the nature which hates virtue, and loves to indulge the passions, is introduced as lamenting; for mourning among them is computed at seventy Days. [Genesis 50:8.]

37 This number, therefore, as I have said before, is familiar to Moses, but the number of the five outward senses is familiar to him who embraces the body and external things, which it is customary to call Joseph; for he pays such attention to those things, that he presents his own uterine brother, [Genesis 45:22.] the offspring of the outward sense, for he had no acquaintance at all with those who were only his brothers as sons of the same father, with five exceedingly beautiful garments, thinking the outward senses things of exceeding beauty, and worthy of being adorned and honoured by him. Moreover, he also enacts laws for the whole of Egypt, that they should honour them, and pay taxes and tribute to them every year as to their kings; for he commands them to take a Fifth [Genesis 47:24.] part of the corn, that is to say, to store up in the treasury abundant materials and nourishment for the five outward senses, in order that each of them might rejoice while filling itself unrestrainedly with suitable food, and that it might weigh down and overwhelm the mind with the multitude of things which were thus brought upon it; for during the banquet of the outer senses; the mind is labouring under a famine, as, on the contrary, when the outward senses are fasting, the mind is feasting. Do you not see that the five daughters of Salpaad, which we, using allegorical expressions, call the outward senses, were born of the tribe of Manasseh, who is the son of Joseph, the elder son in point of time, but the younger in rank and power? and very naturally, for he is so called from forgetfulness, which is a thing of equal power with an outward sense. But recollection is placed in the second rank, after memory, of which Ephraim is the namesake; and the interpretation of the name of Ephraim is, "bearing fruit;" and the most beautiful and nutritious fruit in souls is a memory which never forgets; therefore the virgins speak to one another in a becoming manner, saying, "Our father is dead." Now the death of recollection is forgetfulness: "And he has died not for his own Sin," [Numbers 27:3.] speaking very righteously, for forgetfulness is not a voluntary affection, but is one of those things which are not actually in us, but is one of those things which are not actually in us, but which come upon us from without. And they were not his sons, but his daughters; since the power of memory, as being what has its existence by its own nature, is the parent of male children; but forgetfulness, arising from the slumber of reason, is the parent of female children, for it is destitute of reason; and the outward senses are the daughters of the irrational part of the soul. But if any one has outrun him in speed, and has become a follower of Moses, though he is not yet able to keep pace with him, he will use a compound and mixed number, namely, that of five and seventy, which is the symbol of the nature which is both perceptible by the outward senses and intelligible by the intellect, the two uniting together for the production of one irreproachable species.

38 I very much admire Rebecca, who is patience, because she, at that time, recommends the man who is perfect in his soul, and who has destroyed the roughnesses of the passions and vices, to flee and return to Charran; for she says, "Now, therefore, my child, hear my voice, and rise up and depart, and flee away to Laban, my brother, to Charran, and dwell with him certain days, until the anger and rage of thy brother is turned from being against thee, and till he forgets what thou hast done to Him." [Genesis 27:43.] And it is with great beauty that she here calls going by the road, which leads to the outward senses, a fleeing away; for, in truth, the mind is then a fugitive, when, having left its own appropriate objects which are comprehensible to the understanding, it turns to the opposite rank of those which are perceptible by the outward senses. And there are cases in which to run away is useful, when a person adopts this line of conduct, not out of hatred to his superior, but in order to avoid the snares which are laid for him by his inferior. What, then, is the recommendation of patience? A most admirable and excellent one. If ever, she says, you see the passion of rage and anger highly provoked and excited to ferocity either in thyself or in any one else, which is nourished by irrational and unmanageable nature, do not excite it further and make it more savage, for then perhaps it will inflict incurable wounds; but cool its fervour, and pacify its too highly inflamed disposition, for if it be tamed and rendered tractable it will do you less injury. What, then, are the means by which it can be tamed and pacified? Having, as far as appearance goes, assumed another form and another character, follow it, first of all, wherever it pleases, and, opposing it in nothing, admit that you have the same objects of love and hatred with itself, for by these means it will be rendered propitious; and, when it is pacified, then you may lay aside your pretence, and, not expecting any longer to suffer any evil at its hand, you may with indifference return to the care of your own objects; for it is on this account that Charran is represented as full of cattle, and as having tenders of flocks for its inhabitants. For what region could be more suitable for irrational nature, and for those who have undertaken the care and superintendence of it, than the external senses which exist in us? Accordingly, when the practicer of virtue asks, "From whence come ye?" the shepherds answer him truly, that they come "from Charran." [Genesis 29:4.] For the irrational powers come from the external sense, as the rational ones come from the mind. And when he further inquires whether they know Laban, they very naturally assert that they do know him, for the outward sense is acquainted with complexion and with every distinctive quality, as it thinks; and of complexion and distinctive qualities Laban is the symbol. And he himself, when at last he is made perfect, will quit the abode of the outward senses, and will set up the abode of the soul as belonging to the soul, which, while still among labours and among the external senses, he gives a vivid description of; for he says, "When shall I make myself, also, a House." [Genesis 30:30.] When, disregarding the objects of the external senses and the external senses themselves, shall I dwell in mind and intellect, being, in name, going to and fro among and dwelling among the objects of contemplation, like those souls which are fond of investigating invisible objects, which it is usual to call midwives? For they also make suitable coverings and phylacteries for souls which are devoted to virtue; but the strongest and most defensible abode was the fear of God, to those, at least, who have him for an impregnable fortress and wall. "For," says Moses, "when the midwives feared God they made themselves Houses." [Exodus 1:21.]

39 The mind, therefore, going forth out of the places which are in Charran, is said "to have travelled through the land until it came to the place of Sichem, to a lofty Oak." [Genesis 12:6.] And let us now consider what this travelling through the land means. The disposition which is fond of learning is inquisitive and exceedingly curious by nature, going everywhere without fear or hesitation and prying into every place, and not choosing to leave anything in existence, whether person or thing, not thoroughly investigated; for it is by nature extraordinarily greedy of everything that can be seen or heard, so as not only not to be satisfied with the things of its own country, but even to desire foreign things which are established at a great distance. At all events, they say that it is an absurd thing for merchants and dealers to cross the seas for the sake of gain, and to travel all round the habitable world, not allowing any considerations of summer, or winter, or violent gales, or contrary winds, or old age, or bodily sickness, or the society of friends, or the unspeakable pleasures arising from wife, or children, or one's other relations, or love of one's country, or the enjoyment of political connexions, or the safe fruition of one's money and other possessions, or, in fact, anything whatever, whether great or small, to be any hindrance to them; and yet for men, for the sake of that most beautiful and desirable of all possessions, the only one which is peculiar to the human race, namely, wisdom, to be unwilling to cross over every sea and to penetrate every recess of the earth, inquiring whenever they can find anything beautiful either to see or to hear, and tracing out such things with all imaginable zeal and earnestness, until they arrive at the enjoyment of the things which are thus sought for and desired. Do thou then, O my soul, travel through the land, and through man, bringing if you think fit, each individual man to a judgement of things which concern him; as, for instance, what the body is, and under what influences, whether active or passive, it co-operates with the mind; what the external sense is, and in what manner that assists the dominant mind; what speech is, and of what it becomes the interpreter so as to contribute to virtue; what are pleasure and desire; what are pain and fear; and what art is capable of supplying a remedy for these things; by the aid of which a man when infected with these feelings may easily escape, or else perhaps may never be infected at all: what folly is, what intemperance, what commiting injustice, what the whole multitude of other discases, which it is the nature of all destructive vice to engender; and also what are the means by which they can be averted. And also, on the contrary, what justice is, what prudence is, and temperance, and manly courage, and deliberate wisdom, and in short what each virtue is, and what the mastery over the passions is, and in what way each of these virtues is usually produced. Travel also through the greatest and most perfect being, namely this world, and consider all its parts, how they are separated in respect of place and united in respect of power; and also what is this invisible chain of harmony and unity, which connects all those parts; and if while considering these matters, thou canst not easily comprehend what thou seekest to know, persevere and be not wearied; for these matters are not attainable without a struggle, but they are only found out with difficulty and by means of great labour; on which account the man fond of learning is taken up to the field of Sichem; and the name Sichem, being interpreted means, "a shoulder," and intimates labour, since it is on the shoulders that men are accustomed to bear burdens. As Moses also mentions in another passage, when speaking of a certain athlete he proceeds in this manner, "He put his shoulder to the labour and became a Husbandman." [Genesis 49:15.] So that never, O my mind, do thou become effeminate and yield; but even if any thing does appear difficult to be discovered by contemplation, still opening the seeing faculties that are in thyself, look inwards and investigate existing things more accurately, and never close the eyes whether intentionally or unintentionally; for sleep is a blind thing as wakefulness is a sharp-sighted thing. And it is well to be content if by assiduity in investigation it is granted to thee to arrive at a correct conception of the objects of thy search. Do you not see that the scripture says that a lofty oak was planted in Sichem? meaning under this figurative expression to represent the labour of instruction which never gives in, and never bends through weariness, but is solid, firm, and invincible, which the man who wishes to be perfect must of necessity exert, in order that the tribunal of the soul, by name Dinah, for the interpretation of the name Dinah is "judgement" may not be seized by the exertions of that man who, being a plotter against prudence, is labouring in an opposite direction. For he who bears the same name as this place, namely Sichem, the son of Hamor, that is, of irrational nature; for the name Hamor means "an ass;" giving himself up to folly and being bred up with shamelessness and audacity, infamous man that he was, attempted to pollute and to defile the judicial faculties of the mind; if the pupils and friends of wisdom, Sichem and Levi, had not speedily come up, having made the defences of their house safe, and destroyed those who were still involved in the labour devoted to pleasure and to the indulgence of the passions and uncircumcised. For though there was a sacred scripture that, "There should be no harlot among the daughters of the seer, Israel," [Genesis 34:1.] these men, having ravished a virgin soul, hoped to escape notice; 2for there is never a scarcity of avengers against those who violate treaties; but even though some persons fancy there may be, they will only fancy it, and will in the reality of the fact be proved to entertain a false opinion. For justice hates the wicked, and is implacable, and a relentless avenger of all unrighteous actions, overthrowing the ranks of those who defile virtue, and when they are overthrown, then again the soul, which before appeared to be defiled, changes and returns to its virgin state. I say, which appeared to be defiled, because, in fact, it never was defiled; for of involuntary accidents that which affects the patient is not in reality his suffering, just as what is done by a person who does wrong unintentionally, the wrong is not really his action.

WHO IS THE HEIR OF DIVINE THINGS

1 (In the treatise preceding the present one, we discussed the question of rewards to the best of our ability. Our present purpose is to examine who is the heir of the things of God; for after the wise man heard the oracle, which being divinely given, said, ("Thy reward is exceedingly Great;" [Genesis 15:1.] he inquired, saying, "What wilt thou give me, O master?" And I shall depart childless: but my son who is the child of my handmaid will inherit after me, this Eliezer of Damascus." And in another place he says, "Since thou has not given me any seed, but one born in my house shall be my heir." (And yet who would not have been amazed at the dignity and greatness of him who delivered this oracle, so as to become silent and mute before him, if not out of fear, still at all events from excess of joy? For excessive griefs stop the mouth, and so also do excessive joys; (on which account Moses confesses that he is "a man of a slight voice and slow of speech from the time when God first began to converse with Him." [Exodus 4:10.] And this testimony of the prophet is unerring; for it is natural for the organs of speech to be checked, and for the reason which is collected in the mind to be borne onwards with unrestrained impetuosity, philosophically examining the unceasing beauty of ideas not of words, with fluent and sublime power; (and the most admirable virtues are boldness and freedom of speech at suitable times towards one's betters, so that the sentence in the comic poet appears to me to be uttered with truth rather than with comic humour:--

If a slave is always dumb,
He is scarcely worth a crumb:
Let him, freely told, boldly speak.

2 (When then has a slave freedom of speech towards his master? Is it not when he is conscious that he has not wronged him, but that he has done and said everything with a view to the advantage of his owner? (When therefore is it proper for the servant of God to use freedom of speech to the ruler and master of himself, and of the whole word? Is it not when he is free from all sins, and is aware in his conscience that he loves his master, feeling more joy at the fact of being a servant of God, than he would if he were sovereign over the whole race of mankind, and were invested without any effort on his part with the supreme authority over land and sea. (And he mentions the ministrations and services by which Abraham displayed his love to his master in the last sentence of the divine oracle given to his son, "I will give to thee and to thy seed all this land, and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, because Abraham thy father obeyed my voice, and kept all my precepts, and all my commandments, and my

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laws, and my Judgements." [Genesis 26:3.] (And it is the greatest possible praise of a servant that he does not neglect a single thing of the commandments which his master lays upon him, but that he labours earnestly without any hesitation and with all his vigor, and even beyond his power to perform them all with a well affected mind.

3 There are persons, then, to whom it is becoming to listen but not to speak, with respect to whom it is said, "Be silent and Hear," [Deuteronomy 27:9.] a very admirable injunction; for ignorance is a very bad and a very audacious thing, the first remedy for which is silence, and the second, attention to those who present you with anything worthy of your listening to. Let no one, however, think that this is all that is signified by those few words, "Be silent and hear;" but that there is also something greater in them which may give a lesson to any one. For these words do not recommend you only to be silent with your tongues, and to hear with your ears, but also to conduct yourself thus in both these respects in your soul; for many persons when they have come to listen to some one, have nevertheless not come with their minds, but wander outside, and keep on thinking of thousands upon thousands of things within themselves, whether concerning their relations, or strangers, or themselves, which at that moment they ought not to remember at all, but which in short they, re-collecting to themselves in regular order, and thus by reason of the excessive tumult which they keep alive in themselves, they are unable to hear the speaker. For he speaks as if he were not among men, but among inanimate statues who have indeed ears, but no sense of hearing. If, therefore, the mind chooses to associate neither with things wandering about inside, nor with those which are stored up within it, but, remaining quiet and silent, directs its whole attention to the speaker, keeping silent in accordance with the injunction of Moses, it will be able to listen with all attention, but otherwise it would not be able to do so.

4 Silence, then, is a desirable thing for those who are ignorant, but for those who desire knowledge, and who have at the same time a love for their master's freedom of speech, is a most necessary possession. Accordingly it is said, in the book of Exodus, "The Lord will fight for us, and you will be Silent." [Exodus 14:4.] And, immediately afterwards, there is added a scripture in the following words: "And the Lord said unto Moses, Why dost thou cry unto me?" As it is proper for those persons to be silent who can say nothing worthy of being listened to, and for those to speak who, through love of wisdom, believe in God; and not only to speak quietly but to cry out with exceeding noise, not indeed with the noise of the mouth and tongue, by means of which they say that the air is affected with a rotary motion, and so is rendered capable of being perceived by the hearing, but by the all-instructed and very loudly speaking organ of that voice of which no mortal man is the hearer, but only the uncreated and immortal God. For the well-arranged and carefully attuned melody of that harmony which is perceptible by the intellect, the invisible musician, perceptible by the intellect, is alone able to comprehend; but no one of those involved in the entanglements of the outward senses can appreciate it. Accordingly, when the entire organ of the mind sounds according to the symphony of the diapason and of the double diapason, the hearer, as it were, asks (for he does not ask in reality, since everything is known to God), "Why dost thou cry unto me?" Is it in supplications that evils may be averted, or in thankfulness for a participation in good things which have been already enjoyed, or for a combination of both reasons?

5 But the man who appeared to be endued with a thin voice, and with slowness of speech, and to be almost dumb, is nevertheless found to be talkative, so that in one place he is represented not merely as speaking, but even as crying out; and, in another, as exerting a ceaseless and uninterrupted flow of words; for, says the scripture, "Moses spoke, and God answered him with a Voice." [Exodus 19:19.] He did not speak in brief periods or sentences, but in one continuously extended speech; and God also instructed him, not in brief sentences, but gave him one unbroken and continuous answer. And whenever there is an answer, there then must of necessity have been, in every case, a question. But whenever any one puts a question it is respecting something which he does not know, because he is desirous to learn; inasmuch as he is aware that there is nothing so useful with regard to acquiring knowledge as to ask, to inquire, to investigate, to appear to know nothing, and not to have an idea that one comprehends anything firmly. The wise, therefore, take God for their teacher and instructor; and those who are less perfectly initiated in wisdom take the wise men for theirs. On which account they say, also, "Do thou speak with us, and let not God speak to us, let we Die." [Exodus 20:19.] And the virtuous man uses such freedom of speech as not only to speak and cry out, but even to advance positive claims with true confidence and genuine feeling; for the expression, "If thou forgivest them their sin, forgive them; and if not, then wipe me out of the book which thou has Written." [Exodus 32:32.] And this sentence also, "Did I conceive all this people in my womb? Or have I brought them forth, that thou sayest unto me, Take them up into thy bosom, as a nurse takes up her sucking Child." [Numbers 11:11.] And also that passage where we read, "From whence am I to get flesh to give to all this people, because they cry unto me? Shall sheep and oxen be sacrificed, or shall all the fish of the sea be collected together, to satisfy them? And again, "Lord, why hast thou afflicted this people?" And again, "Why hast thou sent me?" And, in another place, "From the time that I went forth to speak to Pharaoh in thy name, he has afflicted the people." And again, "Thou has not delivered thy People." [Exodus 10:22.] For these, and similar things, and any one would have feared to say to any king of this earth; but to deliver such sentiments, and to speak freely to God, was an instance of what ought not to be called extreme audacity, but of good confidence; because all the wise are dear to God, and especially those who are wise with the wisdom of the most sacred giving of the law. And freedom of speech is nearly akin to friendship; since to whom would any one speak with more freedom than to his own friend? very appropriately therefore is Moses spoken of in the scriptures as dear to God, when he goes through an account of all the dangers which he had incurred by reason of his boldness, in such a way that they seem to deserve to be attributed to friendship rather than to arrogance; for audacity belongs to the character of the arrogant man; but good confidence belongs to the friend.

6 But consider again that confidence is tempered with prudent caution; for the question, "What wilt thou give Me?" [Deuteronomy 33:1.] displays confidence, and the addition, "O master," exhibits prudent confidence. And being in the habit of using two causes or two appellations, with respect to the cause of all things, namely the title of Lord, and also that of God, he has in this instance used neither of them, but calls them by the name of master, speaking with caution and with exceeding propriety; and indeed the two apppellations lord and master, are said to be synonymous. But even if the two names are one and the same things, still the titles differ in respect of the meaning attached to them; for the title lord, kyrios, is derived from the word kyros, authority, which is a firm thing, in contradistinction to that which is infirm and invalid, hakyron. But the term master, despoteμs, is derived from desmos, a chain; from which word deos, fear, also comes in my opinion, so that the master is the lord, and, as one may say a lord, to be feared, not only inasmuch as he is able to strike one with fear and terror; and perhaps also since he is the master of the universe; holding it together in such a manner as to be insoluble, and binding up again what portions of it are dissolved. But he who says, "Master, what wilt thou give unto me?" does, in the real meaning of his words say, this, "I am not ignorant of thy overpowering might, and I know the formidable nature of thy sovereignty: I fear and tremble, and again I feel confidence; for thou hast given me an oracular command not to fear, thou hast given to me the tongue of instruction, that I might know when I ought to speak; thou has unloosened my mouth which before was sewed up, thou hast opened it, and hast also made it articulate; thou has appointed it to utter what ought to be spoken, confirming that sacred oracle, "I will open thy mouth, and I will tell thee what thou oughtest to Speak." [Exodus 4:12.] For who was I, that thou shouldest give me a portion of thy speech, that thou shouldest promise me a reward as it were my due, namely, a more perfect blessing of thy grace and bounty? Am I not an emigrant from my country? am I not driven away from my kindred? am I not banished and alienated from my father's house? do not all men call me an outcast and a fugitive, a desolate and dishonoured man? but thou, O master, art my country, thou art my kindred, thou art my paternal hearth, thou art my honour, thou art my freedom of speech, my great, and famous, an inalienable wealth, why therefore shall I not have courage to say what I think? and why shall I not ask questions, when I desire to learn something more? But nevertheless, though I say that I feel confidence, I do again confess that I am stricken with awe and amazement, and that I do not feel within myself an unmixed spirit of battle, but fear mingled with confidence, as perhaps many people will easily imagine, a closely combined conjunction of the two feelings; therefore I drink insatiably of this well-mixed cup, which persuades me neither to speak freely without prudent caution; nor, on the other hand, to think so much of caution as to lose my freedom of speech. For I have learnt to appreciate my own nothingness, and to look up to the excessive and unapproachable height of thy munificence; and whenever I know that I am myself "but dust and ashes, " or even, what is still more worthless, if there is any such thing, then I feel confidence to approach thee, humbling myself, and casting myself down to the ground, so completely changed as scarcely to seem to exist.

7 Now such a disposition of the soul, Abraham, the inspector, has deeply engraved on my memory. For, says the scripture, "Abraham came near and said, Now have I begun to speak unto the Lord, I that am but dust and Ashes;" [Genesis 18:27.] since then there was an opportunity given to the creature to approach the Creator, when he recognised his own nothingness. But the expression, "What wilt thou give me?" is not so much the language of one who is in doubt, as of one feeling and expressing gratitude at the multitude and greatness of the blessings which he has already enjoyed. "What wilt thou give me?" for, in fact, what more is there left for me to expect? for, O bountiful God! thy graces and mercies are boundless and unlimited, and they have no boundary and no end, bursting up like fountains full of perfection, which are continually drawn upon and are never dry. And it is worth while to contemplate, not merely the ever-abounding torrent of thy bounties, but also those fields of ours which are irrigated by them; for if a superfluous and too excessive stream be poured over them, then the place will become a marshy and swampy plain instead of fertile land; for our land has need of irrigation, carefully measured out with a view to cause fertility, and not unmeasured. And on this account I will ask, What wilt thou give me, thou who hast already bestowed on me unspeakable mercies, and almost all things, so that mortal nature is incapable of containing them? For what remains that I wish to know, and to have, and to acquire, is this: who could be worthy of thy works, who could deserve to inherit them? "I shall depart from life Childless;" [Genesis 15:2.] having received a short-lived and ephemeral blessing, which speedily passes away, when I prayed for the contrary, namely, for one who should last many days, a long time; which should be free from all mishap, which should never die, but should be able to sow seeds itself, and to stretch forth roots for the sake of giving it firmness, and which should raise its trunk upwards to heaven, and hold its head on high; for it is necessary that human virtue must walk upon the earth, and must, at the same time, strive to reach heaven; that there being hospitably received by immortality, it may pass all future time in freedom from all evil, for I know that thou hatest a barren and unproductive soul, thou who art thyself the supporter of things that have no existence, and the parent of all things. Since thou hast given especial grace to the race which has the faculty of seeing, so that it shall never be barren, and never be childless; and as I myself have been assigned to that race as part of it, I am justly desirous of an heir; for, perceiving that the race is inextinguishable, I think it would be a most shameful thing of me to be indifferent to the sight of my own nature, separated from all that is good. Therefore I am a suppliant to thee, and I implore thee, that those seeds and sparks being kindled and cherished, the saving light of virtue may burn up and give light, which being borne on like a torch, delivered from hand to hand in constant succession, may last as long as the world. Moreover, thou has inspired those men who practice virtue with a desire for children of the sowing and generation of the soul; and they, having received such a portion have, in their joy, spoken and said, "The children which God hath mercifully given to thy Servant," [Genesis 33:5.] of whom migration is the nurse and guardian, whose souls are simple, and tender, and well disposed, being calculated easily to receive the beautiful and most God-like impressions of virtue; and teach me also this saying, "Whether the son of Meshech, my servant, born in my house, is competent to become the inheritor of thy graces," for up to this time I have not received the son whom I hoped for, and of the one whom I have received I have no hope.

8 But who Meshech is, and who her son is, must be examined in no superficial manner. Now the interpretation of the name Meshech is, "out of a kiss;" but a kiss differs from loving; for the one exhibits usually a discovery of souls united together by good-will, but the other intimates only a bare and superficial salutation when some necessity has brought the two parties to the same place. For as the meaning "to stoop" (kyptein) is not contained in (anakyptein) "to lift up the head," nor "to drink" (pinoμ) in, "to absorb" (katapinoμ), nor "a horse" (hippos) in the word (marsippos) "a bag," so also "to love" (philein) is not necessarily contained in "to kiss" (kataphilein); since men yielding to the bitter necessities of life offer this salutation to numbers of their enemies. But what that salutation is which consists of a kiss, but not of sincere friendship for us, I willexplain without any reservation or concealment. It is, forsooth, that life which exists in union with the external senses, which is called Meshech, being completely secured and defended, which there is no one who does not love, which men in general look upon as their mistress, but which virtuous men consider their handmaid, not a foreign slave or one bought with a price, but born in the house, and in some sense, a fellow citizen with themselves. Well, one class of these men have learnt to kiss this, not to love it; but the other class have learnt to love it to excess, and to think it an object of desire above all things. But Laban, the hater of virtue, will neither be able to kiss the virtues which are assigned to the man who is inclined to the practice of virtue, but, making his own life to depend on hypocrisy and false pretenses, he, as if indignant, for he is not in reality affected, says, "I was not accounted worthy to kiss my children and my Daughters;" [Genesis 31:28.] speaking very naturally and decorously, for we have all been taught to hate irony irreconcileably. Do thou, therefore, love the virtues, and embrace them with thy soul, and then you will be not at all desirous to kiss, which is but the false money of friendship; --"For have they not yet any part or inheritance in thy house? have they not been reckoned as aliens before thee? and has not

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thou sold them and devoured the Money?" [Genesis 31:14.] so that you could neither at any subsequent time recover it, after having devoured the price of their safety and their ransom. Do you pretend, therefore, to wish to kiss, or else to wage endless war against all the judges? But Aaron will not kiss Moses, though he will love him with the genuine affection of his heart. "For," says the scripture, "he loved him, and they embraced one Another." [Exodus 18:7.]

9 But there are three kinds of life. The first life, to God; the second, with respect to the creature; the third, is on the borders of both, being compounded of the two others. Now, the life to God has not descended to us, and has not come to the necessities of the body. Again, life with respect to the creature has not wholly ascended up to heaven, nor has it sought to ascend, but it lurks in unapproachable recesses, and rejoices in a life which is no life. And the mingled kind is that one which often ascends upwards, being conducted upwards by the better part, and it gazes on divine things, and contemplates them; but still it often turns back, being dragged in the contrary direction by the worse part: and when the portion of the better life, as if placed in the balance of a scale, outweighs the whole, then the weight of the opposite kinds of life is dragged in the contrary direction, so that the lightest weight appears to be in the opposite scale. But Moses having, without any contest or doubt, given the crown of victory to that kind of life which is life to God, brings that forward as the best, likening the other two kinds to two women, one of whom he calls beloved, and the other hated, giving them both most appropriate names. For who is there who is not at times influenced by the pleasures and delights which he receives by means of his eyes, or by those which reach him through the medium of his ears, or of his sense of taste, or of his sense of smell and touch? And who is there who does not hate the contrary things, want and self-denial, and a life of austerity, and seeking after knowledge, which has never any share in amusement or laughter, but is full of gravity, and cares and labours, loving contemplation, an enemy to ignorance, superior to money, and glory, and pleasure, but under the dominion of temperance and true glory, and of that wealth which sees and is not blind? These, then, are at all times the eldest offspring of wisdom.

10 But Moses thinks those things which, though younger in point of time are nevertheless honourable by nature, worthy of the first honours of the birth-right, giving them a double share, and taking from the others half of their share; for, says he, "If a man have two wives, the one beloved and the other hated, and if they both bear children, then when he is about to distribute his property, he shall not be able to give the portion belonging to the first-born to the son of her who is Beloved," [Deuteronomy 21:15.] namely, to the son of pleasure; for he is but young, even though in point of time he may be old; but he looks upon the son of her who is hated, namely, of wisdom, as the elder, ever since he was a child; and, accordingly, to him he has assigned a double share. But because we have, on a previous occasion, explained the figurative sense of this passage, we will now pass on to what comes next, to the passage before us; after we have first explained this point, that "God is said to have opened the womb of her who was hated," and thus to have caused to arise an offspring of virtuous practices and good actions, while the wife, who was reputed to be beloved, was from that time forth barren: "For the Lord," says the scripture, "seeing that Leah was hated, opened her womb, but Rachel was Barren." [Genesis 29:31.] Is it not then the case, that when the soul is pregnant, and begins to bring forth such things as are becoming to the soul, then all those objects of the outward senses are barren and unproductive, objects to which the salutation belongs, which is given by a kiss and not by genuine affection?

11 Each individual then among us is the son of life according to the outward sense, which he calls Meshech, honouring and admiring the foster-mother and nurse of the mortal race, namely, the outward sense, whom also, when the earthly mind, by name Adam, saw after it had been created, he named her life his own death; for, says the scripture, "Adam called his wife's name Eve (ζομεμ), because she was the mother of all Living," [Genesis 3:20.] that is to say, of those who are in real truth dead as to the life of the soul; but they who really live have wisdom for their mother and the outward sense for their slave, which has been created by nature for the purpose of ministering to knowledge; and the name of that man who was born of life (ζομεμ), whom we have recognised by a kiss, he calls Damascus, which name, being interpreted, means "the blood of the sack;" by this figurative language, calling the body a sack, with great power and felicity; and by blood, he means the life which depends on the blood. For since the soul is spoken of in two ways, first of all as a whole, secondly, as to the dominant part of it, which, to speak properly, is the soul of the soul, just as the eye is both the whole orb, and also the most important part of that orb, that namely by which we see; it seemed good to the law-giver that the essence of the soul should likewise be two-fold; blood being the essence of the entire soul, and the divine Spirit being the essence of the dominant part of it; accordingly he says, in express words, "The soul of all flesh is the blood Thereof." [Genesis 9:8.] He does well here to attribute the flow of blood to the mass of flesh, combining two things appropriate to one another; but the essence of the mind he has not made to depend on any created thing, but has represented it as breathed into man by God from above. For, says Moses, "The Creator of the universe breathed into his face the breath of life, and man became a living Soul," [Genesis 2:7.] who also, it is recorded, was fashioned after the image of the Creator.

12 So that the race of mankind also is twofold, the one being the race of those who live by the divine Spirit and reason; the other of those who exist according to blood and the pleasure of the flesh. This species is formed of the earth, but that other is an accurate copy of the divine image; and that description of us which is but fashioned clay, and which is kneaded up with blood, has need, in no slight degree, of assistance from God; on which account it is said, this Damascus of Eleazar. [Genesis 15:2.] But the name Eleazar, being interpreted, means, "God is my helper." Since the mass of the body, which is filled with blood, being of itself easily dissolved and dead, has its existence through, and is kept alive by, the providence of God, who holds his arm and shield of defense over it, while our race cannot, by any resources of its own, exist in a state of firmness and safety for a single day. Do you not see that the second of the sons of Moses has also the same name as this man? For, "the name of the second," says the scripture, "was Eleazar." [Exodus 18:4.] And he adds the reason: "for the Lord has been my helper, and has delivered me out of the hand of Pharaoh." But those who are still companions of that life which owes its existence to blood, and which is appreciable by the outward senses, are attacked by that disposition which is such a formidable disperser of piety, by name Pharaoh; from whose sovereignty, full as it is of lawlessness and cruelty, it is impossible to escape, unless Eleazar be born in the soul, and unless one puts one's hope of succour in the only Saviour. And it is with particular beauty that he speaks of Damascus with reference, not to his father, but to his mother; in order to show that the soul depending on blood, by means of which the brute animals live, is akin properly to the female race; the race of his mother, and has no share in the male race. But this is not the case with virtue, that is with Sarah; for she has none but a male offspring, being borne only of God who is the father of all things, being that authority which has no mother. "For truly," says the scripture, "she is my sister by my father's side, but not by my mother'S." [Genesis 20:12.]

13 We have now explained what it was necessary for you to be apprised of as a preliminary. For the first part of the argument had a sort of enigmatical obscurity. But we must examine with more accurate particularity what the man who is fond of learning seeks. Perhaps then it is something of this sort: to know whether any one who is desirous of that life which is dependent on blood and who claims an interest in the objects of the outward sense, can become an inheritor of incorporeal and divine things? for of such only he who is inspired from above is thought worthy, having received a portion of heavenly and divine inheritance, being in fact the most pure mind, disregarding not merely the body but also the other fragment of the soul, which being devoid of reason is mixed up with blood, kindling the fervid passions and excited appetites. Accordingly, it pushes its inquiries in this manner: since you have not given to me a seed which is capable of becoming its own instructor, namely, that seed which is able to be comprehended by the intellect, "Shall the slave born in my house be my heir?" the offspring of that life which is dependent upon blood. Then God, making haste, anticipated the speaker, sending, as one may say, instruction on in advance of speech. "For immediately," says the scripture, "the voice of God came to him, saying, He shall not be thy Heir;" [Genesis 15:3.] nor any one else of those who come to an exhibition of the outward senses. For the incorporeal natures are the inheritors of those things which can only be appreciated by the intellect. And it has been especially observed here, that the scripture does not say he spoke to him or conversed with him, but the expression is, "The voice of God came to him;" as if God uttering a loud and unceasing sound, in order that the voice being thus distributed into every soul, might leave no part destitute of proper instruction, but that all parts might every where be filled, with healthy learning.

14 Who, then, shall be the heir? Not that reasoning which remains in the prison of the body according to its own voluntary intentions, but that which is loosened from those bonds and emancipated, and which has advanced beyond the walls, and if it be possible to say so, has itself forsaken itself. "For he," says the scripture, "who shall come out from thee, he shall be thy heir." Therefore if any desire comes upon thee, O soul, to be the inheritor of the good things of God, leave not only thy country,[Genesis 12:1.] the body, and thy kindred, the outward senses, and thy father's house, that is speech; but also flee from thyself, and depart out of thyself, like the Corybantes, or those possessed with demons, being driven to frenzy, and inspired by some prophetic inspiration. For while the mind is in a state of enthusiastic inspiration, and while it is no longer mistress of itself, but is agitated and drawn into frenzy by heavenly love, and drawn upwards to that object, truth removing all impediments out of its way, and making every thing before it plain, that so it may advance by a level and easy road, its destiny is to become an inheritor of the things of God. But, O mind! take confidence, and explain to us how you depart and emigrate from those former things, you who utter things perceptible only by the intellect to those who have been taught to hear rightly, always saying, I emigrated from my sojourn in the body when I learnt to despise the flesh, and I emigrated from the outward sense when I learnt to look upon the objects of outward sense as things which had no existence in reality--condemning its judicial faculties as spurious and corrupted, and full of false opinion, and also condemning the objects submitted to that judgement as speciously devised to allure and to deceive, and to snatch the truth from out of the middle of nature. Again, I departed from speech when I convicted it of great unreasonableness, although it talked of sublime subjects and puffed itself up; for it dared a not inconsiderable deed of daring, namely, to show me bodies through the medium of shadows, and things by means of words, which was impossible; therefore it kept stumbling about over repeated obstacles, and kept on talking vainly, being unable by common expressions to give a clear representation and understanding of the peculiar properties of the subjects with which it was dealing. But I, learning by experience, like an infant and untaught child, decided that it was better to depart from all these things, and to attribute the powers of each to God, who makes and consolidates the body, and who prepares the outward senses so as to feel appropriately, and who gives to speech the power of speaking at its desire; and in the same manner in which you have departed from the other things, now rise up and emigrate from thyself. But what is the meaning of this expression? Do not treasure up in thyself the faculties of perceiving, and thinking, and comprehending, but offer and dedicate these things to him who is the cause of thinking accurately, and of comprehending without being deceived.

15 But it is holier of the all-sacred places in the temple which receives this offering; for it appears that there are two; the one discernible only by the intellect, and the other perceptible by the outward senses. Now, of these creatures which are perceptible by the outward senses, this world is the receptacle; but of those things which are truly invisible, the world, which is discernible only by the intellect, is the magazine: but he that goes out from us and desires to become an attendant of God, is the inheritor of the much celebrated wealth of nature; he bears witness, who says, "He brought him out, and said unto him, Look up to Heaven;" [Genesis 15:5.] since that is the treasury of the good things of God. "May the Lord," says he, "open to thee the treasury of his good Things," [Deuteronomy 28:12.]--that is, the heaven; out of which he who furnishes the supply does incessantly rain the most perfect joys. Look up, then, so as to convict the blind race of common men, which, though it appears to see, is blind. For how can it be otherwise than blind, when it sees evil instead of good, and what is unjust instead of what is just, and the indulgence of the passions, instead of a mastery over them, and things mortal, instead of things immortal, and when it runs away from its monitors and correctors, and from conviction and instruction, and admits flatterers, and the reasonings of idleness, and ignorance, and luxury, all exerted in the cause of pleasure? The good man, then, alone sees; in reference to whom the ancients also called the prophets, seers. [1Samuel 9:9.] But he who advanced further outwards, not only seeing, but seeing God, was called Israel ; the meaning of which name is, "seeing God." But others, even if they ever do open their eyes, still bend them down towards the earth, pursuing only earthly things, and being bred up among material objects; for the one raises his eyes to the sky, beholding the manna, the divine word, the heavenly, incorruptible food of the soul, which is food of contemplation: but the others fix the eye on garlic and onions, food which causes pain to the eyes, and troubles the sight, and makes men wink, and on other unsavoury food, of leeks, and dead fish, the appropriate provender of Egypt. "For," says the scripture, "we remembered the fish which we ate in Egypt without payment, and the gourds, and the cucumbers, the leeks, the onions, and the garlic; but now our soul is dry and our eyes behold nothing but Manna." [Numbers 11:5.]

16 And the statement, "He led him Out" [Genesis 15:5.] (εχεμgagen auton εχομ), has a bearing also on moral considerations, though some persons, through their want of instruction in moral philosophy, are accustomed to ridicule it, saying, "For is any one ever led out in (εχομ eisagetai), or led in out (eiserchetai εχομ)?" "Certainly," I would reply, "you ridiculous and very foolish man; for you have never learnt how to trace the dispositions of the soul; but by this language of yours you only seek to understand those motions of the bodies which are exerted in change of place. On which account it seems paradoxical to you to speak of any one coming out into (exerchetai eisομ), or going in out (exerchetai εχομ); but to those acquainted with Moses none of these things seem

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inconsistent." Would you not say that the perfect high priest when, being in the inmost shrine, he is performing his national sacrifices, is both within and without at the same time? within in respect of his visible body, but without in respect of his soul, which is roaming about and wandering? And again, on the other hand, would you not say that a man who was not of the family consecrated to the priesthood, but who was a lover of God and beloved by God, though standing without the holy shrine, was nevertheless in reality in its inmost parts? looking upon his whole life in the body as a sojourning in a foreign land; but while he is able to live only in the soul, then he thinks that he is abiding in his own country. For every fool is outside of friendship, even though he may not depart for one moment from daily association with people. But every wise man is within friendship, even if he be dwelling at a distance, not merely in a different country, but in another climate and region of the world. But, according to Moses, a friend is so near to one as to differ in no respect from one's own soul, for he says, "the friend who is like thy Soul." [Deuteronomy 13:6.] And again he says, "The priest shall not be a man by himself, when he goeth into the holy of holies, until he cometh Out;" [Leviticus 16:17.] speaking not with reference to the motions of the body, but to those of the soul; for the mind, while it is offering holy sacrifices to God in all purity, is not a human but a divine mind; but when it is serving any human object, it then descends from heaven and becomes changed, or rather it falls to the earth and goes out, even though the mind may still remain within. Very correctly, therefore, it is said, he led him out (exeμgagen exoμ) of the prison according to the body, of the caves existing in the external senses, of the sophistries displayed in deceitful speech; and beyond all this, out of himself and out of the idea that by his own self-exerted, selfimplanted, and independent power he was able to conceive and comprehend.

17 And after he has conducted him out, he says to him, "Look up to heaven, and count the stars, if thou art able to number them; thus shall be thy Seed." [Genesis 15:5.] He says very beautifully, "Thus shall be thy seed," not so great shall it be, equal in number to the stars; for he does not intend here to allude to their multitude only, but also to an infinite number of other circumstances which contribute to entire and perfect happiness. "Thus shall thy seed be," says God, as the ethereal firmament which thou beholdest, so heavenly, so full of unshadowed and pure brilliancy (for night is driven away from heaven, and darkness from virtue,) most thoroughly like the stars, beautifully adorned, having an arrangement which knows no deviation, but which is always the same and proceeding in the same way. For he means him to speak of the soul of the wise man as a copy of heaven, or, if one may use such a hyperbolical expression, as an actual heaven upon earth, having pure appearances in the air, and well arranged motions, and harmonious progress, and periodical revolutions of divine character, star-like and brilliant rays of virtue. But if it is impossible to find out the number of the stars which are perceptible by the outward senses, how much more so must it be to count those which are discernible only by the intellect? for in proportion, I suppose, as that which judges is better or worse than that which is judged of (for the mind is better than the outward sense, and the outward sense is duller than the intellect; in the same ratio do the subjects of the judgement differ; so that the objects of the intellect are infinitely superior to those of the outward senses; for the eyes in the body are the smallest imaginable portion of the eye of the soul; for the one is like the sun, but the others only resemble lamps, which are at one time lighted and at another extinguished.

18 Therefore it is a necessary addition which is subjoined, "Abraham believed in God," [Genesis 15:6.] to the praise of him who did thus believe. And yet, perhaps, some one may say, "Do you judge this worthy of praise? who would not give his attention to God when saying or promising anything, even if he were the most wicked and impious of all men?" To whom we will reply, "Do not, do not, my good man, without further inquiry, either rob the wise man of his due praise, or attribute to unworthy persons that most perfect of the virtues, faith; and do not blame our opinion on this point; for if you are willing to enter upon a deeper investigation into this subject, and are not content with examining it superficially, you will then see clearly, that without the assistance or addition of something else, it is not easy to believe in God on account of that connexion with mortality in which we are involved, which compels us to put some trust in money, and glory, and authority, and friends, and health, and vigor of body, and in numerous other things; but to wash off all these extraneous things, to disbelieve in creation, which is, in all respects, untrustworthy as far as regards itself, and to believe in the only true and faithful God, is the work of a great and heavenly mind, which is no longer allured or influenced by any of the circumstances usually affecting human life.

19 And it is well added in the scripture, "And it was counted to him for righteousness:" for nothing is so righteous as to have an unalloyed and entire belief in the only God. But this, although both just and consistent with reason, was considered an incredible thing on account of the incredulity of the generality of men, whom the holy scripture condemns, saying, that "to anchor firmly and unchangeably on the only living God, is a thing to be admired among men, who have no possession of true unmingled good, but is not to be wondered at if truth guide the judgement; but it is the especial attribute of justice.

20 The scripture proceeds: "And he said unto him I am God, who brought thee out of the land of the Chaldaeans, so as to give thee this land to inherit it." These words exhibit not only a promise, but a confirmation of an ancient promise; for the good which was previously bestowed upon him was the departure from the Chaldaean philosophy, which was occupied about the things of the air, which taught me to suppose that the world was not the work of God, but was God himself; and that good and evil is caused in the case of all existing things, by the motions and fixed periodical revolutions of the stars, and that on these motions the origin of all good and evil depends; and the equable (homaleμ) and regular motion of these bodies in heaven, persuaded those simple men to look upon these things as omens, for the name of the Chaldaeans being interpreted is synonymous with equability (homaloteμs). But the new blessing which is promised is the acquisition of that wisdom which is not taught by the outward senses, but is comprehended by the pure mind, and by which the best of all emigrations is confirmed; when the soul departs from astronomy and learns to apply itself to natural philosophy, and to exchange unsure conjecture for certain apprehension, and, to speak with real truth, to quit the creature for the Creator, an the world for its father and maker; for the scriptures tell us, that the votaries of the Chaldaean philosophy believed in the heaven, but that he who abandoned that sect believed in the ruler of the heaven and the manager of the whole world, namely, in God. A very beautiful inheritance, greater perhaps than the power of him who receives it, but worthy of the greatness of the giver.

21 But it is not sufficient for the lover of wisdom to have a hope of good things, and to expect all kinds of admirable things, because of the predictions given to him, but unless he also knows the manner in which he is to arrive at the succession of his inheritance, he thinks it very grievous, inasmuch as he thirsts after knowledge, and has an insatiable desire of attaining to it; on which account he puts a question, saying, "O Lord God, how shall I know that I shall inherit it?" Perhaps some one may say that this question is at variance with perfect faith, for that to feel such a difficulty is the part of one who doubts, but that it is the part of one who believes to seek for nothing further. We must say, therefore, that he both doubts and has believed, but not about the same matter, far from it, for he has believed that he is to be an inheritor of wisdom, but he only seeks to know the manner in which this event will take place; that it really will take place he does by all means confidently comprehend, in accordance with the divine promises. Therefore the teacher having praised the desire for learning which he feels, begins his explanation with the first elementary instruction, in which this is set down as the first and most necessary thing, "Take for Me." [Genesis 15:9.] The sentence is brief, but the meaning is great; for there are not a few things implied in these words. In the first place you have, says God, no good thing of your own, but whatever you fancy that you have, another has bestowed it upon you. From which it is inferred that all things are the property of God who gives them, but that they do not belong to the creature which only existed after him, and which stretches forth its hands to take them. In the second place, he says, even if you take them, take them not for yourself, but think what is thus given you a loan or deposit, and be ready to restore it to him who has deposited it with, or contributed it to you, requiting an older favour with a newer one, and an original kindness with one proffered instead of it, as justice and propriety require.

22 For many men have become wicked in respect of such sacred deposits, having, through their immoderate covetousness improperly used the property of others as their own. But do thou, O good man! endeavor with all thy strength, not only to present what you have received without injury and without adulteration, but also to take even more care than that of such things, that he who has deposited them with you may have no grounds to blame the care which has been exercised by you. And what the Creator of man has deposited in your custody are soul, speech, and external sense; which are symbolically named a heifer, a ram, and a goat, in the sacred scriptures. But these things some persons have at once appropriated through self-love, but others have stored them up so as to be able to return them in due season. Now, of those who have appropriated them, it is impossible to tell the number; for who of us is there who does not think his soul, and his speech, and his external senses, all taken together, to be his own property, thinking that to feel, and to speak, and to comprehend, depend upon himself alone? But of those who really preserve their faith holy and inviolate, the number is very small. Such men attribute to God these three things: the soul, the external sense, and speech. For they have received all these things, not for themselves, but for him, in whose favour they naturally and appropriately confess that the energies according to each of these three things depend upon him, namely, the imaginations and apprehensions of the mind, the explanations of speech, and the perceptions of the outward senses. Those, now, who attribute these things to themselves, have received an allotment worthy of their own perverseness, namely, a soul fond of plotting against others, polluted with irrational passions, and enveloped in a multitude of vices; at one time eager to indulge in violent insolence through its gluttony and lasciviousness, as though it were in a brothel; at another time held fast by the multitude of its iniquities as in a prison, with wicked (not men but) actions which deserve to be led before all the judges. Secondly, speech insolent, loquacious, sharpened against the truth, injurious to all who come in its way, and bringing disgrace upon those who possess it. Thirdly, the external sense, insatiable, always filling itself with the objects of the outward senses, but through its immoderate appetites never able to be satisfied, disregarding all its monitors and correctors, so as to refuse to look upon or listen to them, and to reject with disdain all that they say to it for its good. But those who take these things not for themselves but for God, attribute each one of them to him, guarding that which they have acquired in a truly holy and religious manner, keeping their mind, so that it shall think of nothing else but the things relating to God and to his excellencies, and their speech so as to make it, with unrestrained mouth, and with ecomiums, and hymns, and announcements of happiness, honour the father of the universe, collecting together and exhibiting all its power of interpretation and utterance in this one office; and regulating the external senses, so that forming a conception of the whole of that world which is perceptible by them, they may, in a guileless, honest, and pure manner, relate to the soul all the heaven and earth, and the natures whose home is between the two, and all animals and plants, and their respective energies and faculties, and all their motions and their stationary existence. For God has implanted in the mind a power of comprehending that world, which is appreciable only by the intellect, by its own power, but the invisible world by means of the external senses. And if any one were able in all his parts to live to God rather than to himself, looking by means of the external senses into those things which are their proper objects, for the sake of finding out the truth; and through the medium of the soul, investigating in a philosophical spirit the proper objects of intelligence, and those things which have a real existence, and by means of his organs of voice, singing hymns in praise of the world and of its Creator, he will have a happy and a blessed life.

23 I think then that this is what was intimated in the words, "Take for me;" God, intending to send down the perfection of his divine virtue from heaven to earth, out of pity for our race, in order that it might not be left destitute of a better portion, prepared in a symbolical manner the sacred tabernacle and the things in it, a thing made after the model and in imitation of wisdom. For he says that he has erected his oracle as a tabernacle in the midst of our impurity, in order that we may have something whereby we may be purified, washing off and cleansing all those things which dirt and defile our miserable life, full of all evil reputation as it is. Let us now then see in what manner he has commanded us to bring in the different things which are to contribute to the furnishing of the tabernacle. "The Lord," says the scripture, "spake unto Moses saying, Speak unto the children of Israel , and take ye first-fruits for me of whatever it shall seem good to your heart to take my Firstfruits." [Exodus 25:1.] Therefore here also there is an injunction to take not for themselves but for God, examining who it is who gives these things, and doing no injury to what is given, but preserving it free from danger, and free from spot, perfect and entire. And the injunction, by which he orders the first fruits to be offered to himself, is full of doctrine; for in real truth the beginnings both of bodies and of things are investigated with reference to God alone; and search if you wish to understand everything, plants and animals, and arts and sciences. Are then the first castings of the seed of plants, the actions of husbandry or the invisible works of invisible nature? What more need I ask? What are the works of men and other animals? Have not they parents as co-operating causes, as it were, and also nature as the primary and more important and real cause? And is not nature the fountain, and root, and foundation of all arts and sciences, or any other name you please to give the oldest of principles, nature, upon which all speculations are built up? And if nature be not first laid as the foundation, everything is imperfect, and on this account some one seems to me to have said with great felicity:--The first beginning is quite half the whole.

24 Very appropriately therefore does the sacred scripture command the first-fruits to be offered up to the all-ruling God. And in another passage we read "The Lord spake unto Moses saying, Sanctify to me all the first-born: all that is first brought forth, all that openeth the womb among the children of Israel , whether of man or beast is Mine," [Exodus 13:2.] so that it is openly asserted in these words, that all the first things, whether in point of time or of power, are the property

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of God, and most especially all the first-born; since the whole of that race which is imperishable shall justly be apportioned to the immortal God; and if there is anything, in short, which openeth the womb, whether of man which here means speech and reason, or of beast which signfies the outward sense and the body; for that which openeth the womb of all these things, whether of the mind, so as to enable it to comprehend the things appreciable only by the intellect, or of the speech so as to enable it to exercise the energies of voice, or of the external senses, so as to qualify them to receive the impressions which are made upon them by their appropriate subjects, or of the body to fit it for its appropriate stationary conditions or motions, is the invisible, spermatic, technical, and divine Word, which shall most properly be dedicated to the Father. And, indeed, as are the beginnings of God so likewise are the ends of God; and Moses is a witness to this, where he commands to "separate off the end, and to confess that it is due to God." [there is probably some corruption here. The marginal reference is to Number 21:41 and there are only thirty-five verses in the chapter. The same thing has occurred in one or two previous instances.] The things in the world do also bear witness. How so? The beginning of a plant is the seed, and the end is the fruit, each of them being the work, not of husbandry, but of nature. Again, of knowledge the beginning is nature, as has been shown, but the end can never reach mankind, for no man is perfect in any branch of study whatever; but it is a plain truth, that all excellence and perfection belong to one Being alone; we therefore are borne on, for the future, on the confines of beginning and end, learning, teaching, tilling the ground, working up everything else, as if we were really effecting something, that the creature also may seem to be doing something; 2therefore, with a more perfect knowledge, Moses has confessed that the first-fruits and the end belong to God, speaking of the creation of the world, where he says, "In the beginning God created ..." [Genesis 1:1.] And again he says, "God finished the heaven and the earth." Now therefore he says, "Take for me," assigning to himself what becomes him, and admonishing his hearer not to adulterate what is given to him, but to take care of it in a manner worthy of its importance. And again, in another passage, he who has need of nothing, and who on this account takes nothing, will confess that he does take something, for the sake of giving to his worshippers the feeling of piety, and of implanting in them an eagerness after holiness, and moreover sharpening their zeal in his service, as one who favourably receives the genuine worship and service of a willing soul, 2"For behold," says he, "I have taken the Levites instead of all the first-born that openeth the womb among the children of Israel; they shall be their Ransom;" [Numbers 3:12.] therefore we take and give, but we are said to take with strict accuracy, but it is only by a metaphorical abuse of the term that we are said to give, for the reasons which I have already mentioned. And it is very felicitously that he has called the Levites a ransom, for nothing so completely conducts the mind to freedom as its fleeing for refuge to and becoming a suppliant of God; and this is what the consecrated tribe of the Levites particularly professes to be.

25 Having now, therefore, said as much as is proper on these subjects, let us proceed onwards to what comes next; for we have postponed the consideration of many things which ought to be examined into with exactness. "Take for me," says God, "a heifer which has never been yoked and has never been ill-treated, tender and Young," [Genesis 15:9.] and exulting; that is to say, a soul adapted easily to receive government, and instruction, and superintendence. "Take for me also a ram" that is to say, speech contentious and perfect, capable of dissecting and overthrowing the sophistries of those who advance contrary opinions, and capable also of ensuring safety, and good order, and regularity to him who uses it. 2"Take for me," also the external sense, which lives and directs all its energies to the world, which is perceptible by it, that is, "a goat," three complete years old, enjoying solid strength in a perfect number, having beginning, middle, and end. Besides all these things, "a turtle dove and a pigeon," that is to say, divine and human wisdom, both of them being winged, and being animals accustomed to soar on high, still different from one another, as much as genus differs from species or a copy from the model; 2for divine wisdom is fond of lonely places, loving solitude, on account of the only God, whose possession she is; and this is called a turtledove, symbolically; but the other is quiet and tame, and gregarious, haunting the cities of men, and rejoicing in its abode among mortals, and so they liken her to a pigeon.

26 Moses appears to me to have intended figuratively to represent these virtues when he calls the midwives of the Egyptians, Shiphrah and Puah,[Exodus 1:15.] for the name Shiphrah, being interpreted, means "a little bird," and Puah means "red." Now it is the especial property of divine wisdom, like a bird, to be always soaring on high; but it is the characteristic of human wisdom to study modesty and temperance, so as to blush at all objects which are worthy to cause a blush; 2and as a very manifest proof of this the scripture says, "He took for himself all these Things." [Genesis 15:10.] This is the praise of a virtuous man, who preserves the sacred deposit of those things which he has received, the soul, the outward sense, speech, divine wisdom, human knowledge, in a pure and guileless manner, not for himself, but only for him who has trusted him. 3After this the scripture proceeds to say, "And he divided them in the middle," not explaining who did so, in order that you may understand that it was the untaught God who divided them, and that he divided all the natures of bodies and of things one after another, which appeared to be closely fitted together and united by his word, which cuts through everything; which being sharpened to the finest possible edge, never ceases dividing all the objects of the outward senses, 3and when it has gone through them all, and arrived at the things which are called atoms and indivisible, then again this divider begins from them to divide those things which may be contemplated by the speculations of reason into unspeakable and indescribable portions, and to "beat the gold into thin Plates," [Exodus 39:3.] like hairs, as Moses says, making them into one length without breadth, like unsubstantial lines. Each therefore of the three victims he divided in the midst, dividing the soul into the rational and the irrational part, speech into truth and falsehood, and the outward sense into imaginations which can be and cannot be comprehended; and these divisions he immediately places exactly opposite to one another, that is, the rational part opposite to the irrational, truth to falsehood, what is comprehensible to what is incomprehensible, leaving the birds undivided; for it was impossible to divide the incorporeal and divine sciences into contrarieties at variance with one another.

27 But as the discussion on the subject of a division into equal portions, and on that of opposite contrarieties, is of great extent and of necessary importance, we will not wholly pass it by, nor will we dwell on it with prolixity, but, investigating it as it is, we will be content with such things as seem suitable to the occasion. For as the Creator divided our soul and our limbs in the middle, so also, in the same manner, did he divide the essence of the universe when he made the world; for, having taken it, he began to divide it thus: in the first instance, he made two divisions, the heavy and the light, separating that which was thick from that which was more subtle. After that, he again made a second division of each, dividing the subtle part into air and fire, and the denser portion into water and earth; and, first of all, he laid down those elements, which are perceptible by the outward senses, to be, as it were, the foundations of the world which is perceptible by the outward senses. Again, he subdivided heavy and light according to other ideas, for he divided the light into cold and hot; and the cold he called air, and that which was hot by nature he called fire. The heavy, again, he divided into wet and dry; and the dry he called land, and the wet he called water--3and each of these, again, received other further subdivisions; for the land was divided into continents and islands, and the water into sea and rivers, and all drinkable springs, and the air was divided into the solstices of summer and winter; fire, also, was divided into what is useful (but fire is a most insatiable and destructive thing), and also by a different division into what is saving; and this division was assigned for the conformation of the heaven. 3But as he divided the things when entire, so also did he divide the particular divisions, some of which were animated and others inanimate; and of those which were inanimate he made a division into those which always remain in the same place, the bond of which is habit, and those which move, not indeed in the way of changing their place, but so as to grow, which indescribable nature has vivified. Again of these, those which are of wild materials are productive of wild fruits, which are the food of brute beasts; but others producing good fruit, the cultivation of which has been called forth diligent superintendence and care, and these produce fruit for the tamest of all animals, namely, for man, that he may enjoy them. And not only did he divide the inanimate things, and those which had received a soul and vitality in one manner--for of these he defined one species as that of irrational, and one as that of rational animals--but he also again subdivided each of these things, dividing the irrational into the wild and the tame species, and the rational into the mortal and the immortal. 3Again, of the mortals he made two divisions, one of which he called men, and the other women; and, in the same manner, he divided the irrational animals into male and female. And these things were also subjected to other necessary divisions, which made distinctions between them; winged animals being distinguished from terrestrial, terrestrial from aquatic creatures, and aquatic creatures, again, from both extremities. Thus God, having sharpened his own word, the divider of all things, divides the essence of the universe which is destitute of form, and destitute of all distinctive qualities, and the four elements of the world which were separated from this essence, and the plants and animals which were consolidated by means of these elements.

28 But since Moses not only uses the expression, "he divided," but says further, "he divided in the midst," it is necessary to say a few words on the subject of equal divisions; for that which is divided skilfully just in the middle makes two equal divisions. And no man could ever possibly divide anything into two exactly equal parts; but it is inevitable that one of the divisions must fall a little short, or exceed a little, if not much, at all events by a small quantity, in every instance, which indeed escapes the perception of our outward senses which attend only to the larger and more tangible burdens of nature and custom, but which are unable to comprehend atoms and indivisible things. But it is established by the incorruptible word of truth that there is nothing equal in inequality. God alone therefore seems to be exactly just, and to be the only being able to divide in the middle bodies and things, in such a manner that none of the divisions shall be greater or less than the other by the smallest and most indivisible portion, and he alone is able to attain to sublime and perfect equality. If therefore there were but one idea of perfect equality, what has been said would be quite sufficient for the purpose. But as there are many, we must not hesitate to add some considerations which are suitable. For the word "equal" is used in one sense when speaking of numbers, as when we say that two are equal to two, and three to three; and speak of other numbers in the same manner. But in another sense when speaking of magnitude, as equal in length or breadth, or depth, which are all different proportions. For wrestler compared with wrestler, or cubit with cubit are equal in magnitude but different in power, as is the case also with measures and weights. But the idea of equality is a necessary one, and so is that of equality in proportion, according to which a few things are looked upon as equal to many, and small things are equal to larger ones. And their proportionate equality, cities are accustomed to use at suitable times, when they command every citizen to contribute an equal share of his property, not equal in number, but in proportion to the value of his assessment, so that in some cases he who contributes a hundred drachmas will appear to have brought an equal sum with him who contributes a talent.

29 These things being thus previously sketched out, see now how God, dividing things in the middle, has divided them into equal portions according to all the ideas of equality which occur in the creation of the universe. He has divided the heavy things so as to make them equal in number to the light ones, two to two; that is to say, so that the earth and the water, being things of weight, are equal in number to those which are by nature light, air, and fire. Again, he has made one equal to one, the driest thing to the wettest thing, the earth to the water; and the coldest thing to the hottest thing, the air to the fire. So, in the same manner, he had divided light from darkness, and day from night, and summer from winter, and autumn from spring; and so on. Again, he has divided things so as to make his divisions equal in point of magnitude; such as the parallel cycles in heaven, and those which belong to the equinoxes both of spring and autumn, and those which belong to the winter and summer solstice. And on the earth he has divided the zones, two being equal to one another, which being placed close to the poles are frozen with cold, and on this account are uninhabitable. And two he has placed on the borders between these two and the torrid zone, and these two they say are the abode of a happy temperature of the air, one of them lying towards the south and the other towards the north. Now the divisions of time are equal in point of length, the longest day being equal to the longest night, and the shortest day being equal to the shortest night, and the mean length of day to the mean length of night. And the equal magnitude of other days and nights appears to be indicated chiefly by the equinoxes. 4From the spring equinox to the summer solstice, day receives an addition to its length, and night, on the other hand, submits to a diminution; until the longest day and the shortest night are both completed. And then after the summer solstice the sun, turning back again the same road, neither more quickly nor more slowly than he advanced, but always preserving the same difference in the same manner, having a constantly equal arrangement, proceeds on till the autumnal equinox; and then, having made day and night both equal, begins to increase the length of the night, diminishing the day until the time of the winter solstice. And when it has made the night the longest night, and the day the shortest day, then returning back again and adopting the same distances as before, he again comes to the spring equinox. Thus the differences of time which appear to be unequal, do in reality possess a perfect equality in respect of magnitude, not indeed at the same seasons, but at different seasons of the year.

30 And a very similar effect is seen in the different parts of animals and especially of men. For hand is equal to hand, and foot to foot, and nearly all the other limbs of the body are equal to their corresponding members in magnitude, those on the left hand being equal to those on the right. And there are an exceeding number of things which are equal to one another in power, both among wet things and dry things, the judgement on which is seen in measures and scales, and things of that kind. And nearly all things are equal as respects proportion, even all the little and all the great things in the whole world. For those who have examined the questions of natural philosophy with some accuracy say that the four elements are all equal in proportionate equality. And it is by proportion that the whole world is compounded together,

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and united, and endowed with consistency so as to remain firm for ever, proportion having distributed equality to each of its parts. And they say also that the four element which are in us, dryness, and moisture, and cold, and heat have all been mixed together and well adapted by proportionate equality, and in fact that our whole composition is nothing but a mixture of the four powers combined together by an equality of proportion.

31 But any one who examines all these things might add an interminable list of arguments and instances to this one present discussion. If he considered he would find the very smallest animals equal to the largest as to proportion; as for instance he would find the swallow equal to the eagle, the herring equal to the whale, and the ant equal to the elephant. For body and soul, and again pains and pleasures, and moreover affection for and dislike towards things, and all the other feelings which the nature of animals experience, are nearly all of them similar, being made equal by the rule of proportion. Thus some men have felt confidence even to declare that the smallest of animals, man, is equal to the whole world, considering that each of them consists of a body and a rational soul, so that, using a figurative expression, they have called man a little world, and the world a large man. And in teaching this they are not very wide of the mark, but they know that the art of God according to which he created all things, admitting neither any extraordinary intensity nor any relaxation; but always remaining the same, made every single existing thing perfection, the Creator employing all numbers and all the ideas which tend to perfection.

32 For, as Moses says, "He judged according to the little and according to the Great," [Deuteronomy 1:17.] engendering and fashioning everything, and not taking anything away from the display of his art by reason of the obscurity of his materials, not adding anything because of their brilliancy; 5since all the artists who have any reputation wish to work up whatever materials they take in an admirable manner, whether they are costly or whether they are inexpensive. And before now, some persons, having even an extraordinary love of distinction, have even spent more skill in working up materials of little value, than they have devoted to those which are costly, wishing to make up for the deficiencies of the material by the additional display of their skill. 5But there is no material which has any value in the eyes of God, because he has given all materials an equal share of his skill. In reference to which it is said in the sacred scriptures, "God saw all that he had made, and, behold, it was very Good." [Genesis 1:31.] But the things which receive an equal degree of praise, are by all means held in equal estimation by him who confers the praise; 6and what God praised was not the materials which he had worked up into creation, destitute of life and melody, and easily dissolved, and moreover in their own intrinsic nature perishable, and out of all proportion and full of iniquity, but rather his own skilful work, completed according to one equal and well-proportioned power and knowledge always alike and identical. In reference to which all things were also accounted equal and similar by all the rules of proportion, according to the principles of art and knowledge.

33 And if there is any one in the world who is a praiser of equality, that man is Moses. In the first place composing hymns in its honour, and in every place, and calling it the especial property of justice, as in fact its very name to some degree shows, to Divide [the Greek is dicha temnein, as if dikaiosyneµ, "justice," were derive from dicha, "in two parts."] bodies and things into two equal parts; and in the second place blaming injustice, the worker of the most disgraceful inequality; 6and inequality has been the parent of two wars, foreign and civil war, as on the other hand equality is the parent of peace. And he also utters the most manifest panegyric on justice, and the most undeniable reproach of injustice when he says, "You shall not commit injustice in any judgement, nor in measures, or weights, or balances: a just balance, and just weights, and a just heap, shall be Yours." [Leviticus 19:35.] And in Deuteronomy he says, "There shall not be a false weight in thy bag; thy weight shall be true and just; there shall not be a little weight and a large one; that thy days may be multiplied upon the earth, which the Lord thy God giveth thee for an inheritance, because every one who committeth injustice is an abomination to the Lord." [Deuteronomy 25:13.] 6Therefore God, who loveth justice, hates and abominates injustice, the begging of sedition and of evils; and in one passage the lawgiver represents equality as the muse of justice beginning with the creation of the entire heaven. For he says, "And God made a separation between the light and between the darkness, and he called the light day, and the darkness he called Night." [Genesis 1:4.] 6For it is equality which allotted night and day and light and darkness to existing things. It is equality also that divided the human race into man and woman, making two divisions, unequal in strength, but most perfectly equal for the purpose which nature had principally in view, the generation of a third human being like themselves. For, says Moses, "God made man; in the image of God created he him; male and female he created Them." [Genesis 1:26.] He no longer says "him," but "them," in the plural number, adapting the species to the genus, which have, as I have already said, been divided with perfect equality.

34 And he apportioned cold and heat, and summer and spring, the different seasons of the year, divided by the same dividing Word. And the three days which passed before the creation of the sun, are equal in number to the three days of the first week which came after the creation of the sun, the number six being dissected equally in order to display the character of eternity and of time. For thus God allotted three days to eternity before the appearance of the sun, and those which came after the sun he allotted to time; the sun being an imitation of eternity, and time and eternity being the two primary powers of the living God; the one his beneficent power, in accordance with which he made the world, and in respect of which he is called God; the other his chastening power, according to which he rules and governs what he has created, in respect of which he is further denominated Lord, and these two he here states to be divided in the middle by him standing above them both. "For," says he, "I will speak to you from above the mercy-seat, in the midst, between the two Cherubims;" [Exodus 25:22.] that he might show that the most ancient powers of the living God are equal; that is to say, his beneficent and his chastising power, being both divided by the same dividing Word.

35 But what are the pillars of the ten generic laws which he calls tables? They are two; equal in number to the parts of the soul, the rational and irrational part, which must be instructed and corrected, being again divided by the Lawgiver; "for the tables were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of God engraven on the Tables." [Exodus 32:16.] 6And, indeed, of the ten commandments engraved on these tables which are properly and especially laws, there is an equal division into two numbers of five; the first of which contains the principle of justice relating to God, and the second those relating to man. Now of those principles of justice relating to God, the first law enunciated is one which opposes the polytheistic doctrine, and teaches us that the world is ruled over by one sole governor. The second is one forbidding men to make gods of things which are not the causes of anything, by means of the treacherous arts of painters and sculptors, whom Moses banished from his own constitution which he proposed to establish, condemning them to everlasting banishment, in order that the only true God might be honoured in truth and simplicity. The third law is one about the name of the Lord, not about that name which has not yet reached his creatures; for that name is unspeakable, but about the name which is constantly applied to him as displayed in his powers; for it is commanded that we shall not take his name in vain. The fourth commandment is concerning the seventh day, always virgin, and without any mother, in order that creation, taking care that it may be always free from labour, may in this way come to a recollection of him who does everything without being seen. The fifth commandment is about the honour due to parents. For this also is a sacred command; having reference not to men, but to him who is the cause of birth and existence of the universe, in accordance with whom it is that fathers and mothers appear to generate children; not generating them themselves, but only being the instruments of generation in his hands. 7And this command is placed, as it were, on the borders between the two tables of laws relating to God and those relating to man, and so it bounds the five which concern piety, and that five also which comprehend a prevention of injury to one's fellows. Since mortal parents are the boundaries of the immortal powers, which, generating everything according to nature, have permitted this lowest and mortal race to imitate their own powers of generation, and so to propagate its own seed; for God is the beginning of all generation, and the mortal species of mankind, being the lowest and least honoured of all, is the end. The other table of five is the prohibition of adultery, of murder, of theft, of false witness, and of covetousness. These are generic rules, comprehending nearly all offences whatever, and to one of these rules each particular and special action is naturally referrible.

36 But you see also that the regularly occurring daily sacrifices are divided into equal portions; one portion being the sacrifice which the priests offer in their own behalf, consisting of the finest wheat-flour, and the other being that which they offer on behalf of the whole nation; consisting of two lambs, which they are especially commanded to Offer. [Leviticus 6:20.] For the law commands them to offer one half of the sacrifices abovementioned early in the morning, and the other half at the time of the evening twilight, in order that God may receive his proper tribute of thanks for the blessings which are showered upon all men during the night. You see also that the loaves which are placed upon the sacred table are divided by the twelve into equal parts, so as to be distributed to each company of six in number, and are so placed as a memorial of the tribes which are of a corresponding number: one half of whom, virtue, that is Leah, received as her share, having become the mother of six leaders of tribes; and the other half fell to the lot of Rachel's children and those of the other women. You see also that the twelve stones of an emerald upon the garment which reach down to the priests' feet are divided equally on the right and on the left side of the garment; on which, being divided into equal numbers of six, the names of the twelve patriarchs of the tribes were engraved, being divine characters engraved on pillars, memorials of divine natures. 7What more need I say? Has he not also, taking two mountains symbolically to mean two races, and having again divided them on principles of the equality of proportion, allotted one to those who bless, and the other to those who curse; appointing leaders of tribes over each in order to give admonitions to those who have need of them, and to show them that the curses are equal in number to the blessings, and nearly, if it may be lawful to say so, of equal value? For the praises of the good and the reproaches of the wicked are of equal service, since to avoid evil and to choose good are, among all persons of sound sense, looked upon as one and the same thing.

37 A great impression is made upon me by the selection and division of the two goats which are brought as an offering for the purpose of atonement, and which are divided by an obscure and uncertain principle of division, namely, by lot. For of two principles, the one which is occupied about the affairs of divine virtue is consecrated and set apart to be offered to God; but that which devotes itself to the concerns of human unhappiness is appropriated to the banished creature, for the share which that has obtained the sacred scriptures call the scape-goat, since it is removed from its place, and pursued and driven away to a great distance from virtue. 8And, as is the case with respect to good and unadulterated money, so also, as there are many things in nature, does not the invisible divider appear to you to divide them into equal portions and to distribute the good money which has stood the test to the lover of instruction, and that which has not been properly coined, and which is bad, to the man who is ignorant? for, says Moses, "that which had no mark belonged to Laban, and that which was marked belonged to Jacob." [Genesis 30:42.] For the soul, being as some ancient writer has said, a waxen tablet, while it is hard and resisting, repels and refuses the impressions which are attempted to be stamped upon it; and remains of necessity undistinguished by any figure. But when it becomes tractable and yielding in a moderate degree, it then receives deep impressions, and having taken off the stamp given by the seal, it preserves accurately the appearances which are impressed upon it, so that they cannot be effaced.

38 Moreover, the equal division of the sacrifices of blood is certainly calculated to excite our admiration: which division the chief priest Moses, having nature for his teacher, made; for, says the scripture, "He, taking the half of the blood, poured it into the bowls; and the other half he poured out upon the Altar." [Exodus 24:6.] In order to show that the sacred genus of wisdom is of a twofold nature, the one kind being divine, and the other human: 8and the divine kind is unmingled and unadulterated, on which account it sacrifices to the pure, and unalloyed, and only God existing in unity; but the human kind is of a mixed and alloyed nature, and therefore dissipates the unanimity and community of our mixed, and combined, and compound race, and effects any thing rather than a proper harmony of either melodies or morals. 8But the unmixed and unadulterated portion of the soul is the pure mind, which, being inspired by heaven from above, when it is preserved in a state free from all disease and from all mishap is very suitably all poured forth and resolved into the elements of a sacred libation, and so restored in a fitting manner to God, who inspired it and preserved it free from any infliction of evil; but the mixed portion is entirely that of the outward senses, and for this part nature has made suitable craters. 8Now, the craters of the sense of seeing are the eyes, those of hearing are the ears, those of smelling are the nostrils, and so on with the appropriate receptacles for each of the senses. On these craters the sacred word pours a portion of blood, thinking it right that the irrational part of us should become endowed with soul and vitality, and should in some manner become rational; following the guidance of admonition, and purifying itself from the deceitful alluring powers of the objects of the outward sense which aim to overcome it. Was it not in the same manner that the holy double-drachm was Divided? [Exodus 30:13.] That we should purify the half of it, namely, a drachm, offering it as the ransom for our souls: which the only free, the only delivering God, when addressed in the voice of supplication, and sometimes even without any supplication, by force delivers from the cruel and bitter despotism of the passions and iniquities; but the other portion we may leave to the race which is never free, but which is of slavish disposition; of which class was the man who said, "I have loved my Lord;" [Exodus 21:5.] that is to say, the mind which is the master in me; "and my wife," that is to say, the outward sense which is dear to him, and the housekeeper of his passions; "and my children," that is to say, the evils which are the offspring of them; "I will not depart free." For it is quite inevitable that such a description of persons as this must obtain a lot which is no lot, and that the scapegoat bought with the double drachm, must be given to them, which is just the opposite of the drachm and of unity which is offered up to

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God. And it is the nature of unity not to be capable of either addition or subtraction, inasmuch as it is the image of the only complete God; 8for all other things are intrinsically and by their own nature loose; and if there is any where any thing consolidated, that has been bound by the word of God, for this word is glue and a chain, filling all things with its essence. And the word, which connects together and fastens every thing, is peculiarly full itself of itself, having no need whatever of any thing beyond.

39 Very naturally therefore does Moses say, "He who is rich will not add anything, and he who is poor will not diminish anything of the half of the double Drachm," [Exodus 30:15.] which is, as I have said before, a drachm, and a unit; to which every member might quote that line of the poet: With thee I'll end, with thee I will begin.

For even an infinitely infinite number, being made of a continuation of other numbers, when dissolved must end in a unit: and again it must begin with a unit, being afterwards compounded so as to make an illimitable multitude; on which account those who have made the investigation of such matters their study, have not called the unit a number, but rather an element, and the beginning of number. 9Again this heavenly food of the soul which Moses calls manna, the word of God divides in equal portions among all who are to use it; taking care of equality in an extraordinary degree. And Moses bears witness to this where he says, "He who had much had not too much, and he who had but little was in no Want;" [Exodus 16:18.] since they all used that wonderful and most desirable of proportion. On which account it happened to the Israelites to learn that each of them was collecting not more for the men who were related to him than for the reasonings and manners which were akin to him. For as much as was sufficient for each man, that he was allotted in a prudent manner, so as neither to feel any want or any superfluity.

40 And we may find something very much resembling this equality, according to analogy in the case of the festival which is called the passover; and the passover is when the soul is anxious to unlearn its subjection to the irrational passions, and willingly submits itself to a reasonable mastery over them. For it is expressly said, "If there be few that are in thy house so as not to be sufficient in number for a sheep, then thou shall take thy nearest neighbour in addition, according to the number of Souls," [Exodus 12:16.] so that each person may receive a sufficient share in proportion to the number of his family, being such as he is found to be worthy of and to have need of. 9But when, as if it were some country, he wishes to divide out virtue among its inhabitants, he then allows the more numerous body to have more, and the less numerous to have less, thinking it reasonable not to allot a larger share to a smaller number, nor a smaller share to a larger number; for in such a case they would neither of them be suited to their respective portions.

41 But the most manifest instance of equality in respect of number, is exhibited in the sacred offerings of the twelve princes, and again in the portions of those offerings which are distributed among the chiefs. For, says the scripture, "There shall be an equal share allotted to each of the sons of Aaron." [Numbers 7:5.] Equality is also very beautifully displayed in respect of the composition of spices for purposes of fumigation; for we read, "Take to thyself sweet odors, stacte, onycha, galbanum, these sweet spices with pure frankincense, all of the most chosen kinds, all of equal weight and thou shall make of it a perfume, a confection, after the art of the apothecary, a pure composition, a holy Work." [Exodus 30:34.] For the Lord enjoins here that each of the separate portions shall be equal to each, with a view to the proper composition of the whole. And as I imagine these four ingredients of which the entire perfume is composed are emblems of the four elements of which the whole world is made; he likens the stacte to water, the onycha to land, the galbanum to the air, and the pure transparent frankincense to fire; for stacte, which derives its name from the drops (stagones) in which it falls is liquid, and onycha is dry and earth-like, the sweet smelling galbanum is added by way of giving a representation of the air, for there is fragrance in the air; and the transparency which there is in frankincense serves for a representation of fire. On which account also, he has separated the things which have weight from those which are light, uniting the one class by a closely connecting combination, and bringing forth the other in a disunited form; as where he says, "Take to thyself sweet odors, stacte, onycha," these things being weighty he mentions unconnectedly, being the symbols of earth and water. Afterwards he begins afresh with the other class, which he mentions in combination, saying, "And the sweet spice of galbanum and the transparent frankincense," these again being in their own nature emblems of the light things, air and fire. 9And in the harmonious composition and mixture of these things is truly his most ancient and most perfect holy work, namely, the world; which, speaking of it under the emblem of perfume, he thinks is bound to show gratitude to its Creator. So that in name the composition which has been carefully fabricated by the art of the apothecary may be offered up, but in real fact for the whole world which was created by divine wisdom may be consecrated and dedicated, being made a burnt offering of early in the morning and also in the evening. For such a life as this becomes the world, namely, continually and without ceasing to be giving thanks to its Father and Creator, so as to stop short of nothing but evaporating and reducing itself into its original element, in order to show that it stores up and conceals nothing, but dedicates itself wholly as a pious offering to God who created it.

42 And I marvel also at that sacred word which runs on with zeal, in one continued course, without taking breath, "In order to stand in the midst between the dead and the living; and immediately," says Moses, "the plague was Stayed." [Numbers 16:48.] But the evils which grind down and break to pieces and crush our souls were not likely either to be stayed or lightened, unless the reasoning, dear to God, had separated off the holy men who live in sincerity, from the unholy who in real truth are dead; for, owing to the mere fact of being near those who are sick, it has often happened that those who were in perfect health have caught their disease, and have been on the point of death: and it was impossible for them any longer to be exposed to this affliction if they once separated by a strong boundary fixed in the middle between them, which will preserve the better part by keeping off the inroads and attacks of the worse. And I marvel still more, when listening to the sacred oracles I learn from them in what manner "a cloud came in the Midst" [Exodus 14:19.] between the army of the Egyptians and the company of the children of Israel; for the cloud no longer permitted the race, which is temperate and beloved by God, to be persecuted by that which was devoted to the passions and a foe to God; being a covering and a protection to its friends, but a weapon of vengeance and chastisement against its enemies; for it gently showers down wisdom on the minds which study virtue--wisdom which cannot be visited by any evil. But on those minds which are ill-disposed and unproductive of knowledge, it pours forth a whole body of punishments, bringing upon them the most pitiable destruction of the deluge. And the Father who created the universe has given to his archangelic and most ancient Word a pre-eminent gift, to stand on the confines of both, and separated that which had been created from the Creator. And this same Word is continually a suppliant to the immortal God on behalf of the mortal race, which is exposed to affliction and misery; and is also the ambassador, sent by the Ruler of all, to the subject race. And the Word rejoices in the gift, and, exulting in it, announces it and boasts of it, saying, "And I stood in the midst, between the Lord and You;" [Numbers 16:48.] neither being uncreate as God, nor yet created as you, but being in the midst between these two extremities, like a hostage, as it were, to both parties: a hostage to the Creator, as a pledge and security that the whole race would never fly off and revolt entirely, choosing disorder rather than order; and to the creature, to lead it to entertain a confident hope that the merciful God would not overlook his own work. For I will proclaim peaceful intelligence to the creation from him who has determined to destroy wars, namely God, who is ever the guardian of peace.

43 Therefore the sacred Word, having given us instruction respecting the division into equal parts, leads us also to the knowledge of opposites, saying that God placed the divisions "opposite to one Another;" [Genesis 15:10.] for in fact nearly all the things that exist in the world, are by nature opposite to one another. And we must begin with the first. Hot is opposite to cold, and dry to wet, and light to heavy, and darkness to light, and night to day; also in heaven that which is fixed is opposite to the wandering planetary motion, and in the air a clear sky is opposite to clouds, winter to summer, autumn to spring, for the one is blooming and the other fading. Again, of things on earth, sweet water is opposite to bitter, and barren to fertile land. Again, there are other things contrary to one another, as visible bodies to incorporeal, things endowed with vitality to things inanimate, rational to irrational, mortal to immortal, things discernible by the outward sense to things perceptible only by the intellect; things comprehensible to things incomprehensible, elements to things concrete and perfected, beginning to end, generation to destruction, life to death, disease to health, white to black, the right to the left, justice to injustice, wisdom to folly, courage to cowardice, temperance to intemperance, virtue to vice; and all the species of one class to all the species of the other class. Again, grammatical knowledge is contrary to ignorance of the same subject, musical science to unacquaintance with music, an educated to an illiterate condition; and, in short, skill in art to want of skill. Again, in the different arts there are vocal elements and mute elements, there are sharp and flat sounds, there are straight and circular lines. Once more, in animals and plants, there are some barren and some productive; some very prolific, others which yield but small increase; animals oviparous and viviparous; animals with soft skins, and others with hard shells; some wild and some tractable creatures; some fond of solitude, and others gregarious. To go on further: poverty is opposite to wealth, glory to want of reputation, baseness of birth to nobility, want to abundance, war to peace, law to lawlessness, a bad to a good disposition, inactivity to labour, youth to old age, power to want of power, weakness to strength. And why need I enumerate every class separately, when these are unlimited and indescribable by reason of their multitude? Very beautifully, therefore, has the interpreter of the writings of nature, taking pity upon our idleness and want of consideration, taught every one of us in an invisible manner, as he does now, to arrange everything in such a way as to produce an exact opposition, not arranging them in wholes, but in equal divisions; for the one thing consists of the two opposite parts; and when that one thing is bisected then the opposite parts are easily known. Is not this the thing which the Greeks say that Heraclitus, that great philosopher who is so celebrated among them, put forth as the leading principle of his whole philosophy, and boasted of it as if it were a new discovery? For it is in reality an ancient discovery of Moses, that out of the same thing opposite things are produced having the ratio of parts to the whole, as has here been shown.

44 These matters then we will examine into accurately on another occasion; but there is this other point also, which does not deserve to be passed over in silence. For the divisions into two equal parts which have been mentioned become six in number, since three animals were divided, so that the Word which divided them made up the number seven, dividing the two triads and establishing itself in the midst of them. And a thing very similar to this appears to me to be very clearly shown in the matter of the sacred candlestick; for that also was made having six branches, three on each side, and the main candlestick itself in the middle made the seventh, dividing and separating the two triads; for it is made of carved work, a divine work of exquisite skill and highly admired, being made of one solid piece of pure gold. For the unit, being one and single and pure, begot the number seven, which had no mother but is born of itself alone, without taking any additional material whatever to aid him. But those who praise gold say a great many other things by way of panegyric on it, but dwell on two especial points as most particularly important and excellent; one that it does not receive poison, the other that it can be beaten out or melted out into the thinnest possible plates, while still remaining unbroken. Therefore it is very naturally taken as an emblem of that greater nature, which, being extended and diffused every where so as to penetrate in every direction, is wholly full of everything, and also connects all other things with the most admirable arrangement. Concerning the candlestick above mentioned, the artist speaks again a second time and says, that from its different branches there are three arms projecting out on each side, equals in all respects to one another, and having on the top lamps like nuts, in the shape of flowers supporting the lights; [Exodus 25:33.] the seventh flower being fashioned on the top of the candlestick of solid gold, and having seven golden places for lights above them; so that in many accounts it has been believed to be fashioned in such a manner because the number six is divided into two triads by the Word, making the seventh and being placed in the midst of them; as indeed is the case now. For the entire candlestick with its six most entire and principal parts was made so as to consist of seven lamps, and seven flowers, and seven lights; and the six lights are divided by the seventh. And in like manner the flowers are divided by that which comes in the middle; and in the same manner also the lamps are divided by the seventh which comes in the middle. But the six branches, and the equal number of arms which shoot out are divided by the main trunk itself which makes up the number seven.

45But the long discussion which some people start with respect to each of these, must be postponed to a subsequent opportunity. This much alone we must remind our readers of at this moment, that the sacred candlestick and the seven lights upon it are an imitation of the wandering of the seven planets through the heaven. How so? some one will say. Because, we will reply, in the same manner as the lights, so also does every one of the planets shed its rays. They therefore, being more brilliant, do transmit more brilliant beams to the earth, and brilliant beyond them all is he who is the centre one of the seven, the sun. And I call him the centre, not merely because he has the central position, as some have thought, but also because he has on many other accounts a right to be ministered unto and attended by the others accompanying him as bodyguards on each side, by reason of his dignity and his magnitude, and the great benefits which he pours upon all earthly things. But men, being unable completely to comprehend the arrangement of the planets (and in fact what other of the heavenly bodies can they understand with certainty and clearness?) speak according to their conjectures. And these persons appear to me to form the best conjectures on such subjects, who, having assigned the central position to the sun, say that there is an equal number of planets, namely, those above him and below him. Those above him being Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars; then comes the Sun himself, and next to him Mercury, Venus, and the Moon, which last is close to the air. The Creator therefore, wishing that there should be a model upon earth among us of the seven-lighted sphere as it exists in heaven, explained this exquisite work to be made,

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namely, this candlestick. And its likeness to the soul is often pointed out too; for the soul is divisible into three parts, and each of the parts, as has been already pointed out, is divided into two more. And thus there being six divisions, the sacred and divine Word, the divider of them all, very naturally makes up the number seven.

46 This other point also is too important to deserve to be passed over in silence: that, as there are three vessels among the sacred furniture, a candlestick, a bath, and an altar of incense; the altar of incense has reference to that gratitude which is exhibited for the bestowal of the elements, as has been shown before, since it does itself also receive a portion from these four, receiving wood from the earth, and the species which are burnt from the water; for, being first of all liquefied, they are dissolved into drops of moisture, and vapour from the air, and form the fire the spark which kindles the whole; and the composition of frankincense, and galbanum, and onycha, and stacte, is a symbol of the four elements; and the table is referred to the gratitude which is displayed for the mortal things which are made out of the elements, for loaves and libations are placed upon it, which the creatures who stand in need of nourishment must of necessity use. And the candlestick has reference to the gratitude exhibited for all the things existing in heaven, in order than no portion of the world may lie under the imputation of ingratitude; but that we may see that every single part of it gives thanks, the elements, the things made of them, and not those only which are made on earth, but also those in heaven.

47 And it is worth while to consider why, after having explained the measures of the table and of the altar of incense, he has given no such description of the candlestick; may it not be, perhaps, for the reason that the elements and all the mortal things which are compounded of them, of which the table and the altar of incense are symbols, have been measured, inasmuch as they are terminated in heaven? For that which surrounds anything is invariably the measure of that which is surrounded; but the heaven, of which the candlestick is the symbol, is of infinite magnitude; for it is indeed surrounded, but not, according to the account of Moses, by a vacuum, nor by any substance, nor by anything which is of equal magnitude with itself, nor by anything of unlimited size, in accordance with the marvelous fables which we touched upon when speaking of their building of the tower; but its boundary is God, and he also is its ruler and the director of its course. As, therefore, the living God is incomprehensible, so also that which is bounded by him is not measured by any measures which come with the range of our intellect; and, perhaps, inasmuch as it is of circular form and skilfully fashioned into a perfect sphere, it has no participation in either length or breadth.

48 Therefore, after he has said what is becoming on this subject, he proceeds to add, "But the birds he did not Divide;" [Genesis 15:10.] meaning, by the term birds, the two reasonings which are winged and inclined by nature to soar to the investigation of sublime subjects; one of them being the archetypal pattern and above us, and the other being the copy of the former and abiding among us. And Moses calls the one which is above us the image of God, and the one which abides among us as the impression of that image, "For," says he, "God made man," not an image, "but after that Image." [Genesis 1:27.] So that the mind which is in each of us, which is in reality and truth the man, is a third image proceeding from the Creator. But the intermediate one is a model of the one and a copy of the other. But by nature our mind is indivisible; for the Creator, having divided the irrational part of the soul into six portions, has made six divisions of it, namely, sight, taste, hearing, smelling, touch, and voice; but the rational part, which is called the mind he has left undivided, according to the likeness of the entire heaven. For in this, also, there is a report that the outermost sphere, which is destitute of motion, is preserved without being divided, but that the inner one is divided into six portions, and thus completes the seven circles of what are called the planets; for I imagine the heaven is in the world the same thing that the soul is in the human being. They say, therefore, that these two natures, full of reason and comprehension--that, I mean, which exists in man and that which exists in the world--are both at all times entire and indivisible. On this account, therefore, it is that the scriptures tell us, "He did not divide the birds." For our own mind is here compared to a dove, since that is a creature which is tame and domesticated among us; and the turtle dove is compared to the model presented by the other, that is to say, by the mind of the world, the heaven; for the word of God is fond of retirement, and solitude, and privacy; not mixing itself up with the crowd of things which have been created and will be destroyed, but being at all times accustomed to roam on high, and being anxious to be an attendant only on the one supreme Being. Therefore, the two natures are indivisible; the nature, I mean, of the reasoning power in us, and of the divine Word above us; but though they are indivisible themselves, they divide an innumerable multitude of other things. 3For it is the divine Word which divided and distributed every thing in nature; and it is our own mind which divides every thing and every body which it comprehends, by the exertion of its intellect in an infinite manner, into an infinite number of parts, and which, in fact, never ceased from dividing. And this happens by reason of its resemblance to the Creator and Father of the universe; for the divine nature, being unmingled, uncombined with any thing else, and most completely destitute of parts, has been to the whole world the cause of mixture, and combination, and of an infinite variety of parts: so that, very naturally, the two things which thus resemble each other, both the mind which is in us and that which is above us, being without parts and indivisible, will still be able in a powerful manner to divide and distribute all existing things.

49 Therefore, after Moses has mentioned the facts of birds not being cut in two pieces or divided, he proceeds to say, "And the birds came down and descended upon the bodies which were Divided;" [Genesis 15:11.] using indeed expressions which are synonymous, but still representing the variance which exists in the facts in a most visible manner to those who are able to see. For it is contrary to nature that birds should come down, when they have been given wings for the purpose of soaring on high. For, as the earth is the most appropriate place for land animals, and above all for reptiles, which do not endure even to crawl upon it, but seek caves and lurking places, avoiding the regions which are above, on account of their kinship with the things which are below; so, in the same manner, the air is the appropriate abode for the winged race, the element which is by nature light is the proper home for those creatures which are light by reason of their being feathered. When, therefore, those creatures, whose nature it is to traverse the air and who ought to roam through the aether, descend and come down upon the land, they are unable to live a life according to their nature. 3On the other hand, Moses approves, in no ordinary degree, of whatever reptiles are able to take a leap in an upward direction. At all events he says, "Ye shall eat of these winged reptiles which go upon four feet, and which have legs above their feet so as to be able by them to leap up from the Ground." [Leviticus 11:21.] But these reptiles are the emblems of souls, which like reptiles being rooted in the earthly body, when they are raised up, get strength to soar on high, taking the heaven in exchange for the earth, and immortality in exchange for destruction. We must, therefore, think that they are full of every description of misery, which, having been brought up in the air, and in the aether which is the purest of all things, have changed their abode (not being able to bear the satiety of divine things), and have descended to that mortal and evil district, the earth. And there are innumerable imaginations concerning an innumerable variety of things which roam about upon it also; some voluntary, and some out of ignorance, which are in no respect different from winged creatures, and which Moses compares to the birds that come down. And of these imaginations those which take the upward course belong to the better class, since virtue, which conducts the mind towards heaven and the divine country, travels with them. But those which take the downward course belong to the worse class, since wickedness guides them and drags them in the contrary direction by force. And their very names do, to a great extent, show the opposite character of the places. For virtue (aretęµ) has derived its name not only from the word (airesis) choice, but also from the fact of its being lifted up (para to airesthai), for it is lifted up (airetai) and borne on high because it always loves heavenly things; but wickedness (kakia) is so called from its tendency to go downwards (apo tou katoµ kechoµreµkenai), and also because it compels those who practice it to fall down to the bottom (katapiptein). Accordingly the thoughts of the soul which are at variance with one another, flying towards and descending upon the earth, both come down themselves and also throw the mind down too, mingling with bodies in a disgraceful degree, and with things which are perceptible by the outward senses, not discernible by the intellect, imperfect not entire, perishable and not living. For they mix themselves up not only with bodies, but also with the divisions of the bodies which have been divided in two parts. And it is quite impossible that things which have been divided in this way should ever again admit of adaptation and union; since the nerves of the spirit, which were the strongest natural bond in them, are cut in two.

50 Moreover, Moses introduces a very true opinion when he teaches us that justice and every virtue loves the soul, but that wickedness and every vice is attached to the body; and that what is friendly to the one is in every case of necessity hostile to the other, as is the case even now. For having figuratively represented the wars of the soul, he then introduces birds as eager to involve themselves with and to cling to the bodies, and to satiate themselves with the flesh, the inroads and attacks of which the virtuous man, desiring to check, is said to sit by them as if he were a sort of curator or overseer of them. For when his domestic affairs were thrown into confusion by domestic sedition, and when the armies of the enemy were proceeding against him, he collected a wise council and deliberated with respect to the adversaries; in order that if he could possibly do so, using persuasion he might both put an end to the foreign war, and also remove the domestic confusion; for it was desirable to disperse those enemies who were gathering over him like a cloud, and who were full of irreconcileable enmity to him; and equally so to re-establish with the other party the relations which had previously existed. 4Now those who are irreconcilable and implacable enemies are set down thus; the follies and intemperances of the soul, cowardice and injustice, and all the other irrational appetites which are accustomed to be generated by luxuriant and impotent appetite, raising their heads high and becoming restiff, and preventing the mind from proceeding in its straight course; and very often throwing its whole system into confusion and beating it down. But the attacks and conflicts of those powers which are not irreconcilable resemble the frequent effect of the discussions and quarrels about doctrines which arise among the Sophists. For inasmuch as they all labour for one end, namely the contemplation of the things of nature, they may be said to be friends; but inasmuch as they do not agree in their particular investigations they may be said to be in a state of domestic sedition; as, for instance, those who affirm the universe to be uncreated are at variance with those who insist upon its creation; and again those who urge that it will be destroyed are at strife with those who affirm that it is indeed perishable by nature but that it never will be destroyed, because it is held together by a more powerful chain, the will of the Creator. And again, those who affirm that there is nothing self-existent, but that everything has been created, are at variance with those who are of a contrary opinion. Those too, who say that man is the measure of all things, differ from those who would restrain the judicial faculties of the outward senses and of the intellect. And, in short, to sum up all these differences in a few words, those who represent everything as incomprehensible are at variance with those who say that a great number of things are properly understood. 4And the sun, and the moon, and the whole heaven, and the earth, and the air, and the water, and all the things that are connected with them, afford subject for strife and contention to those who are fond of examining into such subjects, and who investigate their essences, and distinctive qualities, and changes, and alterations, and moreover their origin and the method of their destruction; and making no superficial investigation into the magnitude and motion of the heavenly bodies, they adopt all sorts of different opinions, never agreeing together, until some man, who is at the same time skilful at disentangling controversies and calculated to judge, takes his seat on the tribunal, and comes to a clear perception of the progeny of each individual's soul, and discards those which do not deserve to be maintained, and preserves those which are good, and which he pronounces worthy of suitable providential care. 4And all the controversies of philosophy are full of disagreement, since the truth escapes the intellect which is given to plausibilities and conjectures: for it is the very difficulty of discovering and seizing hold of the nature of truth that, in my opinion, has given rise to so many quarrels.

51 "And about the setting of the sun a trance fell upon Abraham, and, behold, fear with great darkness fell upon Him." [Genesis 15:12.] Now there is one kind of trance which is sort of frantic delirium, causing infirmity of mind, either through old age, or melancholy, or some other similar cause. There is another kind which is excessive consternation, arising usually from things which happen suddenly and unexpectedly. Another kind is mere tranquility of the mind, arising when it is inclined by nature to be quiet: but that which is the best description of all is a divinely inspired and more vehement sort of enthusiasm, which the race of prophets is subject to. Now the first kind Moses mentions in the curses which are recorded in Deuteronomy; for he says that, "delirium and blindness, and aberration of mind shall seize on the Impious," [Deuteronomy 28:28.] so that they shall differ in no respect from blind persons at mid-day, being like people feeling their way in deep darkness. 5The second kind he mentions in many places; for he says, "And Isaac was astonished with a great astonishment, and said, Who, then, is it who went out to hunt for game for me, and who brought it to me? And I ate of it all before you come, and I have blessed him; yea, and he shall be Blessed." [Genesis 27:33.] And, again, with reference to Jacob, who disbelieved those who told him that "Joseph is alive, and is ruler over the whole land of Egypt; for he," says the scripture, "was amazed in his mind, for he believed them Not." [Genesis 45:26.] And, again, in Exodus, in the assembly of the people, we read: "For the whole of the mountain of Sinai was enveloped in smoke, because God descended upon it in fire. And the smoke went up as the vapour of a furnace, and the whole people was greatly Astonished." [Exodus 19:18.] Also, in Leviticus, when speaking of the consecration of the priests on the eighth day, when fire came out from heaven and licked up what was on the altar, and the burntofferings and the fat, the historian proceeds immediately to tell us, "And the whole people saw it and were astonished, and fell upon their Faces;" [Leviticus 9:24.] for such astonishment as this causes alarm and consternation. And ought we not especially to wonder in the case of Esau, that he who was skilful in hunting was nevertheless himself continually caught and supplanted, having acquired his skill to his own injury and

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not to his advantage, and that he never used any great care to catch anything in his hunts? And also in the case of Jacob, that he hunts without having acquired any skill by learning, but only as he is moved by nature; and that he brings what he has caught to the examiner, who will distinguish whether it deserves to be approved; on which account he "eateth of it All." [Genesis 27:33.] For everything that relates to meditation is wholesome food, whether it be investigation, or consideration, or hearing, or reading, or prayer, or self-reliance, or a contempt for things indifferent; and he ate, as I imagine, the first fruits of them all, but he did not eat the whole of all; for some appropriate food must be left for him who meditates as a reward for his pains. And the words, "before you came," are added out of regard for the nature of the things; for if passions enters into the soul, we shall not enjoy temperance. And it convicts the worthless man as slow, and hesitating, and procrastinating, as to the works of instruction, but not as to those of intemperance. Therefore Egypt contains inspectors of works, who devote themselves with energy to securing the enjoyment of passions. But Moses, on the other hand, commands the Israelites to eat the passover in haste, and to celebrate the migration from these passions in this way. And Judah says: "For if we had not delayed, we should by this time have returned, and have arrived again in Egypt ; aye, and a second time should we have returned safe from Thence." [Genesis 43:9.] And very naturally did Jacob wonder whether the mind was still in the body; that is to say, whether Joseph was alive to virtue and ruling over the body, and not being ruled over by it. And any one who chooses to go through all the other instances, would be able to trace out the truth. But our present subject does not require any accurate discussion of these matters; on which account we had better return to the point from which we set out. With respect to the third kind of trance, he philosophises in this manner when speaking of the creation of the woman; "For the Lord God," says Moses, "cast a trance upon Adam, and he Slept." [Genesis 2:21.] Here calling the quietness and tranquility of mind a trance; for the slumber of the mind is the awaking of the outward sense: and, again, the awaking of the intellect is the reducing of the outward senses to a state of inactivity.

52 An instance of the fourth kind of trance is the one which we are now considering: "And about the setting of the sun a trance fell upon Abraham," he being thrown into a state of enthusiasm and inspired by the Deity. But this is not the only thing which shows him to have been a prophet, but also the express words which are engraven in the sacred scriptures as on a pillar. When some one endeavored to separate Sarah, that is, the virtue which is derived from nature, from him, as if she had not been the peculiar property of the wise man alone, but had also belonged to every one who made any pretence to wisdom, God said, "Give the man back his wife, because he is a prophet, and he will pray for thee, and thou shall Live;" [Genesis 20:7.] 5and the sacred scriptures testify in the case of every good man, that he is a prophet; for a prophet says nothing of his own, but everything which he says is strange and prompted by some one else; and it is not lawful for a wicked man to be an interpreter of God, as also no wicked man can be properly said to be inspired; but this statement is only appropriate to the wise man alone, since he alone is a sounding instrument of God's voice, being struck and moved to sound in an invisible manner by him. Accordingly, all those whom Moses describes as just persons he has also represented as inspired and prophesying. Noah was a just man; was he not also by that fact a prophet? or did he, without being possessed by any divine inspiration, utter those prayers and curses which he applied to the generations which should come hereafter, and all of which were eventually confirmed by the reality of the facts? Why should I speak of Isaac? Why of Jacob? For these are also manifestly found to have been prophets by many other circumstances, and especially by their addresses to their children. For the annunciation, "Assemble yourselves together, that I may tell you what shall happen to you in the last Days" [Genesis 49:2.] was the expression of a man possessed by inspiration; for the knowledge of the future is not appropriate to, or natural to, man. What shall we say of Moses? is he not celebrated everywhere as a prophet? For the scripture says, "If there shall be among you a prophet of the Lord, I will make myself known unto him in a Vision," [Numbers 12:6.] but to Moses God appeared in his actual appearance and not by a riddle. And again we read, "There arose not any more any prophet like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to Face." [Deuteronomy 34:10.] Very admirably, therefore, does the historian here point out, that Abraham was under the influence of inspiration when he says that, "About the setting of the sun a trance fell upon him."

53 And under the symbol of the sun he intimates our mind: for what reasoning is in us, that the sun is in the world. Since each of them gives light, the one casting a light which is perceptible by the outward senses, to shine upon the universe; and the other shedding their beams, discernible only by the intellect by means of our apprehensions, upon ourselves. As long therefore as our mind still shines around and hovers around, pouring as it were a noontide light into the whole soul, we, being masters of ourselves, are not possessed by any extraneous influence; but when it approaches its setting, then, as is natural, a trance, which proceeds from inspiration, takes violent hold of us, and madness seizes upon us, for when the divine light sets this other rises and shines, and this very frequently happens to the race of prophets; for the mind that is in us is removed from its place at the arrival of the divine Spirit, but is again restored to its previous habitation when that Spirit departs, for it is contrary to holy law for what is mortal to dwell with what is immortal. On this account the setting of our reason, and the darkness which surrounds it, causes a trance and a heaven-inflicted madness. 6After that the historian connects with his preceding account what follows in consistency with it, saying, "And it was said to Abraham"--for in real truth the prophet, even when he appears to be speaking, is silent, and another being is employing his vocal organs, his mouth and tongue, for the explanation of what things he chooses; and operating on these organs by some invisible and very skilful act, he makes them utter a sweet and harmonious sound, full of every kind of melody.

54 And it is well to hear what the things are which are thus said to have been predicted to Abraham. In the first place, that God does not grant to the man who loves virtue to dwell in the body as in his own native land, but only to sojourn in it as in a foreign country. "For knowing," says the scripture, "thou shall know that thy seed shall be sojourners in a land which is not Theirs." [Genesis 15:13.] But the district of the body is akin to every bad man, and in it he is desirous to abide as a dweller, not as a sojourner. Accordingly, these words contain this as one lesson; another is, that the things which bring slavery and disaster and bitter humiliation, as the prophet himself tells us, upon the soul are the dwellings upon earth. For the affections of the body are truly spurious and foreign, being produced by the flesh, in which they are rooted. And this slavery lasts four hundred years in accordance with the powers of the four passions. For when pleasure rules, the mind is elated and puffed up, being carried away by empty vanity. Again, when the appetite gets the upper hand, a desire for absent things is engendered, which suspends the mind upon unaccomplished hopes, as if in a halter; for then the mind is always thirsting and yet is unable to drink, enduring the punishment of Tantalus. Again, when under the influence of grief, the mind is tortured and contracted, like trees the leaves of which are falling off and withering; for all its flourishing and nutritious particles are dried up. Also, when fire obtains that supremacy, no one any longer chooses to remain, but betakes to flight and running away, thinking that this is the only way in which he can be saved. For appetite, having an attractive power even if the object which is desired retreats, compels one to pursue it; and fear, on the other hand, causing alienation, separates one from it, and makes one remove to a distance from what is presented to one's view.

55 But the supremacy of these different passions before mentioned inflicts terrible slavery on those who are ruled over by them, until God, the umpire and judge of all things, separates that which is ill treated from that which is inflicting ill treatment, and delivers the former and blesses it with perfect freedom, and inflicts upon the other a retribution for the wickedness which it has committed. 7For we read in the next verse, "And the nation to which they shall be slaves I will judge and after that they shall go forth with great Substance." [Genesis 15:14.] For it is inevitable that a mortal man must obey the nature of the passions, and that a man who has been born must endure the fate which is allotted to him as appropriate; but it is the will of God to lighten the evils which are planted contemporaneously with our birth. 7So that even if we at the beginning suffer such evils as are properly assigned to us, become slaves of cruel masters, and if God also performs what is his peculiar work, proclaiming emancipation and freedom to the souls which address their supplications to him, then he not only gives men a release from their bondage and a means of departure from their prison all guarded round as it is, but he also gives them the means of travelling, which he here calls substance. And what is this? When the mind having come down from above the heaven becomes entangled in the necessities of the body, then, although it is not allured by any of these, still, like a eunuch or impotent person, it embraces pleasant evils. But if it remains in its own nature, then, being truly a man, it resists and discards them instead of being overthrown by them, being initiated in all the parts of complete encyclical learning; from which it derives a desire for contemplation, and acquires temperance and patience, very vigorous virtues, leaving its former abode, and finding a means of return back to its own country, and bringing with it all the lessons of instruction, which are here called supplies for the journey.

56 Having said this much on these subjects, the historian proceeds: "And thou shall depart to thy fathers, having lived in peace, in a good old Age." [Genesis 15:15.] Therefore we, who are imperfect, are made war upon, and we become slaves, and only with difficulty do we find any relief from the dangers which impend over us. But the perfect race, exempt from slavery and free from the perils of war, is bred up in peace and the firmest freedom. And there is a particular lesson to be learnt from his representing the good man not as dying but departing, in order to show that the race of the soul, which is completely purified, cannot be extinguished and cannot die, but only departs in the way of migration from this earth to heaven, not undergoing that dissolution and destruction which death appears to bring with it. And after the words, "Thou shall depart," he adds, "to thy fathers." It is here worth while to consider what kind of fathers is meant; for God can never mean those who had passed their lives in the country of the Chaldeans, among whom alone he had lived as being his relations, because he had been commanded by a sacred oracle to depart from those who were his kinsmen by blood. For, says the historian, "The Lord said unto Abraham, Depart from out of thy land, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, to a land which I will show thee; and I will make thee into a great Nation." [Genesis 12:1.] For how can it be reasonable for him who was once been removed from his abode by the interference of Divine Providence, to return and dwell again in the same place? And how could it be reasonable for one who was about to be the leader of a new nation and or another race to be again assigned to his ancient one? For God would never have given to him a new character, and a new nation and family, if he had not wholly and entirely separated himself from his ancient one. For that man is truly a chief of a nation and ruler of a family, from whom, as from a root, sprang that branch so fond of investigating and contemplating the affairs of our nature, by name Israel, since an express command has been given "to remove the old things from before the face of those which are New." [Leviticus 26:10.] For where is any longer the use of investigations into antiquity, and ancient, and long-established customs, to those in whom on a sudden, when they have no such expectation, God rains all kinds of new blessings in a mass?

57 Therefore, when he says "fathers," he means not those whose souls have departed from them, and who are buried in the tombs of the land of Chaldea; but, as some say, the sun, and the moon, and the other stars; for some affirm that it is owing to these bodies that the nature of all the things in the world has its existence. But as some other persons think he means the archetypal ideas, those models of these thing which are perceptible by the outward senses and visible; which models, however, are only perceptible by the intellect and invisible; and that it is to these that the mind of the wise man emigrates. Some, again, have fancied that by "fathers," are here meant the four principles and powers of which the world is composed--the earth, the water, the air, and the fire; for they say, that all created things are very properly dissolved into these elements. For as nouns, and verbs, and all the other parts of speech, consist of the elements of grammar, and again are resolvable into these ultimate principles, so, in the same manner, each individual among us, being compounded of the four elements, and borrowing small portions from each essence, does, at certain fixed periods, repay what he has borrowed, giving what he has dry to the earth, what moisture he has to the water, what heat he has to the fire, and what cold he has to the air. These then are the things of the body; but the intellectual and heavenly race of the soul will ascend to the purest aether as to its father. For the fifth essence, as the account of the ancients tells us, may be a certain one, which brings things round in a cycle, differing from the other four as being superior to them, from which the stars and the whole heavens appear to be generated, and of which, as a natural consequence, one must lay it down that the human soul is a fragment.

58 And the expression, "After having lived in peace," is used with much propriety; because nearly all or the greater portion of the human race lives rather in war and among all the evils of war. And of wars, one kind proceeds from external enemies, and is brought on by want of reputation, and by lowness of origin, and by other things of that kind. But another kind arises from one's domestic enemies; some about the body, such as weaknesses, stains, all kinds of mutilations, and a whole body of other unspeakable evils; and others affecting the soul, such as passions, diseases, infirmities, terrible and most grievous inflictions, and incurable calamities arising from folly and injustice, and other similar evils. 8Therefore he speaks of him who has lived in peace, who has enjoyed a serene and tranquil life, as a man truly happy and blessed. When then shall this happen? When all external things prosper with me, in such a way as to tend to by abundance and to my glory. When the things relating to the body are in a favourble state, so as to give me good health and strength; and when the things relating to my soul are in a similar state, so as to enable it to enjoy the virtues. For each of these requires its own appropriate body-guards. Now the body is attended in that capacity by glory, and abundance, and a sufficient provision of wealth; and the soul by wholeness, and soundness, and thoroughly healthy state of the body; and the mind by those speculations which are concerned about the sciences. Since it is plain to all those who are versed in the holy scriputres, that when peace is here mentioned, it is not that peace which cities enjoy. For Abraham bore a part in many terrible wars, out of which he appears to have come triumphantly. 8And indeed the being forced to depart from his native country, and to leave his home, and his inability to

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dwell in his native city, and his being driven hither and thither, and wandering about by desolate and unfrequented roads, would have been a terrible war for one who had not put his trust in certain divine oracles and promises. There would also be a third calamity, of a formidable nature, also to be borne by him, a famine, worse than the departure from his home, or than all the evils of war. 8What peace then did he enjoy? For I imagine to be driven from his former home, and to have no settled abode, and to be unable to make an effectual resistance to very powerful monarchs, and to oppressed with hunger, seem like indications, not of one war, but of many wars of various kinds. 8But, according to those interpretations which are figurative, every one of these events is an instance and proof of unalloyed peace. For an absence of the passions, and a complete scarcity of them, and the destruction of inimical acts of iniquity, and a departure from the opinions of the Chaldeans to the doctrine which loves God, that is to say, from the created being, perceptible by the outward senses, to the great Cause and Creator of all things, who is appreciable only by the intellect, are things which supply a good system of laws and stability. 9And God promises the man who enjoys such a peace as this a glorious old age, not indeed one which shall last an exceeding time, but he promises him a life with wisdom. For tranquility and happiness are better than length of years, in proportion as a short period of light is better than everlasting darkness. For well did one of the prophets say: "He had rather live one day in the company of virtue, than ten thousand years in the shadow of Death;" [psalm 84:11.] under this figurative expression of shadow, intimating the life of the wicked. 9And Moses says the very same thing, intimating it by his actions rather than by his words. For the man who he says shall enjoy a glorious old age, he has at the same time represented as more short-lived than almost any one of those who preceded him. Speaking in a philosophical manner, and teaching us who it is who does truly enjoy a happy old age, that we may not conceive pride respecting old age from anything that affects the visible body; as such pride is full of shame and many disgraceful circumstances. But, that keeping our eyes fixed on wisdom of counsel, and steadiness of soul, we may ascribe to such men and testify in their favour that they have a glorious old age, (geμras) akin to, and bearing nearly the same name as honour (geras). Listen, therefore, in such a spirit as to think his words a good lesson, to this statement of the lawgiver, that the good man alone has a happy old age, and that he is the most long-lived of men; but that the wicked man is the most short-lived of men, living only to die, or rather having already died as to the life of virtue.

59 In the next verses it is said, "And in the fourth generation they shall return hither," not merely in order that the time may be exactly marked out to him, in which his descendants shall become inhabitants of the holy land, but also in order to represent to him the perfect and complete re-establishment of virtue; and this takes place as it were in the fourth generation, but how it does so it is worth while to consider. 9The child, after it is brought forth, during its age of infancy, till it has completed its first period of seven years, has a pure unmixed nature, very like a smooth waxen tablet, which has not yet been stamped with the indelible impressions of good or evil; for all the things which appear to be engraved upon it are soon confused and effaced by reason of its moisture: 9this is as it were the first age of the soul. The second is that which, after the age of infancy is passed, begins to live among evils, some of which it is also accustomed to generate from itself, and others it cheerfully receives from other sources, for the teachers of evil deeds are infinite in number: nurses, and tutors, and parents, and the laws in different states, whether written or unwritten, which make objects of admiration out of things which ought to be laughed at; and even without teachers nature itself is easily inclined to learn what is improper, so as to be continually weighed down by the abundance of its evils; "For," says the scripture, "the mind of man is carefully devoted to evil from his Youth." [Genesis 8:21.] This is that most accursed period which is figuratively called an age, but also especially the age of youth, in which the body is full of youthful vigor, and the soul is puffed up; the passions, which have hitherto lain hid, being now fanned into a flame, and burning up the threshing-floors, and crops, and fields, and whatever they meet with. 9This diseased generation or age must be remedied by some third age, acting towards it the part of medical philosophy, so that it shall be charmed with salutary and saving words, by means of which it will receive an evacuation of the immoderate satiety of evil actions, and a fulness of a sort of hungry emptiness, and terrible desolation of good deeds. Therefore, after the application of this cure, there comes first the age, in which power and vigor grow up in the soul, in accordance with the most certain comprehension of wisdom, and the undeviating and solid character which exists in all virtues. This is the meaning of the expression, "And in the fourth generation they shall return hither." For according to the fourth number thus pointed out the soul, which has turned away from doing evil, is proclaimed as the inheritor of wisdom; for the first number is that into which it is not possible to receive any idea of either good or evil, since the soul is as yet destitute of all impressions; and the second is that in which we indulge in a rapid course of the passions; and the third is that in which we are healed, repelling the infections of disease, and at last ceasing to feel the evil vigor of the passions; the fourth is that in which we acquire complete and perfect health and vigor, when rejecting what is bad we appear to endeavor to apply to what is good, which previously was not in our power.

60 But up to what time this is to be he tells us himself, when he says, "For the wickednesses of the Amorites are not yet Fulfilled." [Genesis 15:11.] And such words as these give an occasion to weaker brethren to fancy, that Moses represents fate and necessity as the causes of all things that exist or take place; but we must not be ignorant that he was well acquainted with the consequences, and connexion, and reciprocal dependence of the causes of things, inasmuch as he was a philosophical man, accustomed to converse with God: and he does not attribute the causes of things which exist, or which take place, to these powers; for he imagined to himself some other more ancient power, mounted upon the universe, like a charioteer, or like the pilot of a ship; for this power steers the whole common vessel of the world in which all things sail, and he bridles the course of the winged chariot, the entire heaven, exerting an independent and absolute sovereign authority. What then are we to say about these subjects? The name Amorites, being interpreted, means "talkers;" and numbers of those who have received that greatest of all blessings bestowed upon man by nature, namely speech, have abused and corrupted it, employing it ungratefully and treacherously, to the injury of her who has bestowed it. Such are flatterers, impostors, devisers of plausible sophistries, men who rather cultivate the skill to delude and to cheat, and who have no care to speak truly, and these men study indistinctness. Now indistinctness is equivalent to deep darkness in discourse; and darkness is the great assistant of robbers, on which account Moses has adorned the chief priest with distinct demonstration and truth; thinking it proper that the discourse of the virtuous man should be clear, and perspicuous, and true; but men in general pursue that which is indistinct and false, under the banner of which the whole misguided multitude of ordinary careless men enrols itself. Therefore, as long as "the offences of the Amorites are not fulfilled," that is to say, the evils of sophistical arguments by reason of their not having been refuted, but while they still influence us, having an attractive power by reason of their plausibility, we being unable to turn away and forsake them, remain in their power from being allured by them. But if once all unreal plausibilities are convicted and refuted by true proofs, and if their offences are shown to be full and running over, then we shall flee away without ever turning back, and as it were slipping our cables we shall set sail from the region of falsehoods and sophistries, hastening to cast anchor in the safe harbours and havens of truth. And in this way, I look upon it as sufficiently proved in the spirit of my original proposition that it is impossible for a man to reject, and to hate, and to forsake plausible falsehood, unless the evils arising from it are seen to be full and complete; and they will be shown to be so, by its being refuted in no superficial way, by the establishment on the other hand, and by the complete confirmation of truth.

61 In the next verse the historian proceeds to say, "and when the sun approached its setting, there was a Flame;" [Genesis 15:17.] showing that virtue is a thing which is not born till late, and indeed which, as some persons have said, is only confirmed and established at the very setting of life. And he compares virtue to a flame; for as the flame consumes whatever materials are exposed to it, and gives light to all the air in its neighbourhood, in the same manner does virtue burn up all the offences, and fills the whole mind with light. But while discourses, which are neither divided nor properly distributed, prevail over us by reason of their plausibilities, which he here calls the Amorites, we are not able to see the most brilliant and unshaded light. But we are like a furnace which has not a pure flame, but, as he himself says, emits only smoke, being gradually kindled by the sparks of knowledge, but not as yet being able to stand the hardening and test of pure fire. But we owe great gratitude to him who has scattered those sparks, in order that our mind may not become cold like a lifeless corpse, being warmed and vivified by the gentle increasing heat of virtue, may feel a glow until it receives the change to holy fire, like Nadab and Abihu. But smoke exists before fire, and compels those who come near it to weep; but both fire and smoke often come together. For, being delighted at the messengers of virtue, we hope to attain perfection therein, and if we are not yet able to arrive at it, then we can scarcely through our grief forbear from tears. For when an excessive desire is implanted in our breasts, they hasten to pursue the desired object, and our faces are full of chagrin until we attain it. And how he has compared the soul of man, who loves instruction and who cherishes a hope of arriving at perfection, to a furnace, because each is a vessel in which food is cooked, the one being the vessel in which those meats which are perishable are prepared, and the other that suited to the reception of the imperishable virtues. And the burning torches of fire which are lighted up are the judgements of God who bears the torch, being bright and radiant, which are accustomed to be always placed in the middle between the divided portions; I mean by this the portions set in opposition to one another, of which the whole world is composed. For we read in the scripture, "The lamps of fire which were in the midst between the divided Portions," [Genesis 15:17.] that you may know that the divine powers which go through the middle of both bodies and things, destroy none of them; for both the divisions remain unhurt, but only divide and discriminate in a most excellent manner between the natures of each.

62 Therefore, the wise man has now been sufficiently proved to be the inheritor of the knowledge of the subjects above mentioned. "For," says the historian, "on that day the Lord made a covenant with Abraham, saying, to thy seed will I give this Land." [Genesis 15:18.] But what land does he mean but that which has been already mentioned, to which he is now making reference? The fruit of which is the safe and most certain comprehension of the wisdom of God, according to which it preserves for its dividers all the good things which exist without any admixture or taint of evil, as if they had been incorruptible from their very beginning. After this he proceeds to add, "from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates ." Showing that those men who are perfect have their beginnings in the body, and the outward sense, and the organic parts, without which we cannot live, for they are useful for instruction in the life which is in union with the body; but they have their end with the wisdom of God, which is truly the great river, overflowing with joy, and cheerfulness, and all other blessings. For he has not described the country as reaching from the river Euphrates to the river of Egypt (for he would never have brought over virtue towards the passions of the body), but on the contrary, he has said from the river of Egypt to the river Euphrates . For the migrations are from mortal things to incorruptible.

ON MATING WITH THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES

1 ("But Sarah the wife of Abraham had not borne him any child. And she had an Egyptian handmaiden, who name was Hagar. And Sarah said unto Abraham, Behold, the Lord has closed me up, so that I should not bear children; go in unto my handmaiden that thou mayest have children by Her." [Genesis 16:1.] (The name Sarah, being interpreted, means "my princedom." And the wisdom which is in me, and the temperance which is in me, and the particular justice, and each of the other virtues which belong to me alone, are the princedom of me alone. For such virtue, being a queen from its birth, rules over and governs me who have determined on obeying it. (Now this virtue, Moses (making a most paradoxical assertion) reports, as being both barren and also most prolific, since he affirms that the most populous of all nations is sprung from it. For, in real truth, virtue is barren with respect to all things which are evil, but is so exceedingly prolific of good things, that it stands in no need of the art of the midwife, for it anticipates it by bringing forth before its arrival. (Therefore animals and plants, after considerable intervals and interruptions, bring forth their appropriate fruits, once, or at most twice a year; according to the number of times which nature has appointed each of them, and which is properly adapted to the seasons of the year. But virtue without any interruption, without any interval or any cessation, is continually bringing forth at all times and on all occasions, not indeed children, but virtuous reasonings, and irreproachable counsels, and praiseworthy actions.

2 (But neither is wealth, which it is not possible to employ, of any advantage to its possessors, nor is the fertility of wisdom of any service to us, unless it also brings forth such things as are serviceable to us. For some persons it judges to be in every respect worthy of living in its company; but others appear to have not yet arrived at such an age, as to be able to support so highly praised and well regulated a charge; whom, however, it permits to enter upon the preliminaries of marriage, holding out to them a hope that they may hereafter consummate the wedlock. (Sarah therefore, the virtue which rules over my soul, has brought forth, but, she has not brought forth for me (for I should never as yet have been able, since I am quite young, to receive her offspring); she has brought forth, I say, wisdom, and the doing of just actions, and piety, by reason of the multitude of illegitimate children whom the vain opinions have brought forth to me. For the education of the offspring, and the constant superintendence and incessant care which they require, have compelled me to neglect the legitimate children, who are really citizens. (It is well, therefore, to pray that virtue may not only bring forth, since she is prolific even without a prayer, but that she may bring for us; in order that we, receiving a share of her seed and of her offspring, may be happy. For she is accustomed to bring forth children to God alone, restoring with burning gratitude the first fruits of all the blessings which she has received, to him, who, as Moses says, "opened her Womb," [Genesis 29:31.] which was at all times virgin. (For he also says that the lamp, that archetypal model after which the copy is made, shines in one part, that is to say, in the part which is

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turned towards God. [Exodus 25:31.] For since that completes the number of seven, and stands in the middle of the six branches, which are divided into two lots of three each, acting as body-guards to it on either side, it sends its rays upwards toward that one being, namely God, thinking its light too brilliant for mortal sight to be able to stand its proximity.

3 (On this account he does not say that Sarah did not bring forth at all, but only that she did not bring forth for him, for Abraham. For we are not as yet capable of becoming the fathers of offspring of virtue, unless we first of all have a connexion with her handmaiden; and the handmaiden of wisdom is the encyclical knowledge of music and logic, arrived at by previous instruction. For as in houses there are vestibules placed in front of staircases, and as in cities there are suburbs, through which one must pass in order to enter into the cities; so also the encyclical branches of instruction are placed in front of virtue, for they are the road which conducts to her. And as you must know that it is common for there to be great preludes to great propositions, and the greatest of all propositions is virtue, for it is conversant about the most important of all materials, namely, about the universal life of man; very naturally, therefore, that will not employ any short preface, but rather it will use as such, grammar, geometry, astronomy, rhetoric, music, and all the other sorts of contemplation which proceed in accordance with reason; of which Hagar, the handmaid of Sarah, is an emblem, as we will proceed to show. "For Sarah," says Moses, "said unto Abraham, Behold, the Lord has closed me up, so that I may not bear children. Go in unto my handmaiden, that thou mayest have children by her." Now, we must take out of the present discussion those conjunctions and connexions of body with body which have pleasure for their end. For this is the connexion of the mind with virtue, which is desirous to have children by her, and which, if it cannot do so at once, is at all events taught to espouse her handmaid, namely, intermediate instruction.

4 And here it is worth while to admire wisdom, by reason of its modesty, which has not thought fit to reproach us with the slowness of our generation, or our absolute barrenness. And this, too, though the oracle says truly that she brought forth no child, not out of envy, but because of the unsuitableness of our own selves. For, says she, "The Lord has closed me up so, that I may not bear children." And she no longer adds the words, "to you," that she may not appear to mention the misfortunes of others, or to reproach them with theirs. "Therefore," says she, "go thou in to my handmaiden," that is to say, to the intermediate instruction of the intermediate and encyclical branches of knowledge, "that you may first have children by her;" for hereafter you shall be able to enjoy a connexion with her mistress, tending to the procreation of legitimate children. For grammar, by teaching you the histories which are to be found in the works of poets and historians, will give you intelligence and abundant learning; and, moreover, will teach you to look with contempt on all the vain fables which erroneous opinions invent, on account of the ill success which history tells us that the heroes and demigods who are celebrated among those writers, meet with. And music will teach what is harmonious in the way of rhythm, and what is ill arranged in harmony, and, rejecting all that is out of tune and all that is inconsistent with melody, will guide what was previously discordant to concord. And geometry, sowing the seeds of equality and just proportion in the soul, which is fond of learning, will, by means of the beauty of continued contemplation, implant in you an admiration of justice. And rhetoric, having sharpened the mind for contemplation in general, and having exercised and trained the faculties of speech in interpretations and explanations, will make man really rational, taking care of that peculiar and especial duty which nature has bestowed upon it, but upon no other animal whatever. And dialectic science, which is the sister, the twin sister of rhetoric, as some persons have called it, separating true from false arguments, and refuting the plausibilities of sophistical arguments, will cure the great disease of the soul, deceit. It is profitable, therefore, to aide among these and other sciences resembling them, and to devote one's especial attention to them. For perhaps, I say, as has happened to many, we shall become known to the queenly virtues by means of their subjects and handmaidens. Do you not see that our bodies do not use solid and costly food before they have first, in their age of infancy, used such as had no variety, and consisted merely of milk? And, in the same way, think also that infantine food is prepared for the soul, namely the encyclical sciences, and the contemplations which are directed to each of them; but that the more perfect and becoming food, namely the virtues, is prepared for those who are really full-grown men.

5 Now the first characteristics of the intermediate instruction are represented by two symbols, the race and the name. As to race, the handmaiden is an Egyptian, and her name is Hagar; and this name, being interpreted, means "emigration." For it follows of necessity that the man who delights in the encyclical contemplations, and who joins himself as a companion to varied learning, is as such enrolled under the banners of the earthly and Egyptian body; and that he stands in need of eyes in order to see and to read, and of ears in order to attend and to hear, and of his other external senses, in such a manner as to be able to unfold each of the objects of the external sense. For it is not natural to suppose that the subject of judgement can possibly be comprehended without some power which is to judge; and the power which judges of the objects of the external sense is the external sense, so that without the external sense it would not be possible for any thing in that world which is perceptible by the external sense to be accurately known, though those are the matters which are the principal field for philosophical speculation. But the external sense, being that portion of the soul which most resembles the body, is deeply rooted in the entire vessel of the soul; and the vessel of the soul is, by a figurative way of speaking, called Egypt . And there is one characteristic derived from her race, which the handmaiden of virtue possesses. But what or what kind of characteristic that is which is derived from the name, we must now proceed to consider. The intermediate instruction has the same rank and classification as a sojourner. For all knowledge, and wisdom, and virtue, are the only real native and original inhabitants and citizens of the universe. And all the others kinds of instruction, which obtain the second, and third, and lowest honours, are on the confines, between foreigners and citizens. For they are not connect with either race without some alloy, and yet again they are not connected with both according to a certain community and participation. For they are sojourners from the fact of their passing their time among citizens; but from the fact of their not being settled inhabitants, they also resemble foreigners. In the same manner, according to my idea, as adopted children, inasmuch as they inherit the property of those who have adopted them, resemble real legitimate children; but inasmuch as they were not begotten by them, they resemble strangers. The same relation, then, that a mistress has to her handmaidens, or a wife, who is a citizen, to a concubine, that same relation has virtue, that is Sarah, to education, that is Hagar. So that very naturally, since the husband, by name Abraham, is one who has an admiration for contemplation and knowledge; virtue, that is Sarah, would be his wife, and Hagar, that is all kinds of encyclical accomplishments, would be his concubine. Whoever, therefore, has acquired wisdom from his teachers, would never reject Hagar. For the acquisition of all the preliminary branches of education is wholly necessary.

6 But if any one, having determined on perseveringly enduring labours in the cause of virtue, devotes himself to continued study, practising and meditating without intermission, that man will marry two citizens, and also an equal number of concubines, the handmaidens of the citizens. And each of these has a different appearance and a different nature. For instance, of the two citizen wives, one is a most healthy and well established and peaceful motion, whom from the circumstances the historians called Leah: and the other resembles a whetstone and is called Rachel, in the pursuit of whom the mind, which is fond of labour and fond of exercises, is much sharpened and excited; and the name, being interpreted, means the "sight of profanation;" not because she sees profanely, but, on the contrary, because she thinks the things which are seen and which are the objects of the external senses, not brilliant but common and profane in comparison of the pure and untainted nature of those things which are invisible and which are only discernible by the intellect. For since our soul is composed of two parts, and since the one contains the rational faculties, and the other the irrational ones, it follows that each part must have its own peculiar virtue, Leah being the virtue of the rational part, and Rachel of the irrational. For the one trains us, by means of the external senses and the parts of speech, to look contemptuously upon all things which it is proper to disregard, such as glory, and wealth, and pleasure, which the principal and general multitude of common men look upon as things to be admired and striven for, their sense of hearing being corrupted, and the tribunal of all the other external senses being corrupted likewise. But the other teaches us to turn away from that uneven and rough road which is never approached by souls that love virtue, and to go smoothly along the smooth road without any stumbling and without meeting any hindrances in the path. Therefore the handmaiden of the former of the two citizen wives will necessarily be the power of interpretation as exercised by means of the organs of speech, and also the rational invention of sophisms, deceiving man by a well-imagined plausibility; and its necessary nourishment is meat and drink. The historian has recorded for us the names of the two handmaidens, calling them Zilpah and Billah. [Genesis 30:1.] The name Zilpah, being interpreted, means "a mouth going forth," a symbol of that nature which interprets and speaks. But Billah means "a swallowing," which is the first and most necessary support of all mortal animals. For it is by swallowing that our bodies are established firmly, and the cables of life are attached to this action as to a sure foundation. Accordingly the practicer of virtue lives with all the aforesaid powers, with some as with free women and citizens, and with others as slaves and concubines. For he is enamoured of the motion of Leah; and a smooth (leia) motion existing in a body would be calculated to produce health, and, when existing in a soul, it would produce virtue and justice. But he loves Rachel, wrestling with his passions, and preparing himself for a struggle of temperance, arraying himself in opposition to all the objects of the external senses. For there are two kinds of advantage, either that according to which we enjoy blessings, as in peace, or else that which comes from arraying one's self in opposition to and from removing evils as in war. Now Leah is the wife according to whom it happens to the husband to enjoy the elder, and more important, and dominant blessings; and Rachel the wife, according to whom he obtains what resemble the sports of war. Such then is his way, if left with his citizen wives. But the practicer of virtue also wants Billah, that is, swallowing, but as a slave and a concubine; for without food and vitality, living well could not possibly be the lot of man, since things indifferent are always the foundation of what is better; and he also wants Zilpah, that is to say, interpretation by means of utterance, in order that the rational part itself may, in a twofold manner, contribute to perfection, both from the fountain existing in the intellect, and also from the stream flowing therefrom in the organ of the voice.

7 But these men were husbands of many wives and concubines, not only of such as were citizens, as the sacred scriptures tell us. But Isaac had neither many wives nor any concubine at all, but only his first and wedded wife, who lived with him all his life. Why was this? Because the virtue acquired by teaching, which Abraham pursues, requires many things, both such as are legitimate according to prudence, and such also as are illegitimate according to the exegetical contemplations of preliminary instruction. And there is also a virtue which is made perfect by practice, to which Jacob appears to have been devoted; for exercises consist of many and various dogmas and doctrines, some leading and others following, some leading the way, and others arriving later, and bringing at one time more serious, and at other times lighter labours. But the self-instructed race, of which Isaac was a partaker, the excellent country of the mastery over the passions, has received as its share a nature simple, and unmixed, and unalloyed, standing in no need of either practice or instruction in which there is need of the concubine sciences, and not only of the citizen wives; for when God has showered down from above that most requisite benefit of knowledge, self-taught, and having no need of a preceptor, it would be impossible any longer for a man to live with the slavish and concubine arts, having a desire for bastard doctrines as his children. For the man who has arrived at this honour, is inscribed as the husband of the mistress and princess virtue; and she is called in the Greek language, perseverance, but among the Hebrews her name is Rebekkah. For he who, by reason of the happy constitution of his own nature and by the prolific fertility of his soul, has attained to wisdom without encountering labour or enduring hardship, stands in need of no further improvement; for he has at hand the perfect gifts of God, inspired by means of those most ancient graces, and he wishes and prays that they may remain lasting. In reference to which, it appears to me to be that the Author of all goodness gave him perseverance as his wife, in order that his mercies might endure for ever to the man who had her for his wife.

8 Now recollection only comes in the second rank after memory, as inferior to it; and he who recollects is inferior to him who remembers; for the latter resembles a man in an uninterrupted state of good health, but the other is like a man recovering from a disease, for forgetfulness is a disease of the memory; and it follows inevitably that the man who exerts his recollection has previously forgotten what he now recollects. Therefore the sacred scriptures call memory Ephraim, which name, being interpreted, means "fruit-bearing." But the Hebrews call recollection, after forgetfulness, Manasseh; for, in good truth, the soul of the man who remembers does bear as fruit the things which he has learned, losing nothing of them; but the soul of the man who exerts recollection, is only escaping from forgetfulness, by which it was detained before it recollected; therefore a citizen wife, memory, lives with the man who is endowed with remembrance. But the concubine recollection, a Syrian by birth, insolent and overbearing, lives with the man who forgets; for the meaning of the name Syria, is "sublimity;" and the son of the concubine recollection is Machir, as the Hebrews call him; but the Greeks interpret the name to mean "of the father." For those who recollect a thing think that the mind is the father and cause of their recollecting, and do not consider that this same endowment of the mind did also before contain "forgetfulness," though it never would have received it if it had had memory in its power. For it is said in the scripture, "And the sons of Manasseh were Ashriel whom she bare, but his concubine, the Aramitess, bare Machir; and Machir was the father Gilead ." [1Chronicles 7:14.] And Nachor, also, the brother of Abraham, had two wives, one a citizen and the other a concubine. And the name of the citizen was Milcah; and the name of the concubine was Rumah. But let no one who is in his senses suspect that the

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wise legislator recorded this as a historical genealogy, but it is rather an explanation of things which are able to benefit the soul by means of symbols. And when we have translated the names into our own language, we shall understand the real meanings intended to be conveyed by them. Come, then, let us now investigate each of them.

9 The name Nachor, being interpreted, means "a rest from light;" and Milcah means "princess;" and Rumah means "she who sees something." Therefore, to have light in the mind is good; but cessation from light, and tranquility, and immobility is not perfect good, for it is advantageous to have evils tranquil, but it is desirable to have blessings in motion; for what advantage is there in a man's having a tuneful voice, if he keeps silent? or in his having the skill of a flute player, if he does not play the flute? or of his knowing the harp, if he does not strike it? or, in short, what good is there in any artist whatever, if he does not exercise his art? for theoretical knowledge, without putting it in practice, is of no advantage whatever to those who possess it. For a man, though skilful in the contest of the pancratium, or in boxing, or in wrestling, would derive no advantage from his athletic prowess if his hands were tied behind him; and he who was thoroughly practiced in running would derive no advantage from his fleetness of foot if he were afflicted with the gout, or if he were to meet with any other injury to his feet. And the light of the soul, which is the most brilliant and the most like the sun, is knowledge; for as the eyes are lightened up by beams, so is the mind made brilliant by wisdom, and becomes gradually accustomed to see more acutely from being continually anointed with new speculations. Therefore, Nachor is interpreted "a cessation from light," very naturally; for, inasmuch as he is a relation of the wise Abraham, he partakes of that light which is according to wisdom; but inasmuch as he did not join him in his emigration from the crated to the uncreated being, from the world to the Creator of the world, he has acquired only a lame and imperfect knowledge, intermittent and delaying, or rather put together like a lifeless statue; for he does not depart and quit his abode in the Chaldaean country, that is to say, he does not separate himself from the speculations concerning astronomy; honouring that which is created rather than him who created it, and the world in preference to God; or rather, I should say, looking on the world itself as an absolute independent God, and not as the work of an absolute God.

10 And he takes Milcah for his wife, not being some queen who by the dispensations of fortune governs some nation of men, or some city, but only one who bears a common name, the same as here. For, just as a person would not be widely wrong who called the world, as being the most excellent of all created things, the king of the objects of the external sense; so, also, one may call the knowledge which is conversant about the heaven, which knowledge those who study astronomy and the Chaldaeans possess in an eminent degree, the queen of all the sciences. This, therefore, is the wife who is a citizen; but the concubine is she who sees one only of all existing things at a time, even though it may be the most worthless of all. It is given, therefore, to the most excellent race to see the most excellent of things, namely, the really living God; for the name Israel , being interpreted, means "seeing God." But to him who aims at the second prize, it is allowed to see that which is second best, namely, the heaven which is perceptible by the external senses, and the harmonious arrangement of the stars therein, and their truly musical and wellregulated motion. The third class are the sceptics, who do not apply themselves to the most excellent objects, either of the intellect or of the external senses, which exist in nature, because they are always occupying themselves with petty sophistries, and small cavils, and criticisms. These have for their companions the concubine Rumah, who sees something which is very minute, because they are unable to approach the investigation of better things, by means of which they might benefit their own life. For, as among physicians that which is called theoretical medical skill, is a long way from doing any good to those that are sick--for diseases are cured by medicines, and by operations, and by regimen, and not by discussions or theories; so also in philosophy, there is a set of word-traffickers and word-eaters, who have neither the will nor the skill to heal a life which is full of infirmities, but who, from their very earliest infancy to the extremity of old age, are not ashamed to cavil, and quibble, and wrangle about figurative expressions, as if happiness consisted in an interminable and profitless minuteness of accuracy in the matter of nouns and verbs, and not in the improving and ameliorating the moral character, the true fountain of the persons' disposition; and in expelling the vices, and driving them out of its boundaries, and establishing the virtues as settlers within them.

11 Now the wicked also have a desire for concubines, that is, for vain opinions and doctrines; accordingly Moses tells us that Thimna, the concubine of Eliphah the son of Esau, bore Amalek to Eliphah. [Genesis 36:12.] Alas, for the eminent ignobleness of the descendant! And you will see this ignobleness the more clearly, if you abandon the idea that this expression is used about a man, and rather consider the soul, with a kind of anatomical dissection. The historian then calls the irrational and immoderate desires and impetuosity of the passions, Amalek; now the name Amalek, being interpreted, means "the people looking up." For as the power of fire consumes the materials which are offered to it, so in the same manner does passion, when boiling over lick up and destroy everything with which it meets. And the father of this passion is very properly described as Eliphah; for this name, being interpreted, means "God has scattered me." But does it not follow that when God scatters, and disperses, and discards the soul, banishing it from himself, irrational passion is at once engendered? For He plants the mind which can really behold him, and which is really attached to God, the vine of a good kind, stretching out its roots so as to make them everlasting, and giving it abundance of fruit for the acquisition and enjoyment of the virtues. On which account Moses prays, saying, "Bring them in and plant them In," [Exodus 15:17.] in order that those divine shoots may not be ephemeral, but long-lived and lasting for ever and ever. And banishing the unjust and ungodly soul, he disperses it and drives it to a distance from himself to the region of the pleasures and appetites and acts of injustice; and this region is, with exceeding appropriateness, called the region of the impious, more fitly than that one which is fabled as existing in the shades below. For indeed, the real hell is the life of the wicked, which is audacious, and flagitious, and liable to all kinds of curses.

12 There is also in another place the following sentence deeply engraven: "When the Most High came down to scatter the nations, as he dispersed the sons of Adam," [Deuteronomy 32:8.] he drove out all earthly dispositions, which had no desire to see any good thing from heaven; depriving them of house and city, and rendering them truly wanderers on the face of the earth. For no house, nor city, nor anything else which relates to society and participation, is preserved for any one of the wicked; but they are deprived of all settled habitation, and dispersed abroad, being moved in every direction, and living a life of continued emigration, and not being able to become settled any where. Therefore the wicked man has for his children, wickedness, by his wife who is a citizen, and passion by his concubine; for the whole soul, like a free citizen, is a companion of reason, but that which is open to reproach brings forth wickedness. But the nature of the body is a concubine, by means of whom the birth of the passion is beheld; and the body is the region of the pleasures and passions, and it is called Thamnah, which name, being interpreted, signifies a "fluctuating abandonment." For the soul becomes faint and powerless by reason of the passions having received much tossing about and agitation from the body, on account of the violent storm which bursts forth from immoderate impetuosity. But as the head is the chief of all the aforementioned parts of an animal, so is Esau the chief of this race, whose name is at one time interpreted "an oak," and at another, "a thing made." It is interpreted an oak, in reference to his being unbending, and implacable, and obstinate, and stiffnecked by nature, and having folly for his chief fellow counsellor, and being as such of a truly oaken character. And it is interpreted "a thing made," inasmuch as a life according to folly is an invention and a fable, full of tragic pomp and vain boasting; and, on the other hand, of mockery and comic ridicule, having in it nothing sound, being full of falsehood, having utterly cast off truth, and disregarding as a thing of no value, that nature which is void of distinctive qualities, or of particular species, but plain and sincere, which the practicer of virtue loves. And Moses bears witness to this, when he says that "Jacob was a man without artifice, dwelling in a House;" [Genesis 25:27.] so that he who is contrary to him, must necessarily be destitute of a house, the companion of invention, and of things made, and of fabulous nonsense, or rather be himself a theatre and a fable.

13 The connexion therefore between the reason which is devoted to contemplation and those powers which are citizen wives, or concubines, has here been explained to the best of my power. We must now proceed to investigate what follows, and endeavor to frame a proper connexion for an argument. "Abraham," says the sacred historian, "listened to the voice of Sarah." [Genesis 16:2.] For it is necessary for him who is a learner to be obedient to the injunctions of virtue: but yet all men are not so obedient, but only those who are inspired with an exceedingly vehement love for knowledge. Since almost every day the places where there is anything to hear and the theatres are crowded, and those who study philosophy go on without ever stopping to take breath in one long continued discussion about virtue. But still what advantage is derived from all that is said? For men, instead of attending, turn their mind in other directions, some to marine and mercantile affairs, others to rents and agriculture; some to public honours and affairs of state, some to the gains to be derived from each different profession and art, others to revenging themselves upon their enemies, others again to the enjoyments to be derived from the indulgence of the amorous appetites, and in short every body is under the influence of some distracting idea or other; so that, as far as the subjects of the discussion are concerned, they are completely deaf, and are present with their bodies only, but are at a distance as to their minds, being in no particular different from images or statues. And if any persons do attend, they sit all that time only listening, and when they have departed they do not recollect a word of what has been said, but they have come in fact rather to be pleased through the medium of their hearing than with the view of deriving any solid advantage; so that their soul has not been able to comprehend anything or to become pregnant with any new idea, and even the cause which at first excited their pleasure soon ceases and their attention is extinguished. There is a third kind of persons to whom what is said is for a time attended to and remembered, as if still sounding in their ears; but still they are found to be sophists rather than philosophers: of these men the language indeed is praiseworthy but the life is blamable; for they are powerful at speaking, but have no ability to do what is best. It is therefore hardly possible to find a man who is inclined to attend and endowed with a good memory, honouring deeds rather than words; as is testified to in the praise of the man fond of hearing in the words, "He listened to the voice of Sarah." For he is not represented merely as hearing but also as listening to: and this last is a particularly felicitous expression to indicate one who approves of and is influenced by what he hears. And the expression, "to the voice," is not inconsiderately or incorrectly used in preference to saying--he listened to Sarah speaking. For it is the especial character of a learner to listen to the voice and words of his teacher; for by these alone is he taught. But he who acquires what is good by practice, and solitary meditation, and not by instruction, does not attend to what is said but rather to those who say it, imitating the lives of those men in their actions which are in each particular irreproachable. For it is said, in the case of Jacob when he was sent away to form a marriage among his kinsmen, "Jacob listened to his mother and his father, and went into Mesopotamia ." [Genesis 28:7.] He listened not to their voice, nor to their words, for it was fitting that he who was an imitator of their actions should be a practicer of virtue not a listener to speeches. For this is the peculiar character of one who is being taught, but the other is the mark of one who is enduring labours, in order that from this instance we may comprehend the difference between a practicer and a learner, the one being regulated with regard to him who is speaking, and the other with regard to his speech.

14 Therefore, continues the sacred historian, Sarah, the wife of Abraham, having taken Hagar, the Egyptian woman, her own handmaiden, ten years after Abraham had begun to dwell in the land of Canaan, gave her to Abraham her "husband, to be his Wife." [Genesis 16:3.] Wickedness is by nature an envious, and bitter, and evil-disposed thing, but virtue is gentle, and inclined to communion, and friendly; wishing in every possible manner to benefit those who are well disposed, either by its own power or by the means of others. So now accordingly, as we are not able to become the fathers of children by prudence, she espouses us to her own handmaiden, encyclical instruction, as I have said before, and all but endures to be the bridesmaid and manager of the marriage; for it is said that Sarah herself took this woman and gave her to her own husband. And here it is worth while to raise the question why it is that now again Moses calls the wife of Abraham Sarah, when he had already repeatedly told us what her name was before; for he was not a writer who ever indulged in that worst description of prolixity, tautology. What, then, are we to say? Since she is about to betroth to him the handmaiden of wisdom, encyclical instruction, he says that she did not forget the duty which she owed to her mistress, but knew that she was, both in law and in her master's feelings, his wife, and that she herself was only such because of necessity and the force of opportunity. And this happens to every man who is fond of learning. And he who has experienced it may be looked upon as the most trustworthy witness to this fact. At all events I, when I was first excited by the stimulus of philosophy to feel a desire for it, when I was very young connected myself with one of her handmaidens, namely, grammar; and all the offspring of which I became the father by her, such as writing, reading, and the acquaintance with the works of the poets and historians, I attributed to the mistress. And at a subsequent time, forming connexion with another of her handmaidens, geometry, and admiring her beauty (for she had beautiful symmetry and proportions in all her parts), I still appropriated none of the offspring, but carried them to the citizen wife, and bestowed them on her. I was desirous also to form a similar connexion with a third, and she was full of good rhythm, well arranged, and well limbed, and was called music. And by her I became the parent of diatonic, and chromatic, and harmonic, and combined and separate melodies, and all the different concords belonging to fourths and to fifths, and to the diapason. And, again, I concealed none of all these things, in order that my legitimate citizen wife might become wealthy, being ministered unto by a multitude of ten thousand servants; for some men, being attracted by the charms of handmaidens, have neglected their true mistress, philosophy, and have grown old, some in poetry, and others in the study of painting, and others in the mixture of colours, and others in ten thousand other pursuits, without ever being able to return to the proper mistress; for each act

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has its own peculiar brillliancies, certain attractive powers, by which some persons are allured and overcome, forgetting all the covenants which they have made with philosophy; but he who abides by the agreements which he has made, provides every thing from all quarters with a view to pleasing her. Very appropriately, therefore, does the sacred scripture, admiring his good faith in respect of his legitimate wife, say that even now Sarah was his true wife, inasmuch as he only took his handmaid into his bed out of complaisance towards her; and, indeed, in the same manner as the encyclical branches of education contribute to the proper comprehension of philosophy, so also does philosophy aid in the acquisition of wisdom; for philosophy is an attentive study of wisdom, and wisdom is the knowledge of all divine and human things, and of the respective causes of them. Therefore, just as encyclical accomplishments are the handmaidens of philosophy, so also is philosophy the handmaiden of wisdom; but philosophy teaches temperance with regard to the belly, and temperance with regard to the parts below the belly, and also temperance and restraint of the tongue. Now these qualities are said to be worthy of praise for their own sakes, but they would appear more respectable still if they were cultivated for the sake of doing honour to and giving pleasure to God. We must, therefore, always remember the legitimate mistress when we are about to espouse her handmaidens; and let us be said indeed to be the husbands of the latter, but still let our legitimate mistress be our real wife, and not merely called such.

15 Again, she gives Hagar to him, not the first moment that he arrives in the country of the Canaanites, but after he has abode there ten years. And what the meaning of this statement is we must investigate in no careless manner. Now, at the beginning of our existence, our soul dwelt among the passions alone as its fosterbrethren, griefs, pains, fears, desires, and pleasures, which reach it through the medium of the external senses, before reason was as yet able to see good and evil, and to distinguish accurately the points wherein these things differ from one another, but while it was still wavering and hesitating, and as it were closing its eyes in profound sleep; but as time advances, when advancing out of the age of infancy we are on the point of becoming young men, then, without any delay, the double trunk of virtue and wickedness springs forth out of one root, and we attain to a comprehension of them both, but still we by all means choose one of the two; those who are well disposed choosing virtue, and those of the contrary character choosing wickedness. These things, now, being previously sketched out in this manner, we must become aware that Egypt is the symbol of the passions and the land of the Canaanites, the emblem of the wickednesses; so that it is in strict accordance with natural probability that God, after having roused his people and made them depart from Egypt, leads them into the country of the Canaanites; for the man, as I have said before, at his very earliest birth had the Egyptian passions assigned to him to dwell among, being deeply rooted in pleasures and in pains; and at a subsequent time he departs as if to found a colony, and migrates towards wickedness. His reason now being inclined to a more acute sight, and comprehending accurately both the opposite extremes of good and evil, but nevertheless choosing the worse part, because it has a great share in mortal nature, to which what is evil is in some degree akin, as also the contrary, namely, good, is akin to the divine nature.

16 But these are the different countries of each respective nature; passions, that is to say, Egypt, being the country of the age of childhood; and wickedness, that is the land of Canaan, being the country of the age of youth. But the sacred scripture, although it is well acquainted with the different countries of the mortal race, suggests to us what ought to be done and what will be advantageous to us, enjoining us to hate the heathen, and their laws, and their customs, in that passage where he says, "And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, I am the Lord your God; ye shall not behave according to the customs of Egypt in which ye dwelt among them, and ye shall not walk in their laws. Ye shall do my judgements, and ye shall not do according to the customs of the land of Canaan , into which I am leading you to dwell there. And he shall keep my commandments, and ye shall walk in them. I am the Lord your God. And ye shall keep all my commandments and my judgements, and ye shall do them. He that doeth them the same shall live in them. I am the Lord your God: and ye shall keep all my commandments and my Judgements." [Leviticus 18:1.] Therefore, real true life, above everything else, consists in the judgements and commandments of God, so that the customs and practices of the impious must be death: but there are some races which take no note of passions and wickednesses, from whom the multitudes of impious persons and wickedness are sprung. Therefore, ten years after our departure to settle in the land of the Canaanites let us marry Hagar, since from the first moment that we become rational beings, we seek for ignorance and a deficiency of knowledge which is pernicious in its own nature; but at a subsequent period, and at a perfect number, namely, the legal number of the decade, we come to feel a desire for that instruction which is able to benefit us.

17 But the sons of the musicians have accurately and carefully investigated the question respecting the decade; and the most sacred Moses has composed a hymn, with no slight degree of skill, attributing the most excellent things to this number of the decade, such as prayers, first-fruits, the continual and unceasing offerings of the priests, the observance of the passover, the atonement,[Leviticus 23:27.] the remission of debts, and the return to the ancient allotments of property at the end of every fifty years;[Leviticus 25:9.] the preparation and furnishing of the indissoluble tabernacle,[Exodus 26:1.] and ten thousand other things which it would take a long time to enumerate. However, we must not pass over the most important points. In the first place he represents Noah to us (and this man is the first who is specially entitled just, in the holy scriptures), as the tenth in succession from him who was formed out of the earth, not intending by this statement to indicate the number of years that had elapsed, but rather to show clearly that as the decade is the most perfect boundary and end of the numbers which proceed onwards from the unit, so also just in the soul is the perfection and true end of the actions of human life. For the number three when multiplied by itself so as to make nine, the oracles have pronounced to be the most warlike of numbers; but when one is added to it so as to complete the number ten, then they receive it as a friendly one. And as a proof of this, they allege the kingdoms of the nine kings,[Genesis 14:1.] (when the civil war was fanned into a flame, the four passions rising up against the five outward senses, and when the entire soul, like a city, was in danger of being subjected to an utter overthrow and destruction,) which the wise Abraham, appearing as the tenth king, put an end to, by joining in the warfare. He then caused a calm instead of a storm, and health instead of disease, and life, if one may speak the plain truth, instead of death, showing himself as the trophy-bearer of God who giveth the victory, to whom also he consecrated the tenths as a grateful offering on account of his victory. Moreover, he also separates off the tenth of all the cattle which come "under the Rod," [Leviticus 27:32.] I mean by this under instruction, and of all those which are of a tame and tractable sort, pronouncing them to be holy by an express provision of the law. In order that so, by many concurrent testimonies, we may learn the particular and especial appropriateness of the number ten to God, and of the number nine to our mortal race.

18 But also it is expressly ordered, that men should offer as first fruits the tenths, not only of animals, but also of all the things which grow up out of the earth; "For," says the scripture, "every tenth of the earth from the seed and from the fruit of every tree, is holy to the Lord: and every tenth of oxen and sheep, and everything of any cattle which passes under the rod, of all these the tenth shall be holy to the Lord." You see that he thinks that it is proper to make an offering, by way of first fruits from the corporeal mass that is around us, which is really earthly and wooden; for life, and durability, and increase, and good health, fall to his share through the divine grace. You see also, that again an express command is given to offer first-fruits from all the irrational animals that are around ourselves; and by these are meant the outward senses. For to see, and to hear, and to smell, and to taste, and also to touch are divine gifts, for which it is our duty to give thanks. But not only are we taught to thank the giver of all goodness for these earthly, and wooden, and corporeal things, and for the irrational animals, the outward senses, but also for the mind, which, to speak with strict propriety, is man in man, the better in the worse, the immortal in the mortal. On this account I think it is, that God ordered to be consecrated the whole of the firstborn, the tenth, I mean the tribe of Levi, taking them in exchange for the first-born, for the preservation and protection of holiness, and piety, and sacred ministrations, which all have reference to the honour of God. For the first and best thing in ourselves is our reason, and it is very proper to offer up the first-fruits of our cleverness, and acuteness, and comprehension, and prudence, and of all our other faculties which we have in connexion with our reason as first-fruits to God, who has bestowed upon us this great abundance of power of exerting our intelligence. From this consideration it was, that Jacob, the practicer of virtue, at the beginning of his prayers, says: "Of all that thou givest me, I will set apart and consecrate a tenth to Thee." [Genesis 28:22.] And the sacred scripture, which was written after the prayers on occasion of victory, which Melchisedek, who had received a self-instructed and self-taught priesthood, makes, says: "For he gave him a tenth of all Things," [Genesis 14:20.] assigning to him the outward senses the faculty of feeling properly, and by the same sense of speech the faculty of speaking well, and by the senses connected with the mind the faculty of thinking well. Very beautifully, therefore, and at the same time most unavoidably, does the sacred historian tell us in the fashion of an incidental narrative, when the memorial of that heavenly and divine food was consecrated in the golden urn, that "gomer was the tenth part of three Measures." [Exodus 16:36.] For in us men there appear to be three measures, the outward senses, and speech, and mind. The outward sense being the measure of the objects of outward sense, speech being the measure of nouns and verbs, and of whatever is said; and the mind being the measure of those things which can only be perceived by the intellect. We must therefore offer first-fruits of each of these three measures as a sacred tenth, in order that our powers of speaking, and of feeling, and of comprehending, may be seen to be irreproachable and sound, in reference to and in connexion with God. For this is the true and just measure, and the things that relate to ourselves are false and unjust measures.

19 Very appropriately, therefore, in the case of sacrifices also, the tenth part of the measure of fine wheat flour will be brought upon the altar, together with the victims. But the number of nine, which is what is left of the number ten, will remain among us. And the daily sacrifice of the priests corresponds also to these facts. For it is expressly commanded to them to offer every day the tenth part of an Ephah [Exodus 10:20.] of fine wheat flour. For, passing over the ninth number, the god who was only discernible by the outward senses and by opinion, they learnt to worship the tenth, who is the only living and true God. For the world had nine portions assigned to it, eight in heaven, namely the portion of the fixed stars and the seven planets which are all borne forward in the same arrangement, and the ninth being the earth in conjunction with the air and water. For of these things there is only one bond and connexion, though they admit all kinds of various changes and alterations. Therefore men in general have paid honours to these nine portions, and to the world which is compounded of them. But the perfect man honours only that being who is above the nine, and who is their creator, being the tenth portion, namely God. For having examined into the whole of his works, he has felt a love for the creator of them, and he has become anxious to be his suppliant and servant. On this account the priest offers up a tenth every day to the tenth, the only and everlasting God. This is, to speak properly, the spiritual passover of the soul, the passing over of all the passions and of every object of the outward senses to the tenth, which is the proper object of the intellect, and which is divine. For it is said in the scripture: "On the tenth day of this month let each of them take a sheep according to his house;[Exodus 12:3.] in order that from the tenth, there may be consecrated to the tenth, that is to God, the sacrifices which have been preserved in the soul, which is illuminated in two portions out of the three, until it is entirely changed in every part, and becomes a heavenly brilliancy like a full moon, at the height of its increase at the end of the second week, and so is able not only to guard, but even to sacrifice uninjured and faultless improvements, that is to say, propitiations. For this propitiation also is established in the tenth day of the month, when the soul addresses its supplications to the tenth portion, namely to God, and has learnt, by its own sagacity and acuteness, the insignificance and nothingness of the creature, and also the excessive perfection and pre-eminent excellence in all good things of the uncreated God. Therefore God becomes at once propitious, and propitious too, even without any supplications being addressed to him, to those who abase and humble themselves, and who are not puffed up with vain arrogance and self-opinion. This is remission and deliverance, this is complete freedom of the soul, shaking off the wanderings in which it wandered, and fleeing for a secure anchorage to the one nature which cannot wander, and which rises up to return to the lot which it formerly received when it had brilliant aspirations, and when it vigorously toiled in labours which had virtuous ends for their object. For then admiring it for its exertions, the holy scripture honoured it, giving it a most especial honour, and immortal inheritance, a place namely in the imperishable race. This is what the wise Abraham supplicates for, when that which in word indeed is the land of Sodom, but in real fact is the soul made barren of all good things and blinded as to its reason, is about to be burnt up, in order that if the memorial of justice, namely the Tenth [Genesis 18:32.] part be found in it, it may obtain a short of amnesty. Therefore he begins his supplication with a prayer for pardon, connected with the number fifty, and terminates with the number ten, the lowest number for whose deliverance he can dare to entreat.

20 From which consideration it appears to me to have been, that Moses, after the appointment of chiliarchs, or commanders of thousands, and of centurians, and of captains of fifties,[Exodus 18:25.] thought proper to appoint captains of ten over all, in order than if the mind was not able to be improved by means of the elder orders, it might at least be purified by these last in order. And the son of the man who was devoted to learning, learnt a very beautiful doctrine when he went on that admirable embassy, asking in marriage for the self-taught wise man that most appropriate sister, namely, perseverance. For he takes ten camels,[Genesis 24:10.] a reminder of the number ten, that is to say, of right instruction, from among many and, indeed, infinite memorials of the Lord. He also takes of his good things, evidently not silver, nor any gold, nor any other of those things which consist of perishable materials; for Moses never gave the favourable apellation of

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good to any of these things, but those genuine good things which are the only good things of the soul; and those he appropriates for the use of his journey, and for his purposes of traffic, namely, instruction, improvement, study, desire, admiration, enthusiasm, prophecy, and the love of doing good actions; to which objects, a man who devotes all his care, and who practices the actions calculated to ensure their attainment, when he is about, as it were, to anchor in a safe harbour after having been tossed in a stormy sea, will take two earrings, each of a drachm in weight, and two golden armlets of ten shekels weight of gold for the arms of her who is sought in Marriage. [Genesis 24:22.] Oh the divine ornament! We may understand that the drachm means the faculty of hearing, and the unbroken unit, and the attractive nature; for it is not becoming for hearing to have leisure to attend to anything except to that speech alone which sets forth in a suitable manner the virtues of the one and only God. And the ten shekels weight of gold mean attempts at works; for the actions, in accordance with wisdom, are established in perfect numbers, and every one of them is more precious than gold.

21 Something of this kind, now, is the contribution made by the princes, selected and appointed with reference to worth and merit, which they made when the soul being properly prepared and adorned by philosophy, was celebrating the festival of the dedication in a sacred and becoming manner, giving thanks to God its teacher and its guide; for it "offers up a censer full of frankincense, ten golden shekels in Weight," [Numbers 7:14.] in order that the wise man alone may judge of the odors which are exhaled by prudence and by every virtue. But when they appear to be made propitious, then Moses will sing a sacred hymn over them, saying, "The Lord has smelt the smell of a sweet savour," using the word to smell here as equivalent to approving of; for God is not formed like a man, nor has he any need of nostrils, or of any other organ parts. But as he proceeds onwards he speaks also of the divine abode, the tabernacle, and its ten Curtains;" [Exodus 26:1.] for, in fact, the compound edifice of entire wisdom has been assigned the perfect number, the number ten. And wisdom is the court and palace of the all governing and only absolute and independent king. Accordingly, this is his abode, discernible only by the intellect; but the world is perceptible by the outward senses; since Moses made the curtains of such things as are symbols of the four elements, for they were made of fine flax, and of hyacinthine colour, and of purple, and of scarlet, --four numbers, as I have said before. Now the fine flax is an example of the earth, for the flax grows out of the earth; and the hyacinthine colour is a symbol of the air, for it is black by nature; purple (porphyra), again, is a symbol of the water; for the cause of this dye is derived from the sea, being the shell-fish of the same name (heμ porphyra); and scarlet is a symbol of fire, for it most nearly resembles a flame. Again, that omnipotent overseer and ruler of the universe reproved the state of Egypt, when rebellious against the rein, when it was extolling with grandiloquent words the mind as an adversary of God, and bestowing on it all the ensigns of kingly authority, such as the throne, the sceptre, the diadem; and chastised it with ten stripes and severe punishment. And in the same manner, also, he promises the wise Abraham that he will work for him the overthrow and complete destruction of ten Nations [Deuteronomy 7:1.] exactly, neither more nor less, and that he will give the country of those who are thus destroyed to his descendants; in every instance choosing to employ the number ten, both for praise and for blame, and also for honour and for punishment. And yet why do we mention these things? For what is more important than this is the fact, that Moses gave laws to that sacred and divine assembly in a code of ten commandments in all. And these are the commandments which are the generic heads, and roots, and principles of the infinite multitude of particular laws; being the everlasting source of all commands, and containing every imaginable injunction and prohibition to the great advantage of those who use them.

22 Very naturally, therefore, is the connexion of Abraham with Hagar, placed at the end of ten years after his arrival in the land of the Chaldeans. For it does not follow that the first moment that we become endowed with reason, while our intellect is still in a somewhat fluid state, we are able at once to derive encyclical instruction. But when we have attained to intelligence and acuteness of comprehension, then we no longer have a light and superficial mind, but rather a firm and solid intellect which we can exercise on every subject. And it is for this reason that the expression which follows is added, in connexion with the former statement, "And he went in unto Hagar." For it was becoming for the scholar to go to his teacher, who was a man of learning, in order to learn such branches of instruction as are suited to the nature of man. For now, also, the pupil is represented as going to the place where he may obtain learning; but learning very often anticipates him and runs forward to meet him, having driven out envy from her habitation, and she attracts those towards her who are well inclined to her. Accordingly, one may read that virtue, that is Leah, went forward to meet the practicer of virtue, and said unto him, "To-day you shall come in to Me," [Genesis 30:16.] when he was returning from the fields. For where was the man who had the care of the seeds and plants of knowledge found to come, except to that virtue which he himself had cultivated?

23 But there are times when virtue, as if making experiment of those who come to her as pupils, to see how much eagerness they have, does not come forward to meet them, but veiling her face like Tamar, sits down in the public road, giving room to those who are traveling along the road to look upon her as a harlot, in order that those who are over curious on the subject may take off her veil and disclose her features, and may behold the untouched, and unpolluted, and most exquisite, and truly virgin beauty of modesty and chastity. Who then is he who is fond of investigating, and desirous of learning, and who thinks it not right to leave any of those things which are disguised or concealed unconsidered and examined? Who is he, I say, but the chief captain and king, he who abides and rejoices in the agreements which he has made with God, by name Judah? For says the scripture, "He turned aside out of his road to her, and said unto her, Suffer me to come in unto thee," (but he was not inclined to offer her any violence), and to see what is that power which is thus veiled, and for what purpose it is thus adorned; and after they had come together it is written, "And she conceived;" but the name of the person is not expressly mentioned. For art conceives and carries along with it him who is learning it, persuading him to feel amorously inclined towards her; and also he who is learning carries with him her who is teaching him, whenever he is fond of learning. And it often happens that he who professes some one of the indifferent branches of knowledge, when he meets with a pupil of good natural qualifications, boasts of his success in teaching, thinking that he, by himself and alone, is the cause of his pupil's facility in learning. And then, becoming elated and puffing himself up, he holds his head high, and draws his eyebrows and becomes full of pride, and asks very high terms from those who desire to become his pupils; but those whom he perceives to be poor but still to be eager for instruction, he rejects and repels, as if he were the only person who had found a treasure of wisdom. This is the meaning of the expression, "to conceive," namely, to be full of pride, and to be puffed up with arrogance beyond all moderation, on which account some persons have appeared to dishonour the queen of all the intermediate and indifferent branches of knowledge, virtue, who deserves to be honoured, even for her own sake. All the souls, therefore, which, in connexion with prudence, are pregnant of real things, do nevertheless bring forth, separating and distinguishing between things previously in confusion, like Rebekkah; for she having conceived in her womb ideas of two nations, the knowledge of virtue and the knowledge of wickedness, having a fortunate labour separated and distinguished between the nature of each; but those which have conceived without prudence either miscarry or else bring forth an offspring inclined to evil contention and sophistry, always either aiming darts and arrows at others, or having darts and arrows aimed at themselves. 3And may we not say that this is natural? for some fancy that they are just conceiving, and others they they are actually pregnant, which is a very different thing; for those who think that they are already pregnant attribute their pregnancy and the birth of their offspring to themselves, and pride themselves upon it; but those who look upon themselves as now conceiving, admit that they have of themselves nothing which they can call peculiarly their own, but they receive the seed and the prospects of posterity which are showered upon them from without, and they admire him who bestows it, and repel the greatest of evils, namely self-love, by that perfect good, piety towards the gods.

24 In this manner also the seeds of the legitimate wisdom, which exists among men, were sown, "For there was," says the same historian, "a man of the tribe of Levi, named Amram, who took to wife one of the daughters of Levi, and had her, and she conceived and brought forth a male child; and seeing that he was a goodly child they concealed him for three Months." [Exodus 2:1.] 3This is Moses, the purest mind, the child that is really goodly; the child that received at the same time all legislative and prophetic skill by the means of inspired and heaven-bestowed wisdom; who, being by birth a member of the tribe of Levi, and being flourishing both in the things relating to his mother and in those affecting his father, clings to the truth; 3and the greatest profession ever made by the author and chief of this tribe is this, for he makes bold to say, that "the only God is alone to be honoured by me;" and nothing besides of all the things that are inferior to Him, neither earth, nor sea, nor rivers, nor the nature of the air, nor the nature of the winds, nor the changes of the atmosphere, nor the appearances of any animals or plants, nor the sun, nor the moon, nor the multitude of the stars moving in well-arranged revolutions, nor the whole heaven, nor the entire world. This is a boast of a great and magnanimous soul, to rise above all creation, and to overleap its boundaries, and to cling to the great uncreated God alone, according to his sacred commands, in which we are expressly enjoined "to cleave unto Him." [Deuteronomy 30:20.] Therefore he, in requital, bestows himself as their inheritance upon those who do cleave unto him, and who serve him without intermission; and the sacred scripture bears its testimony in behalf of this assertion, where it says, "The Lord himself is his Inheritance." [Deuteronomy 10:9.] Thus the souls which are already pregnant are naturally likely to bring forth children, rather than those which are now receiving the seed. But as the eyes of the body do oftentimes see obscurely, and often on the other hand see clearly, so in the same manner does the eye of the soul, at times, receive the particular impressions conveyed to it by things in a most confused and indistinct manner, and at other times it beholds them with the greatest purity and clearness; therefore an indistinct and not clearly manifested conception resembles an embryo which has not yet received any distinct character or similitude within the womb: but that which is clear and distinctly visible, is like one which is completely formed, and which is already fashioned in an artistic manner as to both its inward and its outward parts, and which has already received its suitable character. 3And with respect to these matters the following law has been enacted with great beauty and propriety: "If while two men are fighting one should strike a woman who is great with child, and her child should come from her before it is completely formed, he shall be muleted in a fine, according to what the husband of the woman shall impose on him, and he shall pay the fine deservedly. But if the child be fully formed, he shall pay life for Life." [Exodus 21:22.] For it was not the same thing, to destroy a perfect and an imperfect work of the mind, nor is what is only likened by a figure similar to what is really comprehended, nor is what is only hoped for similar to what really exists. On this account, in one case, an uncertain penalty is affixed to an uncertain action; in another, a definite punishment is enacted by law against an act which is perfected, but which is perfected not with respect to virtue, but with reference to what is done in an irreproachable manner, according to some act. For it is not she who has just received the seed, but she who has been for some time pregnant, who brings forth this offspring, professing boasting rather than modesty. For it is impossible that she who has been pregnant some time should miscarry, since it is fitting that the plant should be conducted to perfection by him who sowed it; but it is not strange if some mishap should befall the woman who was pregnant, since she was afflicted with a disease beyond the art of the physician.

25And do not suppose that Hagar is represented as beholding herself as pregnant, by the words, "seeing that she had conceived," but as beholding her mistress Sarah; for afterwards she speaks of herself, and says, "Seeing that she was pregnant, she was despised before Her." [Genesis 16:4.] Why so? Because the intermediate and indifferent arts, and the sciences in accord with them, see indeed of what they are pregnant, but they nevertheless see in every respect but dimly; but the sciences comprehend clearly and very distinctly. For science is something beyond art, having derived from reason a certain firmness and exemption from error; 4for this is the definition of art, a system of comprehensions well practiced with reference to some desirable end, the word desirable being very properly added by reason of the abundance of evil arts. But the definition of science is a safe and firm comprehension, which, through reason, is not liable to any error. Therefore we call music and grammar, and other pursuits, arts; for those also who are made perfect in them, as musicians, or grammarians, are called artists. But we call philosophy and the other virtues, sciences, and those who are possessed of the knowledge of them we call scientific; for they are prudent, and temperate, and philosophical, not one of whom is ever deceived in the doctrines of a philosophy which he himself has cultivated, any more than the artists, whom I have mentioned before, err in their speculations with respect to their indifferent arts. For as the eyes see, and still the mind sees more clearly by means of the eyes; and as the ears hear, but nevertheless the mind hears better through the medium of the ears; and as the nostrils smell, and yet the soul smells more precisely through the instrumentality of the nostrils; and in like manner, as the other external senses comprehend their respective appropriate objects, still the mind comprehends them also more purely and distinctly by their ministration. For to speak properly, it is the mind which is the eye of eyes, the hearing of hearing, and the more pure external sense of each of the external senses, using them as ministers in a court of justice, and itself deciding on the nature of the objects submitted to it, so as to approve of some and to reject others. In the same way, those that are called the intermediate arts, resembling the faculties of the body, indulge in contemplations according to certain simple observations of them, but the sciences do so with greater accuracy and with exceedingly careful investigation. 4For the same relation that the mind bears to the outward sense, that same does science bear towards art; for, as has been said before, the soul is as it were the outward sense of the outward sense; therefore each of them has attracted to itself some slight things of nature, concerning which it labours and occupies itself, geometry having appropriated lines, and music sounds, and philosophy the whole nature of existing things. For this world is its

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subject matter, and so is the whole essence, both visible and invisible, of existing things. What then is there wonderful if the soul, which sees both the whole and the parts, sees them too better than they do, as if it were furnished with larger and more acute eyes? Very naturally, therefore, proper philosophy will behold intermediate instruction its handmaiden, and she that she is pregnant, more than the other will see that she is.

26 And yet even this is not unknown to any one, namely, that philosophy has bestowed upon all the particular sciences their first principles and seeds, from which speculations respecting them appear to arise. For it is geometry which invented equilateral and scalene triangles, and circles, and polygons, and all kinds of other figures. But it was no longer geometry that discovered the nature of a point, and line, and a superficies, and a solid, which are the roots and foundations of the aforementioned figures. For from whence could it define and pronounce that a point is that which has no parts, that a line is length without breadth; that a superficies is that which has only length and breadth; that a solid is that which has the three properties, length, breadth, and depth? For these discoveries belong to philosophy, and the consideration of these definitions belongs wholly to the philosopher. Again, to write and read is the undertaking of this more imperfect kind of grammar, which some people, perverting the name of, call grammatistica. But to the most perfect kind of grammar belongs the explanation of the great works of the poets and historians. When, therefore, men are going through the different parts of speech, and they not in so doing trying to drag over to themselves and appropriate as a kind of accessory the discoveries of philosophy? For it is the peculiar province of philosophy to inquire what a conjection, what a noun, what a verb, what a common noun, what a particular noun, what is deficient in a speech, what is superfluous, what is an affirmative, what an interrogative, what an indirect question, what is a comprehensive expression, what is a supplicatory form of address. For this is a science which has been compounded for the purpose of the investigation of independent propositions, and axioms, and categorems. But, moreover, has not the whole question of semi-vowels, or vowels, or such elements as are completely mute, and the consideration of the sense in which each of these expressions is ordinarily used, and in short every notion connected with the voice, and the elements, and the parts of speech, been thoroughly worked out and brought to an accurate system by philosophy? And those thieves, after having as it were carried off a few drops from her torrent, and having sought to impregnate their own shallow souls with what they have stolen, are not ashamed to bring forth her resources as their own.

27 On which account, being elated and proud, they disregard the mistress to whom in reality the authority and the complete confirmation of their contemplations belong. But she, perceiving their neglect, will convict them, and will speak freely to them, and say, "I am treated unjustly, and in utter violation of our agreement, as far as depends on you who transgress the covenants entered into between us; for from the time that you first took to your bosom the elementary branches of education, you have honoured above measure the offspring of my handmaiden, and have respected her as your wife, and you have so completely repudiated me that you never by any chance came to the same place with me. And perhaps this may be only a suspicion of mine respecting you, arising from your open connexion with my servant, which leads me to conjecture your alienation from myself, though it is not really manifest. But if your disposition is contrary to that which I suspect, still it is impossible for any one else to know this, but it is easy to God alone." On which account she says very appropriately, "May God judge between thee and me;[Genesis 16:5.] not making haste to condemn him beforehand as having done her wrong, but intimating a doubt, that perhaps he may speedily do her right, which in point of fact is seen to be the case not long afterwards, when he, excusing himself and remedying her doubts, says to her, "Behold thy handmaiden is in thy hands, do unto her as it seemeth good to thee." For also, when he calls her her handmaiden, he confesses both facts, both that she is a slave and also that she is a child; for the name of the handmaiden (paidiskeμ) suits both these circumstances. At the same time also, he confesses the contrary things, opposing the child to the fullgrown woman, and the mistress to her slave, all but crying out in plain words: I embrace indeed encyclical instruction as a younger maiden and as a handmaiden, but I honour knowledge and prudence as full-grown and a mistress. 5And the expression, "She is in thy hands," means, she is in thy power and subject to thee. And this is also a symbol of something else of this nature, namely, that the qualities of the handmaiden come to the hands of the body; for the encyclical branches of knowledge have need of the bodily organs and faculties; but the qualities of the mistress reach the soul; for the things which belong to prudence and knowledge come under the province of reason; 5so that in proportion as the mind is more powerful and more efficacious than, and in short superior to, the hand, in the same proportion also do I look upon knowledge and wisdom as more admirable than encyclical accomplishment, and I honour them in a higher degree. Do thou, therefore, O thou who both art the mistress, and who art so accounted by me, take all my encyclical instruction and use it as thy handmaid, doing to it as it shall seem good to thee; for I am not unaware that whatever pleases thee is in all respects good even though it may not always be pleasant, and is useful even though it be far removed from being agreeable. But admonition and reproof are both good and profitable to those who stand in need of correction, which indeed the holy scriptures call by another name, and denominate affliction.

28 On which account the historian presently adds, "And she afflicted her;" an expression equivalent to, she admonished and corrected her. For a sharp spear is very profitable for those who are corrupted by over security and indolences, just as it is of use with restive horses; since they can scarcely be subdued and made manageable by the whip and by gentle leading. 5Do you not see how they are utterly unaffected by the prizes proposed to Them? [this is scarcely sense, but the truth probably is that the passage is corrupt. Mangey proposes one or two emendations, but they are not very satisfactory.] They are fat, they are stout, they are sleek, they breathe hard; then they take up the actions of impiety, miserable and wretched men that they are, seeking a melancholy reward, being proclaimed and crowned as conquerors by ungodliness. For by reason of the prosperity which was constantly flowing gently towards them, they looked upon themselves as silver or golden gods, after the fashion of adulterated money, forgetting the real and true coinage. And Moses testifies to this view of the matter when he says, "He got fat, he became stout, he became swollen, and forsook God who had created Him." [Deuteronomy 32:15.] So that if excessive relaxation begets the greatest of all evils, impiety, its contrary, affliction, in accordance with the law produces that perfect good, much praised correction; 6and proceeding outward from this point, he also calls the unleavened bread the symbol of the first festival, "the bread of Affliction." [Deuteronomy 16:3.] And yet who is there who does not know that feasts and festivals produce cheerful joy and delectation, and not affliction? 6But it is plain that he is here using in a perverted sense this word for the labour of him who is the corrector. For the most numerous and greatest blessings are usually acquired by labourious practice and exercise, and by vigorously excited labour. But the festival of the soul is emulation, which is labour to attain those things which are most excellent and which are brought to perfection; on which account it is expressly commanded to "eat the unleavened bread with bitter Herbs;" [Exodus 12:8.] not by way of an additional dish, but because men in general look upon the fact of being prevented from swelling and boiling over with their appetites, but being forced to contract and restrain them as a grievous thing, thinking it a bitter thing to unlearn the indulgence of their passions, which is the real feast and festival of a mind which loves honourable contests.

29 It is for this reason that the law, as it appears to men, was given in a place which is called Bitterness; for to do wrong is pleasant, but to act justly is labourious. And this is the most unerring law; for the sacred history says, "And after they had gone out from the passions of Egypt they came to Marah: and they were not able to drink of the water at Marah, for it was bitter. On this account the name of that place was called Bitterness. And the people murmured against Moses, saying, What shall we drink? And Moses cried unto the Lord; and the Lord showed him a stick, and he cast it into the water, and the water was made sweet. And then he gave him justification and judgement, and then he tempted Him." [Exodus 15:23.] For the invisible trial and proofs of the soul are in labouring and in enduring bitterness; for then it is hard to know which way it will incline; for many men are very speedily fatigued and fall away, thinking labour a terrible adversary, and they let their hands fall out of weakness, like tired wrestlers, determining to return to Egypt to the indulgence of their passions. 6But others, with much endurance and great vigor, supporting the fearful and terrible events of the wilderness pass through the contest of life, keeping their life safe from overthrow and from destruction, and rising up in vigorous contest against the necessities of nature, such as hunger, thirst, cold, and heat, which are in the habit of reducing other persons to slavery, and subduing them with great exuberance of strength. 6And the cause of this is not merely labour, but also the sweetness with which it is combined; for the scripture says, "And the water was made sweet." But sweet and pleasant labour is called by another name, fondness for labour; for that which is sweet in labour is the love of, and desire for, and admiration of, and friendship for, what is honourable. Let no one, therefore, reject such affliction as this, and let no one think that the table of festivity and cheerfulness is called the bread of affliction for injury rather than for advantage; for the soul which is rightly admonished is supported by the doctrines of instruction.

30 This unleavened cake is so sacred that it is enjoined in the holy scriptures, "to place in the innermost part of the temple, on the golden table, twelve loaves of unleavened bread, corresponding in number to the twelve tribes; and those loaves shall be called the shew-Bread." [Exodus 25:30.] And again, it is in the law expressly "forbidden to offer any leaven or any honey upon the Altar;" [Leviticus 2:11.] for it is a difficult thing to consecrate as holy either the sweetnesses of the pleasures according to the body, or the light and unsubstantial elations of the soul, since they are by their own intrinsic nature profane and unholy. Does not, then, the prophetic word, by name Moses, very rightly speak in dignified language when he says, "Thou shall remember all the road by which the Lord God led thee in the wilderness, and how he afflicted thee, and tried thee, and proved thee, that he might know what was in thy heart, and whether thou wouldest keep his commandments. Did he not afflict thee and oppress thee with hunger, and feed thee with manna which thy fathers know not, that he might make thee know that man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God?" [Deuteronomy 8:2.] 7Who, then, is so impious as to conceive that God is one who afflicts, and who brings that most pitiable death of hunger upon those who are not able to live without food? For God is good, and the cause of good things, bounteous, the Saviour, the supporter, the giver of wealth, the giver of great gifts, driving out wickedness from the sacred boundaries; for thus did he drive out the burdens of the earth, Adam and Cain, from paradise. Let us, then, not be led aside by words, but let us consider and examine what meaning is intended to be conveyed under figurative expressions, and pronounce that the words "he afflicted," are equivalent to "he instructed, and he admonished, and he corrected." And when it is said that he oppressed them with hunger, it does not mean that he caused a deficiency of meat and drink, but of pleasures, and desires, and fear, and grief, and acts of injustice, and, in short, of all things which are the works of wickedness or of the passions. And what is said immediately afterwards is an evidence of this: "He fed thee with manna." Is it, then, proper to call that food which, without any exertion or hardship on his part, and without any trouble of his is given to man, not out of the earth as is usual, but from heaven, a marvelous work, afforded for the benefit of those who are to be permitted to avail themselves of it, the cause of hunger and affliction, and not rather, on the contrary, the cause of prosperity and happiness, of freedom from fear, and of a happy state of orderly living? But men in general and the common herd think that those who are nourished on the word of God live in a miserable and wretched manner; for they are without the taste of the allnourishing food of wisdom; but they are not aware that they are living in the height of happiness.

31 Thus, therefore, there is a certain description of affliction which is profitable, so that its very most humiliating form, even slavery, is accounted a great good. And there is a father who is recorded in the sacred writings as having prayed for this, for his son, namely, the most excellent Isaac for the foolish Esau; for he says somewhere, "By thy sword shall thou live, and thou shall serve thy Brother." [Genesis 27:40.] Judging that destiny to be the most advantageous one for a man who had chosen war rather than peace, and who was as it were constantly armed and engaged in battle, by reason of the sedition and disorder constantly existing in his soul, the destiny namely of being a subject and a servant, and of obeying all the commands which the lover of temperance should lay upon him. 7And it is from this consideration, as it appears to me that one of the disciples of Moses, by name the peaceful, who in his native language is called Solomon, says, "My son, neglect not the instruction of God, and be not grieved when thou art reproved by him; for whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth; and scourgeth every son whom he Received." [Proverbs 3:11.] Thus, then, scourging and reproof are looked upon as good, so that by means of it agreement and relationship with God arise. For what can be more nearly related than a son is to his father, and a father to his son? But that we may not seem to be too prolix connecting one argument with another, we will, besides what we have already said, just add one most evident proof that a certain description of affliction is the work of virtue. For there is such a law a this, "Thou shall not afflict any widow or orphan, but if thou dost afflict them with wickedness." ... What does this mean? Is it then possible to be afflicted by something else? For if afflictions were the work of wickedness alone, then it would be superfluous to add what would be admitted by all, and which would be understood without any such addition. But, you will most certainly say, I know that men are reproved by virtue, and instructed by wisdom; on which account I do not blame every kind of affliction, but I very greatly admire that which is the work of justice and of the law; for that corrects by means of punishment, but that which proceeds from folly and wickedness and is pernicious, I do, as becomes me, detest, and pronounce real evil. 8When, therefore, you hear that Hagar was afflicted by Sarah, you must not suppose that any of those things befell her, which arise from rivalry and quarrels among women; for the question is not here about woman, but about minds; the one being practiced in the branches of elementary instruction, and the other being devoted to the labours of virtue.

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ON FLIGHT AND FINDING*

1 ("And Sarah afflicted her, and she fled from before her face. And the angel of the Lord found her sitting by a fountain of water in the wilderness, by a fountain which is in the way to Shur. And the angel of the Lord said unto her: æThou handmaiden of Sarah, whence art thou come? and whither art thou going?' And she answered and said: æI am fleeing from the face of Sarah, my mistress.' And the angel of the Lord said unto her: æReturn unto thy mistress, and be thou humbled beneath her hands.' And the angel of the Lord said unto her: æBehold, thou art with child, and thou shall bring forth a son, and shall call his name Ishmael, because the Lord has heard the cry of thy humiliation. He shall be a rude man; his hand shall be against every man, and every man's hand against Him." [Genesis 16:8.] (Having in our former treatise spoken what was becoming respecting the preliminary branches of education, and respecting affliction, we will now proceed in regular order to discuss the topic of fugitives. Now Moses often mentions persons who flee, as here he says concerning Hagar, that being afflicted she fled from the face of her mistress. (I think therefore that there are three causes for flight--hatred, fear, and shame. Now women leave their husbands out of hatred, and for the same reason men desert their wives. But children flee from their parents, and servants from their masters, out of fear. And lastly, friends avoid their companions out of shame, when they have done anything which is displeasing to them. And before now I have known instances of fathers who have led a life of effeminate luxury, reverencing the austere and philosophical lives of their sons, and out of shame preferring to live in the country rather than in the city. (Now of all these three causes, one may find instances revealed in the sacred scriptures. Accordingly, Jacob, the practicer of virtue, fled from his father-in-law Laban out of hatred, and from his brother Esau out of fear, as I shall show presently. (But Hagar flees out of shame. And a proof of this is, that the angel, that is the word of God, met her, with the intent to recommend her what she ought to do, and to guide her in her return to her mistress's house. For he encouraged her, and said unto her: "The Lord has heard the cry of thy humiliation," which you uttered, not out of fear, nor yet out of hatred. For the one is the feeling of an ignoble soul, and the other of one which loves contention, but under the influence of that copy of temperance and modesty, shame. (For it was natural, if she had fled out of fear, that he would have encouraged her mistress, who was holding out threats to alarm her, to comfort her, and to restore her to tranquility. For then it would have been safe for the fugitive to return, and not before. But no one intercedes for her to her mistress, inasmuch as she was already appeased by herself. But this angel, who is reproof, at the same time friendly and full of advice, out of his goodwill teaches her not to feel only shame, but also to entertain confidence, for that modesty is but half a virtue, when separated from proper boldness.

2 (Therefore the account which follows will show these characteristics more accurately. But we must return to the heads of the question which we have already set forth, and begin with those who flee under the influence of hatred. "For," says the scripture, "Jacob concealed his purpose from Laban the Syrian, so as not to tell him that he was fleeing, and he fled, he and all that he Had." [Genesis 16:8.] (What then was the cause of his hatred? For perhaps you are desirous to hear this. There are some persons who make themselves gods of substance destitute of all distinctive quality, and species, and shape, neither knowing the cause which puts things in motion, nor showing any anxiety to learn of those who do know, but being contented with their ignorance and want of understanding of the most important kind of learning, which was in fact the first and only thing of which it was absolutely necessary to labour for the understanding. (Laban now is one of this kind of persons; for the sacred scriptures attribute to him a flock devoid of all distinctive marks. And matter, without any distinctive characteristics, is without any marks in the universe, and so is in men the soul, which is destitute of learning and which has no instructors. But there are others who belong to a better portion, who say that the mind has come and arranged everything, bringing the disorder which arose from an ochlocracy among all existing things, into the order established by the legitimate authority of kingly power. Of thiscompany Jacob is a follower, who presides over the marked and party-coloured flock. On the other hand the species in the universe is distinguished by marks and is of varied colour, and so also in men is the mind which has been well instructed and which is fond of learning. And he who is marked, and who is the companion of true kingly power, having received a great deal of the social affection from nature, goes to him who has no distinguishing marks, and who, as I have said, makes himself gods of the material powers, and who thinks that besides them there is no effectual cause of anything, to teach him that his opinions are not correct. For the world has been created, and has by all means derived its existence from some extraneous cause. But the word itself of the Creator is the seal by which each of existing things is invested with form. In accordance with which fact perfect species also does from the very beginning follow things when created, as being an impression and image of the perfect word. For the animal when first created is imperfect as to quantity; and a proof of this is the gradual growth which takes place at each successive age. But it is perfect as to quality. For the same quality remains in it, as having been stamped upon it by the divine word which abides permanently and never charges.

3 But seeing that he is dumb with respect to learning and to all desirable and legitimate authority, he very naturally thinks of flight. For he is afraid that in addition to not being able to derive any advantage, he may even be injured. For all connexions with the foolish injures us, and very often the soul against its will becomes stamped with the impression of their insanity of mind. And, in truth, instruction is naturally a thing inimical to ignorance, and so is industry to indifference. In reference to which fact the powers devoted to practice and meditation, when they are set free, cry out, giving a full account of the causes of their hatred: "Have we not any longer a share and an inheritance in the house of our father? Are we now accounted aliens by him? For he has sold us, and he has eaten up and devoured our money. All the wealth and all the glory which God took from our father shall belong to us and to our Children." [Genesis 31:14.] For those who are free both in name and also in their minds do not consider any foolish person as either rich or glorious, but look upon all such persons, so to say, as inglorious and poor, even if they exceed the fortune of wealthy kings. For they do not say that they will have the riches of their father, but the riches which have been taken away; nor do they say that they shall possess his glory, but the glory which has been taken away from him. But the wicked man is deprived of all genuine riches and of all true and honourable glory; for these blessings are procured by wisdom, and temperance, and the kindred dispositions of the soul, and are inherited by those souls which love virtue. Therefore, it is not the things which belong to the wicked man, but those of which he is destitute, that are the abundance and the glory of the good. And he is destitute of virtues which are their possession, in order that what is said in another place may be consistent with the passage already quoted: "Let us sacrifice the abominations of Egypt to the Lord our God." [Exodus 8:26.] For the virtues are perfect and blameless offerings, and so are the actions in accordance with virtue, which the Egyptian body, being devoted to the passions, abominates; for, as in this passage, those things which, according to the principles of natural philosophy, are reckoned profane among the Egyptians are called sacred by the Israelites who see acutely, and are all offered as sacrifices; so, in the same manner, the man who is the companion of virtue will be the heir of those things of which every foolish man is deprived and destitute. And these things are true glory, which in fact differs in no respect from knowledge, and wealth, not blind wealth, but that which is the most sharpsighted of all existing things, which never receives any base money, not even anything whatever devoid of life unless it be thoroughly tried and approved. Very naturally, therefore, that person will flee from him who has no participation in divine blessings, who even in the matters in which he accuses another does without perceiving it accuse himself also, when he says, "If thou hadst told me I would have sent thee Away." [Genesis 31:27.] For this very thing was a worthy cause for your being deserted, if you, being the servant of an infinite number of masters, pretending to have been invested with command and authority, proclaimed liberty to others. But I, says he, did not take a man as my assistant in the road which leads to virtue, but I listened to the divine oracles which enjoined me to depart from hence, and which even now continues to direct my course. And how would you have sent me away? surely, as you boast, using pompous language, with a joy which to me would have been sorrowful, with music which would have been no music, with dances, and noises destitute of articulate sound and of reason, striking blows on the soul through the medium of the ears, and with the harp, and with sounds unsuited to the lyre, and unsuited to harmony, not being so much organs, as the actions of a whole life. But these are the things by reason of which I meditated flight; but you, as it seems, contemplated dragging me back from my flight, in order that I might return on account of the deceitful and seductive nature of the external senses, by which I was scarcely able to permit myself to be carried forward.

4 Hatred then, was the cause of the flight which I have been here describing; but fear was the cause of the one which I am about to mention. For, says the sacred historian, Rebekkah said unto Jacob, "Behold, Esau thy brother threateneth to kill thee: now therefore, my son, hear my voice, and rise up, and flee to Laban my brother, to Charran, and dwell with him certain days, until the anger of thy brother is turned away, and he forget what thou hast done unto him; and then I will send again, and fetch thee back from Thence." [Genesis 27:42.] For it was worth while to fear, lest the worse portion of the soul, lying in an ambuscade, or else moving forwards openly to the attack, might overthrow and cast down the better part; and so the counsel of the right-minded perseverance, Rebekkah, was very good. But she says, when you see the bad man coming in with great impetuosity, against virtue, and making great account of those things which it is more proper to disregard, such as wealth, glory, and pleasure, and praising the performance of actions of injustice, as being the cause of all the advantages before mentioned: for we see that those who act unjustly, are, for the most part, men possessed of much silver, and of much gold, and of high reputation. Do not then, turn away to the opposite road, and devote yourself to a life of penury, and abasement, and austerity, and solitude; for, by doing so, you will irritate your adversary, and arm a more bitter enemy against yourself. Consider, therefore, now by what conduct you may avoid his attacks; apply yourself to the same things, I do not mean the same pursuits, but to the same things which are the efficient causes of those things which have been mentioned; to honours, to offices of authority, to silver, to gold, to possessions, to money, to colours, to forms, to exceeding nicety; and when you meet with such things, then, like a skilful workman, impress the most beautiful appearance on the material substances: and perfect a most excellent work. Do you not know, that if a man unacquainted with navigation, takes the management of a ship, which might otherwise have reached the harbour in safety, he overturns it? but that a man, skilful as a pilot, has often saved a ship which otherwise must have been lost? And also, some sick persons, owing to the unskilfulness of their medical attendants, have been severely afflicted with disease; while others, through the skill of their doctors, have escaped from dangerous sicknesses? And why need I have been prolix on this point; for always the things which are done with skill, are a conviction of those which are done unskilfully; and the true praise of the one is an unerring accusation of the other.

5 If therefore, you wish to convict a wicked man, who is also possessed of great wealth, do not disdain an abundance of money; for the unhappy man will soon show himself in his true colours, either as an illiberal and slavish-minded skin-flint, and parer of people by usury, or else as a profligate and intemperate spendthrift, very ready to devour and to squander, and a most zealous companion of harlots and brothel-keepers, and pimps, and of every kind of profligate company. But you will rather bestow your contributions on those who are in want of friends, and will do favours to, and bestow your liberality on, your country, and will assist to portion out the daughters of needy parents, giving them, in addition to their inheritance, a most sufficient dowry; and in fact, very nearly throwing all your own property into the common stock, you will invite to a participation in it all who are worthy of favour. And, in the same manner, when you wish to reprove any wicked man who is mad with a high opinion of himself and full of boasting, while you are able yourself to attain to distinguished honours, do not disdainfully reject the praise of the multitude: for by so doing you will trip up and supplant the miserable man who takes long strides, and who gives himself airs. For he will abuse his own renown for the purpose of behaving with insolence and contumely to others who are better than he, promoting those who are worse, so as to set them above them; while you, on the contrary, will give all worthy persons a share in your renown, giving in this manner security to those who are good, and by your admonitions improving those who are not so good. And if you ever to go a drinking party or to a costly entertainment, go with a good confidence; for you will put to shame the intemperate man by your own dexterity. For he, falling on his belly, and opening his insatiable desires even before he opens his mouth, will glut himself in a most shameless and indecorous manner, and will seize the things belonging to his neighbour, and will lick up everything without thinking. And when he is completely sated with eating, then drinking, as the poets say, with his mouth open, he will make himself an object for the laughter and ridicule of all those who behold him. But do you adopt a moderate course without being compelled thereto, and if ever you are constrained to indulge yourself in things beyond moderation, still make reason the governor of the necessity, and never go so far as to change pleasure into unpleasantness, but, if we may speak in such a manner, be drunk in a sober manner.

6 And here therefore truth may not unreasonably blame those who, without any examination, abandon the business and means of regulating a civil life, and who say that they have learnt to despise glory and pleasure; for those men are behaving insolently, and do not really despise these things, making an open boast of their sordid, and melancholy, and stern appearance, and putting forth their austere and dirty way of living as a bait, as if they were lovers of orderly behaviour, and modestly, and endurance; but they are not able to deceive those who look into them with greater accuracy, and who pierce within their disguise, and who are not led astray by outward show; for having removed these veils and coverings from the others, they see what is treasured up and concealed within, and learn what kind of qualities and nature are theirs: and if they are good they admire them, and if they are evil they ridicule them, and hate them because of their hypocrisy. Let us then say to such persons, "Are ye zealous admirers and imitators of a life which hates mixing with and joining in the society of others, a solitary and uncompanionable life? For what specimen of virtue have you ever exhibited while living in the society of others? Do ye

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disdain money? Have you, then, who have been professed money-dealers, been desirous to act justly? Professing to disregard the pleasures of the belly and of the parts beneath the belly, have you behaved with moderation when you have had abundant opportunities of indulging these appetites? Do you despise glory? Then, when you have been placed in situations of authority, have you cultivated an affable humility? Perhaps you have ridiculed a participation in the affairs of state, not considering how useful an employment that is." Have you then first exercised yourselves in, and directed your attention to, the public and the private business of life? and having become skilful politicians and experienced economists by means of the kindred virtues of economical and political science, have you, in your exceeding abundance of these things, prepared for your migration to another and a better kind of life? For it is proper to go through a practical life before beginning the theoretical one: as being a sort of rehearsal of the more perfect contest and exhibition. In this way it is possible to escape from the charge of hesitation and indolence. Thus also an express injunction is given to the Levites to fulfil their works till the time that they are fifty years of age; and after they are released from all active ministrations, to consider and contemplate each particular thing, receiving as a reward for their welldoing in active life, another life which delights only in knowledge and contemplation. And at other times it is necessary that those who think themselves worthy to claim the just things of God, should first of all fulfil their human duties; for it is great folly to expect to attain to what is of greater importance, while one is unable properly to discharge what is of less consequence. First of all, therefore, be ye known for your virtue among men, that you may also become established by that which relates to God." This is the advice which perseverance gives to the man inclined to the practice of virtue; but we must now examine her several expressions with accuracy.

7 "Behold," says she, "Esau thy brother threatens thee." But is it not natural for that disposition, hard as oak and obstinate through ignorance, by name Esau, who offers the baits of mortal life to lead you to your destruction; such baits, I mean, as wealth, glory, pleasure, and other kindred temptations, to seek to kill thee? But do you, O my child! flee from this contest at present, for you have not as yet had complete strength for it given to you, but still the nerves of your soul, like those of a child, are somewhat soft and weak. And it is for this reason that she calls him "my child," while is a name of affection, and also one which indicates his tender age; for we look upon the disposition which is inclined to the practice of virtue, and which is young, as worthy of affection in comparison of the fullgrown man. But such a person is worthy to carry off the prizes which are proposed for children, but he is not yet able to win the prizes offered for the men. But the best contest for men to engage in is the service of the only God. Therefore if, even before we have been completely purified, but while we appear only to have proceeded so far as to wash off the things which defile our life, we have arrived at the vestibule of God's service, we departed again more quickly than we approached, not being able to endure the austere way of living dictated by that service, nor the sleepless desire to please God, nor the continual and unwearied labour; flee, therefore, at this present time from what is best and from what is worst. What is worst are the fabulous inventions, the unmetrical and inharmonious poems, the conceptions and persuasions which from ignorance are hard and stubborn, of which Esau is the namesake. What is beset is the offering; for the race inclined to service is an offering meet to God, being consecrated to him alone in the great chief priesthood; for to dwell with what is evil is most pernicious, and to dwell with perfect good is most dangerous. Accordingly Jacob both flees from Esau, and also dwells apart from his parents; for being fond of practising virtue and still labouring at it, he flees from wickedness, and yet is unable to live in company with perfect virtue so as to have no need of an instructor.

8 On which account we read, "He will depart to Laban," not to him as the Syrian, but as the brother of his mother; that is to say, he will go to the brilliancies of life; for Laban, being interpreted, means "white." And when he has arrived there he will not hold his head too high, from being puffed up with the happy events of fortune; for the word Syrian, being translated, means "sublime." But now he does not recollect the Syrian Laban, but the brother of Rebekkah; for the means of life being given to a bad man, inflate and raise up to great height the mind which is devoid of wisdom, which is called the Syrian; but if they are bestowed on a lover of instruction, then they make the mind inclined to abide by the steady and solid doctrines of virtue and excellence. This is the brother of Rebekkah, that is to say, of perseverance, and he dwells in Charran, which name, being interpreted, means "holes," a symbol of the external senses; for he who is still moving about in mortal life has need of the organs of the external senses. "Dwell, therefore," says she, "O my child, with him," not all thy life, but "certain days;" that is to say, learn to be acquainted with the country of the external senses; know thyself and thy own parts, and what each is, and for what end it was made, and how it is by nature calculated to energize, and who it is who moves through those marvelous things, and pulls the strings, being himself invisible, in an invisible manner, whether it is the mind that is in thee, or the mind of the universe. And, when you have become thoroughly acquainted with yourself, then examine accurately also the peculiar qualities of Laban; the things which are accounted brilliant instances of the success of empty glory; but do not you be deceived by any one of them, but like a good workman adapt them all in a skilful manner to your own necessities; for if, while immersed in this political and much confused life, you display a stable and wellinstructed disposition, I will send for you from thence that you may receive the same prize which also your parents received: and the prize is the unchangeable and unhestitating service of the only wise God.

9 And his father also gives him similar precepts, adding a few trifling injunctions; for he says, "Rise up and flee into Mesopotamia, to the house of Bethuel, the father of thy mother, and from thence take a wife to thyself of the daughters of Laban thy mother's Brother." [Genesis 28:2.] Again, he also forbears to speak of Laban as a Syrian, but he calls him Rebekkah's brother, who is about to form a connexion with the practicer of virtue by means of intermarriage. Flee, therefore, into Mesopotamia, that is to say, into the middle of the rapid torrent of life, and take care not to be washed away and swollowed up by its whirlpools, but standing firmly, vigorously repel the violent, impetuous course of affairs which overflows and rushes upon thee from above, from both sides, and from every quarter; for you will find the house of wisdom a calm and secure haven, which will gladly receive you when you are anchored within it. But Bethuel in the sacred scriptures is called wisdom; and this name, being translated, means "the daughter of God;" and the legitimate daughter, always a virgin, having received a nature which shall never be touched or defiled, both on account of her own orderly decency, and also because of the high dignity of her Father. And he calls Bethuel the father of Rebekkah. How, then, can the daughter of God, namely, wisdom, be properly called a father? is it because the name indeed of wisdom is feminine but the sex masculine? For indeed all the virtues bear the names of women, but have the powers and actions of full-grown men, since whatever is subsequent to God, even if it be the most ancient of all other things, still has only the second place when compared with that omnipotent Being, and appears not so much masculine as feminine, in accordance with its likeness to the other creatures; for as the male always has the precedence, the female falls short, and is inferior in rank. We say, therefore, without paying any attention to the difference here existing in the names, that wisdom, the daughter of good, is both male and a father, and that it is that which sows the seeds of, and which begets learning in, souls, and also education, and knowledge, and prudence, all honourable and praiseworthy things. And from this source it is that Jacob the practicer of wisdom, seeks to procure a wife for himself; for from what other quarter she he seek a partner rather than from the house of wisdom? and where else should he find an opinion free from all reproach, with which to live all his life? [...] [the rest of this chapter is lost.]

10 But Moses has spoken more accurately about flights when he was establishing the law with respect to homicides, in which he goes through every species of homicide, that of intentional murder, that of unintentional slaying, that of murder by deliberate attack, or by crafty treachery. Repeat the law: "If any man strike another and he die, the striker shall die the death." And if a man do it not intentionally, but if God delivers him into his hand, then I will give thee a place to which he who has slain another shall flee. And if any one set upon his neighbour to slay him by treachery, and flee away, thou shall drag him even from the altar to put him to Death." [Exodus 21:12.] Knowing very well that the law is here adding no superfluous word from any indescribable impetuosity in its description of the matter, I doubted within myself why it does not merely say that he who has slain another shall die, and why it has added, that he shall die the death; for how else does any one die, who dies at all, except dying the death? Therefore, betaking myself for instruction to a wise woman, whose name is Consideration, I was released from my difficulty, for she taught me that some persons who are living are dead, and that some who are dead are still live: she pronounced that the wicked, even if they arrive at the latest period of old age, are only dead, inasmuch as they are deprived of life according to virtue; but that the good, even if they are separated from all union with the body, live for ever, inasmuch as they have received an immortal portion.

11 Moreover, she confirmed this opinion of hers by the sacred scriptures, one of which ran in this form: "You who cleave unto the Lord your God are all alive to this Day:" [Deuteronomy 4:4.] for she saw that those who sought refuge with God and became his suppliants, were the only living persons, and that all others were dead. And Moses, it seems, testifies to the immortality of those persons, when he adds, "You are all alive to this day;" and this day is interminable eternity, from which there is no departure; for the period of months, and years, and, in short, all the divisions of time, are only the inventions of men doing honour to number. But the unerring proper name of eternity is "today;" for the sun is always the same, without ever changing, going at one time beneath the earth, and at another time above the earth, and by him it is that day and night, the measures of time, are distinguished. She also confirmed her statement by another passage in scripture of the following purport: "Behold, I have set before thy face life and death, and good and Evil." [Deuteronomy 30:15.] Therefore, O all-wise man, good and virtue mean life, and evil and wickedness mean death. And in another passage we read, "This is thy life, and thy length of days, to love the Lord thy God." [Deuteronomy 30:20.] This is the most admirable definition of immortal life, to be occupied by a love and affection for God unembarrassed by any connexion with the flesh or with the body. Thus, the priests, Nadab and Abihu, die in order that they may live; taking an immortal existence in exchange for this mortal life, and departing from the creature to the uncreated God. And it is with reference to this fact that the symbols of incorruptibility are thus celebrated: "Then they died before the Lord;" [Leviticus 10:2.] that is to say, they lived; for it is not lawful for any dead person to come into the sight of the Lord. And again, this is what the Lord himself has said, "I will be sanctified in those who come nigh unto Me." [Leviticus 10:3.] "But the dead," as it is also said in the Psalms, "shall not praise the Lord," [psalm 113:25.] for that is the work of the living; but Cain, that shameless man, that fratricide, is no where spoken of in the law as dying; but there is an oracle delivered respecting him in such words as these: "The Lord God put a mark upon Cain, as a sign that no one who found him should kill Him." [Genesis 4:15.] Why so? Because, I imagine, wickedness is an evil which can never end, but which is kindled and is never able to be extinguished; so that the lines of the poet may well be applied to wickedness--

And she is of no mortal race,
But an immortal foul disgrace.

Immortal, indeed, as to the life among us on earth, since with reference to the life with God it is lifeless and dead, and as some one has said, more worthless and odious than dung.

12 But it was by all means necessary that different regions should be assigned to different things, the heaven to good things, the earth to what is evil; for the tendency of good is to soar on high, and if it ever comes down to us, for its Father is very bounteous, it still is very justly anxious to return again to heaven. But if evil remains here, living at the greatest possible distance from the divine choir, always hovering around mortal life, and unable to die from among the human race. This, too, one of the most eminent among the men who have been admired for their wisdom has asserted, speaking in a magnificent strain in the Theaetetus, where he says, "But it is impossible for evils to come to and end. For it is indispensable that there should always be something in opposition to God. And it is equally impossible that it should have a place in the divine regions; but it must of necessity hover around mortal nature and this place where we live; on which account we ought to endeavor to flee from this place as speedily as possible. And our flight will be a likening of ourselves to God, to the best of our power. And such a likening consists of being just and holy in conjunction with Prudence." [plato, Theaetetus, p. 176.] Very naturally, therefore, Cain, the symbol of wickedness, will not die, for wickedness must of necessity be always alive in the mortal race of mankind; so that the expression, "to die the death," is not incorrectly spoken of the homicide, for the reasons which have here been given.

13 And the expression, "not intentionally, but if God deliver him into his hand," is used with exceeding propriety with reference to those who commit an unintentional homicide; for it seems to Moses here, that our intentional actions are the fruit of our own mind and will, but that our unintentional actions proceed from the will of God. I mean by this, not our sins, but, on the contrary, those things which are the punishment of our sins; for it is not becoming for God himself to inflict punishment, as being the first and most excellent Lawgiver; but he punishes by the ministry of others, and not by his own act. It is very suitable to his character that he himself should bestow his graces, and his free gifts, and his great benefits, inasmuch as he is by nature good and bountiful. But it is not fitting that he should inflict his punishments further than by his mere command, inasmuch as he is a king; but he must act in this by the instrumentality of others, who are suitable for such purposes. And the practicer of virtue, Jacob, bears his testimony in support of this doctrine of mine, where he says, "The God who has nourished me from my youth up, the angel who delivered me from all my Evils." [Genesis 48:15.] For the most ancient benefits, those by which the soul is nourished, he attributes to God, but the more recent ones, which are caused by the errors of the soul, he attributes to the servant of God. On this account, I imagine it is, that when Moses was speaking philosophically of the creation of the world, while he described everything else as having been created by God alone, he mentions man alone as having been made by him in conjunction with other assistants; for, says Moses, "God said, Let us make man in our Image."

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[Genesis 1:26.] The expression, "let us make," indicating a plurality of makers. Here, therefore, the Father is conversing with his own powers, to whom he has assigned the task of making the mortal part of our soul, acting in imitation of his own skill while he was fashioning the rational part within us, thinking it right that the dominant part within the soul should be the work of the Ruler of all things, but that the part which is to be kept in subjection should be made by those who are subject to him. And he made us of the powers which were subordinate to him, not only for the reason which has been mentioned, but also because the soul of man alone was destined to receive notions of good and evil, and to choose one of the two, since it could not adopt both. Therefore, he thought it necessary to assign the origin of evil to other workmen than himself, --but to retain the generation of good for himself alone.

14 On which account, after Moses had already put in God's mouth this expression, "Let us make man," as if speaking to several persons, as if he were speaking only of one, "God made man." For, in fact, the one God alone is the sole Creator of the real man, who is the purest mind; but a plurality of workmen are the makers of that which is called man, the being compounded of external senses; for which reason the especial real man is spoken of with the article; for the words of Moses are, "The God made the man;" that is to say, he made that reason destitute of species and free from all admixture. But he speaks of man in general without the addition of the article; for the expression, "Let us make man," shows that he means the being compounded of irrational and rational nature. In accordance with this he has also not attributed the blessing of the virtuous and the cursing of the wicked to the same ministers, though both these offices receive praise. But since the blessing of the good has the precedence in panegyrics, and the affixing curses on the wicked is in the second rank of those who are appointed for these duties (and they are the chiefs, and leaders of the race, twelve in number, whom it is customary to call the patriarchs), he has assigned the better six, who are the best for the task of blessing, namely, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Joseph, and Benjamin; and the others he has appointed for the curses, namely, the first and last sons of Leah, Reuben, and Zabulon, and the four bastard sons by the handmaidens; for the chiefs of the royal tribe, and of the tribe consecrated to the priesthood, Judah and Levi, are reckoned in the former class. Very naturally, therefore, does God give up those who have done deeds worthy of death to the hands of others for punishment, wishing to teach us that the nature of evil is banished to a distance from the divine choir, since even punishment, which, though a good, has in it some imitation of evil, is confirmed by others. And the expression, "I will give thee a place to which he who has slain a man unintentionally shall flee," appears to me to be spoken with exceeding propriety; for what he calls a place is not a region filled by the body, but is rather, in a figure, God himself, because he, surrounding all things, is not surrounded himself, and because he is that to which all things flee for refuge. It is proper, therefore, for him who appears to have been involuntarily changed to say that this change has come upon him by the divine will, just as it is not proper for him to say so who has done evil of his own accord; and he says that he will give this place, not to him who has slain the man, but to him with whom he is conversing, so that the inhabitant of it shall be one person, but he who flees to it for refuge another; for God has given his own word a country to inhabit, namely, his own knowledge, as if it were a native of it. But to the man who is under the pollution of involuntary error he has given a foreign home as to a stranger, not a country as to a citizen.

15 Having now said thus much in a philosophical spirit with respect to involuntary offences, he proceeds to legislate concerning the man who rises up to attack another, or who treacherously plots his death, saying, "But if any one attacks his neighbour so as to slay him by treachery, and he flees to God," that is to say to the place which has already been spoken of under a figure, from which life is given to all men. For he says also in another passage: "Whosoever shall flee thither shall live." But is not everlasting life a fleeing for refuge to the living God? and is not a fleeing from his presence death? But if anyone sets upon another, he by all means is committing iniquity by deliberate purpose, and that which is done with treachery is liable to be accounted among voluntary actions, just as, on the other hand, that which is done without treachery is not subject to blame. There is nothing therefore of the wicked actions which are done secretly, and treacherously, and of malice aforethought, which we can properly say are done through the will of God, but they are done only through our own will. For, as I have said before, the storehouses of wickedness are in us ourselves, and those of good alone are with God. Whosoever therefore flees for refuge, that is to say, whosoever accuses not himself, but God as the cause of his offence, let him be punished, being deprived of that refuge to the altar which tends to salvation and security, and which is meant for suppliants alone. And is not this proper? For the altar is full of victims, in which there is no spot, I mean of innocent and thoroughly purified souls. But to pronounce the Deity the cause of evil is a spot which it is hard to cure, or rather which is altogether incurable. Those who have cultivated such a disposition as to be lovers of themselves rather than lovers of God, may remain in a distance from the sacred places, in order that as polluted and impure persons, they may not behold, not even from a distance, the sacred flame of the evil which is unextinguishably set on fire, and purified, and dedicated to God with entire and perfect power. Very beautifully, therefore, did one of the wise men of old, hastening on to this same conclusion, find confidence to say that "God is in no respect and in no place unjust, but he is the most righteous being possible. There is nothing that more nearly resembles him than the man who is as just as possible. Around him is the strength, and the real ability, and power of man, and also nothingness and unmanliness. For the knowledge of him is wisdom and true virtue; but the ignorance of him is real ignorance and manifest wickedness. And all other things which appear to be cleverness or wisdom, if they be displayed in political affairs are troublesome, and if in acts, are Sordid. [plato, Theoetetus, p. 176.]

16 Therefore, having further commanded the unholy man who is a speaker of evil against divine things to be removed from the most holy places and to be given up to punishment, he proceeds to say, "Whosoever hateth his father or his mother, let him Die." [Exodus 21:15.] And in a similar strain he says, "He who accuseth his father or his mother, let him die." He here all but cries out and shouts that there is no pardon whatever to be given to those who blaspheme the Deity. For if they who bring accusations against their mortal parents are led away to death, what punishment must be think that those men deserve who venture to blaspheme the Father and Creator of the universe? And what accusation can be more disgraceful than to say that the origin of evil is not in us but in God? Drive away, therefore, drive away, O ye who have been initiated in, and who are the hierophants of, the sacred mysteries, drive away, I say, the souls which are mixed and in a confused crowd, and brought together promiscuously from all quarters, those unpurified and still polluted souls, which have their ears not closed, and their tongues unrestrained, and which bear about all the instruments of their misery ready prepared, in order that they may hear all things, even those which it is not lawful to hear. But they who have been instructed in the difference between voluntary and involuntary offences, and who have received a tongue which speaketh good things instead of one which delighteth in accusation, when they do right are to be praised, and when they err contrary to their intention, they are not greatly to be blamed, for which reason cities have been set apart for them to flee unto for refuge.

17 And it is worth while to examine with all the accuracy possible into some necessary points relating to this place. They are four in number. One, why it is that the cities which were set apart for the fugitives were not chosen out of those cities which the other tribes received as their portion, but only out of those which were assigned to the tribe of Levi. The second point is, why they were six in number, and neither more nor fewer. The third is, why three of them were beyond Jordan, and the other three in the land of the Canaanites. The fourth is, why the death of the high priest was appointed to the fugitives as a limit, after which they might return. We must, therefore, say what is suitable on each of these heads, beginning with the first order. It is with exceeding propriety that the command is given to flee only to those cities which have been assigned to the tribe of Levi; for the Levites themselves are in a manner fugitives, inasmuch as they, for the sake of pleasing God, have left parents, and children, and brethren, and all their mortal relations. Therefore the original leader of the company is represented as saying to his father and mother, "I have not seen you, and my brethren I do not know, and my sons I Disown," [Deuteronomy 33:9.] in order to be able to serve the living God without allowing any opposite attraction to draw him away. But real flight is a deprivation of all that is nearest and dearest to man. And it introduces one fugitive to another, so as to make them forget what they have done by reason of the similarity of their actions. Either, therefore, it is for this reason alone, or perhaps for this other also, that the Levitical tribe of the persons set apart for the service of the temple ran up, and at one onset slew those who had made a god of the golden calf, the pride of Egypt, killing all who had arrived at the age of puberty, being inflamed with righteous danger, combined with enthusiasm, and a certain heaven-sent inspiration: "And every one slew his brother, and his neighbour, and him that was nearest to Him." [Exodus 32:26.] The body being the brother of the soul, and the irrational part the neighbour of the rational, and the uttered speech that which is nearest to the mind. For by the following means alone can that which is most excellent within us become adapted for and inclined to the service of him who is the most excellent of all existing beings. In the first place, if a man be resolved into soul, the body, which is akin to it as a brother, being separated and cut off from it, and also all its insatiable desires; and in the second place when the soul has, as I have already said, cast off the irrational part, which is the neighbour of the rational part; for this, like a torrent, being divided into five channels, excites the impetuosity of the passions through all the external senses, as so many aqueducts. Then, in regular order, the reason removes to a distance and separates the uttered speech which appeared to be the nearest to it of all things, in order that speech, according to the intention, might alone be left, free from the body, free from the entanglements of the outward senses, and free from all uttered speech; for when it is left in this manner existing in a solitary manner, it will embrace that which alone is to be embraced with purity, and in such a way that it cannot be drawn away. In addition to what has been said above, we must also mention this point, that the tribe of Levi is the tribe of the ministers of the temple and of the priests, to whom the service and ministration of holy things is assigned; and they also perform sacred service who have committed unintentional homicide, since, according to Moses, "God gives into their Hands" [Exodus 21:31.] those who have done things worthy of death, with a view to their execution. But it is the duty of the one body to know the good, and of the other body to chastise the wicked.

18 These then are the reasons on account of which they who have committed unintentional homicide fly only to those cities which belong to the ministers of the temple. We must now proceed to mention what these cities are, and why they are six in numbers. Perhaps we may say that the most ancient, and the strongest, and the most excellent metropolis, for I may not call it merely a city, is the divine word, to flee to which first is the most advantageous course of all. But the other five, being as it were colonies of that one, are the powers of Him who utters the word, the chief of which is his creative power, according to which the Creator made the world with a word; the second is his kingly power, according to which he who has created rules over what is created; the third is his merciful power, in respect of which the Creator pities and shows mercy towards his own work; the fourth is his legislative power, by which he forbids what may not be done. [...](9And these are the very beautiful and most excellently fenced cities, the best possible refuge for souls which are worthy to be saved for ever; and the establishment of them is merciful and humane, calculated to excite men, to aid and to encourage them in good hopes. Who else could more greatly display the exceeding abundance of his mercy, all of the powers which are able to benefit us, towards such an exceeding variety of persons who err by unintentional misdeeds, and who have neither the same strength nor the same weakness? Therefore he exhorts him who is able to run swiftly to strain onwards, without stopping to take breath, to the highest word of God, which is the fountain of wisdom, in order that by drinking of that stream he may find everlasting life instead of death. But he urges him who is not so swift of foot to flee for refuge to the creative power which Moses calls God, since it is by that power that all things were made and arranged; for to him who comprehends that everything has been created, that comprehension alone, and the knowledge of the Creator, is a great acquisition of good, which immediately persuades the creature to love him who created it. Him, again, who is still less ready he bids flee to his kingly power; for that which is in subjection is corrected by the fear of him who rules it, and by necessity which keeps it in order, even if the child is not kept in the right way by love for his father. Again, in the case of him who is not able to reach the boundaries which have been already mentioned, in respect of their being a long way off, there are other goals appointed for them at a shorter distance, the cities namely of the necessary powers, the city of the power of mercy, the city of the power which enjoins what is right, the city of the power which forbids what is not right: for he who is already persuaded that the deity is not implacable, but is merciful by reason of the gentleness of his nature, then, even if he has previously sinned, subsequently repents from a hope of pardon. And he who has adopted the notion that God is a lawgiver obeys all the injunctions which as such he imposes, and so will be happy; and he who is last of all will find the last refuge, namely, the escape from evil, even though he may not be able to arrive at a participation in the more desirable good things.

19 These, then, are the six cities which Moses calls cities of refuge, five of which have had their figures set forth in the sacred scriptures, and their images are there likewise. The images of the cities of command and prohibition are the laws in the ark; that of the merciful power of God is the covering of the ark, and he calls it the mercy-seat. The images of the creative power and of the kingly power are the winged cherubim which are placed upon it. But the divine word which is above these does not come into any visible appearance, inasmuch as it is not like to any of the things that come under the external senses, but is itself an image of God, the most ancient of all the objects of intellect in the whole world, and that which is placed in the closest proximity to the only truly existing God, without any partition or distance being interposed between them: for it is said, "I will speak unto thee from above the mercyseat, in the midst, between the two Cherubim." [Exodus 25:22.] So that the word is, as it were, the charioteer of the powers, and he who utters it is the rider, who directs the charioteer how to proceed with a view

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to the proper guidance of the universe. Therefore, he who is so far removed from committing any intentional misdeeds, that he is even free from all unintentional offence, will have God himself for his inheritance, and will dwell in him alone. But those who fall into errors which proceed not from wilful purpose, but which are done without premeditation, will have the aforesaid places of refuge in all abundance and fulness. Now of the cities of refuge there are three on the other side of Jordan , which are at a great distance from our race. What cities are they? The word of the Governor of the universe, and his creative power, and his kingly power: for to these belong the heaven and the whole world. But those which, as it were, participate in us, and which are near to us, and which almost touch the unfortunate race of mankind which is alone capable of sinning, are the three on this side of the river; the merciful power, the power which enjoins what is to be done, the power which prohibits what ought not to be done: for these powers touch us. For what need can there be of prohibition to persons who are not likely to do wrong? And what need of injunction to people who are not by nature inclined to stumble? And what need of mercy can those persons have who will absolutely never do wrong at all? But our race of mankind has need of all these things because it is by nature inclined and liable to offences both voluntary and involuntary.

20 The fourth and last of the points which we proposed to discuss, is the appointing as a period for the return of the fugitives the death of the high priest, which, if taken in the literal sense, causes me great perplexity; for a very unequal punishment is imposed by this enactment on those who have done the very same things, since some will be in banishment for a longer time, and others for a shorter time; for some of the high priests live to a very old age, and others die very early, and some are appointed while young men, and others not until they are old. And again of those who are convicted of unintentional homicide, some have been banished at the beginning of the high priest's entrance into office, and some when the high priest has been at the very point of death. So that some are deprived of their country for a very long time, and others suffer the same infliction only for a day, if it chance to be so; after which they lift up their heads, and exult, and so return among those whose nearest relations have been slain by them. This difficult and scarcely explicable perplexity we may escape if we adopt the inner and allegorical explanation in accordance with natural philosophy. For we say that the high priest is not a man, but is the word of God, who has not only no participation in intentional errors, but none even in those which are involuntary. For Moses says that he cannot be defiled neither in respect of his father, that is, the mind, nor his mother, that is, the external sense;[Leviticus 21:11.] because, I imagine, he has received imperishable and wholly pure parents, God being his father, who is also the father of all things, and wisdom being his mother, by means of whom the universe arrived at creation; and also because he is anointed with oil, by which I mean that the principal part of him is illuminated with a light like the beams of the sun, so as to be thought worthy to be clothed with garments. And the most ancient word of the living God is clothed with the word as with a garment, for it has put on earth, and water, and air, and fire, and the things which proceed from those elements. But the particular soul is clothed with the body, and the mind of the wise man is clothed with the virtues. And it is said that he will never take the mitre off from his head, he will never lay aside the kingly diadem, the symbol of an authority which is not indeed absolute, but only that of a viceroy, but which is nevertheless an object of admiration. Nor will he "rend his clothes;" for the word of the living God being the bond of every thing, as has been said before, holds all things together, and binds all the parts, and prevents them from being loosened or separated. And the particular soul, as far as it has received power, does not permit any of the parts of the body to be separated or cut off contrary to their nature; but as far as depends upon itself, it preserves every thing entire, and conducts the different parts to a harmony and indissoluble union with one another. But the mind of the wise man being thoroughly purified, preserves the virtues in an unbroken and unimpaired condition, having adapted their natural kindred and communion with a still more solid good will.

21 This high priest, as Moses says, "shall not enter into any soul that is dead." But the death of the soul is a life according to wickedness; so that he must never touch any pollution such as folly is fond of dealing with. And to him also "a virgin of the sacred race is joined;" that is to say, an opinion for ever pure, and undefiled, and imperishable; for he "may never become the husband of a widow, or of one who has been divorced, or of one who is a profane person, or of one who is a harlot," since he is always proclaiming an endless and irreconcileable war against them. For it is a hateful thing to him to be widowed with respect to virtue, and to be divorced and driven away by her; and in like manner all persuasion of this kind is profane and unholy. But that promiscuous evil abandoned to many husbands, and to the worship of many gods, that is, a harlot, he does not think fit even to look upon, being content with her who has chosen for herself one husband and father only, the all-governing God. There is a certain extravagance of perfection visible in this disposition. He has Known [there is some obscurity in the sense here. Mangey proposes instead of hoide pou, to read oudepou, but it does not seem any more intelligible than that in the text.] the man who has vowed the great vow in some instances offending unintentionally, even if not of deliberate purpose; for he says, "But if any one die before him suddenly, he shall be at once polluted." For if of things without deliberation anything coming from without strikes down suddenly, such things do at once pollute the soul, but not with a pollution which remains for any length of time, inasmuch as they are unintentional actions. And about these actions the high priest (standing above them, as he also does above those which are voluntary) is indifferent. But I am not saying this at random, but for the sake of proving that the period of the death of the high priest is a most natural termination of exile to be appointed by the law, so as to allow of the return of the fugitives. As long, therefore, as this most sacred word lives and survives in the soul, it is impossible for any involuntary error to enter into it; for it is by nature so framed as to have no participation in, and to be incapable of admitting any kind of error. But if it dies (not meaning by this that it is itself destroyed, but that it is separated from our soul), then a return is at once granted to intentional offences. For if while the word remained and was healthy in us, error was driven to a distance, by all means, when the word departs, error will be introduced. For the undefiled high priest, conscience, has derived from nature this most especial honour, that no error of the mind can find any place within him; on which account it is worth our while to pray that the high priest may live in the soul, being at the same time both a judge and a convictor, who having received jurisdiction over the whole of our minds, is not altered in his appearance or purpose by any of those things which are brought under his judgement.

22 Having now, therefore, said what was proper on the subject of fugitives, we will proceed with what follows in the regular order of the context. In the first place it is said, "The angel of the Lord found her in the Way," [Genesis 16:7.] pitying the soul which out of modesty had voluntarily committed the danger of wandering about, and very nearly becoming a conductor of her return to opinion void of error. It is desirable also not to pass over in silence the things which are said in a philosophical strain by the lawgiver on the subject of discovery and investigation; for he represents some persons as neither investigating nor discovering anything, others as succeeding in both these paths, others as having chosen only one of them; of which last class some who seek do not find, and others find without having sought. Those, then, who have no desire for either discovery or investigation have shamefully debased their reason by ignorance and indifference, and though they had it in their power to see acutely, they have become blind. Thus he says that " Lot 's wife turning backwards became a pillar of Salt;" [Genesis 19:26.] not here inventing a fable, but pointing out the proper nature of the event. For whoever despises his teacher, and under the influence of an innate and habitual indolence forsakes what is in front of him, by means of which it may be in his power to see, and to hear, and to exert his other powers, so as to form a judgement in things of nature, and turns his head round so as to keep his eyes on what is behind him, that man has an admiration for blindness in the affairs of life, as well as in the parts of the body, and becomes a pillar, like a lifeless and senseless stone. For, as Moses says, "such men have not hearts to understand, nor eyes to see, nor ears to Hear," [Deuteronomy 29:4.] but make the whole of their life blind, and deaf, and senseless and mutilated in every respect, so as not to be worth living, caring for none of those matters which deserve their attention.

23 And the leader of this company is the king of the region of the body. "For," says Moses, "Pharaoh turned himself about and went into his house, and did not set his heart to this thing Either," [Exodus 7:23.] which statement is equivalent to, he did not take notice of anything whatever, but allowed himself to become dried up like a plant which has no care taken of it by the farmer, and to lose his fertility and become barren. 2Those then who take counsel, and consider matters, and who investigate everything carefully, sharpen and rouse their minds: and the mind being duly exercised bears its appropriate fruit of cleverness and intelligence, by means of which the power of repelling all deceitful things is acquired. But the man who is an enemy to consideration blunts and breaks the edges of his wisdom; we must therefore discard the truly senseless and lifeless company of such men as these, and choose those who exert their powers of consideration and discovery. And presently the political disposition is introduced, which, without being at all over ambitious of glory, has a desire for that better generation, which the virtues have received as their inheritance, and which consequently seeks and finds it; for, says the scripture, "A man found Joseph in the plain, and asked him saying, What seekest thou; and he said, I am seeking my brothers; tell me where they are feeding their flocks: and the man said unto him, They are departed from hence; for I heard them saying, Let us go into Dothan; and Joseph went after his brethren and found them in Dothan." [Genesis 37:15.] The name Dothan is interpreted, "a sufficient abandonment," being a symbol of the soul which has in no slight degree but altogether escaped those vain opinions, which resemble the pursuits of women rather than those of men. On which account virtue, that is Sarah, is very beautifully described as having given up "the manner of Women," [Genesis 18:11.] which is the object of pursuit to those men who live an unmanly and truly feminine life. But the wise man is also "added when Leaving," [Genesis 25:17.] according to Moses, speaking most strictly in accordance with nature. For the deprivation of empty opinion must necessarily be the addition of true opinion. 2But if any one, passing his days in a mortal, and promiscuous, and variously formed life, and having abundant resources of wealth and riches, considers and inquires concerning that better generation which looks only to what is good, he is worthy of being received, if the dreams and visions of those things, which are fancied to be and which appear to be good, do not again overwhelm him and immerse him in luxury. For if he abides in contemplation of the soul without any adulteration, proceeding and following in the track of the things which he is seeking, he will never give up his search till he has attained to the objects of his wishes; 3but he will find none of the things which he desires among the wicked. Why not? Because they departed from hence. Having abandoned the studies of their friends they have changed their abode from the country of the pious, and settled in the desert of the wicked. But the real man, the convictor that dwells in the soul says this, who when he sees the soul in perplexity, and considering and investigating deeply, exerts a prudent care in its behalf, that it may not wander and so miss the right road.

24 I very greatly wonder at those persons also, I mean at him who is fond of asking questions about what is in the middle between two extremes, and who says, "Behold the fire and the wood, but where is the lamb for the burnt Offering?" [Genesis 22:7.] And also at him who answers, "My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt offering," and who afterwards finds what is given as a ransom; "For behold a single ram was caught by his horns in a shrub of Sabec." Let us therefore consider what it is that he who is seeking doubts about, and what he who answers reveals, and in the third place what the thing is which was found. Now what the inquirer asks is something of this kind:--Behold the efficient cause, the fire; behold also the passive part, the material, the wood. Where is the third party, the thing to be effected? As if he said, --Behold the mind, the fervid and kindled spirit; behold also the objects of intelligence, as it were so much material or fuel; where is the third thing, the act of perceiving? Or, again, --Behold the sight, behold the colour, where is the act of seeing? And, in short, generally, behold the external sense, behold the thing to be judge of; but where are the objects of the external sense, the material, the exertion of the feeling? To him who puts these questions, answer is very properly made, "God will provide for himself." For the third thing is the peculiar work of God; for it is owing to his providential arrangement that the mind comprehends, and the sight sees, and that every external sense is exerted. "And a ram is found caught by his horns;" that is to say, reason is found silent and withholding its assent; 3for silence is the most excellent of offerings, and so is a withholding of assent to those matters of which there are not clear proofs; therefore this is all that ought to be said, "God will provide for himself,"--he to whom all things are known, who illuminates the universe by the most brilliant of all lights, himself. But the other things are not to be said by creatures over whom great darkness is poured; but quiet is a means of safety in darkness.

25 Those also who have inquired what it is that nourishes the soul, for as Moses says, "They knew not what it was," learnt at last and found that it was the word of God and the divine reason, from which flows all kinds of instinctive and everlasting wisdom. This is the heavenly nourishment which the holy scripture indicates, saying, in the character of the cause of all things, "Behold I rain upon you bread from Heaven;" [Exodus 16:4.] for in real truth it is God who showers down heavenly wisdom from above upon all the intellects which are properly disposed for the reception of it, and which are fond of contemplation. But those who have seen and tasted it, are exceedingly delighted with it, and understand indeed what they feel, but do not know what the cause is which has affected them; and on this account they inquire, "What is this which is sweeter than honey and whiter than snow?" And they will be taught by the interpreter of the divine will, that "This is the bread which the Lord has given them to Eat." [Exodus 16:15.] What then is this bread? Tell us. "This," says he, "is the word which the Lord has appointed." This divine appointment at the same time both illuminates and sweetens the soul, which is endowed with sight, shining upon it with the beams of truth, and sweetening with the sweet virtue of persuasion those who thirst and hunger after excellence. And the prophet also having himself inquired what was the cause of meeting with success, finds it to be associated with the only God; for when he was doubting and asking, Who am I, and what am I, that I shall deliver the seeing race of Israel from the disposition hostile to God,

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which seems to be a king? He is taught by the oracle that, "I will be with thee." And, indeed, inquiries into individual matters have a certain elegant and philosophical kind of meditation in them; for how can they avoid it? But the inquiry into the nature of God, the most excellent of all things, who is incomparable, and the cause of all things, at once delights those who betake themselves to its consideration, and it is not imperfect inasmuch as he, out of his own merciful nature, comes forward to meet it, displaying himself by his virgin graces, and willingly to all those who are desirous to see him. Not, indeed, such as he is, for that is impossible, since Moses also turned away his face,[Exodus 3:6.] for he feared to see God face to face; but as far as it is possible for created nature to approach by its own power those things which are only discernible to the mind. And this also is written among the hortatory precepts, for, says Moses, "Ye shall turn unto the Lord your God, and shall find him, when ye seek him with all your heart, and with all your Soul." [Deuteronomy 4:29.]

26 Having now spoken at sufficient length on this point also, let us proceed in regular order to consider the third head of our subject, in which the seeking existed, but the finding did not follow it. At all events Laban, who examined the entire spiritual house of the practicer of virtue, "did not," as Moses says, "find the Images," [Genesis 31:33.] for it was full of real things, and not of dreams and vain fantasies. Nor did the inhabitants of Sodom, blind in their minds, who were insanely eager to defile the holy and unpolluted reasonings, "find the road which led to This" [Genesis 19:11.] object; but, as the sacred scriptures tell us, they were wearied with their exertions to find the door, although they ran in a circle all around the house, and left no stone unturned for the accomplishment of their unnatural and impious desires. And before now some persons, wishing to be kings instead of doorkeepers, and to put an end to the most beautiful thing in life, namely order, having not only failed in obtaining the success which they hoped to meet with through injustice, but have even been compelled to part with that which they had in their hands; for the law tells us that the companions of Korah, who coveted the priesthood, lost both what they wished for and what they had: for as children and men do not learn the same things, but there are institutions adapted to each age, so also there are by nature some souls which are always childish, even though they are in bodies which have grown old; and on the other hand, there are some which have arrived at complete perfection in bodies which are still in the prime and vigor of early youth. But those men will deservedly incur the imputation of folly who desire objects too great for their own nature, since everything which is beyond one's power will vanish away through the intensity of its own vehemence. And so Pharaoh also, when "seeking to kill Moses," [Exodus 2:15.] the prophetic race, will never find him, although he has heard that a heavy accusation is brought against him, as if he has attempted to destroy all the supreme authority of the body by two attacks, the first of which he made upon the Egyptian disposition, which was fortifying pleasure as a citadel against the soul; for "having smote him," with an accidental instrument that came to hand, "he buried him in the Sand," [Exodus 2:12.] thinking that the two doctrines, of pleasure being the first and greatest good, and of atoms being the origin of the universe, both proceed from the same source. The second attack he made upon him who was cutting into small pieces the nature of the good, and assigning one portion to the soul, another to the body, and another to external circumstances; for he wishes the good to be entire, being assigned to the best thing in us, the intellect alone, as its inheritance, and not being adapted to anything inanimate.

27 Nor does he, who is sent forth to search for that virtue which is invincible and embittered against the ridiculous pursuits of men, by name Tamar, find her. And this failure of his is strictly in accordance with nature; for we read in the scripture, "And Judah sent a kid in the hands of his shepherd, the Adullamite, to receive back his pledge from the woman, and he found her not: and he asked the men of the place, Where is the harlot who was in Aenan by the wayside? and they said, There is no harlot in this place. And he returned back to Judah , and said unto him, I have not found her, and the men of the place say that there is no harlot there. And Judah said, Let her keep the things, only let me not be made a laughing-stock, I because I have sent the kid, and you because you have not found Her." [Genesis 38:20.] Oh, the admirable trial! oh, the temptation becoming sacred things! 5Who gave the pledge? Why the mind, forsooth, which was eager to purchase the most excellent possession, piety towards God, by three pledges or symbols, namely a ring, and an armlet, and a staff, signifying confidence and sure faith; the connexion and union of reason with life, and of life with reason; and upright and unchanging instruction on which it is profitable to rely. Therefore he examines the question as to whether he had properly given this pledge. What, then, is the examination? To throw down some bait having an attractive power, such as glory, or riches, or bodily health, or something similar, and to see to which it will incline, like the balance in a scale; for if there is any inclination to any one of these things the pledge is not sure. Therefore he sent a kid in order to recover back his pledge from the woman, not because he had determined by all means to recover it, but only in the case of her being unworthy to retain it. And when will this be? when she willingly exchanges what is of importance for what is indifferent, preferring spurious to genuine good. Now the genuine good things are faith, the connexion and union of words with deeds, and the rule of right instruction, as on the other hand the evils are, faithlessness, a want of such connexion between words and deeds, and ignorance. And spurious goods are those which depend upon appetite devoid of reason; 5for "when he sought her he did not find her;" for what is good is hard to be found, or, one may even say, is utterly impossible to be found in a confused life. And if one inquires whether the soul, which is a harlot, is in every place of virtue, one will be distinctly told that it is not, and that it has not been previously; for a common, unchaste, and wanton, and utterly shameless woman, selling the flower of her beauty at a low price, and making her external parts both bright with purifications and washings, but leaving her inward parts unclean and vile, and being like pictures painted with colours about the face because of the absence of all natural beauty; she who pursues that promiscuous evil called the vice of having many husbands, as if it were a good, coveting polygamy, and laying herself open for infinite variety, and being mocked and insulted at the same time by ten thousand bodies and things, "is not there." He, then, who sent the messenger to inquire, hearing this, having removed envy to a distance from himself, and being gentle in his nature, rejoices in no moderate degree, and says, "Perhaps, then, according to my prayer, she is truly a virtuous mind, a citizen wife, excelling in modesty, and chastity, and all other virtues, cleaving to one husband alone, being content with the administration of one household, and rejoicing in the authority of one husband; and if she is such an one, let her keep what I have given her--the instruction and the connexion of reason with life and of life with reason, and, what is the most necessary of all things, surety and faith. But let us not be laughed at as appearing to have given gifts which were not merited, while we think that we gave what is most suitable to the soul; for I, indeed, did what was proper for a man to do who wished to make experiment of and to test her disposition, throwing out a bait and sending a messenger; but he has showed me that her nature is not easily caught. And it is not clear to me why it is not easily caught; for I have seen ten thousand persons of the extremely wicked class doing the same things as those who are extremely good, but not with the same purpose, since the one class has truth and the other only hypocrisy, and it is very hard to distinguish the one from the other, for very often reality is overpowered by appearance.

28 Also the person who loves virtue seeks a goat by reason of his sins, but does not find one; for, already, as the sacred scripture tells us, "it has been Burnt." [Leviticus 10:16.] Now we must consider what is intimated under this figurative expression--how never to do any thing wrong is the peculiar attribute of God; and to repent is the part of a wise man. But this is very difficult and very hard to attain to. Accordingly the scripture says that "Moses sought and sought again" a reason for repentance for his sins in mortal life; for he was very anxious to find a soul which was stripped if sin, and coming forward naked of all offence without shame. But nevertheless he did not find one, the flame, I mean by this the very quickly moving irrational desire, rushing inwards and devouring the whole soul. For what is smaller in numbers is usually overpowered by what is more numerous, and what is slower by what is more speedy, and what is to come hereafter by what is present. Now what is contracted in quantity, and slow, and future, is repentance; what is numerous, and swift, and continuous in human life is, iniquity. Very naturally, therefore, when any one falls into error, he says that he is unable to eat of what is offered by reason of his sins, so that his conscience will not permit him to be nourished by repentance; on which account it is said in the scripture, "Moses heard, and it pleased Him." [Leviticus 16:20.] For the things which relate to the creature are very far removed from the things which relate to God; for to the creature only those things which are visible are known, but to God, even those things which are also invisible. And that man is crazy who, speaking falsely instead of truly, while still committing iniquity, asserts that he has repented. It is like as if one who had a disease were to pretend that he was in good health; for he, as it seems, will only get more sick, since he does not choose to apply any of the remedies which are conducive to health.

29 On one occasion Moses was urged on, by a desire of learning, to investigate the causes through which the most necessary of things in the world are brought to perfection; for seeing how many things come to an end, and are produced afresh in creation, being again destroyed, and again abiding, he marveled, and was amazed, and cried out, saying, "The bush (batos) burns, and is not Consumed." [Exodus 3:2.] For he does not trouble his head about the inaccessible (abatos) country as being the abode of divine natures. But now that he is about to undertake a labour which will have no success and no end, he is relieved by the mercy and providence of God, the Saviour of all men, who has given warning out of his holy shrine, "Do not approach near this place," which is equivalent to, Do not approach this consideration; for it is a business requiring more labour, and more energy, and care, and fondness for investigation than can be suited to human power. But be content with admiring what is created; and do not be overcurious about the causes why each thing is created or destroyed. "For the place," says God, "on which thou standest is holy Ground." [Exodus 3:5.] What kind of place is that? Is it not plain that it is that which relates to the principles of causes, which is the only one that he has adapted to the divine natures, not thinking any more competent to aim at a clear understanding of the principle of causes? But he who, out of his desire for learning, has raised his head above the whole world begins to inquire concerning the Creator of the world who this being is who is so difficult to see and whose nature it is so difficult to conjecture, whether he is a body, or an incorporeal being, or something above these things, or whether he is a simple nature like a unit, or a compound being or any ordinary existing thing. And when he sees how difficult to ascertain, and how difficult to understand this is, he then prays to be allowed to learn from God himself who God is; for he has never hoped to be able to learn this from any other of the beings that are around him. But nevertheless, though inquiring into the essence of the living God he has heard nothing. For, says, God, "thou shall see my back parts, but my face thou shall not Behold." [Exodus 33:23.] For it is sufficient for the wise man to know the consequences, and the things which are after God; but he who wishes to see the principal essence will be blinded by the exceeding brilliancy of his rays before he can see it.

30 Having now said thus much concerning the third head of our subject, we will proceed to the fourth and last of the propositions we proposed to examine, according to which discovery sometimes comes to meet us without there having been any search. To this order belongs every self-taught and self-instructed wise man; for such an one has not been improved by consideration, and care, and labour, but from the first moment of his birth he has found wisdom ready prepared and showered upon him from above from heaven, of which he drinks an unmixed draught and on which he feasts, and continues being intoxicated with a sober intoxication with correctness of reason. This is the man whom the law calls Isaac, whom the soul did not conceive at one time and bring forth at another, for says the scripture, "having conceived him she brought him Forth," [Genesis 21:2.] as if without any consideration of time. For it was not a man who was now being thus brought forth, but a conception of the purest character, beautiful rather in its nature than in consequence of any study; for which reason also she who brings him forth is said to have given up the usual manner of women, that is to say her usual, and reasonable, and human customs. For the self-taught race is something new, and beyond any description, and truly divine, existing not by any human conceptions, but by some inspired frenzy. Are you ignorant that the Hebrews stand in no need of midwives for their delivery? But they, as Moses says, "bring forth before the midwives can arrive," by which is meant that they have nature alone for a coadjutor, without having any need of methods, or arts, or sciences. And Moses gives very beautiful and very natural definitions of what is taught a man by himself; one being such a thing as is speedily discovered, the other what God himself has given us; accordingly, that which is taught by others requires a long time, but what is taught a man by himself is quick, and in a manner independent of time. And the one again has God for its expounder, but the other has man. Now the first definition he has placed in the question, "What is this that thou has found so quickly, O my Son?" [Genesis 27:20.] But the other is contained in the answer to this question, "What the Lord God gave unto me."

31 There is also a third definition of what is taught a man by himself, namely that which of its own accord rises upwards. For it is said in the hortatory injunctions, "Ye shall not sow, neither shall ye reap those things which arise from the earth of their own Accord." [Genesis 25:11.] For nature has not need of any art since God himself sows those things, and by his agricultural skill brings to perfection, as if they grew of themselves, things which do not grow of themselves, except inasmuch as they stand in need of no human assistance whatever. But this is not so much a positive exhortation as an announcement of his opinion, for if he had been giving a positive recommendation he would have said, "Do not sow, and do not reap:" but as he is only giving his opinion, he says, "Ye shall not sow, neither shall ye reap." For as to those things with which we meet by the voluntary bounty of nature, of these we cannot find either the beginnings or the ends in ourselves as if we were the cause of them: therefore the beginning is the seed-time and the end the harvest time. And it is better to understand these things thus: every beginning and every end is spontaneous, that is to say, it is the work of nature and not of ourselves. For instance; what is the beginning of learning. It is plain that it is a nature in the person who is taught which is well calculated to reeive the particular subjects of meditation submitted to him. Again what is the beginning of being made perfect? If we are to

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speak plainly without keeping anything back, it is nature. Therefore he who teaches is also indeed to effect improvement, but it is God alone, the most excellent nature of all, who is able to conduct one to supreme perfection. He who is bred up among such doctrines as these has everlasting peace, and is released from wearisome and endless labours. And according to the lawgiver there is no difference between peace and a week; for in each creation lays aside the appearance of energizing and rests. 7Very properly, therefore, is it said, "And the sabbath of the law shall be food for you," speaking figuratively. For the only thing which is really nourishing and really enjoyable is rest in God; which confers the greatest good, undisturbed peace. Peace, therefore, among cities is mixed up with civil war; but the peace of the soul has no mixture in it of any kind of difference. And the lawgiver appears to me to be recommending most manifestly that kind of discovery which is not preceded by any search, in the following words, "When the Lord thy God shall lead thee into the land which he swore to thy fathers that he would give thee, large and beautiful cities which thou buildest not, houses full of all good things which thou filledst not, cisterns hewn out of the quarries which thou hewedst not, vineyards and olive gardens which thou plantedst Not." [Deuteronomy 6:10.] You see here the ungrudging abundance of all the great blessings which are ready, and poured forth for man's possession and enjoyment. And the generic virtues are here likened to cities, because they are of the most comprehensive kind; and the specific virtues are likened to houses, because they are contracted into a narrower circle; and the souls of a good disposition are likened to cisterns, which are well inclined to receive wisdom, as the cisterns are calculated to receive water; and the improvement, and growth, and production of fruit, are compared to vineyards and olive gardens; and the fruit of knowledge is a life of contemplation, which produces unmixed joy, equal to that which proceeds from wine; and a light appreciable only by the intellect, as if from a flame of which oil is the nourishment.

32 Having now said thus much on the subject of discovery, we will proceed in due order to what comes next in the context. Moses proceeds, "Therefore the angel of the Lord found her sitting by a fountain of water." Now a fountain is spoken of in many senses; in one manner our mind is meant by a fountain, in another the rational habit and instruction; in a third sense a bad disposition is intimated; in a fourth sense a good disposition, the contrary of the preceding; in a fifth sense, the Creator and Father of the universe is himself thus spoken of in a figure; and there are passages written in the sacred scriptures which give proof of these things. What they are we must now consider. Now in the very beginning of the history of the law there is a passage to the following effect: "And a fountain went up from the earth, and watered all the face of the Earth." [Genesis 2:6.] Those men, then, who are not initiated in allegory and in the nature which loves to hide itself, liken the fountain here mentioned to the river of Egypt, which every year overflows and makes all the adjacent plains a lake, almost appearing to exhibit a power imitating and equal to that of heaven; for what the heaven during winter bestows on the other countries, the Nile affords to Egypt at the height of summer; for the heaven sends rain from above upon the earth, but the river, raining upward from below, which seems a most paradoxical statement, irrigates the corn-fields. And it is starting from this point that Moses has described the Egyptian disposition as an atheistical one, because it values the earth above the heaven, and the things of the earth above the things of heaven, and the body above the soul; but, however, we shall have an opportunity of speaking on these subjects hereafter when occasion permits. But at present, for we must study not to be too prolix, we had better have recourse to an explanation which may be drawn from looking on the words as used figuratively; and we may say that the meaning of the statement that "a fountain went up and watered all the face of the earth," is something of this kind. The dominant part of us, like a fountain, pours forth many powers through the veins of the earth as it were, till they reach the organs of the external senses, that is to say, the eyes, and ears, and nostrils, and other organs; and these organs in every animal are situated about the head and face. Therefore, the face, which is the dominant portion of the soul; making the spirit, which is calculated for seeing, reach to the eyes, that which has the power of hearing reach the ears, the spirit of smelling reach the nostrils, that of taste the mouth, and causing that of touch to pervade the whole surface of the body.

33 There are also many various fountains of instruction, by means of which most nutritious reasonings have sprung up like the trunks of palm-trees; "for," says Moses, "they came to Aileim, and in Aileim there were twelve fountains of water and seventy trunks of palm-trees. And they pitched their tents there by the side of the Water." [Exodus 15:27.] The name Aileim is interpreted to mean "vestibules," a symbol of the approach to virtue. For as vestibules are the beginning of a house, so also are the encyclical preliminary branches of instruction the beginning of virtue, 8and twelve is the perfect number, of which the circle of the zodiac in the heaven is a witness, studded as it is with such numbers of brilliant constellations. The periodical revolution of the sun is another witness, for he accomplishes his circle in twelve months, and men also reckon the hours of the day and of the night as equal in number to the months of the year, 8and the passages are not few in which Moses celebrates this number, describing the twelve tribes of his nation, appointing by law the offering of the twelve cakes of shewbread, and ordering twelve stones, on which inscriptions are engraved, to be woven into the sacred robe of the garment, reaching down to the feet of the high-priest, on his oracular dress. He also celebrates the number seven, multiplied by the number ten; at one time speaking of the seventy palm-trees by the fountains, and in other passages he speaks of the elders, who were only seventy in number, to whom the divine and prophetical Spirit was vouchsafed. And again, it is the same number of heifers which are sacrificed at the solemn festival of the feast of tabernacles, [Numbers 29:13.] in a regular and proper division and order, for they are not all sacrificed together, but in seven days, the beginning being made with thirteen bulls; for thus, by every day subtracting one till they come to the number seven, the arranged number of seventy is properly completed. 8And when they have come to the gates of virtue, the preliminary liberal sciences, and have seen the fountains, and the stems of the palmtrees growing by them, they are said to pitch their tents, not by the palm-trees, but by the waters. Why is this? Because those who carry off the prizes of perfect virtue are adorned with palm-leaves and with fillets; but those who are still exercising themselves in the preliminary branches of instruction, as people thirsting for learning, settle themselves by the side of those sciences which are able to bedew and irrigate their souls.

34 Such then are the fountains of intermediate instruction. Let us now consider the fountain of folly, concerning which the lawgiver speaks thus, "Whosoever shall lie with a woman who is sitting apart has uncovered her fountain, and she has uncovered the issue of blood; they shall both be Destroyed." [Leviticus 20:18.] Here he calls the external sense a woman, representing the mind as her husband. 8When therefore the woman, having forsaken her legitimate husband, settles near those objects of the external sense which allures and destroys, and embraces them all in this amorous manner; then therefore, if the mind be turned to sleep when it is necessary that it should be awakened, it has uncovered the fountain of the external sense, that is itself, that is to say, it has rendered itself, without a covering and without a wall, and easy to be plotted against. 9But nevertheless the woman also has uncovered the fountain of her blood, for every external sense, when flowing towards the external object appreciable by it, is cheered and restrained by being under the dominion of the reason; and it is left in a solitary condition, being deprived of any proper governor. And as the most terrible misfortune for a city is to be without walls, so the most unfortunate state for a soul is to be without a guardian. When, then, is it without a guardian? Is it not when the sight is without any covering, being poured forth upon the objects of sight; and when the hearing is without a covering, being occupied in drinking in all kinds of sounds; and when the sense of smell is uncovered, and the kindred powers are left to themselves, and so are most ready to suffer whatever the invading enemy may be disposed to inflict? And that speech is uncovered and uttered which speaks ten thousand things in an unseasonable manner, without any thing to restrain its impetuosity; therefore flowing on unrestrainedly, it overturns many noble purposes and plans of life which were previously sailing on erect as though in calm weather. 9This is that great deluge in which "the cataracts of heaven were opened"58--by heaven I here mean the mind--and the fountains of the bottomless pit were revealed; that is to say, of the outward sense; for in this way alone is the soul overwhelmed, iniquities being broken up and poured over it from above, as from the heaven of the mind, and the passions irrigating it from below, as from the earth of the outward senses. 9For which reason Moses forbids a man to uncover the nakedness of his father or of his mother, [Leviticus 18:7.] well knowing how great an evil it is not to check and to conceal the offences of the mind and of the external senses, but to bring them forward and display them as though they were good actions.

35 These are the fountains of errors. We must now examine that of prudence. To this one it is that perseverance, that is to say, Rebecca, descends; [Genesis 24:15.] and after she has filled up the whole vessel of her soul she goes up again, the lawgiver, most strictly in accordance with natural truth, calling her return an ascent; for whoever brings his mind to descend from over-arrogant haughtiness is raised to a great height of virtue. For Moses says, "And having gone down to the fountain, she filled her ewer, and went up again." This is that divine wisdom from which all the particular sciences are irrigated, and all the souls which love contemplation are are filled with a love of what is most excellent; and to this fountain the sacred scripture most appropriately assigns name, calling it "judgement" and "holy." For says the historian, "Having turned back, they came to the fountain of judgement; this is the fountain of Caddes," [Genesis 14:7.] and the interpretation of the name Caddes is holy. It all but cries out and shouts that the wisdom of God is holy, bringing with it nothing of the earth, and that it is the judgement of the universe by which all contrarieties are separated from one another.

36 We must now speak also concerning that highest and most excellent of fountains which the Father of the universe spake of by the mouths of the prophets; for he has said somewhere, "They have left me, the fountain of life, and they have digged for themselves cisterns already worn out, which will not be able to hold Water;" [Jeremiah 2:13.] therefore, God is the most ancient of all fountains. And is not this very natural? For he it is who has irrigated the whole of this world; and I am amazed when I hear that this is the fountain of life, for God alone is the cause of animation and of that life which is in union with prudence; for the matter is dead. But God is something more than life; he is, as he himself has said, the everlasting fountain of living. But the wicked having fled away, and having passed their time without ever tasting the draught of immortality, have digged, insane persons that they are, for themselves, and not first for God, having preferred their own actions to the heavenly and celestial things, and the things which proceed from care to those which are spontaneous and ready. Then they dig, not as the wise men Abraham and Isaac did, making wells, but cisterns, which have no good nutritious stream belonging to and proceeding from themselves, but requiring an influx from without, which must proceed from instruction. While the teachers are always pouring into the ears of their disciples all kinds of doctrines and speculations of science altogether, admonishing them to retain them in their minds, and to preserve them when faithfully committed to memory. But now they are but worn-out cisterns, that is to say, all the channels of the ill-educated soul are broken and leaky, not being able to hold and to preserve the influx of those streams which are able to profit.

37 We have now then said as much as the time will permit us to say on the subject of the fountains, and it is with great accuracy and propriety that the sacred scriptures represent Hagar as found at the fountain, and not as drawing water from it: for the soul has not as yet made such an advance as to be fit to use the unmixed draught of wisdom; but it is not forbidden from making its abode in its neighbourhood. And all the road which is made by instruction is easy to travel, and most safe, and most solid, and strong, on which account the scripture tells us that she was found in the road leading to Shur; and the name Shur being interpreted means a wall or a direction. Therefore its convicter, speaking to the soul, says, "Whence comest thou, and whither goest thou?" And it says, not because it doubts, and not so much by the way of asking a question, as in a downcast and reproachful spirit, for an angel cannot be ignorant of anything that concerns us, and a proof of this is, that he is well acquainted even with the things that are in the womb, and which are invisible to the creature, inasmuch as he says, "Behold thou art with child, and thou shall bring forth a son, and shall call his name Ishmael;" for to know that that which is conceived is a male child does not belong to human power, any more than it does to foretell the destruction of life which the child who is not yet born will adopt, namely, that it will be rude life, and not that of a citizen or of a polished man. The expression, "Whence comest thou?" is said by way of reproving the soul, which is fleeing from the better and dominant opinion, of which she is the handmaiden, not in name more than in fact, and by remaining in subjection to which she would gain great glory. And the expression, "And whither goest thou?" means, you are running after uncertain things, having discarded and thrown away confessed good. It is well, therefore, to praise her for rejoicing at this admonition. And she shows a proof of her delighting in it, by not bringing any accusation against her mistress, and by attributing the cause of her running away to her own self, and by her making no reply to the second question, "Whither goest thou?" for it is a matter of uncertainty; and it is both safe and necessary to restrain one's self from speaking of what is uncertain.

38 Therefore the convicter of the soul approving of her in respect of her obedience says, Return unto thy mistress; for the government of the teacher is profitable to the disciple, and servitude in subjection to wisdom is advantageous to her who is imperfect; and when thou returnest, "be thou humbled under her hands:"--a very beautiful humiliation, comprehending the destruction of irrational pride. For thus, after a gentle travail, thou wilt bring forth a male child, by name Ishmael, corrected by divine admonitions; for Ishmael, being interpreted, means "the hearing of God;" and hearing is considered as entitled to only the second prize after seeing; but seeing is the inheritance of the legitimate and first-born son, Israel; for the name Israel, being interpreted, means "seeing God." For it is possible for a man to hear false statements as though they were true, because hearing is a deceitful thing; but seeing is a sense which cannot be deceived, by which a man perceives existing things as they really are. But the angel describes the characteristics of the disposition which is born of Hagar, by saying that he will be a rude man; as if he had said that he would be a man wise about rude matters, and not as yet thought worthy of that which is the

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truly divine and political portion of life: and this is virtue, by means of which it is the nature of the moral character to be humanised. And by his saying, "His hand shall be against every man, and every man's hand against him," he means to describe the design and plan of life of a sophist, who professes an overcurious scepticism, and who rejoices in disputatious arguments. Such a man shoots at all the followers of learning, and in his own person opposes all men, both publicly and privately, and is shot at by all who very naturally repel him as if they were acting in defense of their own offspring, that is to say, of the doctrines which their soul has brought forth. He also adds a third characteristic of him, saying, "He shall dwell before the face of all his brethren." In these words all but expressly declaring that he will wage an everlasting battle and war against them, face to face, for ever. Therefore the soul, which is pregnant with sophistical reasoning, says to the convicter who is addressing her, "Thou art God, who hast beheld me:" an expression equivalent to, Thou art the creator of my plans and of my offspring. And may we not look upon this as a very natural reply on her part? For of these souls which are free, and, as it were truly citizens, the Creator is free, and a deliverer; but of slavish minds, slaves are the creators. And the angels are the servants of God, and are considered actual gods by those who are in toil and slavery; on this account, says Moses, she called the well, "The well where I saw in front of me." But O, thou soul! advancing in wisdom and plunging deep into the knowledge of the elementary parts of encyclical instruction, thou wast not able to see the cause of thy knowledge in instruction as in a mirror. But the most appropriate place for such a well is in the midst, between Caddes and Barad; and the name Barad, being interpreted, means "in common," and Caddes means "holy;" for the person who is in a state of imprisonment is on the confines between what is holy and what is profane, fleeing from what is wicked, and being not yet able to live in the company of what is perfectly good.

ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES

1 ("Abraham was ninety and nine years old; and the Lord appeared unto Abraham, and said unto him, I am thy God." [Genesis 17:1.] The number of nine, when added to the number ninety, is very near to a hundred; in which number the self-taught race shone forth, namely Isaac, the most excellent joy of all enjoyments; for he was born when his father was a hundred years old. (Moreover the first fruits of the tribe of Levi are given up to the priests;[Numbers 18:26.] for they having taken tithes, offer up other tenths from them as from their own fruits, which thus comprise the number of a hundred; for the number ten is the symbol of improvement, and the number a hundred is the symbol of perfection; and he that is in the middle is always striving to reach the extremity, exerting the inborn goodness of his nature, by which he says, that the Lord of the universe has appeared to him. (But do not thou think that this appearance presented itself to the eyes of the body, for they see no things but such as are perceptible to the outward senses; but those objects of the outward senses are compounded ones, full of destruction; but the Deity is not a compound object, and is indestructible: but the eye which receives the impression of the divine appearance is the eye of the soul; (for besides this, those things which it is only the eyes of the body that see, are only seen by them because they take light as a coadjutor, and light is different, both from the object seen and from the things which see it. But all these things which the soul sees of itself, and through its own power, it sees without the cooperation of any thing or any one else; for the things which the soul does thus comprehend are a light to themselves, (and in the same way also we learn the sciences; for the mind, applying its never-closing and never-slumbering eye to their doctrines and speculations, sees them by no spurious light, but by that genuine light which shines forth from itself. (When therefore you hear that God has been seen by man, you must consider that this is said without any reference to that light which is perceptible by the external senses, for it is natural that that which is appreciable only by the intellect should be presented to the intellect alone; and the fountain of the purest light is God; so that when God appears to the soul he pours forth his beams without any shade, and beaming with the most radiant brilliancy.

2 (Do not, however, think that the living God, he who is truly living, is ever seen so as to be comprehended by any human being; for we have no power in ourselves to see any thing, by which we may be able to conceive any adequate notion of him; we have no external sense suited to that purpose (for he is not an object which can be discerned by the outward sense), nor any strength adequate to it: therefore, Moses, the spectator of the invisible nature, the man who really saw God (for the sacred scriptures say that he entered "into the Darkness," [Exodus 20:21.] by which expression they mean figuratively to intimate the invisible essence), having investigated every part of every thing, sought to see clearly the much-desired and only God; (but when he found nothing, not even any appearance at all resembling what he had hoped to behold; he, then, giving up all idea of receiving instruction on that point from any other source, flies to the very being himself whom he was seeking, and entreats him, saying, "Show my thyself that I may see thee so as to know Thee." [Exodus 33:13.] But, nevertheless, he fails to obtain the end which he had proposed to himself, and which he had accounted the most all-sufficient gift for the most excellent race of creation, mankind, namely a knowledge of those bodies and things which are below the living God. (For it is said unto him, "Thou shall see my back parts, but my face shall not be beheld by Thee." [Exodus 33:23.] As if it were meant to answer him: Those bodies and things which are beneath the living God may come within thy comprehension, even though every thing would not be at once comprehended by thee, since that one being is not by his nature capable of being beheld by man. And what wonder is there if the living God is beyond the reach of the comprehension of man, when even the mind that is in each of us is unintelligible and unknown to us? Who has ever beheld the essence of the soul? the obscure nature of which has given rise to an infinite number of contests among the sophists who have brought forward opposite opinions, some of which are inconsistent with any kind of nature. It was, therefore, quite consistent with reason that no proper name could with propriety be assigned to him who is in truth the living God. Do you not see that to the prophet who is really desirous of making an honest inquiry after the truth, and who asks what answer he is to give to those who question him as to the name of him who has sent him, he says, "I am that I Am," [Exodus 3:14.] which is equivalent to saying, "It is my nature to be, not to be described by name:" but in order that the human race may not be wholly destitute of any appellation which they may give to the most excellent of beings, I allow you to use the word Lord as a name; the Lord God of three natures--of instruction, and of holiness, and of the practice of virtue; of which Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob are recorded as the symbols. For this, says he, is the everlasting name, as if it has been investigated and discerned in time as it exists in reference to us, and not in that time which was before all time; and it is also a memorial not placed beyond recollection or intelligence, and again it is addressed to persons who have been born, not to uncreated natures. For these men have need of the complete use of the divine name who come to a created or mortal generation, in order that, if they cannot attain to the best thing, they may at least arrive at the best possible name, and arrange themselves in accordance with that; and the sacred oracle which is delivered as from the mouth of the Ruler of the universe, speaks of the proper name of God never having been revealed to any one, when God is represented as saying, "For I have not shown them my Name;" [Exodus 6:3.] for by a slight change in the figure of speech here used, the meaning of what is said would be something of this kind: "My proper name I have not revealed to them," but only that which is commonly used, though with some misapplication, because of the reasons abovementioned. And, indeed, the living God is so completely indescribable, that even those powers which minister unto him do not announce his proper name to us. At all events, after the wrestling match in which the practicer of virtue wrestled for the sake of the acquisition of virtue, he says to the invisible Master, "Tell me thy Name;" [Genesis 32:29.] but he said, "Why askest thou me my name?" And he does not tell him his peculiar and proper name, for says he, it is sufficient for thee to be taught my ordinary explanations. But as for names which are the symbols of created things, do not seek to find them among immortal natures.

3 Therefore do not doubt either whether that which is more ancient than any existing thing is indescribable, when his very word is not to be mentioned by us according to its proper name. So that we must understand that the expression, "The Lord was seen by Abraham," [Genesis 17:1.] means not as if the Cause of all things had shone forth and become visible, (for what human mind is able to contain the greatness of his appearance?) but as if some one of the powers which surround him, that is to say, his kingly power, had presented itself to the sight, for the appellation Lord belongs to authority and sovereignty. But when our mind was occupied with the wisdom of the Chaldaeans, studying the sublime things which exist in the world, it made as it were the circuit of all the efficient powers as causes of what existed; but when it emigrated from the Chaldaean doctrines, it then knew that it was moving under the guidance and direction of a governor, of whose authority it perceived the appearance. On which account it is said, "The Lord," not the living God, "was seen;" as if it had been meant to say, the king appeared, he who was from the beginning, but who was not as yet recognised by the soul, which, indeed, was late in learning, but which did not continue for ever in ignorance, but received a notion of there being an authority and governing power among existing things. And when the ruler has appeared, then he in a still greater degree benefits his disciple and beholder, saying, "I am thy God;" [Genesis 17:2.] for I should say to him, "What is there of all the things which form a part of creation of which thou art not the God?" But his word, which is his interpreter, will teach me that he is not at present speaking of the world, of which he is by all means the creator and the God, but about the souls of men, which he has thought worthy of a different kind of care; for he thinks fit to be called the Lord and Master of bad men, but the God of those who are in a state of advancement and improvement; and of those which are the most excellent and the most perfect, both Lord and God at once. On which account, having made Pharaoh the very extreme instance of impiety, he has never once called himself his Lord or his God; but he calls the wise Moses so, for he says to him, "Behold I give thee as a god to Pharaoh." [Genesis 7:1.] But he has in many passages of the sacred oracles delivered by him, called himself Lord. For instance, we read such as passage as this: "Thus says the Lord;" [Exodus 7:17.] and at the very beginning we read, "The Lord spake unto Moses, saying, I am the Lord, say unto Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, all the things which I say unto Thee." [Exodus 6:29.] And Moses, in another place, says, "Behold, when I go forth out of the city I will spread out my hands unto the Lord, and the sounds shall cease, and the hail, and there shall be no more rain, that thou mayest know that the earth is the Lord's;" that is to say, every thing that is made of body or of earth, "and that thou," that is the mind which bears in itself the images of things, "and thy servants," that is the particular reasonings which act as body-guards to the mind, "for I know that ye do not yet fear the Lord;" [Exodus 9:29.] by which he means not the Lord who is spoken of commonly and in different senses, but him who is truly the Master of all things. For there is in truth no created Lord, not even a king shall have extended his authority and spread it from one end of the world even to the other end, but only the uncreated God, the real governor, whose authority he who reverences and fears receives a most beneficial reward, namely, the admonitions of God, but utterly miserable destruction awaits the man who despises him; therefore he is held forth as the Lord of the foolish, striking them with a terror which is appropriate to him as ruler. But he is the God of those who are improved; as we read now, "I am thy God, I am thy God, be thou increased and Multiplied." [Genesis 17:1, also 35:2.] And in the case of those who are perfect, he is both together, both Lord and God; as we read in the ten commandments, "I am the Lord thy God." [Exodus 20:2.] And in another passage it is written, "The Lord God of our Fathers." [Deuteronomy 4:1.] For he thinks it right for the wicked man to be governed by a master as by a lord; that, being in a state of alarm and groaning, he may have the fear of a master suspended over him; but him who is advancing in improvement he thinks deserving to receive benefits as from God in order that by means of these benefits he may arrive at perfection; and him who is complete and perfect he thinks should be both governed as by the Lord, and benefited as by God; for the last man remains for ever unchangeable, and he is, by all means and in all respects, the man of God: and this is especially shown to be the fact in the case of Moses; for, says the scripture, "This is the blessing which Moses, the man of God, Blessed." [Deuteronomy 33:1.] O the man that thus thought worthy of this all-beautiful and sacred recompense, to give himself as a requital for the divine Providence! But do not thou think that he is in the same sense a man and the man of God; for he is said to be a man as being a possession of God, but the man of God as boasting in and being benefited by him. And if thou wishest to have God as the inheritance of thy mind, then do thou in the first place labour to become yourself an inheritance worthy of him, and thou wilt be such if thou avoidest all laws made by hands and voluntary.

4 But it is not right to be ignorant of this thing either, that the statement, "I am thy God," [Genesis 17:1.] is made by a certain figurative misuse of language rather than with strict propriety; for the living God, inasmuch as he is living, does not consist in relation to anything; for he himself is full of himself, and he is sufficient for himself, and he existed before the creation of the world, and equally after the creation of the universe; for he is immovable and unchangeable, having no need of any other thing or being whatever, so that all things belong to him, but, properly speaking, he does not belong to anything. And of the powers which he has extended towards creation for the advantage of the world which is thus put together, some are spoken of, as it were, in relation to these things; as for instance his kingly and his beneficent power; for he is the king of something, and the benefactor of something there being inevitably something which is ruled over and which receives the benefits. Akin to these powers is the creative power which is called God: for by means of this power the Father, who begot and created all things, did also disperse and arrange them; so that the expression, "I am thy God," is equivalent to, "I am thy maker and creator;" and it is the greatest of all possible gifts to have him for one's maker, who has also been the maker of the whole world. The soul, indeed, of the wicked man he did not make, for wickedness is hateful to God; and the soul, which is between good and bad, he made not by himself alone, according to the most sacred historian Moses, since that, like wax, was about to receive the different impressions of good and evil. On which account it is said in the scriptures, "Let us make man in our own image," that if it receives a bad impression it may appear to be the work of others, but if it receives a good impression it may then appear to be the work of him who is the Creator only of

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what is beautiful and good. By all means, therefore, that must be a good man to whom he says, "I am thy God," as he has had him alone for his creator without the cooperation of any other being. Moreover he brings up with this that doctrine which is established in many other passages, showing that God is the creator only of those men who are virtuous and wise; and the whole of this company has voluntarily deprived itself of the abundant possession of external things, and has neglected those things which are dear to his flesh. For the athletes of vigorous health and high spirit have erected their servile bodies as a sort of fortification against the soul, but those men who have been devoted to the pursuit of instruction, and who are pale, and weak, and emaciated, having overloaded the vigor of the body with the power of the soul, and if one must tell the plain truth, being entirely dissolved into one species of soul, have through the energy of their minds become quite disentangled from the body. Therefore that which is earthly is very naturally destroyed and overwhelmed when the entire mind resolves in every particular to make itself acceptable to God. But the race of these persons is rare and scarcely to be found, and one may almost say is unable to exist; and the following oracle, which is given with respect to Enoch, proves this: "Enoch pleased God, and he was not Found;" [Genesis 5:24.] for by what kind of contemplation could a man attain to this good thing? What seas must he cross over? What islands, or what continents, must he visit? Must he dwell among Greeks or among the barbarians? Are there not even to the present day some of those persons who have attained to perfection in philosophy, who say that there is no such thing as wisdom in the world, since there is also no such thing as a wise man? for that from the very beginning of the creation of mankind up to the present moment, there has never been any one who could be considered entirely blameless, for that it is impossible for a man who is bound up in a mortal body to be entirely and altogether happy. Now whether these things are said correctly we will consider at the proper time: but at present let us stick to the subject before us, and follow the scripture, and say that there is such a thing as wisdom existing, and that he who loves wisdom is wise. But though the wise man has thus an actual existence he has escaped the notice of us who are wicked: for what is good will not unite with what is bad. On this account it is that "the disposition which pleased God was not found;" as if in truth it has a real existence, but was concealed and had fled away to avoid any meeting in the same place with us, since it is said to have been translated; the meaning of which expression is that it emigrated and departed from its sojourn in this mortal life, to an abode in immortal life.

5 These men then, being mad with this divinely inspired madness, were made more ferocious; but there are others who are companions of a more manageable and humanised wisdom. By those men piety is practiced to a most eminent degree, and the observance due to man is not neglected. And the sacred oracles are witnesses of this in which Abraham is addressed (the words being put in the mouth of God), "Thou shall be pleasing in my Sight," [Genesis 17:3.] that is to say, thou shall be pleasing, not only to me but also to my works, in my eyes as judge, and overseer, and superintendant; for if you honour your parents, or show mercy to the poor, or do good to your friends, or fight in defense of your country, or pay proper attention to the common principles of justice towards all men, you most certainly are pleasing to those with whom you associate, and you are also acceptable in the sight of God: for he sees all things with an eye which never slumbers, and he unites to himself with especial favour all that is good, and that he accepts and embraces. Therefore the practicer of virtue, even while praying, proves the very same thing, saying, "The God to whom my fathers were Acceptable," [Genesis 48:15.] and he adds the words "before him," for the sake of giving you to know the difference, the real practical difference between the expression, "to please God," by itself, and the same words with the addition of the sentence, "before him." For the one expression gives both meanings, and the other only one. Thus also Moses, in his exhortatory admonitions, recommends his disciples such and such things, saying, "Thou shall do what is pleasing before the Lord thy God," [Deuteronomy 12:28.] as if he were to say, Do such things as we shall be worthy to appear before God, and what he when he sees them will accept. And these things are wont to appear equally pure both externally and Internally. [this passage is given up by Mangey as corrupt and quite unintelligible. Mangey corrects it and gives a Latin translation which I have followed.] And proceeding onwards from thence he wove the tent of the tabernacle with two boundaries of space, placing a veil between the two, in order to separate what is within from what is without. And also he gilded the sacred ark, the place wherein the laws were kept, both within and without; and he gave the great high priest two robes, the inner one made of linen, and the other one beautifully embroidered, with one robe reaching to the feet. For these and such things as these are symbols of the soul which in its inner parts shows itself pure towards God, and in its exterior parts shows itself without reproach in reference to the world which is perceptible to the outward senses and to this life: with great felicity therefore was this said to the victorious wrestler, when he was about to have his brows crowned with the garlands of victory: and the declaration made with respect to him was of the following tenor, "You have been mightily powerful both with God and with Men;" [Genesis 32:28.] for to have a good reputation with both classes, namely, with the uncreated God and with the creature, is the task of no small mind, but, if one must say the truth, it is one fit for that which is in the confines between the world and God. In short, it is necessary that the good man should be an attendant of God, for the creature is an object of care to the Ruler and Father of the universe; for who is there who does not know, that even before the creation of the world God was himself sufficient to himself, and that he remained as much a friend as before after the creation of the world, without having undergone any change? Why then did he make what did not exist before? Because he was good and bounteous. Shall we not then, we who are slaves, follow our master, admiring, in an exceeding degree, the great first Cause of all things, and not altogether despising our own nature?

6 But after he has said, "Be thou pleasing to me before me," he adds further, "and be thou blameless," using here a natural consequence and connexion of the previous sentence. Do thou therefore all the more apply thyself to what is good that thou mayest be pleasing; and if thou canst not be pleasing, at all events abstain from open sins, that thou mayest not incur reproach. For he who does right is praiseworthy, and he who avoids doing wrong is not to be blamed. And the most important prize is assigned to those who do right, namely, the prize of feeling that they are acceptable to God: but the second prize belongs to those who do no sin, that, namely, of avoiding blame; and, perhaps, in the case of the mortal race of mankind, the doing no sin is set down as equivalent to doing right; for who, as Job says is "pure from pollution, even if his life be but one single day Long?" [Job 14:4.] In fact, the things which pollute the soul are infinite in number, and it is impossible completely to wash them away and to efface their stains; for there are, of necessity, left disasters which are akin to every mortal man, which it is natural indeed to weaken, but impossible wholly to eradicate. Does any one therefore seek a just, or prudent, or temperate, or, in short, any perfectly good man, in this confused life? Be content if you find one who is not wholly unjust, or foolish, or intemperate, or cowardly, or who is not utterly worthless; for the avoidance of evil is a thing with which to be content, but the complete acquisition of the virtues is unattainable to any man, such as is endowed with our nature. It was therefore with great reason that it was said, "and be thou blameless," the speaker thinking that it is a great addition towards a happy life to live without sin and without reproach; but the man who has deliberately chosen this way of life, promises to leave his inheritance in accordance with the covenant, such as is becoming to God to give, and to a wise man to accept, for he says, "I will place my covenant between me and between Thee;" [Genesis 17:2.] and covenants and testaments are written for the advantage of those who are worthy of the gift, so that a testament is a symbol of grace, which God has placed between himself who proffers it and man who receives it; and this is the very extravagance of beneficence, that there is nothing between God and the soul except his own virgin grace. And I have written two commentaries on the whole discussion concerning testaments, and for that reason I now deliberately pass over that subject, for the sake of not appearing to repeat what I have said before; and also at the same time, because I do not wish here to interrupt the connected course of this discussion.

7 And immediately afterwards it is said, "And Abraham fell on his face:" was he not about, in accordance with the divine promises, to recognise himself and the nothingness of the race of mankind, and so to fall down before him who stood firm, by way of displaying the conception which he entertained of himself and of God? Forsooth that God, standing always in the same place, moves the whole composition of the world, not by means of his legs, for he has not the form of a man, but by showing his unalterable and immovable essence. But man, being never settled firmly in the same place, admits of different changes at different times, and being tripped up, miserable man that he is (for, in fact, his whole life is one continued stumble), he meets with a terrible fall; but he who does this against his will is ignorant, and he who does it voluntarily is docile; on which account he is said to fall on his face, that is to say, in his outward senses, in his speech, in his mind, all but crying out loudly and shouting that the outward sense has fallen, inasmuch as it was unable, by itself, to feel as it should, if it had not been aroused by the providence of the Saviour, to take hold of the bodies which lay in its way. And speech too has fallen, being unable to give a proper explanation of anything in existence, unless he who originally made and adapted the organ of the voice, having opened its mouth and enabled its tongue to articulate, should strike it so as to produce harmonious sounds. Moreover, the king of all the mind has fallen, being deprived of its comprehension, unless the Creator of all living things were again to raise it up and re-establish it, and furnishing it with the most acutely seeing eyes, to lead it to a sight of incorporeal things.

8 Therefore admiring this same disposition when thus taking to flight, and submitting to a voluntary fall by reason of the confession which it had made respecting the living God, namely, that he stands in truth and is one only, while all other things beneath him are subject to all kinds of motions and alterations, he speaks to it, and allows it to enter into conversation with him, saying, "And I, behold my covenant is with Thee." [Genesis 17:4.] And this expression conceals beneath its figurative words such a meaning as this: There are very many kinds of covenants, which distribute graces and gifts to those who are worthy to receive them; but the highest kind of covenant of all is I myself: for God, having displayed himself as far as it was possible for that being to be displayed who cannot be shown by the words which he has used, adds further, "And I too, behold my covenant;" the beginning and fountain of all graces is I myself. For on some persons God is in the habit of bestowing his graces by the intervention of others; as, for instance, through the medium of earth, water, air, the sun, the moon, heaven, and other incorporeal powers. But he bestows them on others through himself alone, exhibiting himself as the inheritance of those who receive him, whom from that he thinks worthy of another appellation: for it is said in the scripture, "Thy name shall not be called Abram, but Abraham shall thy name be." Some, then, of those persons who are fond of disputes, and who are always eager to affix a stain upon what is irreproachable, on things as well as bodies, and who wage an implacable war against sacred things, while they calumniate everything which does not appear to preserve strict decorum in speech, being the symbols of nature which is always fond of being concealed, perverting it all so as to give it a worse appearance after a very accurate investigation, do especially find fault with the changes of names. And it is only lately that I heard an ungodly and impious man mocking and ridiculing these things, who ventured to say, "Surely they are great and exceeding gifts which Moses says that the Ruler of the universe offers, who, by the addition of one element, the one letter alpha, a superfluous element;[the text here is very corrupt. Mangey adopts the emendations of Markland, and I have followed his translation.] and then again adding another element, the letter rho, appears to have bestowed upon men a most marvelous and great benefit; for he has called the wife of Abram Sarrah instead of Sarah, doubling the Rho," and connecting a number of similar arguments without drawing breath, and joking and mocking, he went through many instances. But at no distant period he suffered a suitable punishment for his insane, wickedness; for on a very slight and ordinary provocation he hanged himself, in order that so polluted and impure a person might not die by a pure and unpolluted death.

9 But we may justly, in order to prevent any one else from falling into the same error, eradicate the erroneous notions which have been formed on the subject, arguing the matter on the principle of natural philosophy, and proving that these things which are here said are worthy of all attention. God does not bestow on men mutes and vowels, or, in short, nouns and verbs; since when he created plants and animals, he summoned them before man as their governor, that he might give each of them their appropriate names by a reference to the knowledge which he had of all things; for, says the scripture, "Whatever Adam called any thing, that was the name Thereof." [Genesis 2:19.] Therefore since God did not think fit to take upon himself even the active imposition of the names, but entrusted the task to a wise man, the author of the whole race of mankind, it is reasonable to suppose that he himself gave and arranged the different parts, and syllables, and letters of nouns, disposing not only the vowels, but even the mutes, and that he did this too to make a show of liberality and exceeding beneficence? It is impossible to say so. But such things as these are the characteristic marks of different powers; small marks of great powers, marks perceptible by the outward senses of powers which are indistinct; and the powers themselves are discerned in most excellent doctrines, in true and pure conceptions, in the improvement of souls. And it is easy to see a proof of this if we make a beginning with the man who is here spoken of as having his name changed; for the name Abram, being interpreted, means "sublime father," but Abraham means the "elect father of sound;" and how these names differ from one another we shall know more clearly if we first of all read what is exhibited under each of them. Now using allegorical language, we call that man sublime who raises himself from the earth to a height, and who devotes himself to the inspection of high things; and we also call him a haunter of high regions, and a meteorologist, inquiring what is the magnitude of the sun, what are his motions, how he influences the seasons of the year, advancing as he does and retreating back again, with revolutions of equal speed, and investigating as he does the subjects of the radiance of the moon, of its shape, of its waning, of its increase, and of the motion of the other stars, whether fixed or wandering; for the inquiry into these matters belongs not to an ill-conditioned or barren soul, but

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to one which is eminently endowed by nature, and which is able to produce an entire and perfect offspring; on which account the scripture calls the meteorologist, "father," inasmuch as he is not unproductive of wisdom.

10 Now the symbols represented by the name of Abram are thus accurately defined; those conveyed under the name of Abraham are such as we shall proceed to demonstrate. The meanings now are three, "the father," and "elect," and "of sound." Now by the word "sound" here, we mean uttered speech; for the sounding organ of the living animal is the organ of speech. Of this faculty we say that the father is the mind, for it is from the mind, as from a fountain, that the stream of speech proceeds. The word "elect" belongs to the mind of the wise man, for whatever is most excellent is found in him; therefore the man devoted to learning and occupied in the contemplation of sublime subjects, was sketched out according to the former characteristic marks, but the philosopher, or I should rather say the wise man, was exhibited in accordance with those of which we have just given an outline. Think not, then, any longer that the Deity bestows a change of names, but consider that what he gives is a correction of the moral character by means of symbols; for having invited the nature of heaven, and whom some call a mathematician, to a participation in virtue, he made him wise and called him so. For having given an appropriate name to his transformed disposition, he named him, as the Hebrews would call it, "Abraham," but in the language of the Greeks, "the elect father of sound;" for says he, On what account dost thou investigate the motions and periods of the stars? and why hast thou bounded up so high from the earth to the heavens? Is it merely that you may indulge your curiosity with respect to those matters? And what advantage could accrue to you from all this curiosity? What destruction of pleasure would is cause? What defeat of appetite? What dissolution of pain or fear? What eradication of the passions which disturb and agitate the soul? For as there is no advantage in trees unless they are productive of fruit, so in the same way there is no use in the study of natural philosophy unless it is likely to confer upon a man the acquisition of virtue, for that is its proper fruit. On which account some of the ancients have compared the discussion and consideration of philosophy to a field, and have likened the physical portion of it to the plants, the logical part to the hedges and fences, the moral part to the fruit, thinking that the walls which are built around for the sake of protecting the fruit have been erected by the possessors of the land, and that the plants have been created for the sake of the production of fruit; thus, therefore, they said that in philosophy it is requisite for the consideration of the physical and the logical part of philosophy to be referred to the moral part, by which the moral character is improved, which as a desire at the same time for both the acquisition and the use of virtue. This is the lesson which we have been taught concerning the man who in word indeed had his name changed, but who in reality changed his nature from the consideration of natural to that of moral philosophy, and who abandoned the contemplation of the world itself for the knowledge of the Being who created the world; by which knowledge he acquired piety, the most excellent of all possessions.

11 We will now speak of his wife, Sarah, for she too had her name changed to Sarrah by the addition of the one element, the letter rho. These, then, are the names, and we must now explain what they mean. Sarah, being interpreted, signifies "my authority," but Sarrah signifies "princess;" the former name, therefore, is a symbol of specific virtue, but the latter of generic virtue. But in proportion as genus is superior to species in regard of quantity, in the same proportion does the latter name excel the former; for species is something small and perishable, but genus is numerous and immortal, and the intention of God is to bestow great and immortal things instead of such as are small and perishable, and this is a task suited to his dignity. Now the prudence which exists in the virtuous man is the authority of himself alone, and he who has it would not err if he were to say, my authority is the prudence which is in me; but that which has stretched out this authority is generic prudence, not any longer the authority of this or that person, but absolute intrinsic authority; therefore that which exists only in species will perish at the same time with its possessor, but that which, like a seal, has stamped it with an impression, is free from all mortality, and will remain for ever and ever imperishable. Thus also those arts which exist only in species perish along with those who have acquired them, such as geometricians, grammarians, and musicians, but the generic arts remain exempt from destruction. And, again, he gives an additional sketch of his meaning when he teaches by the same name that every virtue is a princess, and a queen, and a ruler of all the affairs of life.

12 But it has also happened that Jacob had his name changed to Israel ; and this, too, was a felicitous alteration. Why so? Because the name Jacob means "a supplanter," but the name Israel signifies "the man who sees God." Now it is the employment of a supplanter, who practices virtue, to move, and disturb, and upset the foundations of passion on which it is established, and whatever there is of any strength which is founded on them. But these things are not brought about without a struggle or without severe labour; but only when any one, having gone through all the labours of prudence, then proceeds to practice himself in the exercises of the soul and to wrestle against the reasonings which are hostile to it, and which seek to torment it; but it is the part of him who sees God not to depart from the sacred contest without the crown of victory, but rather to carry off the prize of triumph. And what more flourishing and more suitable crown could be woven for the victorious soul than one by which it will be able acutely and clearly to behold the living God? At least a beautiful prize is thus proposed for the soul which delights in the practice of virtue, namely, the being endowed with sight adequate to the clear comprehension of the only thing which is really worth beholding.

13 And it is worth while here to raise the question why Abraham, from the time that his name was changed, is always thought worthy of this same appellation, and is no longer called by his former name; but Jacob, who is also called Israel, is nevertheless called Jacob too, as he was before the change of his name; and, indeed, is called Jacob oftener than Israel. We must say, then, that these facts are characters by which it is seen that the virtue which is taught differs from that which is acquired by practice; for the man who is improved by instruction, having received a happy and virtuous nature, uses that virtue alone which, by means of memory co-operating with it, implants in him an absence of forgetfulness, so that he comprehends and takes firm hold of all the things which he has once learnt; but he who practices virtue, since he is continually exercising himself, stops to take breath, and relaxes his efforts for a while, collecting himself and recovering the vigor which was a little impaired by his exertions, just as those men do who have oiled their bodies for the contests in the arena. For these men, also, labouring at their training exercises, in order to prevent their powers being utterly broken down, anoint themselves with oil on account of the violent and continued nature of their exercise. Then the man who is improved by instruction, having an immortal monitor, receives from him a harmonious and imperishable advantage, without suffering any change; but the practicer of virtue is impelled to action by his own inclination alone, and he exercises himself in it, and labours at it in order to change that passion, which is akin to a created being; and even if he attains to perfection, he still, being fatigued, returns to his ancient kind of labour; for he is more inclined to endure toil, but the other is more fortunate, for he has another person as a teacher. But this man, by his own unassisted efforts, investigates, and inquires, and pushes his examination, investigating the mysteries of nature with great earnestness, and exerting continual and incessant labour. For this reason God, who never changes, altered the name of Abraham, since he was about to remain in a similar condition, in order that that which was to be firmly established might be confirmed by him who was standing firmly, and who was remaining in the same state in the same manner. But it was an angel who altered the name of Jacob, being the Word, the minister of God; in order that it might be confessed and ascertained, that there is none of the things whose existence is subsequent to that of the living God, which is the cause of unchangeable and unvarying firmness. ... but of that harmony which, as in a musical instrument, contains the intensity and relaxation of sounds so as to produce an artistical combination of melody.

14 But, there being three leaders and authors of this race, the two at each extremity of it had their names changed, namely Abraham and Jacob: but the one in the middle, Isaac, always retained the same appellation. Why was this? Because both that virtue which is derived from teaching and that which is attained to by practice, admit of improvement and advancement: for the man who receives instruction desires a knowledge of those matters of which he is ignorant and he who applies himself to practice desires the crowns of victory, and the prizes which are proposed to his industrious and contemplation-loving soul. But the race which is self-taught and which derives all its learning from its own diligence inasmuch as it exists rather by nature than by study, was at the very beginning introduced as equal, and perfect, and even, there being no number whatever deficient of those which tend to completeness. Nor indeed does Joseph have any such need, he who is the president of the necessities of the body; for he also changes his name, being called Psonthomphanech by the king of the country. And what the meaning of these names is we must explain; the name Joseph, being interpreted, signifies "an addition." For things which are put by the side are an addition to those which exist by nature; for instance, gold, silver, possessions, revenues, the ministrations of servants, abundant treasure of heirlooms, and furniture, and other superfluities, and the infinite multitude of the different efficients of pleasure which some persons possess; the provider and superintendant of which was called Joseph, or addition, by a very felicitous nomenclature: since he had undertaken the superintendence of the things which were to be brought in from without, and added to the natural things previously existing in the course of nature. And the sacred scriptures testify that this is the case, showing that he was the purveyor of the food of all the corporeal region, Egypt , having stored it up in his treasure-houses.

15 Such a person as this, then, Joseph is recognised as being by his distinctive marks and name. Let us now see what sort of person is indicated by the name Psonthomphanech. Now this name being interpreted means, "a mouth judging in an answer;" for every foolish person thinks that the man who is very rich and overflowing with external possessions, must at once be wise and sensible, competent to give an answer to any question which any one puts to him, and competent also of his own head to deliver advantageous and sagacious opinions. And, in short, by such men prudence is supposed to be identical with good fortune, while one ought, on the contrary, to consider good fortune as consisting in being prudent; for it is fitting that what is unstable should be under the direction of that which stands firmly. And indeed his father gave to his own uterine brother the name of Benjamin: [Genesis 35:18.] but his mother called him the son of her sorrow, speaking most completely in accordance with nature. For the name Benjamin being interpreted means, "the son of days:" and the day is illuminated by the light of the sun which is perceptible by the outward senses: and to this we liken vain glory. For that has a certain brilliancy appreciable by the outward senses in the praises which it receives from the multitude and from the common herd of men, in formally enrolled decrees, in the erection of statues and images, in purple robes and golden crowns, in chariots and teams of four horses, and processions of the multitude. He therefore who is an admirer and desirer of such things is very appropriately called a son of days: that is to say, of that light which is perceptible by the outward senses and of the brilliancy which attends vain glory. This felicitous and appropriate name the elder word and real father imposes on him; but the soul which has suffered gives him a name suited to what she has suffered. For she calls him the son of her sorrow. Why so? Because those men who are borne about by vain glory are supposed indeed to be happy, but in real truth are unhappy. For the things which oppose their happiness are numerous, envy, discontent, emulation, continual strife, irreconcileable enmities lasting till death, hostilities handed down in succession to one's children's children--a destiny not at all to be desired. Very necessarily therefore did the divinely inspired prophet represent that vain glory as dying in the very act of bringing forth; for says he, "Rachel died, having had a bad Delivery." [Genesis 35:16.] Since, in truth and reality, the sowing and generation of vain glory perceptible by the outward senses is the death of the soul.

16 And what shall we say of the sons of Joseph, Ephraim and Manasseh? Are they not, in strict accordance with nature, compared to the two eldest sons of Jacob, Reuben and Simeon? For the scripture says, "Thy two sons who were born in Egypt , before that I came into Egypt , belong to me; Ephraim and Manasseh shall be to me as Reuben and as Simeon." [Genesis 48:5.] Let us now then see in what manner the one pair are likened to the other pair. Reuben is the symbol of a good natural disposition, for the name being interpreted means, "A seeing son;" since every one who is endowed with tolerable acuteness of mind and a good disposition is capable of seeing; and Ephraim, as we have already frequently said in other places, is a symbol of memory, for his name being interpreted signifies, "productiveness of fruit," and the most excellent fruit of the soul is memory; and there is no one thing so nearly akin to another as remembering is to a man of good natural endowments. Again, the name of Simeon is a symbol of learning and instruction; for, being interpreted, it signifies "listening," and it is the especial part of a learner to listen and attend to what is said. But Manasseh is a symbol of "recollection," for thus that art is called, from forgetfulness; for it must of necessity happen to the man who has advanced out of forgetfulness to recollect, and recollecting especially belongs to learning, for very often his notions escape from the man who is learning, as out of weakness he is unable to retain them, and then again they return to him as at the beginning. The condition therefore which arises from this escaping of his notions is denominated forgetfulness, and that which arises from their returning to him is called recollection. Now is not memory very naturally spoken of as connected with good natural endowments, and recollection as akin to learning? And, indeed, the same relation which Simeon bears to Reuben, that is to say, learning to natural endowment, the same does Manasseh bear to Ephraim, and the same does recollection bear to memory. For as the man of good natural endowments is better than he who is only a learner, for the one resembles the sense of seeing, the other that of hearing, and hearing is always reckoned as entitled to a lesser honour than seeing; so also, he who is endowed with a good memory is at all times superior to him who only recollects, because the one is combined with forgetfulness, but the other continues unalloyed and unadulterated from beginning to end.

17 And indeed the scriptures at one time call the father-in-law of the first prophets Jother, and at another time Raguel-Jother, when pride is flourishing and at its height; for the name Jother being interpreted means "superfluous," and pride is superfluous in an honest and sincere life, turning into

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ridicule, as it does, all that is equal and necessary to life, and honouring the unequal things of excess and covetousness. This passion honours human things above divine, and customs above laws, and profane above sacred things, and mortal above immortal things, and, in short, appearances above reality; and it even ventures of its accord to pass on into the rank of counsellors, suggesting to the wise man not to teach those things which alone are worthy to be known, namely, "the commandments of God, and the Law," [Exodus 18:11.] but to study the covenants and contracts of men with one another, which are almost the causes of the society which exists among them being so little sociable. But the great man is obedient in all things, thinking that little things are adapted to little people, and that great things are justly added to the great; but very often this man who is wise in his own conceit, and who, passing over from the herds which the blind had assigned to him for him to guide, having sought out the divine herd, becomes no small portion of it; admiring the leader of nature, and marveling at his way of leading which he employs in his care of his own flocks, for the name Raguel being interpreted, signifies the "pastoral care of God." [Exodus 2:18.]

18 The main part has now been explained; we will now proceed to adduce the proofs. In the first place the scripture represents him as the cultivator of judgement and of justice, for the name Midian, being interpreted, means "out of judgement." And this is said in a twofold sense, for some times it signifies both selection and rejection, such as usually happens to those who are competitors in those contests which are called sacred; for numbers as they appear not qualified, are rejected by the masters of the games. These are the men who have been initiated in the unholy rites of Beelphegor,[Numbers 25:3.] and having widened all the mouths of the body to enable them to receive the streams which are poured into them from without, for the name Beelphegor is interpreted "the mouth above the skin," for they have overwhelmed the mind, the governor of the body, and have sunk it down to the lowest depth, so that it can never emerge, nor even hold up its head in ever so slight a degree. And it suffered this until Phineas, the lover of peace and manifest priest of God, came as a champion of his own accord, being by nature a hater of all that is evil, and filled with an admiration and desire for what is good; and as he took a coadjutor, that is to say, the well sharpened and sharp-edged sword, competent to investigate and examine everything, he could not be deceived, but exerting a vigorous strength, he pierced passion through her womb, that it might not hereafter bring forth any divinely caused evil. Now between these men and the seeing race there is a terrible war, in which no one of the combatants differed in language,[Exodus 31:29] but each returned home unwounded and safe, crowned with the garlands of victory.

19 This now is one of the things which are shown by the name of Midian; another is that more excellent and judicial species which by the affinity of marriage is connected with the prophetic race. The scripture then says, "The priest of judgement and justice" (that is to say, of Midian) "has seven Daughters;" [Exodus 2:16.] 1by which seven daughters are frequently intimated the powers of the irrational part of the soul, the power of generation and the voice, and the five outward senses, tending the flocks of their father; for by means of these seven powers it is that all the progresses and increases of their father, the mind, exist in the perceptions which are produced from him. These, then, coming each to its appropriate object, the power of sight to colours and shapes, the sense of hearing to sounds, the faculty of smelling to scents, taste to flavours, and all the other faculties to those objects which are adapted for their exercise do in a manner imbibe some of the external objects of the outward senses, until they have filled all the channels of the soul, and from these channels they give drink to the sheep of their father; I mean by these sheep that most pure flock of the reason which bears safety and ornament at the same time. But the companions of envy and jealousy, the leaders of the wicked herd coming up, drive them away from that use of their powers which is in accordance with nature, for some conduct these things which are without, inwards to the mind as to a judge and a king, in order that they may do well from having the most excellent of governors; but others take the opposite side, pursuing and proclaiming the exact contrary, while it is possible for the mind to be drawn towards them, and to give up the flock which was entrusted to it to Feed. [this passage is very corrupt in the original. I have followed Mangey in adopting the corrections of Marsland.] Until the good disposition, devoted to virtue and inspired by God, which for awhile has appeared to be resting in inactivity, by name Moses, holds his shield over them and defends them from those who would attack them, nourishing the flock of his father on wholesome words, and they having escaped the attack of the enemies of intellect who admire only the external appendages, like people in tragedies, go no longer to Jother but to Raguel, for they have abandoned all connexions with pride, and having connected themselves with lawful persuasion, choosing to become a portion of the sacred flock, of which the divine word is the leader, as his name shows, for it signifies the pastoral care of God.

20 But while he is taking care of his own flock, all kinds of good things are given all at once to those of the sheep who are obedient, and who do not resist his will; and in the Psalms we find a song in these words, "The Lord is my shepherd, therefore shall I lack Nothing;" [psalm 23:1.] therefore the mind which has had the royal shepherd, the divine word, for its instructor, will very naturally ask of his seven daughters, "Why is it that you have contended with such great haste to come hither this Day?" [Exodus 2:18.] for formerly, when you met with the objects of the outward sense, remaining a long time outside, you were a long time in returning again by reason of the manner in which you were allured by them, but now I do not know what it is that has happened to you, but you are speedy in your return, contrary to your usual custom. Therefore they will say that there were not the same causes why they should run back with such exceeding speed, making the double course from the objects of the outward sense and to the objects of the outward sense, without stopping to take breath, and with excessive impetuosity; but that the cause was rather the man who delivered them from the shepherds of the wild flock. And they call Moses an Egyptian, a man who was not only a Hebrew, but even a Hebrew of the very purest race, of the only tribe which is consecrated, because they are unable to rise above their own nature; for the outward senses, being on the confines between the objects of the intellect and those of the outward senses, we must be content if they aim at both of them, and are not allured by the objects of the outward sense alone. And to think that they are inclined only to attend to the things which are purely objects of the intellect is great folly; on which account they give him both these names, since when they call him a man, they indicate the things which are within the province of reason alone to contemplate, and when they call him an Egyptian, they indicate the objects of the external senses. When they had heard this, he will again inquire, "Where is the man?" In what part of you is the reasonable species dwelling? Why have you left it so easily, and have not rather after having once met with it, preserved that which was the most beautiful of possessions, and the most advantageous for yourselves? But even if you have not done so before, at least call it to you now, that it may eat of and be supported by your improvement and your close connexion with him; for perhaps he will even dwell with you, and will bring with him the winged, and divinely inspired, and prophetical race by name Zipporah.

21 Thus much we have thought fit to say on this subject. But, moreover, Moses also changes the name of Hosea into that of Joshua; displaying by his new name the distinctive qualities of his character; for the name Hosea is interpreted, "what sort of a person is this?" but Joshua means "the salvation of the Lord," being the name of the most excellent possible character; for the habits are better with respect to those persons who are of such and such qualities from being influenced by them: as, for instance, music is better in a musician, physic in a physician, and each art of a distinctive quality in each artist, regarded both in its perpetuity, and in its power, and in its unerring perfection with regard to the objects of its speculation. For a habit is something everlasting, energizing, and perfect; but a man of such and such a quality is mortal, the object of action, and imperfect. And what is imperishable is superior to what is mortal, the efficient cause is better than that which is the object of action; and what is perfect is preferable to what is imperfect. In this way the coinage of the above mentioned description was changed and received the stamp of a better kind of appearance. And Caleb himself was changed wholly and entirely; "For," as the scripture says, "a new spirit was in Him;" [Numbers 14:24.] as if the dominant part in him had been changed into complete perfection; for the name Caleb, being interpreted, means "the whole heart." And a proof of this is to be gathered from the fact that the mind is changed, not by being biassed and inclining in one particular direction or the other, but wholly and entirely in the direction which is good; and that, even if there is any thing which is not very praiseworthy indeed, it makes that to depart by arguments conducive to repentance; for, having in this manner washed off all the defilements which polluted it, and having availed itself of the baths and purifications of wisdom, it must inevitably look brilliant.

22 But it happens to the arch-prophet to have many names: for when he interprets and explains the oracles which are delivered by God, he is called Moses; and when he prays for and blesses the people, he is called the man of God;[Deuteronomy 33:1.] and when Egypt is paying the penalty of its impious actions, he is then denominated the god of him who is the king of the country, namely, of Pharaoh. [Exodus 7:1.] And why is all this? Because to alter a code of laws for the advantage of those who are to use them is the part of a man who is always handling divine things, and having them in his hands; and who is called a lawgiver by the allknowing God, and who has received from him a great gift--the interpretation of the sacred laws, and the spirit of prophecy in accordance with them. For the name Moses, being translated, signifies "gain," and it also means handling, for the reasons which I have already enumerated. 2But to pray and to bless are not the duties of any ordinary man, but they belong to one who has not admitted any connexion with created things, but who has devoted himself to God, the governor and the father of all men. And any one must be content to whom it has been allowed to use the privilege of blessing. And to be able also to procure good for others belongs to a greater and more perfect soul, and is the profession of one who is really inspired by God, which he who has attained to may reasonably be called God. But also, this same person is God, inasmuch as he is wise, and as on this account he rules over every foolish person, even if such foolish person be established and strengthened by a haughty sceptre, and be ever so proud on this account; for the Ruler of the universe, even though some persons are about to be punished for intolerable acts of wickedness, nevertheless is willing to admit some intercessors to mediate on their behalf, who, in imitation of the merciful power of the father, exercise their power of punishment with more moderation and humanity; but to do good is the peculiar attribute of God.

23 Having now discussed at sufficient length the subject of change and alteration of names, we will turn to the matters which come next in order in our proposed examination. Immediately after the events which we have just mentioned, came the birth of Isaac; for after God had given to his mother the name of Sarrah instead of Sarah, he said to Abraham, "I will give unto thee a Son." [Genesis 17:16.] We must consider each of the things here indicated particularly. Now he who is properly said to give any thing whatever must by all means be giving what is his own private property. And if this is true beyond controversy, then it would follow that Isaac must not have been a man, but a being synonymous with that most exquisite joy of all pleasures, namely, laughter, the adopted son of God, who gave him as a soother and cheerer to the most peace-loving souls; for it is absurd to suppose that there was one who was a man, and another of whom bastard and illegitimate offspring were descended: and, indeed, Moses calls the man of an intellect devoted to virtue a god, when he says, "The Lord, seeing that Leah was hated, opened her Womb." [Genesis 29:31.] For having felt compassion and pity for virtue as being hated by the race of mankind, and for the soul which loves virtue, he makes the nature which loves beauty barren, but opens the fountain of fecundity and gives it a prosperous labour. But Tamar, when she became pregnant of divine seeds, and did not know who it was who had sown them (for it is said that at that time "she had covered her face," as Moses did when he turned away, having a reverential fear of beholding God), still when she saw the tokens and the evidences and decided within herself that it was not a mortal man who gave these things, cried out, "To whomsoever these things belong, it is by him that I am with Child." [Genesis 38:25.] Whose was the ring, or the pledge, or the seal of the whole, or the archetypal appearance, according to which all the things, though devoid of species and of distinctive quality, were all stamped and marked? And whose again was the armlet, or the ornament; that is to say, destiny, the link and analogy of all things which have an indissoluble connexion? Whose, again, was the staff, the thing of strong support, which wavers not, which is not moved; that is to say, admonition, correction, instruction? Whose is the sceptre, the kingly power? does it not belong to God alone? Therefore, the disposition inclined to confession, that is to say, Judah, being pleased at her possessed and inspired condition, speaks freely, saying, "She has spoken justly, because I gave her in marriage to no mortal Man;" [Genesis 17:26.] thinking it an impious thing to pollute divine with profane things.

24 And wisdom, which, after the fashion of a mother, has conceived and brought fourth the self-taught race, points out that it is God who is the sower of it; for, after the offspring is brought forth, she speak magnificently, saying, "The Lord has caused me Laughter;" [Genesis 21:6.] an expression equivalent to, he has fashioned, he has made, he has begotten Isaac, since Isaac is the same with laughter. 3But it does not belong to every one to hear this sound, since the evil of superstition is very widely spread among us, and has overwhelmed many unmanly and ignoble souls; on which account she adds, "For whoever hears this will not rejoice with me." As if those persons were very few whose ears are opened and pricked up so as to be inclined to the reception of these sacred words, which teach that it is the peculiar employment of the only God to sow and to beget what is good; to which words all other persons are deaf. 3And I know that this illustrious oracle was formerly delivered from the mouth of the prophet. "Thy fruit has been found from me: who is wise and will understand these things? who is prudent and will know Them?" [Hosea 14:9.] But I have observed, and comprehended, and admired him who causes to resound, and who himself, invisible as he is, does in an invisible manner strike the organ of the voice; being amazed also at the same time at what was uttered. For if there be any good thing among existing things, that, or I should rather say the whole heaven and the whole world, if one must tell the truth, is the fruit of God; being preserved upon his eternal and everflourishing nature as upon a tree. But it belongs to wise

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and understanding men to understand and to confess such things as these, and not to the ignorant.

25 We have now then explained what is meant by the words, "I will give unto thee." We must now explain the words, "out of her." Some now have understood them as meaning that which exists out of her, thinking that it has been most correctly decided by right reason that the soul never displays any peculiar beauty of its own, but only such as comes to it from without, in accordance with the greatness of the good will of God who showers his graces upon it. But others understand these words to mean instant rapidity; for that the words (ex autęus, which we have translated) "out of her," are here equivalent to, "at once, immediately, without any delay, without hesitation." And it is in this way that the gifts of God usually come to men, outstripping the differences of time. There is a third class of persons who say, that virtue is the mother of all created good, without having received the seed of it from any mortal man; 4and to those who ask, whether she who is barren has an offspring (for the holy scriptures, which some time ago represented Sarrah as barren, now confess that she will become a mother); this answer must be given, that a woman who is barren cannot, in the course of nature, bring forth an offspring, just as a blind man cannot see, nor a deaf man hear; but that the soul, which is barren of bad things, and which is unproductive of immoderate license of the passions and vices, is alone very nearly attaining to a happy delivery, bringing forth objects worthy of love, namely, the number seven, according to the hymn which is sung by Grace, that is, by Hannah, who says, "she who was barren hath born seven, and she who had many children has become weak:" [1Samuel 2:5.] and what she means by, "She who has many children," is the mind, which being pregnant of mixed and promiscuous reasonings, from all quarters confused together, by reason of the multitudes which crowd around her, and of the disorder which they cause, brings forth incurable evils; and by "she who was barren," she means that the mind which had never received any mortal seed, as if it were productive of offspring, but has avoided and shunned all association and all connexion with the wicked, and clings to the seventh, and to the most peaceful numbers in accordance with it, for it deserves to be pregnant of it, and to be called its mother.

26 This then is the meaning of the words, "out of her." We must now consider the third point, namely, what that is which is called her son. In the first place, then, there is this worthy of our admiration, that God does not say that he will give her many children, but that he will give her one only. And why is this? Because it is the nature of what is good to be investigated, not so much with respect to its number or magnitude, as with respect to its power; 4for musical precepts, to take them for an instance, or rules of grammar, or of geometry, or of justice, or of wisdom, or of manly courage, or of temperance, are very numerous indeed; but the science itself of music, or grammar, or geometry, and still more the virtue of justice, or temperance, or wisdom, or manly courage, is only one thing, the loftiest perfection, in no respect differing from the archetypal model, after which all those numerous and countless precepts were formed. And this is why he only says that he will give her one son. And now he called it a son, not speaking carelessly or inconsiderately, but for the sake of showing that it is not a foreign, or a supposititious, nor an adopted, nor an illegitimate child, but a legitimate child, a proper citizen, inasmuch as a foreign child cannot be the offspring of a truly citizen soul, for the Greek word teknon (son), is derived from tokos (bringing forth), by way of showing the kindred by which children are, by nature, united to their parents.

27 And, says God, "I will bless her, and she shall be a mother of Nations;" [Genesis 17:16.] because, not only is generic virtue divided into its proximate species, and into individuals subordinate to the species, as if into nations; but also because, as there are nations of living animals, so in a manner are there nations of things, to which virtue is a very great advantage; for all things which are devoid and destitute of wisdom are mischievous, just as all places upon which the sun does not shine are of necessity dark; for it is by virtue that a farmer is able to pay better attention to his crops, and by virtue that a charioteer drives his chariot in the horse-races so as to avoid falling; and by virtue too, that a pilot and a steersman guides his vessel in its voyage. Virtue again has caused houses, and cities, and countries to be inhabited in a better manner, making men competent to manage houses and cities, and fit to associate with one another. Virtue has also introduced most excellent laws, and has sown the seeds of peace everywhere; since, from the contrary habit, things of a contrary character do naturally arise--war, lawlessness, bad constitutions, confusion, unnecessary voyages, overthrows, that which, in science, is the most grievous of all diseases, namely, cunning, from which, instead of art, all kinds of evil artifice has flowed. Very necessarily, therefore, will virtue be divided among all nations, which are large and collected systems of living beings and things taken together, for the advantage of those who receive her.

28 Immediately afterwards it is said, "And kings of the nations shall be born of her." For those with whom she is pregnant and whom she brings forth are all rulers; not because they have been elected as such for a short period by lot, which is an uncertain thing, or by the show of hands of men who are for the most part bribed, but because they have been destined and appointed so for everlasting by nature herself. And these are not my words only, but those of the most holy scriptures, in which certain persons are introduced as saying to Abraham, "Thou art a king from God among Us;" [Genesis 23:6.] not out of consideration for his resources (for what resources could a man have who was an emigrant and who had no city to inhabit, but who was wandering over a great extent of impassable country?), but because they saw that he had a royal disposition in his mind, so that they confessed, in the words of Moses, that he was the only wise king. For in real truth the wise man is the king of those who are foolish, since he knows what he ought and what he ought not to do; and the temperate man is the king of the intemperate, as he has attained to no careless or inaccurate knowledge of what relates to choice and avoidance. Also the brave man is king over the cowardly, inasmuch as he has thoroughly learnt what he ought to endure and what he ought not. So too the just man is king of the unjust, as he is possessed of the knowledge of undeviating equality as to what is to be distributed. And the holy man is king over the unholy, as he is possessed with the most just and excellent notions of God.

29 It was natural then for the mind, being puffed up by these promises, to be elated and raised to an undue height in its own estimation; and accordingly, by way of producing conviction in us, who were accustomed to hold up our heads at the slightest trifles, "it falls down and immediately laughs the laughter of the soul," looking mournful as to its face, but smiling in its mind a great and unmixed joy having entered into it: and both these feelings, namely, to laugh and also to fall, do at the same time occur to a wise man who inherits good things beyond his expectation; the one being his fate, as a proof that he is not over-proud because of his thorough knowledge of his mortal nothingness; and the other, by way of a confirmation of his piety on account of his looking upon God as the sole cause of all graces and of all good things. Let, then, the creature fall down and wear a melancholy countenance very naturally; for it has no stability in its own nature, and as far as that goes is easily dissolved; but let it be raised up again by God, and laugh, for he alone is the support and joy of it. And here any one may reasonably express a doubt how it is possible for any one to laugh when laughter had not as yet come among one branch of the creation; for Isaac is laughter, who, according to the account under our consideration at present, was not yet born. For just as it is impossible to see without eyes, or to hear without ears, or to smell without nostrils, or to exert any other of the external senses without the organs adapted to each respectively, or to comprehend without the reason, so also it is not likely that a person can have laughed, if laughter had not as yet been made. What, then, are we to say? Nature foreshows many of the things which are hereafter to happen by certain symbols. Do you not see how the young bird, before it commits itself to the air, is fond of fluttering its wings and shaking its pinions, giving a previous happy indication of its hope that it will be able to fly? 5And have you never seen a lamb, or a kid, or an ox, while still young, and before his horns are as yet grown and noticed, if by chance any one irritates him, how he opposes him, and moves forward to defend himself with those parts in which nature has planted his arms for defense? 6And in the battles which take place with wild beasts, the bulls do not at once gore the adversaries who are opposed to them, but standing well apart, and relaxing their neck in a moderate degree and bending their heads on one side, and looking fierce, as it were, they then, after a truce, rush on with the determination of persevering in the contest. And this sort of conduct those who are in the habit of inventing new words call "sparring," being a sort of sham attack before the real one.

30 And the soul is subject to many things of much the same kind. For when something good is hoped for it rejoices beforehand, so that in a manner it rejoices before its joy, and is delighted before its delight. And one may also compare this to what happens with respect to plants; for they, too, when they are about to bear fruit, bud beforehand and flower previously, and are green previously. 6Look at the cultivated vine, how marvelously it is furnished by nature with young shoots, and tendrils, and suckers, and leaves redolent of wine, which, though they utter no voice, do nevertheless indicate the joy of the tree at the coming fruit. And the day also laughs in anticipation of the early dawn, when the sun is about to rise; for one ray is a messenger of another, and one beam of light, as the forerunner of another though more obscure, is still a herald of that which shall be brighter. Therefore, joy accompanies a good when it is already arrived, and hope while it is expected. For we rejoice when it is come, and we hope while it is coming; just as in the case also with the contrary feelings; for the presence of evil brings us grief, and the expectation of evil generates fear, and fear is nothing more than grief before grief, as hope is joy before joy. For the same relation that, I imagine, fear bears to grief, that same does hope bear to joy. And the external senses afford very manifest proofs of what has now been said; for smell, sitting as it were in front of taste, pronounces judgement beforehand on almost every thing which is eaten and drunk; from which fact some persons have very felicitously named it the foretaster, having a regard to its employment. And so hope is by nature adapted to have as it were a foretaste of the coming good: and to represent it to the soul, which is to have a firm possession of it. Moreover, when any one who is engaged in a journey is hungry or thirsty, if he on a sudden sees a fountain or all kinds of trees weighed down with eatable fruits, he is at once filled with a hope of enjoyment, not only before he has either eaten or drunk, but before he has either come near them or gathered of them. And do we then think that we are able to feast on the nourishment of the body before we receive it, but that the food of the mind is not able to render us cheerful beforehand, even when we are on the very point of feasting on it?

31 He laughed then very naturally, even though laughter did not as yet appear to have been scattered among the human race: and not only did he laugh but the woman also laughed; for it is said presently, "And Sarrah laughed in herself, saying, There has never up to the present time come any good unto me of its own accord without care on my part; but he who has promised is my Lord, and is older than all creation, and him I must of necessity believe." And at the same time it also teaches us that virtue is naturally a thing to be rejoiced at, and that he who possesses it is at all times rejoiced; and, on the contrary, that vice is a painful thing, and that he who possesses that is most miserable. And do we even now marvel at those philosophers who affirm that virtue consists in apathy? For, behold, Moses is found to be the leader of this wise doctrine, as he represents the good man as rejoicing and laughing. And in other passages he not only speaks of him in that way, but also of all those who come to the same place with him; for he says, "And when he seeth thee he will rejoice in Himself;" [Exodus 4:14.] as if the bare sight of a good man were by itself sufficient to fill the mind with cheerfulness while the soul would cast off its most fearful burden, sorrow. But it is not allowed to every wicked man to rejoice, as it is said in the predictions of the prophet, "There is no rejoicing for the wicked, says God." [Isaiah 47:22.] For this is truly a divine saying and oracle, that the life of every wicked man is melancholy, and sad, and full of unhappiness, even if with his face he pretends to feel happiness; 7for I should not say that the Egyptians rejoiced in reality when they heard that the brethren of Joseph were come, but that they only feigned joy, putting on a false appearance like hypocrites; for no convictor, when standing by and pressing upon a foolish man is a pleasure to him, just as no physician is to an intemperate man who is sick; for labour attends on what is useful, and laziness on what is hurtful. And those who prefer laziness to labour are very naturally hated by those who advise them to a course which will be useful and labourious. When, therefore, you hear that "Pharaoh and all his servants rejoiced on account of the arrival of Joseph's Brethren," [Genesis 45:16.] do not think that they rejoiced in reality, unless perhaps in this sense, that they expected that he would become changed from the good things of the soul in which he had been brought up, and would come over to the profitless appetites of the body, having adulterated the ancient and hereditary coinage of that virtue which was akin to him.

32 The mind, then, which is devoted to pleasure, having entertained these hopes, does not think that it is sufficient to attract the younger men, and those who are as yet only attending the school of temperance, by its allurements; but it looks upon it as a terrible thing, if it cannot also bring over the elder reasoning, the more impetuous passions of which have now passed their prime; 7for in a subsequent passage Joseph says to them, proposing injuries to them as though they were benefits, "Now, therefore, bringing with you your father and all your possessions, come hither to Me;" [Genesis 45:18.] speaking in this way of Egypt and of that terrible king who drags back all our paternal inheritance and the good things which really belong to us and which have advanced beyond the body (for by nature they are free), endeavoring by force to surrender them to a very bitter prison, having, as the holy scripture tells us, "appointed as guardian of the prison Pentaphres, the eunuch and chief Cook," [Genesis 39:1.] who was a man in great want of all that is good, and who had been deprived of the generative parts of the soul; and who was also unable to sow and to plant any of those things which bear upon instruction; but who like a cook slew the living animals, and cut them up and divided them in different portions limb by limb, and who wallowed about in dead and lifeless bodies and things equally, and who, by his superfluous preparations and refinements, excited and stirred up the appetites of the profitless passions, while it was natural to expect that those who were able to tame them should mollify. And he also says, "I will give unto you all the good things of Egypt , and you shall eat of the marrow of the Earth." [Genesis 45:18.] But we will say unto him, We who keep our eyes fixed on the good

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things of the soul do not desire those of the body. For that most delicious desire of the former things, when once implanted in the mind, is well calculated to engender a forgetfulness of all those things which are dear to the flesh.

33 Something like this, then, is the falsely named joy of the foolish. But the true joy has already been described, which is adapted only to the virtuous, "Therefore, falling down he Laughed." [Genesis 17:17.] Not falling from God, but from himself; for he stood near the unchangeable God, but he fell from his own vain opinion. On which account that pride which was wise in its own conceit, having been thrown down, and the feeling which is devoted to God having been raised in its place, and been established around the only unalterable being, he, immediately laughing, said in his mind, "Shall a child be born to one who is a hundred years old, and shall Sarrah, who is ninety years old, have a child?" 7Do not fancy, my good friend, that the word, "he said" not with his mouth but "in his Mind," [Genesis 17:20.] has been added for no especial use; on the contrary, it is inserted with great accuracy and propriety. Why so? Because it seems by his saying, "Shall a child be born to him who is a hundred years old?" that he had a doubt about the birth of Isaac, in which he was previously stated to believe; as what was predicted a little before showed, speaking thus, "This child shall not be thy heir, but he who shall come out of thee;" and immediately afterward he says, "Abraham believed in the Lord, and it was counted to him for righteousness." Since then it was not consistent for one who had already believed to doubt, he has represented the doubt as of no long continuance, extending only as far as the mouth of the tongue, and stopping there at the mind which is endowed with such celerity of motion; for, says the scripture, "he said in his mind," which nothing, and no person ever so celebrated for swiftness of foot, could ever be able to outstrip, since it outruns even all the winged natures; on which account the most illustrious of all of the Greek poets appears to me to have said:--"Swift as a winged bird or fleeter Thought." [homer, Odyssey 8.171.]

Showing by these words the exceeding speed of its promptitude, placing the thought after the winged bird as a sort of climax; for the mind advances at the same moment to very many things and bodies, hurrying on with indescribable impetuosity, and without a moment's lapse of time it speeds at once to the borders of both earth and sea, bringing together and dividing infinite magnitudes by a single word; and at the same time it soars to such a height above the earth, that it penetrates through the air and reaches even the aether, and scarcely stops at the very furthest circle of the fixed stars. 8For the fervid and glowing heat of that region does not suffer to to rest tranquil; on which account, overleaping many things, it is borne far beyond every boundary perceptible by the outward senses, to that which is compounded of ideas and appearances by the law of kindred. On which account in the good man there is a slight change, indivisible, unapportionable, not perceptible by the outward senses, but only by the intellect, and being in a manner independent of them.

34 But, perhaps, some one may say, What then? is he who has once believed bound never to admit the slightest trace, or shadow, or moment of incredulity at all? But this man appears to me to have nothing else in his mind except an idea of proving the creature uncreated, and the mortal immortal, and the corruptible incorruptible, and man, if it be lawful to say so, God. 8For he says that the belief which man has once conceived ought to be so firm as in no respect to differ from that which is entertained of the truly living God and which is complete in every part; for Moses, in his greater hymn, says, "God is faithful, and there is no unrighteousness in Him." [Deuteronomy 32:4.] 8And it is great folly to fancy that the soul of man is able to contain the virtues of God, which never vary and which are established on the most solid footing; for it is sufficient, and one must be content to have been able to acquire the images of them, though they are inferior to the archetypal patterns by many and large numbers. And is not this reasonable? for it follows of necessity that the virtues of God must be pure and unmixed, since God is not a compound being, inasmuch as he is a single nature; on the other hand, the virtues of men must be mixed with some alloy, since we ourselves are compounds, the divine and human nature being combined in us, and adapted together according to the principles of perfect music; and that which is composed of many separate things has a natural attraction to each of its parts. 8But he is happy to whom it has happened that for the greater portion of his life he has inclined towards the more excellent and more divine part; for that he should have done so all his life is impossible, since at times the mortal weight which is opposed to him has preponderated in the opposite scale, and impending over his mind, has kept watch for the opportunities of coming upon his reason at an unfavourable time, so as to drag it back again.

35 Abraham therefore believed in God; but he believed as a man; that you may be aware of the peculiar attribute of mortals, and may learn that his fall did not happen to him in any other way than in consequence of the ordinances of nature. And if it was of short duration and only momentary, it is a thing to be thankful for: for many other men have been so overturned by the violence and impetuosity of error, and by its irresistible force, that they have been utterly destroyed for ever. For know, my good man, that, according to the most holy Moses, virtue is not perfect in the human body, but it suffers something like torpor, and is often ever so little lame. For says the scripture, "The broader part of his thigh became torpid, on which he was Lame." [Genesis 32:25.] And perhaps some man of an over-confident disposition may come forward and say that this is not the language of one who disbelieves, but of one praying, so that if that most excellent of all the happy feelings were about to be produced, it would not be brought forth according to any other number than that of ninety years, that so the perfect good might arrive at its production according to perfect numbers. 8But the aforesaid numbers are perfect, and especially according to the sacred scriptures. And let us consider each of them: now first of all there is the son of the just Noah and the ancestor of the seeing race, and he is said to have been a hundred years old when he begat Arphaxad, [Genesis 11:10.] and the meaning of the name of Arphaxad is, "he disturbed sorrow." At all events it is a good thing that the offspring of the soul should confuse, and disorder, and destroy that miserable thing iniquity, so full of evils. 9But Abraham also planted a field, [Genesis 21:33.] using the ratio of an hundred for the measurement of the ground: and Isaac found some barley yielding a hundred Fold. [Genesis 26:12.] And Moses also made the vestibule of the sacred tabernacle in a hundred arches, [Exodus 27:9.] measuring out the distance towards the east and towards the west. Moreover the ratio of a hundred is the first fruit of the first fruit which the Levites assign to those who are consecrated to the priesthood; [Numbers 18:28.] for after they have taken the tenth from the nation they are enjoined to give unto the priests a sacred tenth of the whole share, as if from their own possessions. And if a person were to consider, he might find many other instances to the praise of the aforesaid number brought forward in the law of Moses, but for the present what have been enumerated are sufficient. But if from the hundred you set aside the tenth part as a sacred first fruit to God who produces, and increases, and brings to perfection the fruit of the soul--for how can it be anything but perfect, inasmuch as it is on the confines between the first and the tenth, in the same manner in which the Holy of Holies is separated by the veil in the middle. [...] [there is an hiatus in the text here.] by which those things which are of the same genus are divided according to the differences in species?

36 Therefore the good man was speaking and saying things which were really good in his mind. But the bad man at times interprets good things in a very excellent manner, but nevertheless does shameful things in a most shameful one, as Shechem does who is the offspring of folly. For he is the son of Hamon his father, and the name Hamon, being translated, means "an ass," but the Shechem means "a shoulder" when interpreted, the symbol of labour. But that labour of which folly is the parent is miserable and full of suffering, as, on the other hand, that labour is useful to which prudence is related. Accordingly the holy scriptures tell us that, "Shechem spake according to the mind of the virgin, having first humbled Her." [Genesis 34:3.] It is not said then, with great purpose and accuracy, that he spake according to the mind of the damsel, for the purpose of showing distinctly that he acted in a contrary manner to that in which he spoke? For Dinah means "incorruptible judgement:" justice the attribute seated by God, the everlasting virgin; for the name Dinah, being interpreted, means either thing, "judgement" or "justice." Fools, then, laying violent hands upon and attempting to defile her, by means of their daily designs and practices, by their plausibility of speech escape conviction. Therefore they must either act in a manner consistent with the language that they hold, or else they must hold their tongues while committing iniquity. For it is said, "Silence is one half of evil:" as Moses says when rebuking the man who accounted the creature worthy of the principal honour, and the immortal God worthy only of the second place, "Thou has sinned, be silent." For to use bombastic language, and to boast of one's evil deeds, is a double sin: and men in general are very prone to this; for they are constantly saying what is pleasing to the ever-virgin virtue, and such things as are just: but they never omit any opportunity of insulting and violating her when they are able. For what city is there which is not full of those who are continually celebrating the praises of virtue?--9men who weary the ears of those who hear them by everlastingly dwelling on such subjects as these; wisdom is a necessary good; folly is pernicious; temperance is desirable; intemperance is hateful; courage is a thing proper to be cultivated; cowardice must be avoided; justice is advantageous; injustice is disadvantageous; holiness is honourable; unholiness is shameful; piety towards the gods is praiseworthy; impiety is blamable; that which is most akin to the nature of man is to design, and to act, and to speak virtuously; that which is most alien from his nature is to do the contrary of all these things. By continually stringing together these and similar aphorisms they deceive the courts of justice, and the council chambers, and the theatres, and every assembly and company which they meet; as men who put beautiful masks on ugly faces, with the intention of not being discovered by those who see them. 9But it is of no use; for some persons will come endowed with great vigor, and occupied with a real zeal and admiration for virtue, and who will strip them of all their coverings, and disguises, and appendages which they had woven round themselves by the evil artifice of plausible speeches, and will display their soul naked by itself as it really is, and will make themselves acquainted with the secret things of their nature which are hidden as it were in recesses. And then having brought to light all its shame and all the reproaches to which it is liable, they will display them in broad daylight to every one, and show what sort of thing it is, how disgraceful and ridiculous, and what a spurious kind of beauty it has disguised itself with by means of its appendages and coverings. And those who are prepared to avenge themselves on such profane and impure dispositions are Simeon and Levi, [Deuteronomy 33:6.] two indeed in number, but only one in mind; on which account, in his blessings of his sons, their father numbers them together under one classification, on account of the harmonious character of their unanimity and of their violence in one and the same direction. But Moses does not make any mention of them afterwards as a pair, but classes the whole tribe of Simeon under that of Levi, combining together two essences, of which he made one impressed as it were with one idea and appearance, hearing to doing.

37 When, therefore, the virtuous man knew that the promise was uttering things full of reverence and prudent caution, according to his own mind, he admitted both these feelings into his breast, namely, faith in God, and incredulity as to the creature. Very naturally therefore he says, using the language of entreaty, "Would that this Ishmael might live before Thee," [Genesis 17:18.] using each word of those which he utters here with deliberate propriety, namely, the "this," the "might live," the "before thee." For it is no small number of persons who have been deceived by the similarity of the names of different things, and we had better examine here what I am saying. The name of Ishmael, being interpreted, means "the hearing of God," but some men listen to the divine doctrines to their benefit, and others listen to both his admonitions and to those of others only to their destruction. Do you recollect the case of the soothsayer Balaam? [Numbers 24:17.] He is represented as hearing the oracles of God, and as having received knowledge from the Most High, but what advantage did he reap from such hearing, and what good accrued to him from such knowledge? In his intention he endeavored to injure the most excellent eye of the soul, which alone has received such instruction as to be able to behold God, but he was unable to do so by reason of the invincible power of the Saviour; therefore, being overthrown by his own insane wickedness, and having received many wounds, he perished amid the heaps of wounded, [Numbers 31:8.] because he had stamped beforehand the divinely inspired prophecies with the sophistry of the soothsayers. Very righteously, therefore, does the good man pray that this his only son, Ishmael, may be sound in mind and health, because of those persons who do not listen in a sincere spirit to the sacred admonitions, whom Moses has expressly forbidden to come into the assembly of the Ruler of the universe, for those men are broken as to the generative parts of their minds, or are even rendered completely impotent in that respect, who magnify their own minds, and their external sense, as the only causes of all the events which take place among men; and there are others who are lovers of a system of polytheism, and who honour the company which is devoted to the service of many gods, being the sons of a harlot, having no knowledge of the one husband and father of the virtue-loving soul, namely, God; and are not all these men very properly driven away and banished from the assembly of God? They appear to me very much to resemble those parents who accuse their sons of intemperance in wine, for they say, "This our son is Disobedient," [Deuteronomy 21:20.] indicating, by the addition of the word "this," that they have other sons likewise who are temperate and self-denying, and who obey the injunctions of right reason and instruction; for these are the most genuine parents, by whom it is a most disgraceful thing to be accused, and a most glorious thing to be praised. Then as to the words, "This is Aaron and Moses, whom God directed to lead the children of Israel out of Egypt ," [Exodus 6:26.] and the expression, "These are those who conversed with Pharaoh the king." Let us not think that they are used superfluously, or that they do not convey some intimations beyond the mere open meaning of the words; for since Moses is the purest mind, and Aaron is his speech, and moreover, since the mind has been taught to think of divine things in a divine manner, and since the speech has learnt to interpret holy things in holy language, the sophists imitating them, and adulterating the genuine coinage, say, that they also conceive rightly, and speak in a praiseworthy manner about what is most excellent. In order, therefore, that we may not be deceived by a placing of the base money in juxtaposition with the good, by reason of the similitude of the impression, he has given us a test by which they may be distinguished. What then

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is the test? To bring out of the region of the body the mind, endowed with the power of seeing, fond of contemplation and philosophical; for he who can do this is the same Moses; and he who is unable really to do so, but who is only said to be able, and who makes professions with infinite pomp and magnitude of language, is laughed at. But he prays that Ishmael may live, not meaning to refer to the life in conjunction with the body, but he prays that the divine voice, dwelling for evermore in his soul, may awaken and vivify it.

38 And he indeed prays that the hearing of sacred words and the learning of sacred doctrine may live, as has been already said; but Jacob, the practicer of virtue, prays that the good natural disposition may live; for he says, "May Reuben live and not Die," [Deuteronomy 33:6.] does he then here pray for immortality for him, a thing impossible for man to attain to? Surely not, we must then explain what it is which he intends to signify. All the lessons and all the admonitions of instruction are built up and established on the nature which is calculated to receive instruction, as on a foundation previously laid; but if there is no natural foundation previously in existence, everything is useless; for men, by nature destitute of sense, would not appear at all to differ from a stock or a lifeless stone; for nothing could possibly be adapted to them so as to cleave to them, but everything would rebound and spring back as from some hard body. But on the other hand, we may see the souls of those who are well endowed by nature, like a well-smooth waxen tablet, neither too solid nor too tender, moderately tempered, and easily receiving all admonitions and all lessons, and themselves giving an accurate representation of any impression which has been stamped upon them, being a sort of distinct image of memory. It was therefore indispensable to pray that a good natural disposition, free from all disease and from all mortality, should be joined to the rational race; for they are but few who partake of the life according to virtue, which is the most real and genuine life. I do not mean of the common herd of men only, for of them there is not one who partakes of real life: but even of those to whom it has been granted to shun the objects of human desire, and to live to God alone. On which account the practicer of virtue, that courageous man, marveled greatly, if any one being borne along the middle of the stream of life, was not dragged down by any violence, but was able to withstand the flow of abundant wealth coming over him, and to stem the impetuosity of immoderate pleasure, and to avoid being carried away by the whirlwind of vain opinion. At all events Jacob does not speak to Joseph more than the sacred scripture speaks to every one who is vigorous in his body, and who is seen to be immersed amid abundant treasures, and riches, and superfluities, and to be overcome by none of them, when he says, "For still thou livest," uttering a most marvelous sentiment, and one which is quite beyond the daily life of us who, if we have fallen in with ever so slight a breeze which bears us towards the good fortune, immediately set all sail and became greatly elated, and being full of great and high spirits, hurry forward with all our speed to the indulgence of our passions, and never will check our unbridled and immoderately excited desires until we run ashore and are wrecked as to the whole vessel of our souls.

39 Very beautifully therefore, do we pray that this Ishmael may live. Therefore, Abraham adds, "May he live before God," looking upon it as the perfection of all happiness for the mind to be accounted worthy of him who is the most excellent of all beings, as its inspector and overseer; for if, while the teacher is present the pupil cannot go wrong, and if a monitor being at hand is of service to the learner, and if while an elder person is present the younger man is adorned by modesty and temperance, and if the presence of his father or of his mother have often prevented a son when about to commit sin, even though they are only beheld by him in silence, then what excess of good must we imagine that man to enjoy, who believes that he is always watched and beheld by God? for while he fears and reverences and looks up to the dignity of him as being present, he will flee from committing iniquity with all his might. But when he prays that Ishmael may live, he does not despair of the birth of Isaac, as I have already said, but he believes in God; for it does not follow that what it is possible for God to give, it is also possible for man to receive, since to God it is easy to give the most numerous and important benefits, but to us it is not easy to accept of the gifts which are proffered to us; for we must be content, if, by means of labour and diligence, we obtain a share of those good things which are familiar and customary to us. But there is no hope that we can attain to those which come of their own accord, and from some ever ready and previously prepared source, without any art, or in short, any human contrivance whatever; for inasmuch as these things are divine, they must of necessity be found out by more divine and unadulterated natures, such as have no connexion with any mortal body. And Moses has shown that every one, to the best of his power, ought to make grateful acknowledgments for benefits received; for instance, that the clever man ought to offer up as a sacrifice his acuteness and wisdom; the eloquent man should consecrate all his excellences of speech, by means of psalms and a regular enumeration of the greatness and panegyric on the living God; and to proceed with each species, he who is a natural philosopher should offer up his natural philosophy; he who is a moral philosopher should make an offering of his ethical philosophy; he who is skilful in any art or science should dedicate to God his knowledge of the arts and sciences. Thus again a sailor and a pilot should dedicate their successful voyage; the agricultural farmer, his productive crops; the stock-farmer, the prolific increase of his flocks and herds; the physician, the good health of his patients; the commander of an army, his success in war; the magistrate or the king will offer up his administration of the laws or his sovereign power. And, in short, the man who is not blinded by self-love, looks upon the only true maker of all things, God, as the cause of all the good things affecting his soul, or body, or his external circumstances. Let no one therefore, of those who seem to be somewhat obscure and humble, from a despair of any better hope, hesitate to become a suppliant to God. But even if he no longer looks forward to any great advantages, still let him, to the best of his power, give God thanks for the blessings which he has already received, 2and in effect, those which he has received are countless; his birth, his life, his soul, his food, his outward senses, his imagination, his inclinations, his reason; and reason is a very short word, but a most perfect and admirable thing, a fragment of the soul of the universe, or, as it is more pious to say for those who study philosophy according to Moses, a very faithful copy of the divine image.

40 It is right also to praise those inquirers after truth, who have endeavored to tear up and carry off the whole trunk of virtue, root and branch: but since they have not been able to do it, have at least taken either a single shoot, or a single bunch of fruit, as a specimen and portion of the whole tree, being all that they were able to Bear. [Numbers 13:25.] It is a desirable thing, indeed, to associate at once with the entire company of the virtues; but if this be too great an indulgence to be granted to human nature, let us be content if it has fallen to our lot to be connected with any one of the particular virtues, as a portion of the whole band, such as temperance, or courage, or justice, or humanity; for the soul may produce and bring forth some good from even one of them, and so avoid being barren and unproductive of any. But will you impose any such injunctions as these on your own son? Unless you treat your servants with gentleness, do not treat those of the same rank as yourself socially. Unless you behave decorously to your wife, never bear yourself respectfully to your parents. If you neglect your father and your mother, be impious also towards God. If you delight in pleasure, you must not keep aloof from covetousness. Do you desire great riches? Then be also eager for vain-glory. For what more need we add? Need you not desire to be moderate in some things unless you are able to be so in all? Would not your son say to you in such a case, My father, what do you mean? Do you wish your son to become either perfectly good or perfectly bad, and will you not be content if he keeps the middle path between the two extremes? Was it not for this reason that Abraham also, at the time of the destruction of Sodom , began at fifty and ended at Ten? [Genesis 18:32.] Therefore, propitiating and supplicating God, entreat him that if there could be found among his creatures a complete remission so as to give them liberty, of which the sacred number of fifty is a symbol, at least the intermediate instruction which is equal in number to the decade, might be accepted for the sake of the deliverance of the soul which was about to be condemned. But those who are instructed have many more opportunities of prayer than those who are destitute of teachers, and those who are well initiated in encyclical accomplishments have more opportunities than those who are unmusical and illiterate, inasmuch as they from their childhood almost have been imbued with all the lessons of virtue, and temperance, and all kinds of excellence. Wherefore, even if they have not entirely got rid of and effaced old marks of iniquity so as to wear a completely clean appearance, at least they have purified themselves in a reasonable and moderate degree. And it is something like this that Esau seems to have said to his father, "Have you not one blessing for me, O my father? Bless me, bless me, also, O my Father!" [Genesis 27:28.] For different blessings have been set apart for different persons, perfect blessings for the perfect, and moderate blessings for the imperfect. As is the case also with bodies; for there are different exercises appropriate to those which are in health, and to those which are sick. And also different regimens of food, and different systems of living, and not the same. But some things are suitable to the one kind that they may not become at all diseased; and other things are good for the other sort, they they may be changed and rendered more healthy. Since, therefore, there are many good things existing in nature, give me that which appears to be best adapted to my circumstances, even if it be the most trifling thing possible; looking at this one point alone, whether I shall be able to bear what is given me with equanimity, and not, like a wretched person, sink under and be overwhelmed by it. Again, what do we imagine to be meant by the words, "Will not the hand of the Lord be Sufficient?" [Numbers 11:23.] Do they not signify that the powers of the living God penetrate everywhere for the purpose of conferring benefits, not only on those who are noble, but on those also who appear to be in a more obscure condition, to whom also God gives such things as are suitable to the measure and weight of the soul of each individual, conjecturing and measuring in his own mind with perfect equality what is proportionate to the circumstances and requirements of each.

41 But what makes an impression on me in no ordinary degree is the law which is enacted with respect to those who put off their sins and seem to be repentant. For this law commands that the first victim which such persons offer shall be a female sheep without spot. But, if it proceeds, "his hand is not strong enough to bring a sheep, then for the trespass which he has committed he shall bring two turtle doves or two young pigeons, one for his trespass and one for a burnt offering; 3and if his hand cannot find a pair of turtle doves or two young pigeons, then he shall bring as his gift the tenth part of an ephah of fine flour for a sin offering; he shall not pour oil upon it, nor shall he place any frankincense thereon, because it is a sin offering; and he shall bring it to the priest, and the priest having taken it from him shall take a full handful of it, and place it as a memorial on the Altar." [Leviticus 5:5.] 3God therefore here is propitiated by three different kinds of repentance, by the aforesaid beasts, or by the birds, or by the while flour, according, in short, to the ability of him who is being purified and who repents. For small offences do not require great purifications, nor are small purifications fit for great crimes; but they should be equal, and similar, and in due proportion. 3It is worth while, therefore, to examine what is meant by this purification which may be accomplished in three ways. Now it may almost be said that both offences and good actions are perceived to exist in three things; in intention, or in words, or in actions. On which account Moses, teaching in his hortatory admonitions that the attainment of good is not impossible nor even very difficult, says, "It is not necessary to soar up to heaven, nor to go to the borders of the earth and sea, for the attainment of it, but it is near, yea, and very Near." [Deuteronomy 30:10.] And then in a subsequent passage he shows it all but to the naked eye as one may say, where he says, "Every action is in thy mouth, or in thy heart, or in thy Hands:" [Deuteronomy 30:14.] meaning under this symbolical expression, in thy words, or in they designs, or in thy actions. For he means that human happiness consists in wise design, and good language, and righteous actions, just as the unhappiness arises from the contrary course. For both well-doing and wrong-doing exist in the same regions, in the heart, or in the mouth, or in the hand; for some persons decide in the most righteous, and sagacious manner, some speak most excellently, some do only what ought to be done: again, of the three sources of error the most unimportant is to design to do what ought not to be done, the most grievous is to do what is iniquitous, the middle evil is to speak improperly. But it often happens that even what is least important is the most difficult to be removed; for it is very hard to bring an agitated state of the soul to tranquility; and one may more easily check the impetuosity of a torrent than the perversion of the soul which is hurrying in a wrong direction, without restraint. For innumerable notions coming one upon the other like the waves of a stormy sea, bearing everything along with them, and throwing everything into confusion, overturn the whole soul with irresistible violence. Therefore the most excellent, and most perfect kind of purification is this, not to admit into one's mind any improper notions, but to regulate it in peace and obedience to law, the ruler of which principles is justice. The next kind is, not to offend in one's language either by speaking falsely, or by swearing falsely, or by deceiving, or by practicing sophistry, or by laying false informations; or, in short, by letting loose one's mouth and tongue to the injury of any one, as it is better to put a bridle and an insuperable chain on those members.

42 But why it is a more grievous offence to say what is wrong than only to think it, is very easy to see. For some times a person thinks without any deliberate previous intention of so thinking, but inconsiderately: for he is compelled to admit ideas in his mind which he does not wish to admit; and nothing which is involuntary is blamable: but a man speaks intentionally, so that if he utters words which are not proper he is unhappy and is committing offence, since he does not even by chance choose to say anything that is proper, and it would be more for his advantage to adopt that safest expedient of silence: and, in the second place, anyone who is not silent can be silent if he pleases. But what is even a still more grievous offence than speaking wrongly, is unjust action. For the word, as it is said, is the shadow of the deed; and how can an injurious deed help being more mischievous than a shadow of the same character? On this account Moses released the mind, even when it yielded to many involuntary perversions and errors, from accusations and from penalties, thinking that it was rather acted upon by notions which forced their way into it, than was itself acting. But whatever goes out through the mouth that he makes the utterer responsible for and brings him before the tribunal, since the act of speaking is one which is in our own power. But the investigation to which words are subject is a much more

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moderate one, and that with which words are united is a more vigorous one. For he imposes severe punishments on those who commit gross offences, and who carry out in action, and utter with hasty tongues what they have been designed in their unjust minds.

43 Therefore he has called the purifying victims which are to be offered up for the three offenders, the mind, speech, and the action, a sheep, and a pair of turtle doves or pigeons, and the tenth part of a sacred measure of fine flour; thinking it fit that the mind should be purified by a sheep, the speech by winged creatures, and the action by fine flour: Why is this? Because, as the mind is the most excellent thing in us, so also is the sheep the most excellent among irrational animals, inasmuch as it is most gentle, and also as it gives forth a yearly produce in its fleece, for the use and also for the ornament of mankind. For clothes keep off all injury from both cold and heat, and also they conceal the unmentionable parts of nature, and in this way they are an ornament to those who use them: therefore the sheep, as being the most excellent of animals, is a symbol of the purification of the most excellent part of man, the mind. And birds are an emblem of the purification of speech: for speech is a light thing, and winged by nature, flying and penetrating in every direction more swiftly than an arrow. For what is once said can never be re-called; [this resembles what is said by Horace in A. P. 390 and in Epist. I. 18.71.] but being borne abroad, and running on with great swiftness, it strikes the ears and penetrates every sense of hearing, resounding loudly: but speech is of two kinds, one true and the other false; on which account it appears to me to be here compared to a pair of turtle doves or young pigeons: and of these birds one he says is to be looked upon as a sin offering, since the speech which is true is wholly and in all respects sacred and perfect, but that which is false is very wrong and requires correction. 4Again, as I have already said, fine flour is a symbol of the purification of activity, but it is sorted from the commoner sort by the hands of the bakers, who make the business their study. On which account the law says, "And the priest having taken an entire handful, shall place it on the altar as a memorial of them," by the word handful, indicating both the endeavor and the action. And he speaks with exceeding accuracy with respect to the sheep, when he says, "And if his hand be not strong enough to supply a sheep;" but with respect to the birds he says, "And if he cannot find a bird." Why is this? Because it is a sign of very great strength and of excessive power, to get rid of the errors of the mind: but it does not require any great strength, to check the errors of words; for, as I have said already, silence is a remedy for all the offences that can be committed by the voice, and every one may easily practice silence; but yet, by reason of their chattering habits and want of moderation in their language, many people cannot find out how to impose a limitation on their speech.

44 Since the, the virtuous man has been bred up among and practiced in these and similar divisions and discriminations of things, does he not rightly appear to pray that Ishmael may live, if he is not as yet able to become the father of Isaac? What then does the merciful God say? To him who asks for one thing he gives two, and on him who prays for what is less he bestows what is greater; for, says the historian, he said unto Abraham, "Yea, behold, Sarrah thy wife shall bring forth a Son." [Genesis 17:19.] Very felicitous and significant is this answer, "Yea;" for what can be more suitable to and more like the character of God, than to promise good things and to ratify that promise with all speed! But what God promises every foolish man repudiates; therefore the sacred scriptures represent Leah as hated, and on this account it is that she received that name; for Leah, being interpreted, means "repudiating and labouring," because we all turn away from virtue and think it a labourious thing, by reason of its very often imposing commands on us which are not pleasant. But nevertheless, she is thought worthy of such an honourable reception from the prince, that her womb is opened by him, so as to receive the seed of divine generation, in order to cause the production of honourable pursuits and actions. Learn therefore, O soul, that Sarrah, that is, virtue, will bring forth to thee a son; and that Hagar, or intermediate instruction, is not the only one who will do so; for her offspring is one which has its knowledge from teaching, but the offspring of the other is entirely self-taught. And do not wonder, if God, who brings forth all good things, has also brought forth this race, which, though rare upon the earth, is very numerous in heaven. And you may learn this also from other things of which man consists: do the eyes see from having been taught to do so? And what do the nostrils do? Do they smell by reason of their having learnt? And do the hands touch, or the feet advance, in accordance with the commands or recommendations of instructors? Again, do the appetites and imaginations (and these are the first moving powers and persuasions of the soul) exist in consequence of teaching? And has our mind gone as a pupil to any sophist, in order to learn to think and to comprehend? All these things repudiate all kinds of instruction, and avail themselves only of the spontaneous gifts of nature to exert their appropriate energies. Why then do you any longer wonder if God showers upon men virtue, unaccompanied by any labour or suffering, such as stand in need of no superintending care or instruction, but is from the very beginning entire and perfect? And if you wish to receive any testimony in corroboration of this view, can you find any more trustworthy than that of Moses? And he says that the rest of mankind derive their food from earth, but that he alone who is endowed with the power of sight, derives his from heaven. And men occupied in agriculture co-operate to produce the food from the earth; but God, the only cause and giver, rains down the food from heaven without the cooperation of any other being. And, indeed, we read in the scriptures, "Behold, I rain upon you bread from Heaven." [Exodus 16:4.] Now what nourishment can the scriptures properly say is rained down, except heavenly wisdom? 6which God sends from above upon those souls which have a longing for virtue, God who possesses a great abundance and exceeding treasure of wisdom, and who irrigates the universe, and especially so on the sacred seventh day which he calls the sabbath; for then, he says, that there is an influx of spontaneous good things, not rising from any kind of art, but shooting up by their own spontaneous and self-perfecting nature, and bearing appropriate fruit.

45 Virtue, therefore, will bring thee forth a legitimate male child, far removed from all effeminate passions; and thou shall call the name of thy son by the name of the passion which thou feelest in regard to him; and thou wilt by all means feel joy; so that thou shall give him a name which is an emblem of joy, namely, Laughter. 6As grief and fear have their appropriate expressions which the passion, when more than usually violent and predominant, gives utterance to; so also, good counsels and happiness compel a man to employ a natural expression of them, for which no one could find out more appropriate and felicitous names, even if he were very skilful in the imposition of names. On which account God says, "I have blessed him, I will increase him, I will multiply him, he shall beget twelve Nations;" [Genesis 17:20.] that is to say, he shall beget the whole circle and ring of the sophistical preliminary branches of education; but I will make my covenant with Israel, that the race of mankind may receive each kind of virtue, the weaker part of them receiving both that which is taught by others, and that which is learnt by one's self, and the stronger part that which is ready and prepared.

46 "And at that time," says he, "she shall bring forth a son to Thee;" [Genesis 15:10.] that is to say, wisdom shall bring forth joy. What time, O most marvelous being, are you pointing out? Is it that which cannot be indicated by the thing brought forth? For that must be the real time, the rising of the universe, the prosperity and happiness of the whole earth, and of heaven, and of all intermediate natures, and of all animals, and of all plants. 6On which account Moses also took courage to say to those who had run away, and who did not dare to enter upon a war in the cause of virtue against those who were arrayed against it, "The Lord has departed from them, but the Lord is in Us;" [Numbers 14:9.] for he here almost confesses in express words that God is time, who stands aloof and at a distance from every impious person, but walks among those souls which cultivate virtue. "For," says he, "I will walk among you, and I will be your God." [Leviticus 26:12.] But those who say that what is meant by time is only the seasons of the year are misapplying the names with great inaccuracy, like men who have not studied the nature of things with any care, but have gone on to a great degree at random.

47 But by way of amplifying the beauty of the creature to be born, he says that it shall be born the next year, indicating by the term, "the next Year," [Genesis 18:10.] not a difference of time, such as is measured by lunar or solar periods, but that which is truly marvelous, and strange, and new, being an age which is very different from those which are visible to the eyes and perceptible to the outward senses, being investigated in incorporeal things appreciable only by the intellect, which, in fact, is the model and archetype of time. But an age is a name given to the life of the world, intelligible only by the intellect, as time is that given to the life of the world, perceptible by the outward senses. 6And in this year the man who had sown the graces of God so as to produce many more good things, in order that the greatest possible number of persons worthy to share them might participate in them, finds also the barley producing a Hundredfold. [Genesis 26:12.] But he who has sown does usually also reap. And he sowed, displaying the virtue, the enemy of envy and wickedness; he is, however, here said to find, not to reap. For he who has made the ear of his good deeds more productive and full, was a different person, having laid up an abundance of greater hopes well prepared, and he also proposed more abundant advantages to all those who sought them, encouraging them to hope to find them.

48 And the words, "He finished speaking to Him," [Genesis 17:22.] are equivalent to saying, he made his hearer perfect, though he was devoid of wisdom before, and he filled him with immortal lessons. But when his disciple became perfect, the Lord went up and departed from Abraham, showing, not that he separated himself from him; for the wise man is naturally an attendant of God, not wishing to represent the spontaneous inclination of the disciple in order that as he had learnt while his teacher was no longer standing by him, and without any necessity urging him, giving of his own accord a specimen of himself, and displaying a voluntary and spontaneous eagerness to learn, he might for the future exert his energies by himself; for the teacher assigns a model to him who has learnt by voluntary study without any suggestions from other quarters, stamping on him a most durable species of indelible recollection.

ON DREAMS, THAT THEY ARE GOD-SENT - BOOK 1

1 The treatise before this one has contained our opinions on those visions sent from heaven which are classed under the first species; in reference to which subject we delivered our opinion that the Deity sent the appearances which are beheld by man in dreams in accordance with the suggestions of his own nature. But in this treatise we will, to the best of our power, describe those dreams which come under the second species. .Now the second species is that in which our mind, being moved simultaneously with the mind of the universe, has appeared to be hurried away by itself and to be under the influence of divine impulses, so as to be rendered capable of comprehending beforehand, and knowing by anticipation some of the events of the future. Now the first dream which is akin to the species which I have been describing, is that which appeared on the ladder which reached up to heaven, and which was of this kind. ."And Jacob dreamed, and behold a ladder was firmly planted on the earth, the head of which reached up to heaven; and the angels of God were ascending and descending on it. And behold there was a ladder firmly planted on the earth, and the Lord was standing steadily upon it; and he said, I am the God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac: be not afraid. The earth on which thou art sleeping I will give unto thee and unto thy seed, and thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth, and it shall be multiplied as the sand on the seashore, and shall spread to the south, and to the north, and to the east; and in thee shall all the kindreds of the earth be blessed, and in thy seed also. And, behold, I am with thee, keeping thee in all thy ways, by whichever thou goest, and I will bring thee again into this land; because I will not leave thee until I have done everything which I have said unto Thee." [Genesis 28:12.] .But the previous considerations of the circumstances of this vision require that we should examine them with accuracy, and then perhaps we shall be able to comprehend what is indicated by the vision. What, then, are the previous circumstances? The scripture tells us, "And Jacob went up from the well of the oath, and came to Charran, and went into a place and lay down there until the sun arose. And he took one of the stones of the place and placed it at his head, and went to sleep in that place." And immediately afterwards came the dream. .Therefore it is well at the outset to raise a question on these three points:--One, What was the well of the oath,[Genesis 26:33.] and why was it called by this name? Secondly, What is Charran, and why, after Jacob had departed from the well beforementioned, did he immediately go to Charran? Thirdly, What was the place, and why, when he was in it, did the sun at once set, and did he go to sleep?

2 Let us then at once begin and consider the first of these points. To me, then, the well appears to be an emblem of knowledge; for its nature is not superficial, but very deep. Nor does it lie in an open place, but a well is fond of being hidden somewhere in secret. Nor is it found with ease, but only after great labour and with difficulty; and this too is seen to be the case with sciences, not only with such as have great and indescribable subjects of speculation, but even with respect to such as are the most insignificant. .Choose, therefore, whichever art you please; not the most excellent, but even the must obscure of all, which perhaps no one who has been bred a free man in the whole city would ever study of his own accord, and which scarcely any servant in the field would attend to, who, against his will, was a slave to some morose and ill-tempered master who compelled him to do many unpleasant things. .For the matter will be found to be not a simple one, but rather one of great complications and variety, not easy to be seized upon, but difficult to discover, difficult to master, hostile to delay, and indolence and indifference, full of earnestness and contention, and sweat, and care. For which reason "those who dig in this well say that they cannot find even water in it;" because the ends of science are not only hard to discover, but are even altogether undiscoverable; .and it is owing to this that one man is more thoroughly skilled in grammar or in geometry than another, because of its being impossible to circumscribe, increase, and extend one within certain limits; for there is always more that is left behind than what comes to be learnt; and what is left watches for and catches the learner, so that even he who fancies that he has comprehended and mastered the very extremities of knowledge would be considered but half perfect by another person who was his judge, and if he were before the tribunal of truth would appear to be only beginning knowledge; . for life is short, as some one has said, but art is long; of which that man most thoroughly comprehends the magnitude, who sincerely and honestly plunges deeply into it, and who digs it out like a well. And such a man, when he is at

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the point of death, being now grey-headed and exceedingly old, it is said, wept, not that he feared death as being a coward, but out of a desire for instruction, as feeling that he was now, for the first time, entering upon it when he was finally departing from life. . For the soul flourishes for the pursuit of knowledge when the prime vigor of the body is withering away from the lapse of time; therefore, before one has arrived at one's prime and vigor by reason of a more accurate comprehension of things, it is not difficult to be tripped up. But this accident is common to all people who are fond of learning, to whom new subjects of contemplation are continually rising up and striving after old ones, the soul itself producing many such subjects when it is not barren and unproductive. And nature, also, unexpectedly and spontaneously displaying a great number to those who are gifted with acute and penetrating intellects. Therefore the well of knowledge is shown to be of this kind, having no boundary and no end. We must now explain why it was called the well of the oath. Those matters which are doubted about are decided by an oath, and those which are uncertain are confirmed in the same manner, and so, too, those which want certification receive it; from which facts this inference is drawn, that there is no subject respecting which any one can make an affirmation with greater certainty than he can respecting the fact that the race of wisdom is without limitation and without end. . It is well, therefore, to enrol one's self under the banners of one who discusses these matters without an oath; but he who is not very much inclined to assent to the assertions of another will at least assent to them when he has made oath to their correctness. But let no one refuse to take an oath of this kind, well knowing that he will have his name inscribed on pillars among those who are faithful to their oaths.

3 However, enough of this. The next thing must be to consider why it is that as four wells had been dug by the servants of Abraham and Isaac, the fourth and last was called the well of the oath. . May it not be that sacred historian here desires to represent, in a figurative manner, that as in the universe there are four elements of which this world is composed, and as there are an equal number in ourselves, of which we have been fashioned before we were moulded into our human shape, three of them are capable of being comprehended somehow or other, but the fourth is unintelligible to all who come forward as judges of it. .Accordingly, we find that the four elements in the world are the earth, and the water, and the air, and the heaven, of which, even if some are difficult to find, they are still not classed in the utterly undiscoverable portion. .For that the earth, because it is a heavy, and indissoluble, and solid substance, is divided into mountains and champaign districts, and intersected by rivers and seas, so that some portion of it consists of islands, and some portions are continent. And again, some of it has a shallow and some a deep soil; and some is rough, and rugged, and strong, and altogether barren; and some is smooth and delicate, and exceedingly fertile; and besides all these facts we know a great number of others relative to the earth. .And again, there is the water, which we know has many of the aforesaid qualities in common with the earth, and many also peculiar to itself; for some of it is sweet, and some brackish, and some is mixed up of various characteristics; and some is good to drink, and some is not drinkable; and, moreover, neither of these last qualities is invariable with respect to every creature, but there are some to which it is the one and not the other, and vice versa. Again, some water is by nature cold, and other water naturally hot; for there is in all sorts of places an infinite number of springs pouring forth hot water, not on the land only but even in the sea: at all events, there have appeared before now veins pouring up warm water in the middle of the sea, which all the enormous efflux of salt water in all the sea that encircles the world, pouring over them from all eternity, has never been able to extinguish, nor even in the least degree to diminish. Again, we know that the air has an attractive nature, yielding to such bodies as surround it in an altitude of resistance, being the organ of life, and breath, and sight, and hearing, and all the rest of the external senses, admitting of rarification, and condensation, and motion, and tranquility, and changes, and variations of every kind, by which it is altered and modified, and generating summers and winters, and the seasons of autumn and spring, by means of which the circle of the year is the last brought to a conclusion.

4 All these things, then, we feel: but the heaven has a nature which is incomprehensible, and it has never conveyed to us any distinct indication by which we can understand its nature; for what can we say? that it is solid ice, as some persons have chosen to assert? or that it is the purest fire? or that it is a fifth body, moving in a circle having no participation in any of the four elements? For what can we say? Has that most remote sphere of the fixed stars any density in an upward direction? or is it merely a superficies devoid of all depth, something like a plane figure? .And what are the stars? Are they masses of earth full of fire? For some persons have said that they are hills, and valleys, and thickets, men who are worthy of a prison and a treadmill, or of any place where there are instruments proper for the punishment of impious persons; or are they, as some one has defined them, a continuous and dense harmony, the closely packed, indissoluble mass of aether? Again, are they animated and intelligent? or are they destitute alike of mind and vitality? Have they their motions in consequence of any choice of their own? or merely because they are compulsory? .What, again, are we to say of the moon? Does she show us a light of her own, or a borrowed and illegitimate one, only reflected from the rays of the sun? or is neither of these things true, but has she something mixed, as it were, so as to be a sort of combination of her own light and of that which belongs to some other body? For all these things, and others like them, belonging to the fourth and most excellent of the bodies in the world, namely, the heaven, are uncertain and incomprehensible, and are spoken of in accordance with conjectures and guesses, and not with the solid, certain reasoning of truth, so that a person might venture to swear that no mortal man will ever be able to comprehend any one of these matters clearly. At all events, the fourth and dry well was called the well of the oath on this account, because the search after the fourth element in the world, that is to say the heaven, is without any result, and is in every respect fruitless.

5 But let us now see in what manner that fourth element in us is by nature in such an especial and singular manner incomprehensible. There are, then, four principal elements in us, the body, the external sense, the speech, and the mind. Now of these, three are not uncertain or unintelligible in every respect, but they contain some indication in themselves by which they are comprehended. .2Now what is my meaning in this statement? We know already that the body is divisible into three parts, and that it is capable of motion in six directions, inasmuch as it has three dimensions, in length, in depth, in breadth; and twice as many motions, namely six, the upward motion, the downward motion, that to the right, that to the left, the forward, and the backward motion. But, moreover, we are not ignorant that it is the vessel of the soul; and we are also aware that it is subject to the changes of being young, of decaying, of growing old, of dying, of undergoing dissolution. And with respect to the outward senses, we are not, so far as that is concerned, utterly dull and mutilated, but we are able to say that that also is divided into five divisions, and that there are appropriate organs for the development of each sense formed by nature; for instance, the eyes for seeing, the ears for hearing, the nostrils for smelling, and the other organs for the exercise of the respective senses to which they are adapted, and also that we may call these outward senses messengers of the mind which inform it of colours, and shapes and sounds, and the peculiar differences of vapours, and flavours, and, in short, which describe to it all bodies, and all the distinctive qualities which exist in them. They also may be looked upon as body-guards of the soul, informing it of all that they see or hear; and if anything injurious attacks it from without, they foresee it, and guard against it, so that it may not enter by chance and unawares, and so become the cause of irremediable disaster to their mistress. .2Again, the voice does not entirely escape our comprehension; but we know that one voice is shrill and another deep; that one is tuneful and harmonious, and another dissonant and very unmusical; and again, one voice is more powerful, and another less so. And they differ also in ten thousand other particulars, in kind, in complexion, in distance, in combined and separate tension of the tones, in the symphonies of fourths, of fifths, and of the diapason. .Moreover, there are some things which we know also with respect to that articulate voice which has been allotted to man alone of all animals, as, for instance, we know that it is emitted by the mind, that it receives its articulate distinctness in the mouth, that it is by the striking of the tongue that articulate utterance is impressed upon the tones of the voice, and which renders the uttered sound not only a bare, naked, useless noise, void of all characteristic, and that it discharges the office of a herald or interpreter towards the mind which suggests it.

6 Now then is the fourth element which exists within us, the dominant mind, comprehensible to us in the same manner as these other divisions? Certainly not; for what do we think it to be in its essence? Do we look upon it as spirit, or as blood, or, in short, as any bodily substance! But it is not a substance, but must be pronounced incorporeal. Is it then a limit, or a species, or a number, or a continued act, or a harmony, or any existing thing whatever? Is it, the very first moment that we are born, infused into us from without, or is it some warm nature in us which is cooled by the air which is diffused around us, like a piece of iron which has been heated at a forge, and then being plunged into cold water, is by that process tempered and hardened? (And perhaps it is from the cooling process [psyxis] to which it is thus submitted that the soul [heμ psycheμ] derives its name.) What more shall we say? When we die, is it extinguished and destroyed together with our bodies? or does it continue to live a long time? or, thirdly, is it wholly incorruptible and immortal? Again, where, in what part does this mind lie hid? Has it received any settled habitation? For some men have dedicated it to our head, as the principal citadel, around which all the outward senses have their lairs; thinking it natural that its body-guards should be stationed near it, as near the palace of a mighty king. Some again contend earnestly in favour of the position which they assign it, believing that it is enshrined like a statue in the heart. .3Therefore now the fourth element is incomprehensible, in the world of heaven, in comparison of the nature of the earth, of the water, and of the air; and the mind in man, in comparison of the body and the outward sense, and the speech, which is the interpreter of the mind; may it not be the case also, that for this reason the fourth year is described as holy and praiseworthy in the sacred scriptures? For among created things, the heaven is holy in the world, in accordance with which body, the imperishable and indestructible natures revolve; and in man the mind is holy, being a sort of fragment of the Deity, and especially according to the statement of Moses, who says, "God breathed into his face the breath of life, and man became a living Soul." [Genesis 2:7.] .3And it appears to me, that it is not without reason that both these things are called praiseworthy; for these two things, the heaven and the mind, are the things which are able to utter, with all becoming dignity, the praises, and hymns, and glory, and beatitude of the Father who created them: for man has received an especial honour beyond all other animals, namely, that of ministering to the living God. And the heaven is always singing melodies, perfecting an all-musical harmony, in accordance with the motions of all the bodies which exist therein; .3of which, if the sound ever reached our ears, love, which could not be restrained, and frantic desires, and furious impetuosity, which could not be put an end to or pacified, would be engendered, and would compel us to give up even what is necessary, nourishing ourselves no longer like ordinary mortals on the meat and drink, which is received by means of our throat, but on the inspired songs of music in its highest perfection, as persons about to be made immortal through the medium of their ears: and it is said that Moses [Exodus 24:18.] was an incorporeal hearer of these melodies, when he went for forty days, and an equal number of nights, without at all touching any bread or any water.

7 Therefore the heaven, which is the archetypal organ of music, appears to have been arranged in a most perfect manner, for no other object except that the hymns sung to the honour of the Father of the universe, might be attuned in a musical manner; and we hear that virtue, that is to say, Leah,[Genesis 29:35.] after the birth of her fourth son, was no longer able to bring forth any more, but restrained, or perhaps I should say, was restrained, as to her generative powers; for she found, I conceive, all her generative power dry and barren, after she had brought forth Judah, that is to say, "confession," the perfect fruit: and the phrase, "Leah desisted from bearing children," differs in no respect from the statement, that the children of Isaac found no water in the fourth Well." [Genesis 26:32.] Since it appears from both these figurative expressions, that every creature thirsts for God, by whom all their births take place, and from whom nourishment is bestowed to them when they are born. Perhaps therefore some petty cavilling critics will imagine that all this statement about the digging of the wells is a superfluous piece of prolixity on the part of the lawgiver: but those who deserve a larger classification, being citizens not of some petty state but of the wide world, being men of more perfect wisdom, will know well that the real question is not about the four wells, but about the parts of the universe that the men who are gifted with sight, and are fond of contemplation exercise their powers of investigation; namely, about the earth, the water, the air, and the heaven. And examining each of these matters with the most accurately refined conception, in three of them they have found some things within the reach of their comprehension; on which account they have given these names, injustice, enmity, and latitude to what they have discovered. But in the fourth, that is to say in heaven, they have found absolutely nothing whatever, which they could comprehend; as we explained a little time ago: for the fourth is found to be a well destitute of water, and dry; and for the reason above mentioned it is called a well.

8 We will now investigate what comes next, and inquire what Charran is, and why the man who went up from the well came to it. Charran then, as it appears to me, is a sort of metropolis of the outward senses: and it is interpreted at one time a pit dug, at another time holes; one fact being intimated by both these names; for our bodies are in a manner dug out to furnish the organs of the outward senses, and each of the organs is a sort of hole for the corresponding outward sense in which it shelters itself as in a cave: when therefore any one goes up from the well which is called the well of the oath, as if he were leaving a harbour, he immediately does of necessity come to Charran: for it is a matter of necessity that the outward senses should receive one who comes on an emigration from that most excellent country of knowledge, unbounded as it is in extent, without any guide. For our soul is very often set in motion by is own self after it has put off the whole burden of the body, and has escaped from the multitude of the outward senses; and very often too, even while it is still

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clothed in them. Therefore by its own simple motion it has arrived at the comprehension of those things which are appreciable only by the intellect; and by the motion of the body, it has attained to an understanding of those things which are perceptible by the outward senses; therefore, if any one is unable altogether to associate with the mind alone, he then finds for himself a second refuge, namely, the external senses; and whoever fails in attaining to a comprehension of the things which are intelligible only by the intellect is immediately drawn over to the objects of the outward senses; for the second organ is always to the outward senses, in the case of those things which are not able to make a successful one as far as the dominant mind. But it is well for man not to grow old or to spend all his time in this course either, but rather, as if they were straying in a foreign country like sojourners, to be always seeking for a second migration, and for a return to their native land. Therefore Laban, knowing absolutely nothing of either species or genus, or form, or conception, or of anything else whatever which is comprehended by the intellect alone, and depending solely on what lies externally visible, and such things as come under the notice of the eyes, and the ears, and the other hundred faculties, is thought worthy of Charran for his country, which Jacob, the lover of virtue, inhabits as a foreign land for a short time, always bearing in his recollection his return homewards; .4therefore his mother, perseverance, that is Rebecca, says to him, "Rise up and flee to Laban, my brother, to Charran, and dwell with him certain Days." [Genesis 27:43.] Do you not perceive then that the practicer of virtue will not endure to live permanently in the country of the outward senses, but only to remain there a few days and a short time, on account of the necessities of the body to which he is bound? But a longer time and an entire life is allotted to him in the city which is appreciable only by the intellect.

9 In reference to which fact, also, it appears to me to be that his grandfather also, by name Abraham, so called from his knowledge, would not endure to remain any great length of time in Charran, for it is said in the scriptures that "Abraham was seventy-five years old when he departed from Charran;" [Genesis 2:4.] although his father Terah, which name being interpreted means, "the investigation of a smell," lived there till the day of is Death. [Genesis 17:32.] .4Therefore it is expressly stated in the sacred scriptures that "Terah died in Charran," for he was only a reconnoitrer of virtue, not a citizen. And he availed himself of smells, and not of the enjoyments of food, as he was not able as yet to fill himself with wisdom, nor indeed even to get a taste of it, but only to smell it; .4for as it is said that those dogs which are calculated for hunting can by exerting their faculty of smell, find out the lurking places of their game at a great distance, being by nature rendered wonderfully acute as to the outward sense of smell; so in the same manner the lover of instruction tracks out the sweet breeze which is given forth by justice, and by any other virtue, and is eager to watch those qualities from which this most admirable source of delight proceeds, and while he is unable to do so he moves his head all round in a circle, smelling out nothing else, but seeking only for that most sacred scent of excellence and food, for he does not deny that he is eager for knowledge and wisdom. Blessed therefore are they to whom it has happened to enjoy the delights of wisdom, and to feast upon its speculations and doctrines, and even of the being cheered by them still to thirst for more, feeling an insatiable and increasing desire for knowledge. And those will obtain the second place who are not allured indeed to enjoy the sacred table, but who nevertheless refresh their souls with its odors; for they will be excited by the fragrances of virtue like those languid invalids who, because they are not as yet able to take solid food, nevertheless feed on the smell of such viands as the sons of the physicians prepare as a sort of remedy for their impotency.

10 Therefore, having left the land of the Chaldaeans, Terah is said to have migrated to Charran; bringing with him his son Abraham and the rest of his household who agreed with him in opinion, not in order that we might read in the account of the historical chronicles that some men had become emigrants, leaving their native country and becoming inhabitants of a foreign land as if it were their own country, but in order that a lesson of the greatest importance to life and full of wisdom, and adapted to man alone, might not be neglected. And what is the lesson? The Chaldaeans are great astronomers, and the inhabitants of Charran occupy themselves with the topics relating to the external senses. Therefore the sacred account says to the investigator of the things of nature, why are you inquiring about the sun, and asking whether he is a foot broad, whether he is greater than the whole earth put together, or whether he is even many times as large? And why are you investigating the causes of the light of the moon, and whether it has a borrowed light, or one which proceeds solely from itself? Why, again, do you seek to understand the nature of the rest of the stars, of their motion, of their sympathy with one another, and even with earthly things? And why, while walking upon the earth do you soar above the clouds? And why, while rooted in the solid land, do you affirm that you can reach the things in the sky? And why do you endeavor to form conjectures about matters which cannot be ascertained by conjecture? And why do you busy yourself about sublime subjects which you ought not to meddle with? And why do you extend your desire to make discoveries in mathematical science as far as the heaven? And why do you devote yourself to astronomy, and talk about nothing but high subjects? My good man, do not trouble your head about things beyond the ocean, but attend only to what is near you; and be content rather to examine yourself without flattery. How, then, will you find out what you want, even if you are successful? Go with full exercise of your intellect to Charran, that is, to the trench which is dug, into the holes and caverns of the body, and investigate the eyes, the ears, the nostrils, and the other organs of the external senses; and if you wish to be a philosopher, study philosophically that branch which is the most indispensable and at the same time the most becoming to a man, and inquire what the faculty of sight is, what hearing is, what taste, what smell, what touch is, in a word, what is external sense; then seek to understand what it is to see, and how you see; what it is to hear, and how you hear; what it is to smell, or to taste, or to touch, and how each of these operations is ordinarily effected. .5But it is not the very extravagance of insane folly to seek to comprehend the dwelling of the universe, before your own private dwelling is accurately known to you? But I do not as yet lay the more important and extensive injunction upon you to make yourself acquainted with your own soul and mind, of the knowledge of which you are so proud; for in reality you will never be able to comprehend it. .5Mount up then to heaven, and talk arrogantly about the things which exist there, before you are as yet able to comprehend, according to the words of the poet,

"All the good and all the evil
Which thy own abode contains;"

and, bringing down that messenger of yours from heaven, and dragging him down from his search into matters existing there, become acquainted with yourself, and carefully and diligently labour to arrive at such happiness as is permitted to man. Now this disposition the Hebrews called Terah, and the Greeks Socrates; for they say also that the latter grew old in the most accurate study by which he could hope to know himself, never once directing his philosophical speculations to the subjects beyond himself. But he was really a man; but Terah is the principle itself which is proposed to every one, according to which each man should know himself, like a tree full of good branches, in order that these persons who are fond of virtue might without difficulty gather the fruit of pure morality, and thus become filled with the most delightful and saving food. .5Such, then, are those men who reconnoitre the quarters of wisdom for us; but those who are actually her athletes, and who practice her exercises, are more perfect. For these men think fit to learn with complete accuracy the whole question connected with the external senses, and after having done so, then to proceed to another and more important speculation, leaving all consideration of the holes of the body which they call Charran. Of the number of these men is Abraham, who attained to great progress and improvement in the comprehension of complete knowledge; for when he knew most, then he most completely renounced himself in order to attain to the accurate knowledge of him who was the truly living God. And, indeed, this is a very natural course of events; for he who completely understands himself does also very much, because of his thorough appreciation of it, renounce the universal nothingness of the creature; and he who renounces himself learns to comprehend the living God.

11 We have now, then, explained what Charran is, and why he who left the well of the oath came thither. We must now consider the third point which comes next in order, namely, what the place is to which this man came; for it is said, "He met him in the Place." [Genesis 28:11.] Now place is considered in three ways: firstly, as a situation filled by a body; secondly, as a divine word which God himself has filled wholly and entirely with incorporeal powers; for says the scripture, "I have seen the place in which the God of Israel Stood," [Exodus 24:10.] in which alone he permitted his prophet to perform sacrifice to him, forbidding him to do so in other places. For he is ordered to go up into the place which the Lord God shall choose, and there to sacrifice burnt offerings and sacrifices for salvation, and to bring other victims also without spot. According to the third signification, God himself is called a place, from the fact of his surrounding the universe, and being surrounded himself by nothing whatever, and from the fact of his being the refuge of all persons, and since he himself is his own district, containing himself and resembling himself alone. I, indeed, am not a place, but I am in a place, and every existing being is so in a similar manner. So that which is surrounded differs from that which surrounds it; but the Deity, being surrounded by nothing, is necessarily itself its own place. And there is an evidence in support of my view of the matter in the following sacred oracle delivered with respect to Abraham: "He came unto the place of which the Lord God had told him: and having looked up with his eyes, he saw the place afar Off." [Genesis 22:4.] Tell me, now, did he who had come to the place see it afar off? Or perhaps it is but an identical expression for two different things, one of which is the divine world, and the other, God, who existed before the world. But he who was conducted by wisdom comes to the former place, having found that the main part and end of propitiation is the divine word, in which he who is fixed does not as yet attain to such a height as to penetrate to the essence of God, but sees him afar off; or, rather, I should say, he is not able even to behold him afar off, but he only discerns this fact, that God is at a distance from every creature, and that any comprehension of him is removed to a great distance from all human intellect. Perhaps, however, the historian, by this allegorical form of expression, does not here mean by his expression, "place," the Cause of all things; but the idea which he intends to convey may be something of this sort; --he came to the place, and looking up with his eyes he saw the very place to which he had come, which was a very long way from the God who may not be named nor spoken of, and who is in every way incomprehensible.

12 These things, then, being defined as a necessary preliminary, when the practicer of virtue comes to Charran, the outward sense, he does not "meet" the place, nor that place either which is filled by a mortal body; for all those who are born of the dust, and who occupy any place whatever, and who do of necessity fill some position, partake of that; nor the third and most excellent kind of place, of which it was scarcely possible for that man to form an idea who made his abode at the well which was entitled the "well of the oath," where the self-taught race, Isaac, abides, who never abandons his faith in God and his invisible comprehension of him, but who keeps to the intermediate divine word, which affords him the best suggestions, and teaches him everything which is suitable to the times. .6For God, not condescending to come down to the external senses, sends his own words or angels for the sake of giving assistance to those who love virtue. But they attend like physicians to the disease of the soul, and apply themselves to heal them, offering sacred recommendations like sacred laws, and inviting men to practice the duties inculcated by them, and, like the trainers of wrestlers, implanting in their pupils strength, and power, and irresistible vigor. Very properly, therefore, when he has arrived at the external sense, he is represented no longer as meeting God, but only the divine word, just as his grandfather Abraham, the model of wisdom, did; for the scripture tells us, "The Lord departed when he had finished conversing with Abraham, and Abraham returned to his Place." [Genesis 18:33.] From which expression it is inferred, that he also met with the sacred words from which God, the father of the universe, had previously departed, no longer displaying visions from himself but only those which proceed from his subordinate powers. And it is with exceeding beauty and propriety that it is said, not that he came to the place, but that he met the place: for to come is voluntary, but to meet is very often involuntary; so that the divine Word appearing on a sudden, supplies an unexpected joy, greater than could have been hoped, inasmuch as it is about to travel in company with the solitary soul; for Moses also "brings forward the people to a meeting with God," [Exodus 19:17.] well knowing that he comes invisibly towards those souls who have a longing to meet with him.

13 And he subsequently alleges a reason why he "met the place;" for, says he, "the sun was Set." [Genesis 28:11.] Not meaning the sun which appears to us, but the most brilliant and radiant light of the invisible and Almighty God. When this light shines upon the mind, the inferior beams of words (that is of angels) set. And much more are all the places perceptible by the external senses overshadowed; but when he departs in a different direction, then they all rise and shine. And do not wonder if, according to the rules of allegorical description, the sun is likened to the Father and Governor of the universe; for in reality nothing is like unto God; but those things which by the vain opinion of men are thought to be so, are only two things, one invisible and the other visible; the soul being the invisible thing, and the sun the visible one. Now he has shown the similitude of the soul in another passage, where he says, "God made man, in the image of God created he him." And again, in the law enacted against homicides, he says, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed in requital for that blood, because in the image of God did I make Him." [Genesis 9:6.] But the likeness of the sun he only indicates by symbols. And it is easy otherwise by means of argument to perceive this, since God is the first light, "For the Lord is my light and my Saviour," [Psalms 26:1.] is the language of the Psalms; and not only the light, but he is also the archetypal pattern of every other light, or rather he is more ancient and more sublime than even the archetypal model, though he is spoken of as the model; for the real model was his own most perfect word, the light, and he himself is like to no created thing. Since, as the sun divides day and night, so also does Moses say that God divided the light from the darkness; for "God made a division between the light and between the Darkness." [Genesis 1:4.] And besides all this, as the sun, when he arises, discovers hidden things, so also does God, who created all things, not only bring them all to light, but he has even created what before had no existence, not being their only maker, but also their founder.

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14 And the sun is also spoken of in many passages of holy writ in a figurative manner. Once as the human mind, which men build up as a City [Genesis 1:4.] and furnish, who are compelled to serve the creature in preference to the uncreated God, of whom it is said that, "They built strong cities for Pharaoh and Peitho," [Genesis 11:4.] that is, for discourse; to which persuasion (to peithein) is attributed, and Rameses, or the outward sense, by which the soul is devoured as if by moths; for the name Rameses, being interpreted, means, "the shaking of a moth;" and On, the mind, which they called Heliopolis, since the mind, like the sun, has the predominance over the whole mass of our body, and extends its powers like the beams of the sun, over everything. But he who appropriates to himself the regulation of corporeal things, by name Joseph, takes the priest and minister of the mind to be his father-in-law; for says the scripture, "he gave him Aseneth, the daughter of Peutephres, the priest of Heliopolis, for his Wife." [Genesis 41:45.] .7And, using symbolical language, he calls the outward sense a second sun, inasmuch as it shows all the objects of which it is able to form a judgement to the intellect, concerning which he speaks thus, "The sun rose upon him when he passed by the appearance of God." [Genesis 32:31.] For in real truth, when we are no longer able to endure to pass all our time with the most sacred appearances, and as it were with incorporeal images, but when we turn aside in another direction, and forsake them, we use another light, that, namely, in accordance with the external sense, which is real truth, is in no respect different from darkness, .8which, after it has arisen, arouses as if from sleep the senses of seeing, and of hearing, and also of taste, and of touch, and of smell, and sends to sleep the intellectual qualities of prudence, and justice, and knowledge, and wisdom, which were all awake. .8And it is for this reason that the sacred scripture says, that no one can be pure before the evening,[Leviticus 4:31.] as the disorderly motions of the outward senses agitate and confuse the intellect. Moreover, he establishes a law for the priests also which may not be avoided, combining with it an expression of a grave opinion when it says, "He shall not eat of the holy things unless he has washed his body in water, and unless the sun has set, and he has become Pure." [Leviticus 22:6.] For by these words it is very clearly shown that there is no one whatever completely pure, so as to be fit to be initiated into the holy and sacred mysteries, to whose lot it has fallen to be honoured with these glories of life which are appreciable by the external senses. But if any one rejects these glories, he is deservedly made conspicuous by the light of wisdom, by means of which he will be able to wash off the stains of vain opinion and to become pure. Do you not see that even the sun itself produces opposite effects when he is setting from those which he causes when rising? For when he rises everything upon the earth shines, and the things in heaven are hidden from our view; but, on the other hand, when he sets then the stars appear and the things on earth are overshadowed. .8In the same manner, also, in us, when the light of the outward senses rises like the sun, the celestial and heavenly sciences are really and truly hidden from view; but when this light is near setting, then the star like radiance of the virtues appears, when the mind is pure, and concealed by no object of the outward senses.

15 But according to the third signification, when he speaks of the sun, he means the divine word, the model of that sun which moves about through the heaven, as has been said before, and with respect to which it is said, "The sun went forth upon the earth, and Lot entered into Segor, and the Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire." For the word of God, when it reaches to our earthly constitution, assists and protects those who are akin to virtue, or whose inclinations lead them to virtue; so that it provides them with a complete refuge and salvation, but upon their enemies it sends irremediable overthrow and destruction. And in the fourth signification, what is meant by the sun is the God and ruler of the universe himself, as I have said already, by means of whom such offences as are irremediable, and which appear to be overshadowed and concealed, are revealed; for as all things are possible, so, likewise, all things are known to God. In reference to which faculty of his it is that he drags those persons who are living dissolutely as regards their souls, and who are in a debauched and intemperate manner, cohabiting with the daughters of the mind the outward senses, as prostitutes and harlots, to the light of the sun, in order to display their true characters; for the scripture says, "And the people abode in Shittim;" now the meaning of the name Shittim is, "the thorns of passion;" which sting and wound the soul. "And the people was polluted, and began to commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab," [Numbers 25:1.] and those who are called daughters are the outward senses, for the name Moab is interpreted, "of a father;" and the scripture adds, "Take all the chiefs of the people, and make an example of them unto the Lord in the face of the sun, and the anger of the Lord shall be turned from Israel." [Numbers 25:4.] .9For he not only desires that the wicked deeds which are hidden shall be made manifest, and therefore turns upon them the beams of the sun, but he also by this symbolical language calls the father of the universe the sun, that being by whom all things are seen beforehand, and even all those things which are invisibly concealed in the recesses of the mind; and when they are made manifest, then he promises that he who is the only merciful being, will become merciful to the people. Why so? Because, even if the mind, fancying that though it does wrong it can escape the notice of the Deity as not being able to see everything, should sin secretly and in dark places, and should after that, either by reason of its own notions or through the suggestions of some one else, conceive that it is impossible that anything should be otherwise than clear to God, and should disclose itself and all its actions, and should bring them forward, as it were, out of the light of the sun, and display them to the governor of the universe, saying, that it repents of the perverse conduct which it formerly exhibited when under the influence of foolish opinion (for that nothing is indistinct before God, but all things are known and clear to him, not merely such as have been done, but even such are merely hoped or designed, by reason of the boundless character of his wisdom), it then is purified and benefited, and it propitiates the chastiser who was ready to punish it, namely, conscience, who was previously filled with just anger towards it, and who now admits repentance as the younger brother of perfect innocence and freedom from sin.

16 Moreover, it appears that Moses has in other passages also taken the sun as a symbol of the great Cause of all things, of which I seen an instance in the law which is enacted with respect to those who borrow on pledges: let us recite the law, "If thou takest as a pledge the garment of thy neighbour, thou shall give it back before the setting of the sun: for it is his covering, it is his only covering of his nakedness, in which he lies down. If he cries unto me I will hearken unto him, for I am Merciful." [Exodus 22:26.] Is it not natural that those who fancy that the lawgiver displays such earnestness about a garment should, if they do not reproach him, at least make a suggestion, saying, "What are ye saying, my good men? Do ye affirm that the Creator and ruler of the world calls himself merciful with respect to so trivial a matter, as that of a garment not being restored to the borrower by the lender?" These are the opinions and notions of men who have never had the least conception or comprehension of the virtue of the almighty God, and who, contrary to all human and divine law, impart the triviality of human affairs to the uncreate and immortal nature, which is full of happiness, and blessedness, and perfection; for in what respect do those lenders act unreasonably, who retain in their own hands the pledges which are deposited with them as security, until they receive back their own which they have lent? The debtors are poor, some one will perhaps say, and it is right to pity them: would it not have been reasonable and better to enact a law in accordance with which a contribution should be made to assist their necessities, rather than allow them to appear as debtors, or else one which should forbid the lending on pledges at all? But the law which has permitted the lending on pledges, cannot fairly be indignant against those who will not give up the pledges which they have received before the proper time, as if they were acting unjustly. But if any one having come, so to say, to the very farthest limits of poverty, and, being clothed in rags, loads himself with new debts, neglecting the pity which he receives from the bystanders, which is freely bestowed, upon those who fall into such misfortunes, in their own houses, and in the temples, and in the market-place, and everywhere; .9such a one brings and offers to his creditor, the only covering which he had for his shame, with which he has been wont to cover the secret parts of his nature, as a pledge for something. For what, I pray? Is it for some other and better garment? For no one is unprovided with necessary food as long as the springs of the rivers bubble up, and the torrents flow abundantly, and the earth gives forth its annual fruits. .9Again, is any creditor so covetous of riches, or so very cruel, or so perverse, as not to be willing to contribute a tetradrachm, or even less, to one in distress? Or is any one so stingy as to be willing to lend it, but to refuse to give it? or as to take the only garment that the poor man has as a pledge? which indeed under another name may fairly be called running away with a man's clothes;[the Greek word is lομpodyteoμ. A lομpodyteμs was one who frequented the baths for the purpose of stealing the clothes of the bathers.] for men who do this are accustomed to put on other peoples' clothes, and steal them, and to leave the proper owners naked. .9And why has the law provided so carefully that the debtor may not be without his clothes by night, and that he may not lie down to sleep without them, but has not paid the same attention to the fact of his being indecorously naked by day? Are not all things concealed by night and darkness, so as to cause less shame, or rather none at all at that time, but are they not disclosed by day and by light, so as then to compel persons to blush more freely? And why does the law not use the expression "to give," but "to restore?" For restoration takes place with respect to the property of other persons, but pledges belong rather to those who have lent on them than to those who have borrowed on them. Moreover, do you not perceive that the law has not enjoined the debtor, who has received back his garment that it may serve as bed-clothes, to bring it back again to his creditor at the return of daylight? And, indeed, if the exact propriety of the language be considered, even the most stupid person may see that there is something additional meant beyond what is formally expressed. For the injunction rather resembles a maxim than a recommendation. For, if a person had been giving a recommendation, he would have said: "Give back to your debtor, at the approach of evening, the garment which has been pledged to you, if it be the only garment that he is possessed of, that he may have something with which to cover himself at night." But one who was laying down a maxim would speak thus; as indeed the law does here, "For it is his garment, the only covering of his nakedness, in which he will lie down to sleep."

17 These things then, and other things of the same kind, may be urged in reply to those assertors of the literal sense of a passage; and who superciliously reject all other explanations. We will now, in accordance with the usual laws of allegorical speaking, say what is becoming with respect to these subjects. We say, therefore, that a garment here is spoken of symbolically, to signify speech; for clothes keep off the injuries which are wont to visit the body, from cold and heat, and they also conceal the unmentionable parts of nature, and moreover, a cloak is a fitting garment for the body. In much the same manner, speech has been given to man by God, as the most excellent of gifts; for in the first place, it is a defensive weapon against those who would attack him with innovations. For as nature has fortified all other animals with their own appropriate and peculiar means of defense, by which they are able to repel those who attempt to injure them, so also has it bestowed upon man that greatest defense and most impregnable protection of speech, with which, as with a panoply, every one who is completely clothed, will have a domestic and most appropriate bodyguard; and employing it as a champion, will be able to ward off all the injuries which can be brought against him by his enemies. In the second place, it is a most necessary defense against shame and reproach; for speech is very well calculated to conceal and obscure the faults of men. In the third place, it conduces to the whole ornament of life: for this is the thing which improves every one, and which conducts every one to what is best; for there are many disgraceful and mischievous men, who take conversation as a pledge, and deprive its proper owners of it, and utterly cut off what they ought to seek to increase; like men who ravage the lands of their enemies, and who attempt to destroy their corn and all the rest of their crops, which, if it were left unhurt, would be a great advantage to those who would use it. For some men carry on an irreconcilable and never-ending war against rational nature, and utterly extirpate its every shoot and beginning, and destroy all its first appearances of propagation, and render it, as one may say, utterly unproductive and barren of all good practices. For sometimes, when it is borne onwards towards sacred instruction with irresistible impetuosity, and when it is smitten with a love of the speculations of true philosophy, they--out of jealousy and envy, fearing lest, when it has derived strength from its noble aspirations and has been elevated to a splendid height, it may overwhelm all their petty cavils and plausible devices against the truth, like an irresistible torrent--turn its energy in another direction by their own evil artifices, guiding it in another channel to vulgar and illiberal acts: and very often they seek to blunt it or to hedge it in, and in this way leave the nobility of its nature uncultivated, just as at times wicked guardians of orphan children have rendered a deep-soiled and fertile land barren. And these most pitiless of all men have not been restrained by shame from stripping the man of his only garment, namely, speech; "For," says the scripture, "it is his only covering."--What is a man's only covering, except speech? For, as neighing is the peculiar attribute of a horse, and barking of a dog, and lowing of an ox, and roaring of a lion, so also is speaking, and speech itself, the peculiar property of man: for this is what man has received above all other animals as his peculiar gift, as a protection, a bulwark, and panoply, and wall of defence; he being, of all living creatures, the most beloved of God.

18 On which account the scripture adds, "This is the only covering of his nakedness;" for what can so becomingly overshadow and conceal the reproaches and disgraces of life, as speech? For ignorance is a disgrace akin to irrational nature, but education is the brother of speech, and an ornament properly belonging to man. In what then will a man lie down to rest? That is to say, in what will a man find tranquility and a respite from his labours, except in speech? For speech is a relief to our most miserable and afflicted race. As therefore, when men have been overwhelmed by grief, or by fear, or by any other evil, tranquility, and constancy, and the kindness of friends have often restored them; so it happens, not often, but invariably, that speech, the only real averter of evil, wards off that most heavy burden which the necessities of that body in the which we are bound up, and the unforeseen accidents of external circumstances which attack us, impose upon us; for speech is a friend, and an acquaintance, and a kinsman, and a companion bound up within us; I should rather say, fitted close and united to us by some indissoluble and invisible cement of nature. On this account it is, that it

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forewarns us of what will be expedient for us, and when any unexpected event befalls us it comes forward of its own accord to assist us; not only bringing advantage of one kind only, such as that which he who is an adviser without acting, or an agent who can give no advice, may supply, but of both kinds: .11for he does not display a half-complete power, but one which is perfect in every part. Inasmuch, as even if it were to fail in his endeavor, and in any conceptions which may have been formed, or efforts which may have been made, it still can have recourse to the third species of assistance, namely, consolation. For speech is, as it were, a medicine for the wounds of the soul, and a saving remedy for its passions, which, "even before the setting of the sun," the lawgiver says one must restore: that is to say, before the all-brilliant beams of the almighty and all-glorious God are obscured, which he, out of pity for our race, sends down from heaven upon the human mind. For while that most Godlike light abides in the soul, we shall be able to give back the speech, which was deposited as a pledge, as if it were a garment, in order that he who has received this peculiar possession of man, may by its means conceal the discreditable circumstances of life, and reap the benefit of the divine gift, and indulge in a respite combined with tranquility, in consequence of the presence of so useful an adviser and defender, who will never leave the ranks in which he has been stationed. .11Moreover, while God pours upon you the light of his beams, do you hasten in the light of day to restore his pledge to the Lord; for when the sun has set, then you, like the whole land of Egypt,[Exodus 10:21.] will have an everlasting darkness which may be felt, and being stricken with blindness and ignorance, you will be deprived of all those things of which you thought that you had certain possession, by that sharp-sighted Israel, whose pledges you hold, having made one who was by nature exempt from slavery a slave to necessity.

19 We have discussed this subject at this length with no other object except that of teaching that the mind, which is inclined to practice virtue, having irregular motions towards prolificness and sterility, and as one may say, being in a manner always ascending and descending, when it becomes prolific and is elevated to a height is illuminated with the archetypal and incorporeal beams of the rational spring of the all-perfecting sun; but when it descends and becomes unproductive, then it is again illuminated by those images of those beams, the immortal words which it is customary to call angels. On which account we now read in the scripture, "He met the place; for the sun was Set." [Genesis 28:11.] For when those beams of God desert the soul by means of which the clearest comprehensions of affairs are engendered in it, then arises that second and weaker light of words, and the light of things is no longer seen, just as is the case in this lower world. For the moon, which occupies the second rank next to the sun, when that body has set, pours forth a somewhat weaker light than his upon the earth; and to meet a place or a word is a most sufficient gift for those who cannot discern that God is superior to every place or word; because they have not a soul wholly destitute of light, but because, since that most unmixed and brilliant light has set, they have been favoured with one which is alloyed. "For the children of Israel had light in all their Dwellings," [Exodus 10:23.] says the sacred historian in the book of Exodus, so that night and darkness were continually banished from them, though it is in night and darkness that those men live who have lost the eyes of the soul rather than those of the body, having no experience of the beams of virtue. But some persons--supposing that what is meant here by the figurative expression of the sun is the external sense and the mind, which are looked upon as the things which have the power of judging; and that which is meant by place is the divine word--understand the allegory in this manner: the practicer of virtue met with the divine word, after the mortal and human light had set; for as long as the mind thinks that it attains to a firm comprehension of the objects of the intellect, and the outward sense conceives that it has a similar understanding of its appropriate objects, and that it dwells amid sublime objects, the divine word stands aloof at a distance; but when each of these comes to confess its own weakness, and sets in a manner while availing itself of concealment, then immediately the right reason of a soul well-practised in virtue comes in a welcome manner to their assistance, when they have begun to despair of their own strength, and await the aid which is invisibly coming to them from without.

20 Therefore, the scripture says in the next verses, "That he took one of the stones of the place and placed it at his head, and slept in that Place." [Genesis 28:11.] Any one may wonder not only at the interior and mystical doctrine contained in these words, but also at the distinct assertion, which gives us a lesson in labour and endurance: for the historian does not think it becoming, that the man who is devoted to the study of virtue should adopt a luxurious life, and live softly, imitating the pursuits and rivalries of those who are called indeed happy, but who are in reality full of all unhappiness; whose entire life is a sleep and a dream, according to the holy lawgiver. These men, after they have during the whole day been doing all sorts of injustice to others, in courts of justice, and council halls, and theatres, and everywhere, then return home, like miserable men as they are, to overturn their own house. I mean not that house which comes under the class of buildings, but that which is akin to the soul, I mean the body. Introducing immoderate and incessant food, and irrigating it with an abundance of pure wine, until the reason is overwhelmed, and disappears; and the passions which have their seat beneath the belly, the offspring of satiety, rise up, being carried away by unrestrained frenzy, and falling upon, and vehemently attacking all that they meet with, are only at last appeased after they have worked off their excessive violence of excitement. But by night, when it is time to turn towards rest, having prepared costly couches and the most exquisite of beds, they lie down in the most exceeding softness, imitating the luxury of women, whom nature has permitted to indulge in a more relaxed system of life, inasmuch as their maker, the Creator of the universe, has made their bodies of a more delicate stamp. Now no such person as this is a pupil of the sacred word, but those only are the disciples of that who are real genuine men, lovers of temperance, and orderliness, and modesty, men who have laid down continence, and frugality, and fortitude, as a kind of base and foundation for the whole of life; and safe stations for the soul, in which it may anchor without danger and without changeableness: for being superior to money, and pleasure, and glory, they look down upon meats and drinks, and everything of that sort, beyond what is necessary to ward off hunger: being thoroughly ready to undergo hunger, and thirst, and heat, and cold, and all other things, however hard they may be to be borne, for the sake of the acquisition of virtue. And being admirers of whatever is most easily provided, so as to not be ashamed of ever such cheap or shabby clothes, think rather, on the other hand, that sumptuous apparel is a reproach and great scandal to life. To these men, the soft earth is their most costly couch; their bed is bushes, and grass, and herbage, and a thick layer of leaves; and the pillows for their head are a few stones, or any little mounds which happen to rise a little above the surface of the plain. Such a life as this, is, by luxurious men, denominated a life of hardship, but by those who live for virtue, it is called most delightful; for it is well adapted, not for those who are called men, for those who really are such. Do you not see, that even now, also, the sacred historian represents the practicer of honourable pursuits, who abounds in all royal materials and appointments, as sleeping on the ground, and using a stone for his pillow; and a little further on, he speaks of himself as asking in his prayers for bread and a cloak, the necessary wealth of nature? like one who has at all times held in contempt, the man who dwells among vain opinions, and who is inclined to revile all those who are disposed to admire him; this man is the archetypal pattern of the soul which is devoted to the practice of virtue, and an enemy of every effeminate person.

21 Hitherto I have been uttering the praises of the man devoted to labour and to virtue, as it occurred to me naturally; but now we must examine what is symbolically signified under the expressions made use of. Now it is well that we should know, that the divine place and the sacred region are full of incorporeal intelligences; and these intelligences are immortal souls. Taking then one of these intelligences, and selecting one of them according as it appears to be the most excellent, this lover of virtue, of whom we are speaking, applies it to our own mind, to it as to the head of a united body; for, indeed, the mind is in a manner the head of the soul; and he does this, using the pretext indeed as if he were going to sleep, but, in reality, as being about to rest upon the word of God, and to place the whole of his life as the lightest possible burden upon it; and it listens to him gladly, and receives the labourer in the paths of virtue at first, as if he were going to become a disciple; then when he has shown his approbation of the dexterity of his nature, he gives him his hand, like a gymnastic trainer, and invites him to the gymnasia, and standing firmly, compels him to wrestle with him, until he has rendered his strength so great as to be irresistible, changing his ears by the divine influences into eyes, and calling this newly-modelled disposition Israel, that is, the man who Sees. [the marginal note in our Bible translates Israel, "a prince of God."] Then also he crowns him with the garland of victory. But this garland has a singular and foreign, and, perhaps, not altogether a wellomened name, for it is called by the president of the games torpor, for it is said, that the breadth became Torpid [Genesis 32:25; where, however, the expression of the Bible is "the hollow of Jacob's thigh was out of joint."] of all the rewards and of the proclamations of the heralds, and of all those most wonderful prizes for pre-eminent excellence which are had in honour; for the soul which has received a share of irresistible power, and which has been made perfect in the contests of virtue, and which has arrived at the very furthest limit of what is honourable, will never be unduly elated or puffed up by arrogance, nor stand upon tiptoes, and boast as if it were well to make vast strides with bare feet; but the breadth which was extended wide by opinion, will become torpid and contracted, and then will voluntarily succumb and yield to tameness, so as being classed in an inferior order to that of the incorporeal natures, it may carry off the victory while appearing to be defeated; for it is accounted a most honourable thing to yield the palm to those who are superior to one's self, voluntarily rather than through compulsion; for it is incredible how greatly the second prize in this contest is superior in real dignity and importance to the first prize in the others.

22 Such then may be said, by way of preface, to the discussion of that description of visions which are sent from God. But it is time now to turn to the subject itself, and to investigate, with accuracy, every portion of it. The scripture therefore says, "And he dreamed a dream. And behold a ladder was planted firmly on the ground, the head of which reached to heaven, and the angels of God were ascending and descending along It." [Genesis 28:12.] .13By the ladder in this thing, which is called the world, is figuratively understood the air, the foundation of which is the earth, and the head is the heaven; for the large interior space, which being extended in every direction, reaches from the orb of the moon, which is described as the most remote of the order in heaven, but the nearest to us by those who contemplate sublime objects, down to the earth, which is the lowest of such bodies, is the air. This air is the abode of incorporeal souls, since it seemed good to the Creator of the universe to fill all the parts of the world with living creatures. On this account he prepared the terrestrial animals for the earth, the aquatic animals for the sea and for the rivers, and the stars for the heaven; for every one of these bodies is not merely a living animal, but is also properly described as the very purest and most universal mind extending through the universe; so that there are living creatures in that other section of the universe, the air. And if these things are not comprehensible by the outward senses, what of that? For the soul is also invisible. And yet it is probable that the air should nourish living animals even more than the land or the water. Why so? Because it is the air which has given vitality to those animals which live on the earth and in the water. For the Creator of the universe formed the air so that it should be the habit of those bodies which are immovable, and the nature of those which are moved in an invisible manner, and the soul of such as are able to exert an impetus and visible sense of their own. Is it not then absurd that that element, by means of which the other elements have been filled with vitality, should itself be destitute of living things? Therefore let no one deprive the most excellent nature of living creatures of the most excellent of those elements which surrounds the earth; that is to say, of the air. For not only is it not alone deserted by all things besides, but rather, like a populous city, it is full of imperishable and immortal citizens, souls equal in number to the stars. Now of these souls some descend upon the earth with a view to be bound up in mortal bodies, those namely which are most nearly connected with the earth, and which are lovers of the body. But some soar upwards, being again distinguished according to the definitions and times which have been appointed by nature. Of these, those which are influenced by a desire for mortal life, and which have been familiarised to it, again return to it. But others, condemning the body of great folly and trifling, have pronounced it a prison and a grave, and, flying from it as from a house of correction or a tomb, have raised themselves aloft on light wings towards the aether, and have devoted their whole lives to sublime speculations. There are others, again, the purest and most excellent of all, which have received greater and more divine intellects, never by any chance desiring any earthly thing whatever, but being as it were lieutenants of the Ruler of the universe, as though they were the eyes and ears of the great king, beholding and listening to everything. Now philosophers in general are wont to call these demons, but the sacred scripture calls them angels, using a name more in accordance with nature. For indeed they do report (diangellousi) the injunctions of the father to his children, and the necessities of the children to the father. And it is in reference to this employment of theirs that the holy scripture has represented them as ascending and descending, not because God, who knows everything before any other being, has any need of interpreters; but because it is the lot of us miserable mortals to use speech as a mediator and intercessor; because of our standing in awe of and fearing the Ruler of the universe, and the all-powerful might of his authority; .14having received a notion of which he once entreated one of those mediators, saying: "Do thou speak for us, and let not God speak to us, lest we Die." [Exodus 20:19.] For not only are we unable to endure his chastisements, but we cannot bear even his excessive and unmodified benefits, which he himself proffers us of his own accord, without employing the ministrations of any other beings. Very admirably therefore does Moses represent the air under the figurative symbol of a ladder, as planted solidly in the earth and reaching up to heaven. For it comes to pass that the evaporations which are given forth by the earth becoming rarefied, are dissolved into air, so that the earth is the foundation and root of the air, and that the heaven is its head. Accordingly it is said that the moon is not an unadulterated consolidation of pure aether, as each of the other stars is, but is rather a combination of the aether-like and air-like essence.

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For the black spot which appears in it, which some call a face, is nothing else but the air mingled with it, which is by nature black, and which extends as far as heaven.

23 The ladder therefore in the world which is here spoken of in this symbolical manner, was something of this sort. But if we carefully investigate the soul which exists in men, the foundation of which is something corporeal, and as it were earth-like, we shall find that the foundation to be the outward sense; and the head to be something heavenly, as it were the most pure mind. But all the words of God move incessantly upwards and downwards through the whole of it, dragging it upwards along with them whenever they soar aloft, and separating it from whatever is mortal, and exhibiting to it a sight of those things which alone are worthy of being beheld; but yet not casting it down when they descend. For neither is God himself, nor the word of God, worthy of blame. But they join with them in their descent, by reason of their love for mankind and compassion for our race, for the sake of being their allies and rendering them assistance, in order that by breathing in a saving inspiration they may recall to life the soul which was still being tossed about in the body as in the river. Now the God and governor of the universe does by himself and alone walk about invisibly and noiselessly in the minds of those who are purified in the highest degree. For there is extant a prophecy which was delivered to the wise man, in which it is said: "I will walk among you, and I will be your God." [Leviticus 26:12.] But the angels--the words of God--move about in the minds of those persons who are still in a process of being washed, but who have not yet completely washed off the life which defiles them, and which is polluted by the contact of their heavy bodies, making them look pure and brilliant to the eyes of virtue. But it is plain enough what vast numbers of evils are driven out, and what a multitude of wicked inhabitants is expelled in order that one good man may be introduced to dwell there. Do thou, therefore, O my soul, hasten to become the abode of God, his holy temple, to become strong from having been most weak, powerful from having been powerless, wise from having been foolish, and very reasonable from having been doting and childless. And perhaps too the practicer of virtue represents his own life as like to a ladder; for the practice of anything is naturally an anomalous thing, since at one time it soars up to a height, and at another it turns downwards in a contrary direction; and at one time has a fair voyage like a ship, and at another has but an unfavourable passage; for, as some one says, the life of those who practice virtue is full of vicissitudes: being at one time alive and waking, and at another dead or sleeping. And perhaps this is no incorrect statement; for the wise have obtained the heavenly and celestial country as their habitation; having learnt to be continually mounting upwards, but the wicked have received as their share the dark recesses of hell, having from the beginning to the end of their existence practiced dying, and having been from their infancy to their old age familiarised with destruction. But the practicers of virtue, for they are on the boundary between two extremities, are frequently going upwards and downwards as if on a ladder, being either drawn upwards by a more powerful fate, or else being dragged down by that which is worse; until the umpire of this contention and conflict, namely God, adjudges the victory to the more excellent class and utterly destroys the other.

24 There is also in this dream another sort of similitude or comparison apparent, which must not be passed over in silence; the affairs of mankind are naturally compared to a ladder, on account of their irregular motion and progress: for as some one or other has said; "One day has cast one man down from on high and destroyed him, and another it has raised up, nothing that belongs to our human race being formed by nature so as to remain long in the same condition, but all such things changing with all kinds of alteration. Do not men become rulers from having been private individuals, and private individuals from having been rulers, poor from having been rich, and very rich from having been very poor; glorious from being despised, and most illustrious from having been infamous?" [...] A very beautiful way of life: for it is very possible that the being whose habitation is the whole world, may dwell with you also, and take care of your house, so that it may be completely protected and free from injury for ever; and there is such a way as this in which human affairs move upwards and downwards, meeting with an unstable and variable fortune, the anomalous character of which, unerring time proves by evidence which is not indistinct but manifest and legible.

25 But the dream also represented the archangel, namely the Lord himself, firmly planted on the ladder; for we must imagine that the living God stands above all things, like the charioteer of a chariot, or the pilot of a ship; that is, above bodies, and above souls, and above all creatures, and above the earth, and above the air, and above the heaven, and above all the powers of the outward senses, and above the invisible natures, in short, above all things whether visible or invisible; for having made the whole to depend upon himself, he governs it and all the vastness of nature. But let no one who hears that he was firmly planted thus suppose that any thing at all assists God, so as to enable him to stand firmly, but let him rather consider this fact that what is here indicated is equivalent to the assertion that the firmest position, and the bulwark, and the strength, and the steadiness of everything is the immoveable God, who stamps the character of immobility on whatever he pleases; for, in consequence of his supporting and consolidating things, those which he does combine remain firm and indestructible. Therefore he who stands upon the ladder of heaven says to him who is beholding the dream, "I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac; be not Afraid." [Genesis 28:13.] This oracle and this vision were also the firmest support of the soul devoted to the practice of virtue, inasmuch as it taught it that the Lord and God of the universe is both these things also to his own race, being entitled both the Lord and God of all men, and of his grandfathers and ancestors, and being called by both names in order that the whole world and the man devoted to virtue might have the same inheritance; since it is also said, "The Lord himself is his Inheritance." [Deuteronomy 10:9.]

26 But do not fancy that it is an accidental thing here for him to be called in this place the God and Lord of Abraham, but only the God of Isaac; for this latter is the symbol of the knowledge which exists by nature, which hears itself, and teaches itself, and learns of itself; but Abraham is the symbol of that which is derived from the teaching of others; and the one again is an indigenous and native inhabitant of his country, but the other is only a settler and a foreigner; for having forsaken the language of those who indulge in sublime conversations about astronomy, a language imitating that of the Chaldaeans, foreign and barbarous, he was brought over to that which was suited to a rational being, namely, to the service of the great Cause of all things. Now this disposition stands in need of two powers to take care of it, the power that is of authority, and that of conferring benefits, in order that in accordance with the authority of the governor, it may obey the admonitions which it receives, and also that it may be greatly benefited by his beneficence. But the other disposition stands in need of the power of beneficence only; for it has not derived any improvement from the authority which admonishes it, inasmuch as it naturally claims virtue as its own, but by reason of the bounty which is showered upon it from above, it was good and perfect from the beginning; therefore God is the name of the beneficent power, and Lord is the title of the royal power. What then can any one call a more ancient and important good, than to be thought worthy to meet with unmixed and unalloyed beneficence? And what can be less valuable than to receive a mixture of authority and liberality? And it appears to me that it was because the practicer of virtue saw that he uttered that most admirable prayer that, "the Lord might be to him as God;" [Genesis 28:21.] for he desired no longer to stand in awe of him as a governor, but to honour and love him as a benefactor. Now is it not fitting that even blind men should become sharpsighted in their minds to these and similar things, being endowed with the power of sight by the most sacred oracles, so as to be able to contemplate the glories of nature, and not to be limited to the mere understanding of the words? But even if we voluntarily close the eye of our soul and take no care to understand such mysteries, or if we are unable to look up to them, the hierophant himself stands by and prompts us. And do not thou ever cease through weariness to anoint thy eyes until you have introduced those who are duly initiated to the secret light of the sacred scriptures, and have displayed to them the hidden things therein contained, and their reality, which is invisible to those who are uninitiated. It is becoming then for you to act thus; but as for ye, O souls, who have once tasted of divine love, as if you had even awakened from deep sleep, dissipate the mist that is before you; and hasten forward to that beautiful spectacle, putting aside slow and hesitating fear, in order to comprehend all the beautiful sounds and sights which the president of the games has prepared for your advantage.

27 There are then a countless number of things well worthy of being displayed and demonstrated; and among them one which was mentioned a little while ago; for the oracles calls the person who was really his grandfather, the father of the practicer of virtue, and to him who as really his father, it has not given any such title; for the scriptures says, "I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father," but in reality Abraham was his grandfather; and then proceeds, "And the God of Isaac," and in this case he does not add, "thy father:" .16is it not then worth while to examine into the cause of this difference? Undoubtedly it is; let us then in a careful manner apply ourselves to the consideration of the cause. Philosophers say that virtue exists among men, either by nature, or by practice, or by learning. On which account the sacred scriptures represent the three founders of the nation of the Israelites as wise men; not indeed originally endowed with the same kind of wisdom, but arriving rapidly at the same end. .16For the eldest of them, Abraham, had instruction for his guide in the road which conducted him to virtue; as we shall show in another treatise to the best of our power. And Isaac, who is the middle one of the three, had a self-taught and self-instructed nature. And Jacob, the third, arrived at this point by industry and practice, in accordance with which were his labours of wrestling and contention. Since then there are thus three different manners by which wisdom exists among men, it happens that the two extremes are the most nearly and frequently united. For the virtue which is acquired by practice, is the offspring of that which is derived from learning. But that which is implanted by nature is indeed akin to the others, for it is set below them, as the root for them all. But it has obtained its prize without any rivalry or difficulty. .17So that it is thus very natural for Abraham, as one who had been improved by instruction, to be called the father of Jacob, who arrived at his height of virtue by practice. By which expression is indicated that not so much the relationship of one man to the other, but that the power which is fond of hearing is very ready for learning; the power which is devoted to practice being also well suited for wrestling. If, however, this practicer of virtue runs on vigorously towards the end and learns to see clearly what he previously only dreamed of in an indistinct way, being altered and re-stamped with a better character, and being called Israel, that is, "the man who sees God," instead of Jacob, that is, "the supplanter," he then is no longer set down as the son of Abraham, as his father, of him who derived wisdom from instruction, but as the son of Israel, who was born excellent by nature. These statements are not fables of my own invention, but are the oracle written on the sacred pillars. For, says the scripture: " Israel having departed, he and all that he had came to the well of the oath, and there he sacrificed a sacrifice to the God of his father Isaac." [Genesis 46:1.] Do you not now perceive that this present assertion has reference not to the relationship between mortal men, but, as was said before, to the nature of things? For look at what is before us. At one time, Jacob is spoken of as the son of his father Abraham, and at another time he is called Israel , the son of Isaac, on account of the reason which we have thus accurately investigated.

28 Having then said: "I am the Lord God of Abraham, the father and the God of Isaac," he adds: "Be not afraid," very consistently. For how can we any longer be afraid when we have thee, O God, as our armour and defender? Thee, the deliverer from fear and from every painful feeling? Thee, who hast also fashioned the archetypal forms of our instruction while they were still indistinct, so as to make them visible, teaching Abraham wisdom, and begetting Isaac, who was wise from his birth. For you condescended to be called the guide of the one and the father of the other, assigning to the one the rank of pupil, and to the other that of a son. For this reason, too, God promised that he would not give him the land. I mean by the land here, all-prolific virtue, on which the practicer rests from his contests and sleeps, from the fact of the life according to the outward sense being lulled asleep, and that of the soul being awakened. Receiving gladly peaceful repose there, which he did not obtain without war, and the afflictions which arise from war, not by means of bearing arms and slaying men; away with any such notion! but by overthrowing the array of vices and passions which are the adversaries of virtue. But the race of wisdom is likened to the sand of the sea, by reason of its boundless numbers, and because also the sand, like a fringe, checks the incursions of the sea; as the reasonings of instruction beat back the violence of wickedness and iniquity. And these reasonings, in accordance with the divine promises, are extended to the very extremities of the universe. And they show that he who is possessed of them is the inheritor of all the parts of the world, penetrating everywhere, to the east, and to the west, to the south, and to the north. For it is said in the scripture: "He shall be extended towards the sea, and towards the south, and towards the north, and towards the East." [Genesis 28:14.] But the wise and virtuous man is not only a blessing to himself, but he is also a common good to all men, diffusing advantages over all from his own ready store. For as the sun is the light of all those beings who have eyes, so also is the wise man light to all those who partake of a rational nature.

29 "For in thee shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." And this oracle applies to the wise man in respect of himself, and also in respect of Others. [the text is very corrupt here. I have followed Mangey's reading and translation.] For if the mind which is in me is purified by perfect virtue, and if the tribes of that earthly part which is about me are purified at the same time, which tribes have fallen to the lot of the external senses, and of the greatest channel of all, namely the body; and if any one, either in his house, or in his city, or in his country, or in his nation, becomes a lover of wisdom, it is inevitable that that house, and that city, and that country, and that nation, must attain to a better life. For, as those spices which are set on fire fill all persons near them with their fragrance, so in the same manner do all those persons who are neighbours of and contiguous to the wise men catch some of the exhalations which reach to a distance from him, and so become improved in their characters.

30 And it is the greatest of all advantages to a soul engaged in labours and contests, to have for its fellow traveller, God, who penetrates everywhere. "For behold," says God, "I am with Thee." [Genesis 28:15.] Of what then can we be in need while we have for our wealth Thee, who art the only true and

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real riches, who keepest us in the road which leads to virtue in all its different divisions? For it is not one portion only of the rational life which conducts to justice and to all other virtue, but the parts are infinite in number, from which those who desire to arrive at virtue can set out.

31 Very admirably therefore is it said in the scripture: "I will lead thee back to this land." For it was fitting that the reason should remain with itself, and should not depart to the outward sense. And if it has departed, then the next best thing is for it to return back again. And perhaps also a doctrine bearing on the immortality of the soul is figuratively intimated by this expression. For the soul, having left the region of heaven, as was mentioned a little while before, came to the body as a foreign country. Therefore the father who begot it promises that he will not permit it to be for ever held in bondage, but that he will have compassion on it, and will unloose its chains, and will conduct it in safety and freedom as far as the metropolis, and will not cease to assist it till the promises which he has made in words are confirmed by the truth of actions. For it is by all means the peculiar attribute of God to foretell what is to happen. And why do we say this? for his words do not differ from his actions; therefore the soul which is devoted to the practice of virtue, being set in motion, and roused up to the investigations relating to the living God, at first suspected that the living God existed in place; but after a short space it became perplexed by the difficulty of the question, and began to change its opinion. "For," says the scripture, "Jacob awoke and said, Surely the Lord is in this place, and I knew it not;" and it would have been better, I should have said; not to know it, than to fancy that God existed in any place, he whom himself contains all things in a circle.

32 Very naturally, therefore, was Jacob afraid, and said in a spirit of admiration, "how dreadful is this Place." [Genesis 28:16.] For, in truth, of all the topics or places in natural philosophy, the most formidable is that in which it is inquired where the living God is, and whether in short he is in any place at all. Since some persons affirm that everything which exists occupies some place or other, and others assign each thing a different place, either in the world or out of the world, in some space between the different bodies of the universe. Others again affirm that the uncreated God resembles no created being whatever, but that he is superior to everything, so that the very swiftest conception is outstripped by him, and confesses that it is very far inferior to the comprehension of him; wherefore it speedily cries out, This is not what I expected, because the Lord is in the place; for he surrounds everything, but in truth and reason he is not surrounded by anything. And this thing which is demonstrated and visible, this world perceptible by the outward senses, is nothing else but the house of God, the abode of one of the powers of the true God, in accordance with which he is good; and he calls this world an abode, and he has also pronounced it with great truth to be the gate of heaven. Now, what does this mean? We cannot comprehend the world which consists of various species, in that which is fashioned in accordance with the divine regulations, appreciable only by the intellect, in any other manner than by making a migration upwards from this other world perceptible by the outward senses and visible; for it is not possible either to perceive any other existing being which is incorporeal, without deriving our principles of judgement from bodies. For while they are quiet, their place is perceived, and when they are in motion we judge of their time; but the points, and the lines, and the superficies, and in short the boundaries. [...] [there is an hiatus here, which cannot be filled up satisfactorily. The whole of the rest of the chapter is pronounced by Mangey to be obscure and corrupt, and almost unintelligible.] as of a garment wrapped externally around it. According to analogy, therefore, the knowledge of the world appreciable by the intellect is attained to by means of our knowledge of that which is perceptible by the outward senses, which is as it were a gate to the other. For as men who wish to see cities enter in through the gates, so also they who wish to comprehend the invisible world are conducted in their search by the appearance of the visible one. And the world of that essence which is only open to the intellect without any visible appearance or figure whatever, and which exists only in the archetypal idea which exists in the mind, which is fashioned according to its appearance, will be brought on without any shade; all the walls, and all the gates which could impede its progress being removed, so that it is not looked at through any other medium, but by itself, putting forth a beauty which is susceptible of no change, presenting an indescribable and exquisite spectacle.

33 But enough of this. There is another dream also which belongs to the same class, that one I mean about the spotted flock, which the person who beheld it relates after he had awoke, saying, "The angel of God spake unto me in a dream, and said, Jacob; and I said, What is it? And he said unto me, Look up with thine eyes, and see the goats and the rams mounting on the flocks, and the she-goats, some white, and spotted, and ring-straked, and speckled: for I have beheld all that Laban does unto thee. I am that God who was seen by thee in the place of God, where thou anointedst the pillar, and vowedst a vow unto me. Now therefore, rise up and depart out of the land, and go into the land of thy birth, and I will be with Thee." [Genesis 31:11.] You see here, that the divine word speaks of dreams as sent from God; including in this statement not those only which appear through the agency of the chief cause itself, but those also which are seen through the operation of his interpreters and attendant angels, who are thought by the father who created them to be worthy of a divine and blessed lot: .19consider, however, what comes afterwards. The sacred word enjoins some persons what they ought to do by positive command, like a king; to others it suggests what will be for their advantage, as a preceptor does to his pupils; to others again, it is like a counsellor suggesting the wisest plans; and in this way too, it is of great advantage to those who do not of themselves know what is expedient; to others it is like a friend, in a mild and persuasive manner, bringing forward many secret things which no uninitiated person may lawfully hear. For at times it asks some persons, as for instance, Adam, "Where art thou?" And any one may properly answer to such a question, "No where?" Because all human affairs never remain long in the same condition, but are moved about and changed, whether we speak of their soul or their body, or of their external circumstances; for their minds are unstable, not always having the same impressions from the same things, but such as are diametrically contrary to their former ones. The body also is unstable, as all the changes of the different ages from infancy to old age show; their external circumstances also are variable, being tossed up and down by the impetus of everagitated fortune.

34 When, however, he comes into an assembly of friends, he does not begin to speak before he has first accosted each individual among them, and addressed him by name, so that they prick up their ears, and are quiet and attentive, listening to the oracles thus delivered, so as never to forget them or let them escape their memory: since in another passage of scripture we read, "Be silent and Listen." [Deuteronomy 27:9.] In this manner, too, Moses is called up to the bush. For, the scripture says, "When he saw that he was turning aside to see, God called him out of the bush, and said, Moses, Moses: and he said, What is it, Lord?" [Exodus 3:4.] And Abraham also, on the occasion of offering up his beloved and only son as a burnt-offering, when he was beginning to sacrifice him, and when he had given proof of his piety, was forbidden to destroy the self-taught race, Isaac by name, from among men; for at the beginning of his account of this transaction, Moses says that "God did tempt Abraham, and said unto him, Abraham, Abraham; and he said, Behold, here am I. And he said unto him, Take now thy beloved son Isaac, whom thou lovest, and offer him up." And when he had brought the victim to the altar, then the angel of the Lord called him out of heaven, saying, "Abraham, Abraham," and he answered, "Behold, here am I. And he said, Lay not thy hand upon the child, and do nothing to Him." [Genesis 22:1.] Also the practicer of virtue is also called one of this company dear to God, being deservedly accounted worthy of the same honour; for, says the scripture, "The angel of God said to me in my sleep, Jacob: and I answered, and said, What is It?" [Genesis 31:10.] But after he has been called he exerts his attention, endeavoring to arrive at an accurate knowledge of the symbols which are displayed to him; and these symbols are the connexion and generation of reasonings, as flocks and herds. For, says the scripture, "Jacob, looking up with his eyes, saw the goats and rams leaping upon the shegoats and upon the sheep." Now the hegoat is the leader of the flock of goats, and the ram is the leader of the flock of sheep, and these two animals are symbols of perfect reasonings, one of which purifies and cleanses the soul of sins, and the other nourishes it and renders it full of good actions. Such then are the leaders of the flocks in us, namely, reasons; and the flocks themselves, resembling the sheep and goats whose names they bear, rush forwards and hasten with zeal and earnestness towards justice. Therefore, looking up with the eye of his mind, which up to that time had been closed, he saw the perfect and thoroughly sharpened reasons analogically resembling the goats and rams, prepared for the diminution of offences and the increase of good actions. And he beheld how they leap upon the sheep and the goats, that is on those souls which are still young and tender, and in the vigor of youth, and beautiful in the flower of their age; not pursuing irrational pleasure, but indulging in the invisible sowing of the doctrines of prudence. For this is a marriage which is blessed in its children; not uniting bodies, but adapting perfect virtues to well-disposed souls. Therefore do all ye right reasons of wisdom leap up, form connexions, sow seed, and pass by no soul which you see rich and fertile, and welldisposed, and virgin; but inviting it to association and connexion with you, render it perfect and pregnant; for so you will become the parents of all kinds of good things, of a male offspring, white, variegated, ring-straked, and speckled.

35 But we must now examine what power each of these offspring has. Now those which are purely white (dialeukoi) are the most beautiful and the most conspicuous: the word dia being often prefixed in composition by way of adding force to the word, so that the words diadeμlon and diaseμmion are commonly used to signify what is very conspicuous (deμlon) and very remarkable (episeμmon); therefore the meaning here is that the first-born offspring of the soul which has received the sacred seed, is purely white; being like light in which there is no obscurity, and like the most brilliant radiance: like the unclouded beam which might proceed from the rays of the sun in fine weather at mid-day. Again, by the statement that some are variegated, what is meant is, not that the flocks are marked by such a multiform and various spottedness as to resemble the unclean leprosy, and which is an emblem of a life unsteady and tossed about in any direction by reason of the fickleness of the mind, but only that they have marks drawn in regular lines and different characters, shaped and impressed with all kinds of well approved forms, the peculiarities of which, being multiplied together and combined properly, will produce a musical harmony. For some persons have looked upon the art of variegating as so random and obscure a matter, that they have referred it to weavers. But I admire not only the art itself, but the name likewise, and most especially so when I look upon the divisions of the earth and the spheres in heaven, and the differences between various plants and various animals, and that most variegated texture, I mean the world; for I am compelled to suppose, that the maker of this universal textile fabric was also the inventor of all varied and variegating science; and I look with reverence upon the inventor, and I honour the art which he invented, and I am amazed at the work which is the result, and this too, though it is but a very small portion of it which I have been able to see, but still, from the portion of which has been unfolded to me, if indeed I may say that it has been unfolded, I hope to form a tolerably accurate judgement of the whole, guiding my conjectures by the light of analogy. Nevertheless I admire the lover of wisdom for having studied the same art, collecting and thinking fit to weave together many things, though different, and proceeding from different sources, into the same web; for taking the first two elements from the grammatical knowledge imparted to children, that is to say, reading and writing, and taking from the more perfect growth of knowledge the skill which is found among poets, and the comprehension of ancient history, and deriving certainty and freedom from deception from arithmetic and geometry, in which sciences there is need of proportions and calculations; and borrowing from music rhyme, and metre, and harmonies, and chromatics, and diatonics, and combined and disjoined melodies; and having derived from rhetoric invention, and language, and arrangement, and memory, and action; and from philosophy, whatever has been omitted in any of these separate branches, and all the other things of which human life consists, he has put together in one most admirably arranged work, combining great learning of one kind with great learning of another kind. Now the sacred scripture calls the maker of this compound work Besaleel, which name, being interpreted, signifies "in the shadow of God;" for he makes all the copies, and the man by name Moses makes all the models, as the principal architect; and for this reason it is, that the one only draws outlines as it were, but the other is not content with such sketches, but makes the archetypal natures themselves, and has already adorned the holy places with his variegating art; but the wise man is called the only adorner of the place of wisdom in the oracles delivered in the sacred scriptures.

36 And the most beautiful and varied work of God, this world, has been created in this its present state of perfection by all-wise knowledge; and how can it be anything but right to receive the art of variegating as a noble effort of knowledge? the most sacred copy of which is the whole word of wisdom, which will bear about in its bosom the things of heaven and of earth, from which the practicer of virtue elabourates his notions of various things. For after the white sheep he immediately beheld the variegated animals, stamped with the impression of instruction. The third kind are the ring-straked and speckled; and what man in his senses would deny that these also are, as to their genus, variegated? but still he is not so very eager about the varieties of the members of the flocks, as about the road which leads to virtue and excellence; for the prophet intends that he who proceeds along this road shall be besprinkled with dust and water; because it is related that the earth and water being kneaded together and fashioned into shape by the Creator of man, was formed into one body, not being made by hand, but being the work of invisible nature. Therefore it is the first principle of wisdom not to forget one's self, and always to keep before one's eyes the materials of which one has been compounded; for in this way a man will get rid of boasting and arrogance, which of all evils is the one most hated by God; for who that ever admits into his mind the recollection that the first principles of his formation are dust and water, would ever be so puffed by vanity as to be unduly elated? On this account the prophet has thought it fit that those who are about to offer sacrifice shall be sprinkled with the aforesaid things; thinking no one worthy to appear at a sacrifice who has not first of all learnt to know himself, and to comprehend the nothingness of mankind, and the elements of which he is composed, conjecturing from them that he himself is utterly insignificant.

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37 These three signs, the white, the variegated, and the ring-straked and speckled, are as yet imperfect in the practicer of virtue, who has not himself as yet attained to perfection. But, in the case of him who is perfect, they also appear to be perfect. And in what manner they appear so we will examine. The sacred scripture has appointed that the great High Priest, when he was about to perform the ministrations appointed by the law, should be besprinkled with water and ashes in the first place, that he might come to a remembrance of himself. For the wise Abraham also, when he went forth to converse with God, pronounced himself to be dust and ashes. In the second place, it enjoins him to put on a tunic reaching down to his feet, and the variouslyembroidered thing which was called his breastplate, an image and representation of the lightgiving stars which appear in heaven. For there are, as it seems, two temples belonging to God; one being this world, in which the high priest is the divine word, his own firstborn son. The other is the rational soul, the priest of which is the real true man, the copy of whom, perceptible to the senses, is he who performs his paternal vows and sacrifices, to whom it is enjoined to put on the aforesaid tunic, the representation of the universal heaven, in order that the world may join with the man in offering sacrifice, and that the man may likewise co-operate with the universe. He is now therefore shown to have these two things, the speckled and the variegated character. We will now proceed to explain the third and most perfect kind, which is denominated thoroughly white. When this same high priest enters into the innermost parts of the holy temple, he is clothed in the variegated garment, and he also assumes another linen robe, made of the very finest flax. And this is an emblem of vigor, and incorruptibility, and the most brilliant light. For such a veil is a thing very difficult to be broken, and it is made of nothing mortal, and when it is properly and carefully purified it has a most clear and brilliant appearance. And these injunctions contain this figurative meaning, that of those who in a pure and a guileless spirit serve the living God, there is no one who does not at first depend upon the firmness and obstinacy of his mind, despising all human affairs, which allure men with their specious bait, and injure them, and produce weakness in them. In the next place, he aims at immortality, laughing at the blind inventions with which mortals delude themselves. And last of all, he shines with the unclouded and most brilliant light of truth, no longer desiring any of the things which belong to false opinion, which prefer darkness rather than light.

38 The great high priest of the confession, then, may have now been sufficiently described by us, being stamped with the impressions above-mentioned, the white, the variegated, and the ring-straked and speckled. But he who is desirous of the administration of human affairs, by name Joseph, does not, as it appears, claim for himself any of the extreme characteristics, but only that variegated one which is in the middle between the others. For we read that Joseph had a "coat of many Colours," [Genesis 37:3.] not being sprinkled with the sacred purifications, by means of which he might have known that he himself was only a compound of dust and water, and not being able to touch that thoroughly white and most shining raiment, virtue. But being clothed in the much-variegated web of political affairs, with which the smallest possible portion of truth is mixed up; and also many and large portions of plausible, probable, and likely falsehoods, from which all the sophists of Egypt, and all the augurs, and ventriloquists, and sorcerers spring; men skilful in juggling, and in incantations, and in tricks of all kinds, from whose treacherous arts it is very difficult to escape. And it is on this account that Moses very naturally represents this robe as stained with blood; since the whole life of the man who is mixed up in political affairs is tainted, warring on others and being warred against, and being aimed at, and attacked, and shot at by all the unexpected chances which befall him. Examine now the man who has great influence with the people, on whom the affairs of the city depend. Do not be alarmed at those who look with admiration upon him; and you will find many diseases lurking within him, and you will see that he is entangled in many disasters, and that fortune is dragging him violently in different directions, though he bends his neck the other way, and resists, although invisibly, and in fact that fortune is seeking to overthrow and destroy him; or else the people themselves are impatient at his supremacy, or he is exposed to the attacks of some more powerful rival. And envy is a formidable enemy, and one hard to be shaken off, clinging also to everything that is called good fortune, and it is not easy to escape from it.

39 What reason is there then for our congratulating ourselves on the administration of political affairs as if we were clothed in a garment of many colours, deceived by its external splendour, and not perceiving its ugliness, which is kept out of sight, and hidden, and full of treachery and guile? Let us then put off this flowery robe, and put on that sacred one woven with the embroideries of virtue; for thus we shall escape the snares which want of skill, and ignorance, and want of knowledge, and education lay for us, of which Laban is the companion. For when the sacred word has purified us with the sprinklings prepared beforehand for purification, and when it has adorned us with the select reasonings of true philosophy, and, having led us to that man who has stood the test, has made us genuine, and conspicuous, and shining, it blames the treacherous disposition which seeks to raise itself up to invalidate what is said. For the scripture says: "I have seen what Laban does unto Thee," [Genesis 31:12.] namely, things contrary to the benefits which I conferred on you, things impure, wicked, and altogether suited to darkness. But it is not right for the man who anchors on the hope of the alliance of God to crouch and tremble, to whom God says, "I am the God who was seen by thee in the place of God." A very glorious boast for the soul, that God should think fit to appear to and to converse with it. And do not pass by what is here said, but examine it accurately, and see whether there are really two Gods. For it is said: "I am the God who was seen by thee;" not in my place, but in the place of God, as if he meant of some other God. What then ought we to say? There is one true God only: but they who are called Gods, by an abuse of language, are numerous; on which account the holy scripture on the present occasion indicates that it is the true God that is meant by the use of the article, the expression being, "I am the God (ho Theos);" but when the word is used incorrectly, it is put without the article, the expression being, "He who was seen by thee in the place," not of the God (tou Theou), but simply "of God" (Theou); and what he here calls God is his most ancient word, not having any superstitious regard to the position of the names, but only proposing one end to himself, namely, to give a true account of the matter; for in other passages the sacred historian, when he considered whether there really was any name belonging to the living God, showed that he knew that there was none properly belonging to him; but that whatever appellation any one may give him, will be an abuse of terms; for the living God is not of a nature to be described, but only to be.

40 And a proof of this may be found in the oracular answer given by God to the person who asked what name he had, "I am that I Am," [Exodus 3:14.] that the questioner might know the existence of those things which it was not possible for man to conceive not being connected with God. Accordingly, to the incorporeal souls which are occupied in his service, it is natural for him to appear as he is, conversing with them as a friend with his friends; but to those souls which are still in the body he must appear in the resemblance of the angels, though without changing his nature (for he is unchangeable), but merely implanting in those who behold him an idea of his having another form, so that they fancy that it is his image, not an imitation of him, but the very archetypal appearance itself. There is then an old story much celebrated, that the Divinity, assuming the resemblance of men of different countries, goes round the different cities of men, searching out the deeds of iniquity and lawlessness; and perhaps, though the fable is not true, it is a suitable and profitable one. But the scripture, which at all times advances its conceptions with respect to the Deity, in a more reverential and holy tone, and which likewise desires to instruct the life of the foolish, has spoken of God under the likeness of a man, though not of any particular man; attributing to him, with this view, the possession of a face, and hands, and feet, and of a mouth and voice, and also anger and passion, and moreover, defensive weapons, and goings in and goings out, and motions upwards and downwards, and in every direction, not indeed using all these expressions with strict truth, but having regard to the advantage of those who are to learn from it; for the writers knew that some men are very dull in their natures, so as to be utterly unable to form any conception whatever of God apart from a body, whom it will be impossible to admonish if they were to speak in any other style than the existing one, of representing God as coming and departing like a man; and as descending and ascending, and as using his voice, and as being angry with sinners, and being implacable in his anger; and speaking too of his darts and swords, and whatever other instruments are suitable to be employed against the wicked, as being all previously ready. For we must be content if such men can be brought to a proper state, by the fear which is suspended over them by such descriptions; and one many almost say that these are the only two paths taken, in the whole history of the law; one leading to plain truth, owing to which we have such assertions as, "God is not as a Man;" [Numbers 23:19.] the other, that which has regard to the opinions of foolish men, in reference to whom it is said, "The Lord God shall instruct you, like as if a man instructs his Son." [Deuteronomy 1:31.]

41 Why then do we any longer wonder, if God at times assumes the likeness of the angels, as he sometimes assumes even that of men, for the sake of assisting those who address their entreaties to him? so that when he says, "I am the God who was seen by thee in the place of God;" [Genesis 31:13.] we must understand this, that he on that occasion took the place of an angel, as far as appearance went, without changing his own real nature, for the advantage of him who was not, as yet, able to bear the sight of the true God; for as those who are not able to look upon the sun itself, look upon the reflected rays of the sun as the sun itself, and upon the halo around the moon as if it were the moon itself; so also do those who are unable to bear the sight of God, look upon his image, his angel word, as himself. Do you not see that encyclical instruction, that is, Hagar, says to the angel, "Art thou God who seest Me?" [Genesis 16:13.] for she was not capable of beholding the most ancient cause, inasmuch as she was by birth a native of Egypt. But now the mind begins to be improved, so as to be able to contemplate the governor of all the powers; on which account he says himself, "I am the Lord God," [Genesis 31:13.] I whose image you formerly beheld instead of me, and whose pillar you set up, engraving on it a most sacred inscription; and the inscription indicated that I stood alone, and that I established the nature of all things, bringing disorder and irregularity into order and regularity, and supporting the universe firmly, so that it might rest on a firm and solid foundation, my own ministering word.

42 For the pillar is the symbol of three things; of standing, of dedication, and of an inscription: now the standing and the inscription have been described, but the dedication it is necessary should be explained to all men. For heaven and the world are an offering dedicated to God who made them; and all the cosmopolitan and God-loving souls, which dedicate and consecrate themselves to him, not allowing any mortal thing to drag them in an opposite direction, are never weary of hallowing their own life, and adorning it with every kind of beauty as a meet offering for him. And he is a foolish man who does not set up a pillar to God, but who erects one to himself instead, attributing stability to the things of creation, which is tossed about in every direction, and thinking those things worthy of inscriptions and panegyrics, which are in reality full of matter for blame and accusation, and which as such had better never have been mentioned in an inscription at all, or if they had, had better have been speedily erased again. On which account the holy scripture says distinctly, "Thou shall not set up a pillar to Thyself;" [Deuteronomy 16:22.] for in truth there is nothing belonging to man that is stable, no, not though some persons persist even so obstinately in affirming it. But they not only think that they stand firmly, but also that they are worthy of honours and inscriptions, forgetting him who is alone worthy of honour, and who is alone firmly fixed; for while they are turning aside and wandering away from the path which leads to virtue, the outward sense leads them still more astray, that is to say, the woman who is akin to them, she also compels them to run ashore; therefore, the whole soul, like a ship, [mangey thinks that this passage is corrupt, and proposes to alter naus into apnous, "dead," but it seems unnecessary.] being shut in all around, is offered up as a pillar; for the sacred scriptures tell us that Lot's wife having turned back to look behind her, became a pillar of salt, .24and this is said very naturally and fitly; for if any one does not look forwards at those things which are worthy of being seen and heard (and these things are the virtues and the actions done in accordance with virtue), but looks backwards at the things which are behind him, at deaf glory, and blind riches, and senseless vigor of body, and an empty elegance of mind, pursuing these objects only, and such as are akin to them, he will lie as a lifeless pillar melting away by itself; for salt is not a thing to preserve his firmness.

43 Very admirably therefore does the practicer of virtue, having learnt by continued study that creation is a thing in its own nature moveable, but that the uncreated God is unchangeable and immoveable, erect a pillar to God, and anoint it after he has erected it; for God says, "Thou hast anointed my Pillar." [Genesis 31:13.] But do not fancy that that stone was anointed with oil, but understand rather that that opinion, that God is the only being who stands firmly, was thoroughly hardened by exercise, and established in the soul by the science of wrestling, not that science by which bodies are made fat, but that by which the mind acquires strength and irresistible vigor; for the man who is eager in the pursuit of good studies and virtuous objects is fond of labours, and fond of exercises; so that very naturally, having worked out the science of training which is the sister of the art of medicine, he anoints and brings to perfection all the reasonings of virtue and piety, and dedicates them, as a most beautiful and lasting offering to God. For this reason, after mentioning the dedication of the pillar, God adds that, "Thou vowedst a vow to me." Now a vow also is, to speak properly, a dedication, since he who makes a vow is said to offer up, as a gift to God, not only his own possessions, but himself likewise, who is the owner of them; for says the scripture, "the man is holy who nourishes the locks of the hair of his head; who has vowed a vow." But if he is holy he is undoubtedly an offering to God, no longer meddling with anything unholy or profane; and there is an evidence in favour of my argument, in the conduct of the prophetess, and mother of a prophet, Hannah, whose name being translated, signifies grace; for she says that she gives her son, "Samuel, as a gift to the Holy One," [1Samuel 1:28.] not dedicating him more as a human being, than as a disposition full of inspiration, and possessed by a divinely sent impulse; and the name Samuel being interpreted means, "appointed to God." Why then, O my soul, do you any longer waste yourself in vain speculations and labours? and why do you not go as a pupil to the

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practicer of virtue, taking up arms against the passions, and against vain opinion, to learn from him the way to wrestle with them? For as soon as you have learnt this art, you will become the leader of a flock, not of one which is destitute of marks, and of reason, and of docility, but of one which is well approved, and rational, and beautiful, of which, if you become the leader, you will pity the miserable race of mankind, and will not cease to reverence the Deity; and you will never be weary of blessing God, and moreover you will engrave hymns suited to your sacred subject upon pillars, that you may not only speak fluently, but may also sing musically the virtues of the living God; for by these means you will be able to return to your father's house, being delivered from a long a profitless wandering in and foreign land.

ON DREAMS, THAT THEY ARE GOD-SENT - BOOK 2

1 In describing the third species of dreams which are sent from God, we very naturally call on Moses as an ally, in order that as he learnt, having previously been ignorant, so he may instruct us who are also ignorant, concerning these signs, illustrating each separate one of them. Now this third species of dreams exists, whenever in sleep the mind being set in motion by itself, and agitating itself, is filled with frenzy and inspiration, so as to predict future events by a certain prophetic power. For the first kind of dreams which we mentioned, was that which proceeded from God as the author of its motion, and, as some invisible manner prompted us what was indistinct to us, but well known to himself. The second kind was when our own intellect was set in motion simultaneously with the soul of the universe, and became filled with divine madness, by means of which it is allowed to prognosticate events which are about to happen; .and for this reason the interpreter of the sacred will very plainly and clearly speaks of dreams, indicating by this expression the visions which appear according to the first species, as if God, by means of dreams, gave suggestions which were equivalent to distinct and precise oracles. Of the visions according to the second species he speaks neither very clearly nor very obscurely; an instance of which is afforded by the vision which was exhibited of the ladder reaching up to heaven; for this version was an enigmatical one; nevertheless, the meaning was not hidden from those who were able to see with any great acuteness. .But these visions which are afforded according to the third species of dreams, being less clear than the two former kinds by reason of their having an enigmatical meaning deeply seated and fully coloured, require the science of an interpreter of dreams. At all events all the dreams of this class, which are recorded by the lawgiver, are interpreted by men who are skilled in the aforesaid art. .Whose dreams then am I here alluding to? Surely every one must see to those of Joseph, and of Pharaoh king of Egypt, and to those which the chief baker and chief butler saw themselves; .and it may be well at all times to begin our instruction with the first instances. Now the first dreams are those which Joseph beheld, receiving two visions from the two parts of the world, heaven and earth. From the earth the dream about the harvest; and that is as follows, "I thought that we were all binding sheaves in the middle of the field; and my sheaf stood Up." [Genesis 37:7.] .And the other relates to the circle of the zodiac, and is, "They worshipped me as the sun and the moon and the eleven stars." And the interpretation of the former one, which was delivered with great violence of reproof, is as follows, "Shall you be a king and reign over us? or shall you be a lord and lord it over us?" The interpretation of the second is again full of just indignation, "Shall I, and thy mother, and thy brethren come and fall down upon the ground and worship thee?"

2 Let these things be laid down first by way of foundation; and on this foundation let us raise up the rest of the building, following the rules of that wise architect, allegory, and accurately investigating each particular of the dreams; but first we must mention what it is requisite should be attended to before the dreams. Some persons have extended the nature of good over many things, and others have attributed it to the most excellent Being alone; some again have mixed it with other things, while others have spoken of it as unalloyed. .Those then who have called only what is honourable good, have preserved this nature free from alloy, and have attributed it only to what is most excellent, namely to the reason that is in us; but those who have mixed it have combined it with three things, the soul, the body, and external circumstances. And they who act thus are persons of a somewhat effeminate and luxurious way of life, being bred up the greater part of their time, from their earliest infancy, in the women's apartments and among the effeminate race which is found in the women's apartments. But those who argue differently are men inclined to a harder regimen, being bred up from their boyhood among men, and being themselves men in their minds, embracing what is right in preference to what is pleasant, and devoting themselves to nourishment fit for athletes for the sake of strength and vigor, not of pleasure. Moses moreover represents two persons as leaders of these two companies. The leader of the noble and good company is the self-taught and self-instructed Isaac; for he records that he was weaned, not choosing to avail himself at all of tender, and milk-like, and childish, and infantine food, but only of such as was vigorous and perfect, inasmuch as he was formed by nature, from his very infancy, for acts of virtue, and was always in the prime and vigor of youth and energy. But the leader of the company, which yields and which is inclined to softer measures, is Joseph; .1for he does not indeed neglect the virtues of the soul, but he likewise shows anxiety about the stability and permanence of the body, and also desires an abundance of worldly treasures; and it is in strict accordance with natural truth, that he is represented as drawn in different directions, since he proposes to himself many different objects in life; and being attracted by each of them, he is kept in a state of commotion and agitation, without being able to stand firm. And his case is not like that of cities, which having made a truce enjoy peace, and yet after a time are again attacked, so as to gain the victory and to be defeated alternately; for at times a great influx of riches and glory coming upon them, subdues all their cares for the body and the soul, but afterwards, being repelled by both these things, they are conquered by the adversary; .1and in the same manner all the pleasures of the body coming upon the soul in a compact array overwhelm and efface all the objects of the intellect one after the other; and then, after a short time, wisdom, changing its course and blowing in the opposite direction with a fresh and violent breeze, causes the stream of the pleasures to slacken, and altogether moderates all the eagerness, and impetuosity, and rivalry of the external senses. Such a circle then of never-ending war revolves around the soul, subject as it is to so many changes; for when one enemy has been destroyed, then immediately there springs up another more powerful, after the fashion of the many-headed hydra; for they say, that in the case of this monster, instead of the head which was cut off another sprung up, by which statement they mean to intimate the multiform, and prolific, and almost invincible character of undying wickedness. Do not, therefore, answer [...] Joseph [...] [there is an hiatus here, and there is a good deal of corruption about the beginning of this book.] but know that he is the image of multiform and mixed knowledge. For there appears in him a rational species of continence, which is of the masculine kind, being fashioned in accordance with his father Jacob; and also that kind which is devoid of reason is likewise visible, that of the outward sense I mean, being made in the likeness of his maternal race, according to Rachel. There appears in him also the seed of bodily pleasures, which his association with the chief butlers, and chief bakers, and chief cooks has stamped upon him. There is, also visible the seed of vain opinion, on which he mounts as on a chariot by reason of his levity, being puffed up, and elated, and raising himself to a height to the destruction of equality.

3 Now the character of Joseph is sketched out by the foregoing outlines. But each of his dreams must be investigated with accuracy; and first of all we must examine the one about the sheaves. "I thought," says he, "that we were all binding sheaves." The expression, "I thought," is clearly that of a person who is not certain, but who is hesitating and supposing with some amount of indistinctness, not of one who sees positively and clearly; .1for it is very natural for persons just awakening out of a deep sleep, and still dozing at it were, to say, "I thought;" but not so for people who are thoroughly awake, and who can see distinctly. And the practicer of virtue, Jacob, does not say, "I thought," but his language is, "Behold, a ladder firmly set, the head of which reached up to Heaven." [Genesis 28:12.] And again he says, when "the sheep conceived I saw them with my eyes in my sleep, and behold the he-goats and the rams leapt upon the ewes and upon the she-goats, white, and variegated, and ring-straked, and Speckled." [Genesis 31:10.] .2For it happens of necessity that the sleeping conceptions also of those who think what is honourable and eligible for its own sake and more distinct and more pure, just as their waking actions are also more deserving of approbation.

4 But when I hear Jacob relating his dream I marvel at his having fancied that he was binding up the sheaves, and not reaping the corn; for the one is the task of the lower classes and of servants, but the other is the occupation of the employers, and of men more skilled in agriculture. For to be able to distinguish what is necessary from what is mischievous, and what is nutritious from what is not so, and what is genuine from what is spurious, and useful fruit from a worthless root, not only in reference to those things which the land bears, but also in those which the intellect bears, is the work of most perfect virtue. Accordingly the holy scripture represents those who see, that is the sons of Israel, as reaping, and what is a most extraordinary thing, as reaping not barley or wheat, but the harvest itself; accordingly the language of Moses is, "When you reap your harvest, you shall not wholly reap the corners of your Harvest." [Leviticus 19:9.] For he means here that the virtuous man is not merely the judge of things which differ from one another, and that he does not only distinguish the things from which some produce is derived from the produce itself; but that he is able also to distinguish while reaping the harvest, to remove this opinion of his ability to distinguish, and to eradicate a man's own opinion of himself; because he is firmly persuaded, and believes Moses when he affirms that "judgement belongs to God Alone," [Deuteronomy 1:17.] with whom are the comparisons and distinctions between all things; to whom it is well for a man to confess that he is inferior, a confession more glorious than the most renowned victory. Now the reaping a harvest is like cutting a second time what has been cut already; which when some persons fond of novelty applied themselves to they found a circumcision of circumcision, and a purification of purification; [Numbers 6:2.] that is to say, they found that the purification of the soul was itself purified, attributing the power of making bright to God, and never fancying that they themselves were competent, without the assistance of the divine wisdom, to wash and cleanse a life which is full of stains. Akin to this is the double cave, which is a symbol of the twofold and excellent recollections (the one existing in reference to the creature, and the other to the Creator), in which the virtuous man is bred up, contemplating the things which are in the world, and being also fond of inquiring about the father who made them; and it is owing to these twofold recollections, in my opinion, that the double symphony in music, that of the double diapason, was invented. For it was necessary that the work and the creator should be made happy in two most perfect melodies, and not both in the same one. For since the excellencies which were to be celebrated by them differed from one another, it followed of necessity that the melodies and symphonies should likewise differ from one another. The combined symphony being assigned to the world, which is a compound creation, composed of many different parts; and the disjoined melody being appropriated to him who, as to his essence, is separated from every creature, namely, to God. Moreover, the interpreter of the sacred will again enunciates an opinion friendly to virtue, saying that it is not proper "to thoroughly reap every corner of the harvest field;" remembering the original proposition, according to which he agreed that "the tribute belonged to the Lord," [Numbers 31:28.] to whom the authority and the conformation of these things also belong; but he who is uninitiated in reaping boasts, so far as to say, "I thought that I was with the others binding up the sheaves which I had Reaped." [Genesis 37:7.] And he does not consider that this is the occupation of servants and unskilled hands, as I have said a little while ago. But this word sheaves is an allegorical expression by which affairs are really meant, such as each man takes in hand for the support of his house, in which he hopes to live and dwell for ever.

5 There are, therefore, an infinite number of differences between sheaves, that is to say, between such affairs as support a house. There are also a countless host of differences between those who gather and take up the sheaves in their hand, so that it is impossible to mention or even to imagine them all. Still it is not out of place to describe a few of them by way of example, which he too mentioned, when he was recounting his dream. For he says to his brethren, "I thought that we were binding up sheaves." Now, of brethren he has ten, who are sons of the same father as himself, and one who is by the same mother; and the name of each individual among them is an emblem of some most necessary thing. Reuben is an emblem of natural acuteness, for he is called "the son who sees," being in so far as he is a son not perfect, but in so far as he is endowed with the faculty of sight and sees acutely, he is naturally well qualified. .3Simeon is an emblem of learning, for his name being interpreted means, "listening." Levi is a symbol of virtuous energies and actions, and of holy ministrations. Judas is an emblem of songs and hymns addressed to God. Issachar, of wages which are given for good work; but perhaps the works themselves are their own perfect reward. Zabulon is a symbol of light, since his name means the departure of night; and when the night departs and leaves us, then of necessity light arises. Dan is a symbol of the distinction between, and division of, different things. Gad is an emblem of the invasion of pirates, and of a counter attack made upon them. Asser is a symbol of natural wealth, for his name being interpreted, signifies "a calling blessed," since wealth is accounted a blessed possession. Napthali is a symbol of peace, for all things are open and extended by peace, as on the other hand they are closed by war; and his name being interpreted means, "widening," or "that which is opened." Benjamin is an emblem of young and old times; for being interpreted his name means "the son of days," and both young time and old time are measured by days and nights. Accordingly, every one of them takes up in his hand what belongs to himself; and having taken it up, binds all the parts together; the man well endowed by nature taking up the parts of dexterity, and perseverance, and memory, of which good natural endowments consist; the man who has learnt well takes up the parts of listening, tranquility, and attention; the man willing to endeavor takes up courage and a happy confidence which does not shrink from danger; the man inclined to gratitude takes up praises, panegyrics, hymns, and blessings, both in speaking and in singing; the man who is eager for wages takes up unhesitating industry, most enduring gratitude, and care, armed with a promptitude

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which is not to be despised; he who pursues light rather than darkness takes up wakefulness and acuteness of sight; the man who is an admirer of the division of and distinction between things takes up wellsharpened reasons so as not to be deceived by things similar to one another as if they were identical, impartiality so as not to be led away by favour, and incorruptibility; he who, in something of a piratical fashion, lays ambuscades against those who counterplot against him, takes up deceit, cajolery, trickery, sophistry, pretence, and hypocrisy, which being in their own nature blamable, are nevertheless praised when employed against the enemy; he who studies to be rich in the riches of nature takes up temperance and frugality; he who loves peace takes up obedience to law, a good reputation, freedom from pride, and equality.

6 It is of these things, then, that the sheaves of his brethren by the same father are composed and bound up; but the sheaf of his uterine brother is composed of days and of time, which are the causes of nothing, as if they were the causes of all things. But the dreamer and interpreter of dreams himself, for he united both characters, makes a sheaf of empty opinion as of the greatest and most brilliant of possessions and the most useful to life. For which reason it is originally by his dreams, which are things dear to night, that he is made known to the king of the bodily country, and not by any performance of conspicuous actions, which require day for their exhibition. .4After that, he is appointed overseer or governor of all Egypt , and is honoured with the second rank in the kingdom, and made inferior in honour only to the king. All which things are in the eye of wisdom, if that were the judge, more inglorious and more ridiculous than even defeat and dishonour. After that he puts on a golden necklace, a most illustrious halter, the circlet and wheel of interminable necessity, not the consequence and regular order of things in life, nor the connexion of the affairs of nature as Thamar was; for her ornament was not a necklace, but an armlet. Moreover, he assumes a ring, a royal gift which is no gift, a pledge devoid of good faith, the very contrary gift to that which was given to the same Thamar by Judah the son of the seeing king, Israel; for God gives to the soul a seal, a very beautiful gift, to show that he has invested with shape the essence of all things which was previously devoid of shape, and has stamped with a particular character that which previously had no character, and has endowed with form that which had previously no distinctive form, and having perfected the entire world, he has impressed upon it an image and appearance, namely, his own word. But Joseph also mounts the second chariot, being puffed up with elation of mind and vain arrogance. And he is regulator of the provisions, laying up and preserving the treasures for the body, and providing it with food from all quarters: and this is a very formidable fortification against the soul. Moreover, his deliberate choice of life, and the life which he admires, is testified to in no slight degree by his name; for Joseph, being interpreted, means "addition;" and vain opinion is always adding what is spurious to what is genuine, and what is the property of others to what is one's own, and what is false to what is true, and what is superfluous to what is adequate, and luxury to what is sufficient to support existence, and pride to life.

7 Consider now what it is which I am here desirous to prove. We are nourished by meat and drink, even though the meat be the most ordinary corn, and the drink plain water from the stream. Moreover, besides this, vain opinion has added to it an infinite number of varieties of cakes, and cheese-cakes, and sweetmeats, and costly and various mixtures of an indescribable multitude of wines, for the enjoyment of pleasure rather than for a participation in necessary food properly prepared. .4Again, the necessary seasonings for eating, are leeks, [Numbers 11:4.] and vegetables, and many fruits of trees, and cheese, and other things of that sort; and if you wish to include carnivorous men, we must, besides, add fish and meat to these items. Would it not, then, have been sufficient to broil these things upon the coals, or to roast them at the fire, and then eat them at once, after the fashion of those true heroes of old times? But the epicure is eager not only for such things as these, but he takes vain opinion for his ally, and excites the gluttonous passions which are within him, and seeks out and hunts all about for confectioners and pastrycooks of high reputation in their art. And they, bringing forward the different baits for his miserable stomach, which have been invented after long consideration, and preparing all kinds of peculiar flavours, and arranging them in due order, tickle, and allure, and subdue the tongue. Then, immediately they circumvent that foundation of the outward senses, the taste, by means of which the banquet-hunter in a very short time is rendered a slave instead of a free man. For who is there who does not know that clothes were originally made as a defense against the injuries which might arise to the body from cold and heat? as the poets say somewhere:--

"Taming the wind in the winter."

Who, therefore, thinks of costly purple garments? Who cares about transparent and thin summer robes? Who wishes for a garment delicate as a spider's web? Who is eager to have embroidered for him apparel flowered over with dyes and brocaded figures, by those who are skilful in sewing and weaving cunning embroidery, and are superior in their handwork to the imitative skill of the painter? Who, I say? Who, but vain opinion.

8 And, indeed, it is for the same reasons that we had need of houses, requiring them also for protection against the attacks of wild beasts, or of men more savage in their nature than even wild beasts. Why is it, then, that we adorn the pavements and floors with costly stones? And why do we travel over Asia, and Africa, and all Europe , and the islands, searching for pillars and capitals, and architraves, and selecting them with reference to their superior beauty? And why are we anxious for, and why do we vie with one another in specimens of Doric, and Ionic, and Corinthian sculpture, and in all the refinements which luxurious men have devised in addition to the existing customs, adorning the capitals of their pillars? And why do we furnish our chambers for men and for women with golden ornaments? Is it not all from our being influenced by vain opinion? And yet, for sound sleep, the mere ground was sufficient (since, even to the present day, the accounts tell us that the gymnosophists, among the Indians, sleep on the ground in accordance with their ancient customs); and if it were not, at all events a couch made of carefully chosen stones or plain pieces of wood, would be a sufficient bed; .5but now the poles of our ladders are ornamented with ivory feet, and workmen inlay our beds with costly mother-of-pearl and variegated tortoise-shell, at great expense of labour, and money, and time: and some beds are even made of solid silver or solid gold, and inlaid with precious stones, with all kinds of flowery work, and embossed golden ornaments strewed about them, as if for mere display and magnificence, and not for daily use. The contriver of all which is again the same vain opinion. Again: why need we seek for more in the way of ointment than the juice pressed out of the fruit of the olive? For that softens the limbs, and relieves the labour of the body, and produces a good condition of the flesh; and if anything has got relaxed or flabby, it binds it again, and makes it firm and solid, and it fills us with vigor and strength of muscle, no less than any other unguent. But the pleasant unguents of vain opinion, are set up in opposition to those that are merely useful, on which the perfumers work, and to which vast regions contribute, such as Syria, Babylon, the Indians, and the Scythians; in which nations the origins of all perfumes are found.

9 Again, with respect to drinking; what more could man really have need of than the cup of nature wrought with the perfection of art? Now such a cup our own hands supply, which, if any one brings together and forms into a hollow, applying them closely to his mouth, while another pours in the liquid to be drank, he gets not only a remedy for his thirst, but also a most indescribable pleasure. Still, if one were absolutely in need of something else, would not the ivy cup of the agricultural labourer be sufficient? and why should it be requisite to have recourse to the arts of other eminent artists? And what can be the use of providing a countless multitude of gold and silver goblets, it if be not for the gratification of boastful and vain-glorious arrogance, and of vain opinion raising itself to an undue height? Again, when men wear crowns, they are not content with fragrant garlands of laurel, or ivy, or violets, or lilies, or roses, or of any three whatever, or of any flower, neglecting all the gifts of God, which he bestows upon us as the various seasons of the year, but they put golden crowns on their heads, which are a very grievous weight, wearing them in the middle of the crowded marketplace without any shame. And what can we think of such men, but that they are slaves of vain opinion, in spite of their asserting themselves not only to be free, but even to be rulers over many other persons? The day would fail me if I were to go through all the varieties of human life; and yet, why need I dwell on the subject with prolixity? For who is there who has not heard, or who has not seen, such men as these? Who is there who does not associate with, and who is not familiar with them? So that the sacred scripture has very appropriately named "addition" the enemy of simplicity and the companion of pride; for as superfluous shoots do grow on trees, which are a great injury to the genuine useful branches, and which the cultivators destroy and cut out from a prudent foreknowledge of what is necessary: so likewise the life of falsehood and arrogance often grows up by the side of the true life devoid of pride, of which, to this day, no cultivator has been found who has been able to cut away the injurious superfluous growth by the roots. Therefore the practicers of wisdom, knowing this in the first instance by the outward sense, and secondly, pursuing it by the mind, cry out loudly and say, "A wicked beast has seized and devoured Joseph." [Genesis 37:33.] But does not that most ferocious beast, the various pride which springs up in the life of men living in irregularity and confusion, whose chief workmen are covetousness and unscrupulous cunning, devour every one who comes within his reach? Therefore grief will be added to them, even while they are alive, as though they were dead, since they have a life worthy of lamentation and mourning, since Jacob mourns for Joseph, even while he is alive. .6But Moses will not allow the sacred reasonings about Nadab to be bewailed; [Leviticus 10:6.] for they have not been carried off by a savage beast, but have been taken up by unextinguishable violence and imperishable light; because, having discarded all fear and hesitation, they had duly consecrated the fervent and fiery zeal, consuming the flesh, and very easily and vehemently excited towards piety, which is unconnected with creation, but is akin to God, not going up to the altar by the regular steps, for that was forbidden by law, but proceeding rapidly onwards with a favourable gale, and being conducted up even to the threshold of heaven, becoming dissolved into ethereal beams like a whole burnt-offering.

10 Therefore, O thou soul, that art obedient to thy teacher! thou must cut off thine hand and thy power when it begins to take hold of the parts of generation; that is to say, of things created, or of human pursuits; for very often ... to cut off the hand which has laid hold of the privy Parts," [Deuteronomy 25:12.] in the first place, because it has gladly received the pleasure which it ought rather to hate; and, secondly, because it has thought that the faculty of propagating seed was in our own power, and also, because it has attributed to the creature that power which belongs to the Creator. Dost thou not see that the earthly mass, Adam, when it lays its hands upon the two trees, dies, because it has preferred the number two to the unit, and because it has admired the creature in preference to the Creator? But do thou go forth beyond the reach of the smoke and the tempest, and flee from the ridiculous pursuits of mortal life as a fearful whirlpool, and do not, as the proverb has it, touch them even with the tip of thy finger. And when thou hast girded thyself up for the sacred ministrations, having made broad thy whole hand and thy whole power, then take a firm hold of the speculations of instruction and wisdom; for the command is of this kind, "If a soul brings a gift or a sacrifice, the gift shall be of fine wheaten Flour." [Leviticus 2:1.] After that the lawgiver adds: "And when he has taken a full handful of the fine wheaten flour, with the oil, and with all the frankincense, he places the memorial on the altar of sacrifice." Is not this a very beautiful and appropriate expression of Moses, to call that soul incorporeal which is about to offer sacrifice, but not to call the double mass which consists of mortality and immortality by any such name? For that which vows the vow--that which is full of gratitude--that which offers such sacrifices as are truly without spot, is one thing only, namely, the soul. What then is the offering of the incorporeal soul? What is the fine wheaten flour, a symbol of the mind purified by the suggestions of instruction, which is able to render the friend of education free from all disease, and life free from all reproach? From which the priest taking a handful within his whole hand, that is to say, with the whole grasp of his mind, is commanded to offer up the whole soul itself, full of the most unalloyed and pure doctrines, as the most excellent of sacrifices, fat and in good condition, rejoicing in divine light, and redolent of the exhalations which are given forth by justice, and by the other virtues, so as always to enjoy a most fragrant, and delicious, and happy life; for the oil and the frankincense, of which the priest takes a handful with the white meat, contain a figurative assertion of this.

11 It is on this account that Moses set apart an especial festival for the sheaf; however, not for every sheaf, but for that which came from the sacred land. "For when," says he, "you come into the land which I give unto you, and when you reap its harvest, you shall bring sheaves as a first fruit of your harvest to the Priest." [Leviticus 23:10.] And the meaning of this injunction is, when, O mind, you come into the country of virtue, which it is fitting should be offered up to God alone, being a land good for pasture, a land of rich soil, a land which bears fruit, and when you reap the fruit (either that afforded by the land spontaneously or that which thou hast sown), which has been brought to perfection by the God who gives perfection; carry it not home to thy house; that is to say, do not store it up, and do not attribute to thyself the cause of the crop which has arisen to thee, before thou has offered the first fruits to the Cause of all wealth, and to him who persuaded thee to study the operations which confer riches. And it is enjoined that you shall offer the "first fruits of your own harvest;" not of the harvest of the land, in order that we may reap and gather in the harvest for ourselves; dedicating to God all good and nutritious, and beneficial fruits.

12 But the man who is at the same time initiated in dreams and also an interpreter of dreams, is bold to say that his sheaf rose and stood upright; for in real truth, as spirited horses lift their necks high, so all who are companions of vain opinion place themselves above all things, above all cities, and laws, and national customs, and above all the circumstances which affect each individual of them. Then proceeding onwards from being demagogues to being leaders of the people, and overthrowing the things which belong to their neighbours, and setting up and establishing on a solid footing what belongs to themselves, that is to say, all such dispositions as are free and by nature impatient of slavery, they attempt to reduce these also under their power; .8on which account the dreamer adds, "And your sheaves turning towards my sheaf made obeisance unto It." [Genesis 37:7.] For the lover of modesty marvels at and fears the stiffnecked, and the cautious

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person fears the self-willed man, and he who reverences holiness fears that which is impious both for himself and for others. And is not this reasonable? For inasmuch as the good man is a spectator, not only of human life but also of all the things which exist in the world, he knows how many things are accustomed to be caused by necessity, and chance, and opportunity, and violence, and authority; and what numbers of propositions, and what great instances of prosperity proceeding onwards with rapidity towards heaven, the same causes have shaken and overthrown; .8so that he will of necessity take up caution as a shield, as a protection to prevent his suffering any sudden and unexpected evil; for as I imagine what a wall is to a city, that caution is to an individual. .8Do not these men then talk foolishly, are they not mad, who desire to display their inexperience and freedom of speech to kings and tyrants, at times daring to speak and to do things in opposition to their will? Do they not perceive that they have not only put their necks under the yoke like brute beasts, but that they have also surrendered and betrayed their whole bodies and souls likewise, and their wives and their children, and their parents, and all the rest of the numerous kindred and community of their other relations? And is it not lawful for the charioteer, and also for the passenger, with all freedom to spur, and to urge forward, and to check, and to hold back, according as he desires to arrange things, so as to make them greater or smaller. Therefore, being pricked with goads, and flogged, and mutilated, and suffering all the cruelties which can be inflicted in an inhuman and pitiless manner before death, all together, they are led away to execution and put to death.

13 These are the rewards of unseemly freedom of speech, not of that which is accounted such by right-thinking judges, but of that license which is full of folly, and insanity of mind, and of incurable distemper. What do you mean? Does anyone, when he sees a storm at its height, and a violent gale opposing him, and a hurricane raging tempestuously, and the sea full of vast waves, when he ought to anchor his ship, does anyone, I say, at such a moment weigh anchor and put to sea? What pilot, or what captain of a ship, was ever so drunk and intoxicated, as, while all the dangers which I have just enumerated were threatening him, to be willing to set sail, lest, if his vessel became water-logged by the sea breaking over it from above, it might be swallowed up with all its crew? For, if he had been inclined to meet with a voyage free from danger, it was in his power to wait for calm weather and a smooth and favourable breeze. What would one say, suppose anyone were to see a bear or a lion coming on with violence, and, while he might pacify and tame him, were to provoke him and make him savage, in order to give up himself as an unpitied meal and feast to those ravenous monsters? Unless indeed anyone will assert that it is of no use to anyone to oppose the asps and serpents of Egypt, and all the other things which ... destructive poison ... inflict inevitable death on those who are once bitten by them; for that men must be content to use incantations, and so to tame those beasts, and by such means to avoid suffering any evil from them. Moreover, are there not certain men who are more savage and more treacherous than boars, or serpents, or asps? whose treacherous and malignant disposition it is impossible to escape otherwise than by gentleness and caresses? Therefore the wise Abraham will offer adoration to the sons of Cheth, and their name being interpreted, means "admiring," because the occasion persuades him to do so. For he has not come to this action of adoration because he honours person who, by nature, and by hereditary qualities, and by their own habits, are enemies to reason, and who miserably waste the coinage of the soul, namely instruction, corrupting, and adulterating, and clipping it, but because he fears their present power and their scarcely conquerable strength, and is on his guard not to provoke them, he takes refuge in that great and powerful possession and weapon of virtue, that most excellent place of abode for wise souls, the double cave, which he could not occupy while warring and fighting, but only by acting as a champion and servant of reason. What? Do not we also, when we are spending our time in the market-place, frequently wonder at the masters, and also at the beasts of burden? But we wonder at these two classes, with different and not the same feelings. For we look upon the masters with honour, and upon the beasts of burden with fear, lest some injury should be done to us by them. And when an opportunity offers, it is a good thing to attack our enemies and put down their power; but when we have no such opportunity, it is better to be quiet; but if we wish to find perfect safety as far as they are concerned, it is advantageous to caress them.

14 On which account it is even now proper to praise those persons who do not yield to the president of vain opinion but who withstand him and say, "Shall you be a king and rule over Us?" [Genesis 37:8.] For they do not see him actually in possession of kingly power, they do not see him as yet kindled like a flame, and shining and blazing in the unlimited fuel, but only smouldering like a spark, dreaming of glory, and not visibly having attained to it; for they also suggest favourable hopes to themselves as if they will not be able to be overcome by him; for which reason they say, "Shall you reign over us?" Which is equivalent to saying, Do you expect to be a king over us while we are living, existing, strong, and breathing? Perhaps, indeed, you may make yourself master of such as are weak people, but with respect to us who are strong you will be looked upon us as a subject. And, indeed, this is the natural state of the case. For when right reason is powerful in the soul, vain opinion is put down; but when right reason is weak, vain opinion is strong. As long, therefore, as the soul has its own power still safe, and as long as it is not mutilated in any part of it, it may well have confidence to attack and aim its arrows at the pride which resists it, and it may indulge in freedom of speech, saying, "You shall not be a king, you shall not be a lord either over us, or during our lifetime over others; but we, with our body-guards and shield-bearers, the offspring of wisdom, will overthrow your attacks and baffle your threats with one single sally of ours. In reference to which circumstances it is said, "They began to hate him because of his dreams and because of his words." But are not all the images which pride sets up and worships mere words and dreams, while, on the contrary, those things alone deserve to be called actions and real energies which are referable to correct life and right reason? And the one class are worthy of hatred as being false, and the other class deserve friendship as being full of desirable and lovely truth. Let no one, therefore, venture to bring accusations against the virtues of such men, as if they exhibited a specimen of an inhuman and unbrotherly disposition; but let any one who is disposed to do so, learn that it is not a man who is now being judged of, but the disposition which exists in the soul of each individual, which is mad on the subject of glory and arrogant pride; let him embrace these men who have adopted irreconcileable enmity and hatred towards this disposition, and let him never love what is hated by them. Knowing thoroughly that such judges are never deceived so as to wander from a sound opinion, but that, having learnt from the beginning to understand who is the true king, namely, the Lord, they indignantly refuse to worship him who deprives God of his honour, and seeks to appropriate it to himself, and who invites his fellow servants to do him service.

15 On which account they say with confidence, "Shall you be a king and reign over us?" Are you ignorant that we are not independent, but that we are under the government of an immortal king, the only God? And why should you be a lord and lord it over us? for are we not under domination, and have we not now, and shall we not have for ever, and ever the same one Lord? in being whose servants we rejoice more than any one else can do in his liberty; for to be the servant of God is the most excellent of all things which are honoured in creation. I, therefore, should pray that I myself also might be able to abide firmly in the things which have been decided by these men; overseers of things, not of bodies, and just, and sober all their lives, so as never to be deceived by any of those things which are accustomed to deceive mankind. But up to this time I am in a state of intoxication, and I am labouring under much uncertainty, and I have need of a staff and of a guide like a blind man; for if I had a staff to support me, then, perhaps, I might neither stumble nor fall. But if any persons who are conscious that they are but inconsiderate and precipitate, pay no attention to and do not care to follow those who have investigated all necessary matters with diligence and circumspection, nor, though they themselves are ignorant of the road, submit to the guidance of those who are acquainted with it, let them know that they have entered a course which is very difficult to travel through, and that they are entangled in it, and will not be able to advance further; but I am so bound by treaties to these men, the moment I have a little recovered from my intoxication, that I think the same person both a friend and an enemy. But at present I will drive from me and hate that dreamer no less than they do; for no one in his senses could blame me for this, that the majority of opinions and votes does always prevail; but when he changes to a better course of life, and no longer dreams, and no longer worries himself by entangling himself in the vain imaginations of the slaves of vain opinion, and when he no longer dreams about night, and darkness, and the changes of uncertain matters which cannot be guessed at; he, then, having awakened from deep sleep, continues awake and receives certainty instead of indistinctness, and truth instead of false conceptions, and day instead of night, and light instead of darkness, and rejects an Egyptian wife, that is to say, the pleasure of the body, when she invites him to come in to her, and to enjoy her conversation, out of an indescribable love of continence and admiration for piety, and asserts his right to a share in those kindred and inherited blessings from which he appeared to be alienated, again desiring to recover that portion of virtue which properly belongs to him. For proceeding by small and gradual improvements, as if he were now established on the summit and perfection of his own life, he cries out, what indeed he knows to a certainty from what has happened to him, that he "belongs to God," [Genesis 50:19.] and that he belongs no more to any object of external sense which can affect any creature; and then his brethren will come to a permanent reconciliation with him, changing their hatred into friendship, and their malignity into good will. But I who am the follower of these men, for I have learnt to obey them as a servant obeys his master, will never cease to praise him for his change of mind. Since Moses, also, that priest of sacred things, preserves his change of mind as what is worthy of love and of being preserved in men's recollection, from being forgotten, by the symbol of the Bones [Exodus 13:19.] which he did not think proper to have buried in Egypt for ever, looking upon it as a hard thing, if the soul put forth any beautiful flower to suffer that to wither away, and to be overwhelmed and destroyed by the torrents which the Egyptian river of the passions, namely the body, which is incessantly flowing through all the outward senses, sends forth.

16 The vision, therefore, which appeared proceeding from the earth, with reference to the sheaves and the interpretation thereof, has now been sufficiently discussed. It is time now to consider the other vision; and to examine how that is interpreted by the art of the explanation of dreams. "He saw then," says the scripture, "a second dream, and he related it to his father, and to his brethren, and he said, I saw that the sun, and the moon, and the eleven stars worshipped me. And his father rebuked him, and said, What is this dream that thou hast dreamed? Shall I, and thy mother, and thy brethren, come forward and advance, and fall down to the earth and worship thee? And his brethren were jealous of him; but his father regarded his Words." [Genesis 37:9.] The studiers of sublime wisdom now say that the zodiac, the greatest of all circles in heaven, is studded with twelve animals (zoῳdia), from which it has derived its name. And that the sun and the moon are always revolving around it, and go through each of the animals, not indeed with equal rapidity, but in unequal numbers and periods; the one doing so in thirty days, and the other in as near as may be a twelfth part of that time, that is in two days and a half; therefore, he who saw this heaven-sent vision, thought that he was being worshipped by eleven stars, ranking himself among them as the twelfth, so as to complete the whole circle of the zodiac. And I recollect having before now heard some man who had applied himself to learning in no careless or indolent spirit, say that men were not the only beings which went mad with vain opinions, but that the stars did so too. And they also, said he, contend with one another for precedence, and those which are the greater claim to be attended by the lesser stars as their guards; these matters, however, we may leave for the studiers of sublime subjects to investigate, and to settle how much truth and how much random assertion there is in them. But we say, that the lover of indiscriminate study, and unreasonable contention, and vain opinion, being always puffed up by folly, wishes to assert a precedence, not only over men, but also above the nature of all existing things; and he thinks that all things were created for his sake, and that it is necessary that everything, whether earth or heaven, or water or air, should bring him tribute; and he has gone to such an extravagant pitch of folly, that he is not able to reason upon such matters as even a young child might understand, and to see that no artist ever makes the whole for the sake of the part, but rather makes the part for the sake of the whole. Now the part of the whole is the man, so that he is properly asserted to have been made for the sake of perfecting the world in which he is rightly classed.

17 But some persons are full of such exceeding folly, that they are indignant if the whole world does not follow their intentions: for this reason Xerxes, the king of Persia, being desirous to strike terror into his enemies, made a display of very mighty undertakings, altering the whole face of nature; for he changed the nature of the elements of the earth and of the sea, giving land to the sea and sea to the land, by joining the Hellespont with a bridge, and breaking up Mount Athos into deep gulfs, which, being filled with sea, became so many new and artificially-cut seas, being entirely changed from the ancient course of nature. And having worked wonders with respect to the earth, according to his wishes, he mounted up upon daring conceptions, like a miserable man as he was, contracting the guilt of impiety, and seeking to soar up to heaven, as if he would move what cannot be moved, and would subjugate the host of heaven, and, as the proverb has it, he began with a sacred thing. For he aimed his arrows at the most excellent of the heavenly bodies, the sun, the ruler of the day, as if he had not himself been wounded by the invisible dart of insanity, not only because of his desiring things which were impossible, but such as were also most impious, either of which is a great disgrace to him who attempts them. It is related, also, that the very populous nation of the Germans, and theirs is a country where the sea is subject to the ebb and flow of the tide, ran down to the reflux which occurs in their country with great impetuosity, and drawing their naked swords charged and encountered the billowy sea as if it were a phalanx of enemies: and these men deserve to be hated because they dare impiously to take up the arms of enemies against the free and invincible parts of nature; but they deserve also to be ridiculed for attempting what is impossible, as if they thought it practicable to wound the water as though it were a living animal, or to stab it and kill it. And again, one should grieve at the sight of such men, and fear, and flee out of fear at their

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attacks, and submit to all the affections of the soul which are conversant with pleasures and pains.

18 Moreover, it is only a very short time ago that I knew a man of very high rank, one who was prefect and governor of Egypt, who, after he had taken it into his head to change our national institutions and customs, and in an extraordinary manner to abrogate that most holy law guarded by such fearful penalties, which relates to the seventh day, and was compelling us to obey him, and to do other things contrary to our established custom, thinking that that would be the beginning of our departure from the other laws, and of our violation of all our national customs, if he were once able to destroy our hereditary and customary observance of the seventh day. And as he saw that those to whom he offered violence did not yield to his injunctions, and that the rest of our people was not disposed to submit in tranquility, but was indignant and furious at the business, and was mourning and dispirited as if at the enslaving, and overthrow, and utter destruction of their country; he thought fit to endeavor by a speech to persuade them to transgress, saying: "If an invasion of enemies were to come upon you on a sudden, or the violence of a deluge, from the river having broken down all its barriers by an inundation, or any terrible fire, or a thunderbolt, or famine, or pestilence, or an earthquake, or any other evil, whether caused by men or inflicted by God, would you still remain quiet and unmoved at home? And would you still go on in your habitual fashion, keeping your right hand back, and holding the other under your garments close to your sides, in order that you might not, even without meaning it, do anything to contribute to your own preservation? And would you still sit down in your synagogues, collecting your ordinary assemblies, and reading your sacred volumes in security, and explaining whatever is not quite clear, and devoting all your time and leisure with long discussions to the philosophy of your ancestors? Nay: rather shaking off all these ideas, you would gird yourselves up for the preservation of yourselves, and of your parents, and of your children, and, if one must tell the plain truth, of your possessions and treasures, to save them from being utterly destroyed. And, indeed, I myself, am," said he, "all the evils which I have just enumerated: I am a whirlwind, I am war, and deluge, and thunderbolt, and the calamity of famine, and the misery of pestilence, and an earthquake which shakes and overthrows what stood firm before, not being merely the name of a necessity of fate, but actual, visible power, standing close to you." What then can we say that a man who says, or who merely thinks such things as these, is? Is he not an evil of an extraordinary nature? He surely must be some foreign calamity, brought from over the sea, or from some other world, since he, a man in every respect miserable, has dared to compare himself to the all-blessed God. We must likewise add, that he is daring here to utter blasphemies against the sun, and the moon, and the rest of the stars, whenever anything which had been looked for according to the seasons of the year, either does not happen at all, or is brought about with difficulty; if, for instance, the summer causes too much heat, or the winter too excessive a cold, or if the spring or autumn were unseasonable, so that the one were to become barren and unfruitful, and the other to be prolific only in diseases. Therefore, giving all imaginable license to an unbridled mouth and abusive tongue, such a man will reproach the stars as not bringing their customary tribute, all but claiming for the things of earth the reverence and adoration of the heavenly bodies, and for himself above them all, in proportion as he, as being a man, looks upon himself as superior to the other animals.

19Such men then are classed by us as the very teachers of vain opinion. Let us now in turn look at their followers by themselves. These men are always laying plots against the practicers of virtue, and when they see them labouring to make their own life pure with guileless truth, and to exhibit it, as one may say, to the light of the moon, or of the sun, as able to stand inspection, they endeavor by deceit, or even by open violence, to hinder them, trying to drive them into the sunless country of impious men, which is occupied by deep night, and endless darkness, and ten thousand tribes of images, and appearances, and dreams, and then, having thrust them down thither, they compel them to fall down and worship them as masters. For we look upon the practicer of virtue as the sun, since the one gives light to our bodies, and the other to the things which belong to the soul: and the education which such a man uses we look upon as the moon, for the use of each is most pure and most useful in the night; and the brethren are those virtuous reasonings which are the offspring of instruction, and of a soul devoted to the practice of virtue, all of which make straight the right path of life, and which they, therefore, by all kinds of wary and cunning wrestlings, seek to overcome, and to trip up, and overthrow, and break the neck of, because they have determined neither to think nor to say anything sound themselves. For this reason his father rebukes this intractable youth (I do not mean Jacob, but right reason, which is older even than he), saying, "What is this dream which thou hast dreamt?" but thou hast not seen any dream at all; hast thou fancied that things which are free by nature are to be of necessity slaves to human things, and that things which are rulers are to become subjects? and, what is more paradoxical still, subject, not to anything else but to the very things which they govern? and to be the slaves of no other things except those very things which are their own slaves? unless indeed a change of all the established things to their direct contraries is to take place, by the power of God, who is able to effect all things, and to move what is immovable, and to fix what is in a constant state of agitation. Since on what principle can you be angry with or reproach a man who sees a vision in his sleep? For he will say, I did not see it intentionally, why do you bring accusations against me, for errors which I have not committed from any deliberate purpose? I have related to you what fell upon me and made an impression on my mind suddenly, and without my desiring it. But the present question is not about dreams, but about things which resemble dreams; which, to those whose minds are not highly purified appear great, and beautiful, and desirable things; while they are, in reality, trifling, and obscure, and deserving of ridicule, in the eyes of honest judges of the truth.

20 Shall I then, says he, I, that is to say, right reason, come to you? And shall the soul, which is both the mother and nurse of the company devoted to learning virtuous instruction, also come to thee? And are the offspring of us too to come likewise? And are we all to stand in a row, laying aside all our former dignity, and holding up our hands and praying to thee? And are we then to prostrate ourselves on the ground, and endeavor to propitiate and adore thee? But may the sun never shine upon such transactions, since deep darkness is suited to evil deeds, and brilliant light to good deeds. And what could be a greater evil than for pride, that deceiver and beguiler, to be praised and admired, instead of sincere and honest simplicity? And it is with great propriety that the statement is added, "And his father took notice of his words." For it is the occupation of a soul which is not young, nor barren, nor wholly unfruitful, but rather of one which is really older and able to beget offspring, to cohabit with prudent caution, and to despise and overlook nothing whatever, but to have a reverential fear of the power of God, from which we cannot escape, and which we cannot overcome; and to look all around to see what its very end shall be. For this reason they say, that the sister of Moses also (and she is called Hope by us, when speaking in a figurative manner) was contemplated at a distance by the sacred scriptures, inasmuch as she kept her eyes fixed on the end of life, hoping that some good fortune might befall her, sent by the Giver of all good from above, from heaven; .or it has often happened that many persons, after having taken long voyages, and having sailed over a great expanse of sea with a fair wind, and without any danger, have suddenly been shipwrecked in the harbour itself, when they have been on the very point of casting anchor; and many persons too, who have successfully come to the end of formidable wars of long duration, and have come off unwounded so as never to have received even a scratch on the surface of the skin, but to have escaped whole and entire as if they had only been at some popular assembly or national festival, having returned home with joy and cheerfulness, have been plotted against in their houses by those who, of all the world, least ought to have done so; being, as the proverb says, like oxen slain in their stall.

21 As these unexpected events, which no one could ever have anticipated, do frequently happen in this manner and overthrow people, so also do they often drive the powers of the soul in a contrary direction to the proper one, and drag it in an opposite way, according to their power, and compel it to change its course: for what man, who has ever descended into the arena of life, has come off without a fall? And who is there who has never been tripped up in that contest? He is happy who has not often been so. And for whom has not fortune laid snares, blowing upon him at intervals, and collecting its strength, that it may twine itself around him, and speedily carry him off before its adversary is ready for the contest? Do we not know, that some persons have come from infancy to old age who have never been sensible of any irregularity, whether it be from the happy condition of their nature, or from the care of those who brought them up and educated them, or owing to both circumstances? But then, being filled with profound peace in themselves, which is real peace, and the archetypal model of that which exists in cities, and being considered happy on that account, because they have never had a notion, not even in a dream, of the intestine war which arises from the violence of the passions, and which is the most piteous of all wars, have at last, at the very close of their lives, run on shore and made shipwreck, either through some intemperance of language or some insatiable gluttony, or some incontinent licentiousness of the parts below the belly. For some, while--

"Still on the threshold of extreme old age,"

have admired the youthful, unhonoured, detestable, and disgraceful life of debauches; and others have given in to the cunning, and wicked, and calumnious, and desperate way of life of others, pursuing the first fruits of quarrelsome curiosity, when they ought rather to have discarded such habits now, even if they had been familiar to them. For which reason one ought to propitiate God, and to supplicate him perseveringly, that he will not pass by our miserable race, but that he will allow his saving mercy to be everlastingly shown towards us; for it is difficult for those who have tasted unalloyed peace to be prevented from glutting themselves with it.

22 But, come now, this hunger is lighter evil than thirst, inasmuch as it has love and desire for its comforters; but when, through the desire of drinking, it is necessary to satisfy one's self with that other fountain, the water of which is dirty and unwholesome, then it is indispensable for the drinkers, being filled with a bitter-sweet pleasure, to live an unenviable life, betaking themselves to pernicious things as though they were advantageous, from ignorance of what is really desirable. But the impetuous course of these evils is most grievous when the irrational powers of the soul attack the powers of the reason and get the better of them; for as long as the herds of oxen obey their drivers, and the flocks obey their shepherds, and the goats obey the goatherds, the herds and all belonging to them go on well; but when the herdsmen who are appointed to look after the cattle become weaker than the beasts committed to their care, then everything goes wrong, and instead of regularity there arises irregularity, and disorder in the place of order, and confusion instead of steadiness, and disturbance in the place of good arrangement, since there is no longer any lawful superintending power properly established; for if there had been such a thing, it would have been destroyed before this time. What then? Do we not think that even in ourselves there is a herd of irrational cattle, inasmuch as the irrational multitude of the soul is deprived of reason, and that the shepherd is the governing mind? But as long as that is vigorous and competent to act as the manager of the herd, everything goes on in a just, and prosperous, and advantageous manner; but when any weakness or want of power supervenes to the king, then it follows of necessity that the subjects also labour with a like infirmity; and when they most completely seem to be in enjoyment of liberty, then they are a prize, lying most entirely ready for any one who pleases to contend for it to seize; for the natural course is for anarchy to be treacherous, and for government to be salutary, especially in a state where law and justice are honoured. And this is such a state as is consistent with reason.

23 We have now, then, spoken with sufficient accuracy about the dreams of vain opinion. Now, the different species of gluttony are conversant about drinking and eating. But the one has no need of any great variety, while the other requires a countless number of seasonings and sauces. These things, then, are referred to two managers. The matters relating to excessive drinking are referred to the chief butler, and those which belong to luxurious eating to the chief baker. Now these men are, with excessive propriety, recorded to have seen visions of dreams one night; for they, each of them, labour to gratify the same need of their master, providing not simple food, but such as is accompanied with pleasure and extraordinary gratification; and each of them, separately, labours about half the food, but the two together are employed about the whole, and the one part draws on the other; for men, when they have eaten, immediately desire drink; and men who have drunk immediately wish to eat; so that it is in no slight degree on this account that a vision is ascribed to them both at the same time. Therefore the chief butler has the office of ministering to the appetite for wine, and the chief baker to the voracity. And each of them sees in his vision what relates to his own business: the one sees wine and the plant which engenders wine, namely the vine; the other sees white bread lying on dishes, and himself serving up the Dishes. [Genesis 40:16.] Now perhaps it may be proper first of all to examine the first dream. And it is as follows:-- "In my sleep there was a vine before me; and on the vine were three branches, and it flourished and brought forth shoots, and there were on it ripe bunches of grapes. And Pharaoh's cup was in my hand, and I took the bunch of grapes and pressed it into the cup, and I gave the cup into Pharaoh's Hand." [Genesis 40:9.] He speaks here in an admirable manner, and the expression, "in my sleep," is quite correct. For, in real truth, he who follows not so much the inebriety which arises from wine as that which proceeds from folly, being indignant at an upright and wakeful position, like people asleep, is thrown down and relaxed, and shuts the eyes of his soul, not being able either to see or to hear anything which is worthy of being seen or of being heard. And being overthrown, he goes on a blind and guideless (I will not say path, but pathless) way through life, being pricked with thorns and briars; and sometimes too he falls down steep places, and tumbles down upon other people, so as to hurt both them and himself in a pitiable manner. But the deep and long-enduring sleep in which every wicked man is held, removes all true conceptions, and fills the mind with all kinds of false images, and unsubstantial visions, persuading it to embrace what is shameful as praiseworthy. For at one time it dreams of grief as joy, and does not perceive that it is looking at the vine, the plant of folly and error. "For," says the chief butler, "the vine was before me," the desired object was before him who desired it, wickedness was before the wicked man:

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which we, foolish men that we are, cultivate, without being aware that we are doing so to our own injury, the fruit of which we eat and drink, classing it under both species of food, which, as it would seem, we appropriate, not for one half the evils that affect us for the whole of our complete and entire misfortunes.

24 But it is desirable not to be ignorant that the intoxication which proceeds from the vine does not affect all who indulge in it in a similar manner, but very often affects different people in contrary ways, so that it makes some better and others worse than they are naturally. For in the case of some men, it relaxes the sternness and moroseness of their character, and relieves them of their cares, and assuages their anger and their sorrow, and brings their dispositions into a milder mood, and makes their souls placable. But of others again, it cherishes the angry passions, and binds their pain firmly, and excites their feelings of love, and stimulates their rudeness; rendering the mouth talkative, their tongue unbridled, emancipating their external senses from all restraint, rendering their passions furious, and their whole mind violent and excited towards every object. So that the condition of the men firstmentioned appears to resemble an untroubled calm in fine weather, or a waveless tranquility at sea, or a most peaceful and steady state of affairs in a city. But the condition of those whom I have last described, is more like a violent and unremitting gale, or a sea tossed by a storm into vast billows, or a sedition, an evil more fearful than even interminable and irreconcileable war. Therefore, of these two banquet parties, the one is filled with laughter, with men promising amusement, and hoping for good fortune, and enjoying cheerfulness, and pleasant language, and mirth, and joy, and freedom from anxiety; .16but the other is full of melancholy, and seriousness, and downcast looks, and offences, and reproaches, and wounds; of men gnashing their teeth, looking fiercely at one another, barking, strangling one another, contending with one another in every conceivable way, mutilating one another's ears and noses, and whatever parts of the body they can reach, displaying the intoxication of their whole life and their drunkenness in this unholy contest, with every kind of unseemly behaviour.

25 It would therefore be naturally consistent to consider next that the vine is the symbol of two things: of folly, and of mirth. And each of these two, though it is indicated by many circumstances, we will explain in a few words, to avoid prolixity. When any one leading us along the road, deserted by the passions and by acts of wickedness, the rod, that is, of philosophy, has led right reason to a height, and placed it like a scout upon a watch-tower, [Numbers 13:18.] and has commanded it to look around, and to survey the whole country of virtue, and to see whether it be blessed with a deep soil, and rich, and productive of herbage and of fruit, since deep soil is good to cause the learning which has been sown in it to increase, and to make the doctrines which have been planted in it, and which have grown to trees, to form solid trunks, or whether it be of a contrary character; and also to examine into actions, as one might into cities, and see whether they are strongly fortified, or whether they are defenceless and deprived of all the security which might be afforded by walls around them. Also to inquire into the condition of the inhabitants, whether they are considerable in numbers and in valour, or whether their courage is weak and their numbers scanty, the two causes acting reciprocally on one another. Then because we were not able to bear the weight of the whole trunk of wisdom, we cut off one branch and one bunch of grapes, and carried it with us as a most undeniable proof of our joy, and a burden very easy to be borne, wishing to display at the same time the branch and the fruit of excellence to those who are gifted with acuteness of mental sight, to show them, that is, the strongly-shooting and grapebearing vine.

26 They then very fairly compare this vine of which we were only able to take a part, to happiness. And one of the ancient prophets bears his testimony in favour of my view of the matter, who speaking under divine inspiration has said, "The vineyard of the Lord Almighty is the house of Israel ." [Isaiah 5:7.] Now Israel is the mind inclined to the contemplation of God and of the world; for the name Israel is interpreted, "seeing God," and the abode of the mind is the whole soul; and this is the most sacred vineyard, bearing as its fruit the divine shoot, virtue: thus thinking well (to eu phronein) is the derivation of the word joy (euphrosynęµ), being a great and brilliant thing so that, says Moses, even God himself does not disdain to exhibit it; and most especially at that time when the human race is departing from its sins, and inclining and bending its steps towards justice, following of its own accord the laws and institutions of nature. "For," says Moses, "the Lord thy God will return, that he may rejoice in thee for thy good as he rejoiced in thy fathers, if thou wilt hear his voice to keep all his commandments and his ordinances and his judgements which are written in the book of this Law." [Deuteronomy 30:9.] Who could implant in man a desire for virtue and excellence, more strongly than is here done? Dost thou wish, says the scripture, O mind, that God should rejoice? Do thou rejoice in virtue thyself, and bring no costly offering, (for what need has God of anything of thine?) But, on the other hand, receive with joy all the good things which he bestows upon thee; for he rejoices in giving, when they who receive are worthy of his grace; unless you think that those men who live blameably may be justly said to make God indignant and to excite his anger, but that those who live in a praiseworthy manner do not make him rejoice. But there is nothing which gives so much pleasure to fathers and mothers, our mortal parents, as the virtues of their children, even though they may be in want of numbers of necessary things; And does not the excellence of these aforesaid persons in like manner rejoice the Creator of the universe, who is in no want of anything whatever? Do thou therefore, O mind, having learnt how mighty a thing the anger of God is, and how great a good the joy of God is, do not do anything worthy to excite his anger to thy own destruction, but study only such things as may be the means of your pleasing God. And you will find these actions not to be the making of long and unusual journeys, nor the passing over unnavigable seas, or wandering without stopping to take breath to the furthest boundaries of earth and sea: for good actions do not dwell at a distance and have not been banished beyond the confines of the habitable world, but, as Moses says, good is situated near you, and is planted along with you, being united to you in three necessary parts, in the heart, in the mouth, and in the hands: that is to say, in the mind, in the speech, and in the actions; since it is necessary to think and to say, and to do good things, which are made perfect by a union of good design, good execution, and good language.

27 I say therefore to him whose occupation is to gratify one description of gluttony, the fondness for drinking, namely to the chief butler, "Why are you labouring hard, O unhappy man? For you think that you are preparing pleasant things to give delight, but in reality you are kindling a flame of folly and intemperance, and contributing great and abundant quantities of fuel to it." But perhaps he may reply, do not blame me precipitately before you have considered my case; I was appointed to pour out wine, not indeed for a man who was endowed with temperance, and piety, and all the other virtues, but for a violent, and intemperate, and unjust master, one who was very proud in his impiety, and who dared once to say, "I do not know the Lord;" [Exodus 5:2.] so that I very naturally studied what would afford him gratification: and do not wonder that God is delighted with one thing, and the mind which is hostile to God, namely Pharaoh, with the contrary. Who then is the chief butler of God? The priest who offers libations to him, the truly great high priest, who, having received a draught of everlasting graces, offers himself in return, pouring in an entire libation full of unmixed wine. You see that there are differences between butlers in proportion to the differences existing between those whom they are waiting on; .18on this account I, the butler of Pharaoh, who exerts his stiff-necked, and in all respects intemperate reason, in the direction of indulgences of his passions, am a eunuch, having had all the generative parts of my soul removed, and being compelled to migrate from the apartments of the men, and am a fugitive also from the women's chambers, inasmuch as I am neither male nor female; nor am I able to disseminate seed nor to receive it, being of an ambiguous nature, neither one thing nor the other; a mere false coin of human money, destitute of immortality, which is from time to time kept alive by the constant succession of children and offspring: being also excluded from the assembly and sacred meeting of the people, for it is expressly forbidden that any one who has suffered any injury or mutilation such as I have should enter in Thereto. [Deuteronomy 23:1.]

28 But the high priest of whom we are speaking is a perfect man, the husband of a virgin (a most extraordinary statement), who has never been made a woman; but who on the contrary, has ceased to be influenced by the customs of women in regard to her connexion with her Husband. [Genesis 18:11.] And not only is this man competent to sow the seeds of unpolluted and virgin opinions, but he is also the father of sacred reasonings, some of which are overseers and superintendents of the affairs of nature, such as Eleazar and Ithamar; others are ministers of the worship of God, earnestly occupied in kindling and burning up the flame of heaven; for, as they are always uttering discourses relating to holiness, they cause it to shine, bringing forth the most divine kind of piety like fire from a flint; .18and the being who is at the same time the guide and father of those men is no insignificant part of the sacred assembly, but he is rather the person without whom the duly convened assembly of the parts of the soul could never be collected together at all; he is the president, the chairman, the creator of it, who, without the aid of any other being, is able by himself alone to consider and to do everything. He, when taken in conjunction with others, is insignificant in point of number, but when he is looked at by himself he becomes numerous; he is a tribunal, an entire council, the whole people, a complete multitude, the entire race of mankind, or rather, if one is to speak the real truth, he is a sort of nature bordering on God, inferior indeed to him, but superior to man; "for when," the scripture say, "the high priest goes into the Holy of Holies he will not be a Man." [Leviticus 16:17.] What then will he be if he is not a man? Will he be a God? I would not venture to say that (for the chief prophet, Moses, did receive the inheritance of this name while he was still in Egypt , being called "the god of Pharaoh;") [Exodus 7:1.] nor again is he man, but he touches both these extremities as if he touched both the feet and the head.

29 So now one kind of vine, which has been assigned as the portion of cheerfulness, and the intoxication which arises from it, namely unmingled goodness of counsel, and the cup-bearer too who drew the wine from the divine goblet, which God himself has filled with virtues up to the lip, has been explained; .19but the other kind, that of folly, and grief, and drunkenness, is also already depicted in a fashion but in another character, by other expressions which are used in the greater canticle; "for," says the scripture, "their vine is of the vine of Sodom and their tendrils are of the vine of Gomorrah; their grapes are the grapes of gall; their bunches are full of bitterness itself. Their wine is the madness of dragons and the incurable fury of Asps." [Deuteronomy 32:32.] You see here what great effects are produced by the drunkenness of folly: bitterness, an evil disposition, exceeding gall, excessive anger, implacability, a biting and treacherous disposition. The lawgiver most emphatically asserts the branch of the vine of folly to be in Sodom; and the name Sodom, being interpreted, means "blindness," or "barrenness;" since folly is a thing which is blind, and also barren of all good things; though, nevertheless, some people have been so greatly influenced by it as to measure, and weigh, and count everything with reference to themselves alone. Gomorrah , being interpreted, means "measure;" but Moses conceived that God was the standard of weight, and measure, and number, in the universe, but he had not the same opinion of the human mind. And he shows this in the following passage, where he says, "There shall not be in thy sack one weight, and another weight, a great and a small; there shall not be in thy house one measure, and another measure, a great and a small; .19thy weight shall be a true and just one." But a true and just measure is, to conceive that it is the only just God alone who measures and weighs everything, and who has circumscribed the nature of the universe with numbers, and limitations, and boundaries. But it is unjust and false to imagine that these things are regulated in accordance with the human mind. But the eunuch and chief butler of Pharaoh, having beheld the plant generative of folly, namely, the vine, adds besides to his delineation there stocks, that he may signify the three extremities of error according to the three different times; for a root is equivalent to extremity.

30 When, therefore, folly has overshadowed and occupied the whole soul, and when it has left no portion of it unoccupied or free, it not only compels it to commit such errors as are remediable, but such also as are irremediable. .19Now those which admit of a remedy are set down as the easiest and the first; but those which are irremediable are altogether terrible, and are the last of all, being so far analogous to roots. .19And as, in my notions, wisdom begins to benefit a man in small matters, and ends at last in the absolute perfection of all well-doing, so, in the same manner folly, constraining the soul from above and leading it away from instruction by small degrees, establishes it at last at a long distance from right reason, and finally leads it to the extreme point, and utterly overthrows it. .19And the dream showed that after the roots appeared the vine flourished and put forth shoots and bore fruit; for, says the chief butler, "It was flourishing and bearing shoots, around which were bunches of Grapes." [Genesis 40:10.] The foolish man is accustomed to display barrenness, and never to put forth even leaves, and, in fact, to be withered all his life; for what could be a greater evil than folly flourishing and bearing fruit? But, says he, "the cup of Pharaoh," the vessel which is the receptacle of folly and drunkenness, and of the ceaseless intoxication of life, "is in my hand;" an expression equivalent to saying, depends upon my administration, and endeavors, and powers; for without my contrivances, the passion will not proceed rightly by its own efforts; for as it is proper that the reins should be in the hands of the charioteer, and the rudder in the hands of the pilot--for this is the only way in which the course of the chariot and the voyage of the vessel can proceed successfully--so, also, the filling of the goblet with wine is in the hands and depends upon the power of him who by his art brings to perfection one of the two kinds of gluttony, namely, satiety of wine. But why has he endured to boast in respect of a matter which deserved rather to be denied than to be confessed? Would it not have been better not to have confessed at all that he was a teacher of intemperance, and not to admit that he increased the excitement of the passions by wine in the case of the intemperate man, as being an inventor and producer of a luxurious, and debauched, and most disgraceful way of life. Such, however, is the case. Folly boasts of those things which ought to be concealed; and in this present case it prides itself, not only on holding in its hands the receptacle of the intemperate soul, that is to say, the cup of wine, and in showing it to all men, but also in pressing out the grapes into it; that is to say, in making that which satisfies the passion, and bringing what is concealed to light. For as children

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which require food, when they are about to receive the milk, squeeze and press out the breast of the nurse that feeds them, so likewise does the workman and cause of intemperance vigorously press the fountain from which the evil of abundance of wine pours forth, that he may derive food in a most agreeable manner from the drops which are squeezed out.

31 Such a description then as I have here given may be applied to the man who is made frantic by the influence of unmixed wines, that he is a drunken, and foolish, and irremediable evil. We must now, in turn, investigate the character of the glutton, who is akin to the drunkard, and who is a sworn companion of all kinds of voracity and greediness, labouring, without any restraint, at the artificial gratification of his appetite. And yet it does not require a great deal of care to arrive at his true character; for the dream which was seen is a representation of his likeness very closely resembling him; and when we have accurately examined him, let us look upon him as we would upon a representation in a mirror; for "I thought," said the chief cook, "that I had three baskets of fine wheaten loaves upon my head." Now, using the word "head" in an allegorical manner, we mean by it the dominant part of the soul, that is, the mind, and we say that everything rests or depends upon that; for he once exclaimed concerning it, "All these things were in my charge." Therefore when he had completed the preparation of these things which he had devised against the miserable belly, he displayed himself also, and, like a foolish man as he was, he was not ashamed to be weighed down with so great a burden, namely, the weight of three baskets; that is to say, with three portions of time. For those who advocate the cause of pleasure affirm that it consists of three times, of the memory of past delights, and of the enjoyment of those that are present, and of the hope of what are to come; so that the three baskets are likened unto the three portions of time, and the cakes upon the baskets to those circumstances which are suitable to each of the portions; to the recollection of past joys, to the enjoyment of present pleasures, to the hope of future delights. And he who carries all these things is likened unto the lover of pleasure, who has filled his faithless table, a table destitute of all hospitable and friendly salt, not with one kind of luxury only, but with almost every description and species of intemperance; and this is enjoyed by king Pharaoh alone, as if he were sitting at a public banquet, and devoting himself to a dispersion, and scattering, and defeat, and destruction of temperance; for the name Pharaoh, being interpreted, means "dispersion." And it is magnificent and royal piece of conduct in him not to exult in the specious advantages of wisdom, but to pride himself on those pursuits of profligacy which it is unseemly to mention, wrecking himself on insatiable appetite and gluttony, and effeminacy of life. Therefore the birds, that is to say, the chances which never could have been anticipated by conjecture, coming from outward quarters and hovering around him, will attack and kindle every thing like fire, and will destroy every thing with their all-devouring power, so that there is not a single fragment left to the bearer of the baskets for his enjoyment though he had hoped to proceed with his inventions and contrivances, for ever and ever carrying them on in a safe place, so that they could never be taken from him. And thanks be to God who giveth the victory and who renders the labours of the man who is a slave to his passions, though ever so carefully carried out, still unproductive and useless, sending down winged natures in an invisible manner for their destruction and overthrow. Therefore, the mind, being deprived of those things which it had made for itself, having, as it were, its neck cut through, will be found headless and lifeless, and like those who are fixed to a cross, nailed as it were to the tree of hopeless and helpless ignorance. For as long as none of these things come upon one which arrive suddenly and unexpectedly, then those acts which are directed to the enjoyment of pleasure appear to be successful; but when such evils descend upon them unexpectedly, they are overthrown, and their maker is destroyed with them.

32 The dreams, therefore, of those men who divide those things which produce the taste according to every species of food, whether it be meat or drink, and such as is not necessary but superfluous, and sought only by the intemperate, have been sufficiently explained. But those of Pharaoh, who appears to exercise sovereignty over these men and over all the powers of the soul, must now be investigated if we would proceed in order and consistently with our plan. Pharaoh says, "In my dream I thought that I was standing by the bank of a river, and seven oxen came up as it were out of the river, of eminent plumpness in their flesh, and beautiful to the view, and fed in the green marsh; and behold, seven other oxen came up out of the river after them, evil to look at and ill-favoured, and lean in their flesh, such that I never saw any leaner in all Egypt; and the lean and ill-favoured oxen devoured the seven former oxen which were beautiful, and picked out, and they entered into their stomachs, and still their appearance remained illfavoured, as I have described it at first. And when I had awoke I fell asleep again; and again I saw in my dream, and as it were seven ears of corn grew up on one stalk, full and beautiful. And seven other ears of corn also came up, lean and wind-beaten, close to them, and these last seven ears did swallow up the seven beautiful and full Ears." [Genesis 41:17.] You see now the preface of the lover of self who being easily moved, and changeable, and fickle, both in his body and soul, says, "I thought that I was standing," and did not consider that unchangeableness and steadiness belong to God alone, and to him who is dear to God. And the most evident proof of the unchangeable power which exists in him is this world, which is always in the same place and in the same condition. And if the world is immovable how can the Creator of it be any thing but firm? In the second place the sacred scriptures are likewise most infallible witnesses; for it is said in them, where the words are put into the mouth of God, "I stand here and there, before you were dwelling upon the rock, [Exodus 17:6.] which is an expression equivalent to, Thus am I who am visible to you, and am here: and I am there and everywhere, filling all places, standing and abiding in the same condition, being unchangeable, before you or any one of the objects of creation had any existence, being beheld upon the highest and most ancient authority of power, from which the creation of all existing things was shed forth, and the stream of wisdom flowed; "for I am he who brought the stream of water out of the solid Rock," [Deuteronomy 8:15.] is said in another place. And Moses also bears witness to the immutability of the Deity, where he says, "I saw the place where the God of Israel Stood;" [Exodus 24:10.] intimating enigmatically that he is not given to change by speaking here of his standing, and of his being firmly established.

33 But there is in the Deity such an excessive degree of stability and firmness, that he gave even to the most excellent natures a share of his durability as his most excellent possession: and presently afterwards he, the most ancient author of all things, namely God, says that he is about to erect firmly his covenant full of grace (and that means his law and his word) in the soul of the just man as on a solid foundation, which shall be an image in the likeness of God, when he says to Noah, "I will establish my covenant with Thee." [Genesis 9:10.] And besides this, he also indicates two other things, one that justice is in no respect different from the covenant of God, the other that other beings bestow gifts which are different from the persons who receive them; but God gives not only those gifts, but he gives also the very persons who receive them to themselves, for he has given me to myself, and every living being has he given to himself; for the expression, "I will establish my covenant with thee," is equivalent to, I will give thee to thyself. And all those who are truly lovers of God desire eagerly to escape from the storm of multiplied affairs and business in which there is always tempestuous weather, and rough sea, and confusion, and to anchor in the calm and safe untroubled haven of virtue. Do you not see what is said about the wise Abraham who "is standing before the Lord?" [Genesis 18:22.] For when was it likely that the mind would be able to stand, no longer inclining to different sides like the balance in a scale, except when it is opposite to God, beholding him and being beheld by him? For perfect absence of motion comes to it in two ways, either from beholding him with whom nothing can be compared, because he is not attracted by anything resembling himself, or from being beheld by him, because ... which he considered worthy, the ruler has assigned to himself alone as the most excellent of beings. And indeed a divine admonition was given in the following terms to Moses: "Stand thou here with Me," [Deuteronomy 5:31.] by which injunction both these things appear to be intimated, first, the fact that the good man is not moved, and secondly, the universal stability of the living God.

34 For, in real truth, whatever is akin or near to God is appropriated by him, becoming steady and stationary by reason of his unchangeableness; and the mind, being at rest, well knows how great a blessing rest is, and admiring, its own beauty, it conceives that either it is assigned to God alone as his, or else to that intermediate nature which is between the mortal and the immortal race; at all events, it says, "And I stood in the midst between the Lord and You," [Deuteronomy 10:10.] not meaning by these words that he was standing on his own feet, but wishing to indicate that the mind of the wise man, being delivered from all storms and wars, and enjoying unruffled calm and profound peace, is superior indeed to man, but inferior to God. For the ordinary human mind is influenced by opinion, and is thrown into confusion by any passing circumstances; but the other is blessed and happy, and free from all participation in evil. And the good man is on the borders, so that one may appropriately say that he is neither God nor man, but that he touches the extremities of both, being connected with the mortal race by his manhood, and with the immortal race by his virtue. .23And there is something which closely resembles this in the passage of scripture concerning the high priest; "For when," says the scripture, "he goes into the holy of holies, he will not be a man till he has gone out Again." [Leviticus 16:17.] But if at that time he is not a man, it is clear that he is not God either, but a minister of God, belonging as to his mortal nature to creation, but as to his immortal nature to the uncreated God. And he is placed in the middle class until he again goes forth among the things which belong to the body and to the flesh. And this is the order of things according to nature, when the mind, being entirely occupied with divine love, bends its course towards the temple of God , and approaches it with all possible earnestness and zeal, it becomes inspired, and forgets all other things, and forgets itself also. It remembers him alone, and depends on him alone, who is attended by it as by a body-guard, and who receives its ministrations, to whom it consecrates and offers up the sacred and untainted virtues. But when the inspiration has ceased, and the excessive desire has relaxed, then it returns from divine things and becomes a man again, mixing with human affairs, which were awaiting him in the vestibule, that they might carry him off while gazing only on the things in them.

35 Moses therefore describes the perfect man as being neither God nor man, but, as I said before, something on the border between uncreated and the perishable nature. Again, he classes him who is improving and advancing towards perfection in the region between the dead and the living, meaning by the "living" those persons who dwell with wisdom, and by "the dead" those who rejoice in folly; for it is said with respect to Aaron, that "He stood between the dead and the living, and the plague was Stayed." [Numbers 16:48.] For he who is making progress is not reckoned among those who are dead as to the life of virtue, inasmuch as he has a desire and admiration of what is honourable, nor among those who are living in extreme and perfect prosperity, for there is still something wanting to the end, but he touches both extremes; on which account the expression, "the plague was stayed," is very properly used rather than "the plague ceased;" for in those who are perfect the things which break, and crush, and destroy the soul cease; but in those who are advancing towards perfection, they are only diminished, as if they were only cut short and checked.

36 Since then all steadiness, and stability, and the abiding for ever in the same place unchangeably and immovably, is first of all seen in the living God, and next in the word of the living God, which he has called his covenant; and in the third place in the wise man, and in the fourth degree in him who is advancing towards perfection, what could induce the wicked mind, which is liable to all sorts of curses, to think that it is able to stand by itself, while it is in reality borne about as in a deluge, and dragged hither and thither by the incessant eddies of things flowing in through the dead and agitated body? "For I thought," says the scripture, "that I was standing on the bank of the River:" [Genesis 41:17.] and by the word river we say that speech is symbolically meant, since both these things are borne outward, and flow on with a vigorous and sustained speed. And the one is at one time filled up with a great abundance of water, and the other with a quantity of verbs and nouns, and at another time they are both empty and relaxed, and in a state of quiescence; again, they are of use inasmuch as the one irrigates the fields, and the other fertilizes the souls of those who receive it. And at times they are injurious by reason of overflowing, as then the one deluges the land on its borders, and the other troubles and confuses the reason of those who do not attend to it. Therefore speech is compared to a river, and the nature of speech is twofold, the one sort being better and the other worse; that is, the better kind which does good, and that of necessity is the worse kind which does harm; and Moses has given most conspicuous examples of each kind to those who are able to see, for he says, "For a river goes out of Eden to water the Paradise, and from thence it is divided into four Branches:" [Genesis 2:10.] and by the name Eden he means the wisdom of the living God, and the interpretation of the name Eden is "delight," because I imagine wisdom is the delight of God, and God is the delight of wisdom, as it is said also in the Psalms, "Delight thou in the Lord." [psalm 36:4.] And the divine word, like a river, flows forth from wisdom as from a spring, in order to irrigate and fertilize the celestial and heavenly shoots and plants of such souls as love virtue, as if they were a paradise. And this sacred word is divided into four beginnings, by which I mean it is portioned out into four virtues, each of which is a princess, for to be divided into beginnings, [there is an unavoidable obscurity in the translation here. The Greek word archai, which means beginnings, or principles, and also governments.] does not resemble divisions of place, but a kingdom, in order than any one, after having shown the virtues as boundaries, may immediately proceed to show the wise man who follows them to be king, being elected a such, not by men, but by the only free nature which cannot err, and which cannot be corrupted; for those who behold the excellence of Abraham say unto him, "Thou art a king, sent from God among Us:" [Genesis 23:6.] proposing as a maxim, for those who study philosophy, that the wise man alone is a ruler and a king, and that virtue is the only irresponsible authority and sovereignty.

37 Accordingly, one of the followers of Moses, having compared this speech to a river, has said in the Psalms, "The river of God was filled with Water;" [psalm 65:10.] and it is absurd to give such a title to any of the rivers which flow upon the earth. But as it seems the psalmist is here speaking of the divine word, which is full of streams and wisdom, and which

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has no part of itself empty or desolate, or rather, as some one has said, which is diffused everywhere over the universe, and is raised up on high, on account of the continued and incessant rapidity of that ever-flowing spring. There is also another expression in the Psalms, such as this, "The course of the river makes glad the city of God ." [psalm 45:5.] What city? For the holy city, which exists at present, in which also the holy temple is established, at a great distance from any sea or river, so that it is clear, that the writer here means, figuratively, to speak of some other city than the visible city of God . For, in good truth, the continual stream of the divine word, being borne on incessantly with rapidity and regularity, is diffused universally over everything, giving joy to all. And in one sense he calls the world the city of God, as having received the whole cup of the divine draught, ... and being gladdened thereby, so as to have derived from it an imperishable joy, of which it cannot be deprived for ever. But in another sense he applies this title to the soul of the wise man, in which God is said also to walk, as if in a city, "For," says God, "I will walk in you, and I will be your God in You." [Leviticus 26:12.] And who can pour over the happy soul which proffers its own reason as the most sacred cup, the holy goblets of true joy, except the cup-bearer of God, the master of the feast, the word? not differing from the draught itself, but being itself in an unmixed state, the pure delight and sweetness, and pouring forth, and joy, and ambrosial medicine of pleasure and happiness; if we too may, for a moment, employ the language of the poets.

38 But that which is called by the Hebrews the city of God is Jerusalem, which name being interpreted means, "the sight of peace." So they do not look for the city of the living God in the region of the earth, for it is not made of wood or of stone, but seek it in the soul which is free from war, and which proposes to those who are endowed with acuteness of sight a contemplative and peaceful life; since where could any find a more venerable and holy abode for God amid all existing things, than the mind fond of contemplation, which is eager to behold every thing and which does not, even in a dream, feel a wish for sedition or disturbance? And again, the invisible spirit which is accustomed to converse with me in an unseen manner prompts me with a suggestion, and says, O my friend, you seem to be ignorant of an important and most desirable matter which I will explain to you completely; for I have also in a most seasonable manner explained many other things to you also. Know, then, O excellent man, that God alone is the truest, and most real, and genuine peace, and that every created and perishable essence is continual war. For God is something voluntary, and mortal essence is necessity. Whoever, therefore, is able to forsake war, and necessity, and creation, and destruction, and to pass over to the uncreated being, to the immortal God, to the voluntary principle, and to peace, may justly be called the abode and city of God. Do not, therefore, consider it a different thing whether you speak of the sight of peace or the sight of God, as they are the same thing; because peace is not only the companion but also the chief of powers of the living God, which are distinguished by many names.

39 And, moreover, he says to the wise Abraham, "that he will give him an inheritance of land from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates," [Genesis 15:18.] not meaning a portion of the land so much as a better portion in respect of our own selves. For our own body, and the passions which exist in it, and which are engendered by it, are likened to the river of Egypt , but the soul and the passions which are dear to that are likened to the river Euphrates . And here a doctrine is laid down, at once most profitable to life and of the highest importance, that the good man has received for his inheritance the soul and the virtues of the soul: just as, on the contrary, the wicked man has received for his share the body and the vices of the body, and those which are engendered by the body. And the expression "from," has a double sense. One, that by which the starting point from which it begins is included; the other that by which it is excluded. For when we say that from morning to evening there are twelve hours, or from the new moon to the end of the month there are thirty days, we are including in our enumeration both the first hour and the day of the new moon. And when any one says that such and such a field is three or four furlongs distant from the city, he clearly means to leave the city itself out of that measurement. So that now, too, we must consider that the expression, "from the river of Egypt," is to be understood so as to include that river; for the writer intends to remove us to a distance from the things of the body which are seen to exist in a constant flow and course which is being destroyed and destroying, that so we may receive the inheritance of the soul with the imperishable virtues, which are, moreover, deserving of immortality. Thus, therefore, by tracing it out diligently, we have found that praiseworthy speech is likened to a river; but speech which is deserving of blame is the very river of Egypt itself, untractable, unwilling to learn, as one may say in a word, lifeless speech; for which reason it is also changed into blood, [Exodus 7:17.] as not being able to afford sustenance. For the speech of ignorance is not wholesome, and it is productive of bloodless and lifeless frogs, which utter only a novel and harsh sound, a noise painful to the ear. And it is said, likewise, that all the fish in that river were destroyed. And by the fish are here figuratively meant the conceptions; for these things float about and exist in speech as in a river, resembling living things and filling the river with life. But in uninstructed speech all conceptions die; for it is not possible to find any thing intelligent in it, but only, as some one has said, some disorderly and unmusical voices of jackdaws.

40 We have now then said enough on these subjects. But since he not only confesses that he saw in his dream, a standing and a river, but also the banks of a river, as his words are, "I thought that I was standing by the bank (cheilos) of the River." [Genesis 41:17.] It must be desirable to say a few seasonable things also about the bank. Now there appears to be two most necessary objects on account of which nature has adapted lips (cheileµ) to all animals, and especially to men; one for the same of tranquility, for they are the strongest bulwark and fortification of the voice; the other for the sake of distinctness, for it is through them that the stream of words issues forth. For when they are closed speech is checked; for it is impossible that it should be borne outward if they are not parted. And by these means nature prepares and trains man for both objects, speech and silence, watching the appropriate time for each employment. As for instance, is anything said worth listening to? Then attend, raising no obstacle, in perfect quiet, according to the injunction of Moses, "Be silent and Hear." [Deuteronomy 27:19.] For of those persons who mix themselves up with contentious discussions there is not one who can properly be considered as either speaking or listening; but this is only advantageous to him who is about to do so. Again, when you see, amid the wars and disasters of life, the merciful hand of God and his favourable power held over you and standing in defense of you, be silent yourself; for that champion stands in no need of any assistance. And there are proofs of this fact recorded in the sacred writings; such, for instance, as the verse, "The Lord will fight for us, and ye shall be Silent." [Exodus 14:14.] And if you see the genuine offspring and the firstborn of Egypt destroyed, namely desire, and pleasures, and pain, and fear, and iniquity, and mirth, and intemperance, and all the other qualities which are similar and akin to these, then marvel and be silent, dreading the terrible power of God; for, say the scriptures, "Not a dog shall move his tongue, nor shall anything, man or beast, utter a Sound;" [Exodus 11:7.] which is equivalent to saying, It does not become either the impudent tongue to bark and curse--nor the man that is within us, that is to say, our dominant mind; nor the cattle-like beast which is within us, that is to say, the outward sense--to boast, when all the evil that was in us has been utterly destroyed, and when an ally from without comes of his own accord to hold his shield over us.

41 But there are many occasions which are not well suited to silence: and if we go to the language of ordinary prose, of which we may again see memorials laid up, how did there, ever an unexpected participation in good take place to any one? It is well, therefore, to give thanks and to sing hymns in honour of him who bestowed it. What, then, is the good? The passion which is attacking us is dead, and is thrown out on its face without burial. Let us not delay, but standing still, let us sing that most sacred and becoming hymn, feeling that we are command to say to all men, "Let us sing unto the Lord, for he has triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the Sea." [Exodus 15:1.] But the rout and destruction of the passions is indeed a good, but not a perfect good; but the discovery of wisdom is a surpassing good, and when that is found all the people will sing harmonies and melodies, not with one kind of music only, but with every sort; for then, says the scripture, "Israel sang this song at the Well;" [Numbers 21:17.] that is to say, in triumph for the fact that knowledge, which had long been hidden but which was sought for, had at length been found by all men, though lying deep by nature; the duty of which was to irrigate the rational fields existing in the souls of those men who are fond of contemplation. What, then, shall we say? When we bring home the legitimate fruit of the mind, does not the sacred scripture enjoin us to display in our reason, as in a sacred basket, the first fruits of our fertility; a specimen of the glorious flowers, and shoots, and fruits which the soul has brought forth, bidding us speak out distinctly, and to utter panegyrics on the God who brings things to perfection, and to say, "I have cleared away the things which were holy out of my house, and I have arranged them in the house of God:" [Deuteronomy 26:13.] appointing as stewards and guardians of them, men selected for their superior merit, and giving them the charge of these sacred things; and these persons are Levites, proselytes, and orphans, and widows. But some are suppliants, some are emigrants and fugitives, some are persons widowed and destitute of all created things, but enrolled as belonging to God, the genuine husband and father of the soul which is inclined to worship.

42 In this way, then, it is most proper both to speak and to be silent. But the wicked adopt an exactly contrary course; for they are admirers of a blamable kind of silence, and of an interpretation open to reproach, practising both lines of conduct to their own destruction and that of others. But the greater part of their employment consists in saying what they ought not; for having opened their mouth and leaving it unbridled, like an unrestrained torrent, they allow their speech to run on indiscriminately, as the poet says, dragging on thousands of profitless sayings; therefore those who have devoted themselves to the advocacy of pleasure and appetite, and every sort of excessive desire, building up irrational passion as a fortification against dominant reason, and preparing themselves for a contentious sort of discussion, have come at last to a regular dispute, hoping to be able to blind the race which is endowed with the faculty of sight, and to throw it down precipices, and into depths from which it will not be able at any future time to emerge. But some have not only put themselves forward as rivals to human virtue, but have proceeded to such a pitch of folly as to oppose themselves also to divine virtue. Therefore Pharaoh, the king of the land of Egypt, is spoken of as the leader of the company which is devoted to the passions; for it is said to the prophet, "Behold, he is going forth to the river, and thou shall stand in the way to meet him, on the bank of the River;" [Exodus 7:15.] for it is the peculiar characteristic of the wise man to go forth to the rapidity and continual pouring forth of the irrational passion; and it is also characteristic of one man to go forth of the irrational passion; and it is also characteristic of the wise man to oppose with exceeding vigor the arguments on behalf of pleasure and desire, not with his feet, but with his mind, firmly and immoveably, standing on the bank of the river; that is to say, on the mouth and on the tongue, which are the organs of speech. For standing firmly on these, he will be able to overturn and defeat the plausible specious arguments which advocate the cause of passion. But the enemy of the race which is endowed with the power of seeing, is the people of Pharaoh, which never ceased attacking, and persecuting, and enslaving virtue, until ... it paid the penalty for the evils which it inflicted ... being overwhelmed in the sea of those iniquities ... which it excited ... So that that period exhibited an extraordinary sight, a victory which was in no doubt, and a joy greater than could have been hoped for. On which account it is said, "And Israel saw the Egyptians dead upon the sea-Shore." [Exodus 14:30.] Great indeed was the hand which fought for them, compelling those who had sharpened these organs against the truth to fall by the mouth, and lips, and speech, so that they who had taken up these weapons against others should perish by their own arms and not by those of others. And this announces three most glorious things to the soul; one, the destruction of the passions of Egypt; another, that this has taken place in no other spot than near the salt and bitter springs, as if on the shore of the sea, by which sophistical reason, that enemy of virtue, is poured forth; and, lastly, the sight of the disaster. For no glorious thing can be invisible, but should be brought to the light and brilliancy of the sun. For so also the contrary, namely evil, should be thrust into deep darkness, and should be accounted deserving of night. And it may indeed by chance happen to some one to behold this: but what is really good should be always beheld by more piercing eyes. And what is so good as that what is good should live, and what is evil should die?

43 There were, therefore, three persons who uttered atrocious words which were to reach even to heaven; these men devoted themselves to studies against nature, or rather against their own souls, saying that this universe was the only thing which was perceptible to the outward senses, and visible, having never been created, and being never destined to be destroyed but being uncreated and imperishable, not requiring any superintendence, or care, or regulation, or management. Afterwards piling up fresh attempts one upon another, they built up a doctrine which was not approved, and raised it to a height like a tower; for it is said, "And the whole earth spoke one Language," [Genesis 11:1.] an inharmonious agreement of all the portions of the soul, for the purpose of overthrowing that which is the most comprehensive of all existing principles, namely, authority. Therefore, a great and irresistable hand overthrew them when they were hoping to mount up even to heaven by their devices, for the purpose of destroying the everlasting kingdom; and it also dashed down the doctrine which they had built up; and the place is called confusion: a very appropriate name for such an audacious and wicked attempt; for what can be more productive of confusion than anarchy? Are not houses which have no manager full of offences and disturbances? And are not cities which are left unprovided with a king destroyed by the domination of the mob, the opposite evil to kingly power, and at the same time the greatest of all evils? And have not countries, and nations, and regions of the earth, the governments of which have been put down, lost all their ancient and great prosperity? And why need I speak of matters of human history? For even the other species of animals, flocks of birds, and herds of terrestrial beasts, and shoals of aquatic creatures, never exist without some leader of their company; but they always desire and always pay attention to their own leader, as being the sole cause of the advantages they receive; at whose absence they are scattered and destroyed. Do we suppose then, that in the case of earthly

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creatures, which are the most insignificant portion of the universe, authority is the cause of good things and anarchy the cause of evils, but that the world itself is not filled with extreme happiness by reason of the administration of God its king? Therefore they have suffered punishment corresponding to their iniquities: for having polluted the sacred doctrine, they saw themselves polluted in like manner, all authority being taken away from among them; and being thrown themselves into confusion, but not having really caused any. But as long as they were left unpunished, being puffed up by insane pride, they sought to overthrow the authority of the universe by unholy speeches; and they set themselves up as rulers and kings, attributing the irresistible power of God to creatures which are perpetually coming to an end and being destroyed.

44 Therefore these ridiculous men giving themselves tragic airs and using inflated language, are accustomed to speak thus: we are they who are leaders; we are kings; On us all things depend. Who, except ourselves, is the cause of good and of the contrary? To whom, except to us, can be doing well or ill be truly attributed? They talk nonsense too in another manner, saying, that all things depend upon an invisible power, which they fancy presides over all human and divine affairs in the whole world. Uttering such insolent falsehoods as these, if after intoxication they have become sober, and have come to themselves again, and feel ashamed of the intoxication to which they have given way coming under the dominion of the external senses, and if they reproach themselves for the evil actions which they have been led on to commit by folly, giving ear to their new counsellor, which never flatters, and which cannot be corrupted, namely, repentance, having propitiated the merciful power of the living God by sacred hymns of repentance instead of profane songs, they will find entire forgiveness. But if they are restive and obstinate for ever, and indulge in wanton behavior, as if they were independent, and free, and the rulers of others, then by a necessity which is deaf to all entreaties and implacable, they will learn to feel their own nothingness in all things both small and great; for the driver who mounts upon them, putting a bridle, upon this world, as though it were a winged chariot, drawing back with main strength the reins which before were loose, and pressing the bits severely, will remind them by whip and spur of his authority as master, which they, like wicked servants, have forgotten by reason of the gentle and merciful temper of their manager; for bad servants, looking upon the gentleness of masters as anarchy, fancy themselves entirely free from the power of any master at all, until their owner checks their great and increasing disease by applying punishment as a remedy. For which reason the expression is used of "a lawless soul, which with its lips distinguishes well-doing and evil-doing, and then will subsequently announce its own Sin." [Leviticus 5:4.] What sayest thou, O soul, full of insolence? For dost thou know what real good or real evil, real justice or real holiness, are? or what is suited to what? The knowledge of those things and the power of regulating them belongs to God alone, and to whoever is dear to him. And witness is borne to this assertion by the scripture in which it is said, "I will kill and I will cause to live; I will smite and I will Heal." [Deuteronomy 32:39.] But the mind which was wise in its own conceit had not even a superficial dreaming intimation of the things placed above it; but, wretched that it was, it was so completely carried away by the wind of vain opinion that it swore that those things which it had erroneously imagined stood firmly and solidly. If, therefore, the violence and convulsion of the disease begin to relax, the sparks of returning health becoming gradually re-kindled, will compel it at first to confess its error, that is to say, to reproach itself, and afterwards to become a suppliant at the altar, entreating with prayers, and supplications, and sacrifices, that it may only obtain pardon.

45 After this who can fairly raise the question why the historian of the scriptures has spoken of the river of Egypt only as having banks and has made no such mention of the Euphrates or of any other of the sacred rivers; for here he says, "Thou shall stand in the way to meet him by the bank of the river." And yet perhaps some persons in a spirit of ridicule will say that it is not right to bring such matters as these forward for investigation, for that it rather displays a spirit of cavilling than does any good. But I imagine that such things, like sweetmeats, are prepared in the sacred scriptures, for the improvement of those who read them, and that we ought not to condemn the curiosity of those who investigate such matters, but that we should rather blame their indolence if they did not investigate them. For our present discussion is not about the history of rivers but about ways of life, which are compared to the streams of rivers, running in opposite directions to one another. For the life of the good man consists in actions; but that of the wicked man is seen to consist only in words. And speech [...] in the tongue, and mouth, and lips, and [...]

[The rest of the text is missing.]

ON ABRAHAM

1 (The sacred laws having been written in five books, the first is called and inscribed Genesis, deriving its title from the creation (genesis) of the world, which it contains at the beginning; although there are ten thousand other matters also introduced which refer to peace and to war, or to fertility and barrenness, or to hunger and plenty, or to the terrible destructions which have taken place on earth by the agency of fire and water; or, on the contrary, to the birth and rapid propagation of animals and plants in accordance with the admirable arrangement of the atmosphere, and the seasons of the year, and of men, some of whom lived in accordance with virtue, while others were associated with wickedness. (But since of these things some are portions of the world, and some are accidents, and since the world is the most perfect and complete of all things, he has normally assigned the whole book to that subject. We have then examined with all the accuracy that was in our power, in what manner the creation of the world was arranged in our previous treatises; (but since it is necessary, to be consistent with the regular order in which the sacred history proceeds to go on, now to investigate the laws, we will for the present postpone the particular laws which are copies as it were; and first of all examine the more general laws which are, as it were, the models of the others. (Now these are those men who have lived irreproachably and admirably, whose virtues are durably and permanently recorded, as on pillars in the sacred scriptures, not merely with the object of praising the men themselves, but also for the sake of exhorting those who read their history, and of leading them on to emulate their conduct; (for these men have been living and rational laws; and the lawgiver has magnified them for two reasons; first, because he was desirous to show that the injunctions which are thus given are not inconsistent with nature; and, secondly, that he might prove that it is not very difficult or labourious for those who wish to live according to the laws established in these books, since the earliest men easily and spontaneously obeyed the unwritten principle of legislation before any one of the particular laws were written down at all. So that a man may very properly say, that the written laws are nothing more than a memorial of the life of the ancients, tracing back in an antiquarian spirit, the actions and reasonings which they adopted; (for these first men, without ever having been followers or pupils of any one, and without ever having been taught by preceptors what they ought to do or say, but having embraced a line of conduct consistent with nature from attending to their own natural impulses, and from being prompted by an innate virtue, and looking upon nature herself to be, what in fact she is, the most ancient and duly established of laws, did in reality spend their whole lives in making laws, never of deliberate purpose doing anything open to reproach, and for their accidental errors propitiating God, and appeasing him by prayers and supplications, so as to procure for themselves the enjoyment of an entire life of virtue and prosperity, both in respect of their deliberate actions, and those which proceeded from no voluntary purpose.

2 (Since then the beginning of all participation in good things is hope, and since the soul devoted to virtue pioneers and opens this path as a plain and easy one, being anxious to attain to that which is really honourable, the sacred historian has named the first lover of hope, Enos, giving him the common name of the whole race as an especial favour. (For the Chaldaeans call man Enos; as if he were the only real man, who lived in expectation of good things, and who is established in good hopes; from which it is evident that they do not look upon the man devoid of hope as a man at all, but rather as an animal resembling a man, inasmuch as he is deprived of that most peculiar possession of the human soul, namely hope. (For which reason, being desirous to deliver an admirable panegyric on the hopeful man, the sacred historian tells us, first, that "he hoped in the father and creator of the Universe," [Genesis 4:26.] and adds in a subsequent passage, "This is the book of the generation of Men," [Genesis 5:1.] and of their fathers, and grandfathers who had existed previously; but he conceived that they were the ancestors of the mixed race, that is to say, of that purer and thoroughly sifted race which is the really rational one; for, as the poet Homer, though the number of poets is beyond all calculation, is called "the poet" by way of distinction, and as the black [ink] with which we write is called "the black," though in point of fact everything which is not white is black; and as that archon at Athens is especially called "the archon," who is the archon eponymus and the chief of the nine archons, from whom the chronology is dated; so in the same manner the sacred historian calls him who indulges in hope, "a man," by way of pre-eminence, passing over in silence the rest of the multitude of human beings, as not being worthy to receive the same appellation. And he has very properly called the first volume, the Book of the Generation of the Real Man, speaking with perfect correctness; because the man who is full of good hope is worthy of being described and remembered, not with such a memory as is given by a record in papers, which are hereafter to be destroyed by bookworms, but by that which exists in immortal nature, where the virtuous actions are regularly recorded. If then any one were to reckon the generations, from the first man, who was made out of the earth, he will find him who, by the Chaldaeans is called Enos, and in the Greek language anthroμpos (the man), to be the fourth in succession, and in numbers the number four is honoured among other philosophers, who have studied and admired the incorporeal essences, appreciable only by the intellect, and especially by the all-wise Moses, who magnifies the number four, and says that it is "holy and Praiseworthy;" [Leviticus 19:24.] and the reasons for which this character has been given to it are mentioned in a former treatise. And the man who is full of good hope is likewise holy and praiseworthy; as, on the contrary, he who has no hope is accursed and blamable, being always associated with fear, which is an evil counsellor in any emergency; for they say, that there is no one thing so hostile to another, as hope is to fear and fear to hope, and perhaps this may be correctly said, for both fear and hope are an expectation, but the one is an expectation of good things, and the other, on the contrary, of evil things; and the natures of good and evil are irreconcileable, and such as can never come together.

3 What has now been said about hope is sufficient; and nature has placed her at the gates to be a sort of doorkeeper to the royal virtues within, which no one may approach who has not previously paid homage to hope. Therefore the lawgivers, and the laws in every state on earth, labour with great diligence to fill the souls of free men with good hopes; but he who, without any recommendation and without being enjoined to be so, is nevertheless hopeful, has acquired this virtue by an unwritten, self-taught law, which nature has implanted in him. That which is placed in the next rank after hope is repentance for errors committed, and improvement; in reference to which principle Moses mentions next in order to Enos, the man who changed from a worse system of life to a better, who is called among the Hebrews Enoch, but as the Greeks would say, "gracious," of whom the following statement is made, "that Enoch pleased God, and was not found, because God transported Him." [Genesis 5:24.] For transportation shows a change and alteration: and such a change is for the better, because it takes place through the providence of God; for every thing that is with God is in very case honourable and advantageous, since that which is destitute of any divine superintendence is useless and unprofitable. And the expression, "he was not Found," [this is not the translation of the Bible which says "and Enoch walked with God, and he was not, for God took him."] is very appropriately employed of him whose place was changed, either from the fact of his ancient blamable life being wiped out and effaced, and being no longer found, just as if it had never existed at all, or else because he whose place has been changed, and who is enrolled in a better class; is naturally difficult to be discovered. For wickedness is a very multiform and extensive thing, on which account it is known to many persons; but virtue is rare, so that it is not comprehended even by a few. And besides, the bad man runs about through the market-place, and theatres, and courts of justice, and council halls, and assemblies, and every meeting and collection of men whatever, like one who lives with and for curiosity, letting loose his tongue in immoderate, and interminable, and indiscriminate conversation, confusing and disturbing every thing, mixing up what is true and what is false, what is unspeakable with what is public, private with public things, things profane with things sacred, what is ridiculous with what is excellent, from never having been instructed in what is the most excellent thing in season, namely silence. And pricking up his ears, because of the abundance of his leisure, and his superfluous curiosity, and love of interference, he is eager to make himself acquainted with the business of other people, whether good or bad, so as at once to envy those who are prosperous, and to rejoice over those who are not so; for the bad man is by nature envious and a hater of all that is good, and a lover of all that is evil.

4 But the good man, on the contrary, is a lover of that mode of life which is not troubled by business, and withdraws, and loves solitude, desiring to escape the notice of the many, not out of misanthropy, for he is a lover of mankind, if any one in the world is so, but because he eschews wickedness, which the chief multitude eagerly embraces, rejoicing at what it ought to mourn over, and grieving at what it is becoming rather to rejoice. On which account the good man shuts himself up, and remains for the most part at home, scarcely going over his threshold, or if he does go out, for the sake of avoiding the crowds who come to visit him, he generally goes out of the city, and makes his abode in some country place, living more pleasantly with such companions as are the most virtuous of all mankind, whose bodies, indeed, time has dissolved, but whose virtues the records which are left of them keep alive, in poems and in prose, histories by which the soul is naturally improved and led on to perfection. It is on this account that the sacred historian has said that the man whose place was changed was not found, inasmuch as he is difficult to find and hard to seek out. Therefore, such a man emigrates from ignorance to instruction, and from folly to wisdom and from cowardice to courage, and from impiety to piety; and,

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again, from devotion to pleasure to temperance, and from vaingloriousness to simplicity, qualities superior to all riches, and more valuable as a possession than any royal or imperial power. For if one may speak the plain truth, that wealth which is not blind, but which is clear-sighted, is the abundance of virtues, which we must at once conclude to be the genuine and legitimate predominance of good in comparison of all other bastard and falsely named powers, and to be the just and lawful superior of them all. But we must not be ignorant that repentance occupies the second place only, next after perfection, just as the change from sickness to convalescence is inferior to perfect uninterrupted health. Therefore, that which is continuous and perfect in virtues is very near divine power, but that condition which is improvement advancing in process of time is the peculiar blessing of a welldisposed soul, which does not continue in its childish pursuits, but by more vigorous thoughts and inclinations, such as really become a man, seeks a tranquil steadiness of soul, and which attains to it by its conception of what is good.

5 For which reason the sacred historian very naturally classes the lover of God and the lover of virtue next in order to him who repents; and this man is in the language of the Hebrews called Noah, but in that of the Greeks, "rest," or "the just man," both being appellations very well suited to the wise man. That of "the just man" most evidently so, for nothing is better than justice, which is the chief among virtues, and which receives the highest honours like the most beautiful member of a company; and the appellation "rest" is likewise appropriate, since the opposite quality to rest is unnatural agitation, the cause of confusion, and tumults, and seditions, and wars, which the wicked pursue; while those who pay due honour to excellence cultivate a tranquil, and quiet, and stable, and peaceful life. And in strict consistency with himself, the lawgiver also calls the seventh day "rest," which the Hebrews call "the sabbath;" not as some persons fancy, because after six days the multitude was refrained from its habitual employments, but because in real truth, the number seven is both in the world and in ourselves free from seditions and from wars, and is of all the numbers that which is the most averse to contention, and the greater lover of peace. And a proof of what I have here asserted may be found in the powers which exist in us; for six of those powers, namely the five outward senses and uttered speech, stir up continued and ceaseless war, both by sea and land, some of them doing so from a desire for the objects of the outward senses, which if they cannot obtain they are grieved, and the last by divulging with unbridled mouth numbers of things which ought to be buried in silence. But the seventh power is that which proceeds from the dominant mind, which is more glorious than the other six powers, and which has by pre-eminent vigor obtained the mastery over them all, and when that retires, choosing solitude, and its own society, and living by itself, as one that has no need of any other, and that is all-sufficient for itself, being then emancipated from the cares and troubles that are found in the human race, embraces a calm and tranquil life.

6 And the lawgiver magnifies the lover of virtue in such a way, that even when he is given his genealogy, he does not trace himself as he usually does other persons, by giving a catalogue of his grandfathers and great grandfathers, and ancestors who are numbered as men and women, but he gives a list of certain virtues; and almost asserts in express words that there is no other house, or kindred, or country whatever to a wise man, except the virtues and the actions in accordance with virtues. "For these," says he, "are the generations of Noah; Noah was a just man, perfect in his generation, and one who pleased God." [Genesis 6:9.] But we must not be ignorant that when he says man here, he does not mean merely to use the common expressions for a rational mortal animal, but that he means to indicate in an eminent degree him who verifies the name, having driven away all the untameable and furious passions and brutal wickednesses of the soul; and as a proof of this, after the word man he adds as an epithet, "the just," saying, "a just man," as if no unjust person were a man at all, but to speak more properly a beast in the likeness of a man, and as if he alone were a man who is an admirer of justice; he also says that he was "perfect," intimating by this expression that he was possessed not of one virtue only but of all, and that being so possessed of them, he constantly exhibited every one of them according to his power and opportunities; and finally crowning him like a wrestler who has gained a glorious victory, he honours him moreover with a most noble proclamation, saying that "he pleased God," (and what can there be in nature that is more excellent than this panegyric?) which is the most visible proof of excellence; for if they who displease God are miserable, those who please him are by all means happy.

7 It is not then without great correctness that after he has praised the man as being possessed of such great virtues he adds, "and he was perfect in his generation." Showing that he was not perfect absolutely, but that he was good in comparison with the others who lived at that time; for in a little time he will also speak of other wise men who were possessed of unconquerable and incomparable virtue, not merely if contrasted with the wicked, nor because they were better than the other men of their age, and as such were considered worthy of acceptance and pre-eminence, but because having received a well disposed nature, they preserved it without any error or change for the worse; not fleeing from evil habits, but never having once fallen into them, and being by deliberate purpose practicers of all virtuous actions and speeches, by which system they had adorned their life. Those then are the most admirable of all men who have adopted free and noble inclinations, not in imitation of or by way of contrast to others, but from an inclination to genuine virtue and justice for its own sake; he also is to be admired who is superior to his own generation and his own age, and who is overcome by none of those things which the multitude follows; and he will be classed in the second rank, and nature will give to such men the best of her prizes; and the second prize is of itself a great thing; for what is not a great and most desirable object which God offers to, and bestows upon men? And the greatest proof of this is to be found in the exceeding graces which this man attained to; for as that time bore an abundant crop of injustice and impiety, and so every country, and nation, and city, and house, and every separate individual was full of wicked practices, all men of free will and of deliberate purpose, as if in an arena, living with one another for the first rank in iniquity, and strove with all possible zeal and rivalry, every one seeking to surpass his neighbour in the magnitude of his wickedness, and failing in nothing which might render life blameless and accursed.

8 At whom God, being naturally indignant, and being angry that that which appeared to be the most excellent of animals, and which had been thought worthy of being reckoned akin to himself by reason of his participation in reason, when he ought to have practiced virtue, devoted himself rather to wickedness, and to every species of vice, appointed a fitting punishment for them, and determined to destroy the whole race at that time existing by a deluge; and not only those who dwelt in the champaign country and in the lower districts, but those also who lived in the most lofty mountains, for the great deep,[Genesis 7:11.] being raised to a height which it had never reached before, burst through its mouths with its whole collective impetuosity into the seas existing among us, and they overflowed and inundated all the islands and continents; and incessant floods of everlasting fountains, and of native rivers and torrents combined together, mingled with one another, and rising to a vast height, so as to surmount everything. Nor indeed was the air tranquil, for a deep and unbroken cloud overspread the whole heaven, and there were fearful storms of wind, and roarings of thunder, and flashes of lightning, and rapid hurlings of thunderbolts, ceaseless storms of rain being poured forth, so that one might have thought that all the parts of the universe were hastening to dissolve themselves into the one element of the nature of water, until, while the water from above kept pouring down, and that below kept bursting up, the streams were raised to a height above everything, so that they not only overwhelmed and hid from sight all the plains and all the level ground, but even the tops of the highest mountains, for every part of the earth was under water, so that it was wholly buried and carried away, and the world was mutilated of huge portions, and appeared in all its wholeness and integrity, fearful as it is to say or even to imagine such a thing, to be utterly crippled and destroyed. And likewise the air, with the exception of that small portion which is about the moon, was wholly obscured, being overcast by the violence and impetuosity of the water which overran all the region belonging to it with irresistible might. Then were speedily destroyed all the crops and all the trees, for an unlimited quantity of water is as destructive to them as a scarcity, and innumerable flocks of animals, both tame and wild, perished at the same time; for it was natural when the most excellent race of all, that of man, had been destroyed, that none of the inferior races should be left, since they were only created to be slaves to his necessities, and to be in a manner subject to his authoritative commands as their master. When such numbers then of such mighty evils had burst forth which that time poured out--for all the portions of the world, except the heaven itself, were moved in an unnatural manner--as if they were stricken with a terrible and deadly disease. And one house alone, that of the aforesaid just and God-loving man who had received the two highest of all gifts, was preserved; one gift being, as I have said already, the not being destroyed with all the rest of mankind, the other that of becoming himself, at a subsequent period, the founder of a new generation of mankind; for God thought him worthy to be both the end of our race and the beginning of it, the end of those men who lived before the deluge, and the beginning of those who lived after the deluge.

9 Such was he who was the most virtuous of all the men of his age, and such were the rewards which were allotted to him which the holy scriptures enumerate; and the arrangement and classification of the aforesaid three, whether you call them men or dispositions of the soul, is very symmetrical, for the perfect man is entire from the beginning; but he who has his place changed is but half entire, having appropriated the earlier period of his life to wickedness, and the subsequent time to virtue to which he afterwards came over, and with which at that subsequent time he lived. But he who hopes, as his very name shows, has still a defect, for though he is always wishing for what is good, he is not as yet able to attain to it, but he is like those who are on a voyage, who while they are eager to reach the harbour, are still kept at sea without being able to anchor in port.

10 I have now then explained the character of the first triad of those who desire virtue. There is also another more important company of which we must now proceed to speak, for the former resembles those branches of instruction which are allotted to the age of childhood, but this resembles rather the gymnastic exercises of athletic men, who are really preparing themselves for the sacred contests, who, despising all care of getting their body into proper condition, labour to bring about a healthy state of the soul, being desirous of that victory which is to be gained over the adverse passions. The particulars then on which each individual differs from the other, though all are hastening to one and the same end, we will hereafter examine more minutely; but it is necessary not to pass over in silence what it seems desirable to premise concerning the whole three taken together. It happens then that they are all three of one household and of one family, for the last of the three is the son of the middle one, and the grandson of the first; and they are all lovers of God, and beloved by God, loving the only God, and being loved in return by him who has chosen, as the holy scriptures tell us, by reason of the excess of their virtues in which they lived, to give them also a share of the same appellation as himself; for having added his own peculiar name to their names he has united them together, appropriating to himself an appellation composed of the three names: "For," says God, "this is my everlasting name: I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," [Exodus 3:15.] using there the relative term instead of the absolute one; and this is very natural, for God stands in no need of a name. But though he does not stand in any such need, nevertheless he bestows his own title on the human race that they may have a refuge to which to betake themselves in supplications and prayers, and so may not be destitute of a good hope.

11 This then is what appears to be said of these holy men; and it is indicative of a nature more remote from our knowledge than, and much superior to, that which exists in the objects of outward sense; for the sacred word appears thoroughly to investigate and to describe the different dispositions of the soul, being all of them good, the one aiming at what is good by means of instruction, the second by nature, the last by practice; for the first, who is named Abraham, is a symbol of that virtue which is derived from instruction; the intermediate Isaac is an emblem of natural virtue; the third, Jacob, of that virtue which is devoted to and derived from practice. But we must not be ignorant that each of these men was endowed with all these powers, but that each derived his name from that one which predominated in him and mastered the others; for neither is it possible for instruction to be made perfect without natural endowments and practice, nor is nature able to arrive at the goal without instruction and practice, nor is practice unless it be founded on natural gifts and sound instruction. Very appropriately, therefore, he has represented, as united by relationship, these three, which in name indeed are men, but in reality, as I have said before, virtues, nature, instruction, and practice, which men also call by another name, and entitle them the three graces (charites), either from the fact of God having bestowed (kecharisthai) on our race those three powers, in order to produce the perfection of life, or because they themselves have bestowed themselves on the rational soul as the most glorious of gifts, so that the eternal name, as set forth in the scriptures, may not be used in conjunction with three men, but rather with the aforesaid powers; for the nature of mankind is mortal, but that of virtues is immortal; and it is more reasonable that the name of the everlasting God should be conjoined with what is immortal than with what is mortal, since what is immortal is akin to what is imperishable, but death is hostile to it.

12 We must, however, not remain in ignorance that the sacred historian has represented the first man, him who was formed out of the earth as the father of all those who existed before the deluge; and him who, with his whole family, was the only person left out of so universal a destruction, because of his justice and his other excellencies and virtues, as the founder of the new race of men which was to flourish hereafter. And that venerable, and estimable, and glorious triad is comprehended by the sacred scriptures under one class, and called, "A royal priesthood, and a holy Nation." [Exodus 19:6.] And its name shows its power; for the nation is further called, in the language of the Hebrews, Israel , which name being interpreted means, "seeing God." But of sight, that which is exercised by means of the eyes is the most excellent of all the outward senses, since by that alone all the most beautiful of existing things are comprehended, the sun and the moon, and the whole heaven, and the whole world; but the

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sight of the soul which is exercised, through the medium of its dominant part excel all other powers of the soul, as much as the powers of the soul excel all other powers; and this is prudence, which is the sight of the mind. But he to whose lot it falls, not only by means of his knowledge, to comprehend all the other things which exist in nature, but also to behold the Father and Creator of the universe, has advanced to the very summit of happiness. For there is nothing above God; and if any one, directing towards him the eye of the soul, has reached up to him, let him then pray for ability to remain and to stand firm before him; for the roads which lead upwards to him are labourious and slow, but the descent down the declivity, being rather like a rapid dragging down than a gradual descent, is swift and easy. And there are many things urged downwards, in which there is no use whatever, when God having made the soul to depend on his own powers, drags it up towards himself with a more vigorous attraction.

13 Let thus much, then, be said generally about the three persons, since it was absolutely necessary; but we must now proceed in regular order, to speak of those qualities in which each separate individual surpasses the others, beginning with him who is first mentioned. Now he, being an admirer of piety, the highest and greatest of all virtues, laboured earnestly to follow God, and to be obedient to the injunctions delivered by him, looking not only on those things as his commands which were signified to him by words and facts, but those also which were indicated by more express signs through the medium of nature, and which the truest of the outward senses comprehends before the uncertain and untrustworthy hearing can do so; for if any one observes the arrangement which exists in nature, and the constitution according to which the world goes on, which is more excellent than any kind of reasoning, he learns, even though no one speaks to him, to study a course of life consistent with law and peace, looking to the example of good men. But the most manifest demonstrations of peace are those which the scriptures contain; and we must mention the first which also occurs the first in the order in which they are set down.

14 He being impressed by an oracle by which he was commanded to leave his country, and his kindred, and his father's house, and to emigrate like a man returning from a foreign land to his own country, and not like one who was about to set out from his own land to settle in a foreign district, hastened eagerly on, thinking to do with promptness what he was commanded to do was equivalent to perfecting the matter. And yet who else was it likely would be so undeviating and unchangeable as not to be won over by and as not to yield to the charms of one's relations and one's country? The love for which has in a manner--

"Grown with the growth and strengthened with the strength,"

of every individual, and even more, or at all events not less than the limbs united to the body have done. And we have witnesses of this in the lawgivers who have enacted the second punishment next to death, namely, banishment, against those who are convicted of the most atrocious crimes: a punishment which indeed is not second to any, as it appears to me, if truth be the judge, but which is, in fact, much more grievous than death, since death is the end of all misfortunes, but banishment is not the end but the beginning of new calamities, inflicting instead of our death unaccompanied by pain ten thousand deaths with acute sensation. Some men also, being engaged in traffic, do out of desire for gain sail over the sea, or being employed in some embassy, or being led by a desire to see the sights of foreign countries, or by a love for instruction, having various motives which attract them outwards and prevent their remaining where they are, some being led by a love of gain, others by the idea of being able to benefit their native city at its time of need in the most necessary and important particulars, others seeking to arrive at the knowledge of matters of which before they were ignorant, a knowledge which brings, at the same time, both delight and advantage to the soul. For men who have never travelled are to those who have, as blind men are to those who see clearly, are nevertheless anxious to behold their father's threshold and to salute it, and to embrace their acquaintances, and to enjoy the most delightful and wished-for sight of their relations and friends; and very often, seeing the affairs, for the sake of which they left their country, protracted, they have abandoned them, being influenced by that most powerful feeling of longing for a union with their kindred. But this man with a few companions, or perhaps I might say by himself, as soon as he was commanded to do so, left his home, and set out on an expedition to a foreign country in his soul even before he started with his body, his regard for mortal things being overpowered by his love for heavenly things. Therefore giving no consideration to anything whatever, neither to the men of his tribe, nor to those of his borough, nor to his fellow disciples, nor to his companions, nor those of his blood as sprung from the same father or the same mother, nor to his country, nor to his ancient habits, nor to the customs in which he had been brought up, nor to his mode of life and his mates, every one of which things has a seductive and almost irresistible attraction and power, he departed as speedily as possible, yielding to a free and unrestrained impulse, and first of all he quitted the land of the Chaldaeans, a prosperous district, and one which was greatly flourishing at that period, and went into the land of Charran, and from that, after no very distant interval, he departed to another place, which we will speak of hereafter, when we have first discussed the country of Charran.

15 The aforesaid emigrations, if one is to be guided by the literal expressions of the scripture, were performed by a wise man; but if we look to the laws of allegory, by a soul devoted to virtue and busied in the search after the true God. For the Chaldaeans were, above all nations, addicted to the study of astronomy, and attributed all events to the motions of the stars, by which they fancied that all the things in the world were regulated, and accordingly they magnified the visible essence by the powers which numbers and the analogies of numbers contain, taking no account of the invisible essence appreciable only by the intellect. But while they were busied in investigating the arrangement existing in them with reference to the periodical revolutions of the sun, and moon, and the other planets, and fixed-stars, and the changes of the seasons of the year, and the sympathy of the heavenly bodies with the things of the earth, they were led to imagine that the world itself was God, in their impious philosophy comparing the creature to the Creator. The man who had been bred up in this doctrine, and who for a long time had studied the philosophy of the Chaldaeans, as if suddenly awakening from a deep slumber and opening the eye of the soul, and beginning to perceive a pure ray of light instead of profound darkness, followed the light, and saw what he had never see before, a certain governor and director of the world standing above it, and guiding his own work in a salutary manner, and exerting his care and power in behalf of all those parts of it which are worthy of divine superintendence. In order, therefore, that he may the more firmly establish the sight which has thus been presented to him in his mind, the sacred word says to him, My good friend, great things are often made known by slight outlines, at which he who looks increases his imagination to an unlimited extent; therefore, having dismissed those who bend all their attention to the heavenly bodies, and discarding the Chaldaean science, rise up and depart for a short time from the greatest of cities, this world, to one which is smaller; for so you will be the better able to comprehend the nature of the Ruler of the universe. It is for this reason that Abraham is said to have made this first migration from the country of the Chaldaeans into the land of Charran .

16 But Charran, in the Greek language, means "holes," which is a figurative emblem of the regions of our outward senses; by means of which, as by holes, each of those senses is able to look out so as to comprehend the objects which belong to it. But, some one may say, what is the use of these holes, unless the invisible mind, like the exhibition of a puppet show, does from within prompt its own powers, which at one time losing and allowing to roam, and at another time holding back and restraining by force? He gives sometimes an harmonious motion, and sometimes perfect quiet to his puppets. And having this example at home, you will easily comprehend that being, the understanding of whom you are so anxious to arrive at; unless, indeed, you fancy that the world is situated in you as the dominant part of you, which the whole common powers of the body obey, and which each of the outward senses follows; but that the world, the most beautiful, and greatest, and most perfect of works, of which everything else is but a part, is destitute of any king to hold it together, and to regulate it, and govern it in accordance with justice. And if it be invisible, wonder not at that, for neither can the mind which is in thee be perceived by the sight. Any one who considers this, deriving his proofs not from a distance but close at hand, both from himself and from the circumstances around him, will clearly see that the world is not the first God, but that it is the work of the first God and Father of all things, who, being himself invisible, displays every thing, showing the nature of all things both small and great. For he has not chosen to be beheld by the eyes of the body, perhaps because it was not consistent with holiness for what is mortal to touch what is everlasting, or perhaps because of the weakness of our sight; for it would never have been able to stand the rays which are poured forth from the living God, since it cannot even look straight at the rays of the sun.

17 And the most visible proof of this migration in which the mind quitted astronomy and the doctrines of the Chaldaeans, is this. For it is said in the scriptures that the very moment that the wise man quitted his abode, "God appeared unto Abraham," [Genesis 12:7.] to whom, therefore, it is plain that he was not visible before, when he was adhering to the studies of the Chaldaeans, and attending to the motions of the stars, not properly comprehending any nature whatever, which was well arranged and appreciable by the intellect only, apart from the world and the essence perceptible by the outward senses. But after he changed his abode and went into another country he learnt of necessity that the world was subject, and not independent; not an absolute ruler, but governed by the great cause of all things who had created it, whom the mind then for the first time looked up and saw; for previously a great mist was shed over it by the objects of the external senses, which she, having dissipated by fervent and vivid doctrines, was scarcely able, as if in clear fine weather, to perceive him who had previously been concealed and invisible. But he, by reason of his love for mankind, did not reject the soul which came to him, but went forward to meet it, and showed to it his own nature as far as it was possible that he who was looking at it could see it. For which reason it is said, not that the wise man saw God but that God appeared to the wise man; for it was impossible for any one to comprehend by his own unassisted power the true living God, unless he himself displayed and revealed himself to him.

18 And there is evidence in support of what has here been said to be derived from the change and alteration of his name: for he was anciently called Abram, but afterwards he was named Abraham: the alteration of sound being only that which proceeds from one single letter, alpha, being doubled, but the alteration revealing in effect an important fact and doctrine; for the name Abram being interpreted means "sublime father;" but Abraham signifies, "the elect father of sound." The first name being expressive of the man who is called an astronomer, and one addicted to the contemplation of the sublime bodies in the sky, and who was versed in the doctrines of the Chaldaeans, and who took care of them as a father might take care of his children. But the last name intimating the really wise man; for the latter name, by the word sound, intimates the uttered speech; and by the word father, the dominant mind. For the speech which is conceived within is naturally the father of that which is uttered, inasmuch as it is older than the latter, and as it also suggests what is to be said. And by the addition of the word elect his goodness is intimated. For the evil disposition is a random and confused one, but that which is elect is good, having been selected from all others by reason of its excellence. Therefore, to him who is addicted to the contemplation of the sublime bodies of the sky there appears to be nothing whatever greater than the world; and therefore he refers the causes of all things that exist to the world. But the wise man, beholding with more accurate eyes that more perfect being that rules and governs all things, and is appreciable only by the intellect, to whom all things are subservient as to the master, and by whom every thing is directed, very often reproaches himself for his former way of life, and if he had lived the existence of a blind man, leaning upon objects perceptible by the outward senses, on things by their very nature worthless and unstable. The second migration is again undertaken by the virtuous man under the influence of a sacred oracle, but this is no longer one from one city to another, but it is to a desolate country, in which he wandered about for a long time without being discontented at his wandering and at his unsettled condition, which necessarily arose from it. And yet, what other man would not have been grieved, not only at departing from his own country but also at being driven away from every city into an inaccessible and impassable district? And what other man would have not turned back and returned to his former home, paying but little attention to his former hopes, but desiring to escape from his present perplexity, thinking it folly for the sake of uncertain advantages to undergo admitted evils? But this man alone appears to have behaved in the contrary manner, thinking that life which was remote from the fellowship of many companions the most pleasant of all. And this is naturally the case; for those who seek and desire to find God, love that solitude which is dear to him, labouring for this as their dearest and primary object, to become like his blessed and happy nature. Therefore, having now given both explanations, the literal one as concerning the man, and the allegorical one relating to the soul, we have shown that both the man and the mind are deserving of love; inasmuch as the one is obedient to the sacred oracles, and because of their influence submits to be torn away from things which it is hard to part; and the mind deserves to be loved because it has not submitted to be for ever deceived and to abide permanently with the essences perceptible by the outward senses, thinking the visible world the greatest and first of gods, but soaring upwards with its reason it has beheld another nature better than that which is visible, that, namely, which is appreciable only by the intellect; and also that being who is at the same time the Creator and ruler of both.

19 These, then, are the first principles of the man who loves God, and they are followed by actions which do not deserve to be lightly esteemed. But the greatness of them is not evident to every one, but only to those who have tasted of virtue, and who are wont to look with ridicule upon the objects which are admired by the multitude, by reason of the greatness of the good things of the soul. Therefore, God, having approved of his conduct which I have mentioned, presently rewarded the virtuous man with a great gift, inasmuch as he preserved sound and free from all pollution his marriage, which was in danger of being plotted against by a powerful and incontinent man. And the cause of this man's design upon it arose from this beginning; there having been a barrenness and scarcity of crops for a long time, owing to a long and immoderate period of rain which prevailed at one time, and to a great drought

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and heat which ensued afterwards. The cities of Syria being oppressed by a long continuance of famine, became destitute of inhabitants, all of them being dispersed in different directions for the purpose of seeking food and providing themselves with necessaries. Therefore, Abraham, hearing that there was unlimited abundance and plenty in Egypt , since the river there irrigated the fields with its inundations at the proper season, and since the winds by their salutary temperature brought up and nourished rich and heavy crops of corn, rose up with all his household to quit Syria and to go thither. And he had a wife of a most excellent disposition, who was also the most beautiful of all the women of her time. The Egyptian magistrates, seeing her and admiring her exquisite form, for nothing ever escapes the notice of men in authority, gave information to the king. And the king, sending for the woman and beholding her extreme beauty, gave but little heed to the dictates of modesty or to the laws which had been established with respect to the honour due to strangers, but yielding to his incontinent desires, conceived the intention in name, indeed, to marry her in lawful wedlock, but, in fact to seduce and defile her. But she, being destitute of all succour, as being in a foreign land, before an incontinent and cruel-minded ruler (for her husband had no power to protect her, fearing the danger which impended over him from princes mightier than he), at last, with him, took refuge in the only alliance remaining to her, the protection of God. And the merciful and gracious God, who takes compassion on the stranger, and who fights on behalf of those who are unjustly oppressed, inflicted in a moment painful sufferings and terrible chastisements on the king, filling his body and soul with all kinds of miseries difficult to be escaped or remedied, so that all his inclinations tending to pleasure were cut short, and, on the contrary, he was occupied with nothing but cares, seeking an alleviation from his endless and intolerable torments by which he was harrassed and tortured day and night; and his whole household also received their share of his punishment, because none of them had felt any indignation at his lawless conduct, but had all consented to it, and had all but co-operated actively in his iniquity. In this manner the chastity of the woman was preserved, and God condescended to display the excellence and piety of her husband, giving him the noblest reward, namely, his marriage free from all injury, and even from all insult, so as no longer to be in danger of being violated; a marriage which however was not intended to produce any limited number of sons and daughters--the most God-loving of all nations--and one which appears to me to have received the offices of priesthood and prophecy on behalf of the whole human race.

20 I have heard men versed in natural philosophy interpreting this passage in an allegorical manner with no inconsiderable ingenuity and propriety; and their idea is, that the man here is a symbolical expression for the virtuous mind, conjecturing from the interpretation of his name that what is intended to be indicated is the virtuous disposition existing in the soul; and that by his wife is meant virtue, for the name of his wife is, in the Chaldaean language, Sarah, but in Greek "princess," because there is nothing more royal or more worthy of pre-eminence than virtue. And the marriage in which pleasure unites people comprehends the connexion of the bodies, but that which is brought about by wisdom is the union of reasonings which desire purification, and of the perfect virtues; and the two kinds of marriage here described are extremely opposite to one another; for in the marriage of the bodies it is the male partner which sows the seed and the female which receives it, but in the union which takes place with regard to the soul it is quite the contrary, and it is virtue which appears to be there in the place of the woman, which sows good counsels, and virtuous speeches, and expositions of doctrines profitable to life; but the reason which is considered to be classed in the light of the man receives the sacred and divine seed, unless, indeed, there is any error in the names usually given; for certainly, in the grammatical view of the words, the word reason is masculine, and the word virtue has a feminine character. But if any one, discarding the considerations of the names which tend to throw darkness over the subject, chooses to look at the plain facts without any disguise, he will know that virtue is masculine by nature, inasmuch as it puts things in motion, and arranges them, and suggests good conceptions of noble actions and speeches; but reason is feminine, inasmuch as it is put in motion by another, and is instructed and benefited, and, in short, is altogether the patient, as its passive state is its own safety.

21 All men, therefore, even the most vile, in word honour and admire virture as far as appearance goes; but it is the virtuous alone who obey its injunctions; on which account the king of Egypt, who is a figurative representation of the mind devoted to the body, as if he were acting in a theatre, assumes the character of a pretended participation in temperance though being an intemperate man, and in continence though being an incontinent man, and in justice though an unjust man, and he invites justice to himself, being eager to obtain a good report from the multitude; and the governor of the universe seeing this, for God alone has power to look into the soul, hates him and rejects him, and by the most cruel tests and powers convicts him of an utterly false disposition. But by what instruments are these tests carried out? Surely altogether by the parts of virtue which, whenever they enter, inflict great pain and severe wounds; for a torture is a deficiency of supply to that which is insatiable, and the torture of greediness is temperance; moreover, the man who is fond of glory is tortured while simplicity and humility are in the ascendent, and so is the unjust man when justice is extolled; for it is impossible for two hostile natures to inhabit one soul, namely, for wickedness and virtue, for which reason, when they do come together, endless and irreconcilable seditions and wars are kindled between them; and yet this is the case though virtue is of a most peaceful disposition, and, as they say, is anxious whenever it is about to come to a contest of strength to make trial of its own powers first, so as only to contend if it has a prospect of being able to gain the victory; but if it finds its power unequal to the conflict, then it will never dare to descend into the arena at all, for it is not disgraceful to wickedness to be defeated, inasmuch as ingloriousness is akin to it; but it would be a shameful thing for virtue, to which glory is the most appropriate and the most peculiarly belonging of all things, on which account it is natural for virtue either to secure the victory, or else to keep itself unconquered.

22 It has been said then that the disposition of the Egyptians is inhospitable and intemperate; and the humanity of him who has been exposed to their conduct deserves admiration, for He [Genesis 18:1, etc.] in the middle of the day beholding as it were three men travelling (and he did not perceive that they were in reality of a more divine nature), ran up and entreated them with great perseverance not to pass by his tent, but as was becoming to go in and receive the rites of hospitality: and they knowing the truth of the man not so much by what he said, as by his mind which they could look into, assented to his request without hesitation; and being filled as to his soul with joy, he took every possible pains to make their extemporaneous reception worthy of them; and he said to his wife, "Hasten now, and make ready quickly three measures of fine meal," and he himself went forth among the herds of oxen, and brought forth a tender and well-fed heifer, and gave it to his servant; and he having slain it, dressed it with all speed. For no one in the house of a wise man is ever slow to perform the duties of hospitality, but both women and men, and slaves and freemen, are most eager in the performance of all those duties towards strangers; therefore, after having feasted, and being delighted, not so much with what was set before them, as with the good will of their entertainer, and with his excessive and unbounded zeal to please them, they bestow on him a reward beyond his expectation, the birth of a legitimate son in a short time, making him a promise which is to be confirmed by one the most excellent of the three; for it would have been inconsistent with philosophy for them all to speak together at the same moment, but it was desirous for all the rest to assent while one spoke. Nevertheless he did not completely believe them even when they made him this promise, by reason of the incredible nature of the thing promised; for both he and his wife, through extreme old age, were so old as utterly to have abandoned all hope of offspring; therefore the scriptures record that Abraham's wife, when she first heard what they were saying, laughed; and when they said afterwards, "Is anything impossible to God?" they were so ashamed that they denied that they had laughed; for Abraham knew that everything was possible to God, having almost learnt this doctrine as one may say from his cradle; then for the first time he appears to me to have begun to entertain a different opinion of his guests from that which he conceived at first, and to have imagined that they were either some of the prophets or of the angels who had changed their spiritual and soul-like essence, and assumed the appearance of men.

23 We have now then described the hospitable temper of the man, which was as it were a sort of addition to set off his greater virtue; but his virtue was piety towards God, concerning which we have spoken before, the most evident instance of which is to be found in his conduct now recorded towards the strangers; but if any persons have fancied that house happy and blessed in which it has happened that wise men have stopped and abode, they should consider that they would not have done so, and would not even have looked into it at all, if they had seen any incurable disease in the souls of those who were therein, but I know not what excess of happiness and blessedness, I should say, existed in that house in which angels condescended to tarry and to receive the rites of hospitality from men, angels, those sacred and divine natures, the ministers and lieutenants of the mighty God, by means of whom, as of ambassadors, he announces whatever predictions he condescends to intimate to our race. For how could they ever have endured to enter a human habitation at all, unless they had been certain that all the inhabitants within, like the well-managed and orderly crew of a ship, obeyed one signal only, namely, that of their master, as the sailors obey the command of the captain? And how would they ever have condescended to assume the appearance of guests and men feasted hospitably, if they had not thought that their entertainer was akin to them, and a fellow servant with them, bound to the service of the same master as themselves? We must think indeed that at their entrance all the parts of the house became improved and advanced in goodness, being breathed upon with a certain breeze of most perfect virtue. And the entertainment was such as it was fitting that it should be, the persons who were being feasted displaying at the banquet their own simplicity towards that entertainer, and addressing him in a guileless manner, and all of them holding conversation suited to the occasion. And it is a thing that deserves to be looked on as a prodigy, that though they did not drink they seemed to drink, and that though they did not eat they presented the appearance of persons eating. But this was all natural and consistent with what was going on. And the most miraculous circumstance of all was, that these beings who were incorporeal presented the appearance of a body in human form by reason of their favour to the virtuous man, for otherwise what need was there of all these miracles except for the purpose of giving the wise man the evidence of his external senses by means of a more distinct sight, because his character had not escaped the knowledge of the Father of the universe.

24 This then is sufficient to say by way of a literal explanation of this account; we must now speak of that which may be given if the story be looked at as figurative and symbolical. The things which are expressed by the voice are the signs of those things which are conceived in the mind alone; when, therefore, the soul is shone upon by God as if at noonday, and when it is wholly and entirely filled with that light which is appreciable only by the intellect, and by being wholly surrounded with its brilliancy is free from all shade or darkness, it then perceives a threefold image of one subject, one image of the living God, and others of the other two, as if they were shadows irradiated by it. And some such thing as this happens to those who dwell in that light which is perceptible by the outward senses, for whether people are standing still or in motion, there is often a double shadow falling from them. 2Let not any one then fancy that the word shadow is applied to God with perfect propriety. It is merely a catachrestical abuse of the name, by way of bringing before our eyes a more vivid representation of the matter intended to be intimated. 2Since this is not the actual truth, but in order that one may when speaking keep as close to the truth as possible, the one in the middle is the Father of the universe, who in the sacred scriptures is called by his proper name, I am that I am; and the beings on each side are those most ancient powers which are always close to the living God, one of which is called his creative power, and the other his royal power. And the creative power is God, for it is by this that he made and arranged the universe; and the royal power is the Lord, for it is fitting that the Creator should lord it over and govern the creature. Therefore, the middle person of the three, being attended by each of his powers as by body-guards, presents to the mind, which is endowed with the faculty of sight, a vision at one time of one being, and at another time of three; of one when the soul being completely purified, and having surmounted not only the multitudes of numbers, but also the number two, which is the neighbour of the unit, hastens onward to that idea which is devoid of all mixture, free from all combination, and by itself in need of nothing else whatever; and of three, when, not being as yet made perfect as to the important virtues, it is still seeking for initiation in those of less consequence, and is not able to attain to a comprehension of the living God by its own unassisted faculties without the aid of something else, but can only do so by judging of his deeds, whether as creator or as governor. This then, as they say, is the second best thing; and it no less partakes in the opinion which is dear to and devoted to God. But the firstmentioned disposition has no such share, but is itself the very God-loving and God-beloved opinion itself, or rather it is truth which is older than opinion, and more valuable than any seeming. But we must now explain what is intimated by this statement in a more perspicuous manner.

25 There are three different classes of human dispositions, each of which has received as its portion one of the aforesaid visions. The best of them has received that vision which is in the centre, the sight of the truly living God. The one which is next best has received that which is on the right hand, the sight of the beneficent power which has the name of God. And the third has the sight of that which is on the left hand, the governing power, which is called lord. Therefore, the best dispositions cultivate that being who exists of himself, without the aid of any one else, being themselves attracted by nothing else, by reason of all their entire attention being directed to the honour of that one being. But of the other dispositions, some derive their existence and owe their being recognised by the father to his beneficent power; and others, again, owe it to his governing power. 2My meaning in this statement is this:--Men when they perceive that, under the pretext of friendship, some persons come to them, being in reality only desirous to get what they can from them, look upon them with suspicion, and turn away from them, fearing their insincere, and flattering, and caressing behaviour, as very pernicious. But God, inasmuch as he is not liable to any

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injury, gladly invites all men who choose, in any way whatever to honour him, to come unto him, not choosing altogether to reject any person whatever; and, in truth, he almost says in express words to those who have ears in the soul, "The most valuable prizes shall be offered to those who worship me for my own sake: the second best to those who hope by their own efforts to be able to attain to good, or to find a means of escape from punishments. For even if the service of this latter class is mercenary and not wholly incorrupt, still it nevertheless revolves within the divine circumference, and does not stray beyond it. But the rewards which shall be laid up for those who honour me for my own sake are rewards of affection; while those which are given to those who do so with a view to their own advantage are not given through affection, but because they are not looked upon as aliens. For I receive him who wishes to be a partaker of my beneficent power to a participation in my good things, and him who out of fear seeks to propitiate my governing and despotic power, I receive so far as to avert punishment from him. For I am not unaware that, in addition to these men not becoming worse, they will become better, by gradually arriving at a sincere and pure piety by their constant perseverance in serving me. For even if the original dispositions, under the influence of which they originally endeavored to please me, differ widely, still they must not be blamed, because they have in consequence only one aim and object, that of serving me." 3But that which is seen is in reality a threefold appearance of one subject is plain, not only from the contemplation of the allegory, but also from that of the express words in which the allegory is couched. For when the wise man entreats those persons who are in the guise of three travellers to come and lodge in his house, he speaks to them not as three persons, but as one, and says, "My lord, if I have found favour with thee, do not thou pass by thy Servant." [Genesis 18:3.] For the expressions, "my lord," and "with thee," and "do not pass by," and others of the same kind, are all such as are naturally addressed to a single individual, but not to many. And when those persons, having been entertained in his house, address their entertainer in an affectionate manner, it is again one of them who promises that he by himself will be present, and will bestow on him the seed of a child of his own, speaking in the following words: "I will return again and visit thee again, according to the time of life, and Sarah thy wife shall have a Son." [Genesis 18:10.]

26 And what is signified by this is indicated in a most evident and careful manner by the events which ensued. The country of the Sodomites was a district of the land of Canaan, which the Syrians afterwards called Palestine, a country full of innumerable iniquities, and especially of gluttony and debauchery, and all the great and numerous pleasures of other kinds which have been built up by men as a fortress, on which account it had been already condemned by the Judge of the whole world. And the cause of its excessive and immoderate intemperance was the unlimited abundance of supplies of all kinds which its inhabitants enjoyed. For the land was one with a deep soil, and well watered, and as such produced abundant crops of every kind of fruit every year. And he was a wise man and spoke truly who said--

"The greatest cause of all iniquity
Is found in overmuch prosperity."

As men, being unable to bear discreetly a satiety of these things, get restive like cattle, and become stiff-necked, and discard the laws of nature, pursuing a great and intemperate indulgence of gluttony, and drinking, and unlawful connexions; for not only did they go mad after women, and defile the marriage bed of others, but also those who were men lusted after one another, doing unseemly things, and not regarding or respecting their common nature, and though eager for children, they were convicted by having only an abortive offspring; but the conviction produced no advantage, since they were overcome by violent desire; 3and so, by degrees, the men became accustomed to be treated like women, and in this way engendered among themselves the disease of females, and intolerable evil; for they not only, as to effeminacy and delicacy, became like women in their persons, but they made also their souls most ignoble, corrupting in this way the whole race of man, as far as depended on them. At all events, if the Greeks and barbarians were to have agreed together, and to have adopted the commerce of the citizens of this city, their cities one after another would have become desolate, as if they had been emptied by a pestilence.

27 But God, having taken pity on mankind, as being a Saviour and full of love for mankind, increased, as far as possible, the natural desire of men and women for a connexion together, for the sake of producing children, and detesting the unnatural and unlawful commerce of the people of Sodom, he extinguished it, and destroyed those who were inclined to these things, and that not by any ordinary chastisement, but he inflicted on them an astonishing novelty, and unheard of rarity of vengeance; for, on a sudden, he commanded the sky to become overclouded and to pour forth a mighty shower, not of rain but of fire; and as the flame poured down, with a resistless and unceasing violence, the fields were burnt up, and the meadows, and all the dense groves, and the thick marshes, and the impenetrable thickets; the plain too was consumed, and all the crop of wheat, and of everything else that was sown; and all the trees of the mountain district were burnt up, the trunks and the very roots being consumed. And the folds for the cattle, and the houses of the men, and the walls, and all that was in any building, whether of private or public property, were all burnt. And in one day these populous cities became the tomb of their inhabitants, and the vast edifices of stone and timber became thin dust and ashes. And when the flames had consumed everything that was visible and that existed on the face of the earth, they proceeded to burn even the earth itself, penetrating into its lowest recesses, and destroying all the vivifying powers which existed within it so as to produce a complete and everlasting barrenness, so that it should never again be able to bear fruit, or to put forth any verdure; and to this very day it is scorched up. For the fire of the lightning is what is most difficult to extinguish, and creeps on pervading everything, and smouldering. And a most evident proof of this is to be found in what is seen to this day: for the smoke which is still emitted, and the sulphur which men dig up there, are a proof of the calamity which befell that country; while a most conspicuous proof of the ancient fertility of the land is left in one city, and in the land around it. For the city is very populous, and the land is fertile in grass and in corn, and in every kind of fruit, as a constant evidence of the punishment which was inflicted by the divine will on the rest of the country.

28 But I have not gone through all these particulars for the sake of showing the magnitude of that vast and novel calamity, but because I desired to prove that of the three beings who appeared to the wise Abraham in the guise of men, the scriptures only represent two as having come to the country which was subsequently destroyed for the purpose of destroying its inhabitants, since the third did not think fit to come for that purpose. Inasmuch as he, according to my conception, was the true and living God, who thought it fitting that he being present should bestow good gifts by his own power, but that he should effect the opposite objects by the agency and service of his subordinate powers, so that he might be looked upon as the cause of good only, and of no evil whatever antecedently. And kings too appear to me to imitate the divine nature in this particular, and to act in the same way, giving their favours in person, but inflicting their chastisements by the agency of others. But since, of the two powers of God, one is a beneficent power and the other a chastising one, each of them, as is natural, is manifested to the country of the people of Sodom . Because of the five finest cities in it four were about to be destroyed by fire, and one was destined to be left unhurt and safe from every evil. For it was necessary that the calamities should be inflicted by the chastising power, and that the one which was to be saved should be saved by the beneficent power. 4But since the portion which was saved was not endowed with entire and complete virtues, but was blessed with kindness by the power of the living God, it was deliberately accounted unworthy to have a sight of his presence afforded to it.

29 This, then, is the open explanation which is to be given of this account, and which is to be addressed to the multitude. But there is another esoteric explanation to be reserved for the few who choose for the subjects of their investigation the dispositions of the soul, and not the forms of bodies; and this shall now be mentioned. The five cities of the land of Sodom are a figurative representation of the five outward senses which exist in us, the organs of the pleasures, by the instrumentality of which all the pleasures whether great or small are brought to perfection; for we are pleased either when we behold the varieties of colours and forms, both in things inanimate and in those endowed with vitality, or when we hear melodious sounds, or again, we are delighted by the exercise of the faculty of taste in the things which relate to eating and drinking, or by that of the sense of smell in fragrant flavours and vapours, or in accordance with our faculty of touch when conversant with soft, or hot, or smooth things. Now of these five outward senses there are three which have the greatest resemblance to the brute beasts and to slaves, namely the senses of taste, smell, and touch: as it is with reference to these that those species of beasts and cattle which are the most greedy and the most strongly inclined to sexual connexions are the most vehemently excited. For all day and all night they are either glutting themselves insatiably with food, or else in a state of eagerness for sexual connexion. But there are two of these outward senses which have something philosophical and preeminent in them, namely, sight and hearing. But the ears are in some degree more slow and more effeminate than the eyes, since the latter go with promptness and courage to what is to be seen, and do not wait until the objects themselves are in motion, but go forward to meet them, and desire to move themselves so as to face them. But the sense of hearing inasmuch as that is slow and more effeminate, may be classed in the second rank, and the sense of seeing may be allowed an especial pre-eminence and privilege: for God has made this sense a sort of queen of the rest, placing it above them all, and stationing it as it were on a citadel, has made it of all the senses in the closest connexion with the soul; 5and any one may conjecture this from the common changes which take place in its essential organs; for when grief exists in the soul of man, the eyes are full of concern and melancholy; and on the other hand, when joy is in our heart the eyes smile and rejoice; and when fear gets the upper hand they are full of turbulent and disorderly confusion, and are subject to all kinds of irregular motions, and quiverings, and distortions. Again, if anger occupies us, the sight becomes more fierce and bloodshot; and when we are considerating or deliberating, the eyes are tranquil and motionless, and almost as intent as the mind itself; just as at moments of the relaxation and indifference of the mind, the eyes are relaxed and indifferent; when a friend approaches the feeling of goodwill towards him is proclaimed by a calm and serene look; on the other hand, if we meet with an enemy, the eyes give an early indication of the displeasure of the soul; when our mind is inspired by boldness, our eyes bound forward and are ready to start from our heads; when we are oppressed with feelings of shame or modesty, they are gentle and repressed. And, in short, we may say that the sight has been created to be an exact image of the soul, which is thus beautifully represented by it through the perfection of the Creator's skill, the eyes showing a visible representation of it, as in a mirror, since the soul has no visible nature in itself; but it is not in this particular alone that the beauty of the eyes exceeds the rest of the outward senses, but also because the use of the other senses is interrupted during our waking moments; for we must not include in our statement the inactivity which results from sleep; for they are at rest whenever there is not some external object to put them in motion; but the energies of the eyes when they are open are continuous and uninterrupted, as the eyes are never satiated or wearied, but continue to operate in accordance with the connexion which they have with the soul; and the soul itself is everlastingly awake, and is in perpetual motion both night and day; but to the eyes, as being to a great degree partakers of the fleshly nature, a self sufficient gift was given, to be able to continue exercising their appropriate energies during one half of the entire period of life.

30 But we must now proceed to speak of that which is the most necessary part of all, the advantage which we derive from the eyes. For it is to sight alone of the external senses that God has caused light to arise, which is both the most beautiful of all existing things, and is, moreover, the first thing which is pronounced in the sacred scriptures to be good. Now the nature of light is twofold: for there is one light which proceeds from the fire which we use, a perishable light proceeding from a perishable material, and one which admits of being extinguished. But the other kind is inextinguishable and imperishable, descending to us from above heaven, as if every one of the stars was pouring down its beams upon us from an everlasting spring. And the sense of sight associates with each of these kinds of light, and through the medium of both of them does it approach the objects of sight so as to arrive at a most accurate comprehension of them. 5Why now need we attempt to panegyrize the eyes further by a speech, when God has engraved their true praises on pillars erected in heaven, namely, the stars? For for what purpose were the rays of the sun, and the beams of the moon, and the light of all the other planets and fixed stars called into existence, except as fields for the energies of the eyes in their service of seeing? On which account men, using the most excellent of all gifts, contemplate the things which exist in the world, the earth, the plants, the animals, the fruits of the earth, the seas, the effusion of waters springing from the earth and gushing forth in torrents and floods, and the varieties of fountains, some of which give forth cold and others hot water, and the nature of all things that exist in the air; and all the different species, of which we thus arrive at the knowledge, are innumerable and indescribable, and cannot be compromised in speech. And above all these things, the eyes can behold the heaven, which is truly a world created in another world, and it can also survey the beauties and divine images existing in heaven. Which now of the other external senses can boast that it has arrived at such a pitch of power as this?

31 But now, dismissing the consideration of those of the outward senses which are in the stables, as it were, fattening up an animal which is born with us, namely, appetite, let us investigate the nature of that sense which receives speech, namely, hearing; the continued and vigorous, and most perfect course of which exists in the atmosphere which surrounds the earth, when the violence of the winds and the noise of thunder sound with a great dragging noise and terrible crash. But the eyes in a single moment can reach from earth to heaven, and taking in the extremest boundaries of the universe, reaching at the same moment to the east and to the west, and to the north and to the south, so as to survey them all at once, drag the mind towards what is visible. And the mind, at once receiving a similar impression, does not continue quiet, but being in perpetual motion, and never slumbering, receiving from the sight the power of observing the objects appreciable by the intellect, comes to consider whether these things which are brought visibly before it are uncreated, or whether they have derived their origin from

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creation; also, whether they are bounded or infinite. Again, whether there are many worlds or only one; also, whether there are five elements of the whole universe, or whether heaven and the heavenly bodies have a peculiar and separate nature of their own, having received a more divine conformation, differing from that of the rest of the world. 6Again, by these means it considers if the world has been created, by whom it has been created, and who the creator is as to his essence or quality, and with what design he made it, and what he is doing now, and what his mode of existence or cause of life is; and all other such questions as the excellently-endowed mind when cohabiting with wisdom is accustomed to examine. These, and similar subjects, belong to philosophers, from which it is plain that wisdom and philosophy have not derived their origin from anything else that exists in us except from that queen of the outward senses, the sight, which God saved alone of the region of the body when he destroyed the other four, because these last were slaves to the flesh and to the passions of the flesh; but the sight alone was able to raise its head and to look up, and to find other sources of delight far superior to those proceeding from the bodily pleasures, those, namely, that are derived from the contemplation of the world and the things in it. Therefore it was appropriate for one of the five outward senses, namely, the sight, like one city in the Pentapolis, to receive an especial reward and honour, and to remain while the others were destroyed, because it is not only conversant with mortal objects as they are, but is able to forsake such, and to depart to the imperishable natures, and to rejoice in the sight of them. On which account the holy scriptures very beautifully represent it as "a little city, and yet not a little One," [Genesis 19:20.] describing the power of sight under this figure. For it is said to be little, inasmuch as it is but a small portion of the faculties which exist in us; and yet great, inasmuch as it desires great things, being eager to behold the entire heaven and the whole world.

32 We have now, then, given a full explanation concerning the vision which appeared to Abraham, and concerning his celebrated and allglorious hospitality, in which the entertainer, who appeared to himself to be entertaining others was himself entertained; expounding every part of the passage with as much accuracy as we were able. But we must not pass over in silence the most important action of all, which is worthy of being listened to. For I was nearly saying that it is of more importance than all the actions of piety and religion put together. So we must say what seems to be reasonable concerning it. A legitimate son is borne to the wise man by his wedded wife, a beloved and only son, very beautiful in his person, and very excellent in his disposition. For he was already beginning to display the more perfect exercises of his age, so that his father felt a most strong and vehement affection for him, not only from the impulse of natural regard, but also from the influence of deliberate opinion, from being, as it were, a judge of his character. To him, then, being conscious of such a disposition, an oracular command suddenly comes, which was never expected, ordering him to sacrifice this son on a certain very lofty hill, distant three days' journey from the city. And he, although attached to his child by an indescribable fondness, neither changed colour, nor wavered in his soul, but remained firm in an unyielding and unalterable purpose, as he was at first. And being wholly influenced by love towards God, he forcibly repressed all the names and charms of the natural relationship: and without mentioning the oracular command to any one of his household out of all his numerous body of servants, he took with him the two eldest, who were most thoroughly attached to their master, as if he were bent upon the celebration of some ordinary divine rite, and went forth with his son, making four in all. And when, looking as it were from a watch-tower, he saw the appointed place afar off, he bade his servants remain there, and he gave his son the fire and the wood to carry, thinking it proper for the victim himself to be burdened with the materials for the sacrifice, a very light burden, for nothing is less troublesome than piety. And as they proceeded onwards with equal speed, not marching more rapidly with their bodies than with their minds along that short road of which holiness is the end, they at last arrive at the appointed place. And the father collected stones wherewith to build the altar; and when his son saw everything else prepared for the celebration of the sacrifice, but no animal, he looked to his father and said, "My father, behold the fire and the wood, but where is the victim for the burnt Sacrifice?" [Genesis 22:7.] Therefore, any other father, knowing what he was about to do, and being depressed in his soul, would have been thrown into confusion by his son's words, and being filled with tears, would, out of his excessive affliction, by his silence have betrayed what was about to be done; but Abraham, betraying no alteration of voice, or countenance, or intention, looking at his son with steady eye, answered his question with a determination more steadily still, "My child," said he, "God will provide himself a victim for the burnt offering," although we are in a vast desert where perhaps you despair of such a thing as being found; but all things are possible to God, even all such things as are impossible and unintelligible to men. And even while saying this, he seizes his son with all rapidity, and places him on the altar, and having taken his knife in his right hand, he raised it over him as if to slay him; but God the Saviour stopped the deed in the middle, interrupting him by a voice from heaven, by which he ordered him to stay his hand, and not to touch the child: calling the father by name twice, so as to turn him and divert him from his purpose, and forbid him to complete the sacrifice.

33 And so Isaac is saved, God supplying a gift instead of him, and honouring him who was willing to make the offering in return for the piety which he had exhibited. But the action of the father, even though it was not ultimately given effect to, is nevertheless recorded and engraved as a complete and perfect sacrifice, not only in the sacred scriptures, but also in the middle of those who read them. But to those who are fond of reviling and disparaging everything, and who are by their invariable habits accustomed to prefer blaming to praising the action which Abraham was enjoined to perform, it will not appear a great and admirable deed, as we imagine it to have been. For such persons say that many other men, who have been very affectionate to their relations and very fond of their children, have given up their sons; some in order that they might be sacrificed for their country to deliver it either from war, or from drought, or from much rain, or from disease and pestilence; and others to satisfy the demands of some habitual religious observances, even though there may be no real piety in them. At all events they say that some of the most celebrated men of the Greeks, not merely private individuals but kings also, caring but little for the children whom they have begotten, have, by means of their destruction secured safety to might and numerous forces and armies, arrayed together in an allied body, and have voluntarily slain them as if they had been enemies. 8And also that barbarous nations have for many ages practiced the sacrifice of their children as if it were a holy work and one looked upon with favour by God, whose wickedness is mentioned by the holy Moses. For he, blaming them for this pollution, says, that, "They burn their sons and their daughters to their Gods." [Deuteronomy 12:31.] And they say that to this very day the Gymnosophists among the Indians, when that long or incurable disease, old age, begins to attack them, before it has got a firm hold of them, and while they might still last for many years, kindle a fire and burn themselves. And, moreover, when their husbands are already dead, they say that their wives rush cheerfully to the same funeral pile, and whilst living endure to be burnt along with their husbands' bodies. 8One may well admire the exceeding courage of these women, who look thus contemptuously on death, and disdain it so exceedingly that they hasten and run impetuously towards it as if they were grasping immortality.

34 But why, say they, ought one to praise Abraham as the attempter of a wholly novel kind of conduct, when it is only what private men and kings, and even whole nations do at appropriate seasons? But I will make the following reply to the envy and ill-temper of these men. Of those who sacrifice their children, some do so out of habit, as they say some of the barbarians do; others do it because they are unable by any other means to place on a good footing some desperate and important dangers threatening their cities and countries. And of these men, some have given up their children because they have been constrained by those more powerful than themselves: and others, out of a thirst for glory, and honour, and for renown at the present moment, and celebrity in all future ages. 8Now those who sacrifice their children out of deference to custom, perform, in my opinion, no great exploit; for an inveterate custom is often as powerful as nature itself; so that it diminishes the terrible impression made by the action to be done, and makes even the most miserable and intolerable evils light to bear. Again: surely, they who offer up their children out of fear deserve no praise; for praise is only given to voluntary good actions, but what is involuntary, is ascribed to other causes than the immediate actors--to the occasion, or to chance, or to compulsion from men. Again, if any one, out of a desire for glory, abandons his son or his daughter; he would justly be blamed rather than praised; seeking acquire honour by the death of his dearest relations, while, even if he had glory, he ought rather to have risked the loss of it to secure the safety of his children. We must investigate, therefore, whether Abraham was under the influence of any one of the aforesaid motives, custom, or love of glory, or fear, when he was about to sacrifice his son. Now Babylon and Mesopotamia, and the nation of the Chaldaeans, do not receive the custom of sacrificing their children; and these are the countries in which Abraham had been brought up and had lived most of his time; so that we cannot imagine that his sense of the misfortune that he was commanded to inflict upon himself was blunted by the frequency of such events. Again, there was no fear from men which pressed upon him, for no one knew of this oracular command which had been given to him alone, nor was there any common calamity pressing upon the land in which he was living, such as could only be remedied by the destruction of his most excellent son. May it not have been, however, from a desire to obtain praise from the multitude that he proceeded to this action? But what praise could be obtained in the desert, when there was no one likely to be present who could possibly say anything in his favour, and when even his two servants were left at a distance on purpose that he might not seem to be hunting after praise, or to be making a display by bringing witnesses with him to see the greatness of his devotion?

35 Therefore putting a barrier on their unbridled and evil-speaking mouths, let them moderate that envy in themselves which hates everything that is good, and let them forbear to attack the virtues of men who have lived excellently, which they ought rather to reward and decorate with panegyric. And that this action of Abraham's was in reality one deserving of praise and of all love, it is easy to see from many circumstances. In the first place, then, he laboured above all men to obey God, which is thought an excellent thing, and an especial object for all men's desire, by all right-minded persons, to such a degree, that he never omitted to perform anything which God commanded him, not even if it was full of arrogance and ingloriousness, or even of positive pain and misery; for which reason he also bore, in a most noble manner, and with the most unshaken fortitude, the command given to him respecting his son. 9In the second place, though it was not the custom in the land in which he as living, as perhaps it is among some nations, to offer human sacrifices, and custom, by its frequency, often removes the horror felt at the first appearance of evils, he himself was about to be the first to set the example of a novel and most extraordinary deed, which I do not think that any human being would have brought himself to submit to, even if his soul had been made of iron or of adamant; for as some one has said, --

"Tis a hard task with nature to contend."

In the second place, after he had become the father of this his only legitimate son, he, from the moment of his birth, cherished towards him all the genuine feelings of affection, which exceeds all modest love, and all the ties of friendship which have ever been celebrated in the world. There was added also, this most forcible charm of all, that he had become the father of this son not in the prime of his life, but in his old age. For parents become to a certain degree insane in their affection for their children of their old age, either from the circumstance of their having been wishing for their birth a long time, or else because they have no longer any hope that they shall have any more; nature having taken her stand there as at the extreme and furthest limit. Now there is nothing unnatural or extraordinary in devoting one child to God out of a numerous family, as a sort of first fruits of all one's children, while one still has pleasure in those who remain alive, who are no small comfort and alleviation of the grief felt for the one who is sacrificed. But the man who gives the only beloved son that he is possessed of performs an action beyond all powers of language to praise, as he is giving nothing to his own natural affection, but inclining with his whole will and heart to show his devotion to God. Accordingly this is an extraordinary and almost unprecedented action which was done by Abraham. For other men, even if they have yielded up their children to be sacrificed on behalf of the safety of their native land or of their armies, have either remained at home themselves, or have kept at a distance from the altar of sacrifice; or at least, if they have been present they have averted their eyes, and left others to strike the blow which they have not endured to witness. But this man, like a priest of sacrifice himself, did himself begin to perform the sacred rite, although he was a most affectionate father of a son who was in all respects most excellent. And, perhaps, according to the usual law and custom of burnt offerings he was intending to solemnise the rite by dividing his son limb by limb. And so he did not divide his feelings and allot one part of his regard to his son and another part to piety to God: but he devoted the whole soul, entire and undivided, to holiness; thinking but little of the kindred blood which flowed in the victim. Now of all the circumstances which we have enumerated what is there which others have in common with Abraham? What is there which is not peculiar to him, and excellent beyond all power of language to praise? So that every one who is not struck by nature envious and a lover of evil must be struck with amazement and admiration for his excessive piety, even if he should not call at once to mind all the particulars on which I have been dwelling, but only some one of the whole number; for the conception of any one of these particulars is sufficient by a brief and faint outline to display the greatness and loftiness of the father's soul; though there is nothing petty in the action of the wise man.

36 But the things which we have here been saying do not appear solely in the plain and explicit language of the text of the holy scriptures; but they appear, moreover, to exhibit a nature which is not so evident to the multitude, but which they who place the objects of the intellect above those perceptible by the outward senses, and who are able to appreciate them, recognise. And this nature is of the following description. The victim who was about to be sacrificed is called in the Chaldaean language, Isaac; but if this name be translated into the Grecian language, it signifies, "laughter;" and this laughter is not understood to be that laughter of the body which is frequent in child sport, but is

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the result of settled happiness and rejoicing of the mind. This kind of laughter the wise man is appropriately said to offer as a sacrifice to God; showing thus, by a figure, that to rejoice does properly belong to God alone. For the human race is subject to sorrow and to exceeding fear, from evils which are either present or expected, so that men are either grieved at unexpected evils actually pressing upon them, or are kept in suspense, and disquietude, and fear with respect to those which are impending. But the nature of God is free from grief, and exempt from fear, and enjoys the immunity from every kind of suffering, and is the only nature which possesses complete happiness and blessedness. Now to the disposition which makes this confession in sincerity, God is merciful, and compassionate, and kind, driving envy to a distance from him; and to it he gives a gift in return, to the full extent of the power of the person benefited to receive it, and he all but gives such a person this oracular warning, saying, "I well know that the whole species of joy and rejoicing is the possession of no other being but me, who am the Father of the universe; nevertheless, though it belongs to me, I have no objection to those who deserve it enjoying a share of it. But who can be deserving to do so, save he who obeys me and my will? for to this man it shall be given to feel as little grief as possible and as little fear as possible, proceeding along that road which is inaccessible to passions and vices, but which is frequented by excellence of soul and virtue." And let no one fancy that that unmixed joy, which is without any alloy of sorrow, descends from heaven to the earth, but rather, that it is a combination of the two, that which is the better being predominant in the mixture; in the same manner as the light in heaven is unalloyed and free from any admixture of darkness, but in the sublunary atmosphere it is mingled with dark air. For this reason, it seems to me to have been, that Sarah,[Genesis 18:15.] the namesake of virtue, who had previously laughed, denied her laughter to the person who questioned her as to the cause of it, fearing lest she might be deprived of her rejoicing, as belonging to no created being, but to God alone; on which account the holy Word encouraged her, and said, "Be not afraid," thou hast laughed a genuine laugh, and thou hast a share in real joy; for the Father has not permitted the race of mankind to be wholly devoured by griefs, and sorrows, and incurable anguish, but has mingled in their existence something of a better nature, thinking it fitting that the soul should sometimes enjoy rest and tranquility; and he has also designed that the souls of wise men should be pleased and delighted for the greater portion of their existence with the contemplation of the soul.

37 This is enough to say about the piety of the man, though there is a vast abundance of other things which might be brought forward in praise of it. We must also investigate his skill and wisdom as displayed towards his fellow men; for it belongs to the same character to be pious towards God and affectionate towards man; and both these qualities, of holiness towards God and justice towards man, are commonly seen in the same individual. Now it would take a long time to go through all the instances and actions which form this; but it is not out of place to record two or three. Abraham, being rich above most men in abundance of gold and silver, and having numerous herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, and being equal in his affluence and abundance to any of the men of the country, or of the original inhabitants, who were the most wealthy, and being, in fact, richer than any sojourner could be expected to be, was never unpopular with any of the people among whom he was dwelling, but was continually praised and beloved by all who had any acquaintance with him; and if, as is often the case, any contention or quarrel arose between his servants and retinue and those of others, he always endeavored to terminate it quietly by his gentle disposition, discarding and driving to a distance from his soul all quarrelsome, and turbulent, and disorderly things. And there is no wonder, if he was such towards strangers, who might have agreed together and with a heavy and powerful hand have repelled him, if he had begun acts of violence, when he behaved with moderation towards those who were nearly related to him in blood, but very far removed from him in disposition, and who were desolate and isolated, and very inferior in wealth to himself, willingly allowing himself to be inferior to them in the very things in which he might have been superior; for there was his brother's son, when he departed from his country, who went forth with him, an inconstant, variable, whimsical man, inclining now to one side and now to another; and at one time caressing him with friendly salutations, and at another, being restive and obstinate, by reason of the inequality of his disposition; on which account his household also was a quarrelsome and turbulent one, as it had no one to correct it, and especially his shepherds were so, because they were removed to a great distance from their master. Accordingly, they, in their self-willed manner, behaving as if they claimed complete liberty, were always quarreling with the managers of the flocks of the wise Abraham, who yielded a great many points, because of the gentle disposition of their master; in consequence of which, the shepherds of his nephew turned to folly and to shameless audacity, and gave way to anger, cherishing illtemper, and exciting a spirit of irreconcilable enmity in their hearts, until they compelled those whom they injured to turn to their own defence; and when a somewhat violent battle had taken place, the good Abraham, hearing of the attack made by his servants on the others, though only in self-defence, and knowing as he did that his own household was superior both in numbers and in power, would not allow the contest to be protracted till victory declared for his party, in order that he might not grieve his nephew by the defeat of his men; but standing between the two bodies of combatants, he, by his pacific speeches, reconciled the contending parties, and that not only for the moment, but for all future time too; for he knew that if they continued to dwell together, and to abide in the same place, they would be always differing in opinion and quarrelling with one another, and continually raising up quarrels and wars with one another. In order that this might not be the case, he thought it desirable to abandon the custom of dwelling together, and to separate his habitation from that of his nephew. So, sending for his nephew, he gave him the choice of the better country, cheerfully agreeing himself to abandon whatever portion the other selected, as he should thus acquire the greatest of all gains, namely, peace; and yet, what other man would ever have yielded in any point whatever to one weaker than himself, while he was stronger? and who that was able to gain the victory would ever have been willing to be defeated, without availing himself of his power? But this man alone placed the object of his desires, not in strength and superiority, but in a life free from dissension and blessed with tranquility, as far as depended on himself; for which reason he appears the most admirable of all men.

38 Since then this panegyric, if taken literally, is applied to Abraham as a man, and since the disposition of the soul is here intimated, it will be well for us to investigate that also, after the fashion of those men who go from the letter to the spirit of any statement. Now there is an infinite variety of dispositions which arise from different circumstances and opportunities in every kind of action and event; but in this instance, we must distinguish between two characters, one of which is the elder and the other the younger. Now the elder of the two is that disposition which honours these things which are by nature principal and dominant; the younger is that which regards the things which are subject to others, and which are considered in the lowest rank. Now the principal and more dominant things are wisdom, and temperance, and justice, and courage, and every description of virtue, and the actions in accordance with virtue; the younger things are wealth, and authority, and glory, and nobility, not real nobility, but that which the multitude think so, and all those other things which belong to the third class, next after the things of the soul, and the things of the body; the class which is in fact the last. 2Each then of these dispositions has, as it were, flocks and herds. The one which desires external things has for its flocks, gold and silver, and all those things which are materials and furniture of wealth; and, moreover, arms, engines, triremes, armies of infantry and cavalry, and fleets of ships, and all kinds of provisions to procure domination, by which firm authority is secured. But the lover of excellence has for his flock the doctrines of each individual virtue, and its speculations respecting wisdom. 2Moreover, there are overseers and superintendents of each of these flocks, just as there are shepherds to flocks of sheep. Of the flock of external things, the superintendents are those who are fond of money, those who are fond of glory, those who are eager for war, and all those who love authority over multitudes. And the managers of the flocks of things concerning the soul are all those who are lovers of virtue and of what is honourable, and who do not prefer spurious good things to genuine ones, but genuine to spurious good. There is therefore a certain natural contest between them, inasmuch as they have no opinions in common with one another, but are always at variance and difference respecting the matter which has of all others the greatest influence in the maintenance of life as it should be, that is to say, the judgement of what things are truly good. Now, for some time the soul was warred against by some enemy, and was full of this quarrelsome principle, inasmuch as it had not yet been completely pacified, but was still troubled by some passions and diseases which prevailed over sound reason. But from the time when it began to be more powerful, and with its superior force, to destroy the fortification of the opposite opinions, becoming elated and puffed up with pride, it in a most marvelous manner began to separate and detach the disposition in itself, which admires the external materials, and as if conversing with man, says to him, Thou art unable to dwell with--it is impossible that thou shouldest be connected by alliance with--a lover, of wisdom and virtue. Come, then, and migrating from thy present abode, depart to a distance, since you have no communion with me, and, indeed, cannot possibly have any. For all the things which you conceive to be on the right he imagines to be on the left; and on the contrary, whatever you think is on the left, is looked upon by him as on the right.

39 Therefore the virtuous man was not only peaceful and a lover of justice, but also a man of courage and of a warlike disposition; not for the sake of making war, for he was not of a contentious and quarrelsome character, but for the sake of a lasting peace for the future, which hitherto his adversaries had destroyed. And the most convincing proof of this is to be found in what he did. Four great kings had received for their inheritance the eastern portion of the inhabited world; and they were obeyed by all the eastern nations, both on this and on the other side of the Euphrates . Now all the other parts remained unharassed by contentions, obeying the commands of these kings, and contributing their yearly taxes and tribute without seeking for any excuses; but the land of the inhabitants of Sodom alone before it was destroyed by the fire began to break the peace, having been designing to revolt for a long time. 2For as it as a very rich country it was ruled by five kings, who had divided the cities and the land among them, though the district was not an extensive one, but fertile in corn and trees, and abounding in all kinds of fruit. What then their size gives to other cities, that the excellence of its soil gives to Sodom; on which account it had many princes for lovers who admire its beauty. These, on all other occasions, had paid the appointed revenues to the collector of the taxes, honouring and at the same time fearing those more powerful sovereigns of whom they were the viceroys. But when they were completely sated with good things, and when, as is ordinarily the case, satiety had begotten insolence, they, cherishing a pride beyond their power! began at first to lift up their heads and to become restive. Then, like wicked servants, they set upon their masters, trusting more to their factious spirit than to their strength. But their sovereigns, remembering their own nobleness and being fortified with superior power, went against them with great disdain, as if they would be able to defeat them by the mere cry of battle. And having engaged them in battle, they in a moment put some of them to flight, and others they slew in the flight, and so they destroyed their army to a man. And also they led away a vast multitude captive, which they distributed among themselves with much other booty. Moreover, they led away captive the brother's son of a wise Abraham, who had a little while before emigrated into one of the cities of the Pentapolis.

40 This was communicated to Abraham by some one of those who escaped from the defeat of his countrymen, and it grieved him exceedingly, and he would not be quiet any longer, being much concerned at what had happened, and mourning more for him alive and in captivity than if he had heard that he had been killed. For he knew that death (teleutεμ) as its very name imports, was the end (telos) of all living beings, and especially of the wicked, and that there are innumerable unexpected evils which lie, as it were, in ambush for the living. But when he was preparing to pursue them for the purpose of delivering his brother's son, he found himself in want of allies, inasmuch as he himself was a stranger and a sojourner and as no one could dare to oppose the irresistible power of such mighty monarchs flushed with recent victory. And he devised for himself a most novel alliance. For necessity is the mother of invention, and expedients are found in the most difficult circumstances when a man has set his heart on just and humane objects. For having collected together all his servants, and ordering the slaves whom he had purchased to remain at home (for he was afraid of desertion on their part), he assembled all his domestic servants, and divided them into centuries, and marched forward in their battalions; not, indeed, trusting to them, for his was still a most insignificant force, in comparison with that of the kings', but placing his confidence in the champion and defender of the just, namely in God. Therefore putting forth all his exertions he hastened on, in nowise relaxing his speed, until, watching his opportunity, he fell upon the enemy by night, after they had supped, and when they were just on the point of betaking themselves to sleep. And some he slew in their beds, and those who were arrayed against him he utterly destroyed, and with great vigor he defeated them all, more by the courage of his soul than by the adequacy of his means. And he did not cease from attacking them until he had utterly destroyed the hostile army with their kings, and slain them all to a man in front of their camp, and had brought back his brother's son after this splendid and most glorious victory, bringing back also as fair booty all their cavalry, and all the multitude of their beasts of burden, and a most enormous quantity of spoil. And when the great high priest of the most high God beheld him returning and coming back loaded with trophies, in safety himself, with all his own force uninjured, for he had not lost one single man of all those who went out with him; marveling at the greatness of the exploit, and, as was very natural, considering that he had never met with this success but through the favour of the divine wisdom and alliance, he raised his hands to heaven, and honoured him with prayers in his behalf, and offered up sacrifices of thanksgiving for his victory, and splendidly feasted all those who had had a share in the expedition; rejoicing and sympathising with him as if the success had been his own, and in reality it did greatly concern him. For as the proverb says:--

"All that befalls from friends we common call."

And much more are all instances of good fortune common to those whose main object it is to please God.

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41 These things, then, are what are contained in the plain words of the scriptures. But as many as are able to contemplate the facts related in them in their incorporeal and naked state, living rather in the soul than in the body, will say that of the nine kings the four are the powers of the four passions which exist within us, the passion of pleasure, of desire, of fear, and of grief; and that the other five kings are the outward senses, being equal in number, the sense of sight, of hearing, of smell, of taste, and of touch. For these in some degree are sovereigns and rulers, having acquired a certain power over us, but not all to an equal extent; for the five are subordinate to the four, and are compelled to pay them taxes and tribute, such as are appointed by nature. For it is from the things which we see, or hear, or smell, or taste, or touch, that pleasures, and pains, and fears, and desires arise; as there is no one of the passions which has any power to exist of itself, if it were not supplied by the materials furnished by the outward senses. For it is in these things that their powers consist, either in figures and in colours, or in the faculty of speaking or hearing which depends on the voice, or in the flavours, or in odors, or by the subjects of touch, whether they are soft or hard, or rough, or smooth, or hot, or cold. For all these things are supplied to each of the passions by means of the outward senses. And as long as the taxes beforementioned are paid, the alliance among the kings remains; but when they are no longer contributed, as they were before, then immediately do quarrels and wars arise. And this appears to happen when painful old age supervenes, in which none of the passions becomes weaker, but rather perhaps stronger than their ancient power; but the sight becomes dim, and the ears hard of hearing, and every one of the other outward senses more blunt, being no longer equally able as before to judge and decide accurately of every subject submitted to them, nor any longer to pay a tribute which will be equal to the number of the passions. So that it happened very naturally that they being thoroughly exhausted and laid prostrate by them were easily put to flight by the adverse passions; and the statement that follows is in strict consistency with what might be naturally expected, namely, that of the five kings two fell into wells, and three took to flight. For touch and taste reach to the very deepest portions of the body, sending down into the entrails those things which are suitable for digestion; but the eyes and ears, and the smell, roaming abroad for the most part, escape the slavery of the body. The good man--threatening to attack all of these, when he saw that those who had lately been friends and confederates were now in a state of disease, and that there was war instead of peace arising among the nine kingdoms, as the four kings were contending with the five for sovereignty and dominion--on a sudden, having watched his opportunity, attacked them; being desirous of the establishment of democracy in the soul, the most excellent of constitutions instead of tyrannies and absolute sovereignties, and wishing also to introduce law and justice instead of lawlessness and injustice, which had prevailed up to that time. And what is here said is not a cunningly devised fable, but is rather one of the most completely true facts, which may be seen to be true in our own selves. For it very often happens that the outward senses observe a sort of confederacy which they have formed with the passions, supplying them with objects perceptible by the outward senses; and very often also, they raise contentions, no longer choosing to pay the tribute fairly due from them, or else being unable to do so, by reason of the presence of corrective reason; which when it has taken up its complete armour, namely, the virtues, and their doctrines and contemplations, which form an irresistible power, conquers all things in the most vigorous manner. For it is not lawful for perishable things to dwell with what is immortal. Therefore the nine sovereignties of the four passions and the five outward senses are both perishable themselves and also the causes of mortality. But the truly sacred and divine word, which uses the virtues as a starting place, being placed in the number ten, that perfect number, when it descends into the contest and exerts that more vigorous power which it has in accordance with God, subdues by main force all the aforesaid powers.

42 And at a subsequent period his wife dies, she who was most dear to his mind and most excellent in all respects, having given innumerable proofs of her affection towards her husband in leaving all her relations together with him; and in her unhesitating migration from her own country, and in her continued and uninterrupted wanderings in a foreign land, and in her endurance of want and scarcity, and in her accompanying him in his warlike expeditions. For she was always with him at all times, and in all places, never being absent from any spot, or failing to share any of his fortune, being truly the partner of his life, and of all the circumstances of his life; judging it right equally to share all his good and evil fortune together with him. For she did not, as some persons do, shun any participation in his misfortunes, but lie in wait only for his prosperity, but with all cheerfulness took her share in both, as was fitting and becoming to a wedded wife.

43 And though I might have many topics for panegyric on this woman, still I will only mention one, which shall be the most manifest possible proof of all the others. For she, being barren and childless, and fearing lest her husband's Godloving house might be left entirely destitute of offspring, came to her husband and spoke as follows:--"We have now lived together a long time mutually pleasing each; but we have no children, which is the cause for which we ourselves came together, and for which also nature designed the original connexion between husband and wife; nor indeed can there be any hope of your having any offspring by me, since I am now beyond the age of childbearing; do not you then suffer for my barrenness, and do not, out of your affection for me, while you are yourself able to still become a father, be hindered from being so. For I shall not feel any jealousy towards another woman whom you may marry, not for the gratification of irrational appetite, but in order to satisfy a necessary law of nature. For which reason I will not delay to deck a new bride for you, that she may fulfil what is wanting on my part. And if the prayers which we will offer up for the birth of children be blessed with success, then the children which are born shall be your own legitimate children, but by adoption they shall be by all means mine. "And that you may have no suspicion of any jealousy on my part, take, if you will, my own handmaid to wife; who is a slave indeed as to her body, but free and noble as to her mind; whose good qualities I have for a long time proved and experienced from the day when she was first introduced into my house, being an Egyptian by blood, and a Hebrew by deliberate choice. 5We have great substance and abundant wealth, not like people who are sojourners. For even already we surpass the natives themselves in the brilliancy of our prosperity, but still we have no heir or successor, and that, too, though there might be one, if you would be guided by my advice." But Abraham, marveling more and more at the love of his wife for her husband thus continually being renewed and gaining fresh strength, and also at her spirit of forecast so desirous to provide for the future, takes to himself the handmaid who had been approved by her to the extent of having a son by her; though as those who give the most clear and probable account say he cohabited with her only till she became pregnant; and when she conceived, which she did after no long interval, he then desisted from all connexion with her, by reason of his natural continence, and also of the honour in which he held his wife. So then he speedily had a son by this handmaid, but at a very distant period after this he had also a legitimate son, after he and his wife had both despaired of any offspring from one another. The bounteous God having thus bestowed on them a reward for their excellence more perfect than their highest hopes.

44 It is sufficient to mention this as a proof of the virtue of Abraham's wife. But the topics of praise of the wise man himself are more numerous, some of which I have lately enumerated. Moreover I will mention also one circumstance connected with the death of the wife, which ought not to be buried in silence. For when Abraham had lost such a partner of his whole life, as our account has shown her to have been, and as the scriptures testify that she was, he still like a wrestler prevailed over the grief which attacked him and threatened to overwhelm his soul; strengthening and encouraging with great virtue and resolution, reason, the natural adversary of the passions, which indeed he had always taken as a counsellor during the whole of his life; but at this time above all others, he thought fit to be guided by it, when it was giving him the best and most expedient advice. And the advice was this; not to afflict himself beyond all measure, as if he were stricken down with a novel and unprecedented calamity; nor, on the other hand, to give way to indifference, as if nothing had happened calculated to give him sorrow. But rather to choose the middle way in preference to either extreme; and to endeavor to grieve in a moderate degree; not being indignant at nature for having reclaimed what belonged to her as her due; and bearing what had befallen him with a mild and gentle spirit. And there are evidences of these assertions to be seen in the holy scriptures; which it is impossible should be convicted of false witness, and they tell us that Abraham, having wept a short time over his wife's body, soon rose up from the corpse; thinking, as it should seem, that to mourn any longer would be inconsistent with that wisdom by which he had been taught that he was not to look upon death as the extinction of the soul, but rather as a separation and disjunction of it from the body, returning back to the region from whence it came; and it came, as is fully shown in the history of the creation of the world, from God. 5But just as no man of moderation or sense would be indignant at having to repay a debt to a lender or to return a deposit to the man who had deposited it; so, in the same manner, he did not think it becoming to show impatience when nature reclaimed what belonged to her, but preferred to bear what was inevitable with cheerfulness. And when the magistrates of that country came to sympathise with him in his sorrow, seeing none of the customary signs of woe which were usually exhibited in their land by mourners, no loud wailing or howling, no beating of the breast, no loud cries of men or women, but a steady, sober depression of spirits on the part of the whole household, they marveled exceedingly, even though they had been previously full of astonishment and admiration at all the rest of the man's way of life. 6And then, not concealing in their own minds their ideas of the greatness and beauty of his virtue, for it was all admirable, they approached him and addressed him thus:--"Thou art a king from God among Us." [Genesis 23:6.] Speaking most truly, for all other kingdoms are established by man by means of wars, and military expeditions, and indescribable evils, which those persons who aim at power inflict mutually on one another, slaying one another, and raising up vast forces of infantry, and cavalry, and fleets. But the kingdom of the wise man is bestowed upon him by God; and the virtuous man receiving it is not the cause of evil to any one, but is rather the author to all his subjects of the acquisition and also of the use of good things, proclaiming to them peace and obedience to the law.

45 There is also another praise of him recorded in his honour and testified to in the holy scriptures, which Moses has written, in which it is related of him that he believed in God; which is a statement brief indeed in words, but of great magnitude and importance to be confirmed in fact. For on whom else can we believe? Are we to trust in authorities, or in glory and honour, or in abundance of wealth and noble birth, or in good health and a good condition of the senses and the mind, or in vigor of body and beauty of person? But in truth every kind of authority is unstable, as it has innumerable enemies lying it wait to attack it. And if in any instance it is firmly established, it is only so confirmed by innumerable evils and calamities which those who are in authority both inflict and suffer. Again, honours and glory are most unstable, being tossed about among the indiscriminate inclinations and feeble language of careless and imprudent men; and even if they endure, their nature is not such as to produce any genuine good. 6And as for riches and illustrious birth, those things sometimes fall to the lot of the most worthless men. And even if they should belong only to the virtuous, still they are but the praises of their ancestors and of fortune, and not of those who now possess them. 6Nor, again, is it right for a man to pride himself on his personal advantages, in which other animals are superior to him. For what man is stronger or more vigorous than a bull among domestic animals, or than a lion among wild beasts? And what man is more sharp-sighted than a falcon or an eagle? And what man is so richly endowed with the sense of hearing as that stupidest of all animals, the ass? Also what man is more accurate in his sense of smell than a hound, who huntsmen say can trace out by means of his nose animals who are lying at a distance, and can run up to them with perfect correctness, and course, though he has not seen them; for what sight is to other animals that is the sense of smell to hounds and to all the dogs which pursue game. Moreover, the greater part of the irrational animals enjoy excellent health, and are as far as possible entirely exempt from disease. And also in any competition in respect of beauty, some things which are even destitute of vitality, appear to me to surpass the elegance of either men or women ; as, for instance, images, and statues, and pictures, and in a word all the works of either the pictorial or plastic art which arrive at excellence in either branch, and which are the objects of study and desire both to Greeks and barbarians, who erect them in the most conspicuous places for the ornament of their cities.

46 Therefore, the only real, and true, and lasting good is trust in God, the comfort of life, the fulfillment of all good hopes, the absence of all evils, and the attendant source of blessings, the repudiation of all unhappiness, the recognition of piety, the inheritance of all happiness, the improvement of the soul in every respect, as it thus relies for support on the cause of all things, who is able to do everything but who wills only to do what is best. For as men who are going along a slippery road stumble and fall, but they who proceed by a dry, and level, and plain path, journey on without stumbling; so also those men who are conducting their soul through the road of bodily and external good things are only accustoming it to fall; for these things are full of stumbling and the most insecure of all. But they who by those speculations which are in accordance with virtue, hasten towards God, are guiding their souls in a safe and untroubled path. So that we may say with the most absolute truth, that the man who trusts in the good things of the body disbelieves in God, and that he who distributes them believes in him. 7But not only do the holy scriptures bear witness to the faith of Abraham in the living God, which faith is the queen of all the virtues, but moreover he is the first man whom they speak of as an elder; though they were men who had preceded him who had lived three times as many years (or even more still) as he had, not one of whom is handed down to us as worthy of the appellation. And may we not say that this is in strict accordance with natural truth? For he who is really an elder is looked upon as such, not with reference to his length of time, but to the praiseworthiness of his life. 7Those men, therefore, who have spent a long life in that existence which is in accordance with the body, apart from all virtue, we must call only long-lived children, having never been instructed in those branches of education which befit grey hairs. But the man who has been a lover of prudence, and wisdom, and faith in God, one may

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justly denominate an elder, forming his name by a slight change from the first. 7For in real truth the wise man is the first man in the human race, being what a pilot is in a ship, a governor in a city, a general of war, the soul in the body, or the mind in the soul; or again, what the heaven is in the world, and what God is in the heaven. And God, admiring this man for his faith (pistis) in him, giving him a pledge (pistis) in return, namely, a confirmation by an oath of the gifts which he had promised him; no longer conversing with him as God might with man, but as one friend with another. For he says, "By myself have I Sworn," [Genesis 15:6.] by him that is whose word is an oath, in order that Abraham's mind may be established still more firmly and immoveably than before. 7Let the virtuous man both be and be called the younger and the last, since he only pursues such objects as may produce revolution and as are placed in the lowest rank. 7Thus much is sufficient to say on this subject. But God, adding to the multitude and magnitude of the praises of the wise man one single thing as a crowning point, says that "this man fulfilled the divine law, and all the commandments of God," [Genesis 26:5.] not having been taught to do so by written books, but in accordance with the unwritten law of his nature, being anxious to obey all healthful and salutary impulses. And what is the duty of man except most firmly to believe those things which God asserts? 7Such is the life of the first author and founder of our nation; a man according to the law, as some persons think, but, as my argument has shown, one who is himself the unwritten law and justice of God.

ON JOSEPH

1 (There are three different modes by which we proceed towards the most excellent end, namely, instruction, nature, and practice. There are also three persons, the oldest of the wise men who in the account given to us by Moses derive three names from these modes, whose lives I have now discussed, having examined the man who arrived at excellence in consequence of instruction, and him who was self-taught, and him who attained to the proposed end by practice. Accordingly, proceeding in regular order, I will now describe the life of the man occupied in civil affairs. And again, Moses has given us one of the patriarchs as deriving his name from this kind of life, in which he had been immersed from his earliest youth. (Now, this man began from the time he was seventeen years of age to be occupied with the consideration of the business of a shepherd, which corresponds to political business. On which account I think it is that the race of poets has been accustomed to call kings the shepherds of the people; for he who is skilful in the business of a shepherd will probably be also a most excellent king, having derived instruction in those matters which are deserving of inferior attention here to superintend a flock of those most excellent of all animals, namely, of men. (And just as attention to matters of hunting is indispensable to the man who is about to conduct a war or to govern an army, so in the same manner those who hope to have the government of a city will find the business of a shepherd very closely connected with them, since that is at is were a sort of prelude to any kind of government. (Therefore, as this man's father perceived in his son a very noble ability, and too great to be left in the obscurity of a private station, he admired him, and cultivated his talent, and loved him more than his other sons; because, too, he was the son of his old age, which last cause is one of the strongest incentives to affection possible. And like a man fond of virtue, he cherished and kindled the natural good disposition of his son by excessive and most diligent care and attention, in order that it might not only not be smothered, but might shine forth more brilliantly.

2 (But envy is at all times an adversary to great good fortune, and at this time it attacked a house which was prospering in all its parts, and divided it, setting all the brothers in enmity against one, who displayed an ill feeling on their own parts, sufficient to counterbalance the affection of his father, hating their brother as much as their father loved him; but they did not divulge their hatred by words, but kept it in their own bosoms, on which account it very naturally became more grievous and bitter; for passions which are repressed, and which are not allowed to evaporate in language, are more difficult to bear. (This man, therefore, indulging a disposition free from all guile and malice, and having no suspicion of the ill will which was secretly cherished against him by his brethren, having seen a dream of favourable import, related it to them, as if they were well affected towards him. "For," said he, "I thought that the time of harvest was arrived, and that we had all gone down to the plain to gather the crops, and had taken sickles in our hands to reap the harvest, and on a sudden my sheaf appeared to stand up, right, and to be raised up, and to erect itself; and I thought that your sheaves, as if at an appointed signal, ran up and fell down before it, and worshipped it with great arnestness." [Genesis 37:7.] (But they being men of acute intelligence, and shrewd in divining the nature of a matter thus intimated to them by means of a figure, with very felicitous conjectures, replied, "Dost thou think that thou shall be king and lord over us? for this is what you are now intimating by this lying vision of yours." So their hatred was kindled against him more exceedingly than before, as it was continually receiving some fresh pretext for its increase. (And he, suspecting nothing, a few days afterwards saw another dream, still more astonishing than the former one, and again he related it to his brethren; for he thought that the sun, and the moon, and the eleven stars, all came and worshipped him, so that his father marveling at what had thus happened, laid these events up in his mind, cherishing them, and considering within himself what was to happen. (But he reproved his son gravely, from a fear that he might be doing wrong in some respect, and said to him, "Shall I, and thy mother, and thy brethren, be able to fall down and worship thee? for by the sun you appear to indicate your father, and by the moon your mother, and by the eleven stars your eleven brethren? Let no such an idea ever come into your mind, O my son. But rather let all recollection of these visions which have appeared to you be forgotten, and let them pass from your mind; for to hope and expect a superiority over those of your family and kindred, is a detestable thing in my opinion, and I think, indeed, in that of every one else, who has an regard for equality and the principles of justice that subsist among kinsman." But his father, being afraid lest from his meeting with his brothers there might arise some quarrel and disturbance with them, inasmuch as they bore ill will against him on account of the dreams which he had seen, sent them away to keep their flocks at a distance, but retained him at home till a fitting season, knowing that time is said to be a powerful physician for all the passions and diseases of the soul, and a remover of grief, and an extinguisher of anger, and a healer of fear; for it softens and mitigates everything, even such things as are, according to their own nature, hard to be cured. But when he conjectured that no hatred was any longer abiding in their hearts he sent this his son forth to salute his brethren, and also to bring him word how they and their flocks of sheep were.

3 This expedition of his was the origin both of great evils and also of great good, each of them being excessive beyond all expectation; for he, obeying the commands of his parents, went to visit his brethren; but they, seeing him coming towards them while at a great distance, conversed one with another, saying nothing of good omen, inasmuch as they did not choose even to call him by his name, but called him a dreamer, and a seer of visions, and such appellations as these. And to such a height did they carry their rage that (I will not say all of them, but) the greater portion of them plotted his death; and designed, after having slain him, for the sake of not being detected, to throw him into a deep pit dug in the earth, for there are a great many such places in that district dug as receptacles for the rain water. And they were very near incurring that most excessive pollution of fratricide, as they would have done if they had not been, though with difficulty, persuaded by the advice of their eldest brother, who counselled them not to meddle with such a pollution but merely to cast him into one of these pits, thinking then to contrive some means of saving him, so that when they had all departed he might send him back again to his father without having suffered any harm. And after they had agreed to this he came forward and saluted them; and they took him as though he had been an enemy, and stripped him of all his garments, and let him down into a vast pit, and then, having stained his cloak with the blood of a kid, they sent it to his father on the pretence that he had been slain by a wild beast.

4 But on that day it happened by some chance that certain merchants who were accustomed to convey their merchandise from Arabia to Egypt were travelling that way, and so the eleven brethren drew Joseph up out of the pit and sold him to them; the one of them who was the fourth in respect of age instigating this contrivance; for in my opinion, he was afraid lest his brother might be treacherously slain by the others, who had conceived an irreconcilable hatred against him, and therefore he proposed that he should be sold, substituting slavery for death, the lighter evil for the greater. But the eldest, for he was not present when he was sold, looking down into the pit, and not seeing him whom he had left there a short time before, cried out and lamented loudly, and rent his clothes, and tossed his hands up and down like a madman, and beat his breast and tore his hair, saying, "What has become of him? Tell me, is he alive, or is he dead? If he is dead, show me his corpse that I may weep over his body, and so alleviate my grief. When I see him lying dead I shall be comforted; for why should we bear ill will to the dead? There is no envy excited against those who are out of sight. And if he is alive, to what country has he departed? Where is he kept? for I am not, as he was, an object of suspicion, so as to be distrusted by you." And when they replied that he had been sold, and when they showed him the money which they had received for him, he said, "A fine trade, indeed, you have been driving? Let us divide the gain: let us wear crowns of victory after thus rivalling the slavedealers, and bearing off from them the prizes of iniquity; we may well pride ourselves now that we have surpassed them in barbarity, for they indeed traffic in the liberty of strangers, but we in that of those who are most nearly related to and most dear to us. Surely here is newly contrived a great disgrace and a shame which will be known far and wide. Our fathers left behind them in every part of the world memorials of their virtue and excellence; we shall leave behind us the guilt of a charge of faithlessness and treacherous inhumanity which can never be effaced; for the reputation of extraordinary actions penetrates everywhere; those which are praiseworthy being admired, and those which are blamable meeting with blame and accusation. In what manner now will our father receive the news of what has happened? You will now, as far as depends upon us, have made the life of him who has hitherto been wonderfully happy and fortunate, not worth living; which will he pity, the child who has been sold, for his slavery? or those who have sold him, for their inhumanity? I am sure he will pity us much the most; since to do wrong is a more terrible evil than to suffer wrong, for the one has for an alleviation two consolations of the greatest influence, hope and pity; but the other is destitute of both these mitigations, and is more unfortunate in the judgement of every one. But why do I mourn and bewail in this manner? It is better for me to be silent, lest I too should be treated in some terrible manner; for ye are most merciless men in your dispositions, and implacable; and the rage which was kindled in each of you is still furious and vehement."

5 But when their father heard, not the truth indeed, that his son had been sold, but a falsehood that he was dead, and that he had been slain by wild beasts, he was smitten in his ears by the news that was reported to him, and in his eyes by what was shown to him (for they brought to him his son's coat rent and torn and defiled with quantities of blood); and being wholly bewildered by the exceeding greatness of the calamity, he lay for a long time without speaking, not being able even to lift up his head, the calamity overwhelming and completely prostrating him; then suddenly pouring forth as it were a stream of tears with bitter lamentations, he bedewed his cheeks, and his chin, and his breast, and all the garments on his chest, saying at the same time such words as these, "It is not thy death that grieves me, O my son, but such a tomb as has fallen to your lot; for if you had been buried in your own land I should have been comforted; I would have cherished you, I would have tended you in sickness if you had died before me, I would have given you my last embrace, I would have closed your eyes, I would have wept over your dead body lying before me, I would have buried you sumptuously, I would have omitted none of the customary observances. "Again, even if you had died in a foreign land, I should have said, nature has claimed what was due to, and what belonged to her; and therefore, O my mind, be not cast down; for living men have indeed their separate countries, but the whole earth is the grave of the dead; and all men are destined to a speedy death; for even the longest lived man is but short lived if compared with eternity; but if it was necessary that he should die violently and by treachery, it would have been a lighter evil to me for him to have been slain by men, who would have laid out his corpse, and have pitied him so far as to scatter dust over him, and at least to have concealed his body; and even if they had been the most merciless of all people, what more could they have done than have thrown him out unburied, and so got rid of him? And then, perhaps, some one of the passers by on the road, standing by, and beholding him, and conceiving pity for our common nature, would have thought him worthy of some care, and of burial; but now, as the saying is, O my son, thou has become a feast, and a banquet for savage and carnivorous wild beasts, who will eat and devour thy bowels; I am compelled to endure distresses which I never had imagined, I am without any cause practiced in enduring many miseries; I am a wanderer, a stranger, a slave, living under compulsion, having even my very life plotted against by those whom it least became to do so. And I have seen many things, and I have heard many things, and I have suffered many things, all of which have been incurable evils, which however I have learnt to bear with moderation, so as not to yield to them. "But nothing has ever happened more intolerable than this misfortune which has now befallen me; which has consumed and destroyed all the vigor of my soul; for what can be a greater or more pitiable calamity? The garment of my child has been brought to me, who am his father; but of him himself there is no portion brought, not a limb, not a small fragment, but he has been wholly and entirely destroyed and devoured, not being able even to receive burial; and it seems to me that even his garment would never have been sent to me at all if it had not been by the way of a reminder of my grief, and as a refreshment of my memory as to the sufferings which he endured, so as to afflict me with a never to be forgotten and never ending sorrow." He indeed bewailed his son in these terms; but the merchants sold his son in Egypt to one of the king's eunuchs who was his chief cook.

6 It is worth while, however, after having thus explained the literal account given to us of these events, to proceed to explain also the figurative meaning concealed under that account; for we say that nearly all, or that at all events, the greater part of the history of the giving of the law is full of allegories; now the disposition which we have at present under consideration, is called by the Hebrews Joseph; but the name being interpreted in the Greek language means, "the addition of the Lord," a name most felicitously given, and

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most appropriate to the account given of the person so called; for the democratic constitution in vogue among states is an addition of nature which has sovereign authority over everything; for this world is a sort of large state, and has one constitution, and one law, and the word of nature enjoins what one ought to do, and forbids what one ought not to do: but the cities themselves in their several situations are unlimited in number, and enjoy different constitutions, and laws which are not all the same; for there are different customs and established regulations found out and established in different nations; and the cause of this the want of union, and participation existing not merely between the Greeks and the barbarians, or between the barbarians and the Greeks, but also between the different tribes of each of these respective nations. Then they, as it would seem, blaming those things which do not deserve blame, such as unexpected occurrences or opportunities, deficiency of crops, badness of soil, their own situation either as being by the sea-side, or inland, or insular, or on the continent, or anything of that sort, are silent as to the real truth. The real truth is their covetousness, their want of good faith towards and confidence in one another, on which account they have not been satisfied with the laws of nature, but have called those regulations, which have appeared to be for the common advantage of the agreeing and unanimous multitudes, laws, so that the individual constitutions do naturally appear rather in the light of additions to the one great general constitution of nature; for the laws of individual cities are additions to the one right reason of nature; and so also the man who is occupied with political affairs is an addition to the man who lives in accordance with nature.

7 And it is not without a particular and correct meaning that Joseph is said to have had a coat of many colours. For a political constitution is a many-coloured and multiform thing, admitting of an infinite variety of changes in its general appearance, in its affairs, in its moving causes, in the peculiar laws respecting strangers, in numberless differences respecting times and places. For as the master of a ship collects together all the means which may tend to ensure him a favourable voyage with reference to and in dependency on the changes of the wind, not always guiding his vessel in one and the same way; and as a physician does not apply one and the same means of cure to every sick person, nor even to one person if his disease varies in its character, but watches the periods of its abatement, and of its intensity, and of its becoming full or empty, and the alterations of the causes of the sickness, and so varies his remedies as much as possible to secure the safety of his patient, applying one remedy at one time and another at another; in the same manner I conceive that the man immersed in political affairs is of necessity a multiform man, assuming many different appearances, one in time of peace and another in time of war; and a different character according as those who are opposed to him are numerous or few in number, withstanding a small number with vigorous resolution, but using persuasion and gentle means towards a large body. And in some cases where there is much danger, still for the sake of the common advantage he will take the place of every one, and manage the business in hand by himself; in other cases, where it is merely a question of labour he will let others minister to him as his assistants. It was appropriately said that the man was sold. For the haranguer of the people and the demagogue, mounting the tribunal, like slaves who are being sold and exposed to view, is a slave instead of a free man, by reason of the honours which he seems to be receiving, being led away by ten thousand masters? The same person is also represented as having been torn by wild beasts; and vainglory, which lies in wait for a man, is an untameable wild beast, tearing and destroying all who give into it. And they who have been purchasers are likewise sellers; for there is one master only to the citizens who live in any city; but there is a multitude of masters, one succeeding another in a certain succession and regular order. But those who have been sold three times change their masters like bad slaves, not remaining with their original ones, by reason of the speedily satisfied irregularity of their dispositions, always thirsting after novelty.

8 This is enough to say on this part of the subject. Accordingly, the young man, having been conducted into Egypt, and there, as has already been stated, having become the slave of a eunuch, gave in a few days such proofs of virtue and excellence of disposition, that he had authority over his fellow servants given to him, and the management of the whole household committed to his charge; for already his master had learnt by many circumstances to perceive that his servant in all his words and in all his actions was under the immediate direction of divine providence. Accordingly, in consequence of this opinion of his purchaser, he was appointed superintendent of his house, apparently indeed by his master, but, in fact and reality, by nature herself, which procured for him the government of a mighty city, and nation, and country. For it was necessary that one who was destined to be a statesman should be previously practiced and trained in the management of a single household; for a household is a city on a small and contracted scale, and the management of a household is a contracted kind of polity; so that a city may be called a large house, and the government of a city a widely spread economy. And from these considerations we may see that the manager of a household and the governor of a state are identical, though the multitude and magnitude of the things committed to their charge may be different, as in the case too with the arts of painting and statuary; for the good statuary or painter, whether he is making many and colossal figures, or only few and those of a small size, is still the same person, and the art which he is practising is the same art.

9 But while he is earning a very high reputation in the matters connected with the management of his master's house, he is plotted against by the wife of his master, because of the incontinent love which she had conceived for him; for she, being maddened by the beauty of the young man, and being unable to restrain the violence of her frenzy and passion, addressed a proposal of illicit intercourse to him; but he resisted it vigorously, and would not at all endure to approach her, by reason of the orderly and temperate disposition implanted in him by nature and habit. But when she, inflaming and exciting her lawless desire, kept continually tempting him, and continually throwing herself in his way, and continually failing in her object, she at last, in the violence of her passion, had recourse to force, and seizing hold of his cloak dragged him vigorously toward the bed, her passion endowing her strength with greater vigor, as it often does strengthen even the weak. But he, proving more powerful than even the alluring opportunity, uttered a cry becoming a free man, and worthy of his race, saying, What are you forcing me to? We, the descendants of the Hebrews, are guided by special customs and laws of our own; in other nations the youths are permitted, after they are fourteen years of age, to use concubines and prostitutes, and women who make gain by their persons, without restraint. But among us a harlot is not allowed even to live, but death is appointed as a punishment for any one who adopts such a way of life. Therefore, before our lawful marriage we know nothing of any connexion with any other woman, but, without ever having experienced any similar cohabitation, we approach our virgin brides as pure as themselves, proposing as the end of our marriage not pleasure but the offspring of legitimate children. I, therefore, having kept myself pure to this day, will not begin now to transgress the law by adultery which is the greatest of all sins, when I ought rather, even if in past time I had lived in an irregular manner, and had been led away by the impulses of youth, and had imitated the licentiousness of the natives, still not to seek to pollute the marriage of another man, an offence which who is there would not avenge with blood? For though different nations differ in other points, still all agree in this alone, that all men think him worthy of ten thousand deaths who does so, and give up the man who is detected in adultery without trial to the husband who has detected him. But you, pressing me thus to load myself with guilt, would add even a third pollution in my case, since you bid me not merely commit adultery, but also to violate my mistress and my master's wife, unless, indeed, this is to be looked upon as the reason for which I entered your house, that I might neglect the duties which a servant ought to perform, and get drunk, and become intoxicated with hopes fit for my master who has bought me, polluting his marriage, and his house and his family. Nevertheless I am induced to honour him not merely as my master, but also as one who has before now been my benefactor. He has committed to my care the whole management of his household; there is nothing whatever, be it great or small, which is withdrawn from my superintendence, except you who are his wife. In return for these kindnesses is it fitting for me to requite him with such an action as you recommend to me? I will rather, as becomes me, endeavor with honourable service to requite the kindness of which he has set me the example, and which is due him. He, being my master, has made me, who was a captive and a slave, a free man and a citizen by his great goodness, as far at least as depended on him; and shall I, who am a slave, compare myself to my master as if he were a stranger and a captive? And with what disposition can I commit this unholy action? and with what face can I be impudent enough to look upon him? The consciousness of guilt which I shall have contracted will not suffer me to look him in the face, even if I should be able to be undiscovered, but in fact I shall never escape detection, for there are innumerable witnesses of all the things which are done privily who may not be silent. I forbear to say that, even if no one else should know it, or being privy to it should not divulge it, still I nevertheless shall be a witness against myself by my complexion, by my look, by my voice, as I said a little while ago, being convicted by my own conscience; and if no one else informs against me, shall I not fear nor respect, justice the assessor of God, and the overlooker of all human actions?

10 He put all these arguments together and philosophised in this way till she ceased to importune him; for the desires are powerful, to cast in the shade even the most powerful of the outward senses, which he, being aware of, fled from them, leaving his garment in her hands, as she had seized hold of him. This circumstance gave her an opportunity to contrive a story, and to invent a plausible tale against the young man, by means of which she might revenge herself on him; for when her husband came from the public assembly, she, pretending to play the part of a modest and orderly woman, even among the intemperate habits by which she was surrounded, said to him, with excessive indignation, "You brought a servant into us, a slave of the Hebrews, who had not only corrupted his soul, since you, in a simple manner without due inquiry, committed your household to him, but has even dared to assault my body. For he was not contented with seducing only his fellow servants, inasmuch as he has become a most lascivious and debauched man, but he has attempted to defile even me, his mistress, and to use force to me; and the proofs of his insane lust are visible and clear; for when, having been very ill-treated by him, I cried out, calling to my aid assistants from within; he fled, from fear of being apprehended." And showing his garment, she appeared to give a proof of the truth of what she said; and his master thinking that it was true, ordered his officers to conduct the man to prison, erring in two most important points: first, that without giving him any time to defend himself, he, without a trial, condemned one who had done no wrong, as if he had committed the greatest crimes; secondly, because the garment which the woman displayed as having been left behind by the young man, was indeed a proof of violence, but not of that which he had committed, but rather of that which had been offered to him, and of the fortitude with which he endured it from the woman; for if he had been offering violence, it was probable that he might have laid hold of the garment of his mistress; but it was owing to his having had violence offered to him that he was deprived of his own. But perhaps he should be pardoned for his excessive ignorance, inasmuch as he lived chiefly in the cook's house, being filled with blood, and smoke, and ashes, his reasoning having no opportunity to become tranquillised and to enjoy leisure in itself, because it was confused still more, or, at all events, not less than the body.

11 I have already sketched out three characters of the man immersed in civil business; that of him who is occupied as a shepherd, that of the regulator of a house, and that of the man possessed of fortitude: and we have now discussed the two first of these sufficiently. But the temperate man is no less connected with the regulation of political affairs than those two are; for temperance is a beneficial and saving thing for all the affairs of life; and in affairs of state it is most especially so, as those who wish to understand the matter may learn from numerous and easily obtained proofs. For who is there who does not know that great calamities have befallen nations, and districts, and whole countries all over the world, both by land and sea, in consequence of intemperance; for the most numerous and most serious wars have been kindled on account of love, and adultery, and the wiles of women; by which the most numerous and most excellent portion of both of the Grecian and barbarian race has been destroyed, and the youth of the cities has perished. And of the consequences of intemperance, are domestic seditions, and wars, and evils upon evils in unutterable number. It is plain that the consequences of temperance, are stability, and peace, and the acquisition and enjoyment of perfect blessing.

12 It is worth while, however, to proceed in regular order, and by this course to exhibit what is intended to be intimated by this figurative history. The man who brought this servant of whom we are speaking is said to have been a eunuch; very naturally, for the multitude which purchases the services of a man skilful in affairs of state is truly a eunuch, having in appearance, indeed, the organs of generation, but being deprived of all the power requisite for generating; just as those persons who have a confused sight though they have eyes, are nevertheless deprived of the active use of them, inasmuch as they are not able to see clearly. What, then, is the resemblance of eunuchs to the multitude? That the multitude too is unable to generate wisdom, but that it studies virtue; for when a multitude of men, brought promiscuously together from all quarters and of different races, meets in the same place, what is said indeed may be proper and becoming, but what is intended and what is done is quite contrary; since the multitude embraces what is spurious in preference to what is genuine, because it is carried away by false opinion, and has not studied what is truly honourable. On which account (though it seems a most unnatural thing), a wife is represented as cohabiting with this eunuch; for the multitudes court desire, as a man courts a woman; for the sake of which it says and does everything, making it its counsellor in everything which should and should not be spoken, trifling or important, being not at all accustomed to attend to considerations of calm wisdom; therefore the sacred historian very appropriately calls him the chief cook. For a cook studies nothing beyond the insatiable and immoderate pleasures of the belly, in the same manner the multitude, which is occupied with public affairs, studies only those pleasures and allurements which are conveyed by means of the hearing, by which the energies of the mind are relaxed, as one may say the nerves of the soul are in a manner loosened. And who is there who is not aware of the great quarrel which exists between physicians and cooks; since the first exert all their diligence and ingenuity in preparing things which are salutary, even if they are not pleasant; but

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the others, on the contrary, prepare only what is pleasant, disregarding what is advantageous? Therefore, the laws which exist among a people and those who govern in accordance with the laws resemble physicians, and so also do those counsellors and judges who have a regard to the common safety and security of the state, and who use no flattery to the people. But the chief body of the younger men resembles cooks; for their object is not to supply what will be beneficial to the people, but only to contrive for the present moment to reap gratification.

13 And the desire of the multitude, like an incontinent woman, loves the man who is experienced in state affairs, and says to him: Go forth, my good man, unto the multitude among which you are dwelling, and forget all your own individual disposition, and the pursuits, and discourses, and actions in which you have been brought up. And be guided by me, and attend to me, and do every thing which is agreeable to me; for I cannot endure any thing that is austere and obstinate, and foolishly fond of truth, and pertinaciously adhering to justice, which puts on an air of importance and dignity on all occasions, which yields in no point, and never proposes to itself any object but plain expediency, without any thought of gratifying the hearers. And you do not know the innumerable calumnies which some persons load you with, uttering them to my husband and your master, the multitude; for up to this time you appear to me to have been behaving like a free man, and you seem not at all to know that you are the slave of a very tyrannical master. But if you had understood that independence of action belongs to a free man, but obedience to the orders of others to a slave, you would then, laying aside your self-willed obstinacy, have learnt to look upon me who am his wife, being desire, and to do every thing with a reference to my gratification, by which means you yourself also will receive the greatest pleasure.

14 But the statesman is not in reality ignorant that the people has the authority of a master, but still he will not admit that he himself is its slave, but looks upon himself as free, and as entitled to consider mainly the gratification of the soul. And he will say in plain words: I have not learnt to be a slave to the will of the populace, nor will I ever study such a practice, but being desirous to attain to the government and administration of the city like a good steward or well-intentioned father, I will save it in a guileless and honourable manner, without any hostile character. And while I cherish these sentiments I shall be open to examination, concealing nothing, and not hiding any thing like a thief, but keeping my conscience clear as in the light of the sun and of day; for the truth is the light. And I shall fear none of the evils with which they menace me, not even if they threaten me with death; for hypocrisy is in my eyes a more grievous evil than death. And why should I encounter what I look upon in such a light? For even if the populace be a despot, am I therefore a slave, I who am bom of as noble ancestors as any one in the world, entitled to be enrolled as a free citizen in the greatest and most admirable state in this whole world? For as I am not influenced by gifts, nor by exhortations, nor by a love of honours, nor by a desire of power, nor by insolence, nor by a desire of seeming different from what I am, nor by intemperance, nor by cowardice, nor by injustice, nor by any other motive partaking of either passion or wickedness; what can, then, be the dominion of which I have need to fear? Surely it can only be the dominion of men. But they claim authority, indeed, over my body, but none at all over me; for I estimate myself by the more excellent part of myself, namely, by the mind in accordance with which I have determined to live, thinking but little of my mortal body, which sticks to me like a limpet, and even if it is injured by something or other, I shall not be grieved at having got rid of cruel masters and mistresses who are settled within, inasmuch as I shall have escaped the most formidable necessity. If, therefore, it shall be necessary for me to act as a judge, I will decide, neither adhering to any rich man for the sake of his riches, nor gratifying a poor man by reason of my compassion for his misfortunes, but putting out of sight the rank and outward circumstances of those respecting whom I am to judge, I will honestly pronounce in favour of what shall appear to me to be just. And if I am called to counsel I will bring forward such opinions as shall appear to me to be for the common advantage, even though they may not be palatable. And if I am a member of the assembly, leaving flattering speeches to others, I will adopt only such as are advantageous and salutary, reproving, admonishing, correcting, and studying not a frantic and insane license of speech, but a sober freedom. And if any one dislikes improvement, let such a one find fault with parents, and guardians, and teachers, and with all who have the care of youth, because they reprove their own children, or their orphan wards, or their pupils, and sometimes even beat them; and yet they are not to be accused of evil speaking, nor of insolent violence, but on the contrary, they must be looked upon as friends and real well-wishers; for it would be utterly unworthy for me who am experienced in affairs of state, and who have all the interests of the people entrusted to me in discussions respecting what is for the advantage of the commonwealth to behave worse than a man would who has studied the art of a physician; for he would not in the least regard the brilliant position or the accredited good fortune of his patient, nor whether he is of noble birth or of large fortune, nor whether he is the most renowned monarch or tyrant of all his contemporaries, but would attend to one object alone, that, namely, of preserving his health to the best of his power. And if it should be necessary to use excision or cautery, he, though a subject, or as some might say a slave, would cut or burn his governor or his master. But I, who have got for my patient not one man but a whole city sick with those more grievous diseases which the kindred desires have brought upon it, what ought I to do? Shall I, abandoning all idea of what will be of general advantage to the whole state seek to please the ears of this or that man with an ungentleman-like and thoroughly slavish flattery? I would rather choose to die than to speak merely with the object of gratifying the ear, and to conceal the truth, disregarding all thought of what is really advantageous. "Now then," as the tragedian says: "Now then let fire, let biting steel come on; Burn, scorch my flesh, and glut your appetite, Drinking my dark, warm blood; for here I swear, Sooner shall those bright stars which deck the heaven Descend beneath the earth, the earth itself Soar upwards to the sky, than servile words Of flattery creep from out my mouth to thee." But the people, when it is the master, cannot endure a statesman of so masculine a spirit, and one who keeps so completely aloof from the passions, from pleasure, from fear, from grief, from desire; but it arrests its well-wisher and friend and punishes him as an enemy, in doing which it first of all inflicts upon itself the most grievous of all punishments, namely, ignorance; in consequence of which state it does not itself learn that lesson which is the most beautiful and profitable of all, namely, obedience to its governor, from which the knowledge how to govern subsequently springs.

15 Having now discussed this matter at sumcient length let us see what follows next. The young man, having been calumniated to his master by his master's wife, who was in love with him, and who had invented against him the accusation to which she herself was liable, is not allowed to make any defense, but is led away to prison. And while he was in the prison he displayed such exceeding virtue that even the most abandoned persons there marveled and were amazed, and looked upon it as an alleviation of their calamities to have found such a man as the averter of evil from them. And of the cruelty and inhumanity of which gaolers are full there is no one who is ignorant. For they are both by nature pitiless, and also by constant practice they are made more and more brutal, and increase in ferocity day by day, never seeing or saying, or doing any good thing, but committing only acts of violence and barbarity. For as men who have very strongly knit bodies, when besides their natural strength they add to it the practice of wrestlers, become stronger still, and acquire an irresistible power and a surpassing perfection of body, so in the same manner when an untameable and implacable nature adds habit to its natural ferocity, it becomes inaccessible to, and immovable by any kind of pity or any single respectable or humane feeling. And as those who associate with good men are improved in their disposition by such association, rejoicing in the pleasant and good persons with whom they are living; so also do they who are living with the wicked take the impression of their wicked ways; for habit is a very powerful thing to put a force upon nature, and to make it resemble itself: now keepers of prisons live among thieves and robbers, and housebreakers, and men of insolence and violence, and murderers, and adulterers, and plunderers of temples, from every one of whom they contract some wickedness, and collect a sort of contribution: and from their manifold mixture, make up one thoroughly confused and wholly polluted iniquity.

16 Nevertheless, even such a man as this was propitiated by the virtue of this young man, and not only gave him liberty and security, but even entrusted to him a share of authority over all the prisoners; so that in word, indeed, and as far as the title went, he continued to be the goaler; but in reality he had made over all the active part of the work to the young man, in consequence of which conduct of his the prisoners were benefited in no slight degree. Accordingly they no longer thought fit to call the place a prison, but a house of correction: for instead of tortures and punishments which they had previously undergone night and day, being beaten and bound with chains, and suffering every imaginable kind of ill-treatment; they were now admonished with the language and doctrines of philosophy, and also by the life and conduct of their teacher, which was more effective than any discourse in the world; for he, by placing his own life full of temperance and every kind of virtue before them, as a picture and well-constructed model of virtue, changed even those who had appeared to be utterly incurable, so that the long diseases of their souls now got a respite, since they were afflicting themselves for what they had hitherto done, and were repenting of it, and uttering such expressions as these, "Where was there all this good formerly which we originally failed to find? For behold! now it shines forth to such a degree that we are ashamed to face it, seeing our deformity in it as in a looking-glass."

17 While they then were being improved in this manner two of the king's eunuchs are brought into the prison; the one being his chief butler, and the other his chief baker, having been accused and condemned for malversation in the offices committed to their charge. And Joseph took the same care of them that he took of the others, praying that he might be able to make all those who were entrusted to his care in no respect inferior to irreproachable persons. And when no long period had elapsed, he went to visit his prisoners on one occasion, when he saw these eunuchs more full of perplexity, and more downcast than they had been before; and conjecturing from their excessive grief that some strange event had befallen them, he inquired the reason of their sorrow. And when they answered him, that they were full of distress and perplexity because they had seen dreams, and because there was no one who could interpret them to them, he said "Be of good cheer, and relate them to me; for so, if God will, you shall be led to understand them; for he is willing to reveal, to those who are desirous of the truth, those things which are concealed in darkness." Then the chief butler spoke first, and said, "I thought that a great vine grew up, having three roots, and one very vigorous trunk, and flourishing, and bearing bunches of grapes as if in the height of autumn, and when the grapes became dark and ripe I picked the bunches, and squeezed the grapes into the king's cup, in order to convey to my sovereign a sufficient quantity of unmixed wine." And Joseph, pausing for awhile, said, "Thy vision announces good fortune to thee, and a recovery of thy former situation; for the three roots of the vine signify figuratively three days, after which the king will remember thee, and will send for thee from hence, and will pardon thee, and will permit thee to resume thy former rank, and shall again pour him out wine for confirmation of thy authority, and shall give the cup into thy master's hand." And the chief butler rejoiced when he heard these things.

18 And the chief baker, gladly receiving this interpretation, and rejoicing in the idea that he too had seen a favourable dream (though his dream was of a very contrary character), being deceived by the fair hopes which were held out to the other, spoke as follows:—"And I, too, fancied that I was carrying a basket, and that I was holding three baskets full of cakes upon my head. And the upper basket was full of all sorts of cakes which the king was accustomed to eat; and there were in it confections and delicacies of all kinds imaginable for the king's food: and the birds flew down and took them from off my head, and devoured them insatiably till they had eaten them all up; and none of the things which I had so skilfully prepared were left." Joseph replied, "I wish that the vision had not appeared to you, or that, having appeared, it had been concealed in silence; or that, if any one would speak of it, he had done so at a distance, so that I might not have heard him, and that his account had been given out of the reach ot my ears, for I disliked to bs a messenger of evil: for sympathise with those who are in distress, being greatly grieved at what befalls them by reason of my own humanity. But since interpreters of dreams are bound to speak the truth, since they are interpreters of the divine oracles, and prophets of the divine will, I will explain your dream to you, and conceal nothing; for to speak truly is in every case the best thing, and is, moreover, the most holy of all holy speeches. The three baskets are a symbol of three days: and after three days the king will command you to be crucified, and your head to be cut off, and the birds will fly down and feast upon your flesh, until you are wholly devoured." And the chief baker, as was natural, was confused at this, and cast down greatly, expecting the fate which was thus denounced against him, and being full of misery in his mind. But when the three days had passed, the king's birth-day came, on which all the natives of the country made an assembly and a feast, and especially those in the king's palace. Therefore, while the magistrates were feasting, and while all the household and all the servants were revelling as in a public banquet, the king, remembering his eunuchs who were in prison, commanded them to be brought; and when he had seen them he confirmed the interpretation of their dreams which Joseph had given, ordering one of them to be crucified, and to have his head cut off, and restoring to the other the office which he had formerly enjoyed.

19 But the chief butler, after he was released, forgot him who had foretold his release to him, and who had alleviated all the misfortunes which had befallen him, perhaps, indeed, because every ungrateful man is forgetful of benefits, and perhaps, too, because of the providence of God, who designed that the prosperity of the young man should not be owing to man, but rather to himself; for after two years he, by means of a dream, and by two visions, predicted to the king the good and evil which was about to happen to his land, each of the visions indicating the same thing, so as to produce a firmer belief in them. For he thought that seven oxen were coming slowly up out of the river, fat and very well fleshed, beautiful to look upon, and that they began to feed by the river; after which seven others, equal in number, destitute of flesh in a strange degree, and very lean, came up, exceedingly ill-

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favoured, and they too fed alongside of the others. Then, on a sudden the better oxen were devoured by the inferior ones, and yet those who ate them were in none, not even in the very slightest degree, increased in bulk in their bodies, but were still leaner than before, or, at all events, not less lean; and when he had awakened and gone to sleep a second time, he had a second vision appear to him; for he thought that seven ears of wheat sprang up from one root, equal in magnitude, and that they grew and flourished, and rose up to a height with great vigor; and then that seven other ears, thin and weak, grew up near them, and the root with good ears was devoured by the weak ears when they too had grown up. Seeing this sight he remained sleepless all the rest of the night, for cares stinging and wounding him kept him awake, and at dawn he sent for the sophists and related his dream; and as none of them was able, by any probable conjectures, to trace out the truth, the chief butler came forward and said, "O master, there is a hope that you may find the man whom you are seeking; for when I and the chief baker had done evil against you you ordered us to be committed to prison; and in that prison there was a servant of the chief cook, a Hebrew, to whom both the chief baker and I related some dreams which had appeared to us, and he answered them with such felicity and accuracy of interpretation, that all that he foretold to either of us came to pass, the punishment to the chief baker, which was appointed to him, and I found you favourable and merciful to me."

20 Therefore the king hearing these things, orders men to go in haste and summon the young man before him; but they having cut his hair, for the hair, both of his head and of his beard, had grown very long while he was kept in prison, and having given him a splendid garment instead of a sordid one, and having adorned him in other ways, led him before the king; who, perceiving from his appearance that he was a free-born and noble man (for there are certain outward characteristics which are stamped upon the persons of some people whom one sees, which are not visible to all, but only to such as have very clear-sighted eyes in their mind), said, "My soul forebodes that my dreams will not be altogether permanently hidden in uncertainty; for this young man exhibits an appearance of wisdom, by which he will be able to reveal the truth, and, as it were, dissipate the darkness by light, and the ignorance of the sophists at our court by his knowledge," And then he related to him his dream. But Joseph, without being at all dismayed at the rank and majesty of the speaker, conversed with him rather as a king with a subject than like a subject with a king, using freedom of speech, though mingled with respect, and he said: God has shown you before what he is about to do in your country. Do not imagine that the two visions which have appeared to thee are two different dreams; they are but one and the reduplication of them is not superfluous, but is intended to produce the conviction of a firmer belief; for the seven fat oxen, and the seven flourishing and vigorous ears of corn, show seven years of great fertility and plenty; and the seven lean and ill-favoured oxen which came up after the fat ones, and the seven withered and shrivelled ears of corn, denote seven other years of famine; therefore the first period of seven years thus denoted will arrive first, having great and abundant fertility of crops, in which the river will every year overflow all the land of Egypt with inundations, and all the plains, as if they had never been irrigated or fertilised before. And after these years there will come a period of seven years entirely contrary to them bringing with it a terrible want and scarcity of necessary things, during which time the river will not overflow, nor will the earth be fertilised, so that it will forget its former prosperity, and so that all that was left from the former abundance of the crops will be consumed. This then is the interpretation of the dreams which have appeared to you. But there is something divine which prompts me and communicates some suggestions to me which may be salutary in this disease; and the most terrible disease of all cities and countries is famine, which must be checked or mitigated to some degree that it may not be so exceedingly strong as to devour the inhabitants; how then can it be mitigated? That which shall be more than sufficient of the crop in the seven years, during which the plenty lasts, after having taken so much as is adequate to the nourishment of the people, and that will be perhaps a fifth part, must be stored up in granaries in the cities and villages, not removing the crops to any great distance but storing them in the countries to which they belong, and keeping them there for the relief of the people who dwell in each district; and it will be well to bring together the crop with the sheaves, not thrashing it out, nor winnowing, nor sifting it at all, for four reasons. First of all, because if it is thus protected by the straw it will remain uninjured a longer time; secondly, in order that every year the people may be reminded of the former period of plenty while they are threshing and winnowing; for the imitation of the former real blessings is calculated to produce a second pleasure; thirdly, in order to prevent any exact calculation of the quantity stored up, as, while the crop is in the ear and in the sheaf, it is of uncertain amount and not easily to be described; that so the hearts of the people of the land may not faint beforehand at the consumption of what has been treasured up, but may use with cheerfulness the nourishment of the corn which is thus provided for them, (for hope is of all things the most strengthening), and so may to a certain extent feel relief in the bitter disease of scarcity; fourthly, because in this way fodder may also be provided for the cattle, as the straw and the chaff derived from the threshing of the wheat will be of use to them in this way. And you must appoint a man to superintend all these measures, of great prudence, and great acuteness, and well approved in all matters, who may be able without incurring hatred or envy to do all that I have here described in a proper manner, without giving to the multitude any reason to suspect the impending famine; for it would be a sad thing for them to anticipate their distress, and so to faint in their souls through despair; and if any one should inquire the reason of all this being done, the superintendent may say that, as in peace it is right to provide things that may be necessary in war, so also it is desirable in years of plenty to provide against want; and that wars and famines are in their nature uncertain, and in short so are all the different events which befall men unexpectedly at different times; for which therefore it is necessary to be prepared; and not when such things have befallen one, then to seek a remedy when it is no longer of any avail."

21 And when the king had heard these words, and had seen that the interpretation of the dreams did thus with felicity and accuracy of conjecture arrive at the truth, and that the advice which the young man gave appeared to be of exceeding use in the way of providing against the uncertainty of the future, he ordered those who were about him to approach nearer so that they might hear what he said; and then he spoke as follows: Can we, O men, find any man equal to this man who has the spirit of God resting on him? And when they all praised his words, and raised their voices in accordance with them, he looked on Joseph as he was standing before him and said: The man whom you advise me to seek out is near at hand; the wise and intelligent man whom we have need of is at no great distance; you yourself are he whom, in accordance with your recommendation, we ought to seek for, for you do not appear to me to have been inspired by anything short of God himself, when you said what you have now said to me. Go then, and take the superintendence of my household and the government of all Egypt; and no one will blame my indifference or easiness, as if I were yielding to indolence and selfish love of ease, under this calamity so difficult to be remedied; for great natures are often tested without requiring a long time for their examination, compelling men by their intrinsic weight and power to be rapid, and to discard all delay in receiving them, and some affairs do not admit of any delay or procrastination when the occasions compel us to necessary promptness of action. After speaking thus, Pharaoh appointed Joseph his lieutenant in the kingdom, or rather, if one is to speak the exact truth, actual king, leaving to himself only the name of kingly power; but in reality yielding up the whole sovereignty to him, and behaving in every respect so as to confer honour on the young man. Therefore he gave him a royal seal, and a sacred robe, and a golden circlet to go round his neck, and he made him to ride in the second chariot which he had, and commanded him in that state to go round the city, a herald also going round with him, and announcing his appointment to those who were ignorant of it. Moreover, he changed his name with reference to his interpretation of dreams, giving him an appellation according to the language of the country, and he gave him for his wife the most beautiful and noble of all the women in Egypt , the daughter of the priest of the sun. These things happened when Joseph was about thirty years of age. And such is the end of pious persons; for, even if they stumble they do not wholly fall, but rise again after an interval, and are re-established in a firm and solid manner, so as not to be completely prostrated. For who would ever have expected that in one day the same man would become a master from having been a slave, and from having been a prisoner would rise up the most illustrious of men, and that the under turnkey of the keeper of the prison would become the king's lieutenant, and that he would dwell in the king's palace instead of in the gaol, having the highest honour in the whole land instead of being held in the greatest disrepute? Nevertheless these things really did come to pass, and similar things often will come to pass when it seems good to God. Only let there be one single spark of excellence and virtue implanted in the soul, and that must some day or other be fanned into a flame and shine forth.

22 But since we have proposed to ourselves to give not only an explanation of the literal account given to us, but also of its more figurative meaning, we must say what is necessary to be said concerning that also. Perhaps now some persons of rash and inconsiderate dispositions will laugh; nevertheless, I will speak without concealing anything. And I will say that the statesman is at all times an interpreter of dreams, not classing him by this statement among the charlatans and vain chatterers, and men who put forth sophistical pretences by way of making money, or among those who profess the explanation of visions which have appeared to persons in their sleep in the hope of acquiring gain; but I mean that the statesman is accustomed to interpret accurately the great, and common, and universal general dreams, not only of sleeping but also of waking persons. And this dream, to speak the truth, is the life of man; for as in the visions which appear to us in sleep, which seeing we do not see, and hearing we do not hear, and tasting and touching we do not either taste or touch, and speaking we do not speak, and walking we do not walk, and while appearing to exert other motions or to win other positions wo are not in reality in any such motions or positions; but they are mere empty fancies without any truth in them of the mind which fancies to itself a sketch, and makes to itself a representation of things which are not, as if they were; and in like manner the fancies which occur to waking people resemble the dreams of sleepers. They have come, they have departed; they have appeared, they have disappeared; before they could be scarcely comprehended they have flown away. And let every one who dreams in this way inquire within himself and he will find a proof of these things within, and without any proofs from me he will know the truth of what I say, especially if he happens to be at all an old man. He was at one time an infant, and after that a child, and then a boy, and then a youth, and subsequently a young man, and then a man, and last of all an old man, but he was not all these things at the same time. Did not the infant disappear before the child, and the child before the boy, and the boy before the youth, and the youth before the young man, and the young man before the full-grown man, and the man in the prime of life before the old man? and did not old age disappear in death? Perhaps, also, every one of the different ages of life yields in vigor to the one which comes next to it, and so dies before its time, nature by these means teaching us not to fear the death which comes upon all men, inasmuch as we have found it easy to bear the previous deaths, the death that is of the infant, and that of the child, and that of the boy, and that of the youth, and that of the young man, and that of the full grown man, not one of whom exist any longer when old age has arrived.

23 And are not all the other things, relating to the body, dreams? Is not beauty an ephemeral thing, wasting away almost before it comes to its prime? And is not health an unsure thing by reason of the weaknesses which lie in wait to upset it? Again, is not strength a thing easily destroyed by diseases arising from innumerable causes? and is not the accuracy of all our outward senses easily overturned by the entrance of any vicious humour? As to external things, who is there who is ignorant of the uncertainty of them? In one day vast riches have often come absolutely to nothing? Numbers of persons who have been of the highest consideration, and who have enjoyed the highest honours that the earth affords, have come into disrepute from causes which they neglected or despised. The most mighty powers and authority of kings have been overthrown, and have disappeared in a very brief moment of time. There is an example to testify to the truth of my argument in Dionysius, who lived at Corinth , who had been tyrant of Sicily , and who, after he was expelled from his dominions, took refuge in Corinth ; and though he had been so mighty a sovereign, became a schoolmaster. There is another witness to the same point in Croesus, the king of Lydia , the wealthiest of all monarchs, who, having conceived the hope of destroying the kingdom of the Persians, not only lost all his men, but was taken prisoner, and was at the point of being burnt alive. And there are witnesses of dreams not only among men, but also among cities, and nations, and countries; Greece is such, and the region of the barbarians, and inhabitants of continents, and islanders, and Europe and Asia, and the west, and the east; for absolutely nothing whatever has ever remained in its original condition; but everything has in every particular been subject to change. Egypt had once the supreme authority over many nations, but now it is a slave. The Macedonians at one time were so nourishing and powerful that they had obtained the supreme dominion over the whole world; but now they pay yearly tribute, which is levied on them by their masters, to the collectors of the revenue. Where is the house of the Ptolemies, and the glory of all the individual successors of Alexander which at one time shone over all the bounds both of earth and sea? Where is the liberty of so many independent nations and cities? On the other hand, where is the slavery of those which were subject to them? Did not the Persians at one time reign over the Parthians? and do not the Parthians now, through the changes of human affairs, and through the extraordinary and total alterations which are continually taking place, rule over the Persians? Some persons natter themselves with ideas of long and interminable prosperity; but they find that their good fortune is only the beginning of great calamities; and hastening forward as if to an inheritance of good things, they find instead, terrible reverses; and on the contrary it has often happened, that when they have expected evil fortune they have met with good. Athletes, who have prided themselves on their personal good condition, and power, and vigor of body, and who have hoped to obtain an indisputable victory, have often been either refused permission to contend for the prize at all, not having been approved of, or else, after they have descended into the arena, they have been defeated; while

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others who have despaired of arriving even at the second honours, have been crowned with the garland of victory, and have carried off the first prize. Again, some persons setting sail in the summer (for that is the season for fair voyages) have been shipwrecked; while others, who have expected to be overwhelmed by reason of being forced to put to sea, have reached their harbour uninjured, without having even incurred any danger. As some merchants hasten forward as if to confessed gain, being ignorant of the losses which are awaiting them; while others who have anticipated losses, have in effect met with great profits—so very uncertain is fortune on either side, whether for good or evil; and human affairs are as it were, weighed in a scale, being lightened or depressed according as the weights in each scale are unequal. And a terrible indistinctness and dense darkness is spread over human affairs. And we wander about as if in a deep sleep, without being able to arrive at anything with perfect accuracy of reasoning, or to seize hold of anything with a firm and retentive grasp; for all things are like shadows and phantoms. And as in processions, what comes first passes by quickly and escapes the sight; and as in torrents, the stream which is hurried by outruns, by its swiftness and rapidity, the comprehension of man, so likewise do the affairs of life, being rapidly borne onwards, and passing by swiftly, appear indeed, to be stationary, but in fact, do not stand still a moment, but are continually being dragged onwards. And men awake too, who, as far as the uncertain character of their comprehensions goes, are in no respect different from people asleep, deceiving themselves, think themselves competent to contemplate the nature of things with reasoning powers which cannot err; in whose case every one of their external senses is a hindrance to knowledge, being hurried by spectacles, and by peculiarities of flavours or odors, to which they incline, and by which they are perverted, and in consequence of which they prevent any part of the soul from being in a sound state, and from advancing without stumbling as if along a level road. And humble pride, and great littleness, and all other similar states which are made up of inequality and anomaly, compel men to walk in a sort of giddiness, and create great dizziness and perplexity.

24 Since, then, life is full of all this irregularity, and confusion, and indistinctness, it is necessary that the statesman as well as the philosopher should approach the science of the interpretation of dreams, so as to understand the dreams and visions which appear by day to people who believe themselves to be awake, being guided by probable conjectures and rational probabilities, and in this way he must explain each separate one, and show that such and such a thing is honourable, another disgraceful, that this is good or that is bad; that this thing is just, that thing is on the contrary unjust; and so on in the same way with respect to prudence, and courage, and piety, and holiness, and expediency, and usefulness; and in like manner of the opposite things, with respect to what was not useful nor reasonable, what was ignoble, impious, unholy, inexpedient, pernicious, and selfish. Moreover, he warns you in this way: is this something belonging to another? do not covet it. Is it your own? use it as not using it. Have you great abundance? share it with others; for the beauty of riches is not in the purse, but in the power it gives one to succour those who are in need. Have you but little? do not envy those who have much; no one will pity a poor man who is always envious. Are you in high reputation, and are you held in much honour? be not insolent on that account. Are you lowly in your fortunes? still let not your spirit be depressed. Does everything succeed with you according to your wish? fear a change. Do you often stumble? hope for good fortune hereafter; for the changes of human affairs are apt to be in a direction opposite to the course they have formerly taken. The moon and the sun, indeed, and the whole of the heaven has clearness bright and distinct, inasmuch as all things are alike which exist permanently in the heaven; and as they are all measured by the rules of truth itself, in harmonious order and in the most admirable agreement. But as for earthly things, which are full of great disorder and confusion, they are inharmonious and discordant, to speak with perfect correctness, so that dense darkness has overtaken some of them, while others resemble the most brilliant light, or rather they are themselves the clearest and purest of light. If, therefore, any one should wish to look closely into the nature of things, he will find that heaven is everlasting day, free from all participation in night or in any kind of shade, inasmuch as it is surrounded uninterruptedly by a brilliant display of inextinguishable and unadulterated light. And in the same proportion as among us those who are awake are superior to those who are asleep, so also in the universal world the things of heaven are superior to the things of earth; since the one enjoys an everlasting wakefulness which knows no sleep, on account of its energies which never stray, and never stumble, and which proceed rightly and successfully in every thing; while the others are oppressed by sleep, and if they wake up for a short time they are again pulled down and buried in slumber; because they are unable to look steadfastly and correctly at any thing with their souls, but are always straying and stumbling. For they are overshadowed by false opinions, by which they are compelled to submit to dreams, and are always behind the real truth, and are unable to comprehend any thing with a firm and tenacious grasp.

25 Moreover, Joseph is figuratively said to have been mounted upon the second best chariot which the king had, for the following reason. The statesman stands in the second rank next to the king; for he is not a private individual nor a king, but some one on the confines between the two. Being indeed superior to a private individual, and inferior in respect of authority to an absolute and independent king, having the people for his king, on behalf of whom he has determined to do every thing with a pure and perfectly guileless good faith; and he is borne as it were on high in a well-built chariot, being lifted on high both by the things committed to his charge and by the people, and especially so when he contains in his mind every thing, whether small or great, without any one ever opposing or resisting him, but all being cheerfully governed by him under God to their own safety like sailors enjoying a fair voyage. And the ring which the king gives him is the most manifest proof of confidence which the people, his king, places in the statesman, and also of that trust with which the statesman relies on the people which is as powerful as a king. And the golden circlet round his neck appears to indicate figuratively both high reputation and punishment at the same moment. For as long as all the affairs which concern the administration of the state proceed prosperously as far as he is concerned, he is proud, and is looked upon with veneration, and is honoured by the multitudes. But the moment that any unforeseen mishap occurs to him, not indeed intended, for such error deserves reproach, but arising from pure chance, which always deserves pardon, he is not the less dragged downwards by the ornament around his neck, and is humbled, his master all but saying to him in plain words, "I, indeed, gave you this circlet, to be around thy neck, to be both an ornament while my affairs were going on well, and a halter when they were proceeding unfavourably."

26 Moreover, I have also heard people discussing this passage with great apparent accuracy in a more figurative manner and according to quite a different interpretation. And their notion of it is this. They say that the king of Egypt means our mind: the governor of the region of the body in every individual in us, and who like a king claims the supreme power. And by him when he has become devoted to the service of the body three objects are especially laboured at as being accounted worthy of exceeding care, namely, meat, and sweetmeats, and drinkables. With reference to which fact he also employs three persons to superintend the objects aforesaid, his chief baker, and his chief butler, and his chief cook. The one of whom presides over those things which relate to eating, the second over those things which belong to drinking, and the last to those sweetenings and sauces which belong to the confections. And they are all eunuchs; because the man who is devoted to pleasure is barren and unproductive of every thing which is most necessary, such as modesty, temperance, continence, justice, and every kind of virtue. For there is no one thing so hostile to another as pleasure is to virtue, for the sake of which most people neglect all those matters which alone it is worth while to attend to, gratifying their unrestrained appetites, and submitting to all the commands which they impose upon them. Therefore, the chief cook is not committed to prison at all, nor does he fall into any misfortune, because his sauces and sweetenings are not among the things which are very necessary, not being pleasures but only provocations to pleasure, such as are easily extinguished. But of the two who are occupied in the employment of the miserable belly, the chief baker and the chief butler, since eating and drinking are of all the things which are useful to life those which, have the greatest power to keep the being together, and those who have the management of those things, if they bestow great care upon them, do very justly obtain praise; while, if they neglect them, they are thought worthy of anger or punishment. But there is a difference in their punishments, because the need of the two things is different; that of food being the most indispensable, but that of wine not being very useful; for men can live without any wine, using only the pure drink of spring water. On which account there is a reconciliation made with, and pardon bestowed upon, the chief butler, as upon one who has erred in the least important particular. But the offences of the chief baker admit of no reconciliation and of no forgiveness, but incur an anger which leads to death, as he has been guilty of wrong in the most necessary matters; for want of food is followed by death. On which account he who has erred on these points very appropriately is put to death by hanging, suffering an evil similar to that which he has inflicted; for he also has hanged, and suffocated, and stretched out the famishing man by means of hunger.

27 This is enough to say on this subject. Accordingly Joseph, being appointed the king's lieutenant, and having undertaken the government and superintendence of the whole of Egypt, went forth in order to become acquainted with all the natives, and investigated all the laws that were established in the different cities, and caused a great affection for himself to arise in the breasts of those who saw him, not only because of the services which he conferred upon every one of them, but also by the unspeakable and unrivalled graces of his appearance and by the courtesy with which he associated with them. But when, in accordance with the interpretation of the dreams, the first seven years of fertility arrived, he collected one-fifth of the produce every year by means of his subordinate officers and others who were employed under him in the public offices, and by this means he collected such a vast quantity of sheaves of corn as no one recollected as having ever existed at any previous time. And the most evident proof of this is that they could not possibly be counted, even although thousands and thousands of persons were occupied in the task, whose sole business it was to devote all their energies to count them. And when these seven years had passed, during which the plain of Egypt was fertile, the famine began, which, as it proceeded and increased, was not confined to Egypt; for as it became diffused, and from time to time extended, so as to be always comprehending fresh cities and countries in succession, it reached to tbe farthest borders of the land, both in the eastern and western direction, so as to reach at last over the whole world all around. Accordingly, it is said that no general pestilence ever extended so widely, not even that which the sons of the physicians call "the creeping pestilence;" for that also attacks all parts at once, and proceeding onwards rapidly like fire, utterly and completely devours the whole mass of the ulcerated body. Accordingly, they selected the men of the highest reputation in every district, and sent them into Egypt to procure corn; for already the prudence of the young man was celebrated in all quarters, who had, thus provided abundant food against a time of necessity. And he at first commanded all the treasure-houses to be opened, calculating that he should make the people more cheerful when they had beheld the store that was provided, and that in some degree he should be feeding their souls rather than their bodies on good hopes. After that, by means of those to whom the office of regulating the distribution of corn was committed, he sold it to all who wished to buy, keeping a constant eye on the future, and seeing what was impending even more clearly than the present.

28 And at this crisis, his father also, [Genesis xliii. 1] since his necessary food had by this time become scarce, not being aware of the good fortune of his son, sent ten of his sons to buy food, keeping the youngest at home, who was the uterine and own brother of the king's lieutenant. And they, when they had arrived in Egypt , met their brother as if he were a stranger, and being amazed at the dignity with which they beheld him surrounded, they addressed him with prostration according to the ancient fashion, their dreams now receiving confirmation and fulfilment. And he, when he beheld those who had sold him, immediately recognised them all, though he was not in the least recognised by any one of them himself, since God was not yet willing to reveal the truth on account of some necessary causes which at that time it was better should be buried in silence; and therefore he either altered the countenance of their brother who governed the country, so as to give him a more dignified appearance, or else he perverted the accurate judgement of the mind of those who beheld him. But he acted not like a young man who, being the lieutenant and magistrate invested with such extensive powers, and having attained to the authority next to that of the king himself, to whom the east and west looked up, and elated with the pride of manhood and the vastness of his authority, might now that the opportunity of revenge had presented itself, have shown his remembrance of the ill-treatment which he had received; but he bore what happened with self-restraint, and governed his own soul, and with great prudence feigned a perfect ignorance of and strangeness to them, and both by his looks, and by his voice, and by all the rest of his behaviour he pretended to be displeased at them. He said to them, "My men, you say nothing peaceful; but some one of the king's enemies has sent you forth as spies, and you, performing a base service for him, have expected to escape detection. But nothing that is done treacherously does escape detection, even if it be enveloped in profound darkness." And when they endeavored to make excuses for themselves, they argued that he was accusing them of what had never taken place, for that they had not come from a hostile people, and that they were not themselves imbued with any unfriendly feelings towards the people of the country, and that they could never have been induced to undertake such an office as that of spies, for that they were by nature men, of peace, and that they had learnt, almost from their childhood, from a most holy, and pious, and religious father, to honour stability and tranquility; and that their father was a man who had had twelve sons, the youngest of whom, as he was not yet of an age to bear a long journey, was remaining at home, while we, whom you see here are ten more, and the remaining one is not.

29 When he heard this, and heard those who had sold him all speak of him as dead, what think you did Joseph feel in his soul? for even if he did not utter the feelings which then encompassed him, still they unquestionably were burning within his breast, and exciting, and kindling strange emotions within him; nevertheless, with deep wisdom and humanity does he address them, saying, "If, in good truth, you have not

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come hither to spy the land, then, in order to prove your good faith to me, remain here some short period, and write a letter and send for your youngest brother, and let him come to you; or if, for your father's sake, you are anxious to depart, lest he perchance may be alarmed at your protracted absence, in that case depart all the rest of you, but let one of you remain behind as a hostage, until you return again with your youngest brother; and if you do not obey, then the most terrible death shall be your punishment." He then threatened them in this manner, looking sternly at them, and giving every sign of violent anger, as far as appearances could go, and so he left them. But they, being full of consciousness and depression, afflicted themselves for their former treachery towards their brother, saying, "That wickedness which we committed is the cause of all our present evils, since justice, which takes the regulation of all human affairs, is now contriving some punishment for us; for having been quiet for a short time it is now awakened, displaying its nature, which is at all times relentless and implacable towards those who are deserving of punishment, and how can we deny that we are deserving of it? We in a merciless manner disregarded our brother when he besought us and supplicated us, though he had done no wrong, but had only, in the fulness of his natural affection, related to us, as to his nearest relations, the visions which had appeared to him in sleep; for which cause we, the most brutal and savage of men, became enraged, and committed (for we must not now deny the truth) most impious actions; therefore let us now expect to suffer these things and even worse, we who, though we are almost the only men in the whole world who are called noble by birth, by reason of the exceeding virtues of our fathers, and grandfathers, and ancestors, have nevertheless disgraced our kindred, hastening to cover ourselves with notorious infamy." But the eldest of the brethren, who also at the very beginning had opposed them when they were originally concocting their treachery, said to them, "Repentance is useless after the thing has been done; I exhorted you, I entreated you, pointing out to you how enormous the impiety you were meditating was, I begged you not to indulge your passion; but though you ought to have assented to me, you yielded to your own inconsiderate folly; therefore, we now are reaping the fruit of your self-will and impiety, and now the treachery which we exercised towards him is required at our hands; and he who requires it is not man, but either God, or reason, or the law of God."

30 The brother whom they had sold heard them conversing in this manner without saying anything himself, as, he had hitherto spoken to them by an interpreter. And being overcome by his feelings, he was unable to restrain his tears, and turned away that he might not be seen by them, and pouring forth hot and incessant tears, and so, having relieved himself for a short time, he wiped his eyes and returned to them, and commanded the second in age of the brothers to be bound in the sight of them all, since he, as it were, corresponded to himself, who was the youngest but one; for in a large number the second corresponds to the last but one, as the first does to the last. Perhaps too, he bound him because the greatest share of the guilt belonged to him, as he was almost the original author of the plot against him, and as it was he who excited the others to the enmity which they displayed against him; for if he had arrayed himself on the side of the eldest when he gave his merciful and humane counsel, being younger than he, but older than all the rest, perhaps, and indeed most probably, the iniquity would have been checked, in consequence of those who had the highest rank and honour agreeing and co-operating together in the matter, which fact would have carried great weight with it; but now, he, departing from the merciful and more excellent side of the question, went over to the unmerciful and cruel one, and putting himself forward as the leader of it, he in this way encouraged those who were inclined to join him in his audacious action, so that they unshrinkingly carried out their nefarious purpose. This is the reason why he appears to me to have been selected from the whole body for the purpose of being bound. But the others now prepared for their return home, since the governor of the country had given charge to the officers to whom the sale of the wheat was entrusted to fill all the bags of his brothers, as though they had been strangers, and privily to replace in the mouths of their sacks the money which they had brought, without mentioning to any one that they had so restored it; and in the third place, to give them also abundant food which might be sufficient, and more than sufficient for them, on the way, in order that the corn which they had bought might be conveyed undiminished to their father. But while they were on their way, and expressing, as was natural, their compassion for their brother who was in prison, and being equally grieved also for their father's sake at this second calamity which he was to hear of, his flourishing family of children being thus diminished and curtailed at every journey, and saying that he would never believe that he was kept in prison, because those who had been once stricken with misfortune are always dreading a repetition of the same calamity, evening overtook them, and having relieved their beasts of their burdens, they lightened them, but received themselves heavier anxiety than ever in their minds; for in times of rest to the body, the mind receives the impression made by unexpected events more readily, so as to be very severely weighed down and oppressed by them.

31 For one of them, having opened one of the sacks, saw in the mouth of it his purse full of money; and when he had counted it, he found the whole price which he had paid down for the corn restored to him; and being amazed, he brought it to his brothers; and they, not imagining that it was meant as a favour to them, but rather, suspecting that it was a plot against them, were in great despondency and wishing to examine all their sacks, set off again for fear of being pursued, and made all imaginable speed, almost, as one may say, running without stopping to take breath, and so they completed a journey which should have taken many days, in a short time. Then, one after another embracing their father, with copious tears, they all clung to him, and kissed him; and while he returned their embraces, although his soul speedily began to forebode some new calamity, for while they were thus approaching and saluting him he perceived the absence of the son who was left behind, and in his own mind blamed him for his slowness in being behind the others; for he was looking at them as they came in, being anxious to behold the number of his children complete. But when no one from without came in besides, they, seeing that he was in a state of agitated suspense, said, "O my father! doubt is worse than even the certain knowledge of unexpected calamities; for when one is certainly apprised of such, one may discover a road to safety: but ignorance and doubt are the cause of error and perplexity; listen then, to the sad story which we have to tell, but which still must be told. The brother whom you sent along with us to buy corn, and who has not returned with us, is alive; for we must release you from the more terrible apprehension that he may be dead; but he is alive, and is remaining in Egypt with the governor of the country, who, whether it be from any false accusation which has been laid against us, or from any suspicion which he has himself conceived, charged us with being spies. And when we said all that the time would allow us to say in our defense, and mentioned you as being our father, and the brothers who were not of our company, one of them being dead, and the other remaining with you, who we said tarried behind at home on account of his age, inasmuch as he was still a child, making known and revealing to him all the circumstances of our family by reason of our absence of all suspicion, we availed nothing; but he said, that the only proof that could be given him of our truth and honesty would be the coming of our youngest brother to see him; for which reason he also detained the second of us, as a pledge and surety for his coming. Therefore his command is most grievous to us. But the occasion is also more imperious than even his command, which we must necessarily submit to from our want of necessaries, since Egypt is the only country which can supply us, who are thus oppressed by famine, with necessary food."

32 But he, groaning most bitterly, said, "Whom shall I lament first? the youngest but one, who was not the last, but the first to encounter the series of disasters which has befallen our family? or the second, on whom the second evil has fallen, namely, captivity, which is only inferior in misery to death? or the youngest, who is now to undertake that most detestable journey, since go he must, without being warned by the calamities which have befallen his brethren? and I, torn to pieces as to all my limbs and all my parts (for children are the limbs of their parents), am in danger of becoming utterly childless who was so short a time ago accounted happy in the number and excellence of my children." But the eldest replied, "I give you my two sons as hostages, the only children that I have, slay them if I bring not back again to you, safe and sound, the brother whom you entrust to my hand, and who, by his visit to Egypt, will effect two things of the greatest importance for us; first, he will give a most evident proof that we are not spies and enemies; and, secondly, he will enable us to recover our brother, whom we have left in captivity."

But as his father was much grieved and said that he did not know what to do, because while he had but two sons of one mother, one of them was now dead, and the other was left desolate and almost alone, so that he dreaded the journey, and though alive would die from fear before he could accomplish it, from a recollection of those fearful events which his elder brother had encountered; while he wa.s speaking thus, the brethren put forward as their spokesman him who was the boldest among them, and by his nature inclined to take the lead, and who was eloquent in speech, and he said what seemed good to them all; for they agreed, as their necessary food was falling short, for the corn which they had previously bought was now exhausted, and as the famine was again pressing upon and overwhelming them, to go for more in one united body, but not to go at all if the youngest still remained behind; because the governor of the country had forbidden them to appear before him without him.

And their father, calculating like a wise man that it was better to expose one son to the uncertain and doubtful danger of the future, than to encounter the certain loss of so large a family, which the whole house must endure if they continued to be overwhelmed by the present scarcity, that most incurable of diseases, says to them, "But if the necessity which presses upon us is more powerful than my wishes, we must yield: for perhaps, perhaps I say, nature may be devising something better which she does not choose as yet to reveal to our minds. Depart, therefore, taking with you your youngest brother as you have determined; but do not go in the same manner as ye went in before. For formerly you had only need of money to buy corn, since no one knew you, and since you had not at that time suffered any intolerable calamity. But now you require presents also; for three reasons. First of all, to propitiate the governor and dispenser of corn, to whom you say that you are known. Secondly, in order that so you may the more speedily recover him who is held in captivity, by thus paying down a large ransom for him. And thirdly, for the sake of as far as possible removing any idea of your being spies. Therefore, taking presents of all that our land supplies, offer them to the man as a kind of first fruits, and take double money, both that which you paid before, for perhaps it was restored to you through the oversight of some one, and also another sum sufficient to buy corn; and take with you also my prayer, which we offer to God our Saviour, that you who are strangers may go acceptably to the natives of the country, and that you may return in safety, giving back to your father those necessary pledges, his children, and bringing back the brother whom you have left in bondage, and also the youngest, as yet unacquainted with trouble, whom you are now taking with you." And so they took their departure and hastened towards Egypt .

33 Then a few days afterwards they arrived in Egypt , and when the governor of the country saw them he was greatly pleased, and ordered the steward of his house to prepare a sumptuous dinner, and to bring the men in that they might partake of his salt and of his table. And when they were brought in to dinner they were in a state of great suspense, as not knowing what would be done with them, and were in confusion, suspecting that they might perhaps have a false accusation of theft brought against them on the ground of their having taken away the price of the corn that they had bought and which they had found in their sacks, as if they had done so wilfully. So then they came up to the steward of the house, and made a defense on a subject on which no one ventured to accuse them, purging their consciences, and, at the same time, displaying the money which they had brought back and offering to return it. But he cheered them with favourable and humane language, saying, "There is no one so impious as to found a false accusation on the graces of God, who is all-merciful. He it is who has rained treasures into your sacks, giving you not only food but also riches out of his abundant store." So they being comforted, then arranged in order the presents which they had brought from home to display them to the governor. And when the master of the house came in they offered them to him. And when he had inquired of them how they were, and whether their lather, of whom they had previously spoken, was still alive, they answered nothing concerning themselves, but concerning their father they replied that he was alive and well. And when he had prayed for him, and addressed them in the most favourable and God-fearing manner, looking upon his brother by the same mother, when he saw him he could not restrain his tears, but being now overcome by his feelings, he turned himself about before he made himself known to them, and going out on a pretext as if some urgent cause compelled him (for it was not a favourable opportunity for him to tell them the truth), he wept in a secret chamber of his house and poured forth abundance of tears.

34 Then when he had washed his hands he restrained his sorrow by the power of reason, and coming back again he feasted the strangers, returning to them the brother who had come with them before, and who had been kept as a hostage for the appearance of the youngest. And with them there also feasted others of the nobles of the Egyptians. And the manner of their entertainment was to each party in accordance with their national customs, since Joseph thought it wrong to overturn ancient laws, aud especially at a banquet where the pleasures should be more numerous than the annoyances. And as he commanded them all to sit down in order according to their age, as the men had not yet learnt the fashion of lying down on occasions of banqueting, they marveled to see whether the Egyptians would adopt the same habits as the Hebrews, having a regard to regular order, and knowing how to distinguish between the honours due to the eldest and the youngest. Perhaps, too, they thought this man wrho manages all the common business of the house, because the country has hitherto been less refined in matters relating to eating, has now not only introduced regularity and good order into great matters, by which the affairs of peace and war are accustomed to be brought to a successful issue, but also into those things which are usually accounted of less importance, most of which, indeed, refer mainly to amusement. For the object of banquets is cheerfulness, and they do not at all allow the guests to be too solemn and austere-looking. While they were praising the arrangements of the feast in this quiet way, tables are brought indeed, of no great costliness or luxury, as, by reason of the famine, their host did not think it proper to revel too much

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amid the distresses of others; and they, like men of sense and understanding, praised this part of his conduct also, because he had thus avoided an unseemly magnificence, which is a thing calculated to provoke envy, saying that he was maintaining the character at the same time of one who sympathised with the needy, and also of a liberal entertainer, placing himself between the two, and avoiding all cause for blaming him in either particular. Therefore his preparations for the entertainment escaped all ill-will being suited to the time, and what was wanting was made up by continual cheerfulness, and by pledging one another in wine, and by good wishes, and by exhortations to eat what there was, which to persons of gentleman-like and accomplished minds was more pleasant than all the sumptuous dishes and liquors which men fond of eating and of epicurism provide for eating and drinking, which are in reality deserving of no serious care, but by which they do in truth display their little-mindedness with great pomp.

35 And on the next day he sent, the first thing in the morning, for the steward of his household, and commanded him to fill all the sacks of the men which they had brought with them with corn, and a second time to put back in the mouths of their sacks the price which they had brought with them, and to pat in the sack of the youngest the most beautiful of his silver caps out of which he himself was accustomed to drink; and he cheerfully did as he was commanded, taking care that no one was a witness of his actions. And they, not knowing any of the things which had been done thus secretly, departed, rejoicing in all the good fortune which had befallen them beyond all their expectations; for what they had expected was this, to have a false accusation laid against them, as if they had stolen the money which had been restored to them, and never to recover their brother whom they had left as a hostage, and perhaps also, besides that, to lose their youngest brother who would be seized upon by force by the man who had been so determined that he should be brought. But what had happened to them was better than their most sanguine prayers, since, in addition to having no false accusations laid against them, they had also been admitted to the bread and salt of the governor, which among all men is a token of genuine friendship, and had also recovered their brother without his having received any injury, without having had recourse to the intercession and entreaty of any mediator, and were also taking back their youngest brother in safety to their father, having escaped all suspicion of being spies, and bearing with them an abundant quantity of food, and having good and well-founded hopes for the future, for they thought that even if necessary food was repeatedly to fail them, they should never again themselves be in exceeding want as before, but might return joyfully to the governor of the country as to a friend and not a stranger.

36 But while they were feeling disposed in this way, and revolving such thoughts in their souls, a sudden and unexpected confusion came upon them, for the steward of the household, being commanded to do so, ran after them as if to attack them, bringing with him a vast multitude of servants, waving his hands, and making signs to them to stop, and then coming up to them out of breath he said, "You have now set the seal to all the accusations that have been brought against you; you have returned evil for good, and turned back upon the same road of iniquity as before; you have not only stolen and carried off the price of the corn, but you have committed even a greater offence than that, for wickedness which has obtained forgiveness gets more shameless; you, you very grateful and very peaceful men, have stolen the most beautiful and most valuable drinking cup belonging to my master, the very cup in which he pledged you; you who did not even know what was meant by the name of spy, and who brought back double money to restore that which you had previously paid and professed to have found in your sacks,—a trick, as it should seem, and a bait to enable you to catch and snare a more valuable prize; but wickedness does not always prosper, but though always endeavoring to escape notice it is detected." While he was running on in this way against them they stood motionless and speechless, those most grievous of all evils, sorrow and fear, falling upon them thus suddenly, so that they were unable even to open their mouths, for the advent of unexpected evils makes even those who are eloquent actually speechless; but at length they recovered themselves, and lest they should seem to be silent, because they were self-convicted by their own consciences, they spoke and said, "How shall we reply and defend ourselves, and to whom? for you who are our accuser are going to be our judge also; you, who even if others had accused us ought to have been our advocate from the experience that you have already had of us. The money which on the former occasion we found replaced in our sacks, we brought back again in order to restore it, though no one had convicted us of having received it again, and do you suppose that after that we became so completely changed as to requite our entertainer with injury and theft? This was not so; and never let it enter your mind that we have done any such thing; but whichever of us brethren is found to have the cup let him die the death; for if any such wicked deed has been done there are many reasons why we should suffer death in atonement of it; in the first place, because covetousness and a desire for the property of others is a most wicked thing; secondly, because to attempt to injure those who have done one good is a most impious action; thirdly, because for men who are proud of the nobility of their birth to dare to destroy the reputation of their ancestors by scandalous actions of their own is a most shameful disgrace; and since if any one of us has stolen the cup of the governor he is liable to all these reproaches, let him die as one who has performed actions worthy of ten thousand deaths."

37 And while speaking thus they unloose the burdens from off their beasts and take them down, and encourage the steward with all diligence to search them, and to look for the cup, and he, not being unaware that it was lying in the sack of the youngest, inasmuch as he himself had secretly placed it there, behaved cunningly, and began with the eldest, and so went on in regular order, taking them according to their ages, and searching, while each willingly brought forward his sack and displayed its contents, till he came to the last, in whose possession the sought-for cup was found, so that they all when they saw it lifted up their voices, and lamented, and rent their clothes, groaning heavily, and shedding tears, and before his execution bewailing their brother while he was still alive, and bewailing also their father no less than him, because he had foretold the calamities which would happen to his son, on which account he was unwilling to permit their brother to travel with them when they wished him to do so. And being downcast and confused they returned back by the same road to the city, being quite overwhelmed at what had happened, and looking at what had taken place as a plot, and not suspecting their brother of covetousness. Then when they were brought before the governor of the country they displayed their real affection and brotherly love with genuine feeling, for falling all together at his knees as if they were all liable to be punished for the theft, a wickedness too great to be mentioned, they all wept over him, and besought him, and gave themselves up to him, and offered to submit to voluntary slavery, and called him their master, speaking of themselves as foreign captives, as slaves, as bought with a price, and omitting no name whatever indicative of the most complete slavery; but he, wishing to try them still more, addressed them in a most angry manner, and with the greatest possible severity, and said to them, "May I never be guilty of such an action as to condemn such a number to captivity for the sin of one, for how can it be right to summon those persons to share in a punishment who have had no share in the commission of the offence? Let him alone be punished, since he alone has committed the crime. I know therefore that by your laws you condemn the man who has been found guilty of theft to be put to death in front of the city; but I, wishing to act in all respects in a gentle and most merciful manner, will mitigate the punishment, and adjudge him to slavery instead of to death."

38 And when they were grieved at his threat, and wholly overwhelmed at the false accusations brought against them, the fourth in age, and he was one of a daring character, combined with modesty, and full of true courage, inasmuch as he had studied freedom of speech without impudence, came forward and said, "I entreat you, O master! not to give way to your passion; nor, because you are placed in the rank next to the king, to be in a hurry to condemn us before you have heard our defense. When on our former journey hither, you inquired of us concerning our brother and our father, we answered you: Our father was an old man, aged, not more because of the power of time, than because of his uninterrupted misfortunes, by which he has been constantly exercised like a wrestler, and has passed his whole life amid labours and calamities hard to be borne. "And our brother is very young, a mere child, loved beyond all measure by his father, since he is the son of his old age, and because also he had but him and one other child by the same mother, and this one alone is left, since the elder died a violent death. And when you commanded us to bring our brother hither, and threatened us that, if he did not come, you would not permit us to come into your sight, we departed in great depression of spirits; and with difficulty, when we had arrived at home, did we declare the commands which we had received from you to our father. And he at first wholly refused, being greatly alarmed for the child; but as necessary food was becoming scarce, and as not one of us dared to come hither to buy food without our youngest brother, by reason of your vehement commands; he was at last, with difficulty, persuaded to send him with us, blaming us bitterly for having confessed that we had another brother, and pitying himself very much for being about to be separated from him; for he is but a child and wholly ignorant of business, and not only of business in a foreign land, but even of such as is transacted in his own city. How, then, shall we approach our father who is under the influence of such feelings? And with what eyes shall we be able to behold him without this his youngsst son? He will die most miserably if he only hears that his son has not returned; and then all those who delight in hatred and in evil-speaking, and who rejoice in such misfortunes of their neighbours, will call us murderers and parricides, and the greater part of the accusation will fall upon me; for I promised my father to give him up many things, confessing that I received my brother as a pledge, which I was to restore whenever he was reclaimed from me. And how shall I be able to restore him unless you are prevailed upon to show us mercy? I entreat you, then, to have pity on the old man, and to give a thought to the evils by which he will be grieved, if he does not receive back again him whom he has unwisely entrusted to my hands. Nevertheless, do you exact punishment for the injuries which you imagine to have been done to you; and that punishment I will volunteer to submit to. Set me down as your slave from this day forth. I will cheerfully undergo the fate of those who have been just bought, if you will only be willing to let the child go free; and not only shall you, if you will give him his liberty, receive thanks from him and me, but also from him who is not present, but who will then be relieved from his anxiety, the father of these men here, and of all the family; for we are all your suppliants, having fled for succour to your right hand, and may we never fail to obtain it. Let, then, compassion for the age of the old man seize your heart, who during his whole life has constantly devoted himself to the labours of virtue. He has brought all the cities of Syria to receive him, and to submit to his authority, and to do him honour; even though he guides himself by foreign customs and laws very different from them, and although he is in all respects very unlike the natives of the land. But the excellence of his life, and the consistency and uniformity of his actions with his words, and of his words with his actions, have prevailed, so that he has been able to win over those who, out of regard for their national customs, were not at first well-disposed towards him. You will do him such a favour that it will not be possible for him to receive a greater. For what can be a more valuable gift to give to a father, than to allow him to receive back a son of whose safety he has despaired?"

39 But all this conduct was but an experiment, just as the former circumstances had been too, because the governor of the country was desirous to see what kind of good-will they had towards him who was his brother by the same mother. For he had been afraid that they felt some kind of natural dislike towards him, as children of a stepmother often do to the family of a previous wife of their father, who may have been held in equal honours by him. It was with this view that he both reproached them as spies and inquired about their family, for the sake of knowing whether his brother was still alive, or whether he had been put out of the way by treachery. And he retained one while he allowed the rest to depart, after they had agreed to bring back their youngest brother with them, whom he desired to see above all things, and so to be relieved of his bitter and grievous sorrow on his account. And when he arrived, and when he beheld his brother, he was then in a slight degree relieved from his anxiety, and he invited them to an entertainment, and while he was feasting them he regaled his own brother by the same mother with more costly viands and luxuries than the rest, looking carefully at every one ot them, and judging from their countenances whether there was any envy secretly cherished in their hearts. And when he saw them all cheerful, and all eager, and earnest for the honour of the youngest, conjecturing now by two strong proofs that there was no hatred smouldering beneath, he devised a third mode of trial likewise, bringing a charge against their youngest brother, that he appeared to have committed a theft; for this was likely to be the clearest possible proof of the disposition of each of them and of the affection which they bore to their brother, who was thus falsely accused. From all which circumstances he now clearly saw that his mother's offspring was not looked upon with hostile feelings and was not plotted against, and he also received a very probable impression respecting the events which had befallen himself, and learnt to think that he had suffered what he had, not so much because of the treachery of his brethren, as through the direction of the providence of God who sees things afar off, and who beholds the future no less than the present.

40 After this he had recourse to a reconciliation and agreement with his brethren, being influenced by his own affectionate disposition, and from his desire to cause no shame to his brethren, and to give no cause of reproach against them because of their conduct towards him, he did not choose that any of the Egyptians should be present on the occasion of his first making himself known to them. But he ordered all the servants to leave the apartment, and suddenly pouring forth a stream of tears, and signing to them with his right hand to approach nearer to him, that no one else might be able by chance even to hear any thing that passed, he said unto them, "I, being about to reveal a matter which has long been kept in the shade, and which has appeared to be hidden by the long lapse of time, do now by myself disclose it to you by yourselves. I myself am that brother whom you sold to go into Egypt , I whom you now behold standing here." And when they were all amazed at seeing him beyond all their expectation, and were greatly agitated, and, as if under the influence of some violent attraction, cast their eyes down to the ground, and stood motionless, mute, and speechless, he said, "Be not cast down; I give you complete forgiveness for all the things which

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you have done to me. Do not think that you want any one else as a mediator. I, of my own absolute power and of my own voluntary inclination, come of my own accord to an agreement with you; being guided by two especial signs, first, by my piety towards my father, to whom I owe a great deal of gratitude, and also, secondly, by my own natural humanity, which I feel towards all men, and especially towards those of my own blood. And I think that it was not you, but God, who was the author of the events which happened to me, because he desired that I should be the servant and minister of his graces and gifts which he thought fit to bestow on the human race in the time of their greatest necessity. And in the very outset you may receive a proof of what I say in the things which you see. I am the governor of all the land of Egypt, and the honours which I enjoy are next to those of the king himself, and the aged monarch honours me, though I am only a young man, as if I were his father; and I am honoured and obeyed not only by the people of the country but also by numerous other nations, whether they are subject to Egypt or independent; for they all have need of me, the governor of the land, by reason of their present scarcity. For silver and gold, and what is still more necessary than either of these things, namely, food, is all stored up in my treasure-houses alone, and it is I who distribute and dispense what they want for their unavoidable necessities to each individual, so that nothing is wanting either for food or for the satisfying of their natural wants. And I have not detailed all this to you from a wish to exalt myself or to give myself airs, but that you may know that it is no one of you or any man whatsoever that has been the cause of my being first a slave and afterwards a prisoner. For on one occasion a false accusation was brought against me, and I was thrown into prison. But he who changed that extremity of calamity and misfortune into the highest and most complete good fortune was God, with whom all things are possible. Since these then, are my opinions, do not fear any longer, but discard all your sorrow and anxiety, and change to a joyful cheerfulness; and it will be well for you to hasten to your father, and to be the first to take him the good news of my being found, for reports are quick in penetrating everywhere."

41 So they one after another began to pour forth praises of him without ceasing, and panegyrized him with unmodified encomium, each relating some different circumstance to his credit, one extolling his forgiving spirit, another his affection towards his family, and another his accuteness; and the whole company of them extolled his piety, and attributed to God the happy end to which everything had been brought, and being no longer melancholy or out of humour at the unexpected events which befell them, on their first arrival or at their original difficulties; they also praised his excessive patience and fortitude, combined with modesty, when he, who had experienced such vicissitudes of fortune, neither when he was a slave, allowed himself to say a single word to the injury of his brothers, as having sold him, nor, when he was led away to prison, did he in his despondency say a single word that he should not have said, nor, though he remained there a long time, as prisoners usually do, did he, as is so much the custom, compare his misfortunes with those of his fellow prisoners so as to reveal anything, but kept silence as if he had no knowledge of the cause of the events that had happened to him. Nor again, when he was interpreting the dreams either to the eunuch or to the king, which was a favourable occasion for relating his own story, did he ever say a word about his own nobility of birth, nor yet when he was appointed lieutenant of the king, and received the superintendence and government of the whole of Egypt, even with the view of not being thought an ignoble and obscure person, but one who was really descended of noble ancestors, not a slave by nature, but one who had been exposed to intolerable treachery, and calamities at the hands of persons from whom he was least entitled to expect it. Moreover in addition to all this, great praise was bestowed on his affability and courtesy; for being acquainted with the insolence and rudeness of other governors, they marveled at the absence of pretence and display which they saw in him, and they admired his kindness too, who, though the moment that he beheld them after their first journey he might have put them to death, or on the last occasion either, merely by refusing to supply them with food when oppressed with hunger, was not content with not punishing them, but even gave them necessary food gratuitously as though they had been persons worthy of favour, ordering the price they had paid to be restored to them: and all the circumstances of their treachery towards him, and of their selling him, were so wholly concealed from, and unknown to any one, that the magistrates of the Egyptians sympathised with him in his joy, as if this was the first occasion of the brothers of the governor having arrived; moreover they invited them to hospitality, and made haste to relate their arrival to the king, and everything everywhere was full of joy, no less than would have been the case if the plain had suddenly become fertile, and the famine had changed into abundance.

42 But the king, when he heard that Joseph had a father and a numerous family, advised him to press his father to remove into Egypt with all his house, promising to give them the most fertile district in Egypt on their arrival. Therefore Joseph gave his brothers chariots, and waggons, and a great multitude of beasts of burden, loaded with all necessary things, and a number of servants, that they might conduct his father into Egypt in safety. But when they arrived at home, and told their father their story about their brother, which was so apparently incredible and beyond all his hopes, he did not much believe them; for even though those who brought the account were trustworthy, still the greatness and extraordinary character of the circumstances which they reported, did not allow him to believe them easily: but when the old man saw the vast preparation, and the supplies of all necessary things, at such a time, in such abundance, corresponding to the good fortune of his son which they were reporting to him, he praised Grod that he had made complete that part of his house which seemed to be deficient; but his joy immediately begat fear again in his soul, respecting his departure from his national laws and customs; for he knew that youth is by nature prone to fall, and that in foreign nations there is great indulgence given to error; and especially in the country of Egypt, a land in a state of utter blindness respecting the true God, in consequence of their making created and mortal things into gods. Moreover, the addition of riches and glory is a snare to weak minds, and he also recollected that he had been left to himself, as no one had gone forth out of his father's house with him to keep him in the right way, but he had been left solitary and destitute of all good instructions, and might therefore be supposed to be ready to change and adopt their foreign customs. Therefore, when that Being who alone is able to behold the invisible soul, saw him in this frame of mind, he took pity on him and appearing unto him by night while he was lying asleep, said unto him: "Fear nothing about your departure into Egypt; I myself will guide you on your way, and will give you a safe and pleasant journey; and I will restore to you your long lamented son, who was once many years ago believed by you to have died, but who is not only alive, but is even governor of all that mighty country." So Jacob, being filled with good hopes, rose up in the morning with joy, and hastened on his way; and when his son heard that he was near, for scouts and watchers who were placed along the road gave him notice of everything, he went with speed to meet his father when he was at no great distance from the borders of the land; and they met one another near the city, which is called the city of heroes, and they fell into one another's arms placing their heads on each other's necks, and soaking their garments with tears, and satisfying themselves abundantly with long enduring embraces, and unwillingly at last loosing one another, they proceeded to the palace. And when the king beheld them he was amazed at the dignity of Jacob's appearance, and he received and saluted him not as the father of his lieutenant but as his own, with all possible respect and honour; and after showing him not only all the ordinary but also many extraordinary marks of respect, he gave him a most excellent district of land of the greatest fertility; and hearing that his sons were skilful breeders of cattle, having great substance in flocks and herds, he appointed them overseers of all his own flocks and herds, and committed to their charge his goats, and his oxen, and his sheep, and all his innumerable animals of every kind.

43 And the young man, Joseph, displayed such excessive good faith and honesty in all his dealings, that though the time and the circumstances of the time gave him innumerable opportunities of making money, so that he might, in a short period, have become the richest man of that age or kingdom, he still so truly honoured genuine riches before illegitimate wealth, and the treasure which sees rather than that which is blind, that he stored up all the silver and gold which he collected as the price of the corn in the king's treasury, not appropriating a single drachm of it to his own use, but being satisfied with nothing beyond the gifts which the king bestowed on him voluntarily, in acknowledgment of his services. And in this manner he governed Egypt, and other countries also with it, and other nations, while oppressed with the famine, his manner too admirable for any description to do it justice, distributing food to all in a proper manner, and looking, not only at the present advantage, but also at what would be of future benefit: therefore, when the seventh year of the scarcity arrived, he sent for the farmers (for there was now a prospect of fertility and abundance), and gave them barley and wheat for seed, taking care that no one should appropriate what he gave for other purposes, but should sow what he received in the fields, to which end he selected men of honesty and virtues as overseers and superintendents, who were to take care that the sowing was properly performed. And when a long time after the famine his father died, his brothers were filled with secret misgivings, and feared lest now he should remember the evil that they had done to him, and should retaliate upon them and afflict them, and so they came to him and besought him earnestly, bringing with them their wives and their children. And he wept and said, "The occasion indeed is a natural one, to fill with secret apprehension those who have done intolerable things, and who are convicted more by their own consciences than by anything else; for the death of our father has revived in you the ancient fear which you entertained before our reconciliation, that I had merely bestowed pardon on you for the sake of not grieving our father; but I do not change my disposition with the changes of time, nor, after I have agreed to a reconciliation and forgiveness, will I ever do anything inconsistent with such agreement; for I have not been postponing revenge and watching for opportunities to wreak it, but I once for all gave you immunity from all punishment, being influenced partly by feelings of respect for my father, for I must speak the plain truth, and partly by natural necessary affection for you. But if I did every thing that was merciful and humane for my father's sake while he was alive, I will also adhere to it now that he is dead. But in my real opinion no good man ever dies, but such will live for ever and ever, without growing old, in an immortal nature which is no longer bound up in the necessities of the body. And why should I remember only that father who was created and born? We have also the uncreated, immortal, everlasting God for our father, who sees all things and hears all people, even when silent, and who always sees even those things which lie hidden in the recesses of the mind, and whom I look upon and invoke as a witness of my sincere reconciliation; for 'I am (and do not you be astonished at my words), I am in the place of God,' [Genesis 50:19] who has changed your evil designs against me so as to bring forth from them an abundance of good things. Be ye therefore fearless, and know that for the future you shall enjoy still better fortune than hitherto you have while our father was still alive."

44 Having encouraged his brethren with these words he confirmed his promises still more by actions, leaving out nothing which could show his care for his brethren. And after the famine, when the inhabitants were now full of joy at the fertility and prosperity of the country he was honoured by all men, who thus recompensed him for the benefits which they had received from him in the season of their despair. And the report of him became noised abroad, and filled all the cities with his glory and reputation. And he lived a hundred and ten years, and then died at a good old age, having enjoyed the greatest perfection of beauty, and wisdom, and eloquence of speech. The beauty of his person is testified to by the violent love with which he inflamed the wife of the eunuch; his wisdom by the evenness of his conduct in the indescribable variety of circumstances that attended the whole of his life, by which he wrought regularity among things that were irregular, and harmony among things that were discordant. His eloquence of speech is displayed in his interpretation of the dreams, in his affability in ordinary conversation, and by the persuasion which followed his words; in consequence of which his subjects all obeyed him cheerfully and voluntarily, rather than from any compulsion. Of these hundred and ten years he spent seventeen, till the expiration of his boyhood, in his father's house; and thirteen he passed amid unforeseen events, being plotted against, and sold, and becoming a slave, and having false accusations brought against him, and being thrown into prison; and the remaining eighty years he spent in authority and in all manner of prosperity, being the most excellent manager and administrator both of scarcity and plenty, and the most competent of all men to manage affairs under either complexion of circumstances.

ON THE LIFE OF MOSES, BOOK 1

[* Yonge's full title, A Treatise on the Life of Moses, that is to say, On the Theology and Prophetic Office of Moses.]

1 (I have conceived the idea of writing the life of Moses, who, according to the account of some persons, was the lawgiver of the Jews, but according to others only an interpreter of the sacred laws, the greatest and most perfect man that ever lived, having a desire to make his character fully known to those who ought not to remain in ignorance respecting him, (for the glory of the laws which he left behind him has reached over the whole world, and has penetrated to the very furthest limits of the universe; and those who do really and truly understand him are not many, perhaps partly out of envy, or else from the disposition so common to many persons of resisting the commands which are delivered by lawgivers in different states, since the historians who have flourished among the Greeks have not chosen to think him worthy of mention, (the greater part of whom have both in their poems and also in their prose writings, disparaged or defaced the powers which they have received through education, composing comedies and works full of Sybaritish profligacy and licentiousness to their everlasting shame, while they ought rather to have employed their natural endowments and abilities in preserving a record of virtuous men and praiseworthy lives, so that honourable actions, whether ancient or modern, might not be buried in silence, and thus have all recollection of them lost, while they might shine gloriously if duly celebrated; and that they might not themselves have seemed to pass by more appropriate subjects, and to prefer such as were unworthy of being mentioned at all, while they were eager to give a specious appearance to infamous actions, so as to secure notoriety for disgraceful deeds. (But I disregard the envious disposition of these men,

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and shall proceed to narrate the events which befell him, having learnt them both from those sacred scriptures which he has left as marvelous memorials of his wisdom, and having also heard many things from the elders of my nation, for I have continually connected together what I have heard with what I have read, and in this way I look upon it that I am acquainted with the history of his life more accurately than other people.

2 (And I will begin first with that with which it is necessary to begin. Moses was by birth a Hebrew, but he was born, and brought up, and educated in Egypt, his ancestors having migrated into Egypt with all their families on account of the long famine which oppressed Babylon and all the adjacent countries; for they were in search of food, and Egypt was a champaign country blessed with a rich soil, and very productive of every thing which the nature of man requires, and especially of corn and wheat, (for the river of that country at the height of summer, when they say that all other rivers which are derived from winter torrents and from springs in the ground are smaller, rises and increases, and overflows so as to irrigate all the lands, and make them one vast lake. And so the land, without having any need of rain, supplies every year an unlimited abundance of every kind of good food, unless sometimes the anger of God interrupts this abundance by reason of the excessive impiety of the inhabitants. (And his father and mother were among the most excellent persons of their time, and though they were of the same time, still they were induced to unite themselves together more from an unanimity of feeling than because they were related in blood; and Moses is the seventh generation in succession from the original settler in the country who was the founder of the whole race of the Jews.

3 (And he was thought worthy of being bred up in the royal palace, the cause of which circumstance was as follows. The king of the country, inasmuch as the nation of the Hebrews kept continually increasing in numbers, fearing lest gradually the settlers should become more numerous than the original inhabitants, and being more powerful should set upon them and subdue them by force, and make themselves their masters, conceived the idea of destroying their strength by impious devices, and ordered that of all the children that were born the females only should be brought up (since a woman, by reason of the weakness of her nature, is disinclined to and unfitted for war), and that all the male children should be destroyed, that the population of their cities might not be increased, since a power which consists of a number of men is a fortress difficult to take and difficult to Destroy. [the similitude of this passage to Sir William Jones' Ode is very remarkable: "What constitutes a state."] (Accordingly as the child Moses, as soon as he was born, displayed a more beautiful and noble form than usual, his parents resolved, as far as was in their power, to disregard the proclamations of the tyrant. Accordingly they say that for three months continuously they kept him at home, feeding him on milk, without its coming to the knowledge of the multitude; but when, as is commonly the case in monarchies, some persons discovered what was kept secret and in darkness, of those persons who are always eager to bring any new report to the king, his parents being afraid lest while seeking to secure the safety of one individual, they who were many might become involved in his destruction, with many tears exposed their child on the banks of the river, and departed groaning and lamenting, pitying themselves for the necessity which had fallen upon them, and calling themselves the slayers and murderers of their child, and commiserating the infant too for his destruction, which they had hoped to avert. Then, as was natural for people involved in a miserable misfortune, they accused themselves as having brought a heavier affliction on themselves than they need have done. "For why," said they, "did we not expose him at the first moment of his birth?" For people in general do not look upon one who has not lived long enough to partake of salutary food as a human being at all. "But we, in our superfluous affection, have nourished him these three entire months, causing ourselves by such conduct more abundant grief, and inflicting upon him a heavier punishment, in order that he, having at last attained to a great capacity for feeling pleasures and pains, should at last perish in the perception of the most grievous evils."

4 And so they departed in ignorance of the future, being wholly overwhelmed with sad misery; but the sister of the infant who was thus exposed, being still a maiden, out of the vehemence of her fraternal affection, stood a little way off watching to see what would happen, and all the events which concerned him appear to me to have taken place in accordance with the providence of God, who watched over the infant. Now the king of the country had an only daughter, whom he tenderly loved, and they say that she, although she had been married a long time, had never had any children, and therefore, as was natural, was very desirous of children, and especially of male offspring, which should succeed to the noble inheritance of her father's prosperity and imperial authority, which was otherwise in danger of being lost, since the king had no other grandsons. And as she was always desponding and lamenting, so especially on that particular day was she overcome by the weight of her anxiety, that, though it was her ordinary custom to stay in doors and never to pass over the threshold of her house, yet now she went forth with her handmaidens down to the river, where the infant was lying. And there, as she was about to indulge in a bath and purification in the thickest part of the marsh, she beheld the child, and commanded her handmaidens to bring him to her. Then, after she had surveyed him from head to foot, and admired his elegant form and healthy vigorous appearance, and saw that he was crying, she had compassion on him, her soul being already moved within her by maternal feelings of affection as if he had been her own child. And when she knew that the infant belonged to one of the Hebrews who was afraid because of the commandment of the king, she herself conceived the idea of rearing him up, and took counsel with herself on the subject, thinking that it was not safe to bring him at once into the palace; and while she was still hesitating, the sister of the infant, who was still looking out, conjecturing her hesitation from what she beheld, ran up and asked her whether she would like that the child should be brought up at the breast by some one of the Hebrew women who had been lately delivered; and as she said that she wished that she would do so, the maiden went and fetched her own mother and that of the infant, as if she had been a stranger, who with great readiness and willingness cheerfully promised to take the child and bring him up, pretending to be tempted by the reward to be paid, the providence of God thus making the original bringing up of the child to accord with the genuine course of nature. Then she gave him a name, calling him Moses with great propriety, because she had received him out of the water, for the Egyptians call water "mos."

5 But when the child began to grow and increase, he was weaned, not in accordance with the time of his age, but earlier than usual; and then his mother, who was also his nurse, came to bring him back to the princess who had given him to her, inasmuch as he no longer required to be fed on milk, and as he was now a fine and noble child to look upon. And when the king's daughter saw that he was more perfect than could have been expected at his age, and when from his appearance she conceived greater good will than ever towards him, she adopted him as her son, having first put in practice all sorts of contrivances to increase the apparent bulk of her belly, so that he might be looked upon as her own genuine child, and not as a supposititious one; but God easily brings to pass whatever he is inclined to effect, however difficult it may be to bring to a successful issue. Therefore the child being now thought worthy of a royal education and a royal attendance, was not, like a mere child, long delighted with toys and objects of laughter and amusement, even though those who had undertaken the care of him allowed him holidays and times for relaxation, and never behaved in any stern or morose way to him; but he himself exhibited a modest and dignified deportment in all his words and gestures, attending diligently to every lesson of every kind which could tend to the improvement of his mind. And immediately he had all kinds of masters, one after another, some coming of their own accord from the neighbouring countries and the different districts of Egypt , and some being even procured from Greece by the temptation of large presents. But in a short time he surpassed all their knowledge, anticipating all their lessons by the excellent natural endowments of his own genius; so that everything in his case appeared to be a ecollecting rather than a learning, while he himself also, without any teacher, comprehended by his instinctive genius many difficult subjects; for great abilities cut out for themselves many new roads to knowledge. And just as vigorous and healthy bodies which are active and quick in motion in all their parts, release their trainers from much care, giving them little or no trouble and anxiety, and as trees which are of a good sort, and which have a natural good growth, give no trouble to their cultivators, but grow finely and improve of themselves, so in the same manner the well disposed soul, going forward to meet the lessons which are imparted to it, is improved in reality by itself rather than by its teachers, and taking hold of some beginning or principle of knowledge, bounds, as the proverb has it, like a horse over the plain. Accordingly he speedily learnt arithmetic, and geometry, and the whole science of rhythm and harmony and metre, and the whole of music, by means of the use of musical instruments, and by lectures on the different arts, and by explanations of each topic; and lessons on these subjects were given him by Egyptian philosophers, who also taught him the philosophy which is contained in symbols, which they exhibit in those sacred characters of hieroglyphics, as they are called, and also that philosophy which is conversant about that respect which they pay to animals which they invest with the honours due to God. And all the other branches of the encyclical education he learnt from Greeks; and the philosophers from the adjacent countries taught him Assyrian literature and the knowledge of the heavenly bodies so much studied by the Chaldaeans. And this knowledge he derived also from the Egyptians, who study mathematics above all things, and he learnt with great accuracy the state of that art among both the Chaldaeans and Egyptians, making himself acquainted with the points in which they agree with and differ from each other--making himself master of all their disputes without encouraging any disputatious disposition in himself--but seeking the plain truth, since his mind was unable to admit any falsehood, as those are accustomed to do who contend violently for one particular side of a question; and who advocate any doctrine which is set before them, whatever it may be, not inquiring whether it deserves to be supported, but acting in the same manner as those lawyers who defend a cause for pay, and are wholly indifferent to the justice of their cause.

6 And when he had passed the boundaries of the age of infancy he began to exercise his intellect; not, as some people do, letting his youthful passions roam at large without restraint, although in him they had ten thousand incentives by reason of the abundant means for the gratification of them which royal places supply; but he behaved with temperance and fortitude, as though he had bound them with reins, and thus he restrained their onward impetuosity by force. And he tamed, and appeased, and brought under due command every one of the other passions which are naturally and as far as they are themselves concerned frantic, and violent, and unmanageable. And if any one of them at all excited itself and endeavored to get free from restraint he administered severe punishment to it, reproving it with severity of language; and, in short, he repressed all the principal impulses and most violent affections of the soul, and kept guard over them as over a restive horse, fearing lest they might break all bounds and get beyond the power of reason which ought to be their guide to restrain them, and so throw everything everywhere into confusion. For these passions are the causes of all good and of all evil; of good when they submit to the authority of dominant reason, and of evil when they break out of bounds and scorn all government and restraint. Very naturally, therefore, those who associated with him and every one who was acquainted with him marveled at him, being astonished as at a novel spectacle, and inquiring what kind of mind it was that had its abode in his body, and that was set up in it like an image in a shrine; whether it was a human mind or a divine intellect, or something combined of the two; because he had nothing in him resembling the many, but had gone beyond them all and was elevated to a more sublime height. For he never provided his stomach with any luxuries beyond those necessary tributes which nature has appointed to be paid to it, and as to the pleasures of the organs below the stomach he paid no attention to them at all, except as far as the object of having legitimate children was concerned. And being in a most eminent degree a practicer of abstinence and self-denial, and being above all men inclined to ridicule a life of effeminacy and luxury (for he desired to live for his soul alone, and not for his body), he exhibited the doctrines of philosophy in all his daily actions, saying precisely what he thought, and performing such actions only as were consistent with his words, so as to exhibit a perfect harmony between his language and his life, so that as his words were such also was his life, and as his life was such likewise was his language, like people who are playing together in tune on a musical instrument. Therefore men in general, even if the slightest breeze of prosperity does only blow their way for a moment, become puffed up and give themselves great airs, becoming insolent to all those who are in a lower condition than themselves, and calling them dregs of the earth, and annoyances, and sources of trouble, and burdens of the earth, and all sorts of names of that kind, as if they had been thoroughly able to establish the undeviating character of their prosperity on a solid foundation, though, very likely, they will not remain in the same condition even till tomorrow, for there is nothing more inconstant than fortune, which tosses human affairs up and down like dice. Often has a single day thrown down the man who was previously placed on an eminence, and raised the lowly man on high. And while men see these events continually taking place, and though they are well assured of the fact, still they overlook their relations and friends, and transgress the laws according to which they were born and brought up; and they overturn their national hereditary customs to which no just blame whatever is attached, dwelling in a foreign land, and by reason of their cordial reception of the customs among which they are living, no longer remembering a single one of their ancient usages.

7 But Moses, having now reached the very highest point of human good fortune, and being looked upon as the grandson of this mighty king, and being almost considered in the expectations of all men as the future inheritor of his grandfather's kingdom, and being always addressed as the young prince, still felt a desire for and admiration of the education of his kinsmen and ancestors, considering all the things which were thought good among those who had adopted him as spurious, even though they might, in consequence of the present state of affairs, have a brilliant appearance; and those things which were thought good by his natural parents, even though they might be for a short time somewhat obscure, at all events akin to himself and genuine good things. Accordingly, like an uncorrupt judge both of his real parents and of those who had adopted him, he cherished towards the one a good will and an ardent affection, and he

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displayed gratitude towards the others in requital of the kindness which he had received at their hands, and he would have displayed the same throughout his whole life if he had not beheld a great and novel iniquity wrought in the country by the king; for, as I have said before, the Jews were strangers in Egypt, the founders of their race having migrated from Babylon and the upper satrapies in the time of the famine, by reason of their want of food, and come and settled in Egypt, and having in a manner taken refuge like suppliants in the country as in a sacred asylum, fleeing for protection to the good faith of the king and the compassion of the inhabitants; for strangers, in my opinion, should be looked upon as refugees, and as the suppliants of those who receive them in their country; and, besides, being suppliants, these men were likewise sojourners in the land, and friends desiring to be admitted to equal honours with the citizens, and neighbours differing but little in their character from original natives. The men, therefore, who had left their homes and come into Egypt, as if they were to dwell in that land as in a second country in perfect security, the king of the country reduced to slavery, and, as if he had taken them prisoners by the laws of war, or had bought them from masters in whose house they had been bred, he oppressed them and treated them as slaves, though they were not only free men, but also strangers, and suppliants, and sojourners, having no respect for nor any awe of God, who presides over the rights of free men, and of strangers, and of suppliants, and of hospitality, and who beholds all such actions as his. Then he laid commands on them beyond their power to fulfil, imposing on them labour after labour; and, when they fainted from weakness, the sword came upon them. He appointed overseers over their works, the most pitiless and inhuman of men, who pardoned and made allowance for no one, and whom they from the circumstances and from their behaviour called persecutors of work. And they wrought with clay, some of them fashioning it into bricks, and others collecting straw from all quarters, for straw is the bond which binds bricks together; while others, again, had the task allotted to them of building up houses, and walls, and gates, and cutting trenches, bearing wood themselves day and night without interruption, having no rest or respite, and not even being allowed time so much as to sleep, but being compelled to perform all the works not only of workmen but also of journeymen, so that in a short time their bodies failed them, their souls having already fainted beneath their afflictions. And so they died, one after another, as if smitten by a pestilential destruction, and then their taskmasters threw their bodies away unburied beyond the borders of the land, not suffering their kinsmen or their friends to sprinkle even a little dust on their corpses, nor to weep over those who had thus miserably perished; but, like impious men as they were, they threatened to extend their despotism over the passions of the soul (that cannot be enslaved, and which are nearly the only things which nature has made completely free), oppressing them with the intolerable weight of a necessity beyond their powers.

8 At all these events Moses was greatly grieved and indignant, not being able either to chastise the unjust oppressors of his people nor to assist those who were oppressed, but he gave them all the assistance that was in his power, by words, recommending their overseers to treat them with moderation, and to relax and abate somewhat of the oppressive nature of their commands, and exhorting the oppressed who were labouring thus to bear their present distresses with a noble spirit and to be men in their minds, and not to let their souls faint as well as their bodies, but to hope for good fortune after their present adversity; for that all things in this world have a tendency to change to the opposite, cloudy weather to fine, violent gales to calm and absence of wind, storms and heavy billows at sea to fair weather and an unruffled surface of the water; and much more are human affairs likely to change, inasmuch as they are more unstable than anything. By using these charms, as it were, like a good physician, he thought he should be able to alleviate their afflictions, although they were most grievous. But whenever their distress abated, then again their taskmasters returned and oppressed them with increased severity, always after the respite adding some new evil which should be even more intolerable than their previous sufferings; for some of their overseers were very savage and furious men, being, as to their cruelty, not at all different from poisonous serpents or carnivorous beasts--wild beasts in human form--being clothed with the form of a human body so as to give an appearance of gentleness in order to deceive and catch their victim, but in reality being harder than iron or adamant. One of these men, then, the most violent of them, when, in addition to yielding nothing of his purpose, he was even exasperated at the exhortations of Moses and rendered more savage by them, beating those who did not labour with energy and unremittingly at the work which was imposed upon them, and insulting them and subjecting them to every kind of ill-treatment, so as even to be the death of many, Moses slew, thinking the deed a pious action; and, indeed, it was a pious action to destroy one who only lived for the destruction of others. When the king heard of this action he was very indignant, thinking it an intolerable thing, not for one man to be dead, or for another to have killed him, whether justly or unjustly, but for his grandson not to agree with him, and not to look upon his friends or his enemies as his own, but to hate persons whom the king loved, and to love persons whom the king looked upon as outcasts, and to pity those whom he regarded with unchangeable and implacable aversion.

9 But when the Egyptian authorities had once got an opportunity of attacking the young man, having already reason for looking upon him with suspicion (for they well knew that he would hereafter bear them ill-will for their evil practices, and would revenge himself on them when he had an opportunity) they poured in, at all times and from all quarters, thousands and thousands of calumnies into the willing ears of his grandfather, so that they even implanted in his mind an apprehension that Moses was plotting to deprive him of his kingdom, saying to him: "He will strip you of your crown. He has no humble designs or notions. He is continually seeking to busy himself in what does not concern him, and to acquire some additional power. He is eager for the kingdom before his time. He caresses some people; he threatens others; he kills others without a trial; he hates all those who are the best affected towards you. Why do you delay? Why do you not cut short all his designs and machinations? Delay on the part of those against whom they are plotting is of the greatest advantage to those who wish to attack them." As they urged these arguments to the king he retreated to the contiguous country of Arabia, where it was safe to abide, entreating God that he would deliver his countrymen from inextricable calamities, and would worthily chastise their oppressors who omitted no circumstance of insolence and tyranny, and would double his joy by allowing him to behold the accomplishment of both these prayers. And God heard his prayers, looking favourably on his disposition, so devoted to what is good, and so hostile to what is evil, and not long after he pronounced his decision upon the affairs of that land as became a God. But while he was preparing to display the decision which he was about to pronounce, Moses was devoting himself to all the labours of virtue, having a teacher within himself, virtuous reason, by whom he had been trained to the most virtuous pursuits of life, and had learnt to apply himself to the contemplation and practice of virtue and to the continual study of the doctrines of philosophy, which he easily and thoroughly comprehended in his soul, and committed to memory in such a manner as never to forget them; and, moreover, he made all his own actions, which were intrinsically praiseworthy, to harmonise with them, desiring not to seem wise and good, but in truth and reality to be so, because he made the right reason of nature his only aim; which is, in fact, the only first principle and fountain of all the virtues. Any one else, perhaps, fleeing from the implacable fury of the king, and coming now for the first time into a foreign land, when he had not as yet associated with or learnt the customs of the natives, and not knowing with any accuracy the objects in which they delighted or which they regarded with aversion, would have been desirous to enjoy tranquility and to live in obscurity, escaping the notice of men in general; or else, if he had wished to come forward in public, he would have endeavored by all means to propitiate the powerful men and those in the highest authority in the country by persevering attentions, as men from whom some advantage or assistance might be expected, if any pursuers should come after him and endeavor to drag him away by force. But this man proceeded by the path which was the exact opposite of that which was the probable one for him to take, following the healthy impulses of his soul, and not allowing any one of them to be impeded in its progress. On which account, at times, with the fervour of youth, he attempted things beyond his existing strength; looking upon justice as an irresistible power, by which he was encouraged so as to go spontaneously to the assistance of the weaker side.

10 I will also mention one action which was done by him at that time, even although it may be but a trifling one in appearance, but still it proceeded from a lofty spirit. The Arabs are great breeders of cattle, and they all feed their flocks together, not merely men, but also women, and youths, and maidens with them, and this, too, not merely in the obscurer classes and lower ranks of life, but also among the most eminent persons of the nation. Now there were seven damsels, whose father was the priest, and they all came to a certain fountain leading their flocks, and having loosened their vessels and let them down by thongs they succeeded one another in drawing up the water, so as for them all to have an equal share in the work; and in this way they cheerfully and rapidly filled the troughs which were at hand. And when other shepherds came up they disregarded the weakness of the damsels and endeavored to drive them away with their flocks, and then brought their own herds to the drink that was prepared, desiring to reap the fruits of the labour of others. But Moses, seeing what was done, for he was at no great distance, hastened and ran up; and, when he had come near to them, he said: "Will not you desist from behaving thus unjustly, thinking this solitary place a fitting field for the exercise of your covetousness? Are you not ashamed to have such cowardly arms and hands? You are long-haired people, female flesh, and not men. The damsels behave like vigorous youths, hesitating about nothing that they ought to do; but you, young men, are now behaving lazily, like girls. Will you not depart? Will you not be off and give place to those who arrived first, to whom the water belongs, and who are entitled to it; when you ought rather to have drawn water for them, that so they might have had it in greater abundance? And are you, on the contrary, endeavoring to take away from them what they themselves have got ready? "But I swear, by the celestial eye of justice, which sees what is done even in the most solitary places, that you shall not take it from them. And at all events, now justice has sent me and appointed me to bring them assistance who never expected such an officer; for I am an ally to these damsels who are thus injured by violence, and I come with a might which you evil-doers and covetous people cannot face, but you shall feel it wounding you in an invisible manner, if you do not change your ways." He said this; and they, being alarmed at his words, since while he was speaking he appeared inspired, and his appearance became changed, so that he looked like a prophet, and fearing lest he might be uttering divine oracles and predictions, they obeyed and became submissive, and brought back the flock of the maidens to the troughs, first of all removing their own cattle.

11 So the damsels went home exceedingly delighted, and they related all that had happened to them beyond their hopes, so that they wished their father with an earnest desire to see the stranger. At all events he blamed them for their ingratitude, speaking as follows: "What were ye about, that ye let him go, when you ought at once to have brought him hither, and to have entreated him to come if he declined? Or when did you see any inhospitality in me? Or do you expect never again to fall into difficulties? Those who are forgetful of services must needs lack defenders, but nevertheless hasten after him, for as yet the error which you have committed may be repaired; and go with haste and invite him first of all to a hospitable reception, and then endeavor to requite his service, for great thanks are due to him." So they made haste, and went after him, and overtook him at no great distance from the fountain; and when they had delivered their father's message to him, they persuaded him to return home with them. And their father was at once greatly struck by his appearance, and soon afterwards he learnt to admire his wisdom, for great natures are very easily discovered, and do not require a length of time to be appreciated, and so he gave him the most beautiful of his daughters to be his wife, conjecturing by that one action of his how completely good and excellent he was, and testifying that what is good is the only thing which deserves to be loved, and that it does not require any external recommendation, but bears in itself proofs by which it may be known and understood. And after his marriage, Moses took his father-in-law's herds and tended them, being thus instructed in the lessons proper to qualify him for becoming the leader of a people, for the business of a shepherd is a preparation for the office of a king to any one who is destined to preside over that most manageable of all flocks, mankind, just as hunting is a good training-school for men of warlike dispositions; for they who are practising with a view to learning the management of an army, previously study the science of hunting, brute animals being as some raw material exposed to their attacks in order for them to practice the art of commanding on each occasion of war or of peace, for the pursuit of wild beasts is a training-school of strategy to be developed against enemies, and the care and management of tame animals is a royal training for the government of subjects; for which reason kings are called shepherds of their people, not by way of reproach, but as a most especial and pre-eminent honour. And it appears to me, who have examined the matter not with any reference to the opinions of the many, but solely with regard to truth (and he may laugh who pleases), that that man alone can be a perfect king who is well skilled in the art of the shepherd, being thus instructed as to more important matters by experience of the inferior animals; for it is impossible for great things to be brought to perfection before small ones.

12 Therefore Moses, having become the most skilful herdsman of his time, and the most prudent provider of all the necessary things for his flock, and of all things which tended to their advantage, because he never delayed or hesitated, but exerted a voluntary and spontaneous cheerfulness in all things necessary for the animals under his charge, saw his flocks increase with great joy and guileless good faith, so that he soon incurred the envy of the other herdsmen, who saw nothing in their own flocks resembling the condition of his; but they thought themselves well off if they continued as before, while the flock of Moses would have been thought to be falling off if it had not improved, every day, by reason of the vast augmentations that it was in the habit of receiving in beauty from its high condition and fatness, and in number from the prolific character of the females, and the wholesome way in which it was fed and managed. And when Moses was leading his flock into a situation full of good water and good grass, where there was also a great deal of herbage especially suitable for sheep, he came upon a certain grove in a valley,

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where he saw a most marvelous sight. There was a bush or briar, a very thorny plant, and very weak and supple. This bush was on a sudden set in a blaze without any one applying any fire to it, and being entirely enveloped from the root to the topmost branch by the abundant flame, as though it had proceeded from some fountain showering fire over it, it nevertheless remained whole without being consumed, like some impassible essence, and not as if it were itself the natural fuel for fire, but rather as if it were taking the fire for its own fuel. And in the middle of the flame there was seen a certain very beautiful form, not resembling any visible thing, a most Godlike image, emitting a light more brilliant than fire, which any one might have imagined to be the image of the living God. But let it be called an angel, because it merely related (dieµngelleto) the events which were about to happen in a silence more distinct than any voice by reason of the marvelous sight which was thus exhibited. For the burning bush was a symbol of the oppressed people, and the burning fire was a symbol of the oppressors; and the circumstance of the burning bush not being consumed was an emblem of the fact that the people thus oppressed would not be destroyed by those who were attacking them, but that their hostility would be unsuccessful and fruitless to the one party, and the fact of their being plotted against would fail to be injurious to the others. The angel, again, was the emblem of the providence of God, who mitigates circumstances which appear very formidable, so as to produce from them great tranquility beyond the hopes or expectation of any one.

13 But we must now accurately investigate the comparison here made. The briar, as has been already said, is a most weak and supple plant, yet it is not without thorns, so that it wounds one if one only touches it. Nor was it consumed by fire, which is naturally destructive, but on the contrary it was preserved by it, and in addition to not being consumed, it continued just as it was before, and without undergoing any change whatever itself, acquired additional brilliancy. All these circumstances are an allegory to intimate the suggestions given by the other notions which at that time prevailed, almost crying out in plain words to persons in affliction, "Do not faint; your weakness if your strength, which shall pierce and wound innumerable hosts. You shall be saved rather than destroyed, by those who are desirous to destroy your whole race against their will, so that you shall not be overwhelmed by the evils with which they will afflict you, but when your enemies think most surely that they are destroying you, then you shall most brilliantly shine out in glory." Again, the fire, which is a destructive essence, convicting the men of cruel dispositions, says, Be not elated so as to rely on your own strength; be admonished rather when you see irresistible powers destroyed. The consuming power of flame is itself consumed like firewood, and the wood, which is by its intrinsic nature capable of being burnt, burns other things visibly like fire.

14 God, having shown this prodigious and miraculous sight to Moses, gave him, in this way, a most visible lesson as to the events which are about to be accomplished; and he begins to exhort him, by divine admonitions and predictions, to apply himself to the government of his nation, as one who was to be not only the author of its freedom, but also its leader in its migration from Egypt, which should take place at no distant period; promising to be present with him as his coadjutor in every thing. For says God, "I myself have had compassion for a long time on them while ill-treated and subjected to insolence hard to be borne, while there was no man to lighten their sufferings, nor to pity their calamities; for I have seen them all, each individual privately and the whole nation, with one accord turning to address supplications and prayer to me, and hoping for assistance from me. And I am by nature merciful, and propitious to all sincere suppliants. But go thou to the king of the country, without fearing any thing whatever; for the former king is dead from whom you fled for fear of his plotting against thee. And another king now governs the land, who has no ill-will against thee on account of any thing, and who has taken the elders of the nation into his council; tell him that the whole nation is called forth by me, by my divine oracle, that in accordance with the customs of their ancestors they may depart three days' journey out of the country, and there may sacrifice unto me." But Moses, not being ignorant that even his own countrymen would distrust his word, and also that every one else would do so, said, "If then they ask what is the name of him who sent thee, and if I know not what to reply to them, shall I not seem to be deceiving them?" And God said, "At first say unto them, I am that I am, that when they have learnt that there is a difference between him that is and him that is not, they may be further taught that there is no name whatever that can properly be assigned to me, who am the only being to whom existence belongs. And if, inasmuch as they are weak in their natural abilities, they shall inquire further about my appellation, tell them not only this one fact that I am God, but also that I am the God of those men who have derived their names from virtue, that I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, one of whom is the rule of that wisdom which is derived from teaching, another of natural wisdom, and the third of that which is derived from practice. And if they are still distrustful they shall be taught by these tokens, and then they shall change their dispositions, seeing such signs as no man has hitherto either seen or heard." Now the tokens were as follows. The rod which Moses held in his hand God ordered him to throw down on the ground; and immediately it received life, and crawled along, and speedily became the most powerful of all the animals which want feet, namely an immense serpent, complete in all its parts. And when Moses retreated from the beast, and out of fear was on the point of taking to flight, he was called back again; and when God laid his commands upon him, and inspired him with courage, he laid hold of it by the tail; and the serpent, though still crawling onwards, stopped at his touch, and being stretched out at its full length again returned to its original elements and because the same rod as before, so that Moses marveled at both the changes, not knowing which was the most wonderful; as he was unable to decide between them, his soul being overwhelmed with these appearances of equal strangeness. This now was the first sign. The second miraculous token was afforded to him at no great distance of time. God commanded him to put one of his hands in his bosom and hide it there, and a moment afterwards to draw it out again. And when he had done what he was commanded, his hand in a moment appeared whiter than snow. Again, when he had put his hand a second time into his bosom, and had a second time drawn it forth, it returned to its original complexion, and resumed its proper appearance. These two lessons he was taught in solitude, when he was alone with God, like a pupil alone with his master, and having about him the instruments with which these wonders were worked, namely, his hand and his rod, with which indeed he walked along the road. But the third he could not carry about with him, nor could he be instructed as to that beforehand; but it was destined to astonish him not less than the others, deriving the origin of its existence from Egypt. And this was its character. God said, "The water of the river, as much as you can take up in your hand and pour upon the ground shall be dark blood, being both in colour and in power transformed with a complete transformation." And, as was natural, this also appeared credible to Moses, not merely by reason of the truth-telling nature of the speaker but also because of the marvels that had already been shown to him, with respect to his hand and to his rod. But though he believed the words of God, nevertheless he tried to avoid the office to which God was appointing him, urging that he was a man of a weak voice, and slow of speech, and not eloquent, and especially so ever since he had heard God himself speaking. For judging the greatest human eloquence to be mere speechlessness in comparison with the truth, and being also prudent and cautious by nature, he shrunk from the undertaking, thinking such great matters proper for proud and bold men and not for him. And he entreated God to choose some one else who would be able easily to accomplish all the commands which he thus laid upon him. But he approved of his modesty, and said, "Art thou ignorant who it is that giveth to man a mouth, and who has formed his windpipe and his tongue, and all the apparatus of the articulate voice? I am he. Therefore, fear thou nothing. For when I approve, every thing will become articulate and clear, and will change for the better, and improve; so that no one shall hinder thee, but the stream of thy words shall flow forth in a rapid and smooth current as if from a pure fountain. And if there is any need of an interpreter, thou shall have thy brother, who will be a subordinate mouthpiece for thee, that he may utter to the multitude the words which he receives from thee, while thou utterest to him the words that thou receivest from God."

15 Having heard these things (for it as not at all safe or free from danger to oppose the commands of God), he departed and proceeded with his wife and children by the road leading to Egypt, on which he met with his brother and persuaded him to accompany him, announcing to him the oracular commands which he had received from God. And his brother's soul was already wrought up to obedience by divine providence, so that he, without hesitation, agreed to his proposal and readily followed him. And when they thus arrived in Egypt with one mind and soul, they first of all collected together the elders of the nation in a secret place, and there they laid the commands of God before them, and told them how God had conceived pity and compassion for them, promised them freedom and a departure from thence to a better country, promising also that he himself would be their guide on their road. And after these events, they take courage now to converse with the king with respect to sending forth their people from his territories that they might sacrifice to God; for they said, "That it was necessary that their national sacrifices should be accomplished in the wilderness, inasmuch as they were not performed in the same manner as the sacred rites of other nations, but according to a system and law removed from the ordinary course, on account of the special peculiarities of their habits." But the monarch, who from his cradle had had his soul filled with all the arrogance of his ancestors, and who had no notion in the world of any God appreciable only by the intellect apart from those objects which are visible to the sight, answered them with insolence, saying, "Who is it whom I am to obey? I know not this new Lord of whom you are speaking. I will not let the nation go to be disobedient and headstrong under pretence of fasts and sacrifices." And then, like a man of cruel and passionate disposition and implacable in his anger, he commanded the overseers of the works to oppress them still more, because they had previously given them some relaxation and leisure, saying that, it was from this relaxation and leisure, that their forming designs of feasting and sacrifice had arisen; for that men who were in great straits did not think of these things, but only those whose life had been spent in much east and luxury. Therefore the Jews had now to endure more terrible afflictions than before, and were indignant at Moses and his brother as deceivers, and accused them, sometimes secretly and sometimes openly, and charged them with impiety in appearing to have spoken falsely against God; and accordingly Moses began to exhibit the marvelous wonders which he had been previously taught, thinking that thus he should be able to bring over those who saw them from their former incredulity to believe all that he said. And this exhibition of prodigies was carefully displayed before the king and magistrates of the Egyptians.

16 Therefore, when all the powerful men of the state were assembled round the king, the brother of Moses taking his rod, and shaking it in a very remarkable and demonstrative manner, threw it on the ground, and it immediately became a serpent. And all those who were standing around saw it, and marveled and, in alarm and terror, withdrew, and fled. But all the sophists and magicians who were present said, "Why are you thus alarmed? we also are not unpractised in such tricks as these, and we are skilled in an art which can produce similar effects." And then each of them threw down the rod which he held in his hand, and so there was a multitude of serpents which went crawling about that rod which had first been changed. And that serpent, with the excess of his power, raised himself up on high, and dilated his chest, and opened his mouth, and with the violent impulse of an attractive drawing in of his breath, drew them all towards him as if he had surrounded a large cast of fishes in a net cast around them, and then, when he had swallowed them all, he returned to his original nature of a stick. So now the marvelous sight thus exhibited to them wrought a fear in the soul of every one of these wicked and malicious men, so that they no longer fancied that what was done was the trick or artifice of men, devised merely for deceit; but they saw that it was a more divine power which was the cause of these things, to which all things are easy. But when by the evident might of what was done they were compelled to confess this, they still were not the less audacious, clinging to their original inhumanity and impiety as to some inalienable virtue, and not pitying those who were unjustly enslaved, nor doing any such things as they were commanded by the word of God. And though God himself had declared his will to them by demonstrations clearer than any verbal commands, namely, by signs and wonders, still they required a yet more severe impression to be made upon them, and it was necessary for him to rise up against them with still greater power; and accordingly, those foolish men, whom reason and command could not influence, are corrected by a series of afflictions: and ten punishments were inflicted on the land; so that the number of the chastisements might be complete which was inflicted upon those who had completed their sins; and the punishment far transcended all ordinary visitations.

17 For the elements of the universe, earth, water, air, and fire, of which the world was made, were all by the command of God, brought into a state of hostility against them, so that the country of those impious men was destroyed, in order to exhibit the height of the authority which God wielded, who had also fashioned those same elements at the creation of the universe, so as to secure its safety, and who could change them all whenever he pleased, to effect the destruction of impious men. And he divided his punishments, entrusting three, those which proceeded from those elements which are composed of more solid parts, namely, earth and water, from which all the corporeal distinctive realities are perfected, to the brother of Moses. An equal number, those which proceeded from the elements which are the most prolific of life, namely, air and fire, he committed to Moses himself alone. One, the seventh, he entrusted to both in common; the other three, to make up the whole number of ten, he reserved for himself. And first of all he began to bring on the plagues derived from water; for as the Egyptians used to honour the water in an especial degree, thinking that it was the first principle of the creation of the universe, he thought it fitting to summon that first to the affliction and correction of those who thus honoured it. What then happened no long time after the events I have already mentioned? The brother of Moses, by the divine command, smote with his rod upon the river, and immediately, throughout its whole course, from Ethiopia down to the sea, it is changed into blood and simultaneously with its change, all the lakes, and ditches, and fountains, and wells, and spring, and every particle of water in all Egypt, was changed into blood, so that, for want of drink, they digged round about

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the banks of the river, but the streams that came up were like veins of the body in a hoemorrhage, and spirted up channels of blood like springs, no transparent water being seen anywhere. And all the different kinds of fish died, inasmuch as all the vivifying power of the river was changed to a destructive power, so that everything was everywhere filled with foetid odors, from such vast number of bodies putrifying all together. Moreover, a great number of men perished from thirst, and their bodies lay in heaps in the roads, since their relations had not strength to convey those who had died to the tombs; for this evil lasted seven days, until the Egyptians entreated Moses, and Moses entreated God, to show pity on those who were thus perishing. And God, being merciful in his nature, changed the blood back again to wholesome water, restoring to the river its pristine clear and vivifying streams.

18 But again, after a brief respite, the Egyptians returned to the same cruelty and carelessness as before, as if either justice had been utterly banished from among men, or as if those who had endured one punishment were not wont to be chastised a second time; but when they suffered they were taught like young children, not to despise those who corrected them; for the punishment which followed, on the track of the last, was slow indeed to come, while they were also slow, but when they hastened to do wrong, it ran after them and overtook them. For again, the brother of Moses, being ordered to do so, stretched out his hand and held his rod over all the canals, and lakes, and marches; and at the holding forth of his rod, so immense a multitude of frogs came up, that not only the market-place, and all the spots open to the air, were filled with them, but likewise all the stables for cattle, the houses, and all the temples, and every building, public or private, as if nature had designed to send forth one race of aquatic animals into the opposite region of earth, to form a colony there, for the opposite region to water is earth. Inasmuch then as they could not go out of doors, because all the passages were blocked up, and could not remain in-doors, for the frogs had already occupied all the recesses, and had crawled up to the very highest parts of the houses, they were now in the very greatest distress, and in complete despair of safety. Again, therefore, they have recourse to the same means of escape by entreating Moses, and the king now promised to permit the Hebrews to depart, and they propitiated God with prayers. And when God consented, some of the frogs at once returned into the river, and there were also heaps of those which died in the roads, and the people also brought loads of them out of their houses, on account of the intolerable stench which proceeded from them, and the smell from their dead carcases, in such numbers, went up to heaven, especially as frogs, even while alive, cause great annoyance to the outward senses.

19 And when they had a little recovered from this punishment, then, like wrestlers at the games, who have recovered fresh strength after a struggle, that so they may contend again with renewed vigor, they again returned to their original wickedness, forgetting the evils which they had already experienced. And when God had put an end to the punishments which were to proceed out of the water, he brought up others out of the land, still employing the same minister of punishment; and he now, in obedience to the command which he received, smote the ground with his rod, and an abundance of lice was poured out everywhere, and it extended like a cloud, and covered the whole of Egypt. And that little animal, even though it is very small, is exceedingly annoying; for not only does it spoil the appearance, creating unseemly and injurious itchings, but it also penetrates into the inmost parts, entering in at the nostrils and ears? And it flies into the eyes and injures the pupils, unless one takes great care; and what care could be taken against so extensive a plague, especially when it was God who was inflicting the punishment? And perhaps some one may here ask why God punished the land with such insignificant and generally despised animals, omitting bears, and lions, and leopards, and the other races of wild beasts who devour human flesh; and if he did not send these, at least, he might have sent Egyptian asps, the bites of which have naturally the power to cause death instantly. But if such a man really does not know, let him learn, first of all, that God was desirous rather to admonish the Egyptians than to destroy them: for if he had designed to destroy them utterly once for all, he would not have employed animals to be, as it were, his coadjutors in the work of destruction, but rather such heaven-sent afflictions as famine and pestilence; and in the second place, let him also learn a lesson which is necessary to be learnt, and applicable to every condition and age of life; and what is the lesson? This; that men, when they make war, seek out the most mighty powers to gain them over to their alliance, such as shall make amends for their own want of power: but God, who is the supreme and mightiest of all powers, having need of no assistant, if ever he desires to use any instruments as it were for the punishments which he desires to inflict, does not choose the most mighty or the greatest things as his ministers, since he takes but little heed of their capacity, but he uses insignificant and small agents, which he renders irresistible and invincible powers, and by their means he chastises those who do wrong, as he does in this instance, for what can be more insignificant than a louse? And yet it was so powerful that all Egypt fainted under the host of them, and was compelled to cry out, that "this is the anger of God." For all the earth put together, from one end to the other, could not withstand the hand of God, no nor all the universe.

20 Such then were the chastisements which were inflicted by the agency of the brother of Moses. But those in which Moses himself was the minister, and from what parts of nature they were derived, must be next considered. Now next after the earth and the water, the air and the heaven, which are the purest portions of the essences of the universe, succeeded them as the medium of the correction of the Egyptians: and of this correction Moses was the minister; and first of all he began to operate upon the air. For Egypt almost alone, if you except those countries which lie to the south of the equator, never is subject to that one of the seasons of the year which is called winter, perhaps, as some say, from the fact of its not being at any great distance from the torrid zone, since the essence of fire flows from that quarter in an invisible manner, and scorches everything all around, or perhaps it is because the river overflows at the time of the summer solstice, and so consumes all the clouds before they can collect for winter; for the river begins to rise at the beginning of the summer, and to fall towards the end of summer; during which period the etesian gales increase in violence blowing from a direction opposite to the mouths of the Nile, and by which it is prevented from flowing freely into the sea, and by the violence of which winds, the sea itself is also raised to a considerable height, and erects vast waves like a long wall, and so the river is agitated within the country. And then when the two streams meet together, the river descending from its sources above, and the waters which ought to escape abroad being turned back by the beating of the sea, and not being able to extend their breadth, for the banks on each side of the river confine its streams, the river, as is natural, rises to a height, and breaks its bounds; perhaps also it does so because it was superfluous for winter to occur in Egypt; for the object for which showers of rain are usually serviceable, is in this instance provided for by the river which overflows the fields, and turns them into one vast lake, to make them productive of the annual crops; but nature does not expend her powers to no purpose when they are not wanted, so as to provide rain for a land which does not require it, but it rejoices in the variety and diversity of scientific operations, and arranges the harmony of the universe from a number of opposite qualities. And for this reason it supplies the benefits which are derivable from water, to some countries, by bestowing it on them from above, namely from heaven, and to others it gives it from below by means of springs and rivers; though then the land was thus arranged, and enjoyed spring during the winter solstice, and since it is only the parts along the seacoasts that are ever moistened with a few drops of rain, and since the country beyond Memphis, where the palace of the king of Egypt is, does never even see snow at all; now, on the contrary, the air suddenly assumed a new appearance, so that all the things which are seen in the most stormy and wintry countries, come upon it all together; abundance of rain, and torrents of dense and ceaseless hail, and heavy winds met together and beat against one another with violence; and the clouds burst, and there were incessant lightnings, and thunders, and continued roarings, and flashes which made a most wonderful and fearful appearance. For though the lightning and the thunderbolts penetrated and descended through the hail, being quite a contrary substance, still they did not melt it, nor were the flashes extinguished by it, but they remained as they were before, and ran up and down in long lines, and even preserved the hail. And not only did the excessive violence of the storm drive all the inhabitants to excessive despair, but the unprecedented character of the visitation tended likewise to the same point. For they believed, as was indeed the case, that all these novel and fearful calamities were caused by the divine anger, the air having assumed a novel appearance, such as it had never worn before, to the destruction and overthrow of all trees and fruits, by which also great numbers of animals were destroyed, some in consequence of the exceeding cold, others though the weight of the hail which fell upon them, as if they had been stoned, while some again were destroyed by the fire of the lightning. And some remained half consumed, bearing the marks of the wounds caused by the thunderbolts, for the admonition and warning of all who saw them.

21 And when this evil had abated, and when the king and his court had again resumed their confidence, Moses stretched forth his rod into the air, at the command of God. And then a south wind of an uncommon violence set in, which increased in intensity and vehemence the whole of that day and night, being of itself a very great affliction; for it is a drying wind, causing headaches, and terrible to bear, calculated to cause grief, and terror, and perplexity in Egypt above all countries, inasmuch as it lies to the south, in which part of the heaven the revolutions of the light-giving stars take place, so that whenever that wind is set in motion, the light of the sun and its fire is driven in that direction and scorches up every thing. And with this wind a countless number of animals was brought over the land, animals destroying all plants, locusts, which devoured every thing incessantly like a stream, consuming all that the thunderstorms and the hail had left, so that there was not a green shoot seen any longer in all that vast country. And then at length the men in authority came, though late, to an accurate perception of the evils that had come upon them, and came and said to the king, "How long wilt thou refuse to permit the men to depart? Dost thou not understand, from what has already taken place, that Egypt is destroyed?" And he agreed to all they said, yielding as far as appearances went at least; but again, when the evil was abated at the prayer of Moses, the wind came from the sea side, and took up the locusts and scattered them. And when they had been completely dispersed, and when the king was again obstinate respecting the allowing the nation to depart, a greater evil than the former ones was descended upon him. For while it was bright daylight, on a sudden, a thick darkness overspread the land, as if an eclipse of the sun more complete than any common one had taken place. And it continued with a long series of clouds and impenetrable density, all the course of the sun's rays being cut off by the massive thickness of the veil which was interposed, so that day did not at all differ from night. For what indeed did it resemble, but one very long night equal in length to three days and an equal number of nights? And at this time they say that some persons threw themselves on their beds, and did not venture to rise up, and that some, when any of the necessities of nature overtook them, could only move with difficulty by feeling their way along the walls or whatever else they could lay hold of, like so many blind men; for even the light of the fire lit for necessary uses was either extinguished by the violence of the storm, or else it was made invisible and overwhelmed by the density of the darkness, so that that most indispensable of all the external senses, namely, sight, though unimpaired, was deprived of its office, not being able to discern any thing, and all the other senses were overthrown like subjects, the leader having fallen down. For neither was any one able to speak or to hear, nor could any one venture to take food, but they lay themselves down in quiet and hunger, not exercising any of the outward senses, but being wholly overwhelmed by the affliction, till Moses again had compassion on them, and besought God in their behalf. And he restored fine weather, and produced light instead of darkness, and day instead of night.

22 Such, they say, were the punishments inflicted by the agency of Moses alone, the plague, namely, of hail and thunderstorms, the plague of locusts, and the plague of darkness, which rejected every imaginable description of light. Then he himself and his brother brought on one together, which I shall proceed to relate. At the command of God they both took up ashes from the furnace in their hands, which Moses on his part sprinkled in the air. Then a dust arose on a sudden, and produced a terrible, and most painful, and incurable ulceration over the whole skin both of man and of the brute beasts; and immediately their bodies became swollen with the pustules, having blisters all over them full of matter which any one might have supposed were burning underneath and ready to burst; and the men were, as was natural, oppressed with pain and excessive agony from the ulceration and inflammation, and they suffered in their souls even more than in their bodies, being wholly exhausted with anguish. For there was one vast uninterrupted sore to be seen from head to foot, those which covered any particular part of any separate limb spreading so as to become confused into one huge ulcer; until again, at the supplication of the lawgiver, which he made on behalf of the sufferers, the disease became more tolerable. Therefore, in this instance the two brothers afforded the Egyptians this warning in unison, and very properly; the brother of Moses acting by means of the dust which rose up, since to him had been committed the superintendence of the things which proceeded from the earth; and Moses, by means of the air which was thus changed for the affliction of the inhabitants, and his ministrations were assigned to the afflictions to be cause by the air and by the heaven.

23 The remaining punishments are three in number, and they were inflicted by God himself without any agency or ministration of man, each of which I will now proceed to relate as well I can. The first is that which was inflicted by means of that animal which is the boldest in all nature, namely, the dog-fly (kynomuia) which those person who invent names have named with great propriety (for they were wise men); combining the name of the appellation of the most impudent of all animals, a fly and a dog, the one being the boldest of all terrestrial, and the other the boldest of all flying, animals. For they approach and run up fearlessly, and if any one drives them away, they still resist and renew their attack, so as never to yield until they are sated with blood and flesh. And so the dog-fly, having derived boldness from both these animals, is a biting and treacherous creature; for it shoots in from a distance with a whizzing sound like an arrow; and when it has reached its mark it sticks very closely with great force. But at this time its attack was prompted by God, so that its treachery and hostility were redoubled, since it not

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only displayed all its own natural covetousness, but also all that eagerness which it derived from the divine providence which went it forth, and armed it and excited it to acts of valour against the natives. And after the dog-fly there followed another punishment unconnected with any human agency, namely, the mortality among the cattle; for all the herds of oxen, and flocks of goats, and vast flocks of sheep, and all the beasts of burden, and all other domestic animals of every kind died in one day in a body, as if by some agreement or at some given signal; foreshowing the destruction of human beings which was about to take place a short time afterwards as in a pestilential disease; for the sudden destruction of irrational animals is said to be an ordinary prelude to pestilential diseases.

24 After which the tenth and last punishment came, exceeding in terror all that had gone before, namely, the death of the Egyptians themselves. Not of them all, for God had not decreed to make the whole country desolate, but only to correct it. Nor even of the greatest number of the men and women of every age all together, but he permitted the rest to live, and only passed sentence of death on all the first-born, beginning with the eldest of the king's sons, and ceasing with the first-born son of the most obscure grinder at the mill; 3for, about midnight, all those children who had been the first to address their fathers and their mothers, and who had also been the first to be addressed by them as their sons, though they were in good health and in full vigor of body, all, without any apparent cause, were suddenly slain in the flower of their youth; and they say that there was not a single house in the whole land which was exempt from the visitation. But at dawn of day, as was natural, when every one beheld his nearest and dearest relatives unexpectedly dead, with whom up to the evening before they had lived in one home and at one table, being overwhelmed with the most bitter grief, filled every place with lamentation. So that it came to pass, on account of the universality of the calamity, as all men were weeping altogether with one accord, that there was but one universal sound of wailing heard over the whole land from one end to the other. 3And, for a while, they remained in their houses, no one being aware of the misfortune which had befallen his neighbour, but lamenting only for his individual loss. But when any one went out of doors and learnt the misfortunes of others also, he at once felt a double sorrow, grieving for the common calamity, in addition to his own private misfortune, a greater and more grievous sorrow being thus added to the lesser and lighter one, so that every one felt deprived of all hope of consolation. For who was likely to comfort another when he himself stood in need of the same consolation? But, as is usual in such circumstances, men thinking that the present evils were the beginning of greater ones, and being filled with fear lest those who were still living should also be destroyed, ran weeping to the king's palace, and rent their clothes, and cried out against the sovereign, as the cause of all the terrible evils that had befallen them. "For if," said they, "immediately when Moses at the beginning first came to him he had allowed his nation to depart, we should never have experienced any one of the miseries that have befallen us at all. But he yielded to his natural obstinacy and haughtiness, and so we have reaped the ready reward of his unreasonable contentiousness." Then one man encouraged another to drive the Jewish people with all speed out of the whole country, and not to allow them to remain one day, or rather one single hour, looking upon every moment that they abode among them as an irremediable calamity.

25 So they, being now driven out of the land and pursued, coming at last to a proper notion of their own nobility and worth, ventured upon a deed of daring such as became the free to dare, as men who were not forgetful of the iniquitous plots that had been laid against them; for they carried off abundant booty, which they themselves collected, by means of the hatred in which they were held, and some of it they carried themselves, submitting to heavy burdens, and some they placed upon their beasts of burden, not in order to gratify any love of money, or, as any usurer might say, because they coveted their neighbours' goods. (How should they do so?) But, first of all, because they were thus receiving the necessary wages from those whom they had served for so long a time; and, secondly, because they had a right to afflict those at whose hands they had suffered wrong with afflictions slighter than, and by no means equal to, what they had endured. For how can the deprivation of money and treasures be equivalent to the loss of liberty? on behalf of which those who are in possession of their senses dare not only to cast away all their property, but even to venture their lives? So they now prospered in both particulars: whether in that they received wages as it in price, which they now exacted from unwilling paymasters, who for a long period had not paid them at all; and, also, as if they were at war, they looked upon it as fitting to carry off the treasures of the enemy, according to the laws of conquerors; for it was the Egyptians who had set the example of acts of injustice, having, as I said before, enslaved foreigners and suppliants, as if they had been prisoners taken in war. And so they now, when an opportunity offered, avenged themselves without any preparation of arms, justice itself holding a shield over them, and stretching forth its hand to help them.

26 Such, then, were the afflictions and punishments by which Egypt was corrected; not one of which ever touched the Hebrews, although they were dwelling in the same cities and villages, and even houses, as the Egyptians, and touching the same earth and water, and air and fire, which are all component parts of nature, and which it is impossible to escape from. And this is the most extraordinary and almost incredible thing, that, by the very same events happening in the same place and at the same time, one people was destroyed and the other people was preserved. The river was changed into blood, but not to the Hebrews; for when these latter went to draw water from it, it underwent another change and became drinkable. Frogs went up from the water upon the land, and filled all the market-places, and stables, and dwelling-houses; but they retreated from before the Hebrews alone, as if they had been able to distinguish between the two nations, and to know which people it was proper should be punished and which should be treated in the opposite manner. 4No lice, no dog-flies, no locusts, which greatly injured the plants, and the fruits, and the animals, and the human beings, ever descended upon the Hebrews. Those unceasing storms of rain and hail, and thunder and lightning, which continued so uninterruptedly, never reached them; they never felt, no not even in their dreams, that most terrible ulceration which caused the Egyptians so much suffering; when that most dense darkness descended upon the others, they were living in bright daylight, a brilliancy as of noon-day shining all around them; when, among the Egyptians, all the first-born were slain, not one of the Hebrews died; for it was not likely, since even that destruction of such countless flocks and herds of cattle never carried off or injured a single flock or a single beats belonging to the Hebrews. And it seems to me that if any one had been present to see all that happened at that time, he would not have conceived any other idea than that the Hebrews were there as spectators of the miseries which the other nation was enduring; and, not only that, but that they were also there for the purpose of being taught that most beautiful and beneficial of all lessons, namely, piety. For a distinction could otherwise have never been made so decidedly between the good and the bad, giving destruction to the one and salvation to the other.

27 And of those who now went forth out of Egypt and left their abodes in that country, the men of age to bear arms were more than six hundred thousand men, and the other multitude of elders, and children, and women were so great that it was not easy to calculate it. Moreover, there also went forth with them a mixed multitude of promiscuous persons collected from all quarters, and servants, like an illegitimate crowd with a body of genuine citizens. Among these were those who had been born to Hebrew fathers by Egyptian women, and who were enrolled as members of their father's race. And, also, all those who had admired the decent piety of the men, and therefore joined them; and some, also, who had come over to them, having learnt the right way, by reason of the magnitude and multitude of the incessant punishments which had been inflicted on their own countrymen. Of all these men, Moses was elected the leader; receiving the authority and sovereignty over them, not having gained it like some men who have forced their way to power and supremacy by force of arms and intrigue, and by armies of cavalry and infantry, and by powerful fleets, but having been appointed for the sake of his virtue and excellence and that benevolence towards all men which he was always feeling and exhibiting; and, also, because God, who loves virtue, and piety, and excellence, gave him his authority as a well-deserved reward. For, as he had abandoned the chief authority in Egypt, which he might have had as the grandson of the reigning king, on account of the iniquities which were being perpetrated in that country, and by reason of his nobleness of soul and of the greatness of his spirit, and the natural detestation of wickedness, scorning and rejecting all the hopes which he might have conceived from those who had adopted him, it seemed good to the Ruler and Governor of the universe to recompense him with the sovereign authority over a more populous and more powerful nation, which he was about to take to himself out of all other nations and to consecrate to the priesthood, that it might for ever offer up prayers for the whole universal race of mankind, for the sake of averting evil from them and procuring them a participation in blessings. 5And when he had received this authority, he did not show anxiety, as some persons do, to increase the power of his own family, and promote his sons (for he had two) to any great dignity, so as to make them at the present time partakers in, and subsequently successors to, his sovereignty; for as he always cherished a pure and guileless disposition in all things both small and great, he now subdued his natural love and affection for his children, like an honest judge, making these feelings subordinate to his own incorruptible reason; 5for he kept one most invariable object always steadily before him, namely, that of benefiting those who were subjected to his authority, and of doing everything both in word and deed, with a view to their advantage, never omitting any opportunity of doing anything that might tend to their prosperity. 5Therefore he alone of all the persons who have ever enjoyed supreme authority, neither accumulated treasures of silver and gold, nor levied taxes, nor acquired possession of houses, or property, or cattle, or servants of his household, or revenues, or anything else which has reference to magnificence and superfluity, although he might have acquired an unlimited abundance of them all. But as he thought it a token of poverty of soul to be anxious about material wealth, he despised it as a blind thing, but he honoured the far-sighted wealth of nature, and was as great an admirer as any one in the world of that kind of riches, as he showed himself to be in his clothes, and in his food, and in his whole system and manner of life, not indulging in any theatrical affectation of pomp and magnificence, but cultivating the simplicity and unpretending affable plainness of a private individual, but a sumptuousness which was truly royal, in those things which it is becoming for a ruler to desire and to abound in; 5and these things are, temperance, and fortitude, and continence, and presence of mind, and acuteness, and knowledge, and industry, and patience under evil, and contempt of pleasure, and justice, and exhortations to virtue and blame, and lawful punishment of offenders, and, on the contrary, praise and honour to those who did well in accordance with law.

28 Therefore, as he had utterly discarded all desire of gain and of those riches which are held in the highest repute among men, God honoured him, and gave him instead the greatest and most perfect wealth; and this is the Wealth [the text here is very corrupt.] of all the earth and sea, and of all the rivers, and of all the other elements, and all combinations whatever; for having judged him deserving of being made a partaker with himself in the portion which he had reserved for himself, he gave him the whole world as a possession suitable for his heir: 5therefore, every one of the elements obeyed him as its master, changing the power which it had by nature and submitting to his commands. And perhaps there was nothing wonderful in this; for if it be true according to the proverb, --

"That all the property of friends is common;"

and if the prophet was truly called the friend of God, then it follows that he would naturally partake of God himself and of all his possessions as far as he had need; 5for God possesses everything and is in need of nothing; but the good man has nothing which is properly his own, no, not even himself, but he has a share granted to him of the treasures of God as far as he is able to partake of them. And this is natural enough; for he is a citizen of the world; on which account he is not spoken of as to be enrolled as a citizen of any particular city in the habitable world, since he very appropriately has for his inheritance not a portion of a district, but the whole world. 5What more shall I say? Has he not also enjoyed an even greater communion with the Father and Creator of the universe, being thought unworthy of being called by the same appellation? For he also was called the god and king of the whole nation, and he is said to have entered into the darkness where God was; that is to say, into the invisible, and shapeless, and incorporeal world, the essence, which is the model of all existing things, where he beheld things invisible to mortal nature; for, having brought himself and his own life into the middle, as an excellently wrought picture, he established himself as a most beautiful and Godlike work, to be a model for all those who were inclined to imitate him. 5And happy are they who have been able to take, or have even diligently laboured to take, a faithful copy of this excellence in their own souls; for let the mind, above all other parts, take the perfect appearance of virtue, and if that cannot be, at all events let it feel an unhesitating and unvarying desire to acquire that appearance; 6for, indeed, there is no one who does not know that men in a lowly condition are imitators of men of high reputation, and that what they see, these last chiefly desire, towards that do they also direct their own inclinations and endeavors. Therefore, when the chief of a nation begins to indulge in luxury and to turn aside to a delicate and effeminate life, then the whole of his subjects, or very nearly the whole, carry their desire for indulging the appetites of the belly and the parts below the belly beyond all reasonable bounds, except that there may be some persons who, through the natural goodness of their disposition, have a soul far removed from treachery, being rather merciful and kind. If, on the other hand, the chief of a people adopts a more austere and dignified course of life, then even those of his subjects, who are inclined to be very incontinent, change and become temperate, hastening, either out of fear or out of shame, to give him an idea that they are devoted to the same pursuits and inclinations that he is; and, in fact, the lower orders will never, no, nor will mad men even, reject the customs and habits of their superiors: 6but, perhaps, since Moses was also destined to be the lawgiver of his nation, he was himself long previously, through the providence of God, a living and reasonable law, since that providence appointed him to the lawgiver, when as yet he knew nothing of his appointment.

29 When then he received the supreme authority, with the good will of all his subjects, God himself being the regulator and approver of all his actions, he conducted his people as a colony into Phoenicia, and into the hollow Syria (Coele-

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syria), and Palestine, which was at that time called the land of the Canaanites, the borders of which country were three days' journey distant from Egypt. 6Then he led them forward, not by the shortest road, partly because he was afraid lest the inhabitants should come out to meet and to resist him in his march, from fear of being overthrown and enslaved by such a multitude, and so, if a war arose, they might be again driven back into Egypt, falling from one enemy to another, and being driven by their new foes upon their ancient tyrants, and so become a sport and a laughingstock to the Egyptians, and have to endure greater and more grievous hardships than before. He was also desirous, by leading them through a desolate and extensive country, to prove them, and see how obedient they would be when they were not surrounded by any abundance of necessaries, but were but scantily provided and nearly in actual want. 6Therefore, turning aside from the direct road he found an oblique path, and thinking that it must extend as far as the Red Sea, he began to march by that road, and, they say, that a most portentous miracle happened at that time, a prodigy of nature, which no one anywhere recollects to have ever happened before; 6for a cloud, fashioned into the form of a vast pillar, went before the multitude by day, giving forth a light like that of the sun, but by night it displayed a fiery blaze, in order that the Hebrews might not wander on their journey, but might follow the guidance of their leader along the road, without any deviation. Perhaps, indeed, this was one of the ministers of the mighty King, an unseen messenger, a guide of the way enveloped in this cloud, whom it was not lawful for men to behold with the eyes of the body.

30 But when the king of Egypt saw them proceeding along a pathless track, as he fancied, and marching through a rough and untrodden wilderness, he was delighted with the blunder they were making respecting their line of march, thinking that now they were hemmed in, having no way of escape whatever. And, as he repented of having let them go, he determined to pursue them, thinking that he should either subdue the multitude by fear, and so reduce them a second time to slavery, or else that if they resisted he should slay them all from the children upwards. 6Accordingly, he took all his force of cavalry, and his darters, and his slingers, and his equestrian archers, and all the rest of his light-armed troops, and he gave his commanders six hundred of the finest of his scythe-bearing chariots, that with all becoming dignity and display they might pursue these men, and join in the expedition and so suing all possible speed, he sallied forth after them and hastened and pressed on the march, wishing to come upon them suddenly before they had any expectation of him. For an unexpected evil is at all times more grievous than one which has been looked for, in proportion as that which has been despised finds it easier to make a formidable attack than that which has been regarded with care. 6The king, therefore, with these ideas, pursued after the Hebrews, thinking that he should subdue them by the mere shout of battle. And, when he overtook them, they were already encamped along the shore of the Red Sea. And they were just about to go to breakfast, when, at first, a mighty sound reached them, as was natural from such a host of men and beasts of burden all proceeding on with great haste, so that they all ran out of their tents to look round, and stood on tip-toes to see and hear what was the matter. Then, a short time afterwards, the army of the enemy came in sight as it rose over a hill, all in arms, and ready arranged in line of battle.

31 And the Hebrews, being terrified at this extraordinary and unexpected danger, and not being well prepared for defense, because of a scarcity of defensive armor and of weapons (for they had not marched out for war, but to found a colony), and not being able to escape, for behind was the sea, and in front was the enemy, and on each side a vast and pathless wilderness, reviled against Moses, and, being dismayed at the magnitude of the evils that threatened them, began, as is very common in such calamities, to blame their governors, and said: "Because there were no graves in Egypt in which we could be buried after we were dead, have you brought us out hither to kill and bury us here? Or, is not even slavery a lighter evil than death? Having allured the multitude with the hope of liberty, you have caused them to incur a still more grievous danger than slavery, namely, the risk of the loss of life. Did you not know our simplicity, and the bitterness and cruel anger of the Egyptians? Do you not see the magnitude of the evils which surround us, and from which we cannot escape? What are we to do? Are we, unarmed, to fight against men in complete armor? or shall we flee now that we are hemmed in as by nets cast all around us by our pitiless enemies--hemmed in by pathless deserts and impassable seas? Or, even, if the sea was navigable, how are we to get any vessels to cross over it?" Moses, when he heard these complaints, pardoned his people, but remembered the oracles of God. And, at the same time, he so divided and distributed his mind and his speech, that with the one he associated invisibly with God, in order that God might deliver him from otherwise inextricable calamities; and, with the other, he encouraged and comforted those who cried out to him, saying: "Do not faint and despair. God does not deliver in the same way that man does. 7Why do you only trust such means of deliverance as seem probable and likely? God, when he comes as an assistant, stands in need of no adventitious preparations. It is his peculiar attribute to find a path amid inextricable perplexities. What is impossible to every created being is possible and easy to him above." Thus he spoke to them while yet standing still. But after a short time he became inspired by God, and being full of the divine spirit and under the influence of that spirit which was accustomed to enter into him, he prophesied and animated them thus: "This army which you behold so splendidly equipped with arms, you shall no more see arrayed against you; for it shall fall, utterly and completely overthrown, so that not a relic shall be seen any more upon the earth, and that not at any distance of time, but this very next night."

32 He then spoke thus. But when the sun had set, immediately a most violent south wind set in and began to blow, under the influence of which the sea retreated; for, as it was accustomed to ebb and flow, on this occasion it was driven back much further towards the shore, and drawn up in a heap as if into a ravine or a whirlpool. And no stars were visible, but a dense and black cloud covered the whole of the heaven, so that the night became totally dark, to the consternation of the pursuers. And Moses, at the command of God, smote the sea with his staff. And it was broken and divided into two parts, and one of the divisions at the part where it was broken off, was raised to a height and mounted up, and being thus consolidated like a strong wall, stood quiet and unshaken; and the portion behind the Hebrews was also contracted and raised in, and prevented from proceeding forwards, as if it were held back by invisible reins. And the intermediate space, where the fracture had taken place, was dried up and became a broad, and level, and easy road. When Moses beheld this he marveled and rejoiced; and, being filled with joy, he encouraged his followers and exhorted them to march forward with all possible speed. And when they were about to pass over, a most extraordinary prodigy was seen; for the cloud, which had been their guide, and which during all the rest of the period of their march had gone in front of them, now turned back and placed itself at the back of the multitude to guard their rear; and, being situated between the pursuers and the pursued, it guided the one party so as to keep them with safety and perfect freedom from danger, and it checked and embarrassed the others, who were hastening on to pursue them. And, when the Egyptians saw this, they were entirely filled with disorder and confusion, and through their consternation they threw all their ranks into disorder, falling upon one another and endeavoring to flee, when there was no advantage to be derived from flight. 7For, at the first appearance of morning, the Hebrews passed over by a dry path, with their wives, and families, and infant children. But the portions of the sea which were rolled up and consolidated on each side overwhelmed the Egyptians with their horses and chariots, the tide being brought back by a strong north wind and poured over them, and coming upon them with vast waves and overpowering billows, so that there was not even a torchbearer left to carry the news of this sudden disaster back to Egypt. 8Then the Hebrews, being amazed at this great and wonderful event, gained a victory which they had never hoped for without bloodshed or loss; and, seeing the instantaneous and complete destruction of the enemy, formed two choruses, one of men and the other of women, on the sea shore, and sang hymns of gratitude to God, Moses leading the song of the men, and his sister that of the women; for these two persons were the leaders of the choruses.

33 And when they had departed from the sea they went on for some time travelling, and no longer feeling any apprehension of their enemies. But when water failed them, so that for three days they had nothing to drink, they were again reduced to despondency by thirst, and again began to blame their fate as if they had not enjoyed any good fortune previously; for it always happens that the presence of an existing and present evil takes away the recollection of the pleasure which was caused by former good. 8At last, when they beheld some fountains, they ran up full of joy with the idea that they were going to drink, being deceived by ignorance of the truth; for the springs were bitter. Then when they had tasted them they were bowed down by the unexpected disappointment, and fainted, and yielded both in body and soul, lamenting not so much for themselves as for their helpless children, whom they could not endure without tears to behold imploring drink; 8and some of those who were of more careless dispositions, and of no settled notions of piety, blamed all that had gone before, as if it had turned out not so as to do them any good, but rather so as to lead them to a suffering of more grievous calamities than ever; saying that it was better for them to die, not only once but three times over, by the hands of their enemies, than to perish with thirst; for they affirmed that a quick and painless departure from life did in no respect differ from freedom from death in the opinion of wise men, but that that was real death which was slow and accompanied by pain; that what was fearful was not to be dead but only to be dying. 8When they were lamenting and bewailing themselves in this manner, Moses again besought God, who knew the weakness of all creatures, and especially of men, and the necessary wants of the body which depends for its existence on food, and which is enslaved by those severe task-mistresses, eating and drinking, to pardon his desponding people, and to relieve their want of everything, and that too not after a long interval of time, but by a prompt and undeferred liberality, since by reason of the natural impotency of their mortal nature, they required a very speedy measure of assistance and deliverance. 8But he, by his bountiful and merciful power, anticipated their wishes, sending forth and opening the watchful, anxious eye of the soul of his suppliant, and showed him a piece of wood which he bade him take up and throw into the water, which indeed had been made by nature with such a power for that purpose, and which perhaps had a quality which was previously unknown, or perhaps was then first endowed with it, for the purpose of effecting the service which it was then about to perform: 8and when he had done that which he was commanded to do, the fountains became changed and sweet and drinkable, so that no one was able to recognise the fact of their having been bitter previously, because there was not the slightest trace or spark of their ancient bitterness left to excite the recollection.

34 And so having appeased their thirst with double pleasure, since the blessing of enjoyment when it comes beyond one's hopes delights one still more, and having also replenished their ewers, they departed as from a feast, as if they had been entertained at a luxurious banquet, and as if they were intoxicated not with the drunkenness which proceeds from wine, but with a sober joy which they had imbibed purely, while pledging and being pledged by the piety of the ruler who was leading them; 8and so they arrive at a second halting place, well supplied with water, and well shaded with trees, called Aileem, irrigated with twelve fountains, near which were young and vigorous trunks of palm trees to the number of seventy, a visible indication and token of good to the whole nation, to all who were gifted with a clear-sighted intellect. For the nation itself was divided into twelve tribes, each of which, if pious and religious, would be looked upon in the light of a fountain, since piety is continually pouring forth everlasting and unceasing springs of virtuous actions. And the elders and chiefs of the whole nation were seventy in number, being therefore very naturally likened to palm trees which are the most excellent of all trees, being both most beautiful to behold, and bearing the most exquisite fruit, which has also its vitality and power of existence, not buried in the roots like other trees, but situated high up like the heart of a man, and lodged in the centre of its highest branches, by which it is attended and guarded like a queen as it really is, they being spread all round it. 9And the intellect too of those persons who have tasted of holiness has a similar nature; for it has learned to look upwards and to soar on high, and is continually keeping its eye fixed on sublime objects, and investigating divine things, and ridiculing, and scorning all earthly beauty, thinking the last only toys, and divine things the only real and proper objects worthy of its attention.

35 But after these events only a short time elapsed, when they became oppressed by famine through the scarcity of provisions, as if one necessary thing after another was to foil them in succession: for thirst and hunger are very cruel and terrible mistresses, and having portioned out the afflictions between them, attacked them by turns; and it so fell out that when the first calamity was relaxed the second came on, which was most intolerable to those who had to bear it, inasmuch as having only just fancied that they were delivered from thirst, they now found another evil, namely famine, lying in ambush to attack them; and not only was their present scarcity terrible, but they were also in despair as to the supply of necessary food for the future; for when they saw the vast and extensive desert around them, so utterly unproductive of any kind of crop, their hearts sank within them. For all around were rugged and precipitous rocks, or else a salt and brackish plain, and stony mountains, or deep sands reaching up and forming mountains of inaccessible height; and moreover there was no river, neither winter torrent nor ever-flowing stream; there were no springs, no plant growing from seed, no tree whether for fruit or timber, no animal whether flying or terrestrial, except some few poisonous reptiles born for the destruction of mankind, and serpents, and scorpions. So then the Hebrews, remembering the plenty and luxury which they had enjoyed in Egypt, and the abundance of all things which was bestowed upon them there, and contrasting it with the universal want of all things which they were now experiencing, were grieved and indignant, and talked the matter over with one another, saying:-- "We left our former abodes and emigrated, from a hope of freedom, happy only in the promises of our leader; as far as his actions go, we are of all men the most miserable. What will be the end of this long and interminable journey? Everyone else, whether sailing over the sea or marching on foot, has some limit before him at which he will eventually arrive; some being bound for marts and harbours, others for some city or country; but we alone have nothing to look forward to but a pathless desert, and a difficult journey, and terrible hopelessness, and despair; for as

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we advance, the desert lies before us like an ever open, vast, and pathless sea which widens and increases every day. But Moses having raised our expectations, and puffed us up with fine speeches, and filled our ears with vain hopes, racks our bodies with hunger and does not give us even necessary food. He has deceived this vast multitude with the name of a settlement in a colony; having first of all led us out of an inhabited country into an uninhabitable district, and now sending us down to the shades below, which is the last journey of life."

36 Moses, being reviled in this way, was nevertheless not so much grieved at their accusations which they brought against himself, as at the inconstancy of their own resolutions and minds. For though they had already experienced an infinite number of blessings which had befallen them unexpectedly and out of the ordinary course of affairs, they ought, in his opinion, not to have allowed themselves to be led away by any specious or plausible complaints, but to have trusted in him, as they had already received the clearest possible proofs that he spoke truly about everything. But again, when he came to take into consideration the want of food, than which there is no more terrible evil which can afflict mankind, he pardoned them, knowing that the multitude is by nature inconstant and always moved by present circumstances, which cause it to forget what has gone before, and despair of the future. Therefore, as they were all in the extremity of suffering, and expecting the most fearful misery which they fancied was lying in ambush for them and close at hand, God, partly by reason of his natural love and compassion for man, and partly because he desired to honour the commander whom he had appointed to govern them, and still more to show his great piety and holiness in all matters whether visible or invisible, pitied them and relieved their distress. Therefore he now devised an entirely new kind of benefit, that they, being taught by manifest signs and displays of his power, might feel reverence for him, and learn for the future not to be impatient if anything turned out contrary to their wishes, but to endure present evils with fortitude, in the expectation of future blessings. What then happened? The very next day, about sunrise, a dense and abundant dew fell in a circle all round about the camp, which rained down upon it gently and quietly in an unusual and unprecedented shower; not water, nor hail, nor snow, nor ice, for these are the things which the changes of the clouds produce in the winter season; but what was now rained down upon them was a very small and light grain, like millet, which, by reason of its incessant fall, rested in heaps before the camp, a most extraordinary sight. And the Hebrews marveled at it, and inquired of the commander what this rain was, which no man had ever seen before, and for what it was sent. And he was inspired, and full of the spirit of prophecy, and spoke to them as follows: "A fertile plain has been granted to mortal men, which they cut up into furrows, and plough, and sow, and do everything else which relates to agriculture, providing the yearly fruits so as to enjoy abundance of necessary food. But it is not one portion only of the universe, but the whole world that belongs to God, and all its parts obey their master, supplying everything which he desires that they should supply. Now therefore, it has seemed good to him that the air should produce food instead of water, since the earth has often brought forth rain; for when the river in Egypt every year overflows with inundations and irrigates all the fields, what else is that but a rain which is showered up from below?" That other would have been indeed a most surprising fact if it had stopped there; but now he wrought wonders with still more surprising circumstances; for all the population bringing vessels one after another, collected what fell, some putting them upon beasts of burden, others loading themselves and taking them on their shoulders, being prudently eager to provide themselves with necessary food for a longer time. But it was something that would bear to be stored up and dispensed gradually, since God is accustomed always to give his gifts fresh. Accordingly, they now prepared enough for their immediate necessities and present use, and ate it with pleasure. But of what was left till the next day they found not a morsel unhurt, but it was all changed and fetid, and full of little animals of the kind which usually cause putrefaction. So this they naturally threw away, but they found fresh quantities of it ready for food, so that it fell out that this food was carried down every day with the dew. But the holy seventh day had an especial honour; for, as it is not permitted to do anything whatever on that day (and it is expressly commanded that men are then to abstain from every work, great or little), so that they were not able to collect food that day, instead of food for one day, God rained upon them a double quantity, and ordered them to collect what shall be food enough for two days. And what was then collected remained sound, no portion of it becoming spoiled as it had before.

37 I will also relate a circumstance which is more marvelous than even this one; for, though they were travelling for forty years, yet during all this long period of time they had an abundant supply of all necessary things in their appointed order, as is the case in clubs and messes which are regularly measured out with a view to the distribution of what is required by each individual. And, at the same time, they learnt the value of that long-wished for day; for, having inquired for a long time what the day of the creation of the world as, the day on which the universe was completely finished, and, having received this question from their fathers and their ancestors undecided, they at last, though with great difficulty, did ascertain it, not being taught only by the sacred scriptures, but also by a certain proof which was very distinct; for, as that portion of the manna (as has been already said) which was more than was wanted on the other days of the week was spoiled, still that portion which was rained down on the day before the seventh not only did not change its nature, but was dispensed in a twofold quantity. And the use was as follows. At dawn they collected what had been showered down, and then they ground or pounded it; and then they roasted it and made every sweet food of it, like honey cheesecake, and so they ate it, without requiring any exceeding skill on the part of the preparers of the food. But they also had no scarcity of, nor any great distance to go for, the means of making life even luxurious, as if they had been in a populous and productive land, since God had determined out of his great abundance to supply them with plenty of all things which they required even in the wilderness; for, in the evenings, there was an uninterrupted cloud of quails borne to them from the sea, which overshadowed the whole camp, flying very near the ground so as to be easily caught. Therefore, the Hebrews, taking them and preparing them as each individual liked, enjoyed the most exquisite meat, pleasing themselves and varying their food with this necessary and delicious addition.

38 Accordingly, they had a great abundance of these birds, as they never failed. But, a second time, a terrible scarcity of water came upon them and afflicted them; and, as they again speedily began to despair of their safety, Moses, taking his sacred rod with which he had wrought the signs in Egypt, being inspired by God, smote the precipitous rock. And the rock being struck this seasonable blow, whether it was that there was a spring previously concealed beneath it, or whether water was then for the first time conveyed into it by invisible channels pouring in all together and being forced out with violence, at all events the rock, I say, was cleft open by the force of the blow and poured forth water in a stream, so that it not only then furnished a relief from thirst, but also supplied for a long time an abundance of drink for so many myriads of people. For they filled all their water vessels, as they had done before, from the fountains which were bitter by nature, but which, by divine providence, were changed to sweet water. And, if any one disbelieves these facts, he neither knows God nor has he ever sought to know him; for, if he had, he would have instantly known, he would have known and surely comprehended, that all these unexpected and extraordinary things are the amusement of God; looking at the things which are really great and deserving of serious attention, namely, the creation of the heaven, and the revolutions of the planets and fixed stars, and the shining of light--of the light of the sun by day and that of the moon by night--and the position of the earth in the most centre spot of the universe, and the vast dominions of the different continents and islands, and the innumerable varieties of animals and plants, and the effusion of the sea, and the rapid courses of the ever-flowing rivers and winter mountain torrents, and the streams of everlasting springs, some of which pour forth cold and others hot water, and the various changes and alterations of the air and climate, and the different seasons of the year, and an infinite number of other beautiful objects. And the whole of a man's life would be too short if he wished to enumerate all the separate instances of such things, or even to detail fully all that is to be seen in one complete portion of the world; aye, if he were to be the most longlived man that has ever been seen. But all these things, though they are in truth really wonderful, are despised by us by reason of our familiarity with them. But the things to which we are not accustomed, even though they may be unimportant, still make an impression upon us from our love of novelty, while we yield to strange ideas concerning them.

39 And now, as they had gone over a vast tract of land previously untravelled, there appeared some boundaries of habitable country and some suburbs, as it were, of the land to which they were proceeding, and the Phoenicians inhabited it. But they, hoping that a tranquil and peaceable life would now be permitted to them, were deceived in their expectation; for the king of the country, being afraid lest he might be destroyed, roused up all the youth of his cities, and collected an army, and went forth to meet them to keep them from his borders. And if they attempted to force their way, he showed that he would proceed to repel them with all his forces, his army being fresh, and now for the first time levied and marshalled for battle, while the Hebrews were wearied and worn out with their long travelling and with the scarcity of meat and drink which had in turns oppressed them. But when Moses had learnt from his scouts that the army of the enemy was marshalled at no great distance, he chose out those men who were in the flower of their youth, and appointed one of his subordinate officers, named Joshua, to be their general, while he himself went to procure a more powerful alliance; for, having purified himself with the customary purification, he rode up with speed to a neighbouring hill, and there he besought God to hold his shield over the Hebrews and to give them the victory and the mastery, as he had delivered them before from more formidable dangers and from other evils, not only dissipating the calamities with which they were threatened at the hands of men, but also all those which the transformation of the elements so wonderfully caused in the land of Egypt, and from those which the long scarcity inflicted upon them in their travels. And just as the two armies were about to engage in battle, a most marvelous miracle took place with respect to his hands; for they became by turns lighter and heavier. Then, whenever they were lighter, so that he could hold them up on high, the alliance between God and his people was strengthened, and waxed mighty, and became more glorious. But whenever his hands sank down the enemy prevailed, God showing thus by a figure that the earth and all the extremities of it were the appropriate inheritance of the one party, and the most sacred air the inheritance of the other. And as the heaven is in every respect supreme to and superior over the earth, so also shall the nation which has heaven for its inheritance be superior to their enemies. For some time, then, his hands, like the balances in a scale, were by turns light, and by turns descended as being heavy; and, during this period, the battle was undecided. But, on a sudden, they became quite devoid of weight, using their fingers as if they were wings, and so they were raised to a lofty height, like winged birds who traverse the heaven, and they continued at this height until the Hebrews had gained an unquestionable victory, their enemies being slain to a man from the youth upward, and suffering with justice what they had endeavored to inflict on others, contrary to what was befitting. Then Moses erected an altar, which from the circumstances that had taken place he named the refuge of God, on which he offered sacrifices in honour of his victory, and poured forth prayers of gratitude to God.

40 After this battle he considered that it was proper to reconnoitre the country into which the nation was being led as a colony (and it was now the second year that they had been travelling), not wishing that his followers should (as is often the case) change their designs out of ignorance, but that they should learn by accurate report, what the nature of the country really was, availing themselves of the positive knowledge of the inhabitants, and should then consider what was best to be done; 2and accordingly he chose out twelve men, to correspond in number to the twelve tribes, one out of each tribe to be the leader of it, selecting the most approved men, with reference to their excellence, in order that no quarrels might arise from any one party being better or worse off than another, but that they might all, by the agency of those to whom the matter was entrusted, be equally instructed as to the state of affairs among the inhabitants, if only the spies who were sent out brought a true report. And when he had selected the men he spoke to them as follows: "The inheritance which is before us is the prize of those labours and dangers which we have endured hitherto, and are still enduring, and let us not lose the hope of these things, we who are thus conducting a most populous nation to a new settlement. But the knowledge of the places, and of the men, and of the circumstances, is most useful, just as ignorance of these particulars is most injurious. We have therefore appointed you as spies, that we, by your eyes and by your intellects, may see the state of things there; ye, therefore, must be the ears and eyes of all these myriads of people, that thus they may arrive at an accurate comprehension of what is indispensable to be known. 2"Now what we wish to know consists of three points; the number of the inhabitants, and the strength of their cities, whether they are planted in favourable situations, whether they are strongly built and fortified, or the contrary. As to the country, we wish to know whether it has a deep and rich soil, whether it is good to bear all kinds of fruits, both of such plants as are raised from seed and of fruit-trees; or whether, on the contrary, it has a shallow soil; that so we may be prepared against the power and numbers of the inhabitants with equal forces, and against the fortified state of buildings and cities by means of engines and machines, for the destruction of cities. "And it is indispensable to understand the nature of the country, and whether it is a good land or not; for to encounter voluntary dangers for a poor and bad land is an act of folly; and our weapons, and our engines, and all our power, consist solely in our trust and confidence in God. Having this preparation we will yield to no danger or fear, for this is sufficient with great superfluity of power to subdue otherwise invincible strength, which relies only on bodily vigor and on armies, and on courage, and skill, and numbers; since to that too we owe it, that even in a vast wilderness we have full supplies of everything, as if we were in well-stocked cities; 2and the time in which it is most easy to come to a proper understanding of the good qualities of the land is the spring, the season which is now present; for in the season of spring what has been sown is coming to perfection, and the natures of the trees are beginning to propagate themselves further. It will be better,

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therefore, for you to enter the land now, and to remain till the middle of the summer, and to bring back with you fruits, as samples of what is to be procured from a prosperous and fertile country."

41 When they had received these orders, they went forth to spy out the land, being conducted on their way by the whole multitude who feared lest they might be taken prisoners and so be put to death, and lest in that way two great evils might happen to them, namely, the slaughter of the men who were the eye of each tribe, and also ignorance of what was being done by their enemies who were plotting against them, the knowledge of which was most desirable. So, taking with them scouts to examine the road and guides to show them the way, they accompanied them at their first setting out. And when they approached the borders of the country they ran up to the highest mountain of all those in that district, and from thence they surveyed the land, part of which was an extensive champaign district, fertile in barley, and wheat, and herbage; and the mountain region was not less productive of vines, and all kinds of other trees, and rich in every kind of timber, full of dense thickets, and girdled by rivers and fountains so as to be abundantly well watered, so that even from the foot of the mountain district to the highest summit of the hills themselves, the whole region was covered closely with a net-work of shady trees, and more especially the lower ridges, and the deep valleys and glens. They also surveyed all the strongest cities, looking upon them in two points of view; first, with reference to their advantages of situation, and also to the strength of their fortification; also, when they inquired respecting the inhabitants, they saw that they were very numerous indeed, and giants of exceeding tallness with absolutely gigantic bodies, both as to their magnitude and their strength. When they had seen thus much they waited to get a more accurate knowledge of everything: for first impressions are not trustworthy, but require the slow confirmation of time. They also took great care to gather specimens of the productions of the land, though they were not as yet ripe and solid, but only just beginning to be properly coloured, that they might show them to all the multitude, for which reason they selected such as would not be easily spoiled; but what above all things astonished them was the fruit of the vines, for the branches were of unrivalled sizes, stretching along all the young shoots and branches in a way that seemed almost incredible. Therefore, having cut off one branch, and having suspended it on a stick by the middle, the ends of which they gave to two young men, placing one on one side and one on the other, and others succeeding them as bearers of it as the former bearers got tired, for the weight was very great, they carried it so, the whole body of the spies not at all agreeing with respect to some points of necessary importance.

42 Accordingly, there were a great many contest between them even before they returned to the camp, but not very serious ones, in order that there might not be seditions between them from any of them adhering very contentiously to his own opinion, or from different persons giving different accounts, but they became more violent after their return; 3for some of them brought back formidable stories of the strength of the different cities, and the great populousness and opulence of each of them, exaggerating and making the most of everything in their description so as to cause excessive consternation among their hearers; while others, on the contrary, disparaged and made light of all that they saw, and exhorted their fellow countrymen not to faint but to persevere in their design of colonising that country, as they would subdue the natives with a mere shout; for that no city whatever would be able to resist the onset of so mighty a power attacking it with its united force, but would be overwhelmed with its might and submit at once. Moreover, each of the spies infused into the souls of his hearers some portion of his own spirit, the cowardly spreading cowardice, and the indomitable and bold diffusing confidence united with sanguine hope. But these last made but a fifth part of those who were frightened out of their senses, while they, on the other hand, were five times as numerous as the high-spirited; and the small number of those who displayed any courage, is often beaten down by the vast number of those who behaved in a cowardly manner, as they say was the case at this time also; for they who maintained the better side of the question were only two, while those who made the contrary report were ten; and these last so entirely prevailed over the two former, that they led away the whole multitude after them, alienating them from the two, and binding them wholly to themselves. 3But about the country itself they all brought back the same report with perfect unanimity, praising the beauty both of the champaign and of the mountainous district. But then they further cried out, "But what is the advantage to us of those good things which belong to others, when they are guarded by a mighty force, so that they can never be taken from their owners?" And so, attacking the two who brought the opposite report, they were very near stoning them, preferring to hear pleasant rather than useful things, and also preferring deceit to truth. 3At which their leader was indignant, and he was also at the same time afraid lest some heaven-inflicted evil might descend upon them, since they so obstinately persisted in despairing and in disbelieving the word of God, which indeed took place. For of the spies, the ten who brought back cowardly tiding all perished by a pestilential disease, with those of the multitude who united in their feelings of despondency, and only the two who had agreed and counselled the people not to fear but to persevere in the plan of the colony were saved, because they were obedient to the word of God, on which account they received the especial honour of not being involved in the destruction of the others.

43 This was the reason why they did not arrive sooner in the land which they went forth to colonize; for though they might, in the second year after their departure from Egypt, have conquered all the cities in Syria, and divided the inheritance amongst themselves, still they turned aside from the direct and short road, and wandered about, using one long, and difficult, and pathless line of march after another, so as to be incessantly toiling both in soul and body, and enduring the necessary and deserved punishment of their excessive impiety: 3accordingly, for eight and thirty years more, after the two years which I have already mentioned as having elapsed, the life of a complete generation of mankind did they wander up and down, traversing the pathless wilderness; and at last in the fortieth year, they with difficulty came to the borders of the country which they had reached so many years before. 3And at the entrance to this country there dwelt other tribes akin to themselves, who they thought would cheerfully join them in the war against their neighbours, and would co-operate in everything necessary for the establishment of the colony; and if they hesitated to do that, they thought that at all events they would range themselves on neither side, but would preserve a strict neutrality, holding up their hands; 4for in fact the ancestors of both nations, both of the Hebrews and of those who dwelt on the skirts of the country, were brethren descended from the same father and the same mother, and moreover were twins; for it was from two brothers, who had thus increased with numerous descendants, and had enjoyed a great productiveness of offspring, that each of their families had grown into a vast and numerous Nation. [the brothers are Jacob and Esau, Jacob being the father of the Israelites and Esau of the Edomites.] But one of these nations had clung to its original abodes; but the other, as has been already mentioned, having migrated to Egypt by reason of the famine, at this subsequent period was now returning, 4and one of the two preserved its respect for its kindred though it had been for such a length of time separated from it, still having a regard for those who no longer preserved any one of their ancestral customs, but who had in every respect departed from their ancient habits and constitutions, thinking that it became those who claimed to be of civilised natures, to give and yield something to the name of relationship. 4But the other utterly overturned all notions of friendship and affection, giving in to fierce, and unfriendly, and irreconcilable dispositions, and language, and counsels, and actions; and thus keeping alive the ill-will of their original ancestor to his brother; for the first founder of their race, though he had himself given up his birthright to his brother, yet a short time afterwards endeavored to assert his claim to what he had abandoned voluntarily, violating his agreement, and he sought to slay his brother, threatening him with death if he did not surrender what he had purchased. And now the whole nation after the interval of so many generations, renewed the ancient enmity between one individual and another. Therefore Moses, the leader of the Hebrews, although he might with one single effort, aye with the mere shout of his army, have subdued the whole nation, still, by reason of the aforesaid relationship did not think fit to do so; but desired only to use the road through their country, promising that he would in every respect observe the treaties between them, and not despoil them of territory, or cattle, or of any booty, that he would even pay a price for water if there should be a scarcity of drink, and for anything else that they might require to buy, as not being supplied with it; but they violently rejected their peaceful invitations, threatening them with war, if they heard of their crossing over their borders or even of their setting foot upon them.

44 But as the Hebrews received their answer with great indignation, and prepared at once to oppose them, Moses stood in a place from whence he would be well heard, and said, "O men, your indignation is reasonable and just; for though we, in a peaceable disposition, have made them good and friendly offers, they have made us an evil reply out of their evil and perverse disposition. 4But it does not follow that because they deserve to pay the penalty for their cruelty, therefore it is desirable for us to proceed to take vengeance upon them, by reason of the honour due to our own nation, that we may show that in this particular we are good and different from wicked men, inasmuch as we consider not only whether such and such persons deserve to be punished, but whether also it is proper that they should receive their punishment from us." 4On this he turned aside and led his army by another road, since he knew that all the roads in that district were surrounded with garrisons, by those who were not in danger of receiving any injury, but who were out of envy and jealousy would not allow them to proceed by the shortest road; 4and this was the most manifest proof of their sorrow, which they felt in consequence of the nation having obtained their liberty, namely when they rejoiced when they were enduring that bitter slavery of theirs in Egypt; for it follows of necessity that those men to whom the good fortune of their neighbours causes grief, do also rejoice at their evil fortune, even if they do not admit that they do so; for they had already related to their neighbours, as to persons in accordance with themselves, and cherishing the same thoughts, all the misfortunes and also all the agreeable pieces of good fortune which had happened to them, not knowing that they had proceeded to a great degree of iniquity, and that they were full of unfriendly, and hostile, and malicious thoughts towards them, so that they were like to grieve at their good fortune, but to rejoice at any thing of a contrary tendency. 4But when their malevolence was fully revealed, the Hebrews were nevertheless restrained from coming to open war with them by their ruler, who thus displayed two most excellent qualities at the same time; namely prudence and a compassionate disposition; for to take care that no evil should happen to any one is the part of wisdom, and not to be willing even to repel one's own kinsmen is a proof of a humane disposition.

45 Therefore he passed by the cities of these nations; but a certain king of the neighbouring country, Canaan by name, when his spies reported to him that the army of the Hebrews, which was making in his direction was at no great distance, thinking that it was in a state of confusion and disorder, and that he should be able easily to conquer it if he were to attack it at once, proceeded forth with the youth of his nation well armed and equipped, and marched with all speed, and put the van of their host to flight as soon as he encountered them, inasmuch as they were not arrayed or prepared for battle; and having taken many prisoners, and being elated at the prosperity beyond his hopes which he had met with, he marched on thinking that he should defeat all the others also. But the Hebrews, for they were not dismayed at the defeat of their advanced guard, but had rather derived even more confidence than they had felt before, being eager also to make amends by their eagerness for battle for the loss of those of their number who had been taken prisoners, exhorted one another not to faint nor to yield. "Let us rise up," said they; "let us at once invade their land. Let us show that we are in no wise alarmed or depressed, by our vigor in action and our confidence. The end is very often judged of by the beginning. Let us seize the keys of the country and strike terror into the inhabitants as deriving prosperity from cities, and inflicting upon them in return the want of necessary things which we bring with us out of the wilderness." And they, at the same time, exhorted one another often with these words, and likewise began to dedicate to God, as the first fruits of the land, the cities of the king and all the citizens of each city. And he accepted their views and inspired the Hebrews with courage, and prepared the army of the enemy to be defeated. Accordingly, the Hebrews defeated them with mighty power, and fulfilled the agreement of gratitude which they had made, not appropriating to themselves the slightest portion of the booty. And they dedicated to God the cities with all the men and treasures that were in them, and, from what had thus taken place, they called the whole country an offering to God; 5for, as every pious man offers unto God the first fruits of the fruits of the year, which he collects from his own possessions, so in the same manner did the Hebrews dedicate the whole nation of this mighty country into which they had come as settlers, and that great spoil, the kingdom which they had so speedily subdued, as a sort of first-fruit of their colony; for they did not think it consistent with piety to distribute the land among themselves, or to inherit the cities, before they had offered up to God the first fruits of that country and of those cities.

46 A short time afterwards, having found a copious spring of water which supplied drink to all the multitude, and the spring was in a well and on the borders of the country, drawing it up and drinking it as though it had been not water but pure wine, they were refreshed in their souls, and those among the people who loved God established choruses and dances in a circle around the well, out of their cheerfulness and joy, and sang a new song to God, the possessor and giver of their inheritance and the real leader of their colony, because now at the first moment of their coming forth from the direction in which they had so long been dwelling in to the inhabited land which they were ordained to possess, they had found abundant drink, and therefore they thought it right not to pass this spring by without due honour. 5For this well had been originally cut not by the hands of private individuals, but of kings, who had laboured in rivalry of one another, as the tale went, not only in the discovery of the water, but likewise in the digging of the well, in order that by its magnificence it might be seen to be a royal work, and that the power and magnanimity of those who built it might appear from the beginning. And Moses, rejoicing at the unexpected blessings which from time to time were presenting themselves to him, advanced further, dividing the youth of his people into the vanguard and the rearguard, and placing the

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old men, and the women, and the children in the centre, that they might be protected by those who were thus at each extremity, in the case of their having to encounter any force of the enemy either in front or behind.

47 A few days afterwards he entered the country of the Amorites, and sent ambassadors to the king, whose name was Sihon, exhorting him to the same measures to which he had previously invited his kinsman. But he not only replied to these ambassadors when they came with great insolence, but he very nearly put them to death, and would have done so if the law with respect to ambassadors had not hindered him; but he did collect an army and made against them, thinking that he should immediately be able to subdue them in war. But when he encountered them he then found that he had to fight not men who had no experience or practice in the art of war, but men skilful in all warfare and truly invincible, who only a short time before had done many and important valiant achievements, displaying great personal valor, and great wisdom, and excellence of sense and virtue. Owing to which qualities they subdued these their enemies with great ease and defeated them with great loss, but they took no part of the spoil, desiring to dedicate to God the first booty which they gained; 6and, on this occasion, they guarded their own camp vigorously, and then, with one accord and with equally concerted preparation, rushed forward in opposition to the enemy as he advanced and charged them, availing themselves of the invincible alliance of the just God, in consequence of which they had the greatest boldness, and became cheerful and sanguine combatants. 6And the proof of this was clear; there was no need of any second battle, but the first was also the only one, and in it the whole power of the enemy was frustrated for ever. And it was utterly overthrown, and immediately it disappeared for ever. 6And about the same time the cities were both empty and full; empty of their ancient inhabitants, and full of those who now succeeded to their dominions over them. In the same manner, also, the stables of cattle in the fields, being made desolate, received instead men who were in all respects better than their former masters.

48 This war struck all the Asiatic nations with terrible consternation, and especially all those who were near the borders of the Amorites, inasmuch as they looked upon the dangers as being nearer to themselves. Accordingly, one of the neighbouring kings, by name Balak, who ruled over a large and thickly inhabited country of the east, before he met them in battle, feeling great distrust of his own power, did not think fit to meet them in close combat, being desirous to avoid carrying on a war of extermination by open arms; but he had recourse to inquiries and divination, thinking that by some kind of ruse or other he might be able to overthrow the irresistible power of the Hebrews. Now there was a man at that time very celebrated for his skill in divination, dwelling in Mesopotamia, who was initiated in every branch of the soothsayers' art. And he was celebrated and renowned above all men for his experience as a diviner and prophet, as he had in many instances foretold to many people incredible and most important events; 6for, on one occasion, he had predicted heavy rain to one nation at the height of summer; to another he had foretold a drought and burning heat in the middle of winter. Others he had forewarned of a dearth which should follow a season of abundance; and, on the other hand, plenty after famine. In some instances he had predicted the inundations of rivers; or, on the contrary, their falling greatly and becoming dried up; and the departure of pestilential diseases, and ten thousand other things. From all which he had obtained a name of wide celebrity, as he was believed to have foreseen them all, and so he had attained to great renown and his glory had spread everywhere and was continually increasing. So this man, Balak, now sent some of his companions, entreating him to come to him, and he gave him some presents at once, and he promised to give him others also, explaining to him the necessity which he was in, on account of which he had sent for him. But he did not treat the messengers with any noble or consistent disposition, but with great courtesy and civility evaded their request, as if he were one of the most celebrated prophets, and as such was accustomed to do nothing whatever without first consulting the oracle, and so he declined, saying that the Deity would not permit him to go with them. So the messengers returned back to the king, without having succeeded in their errand. And immediately other messengers of the highest rank in the whole land were sent on the same business, bringing with them more abundant presents of money, and promising still more ample rewards than the former ambassadors had promised. 6And Balaam, being allured by the gifts which were already proffered to him, and also by the hopes for the future which they held out to him, and being influenced also by the rank of those who invited him, began to yield, again alleging the commands of the Deity as his excuse, but no longer with sincerity. Accordingly, on the next day he prepared for his departure, relating some dreams by which he said he had been influenced, affirming that he had been compelled by their manifest visions not to remain, but to follow the ambassadors.

49 But when he was on his road a very manifest sign met him in the way, showing him plainly that the purpose for which he was travelling was displeasing to God, and ill-omened; for the beast on which he was riding, while proceeding onwards in the straight road, at first stopped suddenly, then, as if some one was forcibly resisting it, or standing in front and driving it back by force, it retreated, moving first to the right and then to the left, and could not stand still, but kept moving, first to one side and then to the other, as if it had been under the influence of wine and intoxication; and though it was repeatedly beaten, it disregarded the blows, so that it very nearly threw its rider, and though he stuck on did still hurt him considerably; for close on each side of the path there were walls and strong fences; therefore, when the beast in its violent motions struck heavily against the walls, the owner had his knee, and leg, and foot pressed and crushed, and was a good deal lacerated. The truth is, that there was, as it seems, a divine vision, which, as the beast, on which the diviner was seeking, saw at a great distance as it was coming towards him, and it was frightened at it; but the man did not see it, which was a proof of his insensibility, for he was thus shown to be inferior to a brute beast in the power of sight, at a time when he was boasting that he could see, not only the whole world, but also the Creator of the world. Accordingly, having after some time seen the angel opposing him, not because he was desiring to see so astonishing a spectacle, but that he might become acquainted with his own insignificance and nothingness, he betook himself to supplications and prayers, entreating to be pardoned, on the ground that he had acted as he had done out of ignorance, and had not sinned of deliberate purpose. Then, as he said that he ought to return back again, he asked of the vision which appeared to him, whether he should go back again to his own house; but the angel beholding his insincerity, and being indignant at it (for what need was there for him to ask questions in a matter which was so evident, which had its answer plain in itself, and which did not require any more positive information by means of words, unless a person's ears are more to be trusted than his eyes, and words than things), said, "Go on in the journey in which you have set out, for you shall do no good to those who have sent for you, and you must say what I prompt you, without any thoughts of your own, finding utterance, as I will guide the organs of your speech in the way that shall be just and expedient, for I will direct your words, predicting all that shall happen through the agency of your tongue, though you yourself understand nothing of it.

50 But when the king heard that he was now near at hand, he went forth with his guards to meet him; and when they met at first there were, as was natural, greetings and salutations, and then a brief reproof of his tardiness and of his not having come more readily. After this there were feastings and costly entertainments, and all those other things which are usually prepared on the occasion of the reception of strangers, everything with royal magnificence being prepared, so as to give an exaggerated idea of the power and glory of the king. The next day at the rising of the sun, Balak took the prophet and led him up to a high hill, where it also happened that a pillar had been erected to some deity which the natives of the country had been accustomed to worship; and from thence there was seen a portion of the camp of the Hebrews, which was shown to the magician from this point, as if from a watch tower. And he when he beheld it said: "Do thou, O king, build here seven altars, and offer upon every one of them a bullock and a ram. And I will turn aside and inquire of God what I am to say." So, having gone forth, immediately he became inspired, the prophetic spirit having entered into him, which drove all his artificial system of divination and cunning out of his soul; for it was not possible that holy inspiration should dwell in the same abode with magic. Then, returning back to the king, and beholding the sacrifices and the altars flaming, he became like the interpreter of some other being who was prompting his words, and spoke in prophetic strain as follows: "Balak has sent for me from Mesopotamia, having caused me to take a long journey from the east, that he might chastise the Hebrews by means of curses. But in what manner shall I be able to curse those who have not been cursed by God? For I shall behold them with my eyes from the loftiest mountains, and I shall see them with my mind; and I shall never be able to injure the people which shall dwell alone, not being numbered among the other nations, not in accordance with the inheritance of any particular places, or any apportionment of lands, but by reason of the peculiar nature of their remarkable customs, as they will never mingle with any other nation so as to depart from their national and ancestral ways. Who has ever discovered with accuracy the first origin of the birth of these people? Their bodies, indeed, may have been fashioned according to human means of propagation; but their souls have been brought forth by divine agency, wherefore they are nearly related to God. May my soul die as to the death of the body, that it may be remembered among the souls of the righteous, such as the souls of these men are."

51 When Balak heard these words he was grieved within himself; and after he had stopped speaking, not being able to contain his sorrow, he said: "You were invited hither to curse my enemies, and are you not ashamed to offer up prayers for their good? I must, without knowing it, have been deceiving myself, thinking you a friend; who were, on the contrary, without my being aware of it, enrolled among the ranks of the enemy, as is now plain. Perhaps, too, you made all the delay in coming to me by reason of the regard for them, which you were secretly cherishing in your soul, and your secret dislike to me and to my people; for, as the old proverb says, what is apparent affords the best means of judging of what is not visible." But Balaam, his moment of inspiration being now past, replied: "I am exposed in this to a most unjust charge, and am undeservedly accused; for I am saying nothing of my own, but whatever the Deity prompts me to say. And this is not the first time that I have said and that you have heard this, but I declared it on the former occasion when you sent the ambassadors, to whom I made the same answer." But as the king thought either that the prophet was deceiving him, or that the Deity might change his mind, and the consequence of a change of place might alter the firmness of his decision, he led him off to another spot, where, from an exceedingly long, and high, and distant hill, he might be able to show him a part of the army of his enemies. Then, again, he built seven altars and sacrificed the same number of victims that he had sacrificed at first, and sent the prophet to look for favourable omens and predictions. 8And he, as soon as he was by himself, was again suddenly filled by divine inspiration, and, without at all understanding the words which he uttered, spoke everything that was put into his mouth, prophesying in the following manner:--"Rise up and listen, O king! prick up thy ears and hear. God is not able to speak falsely as if he were a man, nor does he change his purpose like the son of man. When he has once spoken, does he not abide by his word? For he will say nothing at all which shall not be completely brought to pass, since his word is also his deed. I, indeed, have been brought hither to bless this nation, and not to curse it. There shall be no labour or distress among the Hebrews. God visibly holds his shield over them, who also dissipated the violence of the Egyptian attacks, leading forth all these myriads of people as one man. Therefore they disregarded auguries and every other part of the prophetic art, trusting to the one sole Governor of the world alone. And I see the people rising up like a young lion, and exulting as a lion. He shall feast on the prey, and for drink he shall drink the blood of the wounded; and, when he is satisfied, he shall not turn to sleep, but he shall be awake and sing the song of victory."

52 But Balak, being very indignant at finding that all the assistance which he expected to derive from divination was turning out contrary to his hopes, said: "O man, neither curse them at all, nor bless them at all; for silence, which is free from danger, is better than unpleasant speeches." And when he had said this, as if he had forgotten what he had said, owing to the inconstancy of his mind, he led the prophet to another place, from which he could show him a part of the Hebrew army; and again he invited him to curse them. 8But the prophet, as being even more wicked than the king, although he had always replied to the accusations which were brought against him with one true excuse, namely, that he was saying nothing out of his own head, but was only interpreting the words of another, being himself carried away and inspired, when he ought no longer to have accompanied him but to have gone away home, ran forward even more eagerly than his conductor, although in his secret thoughts he was oppressed by a heavy feeling of evil, yet still desired in his mind to curse this people, though he was forbidden to do so with his mouth. 8So, coming to a mountain greater than any of those on which he had stood before, and which reached a very long way, he bade the king perform the same sacrifices as before, again building seven altars, and again offering up fourteen victims, on each altar two, a bullock and a ram. And he himself did no longer, according to his usual custom, go to seek for divination and auguries, since he much loathed his art, looking upon it as a picture which had become defaced through age, and had been obscured, and lost its felicity of conjecture. But he now, though with difficulty, understood the fact that the designs of the king, who had hired him, did not correspond with the will of God. 8Therefore, turning to the wilderness, he saw the Hebrews encamped in their tribes, and he saw their numbers and their array, and admired it as being like the order of a city rather than of a camp, and, becoming inspired, he again spoke. What, then, said the man who saw truly, who in his sleep saw a clear vision of God with the ever open and sleepless eyes of his soul? "How goodly are thy abodes, O army of Hebrews; they tents are shady as groves, as a paradise on the bank of a river, as a cedar by the waters. A man shall hereafter come forth out of thee who shall rule over many nations, and his kingdom shall increase every day and be raised up to heaven. This people hath God for its guide all the way from Egypt, who leads on their multitude in one line. Therefore they shall devour many nations of their enemies, and they shall take all their fat as far as their very marrow, and shall destroy their enemies with their far-

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shooting arrows. He shall lie down to rest like a lion, and like a lion's whelp, fearing no one, but showing great contempt for every one, and causing fear to all other nations. Miserable is he who shall stir up and rouse him to anger. Blessed are they that bless thee, and cursed are they that curse thee."

53 And the king, being very indignant at these words, said: "Having been invited hither to curse my enemies, you have now prayed for and blessed them these three times. Fly, therefore, quickly, passion is a hasty affection, lest I be compelled to do something more violent than usual. Of what a vast amount of money, O most foolish of men, of how many presents, and of how much renown, and celebrity, and glory, hast thou deprived thyself in thy madness! Now you will return to thy home from a foreign land, bearing with thee no good thing, but only reproaches and (as it seems likely) great disgrace, being ridiculed and despised for that knowledge on which you formerly so greatly prided yourself." And Balaam replied: "All that I have hitherto uttered have been oracles and words of God; but what I am going to say are merely the suggestions of my own mind: and taking him by the right hand, he, while they two were alone, gave him advice, by the adoption of which he might, as far as possible, guard against the power of his enemies, accusing himself of the most enormous crimes. For why, some one may perhaps say, do you thus retire into solitude and give counsel suggesting things contrary to the oracles of God, unless indeed that your counsels are more powerful than his decrees?"

54 Come, then, let us examine into his fine recommendations, and see how cunningly they were contrived with reference to the most certain defeat of those who had hitherto always been able to conquer. As he knew that the only way by which the Hebrews could be subdued was by leading them to violate the law, he endeavored to seduce them by means of debauchery and intemperance, that mighty evil, to the still greater crime of impiety, putting pleasure before them as a bait; for, said he, "O king! the women of the country surpass all other women in beauty, and there are no means by which a man is more easily subdued than by the beauty of a woman; therefore, if you enjoin the most beautiful of them to grant their favours to them and to prostitute themselves to them, they will allure and overcome the youth of your enemies. But you must warn them not to surrender their beauty to those who desire them with too great facility and too speedily, for resistance and coyness will stimulate the passions and excite them more, and will kindle a more impetuous desire; and so, being wholly subdued by their appetites, they will endure to do and to suffer anything. "And let any damsel who is thus prepared for the sport resist, and say, wantonly, to a lover who is thus influenced, "It is not fitting for you to enjoy my society till you have first abandoned your native habits, and have changed, and learnt to honour the same practices that I do. And I must have a conspicuous proof of your real change, which I can only have by your consenting to join me in the same sacrifices and libations which I use, and which we may then offer together at the same images and statues, and other erections in honour of my gods. 9And the lover being, as it were, taken in the net of her manifold and multiform snares, not being able to resist her beauty and seductive conversation, will become wholly subdued in his reason, and, like a miserable man, will obey all the commands which she lays upon him, and will en enrolled as the salve of passion."

55 This, then, was the advice which Balaam gave to Balak. And he, thinking that what he said to him did not want sense, repealed the law against adulteries, and having abrogated all the enactments which had been established against seduction and harlotry, as if they had never been enacted at all, exhorted the women to admit to their favours, without any restraint, every man whom they chose. Accordingly, when licence was thus given, they brought over a multitude of young men, having already long before this seduced their minds, and having by their tricks and allurements perverted them to impiety; until Phinehas, the son of the chief priest, being exceedingly indignant at all that was taking place (for it appeared to him to be a most scandalous thing for his countrymen to give up at one time both their bodies and souls--their bodies to pleasure, and their souls to transgression of the law, and to works of wickedness), undertook a bold and impetuous action, such as was becoming to a young, and grave, and virtuous man. For when he saw a man of his nation sacrificing with and then entering into the tent of a harlot, and that too without casting his eyes down on the ground and seeking to avoid the notice of the multitude, but making a display of his licentiousness with shameless boldness, and giving himself airs as if he were about to engage in a creditable action, and one deserving of smiles--Phinehas, I say, being very indignant and being filled with a just anger, ran in, and while they were still lying on the bed, slew both the lover and the harlot, cutting them in two pieces in the middle, because they thus indulged in illicit connexions. When some persons of those who admired temperance, and chastity, and piety, saw this example, they, at the command of Moses, imitated it, and slew all their own relations and friends, even to a man, who had sacrificed to idols made with hands, and thus they effaced the stain which was defiling the nation by this implacable revenge which they thus wreaked on those who had set the example of wrong doing, and so saved the rest, who made a clear defense of themselves, demonstrating their own piety, showing no compassion on any one of those who were justly condemned to death, and not passing over their offences out of pity, but looking upon those who slew them as pure from all sin. Therefore they did not allow any escape whatever to those who sinned in this way, and such conduct is the truest praise; and they say that twenty-four thousand men were slain in one day, the common pollution, which was defiling the whole army, being thus at once got rid of. And when the works of purification were thus accomplished, Moses began to seek how he might give an honour worthy of him who had displayed such permanent excellence to the son of the chief priest, who was the first who hastened to inflict chastisement on the offenders. But God was beforehand with him, giving to Phinehas, by means of his holy word, the greatest of all good things, namely, peace, which no man is able to bestow; and also, in addition to this peace, he gave him the perpetual possession of the priesthood, an inheritance to his family, which could not be taken from it.

56 But when none of the civil and intestine evils remained any longer, but when all the men who were suspected of having either forsaken the ways of their ancestors or of treachery had perished, it appeared to be a most favourable opportunity for making an expedition against Balak, a man who had both planned to do, and had also executed an innumerable host of evil deeds, since he had planned them through the agency of the prophet, who he hoped would be able, by means of his curses, to destroy the power of the Hebrews, and who had executed his purpose by the agency of the licentiousness and incontinence of the women, who destroyed the bodies of those who associated with them by debauchery, and their souls by impiety. Therefore Moses did not think fit to carry on war against him with his whole army, knowing that superfluous numbers are apt to meet with disaster in consequence of those very numbers; and also, at the same time, thinking it useful to have stations of reserve, to be assistants to those of their allies who appeared likely to fail; but he selected a thousand picked men of the youth of the nation, selected man by man, out of each tribe, twelve thousand in all, for that was the number of the tribes, and he appointed Phinehas to be the commander in the war, as he had already given proof of the happy daring which becomes a general; and after he had offered up sacrifices of good omen, he sent forth his warriors, and encouraged them in the following words:-- "The present contest is not one for dominion or sovereignty, nor is it waged for the sake of acquiring the property of others, though these are the objects for which alone, or almost invariably, wars take place; but this war is undertaken in the cause of piety and holiness, from which the enemy has alienated our relations and friends, being the causes of bitter destruction to those who have been brought under their yoke. It is therefore absurd for us to be the slayers of our own countrymen, for having offended against the law, and to spare our enemies, who have violated it in a much worse degree, and to slay, with every circumstance of violence, those who were only learning and beginning to sin, but to leave those who taught them to do so unpunished, who are, in reality, the guilty causes of all that has taken place, and of all the evils which our countrymen have either done or suffered."

57 Therefore being nerved by these exhortations, and being kindled and filled with noble courage which was indeed in their souls already, they went forth to that contest with invincible spirit as to a certain victory; and when they engaged with the enemy, they displayed such incredible vigor and courage that they slew all their enemies, and returned themselves unhurt, every one of them, not one of their number having been slain or even wounded. Any one who did not know what had taken place, might have supposed, when he saw them returning, that they were coming in, not from war and from a pitched battle, but rather from a display and field-day of exercise under arms, such as often take place in time of peace; and these fielddays are days of exercise and practice, while the men train themselves among friends to attack their enemies. Therefore they destroyed all their cities, razing them to the ground or else burning them, so that no one could tell that any cities had ever been inhabited in that land. And they led away a perfectly incalculable number of prisoners, of whom they chose to slay all the full-grown men and women, the men because they had set the example of wicked counsels and actions, and the women because they had beguiled the youth of the Hebrews, becoming the causes to them of incontinence and impiety, and at the last of death; but they pardoned all the young male children and all the virgins, their tender age procuring them forgiveness; and as they had taken a vast booty from the king's palace, and from private houses, and also from the dwellings of all kinds in the open country (for there was not less booty in the country places than in the cities), they came to the camp, laden with all the wealth which they had taken from the enemy. And Moses praised Phinehas their general, and those who had served under him for their good success, and also because they had not been covetous of their own advantage, running after booty and thinking of nothing, but appropriating the spoil to themselves, but because they had brought it all into the common stock, so that they who had staid behind in the tents might share in the booty; and he ordered those men to remain outside the camp for some days, and the high priest he commanded to purify both the men themselves, and those of their allies who had returned from fighting by their side, of bloodshed; for even though the slaughter of the enemies of one's country is according to law, still he who kills a man, even though justly and in self-defence, and because he has been attacked, still appears to be guilty of blood by reason of his supreme and common relationship to a common father; on which account those who had slain enemies were in need of rites of purification, to cleanse them from what was looked upon as a pollution.

58 However, after no long lapse of time he divided the booty among those who had taken a part in the expedition, and they were but a small number, giving one half among those who had remained inactive at home, and the other half to those who were still in the camp; for he looked upon it as just and equitable to give the share of the advantages gained, to those who had shared in the contest, if not with their souls, at all events with their bodies; for as the spectators were not inferior to the actual combatants in their zeal, they were inferior only in point of time and in respect of their being anticipated. And as the smaller body had received each a larger share of the booty, by reason of their having been the foremost in encountering danger, and the larger body had received each a smaller share, by reason of their having remained at home; it appeared indispensable that they should consecrate the first fruits of the whole of the booty; those therefore who had remained at home brought a fiftieth, and those who had been actually engaged in the war, brought and contributed a five hundredth part; and of ten first fruits Moses commanded that portion which came from those who had borne a part in the expedition, to be given to the high priest, and that portion which came from those who had remained in the camp, to the keepers of the temple whose name were the Levites. And the captains of thousands, and centurions, and all the rest of the multitude of commanders of battalions and companies willingly contributed special first fruits, as an offering for their own safety, and that of those who had gone out to war, and for the victory which had been gained in a manner beyond all hope, giving up all the golden ornaments which had fallen to the lot of each individual, in the apportionment of the booty, and the most costly vessels, of which the material was gold. All which things Moses took, and, admiring the piety of those who contributed them, dedicated them in the consecrated tabernacle as a memorial of the gratitude of the men; and the division of the first fruits was very beautiful; those which had been given by the men who had borne their share in the war, he distributed among the keepers of the temple as among men who had only displayed one half of virtue, namely eagerness without action; but the first fruits of those who had warred and fought, who had encountered danger with their bodies and lives, and thus had displayed perfect and complete excellence, he allotted to him who presided over the keepers of the temple, namely to the high priest; and the first fruits of the captains, as being the offerings of chiefs and rulers, he allotted to the great ruler of all, namely to God.

59 All these wars were carried on and brought to an end before the Hebrews had crossed Jordan, the river of the country, being wars against the inhabitants of the country on the other side of Jordan, which was a rich and fertile land, in which there was a large champaign fertile in corn, and also very productive of herbage and fodder for cattle; and when the two tribes who were occupied in feeding cattle saw this country, the two tribes being a sixth part of the whole Hebrew host, they besought Moses to permit them to take their inheritance in that district, where in fact they were already settled; for they said that the place was very suitable for cattle to be kept, and fed, and bred in, inasmuch as it was well watered and full of good herbage, and as it produced spontaneously abundant grass for the feeding of sheep. But as he thought that they claimed a sort of right, by some kind of pre-eminence, to receive their share and the honours due to them before their time, or else that they preferred this petition by reason of their being unwilling to encounter the wars which were impending, as there were still many kings who were making ready to attack them, and who were the possessors of all the country inside the river, he was very indignant at their request, and answered them in anger, and said, "Shall you then sit here and enjoy leisure, and yield to indolence at so improper a time? and shall the wars which still threaten us, afflict all your countrymen, and your relations, and your friends, and shall the prizes be given to you alone, as if you had all contributed to the success? And shall battles and wars, and distresses, and the most extreme dangers await others? But it is not just that you should enjoy peace, and the blessings that flow from peace, and that the rest should endure wars and all the other indescribable evils which they bring

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with them, and that the whole should only be looked upon as an adjunct of a part; while, on the contrary, it is for the sake of the whole that the parts are thought worthy of any inheritance at all. Ye are all entitled to equal honour, ye are one race, ye have the same fathers, one house, ye have the same customs, a community of laws, and an infinite number of other things, every one of which binds your kindred closer together, and cements your mutual good will; why then when you are thought worthy of equal shares of the most important and most necessary things, do you show a covetous spirit in the division of the lands, as if you were rulers despising your subjects as masters looking disdainfully on your slaves?" You ought to have derived instruction from the afflictions of others; for it is the part of wise men not to wait till misfortunes come upon themselves. But now, though you have domestic examples in your own fathers, who went and spied out this land, and in the calamities which befell them, and all who participated in their despondency (for they all perished except two), and when, therefore, you ought to take care and avoid resembling them in any respect whatever, still, foolish-minded men that ye are, ye are imitating their cowardice, as if by such conduct you would be more strongly fortified against capture; and you check and damp the eagerness of those who are desirous to display their manhood and valor, relaxing and depressing their spirits; 2therefore, while you are hastening to do wrong, you are also hastening to incur punishment. For justice is always a long time before it can be put in motion, but when it is once put in motion it makes great haste and speedily overtakes those who flee from it. When, therefore, all our enemies are destroyed, and when there is no other war which can be expected or feared as impending, and when all those in our present alliance have been, on examination, found to be without reproach nor liable to any charge of desertion or treachery, or of any misconduct which could possibly tend to our defeat, but shall be seen to have endured steadfastly from the beginning to the end, with their bodily exertion and with all eagerness of mind, and when the whole country is cleared of those who have previously inherited it, then rewards and prizes for valor shall be given to all the tribes with perfect fairness.

60 So they, bearing this rebuke with moderation, as being genuine sons of a very kindly disposed father (for they knew that Moses was not a man to behave insolently because of his power and authority, but one who cared for all of them, and honoured justice and equality, and who hated wickedness, not so as to reproach or insult the wicked, but so as to be constantly endeavoring by admonition and correction to improve those who were susceptible of improvement), said to him, "Very naturally you are indignant, if you imagine that we now are anxious to desert the alliance and to obtain our allotments before the proper time; 2but you must know that we are not alarmed at any undertaking that calls for valorous and virtuous exertion, even though it may be most labourious. And we judge that the task of virtue is to obey you who are such a brave and wise ruler, and not to fear to encounter dangers, and to be willing to bear our share in all future expeditions until all our business is brought to a fortunate conclusion. "We, therefore, as we have agreed before, will remain in our ranks and cross over Jordan in complete armor, giving no soldier any excuse for lagging behind. But our infant children, and our daughters, and wives, and mothers, and the bulk of our cattle, shall, if you have no objection, be left behind, after we have made houses for our children and wives, and stables for our cattle that they may not be exposed to any incursion of the enemy, and so suffer injury from being taken in unwalled and unprotected dwellings." And Moses answered with a mild look and even still gentler voice, "If you speak the truth and behave honestly, the allotments which you have asked for shall remain assured to you. Leave behind you now, as you desire, your wives and children, and flocks and herds, and go yourselves across Jordan in your ranks with the rest of the soldiers in full armor, arrayed for battle, as if you were prepared to fight at once, if it should be needful. And hereafter when all our enemies are destroyed, and when, peace being established, we have made ourselves masters of the whole country, and have begun to divide it among ourselves, then you also shall return to your families to enjoy the good things which belong to you, and to possess the region which you have selected." When Moses had said this, and given them this promise, they were filled with cheerfulness and joy, and established their families in safety as well as their flocks and herds in well fortified and impregnable strongholds, the greater part of which were artificial. And taking their arms they marched forth more cheerfully than any of the rest of the allied forces, as if they alone had been going to fight, or at all events to fight in the first ranks as the champions of the whole army, for he who has received any gift beforehand is more eager in the cause in which he is engaged, since he thinks that he is repaying a necessary debt, and not giving a free gift. I have now, then, given an account of what was done by Moses while invested with kingly power. I must now proceed to relate in order all the actions which he performed in accordance with virtue, and also successfully as a chief priest, and also in his character as a lawgiver; for he also exercised these two powers as very closely connected with his kingly authority.

ON THE LIFE OF MOSES, BOOK 2

1 (The first volume of this treatise relates to the subject of the birth and bringing up of Moses, and also of his education and of his government of his people, which he governed not merely irreproachably, but in so exceedingly praiseworthy a manner; and also of all the affairs, which took place in Egypt, and in the travels and journeyings of the nation, and of the events which happened with respect to their crossing the Red Sea and in the desert, which surpass all power of description; and, moreover, of all the labours which he conducted to a successful issue, and of the inheritances which he distributed in portions to his soldiers. But the book which we are now about to compose relates to the affairs which follow those others in due order, and bear a certain correspondence and connexion with them. (For some persons say, and not without some reason and propriety, that this is the only way by which cities can be expected to advance in improvement, if either the kings cultivate philosophy, or if philosophers exercise the kingly power. But Moses will be seen not only to have displayed all these powers--I mean the genius of the philosopher and of the king--in an extraordinary degree at the same time, but three other powers likewise, one of which is conversant about legislation, the second about the way of discharging the duties of high priest, and the last about the prophetic office; (and it is on these subjects that I have now been constrained to choose to enlarge; for I conceive that all these things have fitly been united in him, inasmuch as in accordance with the providential will of God he was both a king and a lawgiver, and a high priest and a prophet, and because in each office he displayed the most eminent wisdom and virtue. We must now show how it is that every thing is fitly united in him. (It becomes a king to command what ought to be done, and to forbid what ought not to be done; but the commanding what ought to be done, and the prohibition of what ought not to be done, belongs especially to the law, so that the king is at once a living law, and the law is a just king. (But a king and a lawgiver ought to pay attention not only to human things, but also to divine ones, for the affairs of neither kings nor subjects go on well except by the intervention of divine providence; on which account it was necessary that such a man as Moses should enjoy the first priesthood, in order that he might with perfectly conducted sacrifices, and with a perfect knowledge of the proper way to serve God, entreat for a deliverance from evil and for a participation in good, both for himself and for the people whom he was governing, from the merciful God who listens favourably to prayers. (But since there is an infinite variety of both human and divine circumstances which are unknown both to king, and lawgiver, and chief priest, for a man is no less a created and mortal being from having all these offices, or because he is clothed with such a vast and boundless inheritance of honour and happiness, he was also of necessity invested with the gift of prophecy, in order that he might through the providence of God learn all those things which he was unable to comprehend by his own reason; for what the mind is unable to attain to, that prophecy masters. (Therefore the connexion of these four powers is beautiful and harmonious, for being all connected together and united one to another, they unite in concert, receiving and imparting a reciprocity of benefits from and to one another, imitating the virgin graces with whom it is an immutable law of their nature that they cannot be disunited, with respect to whom one might fairly say, what is habitually said of the virtues, that he who has one has them all.

2 (And first of all we must speak of the matters which relate to his character and conduct as a lawgiver. I am not ignorant that the man who desires to be an excellent and perfect lawgiver ought to exercise all the virtues in their complete integrity and perfection, since in the houses of his nation some are near relations and some distant, but still they are all related to one another. And in like manner we must look upon some of the virtues as connected more closely with some matters, and on others as being more removed from them. (Now these four qualities are closely connected with and related to the legislative power, namely, humility, the love of justice, the love of virtue, and the hatred of iniquity; for every individual who has any desire for exercising his talents as a lawgiver is under the influence of each of these feelings. It is the province of humanity to prepare for adoption such opinions as will benefit the common weal, and to teach the advantages which will proceed from them. It is the part of justice to point out how we ought to honour equality, and to assign to every man his due according to his deserts. It is the part of the love of virtue to embrace those things which are by nature good, and to give to every one who deserves them facilities without limit for the most unrestrained enjoyment of happiness. It is also the province of the hatred of iniquity to reject all those who dishonour virtue, and to look upon them as common enemies of the human race. Therefore it is a very great thing if it has fallen to the lot of any one to arrive at any one of the qualities before mentioned, and it is a marvelous thing, as it should seem, for any one man to have been able to grasp them all, which in fact Moses appears to have been the only person who has ever done, having given a very clear description of the aforesaid virtues in the commandments which he established. And those who are well versed in the sacred scriptures know this, for if he had not had these principles innate within him he would never have compiled those scriptures at the promptings of God. And he gave to those who were worthy to use them the most admirable of all possessions, namely, faithful copies and imitations of the original examples which were consecrated and enshrined in the soul, which became the laws which he revealed and established, displaying in the clearest manner the virtues which I have enumerated and described above.

3 But that he himself is the most admirable of all the lawgivers who have ever lived in any country either among the Greeks or among the barbarians, and that his are the most admirable of all laws, and truly divine, omitting no one particular which they ought to comprehend, there is the clearest proof possible in this fact, the laws of other lawgivers, if any one examines them by his reason, he will find to be put in motion in an innumerable multitude of pretexts, either because of wars, or of tyrannies, or of some other unexpected events which come upon nations through the various alterations and innovations of fortune; and very often luxury, abounding in all kind of superfluity and unbounded extravagance, has overturned laws, from the multitude not being able to bear unlimited prosperity, but having a tendency to become insolent through satiety, and insolence is in opposition to law. But the enactments of this lawgiver are firm, not shaken by commotions, not liable to alteration, but stamped as it were with the seal of nature herself, and they remain firm and lasting from the day on which they were first promulgated to the present one, and there may well be a hope that they will remain to all future time, as being immortal, as long as the sun and the moon, and the whole heaven and the whole world shall endure. At all events, though the nation of the Hebrews experienced so many changes both in the direction of prosperity and of the opposite destiny, no one, no not even the very smallest and most unimportant of all his commandments was changed, since every one, as it seems, honoured their venerable and godlike character; and what neither famine, nor pestilence, nor war, nor sovereign, nor tyrant, nor the rise of any passions or evil feelings against either soul or body, nor any other evil, whether inflicted by God or deriving its rise from men, ever dissolved, can surely never be looked upon by us in any other light than as objects of all admiration, and beyond all powers of description in respect of their excellence.

4 But this is not so entirely wonderful, although it may fairly by itself be considered a thing of great intrinsic importance, that his laws were kept securely and immutably from all time; but this is more wonderful by far, as it seems, that not only the Jews, but that also almost every other nation, and especially those who make the greatest account of virtue, have dedicated themselves to embrace and honour them, for they have received this especial honour above all other codes of laws, which is not given to any other code. And a proof of this is to be found in the fact that of all the cities in Greece and in the territory of the barbarians, if one may so say, speaking generally, there is not one single city which pays any respect to the laws of another state. In fact, a city scarcely adheres to its own laws with any constancy for ever, but continually modifies them, and adapts them to the changes of times and circumstances. The Athenians rejected the customs and laws of the Lacedaemonians, and so did the Lacedaemonians repudiate the laws of the Athenians. Nor, again, in the countries of the barbarians do the Egyptians keep the laws of the Scythians, nor do the Scythians keep the laws of the Egyptians; nor, in short, do those who live in Asia attend to the laws which obtain in Europe, nor do the inhabitants of Europe respect the laws of the Asiatic nations. And, in short, it is very nearly an universal rule, from the rising of the sun to its extreme west, that every country, and nation, and city, is alienated from the laws and customs of foreign nations and states, and that they think that they are adding to the estimation in which they hold their own laws by despising those in use among other nations. But this is not the case with our laws which Moses has given to us; for they lead after them and influence all nations, barbarians, and Greeks, the inhabitants of continents and islands, the eastern nations and the western, Europe and Asia; in short, the whole habitable world from one extremity to the other. For what man is there who does not honour that sacred seventh day, granting in consequence a relief and relaxation from labour, for himself and for all those who are near to him, and that not to free men only, but also to slaves, and even to beasts of burden; for the holiday extends even to every description of animal, and to every beast whatever which performs service to man, like slaves obeying their natural master, and it affects even every species of plant and tree; for there is no shoot, and no branch, and no leaf even which it is allowed to cut or to pluck on that day, nor any fruit which it is lawful to gather; but everything is at liberty and in safety on that day, and

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enjoys, as it were, perfect freedom, no one ever touching them, in obedience to a universal proclamation. Again, who is there who does not pay all due respect and honour to that which is called "the fast," and especially to that great yearly one which is of a more austere and venerable character than the ordinary solemnity at the full moon? on which, indeed, much pure wine is drunk, and costly entertainments are provided, and everything which relates to eating and drinking is supplied in the most unlimited profusion, by which the insatiable pleasures of the belly are inflamed and increased. But on this fast it is not lawful to take any food or any drink, in order that no bodily passion may at all disturb or hinder the pure operations of the mind; but these passions are wont to be generated by fulness and satiety, so that at this time men feast, propitiating the Father of the universe with holy prayers, by which they are accustomed to solicit pardon for their former sins, and the acquisition and enjoyment of new blessings.

5 And that beauty and dignity of the legislation of Moses is honoured not among the Jews only, but also by all other nations, is plain, both from what has been already said and from what I am about to state. In olden time the laws were written in the Chaldaean language, and for a long time they remained in the same condition as at first, not changing their language as long as their beauty had not made them known to other nations; but when, from the daily and uninterrupted respect shown to them by those to whom they had been given, and from their ceaseless observance of their ordinances, other nations also obtained an understanding of them, their reputation spread over all lands; for what was really good, even though it may through envy be overshadowed for a short time, still in time shines again through the intrinsic excellence of its nature. Some persons, thinking it a scandalous thing that these laws should only be known among one half portion of the human race, namely, among the barbarians, and that the Greek nation should be wholly and entirely ignorant of them, turned their attention to their translation. And since this undertaking was an important one, tending to the general advantage, not only of private persons, but also of rulers, of whom the number was not great, it was entrusted to kings and to the most illustrious of all kings. Ptolemy, surnamed Philadelphus, was the third in succession after Alexander, the monarch who subdued Egypt; and he was, in all virtues which can be displayed in government, the most excellent sovereign, not only of all those of his time, but of all that ever lived; so that even now, after the lapse of so many generations, his fame is still celebrated, as having left many instances and monuments of his magnanimity in the cities and districts of his kingdom, so that even now it is come to be a sort of proverbial expression to call excessive magnificence, and zeal, for honour and splendour in preparation, Philadelphian, from his name; and, in a word, the whole family of the Ptolemies was exceedingly eminent and conspicuous above all other royal families, and among the Ptolemies, Philadelphus was the most illustrious; for all the rest put together scarcely did as many glorious and praiseworthy actions as this one king did by himself, being, as it were, the leader of the herd, and in a manner the head of all the kings.

6 He, then, being a sovereign of this character, and having conceived a great admiration for and love of the legislation of Moses, conceived the idea of having our laws translated into the Greek language; and immediately he sent out ambassadors to the high-priest and king of Judea, for they were the same person. And having explained his wishes, and having requested him to pick him out a number of men, of perfect fitness for the task, who should translate the law, the high-priest, as was natural, being greatly pleased, and thinking that the king had only felt the inclination to undertake a work of such a character from having been influenced by the providence of God, considered, and with great care selected the most respectable of the Hebrews whom he had about him, who in addition to their knowledge of their national scriptures, had also been well instructed in Grecian literature, and cheerfully sent them. And when they arrived at the king's court they were hospitably received by the king; and while they feasted, they in return feasted their entertainer with witty and virtuous conversation; for he made experiment of the wisdom of each individual among them, putting to them a succession of new and extraordinary questions; and they, since the time did not allow of their being prolix in their answers, replied with great propriety and fidelity as if they were delivering apophthegms which they had already prepared. So when they had won his approval, they immediately began to fulfil the objects for which that honourable embassy had been sent; and considering among themselves how important the affair was, to translate laws which had been divinely given by direct inspiration, since they were not able either to take away anything, or to add anything, or to alter anything, but were bound to preserve the original form and character of the whole composition, they looked out for the most completely purified place of all the spots on the outside of the city. For the places within the walls, as being filled with all kinds of animals, were held in suspicion by them by reason of the diseases and deaths of some, and the accursed actions of those who were in health. The island of Pharos lies in front of Alexandria, the neck of which runs out like a sort of tongue towards the city, being surrounded with water of no great depth, but chiefly with shoals and shallow water, so that the great noise and roaring from the beating of the waves is kept at a considerable distance, and so mitigated. They judged this place to be the most suitable of all the spots in the neighbourhood for them to enjoy quiet and tranquility in, so that they might associate with the laws alone in their minds; and there they remained, and having taken the sacred scriptures, they lifted up them and their hands also to heaven, entreating of God that they might not fail in their object. And he assented to their prayers, that the greater part, or indeed the universal race of mankind might be benefited, by using these philosophical and entirely beautiful commandments for the correction of their lives.

7 Therefore, being settled in a secret place, and nothing even being present with them except the elements of nature, the earth, the water, the air, and the heaven, concerning the creation of which they were going in the first place to explain the sacred account; for the account of the creation of the world is the beginning of the law; they, like men inspired, prophesied, not one saying one thing and another another, but every one of them employed the self-same nouns and verbs, as if some unseen prompter had suggested all their language to them. And yet who is there who does not know that every language, and the Greek language above all others, is rich in a variety of words, and that it is possible to vary a sentence and to paraphrase the same idea, so as to set it forth in a great variety of manners, adapting many different forms of expression to it at different times. But this, they say, did not happen at all in the case of this translation of the law, but that, in every case, exactly corresponding Greek words were employed to translate literally the appropriate Chaldaic words, being adapted with exceeding propriety to the matters which were to be explained; for just as I suppose the things which are proved in geometry and logic do not admit any variety of explanation, but the proposition which was set forth from the beginning remains unaltered, in like manner I conceive did these men find words precisely and literally corresponding to the things, which words were alone, or in the greatest possible degree, destined to explain with clearness and force the matters which it was desired to reveal. And there is a very evident proof of this; for if Chaldaeans were to learn the Greek language, and if Greeks were to learn Chaldaean, and if each were to meet with those scriptures in both languages, namely, the Chaldaic and the translated version, they would admire and reverence them both as sisters, or rather as one and the same both in their facts and in their language; considering these translators not mere interpreters but hierophants and prophets to whom it had been granted it their honest and guileless minds to go along with the most pure spirit of Moses. On which account, even to this very day, there is every year a solemn assembly held and a festival celebrated in the island of Pharos, to which not only the Jews but a great number of persons of other nations sail across, reverencing the place in which the first light of interpretation shone forth, and thanking God for that ancient piece of beneficence which was always young and fresh. And after the prayers and the giving of thanks some of them pitched their tents on the shore, and some of them lay down without any tents in the open air on the sand of the shore, and feasted with their relations and friends, thinking the shore at that time a more beautiful abode than the furniture of the king's palace. In this way those admirable, and incomparable, and most desirable laws were made known to all people, whether private individuals or kings, and this too at a period when the nation had not been prosperous for a long time. And it is generally the case that a cloud is thrown over the affairs of those who are not flourishing, so that but little is known of them; and then, if they make any fresh start and begin to improve, how great is the increase of their renown and glory? I think that in that case every nation, abandoning all their own individual customs, and utterly disregarding their national laws, would change and come over to the honour of such a people only; for their laws shining in connexion with, and simultaneously with, the prosperity of the nation, will obscure all others, just as the rising sun obscures the stars.

8 Now what has been here said is quite sufficient for the abundant praise of Moses as a lawgiver. But there is another more extensive praise which his own holy writings themselves contain, and it is to them that we must now turn for the purpose of exhibiting the virtue of him who compiled them. Now these writings of Moses may be divided into several parts; one of which is the historical part, another is occupied with commands and prohibitions, respecting which part we will speak at some other time when we have first of all accurately examined that part which comes first in the order of our division. Again, the historical part may be subdivided into the account of the creation of the world, and the genealogical part. And the genealogical part, or the history of the different families, may be divided into the accounts of the punishment of the wicked, and of the honours bestowed on the just; we must also explain on what account it was that he began his history of the giving of the law with these particulars, and placed the commandments and prohibitions in the second order; for he was not like any ordinary compiler of history, studying to leave behind him records of ancient transactions as memorials to future ages for the mere sake of affording pleasure without any advantage; but he traced back the most ancient events from the beginning of the world, commencing with the creation of the universe, in order to make known two most necessary principles. First, that the same being was the father and creator of the world, and likewise the lawgiver of truth; secondly, that the man who adhered to these laws, and clung closely to a connexion with and obedience to nature, would live in a manner corresponding to the arrangement of the universe with a perfect harmony and union, between his words and his actions and between his actions and his words.

9 Now of all other lawgivers, some the moment that they have promulgated positive commands as to what it is right to do and what it is right not to do, proceed to appoint punishments for those who transgress those laws; but others, who appear to have proceeded on a better plan, have not begun in this manner, but, having first of all built and established their city in accordance with reason, have then adapted to this city which they have built, that constitution which they have considered the best adapted and most akin to it, and have confirmed this constitution by the giving of laws. But he, thinking the first of the two courses above mentioned to be tyrannical and despotic, as indeed it is, namely, that of laying positive commands on persons as if they were not free men but slaves, without offering them any alleviation; and that the second course was better indeed, but was not entirely to be commended, must appear to all judges to be superior in each of the above considerations. For both in his commandments and also in his prohibitions he suggests and recommends rather than commands, endeavoring with many prefaces and perorations to suggest the greater part of the precepts that he desires to enforce, desiring rather to allure men to virtue than to drive them to it, and looking upon the foundation and beginning of a city made with hands, which he has made the commencement of his work a commencement beneath the dignity of his laws, looking rather with the most accurate eye of his mind at the importance and beauty of his whole legislative system, and thinking it too excellent and too divine to be limited as it were by any circle of things on earth; and therefore he has related the creation of that great metropolis, the world, thinking his laws the most fruitful image and likeness of the constitution of the whole world.

10 At all events if any one were inclined to examine with accuracy the powers of each individual and particular law, he will find them all aiming at the harmony of the universe, and corresponding to the law of eternal nature: on which account those men who have had unbounded prosperity bestowed upon them, and all things tending to the production of health of body, and riches, and glory, and all other external parts of good fortune, but who have rejected virtue, and have chosen crafty wickedness, and all others kinds of vice, not through compulsion, but of their own spontaneous free will, looking upon that which is the greatest of all evils as the greatest possible advantage, he looks upon as enemies not of mankind only, but of the entire heaven and world, and says that they are awaiting, not any ordinary punishments, but new and extraordinary ones, which that constant assessor of God, justice, who detests wickedness, invents and inflicts terribly upon them, turning against them the most powerful elements of the universe, water and fire, so that at appointed times some are destroyed by deluges, others are burnt with fire, and perish in that manner. The seas were raised up, and the rivers both such as flow everlastingly, and the winter torrents were swollen and washed away, and carried off all the cities in the plain; and those in the mountain country were destroyed by incessant and irresistible impetuosity of rain, ceasing neither by day nor by night, and when at a subsequent period the race of mankind had again increased from those who had been spared, and had become very numerous, since the succeeding generations did not take the calamities which had befallen their ancestors as a lesson to teach themselves wisdom and moderation, but turned to acts of intemperance and became studiers of evil practices, God determined to destroy them with fire. Therefore on this occasion, as the holy scriptures tell us, thunderbolts fell from heaven, and burnt up those wicked men and their cities; and even to this day there are seen in Syria monuments of the unprecedented destruction that fell upon them, in the ruins, and ashes, and sulphur, and smoke, and dusky flame which still is sent up from the ground as of a fire smouldering beneath; and in this way it came to pass that those wicked men were punished with the aforesaid chastisements, while those who were eminent for virtue and piety were well off, receiving rewards worthy of their virtue. But when the whole of that district was thus burnt, inhabitants and all, by the impetuous rush of the heavenly fire, one single man in the country, a sojourner, was preserved by the providence of God because he had never shared in the transgressions of the natives, though sojourners in general were in the habit of adopting the customs of the foreign nations, among which they might be settled, for the sake of

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their own safety, since, if they despised them, they might be in danger from the inhabitants of the land. And yet this man had not attained to any perfection of wisdom, so as to be thought worthy of such an honour by reason of the perfect excellence of his nature; but he was spared only because he did not join the multitude who were inclined to luxury and effeminacy, and who pursued every kind of pleasure and indulged every kind of appetite, gratifying them abundantly, and inflaming them as one might inflame fire by heaping upon it plenty of rough fuel.

11 But in the great deluge I may almost say that the whole of the human race was destroyed, while the history tells us that the house of Noah alone was preserved free from all evil, inasmuch as the father and governor of the house was a man who had never committed any intentional or voluntary wickedness. And it is worth while to relate the manner of his preservation as the sacred scriptures deliver it to us, both on account of the extraordinary character of it, and also that it may lead to an improvement in our own dispositions and lives. For he, being considered a fit man, not only to be exempted from the common calamity which was to overwhelm the world, but also to be himself the beginning of a second generation of men, in obedience to the divine commands which were conveyed to him by the word of God, built a most enormous fabric of wood, three hundred cubits in length, and fifty in width, and thirty in height, and having prepared a number of connected chambers within it, both on the ground floor and in the upper story, the whole building consisting of three, and in some parts of four stories, and having prepared food, brought into it some of every description of animals, beasts and also birds, both male and female, in order to preserve a means of propagating the different species in the times that should come hereafter; for he knew that the nature of God was merciful, and that even if the subordinate species were destroyed, still there would be a germ in the entire genus which should be safe from destruction, for the sake of preserving a similitude to those animals which had hitherto existed, and of preventing anything that had been deliberately called into existence from being utterly destroyed.

12 On which account everything was now made obedient to Noah; and even beasts, which up to that time had been savage, became gentle, and being tamed, followed him as their shepherd and superintendent; and after they had all entered into the ark, if any one had beheld the entire collection, he would not have been wrong if he had said that it was a representation of the whole earth, containing, as it did, every kind of animal, of which the whole earth had previously produced innumerable species, and will hereafter produce such again. And what was expected happened at no long period after; for the evil abated, and the destruction caused by the deluge was diminished every day, the rain being checked, and the water which had been spread over the whole earth, being partly dried up by the flame of the sun, and partly returning into the chasms and rivers, and other channels and receptacles in the earth; for, as if God had issued a command to that effect, every nature received back, as a necessary repayment of a loan, what it had lent, that is, every sea, and fountain, and river, received back their waters; and every stream returned into its appropriate channel. But after the purification, in this way, of all the things beneath the moon, the earth being thus washed and appearing new again, and such as it appeared to be when it was at first created, along with the entire universe, Noah came forth out of his wooden edifice, himself and his wife, and his sons and their wives, and with his family there came forth likewise, in one company, all the races of animals which had gone in with them, in order to the generation and propagation of similar creatures in future. These are the rewards and honours for pre-eminent excellence given to good men, by means of which, not only did they themselves and their families obtain safety, having escaped from the greatest dangers which were thus aimed against all men all over the earth, by the change in the character of the elements; but they became also the founders of a new generation, and the chiefs of a second period of the world, being left behind as sparks of the most excellent kind of creatures, namely, of men, man having received the supremacy over all earthly creatures whatsoever, being a kind of copy of the powers of God, a visible image of his invisible nature, a created image of an uncreated and immortal Original.

13 We have already, then, gone through two parts of the life of Moses, discussing his character in his capacity of a king and of a lawgiver. We must now consider him in a third light, as fulfilling the office of the priesthood. Now this man, Moses, practiced beyond all other men that which is the most important and most indispensable virtue in a chief priest, namely, piety, partly because he was endowed with most admirable natural qualities; and philosophy, receiving his nature like a fertile field, cultivated and improved it by the contemplation of excellent and beautiful doctrines, and did not dismiss it until all the fruits of virtue were brought to perfection in him, in respect of words and actions. Therefore he, with a few other men, was dear to God and devoted to God, being inspired by heavenly love, and honouring the Father of the universe above all things, and being in return honoured by him in a particular manner. And it was an honour well adapted to the wise man to be allowed to serve the true and living God. Now the priesthood has for its duty the service of God. Of this honour, then, Moses was thought worthy, than which there is no greater honour in the whole world, being instructed by the sacred oracles of God in everything that related to the sacred offices and ministrations.

14 But, in the first place, before assuming that office, it was necessary for him to purify not only his soul but also his body, so that it should be connected with and defiled by no passion, but should be pure from everything which is of a mortal nature, from all meat and drink, and from all connexion with women. And this last thing, indeed, he had despised for a long time, and almost from the first moment that he began to prophesy and to feel a divine inspiration, thinking that it was proper that he should at all times be ready to give his whole attention to the commands of God. And how he neglected all meat and drink for forty days together, evidently because he had more excellent food than that in those contemplations with which he was inspired from above from heaven, by which also he was improved in the first instance in his mind, and, secondly, in his body, through his soul, increasing in strength and health both of body and soul, so that those who saw him afterwards could not believe that he was the same person. For, having gone up into the loftiest and most sacred mountain in that district in accordance with the divine commands, a mountain which was very difficult of access and very hard to ascend, he is said to have remained there all that time without eating any of that food even which is necessary for life; and, as I said before, he descended again forty days afterwards, being much more beautiful in his face than when he went up, so that those who saw him wondered and were amazed, and could no longer endure to look upon him with their eyes, inasmuch as his countenance shone like the light of the sun.

15 And while he was still abiding in the mountain he was initiated in the sacred will of God, being instructed in all the most important matters which relate to his priesthood, those which come first in order being the commands of God respecting the building of a temple and all its furniture. If, then, they had already occupied the country into which they were migrating, it would have been necessary for them to have erected a most magnificent temple of the most costly stone in some place unincumbered with wood, and to have built vast walls around it, and abundant and wellfurnished houses for the keepers of the temple, calling the place itself the holy city. But, as they were still wandering in the wilderness, it was more suitable for people who had as yet no settled habitation to have a moveable temple, that so, in all their journeyings, and military expeditions, and encampments, they might be able to offer up sacrifices, and might not feel the want of any of the things which related to their holy ministrations, and which those who dwell in cities require to have. Therefore Moses now determined to build a tabernacle, a most holy edifice, the furniture of which he was instructed how to supply by precise commands from God, given to him while he was on the mount, contemplating with his soul the incorporeal patterns of bodies which were about to be made perfect, in due similitude to which he was bound to make the furniture, that it might be an imitation perceptible by the outward senses of an archetypal sketch and pattern, appreciable only by the intellect; for it was suitable and consistent for the task of preparing and furnishing the temple to be entrusted to the real high priest, that he might with all due perfection and propriety make all his ministrations in the performance of his sacred duties correspond to the works which he was now to make.

16 Therefore the general form of the model was stamped upon the mind of the prophet, being accurately painted and fashioned beforehand invisibly without any materials, in species which were not apparent to the eye; and the completion of the work was made in the similitude of the model, the maker giving an accurate representation of the impression in material substances corresponding to each part of the model, and the fashion of the building was as follows. There were eight and forty pillars of cedar, which is the most incorruptible of all woods, cut out of solid trunks of great beauty, and they were all veneered with gold of great thickness. Then under each pillar there were placed two silver pedestals to support it, and on the top of each was placed one golden capital; and of these pillars the architect arranged forty along the length of the tabernacle, one half of them, or twenty, on each side, placing nothing between them, but arranging them and uniting them all in regular order, and close together, so that they might present the appearance of one solid wall; and he ranged the other eight along the inner breadth, placing six in the middle space, and two at the extreme corners, one on each side at the right and left of the centre. Again, at the entrance he placed four others, like the first in all other respects except that they had only one pedestal instead of two, as those opposite to them had, and behind them he placed five more on the outside differing only in the pedestals, for the pedestals of these last were made of brass. So that all the pillars of the tabernacle taken together, besides the two at the corners which could not be seen, were fifty-five in number, all conspicuous, being the number made by the addition of all the numbers from the unit to the complete and perfect decade. And if any were inclined to count those five pillars of the outer vestibule in the open air separately, as being in the outer court as it was called, there will then be left that most holy number of fifty, being the power of a rectangular triangle, which is the foundation of the creation of the universe, and is here entirely completed by the pillars inside the tabernacle; there being first of all forty, twenty on either side, and those in the middle being six, without counting those which were out of sight and concealed at the corners, and those opposite to the entrance, from which the veil was suspended, being four; and the reason for which I reckon the other five with the first fifty, and again why I separate them from the fifty, I will now explain. The number five is the number of the external senses, and the external sense in man at one time inclines towards external things, and at another time comes back again upon the mind, being as it were a kind of handmaid of the laws of its nature; on which account it is that the architect has here allotted a central position to the five pillars, for those which are inside of them leant towards the innermost shrine of the tabernacle, which under a symbol is appreciable only by the intellect; and the outermost pillars, which are in the open air, and in the outer courtyard, and which are also perceptible by the external senses, in reference to which fact it is that they are said to have differed from the others only in the pedestals, for they were made of brass. But since the mind is the principal thing in us, having an authority over the external senses, and since that which is an object of the external senses is the extremity, and as it were the pedestal or foundation of it, the architect has likened the mind to gold, and the object of the external sense to brass. And these are the measures of the pillars, they are ten cubits in length, and five cubits and a half in width, in order that the tabernacle may be seen to be of equal dimensions in all its parts.

17 Moreover the architect surrounded the tabernacle with very beautiful woven work of all kinds, employing work of hyacinth colour, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen for the tapestry; for he caused to be wrought ten cloths, which in the sacred scriptures he has called curtains, of the kinds which I have just mentioned, every one of them being eight and twenty cubits in length, and extending four cubits in width, in order that the complete number of the decade, and also the number four, which is the essence of the decade, and also the number twenty-eight, which is likewise a perfect number, being equal to its parts; and also the number forty, the most prolific and productive of all numbers, in which number they say that man was fashioned in the workshop of nature. Therefore the eight and twenty cubits of the curtains have this distribution: there are ten along the roof, for that is the width of the tabernacle, and the rest are placed along the sides, on each side nine, which are extended so as to cover and conceal the pillars, one cubit from the floor being left uncovered in order that the beautiful and holy looking embroidery might not be dragged. And of the forty which are included in the calculation and made up of the width of the ten curtains, the length takes thirty, for such is the length of the tabernacle, and the chamber behind takes nine. And the remaining one is in the outer vestibule, that it may be the bond to unite the whole circumference. And the outer vestibule is overshadowed by the veil; and the curtains themselves are nearly the same as veils, not only because they cover the roof and the walls, but also because they are woven and embroidered by the same figures, and with hyacinth colour, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen. And the veil, and that thing, too, which was called the covering, was made of the same things. That which was within was placed along the five pillars, that the innermost shrine might be concealed; and that which was outside being placed along the five pillars, that no one of those who were not holy men might be able from any secret or distant place to behold the holy rites and ceremonies.

18 Moreover, he chose the materials of this embroidery, selecting with great care what was most excellent out of an infinite quantity, choosing materials equal in number to the elements of which the world was made, and having a direct relation to them; the elements being the earth and the water, and the air and the fire. For the fine flax is produced from the earth, and the purple from the water, and the hyacinth colour is compared to the air (for, by nature, it is black), and the scarlet is likened to fire, because each is of a red colour; for it followed of necessity that those who were preparing a temple made by hands for the Father and Ruler of the universe must take essences similar to those of which he made the universe itself. Therefore the tabernacle was built in the manner that has been here described, like a holy temple. And all around it a sacred precinct extended a hundred cubits in length and fifty cubits in width, having pillars all placed at an equal distance of five cubits from one another, so that there were in all sixty pillars; and they were divided so that forty were placed along the length and twenty along the breadth of the tabernacle, one half on each side. And the material of which the pillars were composed was cedar within, and on the surface without silver; and the pedestals of all of them were made of brass, and

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the height was equal to five cubits. For it seemed to the architect to be proper to make the height of what was called the hall equal to one half of the entire length, that so the tabernacle might appear to be elevated to double its real height. And there were thin curtains fitted to the pillars along their entire length and breadth, resembling so many sails, in order that no one might be able to enter in who was not pure.

19 And the situation was as follows. In the middle was placed a tent, being in length thirty cubits and in width ten cubits, including the depth of the pillars. And it was distant from the centre space by three intervals of equal distance, two being at the sides and one along the back chamber. And the interval between was by measurement twenty cubits. But along the vestibule, as was natural, by reason of the number of those who entered, the distance between them was increased and extended to fifty cubits and more; for in this way the hundred pillars of the hall were intended to be made up, twenty being along the chamber behind, and those which the tent contained, thirty in number, being included in the same calculation with the fifty at the entrances; for the outer vestibule of the tabernacle was placed as a sort of boundary in the middle of the two fifties, the one, I mean, towards the east where the entrance was, and the other being on the west, in which direction the length of the tabernacle and the surrounding wall behind was. Moreover, another outer vestibule, of great size and exceeding beauty, was made at the beginning of the entrance into the hall, by means of four pillars, along which was stretched the embroidered curtain in the same manner as the inner curtains were stretched along the tabernacle, and wrought also of similar materials; and with this there were also many sacred vessels made, an ark, and a candlestick, and a table, and an altar of incense, and an altar of sacrifice. Now, the altar of sacrifice was placed in the open air, right opposite to the entrances of the tabernacle, being distant from it just so far as was necessary to give the ministering officers room to perform the sacrifices that were offered up every day. 20 But the ark was in the innermost shrine, in the inaccessible holy of holies, behind curtains; being gilded in a most costly and magnificent manner within and without, the covering of which was like to that which is called in the sacred scriptures the mercy-seat. Its length and width are accurately described, but its depth is not mentioned, being chiefly compared to and resembling a geometrical superficies; so that it appears to be an emblem, if looked at physically, of the merciful power of God; and, if regarded in a moral point of view, of a certain intellect spontaneously propitious to itself, which is especially desirous to contract and destroy, by means of the love of simplicity united with knowledge, that vain opinion which raises itself up to an unreasonable height and puffs itself up without any grounds. But the ark is the depository of the laws, for in that are placed the holy oracles of God, which were given to Moses; and the covering of the ark, which is called the mercy-seat, is a foundation for two winged creatures to rest upon, which are called, in the native language of the Hebrews, cherubim, but as the Greeks would translate the word, vast knowledge and science. Now some persons say, that these cherubim are the symbols of the two hemispheres, placed opposite to and fronting one another, the one beneath the earth and the other above the earth, for the whole heaven is endowed with wings. But I myself should say, that what is here represented under a figure are the two most ancient and supreme powers of the divine God, namely, his creative and his kingly power; and his creative power is called God; according to which he arranged, and created, and adorned this universe, and his kingly power is called Lord, by which he rules over the beings whom he has created, and governs them with justice and firmness; for he, being the only true living God, is also really the Creator of the world; since he brought things which had no existence into being; and he is also a king by nature, because no one can rule over beings that have been created more justly than he who created them.

21 And in the space between the five pillars and the four pillars, is that space which is, properly speaking, the space before the temple, being cut off by two curtains of woven work, the inner one of which is called the veil, and the outer one is called the covering: and the remaining three vessels, of those which I have enumerated, were placed as follows:--The altar of incense was placed in the middle, between earth and water, as a symbol of gratitude, which it was fitting should be offered up, on account of the things that had been done for the Hebrews on both these elements, for these elements have had the central situation of the world allotted to them. The candlestick was placed on the southern side of the tabernacle, since by it the maker intimates, in a figurative manner, the motions of the stars which give light; for the sun, and the moon, and the rest of the stars, being all at a great distance from the northern parts of the universe, make all their revolutions in the south. And from this candlestick there proceeded six branches, three on each side, projecting from the candlestick in the centre, so as altogether to complete the number of seven; and in all the seven there were seven candles and seven lights, being symbols of those seven stars which are called planets by those men who are versed in natural philosophy; for the sun, like the candlestick, being placed in the middle of the other six, in the fourth rank, gives light to the three planets which are above him, and to those of equal number which are below him, adapting to circumstances the musical and truly divine instrument.

22 And the table, on which bread and salt are laid, was placed on the northern side, since it is the north which is the most productive of winds, and because too all nourishment proceeds from heaven and earth, the one giving rain, and the other bringing to perfection all seeds by means of the irrigation of water; for the symbols of heaven and earth are placed side by side, as the holy scripture shows, the candlestick being the symbol of heaven, and that which is truly called the altar of incense, on which all the fumigatory offerings are made, being the emblem of the things of earth. But it became usual to call the altar which was in the open air the altar of sacrifice, as being that which preserved and took care of the sacrifices; intimating, figuratively, the consuming power of these things, and not the lambs and different parts of the victims which were offered, and which were naturally calculated to be destroyed by fire, but the intention of him who offered them; for if the man who made the offerings was foolish and ignorant, the sacrifices were no sacrifices, the victims were not sacred or hallowed, the prayers were ill-omened, and liable to be answered by utter destruction, for even when they appear to be received, they produce no remission of sins but only a reminding of them. But if the man who offers the sacrifice be bold and just, then the sacrifice remains firm, even if the flesh of the victim be consumed, or rather, I might say, even if no victim be offered up at all; for what can be a real and true sacrifice but the piety of a soul which loves God? The gratitude of which is blessed with immortality, and without being recorded in writing is engraved on a pillar in the mind of God, being made equally everlasting with the sun, and moon, and the universal world.

23 After these things the architect of the tabernacle next prepared a sacred dress for him who was to be appointed high priest, having in its embroidery a most exceedingly beautiful and admirable work; and the robe was two-fold; one part of which was called the under-robe, and the other the robe over the shoulders. Now the under-robe was of a more simple form and character, for it was entirely of hyacinthine colours, except the lowest and exterior portions, and these were ornamented with golden pomegranates, and bells, and wreaths of flowers; but the robe over the shoulders or mantle was a most beautiful and skilful work, and was made with most perfect skill of all the aforesaid kinds of material, of hyacinth colour, and purple, and fine linen, and scarlet, gold thread being entwined and embroidered in it. For the leaves were divided into fine hairs, and woven in with every thread, and on the collar stones were fitted in, two being costly emeralds of exceeding value, on which the names of the patriarchs of the tribes were engraved, six on each, making twelve in all; and on the breast were twelve other precious stones, differing in colour like seals, in four rows of three stones each, and these were fitted in what was called the logeum and the logeum was made square and double, as a sort of foundation, that it mighty bear on it, as an image, two virtues, manifestation and truth; and the whole was fastened to the mantle by fine golden chains, and fastened to it so that it might never get loose; and a golden leaf was wrought like a crown, having four names engraved on it which may only be mentioned or heard by holy men having their ears and their tongues purified by wisdom, and by no one else at all in any place whatever. And this holy prophet Moses calls the name, a name of four letters, making them perhaps symbols of the primary numbers, the unit, the number two, the number three, the number four: since all things are comprised in the number four, namely, a point, and a line, and a superficies, and a solid, and the measures of all things, and the most excellent symphonies of music, and the diatessaron in the sesquitertial proportion, and the chord in fifths, in the ratio of one and a half to one, and the diapason in the double ratio, and the double diapason in the fourfold ratio. Moreover, the number four has an innumerable list of other virtues likewise, the greater part of which we have discussed with accuracy in our dissertation on numbers. And in it there was a mitre, in order that the leaf might not touch the head; and there was also a cidaris made, for the kings of the eastern countries are accustomed to use a cidaris, instead of a diadem.

24 Such, then, is the dress of the high priest. But we must not omit to mention the signification which it conceals beneath both in its whole and in its parts. In its whole it is a copy and representation of the world; and the parts are a representation of the separate parts of the world. And we must begin with the long robe reaching down to the feet of the wearer. This tunic is wholly of the colour of a hyacinth, so as to be a representation of the air; for by nature the air is black, and in a measure it reaches down from the highest parts to the feet, being stretched from the parts about the moon, as far as the extremities of the earth, and being diffused everywhere. On which account also, the tunic reaches from the chest to the feet, and is spread over the whole body, and unto it there is attached a fringe of pomegranates round the ankles, and flowers, and bells. Now the flowers are an emblem of the earth; for it is from the earth that all flowers spring and bloom; but the pomegranates (rhoiskoi) are a symbol of water, since, indeed, they derive their name from the flowing (rhysis) of water, being very appropriately named; and the bells are the emblem of the concord and harmony that exist between these things; for neither is the earth without the water, nor the water without the earthly substance, sufficient for the production of anything; but that can only be effected by the meeting and combination of both. 2And the place itself is the most distinct possible evidence of what is here meant to be expressed; for as the pomegranates, and the flowers, and the bells, are placed in the hem of the garment which reaches to the feet, so likewise the things of which they are the symbols, namely, the earth and water, have had the lowest position in the world assigned to them, and being in strict accord with the harmony of the universe, they display their own particular powers in definite periods of time and suitable seasons. 2Now of the three elements, out of which and in which all the different kinds of things which are perceptible by the outward senses and perishable are formed, namely, the air, the water and the earth, the garment which reached down to the feet in conjunction with the ornaments which were attached to that part of it which was about the ankles have been plainly shown to be appropriate symbols; for as the tunic is one, and as the aforesaid three elements are all of one species, since they all have all their revolutions and changes beneath the moon, and as to the garment are attached the pomegranates, and the flowers; so also in certain manner the earth and the water may be said to be attached to and suspended from the air, for the air is their chariot. 2And our argument will be able to bring forth twenty probable reasons that the mantle over the shoulders is an emblem of heaven. For in the first place, the two emeralds on the shoulderblades, which are two round stones, are, in the opinion of some persons who have studied the subject, emblems of those stars which are the rulers of night and day, namely, the sun and moon; or rather, as one might argue with more correctness and a nearer approach to truth, they are the emblems of the two hemispheres; for, like those two stones, the portion below the earth and that over the earth are both equal, and neither of them is by nature adapted to be either increased or diminished like the moon. And the colour of the stars is an additional evidence in favour of my view; for to the glance of the eye the appearance of the heaven does resemble an emerald; and it follows necessarily that six names are engraved on each of the stones, because each of the hemispheres cuts the zodiac in two parts, and in this way comprehends within itself six animals. Then the twelve stones on the breast, which are not like one another in colour, and which are divided into four rows of three stones in each, what else can they be emblems of, except of the circle of the zodiac? For that also is divided into four parts, each consisting of three animals, by which divisions it makes up the seasons of the year, spring, summer, autumn, and winter, distinguishing the four changes, the two solstices, and the two equinoxes, each of which has its limit of three signs of this zodiac, by the revolutions of the sun, according to that unchangeable, and most lasting, and really divine ratio which exists in numbers; 2on which account they attached it to that which is with great propriety called the logeum. For all the changes of the year and the seasons are arranged by well-defined, and stated, and firm reason; and, though this seems a most extraordinary and incredible thing, by their seasonable changes they display their undeviating and everlasting permanence and durability. And it is said with great correctness, and exceeding beauty also, that the twelve stones all differ in their colour, and that no one of them resembles the other; for also in the zodiac each animal produces that colour which is akin to and belongs to itself, both in the air, and in the earth, and in the water; and it produces it likewise in all the affections which move them, and in all kinds of animals and of plants.

25 And this logeum is described as double with great correctness; for reason is double, both in the universe and also in the nature of mankind, in the universe there is that reason which is conversant about incorporeal species which are like patterns as it were, from which that world which is perceptible only by the intellect was made, and also that which is concerned with the visible objects of sight, which are copies and imitations of those species above mentioned, of which the world which is perceptible by the outward senses was made. Again, in man there is one reason which is kept back, and another which finds vent in utterance: and the one is, as it were a spring, and the other (that which is uttered) flows from it; and the place of the one is the dominant part, that is, the mind; but the place of the one which finds vent in utterance is the tongue, and the mouth, and all the rest of the organs of the voice. 2And the architect assigned a quadrangular form to the logeum, intimating under an exceedingly beautiful figure, that both the reason of nature, and also that of man, ought to penetrate everywhere, and ought never to waver in any case; in reference to which, it is that he has also assigned to it the two virtues that have been already enumerated, manifestation and truth; for the reason

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of nature is true, and calculated to make manifest, and to explain everything; and the reason of the wise man, imitating that other reason, ought naturally, and appropriately to be completely sincere, honouring truth, and not obscuring anything through envy, the knowledge of which can benefit those to whom it would be explained; 2not but what he has also assigned their two appropriate virtues to those two kinds of reason which exist in each of us, namely, that which is uttered and that which is kept concealed, attributing clearness of manifestation to the uttered one, and truth to that which is concealed in the mind; for it is suitable to the mind that it should admit of no error or falsehood, and to explanation that it should not hinder anything that can conduce to the most accurate manifestation. Therefore there is no advantage in reason which expends itself in dignified and pompous language, about things which are good and desirable, unless it is followed by consistent practice of suitable actions; on which account the architect has affixed the logeum to the robe which is worn over the shoulder, in order that it may never get loose, as he does not approve of the language being separated from the actions; for he puts forth the shoulder as the emblem of energy and action.

26 Such then are the figurative meanings which he desires to indicate by the sacred vestments of the high priest; and instead of a diadem he represents a cidaris on the head, because he thinks it right that the man who is consecrated to God, as his high priest, should, during the time of his exercising his office be superior to all men, not only to all private individuals, but even to all kings; 3and above this cidaris is a golden leaf, on which an engraving of four letters was impressed; by which letters they say that the name of the living God is indicated, since it is not possible that anything that it in existence, should exist without God being invoked; for it is his goodness and his power combined with mercy that is the harmony and uniter of all things. The high priest, then, being equipped in this way, is properly prepared for the performance of all sacred ceremonies, that, whenever he enters the temple to offer up the prayers and sacrifices in use among his nation, all the world may likewise enter in with him, by means of the imitations of it which he bears about him, the garment reaching to his feet, being the imitation of the air, the pomegranate of the water, the flowery hem of the earth, and the scarlet dye of his robe being the emblem of fire; also, the mantle over his shoulders being a representation of heaven itself; the two hemispheres being further indicated by the round emeralds on the shoulder-blades, on each of which were engraved six characters equivalent to six signs of the zodiac; the twelve stones arranged on the breast in four rows of three stones each, namely the logeum, being also an emblem of that reason which holds together and regulates the universe. 3For it was indispensable that the man who was consecrated to the Father of the world, should have as a paraclete, his son, the being most perfect in all virtue, to procure forgiveness of sins, and a supply of unlimited blessings; 3perhaps, also, he is thus giving a previous warning to the servant of God, even if he is unable to make himself worthy of the Creator, of the world, at least to labour incessantly to make himself worthy of the world itself; the image of which he is clothed in, in a manner that binds him from the time that he puts it on, to bear about the pattern of it in his mind, so that he shall be in a manner changed from the nature of a man into the nature of the world, and, if one may say so (and one may by all means and at all times speak the plain truth in sincerity), become a little world himself.

27 Again, outside the outer vestibule, at the entrance, is a brazen laver; the architect having not taken any mere raw material for the manufacture of it, as is very common, but having employed on its formation vessels which had been constructed with great care for other purposes; and which the women contributed with all imaginable zeal and eagerness, in rivalry of one another, competing with the men themselves in piety, having determined to enter upon a glorious contest, and to the utmost extent of their power to exert themselves so as not to fall short of their holiness. 3For though no one enjoined them to do so, they, of their own spontaneous zeal and earnestness, contributed the mirrors with which they had been accustomed to deck and set off their beauty, as the most becoming first fruits of their modesty, and of the purity of their married life, and as one may say of the beauty of their souls. 3The maker then thought it well to accept these offerings, and to melt them down, and to make nothing except the laver of them, in order that the priests who were about to enter the temple might be supplied from it, with water of purification for the purpose of performing the sacred ministrations which were appointed for them; washing their feet most especially, and their hands, as a symbol of their irreproachable life, and of a course of conduct which makes itself pure in all kinds of praiseworthy actions, proceeding not along the rough road of wickedness which one may more properly call no road at all, but keeping straight along the level and direct path of virtue. Let him remember, says he, let him who is about to be sprinkled with the water of purification from this laver, remember that the materials of which this vessel was composed were mirrors, that he himself may look into his own mind as into a mirror; and if there is perceptible in it any deformity arising from some agitation unconnected with reason or from any pleasure which would excite us, and raise us up in hostility to reason, or from any pain which might mislead us and turn us from our purpose of proceeding by the straight road, or from any desire alluring us and even dragging us by force to the pursuit of present pleasures, he seeks to relieve and cure that, desiring only that beauty which is genuine and unadulterated. For the beauty of the body consists in symmetry of parts, and in a good complexion, and a healthy firmness of flesh, having also but a short period during which it is in its prime; but the beauty of the mind consists in a harmony of doctrines and a perfect accord of virtues, which do not fade away or become impaired by lapse of time, but as long as they endure at all are constantly acquiring fresh vigor and renewed youth, being set off by the preeminent complexion of truth, and the agreement of its words with its actions, and of its actions with its words, and also of its designs with both.

28 And when he had been taught the patterns of the sacred tabernacle, and had in turn himself taught those who were gifted with acute comprehension, and well-qualified by nature for the comprehension and execution of those works, which it was indispensably necessary should be made; then, as was natural, when the temple had been built and finished, it was fitting also, that most suitable persons should be appointed as priests, and should be instructed in what manner it was proper for them to offer up their sacrifices, and perform their sacred ministrations. 4Accordingly, Moses selected his brother, choosing him out of all men, because of his superior virtue, to be high priest, and his sons he appointed priests, not giving precedence to his own family, but to the piety and holiness which he perceived to exist in those men; and what is the clearest proof of this is, that he did not think either of his sons worthy of this honour (and he had two); while he must inevitably have appointed both of them, if he had attached any importance to love for his family; and he appointed them with the unanimous consent of the whole nation, as the sacred scriptures have recorded, which was a most novel mode of proceeding, and one especially worthy of being mentioned; and, in the first place, he washed them all over with the most pure and vivifying water of the fountain; and then he gave them their sacred vestments, giving to his brother the robe which reached down to his feet, and the mantle which covered the shoulders, as a sort of breast-plate, being an embroidered robe, adorned with all kinds of figures, and a representation of the universe. And to all his nephews he gave linen tunics, and girdles, and trowsers; 4the girdles, in order that the wearers might be unimpeded and ready for all their sacred ministrations, were fastened up tight round the loose waists of the tunics; and the breeches, that nothing which ought to be hidden might be visible, especially when they were going up to the altar, or coming down from the high place, and doing everything with earnestness and celerity. For if their equipment had not been so accurately attended to for the sake of guarding against the uncertain future, and for the sake of providing for an energetic promptness in the sacred ministrations, the men would have appeared naked, not being able to preserve the becoming order necessary to holy men dedicated to the service of God.

29 And when he had thus furnished them with proper vestments, he took very fragrant ointment, which had been made by the skill of the perfumer, and first of all he anointed the altar in the open air, and the laver, sprinkling it with the perfume seven times; after that he anointed the tabernacle and every one of the sacred vessels, the ark, and the candlestick, and the altar of incense, and the table, and the censers, and the vials, and all the other things which were either necessary or useful for the sacrifices; and last of all bringing the high priest close to himself, he anointed his head with abundant quantities of oil. When he had done all this, he then, in strict accordance with what was holy, commanded a heifer and two rams to be brought; the one that he might sacrifice it for the remission of sins, intimating by a figure that to sin is congenital with every created being, however good it may be, inasmuch as it is created, and that therefore it is indispensable that God should be propitiated in its behalf by means of prayers and sacrifices, that he may not be provoked to chastise it. And of the rams, one he required for a whole burnt-offering of gratitude for the successful arrangement of all those things, of which every individual has such a share as is suited to him, deriving benefit from all the elements, enjoying the earth for his abode and in respect of the nourishment which is derived from it; the water for drinking, and washing, and sailing on; the air for breathing and for the comprehension of those things which are the objects of our outward senses (since the air is the medium in which they all are exerted), and for the seasons of the year; enjoying fire both of that kind which is used for cooking food and for warming one's self, and also that heavenly kind which is serviceable for light and for all the objects of sight. The other ram he employed for the complete accomplishment of the purification of the priests, which he appropriately called the ram of perfection, since the priests were intended to exercise their office in teaching proper and convenient rites and ceremonies to the servants and ministers of God. And he took the blood, and with some of it he poured a libation all round the altar, and part he took, holding a vial under it to catch it, and with it he anointed three parts of the body of the initiated priests, the tip of the ear, the extremity of the hand, and the extremity of the foot, all on the right side, signifying by this action that the perfect man must be pure in every word and action, and in his whole life, for it is the hearing which judges of his words, and the hand is the symbol of action, and the foot of the way in which a man walks in life; 5and since each of these members is an extremity of the body, and is likewise on the right side, we must imagine that it is here indicated by a figure that improvement in every thing is to be arrived at by a certain dexterity, being a portion of supreme felicity, and being the true aim in life, which a man must necessarily labour to attain, and to which he ought to refer all his actions, aiming at them in his life, as in the practice of archery men aim at a target.

30 Accordingly, he first of all anointed the three parts before mentioned of the bodies of the priests with the unmixed blood of one of the victims, that, namely, which was called the ram of perfection; and afterwards, taking some of the blood which was upon the altar, being the blood of all the victims mingled together, and some also of the unguent which has already been mentioned, which the ointment makers had prepared, and mixing some of the oil with the mingled blood of the different victims, he sprinkled some upon the priests and upon their garments, with the intention that they should have a share not only in that purity which was external and in the open air, but also of that which was in the inmost shrine, since they were about to minister within the temple. And all the things within the temple were anointed with oil. And when they had brought forward other sacrifices in addition to the former ones, partly the priests sacrificing for themselves, and partly the elders sacrificing on behalf of the whole nation, then Moses entered into the tabernacle, leading his brother by the hand (and it was the eighth and last day of the festival, for the seven previous days had been devoted to the initiation of the hierophants), he now initiated both him and his nephews. And when he had entered in he taught him as a learned teacher might instruct an ignorant pupil, in what way the high priest ought to perform the ministrations which are performed inside the temple. Then, when they had both come out and held up their hands in front of their head, they, with a pure and holy mind, offered up such prayers as were suitable and becoming for the nation. And while they were still praying a most marvelous prodigy happened; for from out of the inmost shrine, whether it was a portion of the purest possible aether, or whether the air, according to some natural change of the elements, had become dissolved with fire, on a sudden a body of flame shone forth, and with impetuous violence descended on the altar and consumed all that was thereon, with the view, as I imagine, of showing in the clearest manner that none of the things which had been done had been done without the especial providence of God. For it was natural that an especial honour should be assigned to the holy place, not only by means of those things in which men are the workmen employed, but also by that purest of all essences, fire, in order that the ordinary fire which is used by men might not touch the altar; perhaps by reason of its being defiled by ten thousand impurities. For it is concerned not only with irrational animals when they are roasted or boiled for the unjust appeasing of our miserable bellies, but also in the case of men who are slain by hostile attack, not merely in a small body of three or four, but in numerous hosts. At all events, before now, arrows charged with fire have been aimed at vast naval fleets and have burnt them; and fire has destroyed whole cities, which have blazed away till they have been consumed down to their very foundations and reduced to ashes, so that no trace whatever has remained of their former situation. It appears to me that this was the reason for which God rejected from his sacred altar the fire which is applied to common uses, as being defiled; and that, instead of it, he rained down celestial flame from heaven, in order to make a distinction between holy and profane things, and to separate the things belonging to man from the things belonging to God; for it was fitting that a more incorruptible essence of fire than that which served the common purposes of life should be set apart for sacrifices.

31 And as many sacrifices were of necessity offered up every day, and especially on all days of solemn assembly and festival, both on behalf of each individual separately and in common for the whole nation, for innumerable and various reasons, inasmuch as the nation was very populous and very pious, there was a need also of a multitude of keepers of the temple for the sacred and subordinate ministrations. 6And, again, the election of these officers was conducted in a novel and not in the ordinary manner. God chose out one of the twelve tribes, having selected it for its superior excellence, and appointed that to furnish the keepers of the temple, giving it rewards and peculiar honours in return for its pious acting. And the action which it had to perform was of this kind. 6When Moses had gone up into the neighbouring mountain and had remained several days alone with God, the fickle-

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minded among the people, thinking that his absence was a favourable opportunity, as if they had no longer any ruler at all, rushed unrestrainedly to impiety, and, forgetting the holiness of the living God, became eager imitators of the Egyptian inventions. Then, having made a golden calf in imitation of that which appeared to be the most sacred animal in that district, they offered up unholy sacrifices, and instituted blasphemous dances, and sang hymns which differed in no respect from dirges, and, being filled with strong wine, gave themselves up to a twofold intoxication, the intoxication of wine and that of folly, revelling and devoting the night to feasting, and, having no foresight as to the future, they spent their time in pleasant sins, though justice had her eye upon them, who saw them while they would not see, and decided what punishments they deserved. But when the continued outcries in the camp, from men collected in numerous and dense crowds, reached over a great distance, so that the sound penetrated even to the summit of the mountain, Moses, hearing the uproar, was in great perplexity, as being at the same time a devout worshipper of God and a friend to mankind, not being able to bring his mind to quit the society of God with whom he was conversing, and in which he, being alone with him, was conferring with him by himself, nor, on the other hand, could he be indifferent to the multitude thus full of anarchy and wickedness; for he recognised the tumult, since he was a very shrewd man at conjecturing, from inarticulate sounds of no distinct meaning, the passions of the soul which were inaccessible to and out of the reach of the conjectures of others, because he perceived at once that the noise proceeded partly from intoxication, since intemperance had produced satiety and a disposition to insult the law. 6And being drawn both ways, and under strong attraction in both directions, he fluctuated this way and that way, and did not know what he ought to do; and while he was considering the matter the following command was given to him. "Go down quickly; descend from this place, the people have turned with haste to lawlessness, having fashioned a god made with hand sin the form of a bull, they are falling down before that which is no god, and sacrificing unto him, forgetting all the things that they have seen, and all that they have heard, which might lead them to piety." 6So Moses, being amazed, and being also constrained by this command, believes those incredible events, and springs down to be a mediator and reconciler; not however, in a moment, for first of all he addressed supplications and prayers on behalf of his nation to God, entreating God that he would pardon these their sins; then, this governor of and intercessor for his people, having appeased the Ruler of the universe, went down at the same time rejoicing and feeling sorrowful; he rejoiced indeed that God had admitted his supplication, but he was full of anxiety and depression, being greatly indignant at the lawless transgression of the multitude.

32 And when he came into the middle of the camp, and marveled at the sudden way in which the multitude had forsaken all their ancient habits, and at the vast amount of falsehood which they had embraced instead of truth, he, seeing that the disease had not extended among them all, but that some were still sound, and still cherished a disposition which loathed wickedness; wishing to distinguish those who were incurable from those who felt indignation at what had taken place, and to know also whether any of those who had offended repented them of their sin, caused a proclamation to be made; and it was indeed a shrewd test of the inclination of each individual, to see how he was disposed to holiness, or to the contrary. "Whoever," said he, "is on the side of the Lord, let him come to me." It was but a brief sentence which he thus uttered, but the meaning concealed under it was important; for what was intimated by his words was the following sense: "If any one does not think anything whatever that is made by hands, or anything that is created, a god, but believes that there is one ruler of the universe only, let him come to me." Now of the others, some resisted by reason of the admiration which they had conceived for the Egyptian pride, and they did not attend to what he said; others wanted courage to come nearer to him, perhaps out of fear of punishment; or else perhaps they dreaded punishment at the hand of Moses, or a rising up against them on the part of the people; for the multitude invariably attack those who do not share in their frenzy. But that single tribe of the whole number which was called the tribe of Levi, when they heard the proclamation, as if by one preconcerted agreement, ran with great haste, displaying their earnestness by their promptness and rapidity, and proving the keenness of the desire of their soul for piety; and, when Moses saw them rushing forward as if starting from the goal in a race, he said, "Surely it is not with your bodies alone that you are hastening to come unto me, but you shall soon bear witness with your minds to your eagerness; let every one of you take a sword, and slay those men who have done things worthy of ten thousand deaths, who have forsaken the true God, and made for themselves false gods, of perishable and created substances, calling them by the name which belongs only to the uncreated and everlasting God; let every one, I say, slay those men, whether it be his own kinsmen or his friends, looking upon nothing to be either friendship or kindred but the holy fellowship of good men." And the tribe of Levi, outrunning his command with the most eager readiness, since they were already alienated from those men in their minds, almost from the first moment that they beheld the beginning of their lawless iniquity, killed them all to a man, to the number of three thousand, though they had been but a short time before their dearest friends; and as the corpses were lying in the middle of the place of the assembly of the people, the multitude beholding them pitied them, and fearing the still fervid, and angry, and indignant disposition of those who had slain them, reproved them out of fear; but Moses, gladly approving of their exceeding virtue, devised in their favour and confirmed to them an honour which was appropriate to their exploit, for it was fitting that those who had undertaken a voluntary war for the sake of the honour of God, and who had carried it out successfully in a short time, should be thought worthy to receive the priesthood and charge of officiating in his service.

33 But, since there is not one order only of consecrated priests, but since to some of them the charge is committed of attending to all the prayers, and sacrifices, and other most sacred ceremonies, being allowed to enter into the inmost and most holy shrine; while others are not permitted to do any of these things, but have the duty of taking care of and guarding the temple and all that is therein, both day and night, whom some call keepers of the temple; a sedition arose respecting the precedency in honour, which was to many persons in many ways the cause of infinite evils, and it broke out now from the keepers of the temple attacking the priests, and endeavoring to deprive them of the honour which belonged to them; and they thought that they should be able easily to succeed in their object, since they were many times more numerous than the others. 7But for the sake of not appearing to be planning any innovations of their own heads, they persuaded also the eldest of the twelve tribes to embrace their opinions, which last tribe was followed by many of the more fickle of the populace, as thinking it entitled to the precedence and to the principal share of authority over the whole host. 7Moses now knew that a great plot was in agitation against him; for he had appointed his brother high priest in accordance with the will of God, which had been declared to him. And now false accusations were brought against him, as if he had falsified the oracles of God, and as if he had done so and made the appointment by reason of his family affection and goodwill towards his brother. And he, being very naturally grieved at this, inasmuch as he was not only distrusted by such accusations while exhibiting his own good faith in a most genuine manner, but he was also grieved at those actions of his being calumniated which had for their object the honour of God, and which were of such a nature as to deserve by themselves that even such a man who had in other respects shown an insincere disposition should be looked upon as behaving in this case with truth; for truth is the invariable attendant of God. But he did not think fit to give any explanation by words respecting his appointment of his brother, knowing that it was difficult to endeavor to persuade those who were previously possessed by contrary opinions to change their minds; but he besought God to give the people a visible demonstration that he had in no respect behaved with dishonesty respecting the appointment to the priesthood. 7And he, therefore, commanded that twelve rods should be taken, so as to be equal in number to the tribes of the nation; and he commanded further that the names of the other patriarchs of the tribes should be written on eleven of the rods, but on the remaining one the name of his brother, the high priest, and then that they should all be carried into the temple as far as the inmost shrine; and the officer who did what he had been commanded waited in expectation to see the result. 7And on the next day, in obedience to a command from God, he went into the temple, while all the people were standing around, and brought out the rods, the others differing in no respect from the state in which they were when they were put in; but the one on which the name of his brother was written had undergone a miraculous change; for like a fine plant it suddenly put forth shoots all over, and was weighed down with the abundance of its crop of fruit.

34 And the fruit were almonds, which is a fruit of a different character from any other. For in most fruit, such as grapes, olives, and apples, the seed and the eatable part differ from one another, and being different are separated as to their position, for the eatable part is outside, and the seed is shut up within; but in the case of this fruit the seed and the eatable part are the same, both of them being comprised in one species, and their position is one and the same, being without strongly protected and fortified with a twofold fence, consisting partly of a very thick bark, and partly of what appears in no respect short of a wooden case, 8by which perfect virtue is figuratively indicated. For as in the almond the beginning and the end are the same, the beginning as far as it is seed, and the end as far as it is fruit; so also is it the case with the virtues; for each one of them is at the same time both beginning and end, a beginning, because it proceeds not from any other power, but from itself; and an end, because the life in accordance with nature hastens towards it. This is one reason; and another is also mentioned, more clear and emphatic than the former; for the part of the almond which looks like bark is bitter, but that which lies inside the bark, like a wooden case, is very hard and impenetrable, so that the fruit, being enclosed in these two coverings, is not very easily to be got at. 8This is an emblem of the soul which is inclined to the practice of meditation, from which he thinks it is proper to turn it to virtue by showing it that it is necessary first of all to encounter danger. But labour is a bitter, and distasteful, and harsh thing, from which good is produced, for the sake of which one must not yield to effeminate indolence; 8for he who seeks to avoid labour is also avoiding good. And he, again, who encounters what is disagreeable to be borne with fortitude and manly perseverance, is taking the best road to happiness; for it is not the nature of virtue to abide with those who are given up to delicacy and luxury, and who have become effeminate in their souls, and whose bodies are enervated by the incessant luxury which they practice every day; but it is subdued by such conduct, and determined to change its abode, having first of all arranged its departure so as to depart to, and abide with, the ruler of right reason. But, if I must tell the truth, the most sacred company of prudence, and temperance, and courage, and justice seeks the society of those who practice virtue, and of those who admire a life of austerity and rigid duty, devoting themselves to fortitude and self-denial, with wise economy and abstinence; by means of which virtues the most powerful of all the principles within us, namely, reason, improves and attains to a state of perfect health and vigor, overthrowing the violent attacks of the body, which the moderate use of wine, and epicurism, and licentiousness, and other insatiable appetites excite against it, engendering a fulness of flesh which is the direct enemy of shrewdness and wisdom. 8Moreover, it is said, that of all the trees that are accustomed to blossom in the spring, the almond is the first to flourish, bringing as it were good tidings of abundance of fruit; and that afterwards it is the last to lose its leaves, extending the yearly old age of its verdure to the longest period; in each of which particulars it is an emblem of the tribe of the priesthood, as Moses intimates under the figure of this tree that this tribe shall be the first of the whole human race to flourish, and likewise the last; as long as it shall please God to liken our life to the revolutions of the spring, destroying covetousness that most treacherous of passions, and the fountain of all unhappiness.

35 Since, therefore, I have now stated that in the absolutely perfect governor there ought to be four things, royal power, the legislative disposition, and the priesthood, and the prophetic office (in order that by his legislative disposition he may command such things as are right to be done, and forbid such things as are not proper to be done, and that by his priesthood he may arrange not only all human but likewise all divine things; and that by his prophetic office he may predict those things which cannot be comprehended by reason): having fully discussed the first three, and having shown that Moses as a most excellent king, and lawgiver, and high priest, I come in the last place to show that he was also the most illustrious of prophets. I am not unaware then that all the things which are written in the sacred books are oracles delivered by him; and I will set forth what more peculiarly concerns him, when I have first mentioned this one point, namely, that of the sacred oracles some are represented as delivered in the person of God by his interpreter, the divine prophet, while others are put in the form of question and answer, and others are delivered by Moses in his own character as a divinely-prompted lawgiver possessed by divine inspiration. Therefore, all the earliest oracles are manifestations of the whole of the divine virtues, and especially of that merciful and bounteous character by means of which he trains all men to virtue, and especially the race which is devoted to his service, to which he lays open the road leading to happiness. The second class have a sort of admixture and communication in them, the prophet asking information on the subjects as to which he is in difficulty, and God answering him and instructing him. The third sort are attributed to the lawgiver, God having given him a share of his prescient power, by means of which he will be able to foretell the future. Therefore, we must for the present pass by the first; for they are too great to be adequately praised by any man, as, indeed, they could scarcely be panegyrised worthily by the heaven itself and the nature of the universe; and they are also uttered by the mouth, as it were, of an interpreter. But interpretation and prophecy differ from one another. And concerning the second kind I will at once endeavor to explain the truth, connecting with them the third species also, in which the inspired character of the speaker is shown, according to which it is that he is most especially and appropriately looked upon as a prophet.

36 And we must here begin with the promise. There are four places where the oracles are given by way of question and answer, being contained in the exposition of the law, and having a mixed character. For, first, the prophet feels inspiration and asks questions, and then the father prophesies to him, giving him a share of his discourse and replies. And the first case where this occurs is one which would have

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irritated, not only Moses, who was the most holy and pious man that ever lived, but even any one who had only had a slight taste of piety. A certain man, illegitimately born of two unequal parents, namely, an Egyptian father and a Jewish mother, and who disregarded the national and hereditary customs which he had learnt from her, as it is reported, inclined to the Egyptian impiety, being seized with admiration for the ungodly practices of the men of that nation; for the Egyptians, almost alone of all men, set up the earth as a rival of the heaven considering the former as entitled to honours equal with those of the gods, and giving the latter no especial honour, just as if it were proper to pay respect to the extremities of a country rather than to the king's palace. For in the world the heaven is the most holy temple, and the further extremity is the earth; though this too is in itself worthy of being regarded with honour; but if it is brought into comparison with the air, is as far inferior to it as light is to darkness, or night to day, or corruption to immortality, or a mortal to God. For, since that country is not irrigated by rain as all other lands are, but by the inundations of the river which is accustomed every year to overflow its banks; the Egyptians, in their impious reason, make a god of the Nile, as if it were a copy and a rival of heaven, and use pompous language about the virtue of their country.

37 Accordingly, this man of mixed race, having had a quarrel with some one of the consecrated and well-instructed house of Israel, becoming carried away by his anger, and unable to restrain himself, and being also an admirer and follower of the impiety of the Egyptians, extended his impiety from earth to heaven, cursing it with his accursed, and polluted, and defiled soul, and with his wicked tongue, and with the whole power of all his vocal organs in the superfluity of his ungodliness; though it ought to be blessed and praised, not by all men, indeed, but only by those who are most virtuous and pious, as having received perfect purification. 9Wherefore Moses, marveling at his insanity and at the extravagance of his audacity, although he was filled with a noble impetuosity and indignation, and desired to slay the man with his own hand, nevertheless feared lest he should be inflicting on him too light a punishment; for he conceived that no man could possibly devise any punishment adequate to such enormous impiety. And since it followed of necessity that a man who did not worship God could not honour his father either, or his mother, or his country, or his benefactors, this man, in addition to not reverencing them, dared to speak ill of them. And then what extravagance of wickedness did he fall short of? And yet evil-speaking, if compared with cursing, is the lighter evil of the two. But when intemperate language and an unbridled tongue are subservient to lawless folly, then inevitably and invariably some iniquitous conduct must follow. O man! does any one curse God? What other god can he invoke to ratify and confirm his curse? Is it not plain that he must invoke God to give effect to his curses against himself? Away with such profane and impious ideas! It would be well to cleanse that miserable soul which has been insulted by the voice, and which has sued the ears for ministers, keeping the external senses blind. And was not either the tongue of the man who uttered such impiety loosened, or the ears of him who was destined to hear such things closed up? unless, indeed, that was done in consequence of some providential arrangement of justice, which does not think that either any extraordinary good or that any enormous evil ought to be kept in darkness, but that such should be revealed in order to the most complete manifestation of virtue or vice, so that it may adjudge the one to be worthy of acceptance and the other of punishment. On this account Moses ordered the man to be thrown into prison and bound with chains; and then he addressed propitiatory prayers to God, begging him to be merciful to the necessities of the external senses (by means of which we both see what it is not proper to see, and hear what it is not lawful to hear), and to point out what the author of such a strange and unprecedented blasphemy and impiety ought to suffer. And God commanded him to be stoned, considering, as I imagine, the punishment of stoning to be a suitable and appropriate one for a man who had a stony and hardened heart, and wishing at the same time that all his fellow countrymen should have a share in inflicting punishment on him, as he knew that they were very indignant and eager to slay him; and the only punishment which so many myriads of men could possibly join in was that which was inflicted by throwing stones. But after the punishment of this impious murderer, a new commandment was enacted, which had never before been thought worthy of being reduced to writing; but unexpected innovations cause new laws to be devised for the repression of their evils. At all events, the following law was immediately introduced: "Whoever curses God shall be guilty of sin, and whoever names the name of the Lord shall Die." [Leviticus 24:15.] Well done, O all-wise man! You alone have drunk of the cup of unalloyed wisdom. You have seen that it was worse to name God than even to curse him; for you would never have treated lightly a man who had committed the heaviest of all impieties, and inflicted the heaviest punishment possible on those who committed the slightest faults; but you fixed death, which is the very greatest punishment imaginable, as the penalty for the man who appeared to have committed the heaviest crime.

38 But, as it seems, he is not now speaking of that God who was the first being who had any existence, and the Father of the universe, but of those who are accounted gods in the different cities; and they are falsely called gods, being only made by the arts of painters and sculptors, for the whole inhabited world is full of statues and images, and erections of that kind, of whom it is necessary however to abstain from speaking ill, in order that no one of the disciples of Moses may ever become accustomed at all to treat the appellation of God with disrespect; for that name is always most deserving to obtain the victory, and is especially worthy of love. But if any one were, I will not say to blaspheme against the Lord of gods and men, but were even to dare to utter his name unseasonably, he must endure the punishment of death; for those persons who have a proper respect for their parents do not lightly bring forward the names of their parents, though they are but mortal, but they avoid using their proper names by reason of the reverence which they bear them, and call them rather by the titles indicating their natural relationship, that is, father and mother, by which names they at once intimate the unsurpassable benefits which they have received at their hands, and their own grateful disposition. Therefore these men must not be thought worthy of pardon who out of volubility of tongue have spoken unseasonably, and being too free of their words have repeated carelessly the most holy and divine name of God.

39 Moreover, in accordance with the honour due to the Creator of the universe, the prophet hallowed the sacred seventh day, beholding with eyes of more acute sight than those of mortals its pre-eminent beauty, which had already been deeply impressed on the heaven and the whole universal world, and had been borne about as an image by nature itself in her own bosom; for first of all Moses found that day destitute of any mother, and devoid of all participation in the female generation, being born of the Father alone without any propagation by means of seed, and being born without any conception on the part of any mother. And then he beheld not only this, that it was very beautiful and destitute of any mother, neither being born of corruption nor liable to corruption; and then, in the third place, he by further inquiry discovered that it was the birthday of the world, which the heaven keeps as a festival, and the earth and all the things in and on the earth keep as a festival, rejoicing and delighting in the all-harmonious number of seven, and in the sabbath day. For this reason the all-great Moses thought fit that all who were enrolled in his sacred polity should follow the laws of nature and meet in a solemn assembly, passing the time in cheerful joy and relaxation, abstaining from all work, and from all arts which have a tendency to the production of anything; and from all business which is connected with the seeking of the means of living, and that they should keep a complete truce, abstaining from all labourious and fatiguing thought and care, and devoting their leisure, not as some persons scoffingly assert, to sports, or exhibitions of actors and dancers, for the sake of which those who run madly after theatrical amusements suffer disasters and even encounter miserable deaths, and for the sake of these the most dominant and influential of the outward senses, sight and hearing, make the soul, which should be the heavenly nature, the slave of these senses. But, giving up their time wholly to the study of philosophy, not of that sort of philosophy which wordcatchers and sophists, seek to reduce to a system, selling doctrines and reasonings as they would any other vendible thing in the market. Men who (O you earth and sun!) employ philosophy against philosophy, and yet never wear a blush on their countenance; but who, applying themselves to the kindred philosophy, which they make up of these component parts, namely, of intention, and words, and actions, all united into one species, in order to the acquisition and enjoyment of happiness. Now some one disregarding this injunction, even while he yet had the sacred words of God respecting the holy seventh day still ringing in his ears, which God had uttered without the intervention of the prophet, and, what is the most wonderful thing of all, by a visible voice which affected the eyes of those who were present even more than their ears, went forth through the middle of the camp to pick up sticks, well knowing that all the people in the camp were perfectly quiet and doing nothing, and even while he was committing the iniquity was seen and detected, all disguise being impossible; for some persons, having gone forth out of the gates to some quiet spot, that they might pray in some retired and peaceful place, seeing a most unholy spectacle, namely this man carrying a faggot of sticks, and being very indignant, were about to put him to death; but reasoning with themselves they restrained the violence of their wrath, that they might not appear, as they were only private persons, to chastise any one rather than the magistrates, and that too uncondemned; though indeed in other respects the transgression was manifest and undeniable, wishing also that no pollution arising from an execution, even though most righteously inflicted, should defile the sacred day. But they apprehended him, and led him away to the magistrate, with whom the priests were sitting as assessors; and the whole multitude collected together to hear the trial; for it was invariably the custom, as it was desirable on other days also, but especially on the seventh day, as I have already explained, to discuss matters of philosophy; the ruler of the people beginning the explanation, and teaching the multitude what they ought to do and to say, and the populace listening so as to improve in virtue, and being made better both in their moral character and in their conduct through life; in accordance with which custom, even to this day, the Jews hold philosophical discussions on the seventh day, disputing about their national philosophy, and devoting that day to the knowledge and consideration of the subjects of natural philosophy; for as for their houses of prayer in the different cities, what are they, but schools of wisdom, and courage, and temperance, and justice, and piety, and holiness, and every virtue, by which human and divine things are appreciated, and placed upon a proper footing?

40 On this day, then, the man who had done this deed of impiety was led away to prison; and Moses being at a loss what ought to be done to the man (for he knew that he had committed a crime worthy of death, but did not know what was the most suitable manner for the punishment to be inflicted upon him), came with his invisible soul to the invisible judgement seat, and asked of that Judge who heareth everything before it is related to him what his sentence was. And that Judge delivered his sentence that the man ought to die, and in no other way than being stoned, since in his case, as in that of the criminal mentioned above, his mind had been changed to a dumb stone, and he had committed the most complete of offences, in which nearly every other sin is comprised which can be committed against the laws enacted respecting the reverence due to the seventh day. Why so? Because, not only mere handicraft trades, but also nearly all other acts and businesses, and especially all such as have reference to any providing of or seeking for the means of life, are either carried on by means of fire themselves, or, at all events, not without those instruments which are made by fire. On which account Moses, in many places, forbids any one to handle a fire on the sabbath day, inasmuch as that is the most primary and efficient source of things and the most ancient and important work; and if that is reduced to a state of tranquility, he thought that it would be probable that all particular works would be at a stand-still likewise. And wood is the material of fire, so that a man who is picking up wood is committing a crime which is akin to and nearly connected with that of burning fire, doubling his transgression, in fact, partly in that he was collecting what it was commanded should remain unmoved, and partly that what he was collecting was that which is the material of fire, the beginning of all arts.

41 Therefore both those instances which I have mentioned comprise the punishments of wicked men, appointed and confirmed by question and answer. And there are two other instances, not of the same, but of a different character; the one of which has reference to the succession of an inheritance; the other, as far at least as it appears to me, to a sacrifice which was performed at an unseemly time. And we must first discuss the latter of the two. Moses puts down the beginning of the vernal equinox as the first month of the year, attributing the chief honour, not as some persons do to the periodical revolutions of the year in regard of time, but rather to the graces and beauties of nature which it has caused to shine upon men; for it is through the bounty of nature that the seeds which are sown to produce the necessary food of mankind are brought to perfection. And the fruit of trees in their prime, which is second in importance only to the necessary crops, is engendered by the same power, and as being second in importance it also ripens late; for we always find in nature that those things which are not very necessary are second to those which are indispensable. 2Now wheat and barley are among the things which are very necessary; as, likewise, are all the other species of food, without which it is impossible to live. But oil, and wine, and almonds are not among necessaries, since men often live without them to the very extremity of old age, extending their life over a number of years. Accordingly, in this month, about the fourteenth day of the month, when the orb of the moon is usually about to become full, the public universal feast of the passover is celebrated, which in the Chaldaic language is called pascha; at which festival not only do private individuals bring victims to the altar and the priests sacrifice them, but also, by a particular ordinance of this law, the whole nation is consecrated and officiates in offering sacrifice; every separate individual on this occasion bringing forward and offering up with his own hands the sacrifice due on his own behalf. Therefore all the rest of the people rejoiced and was of joyful countenance, every one thinking that he himself was honoured by this participation in the priesthood. But the others passed the time of the festival amid tears and groans, their own relations having lately died, whom they were now mourning for, and were overwhelmed with a two fold sorrow, having, in addition to their grief for their relations who were slain, the pain also which arose from being deprived of the pleasure and honour which accrue from the offering up of sacrifice, as they

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were not purified or cleansed on that day, inasmuch as their mourning had not yet lasted beyond the appointed and legitimate period of lamentation. 2These men coming, after the assembly was over, to the ruler of the people, being full of melancholy and depression, related to him what had happened, namely, "that the recent death of their relations was an unavoidable affliction to which they could not help yielding, and that it was a further grief that, on that account, they were unable to bear their share in the sacrifice of the passover. And then they besought him that they too might make their offerings no less than the others, and that the misfortune which had befallen them in the death of their kinsmen might not be reckoned against them as an iniquity of theirs, so as to produce them punishment instead of compassion; for that they thought that they were worse off than even the people who were dead, since these last had, indeed, no sense of the grievous privation, but they who continued live would appear to die the death perceptible to the outward sense."

42 When he heard this he saw that the justification which they alleged was not inconsistent with reason and truth, and that the excuse which they alleged for not having previously offered their sacrifice was founded in necessity, and that they were entitled to merciful consideration. And while he as wavering in his opinion, and inclining this way and that way as if in the balance of a scale, for compassion and justice inclined him one way, and on the other side the law of the sacrifice of the passover weighed him down, in which the first month and the fourteenth day of the month are appointed for the offering of the sacrifice; accordingly, Moses, being perplexed and balancing between consent and refusal, besought God to decide the question and to announce his decision to him by an oracular command. And God listened to his entreaty and gave him an oracle bearing not only on the circumstances which had taken place, but on all such as should hereafter happen with reference to the same subject, if people should ever again find themselves in a similar case. He likewise, out of the abundance of his providence, gave further and general directions with respect to other individuals who at any time, for one reason or other, should be unable to offer up their sacrifice with the whole of the rest of the nation. We must now, therefore, proceed to relate the oracular commands which were thus given by God with reference to these Cases. [Numbers 9:10.] He says, "The mourning for a relation is a necessary sorrow to those who are related by blood, and it is not set down as a piece of guilty indifference. 3As long, therefore, as it lasts, until the time that is appointed by law for it to cease, let the man be repelled from the sacred precincts, which must be kept pure, not only from all intentional pollution, but likewise from all such as is involuntary. But when the legal time for mourning is expired, then let the mourners be no longer deprived of an equal share in the performance of the sacrifices, that those who are alive may not become an adjunct to those who are dead. And let them, as if they were in a second class, come again in the second month, on the fourteenth day of the month, and let them sacrifice in the same manner as the former sacrificers, and let them adopt the sacrifice in the same way as they did, in a similar manner and under similar rules." Also, let the same regulations be observed with respect to those who are hindered, not by mourning, but by a distant journey, from offering up their sacrifice in common with and at the same time with the whole nation. "For those who are travelling in a foreign land, or dwelling in some other country, do no wrong, so as to deserve to be deprived of equal honour with the rest, especially since one country will not contain the entire nation by reason of its great numbers, but has sent out colonies in every direction."

43 Having now, then, given this account of those who were too late to sacrifice the festival of the passover with the rest of the nation by reason of some unexpected circumstances, but who were desirous to fulfil the duty which had thus been omitted, even though late, still in the necessary manner, I now proceed to the last injunction relating to the succession to inheritances; that being, in like manner, of a mixed character, and consisting of question and answer. There was a certain man, named Shalpaath, a man of high character and of a distinguished tribe. He had four daughters, but not a single son. And after the death of their father the daughters, being afraid that they should be deprived of their father's inheritance, because the allotments of such inheritances were given to the male heirs, came to the ruler of the people with the modesty befitting maidens, not because they were eager for riches, but because they desired to preserve the name and reputation of their father. And they said to Moses, "Our father is dead; and he died without having been mixed up in any of those seditions in which it has happened that so many thousands have been slain; but he was a cultivator of a life free from trouble and notoriety; unless, indeed, it is to be considered as a crime that he was without male offspring. And we are now here orphans in appearance, but in real fact desiring to find a father in you; for a lawful ruler is as closely connected with his subjects as a Father." [Numbers 27:4.] And Moses marveled at the wisdom of the maidens, and at their affection for their father, nevertheless he hesitated, being biased in some degree by other thoughts in accordance with which it seemed proper for men to divide the inheritances among themselves, that so they might receive the due reward of their military services and of the wars which they had gone through. But nature, which has given to woman protection from all such contests, does likewise by so doing plainly deprive them of their right to a share in what is put forward as a reward for encountering them. On which account the mind of Moses was very naturally in a state of indecision, and was dragged different ways, so that Moses laid his perplexities before God, whom he knew to be the only being who could with true and unerring judgement decide such delicate differences with a complete display of truth and justice. But the Creator of the universe, the Father of the world, who holds together earth and heaven, and the water and the air, and everything which is composed of any one of these things, and who rules the whole world, the King of gods and men, did not think it unbecoming for him to take upon himself the part of arbitrator respecting these orphan maidens. And, as arbitrator, he, in my opinion, did more for them than if he had been merely a judge of the law, inasmuch as he is merciful and beneficent, and has filled all things everywhere with his beneficent power for he gave great praise to the maidens. 3O! Master how can any one sing your praises adequately, with what mouth, with what tongue, with what organisation of voice? Can the stars become a chorus and pour forth any melody which shall be worthy of the subject? Even if the whole of the heaven were to be dissolved into voice, would it be able to recount even a portion of your virtues? "Very rightly," says God, "have the daughters of Shalpaath spoken." Who is there who can fail to perceive how great a praise this is when God bears witness in their favour? Come, now, ye who are violent; ye, who give yourselves airs because of your virtuous actions; ye, who hold up your hands higher than nature justifies, and who raise your eyebrows; ye, among whom the widowhood of woman is a cause for laughter, though it is a most pitiable evil; and in whose thoughts the desolation of orphan children is ridiculed even more shamefully than the distress before mentioned. So now, seeing that those who appeared in such a low and unfortunate condition were not marked by God among the neglected and obscure, though all the kingdoms of the whole habitable world are the most insignificant portion of his dominion, because the whole circumference and space of the world is but the extremity of his works, learn a necessary lesson from this fact. But Moses, having praised the conversation of the maidens, did not either leave them without their due honour and reward, nor yet, on the other hand, did he raise them to an equal degree of honour with the men on whom the brunt of the war falls; but to the latter he allotted the inheritances as the prizes which belonged to them as a reward for the gallant exploits which they had performed. But the former he thought worthy of grace and kindness, not of reward; as he showed most plainly by the expressions which he used, speaking of "gifts" and "presents," but not of "requital" or "recompense." For the one form of language is suited to those who receive what they have a right to, and the other belongs to those who are treated with gratuitous favour.

44 And having given his divine directions respecting the petitions which the orphan maidens had preferred, he proceeds to lay down a more general law concerning the succession to inheritances, summoning the sons in the first instance to the sharing of the paternal property; and, if there should be no sons, then the daughters in the second place, to whom he says that it is proper to attach the inheritance as an external and adventitious ornament, but not as a possession belonging to and rightly connected with them; for that which is attached to anything has no actual relationship to that which is adorned by it, inasmuch as it is devoid of all harmony and union with it. And, after the daughters, then he invites the brothers to share it in the third place; and, in the fourth place, he assigns the property to the uncles on the father's side, showing under this figure that the fathers might, if alive be the heirs of their sons. For it is a very foolish idea to imagine that when he allots the inheritance of the nephew to his father's brother, out of a regard to his relationship to his father, he has excluded the father himself from the succession. 4But since the law permits the property of parents to be inherited by the children, but does not allow the parents themselves to inherit, he has abstained from any express mention of the subject as one to be deprecated and of evil omen, in order that the father and mother might not seem to receive any gain from the inconsolable affliction of the loss of children dying prematurely; but he indirectly intimated their right to be invited to such an inheritance when he conceded it to the uncles, in order that in this way he might attain the best objects of cultivating propriety and of avoiding the improper alienation of the estate. And, after the uncles, the fifth class of inheritors was to be composed of the nearest relations, to the first of whom he invariably assigns the inheritance.

45 Having now, as I was forced to do, gone through the entire account of those sacred commands referring to a mixed possession of an inheritance, I shall now proceed to show the oracles which were divinely given by the inspiration of the prophet; for this was a subject which I promised to explain. Now the beginning of his divine inspiration, which was also the commencement of prosperity to his nation, arose when he was sent out of Egypt to dwell as a settler in the cities of Syria, with many thousands of his countrymen; for both men and women, having accomplished together a long and desolate journey through the wilderness, destitute of any beaten road, at last arrived at the sea which is called the Red Sea. Then, as was natural, they were in great perplexity, neither being able to cross over by reason of their want of vessels, nor thinking it safe to return back by the way by which they had come. 4And while they were all in this state of mind, a still greater evil was impending over them; for the king of the Egyptians, having collected a power which was far from contemptible, a vast army of cavalry and infantry, sallied forth in pursuit of them, and made haste to overtake them, that he might avenge himself on them for the departure which he had been compelled by undeniable communications from God to permit them to take. But, as it should seem, the disposition of wicked men is unstable, so that, like any thing in a lightly-balanced scale, it inclines on very slight causes to different directions at different times. So now, the Hebrews being intercepted between their enemies and the sea, despaired of their safety, some looking on the most miserable death as a blessing to be prayed for; and others thinking it better to perish by the agency of the parts of nature than to become a laughing-stock to their enemies, were inclined to throw themselves into the sea; and now, being laden with heavy burdens, they sat down on the sea shore, that when they saw the enemy near they might more readily leap into the sea. 5For now, by reason of the necessity which environed them, and from which they saw no means of extricating themselves, they were in great agitation, being full of expectation of a miserable death.

46 But when the prophet saw that the whole nation was now enclosed like a shoal of fish, and in great consternation, he no longer remained master of himself, but became inspired, and prophesied as follows:--"The fear is necessary, and the terror is inevitable, and the danger is great; in front of us is the widely open sea, there is no retreat to which we can flee, we have no vessels, behind are the phalanxes of the enemy ready to attack us, which march on and pursue us, never stopping to take breath. Where shall any one turn? Which way can any one look to escape? Every thing from every quarter has unexpectedly become hostile to us, the sea, the land, men, and the elements of nature. 5But be ye of good cheer; do not faint; stand still without wavering in your minds; await the invincible assistance of God; it will be present immediately of its own accord; it will fight in our behalf without being seen. Before now you have often had experience of it, defending you in an invisible manner. I see it now preparing to take part in the contest; casting halters round the necks of the enemy, who are now, as if violently dragged onward, going down into the depths of the sea like lead. You now see them while still alive; but I conceive the idea of them as dead. And this very day you yourselves shall also behold them Dead." [Exodus 15:1.] 5He then now said these things to them, things greater than any hopes that could have been formed. And they very speedily experienced in the real facts the truth of his divine words; for what he thus predicted by means of the power divinely given to him, came to pass in a manner more marvelous than can be well expressed. The sea was broken asunder, each portion retired back, there was a consolidation of the waves along each brokenoff fragment throughout the whole breadth and depth, so that the waves stood up like the strongest walls; and there was a straight line cut of a road thus miraculously made, which was a path for the Hebrews between the congealed waters, 5so that the whole nation without any danger passed on foot through the sea, as if on a dry road and on a stony soil; for the sand was dried up, and its usually fine grains were now united into one compact substance. Then, also, there was a rush onwards of their enemies pursuing them, without stopped to take breath, hastening to their own destruction, and a driving forward of the cloud that guarded the rear of the Hebrews, on which there was a certain divine appearance of fire emitting a brilliant blaze, and a reflux of the sea, which up to that moment had been cut in two parts and stood asunder, and a sudden returning of the part which had been cut off and dried up into its original channel, 5and an utter destruction of the enemy, whom the walls the sea, which had been congealed and which now turned back again, overwhelmed, and the sea pouring down and hurrying into what had just been a road, as if into some deep ravine, washed away every thing, and there was evidence of the completeness of the destruction in the bodies which floated on the waters, and which strewed the surface of the sea; and a great agitation of the waves, by which all the dead were cast up into a heap on the opposite shore, becoming a necessary spectacle to those who had been delivered, and to whom it had been granted not merely to escape from their dangers, but also to behold their enemies punished, in a manner too marvelous for description, by no human but by a divine power. 5For this mercy Moses very naturally honoured his Benefactor with hymns of

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gratitude. For having divided the host into two choruses, one of men and one of women, he himself became the leader of that of the men, and appointed his sister to be the chief of that of the women, that they might sing hymns to their father and Creator, joining in harmonies responsive to one another, by a combination of dispositions and melody, the former being eager to offer the same requital for the mercies which they had received, and the latter consisting of a symphony of the deep male with the high female voices, for the tones of men are deep and those of women are high; and when there is a perfect and harmonious combination of the two a most delightful and thoroughly harmonious melody is effected. 5And he persuaded all those myriads of men and women to be of one mind, and to sing in concert the same hymn at the same time in praise of those marvelous and mighty works which they had beheld, and which I have been just now relating. At which the prophet rejoicing, and seeing also the exceeding joy of his nation, and being himself too unable to contain his delight, began the song. And they who heard him being divided into two choruses, sang with him, taking the words which he uttered.

47 This is the beginning and preface of the prophecies of Moses under the influence of inspiration. After this he prophesied about the first and most necessary of all things, namely, food, which the earth did not produce, for it was barren and unfruitful; and the heaven rained down not once only, but every day for forty years, before the dawn of day, an ethereal fruit under the form of a dew very like millet seed. And Moses, when he saw it, commanded them to collect it; and being full of inspiration, said: "You must believe in God, inasmuch as you have already had experience of his mercies and benefits in matters beyond all your hopes. This food may not be treasured up or laid up in garners. Let no one leave any portion of it till the morning." When they heard this, some of those who had no firm piety, thinking perhaps that what was now said to them was not an oracle from God, but merely the advice of their leader, left some till the next day. And it putrified, and at first filled all the camp around with its foul smell, and then it turned to worms, the origin of which always is from corruption. 6And Moses, when he saw this, was naturally indignant with those who were thus disobedient; for how could he help being so, when those who had beheld such numerous and great actions which could not possibly be perverted into mere fictitious and well contrived appearances, but which had been easily accomplished by the divine providence, did not only doubt, but even absolutely disbelieved, and were the hardest of all man to be convinced? But the Father established the oracle of his prophet by two most conspicuous manifestations, the one of which he gave immediately by the destruction of what had been left, and by the evil stench which arose, and by the change of it into worms, the vilest of animals; and the other demonstration he afforded subsequently, for that which was over and above after that which had been collected by the multitude, was always melted away by the beams of the sun, and consumed, and destroyed in that manner.

48 He gave a second instance of his prophetical inspiration not long afterwards in the oracle which he delivered about the sacred seventh day. For though it had had a natural precedence over all other days, not only from the time that the world was created, but even before the origination of the heaven and all the objects perceptible to the outward senses, men still knew it not, perhaps because, by reason of the continued and uninterrupted destructions which had taken place by water and fire, succeeding generations had not been able to receive from former ones any traditions of the arrangement and order which had been established in the connexion of preceding times, which, as it was not known, Moses, now being inspired, declared to his people in an oracle which was borne testimony to by a visible sign from heaven. 6And the sign was this. A small portion of food descended from the air on the previous days, but a double portion on the day before the seventh day. And on the previous days, if any portion was left it became liquefied and melted away, until it was entirely changed into dew, and so consumed; but on this day it endured no alteration, but remained in the same state as before, and when this was reported to him, and beheld by him, Moses did not so much conjecture as receive the impulse of divine inspiration under which he prophesied of the seventh day. 6I omit to mention that all such conjectures are akin to prophecy; for the mind could never make such correct and felicitous conjectures, unless it were a divine spirit which guided their feet into the way of truth; 6and the miraculous nature of the sign was shown, not merely in the fact of the food being double in quantity, nor in that of its remaining unimpaired, contrary to the usual customs, but in both these circumstances taking place on the sixth day, from the day on which this food first began to be supplied from heaven, from which day the most sacred number of seven begun to be counted, so that if any one reckons he will find that this heavenly food was given in exact correspondence with the arrangement instituted at the creation of the world. For God began to create the world on the first day of a week of six days: and he began to rain down the food which has just been mentioned on the same first day; 6and the two images are alike; for as he produced that most perfect work, the world, bringing it out of non-existence into existence, so in the same manner did he produce plenty in the wilderness, changing the elements with reference to the pressing necessity, that, instead of the earth, the air might bestow food without labour, and without trouble, to those who had no opportunity of providing themselves with food at their leisure. 6After this he delivered to the people a third oracle of the most marvelous nature, namely that on the seventh day the air would not afford the accustomed food, and that not the very slightest portion would fall upon the earth, as it did on other days; 6and this turned out to be the case in point of fact; for he delivered this prediction on the day before; but some of those who were unstable in their dispositions, went forth to collect it, and being deceived in their expectations, returned unsuccessful, reproaching themselves for their unbelief, and calling the prophet the only true prophet, the only one who knew the will of God, and the only one who had any foreknowledge of what was uncertain and future.

49 Such then are the predictions which he delivered, under the influence of inspiration, respecting the food which came down from heaven; but he also delivered others in succession of great necessity, though they appeared to resemble recommendations rather than actual oracles; one of which is that prediction, which he delivered respecting their greatest abandonment of their national customs, of which I have already spoken, when they made a golden calf in imitation of the Egyptian worship and folly, and established dances and prepared an altar, and offered up sacrifices, forgetful of the true God and discarding the noble disposition of their ancestors, which had been increased by piety and holiness, at which Moses as very indignant, first of all, at all the people having thus suddenly become blind, which but a short time before had been the most sharp-sighted of all nations; and secondly, at a vain invention of fable being able to extinguish such exceeding brilliancy of truth, which even the sun in its eclipse or the whole company of the stars could never darken; for it is comprehended by its own light, appreciable by the intellect and incorporeal, in comparison of which the light, which is perceptible by the external senses, is like night if compared to day. And, moved by this cause, he no longer continued as before, but leaped as it were out of his former appearance and disposition, and became inspired, and said, "Who is there who has not consented to this error, and who has not given sanction to what ought not to be sanctioned? Let all such come over to Me." [Exodus 32:26.] 7And when one tribe had come over to him, and not less with their minds than with their bodies, who indeed had some time before been eager for the slaughter of the impious and wicked doers, and who had sought for a leader and chief of their host who would justly point out to them the opportunity and proper manner of repressing their wickedness; then he, seeing that they were enraged and full of good confidence and courage, was inspired still more than before, and said, "Let every one of you take a sword, and go swiftly through the whole army, and slay not only strangers, but also those who are nearest and dearest to him of his own friends and relations, attacking them all, judging his action to be a most holy one, as being in the defense of truth and of the honour due to God, to fight for which, and to be the champion of which objects, is the lightest of labours." So they rushed forth with a shout, and slew three thousand, especially those who were the leaders of this impiety, and not only were excused themselves from having had any participation in the wicked boldness of the others, but were also enrolled among the most noble of valiant men, and were thought worthy of an honour and reward most appropriate to their action, to wit the priesthood. For it was inevitable that those men should be ministers of holiness, who had shown themselves valiant in defense of it, and had warred bravely as its champions.

50 I have also another still more marvelous and prodigy-like oracle to report, which indeed I have mentioned before, when I was relating the circumstances of the high priesthood of the prophet, one which he himself uttered when fully inspired by the divine spirit, and which received its accomplishment at no long period afterwards, but at the very moment that it was delivered. 7There were two classes of ministrations concerning the temple; the higher one belonging to the priests, and the lower one to the keepers of the temple; and there were at this time three priests, but many thousand keepers of the temple. These men, being puffed up at the exceeding greatness of their own numbers, despised the scanty numbers of the priests; and so they concerted two impious attempts at the same time, the one of which was the destruction of those who were superior to them, and the other was the promotion of the inferior body, the subjects as it were attacking the leaders, to the confusion and overthrow of that most excellent and most beneficial thing for the people, namely order. Then, joining together and assembling in one place, they cried out upon the prophet as if he had given the priesthood to his brother, and to his nephews, out of consideration for their relationship to him, and had given a false account of their appointment, as if it had not taken place under the direction of divine providence, as we have represented. And Moses, being vexed and grieved beyond measure at these things, although he was the meekest and mildest of men, was not so excited to a just anger by his disposition, which hated iniquity, that he besought God to reject their sacrifice. Not because there was any chance of that most righteous Judge receiving the unholy offerings of wicked men, but because the soul of the man who loved God could not be silent for his part, so eager was it that the wicked should not prosper, but should always fail in their purpose; 8and while he was still boiling over and inflamed with anger by this lawful indignation he became inspired, and changed into a prophet, and uttered the following oracles. "Apostacy is an evil thing, but these faithless men shall be taught, not only by words but also by actions; they shall, by personal suffering, learn my truth and good faith, since they would not learn it by ordinary instruction; 8and this shall be discerned in the end of their life: for it they receive the ordinary death according to nature, then I have invented these oracles; but if they experience a new and unprecedented destruction, then my truth will be testified to; for I see chasms of the earth opening against them, and widened to the greatest extent, and numbers of men perishing in them, dragged down into the gulf with all their kindred, and their very houses swallowed up, and the men going down alive into hell." And when he ceased speaking the earth was cloven asunder, being shaken by an earthquake, and it was burst open, especially where the tents of those wicked men were so that they were all swallowed up together, and so hidden from sight. For the parts which were rent asunder came together again as soon as the purpose for which they had been divided was accomplished. And a little after this thunderbolts fell on a sudden from heaven, and slew two hundred men, the leaders of this sedition, and destroyed them all together, not leaving any portion of their bodies to receive burial. And the rapid and unintermittent character of the punishment, and the magnitude of each infliction, rendered the piety of the prophet conspicuous and universally celebrated, as he thus brought God forward as a witness of the truth of his oracular denunciations. We must also not overlook this circumstance, that both earth and heaven, which are the first principles of the universe, bore their share in the punishment of these wicked men, for they had rooted their wickedness in the earth, and extended it up to the sky, raising it to that vast height, 8on which account each of the elements contributed its part to their chastisement, the earth, so as to drag down and swallow up those who were at that time weighing it down, bursting asunder and dividing; and the heaven, by tearing up and destroying them, raining down a mighty storm of much fire, a most novel kind of rain, and the end was the same, 8both to those who were swallowed up by the earth and to those who were destroyed by the thunderbolts, for neither of them were seen any more; the one body being concealed by the earth, the chasm being united again and meeting as before, so as to make solid ground; and the other people being consumed entirely by the fire of the thunderbolts.

51 And some time afterwards, when he was about to depart from hence to heaven, to take up his abode there, and leaving this mortal life to become immortal, having been summoned by the Father, who now changed him, having previously been a double being, composed of soul and body, into the nature of a single body, transforming him wholly and entirely into a most sun-like mind; he then, being wholly possessed by inspiration, does not seem any longer to have prophesied comprehensively to the whole nation altogether, but to have predicted to each tribe separately what would happen to each of them, and to their future generations, some of which things have already come to pass, and some are still expected, because the accomplishment of those predictions which have been fulfilled is the clearest testimony to the future. For it was very appropriate that those who were different in the circumstances of their birth and in the mothers, from whom they were descended, should differ also in the variety of their designs and counsels, and also in the excessive diversity of their pursuits in life, and should therefore have for their inheritance, as it were, a different distribution of oracles and predictions. 9These things, therefore, are wonderful; and most wonderful of all is the end of his sacred writings, which is to the whole book of the law what the head is to an animal. For when he was now on the point of being taken away, and was standing at the very starting-place, as it were, that he might fly away and complete his journey to heaven, he was once more inspired and filled with the Holy Spirit, and while still alive, he prophesied admirably what should happen to himself after his death, relating, that is, how he had died when he was not as yet dead, and how he was buried without any one being present so as to know of his tomb, because in fact he was entombed not by mortal hands, but by immortal powers, so that he was not placed in the tomb of his forefathers, having met with particular grace which no man ever saw; and mentioning further how the whole nation mourned for him with tears a whole month, displaying the individual and general sorrow on account of his unspeakable benevolence towards each individual and towards the whole collective host,

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and of the wisdom with which he had ruled them. 9Such was the life and such was the death of the king, and lawgiver, and high priest, and prophet, Moses, as it is recorded in the sacred scriptures.

THE DECALOGUE (THE TEN COMMANDMENTS)

1 (I have in my former treatises set forth the lives of Moses and the other wise men down to his time, whom the sacred scriptures point out as the founders and leaders of our nation, and as its unwritten laws; I will now, as seems pointed out by the natural order of my subject, proceed to describe accurately the character of those laws which are recorded in writing, not omitting any allegorical meaning which may perchance be concealed beneath the plain language, from that natural love of more recondite and labourious knowledge which is accustomed to seek for what is obscure before, and in preference to, what is evident. (And to those who raise the question why the lawgiver gave his laws not in cities but in the deep desert, we must say, in the first place, that the generality of cities are full of unspeakable evils, and of acts of audacious impiety towards the Deity, and of injustice on the part of the citizens to one another; (for there is nothing which is wholly free from alloy, what is spurious getting the better of what is genuine, and what is plausible of what is true; which things in their nature are false, but which suggest plausible imaginations to the engendering of deceit in cities; (from whence also that most designing of all things, namely pride, is implanted, which some persons admire and worship, dignifying and making much of vain opinions, with golden crowns and purple robes, and numbers of servants and chariots, on which those men who are looked upon as fortunate and happy are borne aloft, sometimes harnessing mules or horses to their chariots, and sometimes even men, who bear their burdens on their necks, through the excess of the insolence of their masters, weighed down in soul even before they faint in body.

2 (Pride is also the cause of many other evils, such as insolence, arrogance, and impiety. And these are the beginnings of foreign and civil wars, allowing nothing whatever to rest in peace in any part, whether it be public or private, by sea or by land. (And why need I mention the offences of such men against one another? For even divine things are neglected by pride, even though they are generally thought to be entitled to the highest honour. And what honour can there be where there is not truth also which has an honourable name and reality, since falsehood, on the other hand, is by nature devoid of honour; (and the neglect of divine things is evident to those who see clearly; for they, having fashioned an infinite variety of appearances by the arts of painting and sculpture, have surrounded them with temples and shrines, and have erected altars, and adorned them with images and statues, and erections of that kind, giving celestial honours to all sorts of inanimate things, (and these men the sacred scriptures very felicitously liken to men born of a harlot. For as these men are inscribed as the children of all the lovers whom their mothers have had and call their fathers, from ignorance of the one who is by nature their real father, so also these men in cities, not knowing the truly and really existing and true God, have made deities of an innumerable host of false gods. (Then, as different beings were treated with divine honours by different nations, the diversity of opinions respecting the Supreme Being, begot also disputes about all kinds of other subjects; and it was from having a regard to these facts in the first place that Moses decided on giving his laws outside of the city. He also considered this point, in the second place, that it is indispensable that the soul of the man who is about to receive sacred laws should be thoroughly cleansed and purified from all stains, however difficult to be washed out, which the promiscuous multitude of mixed men from all quarters has impregnated cities with; and this is impossible to be effected unless the man dwells apart; and even then it cannot be done in a moment, but only at a much later period, when the impressions of ancient transgressions, originally deeply imprinted, have become by little and little fainter, and gradually become more and more dim, and at last totally effaced; in this manner those who are skilful in the art of medicine, save their patients; for they do not think it advisable to give food before they have removed the causes of their diseases; for while the diseases remain, food is useless, being the pernicious materials of their sufferings.

3 Very naturally therefore, having led his people from the injurious associations prevailing in the cities, into the desert, that he might purify their souls from their offences he begun to bring them food for their minds; and what could this food be but divine laws and reasonings? The third cause is this; as men who set out on a long voyage do not when they have embarked on board ship, and started from the harbour, then begin for the first time to prepare their masts, and cables, and rudders, but, while still remaining on the land, they make ready everything which can conduce to the success of their voyage; so in the same manner Moses did not think it fit that his people, after they had received their inheritances, and settled as inhabitants of their cities, should then seek laws in accordance with which they were to regulate their cities, but that, having previously prepared laws and constitutions, and being trained in those regulations, by which nations can be governed with safety, they should then be settled in their cities, being prepared at once to use the just regulations which were already prepared for them, in unanimity and a complete participation in and proper distribution of those things which were fitting for each person.

4 And some persons say that there is also a fourth cause which is not inconsistent with, but as near as possible to the truth; for that, as it was necessary that a conviction should be implanted in the minds of men that these laws were not the inventions of men, but the most indubitable oracles of God, he on that account, led the people as far as possible from the cities into the deep wilderness, which was barren not only of all fruits that admitted of cultivation, but even of wholesome water, in order that, when after having found themselves in want of necessary food, and expecting to be destroyed by hunger and thirst, they should on a sudden find themselves amid abundance of all necessary things, spontaneously springing up around them; the heaven itself raining down upon them food called manna, and as a seasoning delicacy to that meat an abundance of quails from the air; and the bitter water being sweetened so as to become drinkable, and the precipitous rock pouring forth springs of sweet water; then they might no longer look back upon the Nile with wonder, nor be in doubt as to whether those laws were the laws of God, having received a most manifest proof of the fact from the supplies by which they now found their scarcity relieved beyond all their previous expectations; for they would see that he, who had given them a sufficiency of the means of life was now also giving them a means which should contribute to their living well; accordingly, to live at all required meat and drink which they found, though they had never prepared them; and towards living well, and in accordance with nature and decorum, they required laws and enactments, by which they were likely to be improved in their minds.

5 These are the causes which may be advanced by probable conjecture, to explain the question which is raised on this point; for the true causes God alone knows. But having said what is fitting concerning these matters, I shall now proceed in regular order to discuss the laws themselves with accuracy and precision: first of all of necessity, mentioning this point, that of his laws God himself, without having need of any one else, thought fit to promulgate some by himself alone, and some he promulgated by the agency of his prophet Moses, whom he selected, by reason of his pre-eminent excellence, out of all men, as the most suitable man to be the interpreter of his will. Now those which he delivered in his own person by himself alone, are both laws in general, and also the heads of particular laws; and those which he promulgated by the agency of his prophet are all referred to those others; and I will explain each kind as well as I can.

6 And first of all, I will speak of those which rather resemble heads of laws, of which in the first place one must at once admire the number, inasmuch as they are completed in the perfect number of the decade, which contains every variety of number, both those which are even, and those which are odd, and those which are even-odd;[liddell and Scott explain this as meaning such even numbers as become odd when divided, as 2, 6, 10, 14, etc.] the even numbers being such as two, the odd numbers such as three, the even-odd such as five, it also comprehends all the varieties of the multiplication of numbers, and of those numbers which contain a whole number and a fraction, and of those which contain several fractional parts; it comprehends likewise all the proportions; the arithmetical, which exceeds and it exceeded by an equal number: as in the case of the numbers one, and two, and three; and the geometrical, according to which, as the proportion of the first number is to the second, the same is the ratio of the second to the third, as is the case in the numbers one, two and four; and also in multiplication, which double, or treble, or in short multiply figures to any extent; also in those which are half as much again as the numbers first spoken of, or one third greater, and so on. It also contains the harmonic proportion, in accordance with which that number which is in the middle between two extremities, is exceeded by the one, and exceeds the other by an equal part; as is the case with the numbers three, four, and six. The decade also contains the visible peculiar properties of the triangles, and squares, and other polygonal figures; also the peculiar properties of symphonic ratios, that of the diatessaron in proportion exceeding by one fourth, as is the ratio of four to three; that of fifths exceeding in the ratio of half as much again, as is the case with the proportion of three to two. Also, that of the diapason, where the proportion is precisely twofold, as is the ratio of two to one, or that of the double diapason, where the proportion is fourfold, as in the ratio of eight to two. And it is in reference to this fact that the first philosophers appear to me to have affixed the names to things which they have given them. For they were wise men, and therefore they very speciously called the number ten the decade (tel'n dekada), as being that which received every thing (hol'sanei dechada ousan), from receiving (tou dechesthai) and containing every kind of number, and ratio connected with number, and every proportion, and harmony, and symphony.

7 Moreover, at all events, in addition to what has been already said, any one may reasonably admire the decade for the following reason, that it contains within itself a nature which is at the same time devoid of intervals and capable of containing them. Now that nature which has no connexion with intervals is beheld in a point alone; but that which is capable of containing intervals is beheld under three appearances, a line, and a superficies, and a solid. For that which is bounded by two points is a line; and that which has two dimensions or intervals is a superficies, the line being extended by the addition of breadth; and that which has three intervals is a solid, length and breadth having taken to themselves the addition of depth. And with these three nature is content; for she has not engendered more intervals or dimensions than these three. And the archetypal numbers, which are the models of these three are, of the point the limit, of the line the number two, and of the superficies the number three, and of the solid the number four; the combination of which, that is to say of one, and two, and three, and four completes the decade, which displays other beauties also in addition to those which are visible. For one may almost say that the whole infinity of numbers is measured by this one, because the boundaries which make it up are four, namely, one, two, three, and four; and an equal number of boundaries, corresponding to them in equal proportions, make up the number of a hundred out of decades; for ten, and twenty, and thirty, and forty produce a hundred. And in the same way one may produce the number of a thousand from hundreds, and that of a myriad from thousands. And the unit, and the decade, and the century, and the thousand, are the four boundaries which generate the decade, which last number, besides what has been already said, displays also other differences of numbers, both the first, which is measured by the unit alone, of which an instance is found in the numbers three, or five, or seven; and the square which is the fourth power, which is an equally equal number. Also the cube, which is the eighth power, which is equally equal equally, and also the perfect number, the number six, which is made equal to its component parts, three, and two, and one.

8 But what is the use now of enumerating the excellencies of the decade, which are infinite in number; treating our most important task as one of no importance, which is, indeed, of itself most all-sufficient, and worthy material for the study of those who devote themselves to mathematics? The other points we must pass over for the present; but perhaps it may not be out of place to mention one by way of example; for those who have devoted themselves to the doctrines of philosophy say that what are called the categories in nature are ten only in number, --quality, essence, quantity, relation, action, passion, possession, condition, and those two without which nothing can exist, time and place. For there is nothing which is devoid of participation in these things; as, for instance, I partake of essence, borrowing of each one of the elements of which the whole world was made, that is to say, of earth and water, and air and fire, what is sufficient for my own existence. I also partake of quality, inasmuch as I am a man; and of quantity, inasmuch as I am a man of such and such a size. I also partake of relation, when any one is on my right hand or on my left. Again, I am in action when I rub or burn any thing. I am in passion when I am cut or rubbed by any one else. I am discerned as a possessor, when I am clothed or equipped with anything. And I am seen in condition, when sitting still or lying down. And I am altogether in time and place, since not one of all the categories just mentioned can exist without both these things.

9 This, then, may be enough to say on these subjects; but it is necessary now to connect with these things what I am about to say, namely, that it was the Father of the universe who delivered these ten maxims, or oracles, or laws and enactments, as they truly are, to the whole assembled nation of men and women altogether. Did he then do so, uttering himself some kind of voice? Away! let not such an idea ever enter your mind; for God is not like a man, in need of a mouth, and of a tongue, and of a windpipe, but as it seems to me, he at that time wrought a most conspicuous and evidently holy miracle, commanding an invisible sound to be created in the air, more marvelous than all the instruments that ever existed, attuned to perfect harmonies; and that not an inanimate one, nor yet, on the other hand, one that at all resembled any nature composed of soul and body; but rather it was a rational soul filled with clearness and distinctness, which fashioned the air and stretched it out and changed it into a kind of flaming fire, and so sounded forth so loud and articulate a voice like a breath passing through a trumpet, so that those who were at a great distance appeared to hear equally with those who were nearest to it. For the voices of men, when they are spread over a very long distance, do naturally become weaker and weaker, so that those who are at a distance from them cannot arrive at a clear comprehension of them, but their understanding is gradually dimmed by the extension of the sound over a larger space, since the organs also by which it is extended are perishable. But the power of God, breathing forth vigorously,

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aroused and excited a new kind of miraculous voice, and diffusing its sound in every direction, made the end more conspicuous at a distance than the beginning, implanting in the soul of each individual another hearing much superior to that which exists through the medium of the ears. For the one, being in some degree a slower kind of external sense, remains in a state of inactivity until it is struck by the air, and so put in motion. But the sense of the inspired mind outstrips that, going forth with the most rapid motion to meet what is said.

10 This, then, may be enough to say about the divine voice. But a person may very reasonably raise the question on what account it happened, when there were so vast a number of myriads of men collected into one place that Moses chose to deliver each of the ten commandments in such a form as if they had been addressed not to many persons but to one, saying:--

Thou shall not commit adultery.

Thou shall not steal.

Thou shall not Kill. [Exodus 20:13.]

And giving the other commandments in the same form. We must say, therefore that he is desirous here to teach that most excellent lesson to those who read the sacred scriptures, that each separate individual by himself when he is an observer of the law and obedient to God, is of equal estimation with a whole nation, be it ever so populous, or I might rather say, with all the nations upon earth. And if I were to think fit I might proceed further and say, with all the world; because in another passage of the scriptures God, praising a certain just man, says, "I am thy God." [Genesis 17:1.] But the same being was also the God of the world; so that all those who are subject to him are arranged according to the same classification, and, if they be equally pleasing to the supreme Governor of them all, they partake of an equal acceptance and honour. And, secondly, we must say that any one addressing himself to an assembly in common as to a multitude is not bound to speak as if he were conversing with a single individual, but sometimes he commands or forbids a thing in a particular manner in such a way that whatever he commands does at once appear requisite to be done by every one who hears him, and does also seem to be commanded to the whole collective multitude together; for the man who receives an admonition as if addressed to himself personally is more inclined to obey it; but he who hears it as if it were only directed to him in common with others is, to a certain degree, rendered deaf to it, making the multitude a kind of veil and excuse for his obstinacy. A third view of the question is, that no king or tyrant may ever despise an obscure private individual, from being full of insolence and haughty pride; but that such an one, coming as a pupil to the school of the sacred laws, may relax his eyebrows, unlearning his self-opinionativeness, and yielding rather to true reason. For if the uncreated, and immortal, and everlasting God, who is in need of nothing and who is the maker of the universe, and the benefactor and King of kings, and God of gods, cannot endure to overlook even the meanest of human beings, but has thought even such worthy of being banqueted in sacred oracles and laws, as if he were about to give him a lovefeast, and to prepare for him alone a banquet for the refreshing and expanding of his soul instructed in the divine will and in the manner in which the great ceremonies ought to be performed, how can it be right for me, who am a mere mortal, to hold my head up high and to allow myself to be puffed up, behaving with insolence to my equals whose fortunes may, perhaps, not be equal to mine, but whose relationship to me is equal and complete, inasmuch as they are set down as the children of one mother, the common nature of all men? I will, therefore, behave myself in an affable, and courteous, and conciliatory manner to all men, even if I should obtain the dominion over the whole earth and the whole sea, and especially to those who are in the greatest difficulties and of the least reputation, and who are destitute of all assistance from kindred of their own, to those who are orphaned of either or of both their parents, to women who have experienced widowhood, and to old men who have either never had any children at all, or who have lost at an early age those who have been born to them; for, inasmuch as I myself am a man, I will not think it right to cherish a pompous and tragedian-like dignity of manner, but I will keep myself within my nature, not transgressing its boundaries, but accustoming my mind to bear human events with complacency and equanimity. Not only because of the unforeseen changes by which things of one character assume a different appearance, both in the case of those in prosperity and of those who are in adversity, but also because it is becoming, even if prosperity were to remain unaltered and unshaken that a man should not forget himself. For these reasons it appears to me to have been that God expressed his oracular commandments in the singular number, as if they were directed to a single individual.

11 And, moreover, as was natural, he filled the whole place with miraculous signs and works, with noises of thunder too great for the hearing to support, and with the most radiant brilliancy of flashes of lightning, and with the sound of an invisible trumpet extending to a great distance, and with the march of a cloud, which, like a pillar, had its foundation fixed firmly on the earth, but raised the rest of its body even to the height of heaven; and, last of all, by the impetuosity of a heavenly fire, which overshadowed everything around with a dense smoke. For it was fitting that, when the power of God came among them, none of the parts of the world should be quiet, but that everything should be put in motion to minister to his service. And the people stood by, having kept themselves clean from all connexion with women, and having abstained from all pleasures, except those which arise from a participation in necessary food, having been purifying themselves with baths and ablutions for three days, and having washed their garments and being all clothed in the purest white robes, and standing on tiptoe and pricking up their ears, in compliance with the exhortations of Moses, who had forewarned them to prepare for the solemn assembly; for he knew that such would take place, when he, having been summoned up alone, gave forth the prophetic commands of God. And a voice sounded forth from out of the midst of the fire which had flowed from heaven, a most marvelous and awful voice, the flame being endowed with articulate speech in a language familiar to the hearers, which expressed its words with such clearness and distinctness that the people seemed rather to be seeing than hearing it. And the law testifies to the accuracy of my statement, where it is written, "And all the people beheld the voice most evidently." For the truth is that the voice of men is calculated to be heard; but that of God to be really and truly seen. Why is this? Because all that God says are not words, but actions which the eyes determine on before the ears. It is, therefore, with great beauty, and also with a proper sense of what is consistent with the dignity of God, that the voice is said to have come forth out of the fire; for the oracles of God are accurately understood and tested like gold by the fire. And God also intimates to us something of this kind by a figure. Since the property of fire is partly to give light, and partly to burn, those who think fit to show themselves obedient to the sacred commands shall live for ever and ever as in a light which is never darkened, having his laws themselves as stars giving light in their soul. But all those who are stubborn and disobedient are for ever inflamed, and burnt, and consumed by their internal appetites, which, like flame, will destroy all the life of those who possess them.

12 These, then, were the things which it was necessary to explain beforehand. But now we must turn to the commands themselves, and investigate everything which is marked by especial importance or difference in them. Now God divided them, being ten, as they are, into two tables of five each, which he engraved on two pillars. And the first five have the precedence and pre-eminence in honour; but the second five have an inferior place assigned to them. But both the tables are beautiful and advantageous to life, opening to men wrought and level roads kept within limits by one end, so as to secure the unwavering and secure progress of that soul which is continually desiring what is most excellent. Now the most excellent five were of this character, they related to the monarchial principle on which the world is governed; to images and statues, and in short to all erections of any kind made by hand; to the duty of not taking the name of God in vain; to that of keeping the holy seventh day in a manner worthy of its holiness; to paying honour to parents both separately to each, and commonly to both. So that of the one table the beginning is the God and Father and Creator of the universe; and the end are one's parents, who imitate his nature, and so generate the particular individuals. And the other table of five contains all the prohibitions against adulteries, and murder, and theft, and false witness, and covetousness. But we must consider, with all the accuracy possible, each of these oracles separately, not looking upon any one of them as superfluous. Now the best beginning of all living beings is God, and of all virtues, piety. And we must, therefore, speak of these two principles in the first place. There is an error of no small importance which has taken possession of the greater portion of mankind concerning a subject which was likely by itself, or, at least, above all other subjects, to have been fixed with the greatest correctness and truth in the mind of every one; for some nations have made divinities of the four elements, earth and water, and air and fire. Others, of the sun and moon, and of the other planets and fixed stars. Others, again, of the whole world. And they have all invented different appellations, all of them false, for these false gods put out of sight that most supreme and most ancient of all, the Creator, the ruler of the great city, the general of the invincible army, the pilot who always guides everything to its preservation; for they call the earth Proserpine, and Ceres, and Pluto. And the sea they call Neptune, inventing besides a number of marine deities as subservient to him, and vast companies of attendants, both male and female. The air they call Juno; fire, Vulcan; and the sun, Apollo; the moon, Diana; and the evening star, Venus; Lucifer, they call Mercury; and to every one of the stars they have affixed names and given them to the inventors of fables, who have woven together cleverly-contrived imaginations to deceive the ear, and have appeared to have been themselves the ingenious inventors of these names thus given. Again, in their descriptions, they divided the heaven into two parts, each one hemisphere, the one being above the earth and the other under the earth, which they called the Dioscuri;[dios kouroi. Sons of Jupiter, i.e., Castor and Pollux. The Gemini or Twins of the Zodiac. The story of their living and dying on alternate days is alluded to by Virgil, Aen. 6.121, where Aeneas says (as it is translated by Dryden)--"If Pollux, off'ring his alternate life, / Could free his brother; and can daily go / By turns aloft, by turns descend below."] inventing, besides, a marvelous story concerning their living on alternate days. For, as the heaven is everlasting revolving, in a circle without any cessation or interruption, it follows of necessity that each of the hemispheres must every day be in a different position from that which it was in the day before, everything being turned upside down as far as appearance goes, at least; for, in point of fact, there is no such thing as any uppermost or undermost in a spherical figure. And this expression is only used with reference to our own formation and position; that which is over our head being called uppermost, and that which is in the opposite direction being called undermost. Accordingly, to one who understands how to apply himself to philosophy in a genuine, honest spirit, and who lays claim to a guiltless and pure piety, God gives that most beautiful and holy commandment, that he shall not believe that any one of the parts of the world is its own master, for it has been created; and the fact of having been created implies a liability to destruction, even though the thing created may be made immortal by the providence of the Creator; and there was a time once when it had no existence, but it is impiety to say that there was a previous time when God did not exist, and that he was born at some time, and that he does not endure for ever.

13 But some persons indulge in such foolish notions respecting their judgements on these points, that they not only look upon the things which have been mentioned above as gods, but as each separate one of them as the greatest and first of gods, either because they are really ignorant of the true living God, from their nature being uninstructed, or else because they have no desire to learn, because they believe that there is no cause of things invisible, and appreciable only by the intellect, apart from the objects of the external senses, and this too, though the most distinct possible proof is close at hand; for though, as it is owing to the soul that they live, and form designs, and do everything which is done in human life, they nevertheless have never been able to behold their soul with their eyes, nor would they be able if they were to strive with all imaginable eagerness, wishing to see it as the most beautiful possible of all images or appearances, from a sight of which they might, by a sort of comparison, derive a notion of the uncreated and everlasting God, who rules and guides the whole world in such a way as to secure its preservation, being himself invisible. As, therefore, if any one were to assign the honours of the great king to his satraps and viceroys, he would appear to be not only the most ignorant and senseless of men, but also the most fool-hardy, giving to slaves what belongs to the master; in the same manner, let the man who honours the Creator, with the same honours as those with which he regards the creature, know that he is of all men the most foolish and the most unjust, in giving equal things to unequal persons, and that too not in such a way as to do honour to the inferior, but only to take it from the superior. There are again some who exceed in impiety, not giving the Creator and the creature even equal honour, but assigning to the latter all honour, and respect, and reverence, and to the former nothing at all, not thinking him worthy of even the common respect of being recollected; for they forget him whom alone they should recollect, aiming, like demented and miserable men as they are, at attaining to an intentional forgetfulness. Some men again are so possessed with an insolent and free-spoken madness, that they make an open display of the impiety which dwells in their hearts, and venture to blaspheme the Deity, whetting an evil-speaking tongue, and desiring, at the same time, to vex the pious, who immediately feel an indescribable and irreconcilable affliction, which enters in at their ears and pervades the whole soul; for this is the great engine of impious men, by which alone they bridle those who love God, as they think it better at the moment to preserve silence, for the sake of not provoking their wickedness further.

14 Let us, therefore, reject all such impious dishonesty, and not worship those who are our brothers by nature, even though they may have received a purer and more immortal essence than ourselves (for all created things are brothers to one another, inasmuch as they are created; since the Father of them all is one, the Creator of the universe); but let us rather, with our mind and reason, and with all our strength, gird ourselves up vigorously and energetically to the service of that Being who is uncreated and everlasting, and the maker of the universe, never shrinking or turning aside from it, nor yielding to a desire of pleasing the multitude, by which even those who might be saved are often destroyed. Let us, therefore, fix deeply in ourselves this first commandment as the most sacred of all commandments, to think that there is but one God, the most highest, and to honour him alone; and let not the polytheistical doctrine ever even touch the ears of any man who is accustomed to seek for the truth, with purity

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and sincerity of heart; for those who are ministers and servants of the sun, and of the moon, and of all the host of heaven, or of it in all its integrity or of its principal parts, are in grievous error; (how can they fail to be, when they honour the subjects instead of the prince?) but still they sin less grievously than the others, who have fashioned stocks, and stones, and silver, and gold, and similar materials according to their own pleasure, making images, and statues, and all kinds of other things wrought by the hand; the workmanship in which, whether by statuary, or painter, or artisan, has done great injury to the life of man, having filled the whole habitable world. For they have cut away the most beautiful support of the soul, namely the proper conception of the ever-living God; and therefore, like ships without ballast, they are tossed about in every direction for ever, being borne in every direction, so as never once to reach the haven, and never to be able to anchor firmly in truth, being blind respecting that which is worth seeing, and the only object as to which it is absolutely necessary to be sharp-sighted; and such men appear to me to have a more miserable life than those who are deprived of their bodily sight; for these latter have either been injured without their own consent, or else have endured some terrible disease of the eyes, or else have been plotted against by their enemies; but those others by their own deliberate intention, have not only dimmed the eye of their soul, but have even chosen utterly to discard it; on which account pity is bestowed on the one class as unfortunate, but the other class are justly punished as being wicked, who in conjunction with others have not chosen to recognise that fact which even an infant child would understand, namely, that the Creator is better than the creature; for he is both more ancient in point of time, and is also in a manner the father of that which he has made. He is also superior in power, for the agent is more glorious than the patient. And though it would be proper, if they had not committed sins, to deify the painters and statuaries themselves with exceeding honours, they have left them in obscurity, giving them no advantage, but have looked upon the figures which have been made, or the pictures which have been painted by them, as gods; and these artists have often grown old in poverty and obscurity, dying, worn out by incessant misfortunes, while the things which they have fabricated, are made splendid with purple, and gold, and all sorts of costly splendour which wealth can furnish, and are worshipped not only by freemen but even by men of noble birth, and of the greatest personal strength and beauty. For the race of priests is scrutinised with the greatest rigour and minuteness, to see whether they are without blemish, and to see whether the whole combination of the parts of their bodies is entire and perfect; and these are not the worst points of all, bad as they are: but this is entirely intolerable, for I have known before now, some of the very men who have made the things, praying and sacrificing to the very things which have been made by them, when it would have been more to their purpose to worship either of their own hands, or, if they feared the reproach of self-conceit, and therefore did not choose to do that, at all events to worship their anvils, and hammers, and graving tools, and compasses, and other instruments, by means of which the materials have been fashioned into shape.

15 And yet it is well for us, speaking with all proper freedom, to say to those who have shown themselves so devoid of sense; "My good men, the best of all prayers, and the end, and proper object of happiness, is to attain to a likeness to God. Do you therefore pray to become like those erections of yours, that so you may reap the most supreme happiness, neither seeing with your eyes, nor hearing with your ears, nor respiring, nor smelling with your nostrils, nor speaking, nor tasting with your mouth, nor taking, nor giving, nor doing anything with your hands, nor walking with your feet, nor doing anything at all with any one of your members, but being as it were confined and guarded in the temple, as if in a prison, and day and night continually imbibing the steam from the sacrifices offered up; for this is the only one good thing which can be attributed to any kind of building or erection." But I think that when they hear these things, they will be indignant, as if they were listening not to prayers, but to curses, and that they will take refuge in such defense as chance may furnish them with, bringing retaliatory accusations; which may be the greatest proof of the manifest and undesirable impiety of those men, who look upon those beings as gods, to whom they themselves would never wish to have their own natures assimilated.

16 Let no one therefore of those beings who are endowed with souls, worship any thing that is devoid of a soul; for it would be one of the most absurd things possible for the works of nature to be diverted to the service of those things which are made by hand; and against Egypt, not only is that common accusation brought, to which the whole country is liable, but another charge also, which is of a more special character, and with great fitness; for besides falling down to statues, and images they have also introduced irrational animals, to the honours due to the gods, such as bulls, and rams, and goats, inventing some prodigious fiction with regard to each of them; and as to these particular animals, they have indeed some reason for what they do, for they are the most domestic, and the most useful to life. The bull, as a plougher, draws furrows for the reception of the seed, and is again the most powerful of all animals to thresh the corn out when it is necessary to purify it of the chaff; the ram gives us the most beautiful garments for the coverings of our persons; for if our bodies were naked, they would easily be destroyed either through heat, or though intense cold, caused at one time by the blaze of the sun, and at another by the cooling of the air. But as it is they go beyond these animals, and select the most fierce, and untameable of all wild animals, honouring lions, and crocodiles, and of reptiles the poisonous asp, with temples, and sacred precincts, and sacrifices, and assemblies in their honour, and solemn processions, and things of that kind. For if they were to seek out in both elements, among all the things given to man for his use by God, searching through earth and water, they would never find any animal on the land more savage than the lion, or any aquatic animal more fierce than the crocodile, both which creatures they honour and worship; they have also deified many other animals, dogs, ichneumons, wolves, birds, ibises, and hawks, and even fish, taking sometimes the whole, and sometimes only a part; and what can be more ridiculous than this Conduct? [this was one of the things which especially excited the ridicule of the Romans. Juvenal says, Sat. 15.1, (as it is translated by Gifford)--"Who knows not to what monstrous gods, my friend, / The mad inhabitants of Egypt bend? / The snake devouring ibis, these enshrine / Those think the crocodile alone divine; / Others, where Thebes' vast ruins strew the ground / And shattered Memnon yields a magic sound, / Set up a glittering brute of uncouth shape, / And bow before the image of an ape! / Thousands regard the hound with holy fear, / Not one Diana."] And, accordingly, the first foreigners who arrived in Egypt were quite worn out with laughing at and ridiculing these superstitions, till their minds had become impregnated with the conceit of the natives; but all those who have tasted of right instruction, are amazed and struck with consternation, at their system of ennobling things which are not noble, and pity those who give into it, thinking the men, as is very natural, more miserable than even the objects which they honour, since they in their souls are changed into those very animals, so as to appear to be merely brutes in human form, now returning to their original nature. Therefore, God, removing out of his sacred legislation all such impious deification of undeserving objects, has invited men to the honour of the one true and living God; not indeed that he has any need himself to be honoured; for being all-sufficient for himself, he has no need of any one else; but he has done so, because he wished to lead the race of mankind, hitherto wandering about in trackless deserts, into a road from which they should not stray, that so by following nature it might find the best and end of all things, namely, the knowledge of the true and living God, who is the first and most perfect of all good things; from whom, as from a fountain, all particular blessings are showered upon the world, and upon the things are people in it.

17 Having now spoken of the second commandment to the best of our ability, let us proceed to investigate the one which follows with accuracy, as is pointed out by the order in which they come. The next commandment is, "not to take the name of God in vain." Now the principle on which this order or arrangement proceeds is very plain to those who are gifted with acute mental vision; for the name is always subsequent in order to the subject of which it is the name; being like the shadow which follows the body. Having, therefore, previously spoken of the existence of God, and also of the honour to be paid to the everlasting God; he then, following the natural order of connexion proceeds to command what is becoming in respect of his name; for the errors of men with respect to this point are manifold and various, and assume many different characters. That being which is the most beautiful, and the most beneficial to human life, and suitable to rational nature, swears not itself, because truth on every point is so innate within him that his bare word is accounted an oath. Next to not swearing at all, the second best thing is to keep one's oath; for by the mere fact of swearing at all, the swearer shows that there is some suspicion of his not being trustworthy. Let a man, therefore, be dilatory, and slow if there is any chance that by delay he may be able to avoid the necessity of taking an oath at all; but if necessity compels him to swear, then he must consider with no superficial attention, every one of the subjects, or parts of the subject, before him; for it is not a matter of slight importance, though from its frequency it is not regarded as it ought to be. For an oath is the calling of God to give his testimony concerning the matters which are in doubt; and it is a most impious thing to invoke God to be witness to a lie. Come now, if you please, and with your reason look into the mind of the man who is about to swear to a falsehood; and you will see that it is not tranquil, but full of disorder and confusion, accusing itself, and enduring all kinds of insolence and evil speaking; for the conscience which dwells in, and never leaves the soul of each individual, not being accustomed to admit into itself any wicked thing, preserves its own nature always such as to hate evil, and to love virtue, being itself at the same time an accuser and a judge; being roused as an accuser it blames, impeaches, and is hostile; and again as a judge it teaches, admonishes, and recommends the accused to change his ways, and if he be able to persuade him, he is with joy reconciled to him, but if he be not able to do so, then he wages an endless and implacable war against him, never quitting him neither by day, nor by night, but pricking him, and inflicting incurable wounds on him, until he destroys his miserable and accursed life.

18 "What sayest thou?" I should say to the perjured man, "will you dare to go to any one of your own acquaintances and say, My friend, come and bear witness for me that you have seen and heard, and been present at a whole catalogue of things which you have neither seen, nor heard? I think not; for that would be an act of incurable insanity; with what face can you while sober, and while appearing to be master of yourself look upon your friend, and say, By reason of our acquaintance and companionship, act unjustly, violate the law, commit impiety for my sake; for it is plain that if he heard such a request, he would quickly renounce that companionship which you now believe to exist, reproaching himself for having ever had any friendship at all with a man of such a character as you, and would flee from you, as from a savage, and maddened, wild beast. "Will you then, without shame call upon God, the father and sovereign of the world, to give his testimony in favour of those things, to witness which you will not venture even to bring your friend? And if you do so, will you do it knowing that he sees everything and hears everything, or not knowing this fact? If you know it not you are an atheist, and atheism is the beginning of all iniquity, and, in addition to your atheism, you are also adding the wickedness of an oath, by swearing by him who in your opinion is not attending to you, nor paying any regard to human affairs. But if you are well assured that he does exert his providence in respect of such matters, still you are not free from the charge of excessive impiety, saying to God, if not with your mouth and tongue, still at all events with your conscience: Bear false witness for me, aid me in my wickedness, assist me in my impiety. I have but one hope of preserving a fair reputation among men, namely by concealing the truth; be thou wicked for another's sake, you who are the better, for the sake of one who is worse; you who are God, the most excellent of all beings, for the sake of a man, and that too a wicked one.

19 But there are also some people who, without any idea of acquiring gain, do from a bad habit incessantly and inconsiderately swear upon every occasion, even when there is nothing at all about which any doubt is raised, as if they were desirous to fill up the deficiency of their argument with oaths, as if it would not be better to cut their conversation short, or I might rather say to utter nothing at all, but to preserve entire silence, for from a frequency of oaths arises a habit of perjury and impiety. On which account the man who is going to take an oath ought to investigate everything with care and exceeding accuracy, considering whether the subject is of serious importance, and whether it has really taken place, and whether, if it has, he has comprehended it properly; and considering himself, also, whether he is pure in soul, and body, and tongue, having the first free from all violation of the law, the second from all defilement, and the last from all blasphemy. For it is an impiety for any disgraceful words to be uttered by that mouth by which the most sacred name is also mentioned. Let him also consider whether the place and the time are suitable; for before now I have known some persons, in profane and impure places (in which it is not fitting that mention should be made of either their father or their mother, or of even any old man among their kindred who may have lived a virtuous life), swearing, and stringing together whole sentences full of oaths, using the name of God with all the variety of titles which belong to him, when they should not, out of sheer impiety. And let him who pays but little heed to what has been said here know, in the first place, that he is impure and defiled; and, in the second place, that the most terrible punishments are constantly lying in wait for him; that justice who keeps her eye upon all human affairs, being implacable and inflexible towards all enormities of such a character; and, when she does not think fit to inflict her punishments at once, still exacting satisfaction with abundant usury whenever the opportunity seems to offer in combination with the general advantage.

20 The fourth commandment has reference to the sacred seventh day, that it may be passed in a sacred and holy manner. Now some states keep the holy festival only once in the month, counting from the new moon, as a day sacred to God; but the nation of the Jews keep every seventh day regularly, after each interval of six days; and there is an account of events recorded in the history of the creation of the world, comprising a sufficient relation of the cause of this ordinance; for the sacred historian says, that the world was created in six days, and that on the seventh day God desisted from his works, and began to contemplate what he had so beautifully created; therefore, he commanded the beings also who were destined to live in this state, to imitate God in this particular also, as well as in all others, applying themselves to their works for six days, but

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desisting from them and philosophising on the seventh day, and devoting their leisure to the contemplation of the things of nature, and considering whether in the preceding six days they have done anything which has not been holy, bringing their conduct before the judgement-seat of the soul, and subjecting it to a scrutiny, and making themselves give an account of all the things which they have said or done; the laws sitting by as assessors and joint inquirers, in order to the correcting of such errors as have been committed through carelessness, and to the guarding against any similar offences being hereafter repeated. But God, on one occasion, employed the six days for the completion of the world, though he had no need of any length of time for such a purpose; but each man, as partaking of a mortal nature, and as being in need of ten thousand things for the unavoidable necessities of life, ought not to hesitate, even to the end of his life, to provide himself with all requisites, always allowing himself an interval of rest on the sacred seventh day. Is it not a most beautiful recommendation, and one most admirably adapted to the perfecting of, and leading man to, every virtue, and above all to piety? The commandment, in effect says: Always imitate God; let that one period of seven days in which God created the world, be to you a complete example of the way in which you are to obey the law, and an all-sufficient model for your actions. Moreover, the seventh day is also an example from which you may learn the propriety of studying philosophy; as on that day, it is said, God beheld the works which he had made; so that you also may yourself contemplate the works of nature, and all the separate circumstances which contribute towards happiness. Let us not pass by such a model of the most excellent ways of life, the practical and the contemplative; but let us always keep our eyes fixed upon it, and stamp a visible image and representation of it on our own minds, making our mortal nature resemble, as far as possible, his immortal one, in respect of saying and doing what is proper. And in what sense it is said that the world was made by God in six days, who never wants time at all to make anything, has been already explained in other passages where we have treated of allegories.

21 Now, those who have applied themselves to mathematical studies, fully explain the precedence and pre-eminence to which the number seven is entitled among all existing things, tracing it out with great care and exceeding minuteness and accuracy; for among numbers seven is the virgin number, the nature which has no mother, that which is most nearly related to the unit, the foundation of all numbers; the idea of the planets, just as the unit is of the immovable sphere; for of the unit and the number seven consists the incorporeal heaven, the model of the visible heaven, and the heaven is made up of indivisible and divisible nature. Now, indivisible nature has assigned to it the first, and highest, and immovable circumference, which the unit inspects and overlooks; but the divisible nature has received that circumference which is inferior both in power and in arrangement, which the number seven inspects, which, being divided into six parts, has produced what are called the seven planets; not indeed that any of the heavenly bodies do really wander (peplanel'tai), inasmuch as they all enjoy a divine, and happy, and blessed nature, to all of which characteristics a freedom from wandering is most closely akin: at all events, they always preserve a kind of identity in a constantly similar motion, and pass a long eternity without ever admitting any change or variation whatever. But because they revolve in a manner contrary to the indivisible and outermost sphere, they have been named planets (planel'tes), though without any strict propriety, by men speaking at random, who have by such language attributed their own propensity to wander to the heavenly bodies, which, in fact, never quit that position in the divine lamp in which they have been originally placed. For all these reasons, and more besides, the number seven is honoured. But there is no one cause on account of which it has received its precedence so completely, as because it is by its means that the Creator and Father of the universe is most especially made manifest; for the mind beholds God in this as in a mirror, acting, and creating the world, and managing the whole universe.

22 And after this commandment relating to the seventh day he gives the fifth, which concerns the honour to be paid to parents, giving it a position on the confines of the two tables of five commandments each; for being the concluding one of the first table, in which the most sacred duties to the Deity are enjoined, it has also some connexion with the second table which comprehends the obligations towards our fellow creatures; and the cause of this, I imagine, is as follows: The nature of one's parents appears to be something on the confines between immortal and mortal essences. Of mortal essence, on account of their relationship to men and also to other animals, and likewise of the perishable nature of the body. And of immortal essence, by reason of the similarity of the act of generation to God the Father of the universe. But it has often happened that men have attached themselves to one of these divisions, and have seemed to neglect the other; for being filled with a sincere love for piety, they have renounced all other occupations and considerations, and have devoted the whole of their lives to the service of God. But they who have thought that beyond their duties to their fellow men there was no such thing as goodness, have clung solely to their fellowship with and to the society of men, and, being wholly occupied by a love of the society of men, have invited all men to an equal participation in all their good things, labouring at the same time to the best of their power to alleviate all their disasters. Now, one may properly call both these latter, these philanthropic men, and also the former class, the lovers of God, but half perfect in virtue; for those only are perfect who have a good reputation in both points: but those who do not attend to their duties towards men so as to rejoice with them at their common blessings, or to grieve with them at events of a contrary character, and who yet do not devote themselves to piety and holiness towards God, may be thought to have changed into the nature of wild beasts, the very preeminence among whom, in point of ferocity, those are entitled to who neglect their parents, being hostile to both the divisions of virtue above mentioned, namely, piety towards God, and their duty towards men.

23 Let them, then, not be ignorant that they are convicted before the two tribunals which are the only ones which exist in nature, of impiety as regards their duty towards God, as not worshipping those who have introduced beings who do not exist into existence, and who, in this respect, have imitated God; and as regards their duty towards men, of misanthropy and cruelty. For to whom else will those men do good who neglect their nearest relations and those who have bestowed the greatest gifts upon them, some of which are of so great a character that they do not admit of any requital? For how can he who has been begotten by a parent, in requital again beget his parents, since nature has bestowed on parents this especial endowment in respect of their children, which can never be requited or recompensed? On which account it is becoming to a man to feel exceeding indignation when people, because they are unable to make a full return for the benefits which they have received, do not choose to make the very slightest; to whom I might say, with perfect propriety, that wild beasts even must be made tame towards men; and, indeed, I have frequently known instances of lions being domesticated, and bears and leopards, and made gentle, not only to those who feed them, by reason of their gratitude for necessaries, but also to others, on account, in my opinion, of their resemblance to their feeders. For it is always well that what is worse should follow what is better, from a hope of deriving improvement; 1but in this case I shall be constrained to use an entirely opposite language. You who are men, are imitators of some wild beasts. Even the beasts have learnt and know how to requite with service those who have done them service. Dogs who keep the house will defend their masters, and encounter death for their sakes when any danger suddenly overtakes them. And they say that the dogs employed among flocks of sheep will fight on behalf of the flocks, and endure till they either obtain the victory or meet with death, for the sake of protecting the shepherds themselves from injury. Is it not then the most shameful of all shameful things for a man, in respect of the requital of favours, to be left behind by a dog, for that being, which of all others is the most gentle, to be outrun by the most audacious of beasts? But if we will not be taught by the land animals, let us go across to the nature of the winged birds which traverse the air, and learn what we have need of from them. 1In the case of storks the old birds remain in their nests because they are unable to fly; but their children, I had very nearly said, traverse the whole of earth and sea, and from all quarters provide their parents with what is necessary for them. 1And so they, living in a tranquility worthy of their time of life, enjoy all abundance, and pass their old age in luxury; while their children make light of all the hardships they undergo to furnish them with the means of support, under the influence both of piety and also of the expectation that they also in their old age will receive the same treatment from their descendants; and so they now discharge the indispensable debt which they owe their parents, knowing that in proper time, they will themselves receive what they are now bestowing. And there are also others who are unable to support themselves, for children are no more able to do so at the commencement of their existence, than their parents are at the end of their lives. On which account the children, having while young been fed in accordance with the spontaneous promptings of nature, now with joy do in return support the old age of their parents. Is it not right, then, after these examples, that men who neglect their parents should cover their faces from shame, and reproach themselves for disregarding those things which they ought to have cared for alone, or in preference to any thing else whatever? And this too, when they would not have been so much conferring benefits as requiting them? For the children have nothing of their own which does not belong to the parents, who have either bestowed it upon them from their own substance, or have enabled them to acquire it by supplying them with the means. And have then these men within the borders of their souls piety and holiness, the chiefs of all the virtues? No; rather they have driven them beyond their borders, and forced them into exile; for parents are the servants of God for the propagation of children, and he who dishonours the servant dishonours also the master. But some persons, who are rather audacious, magnify the title of parents, saying that the father and mother are evident gods, inasmuch as they imitate the uncreated God in their production of living animals, limiting, however, their assertion in this way, that the one is the God of the whole world, but the others only of those children whom they have begotten. And it is impossible that the invisible God can be piously worshipped by those people who behave with impiety towards those who are visible and near to them.

24 Having then now philosophized in this manner about the honour to be paid to parents, he closes the one and more divine table of the first five commandments. And being about to promulgate the second which contains the prohibitions of those offences which are committed against men, he begins with adultery, looking upon this as the greatest of all violations of the law; 2for, in the first place, it has for its source the love of pleasure, which enervates the bodies of those who indulge in it, and relaxes the tone of the soul, and destroys the essences of it, consuming every thing that it touches, like unquenchable fire, and leaving nothing which affects human life uninjured, 2inasmuch as it not only persuades the adulterer to commit iniquity, but also teaches him to join others in wickedness, making an association in things in which there ought to be no such participation. For when this violent passion seizes on a man it is impossible for the appetites to arrive at the accomplishment of their object by one person alone, but it is indispensable that two should share in the action, the one taking the place of the teacher, and the other that of the pupil, for the complete confirmation of those most disgraceful evils, intemperance and licentiousness. 2Nor can one allege as an excuse that it is only the body of the woman who is committing adultery that is corrupted, but, if one must tell the truth, even before the corruption of the body the soul is accustomed to alienation from virtue, being taught in every way to repudiate and to hate its husband. 2And it would be a less grievous evil if this hatred were displayed without disguise; for it is easiest to guard against what is plainly seen. But at present it is with difficulty suspected, and difficult of detection, being concealed by cunning and wicked arts, and at times it assumes the contrary appearance of love and affection, by means of its trickery and deceit. Accordingly, adultery exhibits the destruction of three houses by its means; that of the house of the man who sustains the violation of all the vows which were made to him at his marriage, and the loss of all the hopes of legitimate children, of which he is now deprived; and two others, namely, the house of the adulterer, and that of his wife. For each of these is filled with insolence, and dishonour, and the most excessive disgrace. 2And if their connexions and families are very numerous, then by reason of their intermarriages and the mutual connexions formed with different houses the iniquity and injury will proceed and infect the whole city all around. 2Moreover, the doubt as to the legitimacy of the children is a most terrible evil. For if the wife be not chaste, it is quite a matter of doubt and uncertainty to what father the children belong. And then, if the matter remain undiscovered, the children of adultery enter unjustly into the classification of legitimate children, and make a race spurious to which they have no pretensions to belong, and receive an inheritance which in appearance indeed is their own patrimony, but which in reality has no connexion with them. 2And then the adulterer, behaving with insolence and pluming himself upon his iniquity in having propagated an offspring full of reproach, when he has satiated his appetites will depart, leaving the object behind him, and turning into ridicule the ignorance that exists of the unholy wickedness which he has committed, on the part of the man against whom he has sinned. And the husband, like a blind man, knowing nothing of what has been going on in his own house, will be compelled to nourish and to cherish as his own the offspring sprung from his greatest enemies. 3And it is plain that if such a wickedness takes place, the most miserable of all persons must be the wretched children, who have done no wrong themselves, and who cannot be assigned to either family, neither to that of the husband of the adulteress, nor to that of the adulterer. 3Since, then, illicit cohabitation produces such great calamities, adultery is very naturally a detestable thing hated by God, and has been set down as the first of all transgressions.

25 The second commandment of this second table is to do no murder. For nature, having produced man as a gregarious and sociable creature, and the most easily domesticated of all animals, has invited it to a fellowship of opinion and partnership, giving him reason, as a means to lead to a harmony and admixture of dispositions. And he who slays any man must not be ignorant that he is overturning the laws and ordinances of nature, which have been beautifully established for the common advantage of all men. 3Moreover, let him be aware that he is liable to the charge of sacrilege as having plundered the most sacred of all the possessions of God; for what is a more venerable or more sublime offering to God than man? For gold, and silver, and precious stones, and all such other valuable materials, are only an inanimate

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ornament of inanimate erections; but man, who is the most excellent of all animals, in respect of that predominant part that is in him, namely, his soul, is also most closely related to the heaven, which is the purest of all things in its essence, and as the common language of the multitude affirms, to the Father of the world, inasmuch as he has received mind, which is of all the things that are upon the earth the closest copy and most faithful representation of the everlasting and blessed idea.

26 The third commandment of the second table of five is not to steal. For he who keeps continually gaping after the property of others is the common enemy of the city, since, as far as his inclination goes, he would deprive all men of their property; and in respect of his power he actually does deprive some, because his covetousness is extended to the greatest imaginable length, and because his impotence, coming too late after it, is contracted into a small space, and can scarcely extend so as to overtake more than a few. 3Therefore as many robbers as have the strength to do so plunder whole cities, paying no attention to the punishments with which they are threatened, because they appear to themselves to be superior to the laws. These are those men who are oligarchical in their natures, who have set their hearts on tyrannies and absolute power, who commit enormous thefts, concealing their robbery, as it is in reality, under the specious and imposing names of authority and supremacy. 3Let every one then learn from his earliest infancy, never privily to steal anything that belongs to any one else, not even though it may be the merest trifle, because the habit, when it becomes inveterate, is more powerful than nature; and small things, if they are not checked, increase and grow, becoming gradually greater and greater till they reach a formidable magnitude.

27 And after he has forbidden stealing he proceeds in regular order to prohibit bearing false witness, knowing that those who bear false witness are liable to many great accusations, and in short to every kind of terrible charge; for in the first place they are corrupting that holy thing, truth, than which there is no more sacred possession among men, which like the sun sheds a light upon all things, so that not one of them may be kept in darkness; 3and in the second place, in addition to speaking falsely, they also as it were envelop facts in night and dense darkness, and they co-operate with those who offend, and they join in attacking those who are injured by others, affirming that they positively know and have completely comprehended what they in reality have not seen nor heard, and of which they know nothing. Moreover, they also commit a third violation of the law, which is more grievous than either of those which have been mentioned before; for, when there is a scarcity of demonstrations, either by reasons or by letters, then those who have questions in dispute betake themselves to witnesses, whose words are rules to the judges concerning those matters on which they are to deliver their opinion; for it is necessary for the judges to attend to them alone, when there is nothing else existing which can contribute to proof in the matter in question; from which it arises that those who are borne down by evidence in this way meet with injustice when they might have won their cause, and that those who attend to the false witnesses are recorded as unjust and illegal judges, instead of just and legal ones. Moreover, this kind of crafty wickedness outstrips all other offences in its impiety; for it is not customary for judges to decide without being sworn, but rather after having taken the most fearful oaths, which those men transgress who deceive others, more than they do who are deceived by them, since the error of the one is not intentional, but the others do deliberately plot against them, and do of malice aforethought sin, persuading those in whose power it is to give the decisive vote to err, not knowing what they do, so that things which deserve no chastisement meet with punishment and loss.

28 Last of all, the divine legislator prohibits covetousness, knowing that desire is a thing fond of revolution and of plotting against others; for all the passions of the soul are formidable, exciting and agitating it contrary to nature, and not permitting it to remain in a healthy state, but of all such passions the worst is desire. On which account each of the other passions, coming in from without and attacking the soul from external points, appears to be involuntary; but this desire alone derives its origin from ourselves, and is wholly voluntary. But what is it that I am saying? The appearance and idea of a present good, or of one that is accounted such, rouses up and excites the soul which was previously in a state of tranquility, and raises it to a high degree of elation, like a light suddenly flashing before the eyes; and this passion of the soul is called pleasure. But the contrary to good is evil, which, when it forces its way in, and inflicts a mortal wound, immediately fills the soul against its will with depression and despondency; and the name of the passion is sorrow. But when the evil presses upon the soul, when it has not as yet taken up its habitation in it, but when it is only impending, being about to come and to agitate it, it sends before it agitation and suspense, as express messengers, to fill the soul with alarm; and this passion is denominated fear. And when any one, having conceived an idea of some good which is not present, hastens to lay hold of it, he then drives his soul forward to a great distance, and extending it in the greatest possible degree, from his anxiety to attain the object of his desires, he is stretched as it were upon the rack, being anxious to lay hold of the thing, but being unable to reach it, and being in the same condition with those who are pursuing people who are running away, following with an inferior speed, but with unrivalled eagerness. And something of the same kind appears to happen, also, with respect to the external senses; for very frequently the eyes, hastening to come to the comprehension of something which is removed to a great distance, strain themselves, exerting themselves to the very fullest extent of and even beyond their power, are unsuccessful, and grow dim in the empty space between themselves and their object, wholly failing in attaining to an accurate knowledge of the subject before them, and moreover impairing and injuring their sight by the exceeding intensity of their efforts and steady gaze. And, again, sometimes when an indistinct noise is borne towards us from a long distance, the ears are excited, and feeling as it were a fair breeze, are eager and hasten to approach nearer to it if possible, from a desire that the sound should be distinctly apprehended by the sense of hearing. But the noise, for it is still obscure as it seems, strikes the ear but faintly, not giving forth any more distinct tone by which it may be understood, so that the desire of comprehending it, being unsuccessful and unsatisfied, is excited more and more, the desire causing a Tantalus-like kind of punishment. For Tantallus, whenever he seemed about to lay his hands on any of the objects which he desired, was invariably disappointed, and the man who is overcome by desire, being always thirsting for what is not present, is never satisfied, wallowing about among vain appetites, 5like those diseases which would creep over the whole body, if they were not checked by excision or cautery, and which would overrun and seize upon the whole composition of the body, not leaving a single part in a sound state; in like manner, unless discourse in accordance with philosophy did not, like a good physician, check the influx of appetite, all the affairs of life would of necessity be set in motion in a manner contrary to nature; for there is nothing exempt from such an affliction, nothing which can escape the dominion of passion, but, when once it has obtained immunity and license, it devours everything and becomes by itself everything in every part. 5Perhaps it is a piece of folly to make a long speech upon matters which are so manifest, as to which there is no individual and no city that is ignorant, that they are not only every day, but even every hour, as one may say, supplying a visible proof of the truth of my assertion. Is the love of money, or of women, or of glory, or of any one of the other efficient causes of pleasure, the origin of slight and ordinary evils? 5Is it not owing to this passion that relationships are broken asunder, and change the good will which originates in nature into an irreconcilable enmity? And are not great countries and populous kingdoms made desolate by domestic seditions, through such causes? And are not earth and sea continually filled with novel and terrible calamities by naval battles and military expeditions for the same reason? 5For, both among the Greeks and barbarians, the wars between one another, and between their own different tribes, which have been so celebrated by tragedians, have all flowed from one source, namely, desire of money, or glory, or pleasure; for it is on such subjects as these that the race of mankind goes mad.

29 However, enough of these matters. Still we must not be ignorant of this fact either, that the ten commandments are the heads of all the particular and special laws which are recorded throughout all the history of the giving of the law related in the sacred scriptures. The first law is the fountain of all those concerning the government of one supreme Ruler, and they show that there is one first cause of the world, one Ruler and King, who guides and governs the universe in such a way as conduces to its preservation, having banished from the pure essence of heaven all oligarchy and aristocracy, those treacherous forms of government which arise among wicked men, as the offspring of disorder and covetousness. 5And the second commandment is the summary of all those laws which can possibly be enacted, about all the things made by hands, such as images and statues, and, in short, erections of any kind, of which the painters' and statuaries' arts are pernicious creators, for that commandment forbids such images to be made, and prohibits the cleaving to any of the fabulous inventions about the marriage of gods and the birth of gods, and the number of indescribable and painful calamities which are represented to have ensued from both such circumstances. 5By the third commandment he restrains people from taking oaths, and limits the objects for which one may swear, defining when and where it may be lawful, and who may swear, and how the swearer ought to be disposed, both in his soul and body, and many other minute particulars, concerning those who keep their oaths, and the contrary.

30 And the fourth commandment, the one about the seventh day, we must not look upon in any other light than as a summary of all the laws relating to festivals, and of all the purificatory rites enjoined to be observed on each of them. But the service appointed for them was one of holy ablutions, and prayers deserving to be heard, and perfect sacrifices. 5And in speaking of the seventh here, I mean both that which is combined with the number six, the most generative of all numbers, and also that which, without being combined with the number six, is added to it, being made to resemble the unit, each of which numbers is reckoned among the festivals; for the lawgiver refers to the term, the sacred festival of the new moon, which the people give notice of with trumpets, and the day of fasting, on which abstinence from all meats and drinks is enjoined, which the Hebrews call, in their native language, pascha, on which the whole nation sacrifices, each individual among them, not waiting for the priests, since on this occasion the law has given, for one especial day in every year, a priesthood to the whole nation, so that each private individual slays his own victim on this day. 6And also the day on which is offered the sheaf of corn, as an offering of gratitude for the fertility and productiveness of the plain, as exhibited in the fulness of the ears of corn. And the day of pentecost, which is numbered from this day by seven portions of seven days, in which it is the custom to offer up loaves, which are truly called the loaves of the first fruits, since, in fact, they are the first fruits of the productions and crops of eatable grain, which God has given to mankind, as the most tractable of all his creatures. 6But to the seventh day of the week he has assigned the greatest festivals, those of the longest duration, at the periods of the equinox both vernal and autumnal in each year; appointing two festivals for these two epochs, each lasting seven days; the one which takes place in the spring being for the perfection of what is being sown, and the one which falls in autumn being a feast of thanksgiving for the bringing home of all the fruits which the trees have produced. And seven days have very appropriately been appointed to the seventh month of each equinox, so that each month might receive an especial honour of one sacred day of festival, for the purpose of refreshing and cheering the mind with its holiday. 6There are also other laws brought forward, enacted with great wisdom and excellence, conducing to the production of gentleness and fellowship among men, and inviting them to simplicity and equality; of these some have reference to that which is called the sabbatical year, in which it is expressly commanded that the people shall leave the whole land uncultivated, neither sowing, nor plowing, nor preserving the trees, nor doing any other of the works which relate to agriculture; 6for God thought the land, both the champaign and the mountainous country, after it had been labouring for six years in the production of crops, and the yearly yielding of its expected fruits, worthy of some relaxation, for the sake of recovering its breath as it were, and that, becoming free again, if one may say so, it might exert the spontaneous riches of its own nature. 6There are also other laws about the fiftieth year, in which what has been enumerated above is performed in the most complete manner; and, what is the most important thing of all, the restitution is made of the different portions of land to those families which originally received them, a transaction full of humanity and equity.

31 And the fifth commandment, that about the honour due to parents, conceals under its brief expression, many very important and necessary laws, some enacted as applicable to old and young men, some as bearing on the relations existing between rulers and subjects, others concerning benefactors and those who have received benefits, others affecting slaves and masters; 6for parents belong to the superior class of all these divisions just mentioned, the class, I mean, of elders, of rulers, of benefactors, and of masters; and children are in the inferior class, in which are ranked the younger people, the subjects, those who have received benefits, and slaves. 6There are also many other commandments given, some to the young, admonishing them to receive gladly the admonitions of old age; others to the old, bidding them take care of the young; some to subjects, enjoining them to show obedience to their rulers; others to the rulers, commanding them to consult for the advantage of those who are under their authority; some to those who have received benefits, recommending them a requital of the favours which have been conferred on them; others to those who have set the example of beneficence, bidding them not to exact a strict restitution as if they were usurers; some to servants, encouraging them to show an affectionate service towards their masters, others to the masters recommending them to practice that gentleness and mildness towards their slaves, by which the inequality of their respective conditions is in some degree equalized.

32 The first table of five, then, is completed in these commandments, exhibiting a comprehensive character; but of the special and particular laws the number is very great. Of the second table, the first commandment is that against adulterers, under which many other commands are conveyed by implication, such as that against seducers, that against practicers of unnatural crimes, that against all who live in debauchery, that against all men who indulge in illicit and incontinent connexions; 6but the lawgiver has set down all the different species of such intemperance, not for the sake of exhibiting its manifold, and diverse, and ever-changing varieties, but in order to cause those who live in an unseemly manner to show most evident signs of depression and shame,

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drinking in with their ears all the reproaches heaped together which they incur, and which may well make them blush. 7The second brief commandment, the prohibition of slaying men, is that under which are implied all those necessary and most universally advantageous laws, relating to acts of violence, to insults, to assaults, to wounds, to mutilation. 7The third, that which forbids stealing, is the one under cover of which are enacted all the regulations which have been laid down, respecting the repudiation of debts, and those who deny what has been deposited with them, and who form unhallowed partnerships, and indulge in shameless acts of rapine, and, in short, in any kind of covetousness by which some person are induced, either openly or secretly to appropriate the possessions of others. 7The fourth, that which is concerning the duty of not bearing false witness, is one under which many other prohibitions are conveyed, such as that of not deceiving, of not bringing false accusations, of not co-operating with those who are committing sin, of not making a pretence of good faith a cloak for faithlessness; for all which objects suitable laws have been enacted. 7The fifth is that which cuts off desire, the fountain of all iniquity, from which flow all the most unlawful actions, whether of individuals or of states, whether important or trivial, whether sacred or profane, whether they relate to one's life and soul, or to what are called external things; for, as I have said before, nothing ever escapes desire, but, like a fire in a wood, it proceeds onward, consuming and destroying everything; 7and there are a great many subordinate sins, which are prohibited likewise under this commandment, for the sake of correcting those persons who cheerfully receive admonitions, and of chastising those stubborn people who devote their whole lives to the indulgence of passion.

33 I have now spoken in this manner, at sufficient length, concerning the second table of five commandments, which make up the whole number of ten, which God himself promulgated with the dignity befitting their holy character; for it was suitable to his own nature to promulgate in his own person the heads and principles of all particular laws, but to send forth the particular and special laws by the most perfect of the prophets, whom he selected for his preeminent excellence, and filled with his divine spirit, and then appointed to be the interpreter of his holy oracles. 7After having explained these matters, let us now proceed to relate the cause for which God, having pronounced these ten commandments or laws, in simple injunctions and prohibitions, appointed no punishment for those who should violate them, as lawgivers usually do. The reason is this: he was God, and being so he was at once the good Lord, the cause of good alone, and of no evil; 7therefore, thinking it most appropriate to his own nature to deliver saving commands unalloyed, and partaking of no punishment, so that no one yielding to a foolish counsellor might accidentally choose what is best, but might do so from wise consideration and of his own deliberate purpose, he did not think fit to give his oracles to mankind in connexion with any denunciation of punishment; not because he meant to give immunity to transgressors, but because he knew that justice was sitting by him, and surveying all human affairs, and that she would never rest, as being by nature a hater of evil and looking upon the chastisement of sinners as her own most appropriate task. 7For it is proper for all the ministers and lieutenants of God, just as for generals in war, to put in practice severe punishments against those deserters, who forsake the ranks of the just one; but it becomes the great King, that general safety should be ascribed to him, as preserving the universe in peace, and giving at all times, to all people, in all riches and abundance, all the blessings of peace: for, in truth, God is the president of peace, but his subordinate ministers are the chiefs of war.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, BOOK 1

1 (The genera and heads of all special laws, which are called "the ten commandments," have been discussed with accuracy in the former treatise. We must now proceed to consider the particular commands as we read them in the subsequent passages of the holy scriptures; and we will begin with that which is turned into ridicule by people in general. (The ordinance of circumcision of the parts of generation is ridiculed, though it is an act which is practiced to no slight degree among other nations also, and most especially by the Egyptians, who appear to me to be the most populous of all nations, and the most abounding in all kinds of wisdom. (In consequence of which it would be most fitting for men to discard childish ridicule, and to investigate the real causes of the ordinance with more prudence and dignity, considering the reasons why the custom has prevailed, and not being precipitate, so as without examination to condemn the folly of mighty nations, recollecting that it is not probable that so many myriads should be circumcised in every generation, mutilating the bodies of themselves and of their nearest relations, in a manner which is accompanied with severe pain, without adequate cause; but that there are many reasons which might encourage men to persevere and continue a custom which has been introduced by previous generations, and that these are from reasons of the greatest weight and importance. (First of all, that it is a preventive of a painful disease, and of an affliction difficult to be cured, which they call a carbuncle;[the Greek word is anthrax, which also signifies a coal. The Latin, from which our carbuncle is derived, carbunculus, a diminutive of carbo, which also means a coal.] because, I imagine, when it becomes inflamed it burns; from which fact it has derived that appellation. And this disease is very apt to be engendered among those who have not undergone the rite of circumcision. (Secondly, it secures the cleanliness of the whole body in a way that is suited to the people consecrated to God; with which object the Egyptian priests, being extravagant in their case, shave the whole of their bodies; for some of these evils which ought to be got rid of are collected in and lodge under the hair and the prepuce. (Thirdly, there is the resemblance of the part that is circumcised to the heart; for both parts are prepared for the sake of generation; for the breath contained within the heart is generative of thoughts, and the generative organ itself is productive of living beings. Therefore, the men of old thought it right to make the evident and visible organ, by which the objects of the outward senses are generated, resemble that invisible and superior part, by means of which ideas are formed. (The fourth, and most important, is that which relates to the provision thus made for prolificness; for it is said that the seminal fluid proceeds in its path easily, neither being at all scattered, nor flowing on its passage into what may be called the bags of the prepuce. On which account those nations which practice circumcision are the most prolific and the most populous.

2 (These considerations have come to our ears, having been discussed of old among men of divine spirit and wisdom, who have interpreted the writings of Moses in no superficial or careless manner. But, besides what has been already said, I also look upon circumcision to be a symbol of two things of the most indispensable importance. (First of all, it is a symbol of the excision of the pleasures which delude the mind; for since, of all the delights which pleasure can afford, the association of man with woman is the most exquisite, it seemed good to the lawgivers to mutilate the organ which ministers to such connexions; by which rite they signified figuratively the excision of all superfluous and excessive pleasure, not, indeed, of one only, but of all others whatever, though that one which is the most imperious of all. The second thing is, that it is a symbol of a man's knowing himself, and discarding that terrible disease, the vain opinion of the soul; for some men, like good statuaries, have boasted that they can make that most beautiful animal, man; and, being puffed up with arrogance, have deified themselves, hiding from sight the true cause of the creation of all things namely, God, although they might have corrected that error from a consideration of other persons among whom they live; for there are among them many men who have no children, and many barren women whose connexions lead to nothing, so that they grow old in childlessness. We must therefore eradicate evil opinions from the mind, and all other ideas which are not devoted to God. This, then, is enough to say on these subjects. But we must now turn to the special and particular laws; and first of all to those which relate to those people by whom it is well to be governed, those which have been enacted concerning Monarchy.

3 Some persons have conceived that the sun, and the moon, and the other stars are independent gods, to whom they have attributed the causes of all things that exist. But Moses was well aware that the world was created, and was like a very large city, having rulers and subjects in it; the rulers being all the bodies which are in heaven, such as planets and fixed stars; and the subjects being all the natures beneath the moon, hovering in the air and adjacent to the earth. But that the rulers aforesaid are not independent and absolute, but are the viceroys of one supreme Being, the Father of all, in imitation of whom they administer with propriety and success the charge committed to their care, as he also presides over all created things in strict accordance with justice and with law. Others, on the contrary, who have not discovered the supreme Governor, who thus rules everything, have attributed the causes of the different things which exist in the world to the subordinate powers, as if they had brought them to pass by their own independent act. But the most sacred lawgiver changes their ignorance into knowledge, speaking in the following manner: "Thou shall not, when thou seest the sun, and the moon, and the stars, and all the host of heaven, be led astray and fall down and worship Them." [Deuteronomy 4:19.] With great felicity and propriety has he here called the reception of these bodies as gods, an error; for they who see that the different seasons of the year owe their existence to the advances and retreats of the sun, in which periods also the generation of animals, and plants, and fruits, are perfected according to well-defined times, and who see also that the moon is the servant and successor of the sun, taking that care and superintendence of the world by night which the sun takes by day; and also that the other stars, in accordance with their sympathy with things on earth, labour continually and do ten thousand things which contribute to the duration of the existing state of things, have been led into an inextricable error, imagining that these bodies are the only gods. But if they had taken pains to travel along the straight and true road, they would soon have known that just as the outward sense is the subordinate minister of the mind, so in the same manner all the objects of the outward senses are servants of that which is appreciable only by intellect, being well contented if they can attain to the second place in honour. But it is altogether ridiculous to imagine that the mind, which is the smallest thing in us, being in fact invisible, is the ruler of those organs which belong to the external senses, but that the greatest and most perfect ruler of the whole universe is not the King of kings; that the being who sees, is not the ruler of those who do not see. We must, therefore, look on all those bodies in the heaven, which the outward sense regards as gods, not as independent rulers, since they are assigned the work of lieutenants, being by their intrinsic nature responsible to a higher power, but by reason of their virtue not actually called to render in an account of their doings. So that, transcending all visible essence by means of our reason, let us press forward to the honour of that everlasting and invisible Being who can be comprehended and appreciated by the mind alone; who is not only the God of all gods, whether appreciable only by the intellect or visible to the outward senses, but is also the creator of them all. And if any one gives up the service due to the everlasting and uncreated God, transferring it to any more modern and created being, let him be set down as mad and as liable to the charge of the greatest impiety.

4 But there are some persons who have given gold and silver to sculptors and statuaries, as people able to fashion gods for them. And they, taking the lifeless materials and using a mortal model, have (which is a most extraordinary thing) made gods, as far as appearance went, and have built temples and erected altars, and dedicated them to them, honouring them with excessive pains and diligence, with sacrifices and processions, and all kinds of other sacred ceremonies and purifications; the priests and priestesses exciting themselves to the very extremity of their power to extend this kind of pride and vanity. To whom the Father of the universe thus speaks, saying: "You shall not make to yourselves gods of silver and Gold;" [Exodus 20:20.] all but teaching them in express words, "You shall not make to yourselves any gods whatever of this or of any other material, nor shall you worship anything made with hands," being forbidden expressly with respect to the two most excellent materials; for silver and gold are esteemed the most honourable of all materials. And, besides this distinct prohibition, there is another meaning which appears to me to be intended to be figuratively conveyed under these words, which is one of very great influence as contributing to the formation of the moral character, and which convicts in no slight degree those who are covetous of money and who seek to procure silver and gold from all quarters, and when they have acquired it treasure it up, as though it were some divine image, in their inmost shrines, looking upon it as the cause of all good things and of all happiness. And all the poor men that are possessed of that terrible disease, the love of money, but who, from not having any riches of their own which they can think worthy of their attention, fix their admiration on the wealth of their neighbours, and, for the purpose of offering adoration to it, come the first thing in the morning to the houses of those who have abundance, as if they were noble temples at which they were going to offer prayers, and to entreat blessings from their owners as if from the gods. And to these men, Moses says, in another passage, "You shall not follow images, and you shall not make to yourselves molten Gods." [Leviticus 19:4.] Teaching them, by figurative language, that it is not right to pay such honours to wealth as one would pay to the gods; for those celebrated materials of wealth, silver and gold, are made to be used, which, however, the multitude follows, looking upon them as the only causes of wealth which is proverbially called blind, and the especial sources of happiness. These are the things which Moses calls idols, resembling shadows and phantoms, and having about them nothing strong, or trustworthy, or lasting; for they are tossed about like the unstable wind, and are subject to all kinds of variations and changes. And the greatest possible proof of this is that, when people have not at all expected it, it suddenly has descended upon them; and, again, when they fancied that they had taken firm hold of it, it has flown away. And when, indeed, it is present, then images appear as in a mirror, deceiving the outward senses and imposing upon them with traps, and appearing as if they would last for a long time, while in reality they do not endure. And why need I explain how unstable the wealth and pride of men are, which vain opinions decorate with showy colours? For, before now, some men have existed who have affirmed that all other animals and plants, of which there is any birth or any decay, are in one continual and incessant state of transition, and that the external sense of this transition is somewhat indistinct, inasmuch as the swiftness of nature surpasses the very quickest and most precise glance of the vision. 5 But not only are wealth, and glory, and all other such things, mere phantoms and unsubstantial images, but also all the other deceits which

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the inventors of fables have devised, puffing themselves up by reason of their ingenuity, while they have been raising a fortification of false opinion in opposition to the truth, bringing in God as if by some theatrical machine, in order to prevent the everlasting and only true existing God from being consigned to oblivion, are so likewise. But such men have adapted their falsehood to melodies, and rhythm, and metres, with a reference to what is persuasive, thinking that by these means they should easily cajole all who read their works. Not but what they have also joined to themselves the arts of statuary and painting as copartners in their system of deceit, in order that, bringing over the spectators by well-fabricated appearances of colours, and forms, and distinctive qualities, and having won over by their allurements those principal outward senses of sight and hearing, the one by the exquisite beauty of lifeless forms, and the other by a poetical harmony of numbers--they may ravish the unstable soul and render it feeble, and deprive it of any settled foundation. On this account, Moses, being well aware that pride had by that time advanced to a very high pitch of power, and that it was well guarded by the greater part of mankind, and that too not from compulsion but of their own accord, and fearing lest those men who are admirers of uncorrupted and genuine piety may be carried away as by a torrent, stamped a deep impression on the minds of men, engraving piety on them, in order that the impression he thus made might not become confused or weakened, so as at last to become wholly effaced by time. And he is constantly prophesying and telling his people that there is one God, the creator and maker of the universe; and at other time he teaches them that he is the Lord of all created things, since all that is firm, and solid, and really stable and sure, is by nature so framed as to be connected with him alone. And it is said in the scriptures that, "Those that are attached to the living God do all Live." [Deuteronomy 4:4.] Is not this, then, a thrice happy life, a thrice blessed existence, to be contented with performing due service to the most venerable Cause of all things, and not to think fit to serve his subordinate ministers and door-keepers in preference to the King himself? And this life is an immortal one, and is recorded as one of great duration in the pillars of nature. And it is inevitably necessary that these writings should last to all eternity with the world itself.

6 But the Father and Ruler of the universe is a being whose character it is difficult to arrive at by conjecture and hard to comprehend; but still we must not on that account shrink from an investigation of it. Now, in the investigations which are made into the nature of God, there are two things of the greatest importance, about which the intellect of the man who devotes himself to philosophy in a genuine spirit is perplexed. One is, whether there is any Deity at all? this question arises from the atheism (which is the greatest of all vices) of those men who study philosophy. The other question is, supposing there to be a God, what he is as to his essence? Now the former question it is not very difficult to determine; but the second is not only difficult, but perhaps impossible. We must, however, consider both these matters. It has invariably happened that the works which they have made have been, in some degree, the proofs of the character of the workmen; for who is there who, when he looks upon statues or pictures, does not at once form an idea of the statuary or painter himself? And who, when he beholds a garment, or a ship, or a house, does not in a moment conceive a notion of the weaver, or shipbuilder, or architect, who has made them? And if any one comes into a well-ordered city, in which all parts of the constitution are exceedingly well arranged and regulated, what other idea will he entertain but that this city is governed by wise and virtuous rulers? He, therefore, who comes into that which is truly the greatest of cities, namely, this world, and who beholds all the land, both the mountain and the champaign district full of animals, and plants, and the streams of rivers, both overflowing and depending on the wintry floods, and the steady flow of the sea, and the admirable temperature of the air, and the varieties and regular revolutions of the seasons of the year; and then too the sun and moon, the rulers of day and night, and the revolutions and regular motions of all the other planets and fixed stars, and of the whole heaven; would he not naturally, or I should rather say, of necessity, conceive a notion of the Father, and creator, and governor of all this system; for there is no artificial work whatever which exists of its own accord? And the world is the most artificial and skilfully made of all works, as if it had been put together by some one who was altogether accomplished and most perfect in knowledge. It is in this way that we have received an idea of the existence of God.

7 Again, even if it is very difficult to ascertain and very hard properly to comprehend, we must still, as far as it is possible, investigate the nature of his essence; for there is no employment more excellent than that of searching out the nature of the true God, even though the discovery may transcend all human ability, since the very desire and endeavor to comprehend it is able by itself to furnish indescribable pleasures and delights. And the witnesses of this fact are those who have not merely tasted philosophy with their outermost lips, but who have abundantly feasted on its reasonings and its doctrines; for the reasoning of these men, being raised on high far above the earth, roams in the air, and soaring aloft with the sun, and moon, and all the firmament of heaven, being eager to behold all the things that exist therein, finds its power of vision somewhat indistinct from a vast quantity of unalloyed light being poured over it, so that the eye of his soul becomes dazzled and confused by the splendour. But he does not on that account faint and renounce the task which he has undertaken, but goes on with invincible determination towards the sight which he considers attainable, as if he were a competitor at the games, and were striving for the second prize, though he has missed the first. And guess and conjecture are inferior to true perception, as are all those notions which are classed under the description of reasonable and plausible opinions. Though, therefore, we do not know and cannot accurately ascertain what each of the stars is as to its pure and real essence, still we are eager to investigate the subject, delighting in probable reasonings, because of the fondness for learning which is implanted in our nature. And so in the same way, though we cannot attain to a distinct conception of the truly living God, we still ought not to renounce the task of investigating his character, because even if we fail to make the discovery, the very search itself is intrinsically useful and an object of deserved ambition; since no one ever blames the eyes of the body because they are unable to look upon the sun itself, and therefore shrink from the brilliancy which is poured upon them from its beams, and therefore look down upon the earth, shrinking from the extreme brilliancy of the rays of the sun.

8 Which that interpreter of the divine word, Moses, the man most beloved by God, having a regard to, besought God and said, "Show me thyself"--all but urging him, and crying out in loud and distinct words--"that thou hast a real being and existence the whole world is my teacher, assuring me of the fact and instructing me as a son might of the existence of his father, or the work of the existence of the workman. But, though I am very desirous to know what thou art as to thy essence, I can find no one who is able to explain to me anything relating to this branch of learning in any part of the universe whatever. On which account, I beg and entreat of thee to receive the supplication of a man who is thy suppliant and devoted to God's service, and desirous to serve thee alone; for as the light is not known by the agency of anything else, but is itself its own manifestation, so also thou must alone be able to manifest thyself. For which reason I hope to receive pardon, if, from want of any one to teach me, I am so bold as to flee to thee, desiring to receive instruction from thyself." But God replied, "I receive, indeed, your eagerness, inasmuch as it is praiseworthy; but the request which you make is not fitting to be granted to any created being. And I only bestow such gifts as are appropriate to him who receives them; for it is not possible for a man to receive all that it is easy for me to give. On which account I give to him who is deserving of my favour all the gifts which he is able to receive. But not only is the nature of mankind, but even the whole heaven and the whole world is unable to attain to an adequate comprehension of me. So know yourself, and be not carried away with impulses and desires beyond your power; and let not a desire of unattainable objects carry you away and keep you in suspense. For you shall not lack anything which may be possessed by you." When Moses heard this he betook himself to a second supplication, and said, "I am persuaded by thy explanations that I should not have been able to receive the visible appearance of thy form. But I beseech thee that I may, at all events, behold the glory that is around thee. And I look upon thy glory to be the powers which attend thee as thy guards, the comprehension of which having escaped me up to the present time, worketh in me no slight desire of a thorough understanding of it." But God replied and said, "The powers which you seek to behold are altogether invisible, and appreciable only by the intellect; since I myself am invisible and only appreciable by the intellect. And what I call appreciable only by the intellect are not those which are already comprehended by the mind, but those which, even if they could be so comprehended, are still such that the outward senses could not at all attain to them, but only the very purest intellect. And though they are by nature incomprehensible in their essence, still they show a kind of impression or copy of their energy and operation; as seals among you, when any wax or similar kind of material is applied to them, make an innumerable quantity of figures and impressions, without being impaired as to any portion of themselves, but still remaining unaltered and as they were before; so also you must conceive that the powers which are around me invest those things which have no distinctive qualities with such qualities, and those which have no forms with precise forms, and that without having any portion of their own everlasting nature dismembered or weakened. And some of your race, speaking with sufficient correctness, call them ideas (ideai), since they give a peculiar character (idiopoiousi) to every existing thing, arranging what had previously no order, and limiting, and defining, and fashioning what was before destitute of all limitation, and defination, and fashion; and, in short, in all respects changing what was bad into a better condition. "Do not, then, ever expect to be able to comprehend me nor any one of my powers, in respect of our essence. But, as I have said, I willingly and cheerfully grant unto you such things as you may receive. And this gift is to call you to the beholding of the world and all the things that are in it, which must be comprehended, not indeed by the eyes of the body, but by the sleepless vision of the soul. The desire of wisdom alone is continual and incessant, and it fills all its pupils and disciples with famous and most beautiful doctrines." When Moses heard this he did not cease from his desire, but he still burned with a longing for the understanding of invisible things. [...] [mangey thinks that there is a considerable hiatus here. What follows relates to the regulations respecting proselytes, which as the text stands is in no way connected with what has gone before about the worship of God.]

9 And he receives all persons of a similar character and disposition, whether they were originally born so, or whether they have become so through any change of conduct, having become better people, and as such entitled to be ranked in a superior class; approving of the one body because they have not defaced their nobility of birth, and of the other because they have thought fit to alter their lives so as to come over to nobleness of conduct. And these last he calls proselytes (proseµlytous), from the fact of their having come over (proseleµlythenai) to a new and Godfearing constitution, learning to disregard the fabulous inventions of other nations, and clinging to unalloyed truth. Accordingly, having given equal rank and honour to all those who come over, and having granted to them the same favours that were bestowed on the native Jews, he recommends those who are ennobled by truth not only to treat them with respect, but even with especial friendship and excessive benevolence. And is not this a reasonable recommendation? What he says is this. "Those men, who have left their country, and their friends, and their relations for the sake of virtue and holiness, ought not to be left destitute of some other cities, and houses, and friends, but there ought to be places of refuge always ready for those who come over to religion; for the most effectual allurement and the most indissoluble bond of affectionate good will is the mutual honouring of the one God." Moreover, he also enjoins his people that, after they have given the proselytes an equal share in all their laws, and privileges, and immunities, on their forsaking the pride of their fathers and forefathers, they must not give a license to their jealous language and unbridled tongues, blaspheming those beings whom the other body looks upon as gods, lest the proselytes should be exasperated at such treatment, and in return utter impious language against the true and holy God; for from ignorance of the difference between them, and by reason of their having from their infancy learnt to look upon what was false as if it had been true, and having been bred up with it, they would be likely to err. And there are some of the Gentiles, who, not attending to the honour due to the one God alone, deserve to be punished with extreme severity of punishment, as having forsaken the most important classification of piety and holiness, and as having chosen darkness in preference to the most brilliant light, and having rendered their own intellect blind when it might have seen clearly. And it is well that a charge should be given to all those who have any admiration for virtue to inflict all such punishment out of hand without any delay, not bringing them before either any judgement seat, or any council, or any bench of magistrates, but giving vent to their own disposition which hates evil and loves God, so as to chastise the impious with implacable rigour, looking upon themselves as everything for the time being, counsellors, and judges, and generals, and members of the assembly, and accusers, and witnesses, and laws, and the people; that so, since there is no conceivable hindrance, they may with all their company put themselves forward fearlessly to fight as the champions of holiness.

10 There is, in the history of the law, a record of one man who ventured on this exploit of noble daring, for when he saw some men connecting themselves with foreign women, and by reason of their allurements neglecting all their national customs and laws, and practising fabulous ceremonies, he was seized with a sudden enthusiasm in the presence of the whole multitude; and driving away all those on each side who were collected to see the sight, he slew one man who was so daring as to put himself forward as the leader and chief of this transgression of the law (for the impious deed had been already displayed and made a public exhibition of), and while he was openly performing sacrifices to images and unholy idols, he, I say, without being influenced by any fear, slew him, together with the woman who was with him; the one on account of his inclination to learn those things which it would have been more advantageous for him not to have learnt, and the woman because she was his preceptress in evil. This action being done of a sudden, in the warm impetuosity of the moment, admonished a vast multitude of those who were prepared to commit similar follies; therefore God, having praised this virtuous exploit done in this manner, out of a voluntary and spontaneous zeal, recompensed the doer with two rewards, namely, peace and the priesthood. With the one,

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because he judged him who had thus voluntarily encountered a contest for the sake of the honour of his God worthy to enjoy a life safe from war; and with the other, because the priesthood is the most fitting honour for a pious man, who professes an eagerness for the service of the Father of all, to serve whom is not only better than all freedom, but even than royal authority. But some men have gone to such a pitch of extravagant madness, that they have left themselves no retreat or way to repentance, but hasten onwards to the slavery and service of images made by hands, confessing it in distinct characters, not written on paper, as is the custom in the case of slaves, but branding the characters deep on their persons with a burning iron, in order that they may remain ineffacebly, for these things are not dimmed or weakened by time.

11 And the most sacred Moses appears to have preserved the same object and intention in all other cases whatever, being a lover and also a teacher of truth, which he desires to stamp and to impress upon all his disciples, expelling all false opinions, and compelling them to settle far from their minds. At all events, knowing that the act of divination co-operates in no slight degree with the errors of the lives of the multitude, so as to lead them out of the right way, he did not suffer his disciples to use any species of it whatever, but drove all who paid it any observance far from his everlasting constitution, and banished all sacrificers and purifiers, and augurs, and soothsayers, and enchanters, and men who applied themselves to the art of prophesying from sounds; for all these men are but guessers at what is probable and likely, at different times adopting different notions from the same appearances, because the subjects of their art have no stable and constant character, and because the intellect has never devised any accurate test by which those opinions which are approved may be examined. And all these things are but the furniture of impiety. How so? Because he who attends to them, and who allows himself to be influenced by them, disregards the cause of all things, looking upon those things alone as the causes of all things, whether good or evil; and he does not perceive that he is making all the cares of life to depend upon the most unstable supports, upon the motion of birds and feathers in the air, in this and that direction; and upon the paths of reptiles, crawling along the ground, which creep forth out of their holes in quest of food; and even upon entrails, and blood, and dead corpses, which, the moment that they are deprived of life, fall to pieces and become confused; and being deprived of their original nature which belonged to them, are changed, and subjected to a transformation for the worse. For he thinks it right, that the man who is legally enrolled as a citizen of his constitution must be perfect, not indeed in those things in which the multitude is educated, such as divination, and augury, and plausible conjectures, but in the observances due to God, which have nothing doubtful or uncertain about them, but only indubitable and naked truth. And since there is implanted in all men a desire of the knowledge of future events, and as, on account of this desire, they have recourse to sacrifices and to other species of divination, as if by these means they would be able to search out and discover the truth (but these things are, in reality, full of indistinctness and uncertainty, and are continually being convicted by themselves). He, with great energy, forbids his disciples to apply themselves to such sources of knowledge; and he says, that if they are truly pious they shall not be deprived of a proper knowledge of the future; but that some other Prophet [this prophecy, Deuteronomy 18:18, is always looked upon as one of the most remarkable of the early prophecies of our Saviour.] will appear to them on a sudden, inspired like himself, who will preach and prophesy among them, saying nothing of his own (for he who is truly possessed and inspired, even when he speaks, is unable to comprehend what he is himself saying), but that all the words that he should utter would proceed from him as if another was prompting him; for the prophets are interpreters of God, who is only using their voices as instruments, in order to explain what he chooses. Having now then said this, and other things like this, concerning the proper idea to be entertained of the one real, and true, and living God; he proceeds to express in what manner one ought to pay him the honours that are his Due.

12 We ought to look upon the universal world as the highest and truest temple of God, having for its most holy place that most sacred part of the essence of all existing things, namely, the heaven; and for ornaments, the stars; and for priests, the subordinate ministers of his power, namely, the angels, incorporeal souls, not beings compounded of irrational and rational natures, such as our bodies are, but such as have the irrational parts wholly cut out, being absolutely and wholly intellectual, pure reasonings, resembling the unit. But the other temple is made with hands; for it was desirable not to cut short the impulses of men who were eager to bring in contributions for the objects of piety, and desirous either to show their gratitude by sacrifices for such good fortune as had befallen them, or else to implore pardon and forgiveness for whatever errors they might have committed. He moreover foresaw that there could not be any great number of temples built either in many different places, or in the same place, thinking it fitting that as God is one, his temple also should be one. In the next place, he does not permit those who desire to perform sacrifices in their own houses to do so, but he orders all men to rise up, even from the furthest boundaries of the earth, and to come to this temple, by which command he is at the same time testing their dispositions most severely; for he who was not about to offer sacrifice in a pure and holy spirit would never endure to quit his country, and his friends, and relations, and emigrate into a distant land, but would be likely, being under the influence of a more powerful attraction than that towards piety, to continue attached to the society of his most intimate friends and relations as portions of himself, to which he was most closely attached. And the most evident proof of this may be found in the events which actually took place. For innumerable companies of men from a countless variety of cities, some by land and some by sea, from east and from west, from the north and from the south, came to the temple at every festival, as if to some common refuge and safe asylum from the troubles of this most busy and painful life, seeking to find tranquility, and to procure a remission of and respite from those cares by which from their earliest infancy they had been hampered and weighed down, and so, by getting breath as it were, to pass a brief time in cheerful festivities, being filled with good hopes and enjoying the leisure of that most important and necessary vacation which consists in forming a friendship with those hitherto unknown, but now initiated by boldness and a desire to honour God, and forming a combination of actions and a union of dispositions so as to join in sacrifices and libations to the most complete confirmation of mutual good will.

13 Of this temple the outer circuit, being the most extensive both in length and width, was fortified by fortifications adorned in a most costly manner. And each of them is a double portico, built and adorned with the finest materials of wood and stone, and with abundant supplies of all kinds, and with the greatest skill of the workmen, and the most diligent care on the part of the superintendants. But the inner circuits were less extensive, and the fashion of their building and adorning was more simple. And in the centre was the temple itself, beautiful beyond all possible description, as one may conjecture from what is now seen around on the outside; for what is innermost is invisible to every human creature except the high priest alone, and even he is enjoined only to enter that holy place once in each year. Everything then is invisible. For he carries in a brasier full of coals and frankincense; and then, when a great smoke proceeds from it, as is natural, and when everything all around is enveloped in it, then the sight of men is clouded, and checked, and prevented from penetrating in, being wholly unable to pierce the cloud. But, being very large and very lofty, although built in a very low situation, it is not inferior to any of the greatest mountains around. The buildings of it are of most exceeding beauty and magnificence, so as to be universal objects of admiration to all who behold them, and especially to all foreigners who travel to those parts, and who, comparing them with their own public edifices, marvel both at the beauty and sumptuousness of this one. But there is no grove of plantation in the space which surrounds it, in accordance with the prohibitions of the law, which for many reasons forbid this. In the first place, because a building which is truly a temple does not aim at pleasure and seductive allurements, but at a rigid and austere sanctity. Secondly, because it is not proper that those things which conduce to the verdure of trees should be introduced, such as the dung of irrational animals and of men. Thirdly, because those trees which do not admit of cultivation are of no use, but are as the poets say, the burden of the earth; while those which do admit of cultivation, and which are productive of wholesome fruit, draw off the attention of the fickle-minded from the thoughts of the respect due to the holy place itself, and to the ceremonies in which they are engaged. And besides these reasons, shady places and dense thickets are places of refuge for evil doers, since by their enveloping them in darkness they give them safety and enable them, as from an ambuscade, suddenly to fall upon any whom they choose to attack. But wide spaces, open and uncovered in every direction, where there is nothing which can hinder the sight, are the most suitable for the distinct sight of all those who enter and remain in the temple.

14 But the temple has for its revenues not only portions of land, but also other possessions of much greater extent and importance, which will never be destroyed or diminished; for as long as the race of mankind shall last, the revenues likewise of the temple will always be preserved, being coeval in their duration with the universal world. For it is commanded that all men shall every year bring their first fruits to the temple, from twenty years old and upwards; and this contribution is called their ransom. On which account they bring in the first fruits with exceeding cheerfulness, being joyful and delighted, inasmuch as simultaneously with their making the offering they are sure to find either a relaxation from slavery, or a relief from disease, and to receive in all respects a most sure freedom and safety for the future. And since the nation is the most numerous of all peoples, it follows naturally that the first fruits contributed by them must also be most abundant. Accordingly there is in almost every city a storehouse for the sacred things to which it is customary for the people to come and there to deposit their first fruits, and at certain seasons there are sacred ambassadors selected on account of their virtue, who convey the offerings to the temple. And the most eminent men of each tribe are elected to this office, that they may conduct the hopes of each individual safe to their destination; for in the lawful offering of the first fruits are the hopes of the pious.

15 Now there are twelve tribes of the nation, and one of them having been selected from the others for its excellence has received the priesthood, receiving this honour as a reward for its virtue, and fidelity, and its devout soul, which it displayed when the multitude appeared to be running into sin, following the foolish choices of some persons who persuaded their countrymen to imitate the vanity of the Egyptians, and the pride of the nations of the land, who had invented fables about irrational animals, and especially about bulls, making gods of them. For this tribe did of its own accord go forth and slay all the leaders of this apostacy from the youth upwards, in which they appeared to have done a holy action, encountering thus a contest and a labour for the sake of piety.

16 Now these are the laws which relate to the priests. It is enjoined that the priest shall be entire and unmutilated, having no blemish on his body, no part being deficient, either naturally or through mutilation; and on the other hand, nothing having been superfluous either from his birth or having grown out subsequently from disease; his skin, also, must never have changed from leprosy, or wild lichen, or scab, or any other eruption or breaking out; all which things appear to me to be designed to be symbols of the purity of his soul. For if it was necessary to examine the mortal body of the priest that it ought not be imperfect through any misfortune, much more was it necessary to look into his immortal soul, which they say is fashioned in the form of the living God. Now the image of God is the Word, by which all the world was made. And after enjoining that the priest is to be of pure blood, and sprung from fathers of noble birth, and that he must be perfect in body and soul, laws are enacted also respecting the garments which the priest must wear when he is about to offer the sacred sacrifices and to perform the sacred ceremonies. And this dress is a linen tunic and a girdle, the latter to cover those parts which must not be displayed in their nakedness near the altar of sacrifice. And the tunic is for the sake of promptness in performing the requisite ministrations; for they are but lightly clad, only in their tunics, when they bring their victims, and the libations, and the other requisite offerings for sacrifice, being apparelled so as to admit of unhesitating celerity. But the high priest is commanded to wear a similar dress when he goes into the holy of holies to offer incense, because linen is not made of any animal that dies, as woollen garments are. He is also commanded to wear another robe also, having very beautiful embroidery and ornament upon it, so that it may seem to be a copy and representation of the world. And the description of the ornament is a clear proof of this; for in the first place the whole of the round robe is of hyacinthine colour, a tunic reaching to the feet, being an emblem of the air, since the air also is by nature black, and in a manner may be said to be reaching to the feet, as it is extended from above from the regions about the moon, to the lowest places of the earth. Next there was a woven garment in the form of a breastplate upon it, and this was a symbol of the heaven; for on the points of the shoulders are two emerald stones of most exceeding value, one on one side and one on the other, each perfectly round and single on each side, as emblems of the hemispheres, one of which is above the earth and the other under the earth. Then on his chest there are twelve precious stones of different colours, arranged in four rows of three stones in each row, being fashioned so as an emblem of the zodiac. For the zodiac also consists of twelve animals, and so divides the four seasons of the year, allotting three animals to each season. And the whole place is very correctly called the logeum (logeion), since every thing in heaven has been created and arranged in accordance with right reason (logois) and proportion; for there is absolutely nothing there which is devoid of reason. And on the logeum he embroiders two woven pieces of cloth, calling the one manifestation and the other truth. And by the one which he calls truth he expresses figuratively that it is absolutely impossible for falsehood to enter any part of heaven, but that it is entirely banished to the parts around the earth, dwelling among the souls of impious men. And by that which he calls manifestation he implies that the natures in heaven make manifest every thing that takes place among us, which of themselves would be perfectly and universally unknown. And the clearest proof of this is that if there were no light, and if the sun did not shine, it would be impossible for the indescribable variety of qualities of bodies to be seen, and for all the manifold differences of colours and forms to be distinguished from one another. And what else could exhibit to us the days and the nights, and the months and the years, and in short the divisions of time, but the harmonious and inconceivable revolutions of the sun, and moon, and other

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stars? And what could exhibit the true nature of number, except those same bodies just mentioned in accordance with the observation of the combination of the parts of time? And what else could have cut the paths through the ocean and through such numerous and vast seas, and shown them to navigators, except the changes and periodical appearances of the stars? And wise men have observed, also, an innumerable quantity of other circumstances, and have recorded them, conjecturing from the heavenly bodies the advent of calm weather and of violent storms, and the fertility or barrenness of crops, and the mild or violently hot summers, and whether the winters will be severe or spring-like, whether there will be droughts or abundance of rain, whether the flocks and trees will be fruitful, or on the contrary barren, and all such matters as these. For the signs of every thing on earth are engraved and firmly fixed in heaven.

17 And besides this, golden pomegranates are attached to the lower parts of the tunic, reaching to the feet, and bells and borders embroidered with flowers. And these things are the emblems of earth and of water; the flowers are the emblems of the earth, inasmuch as it is out of it that they all rise and derive strength to bloom. And the Pomegranates [the Greek for a pomegranate is rhoia, or rhoiskos, which Philo imagines to be derived from rheoμ, "to flow."] as above mentioned are the emblems of water, being so named from the flowing of the stream. And the harmony, and concord, and unison of sound of the different parts of the world is betokened by the bells. And the arrangement is a very excellent one; for the upper garment, on which the stones are placed, which is called the breast-plate, is a representation of heaven, because the heaven also is the highest of all things. And the tunic that reaches to the feet is in every part of a hyacinthine colour, since the air also is black, and is placed in the second classification next in honour to the heaven. And the embroidered flowers and pomegranates are on the hem, because the earth and water have been assigned the lowest situation in the universe. This is the arrangement of the sacred dress of the high priest, being a representation of the universe, a marvelous work to be beheld or to be contemplated. For it has an appearance thoroughly calculated to excite astonishment, such as no embroidered work conceived by man ever was for variety and costly magnificence; and it also attracts the intellect of philosophers to examine its different parts. For God intends that the high priest should in the first place have a visible representation of the universe about him, in order that from the continual sight of it he may be reminded to make his own life worthy of the nature of the universe, and secondly, in order that the whole world may co-operate with him in the performance of his sacred rites. And it is exceedingly becoming that the man who is consecrated to the service of the Father of the world should also bring his son to the service of him who has begotten him. There is also a third symbol contained in this sacred dress, which it is important not to pass over in silence. For the priests of other deities are accustomed to offer up prayers and sacrifices solely for their own relations, and friends, and fellow citizens. But the high priest of the Jews offers them up not only on behalf of the whole race of mankind, but also on behalf of the different parts of nature, of the earth, of water, of air, and of fire; and pours forth his prayers and thanksgivings for them all, looking upon the world (as indeed it really is) as his country, for which, therefore, he is accustomed to implore and propitiate its governor by supplications and prayers, beseeching him to give a portion of his own merciful and humane nature to the things which he has created.

18 After he has given these precepts, he issues additional commandments, and orders him, whenever he approaches the altar and touches the sacrifices, at the time when it is appointed for him to perform his sacred ministrations, not to drink wine or any other strong drink, on account of four most important reasons, hesitation, and forgetfulness, and sleep, and folly. For the intemperate man relaxes the powers of his body, and renders his limbs more slow of motion, and makes his whole body more inclined to hesitation, and compels it by force to become drowsy. And he also relaxes the energies of his soul, and so becomes the cause to it of forgetfulness and folly. But in the case of abstemious men all the parts of the body are lighter, and as such more active and moveable, and the outer senses are more pure and unalloyed, and the mind is gifted with a more acute sight, so that it is able to see things beforehand, and never forgets what it has previously seen; in short, therefore, we must look upon the use of wine to be a most unprofitable thing for all the purposes of life, inasmuch as by it the soul is weighed down, the outward senses are dimmed, and the body is enervated. For it does not leave any one of our faculties free and unembarrassed, but is a hindrance to every one of them, so as to impede its attaining that object to which it is by nature fitted. But in sacred ceremonies and holy rites the mischief is most grievous of all, in proportion as it is worse and more intolerable to sin with respect to God than with respect to man. On which account it probably is that it is commanded to the priest to offer up sacrifices without wine, in order to make a difference and distinction between sacred and profane things, and pure and impure things, and lawful and unlawful things.

19 But since the priest was a man before he was a priest, and since he is of necessity desirous to indulge the appetites which prompt him to seek for the connexions of love, he procures for him a marriage with a pure virgin, and one who is born of pure parents, and grandfathers, and great-grandfathers, selected for their excellency with reference both to their virtue and to their noble birth. For God does not allow him even to look upon a harlot, or a profane body or soul, or upon any one who, having put away her pursuit of gain, now wears an elegant and modest appearance, because such a one is unholy in respect of her former profession and way of life; though in other respects she may be looked upon as honourable, by reason of her having purified herself of her former evil courses. For repentance for past sins is a thing to be praised; and no one else need be forbidden to marry her, only let her not come near a priest. For the especial property of the priesthood is justice and purity, which from the first beginning of its creation to the end, seeks a concord utterly irreproachable. For it would be mere folly that some men should be excluded from the priesthood by reason of the scars which exist on their bodies from ancient wounds, which are the emblem of misfortune indeed, but not of wickedness; but that those persons who, not at all out of necessity but from their own deliberate choice, have made a market of their beauty, when at last they slowly repent, should at once after leaving their lovers become united to priests, and should come from brothels and be admitted into the sacred precincts. For the scars and impressions of their old offences remain not the less in the souls of those who repent. On which account it is wisely and truly said in another passage, that "One may not bring the hire of a harlot into the Temple." [Deuteronomy 23:18.] And yet the money is not in itself liable to any reproach, except by reason of the woman who received it, and the action for which it was given to her. How then could one possibly admit those women to consort with priests whose very money is looked upon as profane and base, even though as to its material and stamp it may be good and lawful money?

20 The regulations, therefore, are laid down with precision in this manner for the high priest, so that he is not allowed either to marry a widow, nor one who is left desolate after the death of the man to whom she has been espoused, nor one who has been divorced from a husband who is still alive, in order that the sacred seed may be sown for the first time in a field which is hitherto untrodden and pure, and that his offspring may have no admixture of the blood of any other house. And in the second place, in order that the pair coming together with souls which have as yet known no defilement or perversion, may easily form their dispositions and characters in a virtuous manner. For the minds of virgins are easily attracted and drawn over to virtue, being exceedingly ready to be taught. But the woman who has had experience of another husband is very naturally less inclined to obedience and to instruction, inasmuch as she has not a soul perfectly pure, like thoroughly smooth wax, so as to receive distinctly the doctrines which are to be impressed upon it, but one which is to a certain degree rough from the impressions which have been already stamped upon it, which are difficult to be effaced, and so remain, and do not easily receive any other impression, or if they do they render it confused by the irregularity of their own surface. Let the high priest, therefore, take a pure virgin to be his wife; I say a virgin, meaning not only one with whom no other man has even been connected, but one in connexion with whom no other man has ever been named in reference to the agreement of marriage, even though her body may be pure.

21 But besides this, injunctions are given to the particular and inferior priests concerning their marriages, which are the very same in most points, which are given to those who have the supreme priesthood. But they are permitted with impunity to marry not only maidens but widows also; not, indeed, all widows, but those whose husbands are dead. For the law thinks it fitting to remove all quarrels and disputes from the life of the priests. And if they had husbands living there very likely might be disputes from the jealousy which is caused by the love of men for women. But when the first husband is dead, then with him the hostility which could be felt towards the second husband dies also. And even on other accounts he might have thought that the high priest ought to be of superior purity and holiness, as in other matters so also in the connexion of marriage, and on this account it may have been that God only allowed the high priest to marry a virgin. But to the priests of the second rank he remitted something of the rigour of his regulations concerning the connexion with women, permitting them to marry women who have made trials of other husbands.

22 And besides these commands, he also defined precisely the family of the women who might be married by the high priest, commanding him to marry not merely a woman who was a virgin, but also one who was a priestess, the daughter of a priest, that so both bridegroom and bride might be of one house, and in a manner of one blood, so as to display a most lasting harmony and union of disposition during the whole of their lives. The others also were permitted to marry women who were not the daughters of priests, partly because their purificatory sacrifices are of but small importance, and partly because he was not willing entirely to disunite and separate the whole nation from the order of the priesthood; for which reason he did not prevent the other priests from making intermarriages with any of their countrywomen, as that is relationship in the second degree; for sons-in-law are in the place of sons to their fathersin-law, and fathers-in-law instead of fathers to their sons-in-law.

23 These, then, are the ordinances which were established respecting marriage, and respecting what greatly resembles marriage, the procreation of children. But since destruction follows creation, Moses also gave the priests laws relating to death,[Leviticus 23:1.] commanding them not to permit themselves to be defiled in respect of all people whatsoever, who might happen to die, and who might be connected with them through some bond of friendship, or distant relationship: but allowing them to mourn for six classes only, their fathers or their mothers, their sons of their daughters, their brothers or their sisters, provided that these last were virgins; but the high priest he absolutely forbade to mourn in any case whatever; and may we not say that this was rightly done? For as to the ministrations which belong to the other priests, one individual can perform them instead of another, so that, even if some be in mourning, still none of the usual observances need be omitted; but there is no one besides the high priest himself, who is permitted to perform his duties instead of him; for which reason, he must always be kept free from all defilement, never touching any dead body, in order that, being always ready to offer up prayers and sacrifices on behalf of the whole world at suitable seasons, he may continue to fulfil the duties of his office without hindrance. And otherwise too, besides this consideration, the man who has been assigned to God, and who has become the leader of his sacred band of worshippers, ought to be disconnected with, and alienated from, all things of creation, not being so much the slave of the love of either parents, or children, or brothers, as either to omit or to delay any one of those holy actions, which it is by all means better should be done at once; and God commands the high priest neither to rend his clothes over his very nearest relations when they die, nor to take from his head the ensign of the priesthood, nor in short to depart from the holy place on any plea of mourning, that, showing proper respect to the place, and to the sacred ornaments with which he himself is crowned, he may show himself superior to pity, and pass the whole of his life exempt from all sorrow. For the law designs that he should be the partaker of a nature superior to that of man; inasmuch as he approaches more nearly to that of the Deity; being, if one must say the plain truth, on the borders between the two, in order that men may propitiate God by some mediator, and that God may have some subordinate minister by whom he may offer and give his mercies and kindnesses to mankind.

24 After he has said this, he immediately proceeds to lay down laws, concerning those who are to use the first fruits, "If therefore, any One," [Leviticus 21:17.] says he, "should mutilate the priests as to their eyes, or their feet, or any part of their bodies, or if he should have received any blemish, let him not partake of the sacred ministrations by reason of the defects which exist in him, but still let him enjoy those honours which are common to all the priests, because of his irreproachable nobility of birth." "Moreover, if any leprosies break out and attack him or if any one of the priests he afflicted with any flux, let him not touch the sacred table, nor any of the duties which are set apart for his race, until the flux stop, or the leprosy change, so that he become again resembling the complexion of sound Flesh." [Leviticus 22:4.] And, if any priest do by any chance whatever touch anything that is unclean, or if he should have impure dreams by night, as is very often apt to be the case, let him during all that day touch nothing that has been consecrated, but let him wash himself and the ensuing evening, and after that let him not be hindered from touching them. And let the sojourner in the priest's house, and the hireling, be prevented from approaching the first fruits; the sojourner, because it is not every one who is a neighbour who shares a man's hearth and eats at his table;[Leviticus 22:10.] for there is reason to fear that some such person may cast away what is hallowed, using as a cloak for his impiety the pretence of some unseasonable humanity; for one might not give all men a share of all things, but only of such as are adapted to those who are to receive them; otherwise, that which is the most beautiful and most beneficial of all the things in this life, namely order, will be wasted away and destroyed by that which is the most mischievous of all things, namely, confusion. 2For if in merchant vessels the sailors were to receive an equal share with the pilot of the ship, and if in ships of war the rowers and the mariners were to receive an equal share with the captain, and if in military camps the cavalry of the line were to receive an equal share with their officers, the heavy armed infantry with their colonels, and the colonels with the generals; again, if in cities the parties before the court were to be placed on the same footing with the judges, the committeemen with the

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ministers, and in short private individuals with the magistrates, there would be incessant troubles and seditions, and the equality in words would produce inequality in fact; for it is an unequal measure to give equal honour to persons who are unequal in rank or desert; and inequality is the root of all evil. On which account one must not give the honours of the priests to sojourners, just as one must not give them to any one else, who in that case, because of their proximity, would be meddling with what they have no business; for the honour does not belong to the house, but to the race.

25 In like manner, no one must give this sacred honour to a hireling, as his wages, or as a recompense for his service; for sometimes he who receives it being unholy will employ it for illegitimate purposes, making the honours due to purity of birth common, and profaning all the sacred ceremonies and observances relating to the temple; on which account the law altogether forbids any foreigner to partake in any degree of the holy things, even if he be a man of the noblest birth among the natives of the land, and irreproachable as respects both men and women, in order that the sacred honours may not be adulterated, but may remain carefully guarded in the family of the priests; for it would be absurd that the sacrifices and holy ordinances, and all the other sacred observances pertaining to the altar, should be entrusted not to all men but to the priests alone; but that the rewards for the performance of those things should be common and liable to fall to the share of any chance persons, as if it were reasonable that the priests should be worn out with labours and toils, and nightly and daily cares, but that the rewards for such pains should be common and open to those who do nothing. 2But, he proceeds, let the priest who is his master give to the slave who is born in his house, and to him who has been purchased with money, a share of meat and drink from the first fruits. In the first place, because the master is the only source of supply to the servant, and the inheritance of the master are the sacred offices of humanity, by which the slave must necessarily be supported. In the second place, because it is by all means necessary that they should not do what is to be done unwillingly; and servants, even though we may not like it, since they are always about us and living with us, preparing meat, and drink, and delicacies for their masters beforehand, and standing at their tables, and carrying away the fragments that are left, even though they may not take any openly, will at all events secretly appropriate some of the victuals, being compelled by necessity to steal, so that instead of one injury (if indeed it is an injury to their masters that they should be supported at their expense), they are compelled to add a second to it, namely, theft; in order that, like thieves, they may enjoy what has been consecrated by their masters who live irreproachably themselves; which is the most unreasonable thing possible. Thirdly, one ought to take this also into consideration, that share of the first fruits will not be neglected merely because they are distributed to the servants, through their fear of their masters; for this is sufficient to stop their mouths, preventing the arrogance of such persons from showing itself.

26 Having said thus much he proceeds next to put forth a law full of humanity. If, says he, the daughter of a priest, having married a man who is not a priest, becomes a widow by the death of her husband, or if she be left childless while he is still alive, let her return again to her father's house, to receive her share of the first fruits which she enjoyed when she was a virgin;[Leviticus 22:12.] for in some degree and in effect she is now also a virgin, since she has neither husband nor children, and has no other refuge but her father; 3but if she has sons or daughters, then the mother must of necessity be classed with the children; and the sons and daughters, being ranked as of the family of their father, draw their mother also with them into his House.

27 The law did not allot any share of the land to the priests, in order that they like others might derive revenues from the land, and so possess a sufficiency of necessary things; but admitting them to an excessive degree of honour, he said that God was their inheritance, having a reference to the things offered to God; for the sake of two objects, both that of doing them the highest honour, since they are thus made partners in those things which are offered up by pious men, out of gratitude to God; and also in order that they might have no business about which to trouble themselves except the offices of religion, as they would have had, if they were forced to take care of their inheritance. And the following are the rewards and preeminent honours which he assigns to them; 3in the first place, that the necessary food for their support shall at all times be provided for them without any labour or toil of their own; for God commands those who are making bread, to take of all the fat and of all the dough, a loaf as first fruits for the use of the priests, making thus, by this legitimate instruction, a provision for those men who put aside these first fruits, proceeding in the way that leads to piety; 3for being accustomed at all times to offer first fruits of the necessary food, they will thus have an everlasting recollection of God, than which it is impossible to imagine a greater blessing; and it follows of necessity, that the first fruits offered by the most populous of nations must be very plentiful, so that even the very poorest of the priests, must, in respect of his abundance of all necessary food, appear to be very wealthy. 3In the second place, he commands the nation also to give them the first fruits of their other possessions; a portion of wine out of each winepress; and of wheat and barley from each threshing floor. And in like manner they were to have a share of oil from all; the olive trees, and of eatable fruit from all the fruit trees, in order that they might not pass a squalid existence, having only barely enough of necessary food to support life, but that they might have sufficient for a certain degree of comfort and luxury, and so live cheerfully on abundant means, with all becoming ornament and refinement. The third honour allotted to them is an assignment of all the first-born males, of all kinds of land animals which are born for the service and use of mankind; for these are the things which God commands to be given to the men consecrated to the priesthood; the offspring of oxen, and sheep, and goats, namely calves, and lambs, and kids, inasmuch as they both are and are considered clean, both for the purposes of eating and of sacrifice, but he orders that money shall be given as a ransom for the young of other animals, such as horses, and asses and camels, and similar beasts, without disparaging their real value; 3and the supplies thus afforded them are very great; for the people of this nation breed sheep, and cattle, and flocks of all kinds above all other peoples, separating them with great care into flocks of goats, and herds of oxen, and flocks of sheep, and a vast quantity of other troops of animals of all kinds. Moreover the law, going beyond all these enactments in their favour, commands the people to bring them the first fruits, not only of all their possessions of every description, but also of their own lives and bodies; for the children are separable portions of their parents as one may say; but if one must tell the plain truth, they are inseparable as being of kindred blood, [...] [the above passage is quite unintelligible in the Greek, and is given up by Mangey as irremediably corrupt.] and being bound to them by the allurements of united good will, and by the indissoluble bonds of nature. But nevertheless, he consecrates also their own first-born male children after the fashion of other first fruits, as a sort of thanks-offering for fertility, and a number of children both existing and hoped for, and wishing at the same time that their marriages should be not only free from all blame, but even very deserving of praise, the first fruit arising from which is consecrated to God; and keeping this in their minds, both husbands and wives ought to cling to modesty, and to attend to their household concerns, and to cherish unanimity, agreeing with one another, so that what is called a communion and partnership may be so in solid truth, not only in word, but likewise in deed. And with reference to the dedication of the first-born male children, in order that the parents may not be separated from their children, nor the children from their parents, he values the first fruits of them himself at a fixed price in money ordering everyone both poor and rich to contribute an equal sum, not having any reference to the ability of the contributors, nor to the vigor or beauty of the children who were born; but considering how much even a very poor man might be able to give; for since the birth of children happens equally to the most noble and to the most obscure persons of the race, he thought it just to enact that their contribution should also be equal, aiming, as I have already said, particularly to fix a sum which should be in the power of everyone to give.

28 After this he also appointed another source of revenue of no insignificant importance for the priests, bidding them to take the first fruits of every one of the revenues of the nation namely, the first fruits of the corn, and wine, and oil, and even of the produce of all the cattle, of the flocks of sheep, and herds of oxen, and flocks of goats, and of all other animals of all kinds; and how great an abundance of these animals there must be, any one may conjecture from the vast populousness of the nation; 4from all which circumstances it is plain that the law invests the priests with the dignity and honour that belongs to kings; since he commands contributions from every description of possession to be given to them as to rulers; 4and they are accordingly given to them in a manner quite contrary to that in which cities usually furnish them to their rulers; for cities usually furnish them under compulsion, and with great unwillingness and lamentation, looking upon the collectors of the taxes as common enemies and destroyers, and making all kinds of different excuses at different times, and neglecting all laws and ordinances, and with all this jumbling and evasion do they contribute the taxes and payments which are levied on them. But the men of this nation contribute their payments to the priests with joy and cheerfulness, anticipating the collectors, and cutting short the time allowed for making the contributions, and thinking that they are themselves receiving rather than giving; and so with words of blessing and thankfulness, they all, both men and women, bring their offerings at each of the seasons of the year, with a spontaneous cheerfulness, and readiness, and zeal, beyond all description.

29 And these things are assigned to the priests from the possessions of each individual, but there are also often especial revenues set apart for them exceedingly suitable for the priests, which are derived from the sacrifices which are offered up; for it is commanded that two portions from two limbs of every victim shall be given to the priests, the arm from the limb on the right side, and the fat from the chest; for the one is a symbol of strength and manly vigor, and of every lawful action in giving, and taking, and acting: and the other is an emblem of human gentleness as far as the angry passions are concerned; for it is said that these passions have their abode in the chest, since nature has assigned them the breast for their home as the most suitable place; around which as around a garrison she has thrown, in order more effectually to secure them from being taken, a very strong fence which is called the chest, which she has made of many continuous and very strong bones, binding it firmly with nerves which cannot be broken. But from the victims which are sacrificed away from the altar, in order to be eaten, it is commanded that three portions should be given to the priest, an arm, and a jaw-bone, and that which is called the paunch; the arm for the reason which has been mentioned a short time ago; the jaw-bone as a first fruit of that most important of all the members of the body, namely the head, and also of uttered speech, for the stream of speech could not flow out without the motion of these jaws; for they being Agitated [the Greek word here used is seiομ, and the word used for jawbone is siagoμn, which Philo appears to think may be derived from seiομ.] (and it is very likely from this, that they have derived their name), when they are struck by the tongue, all the organisation of the voice sounds simultaneously; and the paunch is a kind of excrescence of the belly. And the belly is a kind of stable of that irrational animal the appetite, which, being irrigated by much wine-bibbing and gluttony, is continually washed with incessant provision of meat and drink, and like a swine is delighted while wallowing in the mire; in reference to which fact, a very suitable place indeed has been assigned to that intemperate and most unseemly beast, namely, the place to which all the superfluities are conveyed. 4And the opposite to desire is temperance, which one must endeavor, and labour, and take pains by every contrivance imaginable to acquire, as the very greatest blessing and most perfect benefit both to an individual and to the state. 5Appetite therefore, being a profane, and impure, and unholy thing, is driven beyond the territories of virtue, and is banished as it ought to be; but temperance, being a pure and unblemished virtue, neglecting everything which relates to eating and drinking, and boasting itself as superior to the pleasures of the belly, may be allowed to approach the sacred altars, bringing forward as it does the excrescence of the body, as a memorial that it may be reminded to despise all insatiability and gluttony, and all those things which excite the appetites to this pitch.

30 And beyond all these things he also orders that the priests who minister the offering of the sacrifices, shall receive the skins of the whole burnt offerings (and they amount to an unspeakable number, this being no slight gift, but one of the most exceeding value and importance), from which circumstances it is plain, that although he has not given to the priesthood a portion of land as its inheritance, in the same manner that he has to others, he has yet assigned to them a more honourable and more untroubled share than any other tribe, granting them the first fruits of every description of sacrifice and offering. 5And to prevent anyone of those who give the offerings, from reproaching those who receive them, he commands that the first fruits should first of all be carried into the temple, and then orders that the priests shall take them out of the temple; for it was suitable to the nature of God, that those who had received kindness in all the circumstances of life, should bring the first fruits as thank-offering, and then that he, as a being who was in want of nothing, should with all dignity and honour bestow them on the servants and ministers who attend on the service of the temple; for to appear to receive these things not from men, but from the great Benefactor of all men, appears to be receiving a gift which has in it no alloy of sadness.

31 Since, then, these honours are put forth for them, if any of the priests are in any difficulty while living virtuously and irreproachably, they are at once accusers of us as disregarding the law, even though they may not utter a word. For if we were to obey the commands which we have received, and if we were to take care to give the first fruits as we are commanded, they would not only have abundance of all necessary things, but would also be filled with all kinds of supplies calculated for enabling them to live in refinement and luxury. And if ever at any subsequent time the tribe of the priests is found to be blessed with a great abundance of all the necessaries and luxuries of life, this will be a great proof of their common holiness, and of their accurate observance of the laws and ordinances in every particular. But the neglect of some persons (for it is not safe to blame every one) is the cause of poverty to those who have been dedicated to God, and, if one must tell the truth, to the men themselves also. For to violate the law is injurious to those who offend, even though it may be an attractive course for a short time; but to obey the ordinances of nature is most beneficial, even if at the time it may wear a painful appearance and may show no pleasant character.

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32 Having given all these supplies and revenues to the priests, he did not neglect those either who were in the second rank of the priesthood; and these are the keepers of the temple, of whom some are placed at the doors, at the very entrance of the temple, as door-keepers; and others are within, in the vestibule of the temple, in order that no one who ought not to do so might enter it, either deliberately or by accident. Others, again, stand all around, having had the times of their watches assigned to them by lot, so as to watch by turns night and day, some being day watchmen and others night watchmen. Others, again, had charge of the porticoes and of the courts in the open air, and carried out all the rubbish, taking care of the cleanliness of the temple, and the tenths were assigned as the wages of all these men; for these tenths are the share of the keepers of the temple. At all events the law did not permit those who received them to make use of them, until they had again offered up as first fruits other tenths as if from their own private property, and before they had given these to the priests of the superior rank, for then it permitted them to enjoy them, but before that time it would not allow it. 5Moreover, the law allotted to them fortyeight cities, and in every city, suburbs, extending two hundred cubits all round, for the pasture of their cattle, and for the other necessary purposes of which cities have need. But of these cities, six were set apart, some on the near side, and some on the further side of Jordan, three on each side, as cities of refuge for those who had committed unintentional murder. 5For as it was not consistent with holiness for one who had by any means whatever become the cause of death to any human being to come within the sacred precincts, using the temple as a place of refuge and as an asylum, Moses gave a sort of inferior sanctity to the cities above mentioned, allowing them to give great security, by reason of the privileges and honours conferred upon the inhabitants, who were to be justified in protecting their suppliants if any superior power endeavored to bring force against them, not by warlike preparations, but by rank, and dignity, and honour, which they had from the laws by reason of the venerable character of the priesthood. 6But the fugitive, when he has once got within the borders of the city to which he has fled for refuge, must be kept close within it, because of the avengers waiting for him on the outside, being the relations by blood of the man who has been slain, and who, out of regret for their kinsman, even if he has been slain by one who did not intend to do so, are still eager for the blood of him who slew him, their individual and private grief overpowering their accurate notions of what is right. And should he go forth from the city, let him know that he is going forth to undoubted destruction; for he will not escape the notice of any one of the slain man's relations, by whom he will at once be taken in nets and toils, and so he will perish. And the limit of his banishment shall be the life of the high priest; and when he is dead, he shall be pardoned and return to his own city. Moses, having promulgated these and similar laws about the priests, proceeds to enact others concerning animals, as to what beasts are suitable for Sacrifice.

33 Or the creatures which are fit to be offered as sacrifices, some are land animals, and some are such as fly through the air. Passing over, therefore, the infinite varieties of birds, God chose only two classes out of them all, the turtledove and the pigeon; because the pigeon is by nature the most gentle of all those birds which are domesticated and gregarious, and the turtle-dove the most gentle of those which love solitude. 6Also, passing over the innumerable troops of land animals, whose very numbers it is not easy to ascertain, he selected these especially as the best--the oxen, and sheep, and goats; for these are the most gentle and the most manageable of all animals. At all events, great herds of oxen, and numerous flocks of goats and sheep, are easily driven by any one, not merely by any man, but by any little child, when they go forth to pasture, and in the same way they are brought back to their folds in good order when the time comes. And of this gentleness, there are many other proofs, and the most evident are these: that they all feed on herbage, and that no one of them is carnivorous, and that they have neither crooked talons, nor any projecting tusks or teeth whatever; for the back parts of the upper jaw do not hold teeth, but all the incisor teeth are deficient in them: 6and, besides these facts, they are of all animals the most useful to man. Rams are the most useful for the necessary covering of the body; oxen, for plowing the ground and preparing the arable land for seed, and for the growth of the crops that shall hereafter come to be threshed out, in order that men may partake of and enjoy food; and the hair and fleeces of goats, where one is woven, or the other sewn together, make movable tents for travellers, and especially for men engaged in military expeditions, whom their necessities constantly compel to abide outside of the city in the open air.

34 And the victims must be whole and entire, without any blemish on any part of their bodies, unmutilated, perfect in every part, and without spot or defect of any kind. At all events, so great is the caution used with respect not only to those who offer the sacrifices, but also to the victims which are offered, that the most eminent of the priests are carefully selected to examine whether they have any blemishes or not, and scrutinise them from head to foot, inspecting not only those parts which are easily visible, but all those which are more out of sight, such as the belly and the thighs, lest any slight imperfection should escape notice. 6And the accuracy and minuteness of the investigation is directed not so much on account of the victims themselves, as in order that those who offer them should be irreproachable; for God designed to teach the Jews by these figures, whenever they went up to the altars, when there to pray or to give thanks, never to bring with them any weakness or evil passion in their soul, but to endeavor to make it wholly and entirely bright and clean, without any blemish, so that God might not turn away with aversion from the sight of it.

35 And since, of the sacrifices to be offered, some are on behalf of the whole nation, and indeed, if one should tell the real truth, in behalf of all mankind, while others are only in behalf of each individual who has chosen to offer them; we must speak first of all of those which are for the common welfare of the whole nation, and the regulations with respect to this kind of sacrifice are of a marvelous nature. 6For some of them are offered up every day, and some on the days of the new moon, and at the festivals of the full moon; others on days of fasting; and others at three different occasions of festival. Accordingly, it is commanded that every day the priests should offer up two lambs, one at the dawn of day, and the other in the evening; each of them being a sacrifice of thanksgiving; the one for the kindnesses which have been bestowed during the day, and the other for the mercies which have been vouchsafed in the night, which God is incessantly and uninterruptedly pouring upon the race of men. And on the seventh day he doubles the number of victims to be offered, giving equal honour to equal things, inasmuch as he looks upon the seventh day as equal in dignity to eternity, since he has recorded it as being the birthday of the whole world. On which account he has thought fit to make the sacrifice to be offered on the seventh day, equal to the continuation of what is usually sacrificed in one day. 7Moreover, the most fragrant of all incenses are offered up twice every day in the fire, being burnt within the veil, both when the sun rises and sets, before the morning and after the evening sacrifice, so that the sacrifices of blood display our gratitude for ourselves as being composed of blood, but the offerings of incense show our thankfulness for the dominant part within us, our rational spirit, which was fashioned after the archetypal model of the divine image. 7And loaves are placed on the seventh day on the sacred table, being equal in number to the months of the year, twelve loaves, arranged in two rows of six each, in accordance with the arrangement of the equinoxes; for there are two equinoxes every year, the vernal and the autumnal, which are each reckoned by periods of six months. At the vernal equinox all the seeds sown in the ground begin to ripen; about which time, also, the trees begin to put forth their fruit. And by the autumnal one the fruit of the trees has arrived at a perfect ripeness; and at this period, again, is the beginning of seed time. Thus nature, going through a long course of time, showers gifts after gifts upon the race of man, the symbols of which are the two sixes of loaves thus placed on the table. And these loaves, also, do figuratively intimate that most useful of all virtues, temperance; which is attended by frugality, and economy, and moderation as so many bodyguards, on account of the pernicious attacks which intemperance and covetousness prepare to make upon it. For, to a lover of wisdom, a loaf is a sufficient nourishment, keeping the bodies free from disease, and the intellect sound, and healthy, and sober. But high seasonings, and cheesecakes, and sweetmeats, and all the other delicacies which the superfluous skill of confectioners and cooks concoct to cajole the illiterate, and unphilosophical, and most slavish of all the outward senses, namely, taste, which is never influenced by any noble sight, or by any perceptible lesson, but only by desire to indulge the appetites of the miserable belly, constantly engenders incurable diseases both in the body and the mind. And with the loaves there is also placed on the table frankincense and salt. The one as a symbol that there is no sweetmeat more fragrant and wholesome than economy and temperance, if wisdom is to be the judge; while salt is an emblem of the duration of all things (for salt preserves everything over which it is sprinkled), and also of sufficient seasoning. I know that those men who devote themselves wholly to drinking parties and banquets, and who care only for costly entertainments, will make a mock at these things and turn them into ridicule, miserable slaves as they are of birds, and fishes, and meat, and all such nonsense as that, and not being able to taste of true freedom, not even in a dream. And all such men are to be disregarded and despised by those who seek to live in accordance with the will of God, in a manner pleasing to the true and living God; who, having learnt to despise the pleasures of the flesh, pursue the delights and luxuries of the mind, having exercised themselves in the contemplation of the objects of Nature. After he had ordered these things concerning the seventh day, he said that for the new moons it is necessary to offer ten whole burntofferings in all: two young bulls, one ram, seven lambs. For since the month is perfect in which the moon makes its way through its cycle, he thought that a perfect number of animals should be Sacrificed. [an alternative would be to understand teleion as a predicate adjective and supply an einai which would mean "that the number of animals to be sacrificed should be perfect." The absence of a definite article before "perfect number" suggests the translation in the text is preferable.] The number ten is the completely perfect number which he most appropriately assigned to the animals which have been mentioned: the two young bulls since there are two motions of the moon as it continually runs its double-course--the motion of waxing until full moon and the motion of waning until its conjunction with the sun; one ram since there is one principle of reason by which the moon waxes and wanes in equal intervals, both as it increases and diminishes in illumination; the seven lambs because it receives the perfect shapes in periods of seven days--the half-moon in the first seven day period after its conjunction with the sun, full moon in the second; and when it makes its return again, the first is to half-moon, then it ceases at its conjunction with the sun. With the sacrificial victims he ordered that the finest wheaten flour mixed with oil be offered and wine in stipulated amounts for drink-offerings. The reason is that even these are brought to maturity by the orbits of the moon in the annual seasons, especially as the moon helps to ripen fruits; wheat and wine and oil--the most helpful substances for life and the most essential for use by humans--are suitably dedicated together with all sacrifices. For the feast which begins the sacred Month [the exact meaning of ieromeμnia is unclear. The best explanation of the term was suggested by a scholiast on Pindar Nem. 3.2 who explained that the beginnings of months were sacred (A. B. Drachmann, Scholia Vetera in Pindari Carmina [3 vols., Leipzig : B. G. Teubner, 1903] 3:42). Thus understood to be Philo's designation for the feast day which opens the sacred month, it is here consistently translated "the feast which begins the sacred month."] double sacrifices are fitly offered since the reason for it is double: one, since it is the new moon; the other, since it is the feast which begins the sacred month. Regarding the fact that it is the new moon it is distinctly stated that sacrifices equal to the other new moons are to be sacrificed. Regarding the fact that it is the feast which begins the sacred month, the gifts are doubled apart from the young bulls. For one rather than two is offered since the judge has thought it correct to use the indivisible nature of the number one instead of the divisible number two at the beginning of the year. In the first season--he calls springtime and its equinox the first season--he ordered that a feast which is called "the feast of unleavened bread" be celebrated for seven days and declared that every day was equal in honour in religious services. For he commanded that each day ten whole burnt offerings should be sacrificed just as they are for the new moons, making the total number of whole burnt offerings apart from those dealing with the trespass offerings seventy. 8For he thought that the same reason governed the relation of the new moon to the month which governed the relation of the seven days of the feast to the equinox that took place in the seventh month. As a result he declared sacred both the beginning of each month and the beginning, consisting of the same number of days as the new moons, of the aggregate seven months. 8In the middle of spring the harvest takes place during which season thank offerings are offered to God from the field because it has produced fruit in abundance and the crops are being harvested. This feast is the most publicly celebrated feast and is called "the feast of the first produce," named etymologically from the circumstance that the first of the produce, the first fruits, are dedicated at that time. 8We are ordered to offer two young bulls as sacrifices, one ram, and seven lambs--these ten are sacred whole burnt offerings--and in addition, two lambs as meat for the priests which he calls "lambs of preservation" since food is preserved for humans out of multiple and varied circumstances. For destructive forces frequently occur: some by heavy rains, some by droughts, some by other unspeakably great changes in nature; and again, some are humanly produced through the invasion of enemies who attempt to lay waste their neighbours' land. 8Suitably then, the preservation offerings are offered to the one who has dispersed all plots as thank offerings. They are offered with loaves which, after the people have brought them to the altar and lifted them up to heaven, they give to the priests along with the meat of the sacrifice of preservation for a most appropriate sacred feast. When the third season takes place in the seventh month at the autumnal equinox, at the beginning of the month, the feast which begins the sacred month named "the feast of trumpets" and which was discussed earlier is celebrated. On the tenth day the fast takes place which they take seriously--not only those who are zealous about piety and holiness, but even those who do nothing religious the rest of the time. For all are astounded, overcome with the sacredness of it; in fact, at that time the worse compete with the better in selfcontrol and virtue. The reputation of the day is due to two reasons: one that it is a feast and the other that it is purification and escape from sins for which anmesty has been given by the favours of the gracious God who has assigned the same honour to repentance that he has to not committing a single Sin. [l.

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Cohn emended meµden to meµde in order to avoid the notion of sinlessness in the text. The translation follows the MSS since they offer the more difficult reading and this is a rhetorical statement designed to commend repentance, not make an observation on human perfection.] 8Therefore he declared that since it was a feast the sacrifices should be the same number as those of the feast which begins the sacred month: a young bull, a ram, and seven lambs. In this way he mixed the number one with the number seven and lined the end up with the beginning, for the number seven has been appointed the end of things and the number one the beginning. He added three sacrifices since it was for purification. For he ordered that two hegoats and a ram be offered. Then he said that it was necessary to offer the ram as a whole burnt offering, but to cast lots for the he-goats. The hegoat selected by lot for God must be sacrificed, but the other was to be sent out into a pathless and inaccessible desolate place carrying on himself the curses of those who had committed offenses, but who were purified by changes for the better and who have washed themselves from their old lawlessness with a new sense of loyalty to the law. On the fifteenth day, at full moon, the feast which is called "the feast of booths" is celebrated for which the supplies of the sacrifices are more numerous. For during seven days, seventy young bulls, fourteen rams and ninety-eight lambs are sacrificed--all animals as whole burnt offerings. We are ordered to consider the eighth day sacred, a day which I must deal with carefully when the entire account of the feasts is thoroughly examined. On this day as many sacrifices are offered as on the feast which begins the sacred month. The sacrifices which are whole burnt offerings and are joint offerings on behalf of the nation or--to speak more accurately--on behalf of the entire race of humanity have been addressed to the best of my ability. However, a he-goat accompanies the whole burnt offerings on each day of the feast. He is called "concerning sins" and is sacrificed for the forgiveness of sins. His meat is Distributed [although S. Daniel included a negative in her edition (PAPM 24)--[ouk] aponemetai ("is not distributed")--in order to harmonize this statement with 1.232 and 1.244, this translation has followed the more difficult reading.] to the priests for food. What is the reason for this? Is it because a feast is a time of good cheer, and undeceiving and true good cheer is good sense firmly established in the soul, and this unwavering good sense is impossible to receive without a cure from sins and cutting off of the passions? For it would be out of place if each of the animals of the whole burnt offerings is sacrificed only when it is found undamaged and unhurt, but the mind of the sacrificer has not been purified in every way and cleansed by making use of washings and lustrations which the right reason of nature pours into God-loving souls through healthy and uncorrupt ears. 9In addition the following ought to be said. These festal and holiday rests have in the past often opened up countless avenues to sins. For unmixed beverage and luxurious diets with excessive drinking arouse the insatiable desires of the stomach and also kindle the desires of the parts beneath the stomach. As these desires both flow and stream out in every way, they produce a surge of unspeakable evils using the fearless stimulant of the feast as a refuge to avoid suffering anything. 9Knowing these things, he did not allow them to celebrate a feast in the same way as other peoples, but at the very time of good cheer he first commanded that they purify themselves by bridling the impulses of pleasure. Then he summoned them into the temple for participation in hymns and prayers and sacrifices so that both from the place and from the things seen and said through the most powerful of senses, sight and hearing, they might come to love self-control and piety. Last of all, he reminded them not to sin through the sacrifice for sin. For the one who is asking for anmesty for the sins he has committed is not so dominated by evil that at the very time he is asking for release from old wrongs he should begin other new ones.

36 After the lawgiver has given these commands with reference to these subjects, he begins to distinguish between the different kinds of sacrifices, and he divides the victims into three classes. The most important of which he makes a whole burnt offering; the next an offering for preservation; the last, a sin-offering. And then he adapts suitable ceremonies and rites to each, aiming, in no inadequate manner, at what is at the same time decorous and holy. And the distinction which he makes is one of great beauty and propriety, having a close connexion and a sort of natural kindred with the things themselves; for if any one were to wish to examine minutely the causes for which it seemed good to the first men to betake themselves at the same time to sacrifices to show their gratitude, and also to supplications, he will find two most especial reasons for this conduct. Firstly, that it conduces to the honour of God, which ought to be aimed at not for the sake of any other reason, but for itself alone, as being both honourable and necessary; and, secondly, for the benefits which have been poured upon the sacrificers themselves, as has been said before. And the benefit they derive is also twofold, being both an admission to a share of good things and a deliverance from evils. Therefore the law has assigned the whole burnt offering as a sacrifice adequate to that honour which is suited to God, and which belongs to God alone, enjoining that what is offered to the allperfect and absolute God must be itself entire and perfect, having no taint of mortal selfishness in it. But that sacrifice which is offered for the sake of men, since its appearance admits of distinction, the law has distinguished also, appointing it to be a sacrifice for the participation in blessings which mankind has enjoined, and calling it a thank-offering for their preservation. And for the deliverance from evils it has allotted the sacrifice called a sin-offering, so that these are very appropriately their sacrifices for these causes; 9the whole burntoffering being sacrificed for God himself alone, who must be honoured for his own sake, and not for that of any other being or thing; and the others for our sake; the thank-offering for our preservation, for the safety and amelioration of human affairs; and the sin-offering for the cure of those offences which the soul has committed.

37 And we must now enumerate the laws which have been enacted respecting each sacrifice, making our commencement with that which is the most excellent. Now, the most excellent sacrifice is the whole burnt-offering. The law says, "In the first place the victim shall be a male, carefully selected for its excellence from all the animals which are fit for sacrifice, a calf, or a lamb, or a kid. And then let him who brings it wash his hands, and lay his hands on the head of the victim. 9And after this let some one of the priests take the victim and sacrifice it, and let another hold a bowl under it, and, having caught some of the blood, let him go all around the altar and sprinkle it with the blood, and let him flay the victim and divide it into large pieces, having washed its entrails and its feet. And then let the whole victim be given to the fire of the altar of God,[Leviticus 1:3.] having become many things instead of one, and one instead of many." These things, then, are comprehended in express words of command. But there is another meaning figuratively concealed under the enigmatical expressions. And the words employed are visible symbols of what is invisible and uncertain. Now the victim which is to be sacrificed as a whole burnt offering must be a male, because a male is both more akin to domination than a female and more nearly related to the efficient cause; for the female is imperfect, subject, seen more as the passive than as the active partner. And since the elements of which our soul consists are two in number, the rational and the irrational part, the rational part belongs to the male sex, being the inheritance of intellect and reason; but the irrational part belongs to the sex of woman, which is the lot also of the outward senses. And the mind is in every respect superior to the outward sense, as the man is to the woman; who, when he is without blemish and purified with the proper purifications, namely, the perfect virtues, is himself the most holy sacrifice, being wholly and in all respects pleasing to God. Again, the hands which are laid upon the head of the victim are a most manifest symbol of irreproachable actions, and of a life which does nothing which is open to accusation, but which in all respects is passed in a manner consistent with the laws and ordinances of nature; for the law, in the first place, desires that the mind of the man who is offering the sacrifice shall be made holy by being exercised in good and advantageous doctrines; and, in the second place, that his life shall consist of most virtuous actions, so that, in conjunction with the imposition of hands, the man may speak freely out of his cleanly conscience, and may say, "These hands have never received any gift as a bribe to commit an unjust action, nor any division of what has been obtained by rapine or by covetousness, nor have they shed innocent blood. nor have they wrought mutilation, nor works of insolence, nor acts of violence, nor have they inflicted any wounds; nor, in fact, have they performed any action whatever which is liable to accusation or to reproach, but have been ministers in everything which is honourable and advantageous, and which is honoured by wisdom, or by the laws, or by honourable and virtuous men."

38 And the blood is poured out in a circle all round the altar, because a circle is the most complete of all figures, and also in order that no part whatever may be left empty and unoccupied by the libation of life; for, to speak properly, the blood is the libation of the life. Therefore the law here symbolically teaches us that the mind, which is always performing its dances in a circle, is by every description of words, and intentions, and actions which it adopts, always showing its desire to please God. And it is commanded that the belly and the feet shall be washed, which command is a figurative and very expressive one; for, by the belly it is figuratively meant to be signified that it is desirable that the appetites shall be purified, which are full of stains, and intoxication, and drunkenness, being thus a most pernicious evil, existing, and concocted, and exercised to the great injury of the life of mankind. And by the command that the feet of the victim should be washed, it is figuratively shown that we must no longer walk upon the earth, but soar aloft and traverse the air. For the soul of the man who is devoted to God, being eager for truth, springs upward and mounts from earth to heaven; and, being borne on wings, traverses the expanse of the air, being eager to be classed with and to move in concert with the sun, and moon, and all the rest of the most sacred and most harmonious company of the stars, under the immediate command and government of God, who has a kingly authority without any rival, and of which he can never be deprived, in accordance with which he justly governs the universe. And the division of the animal into limbs shows plainly that all things are but one, or that they are derived from one, and dissolved into one; which some persons have called satiety and also want, while others have called it combustion and arrangement: combustion, in accordance with the supreme power of God, who rules all other things in the world; and arrangement, according to the equality of the four elements which they all mutually allow to one another. And when I have been investigating these matters, this has appeared to me to be a probable conjecture; the soul which honours the living God, ought for that very reason to honour him not inconsiderately nor ignorantly, but with knowledge and reason; and the reasoning which we indulge in respecting God admits of division and partition, according to each of the divine faculties and excellencies; for God is both all good, and is also the maker and creator of the universe; and he also created it having a foreknowledge of what would take place, and being its preserver and most blessed benefactor, full of every kind of happiness; all which circumstances have in themselves a most dignified and praiseworthy character, both separately and when looked at in conjunction with their kindred qualities; and we must speak in the same way of other matters. When you wish to give thanks to God with your mind, and to assert your gratitude for the creation of the world, give him thanks for the creation of it as a whole, and of all its separate parts in their integrity, as if for the limbs of a most perfect animal; and by the parts I mean, for instance, the heaven, and the sun, and the moon, and the fixed stars; and secondly the earth, and the animals, and plants which spring from it; and next the seas and rivers, whether naturally springing from the ground or swollen by rain as winter torrents, and all the things in them: and lastly, the air and all the changes that take place in it; for winter, and summer, and spring, and autumn, being the seasons of the year, and being all of great service to mankind, are what we may call affections of the air for the preservation of all these things that are beneath the moon. And if ever you give thanks for men and their fortunes, do not do so only for the race taken generally, but you shall give thanks also for the species and most important parts of the race, such as men and women, Greeks and barbarians, men on the continent, and those who have their habitation in the islands; and if you are giving thanks for one individual, do not divide your thankfulness in expression into gratitude for minute trifles and inconsiderable matters, but take in your view the most comprehensive circumstances, first of all, his body and his soul, of which he consists, and then his speech, and his mind, and his outward senses; for such gratitude cannot of itself be unworthy of being listened to by God, when uttered, for each of these particulars.

39 These things are enough for us to say respecting the sacrifice of the whole burntoffering. We must now proceed in due order to consider that offering which is called the sacrifice for preservation; for with respect to this one it is a matter of consequence whether the victim be male or female; and when it is slain, these three parts are especially selected for the altar, the fat, and the lobe of the liver, and the two kidneys; and all the other parts are left to make a feast for the sacrificer; and we must consider with great accuracy the reason why these portions of the entrails are in this case looked upon as sacred, and not pass this point by carelessly. Often when I have been considering this matter in my own mind, and investigating all these commandments, I have doubted why the law selected the lobe of the liver, and the kidneys, and the fat, as the first fruits of the animals thus sacrificed; and did not choose the heart or the brain, though the dominant part of the man resides in one of these parts; and I think also that many other persons who read the sacred scriptures with their mind, rather than merely with their eyes, will ask the same question. If therefore they, when they have considered the matter, can find any more probable reason, they will be benefiting both themselves and us; but if they cannot, let them consider the cause which has been discovered by us, and see whether it will stand the test; and this is it. The dominant power alone of all those that exist in us is able to restrain our natural folly, and injustice, and cowardice, and our other vices, and does restrain them; and the abode of this dominant power is one or other of the aforesaid portions of us, that is, it is either the brain or the heart; therefore the sacred commandment has thought fit that one should not bring to the altar of God, by means of which a remission and complete pardon of all sins and transgressions is procured, that vessel from which the mind having at one time been abiding in it, has gone forth on the trackless road of injustice and impiety, having turned out of the way which leads to virtue and excellence; for it would be folly to suppose that sacrifices were not to procure a forgetfulness of offences, but were to act as a reminder of them. This it is which appears to me to be the reason why neither of those two parts, which are of supreme importance, namely, the brain or the heart, is brought to the altar; and the parts which are commanded to

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be brought have a very suitable reason why they should be; the fat is brought because it is the richest part, and that which guards the entrails; for it envelops them and makes them to flourish, and benefits them by the softness of its touch. And the kidneys are commanded to be selected on account of the adjacent parts and the organs of generation, which they, as they dwell near them, do, like good neighbours, assist and co-operate with, in order that the seed of nature may prosper without anything in its vicinity being any obstacle to it; for they are channels resembling blood, by which that part of the purification of the superfluities of the body which is moist is separated from the body; and the testicles are near by which the seed is irrigated. And the lobe of the liver is the first fruit of the most important of the entrails, by means of which the food is digested, and being conveyed into the stomach is diffused through all the veins, and so conduces to the durability of the whole body; for the stomach, lying close to the gullet which swallows the food, receives it as soon after it has first been chewed by the teeth and been made smooth, and so digests it; and the body again receives it from the stomach and performs the second part of the service required, to which indeed it has been destined by nature, giving forth a juice to aid in liquefying the food; and there are tow pipes like channels in the belly, which pour forth chyle into the liver, through the two channels which are originally placed in it. And the liver has a twofold power, a secretive one, and also a power of making blood. Now the secretive power secretes everything which is hard and difficult to be digested, and removes it into the adjacent vessels of gall; and the other power turns all that portion of the food which is pure and properly strained, by the means of its own innate flame, into life-like vivifying blood; and presses it into the heart, from which, as has been already said, it is conveyed through the veins and by these channels is diffused through the whole body to which it becomes the nourishment. We must also add to what has been here said, that the nature of the liver being a lofty character and very smooth, by reason of its smoothness is looked upon as a very transparent mirror, so that when the mind, retreating from the cares of the day (while the body is lying relaxed in sleep, and while no one of the outward senses is any hindrance or impediment), begins to roll itself about, and to consider the objects of its thought by itself without any interruption, looking into the liver as into a mirror, it then sees, very clearly and without any alloy, every one of the proper objects of the intellect, and looking round upon all vain idols, and seeing that no disgrace can accrue to it, but taking care to avoid that and to choose the contrary, and being contented and pleased with all that it sees, it by dreams obtains a prophetic sight of the future.

40 And there are two days only during which God permits the nation to make use of the sacrifice for preservation, enjoining them to carve nothing of it till the third day, on many accounts, first of all, because all the things which are ever placed on the sacred table, ought to be made use of in due season, while the users take care that they shall suffer no deterioration from the lapse of time; but the nature of meat that has been kept is very apt to become putrid, even though it may have been seasoned in the cooking; secondly, because it is fitting that the sacrifices should not be stored up for food, but should be openly exposed, so as to afford a meal to all who are in need of it, for the sacrifice when once placed on the altar, is no longer the property of the person who has offered it, but belongs to that Being to whom the victim is sacrificed, who, being a beneficent and bounteous God, makes the whole company of those who offer the sacrifice, partakers at the altar and messmates, only admonishing them not to look upon it as their own feast, for they are but stewards of the feast, and not the entertainers; and the entertainer is the man to whom all the preparation belongs, which it is not lawful to conceal while preferring parsimony and illiberal meanness to humanity which is a noble virtue. Lastly, this command was given because it so happens that the sacrifice for preservation is offered up for two things, the soul and the body, to each of which the lawgiver has assigned one day for feasting on the meats, for it was becoming that a number of days should be allotted for this purpose equal to the number of those parts in us which were designed to be sacred; so that in the first day we should, together with our eating of the food, receive a recollection of the salvation of our souls; and on the second day be reminded of the sound health of our bodies. And since there is no third object which is naturally appointed as one that should receive preservation, he has, with all possible strictness, forbidden the use of those meats being reserved to the third day, commanding that if it should so happen that, out of ignorance or forgetfulness, any portion was left, it should be consumed with fire; and he declares that the man who has merely tasted of it is blamable, saying to him, "Though thinking that you were sacrificing, O foolish man, you have not sacrificed; I have not accepted the unholy, unconsecrated, profane, unclean meats which you have roasted, O gluttonous man; never, even in a dream, having a proper idea of sacrifice."

41 To this species of sacrifice for preservation that other sacrifice also belongs, which is called the sacrifice of praise, and which rests on the following Principle. [Leviticus 19:1.] The man who has never fallen into any unexpected disaster whatever, neither as to his body nor as to his external circumstances, but who has passed a tranquil and peaceful life, living in happiness and prosperity, being free from all calamity and all mishap, steering through the long voyage of life in calmness and serenity of circumstances, good fortune always blowing upon the stern of his vessel, is, of necessity, bound to requite God, who has been the pilot of his voyage, who has bestowed upon him untroubled salvation and unalloyed benefits, and, in short, all sorts of blessings unmingled with any evil, with hymns, and songs, an prayers, and also with sacrifices, and all other imaginable tokens of gratitude in a holy manner; all which things taken together have received the one comprehensive name of praise. 2This sacrifice the lawgiver has not commanded to be spread like the one before mentioned over two days,[Leviticus 7:5.] but he has confined it to one only, in order that these men, who meet with ready benefits freely poured upon them, may offer up their requital freely and without any delay.

42 This is sufficient to say on these subjects. We must now proceed, in due order, to consider the third sacrifice, which is called the sinoffering. This is varied in many ways, both in respect to the persons and to the description of victims offered; in respect of persons, that is, of the high priest, and of the whole nation, and of the ruler in his turn, and of the private individual; in respect of the victim offered, whether it be a calf, or a kid, or a she-goat, or a lamb. 2Also there is a distinction made, which is very necessary, as to whether they are voluntary or involuntary, with reference to those who, after they have erred, change for the better, confessing that they have sinned, and reproaching themselves for the offences that they have committed, and turning, for the future, to an irreproachable way of life. 2The sins therefore of the high priest, and of the whole nation, are atoned for by animals of equal value, for the priest is commanded to offer up a calf for each. The sins of the ruler are atoned for by an inferior animal, but still a male, for a kid is the appointed victim. The sins of the private individual by a victim of an inferior species, for it is a female, not a male, a she-goat, that is sacrificed; 2for it was fitting that a ruler should be ranked above a private individual, even in his performance of sacred ceremonies also: but the nation is superior to the ruler, since the whole must, at all times, be superior to the part. But the high priest is accounted worthy of the same honour as the whole nation, in respect of purification and of entreating a forgiveness of his sins from the merciful power of God. And he receives an equality of honour, not so much as it appears for his own sake, as because he is a servant of the nation, offering up a common thank-offering for them all in his most sacred prayers and most holy sacrifices. 3And the commandment given respecting these matters is one of great dignity and admirable solemnity. "If," says the law, "the high priest have sinned unintentionally," and then it adds, "so that the people has sinned too," all but affirming in express words that the true high priest, not the one incorrectly called so, has no participation in sin; and if ever he stumble, this will happen to him, not for his own sake, but for the common errors of the nation, and this error is not incurable, but is one which easily admits of a remedy. 3When, therefore, the calf has been sacrificed, the lawgiver commands the sacrificer to sprinkle some of the blood with his finger seven times in front of the veil which is before the holy of holies, within the former veil, in which place the sacred vessels are placed; and after that to smear and anoint the four horns of the altar, for it is square; and to pour out the rest of the blood at the foot of the altar, which is in the open air. And to this altar they are commanded to bring three things, the fat, and the lobe of the liver, and the two kidneys, in accordance with the commandment given with reference to the sacrifice for preservation; but the skin and the flesh, and all the rest of the body of the calf, from the head to the feet, with the entrails, they are commanded to carry out and to turn in an open place, to which the sacred ashes from the altar have been conveyed. The lawgiver also gives the same command with respect to the whole nation when it has sinned. But if any ruler has sinned he makes his purification with a kid,[Leviticus 4:22.] as I have said before; and if a private individual has sinned, he must offer a she-goat or a lamb; and for the ruler he appoints a male victim, but to the private individual a female, making all his other injunctions the same in both cases, to anoint the horns of the altar in the open air with blood, to bring the fat and the lobe of the liver, and the two kidneys, and to give the rest of the victim to the priests to eat.

43 But since, of offences some are committed against men, and some against holy and sacred things; he has hitherto been speaking with reference to those which are unintentionally committed against men; but for the purification of such as have been committed against sacred things he commands a ram to be offered up, after the offender has first paid the value of the thing to which the offence related, adding one fifth to the exact value. 3And after having put forth these and similar enactments with reference to sins committed unintentionally, he proceeds to lay down rules respecting intentional offences. "If any one," says the law, "shall speak falsely concerning a partnership, or about a deposit, or about a theft, or about the finding of something which another has lost, and being suspected and having had an oath proposed to him, shall swear, and when he appears to have escaped all conviction at the hands of this accusers, shall himself become his own accuser, being convicted by his own conscience residing within, and shall reproach himself for the things which he has denied, and as to which he has sworn falsely, and shall come and openly confess the sin which he has committed, and implore pardon; 3then pardon shall be given to such a man, who shows the truth of his repentance, not by promises but by works, by restoring the deposit which he has received, and by giving up the things which he has stolen or found, or of which in short he has in any way deprived his neighbour, paying also in addition one fifth of the value, as an atonement for the evil which he had Done." [Leviticus 5:20.] 3And then, after he has appeased the man who had been injured, the law proceeds to say, "After this let him go also into the temple, to implore remission of the sins which he has committed, taking with him an irreproachable mediator, namely, that conviction of the soul which has delivered him from his incurable calamity, curing him of the disease which would cause death, and wholly changing and bringing him to good health." And it orders that he should sacrifice a ram, and this victim is expressly mentioned, as it is in the case of the man who has offended in respect of the holy things; 3for the law speaks of an unintentional offence in the matter of holy things as of equal importance with an intentional sin in respect of men; if we may not indeed say that this also is holy, since an oath is added to it, which, as having been taken for an unjust cause, it has corrected by an alteration for the better. And we must take notice that the parts of the victim slain as a sin-offering which are placed upon the altar, are the same as those which are taken from the sacrifice for preservation, namely the lobe of the liver, and the fat, and the kidneys; for in a manner we may speak also of the man who repents as being preserved, since he is cured of a disease of the soul, which is worse than the diseases of the body; 4but the other parts of the animal are assigned to be eaten in a different manner; and the difference consists in three things; in the place, and time, and in those who receive It. [Leviticus 6:9.] Now the place is the temple; the time is one day instead of two; and the persons who partake of it are the priests, and the male servants of the priests, but not the men who offer the sacrifice. Therefore the law does not permit the sacrifice to be brought out of the temple, with the intent that, if the man who repents has committed any previous offence also, he may not now be overwhelmed by envious and malicious men, with foolish dispositions and unbridled tongues, always lying in wait for reproach and false accusation; but it must be eaten in the sacred precincts, within which the purification has taken place.

44 And the law orders the priests to feast on what is offered in the sacrifice for many reasons; first of all, that by this command it may do honour to him who has offered the sacrifice, for the dignity of those who eat of the feast is an honour to those who furnish it; secondly, that they may believe the more firmly that those men who feel repentance for their sins do really have God propitious to them, for he would never have invited his servants and ministers to a participation in such a banquet, if his forgiveness of those who provided it had not been complete; and thirdly, because it is not lawful for any one of the priests to bear a part in the sacred ceremonies who is not perfect, for they are rejected for the slightest blemish. 4And God comforts those who have ceased to travel by the road of wickedness, as if they now, by means of the race of the priesthood, had received a pure purpose of life for the future, and had been sent forth so as to obtain an equal share of honour with the priests. And it is for this reason that the victim sacrificed as a sin-offering is consumed in one day, because men ought to delay to sin, being always slow and reluctant to approach it, but to exert all possible haste and promptness in doing well. 4But the sacrifices offered up for the sins of the high priest, or for those of the whole nation, are not prepared to be eaten at all, but are burnt to ashes, and the ashes are sacred as has been said; for there is no one who is superior to the high priest or to the whole nation, or who can as such be an intercessor for them, as to the sins which they have committed. 4Very naturally, therefore, is the meat of this sacrifice ordered to be consumed by fire, in imitation of the whole burnt offerings, and this to the honour of those who offer it; not because the sacred judgements of God are given with reference to the rank of those who come before his tribunal, but because the offences committed by men of pre-eminent virtue and real holiness are accounted of a character nearly akin to the good actions of others; 4for as a deep and fertile soil, even if it at times yields a bad crop, still bears more and better fruit than one which is naturally unproductive, so in the same manner it happens that the barrenness of virtuous and God-fearing men is more full of excellence than the best actions which ordinary people perform by chance; for these men cannot intentionally endure to do anything blamable.

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45 Having given these commandments about every description of sacrifice in its turn, namely, about the burnt offering, and the sacrifice for preservation, and the sin-offering, he adds another kind of offering common to all the three, in order to show that they are friendly and connected with one another; and this combination of them all is called the great vow; 4and why it received this appellation we must now proceed to say. When any persons offer first fruits from any portion of their possessions, wheat, or barley, or oil, or wine, or the best of their fruits, or the firstborn males of their flocks and herds, they do so actually dedicating those first fruits which proceed from what is clean, but paying a price as the value of what is unclean; and when they have no longer any materials left in which they can display their piety, they then consecrate and offer up themselves, displaying an unspeakable holiness, and a most superabundant excess of a God-loving disposition, on which account such a dedication is fitly called the great vow; for every man is his own greatest and most valuable possession, and this even he now gives up and abandons. And when a man has vowed this vow the law gives him the following command; first of all, to touch no unmixed wine, nor any wine that is made of the grape, nor to drink any other strong drink whatever, to the destruction of his reason, considering that during this period his reason also is dedicated to God; for all which could tend to drunkenness is forbidden to those of the priests who are employed in the sacred ministrations, they being commanded to quench their thirst with water; 5in the second place they are commanded not to show their heads, giving thus a visible sign to all who see them that they are not debasing the pure coinage of their vow; thirdly, they are commanded to keep their body pure and undefiled, so as not even to approach their parents if they are dead, nor their brothers; piety overcoming the natural good will and affection towards their relations and dearest friends, and it is both honourable and expedient that piety should at all times prevail.

46 But when the appointed time for their being Released [Numbers 6:14.] from this vow has arrived, the law then commands the man who has dedicated himself to bring three animals to procure his release from his vow, a male lamb, and a female lamb, and a ram; the one for a burnt offering, the second for a sin-offering, and the ram as a sacrifice for preservation; for in some sense the man who has made such a vow resembles all these things. He resembles the sacrifice of the entire burnt offering, because he is dedicating to his preserver not only a portion of the first fruits of other things, but also of his own self. And he resembles the sin-offering, inasmuch as he is a man; for there is no one born, however perfect he may be, who can wholly avoid the commission of sin. He resembles also the offering for preservation, inasmuch as he has recorded that God the Saviour is the cause of his preservation, and does not ascribe it to any physician or to any power of his; for those who have been born themselves, and who are liable to infirmity, are not competent to bestow health even on themselves. Medicine does not benefit all persons, nor does it always benefit the same persons; but there are times even when it does them great injury, since its power depends on different things, both on the thing itself and also on those persons who use it. 5And a great impression is made on me by the fact that of three animals offered up in these different sacrifices, there is no one of a different species from the others, but they are every one of the same kind, a ram, and a male lamb, and a female lamb; for God wishes, as I said a little while ago, by this commandment to point out that the three kinds of sacrifice are nearly connected with and akin to one another; because, both the man who repents is saved, and the man who is saved from the diseases of the soul repents, and because both of them hasten with eagerness to attain to an entire and perfect disposition, of which the sacrifice of the whole burnt-offering is a symbol. 5But since the man has begun to offer himself as his first fruits, and since it is not lawful for the sacred altar to be polluted with human blood, but yet it was by all means necessary that a portion should be consecrated, he has taken care to take a portion, which, being taken, should cause neither pain nor defilement; for he has cut Off [Numbers 6:18.] the hair of the head, the superfluities of the natural body, as if they were the superfluous branches of a tree, and he has committed them to the fire on which the meat of the sacrifice offered for preservation will be suitably prepared,[Leviticus 6:13.] in order that some portion of the man who has made the vow, which it is not lawful to place upon the altar, may still at all events be combined with the sacrifice, burning the fuel of the sacred flame.

47 These sacred fires are common to all the rest of the people. But it was fitting that the priests also should offer up something on the altar as first fruits, not thinking that the services and sacred ministrations to which they have been appointed have secured them an exemption from such duties. And the first fruits suitable for the priests to offer do not come from anything containing blood, but from the purest portion of human food; 5for the fine wheaten flour is their continual offering; a tenth part of a sacred measure every day; one half of which is offered up in the morning, and one half in the evening, having been soaked in oil, so that no portion of it can be left for food; for the command of God is, that all the sacrifices of the priests shall be wholly burnt, and that no portion of them shall be allotted for food. Having now, then, to the best of our ability, discussed the matters relating to the sacrifices, we will proceed in due order to speak concerning those who offer Them.

48 The law chooses that a person who brings a sacrifice shall be pure, both in body and soul; --pure in soul from all passions, and diseases, and vices, which can be displayed either in word or deed; and pure in body from all such things as a body is usually defiled by. 5And it has appointed a burning purification for both these things; for the soul, by means of the animals which are duly fit for sacrifices; and for the body, by ablutions and sprinklings; concerning which we will speak presently; for it is fit to assign the pre-eminence in honour in every point to the superior and dominant part of the qualities existing in us, namely, to the soul. 5What, then, is the mode of purifying the soul? "Look," says the law, "take care that the victim which thou bringest to the altar is perfect, wholly without participation in any kind of blemish, selected from many on account of its excellence, by the uncorrupted judgements of the priests, and by their most acute sight, and by their continual practice derived from being exercised in the examination of faultless victims. For if you do not see this with your eyes more than with your reason, you will not wash off all the imperfections and stains which you have imprinted on your whole life, partly in consequence of unexpected events, and partly by deliberate purpose; 6for you will find that this exceeding accuracy of investigation into the animals, figuratively signifies the amelioration of your own disposition and conduct; for the law was not established for the sake of irrational animals, but for that of those who have intellect and reason." So that the real object taken care of is not the condition of the victims sacrificed in order that they may have no blemish, but that of the sacrificers that they may not be defiled by any unlawful passion. 6The body then, as I have already said, he purifies with ablutions and bespringklings, and does not allow a person after he has once washed and sprinkled himself, at once to enter within the sacred precincts, but bids him wait outside for seven days, and to be besprinkled twice, on the third day and on the seventh day; and after this it commands him to wash himself once more, and then it admits him to enter the sacred precincts and to share in the sacred ministrations.

49 We must consider what great prudence and philosophical wisdom is displayed in this law; for nearly all other persons are besprinkled with pure water, generally in the sea, some in rivers, and others again in vessels of water which they draw from fountains. But Moses, having previously prepared ashes which had been left from the sacred fire (and in what manner shall be explained hereafter), appointed that it should be right to take some of them and to put them in a vessel, and then to pour water upon them, and then, dipping some branches of hyssop in the mixture of ashes and water, to sprinkle it over those who were to be purified. And the cause of this proceeding may very probably be said to be this:--The lawgiver's intention is that those who approach the service of the living God should first of all know themselves and their own essence. For how can the man who does not know himself ever comprehend the supreme and all-excelling power of God? 6Therefore, our bodily essence is earth and water, of which he reminds us by this purification, conceiving that this result--namely, to know one's self, and to know also of what one is composed, of what utterly valueless substances mere ashes and water are--is of itself the most beneficial purification. 6For when a man is aware of this he will at once reject all vain and treacherous conceit, and, discarding haughtiness and pride, he will seek to become pleasing to God, and to conciliate the merciful power of that Being who hates arrogance. For it is said somewhere with great beauty, "He that exhibits over proud words or actions offends not men alone but God also, the maker of equality and of every thing else that is most excellent." Therefore, to us who are amazed and excited by this sprinkling the very elements themselves, earth and water, may almost be said to utter distinct words, and to say plainly, we are the essence of your bodies; nature having mixed us together, divine art has fashioned us into the figure of a man. Being made of us when you were born, you will again be dissolved into us when you come to die; for it is not the nature of any thing to be destroyed so as to become non-existent; but the end brings it back to those elements from which its beginnings come.

50 But now it is necessary to fulfil our promise and to explain the peculiar propriety involved in this use of ashes. For they are not merely the ashes of wood which has been consumed by fire, but also of an animal particularly suited for this kind of purification. 6For the law Orders [Numbers 19:1.] that a red heifer, which has never been brought under the yoke, shall be sacrificed outside of the city, and that the high priest, taking some of the blood, shall seven times sprinkle with it all the things in front of the temple, and then shall burn the whole animal, with its hide and flesh, and with the belly full of all the entrails. And when the flame begins to pour down, then it commands that these three things shall be thrown into the middle of it, a stick of cedar, a stick of hyssop, and a bunch of saffron; and then, when the fire is wholly extinguished, it commands that some man who is clean shall collect the ashes, and shall again place them outside of the city in some open place. 6And what figurative meanings he conceals under these orders as symbols, we have accurately explained in another treatise, in which we have discussed the allegories. It is necessary, therefore, for those who are about to go into the temple to partake of the sacrifice, to be cleansed as to their bodies and as to their souls before their bodies. For the soul is the mistress and the queen, and is superior in every thing, as having received a more divine nature. And the things which cleanse the mind are wisdom and the doctrines of wisdom, which lead to the contemplation of the world and the things in it; and the sacred chorus of the rest of the virtues, and honourable and very praiseworthy actions in accordance with the virtues. Let the man, therefore, who is adorned with these qualities go forth in cheerful confidence to the temple which most nearly belongs to him, the most excellent of all abodes to offer himself as a sacrifice. But let him in whom covetousness and a desire of unjust things dwell and display themselves, cover his head and be silent, checking his shameless folly and his excessive impudence, in those matters in which caution is profitable; for the temple of the truly living God may not be approached by unholy sacrifices. I should say to such a man: My good man, God is not pleased even though a man bring hecatombs to his altar; for he possesses all things as his own, and stands in need of nothing. But he delights in minds which love God, and in men who practice holiness, from whom he gladly receives cakes and barley, and the very cheapest things, as if they were the most valuable in preference to such as are most costly. 7And even if they bring nothing else, still when they bring themselves, the most perfect completeness of virtue and excellence, they are offering the most excellent of all sacrifices, honouring God, their Benefactor and Saviour, with hymns and thanksgivings; the former uttered by the organs of the voice, and the latter without the agency of the tongue or mouth, the worshippers making their exclamations and invocations with their soul alone, and only appreciable by the intellect, and there is but one ear, namely, that of the Deity which hears them. For the hearing of men does not extend so far as to be sensible of them.

51 And that this statement is true, and not mine but that of nature, is testified to a certain degree by the evident nature of the thing itself, which affords a manifest proof which none can deny who do not cleave to credulity out of a contentious disposition. It is testified also by the law which commands two altars to be prepared, differing both as to the materials of which they are made, as to the places in which they are erected, and as to the purposes to which they are applied; 7for one is made of stones, carefully selected so to fit one another, and unhewn, and it is erected in the open air, near the steps of the temple, and it is for the purpose of sacrificing victims which contain blood in them. And the other is made of gold, and is erected in the inner part of the temple, within the first veil, and may not be seen by any other human being except those of the priests who keep themselves pure, and it is for the purpose of offering incense upon; 7from which it is plain that God looks upon even the smallest offering of frankincense by a holy man as more valuable than ten thousand beasts which may be sacrificed by one who is not thoroughly virtuous. For in proportion, I imagine, as gold is more valuable than stones, and as the things within the inner temple are more holy than those without, in the same proportion is the gratitude displayed by offerings of incense superior to that displayed by the sacrifice of victims full of blood, on which account the altar of incense is honoured not only in the costliness of its materials, and in the manner of its erection, and in its situation, but also in the fact that it ministers every day before any thing else to the thanksgivings to be paid to God. For the law does not permit the priest to offer the sacrifice of the whole burnt offering outside before he has offered incense within at the earliest Dawn. [Exodus 30:8.] 7And this command is a symbol of nothing else but of the fact that in the eyes of God it is not the number of things sacrificed that is accounted valuable, but the purity of the rational spirit of the sacrificer. Unless, indeed, one can suppose that a judge who is anxious to pronounce a holy judgement will never receive gifts from any of those whose conduct comes before his tribunal, or that, if he does receive such presents, he will be liable to an accusation of corruption; and that a good man will not receive gifts from a wicked person, not even though he may be poor and the other rich, and he himself perhaps in actual want of what he would so receive; and yet that God can be corrupted by bribes, who is most all-sufficient for himself and who has no need of any thing created; who, being himself the first and most perfect good thing, the everlasting fountain of wisdom, and justice, and of every virtue, rejects the gifts of the wicked. And is not the man who would offer such gifts the most shameless of all men, if he offers a portion of the things which he has acquired by doing injury, or by rapine, or by false denial, or by robbery, to God as if he were a partner in his wickedness? O most miserable of all men! I should say to such a man, "You must be expecting one of two things. Either

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that you will be able to pass undetected, or that you will be discovered. Therefore, if you expect to be able to pass undetected, you are ignorant of the power of God, by which he at the same time sees everything and hears everything. And if you think that you will be discovered, you are most audacious in (when you ought rather to endeavor to conceal the wicked actions which you have committed) bringing forward to light specimens of all your iniquitous deeds, and giving yourself airs, and dividing the fruits of them with God, bringing him unholy first fruits. And have you not considered this, that the law does not admit of lawlessness, nor does the light of the sun admit of darkness; but God is the archetypal model of all laws, and the sun, which can be appreciated only by the intellect, is the archetypal model of that which is visible to the senses, bringing forth from its invisible fountains visible light to afford to him who sees." Moreover, there are other commandments relating to the Altar. 8This injunction also is very admirably and properly set down in the sacred tablets of the law, that the wages of a harlot are not to be received into the temple, and inasmuch as she has earned them by selling her beauty, having chosen a most infamous life for the sake of shameful gain; 8but if the gifts which proceed from a woman who has lived as a concubine are unholy, how can those be different which proceed from a soul which is deriled in the same manner, which has voluntarily abandoned itself to shame and to the lowest infamy, to drunkenness and gluttony, and covetousness and ambition, and love of pleasure, and to innumerable other kinds of passions, and diseases, and wickednesses? For what time can be long enough to efface those defilements, I indeed do not know. 8Very often in truth time has put an end to the occupation of a harlot, since, when women have outlived their beauty, no one any longer approaches them, their prime having withered away like that of some flowers; and what length of time can ever transform the harlotry of the soul which from its youth has been trained in early and habitual incontinence, so as to bring it over to good order? No time could do this, but God alone, to whom all things are possible, even those which among us are impossible. 8Accordingly, the man who is about to offer a sacrifice ought to examine and see, not whether the victim is without blemish, but whether his mind is sound, and entire, and perfect. Let him likewise investigate the causes for which he is about to offer the sacrifice; for it must be as an expression of thankfulness for kindnesses which have been shown to him, or else of supplication for the permanence of his present blessings, or for the acquisition of some future good, or else to avert some evil either present or expected; for all which objects he should labour to bring his reason into a state of good health and sanity; 8for if he is giving thanks for benefits conferred upon him, he must take care not to behave like an ungrateful man, becoming wicked, for the benefits are conferred on a virtuous man; or if his object be to secure the permanence of his present prosperity and happiness, and to be enabled to look forward to such for the future, he must still show himself worthy of his good fortune, and behave virtuously; or if he is asking to escape from evils, let him not commit actions deserving of correction and punishment.

52 The law says, "A fire shall be kept burning on the altar which shall never be extinguished, but shall be kept burning for Ever." [Leviticus 6:9.] I think with great reason and propriety; for, since the graces of God are everlasting, and unceasing, and uninterrupted, which we now enjoy day and night, and since the symbol of gratitude is the sacred flame, it is fitting that it should be kindled, and that it should remain unextinguished for ever. 8And, perhaps, the lawgiver designed by this command to connect the old with the new sacrifices, and to unite the two by the duration and presence of the same fire by which all such sacrifices are consecrated, in order to demonstrate the fact that all perfect sacrifices consisted in thanksgiving, although, according to the diversity of the occasions on which they are offered, more victims are offered at one time and fewer at another. But some are verbal symbols of things appreciable only by the intellect, and the mystical meaning which is concealed beneath them must be investigated by those who are eager for truth in accordance with the rules of allegory. The altar of God is the grateful soul of the wise man, being compounded of perfect numbers undivided and indivisible; for no part of virtue is useless. 8On this soul the sacred fire is continually kept burning, preserved with care and unextinguishable. But the light of the mind is wisdom; as, on the contrary, the darkness of the soul is folly. For what the light discernible by the outward senses is to the eyes, that is knowledge to reason with a view to the contemplation of incorporeal things discernible only by the intellect, the light of which is continually shining and never extinguished.

53 After this the law says, "On every offering you shall add Salt." [Leviticus 2:13.] By which injunction, as I have said before, he figuratively implies a duration for ever; for salt is calculated to preserve bodies, being placed in the second rank as inferior only to the soul; for as the soul is the cause of bodies not being destroyed, so likewise is salt, which keeps them together in the greatest degree, and to some extent makes them immortal. 9On which account the law calls the altar thysiasteµrion, giving it a peculiar name of especial honour, from its preserving (diateµreoµ) the sacrifices (tas thysias) in a proper manner, and this too though the flesh is consumed by fire; so as to afford the most evident proof possible that God looks not upon the victims as forming the real sacrifice, but on the mind and willingness of him who offers them, that so the durability and firmness of the altar may be ensured by virtue. 9Moreover, it also ordains that every sacrifice shall be offered up without any leaven or honey, not thinking it fit that either of these things should be brought to the altar. The honey, perhaps, because the bee which collects it is not a clean animal, inasmuch as it derives its birth, as the story goes, from the putrefaction and corruption of dead oxen,[this refers to the same idea so beautifully expressed by Virgil, Georgie 4.548 (as it is translated by Dryden)--"His mother's precepts he performs with care; / The temple visits and adores with prayer; / Four altars raises; from his herd he culls, / For slaughter, four the fairest of his bulls; / Four heifers from his female store he took, / All fair and all unknowing of the yoke, / Nine mornings thence with sacrifice and prayers, / The powers atoned, he to the grove repairs. / Behold a prodigy! for from within / The broken vowels and the bloated skin, / A buzzing noise of bees his ears alarms: / Straight issue through the sides assembling swarms, / Dark as a cloud they make a wheeling flight, / Then on a neighbouring tree, descending light: / Like a large cluster of black grapes they show, / And make a large dependance from the bough."] just as wasps spring from the bodies of horses. 9Or else this may be forbidden as a figurative declaration that all superfluous pleasure is unholy, making, indeed, the things which are eaten sweet to the taste, but inflicting bitter pains difficult to be cured at a subsequent period, by which the soul must of necessity be agitated and thrown into confusion, not being able to settle on any sure resting place. 9And leaven is forbidden on account of the rising which it causes; this prohibition again having a figurative meaning, intimating that no one who comes to the altar ought at all to allow himself to be elated, being puffed up by insolence; but that such persons may keep their eyes fixed on the greatness of God, and so obtain a proper conception of the weakness of all created beings, even if they be very prosperous; and that so cherishing correct notions they may correct the arrogant lofiness of their minds, and discard all treacherous self-conceit. 9But if the Creator and maker of the universe, who has no need of anything which he has created, not looking at the exceeding greatness of his own power and at his own authority, but at your weakness, gives you a share of his own merciful power, supplying the deficiencies with which you are overwhelmed, how do you think it fitting that you should behave towards men who are akin to you by nature, and who are springing from the same elements with yourself, when you have brought nothing into the world, not even yourself? 9For, my fine fellow, you came naked into the world, and you shall leave it again naked, having received the interval between your birth and death as a loan from God; during which what ought you to do rather than take care to live in communion and harmony with your fellow creatures, studying equality, and humanity, and virtue, repudiating unequal, and unjust, and irreconcilable unsociable wickedness, which makes that animal which is by nature the most gentle of all, namely, man, a cruel and untractable monster?

54 Again, the law commands that candles shall be kept burning from evening until Morning [Leviticus 24:2.] on the sacred candlesticks within the veil, on many accounts. One of which is that the holy places may be kept illuminated without any interruption after the cessation of the light of day, being always kept free from any participation in darkness, just as the stars themselves are, for they too, when the sun sets, exhibit their own light, never forsaking the place which was originally appointed for them in the world. 9Secondly, in order that by night, also, a rite akin to and closely resembling the sacrifices by day may be performed so as to give pleasures to God, and that no time or occasion fit for offering thanksgiving may ever be left out, which is a duty most suitable and natural for night; for it is not improper to call the blaze of the most sacred light in the innermost shrine itself a sacrifice. 9The third, which is a reason of the very greatest importance, is this. Since we are not only well treated while we are awake, but also when we are asleep, inasmuch as the mighty God gives sleep as a great assistance to the human race, for the benefit of both their bodies and souls, of their bodies as being by it relieved of the labours of the day, and of their souls as being lightened by it of all their cares, and being restored to themselves after all the disorder and confusion caused by the outward senses, and as being then enabled to retire within and commune with themselves, the law has very properly thought fit to make a distinction of the actions of thanksgiving, so that sacrifices may be made on behalf of those who are awake by means of the victims which are offered, and on behalf of those who are asleep, and of those who are benefited by sleep, by the lighting of the sacred candles.

55 These, then, and other commandments like them, are those which are established for the purpose of promoting piety, by express injunctions and prohibitions. But those which are in accordance with philosophical suggestions and recommendations must be explained in this manner; for the lawgiver, in effect, says, "God, O mind of man! demands nothing of you which is either oppressive, or uncertain, or difficult, but only such things as are very simple and easy. And these are, to love him as your benefactor; and if you fail to do so, at all events, to fear him as your Governor and Lord, and to enter zealously upon all the paths which may please him, and to serve him in no careless or superficial manner, but with one's whole soul thoroughly filled as it ought to be with God-loving sentiments, and to cleave to his commandments, and to honour justice, by all which means the world itself continues constantly in the same nature without ever changing, and all other things which are contained in the world have a tendency towards improvement, such as the sun and the moon, and the whole multitude of the rest of the stars, and the entire heaven. But the mountains of the earth are elevated to the greatest possible height, and the champaign country, like other fusible essences, is spread over a body of wide extent, and the sea also changes so as to become united with sweet waters, and the rains also become in their turn similar to the sea. Therefore every one of those things is still fixed within the same boundaries as those within which it was originally created, when it was first disposed of in regular order. But you shall be better, living quite irreproachably. And what of all these things is either grievous or labourious? You are not compelled to pass over unnavigable seas; or, when tossed about by the billows of the middle of winter and the force of contrary winds, to wander about the sea in every direction; or to travel on foot over rough and pathless byeways, always being in dread of the haunts of robbers, or of the attacks of wild beasts; or to watch all night to protect your walls in the open air, while the enemy are lying in ambush for you, and threatening you with the very extremity of danger. Come, now, let no unpleasant topics be brought up in pleasant circumstances. We must use words of good omen with reference to such advantageous matters. It is only necessary for the mind to consent and everything will be ready. Are you not aware that both that heaven which is invisible to the outward senses, and that likewise which is appreciable only by the intellect, belongs to God: the heaven of heavens as we may call it; and again, that the earth and all that is in it, and the whole world, both that which is visible and that which is invisible and incorporeal, being a model of the real heaven?

56 But, nevertheless, he selected out of the whole race of mankind those who were really men for their superior excellence; and he elected them and thought them worthy of the highest possible honour, calling them to the service of himself, to that everlasting fountain of all that is good; from which he has showered forth other virtues, drawing forth, at the same time, for our enjoyment, combined with the greatest possible advantage, a drink contributing more than ever nectar, or at all events not less, to make those who drink of it immortal. But those men are to be pitied, and are altogether miserable, who have never banquetted on the labours of virtue; and they have remained to the end the most miserable of all men who have been always ignorant of the taste of moral excellence, when it was in their power to have feasted on and luxuriated among justice and equality. But these men are uncircumcised in their hearts, as the law expresses it, and by reason of the hardness of their hearts they are stubborn, resisting and breaking their traces in a restive manner; whom the Lord reproves, saying, "Be ye circumcised as to your hard-Heartedness;" [Deuteronomy 10:16.] that means, "do ye eradicate the overbearing character of your dominant part, which the immoderate impulses of the passing hour have sown and caused to grow within you, and which the wicked husbandman of the soul, folly, planted. Again, it says, "Let not your necks be Stiff," [Deuteronomy 10:18.] that is to say, let not your mind be unbending and self-willed, and let it not admit into itself that most blamable ignorance of excessive perverseness. But discarding obstinacy and moroseness of nature as an enemy, let it change so as to become gentle, and inclined to obey the laws of nature. 0Do you not see that the most important and greatest of all the powers of the living God are his beneficent and his punishing power? And his beneficent power is called God, since it is by means of this that he made and arranged the universe. And the other, or punishing power, is called Lord, on which his sovereignty over the universe depends. And God is God, not only of men, but also of gods; and he is mighty, being truly strong and truly Powerful. [Deuteronomy 10:17.]

57 But, nevertheless, though he is so great in excellence and in power, he feels pity and compassion for all those who are most completely sunk in want and distress, not considering it beneath his dignity to be the judge in the causes of proselytes, and orphans, and widows, and disregarding kings and tyrants, and men in high commands, and honouring the humility of those men above mentioned, I mean the proselytes, with precedence, on this account. These men, having forsaken their country and their national customs in which they were bred up, which, however, were full of the inventions of falsehood and pride, becoming genuine lovers of truth, have come over

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to piety; and becoming in all worthiness suppliants and servants of the true and living God, they very properly receive a precedence which they have deserved, having found the reward of their fleeing to God in the assistance which they now receive from him. And in the case of orphans and widows, since they have been deprived of their natural protectors, the one class having lost their parents, and the others their husbands, they have no refuge whatever to which they can flee, no aid which they can hope for from man, being utterly destitute; on which account they are not deprived of the greatest hope of all, the hope of relief from God, who, because of his merciful character, does not refuse to provide and to care for persons so wholly desolate. "Let then," says the law, "God alone be thy boast, and thy greater Glory," [Deuteronomy 10:21.] And do not pride thyself either on thy wealth, or on thy glory, or on the beauty of thy person, or on thy strength, or on anything of the same kind as the objects at which foolish empty-headed persons are apt to be elated; considering that, in the first place, these things have no connexion at all with the nature of good, and secondly, that they are liable to rapid changes, fading away in a manner before they have time to flourish permanently. And let us cling to the custom of addressing our supplications to him, and let us not, after we have subdued our enemies, imitate their impiety in those matters of conduct in which they fancy that they are acting piously, burning their sons and their daughters to their gods, not, indeed, that it is the custom of all the barbarians to burn their children. For they are not become so perfectly savage in their natures as to endure in time of peace to treat their nearest and dearest relatives as they would scarcely treat their irreconcilable enemies in time of war. But that they do in reality inflame and corrupt the souls of the children of whom they are the parents from the very moment that they are out of their swaddling clothes; not imprinting on their minds, while they are still tender, any true opinions respecting the one only and truly living God. Let us not then be overcome by, and fall down before, and yield to their good fortune as if they had prevailed by reason of their piety. For present prosperity is given to many persons for a snare, being only a bait to be followed by excessive and incurable evils. And it is very likely that even men who are unworthy may be allowed to be successful, not for their own sakes, but in order that we who act impiously may be more vehemently grieved and pained, who having been born in a God-fearing city, and having been bred up in laws which would imbue men with every virtue, and having been instructed from our earliest youth in all such pursuits as are most honourable to men, neglect them all, and cling only to such practices as deserve to be neglected, considering all good things as subjects for amusement, and looking upon things fit only for sport as seriously good.

58 And if, indeed, any one assuming the name and appearance of a prophet,[Deuteronomy 13:1.] appearing to be inspired and possessed by the Holy Spirit, were to seek to lead the people to the worship of those who are accounted gods in the different cities, it would not be fitting for the people to attend to him being deceived by the name of a prophet. For such an one is an impostor and not a prophet, since he has been inventing speeches and oracles full of falsehood, even though a brother, or a son, or a daughter, or a wife, or a steward, or a firm friend, or any one else who seems to be well-intentioned towards one should seek to lead one in a similar course; exhorting one to be cheerful among the multitude, and to approach the same temples and to adopt the same sacrifices; but such an one should be punished as a public and common enemy, and we should think but little of any relationship, and one should relate his recommendations to all the lovers of piety, who with all speed and without any delay would hasten to inflict punishment on the impious man, judging it a virtuous action to be zealous for his execution. For we should acknowledge only one relationship, and one bond of friendship, namely, a mutual zeal for the service of God, and a desire to say and do everything that is consistent with piety. And these bonds which are called relationships of blood, being derived from one's ancestors, and those connexions which are derived from intermarriages and from other similar causes, must all be renounced, if they do not all hasten to the same end, namely, the honour of God which is the one indissoluble bond of all united good will. For such men will lay claim to a more venerable and sacred kind of relationship; and the law confirms my assertion, where it says that those who do what is pleasing to nature and virtuous are the sons of God, for it says, "Ye are the sons of the Lord your God," [Deuteronomy 14:1.] inasmuch as you will be thought worthy of his providence and care in your behalf as though he were your father. And that care is as much superior to that which is shown by a man's own parents, as I imagine the being who takes it is superior to them.

59 In addition to this the lawgiver also entirely removes out of his sacred code of laws all ordinances respecting initiations, and mysteries, and all such trickery and buffoonery; not choosing that men who are brought up in such a constitution as that which he was giving should be busied about such matters, and, placing their dependence on mystic enchantments, should be led to neglect the truth, and to pursue those objects which have very naturally received night and darkness for their portion, passing over the things which are worthy of light and of day. Let no one, therefore, of the disciples or followers of Moses either be initiated himself into any mysterious rites of worship, or initiate any one else; for both the act of learning and that of teaching such initiations is an impiety of no slight order. 2For if these things are virtuous, and honourable, and profitable, why do ye, O ye men who are initiated, shut yourselves up in dense darkness, and limit your benefits to just three or four men, when you might bring down the advantages which you have to bestow into the middle of the market place, and benefit all men; so that every one might without hindrance partake of a better and more fortunate life? for envy is never found in conjunction with virtue. Let men who do injurious things be put to shame, and seeking hiding places and recesses in the earth, and deep darkness, hide themselves, concealing their lawless iniquity from sight, so that no one may behold it. But to those who do such things as are for the common advantage, let there be freedom of speech, and let them go by day through the middle of the market place where they will meet with the most numerous crowds, to display their own manner of life in the pure sun, and to do good to the assembled multitudes by means of the principal of the outward senses, giving them to see those things the sight of which is most delightful and most impressive, and hearing and feasting upon salutary speeches which are accustomed to delight the minds even of those men who are not utterly illiterate. Do you not see that nature has concealed none of those works which are deservedly celebrated and honourable, but has exhibited openly the stars and the whole of heaven, so as to cause the sight pleasure, and to excite a desire for philosophy, and she also displays her seas, and fountains, and rivers, and the excellencies of the atmosphere, and the beautiful adaptation of the winds to the various seasons of the year, and of plants, and of animals, and, moreover, the innumerable species of fruits, for the use and enjoyment of men? Would it not have been right, then, for you, following her example and design, to give to those who are worthy of it all things that are necessary for their advantage? But now it very often happens that no good men at all are initiated by them, but that sometimes robbers, and wreckers, and companies of debauched and polluted women are, when they have given money enough to those who initiate them, and who reveal to them the mysteries which they call sacred. But let all such men be driven away and expelled from that city, and denied all share in that constitution, in which honour and truth are reverenced for their own sake. And this is enough to say on this subject.

60 But the law, being most especially an interpreter of equal communion, and of courteous humanity among men, has preserved the honour and dignity of each virtue; not permitting any one who is incurably sunk in vice to flee to them, but rejecting all such persons and repelling them to a distance. Therefore, as it was aware that no inconsiderable number of wicked men are often mingled in these assemblies, and escape notice by reason of the crowds collected there, in order to prevent that from being the case in this instance, he previously excludes all who are unworthy from the sacred assembly, beginning in the first instance with those who are afflicted with the disease of effeminacy, men-women, who, having adulterated the coinage of nature, are willingly driven into the appearance and treatment of licentious women. He also banishes all those who have suffered any injury or mutilation in their most important members, and those who, seeking to preserve the flower of their beauty so that it may not speedily wither away, have altered the impression of their natural manly appearance into the resemblance of a woman. The law also excludes not only all harlots, but also those who being born of a harlot bear about them the disgrace of their mother, because their original birth and origin have been adulterated. 2For this passage (if there is any passage at all in the whole scripture which does so) admits of an allegorical interpretation; for there is not one description only of impious and unholy men, but there are many and different. For some persons affirm that the incorporeal ideas are only an empty name, having no participation in any real fact, removing the most important of all essences from the list of existing things, though it is in fact the archetypal model of all things which are the distinctive qualities of essence, in accordance with which each thing is assigned to its proper species and limited to its proper dimensions. The sacred pillars of the law call all these men broken; for such an injury as is implied by that term leaves a man destitute of all distinctive quality and species, and what is so broken is nothing else, to speak the strict truth, than mere shapeless material. Thus, the doctrine which takes away species throws every thing into confusion, and moreover brings back that want of proper form which existed before the elements were reduced into proper order. 2And what can be more absurd than this? For it is out of that essence that God created every thing, without indeed touching it himself, for it was not lawful for the all-wise and all-blessed God to touch materials which were all misshapen and confused, but he created them by the agency of his incorporeal powers, of which the proper name is "ideas," which he so exerted that every genus received its proper form. But this opinion has created great irregularity and confusion. For when it takes away the things by means of which the distinctive qualities exist, it at the same time takes away the distinctive qualities themselves. But other persons, as if they were engaged in a contest of wickedness, being anxious to carry off the prizes of victory, go beyond all others in impiety, joining to their denial of the ideas a negative also of the being of God, as if he had no real existence but were only spoken of for the sake of what is beneficial to men. Others, again, out of fear of that Being who appears to be present everywhere and to see every thing, are barren of wisdom, but devoted to the maintenance of that which is the greatest of all wickednesses, namely impiety. There is also a third class, who have entered on the contrary path, guiding a multitude of men and women, of old and young, filling the world with arguments in favour of a multiplicity of rulers, in order by such means to eradicate all notions of the one and truly living God from the minds of men. These are they who are symbolically called by the law the sons of a harlot. For as mothers who are harlots do not know who is the real father of their children, and cannot register him accurately, but have many, or I might almost say all men, their lovers and associates, the same is the case with those who are ignorant of the one true God. For, inventing a great number whom they falsely call gods, they are blinded as to the most important of all existing things which they ought to have thoroughly learnt, if not alone, at all events as the first and greatest of all things from their earliest childhood; for what can be a more honourable thing to learn than the knowledge of the true and living God?

61 The law also excludes a fourth class, and a fifth, both hastening to the same end, but not with the same intention; for, as they are both followers of the same great evil, self-will, they have divided between them the whole soul as a kind of common inheritance, consisting of a rational and an irrational part; and the one class has appropriate the rational part, which is the mind, and the other the irrational part which is again subdivided into the outward senses; 3therefore, the champions of the mind attribute to it the predominance in and supreme authority over all human affairs, and affirm that it is able to preserve all past things in its recollection, and to comprehend all present things with great vigor, and to divine the future by probable conjecture; 3for this is the faculty which sowed and planted all the fertile soil in both the mountainous and champaign districts of the earth, and which invented agriculture, the most useful of all sciences for human life. This also is the faculty which surveyed the heaven, and by a proper contemplation of it made the earth accessible to ships by an ingenuity beyond all powers of description; 3this, also invented letters, and music, and the whole range of encyclical instruction, and brought them to perfection. This also, is the parent of that greatest of all good things, philosophy, and by means of its different parts it has benefited human life, proceeding by the logical portion of it to an infallible interpretation of difficulties, and by its moral part to a correction of the manners and dispositions of men; and by its physical division to the knowledge of the heaven and the world. And they have also collected and assembled many other praises of the mind on which they dwell, having a continual reference to the species already mentioned, about which we have not at the present time leisure to occupy ourselves.

62 But the champions of the outward senses extol their praises, also, with great energy and magnificence; enumerating in their discourse all the wants which are supplied by their means, and they say that two of them are the causes of living; smell and taste; and two of living well, seeing and hearing; 3therefore, by means of taste the nourishment derived from food is conveyed into the system, and by means of the nostrils the air on which every living thing depends; for this also is a continual food, which nourishes and preserves men, not only while they are awake, but also while they are asleep. And the proof of this is clear; for if the passage of the breath be obstructed for even the shortest period, to such a degree as wholly to cut off the air which is intended by nature to be conveyed into the system from without, inevitable death will of necessity ensue. 3Again, of the more philosophical of the outward senses by means of which the living well is produced, the power of sight beholds the light which is the most beautiful of all essences, and by means of the light it beholds all other things, the sun, the moon, the stars, the heaven, the earth, the sea, the innumerable varieties of plants and animals, and in short all bodies, and shapes, and odors, and magnitudes whatever, the sight of which has given birth to excessive wisdom, and has begotten a great desire for knowledge. And even without reckoning the advantage derived from these things; sight also affords us the greatest benefits in respect of the power of distinguishing one's relatives and strangers, and friends, and avoiding what is injurious and choosing what is beneficial. Now each of the other parts of the body has been created with reference to appropriate uses, which are of great importance, as, for instance, the feet were made for walking, and for all the other

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uses to which the legs can be applied; again, the hands were created for the purpose of doing, or giving, or taking anything; and the eyes, as a sort of universal good, afford both to the hands and feet, and to all the other parts of the body the cause of being able to act or move rightly; 4and that this is the case is most unerringly demonstrated by the evidence of those who have suffered any mutilation in these members, who cannot in real truth be said to have either feet or hands, and who by the reality of their condition prove the correctness of their name, which they say that men of old gave them not so much by way of reproach as out of compassion, calling them impotent, out of surprise at what they see. 4Again, hearing is the thing by which melodies and rhythm, and all parts and divisions of music are distinguished; for song and speech are salutary and wholesome medicines, the one charming the passions and the inharmonious qualities within us by its rhythm, and our unmelodious qualities by its melodies, and bridling our immoderate vehemence by its fixed measures; 4and each of those parts of it are various and multiform, as the musicians and poets do testify, whom we must believe; and speech, checking and cutting short all the impulses which lead to wickedness, and healing those who are under the dominion of folly and misery, and strengthening those who are inclined to yield in a cowardly manner, and subduing those who resist more obstinately, becomes thus the cause of the greatest advantages.

63 The advocates of the mind and of the outward senses, having put these arguments together, make gods of both of them, the one deifying the first, and the other the last; both classes out of their self-will and self-conceit forgetting the truly living God. On which account the lawgiver very naturally excludes them all from the sacred assembly, calling those who would take away the ideas, broken in the stones, and those too who are utterly atheistical, to whom he has given the appropriate name of eunuchs; and those who are the teachers of an opposite system of theogony, whom he calls the sons of a harlot; and besides all these classes he excludes also the self-willed and self-conceited, some of whom have deified reason, and others have called each separate one of the outward senses gods. For all these men are hastening to the same end, even though they are not all influenced by the same intentions. But we who are the followers and disciples of the prophet Moses, will never abandon our investigation into the nature of the true God; looking upon the knowledge of him as the true end of happiness; and thinking that the true everlasting life, as the law says,[Deuteronomy 4:4.] is to live in obedience to and worship of God; in which precept it gives us a most important and philosophical lesson; for in real truth those who are atheists are dead as to their souls, but those who are marshalled in the ranks of the true living God, as his servants, enjoy an everlasting Life.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, BOOK 2

1 (In the treatise preceding this one we have discussed with accuracy two articles of the ten commandments, that which relates to not thinking that any other beings are absolute gods, except God himself; and the other which enjoins us not to worship as God any object made with hands. And we also spoke of the laws which relate specially to each of these points. But we will now proceed to discuss the three which come next in the regular order, again adapting suitable special laws to each. (And the first of these other commandments is not to take the name of God in vain; for the word of the virtuous man, says the law, shall be his oath, firm, unchangeable, which cannot lie, founded steadfastly on truth. And even if particular necessities shall compel him to swear, then he should make the witness to his oath the health or happy old age of his father or mother, if they are alive; or their memory, if they are dead. And, indeed, a man's parents are the copies and imitations of divine power, since they have brought people who had no existence into existence. (One person is recorded in the law, one of the patriarchs of the race, and one of those most especially admired for his wisdom, "as swearing by the face of his father," for the benefit, I imagine, of all those who might live afterwards, and with the object of giving necessary instruction, so that posterity might honour their parents in the proper manner, loving them as benefactors and respecting them as rulers appointed by nature, and might therefore not rashly invoke the name of God. (And these men also deserve to be praised who, when they are compelled to swear, by their slowness, and delay, and evasion, cause fear not only to those who see them, but to those also who invite them to take an oath; for when they do pronounce the oath they are accustomed to say only thus much, "By the--;" or, "No, by the--;" without any further addition, giving an emphasis to these words by the mutilation of the usual form, but without uttering the express oath. (However, if a man must swear and is so inclined, let him add, if he pleases, not indeed the highest name of all, and the most important cause of all things, but the earth, the sun, the stars, the heaven, the universal world; for these things are all most worthy of being named, and are more ancient than our own birth, and, moreover, they never grow old, lasting for ever and ever, in accordance with the will of their Creator.

2 (And some men display such easiness and indifference on the subject, that, passing over all created things, they dare in their ordinary conversation to rise up to the Creator and Father of the universe, without stopping to consider the place in which they are, whether it be profane or sacred; or the time, whether it be suitable; or themselves, whether they are pure in body and soul; or the business, whether it be important; or the occasion, whether it is necessary; but (as the proverb says), they pollute everything with unwashed feet, as if it were decent, since nature has bestowed a tongue upon them, for them to let it loose unrestrained and unbridled to approach objects which it is impious to approach. (When they ought rather to employ that most excellent of all the organs by which voice and speech (the most useful things in human life, and the causes of all communion among men) are made distinct and articulate, in a manner to contribute to the honour, and dignity, and blessing of the great Cause of all things. (But now, out of their excessive impiety, they use the most awful names in speaking of the most unimportant matters, and heaping one appellation upon another in a perfect crowd they feel no shame, thinking that by the frequency and number of their uninterrupted oaths they will attain to the object which they desire, being very foolish to think so; for a great number of oaths is no proof of credibility, but rather of a man's not deserving to be believed in the opinion of men of sense and wisdom.

3 (But if any one being compelled to swear, swears by anything whatever in a manner which the law does not forbid, let him exert himself with all his strength and by every means in his power to give effect to his oath, interposing no hindrance to prevent the accomplishment of the matter thus ratified, especially if neither implacable anger or frenzied love, or unrestrained appetites agitate the mind, so that it does not know what is said or done, but if the oath has been taken with sober reason and deliberate purpose. For what is better than to speak with perfect truth throughout one's whole life, and to prove this by the evidence of God himself? For an oath is nothing else but the testimony of God invoked in a matter which is a subject of doubt, and to invoke God to witness a statement which is not true is the most impious of all things. For a man who does this, is all but saying in plain words (even though he hold his peace), "I am using thee as a veil for my iniquity; do thou co-operate with me, who am ashamed to appear openly to be behaving unjustly. For though I am doing wrong, I am anxious not to be accounted wicked, but thou canst be indifferent to thy reputation with the multitude, having no regard to being well spoken of." But to say or imagine such things as these is most impious, for not only would God, who is free from all participation in wickedness, but even any father or any stranger, provided he were not utterly devoid of all virtue, would be indignant if he were addressed in such a way as this. A man, therefore, as I have said, must be sure and give effect to all oaths which are taken for honourable and desirable objects, for the due establishment of private or public objects of importance, under the guidance of wisdom, and justice, and holiness.

4 And in this description of oaths those most lawful vows are included which are offered up in consequence of an abundance of blessings, either present or expected; but if any vows are made for contrary objects, it is not holy to ratify them, for there are some men who swear, if chance so prompts them, to commit theft, or sacrilege, or adultery, or rape, or to inflict wounds or slaughter, or any similar acts of wickedness, and who perform them without any delay, making an excuse that they must keep their oaths, as if it were not better and more acceptable to God to do no iniquity, than to perform such a vow and oath as that. The national laws and ancient ordinances of every people are established for the sake of justice and of every virtue, and what else are laws and ordinances but the sacred words of nature having an authority and power in themselves, so that they differ in no respect from oaths? And let every man who commits wicked actions because he is so bound by an oath, beware that he is not keeping his oath, but that he is rather violating one which is worthy of great care and attention to preserve it, which sets a seal as it were to what is honourable and just, for he is adding wickedness to wickedness, adding lawless actions to oaths taken on improper occasions, which had better have been buried in silence. Let such a man, therefore, abstain from committing iniquity, and seek to propitiate God, that he may grant to him the mercy of that humane power which is innate in him, so as to pardon him for the oaths which he took in his folly. For it is incurable madness and insanity to take upon himself twofold evils, when he might put off one half of the burden of them. But there are some men who, out of the excess of their wicked hatred of their species, being naturally unsociable and inhuman, or else being constrained by anger as by a hard mistress, think to confirm the savageness of their natural disposition by an oath, swearing that they will not admit this man or that man to sit at the same table with them, or to come under the same roof; or, again, that they will not give any assistance to such an one, or that they will not receive any from him as long as he lives. And sometimes even after the death of their enemy, they keep up their irreconcileable enmity, not allowing their friends to give the customary honours even to their dead bodies when in the grave. I would recommend to such men, as to those I have mentioned before, to seek to propitiate the mercy of God by prayers and sacrifices, that so they may find some cure for the diseases of their souls which no man is competent to heal.

5 But there are other persons, also, boastful, puffed up with pride and arrogance, who, being insatiably greedy of glory, are determined to obey none of the precepts which point to that most beneficial virtue, frugality; but even if any one exhorts them to it, in order to induce them to shake off the obstinate impetuosity of the appetites, they look upon all their admonitions as insults, and drive their course on headlong to every kind of effeminate luxury, despising those who seek to correct them, and making a joke of and turning into ridicule all the honourable and advantageous recommendations of wisdom. And if such men happen to be in such circumstances as to have any abundance and superfluity of the means of living, they declare with positive oaths that they will indulge in all imaginable expense for the use and enjoyment of costly luxury. For instance, a man who has lately come into the enjoyment of considerable riches, embraces a prodigal and extravagant course of life; and when some old man, some relation perhaps, or some friend of his father, comes and admonishes him, exhorting him to alter his ways and to come over to a more honourable and strict behaviour, he is indignant beyond all measure at the advice, and being obstinate in his contentious disposition, swears that as long as he has the means and resources necessary for supplying his wants he will not practice any single way which leads to economy or moderation, neither in the city nor in the country, neither when travelling by sea nor by land, but that he will at all times and in all places show how rich and liberal he is; but as it seems to me such conduct as this is not so much a display of riches as of insolence and intemperance. And yet many men who have before now been placed in situations of great authority, and even many who now are so, though they have most abundant resources of all kinds, and enormous riches, wealth continually and uninterruptedly flowing upon them as if from some unceasing spring, do nevertheless at times turn to the same things which we poor men use, to earthenware cups, and small cheap loaves, and olives, or cheese, or vegetables, for a seasoning to their dinners; and in the summer put on a girdle and a linen garment, and in winter any whole and stout cloak, and for sleep use a bed made on the ground, discarding gladly couches made of ivory or wrought in tortoiseshell and gold, and coverlets of various embroidery, and rich clothes and purple dyes, and the luxury of sweet and elabourate confectionery, and costly viands; and the reason of this conduct is not merely that they have a virtuous and abstemious disposition by nature, but also that they have enjoyed a good education from their earliest youth, which has taught them to honour what belongs to man rather than what belongs to authority, which also taking up its settled abode in the soul, I may almost say reminds it every day of its humanity, drawing it down from lofty and arrogant thoughts, and reducing it within due bounds, and correcting whatever is unequal by the introduction of equality. Therefore such men fill their cities with vigor and abundance, and with good laws and peace, depriving them of no good thing whatever, but providing them with all requisite blessings in the most unlimited and unsparing manner; for this conduct and actions of this sort are the achievements of men of real nobility, and of men who may truly be called governors. But the actions of men newly become rich, of men who by some blunder of fortune have arrived at great wealth, who have no notion, not even in their dreams, of wealth which is genuine and truly endowed with sight, which consists of the perfect virtues, and of actions in accordance with such virtues, but who stumble against that wealth which is blind, leaning upon which, and therefore of necessity missing the right road, they turn into one which is no road at all, admiring objects which deserve no honour at all, and ridiculing things that are honourable by nature; men whom the word of God reproves and reproaches in no moderate degree for introducing oaths on unfitting occasions; for such men are difficult to purify and difficult to cure, so as not to be thought deserving pardon even by God, who is all-merciful by nature.

6 But the law takes away from virgins and from married women the power of making vows independently, pronouncing the parents of the one class, and the husbands of the other, their lords; and with reference to any confirmation or disavowal of their oaths, declaring that that power belongs in the one case to the father, and in the other to the husband. And very reasonably, for the one class by reason of their youth are not aware of the importance of oaths, so that they stand in need of the advice of others to judge for them; while the other class do often out of easiness of disposition take oaths which are not for the interest of their husbands, on which account the law invests the husbands and fathers with authority either to ratify their oaths or to declare them void. And let not widows swear inconsiderately, for they have no one who can beg them off from the effect of their oaths; neither husbands, from whom they are now separated, nor fathers, whose houses

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they have quitted when they departed from home on the occasion of their marriage, since it is unavoidable that their oaths must stand as being confirmed through the absence of any one to take care of the interests of the swearers. But if any one knows that any one else is violating his oath, and does not inform against him, or convict him, being influenced by friendship, or respect, or fear, rather than by piety, he shall be liable to the same punishment as the perjured person;[Leviticus 5:21.] for assenting to one who does wrong differs in no respect from doing wrong one's self. And punishment is inflicted on perjured persons in some cases by God and in others by men; but those punishments which proceed from God are the most fearful and the most severe, for God shows no mercy to men who commit such impiety as that, but allows them to remain for ever unpurified, and in my opinion with great justice and propriety, for the man who despises such important matters cannot complain if he is despised in his turn, receiving a fate equal to his actions. But the punishments which are inflicted by men are of various characters, being death, or scourging;[Deuteronomy 19:16.] those men who are more excellent and more strict in their piety inflicting death on such offenders, but those who are of milder dispositions scourging them with rods publicly in the sight of all men; and to men who are not of abject and slavish dispositions scourging is a punishment not inferior in terror to death.

7 These then are the ordinances contained in the express language of these commandments; but there is also an allegorical meaning concealed beneath, which we must extract by a careful consideration of the figurative expressions used. We must be aware, therefore, that the correct principles of nature recognise the power both of the father and of the husband as equal, but still in different respects. The power of the husband exists because of his sowing the seed of the virtues in the soul, as in a fertile field; that of the father arises from its being his natural office to implant good counsels in the minds of his children, and to stimulate them to honourable and virtuous actions; and because, when he has done so, he cherishes them with salutary doctrines, which education and wisdom supply; and the mind is compared at one time to a virgin, and at another to a woman who is a widow, and again to one who is still united to a husband. It is compared to a virgin, when it preserves itself pure, and undefiled, free from the influence of pleasures and appetites, and likewise of pains and fears, treacherous passions, and then the father who begot it retains the regulation of it; and her principle, as in the case of a virtuous woman, she now being united to pure reason, in accordance with virtue, will exert a proper care to defend her, implanting in her, like a husband, the most excellent conceptions. But the soul which is deprived of the wisdom and guardianship of a parent, and of the union of right reason, being widowed of her most excellent defences, and abandoned by wisdom, if it has chosen a life open to reproach, must be bound by its own conduct, not having reason in accordance with wisdom to act as intercessor, to relieve her of the consequences of her sins, neither has a husband living with her, nor as a father who has begotten her.

8 But in the case of those persons who have vowed not merely their own property or some part of it, but also their own selves, the law has affixed a price to their vows, not having a regard to their beauty, or their importance, or to any thing of that kind, but with reference to the number of the individuals separating the men from the women, and the infants from those who are full grown. For the law Ordains [Leviticus 27:3.] that from twenty years of age to sixty the price of a man shall be two hundred drachmas of solid silver money, and of a woman a hundred and twenty drachmas. And from five years of age to twenty, the price of a male child is eighty, and of a female child forty drachmas. And from infancy to five years old, the price of a male is twenty; of a female child, twelve Drachmas. [Leviticus 10:3.] And in the case of men who have lived beyond sixty years of age, the ransom of the old men is sixty, and of the old women forty drachmas. And the law has regulated this ransom with reference to the same age both in men and women on account of three most important considerations. First of all, because the importance of their vow is equal and similar, whether it be made by a person of great or of little importance. Secondly, because it is fitting that those who have made a vow should not be exposed to the treatment of slaves; for they are valued at a high or at a low price, according to the good condition and beauty of their bodies, or the contrary. Thirdly, which, indeed, is the most important consideration of all, because inequality is valued among men, but equality is honoured by God.

9 These are the ordinances established in respect of men, but about animals the following commands are given. If any one shall set apart any beast; if it be a clean beast of any one of the three classes which are appropriate to sacrifice, such as an ox, or a sheep, or a goat, he shall surely sacrifice it, not substituting either a worse animal for a better, or a better for a worse. For God does not take delight in the fleshiness of fatness of animals, but in the blameless disposition of the man who has vowed it. But if he should make a substitution, then he must sacrifice two instead of one; both the one which he had originally vowed, and the one which he wished to substitute for it. But if any one vows one of the unclean animals, let him bring it to the most venerable of the priests; and let him value it, not exaggerating its price, but adding to its exact value one-fifth, in order that if it should be necessary to sacrifice an animal that is clean instead of it, the sacrifice may not fall short of its proper value. And this is ordained also for the sake of causing the man who has vowed it to feel grieved at having made an inconsiderate vow, having vowed an animal which is not clean, looking upon it, in my opinion, for the moment as clean, being led away by error of mind through some passion. And if the thing which he has vowed be his house, again he must have the priest for a valuer. But those who may chance to buy it shall not pay an equal ransom for it; but if the man who has vowed it chooses to ransom it, he shall pay its price and a fifth besides, punishing his own rashness and impetuous desire for his two faults, his rashness for making the vow, and his impetuous desire for wishing for things back again which he had before abandoned. But if any one else brings it he shall not pay more than its value. And let not the man who has made the vow make any long delay either in the accomplishment of his vow or in procuring a proper valuation to be made of it. For it is absurd to attempt to make strict covenants with men, but to look upon agreements made with God who has no need of any thing, and who has no deficiency of any thing as unnecessary to be observed, while those who do so are by their delays and slowness convicting themselves of the greatest of offences, namely, of a neglect of him whose service they ought to look upon as the beginning and end of all happiness. This is enough to say of oaths and Vows.

10 The next commandment is that concerning the sacred seventh day, in which are comprehended an infinite number of most important festivals. For instance, there is the release of those men who by nature were free, but who, through some unforeseen necessity of the times, have become slaves, which release takes place every seventh year. Again, there is the humanity of creditors towards their debtors, as they forgive their countrymen their debts every seventh year. Also there is the rest given to the fertile ground, whether it be in the champaign or in the mountainous country, which also takes place every seventh year. Moreover, there are those ordinances which are established respecting the fiftieth year. And of all these things the bare narration (without looking to any inner and figurative signification) is sufficient to lead those who are well disposed to perfect virtue, and to make even those who are obstinate and stubborn in their dispositions more docile and tractable. Now we have already spoken at some length about the virtue of the number seven, explaining what a nature it has in reference to the number ten; and also what a connexion it has to the decade itself, and also to the number four, which is the foundation and the source of the decade. And now, having been compounded in regular order from the unit, it in regular order produces the perfect number twenty-eight; being multiplied according to a regular proportion equal in all its parts, it makes at last both a cube and a square. I also showed how there is an infinite number of beauties which may be extracted from a careful contemplation of it, on which we have not at present time to dilate. But we must examine every one of the special matters which are before us as comprehended in this one, beginning with the first. The first matter to be considered is that of the Festivals.

11 Now there are ten festivals in number, as the law sets them down.

The first is that which any one will perhaps be astonished to hear called a festival. This festival is every day.

The second festival is the seventh day, which the Hebrews in their native language call the sabbath.

The third is that which comes after the conjunction, which happens on the day of the new moon in each month.

The fourth is that of the passover which is called the passover.

The fifth is the first fruits of the corn--the sacred sheaf.

The sixth is the feast of unleavened bread, after which that festival is celebrated, which is really

The seventh day of seventh days.

The eighth is the festival of the sacred moon, or the feast of trumpets.

The ninth is the fast.

The tenth is the feast of tabernacles, which is the last of all the annual festivals, ending so as to make the perfect number of ten. We must now begin with the first festival.

THE FIRST FESTIVAL

12 The law sets down every day as a festival, adapting itself to an irreproachable life, as if men continually obeyed nature and her injunctions. And if wickedness did not prosper, subduing by their predominant influence all those reasonings about what things might be expedient, which they have driven out of the soul of each individual, but if all the powers of the virtues remained in all respects unsubdued, then the whole time from a man's birth to his death would be one uninterrupted festival, and all houses and every city would pass their time in continual fearlessness and peace, being full of every imaginable blessing, enjoying perfect tranquility. But, as it is at present, covetousness and the system of mutual hostility and retaliation with which both men and women are continually forming designs against one another, and even against themselves, have destroyed the continuity of cheerfulness and happiness. And the proof of what I have just asserted is visible to all men; for all those men, whether among the Greeks or among the barbarians, who are practicers of wisdom, living in a blameless and irreproachable manner, determining not to do any injustice, nor even to retaliate it when done to them, shunning all association with busy-bodies, in all the cities which they inhabit, avoid all courts of justice, and council halls, and market-places, and places of assembly, and, in short, every spot where any band or company of precipitate headstrong men is collected, admiring, as it were, a life of peace and tranquility, being the most devoted contemplators of nature and of all the things in it. Investigating earth and sea, and the air, and the heaven, and all the different natures in each of them; dwelling, if one may so say, in their minds, at least, with the moon, and the sun, and the whole company of the rest of the stars, both planets and fixed stars. Having their bodies, indeed, firmly planted on the earth, but having their souls furnished with wings, in order that thus hovering in the air they may closely survey all the powers above, looking upon them as in reality the most excellent of cosmopolites, who consider the whole world as their native city, and all the devotees of wisdom as their fellow citizens, virtue herself having enrolled them as such, to whom it has been entrusted to frame a constitution for their common city.

13 Being, therefore, full of all kinds of excellence, and being accustomed to disregard all those good things which affect the body and external circumstances, and being inured to look upon things indifferent as really indifferent, and being armed by study against the pleasures and appetites, and, in short, being always labouring to raise themselves above the passions, and being instructed to exert all their power to pull down the fortification which those appetites have built up, and being insensible to any impression which the attacks of fortune might make upon them, because they have previously estimated the power of its attacks in their anticipations (for anticipation makes even those things light which would be most terrible if unexpected), their minds in this manner calculating that nothing that happens is wholly strange, but having a kind of faint perception of everything as old and in some degree blunted. These men, being very naturally rendered cheerful by their virtues, pass the whole of their lives as a festival. These men, however, are therefore but a small number, kindling in their different cities a sort of spark of wisdom, in order that virtue may not become utterly extinguished, and so be entirely extirpated from our race. But if men everywhere agreed with this small number, and became, as nature originally designed that they should, all blameless and irreproachable, lovers of wisdom, delighting in all that is virtuous and honourable, and thinking that and that alone good, and looking on everything else as subordinate and slaves, as if they themselves were the masters of them, then all the cities would be full of happiness, being wholly free from all the things which are the causes of pain or fear, and full of all those which produce joy and cheerfulness. So that no time would ever cease to be the time of a happy life, but that the whole circle of the year would be one festival.

14 Wherefore, if truth were to be the judge, no wicked or worthless man can pass a time of festival, no not even for the briefest period, inasmuch as he must be continually pained by the consciousness of his own iniquities, even though, with his soul, and his voice, and his countenance, he may pretend to smile; for how can a man who is full of the most evil counsels, and who lives with folly, have any period of genuine joy? A man who is in every respect unfortunate and miserable, in his tongue, and his belly, and all his other members, since he uses the first for the utterance of things which ought to be secret and buried in silence, and the second he fills full of abundance of strong wine and immoderate quantities of food out of gluttony, and the rest of his members he uses for the indulgence of unlawful desires and illicit connexions, not only seeking to violate the marriage bed of others, but lusting unnaturally, and seeking to deface the manly character of the nature of man, and to change it into a womanlike appearance, for the sake of the gratification of his own polluted and accursed passions. On which account the all-great Moses, seeing the pre-eminence of the beauty of that which is the real festival, looked upon it as too perfect for human nature and dedicated it to God himself, speaking thus, in these very words: "The feast of the Lord." [Leviticus 23:2.] In considering the melancholy and fearful condition of the human race, and how full it is of innumerable evils, which the covetousness of the soul begets, which the defects of the body produce, and which all the inequalities of the soul inflict upon us, and which the retaliations of those among whom we live, both doing and suffering innumerable evils, are continually causing us, he then wondered whether any one being tossed about in such a sea of troubles, some brought on deliberately

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and others unintentionally, and never being able to rest in peace nor to cast anchor in the safe haven of a life free from danger, could by any possibility really keep a feast, not one in name, but one which should really be so, enjoying himself and being happy in the contemplation of the world and all the things in it, and in obedience to nature, and in a perfect harmony between his words and his actions, between his actions and his words. On which account he necessarily said that the feasts belonged to God alone; for he alone is happy and blessed, having no participation in any evil whatever, but being full of all perfect blessings. Or rather, if one is to say the exact truth, being himself the good, who has showered all particular good things over the heaven and earth. In reference to which fact, a certain pre-eminently virtuous mind among the people of old,[Genesis 18:10.] when all its passions were tranquil, smiled, being full of and completely penetrated with joy, and reasoning with itself whether perhaps to rejoice was not a peculiar attribute of God, and whether it might not itself miss this joy by pursuing what are thought delights by men, was timorous, and denied the laughter of her soul until she was comforted. For the merciful God lightened her fear, bidding her by his holy word confess that she did laugh, in order to teach us that the creature is not wholly and entirely deprived of joy; but that joy is unmingled and the purest of all which can receive nothing of an opposite nature, the chosen peculiar joy of God. But the joy which flows from that is a mingled one, being alloyed, being that of a man who is already wise, and who has received as the most valuable gift possible such a mixture as that in which the pleasant are far more numerous than the unpleasant ingredients. And this is enough to say on this subject.

THE SECOND FESTIVAL

15 But after this continued and uninterrupted festival which thus lasts through all time, there is another celebrated, namely, that of the sacred seventh day after each recurring interval of six days, which some have denominated the virgin, looking at its exceeding sanctity and purity. And others have called the motherless, as being produced by the Father of the universe alone, as a specimen of the male kind unconnected with the sex of women; for the number seven is a most brave and valiant number, well adapted by nature for government and authority. Some, again, have called it the occasion, forming their conjectures of that part of its essence which is appreciable only by the intellect, from the objects intelligible to their outward senses. For whatever is best among the objects of the external senses, the things by means of which the seasons of the year and the revolutions of time are brought to perfection in their appointed order, partake of the number seven. I mean that there are seven planets; that the stars of the Bear are seven, that the Pleiads are seven, and the revolutions of the moon when increasing and waning, and the orderly well-regulated circuits of the other bodies, the beauty of which exceeds all description. But Moses, from a most honourable cause, called it consummation and perfection; attributing to the number six the origination of all the parts of the world, and to the number seven their perfection; for the number six is an oddeven number, being composed of twice three, having the odd number for the male and the even number for the female, from the union of which, production takes place in accordance with the unalterable laws of nature. But the number seven is free from all such commixture, and is, if one must speak plainly, the light of the number six; for what the number six engendered, that the number seven displayed when brought to perfection. In reference to which fact it may properly be called the birthday of the world, as the day in which the work of the Father, being exhibited as perfect with all its parts perfect, was commanded to rest and abstain from all works. Not that the law is the adviser of idleness, for it is always accustoming its followers to submit to hardships, and training them to labour, and it hates those who desire to be indolent and idle; at all events, it expressly commands us to labour diligently for six days,[Exodus 20:9.] but in order to give some remission from uninterrupted and incessant toil, it refreshes the body with seasons of moderate relaxation exactly measured out, so as to renew it again for fresh works. For those who take breath in this way, I am speaking not merely about private individuals but even about athletes, collect fresh strength, and with more vigorous power, without any shrinking and with great endurance, encounter everything that must be done. And the works meant are those enjoined by precepts and doctrines in accordance with virtue. And in the day he exhorts us to apply ourselves to philosophy, improving our souls and the dominant part of us, our mind. Accordingly, on the seventh day there are spread before the people in every city innumerable lessons of prudence, and temperance, and courage, and justice, and all other virtues; during the giving of which the common people sit down, keeping silence and pricking up their ears, with all possible attention, from their thirst for wholesome instruction; but some of those who are very learned explain to them what is of great importance and use, lessons by which the whole of their lives may be improved. And there are, as we may say, two most especially important heads of all the innumerable particular lessons and doctrines; the regulating of one's conduct towards God by the rules of piety and holiness, and of one's conduct towards men by the rules of humanity and justice; each of which is subdivided into a great number of subordinate ideas, all praiseworthy. From which considerations it is plain that Moses does not leave those persons at any time idle who submit to be guided by his sacred admonitions; but since we are composed of both soul and body, he has allotted to the body such work as is suited to it, and to the soul also such tasks as are good for that. And he has taken care that the one shall succeed the other, so that while the body is labouring the soul may be at rest, and when the body is enjoying relaxation the soul may be labouring; and so the best lives with the contemplative and the active life, succeed to one another in regular alternations. The active life having received the number six, according to the service appointed for the body; and the contemplative life the number seven, as tending to knowledge and to the perfecting of the intellect.

16 It is forbidden also on this day to kindle a fire, as being the beginning and seed of all the business of life; since without fire it is not possible to make any of the things which are indispensably necessary for life, so that men in the absence of one single element, the highest and most ancient of all, are cut off from all works and employments of arts, especially from all handicraft trades, and also from all particular services. But it seems likely that it was on account of those who were less obedient, and who were the least inclined to attend to what was done, that Moses gave additional laws, besides, thinking it right, not only that those who were free should abstain from all works on the seventh day, but also that their servants and handmaids should have a respite from their tasks, proclaiming a day of freedom to them also after every space of six days, in order to teach both classes this most admirable lesson; so that the masters should be accustomed to do some things with their own hands, not waiting for the services and ministrations of their servants, in order that if any unforeseen necessities came upon them, according to the changes which take place in human affairs, they might not, from being wholly unaccustomed to do anything for themselves, faint at what they had to do; but, finding the different parts of the body active and handy, might work with ease and cheerfulness; and teaching the servants not to despair of better prospects, but having a relaxation every six days as a kind of spark and kindling of freedom, to look forward to a complete relaxation hereafter, if they continued faithful and attached to their masters. And from the occurrence of the free men at times submitting to the tasks of servants, and of the servants enjoying a respite and holiday, it will arise that the life of mankind advances in improvement towards perfect virtue, from their being thus reminded of the principles of equality, and repaying each other with necessary services, both those of high and those of obscure rank. But the law has given a relaxation, not to servants only on the seventh day, but also to the cattle. And yet by nature the servants are born free; for no man is by nature a slave. But other animals are expressly made for the use and service of man, and are therefore ranked as slaves; but, nevertheless, those that ought to bear burdens, and to endure toil and labour on behalf of their owners, do all find a respite on the seventh day. And why need I mention other particulars? The ox, the animal who is born for the most important and most useful of all the purposes of life, namely, for the plough, when the earth is already prepared for seed; and again, when the sheaves are brought into the barn, for threshing in order to the purification of the crop, is on this day unharnessed, keeping as a festival that day which is the birthday of the year. And thus its holiness pervades every thing and affects every creature.

17 And Moses thinks the number seven worthy of such reverence that even all other things which at all partake of it are honoured by him; at all events, on every seventh year he ordains a remission of debts, assisting the poor, and inviting the rich to humanity;[Deuteronomy 15:1.] that so they, from their abundance, giving to those that are in want, may also look forward to receiving services from them in the case of any disaster happening to them. For the accidents of human life are numerous, and life is not always anchored on the same bottom, but is apt to change like the fickle wind which blows in different directions at different times. It is well, therefore, that the kindness shown by the creditors should extend to all the debtors. But since all men are not naturally inclined to magnanimity, but some men are the slaves of money, or perhaps not very rich, the law has appointed that they should contribute what will not inconvenience them when parted with. For while it does not permit them to lend on usury to their fellow countrymen, it has allowed them to receive interest from foreigners; calling the former, with great felicity of expression, their brothers, in order to prevent any one's grudging to give of his possessions to those who are as if by nature joint inheritors with themselves; but those who are not their fellow countrymen are called strangers, as is very natural. For the being a stranger shows that a person has no right to a participation in any thing, unless, indeed, any one out of an excess of virtue should treat even those in the conditions of strangers as kindred and related, from having been bred up under a virtuous state of things, and under virtuous laws which look upon what is virtuous alone as good. But the action of lending on usury is blamable; for a man who lends on usury has not abundant means of living, but is clearly in some want; and he does so as being compelled to add the interest to his principal in order to subsist, and so he at last becomes of necessity very poor; and while he thinks that he is deriving advantage he is in reality injured, just as foolish animals are when they are deceived by a present bait. But I should say to such persons, "O you who lend on usury, why do you seek to disguise your unsociable disposition by an apparent pretence of good fellowship? And why do you in words, indeed, pretend to be a humane and considerate person, while in your actions you exhibit a want of humanity and a terrible hardness of heart, exacting more than you gave, and sometimes even doubling your original loan, so as to make the poor man an absolute beggar? Therefore no one sympathises with you in your distress, when, having endeavored to obtain more, you fail to do so, and besides lose even what you had before. But, on the contrary, all men are glad of your misfortunes, calling you a usurer, and a skinflint, and all kinds of names like those, looking on you as one who lies in wait for human misfortunes, and who esteems the misfortunes of others his own prosperity." But, as some have said, wickedness is a most labourious thing; and he who lends on usury is blind, not seeing the time of repayment, in which he will scarcely, or perhaps not at all, receive the things which in his covetousness he had hoped to gain. Let such a man pay the penalty of his avaricious disposition, not recovering back what he has expended, so as to make a gain of the misfortunes of men, deriving a revenue from unbecoming sources. But let the debtors be thought worthy of a humanity enjoined by the law, not paying back their loans and usurious interest upon them, but paying back merely the original sum lent. For again, at a proper season, they will give the same assistance to those who have aided them, requiting those who set the example of kindness with equal services.

18 After having given these commandments, Moses proceeds in regular order to establish a law full of all gentleness and humanity. "If," says this law, "one of thy brethren be sold to thee, let him serve thee for six years; and in the seventh year let him be set free without any Payment," [Deuteronomy 15:12.] Here again Moses calls their fellow countrymen their brothers, implanting in the soul of the owner by this appellation an idea of relationship to his servant, that he may not neglect him as a stranger, towards whom he has no bond of goodwill. But that, yielding to a feeling of affection for him as a relation, in consequence of the lesson which the holy scripture thus suggests, he may not feel indignant when his servant is about to recover his freedom. For it has come to pass that such men are called slaves (douloi), but they are in reality only servants (therapontes), serving their masters for the sake of their necessities. And even though they had a thousand times over given their masters absolute power and authority over them, still their masters ought to be gentle to them, considering these beautiful injunctions of the law. O man, he is a hireling who is called a slave, and he also is a man, having a most sublime relationship to you, inasmuch as he is of the same nation as yourself; and perhaps he is even of the same tribe and the same borough as yourself, and is now reduced to this condition through want. Do you, therefore, casting out of your soul that treacherous evil, insolence, behave to him as if he were a hireling, giving some things and receiving others. And so he will, with all energy and cheerfulness perform the services due to you, at all times and in all places, never delaying, but by his speed and willingness anticipating your commands. And do you, in return, provide him with food and raiment, and take all other necessary care of him; not yoking him to the plough like a brute beast, and not oppressing him with heavy burdens beyond his power to bear, nor treating him with insolence, nor reducing him to painful despondency by threats and infliction of punishment; but giving him proper relaxation and well-regulated periods of rest; for the precept, "Let nothing be too much," applies to every case, and especially to the conduct of masters to their servants. Therefore, when he has served you for a very sufficient time, for six years, then, when the most sacred number, the seventh year is about to arrive, let him who is free by nature depart in freedom; and grant him this kindness without hesitating as to your part, my good man, but joyfully, because you have now an opportunity of doing a service to that most excellent of all animals, man, in the most important of all matters; for there is no blessing to a slave greater than freedom. Do you, therefore, set him free joyfully; and, moreover, make him a present from your own property, from each portion of your possessions, giving to him who has served you faithfully means to support himself on his journey. For it will tend to your credit if he does not leave your house in poverty but having a plentiful supply for all his necessities, so that he may not again, through want, fall into his previous calamity, namely, slavery, being compelled through want of his daily food to sell himself, and so your kindness will be lost. This, then, is enough to say about the poor.

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19 In the next place Moses commands the people to leave the land fallow and untilled every seventh year, for many reasons;[Leviticus 25:4.] first of all, that they may honour the number seven, or each period of days, and months, and years; for every seventh day is sacred, which is called by the Hebrews the sabbath; and the seventh month in every year has the greatest of the festivals allotted to it, so that very naturally the seventh year also has a share of the veneration paid to this number, and receives especial honour. And the second reason is this, "Be not," says the lawgiver, "wholly devoted to gain, but even willingly submit to some loss," that so you may bear with the more indifference involuntary calamity if it should ever fall upon you, and not grieve and despond, as if at some new and strange occurrence; for there are some rich men so unfortunate in their dispositions, as, when want comes upon them, to groan and despond no less than they might do if they were deprived of all their substance. But of the followers of Moses, all who are true disciples, being practiced in good laws, are accustomed, from their earliest age, to bear want with patience, by the custom of leaving their fertile land fallow; and being also taught magnanimity, and one may almost say, to let slip out of their hands, from deliberate intention, revenues of admitted certainty. The third reason appears to me to be thus, which is intimated in a somewhat figurative manner, namely, to show that it does not become any one whatever to weigh down and oppress men with burdens; for if one is to allow a period of rest to the portions of the earth which cannot by nature have any share in the feelings of pleasure or of pain, how much the more must men be entitled to a similar relaxation, who have not only these outward senses, which are common to the brute beasts, but also the especial gift of reason, by which the painful feelings which arise from toil and fatigue, are more vividly imprinted on their imaginations? Cease, therefore, ye who are called masters, from imposing harsh and intolerable commands on your slaves, which break the strength of the body by their compulsion, and compel the soul to faint even before the bodies; for there is no objection to your exerting a moderate degree of authority, giving orders by which you will receive the services to which you are entitled, and in consequence of which your servants will cheerfully do what they are desired; and then they will discharge their duties but for a short period, as if early exhausted, and, if one must say the truth, brought by their labours to old age before their time; but like athletes, preserving their youthful vigor for a long time, who do not become fat and corpulent, but who are accustomed, by exertion and sweat, to train themselves, so as to be able to acquire the things which are necessary and useful for life. Moreover let the governors of cities cease to oppress them with continual and excessive taxes and tributes, filling their own stores with money, and in preserving as a treasure the illiberal vices which defile their whole lives; for they do, on purpose, select as collectors of their revenues the most pitiless of men, persons full of all kinds of inhumanity, giving them abundant opportunity for the exercise of their covetousness; and they, in addition to their own innate severity of temper, receiving free license from the commands of their masters, and having determined to do everything so as to please them, practice all the harshest measures which they can imagine, having no notion of gentleness or humanity, not even in their dreams; therefore they throw everything into disorder and confusion, levying their exactions, not only on the possessions of the citizens, but also on their persons, with insults and violence, and the invention of new and unprecedented torture. And before now I have heard of some persons who, in their ferocity and unequalled fury, have not spared even the dead; but have been so brutal as even to venture to beat the dead corpses with goads; and when some one blamed their brutality, in that not even death, that relief and real end of all miseries, could prevent their victims from being insulted by them, but that, instead of a grave and the customary funeral rites, they were exposed to continued insult, they made a defense worse even than the accusation brought against them, saying that they were insulting the dead, not for the sake of abusing the dumb and senseless dust, for there was no advantage in that, but for the sake of making those who through ties of blood or of friendship were nearly connected with them feel compassion for them, and so inducing them to pay a ransom for their bodies, thus doing them the last service in their power.

20 Then, O you most worthless of all men! I would say to them, have you not first learnt what you are now teaching? or do you know how to invite other people to compassion even by the most inhuman actions, and yet have you eradicated all merciful and humane feelings from your own souls? And do you act in this way in spite of not being in want of good advisers, and especially of our laws, which have released even the earth from its yearly burdens, giving it a relaxation and a respite? and it, although it seems to be inanimate, is nevertheless fully prepared to make a requital and to recompence favours, hastening to pay back any gift which it has received; for as it receives an exemption every seventh year, and is not forced to exert itself that year, but is set wholly free for the whole circle of the year, in the subsequent year produces double, or sometimes, many times, larger crops than usual from its great productiveness. And in like manner you may see the trainers acting in the same way towards the athletes; for when they are exercising them with continual and uninterrupted practice, before they are wholly knocked up, they refresh them, giving a respite not only from their exertions in training, but also from their strict regimen of eating and drinking, relaxing the severity of their diet so as to produce a cheerfulness of soul and good condition of body. And yet they are not to be looked upon as teachers of indolence and luxury, inasmuch as their professed business is to train men to the endurance of labours, but by a certain method and artificial system they add to their natural strength a strength more powerful still, and to their innate vigor a more energetic vigor still, increasing their previous powers by reciprocal remission and exertion, as by a well-regulated harmony. And I have learnt all this from all-wise nature, which, knowing the industrious and labourious condition of our race, has distributed them into day and night, giving to us the one for wakefulness, and the other for sleep; for she felt a natural anxiety, like a careful mother, that her offspring should not be worn out with toil; for by day she excites our bodies, and rouses them up to all the necessities and duties belonging to life, compelling those to work who would gladly be accustomed to cultivate the leisure of idleness, and an effeminate and luxurious life. But by night, as if she were sounding a retreat in time of war, she invites us to rest, and to take care of our bodies. And those men who have laid aside a heavy weight of business, which has lasted from morning till evening, do now lay their burdens aside and return home and devote themselves to ease, and indulging in profound sleep, refresh themselves after the labours of the day. This long interval between sleeping and waking nature has allotted to men, that they may by turns labour diligently and by turns rest, so as to have all the parts of their bodies more ready for action, and more active and powerful.

21 And the lawgiver, who is a prophetic spirit, gave us our laws, having a regard to these things, and proclaimed a holiday to the whole country, restraining the farmers from cultivating the land after each six years' incessant industry. But it was not only on account of the motives which I have mentioned that he gave these injunctions, but also because of his innate humanity, which he thinks fit to weave in with every part of his legislation, stamping on all who study the holy scriptures a sociable and humane disposition. For he commands his people every seventh year to forbear to enclose any piece of land, but to let all the olive gardens and vineyards remain open, and all their other possessions, whether they be seed-land or trees, that so the poor may be able to enjoy the spontaneously growing crops without fear, in a greater, or at all events not in a less degree than the owners themselves. On which account he does not allow the masters to cultivate the land, having in view the object of not causing them any annoyance from the feeling that they are at all the expense, but that they do not receive any revenue from their lands to make up for the expense, while the poor enjoy all the crops as their own; and he permits those who appear to be strangers to enjoy all these things, raising them from their apparent lowly condition, and from the reproach of being beggars. Is it not then fit to love these laws which are full of such abundant humanity? by which the rich men are taught to share the blessings which they have with and to communicate them to others: and the poor are comforted, not being for ever compelled to frequent the houses of the indigent to supply the deficiencies by which they themselves are oppressed; but there are times when the widows and orphan children, as if they had been deriving a revenue from their own properties, namely the spontaneously growing crops, as I have said before, and all other classes of person who are disregarded from not being wealthy do at last find themselves in the possession of plenty, being on a sudden enriched by the gift of God, who has called them to share with the possessors themselves in the number of the sacred seven. And all those who breed flocks and herds lend their own cattle with fearlessness and impunity to graze on the land of others, choosing the most fertile plains, and the lands most suitable for the feeding of their cattle, availing themselves of the license of the jubilee; and they are not met by any ill-will or illiberality on the part of the masters, as having the property in these lands by old custom, which having prevailed for a very long time, so as to become familiar, has now prevailed even over nature.

22 Having laid down these principles as a kind of foundation of gentleness and humanity, he then puts together seven sevens of years, and so makes the fiftieth year an entirely sacred year, enacting with reference to it some ordinances of especial honour beyond those which relate to the ordinary years of communication of property. In the first place he gives this commandment. He thinks it fitting that all property that has been alienated should now be restored to its original masters in order that the inheritances originally apportioned to the different tribes may be preserved, and that no one who originally received an allotment may be wholly deprived of his possessions. Since it often happens that unforeseen circumstances come upon men by which they are compelled to sell what belongs to them. And so he provided in a suitable manner for their necessities, and prevented those who purchased the lands from being deceived, allowing the one to sell their lands, and teaching the others very plainly the conditions on which they are going to purchase. For the law says Do not give a price as if for an everlasting possession, but only for a definite number of years, which must be less than fifty; for the sale effected ought not to be a sale of the lands owned, but a sale of the crops, for two most weighty reasons; one, that the whole country is called the possession of God, and it is impious for any one else to be recorded as the masters of the possessions of God; and secondly, because a separate allotment has been assigned to each land-owner, of which the law does not choose the man who originally received the allotment to be deprived. Therefore, the law invites the man who is able to recover his original property within the period of fifty years, or any one of his nearest relations, to use every exertion to repay the price which he received, and not to be the cause of loss to the man who purchased it, and who served him at a time when he was in need of assistance. And at the same time it sympathises with the man who is in too great a state of indigence to do so, and bestows its compassion on him, giving him back his former property with the exception of any fields which have been consecrated by a vow, and are so placed in the class of offerings to God. And it is contrary to divine law that any thing which has been offered to God should ever by lapse of time become profane. On which account it is commanded that the accurate value of those fields shall be fully exacted, without showing any favour to the man who dedicated the offering.

23 These are the commandments which are given with respect to the divisions of the land and the inheritances so portioned out. There are others also enacted with respect to houses. And since of houses some are in cities, being within walls; while others are open abodes in the country, and not within any walls; the law has directed that those in the country shall always be redeemed with money, and that those which are not redeemed before the fiftieth year shall be restored without any payment to their original owners, just as their other possessions;[Leviticus 25:31.] for the houses are a portion of the man's possessions. But those which are within walls shall be liable to be redeemed by those who have sold them for a full year;[Leviticus 25:19.] but if they be not redeemed within that year, then after that year they shall be confirmed to those who had bought them, the jubilee of the fiftieth year not injuring the claim of the purchasers. And the reason of these enactments is that God wills to give even to strangers an opportunity of becoming firmly established in the land. For since they have no participation in the land, inasmuch as they are not numbered among those to whom the inheritances have been apportioned, the law has allotted to them a property in houses, being desirous that they who have come as suppliants to the laws, and who have taken refuge under their protection, should not be homeless wanderers in the land. For the cities, when the land was originally portioned out in inheritances, were not divided among the tribes, nor indeed were they originally built together in streets, but the inhabitants of the land preferred to make their abode in their open houses in the fields. But afterwards they quitted these houses and came together, the feeling of a love of fellowship and communication, as was natural, becoming stronger after a lapse of time, and so they built houses in the same place, and cities, of which they allowed a share also to the strangers, that they might not be destitute of every thing both in the country and in the cities.

24 And concerning the tribe which was set apart as consecrated for the priesthood, the following laws are established. The law did not bestow upon the keepers of the temple any portion of the land, considering the first fruits of it a sufficient revenue for them. But it allotted them eight and forty cities to dwell in, and a suburb of two thousand cubits around each City. [Leviticus 35:5..] 2Therefore, it did not confirm the houses in these cities in the same manner that it did those in the other cities which are built within walls, to the purchasers, if those who had sold them were not able to redeem them within the year, but it permitted them to be redeemed at any time, like the open houses in the country taken from the gentiles, to which they corresponded. Since the Levites had received only houses in this district, of which the lawgiver did not think it fit that those who received them should be deprived any more than those to whom the allotments of the open houses in the country had fallen. And this is enough to say about the houses.

25 But the laws established with respect to those who owed money to usurers, and to those who had become servants to masters, resemble those already mentioned; that the usurers shall not exact usurers' interest from their fellow countrymen, but shall be contented to receive back only what they lent; and that the masters shall behave to those whom they have bought with their money not as if they were by nature slaves, but only hirelings, giving them immunity and liberty, at once, indeed, to those who can pay down a ransom for themselves, and at a subsequent period to the indigent, either when the seventh year from the beginning of their slavery arrives, or when the fiftieth year comes, even if a man happen to have fallen into

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slavery only the day before. For this year both is and is looked upon as a year of remission; every one retracing his steps and turning back again to his previous state of prosperity. But the law permits the people to acquire a property in slaves who are not of their own countrymen, but who are of different nations; intending in the first place that there should be a difference between one's own countrymen and strangers, and secondly, not desiring completely to exclude from the constitution that most entirely indispensable property of slaves; for there are an innumerable host of circumstances in life which require the ministrations of Servants. Sons shall inherit their parents' property, but if there should be no sons, then the daughters would inherit. For just as in their nature men take precedence over women, so also in families they shall have the first share, inheriting property and filling the station of those who have died, being held by a law of necessity that lets no earthborn mortal live forever. 2But if virgins are left behind with unmarried, no dowry having been set apart by the parents while they were still living, they shall receive a share equal to that of the males. But the presiding power must take care to watch over those who are left behind and of their growth and of the expenses for sustenance and the training that is appropriate for girls, and, whenever the time should come, for appropriate marriage, husbands approved in all things having been selected by merit. Preferably they should be relatives, but if not, they should at least be of the same deme and tribe, so that the lots assigned as dowries will not be alienated through marriages but remain in the tribal allotments as ordered from the beginning. But if someone should have no offspring, then let the brothers of the deceased succeed to the inheritance. For the place in the family after sons and daughters belongs to brothers. And if someone who has no brothers should die, the uncles on the father's side should succeed to the property, and if there are no uncles, then the aunts, the closest of the remaining household members and other relatives. 2But if scarcity should seize the family, so that no blood relations are left, then let the tribe be the heir. For the tribe is also a kind of family, if we draw a larger and more complete circle. The perplexity raised by some, however, should be laid to rest: Seeing that the law mentions all members of the family, the deme, and the tribe in the order of succession to inheritances, why did it remain silent only about parents, who, it would seem, should be just as eligible to inherit their children's property as the children are to inherit theirs? Here is the answer, my good fellow! Since the law is divine, and since it always aims at following the logic of nature, it did not wish to introduce any ill-omened provisions; for parents pray to leave behind living offspring who will have succeeded to their name, their lineage, and their property, while their worst enemies call down the opposite on them as a curse, namely, that the sons and daughters should die before their parents. Therefore in order to avoid making explicit provisions for a situation that would be illfitting and discordant with the harmony and concord that characterize the administration of the whole cosmos--namely, the case where children die and parents survive--the law both necessarily and fittingly omitted ordering that mothers and fathers should inherit the property of sons and daughters, knowing that this outcome was out of accord with life and nature. 3So then, the law was careful not to say in so many words that parents inherit when their children die, in order not to seem to reproach grieving parents by allotting to them a benefit that no one would want, and in order not to call misfortunes to mind; but it allotted the property to them in another way, as a small consolation for a great evil. How, then, does it do this? It puts down the father's brother as the heir of his nephews, no doubt rewarding the uncle for the father's sake--unless anyone is so silly as to suppose that one who honours someone for the sake of someone else thereby chooses to dishonour the latter. Those who pay attention to their friends' acquaintances do not thereby neglect their friends, do they? Do not those who show the most solicitous care for those whom they honour also welcome their friends? In precisely the same way, when when the law names the father's brother to share in the inheritance on account of the father, how much more does it name the father! It does not do this explicitly, for the reasons cited, but it makes clear the will of the lawgiver with surer force than an explicit mention. The eldest son does not share equally with those who came after him but is considered worthy of a double portion, since two people who were previously husband and wife became father and mother on account of the first offspring, and once he came along he was the first to call those who engendered him by these names. Furthermore--and this is the most essential point--the household that was previously childless became one blessed with a son for the continuance of the human race. The seed of this continuance is marriage, and its fruit is the begetting of children, of whom the eldest is the head. 3I suppose that it is for this reason that the firstborn sons of the enemies who had given no quarter, as the holy scriptures reveal, were all cut off in their youth in one night, while the firstborn of the people of the nation were dedicated to God as a thank-offering and were thus consecrated. For it was necessary to weigh down the former with a heavy and inconsolable grief, the destruction of those who held first place, but to reward the saviour God with the firstfruits, whose lot was the preeminence among the children. But there are some men who after getting married and having children have at length unlearned prudence and drifted into incontinence. Lusting after other women, these men have wronged their first wives and behaved toward their children from them no longer as fathers but as uncles, imitating the impious behavior of stepmothers toward previously born children. They have given themselves and their property over entirely to their new wives and to their sons, having been overcome by pleasure, the most shameful passion. The law would not have hesitated to bridle these lusts somehow if it had been possible, lest they kick up their heels even more; 3but since it was difficult, or rather impossible, to cure this wild frenzy, the law abandoned the man as being in the grip of an incurable disease. It did not, however, overlook the son of the woman wronged on account of the new love but commanded that he should receive a double share of the distribution left for the brothers. There are many reasons for this. For in the first place it punishes the guilty man by compelling him to do something good for the son whom he has chosen to treat badly; and it makes clear the invalidity of his inconsiderate judgement in that it profits the one who was in danger of suffering loss at his hands by putting itself in the role of the parent--the role abandoned by the natural father with regard to the firstborn son. 3Secondly, it shows mercy and compassion on those who have been treated unjustly, whose burden of distress it lightens by giving them a share in grace and gift; for the double portion of the inheriting son was no less likely to please the mother, who will be encouraged by the kindness of the law, which did not permit her and her offspring to be totally overcome by their enemies. In the third place, being a good referee of justice, it considered in itself that the father had freely lavished provisions upon the sons of the beloved wife due to his affection for her, while he considered the sons of the hated wife to deserve nothing due to his hatred for their mother. Thus the former had inherited more than their equal share during his lifetime, while the latter were in danger even upon his death of being deprived of the whole patrimony. So then, in order to equalize the distribution to the sons of both wives, it set aside a double portion as the rightful inheritance of the eldest, the son of the wife who had been put away. This is enough regarding these things.

THE THIRD FESTIVAL

26 Following the order which we have adopted, we proceed to speak of the third festival, that of the new moon. First of all, because it is the beginning of the month, and the beginning, whether of number or of time, is honourable. Secondly, because at this time there is nothing in the whole of heaven destitute of light. Thirdly, because at that period the more powerful and important body gives a portion of necessary assistance to the less important and weaker body; for, at the time of the new moon, the sun begins to illuminate the moon with a light which is visible to the outward senses, and then she displays her own beauty to the beholders. And this is, as it seems, an evident lesson of kindness and humanity to men, to teach them that they should never grudge to impart their own good things to others, but, imitating the heavenly bodies, should drive envy away and banish it from the Soul. The fourth reason is that of all the bodies in the heaven, the moon traverses the zodiac in the least appointed time: it accomplishes its orbit in a monthly interval. For this reason the law has honoured the end of its orbit, the point when the moon has finished at the beginning point from which it began to travel, by having called that day a feast so that it might again teach us an excellent lesson that in the affairs of life we should make the ends harmonious with the beginnings. This will happen if we hold the reins on our first impulses with the power of reason and do not permit them to refuse the reins and to run free like animals without anyone in charge of the herd. 4With regard to the benefits which the moon provides to all on earth, why is it necessary to run through and detail them? Their proofs are obvious. Or isn't it by its waxings that rivers and springs overflow, and again by its wanings that they diminish; that seas sometimes retreat and are drawn down through their ebb and flow, and at other times suddenly run full through the tide; that the air experiences all sorts of shifts in the form of clear weather, cloudy weather, and other changes? Don't the fruits of cultivated crops and trees grow and come to maturity through the orbits of the moon which nurses and ripens each of the growing crops through dewladen and very gentle breezes? 4But this is not the appropriate occasion, as I said, to speak at length about the praise of the moon by running through and enumerating the benefits which it provides to animals and to all on the earth. For these reasons and others similar to them, the new moon has been honoured and taken its place among the feasts.

THE FOURTH FESTIVAL

27 And after the feast of the new moon comes the fourth festival, that of the passover, which the Hebrews call pascha, on which the whole people offer sacrifice, beginning at noonday and continuing till evening. 4And this festival is instituted in remembrance of, and as giving thanks for, their great migration which they made from Egypt, with many myriads of people, in accordance with the commands of God given to them; leaving then, as it seems, a country full of all inhumanity and practising every kind of inhospitality, and (what was worst of all) giving the honour due to God to brute beasts; and, therefore, they sacrificed at that time themselves out of their exceeding joy, without waiting for priests. And what was then done the law enjoined to be repeated once every year, as a memorial of the gratitude due for their deliverance. These things are thus related in accordance with the ancient historic accounts. 4But those who are in the habit of turning plain stories into allegory, argue that the passover figuratively represents the purification of the soul; for they say that the lover of wisdom is never practising anything else except a passing over from the body and the passions. 4And each house is at that time invested with the character and dignity of a temple, the victim being sacrificed so as to make a suitable feast for the man who has provided it and of those who are collected to share in the feast, being all duly purified with holy ablutions. And those who are to share in the feast come together not as they do to other entertainments, to gratify their bellies with wine and meat, but to fulfil their hereditary custom with prayer and songs of praise. 4And this universal sacrifice of the whole people is celebrated on the fourteenth day of the month, which consists of two periods of seven, in order that nothing which is accounted worthy of honour may be separated from the number seven. But this number is the beginning of brilliancy and dignity to everything.

THE FIFTH FESTIVAL

28 And there is another festival combined with the feast of the passover, having a use of food different from the usual one, and not customary; the use, namely, of unleavened bread, from which it derives its name. And there are two accounts given of this festival, the one peculiar to the nation, on account of the migration already described; the other a common one, in accordance with conformity to nature and with the harmony of the whole world. And we must consider how accurate the hypothesis is. This month, being the seventh both in number and order, according to the revolutions of the sun, is the first in power; on which account it is also called the first in the sacred scriptures. And the reason, as I imagine, is as follows. The vernal equinox is an imitation and representation of that beginning in accordance with which this world was created. Accordingly, every year, God reminds men of the creation of the world, and with this view puts forward the spring, in which season all plants flourish and bloom; 5for which reason this is very correctly set down in the law as the first month, since, in a manner, it may be said to be an impression of the first beginning of all, being stamped by it as by an archetypal Seal. 5Although the month in which the autumnal equinox occurs is first in sequence according to solar orbits, it is not considered first in the law. The reason is that at that time, after all the crops have been harvested, the trees lose their leaves and everything that springtime produced in the height of its glory is withering under dry winds after it has been made dry by the flaming heat of the sun. Therefore he thought that to apply the name "first" to the month in which the hill country and the plain become barren and infertile, was incongruous and unfitting. For it is necessary that the most beautiful and desirable phenomena belong to those things which are first and have received the position of leadership, those phenomena through which the reproduction and growth of animals and fruit and crops take place, but not the ominous destructive forces. 5And this feast is begun on the fifteenth day of the month, in the middle of the month, on the day on which the moon is full of light, in consequence of the providence of God taking care that there shall be no darkness on that day. 5And, again, the feast is celebrated for seven days, on account of the honour due to that number, in order that nothing which tends to cheerfulness and to the giving of thanks to God may be separated from the holy number seven. 5And of the seven days, Moses pronounces two, the first and the last, holy; giving, as is natural, a preeminence to the beginning and to the end; and wishing, as if in the case of a musical instrument, to unite the two extremities in harmony. And the unleavened bread is ordained because their ancestors took unleavened bread with them when they went forth out of Egypt, under the guidance of the Deity; or else, because at that time (I mean at the spring season, during hich this festival is celebrated) the crop of wheat is not yet ripe, the plains being still loaded with the corn, and it not being as yet the harvest time, and therefore lawgiver has ordained the use of unleavened food with a view to assimilating it to the state of the crops. For unleavened food is also imperfect or unripe, as a memorial of the good hope which is entertained; since nature is by this time

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preparing her annual gifts for the race of mankind, with an abundance and plenteous pouring forth of necessaries. 5The interpreters of the holy scriptures do also say that the unleavened food is a gift of nature, but that barmed bread is a work of art. 6Since, therefore, the vernal festival is a commemoration of the creation of the world, and since that it was inevitable that the most ancient persons, those formed out of the earth, must have used the gifts of the world without alteration, pleasure not having as yet obtained the dominion, the lawgiver ordained that food which was the most suitable to the occasion, wishing to kindle every year a desire to walk in the paths of a holy and rigid way of Life. 6The setting out of twelve loaves--the same number as the tribes--on the sacred table especially guarantees the things which have been said. For they are all unleavened, the clearest example of an unmixed food which has been prepared not by human skill for pleasure but by nature for the most essential use. These things are sufficient for this topic.

THE SIXTH FESTIVAL

29 There is also a festival on the day of the paschal feast, which succeeds the first day, and this is named the sheaf, from what takes place on it; for the sheaf is brought to the altar as a first fruit both of the country which the nation has received for its own, and also of the whole land; so as to be an offering both for the nation separately, and also a common one for the whole race of mankind; and so that the people by it worship the living God, both for themselves and for all the rest of mankind, because they have received the fertile earth for their inheritance; for in the country there is no barren soil but even all those parts which appear to be stony and rugged are surrounded with soft veins of great depth, which, by reason of their richness, are very well suited for the production of living Things. 6The reason is that a priest has the same relation to a city that the nation of the Jews has to the entire inhabited world. For it serves as a priest--to state the truth--through the use of all purificatory offerings and the guidance both for body and soul of divine laws which have checked the pleasures of the stomach and those under the stomach and [tamed] the mob [of the Senses] [there is a clear problem with the text here, i.e., the noun ochlon lacks a verb.] by having appointed reason as charioteer over the irrational senses; they also have driven back and overturned the undiscriminating and excessive urges of the soul, some by rather gentle instructions and philosophical exhortations, others by rather weighty and forcible rebukes and by fear of punishment, the fear which they brandish threateningly. 6Apart from the fact that the legislation is in a certain way teaching about the priesthood and that the one who lives by the laws is at once considered a priest, or rather a high priest, in the judgement of truth, the following point is also remarkable. The multitude of gods, both male and female, honoured in individual cities happens to be undetermined and indefinite. The poetic clan and the great company of humans have spoken fabulously about them, people for whom the search for truth is impractical and beyond their capability of investigation. Yet all do not reverence and honour the same gods, but different people different gods. The reason is that they do not consider as gods those belonging to another land but make the acceptance of them the occasion for laughter and a joke. They charge those who honour them with great foolishness since they completely violate sound sense. But if he is, whom all Greeks together with all barbarians acknowledge with one judgement, the highest Father of both gods and humans and the Maker of the entire cosmos, whose nature--although it is invisible and unfathomable not only to sight but also to perception--all who spend their time with mathematics and other philosophy long to discover, leaving aside none of the things which contribute to the discovery and service of him, then it was necessary for all people to cling to him and not as if through some mechanical device to introduce other gods into participation of equal honours. 6Since they slipped in the most essential matter, the nation of the Jews--to speak most accurately--set aright the false step of others by having looked beyond everything which has come into existence through creation since it is generate and corruptible in nature, and chose only the service of the ungenerate and eternal. The first reason for this is because it is excellent; the second is because it is profitable to be dedicated and associated with the Older rather than those who are younger and with the Ruler rather than those who are ruled and with the Maker rather those things which come into existence. 6For this reason it amazes me that some dare to charge the nation with an anti-social stance, a nation which has made such an extensive use of fellowship and goodwill toward all people everywhere that they offer up prayers and feasts and first fruits on behalf of the common race of human beings and serve the really self-existent God both on behalf of themselves and of others who have run from the services which they should have rendered. 6These are the things they do for the entire race of human beings. On the other hand they give thanks for themselves for many things. The first is that they are not perpetually wandering here and there among islands and continents and like foreigners and those without a permanent abode who have settled the lands of others and occupy others' wealth are reproached since they have acquired no portion of land from lack of means, but have acquired a land and cities and for a long time have been in possession of their own inheritance, for which reason it has been a sacred duty for them to offer the first fruits. 6The second is that they did not receive a worthless and common land, but a good and fertile land both for the breeding of domestic animals and the abundance of unspeakably great crops. For there is no poor soil in it, and even the parts that seem to be stony and hardened are broken up with soft and especially deep veins which because of their richness are good for crop production. In addition to these things, they did not receive a desolate land, but one in which there was a populous nation and great cities abounding in men. Yet the cities were emptied of their inhabitants and the entire race disappeared except for a small part: some as a result of wars and others as a result of divinely sent attacks because of their new and strange practices of wrongs and all of the impieties they used to commit through their great efforts to demolish the laws of nature. These things happened so that those who replaced them might be sobered by the calamities of others, and learn from their deeds that those who become devotees of evil deeds will suffer the same fate but those who have honoured a life of virtue will possess their assigned portion, numbered not among emigrants but among the native residents. That the first fruit is a handful for their own land and for all lands, offered in thanksgiving for prosperity and a good season which the nation and the entire race of human beings were hoping to enjoy, has been demonstrated. We should not be unaware that many benefits have come by means of the first fruit: first, memory of God--it is not possible to find a more perfect good than this; then, the most just recompense to the real Cause of the fruitfulness. 7For the things which occur as a result of agricultural skill are few or none at all: to build up furrows, to dig and spade all around a plant, to deepen a trench, to cut off excessive growths, or to perform any similar task. But the things which come from nature are all essential and useful: the most fertile ground, a land well-watered by springs and both spring-fed and seasonal rivers and sprinkled with annual rains, mild temperatures of air moved by breezes which are most conducive for life, countless types of crops and plants. For which of these has a human either discovered or engendered? Nature which has engendered these things has not begrudged a man its own goods, but considered him to be the governing part of mortal animals because he has a share in reason and good sense. She therefore chose him on the basis of his merit and summoned him to participate in her own goods. For these things it is right that the host, God, be praised and admired since he sees to it that the truely hospitable earth, all of it, is always full of not only the necessities but even of the things which make for a luxurious life. In addition to these things, we should not fail to pay our regard to benefactors. For the person who is thankful to God who needs nothing and is selfsufficient, will also make it a habit to be thankful to humans who are in need of how many countless things. And there are many meanings intended by this offering of the first fruits. In the first place they are a memorial of God; secondly, they are a most just requital to be offered to him who is the real cause of all fertility; 7and the sheaf of the first fruits is barley, calculated for the innocent and blameless use of the inferior animals; for since it is not consistent with holiness to offer first fruits of everything, since most things are made rather for pleasure than for any actually indispensable use, it is also not consistent with holiness to enjoy and partake of any thing which is given for food, without first giving thanks to that being to whom it is becoming and pious to offer them. That portion of the food which was honoured with the second place, namely, barley, was ordered by the law to be offered as first fruits; for the first honours were assigned to wheat, of which it has deferred the offering of the first fruits, as being more honourable, to a more suitable season.

THE SEVENTH FESTIVAL

30 The solemn assembly on the occasion of the festival of the sheaf having such great privileges, is the prelude to another festival of still greater importance; for from this day the fiftieth day is reckoned, making up the sacred number of seven sevens, with the addition of a unit as a seal to the whole; and this festival, being that of the first fruits of the corn, has derived its name of pentecost from the number of fifty, (pentεμkostos). And on it it is the custom to offer up two leavened loaves made of wheat, as a first fruit of the best kind of food made of corn; either because, before the fruit of the year is converted to the use of man, the first produce of the new crop, the first gathered corn that appears is offered as a first fruit, in order that by an insignificant emblem the people may display their grateful disposition; We must disclose another reason. Its nature is wondrous and highly prized for numerous reasons including the fact that it consists of the most elemental and oldest of the things which are encased in substances, as the mathematicians tell us, the rightangled triangle. For its sides, which exist in lengths of three and four and five, combine to make up the sum twelve, the pattern of the zodiac cycle, the doubling of the most fecund number six which is the beginning of perfection since it is the sum of the same numbers of which it is also the Product. [literally, "being the sum of its own parts to which it is equal." In mathematical notation: 1 + 2 + 3 = 6 = 1 x 2 x 3.] To the second power, it seems, they produce fifty, through the addition of 3 x 3 and 4 x 4 and 5 x 5. The result is that it is necessary to say that to the same degree that fifty is better than twelve, the second power is better than the first power. If the image of the lesser is the most beautiful sphere of those which are in heaven, the zodiac, then of what would the better, the number fifty, be a pattern than a completely better nature? This is not the occasion to speak about this. It is sufficient for the present that the difference has been noted so that a principal point is not considered to be subordinate. 79)the feast which takes place on the basis of the number fifty has received the name "the feast of the first produce" since during the feast it is customary to offer two leavened loaves made from wheat as the first fruit of grain, the best food. It is named "the feast of the first produce" Either [the "or" is in section 181.] because before the annual crop has proceeded to human use, the first produce of the new grain and the first fruit which has appeared are offered as first fruit. 8For it is just and religiously correct that those who have received the greatest gift from God, the abundance of the most necessary as well as most beneficial and even the sweetest food, should not enjoy it or have any use of it at all before they offer the first fruits to the Supplier. They are giving him nothing since all things and possessions and gifts are his, but through a small symbol demonstrate a thankful and God-loving character to the one who needs no favours but showers continuous and ever-flowing favours. Or else because the fruit of wheat is most especially the first and most excellent of all productions. 8And the bread is leavened because the law forbids any one to offer unleavened bread upon the altar; not in order that there should be any contradiction in the injunctions given, but that in a manner the giving and receiving may be of one sort; the receiving being gratitude from those who offer it, and the giving an unhesitating bestowal of the customary blessings on those who offer. For those for whom it is lawful and permissible will use what has once been consecrated; and it is lawful for those who are consecrated to the priesthood, who have received the right given by the humaneness of the law to share in the things offered on the altar which are not consumed by the unquenchable fire, either as a wage for their services or as a prize for contests in which they compete on behalf of piety or as a sacred allotment in view of the fact that with regard to the land they have not acquired their appropriate part in the same way as the other tribes. 8And it is permitted to the priests; and the leaven is also an emblem of two others things; first of all of that most perfect and entire food, than which one cannot, among all the things of daily use, find any which is better and more advantageous; and the fruit of wheat is the best of all the things that are sown; so that it is fitting, that that should be offered as the most excellent of first fruits, for the most excellent gift. 8The second is a more figurative meaning, implying that every thing which is leavened is apt to inflate and elate; and joy is an irrational elation of the soul. Now man is not by nature disposed to rejoice at anything that exists more than at an abundant and sufficient supply of necessaries; for which it is very proper to give thanks joyfully, making a display of gratitude, for the invisible happiness affecting the mind, which shall be perceptible to the outward senses through the medium of the leavened loaves; 8and these first fruits are loaves, not corn, because when there is corn there is no longer anything wanting for the enjoyment of food, for it is said that the wheat is the last of all the grains which are sown to ripen and to come to harvest. 8And there are thus two most excellent acts of thanksgiving having a reference to two distinct times; to the past, in which we have been saved from experiencing the evils of scarcity and hunger while living in happiness and plenty; and to the future, because we have provided ourselves with supplies and abundant preparations for it.

THE EIGHTH FESTIVAL

31 Immediately after comes the festival of the sacred moon; in which it is the custom to play the trumpet in the temple at the same moment that the sacrifices are offered. From which practice this is called the true feast of trumpets, and there are two reasons for it, one peculiar to the nation, and the other common to all mankind. Peculiar to the nation, as being a commemoration of that most marvelous, wonderful, and miraculous event that took place when the holy oracles of the law were given; 8for then the voice of a trumpet sounded from heaven, which it is natural to suppose reached to the very extremities of the universe, so that so wondrous a sound attracted all who were present, making them consider, as it is probable, that such mighty events were signs betokening some great things to be accomplished. And what more great or more beneficial thing could come to men than laws affecting the whole race? And what was common to all mankind was this: the trumpet is the instrument of war, sounding both when commanding the charge and the retreat. ... There is also

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another kind of war, ordained of God, when nature is at variance with itself, its different parts attacking one another. 9And by both these kinds of war the things on earth are injured. They are injured by the enemies, by the cutting down of trees, and by conflagrations; and also by natural injuries, such as droughts, heavy rains, lightning from heaven, snow and cold; the usual harmony of the seasons of the year being transformed into a want of all concord. 9On this account it is that the law has given this festival the name of a warlike instrument, in order to show the proper gratitude to God as the giver of peace, who has abolished all seditions in cities, and in all parts of the universe, and has produced plenty and prosperity, not allowing a single spark that could tend to the destruction of the crops to be kindled into flame.

THE NINTH FESTIVAL

32 And after the feast of trumpets the solemnity of the fast is celebrated, Perhaps some of those who are perversely minded and are not ashamed to censure excellent things will say, "What sort of a feast is this where there is no eating and drinking, no troupe of entertainers or audience, no copious supply of strong drink nor the generous display of a public banquet, nor moreover the merriment and revelry of dancing to the sound of flute and harp, and timbrels and cymbals, and the other instruments of music which awaken the unruly lusts through the channel of the ears? For it is in these and through these, it seems, that they think good cheer consists. They do this in ignorance of the true good cheer which the all-wise Moses saw with the most sharpsighted eyes and so proclaimed the fast a feast and named it the greatest of feasts in our ancestral language, "a Sabbath of Sabbaths," or as the Greeks would say, a seven of sevens and a holier than things holy. He did this for many reasons. 9The first reason is the temperance which the lawgiver is continually exhorting men to display at all times, both in their language and in their appetites, both in and below the belly. And he most especially enjoins them to display it now, when he devotes a day to the particular observances of it. For when a person has once learnt to be indifferent to meat and drink, those very necessary things, what can there be of things which are superfluous that he would find any difficulty in disregarding? 9The second reason is, that every one is at this time occupied in prayers and supplications, and since they all devote their entire leisure to nothing else from morning till evening, except to most acceptable prayers by which they endeavor to gain the favour of God, entreating pardon for their sins and hoping for his mercy, not for their own merits but through the compassionate nature of that Being who will have forgiveness rather than punishment. The third is an account of the time at which this fast is fixed to take place; for by this season all the fruits which the earth has produced during the whole year are gathered in. And therefore to proceed at once to devour what has been produced Moses looked upon as an act of greediness; but to fast, and to abstain from touching food, he considered a mark of perfect piety which teaches the mind not to trust to the food which it may have prepared as the cause of health or life. Therefore those who, after the gathering in of the harvest, abstain from the food, do almost declare in express words, "We have with joy received, and we shall cheerfully store up the bounteous gifts of nature; but we do not ascribe to any corruptible thing the cause of our own durable existence, but we attribute that to the Saviour, to the God who rules in the world, and who is able, either by means of these things or without them, to nourish and to preserve Us. 9At all events, behold, he nourished our forefathers even in the desert for forty Years. [Deuteronomy 8:2.] How he opened fountains to give them abundant drink; and how he rained food from heaven sufficient for each day so that they might consume what they needed, and rather than hording or bartering or taking thought of the bounties received, they might rather reverence and worship the bountiful Giver and honour him with hymns and benedictions such as are due him." The day of the fast is always celebrated on the tenth day of the month by order of the law. Why is it on the tenth? As we have specified in our treatments of it,[this is probably a reference to the tractate Concerning Numbers mentioned in QG 4.110 and Mos. 2.115.] it is named complete perfection by wise Men [panteleia is a Pythagorean name for the number ten.] and encompasses all the proportions, the arithmetical and the harmonic and the geometric, and in addition the harmonies: the 4:3 ratio through four notes, the 3:2 ratio through five notes, the 2:1 ratio through the octave, the 4:1 ratio through the double octave, and it also has the 9:8 ratio so that it is the most perfect summation of musical theories. From this fact it is named complete Perfection. [the text literally says: "the 11/3 through four, the 11/2 through five, the doubled through the octave, the quadrupled through the double octave, and it also has the 11/8 ratio ..." Philo has a fuller statement in Opif. 48. In each instance he is following the Pythagoreans who applied number theory to music. For similar treatments see Plutarch, Moralia 1139D (Mus. 2and Sextus Empiricus Adv. Math. 7.94+95.] Therefore God has ordained that abstinence from food should take place in accordance with the perfect number, for the sake of affording the best nourishment to the best thing which is in us; that no one may suppose that the interpreter of God's word is enjoining hunger, the most intolerable of all evils, but only a brief cutting off of the stream which flows into the channels of the body. For thus the clear stream which proceeds from the fountain of reason was likely to be borne smoothly and evenly to the soul, since the uninterrupted use of food inundating the body contributes also to confuse the reason. But if the supply of food be checked, then the reason getting a firm footing as in a dry road, will be able to proceed in safety without stumbling; and besides it was fitting that when the supply of all things had turned out according to the wishes of the people and become completed, they should, amid the abundance of their harvest, preserve a commemoration of their previous want by abstinence from food, and should offer up prayers, in order that they might never come to a real experience of a want of necessary food.

THE TENTH FESTIVAL

33 The last of all the annual festivals is that which is called the feast of tabernacles, which is fixed for the season of the autumnal equinox. And by this festival the lawgiver teaches two lessons, both that it is necessary to honour equality, the first principle and beginning of justice, the principle akin to unshadowed light; and that it is becoming also, after witnessing the perfection of all the fruits of the year, to give thanks to that Being who has made them perfect. For the autumn (metopoμron), as its very name shows is the season which comes after (meta) the fruits of the year (teμn opoμran) are now gathered into the granaries, on account of the providence of nature which loves the living creatures upon the earth. And, indeed, the people are commanded to pass the whole period of the feast under tents, either because there is no longer any necessity for remaining in the open air labouring at the cultivation of the land, since there is nothing left in the land, but all ... is stored up in the barns, on account of the injuries which otherwise might be likely to visit it from the burning of the sun or the violence of the Rains. For when the crops which provide nourishment are in the fields, you act as a manager and guard of those necessities not by having cooped yourself up like a woman who belongs at home, but by having gone out to the fields. If severe cold or summer heat befalls you as you live in the open air, the overgrowths of the trees are handy shelters. If you get under their protection, you will be able to escape easily the harm from each. But when all the crops are in, go in with them to look for a more substantial abode for rest in place of the toils which you endured as you worked the land. Or again, it may be a reminder of the long journey of our ancestors which they made through a wide desert, living in tents for many years at each station. And it is proper in the time of riches to remember one's poverty, and in an hour of glory to recollect the days of one's disgrace, and at a season of peace to think upon the dangers that are past. In addition to the pleasure it provides, a not inconsiderable advantage for the practice of virtue comes from this. For people who have had prosperity and adversity before their eyes and have pushed the latter away and are enjoying the free use of the better, of necessity become thankful in disposition and are being urged on to piety by fear of a change of state to the contrary condition. As a result they honour God in songs and words for their present wealth and persistently entreat and conciliate him with supplications that they will no longer be tested with calamities. Again, the beginning of this festival is appointed for the fifteenth day of the month, on account of the reason which has already been mentioned respecting the spring season, also that the world may be full, not by day only but also by night, of the most beautiful light, the sun and moon on their rising opposite to one another with uninterrupted light, without any darkness interposing itself between so as to divide them. And after the festival has lasted seven days, he adds an eighth as a seal, calling it a kind of crowning feast, not only as it would seem to this festival, but also to all the feasts of the year which we have enumerated; for it is the last feast of the year, and is a very stable and holy sort of conclusion, befitting men who have now received all the produce from the land, and who are no longer in perplexity and apprehension respecting any barrenness or scarcity. Perhaps, however, the first cubic number, the number eight, was assigned to the feast for the following reason. It is in its Capacity [the term dynamei is problematic here. It normally means "squared"--as Colson recognised--but is here understood more generally.] the beginning of solid substance at the transition from the incorporeal, the end of the intelligible. The intelligible [make the Transition] [there is no verb in the text. The translation follows one of Cohn's conjectures [metabainei] which matches metabasin nicely.] to a solid nature through the scale of ascending powers. And in fact, the autumnal feast, just as I said, as a kind of summation and end of all the feasts in the year seems to be more stable and steadier since people have already received the revenue from the land and are no longer in a state of fear and baffled by doubts about productivity or dearth. For the anxious thoughts of farmers are not settled until the crops are in because of the losses just waiting to happen from so many people and animals. I have spoken in this way about the sacred week and the sacred number seven at more than usual length, wishing to show that all the feasts of the year are, as it were, the offspring of the number seven, which stands in the relation of a mother. [...] [I have translated this as it is printed in Schwichest's edition. Mangey makes the treatise end at "mother."] Follies and joys; and because in such assemblies and in a cheerful course of life there are thus established seasons of delight unconnected with any sorrow or depression supporting both the body and the soul; the one by the pleasure and the other by the opportunities for philosophical study which they Afford.

34 There is, besides all these, another Festival [Deuteronomy 26:1.] sacred to God, and a solemn assembly on the day of the festival which they call castallus,[castallus is interpreted "a basket with a pointed bottom."] from the event that takes place in it, as we shall show presently. Now that this festival is not in the same rank, nor of the same importance with the other festivals, is plain from many considerations. For, first of all, it is not one to be observed by the whole population of the nation as each of the others is. Secondly, none of the things that are brought or offered are laid upon the altar as holy, or committed to the unextinguishable and holy fire. Thirdly, the very number of days which are to be observed in the festival are not expressly stated.

35 Nevertheless, any one may easily see that it has about it some of the characteristics of a sacred festival, and that it comes very near to having the privileges of a solemn assembly. For every one of those men who had lands and possessions, having filled vessels with every different species of fruit borne by fruit-bearing trees; which vessels, as I have said before, are called castalli, brings with great joy the first fruits of his abundant crop into the temple, and standing in front of the altar gives the basket to the priest, uttering at the same time the very beautiful and admirable hymn prescribed for the occasion; and if he does not happen to remember it, he listens to it with all attention while the priest recites it. And the hymn is as follows:--"The leaders of our nation renounced Syria, and migrated to Egypt. Being but few in number, they increased till they became a populous nation. Their descendants being oppressed in innumerable ways by the natives of the land, when no assistance did any longer appear to be expected from men, became the supplicants of God, having fled for refuge to entreat his assistance. Therefore he, who is merciful to all who are unjustly treated, having received their supplication, smote those who oppressed them with signs and wonders, and prodigies, and with all the marvelous works which he wrought at that time. And he delivered those who were being insulted and enduring every kind of perfidious oppression, not only leading them forth to freedom, but even giving them in addition a most fertile land; for it is from the fruits of this land, O bounteous God! that we now bring you the first fruits; if indeed it is a proper expression to say that he who receives them from you brings them to you. For, O Master! they are all your favours and your gifts, of which you have thought us worthy, and so enabled us to live comfortably and to rejoice in unexpected blessings which thou hast given to us, who did not expect them."

36 This hymn is sung from the beginning of summer to the end of autumn, by two choruses replying to one another uninterruptedly, on two separate occasions, each at the end of one complete half of ten years; because men cannot all at once bring the fruits of the seasons to God in accordance with his express command, but different men bring them at different seasons; and sometimes even the same persons bring first fruits from the same lands at different times; 2for since some fruits become ripe more speedily, and others more slowly, either on account of the differences of the situations in which they are grown, as being hotter or colder, or from innumerable other reasons, it follows that the time for offering the first fruits of such productions is undefined and uncertain, being extended over a great space. And the use of these first fruits is permitted to the priests, since they had no portion of the land themselves, and had no possessions from which they could derive revenue; but their inheritance is the first fruits from all the nation as the wages of their holy ministrations, which they perform day and night.

37 I have now said thus much respecting the number seven, and the things referring to it among the days, and the months, and the years; and about the festivals which are connected with this number seven, following the regular connexion of the heads of the subject, which I proposed to myself according to the order in which they are mentioned in the sacred history. And I shall now proceed in regular order to consider the commandment which comes next, which is entitled the one about the honour due to Parents.

38 Having already spoken of four commandments which, both as to the order in which they are placed and as to their importance, are truly the first; namely, the commandment about the lenity of that sovereign authority by which the world is governed, and that which commands that man should

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not look upon any representation or figure of anything as God, and that which forbids the swearing falsely, or indeed the swearing carelessly and vainly at all, and that concerning the sacred seventh day--all which commandments tend to piety and holiness. I now proceed to the fifth commandment, relating to the honour due to parents; which is, as I showed in the mention I made of it separately before, on the borders between those which relate to the affairs of men and those which relate to God. 2For parents themselves are something between divine and human nature, partaking of both; of human nature, inasmuch as it is plain that they have been born and that they will die; and of divine nature, because they have engendered other beings, and have brought what did not exist into existence: for, in my opinion, what God is to the world, that parents are to their children; since, just as God gave existence to that which had no existence, they also, in imitation of his power, as far at least as they were able, make the race of mankind everlasting.

39 And this is not the only reason why a man's father and mother are deserving of honour, but here are also several other reasons. For among all those nations who have any regard for virtue, the older men are esteemed above the younger, and teachers above their pupils, and benefactors above those who have received kindnesses from them, and rulers above their subjects, and masters above their slaves. 2Accordingly, parents are placed in the higher and superior class; for they are the elders, and the teachers, and the benefactors, and the rulers, and the masters. And sons and daughters are placed in the inferior class; for they are the younger, and the pupils, and the persons who have received kindnesses, and subjects, and slaves. And that every one of these assertions is correct is plain from the circumstances that take place, and proofs derived from reason will establish the truth of them yet more undeniably.

40 I affirm, therefore, that that which produces is always older than that which is produced, and that that which causes anything is older than that of which it is the cause; but those who beget or bring forth a child are in some sense the causes and producers of the child which is begotten or brought forth, and they stand in the light of teachers, inasmuch as all that they know themselves they teach to their children from their earliest infancy, and they not only exercise and train them in the supernumerary accomplishments, impressing reasonings on the minds of their children when they come to their prime, but they also teach them those most necessary lessons which refer to choice and avoidance, the choice, that is to say, of virtues, and the avoidance of vices, and of all the energies in accordance with them. 2For who can be more completely the benefactors of their children than parents, who have not only caused them to exist, but have afterwards thought them worthy of food, and after that again of education both in body and soul, and have enabled them not only to live, but also to live well; 3training their body by gymnastic and athletic rules so as to bring it into a vigorous and healthy state, and giving it an easy way of standing and moving not without elegance and becoming grace, and educating the soul by letters, and numbers, and geometry, and music, and every kind of philosophy which may elevate the mind which is lodged in the mortal body and conduct it up to heaven, and can display to advantage the blessed and happy qualities that are in it, producing an admiration of and a desire for an unchangeable and harmonious system, which they will afterwards never leave if they preserve their obedience to their captain. 3And in addition to the benefits which they heap upon them, they have likewise authority over the children of whom they are the parents, not as is the case in cities, in consequence of some drawing of lots or election, so that any one can find fault with his governor as having become so either by some blunder of fortune and not by reason, or it may be by the impetuosity of the multitude, the most inconsiderate and foolish of all things, but being established in this post by the most excellent and perfect wisdom of the sublime nature, which regulates all divine and human affairs in accordance with justice.

41 For these reasons it is allowable for parents even to accuse their children, and to reprove them with considerable severity, and even, if they do not submit to the threats which are uttered to them by word of mouth, to beat them, and inflict personal punishment on them, and to imprison them; and if they behave with obstinacy and resist this treatment, becoming stiff-necked through the greatness of their incurable wickedness, the law permits them to chastise them even to the extent of putting them to Death. [Deuteronomy 21:18.] But still this permission is not given to either the father by himself, or to the mother by herself, by reason of the greatness of the punishment, which it is not fitting should be determined by one, but by both together, for it is not probable that both the parents will agree about putting their child to death unless his iniquities are very grievous, and weigh down by a certain undoubted preponderance that firm affection which is firmly implanted in the parents by nature. 3But parents have received not only the power of a ruler and governor over their children, but also that of a master, according to both the very highest characteristics of the possession of servants, namely, possessing them as born in the house, and also as purchased with money, for they expend a price many times greater than their real value on their children and for the sake of their children, in wages to nurses, and instructors, and teachers, besides all the expenses which they incur for their dress and their food, and their other care of them when well and when sick, from their earliest infancy till the time that they are full grown. And not only are those looked upon as servants born in the house who have actually been brought forth within the walls, but those also are so regarded who by the laws of nature receive from the masters of the house a sufficient support to maintain them in life after they are born.

42 Since this, then, is the case, those who do honour their parents are not doing anything worthy of praise, since even any single one of the commandments already mentioned is sufficient to invite them to regard their parents with reverence. But are not those men worthy of blame, and accusation, and the very extremity of punishment, who neither respect them as older than themselves, nor listen to them as their teachers, nor think them worthy of any requital as their benefactors, nor obey them as their rulers, nor fear them as their masters? 3Therefore the law says, "Honour thy father and thy mother next after God;" [Deuteronomy 5:16.] assigning to them the second place in honour, on the same principle as nature herself has ranked them in her decision of their proper place and duties. And you will not honour them more by any line of conduct than by endeavoring and appearing to be virtuous persons. As the being such is a seeking of virtue without pride and without guile, and appearing such aims at virtue in connexion with a good reputation and praise from one's associates; 3for parents, thinking but little of their own advantage, think the virtue and excellence of their children the perfection of their own happiness, for which reason it is that they are anxious that they should obey the injunctions which are laid upon them, and that they should be obedient to all just and beneficial commands; for a father will never teach his child anything which is inconsistent with virtue or with truth.

43 And any one may conjecture that pious respect is due to parents, not only from what has been said above, but also from the manner in which persons behave to those who are of the same age with their parents; for the man who shows respect to an old man, or to an old woman, who is no relation to him, must appear in some degree to be remembering his own father and mother, and, out of this consideration, to be looking upon them as the images of his parents, who are the real models. 3On which account, in the sacred scriptures, it is not only commanded that young men should rise up and give the best seats to their elders, but also that they should rise up before them when they pass by;[Leviticus 19:32.] showing honour to the grey hairs of old age, to which there is a hope that they may come themselves if they now yield precedence to them. 3And this commandment also seems to me to have been enacted with exceeding beauty and propriety; for the law says, "Let each man fear his father and his Mother," [Leviticus 19:3.] enjoining fear rather than affection, not as being more advantageous and profitable with reference to the present occasion, for the first of these feelings affects foolish persons when they are being instructed or reproved, and folly cannot be cured by any other means than fear. But the second feeling, namely, affection towards their parents, it is not fitting should be inculcated on children by the injunctions of a lawgiver, for nature requires that that should be spontaneous. For it has implanted it so deeply from very infancy in the souls of those who are so completely united by blood, and by the services done by the parents to the children, that it is always selftaught and spontaneous, and has no need of commandments to enforce it. 4But the law has enjoined fear, because children are accustomed to feel an easy indifference. For though parents attend to their children with an exceeding violence of affection, providing them with necessary things from all quarters, and bestowing all good things upon them, and shrinking from no labour and from no danger, being bound to them by love stronger than any oaths, still some persons do not receive their affection as if it aimed solely at their good, being full of luxury and arrogance; and coveting a luxurious life, and becoming effeminate both in body and soul, permitting them in no respect to entertain proper dispositions as through the native powers of their minds, which they are not ashamed to overthrow, and to enervate, and to deprive of each separate energy, and so they come not to fear their natural correctors, their fathers and mothers yielding to and indulging their own private passions and desires. But we must also urge on the parents of such persons that they employ more weighty and severe admonitions in order to cure this impetuous obstinacy of their children, and we must warn the children to reverence their parents, fearing them as their rulers and natural masters; for it is with difficulty even by these considerations that they will be brought to hesitate to act unjustly.

44 I have now then gone through all the five heads of laws in the first table, and have noticed also all the particular points which had any reference to any individual. I must also now point out the punishments affixed to the transgression of these laws. 4Now there is one common penalty affixed to them all, namely, death, through which all such offences have a kind of relationship to one another. But the causes of this sentence being pronounced in such cases are different, and we must begin with the last, the one that relates to parents, since it is in reference to this one that the words are still ringing in our ears, "If any one shall beat his father or his mother, let him be Stoned." [Exodus 21:15.] And very justly, for it is not fit that that man should live who insults those who are the causes of his living; but some of the men of high rank, and some of the lawgivers, looking rather at the vain opinions of men than at the truth, have softened this commandment, and instituted as a penalty, for those who beat their fathers, that their hands should be cut off; and for the sake of bearing a good reputation in the eyes of hasty and inconsiderate persons, they profess to them that it is becoming, that the parts with which such men have struck their parents should be cut off; 4but it is a piece of folly to be angry with the servants rather than with those who are the causes of such folly; for it is not the hands that behave with such insolence, but insolent men perform their actions with their hands, and it is the men who must be punished, unless indeed it can be called fitting to let men go who have committed murder with the sword, and to content one's self with throwing away the sword; and unless, on the contrary, one ought not to give honour to those who have shown preeminent valor in war, but to the inanimate coats of armor, by means of which they have behaved themselves valiantly; and unless again it is reasonable, in the case of those who have gained the victory in the gymnastic games, in the stadium, or the double race, or the long straight course, or in the contest of boxing, or in the pancratium, to attempt to crown only the legs and arms of the conquerors, and to let the whole of their bodies remain unhonoured. Surely it would be a ridiculous thing to lay down such principles as these, and to abstain in consequence from punishing or honouring those who were the real causes of the results in question; for we do not pass over a man who has given a splendid exhibition of musical skill, playing exquisitely on the flute or the lyre, and think the instruments themselves worthy of proclamations and honours. 4Why, then, should we deprive of their hands men who beat their fathers, O you most noble lawgivers? Is it that they may for the future be wholly useless for any purpose whatever, and that they may exact as a tribute, not once a year but every day, from those whom they have treated with iniquity, compelling them to supply them with necessary food, as being unable to provide for themselves? For their father is not so wholly hard-hearted as to endure to see even a son who has so grievously offended against him dying of hunger, after his anger has been blunted by time. 4And even if he has not laid hands upon his parents, but has only spoken ill of those whom he was bound to praise and bless, or if he has in any other manner done anything which can tend to bring his parents into disrepute, still let him Die. [Exodus 21:16.] For since he is a common enemy, and if one may tell the plain truth, he is a public enemy of all men, to whom else can he be kind and favourable when he is not so to the authors of his being, by whose means he came into this world, and of whom he is a sort of supplement?

45 Again, let the man who has profaned the sacred seventh day as far as it may have lain in his power, be liable to the punishment of death. For, on the contrary, it is proper rather to provide whatever is profane, be it a thing or be it a person, with means of purification, in order to induce a change for the better, since "envy," as some one has said, "goes forth out of the divine company." But to dare to adulterate or to deface the holy coinage is an act which displays an extraordinary degree of impiety. 5In that ancient migration which took place when the people of Israel left Egypt, and when the whole multitude was travelling through the pathless wilderness, when the seventh day came all those myriads of men which I have described before rested in their tents in perfect tranquility; but one man, and he not one of the most despised or lowest class of the people, disregarding the commands which were laid upon the nation, and ridiculing those who attended to them, went forth to pick up sticks, but in reality to show his contempt for and violation of the law. 5And he indeed came back bearing with him a faggot in his arm, but the men who remained in their tents although inflamed with anger and exasperated by his conduct, nevertheless did not at once proceed to very harsh measures against him that day by reason of the holy reverence due to the day, but they led him before the ruler of the people, and made known his impious action, and he having committed him to prison, after a command had been given to put him to death, gave the man up to those who had originally seen him to execute. As therefore, in my opinion, it was not permitted to kindle a fire on the seventh day for the reason which I have already mentioned, so likewise it was not lawful to collect any fuel for a fire.

46 Against those who call God as a witness in favour of assertions which are not true, the punishment of death is ordained in the law;[Deuteronomy 19:19.] and very properly, for even a man of moderate respectability will never endure to be cited as a witness, and to have his name registered in

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support of a lie. But it seems to me that he would look upon any one who proposed such a thing to him as a thoroughly faithless enemy; 5on which account we must say this, that him, who swears rashly and falsely, calling God to witness an unjust oath, God, although he is merciful by nature, will yet never release, inasmuch as he is thoroughly defiled and infamous from guilt, even though he may escape punishment at the hands of men. And such a man will never entirely escape, for there are innumerable beings looking on, zealots for and keepers of the national laws, of rigid justice, prompt to stone such a criminal, and visiting without pity all such as work wickedness, unless, indeed, we are prepared to say that a man who acts in such a way as to dishonour his father or his mother is worthy of death, but that he who behaves with impiety towards a name more glorious than even the respect due to one's parents, is to be borne with as but a moderate offender. 5But the lawgiver of our nation is not so foolish as, after putting to death men who are guilty of minor offences, then to treat those who are guilty of heavier crimes with mildness, since surely it is a greater iniquity than even to speak disparagingly or to insult one's parents, to show a contempt for the sacred name of God by means of perjury. 5And if even he who swears in an unbecoming manner is guilty and blamable, of what punishment is that man worthy who denies the one only true and living God and now honours the creature above the Creator, and chooses to honour not only the earth and the water, or the air, or the fire, the elements of the universe, or again the sun and moon, and the planets and fixed stars, and the whole of heaven, and the universal world, but even stocks and stones, which mortal workmen have fashioned, and which by them have been shaped into human figures? Therefore, let such a man be himself likened to images carved by the hand; for it ought not to be that that man should have any soul himself who honours things destitute of soul or life, and especially after he has been a disciple of Moses, whom he has often heard announcing to him and under the influence of divine inspiration declaring those most sacred and holy admonitions, "Take not the name of any other gods into thy soul for a remembrance of them, and utter not their names with thy voice, but keep both thy mind and thy speech far from all other interpositions, and turn them wholly to the Father and Creator of the universe, that thus thou mayest cherish the most virtuous and godly thoughts about his single government, and mayest speak words that are becoming and most profitable both to thyself and to those that hear Thee." [Exodus 23:13.]

47 We have now then mentioned the punishments which are ordained against those who neglect the five commandments. But the rewards which are offered to those who keep them, even though the law has not set them forth in express words of injunction, are nevertheless figuratively intimated. Therefore the fact of not thinking that there are any other gods but the true God, nor imagining that things made by the hand of man are gods, and the fact of not committing perjury, are things which have no need of any other reward, for the mere fact, in my opinion, of practising these virtues is itself a most excellent and most perfect reward. For at what circumstance can a lover of truth feel more really delighted than at the devotion of himself to one God, and attending in a guileless and pure manner to his service? 5And when I speak of witnesses, I mean not such persons as are slaves to pride, but such as are devoted to an admiration of goodness free from all error, by whom the truth is honoured. For wisdom itself is the reward of wisdom; and justice, and each of the other virtues, is its own reward. And truth, as being the most beautiful in the whole company, and as being the chief of all the holy virtues, is in much greater degree its own recompense and reward, affording as it does happiness to all who practice it, and blessings of which they cannot be deprived to their children and descendants.

48 Again, those who properly keep the sacred sabbath are benefited in two most important particulars, both body and soul; as to their body, by a rest from their continual and incessant labours; and as to their soul, by forming most excellent conceptions respecting God as the Creator of the universe and the careful protector of all the things and beings which and whom he has made. And he made the whole universe in one week. It is plain, therefore, from these things that the man who honours the seventh day will himself find honour. 6In the same way let not him who honours his parents dutifully seek for any further advantage, for if he considers the matter he will find his reward in his own conduct. Not but what, since this commandment is inferior in importance to the first five commandments, which have a more divine character, inasmuch as this is concerned with mortal subjects, God has given an inducement to obey this one, saying, "Honour thy father and thy mother, that it may be well with thee, and that thy days may be long in the Land;" [Exodus 20:12.] affixing thus two rewards to this injunction, one being in fact the participation in virtue, for "well" means virtue, or at least cannot subsist without virtue; while the other is, if one is to say the truth, immortality by length of days, and a life of long duration, which thou wilt preserve even in the body living with thy soul, purified with a perfect purification. These things have now been discussed at sufficient length. Let us after this, since the opportunity offers, consider the commandments in the second table.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, BOOK 3

1 (There was once a time when, devoting my leisure to philosophy and to the contemplation of the world and the things in it, I reaped the fruit of excellent, and desirable, and blessed intellectual feelings, being always living among the divine oracles and doctrines, on which I fed incessantly and insatiably, to my great delight, never entertaining any low or grovelling thoughts, nor ever wallowing in the pursuit of glory or wealth, or the delights of the body, but I appeared to be raised on high and borne aloft by a certain inspiration of the soul, and to dwell in the regions of the sun and moon, and to associate with the whole heaven, and the whole universal world. (At that time, therefore, looking down from above, from the air, and straining the eye of my mind as from a watch-tower, I surveyed the unspeakable contemplation of all the things on the earth, and looked upon myself as happy as having forcibly escaped from all the evil fates that can attack human life. (Nevertheless, the most grievous of all evils was lying in wait for me, namely, envy, that hates every thing that is good, and which, suddenly attacking me, did not cease from dragging me after it by force till it had taken me and thrown me into the vast sea of the cares of public politics, in which I was and still am tossed about without being able to keep myself swimming at the top. (But though I groan at my fate, I still hold out and resist, retaining in my soul that desire of instruction which has been implanted in it from my earliest youth, and this desire taking pity and compassion on me continually raises me up and alleviates my sorrow. And it is through this fondness for learning that I at times lift up my head, and with the eyes of my soul, which are indeed dim (for the mist of affairs, wholly inconsistent with their proper objects, has overshadowed their acute clear-sightedness), still, as well as I may, I survey all the things around me, being eager to imbibe something of a life which shall be pure and unalloyed by evils. (And if at any time unexpectedly there shall arise a brief period of tranquility, and a short calm and respite from the troubles which arise from state affairs, I then rise aloft and float above the troubled waves, soaring as it were in the air, and being, I may almost say, blown forward by the breezes of knowledge, which often persuades me to flee away, and to pass all my days with her, escaping as it were from my pitiless masters, not men only, but also affairs which pour upon me from all quarters and at all times like a torrent. (But even in these circumstances I ought to give thanks to God, that though I am so overwhelmed by this flood, I am not wholly sunk and swallowed up in the depths. But I open the eyes of my soul, which from an utter despair of any good hope had been believed to have been before now wholly darkened, and I am irradiated with the light of wisdom, since I am not given up for the whole of my life to darkness. Behold, therefore, I venture not only to study the sacred commands of Moses, but also with an ardent love of knowledge to investigate each separate one of them, and to endeavor to reveal and to explain to those who wish to understand them, things concerning them which are not known to the multitude.

2 (And since of the ten commandments which God himself gave to his people without employing the agency of any prophet or interpreter, five which are engraved in the first tablet have been already discussed and explained, as have also all the particular injunctions which were comprehended under them; and since it is now proper to examine and expound to the best of our power and ability the rest of the commandments which are found in the second table, I will attempt as before to adapt the particular ordinances which are implied in them to each of the general laws. (Now on the second table this is the first commandment, "Thou shall not commit adultery," because, I imagine, in every part of the world pleasure is of great power, and no portion of the world has escaped its dominion, neither of the things on earth, nor of the things in the sea, nor even of those in the air, for all animals, whether walking on the earth, or flying in the air, or swimming in the water, do at all times rejoice in pleasure, and cultivate it, and obey its behests, and look to its eye and to its nod, obeying it with cheerfulness, however arrogant and proud they may be, and all but anticipating its commands, by the promptness and unhesitating rapidity of their service. (Therefore, even that pleasure which is in accordance with nature is often open to blame, when any one indulges in it immoderately and insatiably, as men who are unappeasably voracious in respect of eating, even if they take no kind of forbidden or unwholesome food; and as men who are madly devoted to association with women, and who commit themselves to an immoderate degree not with other men's wives, but with their own. Still this sort of reproach, as affecting most men, is one rather of the body than of the soul, since the body has a vehement flame within, which consumes the food which is offered to it, and seeks other food at no great distance, by reason of the abundant moisture, the stream of which is conveyed into the most secret parts of the body, creating an itching, and stinging, and incessant tickling. But those men who are frantic in their desires for the wives of others, and at times even for those of their nearest relations or dearest friends, and who live to the injury of their neighbours, attempting to vitiate whole families, however numerous, and violating all kinds of marriage vows, and making vain the hopes which men conceive of having legitimate children, being afflicted with an incurable disease of the soul, must be punished with death as common enemies to the whole race of mankind, in order that they may no longer live in perfect fearlessness, so as to be at leisure to corrupt other houses, nor become teachers of others, who may learn by their example to practice evil habits.

3 Moreover the law has laid down other admirable regulations with regard to carnal conversation; for it commands men not only to abstain from the wives of others, but also from certain relations, with whom it is not lawful to cohabit; therefore Moses, detesting and loathing the customs of the Persians, repudiates them as the greatest possible impiety, for the magistrates of the Persians marry even their own mothers, and consider the offspring of such marriages the most noble of all men, and as it is said, they think them worthy of the highest sovereign authority. And yet what can be a more flagitious act of impiety than to defile the bed of one's father after he is dead, which it would be right rather to preserve untouched, as sacred; and to feel no respect either for old age of for one's mother, and for the same man to be both the son and the husband of the same woman; and again for the same woman to be both the mother and wife of the same man, and for the children of the two to be the brothers of their father and the grandsons of their mother, and for that same woman to be both the mother and grandmother of those children whom she has brought forth, and for the man to be at the same time both the father and the uterine brother of those whom he has begotten? These enormities formerly took place among the Greeks in the case of Oedipus, the son of Laius,[this is the subject, in fact, of the Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles. Philo alludes afterwards to the wars which are the subject of the EptŐ epi Teµbas of Aeschylus.] and the actions were committed out of ignorance and not voluntarily, and yet that marriage brought on such a host of evils that nothing was wanting to make up the amount of the most complete wretchedness and misery, for there ensued from it a continual succession of wars, both domestic and foreign, which were bequeathed like an inheritance from their fathers and ancestors to their children and descendants; and there were destructions of cities which were the greatest in Greece, and destructions of embattled armies, and slaughter of nations and of allies which had come to the assistance of either side, and mutual slaughter of the most gallant leaders in each army, and unreconcileable enmities about sovereignty and authority, and fratricides, by which not only the families and countries of the persons immediately concerned were utterly extinguished and destroyed, but the greater portion of the whole Greek nation also, for cities which were previously populous now became desolate and void of their inhabitants, and were left as a memorial of the calamities of Greece, and a miserable sight for all beholders. Nor, indeed, do the Persians, among whom such practices are frequent, avoid similar evils, for they are continually involved in military expeditions and battles, killing and being killed, and at one time invading their neighbours and at others repelling those who rise up against them. And many enemies rise up against them from many quarters, since it is not the nature of the barbarians to rest in tranquility; therefore, before the existing sedition is appeased, another springs up, so that no season of the year is ever indulged in peace and quietness, but they are compelled to live under arms night and day, bearing for the greater portion of their lives hardships in the open air while serving in the camps, or else living in cities from the complete absence of all peace. I forbear to mention the great and intolerable violence and pride of success exhibited by the kings, whose first contests begin at the very first assumption of their sovereign power with the greatest of all iniquities, fratricide, as thus alone do they imagine that they will be safe from all attacks and treachery on the part of their brothers if they appear to have put them to death with reason and justice. And it seems to me that all these things arise from the unhallowed connexions of sons with their own mothers, because justice, who surveys all human affairs, revenges herself thus on those who act improperly for their wickedness; for not only do those who act thus commit impiety, but those also who voluntarily signify their assent to the arbitrary conduct of those who do such actions. But our law guards so carefully against such actions as these that it does not permit even a step-son, when his father is dead, to marry his step-mother, on account of the respect which he owes to his father, and because the titles mother and step-mother are kindred names, even though the affections of the souls may not be identical; for the man who is thought to abstain from her who has been the wife of another man, because she is called his step-mother, will much more abstain from his own natural mother. And if any one, on account of his recollection of his father, shows a respectful awe of her who has formerly been his wife, it is quite evident that he, because of the respect which he feels towards both his parents, is not likely to meditate any

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improper conduct to his mother; since it would be downright folly for a man who studies to please one half of his family, to appear to neglect it in its wholeness and integrity.

4 There follows after this a command not to espouse one's sister: which is an injunction of great excellence, and one which contributes very greatly to temperance and good order. Therefore the Athenian lawgiver, Solon, when he permitted men to marry their sisters by the same father, forbade them to marry those by the same mother. But the lawgiver of the Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, allowed of marriages between brothers and sisters by the same mothers, but forbade those between brothers and sisters by the same father. While the lawgiver of the Egyptians, ridiculing the cautious timidity of the others as if they had established imperfect ordinances, gave the reins to lasciviousness, supplying in great abundance that most incurable evil of intemperance both to body and soul, and permitting men fearlessly and with impunity to marry all their sisters, whether by both parents or by one, or by either, whether father or mother, and that too not only if younger than, but even when older than, or of the same age as themselves; for twins are very often born, which nature, indeed, at their very birth has dissevered and separated, but which incontinence and love of pleasure has invited to an association which ought never to be entered into, and to a most inharmonious agreement. But the most sacred Moses, rejecting all those ordinances with detestation, as being quite inconsistent with and at variance with any praiseworthy kind of constitution, and as laws which encouraged and trained people to the most disgraceful of all habits, almost peremptorily prohibited any connexion with a man's sister, whether by both parents, or whether only by one of the two; for why should any one seek to deface the beauty of modesty? And why make virgins destitute of all modesty, to whom it is becoming to blush? And, moreover, why should one be willing to limit the associations and connexions with other men, and to confine a most honourable thing within the narrow space of the walls of a single house, which ought rather to be extended and diffused over all continents, and islands, and the whole inhabited world? For the intermarriages with strangers produce new relationships, which are in no respect inferior to those which proceed from ties of blood.

5 On which account our lawgiver has also forbidden other matrimonial connexions, commanding that no man shall marry his granddaughter, whether she be his son's or his daughter's child; nor his niece; nor his aunt; nor his grandmother, by either father or mother; nor any woman who has been the wife of his uncle, or of his son, or of his brother; nor, again, any step-daughter, whether virgin or widow, whether his own wife be alive or even after her death. For, in principle, a step-father is the same as a father, and therefore he ought to look upon his wife's daughter in the same light as his own. Again. He does not permit the same man to marry two sisters, neither at the same time nor at different periods, even if he have put away the one whom he previously married; for while she is living, whether she be cohabiting with him or whether she be put away, or if she be living as a widow, or if she be married to another man, still he did not consider it holy for her sister to enter upon the portion of her who had been unfortunate; by this injunction teaching sisters not to violate the requirements of justice towards their relations, nor to make a stepping stone of the disasters of one so united to themselves by blood, nor to acquiesce in or to pride themselves in receiving attentions from those who have shown themselves enemies to their relations, or to reciprocate any kind offices received from them. For from such things as these arise bitter jealousies and quarrels, and enmities which scarcely admit of reconciliation, but which bring on indescribable hosts of misfortunes; for that would be just as if the different members of the body were to abandon the harmony and fellowship in which they are put together by nature, and to quarrel with one another, which circumstance must necessarily cause incurable diseases and mischiefs. And sisters are like limbs, which, although they are separated from one another, are nevertheless all adapted to one another by nature and natural relationship. And jealousy, which is the most grievous of all passions, is continually producing new, and terrible, and incurable mischiefs. Again. Moses commands, do not either form a connexion of marriage with one of another nation, and do not be seduced into complying with customs inconsistent with your own, and do not stray from the right way and forget the path which leads to piety, turning into a road which is no road. And, perhaps, you will yourself resist, if you have been from your earliest youth trained in the best possible instruction, which your parents have instilled into you, continually filling your mind with the sacred laws. And the anxiety and fear which parents feel for their sons and daughters is not slight; for, perchance, they may be allured by mischievous customs instead of genuine good ones, and so they may be in danger of learning to forget the honour belonging to the one God, which is the beginning and end of extreme unhappiness. But if, proceeds the lawgiver, a woman having been divorced from her husband under any pretence whatever, and having married another, has again become a widow, whether her second husband is alive or dead, still she must not return to her former husband, but may be united to any man in the world rather than to him, having violated her former ties which she forgot, and having chosen new allurements in the place of the old ones. But if any man should choose to form an alliance with such a woman, he must be content to bear the reputation of effeminacy and a complete want of manly courage and vigor, as if he had been castrated and deprived of the most useful portion of the soul, namely, that disposition which hates iniquity, by which the affairs both of houses and cities are placed on a good footing, and as having stamped deeply on his character two of the greatest of all iniquities, adultery and the employment of a pander; for the reconciliations which take place subsequently are indications of the death of each. Let him, therefore, suffer the punishment appointed, together with his wife.

6 And there are particular periods affecting the health of the woman when a man may not touch her, but during that time he must abstain from all connexion with her, respecting the laws of nature. And, at the same time, he must learn not to waste his vigor in the pursuit of an unseemly and barbarous pleasure; for such conduct would be like that of a husbandman who, out of drunkenness or sudden insanity, should sow wheat or barley in lakes or flooded torrents, instead of over the fertile plains; for it is proper to cast seed upon fields when they are dry, in order that it may bear abundant fruit. But nature each month cleanses the womb, as if it were some field of marvelous fertility, the proper season for fertilising which must be watched for by the husband as if he were a skilful husbandman, in order to withhold his seed and abstain from sowing it at a time when it is inundated; for, if he do not do so, the seed, without his perceiving it, will be swept away by the moisture, not only having all its spiritual energies relaxed, but having them, in fact, utterly dissolved. These are the persons who form animals in that workshop of nature, the womb, and who perfect with the most consummate skill each separate one of the parts of the body and soul. But when the periods of illness which I have spoken of are interrupted, then he may with confidence shower his seed into the ground ready to receive it, no longer fearing that there will be any loss of the seed thus sown. But those people deserve to be reproached who are plowing a hard and stony soil. And who can these be but they who have connected themselves with barren women? For such men are only hunters after intemperate pleasure, and in the excess of their licentious passions they waste their seed of their own deliberate purpose. Since for what other reason can they espouse such women? It cannot be for a hope of children, which they are aware must, of necessity, be disappointed, but rather to gratify their excess in lust and incurable incontinence. As many men, therefore, as marry virgins in ignorance of how will they will turn out as regards their prolificness, or the contrary, when after a long time they perceive, by their never having any children, that they are barren, and do not then put them away, are still worthy of pardon, being influenced by habit and familiarity, which are motives of great weight, and being also unable to break through the power of those ancient charms which by long habituation are stamped upon their souls. But those who marry women who have been previously tested by other men and ascertained to be barren, do merely covet the carnal enjoyment like so many boars or goats, and deserve to be inscribed among the lists of impious men as enemies to God; for God, as being friendly to all the animals that exist, and especially to man, takes all imaginable care to secure preservation and duration to every kind of creature. But those who seek to waste all their power at the very moment of putting it forth are confessedly enemies of nature.

7 Moreover, another evil, much greater than that which we have already mentioned, has made its way among and been let loose upon cities, namely, the love of boys, which formerly was accounted a great infamy even to be spoken of, but which sin is a subject of boasting not only to those who practice it, but even to those who suffer it, and who, being accustomed to bearing the affliction of being treated like women, waste away as to both their souls and bodies, not bearing about them a single spark of a manly character to be kindled into a flame, but having even the hair of their heads conspicuously curled and adorned, and having their faces smeared with vermilion, and paint, and things of that kind, and having their eyes pencilled beneath, and having their skins anointed with fragrant perfumes (for in such persons as these a sweet smell is a most seductive quality), and being well appointed in everything that tends to beauty or elegance, are not ashamed to devote their constant study and endeavors to the task of changing their manly character into an effeminate one. And it is natural for those who obey the law to consider such persons worthy of death, since the law commands that the man-woman who adulterates the precious coinage of his nature shall die without redemption, not allowing him to live a single day, or even a single hour, as he is a disgrace to himself, and to his family, and to his country, and to the whole race of mankind. And let the man who is devoted to the love of boys submit to the same punishment, since he pursues that pleasure which is contrary to nature, and since, as far as depends upon him, he would make the cities desolate, and void, and empty of all inhabitants, wasting his power of propagating his species, and moreover, being a guide and teacher of those greatest of all evils, unmanliness and effeminate lust, stripping young men of the flower of their beauty, and wasting their prime of life in effeminacy, which he ought rather on the other hand to train to vigor and acts of courage; and last of all, because, like a worthless husbandman, he allows fertile and productive lands to lie fallow, contriving that they shall continue barren, and labours night and day at cultivating that soil from which he never expects any produce at all. And I imagine that the cause of this is that among many nations there are actually rewards given for intemperance and effeminacy. At all events one may see men-women continually strutting through the market place at midday, and leading the processions in festivals; and, impious men as they are, having received by lot the charge of the temple, and beginning the sacred and initiating rites, and concerned even in the holy mysteries of Ceres. And some of these persons have even carried their admiration of these delicate pleasures of youth so far that they have desired wholly to change their condition for that of women, and have castrated themselves and have clothed themselves in purple robes, like those who, having been the cause of great blessings to their native land, walk about attended by body-guards, pushing down every one whom they meet. But if there was a general indignation against those who venture to do such things, such as was felt by our lawgiver, and if such men were destroyed without any chance of escape as the common curse and pollution of their country, then many other persons would be warned and corrected by their example. For the punishments of those persons who have been already condemned cannot be averted by entreaty, and therefore cause no slight check to those persons who are ambitious of distinguishing themselves by the same pursuits.

8 But some persons, imitating the sensual indulgences of the Sybarites and of other nations more licentious still, have in the first place devoted themselves to gluttony and wine-bibbing, and other pleasures affecting the belly and the parts adjacent to the belly, and then when fully sated have behaved with such extraordinary insolence (and it is natural for satiety to produce insolence) that in their insanity of passion they have gone frantic and been so maddened as to desire to longer human beings, whether male or female, but even brute beasts, as they say that in ancient times in Crete, the wife of Minos the king, by name Pasipha', fell in love with a bull, and became very violent in her passion from her despair of being able to gratify it (for love which fails in its object is usually increased in no ordinary degree), so that at last she reported to Daedalus the affliction by which she was overwhelmed, and he was the most skilful of all workmen of his Time. [this story is alluded to by many poets, and especially by Virgil, Aeneid 6.24 (as it is translated by Dryden)--"There too, in living sculpture, might be seen / The mad affection of the Cretan queen: / Then how she cheats her bellowing lover's eye: / The rushing leap; the doubtful progeny: / The lower part a beast, a man above; / The monument of their polluted love."] And he, being very ingenious, so as by his contrivances to discover things undiscoverable to any one else, made a cow of wood, and put Pasipha' into it at one of the sides, and the bull rushed at the wooden cow as if it had been an animal of its own kind. And Pasipha', becoming pregnant at a certain period, brought forth an animal half man and half beast, called the Minotaur. [ovid describes this animal more than once (A. A. 2.24; Her. 10.101).] And it is very likely that there may be other Pasipha's also, with passions equally unbridled, and that not women only, but men likewise may fall madly in love with animals, from whom, perhaps, indescribable monsters may be born, being memorials of the excessive pollution of men; owing to which, perhaps, those unnatural creations of unprecedented and fabulous monsters will exist, such as hippocentaurs and chimaeras, and other similar animals. But so great are the precautions which are taken against them in the holy laws of God, that in order to prevent the possibility of men ever desiring any unlawful connexion, it is expressly commanded that even animals of different kinds shall not be put together. And no Jewish shepherd will endeavor to cross a sheep with a he-goat, or a ram with a she-goat, or a cow with a horse; and if he does, he must pay the penalty as breaking a solemn law of nature who is desirous to keep the original kinds of animals free from all spurious admixture. And some persons prefer mules to every other kind of animal for the yoke, since their bodies are very compact, and are very strong and powerful; and accordingly, in the pastures and stalls where they keep their horses, they also keep asses of an extraordinary size, which they call celones, in order that they may breed with the mares; and then the mares produce a mixed animal, half horse and half ass, which, since Moses knew that its production was wholly contrary to nature, he forbade the existence of with all his might by a general injunction, that that no union or combination between different kinds of animals should on any account be permitted. Therefore he provided thus against

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those evils in a manner suited to and consistent with nature; and from a long distance off, as from a watchtower, he admonished men and kept them in the straight path, in order that both men and women, learning from these percepts of his, might abstain from unlawful connexions. If, therefore, a man seek to indulge himself with a quadruped, or if a woman surrender herself to a quadruped, they shall all die, both the man or woman and the quadruped. The human beings, because they have gone beyond even the bounds of intemperance itself, becoming discoverers of unprecedented appetites, and because with their new inventions they have introduced most detestable pleasures, the very mention of which is infamous; and the beasts shall die, because they have been subservient to such iniquities, and also to prevent their bringing forth or begetting any thing intolerable, as would naturally be the result of such pollutions. Moreover, those who have even a slight care for what is becoming would never use such animals as those for any purpose of life, but would reject and abominate them, loathing their very sight, and thinking that whatever they touched would at once become impure and polluted. And it is not well that those things which are of no use for life should live at all, since they are only a superfluous burden on the earth, as some one has called them.

9 Again, according to the injunctions of the sacred scriptures the constitution of the law does not recognise a harlot; as being a person alienated from good order, and modesty, and chastity, and all other virtues, who has filled the souls both of men and women with intemperance, polluting the immortal beauty of the mind, and honouring above it the short-lived perishable beauty of the body prostituting herself to every chance comer, and selling her beauty as if it were some vendible thing in the market, doing and saying every thing with a view to catch the young men. And she excites her lovers to contests with one another, proposing herself as the most disgraceful prize for those who gain the victory. Let her, therefore, be stoned as an injury and mischief to, and a common pollution of, the whole state, having corrupted the graces of nature, which she ought to have adorned further by her own excellence.

10 The law has pronounced all acts of adultery, if detected in the fact, or if proved by undeniable evidence, liable to the punishment of death; but cases in which guilt is only suspected, it does not choose should be investigated by men, but it brings them before the tribunal of nature; since men are able to judge of what is visible, but God can judge also of what is unseen, since he alone is able to behold the soul distinctly, therefore he says to the man who suspects such a thing, "Write an accusation, and go up to the holy city with thy wife, and standing before the judges, lay bare the passion of suspicion which affects you, not like a false accuser or treacherous enemy, seeking to gain the victory by any means whatever, but as a man may do who wishes accurately to ascertain the truth without any sophistry. And the woman, having incurred two dangers, one of her life, and the other of her reputation, the loss of which last is more grievous than any kind of death, shall judge the matter with herself; and if she be pure, let her make her defense with confidence; but if she be convicted by her own conscience, let her cover her face, making her modesty the veil for her iniquities, for to persist in her impudence is the very extravagance of wickedness. But if the charge which is made against her be contested, and if the evidence be doubtful, so as not to incline to either side, then let the two parties go up to the temple, and let the man stand in front of the altar, in the presence of the priest for the day, and then let him state his suspicions and his grounds for them, and let him produce and offer some barley flour, as a species of oblation on behalf of his wife, to prove that he accuses her, not out of insult, but with an honest intention, because he has a reasonable doubt. And the priest shall take the barley and offer it to the woman, and shall take away from her the head-dress on her head, that she may be judged with her head bare, and deprived of the symbol of modesty, which all those women are accustomed to wear who are completely blameless; and there shall not be any oil used, nor any frankincense, as in the case of other sacrifices, because the sacrifice now offered is to be accomplished on no joyful occasion, but on one which is very grievous. And the reason why the flour is to be made of barley is, perhaps, because the food which is made of barley is of a somewhat ambiguous character, and is suited for the use both of irrational animals and of needy men; and is therefore a sign that a woman who has committed adultery differs in no respect from the beasts, whose connexions with one another are promiscuous and incessant; but she who is pure from all such accusations is devoted to that manner of life which befits human beings. Then the law proceeds to say, the priest, having taken an earthen vessel, shall pour forth pure water, having drawn it from a fountain, and shall also bring a lump of clay from the ground of the temple, which also I think has in it a symbolical reference to the search after truth; for the earthenware vessel is appropriate to the commission of adultery because it is easily broken, and death is the punishment appointed for adulterers; but the earth and the water are appropriate to the purging of the accusation, since the origin, and increase, and perfection of all things, take place by them: on which account it was very proper for the law-giver to set them both off by epithets, saying, that the water which the priest was to take must be pure and living water, since blameless woman is pure as to her life, and deserves to live; and the earth too is to be taken, not from any chance spot, but from the soil of the ground of the temple, which must, of necessity, be most excellent, just as a modest woman is. And when all these things are previously prepared, the woman with her head uncovered, bearing the barley flour in her hand, as has been already specified, shall come forward; and the priest standing opposite to her and holding the earthenware vessel in which are the water and the earth, shall speak thus: "If you have not transgressed the laws of your marriage, and if no other man has been associated with you, so that you have not violated the rights of him who is joined to you by the law, you are blameless and innocent; but if you have neglected your husband and have followed empty appetites, either loving some one yourself or yielding to some lover, betraying your nearest and dearest connexions, and adulterating them by a spurious mixture, then learn that you are deservedly liable to every kind of curse, the proofs of which you will exhibit on your body. Come then and drink the draught of conviction, which shall uncover and lay bare all thy hidden and secret actions." Then the priest shall write these words on a paper and dip it in the water which is in the earthenware vessel, and give it to the woman. And she shall drink it and depart, awaiting the reward of her modesty or the extreme penalty of her incontinence; for if she has been falsely accused she may hope for seed and children, disregarding all apprehensions and anxieties on the subject of barrenness and childlessness. But if she is guilty then a great weight and bulk, form her belly swelling and becoming full, will come upon her, and a terribly evil condition of her womb will afflict her, since she did not choose to keep it pure for her husband, who had married her according to the laws of her nation. And the law takes such exceeding pains to prevent any irregularity taking place with respect to marriages, that even in the case of husbands and wives who have come together for legitimate embraces, in strict accordance with the laws of marriage, after they have arisen from their beds it does not allow them to touch anything before they have had recourse to washings and ablutions; keeping them very far from adultery and from all accusations referring to adultery.

11 But if any one should offer violence to a widow after her husband is dead, or after she has been otherwise divorced from him, and defile her, committing a lighter offence than adultery, and one that may perhaps be about half as serious, he shall not indeed be liable to the punishment of death, but he shall be impeached for violence, and insolence, and intemperance, having thus adopted the most infamous conduct as if it had been the most creditable; and the tribunal of the judge shall decide and condemn him to the penalty that he deserves to suffer. Again, seduction is an offence which is similar and nearly related to adultery, as they are both sprung from one common mother, incontinence. But some of those persons who are accustomed to dignify shameful actions by specious names, call this love, blushing to confess the real truth concerning its character. But, nevertheless, though it may be akin to it, it is not in every respect similar to it, because it is an offence that does not spread so as to affect many families, as is the case with adultery, but it is limited to one house alone, that of the virgin who has been seduced. Therefore we must say to a man who desires to enjoy a virgin who is a free-born citizen, "My good man, rejecting your shameless rashness and audacity, the sources of treachery and faithlessness, and all such feelings, do not allow yourself to be discovered to be wicked, either openly or secretly, but if, indeed, you have any legitimate feeling of love for the maiden in your soul, go to her parents, if they are alive, and if they are not, then go to her brother or to her guardians, or to any other persons who chance to be her protectors, and having discovered to them your feelings towards her, as a free-born man should do, ask her in marriage, and implore them not to account you unworthy. "For no one of those who have the guardianship of the maiden entrusted them could be so base as to oppose an earnest and persevering entreaty, and especially as to refuse you since you, would be found, by strict examination, not to have falsely pretended a passion which you do not feel, or to have conceived only a superficial love for her, but one which is genuine and thoroughly Established." [Deuteronomy 22:13.] But if any one, being insane and frantic, repudiating and discarding all the suggestions of reason, were to submit himself wholly to passion and desire as his masters, and looking, as people say, on might as stronger than right, were to ravish and seduce women, treating free-born women as slaves, and doing acts of war in time of peace, let such a man be led before the judges. And if the damsel who has been forced has a father, let him take counsel and deal with the ravisher about espousing her; then if he refuse to do so, he shall give the damsel a dowry for another husband, being fined in a sum of money sufficient for this purpose. But if he consents and registers her as his wife, let him marry her at once without any delay, confessing a second time that he owes her the same dowry, and let him have no permission to delay or evade the fulfilment of this marriage; both because of his own conduct, in order that the mishap which took place respecting her first connexion with a man may be comforted by a firm marriage, which nothing shall ever separate but death. But if the damsel be an orphan and have no father, then let her be asked by the judges whether she is willing to take this man for her husband or not; and whether she agrees to do so or whether she refuses, still let her have the same dowry that the man would have agreed to give her while her father was yet alive.

12 Some people think that a licensed concubinage is an offence something between seduction and adultery, when the two parties come together, and agree to live as man and wife by a certain agreement, but before the marriage ceremony is completed, some other man meeting with the woman, or forcing her has connexion with her; but in my opinion this also is a kind of adultery; for such an agreement as is here mentioned is equivalent to a marriage, for in it the names of the woman and of the man are both registered, and all other things which were to lead to their union; on which account, the law orders both the parties to be stoned if with one and the same mind they agree together to commit adultery; for it is impossible that, unless they both set out with the same intention, they should be looked upon as equal in iniquity, if they and not both sinned in an equal degree; at all events it often happens that the offence is enhanced or diminished, with reference to the difference of place in which it is committed. For, as it seems, such an offence is greater if it be committed in a city, and less it if be committed outside the walls of any city, in a wilderness; for in such a place there is not one to assist the maiden, even though she may have said and done everything, which could conduce to the preservation of her virginity, unattacked and undefiled; but in a city there are halls of council, and courts of justice, and great assemblies of generals, and aediles, and rulers of the markets, and other magistrates; and besides all these there is the people; for there is in the soul of every man, even though he may be a private individual, a feeling which is hostile to iniquity, which, when it is excited, makes the man who cherishes it a champion for the time being, and a spontaneous and voluntary defender of the person who appears to be unjustly treated.

13 Therefore justice in every case pursues the man who has committed violence, nor is his iniquity excused by the difference of the place, so that cannot be any plea to defend him from the consequence of his violence and lawlessness; but as I have said before, there will be compassion and pardon for the damsel in the one case, and in the other inexecrable punishment will visit her. And concerning her the judge must examine the matter very carefully, not referring everything to or making everything depend upon the place; for it is possible that a woman may be ravished against her will even in the middle of the city; and on the other hand even if outside the city, she may have voluntarily given herself up to an illicit connexion. Wherefore the law, making a very careful and very admirably conceived defense, on behalf of a damsel ravished in the wilderness, says, "for the damsel cried out, and there was no one to help Her;" [Deuteronomy 22:27.] so that if she neither cried out nor resisted, but willingly consented to her ravisher, she must be looked upon as guilty, having only put forward the fact of the place, as a sophistical excuse to make it appear that she had been ravished. And yet in the city what advantage can her efforts be to a damsel, who is willing to do everything for the sake of preserving her own reputation, but who is unable to succeed by reason of the strength of the man who is assaulting her? for what advantage could she derive from those who live in the same house if he were to bind her with ropes, or to gag her mouth, so that she could not utter even a word; for in some sense she then, although dwelling in a city, is in reality in a wilderness, inasmuch as she is destitute of all protection; but if she be in a wilderness, and yet willingly gives herself up to her ravisher, she is in no different condition from a woman in a city.

14 There are also some persons easily sated with their connexion with the same woman, being at once both mad for women and women haters, full of promiscuous and irregular dispositions, who at once give themselves up to their first impulses whatever they may be; letting those passions proceed without restraint which they ought to curb, and like blind men, without any consideration, without any prudence, stumbling upon any bodies or any things, upsetting, and overturning, and confusing everything in their violent impetuosity and haste, and suffering evils as great as those which they inflict; and concerning these men we have this law enacted. When those men who marry virgins in accordance with the law,[Deuteronomy 22:13.] and who have sacrificed on the occasion and celebrated their marriage feast, and who yet afterwards preserve no natural affection for their wives but treat them with insolence, and behave to freeborn citizens as if they were courtesans, if they seek to procure a divorce, and to being able to find any pretext for such a separation, then betake themselves to bringing forward false accusations, and from an absence of any clear grounds of impeachment direct all their charges at things which cannot be made certain,

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and come forward and accuse them, saying that though they fancied that they had been marrying virgins, they found on the first occasion of their having intercourse together, that they were not so. When, I say, these men make such charges let all the elders be assembled to decide on the case, and let the parents of the woman who is accused also appear, to make their defense in this their common danger. For in such a case, not only are their daughters themselves in danger, as to their reputation as having preserved the chastity of their bodies, but their guardians are likewise imperilled, not only because they have not kept them safe till the important period of their marriageable age, but because they have given in marriage as virgins those who have been defiled by others, deceiving and imposing upon those who have taken them to wife. Then if they appear to have justice on their side, let the judges impose a pecuniary fine on those who have invented these false accusations, and let them also sentence those who have assaulted them to corporeal punishment, and let them also pronounce, what to those men will be the most unpleasant of all things, a confirmation of their marriage, if their wives will still endure to cohabit with them; for the law permits them at their own choice to remain with them or to abandon them, and will not allow the husbands any option either way, on account of the false accusations which they have brought.

THE LAW CONCERNING MURDERERS

15 The name of homicide is that affixed to him who has slain a man; but in real truth it is a sacrilege, and the very greatest of all sacrileges, because, of all the possessions and sacred treasures in the whole world, there is nothing more holy in appearance, nor more godlike than man, the all-beautiful copy of an all-beautiful model, a representation admirably made after an archetypal rational idea. We must therefore, without hesitation, pronounce the homicide or murderer an impious and atrociously wicked person, committing as he does the greatest of all atrocities and impieties, and he ought to be put to death as having done things which can never be pardoned, since, being worthy of ten thousand deaths, he escapes by one only, because the way to death being easy, does not permit his existence to be protracted, so as to endure a multitude of punishments; but there can be nothing wrong in his suffering the same treatment as that which he has inflicted on others, and yet how can it be the same, if it be different as to its time, as to its mode of infliction, as to the intention, and as to the persons? Does not the beginning of acts of violence come first, and the repelling or retaliating them come subsequently? And is not murder the most lawless of all things, but the punishment of murderers the most lawful action possible? Again, he who has slain a man has satisfied his desire which he entertained when he slew him; but he who has been slain, inasmuch as he is now put out of the way, can neither attack him in retaliation, nor can be gratify himself by taking revenge. Moreover, the one was able by his own hands to carry out the designs which he conceived by himself; but the other can never succeed in procuring his punishment, unless his relations and friends become his champions, taking compassion on him for the calamity which has befallen him. If now any one aims a blow with a sword at any one, with the intention of killing him, and does not kill him, he will still be guilty of murder, since he was a murderer in his intention, even though the end did not keep pace with his wish. Again, let that man be liable to the same punishment who, by previous contrivance and machinations (not daring to behave bravely, and to stand face to face with his enemy and attack him openly), treacherously plots and compasses his slaughter; for such a man is equally liable to the curse denounced against murderers, and even though he may not be one with his hands he is so in his soul; for as, in my opinion, one must not only look upon those people as enemies who fight against us by sea or by land, but also those who are prepared for either kind of warfare, and who are erecting battering rams and engines against our harbours and our walls; and as we do in fact judge thus of them, even though they come to no actual conflict, so also we must consider murderers, not only those who perform the mere act of killing, but those who do anything which tends to slaying, whether openly or secretly, even if they do not eventually perpetrate the action. And if out of fear or out of audacity, two very contrary feelings, but both blamable, they venture to flee to the temple as if they would there find an asylum, we must prevent their doing so, if we can: but if they are beforehand with us, and do effect their entrance, then we must take them out and give them up for execution, affirming the principle that the temple does not give an asylum to impious men; for every one who commits actions of incurable guilt is an enemy to God; and murderers do commit such actions, since those who are murdered have suffered disasters which are incurable. Or shall we say that to those who have done no wrong the temple is still inaccessible until they have washed themselves, and sprinkled themselves, and purified themselves with the accustomed purifications; but that those who are guilty of indelible crimes, the pollution of which no length of time will ever efface, may approach and dwell among those holy seats; though no decent person, who has any regard for holy things would even receive them in his house?

16 Therefore, since they have heaped iniquity upon iniquity, adding lawlessness and impiety to murder, they must be dragged out of the temple to undergo their punishment, since, as I have said before, they have committed actions worthy of ten thousand deaths instead of one; as otherwise, the temple would be shut against the relations and friends of the man who has been so treacherously murdered, if the murderer were to be dwelling in it, since they could never endure to come into the same place with him. But it would be absurd that, for the sake of one man, and him the most lawless of men, a great number of persons, and those too the very persons who have been injured by him, should be excluded from the temple--men who, besides that they have done no wrong themselves, have even sustained an unseasonable affliction through his actions. And perhaps, indeed, the lawgiver seeing far into futurity by the acuteness of his reasoning powers, was, by such commandments, providing against any bloodshed ever taking place in the temple by the entrance of any of the friends of the murdered man into it, whom natural affection, a very ungovernable feeling, would urge, full of enthusiasm and violent rage as they would be, almost to slay the murderer with their own hands, while if such an event were to take place it would be most impious sacrilege; for then the blood of the sacrifices would be mingled with the blood of murderers; that which has been consecrated to God with that which is wholly impure. It is on this account that Moses commands that the murderer shall be given up, even from the altar itself.

17 But some persons who have slain others with swords, or spears, or darts, or clubs, or stones, or something of that kind, may possibly have done so without any previous design, and without having for some time before planned this deed in their hearts, but may have been excited at the moment, yielding to passion more powerful than their reason, to commit the homicide; so that it is but half a crime, inasmuch as the mind was not for some long time before occupied by the pollution. But there are others also of the greatest wickedness, men polluted both in hands and mind, who, being sorcerers and poisoners, devoting all their leisure and all their solitude to planning seasonable attacks upon others, who invent all kinds of contrivances and devices to bring about calamities on their neighbours. On which account, Moses commands that poisoners and sorceresses shall not be allowed to live one day or even one hour, but that they shall be put to death the moment that they are taken, no pretext being for a moment allowed them for putting off or delaying their punishment. For those who attack one openly and to one's face, any body may guard against; but of those who plot against one secretly, and who disguise their attacks by the concealed approaches of poison, it is not easy to see the cunning beforehand. It is necessary, therefore, to anticipate them, inflicting upon them that death which other persons would else have suffered by their means. And again, besides this, he who openly slays a man with a sword, or with any similar weapon, can only kill a few persons at one time; but one who mixes and compounds poisonous drugs with food, may destroy innumerable companies at once who have no suspicion of his treachery. Accordingly, it has happened before now that very numerous parties of men who have come together in good fellowship to eat of the same salt and to sit at the same table, have suffered at such a time of harmony things wholly incompatible with it, being suddenly killed, and have thus met with death instead of feasting. On which account it is fitting that even the most merciful, and gentle, and moderate of men should approve of such persons being put to death, who are all but the same as murderers who slay with their own hand; and that they should think it consistent with holiness, not to commit their punishment to others, but to execute it themselves. For how can it by anything but a most terrible evil for any one to contrive the death of another by that food which is given as the cause of life, and to work such a change in that which is nutritious by nature as to render it destructive; so that those who, in obedience to the necessities of nature, have recourse to eating and drinking, having no previous idea of any treachery, take destructive food as though it were salutary? Again, let those persons meet with the same punishment who, though they do not compound drugs which are actually deadly, nevertheless administer such as long diseases are caused by; for death is often a lesser evil than diseases; and especially than such as extend over a long time and have no fortunate or favourable end. For the illnesses which arise from poisons are difficult to be cured, and are often completely incurable. Moreover, in the case of men who have been exposed to machinations of this kind, it often happens that diseases of the mind ensue which are worse even than the afflictions of the body; for they are often attacked by delirium and insanity, and intolerable frenzy, by means of which the mind, the greatest blessing which God has bestowed upon mankind, is impaired in every possible manner, despairing of any safety or cure, and so is utterly removed from its seat, and expelled, as it were, leaving in the body only the inferior portion of the soul, namely, its irrational part, of which even beasts partake, since every person who is deprived of reason, which is the better part of the soul, is changed into the nature of a beast, even though the characteristics of the human form remain.

18 Now the true magical art, being a science of discernment, which contemplates and beholds the books of nature with a more acute and distinct perception than usual, and appearing as such to be a dignified and desirable branch of knowledge, is studied not merely by private individuals, but even by kings, and the very greatest of kings, and especially by the Persian monarchs, to such a degree, that they say that among that people no one can possibly succeed to the kingdom if he has not previously been initiated into the mysteries of the magi. But there is a certain adulterated species of this science, which may more properly be called wicked imposture, which quacks, and cheats, and buffoons pursue, and the vilest of women and slaves, professing to understand all kinds of incantations and purifications, and promising to change the dispositions of those on whom they operate so as to turn those who love to unalterable enmity, and those who hate to the most excessive affection by certain charms and incantations; and thus they deceive and gain influence over men of unsuspicious and innocent dispositions, until they fall into the greatest calamities, by means of which great numbers of friends and relations have wasted away by degrees, and so have been rapidly destroyed without any noise being made. And I imagine that the lawgiver, having a regard to all these circumstances, would on that account not permit the punishments due to poisoners to be postponed to any subsequent occasion, but ordained that the executioners should at once proceed to inflict the due penalty on them; for delay rather excites the guilty to make use of the time that is allowed them to carry out their iniquities, inasmuch as they are already condemned to death, while it fills those who are already suspicious and apprehensive of misfortune with a more urgent fear, as they look upon the life of their enemies to be their own death. Therefore, as if we only see snakes, and serpents, and any other venomous animals, we at once, without a moment's delay, kill them before they can bite, or wound, or attack us at all, taking care not to expose ourselves to any injury from them by reason of our knowledge of the mischief which is inherent in them; in the same manner it is right promptly to punish those men who, though they have had a gentle nature assigned to them by means of that fountain of reason which is the cause and source of all society, do nevertheless of deliberate purpose change it themselves to the ferocity of untameable beasts, looking upon the doing injury to as many people as they can to be their greatest pleasure and advantage.

19 This may be sufficient to say on the present occasion concerning poisoners and magicians. Moreover, we ought also not to be ignorant of this, that very often unexpected occasions arise in which a person slays a man without having ever prepared himself for this action, but because he has been suddenly transported with anger, which is an intolerable and terrible feeling, and which injures beyond all other feelings both the man who entertains and the man who has excited it; for sometimes a man having come into the market-place on some important business, meeting with some one who is inclined precipitately to accuse him, or who attempts to assault him, or who begins to pick a quarrel with him and engages him in a conflict, for the sake of separating from him and more speedily escaping him, either strikes his opponent with his fist or takes up a stone and throws it at him and knocks him down. And if the wound which the man has received is mortal, so that he at once dies, then let the man who has struck him also die, suffering the same fate himself which he inflicted on the other. But if the man does not die immediately after receiving the blow, but is afflicted by illness in consequence and takes to his bed, and having been properly attended to rises up again, even though he may not be able to walk well without support, but may require some one to support him or a stick to lean upon, in that case the man who struck him shall pay a double penalty, one as an atonement for the injury done, and one for the expenses of the cure. And when he has paid this he shall be acquitted as to the punishment of death, even if the man who has received the blow should subsequently die; for perhaps he did not die of the blow, since he got better after that and recovered so far as to walk, but perhaps he died from some other causes, such as often suddenly attack those who are of the most vigorous bodily health, and kill them. But if any one has a contest with a woman who is pregnant, and strike her a blow on her belly, and she miscarry, if the child which was conceived within her is still unfashioned and unformed, he shall be punished by a fine, both for the assault which he committed and also because he has prevented nature, who was fashioning and preparing that most excellent of all creatures, a human being, from bringing him into existence. But if the child which was conceived had assumed a distinct Shape [Exodus 21:22.] in all its parts, having received all its proper connective and distinctive qualities, he shall die; for such a creature as that is a man, whom he has slain while still in the workshop of nature, who had not thought it as yet a proper time to produce him to the light, but had kept him like a statue lying in a sculptor's

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workshop, requiring nothing more than to be released and sent out into the world.

20 On account of this commandment he also adds another proposition of greater importance, in which the exposure of infants is forbidden, which has become a very ordinary piece of wickedness among other nations by reason of their natural inhumanity; for if it is proper to provide for that which is not yet brought forth by reason of the definite periods of time requisite for such a process, so that even that may not suffer any injury by being plotted against, how can it be otherwise than more necessary to take similar care of the child when brought to perfection and born, and sent forth, as it were, into that colony which has been assigned to the human race, for the purpose of having a share of the bounties of nature which she sends forth from the land, and from the water, and from the air, and from the heaven? bestowing on men the sight of the heavenly bodies, and the power and supreme authority over all the things on earth, and supplying all the external senses with abundant supplies of all things, and presenting to the mind as the great king, by means of those outward senses as its body-guards, all the thing which are visible to them, and, without employing their agency, all those things which are appreciable only by reason. Accordingly, let those parents who deprive their children of all these blessings, giving them no share of any one of them from the moment of their birth, know that they are violating the laws of nature, and accusing themselves of the very greatest enormities, of a devotion to pleasure, and a hatred of their species, and murder, and the very worst kind of murder, infanticide; for those men are devoted to pleasure who are not influenced by the wish of propagating children, and of perpetuating their race, when they have connexion with women, but who are only like boars or he-goats seeking the enjoyment that arises from such a connexion. Again, who can be greater haters of their species than those who are the implacable and ferocious enemies of their own children? Unless, indeed, any one is so foolish as to imagine that these men can be humane to strangers who act in a barbarous manner to those who are united to them by ties of blood. And as for their murders and infanticides they are established by the most undeniable proofs, since some of them slay them with their own hands, and stifle the first breath of their children, and smother it altogether, out of a terribly cruel and unfeeling disposition; others throw them into the depths of a river, or of a sea, after they have attached a weight to them, in order that they may sink to the bottom more speedily because of it. Others, again, carry them out into a desert place to expose them there, as they themselves say, in the hope that they may be saved by some one, but in real truth to load them with still more painful suffering; for there all the beasts which devour human flesh, since there is no one to keep them off, attack them and feast on the delicate banquet of the children, while those who were their only guardians, and who were bound above all other people to protect and save them, their own father and other, have exposed them. And carnivorous birds fly down and lick up the remainder of their bodies, when they are not themselves the first to discover them; for when they discover them themselves they do battle with the beasts of the earth for the whole carcass. And even suppose that some one passing by on his road is moved by a feeling of gentle compassion to take pity on and show mercy to the exposed infants, so as to take them up and give them food, and to show them other portions of the attention that is requisite, what do we think of such a humane action? Do we not look upon it as an express condemnation of the real parents, when those who are in nowise related to them show the tender foresight of parents, but the parents do not display even the kindness of strangers? Therefore, Moses has utterly prohibited the exposure of children, by a tacit prohibition, when he condemns to death, as I have said before, those who are the causes of a miscarriage to a woman whose child conceived within her is already formed. And yet those persons who have investigated the secrets of natural philosophy say that those children which are still within the belly, and while they are still contained in the womb, are a part of their mothers; and the most highly esteemed of the physicians who have examined into the formation of man, scrutinising both what is easily seen and what is kept concealed with great care, by means of anatomy, in order that, if there should be any need of their attention to any case, nothing may be disregarded through ignorance and so become the cause of serious mischief, agree with them and say the same thing. But when the children are brought forth and are separated from that which is produced with them, and are set free and placed by themselves, they then become real living creatures, deficient in nothing which can contribute to the perfection of human nature, so that then, beyond all question, he who slays an infant is a homicide, and the law shows its indignation at such an action; not being guided by the age but by the species of the creature in whom its ordinances are violated. If, indeed, it seemed reasonable to be at all influenced by the age, then I think that a person might very reasonably be even more indignant at those who slay infants. For when full-grown people are killed, there may be ten thousand plausible excuses for assaults upon or quarrels with them; but in the case of mere infants only just launched into human life and shown to the light of day, it is impossible for the greatest liar to invent an accusation against them, as they are wholly void of offence. On which account those ought to be looked upon as the most inhuman and pitiless of all men who entertain plots for the destruction of those infants, and justly does the sacred law detest such criminals and pronounce them worthy of death.

21 The sacred law says that the man, who has been killed without any intention that he should be so on the part of him who killed him, has been given up by God into the hands of his slayers;[Exodus 21:13.] in this way designing to make an excuse for the man who appears to have slain him as if he had slain a guilty person. For the merciful and forgiving God can never be supposed to have given up any innocent person to be put to death; but whoever ingeniously escapes the judgement of a human tribunal by means of his own cunning and wariness, he is convicted when brought before the invisible tribunal of nature, by which alone the uncorrupted truth is discerned without being kept in the dark by the artifices of sophistical arguments. For such an investigation does not admit of arguments at all, laying bare all devices and intentions, and bringing the most secret counsels to light; and, in one sense, it does not look upon a man who has slain another as liable to justice, inasmuch as he has only sinned to be the minister of a divine judgement, but still he will have incurred an obscure and slight kind of defilement, which, however, may obtain allowance and pardon. For God employs those who commit slight and remedial errors against those who have perpetrated enormous and unpardonable crimes as ministers of punishment; not, indeed, that he approves of them, but that he avails himself of them as suitable instruments of punishment, so that no one who is himself pure in his whole life and descended from virtuous parents may have homicide imputed to him, even if he be the greatest man in the world. Therefore, the law has pronounced the sentence of banishment upon him who has slain a man, yet not of banishment any where, nor for ever; for it has assigned six cities,[Numbers 35:1.] one fourth portion of what the whole sacred tribe received as its inheritance, for those who were convicted of homicide; which, from the circumstances connected with them, it has named cities of refuge. And it fixed the time of this banishment as the length of the life of the high priest, permitting the exiles to return home after his death.

22 And the cause of the first of these injunctions was this. The tribe which has been mentioned received these cities as a reward for a justifiable and holy slaughter, which we must look upon as the most illustrious and important of all the gallant actions that were ever performed. For when the prophet, after having been called up to the loftiest and most sacred of all the mountains in that district, was divinely instructed in the generic outlines of all the special laws,[Exodus 32:1.] and was out of sight of his people for many days; those of the people who were not of a peaceable disposition filled every place with the evils which arise from anarchy, and crowned all their iniquity with open impiety, turning into ridicule all those excellent and beautiful lessons concerning the honour due to the one true and living God, and having made a golden bull, an imitation of the Egyptian Typhos, and brought to it unholy sacrifices, and festivals unhallowed, and instituted profane and impious dances, with songs and hymns instead of lamentations; 2then the tribe aforesaid, being very terribly indignant at their sudden departure from their previous customs, and being enflamed with zeal by reason of their natural disposition which hated iniquity, all became full of rage and of divine enthusiasm, and arming themselves, as at one signal, and with great contempt and one unanimous attack, came upon the people, drunk thus with a twofold intoxication of impiety and of wine, beginning with their nearest and dearest friends and relations, thinking those who loved God to be their only relations and friends. And in a very small portion of the day, four-and-twenty thousand men were slain; the calamities of whom were a warning to those who would otherwise have joined themselves to their iniquity, but who now were alarmed lest they should suffer a similar fate. 2Since then these men had undertaken this expedition of their own accord and spontaneously, in the cause of piety and holy reverence for the one true and living God, not without great danger to those who had entered in the contest, the Father of the universe received them with approbation, and at once pronounced those who had slain those men to be pure from all curse and pollution, and in requital for their courage he bestowed the priesthood on them.

23 Therefore the lawgiver enjoins that the man who has committed an unintentional murder should flee to some one of the cities which this tribe has received as its inheritance, in order to comfort him and to teach him not to despair of any sort of safety; but to make him, while safe through the privilege of the place, remember and consider that not only on certain occasions is forgiveness allowed to those who have designedly slain any person, but that even great and preeminent honours and excessive happiness is bestowed on them. And if such honours can ever be allowed to those who have slain a man voluntarily, how much more must there be allowance made for those who have done so not with any design, so that, even if no honour be bestowed on them, they may at least not be condemned to be put to death in retaliation. By which injunctions the lawgiver intimates that every kind of homicide is not blamable, but only that which is combined with injustice; and that of other kinds some are even praiseworthy which are committed out of a desire and zeal for virtue; and that which is unintentional is not greatly to be blamed. This, then, may be enough to say about the first cause; and we must now explain the second. The law thinks fit to preserve the man who, without intending it, has slain another, knowing that in his intention he was not guilty, but that with his hands he has been ministering to that justice which presides over all human affairs. For the nearest relations of the dead man are lying in wait for him in a hostile manner seeking his death, while others, out of their excessive compassion and inconsolable brief for the dead, are eager for their revenge; in their unreasoning impetuosity not regarding either the truth or the justice of nature. Therefore, the law directs a man who has committed a homicide under these circumstances not to flee to the temple, inasmuch as he is not yet purified, nor yet into any place which is neglected and obscure, lest, being despised, he should be without resistance given up to his enemies; but to flee to the sacred city, which lies on the borders between the holy and profane ground, being in a manner a second temple; for the cities of those who are consecrated to the priesthood are more entitled to respect than the others, in the same proportion, I think, as the inhabitants are more venerable than the inhabitants of other cities; for the lawgiver's intention is by means of the privilege belonging to the city which has received them to give more complete security to the fugitives. Moreover, I said before, he has appointed a time for their return, the death of the high priest, for the following Reason. [Numbers 35:25.] As the relations of each individual who has been slain treacherously lie in wait to secure themselves revenge and justice upon those who treacherously slew him; in like manner the high priest is the relation and nearest of kin to the whole nation; inasmuch as he presides over and dispenses justice to all who dispute in accordance with the laws, and offers up prayers and sacrifices every day on behalf of the whole nation, and prays for blessings for the people as for his own brethren, and parents, and children, that every age and every portion of the nation, as if it were one body, may be united into one and the same society and union, devoted to peace and obedience to the law. Therefore, let every one who has slain a man unintentionally fear him, as the champion and espouser of the cause of those who have been slain, and let him keep himself close within the city to which he has fled for refuge, no longer venturing to advance outside of the walls, if he has any regard for his own safety, and for keeping his life out of the reach of danger. When, therefore, the law says, let not the fugitive return till the high priest is dead, it says something equivalent to this: Until the high priest is dead, who is the common relation of all the people, to whom alone it is committed to decide the affairs of those who are living and those who are dead.

24 Such, then, is the reason which it is fitting should be communicated to the ears of the younger men. But there is another which may be well set before those who are elder and settled in their characters, which is this. It is granted to private individuals alone to be pure from voluntary offences, or if any one chooses, he may add the other priests also to this list; but it can only be given as an especial honour to the high priest to be pure from both kinds, that is from both voluntary and involuntary offences; for it is altogether unlawful for him to touch any pollution whatever, whether intentionally or out of some unforeseen perversion of soul, in order that he, as being the declarer of the will of God may be adorned in both respects, having a disposition free from reproach, and prosperity of life, and being a man to whom no disgrace ever attaches. Now it will be consistent with the character of such a man to look with suspicion on those who have even unintentionally slain a man, not indeed regarding them as under a curse, but also not as pure and wholly free from offence, even though they may have appeared most completely to obey the intention of nature, who used them as her instruments to avenge herself on those whom they have slain, whom she had privately judged by herself and condemned to death.

25 This is enough to say concerning free men and citizens. The lawgiver proceeds in due order to establish laws concerning slaves who are killed by violence. Now servants are, indeed, in an inferior condition of life, but still the same nature belongs to them and to their masters. And it is not the condition of fortune, but the harmony of nature, which, in accordance with the divine law is the rule of justice. On which account it is proper for masters not to use their power over their slaves in an insolent manner, displaying by such conduct their insolence and overbearing disposition and terrible cruelty; for such conduct is not a proof of a peaceful soul, but of one which, out of an inability to regulate itself, covets the irresponsibility of a tyrannical power. For the man who fortifies his own house like a citadel, and does not allow a

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single person within it to speak freely, but who behaves savagely to every one, by reason of his innate misanthropy and barbarity, which has perhaps even been increased by exercise, is a tyrant in miniature; and by his conduct now it is plainly shown that he will not stop even there if he should acquire greater power. For then he will at once go forth to attack other cities and countries, and nations, after having previously enslaved his own native land, so as to prove that he is not inclined to behave mercifully to any one who shall ever become subject to him. Let, then, such a man be well assured that he will not always escape punishment for his continual ill-treatment of many persons; for justice, which hates iniquity, will be his enemy, she who is the assistant and champion of those who are treated with injustice, and she will exact of him a strict account of, and reckoning for, those who have fallen into calamity through his means, even if he should say that he had only inflicted blows on them to correct them, not designing to kill them. For he will not at once get off with a cheerful countenance, but he will be brought before the tribunal and examined by accurate investigators of the truth, who will inquire whether he slew him intentionally or unintentionally. And if he be found to have plotted against him with a wicked disposition, let him die; not having any excuse made for him on the ground of his being the servants' master, so as to procure his deliverance. But if the servants who have been beaten do not die at once after receiving the blows, but live one day or two, then the master shall no longer be liable to be accused of murder, having this strong ground of defense that he did not kill them on the spot by beating, nor afterwards when he had them in his house, but that he suffered them to live as long as they could, even though that may not have been very long. Besides that, no one is so silly as to attempt to distress another by conduct by which he himself also will be a loser. But any one who kills his servant injures himself much more, since he deprives himself of the services which he received from him while alive, and, moreover, loses the price which he paid for him which, perhaps, was large. If, however, the servant turn out to have done any thing worthy of death, let him bring him before the judges and prove his offence, making the laws the arbiters of his punishment and not himself.

CONCERNING THOSE BRUTE BEASTS WHICH ARE THE CAUSES OF A MAN'S DEATH

26 If a bull gore a man and kill him, let him be Stoned. [Exodus 21:28.] For his flesh may not be either offered in sacrifice by the priests, nor eaten by men. Why not? Because it is not consistent with the law of God that man should take for food or for a seasoning to his food the flesh of an animal which has slain a man. But if the owner of the beast knew that he was a savage and ferocious animal, and did not confine him, nor shut him up and take care of him, or if he had heard from others that he was not quiet, and still allowed him to feed at liberty, he shall be liable to a prosecution as guilty of the man's death. And then the animal which gored the man shall die, and his master shall be put to death also, or else shall pay a ransom and a price for his safety, and the court of justice shall devise what punishment he ought to suffer, what penalty he ought to pay. And if it be a slave who has been killed then he shall pay his full value to his master; but if the bull have gored not a man but another animal, then the owner of the beast which killed him shall take the dead animal and give his master another like him instead of him, because he was aware beforehand of the fierceness of his own beast, and did not guard against it. And if the bull has killed a sheep which belonged to some one else, he shall again restore this man one like it instead of it, and be thankful to him for not exacting a greater penalty of him, since it was he who was the first to do any injury.

CONCERNING PITS

27 Some persons are accustomed to dig very deep pits, either in order to open springs which may bubble up, or else to receive rain water, and then they widen drains under ground; in which case they ought either to build round the mouths of them, or else to put a cover on them; but still they often, out of shameful carelessness or folly, have left such places open, by which means some persons have met with destruction. 4If, therefore, any traveller passing along the road, not knowing beforehand that there is any such pit, shall step on the hole, and fall in, and be killed, any one of the relations of the dead man who chooses may bring an accusation against those who made the pit, and the tribunal shall decide what punishment they ought to suffer, or what penalty they ought to Pay. [Exodus 21:33.] But if a beast fall in and perish, then they who dug the pit shall pay its value to its owner as if it were still alive, and they shall have the dead body for themselves. 4Again, those men also are committing an injury akin to and resembling that which has just been mentioned, who when building houses leave the roof level with the ground though they ought to protect them with a parapet, in order that no one may fall down into the hole made without perceiving it. For such men, if one is to tell the plain truth, are committing murder, as far as they themselves are concerned, even though no one fall in and perish; accordingly let them be punished equally with those who have the mouths of pits open.

28 The law expressly enjoins that it shall not be lawful to take any ransom from murderers who ought to be put to death, for the purpose of lessening their punishment, or substituting banishment for death. For blood must be atoned for by blood, the blood of him who has been treacherously slain by that of him who has slain him. Since men of wicked dispositions are never wearied of offending, but are always committing atrocious actions in the excess of their wickedness, and increasing their iniquities, and extending them beyond all bounds or limits. For the lawgiver would, if it had been in his power, have condemned those men to ten thousand deaths. But since this was not possible, he prescribed another punishment for them, commanding those who had slain a man to be hanged upon a tree. 5And after having established this ordinance he returned again to his natural humanity, treating with mercy even those who had behaved unmercifully towards others, and he pronounced, "Let not the sun set upon persons hanging on a Tree;" [Deuteronomy 21:23.] but let them be buried under the earth and be concealed from sight before sunset. For it was necessary to raise up on high all those who were enemies to every part of the world, so as to show most evidently to the sun, and to the heaven, and to the air, and to the water, and to the earth, that they had been chastised; and after that it was proper to remove them into the region of the dead, and to bury them, in order to prevent their polluting the things upon the earth.

29 Moreover, there is this further commandment given with great propriety, that the fathers are not to die in behalf of their sons, nor the sons in behalf of their parents, but that every one who has done things worthy of death is to be put to death by himself alone. And this commandment is established because of those persons who set might above right, and also for the sake of those who are too affectionate; 5for these last, out of their extraordinary and extravagant good will, will be often willing cheerfully to die for others, the innocent thus giving themselves up for the guilty, and thinking it a great gain not to see them punished; or else sons giving themselves up for their fathers in the idea that, if deprived of them they would for the future live a miserable life, more grievous than any kind of death. But to such persons one must say, "This your good-will is out of season." And all things which are out of season are very properly blamed, just as things that are done seasonably are praised on that account. Moreover, it is right to love those who do actions worthy to attract love. But no wicked man can be really a friend to any one. And wickedness alienates relations, and even those who are the most attached of relations, when men violate all the principles of justice. For the agreement as to principles of injustice and as to the other virtues, is a closer tie than relationship by blood; and if any one violates such an agreement, he is set down not only as a stranger and a foreigner, but even as an irreconcilable enemy. 5"Why then do you pervert and misapply the name of good-will which is a most excellent and humane one, and conceal the truth, exhibiting as a veil an effeminate and womanly disposition? For are not those person womanly in whose minds reason is overcome by compassion? And you do this in order to effect a double iniquity, delivering the guilty from punishment, and thinking it fair to punish yourselves, who are blamable in no respect whatever, instead of them."

30 But these men have this to say in excuse of themselves, that they are not pursuing any private advantage for themselves, and also that they are influenced by excessive affection for their nearest relations, for the sake of the preservation of whom they will cheerfully submit to die. But who, I will not say of moderate men, but even of those who are very inhuman indeed in their dispositions, would not reject such barbarous and actually brutally disposed persons as those who, either by secret contrivance or by open audacity, inflict the greatest calamities on one person as a punishment for the faults of another, putting forward as a pretext the plea of friendship, or of relationship, or of fellowship, or something of that kind, as a justification for the destruction of those who have done no wrong? And at times they even do these things without having suffered any injury at all out of mere covetousness and a love of rapine. 5Not long ago a certain man who had been appointed a collector of taxes in our country, when some of those who appeared to owe such tribute fled out of poverty, from a fear of intolerable punishment if they remained without paying, carried off their wives, and their children, and their parents, and their whole families by force, beating and insulting them, and heaping every kind of contumely and ill treatment upon them, to make them either give information as to where the fugitives had concealed themselves, or pay the money instead of them, though they could not do either the one thing or the other; in the first place, because they did not know where they were, and secondly, because they were in still greater poverty than the men who had fled. 6But this tax-collector did not let them go till he had tortured their bodies with racks and wheels, so as to kill them with newly invented kinds of death, fastening a basket full of sand to their necks with cords, and suspending it there as a very heavy weight, and then placing them in the open air in the middle of the market place, that some of them, being tortured and being overwhelmed by all these afflictions at once, the wind, and the sun, and the mockery of the passers by, and the shame, and the heavy burden attached to them, might faint miserably; and that the rest, being spectators, might be grieved and take warning by their punishment, 6some of whom, having a more acute sense of such miseries in their minds than that which they could receive though their eyes, since they sympathised with these unfortunates as if they were themselves suffering in the persons of others, put an end to their own lives by swords, or poison, or halters, thinking it a great piece of good luck for persons, liable to such misery, to be able to meet with death without torture. But those who did not make haste to kill themselves, but who were seized before they could do so, were led away in a row, as in the case of actions for inheritance, according to their nearness of kindred, the nearest relations first, then those next to them in succession, in the second or third place, till they came to the last; and then, when there were no relations left, the cruelty proceeded on to the friends and neighbours of the fugitives; and sometimes it was extended even into the cities and villages, which soon became desolate, being emptied of all their inhabitants, who all quitted their homes, and dispersed to places where they hoped that they might escape detection. 6But perhaps it is not wonderful if men, barbarians by nature, utterly ignorant of all gentleness, and under the command of despotic authority, which compelled them to give an account of the yearly revenue, should, in order to enforce the payment of the taxes, extend their severities, not merely to properties but also to the persons, and even to the lives, of those from whom they thought they could exact a vicarious payment. But now, even those persons who are the very standard and rule of justice, the lawgivers themselves, having a regard to appearance rather than to truth, have endured to become, instead, standards of injustice, commanding the children of a traitor to be put to death with the traitor himself, and in the case of tyrants the five families most nearly related to them. 6Why is this I should say? For if indeed they have shared in their wickedness, then let them likewise share in their punishment; but if they have not participated in that, and if they have not been imitators of such actions, and if they have not been elated by the prosperity of their kinsmen, so as to exult in it, why should they be put to death? Is it for this reason alone, that they are their relations? Are the punishments then inflicted for the relationship, or for the lawless conduct? Perhaps you yourselves, O you venerable lawgivers, have had virtuous relations; but suppose they had been wicked, then it seems to me that you not only would never yourselves have devised any such commandments as this, but would have been furious with any one else who proposed such a law, because [...] [there appears to be an hiatus in the text here. There is clearly a want of connexion and coherence in the rest of the sentence as it stands now.] taking care to avoid all liability to terrible calamity, and desiring to live in security, is now in great danger, and is exposed to an equal degree of misfortune. For the one condition is liable to fear, which, though a person may guard against for himself, he will still not despise the safety of another, but the other state is free from all apprehension, and by it men have often been persuaded to neglect the safety of innocent men. 6Therefore our lawgiver, considering these things and perceiving the errors of others, rejects them and hates them as destructive of the most excellent constitution, and consigns to punishment all those who give way to such, whether it be out of indifference, or out of inhumanity and wickedness, and never permits any of their countrymen or friends to be substituted for them, making themselves an addition to the crimes which the others have already committed; on which account he has expressly forbidden sons to be put to death instead of their parents, or parents instead of their sons, thinking it right that they who have committed the crimes should also bear the punishment, whether it be a pecuniary fine, or stripes, and more severe personal chastisement, or even wounds and mutilation, and dishonour, and exile, or any other judicial sentence; for though he only names one kind of punishment, forbidding one person to be put to death for another, he also comprises other kinds, which he does not expressly mention.

ABOUT WOMEN NOT BEHAVING IMMODESTLY

31 Market places, and council chambers, and courts of justice, and large companies and assemblies of numerous crowds, and a life in the open air full of arguments and actions relating to war and peace, are suited to men; but taking care of the house and remaining at home are the proper duties of women; the virgins having their apartments in the centre of the house within the innermost doors, and the full-grown women not going beyond the vestibule and outer courts; 7for there are two kinds of states, the greater and the smaller. And the larger ones are called really cities; but the smaller ones are called houses. And the superintendence and management of these is allotted to the two sexes separately; the men having the government of the greater, which government is called a

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polity; and the women that of the smaller, which is called oeconomy. Therefore let no woman busy herself about those things which are beyond the province of oeconomy, but let her cultivate solitude, and not be seen to be going about like a woman who walks the streets in the sight of other men, except when it is necessary for her to go to the temple, if she has any proper regard for herself; and even then let her not go at noon when the market is full, but after the greater part of the people have returned home; like a well-born woman, a real and true citizen, performing her vows and her sacrifices in tranquility, so as to avert evils and to receive blessings. But when men are abusing one another or fighting, for women to venture to run out under pretence of assisting or defending them, is a blamable action and one of no slight shamelessness, since even, in the times of war and of military expeditions, and of dangers to their whole native land, the law does not choose that they should be enrolled as its defenders; looking at what is becoming, which it thinks desirable to preserve unchangeable at all times and in all places, thinking that this very thing is of itself better than victory, or then freedom, or than any kind of success and prosperity. 7Moreover, if any woman, hearing that her husband is being assaulted, being out of her affection for him carried away by love for her husband, should yield to the feelings which overpower her and rush forth to aid him, still let her not be so audacious as to behave like a man, outrunning the nature of a woman;[Deuteronomy 25:11.] but even while aiding him let her continue a woman. For it would be a very terrible thing if a woman, being desirous to deliver her husband from an insult, should expose herself to insult, by exhibiting human life as full of shamelessness and liable to great reproaches for her incurable boldness; 7for shall a woman utter abuse in the marketplace and give vent to unlawful language? and if another man uses foul language, will not she stop her ears and run away? But as it is now, some women are advanced to such a pitch of shamelessness as not only, though they are women, to give vent to intemperate language and abuse among a crowd of men, but even to strike men and insult them, with hands practiced rather in works of the loom and spinning than in blows and assaults, like competitors in the pancratium or wrestlers. And other things, indeed, may be tolerable, and what any one might easily bear, but that is a shocking thing if a woman were to proceed to such a degree of boldness as to seize hold of the genitals of one of the men quarrelling. 7For let not such a woman be let go on the ground that she appears to have done this action in order to assist her own husband; but let her be impeached and suffer the punishment due to her excessive audacity, so that if she should ever be inclined to commit the same offence again she may not have an opportunity of doing so; and other women, also, who might be inclined to be precipitate, may be taught by fear to be moderate and to restrain themselves. And let the punishment be the cutting off of the hand which has touched what it ought not to have touched. 7And it is fitting to praise those who have been the judges and managers of the gymnastic games, who have kept women from the spectacle, in order that they might not be thrown among naked men and so mar the approved coinage of their modesty, neglecting the ordinances of nature, which she has appointed for each section of our race; for neither is it right for men to mix with women when they have laid aside their garments, but each of the sexes ought to avoid the sight of the other when they are naked, in accordance with the promptings of nature. 7Well, then, of those things of which we are to abstain from the sight, are not the hands much more to be blamed for the touch? For the eyes, being wholly at freedom, are nevertheless often constrained so as to see things which they do not wish to see; but the hands are ranked among those parts which are completely under subjection, and obey our commands, and are subservient to us.

32 And this is the cause which is often mentioned by many people. But I have heard another also, alleged by persons of high character, who look upon the greater part of the injunctions contained in the law as plain symbols of obscure meanings, and expressed intimations of what may not be expressed. And this other reason alleged is as follows. There are two kinds of soul, much as there are two sexes among human relations; the one a masculine soul, belonging to men; the other a female soul, as found in women. The masculine soul is that which devotes itself to God alone, as the Father and Creator of the universe and the cause of all things that exist; but the female soul is that which depends upon all the things which are created, and as such are liable to destruction, and which puts forth, as it were, the hand of its power in order that in a blind sort of way it may lay hold of whatever comes across it, clinging to a generation which admits of an innumerable quantity of changes and variations, when it ought rather to cleave to the unchangeable, blessed, and thrice happy divine nature. 7Very naturally, therefore, the law Commands [Deuteronomy 25:12.] that the executioner should cut off the hand of the woman which has laid hold of what it should not, speaking figuratively, and intimating not that the body shall be mutilated, being deprived of its most important part, but rather that it is proper to extirpate all the ungodly reasonings of the soul, using all things which are created as a stepping-stone; for the things which the woman is forbidden to take hold of are the symbols of procreation and generation. 8And, moreover, keeping up a consistent regard to nature, I will also say this, that the unit is the image of the first cause, and the number two of the divisible matter that is worked upon. Whoever, therefore, receives the number two, honouring it above the unit, must be taught to know that he is, in so doing, approving of the matter more than of God. On which account the law has thought fit to cut off this apprehension of the soul as if it were a hand; for there can be no greater impiety than to ascribe the power of the agent to that which is passive.

33 And any one may here fitly blame those who appoint that punishments, in nowise corresponding to the offences, are to be inflicted on the offenders, imposing pecuniary penalties for assaults, or stigma and infamy for wounds and mutilations, or a banishment beyond the borders of the land for intentional murders, and everlasting exile or imprisonment for thefts; for irregularity and inequality are enemies to a constitution which is eager for the truth. 8And our law, being the interpreter and teacher of equality, commands that offenders should undergo a punishment similar to the offence which they have committed; that, for instance, they should suffer punishment in their property if they have injured their neighbour in his property; in their persons, if they have injured him in his body, or in his limbs, or the organs of his outward senses; and, if their evil designs have extended to his life, then the law commands that the punishment should affect the life of the malefactor. For to exact a different and wholly unequal punishment which has no connexion with or resemblance to the offence, but which is wholly at variance with it in all its characteristics, is the conduct of those who violate the laws rather than of those who would establish them. 8And when we say this, we mean provided no circumstances occur to give a different complexion to the affair; for it is not the same thing to inflict blows on one's father and on a stranger, nor to speak ill of a ruler and of a private person, nor to do anything which is forbidden on common ground or in holy places, or at the time of a festival, or of a solemn assembly, or of a public sacrifice; or, again, on the days on which there is no holiday or sacred observance, or on those which are completely common and profane. And all other things of this kind one must examine with a view to judge of the propriety of increasing or diminishing the punishment. Again. "If," says the law, "any one strike out the eye of a servant or of a handmaiden, he shall let them depart Free." [Exodus 21:26.] Because, as nature has assigned the chief position in the body to the head, having bestowed upon it a situation the most suitable to that pre-eminence, as it might give a citadel to a king (for having sent it forth to govern the body it has established it on a height, putting the whole composition of the body from the neck to the feet under it, as a pedestal might be placed under a statue), so also it has given the preeminence among the organs of the external senses to the eyes. At all events, it has assigned them a position above all the others, as if they were the chiefs, wishing to honour them not only by other things, but also by this most evident and conspicuous of all signs.

34 Now it would take a long time to enumerate all the necessities which the eyes supply to, and all the services which they perform for, the human race. But one, the most excellent of all, we may mention. It is the heaven which has showered philosophy upon us, it is the human mind which has received and which contains it, but it is sight which has entertained and been its host; for that is the faculty which was the first to see the level roads through the air. 8And philosophy is the fountain of all blessings, of all things which are really good. And he who draws from this fountain, so as thus to acquire and make use of virtue is praiseworthy; but he who does it with the object of accomplishing wicked purposes and of condemning others is blamable. For the one is like a man at an entertainment, who is delighting both himself and all who are feasting in his company; but the other is like one who is swallowing down strong wine, in order to make himself and his neighbour drunk. 8Now in what way it is that the sight may be said to have entertained philosophy as its host we must now proceed to explain. Having looked up to heaven it beheld the sun, and the moon, and the planets, and the fixed stars, the most beautiful host of heaven, the ornament of the world. 8After that it arrived at a perception of the rising and setting of these bodies, and their harmonious motions, and the fixed seasons of their periodical revolutions, and their meetings, and eclipses, and re-appearances. After that it proceeded onwards to a comprehension of the increase and decrease of the moon; of the motions of the sun along the breadth of heaven, as he comes from the south towards the north, and again recedes from the north towards the south, in order to the generation of the fruits of the year, so that they may all be brought to perfection, and ten thousand other wonderful things besides these. And having looked round and surveyed the things in the earth, and in the sea, and in the air, with great diligence displayed all the things in each of these elements to the mind. 8But as the mind was unable by itself to comprehend all these things from merely beholding them by the faculty of sight, it did not stop merely at what was seen by it, but being devoted to learning, and fond of what is honourable and excellent, as it admired what it did see, it adopted this probable opinion, that these things are not moved spontaneously and at random by any irrational impulse of their own, but that they are set in motion and guided by the will of God, whom it is proper to look upon as the Father and Creator of the world. Moreover, that these things are not unrestrained by any bounds, but that they are limited by the circumference of one world, as they might be by the walls of a city, the world itself being circumscribed within the outermost sphere of the fixed stars. Moreover it considered also that the Father who created the world does by the law of nature take care of that which he has created, exerting his providence in behalf of the whole universe and of its parts. 9In the next place it also considered what was the essence of the visible world, and whether all the things in the world had the same essence, or whether different things had different essences, and also of what substances everything was made, and for what reasons it was made, and by what powers the world was held together, and whether these powers were corporeal or incorporeal. 9For what can the investigation into these and similar subjects be called but philosophy? And what more fitting name could one give to the man who devoted himself to the investigation of these topics than that of a philosopher? For by his examination of the nature of God, and of the world, and of all the things in it, whether plants or animals, and of those models which are only appreciable by the intellect, and again of the perfected representations of those models which are visible to the outward senses, and of the virtues and vices which exist in all created things, he shows that his disposition is one truly devoted to learning, and contemplation, and philosophy; and this greatest of blessings to mortal man is bestowed upon him by the faculty of sight. 9And this faculty seems to me to deserve this pre-eminence, since it is more nearly related to the soul than any one of the other outward senses, for they all of them have some kind of connexion with the intellect; but this one obtains the first and principal rank as the nearest relation does in a private house. 9And any one may conjecture this from many circumstances, for who is there who does not know that when persons are delighted their eyes betray their pleasure, and sparkle, but that when they are grieved their eyes are full of depression and heaviness; and if any heavy burden of grief oppresses, and crushes, and overwhelms the mind, they weep; and if anger obtains and preponderance, the eyes swell, and become bloodshot and fiery; 9and again change so as to be gentle and soft when the anger is relaxed. Again, when the man is immersed in deep thought and contemplation, the eyes seem fixed as if they in a manner joined in his gravity; but in the case of those who are of no great wisdom the sight wanders, because of their vacancy of intellect, and is restless, and in short the eyes sympathise with the affections of the soul, and are wont to change along with it in innumerable alternations, on account of the closeness of their connexion with it; for it seems to me that there is no one visible thing which God has made so complete a representation of that which is invisible as the sight is of the mind.

35 If therefore any one has ever plotted against this most excellent and most dominant of all the outward senses, namely sight, so as ever to have struck out the eye of a free man, let him suffer the same infliction himself, but not so if he have only struck out the eye of a slave; not because he is entitled to pardon, or because the injury which he has done is less, but because the man who has been injured will have a still worse master if he has been mutilated in retaliation, since he will for ever bear a grudge against him for the calamity which has fallen upon him, and will revenge himself on him every day as an irreconcileable enemy by harsh commands beyond his power to perform, by which the slave will be so oppressed that he will be ready to die. 9Therefore the law has provided that the man who has thus done injury to his slave shall not be allowed to escape free, and yet has not commanded that the man who has already suffered the loss of his eye shall be ill-treated still further, enjoining that if any one strikes out the eye of his servant he shall without hesitation grant him his freedom; for thus he will suffer a double punishment for the actions which he has committed, in being deprived of the value of his servant and also of his services, and thirdly, which is worse than either of the things already mentioned, in being compelled to do good to his enemy in the most important matters, whom very likely he wished to be able to ill-treat for ever. And the slave has a double consolation for the evils which he has been subjected to in being not only emancipated, but also in having escaped a cruel and inhuman master.

36 The law also commands that if any one strike out the tooth of a slave he shall bestow his freedom on the slave; why is this? because life is a thing of great value, and because nature has made the teeth the instruments of life, as being those by which the food is eaten. And of the teeth some are fitted for eating meat and all other eatable food, and on that account are called incisors, or cutting teeth; others are called molar teeth from their still further grinding and smoothing what has been cut by the incisors; 9on which account the

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Creator and Father of the universe, who is not accustomed to make anything which is not appointed for some particular use, did not do with the teeth as he did with every other part of the body, and make them at once, at the first creation of the man, considering that as while an infant he was only intended to be fed upon milk they would be a superfluous burden in his way, and would be a severe injury to the breasts, filled as they are at that time with springs of milk, from which moist food is derived, as they would in that case be bitten by the child while sucking the milk. Therefore, having waited for a suitable season (and that is when the child is weaned), he then causes the infant to put forth the teeth which he had prepared for it before, as the most perfect food now supplied to it requires the organs above-mentioned now that the child rejects the food of milk. If therefore any one, yielding to an insolent disposition, strikes out the tooth of his servant, that organ which is the minister and provider of those most necessary things, food and life, he shall emancipate him whom he has injured, because by the evil which he inflicted on him he has deprived him of the service and use of his tooth. "Is then," some one will say, "a tooth of equal value with an eye?" "Each," I would reply, "is of equal value for the purposes for which they were given, the eye with reference to the objects of sight, the teeth with reference to those which are eatable." But if any one were to desire to institute a comparison, he would find that the eye is entitled to the highest respect among all the parts of the body, inasmuch as being occupied in the contemplation of the most glorious thing in the whole world, namely the heaven; and that the tooth is useful as being the masticator of food, which is the most useful thing as contributing to life. And he who strikes out a man's eye does not hinder him from living, but a most miserable death awaits the man who has all his teeth knocked out. And if any one meditates inflicting injury in these parts on his servants, let him know that he is causing them an artificial famine in the midst of plenty and abundance; for what advantage is it to a man that there should be an abundance of food, if the instruments by which he may be enabled to make use of it are taken from him and lost, through the agency of his cruel, and pitiless, and inhuman master? It is for this reason that in another passage the lawgiver forbids creditors to exact from their debtors a molar tooth or a grinder as a pledge, giving as a reason that the person who does so is taking a man's life in pledge; for he who deprives a man of the instruments of living is proceeding towards murder, entertaining the idea of plotting even against life. And the law has taken such exceeding care that no one shall ever be the cause of death to another, that it does not look upon those who have even touched a dead body, which has met with a natural death, as pure and clean, until they have washed and purified themselves with sprinklings and ablutions; and even after they are perfectly clean it does not permit them to go into the temple within seven days, enjoining them to use purifying ceremonies on the third and seventh day. And again, in the case of persons who have gone into the house in which any one has died, the law enjoins that no one shall touch them until they have both washed their bodies and also the garments in which they were clothed, and, in a word, it looks upon all the furniture and all the vessels, and everything which is in the house, as unclean and polluted; for the soul of a man is a valuable thing, and when that has quitted its habitation, and passed to another place, everything that is left behind by it is polluted as being deprived of the divine image, since the human mind is made as a copy of the mind of God, having been created after the archetypal model, the most sublime reasoning. And the law says, "Let everything which a man that is unclean has touched be also unclean as being polluted by a participation in that which is unclean." And this sacred injunction appears to have a wide operation, not being limited to the body alone, but proceeding as it would seem also to investigate the dispositions of the soul, for the unjust and impious man is peculiarly unclean, being one who has no respect for either human or divine things, but who throws everything into disorder and confusion by the immoderate vehemence of his passions, and by the extravagance of his wickedness, so that everything which he touches becomes faulty, having its nature changed by the wickedness of him who has taken them in hand. For in like manner the actions of the good are, on the contrary, all praiseworthy, being made better by the energies of those who apply themselves to them, since in some degree what is done resembles in its character the person who does it.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, BOOK 4

1 (I have in my previous treatises spoken of the laws relating to adultery and murder, and to all the subordinate offences which come under those head, with, as I persuade myself, all the accuracy which the case admits of, and now, proceeding in the regular order, I must consider what is the third commandment in the second table, but the eighth in all, if the two tables are taken together, namely, the commandment, "Thou shall not Steal." [Exodus 20:13.] (Whoever carries off or leads away the property of another when he has no right to do so, if he does it openly and by main force, shall be set down as a common enemy, and shall be prosecuted as having with lawless wickedness contrived a shameless act of audacity. But if he has done it secretly, endeavoring to escape notice like a thief, exhibiting some modesty, and making the darkness the veil of his iniquity, let him then be punished privately as only liable to condemnation in respect of the one individual whom he endeavored to injure; and let him restore double the value of the thing stolen, making amends by his own most righteous suffering for the unrighteous advantage he has endeavored to gain. (But if he is a poor man, and consequently unable to pay the penalty, let him be sold (for it is fitting that that man should be deprived of his freedom who for the sake of his most iniquitous gain has endured to become a slave to guilt), that he who has been ill-treated may not be allowed to depart without consolation, as if he appeared to have his claims disregarded by reason of the poverty of the man who has robbed him. (And let no one accuse this ordinance of inhumanity; for the man who is sold is not left as a slave for ever and ever, but within the space of seven years he is released by a common proclamation as I have shown in my treatise on the number seven. (And let him be content to pay the double penalty, or even to be sold, since he has committed no slight offence; sinning in the first place in that, not being content with what he had, he has desired more, encouraging a feeling of covetousness, a treacherous and incurable wickedness. Secondly, because he has cast his eyes on the property of others and longed for it, and has laid plots to deprive his neighbour of his own, depriving the owner of what belongs to him. Thirdly, because through his desire to escape detection, he very often keeps to himself all the advantage that can be derived from the thing he appropriates, and diverts the accusation so as to cause it to fall upon the innocent, thus making the investigation of the truth blind. (And such a man appears in some degree to be himself his own accuser, being convicted by his own conscience of the theft of those things which he has secretly stolen, being filled either with shame or fear, one of which feelings is a proof of his considering his action a disgraceful one, for it is only disgraceful actions which cause shame, and the other is a sign of his thinking it deserving of punishment, for punishment causes fear.

CONCERNING HOUSEBREAKERS

2 (If any one being insanely carried away by a desire for the property of others attempts to steal it, and not being able easily to carry it off breaks into a house at night, using the darkness as a veil to conceal his wicked action, if he be caught in the fact before the sun has risen, he may be slain by the master of the house in the breaches, having accomplished the lesser object which he had proposed to himself, namely, theft, but having been hindered by some one from accomplishing the greater crime which might have followed it, namely, murder; since he was prepared with iron house-breaking tools which he bore, and other arms, to defend himself from any attack. But if the sun has risen, then let him no longer be slain by the hand of the master of the house, but let him be led away and brought before the magistrates and judges, to suffer whatever punishment they condemn him to. (For while men are remaining in their houses at night, and when they have betaken themselves to rest, whether they be rulers or private individuals, in either case there is no refuge or assistance for the offender; on which account the inmate of the house has the power of punishment in his own hands, being appointed magistrate and judge by the very time itself. (But in the day time the courts of justice and the council chambers are open, and the city is full of persons who will help to arrest the criminal; some of whom have been formally appointed guardians of the laws; and others, without any such appointment, by their natural disposition which hates iniquity, take up the cause of those who are injured; and before these men the thief must be brought; for thus the man who seeks revenge will escape the charge of arrogance or rashness, and appear to be acting in the spirit of the democracy. But if, when the sun has risen and is shining upon the earth, any one slays a robber with his own hand before bringing him to trial, he shall be held guilty, as having been guided by passion rather than by reason, and as having made the laws second to his own impulses. I should say to such a man, "My, friend, do not, because you have been injured by night by a thief, on this account in the daylight yourself commit a worse theft, not indeed affecting money, but affecting the principles of justice, in accordance with which the constitution of the state is established."

ABOUT THE THEFT OF A SHEEP OR AN OX

3 Now other thefts are to be atoned for by a payment of double the value of the thing stolen; but if any one steals an ox or a sheep, the law thinks such a man worthy of a greater punishment, giving a particular honour and precedence to those animals which are the most excellent among all tame flocks and herds, not only by reason of the beauty of their bodies, but also because of the service they are of to the life of man. And on this account the lawgiver has not affixed a fine of equal amount to the theft of each animal, but having calculated the use of both and the purposes for which both are available, he has appraised their value in this way. For he commands that the thief shall restore four sheep and five oxen in the place of the one which he has stolen; since a sheep gives four kinds of tribute, milk, and cheese, and its fleece, and a lamb, every year: but an ox furnishes five; three of which are the same as those of the sheep--the milk, the cheese, and the offspring; but two are peculiar to itself, the plowing of the earth, and the threshing of the corn; the first of which actions is the first step towards the sowing of the crops, and the other is the end, being for the purification of the crop after it is gathered in, in order to the more easy use of it for food.

CONCERNING KIDNAPPERS

4 A kidnapper also is a thief; but he is, moreover, a thief who steals the very most excellent thing that exists upon the earth. Now, in the case of inanimate things, and of those animals which are of no very great use indeed in life, he has commanded twice the value of them to be paid to their owners by those who steal them, as has been said before. And again, in the case of those tame and very useful flocks and herds of sheep and oxen, he has ordered the payment to be fourfold or fivefold; but man, as it seems, has been assigned the most pre-eminent position among the animals, being, as it were, a near relation of God himself, and akin to him in respect of his participation in reason; which makes him immortal, although he is liable to death. On which account every one who feels any admiration of virtue is full of exceeding anger, and is utterly implacable against kidnappers, who for the sake of most iniquitous gain dare to inflict slavery on those who are free by birth, and who partake of the same nature as themselves. For if masters perform a praiseworthy action when they emancipate servants born in their house or purchased with money, even though they have often not done them any great service, from the slavery in which they are held, because of their own humanity by which they are influenced, how heavy ought to be the accusation which is brought against those who deprive of that most excellent of all possessions, freedom, those who are at present in possession of it; when it is an object for which man, who has been well born and properly brought up, would think it glorious to die? And before now, some men, increasing their own innate wickedness, and directing the natural treachery of their characters to a violation of all rights, have studied to bring slavery not only upon strangers and foreigners, but even upon those of the same nation as themselves; and sometimes, even upon men of the same borough and of the same tribe, disregarding the community of laws and customs, in which they have been bred up with them from their earliest infancy, which nature stamps upon their souls as the firmest bond of good will in the case of all those who are not very intractable and greatly addicted to cruelty; who, for the sake of lawless gain sell slaves to slave-dealers, and enslave them to any chance persons, transporting them to a foreign land, so that they shall never any more salute their native land, not even in a dream, nor taste of any hope of happiness. For these kidnappers would be committing a lighter iniquity if they themselves retained the services of those whom they have enslaved, but as the case stands at present they commit a double wrong, in selling them again, and thus making them two masters instead of one, and raising up two slaveries as enemies to their condition. For they, being aware of the former prosperous condition of those whom they have carried off, might perhaps repent, feeling a tardy and late compassion for those who are thus fallen, having a proper awe of the uncertainty of fortune eluding all conjectures. But those who buy persons in this condition, out of ignorance of their families, will neglect them as if they were sprung from successive generations of slaves, having no inducement in their souls to display that gentleness and humanity towards them which it would be natural for them to preserve in the case of slaves who had become so after having been originally and naturally free-born. And let whatever punishment the court of justice shall sentence them to be inflicted upon those who kidnap and enslave those of another nation; but upon those who kidnap those of their own country and of their own blood, and who sell them for slaves, shall be passed the unalterable sentence of death. For, in fact, one's own countrymen are not far from blood relations, and they must very nearly come under the same definition with them.

CONCERNING DAMAGE

5 "In the field also," as some one of the old writers has said, "lawsuits arise;" since covetousness and a desire for the possessions of others does not exist only in the city, but is found also outside the walls, inasmuch as it has its abode not only in various places, but also in the minds of insatiable and contentious men. On which account those cities which enjoy the best codes of laws elect double superintendents, and rulers, and providers of a common regularity and safety; one class to manage within the walls, whom they call curators of the city; the others without the walls, to whom also they give an appropriate name, for they call them agrarian magistrates. But what need could there be of agrarian magistrates if there were not some persons in the fields living only for the injury of their neighbours? If, therefore, any shepherd or goatherd,

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or oxherd, or in short any manager of any kind of cattle, drives his herds to feed and pasture upon another man's land, sparing neither crops nor trees, he shall pay a fine equal to the value of those crops and trees. And he may be very well content to escape with this punishment, having met with a very merciful and exceedingly indulgent law, which, though he has adopted the conduct of implacable foreign enemies, who are accustomed to lay waste the lands and to destroy the cultivated trees of the inhabitants, has, nevertheless, not chastised him as a common enemy, inflicting upon him death, or exile, or of, lastly, a confiscation of all his property; but has merely sentenced him to make good the damage done to the owner. For as the lawgiver was always seeking pretexts by which to lighten whatever misfortunes have been suffered by reason of the excessive gentleness and humanity which he derived from nature and from habit, he found an excuse for the shepherd on the ground that the nature of cattle was inconsiderate and disobedient, and especially so when in pursuit of food. Let the shepherd, then, be guilty, as having originally driven his herd into an unsuitable place, but still let him not bear the blame of every thing that has ensued from his doing so. For it is natural to suppose that, as soon as he perceived the mischief that had taken place he endeavored to drive them out again, but that his beasts resisted him, luxuriating in the green pasture, and the tender crops, and shoots which they were devouring.

CONCERNING NOT SETTING FIRE TO BRAMBLES INCONSIDERATELY

6 And not only do those men do damage who devour the property of others with their flocks and herds, but so also do those who inconsiderately and carelessly kindle a fire; for if the power of fire catches hold of any appropriate fuel, it spreads in every direction, and extends and devours all around. And when it has once got ahead it defies all the means of extinguishing it which any one seeks to apply, taking the very things employed for that purpose as food for its increase, until having consumed every thing it is at last exhausted by itself. It is right, therefore, never to leave any fire either in a house or in any stables in the fields unguarded, since we well know that a single spark has often smouldered long, and at last has been fanned into a flame, and so has consumed great cities, especially when the flame has been borne onwards by a favourable wind. Accordingly, in savage wars the first, the middle, and the last power which is excited is that of fire, to which the enemies trust more than they do to their squadrons of infantry, or cavalry, or to their fleets, or to their unlimited supplies of arms and naval stores. For if any one with good aim shoots a fiery arrow among a numerous squadron of ships he may burn it with all the crews, or he may thus destroy vast camps with all their baggage, and furniture, and equipments, on which the army rested its hopes of victory. If, then, any one scatters fire among a heap of brambles or thorns, and the fire kindles and burns a threshing floor full of wheat, or barley, or vetches, or sheaves of corn which have been gathered together, or any fertile plain full of pasture, then the man who scattered the fire shall pay the amount of the damage done, in order that by his suffering he may learn to take good care and to guard against the Beginnings [this resembles Ovid, which may be translated--"Check the first rise: all remedy's too late / When long delay has made the mischief great."] of things, and may not awaken and stir up an invincible power which might otherwise have remained quiet.

CONCERNING DEPOSITS

7 A deposit is the most sacred of all those things which relate to the associations of men with regard to property, inasmuch as it depends upon the good faith alone of the man who has received it. For loans are proved by contracts and writings, and things which, independent of loans, are openly used, have all the persons who see them for witnesses. But this is not the case with deposits, but the owner by himself gives them privily to the man who receives them by himself, looking carefully round the place, and not even taking a slave with him for the purpose of carrying the thing to be deposited, even though he be ever so affectionate to his master; for each of the two parties appears to be anxious to avoid discovery; the one depositing the thing in order to receive it again, and the other being desirous not to be known to have received it. But we ought by all means to look upon the invisible God as an unseen third party to every concealed action, whom it is natural to make as a witness for both parties; the receiver calling him to witness that he will restore the deposit when it is demanded back from him, and the other making him to see that he receives it back at the proper time. Let, then, the man who commits this great wickedness and denies his deposit not be ignorant that he has deceived him who committed it to him of his hope, and that he is concealing a wicked disposition under specious language, and that he is hypocritically pretending a bastard sort of faith while in reality faithless, showing that all his pledges are worthless and all his oaths disregarded, so that he neglects all human and all divine obligations; and that he is denying two deposits at once; firstly, the deposit of him who entrusted his property to his care; and secondly, that of that most unerring and infallible witness who sees all the actions of all men, and hears all the words of all men, whether they are willing that he should do so or not. But if the man who has received a deposit as a sacred thing thinks that he ought to keep it without fraud, duly honouring truth and good faith, but yet others who are always plotting against their neighbours' property, such as cutpurses or housebreakers, break in treacherously and steal the deposit so entrusted, then he shall pay as a penalty double the value of what has been stolen by the thieves. And if they are not taken, then the man who received the deposit shall go of his own accord before the divine tribunal, and stretching out his hands to heaven shall swear by his own life that he himself had no hand in the theft from any desire to appropriate what had been deposited with him, and that he did not voluntarily give it up to any one else; and that, moreover, he is not making a false statement of a robbery which has never taken Place. [Exodus 22:7.] For it would be absurd to punish a man who has done no wrong, or for a man who had taken refuge in the assistance of a friend when he was being injured by others, now to become the cause of injury to that friend. And deposits consist not only of inanimate things but also of animals: the danger of which last is twofold; first, that while they share in common with inanimate things in being liable to be stolen, and also one which is distinct and peculiar to themselves, that they are liable to die. We have hitherto been speaking only of the first kind of deposit, but we must now also explain the law about the second. If now any cattle which have been entrusted as a deposit die, then he who has received the deposit shall send for him who committed it to him, and show him the matter, protecting himself from any evil suspicion; but if the depositor be absent, then it is not proper to send for any one else, whose notice perhaps the depositor might have been desirous to escape; but when the depositor returns home, his friend shall swear to him that he has not been concealing any unjust appropriation of the animals by a false statement of their death. And if any one receives anything not as a deposit, but because he has borrowed it to use, whether it is a vessel or an animal; then if he be robbed of it, whichever it may be, or if the animal die, while the man who lent it is living with the borrower, the borrower shall not be liable, as the owner himself can be brought as a witness that there is no false pretence in the business; but if the lender be not with him at the time, he shall pay the value. Why so? because it is possible that the man who used the animal when the owner was not present may have either worn him out by continual labour so as to kill him, or may have worn out the vessel, from not taking any care of the property of another of which he ought to have been careful, and to have put it away, and not to have given thieves an easy opportunity of stealing it. But as our lawgiver was acute beyond all other men at discerning the consequences of actions, he proceeds to enact a series of prohibitions, one after another, preserving a due connexion between them, and taking care that his later commandments shall be consistent with his earlier cones. And with this harmonious connexion of what was to be said by him, he tells us that he was divinely inspired by the person of God speaking to him in this manner:--

"Ye shall not steal.

"Ye shall not speak falsely, and bring false accusations against your neighbour.

"And ye shall not swear by my name to compass an unjust end, and ye shall not profane my Name." [Leviticus 19:11.]

These injunctions are given with great beauty and very instructively; for the thief being convicted by his own conscience denies and speaks falsely, fearing the punishment which would ensue upon his confession. And he who denies an action seeks to attach the imputation to some one else, bringing a false accusation appear probable; and every false accuser is at once a perjured man, thinking but little of piety, since he has not just proofs; on which account he has recourse to what is called the inartificial mode of proof, that by oaths, thinking that by the invocation of God he shall produce belief among those who hear him. But let such an one know that he is ungodly and impious, inasmuch as he is defiling that which by nature is undefiled, the good and holy name of God.

THOU SHALT NOT BEAR FALSE WITNESS) [Exodus 20:16.]

8 This is the ninth of the ten commandments, being the fourth in number of those in the second table; but one which is calculated to bestow ten thousand benefits on human life if it be kept, as, on the other hand, it may injure men in innumerable ways if it is neglected; for the false accuser is to be blamed, but he who bears witness to what is false is more guilty still; for the one acts only from a desire to protect himself, but the other is wicked from his wish to co-operate with another in iniquity. And in the comparison of wicked men he who does wrong for his own sake is less unrighteous than he who does so for another. And every judge looks with suspicion on an accuser, as likely to pay but little attention to truth for the sake of coming off in safety himself, on which account the accuser stands in need of a preface to beg the attention of the hearer while he is speaking; but if the judge has no prejudice against a witness on any personal grounds he receives his evidence with a willing mind and open ears, while he is covering over those most excellent things, truth and good faith, which specious language. And the false witnesses use seductive words as a sportsman uses bait for the purpose of attaining the objects which he desires and aims at. For which reasons, in many parts of his enactment of the law, he commands that we should not approve of any wicked man or Action. [Exodus 23:1.] For any approbation of what is not virtuous is likely to lead to giving false evidence; since every one to whom iniquity is a disagreeable and hateful thing is a friend of truth. Now there is no great wonder in a man's having connected himself with one wicked person, who has incited him to an action resembling his own character; but it is a sign of a noble soul, and of a disposition practiced in manly resolutions not to follow a multitude to do evil, like a man borne down over a precipice by the collective force of a torrent. For some people, among the multitude, think some things lawful and just, even though they be most flagitious, not judging correctly; for it is well to follow nature, but this impulse of the multitude is wholly at variance with the following of nature. If, then, some persons, being assembled together in companies and numerous multitudes, attempt to make any innovations, one must not consent to them, since they are adulterating the ancient and approved coinage of the state; for one wise counsel is superior to many attempts, but ignorance, in conjunction with numbers, is a great evil; but some persons practice such an excess of wickedness that they not only accuse mortal men, but adhere and cling to their unrighteousness, so as even to raise their lies as high as heaven, and to bear their testimony against the blessed and happy nature of God. And by these men I mean soothsayers, and diviners, and augurs, and all other persons who practice what they call divination studying, an art without any art, if one must tell the plain truth, a mere bare imitation of the real inspiration and prophetic gift; for a prophet does not utter anything whatever of his own, but is only an interpreter, another Being suggesting to him all that he utters, while he is speaking under inspiration, being in ignorance that his own reasoning powers are departed, and have quitted the citadel of his soul; while the divine spirit has entered in and taken up its abode there, and is operating upon all the organization of his voice, and making it sound to the distinct manifestation of all the prophecies which he is delivering. But all those persons who pursue the spurious and pretended kind of prophecy are inverting the order of truth by conjectures and guesses, perverting sincerity, and easily influencing those who are of unstable dispositions, as a violent wind, when blowing in a contrary direction, tosses about and overturns vessels without ballast, preventing them from anchoring in the safe havens of truth. For such persons think proper to say whatever they conjecture, not as if they were things which they themselves had found out, but as if they were divine oracles revealed to themselves alone, for the more complete inducement of great and numerous crowds to believe a deceit. Such persons our lawgiver very appropriately calls false prophets, who adulterate the true prophecy, and overshadow what is genuine by their spurious devices; but in a very short time all their manoeuvres are detected, since nature does not choose to be always hidden, but, when a suitable opportunity offers, displays her own power with irresistible strength. For as in the case of eclipses of the sun the rays which have, for a brief moment, been obscured, a short time afterwards shine forth again, exhibiting an unclouded and far-seen brilliancy without anything whatever coming over the sun at all, but one unalloyed blaze beaming forth from him in a serene sky; so also, even though some persons may deliver predictions, practising a lying art of prophecy, and disguising themselves under the specious name of prophetic inspiration, falsely taking the name of God in vain, they will be easily convicted. For, again, the truth will come forth and will beam forth, shedding around a most conspicuous light, so that the falsehood which has previously overshadowed it will disappear. Moreover there also was an Excellent [Numbers 35:30.] commandment that Moses gave when he ordained that the judge should "not receive the testimony of one Witness." [Deuteronomy 17:6; 19:15.] First of all, because it is possible that one person may without designing it have a false impression of a thing, or may be careless about it and therefore be deceived. For there are innumerable false opinions, which frequently arise from an innumerable variety of grounds; and secondly, because it is most unjust to trust to one witness against many persons, or indeed against only one individual; in the first place, because many are more entitled to belief than one, since the one is not superior in number to many, and equality of number is inconsistent with any preponderance; for why should the judge trust a single witness, bearing testimony against another, rather than the defendant pleading in his own behalf? But, as it should seem, it is best to suspend one's opinion, where there is no deficiency and no excess to guide the judgement.

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ON THE OFFICE AND CHARACTER OF A JUDGE

9 The law thinks that all those who adhere to the sacred constitution, established by Moses, ought to be free from all unreasonable passions, and from all wickedness; and most especially ought all men to be so, who are either appointed by lot or elected to judge between others; for it is an absurdity for these men to be themselves liable to the imputation of error, who undertake to dispense justice to others, whom it becomes to give a faithful copy of the works of nature, presenting an accurate representation of a model picture; for as the power of fire which disperses warmth to all other things which it reaches, was, long before doing so, warm as far as it was itself concerned, and as, on the contrary, the power of snow cools other things, by the fact of its being itself cooled previously, so also ought the judge to be full of pure unalloyed justice, if he is to irrigate all who come before him with justice, in order that from him, as from a sweet fountain, a wholesome spring may be afforded to all who thirst for a dispensation of good law. And this will be the case of any one who undertakes the office of a judge looks upon it as if he were at the same time judging and being judged himself, and when he takes up the pebble with which he is to give his vote, were at the same time to take up wisdom so as not to be deceived, and justice so as to dispense to each party what they deserve, and courage so as never to yield to supplications or to feelings of compassion, so as to diminish the punishment due to convicted offenders; for the man who studies these virtues may reasonably be looked upon as a common benefactor, like a good pilot tranquillising the storms of affairs in such a manner as to secure the preservation and safety of those who have committed their interests to him.

10 In the first place the law enjoins the judge not to listen to vain Reports. [Exodus 23:1.] Why is this? The law says, "My good man, let thy ears be purified." And they will be purified if they are continually washed out with a stream of virtuous language, never admitting the long, and false, and vain, and hackneyed protestations, so deserving to be ridiculed, of fabulists or vain babblers, or hyperbolical exaggerations, who make a great deal of things of no importance; and this is what is meant by the injunction not to listen to vain reports, and also by another precept in some degree consistent with the former. For, says the lawgiver, he who attends to those who give evidence on hearsay is attending to vanity and not to sound reason because the eyes do indeed dwell with the very things which are done, taking hold of them as one may say, and comprehending and seizing upon them in all their parts, the light co-operating with them, by means of which all things are illuminated and clearly proved; but the ears, as one of the philosophers of old has very truly said, are less trustworthy than the eyes, inasmuch as they are not themselves present at the transactions, but are attracted by words as the interpreter of facts, which are not always disposed to tell the truth; for which reasons some of the lawgivers among the Greeks, having transcribed some of the laws from the two tables of Moses, appear to have established very wise regulations, forbidding any one to mention in his testimony anything that he has heard, on the ground that it is right to look upon what a man has seen as trustworthy, but on what he has heard as not in all respects certain.

11 The second commandment given to a judge is not to receive gifts;[Exodus 23:8.] for gifts, says the law, blind the eyes that see, and pervert justice, and do not permit the mind to travel along the level road which leads to righteousness; and to receive bribes to aid in unjust actions is the action of very wicked men indeed; and even to do so for the purpose of furthering good objects is the conduct of persons who are half wicked; for there are some judges speciously disguised, half wicked, something between just and unjust, armed indeed in the cause of those who are injured, as their champions against those who injure them, but still not desirous to cause them to prevail, without deriving any advantage to themselves from their victory, though they ought to prevail; but making their decision corrupt and mercenary. Then, when any one blames them, they affirm that they have not perverted justice; for that those have been defeated who ought to have been defeated, and that those have gained their cause who ought to have got the better; alleging a most unworthy and false defence; for a righteous judge ought to exhibit two things, a judgement in strict accordance with the law, and incorruptibility; but he who is a judge for bribes, even though he decides justly, does without perceiving it defile a thing which is beautiful by nature. Moreover, he also offends in two other points; in the first place, because he is accustoming himself to be covetous of money; which is the beginning of the very greatest iniquities; and secondly, because he is injuring the man whom he ought to benefit; by making him pay a price for justice; on which account Moses has very instructively commanded, that the judge shall pursue what is righteous in a righteous manner;[Deuteronomy 16:19.] intimating under this figurative expression, that it is possible to do so in an unrighteous manner, because of those men who sell just and legal decisions for money, and only in the courts of justice, but everywhere in every part of land and sea, and I had almost said in all the transactions of life. For instance, it has happened before now, that a man who has received a deposit of small value, has given it back again when demanded, more by way of laying a snare for him who receives it back, than with any idea of serving him, in order that by showing good faith in things of small value as a bait he may cover over the look of his faithlessness in greater things, and such conduct is nothing else than pursuing justice in an unrighteous manner; for the restitution of what did not belong to him was just, but it was done in an unrighteous manner, inasmuch as it was only done as a bait to attract more. And the cause of all such offences is principally the inclination to and the familiar habit of falsehood, which, from their very birth and swaddling clothes, their nurses and mothers, and all the whole multitude in the house, whether free-born persons or slaves, habituate them to and familiarise them with both by words and actions, adapting it to and uniting it with their souls, as a necessary part of them by nature, though, if it had in truth been implanted in them by nature, it would have been necessary to eradicate it by instilling good habits into them instead. And what in life is there equally beautiful with truth, which the all-wise legislator erected in the most sacred place, in that part of the dress of the chief priest, where the dominant part of the soul lies, wishing to adorn it with the most beautiful and glorious of all ornaments? And next to truth he has placed power as akin to it, which he has in this case called manifestation, being the two images of the two kinds of speech which exist in us, the secret speech and the lettered speech, for the lettered speech requires manifestation, by which the secret thoughts in all our hearts are made known to our neighbour, but the secret speech has need of truth for the perfection of life and actions, by means of which the road to happiness is found out.

12 The third commandment given to a judge is to investigate the transactions themselves, in preference to showing any regard to the parties to the suit; and to attempt, in every imaginable manner, to separate himself from all respect of persons; constraining himself to an ignorance and forgetfulness of all those things of which he has any knowledge or recollection; such as relations, friends, countrymen or foreigners, enemies or hereditary connexions, so that neither affection nor hatred may overshadow his knowledge of justice; for he must stumble like a blind man, who is advancing without a staff, and who has no one to guide him in whom he can rely firmly. For which reason it is fitting that a righteous judge should have it even concealed from him who the parties to the suit are, and that he should look at the undisguised, simple nature of the transactions themselves; so as not to be liable to judge in accordance with random opinion, but according to real truth, and to be guided by such an opinion as this, that judgement is of God;[Deuteronomy 1:17.] and that the judge is the minister and steward of his judgement; and a steward is not allowed to give away the things of his master, as he has received as a pledge the most excellent of all the things which exist in human life, from the most excellent of all beings.

13 And in addition to what has already been said, there is another most admirable precept given which enjoins the judge "not to show pity upon the poor man in his Judgement." [Exodus 23:3.] While in other precepts the lawgiver has filled nearly the whole of the law with precepts of mercy and humanity, and has uttered great threats against arrogant and insolent men, and has proposed great rewards for those who endeavor to make amends for the misfortunes of their neighbours, and who look upon their superfluities not as their own exclusive possessions, but as the common property of every one in want; for it was a felicitous and true saying of one of the wise men of old, that men never act in a manner more resembling the gods than when they are bestowing benefits; and what can be a greater good than for mortal men to imitate the everlasting God? Let not then the rich man collect in his house vast quantities of silver and gold, and store them up, but let him bring them forward freely in order by his cheerful bounty to soften the hard condition of the poor; nor let any man be puffed up with vain glory, and raise himself and boast himself in pride and arrogance, but let a man rather honour equality, and allow freedom of speech to those of low estate. And let the man who enjoys vigor of body be the prop of those who are weaker, and let him not like the men at the gymnastic contests strive by every means to overthrow those who are inferior in strength, but let him be willing and eager to assist with his own power those who, as far as they themselves are concerned, are ready to faint. For all those who have drunk deep of the fountains of wisdom, having banished envy entirely out of their minds, are of their own accord, and without any prompting, ready to undertake the assistance of their neighbours, pouring the streams of their words into their souls through their ears, so as to impart to them a participation in similar knowledge with themselves. And when they see young men of good dispositions springing up like flourishing and vigorous shoots of a vine, they rejoice, thinking that they have found proper inheritors for this wealth of their souls, which is the only real riches, and having taken them they cultivate their souls with doctrines and good meditations, until they arrive at full strength and maturity, so as to bring forth the fruit of excellence. Many such ornaments as these are woven into and inserted among the laws, in order to enrich the poor on whom it is always proper to have compassion except at the time of giving judgement, for compassion is due to misfortunes; but he who behaves wickedly with deliberate purpose is not unfortunate but unrighteous, and punishment is due to the unrighteous just as honours should be confirmed to the just, so that no wicked man who is in difficulties, and who conceals the truth, ought to escape punishment through the pity excited by his poverty, since he has done what deserves not pity (how should it?) but great anger. And let the man who undertakes the duty of a judge, like a skilful money-changer, divide and distinguish between the natures of things, in order that confusion may not be caused by the mixing together of what is good with what is spurious. And there are many other things which may be said with respect to false witnesses and judges; but for the sake of avoiding prolixity we must proceed now to the last of the ten commandments, which is delivered also in a concise and summary form as each of the others is: and this commandment is, "Thou shall not covet."

ON COVETING

14 Every passion is open to and deserving of blame, inasmuch as every immoderate and violent impulse, and every irrational and unnatural emotion of the soul is also faulty and blamable, for what is either of these things but an ancient passion spread over a wider extent? If any one, therefore, does not set limits to these feelings, nor put a bridle on them as on restive horses, he will be afflicted by an evil difficult to remedy, and then, without being aware of it, he will, because of their unrestrainable character, be carried away by them, as a charioteer sometimes is by a chariot, and hurried into ravines and pits from which it is difficult to rise up, and very hard to escape with safety. But of all the passions there is not one so grievous as a covetous desire of what one has not got, of things which are in appearance good, but not in reality; a desire which produces grievous anxieties which are hard to satisfy; for such a passion puts the reason to flight, and banishes it to a great distance, involving the soul in great difficulties, while the object which is desired flies away contemptuously, retreating not with its back but with its face to one; for when a person perceives this passion of covetousness after having started up rapidly, then resting for a short time, either with a view to spread out its alluring toils, or because it has learnt to entertain a hope of succeeding in its object, he then retires to a longer distance uttering reproaches against it; but the passion itself, being left behind and coming too late to succeed, struggles, bearing a Tantalus-like punishment in its miserable future; for it is said that Tantalus, when he desired to obtain any liquor to drink, was not able to do so, as the water retreated from his lips,[the story of Tantalus is told in Homer, Od. 11.581 (as it is translated by Pope)--"There Tantalus along the Stygian bounds, / Pours out deep groans (with groans all hell resounds); / Ev'n in the circling floods refreshment craves, / And pines with thirst among a sea of waves; / When to the water he his lip applies, / Back from his lip the treacherous water flies. / Above, beneath, around his hapless head, / Trees of all kinds delicious fruitage spread; / There figs, sky-dyed, a purple hue disclose, / Green looks the olive, the pomegranate glows; / There dangling pears exalting scents unfold, / And yellow apples ripen into gold. / The first he strives to seize; but blasts arise, / Toss it on high, and whirl it to the skies."] and if he wished to gather any fruit, it all disappeared, the productiveness of the trees becoming suddenly barren; for as those implacable and inexorable mistresses of the body, thirst and hunger, do very often strain it more, or at all events not less, than those unhappy persons are strained who are racked by the torture even to death, unless when they have become violent some one appeases them with meat and drink; in like manner, covetous desire, having first rendered the soul empty through its forgetfulness of what is present and its recollection of what is removed to a great distance, fills it with impetuosity and madness, and introduces into it masters worse than even its former tyrants, but having the same names with them, namely, hunger and thirst, not, however, now of those things which conduce to the enjoyment of the belly, but of money, and glory, and authority, and beauty, and of innumerable other things which appear to be objects of desire and contention in human life. And as the disease which the physicians call the herpes,[so called from herpoμ, "to creep."] does not stop in one part of the body, but moves about and overruns the skin, and, as its name shows, creeps about (dierpei), and becomes diffused in every direction, and spreading widely seizes hold of and infects with its contact the whole combination of the different parts of the body from the head to the feet, so in the same manner does covetous desire spread over the whole soul, and leave not even the smallest portion of it free from its inroads, imitating the power of fire when supplied with abundant fuel, for that spreads and burns away till it has devoured and destroyed everything with which it meets.

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15 So great and so excessive an evil is covetous desire; or rather, if I am to speak the plain truth concerning it, it is the source of all evils. For from what other source do all the thefts, and acts of rapine, and repudiation of debt, and all false accusations, and acts of insolence, and, moreover, all ravishments, and adulteries, and murders, and, in short, all mischiefs, whether private or public, or sacred or profane, take their rise? For most truly may covetous desire be said to be the original passion which is at the bottom of all these mischiefs, of which love is one and the most significant offspring, which has not once but many times filled the whole world with indescribable evils; which even the whole circumference of the world has not been large enough to contain, but out of their vast number they, as if carried on by the impetuosity of a torrent, have fallen into the sea, and all seas in every region have been filled with hostile fleets. It is owing to this passion that all the terrible evils which are caused by naval wars have happened; and, coming upon all continents and all islands together, have thrown them into confusion, spreading everywhere and returning in their own steps like the warriors in the diaulos,[the diaulos was the race in which the runners ran to the goal and back to the starting post.] or like the ebb and flow of the tides of the sea, returning to the point from which they originally set out. And by looking at it in this manner we shall more clearly perceive the power of this passion. Everything which covetous desire lays hold of is by it changed for the worse, like poisonous serpents or deadly poisons. Now what is it that I mean when I say this? If this passion is directed towards money, it makes thieves, and cut-purses, and clothesstealers, and house-breakers, and taints men with the guilt of the repudiation of debts, of the denial of deposits, of bribery and sacrilege, and all such iniquities as those. If it is directed towards glory, it makes men insolent, overbearing, fickle, and unstable in their dispositions, depending wholly on what is said to them and on what they hear, at the same time humbled and elated by reason of the variety and inconstancy of the multitudes who praise and blame them with inconsiderate impetuosity, inconsiderate in their enmity and in their friendship, so as easily to change from one to the other, and fills them with all sorts of humours akin to and resembling these. Again, if the desire takes the direction of wishing for authority and power, it renders men's natures seditious, unequal, and tyrannical, it makes them cruel and inhuman enemies of their native countries, implacable masters unable to restrain themselves, irreconcileable forces to all who are equal to themselves in might, flatterers of those who are more powerful than themselves, in order to be able to attack them treacherously. If what is desired is beauty of person, it makes men seducers, ravishers, adulterers, paederasts, practicers of licentiousness and incontinence, it teaches them to regard the greatest evils as the most fortunate of blessings. This passion, also, when it extends to the tongue, often causes innumerable evils; for some persons desire either to be silent about what ought to be mentioned, or to mention what ought to be buried in silence, and avenging justice pursues them if they reveal things improperly, or, on the contrary, if they are unseasonably silent. When it affects the parts about the belly it makes men gluttonous, insatiable, intemperate, debauched, admirers of a profligate life, delighting in drunkenness, and epicurism, slaves to strong wine, and fish, and meat, pursuers of feasts and tables, wallowing like greedy dogs; owing to all which things their lives are rendered miserable and accursed, and they are reduced to an existence more grievous than any death. For this reason those who have tasted deeply of philosophy, not merely with their lips, but feasting thoroughly on its profound doctrines, investigating the nature of the soul, and comprehending its threefold character, and how it is divided into reason, and anger, and appetite, have attributed the chief post to reason as the principal authority, assigning to it the head as its most appropriate abode, where also the company of the outward senses, who are always present as the body-guards of the mind as their king, are stationed; and assigning the breast as the abode of anger, partly in order that the man, being, like a soldier, armed with this as with a breastplate, so that, even if it be not utterly free from all injury, it may, at least, be difficult to subdue, and partly in order that, dwelling near the mind, it may be benefited by its neighbour, who charms it by its wisdom, and who renders the passions gentle and manageable; and to appetite they assign the place around the navel, and to that part which is called the diaphragm. For it was proper that that, as having the smallest participation in reason, should be removed as far as possible from the palace of the mind and located almost at the very extremities; and that which is the most insatiable and the most intemperate of all, the passions, should be confined to the pastures of cattle, where they can find food and opportunities for the propagation of their species.

16 And the most holy Moses appears to me to have had a regard to all these circumstances, and on that account to have commanded that men should discard this passion, detesting it as the most disgraceful thing and the cause of most disgraceful actions; and, therefore, to have prohibited it above all other feelings as an engine for the destruction of the soul; but if that engine is destroyed and the soul brought back to its obedience, to the guidance of reason, the man will become entirely filled with peace and obedience to law and all sorts of perfect good things, so as to produce complete happiness. But as he was fond of brevity and accustomed to cut short things which were inclined to be countless in point of number, by a mode of teaching which was confined to general instances, he begins to admonish and to correct one appetite, that which is concerned about the belly; conceiving that the other appetites will not be equally restive, but will be brought to order by learning that the most important and authoritative of the whole has become obedient to the laws of moderation. What, then, is the lesson which he gives us about this origin of all vices? There are two things of a most comprehensive nature, meat and drink. He, then, has not left either of them unrestrained, but has bridled them with especial commands most calculated to lead them to temperance and to humanity, and to the greatest of all virtues, piety; for he commanded men to offer first fruits of corn, and wine, and oil, and cattle, and other things;[Numbers 18:12.] and to distribute the first fruits among the sacrificers and the priests; among the sacrificers because of the gratitude due to God for the abundance and fertility of all things, and to the priests because of their sacred ministrations about the temple, and therefore they were worthy to receive wages for their services in respect of the sacred Ceremonies. [Numbers 18:31.] And he utterly forbids any one to taste of anything, or to take any portion of anything, before separating off the first fruits, wishing also by this injunction to inculcate the practice of most useful temperance; for he who has learnt not to throw himself greedily on all the abundance which the seasons of the year have brought, but to wait till the first fruits are consecrated, is likely to be able to restrain the restive obstinacy of the passions, making them gentle and manageable.

CONCERNING ANIMALS

17 Moreover, Moses has not granted an unlimited possession and use of all other animals to those who partake in his sacred constitution, but he has forbidden with all his might all animals, whether of the land, or of the water, or that fly through the air, which are most fleshy and fat, and calculated to excite treacherous pleasure, well knowing that such, attracting as with a bait that most slavish of all the outward senses, namely, taste, produce insatiability, an incurable evil to both souls and bodies, for insatiability produces indigestion, which is the origin and source of all diseases and weaknesses. Now of land animals, the swine is confessed to be the nicest of all meats by those who eat it, and of all aquatic animals the most delicate are the fish which have no scales; and Moses is above all other men skilful in training and inuring persons of a good natural disposition to the practice of virtue by frugality and abstinence, endeavoring to remove costly luxury from their characters, at the same time not approving of unnecessary rigour, like the lawgiver of Lacedaemon, nor undue effeminacy, like the man who taught the Ionians and the Sybarites lessons of luxury and license, but keeping a middle path between the two courses, so that he has relaxed what was over strict, and tightened what was too loose, mingling the excesses which are found at each extremity with moderation, which lies between the two, so as to produce an irreproachable harmony and consistency of life, on which account he has laid down not carelessly, but with minute particularity, what we are to use and what to avoid. One might very likely suppose it to be just that those beasts which feed upon human flesh should receive at the hands of men similar treatment to that which they inflict on men, but Moses has ordained that we should abstain from the enjoyment of all such things, and with a due consideration of what is becoming to the gentle soul, he proposes a most gentle and most pleasant banquet; for though it is proper that those who inflict evils should suffer similar calamities themselves, yet it may not be becoming to those whom they ill treated to retaliate, lest without being aware of it they become brutalized by anger, which is a savage passion; and he takes such care to guard against this, that being desirous to banish as far as possible all desire for those animals abovementioned, he forbids with all his energy the eating of any carnivorous animal at all, selecting the herbivorous animals out of those kinds which are domesticated, since they are tame by nature, feeding on that gentle food which is supplied by the earth, and having no disposition to plot evil against anything.

WHAT QUADRUPEDS ARE CLEAN

18 The animals which are clean and lawful to be used as food are ten in number; the heifer, the lamb, the goat, the stag, the antelope, the buffalo, the roebuck, the pygarga, the wildox, and the chamois,[Deuteronomy 14:4.] for he always adheres to that arithmetical subtilty which, as he originally devised it with the minutest accuracy possible, he extends to all existing things, so that he establishes no ordinances, whether important or unimportant, without taking and as it were adapting this number to it as closely connected with the regulations which he is ordaining. Now of all the numbers beginning from the unit, the most perfect is the number ten, and as Moses says, it is the most sacred of all and a holy number, and by it he now limits the races of animals that are clean, wishing to assign the use of them to all those who partake of the constitution which he is establishing. And he gives two tests and criteria of the ten animals thus Enumerated [Leviticus 11:3.] by two signs, first, that they must part the hoof, secondly, that they must chew the cud; for those which do neither, or only one of these things, are unclean. And these signs are both of them symbols of instruction and of the most scientific learning, by which the better is separated from the worse, so that all confusion between them is prevented; for as the animal which chews the cud, while it is masticating its food draws it down its throat, and then by slow degrees kneads and softens it, and then after this process again sends it down into the belly, in the same manner the man who is being instructed, having received the doctrines and speculations of wisdom in at his ears from his instructor, derives a considerable amount of learning from him, but still is not able to hold it firmly and to embrace it all at once, until he has resolved over in his mind everything which he has heard by the continued exercise of his memory (and this exercise of memory is the cement which connects ideas), and then he impresses the image of it all firmly on his soul. But as it seems the firm conception of such ideas is of no advantage to him unless he is able to discriminate between and to distinguish which of contrary things it is right to choose and which to avoid, of which the parting of the hoof is the symbol; since the course of life is twofold, the one road leading to wickedness and the other to virtue, and since we ought to renounce the one and never to forsake the other.

WHAT BEASTS ARE NOT CLEAN

19 For this reason all animals with solid hoofs, and all with many toes are spoken of by implication as unclean; the one because, being so, they imply that the nature of good and evil is one and the same; which is just as if one were to say that the nature of a concave and a convex surface, or of a road up hill and down hill, was the same. And the other, because it shows that there are many roads, though, indeed, they have no right to be called roads at all, which lead the life of man to deceit; for it is not easy among a variety of paths to choose that which is the most desirable and the most excellent.

WHAT AQUATIC ANIMALS ARE CLEAN

20 Having laid down these definitions with respect to land animals, he proceeds to describe what aquatic creatures are clean and lawful to be used for food; distinguishing them also by two characteristics as having fins or Scales. [Leviticus 11:9.] For those which have neither one nor the other, and those which have only one of the two, he rejects and Prohibits. [Deuteronomy 14:10.] And he must state the cause, which is not destitute of sense and propriety; for all those creatures which are destitute of both, or even of one of the two, are sucked down by the current, not being able to resist the force of the stream; but those which have both these characteristics can stem the water, and oppose it in front, and strive against it as against an adversary, and struggle with invincible good will and courage, so that if they are pushed they push in their turn; and if they are pursued they turn upon their foe and pursue it in their turn, making themselves broad roads in a pathless district, so as to have an easy passage to and fro. Now both these things are symbols; the former of a soul devoted to pleasure, and the latter of one which loves perseverance and temperance. For the road which leads to pleasure is a down-hill one and very easy, being rather an absorbing gulf than a path. But the path which leads to temperance is up hill and labourious, but above all other roads advantageous. And the one leads men downwards, and prevents those who travel by it from retracing their steps until they have arrived at the very lowest bottom, but the other leads to heaven; making those who do not weary before they reach it immortal, if they are only able to endure its rugged and difficult ascent.

ABOUT REPTILES) [Leviticus 11:20.]

21 And adhering to the same general idea the lawgiver asserts that those reptiles which have no feet, and which crawl onwards, dragging themselves along the ground on their bellies, or those which have four legs, or many feet, are all unclean as far as regards their being eaten. And here, again, when he mentions reptiles he intimates under a figurative form of expression those who are devoted to their bellies, gorging themselves like cormorants, and who are continually offering up tribute to their miserable belly, tribute, that is, of strong wine, and confections, and fish, and, in short, all the superfluous delicacies which the skill and labour of bakers and confectioners are able to devise, inventing all sorts of rare viands, to stimulate and set on fire the insatiable and unappeasable appetites of man. And when he speaks of animals with four legs and many feet, he intends to designate the miserable slaves not of one single passion, appetite, but of all the passions; the genera of which were four in number; but in their subordinate species they are innumerable. Therefore, the despotism of one is very grievous, but that of many is most terrible, and as it seems intolerable. Again, in the case of those

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reptiles who have legs above their feet, so that they are able to take leaps from the ground, those Moses speaks of as clean; as, for instance, the different kinds of locusts, and that animal called the serpentfighter, here again intimating by figurative expressions the manners and habits of the rational soul. For the weight of the body being naturally heavy, drags down with it those who are but of small wisdom, strangling it and pressing it down by the weight of the flesh. But blessed are they to whose lot it has fallen, inasmuch as they have been well and solidly instructed in the rules of sound education, to resist successfully the power of mere strength, so as to be able, by reason of what they have learnt, to spring up from the earth and all low things, to the air and the periodical revolutions of the heaven, the very sight of which is to be admired and earnestly striven for by those who come to it of their own accord with no indolence or indifference.

CONCERNING FLYING Creatures4)[Leviticus 11:10.]

22 Having, therefore, in his ordinances already gone through all the different kinds of land animals and of those who live in the water, and having distinguished them in his code of laws as accurately as it was possible, Moses begins to investigate the remaining class of animals in the air; the innumerable kinds of flying creatures, rejecting all those which prey upon one another or upon man, all carnivorous birds, in short, all animals which are venomous, and all which have any power of plotting against others. But doves, and pigeons, and turtle-doves, and all the flocks of cranes, and geese, and birds of that kind, he numbers in the class of domestic, and tame, and eatable creatures, allowing every one who chooses to partake of them with impunity. Thus, in each of the parts of the universe, earth, water, and air, he refuses some kinds of each description of animal, whether terrestrial, or aquatic, or a'rial, to our use; and thus, taking as it were fuel from the fire, he causes the extinction of appetite.

CONCERNING CARCASSES AND BODIES WHICH HAVE BEEN TORN BY WILD

BEASTS

23 Moreover, Moses Commands [Leviticus 5:2.] that no man shall take of any dead carcass, or of any body which has been torn by wild beasts; partly because it is not fitting that man should share a feast with untameable beasts, so as to become almost a fellow reveller in their carnivorous festivals; and partly because perhaps it is injurious and likely to cause disease if the juice of the dead body becomes mingled with the blood, and perhaps, also, because it is proper to preserve that which has been pre-occupied and seized beforehand by death untouched, having a respect to the necessities of nature by which it has been seized. 2Now many of the lawgivers both among the Greeks and barbarians, praise those who are skilful in hunting, and who seldom fail in their pursuit or miss their aim, and who pride themselves on their successful hunts, especially when they divide the limbs of the animals which they have caught with the huntsmen and the hounds, as being not only brave hunters but men of very sociable dispositions. But any one who was a sound interpreter of the sacred constitution and code of laws would very naturally blame them, since the lawgiver of that code has expressly forbidden any enjoyment of carcasses or of bodies torn by beasts for the reasons before mentioned. But if any one of those persons who devote themselves wholly to meditations on and to the practice of virtue were suddenly to become fond of gymnastic exercises and of hunting, looking upon hunting as a sort of prelude to and representation of the wars and dangers that have to be encountered against the enemy, then, whenever such a man is successful in his sport, he ought to give the beasts which he has slain to his dogs as a feast for them, and as a reward or wages for their successful boldness and their irreproachable alliance. But he ought not himself to touch them, inasmuch as he has been previously taught in the case of irrational animals, what sentiments he ought to entertain, respecting his enemies. For he ought to carry on war against them, not for the sake of unrighteous gain like those who make a dishonest traffic of all their actions, but either in revenge for some calamities which he has previously suffered at their hands, or with a view toward some which he expects to suffer. But some men, with open mouths, carry even the excessive luxury and boundless intemperance of Sardanapalus to such an indefinite and unlimited extent, being wholly absorbed in the invention of senseless pleasures, that they prepare sacrifices which ought never be offered, strangling their victims, and stifling the essence of life,[Leviticus 17:11.] which they ought to let depart free and unrestrained, burying the blood, as it were, in the body. For it ought to have been sufficient for them to enjoy the flesh by itself, without touching any of those parts which have an connexion with the soul or life. On which account Moses, in another passage, establishes a law concerning blood, that one may not eat the blood nor the Fat. [Leviticus 3:17.] The blood, for the reason which I have already mentioned, that it is the essence of the life; not of the mental and rational life, but of that which exists in accordance with the outward senses, to which it is owing that both we and irrational animals also have a common existence.

CONCERNING THE SOUL OR LIFE OF MAN

24 For the essence of the soul of man is the breath of God, especially if we follow the account of Moses, who, in his history of the creation of the world, says that God breathed into the first man, the founder of our race, the breath of life; breathing it into the principal part of his body, namely the face, where the outward senses are established, the body-guards of the mind, as if it were the great king. And that which was thus breathed into his face was manifestly the breath of the air, or whatever else there may be which is even more excellent than the breath of the air, as being a ray emitted from the blessed and thricehappy nature of God. But Moses commanded men to abstain from eating fat, because it is gross. And again, he gave us this injunction, in order to inculcate temperance and a zeal for an austere life: for some things we easily abandon, and without any hesitation; though we do not willingly encounter any anxieties or labours for the sake of the acquisition of virtue. For which reason these two parts are to be taken out of every victim and burnt with fire, as a kind of first fruits, namely, the fat and the blood; the one being poured upon the altar as a libation; and the other as a fuel to the flame, being applied instead of oil, by reason of its fatness, to the consecrated and holy flame. The lawgiver blames some persons of his time as gluttons, and as believing that the mere indulgence of luxury is the happiest of all possible conditions, not being content to live in this manner only in cities in which there were abundant supplies and stores of all kinds of necessary things, but carrying their effeminacy even into pathless and untrodden deserts, and choosing in them also to have markets for fish and meat, and all things which can contribute to an easy life: then, when a scarcity arose, they assembled together and raised an outcry, and looked miserable, and with shameless audacity impeached their ruler, and did not desist from creating disturbances till they obtained what they desired; and they obtained it to their destruction, for two reasons: first of all, that it might be shown that all things are possible to God, who can find a way in the most difficult and apparently hopeless circumstances; and secondly, that punishment might fall on those who were intemperate in their gluttonous appetites, and obstinate resisters of holiness. For a vast cloud being Raised [Exodus 16:13.] out of the sea showered down quails about the time of sunrise, and the camp and all the district around it for a day's journey for a well-girt active man was overshadowed all about with the Birds. [Numbers 11:31.] And the height of the flight of the birds was distant from the ground a height of about two cubits, in order that they might be easily caught. 2It would have been natural therefore for them, being amazed at the marvelous nature of the prodigy which they beheld, to be satisfied with the sight, and being filled with piety to nourish their souls on that, and to abstain from eating flesh; but these men, on the contrary, stirred up their desires even more than before, and pursued these birds as the greatest good imaginable, and catching hold of them with both their hands filled their bosoms; then, having stored them up in their tents, they sallied forth to catch others, for immoderate covetousness has no limit. And when they had collected every description of food they devoured it insatiably, being about, vain-minded generation that they were, to perish by their own fulness; and indeed at no distant time they did perish by the purging of their bile,[Numbers 11:20.] so that the place itself derived its name from the calamity which fell upon them, for it was called the graves of their lust,[see Numbers 11:34: "And he called the name of that place Kibroth-hattaavah, because there they buried the people that lusted."] than which there is not in the soul, as the scripture teaches, us, any greater evil. For which reason Moses says with great beauty in his recommendations, "Let not every man do that which seemeth good to his own Eyes," [Deuteronomy 11:8.] which is equivalent to saying, let not any one gratify his own desire, but let each person seek to please God, and the world, and nature, and wise men, repudiating self-love, if he would become a good and virtuous man.

25 This may be sufficient to say, being in fact all that I am able to advance, about the laws which bear on appetite and desire by way of filling up the whole body of the ten commandments, and of the subordinate injunctions contained in them; for if we are to look upon the brief heads which were oracularly delivered by the voice of God, as the generic laws, and all the particular ordinances which Moses subsequently interpreted and added as the special laws; then there is need of great care and skill in order to preserve the arrangement unconfused in order to an accurate comprehension of it, and I therefore have taken great care, and have assigned and apportioned to each of these generic laws of the whole code all that properly belonged to it. But enough of this. We must however not remain ignorant that as separately there are some particular injunctions related to each one of the ten generic commandments, which have nothing in common with any one of the others; so also there are some things to be observed which are common to the whole, being adapted not to one or two, as people say, but to the whole ten commandments. And I mean by this those virtues which are of common utility, for each one of these ten laws separately, and all of them together, train men and encourage them to prudence, and justice, and piety, towards God and all the rest of the company of virtues, connecting sound words with good intentions, and virtuous actions with wise language, that so the organ of the soul may be wholly and entirely held together in a good and harmonious manner so as to produce a well-regulated and faultless innocence and consistency of life. 3We have spoken before of that queen of all the virtues, piety and holiness, and also of prudence and moderation; we must now proceed to speak of justice which is conversant about subjects which are akin and nearly related to Them.

26 One portion of justice, and that not an unimportant one, relates to courts of justice and to the judge, which indeed I have mentioned before, when I was going through the subject of testimony, and dwelling on it at some length, in order that nothing which belonged to the subject should be omitted; and as I am not fond of repetitions, unless indeed some necessity arising from the imperious character of the occasion compels me to it, I will pass that part of the subject over now, and will turn my attention to the other portions, having just said thus much as a preface. 3The law says, it is proper to lay up justice in one's heart, and to fasten it as a sign upon one's head, and as frontlets before one's eyes, figuratively intimating by the former expression that one ought to commit the precepts of justice, not to one's ears, which are not trustworthy, for there is no credit due to the ears, but to that most important and dominant part, stamping and impressing them on the most excellent of all offerings, a well approved seal; and by the second expression, that it is necessary not only to form proper conceptions of what is right, but also to do what one has decided upon as proper without delay. For the hand is the symbol of actions, to which Moses here commands the people to attach and fasten justice, saying, that it shall be a sign, of what indeed he has not expressly stated, because it is not a sign as I conceive of one particular thing, but of many, and, I may almost say, of everything with which the life of man is concerned. And by the third expression, he implies that justice is discerned everywhere as being close to the eyes. Moreover he says that, these things must have a certain motion; not one that shall be light and unsteady, but such as by its agitation may rouse the sight to the spectacle manifest before it; for motion is calculated to attract the sight, inasmuch as it excites and rouses it; of, I might rather say, inasmuch as it renders the eyes awake and sleepless. But the man to whom it happens to represent to the eyes of his mind things which are not quiet but which are in motion, and exerting energies in accordance with nature, is entitled to be set down as a perfect man, and no longer to be reckoned among learners and pupils, but among teachers and instructors; and he ought to allow all the young men who are desirous to do so, to drink of his wisdom as of an abundant stream flowing from a living fountain of lessons and Doctrines. [Deuteronomy 6:7.] And if there is any one who, out of modesty, is wanting of courage, and therefore delays, and is slow to approach him for the purpose of learning, let him go to him of his own accord, and pour into his ears a collection of admonitions, until the channels of his soul are filled with them. 4And let him instruct in the principles of justice all his relatives and friends, and all young men, at home and on the road, and when they are going to bed, and when they rise up; that in all their positions, and in all their motions, and in all places whether private or public, not only waking, but also while asleep, they may be delighted with the image and conception of justice. For there is no delight more exquisite than that which proceeds from the whole soul being entirely filled with justice, while devoted to the study of its everlasting doctrines and meditations, so that it has no vacant place at which injustice can effect an entrance. 4Moreover, he ordains that those who have written out these things should afterwards affix them to every house belonging to a friend, and to the gates which are in their walls; that all people, whether coming in or going out, whether citizens or strangers, reading the writing thus fixed on pillars before the gates, may have an unceasing recollection of all that ought to be said or that ought to be done; and that every one may take care neither to do nor to suffer injury; and that all persons, whether going into their houses or going out of them, men and women, children and servants, may do all that is proper and becoming to one another and to themselves.

THAT IT IS NOT LAWFUL TO ADD ANYTHING TO OR TO TAKE ANYTHING FROM THE LAW

27 The lawgiver also gives this most admirable injunction, that one must not add anything to, or take anything away from the law, but that it is a duty to keep all the ordinances as originally established in an equal and similar state to that in which they were at first delivered without alteration; for, as it seems, there might otherwise be an addition of what is injust; for there is nothing which has been omitted by the wise lawgiver which can enable a man to partake of entire and perfect justice. 4Moreover, by this command Moses intimates the perfection of all other virtue; for each separate virtue is

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free from all deficiency, and is complete, deriving its perfection from itself; so that if there were any addition thereto, or anything taken away therefrom, it would be utterly and entirely changed and altered, so as to assume a contrary character. What I meant to say is this, all who are profoundly ignorant and uninstructed, all who have the very slightest smattering of education, know that courage is a virtue which is conversant about terrible objects; is a science teaching one what he ought to endure and dare. But if any one, under the influence of that ignorance which proceeds from insolence, should be so superfluous as to fancy himself capable of correcting that which requires no correction, and should consequently venture to add anything or take away anything, he, by so doing, is altering the whole appearance of the thing, changing that which had a good character into unseemliness; for by any addition to courage he will produce audacity, but if he takes anything away from it he will produce cowardice, not leaving even the name of courage, that most useful of all virtues to life. In the same manner, if any one makes an addition, be it ever so small, or ever so great, to that queen of the virtues, piety, or if he takes anything away from it, he will change and metamorphose its whole appearance, and make it something quite different; for any addition will engender superstition, and any diminution will produce impiety, real piety itself wholly disappearing under the operation, which every one should pray for, that it may be continually conspicuous and brilliant, since it is the cause of the greatest of all blessings, inasmuch as it produces a knowledge of the service of God, which one ought to look upon as more important and more precious than any dominion or authority. And we may give instances of every other virtue resembling what we have said about these just mentioned; but since I am in the habit of avoiding prolixity, I will be satisfied with what has been stated, which may be a sufficient guide to what might be said respecting these virtues which we omit to mention.

ABOUT NOT MOVING LANDMARKS

28 There is also this commandment ordained which is of great common utility, that, "Thou shall not move thy neighbours' landmarks which the former men have set Up." [Deuteronomy 19:14.] And this injunction is given, as it seems, not only with respect to inheritances, and to the boundaries of the land, in order to prohibit covetousness respecting them, but also as a guard to ancient customs; for customs are unwritten laws, being the doctrines of men of old, not engraved on pillars or written on paper which may be eaten by moths, but impressed in the souls of those living under the same constitution. 5For the children ought to inherit from the father of their being the national customs in which they have been brought up, and in which they have lived from their cradle, and not to despise them merely because they are handed down without being written. For the man who obeys the written laws is not justly entitled to any praise, inasmuch as he is influenced by compulsion and the fear of punishment. But he who abides by the unwritten laws is worthy of praise, as exhibiting a spontaneous and unconstrained Virtue.

29 Some persons have contended that all magistracies ought to have the officers appointed to them by lot; which however is a mode of proceeding not advantageous for the multitude, for the casting of lots shows good fortune, but not virtue; at all events many unworthy persons have often obtained office by such means, men whom, if a good man had the supreme authority, he would not permit to be reckoned even among his subjects: 5for even those who are called lesser rulers by some persons, those whom men entitled masters, do not admit every one whom they can possibly find to be their servants, whether born in the house or bought with money; but they will only take those who are obedient, and at times they sell all those of incurably bad dispositions in a lot, as not being worthy to be the slaves of good men. 5Therefore it is not right to make men masters and rulers of entire cities and nations, who obtain those places by lot, which is a sort of blunder on the part of fortune, which is an unstable and fickle thing. Beyond all question, casting of lots can have no connexion with ability to attend upon the sick; for physicians do not obtain their employments by lot, but because their experience is approved of; 5again, with reference to the successful voyage and safety of men at sea, it is not any man who may obtain the office of pilot by lot, who is sent at once to the stern to steer the vessel, and who then by his ignorance may cause a needless wreck in calm and tranquil weather, but that person has that charge given to him who, from his earliest youth, appears to have learnt and carefully studied the business of a pilot; this is a man who has made many voyages, and who has traversed every sea, or at all events most seas, and who has carefully ascertained the character of all the marts, and harbours, and anchorages, and places of refuge in the different islands and continents, and who is still better, or at all events not worse acquainted with the tracks over the sea, than he is with the roads on land, through his accurate observation of the heavenly bodies; 5for having remarked the various motions of the stars, and having followed and being guided by their regular revolutions, he has learnt to be able to make out for himself an unerring and easy path through the pathless waste of waters, so that (what seems the most incredible of all things), beings whose nature it is to live on the land are able to traverse the sea which can only be crossed by sailing. 5And if any one should be about to undertake the government or regulation of large and populous cities, full of inhabitants, and should attempt to settle the constitution of such, and should undertake the superintendence of private, and public, and sacred affairs, a task which any one may rightly call the art of arts, and the science of sciences, he would not trust to the uncertain chances of time, passing over the accurate and trustworthy test of truth; and the test of truth is proof combined with reason.

30 The all-wise Moses seeing this by the power of his own soul, makes no mention of any authority being assigned by lot, but he has chosen to direct that all offices shall be elected to; therefore he says, "Thou shall not appoint a stranger to be a ruler over thee, but one of thine own Brethren," [Deuteronomy 17:15.] implying that the appointment is to be a voluntary choice, and an irreproachable selection of a ruler, whom the whole multitude with one accord shall choose; and God himself will add his vote on favour of, and set his seal to ratify such an election, that being who is the confirmer of all advantageous things, looking upon the man so chosen as the flower of his race, just as the sight is the best thing in the body.

31 And Moses gives also two reasons, on account of which it is not proper for strangers to be elected to situations of authority; in the first place, that they may not amass a quantity of silver, and gold, and flocks, and raise great and iniquitously earned riches for themselves, out of the poverty of those who are subjected to them; and secondly, that they may not make the nation quit their ancient abodes to gratify their own covetous desires, and so compel them to emigrate, and to wander about to and fro in interminable wanderings, suggesting to them hopes of the acquisition of greater blessings, which shall never be fulfilled, by which they come to lose those advantages of which they were in the secure enjoyment. 5For our lawgiver was aware beforehand, as was natural that one who was a countryman and a relation, and who had also an especial share in the sublimest relationship of all, (and that sublimest of relationships is one constitution and the same law, and one God whose chosen nation is a peculiar people); so that he would never offend in any manner similar to those which I have been mentioning, but, on the other hand, instead of causing the inhabitants to quit their abodes, he would be likely even to afford a safe return to such of his countrymen as were dispersed in a foreign land; and instead of taking away the property of others, he would even give his own property to those who were in need of it, making his own wealth common.

32 And from the first day on which any one enters upon his office, he orders that he shall write out a copy of the book of the Law [Deuteronomy 17:18.] with his own hand, which shall supply him with a summary and concise image of all the laws, because he wishes that all the ordinances which are laid down in it shall be firmly fixed in his soul; for while a man is reading the notions of what he is reading fleet away, being carried off by the rapidity of his utterance; but if he is writing they are stamped upon his heart at leisure, and they take up their abode in the heart of each individual as his mind dwells upon each particular, and settles itself to the contemplation of it, and does not depart to any other object, till it has taken a firm hold of that which was previously submitted to it. When therefore he is writing, let him take care, every day, to read and study what he has written, both in order that he may thus attain to a continual and unchangeable recollection of these commands which are virtuous and expedient for all men to observe, and also that a firm love of and desire for them may be implanted in him, by reason of his soul being continually taught and accustomed to apply itself to the study and observance of the sacred laws. For familiarity, which has been engendered by long acquaintance, engenders a sincere and pure friendship, not only towards men, but even also towards such branches of learning as are worthy to be loved; 6and this will take place if the ruler studies not the writings and memorials of some one else but those which he himself has written out; for his own works are, in a certain degree, more easily to be understood by each individual, and they are also more easily to be comprehended; 6and besides that a man, while he is reading them, will have such considerations in his mind as these: "I wrote all this; I who am a ruler of such great power, without employing any one else as my scribe, though I had innumerable servants. Did I do all this, in order to fill up a volume, like those who copy out books for hire, or like men who practice their eyes and their hands, training the one to acuteness of sight, and the others to rapidity of writing? Why should I have done this? That was not the case; I did it in order that after I had recorded these things in a book, I might at once proceed to impress them on my heart, and that I might stamp upon my intellect their divine and indelible characters: 6other kings bear sceptres in their hands, and sit upon thrones in royal state, but my sceptre shall be the book of the copy of the law; that shall be my boast and my incontestible glory, the signal of my irreproachable sovereignty, created after the image and model of the archetypal royal power of God. "And by always relying upon and supporting myself in the scared laws, I shall acquire the most excellent things. In the first place equality, than which it is not possible to discern any greater blessing, for insolence and excessive haughtiness are the signs of a narrow-minded soul, which does not foresee the future. "Equality, therefore, will win me good will from all who are subject to my power, and safety inasmuch as they will bestow on me a just requital for by kindness; but inequality will bring upon me terrible dangers, and these I shall escape by hating inequality, the purveyor of darkness and wars; and my life will be in no danger of being plotted against, because I honour equality, which has no connexion with seditions, but which is the parent of light and stability. Moreover, I shall gain another advantage, namely, that I shall not sway this way and that way, like the dishes in a scale, in consequence of perverting and distorting the commandments laid down for my guidance. But I shall endeavor to keep them, going through the middle of the plain road, keeping my own steps straight and upright, in order that I may attain to a life free from error or misfortune." 6And Moses was accustomed to call the middle road the royal one, inasmuch as it lay between excess and deficiency; and besides, more especially, because in the number three the centre occupies the most important place, uniting the extremities on either side by an indissoluble chain, it being attended by these extremities as its bodyguards as though it were a king. 6Moreover, Moses says that a longenduring sovereignty is the reward of a lawful magistrate or ruler who honours equality, and who without any corruption gives just decisions in a just manner, always studying to observe the laws; not for the sake of granting him a life extending over many years, combined with the administration of the commonwealth, but in order to teach those who do not understand that a governor who rules in accordance with the laws, even though he die, does nevertheless live a long life by means of his actions which he leaves behind him as immortal, the indestructible monuments of his piety and virtue.

33 And it becomes a man who has been thought worthy of the supreme and greatest authority to appoint successors who may govern with him and judge with him, and, in concert with him, may ordain everything which is for the common advantage; for one person would not be sufficient, even if he were ever so willing, and if he were the most powerful man in the world, both in body and soul, to support the weight and number of affairs which would come upon him, as he would faint under the pressure and rapidity of all kinds of business coming in upon him continually every day from all quarters, unless he had a number of persons selected with reference to their excellence who might co-operate with him by their prudence, and power, and justice, and godly piety, men who not only avoid arrogance, but even detest it as an enemy and as the very greatest of evils. For these men would stand by, and assist, and co-operate with a virtuous and holy man, one who hated evils equally with themselves, and would be the most suitable persons to lighten and relieve his labours. And, besides, since of the matters which would force themselves upon his attention, some are of greater importance and others of less, the chief will very reasonably commit those which are more unimportant to his lieutenants, while he himself would of necessity become the most accurate judge of the weightier matters. But the affairs which we ought to look upon as the most weighty are not, as some persons think, those in which persons of reputation are at variance with other persons of reputation, or rich men with rich men, or princes with princes; for, on the contrary, are rather where there are powerful men on one side, and private individuals, men of no wealth, or dignity, or reputation, on the other, men whose sole hope of escaping intolerable evils lies in the judge himself. 7And we can find clear instances of both kinds in the sacred laws, which it is well for us to imitate; for there was once a time in which Moses, alone by himself, decided all causes and all matters of legal controversy, labouring from morning till night. But after a time his father-inlaw came to him, and seeing with what a weight of business he was overwhelmed, as all those who had any disputes were everlastingly coming upon him, he gave him most excellent advice, counselling him to choose subordinate magistrates, that they might decide the less important affairs, and that he might have only the more serious causes to occupy him, and by this means provide himself with time for Rest. [Exodus 18:14.] 7And Moses, being convinced by the arguments of Jethro (for, indeed, they were for his good), having chosen the men of the highest reputation in the whole nation, he appointed them his lieutenants and judges, bidding them refer the more important cases to him. 7And the history of the sacred laws contains this arrangement duly recorded, for the instruction of the rulers in all succeeding generations, that, in the first place, they may not despise the assistance of fellow counsellors, as if they were able to themselves to superintend everything, since that all-wise and godly man, Moses, did not reject them; and, secondly, that they may learn to choose subordinates of the second class and of the third class, so as to provide for themselves not being driven to neglect matters of greater

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importance, through being wholly occupied by affairs of a more trifling nature; for it is impossible for human nature to attend to everything at once.

34 We have here mentioned one example of what we before alluded to. We must now add an instance of the second kind. I said that the causes of men of humble condition were important; for the widow, and the orphan, and the stranger are powerless and humble. And it is right that the supreme King should be the judge in their case, the Ruler who has the supreme authority over the whole nation; since, according to Moses, even God, the Ruler of the universe, did not exclude them from the provisions of his laws; for when Moses, that holy interpreter of the will of God, is raising a hymn in praise of the virtues of the living God in these terms, "God is great and mighty, one who is no respecter of persons, and who does not take gifts to guide him in his Judgement." [Deuteronomy 10:17.] he adds, in whose case it is that he gives judgement, not in the case of satraps, and tyrants, and men who have the power by land and sea, but he gives judgement respecting the stranger, and the orphan, and the widow. In the case of the first, because he has made his own kinsmen, whom alone it was natural for him to have as allies and champions, his irreconcileable enemies, by quitting their camp and taking up his abode with the truth, and with the honour of the one Being who is entitled to honour, abandoning all the fabulous inventions and polytheistic notions which his fathers, and grandfathers, and ancestors, and all his kindred, who cleave to the beautiful settlement which he has forsaken, were wont to honour. In the case of the second, because he is deprived of his father and mother, his natural defenders and protectors, and by consequence of the only power which was bound to show itself as his ally. And lastly, in the case of the woman who is a widow because she has been deprived of her husband, who succeeded her parents as her guardian and protector; for a husband is to his wife in point of relationship what her parents are to a virgin. 7And one may almost say that the whole nation of the Jews may be looked upon in the light of orphans, if they are compared with all other nations in other lands; for other nations, as often as they are afflicted by any calamities which are not of divine infliction, are in no want of assistance by reason of their frequent intercourse with other nations, from their habitual dealings in common. But this nation of the Jews has no such allies by reason of the peculiarity of its laws and customs. And their laws are of necessity strict and rigorous, as they are intended to train them to the greatest height of virtue; and what is strict and rigorous is austere. And such laws and customs the generality of men avoid, because of their inclination for and their adoption of pleasure. But, nevertheless, Moses says that the great Ruler of the universe, whose inheritance they are, does always feel compassion and pity for the orphan and desolate of this his people, because they have been dedicated to him, the Creator and Father of all, as a sort of first-fruits of the whole human race. And the cause of this dedication to God was the excessive and admirable righteousness and virtue of the founders of the nation, which remain like undying plants, bearing a fruit which shall ever flourish to the salvation of their descendants, and to the benefit of all persons and all things, provided only that the sins which they commit are such as are remediable and not wholly unpardonable. 8Let not any one then think that nobility of birth is a perfect good, and therefore neglect virtuous actions, considering that that man deserves greater anger who, after he has been born of virtuous parents, brings disgrace on his parents by reason of the wickedness of his disposition and conduct; for if he has domestic examples of goodness which he may imitate, and yet never copies them, so as to correct his own life, and to render it healthy and virtuous, he deserves reproach.

35 The law also forbids, by a most just and reasonable prohibition, the man who has undertaken the care and government of the common interests of the state, to behave with treachery among the people;[Leviticus 19:16.] for a treacherous disposition is the mark of an illiberal and very slavish soul, which seeks to overshadow its real nature by hypocrisy; for, in reality, a ruler ought to stand up in defense of his subjects as a father would in defense of his children, that he may be honoured by them as if they were his own real children; on which account good rulers are the common parents of their cities and nations, if one may say the plain truth, displaying equal, and sometimes even superior, good will to them; 8but those men who acquire great power and authority to the injury and damage of their subjects, ought to be entitled, not rulers, but enemies, inasmuch as they are acting the part of implacable foes. Not but what those who injure one treacherously are even more wicked than those who oppose one openly, since it is possible to repel the one without difficulty, as they display their hostility without disguise; but the evil-mindedness of the others is difficult to detect and hard to unveil, being like the conduct of men on the stage, who are clothed in a dress which does not belong to them, in order to conceal their real appearance. But there is a kind of pre-eminence and superior authority, which I had almost said pervades every part of life, varying only in respect of magnitude and quantity; for what the king of a city is, that also is the first man in a village, and the master of a house, and a physician among the sick, and a general in his camp, and an admiral with respect to his crew and to his passengers, and a captain of a ship in regard to merchant vessels and transports, and a pilot among common sailors, every one of whom has power to make things either better or worse. But they ought to wish to conduct themselves in everything for the best, and the best is to use all their energies to assist people and not to injure them; 8for this is to act in imitation of God, since he also has the power to do either good or evil, but his inclination causes him only to do good. And the creation and arrangement of the world shows this, for he has summoned what had previously no being into existence, creating order out of disorder, and distinctive qualities out of things which had no such qualities, and similarities out of things dissimilar, and identity out of things which were different, and intercommunion and harmony out of things which had previously no communication nor agreement, and equality out of inequality, and light out of darkness; for he is always anxious to exert his beneficent powers in order to change whatever is disorderly from its present evil condition, and to transform it so as to bring it into a better state.

36 Therefore it is right for good rulers of a nation to imitate him in these points, if they have any anxiety to attain to a similitude to God; but since innumerable circumstances are continually escaping from and eluding the human mind, inasmuch as it is entangled among and embarrassed by so great a multitude of the external senses, as is very well calculated to seduce and deceive it by false opinions, since in fact it is, as I may say, buried in the mortal body, which may very properly be called its tomb, let no one who is a judge be ashamed to confess that he is ignorant of that of which he is ignorant, 8for in the first place the man who is deceived becomes worse than he was before, because he has expelled truth from the confines of his soul; in the second place, he will do exceeding mischief to those on whose causes he is deciding by delivering a blind decision in consequence of his not seeing what is just. 9When, therefore, he does not clearly comprehend a case by reason of the perplexed and unintelligible character of the circumstances which throw uncertainty and darkness around it, he ought to decline giving a decision, and to send the matter before judges who will understand it more accurately. And who can these judges be but the priests, and the ruler and governor of the priests? 9For the genuine, sincere worshippers of God are by care and diligence rendered acute in their intellects, inasmuch as they are not indifferent even to slight errors, because of the exceeding excellence of the Monarch whom they serve in every point. On which account it is commanded that the priests shall go Soberly [Leviticus 10:9.] to offer sacrifice, in order that no medicine such as causes men to err, or to speak and act foolishly may enter into the mind and obscure its vision, 9and perhaps because the real genuine priest is at once also a prophet, having attained to the honour of being allowed to see the only true and living God, not more by reason of his birth than by reason of his virtue. And to a prophet there is nothing unknown, since he has within himself the sun of intelligence, and rays which are never overshadowed, in order to a most accurate comprehension of those things which are invisible to the outward senses, but intelligible to the intellect.

37 Again, merchants and pedlars, and people in the market, and all those who deal in things necessary for life,[Leviticus 19:36.] and who in consequence are conversant with measures, and weights, and balances, since they sell things both dry and wet, are put in subjection to the superintendants of the market, and these superintendants are bound to govern them if they act with moderation, doing what is right, not out of fear, but voluntarily, for spontaneous good conduct is in every case more honourable than that which proceeds from compulsion. On which account the law orders these merchants and dealers, and all other persons who have adopted this way of life, to take care to provide themselves with just balances, and measures, and weights, not practising any wicked manoeuvres to the injury of those who purchase of them, but to do and say everything with a free and guileless soul, considering this, that unjust gains are injurious, but that that wealth which is acquired in accordance with justice a man cannot be deprived of; 9and since wages are offered to artisans as a reward for their work, and since it is people in want who are artisans, and not men who have an abundance of wealth, the law commands that the payment of their wages shall not be delayed, but that their employers shall pay them the wages agreed upon the same day that they are earned;[Deuteronomy 24:15.] for it is absurd for the rich to avail themselves of the services of the poor, and yet for those who live in plenty and affluence not at once to give the poor the proper remuneration for those services. 9Are not these things very conspicuous instances to teach us to guard against greater offences? For he who will not allow a payment which is sure to be eventually repaid to be delayed beyond the proper time, fixing the evening of the day for the time on which the artisan, at his return home, is to carry his wages home with him, does not he much more by such a commandment prohibit rapine and theft, and the repudiation of debts, and all things of that sort, fashioning and moulding the soul according to the approved characteristics of virtue and piety?

38 Also this commandment is given with exceeding propriety,[Leviticus 19:14.] which forbids anyone from blaspheming and speaking ill, especially of a deaf man, and of one who is unable to perceive by the aid of his outward senses the injuries which are done to him, nor to retaliate in an equal manner under similar circumstances; for that is the most iniquitous conflict of all, in which the one side is considered only in acting, and the other only in suffering; 9and those who speak ill of the dumb, or of people whose sense of hearing is defective, are committing the same offences as those who put stumbling blocks in the way of the blind, or who offer other obstacles to their progress; for in this case also it is impossible for the blind to step over the obstacles, as they are not aware of their existence, so they stumble over them, and both are hindered in their progress and hurt their feet. Accordingly, with great propriety and fitness, does the law threaten those who devise and execute wickedness of this kind with punishment at the hand of God; since he alone holds his protecting hand over and defends those who are unable to protect themselves, and all but says in plain words to those who injure the innocent, "O foolish minded men, do you expect to escape detection while turning the misfortunes of those men into ridicule, and committing offences against those very parts in respect of which they are unfortunate, attacking their ears by false accusations, and their eyes by putting stumbling blocks in their path? But you will never escape the notice of God, who sees everything and governs everything, while you insult in this manner the calamities of miserable men, so as to avoid meeting with similar distresses yourselves, inasmuch as your bodies are also liable to all kinds of diseases, and your outward senses are susceptible of injury and mutilation, being such as, by a very slight and ordinary cause, they are often not only impaired, but crippled by incurable mutilations. Why then should those who forget themselves, and who in their arrogance fancy that they themselves are superior to the ordinary natural weakness of mankind, and that they are out of the reach of the invisible and unexpected attacks of fortune, which often aims sudden blows at all people, and which has often wrecked men, who up to that moment had enjoyed a prosperous voyage through life, when they had almost arrived in the very harbour of ultimate happiness, why, I say, should such men triumph in and insult the misfortunes of others, having no respect for justice, the ruler of human life, who sits by the side of the great Ruler of the universe, who surveys all things with sleepless and most piercing eyes, and sees what is in recesses as clearly as if it was in the pure sunlight? It seems to me that these men would not spare even the dead, in the extravagance of their cruelty, but, according to the proverb so commonly quoted, would even slay the slain over again, since they in a manner think fit to insult and ill treat those members of them which are already dead; for eyes which do not see are dead, and ears which are devoid of the power of hearing are devoid of life; so that if the man himself to whom these members belong, were to be extinct, they would then show their merciless and implacable nature, doing no humane or compassionate action, such as is shown to the dead, even by their enemies in irreconcileable wars. And this may be enough to say on this subject.

39 After this the lawgiver proceeds to connect with these commandments a somewhat similar harmony or series of injunctions; commanding breeders not to breed from animals of different species; not to sow a vineyard so as to make it bear two crops at once; and not to wear garments woven of two different substances, which are a mixed and base work. Now the first of these injunctions we have already mentioned in our treatise on adulterers, in order to make it more evident, that our people ought not to be anxious for marriages with foreigners, corrupting the dispositions of the women, and destroying also the good hopes which might be conceived of the propagation of legitimate children. For the lawgiver, who has forbidden all copulation between irrational animals of different species, appears to have utterly driven away all adulterers to a great distance. And we must now speak again of this rule in this our treatise on justice. For we must take care not to pass over the opportunity of adapting it to as many particulars as possible. It is just then to bring together those things which are capable of union; now animals of the same species are by nature capable of union, as, on the other hand, all animals of different species are incapable of any admixture or union, and the man who brings unlawful connexions to pass between such animals is an injust man, transgressing the ordinances of nature; but that which is the really sacred law takes such exceeding care to provide for the maintenance of justice, that it will not permit even the plowing of the land to be carried on by animals of unequal strength, and forbids a husbandman to plough with an ass and a heifer yoked to the same plough, lest the weaker animals, being compelled to exert itself to keep up with the superior power of the stronger animal, should become exhausted, and sink under the effort; and the bull is looked upon as the stronger animal, and is enrolled in the class of clean beasts and animals, while the ass is a weaker animal and of the class

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of unclean beasts; but nevertheless he has not grudged those animals which appear to be weaker, the assistance which they can derive from justice, in order, as I imagine, to teach the judges most forcibly, that they are never in their decisions to give the worse fate to the humbly born, in matters the investigation of which depends not on birth but on virtue and vice. And resembling these injunctions is the last commandment concerning things yoked in pairs, namely, that it is unlawful to wear together substances of a different character, such as wool and linen; for in the case of these substances, not only does the difference prevent any union, but also the superior strength of the one substance is calculated rather to tear the other than to unite with it, when it is wanted to be used.

40 The commandment which came in the middle of the three injunctions about pairs, was that one was not to sow a vineyard so as to make it bear two crops at the same time; the object of this law being, in the first place, that those things which are of different species might not be confused by being mixed together; for crops grown from seed have no connexion with trees, nor trees with crops grown from seed; on which account nature has not appointed to them both the same time for the production of their fruits, but has assigned to the one the spring as the season of their harvest, while to the others it has appointed the end of summer, as the season for the gathering of their fruits; accordingly, it happens that at the same period of the year the one are become withered having been in bloom at an earlier time, while the others are just budding having been dried up before; for the crops which are produced from seed begin to flourish in the winter, when the trees are losing their leaves; and in the spring, on the contrary, when all the crops which are produced from seed are drying up, the wood of all trees, whether wild or improved by cultivation, are shooting; and one may almost say, that the period in which the crops which are produced from seed come to perfection is the same as that in which those of the trees derive the beginning of their productiveness. Very naturally therefore, has God separated things so wholly different from one another, both in their natures and in the period of their flowering, and in the seasons of their producing their appropriate fruits, and has appointed different situations for them, producing order out of disorder; for order is closely connected with arrangement, and disorder with a want of arrangement. And in the second place, in order that the two different species may not go through a reciprocal system of inflicting and suffering injury, because of one kind drawing away the nourishment from the other kind, while if that nourishment is divided into small portions, as happens in times of famine and of scarcity of necessaries, all plants of every kind will in every place become weak, and will be either afflicted with barrenness, becoming utterly unproductive, or at all events will never bear tolerably fine fruit, inasmuch as they have been previously weakened by want of nourishment. And in the third place, in order that the naturally fertile land may not be oppressed with burdens beyond its strength, partly by the continued and uninterrupted thickness of the crops which are sown, and of the trees which are planted in the same place, and partly by the doubling of the crops, which are exacted from the ground; for it ought to be quite sufficient for the owner to draw one yearly tribute from one spot, just as it is sufficient for a king to receive his tribute from a city once a year; and to endeavor to extract larger revenues is the act of exceeding covetousness, by which all the laws of nature are attempted to be overturned. For which reason the law might well say to those who have determined to sow their vineyards with seed out of pure covetousness; "Do not you be worse than those kings who have subdued cities with arms and warlike expeditions, for even they, from a prudent regard for the future and from a proper wish to spare their subjects, are content to receive one payment of tribute each year, as they are desirous not to reduce them utterly to the very extremity of want and distress in a short time; but if you in the spring exact from the same piece of ground crops of barley and of wheat, and in the summer the crops from the fruit-bearing trees, you will be exhausting it by a double contribution; for then it will very naturally grow faint and fail, like an athlete, who is never abroad any time to take breath and to collect his strength for the beginning of another contest. "But you seem rashly to forget those precepts of general advantage which I enjoined you to observe. For, at all events, if you had recollected the commandment concerning the seventh year, in which I commanded you to allow the land to remain fallow and sacred, without being exhausted by any agricultural operation of any kind, by reason of the labours which it has been going through for the six preceding years, and which is has undergone, producing its crops at the appointed seasons of the year in accordance with the ordinances of nature; you would not now be introducing innovations, and giving vent to all your covetous desires, be seeking for unprecedented crops, sowing a land fit for the growth of trees, and especially one planted with vines, in order by two crops every year, both being founded in iniquity, to increase your substance out of undue avarice, amassing money by lawless desires." For the same man would never endure to let his land lie fallow every seventy years without exacting any revenue from it, for the sake of not having his land exhausted by over-production, but of allowing it to recover itself by rest, and yet at the same time to oppress and overwhelm it by double burdens; therefore I have judged it necessary to pronounce all acquisition or exaction of wealth in this way unholy and impious; I mean the production of the fruit of trees, and of such crops as are derived from seed, because such fertility does in a manner exhaust and destroy the vivifying principle in the good soil, and, because too, by requiring so much, the owner of the land is insulting and abusing the bounty and liberality of God, giving full reins to his unrighteous desires, and not restraining them by any limits. Ought we not, then, to feel an attachment to such commandments as these, which tend to restrain us from and to remove us to a great distance from the acts of covetousness, which are common among men, blunting the edge of the passion itself? For if the private individual, who, in the matter of his plants, has learnt to renounce all unrighteous gain, if he should acquire power in weightier matters and become a king, would adopt the same practice towards men and women, not exacting twofold tributes from them, not exhausting his subjects with taxes and contributions; for the habits in which he has been brought up would be sufficient for him, and would be able to soften the harshness of his disposition, and in a manner to educate him, and to re-mould him to a better character. And that is a better character which justice impresses upon the soul.

41 These, then, are the laws which he appoints to be observed by each individual. But there are other commandments of a more general nature of which he enjoins the observance to the whole nation in common, recommending them to attend to them, not only with regard to their own friends and allies, but also to those who are unconnected with their alliance. For if, says Moses,[Deuteronomy 20:1.] they shut themselves up within their walls and make their necks stiff, then let you young men arm themselves well, and being provided with all the preparations necessary for war, go forth and fortify their camp all around, and watch in expectancy, not indulging their anger so as to neglect reason, but taking care to apply themselves to what must be done firmly and strenuously. 2Let them, therefore, at once send out heralds to invite the enemy to an agreement, and at the same time let them display the power and considerable character of the force which is encamped; and if the enemy, repenting of the evil designs which they had conceived, submit and turn to peace in any manner, then let the people gladly receive them and make a truce with them; for peace, even though it be very unfavourable, is more advantageous than war. 2But if they persevere in their folly, and push it further, acting with audacity, then let our people, display vigorous confidence, relying also on the invincible alliance of justice, and so let them advance, placing their destructive engines against the walls, and when they have made a breach in some part of them let them all enter in together; and shooting with their spears with correct aim, and brandishing their swords, and slaying the enemies all around, let them repel them unshrinkingly, inflicting upon them what they were intended to suffer themselves, 2until they have overthrown the whole army arrayed against them, every man of them, and taken their silver, and their gold, and all the booty. And let them bring fire against their city, and burn it so that it may never, after an interval of rest, again raise its head and excite wars and tumults, with the view also of terrifying and warning the neighbouring states, since it is by the calamities of others that men are taught to act with moderation. But let them suffer the maidens and the women to go free, inasmuch as they did not expect to suffer any of the evils which war brings upon men at their hands, as they are exempt from all military service through their natural weakness. From all which it is plain that the nation of the Jews is allied with and friendly to all those who are of the same sentiments, and all who are peaceful in their intentions; and that it is not to be despised as one that submits to those who begin to treat it with injustice out of cowardice; but when it goes forth to defend itself, it distinguishes between those who are habitually plotting against it and those who are not; 2for to be eager to slay all men, and even those who have committed but slight offences, or no offences at all against one, I should call the conduct of an inhuman and pitiless soul, as it would be also to treat women as if they were an addition to the men who carry on war, when their way of life is naturally peaceful and domestic. But our lawgiver implants such a love of justice in all men who live under the institution which he has established, that he does not permit them to injure the fertile land of even an hostile city by ravaging it, or by cutting down the trees, so as to destroy the crops. 2"For why," says he, "do you bear a grudge against inanimate things, which are in their nature quiet, and which produce wholesome fruits? Does the tree, my friend, display the hostile spirit of a man that is an enemy, so that you are to tear it up by the roots in retaliation for the evils which it has inflicted, or which it has designed to inflict upon you? On the contrary, it assists you, bestowing on you, when you are victorious, an abundance of necessary food, and of supplies which conduce to rendering life happy and luxurious; for it is not men alone who contribute revenues to their lords, but plants offer even more useful tribute at the fixed seasons of the year, a tribute without which men cannot live." 2But there is no prohibition against their cutting down those trees which are barren and unproductive, and which are not cultivated for food, for the purpose of making staves, or poles, or posts, or fences; and, when occasion requires, ladders, and engines, and wooden towers; for the chief use of these kinds of trees is for such and other similar purposes.

42 We have now enumerated the matters which belong to justice; but as for justice itself, what poet or orator could celebrate it, in worthy terms, since it is beyond all panegyric and all praise? At all events, there is one most important good thing belonging to it,[the text has eumeneia, which Mangey pronounces corrupt.] which, even if one were to pass over and be silent about all its other parts, would be an all-sufficient panegyric on it; 3for this is the principle of equality, which is, as those who have accurately investigated the secrets of nature have handed down to us, the mother of justice; and equality is a light which is never shaded; the sun (if one must speak the plain truth) appreciable by the intellect alone, since inequality, on the contrary, in which that which is superior and that which is inferior are both found, is the beginning and source of darkness; 3it is equality which, by its unchangeable laws and ordinances, has arranged, in their present beautiful order, all the things in heaven and earth; for who is there who does not know this fact, that the days are measured in due proportion to the nights, and the nights in due proportion to the days, by the sun, according to the equality of proportionate distances? 3Nature, therefore, has marked out those periods in every year, which are called the equinoxes, from the state of things which exists at that time, namely, the spring and the autumnal equinox, with such distinctness, that even the most illiterate persons are aware of the equality which then exists between the extent of the days and of the nights. 3Again, are not the periods of the moon, as she advances and retraces her course, from a crescent to a full circle, and again, from a complete orb to a crescent, also measured by an equality of distances? For as great and as long as the period and amount of her increase is, so also is her diminution, in both respects, as to magnitude and duration, as to the number of days and the size of her orb. 3And as, in that purest of all essences, heaven, equality is honoured with especial honours, so also is she in the neighbour of heaven, the air. For as the year is portioned out into four divisions, the air is formed by nature to endure changes and alterations at what are called the seasons of the year, and it displays an indescribable regularity in its irregularity; for as the atmosphere is divided by an equal number of months into winter, and spring, and summer, and autumn, it completes the whole year by allotting three months to each season; as, in fact, the very name of the year (eniautos) intimates. For it in itself (autos en autoμ) contains everything, being complete in itself, though otherwise it would not be able to effect this, if it were not aided by the regular revolutions of the seasons of the year. Again, this same equality extends from the heavenly bodies, and from those which are raised on high, to the things upon earth, raising on high its own pure nature, which is akin to the air, and sending downwards its beams like the sun, as a sort of secondary light, for all the things which are inharmonious or irregular among us are caused by inequality, and all those which have in them that regularity which becomes them are the work of equality, which, in the universal essence of the universe, one may fairly call the world, and in cities one may entitle it that best regulated and most excellent of all constitutions, democracy, and in bodies health, and in souls virtue. 3For, on the contrary, inequality is the cause of diseases and wickednesses; and the existence of the longest lived man of the human race would fail, if he were to attempt to enumerate all the praiseworthy qualities of equality, and of its offspring, justice. In consequence of which it seems to me to be best to be satisfied with what has already been said, which may be sufficient to rouse up the recollection of those persons who are fond of learning, and to leave the remaining circumstances unwritten in their souls, as divine images in a most sacred place.

ON THE VIRTUES

ON COURAGE

1 (Having previously said all that appeared to be necessary about justice, and those precepts which are closely connected with it, I now proceed in regular order to speak of courage, not meaning by courage that warlike and frantic delirium, under the influence of passion as its counsellor, which the generality of men take for it, but knowledge;[this seems to be an imitation of what Plato says in the Protagoras. "We must not look upon all bold (tharraleous) men as courageous (andreious), for boldness is derived from human skill, or from anger, or from madness; but courage arises only from nature, and from a good disposition of the soul."--P. 350.] (for some persons, being elated by boldness when they have bodily strength to assist them, array themselves in the ranks of war, in complete armor, and slay innumerable hosts of the enemy

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to a man, gaining by their exploits the unseemly but fine sounding name of preeminent valor, being accounted by the multitude which judges of such matters exceedingly glorious in their victory, though in fact they have been savage and brutal both in nature and practice, having thirsted for human blood. (But then as some men who, always remaining in their own houses, while their bodies have been worn away either by long sickness or by painful old age, still being healthy and vigorous in the better part of their soul, and being full of high thoughts, and inspired with a braver and happier fortitude, never, not even in their dreams, meddling with warlike weapons, nevertheless by their exposition and advocacy of wise counsels for the common advantage, have often re-established both the private affairs of individuals, and the common prosperity of their country when it was in danger, putting forth unyielding and inflexible reasonings concerning what has been really expedient. (These men, then, are they who practice real courage, being studiers and practicers of wisdom; but those other men have only what does not deserve to be so called though it assumes the name, as they live in that incurable disease, ignorance, which one may very fitly and properly call audacity, just as people say that in coins base metal often bears the same impression as the real stamp and money.

2 (Moreover, there is also no small number of other things in human life which are confessed to be very difficult to endure, such as poverty, and want of reputation, and mutilation, and various kinds of diseases, by which weak spirited men are broken down, not being able to raise themselves at all through their want of courage; but those men who are full of high thoughts and noble spirits, rise up to struggle against these things, and contend against them with fortitude and exceeding vigor, ridiculing and greatly despising their threats and attacks against their poverty; arraying wealth, not that wealth which is blind, but that which sees acutely, whose images and treasures the soul is naturally proud to treasure up; (for poverty has overthrown innumerable multitudes of men, who, like wearied athletes, have fainted and fallen, being reduced to a state of prostration by their want of real courage. And if truth is to be the judge, then no one whatever is really poor, who has the indestructible and inalienable riches of nature for his purveyor, the air, that first and most necessary and incessant support of life, being continually inhaled night and day, and besides that the numberless fountains, and the inexhaustible supply not only of winter torrents but of regular rivers, furnishing everlasting streams for drink, and besides this the abundance of all kinds of food to eat, and all descriptions of trees which are continually bearing their yearly fruits; for these are treasures of which no one is destitute, but all men in every quarter of the globe enjoy them in the greatest abundance. (But if any persons, utterly disregarding the true wealth of nature, pursue instead the riches of vain opinions, relying on those riches which are blind instead of on those which are gifted with acute sight, and taking a guide for their road who is himself crippled, such men must of necessity fall down.

3 (We have then before now described that wealth which is the guard of the body, being the thing discovered by and bestowed on men by nature; but that more dignified and respectable kind, which belongs not to all men but to those who are themselves truly respectable and glorious, must now be spoken of; this kind of wealth wisdom furnishes by means of rational, and moral, and natural doctrines, and meditations from which the virtues are derived, which eradicate luxury from the soul, engendering in it a desire for temperance and frugality, in accordance with the resemblance to God at which it aims; (for God is a being who is in need of nothing, as there is nothing of which he is destitute, but as he is himself all-sufficient for himself. But the bad man is one of extravagant tastes, being always thirsting for what he has not got, because of his insatiable and unappeasable appetites which he fans and excites like fire, and kindles into a flame, directing them towards every kind of gain, whether great or small; but the virtuous man wants but little, being placed as it were on the borders between the immortal and the mortal nature, having wants indeed by reason of his body being mortal, and his freedom from extravagance because his soul is continually longing for immortality: and so they array wealth against poverty, and glory against a want of reputation; for praise, having excellence and virtue as a starting point, and flowing forth from it as from an everlasting fountain, does not mix with the multitude of inconsiderate men, who are in the habit of laying bare the inconsistency of the soul, with unstable declarations, which sometimes they are not ashamed to sell cheaply in their desire of base gains, uttering them in reproach of men selected for their excellence. But the number of such men is small, for virtue is not a thing frequently met with in the race of men: but since no perfect antidote or remedy can be found for the mutilation of the outward senses, by which thousands and thousands of persons have died prematurely while still living, prudence, that best of all qualities within us, sets itself against it to prevent it, implanting eyes in our intellect, which, by reason of its sagacious capacity, are altogether and entirely superior in acuteness of vision to the eyes of the body: for these last see only the surfaces of the things presented to them, and require light from without to enable them to do that, but the intellect penetrates into the inmost recesses of bodies, closely surveying and investigating the whole of them, and each separate part, and also the natures of those incorporeal things, which the external senses are unable to contemplate at all. For the mind may almost be said to possess all the acuteness of vision of the eye, without being in need of any spurious light, but being in itself a star, and as it were a sort of representation or copy of the heavenly bodies: accordingly, the diseases of the body inflict very little injury on us, while our souls are in a sound state; and the sound health of the soul consists in a good admixture of the powers conversant with hunger, and appetite, and reason, the reasoning power having the predominance, and guiding the other two, as a charioteer guides and restrains restive horses; the proper name of this healthy state of the soul is moderation,[the Greek word is soμphrosyneμ, from soμzoμ, "to preserve," and pheμn, "the mind," or as Philo says, from soμteμria, "salvation," toμ phronounti, "to our thinking part."] which produces salvation to the thinking part of the faculties in us; for as it is constantly in danger of being overwhelmed by the impetuosity of the passions, moderation suffers it not to be sunk in the depths, but lifts it up and raises it on high, endowing it with soul and vitality, and in some sense with immortality. But in all the subjects which I have here mentioned, there are admonitions and lessons engraved lastingly in many passages of the law, persuading the obedient with great gentleness, and the disobedient with some severity, to despise all the things which affect the body and all external circumstances, looking upon a life in accordance with virtue to be the one proper end and object, and desiring everything else which appears conducive to this end; and if I had not in my former treatises dwelt upon all points connected with simplicity and humility, I would on this present occasion endeavor to explain the matter at some length, connecting and adapting together all the precepts which appear to lie scattered about in different places but as I have already said all that the occasion required on these topics, it is not necessary to recapitulate my arguments; those, however, who are not indifferent to the subject, but who have applied themselves with diligence to the study of the preceding treatises, ought to be aware that nearly all the things which I have said about simplicity and humility apply likewise to courage, since that also is the attribute of a vigorous, and noble, and very well regulated soul, to despise all the things which pride is in the habit of dignifying and extolling, to the utter destruction of life in accordance with truth.

4 But such great anxiety and energy is displayed by the law in attaining the object of training and exercising the soul so as to fill it with courage, that it has even descended to particulars in the matter of raiment, enjoining what men ought to wear, and prohibiting with all its might a man from wearing the garments of a woman, in order that no trace of shadow of the female may be attached to the male part of mankind, to its discredit; for the law, being at all times in perfect consistency and accordance with nature, desires to establish laws which shall be akin to and in perfect harmony with one another from beginning to end, even in those minute points which, by reason of their insignificance, appear to be beneath the notice of ordinary legislators. For as it perceived that the figures of men and women, looking at them as if they had been sculptured or painted forms, were very dissimilar, and, moreover, that the same kind of life was not assigned to both the sexes (for to the woman is assigned a domestic life, while a political one is more suited to the man), so also in respect of other matters which were not actually the works of nature, but still were in strict accordance with nature, it judged it expedient to deliver injunctions which were the result of sound sense and wisdom. And these related to the mode of living, and to apparel, and to other things of that kind; for it thought it desirable that he who as truly a man should show himself a man in these particulars also, and especially in the matter of dress, since, as he wears that both day and night, he ought to take care that there is no indication in it of any want of manly courage. And, in the same manner, having also equipped the woman in the ornaments suited to her, the law prohibits her from assuming the dress of a man, keeping at a distance men-women just as much as it does women-men; for the lawgiver was well aware that when only one single thing in the proper economy of the house was removed, nothing else would remain in the same position as it ought and as it was in before.

5 Moreover, as the affairs of men are usually looked at with reference to two different times, that of peace and that of war, one can see that there are particular virtues which are visible at each period. Now, of the other virtues we have spoken previously, and we shall speak again if any necessity shall arise; but, as the present moment, we had better examine courage, not in a superficial manner, the works of which, even in time of peace, the lawgiver has celebrated in many passages of his delivery of the law, always having a due regard to the time, as we mentioned in the proper place. Therefore, now we will begin to speak of its effects as relating to war, having first premised thus much by way of preface, that when he makes out the roll of all the soldiers of the army he does not think it expedient to summon forth all the youth of the nation, but some he excuses, stating very reasonable causes for their exemption from military service. And, above all, he exempts all those who are alarmed or cowardly, as they would be likely to be taken prisoners by reason of their innate effeminacy, and to cause fear to the rest who were fighting alongside of them; for a man's neighbour is very apt to take the impression of any one of his faults, and especially this is the case since men's reason is confused at that time by reason of the disorder of the contest, and is unable to attain to an accurate notion of the real picture of affairs; for, at such a time, they are wont to call prudent caution timidity, and to look upon fear as a prudent knowledge of the future, and upon a desire for safety as unmanly cowardice, investing most shameful conduct with specious and dignified appellations. In order, therefore, that the affairs of his own people may not be injured by the cowardice of those who go forth to battle, while the enemy obtains success and glory, slaying those cowardly foes with great contempt, and being also aware that an inactive irresolute coward was of no use at all, but was rather a hindrance to success, the lawgiver removed from the army all those who were devoid of boldness, and those who were inclined to faint or shrink out of cowardice, just as I imagine no general would compel men afflicted with any bodily infirmity to go forth to war, but would allow their weak health to plead their excuse. And cowardice is a disease, and a worse one, too, than any of those which affect the body, inasmuch as it destroys the faculties of the soul; for diseases of the body, indeed, are at their height but for a short period, but cowardice is an evil which grows with the man in a greater degree, or, at all events, not less than the parts of the body which are united to it, cleaving to the soul from its earliest infancy to the very extremity of old age, unless God himself interpose to cure it; for all things are possible to God. And, moreover, the lawgiver does not summon even all the men of impetuous courage, not even although they are full of strength and energy, both in soul and body, and eager to be the foremost in the conflict and in the encountering of danger; but, having praised them for their good will, because they display a disposition willing to share in the dangers of their countrymen, and eager, and void of fear, he proceeds to inquire whether they are entangled in any important circumstances which have a strong influential power of attraction. For, says he, "If any one has lately built a house, and has not as yet entered it to dwell in it; or if any one has planted a newlyarranged vineyard, having himself planted the cuttings in the ground, but which has not yet arrived at the season of its bearing fruit; or if any one has espoused a virgin and not consummated his marriage; he shall be excused from all military service." Humanity here finding an excuse for such exemption for two causes; first of all, in order that, since the events of war are uncertain, others who have never laboured in the work may not reap the fruits of these men's toil; for it appeared to be a hard thing for a man to be unable even to enjoy what really belonged to him, but for one man to build a house and another to dwell in it; and for one man to plant a vineyard and for another, who never planted it, to enjoy the fruit thereof; and for one man to espouse a wife, but for one who has not espoused her to complete the marriage; as it was not expedient that those who had entertained good hopes respecting life to find them all baffled and vain. And, secondly, that men might not be warring with their bodies while their souls were far from the battle; for it is impossible but that the minds of men in such a condition as has been described above must be held back and kept on the stretch, from a desire to enjoy the things from which they have been torn away. For as men who are hungry or thirsty, if they only get a sight of anything to eat or to drink, pursue it and run after it without ever turning aside in their eagerness to reach it, so also men who have laboured to obtain a legitimate wife, or a house, or the possession of a farm, and who in their hopes believe that the time for their enjoyment of each of these objects is all but arrived, if they are then deprived of that enjoyment, resist, so that though they may be present in body elsewhere, they are not present with the better part of their soul, by which it is that men succeed or fail.

6 Therefore our lawgiver does not think it proper to include those men, or any in a similar condition, in the roll of his soldiers, but only such as have no domestic circumstances of such a nature to detain them, in order that with free and unembarrassed inclinations they may engage in the pursuit of danger without shrinking; for as a weak or crippled body derives no advantage from a panoply of armor, which it will rather discard as being unable to bear it, so, in the same manner, a vigorous body causes affliction to a diseased soul by not being in conformity with its existing circumstances. And our lawgiver, having a regard to these facts, selects not only the captains, and the generals, and the other leaders of the army, but also picks out separately each individual soldier, examines in what state he is in respect of good condition of body and firmness of mind, examining his body to see if it is

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uninjured in all its parts, and in sound health, and in all its joints and limbs well adapted for the positions and actions which may be required of it; examining the soul also, to see whether it is full of confidence and proper courage, whether it is intrepid, fearless, and inspired with a noble spirit, whether it is eager for honour and inclined to prefer death with glory to an inglorious life; for each one of these qualities and circumstances is individually a separate power, if one is to say the plain truth. And if they are all united together in one individual, then they do most abundantly exhibit a certain invincible and irresistible might, subduing all their enemies without loss.

7 And the sacred volumes contain the most undeniable proofs of what has been here stated. The most numerous of all nations is that of the Arabians, whose ancient name was the Madienaeans. These people being inimicably disposed towards the Hebrews, for no other cause more than because they honour and worship the highest and mightiest Cause of all things, as being dedicated to the Creator and Father of the universe as his peculiar people, and having tried every imaginable device and exhausted every contrivance to cause them to abandon the worship of the one only true and living God, and to forsake holiness and adopt impiety, thought that if they could do so they should be easily able to get the better of them. But when, in spite of having both done and said innumerable things, they had failed in everything, like dying people who now despair of their safety, they contrived a device of the following nature. Having sent for the most beautiful of their women, they said to them, You see how invincible the multitude of the Hebrews is; and a defense to them more formidable than even their number is their unanimity and agreement; and the greatest and most powerful cause of this unanimity is the idea which they entertain of the one God, from which, as from a fountain, they derive a united and indissoluble affection for one another. But man may be caught by pleasure, and especially by such pleasure as proceeds from connexions with women. And ye are very beautiful, and beauty is by nature a seductive thing; and youth is a season of life very apt to fall into intemperance. And do not be afraid of the names of concubinage or adultery, as if they would bring shame upon you, but set against the names the advantages which will ensue from the facts, by which you will change your evil reputation, which will endure only for a day, into a glory which will never grow old or die; abandoning your bodies, indeed, as far as appearance goes, which, however, is only a desire and manoeuvre to defeat the enemy, and preserving still the virginity of your souls, on which you will for the future set the everlasting seal of purity. And this war will have a novel glory as having been brought to a successful issue by means of women, and not by means of men. For we confess that our sex is in danger of being defeated, because our enemies are better provided with all the appliances of war and necessaries for battle; but your sex is more completely armed, and you will gain the greatest of all advantages, namely the victory; carrying off the prize without having to encounter any danger; for without any loss or bloodshed, or indeed, I may rather say, without even a struggle, you will overpower the enemy at the first sight of you, merely by being beheld by him. When they heard this, they ceased to think of or to pay the very slightest regard to their character for purity of life, being quite devoid of all proper education, and accordingly they consented, though during all the rest of their lives they had put on a hypocritical appearance of modesty, and so now they adorned themselves with costly garments, and necklaces, and all those other appendages with which women are accustomed to set themselves off, and they devoted all their attention to enhancing their natural beauty, and making it more brilliant (for the object of their pursuit was not an unimportant one, being the alluring of the young men who were well inclined to be seduced), and so they went forth into public. And when they came near to them they put forth immodest wanton looks, and sought to entice them with caressing words, and dances, and lascivious movements; and in this way they enticed the shallow-minded company of the young men, youths whose dispositions had no ballast nor steadiness in them. And by the shame of their own bodies they captivated the souls of those who came to them, bringing them over to unholy sacrifices which ought not to have been sacrificed, and to libations which should never have been offered in honour of deities made with hands, and thus they alienated them from the worship of the one only and truly divine God. And when they had accomplished their purpose, they sent the glad tidings to the men of their nation; and they would have been likely to draw over others also of the firmer and strongerminded sort, if the bountiful and merciful God had not taken compassion upon their unhappy state, and by the prompt punishment of those who had gone astray and wrought folly (and they were twenty-four thousand men), by which he admonished and checked by terror those others who were in danger of being carried away by the torrent. But the ruler of the whole nation, infusing into the ears of his people doctrines of piety, and charming the souls of his subjects with them, selected and picked out a thousand men of each tribe, choosing them with regard to their excellence, and he bade them to inflict upon the enemy punishment for the treachery which they had contrived by means of the women, when they hoped to destroy the whole multitude by casting them down from the heights of their pure and sublime piety, though, in effect, they were only able to delude those whom I have enumerated.

8 These men, then, being arrayed against them, a small number against many myriads of men, and availing themselves of their skill, and exerting all their courage, as if each individual were himself a host, rushed upon the dense phalanxes in a contemptuous manner, and slaying all whom they met, they mowed down the thicklypacked battalions, and all the forces which were in reserve as a reinforcement to fill up the ranks where men were slain, so that they overthrew many myriads with their mere single shout, till not one of all the youth in the opposing army was left. And they slew also all the women who had assented to the unholy devices of the men, taking the maidens alive, because of their compassion for their innocent age, and though they brought this terrible war to a successful termination, they lost not a single one of their own men; but every man who went forth unto battle returned back again unwounded and unhurt, just as he entered the conflict, or rather, if one is to say the real truth, with redoubled vigor; for their joy at this victory made their strength not inferior to what it had been at first; and the cause of this, was simply that they even courted danger in their anxiety to engage in the contest in the cause of piety, in which God, that invincible ally, fights in front of them as their champion, inspiring their minds with wise counsels, and implanting the mightiest vigor in their bodies. And there is evident proof that God was their ally, in the fact that many myriads of men were defeated by a few, and that not one man of the enemy escaped, and that not one of their own troops was slain, and that the army was not diminished in either number or power; on which account Moses says in his exhortations to his People: [Deuteronomy 28:15.] "If you practice justice, and holiness, and the other virtues, you shall enjoy a life untroubled by wars and invariably peaceful; or if any war comes upon you, you shall with ease subdue your enemies, God being the leader of your host, although invisibly, who takes care to put forth his might to save the good. Therefore, if thy enemies come upon thee with many myriads of men, a host both of infantry, and of cavalry, trusting in the beauty of their armor; and if they pre-occupy all the strong and defensible places, and become masters of the country, and if they rejoice in unbounded supplies, still do not you be alarmed and fear, even if you are destitute of the things of which they have plenty, such as allies, and arms, and situations, and good opportunities, and the supplies of war." For very often a violent wind, falling upon them as upon a merchant vessel laden with all kinds of good things, has at once overthrown and destroyed these things; while upon those who have been imperfectly supplied, and who have been sorrowful, hanging down their heads like ears of corn withering under drought and disease, God has suddenly showered down and poured forth his saving powers, and has caused them to rise up and become prosperous and perfect. From which it is plain that he cleaves to what is holy and righteous; for those whose ally is God are consummately happy, but those to whom he is an enemy are sunk in the lowest depths of misery.

This appears sufficient to say on the present occasion on the subject of courage.

ON HUMANITY

9 We must now proceed in due order to consider that virtue which is more nearly related to piety, being as it were a sister, a twin sister, namely, humanity, which the father of our laws loved so much that I know not if any human being was ever more attached to it. For he knew that this was as it were a plain and level road conducting to holiness; and, therefore, he trained and instructed all the people who were in subjection to himself in precepts of fellowship, the most excellent of all lessons, exhibiting to them his own life as an archetypal model for them to copy. Every thing, then, that was ever done by him from his earliest infancy to old age in the way of taking care and providing for each separate individual and for all men in general, has been already explained in the three books of the treatise which I have set forth about the life of Moses. But it is necessary also to make mention of one or two points which he set in order when at the point of death; for they are indicative of that continual and uninterrupted virtue which he stamped upon his own soul, which was thus fashioned after the divine model, in such a way that it should be free from all indistinctness and confusion. For when the appointed limit of human existence was on the point of being reached by him, and when by distinct intimation from God he became aware that he was about to depart from the world, he did not act like any other person, whether king or private individual, whose only anxiety and prayer is to leave their inheritance to their children; but although he had become the father of two sons, he was not so much under the influence of the natural affection and love for his offspring which he undoubtedly felt as to bequeath his authority to either of them. And yet, even he had some suspicion of the worth of his children; at all events, he had no lack of virtuous and pious nephews, who were, indeed, already invested with the high priesthood, as a reward of their virtue. But, perhaps, he did not think fit to draw them away from the divine ministrations which belonged to their office, or, as was very likely, he considered that it would be impossible for them to attend to both matters, the priesthood and the royal authority, the one of which employments professes to be devoted to the worship of God, the other to the government of and to the care of providing for men. Perhaps, also, he did not think fit to become himself the judge in so important a matter, especially as it is an attribute of almost divine power to see thoroughly who is by nature well adapted for such authority, as it is the Deity alone to whom it is easy to see into the dispositions of men.

10 And the clearest proof of what I have said may be afforded by the following consideration. He had a friend and pupil, one who had been so almost from his very earliest youth, Joshua by name, whose friendship he had won, not by any of the arts which are commonly in use among other men, but by that heavenly and unmixed love from which all virtue is derived. This man lived under the same roof, and shared the same table with him, except when solitude was enjoined to him on occasions when he was inspired and instructed in divine oracles. He also performed other services for him in which he was distinguished from the multitude, being almost his lieutenant, and regulating in conjunction with him the matters relating to his supreme authority. But yet, though Moses had thus an accurate knowledge of him from his experience of him for a long time, and though he knew his excellence both in word and deed, and the greatness of his good will towards his nation, yet he did not think fit to leave him as his successor himself, fearing lest he might perchance be deceived in looking on that man as good who in reality was not so, since the tests by which one can judge of human nature are in a great degree indistinct and unstable. On which account he did not trust to his own knowledge, but he supplicated and entreated God, who alone can behold the invisible soul, who sees accurately the mind of man, to choose and select the most suitable man for the supreme authority, one who would care for the people who were to be his subjects like a father. And stretching his pure, and, as one may say in a somewhat metaphorical manner, his virgin hands towards heaven, he said, "Let the Lord God of spirits and of all flesh look out for himself a man to be over this multitude, to undertake the care and superintendence of a shepherd, who shall lead them in a blameless manner, in order that this nation may not become corrupt like a flock which is scattered abroad, as having no Shepherd." [Numbers 27:16.] And yet who was there of all the men of that time who would not have been amazed if he had heard this prayer? Who was there who would not have said, "What art thou saying, master? hast not thou legitimate children? hast thou not nephews? Above all men, leave thy authority to thy children first, for they are thy natural heirs; but if thou disapprovest of them, at all events bequeath it to thy nephews; and if thou lookest upon them also as unfit, having a greater regard for the whole nation than for thy nearest and dearest relations, still thou hast an irreproachable friend who has given a proof of his perfect virtue to you who art all-wise and capable to judge of it. Why, then, do thou not think fit to show your approbation of him, if thy object is not to select one on account of his family but on account of his virtue?" But Moses would reply: "It is proper to make God the judge in every thing, and most especially in those things in which the acting well or ill brings innumerable multitudes to happiness, or on the contrary to misery. And there is nothing of greater importance than sovereign authority, to which all the affairs of cities, in war or peace, are committed. For as in order to make a successful voyage one has need of a pilot who is both virtuous and skilful, in the same manner there is need of a very wise governor, in order to secure the good government of the subjects in every quarter. Moreover, wisdom is a thing not only more ancient than my own birth, but even than the creation of the universal world; nor is it lawful nor possible for any one to decide in such a matter but God alone, and those who love wisdom with guilelessness, and sincerity and truth; and I have learnt by myself not to approve of, as fit for dominion, any one of those men who appear to be suitable. "I, indeed, myself, did neither undertake the charge of caring for and providing for the common prosperity of my own accord, nor because I was appointed to the office by any human being; but I undertook to govern this people because God manifestly declared his will by visible oracles and distinct commandments, and commanded me to rule them; and I, after having besought and supplicated him to excuse me, because I had a respect unto the greatness of the business, at last, after he had repeated his commandments many times, I with fear obeyed. How, then, can it be any thing but absurd for me not now to follow in the same steps, and, after I myself, when about to assume the supreme authority, had had God for my elector and approver, not now in my turn to refer to him alone the appointment of my successor, without calling in the assistance of any human wisdom which is likely to be akin in some degree to folly,

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especially as the government to be undertaken is not one over any ordinary nation, but one which is the most populous of all nations everywhere, and one which puts forth the most important of all professions, the worship of the one true and living God, who is the Creator and the father of the universe? For whatever advantages are derived from the most approved philosophy to its students, full as great are derived by the Jews from their laws and customs, inasmuch as through them they have rejected all errors about gods who have been created themselves; for there is no created being who is truly God, but such a one is so only in appearance and opinion, being destitute of that most indispensable quality in God, namely, eternity."

11 This, now, is the first and most conspicuous proof of his great humanity and good faith towards and affection for all those of his own people, and there is also another which is not inferior to that which I have already mentioned. For when Joshua, being his most excellent pupil and the imitator of his amiable and excellent disposition, had been approved of as the ruler of the people by the judgement of God, Moses was in no respect downcast as some other men might have been at the fact of its not having been his own sons or nephews who were appointed; but he was filled with unrestrained joy because there was secured to the nation a governor who was in all respects excellent (for he was sure that the man who was pleasing to God must be virtuous and pious); and accordingly, taking him by the right hand, he led him forth to the assembled multitude, not being at all alarmed at the idea of his own impending death, but feeling that he had received a new cause of joy in addition to his former reasons for cheerfulness, not only from the recollection of his former happiness, in which he had passed his life abundantly in every species of virtue, but from the hope also that he was now about to become immortal, changing from this corruptible to an incorruptible life; and accordingly, with a cheerful look proceeding from the joy which he felt in his soul, he spoke to them with joy and exultation in the following manner, and said: "It is time for me now to be released from the life in the body; and my successor in the government of your nation is this man, having been appointed thereto by God." And then he proceeded to detail to them the oracular words of God which he had received as the proofs of this his successor's appointment by God; and the people believed them. And then, looking upon Joshua, he exhorted him to approve himself a valiant man, and to be very strong in good and wise counsel, and to show himself the interpreter of his counsels, and to accomplish all his purposes with unyielding and vigorous decision. And he said thus much to him though he was not perhaps in need of any recommendation, but because he would not conceal their mutual affection for one another and for the whole people, by which he was spurred on as it were to lay bare before him what he thought would be advantageous. He had also received an oracular command to call his successor and to render him full of confidence and good courage to undertake the care of the nation, without being apprehensive of the great burden of the authority committed to him, in order that he might be a standard and rule for all governors who should come hereafter, and who should look upon Moses as their model; so that none of them should ever grudge good advice to their successors, but should train, and exercise, and instruct their souls with their suggestions and counsels. For the advice of a good man is often able to raise up again those men whose minds are prostrate, and to elevate them again to a height, implanting in them a noble and intrepid spirit, which shall thus be established firmly above all circumstances and exigencies of time. Accordingly, after having held a discourse in which he uttered sentiments suited both to the people who had been committed to his care, and to those who were to be the inheritors of his authority, he begins to hymn the praises of God in a song, uttering the last psalm of thanksgiving in this life while still in the body, for all the kindnesses and mercies of extraordinary and unprecedented kinds, which he had received from his birth to this his old age; and having collected a most divine assembly to hear these praises, namely, the elements of the universe, and the most comprehensive parts of the whole world, the earth and the heaven, one of which is the dwelling of mortals, and the other the home of the immortals, he sang his hymn of praise in the middle of them all, with every description of harmony and symphony which men and ministering angels hear; the one, as being pupils, in order to learn to display their own grateful dispositions in a similar manner, and the others as presiding over them, and as by their own experience being able to take care that no part of this hymn shall be out of tune, and also as feeling some doubt whether any human being bound up in a mortal body could be able to attune his soul to music in the same manner as the sun, and the moon, and the rest of the company of the stars, having properly conformed himself to that divine instrument, the heaven, and to the universal world. And the declarer of the will of God being thus placed amid the beings who form the host of heaven, mingled with his grateful hymns of praise to God proofs of his own genuine affection and good will towards his nation, while he reproved them for their previous sins, and gave them admonitions, and advice, and precepts for the present occasion, and exhortations for the future, inspiring them with favourable hopes, which it was inevitable that favourable events would of necessity follow.

12 And when he had finished his hymn of melodious praise, which was thus in a manner woven together and made up of piety and humanity, he began to be changed and to depart from mortal existence to immortal life, and gradually to feel a separation of the different parts of which he was composed, namely of his body, which was now removed from him like a shell from a fish, from his soul which was thus laid bare and naked, and which desired its natural departure from hence. Then, having prepared all things for his departure, he did not approach the actual termination of his existence until he had shown respect to all the tribes of his nation by harmonious and consistent prayers in their behalf, honouring them all to the number of twelve by the recapitulation of the name of the patriarch of each tribe, all which prayers we must believe will certainly be accomplished, for the man who offered up the prayers was a devout servant of God, and God is merciful, and the persons on whose behalf the supplications were uttered were men of pure and noble birth, classed in the highest rank possible by the supreme leader of the people, the Creator and Father of the universe. And the things which were entreated for in the petitions were real blessings, not only that such things might fall to their share in this mortal life, but still more so when the soul should be released from the bondage of the flesh; for Moses alone, looking upon it as it should seem that his whole nation had from the very beginning the closest of all possible relationships to God, one much more genuine than that which consists of ties of blood, made it the inheritor of all the good things which the nature of mankind is capable of receiving, giving from his own store things which he had himself, and entreating God to supply what he himself was not possessed of, knowing that the fountains of his graces are everlasting, but yet that they are not dispensed to all men, but only to such as are suppliants for them; and suppliants are those persons who love virtue and piety, and it is lawful for them to drink up those most sacred springs, inasmuch as they are continually thirsting for wisdom.

13 We have now, then, spoken of the proofs of the humanity of the lawgiver, which he displayed by the admirable disposition of his own excellent nature, and also partly by the expositions which he has given in the sacred volumes. We must now proceed to speak of the precepts which he left behind him, commanding that they should be observed by future ages, and we must enumerate, if not all (for that would not be easy), at all events the principal topics which are most closely connected with and most nearly resembling his counsels; for, according to him, gentleness and humanity have not their habitation only in the communion of society which takes place among men, but also of his great liberality and bounty he diffuses it exceedingly, and extends it even to the irrational animals, and to the different species of wholesome trees. And what ordinances he established with respect to each of these things we must proceed to enumerate separately, making our beginning with men.

14 Therefore Moses forbids a man to lend on usury to his brother,[Deuteronomy 23:19.] meaning by the term brother not only him who is born of the same parents as one's self, but every one who is a fellow citizen or a fellow countryman, since it is not just to exact offspring from money, as a farmer does from his cattle. And he enjoins his subjects not to hang back on that account, and to be more slow to contribute to the necessities of others, but rather with open hands and willing minds very cheerfully to give to those who have need, considering that gratitude may in some degree be looked upon as interest repaid at a more favourable season for what was lent in an hour of necessity, being repaid by the voluntary inclination of the receiver of the kindness. And if a person be not willing wholly to give, still at all events let him lend, so as to give the temporary use of what is wanted freely and cheerfully, without expecting to receive anything beyond the principal. For in this way the poor will not become poorer, by being compelled to restore more than they received; nor will they who lent be doing iniquity if they only receive back what they lent. And yet they will not receive nothing more, for with the principal, instead of the interest which they have not demanded to receive, they will gain the best and most honourable of all human things, as they will have displayed kindness and magnanimity, and will have earned a fair reputation and goodwill. And what acquisition is there which is equal to this? for indeed the mightiest monarch appears poor and helpless if he is put in comparison with one single virtue, for he has only inanimate riches buried in his treasuries or in the recesses of the earth, but the wealth of virtue is stored up in the dominant part of the soul; and that purest of all essences, heaven, claims itself a share in that, as likewise does the Creator and Father of the universe, God. Therefore we must look upon and denominate the opulence of money-changers and usurers as poverty, though they appear to themselves to be mighty kings, while they have never beheld that wealth which is really endowed with sight, no not even in their dreams. And these men run into such extravagances of wickedness, that if they have not money, they make usurious advances even of food, lending it on condition of receiving back again more than they lent. Accordingly, such men will speedily afford a contribution to those who ask for one, preparing famine and scarcity against a time of plenty and abundance, and making a revenue of the hunger of the bellies of miserable men, weighing out the food as it were in a scale, and taking care not to give overweight. Therefore he necessarily commands those who live under his sacred constitution to avoid every description of revenues of this kind, for all such pursuits were the sign of a thoroughly slavish and illiberal mind, which must be changed into savageness and into the resemblance of brute beasts, before it could adopt them.

15 Again, among the different commands which conduce to the extension of humanity, there is this one also established,[Leviticus 19:13.] that every employer is to pay the wages of the poor man the same day that they are earned, not only because, since he has fulfilled the purpose for which he was hired, it is just that he should without any delay receive the reward of his service, but also because, as some persons have said, since the handicraftsman or burden-carrier is only a daily servant and short lived, suffering hardships with his whole body like any common beast of burden, he fixes all his hopes upon his wages, which is he receives at once, he is rejoiced, being both glad now, and ready to work twice as hard to-morrow with all cheerfulness; but if he does not get his wages, then, besides being exceedingly disappointed, he is weakened in his nerves and sinews through sorrow, and becomes faint, so that he is unable to move himself to the performance of his ordinary tasks.

16 Again, the lawgiver says, let no one who lends on usury enter the house of his debtors to take by force any security or pledge for his debt,[Deuteronomy 24:10.] but let him stand without in the outer court, and wait there entreating his debtor quietly to bring him a pledge; and if he have a pledge to give, let him not evade giving it, since it is fitting that the creditor should not by reason of his power behave in an arrogant manner, so as to insult those who have borrowed of him; and that the debtor also should out of his recollection of the loan of another person's property which he has received, not refuse to give an adequate security.

17 And who is there who can avoid admiring the proclamation or commandment about reapers and gatherers of the fruit of the Vineyard? [Deuteronomy 24:19.] For Moses commands that at the time of harvest the farmer shall not gather up the corn which falls from the sheaves, and that he shall not cut down all the crop, but that he shall leave a portion of the field unreaped, by this law rendering the rich magnanimous and communicative of their wealth, from being compelled thus to neglect some portion of their own lawful property, and not to be eager to save it all, nor to collect it all together, not to bring it all home and lay it up in store, and making the poor at the same time more cheerful and contented. For as the poor have no property of their own, he allows them to go into the fields of their fellow countrymen, and to reap of what they have left as if it were their own. And at the season of autumn he again enjoins the possessors of the land, when they are gathering their fruits, not to pick up those fruits which fall to the ground, nor to glean the vineyards a second time. And he also gives the same command to those who are gathering Olives. [Deuteronomy 24:20.] Like a most affectionate father, whose children are not all in the enjoyment of equal good fortune, since some of them live in abundance, while others are reduced to the very extremity of poverty; but he, commiserating and pitying them, summons them to partake of the possessions of their brethren, using what thus belongs to others as it were their own, not in so doing inviting them to any action of shameless wrong, but supplying their real necessities, allowing them a participation, not in the crops alone, but even in the land themselves likewise, as far as appearance is concerned. But there are men who are so sordid in their minds, being wholly devoted to the acquisition of money and labouring to the death for every description of gain, without paying any attention to the source from which it is derived, that they glean their vineyards again after they have gathered the fruit, and beat their olive branches a second time, and reap the whole of the land which bears barley and the whole of the land which bears wheat, convicting themselves of an illiberal and slavish littleness of soul, and also displaying their impiety; for they themselves have contributed but a small part of what was necessary for the cultivation of their lands, but the greater number and the most important of the means to render the land fertile and productive have been supplied by nature, such as seasonable rains, a proper temperature of the atmosphere, those nurses of the seeds sown and springing up--heavy and continual dews, vivifying breezes, the beneficial bestowal of the seasons of the year, so that the summer shall not scorch the crops nor the frost chill them, nor the revolutions of spring and autumn deteriorate or diminish what is produced. And though these men know and actually see that nature is continually perfecting her work by these means, and is enriching them with her abundant bounties, nevertheless they endeavor to appropriate the whole of her liberality to

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themselves, and, as if they themselves were the causes of everything, they give no share of any of their wealth to any one, showing at one and the same time their inhumanity and their impiety. These men accordingly, since they have not laboured in the cause of virtue of their own free will, he reproves and chastises against their will by his sacred laws, which the virtuous man obeys voluntarily, and the wicked man unwillingly.

18 The laws Command [Deuteronomy 24:4.] that the people should offer to the priests first fruits of corn, and wine, and oil, and of their domestic flocks, and of wools. But that of the crops which are produced in the fields, and of the fruits of the trees, they should bring in full baskets in proportion to the extent of their lands; with hymns made in praise of God, which the sacred volumes preserve recorded in writing. And, moreover, they were not to reckon the first-born of the oxen, and sheep, and goats in their herds and flocks as if they were their own, but were to look upon these also as first-fruits, in order that, being thus trained partly to honour God, and partly also not to seek for every possible gain, they might be adorned with those chief virtues, piety and humanity. Again. The law says,[Exodus 23:4.] if you see the beast of any one of your relations or friends, or, in short, of any man whatever whom you know, wandering in the wilderness, bring him back and restore him to him; and, if the master be a long way off, then keep the animal with your own until he returns, and then he shall receive back the deposit which he has not entrusted to you, but which you, having found, spontaneously restore to him from your own natural feelings of fellowship.

19 Again. Are not all the enactments about the seventh year so formally established, enjoining the people to leave all the land that year fallow and uncultivated, and allowing the poor to go with impunity over the fields of the rich to gather the fruits which that year grow spontaneously as the gift of nature, most merciful and humane ordinances? The law says,[Exodus 23:10.] "Six years let the inhabitants of the land enjoy the fruits as a reward for the acquisitions which they have made and for the labours which they have undergone in cultivating the land; but for one year, namely, the seventh, let the poor and needy enjoy it, as no work pertaining the agriculture has been done in that year." For, if any work had been done, it would have been absurd for one man to labour and for another to reap the fruit of his labours. But this ordinances was given in order that, the lands being left this year in some manner without any owners, no cultivation of the land contributing to its fertility, the produce, although full and complete, might be seen to proceed wholly from the bounty of God, coming forth as it were to meet and relieve the necessitous. Again. What are we to say of the commandments given relating to the fiftieth Year? [Leviticus 25:8.] Do not they go to the very furthest extent of humanity? And, indeed, who would deny it, unless he had only tasted of this sacred code of laws with anything more than the edges of his lips, and had not feasted and revelled in its most sweet and beautiful doctrines? For, in this fiftieth year, all the ordinances which are given relating to the seventh year are repeated, and some of greater magnitude are likewise added, for instance, a resumption of a man's own possessions which he may have yielded up to others through unexpected necessity; for the law does not permit any one permanently to retain possession of the property of others, but blockades and stops up the roads to covetousness for the sake of checking desire, that treacherous passion, that cause of all evils; and, therefore, it has not permitted that the owners should be for ever deprived of their original property, as that would be punishing them for their poverty, for which we ought not to be punished, but undoubtedly to be pitied. There is also an innumerable host of other special ordinances relating to one's fellow countrymen of great humanity and beauty; but, as I have mentioned them at sufficient length in my former treatises, I shall be satisfied with what I have said on those subjects, which I then put forth seasonably as a kind of specimen of the whole.

20 Moreover, after the lawgiver has established commandments respecting one's fellow countrymen, he proceeds to show that he looks upon strangers also as worthy of having their interests attended to by his laws, since they have forsaken their natural relations by blood, and their native land and their national customs, and the sacred temples of their gods, and the worship and honour which they had been wont to pay to them, and have migrated with a holy migration, changing their abode of fabulous inventions for that of the certainty and clearness of truth, and of the worship of the one true and living God. Accordingly, he commands the men of his nation to love the strangers, not only as they love their friends and relations, but even as they love themselves, doing them all the good possible both in body and soul; and, as to their feelings, sympathising with them both in sorrow and in joy, so as to appear all one creature, though the parts are divided; mutual fellowship uniting the whole and rendering it compact and coherent. There is no need of my saying anything about meats, and drinks, and garments, and all the other matters which relate to the usual way of living and to the necessary requirements of life, which the law enjoins that the foreigners shall receive from the natives of the land; for all these things follow the one general law of benevolence, which enjoins every man to love and cherish a stranger in the same degree with himself.

21 Moreover, extending and carrying further that humanity which is naturally so attractive, he also gives commandments respecting sojourners, thinking it fitting that those persons who, through any temporary distresses, have been driven from their homes should requite those who have received them with a certain degree of honour, with all imaginable respect, if they have done good to them and have treated them with friendliness and hospitality, and with a moderate degree of respect of they have done nothing more than merely receiving them into the land; for to be allowed to abide in a city with which one is wholly unconnected, or, I might even say, to be allowed only to tread on the soil which belongs to another, is in itself a bounty of sufficient magnitude for those persons who are unable to dwell in their own land. But the lawgiver here, going beyond all the ordinary boundaries of humanity, thinks it fitting and ordains that such sojourners shall bear no ill-will even to those men who, after having received them in the land, may have ill-treated them, since, though their actions may not have been kind, their name at least resembles the characteristics of humanity. Therefore he says, in express terms, "Thou shall not curse the Egyptian, because thou wast a sojourner in the land of Egypt." [Deuteronomy 27:3.] And yet what evil did the Egyptians ever omit to inflict upon this nation, being continually adding new devices of cruelty to the old ones, and proceeding by all sorts of fresh contrivances to heap inhumanity on inhumanity? But, nevertheless, because originally they received them in the land, not shutting their cities against them, and not making their country inaccessible to them when they first came, the lawgiver says, "Let them, as a reward for their friendly reception of you, have a treaty of peace with you. And if any of them should be willing to forsake their old ways and to come over to the customs and constitutions of the Jews, they are not to be rejected and treated with hostility as the children of enemies, but to be received in such a manner that in the third generation they may be admitted into the assembly, and may have a share of the divine words read to them, being instructed in the will of God equally with the natives of the land, the descendants of God's chosen people.

22 These, then, are the ordinances which he enacts for the sojourners in respect of those who have received them into their land, and he also establishes other merciful laws, full of gentleness and humanity, on behalf even of Enemies;" [Deuteronomy 20:10.] for he thinks it right with respect to them, even if they are at the gates, and standing under the very walls ready to attack them in their complete armor, and raising their warlike engines against them, that they shall, nevertheless, not be accounted enemies until the citizens have sent heralds to them and invited them to peace, that so, if they will yield, they may find that greatest of all blessings, namely, friendship; but if they are uncomplying and refuse, then the citizens, having also gained the alliance and co-operation of justice, might go to repel them with a good hope of victory. Moreover, if, after having taken prisoners in a sally, you should entertain a desire for a beautiful woman amongst them,[Deuteronomy 21:10.] do not satiate your passion, treating her as a captive, but act with gentleness, and pity her change of fortune, and alleviate her calamity, regulating everything for the best; and you will alleviate her sufferings if you cut the hair of her head, and trim her nails, and take off from her the garment which she wore when she was taken prisoner, and leave her alone for thirty days, during which period you shall permit her with impunity to mourn and bewail her father and her mother, and her other relations, from whom she has been separated by their death, or by their being subjected to the calamity of slavery which is worse than death. And, after that period, you shall cohabit with her as with a legitimate wedded wife; for it is right that one who is about to ascend the bed of her husband, nor for hire, like a harlot who makes a traffic of the flower of her beauty, but either out of love for him who has espoused her, or for the sake of the procreation of children, should be thought worthy of the ordinances which belong to a legitimate marriage. On which account the lawgiver has given all his laws with great beauty. For, in the first place, he had not permitted appetite to proceed onwards in its unbridled course, with stiff-necked obstinacy, but he has checked its vehement impetuosity, compelling it to rest for thirty days. And in the second place he has tested love, trying whether it is a frantic passion, easily satisfied, and, in fact, wholly originating in desire, or whether it has any share in that most pure essence of well-tempered reason, for reason will bridle the desire, not allowing it to proceed to any acts of insolence, but compelling it to abide the appointed period of a month of probation. And, in the third place, he shows his compassion for the captive, if she is a virgin, because it is not her parents who are now giving her in marriage, arranging for her a most desirable connexion; and if she is a widow, because she, being deprived of her first husband, is about how to make experiment of another, and this too while he still holds over her the power of a master, even though he studies to exhibit equality; for that which is subject to a master must always be apprehensive of his power, even though he may be very merciful. But if any one, being filled with desire, and being afterwards sated with enjoyment, no longer chooses to continue his cohabitation with his captive, then the lawgiver does not so much punish him as admonish him and correct him, with a view to the improvement of his disposition, for he commands him in such a case not to sell her,[Deuteronomy 21:14.] nor to retain her any longer as a slave, but to give her liberty freely, and to allow her to depart from him house with impunity, in order that she may not be exposed to some intolerable suffering when any other woman is introduced into the house, by their both quarrelling, as is often the case, out of jealousy, the master being at the same time brought into subjection to more recent charms, and despising those by which he was previously allured.

23 And thus the lawgiver pouring precept after precept into ready and obedient ears, enjoins Humanity. [Exodus 23:5.] Moreover, even if any beasts of burden belonging to the enemy while bearing burdens are oppressed by the weight, and fall down beneath them, he commands that the people should not pass them by, but that they should lighten their burdens and raise them up, teaching them thus by remote examples not to be delighted at the unexpected misfortunes even of those who hate them, knowing that to rejoice in the disasters of others is a malignant and odious passion, both akin to and contrary to envy; akin to it, because each of these feelings proceeds from passion, and because they approach near to, and one may almost say reciprocate, one another; but contrary, because the one feeling causes grief at the good fortune of another, and the other excites joy at the misfortunes of one's neighbour. Also the law proceeds to say, If you see the beast of one who is thy Enemy [Exodus 23:4.] wandering about, leave the excitements to quarrelling to more perverse dispositions, and lead the animal back and restore him to his owner; for so you will not be benefiting him more than yourself; since he will by this means save only an irrational beast which is perhaps of no value, but you will get the greatest and most valuable of all things in nature, namely, excellence. And there will follow of necessity, as sure as shadow follows a body, the dissolution of your enmity; for the man who has received a benefit is willingly induced to make peace for the future as being enslaved by the kindness shown to him; and he who has conferred the benefit, having his own good action for a counsellor, is already almost prepared in his mind for a complete reconciliation. And this is an object which the most holy prophet is endeavoring to bring to pass throughout the whole of his code of laws, studying to create unanimity, and fellowship, and agreement, and that due admixture of different dispositions by which houses, and cities, and altars, and nations, and countries, and the whole human race may be conducted to the very highest happiness. But up to the present time these are only wishes; but they will be hereafter, as I at least persuade myself, most real facts, since God will give a plentiful harvest of virtue, as he does give the harvest of the fruits of the seasons; which we shall never fail to attain to if we cherish a desire for them from our earliest infancy.

24 The ordinances, then, which he laid down for the observance of free-born men are these and others like them. And as it seems he also has established other regulations consistent with them respecting slaves; all of which tend to engender gentleness and humanity, of which he gives a share even to salves. Accordingly [Deuteronomy 15:12.] he thinks it fit that those who, because of their need of necessary sustenance, have devoted themselves to the service of others, ought not to be compelled to endure any thing unworthy of a liberal freedom of birth; advising those who have the advantage of their ministrations to have a regard to the unexpected misfortunes which have befallen their servants, and to feel respect for their change of condition. And he does not allow those who become debtors for daily loans, and who, by a parabolical and metaphorical expression, have received both the name and unhappy condition of ephemeral animals, or those who through some even still more urgent necessity have become slaves from having been free men, to suffer misery for ever, but he gives them entire deliverance in the seventh year. For, says he, a period of six years for servitude is sufficient for those debtors who cannot repay the loans to the lender, or who for any other reason have become slaves after having been free. And those who were not naturally slaves are not to be deprived of all happiness and liberty for ever, but are again to return to their former state of freedom, of which they were deprived through some unforeseen calamities. 2"And if," the lawgiver proceeds to say, "one who has been a slave of another for three generations, from fear of the threats of his master, or from a consciousness of having committed some offence, or, if he has committed no offence at all but has a savage and inhuman master, flees for refuge to some one else, in the hope to obtain assistance from him, do not reject him; for it is not consistent with holiness to abandon a suppliant, and even a slave is a suppliant, inasmuch as he has taken refuge on thy hearth, where it is fitting that he should find an

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asylum, especially if without any guile he has come to offer honest service. And if he cannot obtain this protection, at all events let him be sold to some one else; for it is uncertain what may be the effect of his change of masters, and an uncertain evil is easier to bear than a confessed one."

25 These, then, are the ordinances which he appoints to be observed concerning one's own relations, and strangers, and friends, and enemies, and slaves, and free men, and in short respecting the whole of the human race. And moreover, he extends his principles of humanity and compassion even to the race of irrational animals, allowing them always to share of these benefits as of a pleasant fountain; 2for in the case of domestic animals, with reference to flocks of sheep, and of goats, and herds of oxen, he commands the people to abstain from using of those animals which are just born, or from taking them either for food or under pretence of sacrificing them. For he looked upon it as a proof of a cruel disposition to plot against such creatures the moment they are born, so as to cause and immediate separation between the offspring and the mother, for the sake of the pleasures of the belly, or rather on account of some absurd and preposterous unpleasantness which the soul fancies. 2Therefore, he says to the man who is about to live in accordance with his most sacred constitution, "My good man, there is a great abundance of things of which you are permitted the enjoyment, to which there is no blame attached; for, perhaps, it would have been pardonable if it were not so, since want and scarcity compel men to do many things which otherwise they would not intend. But you ought to be pre-eminent in temperance and the practice of all virtues; being reckoned in the most admirable of all classifications and enrolled in obedience to a most excellent captain, the right reason of nature, by all which considerations you ought to be rendered humane, avoiding receiving in your mind any thing which is wrong. 2And why in addition to the pains which the animal bears in parturition, should you also inflict other pains from external causes, by the immediate separation of the mother from her offspring? For it is inevitable that she will resist and be indignant when they are thus parted, by reason of the affection implanted by nature in every mother towards her offspring, and especially at the time of their birth; since at this time the breasts are full of milk-like springs, and then if through want of the child which is to suck them the flow of milk receives a check, they become hardened by being distended by the weight of the milk, and the women themselves are overwhelmed with pain. Therefore, says the law, give her offspring to the mother, if not for the whole time, still at all events for the first seven days, to rear on her milk, and render not unprofitable those fountains of milk which nature has bestowed upon her breasts, destroying that second bounty of hers which she has prepared with great prudence, perceiving from a distance by her everlasting and perfect wisdom what will hereafter happen. 3For her first bounty was the birth by means of which that which had no existence was brought into being; the second bounteous gift was the flow of milk, the most tender and seasonable food for a tender creature, which, though it is only one thing, is at the same time both meat and drink. For inasmuch as part of the milk is of a watery nature, it is drink; and inasmuch as part of it is of a somewhat solid nature, it is meat; and it is endowed with these characteristics from a prudent foresight to prevent the lately born offspring from suffering disaster, through want lying in wait for it at different times, taking care thus that, by the one and the same application of each kind of food, it may escape those cruel mistresses, hunger and thirst. Do you then, you excellent and most admirable parents, read this law and hide your faces, you who are continually plotting the deaths of your children, you who entertain cruel designs against your offspring, so as to expose them the moment that they are born, you irreconcileable enemies of the whole race of mankind; 3for who is there to whom you ever entertain good will, when you are the murderers of your own children? You who, as far as lies in your power, make cities desolate, beginning with the destruction of your nearest relations; you who overturn all the laws of nature, and pull down all that she builds up; you who are savage and untameable in the barbarity of your souls, raising up destruction against birth, and death against life? Do not you see, that it has been a care to that all-wise and all-good lawgiver, that not even in the case of brute beasts shall the offspring be separated from the mother until it has been nourished by her milk? And this is ordained principally for your sake, you noble persons, that if you have it not by nature, you may at least learn proper affection for your kindred by instruction, and having regard to the examples of lambs and kids, who are not hindered from revelling in the most abundant possible supply of necessary food, which nature itself prepares for them in the most convenient places, by which easy enjoyment of food is granted to those that stand in need of it the lawgiver providing, with great zeal and care, that no one shall intercept the bountiful and saving gifts of God.

26 And being desirous to implant the seeds of gentleness and humanity in the minds of men, by every kind of expedient imaginable, he adds also another injunction akin to the preceding one, forbidding any one to sacrifice the mother and the offspring on the same day, for even if they are both to be sacrificed, still it must be at different times, for it is the greatest extravagance of barbarity to slay in one day the animal which has been born and her who is the cause of its birth. 3And for what object is this done? one is slain on pretence of sacrifice, the other for the gratification of the belly. If then it is on pretence of offering them in sacrifice, then the very name is given with falsehood; for animals taken for such purpose are victims, not Sacrifices. [the Greek is sphagia, not thysia.] And what altar of God would ever receive such unholy sacrifices? And as for the fire, would it not of its own accord divide itself in two parts and stand asunder, avoiding all the contamination which might arise from any contact with such a profane thing? I imagine that it would not have remained, no, not for even the briefest time, but would have been immediately extinguished, out of a watchful care that the air, and the most holy nature of the Spirit, should not be polluted by the ascending flames. 3And if they are not taken to be offered in sacrifice, but with a view to feast on them, then who can there be who would not loathe and reject all these new and unprecedented kinds of preposterous gluttony? for such men are, indeed, pursuing pleasures which are out of all reason. And what pleasure can it be to men who are eating meat, to devour, on the same occasion, the flesh of the others and of their offspring? And if any one were to desire to mangle the limbs of the two animals together, and to run them in a spit and to roast them, and so to devour them, I do believe that the very limbs themselves would not remain quiet, but would be filled with indignation and would utter speech, through their fury at the extraordinary character if the unprecedented injury done to them, and would revile, with innumerable reproaches for their gluttony, those men who had thus prepared this unmentionable banquet. But the law banishes to a distance from the sacred precincts all animals which are pregnant, not permitting them to be sacrificed until they have brought forth, looking on the animals which are still in the womb as equal to what has just been born; not because those which have never yet come to light are really looked upon as of equal importance with living creatures, but this ordinance is given to banish to a distance the rashness of those persons who are in the habit of confounding everything; for if animals, which grow and increase like plants, and which are considered to be as it were parts of the mothers which have conceived them, being still united to them, and being destined hereafter, after an appointed period of months, to be separated from the close connexion to which they are at present attached, are, because of the hope that at some future time they may become living creatures, preserved at present by the safety thus guaranteed to their mothers, in order that the aforesaid pollution may not come to pass; how can it be that the animals, when brought forth, shall not be preserved in a still greater degree, which in their own proper persons have received the gift of life and body? for it is the most impious of all customs, to slay both offspring and mother at one time and on one day. And it appears to me that some lawgivers, having started from this point, have also promulgated the law about condemned women, which commands that pregnant women, if they have committed any offence worthy of death, shall nevertheless not be executed until they have brought forth, in order that the creature in their womb may not be slain with them when they are put to death. 4But these men have established these enactments with reference to human beings, but this lawgiver of ours, going beyond them all, extends his humanity even to brute beasts, in order that ... we being accustomed to practice all the things ordained in his laws, may display an excessive degree of humanity, abstaining from pursuing any one, or even from annoying them in retaliation for any annoyance which we have received at their hands, and that we may not store up in secret our own good things, so as to keep them to ourselves, but may bring them into the middle, and offer them freely to all men everywhere, as if they were our kinsmen and our natural brothers. 4Moreover, let wicked sycophants calumniate the whole nation as one given to inhumanity, and our laws as enjoining unsociable and inhuman observances, while the laws do thus openly show compassion on even the herds of cattle, and while the whole nation from its earliest youth is, as far as the disobedient nature of their souls will admit of, brought over by the honest admonitions of the law to a peaceable disposition. 4And our lawgiver endeavors to surpass even himself, being a man of every kind of resource which can tend to virtue, and having a certain natural aptitude for virtuous recommendations; for he commands that one shall not take an animal from the mother, whether it be a lamb, or a kid, or any other creature belonging to the flocks or herds, before it is weaned. And having also given a command that no one shall sacrifice the mother and the offspring on the same day, he goes further, and is quite prodigal on the particularity of his injunctions, adding this also, "Thou shall not seethe a lamb in his mother's Milk." [Exodus 23:19.] 4For he looked upon it as a very terrible thing for the nourishment of the living to be the seasoning and sauce of the dead animal, and when provident nature had, as it were, showered forth milk to support the living creature, which it had ordained to be conveyed through the breasts of the mother, as if through a regular channel, that the unbridled licentiousness of men should go to such a height that they should slay both the author of the existence of the other, and make use of it in order to consume the body of the other. 4And if any one should desire to dress flesh with milk, let him do so without incurring the double reproach of inhumanity and impiety. There are innumerable herds of cattle in every direction, and some are every day milked by the cowherds, or goatherds, or shepherds, since, indeed, the milk is the greatest source of profit to all breeders of stock, being partly used in a liquid state and partly allowed to coagulate and solidify, so as to make cheese. So that, as there is the greatest abundance of lambs, and kids, and all other kinds of animals, the man who seethes the flesh of any one of them in the milk of its own mother is exhibiting a terrible perversity of disposition, and exhibits himself as wholly destitute of that feeling which, of all others, is the most indispensable to, and most nearly akin to, a rational soul, namely, compassion.

27 I also greatly admire that law which, like a singer in a well-trained chorus, is perfectly in accord with those which have gone before it, and which forbids a man to "muzzle the ox which treadeth out the Corn." [Deuteronomy 25:4.] For it is he who, before the sowing was performed, cut the furrows through the deep-soiled plain, and prepared the field for the operations of heaven and for the labours of the husbandman; for the latter, so that he might sow it at a seasonable time, and for the other, that the deep bosom of the earth might receive its bounty displayed in gentle showers, and in consequence might treasure up rich nutriment for the seed and dispense it to it gradually until it should swell into the full ear and bring its annual fruit to perfection. And, after the corn is brought to perfection, then again the ox is necessary for another service, namely, for the purification of the sheaves, and the separation of the chaff from the genuine useful grain. 4And since I have explained this distinct and humane command respecting the oxen which tread out the corn, I will now proceed to speak of that one which relates to the animals which plough, which is also of the same family; for the lawgiver also forbids the husbandman to yoke the ox and the ass together in the same plough for plowing,[Deuteronomy 22:10.] considering in this not only the difference of nature between the two animals, because the one is clean, while the ass is one of the unclean beasts, and it is not becoming to bring together animals which are so utterly alienated, but also because they are unequal in point of strength, he takes care of that which is the weaker, in order that it may not be oppressed and worn out by the greater power of the other. And, indeed, the ass, which is the weaker animal, is driven outside of the sacred precincts; but the more vigorous beast, namely, the ox, is offered up as a victim in the most perfect sacrifices. But, nevertheless, the lawgiver neither neglected the safety of the unclean animals, nor did he permit those which were clean to use their strength in disregard of justice, crying out and declaring loudly in express words, if one may say so, to those persons who have ears in their soul, not to injure any one of a different nation, unless they have some grounds for bringing accusations against them beyond the fact of their being of another nation, which is not ground of blame; for those things which are not wickedness, and which do not proceed from wickedness, are free from all reproach.

28 And, being full of mercy in every part, he again displays it in an abundant and exceeding degree, crossing over from the beings endowed with reason to the brute beasts, and from the brute beasts to plants, concerning which we must now proceed immediately to speak, since we have spoken sufficiently already about men, and about all animals which are endowed with life. He has forbidden in express Words [Deuteronomy 20:19.] to cut down for timber any trees which bear eatable fruit, and to ravage a plain bearing corn before its proper season for the purpose of destroying it, and, in short, to destroy any kind of crop in any manner, in order that the race of mankind may enjoy an abundance of nourishment without any limitation, and may have a sufficiency not only of necessary food, but also of such as conduce to making life luxurious. For the crop of wheat and corn is necessary, as being set apart for the actual daily food of man; but the innumerable varieties of the fruits which grow on trees are given to make his life luxurious; and very often, in times of scarcity, even these become a secondary food.

29 And, going beyond all other lawgivers in humanity, he does not allow his people even to ravage the country of their enemies, but he commands them to abstain from cutting down the trees, thinking it unjust that the anger which is excited against men should wreak itself on things which are innocent of all evil. And, besides this, by this commandment he points out that it is right not to look only at the present, but also by the acuteness of the reasoning powers to survey the future afar off as from a watch-tower, since nothing remains long in the same condition, but everything is subject to alternations and variations; so that it is natural that those who have for a while been enemies, when they have sent heralds and made overtures towards reconciliation, should again become friends in the bonds of peace. And it would be a wicked thing to

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deprive one's friends of necessary food, who have probably stored up nothing which can be of use to them because of the uncertainty of the future. For this was an admirable Saying [this idea is deservedly reprobated by Cicero, De Amic. 16. "We shall be able to arrive at another definition of true friendship when we have first mentioned what Scipio was accustomed to blame with great indignation. He used to say that no sentence more hostile to friendship, or more at variance with every correct notion of it, could possibly be found, than that one of the man who said that it became a man always to form a friendship with the idea that he might some day or other hate his friend. And he said that he could never be induced to believe that this, as some people fancied, had been said by Bias, who was accounted one of the seven wise men, but he looked upon it as the saying of some profligate or ambitious man, or of some one who referred everything to the preservation of his own powers."] which was in vogue among the ancients, that one must enter into friendships without at the same time being blind to the possibility that it may be turned into enmity, and that one must repel an enemy as if he may hereafter become a friend, in order that each man might, through this consideration, lay up something in his own soul which might conduce to his safety, and might not, being laid completely bare and defenceless, in word and in deed repent of his too great facility of temper, blaming himself when there is no need of any such thing. 5And cities also should act upon this principle, providing in peace the things which will be necessary in time of war, and in time of war the things which will be desirable in peace, and abstaining from placing such implicit, boundless confidence in their allies, as if they could never possibly change so as to become their enemies; nor, on the other hand, exhibiting such distance towards their enemies as if they would never be able to bring them over to reconciliation and peace. 5Moreover, if nothing is to be done in favour of one's enemies because of any hope of reconciliation, still, at all events, no plant is an enemy, but all plants are at peace with and useful to one. And those which produce eatable fruit are exceedingly necessary, as their fruit is either actual food or equivalent to food. And why should men be excited to enmity against things which are not hostile, cutting them down, or burning them, or tearing them up by the roots; things which nature herself has brought to perfection by streams of water, and by the admirable temperature of the summer, so that they contribute annual revenues to mankind as subjects to their kings? Moses, therefore, as a good superintendant, exerted all care to implant, not only in animals, but also in plants, invincible strength and vigor, and especially in such as produce eatable fruit, since they are worthy of more care, and are not of equal size and vigor with the wild trees of the forest, since they stand in need of the skill of the husbandman to endow them with greater vigor; 5for he commands the young plants to be nursed carefully for the space of three years, while the husbandman prunes away the superfluous off-shoots, in order that the threes may not be weighed down and exhausted by them, in which case the fruit borne by them would become small and weak through insufficiency of nourishment, and he must also dig round it and clear the ground, in order that no injurious plant may grow near it, so as to hinder its growth. And he does not allow the fruit to be gathered out of season at any one's pleasure, not only because, if that were done, it would be imperfect and produced from imperfect trees (for so also animals which are not perfect themselves cannot produce a perfect offspring), but also because the young plants themselves would be injured, and would in a manner be bowed down and kept as creepers on the earth, by being prevented from shooting up into straight and stout trunks. Accordingly, many husbandmen at the commencement of the spring watch their young trees, in order at once to destroy whatever fruit they show before it gets to any growth or comes to any size, from fear lest, if it be suffered to remain on, it may bring weakness to the parent tree. For it might happen, if some one did not take care beforehand, when the tree ought to bring fruit to perfection, that it will either bear none at all, or not be able to ripen any, being completely weakened by having been allowed to satiate itself with bearing before its proper time, just as old vinestems when weighed down, are exhausted both in root and trunk. But after three years, when the roots have got some depth and have taken a firmer hold of the soil, and when the trunk, being supported as it were on a firm unbending foundation, brows up with vigor, it is then in the fourth year able to bear fruit in perfection and in proper quantity: 5and in the fourth year he permits the fruit to be gathered, not for the enjoyment and use of man, but that the whole crop may be dedicated to God as the first-fruits, partly as a thank-offering for mercies already received, and partly from hope of good crops for the future, and of a revenue to be derived from the tree hereafter. 6You see, therefore, what great humanity and compassion our lawgiver displays, and how he diffuses his kindness over every species of man, even if they are foreigners, or even enemies; and secondly, how he extends it also to brute beasts, even though they be not clean, and in fact to every thing, to sown crops, and to trees. For the man who has learnt the principles of humanity with respect to those natures which are devoid of sense, is never likely to err with respect to those which are endowed with life; and he who never attempts to act with severity towards creatures which have only life, is taught a long way off to take great care of those which are also blessed with reason.

30 Having, then, by such precepts as these, civilised and made gentle the minds of those who live under the constitution of his laws, he has separated them from haughtiness and arrogance, those most grievous and burdensome of evils, which men in general cling to as the greatest of goods, and especially when riches, or glory, or authority supply them with unlimited abundance; for arrogance is very often engendered in men of no reputation or character, just as any other of the passions, or diseases, or infirmities of the soul, but it does not receive any growth or increase in such men, but, like fire, it is extinguished for want of fuel. But in great men it is very conspicuous, since they, as I said before, have food for this evil in riches, and glory, and authority, with which the men are entirely filled, and like those who have drunk great quantities of strong wine become intoxicated, and in their drunkenness they attack slaves and free men all alike, and at times even whole cities; for satiety produces insolence, as the proverb of the ancients tells Us. [the expression occurs in Theognis, 16.7.] On which account Moses, when declaring the will of God, enjoins men to abstain from every description of offence, and, above all, from arrogance. And afterwards he reminds them of the things which are wont to kindle passion, such as abundance of immoderate eating, and extravagant wealth in houses, and lands, and cattle; for when they possess these things, they presently become unable to restrain themselves, being distended with pride and puffed up; and the only hope that remains of such men being cured, consists in preventing them from forgetting God. For as when the sun arises, the darkness disappears and all places are filled with light, so in the same manner when God, that sun appreciable only by the intellect, arises and illuminates the soul, the whole darkness of vices and passions is dissipated, and the pure and lovely appearance of bright and radiant virtue is displayed to the world.

31 And still more does he seek to check and eradicate haughtiness, choosing to collect together the causes on account of which he enjoins men to erect in their souls an undying recollection of God; "For God," says Moses, "gives strength to get Power," [Deuteronomy 8:18.] speaking in this very instructively; for the man who has been accurately and thoroughly taught that he has received an endowment of great strength and vigor from God, will take into consideration the weakness which belonged to him before he received this great gift, and will consequently repel all haughty, and arrogant, and overbearing thoughts, and will give thanks to him who has been the cause of this change for the better. And arrogance is inconsistent with a grateful soul, as on the contrary ingratitude is nearly akin to haughtiness. Are your affairs prosperous and flourishing? then, receiving and increasing that strength of body which perhaps you did not expect, get power; and what is meant by this expression must be accurately investigated by those who do not very clearly see what is implied in it. Many persons endeavor to bring upon others, what is exactly contrary to the benefits which they have themselves received; for either, having themselves become rich, they prepare poverty for others, or having arrived at a high degree of honour and reputation, they become to others the causes of dishonour and infamy: but it is right rather that the wise and prudent man should, to the best of his power, endeavor to bring his neighbours also into the same condition; and that the temperate man should seek to make others temperate, the brave man to make others courageous, the righteous man to make others just, and in short every good man ought to try to make everyone else good; for these qualities are, as it seems, powers, which the virtuous man will cling to as his own; but infirmity and weakness, on the contrary, are inconsistent with a virtuous character. 6And in another place also the lawgiver gives this precept, which is most becoming and suitable to a rational nature, that men should imitate God to the best of their power, omitting nothing which can possibly contribute to such a similarity as the case admits of.

32 Since then you have received strength from a being who is more powerful than you, give others a share of that strength, distributing among them the benefits which you have received yourself, in order that you may imitate God by bestowing gifts like his; 6for all the gifts of the supreme Ruler are of common advantage to all men; and he gives them to some individuals, not in order that they when they have received them may hide them out of sight, or employ them to the injury of others, but in order that they may bring them into the common stock, and invite all those whom they can find to use and enjoy them with them. We say therefore, that the men possessed of great riches, and of high renown, and of great strength of body, and of great learning, ought to endeavor to make everyone with whom they meet, rich, and strong, and learned, and in short good, and that they ought not to prefer envy and jealousy to virtue, so as to oppose those who might otherwise attain to prosperity; 7and the law has very beautifully brought those who are inflated by arrogance, and are altogether possessed by incurable pride, not before the tribunal of men, but before the judgement seat of God, to which alone it has assigned the office of judging them; for it says, "Whosoever attempts to do anything in a haughty arrogant manner, makes God Angry." [Numbers 15:30.] Why so, because in the first place, haughty arrogance is a vice of the soul; but the soul is invisible to any one but God. And anyone who punishes, if he does so blindly, is blamable, as ignorance is his accuser: but if he does so with his eyes open, he is to be praised as doing everything with knowledge; and secondly, because every haughty arrogant man is full of vain groundless pride, looks upon himself as neither man nor demigod, but rather as an actual deity, as Pindar says,[pindar says nothing of the sort. The passage which Philo appears to allude to is the beginning of the second Olympic Ode which Horace has translated, Od. I. 12.1.] thinking himself worthy to overstep all the boundaries of human nature. 7And as the soul of such a man is blamable, so also is his body in all its positions and motions, for he walks on tip-toes, and lifts his head on high, strutting and giving himself airs, and he is elated and puffed up beyond his nature, and though he does see yet it is only with distorted optics, and though he hears he hears amiss; and he treats his servants as though they were cattle, and free men as though they were his slaves, and his kinsmen as strangers, and his friends as flatterers, and citizens as foreigners; 7and he looks upon himself as the most wealthy, the most distinguished, the most beautiful, the strongest, the wisest, the most prudent, the most righteous, the most rational, and the most learned of all men; and then he looks upon all the rest of mankind as poor, of no reputation, dishonoured, foolish, unjust, ignorant, mere dregs of mankind, entitled to no consideration. Very naturally then such a man will be likely to meet, as the interpreter of the will of God tells us, with God himself as his adversary and chastiser.

ON REPENTANCE

33 The most holy Moses, being a lover of virtue, and of honour, and, above all things, of the human race, expects all men everywhere to show themselves admirers of piety and of justice, proposing to them, as to conquerors, great rewards if they repent, namely, a participation in the best of all constitutions, and an enjoyment of all things, whether great or small, which are to be found in it. 7Now those blessings which are of the greatest importance in the body are good health, without disease; and in a matter of navigation, a successful voyage, without danger; and in the soul, an undying recollection of all things worthy to be remembered. And the blessings of the second class are those which consist of re-establishment, such as a recovery from diseases; a long wished for escape from and safety after great dangers encountered in a voyage, and a recollection which ensues after forgetfulness; the brother and closest relation of which is repentance, which is not indeed ranked in the first and highest class of blessings, but which has the principal in the class next to the first. For absolutely never to do anything wrong at all is a peculiar attribute of God, and perhaps one may also say of a God-like man. But when one has erred, then to change so as to adopt a blameless course of life for the future is the part of a wise man, and of one who is not altogether ignorant of what is expedient. On which account he calls to him all persons of such a disposition as this, and initiates them in his laws, holding out to them admonitions full of reconciliation and friendship, which exhort men to practice sincerity and to reject pride, and to cling to truth and simplicity, those most necessary virtues which, above all others, contribute to happiness; forsaking all the fabulous inventions of foolish men, which their parents, and nurses, and instructors, and innumerable other persons with whom they have been associated, have from their earliest infancy impressed upon their tender souls, implanting in them inextricable errors concerning the knowledge of the most excellent of all things. 7And what can this best of all things be except God? whose honours those men have attributed to beings which are not gods, honouring them beyond all reason and moderation, and, like empty minded people that they are, wholly forgetting him. All those men therefore who, although they did not originally choose to honour the Creator and Father of the universe, have yet changed and done so afterwards, having learnt to prefer to honour a single monarch rather than a number of rulers, we must look upon as our friends and kinsmen, since they display that greatest of all bonds with which to cement friendship and kindred, namely, a pious and God-loving disposition, and we ought to sympathise in joy with and to congratulate them, since even if they were blind previously they have now received their sight, beholding the most brilliant of all lights instead of the most profound darkness.

34 We have now then described the first and most important of the considerations which belong to repentance. And let a man repent, not only of the errors by which he was for a long time deceived, when he honoured the creature in preference to that uncreated being who was himself the Creator of all things, but also in respect of the other necessary

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and ordinary pursuits and affairs of life, forsaking as it were that very worst of all evil constitutions, the sovereignty of the mob, and adopting that best of all constitutions, a wellordered democracy; that is to say, crossing over from ignorance to a knowledge of those things to be ignorant of which is shameful; from folly to wisdom, from intemperance to temperance, from injustice to righteousness, from cowardice to confident courage. 8For it is a very excellent and expedient thing to go over to virtue without every looking back again, forsaking that treacherous mistress, vice. And at the same time it is necessary that, as in the sun shadow follows the body, so also a participation in all other virtues must inevitably follow the giving due honour to the living God; for those who come over to this worship become at once prudent, and temperate, and modest, and gentle, and merciful, and humane, and venerable, and just, and magnanimous, and lovers of truth, and superior to all considerations of money or pleasure; just as, on the contrary, one may see that those who forsake the holy laws of God are intemperate, shameless, unjust, disreputable, weak-minded, quarrelsome, companions of falsehood and perjury, willing to sell their liberty for luxurious eating, for strong wine, for sweetmeats, and for beauty, for pleasures of the belly and of the parts below the belly; the miserable end of all which enjoyment is ruin to both body and soul. 8Moreover, Moses delivers to us very beautiful exhortations to repentance, by which he teaches us to alter our way of life, changing from an irregular and disorderly course into a better line of conduct; for he says that this task is not one of any excessive difficulty, nor one removed far out of our reach, being neither above us in the air nor on the extreme borders of the sea, so that we are unable to take hold of it; but it is near us, abiding, in fact, in three portions of us, namely, in our mouths, and our hearts, and our hands;[Deuteronomy 30:11.] by symbols, that is to say, in our words, and counsels, and actions; for the mouth is the symbol of speech, and the heart of counsels, and the hands of actions, and in these happiness consists. 8For when such as the words are, such also is the mind; and when such as the counsels are, such likewise are the actions; then life is praiseworthy and perfect. But when these things are all at variance with one another life is imperfect and blamable, unless some one who is at the same time a lover of God and beloved by God takes it in hand and produces this harmony. For which reason this oracular declaration was given with great propriety, and in perfect accordance with what has been said above,[Leviticus 26:12.] "Thou hast this day chosen the Lord to be thy God, and the Lord has this day chosen thee to be his people." 8It is a very beautiful exchange and recompense for this choice on the part of man thus displaying anxiety to serve God, when God thus without any delay takes the suppliant to himself as his own, and goes forth to meet the intentions of the man who, in a genuine and sincere spirit of piety and truth, hastens to do him service. But the true servant and suppliant of God, even if by himself he be reckoned and classed as a man, still in power, as has been said in another place, is the whole people, inasmuch as he is equal in value to a whole people. And this is naturally the case in other matters also; 8for, as in a ship, the pilot is of as much importance as all the rest of the crew put together; and, as in an army, the general is of as much value as the whole of the army, since, if he is slain, the whole army is defeated as much as if it had been slain to a man and utterly destroyed; so in the same manner the wise man is, as to importance, on a par with the whole nation, being defended by that indestructible impregnable fortress, piety towards God.

ON NOBILITY

35 We ought to rebuke in no measured language those who celebrate nobility of birth as the greatest of all blessings, and the cause also of great blessings, if in the first place they think those men nobly born who are sprung from persons who were rich and glorious in the days of old, when those very ancestors themselves, from whom they boast to be descended, were not made happy by their unlimited abundance; since, in truth, that which is really good does not naturally or necessarily lodge in any external thing, nor in any of the things which belong to the body, and indeed I may even say not in every part of the soul, but only in the dominant and most important portion of it. 8For when God determined to establish this in us out of his own exceeding mercy and love for the human race, he would not find any temple upon earth more beautiful or more suited for its abode than reason: for the mind makes, as it were, an image of the good and consecrates it within itself, and if any persons disbelieve in it of those who have either never tasted wisdom at all, or else have done so only with the edges of their lips (for silver and gold, and honours, and offices, and vigor and beauty of body, resemble those men who are appointed to situations of authority and power, in order to serve virtue as if she were their queen), never having obtained a sight of the most brilliant of all lights. Since, then, nobility of mind, perfectly purified by complete purifications, is the proper inheritance, we ought to call those men alone noble who are temperate and just, even though they may be of the class of domestic slaves, or may have been bought with money. But to those persons who, being sprung from virtuous parents, do themselves turn out wicked, the region of nobleness is wholly inaccessible; 9for every bad man is destitute of a house, and destitute of a city, having been driven from his proper country, namely, virtue; which is the real, genuine country of all wise men: and ignobleness does of necessity attach itself to such a man, even though he be descended from grandfathers and great grandfathers whose lives were wholly irreproachable, since he studies to alienate himself from them and detaches himself from and removes to the greatest possible distance from real nobility in all his words and actions. 9But moreover, besides that wicked men cannot possibly be noble, I also see that they are all of them irreconcileable enemies to nobility, inasmuch as they have destroyed the reputation which accrued to them from their ancestors, and have dimmed and extinguished all the brilliancy which did exist in their race.

36And it is for this reason, as it appears to me, that some most affectionate fathers disown and disinherit their sons, cutting them off from their homes and from their kindred, when the wickedness which is displayed in them has over-mastered the exceeding and all-pervading love which is implanted by nature in parents. And the truth of this assertion of mine is easy to be seen from other circumstances also. What good could it ever be to any man that his ancestors had been endowed with ever such great acuteness of vision if he himself were deprived of his eyes? How could that fact assist him to see? Or again, supposing a person to have an impediment in his speech, how would his utterance be assisted by the fact that his parents or his grandfathers had had fine voices? And how will a man who has been emaciated and exhausted by a long and wasting disease, be assisted to recover his former strength, if the original founders of his race are, on account of their strength as athletes, enrolled among the Olympic conquerors, or the victors at any other periodical games? For their bodily infirmities will equally remain in the same condition as before, not receiving any amelioration from the successes of their relations. 9In the same manner, just parents are of no advantage to unjust men, nor temperate parents to intemperate children, nor, in short, are ancestors of any kind of excellence of any advantage to wicked descendants; for even the laws themselves are of no advantage to those who transgress them, as they are meant to punish them, and what is it that we ought to look upon as unwritten laws, except the lives of those persons who have imitated virtue? On which account, I imagine, that nobility herself, if God were to invest her with the form and organs of a man, would stand before those obstinate and unworthy descendants and speak thus: "Relationship is not measured by blood alone, where truth is the judge, but by a similarity of actions, and by a careful imitation of the conduct of your ancestors. But you have pursued an opposite line of conduct, thinking hateful such actions as are dear to me, and loving such deeds as are hateful to me; for in my eyes modesty, and truth, and moderation, and a due government of the passions, and simplicity, and innocence, are honourable, but in your opinion they are dishonourable; and to me all shameless behaviour is hateful, and all falsehood, and all immoderate indulgence of the passions, and all pride, and all wickedness. But you look upon these things as near and dear to you. 9Why, then, do you, when by your actions you show all possible eagerness to alienate yourselves from them, sheltering yourselves under a plausible name, hypocritically pretend in words to a relationship? For I cannot endure seductive insinuations falsely put on, or any deceit; because it is easy for any persons to find out specious arguments, but it is not easy to change an evil disposition into a good one. "And I, looking therefore at these facts, both now consider and shall always think those persons who have kindled sparks of enmity my enemies, and I shall look upon them with more suspicion than upon those who have been reproached openly for want of nobility; for they, indeed, have this to allege in their defense, that they have no connexion at all with excellence. But you are justly liable to punishment who act thus after having been born of noble houses, and being fond of making your boast of your noble descent, and of looking upon it as your glory; for, though archetypal models of virtue have been established in close connexion with, and in a manner implanted in you, you have determined to give no good impression of them yourselves. 9But that nobility is placed only in the acquisition of virtue, and that you ought to imagine that he who has that is the only man really noble, and not the man who is born of noble and virtuous parents, is plain from many circumstances."

37 Again, who is there who would deny that those men who were born of him who was made out of the earth were noble themselves, and the founders of noble families? persons who have received a birth more excellent than that of any succeeding generation, in being sprung from the first wedded pair, from the first man and woman, who then for the first time came together for the propagation of offspring resembling themselves. But, nevertheless, when there were two persons so born, the elder of them endured to slay the younger;[Genesis 4:1.] and, having committed the great and most accursed crime of fratricide, he first defiled the ground with human blood. Now, what good did the nobility of his birth do to a man who had displayed this want of nobleness in his soul? which God, who surveys all human things and actions, detested when he saw it; and, casting it forth, affixed a punishment to it, not slaying him at once, so that he should arrive at an immediate insensibility to misfortunes, but suspending over him ten thousand deaths in his external senses, by means of incessant griefs and fears, so as to inflict upon him the sense of the most grievous calamities. Now there was, in the subsequent generations, a man very greatly approved of, a most holy man, whose piety the sacred historian, who has written the books called the law, has thought worthy of being recorded in the sacred volumes. Accordingly, in the great deluge when all the cities of the world were utterly destroyed (for even the highest mountains were overwhelmed by the increase and continual rising of the rapid flood), he alone was saved, with all his kindred, having received such a reward for his virtue that it is not possible to imagine a greater One. [Genesis 7:1.] This man, again, had three sons; and, though they had had their share in the blessing thus bestowed upon their father, one of them dared to turn his father, the cause of his safety, into ridicule, laughing at him, and mocking and reviling him, because of an error which he committed unintentionally, and displaying to those who did not see it what he ought to have, concealed, so as to bring disgrace on him who had begotten Him. [Genesis 9:22.] Therefore, having now fallen from his brilliant nobility of birth and having become accursed, and having also become the beginning of misery to all his posterity, he suffered all those evils which it was fitting for a man to suffer who had disregarded all the honour due to his parents. But why should I speak of these men, and pass over the first man who was created out of the earth? who, in respect of the nobleness of his birth can be compared to no mortal whatever, inasmuch as he was fashioned by the hand of God, and invested with a form in the likeness of a human body by the very perfection of all plastic art. And he was also thought worthy of a soul, which was derived from no being who had as yet come into existence by being created, but God breathed into him as much of his own power as mortal nature was capable of receiving. Was it not, then a perfect excess of all nobleness, which could not possibly come into comparison with any other which is ever spoken of as favours? for all persons who lay claim to that kind of eminence rest their claims on the nobility of their ancestors. But even those men who have been their ancestors were only animals, subject to disease and to corruption, and their prosperity was, for the most part, very unstable. But the father of his man was not mortal at all, and the sole author of his being was God. And he, being in a manner his image and likeness according to the dominant mind in the soul, though it was his duty to preserve that image free from all spot of blemish, following and imitating as far as was in his power the virtues of him who had created him, since the two opposite qualities of good and evil (what is honourable and what is disgraceful, what is true and what is false) were set before him for his choice and avoidance, deliberately chose what was false, and disgraceful, and evil, and despised what was good, and honourable, and true; for which conduct he was very fairly condemned to change an immortal for a mortal existence, being deprived of blessedness and happiness, and therefore he naturally was changed so as to descend into a labourious and miserable Life. [Genesis 3:19.]

38 But, however, let these men be set down as common rules and limits for all men, in order to prevent them from priding themselves on their noble birth, and so departing from and losing the rewards of excellence. But there are also other especial rules given to the Jews besides the common ones which are applicable to all mankind; for they are derived from the original founders of the nation, to whom the virtues of their ancestors were absolutely of no benefit at all, inasmuch as they were detected in blamable and guilty actions, and were convicted, if not by any other human being, at all events by their own consciences, which is the sole tribunal in the world which is never led away by any artifices of speech. The first man of them had a numerous family, inasmuch as he had children by three wives, not forming these connexions for the sake of pleasure, but because of his hope of multiplying his race. But, of all his children, one alone was appointed to be the inheritor of his father's possessions; and all the rest, being disappointed of their reasonable hopes, and having failed to obtain any portion whatever of their father's wealth, departed to live in different countries, having been completely alienated from that celebrated nobility of birth. Again, to the one who was approved of as the heir, there were born two sons, twins, resembling one another in no particular except in the hands, and even in them only by some especially providence of God, inasmuch as they were alike neither in their bodies nor in their minds, for the younger one was obedient to both his parents, and was really amiable and pleasing, so that he obtained the praises even of God; while the elder was disobedient, being intemperate in respect of the pleasures of the belly and of the parts beneath the belly, by a regard for which he was induced even to part with his birth-right, as far as he himself was

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concerned, though he repented immediately afterwards of the conditions on which he had forfeited it, and sought to slay his brother, and, in fact, to do everything imaginable by which he could be likely to pain his parents; therefore they, in the first place, offered up prayers for his brother to the supreme God, who accepted them, and who did not choose to leave any one of them unaccomplished; while to the others they gave, out of compassion, a subordinate rank, appointing that he should serve his brother, thinking, as indeed is the truth, that the fact of not being his own master, is good for a wicked man. And if the elder brother had cheerfully submitted to the servitude, he would have been thought worthy of a secondary reward, as having come off second in a contest of virtue; but as the case stands, having behaved in a self-willed manner, and having refused to submit to servitude, he became the cause of great reproach, both to himself and to his descendants, so that his miserable life has been indelibly recorded for a most manifest proof that nobility of birth is of no service whatever to those who do not deserve to have it.

39 These men therefore are both of that class which is open to reproach; men whom, as they showed themselves wicked men, though descended from virtuous fathers, the virtues of their fathers failed to profit in the least, while the vices which existed in their souls did them infinite mischief; and I can also speak of others, who, on the contrary, ranged themselves in a better class, after having been born in a worse, since their forefathers were guilty, while their own life was to be admired and was full of praise and virtue. The most ancient person of the Jewish nation was a Chaldaean by birth, born of a father who was very skilful in astronomy, and famous among those men who pass their lives in the study of mathematics, who look upon the stars as gods, and worship the whole heaven and the whole world; thinking, that from them do all good and all evil proceed, to every individual among men; as they do not conceive that there is any cause whatever, except such as are included among the objects of the outward senses. Now what can be more horrible than this? What can more clearly show the innate ignobleness of the soul, which, by consequence of its knowledge of the generality of things, of secondary causes, and of things created, proceeds onwards to ignorance of the one most ancient uncreated Being, the Creator of the universe, and who is most excellent on this account, and for many other reasons also, which the human reason is unable to comprehend by reason of their magnitude? But this man, having formed a proper conception of this in his mind, and being under the influence of inspiration, left his country, and his family, and his father's house, well knowing that, if he remained among them, the deceitful fancies of the polytheistic doctrine abiding there likewise, must render his mind incapable of arriving at the proper discovery of the true God, who is the only everlasting God and the Father of all other things, whether appreciable only by the intellect or perceptible by the outward senses; while, on the other hand, he saw, that if he rose up and quitted his native land, deceit would also depart from his mind. changing his false opinions into true belief. At the same time, also, the divine oracles of God which were imparted to him excited still further that desire which longed to attain to a knowledge of the living God, by which he was guided, and thus went forth with most unhesitating earnestness to the investigation of the one God. And he never desisted from this investigation till he arrived at a more distinct perception, not indeed of his essence, for that is impossible, but of his existence, and of his over-ruling providence as far as it can be allowed to man to attain to such; for which reason he is the first person who is said to have believed in God,[Genesis 15:6.] since he was the first who had an unswerving and firm comprehension of him, apprehending that there is one supreme cause, and that he it is which governs the world by his providence, and all the things that are therein. And having attained to a most firm comprehension of the virtues, he acquired at the same time all the other virtues and excellencies also, so that he was looked upon as a king by those who received him,[Genesis 23:6.] not indeed in respect of his appointments, for he was only a private individual, but in his magnanimity and greatness of soul, inasmuch as he was of a royal spirit. For, indeed, his servants at all times steadfastly observed him, as subjects observe a ruler, looking with admiration at the universal greatness of his nature and disposition, which was more perfect than is customary to meet with in a man; for he did not use the same conversation as ordinary men, but, like one inspired, spoke in general in more dignified language. Whenever, therefore, he was possessed by the Holy Spirit he at once changed everything for the better, his eyes and his complexion, and his size and his appearance while standing, and his motions, and his voice; the Holy Spirit, which, being breathed into him from above, took up its lodging in his soul, clothing his body with extraordinary beauty, and investing his words with persuasiveness at the same time that it endowed his hearers with understanding. Would not any one, then, be quite correct to say that this man who thus left his native land, who thus forsook all his relations and all his friends, was the most nobly related of all men, as aiming at making himself a kinsman of God, and labouring by every means in his power to become his disciple and friend? And that he was deservedly ranked in the very highest class among the prophets, because he trusted in no created being in preference to the uncreated God, the Father of all? And being honoured as king, as I have said before, by those who received him among them, not as having obtained his authority by warlike arms, or by armed hosts, as some persons have done, but having received his appointment from the all-righteous God, who honours the lovers of piety with independent authority, to the great advantage of all who are associated with them. 1This man is the standard of nobleness to all who come to settle in a foreign land, leaving that ignobleness which attaches to them from foreign laws and unbecoming customs, which give honours, such as are due only to God, to stocks, and to stones, and, in short, to all kinds of inanimate things; and who have thus come over to a constitution really full of vitality and life, the president and governor of which is truth.

40 This nobleness has been an object of desire not only to God-loving men, but likewise to women, who have discarded the ignorance in which they have been bred up, which taught them to honour, as deities, creatures made with hands, and have learnt instead that knowledge of there being only one supreme Ruler of the universe, by whom the whole world is governed and regulated; for Tamar was a woman from Syria Palestina, who had been bred up in her own native city, which was devoted to the worship of many gods, being full of statues, and images, and, in short, of idols of every kind and description. But when she, emerging, as it were, out of profound darkness, was able to see a slight beam of truth, she then, at the risk of her life, exerted all her energies to arrive at piety, caring little for life if she could not live virtuously; and living virtuously was exactly identical with living for the service of and in constant supplication to the one true God. And yet she, having married two wicked brothers in turn, one after the other, first of all the one who was the husband of her virginity, and lastly him who succeeded to her by the law which enjoined such a marriage, in the case of the first husband not having left any family, but nevertheless, having preserved her own life free from all stain, was able to attain to that fair reputation which falls to the lot of the good, and to be the beginning of nobleness to all those who came after her. But even though she was a foreigner still she was nevertheless a freeborn woman, and born also of freeborn parents of no insignificant importance; 2but her handmaidens were born of parents who lived on the other side of the Euphrates on the extremities of the country of Babylon, such as were given as part of their dowry to maidens of high rank when they were married, but still were often thought worthy to be taken to the bed of a wise man; and so they first of all were raised from the title of concubines to the name and dignity of wives, and in a short time, I may almost say, instead of being looked upon as handmaidens they were raised to an equality in point of dignity and consideration with their mistresses, and, which is the most extraordinary circumstance of all, were even invited by their mistresses to this position and dignity. For envy does not dwell in the souls of the wise, and whenever that is not present they all have all things in common. 2And the illegitimate sons borne by those handmaidens differed in no respect from the legitimate children of the real wives, not only in the eyes of the father who begot them, for it is not at all surprising if he who was the father of them all displayed an equal degree of good-will to them all, since they were all equally his children; but they also were equally esteemed by their stepmothers. For they, laying aside all that dislike which women so commonly feel towards their stepsons, changed it into an unceasing affection with which they united themselves to them. And the stepsons, showing a reciprocal good will to them, honoured their stepmothers as if they had been their natural mothers. And their brothers, being separated from them only by the mixture in their blood, nevertheless did not think them worthy of only a half degree of affection, but even increased their feelings so that they entertained a twofold degree of love for them, being equally beloved by them in return; and thus more than filled up what might else have appeared likely to be deficient, showing an eagerness to exhibit the same harmony and union of disposition with them that they did with their brethren by both parents.

41 We must not, therefore, give in to those persons who seek to creep stealthily into the possession of a property belonging to others, namely, nobility of birth, as though it were of right their own, and who, with the exception of those whom I have mentioned, might justly be looked upon as enemies not only of the race of the Jews but of all the human race in every quarter. Of the one because they give a truce to those of the same nation, allowing them to despise sound and stable virtue, through trusting implicitly in the virtue of their ancestors; and of the others because, even if they could attain to the highest and most absolute perfection of all excellence, they would still derive no advantage themselves, because of their not having irreproachable fathers and grandfathers. 2Than which I do not know that there can possibly be a more mischievous doctrine, if there is no avenging punishment to follow those who being descended of virtuous parents have made themselves, and if on the contrary no honour is to be assigned to those who have become good though born of wicked parents, though the law judges each man by himself, and does not praise or blame any one with reference to the virtues or vices of his ancestors.

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

1 (We find, then, that in the sacred oracles delivered by the prophet Moses, there are three separate characters; for a portion of them relates to the creation of the world, a portion is historical, and the third portion is legislative. Now the creation of the world is related throughout with exceeding beauty and in a manner admirably suited to the dignity of God, taking its beginning in the account of the creation of the heaven, and ending with that of the formation of man; the first of which things is the most perfect of all imperishable things, and the other of all corruptible and perishable things. And the Creator, connecting together immortal and mortal things at the creation, made the world, making what he had already created the dominant parts, and what he was about to create the subject parts. (The historical part is a record of the lives of different wicked and virtuous men, and of the rewards, and honours, and punishments set apart for each class in each generation. The legislative part is sub-divided into two sections, one of which has a more general object proposed to it, laying down accordingly a few general comprehensive laws; the other part consists of special and particular ordinances. And the general heads of these special ordinances are ten, which are said not to have been delivered to the people by an interpreter, but to have been fashioned in the lofty region of the air, and to have been connected by a rational distinctness and utterance. While the others, I mean the particular and minute laws, were delivered by the prophet. (And as, in my former treatises, I have dwelt upon each of these to as great an extent as the time permitted me, and as I have also enlarged upon all the different virtues which the lawgiver has assigned to peace and war, I will now proceed in regular order to mention the rewards which have been proposed for virtuous men, and the punishments threatened to the wicked; (for, after he had trained all those who are living under his constitution and laws by gentle precepts, and admonitions, and expectations, and subsequently by more several threats and warning, he summoned them all to hear the promulgation of the law; and they all, coming as to a sacred meeting, displayed their own eager choice and approbation of those laws in such a way as to give a most convincing proof of their truth. (And then some of them were found to be diligent labourers in the practice of virtue, not disappointing the good hopes which were formed of them, nor dishonouring the laws which were their instructors. Others were found to be unmanly, and effeminate, and cowardly, out of the innate weakness and imbecility of their souls, who, fainting before any real danger or trouble came upon them, disgraced themselves and became the ridicule of the spectators. (On which account the one class received decisions in their favour, and proclamations in their honour, and all such rewards as are usually given to conquerors; while the others departed not only without the garlands of victory, but even after having sustained a most disgraceful defeat, more grievous than any which befalls a man in the gymnastic contests. For there the bodies, indeed, of the athletes are overthrown, but so that they can be easily raised again; but in this case it is the whole life which falls, which, when once it is overthrown, it is scarcely possible to raise again. (And our lawgiver announces a very suitable arrangement and appointment of privileges and honours for the one; and, on the contrary, of punishments for the others, as affecting individuals, and houses, and cities, and countries, and nations, and vast regions of the earth.

2 And, first of all, we must investigate the subject of honours, since that is both more profitable and more pleasant to hear of, taking our commencement from the particular instances of individuals. (The Greeks say that in ancient times the famous Triptolemus was raised aloft and borne on winged dragons, and that while flying along in this manner he sowed the grains of wheat over the whole of the earth, in order that, instead of eating acorns, the human race might for the future have wholesome, and advantageous, and most pleasant food. This story, then, like many other tales, being, as it were, a fabulous fiction, may well be left to those who are accustomed to study sophistry rather than wisdom, and juggling tricks in preference to the truth; (for originally and simultaneously with the first creation of the universe, God supplied all living creatures with necessary food, producing it out of the earth, and, above all things, providing the race of mankind with all that was requisite, to whom also he gave the supremacy over every animal born of the earth. For, among the works of the Deity, there is nothing posthumous, but all those things which appear to be brought to perfection at a subsequent time by the care, and diligence, and skill of men are in all cases previously produced in a half-finished state by the provident care of nature, so that it is not a wholly absurd statement that all learning is only recollection. However, these questions may be postponed for subsequent discussion. But we must now consider that most necessary of all things, the sowing of seed,

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which the Creator has sown in a very excellent soil, namely, in the rational soul. Now, of this the most important seed is hope, the fountain of all men's lives; for it is by the hope of gain that the money-changer applies himself to many kinds of traffic; and it is through hope of a favourable voyage that the sailor passes over long seas; and it is from hope of glory that the ambitious man applies himself to public affairs, and to the superintendance of the commonwealth and matters of state. It is through hope of decisions in their favour and of crowns, that those who exercise their bodies in athletic labours enter the gymnastic contests. Hope is the source of all happiness; hope excites those persons who are filled with an admiration of virtue to study philosophy, under the idea that by her means they will be able to obtain a clear sight of the nature of all existing things, and to do things which are in accordance with and consistent with the perfection of those who most excellent modes of life--and contemplative and the practical, which he who attains to is at once truly happy. Now some persons have either, like enemies, stifled and destroyed all the seeds of hope by kindling all the vices in the soul, or else, like persons ignorant of and indifferent to the skill of the husbandman, they have allowed them to perish through neglect. There are also some persons who, appearing to be diligent husbandmen, but who yet, esteeming self-love above piety, have attributed the causes of their successes to themselves. And all these men are very blamable, and he alone is worthy of being accepted who attributes his hope to God, both as being the author of his birth and as being alone able to keep him free from injury and free from utter destruction. What reward, then, is assigned to the man who is crowned as conqueror in this contest? Man is a compound animal, made up of a mortal and immortal nature, not being the same with nor yet entirely different from the one who has obtained the prize. This man the Chaldaeans name Enos, but this name, when translated into the Grecian language, means "a man," he having received the common name of the whole race for his own name, as an especial honour; as if it was not right for any one to be considered as a man at all who does not hope in God.

3 And after the victory of hope there is another contest in which repentance contends for the prize; having, indeed, no share in that nature which is invincible, and which never changes its purpose, and which is always of the same character, entertaining the same disposition, but which is on a sudden seized with an admiration for and love of the better part, and which is anxious to leave the covetousness and injustice in which it has been bred up, and to go over to moderation and justice, and the other virtues; for these are twofold prizes, which are proposed for twofold successes, first of all for the abandonment of what is disgraceful, and, secondly, for the choice of what is excellent; and the prizes are a departure from home, and solitude. For Moses says, with reference to one who fled from the audacious innovations of the body, and who came over to the interest of the soul, "He was not found because God changed his Place;" [Genesis 5:24.] and by this enigmatical expression the two things are clearly intimated, the migration by the change of place, and the solitude by his not being found. And very appropriately is this stated; for if in real truth man had resolved at all times to show himself really superior to the passions, despising all pleasures and all appetites, then he would require to prepare himself diligently, fleeing without ever turning his head round, and forsaking his home, and his country, and his relations, and his friends; for familiar custom is an attractive thing, so that there is reason to fear that if a man remains behind he may be taken prisoner, being caught by such powerful charms all round, the appearances of which will again rouse up the disgraceful though at present dormant appetites for evil pursuits, and will restore to vitality those recollections which it was creditable to have forgotten. Accordingly, many persons have become corrected and improved by migrations from their native land, having been cured by such means of their frenzied and wicked desires, by reason of the sight no longer being able to furnish to the passion the images of pleasure. For in consequence of the separation which has taken place, this passion has only a vacuum through which to rove, since there is no longer any object present by which it can be inflamed. And if it does rise up and quit its former abode, still let it avoid the assemblies of the multitude, embracing solitude; for there are snares in a foreign land resembling those, which are found in a man's own country into which those men must fall who are careless and do not look before them, and who rejoice in the society of the multitude; for the multitude is a very concentration of every thing that is irregular, disorderly, improper, and blamable, with which it is a most mischievous thing for the man who is now for the first time passing over to the ranks of virtue to proceed. For as the bodies of those men who are only just beginning to recover from a long attack of sickness are very subject to a relapse; so the soul which is just recovering its health finds its intellectual vigor weak and wavering, so that there is room to apprehend that the evil passions may return which were wont to be excited in it by a habit of living in the society of inconsiderate men.

4 Then, after these contests in which repentance is concerned, he proposes a third class of prizes, relating to justice, which every one who practices obtains a twofold reward; in the first place, that of preservation at the time of general destruction; and secondly, that of being the steward and guardian of every description of animal which is coupled in pairs for the purpose of raising a second stock instead of that which from time to time perishes; for the Creator provided that the same being should be both the end of the generation which is condemned and the beginning of that which is irreproachable, teaching those who say that the world is destitute of all providence by works and not by words, that in accordance with the law which he promulgated and established in the nature of things, all the innumerable multitudes of men which live in obedience to injustice are not to be compared to one single individual who lives as a follower of justice. Now this man the Greeks call Deucalion, but the Chaldaeans name him Noah; and it was in his time that the great deluge took place. And after this triad there was a second triad still more holy and more pious, of one family. For father, and son, and grandson all directed all their views to the same end of life, namely, to please the Creator and Father of the universe, despising all those objects which the generality of men admire; glory, and riches, and pleasure, and laughing at that pride which is continually being put together and set forth with all kinds of fictitious ornaments in order to deceive the spectators. This is that which makes gods of inanimate things, a great and almost impregnable fortification by the sophistries and manoeuvres of whom every city is allured, and since it takes especial hold on the souls of the young. For having entered into them it establishes itself and dwells in them from the earliest infancy to old age, subduing all those on whom God has not poured the beams of his truth. But pride is the adversary of truth, and is hard to be removed, though when it is subdued by a stronger power than itself then it does depart. And this class of men is small, indeed, in number; but in power it is very numerous and very great, so that even the whole circle of the earth cannot contain it. And it reaches even to heaven; for as it is possessed of an indescribable love of contemplation and of being always among divine objects, when it has thoroughly investigated and explained all that nature which is perceptible to the sight, it immediately proceeds onwards to that which is incorporeal and appreciable only by the intellect, without requiring the assistance of any one of the outward senses, indeed discarding even the irrational parts of the soul, and employing those parts only which are called mind and reason. Therefore, the first establisher of the sentiments devoted to God, namely, Abraham, the first person who passed over from pride to truth, employing that virtue which proceeds from instruction as a means towards perfection, chooses as his reward faith in God. And because he, by the innate goodness of his natural dispositions, had acquired a spontaneous, self-taught, and selfimplanted virtue, joy was given to him as a prize. Again, to his grandson, the meditator on and practicer of virtue, who attained to what was good by indefatigable and incessant labours, the crown which was given was the sight of God. And what can any one conceive to be either more useful or more respectable than to believe in God and throughout one's whole life to be continually rejoicing and beholding the living God?

5 And let us now perceive each of these things more accurately, without allowing ourselves to be led away by names, but investigating them in their inmost parts, and going deep into them with our minds. Therefore, he who has in all sincerity believed God has by so doing received a disbelief in all other things which are created and perishable, beginning with those things in himself which exalt themselves very highly, namely, reason and the outward sense. For each of these things has a private consistory and tribunal of its own, which is erected in the one in order to ensure the proper consideration of the objects appreciable only by the intellect, the end of which is truth; and in the other for the perception of visible things, the end of which is opinion. Therefore, the unstable, and erroneous, and untrustworthy character of opinion is plain from this circumstance; for it anchors upon images and probabilities. And every image is deceitful, exhibiting itself by a certain attractive similarity in lieu of the original thing itself. But reason, which is the leader of the outward sense, thinking that the decision about all things which are perceptible only by the intellect, and which are always the same and in the same condition, belongs to itself, is convicted of being in error on many points. For when it directs its view to particular instances which are innumerable, it finds itself powerless, and unequal to the task, and faints under it, like a wrestler who is stripped up by some more mighty power; but the man to whom it has been granted to see and thoroughly examine all corporeal and all incorporeal things, and to lean upon and to found himself upon God alone, with firm and steadfast reason and unalterable and sure confidence, is truly happy and blessed. After faith the next prize which is offered as destined for the man who acquires virtue by the gift of nature, as being victorious without a struggle, is joy. For this man is named as the Greeks would call him, Laughter, but as the Chaldaeans would entitle him, Isaac. And laughter is an emblem in the body of that unseen joy which exists in the mind. And joy is the most excellent and the most beautiful of all the pleasant affections of the mind, by means of which the whole soul is in every part entirely filled with cheerfulness, rejoicing in the Father and Creator of all men and things, namely, in God, and rejoicing also in those things which are done without wickedness, even though they may not be pleasant, as being done virtuously, and as contributing to the duration of the universe. For as in great and dangerous sicknesses a physician sometimes actually takes away parts of the body, aiming at ensuring the sound health of the rest, and as when storms arise the pilot often throws overboard the cargo, out of a prudent regard to the safety of the men sailing in the ship; and yet the physician is not blamed for the mutilation of the body, nor the pilot for the loss of the cargo, but on the contrary both of them are praised as having seen and ensured what was advantageous in preference to what was pleasant; so in the same manner we must always look with proper admiration at the nature of the entire universe, and we must be pleased with all things which are done in the world without intentional wickedness, inquiring not whether any thing has been done which is not altogether pleasant, but whether the world, like a city enjoying good laws, is guided and governed in a manner calculated to ensure its safety. This man, therefore, is happy in no less a degree than the one whom I mentioned before, inasmuch as he is free from all depression or melancholy, and as he enjoys a life exempt from sorrow and exempt from fear, having no connexion, not even in a dream, with any painful or austere plans of life, because every part of his soul is wholly occupied by joy.

6 And next to the man who has acquired self-taught virtue, and who has availed himself of the riches of nature, the third person who is made perfect is the meditator on and practicer of virtue, who receives as his especial reward the sight of God; for as he has had experience of all the things which can occur in human life, and as he has attained to a most intimate understanding of them, and has shrunk from no labour and from no danger which might enable him to track out and overtake that most desirable thing, truth, he has found in connexion with human life and with the human race a great deal of darkness both by land and sea, and in the air, and in the atmosphere. For the atmosphere and the whole of heaven has presented to him the appearance of night, since every nature which is discernible by the outward senses is indefinite; and what is indefinite is akin to and closely resembling darkness. Accordingly, he who had during the preceding periods of his life had the eyes of his soul closed, now began, though with difficulty, to open them for the continual labours which were before him, and to pierce through and dissipate the mist which had overshadowed him. For an incorporeal ray of light, purer than the atmosphere, suddenly beaming upon him, displayed to him the fact of the world appreciable only by the intellect being guided by a regular governor. But that governor or guider, being surrounded on all sides by unalloyed light, was difficult to be perceived and difficult to be understood by conjecture, since the power of sight was obscured by the brilliancy of those beams. But nevertheless the sight, although a great violence of fire was poured upon it, held out against it out of an immense desire of seeing what was before it. And the Father pitied its sincere desire and eagerness to see, and gave it power, and did not grudge the acuteness of the sight thus directed a perception of himself, as far at least as a created and mortal nature could attain to such a thing, not indeed such a perception as should show him what God is, but merely such as should prove to him that he exists; for even this, which is better than good, and more ancient than the unit, and more simple than one, cannot possibly be contemplated by any other being; because, in fact, it is not possible for God to be comprehended by any being but himself.

7 But the fact that he does exist, though it is comprehensible from the mere name of existence, is nevertheless not understood by every one, or at all events not in the best way by every one; but some men have expressly and wholly denied that there is any deity at all; while others have doubted and hesitated, as if they were unable to affirm with certainty whether he has any existence or not. Others again, who have more through habit than from any exertion of their reason, received ideas about the existence of God from those who have brought them up, have seemed to be pious by a sort of felicity of conjecture, if they have stamped their piety with an impression of superstition. But if any men, by a great depth of real knowledge, have been able to represent to themselves the Creator and Governor of this universe, they, according to the common phrase, have advanced upwards from below; for having entered into this world as into a city regulated by admirable laws, and having beheld the earth consisting of mountains, and of plains, and full of seed-crops, and of trees, and of fruits, and also of all kinds of animals; and beholding also seas, and ports, and lakes, and rivers of all sorts, whether proceeding from winter floods, or from everlasting springs, diffused over the surface of it, and the admirable temperature of the breezes and of the atmosphere, and the harmonious changes and well-ordered revolutions of

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the seasons of the year, and beyond all these things, the sun and moon, the planets and fixed stars, and the whole heaven, and all the host of heaven in its proper arrangement, and, in fact, the whole real world revolving in admirable order and regularity: admiring, and being struck with awe and amazement at these things, they are come to form notions consistent with what they behold, that all these beautiful things, excessive as they are, and of such admirable arrangement and contrivance, were not produced spontaneously but were the work of some maker, the Creator of the whole world, and therefore that there must of necessity be a superintending providence. For it is a law of nature, that the Creator must take care of what he has created. But these admirable men, so superior to all others, have, as I said, raised themselves upwards from below, ascending as if by some ladder reaching to heaven, so as, through the contemplation of his works, to form a conjectural conception of the Creator by a probable train of reasoning. And if any persons have been able to comprehend him by himself, without employing any other reasonings as assistants towards their perception of him, they deserve to be recorded as holy and genuine servants of his, and sincere worshippers of God. In this company is the man who in the Chaldaean language is denominated Israel, but in the Greek "seeing God;" not meaning by this expression seeing what kind of being God is, for that is impossible, as I have said before, but seeing that he really does exist; not having learnt this fact from any one else, nor from anything on earth, nor from anything in heaven, nor from any one of the elements, nor from anything compounded of them, whether mortal or immortal, but being instructed in the fact by God himself, who is willing to reveal his own existence to his suppliant. And how this impression was made, it is worth while to see by the observation of some similitude. Take this sun, which is perceptible by our outward senses, do we see it by any other means than by the aid of the sun? And do we see the stars by any other light than that of the stars? And, in short, is not all light seen in consequence of light? And in the same manner God, being his own light, is perceived by himself alone, nothing and no other being co-operating with or assisting him, or being at all able to contribute to the pure comprehension of his existence; therefore those persons are mere guessers who are anxious to contemplate the uncreated God through the medium of the things which he created, acting like those persons who seek to ascertain the nature of the unit through the number two, when they ought, on the other hand, to employ the investigation of the unit itself to ascertain the nature of the number two; for the unit is the first principle. But these men have arrived at the real truth, who form their ideas of God from God, of light from light.

8 We have now described the greatest prize of all: but in addition to these prizes, the meditator on virtue receives another prize, not well-sounding indeed as to name, but very excellent to be conceived of; and this prize is called "the torpor of breadth," speaking figuratively. Now by breadth haughtiness and arrogance are typified; the soul, in those conditions, pouring forth an immoderate effusion over objects which are not desirable: and by torpor is typified the contraction of conceit, an elated and puffed-up thing. But nothing is so expedient, as that unrestrained and unlimited impulses should be repressed and reduced to torpor, through the spirit of the mind being extinguished: so that the immoderate violence of the passions having become enfeebled, it may give breadth to the better part of the soul. And we must also consider how exceedingly suitable a prize has thus been assigned to each of the three individuals; for to him who has been made perfect by education, faith is given as his reward; since it is necessary that he who learns must trust the man who teaches him in the matters concerning which he is instructing him; for it is difficult, or rather I might say impossible, for a man to be instructed who distrusts his teacher. Again: to him who arrives at virtue by his own good natural disposition, joy is given; for a good natural disposition is a thing to be rejoiced at, and so are the gifts of nature; since the mind derives enjoyment from all displays of acuteness and felicitous inventions, by which it finds the object which it is seeking without trouble; as if there was some prompter within enriching it with inventions; for the prompt discovery of matters previously, not certainly understood, is a subject of joy. Again: to him who has acquired wisdom by meditation and practice, sight is given. For after the practical life of youth comes the contemplative life of old age, which is the most excellent and the most sacred, which God has sent down from above to take its place in the stern like a pilot, and has given the helm into his hand as being able to guide the course of all earthly things; for without contemplation based on knowledge, there is nothing whatever that is good done.

9 Having thus mentioned one man of each class, since I am anxious not to be prolix, I will proceed to what comes next in the order of discussion. Now, this man was proclaimed as conqueror, and crowned as such in the sacred contests. And when I speak of sacred contests, I do not mean those which are accounted such by other nations, for they are in reality unholy, affixing, as they do, rewards and honours to acts of violence, and insolence, and injustice, instead of the very extremity of punishment, which of right belongs to them: but I mean rather such as the soul is by nature formed to go through, which, by means of prudence, drives away folly and wicked cunning, and by temperance drives away prodigality and stinginess, and by courage drives away both rashness and cowardice, and the other vices which are in direct opposition to the respective virtues, and which are of no use either to themselves or to any one else; therefore all the virtues are presented as virgins. And the most excellent of all, having taken the post of leader as if in a chorus, is piety and righteousness, which Moses, the interpreter of the will of God, possessed in a most eminent degree. On which account, besides an innumerable host of other circumstances which are recorded of him in the accounts which have come down to us of his life, he has received also four most especial prizes, in being invested with sovereign power, with the office of lawgiver, with the power of prophecy, and with the office of high priest. For he was a king, not indeed according to the usual fashion with soldiers and arms, and forces of fleets, and infantry, and cavalry, but as having been appointed by God, with the free consent of the people who were to be governed by him, and who wrought in his subjects a willingness to make such a voluntary choice. For he is the only king of whom we have any mention as being neither a speaker nor one frequently heard, nor possessed of wealth or riches, since he was anxious rather about the wealth which sees than about that which is blind, and, if one is to speak the truth without any concealment, one who looked upon the inheritance of God as his peculiar property. And this same man was likewise a lawgiver; for a king must of necessity both command and forbid, and law is nothing else but a discourse which enjoins what is right and forbids what is not right; but since it is uncertain what is expedient in each separate case (for we often out of ignorance command what is not right to be done, and forbid what is right), it was very natural for him also to receive the gift of prophecy, in order to ensure him against stumbling; for a prophet is an interpreter, God from within prompting him what he ought to say; and with God nothing is blamable. In the fourth place he received the high priesthood, by means of which he, prophesying in accordance with knowledge, worships the living God, and by which also he will bring before him in a propitiating manner, the thanksgivings of his subjects when they do well, and their prayers and supplications if at any time they are unfortunate; now since all these things belong to one class, they ought to be held together and united by mutual bonds, and to be perceived in the same man, since he who is deficient in any one of the four is imperfect in his authority, as he is consequently invested with but a crippled authority over the common interests.

10 We have now thus spoken at sufficient length concerning the rewards proposed for each individual man: but rewards are also offered to whole houses, and to very numerous families. When the nation was originally divided into twelve tribes, there were at once appointed patriarchs equal in number to the tribes, being not merely of one house or family, but connected by a still more genuine relationship: for they were all brothers having one and the same father; and the father and grandfather of these men were, with their father, the original founders of the whole nation. Therefore the first man who forsook pride and came over to truth, and who despised the jugglery of the Chaldaic branches of learning, because of that more perfect vision which had been granted to him, after having seen which he was so captivated that he followed the vision, just as they say that wire is attracted by the magnet, becoming instead of a sophist which he had been before a wise man in consequence of instruction--he had many children: but they were not all virtuous, though there was one who was utterly blameless, to whom he bound the cables of his whole race, and thus brought them to a safe anchorage. Again his son who had acquired spontaneous and self-taught wisdom had two sons, one a wild and untameable man, full of anger and desire, and one in short who raised up the irrational part of his soul as a fortification against the rational part; but the other a mild and gentle follower and worker of virtue, placed in the more excellent class of equality and simplicity, the very champion of reason and declared enemy of folly: he is the third of the founders of his race, a man with many sons, and the only one truly happy in this children, being free from all injury in every part of his family, and like a fortunate husbandman seeing all his seed in a state of safety, and well cultivated, and bearing fruit.

11 And every one of these three individuals has in the account which we have received of him a figurative meaning concealed below it, which we must now consider. Now the moment that any one is taught anything, it happens to him to forsake ignorance and to come over the knowledge; and ignorance is a thing of a multiform character: on this account the first of the three is said to have had many children, but not to have thought any one of them worthy for him to call his son, except one: for in a manner he who learns discards the offspring of ignorance, and repudiates them as inimical and hostile to him. Now by nature all we who are men, before the reason that is in us is brought to perfection, live on the borders between virtue and vice, without ever inclining as yet to either side: but when the mind, beginning to put forth its wings, sees an appearance of the good with its whole soul, impressing it in all its parts, it immediately bursts through all restraint, and being borne on wings rushes towards it, leaving behind the kindred evil which was born with it, which it flees from, proceeding in the other direction without ever turning back: this is what he intends to imply by an enigmatical expression when he says that the man who was endowed by nature with a good disposition had two sons, twins: for every man has at the beginning simultaneously with his birth, a soul which is pregnant with twins, namely, good and evil, bearing the impression of both of them: but when it receives the blessed and happy part, then by the force of one single attraction it inclines to the good, never once leaning towards the other side, and never even wavering so as to appear to be balancing between the two. But that soul which besides having a good natural disposition has also received a good education, and has been trained by the third mentioned person in the meditations of virtue, so that none of them float at random on the surface, but that they are all firmly glued and fixed in their places, as if united by some compact sinews, acquires health and acquires power, which are followed by a good complexion, owing to modesty, and also good health and beauty. And thus the soul becoming a perfect company of virtues, by means of these three most excellent patronesses, nature, instruction, and meditation, and not having left one single spot in itself empty, so as to allow of the entrance of anything else, engenders perfect number, namely, two lots of sons, of six in each, being a representation and imitation of the circle of the zodiac, in order to the improvement of everything in them: this is the family exempt from all injury, being continually devoted to the study of the holy scriptures, both in their literal sense and also in the allegories figuratively contained in them: which received as a prize, as I have said before, the supreme authority over each of the tribes of the nation. Of this house therefore, as it increased and became very populous in process of time, well regulated cities were founded, being schools of wisdom, and justice, and holiness, in which also the means of acquiring all other virtue was investigated in a grave manner suited to the importance of the subject.

12 Therefore those rewards which were thus long since assigned to the good, both publicly and privately, have now been described though somewhat in outline, but sufficiently to enable anyone to comprehend with tolerable ease what has been omitted. We must now proceed in regular order to consider in turn the punishments appointed for the wicked, speaking of them in a somewhat general way since the time does not allow of my enumerating all the particular instances. Now there was at the very beginning of the world when the race of men had not as yet multiplied, a fratricide: this is the first man who ever was under a curse; the first man who imprinted on the pure earth the unprecedented pollution of human blood; the first man who checked the fertility of the earth which was previously blooming, and producing all kinds of animals, and plants, and flourishing with every kind of productiveness; the first man who introduced destruction as a rival against creation, death against life, sorrow against joy, and evil against good. What then could possibly have been inflicted upon him, which would have been an adequate punishment for him, who thus in one single action left no description of violence and impiety unperformed? Perhaps some one will say he should have been put to death at once; this is a human mode of reasoning, fit for one who does not consider the great tribunal of all for men look upon death as the extreme limit of all punishments, but in the view of the divine tribunal it is scarcely the beginning of them. Since then the action of this man was a novel one, it was necessary that a novel punishment should be devised for him; and what was it? That he should live continually dying, and that he should in a manner endure an undying and never ending death; for there are two kinds of death; the one that of being dead, which is either good or else a matter of indifference; the other that of dying, which is in every respect an evil; and the more protracted the dying the more intolerable the evil. Consider now then how it is that death can be said to be never ending in this man's case; since there are four different affections to which the soul is liable, two of them being conversant with good either present or future, namely, pleasure and desire; and two with evil either present or expected, namely, sorrow and fear; it cuts up the pair of those which are conversant with good by the roots, in order that the man may never receive pleasure from any accident of fortune, nor ever feel a desire even for anything pleasant; and it leaves him only those affections conversant about evil, sorrow without any mixture of cheerfulness, and unmingled fear, for the scripture Says [Genesis 4:14.] that God laid a curse upon the fratricide, so that he should be continually groaning and trembling. Moreover he put a mark upon him, that he might never be pitied by any one, so that he might not die once, but might, as I have said before, pass all his time in dying, amid griefs, and pains, and incessant calamities; and what is most grievous of all, might have a feeling of his own miseries, and be afflicted

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both with the evils which were before him, and also from a foresight of the number of misfortunes which were constantly impending over him, which nevertheless he was unable to guard against, since hope was wholly taken from him, which God has implanted in the race of mankind, in order that thus, having an innate comfort in themselves, they might feel their sorrows relieved, provided they had not committed any inexpiable crimes. Therefore, as a man who is being carried away by a torrent shudders at the nearest waves by which he is being hurried away, and still more at those coming upon him from above, since the one is continually and incessantly propelling him forward with violence, but the other being raised above him threatens to overwhelm him utterly, so in the same manner those evils which are present are grievous, but those which proceed from fear of the future are more grievous still; for fear continually supplies sorrowful feelings as from an everlasting spring.

13 These punishments, then, are those which were decided on to be inflicted on the first slayer of his brother. But others were also appointed for households which had entered into any conspiracy to unite in crime. And there were some men appointed to be keepers of the temple and ministers in the sacred offices, classed as a kind of door-keepers. These men, being wholly filled with unreasonable pride, rose up in rebellion against the priests, desiring to appropriate their honours and privileges to themselves. And, having elected as chief of their conspiracy the eldest of their body, who also, with a few of those who joined in this audacious folly, was the leader of the whole enterprise, they left the outer courts and precincts of the tabernacle and entered into the most holy places, expelling those who, by the oracular commands of God, had been thought worthy of the priesthood. Therefore, as was natural, a great confusion spread among the whole multitude, in consequence of things being disturbed which never ought to have been moved, and of the laws being openly violated and all the ordinances for the regular service of the temple being thrown into confusion by wicked disobedience, at which the governor and president of the nation was indignant. And, at first, displaying a stern disposition, though without any anger (for he was the meekest of men and by nature incapable of anger), he endeavored by arguments to persuade them to alter their conduct, and not to transgress the bounds laid down for them, nor to seek to overturn the ordinances established with respect to holy and consecrated things on which the hopes of the whole nation depended. But when he would not succeed in the least, but found that the people were deaf to all his entreaties, since they looked upon him as wholly under the influence of domestic affection and thought that it was on that account that he had made his brother high priest, and had given the inferior priesthood to his nephews, he still was not so much indignant at that, though it was a shocking thing, as at this other all terrible idea that they were imputing to him a contempt for the sacred oracles, in accordance with which the election of priests had taken Place. [Numbers 16:1.] [...][4][there appears to be a considerable hiatus in the text here.]

14 And there is a distinct evidence in confirmation of what I have now said recorded in the sacred scriptures; because, in the first place, the sacred historian records the prayers which he commonly calls blessings. "If," [Deuteronomy 30:10.] says he, "you keep the commandments of God and are obedient to his injunctions, and receive what is said to you, not merely so far as to listen to them, but also to fulfil them by the actions of your lives, you shall have as a first reward victory over your enemies; for the commandments are not burdensome or too weighty for the ability of you who are to live by them to obey, nor is the good which is promised to you removed to any distance, ether beyond the sea, or at the furthest extremities of the country, so as to require a long and painful journey to avail yourselves of it." Nor did the lawgiver at once set out on his departure from earth to heaven, so that no one else being raised on high and borne aloft on wings could attain to the obedience which he enjoined; but the obedience remained near and very close to men, being fixed separately in three parts of us, in the mouth, and heart, and hands; that is to say, in the speech, and designs, and actions of every one. For if such as the designs are, such also are the speeches; and such as the words spoken, such also are the actions; and if these things are bound up with each other, reciprocally preceding and following one another through the indissoluble bonds of harmony; then happiness prevails, and this is the truest wisdom and prudence. For wisdom has reference to the service of God, and prudence to the regulation of human life. Therefore, as long as the commandments conveyed in the laws are only spoken, they meet with but little or no acceptance; but when words in proper consistency and conformity with them are added to them in all the pursuits of life, then those commandments, being brought forth as it were from deep darkness to light, will shine forth in all respectability and glory; for who, even of those who are naturally envious, would hesitate to say that this is the only wise and truly learned race of men, which has the sense not to leave the divine commands destitute of and unattended by corresponding actions, but which takes care to fulfil the words with praiseworthy actions? This class of men lives not far from God, keeping always before its eyes the beautiful things of heaven, and being guided in all its ways by heavenly love; so that if any one were to inquire of what character a great nation is, one might very properly answer--it is a nation whose most sacred prayers God hears, and to whose invocations, proceeding as they do from a pure conscience, he gladly draws near.

15 But since there are also two classes of enemies--the one being men, who are so deliberately, out of covetousness; the other being beasts, who are not so out of any deliberate purpose, or through study, but as being endowed with a nature utterly alien to ours--we must proceed to speak of them both in turn, and we will take, in the first place, the beasts which are our natural enemies; for these are hostile not to one city, or to one nation, but to the whole race of mankind, and that too not for any definite or limited period of time, but for an indefinite and illimitable eternity. Of these some fear man as their master, and crouch beneath him with an angry fear; others, again, being bold and fearless, watch their opportunity and are the first to begin the warfare and attack him; if they are weaker than he, by an ambush; and if they are stronger, openly. For this war is one which admits of no truce and of no termination, but is like that existing between the wolves and the sheep, and between all wild beasts, whether living in the water or on the land, and men; and no mortal can terminate it, but only the one uncreated God, when he selects some persons as worthy to be the Saviours of their race; men who are peaceful, indeed, in disposition, fond of unanimity and fellowship with others, with whom envy has either absolutely never had any connexion at all, or else it has speedily departed from them; and these men have determined to throw all their own private good things into the common stock for the use and enjoyment of all. For if this good should ever at any future time shine upon the world, so that we may be able to see the time in which the savage animals shall become manageable, long before that the wild passions in the soul will be tamed, and it is not possible to imagine a greater blessing than that; for is it not a piece of absolute folly to imagine that we can ever avoid injuries from wild beasts which are outside, while we are continually training up the passions within ourselves to a terrible degree of savageness? On which account we must not despair that when the passions of our mind are tamed and subdued, then the wild beasts also will be broken in. Then it seems to me that bears, and lions, and leopards, and those beasts which are found only in India, elephants and tigers, and all other animals whose courage and strength are invincible, will change from their solitary and unsociable habits, and adopt a more gregarious life, and, by a gradual imitation of those animals which live in troops, will become softened and accustomed to the sight of men, being no longer in a constant state of excitement and fury against him, but rather feeling awe of him as their ruler and natural master, and will behave with proper respect to him; and some of them, with an exceeding greatness of tameness and affection for their master, like Maltese dogs, will even fawn upon them and wag their tails with a cheerful motion. Then the species of scorpions, and serpents, and other reptiles will keep their venom inoperative; and the Egyptian river will produce those animals, which are at present carnivorous and which feed on man, called crocodiles and hippopotami, in a tame and gentle condition; and the sea too will produce innumerable kinds of animals, among all of which the virtuous man will be sacred and unhurt, since God honours virtue and has given it immunity from all designs against it as a proper reward.

16 Thus, then, the most ancient war, both in point of time and in nature, will be put an end to, when all the wild beasts will be tamed and will have altered their dispositions so as to become manageable. But the more modern war, which has arisen out of the deliberate purposes of men from their covetousness, will be likewise easily put an end to, as it appears to me, since men will be ashamed to be seen to be more savage than even the brute beasts, after they have escaped all injury and damage from them; for it will naturally appear a most shameful thing for venomous, carnivorous, man-devouring, unsociable, ferocious animals to have become friendly to man, changing to a peaceful disposition, and for man, who is by nature a gentle animal, with a natural inclination to sociality and unanimity, to renounce peace and seek the destruction of his fellows. Therefore, says the lawgiver, peace shall never come at all into the country of the pious, but shall fall to pieces of itself, and shall be dashed to pieces against itself, when the enemies perceive against what fierce and invincible enemies the contest is, and employ against them the irresistible alliance of justice; for virtue is a great, and dignified, and very venerable thing, and is by itself, when in tranquility, able to alleviate the attacks of great evils. And even if some men are in their frenzy driven to quarrel, indulging their spontaneous and implacable desire for war, until indeed they are actually engaged, they will, being full of confidence, behave with great insolence, but after they have once come to a regular contest they will then find that they have made an empty boast, and that they are unable to gain the victory; for as they will be repelled by force equal to their own,[Leviticus 26:8.] or even more powerful still, they will flee in great confusion, a hundred fleeing before five, and a host of ten thousand before a hundred men, and those who had come by one road fleeing by a great number. Some will even flee when no one pursues at all except fear, turning their backs towards the enemy, so as to afford a full mark for shooting, so that it will be very easy for the whole army to fall, being slain to a man; for a man will come forth,[Numbers 24:7.] says the word of God, leading a host and warring furiously, who will subdue great and populous nations, God sending that assistance which is suitable for pious men; and this assistance is an intrepid hardihood of soul, and an irresistible strength of body, either of which things is formidable to the enemy, and if both qualities are united they are completely invincible. Moreover he says, "That some of the enemy will be unworthy of being defeated and of perishing by the hands of men, to which he will oppose swarms of wasps,[Exodus 23:28.] who shall fight for the pious, so as to overwhelm their enemies with shameful destruction; and he predicts, that he will not only always firmly retain the bloodless victory thus gained, but that he will also have an irresistible power of dominion, so as to be able to benefit the people subject to him, who may become so, whether out of good will, or out of fear, or out of shame; for he will have in him three things of the greatest importance, all contributing greatly to rendering his authority indestructible, namely, dignity, and terror, and beneficence, by means of which qualities the ends above-mentioned will be gained; for dignity causes respect, and terror causes fear, and beneficence causes good will; which, when they are mixed together, and adapted, and united in the soul, render subjects obedient to their rulers.

17 These, then, are the first things which he says will happen to those who obey God, and who at all times and in all places observe his commandments, and who adapt them to every part of their lives, so that no one going astray under the influence of disease may wander from them. The second thing is wealth, which must of necessity follow peace and authority; but the simple wealth of nature is food and shelter, and food is bread and water from the spring, which are both diffused over every part of the habitable world; but of shelter there are two kinds, first of all clothes, and secondly a house, on account of the injuries which result from exposure to cold and heat; each of which protections, if any one chooses to discard superfluous and excessive extravagance, is very easily provided. But those who admire what has been described above, having rather a desire for the gifts of nature than for those of vain opinion, devoting themselves to frugality, and simplicity, and temperance, will have a great abundance and means for all kinds of delicate living without any labour or study; for wealth will come to those who know how to use it in a befitting manner, as to those who are at the same time the most proper, and, in fact, the most nearly related to it and thoroughly worthy of it, gladly fleeing from all association with intemperate and insolent men, that it may not pass by those persons whose existence is a common benefit to mankind, and supply those who live to the injury of their neighbours; for there is a passage in the word of God,[Leviticus 26:3.] that, "on those who observe the sacred commands of God, the heaven will shower down seasonable rains, and the earth will bring forth for them abundance of all kinds of fruits, the champaign country producing crops from seed, and the mountainous country fruit from trees;" and that no period will ever be left entirely destitute of benefits for them, but that they shall without interruption, incessantly receive the favours of God, the time of harvest succeeding the season of gathering the grapes, and the season of gathering the grapes following the seed time, so that men, without any cessation or any interruption, are continually carrying home one crop and hoping for another, while one as it were lies in wait for the next; so that the beginnings of those which come on after are connected with the ends of those which have preceded them, and thus make a kind of circle and revolving body, which is endowed with every imaginable good. For the great multitude of things which are thus produced will be sufficient both for present use and enjoyment, and also for an unlimited abundance of supply in the time to come, the grain constantly coming up and flourishing, as the successors of the old, and filling up the void, which would otherwise be cursed by their decay and disappearance. There are also cases in which, by reason of the ineffable plenty, no one will think at all of those stores which have been collected long ago, but leaves them without any care or any attempt to store them, permitting every one who pleases to use them without restraint and with perfect impunity. For as to those men for whom that true wisdom is stored up, which has been derived from constant meditation and practice in wisdom and holiness, on them the wrath which consists of money upon earth is abundantly poured, since the treasure-houses, by the providence and care of God, are kept continually full; because the impulses of the mind, and the endeavors of the hands, are not hindered in any way, so as to prevent the successful attainment of these objects, which are constantly pursued with anxiety. But those persons who, by reason of their impiety or unrighteousness, have not a heavenly inheritance, have also no abundant possession or

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share of the good things upon the earth; and even if any such thing should come to them, it quickly departs again, as if it had originally happened to them, not for the advantage of the immediate recipients, but in order that a more vehement sorrow may overwhelm them, such as must, of necessity, follow the being deprived of an important blessing.

18 And at that time, says the law, you, by reason of the abundant fertility, shall do what you now suffer. For now, indeed, you pay no respect either to the laws or to the customs of your country and of your forefathers, but neglecting them altogether equally, you fail to obtain what is necessary, and keep counting the houses of the usurers and money-changers, being continually wishing to borrow at heavy interest; and then, as I said a minute ago, you shall do the contrary. For, by reason of your own unlimited abundance, you yourself shall lend to others, and that not lending little things, nor lending to few persons, but you shall lend large sums, and to many people, indeed to whole nations, all your affairs prospering and turning out well, both in the country and in the city; all things in the city, as respects offices of authority, and honour, and glory, and reputation, by means of wise conjectures, and prudent counsels, and conduct tending both in word and deed to the general advantage; and all the things in the country in consequence of the abundant production of all necessary things, such as corn, and wine, and oil, and all other productions which conduce to a comfortable and easy life, and these are the innumerable kinds of fruit from different trees, and the prolific increase of herds of oxen, and flocks of goats, and other kinds of cattle. But some one may say, What is the use of all these things to one who is not likely to leave heirs and successors behind him? The law, setting as it were the seal to its acts of beneficence, replies: No one shall be without offspring, nor shall there be a barren woman; but all the genuine and sincere servants of God shall fulfil the law of nature as respects the propagation of their species; for the men shall become fathers, and the fathers shall be happy in their offspring, and the women shall be happy mothers of children, so that every house shall be a full company of a numerous family, no part and no name being omitted of all those which are appropriated to relations, whether referring to relations upwards, such as uncles and grandfathers, or to descending relations on the other hand of a similar kindred, such as brothers, nephews, grandsons by the sons' side, grandsons by the daughters' side, cousins, counsins' children, and every kind of blood relations. But no man shall die prematurely or without having fulfilled the legitimate end of his being among those men who observe the laws, nor shall such fail to reach the age which God has allotted to the race of man. But the human being proceeding upwards from childhood, as it were by the different stages of a ladder, and at the appointed periods of time fulfilling the regularly determined boundaries of each age, will eventually arrive at the last of all, that which is near to death, or rather to immortality; being really and truly happy in his old age, leaving behind him a house happy in numerous and virtuous children in his own place.

19 This is what the lawgiver in one passage says, while declaring the will of God, that, "thou shall complete the number of thy days," prophesying thus with great beauty and using great propriety and naturalness of language. For the man who is destitute of all learning, and who disregards the law, does not speak either in reason nor in number, as the old proverb says; but he who has a fair share of instruction and who adheres to the holy laws, receives as his first reward, since he is proved to be a respectable and reputable man, a share in number and arrangement. And very admirable is this fulness and completeness, not of months or years, but of days, so that no day whatever in the life of a virtuous man ever leaves an empty and open door for the entrance of sins, but is filled in all its parts and all its intervals with absolute virtue and excellence. For virtue and goodness are judged of not by quantity but by quality, for which reason I look upon it that even one day spent with perfect correctness is of equal value with the entire good life of a wise man. This is what is enigmatically implied in other expressions, where the holy writer says that such a man "shall deserve blessings both at his coming in and going out;" because the virtuous man is praiseworthy in all his positions and in all his actions, both indoors and out of doors, whether engaged in affairs of state or in the regulation of his household, regulating all his affairs inside his house with economy, and all the business out of doors with a due regard to principles of state government in the way in which it is most expedient for them to be regulated. If, then, any one proves himself a man of such a character in the city he will appear superior to the whole city, and if a city show itself of such a character it will be the chief of all the country around; and if a nation do so it will be the lord of all the other nations, as the head is to the body occupying the pre-eminence of situation, not more for the sake of glory than for that of advancing the interests of those that see. For continual appearances of good models stamp impressions closely resembling themselves on all souls which are not utterly obdurate and intractable; and I say this with reference to those who wish to imitate models of excellent and admirable beauty, that they may not despair of a change for the better, nor of an alteration and improvement from that dispersion, as it were, of the soul which vice engenders, so that they may be able to effect a return to virtue and wisdom. For when God is favourable every thing is made easy. And he is favourable to those who display modesty and due reverence, and who seek to pass over from intemperance to temperance, and who reproach themselves for all the blamable actions of their life, and for all the base images which they have stamped upon their polluted souls, and who aim at a tranquil state of the passions, and who keep constantly in view, as the proper object of their pursuit, a calmness and serenity of life. As therefore God, by one single word of command, could easily collect together men living on the very confines of the earth, bringing them from the extremities of the world to any place which he may choose, so also the merciful Saviour can bring back the soul after its long wandering, after it has been straying about in every direction, and been ill-treated by pleasure and desire, most imperious mistresses, and guide it easily from a trackless waste into a regular road when it has once determined to flee from evil without ever looking back, a flight not liable to reproach, but the cause of its preservation, which no one will do wrong to pronounce more desirable than any return.

20 These, then, of which we have already spoken, are what are called external goods, victory over one's enemies, superiority in war, confirmation of peace, and abundance of those good things which belong to peace, riches, and honours, and authorities, and the praises which always follow those who are successful, as they are extolled by every mouth both of friends and enemies, by the one through fear, and by the others out of good will. We must now proceed to speak of what is more nearly connected with us than these things, namely, about those things which affect the body. The lawgiver says, then, that a perfect freedom from disease in every respect, both privately and generally, shall be allotted to those persons who labour in the service of virtue and who make the sacred laws the guides of all their speeches and actions in life; and if there should any infirmity affect them it will not be for the sake of injuring them, but with a view to remind a mortal that he is mortal, so as to eradicate overbearing pride and improve his disposition. And sound health will follow, and a good condition of the outward senses, and a perfectness and completeness in all the parts, conducive to the unimpeded performance of those duties for which each man has been born. 2For God has thought fit to give as a reward to the virtuous a house thoroughly well built and well put together from the foundations to the roof; and the most natural house for the soul is the body, inasmuch as it does many things necessary and useful for life, and especially on account of the mind which has been purified by perfect purifications; 2and which, having been initiated in the divine mysteries, and having learnt to dwell only among the motions and periodical revolutions of the heavenly bodies, God has honoured with tranquility, wishing it to be completely undisturbed and exempt from any contact of those passions which the necessities of the body engender, adding, out of covetousness, a desire for sovereignty over the passions. For either the heaven has caused a chill to something, or has scorched something, or has made something dry, or else, on the contrary, has melted and liquefied it; from all which causes the mind is unable to keep its path through life quite straight and independent. 2But if it has its abode in a healthy body, then it will with great care and tranquility dwell among and devote all its leisure to the meditations of wisdom, having obtained a happy and fortunate existence. This is the mind which has drunk strong draughts of the beneficent power of God, and has feasted on his sacred words and doctrines. This is the mind in which the prophet says that God walks as in his palace; for the mind of the wise man is in truth the palace and the house of God. And he who is the God of all things is peculiarly called the God of this mind; and again this mind is by a peculiar form called his people, not the people of any particular rulers, but of the one only and true ruler, the Holy One of holies. This is the mind which a little while ago was enslaved to many pleasures and many desires, and to innumerable necessities arising from weaknesses and desires; but its evils God crushed in slavery, having elected to bring it to freedom. This is the mind which has received a favour not to be suppressed in silence, but rather to be proclaimed abroad and announced in every quarter, on account of the authority and power of its champion and defender, by which it was not thrust down to the tail, but was raised upwards to the head. But all these statements are uttered in a metaphorical form, and contain an allegorical meaning. For as in an animal the head is the first and best part, and the tail the last and worst part, or rather no part at all, inasmuch as it does not complete the number of the limbs, being only a broom to sweep away what flies against it; so in the same manner what is said here is that the virtuous man shall be the head of the human race whether he be a single man or a whole people. And that all others, being as it were parts of the body, are only vivified by the powers existing in the head and superior portions of the body. These are the prayers on behalf of good men who fulfil the laws by their actions which it is said will be accomplished by the grace of the bounteous and beneficent God, who honours and rewards all that is good for the sake of its similarity to himself. We must now consider the curses appointed against those who transgress the commandments and the Laws.

21 The lawgiver of our nation denounces the first curse as the lightest of evils, namely, poverty and indigence, and a want of all necessary things, and a participation in every kind of destitution; for, says he, "The enemy shall lay waste the corn-fields before they are ripe, and when the corn is ripened they shall suddenly come and reap It." [Deuteronomy 28:33.] Thus causing a twofold calamity, famine to their friends and abundance to their enemies; for the prosperity of one's enemies is more, or, at all events, not less painful than one's own misfortunes. And even if one's enemies are quiet, still those evils which proceed from nature and which are even more grievous, are not quiet; for you, indeed, sow the deep and fertile soil of the plain, but suddenly a cloud of locusts shall fly down and reap your crop, and what is left behind for you to carry home to your barns will bear but a very small proportion to what is sown. And, again, you shall plant a vineyard with unsparing expense, and incessant industry, and labour, such as it is natural for husbandmen to undergo; but when the vines are come to perfection, and are flourishing and weighed down with their own productiveness, the worms shall come and gather the grapes. 2And when you see your oliveyards flourishing, and an unbounded exuberance of fruit on the trees, you will very naturally be delighted from the hope of a successful harvest which you will be led to entertain, but when you begin to carry home the fruit, then you will be filled rather with sorrow than with joy; for the oil and all the fatness of the fruit will all flow away and disappear imperceptibly, and what is outside will be only a vain burden, empty, left only to deceive the empty soul. And, in short, all the seed crops and all the trees will be destroyed, fruit and all, by blight of one kind or another.

22 And there are other misfortunes also lying in wait for the men besides those which have been mentioned, all equally contributing to produce want and scarcity; for those things, by means of which nature used to provide men with good things, namely, the earth and the heaven, will both be rendered barren, the one being full of abortions and unable to bring any fruit to perfection, and the other changing its nature so as to produce an unproductive state of the seasons of the year, so that neither winter, nor summer, nor spring, nor autumn return in their appointed order, but are all violently wrenched from it, and thrown into a confusion destitute of all distinctive quality and completely disturbed, by the command of the supreme authority. 3For then there will be no rain, no showers, no gentle springs, no soft drops of moisture, no dew, nor anything else which can contribute to the growth of plants; but, on the contrary, all things which are calculated to dry them up when beginning to grow, all things destructive of the fruit when beginning to ripen, and adapted to prevent it from ever coming to perfection. For, says God, "I will make the heaven of brass for you, and the earth Iron." [Deuteronomy 28:23.] Implying by this enigmatical expression that neither of them shall accomplish the tasks which naturally belong to them and for which they were created; for how could iron ever bear ears of corn, or how could brass produce rain, of which all animals stand in need, and especially that animal so liable to misfortune and in need of so many things, man? And God intimates here not only barrenness and the destruction of the seasons of the year, but also the beginnings of wars, and of all the intolerable and ineffable evils which arise in wars; for brass and iron are the materials for warlike arms. 3And the earth, indeed, shall produce dust, and masses of dirt shall be brought down from above, from heaven, weighing down the fruit and destroying it by choking, in order that nothing may be omitted which can tend to complete destruction; for numerous families will be made desolate, and cities will suddenly become empty of their inhabitants, remaining as monuments of their former prosperity and records of subsequent disaster, for the warning of those who are capable of receiving correction.

23 And such a complete scarcity of all necessary things will seize the people that, being wholly destitute of and indifferent to them, they will turn even to devouring one another, eating not only the gentiles and those who are no relations to them, but even their nearest and dearest kinsfolk; for the father will take the flesh of his son, and the mother will eat of the life-blood of her daughter, brothers will eat their brothers, and children will devour their parents; and, in fact, the weaker will be continually the prey of the more powerful; and that wicked and accursed food, that of Thyestes, will seem to them like a joke when compared with the excessive and intolerable evils which their necessities bring upon them; 3for, as in the case of other persons, while they are in prosperity they desire length of life to be able to enjoy all good things, so also even those men overwhelmed with misery will have a vehement desire for life established in them, though it can only lead them to a participation in immoderate and interminable evils, all of which are likewise irremediable. For it would have been better for such men to have escaped misery by cutting off their

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griefs through death, which persons who are not utterly out of their senses are accustomed to do. But these men are arrived at such a degree of folly that they would be willing to live even to the longest possible time of life, being eager for and insatiably desirous of the greatest extremities of misery. 3Such evils, that which appears at first to be the lightest of all misfortunes, namely, poverty, is naturally calculated to produce, when it is the result of the vengeance of God; for even though cold, and thirst, and want of food may be terrible, still they might at times be objects worth being prayed for, if they only produced instantaneous death without any delay. But when they last a long time and waste away both body and soul, then they are calculated to reproduce the very greatest of the calamities recorded by the tragic poets, which appear to me to be described in a spirit of fabulous exaggeration.

24 Again. To free-born people slavery is a most intolerable evil, to avoid which wise men are willing even to die, resisting in a gallant spirit which despises all danger the attacks of those who seek to inflict upon them the domination of a master. Also, an invincible enemy is an intolerable evil. And if the same person be both things at once, namely, a master and an enemy, who can endure such a complication of calamities? For such a person will be possessed of the power of inflicting injury through his authority as a master, and he will be disinclined to pardon any one by reason of his irreconcileable enmity. 3Therefore the lawgiver pronounces that those persons who neglect the sacred laws shall have their enemies for their masters, who will treat them unmercifully, not only as having been reduced under their power by invincible attacks, but also as having voluntarily submitted to them through unforeseen calamities which famine and the want of necessaries has caused; for some persons think it well to choose lesser evils, if by so doing they can avoid greater ones; if, indeed, any one of the misfortunes above mentioned can be called a slight evil. 3Such men, becoming slaves, endure the services imposed on them by stern commands with their bodies, but when they are oppressed as to their souls with the anguish of still more bitter spectacles, they will sink under them; for they will see their enemies becoming the inheritors of houses which they have built, or of vineyards which they have planted, or of possessions which they have acquired, enjoying the good things and stores which have been prepared by others. And they will see their enemies feasting on the fattest of their cattle, and sacrificing them, and preparing them for the sweetest enjoyment, without being able to deprive those persons of anything who have thus robbed them. They will also see their wives, whom they married in holy wedlock for the purpose of propagating legitimate children, their modest, domestic, affectionate wives, insulted like so many courtesans. 4And they will rush forward to defend and to avenge them, but beyond resisting they will not be able to effect anything, being deprived of all their strength and utterly disabled; for they will be exposed as a mark for their enemies, an object for plunder, and ravage, and violence, and insult, and wounds, and injuries, and contumely, and utter destruction, so that nothing belong to them can escape, but no one dart of the enemy shall miss its blow, but every one of them shall be well aimed and successful. 4They shall be cursed in their cities and in their villages, and cursed in their town-houses and in their dwellings in the fields. Cursed will be their plains and all the seed which is sown in them; cursed will be the fertile soil of the mountain district, and all the kinds of trees which produce eatable fruit; cursed will be their herds of cattle, for they will be rendered barren and unproductive; cursed will be all their fruits and all their crops, for at the most critical period of their ripening they will be found to be all full of wind and destroyed. 4The storehouses full of food and money shall be made empty; no source of revenue shall be productive any more; all the arts, all the various businesses and employments, and all the innumerable varieties of life, shall be of no use to those who adopt them; for the hopes of those who are anxious shall fail to be fulfilled; and, in short, whatever they touch, in consequence of their wicked pursuits and wicked actions, the head, and front, and end of which is the abandonment of the service of God, shall all be vain and unprofitable.

25 For these things are the rewards of impiety and lawless iniquity. And, in addition to these things, there are diseases of the body which separately afflict and devour each limb and each part, and which also rack and torture it all over with fevers, and chills, and wasting consumptions, and terrible rashes, and scrofulous diseases, and spasmodic convulsions of the eyes, and putrefying sores and abscesses, and cutaneous disorders extending over the whole of the skin, and disorders of the bowels and inward parts, and convulsions of the stomach, and obstructions in the passages of the lungs preventing the patient from breathing easily, and paralysis of the tongue, and deafness of the ears, and imperfections of the eyes, and a general dimness and confusion of all the other senses, things which, though terrible, will yet hardly appear so when compared with other things more grievous still; 4when, for instance, all the vivifying qualities which existed in the blood contained in the veins have escaped from it, and when the breath which is contained in the lungs and windpipe is no longer capable of receiving a salutary admixture of the outward air so nearly connected with it; 4and when the veins are all relaxed and dissolved, which state is followed by a complete prostration of the harmony and due arrangement of the limbs, which were indeed previously distressed by the violent rush of a briny and very bitter stream stealthily pervading them; which, when it was shut up in a narrow passage having no easy outlet, being then pressed close and pressing other parts, conduces to the production of bitter and almost intolerable pains, from which are engendered the diseases of gout and arthritic pains and diseases, for which no salutary remedy has ever been discovered, but which are incurable by any human means. 4Some persons, when they behold these things, will be alarmed, marveling to see how those who a little while ago were fat and full of good flesh, and flourishing exceedingly in health and vigor, have so on a sudden wasted away and become merely withered muscles and a thin skin; and how the women, formerly luxurious, and tender, and delicate by reason of the luxury to which they have been accustomed from their earliest infancy, now, from the terrible afflictions to which they have been subjected, have become wild in their souls, and wild-looking in their bodies. 4Then, then indeed, their enemies shall pursue them, and the sword shall exact its penalty; and they, fleeing to the cities, where they think that they have obtained a place of safety, being deluded by treacherous hopes, shall perish to a man being caught and destroyed by the ambuscades of their enemies.

26 And if, after all these calamities, they are not chastened, but still proceed by crooked paths, and turn off from the straight roads which lead to truth, then cowardice and fear shall be established in their souls,[Leviticus 26:36.] and they shall flee when no one pursues, and shall be routed and destroyed by false reports, as does often happen. The lightest sound of leaves falling through the air shall cause as great an agony of fear and apprehension as the most formidable war waged by the most powerful of enemies ought to produce, so that children shall be indifferent to the fate of their parents, and parents to that of their children, and brothers to that of their brethren, looking upon it that if they go to their assistance they may themselves incur the danger of captivity, while their best chance of safety consists in escaping by themselves. But the hopes of wicked men do never obtain their accomplishment, and those who hope to escape thus will be still more, or at all events not less, taken prisoners than those who were previously laid hold of. And even if some such persons do escape notice, they will still be exposed to insidious attacks from their natural enemies; and these are those most furious wild beasts who are well armed by the endowments of nature, and which God, simultaneously with the original creation of the universe, made for the purpose of striking terror into those men who were incapable of taking warning, and for executing implacable justice on those whose wickedness was incurable; 5and those who behold their cities razed to the very foundations will hardly believe that they were ever inhabited, and they will turn the sudden misfortunes which befall men after brilliant instances of prosperity into a proverb, recording all the instances which are mentioned or passed over in History. [this contrast of present misery with former splendour is one of the circumstances mentioned by Thuycydides as enhancing the terrors of the disasters the Athenians met with in Sicily. 7.75.] 5There shall also come upon them asthmas, and consumptions affecting the internal organs, producing heaviness and despondency, with great afflictions, and making all life unstable, and hanging, as one may say, from a halter. And fears incessantly succeeding one another will toss the mind up and down, agitating it night and day, so that in the morning they shall pray for the evening, and in the evening they shall pray for the morning, on account of the visible horrors which surround them when awake, and the detestable images which present themselves to them in their dreams when sleeping. 5And the proselyte who has come over being lifted up on high by good fortune, will be a conspicuous object, being admired and pronounced happy in two most important particulars, in the first place because he has come over to God of his own accord, and also because he has received as a most appropriate reward a firm and sure habitation in heaven, such as one cannot describe. But the man of noble descent, who has adulterated the coinage of his noble birth, will be dragged down to the lowest depths, being hurled down to Tartarus and profound darkness, in order that all men who behold this example may be corrected by it, learning that God receives gladly virtue which grows out of hostility to him, utterly disregarding its original roots, but looking favourably on the whole trunk from its lowest foundation, because it has become useful and has changed its nature so as to become fruitful.

27 The cities being thus destroyed as if by fire, and the country being rendered desolate, the land will at last begin to obtain a respite, and, as one may say, to recover breath, and to look up again, after having been much exercised and harassed by the intolerable violence of its inhabitants, who drive away all the virgin periods of seven years out of the country, and discarded them from their minds; for nature taught men the only, or to speak more securely, the first festivals, namely, the recurring periods of seven days and seven years, making them times of rest, the seventh day being the period of rest for men, and the seventh year for the land. 5But these men, utterly disregarding the whole of this law, and violating all the obligations implied in salt, or treaties, or the altar of mercy, or the common hearth, considerations by which friendship and unanimity is usually cemented, for all such things are either the number seven itself, or exist in consequence of that number, oppressed (at least the more powerful of them did so) those men who were weaker with constant and uninterrupted commands, and they oppressed the land also, continually in their covetousness pursuing unrighteous gains, and inflaming their desires so as to excite their unbridled and unjust passions to an insatiable degree. 5For instead of granting to men who are in the truest point of view their brothers, as having one common mother, namely, nature, instead, I say, of giving them the appointed holiday after each period of six days, and instead of giving the land a respite after each space of six years without oppressing it either with sowing of seed or planting of trees, 5in order that it may not be exhausted by incessant labours: instead of acting thus, these men, neglecting all these admirable commandments, have oppressed both the bodies and souls of all men over whom they have had any power, with incessant severities, and have torn to pieces the strength of the deep-soiled earth, exacting revenues from it in an insatiable spirit beyond its power to contribute, and crushing it out altogether and in every part with exactions not only yearly, but even daily. 5For all which conduct, these men shall incur the penalties and curses mentioned above: and the country being thoroughly exhausted, and having been forced to submit to innumerable afflictions, shall at last be relieved by being delivered from the burden of its impious inhabitants, and when looking around it, shall see no one left of those who destroyed its grandeur and beauty, but shall behold the market-places all free from their tumults, and wars, and acts of iniquity, and full of tranquility, and peace, and justice; then it shall recover its youth and former vigor, and shall enjoy tranquility, and shall have rest at the festive seasons recurring at the sacred numbers of seven, recovering its strength again like an athlete who has been fatigued by his exertions. 5Then, like an affectionate mother, it shall pity the sons and the daughters whom it has lost, who now that they are dead are, and still more were, when alive, a grief and sorrow to their parents; and becoming young a second time, it will again be fertile as before, and will produce an irreproachable offspring, an improvement on its former progeny; for she that was desolate, as the prophet says,[Isaiah 54:1.] is now become happy in her children and the mother of a large family. Which prophetic saying has also an allegorical meaning, having reference to the soul; 5for when the family is very large, and the soul is full, all kinds of passions and vices, surrounding it like so many children, such for instance as pleasures, appetites, folly, intemperance, injustice, it is sad and diseased; and being exceedingly prostrate through illness, it is near to death, but when it is barren and has no such offspring, or when it has lost them, then it becomes changed in all its parts and becomes a pure virgin, 6and having received the divine seed, it fashions and brings to life a new family, very admirable in their nature, and of great beauty and perfection, such as prudence, courage, temperance, justice, holiness, piety, and all other virtues and good dispositions, of which not only is their birth a blessing accompanied by happiness in its children, but the mere expectation of such a birth is a blessing, since it cheers its weakness by the anticipations of hope; 6and hope is joy before joy, even though it may be somewhat defective in comparison with perfect joy. But still, it is in both these respects better than that which comes after; first, because it relaxes and softens the dry rigidity of care; and secondly, because by its anticipations it gives a forewarning of the impending perfect good.

28 I have now, then, without making any concealment of softening the truth in any degree, explained the curses and the punishments which it is fit for those persons to endure who have despised the sacred laws of justice and piety, and who have submitted themselves to the adoption of polytheistic opinions, the end of which is impiety through forgetfulness of the instruction originally imparted to them by their forefathers, which they learnt in their earliest infancy, when they were taught to look upon the nature of the One as the only supreme God, to whom alone those persons may properly be assigned as his inheritance who pursue the genuine truth instead of cunningly invented fables. 6If, however, they receive these exertions of power not as aiming at their destruction, but rather at their admonition and improvement, and if they feel shame throughout their whole soul, and change their ways, reproaching themselves for their errors, and openly avowing and confessing all the sins that they have committed against themselves with purified souls and minds, so as in the first place to exhibit a sincerity of conscience utterly alien from falsehood and concealing nothing evil beneath; and secondly, having their tongues also purified so as to produce improvement in their hearers, they will then meet with a favourable acceptance from their merciful Saviour,

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God, who bestows on the race of mankind his especial and exceedingly great gift, namely, relationship to his own word; after which, as its archetypal model, the human mind was formed. 6For even though they may be at the very extremities of the earth, acting as slaves to those enemies who have led them away in captivity, still they shall all be restored to freedom in one day, as at a given signal; their sudden and universal change to virtue causing a panic among their masters; for they will let them go, because they are ashamed to govern those who are better than themselves.

29 But when they have received this unexpected liberty, those who but a short time before were scattered about in Greece, and in the countries of the barbarians, in the islands, and over the continents, rising up with one impulse, and coming from all the different quarters imaginable, all hasten to one place pointed out to them, being guided on their way by some vision, more divine than is compatible with its being of the nature of man, invisible indeed to every one else, but apparent only to those who were saved, having their separate inducements and intercessions, 6by whose intervention they might obtain a reconciliation with the Father. First of all, the merciful, and gentle, and compassionate nature of him who is invoked, who would always rather have mercy than punishment. In the second place, the holiness of all the founders of the nation, because they, with souls emancipated from the body, exhibiting a genuine and sincere obedience to the Ruler of all things, are not accustomed to offer up ineffectual prayers on behalf of their sons and daughters, since the Father has given to them, as a reward, that they shall be heard in their prayers. 6And, thirdly, that quality, on account of which above all others, the good will of the beings above-mentioned is conciliated, and that is the improvement and amelioration of those persons who are brought to treaties and agreements, who have, with great difficulty, been able to come from a pathless wilderness into a beaten road, the end of which is no other than that of pleasing God as sons please a father. 6And when they come cities will be rebuilt which but a short time ago were in complete ruins, and the desert will be filled with inhabitants, and the barren land will change and become fertile, and the good fortune of their fathers and ancestors will be looked upon as a matter of but small importance, on account of the abundance of wealth of all kinds which they will have at the present moment, flowing forth from the graces of God as from ever-running fountains, which will thus confer vast wealth separately on each individual, and also on all the citizens in common, to an amount beyond the reach even of envy. 6And the change in everything will be immediate, for God will nourish the virtues against the enemies of those who have repented, who have delighted in the ruined fortunes of the nation, reviling them, and making a mockery of them, as if they themselves were destined to have a season of good fortune, which could never be put an end to, which they hope to leave, in regular succession, to their children and to their posterity; thinking, at the same time, that they will for ever behold their adversaries in lasting and unchangeable misfortunes, laid up for even remote future generations; 7not perceiving, in their insanity, that they enjoyed that brilliant fortune which fell to their share a little while before, not for their own merits, but for the sake of giving a warning and admonition to others, for whom, as they had forsaken their national and hereditary customs, the only salutary remedy which could be found was the grief which they felt to excess when their enemies carried off their property. Therefore, weeping for and bewailing their own defeat, they will turn back again to the ancient prosperity of their ancestors, retracing all their steps with great exactness, and without its even happening to them to stray from the proper course and to be wrecked; 7but they who have turned their lamentations into ridicule, and have decided on celebrating, as public festivals, the days which they consider unlucky, and of feasting in memorial of matters for which they mourn, and who, in short, make themselves happy at all the unhappiness of others, when they begin to receive the due reward of their inhumanity, will learn that they have sinned, not against obscure and neglected persons, but against men of noble birth, having fuel to kindle their nobleness to a proper warmth, which, when it is properly fanned into a flame, then their glory, which a little while ago appeared to be extinguished, blazes out again. 7For as, when the trunk of a tree is cut down, if the roots are not taken away, new shoots spring up, by which the old trunk is again restored to life as it were; in the very same manner, if there be only left in the soul ever so small a seed of virtue, when everything else is destroyed, still, nevertheless, from that little seed there spring up the most honourable and beautiful qualities among men; by means of which, cities, which were formerly populous and flourishing, are again inhabited, and nations are led to become wealthy and Powerful.

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE

1 (My former treatise, O Theodotus, was intended to prove that every wicked man was a slave, and that proposition I fully established by many natural and unquestionable arguments; and this other treatise is akin to that one, being its full brother both by the father's and the mother's side, and being even, in some sort, a twin with it, since in it we will proceed to show that every virtuous man is free. (Now it is said, that the most sacred sect of the Pythagoreans, among many other excellent doctrines, taught this one also, that it was not well to proceed by the plain ordinary roads, not meaning to urge us to talk among precipices (for it was not their object to weary our feet with labour), but intimating, by a figurative mode of speech, that we ought not, either in respect of our words or actions, to use only such as are ordinary and unchanged; (and all men who have studied philosophy in a genuine spirit, showing themselves obedient to this injunction, have looked upon it as a sentence, or rather as a law of equal weight with a divine oracle; and, departing from the common opinions of men, they have cut out for themselves a new and hitherto untravelled path, inaccessible to such as have no experience of wise maxims and doctrines, building up systems of ideas, which no one who is not pure either may or can handle. (Now when I speak of men not being pure, I mean those who have either been utterly destitute of education, or else who have tasted of it obliquely, and not in a straight-forward manner, changing the stamp of the beauty of wisdom so as to give an impression of the unsightliness of sophistry. (These men, not being able to discern that light which is appreciable only by the intellect, by reason of the weakness of the eyes of their soul, which are by nature easily dazzled by too much brightness, like men living in night and darkness, do not believe those who live in the light of day, and regard everything which they speak of as having been them most distinctly through the beams of the sun shining powerfully upon them, as prodigious pictures, like so many visions or dreams, in no respect different from the exhibitions of jugglers; (for how can it be anything but a complete marvel and absurdity to call those men exiles, who do not only live in the middle of the city, but who even take a part in the councils, and courts of justice, and public assemblies, and who, at times, fulfil the duties of clerks of the market, and of superintendants of gymnastic games, and of other offices of different kinds; (and, on the other hand, to call those men citizens who have either never been enrolled as such at all, or else have had sentences of infamy or of banishment pronounced against them; men who have been driven beyond the boundaries of the land, and who are unable, not only to set foot upon the country, but even to behold their native soil from a distance, unless they are urged on by some insane frenzy to rush upon certain death; for there are innumerable persons to detect and to punish all those who return from banishment, being both sharpened by their own feelings, and acting in obedience to the commands of the laws.

2 (Again, how can it be anything but a most unreasonable assertion, one full of complete shamelessness of insanity, (or I really know not what to call it, for the preposterousness of such a saying is so great that it is not easy to find a proper name for it), to call those men rich who are in a state of complete indigence, and destitute of even necessaries, living hardly and miserably, scarcely procuring enough for their daily subsistence, exposed to famine, as their own peculiar lot among the general plenty and abundance of others, feeding only on the breath of virtue, as they say that grasshoppers feed on air; (and then, on the other hand, to call those men poor who are surrounded on all sides by silver and gold, and abundance of possessions and revenues, and an inexhaustible supply of endless good things of every sort, the wealth of which has not only advantaged all their relations and friends, but has even proceeded beyond the family, and been of benefit to great crowds of persons of the same borough, or of the same tribe as the owners; aye, and going further still, it even supplies the city itself with everything which is needful in either peace or war. Moreover, those who speak thus have, in obedience to the same dream, ventured to speak of slavery as the real condition of men of the greatest importance and genuine nobility of birth, men who can refer not only to their immediate parents, but to their grandfathers and remote ancestors up to the very first founders of their race, as having been in the highest esteem both among men and women; while, on the other hand, they speak of men, whose last three generations have been branded as slaves, born of slaves, who have never been anything but slaves, as free. But all these things are, as I have said before, the inventions of men whose intellects are obscured, and who are slaves to opinions utterly under the influence of the outward senses, whose judgement is continually corrupted by those who are brought before its tribunal, and as such is unstable. But they ought, if they had really been at all anxious for the truth, not to show themselves, in respect of their minds, inferior to those who have been diseased in their bodies; for such invalids, out of their desire for good health, commit themselves to the physicians. But these other men hesitate to get rid of that disease of the soul, ignorance, by becoming the associates of wise men; from whom they might not only learn to escape ignorance, but they might also acquire that peculiar possession of man, namely, knowledge. And since, as that sweetest of all writers, Plato, says, envy is removed far from the divine company, but wisdom, that most divine and communicative of all things, never closes its school, but is continually open to receive all who thirst for salutary doctrines, to whom she pours forth the inexhaustible stream of unalloyed instruction and wisdom, and persuades them to yield to the intoxication of the soberest of all drunkenness. And her disciples, like persons who have been initiated into the sacred and holy mysteries, when they are at last entirely filled with the knowledge proffered to them, reproach themselves bitterly for their previous neglect, as not having taken proper care of their time, but having lived a life which was hardly deserving to be called life, in which they have been utterly destitute of wisdom. Those men, therefore, act worthily who, in every case and everywhere, have resolved to dedicate the whole of their youth as the first fruits of their earliest vigor to nothing in preference to education, in which it is well for a man to spend both his youth and his age; for as they say that vessels even when empty do nevertheless retain the odor of whatever was originally poured into them,[compare Moore--"You may break, you may shatter the vase if you will, / But the scent of the roses will hang round it still."] so also are the souls of the young deeply impressed with the indelible character of those conceptions which were the first to be offered to their minds, which cannot be at all washed away by the torrent of any ideas which flow over the mind afterwards, but they to the last show the character originally given to them.

3 However, we have said enough of these matters. We must now examine with accuracy that which we have taken as the subject of our investigation, that we may not be led astray through being deceived by the indistinctness of words and expressions; but that, understanding accurately what it is of which we are speaking, we may frame our determinations felicitously. Slavery, then, is of two kinds; slavery of the soul and slavery of the body. Now, of our bodies, men are masters; but over our souls, wickedness and the passions have the dominion. And we may speak of freedom in the same manner. For one kind of freedom gives fearlessness of body in respect of any dangers which can come upon it from men of still more powerful body; while the other produces peace to the mind, by putting a check upon the authority of the passions. Now, about the former kind, scarcely any one ever raises any question; for the chances of fortune which happen to men are infinite in number, and it often happens that men of the highest virtue have fallen into unexpected misfortunes, and so have lost the freedom which belonged to them through their birth. But there is room for inquiry about those manners which neither desires, nor fears, nor pleasures, nor pains, have ever brought under the yoke, as if they had come forth out of confinement, and as if the chains by which they had been bound were now loosened. Therefore, discarding all mention of those kinds of freedom which are only a pretence, and of all those names also which are quite unconnected with nature, but which owe their existence only to opinion, such as slaves born in the house, slaves purchased with money, slaves taken in war, let us now investigate the character of the man who is truly free, who is alone possessed of independence, even if ten thousand men set themselves down as his masters; for he will quote that line of Sophocles, which differs in no respect from the doctrines of the Pythagoreans--

"God is my ruler, and no mortal Man." [it is not known from what play this line comes; it is placed among the Incerta Fragments, No. 89, by Brunck.]

For, in real truth, that man alone is free who has God for his leader; indeed, in my opinion, that man is even the ruler of all others, and has all the affairs of the earth committed to him, being, as it were, the viceroy of a great king, the mortal lieutenant of an immortal sovereign. However, this assertion of the actual authority of the wise man may be postponed to a more suitable opportunity. We must at present examine minutely the question of his perfect freedom. If now any one advancing deeply into the matter should choose to investigate it closely, he will see clearly that there is no one thing so nearly related to another as independence of action. On which account there are a great many things which stand in the way of the liberty of a wicked man; covetousness of money, the desire of glory, the love of pleasure, and so on. But the virtuous man has absolutely no obstacle at all since he rises up against, and resists, and overthrows, and tramples on love, and fear, and cowardice, and pain, and all things of that kind, as if they were rivals defeated by him in the public games. For he has learnt to disregard all the commands which those most unlawful masters of the soul seek to imposed upon him, out of his admiration and desire for freedom, of which independence and spontaneousness of action are the most especial and inalienable inheritance; and by some persons the poet is praised who composed this iambic--

"No man's a slave who does not fear to Die," [this line is from an unknown tragedy by Euripides. Fragmenta Incerta, 348.] as having had an accurate idea of the consequences of such courage; for he conceived that nothing is so calculated to enslave the mind as a fear of death, arising from an excessive desire of living.

4 But we must consider that not only is the man who feels no anxiety to avoid death incapable of being made a slave, but the same privilege belongs to those who are indifferent to

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poverty, and want of reputation, and pain, and all those other things which the generality of men look upon as evils, being themselves but evil judges of things, since they pronounce a man a slave from a computation of what things he has need of, looking at the duties which he is compelled to perform, when they ought to look rather at his free and indomitable disposition; for the man who out of a lowly and slavish spirit submits himself to lowly and slavish actions in spite of his deliberate judgement, is really and truly a slave; but he who adapts his circumstances and actions to the present occasion, and who voluntarily and in an enduring spirit bears up against the events of fortune, not looking at any thing of human affairs as extraordinary, but having by diligent consideration fully assured himself that all divine things are honoured by eternal order and happiness; and that all mortal things are tossed about in an everlasting storm and fluctuation of affairs so as to be subject to the greatest variety of changes and vicissitudes, and who, from those considerations, bears all that can befall him with a noble courage, is at once both a philosopher and a free man. On which account he will neither obey every one who imposes a command upon him, not even if he threatens him with insults, and tortures, and even still more formidable evils; but he will bear a gallant spirit, and will cry out in reply to such menaces--

"Yes, burn and scorch my flesh, and glut your hate,
Drinking my life-warm blood; for heaven's stars
Shall quit their place, and darken 'neath the earth,
And earth rise up and take the place of heaven,
Before you wring from me a word of Flattery." [this is a fragment of Euripides from the Syleus. Fr. 2.]

5 I have before now seen among the competitors in the pancratium, at the public games, one man inflicting all kinds of blows both with his hands and feet, all of them with great accuracy of aim and omitting nothing which could conduce to victory, and yet after at time fainting and desponding, and at last quitting the arena without the crown of victory; and the other who has received all his blows, being thoroughly hardened with great firmness of flesh, and being tough and unyielding, and filled with the true spirit of an athlete, and invigorated throughout his whole body, being like so much iron or stone, not at all yielding to the blows inflicted by the other, at last, by the endurance and resolution of his spirit, defeating the power of his adversary so as to obtain a complete victory. And the condition of the virtuous man appears to me very much to resemble that of this person. For having thoroughly fortified his soul with strong and powerful reasoning, he so compels the man who is offering him violence to desist from weariness, before he himself can be compelled to do any thing contrary to his opinion of propriety. But perhaps this is incredible to those who do not know by experience that virtue is of the character that I have mentioned, just as that other case would be to those who have never seen the combatants in the pancratium; but nevertheless it is strictly true. And it was from a regard to this fact that Antisthenes said that "the virtuous man was a burden hard to be borne." For as folly is a light thing easily tossed about in every direction, so, on the contrary, wisdom is a well established and immovable thing of a weight which is not easily agitated. Accordingly the lawgiver of the Jews [Genesis 16:9.] represents the hands of the wise man as a heavy, intimating by this figurative expression the gravity of his actions, which are supported in no superficial but in a solid manner by his inflexible mind. Therefore, he is not under the compulsion of any thing, as being one who despises pains, and who looks with contempt on death, and who, by the law of nature, has all foolish men for his subjects. For in the same manner as goatherds, and cowherds, and shepherds lead their respective flocks of goats, and cattle, and sheep, but shepherds cannot manage a drove of oxen, so in the same manner the generality of men, being like so many cattle, stand in need of a guide and governor. And their proper governors are virtuous men, being placed in the position of shepherds to the multitude; for Homer is constantly in the habit of calling kings shepherds of their People. [see Iliad 10:3.] But nature has appropriated this appellation as more peculiarly belonging to the good, since the wicked are rather tended by others than occupied in serving them; for they are led captive by strong wine, and by beauty, and by delicate eating, and sweetmeats, and by the arts of cooks and confectioners, to say nothing of the thirst of gold, and silver, and other things of a higher character. But men of the other class are not allured or led astray by any thing, but are rather inclined to admonish those whom they perceive to be caught in the toils of pleasure.

6 And of the assertion that the being compelled to perform services to others is not of itself an indication of slavery, there is a most clear proof in what occurs in war; for one can behold men engaged in military expeditions, all acting by their own means, and not only carrying complete armor, but being also loaded like beasts of burden with everything required for their necessary wants, and going out to fetch water, and fuel, and fodder for the cattle. And why need I dwell at length on what is done against the enemy in such expeditions, in respect of their labours in cutting ditches, or erecting walls, or building ships, and doing with their hands and their whole bodies everything which relates to every kind of necessary employment or art. Moreover, there is in peace also another kind of war not wholly dissimilar from that which is carried on under arms, which want or reputation, and poverty, and terrible want of necessary things excites, by which men are compelled and constrained to put their hands to the most ignominious and slavish tasks, digging and cultivating the ground and labouring at the employments of handicrafts-men, and serving without hesitation for the sake of procuring food to support life; very often even bearing burdens through the middle of the market-place, in the sight of those who are of their own age, and have grown up with them, and been their school-fellows and companions through life. There are others also who are slaves by birth, and who have nevertheless been raised by the bounty of fortune to the condition of freemen; for they have become stewards of houses, and properties, and large possessions, and sometimes they are even appointed rulers of their fellow slaves. And many such have had committed to them the guardianship of the wives and orphan children of their masters, being preferred to the confidential offices which belong properly to friends and relations, but, nevertheless they are slaves, though employed in borrowing, in buying, in collecting revenues, and though they are themselves attended by other servants. What is there wonderful then if, on the contrary also, some persons, originally nobly born, by a sudden failure of good fortune, are subjected to such necessities as properly belong to slaves, and by being compelled to obey others are deprived of their own freedom? Moreover, in some degree, children are forced to submit to the commands of their father or their mother; and pupils, also, submit to whatever their teachers enjoin; for no one is willingly a slave. Now, parents will never display such an extravagant and unnatural dislike to their children as to compel their own offspring to submit to such menial offices as are only a symbol of slavery. And if any one beholding some persons who may have been bought and sold by traffickers in men, looks upon them at once as slaves, he is widely removed from the truth; for an act of selling does not make him who purchases the master, nor him who is sold the slave, since fathers at times have paid a price for their sons, and sons have often laid down a ransom for their fathers, in cases where they have been carried away as prisoners by some piratical sally, or have been taken captive in regular warfare, though still the laws of nature, which are more stable than those of men, describe them as free. And, before now, some persons in the excess of their confidence have brought matters into so completely altered a condition that they have actually become masters instead of slaves, in spite of having been bought. At all events, I have often seen some young persons of great beauty, and of great wit in conversation, getting the complete mastery over those who had purchased them, by two great incentives, the exquisiteness of their beauty and the elegance of their language; for these are engines able to overthrow any soul which wants stability and a solid foundation, being the most powerful of all the contrivances which were ever invented for the overthrow of cities. And a proof of this may easily be given; for we may see that those who have become the masters of such persons serve them, and address entreaties to them, and eagerly entreat their favour as they would that of fortune or of the good genius; and if they are neglected by them they are vexed, and if they only obtain a gentle or favourable look from them they dance for joy. Unless, indeed, any one would say that a man who has bought a lion has become the master of the lion, when if he merely look with a threatening glance at him he will soon learn to his cost what kind of a master, what a savage and ferocious tyrant he has purchased. What shall we say then? Shall we not look upon a wise man as more difficult to enslave than a lion, when he in his freedom and invincible soul has much more courage than any creature can have which consists of a body which is by nature a slave, however great his strength may be by which he resists his masters.

7 And every one may learn to appreciate the true freedom of which the virtuous man is in the enjoyment from other circumstances.

"No slave can e'er true happiness Enjoy." [some editions print this as a quotation, but Mangey does not. It is not known where it comes from if it is one.]

For what can be more miserable than to have no power over anything, not even over one's self? But then a man is happy, inasmuch as he bears within himself the foundation and complement of virtue and excellence, in which consists the supreme power over all things, [...] [there is a considerable hiatus in the text here.] so that beyond all controversy and of necessity the virtuous man is free. Besides all this, would not any one affirm that the friends of God are free? unless indeed one can think it consistent to attribute to the companions of kings, not only freedom but even at times a great degree of authority, when they commit magistracies to them, and when they, in consequence, fulfil the offices of subordinate rulers; and yet, at the same time, to speak of slavery in connexion with the gods of heaven, when those men, on account of the love which they have shown to God, have also at once become beloved by God, being requited by him with good will equal to their own, truth being the judge, so that they as the poets say, are universal princes and kings of kings. But the lawgiver of the Jews ventures upon a more bold assertion even than this, inasmuch as he was, as it is reported, a student and practicer of plain philosophy; and so he teaches that the man who is wholly possessed with the love of God and who serves the living God alone, is no longer man, but actually God, being indeed the God of men, but not of the parts of nature, in order to leave to the Father of the universe the attributes of being both and God. Is it right, then, to think a man who is invested with such privileges as these a slave, or rather as the only one who is free? Who, even though he may not be thought worthy by himself of being classed as God, one nevertheless ought by all means to pronounce happy, by reason of his having God for his friend; for God is not a weak champion, nor regardless of the rights and claims of friendship, inasmuch as he is the God of companionship, and as he presides over everything that belongs to companions. Moreover, as among cities, some being governed by an oligarchy or by tyrants, endure slavery, having those who have subdued them and made themselves masters of them for severe and cruel tyrants; while others, existing under the superintending care of the laws and under those good protectors, are free and happy. So also in the case of men; those who are under the dominion of anger, or appetite, or any other passion, or of treacherous wickedness, are in every respect slaves; and those who live in accordance with the law are free. But the unerring law is right reason; not an ordinance made by this or that mortal, a corruptible and perishable law, a lifeless law written on lifeless parchment or engraved on lifeless columns; but one imperishable, and stamped by immortal nature on the immortal mind. On which account any one may reasonably marvel at the dim-sightedness of those who do not see the particular characters of things which are so clear, and who say that for those mighty nations of the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, the laws of Solon and Lycurgus are quite sufficient to ensure the liberty of the people if they only have the mastery and dominion, and if the people who live in those cities do dutifully obey them, and who yet affirm that right reason, which is the fountain from which all other laws do spring, is not sufficient for wise men to enable them to arrive at a participation in freedom, even though they obey it in all the particulars as to what it commands and what it prohibits. Moreover, in addition to what has been already said, there is one most undeniable proof of freedom, equality of speech, which all virtuous men use to one another; on which account they say that the following iambics are inspired with the true spirit of genuine philosophy:-- "For slaves no freedom have, not e'en in speech."

And again:-- "You're but a slave, and may not dare to speak."

As, therefore, musical science gives to all those who have studied music an equal right to speak on matters connected with their art; and as a man who is learned in grammar or in geometry has a right to speak among grammarians and mathematicians, so also the law in life allows the same privilege to those who are learned in the way in which men ought to live. But all virtuous men are skilful in all the affairs which belong to life, inasmuch as they also are so with respect to the things which belong to universal nature; and some of them are free; and so therefore are they who have the freedom of speaking to them on equal terms; therefore no virtuous man is a slave, but all are free.

8 And from the same principle as a starting-point it will also be clearly shown that the foolish man is a slave; for as the laws which prevail with respect to music do not give those who are ignorant of it a right of speaking about it in terms of equality with those who are well versed in it; nor do the laws respecting grammar give those ignorant of that knowledge a right of speaking about it on terms of equality with those who are well skilled in it; nor, in short, does the law with respect to any art confer such a right on those who are ignorant of it towards those who are learned in it; so also the law which relates to the establishing proper principles of life does not give those who are strangers to any such true principles a right of speaking really on such topics to those who have studied and learnt them. But to all free men, perfect equality of speech on all subjects is given by the law; and some virtuous men are free; and of the proper principles of life, the foolish are utterly ignorant, but the wise are most profoundly versed in them: therefore it is not the case that ever any foolish or wicked men are free, but they are all slaves. And Zeno, as much as any one else, being under the influence of virtue, ventures boldly to assert that the wicked have not a right to any equality of speech towards the virtuous; for he says, "Shall not the wicked man suffer if he contradicts the virtuous man?" Therefore the wicked man has not a right to freedom of speech as respects the virtuous man. I know that many persons will rail at this assertion as one which is dictated rather by self-conceit than by real wisdom. But if, after they have desisted from mocking and ridiculing it, they will condescend to investigate the matter and to examine clearly into what is

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really said, then, recognising and admiring its perfect truth, they will become aware that there is nothing for which a man will suffer more than for disregarding the words of a wise man. For loss of money, and the brand of dishonour, and banishment, and insults by means of beating, and all other things of that sort, injure a man but little, or rather not at all, when compared with acts of wickedness and the things which are the results of acts of wickedness. But it happens that the generality of men, not being able to perceive the injuries of the soul by reason of the mutilated state of their reason, are grieved only at external calamities, being wholly deprived of the faculty of judging correctly, which is the only one by which they can comprehend the injury received by the intellect. But if they were able to look up and see clearly, then, beholding the deceits which arise out of folly, and the perplexities which proceed from covetousness, and all the intoxicated folly to which intemperance gives rise, and all the transgressions of the law in which injustice indulges, they would be filled with interminable grief at the injuries sustained by the best portion of themselves, and would be incapable of receiving comfort by reason of the excessive greatness of the evil. But Zeno appears to have drawn this maxim of his as it were from the fountain of the legislation of the Jews,[Genesis 28:1.] in the history of which it is recorded that in a case where there were two brothers, the one temperate and the other intemperate, the common father of them both, taking pity on the intemperate one who did not walk in the path of virtue, prays that he may serve his brother, conceiving that service which appears in general to be the greatest of evils is the most perfect good to a foolish man, in order that thus he may be deprived of his independence of action, so as to be prevented from misconducting himself with impunity, and that he may be improved in his disposition by the superintending management of him who is appointed to be his master.

9 What has now then been said with the view of establishing the truth in the matter inquired into is, in my opinion, sufficient. But since physicians are accustomed to cure various diseases with still more various remedies, it is necessary that we should bring a series of proofs, keeping close to the subject, in order to establish those propositions which appear paradoxical by reason of their unusual character. For some people, even if they are convicted by ever so close a series of proofs, can hardly be brought to see their error. Therefore, it is not an incorrect assertion that the man who does everything wisely does everything well; and he who does everything well does everything correctly; and he who does everything correctly does everything also in an unerring, and blameless, and irreproachable, and faultless, and beneficial manner: so that he will have free permission to do everything, and to live as he pleases. And he who has this liberty must be free. But the virtuous man does do everything wisely; therefore he alone is free. And indeed the man whom it is not possible either to compel to do anything, or to prevent from doing anything, cannot possibly be a slave; and one cannot compel or prevent the virtuous man. Therefore the virtuous man cannot be a slave; and that he is never under compulsion or under any restraint is quite plain; for that man is under restraint who does not obtain what he desires. But the wise man only desires such things as proceed from virtue, in which it is impossible for him to be disappointed. And again, if he is under compulsion, then it is plain that he does something against his will; but in all cases where there are actions, they are either good ones proceeding from virtue, or evil ones proceeding from wickedness, or else they are of an intermediate and indifferent character. Now the actions which proceed from virtue, the creature man performs, not through compulsion but voluntarily, for everything which he does is the result of his deliberate choice; and the actions which proceed from wickedness, inasmuch as they ought to be avoided, he does not do even in dreams; nor again, is it likely that he would perform those actions which are of an indifferent character, between which the mind, as if in a scale, is equally balanced, not being induced to yield to them, as having any attractive power, nor, on the other hand, to regard them with any particular aversion as worthy of hatred; from all which it is plain, that the virtuous man does nothing against his will, and nothing under compulsion; and if he were a slave he would be acting under compulsion: so that the virtuous man must be free.

10 But since some persons, who have paid but very little attention to literary pursuits, not understanding demonstrative arguments, which establish only general principles of action, are accustomed to ask us, "Who then are the men, whether previously existing or now alive, whom you thus represent to us?" it is well to make answer, that in former times there were some persons who surpassed all their contemporaries in virtue, taking God alone for their guide, and living in strict accordance with the law, that is to say, with the right reason of nature, and who were not only free themselves, but who also filled all who came near to them with a spirit of freedom. And now also, in our own time, there are some who are, as it were, images of them, bearing on themselves the stamp of the virtue of those wise men as their archetypal model; for it does not follow, that although the souls of such as contradict those virtuous men are deprived of all liberty for having been completely led away and enslaved by folly and other vices, that on this account the whole human race is so too. But it is no wonder if we do not see numerous companies of those men advancing as it were in a solid body. In the first place, because whatever is exceedingly beautiful is rare; secondly, because men who are removed from the main crowd of inconsiderately judging persons, have abundant leisure for the contemplation of the things of nature, endeavoring, as far as it may be in their power, to correct life in general (for virtue is a thing of great benefit to the whole community); but when they are unable to succeed in their object, by reason of the numbers of absurdities which are continually impeding them in the different cities, which the different passions and vices of the soul have given strength to, they then retire into solitude, in order not to be carried away by the violence and rush of these absurdities, as by a wintry torrent. But if there were any real anxiety for improvement in us, we ought carefully to trace out the hiding-places of these men, and to sit down before them as suppliants, and to entreat them to come forward to impart a tincture of civilization to life which was previously savage, by announcing, instead of inward slavery and innumerable evils, peace and an abundance of all other good things to flow over it continually. But as things are, we do investigate all retreats only for the sake of money, and with this object we open the hard and rugged beings of the earth; and a great deal of the champaign country is opened in mines, and no small part of the mountainous district also, while we are seeking for gold, and silver, and brass, and iron, and all kinds of materials. But vain opinion, setting up pride as a god, has descended down to the very lowest depths of the sea in its researches to see whether there is any beautiful thing which might become an object of the outward senses lying covered anywhere; and finding many species of precious stones, some adhering closely to the rocks, and others lying concealed in oyster-shells, which are more valuable still, has thus shown a great desire to deceive the sight; and for the sake of the requirements of wisdom, or temperance, or courage, or justice, even that portion of the earth which is naturally inaccessible is travelled over, and seas which are dangerous to navigate are sailed over at any season of the year by sailors. And yet, what need is there, either of long journeys over the land, or of long voyages, for the sake of investigating the seeking out virtue, the roots of which the Creator has laid not at any great distance, but so near, as the wise lawgiver of the Jews says,[Deuteronomy 30:14.] "They are in thy mouth, and in thy heart, and in thy hands:" intimating by these figurative expressions the words, and actions, and designs of men; all of which stand in need of careful cultivation. These men, therefore, who prefer idleness to industry, have not only hindered the shoots of virtue from thriving, but have even dried up all the roots, and withered and destroyed them; while those on the contrary, who look upon idleness as pernicious and who are willing to labour, cultivate it as husbandmen would cultivate flourishing shoots of good kinds of plants, with incessant care, and thus they raise the virtues to the height of heaven itself in ever-flourishing and undying branches, bearing a fruit of happiness which never ceases, or rather, as some say, not bearing happiness, but rather actually being happiness, which Moses was in the habit of calling by one compound name, holokarpoμmata (whole offerings of entire fruit). For in respect of those things which grow out of the ground, the fruit is not trees, nor are the trees fruit. But with respect to those which grew in the soul, these their whole branches do entirely change into the nature of the fruit; for instance, into wisdom, and justice, and courage, and temperance.

11 Since, then, we have such great assistance towards arriving at virtue, must we not blush to assert that there is any necessary deficiency of wisdom in the human race, when we might, by following it up, like a spark smouldering among wood, kindle it into a flame? But the fact is, that we do display great hesitation and incessant slackness in the pursuit of those objects towards which we ought to hasten eagerly as most closely connected with and nearly akin to us, and by this hesitation and indolence the seeds of virtue are destroyed; while, on the contrary, those things which we ought to neglect we show an insatiable desire and longing for. It is owing to this that the whole earth and sea are full of men who are rich and of high reputation, and who indulge in all kinds of pleasure; but that the number of those who are prudent, and just, and virtuous, is very small; but that of which the numbers are small, though it may be rare, is nevertheless not non-existent. And all Greece and all the land of the barbarians is a witness of this; for in the one country flourished those who are truly called "the seven wise men," though others had flourished before them, and have also in all probability lived since their time. But their memory, though they are now very ancient, has nevertheless not been effaced by the lapse of ages, while of others who are more modern, the names have been lost through the neglect of their contemporaries. And in the land of the barbarians, in which the same men are authorities both as to words and actions, there are very numerous companies of virtuous and honourable men celebrated. Among the Persians there is the body of the Magi, who, investigating the works of nature for the purpose of becoming acquainted with the truth, do at their leisure become initiated themselves and initiate others in the divine virtues by very clear explanations. And among the Indians there is the class of the gymnosophists, who, in addition to natural philosophy, take great pains in the study of moral science likewise, and thus make their whole existence a sort of lesson in virtue.

12 Moreover Palestine and Syria too are not barren of exemplary wisdom and virtue, which countries no slight portion of that most populous nation of the Jews inhabits. There is a portion of those people called Essenes, in number something more than four thousand in my opinion, who derive their name from their piety, though not according to any accurate form of the Grecian dialect, because they are above all men devoted to the service of God, not sacrificing living animals, but studying rather to preserve their own minds in a state of holiness and purity. These men, in the first place, live in villages, avoiding all cities on account of the habitual lawlessness of those who inhabit them, well knowing that such a moral disease is contracted from associations with wicked men, just as a real disease might be from an impure atmosphere, and that this would stamp an incurable evil on their souls. Of these men, some cultivating the earth, and others devoting themselves to those arts which are the result of peace, benefit both themselves and all those who come in contact with them, not storing up treasures of silver and of gold, nor acquiring vast sections of the earth out of a desire for ample revenues, but providing all things which are requisite for the natural purposes of life; for they alone of almost all men having been originally poor and destitute, and that too rather from their own habits and ways of life than from any real deficiency of good fortune, are nevertheless accounted very rich, judging contentment and frugality to be great abundance, as in truth they are. Among those men you will find no makers of arrows, or javelins, or swords, or helmets, or breastplates, or shields; no makers of arms or of military engines; no one, in short, attending to any employment whatever connected with war, or even to any of those occupations even in peace which are easily perverted to wicked purposes; for they are utterly ignorant of all traffic, and of all commercial dealings, and of all navigation, but they repudiate and keep aloof from everything which can possibly afford any inducement to covetousness; and there is not a single slave among them, but they are all free, aiding one another with a reciprocal interchange of good offices; and they condemn masters, not only as unjust, inasmuch as they corrupt the very principle of equality, but likewise as impious, because they destroy the ordinances of nature, which generated them all equally, and brought them up like a mother, as if they were all legitimate brethren, not in name only, but in reality and truth. But in their view this natural relationship of all men to one another has been thrown into disorder by designing covetousness, continually wishing to surpass others in good fortune, and which has therefore engendered alienation instead of affection, and hatred instead of friendship; and leaving the logical part of philosophy, as in no respect necessary for the acquisition of virtue, to the word-catchers, and the natural part, as being too sublime for human nature to master, to those who love to converse about high objects (except indeed so far as such a study takes in the contemplation of the existence of God and of the creation of the universe), they devote all their attention to the moral part of philosophy, using as instructors the laws of their country which it would have been impossible for the human mind to devise without divine inspiration. Now these laws they are taught at other times, indeed, but most especially on the seventh day, for the seventh day is accounted sacred, on which they abstain from all other employments, and frequent the sacred places which are called synagogues, and there they sit according to their age in classes, the younger sitting under the elder, and listening with eager attention in becoming order. Then one, indeed, takes up the holy volume and reads it, and another of the men of the greatest experience comes forward and explains what is not very intelligible, for a great many precepts are delivered in enigmatical modes of expression, and allegorically, as the old fashion was; and thus the people are taught piety, and holiness, and justice, and economy, and the science of regulating the state, and the knowledge of such things as are naturally good, or bad, or indifferent, and to choose what is right and to avoid what is wrong, using a threefold variety of definitions, and rules, and criteria, namely, the love of God, and the love of virtue, and the love of mankind. Accordingly, the sacred volumes present an infinite number of instances of the disposition devoted to the love of God, and of a continued and uninterrupted purity throughout the whole of life, of a careful avoidance of oaths and of falsehood, and of a strict adherence to the principle of looking on the Deity as the cause of everything which is good and of nothing which is evil. They also furnish us with many proofs of a love of virtue, such as abstinence from all covetousness of money, from ambition, from indulgence in pleasures, temperance, endurance, and also moderation,

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simplicity, good temper, the absence of pride, obedience to the laws, steadiness, and everything of that kind; and, lastly, they bring forward as proofs of the love of mankind, goodwill, equality beyond all power of description, and fellowship, about which it is not unreasonable to say a few words. In the first place, then, there is no one who has a house so absolutely his own private property, that it does not in some sense also belong to every one: for besides that they all dwell together in companies, the house is open to all those of the same notions, who come to them from other quarters; then there is one magazine among them all; their expenses are all in common; their garments belong to them all in common; their food is common, since they all eat in messes; for there is no other people among which you can find a common use of the same house, a common adoption of one mode of living, and a common use of the same table more thoroughly established in fact than among this tribe: and is not this very natural? For whatever they, after having been working during the day, receive for their wages, that they do not retain as their own, but bring it into the common stock, and give any advantage that is to be derived from it to all who desire to avail themselves of it; and those who are sick are not neglected because they are unable to contribute to the common stock, inasmuch as the tribe have in their public stock a means of supplying their necessities and aiding their weakness, so that from their ample means they support them liberally and abundantly; and they cherish respect for their elders, and honour them and care for them, just as parents are honoured and cared for by their lawful children: being supported by them in all abundance both by their personal exertions, and by innumerable contrivances.

13 Such diligent practicers of virtue does philosophy, unconnected with any superfluous care of examining into Greek names render men, proposing to them as necessary exercises to train them towards its attainment, all praiseworthy actions by which a freedom, which can never be enslaved, is firmly established. And a proof of this is that, though at different times a great number of chiefs of every variety of disposition and character, have occupied their country, some of whom have endeavored to surpass even ferocious wild beasts in cruelty, leaving no sort of inhumanity unpractised, and have never ceased to murder their subjects in whole troops, and have even torn them to pieces while living, like cooks cutting them limb from limb, till they themselves, being overtaken by the vengeance of divine justice, have at last experienced the same miseries in their turn: others again having converted their barbarous frenzy into another kind of wickedness, practising an ineffable degree of savageness, talking with the people quietly, but through the hypocrisy of a more gentle voice, betraying the ferocity of their real disposition, fawning upon their victims like treacherous dogs, and becoming the causes of irremediable miseries to them, have left in all their cities monuments of their impiety, and hatred of all mankind, in the never to be forgotten miseries endured by those whom they oppressed: and yet no one, not even of those immoderately cruel tyrants, nor of the more treacherous and hypocritical oppressors was ever able to bring any real accusation against the multitude of those called Essenes or Holy. [the Greek is essaioμn eμ hosioμn, as if essaioμn was only a variety of the word hosioμn, "holy."] But everyone being subdued by the virtue of these men, looked up to them as free by nature, and not subject to the frown of any human being, and have celebrated their manner of messing together, and their fellowship with one another beyond all description in respect of its mutual good faith, which is an ample proof of a perfect and very happy life.

14 But it is necessary for us (since some persons do not believe that there is any perfect virtue in the multitude, but that whatever in such persons appears like virtue only reaches a certain point of increase and growth), to bring forward as corroborative testimonies the lives of some particular good men who are the most undeniable evidences of freedom. Calanus was an Indian by birth, one of the gymnosophists; he, being looked upon as the man who was possessed of the greatest fortitude of all his contemporaries, and that too, not only by his own countrymen, but also by foreigners, which is the rarest of all things, was greatly admired by some kings of hostile countries, because he had combined virtuous actions with praiseworthy language; accordingly, Alexander, the king of the Macedonians, wishing to exhibit to Greece the wisdom that was to be found in the territories of the barbarians, as being a sort of faithful copy and representation of an archetypal model, in the first instance invited Calanus to quit his home, and come and take up his abode with him, by which means he said he would acquire the greatest imaginable glory throughout all Asia and all Europe; and when he could not persuade him by fair means, he said to him, "You shall be compelled to follow me." And he replied with great felicity of expression and in a noble spirit; "What then shall I be worth, O Alexander, when you exhibit me to the Greeks, after I have been compelled to do what I do not like?" Now is not this speech, or rather is not this idea, full of real freedom? And moreover in his writings also, which are more durable than his expressions, he has erected, as if on a pillar, indelible signs of his indomitably free disposition; and this is proved by the letter which he sent to the king.

CALANUS TO ALEXANDER, GREETING

"Your friends are endeavoring to persuade you to apply force and compulsion to the philosophers of the Indians, though not even in their sleep have they beheld our actions; for you will be able indeed to transport our bodies from place to place, but you will not be able to compel our souls to do what they do not like, any more than you would be able to make bricks or timber utter words; we can cause the greatest troubles and the greatest destruction to living bodies; now we are superior to this power; we are burnt even while living, there is no king nor ruler who will ever succeed in compelling us to do what we do not choose to do; and we are in no respect like unto the philosophers of the Greeks, who study speeches to deliver to a public assembly; but our actions do always correspond to our words, and our speeches which are short have a power different from that of our actions, and secure for us freedom and happiness." At such positive refusals then, and at such brave sentiments, is it not natural for any one to quote that saying of Zeno that, "It would be easier to sink a bladder which was full of wind, than to compel any virtuous man whatever, against his will, to commit any action which he had never intended." For the soul of such a man will never submit, and can never be defeated, since it has been fortified by right reason with solid doctrines.

15 Moreover, both poets and historians are witnesses to the real freedom of virtuous men, in whose doctrines both Greeks and barbarians are equally bred up almost from their very cradles, and by which they are improved in their dispositions, changing everything in their souls which is adulterated by a blamable way of bringing up and of living, into good coinage; accordingly just see what Hercules says in Euripides.

"Yes, burn and scorch my flesh, and glut your hate,
Drinking my life-warm blood; for heaven's stars
Shall quit their place, and darken 'neath the earth,
And earth rise up and take the place of heaven,
Before you wring from me a word of flattery."

For in real truth flattery, and adulation, and hypocrisy, in which what is uttered is at variance with the sentiments which are really felt, are the most slavish of things. But without any disguise, and in a genuine honest spirit of truth to speak with freedom what is dictated by a clear conscience, is a line of conduct suited to those who are nobly born. Again, do not you see this same virtuous man himself, that even when he is sold he does not appear to be a servant, but he strikes all who behold him with awe, as not being merely free, but as even being about to prove the master of him who has purchased him? At all events, Mercury replies to a man who inquires whether he is worthless--

"By no means worthless, on the contrary,
In every part most venerable: never
Low, nor of no account, as though a slave.
But as to raiment brilliant to behold,
And with the club he bears most energetic.
But no one willingly becomes the buyer
Of one who soon the master will become
Of him and all his house. And every one
Who sees thee, fears thee, for your eye is fire
Like that of any bull prepared for war
Gainst Afric Lions." [euripides Frag. Incert. 495.]

Then, again, he speaks in conclusion of his disposition--

"I now do blame you for your stubborn silence,
As if you were not subject to a master,
But sought to govern rather than be governed."

But when, after Syleus had bought him, he was sent into the fields, he showed by his actions the indomitable freedom of his nature; for having sacrificed the choicest of the bulls which were there to Jupiter, he made a pretence of a feast, and having drunk a vast quantity of wine at one meal, he lay down very contentedly to digest it; and when Syleus came, and got angry both at the loss and also at the easy indifference of his servant, and at his preposterous contempt for his master, he never changed colour, nor made any difference in his conduct, but said with the most perfect confidence--

"Sit down and drink, and thus you shall
At once appreciate my character,
And learn to be my master in reality."

Shall we then say that he is the slave, or rather the master of his master, when he dares in this manner not only to accost him with such freedom, but even to impose injunctions on him who has purchased him, as if he would beat and insult him if he were to be stubborn and disobedient, and, if he introduced any one to assist him, as if he would destroy them all to a man? Therefore the writings which were delivered respecting this purchase must have been an utter absurdity and a mere joke, since they would be trampled upon by the more effectual power of the slave bought under them, being the less value than unwritten covenants, and being likely to be utterly destroyed by moths, or time, or mould and rust.

16 But it is not right, some one will say, to bring forward the actions of heroes as proofs of the correctness of an argument, for that they were greater than the common run of human nature, and were more on a par with the heavenly beings themselves, as having been born of a sort of mixed generation, and having sprung from mortal and immortal seed at the same time, being correctly entitled demigods, the mortal part of their composition being tempered by the incorruptible part, so that there is nothing extraordinary in the fact of their having despised those mortals who designed to bring slavery upon them. However, let it be so. Are then Anaxagoras and Zeno the Eleatic heroes, or descended from gods? And nevertheless they, when tortured with the most unprecedented devices of cruelty by savage tyrants, wholly pitiless by nature, and even more than usually exasperated against them, looking on their bodies as if they belonged to strangers, or even to enemies, disregarded and utterly disdained the formidable evils with which they were afflicted; for through the love of knowledge having accustomed their souls from the very beginning to keep aloof from all participation with the passions, and to cling to education and wisdom, they easily endured the prospect of its emigrating from the body, and made it a dweller with prudence and courage, and other virtues. Therefore, the one being hung up and violently stretched for the sake of making him divulge some secret, showed himself mightier than fire or iron, though they are the strongest things in nature, and biting off his tongue with his teeth, spit it at his torturer, that he might not involuntarily utter what he ought to bury in silence, under the influence of agony; and the other said with great fortitude, "Beat Aristarchus's skin, for you cannot beat Aristarchus himself." These instances of brave fortitude, wholly full of daring, exceed in no slight degree the nobleness of those heroes, because the one class have a glory handed down to them by their ancestors without any actions of their own, while the fame of the others is founded on deeds of virtue deliberately performed, which very naturally make immortal those who practice them in a guileless spirit.

17 I know also that combatants in the pancratium very often, out of the excess of their spirit of rivalry, and of their eagerness for victory, when their bodies are exhausted do you keep up their spirits, and strive with their soul alone, which they have accustomed to look contemptuously on danger, and thus they endure toil and pain to the very end of their life. Shall we then fancy that those men who have practiced themselves so as to arrive at vigor of body, have been able to trample on the fear of death, either through hope of victory or from the desire of escaping the sight of their own defeat; but those who train up in themselves the invisible mind, which is really and truly the man himself, bearing about him the appearance perceptible by the outward senses as his house, and who educate it by the principles and maxims of philosophy and the rules of virtue, will not be willing to die for the sake of freedom, in order to perform the journey appointed for them by fate with an indomitable and free spirit? They say that on one occasion, at one of the sacred games, two athletes who were contending with one another with equally matched strength and courage, doing the same things to one another, and suffering the same things, did not desist from the contest till they both fell dead.

"My too brave son, thy courage will destroy Thee," [hom. Il. 6:409.]

some one may say with reference to such persons. However is the death of such combatants glorious when it is encountered for the sake of some wild olives and parsley-leaves, and must it not be much more so when endured for the sake of freedom, the love of which, if one must tell the plain truth, is firmly established in the soul alone, as if it were some extraordinary portion of it firmly united with it, which if it were cut off the whole composition of the man must necessarily be destroyed? The indomitable spirit of a Lacedaemonian boy, whether derived from his birth or from nature, is celebrated, in which nation they are accustomed to hunt carefully for the virtues; for when he had been carried off as a prisoner by some one of the soldiers of Antigonus, he submitted to whatever was put upon him which became a free man, but refused to submit to menial offices, saying that he was not going to be a slave; and yet by reason of his age he could not as yet have been thoroughly educated in the laws of Lycurgus, because he had only tasted them, but he judged a violent death preferable to the life which was before him, and, despairing of any deliverance, he cheerfully slew himself. It is also related that some Dardanian women who had been taken prisoners by the Macedonians, looking upon slavery as the most disgraceful of all evils, threw their children, whom they were carrying in their bosoms, into the deepest part of the river, saying at the same time, "At all events you shall not be slaves, but, before you can begin to experience such a miserable life, you shall cut off all such necessity, and travel in freedom the inevitable and last road of human existence." Again, the tragedian, Euripides, introduces Polyxena disregarding death, and thinking only of freedom, on which account she speaks in the following manner:

"Willingly now I die; and let no foe
Seize me with violent hands; for I myself
With cheerful courage will put forth my neck.
For God's sake touch me not; but leave me free,

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That having lived in freedom, I may die
Unviolated by a master's Hand." [euripides, Hecuba, 548.]

18 Do we then imagine that there can be such a profound love of freedom firmly fixed in women and children, one of which classes is by nature light-minded, and the other is of an age which is easily perverted and liable to stumble, so that they, for the sake of not being deprived of it, cheerfully proceed from death to immortality, but that those men who have tasted of unalloyed wisdom are not at once thoroughly free, bearing about in themselves, as they do, a sort of perpetual fountain of happiness, namely virtue, which no designing or hostile power has ever been able to dissolve, since it has the everlasting inheritance of authority and sovereign power? But in truth we hear of whole nations also, who, for the sake of freedom and of good faith towards their deceased benefactors, have voluntarily encountered utter destruction, as they say that the Xanthians did no long time ago; for when Brutus, one of those men who attacked Julius Caesar, invaded their territory and made war upon them, they, fearing not so much the destruction of their city as slavery at the mercy of a murderer who had killed his king and his benefactor (for Caesar was both to him), resisted at first with great vigor to the very utmost extent of their power, and though they were being gradually destroyed, they still held out; and when at last they had exhausted all their strength, they all collected their wives, and parents, and children into their houses, and there slew them separately, and then collecting the slaughtered bodies in a heap, they set fire to them, and slew themselves on the top of all, and so with a noble and free spirit encountered the fated end of all men. 2But these men, wishing to escape the pitiless inhumanity of tyrannical enemies, preferred death with glory to an inglorious life; but those to whom the chances of fortune gave a longer life, have endured their dangers and afflictions with fortitude, imitating the courage and endurance of Hercules, for he also showed himself superior to the commands of Eurystheus. 2Accordingly the Cynic philosopher, Diogenes, exhibited such a loftiness and greatness of spirit, that when he was taken prisoner by some robbers, and when they fed him very sparingly, and scarcely gave him even necessary food, he was not weighed down by the circumstances which surrounded him, and did not fear the inhumanity of the masters into whose power he had fallen, but said "that it was a most absurd thing for pigs or sheep, when they were going to be sold, to be carefully provided with abundant food, so as to be rendered fat and fleshy; but for the most excellent of all animals, man, to be reduced to a skeleton by bad food and continual scarcity, and so to be rendered of less value than before." 2And then, when he had obtained sufficient food, and when he was about to be sold with the rest of the captives, he sat down first, and breakfasted with great cheerfulness and courage, giving some of his breakfast to his neighbours. And seeing one of them not merely sorrowful, but in a state of extreme despondency, he said, "Will you not give up being miserable? take what you can get."

"For the golden haired Niobe asked for her food,
Though her twelve noble children lay welt'ring in blood;
Six daughters, fair emblems of virtue and truth,
And six sons, the chief flower of the Lydian youth."

And then, speaking boldly to some one who seemed inclined to become a purchaser, and who asked him the question, "What do you know?" he replied, "I know how to govern men:" his soul from within, as it appears, prompting his free, and noble, and naturally royal spirit. And then he at once, with his natural indifference and serenity, turned to facetious discourse, at which all the rest, who were all full of despondency were annoyed. 2Accordingly it is said that, seeing one of the intended purchasers afflicted with the female disease, as he did not even look like a man, he went up to him, and said, "Do you buy me, for you appear to me to be in want of a husband;" so that he, being grieved and downcast by reason of the infirmities of which he was conscious, slunk away, while all the rest admired the ready wit and happy courage of the philosopher. Shall we then say that such a man as this was in a state of slavery, and not rather in a state of freedom, only without any irresponsible authority? 2And there was also a man of the name of Choereas, a man of considerable education, who was a zealous imitator of Diogenes's freedom of speech; for he, being an inhabitant of Alexandria in Egypt, on one occasion, when Ptolemy was offended with him, and was uttering no slight threats against him, thinking that the freedom which was implanted in his nature was in no respect inferior to the royal authority of the other, replied--

"Rule your Egyptian slaves; but as for me,
I neither care for you, nor fear your wrath

And angry Threats." [this is a parody on Hom. Il. 1.180, where Agamemnon speaks to Achilles.]

For noble souls have something authoritative within them, and do not allow their brilliancy to be obscured by the injustice of fortune, but their spirit encourages them to contend on equal terms with those who are very high in rank and very proud, pitting their freedom of spirit against the insolence of the others. It is said that Theodorus, who was surnamed the Atheist, when he was banished from Athens, and had come to the court of Lysimachus, when one of those in power there reproached him with his banishment, mentioning the cause of it too, namely, that he had been expelled because he had been condemned for atheism and for corrupting the youth, replied, "I have not been banished, but the same thing has befallen me which befell Hercules, the son of Jupiter; 2for he also was put ashore by the Argonauts, without having done anything wrong, but only because as he himself was both crew and ballast enough for a vessel, so that he burdened the ship, and caused fear to his fellow voyagers lest the vessel should become water-logged; and I too have been driven from my country because the bulk of the citizens at Athens were unable to keep pace with the loftiness and greatness of my mind, and therefore I was envied by them." 2And when, after this reply, Lysimachus asked him, "Were you also banished from your native land through envy?" he replied a second time, "Not indeed through envy, but because of the exceedingly high qualities of my nature, which my country could not contain; 3for as when Semele, at the time that she was pregnant with Bacchus, was unable to bear her offspring until the appointed time for her delivery, Jupiter pitied her, and saved from the flames the offspring which she bore in her womb, being as yet imperfect, and granted it equal honours with the heavenly deities, so also some deity, or some god, has made me leave my country by reason of its being too narrow to contain the ample burden of a philosophic mind, and decided on transporting me to a place more fortunate than Athens, and settling me there."

19 And moreover any one who considers the matter may find even among the brute beasts examples of the freedom which exists among men, as he may of all other human blessings. At all events, cocks are accustomed to contend with one another, and to display such an actual affection for danger, that in order to save themselves from yielding or submitting, even if they are inferior in power to their adversary they will not bear to be inferior in courage, for they endure even to death. 3And Miltiades, the famous general of the Athenians, seeing this, when the king of the Persians having roused up all the might of Asia, was invading Europe with many myriads of soldiers, as if he were going to destroy all Greece with the mere shout of his army, having collected all the allies at the festival called the panathenaea, showed them a battle between these birds, thinking that the encouragement which they would derive from such a sight would be more powerful than any argument. 3And he was not deceived, for when they had seen the patient enduring and honourable feeling of these irrational animals, which could not be subdued by any means short of death itself, they snatched up their arms and rushed eagerly to war, as resolving to fight against their enemies with their bodies, and being utterly indifferent to wounds and death, being willing to die for their freedom, so that at all events they might be buried in the still free soil of their native country; for there is nothing which acts so forcibly in the way of exhortation so as to improve the character, as an unhoped for success in the case of those whom men look upon as inferior to themselves. 3Moreover the tragic writer, Ion, mentions the contentious spirit of those birds in the following lines:

"Nor though wounded in each limb,
Nor though his eyes with blows are dim,
Will he forget his might;
But still, though much fatigued, will crow,
Preferring death to undergo
Than slavery, or slight."

And why, then, should we think that wise men will not cheerfully encounter death in preference to slavery? And is it not absurd to imagine that the souls of young and nobly born men will turn out inferior to those of game-cocks in the contest of virtue, and will be barely fit to stand in the second place? 3And yet who is there who has even the least tincture of education who does not know this fact, that freedom is a noble thing and slavery a disgraceful one, and that what is honourable belongs to virtuous men, and what is disgraceful to worthless ones? From which it is seen most undeniably, that no virtuous man can ever be a slave, not if ten thousand persons, with all imaginable deeds to prove themselves masters, threaten them; and that no foolish or worthless man can ever be free, not even if he were Croesus, or Midas, or the great king of Persia himself. But the beauty of freedom, which is much celebrated, and the deformity of slavery, which is accursed, are continually borne witness to as having that character by the more ancient cities and nations whose existence has been of long duration, being as it were immortal among mortal things, and their testimony cannot err; for, for what other object are councils and assemblies convened nearly every day, rather than about freedom, with a view to the confirmation of it if it is present, and to the acquisition of it if it is absent? And what other object have Greece and the nations of the barbarians ever had in all the continual seditions and wars which have taken place among or between those peoples, except to avoid slavery, and to obtain liberty? 3On which account in all battles the chief exhortation of all captains, and commanders, and generals is this, "O soldiers and allies, let us now repel that greatest of all evils, slavery, which the enemy is attempting to bring upon us; let us never endure the loss of that greatest of all human blessings, liberty. This is the beginning and fountain of all happiness, from which all particular blessings flow." 4And it is for this reason that the most sharp-sighted of all the Greek nations, namely, the Athenians (for what the pupil is to the eye, or reasoning to the soul, that also is Athens to Greece), when they send out a solemn procession to the venerable goddesses,[the Furies.] never allow any slave whatever to take any part in it, but perform everything concerning it by the agency of free men and women who are accustomed to such duties, even then not taking any chance persons, but only such as have cultivated a blameless innocence of life; since the most excellent of the youths prepare the cakes for the feast, looking upon that office as conducing (which indeed it does) to their credit and honour. And it happened not long ago, when some actors were representing a tragedy, and repeating those iambics of Euripides: [fragmenta Incerta, 495.]

"For e'en the name of freedom is a jewel
Of mighty value; and the man who has it
E'en in a small degree, has noble wealth;"

I myself saw all the spectators standing on tip-toe with excitement and delight, and with loud outcries and continual shouts combining their praise of the sentiments, and with praise also of the poet, as having not only honoured freedom by his actions, but having extolled its very name. I also admire the Argonauts, who made the whole crew of their vessel to consist of the freemen, not allowing a single slave to embark even for the purpose of performing the most indispensable services, but at that period they chose to do everything for themselves, looking upon independent action as the brother of freedom; and if it may be allowed me at all to attend to what is said by the poets (and why should we not do so, for they are the instructors of the lives of all mankind, and just as individual parents are the instructors of their children, so too do they become so to the whole body of a city, correcting the entire population?), then I say that the Argo herself, when Jason was her captain, as if she were at that time endowed with a soul and with reasoning powers, did not permit any slaves to embark on board of her, since her nature was that of one devoted to freedom, on which account Aeschylus, with reference to her, says-- "And tell me where's the sacred beam
That dared the dangerous Euxine Stream?" [aesch. Fragm. 648.]

And we must not pay the slightest attention to threats and menaces which some persons hold out over even wise men, but we must say as Antigonides the flute-player did; for it is related that he, when one of his rivals in art being angry with him, said to him, "I will buy you for a slave," said with very profound wit, "Then I will teach you to play the flute;" and in the same way it would become the virtuous man to say to any one who appeared inclined to purchase him, "Therefore you will be able to learn wisdom." And if any one were to threaten him with banishment beyond the borders of the country, it would become him to reply, "Every land is my country;" 4and if any one were to threaten him with loss of money, he might make answer, "A moderate means of subsistence are sufficient for me:" while if any one were to menace him with stripes or death, he would reply, "These things have no terrors for me, for am I inferior to a boxer or to a wrestler in the pancratium, who, seeing merely some indistinct images of virtue, because they have laboured merely at the one object of producing a good condition of body, endure both blows and death with fortitude; for in me the mind, which is the ruler of the body, has been invigorated by courage, and so completely fortified, that it is able to show itself superior to any kind of pain."

21 We must take care, therefore, never to catch a beast of that character which, being formidable not only in respect of its strength but also in its appearance, displays an almost invincible power, which is far from deserving to be despised. 4It often happens that places which serve as asylums for fugitives and slaves give them complete freedom from fear and perfect security, as if they were in possession of equal honours and privileges with their masters, and sometimes one may see those who are slaves of old standing, as descended from grandfathers, and even more remote ancestors still, who have all been slaves by a kind of hereditary succession, yet, when once they have taken refuge in temples as suppliants, speaking freely and fearlessly in perfect security. 4There are some too, who even argue about their own rights and just claims with those who are their owners, not merely on equal terms, but actually as if they were far superior to them, replying to them with great energy and even contemptuously; for the one party is enslaved by the conviction which their consciences force upon them, however nobly born they may be; while the others feel in perfect security as to their persons, from the general recognition of the place in which they are as an asylum, and therefore they display the free and noble disposition of soul, which God has made of such a nature as never to be subdued by any external circumstances, 5unless indeed any one is so utterly destitute of reason as to fancy that it is the place itself which is the cause of their confidence and freedom of speech, and that that most god-like of all things, virtue, has nothing to do with it, though it is owing to virtue alone that sanctity

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attaches either to the places or to anything which is endowed with sense. 5And, indeed, in the case of those who take refuge in places which are looked upon as asylums, seeking security only in the places themselves, it constantly happens to such persons to be much influenced by a great variety of other circumstances, by the corruption of their wives, the loss of reputation by their children, and the deceitfulness of love, while those who take refuge in virtue, as in a strong and indestructible and invincible fortification, disregard all attacks which the treachery of the passions aims and directs against them. 5Now any one who is defended by this power may naturally say with all freedom, that other persons indeed are taken captive by all kinds of accidental things, but, as the tragic poet has it,

"I am well skilled both to obey myself
And rule myself: well weighing all events
By virtue's Standard." [this again is from the Syleus of Euripides.]

Accordingly also Bias, of Priene, is said, when Croesus threatened him, to have threatened him in return, in a most contemptuous manner, bidding him eat onions, by which figurative expression he meant that he should weep, since the eating of onions excites tears. Thus wise men, looking upon nothing as more royal than virtue, which is the regulator of the whole of their lives, do not fear the authority of other men, whom they look upon rather as subject to themselves; in reference to which idea, they are all accustomed to consider double-minded and treacherous people illiberal and slavish; 5on which account also there is a good deal of propriety in the expression--

"Never was heard of slave uprightly held,
But stooping always with a downbent Neck." [from Theognis Carm. 41.]

For a crooked, and wily, and deceitful disposition, is a most ignoble thing; just as an upright, and straightforward, and undisguised, and unsuspicious soul, betokens a most noble character, its words harmonising with its intentions, and its intentions with its words. We may fairly enough laugh at those men who, when once they have got released from the actual possession of an owner, think themselves free from that moment; for these men, when emancipated, are perhaps no longer servants, just as before, but they are all slaves, deeply branded slaves, obeying not indeed men (for this would not be so terrible), but even the most dishonoured of even inanimate things, strong wine, vegetables, cheesecakes, and all the other things which the superfluous labours of bakers and confectioners invent, as enemies of the miserable belly. 5Accordingly Diogenes, when he on one occasion saw one of those who are called illiberal and slavish persons giving himself airs, and a great many others sympathising in his pleasures, marveling at their want of reason and judgement said, "It is just as if any one were to proclaim, that some one of his servants was, from this day forth, to be accounted a good grammarian, or geometrician, or musician, without his having the very slightest idea of the art; for just as the proclamation would not make men learned, so also it would not make them free (for then it would be a blessed thing), but all that it could do would be to make them no longer slaves.

22 Therefore having put an end to empty opinion, on which the chief multitude of men depends, and being devoted to that most sacred possession, truth, let us not use incorrect terms so as to attribute to those who thus call themselves citizens any real share in a free constitution, or any real liberty; nor, on the other hand, let us reproach those who have been born in the house of a master, or who have been bought with money as slaves, but let us rather pass over all ideas of birth, all writings implying mastership, and, in short, everything relating to the body, and let us confine ourselves to investigating the nature of the soul. For if it is driven to and fro by appetite, or if it is attracted by pleasure, or turned out of the way by fear, or contracted by grief, or tortured by want, it then makes itself a slave, and makes him who possesses such a soul the slave of ten thousand masters. But if it has resisted and subdued ignorance by prudence, and intemperance by temperance, and cowardice by bravery, and covetousness by justice; it then adds to its indomitable free spirit, power and authority. 6And all the souls which are not as yet partakers of either of these two classes, neither of that which is enslaved, nor of that by which prudence is confirmed, but which are still naked like those of completely infant children; those we must nurse and cherish carefully, prescribing for them at first tender food instead of milk, namely, instruction in the encyclical sciences, and after that stronger food, such as is prepared by philosophy, by which they will be strengthened so as to become manly, and in good condition, and conducted on to a favourable end, not more that are recommended by you than enjoined by the oracle, "To live in conformity to nature."

ON THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE OR SUPPLIANTS

1 (Having mentioned the Essenes, who in all respects selected for their admiration and for their especial adoption the practical course of life, and who excel in all, or what perhaps may be a less unpopular and invidious thing to say, in most of its parts, I will now proceed, in the regular order of my subject, to speak of those who have embraced the speculative life, and I will say what appears to me to be desirable to be said on the subject, not drawing any fictitious statements from my own head for the sake of improving the appearance of that side of the question which nearly all poets and essayists are much accustomed to do in the scarcity of good actions to extol, but with the greatest simplicity adhering strictly to the truth itself, to which I know well that even the most eloquent men do not keep close in their speeches. Nevertheless we must make the endeavor and labour to attain to this virtue; for it is not right that the greatness of the virtue of the men should be a cause of silence to those who do not think it right that anything which is creditable should be suppressed in silence; (but the deliberate intention of the philosopher is at once displayed from the appellation given to them; for with strict regard to etymology, they are called therapeutae and therapeutrides,[from therapeuoμ, "to heal."] either because they process an art of medicine more excellent than that in general use in cities (for that only heals bodies, but the other heals souls which are under the mastery of terrible and almost incurable diseases, which pleasures and appetites, fears and griefs, and covetousness, and follies, and injustice, and all the rest of the innumerable multitude of other passions and vices, have inflicted upon them), or else because they have been instructed by nature and the sacred laws to serve the living God, who is superior to the good, and more simple than the one, and more ancient than the unit; (with whom, however, who is there of those who profess piety that we can possibly compare? Can we compare those who honour the elements, earth, water, air, and fire? to whom different nations have given different names, calling fire Hephaestus, I imagine because of its kindling,[the Greek is exapsis, as if eμphaistos were also derived from aptomai, being akin to apheμ.] and the air Hera, I imagine because of its being raised up,[the Greek word is hairesthai, to which Heμra has some similarity in sound.] and raised aloft to a great height, and water Poseidon, probably because of its being drinkable,[the Greek word is poton, derived from 3rd sing. perf. pass. of pinoμ pepotai, from the 2nd sing. of which Peposai, poseidoμn may probably be derived.] and the earth Demeter, because it appears to be the Mother [the Greek word is meμteμr, evidently the root of DeμmeμteμR.] of all plants and of all animals. (But these names are the inventions of sophists: but the elements are inanimate matter, and immovable by any power of their own, being subjected to the operator on them to receive from him every kind of shape or distinctive quality which he chooses to give them. (But what shall we say of those men who worship the perfect things made of them, the sun, the moon, and the other stars, planets, or fixed-stars, or the whole heaven, or the universal world? And yet even they do not owe their existence to themselves, but to some creator whose knowledge has been most perfect, both in mind and degree. (What, again, shall we say of the demi-gods? This is a matter which is perfectly ridiculous: for how can the same man be both mortal and immortal, even if we leave out of the question the fact that the origin of the birth of all these beings is liable to reproach, as being full of youthful intemperance, which its authors endeavor with great profanity to impute to blessed and divine natures, as if they, being madly in love with mortal women, had connected themselves with them; while we know gods to be free from all participation in and from all influence of passion, and completely happy. (Again, what shall we say of those who worship carved works and images? the substances of which, stone and wood, were only a little while before perfectly destitute of shape, before the stone-cutters or wood-cutters hewed them out of the kindred stuff around them, while the remainder of the material, their near relation and brother as it were, is made into ewers, or foot-pans, and other common and dishonoured vessels, which are employed rather for uses of darkness than for such as will bear the light; (for as for the customs of the Egyptians, it is not creditable even to mention them, for they have introduced irrational beasts, and those not merely such as are domestic and tame, but even the most ferocious of wild beasts to share the honours of the gods, taking some out of each of the elements beneath the moon, as the lion from among the animals which live on the earth, the crocodile from among those which live in the water, the kite from such as traverse the air, and the Egyptian iris. (And though they actually see that these animals are born, and that they are in need of food, and that they are insatiable in voracity and full of all sorts of filth, and moreover poisonous and devourers of men, and liable to be destroyed by all kinds of diseases, and that in fact they are often destroyed not only by natural deaths, but also by violence, still they, civilised men, worship these untameable and ferocious beasts; though rational men, they worship irrational beasts; though they have a near relationship to the Deity, they worship creatures unworthy of being compared even to some of the beasts; though appointed as rulers and masters, they worship creatures which are by nature subjects and slaves.

2 But since these men infect not only their fellow countrymen, but also all that come near them with folly, let them remain uncovered, being mutilated in that most indispensable of all the outward senses, namely, sight. I am speaking here not of the sight of the body, but of that of the soul, by which alone truth and falsehood are distinguished from one another. But the therapeutic sect of mankind, being continually taught to see without interruption, may well aim at obtaining a sight of the living God, and may pass by the sun, which is visible to the outward sense, and never leave this order which conducts to perfect happiness. But they who apply themselves to this kind of worship, not because they are influenced to do so by custom, nor by the advice or recommendation of any particular persons, but because they are carried away by a certain heavenly love, give way to enthusiasm, behaving like so many revellers in bacchanalian or corybantian mysteries, until they see the object which they have been earnestly desiring. Then, because of their anxious desire for an immortal and blessed existence, thinking that their mortal life has already come to an end, they leave their possessions to their sons or daughters, or perhaps to other relations, giving them up their inheritance with willing cheerfulness; and those who know no relations give their property to their companions or friends, for it followed of necessity that those who have acquired the wealth which sees, as if ready prepared for them, should be willing to surrender that wealth which is blind to those who themselves also are still blind in their minds. The Greeks celebrate Anaxagoras and Democritus, because they, being smitten with a desire for philosophy, allowed all their estates to be devoured by cattle. I myself admire the men who thus showed themselves superior to the attractions of money; but how much better were those who have not permitted cattle to devour their possessions, but have supplied the necessities of mankind, of their own relations and friends, and have made them rich though they were poor before? For surely that was inconsiderate conduct (that I may avoid saying that any action of men whom Greece has agreed to admire was a piece of insanity); but this is the act of sober men, and one which has been carefully elaborated by exceeding prudence. For what more can enemies do than ravage, and destroy, and cut down all the trees in the country of their antagonists, that they may be forced to submit by reason of the extent to which they are oppressed by want of necessaries? And yet Democritus did this to his own blood relations, inflicting artificial want and penury upon them, not perhaps from any hostile intention towards them, but because he did not foresee and provide for what was advantageous to others. How much better and more admirable are they who, without having any inferior eagerness for the attainment of philosophy, have nevertheless preferred magnanimity to carelessness, and, giving presents from their possessions instead of destroying them, so as to be able to benefit others and themselves also, have made others happy by imparting to them of the abundance of their wealth, and themselves by the study of philosophy? For an undue care for money and wealth causes great waste of time, and it is proper to economise time, since, according to the saying of the celebrated physician Hippocrates, life is short but art long. And this is what Homer appears to me to imply figuratively in the Iliad, at the beginning of the thirteenth book, by the following lines, --

"The Mysian close-fighting bands,
And dwellers on the Scythian lands,
Content to seek their humble fare
From milk of cow and milk of mare,
The justest of Mankind." [il. 13.5.]

As if great anxiety concerning the means of subsistence and the acquisition of money engendered injustice by reason of the inequality which it produced, while the contrary disposition and pursuit produced justice by reason of its equality, according to which it is that the wealth of nature is defined, and is superior to that which exists only in vain opinion. When, therefore, men abandon their property without being influenced by any predominant attraction, they flee without even turning their heads back again, deserting their brethren, their children, their wives, their parents, their numerous families, their affectionate bands of companions, their native lands in which they have been born and brought up, though long familiarity is a most attractive bond, and one very well able to allure any one. And they depart, not to another city as those do who entreat to be purchased from those who at present possess them, being either unfortunate or else worthless servants, and as such seeking a change of masters rather than endeavoring to procure freedom (for every city, even that which is under the happiest laws, is full of indescribable tumults, and disorders, and calamities, which no one would submit to who had been even for a moment under the influence of wisdom), but they take up their abode outside of walls, or gardens, or solitary lands, seeking for a desert place, not because of any ill-natured misanthropy to which they have learnt to devote themselves, but because of the associations with people of wholly dissimilar dispositions to which they would otherwise be compelled, and which they know to be unprofitable and mischievous.

3 Now this class of persons may be met with in many places, for it was fitting that both Greece and the country of the

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barbarians should partake of whatever is perfectly good; and there is the greatest number of such men in Egypt, in every one of the districts, or nomi as they are called, and especially around Alexandria; and from all quarters those who are the best of these therapeutae proceed on their pilgrimage to some most suitable place as if it were their country, which is beyond the Mareotic lake, lying in a somewhat level plain a little raised above the rest, being suitable for their purpose by reason of its safety and also of the fine temperature of the air. For the houses built in the fields and the villages which surround it on all sides give it safety; and the admirable temperature of the air proceeds from the continual breezes which come from the lake which falls into the sea, and also from the sea itself in the neighbourhood, the breezes from the sea being light, and those which proceed from the lake which falls into the sea being heavy, the mixture of which produces a most healthy atmosphere. But the houses of these men thus congregated together are very plain, just giving shelter in respect of the two things most important to be provided against, the heat of the sun, and the cold from the open air; and they did not live near to one another as men do in cities, for immediate neighbourhood to others would be a troublesome and unpleasant thing to men who have conceived an admiration for, and have determined to devote themselves to, solitude; and, on the other hand, they did not live very far from one another on account of the fellowship which they desire to cultivate, and because of the desirableness of being able to assist one another if they should be attacked by robbers. And in every house there is a sacred shrine which is called the holy place, and the monastery in which they retire by themselves and perform all the mysteries of a holy life, bringing in nothing, neither meat, nor drink, nor anything else which is indispensable towards supplying the necessities of the body, but studying in that place the laws and the sacred oracles of God enunciated by the holy prophets, and hymns, and psalms, and all kinds of other things by reason of which knowledge and piety are increased and brought to perfection. Therefore they always retain an imperishable recollection of God, so that not even in their dreams is any other object ever presented to their eyes except the beauty of the divine virtues and of the divine powers. Therefore many persons speak in their sleep, divulging and publishing the celebrated doctrines of the sacred philosophy. And they are accustomed to pray twice every day, at morning and at evening; when the sun is rising entreating God that the happiness of the coming day may be real happiness, so that their minds may be filled with heavenly light, and when the sun is setting they pray that their soul, being entirely lightened and relieved of the burden of the outward senses, and of the appropriate object of these outward senses, may be able to trace out truth existing in its own consistory and council chamber. And the interval between morning and evening is by them devoted wholly to meditation on and to practice of virtue, for they take up the sacred scriptures and philosophise concerning them, investigating the allegories of their national philosophy, since they look upon their literal expressions as symbols of some secret meaning of nature, intended to be conveyed in those figurative expressions. They have also writings of ancient men, who having been the founders of one sect or another have left behind them many memorials of the allegorical system of writing and explanation, whom they take as a kind of model, and imitate the general fashion of their sect; so that they do not occupy themselves solely in contemplation, but they likewise compose psalms and hymns to God in every kind of metre and melody imaginable, which they of necessity arrange in more dignified rhythm. Therefore, during six days, each of these individuals, retiring into solitude by himself, philosophises by himself in one of the places called monasteries, never going outside the threshold of the outer court, and indeed never even looking out. But on the seventh day they all come together as if to meet in a sacred assembly, and they sit down in order according to their ages with all becoming gravity, keeping their hands inside their garments, having their right hand between their chest and their dress, and the left hand down by their side, close to their flank; and then the eldest of them who has the most profound learning in their doctrines, comes forward and speaks with steadfast look and with steadfast voice, with great powers of reasoning, and great prudence, not making an exhibition of his oratorical powers like the rhetoricians of old, or the sophists of the present day, but investigating with great pains, and explaining with minute accuracy the precise meaning of the laws, which sits, not indeed at the tips of their ears, but penetrates through their hearing into the soul, and remains there lastingly; and all the rest listen in silence to the praises which he bestows upon the law, showing their assent only by nods of the head, or the eager look of the eyes. And this common holy place to which they all come together on the seventh day is a twofold circuit, being separated partly into the apartment of the men, and partly into a chamber for the women, for women also, in accordance with the usual fashion there, form a part of the audience, having the same feelings of admiration as the men, and having adopted the same sect with equal deliberation and decision; and the wall which is between the houses rises from the ground three or four cubits upwards, like a battlement, and the upper portion rises upwards to the roof without any opening, on two accounts; first of all, in order that the modesty which is so becoming to the female sex may be preserved, and secondly, that the women may be easily able to comprehend what is said being seated within earshot, since there is then nothing which can possibly intercept the voice of him who is speaking.

4 And these expounders of the law, having first of all laid down temperance as a sort of foundation for the soul to rest upon, proceed to build up other virtues on this foundation, and no one of them may take any meat or drink before the setting of the sun, since they judge that the work of philosophising is one which is worthy of the light, but that the care for the necessities of the body is suitable only to darkness, on which account they appropriate the day to the one occupation, and a brief portion of the night to the other; and some men, in whom there is implanted a more fervent desire of knowledge, can endure to cherish a recollection of their food for three days without even tasting it, and some men are so delighted, and enjoy themselves so exceedingly when regaled by wisdom which supplies them with her doctrines in all possible wealth and abundance, that they can even hold out twice as great a length of time, and will scarcely at the end of six days taste even necessary food, being accustomed, as they say that grasshoppers are, to feed on air, their song, as I imagine, making their scarcity tolerable to them. And they, looking upon the seventh day as one of perfect holiness and a most complete festival, have thought it worthy of a most especial honour, and on it, after taking due care of their soul, they tend their bodies also, giving them, just as they do to their cattle, a complete rest from their continual labours; and they eat nothing of a costly character, but plain bread and a seasoning of salt, which the more luxurious of them to further season with hyssop; and their drink is water from the spring; for they oppose those feelings which nature has made mistresses of the human race, namely, hunger and thirst, giving them nothing to flatter or humour them, but only such useful things as it is not possible to exist without. On this account they eat only so far as not to be hungry, and they drink just enough to escape from thirst, avoiding all satiety, as an enemy of and a plotter against both soul and body. And there are two kinds of covering, one raiment and the other a house: we have already spoken of their houses, that they are not decorated with any ornaments, but run up in a hurry, being only made to answer such purposes as are absolutely necessary; and in like manner their raiment is of the most ordinary description, just stout enough to ward off cold and heat, being a cloak of some shaggy hide for winter, and a thin mantle or linen shawl in the summer; for in short they practice entire simplicity, looking upon falsehood as the foundation of pride, but truth as the origin of simplicity, and upon truth and falsehood as standing in the light of fountains, for from falsehood proceeds every variety of evil and wickedness, and from truth there flows every imaginable abundance of good things both human and divine.

5 I wish also to speak of their common assemblies, and their very cheerful meetings at convivial parties, setting them in opposition and contrast to the banquets of others, for others, when they drink strong wine, as if they had been drinking not wine but some agitating and maddening kind of liquor, or even the most formidable thing which can be imagined for driving a man out of his natural reason, rage about and tear things to pieces like so many ferocious dogs, and rise up and attack one another, biting and gnawing each other's noses, and ears, and fingers, and other parts of their body, so as to give an accurate representation of the story related about the Cyclops and the companions of Ulysses, who ate, as the poet says, fragments of human flesh,[odyssey 9:355.] and that more savagely than even he himself; for he was only avenging himself on those whom he conceived to be his enemies, but they were ill-treating their companions and friends, and sometimes even their actual relations, while having the salt and dinner-table before them, at a time of peace perpetrating actions inconsistent with peace, like those which are done by men in gymnastic contests, debasing the proper exercises of the body as coiners debase good money, and instead of athletes (athleµtai) becoming miserable men (athlioi), for that is the name which properly belongs to them. For that which those men who gain victories in the Olympic games, when perfectly sober in the arena, and having all the Greeks for spectators do by day, exerting all their skill for the purpose of gaining victory and the crown, these men with base designs do at convivial entertainments, getting drunk by night, in the hour of darkness, when soaked in wine, acting without either knowledge, or art, or skill, to the insult, and injury, and great disgrace of those who are subjected to their violence. And if no one were to come like an umpire into the middle of them, and part the combatants, and reconcile them, they would continue the contest with unlimited licence, striving to kill and murder one another, and being killed and murdered on the spot; for they do not suffer less than they inflict, though out of the delirious state into which they have worked themselves they do not feel what is done to them, since they have filled themselves with wine, not, as the comic poet says, to the injury of their neighbour, but to their own. Therefore those persons who a little while before came safe and sound to the banquet, and in friendship for one another, do presently afterwards depart in hostility and mutilated in their bodies. And some of these men stand in need of advocates and judges, and others require surgeons and physicians, and the help which may be received from them. Others again who seem to be a more moderate kind of feasters when they have drunk unmixed wine as if it were mandragora, boil over as it were, and lean on their left elbow, and turn their heads on one side with their breath redolent of their wine, till at last they sink into profound slumber, neither seeing nor hearing anything, as if they had but one single sense, and that the most slavish of all, namely, taste. And I know some persons who, when they are completely filled with wine, before they are wholly overpowered by it, begin to prepare a drinking party for the next day by a kind of subscription and picnic contribution, conceiving a great part of their present delight to consist in the hope of future drunkenness; and in this manner they exist to the very end of their lives, without a house and without a home, the enemies of their parents, and of their wives, and of their children, and the enemies of their country, and the worst enemies of all to themselves. For a debauched and profligate life is apt to lay snares for every one.

6 And perhaps some people may be inclined to approve of the arrangement of such entertainments which at present prevails everywhere, from an admiration of, and a desire of imitating, the luxury and extravagance of the Italians which both Greeks and barbarians emulate, making all their preparations with a view to show rather than to real enjoyment, for they use couches called triclinia, and sofas all round the table made of tortoiseshell, and ivory, and other costly materials, most of which are inlaid with precious stones; and coverlets of purple embroidered with gold and silver thread; and others brocaded in flowers of every kind of hue and colour imaginable to allure the sight, and a vast array of drinking cups arrayed according to each separate description; for there are bowls, and vases, and beakers, and goblets, and all kinds of other vessels wrought with the most exquisite skill, their clean cups and others finished with the most elabourate refinement of skilful and ingenious men; and well-shaped slaves of the most exquisite beauty, ministering, as if they had come not more for the purpose of serving the guests than of delighting the eyes of the spectators by their mere appearance. Of these slaves, some, being still boys, pour out the wine; and others more fully grown pour water, being carefully washed and rubbed down, with their faces anointed and pencilled, and the hair of their heads admirably plaited and curled and wreathed in delicate knots; for they have very long hair, being either completely unshorn, or else having only the hair on their foreheads cut at the end so as to make them of an equal length all round, being accurately sloped away so as to represent a circular line, and being clothed in tunics of the most delicate texture, and of the purest white, reaching in front down to the lower part of the knee, and behind to a little below the calf of the leg, and drawing up each side with a gentle doubling of the fringe at the joinings of the tunics, raising undulations of the garment as it were at the sides, and widening them at the hollow part of the side. Others, again, are young men just beginning to show a beard on their youthful chins, having been, for a short time, the sport of the profligate debauchees, and being prepared with exceeding care and diligence for more painful services; being a kind of exhibition of the excessive opulence of the giver of the feast, or rather, to say the truth, of their thorough ignorance of all propriety, as those who are acquainted with them well know. Besides all these things, there is an infinite variety of sweetmeats, and delicacies, and confections, about which bakers and cooks and confectioners labour, considering not the taste, which is the point of real importance, so as to make the food palatable to that, but also the sight, so as to allure that by the delicacy of the look of their viands,[the remainder of this section originally appeared in section 55. The material has been reordered to reflect the Loeb sequence.] they turn their heads round in every direction, scanning everything with their eyes and with their nostrils, examining the richness and the number of the dishes with the first, and the steam which is sent up by them with the second. Then, when they are thoroughly sated both with the sight and with the scent, these senses again prompt their owners to eat, praising in no moderate terms both the entertainment itself and the giver of it, for its costliness and magnificence. Accordingly, seven tables, and often more, are brought in, full of every kind of delicacy which earth, and sea, and rivers, and air produce, all procured with great pains, and in high condition, composed of terrestrial, and acquatic, and flying creatures, every one of which is different both in its mode of dressing and in its seasoning. And that no description of thing existing in nature may be omitted, at the last dishes are brought in full of fruits, besides those which are kept back for the more luxurious portion of the entertainment, and for what is called the dessert; and afterwards some of the dishes are carried away empty from the insatiable greediness of those at table, who,

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gorging themselves like cormorants, devour all the delicacies so completely that they gnaw even the bones, which some left half devoured after all that they contained has been torn to pieces and spoiled. And when they are completely tired with eating, having their bellies filled up to their very throats, but their desires still unsatisfied, being fatigued with eating. However, why need I dwell with prolixity on these matters, which are already condemned by the generality of more moderate men as inflaming the passions, the diminution of which is desirable? For any one in his senses would pray for the most unfortunate of all states, hunger and thirst, rather than for a most unlimited abundance of meat and drink at such banquets as these.

7 Now of the banquets among the Greeks the two most celebrated and most remarkable are those at which Socrates also was present, the one in the house of Callias, when, after Autolycus had gained the crown of victory, he gave a feast in honour of the event, and the other in the house of Agathon, which was thought worthy of being commemorated by men who were imbued with the true spirit of philosophy both in their dispositions and in their discourses, Plato and Xenophon, for they recorded them as events worthy to be had in perpetual recollection, looking upon it that future generations would take them as models for a well managed arrangement of future banquets; but nevertheless even these, if compared with the banquets of the men of our time who have embraced the contemplative system of life, will appear ridiculous. Each description, indeed, has its own pleasures, but the recorded by Xenophon is the one the delights of which are most in accordance with human nature, for female harp-players, and dancers, and conjurors, and jugglers, and men who do ridiculous things, who pride themselves much on their powers of jesting and of amusing others, and many other species of more cheerful relaxation, are brought forward at it. But the entertainment recorded by Plato is almost entirely connected with love; not that of men madly desirous or fond of women, or of women furiously in love with men, for these desires are accomplished in accordance with a law of nature, but with that love which is felt by men for one another, differing only in respect of age; for if there is anything in the account of that banquet elegantly said in praise of genuine love and heavenly Venus, it is introduced merely for the sake of making a neat speech; for the greater part of the book is occupied by common, vulgar, promiscuous love, which takes away from the soul courage, that which is the most serviceable of all virtues both in war and in peace, and which engenders in it instead the female disease, and renders men men-women, though they ought rather to be carefully trained in all the practices likely to give men valor. And having corrupted the age of boys, and having metamorphosed them and removed them into the classification and character of women, it has injured their lovers also in the most important particulars, their bodies, their souls, and their properties; for it follows of necessity that the mind of a lover of boys must be kept on the stretch towards the objects of his affection, and must have no acuteness of vision for any other object, but must be blinded by its desire as to all other objects private or common, and must so be wasted away, more especially if it fails in its objects. Moreover, the man's property must be diminished on two accounts, both from the owner's neglect and from his expenses for the beloved object. There is also another greater evil which affects the whole people, and which grows up alongside of the other, for men who give into such passions produce solitude in cities, and a scarcity of the best kind of men, and barrenness, and unproductiveness, inasmuch as they are imitating those farmers who are unskilful in agriculture, and who, instead of the deep-soiled champaign country, sow briny marshes, or stony and rugged districts, which are not calculated to produce crops of any kind, and which only destroy the seed which is put into them. I pass over in silence the different fabulous fictions, and the stories of persons with two bodies, who having originally been stuck to one another by amatory influences, are subsequently separated like portions which have been brought together and are disjoined again, the harmony having been dissolved by which they were held together; for all these things are very attractive, being able by novelty of their imagination to allure the ears, but they are despised by the disciples of Moses, who in the abundance of their wisdom have learnt from their earliest infancy to love truth, and also continue to the end of their lives impossible to be deceived.

8 But since the entertainments of the greatest celebrity are full of such trifling and folly, bearing conviction in themselves, if any one should think fit not to regard vague opinion and the character which has been commonly handed down concerning them as feasts which have gone off with the most eminent success, I will oppose to them the entertainments of those persons who have devoted their whole life and themselves to the knowledge and contemplation of the affairs of nature in accordance with the most sacred admonitions and precepts of the prophet Moses. In the first place, these men assemble at the end of seven weeks, venerating not only the simple week of seven days, but also its multiplied power, for they know it to be pure and always virgin; and it is a prelude and a kind of forefeast of the greatest feast, which is assigned to the number fifty, the most holy and natural of numbers, being compounded of the power of the right-angled triangle, which is the principle of the origination and condition of the whole. Therefore when they come together clothed in white garments, and joyful with the most exceeding gravity, when some one of the ephemereutae (for that is the appellation which they are accustomed to give to those who are employed in such ministrations), before they sit down to meat standing in order in a row, and raising their eyes and their hands to heaven, the one because they have learnt to fix their attention on what is worthy looking at, and the other because they are free from the reproach of all impure gain, being never polluted under any pretence whatever by any description of criminality which can arise from any means taken to procure advantage, they pray to God that the entertainment may be acceptable, and welcome, and pleasing; and after having offered up these prayers the elders sit down to meat, still observing the order in which they were previously arranged, for they do not look on those as elders who are advanced in years and very ancient, but in some cases they esteem those as very young men, if they have attached themselves to this sect only lately, but those whom they call elders are those who from their earliest infancy have grown up and arrived at maturity in the speculative portion of philosophy, which is the most beautiful and most divine part of it. And the women also share in this feast, the greater part of whom, though old, are virgins in respect of their purity (not indeed through necessity, as some of the priestesses among the Greeks are, who have been compelled to preserve their chastity more than they would have done of their own accord), but out of an admiration for and love of wisdom, with which they are desirous to pass their lives, on account of which they are indifferent to the pleasures of the body, desiring not a mortal but an immortal offspring, which the soul that is attached to God is alone able to produce by itself and from itself, the Father having sown in it rays of light appreciable only by the intellect, by means of which it will be able to perceive the doctrines of wisdom.

9 And the order in which they sit down to meat is a divided one, the men sitting on the right hand and the women apart from them on the left; and in case any one by chance suspects that cushions, if not very costly ones, still at all events of a tolerably soft substance, are prepared for men who are well born and well bred, and contemplators of philosophy, he must know that they have nothing but rugs of the coarsest materials, cheap mats of the most ordinary kind of the papyrus of the land, piled up on the ground and projecting a little near the elbow, so that the feasters may lean upon them, for they relax in a slight degree the Lacedaemonian rigour of life, and at all times and in all places they practice a liberal, gentlemanlike kind of frugality, hating the allurements of pleasure with all their might. And they do not use the ministrations of slaves, looking upon the possession of servants of slaves to be a thing absolutely and wholly contrary to nature, for nature has created all men free, but the injustice and covetousness of some men who prefer inequality, that cause of all evil, having subdued some, has given to the more powerful authority over those who are weaker. Accordingly in this sacred entertainment there is, as I have said, no slave, but free men minister to the guests, performing the offices of servants, not under compulsion, nor in obedience to any imperious commands, but of their own voluntary free will, with all eagerness and promptitude anticipating all orders, for they are not any chance free men who are appointed to perform these duties, but young men who are selected from their order with all possible care on account of their excellence, acting as virtuous and wellborn youths ought to act who are eager to attain to the perfection of virtue, and who, like legitimate sons, with affectionate rivalry minister to their fathers and mothers, thinking their common parents more closely connected with them than those who are related by blood, since in truth to men of right principles there is nothing more nearly akin than virtue; and they come in to perform their service ungirdled, and with their tunics let down, in order that nothing which bears any resemblance to a slavish appearance may be introduced into this festival. I know well that some persons will laugh when they hear this, but they who laugh will be those who do things worthy of weeping and lamentation. And in those days wine is not introduced, but only the clearest water; cold water for the generality, and hot water for those old men who are accustomed to a luxurious life. And the table, too, bears nothing which has blood, but there is placed upon it bread for food and salt for seasoning, to which also hyssop is sometimes added as an extra sauce for the sake of those who are delicate in their eating, for just as right reason commands the priest to offer up sober sacrifices, so also these men are commanded to live sober lives, for wine is the medicine of folly, and costly seasonings and sauces excite desire, which is the most insatiable of all beasts.

10 These, then, are the first circumstances of the feast; but after the guests have sat down to the table in the order which I have been describing, and when those who minister to them are all standing around in order, ready to wait upon them, and when there is nothing to drink, some one will say ... but even more so than before, so that no one ventures to mutter, or even to breathe at all hard, and then some one looks out some passage in the sacred scriptures, or explains some difficulty which is proposed by some one else, without any thoughts of display on his own part, for he is not aiming at reputation for cleverness and eloquence, but is only desirous to see some points more accurately, and is content when he has thus seen them himself not to bear ill will to others, who, even if they did not perceive the truth with equal acuteness, have at all events an equal desire of learning. And he, indeed, follows a slower method of instruction, dwelling on and lingering over his explanations with repetitions, in order to imprint his conceptions deep in the minds of his hearers, for as the understanding of his hearers is not able to keep up with the interpretation of one who goes on fluently, without stopping to take breath, it gets behind-hand, and fails to comprehend what is said; but the hearers, fixing their eyes and attention upon the speaker, remain in one and the same position listening attentively, indicating their attention and comprehension by their nods and looks, and the praise which they are inclined to bestow on the speaker by the cheerfulness and gentle manner in which they follow him with their eyes and with the fore-finger of the right hand. And the young men who are standing around attend to this explanation no less than the guests themselves who are sitting at meat. And these explanations of the sacred scriptures are delivered by mystic expressions in allegories, for the whole of the law appears to these men to resemble a living animal, and its express commandments seem to be the body, and the invisible meaning concealed under and lying beneath the plain words resembles the soul, in which the rational soul begins most excellently to contemplate what belongs to itself, as in a mirror, beholding in these very words the exceeding beauty of the sentiments, and unfolding and explaining the symbols, and bringing the secret meaning naked to the light to all who are able by the light of a slight intimation to perceive what is unseen by what is visible. When, therefore, the president appears to have spoken at sufficient length, and to have carried out his intentions adequately, so that his explanation has gone on felicitously and fluently through his own acuteness, and the hearing of the others has been profitable, applause arises from them all as of men rejoicing together at what they have seen and heard; and then some one rising up sings a hymn which has been made in honour of God, either such as he has composed himself, or some ancient one of some old poet, for they have left behind them many poems and songs in trimetre iambics, and in psalms of thanksgiving and in hymns, and songs at the time of libation, and at the altar, and in regular order, and in choruses, admirably measured out in various and well diversified strophes. And after him then others also arise in their ranks, in becoming order, while every one else listens in decent silence, except when it is proper for them to take up the burden of the song, and to join in at the end; for then they all, both men and women, join in the hymn. And when each individual has finished his psalm, then the young men bring in the table which was mentioned a little while ago, on which was placed that most holy food, the leavened bread, with a seasoning of salt, with which hyssop is mingled, out of reverence for the sacred table, which lies thus in the holy outer temple; for on this table are placed loaves and salt without seasoning, and the bread is unleavened, and the salt unmixed with anything else, for it was becoming that the simplest and purest things should be allotted to the most excellent portion of the priests, as a reward for their ministrations, and that the others should admire similar things, but should abstain from the loaves, in order that those who are the more excellent person may have the precedence.

11 And after the feast they celebrate the sacred festival during the whole night; and this nocturnal festival is celebrated in the following manner: they all stand up together, and in the middle of the entertainment two choruses are formed at first, the one of men and the other of women, and for each chorus there is a leader and chief selected, who is the most honourable and most excellent of the band. Then they sing hymns which have been composed in honour of God in many metres and tunes, at one time all singing together, and at another moving their hands and dancing in corresponding harmony, and uttering in an inspired manner songs of thanksgiving, and at another time regular odes, and performing all necessary strophes and antistrophes. Then, when each chorus of the men and each chorus of the women has feasted separately by itself, like persons in the bacchanalian revels, drinking the pure wine of the love of God, they join together, and the two become one chorus, an imitation of that one which, in old time, was established by the Red Sea, on account of the wondrous works which were displayed there; for, by the commandment of God, the sea became to one party the cause of safety, and to the other that of utter destruction; for it being burst asunder, and dragged back by a violent reflux, and being built up on each side as if there were a solid wall, the space in the midst was widened, and cut into a level and dry road, along which the people

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passed over to the opposite land, being conducted onwards to higher ground; then, when the sea returned and ran back to its former channel, and was poured out from both sides, on what had just before been dry ground, those of the enemy who pursued were overwhelmed and perished. When the Israelites saw and experienced this great miracle, which was an event beyond all description, beyond all imagination, and beyond all hope, both men and women together, under the influence of divine inspiration, becoming all one chorus, sang hymns of thanksgiving to God the Saviour, Moses the prophet leading the men, and Miriam the prophetess leading the women. Now the chorus of male and female worshippers being formed, as far as possible on this model, makes a most humorous concert, and a truly musical symphony, the shrill voices of the women mingling with the deep-toned voices of the men. The ideas were beautiful, the expressions beautiful, and the chorus-singers were beautiful; and the end of ideas, and expressions, and chorus singers, was piety; therefore, being intoxicated all night till the morning with this beautiful intoxication, without feeling their heads heavy or closing their eyes for sleep, but being even more awake than when they came to the feast, as to their eyes and their whole bodies, and standing there till morning, when they saw the sun rising they raised their hands to heaven, imploring tranquility and truth, and acuteness of understanding. And after their prayers they each retired to their own separate abodes, with the intention of again practicing the usual philosophy to which they had been wont to devote themselves. This then is what I have to say of those who are called therapeutae, who have devoted themselves to the contemplation of nature, and who have lived in it and in the soul alone, being citizens of heaven and of the world, and very acceptable to the Father and Creator of the universe because of their virtue, which has procured them his love as their most appropriate reward, which far surpasses all the gifts of fortune, and conducts them to the very summit and perfection of happiness.

ON THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD

1 (In every uncertain and important business it is proper to invoke God, because he is the good Creator of the world, and because nothing is uncertain with him who is possessed of the most accurate knowledge of all things. But of all times it is most necessary to invoke him when one is preparing to discuss the incorruptibility of the world; for neither among the things which are visible to the outward senses is there anything more admirably complete than the world, nor among things appreciable by the intellect is there anything more perfect than God. But the mind is at all times the governor of the outward sense, and that which is appreciable by the intellect is at all times superior to that which is visible to the outward senses, but those persons in whom there is implanted a vigorous and earnest love of truth willingly undergo the trouble of making inquiries relative to the subordinate things, from that which is superior to and the ruler over them. (If then, we, who have been practiced and trained in all the doctrines of prudence, and temperance, and virtue, have discarded all the stains of the passions and diseases, perhaps God would not disdain to give to souls completely purified and cleansed, so as to appear in his image, a knowledge of heavenly things either by means of dreams, or of oracles, or of signs, or of wonders. But since we have on us the marks of folly, and injustice, and of all other vices strongly stamped upon us and difficult to be effaced, we must be content even if we are only able by them to discover some faint copy and imitation of the truth. (It is right, therefore, for those who are investigating the question whether the world if perishable, since the two words, "corruption," and "the world," will be in continual use, first of all to investigate the precise meaning of both expressions, in order that we may know what is now signified, and what has been ordained. And we must enumerate, not indeed everything which is signified by those words, but so much as is useful for the purpose of our present instruction.

2 (The world, therefore, is spoken of in its primary sense as a single system, consisting of the heaven and the stars in the circumference of the earth, and all the animals and plants which are upon it; and in another sense it is spoken of merely as the heaven. And Anaxagoras, having a regard to this fact, once made answer to a certain person who asked of him what the reason was why he generally endeavored to pass the night in the open air, that he did so for the sake of beholding the world, by which expression he meant the motions and revolutions of the stars. And in its third meaning, as the Stoics affirm, it is a certain admirably-arranged essence, extending to the period of conflagration, either beautifully adorned or unadorned, the periods of the motion of which are called time. But at present the subject of our consideration is the world, taken in the first sense of the word, which being one only, consists of the heaven, and of the earth, and of all that is therein. (And the term corruption is used to signify a change for the worse; it is also used to signify the utter destruction of that which exists, a destruction so complete as to have no existence at all; for as nothing is generated out of nothing, so neither can anything which exists be destroyed so as to become non-Existence. [this is similar to Lucretius's doctrine--Nil igitur fieri de nihilo posse putandum est.] For it is impossible that anything should be generated of that which has no existence anywhere, as equally so that what does exist should be so utterly destroyed as never to be mentioned or heard of again. And indeed in this spirit the tragedian says:--

"Nought that e'er has been
Completely dies, but things combined
Before another union find;
Quitting their former company,
And so again in other forms are Seen." [from the Chrysippus of Euripides.]

(Nor is it so very silly a thing to doubt whether the world is destroyed so as to pass into a state of non-existence, but rather whether it is subjected to a change from a new arrangement, being dissolved as to all the manifold forms of its elements and combinations so as to assume one and the same appearance, or whether, like a thing broken and dashed to pieces, it is subjected to a complete confusion of its different fragments.

3 (And there are three different opinions on the subject which we are at present discussing. Since some persons affirm that the world is eternal, and uncreated, and not liable to any destruction; while others, on the contrary, say that it has been created and is destructible. There are also others who take a portion of each of these two opinions, agreeing with the last-mentioned sect that it has been created, but with the former class that it is indestructible; and thus they have left behind them a mixed opinion, thinking that it is at the same time created and imperishable. (However, Democritus and Epicurus, and the principal number of the Stoic philosophers, affirm both the creation and the destructibility of the world, though they do not all speak in similar senses; for some give a sketch of many worlds, the generation of which they attribute to the concourse and combination of atoms, and their destruction they impute to the dissolution and breaking up of the combined particles. But the Stoics speak of one world only, and affirm that God is the cause of its creation, but that the cause of its corruption is no longer God, but the power of invincible, unwearied fire, which pervades all existing things, in the long periods of time dissolving everything into itself, while from it again a regeneration of the world takes place through the providence of the Creator. (And according to these men there may be one world spoken of as eternal and another as destructible, destructible in reference to its present arrangement, and eternal as to the conflagration which takes place, since it is rendered immortal by regenerations and periodical revolutions which never cease. But Aristotle, with a knowledge as to which I know not to what degree I may call it holy and pious, affirmed that the world was uncreated and indestructible, and he accused those who maintained a contrary opinion of terrible impiety, for thinking that so great a visible God was in no respect different from things made with hands, though the contains within himself the sun, and the moon, and all the rest of the planets and fixed stars, and, in fact, the whole of the divine nature; and he said in a cavilling and reproachful tone, that formerly he had feared for his house lest it should be overthrown by violent gales, or extraordinary storms, or by lapse of time, or through the want of the proper care requisite to preserve it, but that now he had a much greater fear hanging over him in consequence of those men who by their reasonings went to destroy the whole world. But some say that it was not Aristotle who invented this doctrine, but some of the Pythagoreans; but I have met with a work of Ocellus, a Lucanian by birth, entitled, "A Treatise on the Nature of the Universe," in which he has not only asserted that the world is indestructible, but he has even endeavored to prove it so by demonstrative proofs.

4 But some say that the world has been proved by Plato in the Timaeus to be both uncreated and indestructible, in the account of that divine assembly in which the younger gods are addressed by the eldest and the governor of them all in the following terms;[timaeus, p. 40.] "O ye gods of gods, those works of which I am the father and the creator are indissoluble as long as I choose that they shall be so. Now everything which has been bound together is capable of being dissolved, but it is the part of an evil ruler to dissolve that which has been well combined and arranged, and which is in good condition. Wherefore, since you also have been created, you are not of necessity immortal or utterly indissoluble; nevertheless you shall not be dissolved, nor shall you be exposed to the fate of death, inasmuch as you have my will to keep you united, which is a still greater and more powerful bond than those by which you were bound together when you were first created." But some persons interpret Plato's words sophistically, and think that he affirms that the world was created, not inasmuch as it has had a beginning of creation, but inasmuch as if it had been created it could not possibly have existed in any other manner than that in which it actually does exist as has been described, or else because it is in its creation and change that the parts are seen. But the forementioned opinion is better and truer, not only because throughout the whole treatise he affirms that the Creator of the gods is also the father and creator and maker of everything, and that the world is a most beautiful work of his and his offspring, being an imitation visible to the outward senses of an archetypal model appreciable only by the intellect, comprehending in itself as many objects of the outward senses as the model does objects of the intellect, since it is a most perfect impression of a most perfect model, and is addressed to the outward sense as the other is to the Intellect. [there is probably some corruption in the text here.] But also because Aristotle bears witness to this fact in the case of Plato, who, from his great reverence for philosophy, would never have spoken falsely, and also because no one can possibly be more to be credited in the case of a teacher than his pupil, especially when the pupil is such a man as this who did not apply himself to instruction lightly with an indifference easily satisfied, but who even endeavored to surpass all the discoveries of former men, and did actually devise some novelties and enrich every part of philosophy with some most important discoveries.

5 But some persons think that the father of the Platonic theory was the poet Hesiod, as they conceive that the world is spoken of by him as created and indestructible; as created, when he says, --

"First did Chaos rule
Then the broad-chested earth was brought to light,
Foundation firm and lasting for whatever
Exists among Mankind;" [hesiod, Theogon, 116.]

and as indestructible, because he has given no hint of its dissolution or destruction. Now Chaos was conceived by Aristotle to be a place, because it is absolutely necessary that a place to receive them must be in existence before bodies. But some of the Stoics think that it is water, imagining that its name has been derived from Effusion. [chysis, as if chaos were derived from cheoμ, "to pour."] But however that may be, it is exceedingly plain that the world is spoken of by Hesiod as having been created: and a very long time before him Moses, the lawgiver of the Jews, had said in his sacred volumes that the world was both created and indestructible, and the number of the books is five. The first of which he entitled Genesis, in which he begins in the following manner: "in the beginning God created the heaven and the earth; and the earth was invisible and without form." Then proceeding onwards he relates in the following verses, that days and nights, and seasons, and years, and the sun and moon, which showed the nature of the measurement of time, were created, which, having received an immortal portion in common with the whole heaven, continue for ever indestructible. But we must place those arguments first which make out the world to be uncreated and indestructible, because of our respect for that which is visible, employing an appropriate commencement. To all things which are liable to destruction there are two causes of that destruction, one being internal and the other external; therefore you may find iron, and brass, and all other substances of that kind destroyed by themselves when rust, like a creeping disease, overruns and devours them; and by external causes when, if a house or a city is burnt, they also are consumed in the conflagration, being melted by the violent impetuosity of the fire. A similar end also befalls animals, partly when they are sick of diseases arising internally, and partly when they are destroyed by external causes, being sacrificed, or stoned, or burnt, or when they endure an unclean death by hanging. And if the world also is destroyed, then it must of necessity be so either by some external cause, or else by some one of the powers which exist within itself; and both these alternatives are impossible, for there is nothing whatever outside of the world, since all things are brought together in order to make it complete and full, for it is in this way that it will be one, and whole, and free from old age; it will be one, because if anything were left outside of it, then another world might be created resembling that which exists now; and whole, because the whole of its essence is expended on itself; and exempt from old age and from all disease, since those bodies which are liable to be destroyed by disease or old age are violently overthrown by external causes, such as heat, and cold, and other contrary qualities, no power of which is able to escape so as to surround and attack the world, all those being entirely enclosed within, without any part whatever being separated from the rest. But if indeed there is any external thing it must by all means be a vacuum, or else a nature absolutely impossible, which it would be impossible should either suffer or do anything. And again, it will also not be dissolved by any cause existing within itself; first of all because, if it were, then the part would be greater and more powerful than the whole, which is the greatest possible absurdity, for the world, enjoying an unsurpassable power, influences all its parts, and is not itself influenced or moved by any one of them; in the second place because, since there are two causes of corruption, the one being internal and the other external, those things which are competent to admit the one must also by all means be liable to the other; and a proof of this may be found in oxen, and horses, and men, and other animals of similar kinds, because it is their nature to be destroyed by the sword, or to be liable to die by disease; for it is difficult, or I might rather say impossible, to find anything which, being by nature at the mercy of some external cause perceptible by the intellect, will still not be liable to corruption ... by itself when the world

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was Not. Since, therefore, the arrangement of the world is such as I have endeavored to describe it, so that there is no part whatever left out, so as for any force to be applied, it has now been proved that the world will not be destroyed by any external thing, because in fact nothing whatever external has been left at all; nor will it be destroyed by anything in itself on account of the proof which has already been considered and stated, according to which that which was obnoxious to the power of one of those causes was also naturally susceptible of the influence of the other. 6 And there are testimonies also in the Timaeus to the fact of the world being exempt from disease and not liable to destruction, such as these: "Accordingly, of the four elements the constitution of the world receives each in all its integrity; for he who compounded it made it to consist of the whole of fire, and the whole of water, and the whole of air, and the whole of earth, not leaving any portion or any power of any one of them outside, from the following intentions:--in the first place, in order that the whole might be as far as possible a perfect animal made up of perfect parts. And besides all these things, he ordained that it should be one, inasmuch as there is nothing left out of which another similar world could be composed. Moreover, he willed that it should be exempt from old age, and free from all disease, considering that those things which in the body are hot or cold, or which have mighty powers, if standing all around and falling upon it unseasonably, would be likely to dissolve it, and, by introducing diseases and old age, cause it to decay and perish. For this cause, and because of this reason, God made the whole universe to consist of entire and perfect elements, and exempt from old age and free from disease." Let this be taken as a testimony delivered by Plato to the imperishable nature of the world. Its uncreated character follows from the truth of natural philosophy; for dissolution must of necessity attend everything which is born, and incorruptibility must inevitably belong to everything which is unborn; since the poet who wrote the following iambic verse,

"All that is born must surely Die," [timaeus, p. 32.]

appears to have spoken very correctly when he asserted this connexion of destructibility with birth. The argument may be stated in a different way as follows. All compound things which are destroyed are dissolved into the elements of which they were compounded; accordingly, dissolution is nothing else but a return of everything to its original constituent parts; just as, on the contrary, composition is that which compels the things combined to come together in a manner contrary to their nature; and indeed, this appears to be the most exact truth; for men are composed of the four elements which together make up the whole of the universe, the heaven, the earth, the air, and fire, borrowing a few parts of each in a manner at first sight hardly consistent with nature. But the things which are thus combined together are necessarily deprived of a motion in accordance with nature; for instance, warmth is deprived of its upward motion, and coldness of its downward tendency, the earthy and somewhat weighty substance being lightened and assuming the higher place, which the most earth-like of our own parts, the head, has obtained in us. But of all bonds, that is the worst which is forged by violence, and which, being violent, is also short-lived; for it is speedily broken by those who are bound in it, since they become restive from their desire for a motion in accordance with nature, to which they hasten; for as the tragic poet says, --

"And for things sprung from earth, they must
Return unto their parent dust,
While those from heavenly seed which rise
Are borne uplifted to the skies.
Nought that has once existed dies,
Though often what has been combined
Before, we separated find,
Invested with another Form." [a fragment from the Chryssipus of Euripides.]

And this law and ordinance is established with reference to everything which is destroyed, that wherever composite things are existing in combination they are thrown into disorder instead of into the order in accordance with nature, which they previously enjoyed, and they are removed to situations opposite to those in which they were previously placed, so that they seem in a manner to be sojourners; and when they are dissolved again, then they return to the appropriate parts allotted to them by nature.

7 But since the world has no participation in that irregularity which exists in the things which I have just been mentioning, let us stop awhile and consider this point. If the world were liable to corruption and destruction, it follows of necessity that all its parts would at present be arranged in a position not in accordance with nature: but it is impious even to imagine such a thing as this; for all the parts of the world have received the most excellent position possible, and an arrangement of the purest symmetry and harmony; so that each individual part, being content with its place as a native country to it, does not seek any change for the better. On this account it is that the most central position of all has been assigned to the earth, to which all things belonging to it adhere, and to which they descend again even if you throw them into the air: and this is a proof that their place is in accordance with nature; for wherever anything is borne without any violence, and where it then remains firm and stationary, that is clearly its natural place. And then, in the second place, water was poured over the earth, and air and fire have gone from the central to the upper part, air having received for its portion the region which is on the borders between air and fire, and fire having received the highest place of all: on which account, if you light a torch and press it down towards the ground, nevertheless the flame will still turn in a contrary direction, and lightening itself in accordance with the natural motion of fire, will rise upwards: if, then, motion contrary to nature is the cause of corruptibility and destruction in the case of other animals, but if in the case of the world every one of its parts is arranged in complete accordance with nature, having had appropriate positions allotted to each of them, then surely the world must most justly be pronounced incorruptible and imperishable. Moreover this point is manifest to every one, that every nature is desirous to keep and preserve, and if it were possible to make immortal, everything of which it is the nature; the nature of trees, for instance, desires to preserve trees, and the nature of animals desires to preserve each individual animal. But particular nature is of necessity unable to conduct what it belongs to to eternity; for want, or heat, or cold, or innumerable other ordinary circumstances, when they affect particular things, shake them and dissolve the bond which previously held them together, and at last break them to pieces; but if nothing resembling any of these things were lying in wait outside, then in that case nature itself, as far as it is possible, would preserve everything both great and small free from old age. It follows therefore of necessity, that the nature of the world must desire the durability of the universe; for it is not worse than particular natures, so that it should run away and desert its proper duties, and attempt to produce disease instead of health, and corruption and destruction instead of complete safety, since, --

"High over all she lifts her beauteous face,
And towers above her nymphs with heavenly grace,
Fair as they all Appear." [homer, Odyssey 6.107, where the lines quoted are applied to Latona among her nymphs.]

But if this be true, then the world cannot be capable of destruction. Why so? Because the nature which holds it together is itself invincible by reason of its exceeding strength and power, by which it gets the mastery over every thing else which might be likely to injure it; wherefore Plato has well Said: [timaeus, p. 33.]--"For nothing ever departed from it, nor did anything ever come to it from any quarter; for that was not possible; for there was nothing in existence which could come; for since it supplies itself with nutriment out of its own consumption, it also does everything and suffers everything in itself and by itself, and is compounded with the most consummate art. For he who created it thought that it would be better if wholly self-sufficient, than if in continual need of accessories from other quarters."

8 However, this argument also is a most demonstrative one, on which I know that vast numbers of philosophers pride themselves as one most accurately worked out, and altogether irresistible; for they inquire what reason there is for God's destroying the world. For if he destroys it at all he must do so either with the intention of never making a world again, or with the object of creating a second fresh one; now the former idea is inconsistent with the character of God; for it is proper to change disorder into order, and not order into disorder; in the second place, it is so because it would give rise to repentance, which is an affliction and a disease of the soul. For he ought either never to have created a world at all, or else, if he judged that it was a fitting employment for him, he ought to have been pleased with it after it was made. But the second reason deserves no superficial examination; for if he were intending to make another world instead of that which exists at present, then of necessity this second world that would be made, in that case, would be either worse than, or similar to, or better than the first; everyone of which ideas is inadmissible; for if the new world is to be worse than the former, then the maker must be also worse: but all the works of God are without blemish, beyond all reproach and wholly faultless, inasmuch as they are wrought with the most consummate skill and knowledge; for as the proverb says; --

"For e'en a woman's wisdom's not so coarse
As to despise the good and choose the worse."

But it is consistent with the character of, and becoming to God to give form to what is shapeless, and to invest what is most ugly with admirable beauty. Again, if the new world is to be exactly like the old one, then the maker is only wasting his labour, and differs in no respect from infant children who, very often while playing on the sea shore raise up little mounds of sand, and then pull them down again with their hands and destroy them; for it would have been much better than making another world exactly like the former, neither to take anything from, nor to add anything to, nor to change either for the better or for the worse, what existed originally, but to let it remain just as it was. If, on the other hand, he is about to make a world better than the former one, then the maker too must be better than the maker of the former world, so that when he made the former world he was inferior both in his skill and in his intellect, which it is impious even to imagine, for God is at all times equal and similar to himself, being neither capable of any relaxation which can make him worse, nor of any extension which can make him better. Men, indeed, do admit of such inequalities in either direction, being naturally liable to alter either for the better or for the worse, and continually admitting of increase, and advance, and improvement, and everything contrary to these states; and besides this, the works of us who are but mortal men may very appropriately be perishable, but the works of the immortal must in all consistency and reason be likewise imperishable, for it is natural that what is made should resemble the nature of the maker.

9 And, indeed, this I imagine is evident to every one, that if the earth were to be destroyed, then all land animals of every kind must also perish with it; and if the water were destroyed, all aquatic animals must perish; and in like manner if the air and fire were to be destroyed, all the animals which traverse the air or which are born in the fire must come to an end at the same time. Therefore, on the same principle, if the heaven is destroyed, the sun and moon will also be destroyed, and all the other planets likewise will be destroyed, and all the fixed stars, and all that host of gods visible to the outward senses which was formerly considered so happy; and to imagine this is nothing else than to fancy the gods themselves in a process of destruction, for this is equivalent to considering men immortal. And yet in a comparison between different objects devoid of honour, if you were to consider the matter, you would find it more consistent with probability to look on men as immortal than to believe that the gods are perishable, since it might happen through the grace of God, for it is not improbable that a mortal might receive immortality, but it is impossible for gods to lose their immortality even if the sophistries of mankind should run on to ever such a degree of wicked insanity. And, moreover, those persons who allege conflagrations and regenerations of the world, think and confess that the stars are gods, which nevertheless they are not ashamed to destroy as far as their arguments go; for they are bound to prove them to be either red hot pieces of iron, as some do affirm, who argue about the whole of the heaven as if it were a prison, talking utter nonsense, or else to look upon them as divine and godlike natures, and then to attribute to them that immortality which belongs to gods. But as it is, they have wandered so far from true doctrine, that without being aware of it they have attributed corruptibility and perishableness to providence (and that is the soul of the world) by the inconsistent principles which they advocate. Therefore Chrysippus, the most celebrated philosopher of that sect, in his treatise about Increase, utters some such prodigious assertions as these, and after he has prefaced his doctrines with the assertion that it is impossible for two makers of a species to exist in the same substance, he proceeds, "Let it be granted for the sake of argument and speculation that there is one person entire and sound, and another wanting one foot from his birth, and that the sound man is called Dion and the cripple Theon, and afterwards that Dion also loses one of his feet, then if the question were asked which had been spoiled, it would be more natural to say this of Theon;" but this is the assertion of one who delights in paradox rather than in truth, for how could it be said that he who had suffered no mutilation whatever, namely Theon, was taken off, and that Dion, who had lost a foot, was not injured? Very appropriately, he will reply, for Dion, who had had his foot cut off, falls back upon the original imperfection of Theon, and there cannot be two specific differences in the same subject, therefore it follows of necessity that Dion must remain, and that Theon must be taken off--

"So are we slain by arrows winged
With our own Feathers," [from the Myrmidons of Aeschylus. The passage is evidently the original of the stanza in Waller's Ode to a Lady Singing--"That eagle's fate and mine are one, / Who on the shaft that made him die, / Espied a feather of his own, / Wherewith he wont to soar so high."]

as the tragic poet says. For any one, copying the form of this argument and adapting it to the entire world, may prove in the clearest manner that providence itself is liable to corruption. Consider the matter thus: let the world be the subject of our argument, as Dion was just now, for it is perfect, and let the soul of the world take the place of Theon, who was imperfect, since a part is less than the whole; and as the foot was cut off from Dion, so also let everything which resembles a body be cut off from the world; therefore it is necessary to say that the world has not been destroyed though its body has been taken away, just as Dion was not destroyed by having his foot cut off, but the soul of the world it is that has perished, like Theon, who suffered no artificial mutilation, for the world also receded to a lesser substance when all of it that resembled a body was taken away. And the soul was destroyed because there could not be two specific differences affecting the same and since it is imperishable it follows of necessity that the world also must be imperishable.

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10 However, time also affords a very great argument in favour of the eternity of the world, for if time is uncreated, then it follows of necessity that the world also must be uncreated. Why so? Because, as the great Plato says, it is days, and nights, and months, and the periods of years which have shown time, and it is surely impossible that time can exist without the motion of the sun, and the rotary progress of the whole heaven. So that it has been defined very felicitously by those who are in the habit of giving definitions of things, that time is the interval of the motion of the world, and since this is a sound definition, then the world must be co-eval with time and also the cause of its existence. And it is the most absurd of all ideas to fancy that there ever was a time when the world did not exist, for its nature is without any beginning and without any end, since these very expressions, "there was," "when," "formerly," all indicate time; and keeping to this view, then, according to the theory of the conflagration [...] [there is supposed to be a very large hiatus here.] he at a late period of his life entertained doubts and withheld any positive opinion; for it does not belong to youth, but to old age, to see clearly things of solemn importance which it is desirable to understand, and especially as to matters which it is not the outer sense, which is irrational and deceitful, that determines, but the pure and unalloyed intellect. For that which has no existence is not put in motion, but it has been shown already that time is an interval of the motion of the world. It follows, therefore, of necessity, that each of these things must have subsisted from all eternity, without receiving any beginning of generation, and being in consequence not liable to any corruption. Perhaps some quibbling Stoic will say that time is admitted to be an interval of the motion of the world, but not of that world only which is arranged and adorned by itself, but also of that one which is conceived of in connexion with the conflagration which has been spoken of; to whom we must reply, --"My good man, you, misapplying words, call what is disorderliness and a want of arrangement order (kosmos), for if this thing which we see is correctly and appropriately called the world (kosmos),[philo is playing here on the two meanings of the word kosmos, which signified both "order" and "the world."] being arranged and adorned (kekosmeμmenos) as we see it by man, by the perfection of his skill, then any one would be surely correct in calling the change which is wrought in it by fire a want of order."

11 But Critolaus, a man who devoted himself very much to literature, and a lover of the Peripatetic philosophy, agreeing with the doctrine of the eternity of the world, used the following arguments to prove it: "If the word was created, then it follows of necessity that the earth was created also; and if the earth was created, then beyond all question the human race was so too. But man was not created, since he subsists of an everlasting race, as shall be proved, therefore the world is eternal." But I must now proceed to examine the argument which I postponed just now, if indeed things that are so evident stand in need of any demonstration; but, indeed, proofs are necessary on account of the inventors of fables who, filling all life with their falsehoods, have utterly driven truth out of the land, and have not merely banished it from cities and houses, but have even deprived each separate individual of that most valuable possession, and, for the purpose of alluring his sight, have invented metres and rhythm as a bait and a snare, by which they cajole the ears of fools, just as ugly and shapeless courtesans allure the eyes by necklaces and spurious ornaments in the absence of all genuine beauty, for they say that the generation of mankind by means of one another is a more recent work of nature, but that the more original and ancient mode of their birth is out of the earth, since she both is and is considered the mother of all men. And they say that those men who are celebrated among the Greeks as having sprung from seed were produced and grew up as trees do now, being perfect and completely armed sons of the earth. But that this is a mere fiction of fable it is easy to see from many circumstances. For the very moment that the first man was born there was a necessity for his receiving growth in accordance with the previously defined measures and numbers of time, for nature has arranged the different ages as certain steps along which man in a manner ascends and descends; he ascends while he is growing, and he descends at the period when he is lessening; and the boundary of the uppermost steps is the prime of life at which when a man has arrived he no longer makes any further advance; but as runners who run the diaulos turn back again upon the same path which they have already travelled, so too does man retrace his steps, giving back in the weakness of old age what he has received from vigorous youth; but to fancy that any one has ever been born absolutely perfect is the part of those who are ignorant of the laws of nature, which are unchangeable ordinances. For our minds, being vitiated by the contagion of the mortal body which is united to them, are very naturally liable to changes and alterations, but the works of the nature of the universe are unalterable, since she has dominion over all things, and by means of the stability of whatever desires she has once established she preserves the definitions which have been originally fixed in an unchangeable state. If then she had originally thought it proper that men should be born perfect, now also man would still be born in a perfect state, without ever being an infant, or a boy, or a youth, but he would at once be a man, and perhaps he would be altogether exempt from all diminution, for up to the prime of a man's life all his changes tend towards increase, but from that period up to old age and death they exist with a gradual diminution; and it is natural to suppose that he who has no share in the former must also be free from the subsequent changes. And what is there that can hinder men from shooting up now out of the ground like plants, as they say that they did in former times? For the earth has not yet grown old so as to appear to have become barren by reason of the lapse of time, but it remains in the same condition as before, being always young, because it is a fourth part of the universe, and for the sake of ensuring the duration of the universe it is bound not to decay, because its kindred elements, water, air, and fire, all remain for ever exempt from old age. And there is a visible proof of the uninterrupted and everlasting vigor of the earth in the plants which spring from it, for being purified, either by the overflowing of rivers, as they say that Egypt is, or by annual rains, by such irrigation it refreshes and recruits its exhausted powers, and then, having rested for a while, it recovers its natural powers to the full extent of its original vigor, and then it begins again with a repetition of the production of similar things to those which it produced before to supply abundant food to every description of animal.

12 In reference to which fact it appears to me that the poets were very felicitous in the appellation which they gave to the earth when they called it Pandora, inasmuch as it gives all things,[panta doμroumeneμn.] both such as are required for use and such as serve to pleasure and to enjoyment, and that not to some only but to all animals which enjoy life. Accordingly, if any one, when the spring was in its prime, should be borne on wings and raised aloft, and look down from his height upon the mountain and champaign country, and see the one abounding in rich grass, and verdant, producing herbage, and fodder, and barley, and wheat, and innumerable other kinds of crops such as are grown from seed which the husbandmen have strewn, and which the season of the year affords of its own accord, and the other overshadowed with branches and leaves by which the trees are adorned, and very full of fruits (not only such as are suitable for food, but also of such as are able to heal suffering, for the fruit of the olive relieves the fatigue of the body, and that of the vine, when drunk in moderation, relaxes the excessive pains of the soul), and rich also in the fragrant airs which are borne around from flowers, and the indescribable peculiarities of the various flowers which are diversified by divine skill. And then, if he turns aside his eyes from those trees which admit of cultivation, and beholds in their turn poplars, and cedars, and pines, and ashes, and the lofty oaks, and the dense and unceasing masses of all the other wild trees which overshadow the most numerous and the greatest of the mountains, and the greater part of the border country wherever there is any deep soil, he will then know that the vigor of the earth, which is always young, is unremitting, unsubdued, and unwearied. So that since it is in no degree deprived of any portion of its former strength, if it had ever done so before, it would be bringing forth men now also, for two most forcible reasons, one in order that it might not quit the classification belonging to it, especially in the sowing and production of that most excellent of all the creatures which dwell upon the earth, the ruler of all, man, and secondly for the sake of divine assistance to women, who after they have conceived are for about ten months weighed down with the most severe pains, and when they are about to bring forth do very often die in the very pains of labour. Is it not then altogether a terrible piece of stupidity to imagine that the earth contains any womb calculated for the production of men? for the womb is the place which vivifies the animal, being as some one has called it the workshop of nature, in which it fashions nothing but animals; but it is not a portion of the earth, but of a female animal, carefully fashioned so as to be adapted for the production of living creatures, since otherwise it would be necessary for us to attribute breasts to the earth as to a woman, when it produces men and they are born, so that when first born they may have appropriate food. But there is no river nor fountain in the whole habitable world which is said ever to have produced milk instead of water; and in addition to this, as it is necessary that a child just born must be fed on milk, so also must he avail himself of the protection of clothing on account of the injury which ensues from cold or heat to children while they are being reared, on which account nurses and mothers, to whom the care of infants when just born is of necessity committed, wrap them up in swaddling clothes; but if they were produced out of the earth, how would it be possible that, being left completely naked, they would not be at once destroyed either by the coldness of the air on the one hand, or the burning heat of the sun on the other? for when great cold or great heat gets the mastery, it produces diseases and corruptions. But after the inventors of fables once began to neglect the truth they then ventured to add to their monstrous stories the fiction that those men who sprung from seed were born also to complete armor; for what smith, or what new Vulcan, was there under the earth so skilful as in a moment to prepare so many suits of armor? and what experience had creatures just born to enable them to use their weapons? for man is a very peaceful animal, nature having given to him reason as his especial honour, by means of which he charms and tames the savage passions. It would have been much better instead of arms to give him a herald's wand, a symbol of agreement and peace suitable to a reasonable nature, in order the he might so proclaim peace instead of war to all men everywhere.

13 We have now then discussed at sufficient length the nonsense in opposition to truth which is uttered by those who build up falsehood and fables. But we must be well assured that men have from all eternity sprung from other men in constant succession, the man implanting the seed in the woman as in a field, and the woman receiving the seed so as to preserve it, and nature by her unseen operations fashioning everything, and each separate part of the body and of the soul, and giving to the whole race of mankind that which each individual separately is unable to receive, namely, the principle of immortality; for though the individual members are continually perishing, yet the race remains undying as a truly divine work. But if man, who is but a small portion of the universe, is eternal, then certainly the world itself must have been uncreated so as to be imperishable.

14 But Critolaus, in arguing in support of his opinion, brought forward an argument of this kind, --"That which is the cause to man of his being in health is itself free from disease, and, in like manner, the cause of his keeping awake must itself be sleepless; and if this is the case, that which is the cause of his existing for ever must itself also be everlasting." Now the cause of man's existing for ever is the world, since it is so to all other things whatever; therefore the world also is immortal. Nevertheless, this point also is worthy of one consideration: that everything which is born must by all means at the beginning be imperfect, but as time advances he must increase till he arrives at complete perfection, so that if the world was born it was at one time (that I may use the expressions appropriate to the ages of men) a mere infant, and subsequently increasing in periods of years and lapse of time, it at last and with great difficulty arrived at perfection, for of necessity the period at which that which of all things has the longest existence must be late. But if any one fancies that the world has ever really been subjected to such changes as these, it is time that he should learn that he has been under the influence of incurable madness, for it is plain that if that is the case not only will its bodily appearance be increased, but its mind also will receive growth, since they who attribute liability to perish to it conceive it to be a rational creature. Therefore, just like a man, it will be devoid of reason at the commencement of its existence, but endowed with reason at the age when it is in its prime, which it is impious not only to say, but even to think, for how can we imagine the most perfect visible circumference which surrounds us, and which contains within itself so many individual inhabitants, is not always perfect both in soul and body, being exempt from all those evils in which everything which has been born and which is perishable is implicated?

15 And in addition to this he says, that there are three causes of death to living animals, besides the external causes which may affect them, namely, disease, old age, and want, by no one of which is the world liable to be attacked or subdued, for that it is composed of entire elements, since there is no part of them which is left out or which remains at liberty, so that any violence can be offered to it, and it also is superior to those powers from which diseases arise; and they yielding keep the world free from all disease, and free from old age, and in a state of the most perfect self-sufficiency as to all its requirements, and without need of anything, since there is nothing wanting to it which can possibly contribute to its durability, and wholly exempt from all successions and alternations of fulness and emptiness, which animals being subject to by reason of their unregulated insatiability, bring upon themselves death instead of life, or, to speak more accurately, a life which is more pitiable than any destruction. Moreover, if we saw that there was no such thing as any eternal nature to be seen, those who assert the liability of the world to destruction would not appear to be so guilty of disparaging the world without any excuse, since they would have no example whatever of anything being everlasting; but since fate, according to the doctrine of those who have investigated the principles of natural philosophy most accurately, is a thing without any beginning and without any end, connecting all the causes of everything, as to leave no break and no interruption, why may we not in like manner also affirm of the nature of the world that it subsists for a great length of time, being, as it were, an arrangement of what is otherwise in no order, a harmony of what is otherwise wholly destitute of such harmony, an agreement of what is otherwise without agreement, a union of things previously separated, a condition of stocks and stones, a nature of things growing from seed and of trees, a life of all animals, the mind and reason of men, and the most perfect virtue of virtuous

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men? But if the nature of the world is uncreated and indestructible, then it is plain that the world is held together and powerfully preserved by an everlasting indissoluble chain. But some of those who used to hold a different opinion, being overpowered by truth, have changed their doctrine; for beauty has a power which is very attractive, and the truth is beyond all things beautiful, as falsehood on the contrary is enormously ugly; therefore Boethus, and Posidonius, and Panaetius, men of great learning in the Stoic doctrines, as if seized with a sudden inspiration, abandoning all the stories about conflagrations and regeneration, have come over to the more divine doctrine of the incorruptibility of the world; and it is said also that Diogenes, when he was very young, agreed entirely with those authors ...

16 But Boethus adduces the most convincing arguments, which we shall proceed to mention immediately; for if, says he, the world was created and is liable to destruction, then something will be made out of nothing, which appears to be most absurd even to the Stoics. Why so? Because it is not possible to discover any cause of destruction either within or without, which will destroy the world. For on the outside there is nothing except perhaps a vacuum, inasmuch as all the elements in their integrity are collected and contained within it, and within there is no imperfection so great as to be the cause of dissolution to so great a thing. Again, if it is destroyed without any cause, then it is plain that from something which has no existence will arise the engendering of destruction, which is an idea quite inadmissible by reason; and, indeed, they say that there are altogether three generic manners of corruption, one which arises from division, another which proceeds from a destruction of the distinctive quality which holds the thing together, and the third from confusion; therefore the things which consist of a union of separate members, such as flocks of goats, herds of oxen, choruses, armies; or, again, bodies which are compounded of limbs joined together, are dissolved by disjunction and separation. But wax, when stamped with a new impression, or softened before being remodelled so as to present a new and different appearance, is corrupted by a destruction of the distinctive quality which previously held it together. Other things are corrupted by confusion, as the medicine which the physicians call tetrapharmacon, for the powers of the drugs brought together and combined were destroyed in such a manner as to produce one perfect medicine of especial virtue. By which, then, of these modes of corruption is it becoming to say that the world is destroyed? By that which is caused by separation? No, for it is not compounded of separate members so that its different parts can be dispersed, nor of portions joined together so that they can be dissolved; nor is it united together in a similar manner to our own bodies, for they have the seeds of decay in themselves, and they are subject to influence of a great variety of things by which they are at times injured; but the power of the world is invincible, since by its great superiority to other things it has dominion over everything. Is it then destroyed by a complete destruction of its distinctive qualities? This again is impossible, for there remains, as the adversaries affirm, a quality of arrangement which by the process of conflagration is only diminished to a lesser substance ... Is it destroyed then by confusion? Away with such an idea, for in that case it would be necessary to confess that the corruption of a body can be reduced to a state of non-existence. Why so? Because if each of the particular elements were destroyed separately, it would be possible for it to become changed into another; but if they are altogether destroyed at one and the same moment by confusion, then it would be necessary to imagine what is absolutely impossible. Again, besides these arguments, if all things, say they, were destroyed by fire, then what will God have to do during all that time, except absolutely nothing? And is it not reasonable to say so? For at present, the overlooks and presides over everything, and regulates everything like a genuine father, and if one is to say the truth, he guides and directs everything, sitting as it were by the side of the sun, and moon, and the other planets, and fixed stars, and also by the air, and the other parts of the world, and he co-operates with them in everything which can conduce to the durability of the universe and to its blameless management, in accordance with right reason. But if everything is destroyed, then he will have an existence which will be rendered absolutely miserable, by inactivity and irremediable want of employment; than which what idea can be more absurd? I hesitate to add, what it would be impious to say, that death will ensue to God if absolute inactivity falls to his lot; for if you take away the perpetual motion of the soul, then you will beyond all question also destroy the soul itself. And the soul of the world, in the opinion of those who maintain the opposite doctrine, is God.

17 Is it not however worth while to examine this question, in what manner there can be a regeneration of all those things which have been destroyed by fire, and resolved into fire? for when their substance has been wholly destroyed by the fire, it follows of necessity that the fire itself must also be extinguished as no longer having any nourishment. Therefore, as long as it remained the seminal principle of arrangement was likewise preserved, but when it is destroyed that principle is destroyed with it. But it would be impious, and an impiety of double dye, not only to attribute destruction to the world, but also to take away the possibility of its regeneration; as if God delighted in disorder, and irregularity, and all kinds of evil things. But we must examine this question more accurately, in the following manner. There are three species in fire; the coal, and the flame, and the light. Now coal is the fire in its earthy substance, which, like a sort of spiritual habit, couches and lies hid in a sort of cavern, pervading it all to its very extremities. And the flame is that part which, being raised on high, is lifted up from its fuel. And the light is that which is emitted from the flame, so as to co-operate with the eyes, in order to enable them to comprehend what is seen. And the flame occupies the middle position between the coal and the light; for when it is extinguished it ends in coal, and when it is kindled it excites the light, which, being deprived of its burning power, blazes. If therefore, we affirm that the world is dissolved by conflagration, it would not be coal, because, in that case there will be a great deal of the earthy substance left behind, in which also fire must necessarily be contained. But we must agree, that none of the other bodies subsist any longer, but that earth, and water, and air, are all dissolved into unmixed fire. Nor, again, would it become flame; for that can only exist in connexion with nourishment; and, if nothing is left behind, being deprived of all nourishment it will immediately be extinguished. It follows from all this, that it cannot become light either; for light by itself has no substance at all, but flows from the things before mentioned, coal and flame, not in a great degree from the coal, but very much from the flame; for it is diffused over a very great space indeed. But if, as has been already proved, those things had no existence from the conflagration of all things, then there could not be any light either. For the abundant, and vast, and extensive brilliancy of mid-day, when the sun proceeds under the earth, is at once caused to disappear by night, especially if it be a moonless night. Therefore the world is not destroyed by fire, but is indestructible. And if it should be destroyed by fire, there could not be another created.

18 On which account some of the Stoics also, being gifted with a more acute discernment, and perceiving that they would infallibly be convicted, thought it well to be beforehand in preparing assistance as it were for a defunct proposition. But what they prepared was of no use; for, since fire is the cause of all motion, and since motion is the beginning of generation, for it is impossible that anything whatever should be generated without motion, they said that before the new world began to be formed, when it was beginning to be fashioned, the whole fire would not be extinguished in that conflagration; that they affirmed that some would still remain, but yet only a small portion. For they were exceedingly cautious, lest if it should be wholly extinguished, the consequence would be that everything would remain motionless and devoid of ornament, inasmuch as the cause of motion would no longer be in any existence. But all these ideas are the invention of quibblers, who employ all their artifices in opposition to the truth. Why so? Because it is impossible, as has been proved already, that the world, after it has been destroyed by conflagration, should become similar to coal, inasmuch as there is a vast quantity of earthy substance left in which the fire must of necessity lie in ambush. And perhaps too the conflagration could not prevail in every quarter, if the heaviest and most invincible of the elements, namely the earth, still remains, without being dissolved; but it must of necessity change, either into flame or into light: into flame, as Cleanthes thought; into light, as Chryssipus conceived. But if it becomes flame, then, when it approaches extinction, it will be extinguished all at once, and not partially or gradually. For the nutriment exists along with it; on which account, while there is a great deal of it, it increases and is diffused; but when it is stunted it becomes less. And any one might conjecture the truth of what takes place from what he sees happen among us. A lamp, when any one pours oil upon it, gives forth a most brilliant flame; but when any one ceases to supply it with that nutriment, and leaves only a small portion in the lamp, then the lamp is at once extinguished, and does not give out the smallest portion of flame. If again this is not the case, but if the world becomes light, then again it changes altogether. Why so? Because it has no substance or character of its own, but is generated from flame, and when this is wholly and completely extinguished in all its parts, it follows of necessity that the light also must be extinguished, and that not partially, but altogether. For what flame is to nourishment, that also is light to flame. As therefore the flame is extinguished concurrently with the want of nourishment, so also is the light simultaneously with the flame, so that it is actually impossible for the world to be capable of regeneration, if there is no seminal principle lurking and kindled within it, but if all things are expended and destroyed, some by fire, and some by want. From all which arguments it is plain that the world is for ever uncreated and imperishable.

19 Nevertheless, as Chryssipus says, some suppose that fire resolves all the arrangement of the universe when the elements are separated into itself, so that it becomes the seed of the world which is about to be made; and suppose in consequence that, of all the ideas which he and his sect have entertained on the subject, none are falsified. Granting, in the first place, that generation proceeds from seed, and that all dissolution is a resolving back into seed; in the second place, because it is argued by natural philosophers that the world is a rational nature, inasmuch as it is not only possessed of life, but is also endowed with intellect, and moreover even with wisdom; by these arguments he establishes that contrary proposition to that which he intends, namely, that it will never be destroyed. But the proofs are ready at hand to those who do not fear to join in the investigation. Therefore the world resembles either a plant or an animal. But whether it is a plant or whether it is an animal, still, if it be destroyed by conflagration, it will never be itself its own seed. And the circumstances which take place among ourselves bear witness that nothing, whether great or less, when destroyed, has ever been separated in such a manner as to engender seed. Do you not see how many materials of plants susceptible of cultivation there are, and how many kinds of wild plants too are diffused over every portion of the earth? Every one of these trees, as long as the trunk is in good health, together with its fruit, produces also a seed to propagate its species; but becoming destroyed after a lapse of time, and being wholly withered, roots and all, it never becomes resolved into a ripened seed. And so too in the same manner the different kinds of animals, which it is not easy even to enumerate by reason of their multitude, as long as they survive and flourish vigorously, produce a seed, which is calculated to propagate their species; but when they are dead there is no longer any seed. For it would be absurd for a man when he is alive to employ only the eighth part of his soul, which is called the generative power, for the propagation of a being like himself, but after he is dead to exert the whole of himself for the same purpose; for death can never be more energetic or efficacious than life. And besides, there is no single existing thing which is brought to perfection by seed alone without its appropriate nourishment. For seed resembles the beginning, and the beginning by itself does not make perfect; for beware of imagining that the ear of corn blossoms and ripens solely from the seed, which is cast by the husbandman on the ploughed field; for in truth, dryness and moisture, the twofold moisture which is derived from the earth, co-operate in the greatest degree towards its growth. And so the creature which is fashioned in the womb is not permitted by nature to be brought to life and perfection by the seed alone, but also by the nourishment shed upon it from without, which the woman who has conceived supplies. Why then do I say this? Because in the case of such a conflagration as that of which I have been speaking, the seed alone will be left, there being no nutriment remaining, since everything which was to have supplied nutriment will have been resolved into fire; so that the world, which would be to be formed, according to the principle of regeneration, will have a lame and imperfect form and character, since that which is chiefly required to co-operate towards its perfection, on which, as on a staff, the seminal origin ought to, and naturally does, lean, is destroyed; but this would be absurd, as is shown, and made manifest from the clearest evidence. Again, all those things which derive their origin from seed are of a greater magnitude than the seed which gives them their existence, and are seen to fill a more extended space; for very often trees, whose tops reach to heaven itself, shoot up out of a very small grain of seed; and the fattest and tallest animals grow from a very small quantity of moisture, which is laid as their foundation; but there happens that which was mentioned a little while ago, that these, at the time nearest to their birth are very little, but that subsequently they keep on increasing in size till they arrive at complete perfection. But in the case of the universe the exact contrary will take place, for here the seed will both be greater and will also fill a larger space; and the ultimate perfection at which the thing formed arrives will be smaller, and will appear in a smaller space; and the world, originally derived from a seed, will not progress from a very small thing towards increase, but, on the other hand, will be diminished from a greater magnitude to a smaller; and it is easy to see the truth of what is here said. Every body, when it is resolved into fire, is dissolved, and melted, and diffused; and when the flame which is in it is extinguished, it is then contracted and shrunk up to nothing; but there is no need of arguments to prove a thing which is so clear, as if it were obscure; and, indeed, the world, if consumed by fire, will become greater, inasmuch as all its essence will then be dissolved into the thinnest air; and it appears to me that the Stoics have foreseen this, and on that account have, in their arguments, assumed that a vacuum of infinite extent will be left abandoned on the outside of the world; that so, since it is fated to be subjected to a certain diffusion of boundless extent, it may not be in want of a place which may be capable of receiving that diffusion. When therefore it has been extended and increased to such a degree, as to be very nearly equal to the infinite extent of the vacuum by the boundless and illimitable extension of its own diffusion, it then, according to them, is itself the principle of seed to itself; but when, according to a perfect regeneration of the parts, its entire substance [...] [there seems a line or two lost

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here.] being contracted in the extinction of the fire into dense air; but when the air again is contracted, and when it settles down into water, then again the water is still further condensed, so as to be changed into earth, which is the best of all the elements. But all these arguments are beyond the ordinary ideas of those who are able to consider and argue upon the consequences of these things.

20 However, besides what has been here said, any one may use this argument also in corroboration of his opinion, which will certainly convince all those who are not determined to be obstinate beyond all bounds; of those things which in pairs are exactly contrary to one another it is impossible that one thing should be, and that the other should not be; for since there is white it follows as a matter of absolute necessity that there must also be black, and since there is a great there must likewise be a little; since there is an odd there must inevitably be an even; since there is a sweet there must be a bitter; since there is day there must be night; and so on in an infinite number of similar cases; but if a conflagration should take place, then something would ensue which is impossible; for then, of things in a pair, the one will happen and the other will not. Come, now, let us consider the matter thus: if everything is resolved into fire, there is then something light, and rare, and warm; for all these are the especial properties of fire; but there can be nothing heavy, or cold, or thick, which are the opposites of the qualities which I have just enumerated. How then can any one more completely overturn the idea of the universal disorder which would be involved in such a conflagration than by showing that those things which by a law of nature must exist together, are by this process separated from their natural conjunction? And the separation has extended to such a degree, that those who maintain this doctrine attribute eternal durability to the one and deny any existence at all to the other. Again, there is this assertion made by some of those who diligently employ themselves in investigating truth which appears to me to be a sufficiently felicitous one; if the world is destroyed it will either be destroyed by some other efficient cause, or by God; now there is certainly nothing else whatever from which it can receive its destruction, for there is nothing whatever which it does not surround and contain; but that which is surrounded and confined within something else is manifestly inferior in power to that which surrounds and confines it, by which it is therefore mastered; on the other hand, to say that it is destroyed by God is the most impious of all possible assertions; for God is the cause not of disorder, and irregularity, and destruction, but of order, and beautiful regularity, and life, and of every good thing, as is confessed by all those whose opinions are based on truth.

21 But a person may very likely wonder at those who talk about conflagrations and regenerations, not only on account of the arguments which I have just been adducing, by which they are convicted of maintaining erroneous opinions, but also above all other reasons for this one; for since there are four elements of which the world consists, namely, earth, water, air, and fire, why is it that they are to separate fire from all the others, and to affirm that all the others are dissolved into that one? For some one may say, if it is necessary that they should all be resolved into one, why should they not be resolved into air, or water, or earth? For these elements also contain powers of great magnitude; but yet no one has ever said that the world was to pass away into air, or into water, or into earth; so that it would be equally natural to deny that it is resolved into fire. Moreover, it would have become them, perceiving the beautiful equality which exists in the world, to fear and to feel too great awe to venture to condemn so divine a thing to death; for there is a most admirable system of compensation existing in the four elements which arrange and dispense their vicissitudes by the rulers of equality, and the definitions of justice; for as the seasons of the year, in their proper alternations of revolutions, go through their regular cycle, completing their periodical changes without any cessation; in the same manner suppose that the elements of the world in the course of their continual interchanges with one another (though it is a most paradoxical assertion), when they appear to be perishing are in reality being made immortal, passing over the same course again and again, so as to have their existence infinitely protracted. Therefore the steep road begins with the earth; for when it is wasted away it endures a change to water, and the water when it has evaporated is changed into air, and the air when rarefied is changed into fire; but the downward road descends from the head, when the fire in consequence of the conflagration which ensues settles down into air, and again when the air being closely pressed settles down into water, and when the water by its copious effusion is condensed so as to be changed into earth. Heraclitus therefore spoke very correctly when he said that, "Water was the death of the soul, and earth the death of water." For thinking that the breath was the soul, he indicates, by this figurative and enigmatical expression, that the end of air is the production of water, and again that the end of water is the production of earth; and when he speaks of death he does not mean utter destruction, but a change into some other element; that equalized proportion of the elements which is attempered by itself being thus preserved eternal and uninjured, as is not only probable but absolutely inevitable; since what is unequal is essentially unjust, and injustice is the offspring of wickedness, and wickedness is banished from the abode of immortality. But the world is of a divine magnitude, and has been shown to be the abode of those gods which are visible to the outward senses; and to affirm that this world is destroyed is the part of those who do not see the connexion of nature and the united consequence and coherence of things.

22 But some of those persons who have fancied that the world is everlasting, inventing a variety of new arguments, employ also such a system of reasoning as this to establish their point: they affirm that there are four principal manners in which corruption is brought about, addition, taking away, transposition, and alteration; accordingly, the number two is by the addition of the unit corrupted so as to become the number three, and no longer remains the number two; and the number four by the taking away of the unit is corrupted so as to become the number three; again, by transposition the letter Z becomes the letter H when the parallel lines which were previously horizontal /43/are placed perpendicularly /2 1/2), and when the line which did before pass upwards, so as to connect the two is now made horizontal, and still extended between them so as to join them. And by alteration the word oinos, wine, becomes oxos, vinegar. But of the manner of corruption thus mentioned there is not one which is in the least degree whatever applicable to the world, since otherwise what could we say? Could we affirm that anything is added to the world so as to cause its destruction? But there is nothing whatever outside of the world which is not a portion of it as the whole, for everything is surrounded, and contained, and mastered by it. Again, can we say that anything is taken from the world so as to have that effect? In the first place that which would be taken away would again be a world of smaller dimensions than the existing one, and in the second place it is impossible that any body could be separated from the composite fabric of the whole world so as to be completely dispersed. Again, are we to say that the constituent parts of the world are transposed? But at all events they remain in their original positions without any change of place, for never at any time shall the whole earth be raised up above the water, nor the water above the air, nor the air above the fire. But those things which are by nature heavy, namely the earth and the water, will have the middle place, the earth supporting everything like a solid foundation, and the water being above it; and the air and the fire, which are by nature light, will have the higher position, but not equally, for the air is the vehicle of the fire; and that which is carried by anything is of necessity above that which carries it. Once more: we must not imagine that the world is destroyed by alteration, for the change of any elements is equipollent, and that which is equipollent is the cause of unvarying steadiness, and of untroubled durability, inasmuch as it neither seeks any advantage itself, and is not subject to the inroads of other things which seek advantages at its expense; so that this retribution and compensation of these powers is equalized by the rules of proportion, being the produce of health and endless preservation, by all which considerations the world is demonstrated to be eternal.

23 Theophrastus, moreover, says that those men who attribute a beginning and destructibility to the world are deceived by four particulars of the greatest importance, the inequalities of the earth, the retreat of the sea, and dissolution of each of the parts of the universe, and the destruction of different terrestrial animals in their kinds; and he proceeds to establish the first point thus: if the earth had never had any beginning of its creation, then there would have been no portion of it rising above the rest so as to be conspicuous, but all the mountains would have been level, and all the pieces of rising ground would have been even with the plain. For as there are such vast showers falling from heaven throughout all ages, it would be natural that of any places which were originally raised on high some would be broken down and washed away by torrents, and others would subside of their own accord and so become lowered, and that every place everywhere would be smoothed; but now, as things are, the constant inequalities which exist, and the vast heights of many mountains, reaching up even to the sky, are so many proofs that the earth is not eternal. For otherwise, as I have said before, all the earth would long since have been rendered level from one extremity to the other by the vast rains which would have fallen from the eternal commencement of time; for it is the character of the nature of water, and especially of such as descends in a heavy fall from lofty places, to push some things away by force, and to cut out and hollow other places by its continual dropping, and in this manner to operate on the hard, rugged, stony ground not less than men digging. 2And again, the sea, as they affirm, is already somewhat diminished, and for proof of this fact we can appeal to the most celebrated islands, Rhodes and Delos, for these were in ancient times invisible, being overwhelmed by and sunk under the sea, but by lapse of time, as the sea gradually diminished, they by slow degrees rose above it and came into sight, as the histories which are written concerning them record. 2And they used to call Delos Anaphe, confirming the account here given by both names, since when it appeared above the Waters [the Greek word is anaphaneisa, from which Anapheμ is derived.] it became evident,[deμleμ, from which Deμlos is derived.] having been formerly invisible and Unseen. On which account Pindar says respecting Delos--

"Hail, island raised by God,
Chosen abode
Of fair Latona's son with golden hair.
Hail, ocean's youngest child,
The last immoveable domain
That o'er his bosom smiled.
Upraised from beneath the billowy main
Mortals may call you Delos , but the choir
That dwells upon Olympus ' height,
Their chosen bards inspire
To praise thee as earth's brightest, holiest Light." [this is part of an ode now lost.]

For Pindar has here called Delos the daughter of the ocean, intending by this enigmatical expression to convey the idea which I have mentioned. 2And in addition to these arguments they adduce the facts that many great and deep bays and gulfs of vast seas have been dried up, and have become land, and have so turned out no insignificant addition to the adjacent country when sown and planted, and on that soil there is still left plenty of proof of such spots having formerly been sea, in the pebbles, and shells, and other things which are commonly washed up on the sea-shore being found in them. 2But if the sea is gradually being diminished then the earth also will be diminished; and in long revolutions of years every one of the elements will be entirely consumed and destroyed; and the whole air will be consumed, being diminished by little and little; and all things will be absorbed and dissolved into the one substance of fire.

24 And for the purpose of establishing the third alternative of this question they use the following argument: beyond all question that thing is destroyed all the parts of which are liable to destruction; but all the parts of the world are liable to destruction, therefore the world also is liable to destruction. 2But we must now proceed to consider the question which we postponed till the present time. What sort of a part of the earth is that, that we may begin from this, whether it is greater or less, that is not dissolved by time? Do not the very hardest and strongest stones become hard and decayed through the weakness of their conformation (and this conformation is a sort of course of a highly strained spirit, a bond not indissoluble, but only very difficult to unloose), in consequence of which they are broken up and made fluid, so that they are dissolved first of all into a thin dust, and afterwards are wholly wasted away and destroyed? Again, if the water were never agitated by the winds, but were left immoveable for ever, would it not from inaction and tranquility become dead? at all events it is changed by such stagnation, and becomes very foetid and foul-smelling, like an animal deprived of life. 2And so also the corruptions of the air are plain to everyone, for it is the nature of the atmosphere to become sick and to decay, and, as one may say, in a manner to die; since what else is it which a man, who is not aiming at selecting plausible language, but only at truth, would call a plague except a death of the atmosphere, which diffuses its own disease and suffering to the destruction of everything which is endowed with life? And why need I speak at great length concerning fire? for if it is deprived of nourishment it is immediately extinguished, becoming, as the poets say, tame by its own natural qualities, on which account it depends upon, and is raised up by the duration of the fuel which is supplied and kindled, but when that is expended the fire also disappears. And they say that the dragons in India are exposed to the same kind of fate, for that they crawl upon the greatest of all beasts, namely elephants, and creep over their backs and the whole of their bellies, and then, if they can find a vein, they divide that and drink the blood, sucking it insatiably, with a strong breath and a vigorous noise. Meantime the elephants, though greatly drained, and though becoming gradually exhausted, hold out for some time, leaping about in their perplexity, and lashing their sides with their trunks in the hope of being able to shake off the dragons. After a time, as the vital principle is continually becoming more and more exhausted, they are no longer able to leap about, but stand trembling and quivering, and after a little more time their legs become too weak to support them, and they are thrown down and die for want of blood. And when they are fallen down those animals which were the causes of their death die with them in the following manner: since the dragons have no longer any nourishment, they attempt to loosen the bonds with which they twined themselves round the elephants, wishing now to get released from them, but they are pressed down by the weight of the elephants and crushed, and much more so when the animal has become a lifeless, hard, and stone-like substance; for though they wriggle about and try every expedient in order to effect their release from the power of the animal which weighs them down, and by which they are entangled, though they have long practiced themselves in

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every variety of wile, amid all kinds of difficulties and distresses, they at last become too weak to resist, like men who have been starved to death, or who have been caught by a wall which has suddenly fallen down upon them, and not being able even to lift up their heads they die of suffocation. If then, each of the separate parts of the world awaits utter destruction, it is plain that the world which is compounded of these can not be itself exempt from destruction. 3We must now consider with accuracy the fourth and remaining argument. Thus they argue: if the world were eternal then the animals also would be eternal, and much more the human race, in proportion as that is more excellent than the other animals; but, on the contrary, those who take delight in investigating the mysteries of nature consider that man has only been created in the late ages of the world; for it is likely, or I should rather say it is inevitably true, that the arts co-exist with man, so as to be exactly co-eval with him, not only because methodical proceedings are appropriate to a rational nature, but also because it is not possible to live without them; 3let us therefore examine the dates of each of these, disregarding the fables invented by the tragedians about the gods; but if man is not eternal then neither is any other animal, so that then neither are the places which receive them, the earth, or the water, or the air; from all which considerations it is plain that this world is liable to destruction.

25 But it is necessary to encounter such quibbling arguments as these, lest some persons of too little experience should yield to and be led away by them; and we must begin our refutation of them from the same point from which the Sophists begin their deceit. They say, "There could no longer be any inequalities existing on the earth, if the world were eternal." Why not, my most excellent friends? For other persons will come up and say that the natures of trees are in no respect different from mountains; but just as they at certain seasons lose their leaves, and again at certain seasons recover their verdure again; (on which account there is admirable truth in those lines of the poet:--

"Like leaves on trees the race of man is found,
Now green in youth, now withering on the ground;
Another race the following spring supplies;
They fall successive and successive Rise." [homer, Il. 6.147.]

And so in like manner some portions of the mountains are broken off, and others grow in their stead: but after a long lapse of time the additional growth becomes conspicuous because the trees having a more rapid nature, display their increase with great rapidity; but mountains have a slower character, on which account it happens that the additions which take place in their case are not perceptible by the outward senses except after a long time. 3And these men appear to be ignorant of the manner in which they are produced, since if they had not been, perhaps they would have been silent out of shame; but still there is no reason why we should not teach them; but there is nothing new in what is now said, neither are they our words but the ancient sayings of wise men, by whom nothing which was necessary for knowledge has been left uninvestigated; when the fiery principle which is contained beneath, in the earth, is thrust upwards by the natural power of fire, it proceeds to its own appropriate place; and if it meets with any respite or relaxation, though ever so slight, it draws up with it a large portion of the earthy substance, as much as it can; and when it has emerged from the earth it proceeds more slowly; but the earthy substance being compelled to follow it for a long time, being at last raised to an immense height, is contracted at the top, and at last comes to end on a sharp point imitating the general appearance of the flame of fire; 3for there arises then a most violent contention between two things which are natural adversaries, the lightest and the heaviest of things, each of them pressing onwards to reach its own place, and each striving against the violent efforts of the other; accordingly the fire, which is drawing up the earth with it, is compelled to sink down by its descending power; and the earth naturally inclining to the lowest point is nevertheless to a certain degree made light, and lifted up by the upward tendencies of fire, and so is raised on high, and being at last overpowered by the more influential power which lightens it is thrust upwards towards the natural seat of fire, and established on high. Why then need we wonder if the mountains are not entirely washed away by the impetuosity of the rains, when so great a power, which keeps them together, and by which they are raised up, is very firmly and steadfastly connected with them? For if they were released from the bond which holds them together, it would be natural for them to be entirely dissolved and to be dispersed by the water; but since they are bound together by this power of fire, they resist the impetuosity of the rains more surely.

26 These things, then, may be said by us with respect to the argument that the inequalities of the surface of the earth are no proof of the world having been created and being liable to destruction; 3but with respect to that argument which was endeavored to be established by the diminution of the sea, we may reasonably adduce this statement in opposition to it: "Do not look only at the islands which have risen up out of the sea, nor at any portions of land which, having been formerly buried by the waters, have in subsequent times become dry land; for obstinate contention is very unfavourable to the consideration of natural philosophy, which considers the search after truth to be the chief object of rational desire; but look rather at the contrary effects: consider how many districts on the main-land, not only such as were near the coast, but even such as were completely in-land, have been swallowed up by the waters; and consider how great a portion of land has become sea and is now sailed over by innumerable ships." 3Are you ignorant of the celebrated account which is given of that most sacred Sicilian strait, which in old times joined Sicily to the continent of Italy? [this is alluded to by Virgil, Aen. 3.419 (as it is translated by Dryden)--"The Italian shore / And fair Sicilia's coast were one before / An earthquake caused the flaw; the roaring tides / The passage broke that land from land divides, / And where the lands retired the rushing ocean rides / Distinguished by the straits on either hand / Now rising cities in long order stand, / And fruitful fields; so much can time invade / The mouldering work that beauteous nature made."] and where vast seas on each side being excited by violent storms met together, coming from opposite directions, the land between them was overwhelmed and broken away; from which circumstance the city built in the neighbourhood was called Rhegium,[rheµgion, from rheµgnymi, "to break."] and the result was quite different from what any one would have expected; for the seas which had formerly been separated now flowed together and were united in one expanse; and the land which had previously united was now separated into two portions by the strait which intersected it, in consequence of which Sicily, which had previously formed a part of the mainland, was now compelled to be an island. 4And it is said that many other cities also have disappeared, having been swallowed up by the sea which overwhelmed them; since they speak of three in Peloponnesus--

"Aegira and fair Bura's walls,
And Helica's lofty halls,
And many a once renowned town,
With wreck and seaweed overgrown,"

as having been formerly prosperous, but now overwhelmed by the violent influx of the sea. 4And the island of Atalantes which was greater than Africa and Asia, as Plato says in the Timaeus, in one day and night was overwhelmed beneath the sea in consequence of an extraordinary earthquake and inundation and suddenly disappeared, becoming sea, not indeed navigable, but full of gulfs and eddies. 4Therefore that imaginary and fictitious diminution of the sea has no connexion with the destruction or durability of the world; for in fact it appears to recede indeed from some parts, but to rise higher in others; and it would have been proper rather not to look at only one of these results but at both together, and so to form one's opinion, since in all the disputed questions which arise in human life, a wise and honest judge will not deliver his opinion before he has heard the arguments of the advocates on both sides.

27 And as for the third argument, it is convicted by itself, as being derived only from an unsound system of questioning proceeding from the assertions originally made; for in truth it does not necessarily follow that a thing, all the parts of which are liable to corruption, is likewise perishable itself; but this is only inevitably true of that thing of which all the parts are perishable when taken collectively and together in the same place and at the same time, since in the case of a person who has the tip of his finger cut off, he is not disabled from living, but if he had the whole collection of all his parts and limbs cut off at once, he would die immediately. 4Therefore in the same manner, if all the elements of the world together were all to disappear at one and the same moment, then it would be necessary to admit that the world was liable to corruption and destruction; but if each of these elements separately only changes its nature so as to assimilate to that of its nature, it is then rendered immortal rather than destroyed, according to the philosophical statement of the tragic poet--

"Nought that has once existed dies,
Though often what has been combined
Before, we separated find,
Invested with another form."

For it is the greatest folly imaginable to estimate the antiquity of the human race from the state of art; for if any one were to follow the absurdity of such a system of reasoning as this, he will prove the world to be very young indeed, and to have been made scarcely a thousand years, since all those men whom we have heard of traditionally as the discoverers in different branches of science do not to back to a greater number of years than that which I have mentioned. 4But if we must speak of the arts as coeval with the race of mankind, then we must speak, drawing our arguments from natural history, and not inconsiderately or carelessly. And what is this history? The destruction of the things on the earth, not all together, but of the greatest number of them, is attributed to two principal causes, the indescribable violence and power of fire and water. And they say that each of these elements attacks them in its turn, after very long periods of revolving years. 4When, therefore, a conflagration seizes upon things, a stream of ethereal fire being poured down from above is frequently diffused over them, overrunning many districts of the habitable world; and when a deluge draws down the whole of the rainy nature of water, the regular rivers and torrents overflowing, and not only that, but even far exceeding the ordinary measure of a common flood, and breaking down their banks with their violence, or else overleaping them, and rising to an enormous height, from which they swell and are diffused over all the adjacent champaign country, and the land is in the first instance divided into huge lakes, as the water is continually settling down into the more hollow parts, and afterwards flows still higher, and inundates the isthmuses which separate the lakes, till at last everything presents the appearing of one vast sea from the union of so many waters. 4And then it happens that, through the violence of these powers contending against one another in turn, the inhabitants of the places exposed to it are destroyed; those who dwell on the mountains and higher ground, and in ill-watered districts, being destroyed by fire, as not having a sufficiency of water, which is the natural weapon with which to repel fire, and those, on the other hand, being destroyed by water who live on the banks of rivers or lakes, or on the shores of the sea, for evils like to attack those who are nearest first, or indeed solely. Accordingly, when the greater part of mankind is destroyed in the manners above mentioned, besides an infinity of other ways of less power and importance, it follows of necessity that the arts also must fail, for it cannot be possible to discuss science by itself without some one to reduce it to method and practice. But when those common pestilences relax their fury, and when the human race begins again to recover vigor and to flourish, descending from those who have not been previously destroyed by the evils which pressed upon them, then the arts also begin again to exist, not indeed as they were at fist, but in thinner numbers from the diminution of the numbers of those who practice them. 5I have now then set forth to the best of my ability what I have been able to learn or to understand concerning the indestructibility of the world, and in the subsequent treatises I shall proceed to show what may be said against each of the arguments here stated.

FLACCUS

1 (Flaccus Avillius succeeded Sejanus in his hatred of and hostile designs against the Jewish nation. He was not, indeed, able to injure the whole people by open and direct means as he had been, inasmuch as he had less power for such a purpose, but he inflicted the most intolerable evils on all who came within his reach. Moreover, though in appearance he only attacked a portion of the nation, in point of fact he directed his aims against all whom he could find anywhere, proceeding more by art than by force; for those men who, though of tyrannical natures and dispositions, have not strength enough to accomplish their designs openly, seek to compass them by manoeuvres. (This Flaccus being chosen by Tiberius Caesar as one of his intimate companions, after the death of Severus, who had been lieutenant governor in Egypt, was appointed viceroy of Alexandria and the country round about, being a man who at the beginning, as far as appearance went, had given innumerable instances of his excellence, for he was a man of prudence and diligence, and great acuteness of perception, very energetic in executing what he had determined on, very eloquent as a speaker, and skilful too at discerning what was suppressed as well as at understanding what was said. (Accordingly in a short time he became perfectly acquainted with the affairs of Egypt, and they are of a very various and diversified character, so that they are not easily comprehended even by those who from their earliest infancy have made them their study. The scribes were a superfluous body when he had made such advances towards the knowledge of all things, whether important or trivial, by his extended experience, that he not only surpassed them, but from his great accuracy was qualified instead of a pupil to become the instructor of those who had hitherto been the teachers of all other persons. (However, all those things in which he displayed an admirable system and great wisdom concerning the accounts and the general arrangement of the revenues of the land, though they were serious matters and of the last importance, were nevertheless not such as gave any proofs of a soul fit for the task of governing; but those things which exhibited a more brilliant and royal disposition he also displayed with great freedom. For instance, he bore himself with considerable dignity, and pride and pomp are advantageous things for a ruler; and he decided all suits of importance in conjunction with the magistrates, he pulled down the overproud, he forbade promiscuous mobs of men from all quarters to assemble together, and prohibited all associations and meetings which were continually feasting together under pretence of sacrifices, making a drunken mockery of public business, treating with great vigor and severity all who resisted his commands. (Then when he had filled the whole city and country with his wise legislation, he proceeded in turn to regulate the military affairs of the land, issuing commands, arranging matters, training the troops of

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every kind, infantry, cavalry, and lightarmed, teaching the commanders not to deprive the soldiers of their pay, and so drive them to acts of piracy and rapine, and teaching each individual soldier not to proceed to any actions unauthorised by his military service, remembering that he was appointed with the especial object of preserving peace.

2 (Perhaps some one may say here: "Do you then, my good man, you who have determined to accuse this man, bring no accusation whatever against him, but on the contrary, weave long panegyrics in his honour? Are you not doting and mad?" "I am not mad, my friend, nor am I a downright fool, so as to be unable to see the consequences of connexion of things. (I praise Flaccus, not because it is right to praise an enemy, but in order to make his wickedness more conspicuous; for pardon is given to a man who does wrong from ignorance of what is right; but he who does wrong knowingly has no excuse, being already condemned by the tribunal of his own conscience."

3 (For having received a government which was intended to last six years, for the first five years, while Tiberius Caesar was alive, he both preserved peace and also governed the country generally with such vigor and energy that he was superior to all the governors who had gone before him. (But in the last year, after Tiberius was dead, and when Gaius had succeeded him as emperor, he began to relax in and to be indifferent about everything, whether it was that he was overwhelmed with most heavy grief because of Tiberius (for it was evident to everyone that he grieved exceedingly as if for a near relation, both by his continued depression of spirits and his incessant weeping, pouring forth tears without end as if from an inexhaustible fountain), or whether it was because he was disaffected to his successor, because he preferred devoting himself to the party of the real rather than to that of the adopted children, or whether it was because he had been one of those who had joined in the conspiracy against the mother of Gaius, having joined against her at the time when the accusations were brought against her, on account of which she was put to death, and having escaped through fear of the consequence of proceeding against him. However, for a time he still paid some attention to the affairs of the state, not wholly abandoning the administration of his government; but when he heard that the grandson of Tiberius and his partner in the government had been put to death at the command of Gaius, he was smitten with intolerable anguish, and threw himself on the ground, and lay there speechless, being utterly deprived of his senses, for indeed his mind had long since been enervated by grief. For as long as that child lived he did not despair of some sparks still remaining of his own safety, but now that he was dead, he considered that all his own hopes had likewise died with him, even if a slight breeze of assistance might still be left, such as his friendship with Macro, who had unbounded influence with Gaius in his authority; and who, as it is said, had very greatly contributed to his obtaining the supreme power, and in a still higher degree to his personal safety, since Tiberius had frequently thought of putting Gaius out of the way, as a wicked man and one who was in no respects calculated by nature for the exercise of authority, being influenced also partly by his apprehensions for his grandson; for he feared lest, when he himself was dead, his death too would be added to the funerals of his family. But Macro had constantly bade him discard these apprehensions from his mind, and had praised Gaius, as a man of a simple, and honest, and sociable character; and as one who was very much attached to his cousin, so that he would willingly yield the supreme authority to him alone, and the first rank in everything. And Tiberius, being deceived by all these representations, without being aware of what he was doing, left behind him a most irreconcileable enemy, to himself, and his grandson, and his whole family, and to Macro, who was his chief adviser and comforter, and to all mankind; for when Macro saw the Gaius was forsaking the way of virtue and yielding to his unbridled passions, following them wherever they led him and against whatever objects they led him, he admonished and reproved him, looking upon him as the same Gaius who, while Tiberius was alive, was mild-tempered and docile; but to his misery he suffered most terrible punishment for his exceeding good-will, being put to death with his wife, and children, and all his family, as a grievous and troublesome object to his new sovereign. For whenever he saw him at a distance coming towards him, he used to speak in this manner to those who were with him: "Let us not smile; let us look sad: here comes the censor and monitor; the all-wise man, he who is beginning now to be the schoolmaster of a full-grown man, and of an emperor, after time itself has separated him from and discarded the tutors of his earliest infancy."

4 When, therefore, Flaccus learnt that he too was put to death, he utterly abandoned all other hope for the future, and was no longer able to apply himself to public affairs as he had done before, being enervated and wholly broken down in spirit. But when a magistrate begins to despair of his power of exerting authority, it follows inevitably, that his subjects must quickly become disobedient, especially those who are naturally, at every trivial or common occurrence, inclined to show insubordination, and, among people of such a disposition, the Egyptian nation is pre-eminent, being constantly in the habit of exciting great seditions from very small sparks. And being placed in a situation of great and perplexing difficulty he began to rage, and simultaneously, with the change of his disposition for the worse, he also altered everything which had existed before, beginning with his nearest friends and his most habitual customs; for he began to suspect and to drive from him those who were well affected to him, and who were most sincerely his friends, and he reconciled himself to those who were originally his declared enemies, and he used them as advisers under all circumstances; but they, for they persisted in their ill-will, being reconciled with him only in words and in appearance, but in their actions and in their hearts they bore him incurable enmity, and though only pretending a genuine friendship towards him, like actors in a theatre, they drew him over wholly to their side; and so the governor became a subject, and the subjects became the governor, advancing the most unprofitable opinions, and immediately confirming and insisting upon them; for they became executors of all the plans which they had devised, treating him like a mute person on the stage, as one who was only, by way of making up the show, inscribed with the title of authority, being themselves a lot of Dionysiuses, demagogues, and of Lampos, a pack of cavillers and word-splitters; and of Isidoruses, sowers of sedition, busy-bodies, devisers of evil, troublers of the state; for this is the name which has, at last, been given to them. All these men, having devised a most grievous design against the Jews, proceeded to put it in execution, and coming privately to Flaccus said to him, "All your hope from the child of Tiberius Nero has now perished, and that which was your second best prospect, your companion Macro, is gone too, and you have no chance of favour with the emperor, therefore we must find another advocate, by whom Gaius may be made propitious to us, and that advocate is the city of Alexandria, which all the family of Augustus has honoured from the very beginning, and our present master above all the rest; and it will be a sufficient mediator in our behalf, if it can obtain one boon from you, and you cannot confer a greater benefit upon it than by abandoning and denouncing all the Jews." Now though upon this he ought to have rejected and driven away the speakers as workers of revolution and common enemies, he agrees on the contrary to what they say, and at first he made his designs against the Jews less evident, only abstaining from listening to causes brought before his tribunal with impartiality and equity, and inclining more to one side than to the other, and not allowing to both sides an equal freedom of speech; but whenever any Jew came before him he showed his aversion to him, and departed from his habitual affability in their case; but afterwards he exhibited his hostility to them in a more conspicuous manner.

5 Moreover, some occurrences of the following description increased that folly and insolence of his which was derived from instruction rather than from nature. Gaius Caesar gave Agrippa, the grandson of Herod the king, the third part of his paternal inheritance as a sovereignty, which Philip the tetrarch, who was his uncle on his father's side, had previously enjoyed. And when he was about to set out to take possession of his kingdom, Gaius advised him to avoid the voyage from Brundusium to Syria, which was a long and troublesome one, and rather to take the shorter one by Alexandria, and to wait for the periodical winds; for he said that the merchant vessels which set forth from that harbour were fast sailers, and that the pilots were most experienced men, who guided their ships like skilful coachmen guide their horses, keeping them straight in the proper course. And he took his advice, looking upon him both as his master and also as a giver of good counsel. Accordingly, going down to Dicaearchia, and seeing some Alexandrian vessels in the harbour, looking all ready and fit to put to sea, he embarked with his followers, and had a fair voyage, and so a few days afterwards he arrived at his journey's end, unforeseen and unexpected, having commanded the captains of his vessels (for he came in sight of Pharos about twilight in the evening) to furl their sails, and to keep a short distance out of sight in the open sea, until it became late in the evening and dark, and then at night he entered the port, that when he disembarked he might find all the citizens buried in sleep, and so, without any one seeing him, he might arrive at the house of the man who was to be his entertainer. With so much modesty then did this man arrive, wishing if it were possible to enter without being perceived by any one in the city. For he had not come to see Alexandria, since he had sojourned in it before, when he was preparing to take his voyage to Rome to see Tiberius, but he desired at this time to take the quickest road, so as to arrive at his destination with the smallest possible delay. But the men of Alexandria being ready to burst with envy and ill-will (for the Egyptian disposition is by nature a most jealous and envious one and inclined to look on the good fortune of others as adversity to itself), and being at the same time filled with an ancient and what I may in a manner call an innate enmity towards the Jews, were indignant at any one's becoming a king of the Jews, no less than if each individual among them had been deprived of an ancestral kingdom of his own inheritance. And then again his friends and companions came and stirred up the miserable Flaccus, inviting, and exciting, and stimulating him to feel the same envy with themselves; saying, "The arrival of this man to take upon him his government is equivalent to a deposition of yourself. He is invested with a greater dignity of honour and glory than you. He attracts all eyes towards himself when they see the array of sentinels and bodyguards around him adorned with silvered and gilded arms. For ought he to have come into the presence of another governor, when it was in his power to have sailed over the sea, and so to have arrived in safety at his own government? For, indeed, if Gaius did advise or rather command him to do so, he ought rather with earnest solicitations to have deprecated any visit to this country, in order that the real governor of it might not be brought into disrepute and appear to have his authority lessened by being apparently disregarded." When he heard this he was more indignant than before, and in public indeed he pretended to be his companion and his friend, because of his fear of the man who directed his course, but secretly he bore him much ill-will, and told every one how he hated him, and abused him behind his back, and insulted him indirectly, since he did not dare to do so openly; for he encouraged the idle and lazy mob of the city (and the mob of Alexandria is one accustomed to great license of speech, and one which delights above measure in calumny and evil-speaking), to abuse the king, either beginning to revile him in his own person, or else exhorting and exciting others to do so by the agency of persons who were accustomed to serve him in business of this kind. And they, having had the cue given them, spent all their days reviling the king in the public schools, and stringing together all sorts of gibes to turn him into ridicule. And at times they employed poets who compose farces, and managers of puppet shows, displaying their natural aptitude for every kind of disgraceful employment, though they were very slow at learning anything that was creditable, but very acute, and quick, and ready at learning anything of an opposite nature. For why did he not show his indignation, why did he not commit them to prison, why did he not chastise them for their insolent and disloyal evil speaking? And even if he had not been a king but only one of the household of Caesar, ought he not to have had some privileges and especial honours? The fact is that all these circumstances are an undeniable evidence that Flaccus was a participator in all this abuse; for he who might have punished it with the most extreme severity, and entirely checked it, and who yet took no steps to restrain it, was clearly convicted of having permitted and encouraged it; but whenever an ungoverned multitude begins a course of evil doing it never desists, but proceeds from one wickedness to another, continually doing some monstrous thing.

6 There was a certain madman named Carabbas, afflicted not with a wild, savage, and dangerous madness (for that comes on in fits without being expected either by the patient or by bystanders), but with an intermittent and more gentle kind; this man spent all this days and nights naked in the roads, minding neither cold nor heat, the sport of idle children and wanton youths; and they, driving the poor wretch as far as the public gymnasium, and setting him up there on high that he might be seen by everybody, flattened out a leaf of papyrus and put it on his head instead of a diadem, and clothed the rest of his body with a common door mat instead of a cloak and instead of a sceptre they put in his hand a small stick of the native papyrus which they found lying by the way side and gave to him; and when, like actors in theatrical spectacles, he had received all the insignia of royal authority, and had been dressed and adorned like a king, the young men bearing sticks on their shoulders stood on each side of him instead of spear-bearers, in imitation of the bodyguards of the king, and then others came up, some as if to salute him, and others making as though they wished to plead their causes before him, and others pretending to wish to consult with him about the affairs of the state. Then from the multitude of those who were standing around there arose a wonderful shout of men calling out Maris; and this is the name by which it is said that they call the kings among the Syrians; for they knew that Agrippa was by birth a Syrian, and also that he was possessed of a great district of Syria of which he was the sovereign; when Flaccus heard, or rather when he saw this, he would have done right if he had apprehended the maniac and put him in prison, that he might not give to those who reviled him any opportunity or excuse for insulting their superiors, and if he had chastised those who dressed him up for having dared both openly and disguisedly, both with words and actions, to insult a king and a friend of Caesar, and one who had been honoured by the Roman senate with imperial authority; but he not only did not punish them, but he did not think fit even to check them, but gave complete license and impunity to all those who designed ill, and who were disposed to show their enmity and spite to the king, pretending not to see what he did see, and not to hear what he did hear. And when the multitude perceived this, I do not mean the ordinary and well-regulated population of the city, but the mob which, out of its restlessness and love of an unquiet and disorderly life, was always filling every place with tumult and confusion, and who, because of their habitual

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idleness and laziness, were full of treachery and revolutionary plans, they, flocking to the theatre the first thing in the morning, having already purchased Flaccus for a miserable price, which he with his mad desire for glory and with his slavish disposition, condescended to take to the injury not only of himself, but also of the safety of the commonwealth, all cried out, as if at a signal given, to erect images in the synagogues, proposing a most novel and unprecedented violation of the law. And though they knew this (for they are very shrewd in their wickedness), they adopted a deep design, putting forth the name of Caesar as a screen, to whom it would be impiety to attribute the deeds of the guilty; what then did the governor of the country do? Knowing that the city had two classes of inhabitants, our own nation and the people of the country, and that the whole of Egypt was inhabited in the same manner, and that Jews who inhabited Alexandria and the rest of the country from the Catabathmos on the side of Libya to the boundaries of Ethiopia were not less than a million of men; and that the attempts which were being made were directed against the whole nation, and that it was a most mischievous thing to distress the ancient hereditary customs of the land; he, disregarding all these considerations, permitted the mob to proceed with the erection of the statues, though he might have given them a vast number of admonitory precepts instead of any such permission, either commanding them as their governor, or advising them as their friend.

7 But he, for he was eagerly cooperating in all that was being done amiss, thought fit to use his superior power to face the seditious tumult with fresh additions of evil, and as far as it depended on him, one may almost say that he filled the whole of the inhabited world with civil wars; for it was sufficiently evident that the report about the destruction of the synagogues, which took its rise in Alexandria would be immediately spread over all the districts of Egypt, and would extend from that country to the east and to the oriental nations, and from the borders of the land in the other direction, and from the Mareotic district which is the frontier of Libya, towards the setting of the sun and the western nations. For no one country can contain the whole Jewish nation, by reason of its populousness; on which account they frequent all the most prosperous and fertile countries of Europe and Asia, whether islands or continents, looking indeed upon the holy city as their metropolis in which is erected the sacred temple of the most high God, but accounting those regions which have been occupied by their fathers, and grandfathers, and great grandfathers, and still more remote ancestors, in which they have been born and brought up, as their country; and there are even some regions to which they came the very moment that they were originally settled, sending a colony of their people to do a pleasure to the founders of the colony. And there was reason to fear lest all the populace in every country, taking what was done in Egypt as a model and as an excuse, might insult those Jews who were their fellow citizens, by introducing new regulations with respect to their synagogues and their national customs; but the Jews, for they were not inclined to remain quiet under everything, although naturally entirely disposed towards peace, not only because contests for natural customs do among all men appear more important than those which are only for the sake of life, but also because they alone of all the people under the sun, if they were deprived of their houses of prayer, would at the same time be deprived of all means of showing their piety towards their benefactors, which they would have looked upon as worse than ten thousand deaths, inasmuch as if their synagogues were destroyed they would no longer have any sacred places in which they could declare their gratitude, might have reasonably said to those who opposed them: You, without being aware of it, are taking away honour from your lords instead of conferring any on them. Our houses of prayer are manifestly incitements to all the Jews in every part of the habitable world to display their piety and loyalty towards the house of Augustus; and if they are destroyed from among us, what other place, or what other manner of showing that honour, will be left to us? For if we were to neglect the opportunity of adhering to our national customs when it is afforded to us, we should deserve to meet with the severest punishment, as not giving any proper or adequate return for the benefits which we have received; but if, while it is in our power to do so, we, in conformity with our own laws which Augustus himself is in the habit of confirming, obey in everything, then I do not see what great, or even what small offence can be laid to our charge; unless any one were to impute to us that we do not transgress the laws of deliberate purpose, and that we do not intentionally take care to depart from our national customs, which practices, even if they at first attack others, do often in the end visit those who are guilty of them. But Flaccus, saying nothing that he ought to have said, and everything which he ought not to have said, has sinned against us in this manner; but those men whom he has studied to gratify, what has been their design? Have they had the feelings of men wishing to do honour to Caesar? Was there then a scarcity of temples in the city, the greatest and most important parts of which are all allotted to one or other of the gods, in which they might have erected any statues they pleased? We have been describing the evidence of hostile and unfriendly men, who seek to injure us with such artifice, that even when injuring us they may not appear to have been acting iniquitously, and yet that we who are injured by them cannot resist with safety to ourselves; for, my good men, it does not contribute to the honour of the emperor to abrogate the laws, to disturb the national customs of a people, to insult those who live in the same country, and to teach those who dwell in other cities to disregard unanimity and tranquility.

8 Since, therefore, the attempt which was being made to violate the law appeared to him to be prospering, while he was destroying the synagogues, and not leaving even their name, he proceeded onwards to another exploit, namely, the utter destruction of our constitution, that when all those things to which alone our life was anchored were cut away, namely, our national customs and our lawful political rights and social privileges, we might be exposed to the very extremity of calamity, without having any stay left to which we could cling for safety, for a few days afterwards he issued a notice in which he called us all foreigners and aliens, without giving us an opportunity of being heard in our own defense, but condemning us without a trial; and what command can be more full of tyranny than this? He himself being everything--accuser, enemy, witness, judge, and executioner, added then to the two former appellations a third also, allowing any one who was inclined to proceed to exterminate the Jews as prisoners of war. So when the people had received this license, what did they do? There are five districts in the city, named after the first five letters of the written alphabet, of these two are called the quarters of the Jews, because the chief portion of the Jews lives in them. There are also a few scattered Jews, but only a very few, living in some of the other districts. What then did they do? They drove the Jews entirely out of four quarters, and crammed them all into a very small portion of one; and by reason of their numbers they were dispersed over the sea-shore, and desert places, and among the tombs, being deprived of all their property; while the populace, overrunning their desolate houses, turned to plunder, and divided the booty among themselves as if they had obtained it in war. And as no one hindered them, they broke open even the workshops of the Jews, which were all shut up because of their mourning for Drusilla,[she was the sister of the emperor, and at her death her brother ordered that divine honours should be paid to her.] and carried off all that they found there, and bore it openly through the middle of the market-place as if they had only been making use of their own property. And the cessation of business to which they were compelled to submit was even a worse evil than the plunder to which they were exposed, as the consequence was that those who had lent money lost what they had lent, and as no one was permitted, neither farmer, nor captain of a ship, nor merchant, nor artisan, to employ himself in his usual manner, so that poverty was brought on them from two sides at once, both from rapine, as when license was thus given to plunder them they were stripped of everything in one day, and also from the circumstance of their no longer being able to earn money by their customary occupations.

9 And though these were evils sufficiently intolerable, yet nevertheless they appear actually trifling when compared with those which were subsequently inflicted on them, for poverty indeed is a bitter evil, especially when it is caused by the machinations of one's enemies, still it is less than insult and personal ill treatment even of the slightest character. But now the evils which were heaped upon our people were so excessive and inordinate, that if a person were desirous to use appropriate language, he would never call them insults of assaults, but, as it appears to me, he would actually be wholly at a loss for suitable expressions, on account of the enormity of the cruelties now newly invented against them, so that if the treatment which men experience from enemies who have subdued them in war, however implacable they may be by nature, were to be compared with that to which the Jews were subjected, it would appear most merciful. Enemies, indeed, plunder their conquered foes of their money, and lead away multitudes in captivity, having incurred the same risk of losing all that they had if they themselves had been defeated. Not but that in all such cases there are very many persons for whom their relations and friends put down a ransom, and who are thus emancipated from captivity, inasmuch as though their enemies could not be worked upon by compassion, they could by love of money. But what is the use of going on in this way, some one will say, for as long as men escape from danger it signifies but little in what way their preservation is brought to pass? Moreover, it has often happened that enemies have granted to those who have fallen in battle the honour of funeral rites, those who were gentle and humane burying them at their own expense, and those who have carried on their enmity even against the dead giving up their bodies to their friends under a truce, in order that they might not be deprived of the last honour of all, the customary ceremonies of sepulture. This, then, is the conduct of enemies in time of war; let us now see what was done by those who a little while before had been friends in time of peace. For after plundering them of everything, and driving them from their homes, and expelling them by main force from most of the quarters of the city, our people, as if they were blockaded and hemmed in by a circle of besieging enemies, being oppressed by a terrible scarcity and want of necessary things, and seeing their wives and their children dying before their eyes by an unnatural famine (for every other place was full of prosperity and abundance, as the river had irrigated the corn lands plentifully with its inundations, and as all the champaign country, which is devoted to the purposes of bearing wheat, was this year supplying a most abundant over-crop of corn with very unusual fertility), being no longer able to support their want, some, though they had never been used to do so before, came to the houses of their friends and relations to beg them to contribute such food as was absolutely necessary as a charity; others, who from their high and free-born spirit could not endure the condition of beggars, as being a slavish state unbecoming the dignity of a freeman, came down into the market with no other object than, miserable men that they were, to buy food for their families and for themselves. And then, being immediately seized by those who had excited the seditious multitude against them, they were treacherously put to death, and then were dragged along and trampled under foot by the whole city, and completely destroyed, without the least portion of them being left which could possibly receive burial; and in this way their enemies, who in their savage madness had become transformed into the nature of wild beasts, slew them and thousands of others with all kinds of agony and tortures, and newly invented cruelties, for wherever they met with or caught sight of a Jew, they stoned him, or beat him with sticks, not at once delivering their blows upon mortal parts, lest they should die speedily, and so speedily escape from the sufferings which it was their design to inflict upon them. Some persons even, going still great and greater lengths in the iniquity and license of their barbarity, disdained all blunter weapons, and took up the most efficacious arms of all, fire and iron, and slew many with the sword, and destroyed not a few with flames. And the most merciless of all their persecutors in some instances burnt whole families, husbands with their wives, and infant children with their parents, in the middle of the city, sparing neither age nor youth, nor the innocent helplessness of infants. And when they had a scarcity of fuel, they collected faggots of green wood, and slew them by the smoke rather than by fire, contriving a still more miserable and protracted death for those unhappy people, so that their bodies lay about promiscuously in every direction half burnt, a grievous and most miserable sight. And if some of those who were employed in the collection of sticks were too slow, they took their own furniture, of which they had plundered them, to burn their persons, robbing them of their most costly articles, and burning with them things of the greatest use and value, which they used as fuel instead of ordinary timber. Many men too, who were alive, they bound by one foot, fastening them round the ankle, and thus they dragged them along and bruised them, leaping on them, designing to inflict the most barbarous of deaths upon them, and then when they were dead they raged no less against them with interminable hostility, and inflicted still heavier insults on their persons, dragging them, I had almost said, though all the alleys and lanes of the city, until the corpse, being lacerated in all its skin, and flesh, and muscles from the inequality and roughness of the ground, all the previously united portions of his composition being torn asunder and separated from one another, was actually torn to pieces. And those who did these things, mimicked the sufferers, like people employed in the representation of theatrical farces; but the relations and friends of those who were the real victims, merely because they sympathized with the misery of their relations, were led away to prison, were scourged, were tortured, and after all the ill treatment which their living bodies could endure, found the cross the end of all, and the punishment from which they could not escape.

10 But after Flaccus had broken through every right, and trampled upon every principle of justice, and had left no portion of the Jews free from the extreme severity of his designing malice, in the boundlessness of his wickedness he contrived a monstrous and unprecedented attack upon them, being ever an inventor of new acts of iniquity, for he arrested thirty-eight members of our council of elders, which our Saviour and benefactor, Augustus, elected to manage the affairs of the Jewish nation after the death of the king of our own nation, having sent written commands to that effect to Manius Maximus when he was about to take upon himself for the second time the government of Egypt and of the country, he arrested them, I say, in their own houses, and commanded them to be thrown into prison, and arranged a splendid procession to send through the middle of the market-place a body of old men prisoners, with their hands bound, some with thongs and others with iron chains, whom he led in this plight into the theatre, a most miserable spectacle, and one wholly unsuited to the times. And then he commanded them all to stand in front of their enemies, who were sitting down, to

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make their disgrace the more conspicuous, and ordered them all to be stripped of their clothes and scourged with stripes, in a way that only the most wicked of malefactors are usually treated, and they were flogged with such severity that some of them the moment they were carried out died of their wounds, while others were rendered so ill for a long time that their recovery was despaired of. And the enormity of this cruelty is proved by many other circumstances, and it will be further proved most evidently and undeniably by the circumstance which I am about to mention. Three of the members of this council of elders, Euodius, and Trypho, and Audro, had been stripped of all their property, being plundered of everything that was in their houses at one onset, and he was well aware that they had been exposed to this treatment, for it had been related to him when he had in the first instance sent for our rulers, under pretence of wishing to promote a reconciliation between them and the rest of the city; but nevertheless, though he well knew that they had been deprived of all their property, he scourged them in the very sight of those who had plundered them, that thus they might endure the twofold misery of poverty and personal ill treatment, and that their persecutors might reap the double pleasure of enjoying riches which did in no respect belong to them, and also of feasting their eyes to satiety on the disgrace of those whom they had plundered. Now, though I desire to mention a circumstance which took place at that time, I am in doubt whether to do so or not, lest if it should be looked upon as unimportant, it may appear to take off from the enormity of these great iniquities; but even if it is unimportant in itself, it is nevertheless an indication of no trifling wickedness of disposition. There are different kinds of scourges used in the city, distinguished with reference to the deserts or crimes of those who are about to be scourged. Accordingly, it is usual for the Egyptians of the country themselves to be scourged with a different kind of scourge, and by a different class of executioners, but for the Alexandrians in the city to be scourged with rods by the Alexandrian lictors, and this custom had been preserved, in the case also of our own people, by all the predecessors of Flaccus, and by Flaccus himself in the earlier periods of his government; for it is possible, it really is possible, even in ignominy, to find some slight circumstance of honour, and even in ill treatment to find something which is, to some extent, a relaxation, when any one allows the nature of things to be examined into by itself, and to be confined to its own indispensable requirements, without adding from his own ingenuity any additional cruelty or treachery, to separate and take from it all that is mingled with it of a milder character. How then can it be looked upon as anything but most infamous, that when Alexandrian Jews, of the lowest rank, had always been previously beaten with the rods, suited to freemen and citizens, if ever they were convicted of having done anything worthy of stripes, yet now the very rulers of the nation, the council of the elders, who derived their very titles from the honour in which they were held and the offices which they filled, should, in this respect, be treated with more indignity than their own servants, like the lowest of the Egyptian rustics, even when found guilty of the very worst of crimes? I omit to mention, that even if they had committed the most countless iniquities, nevertheless the governor ought, out of respect for the season, to have delayed their punishment; for with all rulers, who govern any state on constitutional principles, and who do not seek to acquire a character for audacity, but who do really honour their benefactors, it is the custom to punish no one, even of those who have been lawfully condemned, until the famous festival and assembly, in honour of the birth-day of the illustrious emperor, has passed. But he committed this violation of the laws at the very season of this festival, and punished men who had done no wrong; though certainly, if he ever determined to punish them, he ought to have done so at a subsequent time; but he hastened, and would admit of no delay, by reason of his eagerness to please the multitude who was opposed to them, thinking that in this way he should be able, more easily, to gain them over to the objects which he had in view. I have known instances before now of men who had been crucified when this festival and holiday was at hand, being taken down and given up to their relations, in order to receive the honours of sepulture, and to enjoy such observances as are due to the dead; for it used to be considered, that even the dead ought to derive some enjoyment from the natal festival of a good emperor, and also that the sacred character of the festival ought to be regarded. But this man did not order men who had already perished on crosses to be taken down, but he commanded living men to be crucified, men to whom the very time itself gave, if not entire forgiveness, still, at all events, a brief and temporary respite from punishment; and he did this after they had been beaten by scourgings in the middle of the theatre; and after he had tortured them with fire and sword; and the spectacle of their sufferings was divided; for the first part of the exhibition lasted from the morning to the third or fourth hour, in which the Jews were scourged, were hung up, were tortured on the wheel, were condemned, and were dragged to execution through the middle of the orchestra; and after this beautiful exhibition came the dancers, and the buffoons, and the flute-players, and all the other diversions of the theatrical contests.

11 And why do I dwell on these things? for a second mode of barbarity was afterwards devised against us, because the governor wished to excite the whole multitude of the army against us, in accordance with the contrivance of some foreign informer. Now the information which was laid against the nation was, that the Jews had entire suits of armor in their houses; therefore, having sent for a centurion, in whom he placed the greatest confidence, by name Castor, he ordered him to take with him the boldest soldier of his own band, to go with haste, and, without saying a word to any one, to enter the houses of the Jews, and to search them, and see whether there was any store of arms laid up in them; and he ran with great speed to perform the commands which had been given him. But they, having no suspicion of his intentions, stood at first speechless with astonishment, their wives and their children clinging to them, and shedding abundance of tears, because of their fear of being carried into captivity, for they were in continual expectation of that, looking upon it as all that was wanting to complete their total misery. But when they heard from some of those who were sent to make the search an inquiry as to where they had laid up their arms, they breathed awhile, and opening all their secret recesses displayed everything which they had, being partly delighted and partly grieving; delighted at the opportunity of repelling the false accusation which was thus brought against them by its own character, but indignant, in the first place, because calumnies of such a nature, when concocted and urged against them by their enemies, were believed beforehand; and, secondly, because their wives, who were shut up, and who did not actually come forth out of their inner chambers, and their virgins, who were kept in the strictest privacy, shunning the eyes of men, even of those who were their nearest relations, out of modesty, were now alarmed by being displayed to the public gaze, not only of persons who were no relations to them, but even of common soldiers. Nevertheless, though a most rigorous examination took place, how great a quantity of defensive and offensive armor do you think was found? Helmets, and breast-plates, and shields, and daggers, and javelins, and weapons of every description, were brought out and piled up in heaps; and also how great a variety of missile weapons, javelins, slings, bows, and darts? Absolutely not a single thing of the kind; scarcely even knives sufficient for the daily use of the cooks to prepare and dress the food. From which circumstance, the simplicity of their daily manner of life was plainly seen: as they made no pretence to magnificence or delicate luxury; the nature of which things is to engender satiety, and satiety is apt to engender insolence, which is the beginning of all evils. And indeed it was not a long time before that, that the arms had been taken away from the Egyptians throughout the whole country by a man of the name of Bassus, to whom Flaccus had committed this employment. But at that time one might have beheld a great fleet of ships sailing down and anchoring in the harbours afforded by the mouths of the river, full of arms of every possible description, and numerous beasts of burden loaded with bags made of skins sewn together and hanging like panniers on each side so as to balance better, and also almost all the waggons belonging to the camp filled with weapons of every sort, which were brought in rows so as to be all seen at once, and arranged together in order. And the distance between the harbour and the armory in the king's palace in which the arms were commanded to be deposited was about ten stadia; it was then very proper to investigate the houses of the men who had amassed such quantities of arms; for as they had often actually revolted, they were naturally liable to be suspected of designing revolutionary measures, and it was quite fitting that, in imitation of the sacred games, those who had superintended the collection of the arms should keep a new triennial festival in Egypt, in order that they might not again be collected without any one being aware of it, or else that at all events only a few might be collected instead of a great number, from the people not having time enough to assemble any great number. But why were we to be exposed to any treatment of the sort? For when were we ever suspected of any tendency to revolt? And when did we bear any other than a most peaceful character among all men? And the habits in which we daily and habitually indulge, are they not irreproachable, tending to the lawful tranquility and stability of the state? In fact, if the Jews had had arms in their houses, would they have submitted to be stripped of above four hundred dwellings, out of which they were turned and forcibly expelled by those who plundered them of all their properties? Why then was not this search made in the houses of those people who had arms, if not of their own private property, at all events such as they had carried off from others? The truth is, as I have said already, the whole business was a deliberate contrivance designed by the cruelty of Flaccus and of the multitude, in which even women were included; for they were dragged away as captives, not only in the market-place, but even in the middle of the theatre, and dragged upon the stage on any false accusation that might be brought against them with the most painful and intolerable insults; and then, when it was found that they were of another race, they were dismissed; for they apprehended many women as Jewesses who were not so, from want of making any careful or accurate investigation. And if they appeared to belong to our nation, then those who, instead of spectators, became tyrants and masters, laid cruel commands on them, bringing them swine's flesh, and enjoining them to eat it. Accordingly, all who were wrought on by fear of punishment to eat it were released without suffering any ill treatment; but those who were more obstinate were given up to the tormentors to suffer intolerable tortures, which is the clearest of all possible proofs that they had committed no offence whatever beyond what I have mentioned.

12 But it was not out of his own head alone, but also because of the commands and in consequence of the situation of the emperor that he sought and devised means to injure and oppress us; for after we had decreed by our votes and carried out by our actions all the honours to the emperor Gaius, which were either within our power or allowable by our laws, we brought the decree to him, entreating him that, as it was not permitted to us to send an embassy ourselves to bear it to the emperor, he would vouchsafe to forward it himself. And, after he had read all the articles contained in the decree, and having often nodded his head in token of his approbation of them, smiling, and being very much delighted, or else pretending to be pleased, he said: "I approve of you very greatly in all things, for your piety and loyalty, and I will forward it as you request, or else I myself will act the part of your ambassador, that Gaius may be aware of your gratitude. And I myself will bear witness in your favour to all that I know of the orderly disposition and obedient character of your nation, without exaggerating anything; for truth is the most sufficient of all panegyrics." At these promises we were greatly delighted, and we gave him thanks, hoping that the decree would be thoroughly read and appreciated by Gaius. And indeed it was natural enough, since all the things that are promptly and carefully sent by the lieutenant-governors are read and examined without delay by you; 0but Flaccus, wholly neglecting all our hopes, and all his own words, and all his own promises, retained the decree, in order that you, above all the men under the sun, might be looked upon as enemies to the emperor. Was not this the conduct of one who had been vigilant afar off, and who had long been contriving his design against us, and who was not now yielding to some momentary impulse, and attacking us on a sudden without any previous contrivance with unreasonable impetuosity, being led away by some fresh motive? But God, as it seems, he who has a care for all human affairs, scattered his flattering speeches cunningly devised to mislead the emperor, and baffled the counsels of his lawless disposition and the manoeuvres which he was employing, taking pity on us, and very soon he brought matters into such a train that Flaccus was disappointed of his hopes. For when Agrippa, the king, came into the country, we set before him all the designs which Flaccus had entertained against us; and he set himself to rectify the business, and, having promised to forward the decree to the emperor, he taking it, as we hear, did send it, accompanied with a defense relating to the time at which it was passed, showing that it was not lately only that we had learnt to venerate the family of our benefactors, but that we had from the very first beginning shown our zeal towards them, though we had been deprived of the opportunity of making any seasonable demonstration of it by the insolence of our governor. And after these events justice, the constant champion and ally of those who are injured, and the punisher of everything impious, whether it be action or man, began to labour to work his overthrow. For at first they endured the most unexampled insults and miseries, such as had never happened under any other of our governors, ever since the house of Augustus first acquired the dominion over earth and sea; for some men of those who, in the time of Tiberius, and of Caesar his father, had the government, seeking to convert their governorship and viceroyalty into a sovereignty and tyranny, filled all the country with intolerable evils, with corruption, and rapine, and condemnation of persons who had done no wrong, and with banishment and exile of such innocent men, and with the slaughter of the nobles without a trial; and then, after the appointed period of their government had expired, when they returned to Rome, the emperors exacted of them an account and relation of all that they had done, especially if by chance the cities which they had been oppressing sent any embassy to complain; for then the emperors, behaving like impartial judges, listening both to the accusers and to the defendant on equal terms, not thinking it right to pre-judge and pre-condemn anyone before his trial, decided without being influenced either by enmity or favour, but according to the nature of truth, and pronouncing such a judgement as seemed to be just. But in the case of Flaccus, that justice which hates iniquity did not wait till the term of his government had expired, but went forward to meet him before the usual time, being indignant at the immoderate extravagance of his lawless iniquity.

13 And the manner in which he was cut short in his tyranny was as follows. He imagined that Gaius was already made

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favourable to him in respect of those matters, about which suspicion was sought to be raised against him, partly by his letters which were full of flattery, and partly by the harangues which he was continually addressing to the people, in which he courted the emperor by stringing together flattering sentences and long series of cunningly imagined panegyrics, and partly too because he was very highly thought of by the greater part of the city. But he was deceiving himself without knowing it; for the hopes of wicked men are unstable, as they guess what is more favourable to them while they suffer what is quite contrary to it, as in fact they deserve. For Bassus, the centurion, was sent from Italy by the appointment of Gaius with the company of soldiers which he commanded. And having embarked on board one of the fastest sailing vessels, he arrived in a few days at the harbour of Alexandria, off the island of Pharos, about evening; and he ordered the captain of the ship to keep out in the open sea till sunset, intending to enter the city unexpectedly, in order that Flaccus might not be aware of his coming beforehand, and so be led to adopt any violent measures, and render the service which he was commanded to perform fruitless. And when the evening came, the ship entered the harbour, and Bassus, disembarking with his own soldiers, advanced, neither recognising nor being recognised by any one; and on his road finding a soldier who was one of the quaternions of the guard, he ordered him to show him the house of his captain; for he wished to communicate his secret errand to him, that, if he required additional force, he might have an assistant ready. And when he heard that he was supping at some persons' house in company with Flaccus, he did not relax in his speed, but hastened onward to the dwelling of his entertainer; for the man with whom they were feasting was Stephanion, one of the freedmen of Tiberius Caesar; and withdrawing to a short distance, he sends forward one of his own followers to reconnoitre, disguising him like a servant in order that no one might notice him or perceive what was going forward. So he, entering in to the banqueting-room, as if he were the servant of one of the guests, examined everything accurately, and then returned and gave information to Bassus. And he, when he had learnt the unguarded condition of the entrances, and the small number of the people who were with Flaccus (for he was attended by not more than ten or fifteen slaves to wait upon him), gave the signal to his soldiers whom he had with him, and hastened forward, and entered suddenly into the supperroom, he and the soldiers with him, who stood by with their swords girded on, and surrounded Flaccus before he was aware of it, for at the moment of their entrance he was drinking health with some one, and making merry with those who were present. But when Bassus had made his way into the midst, the moment that he saw him he became dumb with amazement and consternation, and wishing to rise up he saw the guards all round him, and then he perceived his fate, even before he heard what Gaius wanted with him, and what commands had been given to those who had come, and what he was about to endure, for the mind of man is very prompt at perceiving at once all those particulars which take a long time to happen, and at hearing them all together. Accordingly, every one of those who were of this supper party rose up, being through fear unnerved, and shuddering lest some punishment might be affixed to the mere fact of having been supping with the culprit, for it was not safe to flee, nor indeed was it possible to do so, since all the entrances were already occupied. So Flaccus was led away by the soldiers at the command of Bassus, this being the manner in which he returned from the banquet, for it was fitting that justice should begin to visit him at a feast, because he had deprived the houses of innumerable innocent men of all festivity.

14 This was the unexampled misfortune which befell Flaccus in the country of which he was governor, being taken prisoner like an enemy on account of the Jews, as it appears to me, whom he had determined to destroy utterly in his desire for glory. And a manifest proof of this is to be found in the time of his arrest, for it was the general festival of the Jews at the time of the autumnal equinox, during which it is the custom of the Jews to live in tents; but none of the usual customs at this festival were carried out at all, since all the rulers of the people were still oppressed by irremediable and intolerable injuries and insults, and since the common people looked upon the miseries of their chiefs as the common calamity of the whole nation, and were also depressed beyond measure at the individual afflictions to which they were each of them separately exposed, for griefs are redoubled when they happen at the times of festival, when those who are afflicted are unable to keep the feast, both by reason of the deprivation of their mirthful cheerfulness, which a general assembly requires, and also from the presence of sorrow by which they were now overcome, without being able to find any remedy for such terrible disasters. 1And while they were yielding to excessive sorrow, and feeling overwhelmed by most severe anguish, and they were all collected in their houses at the approach of night, some persons came in to inform them of the apprehension of the governor which had then taken place. And they thought that this was to try them, and was not the truth, and were grieved all the more from thinking themselves mobbed, and that a snare was thus laid for them; but when a tumult arose through the city, and the guards of the night began to run about to and fro, and when some of the cavalry were heard to be galloping with the utmost speed and with all energy to the camp and from the camp, some of them, being excited by the strangeness of the event, went forth from their houses to inquire what had happened, for it was plain that something strange had occurred. And when they heard of the arrest that had taken place, and that Flaccus was now within the toils, stretching up their hands to heaven, they sang a hymn, and began a song of praise to God, who presides over all the affairs of men, saying, "We are not delighted, O Master, at the punishment of our enemy, being taught by the sacred laws to submit to all the vicissitudes of human life, but we justly give thanks to thee, who hast had mercy and compassion upon us, and who hast thus relieved our continual and incessant oppressions." And when they had spent the whole night in hymns and songs, they poured out through the gates at the earliest dawn, and hastened to the nearest point of the shore, for they had been deprived of their usual places for prayer, and standing in a clear and open space, they cried out, "O most mighty King of all mortal and immortal beings, we have come to offer thanks unto thee, to invoke earth and sea, and the air and the heaven, and all the parts of the universe, and the whole world in which alone we dwell, being driven out by men and robbed of everything else in the world, and being deprived of our city, and of all the buildings both private and public within the city, and being made houseless and homeless by the treachery of our governor, the only men in the world who are so treated. You suggest to us favourable hopes of the setting straight of what is left to us, beginning to consent to our prayers, inasmuch as you have on a sudden thrown down the common enemy of our nation, the author and cause of all our calamities, exulting in pride, and trusting that he would gain credit by such means, before he was removed to a distance from us, in order that those who were evilly afflicted might not feel their joy impaired by learning it only by report, but you have chastised him while he was so near, almost as we may say before the eyes of those whom he oppressed, in order to give us a more distinct perception of the end which has fallen upon him in a short time beyond our hopes."

15 And besides what I have spoken of there is also a third thing, which appears to me to have taken place by the interposition of divine providence; for after he had set sail at the beginning of winter, for it was rightly ordained that he should have his fill of the dangers of the sea, inasmuch as he had filled all the elements of the universe with his impieties, after suffering innumerable hardships he with difficulty got safety to Italy, and the moment that he had arrived there he was pursued by accusations which were brought against him, and which were brought before two of his greatest enemies, Isidorus and Lampo, who a little while before were in the position of subjects to him, calling him their master, and benefactor, and Saviour, and names of that sort, but who now were his adversaries, and that too displaying a power not only equal to but far superior to his own, not merely from the confidence which men feel in the justice of their cause, but, what was a matter of great moment, because they saw that the Judge of all human affairs was his irreconcileable enemy, being about now to take upon himself the form of a judge from a prudent determination not to appear to condemn any one beforehand unheard, and not to act the part of an enemy, who before hearing either accusation or defense, has already condemned the defendant in his mind, and has sentenced him to the most severe punishments. But nothing is so terrible as for men who have been the more powerful to be accused by their inferiors, and for those who have been rulers to be impeached by their former subjects, which is as if masters were being prosecuted by their natural or purchased slaves.

16 And yet even this in my opinion was a lighter evil when compared with another which was greater still; for it was not people who were merely in the simple rank of subjects who now, discarding that position and conspiring together, on a sudden attacked him with their accusations; but those who did so were men who during the chief part of the time that he had had the government of the country had been in a position of the greatest enmity and hatred to him, Lampo having been under a prosecution for impiety against Tiberius Caesar, and having been almost worn out by the matter which had been thus impending over his head fore two years; 2for the judge who had a grudge against him caused all sorts of delays and every possible protraction of the cause on various pretexts, wishing even if he escaped from the accusation, at all events to keep the terror of the future as uncertain hanging over his head for the longest possible period, so as to make his life more miserable even than death. 3And then again when he seemed to have come off victorious, saying that he was insulted and injured in his property (for he was compelled to become a gymnasiarch), either by being economical and illiberal in his expenses, pretending that he had not sufficient wealth for such unlimited expenditure, or perhaps really not having enough; but before he came to the trial, making a parade of being very rich, but when he did come to the proof then appearing not to be a man of exceeding wealth, having acquired nearly all the riches which he had by unjust actions. 3For standing by the rulers when they gave judgement, he took notes of all that took place on the trial as if he were a clerk; and then he designedly passed over or omitted such and such points, and interpolated other things which were not said. And at times, too, he made alterations, changing and altering, and perverting matters, and turning things up-side down, aiming to get money by every syllable, or, I might rather say, by every letter, like a hunter after musty records, 3whom the whole people with one accord did often with great felicity and propriety of expression call a pen-murderer, as slaying numbers of persons by the things which he wrote, and rendering the living more miserable than even the dead, as, though they might have got the victory and been in comfort, they were subjected to miserable defeat and poverty, their enemies having bought victory, and triumph, and wealth, of a man who sold and made his market of the properties of others. For it was impossible for rulers who had the charge of so vast a country entrusted to them, when affairs of every sort, both private and public, were coming in upon them fresh every day, to remember everything which they had heard, especially as they had not only to fill the part of judges, but also to take accounts of all the revenues and taxes, the investigation into which occupied the greater portion of the year. 3And the man to whom it was entrusted to take charge of that most important of all deposits, namely, justice, and of those most holy sentiments which had been delivered and urged before them, caused forgetfulness to the judges, registering those who ought to have had sentence in their favour as defeated, and those who ought to have been defeated as victorious, after the receipt of his accursed pay, or, to speak more properly, wages of iniquity.

17 Such, then, was the character of Lampo, who was now one of the accusers of Flaccus. And Isidorus was in no respect inferior to him in wickedness, being a man of the populace, a low demagogue, one who had continually studied to throw everything into disorder and confusion, an enemy to all peace and stability, very clever at exciting seditions and tumults which had no existence before, and at inflaming and exaggerating such as were already excited, taking care always to keep about him a disorderly and promiscuous mob of all the refuse of the people, ready for every kind of atrocity, which he had divided into regular sections as so many companies of soldiers. 3There are a vast number of parties in the city whose association is founded in no one good principle, but who are united by wine, and drunkenness, and revelry, and the offspring of those indulgencies, insolence; and their meetings are called synods and couches by the natives. 3In all these parties or the greater number of them Isidorus is said to have borne the bell, the leader of the feast, the chief of the supper, the disturber of the city. Then, whenever it was determined to do some mischief, at one signal they all went forth in a body, and did and said whatever they were told. 3And on one occasion, being indignant with Flaccus because, after he had appeared originally to be a person of some weight with him, he afterwards was no longer courted in an equal degree, having hired a gang of fellows from the training schools and men accustomed to vociferate loudly, who well their outcries as if in regular market to those who are inclined to buy them, he ordered them all to assemble at the gymnasium; 3and they, having filled it, began to heap accusations on Flaccus without any particular grounds, inventing all kinds of monstrous accusations and all sorts of falsehoods in ridiculous language, stringing long sentences together, so that not only was Flaccus himself alarmed but all the others who were there at this unexpected attack, and especially, as it may be conjectured, from the idea that there must certainly have been some one behind the scenes whom they were studying to gratify, since they themselves had suffered no evil, and since they were well aware that the rest of the city had not been ill-treated by him. 4Then, after they had deliberated awhile, they determined to apprehend certain persons of them and to inquire into the cause of this indiscriminate and sudden rage and madness. And the men who were arrested, without being put to the torture, confessed the truth and added proofs to their words by what had been done, detailing the pay which had been already given and that which, in accordance with his promises, was subsequently to be paid, and the men who were appointed to distribute it as the leaders of the sedition, and the place where it was to break out, and the time when the giving of the bribes was to take place. 4And when every one, as was very natural, was indignant at this, and when the city was mightily offended, that the folly of some individuals should attach to it so as to dim its reputation, Flaccus determined to send for some of the most honourable men of the people, and, on the next day to bring forward before them those who had distributed the bribes, that he might investigate the truth about Isidorus, and also that he might make a defense of his own system of government, and prove that he had been unjustly calumniated; and when they heard the proclamation there came not only the magistrates but also the whole city, except that portion which was about to be convicted of having

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been the agents of corruption or the corrupted. And they who had been employed in this honourable service, being raised up on the platform, 4that they might be elevated and conspicuous and be recognised by all men, accused Isidorus as having been the cause of all the tumults and of the accusations which had been brought against Flaccus, and as having given money and bribes to no small number of them by himself. "Since else," said they, "where could we have got such great abundance? We are poor men, and are scarcely able to provide our daily expenses for absolute necessaries: and what evil did we ever suffer from the governor, so as to be forced to bear him ill will? Nay, but it is he who was the cause of all these things, the author of them all, he who is always envious of those who are in prosperity, and an adversary of all stability and wholesome law." And when those who were present came to the knowledge of these things, 4for what was thus said was a very evident proof and evidence of the intentions of the person accused, they all raised an outcry, some calling out that he should be degraded, others that he should be banished, others that he should be put to death, and these last were the most numerous; and the others changed their tone and joined them, so that at last they all cried out, with one accord and with one voice, to slay the common pest of the land, the man to whom it was owing that, ever since he had arrived in the country and taken any part in public affairs, no part of the city or of the common interests had ever been left in a sound or healthy condition; and he, indeed, being convicted by his conscience, fled away in-doors, fearing lest he should be seized; but Flaccus did nothing against him, thinking that now that he had voluntarily removed himself, everything in the city would soon be free from sedition and contention.

18 I have related these events at some length, not for the sake of keeping old injuries in remembrance, but because I admire that power who presides over all freemen's affairs, namely, justice, seeing that those men who were so generally hostile to Flaccus, those by whom of all men he was most hated, were the men who now brought their accusations against him, to fill up the measure of his grief, for it is not so bitter merely to be accused as to be accused by one's confessed enemies; 4but this man was not merely accused, though a governor, by his subjects, and that by men who had always been his enemies, when he had only a short time before been the lord of the life of every individual among them, but he was also apprehended by force, being thus subjected to a twofold evil, namely, to be defeated and ridiculed by exulting enemies, which is worse than death to all right-minded and sensible people. And then see what an abundance of disasters came upon him, for he was immediately stripped of all his possessions, both of those which he inherited from his parents and of all that he had acquired himself, having been a man who took especial delight in luxury and ornament; for he was not like some rich men, to whom wealth is an inactive material, but he was continually acquiring things of every useful kind in all imaginable abundance; cups, garments, couches, miniatures, and everything else which was any ornament to a house; and besides that, he collected a vast number of servants, carefully selected for their excellencies and accomplishments, and with reference to their beauty, and health, and vigor of body, and to their unerring skill in all kinds of necessary and useful service; for every one of them was excellent in that employment to which he was appointed, so that he was looked upon as either the most excellent of all servants in that place, or, at all events, as inferior to no one. And there is a very clear proof of this in the fact that, though there were a vast number of properties confiscated and sold for the public benefit, which belonged to persons who had been condemned, that of Flaccus alone was assigned to the emperor, with perhaps one or two more, in order that the law which had been established with respect to persons convicted of such crimes as his might not be violated. 5And after he had been deprived of all his property, he was condemned to banishment, and was exiled from the whole continent, and that is the greatest and most excellent portion of the inhabited world, and from every island that has any character for fertility or richness; for he was commanded to be sent into that most miserable of all the islands in the Aegaean Sea,[this was a common place of banishment for criminals, Juvenal 1.72.] called Gyara, and he would have been left there if he had not availed himself of the intercession of Lepidus, by whose means he obtained leave to exchange Gyara for Andros, which was very near it. 5Then he was sent back again on the road from Rome to Brundusium, a journey which he had taken a few years before, at the time when he was appointed governor of Egypt and the adjacent country of Libya, in order that the cities which had then seen him exulting and behaving with great insolence in the hour of his prosperity, might now again behold him full of dishonour. And thus he being now become a conspicuous mark by reason of this total change of fortune, was overwhelmed with more bitter grief, his calamities being constantly rekindled and inflamed by the addition of fresh miseries, which, like relapses in sickness, compel the recollection of all former disasters to return, which up to that time appeared to be buried in obscurity.

19 And after he had crossed the Ionian Gulf he sailed up the sea which leads to Corinth, being a spectacle to all the cities in Peloponnesus which lie on the coast, when they heard of his sudden reverse of fortune; for when he disembarked from the vessel all the evil disposed men who bore him ill will ran up to see him, and others also came to sympathize with him--men who are accustomed to learn moderation from the misfortunes of others. 5And at Lechaeum, crossing over the isthmus into the opposite gulf, and having arrived at Cenchreae, the dockyard of the Corinthians, he was compelled by the guards, who would not permit him the slightest respite, to embark immediately on board a small transport and to set sail, and as a foul wind was blowing with great violence, after great sufferings he with difficulty arrived safe at the Piraeus. And when the storm had ceased, having coasted along Attica as far as the promontory of Sunium,[now Cape Colonna.] he passed by all the islands in order, namely, Helena, and Ceanus, and Cythnos, and all the rest which lie in a regular row one after another, until at last he came to the point of his ultimate destination, the island of Andros, 5which the miserable man beholding afar off poured forth abundance of tears down his cheeks, as if from a regular fountain, and beating his breast, and lamenting most bitterly, he said, "Men, ye who are my guards and attendants in this my journey, I now receive in exchange for the glorious Italy this beautiful country of Andros, which is an unfortunate island for me. 5I, Flaccus, who was born, and brought up, and educated in Rome, the heaven of the world, and who have been the schoolfellow and companion of the granddaughters of Augustus, and who was afterwards selected by Tiberius Caesar as one of his most intimate friends, and who have had entrusted to me for six years the greatest of all his possessions, namely, Egypt. What a change is this! In the middle of the day, as if an eclipse had come upon me, night has overshadowed my life. What shall I say of this little islet? Shall I call it my place of banishment, or my new country, or harbour and refuge of misery? A tomb would be the most proper name for it; for I, miserable that I am, am now in a manner conducted to my grave, attending my own funeral, for either I shall destroy my miserable life through my sorrow, or if I am able to cling to life among my miseries, I shall in that case find a distant death, which will be felt all the time of my life." These, then, were the lamentations which he poured forth, and when the vessel came near the harbour he landed, stooping down to the very ground like men heavily oppressed, being weighed down by his calamities as if the heaviest of burdens was placed upon his neck, without being able to look up, or else not daring to do so because of the people whom he might meet, and of those who came out to see him and who stood on each side of the road. And those men who had conducted him hither, bringing the populace of the Andrians, exhibited him to them all, making them all witnesses of the arrival of the exile in their island. 6And they, when they had discharged their office, departed; and then the misery of Flaccus was renewed, as he no longer beheld any sight to which he was accustomed, but only saw sad misery presented to him by the most conspicuous evidence, while he looked around upon what to him was perfect desolation, in the middle of which he was placed; so that it seemed to him that a violent execution in his native land would have been a lighter evil, or rather, by comparison with his present circumstances, a most desirable good; and he have himself up to such violence of grief, that he was in no respect different from a maniac, and leaped about, and ran to and fro, and clapped his hands, and smote his thighs, and threw himself upon the ground, and kept continually crying out, 6"I am Flaccus! who but a little while ago was the governor of the mighty city, of the populous city of Alexandria! the governor of that most fertile of all countries, Egypt! I am he on whom all those myriads of inhabitants turned their eyes! who had countless forces of infantry, and cavalry, and ships, formidable, not merely by their number, but consisting of all the most eminent and illustrious of all my subjects! I am he who was every day accompanied when I went out by countless companies of clients! 6But now, was not all this a vision rather than reality? and was I asleep, and was this prosperity which I then beheld a dream--phantoms marching through empty space, fictions of the soul, which perhaps registered non-existent things as though they had a being? Doubtless, I have been deceived. 6These things were but a shadow and no real things, imitations of reality and not a real truth, which makes falsehood evident; for as after we have awakened we find none of those things which appeared to us in our dreams, but all such things have fled in a body and disappeared, so too, all that brilliant prosperity which I formerly enjoyed has now been extinguished in the briefest moment of time."

20 With such discourses as these, he was continaully being cast down, and in a manner, as I may say, prostrated; and avoiding all places where he might be likely to meet with many persons on account of the shame which clung to him, he never went down to the harbour, nor could he endure to visit the market--lace, but shut himself up in his house, where he kept himself close, never venturing to go beyond the outer court. 6But sometimes indeed, in the deepest twilight of the dawn, when every one else was still in bed, so that he could be seen by no one whatever, he would go forth out of the city and spend the entire day in the desolate part of the island, turning away if any one seemed likely to meet him; and being torn as to his soul with the memorials of his misfortunes which he saw about him in his house, and being devoured with anguish, he went back home in the darkness of the night, praying, by reason of his immoderate and never-ending misery, that the evening would become morning, dreading the darkness and the strange appearances which represented themselves to him when he went to sleep, and again in the morning he prayed that it might be evening;[this is evidently taken from Deuteronomy 28:66, "And thy life shall hang in doubt before thee; and thou shall fear day and night, and shall have none assurance of thy life: in the morning thou shall say, Would God it were even! and at even thou shall say, Would God it were morning! for the fear of thine heart wherewith thou shall fear, and for the sight of thine eyes which thou shall see."] for the darkness which surrounded him was opposed to everything light or cheerful. And a few months afterwards, having purchased a small piece of land, he spent a great deal of his time there living by himself, and bewailing and weeping over his fate. 6It is said too, that often at midnight he became possessed like those who celebrate the rites of the Corybantes, and at such times he would go forth out of his farm-house and raise his eyes to heaven and to the stars, and beholding all the beauty really existing in the world, he would cry out, 7"O King of gods and men! you are not, then, indifferent to the Jewish nation, nor are the assertions which they relate with respect to your providence false; but those men who say that that people has not you for their champion and defender, are far from a correct opinion. And I am an evident proof of this; for all the frantic designs which I conceived against the Jews, I now suffer myself. I consented when they were stripped of their possessions, giving immunity to those who were plundering them; and on this account I have myself been deprived of all my paternal and maternal inheritance, and of all that I have ever acquired by gift or favour, and of everything else that ever became mine in any other manner. 7In times past I reproached them with ignominy as being foreigners, though they were in truth sojourners in the land entitled to full privileges, in order to give pleasure to their enemies who were a promiscuous and disorderly multitude, by whom I, miserable man that I was, was flattered and deceived; and for this I have been myself branded with infamy, and have been driven as an exile from the whole of the habitable world, and am shut up in this place. Again, I led some of them into the theatre, and commanded them to be shamelessly and unjustly insulted in the sight of their greatest enemies; and therefore I justly have been myself led not into a theatre or into one city, but into many cities, to endure the utmost extremity of insult, being ill-treated in my miserable soul instead of my body; for I was led in procession through the whole of Italy as far as Brundusium, and through all Peloponnesus as far as Corinth, and through Attica, and all the islands as far as Andros, which is this prison of mine; and I am thoroughly assured that even this is not the limit of my misfortunes, but that others are still in store for me, to fill up the measures as a requital for all the evils which I have done. I put many persons to death, and when some of them were put to death by others, I did not chastise their murderers. Some were stoned; some were burnt alive; others were dragged through the middle of the market-place till the whole of their bodies were torn to pieces. 7And for all this I know now that retribution awaits me, and that the avengers are already standing as it were at the goal, and are pressing close to me, eager to slay me, and every day, or I may rather say, every hour, I die before my time, enduring many deaths instead of one, the last of All." [this is like the passage in Shakespeare--"Cowards die many times before their deaths; / The brave men only taste of death but once."] 7And he was continually giving way to dread and to apprehension, and shaking with fear in every limb and every portion of his body, and his whole soul was trembling with terror and quivering with palpitation and agitation, as if nothing in the world could possibly be a comfort to the man now that he was deprived of all favourable hopes; 7no good omen ever appeared to him, everything bore a hostile appearance, every report was ill-omened, his waking was painful, his sleep fearful, his solitude resembling that of wild beasts, nevertheless the solitude of his herds was what was most pleasant to him, any dwelling in the city was his greatest affliction; his safe reproach was a solitary abiding in the fields, a dangerous, and painful, and unseemly way of life; every one who approached him, however justly, was an object of suspicion to him. 7"This man," he would say, "who is coming quickly hither, is planning something against me, he does not look as if he were hastening for any other object, but he is pursuing me; this pleasant looking man is laying a snare for me; this free-spoken man is despising me; this man is giving me meat and drink as they feed cattle before killing them. 7How long shall I, hardhearted that I am, bear up against such terrible calamities? I well know that I am afraid of death, since out of cruelty the Deity will not punish me violently, to cut short my miserable life, in order to load me to excess with irremediable miseries, which he treasures up

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against me, to do a pleasure to those whom I treacherously put to death."

21 While repeating these things over and over again and writhing with his agony, he awaited the end of his destiny, and his uninterrupted sorrow agitated, and disturbed, and overturned his soul. But Gaius, being a man of an inhuman nature and insatiable in his revenge, did not, as some persons do, let go those who had been once punished, but raged against them without end, and was continually contriving some new and terrible suffering for them; and, above all men, he hated Flaccus to such a degree, that he suspected all who bore the same name, from his detestation of the very appellation; 8and he often repented that he had condemned him to banishment and not to death, and though he had a great respect for Lepidus who had interceded for him, he blamed him, so that he was kept in a state of great alarm from fear of punishment impending over him, for he feared lest, as was very likely, he, because he had been the cause of another person having been visited by a lighter punishment, might himself have a more severe one inflicted upon him. 8Therefore, as no one any longer ventured to say a word by way of deprecating the anger of the emperor, he gave loose to his fury, which was now implacable and unrestrained, and which, though it ought to have been mitigated by time, was rather increased by it, just as recurring diseases are in the body when a relapse takes place, for all such relapses are more grievous than the original attacks. 8They say that on one occasion Gaius, being awake at night, began to turn his mind to the magistrates and officers who were in banishment, and who in name indeed were looked upon as unfortunate, but who in reality had now thus acquired a life free from trouble, and truly tranquil and free. 8And he gave a new name to this banishment, calling it an emigration, "For," said he, "it is only a kind of emigration the banishment of these men, inasmuch as they have all the necessaries of life in abundance, and are able to live in tranquility, and stability, and peace. But it is an absurdity for them to be living in luxury, enjoying peace, and indulging in all the pleasures of a philosophical life." 8Then he commanded the most eminent of these men, and those who were of the highest rank and reputation, to be put to death, giving a regular list of their names, at the head of which list was Flaccus. And when the men arrived at Andros, who had been commanded to put him to death, Flaccus happened, just at that moment, to be coming from his farm into the city, and they, on their way up from the port, met him, 8and while yet at a distance they perceived and recognised one another; at which he, perceiving in a moment the object for which they were come (for every man's soul is very prophetic, especially of such as are in misfortune), burning out of the road, fled and ran away over the rough ground, forgetting, perhaps, that Andros was an island and not the continent. And what is the use of speed in an island which the sea washes all round? for one of two things must of necessity happen, either that if the fugitive advances further he must be carried into the sea, or else arrested when he has reached the farthest boundary. 8Therefore, in a comparison of evils, destruction by land must be preferable to destruction by sea, since nature has made the land more closely akin to man, and to all terrestrial animals, not only while they are alive, but even after they are dead, in order that the same element may receive both their primary generation and their last dissolution. The officers therefore pursued him without stopping to take breath and arrested him; and then immediately some of them dug a ditch, and the others dragged him on by force in spite of all his resistance and crying out and struggling, by which means his whole body was wounded like that of beasts that are despatched with a number of wounds; 8for he, turning round them and clinging to his executioners, who were hindered in their aims which they took at him with their swords, and who thus struck him with oblique blows, was the cause of his own sufferings being more severe; for he was in consequence mutilated and cut about the hands, and feet, and head, and breast, and sides, so that he was mangled like a victim, and thus he fell, justice righteously inflicting on his own body wounds equal in number to the murders of the Jews whom he had unlawfully put to death. And the whole place flowed with blood which was shed from his numerous veins, which were cut in every part of his body, and which poured forth blood as from a fountain. And when the corpse was dragged into the trench which had been dug, the greater part of the limbs separated from the body, the sinews by which the whole of the body is kept together being all cut through. 9Such was the end of Flaccus, who suffered thus, being made the most manifest evidence that the nation of the Jews is not left destitute of the providential assistance of God.

HYPOTHETICA

APOLOGY FOR THE JEWS

From Eusebius of Caesarea, P.E. 8.5.11 ff.

And first of all I will adduce what Philo says respecting the journey of the Jews into Egypt, of which he has given an account, following that which is given by Moses in the first book of the Pentateuch, to which he has affixed the superscription, "hypothetically;" where, arguing in behalf of the Jews as if he were addressing himself to their accusers, he speaks in the following manner, affirming, --

That their ancient ancestor, the original founder of their race, was a Chaldaean; and that this people emigrated from Egypt, after having in former times left its abode in Syria, being very numerous and consisting of countless myriads of people; and that when the land was no longer able to contain them, and moreover when a high spirit began to show itself in the dispositions of their young men, and when, besides this, God himself by visions and dreams began to show them that he willed that they should depart, and when, as the Deity brought it about, nothing was less an object of desire to them than their ancient native land; on that account this ancestor of theirs departed and journeyed into Egypt, whether in consequence of some express determination of God, or whether it was in consequence of some prophetic instinct of his own; so that from that time to the present the nation has had an existence and a durability, and has become so exceedingly populous, as it is at this moment. .And then, after a few more sentences, he says, --And they were led in this journey and emigration of theirs by a man who, if you will have it so, was in no respect superior to the generality of his fellow countrymen, so incessantly did they reproach him as a trickster and one who deceived them with words. An admirable amount and kind of trickery and deceit no doubt it was, by which he not only completely saved the whole people which was oppressed by want of water and hunger, and by ignorance of the way, and in a complete state of destitution of all things, and led them forward as if in all prosperity, and conducted them through all the nations lying around, and kept them without any quarrelling with one another, and in a state of complete subordination and obedience to himself. .And this too, not for a short time, but for a period of such length, that it is not likely that even a single family would continue in perfect unanimity and prosperity for such a time; for no thirst, no hunger, no decay of body, nor fear of the future, no ignorance of what was to befall them, ever excited that deceived people, who were being led, as some will have it, to their destruction, to rise against him who was deceiving them. Yet what would you have us say? That he had such excessive art, or such great eloquence of speech, or such shrewdness, that he could triumph over so many difficulties of such a nature, which seemed likely to lead to the destruction of them all? Surely you must confess, either that the natures of the men under him were not utterly ignorant or obstinate, but were obedient and not inclined to neglect a prudent care of the future; or else that they were as wicked and perverse as possible, but that God softened their obstinacy, and was, as it were, a leader to them in respect both of the present and of the future. For that of these alternatives which appears to you to be the truest of the two, appears equally to contribute to the praise, and honour, and admiration of the whole nation. .These things, then, are what I have to say about this exodus. But when they came into this land, how they were settled here, and how they got possession of the country, they show in their sacred records. And I moreover do not think it necessary to describe it as by way of history, but rather to enter into some speculations concerning them as to what was their natural and likely course. For which of these two alternatives will you embrace? That while they were still very numerous, although at last they were evilly afflicted, still, while they were powerful and had arms in their hands, they took the country by force, fighting with and defeating both the Syrians and Phoenicians who met them in that their land? Or shall we suppose that they were unwarlike, and destitute of manly courage, and altogether deficient in point of numbers, and destitute of any supplies for war; but that they met with respectful treatment from those nations, and obtained their land from them, who willingly surrendered it to them? and that then immediately, or at no distant period, they built a temple, and did everything else which has any bearing on religion and piety? For these circumstances, as it seems, would prove them to have been a God-loving people, and beloved by God, and confessed to be such even by their enemies; for those people into whose territories they had suddenly come, as if to deprive them of them, were of necessity their enemies. .And if they met with respectful treatment and honour from them, how can we deny that they surpassed all other men in good fortune? And what shall we say after this in the second place, or in the third place? Shall we speak of their admirable code of laws, of their obedience, or of their devotion, and justice, and holiness, and piety? But in truth they looked upon that man, whoever he was, who gave them these laws, with such excessive admiration and veneration, that whatever he approved of they immediately thought best also. .Therefore, whether he spoke, being influenced by his own reason, or because he was inspired by the Deity, they referred every word of his to God. And though many years have passed, I cannot tell the exact number, but more than two thousand, still they have never altered one word of what was written by him, but would rather endure to die ten thousand times than to do any thing in opposition to his laws and to the customs which he established. After Philo has said this, he proceeds to give an abridgment of the constitution established in the nation of the Jews by the laws of Moses, speaking thus:--

Now, is there anything among that people resembling these circumstances, anything which appears to be of a mild and gentle character, and which admits of invocations of justice, and pleas, and delays, and of assessments of damages, and on the other hand of counter assessments? Not a word, but every thing is simple, plain, and straightforward. If you indulge in illicit connexions, if you commit adultery, if you do violence to a child (for do not speak of doing so to a boy, but even to a female child); and in like manner, if you prostitute yourself, if you suffer any thing disgraceful contrary to what becomes your age, or appear to do so, or are about to do so, death is the penalty for such wickedness. .Again, if you behave with insult towards a slave, or towards a free person, if you confine such an one in bonds, if you lead him away and sell him, if you steal any thing, whether common or sacred, if you commit acts of impiety, not only by your deeds but even by any chance word, I will not venture to say against God himself (may God be merciful to us, and of the same opinion about these matters), but against your father, or your mother, or your benefactor, death is equally the penalty. And that too, not a common, or ordinary, or natural death; but he who has merely uttered a single impious word must be stoned, as having committed no inferior impiety. He also gives many other injunctions, such as these, that wives shall serve their husbands, not indeed in any particular so as to be insulted by them, but in the spirit of reasonable obedience in all things; that parents shall govern their children for their preservation and benefit; that every one shall be the lord of his own possessions, provided he has not dedicated them to God, nor spoken of God as their owner; but if he has vowed them only by a single word, then it is not lawful for him to lay hands upon or to touch them, but he must at once separate himself from them all. May I never be guilty of plundering the things which belong to God, or of stealing what has been offered and dedicated to him by others. And even, as I have said before, if a single word to that effect has unintentionally fallen from a man, he must, instead of taking away from what is already dedicated, add some offering of his own; for if he has said the word, he, by so speaking, deprives himself of every thing. But if he repents, or wishes to recall and amend what he has said, he shall be deprived also of his very life. And the same principle extends to other things, of which he is the owner. If a man by any words dedicates that which is requisite to support a wife, she shall be sacred and entitled to receive the support. If a father makes such a promise to his son, or a master to his servant, the rule is the same. And the way in which a man may be released from any promise or vow which he has made in such a manner can only be in the most perfect and complete way, when the high priest discharges him from it; for he is the person entitled to receive it in due subordination to God. And the next way is that which consists in propitiating the mercy of God in behalf of those who are the more immediate owners of the thing vowed, so that he may not accept of what is thus dedicated, since it is necessary to them. There are, besides these rules, ten thousand other precepts, which refer to the unwritten customs and ordinances of the nation. Moreover, it is ordained in the laws themselves that no one shall do to his neighbour what he would be unwilling to have done to himself. That a man shall not take up what he has not put down, neither out of a garden, nor out of a wine-press, nor out of a threshing-floor; and that absolutely no one shall take anything, whether it be great or small, out of a heap. That no one shall refuse fire to one who begs it of him. That no one shall cut off a stream of water, but that everyone shall contribute food to beggars and cripples, and that such shall have favour with God. That no one shall keep any one from performing funeral honours to the dead, but shall even throw upon them so much earth as if sufficient to protect them from impiety: that no one shall violate or move, in any manner or degree whatever, the graves, or tombs, or memorials of those who are dead. That no one shall add bonds, or any evil, or heap any additional suffering on him who is in trouble. That no one shall eradicate the generative powers of a man. That no one shall cause the offspring of women to be abortive by means of miscarriage, or by any other contrivance. That no one shall treat animals, in any respect, in a manner contrary to the injunctions imposed, whether by God or by a lawgiver. That no one shall cause his seed to disappear. That no one shall enslave his offspring. That no one shall apply a false balance, or an inadequate measure, or bad money. That no one shall tell the secrets of his friends in a foreign land. Where, in God's name, are these yokes of oxen of ours gone? And look also at other commandments besides these. It is ordained, that no one shall fix the residence of the parents apart from that of the children, not even if they are prisoners of war; nor that of a wife from that of her husband, even though a man may be her master, having purchased her lawfully. These commandments now are of a more solemn and important character, but there are others of apparently a trivial and ordinary kind. It is not lawful, says the lawgiver, to strip a nest wholly of its young; it is not lawful to reject the supplication of animals of any kind

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whatever, which flee to you for refuge, not even if any of them are very insignificant. You may say, perhaps, that these things are of no consequence whatever, but still, at least, the law which speaks of these particulars is of importance, and deserving of all imaginable care and attention; and the declarations are important, and so are the curses which threaten those who violate these laws with destruction; and God looks over all such matters, and is an avenger and punisher on every occasion and in every place. And then after a few more sentences he adds, --And if it should happen that during a whole day, or I should rather say, not one day only but many, and those too not coming immediately one after another, but with intervals between them, even intervals of a week at a time, the custom, as is always natural, which is drawn from ordinary days prevails. Do you not wonder, that not a single one of all these commandments has been violated? . Is not this a mark of great temperance and self-restraint, derived to them from practice alone, so that they act towards one another with perfect equality, and are able to derive strength from those actions if it be necessary? Surely not so; but the lawgiver thought that it ought to be derived from some great and admirable circumstance, that they should not only be competent to do other things in the same manner, but should also be imbued with a thorough knowledge of their national laws and customs. What then did he do on this sabbath day? he commanded all the people to assemble together in the same place, and sitting down with one another, to listen to the laws with order and reverence, in order that no one should be ignorant of anything that is contained in them; and, in fact, they do constantly assemble together, and they do sit down one with another, the multitude in general in silence, except when it is customary to say any words of good omen, by way of assent to what is being read. And then some priest who is present, or some one of the elders, reads the sacred laws to them, and interprets each of them separately till eventide; and then when separate they depart, having gained some skill in the sacred laws, and having made great advancers towards piety. Do not these objects appear to you to be of greater importance than any other pursuit can possibly be? Therefore they do not go to interpreters of laws to learn what they ought to do; and even without asking, they are in no ignorance respecting the laws, so as to be likely, through following their own inclinations, to do wrong; but if you violate or alter any one of the laws, or if you ask any one of them about their national laws or customs, they can all tell you at once, without any difficulty; and the husband appears to be a master, endowed with sufficient authority to explain these laws to his wife, a father to teach them to his children, and a master to his servants. And again, it is easy to speak in the same manner with respect to the seventh year, though, perhaps, one is not to say exactly the same things, for they do not abstain from all work as they do on the sabbath days, only they leave their land fallow till the next year, in order that so it may become productive; for they think that thus it becomes much better after having had this rest, and then that it may be cultivated again, and not be dried up and exhausted by the uninterrupted continuance of cultivation; and you may see that a similar practice conduces to strength of body, for not only do intervals of relaxation contribute to health, but you may see too that physicians also enjoin a degree of rest at times from work; for what is incessant, and uninterrupted, and always the same, is likely to be injurious, especially in the case of hard work, the cultivation of the land. And a proof of this is, that if any one were to recommend the people to cultivate the land itself much more, and to add this seventh year also, and should promise them that the usual crops of fruit should reward their labours, they still would not adopt his advice, for they think that they are not alone entitled to rest from their labours, and yet even if they were to do so, it would be nothing strange; but they think that their land also deserves a certain degree of rest and exemption, in order again to receive a fresh beginning of care and cultivation; since, in God's name, what could hinder them from letting it out during the year of jubilee thus proposed, and then receiving its annual produce once a year from those who rented and cultivated it? But as I said before, they will not admit of any such expedient in any manner or degree whatever, out of care, as it seems to me, for the welfare of the land; and this is truly a very great proof of their humanity and moderation. For, since they themselves rest from their labours during that year, they think that it is not right either to collect the fruits or crops which are produced, nor to lay up any thing which has not accrued to them from their own labours; but, as if God provided for them while the land is thus enjoying rest and regulating itself according to its will, they think that any one who chooses or who is in want, any traveller or stranger, may gather the fruit that year with impunity. .However, this is enough to say to you on these matters; for, as to the fact of this law existing among them with regard to the seventh day and seventh year, you will not inquire of me, as you have perhaps heard it often from many persons, both physicians, and investigators of natural history, and philosophers, who discuss this law about the seventh year, as to the effect which it has on the nature of the universe, and especially on the nature of man. This is what he says about the seventh day ... I shall be contented with the testimony of Philo on the present occasion, which he has given about the matter which I am here explaining in many passages of his treatises. And now do you take that work which he has written in defense of the Jewish nation, and read the following sentences in it.

But our lawgiver trained an innumerable body of his pupils to partake in those things, who are called Essenes, being, as I imagine, honoured with this appellation because of their exceeding holiness. And they dwell in many cities of Judaea, and in many villages, and in great and populous communities. And this sect of them is not an hereditary of family connexion; for family ties are not spoken of with reference to acts voluntarily performed; but it is adopted because of their admiration for virtue and love of gentleness and humanity. At all events, there are no children among the Essenes, no, nor any youths or persons only just entering upon manhood; since the dispositions of all such persons are unstable and liable to change, from the imperfections incident to their age, but they are all full-grown men, and even already declining towards old age, such as are no longer carried away by the impetuosity of their bodily passions, and are not under the influence of the appetites, but such as enjoy a genuine freedom, the only true and real liberty. And a proof of this is to be found in their life of perfect freedom; no one among them ventures at all to acquire any property whatever of his own, neither house, nor slave, nor farm, nor flocks and herds, nor any thing of any sort which can be looked upon as the fountain or provision of riches; but they bring them together into the middle as a common stock, and enjoy one common general benefit from it all. And they all dwell in the same place, making clubs, and societies, and combinations, and unions with one another, and doing every thing throughout their whole lives with reference to the general advantage; but the different members of this body have different employments in which they occupy themselves, and labour without hesitation and without cessation, making no mention of either cold, or heat, or any changes of weather or temperature as an excuse for desisting from their tasks. But before the sun rises they betake themselves to their daily work, and they do not quit it till some time after it has set, when they return home rejoicing no less than those who have been exercising themselves in gymnastic contests; for they imagine that whatever they devote themselves to as a practice is a sort of gymnastic exercise of more advantage to life, and more pleasant both to soul and body, and of more enduring benefit and equability, than mere athletic labours, inasmuch as such toil does not cease to be practiced with delight when the age of vigor of body is passed; for there are some of them who are devoted to the practice of agriculture, being skilful in such things as pertain to the sowing and cultivation of lands; others again are shepherds, or cowherds, and experienced in the management of every kind of animal; some are cunning in what relates to swarms of bees; others again are artisans and handicraftsmen, in order to guard against suffering from the want of anything of which there is at times an actual need; and these men omit and delay nothing, which is requisite for the innocent supply of the necessaries of life. Accordingly, each of these men, who differ so widely in their respective employments, when they have received their wages give them up to one person who is appointed as the universal steward and general manager; and he, when he has received the money, immediately goes and purchases what is necessary and furnishes them with food in abundance, and all other things of which the life of mankind stands in need. And those who live together and eat at the same table are day after day contented with the same things, being lovers of frugality and moderation, and averse to all sumptuousness and extravagance as a disease of both mind and body. And not only are their tables in common but also their dress; for in the winter there are thick cloaks found, and in the summer light cheap mantles, so that whoever wants one is at liberty without restraint to go and take whichever kind he chooses; since what belongs to one belongs to all, and on the other hand whatever belongs to the whole body belongs to each individual. And again, if any one of them is sick he is cured from the common resources, being attended to by the general care and anxiety of the whole body. Accordingly the old men, even if they happen to be childless, as if they were not only the fathers of many children but were even also particularly happy in an affectionate offspring, are accustomed to end their lives in a most happy and prosperous and carefully attended old age, being looked upon by such a number of people as worthy of so much honour and provident regard that they think themselves bound to care for them even more from inclination than from any tie of natural affection. Again, perceiving with more than ordinary acuteness and accuracy, what is alone or at least above all other things calculated to dissolve such associations, they repudiate marriage; and at the same time they practice continence in an eminent degree; for no one of the Essenes ever marries a wife, because woman is a selfish creature and one addicted to jealousy in an immoderate degree, and terribly calculated to agitate and overturn the natural inclinations of a man, and to mislead him by her continual tricks; for as she is always studying deceitful speeches and all other kinds of hypocrisy, like an actress on the stage, when she is alluring the eyes and ears of her husband, she proceeds to cajole his predominant mind after the servants have been deceived. And again, if there are children she becomes full of pride and all kinds of license in her speech, and all the obscure sayings which she previously meditated in irony in a disguised manner she now begins to utter with audacious confidence; and becoming utterly shameless she proceeds to acts of violence, and does numbers of actions of which every one is hostile to such associations; for the man who is bound under the influence of the charms of a woman, or of children, by the necessary ties of nature, being overwhelmed by the impulses of affection, is no longer the same person towards others, but is entirely changed, having, without being aware of it, become a slave instead of a free man. This now is the enviable system of life of these Essenes, so that not only private individuals but even mighty kings, admiring the men, venerate their sect, and increase their dignity and majesty in a still higher degree by their approbation and by the honours which they confer on them.

ON PROVIDENCE (Fragment I)

From Eusebius of Caesarea P. E. 7.21.336bÐ337a

But that you may not think that I am here arguing in a sophistical manner, I will produce a man who is a Hebrew as the interpreter for you of the meaning of the scripture; a man who inherited from his father a most accurate knowledge of his national customs and laws, and who had learnt the doctrines contained in them from learned teachers; for such a man was Philo. Listen then, to him, and hear how he interprets the words of God.

Why, then, does he use the expression, "In the image of God I made Man," [Genesis 1:27.A.] as if he were speaking of that of some other God, and not of having made him in the likeness of himself? This expression is used with great beauty and wisdom. For it was impossible that anything mortal should be made in the likeness of the most high God the Father of the universe; but it could only be made in the likeness of the second God, who is the Word of the other; for it was fitting that the rational type in the soul of man should receive the impression of the Word of God, since the God below the Word is superior to all and every rational nature; and it is not lawful for any created thing to be made like the God who is above reason, and who is endowed with a most excellent and special form appropriated to himself alone.

This is what I wish to quote from the first book of the questions and answers of Philo.

And the Hebrew Philo, in his treatise on Providence, speaks in this way concerning matter.

But concerning the quantity of the essence, if indeed it really has any existence, we must also speak. God took care at the creation of the world that there should be an ample and most sufficient supply of matter, so exact that nothing might be wanting and nothing superfluous. For it would have been absurd in the case of particular artisans, for them, when they are occupied in making anything, and especially anything of much value, to calculate the exact quantity of materials which they require; but for that being who is the original inventor of numbers and measures, and the qualities which exist and are found in them, to omit to take care to have just what was proper. I will speak now with all freedom, and say that the world had need for its fabrication of some precise quantity of materials, neither more nor less; since otherwise it would not have been perfect, nor complete in all its parts, being thoroughly well made, nor would it have been made perfect of a perfect essence.

For it is an indispensable part of a workman who is thoroughly well skilled in his art, before he begins making any thing, to see that his materials are exactly sufficient; therefore a man, even if he were most eminently skilled in the knowledge of other things, still if he were not able altogether to avoid error, which is so natural to mortals, would be very likely to be deceived in respect of the quantity of materials which he required when he was about to proceed to the exercise of art; sometimes adding to it as too little, and sometimes taking away from it as too much. But that Being who is, as it were, a kind of fountain of all knowledge, was not likely to supply anything in deficient or in superfluous quantities, inasmuch as he employs measures elaborated in a most wonderful manner, so as to display perfect accuracy, and all of the most praiseworthy character. But he who is inclined to talk nonsense, at random, will easily do it, looking upon the different works of all artisans as causes, and as having been made in a more excellent manner, either by the addition or by the subtraction of some material or other. But it is the peculiar occupation of sophistry to quibble and cavil; while it is the task of wisdom to investigate accurately everything that exists in nature.

ON PROVIDENCE (Fragment II)

From Eusebius of Caesarea, P.E. 8.14.386Ð399

These things then are what may be said on the subject of the world having been created. And the same man also says a

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great number of very novel and bold things in his treatise on Providence, on the subject of the universe being governed by prudence; first of all putting forward the propositions of the atheists, and then proceeding to reply to each of them in regular order. And I will now proceed to extract some of the arguments which he adduces, even though they may appear somewhat prolix, because they are nevertheless necessary and important, abridging indeed the greater portion of them.

(Now he conducts his argument in this way; these are his words.

Do you say then that there is providence in such a vast confusion and disorder of affairs? For, in fact, which of the circumstances and occurrences of human life is regulated by any principle or order? which of them is not full of all kinds of irregularity and destruction? Are you the only person who is ignorant that blessings in complete abundance are heaped upon the most wicked and worthless of mankind? such, for instance, as wealth, a high reputation, honour in the eyes of the multitude, authority? moreover, health, a good condition of the outward senses, beauty, strength, and unimpeded enjoyment of all good things, by means of an abundance of supplies and resources and preparations of every kind, and in consequence of the peaceful good fortune and good condition of the body? But all the lovers and practicers of wisdom and prudence, and every kind of virtue, everyone of them I may almost say, are poor, unknown, inglorious, and in a mean condition.

(Having said thus much with respect to the outward circumstances of, and a vast number of other things affecting, these men, he then immediately proceeds to refute the objections of his adversaries by the following arguments.

God is not a tyrant who practices cruelty and violence and all the other acts of insolent authority like an inexorable master, but he is rather a sovereign invested with a humane and lawful authority, and as such he governs all the heaven and the whole world in accordance with justice. (And there is no form of address with which a king can more appropriately be saluted than the name of father; for what, in human relationships, parents are to their children, that also sovereigns are to their states, and God towards the world, having adapted these two most beautiful things by the unchangeable laws of nature, by an indissoluble union, namely the authority of the leader with the anxious care of a relation; (for as parents are not wholly indifferent to even ill-behaved children, but, having compassion on their unfortunate dispositions, they are careful and anxious for their welfare, looking upon it as an act of relentless and irreconcileable enemies to insult and increase their misfortunes, but as the part of friends and relations to lighten their disasters: (and indeed in the excess of their liberality they even give more to such children than to those who have always been well conducted, knowing well that to these last their own moderation is at all times an abundant resource and means of riches, but that the others have no other hope except in their parents, and that if they are disappointed in that they will be destitute of even the necessaries of life.

(So in the same manner, God, how is the father of all rational understanding, takes care of all those beings who are endowed with reason, and exercises a providential power for the protection even of those who are living in a blamable manner, giving them at the same time opportunity of correcting their errors, and nevertheless not violating the dictates of his own merciful nature, of which virtue and humanity are the regular attendants, being willing to have their dwelling in the God-created world; (this one argument now, do thou, O my soul, take to thyself, and store up within thyself as a sacred deposit, and this other also as consistent with and in perfect harmony with it. Do not ever be so deceived and wander from the truth to such a degree as to think any wicked man happy, even though he may be richer than Croesus, and more sharp-sighted than Lyceus, and more powerful than Milo of Crotena, and more beautiful than Ganymede,

"Whom the immortal gods, for beauty's sake,
Did raise up from the vile earth to heaven,
To be the cup-bearer of mighty Jove." [homer's Iliad 20.234.]

(Accordingly, such a man, having shown his own daemon, I mean to say his own mind, to be the slave of ten thousand thousand different masters, such as love, appetite, pleasure, fear, pain, folly, intemperance, cowardice, injustice, he can never possibly be happy, even if the multitude, being utterly misled and deprived of their judgement, were to think him so, being corrupted by a double evil, pride and vain opinion, by which souls without ballast must infallibly be tossed about and driven out of their course; for these evils, above all others, injure the chief multitude of mankind.

(If, then, fixing the eyes of the mind steadily upon the truth, you should be inclined to contemplate the providence of God as far as the powers of human reason are capable of doing it, then, when you have attained to a closer conception of the true and only good, you will laugh at those things which belong to men which you for some time admired; for what is worse is always honoured in the absence of what is better, as it then usurps its place; but when that which is better appears, then that which is worse retires, and is contented with the second prize. Therefore, admiring that godlike excellence and beauty, you will by all means perceive that none of the things previously mentioned were by themselves thought worthy of the better portion by God. On which account the mines of silver and gold are the most worthless portion of the earth, which is altogether and wholly unfit for the production of fruits and food; for abundance of riches is not like food, a thing without which one cannot live. And the one great and manifest test of all these things is hunger, by which it is seen what is in truth really necessary and useful; for a person when oppressed by hunger would gladly give all the treasures in the whole world in exchange for a little food; but when there is an abundance of necessary things poured out in a plentiful and unlimited supply, and flowing over all the cities of the land, then we, the citizens, indulging luxuriously in the good things provided by nature, are not contented to stop at them alone, but set up satiated insolence as the guide of our lives, and devoting ourselves to the acquisition of silver and gold, and of everything else by which we hope to acquire gain, proceed in everything like blind men, no longer exciting the eyes of our intellect by reason of our covetousness, so far as to see that riches are but the burden of the earth, and are the cause of continual and uninterrupted war instead of peace.

Our garments are indeed, as some one of the poets says somewhere, "the flower of the sheep;" but with reference to the art displayed in their manufacture, they are the praise of the weavers. And if any one is proud of any glory which he may have acquired, being greatly delighted at his popularity among worthless people, he should know that he also is worthless, for he delights in them. And let such a man pray to receive purification so as to have the disease of his ears healed, as it is through his ears that his soul is affected with great diseases. Again: let those men who are proud of their personal strength and activity learn not to be high-minded on such an account, looking at countless kinds of both domesticated and wild beasts, which are also endowed with great strength and power; for it is the most absurd thing imaginable for one who is a man to pride himself on the good qualities of beasts, and that too when the beasts themselves are thought of no importance whatever by him.

Again: why should any man in his senses rejoice at beauty of person, which a short period must extinguish before it has flourished for any great length of time, since time always obscures its deceitful prime? and this too, when he sees that even in lifeless things there are objects of surpassing beauty, such as the works of painters, and sculptors, and other artists, displayed in paintings, and statues, and all kinds of embroidery, and weaving, which are held in the greatest honour in Greece and in the countries of the barbarians in every city. Of these things, then, as I have said, not one is accounted by God worthy of the better portion.

And why should we wonder if they are not highly esteemed by God? for they are not even by those men who are very religious and devout, among whom those things which are really good and virtuous are held in honour, inasmuch as they have a good and well-disposed nature, and have improved their natural good qualities by study and practice, of which a genuine true philosophy is the maker. But those who have devoted themselves to a bastard kind of philosophy have not even imitated physicians who give their attention to the body, the slave of the soul, though nevertheless they affirm that they are healing the mistress, that is to say, the soul itself; for then, when any such man is sick, even if he be the great king himself, passing over all the colonnades, and the men's chambers, and the women's chambers, and the pictures, and the silver and the gold, whether in money or in bullion, and the vast treasures of cups and works of embroidery, and all the rest of the celebrated ornaments of kings, and the multitude of his servants, and of his friends, or relatives, and subjects, and the chief officers who are about his person, and his body-guards, they come up to his bedside, paying no attention even to the decorations of his person, and not stopping to notice with admiration that his bed is inlaid with previous stones, or that his coverlet is of the finest workmanship and the most exquisite embroidery, nor that the fashion of his garments is of superlative beauty, but they even pull off the clothes in which he is wrapped, and lay hold of his hands, and press his veins, and feel his pulse, and note its beating accurately to see if it is in a healthy condition; very often too, they pull up his tunic and feel whether his stomach is too full, whether his chest is feverish, whether his heart beats irregularly. And then, when they have ascertained the symptoms, they apply the appropriate remedies.

And in like manner, it would become philosophers who profess to be versed in the healing science as applicable to the soul, which is by nature the dominant part of the man, to despise all the things which erroneous opinion raises up as objects of pride, and to penetrate within, and to lay their hands upon the intellect itself, to see whether through passion its pulses are of an uneven rapidity and moving in an irregular and unnatural manner, and to touch the tongue, and see whether it is rough and devoted to evil-speaking, whether it is prostituted to evil purposes and unmanageable; also to touch the belly, and see whether it is swollen with the insatiable characteristics of desire, and, in short, of any other passions, and diseases, and infirmities, and to examine every one of those feelings, if they appear to be in a state of confusion, so that they may not be ignorant of what is proper to be applied to the soul with a reference to its cure.

But now being lightened up all round by the brilliancy of external things, as being unable to see that light which is perceptible only by the intellect, they have passed their whole existence in a state of error, not being able to penetrate as far as royal thought, but being with difficulty able to reach the outer courts, and admiring those servants who stand at the gates of virtue, wealth, and glory, and health, and other kindred circumstances, they fall down in adoration before them. But as it would be an extravagance of insanity to take blind men for judges of colour, or deaf men as judges of the sounds of music, so it is a most preposterous act to take wicked men as judges of real good. For these men are mutilated in the most important parts of themselves, namely, their intellect, over which folly has shed a deep darkness. Do we then now wonder if Socrates, and such and such a virtuous man, has lived in purity? men who have never once studied any of the means of providing themselves with pecuniary resources, and who have never, even when it was in their power, condescended to accept great gifts which have been tendered to their acceptance by wealthy friends or mighty kings, because they looked upon the acquisition of virtue as the only good, the only beautiful thing, and have therefore laboured at that, and disregarded all other good things.

And who is there who would not disregard spurious good things in comparison of genuine ones? But if while they received a mortal body, and were full of liability to all kinds of human disasters, and lived among such a number of unjust actions and unrighteous men, of which the very number is not easy to compute accurately, they were plotted against by their enemies, why do we blame nature when we ought rather to accuse the barbarity of those who thus set upon them? For so in like manner, if they had been placed in a pestilential climate, they would inevitably have become sick; and wickedness is even more, or at all events not less, destructive than a pestilential state of the atmosphere. But as when there is rain the wise man, if he is in the open air, must inevitably get wet through, and if the cold north wind blows he must be oppressed by cold and shivering, and when summer is at its height he must feel the heat, for it is a law of nature that the bodies of men should be simultaneously affected by the changes of the seasons; so also in the same way a man who lives in such places,

"Where slaughters dire and famines might prevail,
And all the ills which thus mankind assail,"

must inevitably pay the penalty which such evils inflict upon him.

Since in the case of Polycrates at least, in retaliation for the terrible acts of injustice and impiety which he committed, there fell upon him great misery in his subsequent life as a terrible requital for his previous good fortune. Add to this that he was chastised by a mighty sovereign, and was crucified by him, fulfilling the prediction of the oracle: "I knew," said he, "long before I took it into my head to go to consult the oracle, that I was anointed by the sun and washed by Jupiter," for these enigmatical assertions, expressed in symbolical language having been originally couched in unintelligible language, afterwards receive a most manifest confirmation by the events which followed them. But it was not only at the end of his existence, but indeed during the whole period of his life from its earliest commencement that he was, though without being aware of it, making his soul to depend wholly on his body; for as he was always in a state of alarm and trepidation, he feared the multitude of enemies who might possibly attack him, being well assured that no one in the world was really well affected towards him, but that every one was hostile to him, and would turn out implacable enemies if he should be unfortunate.

Again, if unsuccessful and yet of neverending precautions those writers who have written the history of Sicily are witnesses, for they say that the tyrant of Sicily suspected even his most affectionately loved wife; and a proof of this is that he ordered the entrance of his chamber by which she was about to have access to him to be strewed with planks, in order that she might never come upon him without being observed, but that the noise and tumult made by her stepping on these boards might indicate her approach beforehand; and besides this he compelled her to come not only without her robe, but even naked in every part, and even in those which ought not to be seen by men. And in addition to this he ordered the whole of the flooring along the road to be cut in width and depth like a trench made by farmers, out of fear lest anything should be secretly concealed so as to plot against him, which would inevitably be detected by the leaps and long steps which a person coming along this path would be compelled to take.

Of how many miseries, then, was that man full who took all these precautions and practiced all these contrivances against

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his own wife, whom he ought to have trusted above all other human beings? But he was like those men who scale precipices and climb over abrupt and steep mountains for the purpose of attaining to a more accurate comprehension of the natures of things in heaven, who at last after they have with great difficulty ascended to some overhanging ridge, find themselves unable to advance any further as they are too much exhausted to think of attempting the remaining portion of the mountain, and also want courage to descend, being giddy at the sight of the chasms and ravines below them; for he, being in love with sovereign power as a godlike thing to be desired above all other objects, looked upon it as unsafe either to remain where he was or to retreat, for he considered that if he remained where he was innumerable other evils would come upon him in rapid and uninterrupted succession, while if he decided on retracing his steps his very life would be in danger, as there were enemies around, if not as to their bodies at all events in their minds, against him.

And he also showed the truth of all this by the treatment to which he exposed a friend of his who spoke of the life of a tyrant as one of complete and absolute happiness; for, having invited him to a banquet which had been prepared in a most brilliant and costly manner, he ordered a sharp sword to be suspended over his head by a very fine thread, and when he, after he had sat down to the banquet, on a sudden perceived it, not daring to rise up and quit his place for fear of the tyrant, and not being able to enjoy any of the things which were prepared out of fear, he disregarded all the abundant and superb luxuries by which he was surrounded, and keeping his neck and his eyes turned upwards, sat in the expectation of instant Death. [horace alludes to the story of Damocles, Od. III. 1.16 (which may be translated)--"Care murders sleep; the man who's learnt to dread / The sword unsafely trembling o'er his head, / In vain to court his sad distracted taste / The table groans beneath the varied feast. / Sad Philomel's untutored song is vain, / And vain the swelling flute's more laboured strain, / To close his eyes in sleep, the envied lot / Of weary peasant in his humbler cot."] And when Dionysius perceived the state in which he as, he said to him, "Do you then at last begin to understand the true character of that illustrious and enviable life of ours, for this is what it really is if a man chooses to speak of it without flattery or disguise, since it contains indeed a great abundance of resources and supplies, but no enjoyment of any real blessing; and it causes its possessor incessant fears and irremediable and unavoidable dangers, and a disease worse than the most contagious or most fatal sickness, which is continually threatening inevitable death. But the inconsiderate multitude, being deceived by the outward brilliancy and splendour of the position, are like people who are attracted by showy looking courtesans, who, concealing their real deformity under fine clothes and golden ornaments, and pencilling their eyes from want of any real beauty, manufacture a spurious beauty in order to lie in wait for and catch the beholders.

Now men who are placed in situations of great prosperity are full of such unhappiness as this, of the greatness of which they themselves are fully aware, and they do not at all keep it to themselves, but like men who under compulsion divulge secret things, they often utter the truest possible expressions, which are extorted from them by suffering, living in the continual company of punishment both present and expected, just like cattle who are being fattened up for sacrifice, for they too are treated with the greatest possible attention in order to be fit to be sacrificed by reason of their fleshiness and good condition. There are also some men who have suffered punishment, and that not concealed, but visible, and notorious for the impiety of the means by which they have acquired riches, the names and numbers of whom it would be superfluous to enumerate, but it will be sufficient to bring forward one instance as a specimen of the whole.

It is said, then, by those who have written the History of the Sacred War in Phocis that as there was a law established that any one who was guilty of sacrilege should be either thrown down a precipice, or drowned in the sea, or burnt alive, that those men who had pillaged the temple at Delphi, by name Philomelus, and Onomarchus, and Phayllus, divided these punishments among them, for that the first fell down a rugged and precipitous rock and was dashed to pieces on the stones, and that the second, when the horse which he was riding grew restive and plunged down towards the sea, was overwhelmed by the waves, and so fell alive into a devouring gulf; and Phayllus was wasted away by a consumptive disease (for the way in which the story is told about him is twofold), or else perished in the temple at Abae, being burnt in it when it was destroyed by fire. For it must be the mere spirit of obstinacy and arguing to say that all these events took place by mere chance, for if indeed one or two of them had been punished at different periods or by some other mode of punishment, then it would have been reasonable to impute their fate to the uncertainty of fortune, but when they all died together and at one time, and by no other punishment but by that precise end which is appointed in the laws for the punishment of such crimes as those of which they had been guilty, it is surely fair to say that they perished by the direct condemnation of God.

But if any of the violent men who are unmentioned, and who have at different times risen up against the people in their several states, and have enslaved not only other nations, but their own countries too, have still died without meeting with punishment, it is not to be wondered at, for in the first place man does not judge as God judges, because we investigate what is visible to ourselves, but he descends into the secret recesses of the soul without making any noise, and there contemplates the mind in the clear light, as if in the sun; for stripping off from it all the ornaments in which it is enveloped, and seeing its devices and intentions naked, he immediately distinguishes between the bad and the good.

Let not us then, preferring our own judgement to that of God, assert that it is more unerring or more full of wisdom than his, for that is not consistent with holiness; for in the one there are many things which deceive it, such as the treacherous outward senses, the insidious character of the passions, the most terrible attacks of vice, but in the other there is nothing which can at all conduce to deceit or error, but justice and truth, by which each separate action is determined on, and in this way is naturally rectified in the most praiseworthy manner.

Do not thou, then, my good friend, consider tyrannical power, that most unprofitable of all things, to be a seasonable possession; for neither is punishment disadvantageous, but it is either more beneficial, or at all events not injurious to the good to suffer due punishment, on which account it is expressly comprehended in all laws which are wisely enacted, and those who have established such laws are praised by every one; for what a tyrant is in a people, that is punishment in a law.

When therefore a want and terrible scarcity of virtue seizes upon cities, and when a great abundance of folly overwhelms everything, then God, like the stream of an overflowing torrent, being desirous to wash away all the power and impetuosity of wickedness, in order to purify our race, gives vigor and power to those men who by their natures are fitted to exercise dominion, for without a stern soul wickedness cannot be got rid of. And just as cities keep executioners for the punishment of murderers, and traitors, and sacrilegious persons, not because they approve of the dispositions of the men, but because they have need of the serviceable part of their ministrations; in the same manner the Ruler of this mighty city, the world, appoints tyrants, like ordinary executioners, to be over those cities in which he sees that violence, and injustice, and impiety prevail, and all other kinds of evils in abundance, that he may by these means put an end to their existence. And then he thinks it right to pursue the guilty, as men who have been serving these vices from the impulses of an impure and pitiless soul, with every punishment imaginable, as the ringleaders; for as the power of fire when it has consumed the fuel which was given to it, at last consumes itself also, so also do those who have received supreme power over nations, when they have exhausted the cities and rendered them destitute of inhabitants, at last perish themselves among them, suffering due punishment for all that they have done.

And why should we wonder if God employs the agency of tyrants to get rid of wickedness when widely diffused over cities, and countries, and nations? For he very often uses other ministers, and himself brings about the same end by his own resources, inflicting upon the nation famine, or pestilence, or earthquakes, or any other heaven-sent calamity, by which great and numerous multitudes perish every day, and by which a great portion of the habitable world is made desolate, on account of his care for the preservation of virtue.

Therefore I have now, as I conceive, spoken at sufficient length on the present subject, namely, that no wicked man is happy, by which fact above all others it may be established that there is such a thing as providence; but if you are not thoroughly convinced, then tell me boldly what is the doubt which is still lurking in your mind, for then both of us by labouring together shall be able to see clearly what the real truth is. And after some more arguments, he proceeds thus:--

God causes the violent storms of wind and rain which we see, not for the injury of those who traverse the sea, as you fancied, or of those who till the earth, but for the general benefit of the whole of the human race, for with his water he cleanses the earth, and with his breezes he purifies all the regions beneath the moon, and by the united influence of both he nourishes and promotes the growth and brings to perfection both animals and plants. And if at times these things do injure those who put to sea or who till the land at unseasonable moments, it is not to be wondered at, for these men are but a small portion of the human race, and the care of God is exerted for the benefit of all mankind.

As, therefore, in a gymnastic school oil is placed there for the common benefit of every one, but still it often happens that the master of the school, by reason of some political necessity changes the arrangement of the usual hours of exercise, by which means some of those who wish to anoint themselves come too late; in like manner God, who takes care of the whole world as if it were a city committed to his charge, does sometimes cause the summer to resemble winter, and winter to assume the characteristics of spring, for the common benefit of the universe, even though some captains of ships, or some cultivators of the ground, may very likely be injured by this irregularity of the seasons. Therefore He, being aware that the occasional interchanges of the elements with one another, out of which the world was made, and of which it consists, are a work of the greatest importance and necessity, supplies them without allowing anything to be an obstacle to them; and frost and snow-storms, and other things of that kind, follow the cooling of the air. And, again, lightnings and thunders arise from the collision and repercussion of the clouds, none of which things are perhaps effected by any immediate exertion of providence, but the rains and winds are the causes of existence, and nourishment, and growth to all things which are upon the earth, and these phenomena are the natural consequences of those others.

For just as it often happens, when the master of a gymnastic school, out of rivalry, has gone to extravagant expense, then some of those who are ignorant of all that is becoming, having been bespattered with oil instead of water, let all the drops from them fall upon the boards, and then a most slippery mud is the result: nevertheless a man, whose appreciations were just would not say that the hard and the slippery state of the ground was caused by the intention of the master of the school, but that these things had resulted accidentally, in consequence of the abundant quantity of the things supplied. Again, the rainbow, and the halo, and all other things of that kind, are natural consequences of those things becoming mingled with the clouds, not being occurrences which lead and influence nature, but being the results and consequences of the operations of nature.

Not but what these very things themselves do also afford some signs of great importance to wise men, for, guiding their conjectures by them, they predict calms and storms of wind, and fine weather, and tempests. Do you not see that porticoes which embellish the cities? the greater part of these look towards the south, in order that those who walk under them may be warm in the winter, and may be cool in the summer.

There is also another thing which does not happen through the intention of Him who made it, and what is this? the shadows which fall from the feet indicate the hours to our experience. And again, fire is a most important work of nature, but the consequence of fire is smoke, and nevertheless even this too at times is of some service. At all events in the heat, in the middle of the day, when the fire is rendered invisible by the brilliancy of the beams of the sun, the approach of enemies is indicated by the smoke, and the principle which causes the rainbow is also the same which, in some degree, regulates eclipses.

For eclipses are a natural consequence of the rules which regulate the divine natures of the sun and moon; and they are indications either of the impending death of some king, or of the destruction of some city, as Pindar also has told us in enigmatical terms, alluding to such events as the consequences of the omens which I have now been Mentioning. [this theory of the eclipses of the sun and other natural prodigies being prophetic of events on earth, is expressed by Virgil in a passage of the most exquisite beauty in reference to Caesar's death, Georg. 1.462 (as it is translated by Dryden)--"The unerring sun by certain signs declares / What the late eve or early morn prepares, / And when the south projects a stormy day, / And when the clearing north will puff the clouds away. / The sun reveals the secrets of the sky, / And who dares give the source of light the lie? / The change of empires often he declares, / Fierce tumults, hidden treasons, open wars. / He first the fate of Caesar did foretell, / And pitied Rome, when Rome in Caesar fell, / In iron clouds concealed the public light, / And impious mortals feared eternal night. / Nor was the fact foretold by him alone, / Nature herself stood forth and seconded the sun. / Earth, air, and seas with prodigies were signed, / And birds obscene and howling dogs divined; / What rocks did Aetna's bellowing mouth expire / From her torn entrails! and what floods of fire. / What clanks were heard in German skies afar / Of arms and armies rushing to the war. / Dire earthquakes rent the solid Alps below, / And from their summits shook the eternal snow. / Pale spectres in the close of night were seen, / And voices heard of more than mortal men. / In silent groves dumb sheep and oxen spoke, / And streams ran backward and their beds forsook; / The yawning earth disclosed the abyss of hell, / The weeping statues did the wars foretell, / And holy sweat from brazen idols fell. / Then rising in his might, the king of floods / Rushed through the forests, tore the lofty woods, / And rolling onwards, with a sweepy sway / Bore houses, lands, and labouring hinds away. / Blood sprang from wells, wolves howled in turns by night, / And boding victims did the priests affright. / Such peals of thunder never poured from high, / Nor forky lightnings flashed from such a sullen sky; / Red meteors ran across the ethereal space, / Stars disappeared and comets took their place. / For this the Emathian plains once more were strewed / With Roman bodies, and just heaven thought good / To fatten twice those fields with Roman blood."] And the circle of the Milky Way partakes of the same natural essences with the other stars; but merely the fact that it is hard to account for, is no reason that

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those who are accustomed to investigate the principles of nature should shrink from examining into it; for the discovery of those things is most beneficial, and the investigation of them is intrinsically most delightful for its own sake, to those who are fond of learning.

For as the sun and moon exist in consequence of Providence, so also do all things in heaven, even though we are unable to trace out accurately the respective natures and powers of each, and are, therefore, reduced to silence about them; and earthquakes, and pestilences, and the fall of thunderbolts, and things of that kind, are said indeed to be sent by God, but, in reality, they are not so, for God is absolutely not the cause of any evil whatever of any kind, but the natural changes of the elements produce these effects, not as circumstances which guide nature, but as those which are followed by necessary results, and which do themselves follow naturally upon their antecedent causes. And if some people, who think themselves entitled to immunity meet with some injury from these things, they are still not to find fault with their management and dispensation; for, in the first place, it does not follow, that if some persons are reckoned virtuous among men, they are so in real truth; since the criteria by which God judges are far more accurate than any of the tests by which the human mind is guided. And, in the second place, prophetic wisdom loves to contemplate those things in the world which are of the most comprehensive nature, as in the case of monarchies, and in the governments of armies, we see that it is not any obscure, ignoble, or chance person who is appointed to govern the cities or the armies.

And some persons say that as on occasion of the slaying of tyrants, it is lawful that their relations also should be put to death, in order that transgressions may be checked by the terrible magnitude of the punishment inflicted: in like manner in pestilential diseases, it is necessary that some of those who are not guilty should be involved in the destruction, in order that others who are at a distance may learn moderation. Besides that, it is inevitable that those who are exposed to a pestilential atmosphere must become diseased just as all persons who are exposed to a storm on board a ship must be all exposed to equal danger. But those wild beasts which are courageous have been created; for we must not suppress the truth (as if one were to anticipate the defense likely to be made by a man of powerful eloquence and tare it to pieces beforehand), in order that men may, by practising against them, acquire hardihood for the contests of war; for gymnastic exercises and continued hunting train men and inure their souls in a greater degree even than their bodies to rely upon their own courage, and energy, and strength, so as to disregard the sudden attacks of their enemies.

But those men who are of peaceable character are at liberty to keep themselves not only within their walls, but also even within tents, and there to live in privacy, safe from the designs of any enemies, having vast and countless herds of domestic animals to help their enjoyment; since boars and lions, and animals of that kind, are by their own instinct driven to a distance from cities, not being inclined to expose themselves to danger in consequence of the devices of men. And if any men, being influenced by a spirit of laziness and indolence, living without arms and without preparation, dwell fearlessly among the haunts of wild beasts, then if anything happens to them they must blame not nature but themselves, because when they might have guarded against any such disasters, they have neglected them. Accordingly, before now, I have seen at the horse-races some persons acting in a most careless manner, who, when they ought to have sat still and to have beheld the races in an orderly manner, standing in the middle have been knocked down by the horses' feet and by the wheels, and have met with a proper reward for their folly. We have now, then, said enough on this subject.

But of reptiles, those which are venomous have not been called into existence by an immediate providence, but by the natural consequences of events, as I said before; for they are brought into life when the moisture which is in them changes to a more violent heat; and some are vivified by putrefaction, as, for instance, the putrefaction of meat produces maggots, and that which is caused by perspiration produces lice; but all those which are produced out of a kindred substance, and which have their generation in accordance with the usual spermatic principles which I have mentioned before, are very naturally ascribed to an immediate providence. And I have also heard two accounts given of them as having been created for the advantage of mankind, which I should not think it well to conceal. Now one of them is the following.

Some persons have said that venomous animals contribute greatly to many of the objects of physicians, and that those who reduce that science to a regular system use them in a proper manner, and, acting with great wisdom and prudence, have discovered antidotes, so as to be able to contribute to the unexpected safety of those who were in the greatest possible danger; and even at the present time one may see those persons who apply themselves to the study of medicine, in a careful and diligent manner, using all these animals and plants in a most skilful manner in the composition of drugs.

The other account has no reference to the practice of physicians, but only as it would seem to the studies of philosophers. For it says that all these things have been prepared by God as engines of punishment against offenders, just as generals and rulers prepare halters and chains. On which account, though they are quiet at other times, they are brought out with great power in the case of people who have been condemned, and whom nature in her incorruptible tribunal has sentenced to death; for that they lurk in secret holes and in houses, is a falsehood; for it is seen that these creatures flee out of the cities into the fields and into desert places, to avoid man as their master. Not but what, if this is true, there is a certain sense and principle in it; for rubbish is heaped up in recesses: and quantities of sweepings, and refuse, and such things, are what venomous reptiles love to lurk in, besides the fact that their smell has an attractive power over them.

Again, if swallows live among us, it is not at all strange, for we abstain from hunting them; and a desire of safety is implanted not only in the souls of rational creatures, but also in those of irrational animals.

But of those animals which tend to our enjoyment, there is not one which lives with us by reason of the designs which we form against them, except that some do live with those nations to whom the use of them is forbidden by the law. There is a city of Syria, on the sea shore, Ascalon by name: when I was there, at the time when I was on my journey towards the temple of my native land for the purpose of offering up prayers and sacrifices therein, I saw a most incalculable number of pigeons on the roads and about every house; and when I inquired the cause of their being there in such numbers, they said that it was not lawful to catch them, for that the use of them had been prohibited to the inhabitants from the earliest ages; and so the bird had become so thoroughly tame through fearlessness, that it not only hovered about the roofs and came into the houses, but approached their tables also, and grew luxurious in the alliance which it had thus formed.

And in Egypt we may see a still more marvelous thing; for the crocodile is the most odious of all animals, and one addicted to devour man; and it is born and brought up in the most sacred way, and although residing in the depths, it feels the benefits which it receives from mankind; for in those tribes, among which it is honoured, it multiplies in the greatest degree, but among those who injure it it never appears at all: so that there are places where even the most timid persons when sailing by leap out of their ships and swim about with their children.

And in the country of the Cyclops, since the race of these men is a fabulous invention, there is no eatable fruit whatever produced except such as is raised from seed and cultivated by husbandmen, just as nothing is produced from that which does not exist; but we must not accuse Greece as being sterile and unproductive, for there is a great deal of deep and rich soil in it; and if the land of the barbarians is superior in fruitfulness, though it is superior in the food which it produces, it is inferior in the men who are nourished by the food, and for whose sake the food is produced.

For Greece is the only country which really produces man, that heavenly plant, that divine offshoot, producing that most accurately refined reason which is appropriated by and akin to knowledge; and the cause is this, it is the nature of the intellect to be rendered acute by the lightness of the air; on which account Heraclitus said with great propriety, "Where the soil is dry, there the soul is most wise and most excellent;" and any one may conjecture this from the fact, that men who are sober and contented with a little are wise, and that those who are continually filling themselves with meat and drink are the least sensible, as if their reasoning faculties were drowned by the quantity which they swallow.

And on this account we see, in the countries of the barbarians, trees and plants grow to the greatest possible size, by reason of the abundance of nourishment which they receive; and we see too, that the irrational animals which are found in these regions are the most prolific of any, but the mind is not so, or, at all events, it is so in a very slight degree, because it is elevated and raised out of the aether itself, while the incessant and uninterrupted evaporations of earth and water have freely boiled over it. Again, the different kinds of fish, and birds, and terrestrial animals, are not grounds for accusing nature, which invites us to pleasure by those means, but are a terrible reproach to us for our intemperate use of them, for it was necessary, for the due completion of the universe, in order that there should be order and regularity in every portion of it, that there should be produced every possible species of animal. But it was not necessary that that animal, which of all others is most akin to wisdom, namely, man, should rush with such eagerness to the enjoyment of it, as to change his nature into something resembling the ferocity of wild beasts; on which account, even up to the present time, those who have any regard for temperance entirely abstain from such things, eating only vegetables, and herbs, and the fruits of trees, as the most delicious and wholesome food.

And these men are instructors for those who look upon the practice of eating such animals to be in accordance with nature, and correct them, and are lawgivers to their respective cities, being men who take care to check the immoderate vehemence of the appetites, and who do not permit the unrestrained use of everything to everybody.

Again, if roses, and crocuses, and all the other beautiful variety of flowers which we see, contribute to health, it would not follow that they all contribute to pleasure; for the indescribable variety of them makes the powers of some of them more conspicuous than those of others, just as there is a commingling of male and female, contributing to the generation of an animal; neither of them being calculated, by itself, to produce the effect which the two produce in combination.

These things are said, in a most convincing manner, with reference to the rest of the questions raised by you, being quite sufficient to produce conviction in the minds of all who are not obstinately contentious on the subject of God taking great care of human Affairs.

ON THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS

1 (How long shall we, who are aged men, still be like children, being indeed as to our bodies gray-headed through the length of time that we have lived, but as to our souls utterly infantine through our want of sense and sensibility, looking upon that which is the most unstable of all things, namely, fortune, as most invariable, and that which is of all things in the world the most steadfast, namely, nature, as utterly untrustworthy? For, like people playing at draughts, we make changes, altering the position of actions, and considering the things which are the result of fortune as more durable than those which result from nature, and the things which proceed in accordance with nature as less stable than those which are the result of chance. (And the reason of all this is, that we form our judgement of present events without paying any prudential attention to the future, being influenced by the erroneous guidance of our outward senses instead of the secret operations of the intellect; for the things which are openly conspicuous and before our hands so as to be taken up by them, are comprehended by our eyes, but our reasoning power outstrips them, hastening onwards to what is invisible and future; but nevertheless, we obscure the vision of our reason, though it is far more acute than those bodily powers of sight which are exercised by the eyes, some of us confusing it by indulgence in wine and satiety, and others by that greatest of all evils, namely, ignorance. (Nevertheless, the existing opportunity and the many and important proportions which arise to be decided on at the present time, even if some people should be incredulous that the Deity exercises a providential foresight with regard to human affairs, and especially on behalf of a nation which addresses its supplications to him, which belongs especially to the father and sovereign of the universe, and the great cause of all things; and these propositions are sufficient to persuade them of this Truth. [there seems some corruption in the text here.] (And this nation of suppliants is in the Chaldaic language called Israel, but when the name is translated into the Greek language it is called, "the seeing nation;" which appellation appears to me to be the most honourable of all things in the world, whether private or public; (for if the sight of elders, or instructors, or rulers, or parents, excites those who behold them to reverence and orderly conduct, and to an admiration of and desire for a life of moderation and temperance, how great a bulwark of virtue and excellence must we not expect to find in those souls which, after having investigated the nature of every created thing, have learnt to contemplate the uncreated and Divine Being, the first good of all, the one beautiful, and happy, and glorious, and blessed being; better, if one is to tell the plain truth, than the good itself; more beautiful than the beautiful itself; more happy than happiness itself; more blessed than blessedness itself; and, in short, if anything else in the world is so, more perfect than any one of the abovementioned things. (For reason cannot make such advances as to attain to a thorough comprehension of God, who can neither be touched nor handled; but it withdraws from and falls short of such a height, being unable to employ appropriate language as a step towards the manifestation (I will not say of the living God, for even if the whole heaven were to become endowed with articulate voice, it would not be furnished with felicitous and appropriate expressions to do justice to such a subject); but even of his subordinate powers, those, for instance, by which he created the world and by which he reigns over it as its king, and by which he foresees the future, and all his other beneficent, and chastising, and corrective powers. (Unless, indeed, we ought to class his correction among his beneficent powers, not only because such a display is a portion of his laws and ordinances (for law is made up of two things, the honour of the good, and the chastisement of the wicked), but also because punishment reproves, and very often even corrects, and ameliorates those who have done wrong; and if it fails to do so with respect to them, at all events it does so to those who are near the offenders thus punished; for the punishment of others makes

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most men better, for fear lest they themselves should suffer the same things.

2 (For who-when he saw Gaius, after the death of Tiberius Caesar, assuming the sovereignty of the whole world in a condition free from all sedition, and regulated by and obedient to admirable laws, and adapted to unanimity and harmony in all its parts, east and west, south and north; the barbarian nations being in harmony with the Greeks, and the Greeks with the barbarians, and the soldiers with the body of private citizens, and the citizens with the military; so that they all partook of and enjoyed one common universal peace-could fail to marvel at and be amazed at his extraordinary and unspeakable good fortune, (since he had thus succeeded to a ready-made inheritance of all good things, collected together as it were in one heap, namely, to numerous and vast treasures of money, and silver and gold, some in bullion, and some in coined money, and some again being devoted to articles of luxury, in drinking cups and other vessels, which are made for display and magnificence; and also countless hosts of troops, infantry, and cavalry, and naval forces, and revenues which were supplied in a never-ending stream as from a fountain; and the sovereignty of the most numerous, and most valuable, and important portions of the habitable world, which is fact one may fairly call the whole world, being not only all that is bounded by the two rivers, the Euphrates and the Rhine; the one of which confines Germany and all the more uncivilised nations; and the Euphrates, on the other hand, bridles Parthia and the nations of the Sarmatians and Scythians, which are not less barbarous and uncivilised than the Germanic tribes; but, even as I said before, all the world, from the rising to the setting sun, all the land in short on this side of the Ocean and beyond the Ocean, at which all the Roman people and all Italy rejoiced, and even all the Asiatic and European nations. For as they had never yet all together admired any emperor who had ever existed at that time, not expecting to have in future the possession, and use, and enjoyment of all private and public good things, but thinking that they actually had them already as a sort of superfluity of prosperity which happiness was waiting to fill to the brim: accordingly now there was nothing else to be seen in any city, but altars, and victims, and sacrifices, and men clothed in white garments, and crowned with garlands, and wearing cheerful countenances, and displaying their joy by the brightness of their looks, and festivals, and assemblies, and musical contests, and horse-races, and revels, and feasts lasting the whole night long, with the music of the flute and of the lyre, and rejoicings, and holidays, and truces, and every kind of pleasure addressed to every one of the senses. On this occasion the rich were not better off than the poor, nor the men of high rank than the lowly, nor the creditors than the debtors, nor the masters than the slaves, since the occasion gave equal privileges and communities to all men, so that the age of Saturn, which is so celebrated by the poets was no longer looked upon as a fiction and a fable,[the golden age was said to have existed during the reign of Saturn upon earth. So Tibullus and Virgil.] on account of the universal prosperity and happiness which reigned every where, and the absence of all grief and fear, and the daily and nightly exhibitions of joy and festivity throughout every house and throughout the whole people, which lasted continually without any interruption during the first seven months of his reign. But in the eighth month a severe disease attacked Gaius who had changed the manner of his living which was a little while before, while Tiberius was alive, very simple and on that account more wholesome than one of great sumptuousness and luxury; for he began to indulge in abundance of strong wine and eating of rich dishes, and in the abundant license of insatiable desires and great insolence, and in the unseasonable use of hot baths, and emetics, and then again in winebibbing and drunkenness, and returning gluttony, and in lust after boys and women, and in everything else which tends to destroy both soul and body, and all the bonds which unite and strengthen the two; for the rewards of temperance are health and strength, and the wages of intemperance are weakness and disease which bring a man near to death.

3 Accordingly, when the news was spread abroad that he was sick while the weather was still suitable for navigation (for it was the beginning of the autumn, which is the last season during which nautical men can safely take voyages, and during which in consequence they all return from the foreign marts in every quarter to their own native ports and harbours of refuge, especially all who exercise a prudent care not to be compelled to pass the winter in a foreign country); they, forsaking their former life of delicateness and luxury, now wore mournful faces, and every house and every city became full of depression and melancholy, their grief being now equal to and counterbalancing the joy which they experienced a short time before. For every portion of the habitable world was diseased in his sickness, feeling affected with a more terrible disease than that which was oppressing Gaius; for his sickness was that of the body alone, but the universal malady which was oppressing all men every where was one which attacked the vigor of their souls, their peace, their hopes, their participation in and enjoyment of all good things; for men began to remember how numerous and how great are the evils which spring from anarchy, famine, and war, and the destruction of trees, and devastations, and deprivation of lands, and plundering of money, and the intolerable fear of slavery and death, which no one can relieve, all which evils appeared to admit of but one remedy, namely the recovery of Gaius. Accordingly when his disease began to abate, in a very short time even the men who were living on the very confines of the empire heard of it and rejoiced, for nothing is swifter than report,[so Virgil says, Aen. 4.174.] and immediately every city was full of suspense and expectation, being continually eager for better news, until at length his perfect recovery was announced by fresh arrivals, at which news they again returned to their original cheerfulness, each thinking the health of Gaius to be his own salvation; and this feeling pervaded every continent and every island, for no one can recollect so great and general a joy affecting any one country or any one nation, at the good health or prosperity of their governor, as now pervaded the whole of the habitable world at the recovery of Gaius, and at his being able to resume the exercise of his power and having completely got rid of his sickness. For they all rejoiced, from ignorance of the truth, like men who are now for the first time beginning to exchange a wandering and uncivilised mode of life for a social and civilised system, and instead of dwelling in desert places, and the open air, and the mountain districts, to live in walled cities, and instead of living without any governor, or protector, or lawgiver, to be now established under the care of a governor to be a sort of shepherd and leader of a more domesticated flock; for the human mind is apt to be blind towards the perception of what is really expedient and beneficial for it, being influenced rather by conjecture and notions of probability than by real knowledge.

4 At all events it was not long before Gaius-who was now looked upon as a Saviour and benefactor, and who was expected to shower down some fresh and everlasting springs of benefits upon all Asia and Europe, so as to endow the inhabitants with inalienable happiness and prosperity, both separately to each individual and generally to the whole state-began, as the proverb has it, at home, and changed into a ferocity of disposition, or, I should rather say, displayed the savageness which he had previously overshadowed by pretence and hypocrisy; for he put to death his cousin who had been left as the partner of his kingdom, and who was in fact a more natural successor to it than he himself; for he himself was only Tiberius's grandson by adoption, but the other was so by blood; arguing as a pretext that he had detected him in plotting against him, though his very age was a sufficient refutation of any such accusation; for the unhappy victim was only just emerging from boyhood, and beginning to rank among the youths. And, as some person say, if Tiberius had lived a short time longer, Gaius would have been made away with, as he began to be looked upon by him with unalterable suspicion, and the genuine grandson of Tiberius would have been named the future emperor, and the inheritor of his paternal kingdom. But Tiberius was carried off by fate, before he could bring his designs to their completion; and Gaius thought that he should be able to escape all evil report which might arise from his transgressing the principles of justice with respect to his partner by outwitting him. And the contrivance which he adopted was of the following character. Having assembled all the chief magistrates, he said: "I am desirous that he who is my cousin by birth and my brother in affection, in accordance with the instruction of Tiberius who is now dead, shall be a partner with me in my absolute authority. But you yourselves perceive that he is as yet a mere child, and that he is in need of masters, and teachers, and guardians; since what can be a more desirable blessing for me than that my one mind and one body shall not be loaded with so great a weight of the cares of government, but for me to have some one who may be able to lighten and alleviate them by sharing them? I, therefore," said he: "passing over and being superior to all tutors, and masters, and guardians, register myself as his father, and him as my son."

5 With these words he deceived both those who were present and the youth himself; for his proposal was a mere bait, his intention being not to invest him with the power which he expected, but to deprive him of even that which he already had, according to the law affecting coheirs and partners; and accordingly now he plotted against him with absolute fearlessness, having no regard for nor fear of any one; for by the laws of the Romans the most complete and absolute authority over the son belongs to the father, besides the fact of Gaius having the imperial authority which was wholly irresponsible, since no one could either venture or had any power to demand an account from him of any thing whatever that he might do. Accordingly, looking upon this youth to be like a thirds-man in the games, he proceeded to overthrow him, feeling no compassion, either for the fact of his having been brought up with him, or his being so nearly related to him, or for his age, but having no idea of sparing this miserable youth, doomed to an early death; his own partner in the government, his co-heir, who had formerly been expected to be all but the absolute emperor, by reason of his being the nearest relation to Tiberius; for when their fathers are dead, the grandsons are usually looked upon by their grandfathers as standing in the position of sons. It is said moreover, that this youth, being ordered to slay himself with his own hands, while a centurion and a captain of a thousand were standing by (who had been expressly commanded to take no part in the horrid deed, since it was not lawful for the descendants of the emperors to be put to death by any one else; for Gaius remembered the laws amid his lawless acts, and had some regard for piety in all his impious deeds, imitating as well as he could the nature of truth); he, not knowing how to kill himself, for he had never seen any one else put to death, and had never had any practice in fighting with weapons, which is the usual exercise and course of instruction for children who are being educated with a view to become leaders and rulers, on account of the wars which they may have to conduct, at first exhorted those officers who had come to him to put him to death themselves, stretching out his neck; but when they did not dare to do so, he himself taking the sword inquired in his ignorance and want of experience what was the most mortal place, in order that by a well-directed blow he might cut short his miserable life; and they, like instructors in misery, led him on his way, and pointed out to him the part into which he was to thrust his sword; and he, having thus learnt his first and last lesson, became himself, miserable that he was, his own murderer under compulsion.

6 But when this first and greatest undertaking had been accomplished by Gaius, there being no longer left any one who had any connexion with the supreme authority, to whom any one who bore him ill-will, and who was suspected by him, could possibly turn his eyes; he now, in the second place, proceeded to compass the death of Macro, a man who had co-operated with him in every thing relating to the empire, not only after he had been appointed emperor, for it is a characteristic of flattery to court those who are in a state of prosperity, but who had previously assisted him in his measures for securing that authority. For Tiberius, who was a man of very profound prudence, and the most able to all the men of his court at perceiving the hidden intentions of any man, and who was as pre-eminent in intelligence and acuteness as he was in good fortune, did very often look with suspicion upon Gaius as being evil disposed towards all the house of Claudius, and as being related to him only on the mother's side,[caligula was the son of Germanicus and Agrippina.] and he feared for his grandson, lest he, being left a mere child, should be put to death by him. And he judged him, moreover, very little fitted for an authority of such magnitude, both on account of the unsociableness and ferocity of his nature, and the inequality of his temper; for he was continually giving way to the most frantic and most inconsistent moods, not preserving any consistency either in his words or in his actions; all which Macro studied with all his strength at every opportunity, pacifying the suspicions of Tiberius and all the prejudices with which he perceived that his mind was inflamed against Gaius by reason of his ceaseless fear and anxiety for his grandson. For he represented to him, that Gaius was a person of a good and obedient disposition, and one who entertained the greatest affection for his cousin, so that out of his exceeding regard for him he would be willing even to abandon the government and to yield it up to him by himself, but that excessive modesty was anything but advantageous to many persons, in consequence of which Gaius, who was of a most guileless and single-minded disposition, was looked upon by many as crafty and designing. And when he could not persuade him, by all the arguments drawn from probabilities which he advanced, he brought forward that which rested upon specific agreements, adding, "I myself will be his security, I who deserve to have confidence placed in me, inasmuch as I have given sufficient proof that I myself am individually a friend to Caesar, and a friend to Tiberius, since it was I who carried into execution, your intentions respecting the downfall of Sejanus. And, in short, he was very assiduous, and energetic, and comprehensive in his praises of Gaius, if, indeed, one may speak of speeches in defense of a man as equivalent to panegyrics on him, which were rather addressed to the doing away with the unfavourable impressions and suspicion, excited by obscure and indistinct hints and accusations. In short, all the things which any one could say on behalf of any brother or legitimate child, such and more too did Macro say to Tiberius in behalf of Gaius. And the cause of this was according to the report which obtained among the generality of people, not only that Macro had, on the other hand, been greatly courted by him, as one who had the greatest, or, indeed, all the power under the empire; but also that Macro's wife was favourable to him, for a reason which ought not to be mentioned, and she every day urged on, and encouraged, and entreated her husband to omit no exertion of his zeal and energy on behalf of the young man. And a wife is a very powerful engine to divert or to persuade the mind of her husband, especially if she be one of an amorous temperament, for because of her own consciousness she becomes more given to flattery. And Macro, being ignorant of the dishonour done to his marriage-bed and to his family, and looking upon her flattery as a proof of her sincere

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good will and affection for him, was deceived, and without being aware of it was led, by her intrigues, to embrace his bitterest enemies as his best friends.

7 Therefore, as he knew that he had preserved him ten thousand times, when he was in the most imminent danger of being put to death, he used to offer him undisguised, sincere, and honest admonitions and advice, with perfect freedom of speech; for, like a good workman, he was desirous that what he looked upon as his own work should remain uninjured and indestructible, without being put an end to, either by himself or by any one else; therefore, whenever he saw him sleeping at any entertainment he would go round and awaken him, having, at the same time, a regard for what was becoming and also for his safety, for a man who is asleep is a good object for treachery; and whenever he beheld him looking with an excited eye at any dancers, or even sometimes dancing with them, or not smiling with dignity upon actors of farcical and laughable spectacles, but rather grinning like a boy, or wholly carried away by the tunes of some harp-player or chorus, so as on some occasions even to join in their song, he would, if he was sitting or going near him, give him a nudge, and endeavor to check him. And very often, when he was reclining near him, he would whisper in his ear, and admonish him gently and quietly, so that no one else might hear what was said, saying, "You ought not only not to be like any one else here, but like no one else whatever, neither at any spectacle, or at anything that is to be heard, or in anything else that ever affects the outward senses, but you ought rather to surpass all other men in every action of your life, as much as you surpass them in your good fortune, for it is unreasonable for the ruler of all the earth and of all the sea to be subdued by a song or by an exhibition of dancing, or by any ridiculous jest or piece of acting, or by anything else of that kind; and not on every occasion, and in every place, to remember his position as emperor, like a shepherd and protector of the flock, availing himself of everything that can tend to any kind of amelioration, from every word, and from every action, of every description whatever." Then again he would add, "When you are present at any theatrical contest, or at any gymnastic games, or at any of the contests in the hippodrome, do not consider the pursuits themselves so much as the behaving correctly in all such pursuits, and entertain thoughts of this nature: if some men labour in this manner to bring to perfection things that can in no respect benefit human life, but which only afford pleasure and amusement to the spectators, in such a way as to be praised and admired, and to receive rewards, and honours, and crowns, and to have their names proclaimed as conquerors; what ought that man to do who is skilful in the most sublime and most important of all arts? Now the greatest and most excellent of all sciences is the science of government, by means of which every country which is good and fertile, whether it be champaign or mountainous, is cultivated, and every sea is navigated without danger by heavily-laden merchant-vessels, to communicate to the different countries the useful productions of each, out of a natural desire for participation and association, so that each land receives what it stands in need of, and sends abroad in requital those good things of which it has a superfluity; for envy has never obtained a dominion over the whole of the habitable world, nor even over those great divisions of it, the whole of Europe or the whole of Asia, but it lurks in holes like a venomous reptile, creeping out in small districts to attack an individual man, or a single family, or, if it is very violent and powerful, perhaps one city; but it never attacks a larger circle of a whole nation or a whole country, especially ever since your august family has really begun to rule over all men in every part of the world. "For your house has discovered and brought to light everything that is good, even in the midst of evils, and has banished all evils to the extremities of the earth, and beyond its borders to the very depths of Tartarus, and has brought back, from the most distant borders of the earth and sea, those profitable and beneficial things which were in a manner banished into the habitable world around us; and now all these things are entrusted to your power, to be governed by your authority. "Accordingly you, having been conducted by nature to the supreme helm of the world, and having the government of everything placed in your hand, must guide the universal ship of all mankind in a safe and salutary manner, rejoicing and delighting in nothing more than in doing good to your subjects; for different people have different contributions to bestow, which individuals necessarily offer in their several cities. But the most suitable gift for a ruler to give is to adopt wise counsels with respect to those who are subject to his authority, and to execute intentions which have been rightly formed, and to bestow on them good things without any limitation, with a liberal hand and mind, except such as it may be better to keep in reserve from a prudent foreknowledge of the uncertainty of the future."

8 The unhappy man kept dinning suggestions of this kind into his ears in the hope of improving Gaius; but he, being a contentious and quarrelsome person, turned his mind in the directly opposite direction, as if he were exhorted to do exactly the contrary, and he conceived a most determined disgust for his monitor, so as never to behold him with a cheerful countenance; and sometimes when he saw him at a distance he would speak as follows to those near him: "Here comes the teacher of one who has no longer any right to be looked upon as a pupil; -here comes the pedagogue of one who is no longer a child, the monitor of one who is wiser than himself, the man who thinks it proper that the emperor should obey his subject, who sets himself up as a man deeply versed by experience in the science of government, and as a teacher of it, though from whom he has learnt the principles of sovereign government I know not; for from the moment that I left my cradle, I have had ten thousand instructors, fathers, brothers, uncles, cousins, and grandfathers, up to the very founders of my family, in fact every one related to me either on my father's or my mother's side, who had acquired absolute power for themselves, even without taking into consideration the fact that, by their being the authors of my being, they had implanted in me some degree of royal power and some natural aptitude for government. For as similitudes of both body and soul exist both in the form, and position, and motions of men, and also as the inclinations, and dispositions, and actions of men are preserved in some degree of similitude through the principles of descent, so also is it probable that the very same principles should convey an outline of similitude in respect of one's aptitude for government. Shall any one, then, who is ignorant dare to instruct me who am the reverse of ignorant? me who, even before my birth, while I was yet in my mother's womb, was fashioned as an emperor in the workshop of nature? For how can it be possible for persons, who but a short time before were private individuals, to contemplate as they should the intentions of an imperial soul? But some persons in their shameless audacity dare to put themselves forward as interpreters and perfecters of the principles of government, when in reality they scarcely ought to be enrolled among those who have any understanding whatever of the matter." And as he thus diligently laboured to alienate himself from Macro, he began also to invent false but plausible and specious grounds for blaming and accusing him; for passionate and irritable natures, especially when belonging to powerful men, are very ingenious at weaving plausibilities. Now, the pretexts which he made use of against him were of the following natures. He said Macro thought thus: "Gaius is my work; the work of Macro. I am more truly, or at all events not less truly, his father than his own parents. He would have been destroyed, over and over again, by Tiberius, who thirsted for his blood, if it had not been for me and for my powers of persuasion. And moreover, when Tiberius was dead, I, who had under my command the whole force of the army, immediately placed him in the position which Tiberius had occupied, teaching him that the state had indeed sustained a loss of one man, but that the imperial authority continued unaltered, as entire as ever." And many people have given credit to these assertions of his as if they were true, not being acquainted with the false and crafty disposition of the speakers; for hitherto the dishonest and designing character of his disposition was not made manifest. But a few days afterwards the miserable man was put to death, with his wife, receiving the extremity of punishment as a reward for his exceeding good will towards his slayer. This is the consequence of doing kindnesses to ungrateful people; for in return for the benefits which they have received, they inflict the greatest of injuries on those from whom they have received them. Accordingly, Macro, who had done everything in sincerity with the most earnest eagerness and zeal for the good of Gaius, in the first place in order to save him from death, and afterwards in order that he by himself might succeed to the imperial authority, received for his reward the fate which I have mentioned. For it is said that the wretched man was compelled to kill himself with his own hand; and his wife, too, experienced the same misery, even though she indeed had at one time been believed to be on the most intimate terms of familiarity with Gaius; but they say that none of the allurements of love are stable and trustworthy because it is a passion which quickly breeds satiety.

9 But after Macro and all his house had been sacrificed, Gaius then began to design a third more grievous piece of treachery still. His fatherin-law had been Marcus Silanus, a man full of wisdom, and very illustrious by birth. He, after his daughter had died by an early death, still was very attentive and affectionate to Gaius, showing all imaginable regard for him, not so much like a father-in-law as like an actual father, and he hoped that he should find that Gaius also entertained equal good will towards him, transforming himself according to the principles of equality from a son-in-law into a son; but he was, without knowing it, cherishing mistaken opinions, and deluding himself, for he was continually uttering affectionate speeches, keeping back nothing which could tend to the amelioration and improvement of Gaius's disposition and way of life and mode of government, speaking with all freedom, and looking upon his own surpassing nobility of birth and nearness of connexion by marriage as circumstances which gave him grounds for great familiarity and openness, for his daughter had been dead only a very short time, so that the laws and bonds which bind such kinsmen were scarcely destroyed, and one may almost say were still quivering with life, some relics of the breath of vitality being still left, as it were, and remaining warm in the body. But Gaius, looking upon every admonition as an insult, because he fancied that he himself was the wisest and most virtuous of all men, and moreover the most valorous and the most just, hated all who ventured to offer him instruction more than even his avowed enemies. Therefore, looking on Silanus as a bore, who only wished to check the impetuosity and indulgence of his appetites, and discarding all recollection of and regard for his deceased wife, he treacherously put her father to death, who was also his own father-in-law.

10 And by this time the matter began to be widely talked about in consequence of the continual deaths of so many eminent men, so that now these things began to be spoken of in every mouth as intolerable infamy and wickedness; not indeed openly, from fear, but gently and under the breath, in whispers; and then again, by a sudden change (for the multitude is very unstable in everything, in intentions, and words, and actions), men, disbelieving that one who but a little while before was merciful and humane could have become altered so entirely, for Gaius had been looked upon as affable, and sociable, and friendly, began to seek for excuses for him, and after some search they found such, saying with regard to his cousin and co-heir in the kingdom things such as these: "The unchangeable law of nature has ordained that there should be no partnership in the sovereign power, and it has established by its own unalterable principles what this man must inevitably have suffered at the hands of his more powerful coheir. The one who was the more powerful has chastised the other. This is not murder. Perhaps, indeed, the putting that youth to death was done providentially for the advantage of the whole human race, since if one portion had been assigned as subjects to the one, and another portion to the other, there would have arisen troubles and confusion, and civil and foreign war. And what is better than peace? and peace is caused by good government on sound principles. And no government can be good but that which is free from all contentions and from all disputes, and then everything else is made right by it." And in reference to the case of Macro, they said, "The man was puffed up with pride in an immoderate degree; he had no idea of that great lesson which came from Delphi, 'know thyself.' And they say that knowledge is the cause of happiness, and that ignorance is the parent of unhappiness. What could have possessed him to make such an alteration and change in their relative positions as to thrust himself, who was a subject, into the rank of a governor, and to depress Gaius, who was the emperor, into the place of a subject? For it is the part of a ruler to command, and that was what Macro did; but it is the duty of a subject to obey, and that was what he considered that Gaius was to submit to." For these inconsiderate men, without giving themselves the trouble of inquiring into the truth, called the recommendations of Macro commands, and called him who gave advice a governor, out of ignorance and insensibility, or else out of flattery suppressing the truth and giving a false colouring to the nature of both names and things. And in reference to Silanus they said, "Silanus was a most ridiculous person when he took it into his head that a father-in-law would have as much influence with his son-in-law as a real father has with a son. And yet even real fathers who are in a private station submit to their sons when they are in great offices and in places of high authority, being quite content with the second place; but this foolish man, even when he was no longer his father-in-law, kept on claiming privileges which did not belong to him, without perceiving that with the death of his daughter the connexion which had originated in the marriage of Gaius with her had also died, for intermarriages are the bonds which unite families between which there is no kindred, changing alienation into near connexion; but when that bond is dissolved, then the union is dissolved likewise, especially when it is dissolved by a circumstance which cannot be altered or remedied, namely, by the death of the woman who was given in marriage into another family." Such conversations as these were held in every company, the speakers being wholly influenced by their wish that the emperor should not appear to be cruel; for as they had hoped that such humanity and gentleness was seated in the soul of Gaius as had not existed in either of the previous emperors, they thought it would be a most strange thing if he now made so great and so sudden a change to an entirely contrary disposition.

11 Having now, then, entirely accomplished the three undertakings above-mentioned, with reference to three most important divisions, two of them belonging to the country, one to the class of counsellors and the other to the knights, and the third affecting his own relations, and considering that now that he had thus put down the mightiest and most powerful of his foes, he must have struck all the rest with the utmost terror, alarming the counsellors by the death of Silanus (for he was inferior to no one in the senate), and the knights by the execution of Macro (for he, like the leader of a chorus, had long been considered the very first man of the

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knights for reputation and glory), and all his blood relations by the slaughter of his cousin and joint inheritor of the kingdom, he no longer chose to remain fettered by the ordinary limits of human nature, but aspired to raise himself above them, and desired to be looked upon as a god. And at the beginning of this insane desire they say that he was influenced by such a train of reasoning as the following: for as the curators of the herds of other animals, namely cowherds, and goatherds, and shepherds, are neither oxen nor goats, nor sheep, but men who have received a more excellent portion, and a more admirable formation of mind and body; so in the same manner, said he, is it fitting that I who am the leader of the most excellent of all herds, namely, the race of mankind, should be considered as a being of a superior nature, and not merely human, but as one who has received a greater and more holy portion. Accordingly, having impressed this idea on his mind, like a vain and foolish man as he was, he bore about in himself a fallacious fable and invention as if it had been a most undeniable truth; and after he had once carried his boldness and audacity to such a pitch as to compel the multitude to admit of his most impious deification, he attempted to do other things consistent with and conformable to it, and in this way he advanced up to the highest point by slow degrees as if he were ascending up steps. For he began at first to liken himself to those beings who are called demigods, such as Bacchus, and Hercules, and the twins of Lacedaemon; turning into utter ridicule Trophonius, and Amphiaraus, and Amphilochus, and others of the same kind, with all their oracles and secret ceremonies, in comparison of his own power. In the next place, like an actor in a theatre, he was continually wearing different dresses at different times, taking at one time a lion's skin and a club, both gilded over; being then dressed in the character of Hercules; at another time he would wear a felt hat upon his head, when he was disguised in imitation of the Spartan twins, Castor and Pollux; sometimes he also adorned himself with ivy, and a thyrsus, and skins of fawns, so as to appear in the guise of Bacchus. And he looked upon himself as being in this respect superior to all of these beings, because each of them while he had his own peculiar honours had no claim to those which belonged to the others, but he in his envious ambition appropriated all the honours of the whole body of demigods at once, or I should rather say, appropriated the demigods themselves; transforming himself not into the triple-bodied Geryon, so as to attract all beholders by the multitude of his bodies; but, what was the most extraordinary thing of all, changing and transforming the essence of one body into every variety of form and figure, like the Egyptian Proteus, whom Homer has represented as being susceptible of every variety of transformation, into all the elements, and into the animals, and plants, which belong to the different Elements. [the passage in Homer is to be found at Odyssey 4.363. It is imitated more concisely by Virgil, Georg. 4.410, who makes Cyrene tell Aristaeus (which is thus translated by Pope)--"Instant he wears, elusive of the rape, / The mimic force of every savage shape: / Or glides with liquid lapse a murm'ring stream, / Or wrapt in flame, he glows at every limb. / Yet still retentive, with redoubled might / Thro' each vain passive form constrains his flight. / But when, his native shape resumed, he stands / Patient of conquest, and your cause demands; / The cause that urg'd the bold attempt declare, / And soothe the vanquish'd with a victor's prayer. / The bands relaxed, implore the seer to say / What godhead interdicts the wat'ry way."] And yet why, O Gaius! did you think yourself in need of spurious honours, such as the temples and statues of the beings above-mentioned are often filled with? You ought rather to have imitated their virtues. Hercules purified both the earth and the sea, performing labours of the greatest possible importance and of the highest benefit to all mankind, in order to eradicate all that was mischievous and calculated to injure the nature of each of the elements. Bacchus rendered the vine susceptible of cultivation, and extracted a most delicious drink from it, which is at the same time most beneficial to the souls and bodies of men, leading the first to cheerfulness, working in them a forgetfulness of evils and a hope of blessings, and making the latter more healthy, and vigorous, and active, and supple. And individually it renders each man better, and alters populous families and households, leading them from a squalid and labourious life of vexation to a course of relaxation and cheerful happiness, and causing to every city on earth, both Grecian and barbarian, incessant festivity, and mirth, and entertainment, and revelry; for of all these things is good wine the cause. Again, it is said that the twin sons of Jupiter, Castor and Pollux, are partakers of immortality. For since the one was mortal and the other immortal, the one who had had the more excellent portion assigned to him did not choose to behave in a selfish manner, but rather to display his good will and affection towards his brother; for having acquired the idea that eternity was never-ending, and considering that he was to live for ever, and that his brother was to be dead for ever, and that in conjunction with his own immortality he should likewise be enduring an undying sorrow on account of his brother, he conceived and carried out a most marvelous system of counterbalancing, mingling mortality with himself and immortality with his brother, and thus he modified inequality, which is the beginning of all injustice, by equality, which is the fountain of justice.

12 All these beings, O Gaius! were admired on account of the benefits which they had conferred on mankind, and they are admired for them even up to the present time, and they were deservedly thought worthy of veneration and of the very highest honours. But come now, and tell us yourself in what achievement of yours do you pride yourself and boast yourself as being in the least similar to their actions? Have you imitated the twin sons of Jupiter in their brotherly affection, that I may begin with that point? Did you not rather, O hard-hearted and most pitiless of men! inhumanly slaughter your brother, the joint inheritor of the kingdom with you, even before he had arrived at the full vigor of manhood, when he was still in early youth. Did you not afterwards banish your sisters, lest they also should cause you any reasonable apprehension of the deprivation and loss of your imperial power? Have you imitated Bacchus in any respect? Have you been an inventor of any new blessings to mankind? Have you filled the whole of the habitable world with joy as he did? Are all Asia and Europe inadequate to contain the gifts which have been showered upon mankind by you? No doubt you have invented new arts and sciences, like a common pest and murderer of your kind, by which you have changed all pleasant and acceptable things into vexation and sorrow, and have made life miserable and intolerable to all men everywhere, appropriating to yourself in your intolerable and insatiable greediness all the good and beautiful things which belonged to every one else, whether from the east or from any other country of the universe, carrying off everything from the south, everything from the north, and in requital giving to and pouring down upon those whom you had plundered every sort of mischievous and injurious things from your own bitter spirit, everything which is ever engendered in cruel, and destructive, and envenomed dispositions; these are the reasons why you appeared to us as a new Bacchus. But I suppose you imitated Hercules in your unwearied labours and your incessant displays of valor and virtue; you, O most wretched of men! having filled every continent and every island with good laws, and principles of justice, and wealth, and comfort, and prosperity, and abundance of other blessings, you, wretched man, full of all cowardice and iniquity, who have emptied every city of all the things which can conduce to stability and prosperity, and have made them full of everything which leads to trouble and confusion, and the most utter misery and desolation. Tell me then, O Gaius! do you, after having made all these contributions to universal destruction, do you, I say, seek to acquire immortality in order to make the calamities which you have heaped upon mankind, not of brief duration and short-lived, but imperishable and everlasting? But I think, on the contrary, that even if you had previously appeared to be a god, you would beyond all question have been changed on account of your evil practices into an ordinary nature, resembling that of common perishable mortals; for if virtues can make their possessors immortal, then beyond all doubt vices can make them mortal. Do not, therefore, inscribe your name by the side of that of the twin sons of Jupiter, those most affectionate of deities, you who have been the murderer and destruction of your brethren, nor claim a share in the honours of Hercules or Bacchus, who have benefited human life. You have been the undoer and destroyer of those good effects which they produced.

13 But the madness and frenzy to which he gave way were so preposterous, and so utterly insane, that he went even beyond the demigods, and mounted up to and invaded the veneration and worship paid to those who are looked upon as greater than they, as the supreme deities of the world, Mercury, and Apollo, and Mars. And first of all he dressed himself up with the caduceus, and sandals, and mantle of Mercury, exhibiting a regularity in his disorder, a consistency in his confusion, and a ratiocination in his insanity. Afterwards, when he thought fit to do so, he laid aside these ornaments, and metamorphosed and transformed himself into Apollo, crowning his head with garlands, in the form of rays, and holding a bow and arrows in his left hand, and holding forth graces in his right, as if it became him to proffer blessings to all men from his ready store, and to display the best arrangement possible on his right hand, but to contract the punishments which he had it in his power to inflict, and to allot to them a more confined space on his left. And immediately there were established choruses, who had been carefully trained, singing paeans to him, the same who had, a little while before, called him Bacchus, and Evius, and Lyaeus, and sang Bacchic hymns in his honour when he assumed the disguise of Bacchus. Very often, also, he would clothe himself with a breastplate, and march forth sword in hand, with a helmet on his head and a shield on his left arm, calling himself Mars, and on each side of him there marched with him the attendants of this new and unknown Mars, a troop of murderers and executioners who had already performed him all kinds of wicked services when he was raging and thirsting for human blood; and then when men saw this they were amazed and terrified at the marvelous sight, and they wondered how a man who did exactly the contrary to what was done by those beings to whom he claimed to be equal in honour, did not choose to imitate their virtues, but assumed the outward character of each with the most abominable conduct. And yet all those ornaments and decorations which belonged to them were attached to his statues and images, which indicated by symbols the benefits which the beings who are thus honoured confer upon the race of mankind. Mercury, for instance, requires wings attached to his ankles. Why so? Is it not because it behoves him to be the interpreter and declarer of the will of the gods (from which employment, in fact, he derives his Greek name of Hermes [i.e. from hermeµneuoµ, "to interpret."]), announcing good news to mankind (for not only no god but no sensible man ever will become the messenger of evil), and therefore it is necessary for him to be exceedingly swift-footed, and all but winged, from the unhesitating rapidity with which he requires the proceed. Since it is right that beneficial news should be announced with great promptness, just as bad news ought to be brought slowly, unless indeed any one should prefer saying that such ought to be entirely suppressed in silence. Again, he takes with him his caduceus or herald's wand, as a token of reconciliation and peace, for wars receive their respites and terminations by means of heralds, who restore peace; and wars which have no heralds to terminate them cause endless calamities to both parties, both to those who invade their neighbours and to those who are endeavoring to repel the invasion. But for what purpose did Gaius assume the winged sandals of Mercury? Was it because he wished to spread with power, and rapidity, and loudness that miserable and ill-omened intelligence which ought rather to be buried in silence altogether, conveying his voice everywhere with unceasing celerity? And yet what need had he of such rapid motion? for even while standing still he poured forth unspeakable evils upon evils as if from an unceasing fountain, showering them down upon every portion of the habitable world. And of what use was the herald's wand to him, who never either said or did anything bearing upon peace, but who rather filled every house and every city within Greece and in the countries of the barbarians with civil wars? Let him, therefore, imposter that he is, lay aside the name of Mercury, since by assuming it he is only profaning an appellation which does not belong to him.

15 Again, of all the attributes of Apollo, what is there which in the least degree resembles his characteristics? He wears a crown emitting rays all around, the artist who made it having given a most admirable representation of the beams of the sun; but how can the sun, or in fact any light at all, be a welcome object to him, and not rather night, or anything else, if there be such more completely enveloped darkness, or even anything darker than darkness itself, for the performance of his lawless actions? Since good actions do require the brilliancy of noonday for their proper display, but shameful actions, as they say, are suited to the extreme depths of Tartarus, into which they ought to be thrust in order to be concealed from sight, as is becoming. Let him also transpose the things which he bears in each of his hands, and not pollute the proper arrangement, for let him bear his arrows and his bow in his right hand, for he knows how with good aim to shoot at and to pierce men and women, and whole families, and populous cities, to their complete destruction. And let him either at once throw away his graces altogether, or else let him keep them in the shade in his left hand, for he has defaced their beauty, directing all his eyes and exciting all his desires against vast properties, so as to plunder them in an iniquitous manner, in consequence of which their owners were murdered, finding themselves unfortunate through their good fortune. But no doubt he with great felicity gave a new representation of the medical skill of Apollo, for this god was the inventor of healing medicines,[this is one of the attributes of Apollo of which he boasts to Daphne, Met. l. 461 (as it is translated by Dryden)--"Medicine is mine; what herbs and simples grow / In fields and forests, all their powers I know, / And am the great physician called below. / Alas, that fields and forests can afford / No remedies to heal their lovesick lord. / To cure the pains of love no plant avails, / And his own physic the physician fails."] so as to cause health to men, thinking fit himself to heal the diseases which were inflicted by others, by reason of the excessive mildness and gentleness of his own nature and habits, but this man, on the contrary, loads those who are in good health with disease, and inflicts mutilations on those who are sound, and in short visits the living with most cruel death, caused by the hand of man before the time of their natural death, preparing every imaginable engine of destruction in abundant plenteousness, by means of which, if he had not himself been previously put to death in accordance with justice, everything glorious or respectable in every city would long ago have been destroyed. For his designs were prepared against all those in authority and all those possessed of riches, and especially against those in Rome and those in the rest of Italy, by whom such quantities of gold and silver had been treasured up that even if all the riches of all the rest of the habitable world had been collected together from its most distant borders, it would

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have been found to be very inferior in amount. On this account he began, he, this hater of the citizens, this devourer of the people, this pestilence, this destructive evil, began to banish all the seeds of peace from his country, as if he were expelling evil from holy ground; for Apollo is said to have been not only a physician but also an excellent prophet, by his oracular predictions announcing what was likely to conduce to the advantage of mankind, in order that no one, being overshadowed by uncertainty, going on without seeing his way before him like a blind man, might hastily fall into unexpected evils as if they were the greatest benefits; but that men having previously acquired a knowledge of the future as if it were really present, and looking at it with the eye of their mind, might guard against future evils just as they can see evils actually before them with the bodily eye, and in this way secure themselves against any irremediable disaster. Is it fitting now to compare with these oracles of Apollo the ill-omened warning of Gaius, by means of which poverty, and dishonour, and banishment, and death were given premature notice of to all those who were in power and authority in any part of the world? What connexion or resemblance was there between him and Apollo, when he never paid any attention to any ties of kindred or friendship? Let him cease, then, this pretended Apollo, from imitating that real healer of mankind, for the form of God is not a thing which is capable of being imitated by an inferior one, as good money is imitated by bad.

15 A man, indeed, may expect anything rather than that a man endowed with such a body and such a soul, when both of them are effeminate and broken down, could ever possibly be made like to the vigor of Mars in either particular; but this man, like a mummer transforming himself on the stage, putting on all sorts of masks one after another, sought to deceive the spectators by a series of fictitious appearances. Come, then, let him be subjected to an examination in respect of all the particulars of his soul and body, by reason of his utter unlikeness to the aforesaid deity in every position and in every motion. Was he not utterly unlike Mars, not in respect only of his appearance as celebrated in fable, but as to his natural qualities? Mars, who is endued with preeminent valor, which we know to be a power calculated to avert evil, to be the assistant and ally of all who are unjustly oppressed, as indeed his very name shows, for he appears to me to be called Mars from his helping,[the Greek word is areμgein, from which Philo supposes Areμs, the Greek name of Mars, to be derived.] which is the same as assisting, being as such the god who is able to put down wars and to cause peace, of which this representation of his was the enemy, being the comrade of wars, and the man who changed peace and stability into disorder and confusion.

16 Have we not, then, learned from all these instances, that Gaius ought not to be likened to any god, and not even to any demi-god, inasmuch as he has neither the same nature, nor the same essence, nor even the same wishes and intentions as any one of them; but appetite as it seems is a blind thing, and especially so when it takes to itself vain-gloriousness and ambition in conjunction with the greatest power, by which we who were previously unfortunate are utterly destroyed, for he regarded the Jews with most especial suspicion, as if they were the only persons who cherished wishes opposed to his, and who had been taught in a manner from their very swaddling-clothes by their parents, and teachers, and instructors, and even before that by their holy laws, and also by their unwritten maxims and customs, to believe that there was but one God, their Father and the Creator of the world; for all others, all men, all women, all cities, all nations, every country and region of the earth, I had almost said the whole of the inhabited world, although groaning over what was taking place, did nevertheless flatter him, dignifying him above measure, and helping to increase his pride and arrogance; and some of them even introduced the barbaric custom into Italy of falling down in adoration before him, adulterating their native feelings of Roman liberty. But the single nation of the Jews, being excepted from these actions, was suspected by him of wishing to counteract his desires, since it was accustomed to embrace voluntary death as an entrance to immortality, for the sake of not permitting any of their national or hereditary customs to be destroyed, even if it were of the most trivial character, because, as is the case in a house, it often happens that by the removal of one small part, even those parts which appeared to be solidly established fall down, being relaxed and brought to decay by the removal of that one thing, but in this case what was put in motion was not a trifle, but a thing of the very greatest importance, namely, the erecting the created and perishable nature of a man, as far at least as appearance went, into the uncreated and imperishable nature of God, which the nation correctly judged to be the most terrible of all impieties (for it would have been easier to change a god into man, than a man into God), besides the fact of such an action letting in other most enormous wickedness, infidelity and ingratitude towards the Benefactor of the whole world, who by his own power givers abundant supplies of all kinds of blessings to every part of the universe.

17 Therefore a most terrible and irreconcileable war was prepared against our nation, for what could be a more terrible evil to a slave than a master who was an enemy? And his subjects are the slaves of the emperor, even if they were not so to any one of the former emperors, because they governed with gentleness and in accordance with the laws, but now that Gaius had eradicated all feelings of humanity from his soul, and had admired lawlessness (for looking upon himself as the law, he abrogated all the enactments of other lawgivers in every state and country as so many vain sentences), we were properly to be looked upon not only as slaves, but as the very lowest and most dishonoured of slaves, now that our ruler was changed into our master.

18 And the mixed and promiscuous multitude of the Alexandrians perceiving this, attacked us, looking upon it as a most favourable opportunity for doing so, and displayed all the arrogance which had been smouldering for a long period, disturbing everything, and causing universal confusion, for they began to crush our people as if they had been surrendered by the emperor for the most extreme and undeniable miseries, or as if they had been subdued in war, with their frantic and most brutal passion, forcing their way into their houses, and driving out the owners, with their wives and children, which they rendered desolate and void of inhabitants. 2And no longer watching for night and darkness, like ordinary robbers out of fear of being detected, they openly plundered them of all their furniture and treasures, carrying them off in broad daylight, and displaying their booty to every one whom they met, as if they had inherited it or fairly purchased it from the owners. And if a multitude joined together to share any particular piece of plunder, they divided it in the middle of the market-place, reviling it and turning it all into ridicule before the eyes of its real owners. 2These things were of themselves terrible and grievous; how could they be otherwise? Surely it was most miserable for men to become beggars from having been wealthy, and to be reduced on a sudden from a state of abundance to one of utter indigence, without having done any wrong, and to be rendered houseless and homeless, being driven out and expelled from their own houses, that thus, being compelled to dwell in the open air day and night, they might be destroyed by the burning heat of the sun or by the cold of the night. 2Yet even these evils were lighter than those which I am about to mention; for when the populace had driven together these countless myriads of men, and women, and children, like so many herds of sheep and oxen, from every quarter of the city, into a very narrow space as if into a pen, they expected that in a few days they should find a heap of corpses all huddled together, as they would either have perished by hunger through the want of necessary food, as they had not prepared themselves with any thing requisite, through a foreknowledge of the evils which thus suddenly came upon them; 2or else through being crushed and suffocated from want of any adequate space to breathe in, all the air around them becoming tainted, and all that there was of vivifying power in their respiration being cut off, or, if one is to say the truth, utterly expelled, by the breath of those who were expiring among them. By which, each individual being inflamed, and in a manner oppressed by a descent of fever upon him, inhaled a hot and unwholesome breath through his nostrils and mouth, heaping, as the proverb has it, fire on fire; 2for the power which resides in the inmost parts changed its nature, and became most excessively fiery; upon which, when the external breezes, being moderately cool, blow, all the organs of the respiratory powers flourish, and are in a good and healthy condition; but when these breezes change and become hot, then those organs must of necessity be in a bad state, fire being added to fire.

19 As they then were no longer able to endure the misery of the place within which they were enclosed, they poured forth into desolate parts of the wilderness, and to the shore, and among the tombs, in their eagerness to find any pure and untainted air. And if any of them had previously been left in the other parts of the city, or if any had come in thither from the fields out of ignorance of the evils which had visited their companions, they fell into every variety of misfortune, being stoned, or else wounded with sharp tiles, or beaten on the most mortal parts of the body, and especially on the head, with branches of maple and of oak, in such a way as to cause death. 2And some of those persons who are accustomed to pass their time in idleness and inaction, sitting around, occupied themselves in watching those who, as I have said before, were thus driven together and crammed into a very small space, as if they were a force which they were blockading; lest any one should secretly escape without their perceiving it. And a great many were designing to effect their escape from want of necessaries, disregarding their own safety from a fear that, if they remained, the whole body might perish with famine. So those men, expecting that they would endeavor to escape, kept a continual watch, and the moment that they caught any one, they immediately put him to death with every circumstance of insult and cruelty. 2And there was another company lying in wait for them on the quays of the river, to catch any Jews who arrived at those spots, and to plunder them of every thing which they brought for the purposes of traffic; for, forcing their way into their ships they took out the cargo before the eyes of its lawful owners, and then, binding the hands of the merchants behind them, they burnt them alive, taking the rudders, and helms, and punt-poles, and the benches for the rowers to sit upon, for fuel. 3And thus these men perished by a most miserable death being burnt alive in the middle of the city; for sometimes, for want of other timber they brought piles of faggots together, and tying them up, they threw them on the miserable victims; and they, being already half burnt, were killed, more by the smoke of the green wood than by the flames, as the new faggots gave forth only an unsubstantial and smoky sort of flame, and were soon extinguished, not being able to be reduced to ashes by reason of their lightness. 3And many who were still alive they took and bound, and fastened their ankles together with thongs and ropes, and then dragged them through the middle of the market-place, leaping on them, and not sparing their corpses even after they were dead; for, tearing them to pieces limb from limb, and trampling on them, behaving with greater brutality and ferocity than even the most savage beasts, they destroyed every semblance of humanity about them, so that not even a fragment of them was left to which the rites of burial could be afforded.

20 But as the governor of the country, who by himself could, if he had chosen to do so, have put down the violence of the multitude in a single hour, pretended not to see what he did see, and not to hear what he did hear, but allowed the mob to carry on the war against our people without any restraint, and threw our former state of tranquility into confusion, the populace being excited still more, proceeded onwards to still more shameless and more audacious designs and treachery, and, arraying very numerous companies, cut down some of the synagogues (and there are a great many in every section of the city), and some they razed to the very foundations, and into some they threw fire and burnt them, in their insane madness and frenzy, without caring for the neighbouring houses; for there is nothing more rapid than fire, when it lays hold of fuel. I omit to mention the ornaments in honour of the emperor, which were destroyed and burnt with these synagogues, such as gilded shields, and gilded crowns, and pillars, and inscriptions, for the sake of which they ought even to have abstained from and spared the other things; but they were full of confidence, inasmuch as they did not fear any chastisement at the hand of Gaius, as they well knew that he cherished an indescribable hatred against the Jews, so that their opinion was that no one could do him a more acceptable service than by inflicting every description of injury on the nation which he hated; 3and, as they wished to curry favour with him by a novel kind of flattery, so as to allow, and for the future to give the rein to, every sort of ill treatment of us without ever being called to account, what did they proceed to do? All the synagogues that they were unable to destroy by burning and razing them to the ground, because a great number of Jews lived in a dense mass in the neighbourhood, they injured and defaced in another manner, simultaneously with a total overthrow of their laws and customs; for they set up in every one of them images of Gaius, and in the greatest, and most conspicuous, and most celebrated of them they erected a brazen statue of him borne on a four-horse chariot. And so excessive and impetuous was the rapidity of their zeal, that, as they had not a new chariot for four horses ready, they got a very old one out of the gymnasium, full of poison, mutilated in its ears, and in the hinder part, and in its pedestal, and in many other points, and as some say, one which had already been dedicated in honour of a woman, the eminent Cleopatra, who was the great grandmother of the last. 3Now what amount of accusation he brought against those who had dedicated this chariot on this very account is notorious to every one; for what did it signify if it was a new one and belonging to a woman? Or what if it was an old one and belonging to a man? And what, in short, if it was wholly dedicated to the name of some one else? Was it not natural that those who were offering up a chariot of this sort on behalf of the emperor should be full of cautious fear, lest some one might lay an information against them before our emperor, who took such especial care that every thing which at all affected or related to himself should be done in the most dignified manner possible? But these men expected to be most extravagantly praised, and to receive greater and more conspicuous advantages as rewards for their conduct, in thus dedicating the synagogues to Gaius as new pieces of consecrated ground, not because of the honour which was done to him by this proceeding, but because in this way they exhausted every possible means of insulting and injuring our nation. 3And one may find undeniable and notorious proofs of this having been the case. For, in the first place, one may derive them from about ten kings or more who reigned in order, one after another, for three hundred years, and who never once had any images or statues of themselves erected in our synagogues, though there were many of their relations and kinsmen whom they considered, and registered as, and spoke of as gods. And what would they not have done in the case of those whom they looked upon as men? a people who look upon dogs, and wolves, and lions, and crocodiles, and

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numerous other beasts, both terrestrial and aquatic, and numerous birds, as gods, and erect in their honour altars, and temples, and shrines, and consecrated precincts, throughout the whole of Egypt?

21 Perhaps some people who would not have opened their mouths then will say now: "They were accustomed to pay respect to the good deeds done by their governors rather than to their governors themselves, because the emperors are greater than the Ptolemies, both in their dignities and in their fortunes, and are justly entitled to receive higher honours." Then, O ye most foolish of all mankind! that I may not be compelled to utter any thing disrespectful of blasphemous, why did you never think Tiberius, who was emperor before Gaius, who indeed was the cause that Gaius ever became emperor, who himself enjoyed the supreme power by land and sea for three and twenty years, and who never allowed any seed of war to smoulder or to raise its head, either in Greece or in the territory of the barbarians, and who bestowed peace and the blessings of peace up to the end of his life with a rich and most bounteous hand and mind upon the whole empire and the whole world; why, I say, did you not consider him worthy of similar honour? 4Was he inferior in birth? No; he was of the most noble blood by both parents. Was he inferior in his education? Who, of all the men who flourished in his time, was either more prudent or more eloquent? Or in his age? What king or emperor ever lived to more prosperous old age than he? Moreover, he, even while he was still a young man, was called the old man as a mark of respect because of his exceeding wisdom. This man, though he was so wise, and so good, and so great, was passed over and disregarded by you. 4Again, why did you not pay similar honour to him who exceeded the common race of human nature in every virtue, who, by reason of the greatness of his absolute power and his own excellence, was the first man to be called Augustus, not receiving the title after another by a succession of blood as a part of his inheritance, but who was himself the origin of his successors, having that title and honour? He who first became emperor, when all the affairs of the state were in disorder and confusion; 4for the islands were in a state of war against the continents, and the continents were contending with the islands for the pre-eminence in honour, each having for their leaders and champions the most powerful and eminent of the Romans who were in office. And then again, great sections of Asia were contending against Europe, and Europe against Asia, for the chief power and dominion;[he alludes here to the war between Caesar and Pompey. Pompey had been governor of Syria, and Virgil speaks of him as relying on his eastern forces, Aen. 6.832 (as it is translated by Dryden)--"The pair you see in equal armor shine, / Now, friends below, in close embraces join; / But when they leave the shady realms of night, / And clothed in bodies breathe your upper light, / With mortal hate each other shall pursue, / What wars, what wounds, what slaughter shall ensue. / From Alpine heights the father first descends, / His daughter's husband in the plain attends, / His daughter's husband arms his eastern friends."] the European and Asiatic nations rising up from the extremities of the earth, and waging terrible wars against one another over all the earth, and over every sea, with enormous armaments, so that very nearly the whole race of mankind would have been destroyed by mutual slaughter and made utterly to disappear, if it had not been for one man and leader, Augustus, by whose means they were brought to a better state, and therefore we may justly call him the averter of evil. This is Caesar, who calmed the storms which were raging in every direction, who healed the common diseases which were afflicting both Greeks and barbarians, who descended from the south and from the east, and ran on and penetrated as far as the north and the west, in such a way as to fill all the neighbouring districts and waters with unexpected miseries. 4This is he who did not only loosen but utterly abolish the bonds in which the whole of the habitable world was previously bound and weighed down. This is he who destroyed both the evident and the unseen wars which arose from the attacks of robbers. This is he who rendered the sea free from the vessels of pirates, and filled it with Merchantmen. [he is attributing an honour to Augustus which does not belong to him. It was Pompey who cleared the sea of pirates.] This is he who gave freedom to every city, who brought disorder into order, who civilized and made obedient and harmonious, nations which before his time were unsociable, hostile, and brutal. This is he who increased Greece by many Greeces, and who Greecised the regions of the barbarians in their most important divisions: the guardian of peace, the distributor to every man of what was suited to him, the man who proffered to all the citizens favours with the most ungrudging liberality, who never once in his whole life concealed or reserved for himself any thing that was good or excellent.

22 Now this man who was so great a benefactor to them for the space of three and forty years, during which he reigned over Egypt, they passed over in silence and neglect, never erecting any thing in their synagogues to do him honour; no image, no statue, no inscription. And yet if ever there was a man to whom it was proper that new and unprecedented honours should be voted, it was certainly fitting that such should be decreed to him, not only because he was as it were the origin and fountain of the family of Augustus, not because he was the first, and greatest, and universal benefactor, having, instead of the multitude of governors who existed before, entrusted the common vessel of the state to himself as one pilot of admirable skill in the science of government to steer and govern; for the verse,

"The government of many is not Good," [hom. Il. 2:204.]

is very properly expressed, since a multitude of votes is the cause of every variety of evil; but also because the whole of the rest of the habitable world had decreed him honours equal to those of the Olympian gods. 5And we have evidence of this in the temples, and porticoes, and sacred precincts, and groves, and colonnades which have been erected, so that all the cities put together, ancient and modern, which exhibit magnificent works, are surpassed, by the beauty and magnitude of the buildings erected in honour of Caesar, and especially by those raised in our city of Alexandria. 5For there is no sacred precinct of such magnitude as that which is called the Grove of Augustus, and the temple erected in honour of the disembarkation of Caesar, which is raised to a great height, of great size, and of the most conspicuous beauty, opposite the best harbour; being such an one as is not to be seen in any other city, and full of offerings, in pictures, and statues; and decorated all around with silver and gold; being a very extensive space, ornamented in the most magnificent and sumptuous manner with porticoes, and libraries, and men's chambers, and groves, and propylaea, and wide, open terraces, and court-yards in the open air, and with everything that could contribute to use or beauty; being a hope and beacon of safety to all who set sail, or who came into harbour.

23 Therefore, though they had such admirable pretexts for such conduct, and all the nations in every part of the world inclined to agree with them, they nevertheless neither made any innovations in their synagogues, but kept the law in every particular; and refused any marks of respect and veneration which might have been looked upon as due to Caesar. Perhaps some cautious and sensible person may ask: "Why were all these honours denied to him?" I will tell the reason, without suppressing any thing. 5They were aware of the attention which he paid to every thing, and of the very exceeding care which he took that the national laws and customs prevailing in each nation should be confirmed and preserved, being equally anxious for the preservation of the rights of foreign nations in this respect, as for those of the Romans; and that he received his honours, not for the destruction of the laws existing in any people, filling himself with pride and arrogance, but in a spirit of proper conformity with the magnitude of so vast an empire, which is dignified and honoured by such marks of respect being paid to the emperor. And there is most undeniable proof that he was never influenced or puffed up by the excessive honours paid to him, in the fact that he did not approve of any one's addressing him as master or god, but if any one used such expressions he was angry; and we may see it too in his approbation of the Jews, who he well knew most religiously avoided all such language. 5How then did he look upon the great division of Rome which is on the other side of the river Tiber, which he was well aware was occupied and inhabited by the Jews? And they were mostly Roman citizens, having been emancipated; for, having been brought as captives into Italy, they were manumitted by those who had bought them for slaves, without ever having been compelled to alter any of their hereditary or national observances. Therefore, he knew that they had synagogues, and that they were in the habit of visiting them, and most especially on the sacred sabbath days, when they publicly cultivate their national philosophy. He knew also that they were in the habit of contributing sacred sums of money from their first fruits and sending them to Jerusalem by the hands of those who were to conduct the sacrifices. 5But he never removed them from Rome, nor did he ever deprive them of their rights as Roman citizens, because he had a regard for Judaea, nor did he never meditate any new steps of innovation or rigour with respect to their synagogues, nor did he forbid their assembling for the interpretation of the law, nor did he make any opposition to their offerings of first fruits; but he behaved with such piety towards our countrymen, and with respect to all our customs, that he, I may almost say, with all his house, adorned our temple with many costly and magnificent offerings, commanding that continued sacrifices of whole burnt offerings should be offered up for ever and ever every day from his own revenues, as a first fruit of his own to the most high God, which sacrifices are performed to this very day, and will be performed for ever, as a proof and specimen of a truly imperial disposition. 5Moreover, in the monthly divisions of the country, when the whole people receives money or corn in turn, he never allowed the Jews to fall short in their reception of this favour, but even if it happened that this distribution fell on the day of their sacred sabbath, on which day it is not lawful for them to receive any thing, or to give any thing, or in short to perform any of the ordinary duties of life, he charged the dispenser of these gifts, and gave him the most careful and special injunctions to make the distribution to the Jews on the day following, that they might not lose the effects of his common kindness.

24 Therefore, all people in every country, even if they were not naturally well inclined towards the Jewish nation, took great care not to violate or attack any of the Jewish customs of laws. And in the reign of Tiberius things went on in the same manner, although at that time things in Italy were thrown into a great deal of confusion when Sejanus was preparing to make his attempt against our nation; 6for he knew immediately after his death that the accusations which had been brought against the Jews who were dwelling in Rome were false calumnies, inventions of Sejanus, who was desirous to destroy our nation, which he knew alone, or above all others, was likely to oppose his unholy counsels and actions in defense of the emperor, who was in great danger of being attacked, in violation of all treaties and of all honesty. 6And he sent commands to all the governors of provinces in every country to comfort those of our nation in their respective cities, as the punishment intended to be inflicted was not meant to be inflicted upon all, but only on the guilty; and they were but few. And he ordered them to change none of the existing customs, but to look upon them as pledges, since the men were peaceful in their dispositions and natural characters, and their laws trained them and disposed them to quiet and stability.

25 But Gaius puffed himself up with pride, not only saying, but actually thinking that he was a god. And then he found no people, whether among the Greeks or among the barbarians, more suitable than the Alexandrians to confirm him in his immoderate and unnatural ambition; for they are in an extraordinary degree inclined to flattery, and trick, and hypocrisy, being thoroughly furnished with all kinds of cajoling words, and prone to confuse every thing with their unbridled and licentious talk. 6And the name of God is held in so little veneration among them, that they have given it to ibises, and to the poisonous asps which are found in their country, and to many other savage beasts which exist in it. So that they, very naturally, giving in to all kinds of addresses and invocations to him, addressed him as God, deceiving men of shallow comprehension, who were wholly inexperienced in the impiety prevailing in Egypt, though they are detected by those who are acquainted with their excessive folly, or, I should rather say, with their preposterous impiety. 6Of which, Gaius, having no experience, imagined that he was really believed by the Alexandrians to be God, since they, without any disguise, openly and plainly used all the appellations without any limitation, with which they were accustomed to invoke the other gods. 6In the next place, he believed that the innovations which they made with respect to their synagogues, were all made with a pure conscience, and from a sincere honour and respect for him, partly being influenced by the ephemerides in the way of memorial, which some persons sent him from Alexandria; for these things were what he very much delighted to read, to such a degree that the writings of all other authors, whether in prose or in poetry, were looked upon by him as absolutely odious in comparison with the delight which these documents afforded him, and partly by the language of some of his domestics, who were continually jesting with him and ridiculing all serious things.

26 The greater portion of these men ere Egyptians, wicked, worthless men, who had imprinted the venom and evil disposition of their native asps and crocodiles on their own souls, and gave a faithful representation of them there. And the leader of the whole Egyptian troops, like the coryphaeus of a chorus, was a man of the name of Helicon, an accursed and infamous slave, who had been introduced into the imperial household to its ruin; for he had acquired a slight smattering of the encyclical sciences, by imitation of and rivalry with his former master, who gave him to Tiberius Caesar. And at that time he had no especial privilege, since Tiberius had a perfect hatred of all youthful sallies of wit for the mere purposes of amusement, as he, from almost his earliest youth, was of a solemn and austere disposition. But when Tiberius was dead, and Gaius succeeded to the empire, he then, following a new master, who invited him to every description of relaxation and luxury, such as could delight every one of his outward senses, said to himself: "Rise up, O Helicon! now is your opportunity. You have now an auditor, and a spectator, who is of all men in the world the best calculated to receive the exhibition of your talents favourably. You are a man of very attractive natural talents. You are able to joke graceful, and to say witty, things beyond any one else. You are skilful in all kinds of amusements, and trifling, and fashionable sports. And you are equally accomplished in those branches of the encyclical education which are not so ordinarily met with. Moreover, you have a readiness of speech and repartee which is far from unpleasing. If therefore you mingle with your jestings any little stimulus which is in the least unwelcome or painful, so as to excite not only laughter but any feelings of bitterness, on the part of one who is always ready to suspect evil, you will be deliberately alienating from yourself a master who is the very well inclined by nature to listen to any accusations which are brought before him in a joking manner; for his ears, as you well know, are always

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open, and are constantly on the watch to listen to all those who are in the habit of interweaving accusations of others with their sycophancy. And do not seek for any more abundant causes; for you have a sufficient foundation with respect to the customs of the Jews and the national laws of that people, in which you yourself were bred up, and in which you have been instructed from your very earliest childhood, not by one man only, but by that most chattering and vexatious portion of the city of Alexandria. So now, make an exhibition of your learning."

27 By these preposterous and accursed arguments he excited his own expectations, and trained himself, and inflamed his own wishes; and then he attended upon and courted Gaius, day and night, never leaving him for a moment, but being with him at all times and on all occasions, and employing every moment when he was by himself, or when he was resting, to pour forth accusations against our nation, like a most infamous man as he was, exciting pleasure in the mind of the emperor by ridiculing the Jews and their laws and customs, that thus his calumnies might wound us the more effectually; for he never openly confessed himself to be our accuser, nor could he in fact make such a confession; but he went by all kinds of crooked paths, and practiced every sort of manoeuvre, and thus was a more dangerous and formidable enemy than even those men who openly recorded their hatred of and hostility towards us. 7They say also that some of the ambassadors of the Alexandrians, being completely aware of this, had secretly hired him by considerable bribes, and not only by money but by hopes of future honours, which they led him to expect he might attain to at no distant period, when Gaius should come to Alexandria. 7And he, being continually declaiming of that time in which, while his master was present, and in conjunction with him, he should be almost supreme in his power over a large portion of the world (for it was notorious enough that by his assiduous courting of Gaius, he would be able to acquire power over the most illustrious portion of the citizens, and over all those who are held in especial honour by the most magnificent and glorious city,[there seems some corruption in the text here.] promised every thing). 7We, therefore, being for a long time unsuspicious of this natural enemy, who as plotting against us from his concealment, took precautions only against our external foes; but when we perceived that he too was to be guarded against, we searched into the matter carefully, considering every expedient to see if we could, by any means, propitiate and conciliate the man who was thus aiming and shooting at us, by every means and from every place, with great accuracy of aim and power of injuring us; 7for he was in the habit of playing at ball with him, and of exercising himself in gymnastic sports with him, and of bathing with him, and breakfasting with him, and he was with Gaius when he was wont to go to rest, filling the part of chamberlain and chief body-guard to him, an office which was not entrusted to any one else, so that he alone had all kinds of favourable opportunities for being listened to at leisure by the emperor, when he was removed from any external tumults and distractions, and able quietly to hear what he principally desired. 7And he mingled numbers of satirical and quizzing observations with his more formal and serious accusations, in order to excite pleasure in his hearers by that means, and to do us the greatest possible amount of injury; for the quizzing and ridiculing appeared, as he used it, to be the principal object at which he aimed, though it was in reality only his indirect one; and the accusations which he launched against us appeared to be mere casual observations, dropped accidentally, though in reality they were his primary and sole object, while he was trying every expedient possible, 7and so, like sailors who have a fair wind blowing on their stern, he was borne onwards with a full sail before a favourable gale, heaping upon us and stringing together one accusation after another, while the mind of his hearer was fashioned in a more solid and retentive mould, so that the recollection of the accusations was not easily eradicated.

28Accordingly, we being in a great strait and in most difficult circumstances, we, though we had availed ourselves of every expedient which we could possibly think of in order to propitiate and conciliate Helicon, could find no means of doing so and no access to him, since no one dared either to accost or to approach him, by reason of his exceeding insolence and cruelty with which he behaved to every one; and also because we were not aware, whether there was any especial reason for his alienation from the Jewish nation; since he was also exciting and exasperating his master against our people, and, accordingly, we left off labouring at this point, and turned our attention to what was of greater importance. For it appeared good to present to Gaius a memorial, containing a summary of what we had suffered, and of the way in which we considered that we deserved to be treated; 7and this memorial was nearly an abridgment of a longer petition which we had sent to him a short time before, by the hand of king Agrippa; for he, by chance, was staying for a short time in the city, while on his way into Syria to take possession of the kingdom which had been given to him; 8but we, without being aware of it, were deceiving ourselves, for before also we had done the same, when we originally began to set sail, thinking that as we were going before a judge we should meet with justice; but he was in reality an irreconcilable enemy to us, attracting us, as far as appearance went, with favourable looks and cheerful address; 8for, receiving us favourably at first, in the plains on the banks of the Tiber (for he happened to be walking about in his mother's garden), he conversed with us formally, and waved his right hand to us in a protecting manner, giving us significant tokens of his good will, and having sent to us the secretary, whose duty it was to attend to the embassies that arrived, Obulus by name, he said, "I myself will listen to what you have to say at the first favourable opportunity." So that all those who stood around congratulated us as if we had already carried our point, and so did all those of our own people, who are influenced by superficial appearances. 8But I myself, who was accounted to be possessed of superior prudence, both on account of my age and my education, and general information, was less sanguine in respect of the matters at which the others were so greatly delighted. "For why," said I, after pondering the matter deeply in my own heart, "why, when there have been such numbers of ambassadors, who have come, one may almost say, from every corner of the globe, did he say on that occasion that he would hear what we had to say, and no one else? What could have been his meaning? for he was not ignorant that we were Jews, who would have been quite content at not being treated worse than the others; 8but to expect to be looked upon as worthy to receive especial privileges and precedence, by a master who was of a different nation and a young man and an absolute monarch, would have seemed like insanity. But it would seem that he was showing civility to the whole district of the Alexandrians, to which he was thus giving a privilege, when promising to give his decision speedily; unless, indeed, disregarding the character of a fair and impartial hearer, he was intending to be a fellow suitor with our adversaries and an enemy of ours, instead of behaving like a judge."

29 Having these ideas in my mind, I resisted the sanguine hopes of the others, and had no rest in my mind day or night. But while I was thus giving way to despondency and lamenting over my ignorance of the future (for it was not safe to postpone matters), on a sudden another most grievous and unexpected calamity fell upon us, bringing danger not on one section of the Jews only, but on all the nation together. 8For we had come from Rome to Dicaearchia attending upon Gaius; and he had gone down to the seaside and was remaining near the gulf, having left for a while his own palaces, which were numerous and superbly furnished. 8And while we were anxiously considering his intentions, for we were continually expecting to be summoned, a man arrived, with blood-shot eyes, and looking very much troubled, out of breath and palpitating, and leading us away to a little distance from the rest (for there were several persons near), he said, "Have you heard the news?" And then when he was about to tell us what it was he stopped, because of the abundance of tears that rose up to choke his utterance. 8And beginning again, he was a second and a third time stopped in the same manner. And we, seeing this, were much alarmed and agitated by suspense, and entreated him to tell us what the circumstance was on account of which he said that he had come; for he could not have come merely to weep before so many witnesses. "If, then," said we, "you have any real cause for tears, do not keep your grief to yourself; we have been long ago well accustomed to misfortune." 8And he with difficulty, sobbing aloud, and in a broken voice, spoke as follows: "Our temple is destroyed! Gaius has ordered a colossal statue of himself to be erected in the holy of holies, having his own name inscribed upon it with the title of Jupiter!" 8And while we were all struck dumb with astonishment and terror at what he had told us, and stood still deprived of all motion (for we stood there mute and in despair, ready to fall to the ground with fear and sorrow, the very muscles of our bodies being deprived of all strength by the news which we had heard); others arrived bearing the same sad tale. 9And then we all retired and shut ourselves up together and bewailed our individual and common miseries, and went through every circumstance that our minds could conceive, for a man in misfortune is a most loquacious animal, wrestling as we might with our misery. And we said to one another, "We have sailed hither in the middle of winter, in order that we might not be all involved in violation of the law and in misfortunes proceeding from it, without being aware what a winter of misery was awaiting us on shore, far more grievous than any storm at sea. For of the one nature is the cause, which has divided the seasons of the year and arranged them in due order, but nature is a thing which exerts a saving power; but the other storm is caused by a man who cherishes no ideas such as become a man, but is a young man, and a promoter of all kinds of innovation, being invested with irresponsible power over all the world. "And youth, when combined with absolute power and yielding to irresistible and unrestrained passion, is an invincible evil. 9And will it be allowed to us to approach him or to open our mouth on the subject of the synagogues before this insulter of our holy and glorious temple? For it is quite evident that he will pay no regard whatever to things of less importance and which are held in inferior estimation, when he behaves with insolence and contempt towards our most beautiful and renowned temple, which is respected by all the east and by all the west, and regarded like the sun which shines everywhere. 9And even if we were allowed free access to him, what else could we expect but an inexorable sentence of death? But be it so; we will perish. For, indeed, a glorious death in defense of and for the sake of the preservation of our laws, is a kind of life. "But, indeed, if no advantage is derived from our death, would it not be insanity to perish in addition to what we now have to endure, and this too, while we appear to be ambassadors, so that the calamity appears rather to affect those who have sent us than those who remain? 9Not but what those of our fellow countrymen who are by nature most inclined to detest all wickedness, will accuse us of impiety, as if we, in the extremity of dangers, when our whole country was tossed about and threatened, were remembering some private interests of our own out of selfishness. For it is necessary that small things must yield to great ones, and that private objects must yield to the general interests; since, when they are destroyed, there is an end of the constitution and of the nation. 9For how can it be holy or lawful for us to struggle in any other manner, pointing out that we are citizens of Alexandria, over whom a danger is now impending, that namely, of the utter destruction of the general constitution of the Jewish nation; for in the destruction of the temple there is reason to fear that this man, so fond of innovation and willing to dare the most audacious actions, will also order the general name of our whole nation to be abolished. 9"If, therefore, both the objects on account of which we were sent are overthrown, perhaps some one will say, What then, did they not know that they had to negotiate for a safe return? But I would reply to such a man, You either have not the genuine feelings of a nobly born man, or else you were not educated like one, and have never been trained in the knowledge of the sacred scriptures; for men who are truly noble are full of hope, and the laws too implant good hopes in all those who do not study them superficially but with all their hearts. 9Perhaps these things are meant as a trial of the existing generation to see how they are inclined towards virtue, and whether they have been taught to bear evils with resolute and firm minds, without yielding at the first moment; all human considerations then are discarded, and let them be discarded, but let an imperishable hope and trust in God the Saviour remain in our souls, as he has often preserved our nation amid inextricable difficulties and distresses."

30 These were the sort of things which we said, bewailing at the same time our unexpected calamities, and yet also encouraging one another with the hope of a change to a more tranquil and peaceful state of things. And after a little consideration and delay, we said to those who had brought us this doleful news, "Why sit ye here quietly, having just kindled sparks of eagerness in our ears by which we are set on fire and rendered all in a blaze, when you ought rather to add to what you have told us an account of the causes which have operated on Gaius." And they replied, "You know the principal and primary cause of all; for that indeed is universally known to all men. He desires to be considered a god; and he conceives that the Jews alone are likely to be disobedient; and that therefore he cannot possibly inflict a greater evil or injury upon them than by defacing and insulting the holy dignity of their temple; for report prevails that it is the most beautiful of all the temples in the world, inasmuch as it is continually receiving fresh accessions of ornament and has been for an infinite period of time, a never-ending and boundless expense being lavished on it. And as he is a very contentious and quarrelsome man, he thinks of appropriating this edifice wholly to himself. 9And he is excited now on this subject to a much greater degree than before by a letter which Capito has sent to him. "Capito is the collector of the imperial revenues in Judaea, and on some account or other he is very hostile to the nations of the country; for having come thither a poor man, and having amassed enormous riches of every imaginable description by plunder and extortion, he has now become afraid lest some accusation may be brought against him, and on this account he has contrived a design by which he may repel any such impeachment, namely, by calumniating those whom he has injured; and a circumstance which we will now mention, has given him some pretext for carrying out his design.40,200

"There is a city called Jamnia; one of the most populous cities in all Judaea, which is inhabited by a promiscuous multitude, the greatest number of whom are Jews; but there are also some persons of other tribes from the neighbouring nations who have settled there to their own destruction, who are in a manner sojourners among the original native citizens, and who cause them a great deal of trouble, and who do them a great deal of injury, as they are continually violating some of the ancestral national customs of the Jews. These men hearing from travellers who visit the city how exceedingly eager and earnest Gaius is about his own deification, and how disposed he is to look unfavourably upon the whole race of Judaea, thinking that they have now an admirable

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opportunity for attacking them themselves, have erected an extemporaneous altar of the most contemptible materials, having made clay into bricks for the sole purpose of plotting against their fellow citizens; for they knew well that they would never endure to see their customs transgressed; as was indeed the case. "For when the Jews saw what they had done, and were very indignant at the holiness and sanctity and beauty of the sacred place being thus obscured and defaced, they collected together and destroyed the altar; so the sojourners immediately went to Capito who was in reality the contriver of the whole affair; and he, thinking that he had made a most lucky hit, which he had been seeking for a long time, writes to Gaius dilating on the matter and exaggerating it enormously; and he, when he had read the letter, ordered a colossal statue gilt all over, much more costly and much more magnificent than the rich altar which had been erected in Jamnia, by way of insult to be set up in the temple of the metropolis, having for his most excellent and sagacious counsellors Helicon, that man of noble birth, a chattering slave, a perfect scum of the earth, and a fellow of the name of Apelles, a tragic actor, who when in the first bloom of youth, as they say, made a market of his beauty, and when he was past the freshness of youth went on the stage; and in fact all those who go on the stage selling themselves to the spectators, and to the theatres, are not lovers of temperance and modesty, but rather of the most extreme shamelessness and indecency. "On this account Apelles was taken into the rank of a fellow counsellor of the emperor, that Gaius might have an adviser with whom he might indulge in mocking jests, and with whom he might sing, passing over all considerations of the general welfare of the state, as if everything in every quarter of the globe was enjoying profound peace and tranquility under the laws. "Therefore Helicon, this scorpion-like slave, discharged all his Egyptian venom against the Jews; and Apelles his Ascalonite poison, for he was a native of Ascalon; and between the people of Ascalon and the inhabitants of the holy land, the Jews, there is an irreconcileable and neverending hostility although they are bordering nations." When we heard this we were wounded in our souls at every word he said and at every name he mentioned; but those admirable advisers of admirable actions a little while afterwards met with the fit reward of their impiety, the one being bound by Gaius with iron chains for other causes, and being put to the torture and to the rack after periods of relief, as is the case with people affected with intermittent diseases; and Helicon was put to death by Claudius Germanicus Caesar, for other wicked actions, that, like a madman as he was, he had committed; but there occurrences took place at a later date.

31 And the letter respecting the erection of the statue was written not in plain terms, but with as much caution and prudence as possible, taking every measure which could tend to security; for he commands Petronius, the lieutenant and governor of all Syria, to whom indeed he wrote the letter, to lead half the army which was on the Euphrates, to guard against any passage of that river by any of the eastern kings or nations, into Judaea as an escort to the statue; not in order to honour its erection with any especial pomp, but to chastise with death any attempt that might be made to hinder it. What sayest thou, O master? Are you making war upon us, because you anticipate that we will not endure such indignity, but that we will fight on behalf of our laws, and die in defense of our national customs? For you cannot possibly have been ignorant of what was likely to result from your attempt to introduce these innovations respecting our temple; but having previously learnt with perfect accuracy what was likely to happen as well as if it had already taken place, and knowing the future as thoroughly as if it were actually present, you commanded your general to bring up an army in order that the statue when erected might be consecrated by the first sacrifice offered to it, being of a most polluted kind, stained with the blood of miserable men and women. Accordingly Petronius, when he had read what he was commanded to do in this letter, was in great perplexity, not being able to resist the orders sent to him out of fear, for he heard that the emperor's wrath was implacable not only against those who did not do what they were commanded to do, but who did not do it in a moment; and on the other hand, he did not see how it was easy to perform them, for he knew that the Jews would willingly, if it were possible, endure ten thousand deaths instead of one, rather than submit to see any forbidden thing perpetrated with respect to their religion; for all men are eager to preserve their own customs and laws, and the Jewish nation above all others; for looking upon their laws as oracles directly given to them by God himself, and having been instructed in this doctrine from their very earliest infancy they bear in their souls the images of the commandments contained in these laws as sacred; and secondly, as they continually behold the visible shapes and forms of them, they admire and venerate them in their minds and they admit such foreigners as are disposed to honour and worship them, to do so no less than their own native fellow citizens. But all who attempt to violate their laws, or to turn them into ridicule, they detest as their bitterest enemies, and they look upon each separate one of the commandments with such awe and reverence that, whether one ought to call it the invariable good fortune or the happiness of the nation, they have never been guilty of the violation of even the most insignificant of them; but above all other observances their zeal for their holy temple is the most predominant, and vehement, and universal feeling throughout the whole nation; and the greatest proof of this is that death is inexorably pronounced against all those who enter into the inner circuit of the sacred precincts (for they admit all men from every country into the exterior circuit), unless he be one of their own nation by blood. Petronius, having regard to these considerations, was very reluctant to attempt what he was commanded to do, considering what a great and wicked piece of daring he should be committing, and invoking all the deliberative powers of his soul as to a council, he inquired into the opinion of each of them, and he found every faculty of his mind agreeing that he should change nothing of these observances and customs which had been hallowed from the beginning of the world; in the first place because of the natural principles of justice and piety by which they were dictated, and secondly because of the danger which threatened any attempt at innovation upon them, not only from God, but also from the people who would be insulted by such conduct. He also gave a thought to the circumstances of the nation itself, to its exceeding populousness, so that it was not contained as every other nation was by the circuit of the one region which was allotted to it for itself, but so that, I may almost say, it had spread over the whole face of the earth; for it is diffused throughout every continent, and over every island, so that everywhere it appears but little inferior in number to the original native population of the country. Was it not, then, a most perilous undertaking to draw upon himself such innumerable multitudes of enemies? And was there not danger of allies and friends from all quarters arriving to their assistance? It would be a result of very formidable danger and difficulty, besides the fact that the inhabitants of Judaea are infinite in numbers, and a nation of great stature and personal strength, and of great courage and spirit, and men who are willing to die in defense of their national customs and laws with unshrinking bravery, so that some of those who calumniate them say that their courage (as indeed is perfectly true) is beyond that of any barbarian nation, being the spirit of free and nobly born men. And the state of all the nations which lie beyond the Euphrates added to his alarm; for he was aware that Babylon and many others of the satrapies of the east were occupied by the Jews, knowing this not merely by report but likewise by personal experience; for every year sacred messengers are sent to convey large amounts of gold and silver to the temple, which has been collected from all the subordinate governments, travelling over rugged, and difficult, and almost impassable roads, which they look upon as level and easy inasmuch as they serve to conduct them to piety. Therefore, being exceedingly alarmed, as was very natural, lest if they heard of the unprecedented design of erecting this colossal statue in the temple, they might on a sudden direct their march that way and surround him, some on one side and some on the other, so as to hem him in completely, and co-operating with and joining one another might treat the enemy who would be thus enclosed in the midst of them with terrible severity, he hesitated long, attaching great weight to all these considerations. Then again he was drawn in the opposite direction by considerations of a contrary character, saying to himself, "This is the command of one who is my master and a young man, and of one who judges everything which he wishes to have done to be expedient and becoming, and who is resolved that everything which he has once decided on shall be at once performed even though it may be the most injurious measure possible and full of all contention and insolence; and now having passed beyond all human nature he has actually recorded himself to be God; and great danger of my life impends over me whether I oppose him or whether I comply with his commands; if I comply with them the result will very probably be war, and one that perhaps may be attended with doubtful success and which will be far from turning out as it is expected to do; and if I oppose him I shall then be exposed to the open and implacable hatred of Gaius." And with this opinion of his, many of those Romans who were joined with him in the administration of the affairs of Syria coincided, knowing that the anger of Gaius and the punishments which he would inflict would come upon them first as being accomplices in the disobedience to the injunctions which he had sent; but at last when it arrived the fashion of the statue afforded them a pretext for delay during which they might have time for a more deliberate consideration of the matter; for they did not send any man from Rome (as it appears to me because the providence of God overruled the matter in this way, who thus invisibly stayed the hand of these wicked doers), nor did he command the most skilful man or him who was accounted so in Syria to manage the matter, since while he was pressing on this lawless action with all speed a war was suddenly kindled. 2Therefore having now opportunity to consider what course would be most advantageous (for when great events suddenly come altogether, they break down and perplex the mind), he commanded the statue to be made in some one of the bordering regions. Therefore Petronius, sending for the most skilful and renowned artists in Phoenicia, gave them the materials requisite for the making of the statue; and they took them to Sidon, and there proceeded to make it. He also sent for the magistrates of the Jews and the priests and rulers of the people, both to announce to them the commands which he had received from Gaius and also to counsel them to submit cheerfully to the commands which had been imposed by their master, and to give due consideration to the dangers before their eyes; for that the most warlike of the military powers in Syria were all ready, and would soon cover all the country with dead bodies; 2for he thought that if he could previously weaken their resolution he would be able by their means to work upon all the rest of the multitude and to persuade them not to oppose the will of the emperor; but, as was natural, he was wholly disappointed in his expectations; for it is said indeed that they were amazed at his first words, and that at first they were utterly overwhelmed by his announcement of their real danger and misery, and that they stood speechless and poured forth a ceaseless abundance of tears as if from a fountain, tearing their beards and the hair of their head, and saying, "We who were formerly very fortunate, have now advanced through many events to an exceeding old age that we might at last behold what no one of our ancestors ever saw. With what eyes can we endure to look upon these things? Let them rather be torn out, and let our miserable lives and our afflicted existence be put an end to, before we behold such an evil as this, such an intolerable spectacle which it is impious to hear of or to conceive."

32 In this way did they bewail their fate; but when the inhabitants of the holy city and of all the region round about heard of the design which was in agitation, they all arrayed themselves together as if at a concerted signal, their common misery having given them the word, and went forth in a body, and leaving their cities and their villages and their houses empty, they hastened with one accord into Phoenicia, for Petronius happened to be in that country at the moment. 2And when some of the guards of Petronius saw a countless multitude hastening towards them they ran to their general to bring him the news, and to warn him to take precautions, as they expected war; and while they were relating to him what they had seen, he was still without any guards; and the multitude of the Jews suddenly coming upon him like a cloud, occupied the whole of Phoenicia, and caused great consternation among the Phoenicians who thus beheld the enormous population of the nation; 2and at first so great an outcry was raised, accompanied with weeping and beating of the breast, that the very ears of those present could not endure the vastness of the noise; for it did not cease when they ceased, but continued to vibrate even after they were quiet: then there were approaches to the governor, and supplications addressed to him such as the occasion suggested; for calamities are themselves teachers of what should be done in an existing emergency. And the multitude was divided into six companies, one of old men, one of young men, one of boys; and again in their turn one band of aged matrons, one of women in the prime of life, and one of virgins; and when Petronius appeared at a distance all the ranks, as they had been appointed, fell to the ground, uttering a most doleful; howling and lamentation, mingled with supplications. But when he commanded them to rise up, and to come nearer to him, they would for a long time hardly consent to rise, and scattering abundance of dust upon their heads, and shedding abundance of tears, they put both their hands behind them like captives who are fettered in this way, and thus they approached him. Then the body of the old men, standing before him, addressed him in the following terms: "We are, as you see, without any arms, but yet as we passed along some persons have accused us as being enemies, but even the very weapons of defense with which nature has provided each individual, namely our hands, we have averted from you, and placed in a position where they can do nothing, offering our bodies freely an easy aim to any one who desires to put us to death. 3We have brought unto you our wives, and our children, and our whole families, and in your person we will prostrate ourselves before Gaius, having left not one single person at home, that you may either preserve us all, or destroy us all together by one general and complete destruction. Petronius, we are a peaceful nation, both by our natural disposition and by our determined intentions, and the education which has been industriously and carefully instilled into us has taught us this lesson from our very earliest infancy. 3When Gaius assumed the imperial power we were the first people in all Syria to congratulate him, Vitellius at that time being in our city, from whom you received the government as his successor, to whom writings concerning these matters were sent, and the happy news proceeding onwards from our city, where it had been received with joy, reached the other cities with similar acceptance. Ours was the first temple which received sacrifices for the happy reign of Gaius. Did it do so that it might be the first or the only temple to be deprived of its customary modes of worship? "We have now left our cities, we have abandoned our houses and our possessions, we will

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cheerfully contribute to you all our furniture, all our cattle, and all our treasures, everything in short which belongs to us, as a willing booty. We shall think that we are receiving them, not giving them up. We only ask one thing instead of and to counterbalance all of them, namely, that no innovations may take place in respect of our temple, but that it may be kept such as we have received it from our fathers and our forefathers. 3And if we cannot prevail with you in this, then we offer up ourselves for destruction, that we may not live to behold a calamity more terrible and grievous than death. We hear that great forces of infantry and cavalry are being prepared by you against us, if we oppose the erection and dedication of this statue. No one is so mad as, when he is a slave, to oppose his master. We willingly and readily submit ourselves to be put to death; let your troops slay us, let them sacrifice us, let them cut us to pieces unresisting and uncontending, let them treat us with every species of cruelty that conquerers can possibly practice, 3but what need is there of any army? We ourselves, admirable priests for the purpose, will begin the sacrifice, bringing to the temple our wives and slaying our wives, bringing our brothers and sisters and becoming fratricides, bringing our sons and our daughters, that innocent and guiltless age, and becoming infanticides. Those who endure tragic calamities must needs make use of tragic language. 3Then standing in the middle of our victims, having bathed ourselves deeply in the blood of our kinsfolk (for such blood will be the only bath which we shall have wherewith to cleanse ourselves for the journey to the shades below), we will mingle our own blood with it, slaughtering ourselves upon their bodies. 3And when we are dead, let this commandment be inscribed over us as an epitaph, 'Let not even God blame us, who have had a due regard to both considerations, pious loyalty towards the emperor and the reverential preservation of our established holy laws.' "And this will be what will be deservedly said of us if we give up our miserable life, holding it in proper contempt. We have heard of a most ancient tradition, which has been handed down throughout Greece by their historians, who have affirmed that the head of the Gorgon had such mighty power, that those who beheld it immediately became stones and rocks. But this appears only to be a fiction and fable, the truth being that great, and unexpected, and wonderful events do often bring after them great disaster; for instance, the anger of a master causes death, or calamities equivalent to death. 3"Do you suppose (may God forbid that any such event should ever take place) that if any of our countrymen were to see this statue being brought into our temple, it would not change them into stones? Their limbs being all congealed, and their eyes becoming fixed so as not to be capable of motion, and their whole body losing all its natural motions in every one of its united parts and limbs! 3We will, however, now, O Petronius, address to you one last and most righteous and just request; we say that you ought not to do what you are commanded, but we entreat you to grant us a respite, and we most earnestly supplicate you to delay a little while till we appoint an embassy, and send it to approach your master, and to convey our entreaties to him. 4Perhaps in our embassy we may find some argument or other to persuade him, either by bringing before him all the considerations respecting the honour of God, or the preservation of our indestructible and unalterable laws, or by urging upon him that we ought not to be subjected to a worse fate than all the nations even in the very most remote extremities of the earth, who have been allowed to preserve their national customs; with reference to which his grandfather and great-grandfather came to a righteous decision when they confirmed and set the seal to our customs with all care. 4Perhaps when he hears these arguments he will be more merciful to us. The intentions of the great do not always continue the same, and those which are adopted in anger are the quickest to change. We have been grievously calumniated. Suffer us to refute the false accusations which have been brought against us. It is hard to be condemned without being heard in our own defense. "And if we fail to convince him, what will after that prevent him from doing the things which he at present intends to do? Until, then, we have sent this embassy, do not cut off all the hopes of so many myriads of men, since our zeal and earnestness is displayed not in the cause of gain, but in that of religion; though indeed we speak foolishly in using such an expression as that, for what can be a more real and beneficial gain to them than holiness?"

33 They uttered these complaints and entreaties with great agony and misery of soul, with exceeding sobbing and difficulty of speech, for all their limbs sweated with apprehension, and their ceaseless tears flowed in torrents, so that all who heard them, and Petronius himself, sympathised with their sorrow, for he was by nature a man very kind and gentle in his natural disposition, so that he was easily influenced by what was now said or heard; and what was said appeared to be entirely just, and the misery of those whom he now beheld appeared most pitiable; and rising up, and retiring with his fellow counsellors, he took counsel as to what he ought to do, and he saw that those who a short time before opposed the wishes of the Jews with all their might were now wavering and perplexed, and that those who had previously been hesitating were now for the most part inclined to compassion, at which he was pleased. Nevertheless, though he was well acquainted with the disposition of the emperor, and how implacable and inexorable he was in his anger, 4he still had himself some sparks of the Jewish philosophy and piety, since he had long ago learnt something of it by reason of his eagerness for learning, and had studied it still more ever since he had come as governor of the countries in which there are vast numbers of Jews scattered over every city of Asia and Syria; or partly because he was so disposed in his mind from his spontaneous, and natural, and innate inclination for all things which are worthy of care and study. Moreover, God himself appears often to suggest virtuous ideas to virtuous men, by which, while benefiting others, they will likewise be benefited themselves, which now was the case with Petronius. What then was his resolution? 4Not to hurry on the artists, but to persuade them to continue to finish the statue which they had in hand, taking pains and labouring as far as might be possible not to be inferior to the most renowned models, but to take plenty of time, so as to make their work perfect, since things which are done in a hurry are very often inferior, but things which are done with great pains and skill require a length of time. But the embassy which they entreated leave to send he determined not to permit, for he considered that it would not be safe for him to allow it; still he determined not to oppose those who wished to refer the whole matter to the supreme sovereign and master, but neither to agree with nor to contradict the multitude, for he considered that either line of conduct was fraught with danger. 4Moreover, he determined to write a letter to Gaius, not in any respect accusing the Jews, and on the other hand not giving any accurate account of their entreaties and supplications, and to explain the delay which was taking place in the erection of the statue, partly because the preparation of it required a certain space of time for its completion, and partly, he reminded him, that the season of the year was in some degree the cause of unavoidable delay, in which there was no question but that Gaius must of necessity acquiesce, 4for it was just at that moment the very height of the wheat harvest and of all the other cereal crops; and he said that he was afraid lest out of despair of the preservation of their national and hereditary laws and customs, the men might conceive such a contempt for life as either themselves to lay waste their lands, or to burn all the corn-bearing district, whether mountainous or champaign country, and, therefore, that he might require a guard to secure a careful gathering in of the crops, and that not only of such as were borne on the arable land but of those produced by fruitbearing trees; 5for he himself was intending, as is said, to sail to Alexandria in Egypt, but so great a general did not choose to cross the open sea both by reason of the danger and also of the numerous fleet which would be required as his escort, and also from his regard for his own person, as everything requisite for his comfort would be more easily provided if he took the circuitous route through Asia and Syria; 5for he would, if he coasted along, be able to sail every day and land every night, especially if he took with him a sufficient number of ships of war, and not transports, in which a coasting voyage is more successful, just as one across the open sea is better for merchantmen. 5Therefore it was necessary that abundant quantities of forage and food should be prepared for his cattle in every one of the Syrian cities, and especially in all such as were on the coast, for a numerous multitude would be proceeding both by land and sea, collected not only from Rome itself and from Italy, but that which had also followed him from all the other provinces of the empire as far as Syria, being partly the regular guard of the magistrates, and partly the regular army of infantry and cavalry, and the naval force, and also a troops of servants but little inferior in number to the army. 5Moreover, there was need not only of such an abundance of supplies as might be sufficient for all necessary purposes, but also for all the superfluous prodigality of which Gaius was fond. If he reads these writings perhaps he will not only not be angry, but will be even pleased with our prudential caution, as having caused this delay not from any regard for the Jews, but for the sake of providing for the collection of the harvest.

34 And when his assessors had delivered their opinions, he commanded letters to be written, and appointed active men, who were accustomed to make rapid journey, to convey them. And they, when they had arrived at their journey's end, delivered the letters; but the emperor, before he had finished reading them, became swollen with anger, and went on making marks at every page, in fury and indignation; 5and when he had come to the end of the letter, he clapped his hands together, saying, "Of a truth, Petronius, you seem but little to comprehend that you are the subject of the emperor; the uninterrupted series of governments to which you have been preferred have filled you with guile. Up to the present time it seems to me that you have no notion of acknowledging that you know, even by hearsay, that Gaius is emperor, but you shall very speedily find it out by your own experience, 5for you are careful about the laws of the Jews, a nation which I hate above every other, and you are indifferent about the imperial commands of your sovereign. You fear the multitude. Had you not with you then the military forces which all the eastern nations, and the chief of them all, the Parthians, fear? 5But you pitied them, you paid more attention to feelings of compassion than to the express commands of Gaius. "Make your pretext of the harvest, but you yourself shall soon find that you have brought on your own head a punishment which cannot be averted by any pretexts of excuses. Blame the necessity for collecting the crops, and for making adequate provision for my armies, for even if a complete scarcity were to oppress Judaea, still are there not vast regions on its borders of great fertility and productiveness, sufficient and able to supply all necessary food, and to make up for the deficiency of one district? 5But why do I speak in this way before acting? And why is there no one who anticipates my intentions? He who delays shall first find out that he is receiving the wages of his delay by suffering in his own person. I will say no more, but I shall not forget the matter." 5And after a brief interval, he dictated to one of his secretaries an answer to Petronius, praising him in appearance for his prudence, and for his careful and accurate consideration of the future, for he was very careful with respect to the governors of the provinces, seeing that they had at all times great facilities for making innovations or revolutions, especially if they happened to be in districts of importance, and in command of powerful armies such as was on the Euphrates for the protection of Syria. 6Therefore, being very civil to him in words and in his letters, he concealed his anger till a favourable opportunity, though he was very much exasperated; but at the end of the letter, after having mentioned every other subject, he desired him not to be so anxious about anything as about the speedy erection and dedication of the statue, for that by this time the harvest must have been able to be got in, whether the excuse was originally an honest and true or only a plausible one.

35 However a short time afterwards King Agrippa arrived in Rome, according to custom, to pay his respects to Gaius, and he knew absolutely nothing either of what Petronius had written in his letter, or of what Gaius had written in his first or second epistle, but by his irregular motions and agitations, and by the excitement which shone in his eyes, he conjectured that he had some anger smouldering beneath, and he considered, and pondered, and turned over every matter in every direction, racking his brain for every reason, whether great or small, to see whether he had said or done anything unbecoming, 6and when he felt sure that he had done absolutely nothing, he conjectured, as was natural, that it was some one else with whom he was offended. But again, when he saw that he looked morosely at him, and that he kept his eyes continually fixed on him, and on no one else who was ever present, he began to be alarmed, and though he often thought of putting the question to him, he restrained himself, reflecting in this manner: "Perhaps by doing so I may draw down on myself the threats which as it is are destined for others, by bringing upon myself a suspicion of being a busybody, and a rash and audacious man." 6Therefore, when Gaius saw that he was in a state of great alarm and perplexity, for he was very acute at comprehending a man's inmost designs and feelings from his outward appearance and expression of countenance, he said, "You are embarrassed, O Agrippa. I will relieve you from your perplexity. 6Though you have lived with me for such a length of time, are you yet ignorant that I speak not only with my voice, but also with my eyes, intimating everything, to say the least of it, as much in one way as in the other? 6Your loyal and excellent fellow citizens, the only nation of men upon the whole face of the earth by whom Gaius is not esteemed to be a god, appear now to be even desiring to plot my death in their obstinate disobedience, for when I commanded my statue in the character of Jupiter to be erected in their temple, they raised the whole of their people, and quitted the city and the whole country in a body, under pretence of addressing a petition to me, but in reality being determined to act in a manner contrary to the commands which I had imposed upon them." 6And when he was about to add other charges against them Agrippa fell into such a state of grief that he changed into all sorts of colours, becoming at the same moment bloodshot, and pale, and livid, 6for he was all over agitation and trembling from the top of his head down to his feet, and a quivering and shaking seized upon and disordered all his limbs and every member of his body, all his sinews, and muscles, and nerves being relaxed and enfeebled, so that he fainted away, and would have fallen down if some of the bystanders had not supported him. And they being commanded to carry him home, bore him to his palace, where he lay for some time in a state of torpor without any one understanding what sudden misfortune had brought him into this state. 6Therefore Gaius was exasperated still more against our nation, and cherished a more furious anger against us than before, "For," said he, "if Agrippa, who is my most intimate and dearest friend, and one bound to me by so many benefits, is to completely under the influence of his national customs that he cannot bear even to hear a word against them,

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but faints away to such a degree as to be near dying, what must one expect will be the feelings of others who have no motive or influence to draw them the other way?" 6Agrippa, then, during all that day and the greater portion of the next day, lay in a state of profound stupor, being completely unconscious of everything that passed; but about evening he raised his head a little, and for a short time opened, though with difficulty, his languid eyes, and with dim and indistinct vision looked upon the people who surrounded him, though he was not as yet able to distinguish clearly between their several forms and features; 7and then again relapsing into sleep, he became tranquil, getting into a better condition than at first, as those about him could conjecture from his breathing and from the state of his body. 7And afterwards, when he awoke again, and rose up, by asked, "Where now am I? Am I with Gaius? Is my lord himself here?" And they replied, "Be of good cheer; you are by yourself in your own palace. 7Gaius is not here. You have now had a sufficient tranquil sleep, but now turn and raise yourself, and rest upon your elbow, and recognise those who are about you; they are all your own people, those of your friends, and freedmen, and domestics, who honour you above all others, and who are honoured by you in return." 7And he, for he was now beginning to recover from his state of stupefaction, saw feelings of sympathy in every one's face, and when his physicians ordered most of them to leave the room, that they might refresh his body with anointing and seasonable food, 7"Go," said he, "for you must by all means take care that I may have a more carefully regulated way of life, for it is not sufficient for me, unfortunate man that I am, to ward off hunger by a bare, and scanty, and economical, and precise use of necessary food; nor should I have attended to any such matters if it had not been my object to provide my miserable nation with the last resource which my mind suggests to me by way of assisting it." 7Accordingly, he, shedding abundance of tears, and eating just what was necessary without any sauce or seasoning, and drinking no mixed wine but only tasting water, soon left off eating. "My miserable stomach," said he, "recoils from the things which it demanded; and now what ought I do to but address myself to Gaius with respect to existing circumstances?" 36 And having taken tablets, he writes to him in the following manner: "O master, fear and shame have taken from me all courage to come into your presence to address you; since fear teaches me to dread your threats; and shame, out of respect for the greatness of your power and dignity, keeps me silent. But a writing will show my request, which I now here offer to you as my earnest petition. 7In all men, O emperor! a love of their country is innate, and an eagerness for their national customs and laws. And concerning these matters there is no need that I should give you information, since you have a heart-felt love of your own country, and a deeply-seated respect for your national customs. And what belongs to themselves appears beautiful to every one, even if it is not so in reality; for they judge of these things not more by reason than by the feelings of affection. And I am, as you know, a Jew; and Jerusalem is my country, in which there is erected the holy temple of the most high God. And I have kings for my grandfathers and for my ancestors, the greater part of whom have been called high priests, looking upon their royal power as inferior to their office as priests; and thinking that the high priesthood is as much superior to the power of a king, as God is superior to man; for that the one is occupied in rendering service to God, and the other has only the care of governing them. Accordingly I, being one of this nation, and being attached to this country and to such a temple, address to you this petition on behalf of them all; on behalf of the nation, that it may not be looked upon by you in a light contrary to the true one; since it is a most pious and holy nation, and one from the beginning most loyally disposed to your family. 8"For in all the particulars in which men are enjoined by the laws, and in which they have it in their power to show their piety and loyalty, my nation is inferior to none whatever in Asia or in Europe, whether it be in respect of prayers, or of the supply of sacred offerings, or in the abundance of its sacrifices, not merely of such as are offered on occasions of the public festivals, but in those which are continually offered day after day; by which means they show their loyalty and fidelity more surely than by their mouth and tongue, proving it by the designs of their honest hearts, not indeed saying that they are friends to Caesar, but being so in reality. 8"Concerning the holy city I must now say what is necessary. It, as I have already stated, is my native country, and the metropolis, not only of the one country of Judaea, but also of many, by reason of the colonies which it has sent out from time to time into the bordering districts of Egypt, Phoenicia, Syria in general, and especially that part of it which is called Coelo-Syria, and also with those more distant regions of Pamphylia, Cilicia, the greater part of Asia Minor as far as Bithynia, and the furthermost corners of Pontus. And in the same manner into Europe, into Thessaly, and Boeotia, and Macedonia, and Aetolia, and Attica, and Argos, and Corinth and all the most fertile and wealthiest districts of Peloponnesus. 8And not only are the continents full of Jewish colonies, but also all the most celebrated islands are so too; such as Euboea, and Cyprus, and Crete. "I say nothing of the countries beyond the Euphrates, for all of them except a very small portion, and Babylon, and all the satrapies around, which have any advantages whatever of soil or climate, have Jews settled in them. 8So that if my native land is, as it reasonably may be, looked upon as entitled to a share in your favour, it is not one city only that would then be benefited by you, but ten thousand of them in every region of the habitable world, in Europe, in Asia, and in Africa, on the continent, in the islands, on the coasts, and in the inland parts. 8And it corresponds well to the greatness of your good fortune, that, by conferring benefits on one city, you should also benefit ten thousand others, so that your renown may be celebrated in every part of the habitable world, and many praises of you may be combined with thanksgiving. "You have thought the native countries of some of your friends worthy of being admitted to share all the privileges of the Roman constitution; and those who but a little while ago were slaves, became the masters of others who also enjoyed your favour in a higher, or at all events not in a lower degree, and they were delighted too at the causes of your beneficence. 8And I indeed am perfectly aware that I belong to the class which is in subjection to a lord and master, and also that I am admitted to the honour of being one of your companions, being inferior to you in respect of my birthright and natural rank, and inferior to no one whomsoever, not to say the most eminent of all men, in good will and loyalty towards you, 8both because that is my natural disposition, and also in consequence of the number of benefits with which you have enriched me; so that if I in consequence had felt confidence to implore you myself on behalf of my country, if not to grant to it the Roman constitution, at least to confer freedom and a remission of taxes on it, I should not have thought that I had any reason to fear your displeasure for preferring such a petition to you, and for requesting that most desirable of all things, your favour, which it can do you no harm to grant, and which is the most advantageous of all things for my country to receive. "For what can possibly be a more desirable blessing for a subject nation than the good will of its sovereign? It was at Jerusalem, O emperor! that your most desirable succession to the empire was first announced; and the news of your advancement spread from the holy city all over the continent on each side, and was received with great gladness. And on this account that city deserves to meet with favour at your hands; 8for, as in families the eldest children receive the highest honours as their birthright, because they were the first to give the name of father and mother to their parents, so, in like manner, since this is first of all the cities in the east to salute you as emperor, it ought to receive greater benefit from you than any other; or if not greater, at all events as great as any other city. 9"Having now advanced these pleas on the ground of justice, and made these petitions on behalf of my native country, I now come at last to my supplication on behalf of the temple. O my lord and master, Gaius! this temple has never, from the time of its original foundation until now, admitted any form made by hands, because it has been the abode of God. Now, pictures and images are only imitations of those gods who are perceptible to the outward senses; but it was not considered by our ancestors to be consistent with the reverence due to God to make any image or representation of the invisible God. 9Agrippa, when he came to the temple, did honour to it, and he was thy grandfather; and so did Augustus, when by his letters he commanded all first fruits from all quarters to be sent thither; and by the continual sacrifice. And thy great grandmother ...(29"On which account, no one, whether Greek or barbarian, satrap, or king, or implacable enemy; no sedition, no war, no capture, no destruction, no occurrence that has ever taken place, has ever threatened this temple with such innovation as to place in it any image, or statue, or any work of any kind made with hands; 9for, though enemies have displayed their hostility to the inhabitants of the country, still, either reverence or fear has possessed them sufficiently to prevent them from abrogating any of the laws which were established at the beginning, as tending to the honour of the Creator and Father of the universe; for they knew that it is these and similar actions which bring after them the irremediable calamities of heavensent afflictions. On which account they have been careful not to sow an impious seed, fearing lest they should be compelled to reap its natural harvest, in a fruit bearing utter destruction.

37 "But why need I invoke the assistance of foreign witnesses when I have plenty with whom I can furnish you from among your own countrymen and friends? Marcus Agrippa, your own grandfather on the mother's side, the moment that he arrived in Judaea, when Herod, my grandfather, was king of the country, thought fit to go up from the sea-coast to the metropolis, which was inland. 9And when he had beheld the temple, and the decorations of the priests, and the piety and holiness of the people of the country, he marveled, looking upon the whole matter as one of great solemnity and entitled to great respect, and thinking that he had beheld what was too magnificent to be described. And he could talk of nothing else to his companions but the magnificence of the temple and every thing connected with it. 9"Therefore, every day that he remained in the city, by reason of his friendship for Herod, he went to that sacred place, being delighted with the spectacle of the building, and of the sacrifices, and all the ceremonies connected with the worship of God, and the regularity which was observed, and the dignity and honour paid to the high priest, and his grandeur when arrayed in his sacred vestments and when about to begin the sacrifices. 9And after he had adorned the temple with all the offerings in his power to contribute, and had conferred many benefits on the inhabitants, doing them many important services, and having said to Herod many friendly things, and having been replied to in corresponding terms, he was conducted back again to the sea coast, and to the harbour, and that not by one city only but by the whole country, having branches strewed in his road, and being greatly admired and respected for his piety. 9"What again did your other grandfather, Tiberius Caesar, do? does not he appear to have adopted an exactly similar line of conduct? At all events, during the three and twenty years that he was emperor, he preserved the form of worship in the temple as it had been handed down from the earliest times, without abrogating or altering the slightest particular of it.

38 "Moreover, I have it in my power to relate one act of ambition on his part, though I suffered an infinite number of evils when he was alive; but nevertheless the truth is considered dear, and much to be honoured by you. Pilate was one of the emperor's lieutenants, having been appointed governor of Judaea. He, not more with the object of doing honour to Tiberius than with that of vexing the multitude, dedicated some gilt shields in the palace of Herod, in the holy city; which had no form nor any other forbidden thing represented on them except some necessary inscription, which mentioned these two facts, the name of the person who had placed them there, and the person in whose honour they were so placed there. But when the multitude heard what had been done, and when the circumstance became notorious, then the people, putting forward the four sons of the king, who were in no respect inferior to the kings themselves, in fortune or in rank, and his other descendants, and those magistrates who were among them at the time, entreated him to alter and to rectify the innovation which he had committed in respect of the shields; and not to make any alteration in their national customs, which had hitherto been preserved without any interruption, without being in the least degree changed by any king of emperor. "But when he steadfastly refused this petition (for he was a man of a very inflexible disposition, and very merciless as well as very obstinate), they cried out: 'Do not cause a sedition; do not make war upon us; do not destroy the peace which exists. The honour of the emperor is not identical with dishonour to the ancient laws; let it not be to you a pretence for heaping insult on our nation. Tiberius is not desirous that any of our laws or customs shall be destroyed. And if you yourself say that he is, show us either some command from him, or some letter, or something of the kind, that we, who have been sent to you as ambassadors, may cease to trouble you, and may address our supplications to your master.' "But this last sentence exasperated him in the greatest possible degree, as he feared least they might in reality go on an embassy to the emperor, and might impeach him with respect to other particulars of his government, in respect of his corruption, and his acts of insolence, and his rapine, and his habit of insulting people, and his cruelty, and his continual murders of people untried and uncondemned, and his never ending, and gratuitous, and most grievous inhumanity. Therefore, being exceedingly angry, and being at all times a man of most ferocious passions, he was in great perplexity, neither venturing to take down what he had once set up, nor wishing to do any thing which could be acceptable to his subjects, and at the same time being sufficiently acquainted with the firmness of Tiberius on these points. And those who were in power in our nation, seeing this, and perceiving that he was inclined to change his mind as to what he had done, but that he was not willing to be thought to do so, wrote a most supplicatory letter to Tiberius. And he, when he had read it, what did he say of Pilate, and what threats did he utter against him! But it is beside our purpose at present to relate to you how very angry he was, although he was not very liable to sudden anger; since the facts speak for themselves; for immediately, without putting any thing off till the next day, he wrote a letter, reproaching and reviling him in the most bitter manner for his act of unprecedented audacity and wickedness, and commanding him immediately to take down the shields and to convey them away from the metropolis of Judaea to Caesarea, on the sea which had been named Caesarea Augusta, after his grandfather, in order that they might be set up in the temple of Augustus. And accordingly, they were set up in that edifice. And in this way he provided for two matters: both for the honour due to the emperor, and for the preservation of the ancient customs of the city.

39 "Now the things set up on that occasion were shields, on which there was no representation of any living thing whatever engraved. But now the thing proposed to be erected is a colossal statue. Moreover, then the erection was in the

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dwelling-house of the governor; but they say, that which is now contemplated is to be in the inmost part of the temple, in the very holy of holies itself, into which, once in the year, the high priest enters, on the day called the great fast, to offer incense, and on no other day, being then about in accordance with our national law also to offer up prayers for a fertile and ample supply of blessings, and for peace of all mankind. And if any one else, I will not say of the Jews, but even of the priests, and those not of the lowest order, but even those who are in the rank next to the first, should go in there, either with him or after him, or even if the very high priest himself should enter in thither on two days in the year, or three or four times on the same day, he is subjected to inevitable death for his impiety, so great are the precautions taken by our lawgiver with respect to the holy of holies, as he determined to preserve it alone inaccessible to and untouched by any human being. "How many deaths then do you not suppose that the people, who have been taught to regard this place with such holy reverence, would willingly endure rather than see a statue introduced into it? I verily believe that they would rather slay all their whole families, with their wives and children, and themselves last of all, in the ruins of their houses and families, and Tiberius knew this well. And what did your great-grandfather, the most excellent of all emperors that ever lived upon the earth, he who was the first to have the appellation of Augustus given him, on account of his virtue and good fortune; he who diffused peace in every direction over earth and sea, to the very furthest extremities of the world? Did not he, when he had heard a report of the peculiar characteristics of our temple, and that there is in it no image or representation made by hands, no visible likeness of Him who is invisible, no attempt at any imitation of his nature, did not he, I say, marvel at and honour it? for as he was imbued with something more than a mere smattering of philosophy, inasmuch as he had deeply feasted on it, and continued to feast on it every day, he partly retraced in his recollection all the precepts of philosophy which his mind had previously learnt, and partly also he kept his learning alive by the conversation of the literary men who were always about him; for at his banquets and entertainments, the greatest part of the time was devoted to learned conversation, in order that not only his friends' bodies but their minds also might be nourished.

40"And though I might be able to establish this fact, and demonstrate to you the feelings of Augustus, your great grandfather, by an abundance of proofs, I will be content with two; for, in the first place, he sent commandments to all the governors of the different provinces throughout Asia, because he heard that the sacred first fruits were neglected, enjoining them to permit the Jews alone to assemble together in the synagogues, for that these assemblies were not revels, which from drunkenness and intoxication proceeded to violence, so as to disturb the peaceful condition of the country, but were rather schools of temperance and justice, as the men who met in them were studiers of virtue, and contributed the first fruits every year, sending commissioners to convey the holy things to the temple in Jerusalem. "And, in the next place, he commanded that no one should hinder the Jews, either on their way to the synagogues, or when bringing their contributions, or when proceeding in obedience to their national laws to Jerusalem, for these things were expressly enjoined, if not in so many words, at all events in effect; and I subjoin one letter, in order to bring conviction to you who are our mater, what Gaius Norbanus Flaccus wrote, in which he details what had been written to him by Caesar, and the superscription of the letter is as follows: 15)-

CAIUS NORBANUS FLACCUS, PROCONSUL, TO THE GOVERNORS OF THE EPHESIANS, GREETING.

"'Caesar has written word to me, that the Jews, wherever they are, are accustomed to assemble together, in compliance with a peculiar ancient custom of their nation, to contribute money which they send to Jerusalem; and he does not choose that they should have any hindrance offered to them, to prevent them from doing this; therefore I have written to you, that you may know that I command that they shall be allowed to do these things.' "Is not this a most convincing proof, O emperor, of the intention of Caesar respecting the honours paid to our temple which he had adopted, not considering it right that because of some general rule, with respect to meetings, the assemblies of the Jews, in one place should be put down, which they held for the sake of offering the first fruits, and for other pious objects? "There is also another piece of evidence, in no respect inferior to this one, and which is the most undeniable proof of the will of Augustus, for he commanded perfect sacrifices of whole burnt offerings to be offered up to the most high God every day, out of his own revenues, which are performed up to the present time, and the victims are two sheep and a bull, with which Caesar honoured the altar of God, well knowing that there is in the temple no image erected, either in open sight or in any secret part of it. But that great ruler, who was inferior to no one in philosophy, considered within himself, that it is necessary in terrestrial things, that an especial holy place should be set apart for the invisible God, who will not permit any visible representation of himself to be made, by which to arrive at a participation in favourable hopes and the enjoyment of perfect blessings. "And your grandmother, Julia Augusta, following the example of so great a guide in the paths of piety, did also adorn the temple with some golden vials and censers, and with a great number of other offerings, of the most costly and magnificent description; and what was her object in doing this, when there is no statue erected within the temple? for the minds of women are, in some degree, weaker than those of men, and are not so well able to comprehend a thing which is appreciable only by the intellect, without any aid of objects addressed to the outward senses; 2but she, as she surpassed all her sex in other particulars, so also was she superior to them in this, by reason of the pure learning and wisdom which had been implanted in her, both by nature and by study; so that, having a masculine intellect, she was so sharpsighted and profound, that she comprehended what is appreciable only by the intellect, even more than those things which are perceptible by the outward senses, and looked upon the latter as only shadows of the former.

41 "Therefore, O master, having all these examples most nearly connected with yourself and your family, of our purposes and customs, derived from those from whom you are sprung, of whom you are born, and by whom you have been brought up, I implore you to preserve those principles which each of those persons whom I have mentioned did preserve; they who were themselves possessed of imperial power do, by their laws, exhort you, the emperor; they who were august, speak to you who are also Augustus; your grandfathers and ancestors speak to their descendant; numbers of authorities address one individual, all but saying, in express words: Do not you destroy those things in our councils which remain, and which have been preserved as permanent laws to this very day; for even if no mischief were to ensue from the abrogation of them, still, at all events, the result would be a feeling of uncertainty respecting the future, and such uncertainty is full of fear, even to the most sanguine and confident, if they are not despisers of divine things. 2"If I were to enumerate the benefits which I myself have received at your hands, the day would be too short for me; besides the fact that it is not proper for one who has undertaken to speak on one subject to branch off to a digression about some other matter. And even if I should be silent, the facts themselves speak and utter a distinct voice. You released me when I was bound in chains and iron. Who is there who is ignorant of this? But do not, after having done so, O emperor! bind me in bonds of still greater bitterness: for the chains from which you released me surrounded a part of my body, but those which I am now anticipating are the chains of the soul, which are likely to oppress it wholly and in every part; 2you abated from me a fear of death, continually suspended over my head; you received me when I was almost dead through fear; you raised me up as it were from the dead. Continue your favour, O master, that your Agrippa may not be driven wholly to forsake life; for I shall appear (if you do not do so) to have been released from bondage, not for the purpose of being saved, but for that of being made to perish in a more conspicuous manner. "You have given me the greatest and most glorious inheritance among mankind, the rank and power of a king, at first over one district, then over another and a more important one, adding to my kingdom the district called Trachonitis and Galilee. Do not then, O master! after having loaded me with means of superfluity, deprive me of what is actually necessary. Do not, after you have raised me up to the most brilliant light, cast me down again from my eminence to the most profound darkness. I am willing to descend from this splendid position in which you have placed me; I do not deprecate a return to the condition in which I was a short time ago; I will give up everything; I look upon everything as of less importance than the one point of preserving the ancient customs and laws of my nation unaltered; for if they are violated, what could I say, either to my fellow countrymen or to any other men? It would follow of necessity that I must be looked upon as one of two things, either as a betrayer of my people, or as one who is no longer accounted a friend by you. And what could be a greater misery than either of these two things? 2For if I am still reckoned among the company of your friends, I shall then receive the imputation of treason against my own nation, if neither my country is preserved free from all misfortune, nor even the temple left inviolate. For you, great men, preserve the property of your companions and of those who take refuge in your protection by your imperial splendour and magnificence. 2And if you have any secret grief or vexation in your mind, do not throw me into prison, like Tiberius, but deliver me from any anticipation of being thrown into prison at any future time; command me at once to be put out of the way. For what advantage would it be to me to live, who place my whole hopes of safety and happiness in your friendship and favour?"

42 Having written this letter and sealed it, he sent it to Gaius, and then shutting himself up he remained in his own house, full of agony, confusion, and disorder, and anxiety, as to what was the best way of approaching and addressing the emperor; for he and his people had incurred no slight danger, but they had reason to apprehend expulsion from their country, and slavery, and utter destruction, as impending not only over those who were dwelling in the holy land, but over all the Jews in every part of the world. 3But the emperor, having taken the letter and read it, and having considered every suggestion which was contained in it, was very angry, because his intentions had not been executed: and yet, at the same time, he was moved by the appeals to his justice and by the supplications which were thus addressed to him, and in some respects he was pleased with Agrippa, and in some he blamed him. 3He blamed him for his excessive desire to please his fellow countrymen, who were the only men who had resisted his orders and shown any unwillingness to submit to his deification; but he praised him for concealing and disguising none of his feelings, which conduct he said was a proof of a liberal and noble disposition. 3Therefore being somewhat appeased, at least as far as appearance went, he condescended to return a somewhat favourable answer, granting to Agrippa that highest and greatest of all favours, the consent that this erection of his statue should not take place; and he commanded letters to be written to Publius Petronius the governor of Syria, enjoining him not to allow any alterations or innovations to be made with respect to the temple of the Jews. Nevertheless, though he did grant him the favour, he did not grant it without any alloy, but he mingled with it a grievous terror; for he added to the letter, -

"If any people in the bordering countries, with the exception of the metropolis itself, wishing to erect altars or temples, nay, images of statues, in honour of me and of my family are hindered from doing so, I charge you at once to punish those who attempt to hinder them, or else to bring them before the tribunal." Now this was nothing else but a beginning of seditions and civil wars, and an indirect way of annulling the gift which he appeared to be granting. For some men, more out of a desire of mortifying the Jews than from any feelings of loyalty towards Gaius, were inclined to fill the whole country with erections of one kind or another. But they who beheld the violation of their national customs practiced before their eyes were resolved above all things not to endure such an injury unresistingly. But Gaius, judging those who were thus excited to disobedience to be worthy of the most severe punishment possible, a second time orders his statue to be erected in the temple. 3But by the providence and care of God, who beholds all things and governs all things in accordance with justice, not one of the neighbouring nations made any movement at all; so that there was no occasion for these commands being carried into effect, and these inexorably appointed calamities all terminated in only a moderate degree of blame. What advantage, then, was gained? some one will say; for even when they were quiet, Gaius was not quiet; but he had already repented of the favour which he had showed to Agrippa, and had re-kindled the desires which he had entertained a little while before; for he commanded another statue to be made, of colossal size, of brass gilt over, in Rome, no longer moving the one which had been made in Sidon, in order that the people might not be excited by its being moved, but that while they remained in a state of tranquility and felt released from their suspicions, it might in a period of peace be suddenly brought to the country in a ship, and be suddenly erected without the multitude being aware of what was going on.

43And he was intending to do this while on his voyage along the coast during the period which he had allotted for his sojourn in Egypt. For an indescribable desire occupied his mind to see Alexandria, to which he was eager to go with all imaginable haste, and when he had arrived there he intended to remain a considerable time, urging that the deification about which he was so anxious, might easily be originated and carried to a great height in that city above all others, and then that it would be a model to all other cities of the adoration to which he was entitled, inasmuch as it was the greatest of all the cities of the east, and built in the finest situation in the world. For all inferior men and nations are eager to imitate great men and great states. 3Moreover, Gaius was in other respects a man in whose nature there was nothing stable or trustworthy so that, even if he did anything good or kind, he speedily repented of it, and in such a manner that he soon attempted to annul what he had done in such a way as to cause even greater affliction and injury to those whom he had favoured. For instance, he released some prisoners, and then for no reason whatever he threw them into prison a second time, inflicting upon them a second calamity more grievous than the first, namely, that which was caused by unexpected misfortune. Again, he condemned some persons to banishment who had expected sentence of death; not because they were conscious of having committed crimes deserving of death, or indeed of any punishment at all, even the lightest, but because of the extravagant inhumanity of their master they did not expect to escape. Now to these men, banishment was a downright gain, and equivalent almost to a restoration, since they looked upon it that they had escaped the greatest of all evils, the danger of death. 4But no long period elapsed before he sent some soldiers after them, though no new circumstances

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had arisen, and put to death simultaneously the most excellent and nobly-born of the exiles who were living in the different islands as their own countries, and who were bearing their misfortunes in the most contented manner, inflicting in this way the greatest and most pitiable and unexpected misery on many of the noblest families in Rome. 4And if he ever gave any one a sum of money as a gift, he demanded it back again at some future time, not a simple loan but he also required interest and compound interest, and often treating the persons themselves who had received it from him as thieves, and punishing them with the severest penalties for having stolen it; for he was not contented that those miserable men should return what had been given to them, but he compelled them also to give up all their property which they had inherited from their parents, or relations, or from any friends, or which, having selected a life of industry and profit, they had acquired by their own resources. 4And those who appeared to be in the greatest credit with him, and who lived with him in a round of pleasure, as one may say, with great appearances of friendship and good will, were greatly injured by him, being compelled to expend large sums in irregular, and illegal, and sudden journeys, and in entertainments; for they lavished whole properties in the preparation of a single banquet, so that they were compelled to have recourse to usurers, so vast was his prodigality; 4therefore many men deprecated the receiving of any favours from him, thinking not only that it was of no advantage, but even that they were only a bait and a snare to lead them into intolerable suffering. 4So great therefore was his inequality of temper towards every one, and most especially towards the nation of the Jews to which he was most bitterly hostile, and accordingly beginning in Alexandria he took from them all their synagogues there, and in the other cities, and filled them all with images and statues of his own form; for not caring about any other erection of any kind, he set up his own statue every where by main force; and the great temple in the holy city, which was left untouched to the last, having been thought worthy of all possible respect and preservation, he altered and transformed into a temple of his own, that he might call it the temple of the new Jupiter, the illustrious Gaius. What is this that you say? Do you, who are a man, seek to take to yourself the air and the heaven, not being content with the vast multitude of continents, and islands, and nations, and countries of which you enjoy the sovereignty? And do you not think any one of the gods who are worshipped in that city or by our people worthy of any country or city or even of any small precinct which may have been consecrated to them in old time, and dedicated to them with oracles and sacred hymns, and are you intending to deprive them of that, that in all the vast circumference of the world there may be no visible trace or memorial to be found of any honour or pious worship paid to the true real living God? 4Truly you are suggesting fine hopes to the race of mankind; are you ignorant that you are opening the fountains of evils of every kind, making innovations, and committing acts of audacious impiety such as it is wicked to do and even to think of?

44 It is worth while to make mention of what we both saw and heard, when we were sent for to encounter a contest on behalf of our national constitution; for the moment that we entered into the presence of the emperor we perceived, from his looks and from the state of agitation in which he was, that we had come not before a judge but before an accuser, or rather I should say before the open enemy of those whom he looked upon as opposed to his will; 5for it would have been the part of a judge to sit with assessors selected because of their virtue and learning, when a question of the greatest importance was being investigated which had lain dormant for four hundred years, and which was now raised for the first time among many myriads of Alexandrian Jews; and it would have been proper for the contending parties with their advocates to stand on each side of him, and for him to listen to them both in turn; first to the accusation and then in turn to the defense, according to a period measured by water,[the time allotted to the speeches of advocates in the Athenian courts of justice was measured by a waterclock, klepsydra, something like our hour-glass of sand.] and then retiring the judge should deliberate with his assessors as to what he ought publicly to deliver as his sentence on the justice of the case; but what was actually done resembled rather the conduct of an implacable tyrant, exhibiting uncontrolled authority and displeasure and pride. 5For besides that he in no particular behaved in the manner which I have just been describing as proper, having sent for the managers of two gardens, the Maecenatian and the Lamian garden, and they are near one another and close to the city, in which he had spent three or four days, for that was the place in which this theatrical spectacle, aimed at the happiness of a whole nation, was intended to be enacted in our presence, he commanded all the outer buildings to be opened for him, for that he wished to examine them all minutely; 5but we, as soon as we were introduced into his presence, the moment that we saw him, bent to the ground with all imaginable respect and adoration, and saluted him calling him the emperor Augustus; and he replied to us in such a gentle and courteous and humane manner that we not only despaired of attaining our object, but even of preserving our lives; 5for, said he, "You are haters of God, inasmuch as you do not think that I am a god, I who am already confessed to be a god by every other nation, but who am refused that appellation by you." And then, stretching up his hands to heaven, he uttered an ejaculation which it was impious to hear, much more would it be so to repeat it literally. And immediately all the ambassadors of the opposite portion were filled with all imaginable joy, thinking that their embassy was already successful, on account of the first words uttered by Gaius, and so they clapped their hands and danced for joy, and called him by every title which is applicable to any one of the gods.

45 And while he was triumphing in these super-human appellations, the sycophant Isidorus, seeing the temper in which he was, said, "O master, you will hate with still juster vehemence these men whom you see before you and their fellow countrymen, if you are made acquainted with their disaffection and disloyalty towards yourself; for when all other men were offering up sacrifices of thanksgiving for your safety, these men alone refused to offer any sacrifice at all; and when I say, 'these men,' I comprehend all the rest of the Jews." And when we all cried out with one accord, "O Lord Gaius, we are falsely accused; for we did sacrifice, and we offered up entire hecatombs, the blood of which we poured in a libation upon the altar, and the flesh we did not carry to our homes to make a feast and banquet upon it, as it is the custom of some people to do, but we committed the victims entire to the sacred flame as a burnt offering: and we have done this three times already, and not once only; on the first occasion when you succeeded to the empire, and the second time when you recovered from that terrible disease with which all the habitable world was afflicted at the same time, and the third time we sacrificed in hope of your victory over the Germans." 5"Grant," said he, "that all this is true, and that you did sacrifice; nevertheless you sacrificed to another god and not for my sake; and then what good did you do me? Moreover you did not sacrifice to me." Immediately a profound shuddering came upon us the first moment that we heard this expression, similar to that which overwhelmed us when we first came into his presence. And while he was saying this he entered into the outer buildings, examining the chambers of the men and the chambers of the women, and the rooms on the ground floor, and all the apartments in the upper story, and blaming some points of their preparation as defective, and planning alterations and suggesting designs, and giving orders himself to make them more costly 5and then we being driven about in this way followed him up and down through the whole place, being mocked and ridiculed by our adversaries like people at a play in the theatre; for indeed the whole matter was a kind of farce: the judge assumed the part of an accuser, and the accusers the part of an unjust judge, who look upon the defendants with an eye of hostility, and act in accordance with the nature of truth. And when a judge invested with such mighty power begins to reproach the person who is on his trial before him it is necessary to be silent; for it is possible even to defend one's self in silence, and especially for people who are able to make no reply on any of the subjects which he was not investigating and desiring to understand, inasmuch as our laws and our customs restrained our tongues, and shut and sewed up our mouths. 6But when he had given some of his orders about the buildings, he then asked a very important and solemn question; "why is it that you abstain from eating pig's flesh?" And then again at this question such a violent laughter was raised by our adversaries, partly because they were really delighted, and partly as they wished to court the emperor out of flattery, and therefore wished to make it appear that this question was dictated by wit and uttered with grace, that some of the servants who were following him were indignant at their appearing to treat the emperor with so little respect, since it was not safe for his most intimate friends to do so much as smile at his words. And when we made answer that, "different nations have different laws, and there are some things of which the use of forbidden both to us and to our adversaries;" and when some one said, "there are also many people who do not eat lamb's flesh which is the most tender of all meat," he laughed and said, "they are quite right, for it is not nice." 6Being joked with and trifled with and ridiculed in this manner, we were in great perplexity; and at last he said in a rapid and peremptory manner, "I desire to know what principles of justice you recognise with regard to your constitution." And when we began to reply to him and to explain it, he, as soon as he had a taste of our pleading on the principles of justice, and as soon as he perceived that our arguments were not contemptible, before we could bring forward the more important things which we had to say, cut us short and ran forward and burst into the principal building, and as soon as he had entered he commanded the windows which were around it to be filled up with the transparent pebbles very much resembling white crystal which do not hinder the light, but which keep out the wind and the heat of the sun. 6Then proceeding on deliberately he asked in a more moderate tone, "What are you saying?" And when we began to connect our reply with what we had said before, he again ran on and went into another house, in which he had commanded some ancient and admirable pictures to be placed. 6But when our pleadings on behalf of justice were thus broken up, and cut short, and interrupted, and crushed as one may almost say, we, being wearied and exhausted, and having no strength left in us, but being in continual expectation of nothing else than death, could not longer keep our hearts as they had been, but in our agony we took refuge in supplications to the one true God, praying him to check the wrath of this falsely called god. And he took compassion on us, and turned his mind to pity. And he becoming pacified merely said, "These men do not appear to me to be wicked so much as unfortunate and foolish, in not believing that I have been endowed with the nature of God;" and so he dismissed us, and commanded us to depart.

46 Having then escaped from what was rather a theatre and a prison than a court of justice (for as in a theatre, there was a great noise of people hissing, and groaning, and ridiculing us in an extravagant manner, and as in a prison, there were many blows inflicted on our bodies, and tortures, and things to agitate our whole souls by the blasphemies which those around us uttered against the Deity, and the threats which they breathed forth against ourselves, and which the emperor himself poured forth with such vehemence, being indignant with us not in behalf of any one else, for in that case he would soon have been appeased, but because of himself and his great desire to be declared a god, in which desire he considered that the Jews were the only people who did not acquiesce, and who were unable to subscribe to it), 6we at last recovered our breath, not because we had been afraid of death from a base hankering after life, since we would have cheerfully embraced death as immortality if our laws and customs could have been established by such means, but because we knew that we should be destroyed with great ignominy, without any desirable object being secured by such means, for whatever insults ambassadors are subjected to are at all times referred to those who sent them. 7It was owing to these considerations that we were able to hold up our heads for a while, but there were other circumstances which terrified us, and kept us in great perplexity and distress to hear what the emperor would decide, and what he would pronounce, and what kind of sentence he would ultimately deliver; for he heard the general tenor of our arguments, though he disdained to attend to some of our facts. But would it not be a terrible thing for the interests of all the Jews throughout the whole world to be thrown into confusion by the treatment to which we, its five ambassadors, were exposed? For if he were to give us up to our enemies, what other city could enjoy tranquility? What city would there be in which the citizens would not attack the Jews living in it? What synagogue would be left uninjured? What state would not overturn every principle of justice in respect of those of their countrymen who arrayed themselves in opposition to the national laws and customs of the Jews? They will be overthrown, they will be shipwrecked, they will be sent to the bottom, with all the particular laws of the nation, and those too which are common to all and in accordance with the principles of justice recognised in every city. 7We, then, being overwhelmed with affliction, in our misery perplexed ourselves with such reasonings as these; for even those who up to this time had seemed to cooperate with us were now wearied of taking our part. Therefore, when we called them forth, they being within, did not remain, but came forth privily in fear, knowing well the desire which the emperor had to be looked upon as God. 7We have now related in a concise and summary manner the cause of the hatred of Gaius to the whole nation of the Jews; we must now proceed to make our palinode to Gaius.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON GENESIS, PART 1

(Why does Moses, revolving and considering the creation of the world, say: "This is the book of the generation of heaven and earth, when they were created?" (Genesis 2:4). The expression, "when they were created," indicates as it seems an indeterminate time not accurately described. But this argument will confute those authors who calculate a certain number of years reduced to one, from the time when it is possible that the world may have been created. And again, the expression: "This is the book of the generation," is as it were indicative of the book as it follows, which contains an account of the creation of the world; in which it is intimated that what has been related about the creation of the world is consistent with strict truth.

(What is the object of saying, "And God made every green herb of the field, before it was upon the earth, and every grass before it had sprung up?" (Genesis 2:5). He here by these expressions intimates in enigmatical language the incorporeal species; since the expression, "before it was upon the earth," indicates the arriving at perfection of every herb, and of all seeds and trees. But as to what he says, that "before it had sprung up upon the earth," he had made every green herb, and grass, et caetera, it is plain that the incorporeal species, as being indicative of the others, were created first, in accordance with intellectual nature, which those things which

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are upon the earth perceptible to the outward senses were to imitate.

(What is the meaning of saying: "A fountain went up from the earth, and watered all the face of the earth?" (Genesis 2:6). But here the question is how it could be that the whole earth was watered by one fountain, not only on account of its size, but also because of the inequality of the mountainous and champaign situations? Unless, indeed, just as the whole force of the king's cavalry is called "the horse," so the whole multitude of the veins of the earth which supply drinkable water, may perhaps be called the fountain, inasmuch as they all bubble up like a fountain. And that expression is peculiarly appropriate which says that the fountain watered, not the whole earth, but its face; as in the living being it waters the chief and predominant part (the mind or the countenance). Since that is the most important part of the earth which can be good and fertile and productive, and that is the part which stands in need of the nourishment of fountains.

(What is the man who was created? And how is that man distinguished who was made after the image of God? (Genesis 2:7). This man was created as perceptible to the senses, and in the similitude of a Being appreciable only by the intellect; but he who in respect of his form is intellectual and incorporeal, is the similitude of the archetypal model as to appearance, and he is the form of the principal character; but this is the word of God, the first beginning of all things, the original species or the archetypal idea, the first measure of the universe. Moreover, that man who was to be created as a vessel is formed by a potter, was formed out of dust and clay as far as his body was concerned; but he received his soul by God breathing the breath of life into his face, so that the temperament of his nature was combined of what was corruptible and of what was incorruptible. But the other man, he who is only so in form, is found to be unalloyed without any mixture proceeding from an invisible, simple, and transparent nature.

(Why is it said that God breathed into his face the breath of life? (Genesis 2:7). In the first place because life is the principal part of the body; for the rest was only made as a sort of foundation or pedestal, and then life was put upon it as a statue. Besides, the sense is the fountain of the animal form, and sense resides in the face. Secondly, man is created to be a partaker not only of a soul but also of a rational soul; and the head is the temple of the reason, as some writers have called it.

(Why is God said to have planted a Paradise? And for whom? And what is meant by a paradise? (Genesis 2:8). The word paradise, if taken literally, has no need of any particular explanation; for it means a place thickly crowded with every kind of tree; but symbolically taken, it means wisdom, intelligence both divine and human, and the proper comprehension of the causes of things; since it was proper, after the creation of the world, to establish a contemplative system of life, in order that man, by the sight of the world and of the things which are contained in it, might be able to attain to a correct notion of the praise due to the Father. And since it was not possible for him to behold nature herself, nor properly to praise the Creator of the universe without wisdom, therefore the Creator planted the outlines of it in the rational soul of the principal guide of man, namely the mind, as he planted trees in the paradise. And when we are told that in the middle was the tree of life, that means the knowledge not only of the creature, but also of the greater and supreme cause of the universe; for if any one is able to arrive at a certain comprehension of that, he will be fortunate and truly happy and immortal. Moreover, after the creation of the world human wisdom was created, as also after the creation of the world the Paradise was planted; and so the poets say that the chorus of musicians was established in order to praise the Creator and his works; as Plato says, that the Creator was the first and greatest of causes, and that the world was the most beautiful of all creatures.

(Why in Adin, or Eden, is God said to have planted the Paradise towards the east? (Genesis 2:8). This is said in the first place because the motion of the world proceeds from the rising of the sun to its setting. And it first exists in that quarter from which it is moved; secondly, because that part of the world which is in the region of the east is called the right side; and that which is in the region of the west is called the left side of the world. Moreover the poet bears witness to this, calling the birds from the east dexteras or right, and those on the west sinistras or left;[he is referring here to Homer (as Pope translates it)--"Ye vagrants of the sky! your wings extend, / Or where the suns arise, or where descend; / To right, to left, unheeded take your way, / While I the dictates of high Heaven obey."] when he says, whether they go to the right to the day and to the sun, or whether they go to the left towards the dusky evening. But the name Eden, when rightly understood, is an indication of all kinds of delights, and joys, and pleasures; since all good things and all blessings derive their beginning from the place of the Lord. Thirdly, because wisdom itself is splendour and light.

(Why did God place man whom he had created in the Paradise, but not that man who is after his own image? (Genesis 2:15). Some persons have said, when they fancied that the Paradise was a garden, that because the man who was created was endowed with senses, therefore he naturally and properly proceeded into a sensible place; but the other man, who is made after God's own image, being appreciable only by the intellect, and invisible, had all the incorporeal species for his share; but I should rather say that the paradise was a symbol of wisdom, for that created man is a kind of mixture, as having been compounded of soul and body, having work to do by learning and discipline; desiring according to the law of philosophy that he may become happy; but he who is according to God's own image is in need of nothing, being by himself a hearer, and being taught by himself, and being found to be his own master by reason of his natural endowments.

(Why does Moses say that every tree in the Paradise was beautiful to look upon and good to eat? (Genesis 2:9). He says this because the virtue of trees is of a twofold nature, consisting in bearing leaves and fruit, one of which qualities is referred to the pleasing of the sight, the other to the gratification of the taste; but the word beautiful was not employed inappropriately. Indeed it is very proper that the plants should be always green and flourishing perpetually, as belonging to a divine Paradise, which as such must be everlasting; and it is fit too that they should never degenerate so as to lose their leaves. But of the fruit he says, not that it was beautiful, but that it was good, speaking in a very philosophical spirit; since men take food, not only because of the pleasure which it affords, but also because of its use; and use is the flowing forth and imparting of some good.

What is meant by the tree of life, and why it was placed in the middle of the Paradise? (Genesis 2:9). Some people have believed that, if there were really plants of a corporeal and deadly nature, there are also some which are causes of life and immortality, because, they say, life and death are opposed to one another, and because some plants are ascertained to be unwholesome, therefore of necessity there must be others from which health may be derived. But what these are which are wholesome they know not; for generation, as the opinion of the wise has it, is the beginning of corruption. But perhaps we ought to look on these things as spoken in an allegorical sense; for some say the tree of life belongs to the earth, inasmuch as it is the earth which produces everything which is of use for life, whether it be the life of mankind or of any other animal; since God has appointed the situation in the centre for this plant, and the centre of the universe is the earth. There are others who assert that what is meant by the tree of life is the centre between the seven circles of heaven; but some affirm that it is the sun which is meant, as that is nearly in the centre, between the different planets, and is likewise the cause of the four seasons, and since it is owing to him that every thing which exists is called into existence. Others again understand by the tree of life the direction of the soul, for this it is which renders the sense nervous and solid, so as to produce actions corresponding to its nature, and to the community of the parts of the body. But whatever is in the middle is in a manner the primary cause and beginning of things, like the leader of a chorus. But still, the best and wisest authorities have considered that by the tree of life is indicated the best of all the virtues of man, piety, by which alone the mind attains to immortality.

What is meant by the tree of the knowledge of good and evil? (Genesis 2:9). This indeed exhibits that meaning which is sought for in the letter of the Scriptures more clearly to the sight, as it bears a manifest allegory on the face of it. What is meant then under this figure is prudence, which is the comprehension of science, by which all things are known and distinguished from one another, whether they be good and beautiful, or bad and unseemly, or in short every sort of contrariety is discerned; since some things belong to the better class, and some to the worse. Therefore the wisdom which exists in this world is not in truth God himself, but the work of God; that it is which sees and thoroughly investigates every thing. But the wisdom which exists in man sees in an incorrect and mixed manner with somewhat darkened eyes; for it is found to be incompetent to see and comprehend clearly and without alloy each particular thing separately. Moreover, there is a kind of deception mingled with human wisdom; since very often there are some shadows found which hinder the eyes from contemplating a brilliant light; since what the eye is in the body, such also is the mind and wisdom in the soul.

What the river is which proceeded out of Adin by which the Paradise is watered, and from which the four rivers proceed, the Phison, and the Gihon, and the Tigris, and the Euphrates? (Genesis 2:10). The sources of the Deglath and of the Arazania, that is to say of the Tigris and Euphrates, are said to arise in the mountains of Armenia; but there is no paradise there at this day, nor do both the sources of both these rivers remain there. Perhaps, therefore, we ought to consider that the real situation of the Paradise is in a place at a distance from this part of the world which we inhabit, and that it has a river running beneath the earth. which pours forth many veins of the largest size; so that they, rising up together, pour themselves forth into other veins, which receive them on account of their great size, and then those have been suppressed by the gulfs of the waves; on which account, through the impulse given to them by the violence which is implanted in them, they burst out on the face of the earth in other places, and also among others in the mountains of Armenia. Therefore, those things which have been accounted the sources of the rivers, are rather their flowing course; or again, they may be said to be correctly looked upon as sources, because by all means we must consider the holy scriptures infallible, which point out the fact of four rivers; for the river is the beginning, and not the spring. But perhaps this passage also contains an allegorical meaning; for the four rivers are the signs of four virtues: Phison being the sign of prudence, as deriving its name from parsimony;[from pheidoμ, "parsimony."] and Gihon being the sign of sobriety, as having its employment in the regulation of meat and drink, and as restraining the appetites of the belly, and of those parts which are blow the belly, as being earthly; the Tigris again is the sign of fortitude, for this it is which regulates the raging commotion of anger within us; and the Euphrates is the sign of justice, since there is nothing in which the thoughts of men exult more than in justice.

Why it is that he not only describes the situation of the Euphrates, but also says that the Phison goes round all the land of Evilat, and that the Gihon goes round all the land of Ethiopia, and that the Tigris goes toward Assyria? (Genesis 2:14). The Tigris is a very cruel and mischievous river, as the citizens of Babylon bear witness, and so do the magi, who have found it to be of a character quite different from the nature of other rivers; however they might also have another reason for looking on it with aversion. But the Euphrates is a gentler, and more salubrious, and more nourishing stream. On which account, the wise men of the Hebrews and Assyrians speak of it as one which increases and extends itself; and on this account it is not here characterised by its connexion with other things, as the other three rivers are, but by itself. My own opinion is, that these expressions are all symbolical, for prudence is the virtue of the rational part of man; and it is in this that wickedness is sometimes found. And fortitude is that portion of the human character which is liable to degenerate into anger. And sobriety, again, may be impaired by the desires, but anger and concupiscence are the characteristics of beasts; therefore the sacred historian has here described those three rivers by the places which they flow round. But he has not described the Euphrates in that manner, as being the symbol of justice, for there is no certain and limited portion of it allotted to the soul, but a perfect harmony of the three parts of the soul and of the three virtues is possessed by it.

Why God placed man in the Paradise with a twofold object, namely, that he might both till it and keep it, when the Paradise was in reality in need of no cultivation, because it was perfect in everything, as having been planted by God; nor, again, did it require a keeper, for who was there to ravage it? (Genesis 2:15). These are the two objects which a cultivation of the land must attain to and take care of, the cultivation of the land and the safe keeping of the things which are in it, otherwise it will be spoiled by laziness or else by devastation. But although the Paradise did not stand in need of these exertions, nevertheless it was proper that he who had the regulation and care of it committed to him, namely, the first man, should be as it were a sort of pattern and law to all workmen in future of everything which ought to be done by them. Moreover it was suitable that, though all the Paradise was full of everything, it should still leave the cultivator some grounds for care, and some means of displaying his industry; for instance, by digging around it, and tending it, and softening it, and digging trenches, and irrigating it by water; and it was needful to attend to its safety, although there was no one to lay it waste, because of the wild beasts, also more especially in respect of the air and water; as, for instance, when a drought prevailed, to irrigate it with a plenteous supply of water, and in moister weather to check the superabundance of moisture by directing the course of the streams in other directions.

Why, when God commanded the man to eat of every tree within the Paradise, he speaks in the singular number, and says, "Thou shall eat;" but when he commands that he shall abstain from the tree which would give him the knowledge of good and evil, he speaks in the plural number, and says, "Ye shall not eat of it, for in the day in which ye eat of it ye shall surely die?" (Genesis 2:16). In the first place he uses this language because one good was derived from many; and that also is not unimportant in these principles, since he who has done anything which is of utility is one, and he who attains to anything useful is also one; but when I say one, I am speaking not of that which in point of number comes before duality, but of that one creative virtue by which many beings rightly coalesce, and by their concord imitate singularity, as a flock, a herd, a troop, a chorus, an army, a nation, a tribe, a family, a state; for all these things being many members form one community, being united by affection as by a kiss; when things which are not combined, and which have no principle of union by reason of their duality and multitude, fall into different divisions, for duality is the beginning of discord. But

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two men living as if they were one, by the same philosophy, practice an unalloyed and brilliant virtue, which is free from all taint of wickedness; but where good and evil are mingled together the combination contains the principle of death.

What is the meaning of the expression, "Ye shall surely die?" (Genesis 2:17). The death of the good is the beginning of another life; for life is a twofold thing, one life being in the body, corruptible; the other without the body, incorruptible. Therefore one wicked man surely dies the death, who while still breathing and among the living is in reality long since buried, so as to retain in himself no single spark of real life, which is perfect virtue. But a good man, who deserves so high a title, does not surely die, but has his life prolonged, and so attains to an eternal end.

Why God says, "It is not good for man to be alone; let us make him a help meet for him?" (Genesis 2:18). By these words God intimates that there is to be a communion, not with all men, but with those who are willing to be assisted and in their turn to assist others, even though they may scarcely have any power to do so; since love consists not more in utility than in the harmonious concord of trustworthy and steadfast manners; so that every one who joins in a communion of love may be entitled to utter the expression of Pythagoras, "A friend is another I."

Why, when God had already said, "Let us make a help for man," he creates beasts and cattle? (Genesis 2:19). Perhaps some gluttons and insatiably greedy persons may say that God did this because beasts and flying things were, as it were, necessary food for man, and his meetest helper; for that the eating of meat assists the belly so as to conduce to the health and vigor of the body. But I should think that by reason of the evil implanted in them by nature animals of all kinds, whether terrestrial or flying in the air, were in this age hostile to and contrary to man; but that in the case of the first man, as one adorned with every imaginable virtue, they were, as it were, allies, and a reinforcement in war, and familiar friends, as being tame and domestic by nature, and this was the sole principle of their familiarity with man, for this it was fit that servants should dwell with their lord.

Why the creation of animals and flying creatures is mentioned a second time, when the account of their creation had already been given in the history of the six days? (Genesis 2:19). Perhaps those things which were created in the six days were incorporeal angels, indicated under these symbolical expressions, being the appearances of terrestrial and flying animals, but now they were produced in reality, being the copies of what had been created before, images perceptible by the outward senses of invisible models.

Why did God bring every animal to man, that he might give them their names? (Genesis 2:19). He has here explained a great source of perplexity to the students of philosophy, admonishing them that names proceed from having been given, and not from nature; for a natural nomenclature is with peculiar fitness assigned to each creature when a man of wisdom and pre-eminent knowledge appears; and, in fact, the office of assigning the names to animals is one which particularly belongs to the mind of the wise man alone, and indeed to the first man born out of the earth, since it was fitting that the first of the human race, and the sovereign of all the animals born out of the earth, should have the dignity assigned to him. For inasmuch as he was the first person to see the animals, and as he was the first person who deserved to govern them all as their chief, so also it was fitting that he should be their first namer and the inventor of their names, since it would have been inconsistent and mad to leave them without any names, or to allow them to receive names from any one born at a later period, which would have been an insult to and a derogation from the honour and glory due to the first born. But we may also adopt this idea, that the giving of names to the different animals was so easily arranged that the very moment that Adam gave the name the animal itself also heard it; being influenced by the name thus given to it as by a familiar indication closely connected with it.

Why does Moses say, "He brought the animals to Adam, that he might see what he would call them," when God can never entertain a doubt? (Genesis 2:19). It is in truth inconsistent with the nature of God to doubt; therefore it does not appear that he was in doubt on this occasion, but that since he had given intellect to man as being the first man born out of the earth and endowed with a great desire for virtue, by which he was made thoroughly wise as if he had been endowed with wisdom by nature, so as to consider all things like the proper Ruler and Lord of all, God now caused him to be influenced to display the proper performance of his task, and saw what was really the most excellent point of his mind. Besides this, by this statement he evidently indicates the perfect free-will existing in us, refuting those who affirm that everything exists by a certain necessity. Or else because it belonged to man to employ the animals, therefore he also gave him authority to give them names.

What is the meaning of the expression, "And whatever he called each living thing, that was the name thereof?" (Genesis 2:19). We must consider that Adam gave names not only to all living creatures, but also to plants, and to everything else which is inanimate, beginning with the more excellent class; for the living creature is superior to that which has not life. Therefore the scripture considers the mention of the better part sufficient, indicating by this mention to all who are not utterly devoid of sense, that he in fact gave names to everything, since it was easy to fix names to things without life, which were never likely to change their place, and which had no passions of the soul to exercise, but the giving of proper appellations to living creatures was a more difficult task on account of the motions of their bodies and the various impulses of their souls, in accordance with the imagination and the variety of the outward senses, and the different agitations of the mind from which the effects of their works proceed. Therefore the mind could give names to the more difficult classes of living creatures. And on this account it was a very proper expression to employ, that he gave them names as being easy to name, because they were near.

What is the meaning of the expression: "But for Adam there was not found a helper like to him?" (Genesis 2:20). Every thing was helping and assisting the prince of the human race: the earth, the rivers, the sea, the air, the light, the heaven. Moreover, every species of fruit and plant co-operated with him, and every herd of cattle, and every beast which was not savage. Nevertheless, of all these things which were assisting him, there was nothing like himself, inasmuch as they were none of them human beings. Therefore, God gave a certain indication that he might show that man ought to be an assistant to and co-operator with man, being endowed with perfect similarity to one another in both body and soul.

What is the meaning of the statement, "And God sent a trance upon Adam, and caused him to sleep?" (Genesis 2:21). How it is that man sleeps is a question which has caused an extraordinary amount of perplexity to philosophers. But yet our prophet has distinctly explained this question; for sleep is in itself properly a trance, not of that kind which is more nearly allied to insanity, but of that which is in accordance with the dissolution of the senses and the absence of counsel; for then the senses withdraw from those things which are their proper object, and the intellect withdraws from the senses, not strengthening their nerves, nor giving any motion to those parts which have received the power of action, inasmuch as they are withdrawn from the objects perceptible by the outward senses.

What the rib is which God took from the man whom he had formed out of the earth, and which he made into a woman? (Genesis 2:21+22). The letter of this statement is plain enough; for it is expressed according to a symbol of the part, a half of the whole, each party, the man and the woman, being as sections of nature co-equal for the production of that genus which is called man. But with respect to the mind, man is understood in a symbolical manner, and his one rib is virtue, proceeding from the senses; but woman, who is the sensation of counsel, will be more variable. But some think that the rib means valor and vigor, on which account men call a boxer who as strong loins eminently strong. Therefore, the lawgiver relates that the woman was formed out of the rib of the man, indicating by that expression, that one half of the body of the man is woman. And this is testified to by the formation of the body, by the way in which it is put together, by its motions and vigor, by the force of the soul, and its strength; for all things are regarded as in a twofold light; since, as the formation of the man is more perfect, and, if one may so say, more double than the formation of the woman, so also it required half the time, that is to say forty days; when, for the imperfect, and, if I may so call it, half section of the man, that is to say the woman, there was need of a double allowance, that is to say, of eighty days, so that the doubling of the time required for the nature of the man might be changed, in order to the formation of the peculiar properties of the woman; for that body, and that soul, the nature of which is in a twofold ratio, the body and soul, that is, of the man, require but half of the delineation and formation: but that body of which the nature and construction is in the ratio of one half, namely, that of the woman, her formation and delineation is in a twofold ratio.

Why Moses calls the form of the woman a building? (Genesis 2:22). [the margin of our Bible points out that the Hebrew word translated "made," means strictly "builded."] The union and plentitude of concord formed by the man and woman is symbolically called a house; but every thing is altogether imperfect and destitute of a home, which is deserted by a woman; for to the man the public affairs of the state are committed, but the particular affairs of the house belong to the woman; and a want of the woman will be the destruction of the house; but the actual presence of the woman shows the regulation of the house.

Why, as other animals and as man also was made, the woman was not also made out of the earth, but out of the rib of the man? (Genesis 2:21). This was so ordained in the first place, in order that the woman might not be of equal dignity with the man. In the second place, that she might not be of equal age with him, but younger; since those who marry wives more advanced in years than themselves deserve blame, as having overturned the law of nature. Thirdly, the design of God was, that the husband should take care of his wife, as of a necessary part of himself; but that the woman should requite him in turn with service, as a portion of the universe. In the fourth place, he admonishes man by this enigmatical intimation, that he should take care of his wife as of his daughter; and he admonishes the woman that she should honour her husband as her father. And very rightly, since the woman changes her habitation, passing from her own offspring to her husband. On which account, it is altogether right and proper that he who has received should take upon himself the liability in respect of what has been given; and that she who has been removed should worthily give the same honour to her husband which she has previously given to her parents; for the husband receives his wife from her parents, as a deposit which is entrusted to him; and the woman receives her husband from the law.

Why, when the man saw the woman who had been formed in this manner, he proceeded to say: "She" (for "this," touto) "is now bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called woman, because she has been taken out of man?" (Genesis 2:23). [woman, virgo, or virago, is here looked upon as derived from vir, "man;" he also derives gyneμ from gennaoμ.] He might have been amazed at what he had seen, and have said in a negative manner: How can this exquisite and desirable beauty have been derived from bones and from flesh which are endowed with neither beauty nor elegance, being of a form so far more beautiful, and endowed with such excessive life and grace? The matter is incredible because she is like; and yet it is credible, because God himself has been her creator and painter. Again, he might have said affirmatively: Truly she is a living being, my bone and my flesh, for she exists by having been taken from that bone and flesh of mine. But he makes mention of his bone and flesh in a very natural manner; for the human or corporeal tabernacle is the combination of bones, and flesh, and entrails, and veins, and nerves, and ligaments, and blood-vessels, and breathing tubes, and blood. And she is called woman (in Greek gyneμ) with great correctness, as the power of producing with fertility, either because she becomes pregnant through the reception of the seed, and so brings forth; or, as the prophet says, because she was made out of man, not out of the earth, as he was; nor from seed, as all mankind after them; but of a certain intermediate nature; and like a branch, brought out of one vine to produce another vine.

Why he says, "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and cleave to his wife, and they shall be two in one flesh?" (Genesis 2:24). He here orders man to behave himself towards his wife with such excess of affection in their intercourse, that he is willing to leave his parents, not in order that by that means it may be more suitable, but as they would scarcely be a motive for his fidelity to his wife. And we must remark, that it is very excellent and prudently done, that he has avoided saying that the woman is to leave her parents and cleave to her husband, since the character of the man is bolder than the nature of the woman; but he says that the man ought to do this for the sake of the woman; for he is borne on by a cheerful and willing impulse to the concord of knowledge, to which, becoming wholly devoted, he restrains and regulates his desires, and clings to his wife alone like bird-lime. Especially because he himself, delighting in his master-like authority, is to be respected for his pride: but the woman, being in the rank of a servant, is praised, for assenting to a life of communion. And when it is said that the two are one flesh, that indicates that the flesh is very tangible and fully endowed with outward senses, on which it depends to be afflicted with pain and delighted with pleasure, so that both the man and woman may derive pleasure and pain from the same sources, and may feel the same; aye, and may still more think the same.

Why both of them, the man and the woman, are said to have been naked, and not to have been ashamed? (Genesis 2:25). They were not ashamed, in the first place, because they were in the neighbourhood of the world, and the different parts of the world are all naked, each of them indicating some peculiar qualities, and having peculiar coverings of their own. In the second place, on account of the sincerity and simplicity of their manners and of their natural disposition, which had not taint of pride about it. For ambition had as yet no existence. Thirdly, because the climate and the mildness of the atmosphere was a sufficient covering for them, so as to prevent either cold or heat from hurting them. In the fourth place, because they, by reason of the relationship existing between themselves and the world, could not receive injury from any part of it whatever, as being related to them.

Why does Moses say that the serpent was more cunning than all the beasts of the field? (Genesis 3:1). One may probably affirm with truth that the serpent in reality is more cunning than any beast whatever. But the reason why he appears to me to be spoken of in these terms here is on account of the natural proneness of mankind to vice, of which he is the symbol. And by vice I mean concupiscence, inasmuch as those who are devoted to pleasure are more cunning, and are the inventors of stratagems and means by which to indulge their passions. Being, forsooth, very crafty in devising plans, both such as favour pleasure and also such as procure means of enjoying it.

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But it appears to me that since that animal, so superior in wisdom, was about to seduce man, it is not the whole race that is here meant to be spoken of as so exceedingly wise, but only that single serpent, for the reason above mentioned.

Did the serpent speak with a human voice? (Genesis 3:2). In the first place, it may be the fact that at the beginning of the world even the other animals besides man were not entirely destitute of the power of articulate speech, but only that man excelled them in a greater fluency and perspicuity of speech and language. In the second place, when anything very marvelous requires to be done, God changes the subject natures by which he means to operate. Thirdly, because our soul is entirely filled with many errors, and rendered deaf to all words except in one or two languages to which it is accustomed; but the souls of those who were first created were rendered acute to thoroughly understand every voice of every kind, in order that they might be pure from evil and wholly unpolluted. Since we indeed are not endowed with senses in such perfection, for those which we have received are in some degree depraved, just as the construction of our bodies too is small; but the first created men, as they received bodies of vast size reaching to a gigantic height, must also of necessity have received more accurate senses, and, what is more excellent still, a power of examining into and hearing things in a philosophical manner. For some people think, and perhaps with some reason, that they were endowed with such eyes as enabled them to behold even those natures, and essences, and operations, which exist in heaven, as also ears by which they could comprehend every kind of voice and language.

Why did the serpent accost the woman, and not the man? (Genesis 3:2). The serpent, having formed his estimate of virtue, devised a treacherous stratagem against them, for the sake of bringing mortality on them. But the woman was more accustomed to be deceived than the man. For his counsels as well as his body are of a masculine sort, and competent to disentangle the notions of seduction; but the mind of the woman is more effeminate, so that through her softness she easily yields and is easily caught by the persuasions of falsehood, which imitate the resemblance of truth. Since therefore, in his old age, the Serpent [the ancients believed that the serpent became young again by casting his skin. Ovid says--Anguibus exuitur tenui cum pelle vetustas.] strips himself of his scales from the top of his head to his tail, he, by his nakedness, reproaches man because he has exchanged death for immortality. His nature is renewed by the beast, and made to resemble every time. The woman, when she sees this, is deceived; when she ought rather to have looked upon him as an example, who, while showing his ingenuity towards her, was full of devices, but she was led to desire to acquire a life which should be free from old age, and from all decay.

Why the serpent tells the woman lies, saying, "God has said, Ye shall not eat of every tree in the Paradise," when, on the contrary, what God really had said was, "Ye shall eat of every tree in the Paradise, except one?" (Genesis 3:4). It is the custom for contending arguers to speak falsely in an artful manner, in order to produce ignorance of the real facts, as was done in this case, since the man and woman had been commanded to eat of all the trees but one. But this insidious prompter of wickedness coming in, says that the order which they had received was that they should not eat of them all. He brought forward an ambiguous statement as a slippery stumbling-block to cause the soul to trip. For this expression, "Ye shall not eat of every tree," means in the first place either, not even of one, which is false; or, secondly, not of every one, as if he intended to say, there are some of which you may not eat, which is true. Therefore he asserts such a falsehood more explicitly.

Why, when it was commanded them to avoid eating of one plant alone, the woman made also a further addition to this injunction, saying, "He said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it?" (Genesis 3:3). In the first place she says this, because taste and every other sense after its kind consists in the touch appropriate to it. In the second place she says it that it may seem to condemn them themselves, who did what they had been forbidden. For if even the mere act of touching it was prohibited, how could they who, besides touching the tree, presumed to eat of the fruit, and so added a greater transgression to the lesser one, be anything but condemners and punishers of themselves?

What is the meaning of the expression, "Ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil?" (Genesis 3:5). Whence was it that the serpent found the plural word "gods," when there is only one true God, and when this is the first time that he names him? But perhaps this arises from there having been in him a certain prescient wisdom, by which he now declared the notion of the multitude of gods which was at a future time to prevail amongst men; and, perhaps, history now relates this correctly at its first being advanced not by any rational being, nor by any creature of the higher class, but as having derived its origin from the most virulent and vile of beasts and serpents, since other similar creatures lie hid under the earth, and their lurking places are in the holes and fissures of the earth. Moreover, it is the inseparable sign of a being endowed with reason to look upon God as essentially one being, but it is the mark of a beast to imagine that there are many gods, and these too devoid of reason, and who can scarcely be said with propriety to have any existence at all. Moreover, the devil proceeds with great art, speaking by the mouth of the serpent. For not only is there in the Divinity the knowledge of good and evil, but there is also an approval of what is good and a repudiation of what is evil; but he does not speak of either of these feelings because they were useful, but only suggested the mere knowledge of the two contrary things, namely, of good and evil. In the second place, the expression, "as gods," in the plural number, is in this place not used inconsiderately, but in order to give the idea of there being both a bad and a good God. And these are of a twofold quality. Therefore it is suitable to the notion of particular gods to have a knowledge of contrary things; but the Supreme Cause is above all others.

Why the woman first touched the tree and ate of its fruit, and the man afterwards, receiving it from her? (Genesis 3:6). The words used first of all, by their own intrinsic force, assert that it was suitable that immortality and every good thing should be represented as under the power of the man, and death and every evil under that of the woman. But with reference to the mind, the woman, when understood symbolically, is sense, and the man is intellect. Moreover, the outward senses do of necessity touch those things which are perceptible by them; but it is through the medium of the outward senses that things are transmitted to the mind. For the outward senses are influenced by the objects which are presented to them; and the intellect by the outward senses.

What is the meaning of the expression, "And she gave it to her husband to eat with her?" (Genesis 3:6). What has been just said bears on this point also, since the time is nearly one and the same in which the outward senses are influenced by the object which is presented to them, and the intellect has an impression made on it by the outward senses.

What is the meaning of the expression, "And the eyes of both of them were opened?" (Genesis 3:7). That they were not created blind is manifest even from this fact that as all other things, both animals and plants, were created in perfection, so also man must have been adorned with the things which are his most excellent parts, namely, eyes. And we may especially prove this, because a little while before the earth-born Adam was giving names to all the animals on the earth. Therefore it is perfectly plain that he saw them before doing so. Unless, indeed, Moses used the expression "eyes" in a figurative sense for the vision of the soul, by which alone the perception of good and evil, of what is elegant or unsightly, and, in fact, of all contrary natures, arise. But, if the eye is to be taken separately as counsel, which is called the warning of the understanding, then again there is a separate eye, which is a certain something devoid of sound reason, which is called opinion.

What is the meaning of the expression, "Because they knew that they were naked?" (Genesis 3:7). They first arrived at the knowledge of this fact, that is to say, of their nakedness, after they had eaten of the forbidden fruit. Therefore, opinion was like the beginning of wickedness, when they perceived that they had not as yet used any covering, inasmuch as all parts of the universe are immortal and incorruptible; but they themselves immediately found themselves in need of some corruptible coverings made with hands. But this knowledge was in the nakedness itself, not as having been in itself the cause of any change, but because their mind now conceived a novelty unlike the rest of the universal world.

Why they sewed fig-leaves into girdles? (Genesis 3:8). They did this in the first place, because the fruit of the fig is very pleasant and agreeable to the taste. Therefore the sacred historian here, by a symbolical expression, indicates those who sew together and join pleasures to pleasures by every means and contrivance imaginable. Therefore they bind them around the place where the parts of generation are seated, as that is the instrument of important transactions. And they do this, secondly, because although the fruit of the fig-tree is, as I have already said, sweeter than any other, yet its leaves are harder. And, therefore, Moses here wishes by this symbol to intimate that the motions of pleasure are slippery and smooth in appearance, but that they, nevertheless, are in reality hard, so that it is impossible that he who feels them should be delighted, unless he was previously sorrowful, and he will again become sorrowful. For to be always sorrowing is a melancholy thing between a double grief, the one being at its beginning, and the other coming before the first is ended.

What is meant by the statement that the sound was heard of God walking in the Paradise? was it the sound of his voice, or of his feet? and can God be said to talk? (Genesis 3:8). Those gods who are in heaven, perceptible to our outward senses, walk in a ring, proceeding onwards by a circuitous track; but the Supreme Cause is steadfast and immoveable, as the ancients have decided. But the true God gives some indication also, as if he wished to give a sense of motion. For in truth even without his uttering any words, the prophets hear him, by a certain virtue of some diviner voice sounding in their ears, or perhaps being even articulately uttered. As therefore God is heard without uttering any sound, so also he gives an idea of walking when he is not walking, nay, though he is altogether immoveable. But do you not see that before they had tasted of wickedness, as they were stable and constant, and immoveable and tranquil, and uniform, so also in an equal manner must they have looked upon the Deity as immoveable, as in fact he is. But they once had become endued with cunning, they, by judging from themselves, began to strip him of his attributes of immobility and unchangeableness, and conjectured that he too was subject to variation and change.

Why while they are hiding themselves from the face of God, the woman is not mentioned first, since she was the first to eat of the forbidden fruit: but why the man is spoken of in the first place; for the sacred historian's words are, "And Adam and his wife hid themselves?" (Genesis 3:9). The woman, being imperfect and depraved by nature, made the beginning of sinning and prevaricating; but the man, as being the more excellent and perfect creature, was the first to set the example of blushing and of being ashamed, and indeed, of every good feeling and action.

Why they did not hide themselves in some other place, but in the middle of the trees of the Paradise? (Genesis 3:9). Every thing is not done by sinners with wisdom and sagacity, but it often happens that while thieves are watching for an opportunity of plunder, having no thoughts of the Deity who presides over the world, the booty which is close to them and lying at their feet is by some admirable management wrested from them without delay: and something of this kind took place on the present occasion. For when they ought rather to have fled to a distance from the garden in which their offence had taken place, they still were arrested in the middle of the Paradise itself, in order that they might be convicted of their sin too clearly to find any refuge even in flight itself. And this statement indicates in a figurative manner that every wicked man takes refuge in wickedness, and that every man who is wholly devoted to his passions flies to those passions as to an asylum.

Why God asks Adam, "Where art thou?" when he knows everything: and why he does not also put the same question to the woman? (Genesis 3:10). The expression, "Where art thou?" does not here seem to be a mere interrogatory, but rather a threat and a conviction: "Where art thou now, O man? from how many good things art thou changed? having forsaken immortality and a life of the most perfect happiness, you have become changed to death and misery in which you are buried." But God did not condescend to put any question to the woman at all, looking upon her as the cause of the evil which had occurred, and as the guide to her husband to a life of shame. But there is an allegorical meaning in this passage, because the principal part is the man, his guide, the mind, having in itself the masculine principle, when it gives ear to any one introduces also the defect of the female part, namely that of the outward sense.

Why the man says, "The woman gave me of the tree, and I did eat;" but the woman does not say, "The serpent gave to me," but, "The serpent beguiled me and I did eat?" (Genesis 3:12+ 13). The literal expression here affords grounds for that probable opinion that woman is accustomed rather to be deceived than to devise anything of importance out of her own head; but with the man the case is just the contrary. But as regards the intellect, everything which is the object of the outward senses beguiles and seduces each particular sense of every imperfect being to which it is adapted. And the sense then, being vitiated by the object, infects the dominant and principal part, the mind, with its own taint. Therefore the mind receives the impression from the outward sense, giving it that which it has received itself. For the outward sense is deceived and beguiled by the sensible object submitted to it, but the senses of the wise man are infallible, as are also the cogitations of his mind.

Why God curses the serpent first, then the woman, and the man last of all? (Genesis 3:14). The reason is that the order of the verses followed the order in which the offences were committed. The first offence was the deceit practiced by the serpent; the second was the sin of the woman which was owing to him when she abandoned herself to his seduction; the third thing was the guilt of the man in yielding rather to the inclination of the woman than to the commandment of God. But this order is very admirable, containing within itself a perfect allegory; inasmuch as the serpent is the emblem of desire, as is proved, and the woman of the outward sense; but the man is the symbol of intellect. Therefore the infamous author of the sin is desire; and that first deceives the outward sense, and then the outward sense captivates the mind.

Why the curse is pronounced on the serpent in this manner, that he shall go on his breast and on his belly, and eat dust, and be at enmity with the woman? (Genesis 3:16). The words in themselves are plain enough, and we have evidence of them in what we have seen. But the real meaning contains an allegory concealed beneath it; since the serpent is the emblem of desire, representing under a figure a man devoted to pleasure. For he creeps upon his breast and upon his belly, being filled with meat and drink like cormorants, being

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inflamed by an insatiable cupidity, and being incontinent in their voracity and devouring of flesh, so that whatever relates to food is in every article something earthly, on which account he is said to eat the dust. But desire has naturally a quarrel with the outward sense, which Moses here symbolically calls the woman; but where the passions appear to be as it were guardians and champions in behalf of the senses, nevertheless they are beyond all question still more clearly flatterers forming devices against them like so many enemies; and it is the custom of those who are contending with one another to perpetrate greater evils by means of those things which they concede. Forsooth they turn the eyes to the ruin of the sight, the ears to hearing what is unwelcome; and the rest of the outward senses to insensibility. Moreover they cause dissolution and paralysis to the entire body, taking away from it all soundness, and foolishly building up instead a great number of most mischievous diseases.

Why the curse pronounced against the woman is the multiplication of her sadness and groans, that she shall bring forth children in sorrow, and that her desire shall be to her husband, and that she shall be ruled over by him? (Genesis 3:16). Every woman who is the companion for life of a husband suffers all those things, not indeed as a curse but as necessary evils. But speaking figuratively, the human sense is wholly subjected to severe labour and pain, being stricken and wounded by domestic agitations. Now the following are the children in the service of the outward senses: the sight is the servant of the eyes, hearing of the ears, smelling of the nostrils, taste of the mouth, feeling of the touch. Since the life of the worthless and wicked man is full of pain and want, it arises of necessity from these facts that every thing which is done in accordance with the outward sense must be mingled with pain and fear. In respect of the mind a conversion of the outward sense takes place towards the man not as to a companion, for it, like the woman, is subject to authority as being depraved, but as to a master, because it has chosen violence rather than justice.

Why God, as he had pronounced a curse on the serpent and on the woman which bore a relation to themselves and to one another, he did not pronounce a similar one upon the man, but connected the earth with him, saying, "Cursed is the earth for thy sake; in sorrow shall thou eat of it, thorns and thistles shall it bring forth unto thee, and thou shall eat the grass of the field: in the sweat of thy brow shall thou eat they bread?" (Genesis 3:17). Since all intellect is a divine inspiration, God did not judge it right to curse him in the manner deserved by his offence; but converted his curse so as to fall upon the earth and his cultivation of it. But man, as a body of co-equal nature and similar character to that of the earth and understanding, is its cultivator. When the cultivator is endowed with virtue and diligence, then the body produces its proper fruit, namely sanity, an excellent state of the outward senses, strength, and beauty. But if the cultivator be a savage, then every thing is different. For the body becomes liable to a curse, since it has for its husbandman an intellect unchastised and unsound. And its fruit is nothing useful, but only thorns and thistles, sorrow and fear, and other vices which every thought strikes down, and as it were pierces the intellect with its darts. But grass here is symbolically used for food; since man has changed himself from a rational animal into a brute beast, having neglected all divine food, which is given by philosophy, by means of distinct words and laws to regulate the will.

What is the meaning of the expression, "Until thou returnest to the earth from which thou wast taken;" for man was not created out of the earth alone, but also of the divine Spirit? (Genesis 3:18). In the first place it is clear, that the first man who was formed out of the earth was made up both of earth and heaven; but because he did not continue uncorrupt, but despised the commandment of God, fleeing from the most excellent part, namely, from heaven, he gave himself up wholly as a slave to the earth, the denser and heavier element. In the second place, if any one burns with a desire of virtue, which makes the soul immortal, he, beyond all question, attains to a heavenly inheritance; but because he was covetous of pleasure, by which spiritual death is engendered, he again gives himself over a second time to the earth, on which account it is said to him, "Dust thou art, and unto dust shall thou return;" therefore the earth, as it is the beginning of a wicked and depraved man, so also it is his end; but heaven is the beginning and end of him who is endowed with virtue.

Why Adam called his wife Life, and affirmed to her, "Thou art the mother of all living?" (Genesis 3:20). In the first place, Adam gave to the first created woman that familiar name of Life, inasmuch as she was destined to be the fountain of all the generations which should ever arise upon the earth after their time. In the second place, he called her by this name because she did not derive the existence of her substance out of the earth, but out of a living creature, namely, out of one part of the man, that is to say, out of his rib, which was formed into a woman, and on that account she was called "life," because she was first made out of a living creature, and because the first beings who were endowed with reason were to be generated from her. Nevertheless, it is possible that this may have been a metaphorical expression; for is not the outward sense, which is a figurative emblem of the woman, called with peculiar propriety "life?" because it is by the possession of these senses that the living being is above all other means distinguished from that which is not alive, as it is by that that the imaginations and impulses of the soul are set in motion, for the senses are the causes of each; and, in real truth the outward sense is the mother of all living creatures, for as there could be no generation without a mother, so also there could be no living creature without sense.

Why God made garments of skins for Adam and his wife, and clothed them? (Genesis 3:21). Perhaps some one may laugh at the expressions here used, considering the small value of the garments thus made, as if they were not at all worthy of the labour of a Creator of such dignity and greatness; but a man who has a proper appreciation of wisdom and virtue will rightly and deservedly look upon this work as one very suitable for a God, that, namely, of teaching wisdom to those who were before labouring to no purpose; and who, having but little anxiety about procuring useful things, being seized with an insane desire for miserable honours, have given themselves up as slaves to convenience, looking upon the study of wisdom and virtue with detestation, and being in love with splendour of life and skill in mean and handicraft arts, which is in no way connected with a virtuous man. And these unhappy men do not know that a frugality, which is in need of nothing, becomes, as it were, a relation and neighbour to man, but that luxurious splendour is banished to a distance as an enemy; therefore the garment made of skins, if one should come to a correct judgement, deserves to be looked upon as a more noble possession than a purple robe embroidered with various colours. Therefore this is the literal meaning of the text; but if we look to the real meaning, then the garment of skins is a figurative expression for the natural skin, that is to say, our body; for God, when first of all he made the intellect, called it Adam; after that he created the outward sense, to which he gave the name of Life. In the third place, he of necessity also made a body, calling that by a figurative expression, a garment of skins; for it was fitting that the intellect and the outward sense should be clothed in a body as in a garment of skins; that the creature itself might first of all appear worthy of divine virtue; since by what power can the formation of the human body be put together more excellently, and in a more becoming manner, than by God? on which account he did put it together, and at the same time he clothed it; when some prepare articles of human clothing and others put them on; but this natural clothing, contemporary with the man himself, namely, the body, belonged to the same Being both to make and to clothe the man in after it was made.

Who those beings are to whom God says, "Behold, Adam has become as one of us, to know good and evil?" (Genesis 3:22). The expression, "one of us," indicates a plurality of beings; unless indeed we are to suppose, that God is conversing with his own virtues, which he employed as instruments, as it were, to create the universe and all that is in it; but that expression "as," resembles an enigma, and a similitude, and a comparison, but is not declaratory of any dissimilarity; for that which is intelligible and sensibly good, and likewise that which is of a contrary character, is known to God in a different manner from that in which it is known to man; since, in the same way in which the natures of those who inquire and those who comprehend, and the things themselves too which are inquired into, and perceived, and comprehended, are distinguished, virtue itself is also capable of comprehending them. But all these things are similitudes, and forms, and images, among men; but among the gods they are prototypes, models, indications, and more manifest examples of things which are somewhat obscure; but the unborn and uncreated Father joins himself to no one, except with the intention of extending the honour of his virtues.

What is the meaning of the words, "Lest perchance he put forth his hand and take of the tree of life, and eat and live for ever;" for there is no uncertainty and no envy in God? (Genesis 3:23). It is quite true that God never feels either uncertainty or envy; nevertheless he often employs ambiguous things and expressions, assenting to them as a man might do; for, as I have said before, the supreme providence is of a twofold nature, sometimes being God, and not acting in any respect as a man; but, on some occasions, as a man instructs his son, so likewise should the Lord God give warning to you. Therefore the first of these circumstances belongs to his sovereign power, and the second to his disciplinary, and to the first introduction to instruction, so as to insinuate into man's heart a voluntary inclination, since that expression, "lest perchance," is not to be taken as a proof of any hesitation on the part of God, but in relation to man, who, by his nature, is prone to hesitation, and is a denunciation of the inclinations which exist in him. For when any appearance of anything whatever occurs to any man, immediately there arises within him an impulse towards that which appears, being caused by that very thing which appears. And from this arises the second hesitating kind of uncertainty, distracting the mind in various directions, as to whether the thing is fit to be accepted, or acquired, or not. And very likely present circumstances have a respect to that second feeling; for, in truth, the Divinity is incapable of any cunning, or malevolence, or wickedness: it is absolutely impossible that God should either envy the immortality or any other good fortune belonging to any being. And we can bring the most undeniable proof of this; for it was not in consequence of any one's entreaties that he created the world; but, being a merciful benefactor, rendering an essence previously untamed and unregulated, and liable to suffering, gentle and pleasant, he did so by a vast harmony of blessings, and a regulated arrangement of them, like a chorus; and he being himself the only sure being, planted the tree of life by his own luminous character. Moreover, he was not influenced by the mediation or exhortation of any other being in communicating incorruptibility to man. But while man existed as the purest intellect, displaying no appearance either of work or of any evil discourse, he was certain to have a fitting guide, to lead him in the paths of piety, which is undoubted and genuine immortality. But from the time when he began to be converted to depravity, wishing for the things which belong to mortal life, he wandered from immortality; for it is not fitting that craft and wickedness should be rendered immortal, and moreover it would be useless to the subject; since the longer the life is which is granted to the wicked and depraved man, the more miserable is he than others, so that his immortality becomes a grave misfortune to him.

Why now he calls the Paradise "pleasure," when he is sending man forth out of it to till the ground from which he was taken. (Genesis 3:23). The distinction of agriculture is conspicuous, when man in the state of paradise, practising the cultivation of wisdom as if he were employed in the cultivation of trees, and enjoying the food of imperishable and most useful fruits, was himself endowed with immortality likewise. After that, being expelled from the place of wisdom, he experienced the opposite effects of ignorance, by which the body is polluted, and at the same time the intellect is blinded, and, being exposed to a want of proper food, he wastes away, and yields to a miserable death. On which account, now, in contempt of the foolish man, God calls the Paradise "pleasure," in order to put it in opposition to a life of pain, and misery, and savageness. In truth, the life which is passed in wisdom is a pleasure, full of liberal joy, and is the constant enjoyment of a rational soul; but that life which is destitute of wisdom is found to be both savage and miserable, although it is excessively deceived by the appetites, which pain both precedes and follows.

Why God places a cherubim in front of the Paradise, and a flaming sword, which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life? (Genesis 3:24). The name cherubim designates the two original virtues which belong to the Deity, namely, his creative and his royal virtues. The one of which has the title of God, the other, or the royal virtue, that of Lord. Now the form of the creative power is a peaceable, and gentle, and beneficent virtue; but the royal power is a legislative, and chastising, and correcting virtue. Moreover, by the flaming sword he here symbolically intimates the heaven: for the air is of a flaming colour, and turns itself round, revolving about the universe. Therefore, all these things assumed to themselves the guardianship of the Paradise, because they are the presidents over wisdom, like a mirror; since, to illustrate my meaning by an example, the wisdom of the world is a sort of mirror of the divine virtues, in the similitude of which it was perfected, and by which the universe and all the things in it are regulated and arranged. But the way to wisdom is called philosophy (a word which means the love or the pursuit of wisdom). And since the creative virtue is endued with philosophy, being both philosophical and royal, so also the world itself is philosophical. Some persons however have fancied that it is the sun which is indicated by the flaming sword; because, by its constant revolutions and turnings every way, it marks out the seasons of the year, as being the guardian of human life and of every thing which serves to the life of all men.

Whether it was properly said with respect to Cain: "I have gotten a man from the Lord?" (Genesis 4:1). Here there is a distinction made, as to-from some one, and out of some one, and by some thing. Out of some one, as out of materials; from some one, as from a cause; and by some thing, as by an instrument. But the Father and Creator of all the world is not an instrument, but a cause. Therefore he wanders from right wisdom who says, "That what has been made has been made, not from God, but by God."

Why the sacred historian first describes the employment of the younger brother, Abel, saying: "He was a keeper of sheep; but Cain was a cultivator of the earth?" (Genesis 4:2). Since, although the virtuous son was in point of time younger than the wicked son, yet in point of virtue he was older. On which account, on the present occasion, when their actions are to be compared together, he is placed first. Therefore one of them exercises a business, and takes care of living creatures, although they are devoid of reason, gladly taking upon himself the employment of a shepherd, which is a princely office, and as it were a sort of rehearsal of royal power; but

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the other devotes his attention to earthly and inanimate objects.

Why Cain after some days offers up the first-fruits of his fruits, but when it is said that "Abel offered up first-fruits of the first-born of his flock and of the fat," "after some days" is not added? (Genesis 4:3+4). Moses here intimates the difference between a lover of himself, and one who is thoroughly devoted to God; for the one took to himself the first-fruits of his fruits, and very impiously looked upon God as worthy only of the secondary and inferior offerings; for the expression, "after some days," implies that he did not do so immediately; and when it is said that he offered of the fruits, that intimates that he did not offer of the best fruits which he had, and herein displays his iniquity. But the other, without any delay, offered up the first-born and eldest of all his flocks, in order that in this the Father might not be treated unworthily.

Why, when he had begun with Cain, he still mentions him here in the second place, when he says: "And God had respect unto Abel and unto his offerings; but unto Cain and unto his sacrifices he paid no attention?" (Genesis 4:5). In the first place, because the good man, who is by nature first, is not at first perceived by the outward senses of any man except in his own turn, and by people of virtuous conduct. Secondly, because the good and the wicked man are two distinct characters; he accepts the good man, seeing that he is a lover of what is good, and an eager student of virtue; but he rejects and regards with aversion the wicked man, presuming that he will be prone to that side by the order of nature. Therefore he says here with exceeding fitness, that God had regard, not to the offerings, but to those who offered them, rather than to the gifts themselves; for men have regard to and regulate their approbation by the abundance and richness of offerings, but God looks at the sincerity of the soul, having no regard to ambition or illusion of any kind.

What is the meaning of the distinction here made between a gift and a sacrifice? (Genesis 4:4). The man who slays a sacrifice, after having made a division, pours the blood around the altar and takes the flesh home; but he who offers it as a gift, offers as it should seem the whole to him who accepts it. Therefore, the man who is a lover of self is a distributor, like Cain; but he who is a lover of God is the giver of a free gift, as was Abel.

How it was that Cain became aware that his offering had not pleased God? (Genesis 4:5). Perhaps he resolved his doubts, an additional cause being added, for sorrow seized upon him and his countenance fell. Therefore, he took the sorrow which he felt as an indication that he had been sacrificing what was not pleasing or approved of, when joy and happiness would have been suited to one who was sacrificing with purity of heart and spirit.

Why is it that the expression used is not, because you do not offer rightly; but, because (or unless) you do not divide rightly? (Genesis 4:7). In the first place, we must understand that right division and improper division are nothing else but order and the want of it. And it is by order that the universal world and its parts were made; since the Creator of the world, when he began to arrange and regulate the previously untamed and unarranged power which was liable to suffering, employed section and division. For he placed the heavy elements which were prone to descend downwards by their own nature, namely, the earth and the water, in the centre of the universe; but he placed the air and the fire at a greater altitude, as they were raised on high by reason of their lightness. But separating and dividing the pure nature, namely heaven, he carried it round and diffused it over the universe, so that it should be completely invisible to all men; containing within itself the whole universe in all its parts. Again, the statement that animals and plants are produced out of seeds, some moist and some dry, what else does it mean but the inevitable dissection and separation of distinction? Therefore it follows inevitably, that this order and arrangement of the universe must be imitated in all things, especially in feeling and acknowledging gratitude; by which we are invited to requite in some degree and manner the kindnesses of those who have showered greater benefits liberally on us. Moreover, to pay one's thanks to God is an action which is intrinsically right in itself: and it is not to be disapproved of that he should receive the offerings due to him at the earliest moment, and fresh gifts from the first-fruits of every thing, not being dishonoured by any negligence on our part. Since it is not fitting that man should reserve for himself the first and most excellent things which are created, and should offer what is only second best to the all-wise God and Creator; for that division would be faulty and blameworthy, showing a most preposterous and unnatural arrangement.

What is the meaning of the expression: "You have done wrongly; now rest?" (Genesis 4:8). He is here giving very useful advice; since, to do no wrong at all is the greatest of all good things: but he who sins, and who thus blushes and is overwhelmed with shame, is near akin to him, being, if I may use such a phrase, as the younger brother to the elder; for those persons who pride themselves on their errors as if they had not done wrong, are afflicted with a disease which is difficult to cure, or rather which is altogether incurable.

Why he seems to be giving what is good into the hand of a wicked man, when he says, "And unto thee shall be his desire?" (Genesis 4:8). He does not deliver good into his hand; but the expression is heard with different feelings; since he is speaking, not of a pious man, but after the action is accomplished, saying of him: The desire and respect of the impiety of this man's wickedness will be towards you. Do not therefore talk about necessity, but about your own habits, in order that thus he may represent the voluntary action. And again, the sentence, "And you shall be his ruler over him," has a reference to the operation. In the first place, you begin to act with wickedness; and now behold, another iniquity follows that great and injurious iniquity. Therefore, he both thinks and affirms that this is the principal part of all voluntary injury.

Why he slew his brother in the field? (Genesis 4:9). That as all in fecundity and sterility arises from a neglect of sowing and planting land a second time, he may be kept continually in mind of his wicked murder, and self-blamed for it; since the ground was not to be the same for the future, after it was compelled, contrary to its nature, to drink of human blood, to bring forth food to that man who imbued it with the polluted stain of blood.

Why he who knows all things asks the fratricide: "Where is thy brother Abel?" (Genesis 4:10). He puts this question to him because he wishes the man to confess voluntarily and spontaneously, of his own accord, so that he may not imagine that every thing is done out of necessity; for he who had slain another through necessity, would have confessed unwillingly, as having done the deed unwillingly; since that which does not depend upon ourselves does not deserve accusation; but the man who has done wrong intentionally denies it; for those who do wrong are liable to repentance. Therefore, he has interwoven this principle in all parts of his legislation, because the Deity himself is never the cause of evil.

Why he who had slain his brother makes answer as if he were replying to a man; and says, "I do not know: am I my brother's keeper?" (Genesis 4:9). It is the opinion of an atheist to think that the eye of God does not penetrate through every thing, and behold all things at the same time; piercing not only through what is visible, but also through every thing which lurks in the deepest and bottomless unfathomable abysses. Suppose a person said to him, "How can you be ignorant where your brother is, and how is it that you do not know that, when as yet he is one out of the only four human beings which exist in the world? He being one with both his parents, and you his only brother." To this question the reply made is: "I am not my brother's keeper." O what a beautiful apology! And whose keeper and protector ought you to have been, rather than your brother's? But if you have excited your diligence to give effect to violence, and injury, and fraud, and homicide, which are the foulest and most abominable of actions, why did you consider the safety of your brother a secondary object?"

What is the meaning of the expression, "The voice of thy brother's blood cries to me out of the earth?" (Genesis 4:10). This is especially an example by which to take warning; for the Deity listens to those who are worthy, although they be dead, knowing that they are alive as to an incorporeal life. But he averts his countenance from the prayers of the wicked, although they are living a flourishing life, inasmuch as he looks upon them as dead to any real life, carrying about their bodies like a sepulchre; and having buried their miserable souls in it.

Why he is said to be cursed upon the earth? (Genesis 4:11). The earth is the last portion of the world, therefore if that utters curses, we must consider that the other elements do likewise pour forth adequate maledictions; for instance, the fountains, and rivers, and sea, and the air, and the land, and the fire, and the light, and the sun, and moon, and stars, and in short the whole heaven. For if inanimate and earthly nature, throwing off the yoke, wars against injury, why may not still rather those natures do so which are of a purer character? But as for him, against whom the parts of the world carry on war, what hope of safety he can have for the future, I know not.

What is the meaning of the curse, "You shall be groaning and trembling upon the earth?" (Genesis 4:13). [our translation is, "My punishment is greater than I can bear."] This also is a general principle; for in all evils there are some things which are perceived immediately, and some which are felt at a later period; for those which are future cause fear, and those which are felt at once bring sorrow.

What is the meaning of Cain saying, "My punishment is too great for you to dismiss me? (Genesis 4:12). In truth there is not misery greater than to be deserted and despised by God; for the anarchy of fools is cruel and very intolerable; but to be despised by the great King, and to fall down as an abject person cast down from the government of the Supreme Power is an indescribable affliction.

What is the meaning of Cain, when he says, "Everyone who shall find me will kill me:" when there was scarcely another human being in the world except his parents? (Genesis 4:14). In the first place he might have received injury from the parts of the world which indeed were made for the advantage of the good and that they might partake of them, but which nevertheless, derived from the wicked no slight degree of revenge. In the second place it may be that he said this, because he was apprehensive of injury from beasts, and reptiles; for nature has brought forth these animals with the express object of their being instruments of vengeance on the wicked. In the third place, some people may imagine that he is speaking with reference to his parents, on whom he had inflicted an unprecedented sorrow, and the first evil which had happened to them, before they knew what death was.

Why whoever should slay Cain should be liable to bear a sevenfold punishment? (Genesis 4:15). As our soul consists of eight portions, being accustomed to be divided in its rational and irrational individuality into seven subordinate parts, namely into the five outward senses, and the instrument of vice, and the faculty of generation; those seven parts exist among the causes of wickedness and evil, on which account they likewise fall under judgement; but the death of the principal and dominant portion of man, namely of the mind, is principally the wickedness which exists in it. Whoever therefore slays the mind, mingling in it folly, and insensibility, instead of sense, will cause dissolution also of the seven irrational parts; since, just as the principal and leading part had a portion from virtue, in the same manner likewise are its subject divisions composed.

Why a sign is put on him who had slain his brother, that no one should kill him who found him; when it would have been natural to do the contrary, namely, to give him over to the hands of an executioner to be put to death? (Genesis 4:16). This is said because, in the first place, the change of the nature of living is one kind of death; but continual sorrow and unmixed fear are destitute of joy and devoid of all good hope, and so they bring on many terrible and various evils which are so many sensible deaths. In the second place, the sacred historian designs at the very beginning of his work to enunciate the law about the incorruptibility of the soul, and to confute as deceitful those who look upon the life which is contained in this body as the only happy life; for behold one of the two brothers is guilty of those enormous crimes which have already been mentioned, namely, impiety and fratricide; and he is still alive, and begetting offspring, and building cities. But the other who was praised in respect of his piety is treacherously put to death; while the voice of the Lord not only clearly cries out that that existence which is perceptible by the outward senses is not good, and that such a death is not evil, but also that that life which is in the flesh is not life, but that there is another give to man free from old age, and more immortal, which the incorporeal souls have received; for that expression of the poet about Scylla,

"That is not mortal but an endless Woe," [the line occurs in Homer, Odyss. 12.118.]

is asserted in the same familiarity about a person who lives ill and passes a long life for many years in the practice of wickedness. In the third place, since Cain had perpetrated this fratricide of enormous guilt above all other crimes, he presents himself to him, quite forgetful of the injury that he has done, imposing on all judges a most peaceful law for the first crime; not that they are not to destroy malefactors, but that resting for a while with great patience and long suffering, they shall study compassion rather than severity. But God himself, with the most perfect wisdom, has laid down the rule of familiarity and intelligence with reference to the first sinner: not slaying the homicide, but destroying him in another manner; since he scarcely permitted him to be enumerated among the generations of his father, but shows him proscribed not only by his parents but by the whole race of mankind, allotting him a state separate from that of others, and secluded from the class of rational animals, as one who had been expelled, and banished, and turned into the nature of beasts.

Why Lamech, after the fifth generation, blames himself for the fratricide of his elder Cain; saying, as the scripture reports, to his wives, Adah and Zillah; "I have slain a man to my injury and a young man to my hurt; since if vengeance is taken upon Cain sevenfold, it shall certainly be taken on Lamech seventy and sevenfold?" (Genesis 4:23). In numerals one is before ten, both in order and in virtue, for it is the first beginning and element and measure of all things. But the number ten is subsequent, and is measured by the other, being inferior to it, both in order and virtue; therefore, also, the number seven is antecedent in its origin to and more ancient than the number seventy, but the number seventy is younger than the number seven, and contains the calculation of generations. These premises being laid down, he who first committed sin, as if he had been really always ignorant of evil, like the first odd number, namely, the unit, is chastised more simply; but the second offender, because he had the first for an example, so that there cannot possibly be any excuse made for him, is guilty of a voluntary crime, and because he did not receive honourable wisdom from that more simple punishment, the consequence will be that he will both suffer all that first

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punishment, and will, moreover, receive this second one, which is contained in the number ten. For as in the horse-races they pay the groom who has trained the horse twice as great a reward as they give to the driver, so some wicked men, inclined to acts of injustice, gain the miserable triumph of victory and then are punished with a double punishment, both by the first one which is contained in the unit, and also by the second which is contained in the number ten; besides, Cain being the author of a homicide, when he was ignorant of the greatness of the pollution which he was incurring, because no death had hitherto taken place in the world, suffered a more simple punishment, namely, only a sevenfold penalty in the order of the unit; but as his imitator could not take refuge in the same plea of ignorance, he ought to be subjected to a twofold punishment, not only to one equal and similar to that which had been inflicted on the first offender, but also another, which should be the seventh among the decades. In truth, according to the law, the trial which is before the tribunal is a sevenfold one; first of all, the eyes are put on their trial, because they beheld what was not lawful; secondly, the ears are impeached, because they heard what they ought not to have heard; thirdly, the smell is brought into question, as having been reduced by smoke and vapour; fourthly, the taste is accused, as being subservient to the pleasures of the belly; fifthly, a charge is brought against the taste, by means of which, besides the operations of the senses abovementioned, in respect of those things which prevail over the spirit, other things, also, are superadded separately, such as the takings of cities, the captivities of men, the destructions of those citadels of cities in which wisdom dwells; sixthly, an accusation is urged against the tongue and other instruments of speech, for being silent as to what should be spoken of, and speaking of what should be buried in silence; and, in the seventh place, the lower part of the belly is impeached for inflaming and exciting the passions by immoderate lust. This is the meaning of that expression, according to which a sevenfold vengeance was taken upon Cain, but a seventy and sevenfold vengeance upon Lamech for the causes above mentioned, because he was the second offender, not having been taught by the punishment of the first delinquent, and therefore he is altogether worthy to receive his punishment, which is the more simple one, like the unit in numerals, and, also, a manifold punishment too equal to the number ten.

Why Adam, when he begat Seth, introduces him saying, "God has raised up for me another seed in the place of Abel whom Cain slew?" (Genesis 4:25). In real truth Seth is another seed and the beginning of a second nativity of Abel, in accordance with a certain natural principle; for Abel is like to one who comes down below from above, on which account it was that he perished injuriously; but Seth resembles one who is proceeding upwards from below, on which account he also increases. And in proof of this argument Abel is explained as having been brought back and offered upwards to God. But it is not proper that everything should be raised and borne upwards, but only that which is good, for God is in no respect whatever the cause of evil. Therefore, whatever is indistinct and uncertain, and mingled, and in confusion and disorder, has also, very properly, blame and praise mingled together: praise, because it honours the cause, and blame, since as the occurrence happened fortuitously, so it is without any plans having been formed or any gratitude expressed. Moreover, nature also separated the two sons from him; it rendered the good one worthy of immortality, resolving him into a voice interceding with God; but the wicked one it gave over to corruption. But the name Seth is interpreted "watered," according to the variation of plants which grow by being watered, and put forth shoots and bear fruit. But these things are the symbols of the soul, so that it is not lawful to assert that the Divinity is the cause of all things equally, of the bad as well as of the good, but only of the good, and that alone ought to be planted alive.

Why Enos, the son of Seth, hoped to call upon the name of the Lord God? (Genesis 4:26). The name Enos is interpreted "man;" and it is received as meaning, not the whole of the combined man, but as the rational part of the soul, namely, the intellect, to which it is peculiarly becoming to hope, for irrational animals are devoid of hope; but hope is a sort of presage of joy, and before joy there is an expectation of good things.

Why, after the mention of hope, Moses says, "This is the book of the generations of men?" (Genesis 5:1). It is by this that he made what has been said before worthy of belief. What is man? Man is a being which, beyond all other races of animals, has received a copious and wonderful portion of hope; and this is as it were inscribed on his very nature, and celebrated there; for the human intellect hopes by its own nature.

Why, in the genealogy of Adam, Moses no longer mentions Cain, but only Seth, who, he says, was according to his appearance and form; on which account he proceeds to retain the generations which descend from him in his genealogy? (Genesis 5:3). It can neither be lawful to enumerate a wicked and sinful murderer either in the list of reason or in that of number; for he must be cast out like dung, as some one said, looking upon him as one of such a character; and on this account the sacred historian neither points him out as the successor of his father who had been formed out of the dust, nor as the head of succeeding generations; but he distributes both these characteristics to him who was without pollution, and names Seth, who is a drinker of water, as having been watered by his father, and as begetting hope in his own increase and progress; on which account it is not inconsiderately and foolishly that he says that he was born according to the form and appearance of his father, to the reproof of his elder brother, who, on account of the foulness of the murder which he had committed, has nothing in him resembling his father, either in body or soul. And on this account Moses has separated him from the family, and has given his share to his brother, being the noble privilege of the birthright of the first-born.

What is the meaning of the verse, Enoch pleased God after he begat Methuselah, two hundred years? (Genesis 5:22). God appointed by the law the fountains of all good things to be under the principles of generation itself. And what I mean is something of this sort. A little while before he appointed mercy and pardon to exist, now again he decrees that penitence shall exist, not in any degree mocking or reproaching these men, who are believed to have offended, and at the same time giving the soul an opportunity to mount up from wickedness to virtue, like the conversion of those who are proceeding towards a snare. For behold, the man being made a husband and a father together with his birth, makes a beginning of honesty. And he is said to please God, for although he does not persevere in piety from the moment that he is born, nevertheless, all that remaining period is counted to him as having been spent in a praiseworthy mode of life, because he pleased God for so many years. And these things are said, not because it perhaps was, but it might perhaps have seemed different; but he approves of the order of things, for indulgence having been exemplified, in this case of Cain, after no long interval of time, he introduces this statement, that Enoch practiced repentance, warning us by it that repentance alone can procure indulgence.

Why Enoch, who cultivated repentance, is said to have lived before his repentance a hundred and sixty-five years, but two hundred after his repentance? (Genesis 5:22). [this is at variance with the statement in the Bible, which says he lived sixty-five years before the birth of Methuselah, and walked with God three hundred years.] This number of a hundred and sixty-five is combined of the singular addition of ten numbers from the unit to ten; as one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, the total of which is fiftyfive. And again, from that by the addition of ten numbers, which, removing the unit proceed upwards by twos, and two, four, six, eight, ten, twelve, fourteen, sixteen, eighteen, twenty, which make a hundred and ten; the combination of which, with the numbers first mentioned, produces a hundred and sixty-five; and in this addition the even numbers amount to twice as much as the odd numbers; for the woman is more violent than the man, in the preposterous manner in which the wicked man rules over the virtuous man, the outward sense over the mind, the body over the outward sense, and matter over its cause. But the number two hundred, in which repentance was practiced, is combined of two numbers of one hundred, the first hundred of which intimates a purification from injustice, but the other indicates the plenitude of perfect virtue. In truth, before anything else is done, the first thing is to cut off from a sick body every diseased part, and after that means of cure are to be applied to it, for this is the first step, and the other the second. Moreover, the number two hundred consists of fours, for it is produced as from seed, from four triangular numbers, and from four tetragons, and from four pentagons, and from four hexagons, and from four heptagons; and, as one may say, it fixes its step on the number seven. Now the four triangles are these, one, three, six, ten, which make twenty; the four tetragons are one, four, nine, sixteen, which make thirty; from the four pentagons, one, five, twelve, twenty-two, is made the number forty. Moreover, the four hexagons, one, six, fifteen, twenty-eight, make fifty; and the four heptagons, one, seven, eighteen, thirty-four, make sixty; and all these numbers put together make two hundred.

Why the man who lives a life of repentance is said to have lived three hundred and sixtyfive years? (Genesis 5:23). In the first place, the year contains three hundred and sixty-five days; therefore, by the symbol of the solar orbit, the sacred historian here indicates the life of the repentant man. In the second place, as the sun is the cause of day and night, performing his revolutions by day above the hemisphere of the earth, and his course by night under the earth, so also the life of the man of repentance consists of alternations of light and darkness; of darkness, that is, of times of agitation and circumstances of injury; and of light, when the light of virtue and its radiant brilliancy arises. In the third place, he has assigned to him a complete number, as the sun is ordained to be the chief of the stars of heaven, under an appointed number, in the time which came before the period of his repentance, to lead to the oblivion of the sins previously committed; since, as God is good, he bestows the greatest favours most abundantly, and, at the same time, he effaces the former offences of those who devote themselves to him, and which might deserve chastisement, by a recollection of their virtues.

Why, when Enoch died, the sacred historian adds the assertion, "He pleased God?" (Genesis 5:24). In the first place, he says this because, by such a statement, he implies that the soul is immortal, inasmuch as after it is stripped of the body, it still pleases a second time. In the second place, he honours the repentant man with praise, because he has persevered in the same alteration of manners, and has never receded till he has arrived at complete perfection of life; for behold, some men appear to be readily sated after they have only tasted of excellence; and after a hope of recovery has been given to them, they relapse again into the same disease.

What is the meaning of the expression, "He was not found because God translated him?" (Genesis 5:24). In the first place, the end of virtuous and holy men is not death but a translation and migration, and an approach to some other place of abode. In the second place, in this instance something marvelous did take place; for he was supposed to be carried off in such a way as to be invisible, for then he was not found: and a proof of this is, that he was sought for as being invisible, not only as having been carried away from their sight, since translation into another place is nothing else than a placing of a person in another situation; but it is here suggested, that he was translated from a visible place, perceptible by the outward senses, into an incorporeal idea, appreciable only to the intellect. This mercy also was bestowed on the great prophet, for his sepulchre also was known to no one. And besides these two there was another, Elijah, who ascended from the things of earth into heaven, according to the divine appearance which was then presented to him, and who thus followed higher things, or, to speak with more exact propriety, was raised up to heaven.

How it was that immediately upon the nativity of Noah his father says, "He will make us rest from labours and sorrows, and from the earth, which the Lord God has cursed?" (Genesis 5:29). The fathers of the saints did not prophesy except for grave reasons and on important occasions; for although those who were rendered worthy of prophetical panegyric did not prophecy at all times or on all subjects, they did so at all events on one occasion and on one subject, with which they were acquainted. Nor is this of no importance, but it is an emblem and an example, since Noah is a kind of surname of righteousness, of which, when the intellect is made a partaker, it causes us to rest from all wicked works, and releases us from sorrows and from fears, and renders us secure and joyful. It also causes us to rest from that earthly nature which has been previously laid under a curse, which this body, when affected by pain, is connected with, especially in those persons who give cause for it, and who wear out their lives with pleasure. Nevertheless, if we examine attentively the events and circumstances, and compare them with the letter of the scriptures, the prophecy which has been already produced is deceived, because, in the time of this man, there did not arise any putting down of evils, but a more vehement obstinacy in sin and great afflictions, and the unprecedented event of the deluge. But you must note carefully, that Noah is the tenth in generation from the earth-born Adam.

What is meant by the three sons of Noah being named Shem, Ham, and Japhet? (Genesis 5:32). These names are the symbols of three human things, what is good, what is bad, and what is indifferent; Shem is the symbol of what is good, Ham of what is bad, and Japhet of what is indifferent.

Why from the time that the deluge drew near, the human race is said to have increased so as to become a multitude? (Genesis 6:1). Divine mercies do always precede judgement; since the first work of God is to do good, and to destroy follows afterwards; but he himself (when terrible evils are about to happen) loves to provide and is accustomed to provide that previously an abundance of many and great blessings shall be produced. On this principle also Egypt, when there was about to be a barrenness and famine for seven years as the prophet himself says,[Genesis 41:28.] was for an equal number of years continuously made exceedingly fertile by the beneficent and saving power of the Creator of the universe. And in the same way in which he showers benefits upon men, he also teaches them to depart and to abstain from sin; that these blessings may not be turned into the contrary. And on this account now, by the freedom of their institutions, the cities of the world have increased in generous virtue, so that if any corruption supervenes subsequently they may disapprove of their own acts of wickedness as extraordinary and irremediable; not at all looking upon the divinity as the cause of them, for that has no connexion with wickedness or misery, for the task of the Deity is only to bestow blessings.

What is the meaning of the expression, "My spirit shall not always strive with man, because he is but flesh?" (Genesis 6:3). An oracle is here promulgated as if it were a law; for the divine spirit is not a motion of the air, but intellect and wisdom; just as it also flows over the man who with great skill constructed the tabernacle of the Lord, namely upon Bezaleel, when the scripture says, "And he filled him with the divine spirit of wisdom and understanding." Therefore that spirit

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comes upon men, but does not abide or persevere in them; and the Lord himself adds the reason, when he says, "Because they are flesh." For the disposition of the flesh is inconsistent with wisdom, inasmuch as it makes a bond of alliance with desire; on which account it is evident that nothing important can be in the way of incorporeal and light souls, or can be any hindrance to their discerning and comprehending the condition of nature, because a pure disposition is acquired together with constancy.

Why it is said that the days of man shall be a hundred and twenty years? (Genesis 6:4). God appears here to fix the limit of human life by this number, indicating by it the manifold prerogative of honour; for in the first place this number proceeds from the units, according to combination, from the number fifteen; but the principle of the number fifteen is that of a more transparent appearance, since it is on the fifteenth day that the moon is rendered full of light, borrowing its light of the sun at the approach of evening, and restoring it to him again in the morning; so that during the night of the full moon the darkness is scarcely visible, but it is all light. In the second place, the number a hundred and twenty is a triangular number, and is the fifteenth number consisting of triangles. Thirdly, it is so because it consists of a combination of odd and even numbers, being contained by the power of the faculty of the concurring numbers, sixty-four and fifty-six; for the equal number of sixty-four is compounded of the uniting of these eight odd numbers, one, three, five, seven, nine, eleven, thirteen, fifteen; the reduction of which, by their parts into squares, makes a sum total of sixty-four, and that is a cube, and at the same time a square number. But again from the seven double units there arises the unequal number of fifty-six, being compounded of seven double pairs, which generate other productions of them, two, four, six, eight, ten, twelve, fourteen; the sum total of which is fifty-six. In the fourth place, it is compounded of four numbers, of one triangle, namely fifteen; and of another square, namely twenty-five; and of a third quinquangular figure, thirty-five; and of a fourth a sexangular figure forty-five, by the same analogy: for the fifth is always received according to each appearance; for from the unity of the triangles the fifth number becomes fifteen; again the fifth of the quadrangular number from the unit makes twenty-five; and the fifth of the quinquangular number from the unit makes thirty-five; and the fifth of the sexangular number from the unit makes forty-five. But every one of these numbers is a divine and sacred number, consisting of fifteens as has been already shown; and the number twenty-five belongs to the tribe of Levi. [see Numbers 8:24.] And the number thirty-five comes from the double diagram of arithmetic, geometry, and harmony; but sixteen, and eighteen, and nineteen, and twenty-one, the combination of which numbers amounts to seventy-four, is that according to which seven months' children are born. And forty-five consists of a triple diagram; but to this number, sixteen, nineteen, twenty-two, and twenty-eight, belong: the combination of which makes eighty-five, according to which nine months' children are produced. Fifthly, this diagram has fifteen parts, and a twofold composition, peculiarly belonging to itself; forsooth when divided by two it gives sixty, the measure of the age of all mankind; when divided by three it gives forty, the idea of prophecy; when divided by four it gives thirty, a nation; when divided by five, it makes twenty-four, the measure of day and night; when divided by six, it gives twenty, a beginning; when divided by eight, we have fifteen, the moon in the fulness of brilliancy; when divided by ten, it makes twelve, the zodiac embellished with living animals; when divided by twelve, it makes ten, holy; when divided by fifteen, it gives eight, the first ark; when divided by twenty, it leaves six, the number of creation; when divided by twenty-four, it makes five, the emblem of the outward sense; when divided by thirty it makes four, the beginning of solid measure; when divided by forty, it gives three, the symbol of fulness, the beginning, the middle, and the end; when divided by sixty, it makes two, which is woman; and when divided by the whole number of a hundred and twenty, the product is one, or man. And every one of all these numbers is more natural, as is proved in each of them, but the composition of them is twofold, for the product is two hundred and forty, which is a sign that it is worthy of a twofold life; for as the number of years is doubled, so also we may imagine that the life is doubled too; one being in connexion with the body, the other being detached from the body, according to which every holy and perfect man may receive the gift of prophecy. Sixthly, because the fifth and sixth figures arise, the three numbers being multiplied together, three times four times five, since three times four times five make sixty; so in like manner the next following numbers four times five times six make a hundred and twenty, for four times five times six make a hundred and twenty. Seventhly, when the number twenty has been taken in, which is the beginning of the reduction of mankind, I mean twenty, and being added to itself two or three times, so as to make twenty, forty, and sixty, these added together make a hundred and twenty. But perhaps the number a hundred and twenty is not the general term of human life, but only of the life of those men who existed at that time, and who were to perish by the deluge after an interval of so many years, which their kind Benefactor prolonged, giving them space for repentance; when, after the aforesaid term, they lived a longer time in the subsequent ages.

On what principle it was that giants were born of angels and women? (Genesis 6:4). The poets call those men who were born out of the earth giants, that is to say, sons of the Earth. [the Greek name Gigas is said to be derived from geµ and gennaoµ, "to bring forth."] But Moses here uses this appellation improperly, and he uses it too very often merely to denote the vast personal size of the principal men, equal to that of Hajk [hajk is an addition of the Armenian translator; it is the name of a fabulous patriarch of the Armenian nation.] or Hercules. But he relates that these giants were sprung from a combined procreation of two natures, namely, from angels and mortal women; for the substance of angels is spiritual; but it occurs every now and then that on emergencies occurring they have imitated the appearance of men, and transformed themselves so as to assume the human shape; as they did on this occasion, when forming connexions with women for the production of giants. But if the children turn out imitators of the wickedness of their mothers, departing from the virtue of their fathers, let them depart, according to the determination of the will of a depraved race, and because of their proud contempt for the supreme Deity, and so be condemned as guilty of voluntary and deliberate wickedness. But sometimes Moses styles the angels the sons of God, inasmuch as they were not produced by any mortal, but are incorporeal, as being spirits destitute of any body; or rather that exhorter and teacher of virtue, namely Moses, calls those men who are very excellent and endowed with great virtue the sons of God; and the wicked and depraved men he calls bodies, or flesh.

What is the meaning of the expression: "God considered anxiously, because he had made man upon the earth; and he resolved the matter in his mind?" (Genesis 6:6). [the translation of our Bible is, "It repented God that he had made man upon the earth."] Some persons imagine that it is intimated by these words that the Deity repented; but they are very wrong to entertain such an idea, since the Deity is unchangeable. Nor are the facts of his caring and thinking about the matter, and of his agitating it in his mind, any proofs that he is repenting, but only indications of a kind and determinate counsel, according to which the displays care, revolving in his mind the cause why he had made man upon the earth. But since this earth is a place of misery, even that heavenly being, man, who is a mixture compounded of soul and body, from the very hour of his birth to that of his death, is nothing else but the slave of the body. That the Deity therefore should meditate and deliberate on these matters is nothing surprising; since most men take to themselves wickedness rather than virtue, being influenced by the twofold impulse mentioned above; namely, that of a body by its nature corruptible, and placed in the terrible situation of earth, which is the lowest of all places.

Why God, after having threatened to destroy mankind, says that he will also destroy all the beasts likewise; using the expression, "from man to beast, and from creeping things to flying creatures;" for how could irrational animals have committed sin? (Genesis 6:7). This is the literal statement of the holy scripture, and it informs us that animals were not necessarily and in their primary cause created for their own sake, but for the sake of mankind and to act as the servants of men; and when the men were destroyed, it followed necessarily and naturally that they also should be destroyed with them, as soon as the men, for whose sake they had been made, had ceased to exist. But as to the hidden meaning conveyed by the statement, since man is a symbol for the intellect which exists in us, and animals for the outward sense, when the chief creature has first been depraved and corrupted by wickedness, all the outward sense also perishes with him, because he had no relics whatever of virtue, which is the cause of salvation.

Why God says, I am indignant that I made them? (Genesis 6:7). In the first place, Moses is here again relating what took place, as if he were speaking of some illustrious action of man, but, properly speaking, God does not feel anger, but is exempt from, and superior to, all such perturbations of spirit. Therefore Moses wishes here to point out, by an extravagant form of expression, that the iniquities of man had grown to such a height, that they stirred up and provoked to anger even that very Being who by his nature was incapable of anger. In the second place he warns us, by a figure, that foolish actions are liable to punishment, but that those which proceed from wise and deliberate counsel are praiseworthy.

Why it is afterwards said, that Noah found grace in the sight of the Lord? (Genesis 6:8). In the first place, the time calls for a comparison; since all the rest of mankind has been rejected for their ingratitude, he places the just man in the place of them all, asserting that he had found favour with God, not because he alone was deserving of favour, when the whole universal body of the human race had had benefits and mercies heaped on them, but because he alone had seemed to be mindful of the kindnesses which he had received. In the second place, when the whole generation had been given over to destruction, with the exception of one single family, it followed inevitably that that remaining household should be asserted to have shown itself worthy of the divine grace, that it might be, as it were, a seed and a spark of a new race of mankind. And what could be a greater grace and mercy than that the man, of whom this is said, should be at the same time the end and beginning of the family of mankind?

Why does Moses enumerate the generations of Noah with reference not to his ancestors but to his virtues? (Genesis 6:9). He does this in the first place, because all the men of that age were wicked: secondly, he is here imposing a law upon the will, because, to an anxious follower of virtue, virtue itself stands in the place of a real generation, if indeed men are the means of the generation of men, but the virtues of minds. And on this account it is that he says, he was a just man, perfect, and one who pleased God; but justice, and perfection, and grace before God, are the greatest of virtues.

What was the meaning of Moses when he says, "And all the earth was corrupt in the sight of God, and the earth was filled with iniquity?" (Genesis 6:11). Moses himself has given us the reason why he speaks thus, in the sentence in which he asserts that iniquity had arisen by reason of the corruption of the earth; for deliverance from iniquity is righteousness, both in all the parts of the world, in heaven, that is, and earth, and among men.

What is the meaning of his saying, "All flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth?" (Genesis 6:12). In the first place, the sacred historian calls the man who is devoted to the love of himself, flesh; therefore, when he had already said he was flesh, he introduces not the same flesh, but the flesh of the same being, namely, of man, or perhaps he is speaking even of man abstractedly considered; for every one who passes a life destitute of all civilisation, and bewildered by intemperance, is flesh. In the second place, he supposes here the cause of spiritual corruption to be, as in truth it is, the flesh, because that is the seat of desire; and from it, as from a living spring, arise all the peculiar appetites, and passions, and other affections. In the third place, he very naturally says, that all flesh had corrupted his way; for "his" is a partial case, declined from the nominative case of the pronoun "he, she, or it;" for as for the being to whom we refer honour, we scarcely dare to speak of him by his own name, but we call him He. And it is from this that the principle of the Pythagorean philosophers was derived, who said, "He said it," speaking of their master in a glorious manner, since they feared to speak of him by name. And the same custom has obtained in cities and in private houses; for the servants, when speaking of the arrival of their master, say, "Here he comes;" and so when the prince of any individual city arrives, they use the same form of speech, "He comes," when they speak of him. But what is the purpose of this prolix enumeration of all these instances on my part? The truth is, that I wished to show that it is the Father of the universe who is spoken of here; since, indeed, all his good qualities, and all his marvelous names, are widely celebrated by the praise bestowed upon the virtues; and, therefore, out of reverence he has used that name more cautiously, because he was about to bring on the world the destruction of the flood; but the case of the pronoun "He" is used by way of honour in these phrases. "All flesh had corrupted His ways," inasmuch as it is truly convicted of having corrupted the way of the Father, in accordance with the lusts, and desires, and pleasures of the body; for these are the enemies and opposers of the laws of continence, and parsimony, and chastity, and fortitude, and justice; by which the road which leads to God is found out and widened, so that it should everywhere be a beaten and plain road.

What is the meaning of the statement, "All the time of man has come against me, because the earth is filled with iniquity?" (Genesis 6:13). [the version given here does not in the least resemble that in our Bible.] Those who resist the order of fate proceed upon these and many other arguments, especially in that of sudden death, which oftentimes produces great slaughter in a short period of time; as, for instance, in the overthrow of houses, in conflagrations, in shipwrecks, in civil tumults, in battles of cavalry, in wars by land and in wars by sea, and in pestilences. To all those who advance arguments of this kind we repeat the same assertions which are here made by the prophet, on the principle which is derived from himself. If indeed that expression, "All the time of man has come against me," has a meaning of this kind, the term which has been determined as the period of living for all mankind, behold it is now brought to one point and terminated at once by the deluge; and since this is the case, they will not live any longer according to the principle of fate which has been fixed; so that the time of each separate individual is now reduced to one, and has received its destined termination at the same time, by I know not what harmony and periodical revolution of the stars, by which bodies the whole race of mankind is continually preserved or destroyed. Let those, therefore, all receive these things in any manner in which they choose who study these things, and those too who argue against them. Nevertheless we must first of all make this statement, that nothing can be found so contrary to, so opposite to, so wholly repugnant to, the wonderful virtue of the Deity as iniquity;

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therefore, after he said, "All the time of all mankind has come up against me," he adds also the reason of its contrariety to him, that the earth is filled with iniquity. In the second place, Time, under the name of Chronos or Saturn, is looked upon as a god by the wickedest of men, who are desirous to lose sight of the one essential Being, on which account he says, "The time of all mankind has come up against me," because in fact the heathen make human time into a god, and oppose him to the real true God. But, however, it is now insinuated, in other passages also of scripture, which run thus, "Time has departed to a distance from them, but the Lord is in Us:" [Numbers 14:9. Compare with this Isaiah 8, Jeremiah 46:21+28, Psalm 80:16.] just as if he were to say, time is looked upon by wicked men as the cause of the world, but by wise men and virtuous men time is not looked upon in this light, but God only, from whom all times and seasons do proceed. Again, God is the cause, not of all things, but only of good things and good men, and of those men and things which are in accordance with virtue; for as he is free from all wickedness, so likewise he cannot be the cause of it. In the third place, by that expression which he uses in this manner, he indicates the excess of impiety, saying, "that the time of all mankind has arrived," that is to say, that all men, in every part of the world, have agreed together, with one mind, to work wickedness; but the other assertion which is here made, that the whole earth is filled with iniquity, amounts to this, that there is no part of it whatever free from wickedness, and which is also to receive and to bear righteousness. And the expression, "against me," establishes the proof of what has been said, inasmuch as it is only the judgement of divine election which is altogether firm and lasting.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON GENESIS, PART 2

(What is the preparation of Noah? (Genesis 6:14). If any one should wish to make an examination of the question of that ark of Noah's on more natural principles, he will find it to have been the preparation of the human body, as we shall see by the examination of each particular respecting it separately.

(Why does he make the ark of squared pieces of wood? (Genesis 6:16). He does this in the first place, because the figure of a square, wherever it may be placed, is steady and firm, consisting as it does of right angles, and it is confirmed in a purer and clearer manner by the nature of the human body. In the second place, he does this because, although our body is an instrument, and although every portion of it is rounded off, nevertheless the limbs which are compounded of all these portions do, by some manner or other, evidently reduce that circular orb to the figure of a quadrangle or square. For example, take the breast which is rather square than circular; in the same manner take the belly, after it is swollen with food or by any natural excess, for there are some men potbellied by nature, who are to be excepted from our present argument. But if any one looks upon the arms and hands, and back and thighs, and feet of a man, he will find all these limbs compounded of a mixture of the square, with the circular figure at the same time. In the third place, a quadrangular piece of wood shows in its extension nearly every sort imaginable of uneven distinction, inasmuch as its length is greater than its breadth, and its breadth greater than its depth. And such also is the formation of our bodies, which are compounded of one extension which is great, of another which is of moderate size, of another which is small, great in its length and small in its depth.

(Why does God say, you shall make the ark in nests? (Genesis 6:14). [the word in our Bible is rooms, not nests.] He gives this order very naturally, for the human body is formed of holes like nests; every one of which is nourished and grows like a young bird, a certain spiritual force which exists in it from its earliest origin penetrating through it, as, for instance, some of the holes and nests are the eyes, in which the faculty of sight has its abode; other nests are the ears, which are the place where hearing is situated. A third class of nests are the nostrils, in which the sense of smell is lodged. The fourth nest, which is of larger dimensions than those already mentioned, is the mouth, which is the seat of the taste; and it has been made of large size, since, besides taste, there is also another still more important instrument, which is that of articulate speech, reposing in it, namely, the tongue, which, as Socrates was wont to say, by beating in every direction in various manners, and by touching different parts, composes and forms a word, being, in truth, an instrument under the immediate guidance of reason. And the nest is placed under the skull, and that which is called the membrane of the brain is a certain nest, as it were, of the genius of each man: as also the chest is a nest, in which abide the lungs and the heart, and both these things are receptacles of other internal organs; the lungs being the place in which the power of breathing is lodged, and the heart being the abode of both the blood and the breath, for it has two ventricles, which are, as it were, a certain kind of nests or receptacles in the breast; blood, from which the veins, as if they could perceive its operations, are irrigated; and a breathing-hole, which again is extended over and irrigates the perceptive channels of respiration. And both the harder as well as the softer parts do, like nests prepared for the purpose, nourish the bones as real nests nourish young birds; the harder portion of which, namely, the marrow, is the nest, and the softer flesh is the nest of pleasure and pain; and if any one should wish to investigate the other parts, he will find that, in every respect, the nature of man has much the same foundation as the ark.

(Why does God command the ark to be smeared with pitch, both on the inside and on the outside? (Genesis 6:14). Pitch is so called by reason of its bird-lime like tenacity, because it glues together whatever was disunited before, so as to form one indissoluble and indivisible joint. For everything which is held together by bird-lime is immediately held to a natural union; but our body being composed of many parts is united on the outside, and is held together by its own proper habit, but the previous habit of connexion which binds those things together is the soul, which, being situated in the middle, penetrates through every part till it reaches the surface, and then is turned back again from the surface to the centre, so that our spiritual nature is rolled up compactly in a double fold, being united in a firm solidity and union. Therefore this ark is smeared with pitch, both on the inside and the outside, for the reason here given. But that ark which is placed in the holy of holies, and as covered over with gold, is the similitude of the world appreciable only by the intellect, as is declared in the account given of it: since just as there is a world appreciable by the intellect incarnate in incorporeal figures existing at the same time, consisting of a union of all figures by a certain invisible harmony; for, in proportion as gold is a more noble material than pitch, in the same ratio is that ark, which is in the holy of holies, superior to this one of which we are now speaking. And again, God ordained that its measure should be quadrangular, from a regard to usefulness; but his object in the other ark was not so much that it should be useful as that it should be exempt from all possibility of decay; for the nature of incorporeal things, appreciable only by the intellect, is to be exempt from decay, being incorruptible and permanent. The one ark is tossed to and fro by the winds and the waters, but the other has its station constantly in the holy of holies; and being stable it is akin to divine nature, as the other, which is tossed about in every direction, and moved from one place to another, is akin to and the emblem of created nature. Besides this, that ark of the flood being, as it were, an example of corruption, is raised on high, but the other, which is in the holy of holies, imitates the incorruptible condition of eternity.

(Why did God give the measures of the ark in the following manner; the length to be of three hundred cubits, and the breadth thereof to be fifty cubits, and the height to be thirty cubits: and above it was to be raised to a point in one cubit, being brought together gradually like an obelisk? (Genesis 6:15). It was necessary that so vast a work should be constructed in conformity with literal directions, in order that so many animals, some of them of vast size, should be received into it, as individuals of each class were introduced with the food necessary for them; but if the matter is considered properly with reference to its symbolical meaning, then, for the comprehension of the formation of our body, we shall require to make use not of the quantity of cubits, but of the certain principles and proportions which are observed in them. But the proportions which are contained in them are of sixfold, and double, and other portions are added. For three hundred is six times as many as fifty, and ten times as many as thirty; and again fifty is by two thirds a larger number than thirty. Such then are also the proportions of the body; for if any one should choose to investigate the matter and inquire into it carefully in all its points, he will find that man is made in an exact proportion of measurement, neither being too long or too little; and if a string be let down from his head to his feet, he will find that to reach that distance it requires a string six times as long as the width of his chest, and ten times as long as the depth of his ribs and their breadth as a second part of depth added thereto. Such is the certain proportion, received in accordance with nature, of the human body formed on exact measurement of the most excellently made men, who are incorrect neither in the way of excess nor of defect. But again, it was with great wisdom and propriety that God ordained the summit to be completed in one cubit; for the upper part of the ark imitates the unity of the body; the head being forsooth as the citadel of the king, having for its inhabitant the chief of all, the intellect. But those parts which are below the head are divided into separate portions, as for instance into the hands, and in an especial degree into the lower parts, since the thighs, and legs, and feet are all kept distinct from one another, therefore whoever should wish to understand these matters, on the principle which I have pointed out, will easily comprehend the analogy of the cubits as I have related it. But above all things he must not be ignorant that each of these different numbers of cubits has separately a certain necessary proportion and principle, beginning with the first, those in the length of the ark. Therefore in its length it is composed of three hundred units, placed next to one another in continuation, according to the augmentation of units, from these twenty-four numbers, one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, nineteen, twenty, twentyone, twenty-two, twenty-three, twenty-four. But the twenty-fourth number is above all others a natural number, being distributed among the hours of day and night, and also among the characters of language,[he is referring to the Greek alphabet, which consists of twenty-four letters.] and literal speech; and it is also compounded of three cubes, being complete, full, and compacted in equality. For the number three constantly exhibits, as belonging to itself, the first equality of all, having a beginning, and a middle, and an end, all of which are equal to one another; and eight is the first cube, because it again has declared its first equality with the rest. But the number twenty-four has likewise a great number of other virtues, since it is the substance of the number three hundred, as has been already pointed out; this then is its first virtue; and it has another, since it is compounded of twelve quadrangular figures, joined to one another by a continuous unity; and besides of two long figures, and twelve double figures, being forsooth compounded of twos separately increased by two and two. Therefore the angular numbers which make up together the twelve quadrangular figures are these; one, three, five, seven, nine, eleven, thirteen, fifteen, seventeen, nineteen, twenty-one, and twenty-three; but the quadrangular figure combines the following numbers, one, four, nine, sixteen, twenty-five, thirty-six, forty-nine, sixty-four, eighty-one, a hundred, a hundred and twenty-one, and a hundred and twenty-four. But those angular numbers which compose the other long figures are these; one, four, six, eight, ten twelve, fourteen, sixteen, eighteen, twenty, twenty-two, twenty-four, being twelve in all; and after these come the compound numbers, two, six, twelve, twenty, thirty, forty-two, fifty-six, seventytwo, ninety, a hundred and ten, a hundred and thirty-two, and a hundred and fifty-six; being also twelve. And if you put together the twelve quadrangular figures, you will find a hundred and forty-four, and if you add the other twelve long figures, you will find a hundred and fifty-six; and from the combination of the two you will get the number three hundred, and the concord of full, and complete, and perfect nature rising up to the equal and infinite harmony; for a complete and perfect nature is the maker of equality, according to the nature of a triangle; but the equal and the infinite are the factors of inequality, according to the composition of the other long figure. But the universe consists of a combination of equality and inequality, on which account the Creator himself, even amid the destruction of all earthly things, placed a sort of fixed pattern of stability in the ark. This then is enough to say about the number three hundred. We must now proceed to speak of the fifty cubits, on the following principle; for in the first place it is composed of the right angle of the quadrangular figures; for a right angle is compounded of three, four, and five; and the square of these is nine, sixteen, and twenty-five, the sum total of which when added together is fifty; in the second place, the perfect number fifty is composed of these four triangles linked together, one, three, six, ten; and again of these four equal quadrangles also united together, one, four, nine, sixteen; therefore these triangles when collected together make twenty; and the quadrangles make thirty; and twenty and thirty added together make fifty. But if the triangle and the quadrangle are added together, they make a heptangular figure: so that it is contained by its virtue in the number of fifty, that divine and holy number; to which the prophet had regard when he proclaimed the jubilee festival; and the whole of the jubilee year is free and a deliverer. The third theorem is three triangles beginning with the unit, connected together in a continuous series, and three cubes beginning also with the unit, and connected together in a similar manner, which together make fifty; the examples of the first are one, four, and nine, which make fourteen; the examples of the second are, one, eight, and twentyseven, which together make thirty-six; and the sum total of the two when added together is fifty. Again, thirty is in an especial manner a natural number, for as in the series of units the number three is, so is the number thirty in the series of decimals; and that makes up the cycle of the moon, being the collection of separate months in full delineation; secondly, it is composed of four numbers, which are united in the continual series of these quadrangular figures, one, four, nine, and sixteen, which together make up thirty; on which account it was not without some foundation and sufficient reason that Heraclitus called that number "generation," when he said: a man in thirty years from the time of his birth can become a grandfather, inasmuch as he arrives at the age of puberty in his fourteenth year, at which age he is capable of becoming a father; and at the end of the year his offspring arrives at the birth, and again in fifteen years more begets another offspring like himself; and out of these names of grandfathers, fathers, and sons, as also out of the names of grandmothers, mothers, and daughters, a generation complete in its offspring is produced.

(What is the meaning of a door in the side: for he says, "Thou shall make a door in the side?" (Genesis 6:16). That door in the side very plainly betokens a human building,

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which he has becomingly indicated by calling it, "in the side," by which door all the excrements of dung are cast out. In truth, as Socrates says, whether because he learnt it from Moses or because he was influenced by the facts themselves, the Creator, having due regard to the decency of our body, has placed the exit and passage of the different ducts of the body back out of the reach of the sense, in order that while getting rid of the fetid portions of bile, we might not be disgusted by beholding the full appearance of our excrements. Therefore he has surrounded that passage by the back and posteriors, which project out like hills, as also the buttocks are made soft for other objects.

(Why has he said that the lower part of the ark was to be made with two and with three stories? (Genesis 6:16). He has here admirably indicated the receptacles of food, calling them the inner parts of the house; since food is corruptible, and what is corruptible belongs to the inward part, because it is borne downwards, since some small portions of meat and drink which we take are borne upwards, but the greater part is secreted and cast out into dung; and the intestines have been made in two and in three stories, because of the providence of the Creator in order to supply abundant support to his creatures; for if he had made the receptacles of food and its passage having a direct communication between the bowels and the buttocks, some awkward circumstances must have taken place; in the first place there would have been a frequent deficiency, and want and hunger, and sudden evacuations also arising from divers unseasonable events; in the second place there would have been an immense hunger, for when the receptacles are emptied, it is inevitable that hunger and thirst must immediately supervene, like absolute mistresses in difficulty from pregnancy, and then it follows also that the pleasant appetite for food must be perverted into greediness and into an unphilosophical state; for nothing is so very inconvenient as for the belly to be empty. And in the third place, there will be death waiting at the door; since those persons must speedily be overtaken by death who the very moment that they have done eating begin again to be hungry, and the moment that they have drunk are again thirsty, and who before they are thoroughly filled are again evacuated and oppressed by hunger; but owing to the long coils and windings of the bowels we are delivered from all feelings of hunger, from all greediness, and from being prematurely overtaken by death; for while the food which has been taken remains within us, not for such a time only as the distance to be passed requires, but for so long as was necessary for us, a change in it is effected; since by the pressure to which it is subjected, the strength of the food is extracted in the first instance in the belly; then it is armed in the liver, and drawn out; after that whatever predominant flavour there was is emitted upwards to the separate parts, in the case of boys in order to contribute to their growth, and in the case of fullgrown men to add to their strength; and then nature, collecting the remaining portions into dung and excrement, casts them out. Therefore a great deal of time is necessarily required for the arrangement of so many and such important affairs, nature effecting its operations without difficulty by perseverance. Moreover the ark itself appears to me to be very fitly compared to the human body; for as nature is exceedingly prolific of living creatures, for that very reason it has prepared an opposite receptacle similar to the earth for the creatures corrupted and destroyed by the flood; for whatever was alive and supported on the earth, the ark now bore within itself in a more general manner, and on that account God ordained it, being borne upon the waters as it was, to be as it were like the earth, a mother and a nurse, and to exhibit the fathers of the subsequent race as if pregnant with it, together with the sun and moon, and the remaining multitude of the stars, and all the host of heaven; because men beholding by means of that which was made by art, a comparison and analogy to the human body, might in that manner be more manifestly taught, for this was the cause of the various disputes among mankind; since there is nothing which has so much contributed to keep man in a servile condition as the essential humours of the body, and the defects which arise in consequence of them, and most especially the vicious pleasures and desires.

(Why does he say that the deluge will be to the corrupting of all flesh in which there is the breath of life beneath the heaven? (Genesis 6:17). One may almost say that what he had previously spoken in riddles he has now made plain; for there was no other cause for the corruption of mankind, except that, being slaves to pleasure and to desire, they did everything, and were anxious about everything for that reason only; moreover they passed a life of extreme misery. But he added also, in a very natural manner, the place where the breath of life is, using the expression, "under heaven," because forsooth there are living beings also in heaven; for a happy body has not been made out of a heavenly substance, as if in truth it had received some peculiar and admirable condition, superior to that of other living creatures, but heaven appears to have been made especially worthy of and for the sake of these admirable and divine living beings, all of which are intellectual spirits; so that they give a share and participation in themselves and in the essence of vitality even to the creatures which exist upon the earth, and give life to all those which are capable of receiving it.

(Why does he say, all things which existed upon the earth shall be consumed; for what sin can the beasts commit? (Genesis 6:13). In the first place, as, when a sovereign is slain in battle the military valor of the kingdom is also crushed, so also he now has thought it reasonable that when the whole human race, bearing analogy to a sovereign, is destroyed, he should also destroy simultaneously with it the species of beasts likewise, on which account also in pestilences the beasts die first, and especially those which are bred up with and associate with men, such as dogs and similar animals, and afterwards the men die too. In the second place, as, when the head is cut off, no one blames nature if the other portions of the body also, numerous and important as they are, are destroyed along with it, so too now no one can find fault with anything, since man is as it were the head and chief of all animals, and when he is destroyed it is not at all strange if all the rest of the beasts are destroyed also along with him. In the third place, animals were originally made, not for their own sakes, as has been said by the philosophers, but in order to do service to mankind, and for their use and glory; therefore it is very reasonable that when those beings are destroyed for the sake of whom they had their existence, they also should be deprived of life, and this is the reason of this assertion in its literal sense; but with respect to its hidden meaning we may say, when the soul is exposed to a deluge from the overflow of vices, and is in a manner stifled by them, those portions also which are on the earth, the earthly parts I mean of the body, must of necessity likewise perish along with it; for life passed in wickedness is death; the eyes though they see perish, inasmuch as they see wrongly; the ears also though they hear perish, inasmuch as they hear wrongly; and the whole body of the senses perishes, inasmuch as they are all exercised wrongly.

What is the meaning of the expression, I will set up my treaty with you? (Genesis 6:9). In the first place, he here warns us that no man is the inheritor of the divine substance, except him who is endowed with virtue; since the inheritance of men is possessed when they themselves are no longer in existence, but when they are dead; but as God is everlasting he grants a participation in his inheritance to wise men, rejoicing at their entering into possession of it; for he who has entered into possession of everything is in want of nothing, but they who are in distress from a want of all things are in the possession of no portion of truth. And on this account God, showing himself favourable to the virtuous, benefits them, bestowing on the those things of which they have need. In the second place, he bestows on the wise man a certain and more ample inheritance; for he does not say, I will set up my treaty for you, but with you; that is to say, you are yourself a just and true treaty, which I will set up for the race endued with reason, who have need of virtue, for a possession and a glory to them.

Why does he say: "Enter thou and all thy house into the ark, because I have seen that thou art a just man before me in that generation?" (Genesis 7:1). In the first place, certain faith receives approbation, inasmuch as for the sake of one man who is just and worthy many men are saved by reason of their relationship to him; as is the case too with sailors and armies, when the one have a good captain and the others an excellent and skilful general. In the second place, he extols the just man with praise, who thus acquires virtues, not for himself alone, but also for his whole family, which in this way deserves safety. And it is with peculiar propriety that this expression is added, namely, "I have seen that thou art a just man before me;" for men approve of the life of any one upon one principle, and God on quite a different one; for they judge by what is visible, but he derives his tests from the invisible designs of the soul. Moreover, that is a very remarkable expression which is added as an insertion, namely, the one which says, "I have seen that thou art a just man in this generation;" that he might not appear to condemn those who had gone before, nor cut off the future hope of coming generations. This is the sense of the passage taken according to the letter. But if we look at its inward meaning, when God will save the intellect of the soul, which is the principal part of the man, that is to say, the head of the family, then also he will save the whole family along with him; I mean all the parts, and all those who bear an analogy to the parts, and to the word which is uttered, and to the circumstances of the body; for what the intellect is in the soul, that also is the soul in the body. All the parts of the soul are in good condition, owing to the result of counsels, and all its family derives the benefit along with it. But when the whole soul is in a good condition, then also its habitation is again found to be benefited by purity of morals and sobriety, those overstrained desires which are the causes of diseases being cut off.

Why does he order seven of each of the clean animals, male and female, to be taken into the ark, but of the unclean animals only two, male and female, in order to preserve seed upon all the earth? (Genesis 7:2). By divine ordinance he has asserted the number seven to be clean, and the number two to be unclean; since the number seven is clean by nature, inasmuch as that is a virgin number, free from all admixture, and without any parent. Nor does it generate any thing, nor is it generated, as each of those numbers which are below the number ten, on account of their similitude to the unit, because it is uncreated and unbegotten, and nothing is generated by it, although it is itself the cause of creation and generation; because it rouses the virtues of all things which are well-arranged, for the generation of created beings. But the number two is not clean. In the first place, because it is empty, not solid; and because it is not full, therefore neither is it clean; because it is likewise the beginning of infinite immensity by reason of its materiality. It also labours under inequality on account of the other long numbers; for all the other numbers after two which are increased in a twofold proportion are long numbers. But that which is unequal is not clean, as neither is that which is material; but that which proceeds from such is fallible and inelegant, being destitute of the purity of reason to conduct it to completeness and perfection; and it conducts it to such by its own intrinsic power, and by songs of harmony and equality. This is enough to say on the physical part of the subject; it remains for us to speak of its moral bearings. The irrational parts of our soul which are destitute of intellect are divided into seven; that is to say, into the five senses, and the vocal organ, and the seminal organ. Now these in a man endued with virtue are all clean, and by nature feminine, inasmuch as they belong to the irrational species; but to a man who has come into full possession of his inheritance they are masculine; for men endued with virtue are also the parents of the virtue of counsel to themselves, the best part of them not permitting them to come to the external senses in a precipitate and unbridled manner, but repressing them and leading them back to right reason. But in the wicked man there exists a twofold wickedness; since the injust man is full of doubts and perplexities, as a hesitating person, mingling things which ought not to be mixed, and connecting them with one another, confounding those things which may very easily be kept separate. Such are those passions which imbue the soul with some particular colour, like a man spotted and leprous in body, the originally sound counsel being infected and contaminated by that which is destructive and fatal. But the principle of the entrance and of the custody of animals is added in a natural manner; for he says, "for the sake of nourishing seed." If we take the expression according to the letter, inasmuch as, although particular individuals may be destroyed, still at least a race is preserved to be the seed of future generations; forsooth that the intention of God, conceived at the formation of the world, might remain for ever and ever unextinguishable, the different races of creatures being preserved. But if we regard the inward meaning of the words, it is necessary that in the irrational parts of the soul, likewise, there should be motions which are clean, as certain seminal principles, although the animals themselves are not clean; since the nature of mankind is capable of admitting contrarieties, for instance, virtue and wickedness; each of which he delineated at the creation of the world, by the tree bearing the name of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Forsooth our intellect, in which there is both knowledge and intelligence, comprehends both good and evil; but good is akin to the number seven, and evil is the brother of duality. Moreover, the law of wisdom, which abounds in beauty, says expressly and carefully, that seed is to be nourished, not in one place only, but in all the earth, both naturally, in the first instance, and also morally, in its peculiar sense; because it is very natural, and suitable to the character of God, to cause that which in all parts and divisions of the world is said again to be the seed of living beings, to fill places which have been evacuated a second time with similar creatures, by a repeated generation; and not altogether to desert our body, inasmuch as it is an earthly substance, as if it were a thing deserted by and void of all principle of life. Since, if we practice the drinking of wines and the eating of meats, and indulge in the ardent desire of the female, and in short practice in all things a delicate and luxurious life, we are then only the bearers of a corpse in the body; but if God, taking compassion on us, turns away the overflow of vices and renders the soul dry, he will then begin to make the body living, and to animate it with a purer soul, the governing principle of which is wisdom.

Why, after the entrance of Noah into the ark, did seven days elapse, after which the deluge came? (Genesis 7:10). The kind Saviour of the world allows a space for the repentance of sinners, in order that when they see the ark placed in front of them as a sort of type, made with respect to the then present time, and when they see all the different kinds of living creatures shut up in it which the earth used to bear on its surface, according to its parts adapted to the different species, they might believe the predictions of the deluge which had been made to them, so that, fearing total destruction above all things, they might be speedily converted, destroying and eradicating all their iniquity and wickedness. In the second place, this language is a most manifest representation of the exceeding great abundance of the kind mercy of the beneficent Saviour, by destroying the wickedness of many years, which from the time of their birth to old age has extended itself over their conduct in those persons who practice penitence for a

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few days, for the divine nature forgets all evil and is a lover of virtue. When therefore it beholds faithful virtue in the soul, it gives it honour in a wonderful degree, in order, in the first place, to take away all kinds of evil which impend over it from its sins. In the third place, the number of seven days after the entrance of Noah into the ark, during which the command of God kept off the flood, is a recollection of the creation of the world, the birthday festival of which is kept on the seventh day, showing manifestly the authority of the Father; just as if he were to say, "I am the Creator of the world, commanding things to exist which have no existence; and at the same time I am he who am now about to destroy the world with a great flood. But the original cause of the creation of the world was the goodness which is in me, and my kindness; and the cause of its impending destruction is the ingratitude and impiety of those persons who have been loaded by benefits by me." Therefore he causes an interval of seven days, in order that the unbelieving may remember, and that those who have abandoned their faith in the Parent of the world may in a suppliant spirit return to the Creator of all things, and so may entreat him again that his works may be everlasting; and that they may offer their entreaty, not with mouth and tongue, but rather with the heart of amendment and penitence.

Why did the rain of the deluge last forty days and an equal number of nights? (Genesis 7:4). In the first place, the word day is used in a double sense. The one meaning that time which is from morning to evening, that is to say, from the first rising of the sun in the east to his sinking in the west. Therefore they who make definitions, say, "That is day, as long as the sun shines on the earth." In another sense, the word day is used of the day and night together. And in this sense we say that a month consists of thirty days, combining together and computing the period of night in the same calculation. These premises having been first laid down thus, I say that the word now spoken of has not been incorrectly employed, inasmuch as it implies forty days and forty nights; but is also so used in order to suggest a double number determined for the generation of mankind, namely, forty and eighty, as many men skilled in medicine, and indeed also in physical science, have suggested; but it is especially described in the sacred law, which was to them also the first principle of natural science. Since therefore destruction was on the point of overwhelming all men and women every where on account of the excessive combination of iniquities and quarrels, the Judge of all considered it becoming to allot an equal time to their destruction to that which he had consumed in the original creation of nature and to the work of giving life to the world; for the principle of procreation is the perseverance of seed in the different parts; but it was necessary to honour the male creature with pure light, which knows not the shade; but the woman had a mixture in her body of night and darkness. Therefore, in the creation of the whole world, the excess of the male or the unequal number, being composed of unity, becomes the parent of square numbers; but the woman who is an unequal number, being compounded of duality, becomes the parent of other long numbers. Moreover, the square is splendour and light combining together by the equality of the sides; but the other numbers being long necessarily exhibit night and darkness by reason of their inequality, since that which is in excess throws a shade over that which lies beneath the excess. In the second place, the number forty is the produce of many virtues, as has been suggested in another place. It is also often used for the judgement of legislation, both with reference to those persons who have done any thing rightly deserving of praise and honour, and also with reference to those who on account of their sins meet with reproaches and punishments; so that it is superfluous to adduce proofs to demonstrate what is evident.

What is the meaning of the expression, "I will destroy every living substance that I have made form off the face of the earth?" (Genesis 7:4). Do you not all shrink back in astonishment when you hear these words, by reason of the beauty of the sentence? for he has not said, "destroy from the earth," but "from the face of the earth," that is to say from its surface; in order, that is, that in the lowest depth of the earth the vital efficacy of all seeds might be preserved unhurt, and free from all injury which could possibly bring damage to it; since the Creator was not forgetful of his original design, but destroys those only who come in his way, and who move only on the surface of the earth, but leaves the roots in the depth, in order to produce the generation of other causes. Moreover, that expression, "I will destroy," was also written by divine inspiration; for it happens that if we remove the letters which require to be removed, the whole table for the reception of letters remains the same. By which he proves that he will destroy the fickle generation on account of their impiety, but the conversation and essence of the human race he will preserve for ever and ever to be the seed of future generations. And what follows agrees with this, since to the expression, "I will destroy," this other is also added, all natural existence, every thing which exists, or rises upon the earth; but existence is the destruction of the opposite characteristics; and that which is dissolved loses quality, but retains body and materiality. This is the letter of what is said. But in the inward meaning, the flood is symbolically representative of spiritual dissolution. When therefore by the grace of the Father we desire to throw away and to wash off all sensible and corporeal qualities by which the intellect was infected as by swelling sores, then the muddy slime is got rid of as by a deluge, sweet waters and wholesome fountains supervening.

Why does he say: "Noah did every thing which the Lord commanded (or ordered) him?" (Genesis 7:5). A noble panegyric for the just man. In the first place, because with an ingenuous mind and a purpose full of affection towards God he performed, not a part of what he had been commanded, but the whole of God's commands. But the second is the more true expression, because he does not choose so much to command as to order him; for masters command their slaves, but friends order friends, and especially elder friends order younger ones. Therefore it is a marvelous gift to be found even in the rank of servants, and in the list of ministers of God; and it is a superabundant excess of kindness for any one to be a beloved friend to the most glorious Uncreated Essence. Moreover, the sacred writer has here carefully employed both names, the Lord God, as declaratory of his superior powers of destroying and benefiting, using the word Lord first, and placing the name God, giving the idea of beneficence, second; since it was a time of judgement let the name which is the indication of his destroying power come first. But still, as he is a kind and merciful king, he leaves as relics the seminal elements by which the vacant places may be replenished, for which reason, at the fist beginning of the account of the creation, the expression, "Let there be," was not an exterminating act of power, but a beneficent one. Therefore, at the creation, he changed the appellations and use of names; but as the name God is an indication of his beneficent power, the sacred writer has more frequently employed that in his account of the creation of the universe, but after everything was perfected then he called him Lord, in reference to the creation itself, for this name betokens royal power and the ability to destroy; since, where the act of generation is God is used first in order, but when punishment is spoken of the name Lord is placed before the name God.

Why did the deluge take place in the six hundredth year of the life of Noah, and in the seventh month, and on the twenty-seventh day of the month? (Genesis 7:11). Perhaps it happened that the just man was born at the beginning of the month, at the first beginning of the commencement of that very year which they are accustomed to call the sacred year, out of honour, otherwise the sacred historian would not have been so carefully accurate in fixing the day and month when the deluge began to the seventh month and the twenty-seventh day of the month. But, perhaps, by this minuteness he intended manifestly to indicate the precise time of the vernal equinox, for that always occurs on the twentyseventy day of the seventh month. But why was it that the deluge fell on the day of the vernal equinox? Because about that time the birth and increase of everything take place, whether living creatures or plants; therefore the vengeance and punishment inflicted brings with it the more terrible and dreadful threats, as happening at the period of plenty and fertility of the shaves of corn, and indeed, in the very midst of that productiveness, and bringing the evil of utter destruction as a reproof of the impiety of those who are exposed to the punishment. For behold, says he, all nature contains its own productions within itself in the greatest abundance, namely, wheat and barley, and everything else which is produced from seed, brought on to complete generation, as, also, it begins to generate the fruits of trees; but you, like mortals, corrupt its mercies, perverting the divine gifts, and purposes, and mysteries. But if the deluge had taken place at the autumnal equinox, when there was nothing growing on the earth, but when all the crops were collected into their proper storehouses, it would not have, in any degree, been looked upon as a punishment, but rather as a benefit, as the water would have cleansed the plains and the mountains. But as the first man who was produced out of the earth was also created at the same season of the year, he whom the divine writer calls Adam, because in fact it was on every account proper that the grandfather, or original parent, or father of the human race, or by whatever name we may choose to designate that original founder of our kind, should be created at the season of the vernal equinox, when all earthly productions were full of their fruit; but the vernal equinox takes place in the seventh month, which is also called the first in other passages, with reference to a different idea. Since, therefore, the first beginning of the generation of our race, after the destruction caused by the deluge, commenced with Noah, men being again sown and procreated, therefore he also is recognised as resembling the first man born of the earth, as far as such resemblance or recognition is possible. And the six hundredth year has for its origin the number six; and the world was created under the number six, therefore, by this same number does he reprove the wicked, putting them to shame because he would, unquestionably, never, after he had created the universe by means of the number six, have destroyed all the men who lived on the earth under the form of six, if it had not been for the preposterous excess of their iniquities. For the third power of six and the minor power is the number six hundred, and the mean between both is sixty, since the number ten more evidently represents the likeness of unity, and the number a hundred represents the minor power.

What is the meaning of the expression, "And the fountains of the deep were broken, and the springs of heaven were opened?" (Genesis 7:11). The literal meaning is plain enough, for it suggests the two extremities of the universe, the heaven and the earth, to have met together for the destruction of mortals deserving of condemnation, the waters running forth to meet one another from all quarters, for part of them bubbled up from out of the earth, and part descended downwards from heaven; and in truth, that expression is very explicit, "The fountains were broken up," for when a rupture is effected then the thing confined rushes forth without any hindrance. But with reference to the interior meaning of the expression we may as well say this: the heaven is symbolically the human intellect, and the earth is the sense and body, therefore there is great distress and calamity when neither remains, but when each threatens a secret attack. But what is the exact meaning of my words? If often happens that acuteness of intellect exhibits cunning and wickedness, and bears itself with bitterness in every respect when the lusts of the body are restrained and bridled; but the contrary fact often prevails, and the lusts rejoice in their opportunities and proceed onward, gaining strength from luxury and abundance of means; therefore, the gate of these lusts is the outward sense combined with the body; but when the intellect, neglecting outward circumstances, is consistent with itself, then the senses lie harmless, as if completely abandoned; but when both are united, the intellect in exerting all cunning and wickedness, and the body irrigated with all the senses and gorged with every kind of vice to satiety, then we are exposed to a deluge; and this is in fact a great deluge, when the streams of the intellect are opened by iniquity, and folly, and greedy desire, and injustice, and arrogance, and impiety, and when the fountains of the body are opened by lust, and desire, and intemperance, and obscenity, and gluttony, and lasciviousness, with relations and sisters, and all irremediable diseases.

What is the meaning of the expression, "And the Lord shut him in, closing the doors of the ark?" (Genesis 7:16). Since we have said that the structure of the human body is symbolically indicated by the ark, we must take notice, also, that on the outside this body is enclosed by a hard and dense skin, to be a covering to all its parts; for nature has made this as a sort of coat, to prevent either cold or heat from being able to do man injury. The literal meaning of the expression is plain enough, for the door of the ark is carefully shut by divine virtue for the sake of security, lest the water should enter in at any part, as it was to be tossed about by the waves for an entire year.

What is the meaning of the expression, "And the water was greatly increased, and bore up the ark which floated upon the water?" (Genesis 7:17). The literal meaning is plain enough, but it contains an allegorical reference to our bodies, which ought to be borne up as if on the water, and by fluctuating with our necessities to subdue hunger and thirst, cold and heat, by which it is agitated, disturbed, and kept in motion.

Why did the water overflow fifteen cubits above all the highest mountains? (Genesis 7:19). With respect to the literal statement we must remark that the excess was not merely one of fifteen cubits above all high mountains but above those which were a great deal more lofty and high than some others; therefore it was a great deal more than that height above the lower ones. But we must interpret this statement allegorically; for the loftier mountains shadow forth the senses in our body, because it has been permitted to them to occupy the abode of stability in the lofty region of our head. And there are five numbers of these, each to be considered separately, so that they amount in all to fifteen.

As, there is the faculty of sight, the thing which is visible, the act of seeing.

The faculty of hearing, the thing which is audible, and the act of hearing.

The faculty of smelling, the thing which can be smelled, and the act of smelling.

The faculty of taste, the thing which can be tasted, and the act of tasting.

The faculty of touch, the thing which can be touched, and the act of touching.

These are the fifteen cubits in excess; for they also are overwhelmed by the overflow, being destroyed by the unseasonable influx of infinite vices and evils.

What is the meaning of the expression, "And all flesh capable of motion perished?" (Genesis 7:21). It is with especial propriety, and strictly in accordance with natural truth, that the sacred historian has here pronounced all flesh capable of motion devoted to destruction; for flesh excites pleasures, and is excited by pleasures; and such affections are the causes of the destruction of souls, as one the other hand sobriety and patience are the causes of safety.

What is the meaning of the expression, "And everything which was on the dry land died?" (Genesis 7:22). The literal meaning is notorious, because in that great deluge everything which was upon the earth was destroyed and perished; but

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with respect to the secret meaning, as, since the material of timber, when it is parched and dry, is readily consumed by fire, so, likewise, when the soul is not mingled with wisdom, and justice, and piety, and the other enduring virtues, which alone are able to impart real joy to the thoughts, then it, being parched up and dried like a plant which is deprived of any power of budding or producing seed, or like a withered trunk, dies, being handed over to the mercy of the overwhelming overflow of the body.

What is the meaning of the words, "It destroyed every living substance which was on the face of the earth?" (Genesis 7:23). The literal meaning of these words only announces a plain statement of a fact, but it may be turned into an allegory in this manner. It is not without reason that the sacred historian has used the words "a living substance," for that is characteristic of ambition and pride, which lead men to despise both divine and human laws; but ambition and arrogance do rather appear on the face of our earthly and corporeal nature with an elated countenance and contracted brows. Since there are some persons who come nearer to one with their feet, but with their chests, and necks, and heads lean back, and are actually borne backwards and bend away like a balance, so that with one half of their body, in consequence of the position of their feet, they project forward, but backward with the upper portion of their chests, drawing themselves back like those persons whose muscles and nerves are in pain, by which they are prevented from stooping in a natural manner. But men of this kind it was determined to put an end to, as one may see from the records of the Lord and the divine history of the scriptures.

What is the meaning of the words, "Noah remained alone, and they who were with him in the ark?" (Genesis 7:24). The literal meaning of this is evident; but with respect to its concealed sense we may advance an opinion, that the intellect which is desirous of studying justice and wisdom does, like a tree, discard all noxious shoots which bud forth about it, and rejects all extravagant humours of superfluous vigor, I mean immoderate excess of the affections, and wickedness, and all the effects of such. Therefore he is here said to have been left alone with those of his own kindred, and his kindred are properly all those designs and thoughts of each individual, which are regulated in accordance with virtue, on which account the statement is added "And he remained alone, and they who were with him," in order to reveal a more genuine joy; but he remained in the ark, that is to say, in the body, because it was purified from every vice and spiritual disease, as the intellect was not yet put in such a condition as to be wholly incorporeal. And on this account also, we must render thanks to the merciful Father, because he received his consort and colleague no longer as one endowed with superior power, but to be subordinate to his own power, on which account also the body is not submerged in the deluge, but rising above the flood is not at all destroyed by the eddies of the cataracts, which a crapulous, libidinous, vanity-loving will, overflowing all things, raises to an eminence.

Why is it that the sacred writer says, "And God was mindful of Noah, and of the beasts, and of the cattle," but does not add that he remembered his wife and children? (Genesis 8:1). As the husband agrees with and is equal to his wife, and as the father is equal to his sons, there is no need of mentioning more names than one, but one, the first, is sufficient; therefore, by naming Noah he, in effect, names all those who were with him of his family; for when husband, and wife, and children, and relations are all agitated by discord, then it is no longer possible for such to be called one family, but instead of being one they are many; but when harmony exists then one family is exhibited by one superior of the house, and all are seen to depend upon that one, like the branches of a tree which shoot out from it, or the fruit upon a vine branch which does not fall off from it. And in another part, also, the prophet has said, "Have a regard to Abraham your father, and to Sarah who brought you forth," where, because in fact it was one family, he displays the agreement by mentioning the woman.

Why is it that the sacred writer made mention first of the beasts and afterwards of the cattle, saying that God remembered Noah, and the beasts, and the cattle? (Genesis 8:1). In the first place, that poetical rule has not been expressed in vain, that he led the bad into the middle; therefore he places the beasts in the middle, between the domestic animals, that is to say the men and the cattle, in order that they might be tamed and civilized by having an intimate association with both. In the second place, he thought it scarcely reasonable to bestow a provident benefit on the beasts by themselves, because he was about immediately to add a statement of the beginning of the diminution of the deluge. This is the explanation of the statement taken literally. But with respect to the inner meaning, that just intellect, dwelling in the body as if in the ark, possesses both beasts and living animals, not those particular ones which bite and hurt, but, that I may use such an expression, those general kinds which contain in themselves the principles of seed and origination; since without these the soul cannot be manifest in the body. Moreover, the soul of the foolish man employs all poisonous and deadly animals, but that of the wise man those only which have changed the nature of wild beasts into that of domestic creatures.

What is the meaning of the expression, "He brought a breath over the earth, and the water ceased?" (Genesis 8:2). Some people say that what is here meant by "a breath" is the wind, at which the deluge ceased. But I am not aware that water is diminished by wind, but only that it is disturbed and agitated into waves, for if it were otherwise the vast extent of the sea would have been wholly dried up long ago. Therefore it appears to me that the sacred writer here means the breath of the Deity, by which the whole universe obtains security at the same time with the calamities of the world, and with those things which exist in the air, and in every mixture of plants and animals. Since the deluge of that time was no trifling infliction of water, but an immense and boundless overflow, extending almost beyond the pillars of Hercules and the great Mediterranean Sea, since the whole earth and all the spaces of the mountains were covered with water; and it is scarcely likely that such a vast space could have been cleared by a wind, but rather, as I have said, it must have been done by some invisible and divine virtue.

What is the meaning of the expression, "The fountains of the deep were closed, and the cataracts of heaven?" (Genesis 8:2). In the first place, it is agreed upon by all that in the first period of forty days the waters of punishment fell uninterruptedly, the lowest fountains of the earth being burst asunder; and from above, the cataracts of heaven being opened, and pouring down until all places, both level and mountainous, were covered with the inundation; and for another period of a hundred and fifty entire days the waters did not cease to fall, nor did the streams cease to flow, nor the springs to burst up, though still in milder quantities, not so as to increase the existing flood, but only so as to secure the duration of the existence of the deluge, which was also assisted from on high; and this is what is indicated in the meantime by the statement that after a hundred and fifty days the fountains and the cataracts were closed up; therefore, while as yet they were not closed up it is plain that they were in action. In the second place, it was necessary that that which afforded the excessive supply of waters for the deluge, namely, the double reservoir of water, the one from the fountains of the earth, and the other from the pourings forth of heaven, should be both closed, for the more the stores from which any material is supplied fail, the more it is consumed by itself, especially when divine virtue has given the command. This is the literal meaning of the expression. But with respect to the inner sense of the passage, since the deluge of the mind arises from two things, for it arises partly from counsel, as if from heaven, and in another degree also from the body and from sense, as if from earth, the vices being reciprocally introduced by the passions and the passions by the vices, it was inevitably necessary that the word of the divine physician entering in as a salutary visitation for the purpose of healing the disease, should prevent both kinds of overflow for the future; for it is the first principle of the medical art to drive away the cause of the infirmity and to leave no longer any materials for disease; and the scripture teaches this, also, in the case of the leper, for when the leprosy is checked and is prevented from extending further, it then fixes the station and abode of the leprous man in the same place by a law, because the character of being stationary implies cleanliness, for that which is moved contrary to nature is unclean.

What is the meaning of the statement that after a hundred and fifty days the water began to abate? (Genesis 8:3). We must here inquire whether those hundred and fifty days, during which the water was abating, are to be distinguished from the four months, or whether they have a reference to the days previously mentioned, during which the deluge went on unceasingly, as still increasing.

Why does he say, "The ark settled in the seventh month on the seven and twentieth day of the month?" (Genesis 8:4). It is reasonable here to consider how the beginning of the deluge commences in the seventh month, on the twenty-seventh day of the month, and how the diminution, when the ark rested on the top of the mountains, again took place in the seventh month and on the twenty-seventh day of the month; therefore we must say, that there is here an homonymy of months and days, for the beginning of the flood took place in the seventh month, beginning at the birthday of the just man, near the time of the vernal equinox, and its diminution took place in the seventh month, beginning from the highest point of the flood at the autumnal equinox, since the two equinoxes are separated from one another by seven months, having an interval of five months between them. For the seventh month of the equinox is also by its virtue the first month, because the creation of the world took place in it, on account of the abundance of all things at that season. And, in like manner, the seventh month of the autumnal equinox, which, according to time, is the first in dignity, having its principle of that number seven derived from the air; therefore, the deluge took place in the seventh month, not according to time but according to nature, having for its principle and commencement the spring season.

Why does he say, "In the tenth month, on the first day of the month, the heads of the mountains appeared?" (Genesis 8:4). As in numerals the number ten is the extreme bound of the units, being a definitive and perfect number, so too it is the cycle and end of the units, and also the beginning and cycle of the decades, and of infinity of numbers; thus the Creator, on the cessation of the deluge, condescended that the tops of the mountains should appear in the number of the decade, being a definitive and perfect number.

Why was it after forty days that the just man opened the window of the ark? (Genesis 8:5). We must observe carefully that the divine historian uses the same number in speaking of the influx of the deluge and in mentioning the cessation and complete removal of the evil; forsooth on the twenty-seventh day of the seventh month in the six hundredth year of the life of Noah, that is to say in the six hundredth year after his nativity, the deluge began at the spring season; but on the twenty-seventh day of the seventh month, the ark rested on the top of the mountains at the vernal equinox. But it is plain from these circumstances that the deluge became invisible in the six hundred and first year of Noah's life, again on the seventh month and the twenty-seventh day of it, so that after the lapse of an entire year, it again settled and established the earth as it was at the moment of its destruction, in the spring season, budding forth and covered with verdure and full of all kinds of fruits. But again in a similar manner the overflow of the deluge took place for forty days, the cataracts of heaven being opened and fountains bursting upwards from the lowest depths of the earth; and again a hope of renewal took place at intervals of forty days after a sufficient cessation of the rains, when he opened the window; and again the duration of the permanent deluge lasted for a period of a hundred and fifty days, as also its gradual diminution occupied a period of a hundred and fifty days; so that we may well admire the equality of the arrangement, for the evil increased and ceased according to the same number, like the moon, which from its first rise proceeds in its increase according to an equal number, going onward to its perfect fulness of light, and then again with an equal number in its decrease, returning back to its original state, after having been previously full; and in like manner in the case of divine chastisements, the Creator preserves a regular order, banishing all irregularity from the divine borders.

What is the window of the ark, which the just man opens? (Genesis 8:6). The literal statement scarcely admits of any difficulty or doubt, inasmuch as it is plain; but with reference to the inner meaning we have this to say: each separate part of the senses has imitated the windows of the body, since it is through them as through windows that the comprehension of sensible objects enters into the intellect, and again it is through them that the intellect stretches forth as if escaping; but a portion of these windows, the senses, the more noble portion too, I say, is the sight; inasmuch as that above all the rest is akin to the soul, and it is intimately acquainted with light, the most beautiful of the essences, and it is the minister of sacred things; moreover that is the one which first laid open the road to philosophy. For beholding the regular motion of the sun, and of the moon, and the erratic course of the other planets, and the unerring circular motion of the whole heaven, and the order and harmony there existing beyond all calculation, as if it were the one real creator of the whole world, it by itself related to its one chief counsellor and director all that it saw: and then intellect, seeing those things with its acute eye, and by those things discerning superior demonstrative ideas, and the cause of all those things, immediately perceived that there was a God at the same moment that it arrived at the conception of generation and providence, because forsooth it was plain that this visible nature was not created by itself: for it was impossible that such a harmony, and order, and reason, and most consistent analogy, and that a concord of such a character and extent, and that such true and perfect felicity should exist by its own power: but it was necessary that there must be some Creator and parent of it acting like a governor and director, who generated these things, and then having generated them preserves them safe and sound.

Why did he send out a raven first? (Genesis 8:6). If we look to the literal statement, the raven is said to be an animal particularly set apart for being sent on messages and employed in offices; for to this very day many people watch its mode of flight and its chattering, judging that it gives some intimation of unknown facts; but with respect to the hidden meaning, as a raven is a black, and arrogant, and speedy animal, it is a sign of wickedness, which brings night and darkness over the soul, and it is also swift to meet all the things of the world in its flight. And also that it is very bold, so as at times to cause the destruction of those who seek to catch it, since pride produces also rash impudence, the opposite of which is virtue, which is consistent with the brilliancy of light, and is by nature decorated with a modest bashfulness; therefore it is quite natural that if there was any darkness remaining behind in the intellect, darkness which exists in accordance with folly, he should expel that and send it out beyond his borders.

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Why did the raven after it had gone forth not return, when there was not yet any part of the earth dried? (Genesis 8:7). This passage admits of an allegorical interpretation since injustice is contrary to the light of justice; so that in comparison of the admirable actions of the man endued with virtue, it thinks it more desirable to rejoice with its kinsman the deluge; for injustice is a lover of confusion and corruption.

Why does he speak here in an incorrect manner, "Till the water was dried up from the earth;" when it was not the water which was dried up from the earth, but the earth which was dried from the water? (Genesis 8:7). He uses this expression in an allegorical sense, indicating by the fall of the waters the immensity of vices, by which when saturated and vigorous the soul is corrupted, but when they are dried up and withered, it is preserved; for then they cannot inflict any mischief upon it, since they are become impotent and dead.

Why does he in the second place send forth the dove, and why does he send it forth from himself to see whether the water had ceased, when he uses no such expressions about the raven? (Genesis 8:8). In the first place, the dove is a clean animal, and in the second place it is tame, civilised, and one which associates with mankind, on which account also the honour has been allotted to it of being offered up upon the altar in sacrifices; and on this account the sacred writer, sanctioning this honour and adding the weight of his assertion, has said, he sent it forth from himself, declaring by this expression that it was to see whether the water was abated, he displays the common anxiety felt by both. But those birds, the raven and the dove, are symbols of wickedness and virtue: for the one, whether it is wickedness or the raven, has no house, nor habitation, nor city, being an insolent unsociable bird; but the other, namely virtue, has a regard to humanity, and to the public good: and so the man endowed with virtue sends that bird forth as his ambassador for desirable and salutary objects, wishing to receive from it desirable information; and she, like an ambassador, brings us back genuine pleasure, so that what is hurtful may be guarded against, and what is useful may be diligently and carefully admitted.

Why did the dove, when it found no rest for its feet, return to Noah? (Genesis 8:9). Is not the reason of this evident, and is it not a plain proof that wickedness and virtue are symbolically indicated by the raven and the dove? For behold the dove, which is the last sent out, finds no rest. How, then, could the raven, who departed previously, while the calamity of the deluge was still prevailing, find any place, and make a settlement? For the raven was neither a swan nor an ibis, nor did he belong to the class of aquatic birds. But the sacred writer here points out in an enigmatical manner, that wickedness, when it has gone forth out of doors, to the swelling whirlpools of the vices and passions which overflow and corrupt the soul and life, joyfully admits them, and dwells with and takes up its abode with them, as with its nearest friends and relations; but virtue, turning away with loathing from even the first sight of them, at once springs back, and does not return, scarcely finding rest for its feet; finding, in fact, no standing ground anywhere, and no place worthy of itself. For what other greater evil can there be than this, that virtue should not be able to find in the soul any place ever so small for rest and for abiding in?

What is the meaning of the statement, "Putting forth his hand, he received her, and brought her in to himself?" (Genesis 8:9). The literal meaning is plain, but with respect to the hidden sense we must elicit the truth carefully. The wise man employs truth as an overseer of and ambassador in important affairs, which, when it perceives that those natures are worthy of it, abides among and dwells with them, correcting them, and making them better, since wisdom is a very common, and equal, and useful thing. But when, with reference to the opposite natures, it sees that in some points they are preposterously redundant and in others altogether deficient, it returns to its proper place; and the man endowed with virtue admits it in word, putting forth his hand to take it, and in fact opening all his intellect for its reception, and unfolding it by the perfect number, full and equal, with all imaginable promptitude. Nor even then, when he had sent her forth from himself to examine the natures of other things, had he separated it from himself, but had only acted like the sun, which sends forth his beams to give light to all things, because it is not at all consistent with the character of his boundless light to be separated at all.

Why did he, after waiting yet seven other days, send forth the dove a second time? (Genesis 8:10). This is an excellent example for life, since although it will behold natures obstinate at first, still the hope of changing them into better natures is scarcely allowed to drop; and as a prudent physician does not in a moment apply a perfect cure to a disease, or effect a complete restoration to health, but employs salutary medicines after he has given nature an opportunity of first opening the way to recovery, so too the man endowed with virtue behaves with respect to the employment of the word which is in accordance with the law of wisdom. But the number seven is the sacred and dominical number, according to which the Father of the universe, when he made the world, is said to have looked upon his work. And the contemplation of the world, and of all the things contained in it, is nothing else but philosophy, and that excellent and select portion of it which wisdom contains, comprehending within itself also a work still more necessary to be seen.

What is the meaning of the expression, "The dove returned a second time to him about evening, having in her mouth a leaf and a thin branch of olive?" (Genesis 8:11). All these separate points are selected and approved signs-the returning, the returning about evening, the having an olive-leaf and a thin branch of that tree, and oil, and the having it in her mouth; but yet every one of these signs can be examined with a certainty beyond certainty, for the return is distinct from its previous return, for that one bore with it an announcement of nature being wholly corrupted and rebellious, and being wholly destroyed by the deluge, that is to say, by great ignorance and insolence; but this second return brings the news of the world beginning to repent, but to find repentance is not an easy task, but is a difficult and labourious business. And it is on this account that the dove arrived in the evening, having passed the whole day from morning to evening in its visitations; in word, indeed, examining places, but in fact investigating the different parts of nature itself by continual visitation, and seeing them all clearly from beginning to end, for the evening is the indication of the end. The third sign, again, is its bringing a leaf; but a leaf is a small part of a tree, still it does not exist without a tree. And the beginning of displaying repentance is somewhat corresponding to this, since the beginning of correction has some slight indications about it, which we may call a leaf, by which it appears to receive guardianship, but can easily be shaken off; so that the hope shall in that case not be great of attaining the desired improvement, which is typified by the leaf of no other tree but of the olive alone, and oil is the material of light. For wickedness, as I have said before, is profound darkness, but virtue is luminous brilliancy, and repentance is the beginning of light. But you must not yet suppose that the beginning of repentance is only visible in branches just germinating and beginning to look green, but that it exists too while they are still dry, and while the seminal principle is dry and quiescent. And it is on this account that the fifth sign is shown, that, namely, of the dove when it comes bearing a slender branch. And the sixth sign is that this slender branch was in its mouth, for the number six is the first perfect number, since virtue bears in its mouth, that is to say in its conversation, the seeds of wisdom and justice, or, in one word, of honesty of the soul; and not only bears this, but gives some portion of participation in it even to the foolish, by drawing up water for their souls, and irrigating them with the desire of repentance for their sins.

Why is it said, "And Noah knew that the waters had ceased from off the earth?" (Genesis 8:11). The literal statement is plain, since if the leaf had been taken up from off the water it would have been wet and soaked, but now he says that it was dry and slender, as if it had become dry by being on the earth which was dried. But with reference to its inward meaning, the wise man takes it as a symbol of repentance, and wishes to check the calamities of excessive obstinacy by taking the leaf, since it was not yet green, but slender, for the reason which has been already mentioned. At the same time we may admire the Father on account of his exceeding kindness, for although corruption had prevailed over all the men who lived on the earth from the excess of their iniquities, still there remained some relics of antiquity and of that which was from the beginning, and a slight seed of previous virtues; by which it is intimated nevertheless that the memory of all the good deeds that have been done from the beginning is not wholly destroyed. On which account a certain prophet, the kinsman and friend of Moses, uttered an oracle of this kind, "If the omnipotent Lord had not left us a seed, we should have been like blind and barren People," [Isaiah 1:9.] able neither to know the truth nor to generate it. And the Chaldaeans in their native language call blindness and sterility Sodom and Gomorrah.

Why, in the third place, after seven other days, did he again send forth the dove, which did not again return to him? (Genesis 8:12). According to the word, the dove made no more return to him; but what in fact is meant is virtue, which, however, is not an indication of alienation, since, as I have said before, she was not separated from him at that time, but sent forth like a sun-beam to pay a visit of examination to the natures of others, but then, not finding any one to listen to her precepts of correction, she returns, and properly comes to him alone. But this time she is no longer the possession of one single individual, but is rather a common good to all those who have been willing to receive the emanations of wisdom as if coming up from the earth, those persons, that is, who from the very beginning have laboured under a great thirst of perfect wisdom.

Why in the six hundred and first year of the life of Noah, and on the first day of the first month, did the waters of the deluge cease from off the earth? (Genesis 8:13). The word first, according to the defect of time, is spoken of with reference either to the month or the man, and each interpretation has reason to support it; for if we are bound to maintain that the water began to abate in the first month, we are equally obliged to consider that the sacred historian intended also to speak of the seventh month, that is, of that month which is the second equinox, since the same month is both the first and the seventh; that is to say, the first as respects nature and virtue, and the seventh in point of time. Therefore in another place he says,[Exodus 12:2.] "This month is unto you the beginning of months, the first among the months of the year;" calling that the first which is so in respect of nature and virtue, and which as to number is in time the seventh month, since the equinox has its appointed order in regular series, and in point of time is assigned the better season of the year. But if you take that word first to have reference to the man, then it will be used with more truth, and with strict propriety, for the just man was truly and properly the first, as in a vessel the captain is the first man, and in a state the prince. But he is first not only in virtue, but also in order, inasmuch as in the very circumstances of the regeneration of the second sowing of the human race he was the beginning and the first. Moreover, it is very admirably considered with reference to this passage, that the deluge took place during the life of the first man, and that again, when it abated, things returned to their former steadiness, since after the deluge took place he had to live by himself with his whole family, and after that evil was removed he alone was found upon the earth during the latter period of his life until the regeneration of mankind began. But it is not to no purpose that this testimony is given both of the preceding portion of his life, and also of the later period, for he alone burnt with a desire for that genuine life which is in accordance with virtue, while all the rest of the world were hastening on to death by reason of their fatal wickednesses. Therefore of necessity the evil ceased on the six hundred and first year of his life, since in truth the destruction came with reference to the sixth number, and safety was restored in unity since unity is more a generativeness of the soul, and is the best for giving life, wherefore also a deficiency of water in the sea takes place at the new moon, in order that the units may be preferred in dignity both among months and years, when God saves those things which are upon the earth; since the man who cultivates just habits is called by the Hebrews in their native language Noah, but by the Greeks he is named Dikaios; however, he is not exempted from the laws affecting the body. For although he is not subordinate to the power of others, but is a prince, yet still, because he is nevertheless devoted to death, as he is dead, the principle of that number six is connected with unity; since it was not in one year taken separately that the deluge ceased, but together with the number six (as contained in the number six hundred), which is connected with it according to corporeality and inequality; since the other being a long number is in the first place six (that is to say, six hundred); on which account it is said, in the six hundred and first year. But the just man is so in his generation, not in that which is general, nor again in that in which he is just by comparison with the general corruption, but according to some especial generation; for his generation bears with it a certain comparison. But that man also is deserving of praise whom God selected beyond all other generations as being considered worthy of life, placing a limit to that life, and to him as being about to be both the end and the beginning of each generation and of each age; the end of that which is corruptible, the beginning of that which is to follow. And truly it is much more proper to praise him who, bending upwards with his whole body, looked up by reason of his friendship with God.

What is the meaning of the expression, "And Noah opened the roof of the ark?" (Genesis 8:13). The text stands in need of no explanation. But with reference to its meaning, because the ark is symbolically our body, we must consider that that is spoken of as the roof of our body, which covers it and for a long time preserves its strength; such is concupiscence, by which the body is preserved and made to last, in a moderate degree, that is, and in accordance with the law of nature; as also it is dissolved by pain. When therefore the intellect is attracted by a desire for heavenly things it wishes to spring upwards, and in that way it bursts asunder every appearance of concupiscence; so that that thing being as it were removed which threw a veil of shade over it and obscured it, it might be able to apply its senses to undisguised and incorporeal natures.

Why is it that the earth was dried up in the seventh month, and on the twenty-seventh day? (Genesis 8:14). Do you not see that he here calls that month the seventh, which a little while before he styles the first? for the seventh, as far as related to time, is the same, as I have said before, as that which is the first in nature, being the beginning of the equinox. But it is with great propriety that the beginning of the deluge is fixed to the seventh month, and the twenty-seventh day of the month; and again, the end and cessation of the deluge is fixed to the same seventh month and the same day; for, both the deluge and the removal of life took place at the equinox; the principle of which we have indicated a little time ago; for the seventh month is found to be synonymous with months and days of this time, and then again, the twentyseventh day occurs with the same meaning, when the

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ark rested on the mountains. This is the month which by nature is the seventh, but in point of time the first, which in fact is the month of the equinox. Therefore, at the equinoxes a power of selection is given for seven months and twenty-seven days; for the deluge took place in the seventh month, on which the vernal equinox takes place; so that it is in time the seventh, but in nature the first. And the cessation of the deluge and the display of mercy belong to the same measure, when the ark rested on the tops of the mountains; again in truth in the seventh month, but not the same month, but in that in which the autumnal equinox occurs; that is to say, the seventh by nature, but the first in point of time. But the most perfect cure, the fact of the evil being wholly dried up, is again fixed to the seventh month and the twenty-seventh day of the vernal season; in order that both the beginning and the end of the deluge might find its boundary at the same season; and that the middle season when human life is repaired, is fixed to the intermediate season. In the meantime that expression is more certainly to be observed, namely, that the whole year, by a strict computation of days, made the deluge equal to the exact time of the remedy; for it began in the six hundredth year of Noah's age, in the seventh month, and on the twenty-seventh day; so that the whole space of the intermediate time completed a perfect year, the beginning being placed at the vernal equinox, and the flood also ending equally at the same epoch of the vernal equinox. And in this manner, after all things on earth, things full of fruit, had undergone destruction, as I have said before, now that the persons who used the fruits were also destroyed, the earth being wholly relieved of all evil was again found full of seeds and fruit-bearing trees, according to the production of spring; for he thought it reasonable that, as the earth after it had suffered the deluge was in a similar condition when dried again to that in which it was before, so it should now show itself, and pay the debt which it owed to nature. Nor ought any one to wonder that in one day the earth when left to itself produced every thing by divine virtue, both seeds and trees, all complete, entirely and suddenly, with perfect and excellent herbs, and grain, and plants, and fruits; since in the creation of the world on one day of the six he finished and brought to perfection the whole generation of plants. But the present fruits were already perfect in themselves, and produced all kinds of fruits in a manner suitable and corresponding to the season of spring; for all things are possible to God, who scarcely requires time to effect any thing.

Why was it that after the earth was dried, Noah did not depart out of the ark, before he had received a fresh command from God, for God said to Noah: "Go forth, thou, and thy wife, and thy sons, and thy sons' wives, together with all the rest of the living creatures?" (Genesis 8:16). Justice is commonly inspired with fear, as on the other hand injustice is rash and self-confident. But the proof of a fear of God is the not giving up more to, or guiding one's self more by one's own reason than by God. And above all other men it was natural for that man who had seen the whole earth suddenly become an immense sea, to suspect that it might be possible that the same misfortune would again return. Besides this, he also gave a thought to the corresponding consequence, namely, that as he had entered into the ark at the command of God, so it was fitting that he should also leave it at the command of the same being; for let no one believe that he can ever do any thing perfectly unless God himself guides him by his preventing precepts.

Why, when they entered into the ark was the order as follows: first himself and his sons, and after them his wife and his sons' wives, but when they went forth the order was changed, for the sacred historian says, "Noah and his wife went forth, and after them his sons and his sons' wives?" (Genesis 8:18). By the literal statement the sacred writer gives an obscure intimation, in the order in which they entered, that the propagation of seed was taken away, but by the order of their egress he implies the continuance of the process of generation; since, while they are entering, the sons are mentioned together which their father, and the daughters-in-law with their mother-in-law, but when they are going forth the wives are all mated again, the father being accompanied by his wife, and each of his sons also by his wife, since he chose to show by fact rather than by words everything which it is fitting for his friends to do. Moreover he had in express words, and not by any vague intimations, commanded the men, as they were about to enter into the ark, that they while there were to keep themselves from connexion with women; but now that they were about to depart from it, he plainly intimates to them that offspring is to be begotten in accordance with nature, by the order in which he appoints their going forth; nor did he employ words only, in order to make his proclamation about the state of the ark, saying, "After a destruction of all things on earth, of such a character and of such extent, do not indulge in pleasures, for that is not decorous. It is sufficient, however, for you to have received your lives; but while you are actually in the ark, to ascend up into the marriage bed with your wives would be a proof of your being devoted to lasciviousness." And, indeed, it was natural for them, as being relations to those who were being destroyed, to be moved with compassion for the perishing human race, especially because they themselves also were still in doubt whether, from some quarter or other, calamity might not fall also upon themselves; and besides these considerations it was absurd, while those who were alive were perishing, for those in the ark to be contriving that others who did not exist should be born, being warm at an unreasonable time, and burning with an inopportune desire. But after the anger of God ceased, then he commanded those who had been delivered from the calamity, when they had again gone forth out of the ark in order, to apply themselves to the procreation of a succeeding generation, when he tells us, that the men did not go forth with the men, nor the women with the women, but the wives with their husbands. But with respect to the inner meaning of this fact, we must say this, that when the mind is about to wash off and cleanse away its sins, then it is fit for male to live with male, that is to say, for the intellect, the chief part of the man, to be as a father, united to each separate thought, as a father to his sons, without any admixture of the female race, which is in accordance with the outward sense; since it is a time of battle, in which it is necessary to keep the order of the cohort distinct, and to preserve it strictly in order, that the soldiers may not be mingled in confusion, and so, instead of gaining a victory over the enemy, be conquered themselves; but when the purification is completed, and when the soul is dried up from all ignorance, and when a complete deliverance from everything pernicious has taken place, then it becomes the man to collect his scattered forces together, not in order that masculine counsels may be rendered effeminate by softness, but that the female race, that is to say, the outward senses, may clothe themselves with the vigor of the male, attaining to masculine counsels, and from their receiving seed for the production of a generation; so that, from this time forth they may cherish, in all things, sentiments of wisdom, and honour, and justice, and courage, and, in one word, of virtue. But, besides this, it will be reasonable also to take notice, that when once a confusion, in the similitude of a deluge, has overwhelmed the intellect, and when the different senses, being perplexed by the affairs of this world, like so many bulwarks erected against them, begin to quarrel, it is utterly impossible that any one should be able, either to sow, or to conceive, or to generate any good thing. But when all the hostile attacks of various agitations and passions are checked, and when the ceaseless invasions of lawless counsels are repressed, then the soul produces virtue and excellent works, as the most fertile portion of the earth, when dried, produces fruits.

Why did Noah build an altar without having been commanded to do so? (Genesis 8:20). The requital of gratitude which is due to God ought to be offered to him without command, and without any delay or hesitation, showing the mind to be free from vices; for it becomes that man, who has been endued with blessings by God, to offer him his thanks with a grateful and willing mind; but he who delays to do so, waiting for an express command, is ungrateful, being as it were compelled by necessity honour his benefactor.

Why is he said to have built an altar to God, and not to the Lord? (Genesis 8:20). In passages of beneficence and regeneration, as at the creation of the world, the sacred writer only refers to the beneficent virtue of the Creator, by which he makes everything in its integrity, and he implies this by concealing the royal name of Lord, as one which bears with it supreme authority; therefore now also, since what he is describing is the beginning of the renewed generation of mankind, he borrows for his description the beneficent virtue, which bears the name of God; for he used the kingly attribute, which declares his imperial power, by which he is called Lord, when he was describing the punishment inflicted by the flood.

What is the meaning of the statement, "He took of the cattle and of the flying animals, and he offered whole burnt offerings on the altar?" (Genesis 8:20). All this is said with reference to an inward meaning, both because he received everything from God as a favour and gift; and also because he took of the clean sorts of animals, and burnt those which were unpolluted and clean, as entire and pure first fruits; for they are proper victims for good men to offer, and are themselves entire, being full of integrity; and they may be classed as fruits, for fruit is the end, for the sake of which the plant exists. This indeed is the literal statement; but with respect to the inner meaning, the clean cattle and the clean birds are the outward senses and intellect of the wise man, with the thoughts which are received in his mind; all which things it is reasonable to offer in their integrity as entire and perfect fruit, in the way of a display of gratitude to the Father, and to offer them to him as an unpolluted and clean oblation of a victim.

Why does he offer his sacrifice to the beneficent virtue of God, but the acceptance of it takes place by means of both the qualities of the Lord and God, for Moses says, "And the Lord God smelled a savour of sweetness?" (Genesis 8:20). He says this since, when unexpectedly, after all hope is gone, we are preserved from dangers which are coming over us, we then, looking solely at the beneficence of him who has preserved us, do, on account of our joy, display ingratitude, and prefer the benefits which we have received rather to the beneficent power than to the Lord. But the beneficent preserver himself, by means of both his attributes, looks down upon and honourably accepts grateful minds, that he may not appear to halt in rewarding them; but he declares that such a display of gratitude is pleasing to both attributes of the one God. [or, "But the one God very much likes to act by means of both his attributes." - Note to the Latin version.]

What is the meaning of the words, "And the Lord God said, repenting him, I will not again proceed to curse the earth for the works of man, for the thoughts of the mind of man are toward, and are diligently and ceaselessly exercised in, wickedness from his youth up; therefore I will not now proceed to smite all living flesh as I have done at other times?" (Genesis 8:21). The reasons alleged appear to indicate a change of purpose, which is an affection not usual nor akin to the divine virtue; for the dispositions of mankind are variable and inconstant, so that all affairs among them are altogether uncertain; but with God nothing is uncertain, nothing incomprehensible, for he is a being of mighty and consistent determination; how then, when reasons of the same kind are present to him, because he was forsooth aware from the very beginning that the mind of man was deliberately inclined to wallow in wickedness from his youth on, could he have originally intended to destroy the human race by a flood; and yet afterwards say, that he did not intend to destroy it any more, when the same evils still exist in the mind? But we must think that every kind of expression of this sort is, by law, connected with learning and the utility of instruction rather than with the nature of truth, since there are, as it were, two kinds which occur in the whole course of the law; in the first place, as it is said, "Not as a man;" and in the second place, as it is said, "As a man," the one God is believed to instruct his son. That first expression relates to the actual truth; for, in real fact, God is not as a man, nor again, as the sun, nor as the heaven, nor as the world, which is perceptible by the outward senses, but as God, if it is justifiable to assert that also; since that most happy and blessed being will not endure similitude, or comparison, or enigmatical description; nay, rather he surpasses even blessedness and felicity itself, and whatever can be imagined as better than and preferable to them. But the second expression relates to instruction and direction, I mean the express words, "As a man," in order that it may be observed, that he is willing to impress us beings, born of the earth, lest perchance we should unceasingly incur his anger and his chastisement by our implacable hostility to him, without any peace; for it is sufficient for him to be roused and embittered against us once, and once to exact vengeance against sinners; but to inflict punishment over and over again for the same thing is the conduct of a savage and ferocious disposition: since, says he, "when I shall inflict deserved retribution, as is possible, on every one, I will cause a burning recollection of my design to be preserved." Therefore behold, the sacred historian has excellently expressed himself, saying, "That God observed in his mind," for his mind and disposition rejoice in a superior degree of constancy; but our wills are found to be inconsistent and vacillating, on which account we cannot be properly said to observe and think with our minds, since it is by the thoughts that the passage of the mind is allowed to take place,["if you connect the Armenian words in a different manner, the sense will be 'meditation is the purification of the course of the mind,' and this is perhaps better." - Note by the Latin Translator.] but the human intellect is unable to be extended over everything, since it is incapable of penetrating all things in a perfect and suitable manner. But that expression, "I will not proceed any more to curse the earth," is used with great propriety, for it is not becoming to add more curses to what has already been done, because the evils that have been inflicted are already complete; because, although they are in some sense imperfect, inasmuch as the Father is kind and merciful, and most humane, still he is rather inclined to alleviate the evil than to add to men's misery. But that is as it were the same thing, according to a common proverb, to wash a brick, or to draw water properly, and wholly to eradicate wickedness, with all its deeply imprinted tokens from the mind of man; for if it is implanted in it at first, it does not exist accidentally, but is engraven deeply on it and clings to it. But since the mind is a potential and principal part of the soul, he introduces that word "diligently;" but that which has been weighed with diligence and care is exquisite thought, examined more certainly than certainty itself. But this diligence does not tend to any one evil, but as is plain, to mischief, and to all mischief; nor does it exist in a perfunctory manner; but man is devoted to it from his youth, not only in a manner, but from his very cradle, as if he were in some degree united to, and nourished, and bred up with sin. But yet God says, "I will not any more smite all flesh;" giving notice that he will not, at any future time, destroy every portion of mankind altogether, but only single individuals, in ever such great numbers, who perpetrate unspeakable wickednesses; for he does not leave wickedness unpunished, nor does he grant it liberty or impunity, but indulging his care for the human race on account of his

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original design, he of necessity fixes destruction as a punishment for sinners.

What is the meaning of the expression, "Sowing-time and harvest, cold and heat, summer and spring, shall not cease day nor night?" (Genesis 8:22). If taken literally this expression signifies the continuation of the duration of the annual seasons, and that the earthly temperature adapted to animals and plants is not again to be destroyed; since indeed, if the weather is corrupted it would corrupt them likewise, and if it is preserved in its existing state it would preserve them also safe and sound; for it is according to the weather and temperature that all animals and plants are preserved safe and sound, without any infirmity, being accustomed, in some measure, to be produced separately, in an admirable way, and to grow up together. But nature is like a harmony, composed of opposite sounds, both flat and sharp; for thus, also, the world is compounded of opposite qualities, for when, in the first place, the mortal commixtures of cold and heat, of moisture and dryness, preserve their natural order, without any confusion, they are themselves a cause which prevents destruction from overwhelming everything upon the earth. But if we regard the inward sense of the passage, the seed time is the beginning and the harvest time is the end, and both the beginning and the end are concurrent causes of safety, for either thing alone is by itself imperfect, because the beginning requires an end, and the end has a natural inclination for the beginning; but cold and heat bring round winter and autumn; for the autumn is fiery, but only in such a degree as succeeding in its annual revolution to cool the fiery summer. And, symbolically, with reference to the mind, cold indicates fear, since it causes terror and trepidation; but heat indicates anger, because an angry disposition bears in itself a resemblance to flame and fire; for it is necessary that those things should always exist and always remain among created and corruptible beings; since summer and spring have been instituted for the production of fruits; spring for the perfection of the seeds, and summer for the perfecting of fruits and the buds of trees. These things indeed are discerned symbolically in addition to the inward sense of the words, producing a double fruit; what is necessary being computed in the season of spring, and what is superfluous in the summer. Therefore necessary food is for the most part for the body, being whatever is produced freely from seeds; as virtues are necessary for the soul. But as many fruits as come by way of excess from trees in summer, besides the advantage which they are to the body, do also bring corporeal goods to the mind, as external advantages: for these external advantages are subservient to the body, and the body is subservient to the mind, and the mind to God. But day and night are the measures of times and numbers; and time and number exist without interruption. Day indicates lucid wisdom, and night betokens obscure folly.

Why was it that God, blessing Noah and his sons, said, "Increase, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and rule over it; and let your fear and the dread of you be upon all beasts, and upon flying fowls, and upon reptiles, and upon the fishes which I have placed under your hand?" (Genesis 9:1). This devotion of the inferior animals to man, God also at the beginning of the creation bestowed on the sixth day upon man, after he had created him in his own image; for the scripture saith, "And God made man; in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them. And God blessed them, and said, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth; and be ye lords over it, and be ye rulers of the fishes, and of the flying fowls, and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth." And did he not by these words evidently intimate that Noah, at the beginning of what we may call the second creation of mankind, was found equal in honour to that creature who in the first instance was made as to his form in the likeness of himself? Therefore he equally assigned both to the one and to the other the principality and power over all the creatures that live upon the earth. But do thou diligently take notice that he showed this man, who at the time of the deluge was the only just man and the king of all the creatures which live upon the earth, to be equal in honour, not to the identical man who was first created and formed out of the earth, but to that one who was made according to the likeness and form of the true incorporeal entity, to whom also he gives power, making him a king, not the very created man (or the man formed out of the earth), but him who is according to his form and similitude, that is to say, incorporeal. Wherefore also the creation of that man, who as to his form is incorporeal, was marked to have taken place on the sixth day, in accordance with the perfect number six; but the creation of that man who was created after the completion of the world and subsequent to the generation of all animals on the seventh day, because it is after that that the manly figure was fashioned out of clay. Therefore after the days of generation he says, "on the seventh day of the world;" for God had not yet rained upon the earth, and no man did exist who could cultivate the earth. And then he proceeds to say, "But God formed a man out of the clay of the earth, and breathed into his face the breath of life, and man became a living soul." Therefore how he can be made worthy of the same kingly power according to the image of the man thus formed, he, I mean, who is the beginning of the second creation of mankind, is indicated by the letter of the history that relates these events. But with reference to the inward sense of the passage we must give an explanation in the following manner. God wills that the souls of wise men should increase in the magnitude and multitude of the beauty of their virtues, and should fill the mind as if it were the earth with those beauties, leaving no portion empty and void so as to become occupied by folly. And he wills also that they should rule over, and strike terror into, and inflict alarm upon all beasts; that is to say, he wills that all wickedness should be subdued by their will, since wickedness is of an untamed and savage nature. Also he willed that they should be lords over all flying fowls, which by reason of their lightness are raised on high, being armed with courage and empty pride, and which thus cause the greatest mischief, being scarcely controlled at all by fear. Moreover, he made them rulers over all creeping things, which are the symbols of destructive vices, for they creep through the whole soul, namely, concupiscence, desire, sadness, and cowardice, striking and goading; as also they are indicated by the fishes, which eagerly cultivate a moist and delicate life, but one which is far from being sober, wise, or lasting.

Why does God say, "Every creeping thing which lives shall be to you for food?" (Genesis 9:3). Creeping things are of a twofold nature; some being venomous, and others domestic. The venomous ones are serpents, which, instead of feet, use their bellies and breasts, creeping upon the earth; but the domestic ones are those which have legs above their feet. This is the literal meaning of the statement. But if we look to the inward sense of it, then the creeping things represent the foul vices, but the clean ones represent joy; for in connexion with the passion of concupiscence there will exist joy and pleasure; and in connexion with desire there will be will and counsel, and in connexion with sorrow goading and compunction, and in connexion with avidity there will be fear. Therefore such disordered perturbations of the passions threaten souls with death and destruction; but the joys do really live, as he himself has warned us in an allegory; and they also give life to those who possess them.

What is the meaning of the expression, "As the green herb I have given you all things?" (Genesis 9:3). Some persons say that by this expression, "As the green herb I have given you all things," the eating of flesh was permitted. But I say that even though God had intended to give that permission, still that before all things he must have intended to establish by law the necessary use of herbs, that is to say of vegetables. And under the general name of herb he includes all the other additional descriptions of green food, without mentioning them expressly in the law. But now the power of this command is adapted not to one nation alone among all the select nations of the earth which are desirous of wisdom, among which religious continence is honoured, but to all mankind, who cannot possibly be universally prohibited from eating flesh. Nevertheless, perhaps the present expression has no reference to eating food, but rather to the possession of the power to do so; for in fact every herb is not necessarily good to eat, nor again is it the uniform and invariable food of all uniform living animals; since God said that some herbs were poisonous and deadly, and yet they are included in the number all. Perhaps therefore, I say, he means to express this, that all brute beasts are subjected to the power of man, as we sow herbs and take care of them by the cultivation of the land.

What is the meaning of the expression, "You shall not eat flesh in the blood of its life?" (Genesis 9:4). God appears by this command to indicate that the blood is the substance of the soul; I mean of that soul which exists by the external senses and by vitality, not of that which is spoken of with a certain especial pre-eminence, being the rational and intellectual soul; for there are three parts of the human soul; one the nutritive part, another that which is connected with the external senses, and the third that which exists in reason. Therefore the rational part is the substance of the divine spirit according to the sacred writer Moses: for in his account of the creation of the world, he says, "God breathed into his face the breath of life," as being what was to constitute his life. But of that part of the soul which is connected with the external senses and with vitality, blood is the substance; for he says in another place, "The blood exists in every breath of flesh." It is with great propriety in fact that he has called the blood the breath of all flesh, because there are in the flesh senses and passions, but not intellect nor thoughts. But again by the expression "the spirit of blood," he intimates that the spirit is one thing and the blood another; so that the essence of the soul is truly and beyond all possible question spirit. But that spirit has a place not by itself separately, apart from the blood in the body; but it is interwoven and mingled with the blood. As also the veins which exhibit a pulse, as if they were vessels to convey breathing, bear with them most unmixed and pure air, but blood likewise, though perhaps in a less degree; for there are two vessels, the veins and the breathing channels; but the veins have more blood than breath, and the breathing channels have more breath than blood. Therefore the proper admixture in each vessel is distinct, as the greater and the lesser proportion. This is the meaning of these words when taken literally; but if we look to their inner meaning, he calls the blood of the soul that warm and fiery virtue belonging to it which we name courage. And he who is full of this wisdom despises all food, and every pleasure of the belly, and of those parts which are below the belly. But if any one adopts a profligate life, and becomes a wanderer like the wind, and gradually inactive from laziness and a luxurious life, he in fact does nothing else but fall upon his belly, as a reptile creeping upon the earth, and greedily licking up earthly things, closing his life without ever tasting of that heavenly food which the souls which are desirous of wisdom receive.

What is the meaning of the expression, "The blood of your souls will I require from every beast, and from the hand of man's brother will I require the life of man?" (Genesis 9:5). The multitude of creatures which do injury is twofold; some being beasts, and others men. But beasts are rather the least injurious of the two, because they have no actual familiarity with those whom they wish to injure, principally because they do not fall under their power, but destroy those who have properly power over them. But when he speaks of brothers, he means men who are murderers, intimating these three things. First of all, that all we men are akin to one another, and are brothers, being connected with one another according to the relation of the highest kind of kindred; for we have received a lot, as being the children of one and the same mother, rational nature. In the second place, he intimates that very commonly numerous and terrible quarrels arise, and acts of treachery take place, between relations, and rather between brothers, on account of the division of their inheritance, or on account of some superiority of dignity in the household; since a quarrel between those of the same family is worse and altogether unseemly, because brothers who are really so by the ties of nature meet in contest with a great knowledge of one another's internal circumstances; being therefore well aware what kind of attack they must employ in their present warfare. But, in the third place, as it appears to me, he employs the appellation of brothers in order to warn men of the implacable and severe punishment which is reserved for murderers; that they, without meeting any compassion, shall suffer what they have inflicted; for they have not slain strangers, but their own brothers in blood. It is with exceeding great propriety that he calls God the protector and overseer of those who are slain by man; for although men despise the revenge, yet let them not behave negligently, but although impure men of savage disposition escape for the moment from danger, still let them know that they are already caught and brought before the greater tribunal of justice, namely, before the divine judgement-seat, which rises up to inflict vengeance on the wicked for the defense of those who have received shameful and unworthy treatment. This is the literal meaning of the words; but if we look to the inward sense of them they have a regard to the merit of the purity of the soul, to which it is suitable to avoid unceasing destruction brought in from outward parts; which merit, that propitious and beneficent being, the most merciful and only Saviour, does not despise; but he expels and destroys all its enemies who stand around it, calling them beasts, and men brothers; for beasts are a symbolical expression for furious men threatening calamitous death; but men and brothers are both separate individual thoughts, and words uttered by mouth and tongue, because they are akin to them, and, by consequence, they bring on great and destructive evils, leaving no stone unturned, no work or word omitted to do injury.

What is the meaning of the expression, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood by man shall his blood be shed?" (Genesis 9:6). There is no excess in this declaration, but rather an indication of a still more formidable denunciation, because he says, "He himself shall be poured out like blood who pours out blood." For that which is poured out flows forth and is lost, so that it has no longer any power or substance. And by this he shadows forth the fact that the souls of those who perpetrate unworthy actions imitate the mortal body in its corruption, as far as corruption is accustomed to come upon individuals; for the body is then dissolved into those parts of which it was composed, returning into its proper elements. But the miserable soul, labouring under distresses, is borne hither and thither by the overflow of a lascivious life; and the very evils which have grown up along with it are accustomed to suffer the same overflow, in the manner of the parts of the limbs.

Why is it that he speaks as if of some other god, saying that he made man after the image of God, and not that he made him after his own image? (Genesis 9:6). Very appropriately and without any falsehood was this oracular sentence uttered by God, for no mortal thing could have been formed on the similitude of the supreme Father of the universe, but only after the pattern of the second deity, who is the Word of the supreme Being; since it is fitting that the rational soul of man should bear it the type of the divine Word; since in his first Word God is superior to the most rational possible nature. But he who is superior to the Word holds his rank in a better and most singular pre-eminence, and how could the creature possibly exhibit a likeness of him in himself? Nevertheless he

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also wished to intimate this fact, that God does rightly and correctly require vengeance, in order to the defense of virtuous and consistent men, because such bear in themselves a familiar acquaintance with his Word, of which the human mind is the similitude and form.

What is the meaning of the words, "There shall not again be a deluge to destroy all the earth?" (Genesis 9:11). By his last saying he declares sufficiently that there may be various inundations, but that there shall never be one of such a character as to be able to change the whole earth into a lake or sea. This is the literal meaning of this saying. But if we look to its inward sense, there a divine kindness is intimated, according to which, although it is not every part of the soul which is allowed to make proficiency in every virtue, still some are adorned in a considerable degree. So that, supposing any one is not able to display excellence in his whole body, he still may labour with all diligence to acquire all the means in his power to display excellence; and that exertion is within his reach. And it does not follow that if any one is less highly endowed, or is unable to make every portion of his life altogether perfect, that he is on that account to despair of those things which he is able to do and to attain to. Since as there is power in every individual, he who does not exert himself in accordance with it is both idle and ungrateful; idle because of his laziness, and ungrateful because, though he has received most excellent means, he still sets himself in opposition to the essential qualities of things.

Why does God say that, as a sign that he will never again bring a deluge over the whole earth, he will place his bow in the clouds? (Genesis 9:13). Some persons imagine that by the bow he means that thing which by some is called Jupiter's belt, from its figure, dwelling on its continual similitude to the rainbow; but I do not perceive that that has been positively asserted. In the first place, because the bow aforesaid ought to have a peculiar and essential nature of its own, because it is called the bow of God; for he says, "I will set my bow in the clouds." But that which belongs to God and is said to have been set in any place as his, indicates plainly that it is not devoid of essence or of substance. But the belt of Jupiter has not, properly speaking, any separate nature of its own, but is merely an appearance of the solar rays on a wet cloud, all the phaenomena of which are non-existent and incorporeal. And moreover, this is a further proof of that, that it is never seen at night, though clouds exist by night as well as by day. In the second place, we must also say that even in the day-time, when clouds obscure the whole face of heaven, the belt of Jupiter is never at all seen in them. But what remains may also be affirmed without any falsehood, when the Maker of the law says, "I will set my bow in the clouds;" for, behold, while clouds are present there is no appearance of the belt of Jupiter visible. But he said, "Where there is a collection of clouds let there be a bow seen in the clouds." Still it often happens, when the clouds are collected and when the air is obscured and thickened, that no appearance of a rainbow is seen anywhere. We must consider, therefore, whether haply the sacred historian indicates something else by this mention of the bow, namely, that in the very exercise of the mercy of God, and also in the moment of his bitterness towards men on earth, there still shall not be any ultimate destruction of them, in the fashion of a bow, which is too soft and unfit for such a purpose, nor shall there be any violence added, so as to cause a rapid destruction, but there shall be a moderate determination, each attribute being carefully measured; for the great deluge took place with a breaking asunder and disruption of the clouds and of all things; as he himself asserts, when he says, "The fountains of the deep were broken up." And yet it was not an unmeasured vehemence. Moreover, a bow is not itself a weapon, but only an instrument for the use of weapons, namely, for the arrow which strikes; and the arrow being sent forth by means of the bow strikes a part which is at a distance, while the parts which are nearest to it remain unhurt. And this is given as a proof that the whole earth shall never for the future suffer any deluge, since no one arrow ever hits all places, but only those which are at a distance. Therefore the divine virtue, being invisible, is symbolically indicated by the bow in the cloud; being in truth dissolved according to the figure of tranquility, and condensed in accordance with a cloud; so that it does not permit all the clouds to be altogether dissolved into water, so that the earth may not be made a lake by an inundation, which it carefully forbids, and arranges the condensation of air, checking it as by a bridle, though it is at that time the more accustomed to exhibit itself as rebellious by reason of its excessive fulness. For by reason of the clouds it also shows itself to be replenished, dripping, and saturated.

Why is it that after the sons of the just man have been named Shem, Ham, and Japhet, he relates only the generations of the middle one, saying, "And Ham was the Father of Canaan;" and afterwards he adds, "These are the three sons of Noah?" (Genesis 9:18). Mentioning four men, Noah and his sons, he says that these were obedient. Because the grandson Canaan was in his habits like his Father who begat him, on that account, instead of mentioning only one, he includes both in his enumeration, so that they are four in number, three in virtue. But in the meantime in the scripture he mentions only the generations of the middle one, on account of the just man whom he is going to speak of subsequently, because although he was his father, since Ham is the Father of Canaan, still he does not mention the father with blame, but with respect to the man with whom he thought it fair that the son should be a partaker, he yet did not give the father a participation with him. In the second place, perhaps he thus gives a premonitory warning also to those persons who by the acuteness of their mental vision can see a long way off what is at a distance, namely, that he designs to take away the land of the Canaanites from them after the lapse of many ages, and to give it to his chosen people who are thoroughly devoted to God. Therefore he chooses to designate the chief inhabitant of that region, namely Canaan, and to show that he both practiced singular and peculiar wickedness of his own, and also all the wickedness of his father, so that in every part he might be convicted of an ignoble slavery and submission. This is the literal meaning of these words. But if we have a regard to the inward sense, he does not say that Ham had a son named Canaan, but he predicates offspring of him alone, saying, "Ham was the Father of Canaan." Since such a disposition as that of Ham is always the Father of such designs as those of Canaan, and that the very names themselves intimate this. For if we translate them into another language, Ham means heat or hot; and Canaan means merchants, or buyers, or causes, or recipients. Accordingly, he is not now speaking manifestly of generations, nor is he saying that one man is the Father or the son of another man, but he is evidently demonstrating the connexion between one counsel and another, by reason of its alienation from all familiarity with virtue.

ABOUT THE CULTIVATION OF THE EARTH

What is the meaning of the statement, "Noah began to be a cultivator of the earth?" (Genesis 9:20). He is here comparing Noah to the first created man who was formed out of the earth; for in that manner also does he speak of him when he came forth out of the ark; since both then and now there took place a first beginning of the cultivation of the land, each being after a deluge. For also, at the time of the original creation of the world the earth was, as it were, a lake, being covered by an inundation of water, for the sacred historian could not tell us that God said, "Let the waters be gathered together into one body, and let the dry land appear," unless it had previously been inundated with waters which now returned into certain depths of the earth. Nor again is the expression a purposeless one, "He began to be a tiller of the earth," for in the second generation he was himself the beginning of men, and also of seed, and of the cultivation of the land, and of the life of all other things. This is the literal meaning of the words. But if we look to their inner sense, a distinction is made between being a cultivator of the earth and a tiller of it; as the murderer of his brother is represented as tilling the earth, but not as cultivating it. For by the earth our body is symbolically represented, which is by its nature earthly, and which the unjust and wicked man tills like a lazy hireling, but which the man endued with virtue cultivates like a skilful manager of plants and an agriculturist of good works appointed to superintend it. Because the workman of the body, the mind, as being carnal, procures carnal pleasures; but the cultivator of the earth is careful to produce useful fruits, those, namely, which are to be obtained by the study of continence, and modesty, and sound wisdom; and he prunes away all superfluous excesses and bad habits which spring up around, like the thin and misplaced branches of trees.

Why does the just man first plant a vineyard? (Genesis 9:20). It was very natural for it to be a subject of anxiety and doubt to him in what quarter he was to find any plants after the deluge, when everything upon the earth was destroyed. Therefore it appeared natural, as was said a little while ago, that the earth was made dry in the spring season; therefore when the spring produced the buds of trees, the roots and stems of the vine could easily be found by the just man still alive, and might thus be collected by him. But we have to consider why the first thing he did was to plant a vineyard, and why he did not rather sow wheat and barley, since the latter are necessary productions of the earth, without which life cannot be supported, but the former is only a material for superfluous pleasure. The answer is that Noah, adopting a salutary design, consecrated and offered up to God those things which are necessary to support life and which require no co-operation for the production of the fruit; but the superfluous plants he devoted to men; for the use of wine is superfluous and not necessary. As therefore God ordered fountains of water fit to drink to burst up from the earth without the cooperation of man, so he also of his own accord granted to man in a similar manner wheat and barley, in order that he himself might be the sole giver of each kind of food which serves for necessary eating and drinking. But he did not take away the power nor grudge them providing for themselves by their own industry those things which contribute to pleasure.

What is the meaning of the statement, "He drank of the wine and was drunken?" (Genesis 9:21). In the first place, the just man did not drink the wine, but a portion of the wine, not the whole of it; in which case an incontinent and debauched man does not quit his means of debauchery, till he has first swallowed all the wine that there is before him; but by the religious and sober man everything necessary for food is used in a moderate degree. And the expression, "he was drunken," is here to be taken simply as equivalent to "he used the wine." But there are two modes of getting drunk, the one is that of an intemperate sottishness which misuses wine, and this offence is peculiar to the depraved and wicked man; the other is the use of wine, and this belongs to the wise. It is therefore in the second of these meanings that the consistent and wise Noah is here called drunken, not as having misused but as having used wine.

What is the meaning of the statement, "He was naked in his house?" (Genesis 9:21). This is a praise of the wise man both in the literal sense of the words, and also in their hidden meaning, that his exhibition of nakedness took place not out of doors but in his house, being concealed by the roof and walls of his house; for the nakedness of the body is concealed by a house which is made of stones and beams of wood: but the covering and clothing of the soul is the discipline of wisdom. Therefore there are two kinds of nakedness, one which takes place by accident, which is the result of an involuntary offence, because the just man, using, if I may say so, his honesty as if it were a garment with which he is clothed, stumbles out of his own accord like men who are intoxicated, or who are afflicted with insanity; for in such men their offences are not deliberately committed: but it is his task and pleasing duty to clothe himself, as with a garment, with the discipline and study of honesty. There is also another kind of nakedness of the soul which is caused by perfect virtue, which expels from itself the whole carnal weight of the body, as if it were flying from a tomb, as indeed it has long been buried in it as in a tomb; as also it avoids pleasures, and also a great number of miseries arising from the different passions and many anxieties arising from misfortunes, and indeed all the evil effects of these different circumstances. He therefore, who has been able with distinction to pass through such various and great dangers, and to escape such injuries, and to emancipate himself from such evils, has attained to the destiny of happiness, without any stain or disgrace; for I should pronounce this to be the ornament and badge of beauty in those individuals who have been rendered worthy to pass their existence in an incorporeal manner.

Why is it that the sacred writer has not simply said, Ham saw his nakedness, but Ham the father of Canaan saw the nakedness of his father? (Genesis 9:22). By stating the fact thus, he both blames the son in the father and the father in the son, as performing together in common the deed of folly, and iniquity, and impiety, and every other kind of wickedness. This is the literal meaning of the statement; and as to the inner sense, we must look at that in the same manner in which we have hitherto treated these subjects.

What is the meaning of the statement, "He told it to his two brothers out of doors?" (Genesis 9:22). The sacred historian is here adding to the gravity of the transaction. In the first place, because he did not report the involuntary evil of his father to one brother only, but to both of them; and no doubt if he had had any more he would have told it to them all, as he did in fact to every one he could; and he did so with ridicule in his very words, making a jest of what ought not to have been treated with laughter and derision, but rather with shame and fear mingled with reverence. In the second place, when the historian says he told it them, not in the house but out of the house, he evidently points out that he displayed his father when naked, not only to his brothers, but also to the bystanders with whom they were, both men and women. This is the literal information conveyed by the words. But if we look to their inward meaning, then we shall see that a depraved and malignant habit of life is full of derision and contempt: and it is a bad thing to judge of the miseries of others even by one's self like a chastising judge. But in this case what has happened is worse than this, for any man with a joyful mind to ridicule the involuntary misfortune of a devoted disciple of wisdom, and to make a song of and proclaim abroad his misery, is the part of a thoroughly hostile accuser, who ought rather to have pardoned such an occurrence than to have added accusation or vituperation to it. Moreover, because these three things are, as I have said before, as it were brothers together; namely, good, bad, and indifferent, being all the offspring of one parent thought: in accordance with each of these principles, they have been found to be overseers, some celebrating virtues with praise, others upholding acts of malignity, and others supporting riches and honours and other good things which, however, are not attached to and which are external to the body. The overseers who emulate wickedness rejoice at the fall of the wise man, and ridicule and disparage him, as if he had done no good by the part which he adopts and to which he applies himself as better for the mind, or for his body, or for his external circumstances, to his internal virtues or to any of the good

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things which are around and exterior to his body. Unless indeed that man alone is eminently able to attain his object, who applies himself to iniquity, as that alone is accustomed to confer advantages on human life. Pronouncing these and similar precepts, those who are overseers of iniquity ridicule those who devote themselves to virtue, and to those things by which virtue is produced and consolidated: as some look upon those things to be which are around the body, and outside it, and which may be regarded in the light of instruments serving to that end.

What is the meaning of the statement, "Shem and Japhet, taking a garment, laid it upon both their shoulders and went backwards, and covered the nakedness of their father, and they themselves did not see it?" (Genesis 9:23). The literal meaning of the statement is evident; but with respect to the inner sense contained in it, we must say that the light man who is in too great haste only sees those things which are before his eyes and exposed to his sight: but that the evil man also sees those things which are at his back, that is to say, the future. And since what is posterior is postponed to what is anterior, so is what is future to what is present, the sight of which is peculiar to the virtuous and wise man, who in truth is a second Lynceus, being according to the fables gifted with eyes in every part. Therefore every wise man, who is not so much man as actual intellect, walks backward, that is to say, he sees what is behind him or future, as if it were placed in brilliant light; and seeing every thing on all sides of him with a perfect sight, and looking all around him, he is found to be armed, and protected, and fortified, so that no part of his soul is ever found naked or in an unseemly plight, on account of any accidents which occur unfortunately.

What is the meaning of the statement, "And Noah became sober after the wine?" (Genesis 9:24). The literal meaning is too notorious. Therefore we need only here speak of what concerns the inner sense of the words. When the intellect is strengthened, it is able by its soberness to discern with a certain accuracy all things, both before and behind it, both present, I mean, and future; but the man who can see neither what is present nor what is future with accuracy, is afflicted by blindness; but he who sees the present, but who cannot also foresee the future, and is not at all cautious, such a man is overcome by drunkenness and intoxication; and he, lastly, who is found to be able to look all around him, and to see, and discern, and comprehend the different natures of things, both present and future, the watchfulness of sobriety is in that man.

Why is it that after the sacred historian has enumerated Ham in the middle of the offspring of Noah, or has placed him in the middle between his brethren, he nevertheless points out that he was the younger, saying, "Noah saw what his younger son had done to him?" (Genesis 9:25). This is a manifest allegory, because he here takes as the younger, not him who was so in age and in point of time, but him who was younger in mind; since wickedness is unable to attain to a perception of the learning which is proper to the elder; but the elder thoughts belong to a will which is truly growing old, not indeed in body, but in mind.

Why did Noah when praying for Shem speak thus: "Blessed is the Lord God, the God of Shem: and Canaan shall be his servant?" (Genesis 9:23). The names Lord and God are here used together on account of his principal attributes, both of benevolence and of kingly power by which the world was created; for as king he created the world according to his beneficence; but after he had completed it then the world was arranged and set in order by his attribute of kingly power. Therefore he at that time rendered the wise man worthy of a common honour, which the whole world also received, all the parts of the world being formed in an admirable manner with the attributes of the Lord and God, doing so by his especial prerogative, munificently pouring forth the favour and liberality of his beneficent power. And it is on this account that the beneficent power of God is mentioned twice. Once, as has been already stated, being placed in opposition to his kingly power; and a second time without any such connexion, in order, forsooth, that the wise man having been rendered worthy of his gifts, both such as are common to him with others and such as are peculiar to himself, he might also be rendered acceptable both to the world and to God; to the world on account of the excellence imparted to him in common with it, and to God for such as was peculiar to himself.

Why, when Noah prayed for Japhet, did he say, "God shall enlarge Japhet, and bid him to dwell in the house of Shem: and Canaan shall be their servant?" (Genesis 9:27). Without examining the literal statement, for the meaning of that is plain, we had better approach the inner sense contained in it, and examine that, in which the second and third blessings mentioned are capable of an enlarged and ample extension. As, for instance, good health, and a vigorous state of the outward senses, and beauty, and strength, and opulence, and nobleness of birth, and friends, and the power of a prince, and numbers of other things. And on this account he said, "God shall enlarge," etc. Because taken separately, the abundant possession of such numerous and great blessings has of itself been injurious to many persons who have scarcely dwelt with justice, or wisdom, or any other virtues, the complete possession of which dispenses to man in an admirable manner the advantages which are external to and which surround the body; but the deprivation or absence of them leaves him without the enjoyment or use of them; and man, if deprived of all good protectors, and of the use of these enjoyments, is exposed to as much suffering as he is capable of. Therefore he prays on behalf of he man who has those things which are around and exterior to the body, that he may dwell in the house of the wise man; so that attending to the rules of all good men he may see and regulate his own course by their example.

Why because Ham had sinned did God pronounce that his son Canaan should be the servant of Ham and Japhet? (Genesis 9:27). In the first place, God pronounced this sentence because both father and son had displayed the same wickedness, being both united together and not separated, and both indulging in the same disposition. But in the second place, he did so because the father would be exceedingly afflicted at the curse thus laid upon the son, being sufficiently conscious that he was punished not so much for his own sake as for that of his father. And so the leader and master of the two suffered the punishment of his wicked counsels, and words, and actions. This is the literal meaning of the statement. But if we look to its inward meaning, then in reality they are no more two different men than two different dispositions. And this is made plain by the names given to them, which manifestly denote the nature of the facts; for Ham being interpreted means heat or hot; and Canaan means merchants of causes.

Why was it that Noah lived after the deluge three hundred and fifty years? (Genesis 9:28). It is now declared that in two periods of seven years the form of the world was originally created and now renewed under Noah. But the wise man lives for a period of fourteen quarters of a century; and fourteen times twenty-five is equal to seven times fifty, or fifty times seven. And it is the principle of the seventh year and also of the fiftieth, which has an especial order of its own explained and ordained in Leviticus.

Why among the three sons of Noah does Ham appear always to occupy the middle place, but the two extremities are varied; for when their birth is mentioned, Shem is placed in the first rank, in this manner, Shem, Ham, and Japhet; but when they are spoken of as fathers, then Japhet is mentioned first, and the beginning of the enumeration of the nations is derived from Japhet himself? (Genesis 10:1). Those who inquire into the literal nature of the divine writings think thus of the order in which these men are mentioned, looking upon him who is the first named, that is Shem, as the younger; and upon him who is named the last, that is Japhet, as the elder. However they may choose to think of this let them, being guided by the principle of mere opinion. But we who look to the real meaning of these statements think that there is here a reference to the three things, good, bad, and indifferent; which last are called secondary goods; and we must therefore think that the sacred writer always puts the bad in the middle, so that being confined at either extremity it may be subdued on one side by the one, and on the other side by the other; so that, being confined, it may be kept in and subdued. But the good and the indifferent, or secondary good, change the order with one another; for when there is such great evil present, and yet not wholly and altogether, the good rejoices in the first place, having the position of the dispenser and chief of the whole. But when it is placed in the position of the will in a state of conspiracy, and injustice remains not only in the intellect but is also conducted to its end by unjust works, then that first good is changed from its original order into another place, together with all the good habits which depend upon it, rejecting all education and all arrangement, as being wholly unable to attain its proposed end, just as a physician does when he sees an incurable disease. But the elder good manages that virtue which is around the body and exterior to it; therefore, by observing the extremities with greater caution, and closing in the beast within its toils, it is sufficiently demonstrated that it does not dare to bite or injure any more. But while it feels that it has done no injury, it is transferred into a more secure and more permanent position, and then, a higher and better fortified place being assigned to it, it easily retains the lower position too as one easy to be preserved; for, in consequence of the superior power of its guardian, it is always practicable to watch it closely, since nothing is more mighty than virtue.

Why do the people of Ceos, and of Rhodes, and the isles of the Gentiles, spring from Japhet? (Genesis 16:4+5). Since he has the name denoting breadth (namely Japhet), being expanded in his growth and increase, that part of the things of the world which have been assigned by nature for the use of mankind, that is to say, the earth, can no longer hold him, therefore he passes over into the other part, that is to say, the sea and the islands belonging to it. This is the literal meaning of the statement. But if we look to its inner sense, all the external blessings which are bestowed by nature, such as riches, and honour, and principalities, are lavished and poured forth in every direction on those men into whose hands they come, and are also extended widely to others who are not so much within reach; so that in a greater, or at all events, in no less a degree do they surround and hem the man in, in accordance with the greediness of the lovers of riches and glory, since they are eager for principalities, and are never satisfied because of their insatiable desires.

Why the eldest son of Ham is Chus. (Genesis 10:6). The sacred historian has here produced a word most completely in accordance with nature, saying that Chus was the elder son of evil, Chus being the dissolved and loose nature of the earth, for the earth, when dense and fertile, and moist, is full of herbs, and hills, and trees, and is well arranged for the production of different fruits; but when dissolved and reduced to dust and dry, it is unfruitful and barren; and besides it is tossed about in the air, when it is raised from the ground by the wind, by its dust making the air all alive. Such as this is the first origin and the first shoots of evil being destitute of the generation of good pursuits, and the cause of barrenness to the soul and to all its parts.

Why was Chus the father of Nimrod, who began to be a giant and a hunter before the Lord: on which account they said, "Like Nimrod the mighty hunter before the Lord?" (Genesis 10:8). The father in this case, having a nature truly dissolute, does not at all keep fast the spiritual bond of the soul, nor of nature, nor of consistency of manners, but rather like a giant born of the earth, prefers earthly to heavenly things, and thus appears to verify the ancient fable of the giants and Titans; for in truth he who is an emulator of earthly and corruptible things is always engaged in a conflict with heavenly and admirable natures, raising up earth as a bulwark against heaven; and those things which are below are adverse to those which are above. On which account there is much propriety in the expression, he was a giant against God, which thus declares the opposition of such beings to the deity; for a wicked man is nothing else than an enemy, contending against God: on which account it has become a proverb that every one who sins greatly ought to be referred to him as the original and chief of sinners, being spoken of "as a second Nimrod." Therefore his very name is an indication of his character, for it is interpreted Aethiopian, and his art is that of hunting, both of which things are detestable: an Aethiopian because unmitigated wickedness has no participation in light, but imitates night and darkness: and the practice of the huntsman is as much as possible at variance with rational nature, for he who lives among wild beasts wishes to live the life of a beast, and to be equal to the brutes in the vices of wickedness.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON GENESIS, III

(What is the meaning of the expression, "I am the Lord thy God who brought thee out of the land of the Chaldaeans to give thee this land for an inheritance?" (Genesis 15:7). As the literal statement is plain enough, we need only consider the inner meaning, which was meant to be interpreted in this manner. The law of the Chaldaeans taken symbolically is mathematical speculation, one part of which is recognised to be astronomy, which the Chaldaeans study with great industry and with great success. Therefore God is here honouring the wise man with a gift; in the first place, by taking men out of the sect of the astrologers, that is to say, away from the hallucinations of the Chaldaeans, which, as they are difficult to detect and refute, are found to be the cause of great evils and wickedness, since they ascribe the attributes of the Creator to created things, and persuade men to worship and to venerate the works of the world as God. In the second place, God honours him by granting to him the wisdom which bears fruit, which he has here symbolically called the earth; but the Father of the universe shows that wisdom and virtue are invariable and immutable, since it is not consistent with his character that God should show to any one that which can undergo any variation or change, for that which is shown by the being who is immutable and consistent must be so too; but that which is liable to change, as being incessantly in the habit of suffering variation, admits of no proper or divine demonstration.

(Why does he say, "Lord, by what shall I know that I shall inherit it?" (Genesis 15:8). He here is seeking a sign for a ratification of the promise; but two things only are described deserving of study; one that which is an affection of the mind, namely, the belief in God according to his literal word; the other a being borne on with the most exceeding desire not to be left in want of some signs, by which the hearer may feel, to the conviction of his outer senses, a confirmation of the promise: and to him who has given the promise he offers worthy veneration by the appellation, "Lord." For by this title he says, I know thee to be the Lord and prince of all things, who art also able to do all things, and there is no disability with thee. But in truth, if I have already given credence to thy promise, still I nevertheless wish to obtain speedily if not a completion of it, yet at all events some evident signs by which its consummation may be indicated; in truth I am thy creature, and even if I were to arrive at the highest degree of excellence, I am not always able to restrain

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the violence of my desire, so as not, when I have seen or heard anything good, to be contented with obtaining it slowly and not immediately; therefore I entreat that thou wilt give me some means of knowledge, by which I may comprehend those future events.

(Why is it that he says, "Take for me a heifer of three years old, and a goat of three years old, and a raven of three years old, and a turtle dove and a pigeon?" (Genesis 15:9). He here mentions five animals, which are offered on the sacred altar; for these are divided into classes of victims, three kinds of terrestrial animals, the ox, the goat, and the sheep; and two kinds of birds, the turtle dove and the pigeon; for the sacred writer constantly tells us that the everlasting reverence of victims derived its origin from the patriarch, who was also the origin of the race: but instead of the expression, "Bring to me," he has very admirably used the words, "Take for me;" since there is nothing especially and peculiarly belonging to the creature, but everything is the gift of and blessing bestowed by God, who is altogether willing that when any one has received anything he should offer thanks for it with all his heart. But he orders him to take every animal at the age of three years; since three is a full and perfect number, consisting of a beginning, a middle, and an end; but still we may raise the question, why of these three animals, he takes two females, the heifer, and the she-goat, and one male, the ram; may it not be perhaps because the heifer and the she-goat are offered as an atonement for sin; but the sheep is not, as sin arises from frailty, and the female is frail? This much I have thought fit to say with especial appositeness to this question; but I am not however ignorant that all things of this kind offer a handle to those who wish to cavil, to disparage the sacred scriptures; therefore in this instance they say that there is nothing here described and indicated but a command to sacrifice, by the division of the animals and an examination of their entrails; and what is visible in them they affirm to be an indication of what is convenient, and of the similitude which arises from things visible. But those men, as it appears to me, are of that class which forms a part alone from a judgement of the whole, but which on the contrary does not from a judgement of a part from the whole, which last is the better way of coming to an opinion, as being that by which both the name and the fact are altogether established. Therefore the giving of the law, that is to say the sacred scriptures, that I may so express myself, is a sort of living unity, the whole of which one ought to examine carefully with all one's eyes, and so discern with truth, and certainty, and clearness, the universal intention of the whole of the scripture without dissecting or lacerating its harmony, or disuniting its unity; by any other mode everything would appear utterly inconsistent and absurd, being dissociated from all community or equity. What then is the intention of the delivery of the law as exhibited to us? It is scientific, and so is everything which describes scientific species; since the offering of sacrifice and all science admits of a consistent usage, and of expression well adapted to them, and of various opinions, by which not only the footsteps of truth are occupied, but sometimes are even darkened, as affection is by flattery; but in such way that the very things which are genuine and established by experiment are perverted by things which are both inconsistent and unproved. And the natures of the animals above mentioned have an intimate connexion with the parts of the universe; the ox is connected with the earth, as being an animal employed in drawing the plough and in tilling the earth; the goat again is connected with the water (it is called in Greek and Armenian aix, or ajx), being an animal deriving its name from driving and rushing on (from agoμ or aissoμ); since water is an impetuous thing, and the course of rivers, and the extent of the breadth of the sea, and the sea itself agitated as it is by its ebb and flow, are witnesses of the propriety of the name and of the closeness of the connexion. And the ram (aries) is connected with the air, as being a very violent and vivacious animal, on which account too the ram is more useful to mankind than any other animal as affording them raiment. Therefore, on account of these reasons, as I think, God orders him first to take these two female animals, the cow and the she-goat; since both these elements, earth and water, are material, and for the most part feminine. But the third he will have a male, namely the ram; because the air or wind has been explained as masculine; since the natures of all things are divided into bodies or into earth and water, and female animals exist by nature. But that which exhibits a similitude to the soul is arranged under the head of air and the breath of life. And this, as I have said, is masculine. If therefore we are to call that masculine which is the moving and active cause we must call that feminine which is moved and passive. But the whole heaven is found to be familiarly connected with flying birds such as the pigeon and turtle dove, being distributed as it is into the rotary path of the planets and fixed stars. Therefore he dedicates the pigeon to the planets, for that is a tame and domestic animal, as also the planets are more familiarly connected with us as being nearer to the earth, and as having sympathies with us; but he consecrates the turtle dove to the fixed stars, for that animal is a lover of solitude, and flees from the conversation of the multitude, and from all connexion of every kind. And so also the globe itself is remote, and a thing which wanders into the furthest extremities of the world. Therefore both the species of these two birds are assimilated to the divine attributes, since as Plato, the disciple of Socrates, says it is fitting that the heaven should have a swift chariot by reason of its very swift rotary motion, which in fact surpasses even the birds themselves in the velocity of their course. But the birds above mentioned are singers; the prophet indicating by an enigmatical expression that perfect music which exists in heaven harmoniously adapted from the motion of the stars, since it is a proof of human art when the corresponding music of the voices of animals and of living instruments is adapted together by the industry of genius. But this heavenly music has been abundantly extended over the earth by the Creator, as he has also extended the rays of the sun, being always prompt to exercise his beneficent care for the human race. For such music excites frenzy in the ears, and brings unrestrained pleasure to the mind; and so causes men to forget even their meat and drink, and even when hunger brings death to the door to be willing even to die out of a desire to hear music. And if the song of the Sirens,[he alludes here to the description in Homer, Od. 12.39ű47 (as translated by Pope) - "next, where the Sirens dwell, you plough the seas; / Their song is death, and makes destruction please. / Unblest the man, whom music wins to stay / Nigh the curst shore, and listen to the lay; / No more that wretch shall view the joys of life, / His blooming offspring, or his beauteous wife! / In verdant meads they sport, and wide around / Lie human bones that whiten all the ground; / The ground polluted floats with human gore, / And human carnage taints the dreadful shore." And further on in the same book, the poet describes the effect of these songs upon Ulysses, Od. 12.183ű194 (as translated by Pope) - "o stay, O pride of Greece! Ulysses, stay! / O cease thy course and listen our to lay! / Blest is the man ordained our voice to hear, / The song instructs the soul, and charms the ear. / Approach! thy soul shall into raptures rise! / Approach! and learn new wisdom from the wise! / We know whate'er the kings of mighty name / Achieved at Ilion in the field of Fame; / Whate'er beneath the sun's bright journey lies. / O stay and learn new wisdom from the wise!"] as Homer tells us, invites the heathen so forcibly, that they forget while listening to it, their country, their houses, their friends, and necessary food; how much more must that most perfect and consummate music, so truly heavenly and endowed with the highest degree of harmony, when it touches the organs of the ear, compel men to go mad and to yield to rapture. But the reason on account of which every one of the animals to be offered is to be three years of age has already been explained; and we must now discuss it under another form of mystery, since it has been seen that every one of those things which were called into existence and subsequently to the moon, such as the earth, water, and air, rejoice in an order connected with the number three. In the divisions of earth there is a vast quantity of dry continent, islands and peninsulas. Water is divided into sea, rivers, and lakes; and the air into the two equinoxes, the vernal and the autumnal; and they may be taken as one, for they have an equal proportion of day and night, and accordingly the equinoxes are neither hot nor cold. Add to these the changes of summer and winter, for the sun is borne through those three circles into the seasons of summer, winter, and the equinoxes. Therefore, in the first place, the natural arrangement will be of this kind; and the moral arrangement is properly thus. In every one of us there are three things: flesh, the outward sense, and reason; therefore the calf exhibits a familiarity with the corporeal substance, since our flesh is subdued by, and kept in subservience to, and in connexion with the ministrations of life; also their nature is female according to matter, being calculated rather to be passive and to be subject rather than the be active. But the similitude of the she-goat is connected with the communion of the outward senses, either because all the objects of those outward senses are each borne towards their appropriate sensation, or because each impulse and motion of the soul takes place in consequence of an imagination formed of the objects received through the medium of the external senses. And this is followed, in the first place, by a certain inflexion or alienation, which by some is called an occasion, that is to say, an impulse affecting each kind of sense. But since the female is the outward sense, as being passive on consequence of what is subjected to the outward senses, therefore God has adapted to it a female animal, the she-goat. But the ram is akin to the word, or to reason. In the first place, because it is a male animal; secondly, because it is a working animal; and thirdly, because it is the cause of the world, and of the firmament; that is to say, the ram is so by means of the clothing which it supplies; and reason, or the word, is so in the arrangement of life; for whatever is not irregular and absurd immediately exhibits reason. And there are two species of reason; the one derived from that nature by which the affairs of the world subjected to the outward senses are finished; the other from that of those things which are called incorporeal species, by which the affairs of that world which is the object of the intellect are brought to their accomplishment. Therefore the pigeon and the turtle dove are found to resemble these. The pigeon, forsooth, resembles speculation in natural philosophy; for it is a more familiar bird, as the objects of the outward sense are exceedingly familiar to the sight: and the soul of the inquirer into natural science flies upward as if it were furnished with wings; and being borne aloft is carried round the heaven, discerning every part of every thing, and the principles of every separate thing; for the turtle dove imitates that species which is the subject of intellect and incorporeal; for as that animal is fond of solitude, so it is superior to the violent species which come under the outward sense, associating itself as it does with the invisible species by its essence.

(Why does he say, "And he took unto him all these things?" (Genesis 15:10). He has added also that expression, "And he took unto him," with especial propriety; for it is the sign of a soul thoroughly imbued with the love of God to ascribe whatever good and noble theories and feelings it receives, not unto itself, but wholly to God who is the giver of all benefits.

(What is the meaning of, "He divided them in the middle and laid the pieces opposite to one another?" (Genesis 15:10). Also the whole structure of the body, as of flesh, is to be looked at in such a light as this according to its whole creation; for the parts are brothers; not as they are divided and placed opposite to one another; but, being naturally inclined to one another, and having a mutual regard to one another, on account of their natural co-operation; the original Creator who gave them life making this division for the sake of usefulness, so that one part should be opposed to the other part, and again that both should reciprocally seek one another in all necessary ministrations. In this way he has directly separated the sense of sight, distributing it equally to two eyes by placing the nose between them and thus turning each eye to the other; for the pupils, if I may so say, lean both in one direction so as mutually to behold the same thing, scarcely ever straying beyond the position in which they are placed, but only looking towards one another, especially when anything comes across their sight. And in similar manner the faculty of hearing is distributed between the two ears, which are both reciprocally turned to one another, both tending to one and the same operation. And the sense of smell is divided between the two nostrils, being turned towards the two tubes of the nostrils, which are not revolving around or inclined towards the cheeks, so as being drawn in two different directions to look the one towards the right and the other towards the left, but being both collected together and turned inwards they await all smells with a common action. So also the hands are not made of an appearance contrary to that of one another, but being like brothers and like divisible parts, looking to one another mutually, and being prepared by nature for an operation and employment suitable to them, they thus act in the operations of receiving, giving, and working. And the feet are not constituted differently from the hands; as each of them behaves in such a manner that they both yield the one to the other, and progress is effected by the motion of both together, so that nothing can be accomplished by one alone. Nor is it only the feet and shins, but also the legs and knee-pans, and hips, and the breasts, and in fact every part on the right or left of the body, being divided in a similar manner, indicate one general harmony and correspondence and union as it were of connatural parts; that is to say, of all of those different members enumerated according to their separate species. And generally, whoever considers together and in an equal manner all the above mentioned parts thus subdivided, in reference to their joint operation, will find one nature combined of the two parts. As the hands, united and connected together with the fingers, are seen when in union with them to exhibit a harmony; and the feet, when re-united in operation, are seen to tend to union; and the ears, when similarly combined in the figure of an amphitheatre, are seen to unite themselves, in effect extending across the space which separates them. Therefore our nature, continually making in this manner a division of those parts which exist in us according to each separate species, has first of all separated and arranged the different sections, placing them as it were opposite to one another in the same way in which it has arranged the world; and it has also arranged them with reference to the easy discharge of their several duties. And again it has combined each of these members according to each species into one action, and into the same operation, collecting together all of them when considered generally. Nor is it only the parts of the body which any one may see thus united and in pairs, separated in their union, and again united in their division, but the parts of the soul are so too. But since the two superior sections of this are so many separate classes, namely the rational and the irrational, so also the separate parts of each section have their own appropriate division; as for instance, the rational part is divided into the intention and into the uttered word; and that part which exists in accordance with the outward senses is divided into the four senses; for the fifth sense, touch, is common to the other four, two of which, those with which we see and hear, are philosophical senses, so that it is by means of them that the power of living well is acquired for us; the

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others are nonphilosophical, namely smell and taste, but are servile, being created only for living; for the sense of smell, by means of its exercise, contains many things which awaken it, and receives a continual breathing which is as it were the continual food of living creatures; therefore smell and taste support this mortal body, but sight and hearing afford service to the immortal soul. Therefore these divisions of our members, according to our body and soul, were made and separated by the Creator; however, we must know that the parts of the world also are arranged in two divisions and are placed opposite to one another; the earth being divided into mountainous and champaign districts; the water into sweet and salt, sweet being that which is supplied by springs and rivers, and salt being that which comes from the sea; as also the atmosphere is divided into summer and winter, and also into spring and autumn. And it is on this account that Heraclitus wrote his books about nature, having borrowed his theory of contraries from our sacred historian, with the addition of an infinite number of labourious arguments.

(Why is it said, "But he did not divide the birds?" (Genesis 15:10). He is shadowing forth a fifth and periodical nature, from which the ancients say that the heaven was made; for the four elements are mixtures rather than elements: by which he subdivides those things which are already divided into those materials of which they were originally composed, as the earth includes within itself a portion of the elements of water, and also of air, and also of fire, which however obtains the appellation not so much in accordance with our apprehension of it, as with our sight; and again the water is not so clear or pure, as not to have some participation in wind and earth; and so also in each of the other elements there is a certain tempering and combination; but the fifth substance is the only one which has been made unmixed and pure, on which account it was not accustomed to be mentioned at all. Therefore it is well said, he did not divide the birds; since the heavenly nature, both of the planets and also of the fixed stars, is raised on high like that of birds, in the similitude of both kinds, that is to say, of clean birds, the turtle dove and the pigeon, which scarcely admit of being divided or cut up; for the indivisible nature is of a fifth essence, more unmixed and pure than the others, and therefore it more closely resembles unity.

(What is the meaning of, "And the birds descended on the bodies which were divided?" (Genesis 15:11). Since the three animals, the heifer, and the shegoat, and the ram, were divided in a symbolical manner, they are signs, as we have already said, of the earth, and water, and air; still it is necessary to give now a reason for this, examining the truth carefully under the mystery of a similitude. Perhaps therefore he designs and intimates by the descent of the birds on the cut pieces an invasion of enemies; for all the nature of the world beneath the moon is full of battles and ill will, both domestic and external; and the birds in truth appear to fly down on the divided bodies for the sake of meat and drink; naturally indeed it is the stronger which descend upon the weaker animals, as upon dead bodies, attacking them in general unexpectedly, but they do not fly down on the turtle dove and pigeon, since the heavenly bodies are free from desires and unconscious of suffering wrong.

(Why is it that he says, "Abraham passed over and sat upon them?" (Genesis 15:11). Those who think that sacrifice is indicated by the matters about which we are at present speaking will say that the virtuous man, sitting as it were in a synagogue, has examined into the entrails of the divided animals, as if that were looked upon as an unerring symbol for the declaration of the truth; but we, who adhere to Moses and who are thoroughly acquainted with the views of that teacher, one who, turning away his face from every sophistical appearance and prognostic, trusted in God alone, will rather say, that he has here introduced the just man who is endued with virtue with the birds themselves, who were congregated together and flying about over him, intending to denote nothing else by this parabolical presentation, but that he is desirous of hindering injustice and covetousness, and is most hostile to quarrels and wars, and a lover of consistency and peace; for he himself is truly a guardian of peace. Since no one state has ever rested in tranquility owing to the conduct of the wicked, but kingdoms have become fixed steadily when one or two men endued with virtue have arisen, whose virtue has put an end to civil disturbances, God granting to those who are earnest in the pursuit of virtue good habits calculated to procure them honour; and not to them only, but to those also who approach near to the production of general advantage.

(What is the meaning of the words, "About the time of the setting of the sun a trance fell upon Abraham; and lo, a great horror of darkness came over him?" (Genesis 15:12). A certain divine excess was suddenly rendered calm to the man endued with virtue; for the trance, or ecstacy as the word itself evidently points out, is nothing else than a departure of the mind wandering beyond itself. [ekstasis, derived from existamai, in 2nd aor. act. exesteµn, "I was beside myself."] But the class of prophets loves to be subject to such influences; for when it is divining, and when the intellect is inspired with divine things, it no longer exists in itself, since it receives the divine spirit within and permits it to dwell with itself; or rather, as he himself has expressed it, as spirit falls upon him; since it does not come slowly over him, but rushes down upon him suddenly. Moreover, that which he has added afterwards applies admirably, that a great horror of darkness fell upon him. For all these things are ecstacies of the mind; for he also who is in a state of alarm is not in himself; but darkness is a hindrance to his sight; and in proportion as the horror is greater, so also do his powers of seeing and understanding become more obscured. And this is not said without reason: but as an indication of the evident knowledge of prophecy by which oracles and laws are given from God.

Why was it said to him, "Thou shall know to a certainty that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall be reduced to slavery, and shall be grievously afflicted for four hundred years?" (Genesis 15:13). That expression is admirably used, "It was said to him," since a prophet is supposed to utter something, but yet he is not pronouncing any command of his own, but is only the interpreter of another who sends something into his mind; and moreover whatever he does utter and deliver in words is all true and divine. And in the first place, he declares that a family of the human race is to dwell in a land belonging to another; for all things which are beneath the heaven are the possession of God, and those living creatures which exist on the earth may more properly and truly be said to be sojourners in a foreign land than to be dwelling in a country of their own which by nature they have not got. In the second place, he thus declares to us that every mortal is a slave after his kind. But no man is found to be free, but every one has many masters who vex and afflict him both within and without; for instance, without there are the winter which affects him with the cold, the summer which scorches him with heat, and hunger, and thirst, and many other calamities; and within there are pleasures and concupiscences, and sorrows, and fears. But his servitude is limited to a period of four hundred years, during which the aforesaid pleasures shall rise up against him. On which account it has been said above, that Abraham passed over and sat upon them, hindering and repelling them; as far as the literal words go, repelling those carnivorous birds which were hovering over the divided animals, but in fact repelling the afflictions which come upon men. Since a man who is in his own proper nature a lover of, and also by diligent practice a studier of virtue, is a most humane physician of our race, and a true protector of it, and guardian of it from evil. For all these things have an allegorical reference to the soul. For while the soul of the wise man, descending from above from the sky, comes down upon and enters a mortal and is sown in the field of the body, it is truly sojourning in a land which is not his own. Since the earthly nature of the body is wholly alien from pure intellect, and tends to subdue it and to drag it downwards into slavery, bringing every kind of affliction upon it, until the sorrow, bringing the attractive multitude of vices to judgement, condemns them; and thus at last the soul is restored to freedom. And it is on this account that he subsequently adds the sentence, "Nevertheless the nation which they shall send I will judge: and afterwards they shall go forth with great substance;" namely, with the same measure, and still better. Because then the mind is released from its mischievous colleague, departing out of the body and being transferred not only with freedom but also with much substance; so as to leave nothing good or useful behind to its enemies. Since every rational soul is productive, but he who thinks himself loaded and endued with virtue in his own counsel, is unable to preserve his fruit unto the end. For it becomes a virtuous man to attain to the objects which he has intended of his own accord, as also the counsels of wisdom correspond to those objects. Since, as some trees, although they appear productive at the first season of the budding of their fruits, are yet unable to bring them to maturity, so that the whole fruit before it becomes ripe is shaken off by every trifling cause; in the same manner the souls of inconstant men feel many influences which contribute to their productiveness, but nevertheless are unable to keep them sound till they arrive at perfection, as a man studious of virtue ought to do in order eventually to gather them as his own possessions.

What is the meaning of, "But thou shall go to thy fathers in peace, being nourished in a fair old age?" (Genesis 15:15). He here clearly indicates the incorruptibility of the soul: when it transfers itself out of the abode of the mortal body and returns as it were to the metropolis of its native country, from which it originally emigrated into the body. Since to say to a dead man, "Thou shall go to thy fathers," what else is this but to propose to him and set before him a second existence apart from the body as far as it is proper for the soul of the wise man to dwell by itself? But when he says this he does not mean by the fathers of Abraham his father, and his grandfather, and his great-grandfathers after the flesh, for they were not all deserving of praise so as to be by any possibility any honour to him who arrived at the succession of the same order, but he appears by this expression to be assigning to him for his fathers, according to the opinion of many commentators, all the elements into which the mortal man when deceased is resolved. But to me he appears to intend to indicate the incorporeal substances and inhabiters of the divine world, whom in other passages he is accustomed to call angels. Moreover the words which follow are not by any means without an object, that he is nourished in peace and in a fair old age. For the wicked and depraved man is nourished in battle, and lives and departs in a very bad old age. But the good man, in both phases of existence, both in that which is in connexion with the body and in that which is apart from the body, cultivates peace, and is alone completely virtuous, such as no foolish person is found to be, even though he should live longer than an elephant; on which account he here carefully said, "Thou shall go to thy fathers, being nourished-not in an advanced old age, but-in a fair old age." For many foolish persons also have their lives extended to a greatly lengthened period, but it is only the man who is desirous of virtue who enjoys a good old age and one endued with virtue.

Why is it that he says, "And in the fourth generation they shall return again hither?" (Genesis 15:16). The number four is more fit than any other number, for this reason, that as it is more perfect, and is the root and foundation of the perfect number ten; and it is according to the principle of the number four that all collected are to return hither, as he himself has said. But as he by himself is perfect, so also those of whom he is the father are evidently perfect. But what is it that I am saying? In the generation of animals the sowing of the seed has the first place; in the second place, comes the fact of each instrument being, in some manner, impressed by something akin to nature; thirdly, there is the growth after the first formation of the creature; fourthly, after everything else comes the perfection, that is to say, the birth. And the same principle and order prevail in plants; the seed is cast into the earth, then it pushes its way both upwards and downwards, partly in roots and partly in branches; after that it increases; and fourthly, it produces fruit; and in the same manner again the trees, when made, first of all produce fruit, which subsequently grows; then, as it becomes ripe, it changes colour; and, fourthly, and this is the last operation, it completes and perfects its work, the consequence of which is the use and enjoyment of it by men.

What is the meaning of, "For the sins of the Amorites were not as yet completed?" (Genesis 15:16). Some persons have said, that by this expression of the principle of Moses fate is expressly introduced, as if, in truth, everything was to be accomplished according to some particular hour and appointed period of time.

What is the meaning of, "And when the sun was in the west a flame arose?" (Genesis 15:17). It means either that the sun himself appeared in the west in the similitude of a flame, or that some other flame appeared at eventide, not lightning, but some fire like it, which descended from above. The manifest interpretation of the oracle is this; but we must now discuss that which regards the inner sense.

What is the meaning of the expression, "Behold there was a smoking furnace and torches of fires, which passed through the middle of those divisions?" (Genesis 15:18). The literal meaning of the statement is plain, for the fountain or root of the divine word will have the victims consumed, not by that fire which is given for our use, but by that which descends from above, out of heaven, in order that the purity of the essence of heaven may bear witness to the sanctity of the victims. But if we regard the inward meaning of the words, all things which are done beneath the moon are here compared to a smoking furnace, on account of the vapour which rises up out of the earth and water. As also the divisions of nature are, as has been already shown, every portion of the world being divided into two parts; and by these there are kindled, as it were, torches of fire, being powers which are more rapid in motion and more efficacious, being burning, in truth, like divine fiery discourses, at one time keeping the whole universe in a state of integrity reciprocally with themselves, and at another cleansing away the superfluous darkness. But the following interpretation may also be given with propriety in a more familiar manner. Human life is like unto a smoking furnace, because it has not a pure fire and an unalloyed brilliancy, but a great deal of smoke, smoking darkly through the flame, which causes mist and darkness, and an obscuration, not of the body but of the soul, so that this last cannot discern things clearly, until God the redeemer commands the heavenly lamps to arise, I mean those more pure and more holy radiations which unite those parts previously divided in two, on the right hand and on the left, and, at the same time, illuminate them, being the causes of harmony and of lucid clearness.

Why did he say, "On that day, God made a covenant with Abraham, saying, To thy seed will I give this land, from the river of Egypt to the great river Euphrates?" (Genesis 15:19). The literal expression describes the boundaries of the space which lies in the middle, between the two rivers Egyptus and Euphrates, for anciently the river was also called by the same name as the district, Egypt, as the poet also testifies when he says-

"And in the river Egypt did I fix
My double-oared Ships." [the line is in Odyssey 14.258.]

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But if we look to the inner meaning of the expression, it intimates happiness, which is the perfect fulness of three good things, namely, of spiritual, and corporeal, and external blessings, as some of those men describe it in their panegyrics, who were afterwards called philosophers, such as Aristotle and the Peripatetics; nevertheless, such a giving of the law as this is called Pythagorean. Therefore the Egypt is a symbol of corporeal and external blessings, and the Euphrates of spiritual advantages, in which alone, it is plain, their real joy consists, which has wisdom and all the other virtues for its foundation; and the boundaries of this happiness are very rightly described as beginning with the Egyptus and ending with the Euphrates; for the things affecting the soul come at the end, which we usually approach with difficulty after we have passed through corporeal and external things, in such a manner that, by this progress, we have felt our unity, the integrity of our outward senses, and the beauty and strength which existed in our youth, advance, increase, and come to maturity. And in a similar manner, those things which relate to acquiring gain and to trafficking, as the management of ships, and agriculture, and commerce; for it is well said, that all things, especially those above-mentioned, become a young man.

Who are the Kenites, the Kenezites, and the Kadmonites, and the Hittites, and the Perizzites, and the Rephaims, and the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Girgashites, and the Jebusites? (Genesis 15:20). Ten nations of wickedness are here enumerated, which he here destroys because of their neighbourhood, since the number ten, when false and improperly stamped, is very near to that which is good and an object of affection; but the complete perfection of the number ten is exceedingly fit, as being the measure of infinite numbers, since the world is arranged in accordance with it, and so likewise is the mind of the wise man, the substance of which, nevertheless, wickedness perverts and overthrows, despising all very necessary powers, so that that alone remains which the sacred writer has said, namely, that the pursuit of virtue is a blessing, for the wicked man is such that he embraces vague opinions rather than truth, and of such is Ishmael, though the seed of the prophets.

Why it was that Sarah, the wife of Abraham, bore him no children? (Genesis 16:1). The mother of opinion is here spoken of as barren. In the first place in order that the son of generation might appear more wonderful, as being born by a miracle. In the second place in order that his conception and nativity might appear to be owing not more to the marriage of the man than to divine providence. For it is not owing to the faculty of conception that a barren woman should bear a son, but rather to the operation of divine power. This is the literal meaning of the statement. But if we look to its inward sense, then we shall say, in the first place, that to bring forth is peculiar to the female sex, as to beget is the office of the male: therefore God wills in the first place to render the mind, which is filled with virtue, like to the male sex rather than to the female, thinking it suited to its character to be active, not passive. In the second place both do generate, both the virtuous mind and the wicked one: but they generate in a different manner, and they produce contrary offspring, the virtuous mind producing good and useful things, but the depraved or wicked mind producing base and useless things. In the third place he who is still advancing and making progress is to be incited to the summit itself, and is near to the light which by some persons is said to be delivered to oblivion, and to be made unknown. He therefore, as he is making progress, does not generate bad things, nor yet good things, because he is not yet perfect; but he resembles that man who is neither sick nor yet thoroughly well, but who, after a long sickness, is at last proceeding to convalescence.

What is the meaning of the statement, she had an Egyptian handmaid whose name was Hagar? (Genesis 16:1). Hagar is interpreted travelling, and she is the servant of a more perfect nature, being by nature an Egyptian less naturally; for the study of encyclical learning loves an abundance of knowledge, and abundant knowledge is, as it were, the handmaid of virtue, since the whole course and connexion of sciences and arts is subservient to his use who is able to profit by their acquisition so as to attain to virtue, for virtue has the soul for its abode; but the course of arts and sciences stands in need of bodily instruments. But the body is symbolically Egypt; therefore the sacred writer here properly asserts the likeness of encyclical knowledge to Egypt. Nevertheless he has also given it a name by reason of its travelling abroad, since sophistry is a foreign thing, unconnected with the acquisition of that wisdom which alone is native, and which alone is necessary, which is the mistress of intermediate wisdom, and which conducts itself in a beautiful course through the guidance of encyclical studies.

Why did Sarah say to Abraham, Behold the Lord has shut me up so that I shall not bring forth: go in now unto my handmaid so as to beget a son by her? (Genesis 16:2). In the actual letter of this statement it is the same thing to feel no envy, and also to provide for the welfare of the wise man who is her husband and her genuine brother; so that she, wishing to find a remedy for her own barrenness by means of her handmaid of whom she was mistress, gives her as a concubine to her husband. But there is a still greater abundance of her affection towards her husband indicated by this; for as she herself was accounted barren, she did not think it reasonable that the family of her husband should be left entirely without offspring, but preferred his advantage to her own dignity. This is what is indicated by this statement taken literally. But if we look to the inner sense of the passage it bears such an interpretation as this: it becomes those persons who are unable in respect of their virtue to bring forth beautiful works deserving of praise, to apply themselves to the intermediate kind of study, and, if I may so express myself, to procure themselves children from the encyclical branches of knowledge; for an abundance of knowledge is as it were the whetstone of the mind and of the intellect. And it is with great propriety that she says, The Lord has shut me up; for that which is shut up is generally opened again at a seasonable time. Therefore she was not destitute of hope, nor was her wisdom fixed in the belief that she should be for ever without offspring, but she knew that some day or other she should bring forth. Nevertheless she will not bring forth at present, but when the soul displays the purity of its perfection. But inasmuch as it is at present imperfect it is satisfied with using a milder kind of learning, such as is attainable by encyclical studies. On which account it is not without a purpose that in the sacred contests at Olympia also, those who are unable to attain to the first prize of victory are contented to be thought worthy of the second; for there is offered to the competitors a first, and a second, and a third prize by the presidents of the games, who are representatives of nature. So now to her the sacred writer attributes the first prize of virtues, and the second prize of encyclical study.

Why has he called Abraham's wife Sarah, for he says, Sarah the wife of Abraham, taking her handmaid Hagar the Egyptian, gave her into his hand? (Genesis 16:2). The sacred writer here sums up with his approbation the marriage of the good on account of those who are incontinent and lascivious; for those persons despise their wise wives for the sake of concubines, whom they love with a frantic passion: on which account he here introduces the man endued with virtue, the constant husband of one wife, at that time in which it was lawful for him to make use of her handmaid; and his wife in fact indicates that he is wise, that is to say temperate, when he enters into the bed of another woman, since his connexion with his concubine was only a connexion of the body for the sake of propagating children; but his union with his wife was that of two souls joined together in harmony by heavenly affection. This is the literal effect of the statement. But if we look to the inner meaning of it, then he who has truly entrusted all his secret wishes to wisdom, and justice, and the other virtues, when once he has received the counsel of wisdom, and has tasted the joys of a matrimonial connexion with it, remains constant to it as the partner and companion of his life; although encyclical education would lead him in a beautiful course, since when the man eminent in virtue has become master of the sciences of geometry, and arithmetic, and grammar, and rhetoric, and the other exercises of the mind, he is not the less on that account mindful of the pursuit of honesty, but is borne on towards the one as to a necessary aim, to the other as an accessory. But it is altogether fair that that fact also should meet with our approbation, -the fact I mean of his calling his handmaid also by the name of wife, because he went up to her bed out of complacency to and at the exhortation of his real wife, and not of his own genuine inclination; on which account he no longer calls her his handmaid, that even if it were not wholly deserved still his handmaid having been given to him to wife might at least obtain the same title. But those who study allegory may be allowed to say that the exercise of the middle disciplines also stands in the place of a concubine, having nevertheless the shape and ornaments of a wife, for all encyclical learning reproduces in itself and imitates genuine virtue.

What is the meaning of, "When she saw that she had conceived her mistress was despised before her?" (Genesis 16:4). The sacred writer now carefully calls Sarah the mistress when it might else have been thought that her dignity was diminished, and that she was surpassed by her handmaid, that she, that is, who had no children, was surpassed by her who was gifted with offspring. But this kind of language is extended to nearly all the necessary affairs of human life: for a poor man who is wise is more approved of and is superior in authority to a rich man who is destitute of wisdom and reputation, or than a boasting man; and even a sick man who is wise is better than a foolish man who is well; for whatever is united with wisdom is genuine, and is endued with an authority of its own, but whatever is combined with folly is found to be slavish and inconstant. But it has been excellently said not that she despised her mistress, but that her mistress was despised; for the one statement would imply an accusation of the person, but the other contains only a declaration of an event. The scripture forsooth does not intend here to impute blame to any one while praising another, but only to hand down in an intelligible manner the pure truth of the facts. This is what is indicated by the literal statement. But if we seek the inner meaning of the words, whoever honours and embraces rank before genius and wisdom, and whoever esteems and considers the external senses of more importance than prudence and counsel, is departing from the real character of things, thinking that they have brought forth much offspring, and that having produced a great generation of visible things they are great and perfect goods, and in a singular degree noble, but that barrenness in this respect is evil, and deserving of disapprobation, because they do not see that invisible seed and that offspring which is appreciable only by the intellect, which the mind is accustomed to generate in itself and by itself.

Why does Sarah as it were repent of what she has done, saying to Abraham, I am receiving injury from you: I gave my handmaid into your bosom, and now, because she sees that she has conceived, I am despised before her? (Genesis 16:5). This language indicates her anxiety and hesitation; displaying them first in the expression, "since," that is to say from the time that I gave my handmaiden, and in the second place it betokens a regard to the person of whom complaint is made, for she says, "I am receiving injury from you," a statement which in fact is a reproof, since she thinks that her husband ought always to be preserved without any stain, or any liability to blame, always virtuous and true, and in no respect forgetful of her, for she always introduces him, honouring him with all possible veneration, and calling him lord. Nevertheless, the first fact stated by her is true; for from the time that she gave her handmaiden to him to be his concubine, she herself was looked upon as despised. This is the literal meaning of her words. But if we look to their inner sense, when any one bestows on another the handmaid of wisdom, she being influenced by the counsels of sophistry, will, because she is ignorant of propriety, despise her mistress; for as she herself possesses encyclical knowledge, and is delighted with its brilliancy, where every one of the separate branches of education is by itself very attractive to the soul, as if it possesses the power of drawing it by force to itself, then she, the handmaiden, can no longer agree with her mistress, that is to say, with the image of wisdom and its glorious and admirable beauty, until that acute judge of all things, the word of God, coming in, separates and distinguishes what is probable from what is true, and the middle from the extremities, and what is second from what is placed in the first rank. On which account Sarah says, at the end of her remonstrance, "Let God judge between me and thee."

Why does Abraham say, "Behold thy handmaid is in thy hand, do unto her what seems good to thee?" (Genesis 16:6). The literal expression used by the wise man contains a panegyric; for he does not call the woman who had conceived by himself, his wife, or his concubine, but the handmaiden of his wife. But since he saw that she also was a mother, he did not indulge in anger and embitter the feelings of her mind, but rather tranquillised her, and made her prudent. But the passage contains an allegory in the expression, "In thy hand:" as if, if I may so say, sophistry lives under the dominion of wisdom, which indeed does spring forth from the same fountain, but only in one part, and not directly; nor does it preserve the whole of its emanations pure, but draws up with its waters many fetid things, and many others of a similar character. Since, therefore, it is in thy hand and in thy power (for to whomsoever wisdom belongs, he is possessed also of all the branches of encyclical learning), do with it whatsoever pleases thee, for I am quite persuaded that you will judge with not more severity than justice; because that very thing is especially agreeable to you: I mean the distributing to every one according to his deserts, and giving to no one more than is just, either in the way of honouring or despising him.

Why does he say, Sarah afflicted her? (Genesis 16:6). The literal meaning of the words is plain: but if we look to the inner sense of them, they contain a principle of this kind. It is not every affliction that is injurious, but there are even some occasions when they are salutary; and this is experienced by sick men at the hands of physicians, and by boys under their tutors, and by foolish people from those who correct them so as to bring them to wisdom. And this I can by no means consent to call affliction, but rather the salvation and benefit of both soul and body. Now a part of such benefit wisdom affords to the circle of encyclical knowledge; rightly admonishing the soul which is devoted to an abundance of discipline, and which is pregnant with sophism, not to rebel as if it had acquired some great and excellent good, but to acquiesce and venerate that superior and more excellent nature as its genuine mistress, in whose power is constancy itself, and authority over all things.

Why did Hagar flee from her face? (Genesis 16:6). It is not every soul which is capable of proper respect and of submitting to salutary discipline, but the mind which is gentle, and good-tempered, and consistent loves reproof, and becomes more and more attached to those who correct it. But the stubborn soul becomes malignant and hates them, and turns from them, and flees away from them, preferring those discourses which are agreeable rather than those which tend to his advantage, and looking upon them as more excellent.

What is the meaning of the statement, "The angel of the Lord found her sitting by a fountain of water in the desert in

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the way to Sur?" (Genesis 16:7). All these statements are as it were symbols by which the sacred writer indicates that the wellinstructed soul, which is the possession of virtue, is nevertheless not yet able to discern the beauty of her mistress. They are, I say, symbols; I mean the statements that she was found, and that she was found by an angel in the desert, and in no other way than that leading to Sur. However we must begin with what is plain. Now the too subtle sophist and the real lover of disputations is commonly unable to be detected by reason of his artifices and sophistical persuasions, with which he is accustomed to deceive and perplex men. But he who, being free from bad habits, has only an eager desire for obtaining instruction by the course of encyclical training, although he is difficult to be detected, is yet not altogether incapable of being so; for perdition is near at hand to him who cannot be detected, but safety to him who can be discovered, especially when he is sought for and found by a more holy and more excellent spirit. And who is more holy and more excellent than the angel of the Lord? For it is to him that it has been entrusted to seek out the erring soul, the soul which, on account of its presumed erudition, is continually ignorant of her whom it ought to respect, but still she could be susceptible of correction and amendment; for which object she was sought out. Nor was she found imperfect, but ready to the hand, since the soul was found which had fled from perfect virtue, not being able to submit to discipline. But the third symbol takes place after she is found and after the discovery has been made by an angel, namely, in the fact of her being found by a fountain, that is to say, by nature; for it is nature which bestows on clever people abilities in proportion to the industry of each individual, effacing unseasonable learning, which is no learning at all: and praise is implied in the very place in which the soul is found, which is thirsting after genius and after its placid law, wishing to draw water while in the society of those who drink wine; for thus it associates with those who feed upon and are delighted with the exercise of proper training, where nature itself affords sufficient nourishment, namely, education and instruction as if from a fountain. The fourth symbol is contained in the fact that the discovery took place in the desert; since difficulty coming over each of the outward senses, together with an influx of each separate desire, represses the mind, and does not permit it to drink pure water: but when it cannot avoid these things as in the desert, it acquiesces, and, abandoning the thoughts which agitated and perplexed it, it becomes convalescent, so as to receive a hope not only of life, but even of eternal life. The fifth symbol is contained in the fact that she was found in the way; for dispositions which are incorrigible are led by devious paths; but that one which can be changed for the better, lo! it proceeds along the road which leads to virtue, and that road is like a fortified wall and guardian to the souls which are capable of being saved, for Sur means a fortified wall. Do you not see, then, that the whole is a symbolical, or indeed a legitimate, figure of an improving soul? And, in fact, the soul which is improving does not perish as one which is wholly foolish does; for if the divine word be found by it, then again it seeks it; and he who is not pure and clean in his habits and disposition, flees from the divine word; but yet he has a fountain of water in which he washes away his vices and wickednesses, drawing from thence the fertility of the law. Besides this, it loves the desert, to which it has fled from its vices and wickednesses, and when it has once beheld the way of virtue it returns from the devious paths of wickedness. And all these things are fortified walls and bulwarks to it, so as to protect it from being ever injured by any words of circumstances which attack it, and from suffering any damage.

Why did the angel say to her, "Hagar, the handmaid of Sarah, whence comest thou, and whither goest thou?" (Genesis 16:8). The plain letter of the question requires no explanation, for it is exceedingly clear; but with reference to the inner meaning contained in it, there is come asperity expressed; since the divine word is full of instruction, and is a physician of the infirmity of the soul. Therefore the angel says to her, "Whence comest thou?" knowest thou not what good thou has abandoned? Art thou not altogether lame and blind? For thou dost not see at all; and though endowed with the outward senses, dost not feel, and dost not appear to me to have any portion whatever of intellect, as if thou wert quite senseless. But "whither goest thou?" From what excellence to what misery? Why have you so erred as to cast away the blessings which you had in your power, and to pursue good things which are more remote? Do not, do not, I say, act thus; but, quitting your insane impetuosity, go back again, and return into the same way as before, looking upon wisdom as thy mistress, her whom you had before as your governess and directress in all the things which you did.

What is the meaning of the answer, "I am fleeing from the face of Sarah, my mistress?" (Genesis 16:8). It is reasonable to praise a sincere disposition, and to think it friendly to truth. And moreover it is reasonable now to admit the veracity of a mind which confesses what it has suffered; for she says, "I am fleeing from the face," that is to say, I have recoiled at the outward appearance of wisdom and virtue; since, beholding its royal and imperial presence, she trembled, not being able to endure to look upon its majesty and sublimity, but rather thinking it an object of avoidance; for there are some people who do not turn from virtue from any hatred of it, but from a reverential modesty, looking upon themselves as unworthy to live with such a mistress.

Why did the angel say to her, "Return to thy mistress and be humbled beneath her hands?" (Genesis 16:8). As the letter is plain, we must rather investigate its inner meaning. The word of God corrects that soul which is able to be lured, and instructs it, and converts it, leading it to wisdom as its mistress, that it may not, through being abandoned by its mistress, rush at once into absurd folly. But it warns it, not only to return to virtue, but also to be humbled beneath its hands, that is to say, beneath its several excellencies. But there are two kinds of humiliation; one, in accordance with defect, which arises from spiritual infirmity, which it is easy to overcome, seize upon, and reprove. But there is another kind which the word of the Lord enjoins, proceeding from reverence and modesty; such as that humility which children exhibit to their fathers, pupils to their masters, and young men to the aged; since it is very advantageous to be obedient, and to be subject to those who are better than one's self; for he who has learnt to be under authority is in a moment imbued with a power which he alone may exercise; for, although any one were to be clothed with the authority of all the earth and sea, yet he would not be able to possess the royal supremacy of virtue, unless he had first been instructed and taught to obey.

Why did the angel say to her, "I will multiply thy seed, and it shall not be numbered for multitude?" (Genesis 16:9). It is the honour of the docile mind not to be presumptuous or rebellious on account of its progress in knowledge, or because of the very useful seed which it has received from various kinds of erudition; for it does not any more, as wordcatchers and cavillers do, employ all the arguments of encyclical learning to establish any whimsical object, but to prove the truth which is contained in them. And when it has begun to prosecute that by diligent investigation, it is then rendered worthy to behold the sight of its mistress, free from all acceptance of persons, and from all reproof.

What is the meaning of the statement, "The angel said to her, Behold, thou hast conceived, and thou shall bring forth a son, and shall call his name Ishmael, because the Lord has heard the voice of thy affliction?" (Genesis 16:11). The literal sense of the words admits of no question except this allegorical explanation. Erudition, which is acquired and trained by the dispensation of virtue as a mistress, is found not to be barren, but it has conceived the seed of wisdom; and when it has conceived it brings forth; but it brings forth a work which is not perfect but imperfect, like an infant which has need of care, and ailment, and nourishment; for in truth, it is quite plain that the offspring of a perfect soul is perfect, that is to say, its words and works; but that of the soul of the second class, which is still lying in servitude and subordination, is more imperfect. On which account it has a certain name given to it, Ishmael, which is interpreted "the hearing of God." But hearing is honoured with the second dignity among the outward senses, being next to sight; for nature has arranged a succession of ranks in the contests of the senses, giving the first place to the eyes, the second to the ears, the third to the nostrils, and the fourth to that sense by which we taste.

What is the meaning of the statement, "He shall be a wild man; his hand shall be upon every one, and every one's hand shall be upon him, and he shall dwell over against all his brethren?" (Genesis 16:12). If we look to the letter of the statement, up to this time Ishmael has not any brothers, for he was the first child of his parents. But the sacred writer is here figuring a certain nature, too secret to be thoroughly investigated; for he has set forth the figure of his future character. And such a figure evidently represents the sophist whose mother is erudition or wisdom. But the sophist himself is a man of wild opinions; since the wise man as being civilized is fitted for living in cities, and for urbanity, or for statesmanlike and political companionship; but he who is wild and a man of wild opinions is immediately also quarrelsome. And it is on this account that the sacred writer makes an addition, saying, "His hand shall be upon every one, and every one's hand shall be upon him;" for the abundance of science and the use of erudition is able to contradict all men. As those men of the present day who are called academicians and inquirers, consistently setting no bounds to the determinations of their will and resolution, and among the different opinions which they investigate preferring neither this nor that one, admit those men to be philosophers who attack the opinions of every sect; and those whom it has been usual to call opposers of will, as if they called them theleμmachoi or theleμmamachoi, because they in the first place raise contentions and declare themselves the champions of their national sect, not to be convinced or put down by those who oppose them. But they are all kinsmen, and as it were brothers of the same womb, being the offspring of one mother, namely, of philosophy. And it is on this account that he says, "And he shall dwell over against all his brethren;" for in good truth the academician and the inquirer are diametrically opposed to sects, finding fault in each of them with their certain limitation of the resolution.

Why does he say, "But Hagar called on the name of the Lord, who spoke to her, saying, 'Thou God who hast had regard unto me.' Because he said, 'In truth I have beheld thee appearing before me.'"(Genesis 16:13). In the first place, take notice carefully that the angel, after the manner of the handmaiden of wisdom, was a minister to her on the part of God. But still why is he here called Lord or God who ought only to have been styled his angel? It was in order to adapt the fact to the proper person; for it was right that the Lord and chief of all the universe should appear to wisdom as God, and that his word should appear as a minister to the handmaid and servant of wisdom. But we may not suppose that she mistakenly looked upon the angel as God; for those who are unable to behold the first cause may easily be deceived and look upon the second as the first; in the same manner as he who has but weak sight, not being able to behold the sun which is in heaven in its real appearance, thinks that the ray which falls upon the earth is the sun itself; and those who have never seen the king attribute frequently the dignity of the supreme sovereign to his ministers. And in truth mild and rustic men who never have beheld a city, not even from the summits of the hills where they live, think every country house or farm-yard a mighty city, and look upon the people who dwell there as citizens of a great city, out of ignorance of what a city really is.

What is the meaning of, "On this account she called that well the well of him whom I have seen face to face?" (Genesis 16:14). The well has both a spring and depth. But the learning of the students of encyclical science is neither all on the surface, nor is it destitute of first principles; for it has for its source corrective discipline. Therefore it is with perfect correctness that she says that the angel appeared before the well as God; since the erudition of the encyclical training possessing the second rank is supposed to rejoice in the first authority, though it is in reality separated from that first wisdom which it is permitted to wise men to behold, but not to sophists.

Why is the well said to have been between Cadesh and Pharan? (Genesis 16:14). Cadesh is interpreted holy, but Pharan is translated hail, or corn.

What is the meaning of the statement, "Hagar brought forth a son to Abraham?" (Genesis 16:15). It is made in perfect accordance with nature; for no habit of possession brings forth for itself, but for him who possesses it; as grammar does for the grammarian, and music for the musician, and mathematical science for the mathematician; because it is a part of him, and stands in need of him. And the habit is not received as a thing in need of something, just as fire has no need of heat, for it is heat to itself; and it gives a portion of the participation in it to those who approach it.

Why is Abraham said to have been eighty and six years old when Hagar bore Ishmael to him? (Genesis 16:16). Because the number which follows eighty, that is to say six, is the first perfect number, being equal to its parts, and being the first number which is composed of the multiplication of an odd and an even number; receiving also something from its efficient cause according to the odd or redundant number, and from its material and effective cause according to the even number. On which account, among the most ancient of our ancestors, some persons have called it matrimony, and others harmony; and our sacred historian too has divided the creation of the world into six days. But among numbers, eighty rejoices in perfect harmony, since it is composed of two generous diameters in a double and treble proportion, according to the figure of a square of four sides. And it contains within itself all the four inferences; the arithmetical, and the geometrical, and the harmonious one. Being in the first place composed of double numbers, as of six, eight, nine, twelve, the union of which makes thirty-five; in the second place of triple number, six, nine, twelve, eighteen, the sum of which amounts to forty-five. And from these two numbers thirty-five and forty-five, the whole number eighty is completed. Again, when the sacred historian Moses himself began by divine inspiration to utter the oracular precepts which he was commissioned to deliver, he was eighty years old. And the first man who existed of our nation according to the law of circumcision, being circumcised on the eighth day, being eminent for virtue, bears that name of joy, being called Isaac in the Chaldaic tongue, and Isaac means laughter; being naturally called so because nature rejoices or laughs at everything, being never vexed at any thing which is done in the world, but rather looking with complacency on every thing which occurs as being done well and profitably.

Why when he was ninety and nine years old does the sacred writer say, "The Lord God appeared to him and said, I am the Lord thy God?" (Genesis 17:1). He here makes use of both the titles of each superior virtue, applying them in the case of his address to the wise man, because it was by them that all things were created, and by them that the world is regulated after it had been created. By one of them therefore the wise man, just in the same manner as the world itself, was fashioned and made according to the likeness of God; and God is the name of

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creative virtue; and by the other of them that he was made according to the Lord, as falling under his authority and supreme power. Therefore he designs here to show that the man who is conspicuous in virtue is both a citizen of the world, and also equal in dignity to the whole world, declaring that both the virtues of the world, the divine and the royal attributes, are in a singular manner appointed to and set over him as protectors. And it was with great correctness and propriety that this appearance took place when he was about ninety and nine years old, because that number is very near the hundred. And the number a hundred is composed of the number ten multiplied by itself, which the sacred historian calls the holy of holies. Since the first court, the first ten, is simply called holy, and that is permitted to be entered by the sweepers of the temple; but the ten of tens, which he again enjoins the sweepers of the temple to pay above all things to the existing high priest, is the number ten computed along with the number a hundred, for what else is the tenth of the tenths but the hundredth? However the number ninety and nine has been set forth and adorned not only by its affinity to the number a hundred, but it has also received a particular participation in a wonderful nature, since it consists of the number fifty, and of seven times seven. For the fiftieth year, as the year of Pentecost or the Jubilee, is called remission in the giving forth of the law, as then all things are given their liberty, whether living or inanimate. And the mystery of the seventh year is one of quiet and profound peace to both body and soul. For the seventh is the recollection of all the good things which come of their own accord without industry of labour, which at the first creation of the world nature produced of herself; but the number forty-nine, consisting as it does of seven times seven, indicates no trifling blessings, but rather those which have virtue and wisdom, in such a degree as to contribute to invincible and mighty constancy.

What is the meaning of, "Do thou please me, and keep thyself from stain, and I will make my treaty between me and thee, and I will multiply thee exceedingly?" (Genesis 17:1). God here lays down a law for the human race in a somewhat familiar manner; for he who has no participation in wickedness and is free from evil, will be perfectly good, which is peculiar to incorporeal natures. But those who are in the body are called good in proportion to the measure in which wickedness and the practice of sin are removed from them. Therefore the life of those men has appeared honourable, not that of those who have been free from sickness from the beginning to the end, but that of those who from a state of infirmity have advanced to sanity; on which account he says directly and plainly, "Keep thyself free from stain," for it is sufficient to conduct a mortal nature to felicity not to be blamed, and neither to do nor say anything deserving of reproof; and such conduct is at once pleasing to the Father. Therefore it is that he said, "Do thou please me, and keep thyself free from stain." Where the form of expression implies a mutual conversion; since the habits which please God do not deserve reproof, and he who keeps himself free from stain and avoids reproof in all things is altogether pleasing to God. Therefore he promises to bestow a double blessing on him who keeps himself free from all reproof; in the first place, to make him the guardian of the deposits of the divine covenant: and in the second place to cause him to increase to a multitude without any limit. For that expression, "I will make my treaty, or covenant, between me and thee," shows the office of guardianship of the truth which is entrusted to an honest man; for the whole treaty of God is the incorporeal word; which is the form and measure of the universe according to which this world was made. And then repeating the expression, "I will multiply thee exceedingly," twice manifestly shows the immense numbers to which the multitude promised shall grow, I mean the increase which shall take place in the people, not in human virtue.

What is the meaning of, "Abraham fell on his face?" (Genesis 17:3). The present expression is the interpretation of what has already been promised; for God had said, "Keep thyself free from stain," but there is not other cause of a man leading a life which is disapproved but the outward sense, because that is the origin and source of the passions; on which account he rightly and properly falls on his face, that is to say, the offences caused by the outward senses fall to the bottom, showing that the man is now devoted to all good works. This is enough to say in the first place, but in the second place we must say that he was so struck by the manifest appearance of the living God that he was scarcely able to behold him through fear, but fell to the ground and offered adoration, being overwhelmed with awe at the appearance which presented itself to him. In the third place, he fell to the ground on account of the revelation thus made to him, at the form of his appearance by the living God who exists alone, whom he knew and regarded as truth opposed to created nature; since the one exists in unvarying constancy and the other vacillates and falls into its proper place, that is to say, to the earth.

What is the meaning of, "And God conversed with him, saying, And I, behold, my covenant is with thee, and thou shall be the father of a multitude of nations?" (Genesis 17:4). Since he had previously used the expression, "treaty," he now proceeds to say, do not seek that treaty in letters, since I myself, in accordance with what has been said before, am myself the genuine and true covenant. For after he has shown himself and said, "I," he makes an addition, saying, "Behold, my covenant," which is nothing but I myself; for I am myself my covenant, according to which my treaty and agreement are made and agreed to, and according to which again all things are properly distributed and arranged. Now the form of this prototypal treating is put together from the ideas and incorporeal measures and forms in accordance with which this world was made. Is it not therefore a climax to the benefits which the Father bestowed on the wise man, to raise him up and conduct him not only from earth to heaven, nor only from heaven to the incorporeal world appreciable only by the intellect, but also to draw him up from this world to himself, showing himself to him, not as he is in himself, for that is not possible but as far as the visual organs of the beholder who beholds virtue herself as appreciable by the intellect are able to attain to. And it is on this account that he says, "Be no more a son but a father; and the father, not of one individual but of a multitude; and of a multitude, not according to a part, but of all nations;" therefore of the revealed promises two admit of a literal interpretation, but the third of one which is rather spiritual. One of those which admit of a literal interpretation is to be construed in this way: in truth thou shall be the father of nations, and shall beget nations, that is to say, each individual among thy sons shall be the founder of a nation. But the second is of this kind; like a father you shall be clothed with power over, and authority to rule, many nations; for a lover of God is necessarily and at once also a lover of men; so that he will diligently devote his attention, not only to his relations but also to all mankind, and especially to those who are able to go through the discipline of strict attention, and who are of a disposition the reverse of anything cruel or hard, but of one which easily submits to virtue, and willingly gives obedience to right reason. But the third we may explain under this allegory: the multitude of nations spoken of indicates as it were the multifarious inclination of the will in each of our minds, both those inclinations which it is accustomed to form with reference to itself, and also those others which it admits by the agency of the senses, as they enter clandestinely through the intervention of the imagination, and if the mind possesses the supreme authority over all these, it, like a common father, turns them to better objects, cherishing their infant opinions, as it were, with milk, exhorting those which are older and more mature, though still imperfect, to improvement, and honouring with commendation those which perform their duty aright; and again, putting a bridle, by means of discipline and reproof, on those which rebel and act rashly; since, wishing to imitate the Deity, it receives a twofold influx from the virtues of that same being, one from his beneficent attributes and another from his avenging might, as if from two sources; therefore the docile receive his kindness, and towards the rebellious he uses reproof; so that some are led to improvement by praise and others by chastisement: in truth, he who is eminent for virtue is able to be of great, and extensive, and just service to all, according to his power.

What is the meaning of, "Thy name shall not be called Abram, but Abraham shall thy name be?" (Genesis 17:5). Some of those who are destitute of all knowledge of music and dancing, some indeed being wholly foolish and keeping aloof from the divine company, mock the one existing or only wise Being, immaculate by nature, saying, in a tone of vituperation, "Oh the great gift, the governor and Lord of the whole universe has given one letter, by which the name of the patriarch was to be increased and become of great importance, so as to be made a trisyllable instead of a dissyllable!" Oh the great misery, and wickedness, and impiety, of such men! If some persons dare, in any respect, to endeavor to detract from God, being deceived by the outward appearance of a name, when they ought rather to thrust their minds down into the depths, and inquire into the things themselves more closely, on account of the real magnitude and importance of the possession. Besides this, why do ye not think the concession of one letter, although a small and easy gift, nevertheless an act of providence? and why do ye not weigh its value? Since, above all things, the very first element of language, as expressed in letters, is A, both in order and in virtue. In the second place, it is also a vowel, and the very first of vowels, being placed above them as their head. In the third place, because it does not belong to long properties, nor to short properties, but it is of the number of those which comprise each characteristic, for it is extended into greater length, and then again it is recalled into shortness, by reason of its softness, resembling wax, and being figured into many shapes, and afterwards figuring words, according to infinite numbers; besides all this it is a cause, for it is the brother of unity, from which all things begin and in which all things terminate. Therefore, when any one sees such great beauty, and a letter set forth with such great importance and necessity, how can he accuse it as if he had not seen this? for if he has seen it, he then shows himself to be a person of insulting disposition and a hater of what is good; and if he has not seen a fact, which is so easy to comprehend, how does he presume to ridicule and despise that which he does not understand as if he did understand it? But however these things may be said by the way, as I stated before. But we must now examine into its necessary and most important task. The addition of the letter A, by one single element, changed and reformed the whole character of the mind, causing it, instead of the sublime knowledge and learning of sublime things, that is to say, instead of astronomy, to acquire a comprehension of wisdom, since it is by the knowledge of things above that the faculty is acquired of mounting up to one portion of the world, that is to say, to heaven, and to the periodical revolutions and motions of the stars; but wisdom has reference to the nature of all things, both such as are visible to the outward senses, and such as are appreciable only by the intellect, for the intellect is the wisdom which gives a knowledge of divine and human things and of their principles. Therefore, in divine things there is something which is visible, and something else which is invisible, and a demonstrative idea. And in human affairs there are some things which are corporeal and some which are incorporeal; to attain to the right comprehension of which is a great task, and a real employment for the abilities and courage of man. But to be able, not only to behold the substances and natures of the universe, but also the principles which regulate each separate fact, indicates a virtue more perfect than that which is allotted to mankind; for it is necessary for the mind, which perceives so many and such great things, to be altogether and wholly eye, and to dispense with sleep, passing its whole existence in the world in a state of incessant wakefulness, and being surrounded by a light which knows no darkness, and which exhibits the appearance of light itself, as by an ever-flashing lightning, taking God for its leader and guide, to the comprehension of the knowledge of those things which are, and to the faculty of explaining their principles. Therefore the dissyllabic name Abram is explained as meaning "excellent father," on account of his affinity to the knowledge of sublime wisdom, that is, astronomy and mathematics. But the trisyllabic name Abraham is interpreted "the father of elect sound," being the name of a really wise man; for what else is sound in us, except the utterance of a pronounced word? for which object we have an instrument constructed by nature, passing through the thick tube of the throat, and united with the mouth and tongue; and the father of such a sound is our intellect, and elect intellect is endued with virtue. But if we are to keep to exact propriety, then it is plain that the mind is the familiar and natural father of the uttered word, because it is the especial property of the father to beget, and the word is born from the mind; and it will be a certain proof of this if we recollect that when it is set in motion by counsels it sounds, and when they are absent it ceases to sound: and the evidences of this are the rhetoricians and philosophers who demonstrate its habit by objects; for whenever the mind publishes abroad different heads of designs, and in the manner of a mother about to bring forth produces each individual means previously stored up in itself, then also the word, flowing forth like a fountain, is borne to the ears of the bystander as to its appropriate receptacles: but when those are wanting, then it also is unable to publish itself further, and rests, and the sound is inactive as being struck by no one. Now therefore, O ye men, full and crammed with superfluous loquacity, ye men devoid of wisdom, does not the gift of one single element appear to you to have been such that by the intervention of a single letter the wise man is rendered worthy of the divine attribute of wisdom, than which there is nothing more excellent in our nature? because instead of the sublime erudition of astronomy he gave him intellect, that is to say, instead of a small part of wisdom, he gave him the whole and perfect blessing of entire wisdom, since a knowledge of things above is included and comprehended in wisdom, as a part is included in the whole; for mathematics are only a part. But it becomes you, O men, to consider this point also, that the man who is well instructed and skilful in the investigation of the nature of things above May by possibility be a man of depraved and wicked habits; but the wise man is altogether approved as virtuous. Shall we then now any longer ridicule this gift, than which nothing more excellent can be found? For what is more shameful than wickedness or more excellent than virtue? Can anything be found here not good, and is it not wholly opposed to evil? Or can this gift be compared to riches, or honour, or liberty, or health, or to any other superfluous possession of any kind around or exterior to the body? For the whole of philosophy is thus added to our life as a sort of college of medicine to the soul, in order from thence to dispense to it freedom from suffering and immunity from disease; but in truth it is noble to be a philosopher, and that wonderful knowledge is truly noble; and the end is even more admirable, on account of which the act is called into existence. Here therefore is wisdom, and that the best kind of wisdom, which God called in the Chaldaic dialect Abraham, namely the father of elect sound, giving as it were a definition of a wise man; for as the definition of man is a mortal animal

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endowed with reason, so also the mysterious definition of a wise man is the father of elect sound.

What is the meaning of, "I will greatly increase thee, and set thee among the nations, and kings shall proceed from thee?" (Genesis 17:6). That expression, "I will greatly increase thee," was used to the wise man with exceeding propriety; since every wicked or bad man does increase and advance, not to improvement but towards deficiency; as withering flowers advance not towards life but towards death; but the man whose life is extended long and is greatly increased is like a passing cloud, or like the continually flowing stream of a river, because as it increases it is extended more and more out of doors, as its wisdom also is divine. And that expression, "I will set thee among the nations," was used in order that God might the more evidently demonstrate that he was making him worthy to be as a foundation and firm support to the nations through his wisdom, not only to his own nation, but also to all other peoples who in various manners are in want in respect of their minds, as has been said before; since the wise man is the redeemer of nations and intercessor for them before God, and since it is he who implores pardon for the sins of his relations. Last of all, the promise, "Kings shall come forth from thee," is again used with especial propriety; for everything which relates to wisdom is a royal seed; the offspring of the chief and master according to nature: but the wise man has no seed or fruit of his own, but is fertile and abundant in the seed which proceeds from the great cause himself.

What is the meaning of, "I will give this land to thee and to thy seed after thee, in which thou hast sojourned, namely all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession?" (Genesis 17:8). The letter of the promise is so clear that the language does not stand in need of any explanation whatever; but with respect to the inward meaning of it we must have recourse to an allegory of this kind. The mind which is endowed with virtue is rather a sojourner in the corporeal space allotted to it, than a regular inhabitant of it; for its real country is the air and the heaven; and the earth, and the earthly body in which it is said to sojourn, is only a colony; therefore the Father, conferring a benefit upon it, gives to it the sovereign authority over all the things of the earth for ever and ever, as he says himself, for an everlasting possession; so that it for the future shall not be governed by the body, but shall always be its master and ruler, having the body for its servant and attendant.

What is the meaning of, "And every male of you shall be circumcised, and you shall circumcise, or you shall be circumcised, in, the flesh of your foreskin?" (Genesis 17:10). I see here a twofold circumcision, one of the male creature, and the other of the flesh; that which is of the flesh takes place in the genitals, but that which is of the male creature takes place, as it seems to me, in respect of his thoughts. Since that which is, properly speaking, masculine in us is the intellect, the superfluous shoots of which it is necessary to prune away and to cast off, so that it, becoming clean and pure from all wickedness and vile, may worship God as his priest. This therefore is what is designated by the second circumcision, where God says by an express law, "Circumcise the hardness of your hearts," that is to say, your hard and rebellious thoughts and ambition, which when they are cut away and removed from you, your most important part will be rendered free.

Why orders he the males only to be circumcised? (Genesis 17:11). For in the first place, the Egyptians, in accordance with the national customs of their country, in the fourteenth year of their age, when the male begins to have the power of propagating his species, and when the female arrives at the age of puberty, circumcise both bride and bridegroom. But the divine legislator appoints circumcision to take place in the case of the male alone for many reasons: the first of which is, that the male creature feels venereal pleasures and desires matrimonial connexions more than the female, on which account the female is properly omitted here, while he checks the superfluous impetuosity of the male by the sign of circumcision. But the second reason is that the material of the female is supplied to the son from what remains over of the eruption of blood, while the immediate maker and cause of the son is the male. Because therefore the male supplies the most indispensable part in the fact of generation, God deservedly represses his pride by the figure of circumcision, but the material or feminine cause, as being inactive, does not display ambition in the same degree. And this is enough to say on this head. But afterwards we must note this likewise, that the intellect in us is endued with the power of sight, therefore it is necessary to cut away its superfluous shoots. And these superfluous shoots are empty opinions, and all the actions which are done in accordance with them. So that the intellect after circumcision may only bear about with itself what is necessary and useful; and that whatever causes pride to increase may be cut away; with which also the eyes are circumcised as if they did not see.

Why did he say, "And let the child, every male child, be circumcised at eight days old?" (Genesis 17:12). He orders the freeborn to be circumcised, which, in the first place, was permitted on account of diseases that might arise; for it is more difficult to heal a disease in the genitals, and it is commonly done by burning by fire those parts over which a membrane grows, but this rarely affects those who have been circumcised. And in truth, if it were possible that other infirmities also could be avoided by amputating any member or any part of the body, so that though it was amputated still the operation of each necessary part would not be hindered, then without the knowledge of mortal man he would be transmitted into immortality. But that here it was thought fit that man should be circumcised out of a provident care for his mind without any previous infirmity is plain, since not the Jews alone, but also the Egyptians, and Arabians, and Ethiopians, and nearly all the nations who live in the southern parts of the world, down to the Torrid Zone are circumcised. What then is the chief reason of this fact? except that in those districts, and especially in the summer, when the genitals are protected with a skin, it burns and is injured by inflammation, but when that covering is laid bare by circumcision it is cooled, and the disease is repelled; and on this account the northern nations and others, to whom the cooler portion of the habitable earth has been allotted, are not circumcised, for not only is the solar heat moderate in those regions, but so is also all inflammatory disease which affects the membranes of the members. Let every one take a firm judgement, and from that time when the disease comes in more vigorously; for it never comes at all in the winter, but in the summer it shows itself and flourishes and ripens; for it loves, if I may so say, like fire to burn in those parts. In the second place, it was not only from a regard to sound health that our ancestors diligently employed this method of cure, but also from a regard to the multiplication of the human race, seeing that nature was very vivacious and too eager to propagate the human species. Therefore they knew, like wise men, how the seed when poured over the folds of the membrane is often accustomed to be wasted and so to become unfruitful; but if no impediment arises then it would easily be able to arrive at the situation suited to receive it. On which account also those nations which adopt the practice of circumcision have grown into an exceedingly numerous population: and our legislator, weighing the consequences also, commanded the circumcision of infants to be performed at an earlier age, keeping in view the same effect of circumcision with regard to the population. Therefore it is in truth, as it seems to me, that the Egyptians also in the fourteenth year of their children's age, in which the desire to propagate the species usually begins, have said that it is suitable to circumcise them, with the view of increasing the population; but it was better and more carefully done in our nation, where the circumcision of infants was ordained, since perhaps the man when grown up would delay the operation out of fear, because he then has a will of his own. In the third place, he says this with a view to cleanliness in the sacred oblations; for in truth those who enter into the courts of the temples are made clean by sprinkling and ablutions. Moreover the Egyptians scrape the whole body, removing all the hairs which cover and envelop the body, so as to appear white all over; but the circumcision of the skin is no small assistance towards cleanliness, otherwise everyone would abhor it when he beheld it as it is in itself. In the fourth place, there are in us two generative principles, one in the soul and one in the body; the generative principle of the soul is the intellect, and that of the body is the corporeal organ; therefore the ancients chose to refer the generative principle of the body to an imitation of the intellect which is rather the generative principle of the heart. And in truth there is nothing to which it is found more like than the circumcision of the heart; these therefore are real facts like the celebrated reasons for things which have been investigated. But we must now speak of those which have greater symbols belonging to them and which exhibit a certain principle. Therefore the circumcision of the skin is said to be a symbol, but as one indicating that it is proper to cut away all superfluous and extravagant desires, by studying continence and religion; for as the skin of the prepuce is quite superfluous for generation, and is moreover especially injurious by reason of the disease of inflammation which burns within it, so also an over abundance of desire is as superfluous as it is pernicious, superfluous because it is not necessary, and pernicious because it is the cause of diseases to both body and soul; and by the greater desire he also warns us that all the other desires are likewise to be cut off. And that is called the greater desire which has a regard to the matrimonial connexion of the male and the female; since it is the beginning of a great thing, namely, of generation; and since it creates a great affection on the part of the father towards her who is to bring forth; for it is natural for them both to be influenced by love and affection for their offspring. Therefore, he here warns us to cut away not only all the superfluous desires, but also pride, as being a great wickedness and an associate of wickedness. For pride, as the language of the ancients tells us, is what keeps men back and hinders them in their improvement; since it will not exhibit that honesty which it really possesses, thinking that it is itself an adequate cause for anything. Moreover it naturally influences those who think themselves the causes of generation; so that they scarcely ever turn their minds at all to behold the true Father of the universe. For he is in truth the one real and genuine Father of all; and we, who are called fathers, are only instruments of his, serving to generation; since, as in a wonderful resemblance, all things which are represented in appearance are yet in reality inanimate, but that which strengthens the nerves is invisible, and yet is itself the cause of virtue, and of motion, and of sight. So, in like manner, from everlasting and invisible space there extends the Creator of the universe, and we, like so many puppets, are strengthened by him with nerves for the purpose which belongs to us, namely, sowing seed and raising a generation; unless we choose to fancy that a flute is blown by itself, and is not made by an artist in a way adapted for the production of harmony, by whom it was constructed as an instrument for service and for its own necessary end.

Why does he order circumcision to be performed on the eighth day? (Genesis 17:12). The number eight has many beauties in it; for it is, in the first place, a cubic number. Secondly, it has beauties, because it everywhere contains in itself the form of equality, because longitude, and breadth, and depth, which are all equal to one another, are indicated by the first number eight. In the third place, the composition of the number eight produces agreement, namely, the number thirty-six, which the Pythagoreans call agreement, since that is the first number in which odd numbers being added together agree with even numbers. If, indeed, four odd numbers from the unit are separately taken and added together and four even numbers beginning with two, they united make thirty-six. Now the odd numbers are these: one, three, five, seven, which make sixteen. And the even numbers are these: two, four, six, eight, which make twenty. And the addition of the two together makes thirty-six, which is in truth a more fertile number. Since it is a square, having each side composed of the number six; the first of which is both odd and even; which some persons most correctly call harmony or matrimony; and it was by the employment of this number that the Creator of the universe made the world, as the holy and admirable book of Moses relates. In the fourth place, the idea of eight produces sixty-four, which is the first number, which is a cube and also a square, being the type of incorporeal substance appreciable only by the intellect and invisible, and also of corporeal substance. Of incorporeal substance, inasmuch as it produces superficies according to the square; and of corporeal substance, as producing a solid according to the cube. In the fifth place, it is always a kindred number to the virgin number seven, for seven makes up the parts of eight; because four is the half of it, two is the fourth part of it, one the eighth of it, and four, two, and one, added together, make seven. In the sixth place, the power of eight is sixty-four, which we call the first number, being both a cube and a square. In the seventh place, taken separately from the units by these doubled numbers, one, two, four, eight, sixteen, thirty-two, the sum makes sixty-four. And the number eight has also other more distinguished virtues still, which we have enumerated in another place; but now it seems better to explain the principle which corresponds to the present question, and which depends on the grounds now laid down. But in the first place we must premise this: that nation to whom it is enjoined, having the commandments give to it, that it should be circumcised on the eighth day, is called in the Chaldaic language Israel, that is to say, "he that sees by day." Therefore God wills, in the first place, that he should be a partaker both of his own just rights, and also of those which exist according to election, and according to the principle of Genesis (or creation), by that first number six, which immediately followed the creation. This number, in fact, the Father and Creator of all things evidently exhibited to the world as the festival of generation, completing the world on the sixth day. And the other number, that which is according to election, he exhibited by the number eight, which is the beginning of the second seven; as eight is seven and one, so the race which has been honoured is always a race receiving that number also in addition, so that it should be elect, both by nature and in accordance with the decree of the Father. In the second place, the number eight exhibits equality everywhere, showing that all its separations are equal, as has been already said, I mean its length, and breadth, and depth. And equality it is which is the parent of equity and justice, by which he shows that the nation which loves God is adorned with equity or justice, and has advanced to complete possession. In the third place, eight is not only a measure of complete equity in all its dimensions, but is the very first number that is so, for it is the first cube; since the number eight indicates equality, and so it has the second and not the first rank: therefore it demonstrates in a symbolical manner that that nature was the first which was ever completely furnished with consummate and perfect equity and justice, and that it is the first nature of the human race, not in point of creation or of time, but in the dignity of virtue, as if justice united with equality were a connatural part of it. In the fourth place, since there are four elements, the appearances of earth, water, air, and fire; fire has received for its figure a shape becoming a similar name, a pyramid;[pyramis, resembling the word pyr, "fire."] and air

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has received for its figure an eight-sided one; water, a twenty-sided one; and the earth, a cube. Therefore he thought it necessary that the earth, which was to be the allotment of the race of man, who were endowed with virtue, should participate in the cubic number, as the whole earth has been formed in its figure. And a part of it receives the parts of that which should bring forth, because by nature the earth is very fertile, producing all the various and distinct species of every kind of animal and plant.

Why does he order all slaves to be circumcised, those born in the family and also those who are bought? (Genesis 17:12). The literal meaning is plain; for it is fitting that servants should imitate their masters on account of their necessary employment, and the services to which they are bound in life. But with respect to the inner object of the command, those dispositions are what may be called born in the family which are influenced by nature itself, and those are bought which can be changed for the better by teaching and instruction. Each of these has its appropriate employment, and requires like a plant to be cleared and pruned in order that the good and fruitful parts may acquire constancy; for fertile plants produce many superfluous things by reason of their fecundity, and those superfluities must be cut away; but those who are taught by instructors cut away their ignorance.

What is the meaning of, "And it shall be my covenant (or agreement) in your flesh?" (Genesis 17:13). God is willing to do good, not only to the man who is endued with virtue, but he wishes that the divine word should regulate not only his soul but his body also, as if it had become its physician. And it must be its care to prune away all excesses of seeing, and hearing, and taste, and smell, and touch, and also those of the instrument of voice and articulation, and also all the redundant and pernicious impulses of the genitals, as also of the whole body, the effect of which is, that at times we are delighted by our passions and at times pained by them.

Why is it that he pronounces a sentence of death on an infant, saying, "Every male child who is not circumcised, who has not been circumcised (or, as the Greek has it, who shall not be circumcised) in the flesh of his foreskin on the eighth day, that soul shall be cut off from his generation?" (Genesis 17:14). The law never declares a man guilty for any unintentional offence; since even those who have committed an unintentional homicide are pardoned by it, cities being set apart into which such men may flee and there find security; for whoever escapes to them is rendered secure and free from danger; and no one has the power to drag him forth, or to cite him before the tribunal of the judge for the deed. Therefore, if a boy is not circumcised on the eighth day after his birth, what offence will he have committed that he is to be held guilty, and suffer the penalty of death? Some persons may perhaps say that the form of the command points to the parents themselves, for they look upon them as despisers of the command of the law. But others say that it has here exerted excessive severity against infants, as it seems, imposing this heavy penalty in order that grown up persons who break the law may thus be irrevocably subjected to most severe punishment. This is the literal effect of the words. But if we look to their inward meaning, then what is male in us is most especially the intellect, and that God here commands to be circumcised on the eighth day, for the reason previously stated, not in any other part, but in the flesh of the foreskin, by this expression symbolically indicating those parts which in the flesh do subsequently become the organs of pleasure and impulse. And on this account it is that he introduces a legitimate reason, warning men that the intellect, which is not circumcised and cleared away from the flesh and the vices of the flesh, is corrupt and cannot be saved. But that this language is not to be applied to the man, but to the intellect, which is thus put in a sound condition, he tells us in the subsequent words, saying, "That soul shall be cut off," not that human body, or that man, but that soul and mind. Cut off from what? From its generation; for the whole generation is incorrupt. Therefore the wicked man is removed from incorruption to corruption.

Why does God say, "Sara thy wife shall not be called Sara, but Sarra shall be her name?" (Genesis 17:15). Here again some foolish persons may laugh at the addition of one single letter, that is to say, of a hundred, for in Greek characters the letter r means a hundred; but if they jest in this way they are foolish, as being unwilling to behold the inward merits of things and to cleave to the footsteps of truth; for that element, r, which is here thought of merely as the addition of one letter, is the parent of all harmony, making things great instead of small, general instead of particular, and mortal instead of immortal; since Sara, when called Sara with one r, is interpreted "thy princedom," but with two r's, Sarra, "princess." Let us then be careful, and see how these two names are distinguished from one another. In me wisdom (or prudence), integrity (or temperance), justice, and fortitude have only a prince-like power and are mortal; moreover, when I die they die too. But this wisdom is herself a princess, and justice is a prince too, and each separate one of these virtues is not the principal or princely part in me, but is itself a mistress and a queen, an everlasting monarchy and sovereignty. Do you not now see the magnitude of the gift? By this slight change, God changes the part into the whole, the species into the genus, the corruptible into the incorruptible. And all these things are previously dispensed on account of the impending birth of a more perfect joy than all joys, whose name is Isaac.

Why does he say, "And from her I will give thee children, and I will bless him, and he shall be over the nations, and kings of the nations shall come forth from him?" (Genesis 17:16). It is scarcely proper to inquire why he has said children in the plural number, when he meant their only and beloved son; for the intention of God's words applies to his offspring, from which nations and kings should arise. This is the literal meaning of the words. But if we look to their more inward sense, when the soul possesses that virtue, small and mortal as it is, which is only particular, she is still barren. But from the time that it acquires a share of the divine and incorruptible virtue, it begins to conceive and to bring forth varieties of nations, namely, of all other holy and sacred persons; for ever one of the everlasting virtues is subject to an immense number of voluntary laws, which bear in themselves a similarity to nations and kingdoms; for virtue and the generations of virtue are royal things, being previously instructed by nature what it is which rejoices in princely power, and has no knowledge of a servile condition.

Why did Abraham fall on his face and laugh? (Genesis 17:17). Two things are indicated by his falling on his face. One an act of adoration on account of the excess of his divine ecstasy; the other that it corresponds to and is suitable to the aforesaid harmony, by which the intellect has confessed that God alone exists in a continual and unvarying existence. But those creatures which owe their existence to creation and generation, all are subject to changes in time; for they fall to a certain extent, inasmuch as they are accustomed to rise up, and to be corrected in accordance with their original appearance. And it was very natural for Abraham to laugh at the promise, as he was then filled with the great hope that the things which he expected should be accomplished, especially because he had received a manifest revelation from that appearance, by which he became more thoroughly acquainted with him who exists for everlasting without variation, and with him also who is continually stooping and falling.

Why did Abraham appear to hesitate about the promise, for the sacred writer says, He said in his mind, shall there be a son to one who is a hundred years old; and shall Sarra, who is ninety years old, bring forth a child? (Genesis 22:18). This expression, "he said in his mind," is not added without an object or gratuitously, for words which are articulated in the tongue and the mouth incur guilt, and become liable to punishment, but those which are restrained within the mind are not liable to punishment, because the mind without any intention on its part is led away by irregularities, all kinds of passions being introduced from different quarters, which it for a while resists, being indignant at them, and wishing to keep aloof from their representations. But perhaps we should not say that he hesitated, but rather that he was struck by wonderment at the amazing nature of the gift, and so said, "Behold my body is advanced in years, and has passed the age of generation; nevertheless all things are possible to God, so that he may transmute old age into youth, and lead those who have no seed nor fruit to fertility and generation: and if a man who is a hundred years and a woman who is ninety years old become parents, all commonplace occurrences and all regularity of nature will be done away, and it will be clearly seen that it is only the power and the grace of God."

But what virtue the number one hundred has must now be explained.

In the first place, a hundred is the power of the number ten.

In the second place, the number ten thousand is the power of this number a hundred, and ten thousand is the brother of the unit, for as one times one is one, so ten thousand times one is ten thousand.

In the third place, every part of the number a hundred is honourable.

In the fourth place, this number consists of thirty-six and sixty-four, which is a cube, and at the same time a triangle.

In the fifth place, it is composed of all these separate odd numbers: one, three, five, seven, nine, eleven, thirteen, fifteen, seventeen, nineteen, which added together make a hundred.

In the sixth place, it is composed of these four numbers: one and its double, and four and its double; as one, two, four, eight, which make fifteen, and of these four numbers also added together, one, four, fifteen, sixty-four, which make eighty-five. And the principle of doubling pervades all these numbers, containing that principle which is by fours and by fives: and the principle of four times and twice pervades them all.

In the seventh place, it is composed of five numbers taken simply, one, two, three, four, which make ten; and of five triangular numbers, one, three, six ten, which make twenty; and of five quadrangular numbers, one, four, nine, sixteen, which make thirty; and of five quinquangular numbers, one, five, twelve, twenty-two, which make forty: and all these added together make a hundred.

In the eighth place, it is composed of four cubes taken simply beginning with the unit, for after giving one, two, three, four, their cubes one, eight, twenty-seven, sixty-four, make a hundred.

In the ninth place, it is divided into forty and sixty, each of which is a very natural number; and in accordance with the first order of decimals up to ten thousand in a quinquangular figure the number a hundred holds the middle place; for instance: one, ten, a hundred, one thousand, ten thousand, where a hundred is the middle number of one, ten, a hundred, one thousand, and ten thousand.

But we ought also not to pass over in silence the number ninety as far as it concerns the visible characters. As it seems to me the number ninety is second only to the number a hundred, inasmuch as the tenth part of it, that is to say ten, is taken away, since I see that in the law two-tenths of the first fruits were set apart, first a tenth of the whole, secondly a tenth of the remainder, for when a tenth of the fruits of the earth, of corn, or wine, or oil, is taken, another tenth is also taken from the remainder; therefore of these two that which is the first and principal one is honoured with the greater share; and in the second place that which follows it, since the number a hundred of the years of the wise man comprises both the first-fruits with which it is consecrated, both the first and the second kind; but the number ninety of the years of the female parent, comprehends the second and lesser first-fruits, namely, the remainder of the first, which is the great one among the sacred numbers. This therefore may be called the first vision in the sacred law which is familiar; and the other has a general character, for the number ninety is fertile; on which account also it happens that the woman begins to bring forth in the ninth month; but the tenth is the sacred and perfect number; and when the two numbers nine and ten are multiplied together ninety is made, as being the virtue of the sacred birth, receiving a fertile generation according to the number nine, and a holy one according to ten.

Why did Abraham say to God, O may this my son Ishmael live before thee? (Genesis 17:18). In the first place, I do not despair, says he, O Lord, of a better generation, but I believe thy promise: nevertheless, it would be a sufficient blessing for me for this son to live who in the meantime is a living son, standing visibly, even though he be not so according to the legitimate blood, but is only born of a concubine. In the second place, that blessing which he is now asking for is an additional one; for he does not entreat for life alone for his sons, but for an especial life in God; and we must suppose that there is nothing more perfect than the rejoicing in the presence of God with a salutary soundness of mind, which is equal to immortality. In the third place, he by a conjecture intimates that the divine law, when heard, ought not to be considered enough if merely heard, but that it ought also to enter more deeply into the inward man, and to form his principal part; for that life is worthy of being beheld by the Deity which is formed in accordance with his word.

Why does the divine oracle, in the way of intimation, say to Abraham, Yes, be it so: behold Sarah thy wife shall also bring forth a son unto thee? (Genesis 17:19). The meaning of this sentence is as follows: that confession and admission, says God, is on my part an admission of thy wish, being manifestly full of unadulterated joy; and your faith is not doubtful, but without any hesitation it has a share of modest awe and reverence; therefore that which thou hast received before, as to be done unto thee on account of thy faith in me, shall certainly be done; for this is what is meant by yes.

Why does he say, But behold I will also listen to thee concerning Ishmael, and I will bless him, and he shall become the father of twelve nations? (Genesis 17:20). God says, I will grant to thee both the first and the second blessing, that is to say, both the blessings of nature and the blessings of instruction; by nature that which is according to the legitimate course of nature, that is Isaac, and by instruction that which is according to Ishmael, who is not legitimate: for hearing, when compared with sight, is like the illegitimate compared with the legitimate, and what is brought about by instruction is not of the same class with that which owes its existence to nature; and the man who is desirous of encyclical wisdom becomes the father of nations, for the encyclical number is a period of twelve days and years.

Why does he say, But I will set up my covenant with Isaac, whom Sarah shall bring forth about this time in the succeeding year? (Genesis 17:21). As in men's wills some persons are set down as heirs, and some are entered as worthy of gifts which they are to receive from the heirs, so also in the divine testament that man is set down as the heir who is by nature a worthy disciple of God being adorned with all perfect virtues; but he who is introduced by learning, and is made subject to the law of wisdom, and partakes in encyclical instruction, is not at all an heir, but only a receiver of gifts gratuitously given. But it is said with great wisdom and propriety that his mother shall bring forth Isaac in the succeeding year, since this birth unto life does not belong to the present time, but to another great and holy time; and that

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which is divine rejoices in excessive abundance, and is by no means like the nations of this world.

Why does he say, Abraham was ninety and nine years old when he was circumcised, and Ishmael his son was thirteen years old? (Genesis 17:24). The number of ninety and nine years is arranged here as approximating to the number a hundred. And it is in accordance with this number that it is arranged that the seed of the perfect man becomes the beginning of generation, which appears more evidently in the number a hundred; but the number thirteen is composed of the first square numbers of four and nine, the odd and even numbers; so that the even number has for its sides a twofold material form; and the odd number has an operative form, from all which a triple number is made, which is the greatest and most perfect of the festival victims which the examinations of the sacred scriptures contain. This is one reason. A second also it may be allowed to us to mention, that the age namely of thirteen years is very near to and a partaker with the fourteenth year, in which the motions of seed towards generation begin to have life. In order, therefore, that no foreign seed should be sown, he arranged that the first generations should be kept pure, figuring the instrument of generating under the figure of generation. In the third place, he teaches that he who is about to go through the operations of matrimony ought by all means first of all to cut away concupiscence, reproving all lascivious and effeminate persons as those who bring together superfluous mixtures which were not for the sake of the generation of children but to gratify incontinent desires.

Why did Abraham also circumcise strangers? (Genesis 17:27). The wise man is as useful as the humane man, who saves and invites to himself not only his relations and neighbours, but also strangers and men of another family, giving them a share of his own habit of patient and religious continence; for these are the foundations of constancy, which is the object of all virtue, and the point at which it rests.

CONCERNING THE WORLD--

1 There is no existing thing equal in honour to God, but he is the one Ruler, and Governor, and King, to whom alone it is lawful to govern and regulate everything; for the verse-

"A multitude of masters is not good,

Let there one sovereign be, one king of All," [hom. Il. 2.204.]

is not more appropriate to be said with respect to cities and men than to the world and God, for it follows inevitably that there must be one Creator and Master of one world; and this position having been laid down and conceded as a preliminary, it is only consistent with sense to connect with it what follows from it of necessity. Let us now, therefore, consider what inferences these are. God being one being, has two supreme powers of the greatest importance. By means of these powers the incorporeal world, appreciable only by the intellect, was put together, which is the archetypal model of this world which is visible to us, being formed in such a manner as to be perceptible to our invisible conceptions just as the other is to our eyes. Therefore some persons, marveling at the nature of both these worlds, have not only worshipped them in their entirety as gods, but have also deified the most beautiful parts of them, I mean for instance the sun, and the moon, and the whole heaven, which, without any fear or reverence, they called gods. And Moses, perceiving the ideas which they entertained, says, "O Lord, King of all Gods," [Deuteronomy 10:17.] in order to point out the great superiority of the Ruler to his subjects. And the original founder of the Jewish nation was a Chaldaean by birth, being the son of a father who was much devoted to the study of astronomy, and being among people who were great studiers of mathematical science, who think the stars, and the whole heaven, and the whole world gods; and they say that both good and evil result from their speculations and belief, since they do not believe in anything as a cause which is apart from those things which are visible to the outward senses. But what can be worse than this, or more calculated to display the want of true nobility existing in the soul, than the notion of causes in general being secondary and created causes, combined with an ignorance of the one first cause, the uncreated God, the Creator of the universe, who for these and innumerable other reasons is most excellent, reasons which because of their magnitude human intellect is unable to apprehend? but this founder of the Jewish nation having conceived an idea of him in his mind, and looking upon him as the true God, forsook his native country and his family, and his father's house, knowing that if he remained, the deceits of the polytheistic doctrine also remaining in his soul would render his intellect incapable of discovering the nature of the one God, who is alone everlasting, and the father of everything else, whether appreciable only by the intellect or perceptible to the outward senses; but if he departed and emigrated, then he saw that deceit would also depart from his mind, which would then change its erroneous opinions into truth. And at the same time the oracular commands of God, which had been given to him, did further excite the desire which he felt to become acquainted with the living God. And he went forth like a man under the immediate guidance of others, with the most unhesitating promptness, to search after the knowledge of the one God; and he did not relax in his search till he had arrived at a more accurate and correct perception, not indeed of his essences (for that is impossible), but of his existence and of his providence; on which account he is the first man of whom it is said that he believed in God, since he was the first who had an accurate and positive notion of him, believing that there is one supreme cause of all things, which by his providence takes care of the world and of all things that are therein. Since the Creator of the world bringing an essence previously without any order and in complete confusion, into distinct order and regularity, began to arrange and adorn the earth and the water, and established them in the middle of the world, and the trees, and air, and fire he drew up from the middle to the higher regions, and he fixed the regions of the aether all around, placing it as a boundary to and a preserver of the things which were inside, from which also it derived its name of Heaven. [horos is the Greek word for boundary, from which Philo thinks that ouranos, "heaven," is derived.] And these things, then, were the perfect seeds of the whole universe, but the great and all productive tree raised from this seed is this world, of which the aforesaid branches are the offshoots.

2 Where, then, God placed the roots, and what foundation it has upon which it is so firmly fixed like a statue, we must now consider. It is not natural that any body which is left behind should wander out of its limits, since God has made and arranged in its proper place, the materials of the whole universe. For it was fitting that the greatest of all works, being also the most perfect, should be created by the greatest of all workmen. And it would not have been completely perfect if it had not been completed in perfect parts. So that if this world consists of every kind of material, nothing being beyond, and not even the most insignificant thing being omitted, it follows of necessity that whatever is outside the world must either be vacuum or nothing at all. If it be a vacuum, then how can it be found to balance the world, which is full and closely packed, and the heaviest of all things, when there is nothing solid to support it? From which consideration it would appear to resemble a vision. Since the mind is always looking for a corporeal basis, it is natural to suppose that one whole should have such a thing if it happens to be put in motion, and the world above all things, inasmuch as it is the greatest of bodies, and as it embraces in its bosom a multitude of other bodies as its own appropriate parts. Therefore, if any one wishes to escape the perplexities which arise in treating of doubtful matters, let him speak his mind freely, and affirm that there is no material so strong as to be able to support the weight of the world. But the eternal law of the everlasting God is the strong and lasting support of the universe. This law being extended from the centre of the world to its furthest extremities, and again back from its extremities to the centre, moves on in the unwearied irresistible course of nature, uniting and binding together all the parts of the universe. For the Father who established it made it to be the indissoluble bond of the universe. Therefore we are naturally led to conclude that the whole earth will not be dissolved by water, which its bosoms contain; nor again will fire be extinguished by the air, nor again will the air be burnt up and consumed by fire, since the divine law has placed itself as a boundary to keep all these elements distinct from one another. As yet the all productive plant was not rooted, and had not the power which was to be derived from being rooted. But of the subordinate, particular, and less important plants, some were moveable in such a way as easily to change their places, and some, without being liable to any change of places, were made as if they were to stand for ever in the same position. Those therefore which are exposed to a motion which involves a change of place, which we call animals, were added to the most entire and perfect parts of the universe. The earth receiving the terrestrial animals, the water the aquatic animals; the air those creatures which fly; and the stars being assigned to the heaven.

3 But the Creator created two different kinds both in the earth, and in the water, and in the air. In the air he placed those animals which fly, and other powers also which cannot by any means, or on any occasion, be comprehended by the outward senses. Thus the company of incorporeal souls is arranged in regular order according to their nature. For it is said that some of them are separated off and assigned to mortal bodies, and that, at certain definite and predetermined periods, they again depart from them. But that others of a more divine nature are utterly regardless of any situation in earth, but are raised to a great height, and placed in the aether itself, being of the purest possible character, which those among the Greeks who have studied philosophy call heroes and daemones, and which Moses, giving them a most felicitous appellation, calls angels, acting as they do the part of ambassadors and messengers, announcing to the subjects all kinds of blessings from their rulers, and acting as servants to the king to whom they are subject; and they, descending into the body as into a river, at one time are carried away by the violence of a most irresistible current and swallowed up, and at other times, being wholly unable to resist the powers of destruction, at first, indeed, raise their heads above the flood, and afterwards sink down again to the place from whence they have started. These, then, are the souls of those who devote themselves to the vigorous study of philosophy respecting divine subjects, from the beginning to the end of their existence studying things which may concern them after the life has left the body, that thus they may enjoy an incorporeal and endless life in the presence of the uncreated and immortal God. But those souls of other men which I have spoken of as being overwhelmed, being such as have disregarded wisdom, giving themselves up to uncertain circumstances, such as depend wholly on chance, of which none have any reference to the soul or to the intellect, but all to the body, which is but a corpse to which we are joined, or to other things even more inanimate and insensible than that; I mean such things as glory, and riches, and power, and honour, and all such other things as through the deceitfulness of false opinions are looked upon as real and living objects by people who do not see what is really beautiful. Therefore, if you look upon souls, and daemones, and angels, as things differing indeed in name, but as meaning in reality one and the same thing, you will thus get rid of the heaviest of all evils, superstition. For as people in general speak of good daemones and bad daemones, in the same manner also do they speak of good and bad souls; and so they speak of some angels as being by their title worthy ambassadors from men to God, and from God to men, being sacred and inviolable guardians on account of their blameless and most excellent service which they have allotted to them. And, again, if you look upon others as unholy and unworthy of any such appellation, you will not err. And the Psalmist himself is a witness in favour of what I have here asserted, where he speaks as follows: "He sent among them the anger of his wrath, by the operation of evil Angels." [Psalm 77:49.] Again, all animals that swim and zoophytes are allotted to the water, and all terrestrial animals and plants to the land. And the plants he placed with their heads downwards, fixing their heads in the deepest parts of the earth; but the heads of the irrational animals he dragged up from the earth and placed upon a lofty neck, placing the fore-feet beneath them as a kind of pedestal. But man has had a separate formation of a higher character; for in the case of other animals, God has placed their eyes in the side of their heads and bent them down to the ground, on which account they are all inclined downwards to the earth. But the eyes of man, on the other hand, he has raised up, that he might behold the heavens, being not a terrestrial but a celestial plant, as the old saying Is. [this is in accordance with the idea of Ovid, who says (as may be Translated) - "and while all other creatures from their birth, / With downcast eyes gaze on their kindred earth, / Man walks erect, and proudly scans the heaven / From which he sprung, to which his hopes are given."] But the other class, who affirm that our intellect is a portion of ethereal nature, connect man in a relationship with the air. Accordingly, the great Moses has not spoken of the rational soul as it resembled in its species any created thing, but he has called it the image of the divine and invisible God, looking upon it to be a glorious and carefully wrought image, the seal of God, the character of which is the everlasting Word; for, says he, "God breathed into his face the breath of Life." [Genesis 2:7.] So that it follows inevitably that he who received it must be made in the image and likeness of him who sent it. On which account he also says that man was created in the image of God, and not in the likeness of any created thing.

4 But, taking up our discourse again at the beginning for the sake of clearness, let us say that of bodies some have put on habit, and others nature, and others soul, and others a rational soul. Therefore those stocks and stones which are torn from any intimate connexion, have made for themselves that strongest of all forms, namely habit, and that is a breath returning constantly to itself; for it begins at the centre and extends to the furthest extremities, and when it has touched the outermost circumference it turns back again until it arrives at the same place from which it originally started. This it he continued course of habit over which it runs and returns. And he has allotted a nature of their own to plants, having combined it of many powers, especially the nutritious and the generative power. And the Creator has made the soul different from nature in three particulars-the outward sense, and fancy, and impulse. Now plants have no participation in any of these things, but every living animal has a share in all of them. Therefore the outward sense, as its very name in my opinion shows, is a certain imposition which represents to the intellect the things which have appeared to it. And it represents to the fancy a sort of outline in the soul, being, as it were, a kind of representation of light; for those things which each of the outward senses has introduced, like a ring as it were or a seal, it impresses on them its own character, or else it preserves the impression which has been made until the rival of memory, forgetfulness, having softened the impression, at least makes it very dim, or else entirely effaces it; and what has appeared to have been impressed upon it disposes the soul at one time as if it belonged to it, and at another time as if it belonged to some other: and this feeling is called impulse, which those who have

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attempted to give accurate definitions have called the primary motion of the soul.

5 In such important particulars are animals superior to plants. Let us now therefore see in what man is superior to the other animals. He now has received as an especial and pre-eminent honour, the gift of intellect, by which he is accustomed to comprehend the natures of all things, whether they be bodies or things; for as the predominant part in the body is the sight, and as the nature of light is the most important part of the universe, so in the same manner the most important and influential of all the parts in us is the mind; for this is the light of the soul, being irradiated and enlightened by its own beams, by which that dense and profound darkness, ignorance of facts which was shed around it, is dissipated. And this portion of the soul is not composed of the same elements as those of which the other parts are made, but it has a pure and more excellent essence, from which the divine natures were made; on which account the intellect alone, of all the parts within us, appears very reasonably and naturally to be imperishable, for that is the only portion which the Father who generated it has thought worthy of freedom, and loosing the bands of necessity, he has allowed it to roam at large without restraint, having endowed it with a share of his own most glorious and becoming attribute, freewill, the highest present which it was able to receive. For the other animals in whose souls there does not exist that intellect which is thus especially appropriated to freedom, have been given up to them to submit to their yoke and to receive their bridle in their mouths, so as to serve them as servants obey their masters. But man having a spontaneous will, subject to no promptings but those of his own nature, and exerting his energies in accordance with his own deliberate purpose, is very properly subject to blame for whatever unjust actions he commits from deliberate intention, and to praise for all the good deeds which he intentionally performs; for as he has received from God a power of voluntary motion, and as he is in this respect like unto God himself, being delivered from all subservience to that most severe and grievous mistress, necessity, he very properly is open to accusation when he does not pay worship to that being who has thus delivered him. Therefore he will most justly in such a case suffer the punishment which has been inexorably pronounced against ungrateful people who do not deserve freedom. On which account also, the body being raised up towards the purest portion of the universe, the heaven, raises its eyes upwards, that so by an observation of what is visible, it may arrive at an adequate comprehension of what is invisible. Since, therefore, it would be impossible to behold the attraction of the intellect towards the living God, excepting as far as those who are attracted towards him can themselves perceive it, for each man in an individual and especial degree knows what happens to himself, he has made a visible image of the invisible eye, namely, the eyes of the body which are thus able to look towards the sky. For when the eyes, which are made of perishable materials, have gone to such heights as even to soar upwards to the heaven which is removed to such an immense distance from the regions of the earth, and to touch its borders, to how great a distance must we not suppose that the eyes of the soul can reach? which, being excited by a vehement desire to see the one Being clearly and distinctly, stretch forward not only to the furthest extremity of the sky, but, leaving beneath them the boundaries of the universal world, hasten onwards to the uncreated.

6 Having now, therefore, gone through the whole question of the more important plants in the world, let us see in what manner also the all-wise God has fashioned the trees which exist in man, that lesser world. Therefore immediately having taken our body as a region of fertile soil, he has made in it the outward senses as so many channels; and then he has carefully trained each of those outward senses as a plant susceptible of cultivation and of the greatest use, implanting the sense of hearing in the ears, and that of seeing in the eyes, and that of smell in the nostrils, and all the other senses in the places akin to and appropriate to them. And I have a witness in favour of this my argument in that god-like man who speaks thus in the Psalms: "He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? and he that fashioned the eye, must not he See?" [Psalms 93:9.] Moreover, those other faculties which reside apart from the main body, being situated in the legs and hands and the other parts of the body, whether within or without, all these faculties, I say, are noble and excellent offshoots. And the more excellent and more perfect parts he very appropriately stationed near the dominant portion of the whole, as being in the centre, and able preeminently to bring forth fruit, as being the lord of the whole. And these faculties are perception and comprehension, and felicity of conjecture, and study, and recollection, and habit, and disposition, and every variety of art, and certainty of knowledge, and an ever-mindful apprehension of the speculations of every kind of virtue. Now, no one can properly or sufficiently cultivate any one of these within, but the one uncreated Maker of them, and who has not merely created them, but who also makes all these plants to correspond to everything which takes place; he alone can manage them and perfect them as they should be perfected.

7 And the way in which Paradise was planted is in strict conformity with what has been here said; for we read that "God planted a Paradise in Eden, towards the east, and there he placed the man whom he had made." [Genesis 2:8.] Now, to think that this means that God planted vines and olives, and trees of apples and pomegranates, and things of that kind, is great and incurable folly. But in order that no one might imagine that the Creator had need of anything that he had created, Moses has made a most important declaration when he says, "The Lord, the King of ages, for ever and ever." [Exodus 15:18.] Accordingly, God is both the Father, and the Creator, and the Governor, in reality and truth, of all the things that are in heaven and in the whole world. And, indeed, the future is concealed and separated from the present moment at one time by a brief, and at another time by a long interval. But God is also the Creator of time, for he is the Father of that which is the father of time; and the father of time is the world, which proves that its own birth is the motion of time. But nothing is future to God, because he is in possession of and the author of the boundaries of time; for it is not time, but rather the archetype and model of time. But in eternity nothing is passed, nothing is future, but everything is at the present moment.

8 Having now, then, discussed these matters at sufficient length, we must proceed to investigate its imperishableness. Now, there are three opinions in vogue among the philosophers on this subject: some affirming it is everlasting, and uncreated, and free from all liability to destruction; others, on the contrary, that it is created and perishable. There is also a sect which has adopted some portions of the doctrine of each of the before mentioned parties, taking from the latter sect the doctrine that it is created, and from the former the idea that it is imperishable; and thus they have left a mixed opinion, looking upon it as at the same time created and yet imperishable. Therefore Democritus, and Epicurus, and the chief body of the philosophers of the Stoic school, believe the generation and also the destructibility of the world; but they do not all do so in the same manner. For some give a sketch of many worlds, the creation of which they attribute to the concourse and conflicting combination of atoms, and their destruction they attribute to the repercussion and shattering of what has been thus formed. But the Stoics affirm that there is one world, and that God is the cause of its creation, but that God is not the cause of its destruction; but that the power which is contained in existing things, in the long periods of never-ending time, attracts everything to itself, from which again a regeneration of the world is caused by the prudence of the Creator. But Aristotle pronounced the world to be both uncreated and imperishable, and he affirmed that those who maintained a contrary doctrine were guilty of terrible impiety, as they considered that so great a work of God was in no respect superior to things made by the hand of men. And they say too that it has been proved to be both uncreated and imperishable by Plato in his Timaeus. But some persons interpret Plato's words sophistically, and think that he affirms that the world was created, not inasmuch as it has had a beginning of creation, but inasmuch as if it had been created it could not possibly have existed in any other manner than that in which it actually does exist as has been described, or else because it is in its creation and change that the parts are seen. But the aforementioned opinion is better and truer, not only because throughout the whole treatise he affirms that the Creator of the gods is also the father and creator and maker of everything, and that the world is a most beautiful work of his and his offspring, being an imitation visible to the outward senses of an archetypal model appreciable only by the intellect, comprehending in itself as many objects of the outward senses as the model does objects of the intellect, since it is a most perfect impression of a most perfect model, and is addressed to the outward sense as the other is to the intellect. But also because Aristotle bears witness to this fact in the case of Plato, who, from his great reverence for philosophy, would never have spoken falsely. But some persons think that the father of the Platonic theory was the poet Hesiod, as they conceive that the world is spoken of by him as created and indestructible; as created, when he says, -

"First did Chaos rule;
Then the broad-chested earth was brought to light,
Foundation firm and lasting for whatever
Exists among Mankind;" [hesiod, Theogon. 116.]

and as indestructible, because he has given no hint of its dissolution or destruction. Now Chaos was conceived by Aristotle to be a place, because it is absolutely necessary that a place to receive them must be in existence before bodies. But some of the Stoics think that it is zater, imagining that its name has been derived from Effusion. [chysis, as if chaos were derived from cheoμ, "to pour."] But however that may be, it is exceedingly plain that the world is spoken of by Hesiod as having been created: and a very long time before him Moses, the lawgiver of the Jews, had said in his sacred volumes that the world was both created and indestructible, and the number of the books is five. The first of which he entitled Genesis, in which he begins in the following manner: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth; and the earth was invisible and without form."

9 But we must place those arguments first which make out the world to be uncreated and indestructible, because of our respect for that which is visible, employing an appropriate commencement. To all things which are liable to destruction there are two causes of that destruction, one being internal and the other external; therefore you may find iron, and brass, and all other substances of that kind destroyed by themselves when rust, like a creeping disease, overruns and devours them; and by external causes when, if a house or a city is burnt, they also are consumed in the conflagration, being melted by the violent impetuosity of the fire. A similar end also befalls animals, partly when they are sick of diseases arising internally, and partly when they are destroyed by external causes, being sacrificed, or stoned, or burnt, or when they endure an unclean death by hanging. And if the world also is destroyed, then it must of necessity be so either by some external cause, or else by some one of the powers which exist within itself; and both these alternatives are impossible, for there is nothing whatever outside of the world, since all things are brought together in order to make it complete and full, for it is in this way that it will be one, and whole, and free from old age; it will be one, because if anything were left outside of it, then another world might be created resembling that which exists now; and whole, because the whole of its essence is expended on itself; and exempt from old age and from all disease, since those bodies which are liable to be destroyed by disease or old age are violently overthrown by external causes, such as heat, and cold, and other contrary qualities, no power of which is able to escape so as to surround and attack the world, all those being entirely enclosed within, without any part whatever being separated from the rest. But if indeed there is any external thing it must by all means be a vacuum, or else a nature absolutely impossible, which it would be impossible should either suffer or do anything. And again, it will also not be dissolved by any cause existing within itself; first of all because, if it were, then the part would be greater and more powerful than the whole, which is the greatest possible absurdity, for the world, enjoying an unsurpassable power, influences all its parts, and is not itself influenced or moved by any one of them; in the second place because, since there are two causes of corruption, the one being internal and the other external, those things which are competent to admit the one must also by all means be liable to the other; and a proof of this may be found in oxen, and horses, and men, and other animals of similar kinds, because it is their nature to be destroyed by the sword, or to be liable to die by disease.

10 Since, therefore, the arrangement of the world is such as I have endeavored to describe it, so that there is no part whatever left out, so as for any force to be applied, it has now been proved that the world will not be destroyed by any external thing, because in fact nothing whatever external has been left at all; nor will it be destroyed by anything in itself on account of the proof which has already been considered and stated, according to which that which was obnoxious to the power of one of those causes was also naturally susceptible of the influence of the other. And there are testimonies also in the Timaeus to the fact of the world being exempt from disease and not liable to destruction, such as these: "Accordingly, of the four elements the constitution of the world receives each in all its integrity; for he who compounded it made it to consist of the whole of fire, and the whole of water, and the whole of air, and the whole of earth, not leaving any portion or any power of any one of them outside, from the following intentions:-in the first place, in order that the whole might be as far as possible a perfect animal made up of perfect parts. And besides all these things, he ordained that it should be one, inasmuch as there is nothing left out of which another similar world could be composed. Moreover, he willed that it should be exempt from old age, and free from all disease, considering that those things which in the body are hot or cold, or which have mighty powers, if standing all around and falling upon it unseasonably, would be likely to dissolve it, and, by introducing diseases and old age, cause it to decay and perish. For this cause, and because of this reason, God made the whole universe to consist of entire and perfect elements, and exempt from old age and free from disease."

11 Let this be taken as a testimony delivered by Plato to the imperishable nature of the world. Its uncreated character follows from the truth of natural philosophy; for dissolution must of necessity attend everything which is born, and incorruptibility must inevitably belong to everything which is unborn; since the poet who wrote the following iambic verse,

"All that is born must surely Die," [timaeus, p. 32.]

appears to have spoken very correctly when he asserted this connexion of destructibility with birth. The argument may be stated in a different way as follows. All compound things which are destroyed are dissolved into the elements of which they were compounded; accordingly, dissolution is nothing else but a return of everything to its original constituent parts; just as, on the contrary, composition is that which compels

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the things combined to come together in a manner contrary to their nature; and indeed, this appears to be the most exact truth; for men are composed of the four elements which together make up the whole of the universe, the heaven, the earth, the air, and fire, borrowing a few parts of each in a manner at first sight hardly consistent with nature. But the things which are thus combined together are necessarily deprived of a motion in accordance with nature; for instance, warmth is deprived of its upward motion, and coldness of its downward tendency, the earthy and somewhat weighty substance being lightened and assuming the higher place, which the most earth-like of our own parts, the head, has obtained in us. But of all bonds, that is the worst which is forged by violence, and which, being violent, is also short-lived; for it is speedily broken by those who are bound in it, since they become restive from their desire for a motion in accordance with nature, to which they hasten; for as the tragic poet says, -

"And for things sprung from earth, they must
Return unto their parent dust,
While those from heavenly seed which rise
Are borne uplifted to the skies.
Naught that has once existed dies,
Though often what has been combined
Before, we separated find,
Invested with another Form." [a fragment from the Chrysippus of Euripides.]

And this law and ordinance is established with reference to everything which is destroyed, that wherever composite things are existing in combination they are thrown into disorder instead of into the order in accordance with nature, which they previously enjoyed, and they are removed to situations opposite to those in which they were previously placed, so that they seem in a manner to be sojourners; and when they are dissolved again, then they return to the appropriate parts allotted to them by nature. But since the world has no participation in that irregularity which exists in the things which I have just been mentioning, let us stop awhile and consider this point. If the world were liable to corruption and destruction, it follows of necessity that all its parts would at present be arranged in a position not in accordance with nature: but it is impious even to imagine such a thing as this; for all the parts of the world have received the most excellent position possible, and an arrangement of the purest symmetry and harmony; so that each individual part, being content with its place as a native country to it, does not seek any change for the better. On this account it is that the most central position of all has been assigned to the earth, to which all things belonging to it adhere, and to which they descend again even if you throw them into the air: and this is a proof that their place is in accordance with nature; for wherever anything is borne without any violence, and where it then remains firm and stationary, that is clearly its natural place. And then, in the second place, water was poured over the earth, and air and fire have gone from the central to the upper part, air having received for its portion the region which is on the borders between air and fire, and fire having received the highest place of all: on which account, if you light a torch and press it down towards the ground, nevertheless the flame will still turn in a contrary direction, and lightening itself in accordance with the natural motion of fire, will rise upwards: if, then, motion contrary to nature is the cause of corruptibility and destruction in the case of other animals, but if in the case of the world every one of its parts is arranged in complete accordance with nature, having had appropriate positions allotted to each of them, then surely the world must most justly be pronounced incorruptible and imperishable.

12 Moreover this point is manifest to every one, that every nature is desirous to keep and preserve, and if it were possible to make immortal, everything of which it is the nature; the nature of trees, for instance, desires to preserve trees, and the nature of animals desires to preserve each individual animal. But particular nature is of necessity unable to conduct what it belongs to eternity; for want, or heat, or cold, or innumerable other ordinary circumstances, when they affect particular things, shake them and dissolve the bond which previously held them together, and at last break them to pieces; but if nothing resembling any of these things were lying in wait outside, then in that case nature itself, as far as it is possible, would preserve everything both great and small free from old age. It follows therefore of necessity, that the nature of the world must desire the durability of the universe; for it is not worse than particular natures, so that it should run away and desert its proper duties, and attempt to produce disease instead of health, and corruption and destruction instead of complete safety, since,

"High over all she lifts her beauteous face,
And towers above her nymphs with heavenly grace,
Fair as they all Appear." [homer, Odyssey 6.107, where the lines quoted are applied to Latona among her nymphs.]

But if this be true, then the world cannot be capable of destruction. Why so? Because the nature which holds it together is itself invincible by reason of its exceeding strength and power, by which it gets the mastery over every thing else which might be likely to injure it; wherefore Plato has well Said: [timaeus, p. 33.] "For nothing ever departed from it, nor did anything ever come to it from any quarter; for that was not possible; for there was nothing in existence which could come; for since it supplies itself with nutriment out of its own consumption, it also does everything and suffers everything in itself and by itself, and is compounded with the most consummate art. For he who created it thought that it would be better if wholly self sufficient, than if in continual need of accessories from other quarters."

13 However, this argument also is a most demonstrative one, on which I know that vast numbers of philosophers pride themselves as one most accurately worked out, and altogether irresistible; for they inquire what reason there is for God's destroying the world. For if he destroys it at all he must do so either with the intention of never making a world again, or with the object of creating a second fresh one; now the former idea is inconsistent with the character of God; for it is proper to change disorder into order, and not order into disorder: in the second place, it is so because it would give rise to repentance, which is an affliction and a disease of the soul. For he ought either never to have created a world at all, or else, if he judged that it was a fitting employment for him, he ought to have been pleased with it after it was made. But the second reason deserves no superficial examination; for if he were intending to make another world instead of that which exists at present, then of necessity this second world that would be made, in that case, would be either worse than, or similar to, or better than the first; everyone of which ideas is inadmissible; for if the new world is to be worse than the former, then the maker must be also worse: but all the works of God are without blemish, beyond all reproach and wholly faultless, inasmuch as they are wrought with the most consummate skill and knowledge; for as the proverb says; -

14 "For e'en a woman's wisdom's not so coarse
As to despise the good and choose the worse."

But it is consistent with the character of, and becoming to God to give form to what is shapeless, and to invest what is most ugly with admirable beauty. Again, if the new world is to be exactly like the old one, then the maker is only wasting his labour, and differs in no respect from infant children who, very often while playing on the sea shore raise up little mounds of sand, and then pull them down again with their hands and destroy them; for it would have been much better than making another world exactly like the former, neither to take anything from, nor to add anything to, nor to change either for the better or for the worse, what existed originally, but to let it remain just as it was. If, on the other hand, he is about to make a world better than the former one, then the maker too must be better than the maker of the former world, so that when he made the former world he was inferior both in his skill and in his intellect, which is impious even to imagine, for God is at all times equal and similar to himself, being neither capable of any relaxation which can make him worse, nor of any extension which can make him better. Men, indeed, do admit of such inequalities in either direction, being naturally liable to alter either for the better or for the worse, and continually admitting of increase, and advance, and improvement, and everything contrary to these states; and besides this, the works of us who are but mortal men may very appropriately be perishable, but the works of the immortal must in all consistency and reason be likewise imperishable, for it is natural that what is made should resemble the nature of the maker.

14 But Boethus adduces the most convincing arguments, which we shall proceed to mention immediately; for if, says he, the world was created and is liable to destruction, then something will be made out of nothing, which appears to be most absurd even to the Stoics. Why so? Because it is not possible to discover any cause of destruction either within or without, which will destroy the world. For on the outside there is nothing except perhaps a vacuum, inasmuch as all the elements in their integrity are collected and contained within it, and within there is no imperfection so great as to be the cause of dissolution to so great a thing. Again, if it is destroyed without any cause, then it is plain that from something which has no existence will arise the engendering of destruction, which is an idea quite inadmissible by reason; and, indeed, they say that there are altogether three generic manners of corruption, one which arises from division, another which proceeds from a destruction of the distinctive quality which holds the thing together, and the third from confusion; therefore the things which consist of a union of separate members, such as flocks of goats, herds of oxen, choruses, armies; or, again, bodies which are compounded of limbs joined together, are dissolved by disjunction and separation. But wax, when stamped with a new impression, or softened before being remodeled so as to present a new and different appearance, is corrupted by a destruction of the distinctive quality which previously held it together. Other things are corrupted by confusion, as the medicine which the physicians call tetrapharmacon, for the powers of the drugs brought together and combined were destroyed in such a manner as to produce one perfect medicine of especial virtue. By which, then, of these modes of corruption is it becoming to say that the world is destroyed? By that which is caused by separation? No, for it is not compounded of separate members so that its different parts can be dispersed, nor of portions joined together so that they can be dissolved; nor is it united together in a similar manner to our own bodies, for they have the seeds of decay in themselves, and they are subject to influence of a great variety of things by which they are at times injured; but the power of the world is invincible, since by its great superiority to other things it has dominion over everything. Is it then destroyed by a complete destruction of its distinctive qualities? This again is impossible, for there remains, as the adversaries affirm, a quality of arrangement which by the process of conflagration is only diminished to a lesser substance ... Is it destroyed then by confusion? Away with such an idea, for in that case it would be necessary to confess that the corruption of a body can be reduced to a state of non-existence. Why so? Because if each of the particular elements were destroyed separately, it would be possible for it to become changed into another; but if they are altogether destroyed at one and the same moment by confusion, then it would be necessary to imagine what is absolutely impossible.

15 Is it not however worth while to examine this question, in what manner there can be a regeneration of all those things which have been destroyed by fire, and resolved into fire? For when their substance has been wholly destroyed by the fire, it follows of necessity that the fire itself must also be extinguished as no longer having any nourishment. Therefore, as long as it remained the seminal principle of arrangement was likewise preserved, but when it is destroyed that principle is destroyed with it. But it would be impious, and an impiety of double dye, not only to attribute destruction to the world, but also to take away the possibility of its regeneration; as if God delighted in disorder, and irregularity, and all kinds of evil things. But we must examine this question more accurately, in the following manner. There are three species in fire; the coal, and the flame, and the light. Now coal is the fire in its earthy substance, which, like a sort of spiritual habit, couches and lies hid in a sort of cavern, pervading it all to its very extremities. And the flame is that part which, being raised on high, is lifted up from its fuel. And the light is that which is emitted from the flame, so as to co-operate with the eyes, in order to enable them to comprehend what is seen. And the flame occupies the middle position between the coal and the light; for when it is extinguished it ends in coal, and when it is kindled it excites the light, which, being deprived of its burning power, blazes. If therefore, we affirm that the world is dissolved by conflagration, it would not be coal, because, in that case there will be a great deal of the earthy substance left behind, in which also fire must necessarily be contained. But we must agree, that none of the other bodies subsist any longer, but that earth, and water, and air, are all dissolved into unmixed fire. Nor, again, would it become flame; for that can only exist in connexion with nourishment; and, if nothing is left behind, being deprived of all nourishment it will immediately be extinguished. It follows from all this, that it cannot become light either; for light by itself has no substance at all, but flows from the things before mentioned, coal and flame, not in a great degree from the coal, but very much from the flame; for it is diffused over a very great space indeed. But if, as has been already proved, those things had no existence from the conflagration of all things, then there could not be any light either. So that it is impossible for the world to be susceptible of any regeneration, inasmuch as there is no spermatic principle smoldering beneath; from which consideration it is plain that it is uncreated, and that it will be for ever imperishable.

16 However, besides what has been here said, any one may use this argument also in corroboration of his opinion, which will certainly convince all those who are not determined to be obstinate beyond all bounds; of those things which in pairs are exactly contrary to one another it is impossible that one thing should be, and that the other should not be; for since there is white it follows as a matter of absolute necessity that there must also be black, and since there is a great there must likewise be a little; since there is an odd there must inevitably be an even; since there is a sweet there must be a bitter; since there is day there must be night; and so on in an infinite number of similar cases; but if a conflagration should take place, then something would ensue which is impossible; for then, of things in a pair, the one will happen and the other will not. Come, now, let us consider the matter thus: if everything is resolved into fire, there is then something light, and rare, and warm; for all these are the especial properties of fire; but there can be nothing heavy, or cold, or thick, which are the opposites of the qualities which I have just enumerated. How then can any one more completely overturn the idea of the universal disorder which would be involved in such a conflagration than by showing that those things which by a law of nature must exist together, are by this process separated from their natural conjunction? And the separation has extended to such a degree, that those who maintain this doctrine attribute eternal durability to the one and deny any

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existence at all to the other. Again, there is this assertion made by some of those who diligently employ themselves in investigating truth which appears to me to be a sufficiently felicitous one; if the world is destroyed it will either be destroyed by some other efficient cause, or by God; now there is certainly nothing else whatever from which it can receive its destruction, for there is nothing whatever which it does not surround and contain; but that which is surrounded and confined within something else is manifestly inferior in power to that which surrounds and confines it, by which it is therefore mastered; on the other hand, to say that it is destroyed by God is the most impious of all possible assertions; for God is the cause not of disorder, and irregularity, and destruction, but of order, and beautiful regularity, and life, and of every good thing, as is confessed by all those whose opinions are based on truth.

17 But some of those persons who have fancied that the world is everlasting, inventing a variety of new arguments, employ also such a system of reasoning as this to establish their point: they affirm that there are four principal manners in which corruption is brought about, addition, taking away, transposition, and alteration; accordingly, the number two is by the addition of the unit corrupted so as to become the number three, and no longer remains the number two; and the number four by the taking away of the unit is corrupted so as to become the number three; again, by transposition the letter Z becomes the letter H when the parallel lines which were previously horizontal /43/are placed perpendicularly /2 1/2), and when the line which did before pass upwards, so as to connect the two is now made horizontal, and still extended between them so as to join them. And by alteration the word oinos, wine, becomes oxos, vinegar. But of the manner of corruption thus mentioned there is not one which is in the least degree whatever applicable to the world, since otherwise what could we say? Could we affirm that anything is added to the world so as to cause its destruction? But there is nothing whatever outside of the world which is not a portion of it as the whole, for everything is surrounded, and contained, and mastered by it. Again, can we say that anything is taken from the world so as to have that effect? In the first place that which would be taken away would again be a world of smaller dimensions than the existing one, and in the second place it is impossible that any body could be separated from the composite fabric of the whole world so as to be completely dispersed. Again, are we to say that the constituent parts of the world are transposed? But at all events they remain in their original positions without any change of place, for never at any time shall the whole earth be raised up above the water, nor the water above the air, nor the air above the fire. But those things which are by nature heavy, namely the earth and the water, will have the middle place, the earth supporting everything like a solid foundation, and the water being above it; and the air and the fire, which are by nature light, will have the higher position, but not equally, for the air is the vehicle of the fire; and that which is carried by anything is of necessity above that which carries it. Once more: we must not imagine that the world is destroyed by alteration, for the change of any elements is equipollent, and that which is equipollent is the cause of unvarying steadiness, and of untroubled durability, inasmuch as it neither seeks any advantage itself, and is not subject to the inroads of other things which seek advantages at its expense; so that this retribution and compensation of these powers is equalized by the rules of proportion, being the produce of health and endless preservation, by all which considerations the world is demonstrated to be eternal.

18 Theophrastus, moreover, says that those men who attribute a beginning and destructibility to the world are deceived by four particulars of the greatest importance, the inequalities of the earth, the retreat of the sea, the dissolution of each of the parts of the universe, and the destruction of different terrestrial animals in their kinds; and he proceeds to establish the first point thus: if the earth had never had any beginning of its creation, then there would have been no portion of it rising above the rest so as to be conspicuous, but all the mountains would have been level, and all the pieces of rising ground would have been even with the plain. For as there are such vast showers falling from heaven throughout all ages, it would be natural that of any places which were originally raised on high some would be broken down and washed away by torrents, and others would subside of their own accord and so become lowered, and that every place everywhere would be smoothed; but now, as things are, the constant inequalities which exist, and the vast heights of many mountains, reaching up even to the sky, are so many proofs that the earth is not eternal. For otherwise, as I have said before, all the earth would long since have been rendered level from one extremity to the other by the vast rains which would have fallen from the eternal commencement of time; for it is the character of the nature of water, and especially of such as descends in a heavy fall from lofty places, to push some things away by force, and to cut out hollow others places by its continual dropping, and in this manner to operate on the hard, rugged, stony ground not less than men digging. And again, the sea, as they affirm, is already somewhat diminished, and for proof of this fact we can appeal to the most celebrated islands, Rhodes and Delos, for these were in ancient times invisible, being overwhelmed by and sunk under the sea, but by lapse of time, as the sea gradually diminished, they by slow degrees rose above it and came into sight, as the histories which are written concerning them record. And they used to call Delos Anaphe, confirming the account here given by both names, since when it appeared above the Waters [the Greek word is anaphaneisa, from which Anapheμ is derived.] it became evident,[deμleμ, from which DeμlΘs is derived.] having been formerly invisible and unseen. And in addition to these arguments they adduce the facts that many great and deep bays and gulfs of vast seas have been dried up, and have become land, and have so turned out no insignificant addition to the adjacent country when sown and planted, and on that soil there is still left plenty of proof of such spots having formerly been sea, in the pebbles, and shells, and other things which are commonly washed up on the sea-shore being found in them. But if the sea is gradually being diminished then the earth also will be diminished; and in long revolutions of years every one of the elements will be entirely consumed and destroyed; and the whole air will be consumed, being diminished by little and little; and all things will be absorbed and dissolved into the one substance of fire. And for the purpose of establishing the third alternative of this question they use the following argument: beyond all question that thing is destroyed all the parts of which are liable to destruction; but all the parts of the world are liable to destruction, therefore the world also is liable to destruction. But we must now proceed to consider the question which we postponed till the present time. What sort of a part of the earth is that, that we may begin from this, whether it is greater or less, that is not dissolved by time? Do not the very hardest and strongest stones become hard and decayed through the weakness of their conformation (and this conformation is a sort of course of a highly strained spirit, a bond not indissoluble, but only very difficult to unloose), in consequence of which they are broken up and made fluid, so that they are dissolved first of all into a thin dust, and afterwards are wholly wasted away and destroyed? Again, if the water were never agitated by the winds, but were left immoveable for ever, would it not from inaction and tranquility become dead? At all events it is changed by such stagnation, and becomes very fetid and foul-smelling, like an animal deprived of life. And so also the corruptions of the air are plain to everyone, for it is the nature of the atmosphere to become sick and to decay, and, as one may say, in a manner to die; since what else is it which a man, who is not aiming at selecting plausible language, but only at truth, would call a plague except a death of the atmosphere, which diffuses its own disease and suffering to the destruction of everything which is endowed with life? And why need I speak at great length concerning fire? For if it is deprived of nourishment it is immediately extinguished. If then, each of the separate parts of the world awaits utter destruction; it is plain that the world which is compounded of these can not be itself exempt from destruction. We must now consider with accuracy the fourth and remaining argument. Thus they argue: if the world were eternal then the animals also would be eternal, and much more the human race, in proportion as that is more excellent than the other animals; but, on the contrary, those who take delight in investigating the mysteries of nature consider that man has only been created in the late ages of the world; for it is likely, or I should rather say it is inevitably true, that the arts co-exist with man, so as to be exactly co-eval with him, not only because methodical proceedings are appropriate to a rational nature, but also because it is not possible to live without them; let us therefore examine the dates of each of these, disregarding the fables invented by the tragedians about the gods; but if man is not eternal then neither is any other animal, so that then neither are the places which receive them, the earth, or the water, or the air; from all which considerations it is plain that this world is liable to destruction.

19 But it is necessary to encounter such quibbling arguments as these, lest some persons of too little experience should yield to and be led away by them; and we must begin our refutation of them from the same point from which the Sophists begin their deceit. They say, "There could no longer be any inequalities existing on the earth, if the world were eternal." Why not, my most excellent friends? For other persons will come up and say that the natures of trees are in no respect different from mountains; but just as they at certain seasons lose their leaves, and again at certain seasons recover their verdure again; (on which account there is admirable truth in those lines of the poet:-

"Like leaves on trees the race of man is found,
Now green in youth, now withering on the ground;
Another race the following spring supplies;
They fall successive and successive Rise.") [homer, Il. 6.147.]

And so in like manner some portions of the mountains are broken off, and others grow in their stead: but after a long lapse of time the additional growth becomes conspicuous, because the trees having a more rapid nature display their increase with great rapidity; but mountains have a slower character, on which account it happens that the additions which take place in their case are not perceptible by the outward senses except after a long time. And these men appear to be ignorant of the manner in which they are produced, since if they had not been, perhaps they would have been silent out of shame; but still there is no reason why we should not teach them; but there is nothing new in what is now said, neither are they our words but the ancient sayings of wise men, by whom nothing which was necessary for knowledge has been left uninvestigated; when the fiery principle which is contained beneath, in the earth, is thrust upwards by the natural power of fire, it proceeds to its own appropriate place; and if it meets with any respite or relaxation, though ever so slight, it draws up with it a large portion of the earthy substance, as much as it can; and when it has emerged from the earth it proceeds more slowly; but the earthy substance being compelled to follow it for a long time, being at last raised to an immense height, is contracted at the top, and at last comes to end on a sharp point imitating the general appearance of the flame of fire; for there arises then a most violent contention between two things which are natural adversaries, the lightest and the heaviest of things, each of them pressing onwards to reach its own place, and each striving against the violent efforts of the other; accordingly the fire, which is drawing up the earth with it, is compelled to sink down by its descending power; and the earth naturally inclining to the lowest point is nevertheless to a certain degree made light, and lifted up by the upward tendencies of fire, and so is raised on high, and being at last overpowered by the more influential power which lightens it is thrust upwards towards the natural seat of fire, and established on high. Why then need we wonder if the mountains are not entirely washed away by the impetuosity of the rains, when so great a power, which keeps them together, and by which they are raised up, is very firmly and steadfastly connected with them? For if they were released from the bond which holds them together, it would be natural for them to be entirely dissolved and to be dispersed by the water; but since they are bound together by this power of fire, they resist the impetuosity of the rains more surely.

20 These things, then, may be said by us with respect to the argument that the inequalities of the surface of the earth are no proof of the world having been created and being liable to destruction; but with respect to that argument which was endeavored to be established by the diminution of the sea, we may reasonably adduce this statement in opposition to it: "Do not look only at the islands which have risen up out of the sea, nor at any portions of land which, having been formerly buried by the waters, have in subsequent times become dry land; for obstinate contention is very unfavourable to the consideration of natural philosophy, which considers the search after truth to be the chief object of rational desire; but look rather at the contrary effects: consider how many districts on the main-land, not only such as were near the coast, but even such as were completely inland, have been swallowed up by the waters; and consider how great a portion of land has become sea and is now sailed over by innumerable ships." Are you ignorant of the celebrated account which is given of that most sacred Sicilian strait, which in old times joined Sicily to the continent of Italy? and where vast seas on each side being excited by violent storms met together, coming from opposite directions, the land between them was overwhelmed and broken away; from which circumstance the city built in the neighbourhood was called Rhegium,[rheμgion, from rhoμgnymi, "to break."] and the result was quite different from what any one would have expected; for the seas which had formerly been separated now flowed together and were united in one expanse; and the land which had previously united was now separated into two portions by the strait which intersected it, in consequence of which Sicily, which had previously formed a part of the mainland, was now compelled to be an island. XXI. And it is said that many other cities also have disappeared, having been swallowed up by the sea which overwhelmed them; since they speak of three in Peloponnesus-

"Aegira and fair Bura's walls,
And Helica's lofty halls,
And many a once renowned town,
With wreck and seaweed overgrown,"

As having been formerly prosperous, but now overwhelmed by the violent influx of the sea. And the island of Atalantes which was greater than Africa and Asia, as Plato says in the Timaeus, in one day and night was overwhelmed beneath the sea in consequence of an xtraordinary earthquake and inundation and suddenly disappeared, becoming sea, not indeed navigable, but full of gulfs and eddies. Therefore that imaginary and fictitious diminution of the sea has no connexion with the destruction or durability of the world; for in fact it appears to recede indeed from some parts, but to rise higher in others; and it would have been proper rather not to look at only one of these results but at both together, and so to form one's opinion, since in all the disputed questions

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which arise in human life, a wise and honest judge will not deliver his opinion before he has heard the arguments of the advocates on both sides.

22 And as for the third argument, it is convicted by itself, as being derived only from an unsound system of questioning proceeding from the assertions originally made; for in truth it does not necessarily follow that a thing, all the parts of which are liable to corruption, is likewise perishable itself; but this is only inevitably true of that thing of which all the parts are perishable when taken collectively and together in the same place and at the same time, since in the case of a person who has the tip of his finger cut off, he is not disabled from living, but if he had the whole collection of all his parts and limbs cut off at once, he would die immediately. Therefore in the same manner, if all the elements of the world together were all to disappear at one and the same moment, then it would be necessary to admit that the world was liable to corruption and destruction; but if each of these elements separately only changes its nature so as to assimilate to that of its nature, it is then rendered immortal rather than destroyed, according to the philosophical statement of the tragic poet-

"Naught that has once existed dies,
Though often what has been combined
Before, we separated find,
Invested with another form."

For it is the greatest folly imaginable to estimate the antiquity of the human race from the state of art; for if any one were to follow the absurdity of such a system of reasoning as this, he will prove the world to be very young indeed, and to have been made scarcely a thousand years, since all those men whom we have heard of traditionally as the discoverers in different branches of science do not go back to a greater number of years than that which I have mentioned. But if we must speak of the arts as co-eval with the race of mankind, then we must speak, drawing our arguments from natural history, and not inconsiderately or carelessly. And what is this history? The destruction of the things on the earth, not all together, but of the greatest number of them, is attributed to two principal causes, the indescribable violence and power of fire and water. And they say that each of these elements attacks them in its turn, after very long periods of revolving years. When, therefore, a conflagration seizes upon things, a stream of ethereal fire being poured down from above is frequently diffused over them, overrunning many districts of the habitable world; and when a deluge draws down the whole of the rainy nature of water, the regular rivers and torrents overflowing, and not only that, but even far exceeding the ordinary measure of a common flood. Accordingly, when the greater part of mankind is destroyed in the manners above mentioned, besides an infinity of other ways of less power and importance, it follows of necessity that the arts also must fail, for it cannot be possible to discuss science by itself without some one to reduce it to method and practice. But when those common pestilences relax their fury, and when the human race begins again to recover vigor and to flourish, descending from those who have not been previously destroyed by the evils which pressed upon them, then the arts also begin again to exist, not indeed as they were at first, but in thinner numbers from the diminution of the numbers of those who practice them. I have now then set forth to the best of my ability what I have been able to learn or to understand concerning the indestructibility of the world.

FRAGMENTS

EXTRACTED FROM THE PARALLELS OF JOHN OF DAMASCUS

About the unstable and changeable condition of human affairs.

Page 326. C. If one is to tell the plain truth, man is without real power in anything, never taking a firm hold of anything. I do not mean merely of common things, but not even of those which concern himself; neither of health, nor of a good condition of the outward senses, nor of soundness in respect of the other parts of his body, nor of his voice, nor of his presence of mind; for as to wealth, or glory, or friends, or power, or all the other things which depend on fortune, who is there who does not know how thoroughly unstable they are? So that we must of necessity confess that the supreme power over everything belongs to one being alone, the true Lord of all existing things.

About impious men, sinners, etc.

Page 341. D. If you wish to be governed under God as your king, take care not to sin; but if you commit sin, how can you be under the government of God as your king?

About those people who have renounced such and such a line of conduct, and then turning

back again, have adopted that very line which they had renounced.

Page 343. D. Some men, making improvement, have returned back to virtue before coming to the end, the ancient principle of oligarchy having destroyed the principle of aristocracy lately engendered in the soul, which having been quiet for a little while, has subsequently come up over again with greater power than before.

Page 343. D. When a man rightly establishes himself in a virtuous life, with meditation, and practice, and good government, and when having been known by all men as a pious man and one who fears God, he falls into sin, that is a great fall, for he has ascended up to the height of heaven, and fallen down into the abyss of hell.

About resurrection and judgement.

Page 349. A. It is not possible with God that a wicked man should lose his good reward for a single good thing which he may have done among a great number of evil actions; nor, on the other hand, that a good man should escape punishment, and not suffer it, if among many good actions he has done wickedly in anything, for it is infallibly certain that God distributes everything according to a just weight and balance.

Page 349. B. The mind is the witness to each individual of the things which they have planned in secret, and conscience is an incorruptible judge, and the most unerring of all judges.

About those who are ruled.

Page 359. A. He who has learnt how to submit to be ruled, immediately learns how to rule others; for even if a man were invested with the supreme power over all the earth and all the sea, he would not be a true ruler unless he had also learnt and been previously taught to submit to the rule of others.

About anarchy.

Page 359. D. Alas, how many and great evils are produced by anarchy! Famine, war, the devastation of lands, the deprivation of money, abductions, fears of slavery, and death.

About the foolish and senseless man, etc.

Page 362. E. No wicked man is rich, not even though he should be the owner of all the mines in the whole world; but all foolish men are poor. Every foolish man is straitened, being oppressed by covetousness, and ambition, and a love of pleasure, and things of that sort, which do not permit the mind to dwell at ease or to enjoy plenty of room.

Page 363. A. There is no greater evil to a man than folly, and the being deprived of the proper use of his reasoning powers and intellect.

Page 363. A. Ignorance is the cause of disease and destruction.

About deceit affecting the management of a household.

Page 367. D. Every stratagem is not blamable, since guardians of the night appear to act properly when they lie in wait for robbers, and generals when they form ambuscades against the enemy, whom they cannot catch without a stratagem; and the same principle is applicable to what are called maneuvers, and to the artifices practiced in the contests of wrestlers, for in such cases deceit is accounted honourable.

About impossible things.

Page 370. B. It is as impossible that the love of the world can co-exist with the love of God, as for light and darkness to co-exist at the same time with one another.

About holy men.

Page 372. E. The happy nature is that which rejoices on every occasion, and which is not discontented with anything whatever which exists in the world, but is pleased with whatever happens, as being good, and beautiful, and expedient.

About leisure and quiet.

Page 376. A. The wise man endeavors to secure quiet and leisure, and periods of rest from work, that he may devote himself peacefully to the meditations on divine matters.

About evil-speaking.

Page 369. D. Foul speakers and random accusers, who seek to make a display of their art with vain words, being slow to learn what is good, are very quick and ready at learning what is of the opposite character.

About counsel.

Page 397. D. Everything which is not done with reason is discreditable, just as what is done with reason is beautiful.

About old men.

Page 404. C. Old age is an unruffled harbour.

Page 404. C. Old age is the time when the vigor of the body is passed by; the period when the passions can be checked.

About gymnasia.

Page 405. D. Continued practice makes knowledge firm, just as want of practice engenders ignorance. And, again, practice in any matter increases experience.

Page 405. D. Study is the nurse of knowledge.

About calumny.

Page 436. D. Calumniators and men discarded from the divine grace, who are afflicted with the same evil disposition of calumny with him, are in all respects hated and detested by God, and removed to a distance from all happiness.

Page 436. D. What can be worse than calumny? for it seduces the ears and perplexes the minds of those who listen to it, and it makes them brutal and always on a watch for evil, like men engaged in hunting; but those who are well ballasted and restrained by prudent reason, hate the man who utters calumnies more than him against whom they are uttered, reproving and seeking to check all desire of blaming others until it be either proved by evidence or demonstrated by undeniable proof.

About justice and virtue.

Page 438. D. If any one embraces all the virtues with earnestness and sobriety, he is a king, even though he may be in a private station.

About voluntary and involuntary sins.

Page 526. B. As to sin intentionally is unjust, so to sin unintentionally and out of ignorance is not at once justifiable, but perhaps it is something between the two, that is between righteousness and unrighteousness, and is of what some persons call an indifferent character, for no sin can be an act of righteousness.

About initiation into divine mysteries.

Page 533. C. It is not lawful to speak of the sacred mysteries to the uninitiated.

About the sea.

Page 551. D. It is proper to marvel at the sea, by means of which countries requite one another for the good things which they receive from each other, and by which they receive what they are in need of, and export what they have a superfluity of.

About equality.

Page 556. D. To give equal things to unequal people is an action of the greatest injustice.

About physicians and medical science.

A good physician would not be inclined to apply every kind of salutary medicine at once and on the same day to a patient, as he would know that by such a course he would be doing him more harm than good, but he would measure out the proper opportunities, and then give saving medicines in a seasonable manner; and he would apply different remedies at different times, and so he would bring about the patient's restoration to health by gentle degrees.

About opportunity.

Page 563. C. Say what is right, and at the time when it is right, and you will not hear what is not right.

Page 563. C. It is well to economize time.

About mysteries.

Page 576. D. Chatterers divulging what ought to be kept buried in silence, do in a manner from a disease of the tongue pour forth into people's ears things which are not worthy of being heard.

About people who are in a state of pupilage.

Page 613. D. To inquire and put questions is the most useful of habits with a view to acquiring instruction.

Page 613. D. He who hungers and thirsts after knowledge, and who is eager to learn what he does not know, abandoning all other objects of care, is eager to become a disciple, and day and night watches at the doors of the houses of wise men.

Page 613. D. For any one to know that he is ignorant is a piece of wisdom, just as to know that one has done wrong is a piece of righteousness.

About reproach.

Page 630. C. Never reproach any one with misfortune, for nature is impartial, and the future is uncertain; lest if you yourself should fall into similar misfortunes, you should be found to be convicted and condemned by your own conscience.

About a proper constitution.

Page 657. C. It is advantageous to submit to one's betters.

About a blamable constitution.

From the fifth book of the Essays on Genesis.

Page 658. E. A shameless look, and a high head, and a continual rolling of the eyes, and a pompous strut in walking, and a habit of blushing at nothing, however discreditable, are signs of a most infamous soul, which stamps the obscure topics of the reproaches which belong to itself upon the visible body.

About familiarity and habituation.

Page 681. D. A change of all kinds of circumstances at once to the opposite direction is very harsh, especially when the existing powers are established by the length of time that they have lasted.

About correction.

Page 683. D. It is useful to be warned by the misfortunes of others.

Page 683. D. Punishment very often warns and corrects those who do wrong; but if it fails to do so to them, at all events it corrects the bystanders, for the punishments of others improve most people, from fear lest they should suffer similar evils.

About associating with wicked men.

Page 692. A. Associations with wicked men are mischievous, and very often the soul against its will receives the impression of the insane wickedness of one's associates.

About wisdom.

Page 693. E. Every wise man is a friend of God.

About haughty men.

Page 693. E. Self-conceit, as the proverb of the ancients has it, is the eradication of all improvement, for the man who is full of self-conceit is incapable of improvement.

Self-conceit is by nature an unclean thing.

About natural things.

Page 711. C. As it is difficult to inoculate anything in a manner contrary to nature, and to introduce anything into nature which does not belong to it, so likewise is it hard to change things which are of such and such a nature from that

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nature, and to restrain them; for it has been well said by some one, everything is vain if nature sets herself against it.

About man.

From the Questions arising in Genesis.

Page 748. A. What is the meaning of the expression, "Until" [Genesis 3:19.] thou return to the dust from which thou wast taken? For man was not formed of the dust alone, but also of the divine Spirit; but since he did not continue in an unchanged condition, he neglected the divine command, and cutting off that constitution which imitated the heaven from his better part, he made himself over wholly to the earth; for if he had been a lover of virtue, which is immortal, he would beyond all question have received heaven for his inheritance, but since what he sought was pleasure, by means of which the death of the soul is brought upon mankind, he became appropriated to the earth.

About Adam.

From the Questions arising in Genesis.

Page 748. B. "And God brought all the animals to Adam, to see what he would call Them;" [Genesis 2:19.] for God does not doubt, but since he has given mind to man, the first born and most excellent of his creatures, according to which he, being endowed with knowledge, is by nature enabled to reason; he excites him, as an instructor excites his pupil, to a display of his powers, and he contemplates the most excellent offspring of his soul. And, again, he visibly by the example of this man gives an outline of all that is voluntary in us, looking with disfavour on those who affirm that everything happens through necessity, by which some men must be influenced, he on that account commanded man to take upon himself the regulation of these things. And this is an employment peculiarly fitting for man, as being endowed with a very high degree of knowledge and most surpassing prudence, the giving of names to the animals being suited to him not only as being wise, but also as being the first nobly born creature.

For it was fitting that he should be the founder of the human race, and also the king of everything that is born of the earth, and that he should have this as an especial honour of his own, that, as he was the first who had any acquaintance with the animals, he might also be the first inventor and pronouncer of their names; for it would have been absurd for them to be left without names, and subsequently to have names given to them by some younger man, to the honour and glory of the elder.

And when Adam saw the figure of his wife, as the prophet says, and that it had been produced not by any connexion, nor out of a woman, as human beings in after times were produced, but that she was as it were a nature on the borders between these two kinds, like a graft from a shoot of another vine taken off and grafted into a second one, on which account he says, "For this cause a man shall leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they two shall become one Flesh;" [Genesis 2:24.] in saying which he used a most gentle expression, which was at the same time most perfectly true, meaning that they would be united by sympathy in their griefs and joys.

From the same book, or else from the last book of the Questions arising in Exodus.

Truly the divine place is inaccessible, and one which is hard to be approached, nor is it given even to the purest intellect to be able to ascend to such a height as to touch it. It is impossible for human nature to behold the face of the living God; but the word "face" is not used here in its literal meaning, but it is a metaphorical expression, here intended to manifest the purest and simplest form of the living God, since man is not recognised more by anything than by his face, according to his peculiar distinctive qualities and form. For God does not say, "I am not visible in my nature." But who, in fact, is more visible than he who is the Father of all visible things? And being such with regard to being seen, I am, says he, seen by no mortal man; and the reason of this is the inability of the created man to behold him.

And that I may not become prolix while weaving in all kinds of arguments, it is inevitable that God must first be created (which is not possible), in order for any one to be able to comprehend God. But if any one dies as to this mortal life, but still lives, having received in exchange a life of immortality, perhaps he will see what he never saw before.

All the different philosophical sects which have flourished in Greece, and in the countries of the barbarians, when investigating the secrets of nature, have never been able to arrive at a clear perception of even the most trivial circumstances; and a clear proof of this assertion may be found in the disagreements, and dissensions, and contentions of those of each sect who are seeking to establish their own opinions, and to overthrow those of their adversaries. And the households of those who have been contending for the predominance of this and that sect, have been the causes of universal wars, blinding the human mind by their contradictory quarrels, which might otherwise have been able to see the truth, and fighting hard about what doctrines ought to be abandoned and what ought to be preserved.

Now he who desires to form to himself a conception of the most excellent of all beings, ought in the first place to stand firm in his mind, being steadfastly fixed in one opinion, and not varying or wandering in different directions. And in the next place, he ought to take his stand upon nature, and upon solid grounds, and to abandon all barren and corruptible things, for if anything of a somewhat effeminate character approach him, he will be disappointed of his object, and he will be unable, even if he exert the most acute faculties of sight imaginable, to behold the uncreated God; so that he will become blind before he sees him, on account of the brilliancy of his beams and the flood of light which distils there from. Do you not see that the power of fire in the case of those who stand at a measured distance from it affords light to them, but it burns those who approach too near? Take care that you do not suffer such an injury as this in your mind, and lest an extravagant desire of an impossible object destroy you.

About those who are governed.

Out of the first book of the Questions in Genesis.

Page 749. E. As pillars support whole houses, so also the power of God supports the whole world, and the best and most God-loving section of the human race.

Out of the Questions in Genesis.

Page 750. C. If any one is either in any house, or village, or city, or nation, who is a lover of wisdom, it is absolutely inevitable that that house or city should be the better for his existence in it, for a virtuous man is a common good to all men, bestowing on them advantages proceeding from himself as from a prepared store.

About people who carry news, and act as intermediate bearers of answers.

From the Questions arising in Exodus.

Page 751. B. The influx of evils agitates and disturbs the soul, enveloping it in a giddiness which darkens its perceptions, and compels it to suffer that power of sight which by nature was preeminent, but which by habit has become blinded, to be obscured.

Page 751. B. There is nothing so opposite to and inconsistent with the most holy powers of God as injustice.

About the sinner and offender.

From the Questions arising in Genesis.

Page 751. C. Never to err in any point whatever is the greatest blessing; but when one has erred, to repent is next akin to it, as a younger good, if one may say so, by the side of an elder, for there are some persons who exult in the offences which they have committed as if they had done good actions, though they are in reality afflicted with a disease difficult to be cured, or I should rather say incurable.

About its being impossible to escape from God.

From the last book of Questions arising in Exodus.

Page 752. A. He contains all things, while yet he is himself contained by nothing; for as place is that which contains bodies, and that to which they flee for refuge, so also the divine reason contains the universe and is that which has completed it.

About truth and faithful evidence.

From the second book of the Questions in Exodus.

Page 754. C. By some lawgivers the practice of giving hearsay evidence has been forbidden, on the ground that the truth is established by the eyesight, but falsehood by hearing.

About quiet and ease.

From the fourth book of the Questions in Genesis.

The wise man is desirous of peace and leisure, that he may have time for meditation on heavenly things.

From the fifth book.

Page 754. E. For thus the lover of wisdom never unites with any rash person, even though he may be closely united to him by blood; nor does he ever consent to dwell with a wicked man, being separated from the multitude by his reasoning powers, on account of which he is said not to be a fellow voyager, or a fellow citizen, or a companion of such men.

Page 754. E. The wise man is a sojourner and a settler, having come as an emigrant from a life of confusion and disorder to one suitable to peaceful and happy men.

About the fearful expulsion.

From the first book of the Questions in Genesis.

Page 772. B. But the essence of the angels is spiritual, but they are very often made to resemble the appearance of men, being transformed on any emergencies which arise.

From the second book of the same Questions.

Page 772. B. All the powers of God are winged, being always eager and striving for the higher path which leads to the Father.

About heretics.

From the first book of the Questions in Exodus.

Page 774. B. All those who have stumbled, being unable to proceed with upright feet, go on slowly, being fatigued a long time before they come to their journey's end; so also the soul is hindered from proceeding successfully on the path which leads to piety if it has previously fallen in with any of the byroads of wickedness, for they are great hindrances to it, and the causes of its stumbling, by means of which the mind becoming lame, proceeds too slowly on the road, according to nature; and this road, according to nature, is that which ends at the Father of the universe.

From the same book.

The contentious investigations which men enter into about the virtues of God, improve the intellect and train it in most pleasant labours, which are also most beneficial to it, and especially when men do not (as those of the present day do) disguise themselves under a false appellation, and contend for the doctrines in appearance only, but do, in an honest and true heart, seek out truth in connexion with knowledge.

From the second book of the same treatise.

... not being more anxious to display melody and harmony in their voices than in their minds; the eloquence of the wise man does not display its beauty in words only, but in the matters which it proves by its words.

From the last book of the Questions in Exodus.

Those men who apply themselves to the study of the holy scriptures ought not to cavil and quibble at syllables, but ought first to look at the spirit and meaning of the nouns and verbs used, and at the occasions on which and the manners in which each expression is used; for it often happens that the same expressions are applied to different things at different times; and, on the contrary, opposite expressions are at different times applied to the same thing with perfect consistency.

From the Questions in Genesis.

Those men act absurdly who judge of the whole from a part, instead of, on the contrary, forming their estimate of a part from their knowledge of the whole; for this is the more proper way to form one's opinion of anything, whether it be a body or a doctrine; therefore the divine code of laws is, in a manner, a united creature, which one must regard in all its parts and members at once with all one's eyes, and one must contemplate the meaning and sense of the whole scripture with accuracy and clearness, not disturbing its harmony nor dissevering its unity; for the parts will have a very different appearance and character if they are once deprived of their union.

From the fourth book of the same treatise.

Let there then be a law against all those who profess to look on what is venerable and divine, in any other than a respectful and holy spirit, inflicting punishment on their blindness.

From the second book of the Questions in Exodus.

Page 775. There is nothing either more pleasant or more deserving of respect than to serve God, whose power is superior to that of the mightiest sovereign; and it appears to me that the greatest kings have also been chief priests, showing, by their actions, that it is right for those who are the masters of other men nevertheless to serve as servants of God.

About a king not being greatly respected.

From the first book of the Questions in Genesis.

Page 775. E. No foolish man is a king even though he be invested with supreme power by sea and land, but he only is a king who is a virtuous and God-loving man, even though he may be deprived of those supplies and revenues, by means of which kings in general are strengthened in their sovereignty; for as a rudder, or a collection of drugs, or a flute, or a harp, are all superfluities to a man who has no knowledge of the art of steering, or medicine, or music, because he is not able to employ any one of them to the purpose for which it is made, while they may be said to be excellently adapted to and to be very seasonable for a pilot, or a physician, or a musician; so also, since kingcraft is an art, and the best of arts, we must look upon him who does not know how to exert it as a private individual; and as the man who does know how to exert it well as the only king.

About the stable and unstable man.

From the Questions in Genesis.

Page 776. E. A facility of change must of necessity belong to man, by reason of the unsteadiness of external circumstances. Accordingly we thus oftentimes, after we have chosen friends, and have associated with them for some time, though we have nothing to accuse them of, turn away from them with aversion as enemies.

About those who change their minds and blame themselves.

Page 776. E. These are the words of Philo:-

Gaius, as he was ignorant of the greatness of the cause, that he should never fall into death, suffered a more simple punishment; but his imitator, not being able to take refuge in the plea of ignorance, is subjected to a double punishment; on which account Lamech shall be avenged seventy and seven fold, for the reason above mentioned, according to which he was the second offender who had not thought fit to take warning from the punishment of him who had offended before, and he clearly receives his punishment, being a more simple one; as in numbers the units have a highly multiplied power, resembling that of the decades, such as now Lamech, changing his mind, denounces against himself.

From the same book of the same author.

Page 777. To be aware of what one has done amiss, and to blame one's self, is the part of a righteous man; but to be insensible to such things causes still more grievous evils to the soul, and the conduct of wicked men.

About the courage of a woman.

From Philo, from the Questions arising in Exodus.

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Page 777. B. It is said by men who have applied themselves to the study of natural philosophy, that the female is nothing else but an imperfect male.

About the oracles of God.

The words of Philo, out of the second book of his Questions arising in Genesis.

Page 782. A. It is not lawful to divulge the sacred mysteries to the uninitiated until they are purified by a perfect purification; for the man who is not initiated, or who is of moderate capacity, being unable either to hear or to see that nature which is incorporeal and appreciable only by the intellect, being deceived by the visible sight, will blame what ought not to be blamed. Now, to divulge sacred mysteries to uninitiated people, is the act of a person who violates the laws of the privileges belonging to the priesthood.

From the same author.

Page 782. B. It is absurd that there should be a law in cities that it is not lawful to divulge sacred mysteries to the uninitiated, but that one may speak of the true rites and ceremonies which lead to piety and holiness to ears full of folly. All men must not partake of all things, nor of all discourses, above all, of such as are sacred; for those that desire to be admitted to a participation in such things, ought to have many qualifications beforehand. In the first place, what is the greatest and most important, they ought to have deep feelings of piety towards the only true and living God, and correct notions of holiness, avoiding all inextricable errors which perplex so many about images and statues, and in fact about any erections whatever, and about unlawful ceremonies, or illicit mysteries.

In the second place, they must be purified with all holy purifications, both in soul and body, as far as it is allowed by their national laws and customs. In the third place, they must give credible evidence of their entering into the common joy, so that they may not, after having partaken of the sacred food, like intemperate youths, be changed by satiety and overabundance, becoming like drunken men; which is not lawful.

About evil-doers.

The words of Philo, out of the Questions arising in Exodus.

Page 782. D. The man who lives in wickedness, bears about destruction within him, since he has living with him that which is both treacherous, designing, and hostile to him. For the conscience of the wicked man is alone a sufficient punishment to him, inflicting cowardice on his soul from its own inmost feelings, as it feared blows.

From the same author.

Page 782. D. The life of the wicked man is subject to pain and sorrow, and full of fear; and in everything which it does according to the outward senses, it is mingled with fear and grief.

About monks who break their vows.

The words of Philo, from the Questions arising in Exodus.

Page 784. C. The reasoning of some persons is very rapidly satiated, who, though they have been borne upwards on wings for a little while, yet do presently return back again; not so much flying upwards, says Philo, as being dragged down again to the lowest depths of hell. But happy are they who do not draw back.

From the same author.

Page 784. C. Before now, some persons who have tasted happiness, being very speedily satiated, after they have given hopes of their being in health, have fallen back into the same disease as before.

From the same author, out of the Questions arising in Genesis.

Page 784. D. To commit perjury is impious and mischievous.

About good friends.

The words of Philo, out of the first book of the Questions arising in Exodus.

Page 788. I. We ought to look upon those men as our friends who are inclined to assist us, and to requite our kindnesses with kindness, even if they are destitute of power; for friendship is a thing which is seen more in moments of necessity, than in a steady conjunction or union of dispositions. So that in the case of each person who unites with another in an association of friendship, one may apply the expression of Pythagoras to him, and say, "A friend is a second I."

About the mercies of God.

The words of Philo, out of the first book of the Questions arising in Exodus.

Page 789. A. When the fruits of these crops which are raised from seed are in a state of perfection, they receive the beginnings of the generation of trees in order that the mercies of God may last for ever, and then that one continually succeeding the other, and connecting ends with beginnings and beginnings with ends, they may be in reality never ending.

From the second book of the same treatise.

Page 789. A. The mercies of God give us not only what is necessary, but also all such things as conduce to a more excessive and liberal enjoyment of life.

FRAGMENTS FROM A MONKISH MANUSCRIPT

About man: to show that God when he made him endowed him with free will.

It is said to you, O noble man, who live in obedience to the divine precepts, endeavor with all thy might not only to preserve the gifts which you have received unimpaired and unalloyed, but also think them worthy of all imaginable honour and regard, as being endowed with free will and independent power, so that he who has committed them to your charge may have no reason to find fault with you for having neglected to take proper care of them; and the Creator of the world has entrusted to your care to employ them according to your own deliberative purpose, a soul, and speech, and the outward senses. Therefore, those men who receive these gifts in a proper spirit, and who preserve them for him who has bestowed them on them, have kept their intellect carefully in such a way that it shall never think of anything else than of God and his virtues; and their speech in such a manner that with unwearied mouth it shall honour the Father of the universe with praises and hymns; and their outward senses in such a way that after they have represented to themselves the whole of the world which is perceptible to those senses, namely, the heaven and the earth, and the natures which are between those two, they may relate what they have been in a pure and guileless manner to the soul.

About people who are governed.

The words of Philo, from the fourth book of his Allegorical Interpretation of the Sacred Laws.

If you take away their resources of wealth from politicians, you will find nothing left but empty arrogance devoid of sense, for as long as there is an abundant supply of external good things, wisdom and presence of mind appear also to attend them, but when that plenty is taken away all appearance of wisdom is taken away at the same time.

About the best men.

From the same author, in his Treatise on Drunkenness.

Good men, to speak somewhat metaphorically, are of more value than whole nations, since they support cities and constitutions as buttresses support large houses.

From the same author.

If it depended on wicked men, no city would ever enjoy tranquility; but states continue free from seditious troubles on account of the righteousness of one or two men who live in them, whose virtue is a remedy for the diseases of war, because God, who loves mankind, grants this effect as a reward to those who are virtuous and honourable, so that they should not only benefit themselves, but all who are near them.

From the same author.

There is no place upon earth more sacred than the mind of a wise man, while all the virtues hover around like so many stars.

About things which are uncertain and unknown to us.

The words of Philo.

The comprehension of the future does not belong to the nature of man.

From the same author.

All things are not known to the mortal race.

From the same author.

God alone is acquainted with the ultimate results of things.

About evil report.

Quiet, which is free from danger, is better than words, the object of which is only to give pleasure.

About self-satisfied people, etc.

The words of Philo.

The lawgiver says, "You shall not do all the things which we will do here this day,[Deuteronomy 12:28.] every one doing that which is pleasant in his own sight," by which words he declares as loudly as possible that there is no evil which may not be produced by selfishness and self-sufficiency, which must be eradicated from the mind as unholy feelings. Let no one embrace that which is pleasing to himself rather than that which is agreeable to nature, for the one is found to be the cause of mischief and the other the cause of benefit.

From the same author.

Those who do everything for their own sake alone practice selfishness, which is the greatest of evils, which produces unsociability, want of fellowship, unfriendliness, injustice, impiety, for nature has made man not like those beasts which love solitude, but like the gregarious beasts which live together like the most sociable of all creatures, that he may live not to himself alone, but also to his father, and to his mother, and to his brethren, and to his wife, and to his children, and to all his other relations and friends, and to those of the same borough as himself, and to those of the same tribe, and to his native country, and to his fellow countrymen, and to all mankind, and moreover to the different parts of the universe, and to the whole world, and much more to the Father and Creator of the world, for he must be (if at least he is really endowed with reason) sociable, loving the world, and loving God, that he may also be beloved by God.

About God being incomprehensible.

From the first book of the Questions arising in Exodus.

There are thousands and thousands, I do not say only of important matters, but also of those which appear to be most trivial, which escape the human intellect.

From the same author.

No one may so far yield to unreasonable folly as to boast that he has seen the invisible God.

About the doctrine that God has made angels to be guardians of us.

The words of Philo, from the first book of the Questions arising in Genesis.

As pillars support whole houses, so also do the divine powers support the whole world, and that most excellent and God-loving race of mankind.

About avoiding sin.

From the treatise on the Giants.

I think it absolutely impossible that no part of the soul should become tainted, not even the outer most and lowest parts of it, even if the man appears to be perfect among men.

About slowness of counsel.

Slow counsel is profitless, and change of purpose in extremities is mischievous.

About heretical teachers, etc.

From the same book.

A teacher of a good and virtuous disposition, even if he sees his pupils at first stiff-necked by nature, does not despair of producing in them a change for the better; but, like a good physician, he does not apply a remedy at once at the first moment of the disease attacking the patient, but he gives nature time that it may recede a little, so that he may first make ready the path to safety, and then apply healthful and salutary remedies. And in the same manner does the virtuous man apply the arguments and doctrines of philosophy.

If, when a pupil is first introduced to you, and first comes to learn of you, you hasten to eradicate all his ignorance at once, and attempt to introduce every kind of knowledge in a lump, you will produce the contrary effect to that which you desire, for it will not be likely that such an eradication, having taken place all in a moment, will continue effectual, nor that the pupil will be able at once to contain such an abundant influx and overflow of instruction; but being exceedingly perplexed and troubled, he will resist both these operations, that of eradicating one thing and that of introducing another; but the system of taking away his ignorance with gentleness and moderation, and of, in the same manner, gently instilling wisdom into the mind, will be the causes of admitted advantage.

About people who meditate and design mischief.

The words of Philo, from his treatise on Things Improperly Named.

The ordinary production or wickedness enslaves the mind, even if it has not as yet produced any perfect fruit; for it is, as the proverb says, washing a brick, or taking up water in a net, to try and eradicate wickedness out of the soul of man. For "behold," says Moses, "with what designs the minds of all men are impressed." [Genesis 8:21.] And he speaks truly, for he does not say, what designs are attached to and adapted to it, but that which has been considered with care and deliberation is also explained with accuracy, and this too not slowly and with difficulty, but from man's earliest youth, or as one may almost say, from his very cradle, as if it were a part of him, kept in continual exercise.

About cowardly and wavering people.

Those who are unmanly from an innate effeminacy, falling down of their own accord before they meet with any opposition, are a disgrace and ridicule to themselves.

From the same author.

Wickedness in a foolish man has a twin offspring, for the foolish man is wavering and hesitating, mingling considerations together which ought not to be mingled, and humbling and confusing what ought to be kept distinct, having as many colours in his soul as a viper has in his body, and polluting even his sound thoughts with those which cause trouble and death.

From the same author.

The thoughts of a bad man are one thing, and his words another, and his actions indeed are many, but they are all inconsistent and at variance one with another, for he does not say what he thinks, and he has decided on the contrary of what he affirms, and he does things which are not consistent with his original designs, so that, to speak truly, one may say that the life of the wicked man is a life of enmity.

About distinctness.

The words of Philo.

That which is not distinct is unsuited to a free man, being the most shameful product of folly and haughtiness; for as distinctness in everything that is to be done is a mark of acuteness and wisdom, and deserves honour and praise, so also an absence of shame is a sign of folly and infamy, on which account the other definition which you disregard, classifies a man who is afflicted with this disease thus, saying, he is impious who does not know how to respect the face of an honourable man, nor to rise up in the presence of an elder,[juvenal speaks of this as a custom of the ancient Romans.] nor to guide his own steps in the right way.

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About those who serve God.

The servants of virtuous men submit to voluntary obedience to God, for they are not servants to human caprices, but to wise men; and he who is the servant of wisdom may justly be said to be also the servant of God.

About just men.

The words of Philo.

An irreconcilable and endless war is carried on by the atheists against the godly, so that they threaten them even with slavery.

About justice.

The words of Philo.

Justice, above all things, conduces to the safety both of mankind and of the parts of the world, earth and heaven.

About the judgements of God.

From the same author.

It is good to begin every day with divine and holy employments, and after that to proceed to the necessary duties of life. On this account God has commanded Us [Deuteronomy 6:7.] to take care to obey his commandments, and especially at the first moment of the dawn, as soon as we are risen, to pay our adoration to Him, that their offerings to God may precede every human occupation, having the recollection of God for their prompter and leader.

From the same author.

Every soul which piety fertilizes with its own mysteries is necessarily awake for all holy services, and eager for the contemplation of those things which are worth being seen, for this is the feeling of the soul at the great festival, and this is the true season of joy.

About the difference between God and man.

The words of Philo.

The things of creation are far removed from the uncreated God, even though they are brought into close proximity following the attractive mercies of the Saviour.

About bold and brave men.

The words of Philo, from his treatise about the Giants.

It is a sign of courage not to be easily alarmed by the terrors of death, and to be full of cheerful confidence in dangers, and to be of valiant hardiness amid disasters, and to prefer dying with honour to being saved disgracefully, and to wish to be the cause of victory; and a happy boldness, and a cheerfulness of soul, and fortitude, are the attendants on a manly spirit.

About equality.

The words of Philo.

As an equality of measurement is the cause of the most perfect blessings, so also a want of measure is the cause of the greatest evils, as it dissolves that most useful bond of equality.

About drunkenness.

From the same author.

Inequality is a grievous thing and the cause of differences, just as equality is free from all annoyances and contributes to unite men for advantageous ends.

From the same author.

Obedience to the law and equality are the seeds of peace, and the causes of safety and continued durability; but inequality and covetousness are excitements to war, and dissolvers of all existing things.

About evil-doers.

The words of Philo.

Those things which chastise the first, are, if men are wise, preventatives of the second.

About the eye and sight.

The words of Philo, from the treatise about the Creation of the World.

The outward senses resemble windows; for through them, as through windows, the comprehension of the objects of the outward senses enters into the mind, and again through them the mind goes out to investigate such objects. But the sight is a part of these windows, that is to say, of the outward senses, since above all others it is akin to the soul, because it is nearly connected with the most beautiful of all things, namely light, and is a servant of divine things; and, indeed, that is the sense which first opened the way to philosophy. For when the eye had beheld the motions of the sun and moon, and the periodical revolutions of the stars, and the unvarying motions of the whole host of heaven, and the indescribable order and harmony of the whole universe, and the one unerring Creator of the world, it then related what it had seen to reason, as having the supreme authority; and reason, having beheld with a still more acutely piercing eye both these things, and things of a still more sublime character in their appearance and species, and the great cause of all things, it then immediately arrived at a due conception of God, and of creation, and of providence; considering that the whole nature of all things was not brought into existence of its own accord, but that of necessity it had a creator, and a father, and a guide, and a governor, who also created it, and who also preserves everything which he has created.

About contentment.

The words of the same author.

If you have a great deal of wealth, take care and do not be carried away by its overflow; but endeavor to take hold of some dry ground, in order to establish your mind with proper firmness; and this will be the proper exertion of justice and fairness. And if you should have abundant supplies of all the things requisite for the indulgence of those passions which lie beneath the belly, be not carried away by such plenty, but oppose to them a saving degree of contentedness, taking in this way dry ground to stand upon instead of an absorbing quicksand.

By the same author.

One should practice being contented with a little, for this is being near God; but the contrary habit is being very far from him.

About faith in and piety towards God.

The words of Philo.

What can be a real sacrifice except the piety of a soul devoted to the love of God? Whose grateful feelings are made immortal by God, having conferred on them an immortal duration like that of the sun and the moon, and the whole world.

About wicked and impious men.

From the same author.

The hopes of wicked men are unstable, as they expect a good fate, but suffer a contrary destiny of which they are worthy.

About a bad conscience.

The words of Philo, from his treatise on Men and Things which are Improperly Named.

Who is there who does wrong who is not convicted by his own conscience as if he were in a court of justice, even though no man corrects him?

About advisers.

The words of Philo, from the Questions in Genesis.

Since the mind of those who have not studied philosophy is blind with respect to many of the circumstances of life, one must take those who do see the character of affairs for one's guides.

About hasty talkers.

The words of Philo.

He who has not shame or fear for his companions, has an unbridled mouth and a licentious tongue.

About perfection.

The words of Philo.

Perfection and an absence of deficiency are found in God alone. But deficiency and imperfection exist in every man. For man is taught, even if he be the wisest of his race, by some other man, and he knows nothing without being taught by his own nature. And if one man has more knowledge than another, still he has it not naturally, but because of instruction which he has received.

About those who think lowly of themselves.

The words of Philo.

These things are proved to be most completely natural, that the descent of the soul is its elation by means of self-conceit, and that its ascent and elevation is its return from arrogance.

From the same author.

It is desirable to eradicate self-conceit, which is the friend of endurance, and prudence, and justice,[it is evident that there is great corruption in this and the next sentence.] and also to destroy overbearing pride; for it is no small proof and exercise of folly to study virtue in an illegitimate manner.

From the same author.

If you are puffed up by glory and authority so as to desire great things, then remember, like the skilful pilot of a ship, to take in your sails, that you may not be carried away into absurd conduct.

About sleep.

The words of Philo.

Sleep, according to the prophet, is a trance, not indeed in accordance with insanity, but proceeding from a relaxation of the outward senses and the retreat of reason; for at that time the outward senses cease from attaching themselves to their proper objects, and the mind is quiet, neither being any longer under the influence nor affording any motion to them, and they, being in consequence cut off from any energy because they are separated from the objects which are perceptible to them, are dissolved in a state of motionless inactivity.

From the same author.

Very naturally some who have been wise enough to arrive at correct notions of the truth, have described sleep as a thing to teach us to meditate upon death, and a shadow and outline of the resurrection which is hereafter to follow, for it bears in itself visible images of both conditions, for it removes the same man from his state of perfection and brings him back to it.

About promises, etc.

The words of Philo.

It is better absolutely never to make any promise at all than not to assist another willingly, for no blame attaches to the one, but great dislike on the part of those who are less powerful, and intense hatred and long enduring punishment from those who are more powerful, is the result of the other line of conduct.

About haughty men, etc.

From the first book of the Sacred Allegory of the Holy Laws.

Some persons say that the last thing which the wise man puts off is the tunic of vain glory, for even if a man gets the mastery over his other passions; still he is inclined by nature to be influenced by glory and the praises of the multitude.

From the same author.

Self-conceit is an impure thing by nature.

About promises, etc.

The words of Philo.

To give thanks to God is intrinsically right, but not to do so to him in the first place, and not to begin with the first reasons for gratitude, is blamable, for it is not right to give the chief honour to the creation, and the inferior honour to God, who is the giver of all things in the creation; and indeed that is a most culpable division, inasmuch as it is laying down a certain disorder of order.

About envy.

The words of Philo.

Envy naturally attaches itself to whatever is great.

About industrious people.

The words of the same author.

The most perfect and greatest of all good things are usually the result of labourious exercise and energetic vigorous labour.

From the same author.

It is absurd for a man who is in the pursuit of honours to flee from labours by which honours are acquired.

About the soul and the mind.

From the same author.

What is the meaning of the expression, "You shall not eat the flesh in the blood of the Soul?" [Genesis 9:4.] God appears by this expression to intend to show that the blood is the essence of the soul, that is to say, of the soul endowed with the outward senses, not the soul spoken of in the most excellent sense of the word, that is to say, as far as it is endued with reason and intellect; for there are three divisions of the soul, one part being nutritious, a second being endued with the outward senses, and the third being endued with reason. Accordingly the divine Spirit is the essence of the rational portion, according to the sacred historian of the creation of the world, for he says that "God breathed into his face the breath of Life." [Genesis 2:9.] But of that part which is endued with the outward senses, and which has the revivifying power, blood is the essence, for he says in another place that "the soul of all flesh is the Blood;" [Deuteronomy 12:23.] but what is connected with the flesh is the outward sense and the passions, and not the mind and the intellect; not but what that expression, "in the blood of the soul," also indicates that the soul is one thing and the body another. So that in real truth the breath is the essence of the soul, but it has not any place of itself independently of the blood, but it resembles and is combined with blood.

About the assistance of God.

The words of Philo, from the fourth book of his treatise on the Allegories contained in the Sacred

Laws.

The extremity of happiness is the assistance of God, for there can be no such thing as want when God gives his aid.

About the creation of the world.

From the same author, from the first book of the Questions arising in Genesis.

It is impossible that the harmony, and arrangement, and reason, and analogy, and that all the great accord and real happiness which we see existing in the world can have been originated by themselves, for it follows inevitably that these things must have had a creator, and a father, and a regulator and governor, who generated them in the first place, and who now preserves what he has generated.

About the church of God.

From the same author.

God wishing to send down from heaven to the earth an image of his divine virtue, out of his compassion for our race, that it might not be destitute of a more excellent portion, and that he might thus wash off the pollutions which defile our miserable existence, so full of all dishonour, established his church among us.

About seeking God.

From the same author, from the last book of the Questions arising in Exodus.

The one most powerful relaxation of the soul leads to the sacred love of the one living God, teaching mankind to take God as its guide in all their plans, and words, and actions.

From the same author.

The extremity of happiness is to rest unchangeably and immovably on God alone.

About the last day.

The words of Philo, from the second book of the Questions arising in Exodus.

The stars are turned round and revolve in a regular circle, some proceeding on in the same manner through the whole heaven, and others have special eccentric motions of their own.

About the detestation of wickedness felt by God.

The words of Philo, from the second book of the Questions arising in Exodus.

Some men think that repentance appears at times to take possession of God on account of the oaths which he has sworn,

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but they do not form correct notions; for apart from the fact that the Deity does not change, neither the expression, "God repented," nor that, "And it grieved him at the Heart," [Genesis 6:6.] is indicative of repentance, for the Deity is unchangeable; but they only show the character of the pure intellect which is now deeply meditating on the cause for which he created man upon the earth.

By the same author, from the same book.

There is no hesitation and no envy in God; but he often uses expressions indicative of hesitation or of uncertainty from a reference to man, who is susceptible of such feelings; for as I have often said, there are altogether two supreme sources; in the one case God does not speak as man speaks, in the other he instructs man as a man instructs his son, the former being a sign of his power, the second of the way in which he teaches and guides man.

About promises.

The words of Philo, from the last book of the Questions arising in Exodus.

He who does not offer to God first fruits of his own free will does not really offer first fruits at all, even if he brings everything which is great, with a most royal abundance of treasure; for the real first fruits consist not in the things offered, but in the pious disposition of him who offers them.

About the mildness of God and his love for mankind.

The words of Philo, from the Questions arising in Exodus.

The mercies of God do always outstrip justice, for the work which he has chosen for himself is that of doing good, and the task of punishing follows that; and it is common, when great evils are about to arise, for an abundance of great and numerous blessings to happen first.

FRAGMENTS PRESERVED BY ANTONIUS

SER. 1: The virtues alone know how to regulate the affairs of men.

The contemplation of virtue is exceedingly beautiful, and actions according to it, and the exercise of it, are desirable above all things.

SER. 2: If you wish to have a good reputation in a twofold manner, then honour exceedingly those who are doing well, and reprove those who are doing ill.

SER. 8: When you are entreated to pardon offences, pardon willingly those who have offended against you, because indulgence given in requital for indulgence, and reconciliation with our fellow servants, is a means of averting the divine anger.

SER. 9: The virtuous man is a lover of his race, and he is merciful and inclined to pardon, and never bears ill will towards any man whatever, but thinks it right to surpass in doing good rather than in injuring.

What is beautiful is then beautiful, when a man has no need of the assistance of another, but when he contains in himself all the signs of excellence as his own.

SER. 10: It is well that the worse should always follow the better, on account of the hope of improvement.

SER. 11: One ought to call a city, and a country, and a house, happy, when they contain a virtuous man; and one ought to call those miserable, when they have no such man within them.

SER. 16: Those who are tyrannical in their natures, but without power, make their designs succeed by treachery.

SER. 20: The friendships of the wicked are mischievous, and very often the soul of such men, being influenced by such associations, takes the impressions of downright insanity.

It is not the country which makes men bad, or the city which makes them good, but the habits of living with such and such men.

SER. 28: One need not dread the blow of a weak man, nor the threat of a fool.

Light-minded men, like empty vessels, may easily be taken and moved by their ears.

SER. 30: Nothing that is done can be beautiful without scientific contemplation, for knowledge is the offspring of counsel, but folly is the source of all evils.

Every argument on behalf of justice is superfluous, when those who listen are unanimous in a bad object.

SER. 38: The wicked man disturbs the city, and is eager for the confusion and the disorder of all men and all things within the city; for a desire of interference, and covetousness, and the acts of a demagogue, and the influence with the populace, are looked upon as honours by such a man, and quiet he looks upon with disdain.

Excellence is a thing difficult to find, or rather is absolutely undiscoverable in a troubled life.

SER. 43: There is nothing so calculated to cause good will as kind words, on account of good actions.

SER. 47: It is sufficient not to bear witness one's self, but that which stands in need of the advocacy of another is inadequate to bring conciliation to the mind.

SER. 52: Reject with aversion the deceitful words of flatterers, for they, obscuring reason, do not contribute to the truth of things; for either they praise actions which are deserving of blame, or else they often blame things beyond all praise.

SER. 56: Peace is the greatest blessing which no man is able to afford, since this is a divine action.

SER. 58: Behave to your servants in the same manner in which you desire that God should behave to you; for as we hear them we shall be heard by him, and as we regard them we shall be regarded by him. Let us therefore let our compassion outrun compassion, that we may receive a like requital from him for our mercy to them.

SER. 69: How great a relief of nature is sleep, it is the image of death, and the rest of the outward senses.

Sleep is one thing only, but the desire of it has many reasons and causes; I mean from nature, from food, from fate, and perhaps also from excessive and intense fasting, by means of which the flesh, becoming unnerved and deprived of strength, wishes to recover itself for subsequent actions by means of sleep.

As much drinking is called a habit, so is much sleep, and it is difficult to get rid of an inveterate habit.

SER. 74: Pardon is apt to engender repentance.

SER. 79: Shamelessness is the characteristic of a worthless man, and modesty of a virtuous man, but never to feel either ashamed or bold is a mark of one who is slow of comprehension, and who is without the power of giving assent.

SER. 82: Since God penetrates invisibly in the region of the soul, let us prepare that region in the best manner that we are able to, or rather that it may be a habitation fit for God, otherwise, without our being aware of it, God will depart and remove to some other abode.

The mind of a wise man is the house of God, and he is called, in an especial manner, the God of all mankind, as the prophet says when speaking of the mind of a wise man, he calls it "that in which God Walks," [Leviticus 26:12.] as in a palace.

What is visible and actually before us is comprehended by the eyes, but the pure faculty of reason extends even to what is unseen and future.

SER. 87: God who is merciful by nature will never exonerate from guilt the man who swears falsely for an unrighteous object, as such a man is impure and defiled, even though he may escape the punishments inflicted by men.

SER. 99: Those things which are kept in the dark for a while by envy, are at last released and brought to light.

SER. 104: In his essential character a king is equal to every man, but in the power of his authority and rank he is equal to God who rules over all things; for there is nothing on earth that is higher than he. Therefore it becomes him as being a mortal not to be too much elated, and as being a kind of God not to yield too much to passion; for if he is honoured as being of the likeness of God, nevertheless he is in some degree entangled in terrestrial and vile dust, by means of which he should learn simplicity and meekness towards all men.

SER. 116: A severe master is best for intractable and foolish servants; for they, fearing his threats and punishments, though against their will, are made to do right by fear.

SER. 118: It is the greatest praise of a servant to neglect nothing which his master commands, but to attempt with an honest heart to perform in a proper and successful manner, even if it be beyond his power, all that is commanded him with energy and without hesitation.

SER. 123: When once the wife of Philo was asked in an assembly of many women why she alone of all her sex did not wear any golden ornaments, she replied: "The virtue of a husband is a sufficient ornament for his wife."

SER. 130: The virtues of children are the glory of their fathers.

Those who are well acquainted with what is honourable and virtuous are happy in their children.

SER. 135: To drink poison out of a golden goblet, and to take advice from a foolish friend, is the same thing.

New vessels are better than old ones, but old friendship is better than new.

The fruits produced by the earth come once a year; but those which we derive from friendship are to be gathered on every occasion. Many men select for their friends not those who are the most virtuous, but those who are rich.

Many who appear to be friends are not so, and many who do not appear to be such are so in reality; but it is the part of a wise man to discern both these classes.

SER. 152: Youth which is not willing to work is laying up misfortunes for old age.

SER. 156: What is bad is, not being punished here, but being worthy of punishment hereafter.

SER. 175: God has implanted hope in the human race that, having a comfort innate in them, those who have committed errors which are not irremediable may feel their sorrows lightened.

SER. 182: Pleasure appears to be an equable kind of motion, but in reality it both is and is found to be rough.

THE FOLLOWING FRAGMENTS ARE FROM AN ANONYMOUS COLLECTION IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY AT OXFORD

EXTRACTS FROM PHILO

About friends.

A steadiness towards one's friends is a sign of a general stability of disposition, on which account one ought not to form friendship till one has carefully tested the characters of those with whom he proposes to form it; for not only is the forming of such friendship pleasant, but so also is the feeling that one has not to bear by one's self burdens which oppress the soul, and not to depart from the association; for he who is the cause of differences in friendship is not known to the generality of men, but he is accustomed to bring common blame upon both parties, and very commonly on the innocent party more than on the guilty one.

Of secret things, you may share with mean persons those which increase your virtue; but as to those which deteriorate your mind, you must not pursue them yourself, nor impute them to your friends.

The life of man is like a sea, it is liable to every description of agitation and change, even in the height of prosperity; for nothing earth-born is firmly established, but all such things are carried about to and fro, like a vessel which is driven about in the sea by contrary winds.

About sin.

Let us fear not the diseases which come upon us from without, but those offences on which account diseases come, diseases of the soul rather than of the body.

About pain.

Every foolish man is in a strait, being oppressed by covetousness, and love of glory, and desire of pleasure, and things of that sort, which do not allow the mind freedom of motion.

About gluttony.

The sons of the physicians have laid it down as a maxim that regularity is the parent of a healthy condition of the body, paying but little attention to the health of the soul; but we lay it down that regularity is not only destructive of all diseases of the body, but much more do we recognise the fact that the truest health is that which destroys the passions which injure the soul.

About custom and familiarity.

An inveterate habit is more powerful than nature, and little things, if they are not hindered, grow up and increase and become of a large size.

THE FOLLOWING FRAGMENTS ARE FROM AN UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPT IN THE LIBRARY OF THE FRENCH KING

From the works of the Hebrew Philo, on Genesis 6:7.

Why is it that God, when he threatens to extirpate mankind, does also destroy the irrational animals? Because the irrational animals were not originally created designedly for their own sakes, but for the sake of man, and to perform services of which he might be in need; and when man was destroyed it followed naturally that they should also be destroyed at the same time, when the beings for whose sake they had been created were no longer in existence.

From the same author, on Genesis 17:14.

The law does not treat any action done involuntarily as guilty, since it even pardons a man who has committed murder unintentionally; but if a child is not circumcised eight days after its birth, what evil has it done so as to be subjected to the punishment of death? Therefore some persons say that the manner of the punishment is to be referred to its parents, and think that they ought to be punished severely as having neglected the commandments of the law; and others think that it is by an excess of indignation that God is here represented as inflicting punishment, as far as appearance goes, on the child, in order that this inevitable punishment may be inflicted on those people of mature age who have violated the law.

Not because the action of circumcision is important in itself, but because if that is neglected the covenant itself is treated with contempt when the seal by which it is recognised and ratified is not made perfect.

From the same author, on Genesis 19:23.

Why did the sun go forth upon the land when Lot entered into Segor? And he says the very same place is a safety for those who are making progress and a punishment to those who are inwardly wicked. And again the moment that the sun rises in the beginning of the day it brings with it justice; wishing to show that the sun, and the day, and the light, and everything else in the world which is beautiful and honourable, are given only to the virtuous and to no worthless man who embraces incurable wickedness.

From the same author, on Genesis 27:24+27.

Having been spies rather than friends under truce, and being prepared for either alternative; for war if they saw that the other was weak, and for peace if they found him stronger than themselves.

From the same author, on Genesis 26:28, etc.

These are the covenants which they made, not to be destroyed as the other nations had been, and the Philistines were at a subsequent period by the Israelites; whom the holy

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scriptures call sometimes Canaanites, and sometimes Cappadocians; but afterwards the Cappadocians emigrated.

From the same author, on Genesis 26:30.

Not on account of praise, for the wise man is not attracted by flattery or by any other kind of subservience, but because he has accepted their repentance.

From the same author, on Genesis 27:6, etc.

When he had two sons, the one good and the other guilty, he says that he will bless the guilty one, not because he preferred him to the good one, but because he knew that the other one could do right by himself, but that the other was convicted by his own disposition, and had no hope whatever of salvation except in the prayers of his father; and if he did not obtain them, then he would be the most miserable of all men.

From the same author, on Genesis 27:11, etc.

It is proper here to admire also the good will of his mother, who confessed herself willing to take upon herself the cause for his sake, in order that her son might have the honour to which the two were entitled, for she is carried away by her affection for both of them; for she had feared his father, lest she should be looked upon as imposing on him, and to be filching away the honour to which the other was entitled; and his mother, lest he should be considered by her as disobedient to her when she urged him vehemently; on which account he says, with great prudence and propriety, Will not my father curse me? And I shall be bringing a curse on myself. He had confidence because of the promise of God, which said, "The elder shall serve the younger." But, on the other hand, he feared as a man, lest the blessing of his father, as a just man, should overturn the assertion of God.

From the same author, on Genesis 27:30.

He is not so indignant at his disappointment in not obtaining the blessings, as at the fact of his brother having been thought worthy of them; for being of an envious disposition, he regarded his want of success as more desirable than even his own advantage, and he shows this by his great and bitter lamentations, and by his subsequent exclamation, "Bless me now also, O my father."

From the same author.

But if he obtained it by fraud, a man will be inclined to say, he was not to be praised. What then does his father say? "And he shall be blessed." But he appears by what he here says to intimate, in an enigmatical and obscure manner, that it does not follow that every stratagem is blamable, since guardians of the night when they lie in wait for robbers, and generals when they form ambuscades for enemies whom they would not be able to subdue by open force, appear to act rightly: and what are called stratagems proceed on the same principle as the contests of wrestlers, for in these cases too tricks are accounted honourable; and those who by trickery get the better of their antagonists are thought worthy of the prize, and of the crown of victory; so that it is not a charge against a man to say, he has done a thing by trick, but it is rather a panegyric, being equivalent to saying, he has done it skillfully, for the virtuous man does not do anything unskillfully.

From the same author, on Exodus 20:25.

What is the meaning of "thy dagger," and what comes next? Those who by their nature venture to make improper attempts, and who by their own private endeavors metamorphose the works of nature, defile what ought not to be defiled, for all the things of nature are perfect and complete, and stand in need of no addition.

From the same author, on Exodus 22:19.

He shows most evidently that he is a proselyte, inasmuch as he is not circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin, but in the pleasures and appetites, and all the other passions of the soul; for the Hebrew race was not circumcised in Egypt, but being ill-treated with every imaginable circumstance of ill-treatment by the natural cruelty of the natives of the country to strangers, it nevertheless lived among them with fortitude and patience, and that no more from compulsion than voluntarily, because of the refuge which it possessed in God the Saviour, who, sending down his beneficent power, delivered his suppliants from their difficult and apparently inextricable troubles. On this account Moses adds, "For you know the soul of a Proselyte." [Exodus 23:10.] Now what is the mind of a proselyte? A forsaking of the opinions of the worshippers of many gods, and a union with those who honour the one God, the Father of the universe. In the second place, some persons call foreigners also proselytes, and those are strangers who have come over to the truth in the same manner with those who have been sojourners in Egypt; for the one are strangers newly arrived in the country, but the last are strangers also to the customs and laws, but the common name of proselytes is given to both.

From the same author, on Exodus 22:22.

It is forbidden to injure a widow and orphan, for these are under the protection of the especial providence of God, since they are deprived of their natural protectors and guardians, for God wills that those who enjoy natural associations should make amends to the others from their own abundance of resources.

From the same author, on Exodus 23:1.

He says that we must not approach folly or falsehood, either with the ears or with any other of the outward senses, for great injuries are the result of being deceived; on which account some lawgivers have forbidden any one to give hearsay evidence, since the truth is confirmed by eyesight, but falsehood by hearing.

From the same author, on Exodus 23:6.

Poverty by itself claims compassion, in order to correct its deficiencies, but when it comes to judgement, it then has for the arbitrator the law of equity, for justice is a divine and incorruptible thing, on which account it is expressly affirmed in another passage that the judgement of God is Just. [Deuteronomy 32:4.]

From the same author, on Exodus 23:18.

Instead of saying leavened bread must not come among the things which are offered, but all things which are brought as a sacrifice or an offering must be unleavened, he intimates two most necessary things by an obscure and symbolical expression; one being to despise pleasure, for leaven is the seasoning of food and not food itself; and the other being that it is not right for men to be elated, because of being puffed up by vain self-conceit; for each is a wicked state, and pleasure and self conceit are both the offspring of one mother, deceit.

The blood of the sacrifices is a proof of a soul making its offerings to God; and it is not in accordance with the divine law that things which will not unite should be mingled together.

From the same author, on Exodus 23:20.

One must suppose that the angel mentioned a little before indicated the voice of God; for the prophet is the messenger of the Lord, who is the real speaker; for it is inevitable that he who hears with his ears, that is to say who firmly receives what is said, must also accomplish what is said to him by his actions; for an action is the proof of what is said; and he who is obedient to what is said, and who performs actions corresponding to his orders, must of necessity have him who has commanded him for his ally and champion, who in appearance indeed brings assistance to his pupil, but in reality to his own doctrines and commandments, ... which his enemies and adversaries seek to overthrow.

From the same author, on Exodus 23:24.

Pillars symbolically mean the doctrines which appear to stand and to be firmly established. Now of the doctrines established in this firm way, some are good, which ought to be stored up and to be fixed in a most lasting manner; but others are open to blame, and such it is desirable should be overthrown. But the expression, "overthrowing you will overthrow, and destroying you will destroy," has such a meaning as the following. Some men pull down some things as if they meant to raise them again, and destroy some things as if they meant at a future time to re-establish them. But God wills that what has been once destroyed and pulled down shall never be raised or re-established again, but shall be utterly destroyed and for ever, as being contrary to what is good or beautiful.

From the same author, on Exodus 23:28.

And we ought to consider that the wasps are a sign of unexpected power coming by the divine mission; which, bringing down its blows from high places so as to reach the extremity of the ear, takes a good aim with all its strokes, and regulating them well will meet with no failure whatever itself.

From the same author, on Exodus 23:31.

These things God announced to them, if they obeyed him and kept his commandments. But when they were found to be transgressing and disobedient to the divine law, he then contracted his promise from Dan to Beersheba.

From the same author, on Exodus 24:9, 10.

The express command as uttered has a subsequent proposition evident, as all were preserved in safety. But the real meaning is that they all were of one mind in respect of piety and differed in no good thing.

From the same author, on Exodus 24:10.

When he speaks of the seventy men he means those with Moses, and Aaron, and Nadab, and Abihu. And the statement that they did not differ, rather shows that they all equally saw the place where God had stood, than that nothing was left.

From the same author, on Exodus 24:13.

He is most manifestly offended with those who being near thought, out of their impiety or folly, that the motions of the Deity were those of peace, and belonging to the act of changing his abode; for behold he says expressly, not that the God who exists in essence, and who is duly thought of in respect of his existence, came down, but that his glory came down. And the acceptation of the word glory may be twofold; for in one sense it may signify the presence of his powers, since the power of his army is spoken of as the glory of a king; and in another sense it may refer to the appearance of him alone, and to the apprehension of his divine glory; so that an idea of the actual arrival of God may have been created in the minds of those who were present, as if he had come in order to give a most undeniable information to the laws which were about to be given.

From the same author, on Exodus 24:17.

But he says that the appearance of the glory of the Lord is very like unto flame, or rather not that it is so, but that it appears like it to the beholders; since God shows what he chose to appear to be, in order to strike the beholders with amazement without in reality being what he appeared. Accordingly he brings him before the face of the children of Israel, affirming in the plainest language that it was an appearance as of flame, but not a real flame. But as flame consumes every material which is exposed to it, so also when the true conception of God once enters into the soul, it destroys all the heterodox reasonings of impiety, and purifies and sanctifies the whole mind.

From the same author, on Exodus 24:18.

Because the generation which had thus quitted its former abode was about to be condemned, and to wander in a state of desolation for forty years, having received innumerable benefits, but having displayed its ingratitude in still more countless instances.

ON THE PRAYERS AND CURSES UTTERED BY NOAH WHEN HE BECAME SOBER

1 (Having examined in the preceding treatise what has been said by the lawgiver about wine and the nakedness which attends upon it, we will now begin to connect the following essay with the statements advanced in that work. Now in the sacred scriptures we come to the following words immediately after the account we have just been examining, "And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew all that his younger son had done to Him." [Genesis 9:23.] Sobriety is confessed to be a most advantageous thing, not only for souls but also for bodies, for it drives away the diseases which arise from immoderate repletion, and it sharpens the outward senses to an exceeding degree of acuteness, and it altogether prevents bodies from being weighed down so as to fall, but keeps them light, and raises them up, and incites them to the exercise of their appropriate energies, implanting in every part a promptness and vigor; and in short, sobriety is the cause of exactly as many good things, as drunkenness, on the contrary, is of evils. Since then sobriety is most advantageous to those bodies to which the drinking of wine is naturally suitable, is it not much more so to souls, with which all perishable food is inconsistent; for what thing in human nature can be more noble than a sober mind? what glory can be more glorious? what wealth can be more rich? what authority more powerful? what strength more vigorous? of all admirable things what can be more admirable? Let there only be the eye of the soul fit to act, which is able to penetrate every where and to open every thing, being in no part hindered of dimmed by the suffusion of its own moisture; for being then most exceedingly sharpsighted as to its comprehension, and looking into wisdom itself, it will meet with images such as are intelligible only by the intellect, the contemplation of which attracts the soul and will not suffer it any longer to turn aside to the objects which belong to the outward senses. And why should we wonder if there is no created thing equal in honour to a man who is sober in his soul, and gifted with acute vision? for the eyes of the body and the light which is appreciable by the outward senses are honoured in an excessive degree by all of us. Accordingly, many who have lost their sight, have voluntarily also thrown away life, thinking as far as they were concerned, that death itself was a lighter evil than such deprivation. (In proportion then as the soul is superior to the body, in the same proportion also is the mind better than the eyes; and the mind while it is free from injury and imperfection, not being oppressed by any of the iniquities or passions which are produced by insane drunkenness, renounces sleep as a thing which causes forgetfulness and hesitation in what is to be done; but it embraces wakefulness, and uses acuteness of vision, with respect to every object worthy of being beheld, being kept awake by exceedingly perfect memory, and committing actions which are in accordance with the knowledge that it acquires.

2 Such then is the condition of the sober man; but when Moses speaks of Noah's "younger son," he is not so much meaning to make a statement respecting his age, as to show the disposition with which those persons are endued who are inclined to innovation; since how could he have forced himself to see, what ought not to be seen, in defiance of all law and justice, or to divulge what ought to have been concealed in silence, or to bring to light what might have been kept in the shade at home, and to transgress all the boundaries which should confine the soul, if he had not been eager for change and innovation, laughing at what happens to others when he ought rather to lament over such accidents, and not to ridicule things which it was more natural and decent and proper to grieve for. In many places indeed of the exposition of the law, Moses speaks of those who are somewhat advanced in age as young men, and on the other hand those who are not yet arrived at old age he entitles elders; not having regard to the number of their years, whether it be a short or a very long time that they have lived, but to the faculties of their soul, according to the way in which it is influenced, whether it be for good or for evil. Accordingly he calls Ishmael when he has now lived a space of nearly twenty years a child, speaking by a

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comparison with Isaac who is perfect in virtue; for, says he, "he took bread, and a skin of water, and gave it to Agar, and put it upon her shoulder, and the child also, when Abraham sent them forth from his House." [Genesis 21:14.] And again he says, "She put the child down under a pine tree;" and further on he says, "that I may not see the death of the child." And yet before Ishmael was born and circumcised, thirteen years before the birth of Isaac, and having been now weaned for more than seven years, he was banished with his mother, because he being illegitimate was mocking the legitimate son, as though he were on terms of equality with him. But nevertheless, though in reality a young man, he is still called a child, being as it were a sophist put in comparison with a wise man; for Isaac received wisdom for his inheritance, and Ishmael sophistry, as when we define the characters of each we purpose to show in certain dialogues. For the same relation which a completely infant child bears to a full-grown man, the same does a sophist bear to a wise man, and the encyclical branches of education to real knowledge in virtue.

3 And again in his great song he calls the whole people, when it is smitten with a desire of innovation by the name suited to foolish and infant age, entitling them "children." "For," says he, "the Lord is just and holy; have they not sinned against him, blameworthy children that they are? O crooked and perverse generation, is this the requital that ye offer to the Lord? is the people so foolish and not Wise?" [Deuteronomy 32:5.] Therefore, he here distinctly calls those men children who deserve blame and have guilt in their souls, and who through folly and senselessness commit many errors in their actions which are not according to uprightness of life; not having regard to the bodily age of the children, but to the irrational and really childish condition of their minds. Thus indeed, Rachel also, that is beauty of body, is represented as younger than Leah, who is beauty of soul. For the beauty of the body is mortal, but that of the soul is immortal; and all the things which are accounted honourable when judged of with reference to the outward senses, are all taken together inferior to the one single thing, the beauty of the soul. And it is in accordance with this principle that Joseph is always spoken of as young and as "the Youngest." [Genesis 49:22.] For when he manages the flock "with his illegitimate Brethren," [Genesis 39:1.] he is called young; and when his father prays for him, he says, "My youngest son whom I have prayed for, return to me." This is the champion of all the power of the body and the unflattering companion of the abundant supply of external things, who has not yet found out any perfect good more valuable and honourable than that of the elder soul; for if he had found it, he would have departed and abandoned the whole of Egypt without ever turning back. But now he chiefly prides himself on his nourishing it and supporting it as a nurse; and when he who sees beholds the warlike and authoritative part of it overwhelmed in the sea and destroyed, he sings a hymn to God. It is therefore a juvenile disposition, which is not yet able to tend the sheep with the legitimate genuine virtues, that is to say, to govern and superintend the irrational nature existing in accordance with the soul, but which still with its illegitimate brethren, honours the things which appear good, in preference to joining his legitimate brothers and to those things which really are good. But he is spoken of as "youngest," even although he keeps on increasing and improving for the better, in comparison with the perfect man, who thinks nothing honourable but what is good. On which account he says in an encouraging manner, by way of exhortation, "Return to me," a phrase equivalent to, "Desire the elder opinion." Do not be in everything aiming at innovation, do now love virtue for herself alone; do not, like a foolish child dazzled by the splendour of the events of fortune, allow yourself to be filled entirely by deceit and erroneous opinions.

4 It has therefore been proved, that in many passages Moses is in the habit of calling a person young, having regard not to the age of the body, but to the desire of the soul for innovation; and also we will now proceed to show that he calls some persons elders, not because they are oppressed by old age, but as being worthy of honour and respect. Who then of those persons, who are acquainted with the sacred scriptures, is ignorant that the wise Abraham is represented as less long lived than almost any one of his ancestors? And yet of all those who lived to the most extreme old age there is not one, as I think, who is called an elder, but he alone has this title given to him. Therefore, the sacred scriptures say, that "Abraham was now old and advanced in years," and, "The Lord blessed Abraham in all Things." [Genesis 24:1.] This appears to me to be added as a sort of explanatory cause for what has been said before, namely, why the wise man is called the elder. For when the rational part of the soul is made of a good disposition by the kind providence of God, and when it reasons not only about one species, but about everything which is presented to it, using older opinion, it then becomes blessed, and is itself the older part of the people. Thus also he is accustomed to call the members of the assembly of the God-loving people which consists of the number of ten sevens, elders. For we read in the scripture the direction given to Moses, "Assemble for me seventy men of the elders of Israel , whom you yourself know that they are Elders." [Numbers 11:16.] Therefore, it is not only those persons who are looked upon by ordinary people as old men, inasmuch as they are hierophants, but those whom the wise man alone knows, whom he thinks worthy of the appellation of elders. For those whom he rejects, like a skilful money-changer, from the coinage of virtue, being alloyed, are all in their souls inclined to innovation; but those whom he wishes to make friends to himself, are of necessity well tested and approved, and elders as to their minds.

5 Therefore, the scripture is seen to prove each particular of what I have said more plainly to those who have taught themselves to obey one injunction of the law. "For if," says the scripture, "a man has two wives, the one beloved and the other hated, and if she who is beloved bears him a child, and also she who is hated, and if the child of the wife who is hated be the first born, then, on the day on which he bestows on his sons the inheritance of his substance, he shall not be able to give the share of the first born to the son of her who is beloved, overlooking his real first born son, the child of her who is hated; but he must recognise the son of her who is hated as his first born, to give him a double share of all the possessions that belong to him, because he is the beginning of his children, and the rights of the first born belong to Him." [Deuteronomy 21:15.] You observe here now that he never calls the son of the wife that is beloved the first born or the elder, but he often gives this title to the son of her who is hated; and yet he has already pointed out that the son of her who is beloved was in point of time the first, and the son of her who is hated the last, at the very beginning of this injunction; for he says, "If the beloved wife and she who is hated both bear children." But nevertheless the offspring of the first mentioned, even though it may be considerably earlier in point of time is looked upon as younger by right reason when it comes to decide between them. But the offspring of her who is spoken of in the second place, even though it may come after as to the time of its birth, is thought worthy of the more important and elder share. Why so? because we say that she who is beloved is the symbol of pleasure, and she who is hated is the emblem of prudence. For the chief multitude of men love the company of the one to excess, inasmuch as she, from her own treasures, profers them most seductive charms and allurements, from the very first moment of their birth to the extremity of old age; but of the other they detest excessively the austere and very dignified look, just as silly children dislike the profitable but unpleasant reproofs of their parents and guardians. And both the wives become mothers: the one bringing forth that disposition in the soul which loves pleasures, and the other that which loves virtue; but the lover of pleasure is imperfect, and in reality is always a child, even if he reaches a vast age of many years. But, on the other hand, the lover of virtue, though he is in old age as to his wisdom, while still in his swaddling clothes, as the proverb has it, will never grow old. In reference to which Moses says very emphatically with respect to the son of virtue, which is hated by the generality of men, that "he is the beginning of his children," being, forsooth, the first both in order and precedency. And to him belong the rights of the first-born by the law of nature, and not by the lawless principle existing among men.

6 The prophet, then, in accordance with this law, and as it were shooting his arrows with happy aim at the appointed mark, in strict agreement with what has gone before, represents Jacob as younger in point of age than Esau (because from our very earliest birth folly is bred up with us, and the desire of what is honourable is engendered subsequently), but as older in point of power. In consequence of which Esau id deprived of his birthright as the elder son, but Jacob is very naturally invested with it; and the arrangements made with respect to the sons of Joseph are consistent, if we examine them carefully and with much consideration; when the wise man, under the influence of immediate inspiration, having them both standing before him, does not put his hands on their heads, directing them as the youths are straight before him and immediately, but crossing his hands, so as to touch with his left the head of the one who appears to be the elder, and with his right that of him who seems the younger; and the elder one in point of age is called Manasseh, and the younger is called Ephraim. [Genesis 48:13.] And these names, if they are translated into the Greek language will be found to be symbols of memory and recollection; for the name Manasseh, being interpreted, means "from forgetfulness," and which by another name is called "recollection;" for he who comes to a recollection of what he has forgotten is advancing out of forgetfulness. But Ephraim being interpreted means "fruitbearing," a most appropriate appellation for memory; because the fruit which is the most useful and truly eatable for souls is lasting memory, which never forgets. Memory, therefore, exists best when meeting with manly and solid natures, in respect of which it is looked upon as younger, having been brought forth late; but forgetfulness and recollection, almost from the earliest birth of a man, dwell alternately with every one, on which account recollection has the precedence in point of time, and is placed on the left hand by the wise man when he is arranging the two in order; but memory will share the chief honours of virtue, which the lover of God, receiving eagerly, will think worthy of a better portion by himself. Therefore, the first man, being become sober, and knowing what his younger son had done to him, imprecates very terrible curses on him; for, in truth, when the mind recovers its sobriety, it does in consequence immediately perceive all that innovating wickedness has previously done to it, which, while it was intoxicated, it was unable to comprehend.

7 We must now then consider whom the wise man here curses; for this is one of the matters especially deserving of investigation, since he curses not the son who appears to have done the wrong, but his son, and his own grandson, of whom he has not mentioned any apparent sin at present, either small or great; for the who from superfluous curiosity wished to see his father naked, and who laughed at what he saw, and who divulged what ought properly to have been concealed in silence, was Ham, the son of Noah; but he who bears the blame for the offences committed by the other, and who reaped the fruit of them in curses is Canaan; for it is said, "Cursed is Canaan the son, the servant, the servant of servants, shall he be to his Brethren." [Genesis 9:25.] And yet, as I said before, what sin had he committed? But they, who are accustomed to explain the formal, and literal, and obvious interpretations of the laws have perhaps considered this by themselves; but we, being guided by right reason, as it suggest itself to us, will interpret it according to the explanation which is ready to hand, having just made this necessary preface.

8 A stationary position and motion differ from one another; for the one is a state of tranquility, but motion is impetuosity, of which last there are two species - the one that which changes its place, the other that which is constantly revolving about the same place. Now habit is closely akin to the stationary position, and energy to motion; and what we have here said may be more easily understood by an appropriate example. It is customary to call an architect, or a painter, or a farmer, or a musician (and so on with other artists), by the aforesaid name of their profession, even if they remain inactive, doing nothing in the way of working at their respective arts, with reference to the skill and knowledge which they have each of them acquired in their respective professions; but when the architect has taken a material of wood and is working it up, and when the painter having mixed his proper colours on his pallet, paints the figures which he has in his head; and when, again, the former cutting furrows in the earth, throws in the seed, and plants, cuttings, and shoots of tree; and when, also, by way of supplying what he has planted with nourishment, he waters them and draws up channels of water to their roots, and does every thing else which a farmer may be expected to do; and also, when the musician adapts metres, and rhythm, and all kinds of melody to his flutes, and harps, and other instruments, and is able even without any manufactures instruments to use the organ with which he is furnished by nature by means of his voice which is furnished with all the tones; and so on with all the other artists, if it were worth while to mention them separately. In all these cases, besides the aforesaid names derived from their profession, other names akin to the former ones are added with reference to their work; so that we predicate of the architect that he builds, of the painter that he portrays, of the farmer that he cultivates the land, of the musician that he plays the flute or the harp, or that he sings, or does something similar. Now, what men are followed by praise and blame? Is it not those men who energise and do something? For when they succeed they meet with praise; and when, on the other hand, they fail they incur blame; but those who are scientific, without proceeding to action, remain in tranquility having attained this one honour unattended with danger, namely, peace.

9 Therefore, the same assertion applies to those who live according to folly, and also to all those who live in accordance with virtue or vice. Those who are prudent, and temperate, and manly, and just men in their dispositions are infinite in number, having a happy portion in nature, and institutions in accordance with the law, and exerting themselves in invincible and unhesitating labours; but the beauty which exists in the ideas in their minds they are not able to display by reason of their poverty, or of their want of rank, or of some disease of the body, or of some one of the other disasters which surround human life; therefore, they being good have got their good things as it were in bondage and prison. But there are others who have them in an unconfined, and emancipated, and wholly free condition, having unlimited materials and opportunities for their exhibition. The wise man having an abundance of private and public assisting circumstances by which he can display his acuteness and his wisdom; the temperate man will make riches which are usually blind and accustomed to excite and tempt men to luxury, farsighted for the future: the just man will exercise authority by which he will for the future be able to assign to each individual without any hindrance, such a share of existing things as agrees with his deserts. The practicer of

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virtue will display piety, holiness, and a proper care of the sacred places and of the sacred rites performed in them. But without proper opportunities virtues indeed exist, but they are immoveable and like silver and gold, which is of no use in the world, because it is treasured up in the secret recesses of the earth. On the other hand again, one can see innumerable persons, unmanly, intemperate, foolish, unjust, impious in their minds, but unable fully to display the disgraceful character of all their vices by reason of the want of opportunity to sin; but if any important or frequent opportunities present themselves, then filling earth and sea to its extremest boundaries with unspeakable wickedness, and leaving nothing whether great or small uninjured, they overturn and destroy everything at one blow. For as the power of fire is quiet when it has no fuel, but when there are proper materials it blazes up so also all the powers which have reference to the virtue or vice of the soul are extinguished by want of opportunity, as I have said before, but are kindled by a favourable occasion and a happy concurrence of circumstances.

10 Why then have I said these things, except with the object of teaching that Ham the son of Noah, is the name of wickedness in a state of inactivity, but his grandson, Canaan , is the name of wickedness in a state of motion? For Ham being interpreted, means "warm," but Canaan means "commotion;" and warm in a body implies fever, but in the soul it implies wickedness. For as I suppose disease is the foundation of fever, not only of a part but of the whole body; so also wickedness is a disease of the whole soul. But at one time it is in a state of tranquility, and at another in motion; now he calls its motion commotion (salos), which in the Hebrew language is called Canaan . But no lawgiver ever affixes a punishment to wicked men while in a state of inaction, but only when they are in a state of motion and practice actions in accordance with injustice, just as a moderate man would not care about killing a snake if it were not about to bite him. For we must leave out of the question, that natural cruelty of soul which in the case of some persons delights to deal destruction upon everything. Very appropriately, therefore, the just man will appear to have launched his curses against his grandson, Canaan . But I have used the expression "will appear," because in effect he is cursing his son Ham through the medium of Canaan; for Ham being moved to commit sin does himself become Canaan . For there is one subject, namely wickedness, of which one kind is contemplated in a stationary condition, and the other in motion. But a stationary condition is antecedent to motion, so that that which is moved appears to have the relation of offspring to that which is stationary. In reference to which fact Canaan is, according to the order of nature, described as the son of Ham; commotion as the offspring of tranquility, in order that the statement made in another passage may be true, namely, "visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the sons to the third and fourth Generations." [Exodus 20:5.] For against these accomplishments of, and as it were, children of thoughts, punishments advance which await them, but which will hardly seize upon these thoughts which are not carried out by any action, and which consequently escape accusation. On this account, therefore, in the law concerning leprosy the great and wise Moses speaks of motion and its further progress and diffusion as unclean, but of tranquility as pure. For he says, "If it be diffused over the skin the priest shall pronounce him polluted. But if the bright colour remain in its place and be not diffused, he shall pronounce him Clean." [Leviticus 13:12.] So that, as tranquility is an abiding of evils and of the passions within the soul (for that is what is intimated by leprosy), it is not liable to reproach; but its motion and progress are of necessity open to accusation. There is also something like this in the sacred scriptures, where the account of the creation of the universe is given and it is expressed more distinctly. For it is said to the wicked man, "O thou man, thou hast sinned. Cease to Sin:" [Genesis 4:7.] because sin is condemned with reference to its being in motion and energizing according to wickedness: but tranquility is free from blame, and is even preservative because of its remaining stationary and inactive.

11 These things then, I imagine, have now been sufficiently discussed. Let us now examine the affair of the curses, and see what the case is with respect to them: "Cursed," says the scripture, "is Canaan the child; he shall be a servant to his brethren. Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be a servant unto them." We said some time ago that Shem bears the same name as good, being called not by a special name, but the whole genus of good is his name; in reference to which, the good is the only thing to be named, the only thing worthy of a good report and of glory; as, on the other hand, evil is the thing with no good report and with an evil fame. Of what prayer then does he think the man worthy who has received a share of the nature of good? Surely of some new and extraordinary benediction, which no mortal is able to act up to, and from which, almost as from the ocean itself, abundant and unceasing springs of good things do gush out ever rising high and overflowing; for he calls the Lord and God of the world and of all the things in it, by a particular grace, the private especial God of Shem. And see now how this exceeds all imaginable excess; for the man of whom such a thing is said, almost receives equal honour with the world; for when the same being cares for and superintends them both, it follows of necessity that the two things so superintended must be of equal honour and importance; may we not even say that these gifts are poured out upon him abundantly? For the master and benefactor of the world, perceptible by the external senses, is called by these appellations, Lord and God; but of the Good which is appreciable by the intellect, he is merely called the Saviour and benefactor, not the master or lord; for what is wise is dearer to God than what is slavish. In reference to which principle he speaks clearly in the case of Abraham, saying, "I will not hide from Abraham who is dear to Me." [Genesis 18:7.] But the man who has this inheritance has advanced beyond the bounds of human happiness; for he alone is nobly born, inasmuch as he has God attributed to him as his father, and being his adopted only son, he is not rich, but allwealthy, dwelling luxuriously in abundance and among genuine good things, not worn out by age, but in a state of vigor and continual renewal, such that besides them there is no good; being a man not of fair reputation, but of exceeding glory and receiving praise, not of that bastard sort which proceeds from flattery, but that which is founded on truth. He is the only king, having received from the Ruler of all things an irresistible power, without a rival, and authority over all things. He is the only free man, being emancipated from that most grievous mistress, vain opinion, whom God who makes free has torn down, since she was very proud, from her citadel on high, and has utterly destroyed. What then ought a man to do who has been thought worthy of such great and such exceeding blessings, all united in his case? What ought he to do, except requite his benefactor with words, and hymns, and songs of praise? This is as it seems what is obscurely intimated to him in the words, "Blessed is the Lord God of Shem;" [Genesis 9:26.] since it becomes him who has received the inheritance of God to bless and praise him, since this is the only requital that it is in his power to offer, and since he is utterly unable by any means whatever to do anything further.

12 This, then, is the prayer which Noah offers for Shem; let us now see what kind of prayer it is that he puts forth for Japhet. He says, "May God make Japhet broad, and let him dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be their servant." The object of a man who thinks nothing beautiful but what is good is limited and contracted, for of all the innumerable guides which influence different men he is confined to one alone, namely, to the mind. But the object of a man who attributes good to three different kinds of things, dividing it as it has reference to the soul, and to the body, and to external things, is more extended, inasmuch as he cuts up the good into a number of small and dissimilar fragments; on which account Noah very appropriately prays that breadth may be added to him, in order that he may be able to exercise the virtues of the soul, prudence, and temperance, and all the others, and likewise the vigorous health and acute perceptions of the body, strength and vigor, and the other qualities akin to them; and also the external advantages which contribute to wealth and glory, and to the enjoyment and use of necessary pleasures.

13 Thus much we may say concerning breadth. We must now consider who it is who Noah prays may dwell in the tents of Shem, for he does not say very clearly. One may affirm that he means the Lord of the universe; for what more suitable and beautiful abode in all creation could be found for God beyond a soul completely purified, and thinking nothing beautiful but what is good, and looking upon all things, which are usually held in estimation among men, in the light of subjects and body-guards of that one thing, good? But God is said to dwell in a house, not as in respect of place (for he contains everything and is contained by nothing), but as in a most especial degree exerting his providence and care in favour of that place; for it follows inevitably in the case of every one who is master of a house that he has a particular care for that house. But let every one, on whom the love of God has showered good things, pray to God that he may have as a dweller within him the Ruler of all things, who will raise this small house, the mind, to a great height above the earth, and will connect it with the bounds of heaven. And what is said in the scriptures appears to coincide with this, for Shem is planted as a root of excellence and virtue; and from this root there sprang up a tree bringing forth good fruit, namely, Abraham, of whom the self-instructed and self-teaching offspring, Isaac, was the fruit, by whom again the virtues which are displayed in labour are sown, the practicer of which is Jacob, the man trained and exercised in wrestling with the passions, having the admonitions of angels for his gymnastic trainers. He is the prince of the twelve tribes, which the scriptures call the "kingdom and priesthood of God." [Exodus 19:6.] in reference to their agreement with the original author of their race, Shem, in whose house it was prayed that God might dwell; for a kingdom is the house of a king, being truly sacred, and the only house free from danger of being plundered. Perhaps, indeed, the prayer has reference also to Japhet, that he also may make his abode in the dwellings of Shem, for it is well to pray for one who thinks the good things of the body and external advantages the only goods, that he may come over to the only true good, that of the soul, and may not wander from true opinions all his life, thinking advantages which are common to the most accursed and worst of men, such as health, and riches, and all such things as those, goods, when nature has not given any portion of what is really good to any wicked man; for, by its own nature, what is good can have no participation in what is bad.On this account good is treasured up in the soul alone, in the beauty of which no foolish man has any share. Now, the original progenitor of a virtuous posterity has written that he prayed for this for some of his friends, saying, "Return unto Me," [Genesis 49:22.] in order that, returning to adopt his opinions, and looking upon good alone as beautiful, he might pass by the reports of mistaken men as to the nature of good. Let him, then, dwell in the house of him who says that the good of the soul is the only beautiful thing; passing by and repudiating the abodes of others, by whom corporeal and external advantages are held in honour. And very appropriately has he assigned the fool to be a slave to those who cultivate virtue, that, either by passing under a better government he may live a better life, or if he continue in evil doing he may easily be punished by the independent authority of his masters.

THE END

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THE WORKS OF TITUS FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

(The works of Titus Flavius Josephus belong to the most extra-ordinary books on history ever written. They provide crucial information about the Hebrew-Jewish civilisation and also represent important literary source material for understanding the context of the Dead Sea Scrolls which represent the only untampered Jewish texts that have ever been found. His 4 works are the chief source next to the Bible for the history of the Holy Land, and provide a significant extra-Biblical account of the events in the 1st century AD.

1. War of the Jews, The Jewish War, Jewish Wars, or History of the Jewish War (commonly abbreviated JW, BJ or War; 7 volumes, published one by one between c. 70 and 75 AD).

2. The Life of Flavius Josephus, or Autobiography of Flavius Josephus (abbreviated Life or Vita; 1 volume c. 79-81 AD).

3. The Antiquities of the Jews, The Jewish Antiquities, The Antiquities of the Jews, The Jewish Archaeology (frequently abbreviated AJ, AotJ or Ant. or Antiq.; 20 volumes, published one by one between c. 75 and 94 AD)

4. Flavius Josephus Against Apion, Against Apion, Contra Apionem, or Against the Greeks, on the antiquity of the Jewish people (usually abbreviated CA; 2 volumes, c. 80-95 AD).

5. The Discourse to the Greeks concerning Hades is a short treatise that once was attributed to Flavius Josephus. It is now believed to be the work of Hippolytus of Rome (c. 170 – c. 235 AD).

Manuscripts, textual Criticism, and Editions

For many years, the works of Josephus were largely known in Europe only in an imperfect Latin translation from the original Greek. Only in 1544 did a version of the standard Greek text become available in French, edited by the Dutch humanist Arnoldus Arlenius. The first English translation, by Thomas Lodge, appeared in 1602, with subsequent editions appearing throughout the 17th century. The 1544 Greek edition formed the basis of the 1732 English translation by William Whiston, which achieved enormous popularity in the English-speaking world.

Later editions of the Greek text include that of Benedikt Niese, who made a detailed examination of all the available manuscripts. Henry St. John Thackeray used Niese's version for the Loeb Classical Library edition widely used today. There also exist late Old Slavonic translations of the Greek, but these contain a large number of Christian interpolations.

Impact on History and Archaeology

The works of Josephus include useful material for historians about individuals, groups, customs, and geographical places. Josephus mentions that in his day there were 240 towns and villages scattered across Upper and Lower Galilee, some of which he names. A few of the Jewish customs named by him include the practice of hanging a linen curtain at the entrance to one's house, and the Jewish custom to partake of a Sabbath-day's meal around the sixth-hour of the day (at noon). He notes also that it was permissible for Jewish men to marry many wives (polygamy). His writings provide a significant, extra-Biblical account of the post-Exilic period of the Maccabees, the Hasmonean dynasty, and the rise of Herod the Great. He describes the Sadducees, Jewish High Priests of the time, Pharisees and Essenes, the Herodian Temple, Quirinius' census and the Zealots, and such figures as Pontius Pilate, Herod the Great, Agrippa I and Agrippa II, John the Baptist, James the brother of Jesus, and Jesus (found only in the Slavonic version of the Jewish War). Josephus represents an important source for studies of immediate post-Temple Judaism and the context of early Christianity.

Josephus's writings provide not only the first-known source for many stories considered as Biblical history but they also seem to be extremely truthful, at least in comparison with texts of other historians of that era. A careful reading of Josephus's writings and years of excavation allowed Ehud Netzer, an archaeologist from Hebrew University, to discover what he considered to be the location of Herod's Tomb, after searching for 35 years. It was above aqueducts and pools, at a flattened desert site, halfway up the hill to the Herodium, 12 km south of Jerusalem—as described in Josephus's writings. Above all, according to Joseph Atwill, some of Josephus' texts seem to have been used as blueprint for the gospels. The military campaign of Vespasian and Titus bears striking similarities with Jesus' journey to Jerusalem in the gospels; this includes the exact sequence of events. The crucifixion of Jesus may be based on a similar crucifixion scene in Josephus autobiography. The Gospel of Matthew bears Josephus original name Joseph bar Matathias, the Greek transcription of the Aramaic original Yosip bar Matityahu. The English name Matthew is a curruption. It comes from the earlier Matheu, from Old French Mathieu, from Latin Matthaeus, from Ancient Greek transcriptions Matthaios, Matathias, Matthias or Mathia, from Hebrew Aramaic Mattityahu or Matityahu, meaning: "gift of God".

The Author

Titus Flavius Josephus (37 – c. 96 AD; Aramaic: Yosep bar Matityahu (Hebrew: Yosef ben Matityahu; Greek: Iosepos Matthiou pais), was a first-century Roman-Jewish historian who was born in Jerusalem—then part of Roman Judaea—to a father of priestly descent and a mother who claimed royal ancestry of the Hasmonean family that had ruled Jerusalem a century earlier, and by birthright he was a priest. In Jerusalem he received a superb education, and at the age of 27 (in 64 AD.) he led a delegation to the court of the Roman emperor Nero.

By the radical Messianic Movement, he was forced to take part in the First Jewish–Roman War [66-73 AD]; the Messianic leaders held his family hostage giving him no chance to refuse. They knew that he symphacised with the advanced civilisation of the Roman Empire and the Pharisee party that also supported it. He was appointed General of the northern Jewish forces in Galilee, until surrendering in 67 AD to Roman forces led by Vespasian and Titus after the six-week siege of Jotapata. The radical Messianists subsequently murdered some of Josephus' family members for which he took terrible revenge on them by telling Vespasian and his son General Titus everything they needed to know to win the war and catch the perpetrators. Thousands of them ended on the cross.

Josephus claimed the Jewish Messianic prophecies that initiated the First Jewish–Roman War made reference to Vespasian becoming Emperor of Rome. In response Vespasian decided to keep Josephus as a slave and presumably interpreter. After Vespasian became Emperor in 69 AD, he granted Josephus his freedom, at which time Josephus assumed the emperor's family name of Flavius due to patronage or adoption.

In Rome Josephus resided in an apartment within the emperor's house and devoted much of his time to writing. Vespasian placed Josephus in the library of his palace in Rome where Josephus recorded Jewish history, with special emphasis on the first century AD and the First Jewish–Roman War [66–70 AD], including the Siege of Masada and his autobiography. Soon he was granted Roman citizenship. He became an advisor and became a close friend of Vespasian's son Titus, serving as his translator when Titus led the Siege of Jerusalem in 70 AD. Since the siege proved ineffective at stopping the Jewish revolt, the city's pillaging and the looting and destruction of Herod's Temple [the so-called Second Temple] soon followed. Josephus rose to higher positions. He published one volume of his books after another. He was in charge of the emperor's library and presumably also of the state propaganda in general. He remained loyal also to Domitian, and when he was murdered in 96 AD, Josephus also vanished into oblivion, just like the rest of the Flavian Dynasty.

Josephus either supported the Pharisees or was one of them. Scholars identify Pharisees as members of a sect which is however a misconception. The Pharisees can be described best as political party of the Roman Jews. Roughly 5 to 10% of the population of the entire Roman Empire were Jews. They immigrated to regions of Greek-Roman civilisation between 800 and 400 BC. They became so much integrated that they forgot their Aramaic and Hebrew languages. Proof of this fact lies in the Septuagint, the Bible that has been translated From Hebrew to Greek in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. The Pharisees were pious Jews, following the Laws od Moses, who, at the same time, rejected the stone-age theocracy of the Messianists and embraced the modern achievements of the Greeks and Romans. Scholars often depict Flavius Josephus as traitor to the Jewish course. That is however not acceptable because his writings show that he loved the Greek-Roman civilisaton. He was closely associated to the party of the Pharisees.

The Messianists, meaning the Sadducees [Seduqim / Zaddokites, meaning "sons of Zadok", from sadaq "to be righteous, just], Zealots [Greek: follower], Sicarii [plural form of Sicarius "dagger-man", meaning Jewish jihadists, assassins], and all the other radical groups and parties, loathed the Greek and Romans, their language and their achievements. They wanted, as the Dead Sea Scrolls reported, engulf all non-Jews in an apocalyptic war, carrying it right into the territories of the infidels [sounds like Islam which might have derived from Messianist survivors who fled into the Arabian deserts].

Josephus spoke Greek. That is why he was sent to Rome in the first place. It seems more likely that Josephus was on the Roman payroll already in 63 or 64 AD when he went to Rome to see the emperor. He befriended Poppea Sabina, Nero's wife and empress, who was fond of him. There is the possibility that he went there at the same time as Saul of Tarsos [another Greek speaker, better known as Paul the Apostle]; this conveniently coincided with the murder of James the Just [the brother of Jesus. He was probably also a Pharisee who propagated peaceful co-existence of Greeks and Romans] committed by the radical High Priest Ananias. The fundamental differences between the Roman-haters and the Roman-admirers ensued in a Jewish civil war. It was fought at the same time as the Roman-Jewish War [66-73 AD]. We can assume with some certainty that all events around the Messianists, beginning already with the Herod Dynasty, the Julio-Claudian Dynasty, "the Teacher of Righteousness" [mentioned in the Dead Sea Scrolls], John the Baptist, the High Priests of the The Temple, Jesus the Nazoraean, James the Just and Saul of Tarsos, Ananus ben Ananus, Yosef ben Gurion, Joshua ben Gamla, Eleazar ben Hanania, Simon bar Giora, Jacob ben Sosa, Yohanan of Gush Halav, Eleazar ben Simon, Jacob ben Sosa, Menahem ben Yehuda, Eleazar ben Ya'ir, the Flavian Dynasty, they all knew each other in some ways, and they all contributed to the triggering of the war. After the war, that cost the lives of 1.1 million people, The FlavianJosephus made sure that the Messianic Movement got crushed, their books and papers got destroyed, and in the end, the Pharsees were the only Jewish party that survived in the Roman Empire. They represented the kind of Roman Judaism that we today know as Rabbinic Judaism.)

THE WARS OF THE JEWS

The Books of the History of the Jewish War agains
the Romans [Latin: Bellum Judaicum or De Bello Judaico]
Volume or Book 1 - 7 by Titus Flavius Josephus
Translation: William Whiston, 1737
Estimated Range of Dating: 70-75 A.D.

(The Jewish War or Judean War (in full: The Books of the History of the Jewish War against the Romans, also referred to as The Wars of the Jews; Latin: Bellum Judaicum or De Bello Judaico.) is written in 7 volumes by Titus Flavius Josephus [Yosep bar Matityahu], published one by one between c. 70 and 75 AD.

It starts with the period of the Maccabees and concludes with accounts of the fall of Jerusalem. It opens with a summary of Jewish history from the capture of Jerusalem by the Seleucid ruler Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 168 BC to the first stages of the First Jewish–Roman War (Book 1 and 2). The next five books detail the unfolding of the war, under Roman generals Vespasian and Titus, to the death of the last Sicarii. The book was probably written in Aramaic and then translated into Greek, probably by Josephus himself. The current Greek edition does not appear to be a translation, may be a new edition, a complete re-working of the first writing and likely a considerable expansion.

The sources of the First Jewish–Roman War are: this account of Josephus, the Talmud (Gittin 57b), Midrash Eichah, and the Hebrew inscriptions on the Jewish coins minted, and Book V of Tacitus' Histories. The text also survives in an Old Slavonic version [which might be related to the book called Josippon], as well as Hebrew which contains material not found in the Greek version, and which is lacking other material found in the Greek version.

Together with the account in his Life of some of the same events, it also provides the reader with an overview of Josephus's own part in the events since his return to Jerusalem from a brief visit to Rome in the early 60s (Life 13–17).

In the 7 volumes, he disputes the claim that the Jews served a defeated God and were naturally hostile to Roman civilisation. Rather, he blames the Jewish War on what he calls "unrepresentative and over-zealous fanatics" among the Jews, who led the masses away from their traditional aristocratic leaders (like himself), with disastrous results. Josephus also blames some of the Roman governors of Judaea, representing them as corrupt and incompetent administrators. According to Josephus, the traditional Jew was, should be, and can be a loyal and peace-loving citizen. With his analyses, he was probably correct.)

PREFACE

1 Whereas the war which the Jews made with the Romans hath been the greatest of all those, not only that have been in our times, but, in a manner, of those that ever were heard of; both of those wherein cities have fought against cities, or nations against nations; while some men who were not concerned in the affairs themselves have gotten together vain and contradictory stories by hearsay, and have written them down after a sophistical manner; and while those that were there present have given false accounts of things, and this either out of a humor of flattery to the Romans, or of hatred towards the Jews; and while their writings contain sometimes accusations, and sometimes encomiums, but no where the accurate truth of the facts; I have proposed to myself, for the sake of such as live under the government of the Romans, to translate those books into the Greek tongue, which I formerly composed in the language of our country, and sent to the Upper Barbarians; Joseph, the son of Matthias, by birth a Hebrew, a priest also, and one who at first fought against the Romans myself, and was forced to be present at what was done afterwards, [am the author of this work].

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2 Now at the time when this great concussion of affairs happened, the affairs of the Romans were themselves in great disorder. Those Jews also who were for innovations, then arose when the times were disturbed; they were also in a flourishing condition for strength and riches, insomuch that the affairs of the East were then exceeding tumultuous, while some hoped for gain, and others were afraid of loss in such troubles; for the Jews hoped that all of their nation which were beyond Euphrates would have raised an insurrection together with them. The Gauls also, in the neighbourhood of the Romans, were in motion, and the Geltin were not quiet; but all was in disorder after the death of Nero. And the opportunity now offered induced many to aim at the royal power; and the soldiery affected change, out of the hopes of getting money. I thought it therefore an absurd thing to see the truth falsified in affairs of such great consequence, and to take no notice of it; but to suffer those Greeks and Romans that were not in the wars to be ignorant of these things, and to read either flatteries or fictions, while the Parthians, and the Babylonians, and the remotest Arabians, and those of our nation beyond Euphrates, with the Adiabeni, by my means, knew accurately both whence the war begun, what miseries it brought upon us, and after what manner it ended.

3 It is true, these writers have the confidence to call their accounts histories; wherein yet they seem to me to fail of their own purpose, as well as to relate nothing that is sound. For they have a mind to demonstrate the greatness of the Romans, while they still diminish and lessen the actions of the Jews, as not discerning how it cannot be that those must appear to be great who have only conquered those that were little. Nor are they ashamed to overlook the length of the war, the multitude of the Roman forces who so greatly suffered in it, or the might of the commanders, whose great labours about Jerusalem will be deemed inglorious, if what they achieved be reckoned but a small matter.

4 However, I will not go to the other extreme, out of opposition to those men who extol the Romans nor will I determine to raise the actions of my countrymen too high; but I will prosecute the actions of both parties with accuracy. Yet shall I suit my language to the passions I am under, as to the affairs I describe, and must be allowed to indulge some lamentations upon the miseries undergone by my own country. For that it was a seditious temper of our own that destroyed it, and that they were the tyrants among the Jews who brought the Roman power upon us, who unwillingly attacked us, and occasioned the burning of our holy temple, Titus Caesar, who destroyed it, is himself a witness, who, daring the entire war, pitied the people who were kept under by the seditious, and did often voluntarily delay the taking of the city, and allowed time to the siege, in order to let the authors have opportunity for repentance. But if any one makes an unjust accusation against us, when we speak so passionately about the tyrants, or the robbers, or sorely bewail the misfortunes of our country, let him indulge my affections herein, though it be contrary to the rules for writing history; because it had so come to pass, that our city Jerusalem had arrived at a higher degree of felicity than any other city under the Roman government, and yet at last fell into the sorest of calamities again. Accordingly, it appears to me that the misfortunes of all men, from the beginning of the world, if they be compared to these of the Jews are not so considerable as they were; while the authors of them were not foreigners neither. This makes it impossible for me to contain my lamentations. But if any one be inflexible in his censures of me, let him attribute the facts themselves to the historical part, and the lamentations to the writer himself only.

5 However, I may justly blame the learned men among the Greeks, who, when such great actions have been done in their own times, which, upon the comparison, quite eclipse the old wars, do yet sit as judges of those affairs, and pass bitter censures upon the labours of the best writers of antiquity; which moderns, although they may be superior to the old writers in eloquence, yet are they inferior to them in the execution of what they intended to do. While these also write new histories about the Assyrians and Medes, as if the ancient writers had not described their affairs as they ought to have done; although these be as far inferior to them in abilities as they are different in their notions from them. For of old every one took upon them to write what happened in his own time; where their immediate concern in the actions made their promises of value; and where it must be reproachful to write lies, when they must be known by the readers to be such. But then, an undertaking to preserve the memory Of what hath not been before recorded, and to represent the affairs of one's own time to those that come afterwards, is really worthy of praise and commendation. Now he is to be esteemed to have taken good pains in earnest, not who does no more than change the disposition and order of other men's works, but he who not only relates what had not been related before, but composes an entire body of history of his own: accordingly, I have been at great charges, and have taken very great pains [about this history], though I be a foreigner; and do dedicate this work, as a memorial of great actions, both to the Greeks and to the Barbarians. But for some of our own principal men, their mouths are wide open, and their tongues loosed presently, for gain and law-suits, but quite muzzled up when they are to write history, where they must speak truth and gather facts together with a great deal of pains; and so they leave the writing such histories to weaker people, and to such as are not acquainted with the actions of princes. Yet shall the real truth of historical facts be preferred by us, how much soever it be neglected among the Greek historians.

6 To write concerning the Antiquities of the Jews, who they were [originally], and how they revolted from the Egyptians, and what country they traveled over, and what countries they seized upon afterward, and how they were removed out of them, I think this not to be a fit opportunity, and, on other accounts, also superfluous; and this because many Jews before me have composed the histories of our ancestors very exactly; as have some of the Greeks done it also, and have translated our histories into their own tongue, and have not much mistaken the truth in their histories. But then, where the writers of these affairs and our prophets leave off, thence shall I take my rise, and begin my history. Now as to what concerns that war which happened in my own time, I will go over it very largely, and with all the diligence I am able; but for what preceded mine own age, that I shall run over briefly.

7 [For example, I shall relate] how Antiochus, who was named Epiphanes, took Jerusalem by force, and held it three years and three months, and was then ejected out of the country by the sons of Asamoneus: after that, how their posterity quarreled about the government, and brought upon their settlement the Romans and Pompey; how Herod also, the son of Antipater, dissolved their government, and brought Sosins upon them; as also how our people made a sedition upon Herod's death, while Augustus was the Roman emperor, and Quintilius Varus was in that country; and how the war broke out in the twelfth year of Nero, with what happened to Cestius; and what places the Jews assaulted in a hostile manner in the first sallies of the war.

8 As also [I shall relate] how they built walls about the neighbouring cities; and how Nero, upon Cestius's defeat, was in fear of the entire event of the war, and thereupon made Vespasian general in this war; and how this Vespasian, with the elder of his sons made an expedition into the country of Judea; what was the number of the Roman army that he made use of; and how many of his auxiliaries were cut off in all Galilee; and how he took some of its cities entirely, and by force, and others of them by treaty, and on terms. Now, when I am come so far, I shall describe the good order of the Romans in war, and the discipline of their legions; the amplitude of both the Galilees, with its nature, and the limits of Judea. And, besides this, I shall particularly go over what is peculiar to the country, the lakes and fountains that are in them, and what miseries happened to every city as they were taken; and all this with accuracy, as I saw the things done, or suffered in them. For I shall not conceal any of the calamities I myself endured, since I shall relate them to such as know the truth of them.

9 After this, [I shall relate] how, When the Jews' affairs were become very bad, Nero died, and Vespasian, when he was going to attack Jerusalem, was called back to take the government upon him; what signs happened to him relating to his gaining that government, and what mutations of government then happened at Rome, and how he was unwillingly made emperor by his soldiers; and how, upon his departure to Egypt, to take upon him the government of the empire, the affairs of the Jews became very tumultuous; as also how the tyrants rose up against them, and fell into dissensions among themselves.

10 Moreover, [I shall relate] how Titus marched out of Egypt into Judea the second time; as also how, and where, and how many forces he got together; and in what state the city was, by the means of the seditious, at his coming; what attacks he made, and how many ramparts he cast up; of the three walls that encompassed the city, and of their measures; of the strength of the city, and the structure of the temple and holy house; and besides, the measures of those edifices, and of the altar, and all accurately determined. A description also of certain of their festivals, and seven purifications of purity, and the sacred ministrations of the priests, with the garments of the priests, and of the high priests; and of the nature of the most holy place of the temple; without concealing any thing, or adding any thing to the known truth of things.

11 After this, I shall relate the barbarity of the tyrants towards the people of their own nation, as well as the indulgence of the Romans in sparing foreigners; and how often Titus, out of his desire to preserve the city and the temple, invited the seditious to come to terms of accommodation. I shall also distinguish the sufferings of the people, and their calamities; how far they were afflicted by the sedition, and how far by the famine, and at length were taken. Nor shall I omit to mention the misfortunes of the deserters, nor the punishments inflicted on the captives; as also how the temple was burnt, against the consent of Caesar; and how many sacred things that had been laid up in the temple were snatched out of the fire; the destruction also of the entire city, with the signs and wonders that went before it; and the taking the tyrants captives, and the multitude of those that were made slaves, and into what different misfortunes they were every one distributed. Moreover, what the Romans did to the remains of the wall; and how they demolished the strong holds that were in the country; and how Titus went over the whole country, and settled its affairs; together with his return into Italy, and his triumph.

12 I have comprehended all these things in seven books, and have left no occasion for complaint or accusation to such as have been acquainted with this war; and I have written it down for the sake of those that love truth, but not for those that please themselves [with fictitious relations]. And I will begin my account of these things with what I call my First Chapter.

THE WARS OF THE JEWS VOLUME / BOOK 1

Containing The Interval Of One Hundred And Sixty-Seven Years. From The Taking Of Jerusalem By Antiochus Epiphanes, To The Death Of Herod The Great.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 1

How The City Jerusalem Was Taken, And The Temple Pillaged; [By Antiochus Epiphanes]. As Also Concerning The Actions Of The Maccabees, Matthias And Judas; And Concerning The Death Of Judas.

1 At the same time that Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, had a quarrel with the sixth Ptolemy about his right to the whole country of Syria, a great sedition fell among the men of power in Judea, and they had a contention about obtaining the government; while each of those that were of dignity could not endure to be subject to their equals. However, Onias, one of the high priests, got the better, and cast the sons of Tobias out of the city; who fled to Antiochus, and besought him to make use of them for his leaders, and to make an expedition into Judea. The king being thereto disposed beforehand, complied with them, and came upon the Jews with a great army, and took their city by force, and slew a great multitude of those that favoured Ptolemy, and sent out his soldiers to plunder them without mercy. He also spoiled the temple, and put a stop to the constant practice of offering a daily sacrifice of expiation for three years and six months. But Onias, the high priest, fled to Ptolemy, and received a place from him in the Nomus of Heliopolis, where he built a city resembling Jerusalem, and a temple that was like its temple concerning which we shall speak more in its proper place hereafter.

2 Now Antiochus was not satisfied either with his unexpected taking the city, or with its pillage, or with the great slaughter he had made there; but being overcome with his violent passions, and remembering what he had suffered during the siege, he compelled the Jews to dissolve the laws of their country, and to keep their infants uncircumcised, and to sacrifice swine's flesh upon the altar; against which they all opposed themselves, and the most approved among them were put to death. Bacchides also, who was sent to keep the fortresses, having these wicked commands, joined to his own natural barbarity, indulged all sorts of the extremest wickedness, and tormented the worthiest of the inhabitants, man by man, and threatened their city every day with open destruction, till at length he provoked the poor sufferers by the extremity of his wicked doings to avenge themselves.

3 Accordingly Matthias, the son of Asamoneus, one of the priests who lived in a village called Modin, armed himself, together with his own family, which had five sons of his in it, and slew Bacchides with daggers; and thereupon, out of the fear of the many garrisons [of the enemy], he fled to the mountains; and so many of the people followed him, that he was encouraged to come down from the mountains, and to give battle to Antiochus's generals, when he beat them, and drove them out of Judea. So he came to the government by this his success, and became the prince of his own people by their own free consent, and then died, leaving the government to Judas, his eldest son.

4 Now Judas, supposing that Antiochus would not lie still, gathered an army out of his own countrymen, and was the first that made a league of friendship with the Romans, and drove Epiphanes out of the country when he had made a second expedition into it, and this by giving him a great defeat there; and when he was warmed by this great success, he made an assault upon the garrison that was in the city, for it had not been cut off hitherto; so he ejected them out of the upper city, and drove the soldiers into the lower, which part of the city was called the Citadel. He then got the temple under his power, and cleansed the whole place, and walled it round about, and made new vessels for sacred ministrations, and brought them into the temple, because the former vessels had been profaned. He also built another altar, and began to offer the sacrifices; and when the city had already received its sacred constitution again, Antiochus died; whose son Antiochus succeeded him in the kingdom, and in his hatred to the Jews also.

5 So this Antiochus got together fifty thousand footmen, and five thousand horsemen, and fourscore elephants, and

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marched through Judea into the mountainous parts. He then took Bethsura, which was a small city; but at a place called Bethzacharis, where the passage was narrow, Judas met him with his army. However, before the forces joined battle, Judas's brother Eleazar, seeing the very highest of the elephants adorned with a large tower, and with military trappings of gold to guard him, and supposing that Antiochus himself was upon him, he ran a great way before his own army, and cutting his way through the enemy's troops, he got up to the elephant; yet could he not reach him who seemed to be the king, by reason of his being so high; but still he ran his weapon into the belly of the beast, and brought him down upon himself, and was crushed to death, having done no more than attempted great things, and showed that he preferred glory before life. Now he that governed the elephant was but a private man; and had he proved to be Antiochus, Eleazar had performed nothing more by this bold stroke than that it might appear he chose to die, when he had the bare hope of thereby doing a glorious action; nay, this disappointment proved an omen to his brother [Judas] how the entire battle would end. It is true that the Jews fought it out bravely for a long time, but the king's forces, being superior in number, and having fortune on their side, obtained the victory. And when a great many of his men were slain, Judas took the rest with him, and fled to the toparchy of Gophna. So Antiochus went to Jerusalem, and staid there but a few days, for he wanted provisions, and so he went his way. He left indeed a garrison behind him, such as he thought sufficient to keep the place, but drew the rest of his army off, to take their winter-quarters in Syria.

6 Now, after the king was departed, Judas was not idle; for as many of his own nation came to him, so did he gather those that had escaped out of the battle together, and gave battle again to Antiochus's generals at a village called Adasa; and being too hard for his enemies in the battle, and killing a great number of them, he was at last himself slain also. Nor was it many days afterward that his brother John had a plot laid against him by Antiochus's party, and was slain by them.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 2

Concerning The Successors Of Judas, Who Were Jonathan And Simon, And John Hyrcanus.

1 When Jonathan, who was Judas's brother, succeeded him, he behaved himself with great circumspection in other respects, with relation to his own people; and he corroborated his authority by preserving his friendship with the Romans. He also made a league with Antiochus the son. Yet was not all this sufficient for his security; for the tyrant Trypho, who was guardian to Antiochus's son, laid a plot against him; and besides that, endeavored to take off his friends, and caught Jonathan by a wile, as he was going to Ptolemais to Antiochus, with a few persons in his company, and put him in bonds, and then made an expedition against the Jews; but when he was afterward driven away by Simon, who was Jonathan's brother, and was enraged at his defeat, he put Jonathan to death.

2 However, Simon managed the public affairs after a courageous manner, and took Gazara, and Joppa, and Jamnia, which were cities in his neighbourhood. He also got the garrison under, and demolished the citadel. He was afterward an auxiliary to Antiochus, against Trypho, whom he besieged in Dora, before he went on his expedition against the Medes; yet could not he make the king ashamed of his ambition, though he had assisted him in killing Trypho; for it was not long ere Antiochus sent Cendebeus his general with an army to lay waste Judea, and to subdue Simon; yet he, though he was now in years, conducted the war as if he were a much younger man. He also sent his sons with a band of strong men against Antiochus, while he took part of the army himself with him, and fell upon him from another quarter. He also laid a great many men in ambush in many places of the mountains, and was superior in all his attacks upon them; and when he had been conqueror after so glorious a manner, he was made high priest, and also freed the Jews from the dominion of the Macedonians, after one hundred and seventy years of the empire [of Seleucus].

3 This Simon also had a plot laid against him, and was slain at a feast by his son-in-law Ptolemy, who put his wife and two sons into prison, and sent some persons to kill John, who was also called Hyrcanus. But when the young man was informed of their coming beforehand, he made haste to get to the city, as having a very great confidence in the people there, both on account of the memory of the glorious actions of his father, and of the hatred they could not but bear to the injustice of Ptolemy. Ptolemy also made an attempt to get into the city by another gate; but was repelled by the people, who had just then admitted of Hyrcanus; so he retired presently to one of the fortresses that were about Jericho, which was called Dagon. Now when Hyrcanus had received the high priesthood, which his father had held before, and had offered sacrifice to God, he made great haste to attack Ptolemy, that he might afford relief to his mother and brethren.

4 So he laid siege to the fortress, and was superior to Ptolemy in other respects, but was overcome by him as to the just affection [he had for his relations]; for when Ptolemy was distressed, he brought forth his mother, and his brethren, and set them upon the wall, and beat them with rods in every body's sight, and threatened, that unless he would go away immediately, he would throw them down headlong; at which sight Hyrcanus's commiseration and concern were too hard for his anger. But his mother was not dismayed, neither at the stripes she received, nor at the death with which she was threatened; but stretched out her hands, and prayed her son not to be moved with the injuries that she suffered to spare the wretch; since it was to her better to die by the means of Ptolemy, than to live ever so long, provided he might be punished for the injuries he done to their family. Now John's case was this: When he considered the courage of his mother, and heard her entreaty, he set about his attacks; but when he saw her beaten, and torn to pieces with the stripes, he grew feeble, and was entirely overcome by his affections. And as the siege was delayed by this means, the year of rest came on, upon which the Jews rest every seventh year as they do on every seventh day. On this year, therefore, Ptolemy was freed from being besieged, and slew the brethren of John, with their mother, and fled to Zeno, who was also called Cotylas, who was tyrant of Philadelphia.

5 And now Antiochus was so angry at what he had suffered from Simon, that he made an expedition into Judea, and sat down before Jerusalem and besieged Hyrcanus; but Hyrcanus opened the sepulcher of David, who was the richest of all kings, and took thence about three thousand talents in money, and induced Antiochus, by the promise of three thousand talents, to raise the siege. Moreover, he was the first of the Jews that had money enough, and began to hire foreign auxiliaries also.

6 However, at another time, when Antiochus was gone upon an expedition against the Medes, and so gave Hyrcanus an opportunity of being revenged upon him, he immediately made an attack upon the cities of Syria, as thinking, what proved to be the case with them, that he should find them empty of good troops. So he took Medaba and Samea, with the towns in their neighbourhood, as also Shechem, and Gerizzim; and besides these, [he subdued] the nation of the Cutheans, who dwelt round about that temple which was built in imitation of the temple at Jerusalem; he also took a great many other cities of Idumea, with Adoreon and Marissa.

7 He also proceeded as far as Samaria, where is now the city Sebaste, which was built by Herod the king, and encompassed it all round with a wall, and set his sons, Aristobulus and Antigonus, over the siege; who pushed it on so hard, that a famine so far prevailed within the city, that they were forced to eat what never was esteemed food. They also invited Antiochus, who was called Cyzicenus, to come to their assistance; whereupon he got ready, and complied with their invitation, but was beaten by Aristobulus and Antigonus; and indeed he was pursued as far as Scythopolis by these brethren, and fled away from them. So they returned back to Samaria, and shut the multitude again within the wall; and when they had taken the city, they demolished it, and made slaves of its inhabitants. And as they had still great success in their undertakings, they did not suffer their zeal to cool, but marched with an army as far as Scythopolis, and made an incursion upon it, and laid waste all the country that lay within Mount Carmel.

8 But then these successes of John and of his sons made them be envied, and occasioned a sedition in the country; and many there were who got together, and would not be at rest till they brake out into open war, in which war they were beaten. So John lived the rest of his life very happily, and administered the government after a most extraordinary manner, and this for thirty-three entire years together. He died, leaving five sons behind him. He was certainly a very happy man, and afforded no occasion to have any complaint made of fortune on his account. He it was who alone had three of the most desirable things in the world,—the government of his nation, and the high priesthood, and the gift of prophecy. For the Deity conversed with him, and he was not ignorant of any thing that was to come afterward; insomuch that he foresaw and foretold that his two eldest sons would not continue masters of the government; and it will highly deserve our narration to describe their catastrophe, and how far inferior these men were to their father in felicity.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 3

How Aristobulus Was The First That Put A Diadem About His Head; And After He Had Put His Mother And Brother To Death, Died Himself, When He Had Reigned No More Than A Year.

1 For after the death of their father, the elder of them, Aristobulus, changed the government into a kingdom, and was the first that put a diadem upon his head, four hundred seventy and one years and three months after our people came down into this country, when they were set free from the Babylonian slavery. Now, of his brethren, he appeared to have an affection for Antigonus, who was next to him, and made him his equal; but for the rest, he bound them, and put them in prison. He also put his mother in bonds, for her contesting the government with him; for John had left her to be the governess of public affairs. He also proceeded to that degree of barbarity as to cause her to be pined to death in prison.

2 But vengeance circumvented him in the affair of his brother Antigonus, whom he loved, and whom he made his partner in the kingdom; for he slew him by the means of the calumnies which ill men about the palace contrived against him. At first, indeed, Aristobulus would not believe their reports, partly out of the affection he had for his brother, and partly because he thought that a great part of these tales were owing to the envy of their relaters: however, as Antigonus came once in a splendid manner from the army to that festival, wherein our ancient custom is to make tabernacles for God, it happened, in those days, that Aristobulus was sick, and that, at the conclusion of the feast, Antigonus came up to it, with his armed men about him; and this when he was adorned in the finest manner possible; and that, in a great measure, to pray to God on the behalf of his brother. Now at this very time it was that these ill men came to the king, and told him in what a pompous manner the armed men came, and with what insolence Antigonus marched, and that such his insolence was too great for a private person, and that accordingly he was come with a great band of men to kill him; for that he could not endure this bare enjoyment of royal honour, when it was in his power to take the kingdom himself.

3 Now Aristobulus, by degrees, and unwillingly, gave credit to these accusations; and accordingly he took care not to discover his suspicion openly, though he provided to be secure against any accidents; so he placed the guards of his body in a certain dark subterranean passage; for he lay sick in a place called formerly the Citadel, though afterwards its name was changed to Antonia; and he gave orders that if Antigonus came unarmed, they should let him alone; but if he came to him in his armour, they should kill him. He also sent some to let him know beforehand that he should come unarmed. But, upon this occasion, the queen very cunningly contrived the matter with those that plotted his ruin, for she persuaded those that were sent to conceal the king's message; but to tell Antigonus how his brother had heard he had got a very the suit of armour made with fine martial ornaments, in Galilee; and because his present sickness hindered him from coming and seeing all that finery, he very much desired to see him now in his armour; because, said he, in a little time thou art going away from me.

4 As soon as Antigonus heard this, the good temper of his brother not allowing him to suspect any harm from him, he came along with his armour on, to show it to his brother; but when he was going along that dark passage which was called Strato's Tower, he was slain by the body guards, and became an eminent instance how calumny destroys all good-will and natural affection, and how none of our good affections are strong enough to resist envy perpetually.

5 And truly any one would be surprised at Judas upon this occasion. He was of the sect of the Essens, and had never failed or deceived men in his predictions before. Now this man saw Antigonus as he was passing along by the temple, and cried out to his acquaintance, [they were not a few who attended upon him as his scholars,] "O strange!" said he, "it is good for me to die now, since truth is dead before me, and somewhat that I have foretold hath proved false; for this Antigonus is this day alive, who ought to have died this day; and the place where he ought to be slain, according to that fatal decree, was Strato's Tower, which is at the distance of six hundred furlongs from this place; and yet four hours of this day are over already; which point of time renders the prediction impossible to be fill filled." And when the old man had said this, he was dejected in his mind, and so continued. But in a little time news came that Antigonus was slain in a subterraneous place, which was itself also called Strato's Tower, by the same name with that Cesarea which lay by the sea-side; and this ambiguity it was which caused the prophet's disorder.

6 Hereupon Aristobulus repented of the great crime he had been guilty of, and this gave occasion to the increase of his distemper. He also grew worse and worse, and his soul was constantly disturbed at the thoughts of what he had done, till his very bowels being torn to pieces by the intolerable grief he was under, he threw up a great quantity of blood. And as one of those servants that attended him carried out that blood, he, by some supernatural providence, slipped and fell down in the very place where Antigonus had been slain; and so he spilt some of the murderer's blood upon the spots of the blood of him that had been murdered, which still appeared. Hereupon a lamentable cry arose among the spectators, as if the servant had spilled the blood on purpose in that place; and as the king heard that cry, he inquired what was the cause of it; and while nobody durst tell him, he pressed them so much the more to let him know what was the matter; so at length, when he had threatened them, and forced them to speak out, they told; whereupon he burst into tears, and groaned, and said, "So I perceive I am not like to escape the all-seeing eye of God, as to the great crimes I have committed; but the vengeance of the blood of my kinsman pursues me hastily. O thou most impudent body! how long wilt thou retain a soul that ought

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to die on account of that punishment it ought to suffer for a mother and a brother slain! How long shall I myself spend my blood drop by drop? let them take it all at once; and let their ghosts no longer be disappointed by a few parcels of my bowels offered to them." As soon as he had said these words, he presently died, when he had reigned no longer than a year.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 4

What Actions Were Done By Alexander Janneus, Who Reigned Twenty-Seven Years.

1 And now the king's wife loosed the king's brethren, and made Alexander king, who appeared both elder in age, and more moderate in his temper than the rest; who, when he came to the government, slew one of his brethren, as affecting to govern himself; but had the other of them in great esteem, as loving a quiet life, without meddling with public affairs.

2 Now it happened that there was a battle between him and Ptolemy, who was called Lathyrus, who had taken the city Asochis. He indeed slew a great many of his enemies, but the victory rather inclined to Ptolemy. But when this Ptolemy was pursued by his mother Cleopatra, and retired into Egypt, Alexander besieged Gadara, and took it; as also he did Amathus, which was the strongest of all the fortresses that were about Jordan, and therein were the most precious of all the possessions of Theodorus, the son of Zeno. Whereupon Theodopus marched against him, and took what belonged to himself as well as the king's baggage, and slew ten thousand of the Jews. However, Alexander recovered this blow, and turned his force towards the maritime parts, and took Raphia and Gaza, with Anthedon also, which was afterwards called Agrippias by king Herod.

3 But when he had made slaves of the citizens of all these cities, the nation of the Jews made an insurrection against him at a festival; for at those feasts seditions are generally begun; and it looked as if he should not be able to escape the plot they had laid for him, had not his foreign auxiliaries, the Pisidians and Cilicians, assisted him; for as to the Syrians, he never admitted them among his mercenary troops, on account of their innate enmity against the Jewish nation. And when he had slain more than six thousand of the rebels, he made an incursion into Arabia; and when he had taken that country, together with the Gileadires and Moabites, he enjoined them to pay him tribute, and returned to Areathus; and as Theodorus was surprised at his great success, he took the fortress, and demolished it.

4 However, when he fought with Obodas, king of the Arabians, who had laid an ambush for him near Golan, and a plot against him, he lost his entire army, which was crowded together in a deep valley, and broken to pieces by the multitude of camels. And when he had made his escape to Jerusalem, he provoked the multitude, which hated him before, to make an insurrection against him, and this on account of the greatness of the calamity that he was under. However, he was then too hard for them; and, in the several battles that were fought on both sides, he slew not fewer than fifty thousand of the Jews in the interval of six years. Yet had he no reason to rejoice in these victories, since he did but consume his own kingdom; till at length he left off fighting, and endeavored to come to a composition with them, by talking with his subjects. But this mutability and irregularity of his conduct made them hate him still more. And when he asked them why they so hated him, and what he should do in order to appease them, they said, by killing himself; for that it would be then all they could do to be reconciled to him, who had done such tragical things to them, even when he was dead. At the same time they invited Demetrius, who was called Eucerus, to assist them; and as he readily complied with their requests, in hopes of great advantages, and came with his army, the Jews joined with those their auxiliaries about Shechem.

5 Yet did Alexander meet both these forces with one thousand horsemen, and eight thousand mercenaries that were on foot. He had also with him that part of the Jews which favoured him, to the number of ten thousand; while the adverse party had three thousand horsemen, and fourteen thousand footmen. Now, before they joined battle, the kings made proclamation, and endeavored to draw off each other's soldiers, and make them revolt; while Demetrius hoped to induce Alexander's mercenaries to leave him, and Alexander hoped to induce the Jews that were with Demetrius to leave him. But since neither the Jews would leave off their rage, nor the Greeks prove unfaithful, they came to an engagement, and to a close fight with their weapons. In which battle Demetrius was the conqueror, although Alexander's mercenaries showed the greatest exploits, both in soul and body. Yet did the upshot of this battle prove different from what was expected, as to both of them; for neither did those that invited Demetrius to come to them continue firm to him, though he was conqueror; and six thousand Jews, out of pity to the change of Alexander's condition, when he was fled to the mountains, came over to him. Yet could not Demetrius bear this turn of affairs; but supposing that Alexander was already become a match for him again, and that all the nation would [at length] run to him, he left the country, and went his way.

6 However, the rest of the [Jewish] multitude did not lay aside their quarrels with him, when the [foreign] auxiliaries were gone; but they had a perpetual war with Alexander, until he had slain the greatest part of them, and driven the rest into the city Berneselis; and when he had demolished that city, he carried the captives to Jerusalem. Nay, his rage was grown so extravagant, that his barbarity proceeded to the degree of impiety; for when he had ordered eight hundred to be hung upon crosses in the midst of the city, he had the throats of their wives and children cut before their eyes; and these executions he saw as he was drinking and lying down with his concubines. Upon which so deep a surprise seized on the people, that eight thousand of his opposers fled away the very next night, out of all Judea, whose flight was only terminated by Alexander's death; so at last, though not till late, and with great difficulty, he, by such actions, procured quiet to his kingdom, and left off fighting any more.

7 Yet did that Antiochus, who was also called Dionysius, become an origin of troubles again. This man was the brother of Demetrius, and the last of the race of the Seleucidae. Alexander was afraid of him, when he was marching against the Arabians; so he cut a deep trench between Antipatris, which was near the mountains, and the shores of Joppa; he also erected a high wall before the trench, and built wooden towers, in order to hinder any sudden approaches. But still he was not able to exclude Antiochus, for he burnt the towers, and filled up the trenches, and marched on with his army. And as he looked upon taking his revenge on Alexander, for endeavoring to stop him, as a thing of less consequence, he marched directly against the Arabians, whose king retired into such parts of the country as were fittest for engaging the enemy, and then on the sudden made his horse turn back, which were in number ten thousand, and fell upon Antiochus's army while they were in disorder, and a terrible battle ensued. Antiochus's troops, so long as he was alive, fought it out, although a mighty slaughter was made among them by the Arabians; but when he fell, for he was in the forefront, in the utmost danger, in rallying his troops, they all gave ground, and the greatest part of his army were destroyed, either in the action or the flight; and for the rest, who fled to the village of Cana, it happened that they were all consumed by want of necessaries, a few only excepted.

8 About this time it was that the people of Damascus, out of their hatred to Ptolemy, the son of Menhens, invited Aretas [to take the government], and made him king of Celesyria. This man also made an expedition against Judea, and beat Alexander in battle; but afterwards retired by mutual agreement. But Alexander, when he had taken Pella, marched to Gerasa again, out of the covetous desire he had of Theodorus's possessions; and when he had built a triple wall about the garrison, he took the place by force. He also demolished Golan, and Seleucia, and what was called the Valley of Antiochus; besides which, he took the strong fortress of Gamala, and stripped Demetrius, who was governor therein, of what he had, on account of the many crimes laid to his charge, and then returned into Judea, after he had been three whole years in this expedition. And now he was kindly received of the nation, because of the good success he had. So when he was at rest from war, he fell into a distemper; for he was afflicted with a quartan ague, and supposed that, by exercising himself again in martial affairs, he should get rid of this distemper; but by making such expeditions at unseasonable times, and forcing his body to undergo greater hardships than it was able to bear, he brought himself to his end. He died, therefore, in the midst of his troubles, after he had reigned seven and twenty years.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 5

Alexandra Reigns Nine Years, During Which Time The Pharisees Were The Real Rulers Of The Nation.

1 Now Alexander left the kingdom to Alexandra his wife, and depended upon it that the Jews would now very readily submit to her, because she had been very averse to such cruelty as he had treated them with, and had opposed his violation of their laws, and had thereby got the good-will of the people. Nor was he mistaken as to his expectations; for this woman kept the dominion, by the opinion that the people had of her piety; for she chiefly studied the ancient customs of her country, and cast those men out of the government that offended against their holy laws. And as she had two sons by Alexander, she made Hyrcanus the elder high priest, on account of his age, as also, besides that, on account of his inactive temper, no way disposing him to disturb the public. But she retained the younger, Aristobulus, with her as a private person, by reason of the warmth of his temper.

2 And now the Pharisees joined themselves to her, to assist her in the government. These are a certain sect of the Jews that appear more religious than others, and seem to interpret the laws more accurately. low Alexandra hearkened to them to an extraordinary degree, as being herself a woman of great piety towards God. But these Pharisees artfully insinuated themselves into her favour by little and little, and became themselves the real administrators of the public affairs: they banished and reduced whom they pleased; they bound and loosed [men] at their pleasure; and, to say all at once, they had the enjoyment of the royal authority, whilst the expenses and the difficulties of it belonged to Alexandra. She was a sagacious woman in the management of great affairs, and intent always upon gathering soldiers together; so that she increased the army the one half, and procured a great body of foreign troops, till her own nation became not only very powerful at home, but terrible also to foreign potentates, while she governed other people, and the Pharisees governed her.

3 Accordingly, they themselves slew Diogenes, a person of figure, and one that had been a friend to Alexander; and accused him as having assisted the king with his advice, for crucifying the eight hundred men [before mentioned.] They also prevailed with Alexandra to put to death the rest of those who had irritated him against them. Now she was so superstitious as to comply with their desires, and accordingly they slew whom they pleased themselves. But the principal of those that were in danger fled to Aristobulus, who persuaded his mother to spare the men on account of their dignity, but to expel them out of the city, unless she took them to be innocent; so they were suffered to go unpunished, and were dispersed all over the country. But when Alexandra sent out her army to Damascus, under pretense that Ptolemy was always oppressing that city, she got possession of it; nor did it make any considerable resistance. She also prevailed with Tigranes, king of Armenia, who lay with his troops about Ptolemais, and besieged Cleopatra, by agreements and presents, to go away. Accordingly, Tigranes soon arose from the siege, by reason of those domestic tumults which happened upon Lucullus's expedition into Armenia.

4 In the mean time, Alexandra fell sick, and Aristobulus, her younger son, took hold of this opportunity, with his domestics, of which he had a great many, who were all of them his friends, on account of the warmth of their youth, and got possession of all the fortresses. He also used the sums of money he found in them to get together a number of mercenary soldiers, and made himself king; and besides this, upon Hyrcanus's complaint to his mother, she compassionated his case, and put Aristobulus's wife and sons under restraint in Antonia, which was a fortress that joined to the north part of the temple. It was, as I have already said, of old called the Citadel; but afterwards got the name of Antonia, when Antony was [lord of the East], just as the other cities, Sebaste and Agrippias, had their names changed, and these given them from Sebastus and Agrippa. But Alexandra died before she could punish Aristobulus for his disinheriting his brother, after she had reigned nine years.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 6

When Hyrcanus Who Was Alexander's Heir, Receded From His Claim To The Crown Aristobulus Is Made King; And Afterward The Same Hyrcanus By The Means Of Antipater, Is Brought Back By Abetas. At Last Pompey Is Made The Arbitrator Of The Dispute Between The Brothers.

1 Now Hyrcanus was heir to the kingdom, and to him did his mother commit it before she died; but Aristobulus was superior to him in power and magnanimity; and when there was a battle between them, to decide the dispute about the kingdom, near Jericho, the greatest part deserted Hyrcanus, and went over to Aristobulus; but Hyrcanus, with those of his party who staid with him, fled to Antonia, and got into his power the hostages that might be for his preservation [which were Aristobulus's wife, with her children]; but they came to an agreement before things should come to extremities, that Aristobulus should be king, and Hyrcanus should resign that up, but retain all the rest of his dignities, as being the king's brother. Hereupon they were reconciled to each other in the temple, and embraced one another in a very kind manner, while the people stood round about them; they also changed their houses, while Aristobulus went to the royal palace, and Hyrcanus retired to the house of Aristobulus.

2 Now those other people which were at variance with Aristobulus were afraid upon his unexpected obtaining the government; and especially this concerned Antipater whom Aristobulus hated of old. He was by birth an Idumean, and one of the principal of that nation, on account of his ancestors and riches, and other authority to him belonging: he also persuaded Hyrcanus to fly to Aretas, the king of Arabia, and to lay claim to the kingdom; as also he persuaded Aretas to receive Hyrcanus, and to bring him back to his kingdom: he also cast great reproaches upon Aristobulus, as to his morals, and gave great commendations to Hyrcanus, and exhorted Aretas to receive him, and told him how becoming a filing it would be for him, who ruled so great a kingdom, to afford his assistance to such as are injured; alleging that Hyrcanus was treated unjustly, by being deprived of that dominion which belonged to him by the prerogative of his birth. And when he had predisposed them both to do what he would have them, he took Hyrcanus by night, and ran away from the city, and, continuing his flight with great swiftness, he escaped to the place called Petra, which is the royal seat of the king of Arabia, where he put Hyrcanus into Aretas's hand; and by discoursing much with him, and gaining upon him with many

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presents, he prevailed with him to give him an army that might restore him to his kingdom. This army consisted of fifty thousand footmen and horsemen, against which Aristobulus was not able to make resistance, but was deserted in his first onset, and was driven to Jerusalem; he also had been taken at first by force, if Scaurus, the Roman general, had not come and seasonably interposed himself, and raised the siege. This Scaurus was sent into Syria from Armenia by Pompey the Great, when he fought against Tigranes; so Scaurus came to Damascus, which had been lately taken by Metellus and Lollius, and caused them to leave the place; and, upon his hearing how the affairs of Judea stood, he made haste thither as to a certain booty.

3 As soon, therefore, as he was come into the country, there came ambassadors from both the brothers, each of them desiring his assistance; but Aristobulus's three hundred talents had more weight with him than the justice of the cause; which sum, when Scaurus had received, he sent a herald to Hyrcanus and the Arabians, and threatened them with the resentment of the Romans and of Pompey, unless they would raise the siege. So Aretas was terrified, and retired out of Judea to Philadelphia, as did Scaurus return to Damascus again; nor was Aristobulus satisfied with escaping [out of his brother's hands,] but gathered all his forces together, and pursued his enemies, and fought them at a place called Papyron, and slew about six thousand of them, and, together with them Antipater's brother Phalion.

4 When Hyrcanus and Antipater were thus deprived of their hopes from the Arabians, they transferred the same to their adversaries; and because Pompey had passed through Syria, and was come to Damascus, they fled to him for assistance; and, without any bribes, they made the same equitable pleas that they had used to Aretas, and besought him to hate the violent behavior of Aristobulus, and to bestow the kingdom on him to whom it justly belonged, both on account of his good character and on account of his superiority in age. However, neither was Aristobulus wanting to himself in this case, as relying on the bribes that Scaurus had received: he was also there himself, and adorned himself after a manner the most agreeable to royalty that he was able. But he soon thought it beneath him to come in such a servile manner, and could not endure to serve his own ends in a way so much more abject than he was used to; so he departed from Diospolis.

5 At this his behavior Pompey had great indignation; Hyrcanus also and his friends made great intercessions to Pompey; so he took not only his Roman forces, but many of his Syrian auxiliaries, and marched against Aristobulus. But when he had passed by Pella and Scythopolis, and was come to Corea, where you enter into the country of Judea, when you go up to it through the Mediterranean parts, he heard that Aristobulus was fled to Alexandrium, which is a strong hold fortified with the utmost magnificence, and situated upon a high mountain; and he sent to him, and commanded him to come down. Now his inclination was to try his fortune in a battle, since he was called in such an imperious manner, rather than to comply with that call. However, he saw the multitude were in great fear, and his friends exhorted him to consider what the power of the Romans was, and how it was irresistible; so he complied with their advice, and came down to Pompey; and when he had made a long apology for himself, and for the justness of his cause in taking the government, he returned to the fortress. And when his brother invited him again [to plead his cause], he came down and spake about the justice of it, and then went away without any hinderance from Pompey; so he was between hope and fear. And when he came down, it was to prevail with Pompey to allow him the government entirely; and when he went up to the citadel, it was that he might not appear to debase himself too low. However, Pompey commanded him to give up his fortified places, and forced him to write to every one of their governors to yield them up; they having had this charge given them, to obey no letters but what were of his own hand-writing. Accordingly he did what he was ordered to do; but had still an indignation at what was done, and retired to Jerusalem, and prepared to fight with Pompey.

6 But Pompey did not give him time to make any preparations [for a siege], but followed him at his heels; he was also obliged to make haste in his attempt, by the death of Mithridates, of which he was informed about Jericho. Now here is the most fruitful country of Judea, which bears a vast number of palm trees besides the balsam tree, whose sprouts they cut with sharp stones, and at the incisions they gather the juice, which drops down like tears. So Pompey pitched his camp in that place one night, and then hasted away the next morning to Jerusalem; but Aristobulus was so affrighted at his approach, that he came and met him by way of supplication. He also promised him money, and that he would deliver up both himself and the city into his disposal, and thereby mitigated the anger of Pompey. Yet did not he perform any of the conditions he had agreed to; for Aristobulus's party would not so much as admit Gabinius into the city, who was sent to receive the money that he had promised.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 7

How Pompey Had The City Of Jerusalem Delivered Up To Him But Took The Temple By Force. How He Went Into The Holy Of Holies; As Also What Were His Other Exploits In Judea.

1 At this treatment Pompey was very angry, and took Aristobulus into custody. And when he was come to the city, he looked about where he might make his attack; for he saw the walls were so firm, that it would be hard to overcome them; and that the valley before the walls was terrible; and that the temple, which was within that valley, was itself encompassed with a very strong wall, insomuch that if the city were taken, that temple would be a second place of refuge for the enemy to retire to.

2 Now as he was long in deliberating about this matter, a sedition arose among the people within the city; Aristobulus's party being willing to fight, and to set their king at liberty, while the party of Hyrcanus were for opening the gates to Pompey; and the dread people were in occasioned these last to be a very numerous party, when they looked upon the excellent order the Roman soldiers were in. So Aristobulus's party was worsted, and retired into the temple, and cut off the communication between the temple and the city, by breaking down the bridge that joined them together, and prepared to make an opposition to the utmost; but as the others had received the Romans into the city, and had delivered up the palace to him, Pompey sent Piso, one of his great officers, into that palace with an army, who distributed a garrison about the city, because he could not persuade any one of those that had fled to the temple to come to terms of accommodation; he then disposed all things that were round about them so as might favour their attacks, as having Hyrcanus's party very ready to afford them both counsel and assistance.

3 But Pompey himself filled up the ditch that was oil the north side of the temple, and the entire valley also, the army itself being obliged to carry the materials for that purpose. And indeed it was a hard thing to fill up that valley, by reason of its immense depth, especially as the Jews used all the means possible to repel them from their superior situation; nor had the Romans succeeded in their endeavors, had not Pompey taken notice of the seventh days, on which the Jews abstain from all sorts of work on a religious account, and raised his bank, but restrained his soldiers from fighting on those days; for the Jews only acted defensively on sabbath days. But as soon as Pompey had filled up the valley, he erected high towers upon the bank, and brought those engines which they had fetched from Tyre near to the wall, and tried to batter it down; and the slingers of stones beat off those that stood above them, and drove them away; but the towers on this side of the city made very great resistance, and were indeed extraordinary both for largeness and magnificence.

4 Now here it was that, upon the many hardships which the Romans underwent, Pompey could not but admire not only at the other instances of the Jews' fortitude, but especially that they did not at all intermit their religious services, even when they were encompassed with darts on all sides; for, as if the city were in full peace, their daily sacrifices and purifications, and every branch of their religious worship, was still performed to God with the utmost exactness. Nor indeed when the temple was actually taken, and they were every day slain about the altar, did they leave off the instances of their Divine worship that were appointed by their law; for it was in the third month of the siege before the Romans could even with great difficulty overthrow one of the towers, and get into the temple. Now he that first of all ventured to get over the wall, was Faustus Cornelius the son of Sylla; and next after him were two centurions, Furius and Fabius; and every one of these was followed by a cohort of his own, who encompassed the Jews on all sides, and slew them, some of them as they were running for shelter to the temple, and others as they, for a while, fought in their own defense.

5 And now did many of the priests, even when they saw their enemies assailing them with swords in their hands, without any disturbance, go on with their Divine worship, and were slain while they were offering their drink-offerings, and burning their incense, as preferring the duties about their worship to God before their own preservation. The greatest part of them were slain by their own countrymen, of the adverse faction, and an innumerable multitude threw themselves down precipices; nay, some there were who were so distracted among the insuperable difficulties they were under, that they set fire to the buildings that were near to the wall, and were burnt together with them. Now of the Jews were slain twelve thousand; but of the Romans very few were slain, but a greater number was wounded.

6 But there was nothing that affected the nation so much, in the calamities they were then under, as that their holy place, which had been hitherto seen by none, should be laid open to strangers; for Pompey, and those that were about him, went into the temple itself whither it was not lawful for any to enter but the high priest, and saw what was reposited therein, the candlestick with its lamps, and the table, and the pouring vessels, and the censers, all made entirely of gold, as also a great quantity of spices heaped together, with two thousand talents of sacred money. Yet did not he touch that money, nor any thing else that was there reposited; but he commanded the ministers about the temple, the very next day after he had taken it, to cleanse it, and to perform their accustomed sacrifices. Moreover, he made Hyrcanus high priest, as one that not only in other respects had showed great alacrity, on his side, during the siege, but as he had been the means of hindering the multitude that was in the country from fighting for Aristobulus, which they were otherwise very ready to have done; by which means he acted the part of a good general, and reconciled the people to him more by benevolence than by terror. Now, among the Captives, Aristobulus's father-in-law was taken, who was also his uncle: so those that were the most guilty he punished with decollatlon; but rewarded Faustus, and those with him that had fought so bravely, with glorious presents, and laid a tribute upon the country, and upon Jerusalem itself.

7 He also took away from the nation all those cities that they had formerly taken, and that belonged to Celesyria, and made them subject to him that was at that time appointed to be the Roman president there; and reduced Judea within its proper bounds. He also rebuilt Gadara, that had been demolished by the Jews, in order to gratify one Demetrius, who was of Gadara, and was one of his own freed-men. He also made other cities free from their dominion, that lay in the midst of the country, such, I mean, as they had not demolished before that time; Hippos, and Scythopolis, as also Pella, and Samaria, and Marissa; and besides these Ashdod, and Jamnia, and Arethusa; and in like manner dealt he with the maritime cities, Gaza, and Joppa, and Dora, and that which was anciently called Strato's Tower, but was afterward rebuilt with the most magnificent edifices, and had its name changed to Cesarea, by king Herod. All which he restored to their own citizens, and put them under the province of Syria; which province, together with Judea, and the countries as far as Egypt and Euphrates, he committed to Scaurus as their governor, and gave him two legions to support him; while he made all the haste he could himself to go through Cilicia, in his way to Rome, having Aristobulus and his children along with him as his captives. They were two daughters and two sons; the one of which sons, Alexander, ran away as he was going; but the younger, Antigonus, with his sisters, were carried to Rome.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 8

Alexander, The Son Of Aristobulus, Who Ran Away From Pompey, Makes An Expedition Against Hyrcanus; But Being Overcome By Gabinius He Delivers Up The Fortresses To Him. After This Aristobulus Escapes From Rome And Gathers An Army Together; But Being Beaten By The Romans, He Is Brought Back To Rome; With Other Things Relating To Gabinius, Crassus And Cassius.

1 In the mean time, Scaurus made an expedition into Arabia, but was stopped by the difficulty of the places about Petra. However, he laid waste the country about Pella, though even there he was under great hardship; for his army was afflicted with famine. In order to supply which want, Hyrcanus afforded him some assistance, and sent him provisions by the means of Antipater; whom also Scaurus sent to Aretas, as one well acquainted with him, to induce him to pay him money to buy his peace. The king of Arabia complied with the proposal, and gave him three hundred talents; upon which Scaurus drew his army out of Arabia

2 But as for Alexander, that son of Aristobulus who ran away from Pompey, in some time he got a considerable band of men together, and lay heavy upon Hyrcanus, and overran Judea, and was likely to overturn him quickly; and indeed he had come to Jerusalem, and had ventured to rebuild its wall that was thrown down by Pompey, had not Gabinius, who was sent as successor to Scaurus into Syria, showed his bravery, as in many other points, so in making an expedition against Alexander; who, as he was afraid that he would attack him, so he got together a large army, composed of ten thousand armed footmen, and fifteen hundred horsemen. He also built walls about proper places; Alexandrium, and Hyrcanium, and Machaerus, that lay upon the mountains of Arabia.

3 However, Gabinius sent before him Marcus Antonius, and followed himself with his whole army; but for the select body of soldiers that were about Antipater, and another body of Jews under the command of Malichus and Pitholaus, these joined themselves to those captains that were about Marcus Antonius, and met Alexander; to which body came Gabinius with his main army soon afterward; and as Alexander was not able to sustain the charge of the enemies' forces, now they were joined, he retired. But when he was come near to Jerusalem, he was forced to fight, and lost six thousand men in the battle; three thousand of which fell down dead, and three thousand were taken alive; so he fled with the remainder to Alexandrium.

4 Now when Gabinius was come to Alexandrium, because he found a great many there en-camped, he tried, by promising them pardon for their former offenses, to induce them to come over to him before it came to a fight; but when

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they would hearken to no terms of accommodation, he slew a great number of them, and shut up a great number of them in the citadel. Now Marcus Antonius, their leader, signalized himself in this battle, who, as he always showed great courage, so did he never show it so much as now; but Gabinius, leaving forces to take the citadel, went away himself, and settled the cities that had not been demolished, and rebuilt those that had been destroyed. Accordingly, upon his injunctions, the following cities were restored: Scythopolis, and Samaria, and Anthedon, and Apollonia, and Jamnia, and Raphia, and Mariassa, and Adoreus, and Gamala, and Ashdod, and many others; while a great number of men readily ran to each of them, and became their inhabitants.

5 When Gabinius had taken care of these cities, he returned to Alexandrium, and pressed on the siege. So when Alexander despaired of ever obtaining the government, he sent ambassadors to him, and prayed him to forgive what he had offended him in, and gave up to him the remaining fortresses, Hyrcanium and Machaerus, as he put Alexandrium into his hands afterwards; all which Gabinius demolished, at the persuasion of Alexander's mother, that they might not be receptacles of men in a second war. She was now there in order to mollify Gabinius, out of her concern for her relations that were captives at Rome, which were her husband and her other children. After this Gabinius brought Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, and committed the care of the temple to him; but ordained the other political government to be by an aristocracy. He also parted the whole nation into five conventions, assigning one portion to Jerusalem, another to Gadara, that another should belong to Amathus, a fourth to Jericho, and to the fifth division was allotted Sepphoris, a city of Galilee. So the people were glad to be thus freed from monarchical government, and were governed for the future by all aristocracy.

6 Yet did Aristobulus afford another foundation for new disturbances. He fled away from Rome, and got together again many of the Jews that were desirous of a change, such as had borne an affection to him of old; and when he had taken Alexandrium in the first place, he attempted to build a wall about it; but as soon as Gabinius had sent an army against him under Siscuria, and Antonius, and Servilius, he was aware of it, and retreated to Machaerus. And as for the unprofitable multitude, he dismissed them, and only marched on with those that were armed, being to the number of eight thousand, among whom was Pitholaus, who had been the lieutenant at Jerusalem, but deserted to Aristobulus with a thousand of his men; so the Romans followed him, and when it came to a battle, Aristobulus's party for a long time fought courageously; but at length they were overborne by the Romans, and of them five thousand fell down dead, and about two thousand fled to a certain little hill, but the thousand that remained with Aristobulus brake through the Roman army, and marched together to Machaerus; and when the king had lodged the first night upon its ruins, he was in hopes of raising another army, if the war would but cease a while; accordingly, he fortified that strong hold, though it was done after a poor manner. But the Romans falling upon him, he resisted, even beyond his abilities, for two days, and then was taken, and brought a prisoner to Gabinius, with Antigonus his son, who had fled away together with him from Rome; and from Gabinius he was carried to Rome again. Wherefore the senate put him under confinement, but returned his children back to Judea, because Gabinius informed them by letters that he had promised Aristobulus's mother to do so, for her delivering the fortresses up to him.

7 But now as Gabinius was marching to the war against the Parthians, he was hindered by Ptolemy, whom, upon his return from Euphrates, he brought back into Egypt, making use of Hyrcanus and Antipater to provide every thing that was necessary for this expedition; for Antipater furnished him with money, and weapons, and corn, and auxiliaries; he also prevailed with the Jews that were there, and guarded the avenues at Pelusium, to let them pass. But now, upon Gabinius's absence, the other part of Syria was in motion, and Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, brought the Jews to revolt again. Accordingly, he got together a very great army, and set about killing all the Romans that were in the country; hereupon Gabinius was afraid, [for he was come back already out of Egypt, and obliged to come back quickly by these tumults,] and sent Antipater, who prevailed with some of the revolters to be quiet. However, thirty thousand still continued with Alexander, who was himself eager to fight also; accordingly, Gabinius went out to fight, when the Jews met him; and as the battle was fought near Mount Tabor, ten thousand of them were slain, and the rest of the multitude dispersed themselves, and fled away. So Gabinius came to Jerusalem, and settled the government as Antipater would have it; thence he marched, and fought and beat the Nabateans: as for Mithridates and Orsanes, who fled out of Parthin, he sent them away privately, but gave it out among the soldiers that they had run away.

8 In the mean time, Crassus came as successor to Gabinius in Syria. He took away all the rest of the gold belonging to the temple of Jerusalem, in order to furnish himself for his expedition against the Parthians. He also took away the two thousand talents which Pompey had not touched; but when he had passed over Euphrates, he perished himself, and his army with him; concerning which affairs this is not a proper time to speak [more largely].

9 But now Cassius, after Crassus, put a stop to the Parthians, who were marching in order to enter Syria. Cassius had fled into that province, and when he had taken possession of the same, he made a hasty march into Judea; and, upon his taking Taricheae, he carried thirty thousand Jews into slavery. He also slew Pitholaus, who had supported the seditious followers of Aristobulus; and it was Antipater who advised him so to do. Now this Antipater married a wife of an eminent family among the Arabisus, whose name was Cypros, and had four sons born to him by her, Phasaelus and Herod, who was afterwards king, and, besides these, Joseph and Pheroras; and he had a daughter whose name was Salome. Now as he made himself friends among the men of power every where, by the kind offices he did them, and the hospitable manner that he treated them; so did he contract the greatest friendship with the king of Arabia, by marrying his relation; insomuch that when he made war with Aristobulus, he sent and intrusted his children with him. So when Cassius had forced Alexander to come to terms and to be quiet, he returned to Euphrates, in order to prevent the Parthians from repassing it; concerning which matter we shall speak elsewhere.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 9

Aristobulus Is Taken Off By Pompey's Friends, As Is His Son Alexander By Scipio. Antipater Cultivates A Friendship With Caesar, After Pompey's Death; He Also Performs Great Actions In That War, Wherein He Assisted Mithridates.

1 Now, upon the flight of Pompey and of the senate beyond the Ionian Sea, Caesar got Rome and the empire under his power, and released Aristobulus from his bonds. He also committed two legions to him, and sent him in haste into Syria, as hoping that by his means he should easily conquer that country, and the parts adjoining to Judea. But envy prevented any effect of Aristobulus's alacrity, and the hopes of Caesar; for he was taken off by poison given him by those of Pompey's party; and, for a long while, he had not so much as a burial vouchsafed him in his own country; but his dead body lay [above ground], preserved in honey, until it was sent to the Jews by Antony, in order to be buried in the royal sepulchers.

2 His son Alexander also was beheaded by Sci-pio at Antioch, and that by the command of Pompey, and upon an accusation laid against him before his tribunal, for the mischiefs he had done to the Romans. But Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, who was then ruler of Chalcis, under Libanus, took his brethren to him by sending his son Philippio for them to Ascalon, who took Antigonus, as well as his sisters, away from Aristobulus's wife, and brought them to his father; and falling in love with the younger daughter, he married her, and was afterwards slain by his father on her account; for Ptolemy himself, after he had slain his son, married her, whose name was Alexandra; on the account of which marriage he took the greater care of her brother and sister.

3 Now, after Pompey was dead, Antipater changed sides, and cultivated a friendship with Caesar. And since Mithridates of Pergamus, with the forces he led against Egypt, was excluded from the avenues about Pelusium, and was forced to stay at Asealon, he persuaded the Arabians, among whom he had lived, to assist him, and came himself to him, at the head of three thousand armed men. He also encouraged the men of power in Syria to come to his assistance, as also of the inhabitants of Libanus, Ptolemy, and Jamblicus, and another Ptolemy; by which means the cities of that country came readily into this war; insomuch that Mithridates ventured now, in dependence upon the additional strength that he had gotten by Antipater, to march forward to Pelusium; and when they refused him a passage through it, he besieged the city; in the attack of which place Antipater principally signalized himself, for he brought down that part of the wall which was over against him, and leaped first of all into the city, with the men that were about him.

4 Thus was Pelusium taken. But still, as they were marching on, those Egyptian Jews that inhabited the country called the country of Onias stopped them. Then did Antipater not only persuade them not to stop them, but to afford provisions for their army; on which account even the people about Memphis would not fight against them, but of their own accord joined Mithridates. Whereupon he went round about Delta, and fought the rest of the Egyptians at a place called the Jews' Camp; nay, when he was in danger in the battle with all his right wing, Antipater wheeled about, and came along the bank of the river to him; for he had beaten those that opposed him as he led the left wing. After which success he fell upon those that pursued Mithridates, and slew a great many of them, and pursued the remainder so far that he took their camp, while he lost no more than fourscore of his own men; as Mithridates lost, during the pursuit that was made after him, about eight hundred. He was also himself saved unexpectedly, and became an unreproachable witness to Caesar of the great actions of Antipater.

5 Whereupon Caesar encouraged Antipater to undertake other hazardous enterprises for him, and that by giving him great commendations and hopes of reward. In all which enterprises he readily exposed himself to many dangers, and became a most courageous warrior; and had many wounds almost all over his body, as demonstrations of his valour. And when Caesar had settled the affairs of Egypt, and was returning into Syria again, he gave him the privilege of a Roman citizen, and freedom from taxes, and rendered him an object of admiration by the honours and marks of friendship he bestowed upon him. On this account it was that he also confirmed Hyrcanus in the high priesthood.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 10

Caesar Makes Antipater Procurator Of Judea; As Does Antipater Appoint Phasaelus To Be Governor Of Jerusalem, And Herod Governor Of Galilee; Who, In Some Time, Was Called To Answer For Himself [Before The Sanhedrim], Where He Is Acquitted. Sextus Caesar Is Treacherously Killed By Bassus And Is Succeeded By Marcus.

1 About this time it was that Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came to Caesar, and became, in a surprising manner, the occasion of Antipater's further advancement; for whereas he ought to have lamented that his father appeared to have been poisoned on account of his quarrels with Pompey, and to have complained of Scipio's barbarity towards his brother, and not to mix any invidious passion when he was suing for mercy; besides those things, he came before Caesar, and accused Hyrcanus and Antipater, how they had driven him and his brethren entirely out of their native country, and had acted in a great many instances unjustly and extravagantly with relation to their nation; and that as to the assistance they had sent him into Egypt, it was not done out of good-will to him, but out of the fear they were in from former quarrels, and in order to gain pardon for their friendship to [his enemy] Pompey.

2 Hereupon Antipater threw away his garments, and showed the multitude of the wounds he had, and said, that as to his good-will to Caesar, he had no occasion to say a word, because his body cried aloud, though he said nothing himself; that he wondered at Antigonus's boldness, while he was himself no other than the son of an enemy to the Romans, and of a fugitive, and had it by inheritance from his father to be fond of innovations and seditions, that he should undertake to accuse other men before the Roman governor, and endeavor to gain some advantages to himself, when he ought to be contented that he was suffered to live; for that the reason of his desire of governing public affairs was not so much because he was in want of it, but because, if he could once obtain the same, he might stir up a sedition among the Jews, and use what he should gain from the Romans to the disservice of those that gave it him.

3 When Caesar heard this, he declared Hyrcanus to be the most worthy of the high priesthood, and gave leave to Antipater to choose what authority he pleased; but he left the determination of such dignity to him that bestowed the dignity upon him; so he was constituted procurator of all Judea, and obtained leave, moreover, to rebuild those walls of his country that had been thrown down. These honourary grants Caesar sent orders to have engraved in the Capitol, that they might stand there as indications of his own justice, and of the virtue of Antipater.

4 But as soon as Antipater had conducted Caesar out of Syria he returned to Judea, and the first thing he did was to rebuild that wall of his own country [Jerusalem] which Pompey had overthrown, and then to go over the country, and to quiet the tumults that were therein; where he partly threatened, and partly advised, every one, and told them that in case they would submit to Hyrcanus, they would live happily and peaceably, and enjoy what they possessed, and that with universal peace and quietness; but that in case they hearkened to such as had some frigid hopes by raising new troubles to get themselves some gain, they should then find him to be their lord instead of their procurator; and find Hyrcanus to be a tyrant instead of a king; and both the Romans and Caesar to be their enemies, instead of rulers; for that they would not suffer him to be removed from the government, whom they had made their governor. And, at the same time that he said this, he settled the affairs of the country by himself, because he saw that Hyrcanus was inactive, and not fit to manage the affairs of the kingdom. So he constituted his eldest son, Phasaelus, governor of Jerusalem, and of the parts about it; he also sent his next son, Herod, who was very young, with equal authority into Galilee.

5 Now Herod was an active man, and soon found proper materials for his active spirit to work upon. As therefore he found that Hezekias, the head of the robbers, ran over the neighbouring parts of Syria with a great band of men, he caught him and slew him, and many more of the robbers with him; which exploit was chiefly grateful to the Syrians, insomuch that hymns were sung in Herod's commendation, both in the villages and in the cities, as having procured their

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quietness, and having preserved what they possessed to them; on which occasion he became acquainted with Sextus Caesar, a kinsman of the great Caesar, and president of Syria. A just emulation of his glorious actions excited Phasaelus also to imitate him. Accordingly, he procured the good-will of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, by his own management of the city affairs, and did not abuse his power in any disagreeable manner; whence it came to pass that the nation paid Antipater the respects that were due only to a king, and the honours they all yielded him were equal to the honours due to an absolute lord; yet did he not abate any part of that good-will or fidelity which he owed to Hyrcanus.

6 However, he found it impossible to escape envy in such his prosperity; for the glory of these young men affected even Hyrcanus himself already privately, though he said nothing of it to any body; but what he principally was grieved at was the great actions of Herod, and that so many messengers came one before another, and informed him of the great reputation he got in all his undertakings. There were also many people in the royal palace itself who inflamed his envy at him; those, I mean, who were obstructed in their designs by the prudence either of the young men, or of Antipater. These men said, that by committing the public affairs to the management of Antipater and of his sons, he sat down with nothing but the bare name of a king, without any of its authority; and they asked him how long he would so far mistake himself, as to breed up kings against his own interest; for that they did not now conceal their government of affairs any longer, but were plainly lords of the nation, and had thrust him out of his authority; that this was the case when Herod slew so many men without his giving him any command to do it, either by word of mouth, or by his letter, and this in contradiction to the law of the Jews; who therefore, in case he be not a king, but a private man, still ought to come to his trial, and answer it to him, and to the laws of his country, which do not permit any one to be killed till he hath been condemned in judgement.

7 Now Hyrcanus was, by degrees, inflamed with these discourses, and at length could bear no longer, but he summoned Herod to take his trial. Accordingly, by his father's advice, and as soon as the affairs of Galilee would give him leave, he came up to [Jerusalem], when he had first placed garrisons in Galilee; however, he came with a sufficient body of soldiers, so many indeed that he might not appear to have with him an army able to overthrow Hyrcanus's government, nor yet so few as to expose him to the insults of those that envied him. However, Sextus Caesar was in fear for the young man, lest he should be taken by his enemies, and brought to punishment; so he sent some to denounce expressly to Hyrcanus that he should acquit Herod of the capital charge against him; who acquitted him accordingly, as being otherwise inclined also so to do, for he loved Herod.

8 But Herod, supposing that he had escaped punishment without the consent of the king, retired to Sextus, to Damascus, and got every thing ready, in order not to obey him if he should summon him again; whereupon those that were evil-disposed irritated Hyrcanus, and told him that Herod was gone away in anger, and was prepared to make war upon him; and as the king believed what they said, he knew not what to do, since he saw his antagonist was stronger than he was himself. And now, since Herod was made general of Coelesyria and Samaria by Sextus Caesar, he was formidable, not only from the good-will which the nation bore him, but by the power he himself had; insomuch that Hyrcanus fell into the utmost degree of terror, and expected he would presently march against him with his army.

9 Nor was he mistaken in the conjecture he made; for Herod got his army together, out of the anger he bare him for his threatening him with the accusation in a public court, and led it to Jerusalem, in order to throw Hyrcanus down from his kingdom; and this he had soon done, unless his father and brother had gone out together and broken the force of his fury, and this by exhorting him to carry his revenge no further than to threatening and affrighting, but to spare the king, under whom he had been advanced to such a degree of power; and that he ought not to be so much provoked at his being tried, as to forget to be thankful that he was acquitted; nor so long to think upon what was of a melancholy nature, as to be ungrateful for his deliverance; and if we ought to reckon that God is the arbitrator of success in war, an unjust cause is of more disadvantage than an army can be of advantage; and that therefore he ought not to be entirely confident of success in a case where he is to fight against his king, his supporter, and one that had often been his benefactor, and that had never been severe to him, any otherwise than as he had hearkened to evil counselors, and this no further than by bringing a shadow of injustice upon him. So Herod was prevailed upon by these arguments, and supposed that what he had already done was sufficient for his future hopes, and that he had enough shown his power to the nation.

10 In the mean time, there was a disturbance among the Romans about Apamia, and a civil war occasioned by the treacherous slaughter of Sextus Caesar, by Cecilius Bassus, which he perpetrated out of his good-will to Pompey; he also took the authority over his forces; but as the rest of Caesar's commanders attacked Bassus with their whole army, in order to punish him for the murder of Caesar, Antipater also sent them assistance by his sons, both on account of him that was murdered, and on account of that Caesar who was still alive, both of which were their friends; and as this war grew to be of a considerable length, Marcus came out of Italy as successor to Sextus.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 11

Herod Is Made Procurator Of All Syria; Malichus Is Afraid Of Him, And Takes Antipater Off By Poison; Whereupon The Tribunes Of The Soldiers Are Prevailed With To Kill Him.

1 There, was at this time a mighty war raised among the Romans upon the sudden and treacherous slaughter of Caesar by Cassius and Brutus, after he had held the government for three years and seven months. Upon this murder there were very great agitations, and the great men were mightily at difference one with another, and every one betook himself to that party where they had the greatest hopes of their own, of advancing themselves. Accordingly, Cassius came into Syria, in order to receive the forces that were at Apamia, where he procured a reconciliation between Bassus and Marcus, and the legions which were at difference with him; so he raised the siege of Apamia, and took upon him the command of the army, and went about exacting tribute of the cities, and demanding their money to such a degree as they were not able to bear.

2 So he gave command that the Jews should bring in seven hundred talents; whereupon Antipater, out of his dread of Cassius's threats, parted the raising of this sum among his sons, and among others of his acquaintance, and to be done immediately; and among them he required one Malichus, who was at enmity with him, to do his part also, which necessity forced him to do. Now Herod, in the first place, mitigated the passion of Cassius, by bringing his share out of Galilee, which was a hundred talents, on which account he was in the highest favour with him; and when he reproached the rest for being tardy, he was angry at the cities themselves; so he made slaves of Gophna and Emmaus, and two others of less note; nay, he proceeded as if he would kill Malichus, because he had not made greater haste in exacting his tribute; but Antipater prevented the ruin of this man, and of the other cities, and got into Cassius's favour by bringing in a hundred talents immediately.

3 However, when Cassius was gone Malichus forgot the kindness that Antipater had done him, and laid frequent plots against him that had saved him, as making haste to get him out of the way, who was an obstacle to his wicked practices; but Antipater was so much afraid of the power and cunning of the man, that he went beyond Jordan, in order to get an army to guard himself against his treacherous designs; but when Malichus was caught in his plot, he put upon Antipater's sons by his impudence, for he thoroughly deluded Phasaelus, who was the guardian of Jerusalem, and Herod who was intrusted with the weapons of war, and this by a great many excuses and oaths, and persuaded them to procure his reconciliation to his father. Thus was he preserved again by Antipater, who dissuaded Marcus, the then president of Syria, from his resolution of killing Malichus, on account of his attempts for innovation.

4 Upon the war between Cassius and Brutus on one side, against the younger Caesar [Augustus] and Antony on the other, Cassius and Marcus got together an army out of Syria; and because Herod was likely to have a great share in providing necessaries, they then made him procurator of all Syria, and gave him an army of foot and horse. Cassius promised him also, that after the war was over, he would make him king of Judea. But it so happened that the power and hopes of his son became the cause of his perdition; for as Malichus was afraid of this, he corrupted one of the king's cup-bearers with money to give a poisoned potion to Antipater; so he became a sacrifice to Malichus's wickedness, and died at a feast. He was a man in other respects active in the management of affairs, and one that recovered the government to Hyrcanus, and preserved it in his hands.

5 However, Malichus, when he was suspected of poisoning Antipater, and when the multitude was angry with him for it, denied it, and made the people believe he was not guilty. He also prepared to make a greater figure, and raised soldiers; for he did not suppose that Herod would be quiet, who indeed came upon him with an army presently, in order to revenge his father's death; but, upon hearing the advice of his brother Phasaelus, not to punish him in an open manner, lest the multitude should fall into a sedition, he admitted of Malichus's apology, and professed that he cleared him of that suspicion; he also made a pompous funeral for his father.

6 So Herod went to Samaria, which was then in a tumult, and settled the city in peace; after which at the [Pentecost] festival, he returned to Jerusalem, having his armed men with him: hereupon Hyrcanus, at the request of Malichus, who feared his reproach, forbade them to introduce foreigners to mix themselves with the people of the country while they were purifying themselves; but Herod despised the pretense, and him that gave that command, and came in by night. Upon which Malithus came to him, and bewailed Antipater; Herod also made him believe [he admitted of his lamentations as real], although he had much ado to restrain his passion at him; however, he did himself bewail the murder of his father in his letters to Cassius, who, on other accounts, also hated Malichus. Cassius sent him word back that he should avenge his father's death upon him, and privately gave order to the tribunes that were under him, that they should assist Herod in a righteous action he was about.

7 And because, upon the taking of Laodicea by Cassius, the men of power were gotten together from all quarters, with presents and crowns in their hands, Herod allotted this time for the punishment of Malichus. When Malichus suspected that, and was at Tyre, he resolved to withdraw his son privately from among the Tyrians, who was a hostage there, while he got ready to fly away into Judea; the despair he was in of escaping excited him to think of greater things; for he hoped that he should raise the nation to a revolt from the Romans, while Cassius was busy about the war against Antony, and that he should easily depose Hyrcanus, and get the crown for himself.

8 But fate laughed at the hopes he had; for Herod foresaw what he was so zealous about, and invited both Hyrcanus and him to supper; but calling one of the principal servants that stood by him to him, he sent him out, as though it were to get things ready for supper, but in reality to give notice beforehand about the plot that was laid against him; accordingly they called to mind what orders Cassius had given them, and went out of the city with their swords in their hands upon the sea-shore, where they encompassed Malichus round about, and killed him with many wounds. Upon which Hyrcanus was immediately affrighted, till he swooned away and fell down at the surprise he was in; and it was with difficulty that he was recovered, when he asked who it was that had killed Malichus. And when one of the tribunes replied that it was done by the command of Cassius, "Then," said he, "Cassius hath saved both me and my country, by cutting off one that was laying plots against them both." Whether he spake according to his own sentiments, or whether his fear was such that he was obliged to commend the action by saying so, is uncertain; however, by this method Herod inflicted punishment upon Malichus.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 12

Phasaelus Is Too Hard For Felix; Herod Also Overcomes Antigonus In Rattle; And The Jews Accuse Both Herod And Phasaelus But Antonius Acquits Them, And Makes Them Tetrarchs.

1 When Cassius was gone out of Syria, another sedition arose at Jerusalem, wherein Felix assaulted Phasaelus with an army, that he might revenge the death of Malichus upon Herod, by falling upon his brother. Now Herod happened then to be with Fabius, the governor of Damascus, and as he was going to his brother's assistance, he was detained by sickness; in the mean time, Phasaelus was by himself too hard for Felix, and reproached Hyrcanus on account of his ingratitude, both for what assistance he had afforded Malichus, and for overlooking Malichus's brother, when he possessed himself of the fortresses; for he had gotten a great many of them already, and among them the strongest of them all, Masada.

2 However, nothing could be sufficient for him against the force of Herod, who, as soon as he was recovered, took the other fortresses again, and drove him out of Masada in the posture of a supplicant; he also drove away Marion, the tyrant of the Tyrians, out of Galilee, when he had already possessed himself of three fortified places; but as to those Tyrians whom he had caught, he preserved them all alive; nay, some of them he gave presents to, and so sent them away, and thereby procured good-will to himself from the city, and hatred to the tyrant. Marion had indeed obtained that tyrannical power of Cassius, who set tyrants over all Syria and out of hatred to Herod it was that he assisted Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, and principally on Fabius's account, whom Antigonus had made his assistant by money, and had him accordingly on his side when he made his descent; but it was Ptolemy, the kinsman of Antigonus, that supplied all that he wanted.

3 When Herod had fought against these in the avenues of Judea, he was conqueror in the battle, and drove away Antigonus, and returned to Jerusalem, beloved by every body for the glorious action he had done; for those who did not before favour him did join themselves to him now, because of his marriage into the family of Hyrcanus; for as he had formerly married a wife out of his own country of no ignoble blood, who was called Doris, of whom he begat Antipater; so did he now marry Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, and the granddaughter of Hyrcanus, and was become thereby a relation of the king.

4 But when Caesar and Antony had slain Cassius near Philippi, and Caesar was gone to Italy, and Antony to Asia, amongst the rest of the cities which sent ambassadors to Antony unto Bithynia, the great men of the Jews came also, and accused Phasaelus and Herod, that they kept the government by force, and that Hyrcanus had no more than an

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honourable name. Herod appeared ready to answer this accusation; and having made Antony his friend by the large sums of money which he gave him, he brought him to such a temper as not to hear the others speak against him; and thus did they part at this time.

5 However, after this, there came a hundred of the principal men among the Jews to Daphne by Antioch to Antony, who was already in love with Cleopatra to the degree of slavery; these Jews put those men that were the most potent, both in dignity and eloquence, foremost, and accused the brethren. But Messala opposed them, and defended the brethren, and that while Hyrcanus stood by him, on account of his relation to them. When Antony had heard both sides, he asked Hyrcanus which party was the fittest to govern, who replied that Herod and his party were the fittest. Antony was glad of that answer, for he had been formerly treated in an hospitable and obliging manner by his father Antipater, when he marched into Judea with Gabinius; so he constituted the brethren tetrarchs, and committed to them the government of Judea.

6 But when the ambassadors had indignation at this procedure, Antony took fifteen of them, and put them into custody, whom he was also going to kill presently, and the rest he drove away with disgrace; on which occasion a still greater tumult arose at Jerusalem; so they sent again a thousand ambassadors to Tyre, where Antony now abode, as he was marching to Jerusalem; upon these men who made a clamour he sent out the governor of Tyre, and ordered him to punish all that he could catch of them, and to settle those in the administration whom he had made tetrarchs.

7 But before this, Herod and Hyrcanus went out upon the sea-shore, and earnestly desired of these ambassadors that they would neither bring ruin upon themselves, nor war upon their native country, by their rash contentions; and when they grew still more outrageous, Antony sent out armed men, and slew a great many, and wounded more of them; of whom those that were slain were buried by Hyrcanus, as were the wounded put under the care of physicians by him; yet would not those that had escaped be quiet still, but put the affairs of the city into such disorder, and so provoked Antony, that he slew those whom he had in bonds also.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 13

The Parthians Bring Antigonus Back Into Judea, And Cast Hyrcanus And Phasaelus Into Prison. The Flight Of Herod, And The Taking Of Jerusalem And What Hyrcanus And Phasaelus Suffered.

1 Now two years afterward, when Barzapharnes, a governor among the Parthians, and Paeorus, the king's son, had possessed themselves of Syria, and when Lysanias had already succeeded upon the death of his father Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, in the government [of Chalcis], he prevailed with the governor, by a promise of a thousand talents, and five hundred women, to bring back Antigonus to his kingdom, and to turn Hyrcanus out of it. Pacorus was by these means induced so to do, and marched along the sea-coast, while he ordered Barzapharnes to fall upon the Jews as he went along the Mediterranean part of the country; but of the maritime people, the Tyrians would not receive Pacorus, although those of Ptolemais and Sidon had received him; so he committed a troop of his horse to a certain cup-bearer belonging to the royal family, of his own name [Pacorus], and gave him orders to march into Judea, in order to learn the state of affairs among their enemies, and to help Antigonus when he should want his assistance.

2 Now as these men were ravaging Carmel, many of the Jews ran together to Antigonus, and showed themselves ready to make an incursion into the country; so he sent them before into that place called Drymus, [the woodland] to seize upon the place; whereupon a battle was fought between them, and they drove the enemy away, and pursued them, and ran after them as far as Jerusalem, and as their numbers increased, they proceeded as far as the king's palace; but as Hyrcanus and Phasaelus received them with a strong body of men, there happened a battle in the market-place, in which Herod's party beat the enemy, and shut them up in the temple, and set sixty men in the houses adjoining as a guard to them. But the people that were tumultuous against the brethren came in, and burnt those men; while Herod, in his rage for killing them, attacked and slew many of the people, till one party made incursions on the other by turns, day by day, in the way of ambushes, and slaughters were made continually among them.

3 Now when that festival which we call Pentecost was at hand, all the places about the temple, and the whole city, was full of a multitude of people that were come out of the country, and which were the greatest part of them armed also, at which time Phasaelus guarded the wall, and Herod, with a few, guarded the royal palace; and when he made an assault upon his enemies, as they were out of their ranks, on the north quarter of the city, he slew a very great number of them, and put them all to flight; and some of them he shut up within the city, and others within the outward rampart. In the mean time, Antigonus desired that Pacorus might be admitted to be a reconciler between them; and Phasaelus was prevailed upon to admit the Parthian into the city with five hundred horse, and to treat him in an hospitable manner, who pretended that he came to quell the tumult, but in reality he came to assist Antigonus; however, he laid a plot for Phasaelus, and persuaded him to go as an ambassador to Barzapharnes, in order to put an end to the war, although Herod was very earnest with him to the contrary, and exhorted him to kill the plotter, but not expose himself to the snares he had laid for him, because the barbarians are naturally perfidious. However, Pacorus went out and took Hyrcanus with him, that he might be the less suspected; he also left some of the horsemen, called the Freemen, with Herod, and conducted Phasaelus with the rest.

4 But now, when they were come to Galilee, they found that the people of that country had revolted, and were in arms, who came very cunningly to their leader, and besought him to conceal his treacherous intentions by an obliging behavior to them; accordingly, he at first made them presents; and afterward, as they went away, laid ambushes for them; and when they were come to one of the maritime cities called Ecdippon, they perceived that a plot was laid for them; for they were there informed of the promise of a thousand talents, and how Antigonus had devoted the greatest number of the women that were there with them, among the five hundred, to the Parthians; they also perceived that an ambush was always laid for them by the barbarians in the night time; they had also been seized on before this, unless they had waited for the seizure of Herod first at Jerusalem, because if he were once informed of this treachery of theirs, he would take care of himself; nor was this a mere report, but they saw the guards already not far off them.

5 Nor would Phasaelus think of forsaking Hyrcanus and flying away, although Ophellius earnestly persuaded him to it; for this man had learned the whole scheme of the plot from Saramalla, the richest of all the Syrians. But Phasaelus went up to the Parfilian governor, and reproached him to his face for laying this treacherous plot against them, and chiefly because he had done it for money; and he promised him that he would give him more money for their preservation, than Antigonus had promised to give for the kingdom. But the sly Parthian endeavored to remove all this suspicion by apologies and by oaths, and then went [to the other] Pacorus; immediately after which those Parthians who were left, and had it in charge, seized upon Phasaelus and Hyrcanus, who could do no more than curse their perfidiousness and their perjury.

6 In the mean time, the cup-bearer was sent [back], and laid a plot how to seize upon Herod, by deluding him, and getting him out of the city, as he was commanded to do. But Herod suspected the barbarians from the beginning; and having then received intelligence that a messenger, who was to bring him the letters that informed him of the treachery intended, had fallen among the enemy, he would not go out of the city; though Pacorus said very positively that he ought to go out, and meet the messengers that brought the letters, for that the enemy had not taken them, and that the contents of them were not accounts of any plots upon them, but of what Phasaelus had done; yet had he heard from others that his brother was seized; and Alexandra the shrewdest woman in the world, Hyrcanus's daughter, begged of him that he would not go out, nor trust himself to those barbarians, who now were come to make an attempt upon him openly.

7 Now as Pacorus and his friends were considering how they might bring their plot to bear privately, because it was not possible to circumvent a man of so great prudence by openly attacking him, Herod prevented them, and went off with the persons that were the most nearly related to him by night, and this without their enemies being apprized of it. But as soon as the Parthians perceived it, they pursued after them; and as he gave orders for his mother, and sister, and the young woman who was betrothed to him, with her mother, and his youngest brother, to make the best of their way, he himself, with his servants, took all the care they could to keep off the barbarians; and when at every assault he had slain a great many of them, he came to the strong hold of Masada.

8 Nay, he found by experience that the Jews fell more heavily upon him than did the Parthians, and created him troubles perpetually, and this ever since he was gotten sixty furlongs from the city; these sometimes brought it to a sort of a regular battle. Now in the place where Herod beat them, and killed a great number of them, there he afterward built a citadel, in memory of the great actions he did there, and adorned it with the most costly palaces, and erected very strong fortifications, and called it, from his own name, Herodium. Now as they were in their flight, many joined themselves to him every day; and at a place called Thressa of Idumea his brother Joseph met him, and advised him to ease himself of a great number of his followers, because Masada would not contain so great a multitude, which were above nine thousand. Herod complied with this advice, and sent away the most cumbersome part of his retinue, that they might go into Idumea, and gave them provisions for their journey; but he got safe to the fortress with his nearest relations, and retained with him only the stoutest of his followers; and there it was that he left eight hundred of his men as a guard for the women, and provisions sufficient for a siege; but he made haste himself to Petra of Arabia.

9 As for the Parthians in Jerusalem, they betook themselves to plundering, and fell upon the houses of those that were fled, and upon the king's palace, and spared nothing but Hyrcanus's money, which was not above three hundred talents. They lighted on other men's money also, but not so much as they hoped for; for Herod having a long while had a suspicion of the perfidiousness of the barbarians, had taken care to have what was most splendid among his treasures conveyed into Idumea, as every one belonging to him had in like manner done also. But the Parthians proceeded to that degree of injustice, as to fill all the country with war without denouncing it, and to demolish the city Marissa, and not only to set up Antigonus for king, but to deliver Phasaelus and Hyrcanus bound into his hands, in order to their being tormented by him. Antigonus himself also bit off Hyrcanus's ears with his own teeth, as he fell down upon his knees to him, that so he might never be able upon any mutation of affairs to take the high priesthood again, for the high priests that officiated were to be complete, and without blemish.

10 However, he failed in his purpose of abusing Phasaelus, by reason of his courage; for though he neither had the command of his sword nor of his hands, he prevented all abuses by dashing his head against a stone; so he demonstrated himself to be Herod's own brother, and Hyrcanus a most degenerate relation, and died with great bravery, and made the end of his life agreeable to the actions of it. There is also another report about his end, viz. that he recovered of that stroke, and that a surgeon, who was sent by Antigonus to heal him, filled the wound with poisonous ingredients, and so killed him; whichsoever of these deaths he came to, the beginning of it was glorious. It is also reported that before he expired he was informed by a certain poor woman how Herod had escaped out of their hands, and that he said thereupon, "I now die with comfort, since I leave behind me one alive that will avenge me of mine enemies."

11 This was the death of Phasaelus; but the Parthians, although they had failed of the women they chiefly desired, yet did they put the government of Jerusalem into the hands of Antigonus, and took away Hyrcanus, and bound him, and carried him to Parthia.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 14

When Herod Is Rejected In Arabia, He Makes Haste To Rome Where Antony And Caesar Join Their Interest To Make Him King

1 Now Herod did the more zealously pursue his journey into Arabia, as making haste to get money of the king, while his brother was yet alive; by which money alone it was that he hoped to prevail upon the covetous temper of the barbarians to spare Phasaelus; for he reasoned thus with himself:—that if the Arabian king was too forgetful of his father's friendship with him, and was too covetous to make him a free gift, he would however borrow of him as much as might redeem his brother, and put into his hands, as a pledge, the son of him that was to be redeemed. Accordingly he led his brother's son along with him, who was of the age of seven years. Now he was ready to give three hundred talents for his brother, and intended to desire the intercession of the Tyrians, to get them accepted; however, fate had been too quick for his diligence; and since Phasaelus was dead, Herod's brotherly love was now in vain. Moreover, he was not able to find any lasting friendship among the Arabians; for their king, Malichus, sent to him immediately, and commanded him to return back out of his country, and used the name of the Parthians as a pretense for so doing, as though these had denounced to him by their ambassadors to cast Herod out of Arabia; while in reality they had a mind to keep back what they owed to Antipater, and not be obliged to make requitals to his sons for the free gifts the father had made them. He also took the impudent advice of those who, equally with himself, were willing to deprive Herod of what Antipater had deposited among them; and these men were the most potent of all whom he had in his kingdom.

2 So when Herod had found that the Arabians were his enemies, and this for those very reasons whence he hoped they would have been the most friendly, and had given them such an answer as his passion suggested, he returned back, and went for Egypt. Now he lodged the first evening at one of the temples of that country, in order to meet with those whom he left behind; but on the next day word was brought him, as he was going to Rhinocurura, that his brother was dead, and how he came by his death; and when he had lamented him as much as his present circumstances could bear, he soon laid aside such cares, and proceeded on his journey. But now, after some time, the king of Arabia repented of what he had done, and sent presently away messengers to call him back: Herod had prevented them, and was come to Pelusium, where he could not obtain a passage from those that lay with the fleet, so he besought their captains to let him go by them;

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accordingly, out of the reverence they bore to the fame and dignity of the man, they conducted him to Alexandria; and when he came into the city, he was received by Cleopatra with great splendour, who hoped he might be persuaded to be commander of her forces in the expedition she was now about; but he rejected the queen's solicitations, and being neither affrighted at the height of that storm which then happened, nor at the tumults that were now in Italy, he sailed for Rome.

3 But as he was in peril about Pamphylia, and obliged to cast out the greatest part of the ship's lading, he with difficulty got safe to Rhodes, a place which had been grievously harassed in the war with Cassius. He was there received by his friends, Ptolemy and Sappinius; and although he was then in want of money, he fitted up a three-decked ship of very great magnitude, wherein he and his friends sailed to Brundusium, and went thence to Rome with all speed; where he first of all went to Antony, on account of the friendship his father had with him, and laid before him the calamities of himself and his family; and that he had left his nearest relations besieged in a fortress, and had sailed to him through a storm, to make supplication to him for assistance.

4 Hereupon Antony was moved to compassion at the change that had been made in Herod's affairs, and this both upon his calling to mind how hospitably he had been treated by Antipater, but more especially on account of Herod's own virtue; so he then resolved to get him made king of the Jews, whom he had himself formerly made tetrarch. The contest also that he had with Antigonus was another inducement, and that of no less weight than the great regard he had for Herod; for he looked upon Antigonus as a seditious person, and an enemy of the Romans; and as for Caesar, Herod found him better prepared than Antony, as remembering very fresh the wars he had gone through together with his father, the hospitable treatment he had met with from him, and the entire good-will he had showed to him; besides the activity which he saw in Herod himself. So he called the senate together, wherein Messalas, and after him Atratinus, produced Herod before them, and gave a full account of the merits of his father, and his own good-will to the Romans. At the same time they demonstrated that Antigonus was their enemy, not only because he soon quarreled with them, but because he now overlooked the Romans, and took the government by the means of the Parthians. These reasons greatly moved the senate; at which juncture Antony came in, and told them that it was for their advantage in the Parthian war that Herod should be king; so they all gave their votes for it. And when the senate was separated, Antony and Caesar went out, with Herod between them; while the consul and the rest of the magistrates went before them, in order to offer sacrifices, and to lay the decree in the Capitol. Antony also made a feast for Herod on the first day of his reign.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 15

Antigonus Besieges Those That Were In Masada, Whom Herod Frees From Confinement When He Came Back From Rome, And Presently Marches To Jerusalem Where He Finds Silo Corrupted By Bribes.

1 Now during this time Antigonus besieged those that were in Masada, who had all other necessaries in sufficient quantity, but were in want of water; on which account Joseph, Herod's brother, was disposed to run away to the Arabians, with two hundred of his own friends, because he had heard that Malichus repented of his offenses with regard to Herod; and he had been so quick as to have been gone out of the fortress already, unless, on that very night when he was going away, there had fallen a great deal of rain, insomuch that his reservoirs were full of water, and so he was under no necessity of running away. After which, therefore, they made an irruption upon Antigonus's party, and slew a great many of them, some in open battles, and some in private ambush; nor had they always success in their attempts, for sometimes they were beaten, and ran away.

2 In the mean time Ventidius, the Roman general, was sent out of Syria, to restrain the incursions of the Parthians; and after he had done that, he came into Judea, in pretense indeed to assist Joseph and his party, but in reality to get money of Antigonus; and when he had pitched his camp very near to Jerusalem, as soon as he had got money enough, he went away with the greatest part of his forces; yet still did he leave Silo with some part of them, lest if he had taken them all away, his taking of bribes might have been too openly discovered. Now Antigonus hoped that the Parthians would come again to his assistance, and therefore cultivated a good understanding with Silo in the mean time, lest any interruption should be given to his hopes.

3 Now by this time Herod had sailed out of Italy, and was come to Ptolemais; and as soon as he had gotten together no small army of foreigners, and of his own countrymen, he marched through Galilee against Antigonus, wherein he was assisted by Ventidius and Silo, both whom Dellius, a person sent by Antony, persuaded to bring Herod [into his kingdom]. Now Ventidius was at this time among the cities, and composing the disturbances which had happened by means of the Parthians, as was Silo in Judea corrupted by the bribes that Antigonus had given him; yet was not Herod himself destitute of power, but the number of his forces increased every day as he went along, and all Galilee, with few exceptions, joined themselves to him. So he proposed to himself to set about his most necessary enterprise, and that was Masada, in order to deliver his relations from the siege they endured. But still Joppa stood in his way, and hindered his going thither; for it was necessary to take that city first, which was in the enemies' hands, that when he should go to Jerusalem, no fortress might be left in the enemies' power behind him. Silo also willingly joined him, as having now a plausible occasion of drawing off his forces [from Jerusalem]; and when the Jews pursued him, and pressed upon him, [in his retreat,] Herod made all excursion upon them with a small body of his men, and soon put them to flight, and saved Silo when he was in distress.

4 After this Herod took Joppa, and then made haste to Masada to free his relations. Now, as he was marching, many came in to him, induced by their friendship to his father, some by the reputation he had already gained himself, and some in order to repay the benefits they had received from them both; but still what engaged the greatest number on his side, was the hopes from him when he should be established in his kingdom; so that he had gotten together already an army hard to be conquered. But Antigonus laid an ambush for him as he marched out, in which he did little or no harm to his enemies. However, he easily recovered his relations again that were in Masada, as well as the fortress Ressa, and then marched to Jerusalem, where the soldiers that were with Silo joined themselves to his own, as did many out of the city, from a dread of his power.

5 Now when he had pitched his camp on the west side of the city, the guards that were there shot their arrows and threw their darts at them, while others ran out in companies, and attacked those in the forefront; but Herod commanded proclamation to be made at the wall, that he was come for the good of the people and the preservation of the city, without any design to be revenged on his open enemies, but to grant oblivion to them, though they had been the most obstinate against him. Now the soldiers that were for Antigonus made a contrary clamour, and did neither permit any body to hear that proclamation, nor to change their party; so Antigonus gave order to his forces to beat the enemy from the walls; accordingly, they soon threw their darts at them from the towers, and put them to flight.

6 And here it was that Silo discovered he had taken bribes; for he set many of the soldiers to clamour about their want of necessaries, and to require their pay, in order to buy themselves food, and to demand that he would lead them into places convenient for their winter quarters; because all the parts about the city were laid waste by the means of Antigonus's army, which had taken all things away. By this he moved the army, and attempted to get them off the siege; but Herod went to the captains that were under Silo, and to a great many of the soldiers, and begged of them not to leave him, who was sent thither by Caesar, and Antony, and the senate; for that he would take care to have their wants supplied that very day. After the making of which entreaty, he went hastily into the country, and brought thither so great an abundance of necessaries, that he cut off all Silo's pretenses; and in order to provide that for the following days they should not want supplies, he sent to the people that were about Samaria [which city had joined itself to him] to bring corn, and wine, and oil, and cattle to Jericho. When Antigonus heard of this, he sent some of his party with orders to hinder, and lay ambushes for these collectors of corn. This command was obeyed, and a great multitude of armed men were gathered together about Jericho, and lay upon the mountains, to watch those that brought the provisions. Yet was Herod not idle, but took with him ten cohorts, five of them were Romans, and five were Jewish cohorts, together with some mercenary troops intermixed among them, and besides those a few horsemen, and came to Jericho; and when he came, he found the city deserted, but that there were five hundred men, with their wives and children, who had taken possession of the tops of the mountains; these he took, and dismissed them, while the Romans fell upon the rest of the city, and plundered it, having found the houses full of all sorts of good things. So the king left a garrison at Jericho, and came back, and sent the Roman army into those cities which were come over to him, to take their winter quarters there, viz. into Judea, [or Idumea,] and Galilee, and Samaria. Antigonus also by bribes obtained of Silo to let a part of his army be received at Lydda, as a compliment to Antonius.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 16

Herod Takes Sepphoris And Subdues The Robbers That Were In The Caves; He After That Avenges Himself Upon Machaerus, As Upon An Enemy Of His And Goes To Antony As He Was Besieging Samosata.

1 So the Romans lived in plenty of all things, and rested from war. However, Herod did not lie at rest, but seized upon Idumea, and kept it, with two thousand footmen, and four hundred horsemen; and this he did by sending his brother Joseph thither, that no innovation might be made by Antigonus. He also removed his mother, and all his relations, who had been in Masada, to Samaria; and when he had settled them securely, he marched to take the remaining parts of Galilee, and to drive away the garrisons placed there by Antigonus.

2 But when Herod had reached Sepphoris, in a very great snow, he took the city without any difficulty; the guards that should have kept it flying away before it was assaulted; where he gave an opportunity to his followers that had been in distress to refresh themselves, there being in that city a great abundance of necessaries. After which he hasted away to the robbers that were in the caves, who overran a great part of the country, and did as great mischief to its inhabitants as a war itself could have done. Accordingly, he sent beforehand three cohorts of footmen, and one troop of horsemen, to the village Arbela, and came himself forty days afterwards with the rest of his forces Yet were not the enemy affrighted at his assault but met him in arms; for their skill was that of warriors, but their boldness was the boldness of robbers: when therefore it came to a pitched battle, they put to flight Herod's left wing with their right one; but Herod, wheeling about on the sudden from his own right wing, came to their assistance, and both made his own left wing return back from its flight, and fell upon the pursuers, and cooled their courage, till they could not bear the attempts that were made directly upon them, and so turned back and ran away. 3. But Herod followed them, and slew them as he followed them, and destroyed a great part of them, till those that remained were scattered beyond the river [Jordan;] and Galilee was freed from the terrors they had been under, excepting from those that remained, and lay concealed in caves, which required longer time ere they could be conquered. In order to which Herod, in the first place, distributed the fruits of their former labours to the soldiers, and gave every one of them a hundred and fifty drachmae of silver, and a great deal more to their commanders, and sent them into their winter quarters. He also sent to his youngest brother Pheroas, to take care of a good market for them, where they might buy themselves provisions, and to build a wall about Alexandrium; who took care of both those injunctions accordingly.

4 In the mean time Antony abode at Athens, while Ventidius called for Silo and Herod to come to the war against the Parthians, but ordered them first to settle the affairs of Judea; so Herod willingly dismissed Silo to go to Ventidius, but he made an expedition himself against those that lay in the caves. Now these caves were in the precipices of craggy mountains, and could not be come at from any side, since they had only some winding pathways, very narrow, by which they got up to them; but the rock that lay on their front had beneath it valleys of a vast depth, and of an almost perpendicular declivity; insomuch that the king was doubtful for a long time what to do, by reason of a kind of impossibility there was of attacking the place. Yet did he at length make use of a contrivance that was subject to the utmost hazard; for he let down the most hardy of his men in chests, and set them at the mouths of the dens. Now these men slew the robbers and their families, and when they made resistance, they sent in fire upon them [and burnt them]; and as Herod was desirous of saving some of them, he had proclamation made, that they should come and deliver themselves up to him; but not one of them came willingly to him; and of those that were compelled to come, many preferred death to captivity. And here a certain old man, the father of seven children, whose children, together with their mother, desired him to give them leave to go out, upon the assurance and right hand that was offered them, slew them after the following manner: He ordered every one of them to go out, while he stood himself at the cave's mouth, and slew that son of his perpetually who went out. Herod was near enough to see this sight, and his bowels of compassion were moved at it, and he stretched out his right hand to the old man, and besought him to spare his children; yet did not he relent at all upon what he said, but over and above reproached Herod on the lowness of his descent, and slew his wife as well as his children; and when he had thrown their dead bodies down the precipice, he at last threw himself down after them.

5 By this means Herod subdued these caves, and the robbers that were in them. He then left there a part of his army, as many as he thought sufficient to prevent any sedition, and made Ptolemy their general, and returned to Samaria; he led also with him three thousand armed footmen, and six hundred horsemen, against Antigonus. Now here those that used to raise tumults in Galilee, having liberty so to do upon his departure, fell unexpectedly upon Ptolemy, the general of his forces, and slew him; they also laid the country waste, and then retired to the bogs, and to places not easily to be found. But when Herod was informed of this insurrection, he came to the assistance of the country immediately, and destroyed a great number of the seditions, and raised the sieges of all those fortresses they had besieged; he also exacted the tribute of a hundred talents of his enemies, as a penalty for the mutations they had made in the country.

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6 By this time [the Parthians being already driven out of the country, and Pacorus slain] Ventidius, by Antony's command, sent a thousand horsemen, and two legions, as auxiliaries to Herod, against Antigonus. Now Antigonus besought Machaerus, who was their general, by letter, to come to his assistance, and made a great many mournful complaints about Herod's violence, and about the injuries he did to the kingdom; and promised to give him money for such his assistance; but he complied not with his invitation to betray his trust, for he did not contemn him that sent him, especially while Herod gave him more money [than the other offered]. So he pretended friendship to Antigonus, but came as a spy to discover his affairs; although he did not herein comply with Herod, who dissuaded him from so doing. But Antigonus perceived what his intentions were beforehand, and excluded him out of the city, and defended himself against him as against an enemy, from the walls; till Machaerus was ashamed of what he had done, and retired to Emmaus to Herod; and as he was in a rage at his disappointment, he slew all the Jews whom he met with, without sparing those that were for Herod, but using them all as if they were for Antigonus.

7 Hereupon Herod was very angry at him, and was going to fight against Machaerus as his enemy; but he restrained his indignation, and marched to Antony to accuse Machaerus of maladministration. But Machaerus was made sensible of his offenses, and followed after the king immediately, and earnestly begged and obtained that he would be reconciled to him. However, Herod did not desist from his resolution of going to Antony; but when he heard that he was besieging Samosata with a great army, which is a strong city near to Euphrates, he made the greater haste; as observing that this was a proper opportunity for showing at once his courage, and for doing what would greatly oblige Antony. Indeed, when he came, he soon made an end of that siege, and slew a great number of the barbarians, and took from them a large prey; insomuch that Antony, who admired his courage formerly, did now admire it still more. Accordingly, he heaped many more honours upon him, and gave him more assured hopes that he should gain his kingdom; and now king Antiochus was forced to deliver up Samosata.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 17.

The Death Of Joseph [Herod's Brother] Which Had Been Signified To Herod In Dreams. How Herod Was Preserved Twice After A Wonderful Manner. He Cuts Off The Head Of Pappus, Who Was The Murderer Of His Brother And Sends That Head To [His Other Brother] Pheroras, And In No Long Time He Besieges Jerusalem And Marries Mariamne.

1 In the mean time, Herod's affairs in Judea were in an ill state. He had left his brother Joseph with full power, but had charged him to make no attempts against Antigonus till his return; for that Machaerus would not be such an assistant as he could depend on, as it appeared by what he had done already; but as soon as Joseph heard that his brother was at a very great distance, he neglected the charge he had received, and marched towards Jericho with five cohorts, which Machaerus sent with him. This movement was intended for seizing on the corn, as it was now in the midst of summer; but when his enemies attacked him in the mountains, and in places which were difficult to pass, he was both killed himself, as he was very bravely fighting in the battle, and the entire Roman cohorts were destroyed; for these cohorts were new-raised men, gathered out of Syria, and here was no mixture of those called veteran soldiers among them, who might have supported those that were unskillful in war.

2 This victory was not sufficient for Antigonus; but he proceeded to that degree of rage, as to treat the dead body of Joseph barbarously; for when he had got possession of the bodies of those that were slain, he cut off his head, although his brother Pheroras would have given fifty talents as a price of redemption for it. And now the affairs of Galilee were put in such disorder after this victory of Antigonus's, that those of Antigonus's party brought the principal men that were on Herod's side to the lake, and there drowned them. There was a great change made also in Idumea, where Machaerus was building a wall about one of the fortresses, which was called Gittha. But Herod had not yet been informed of these things; for after the taking of Samosata, and when Antony had set Sosius over the affairs of Syria, and had given him orders to assist Herod against Antigonus, he departed into Egypt; but Sosius sent two legions before him into Judea to assist Herod, and followed himself soon after with the rest of his army.

3 Now when Herod was at Daphne, by Antioch, he had some dreams which clearly foreboded his brother's death; and as he leaped out of his bed in a disturbed manner, there came messengers that acquainted him with that calamity. So when he had lamented this misfortune for a while, he put off the main part of his mourning, and made haste to march against his enemies; and when he had performed a march that was above his strength, and was gone as far as Libanus, he got him eight hundred men of those that lived near to that mountain as his assistants, and joined with them one Roman legion, with which, before it was day, he made an irruption into Galilee, and met his enemies, and drove them back to the place which they had left. He also made an immediate and continual attack upon the fortress. Yet was he forced by a most terrible storm to pitch his camp in the neighbouring villages before he could take it. But when, after a few days' time, the second legion, that came from Antony, joined themselves to him, the enemy were affrighted at his power, and left their fortifications in the night time.

4 After this he marched through Jericho, as making what haste he could to be avenged on his brother's murderers; where happened to him a providential sign, out of which, when he had unexpectedly escaped, he had the reputation of being very dear to God; for that evening there feasted with him many of the principal men; and after that feast was over, and all the guests were gone out, the house fell down immediately. And as he judged this to be a common signal of what dangers he should undergo, and how he should escape them in the war that he was going about, he, in the morning, set forward with his army, when about six thousand of his enemies came running down from the mountains, and began to fight with those in his forefront; yet durst they not be so very bold as to engage the Romans hand to hand, but threw stones and darts at them at a distance; by which means they wounded a considerable number; in which action Herod's own side was wounded with a dart.

5 Now as Antigonus had a mind to appear to exceed Herod, not only in the courage, but in the number of his men, he sent Pappus, one of his companions, with an army against Samaria, whose fortune it was to oppose Machaerus; but Herod overran the enemy's country, and demolished five little cities, and destroyed two thousand men that were in them, and burned their houses, and then returned to his camp; but his head-quarters were at the village called Cana.

6 Now a great multitude of Jews resorted to him every day, both out of Jericho and the other parts of the country. Some were moved so to do out of their hatred to Antigonus, and some out of regard to the glorious actions Herod had done; but others were led on by an unreasonable desire of change; so he fell upon them immediately. As for Pappus and his party, they were not terrified either at their number or at their zeal, but marched out with great alacrity to fight them; and it came to a close fight. Now other parts of their army made resistance for a while; but Herod, running the utmost hazard, out of the rage he was in at the murder of his brother, that he might be avenged on those that had been the authors of it, soon beat those that opposed him; and after he had beaten them, he always turned his force against those that stood to it still, and pursued them all; so that a great slaughter was made, while some were forced back into that village whence they came out; he also pressed hard upon the hindermost, and slew a vast number of them; he also fell into the village with the enemy, where every house was filled with armed men, and the upper rooms were crowded above with soldiers for their defense; and when he had beaten those that were on the outside, he pulled the houses to pieces, and plucked out those that were within; upon many he had the roofs shaken down, whereby they perished by heaps; and as for those that fled out of the ruins, the soldiers received them with their swords in their hands; and the multitude of those slain and lying on heaps was so great, that the conquerors could not pass along the roads. Now the enemy could not bear this blow, so that when the multitude of them which was gathered together saw that those in the village were slain, they dispersed themselves, and fled away; upon the confidence of which victory, Herod had marched immediately to Jerusalem, unless he tad been hindered by the depth of winter's [coming on]. This was the impediment that lay in the way of this his entire glorious progress, and was what hindered Antigonus from being now conquered, who was already disposed to forsake the city.

7 Now when at the evening Herod had already dismissed his friends to refresh themselves after their fatigue, and when he was gone himself, while he was still hot in his armour, like a common soldier, to bathe himself, and had but one servant that attended him, and before he was gotten into the bath, one of the enemies met him in the face with a sword in his hand, and then a second, and then a third, and after that more of them; these were men who had run away out of the battle into the bath in their armour, and they had lain there for some time in, great terror, and in privacy; and when they saw the king, they trembled for fear, and ran by him in a flight, although he was naked, and endeavored to get off into the public road. Now there was by chance nobody else at hand that might seize upon these men; and for Herod, he was contented to have come to no harm himself, so that they all got away in safety.

8 But on the next day Herod had Pappus's head cut off, who was the general for Antigonus, and was slain in the battle, and sent it to his brother Pheroras, by way of punishment for their slain brother; for he was the man that slew Joseph. Now as winter was going off, Herod marched to Jerusalem, and brought his army to the wall of it; this was the third year since he had been made king at Rome; so he pitched his camp before the temple, for on that side it might be besieged, and there it was that Pompey took the city. So he parted the work among the army, and demolished the suburbs, end raised three banks, and gave orders to have towers built upon those banks, and left the most labourious of his acquaintance at the works. But he went himself to Samaria, to take the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, to wife, who had been betrothed to him before, as we have already said; and thus he accomplished this by the by, during the siege of the city, for he had his enemies in great contempt already.

9 When he had thus married Mariamne, he came back to Jerusalem with a greater army. Sosius also joined him with a large army, both of horsemen and footmen, which he sent before him through the midland parts, while he marched himself along Phoenicia; and when the whole army was gotten together, which were eleven regiments of footmen, and six thousand horsemen, besides the Syrian auxiliaries, which were no small part of the army, they pitched their camp near to the north wall. Herod's dependence was upon the decree of the senate, by which he was made king; and Sosius relied upon Antony, who sent the army that was under him to Herod's assistance.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 18

How Herod And Sosius Took Jerusalem By Force; And What Death Antigonus Came To. Also Concerning Cleopatra's Avaricious Temper.

1 Now the multitude of the Jews that were in the city were divided into several factions; for the people that crowded about the temple, being the weaker part of them, gave it out that, as the times were, he was the happiest and most religious man who should die first. But as to the more bold and hardy men, they got together in bodies, and fell a robbing others after various manners, and these particularly plundered the places that were about the city, and this because there was no food left either for the horses or the men; yet some of the warlike men, who were used to fight regularly, were appointed to defend the city during the siege, and these drove those that raised the banks away from the wall; and these were always inventing some engine or another to be a hinderance to the engines of the enemy; nor had they so much success any way as in the mines under ground.

2 Now as for the robberies which were committed, the king contrived that ambushes should be so laid, that they might restrain their excursions; and as for the want of provisions, he provided that they should be brought to them from great distances. He was also too hard for the Jews, by the Romans' skill in the art of war; although they were bold to the utmost degree, now they durst not come to a plain battle with the Romans, which was certain death; but through their mines under ground they would appear in the midst of them on the sudden, and before they could batter down one wall, they built them another in its stead; and to sum up all at once, they did not show any want either of painstaking or of contrivances, as having resolved to hold out to the very last. Indeed, though they had so great an army lying round about them, they bore a siege of five months, till some of Herod's chosen men ventured to get upon the wall, and fell into the city, as did Sosius's centurions after them; and now they first of all seized upon what was about the temple; and upon the pouring in of the army, there was slaughter of vast multitudes every where, by reason of the rage the Romans were in at the length of this siege, and by reason that the Jews who were about Herod earnestly endeavored that none of their adversaries might remain; so they were cut to pieces by great multitudes, as they were crowded together in narrow streets, and in houses, or were running away to the temple; nor was there any mercy showed either to infants, or to the aged, or to the weaker sex; insomuch that although the king sent about and desired them to spare the people, nobody could be persuaded to withhold their right hand from slaughter, but they slew people of all ages, like madmen. Then it was that Antigonus, without any regard to his former or to his present fortune, came down from the citadel, and fell at Sosius's feet, who without pitying him at all, upon the change of his condition, laughed at him beyond measure, and called him Antigona. Yet did he not treat him like a woman, or let him go free, but put him into bonds, and kept him in custody.

3 But Herod's concern at present, now he had gotten his enemies under his power, was to restrain the zeal of his foreign auxiliaries; for the multitude of the strange people were very eager to see the temple, and what was sacred in the holy house itself; but the king endeavored to restrain them, partly by his exhortations, partly by his threatenings, nay, partly by force, as thinking the victory worse than a defeat to him, if any thing that ought not to be seen were seen by them. He also forbade, at the same time, the spoiling of the city, asking Sosius in the most earnest manner, whether the Romans, by thus emptying the city of money and men, had a mind to leave him king of a desert,—and told him that he judged the dominion of the habitable earth too small a compensation for the slaughter of so many citizens. And when Sosius said that it was but just to allow the soldiers this plunder as a reward for what they suffered during the siege, Herod made answer, that he would give every one of the soldiers a reward out of his own money. So he purchased the deliverance of his country, and performed his promises to

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them, and made presents after a magnificent manner to each soldier, and proportionably to their commanders, and with a most royal bounty to Sosius himself, whereby nobody went away but in a wealthy condition. Hereupon Sosius dedicated a crown of gold to God, and then went away from Jerusalem, leading Antigonus away in bonds to Antony; then did the axe bring him to his end, who still had a fond desire of life, and some frigid hopes of it to the last, but by his cowardly behavior well deserved to die by it.

4 Hereupon king Herod distinguished the multitude that was in the city; and for those that were of his side, he made them still more his friends by the honours he conferred on them; but for those of Antigonus's party, he slew them; and as his money ran low, he turned all the ornaments he had into money, and sent it to Antony, and to those about him. Yet could he not hereby purchase an exemption from all sufferings; for Antony was now bewitched by his love to Cleopatra, and was entirely conquered by her charms. Now Cleopatra had put to death all her kindred, till no one near her in blood remained alive, and after that she fell a slaying those no way related to her. So she calumniated the principal men among the Syrians to Antony, and persuaded him to have them slain, that so she might easily gain to be mistress of what they had; nay, she extended her avaricious humor to the Jews and Arabians, and secretly laboured to have Herod and Malichus, the kings of both those nations, slain by his order.

5 Now is to these her injunctions to Antony, he complied in part; for though he esteemed it too abominable a thing to kill such good and great kings, yet was he thereby alienated from the friendship he had for them. He also took away a great deal of their country; nay, even the plantation of palm trees at Jericho, where also grows the balsam tree, and bestowed them upon her; as also all the cities on this side the river Eleutherus, Tyre and Sidon excepted. And when she was become mistress of these, and had conducted Antony in his expedition against the Parthians as far as Euphrates, she came by Apamia and Damascus into Judea and there did Herod pacify her indignation at him by large presents. He also hired of her those places that had been torn away from his kingdom, at the yearly rent of two hundred talents. He conducted her also as far as Pelusium, and paid her all the respects possible. Now it was not long after this that Antony was come back from Parthia, and led with him Artabazes, Tigranes's son, captive, as a present for Cleopatra; for this Parthian was presently given her, with his money, and all the prey that was taken with him.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 19

How Antony At The Persuasion Of Cleopatra Sent Herod To Fight Against The Arabians; And Now After Several Battles, He At Length Got The Victory. As Also Concerning A Great Earthquake.

1 Now when the war about Actium was begun, Herod prepared to come to the assistance of Antony, as being already freed from his troubles in Judea, and having gained Hyrcania, which was a place that was held by Antigonus's sister. However, he was cunningly hindered from partaking of the hazards that Antony went through by Cleopatra; for since, as we have already noted, she had laid a plot against the kings [of Judea and Arabia], she prevailed with Antony to commit the war against the Arabians to Herod; that so, if he got the better, she might become mistress of Arabia, or, if he were worsted, of Judea; and that she might destroy one of those kings by the other.

2 However, this contrivance tended to the advantage of Herod; for at the very first he took hostages from the enemy, and got together a great body of horse, and ordered them to march against them about Diespous; and he conquered that army, although it fought resolutely against him. After which defeat, the Arabians were in great motion, and assembled themselves together at Kanatha, a city of Celesyria, in vast multitudes, and waited for the Jews. And when Herod was come thither, he tried to manage this war with particular prudence, and gave orders that they should build a wall about their camp; yet did not the multitude comply with those orders, but were so emboldened by their foregoing victory, that they presently attacked the Arabians, and beat them at the first onset, and then pursued them; yet were there snares laid for Herod in that pursuit; while Athenio, who was one of Cleopatra's generals, and always an antagonist to Herod, sent out of Kanatha the men of that country against him; for, upon this fresh onset, the Arabians took courage, and returned back, and both joined their numerous forces about stony places, that were hard to be gone over, and there put Herod's men to the rout, and made a great slaughter of them; but those that escaped out of the battle fled to Ormiza, where the Arabians surrounded their camp, and took it, with all the men in it. 3. In a little time after this calamity, Herod came to bring them succors; but he came too late. Now the occasion of that blow was this, that the officers would not obey orders; for had not the fight begun so suddenly, Athenio had not found a proper season for the snares he laid for Herod: however, he was even with the Arabians afterward, and overran their country, and did them more harm than their single victory could compensate. But as he was avenging himself on his enemies, there fell upon him another providential calamity; for in the seventh year of his reign, when the war about Actium was at the height, at the beginning of the spring, the earth was shaken, and destroyed an immense number of cattle, with thirty thousand men; but the army received no harm, because it lay in the open air. In the mean time, the fame of this earthquake elevated the Arabians to greater courage, and this by augmenting it to a fabulous height, as is constantly the case in melancholy accidents, and pretending that all Judea was overthrown. Upon this supposal, therefore, that they should easily get a land that was destitute of inhabitants into their power, they first sacrificed those ambassadors who were come to them from the Jews, and then marched into Judea immediately. Now the Jewish nation were affrighted at this invasion, and quite dispirited at the greatness of their calamities one after another; whom yet Herod got together, and endeavored to encourage to defend themselves by the following speech which he made to them:

4 "The present dread you are under seems to me to have seized upon you very unreasonably. It is true, you might justly be dismayed at that providential chastisement which hath befallen you; but to suffer yourselves to be equally terrified at the invasion of men is unmanly. As for myself, I am so far from being affrighted at our enemies after this earthquake, that I imagine that God hath thereby laid a bait for the Arabians, that we may be avenged on them; for their present invasion proceeds more from our accidental misfortunes, than that they have any great dependence on their weapons, or their own fitness for action. Now that hope which depends not on men's own power, but on others' ill success, is a very ticklish thing; for there is no certainty among men, either in their bad or good fortunes; but we may easily observe that fortune is mutable, and goes from one side to another; and this you may readily learn from examples among yourselves; for when you were once victors in the former fight, your enemies overcame you at last; and very likely it will now happen so, that these who think themselves sure of beating you will themselves be beaten. For when men are very confident, they are not upon their guard, while fear teaches men to act with caution; insomuch that I venture to prove from your very timorousness that you ought to take courage; for when you were more bold than you ought to have been, and than I would have had you, and marched on, Athenio's treachery took place; but your present slowness and seeming dejection of mind is to me a pledge and assurance of victory. And indeed it is proper beforehand to be thus provident; but when we come to action, we ought to erect our minds, and to make our enemies, be they ever so wicked, believe that neither any human, no, nor any providential misfortune, can ever depress the courage of Jews while they are alive; nor will any of them ever overlook an Arabian, or suffer such a one to become lord of his good things, whom he has in a manner taken captive, and that many times also. And do not you disturb yourselves at the quaking of inanimate creatures, nor do you imagine that this earthquake is a sign of another calamity; for such affections of the elements are according to the course of nature, nor does it import any thing further to men, than what mischief it does immediately of itself. Perhaps there may come some short sign beforehand in the case of pestilences, and famines, and earthquakes; but these calamities themselves have their force limited by themselves [without foreboding any other calamity]. And indeed what greater mischief can the war, though it should be a violent one, do to us than the earthquake hath done? Nay, there is a signal of our enemies' destruction visible, and that a very great one also; and this is not a natural one, nor derived from the hand of foreigners neither, but it is this, that they have barbarously murdered our ambassadors, contrary to the common law of mankind; and they have destroyed so many, as if they esteemed them sacrifices for God, in relation to this war. But they will not avoid his great eye, nor his invincible right hand; and we shall be revenged of them presently, in case we still retain any of the courage of our forefathers, and rise up boldly to punish these covenant-breakers. Let every one therefore go on and fight, not so much for his wife or his children, or for the danger his country is in, as for these ambassadors of ours; those dead ambassadors will conduct this war of ours better than we ourselves who are alive. And if you will be ruled by me, I will myself go before you into danger; for you know this well enough, that your courage is irresistible, unless you hurt yourselves by acting rashly."

5 When Herod had encouraged them by this speech, and he saw with what alacrity they went, he offered sacrifice to God; and after that sacrifice, he passed over the river Jordan with his army, and pitched his camp about Philadelphia, near the enemy, and about a fortification that lay between them. He then shot at them at a distance, and was desirous to come to an engagement presently; for some of them had been sent beforehand to seize upon that fortification: but the king sent some who immediately beat them out of the fortification, while he himself went in the forefront of the army, which he put in battle-array every day, and invited the Arabians to fight. But as none of them came out of their camp, for they were in a terrible fright, and their general, Elthemus, was not able to say a word for fear,—so Herod came upon them, and pulled their fortification to pieces, by which means they were compelled to come out to fight, which they did in disorder, and so that the horsemen and foot-men were mixed together. They were indeed superior to the Jews in number, but inferior in their alacrity, although they were obliged to expose themselves to danger by their very despair of victory.

6 Now while they made opposition, they had not a great number slain; but as soon as they turned their backs, a great many were trodden to pieces by the Jews, and a great many by themselves, and so perished, till five thousand were fallen down dead in their flight, while the rest of the multitude prevented their immediate death, by crowding into the fortification. Herod encompassed these around, and besieged them; and while they were ready to be taken by their enemies in arms, they had another additional distress upon them, which was thirst and want of water; for the king was above hearkening to their ambassadors; and when they offered five hundred talents, as the price of their redemption, he pressed still harder upon them. And as they were burnt up by their thirst, they came out and voluntarily delivered themselves up by multitudes to the Jews, till in five days' time four thousand of them were put into bonds; and on the sixth day the multitude that were left despaired of saving themselves, and came out to fight: with these Herod fought, and slew again about seven thousand, insomuch that he punished Arabia so severely, and so far extinguished the spirits of the men, that he was chosen by the nation for their ruler.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 20

Herod Is Confirmed In His Kingdom By Caesar, And Cultivates A Friendship With The Emperor By Magnificent Presents; While Caesar Returns His Kindness By Bestowing On Him That Part Of His Kingdom Which Had Been Taken Away From It By Cleopatra With The Addition Of Zenodoruss Country Also.

1 But now Herod was under immediate concern about a most important affair, on account of his friendship with Antony, who was already overcome at Actium by Caesar; yet he was more afraid than hurt; for Caesar did not think he had quite undone Antony, while Herod continued his assistance to him. However, the king resolved to expose himself to dangers: accordingly he sailed to Rhodes, where Caesar then abode, and came to him without his diadem, and in the habit and appearance of a private person, but in his behavior as a king. So he concealed nothing of the truth, but spoke thus before his face: "O Caesar, as I was made king of the Jews by Antony, so do I profess that I have used my royal authority in the best manner, and entirely for his advantage; nor will I conceal this further, that thou hadst certainly found me in arms, and an inseparable companion of his, had not the Arabians hindered me. However, I sent him as many auxiliaries as I was able, and many ten thousand [cori] of corn. Nay, indeed, I did not desert my benefactor after the bow that was given him at Actium; but I gave him the best advice I was able, when I was no longer able to assist him in the war; and I told him that there was but one way of recovering his affairs, and that was to kill Cleopatra; and I promised him that, if she were once dead, I would afford him money and walls for his security, with an army and myself to assist him in his war against thee: but his affections for Cleopatra stopped his ears, as did God himself also who hath bestowed the government on thee. I own myself also to be overcome together with him; and with his last fortune I have laid aside my diadem, and am come hither to thee, having my hopes of safety in thy virtue; and I desire that thou wilt first consider how faithful a friend, and not whose friend, I have been."

2 Caesar replied to him thus: "Nay, thou shalt not only be in safety, but thou shalt be a king; and that more firmly than thou wast before; for thou art worthy to reign over a great many subjects, by reason of the fastness of thy friendship; and do thou endeavor to be equally constant in thy friendship to me, upon my good success, which is what I depend upon from the generosity of thy disposition. However, Antony hath done well in preferring Cleopatra to thee; for by this means we have gained thee by her madness, and thus thou hast begun to be my friend before I began to be thine; on which account Quintus Didius hath written to me that thou sentest him assistance against the gladiators. I do therefore assure thee that I will confirm the kingdom to thee by decree: I shall also endeavor to do thee some further kindness hereafter, that thou mayst find no loss in the want of Antony."

3 When Caesar had spoken such obliging things to the king, and had put the diadem again about his head, he proclaimed what he had bestowed on him by a decree, in which he enlarged in the commendation of the man after a magnificent manner. Whereupon Herod obliged him to be kind to him by the presents he gave him, and he desired him to forgive Alexander, one of Antony's friends, who was become a supplicant to him. But Caesar's anger against him prevailed, and he complained of the many and very great offenses the man whom he petitioned for had been guilty of; and by that

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means he rejected his petition. After this Caesar went for Egypt through Syria, when Herod received him with royal and rich entertainments; and then did he first of all ride along with Caesar, as he was reviewing his army about Ptolemais, and feasted him with all his friends, and then distributed among the rest of the army what was necessary to feast them withal. He also made a plentiful provision of water for them, when they were to march as far as Pelusium, through a dry country, which he did also in like manner at their return thence; nor were there any necessaries wanting to that army. It was therefore the opinion, both of Caesar and of his soldiers, that Herod's kingdom was too small for those generous presents he made them; for which reason, when Caesar was come into Egypt, and Cleopatra and Antony were dead, he did not only bestow other marks of honour upon him, but made an addition to his kingdom, by giving him not only the country which had been taken from him by Cleopatra, but besides that, Gadara, and Hippos, and Samaria; and moreover, of the maritime cities, Gaza and Anthedon, and Joppa, and Strato's Tower. He also made him a present of four hundred Galls [Galatians] as a guard for his body, which they had been to Cleopatra before. Nor did any thing so strongly induce Caesar to make these presents as the generosity of him that received them.

4 Moreover, after the first games at Actium, he added to his kingdom both the region called Trachonitis, and what lay in its neighbourhood, Batanea, and the country of Auranitis; and that on the following occasion: Zenodorus, who had hired the house of Lysanias, had all along sent robbers out of Trachonitis among the Damascenes; who thereupon had recourse to Varro, the president of Syria, and desired of him that he would represent the calamity they were in to Caesar. When Caesar was acquainted with it, he sent back orders that this nest of robbers should be destroyed. Varro therefore made an expedition against them, and cleared the land of those men, and took it away from Zenodorus. Caesar did also afterward bestow it on Herod, that it might not again become a receptacle for those robbers that had come against Damascus. He also made him a procurator of all Syria, and this on the tenth year afterward, when he came again into that province; and this was so established, that the other procurators could not do any thing in the administration without his advice: but when Zenodorus was dead, Caesar bestowed on him all that land which lay between Trachonitis and Galilee. Yet, what was still of more consequence to Herod, he was beloved by Caesar next after Agrippa, and by Agrippa next after Caesar; whence he arrived at a very great degree of felicity. Yet did the greatness of his soul exceed it, and the main part of his magnanimity was extended to the promotion of piety.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 21

Of The [Temple And] Cities That Were Built By Herod And Erected From The Very Foundations; As Also Of Those Other Edifices That Were Erected By Him; And What Magnificence He Showed To Foreigners; And How Fortune Was In All Things Favourable To Him.

1 Accordingly, in the fifteenth year of his reign, Herod rebuilt the temple, and encompassed a piece of land about it with a wall, which land was twice as large as that before enclosed. The expenses he laid out upon it were vastly large also, and the riches about it were unspeakable. A sign of which you have in the great cloisters that were erected about the temple, and the citadel which was on its north side. The cloisters he built from the foundation, but the citadel he repaired at a vast expense; nor was it other than a royal palace, which he called Antonia, in honour of Antony. He also built himself a palace in the Upper city, containing two very large and most beautiful apartments; to which the holy house itself could not be compared [in largeness]. The one apartment he named Caesareum, and the other Agrippium, from his [two great] friends.

2 Yet did he not preserve their memory by particular buildings only, with their names given them, but his generosity went as far as entire cities; for when he had built a most beautiful wall round a country in Samaria, twenty furlongs long, and had brought six thousand inhabitants into it, and had allotted to it a most fruitful piece of land, and in the midst of this city, thus built, had erected a very large temple to Caesar, and had laid round about it a portion of sacred land of three furlongs and a half, he called the city Sebaste, from Sebastus, or Augustus, and settled the affairs of the city after a most regular manner.

3 And when Caesar had further bestowed upon him another additional country, he built there also a temple of white marble, hard by the fountains of Jordan: the place is called Panium, where is a top of a mountain that is raised to an immense height, and at its side, beneath, or at its bottom, a dark cave opens itself; within which there is a horrible precipice, that descends abruptly to a vast depth; it contains a mighty quantity of water, which is immovable; and when any body lets down any thing to measure the depth of the earth beneath the water, no length of cord is sufficient to reach it. Now the fountains of Jordan rise at the roots of this cavity outwardly; and, as some think, this is the utmost origin of Jordan: but we shall speak of that matter more accurately in our following history.

4 But the king erected other places at Jericho also, between the citadel Cypros and the former palace, such as were better and more useful than the former for travelers, and named them from the same friends of his. To say all at once, there was not any place of his kingdom fit for the purpose that was permitted to be without somewhat that was for Caesar's honour; and when he had filled his own country with temples, he poured out the like plentiful marks of his esteem into his province, and built many cities which he called Cesareas.

5 And when he observed that there was a city by the sea-side that was much decayed, [its name was Strato's Tower,] but that the place, by the happiness of its situation, was capable of great improvements from his liberality, he rebuilt it all with white stone, and adorned it with several most splendid palaces, wherein he especially demonstrated his magnanimity; for the case was this, that all the sea-shore between Dora and Joppa, in the middle, between which this city is situated, had no good haven, insomuch that every one that sailed from Phoenicia for Egypt was obliged to lie in the stormy sea, by reason of the south winds that threatened them; which wind, if it blew but a little fresh, such vast waves are raised, and dash upon the rocks, that upon their retreat the sea is in a great ferment for a long way. But the king, by the expenses he was at, and the liberal disposal of them, overcame nature, and built a haven larger than was the Pyrecum [at Athens]; and in the inner retirements of the water he built other deep stations [for the ships also].

6 Now although the place where he built was greatly opposite to his purposes, yet did he so fully struggle with that difficulty, that the firmness of his building could not easily be conquered by the sea; and the beauty and ornament of the works were such, as though he had not had any difficulty in the operation; for when he had measured out as large a space as we have before mentioned, he let down stones into twenty fathom water, the greatest part of which were fifty feet in length, and nine in depth, and ten in breadth, and some still larger. But when the haven was filled up to that depth, he enlarged that wall which was thus already extant above the sea, till it was two hundred feet wide; one hundred of which had buildings before it, in order to break the force of the waves, whence it was called Procumatia, or the first breaker of the waves; but the rest of the space was under a stone wall that ran round it. On this wall were very large towers, the principal and most beautiful of which was called Drusium, from Drusus, who was son-in-law to Caesar.

7 There were also a great number of arches, where the mariners dwelt; and all the places before them round about was a large valley, or walk, for a quay [or landing-place] to those that came on shore; but the entrance was on the north, because the north wind was there the most gentle of all the winds. At the mouth of the haven were on each side three great Colossi, supported by pillars, where those Colossi that are on your left hand as you sail into the port are supported by a solid tower; but those on the right hand are supported by two upright stones joined together, which stones were larger than that tower which was on the other side of the entrance. Now there were continual edifices joined to the haven, which were also themselves of white stone; and to this haven did the narrow streets of the city lead, and were built at equal distances one from another. And over against the mouth of the haven, upon an elevation, there was a temple for Caesar, which was excellent both in beauty and largeness; and therein was a Colossus of Caesar, not less than that of Jupiter Olympius, which it was made to resemble. The other Colossus of Rome was equal to that of Juno at Argos. So he dedicated the city to the province, and the haven to the sailors there; but the honour of the building he ascribed to Caesar, and named it Cesarea accordingly.

8 He also built the other edifices, the amphitheater, and theater, and market-place, in a manner agreeable to that denomination; and appointed games every fifth year, and called them, in like manner, Caesar's Games; and he first himself proposed the largest prizes upon the hundred ninety-second olympiad; in which not only the victors themselves, but those that came next to them, and even those that came in the third place, were partakers of his royal bounty. He also rebuilt Anthedon, a city that lay on the coast, and had been demolished in the wars, and named it Agrippeum. Moreover, he had so very great a kindness for his friend Agrippa, that he had his name engraved upon that gate which he had himself erected in the temple.

9 Herod was also a lover of his father, if any other person ever was so; for he made a monument for his father, even that city which he built in the finest plain that was in his kingdom, and which had rivers and trees in abundance, and named it Antipatris. He also built a wall about a citadel that lay above Jericho, and was a very strong and very fine building, and dedicated it to his mother, and called it Cypros. Moreover, he dedicated a tower that was at Jerusalem, and called it by the name of his brother Phasaelus, whose structure, largeness, and magnificence we shall describe hereafter. He also built another city in the valley that leads northward from Jericho, and named it Phasaelis.

10 And as he transmitted to eternity his family and friends, so did he not neglect a memorial for himself, but built a fortress upon a mountain towards Arabia, and named it from himself, Herodium and he called that hill that was of the shape of a woman's breast, and was sixty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, by the same name. He also bestowed much curious art upon it, with great ambition, and built round towers all about the top of it, and filled up the remaining space with the most costly palaces round about, insomuch that not only the sight of the inner apartments was splendid, but great wealth was laid out on the outward walls, and partitions, and roofs also. Besides this, he brought a mighty quantity of water from a great distance, and at vast charges, and raised an ascent to it of two hundred steps of the whitest marble, for the hill was itself moderately high, and entirely factitious. He also built other palaces about the roots of the hill, sufficient to receive the furniture that was put into them, with his friends also, insomuch that, on account of its containing all necessaries, the fortress might seem to be a city, but, by the bounds it had, a palace only.

11 And when he had built so much, he showed the greatness of his soul to no small number of foreign cities. He built palaces for exercise at Tripoli, and Damascus, and Ptolemais; he built a wall about Byblus, as also large rooms, and cloisters, and temples, and market-places at Berytus and Tyre, with theatres at Sidon and Damascus. He also built aqueducts for those Laodiceans who lived by the sea-side; and for those of Ascalon he built baths and costly fountains, as also cloisters round a court, that were admirable both for their workmanship and largeness. Moreover, he dedicated groves and meadows to some people; nay, not a few cities there were who had lands of his donation, as if they were parts of his own kingdom. He also bestowed annual revenues, and those for ever also, on the settlements for exercises, and appointed for them, as well as for the people of Cos, that such rewards should never be wanting. He also gave corn to all such as wanted it, and conferred upon Rhodes large sums of money for building ships; and this he did in many places, and frequently also. And when Apollo's temple had been burnt down, he rebuilt it at his own charges, after a better manner than it was before. What need I speak of the presents he made to the Lycians and Samnians? or of his great liberality through all Ionia? and that according to every body's wants of them. And are not the Athenians, and Lacedemonians, and Nicopolitans, and that Pergamus which is in Mysia, full of donations that Herod presented them withal? And as for that large open place belonging to Antioch in Syria, did not he pave it with polished marble, though it were twenty furlongs long? and this when it was shunned by all men before, because it was full of dirt and filthiness, when he besides adorned the same place with a cloister of the same length.

12 It is true, a man may say, these were favours peculiar to those particular places on which he bestowed his benefits; but then what favours he bestowed on the Eleans was a donation not only in common to all Greece, but to all the habitable earth, as far as the glory of the Olympic games reached. For when he perceived that they were come to nothing, for want of money, and that the only remains of ancient Greece were in a manner gone, he not only became one of the combatants in that return of the fifth-year games, which in his sailing to Rome he happened to be present at, but he settled upon them revenues of money for perpetuity, insomuch that his memorial as a combatant there can never fail. It would be an infinite task if I should go over his payments of people's debts, or tributes, for them, as he eased the people of Phasaelis, of Batanea, and of the small cities about Cilicia, of those annual pensions they before paid. However, the fear he was in much disturbed the greatness of his soul, lest he should be exposed to envy, or seem to hunt after greater filings than he ought, while he bestowed more liberal gifts upon these cities than did their owners themselves.

13 Now Herod had a body suited to his soul, and was ever a most excellent hunter, where he generally had good success, by the means of his great skill in riding horses; for in one day he caught forty wild beasts: that country breeds also bears, and the greatest part of it is replenished with stags and wild asses. He was also such a warrior as could not be withstood: many men, therefore, there are who have stood amazed at his readiness in his exercises, when they saw him throw the javelin directly forward, and shoot the arrow upon the mark. And then, besides these performances of his depending on his own strength of mind and body, fortune was also very favourable to him; for he seldom failed of success in his wars; and when he failed, he was not himself the occasion of such failings, but he either was betrayed by some, or the rashness of his own soldiers procured his defeat.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 22

The Murder Of Aristobulus And Hyrcanus, The High Priests, As Also Of Mariamne The Queen.

1 However, fortune was avenged on Herod in his external great successes, by raising him up domestical troubles; and he

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began to have wild disorders in his family, on account of his wife, of whom he was so very fond. For when he came to the government, he sent away her whom he had before married when he was a private person, and who was born at Jerusalem, whose name was Doris, and married Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus; on whose account disturbances arose in his family, and that in part very soon, but chiefly after his return from Rome. For, first of all, he expelled Antipater the son of Doris, for the sake of his sons by Mariamne, out of the city, and permitted him to come thither at no other times than at the festivals. After this he slew his wife's grandfather, Hyrcanus, when he was returned out of Parthin to him, under this pretense, that he suspected him of plotting against him. Now this Hyrcanus had been carried captive to Barzapharnes, when he overran Syria; but those of his own country beyond Euphrates were desirous he would stay with them, and this out of the commiseration they had for his condition; and had he complied with their desires, when they exhorted him not to go over the river to Herod, he had not perished: but the marriage of his granddaughter [to Herod] was his temptation; for as he relied upon him, and was over-fond of his own country, he came back to it. Herod's provocation was this,—not that Hyrcanus made any attempt to gain the kingdom, but that it was fitter for him to be their king than for Herod.

2 Now of the five children which Herod had by Mariamne, two of them were daughters, and three were sons; and the youngest of these sons was educated at Rome, and there died; but the two eldest he treated as those of royal blood, on account of the nobility of their mother, and because they were not born till he was king. But then what was stronger than all this was the love that he bare to Mariamne, and which inflamed him every day to a great degree, and so far conspired with the other motives, that he felt no other troubles, on account of her he loved so entirely. But Mariamne's hatred to him was not inferior to his love to her. She had indeed but too just a cause of indignation from what he had done, while her boldness proceeded from his affection to her; so she openly reproached him with what he had done to her grandfather Hyrcanus, and to her brother Aristobulus; for he had not spared this Aristobulus, though he were but a child; for when he had given him the high priesthood at the age of seventeen, he slew him quickly after he had conferred that dignity upon him; but when Aristobulus had put on the holy vestments, and had approached to the altar at a festival, the multitude, in great crowds, fell into tears; whereupon the child was sent by night to Jericho, and was there dipped by the Galls, at Herod's command, in a pool till he was drowned.

3 For these reasons Mariamne reproached Herod, and his sister and mother, after a most contumelious manner, while he was dumb on account of his affection for her; yet had the women great indignation at her, and raised a calumny against her, that she was false to his bed; which thing they thought most likely to move Herod to anger. They also contrived to have many other circumstances believed, in order to make the thing more credible, and accused her of having sent her picture into Egypt to Antony, and that her lust was so extravagant, as to have thus showed herself, though she was absent, to a man that ran mad after women, and to a man that had it in his power to use violence to her. This charge fell like a thunderbolt upon Herod, and put him into disorder; and that especially, because his love to her occasioned him to be jealous, and because he considered with himself that Cleopatra was a shrewd woman, and that on her account Lysanias the king was taken off, as well as Malichus the Arabian; for his fear did not only extend to the dissolving of his marriage, but to the danger of his life.

4 When therefore he was about to take a journey abroad, he committed his wife to Joseph, his sister Salome's husband, as to one who would be faithful to him, and bare him good-will on account of their kindred; he also gave him a secret injunction, that if Antony slew him, he should slay her. But Joseph, without any ill design, and only in order to demonstrate the king's love to his wife, how he could not bear to think of being separated from her, even by death itself, discovered this grand secret to her; upon which, when Herod was come back, and as they talked together, and he confirmed his love to her by many oaths, and assured her that he had never such an affection for any other woman as he had for her—"Yes," says she, "thou didst, to be sure, demonstrate thy love to me by the injunctions thou gavest Joseph, when thou commandedst him to kill me."

5 When he heard that this grand secret was discovered, he was like a distracted man, and said that Joseph would never have disclosed that injunction of his, unless he had debauched her. His passion also made him stark mad, and leaping out of his bed, he ran about the palace after a wild manner; at which time his sister Salome took the opportunity also to blast her reputation, and confirmed his suspicion about Joseph; whereupon, out of his ungovernable jealousy and rage, he commanded both of them to be slain immediately; but as soon as ever his passion was over, he repented of what he had done, and as soon as his anger was worn off, his affections were kindled again. And indeed the flame of his desires for her was so ardent, that he could not think she was dead, but would appear, under his disorders, to speak to her as if she were still alive, till he were better instructed by time, when his grief and trouble, now she was dead, appeared as great as his affection had been for her while she was living.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 23

Calumnies Against The Sons Of Mariamne. Antipateris Preferred Before Them. They Are Accused Before Caesar, And Herod Is Reconciled To Them.

1 Now Mariamne's sons were heirs to that hatred which had been borne their mother; and when they considered the greatness of Herod's crime towards her, they were suspicious of him as of an enemy of theirs; and this first while they were educated at Rome, but still more when they were returned to Judea. This temper of theirs increased upon them as they grew up to be men; and when they were Come to an age fit for marriage, the one of them married their aunt Salome's daughter, which Salome had been the accuser of their mother; the other married the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. And now they used boldness in speaking, as well as bore hatred in their minds. Now those that calumniated them took a handle from such their boldness, and certain of them spake now more plainly to the king that there were treacherous designs laid against him by both his sons; and he that was son-in-law to Archelaus, relying upon his father-in-law, was preparing to fly away, in order to accuse Herod before Caesar; and when Herod's head had been long enough filled with these calumnies, he brought Antipater, whom he had by Doris, into favour again, as a defense to him against his other sons, and began all the ways he possibly could to prefer him before them.

2 But these sons were not able to bear this change in their affairs; but when they saw him that was born of a mother of no family, the nobility of their birth made them unable to contain their indignation; but whensoever they were uneasy, they showed the anger they had at it. And as these sons did day after day improve in that their anger, Antipater already exercised all his own abilities, which were very great, in flattering his father, and in contriving many sorts of calumnies against his brethren, while he told some stories of them himself, and put it upon other proper persons to raise other stories against them, till at length he entirely cut his brethren off from all hopes of succeeding to the kingdom; for he was already publicly put into his father's will as his successor. Accordingly, he was sent with royal ornaments, and other marks of royalty, to Caesar, excepting the diadem. He was also able in time to introduce his mother again into Mariamne's bed. The two sorts of weapons he made use of against his brethren were flattery and calumny, whereby he brought matters privately to such a pass, that the king had thoughts of putting his sons to death.

3 So the father drew Alexander as far as Rome, and charged him with an attempt of poisoning him before Caesar. Alexander could hardly speak for lamentation; but having a judge that was more skillful than Antipater, and more wise than Herod, he modestly avoided laying any imputation upon his father, but with great strength of reason confuted the calumnies laid against him; and when he had demonstrated the innocency of his brother, who was in the like danger with himself, he at last bewailed the craftiness of Antipater, and the disgrace they were under. He was enabled also to justify himself, not only by a clear conscience, which he carried within him, but by his eloquence; for he was a shrewd man in making speeches. And upon his saying at last, that if his father objected this crime to them, it was in his power to put them to death, he made all the audience weep; and he brought Caesar to that pass, as to reject the accusations, and to reconcile their father to them immediately. But the conditions of this reconciliation were these, that they should in all things be obedient to their father, and that he should have power to leave the kingdom to which of them he pleased.

4 After this the king came back from Rome, and seemed to have forgiven his sons upon these accusations; but still so that he was not without his suspicions of them. They were followed by Antipater, who was the fountain-head of those accusations; yet did not he openly discover his hatred to them, as revering him that had reconciled them. But as Herod sailed by Cilicia, he touched at Eleusa, where Archelaus treated them in the most obliging manner, and gave him thanks for the deliverance of his son-in-law, and was much pleased at their reconciliation; and this the more, because he had formerly written to his friends at Rome that they should be assisting to Alexander at his trial. So he conducted Herod as far as Zephyrium, and made him presents to the value of thirty talents.

5 Now when Herod was come to Jerusalem, he gathered the people together, and presented to them his three sons, and gave them an apologetic account of his absence, and thanked God greatly, and thanked Caesar greatly also, for settling his house when it was under disturbances, and had procured concord among his sons, which was of greater consequence than the kingdom itself,—"and which I will render still more firm; for Caesar hath put into my power to dispose of the government, and to appoint my successor. Accordingly, in way of requital for his kindness, and in order to provide for mine own advantage, I do declare that these three sons of mine shall be kings. And, in the first place, I pray for the approbation of God to what I am about; and, in the next place, I desire your approbation also. The age of one of them, and the nobility of the other two, shall procure them the succession. Nay, indeed, my kingdom is so large that it may be sufficient for more kings. Now do you keep those in their places whom Caesar hath joined, and their father hath appointed; and do not you pay undue or unequal respects to them, but to every one according to the prerogative of their births; for he that pays such respects unduly, will thereby not make him that is honoured beyond what his age requires so joyful, as he will make him that is dishonoured sorrowful. As for the kindred and friends that are to converse with them, I will appoint them to each of them, and will so constitute them, that they may be securities for their concord; as well knowing that the ill tempers of those with whom they converse will produce quarrels and contentions among them; but that if these with whom they converse be of good tempers, they will preserve their natural affections for one another. But still I desire that not these only, but all the captains of my army, have for the present their hopes placed on me alone; for I do not give away my kingdom to these my sons, but give them royal honours only; whereby it will come to pass that they will enjoy the sweet parts of government as rulers themselves, but that the burden of administration will rest upon myself whether I will or not. And let every one consider what age I am of, how I have conducted my life, and what piety I have exercised; for my age is not so great that men may soon expect the end of my life; nor have I indulged such a luxurious way of living as cuts men off when they are young; and we have been so religious towards God, that we [have reason to hope we] may arrive at a very great age. But for such as cultivate a friendship with my sons, so as to aim at my destruction, they shall be punished by me on their account. I am not one who envy my own children, and therefore forbid men to pay them great respect; but I know that such [extravagant] respects are the way to make them insolent. And if every one that comes near them does but revolve this in his mind, that if he prove a good man, he shall receive a reward from me, but that if he prove seditious, his ill-intended complaisance shall get him nothing from him to whom it is shown, I suppose they will all be of my side, that is, of my sons' side; for it will be for their advantage that I reign, and that I be at concord with them. But do you, O my good children, reflect upon the holiness of nature itself, by whose means natural affection is preserved, even among wild beasts; in the next place, reflect upon Caesar, who hath made this reconciliation among us; and in the third place, reflect upon me, who entreat you to do what I have power to command you,—continue brethren. I give you royal garments, and royal honours; and I pray to God to preserve what I have determined, in case you be at concord one with another." When the king had thus spoken, and had saluted every one of his sons after an obliging manner, he dismissed the multitude; some of which gave their assent to what he had said, and wished it might take effect accordingly; but for those who wished for a change of affairs, they pretended they did not so much as hear what he said.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 24

The Malice Of Antipater And Doris. Alexander Is Very Uneasy On Glaphyras Account. Herod Pardons Pheroras, Whom He Suspected, And Salome Whom He Knew To Make Mischief Among Them. Herod's Eunuchs Are Tortured And Alexander Is Bound.

1 But now the quarrel that was between them still accompanied these brethren when they parted, and the suspicions they had one of the other grew worse. Alexander and Aristobulus were much grieved that the privilege of the first-born was confirmed to Antipater; as was Antipater very angry at his brethren that they were to succeed him. But then this last being of a disposition that was mutable and politic, he knew how to hold his tongue, and used a great deal of cunning, and thereby concealed the hatred he bore to them; while the former, depending on the nobility of their births, had every thing upon their tongues which was in their minds. Many also there were who provoked them further, and many of their [seeming] friends insinuated themselves into their acquaintance, to spy out what they did. Now every thing that was said by Alexander was presently brought to Antipater, and from Antipater it was brought to Herod with additions. Nor could the young man say any thing in the simplicity of his heart, without giving offense, but what he said was still turned to calumny against him. And if he had been at any time a little free in his conversation, great imputations were forged from the smallest occasions. Antipater also was perpetually setting some to provoke him to speak, that the lies he raised of him might seem to have some foundation of truth; and if, among the many stories that were given out, but one of them could be proved true, that was supposed to imply the rest to be true also. And as to Antipater's friends, they were all either naturally so cautious in speaking, or had been so far bribed to

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conceal their thoughts, that nothing of these grand secrets got abroad by their means. Nor should one be mistaken if he called the life of Antipater a mystery of wickedness; for he either corrupted Alexander's acquaintance with money, or got into their favour by flatteries; by which two means he gained all his designs, and brought them to betray their master, and to steal away, and reveal what he either did or said. Thus did he act a part very cunningly in all points, and wrought himself a passage by his calumnies with the greatest shrewdness; while he put on a face as if he were a kind brother to Alexander and Aristobulus, but suborned other men to inform of what they did to Herod. And when any thing was told against Alexander, he would come in, and pretend [to be of his side], and would begin to contradict what was said; but would afterward contrive matters so privately, that the king should have an indignation at him. His general aim was this,—to lay a plot, and to make it believed that Alexander lay in wait to kill his father; for nothing afforded so great a confirmation to these calumnies as did Antipater's apologies for him.

2 By these methods Herod was inflamed, and as much as his natural affection to the young men did every day diminish, so much did it increase towards Antipater. The courtiers also inclined to the same conduct, some of their own accord, and others by the king's injunction, as particularly did Ptolemy, the king's dearest friend, as also the king's brethren, and all his children; for Antipater was all in all; and what was the bitterest part of all to Alexander, Antipater's mother was also all in all; she was one that gave counsel against them, and was more harsh than a step-mother, and one that hated the queen's sons more than is usual to hate sons-in-law. All men did therefore already pay their respects to Antipater, in hopes of advantage; and it was the king's command which alienated every body [from the brethren], he having given this charge to his most intimate friends, that they should not come near, nor pay any regard, to Alexander, or to his friends. Herod was also become terrible, not only to his domestics about the court, but to his friends abroad; for Caesar had given such a privilege to no other king as he had given to him, which was this,—that he might fetch back any one that fled from him, even out of a city that was not under his own jurisdiction. Now the young men were not acquainted with the calumnies raised against them; for which reason they could not guard themselves against them, but fell under them; for their father did not make any public complaints against either of them; though in a little time they perceived how things were by his coldness to them, and by the great uneasiness he showed upon any thing that troubled him. Antipater had also made their uncle Pheroras to be their enemy, as well as their aunt Salome, while he was always talking with her, as with a wife, and irritating her against them. Moreover, Alexander's wife, Glaphyra, augmented this hatred against them, by deriving her nobility and genealogy [from great persons], and pretending that she was a lady superior to all others in that kingdom, as being derived by her father's side from Temenus, and by her mother's side from Darius, the son of Hystaspes. She also frequently reproached Herod's sister and wives with the ignobility of their descent; and that they were every one chosen by him for their beauty, but not for their family. Now those wives of his were not a few; it being of old permitted to the Jews to marry many wives, and this king delighting in many; all which hated Alexander, on account of Glaphyra's boasting and reproaches.

3 Nay, Aristobulus had raised a quarrel between himself and Salome, who was his mother-in-law, besides the anger he had conceived at Glaphyra's reproaches; for he perpetually upbraided his wife with the meanness of her family, and complained, that as he had married a woman of a low family, so had his brother Alexander married one of royal blood. At this Salome's daughter wept, and told it her with this addition, that Alexander threatened the mothers of his other brethren, that when he should come to the crown, he would make them weave with their maidens, and would make those brothers of his country schoolmasters; and brake this jest upon them, that they had been very carefully instructed, to fit them for such an employment. Hereupon Salome could not contain her anger, but told all to Herod; nor could her testimony be suspected, since it was against her own son-in-law There was also another calumny that ran abroad and inflamed the king's mind; for he heard that these sons of his were perpetually speaking of their mother, and, among their lamentations for her, did not abstain from cursing him; and that when he made presents of any of Mariamne's garments to his later wives, these threatened that in a little time, instead of royal garments, they would clothe theft in no better than hair-cloth.

4 Now upon these accounts, though Herod was somewhat afraid of the young men's high spirit, yet did he not despair of reducing them to a better mind; but before he went to Rome, whither he was now going by sea, he called them to him, and partly threatened them a little, as a king; but for the main, he admonished them as a father, and exhorted them to love their brethren, and told them that he would pardon their former offenses, if they would amend for the time to come. But they refuted the calumnies that had been raised of them, and said they were false, and alleged that their actions were sufficient for their vindication; and said withal, that he himself ought to shut his ears against such tales, and not be too easy in believing them, for that there would never be wanting those that would tell lies to their disadvantage, as long as any would give ear to them.

5 When they had thus soon pacified him, as being their father, they got clear of the present fear they were in. Yet did they see occasion for sorrow in some time afterward; for they knew that Salome, as well as their uncle Pheroras, were their enemies; who were both of them heavy and severe persons, and especially Pheroras, who was a partner with Herod in all the affairs of the kingdom, excepting his diadem. He had also a hundred talents of his own revenue, and enjoyed the advantage of all the land beyond Jordan, which he had received as a gift from his brother, who had asked of Caesar to make him a tetrarch, as he was made accordingly. Herod had also given him a wife out of the royal family, who was no other than his own wife's sister, and after her death had solemnly espoused to him his own eldest daughter, with a dowry of three hundred talents; but Pheroras refused to consummate this royal marriage, out of his affection to a maidservant of his. Upon which account Herod was very angry, and gave that daughter in marriage to a brother's son of his, [Joseph,] who was slain afterward by the Parthians; but in some time he laid aside his anger against Pheroras, and pardoned him, as one not able to overcome his foolish passion for the maid-servant.

6 Nay, Pheroras had been accused long before, while the queen [Mariamne] was alive, as if he were in a plot to poison Herod; and there came then so great a number of informers, that Herod himself, though he was an exceeding lover of his brethren, was brought to believe what was said, and to be afraid of it also. And when he had brought many of those that were under suspicion to the torture, he came at last to Pheroras's own friends; none of which did openly confess the crime, but they owned that he had made preparation to take her whom he loved, and run away to the Parthians. Costobarus also, the husband of Salome, to whom the king had given her in marriage, after her former husband had been put to death for adultery, was instrumental in bringing about this contrivance and flight of his. Nor did Salome escape all calumny upon herself; for her brother Pheroras accused her that she had made an agreement to marry Silleus, the procurator of Obodas, king of Arabia, who was at bitter enmity with Herod; but when she was convicted of this, and of all that Pheroras had accused her of, she obtained her pardon. The king also pardoned Pheroras himself the crimes he had been accused of.

7 But the storm of the whole family was removed to Alexander, and all of it rested upon his head. There were three eunuchs who were in the highest esteem with the king, as was plain by the offices they were in about him; for one of them was appointed to be his butler, another of them got his supper ready for him, and the third put him into bed, and lay down by him. Now Alexander had prevailed with these men, by large gifts, to let him use them after an obscene manner; which, when it was told to the king, they were tortured, and found guilty, and presently confessed the criminal conversation he had with them. They also discovered the promises by which they were induced so to do, and how they were deluded by Alexander, who had told them that they ought not to fix their hopes upon Herod, an old man, and one so shameless as to colour his hair, unless they thought that would make him young again; but that they ought to fix their attention to him who was to be his successor in the kingdom, whether he would or not; and who in no long time would avenge himself on his enemies, and make his friends happy and blessed, and themselves in the first place; that the men of power did already pay respects to Alexander privately, and that the captains of the soldiery, and the officers, did secretly come to him.

8 These confessions did so terrify Herod, that he durst not immediately publish them; but he sent spies abroad privately, by night and by day, who should make a close inquiry after all that was done and said; and when any were but suspected [of treason], he put them to death, insomuch that the palace was full of horribly unjust proceedings; for every body forged calumnies, as they were themselves in a state of enmity or hatred against others; and many there were who abused the king's bloody passion to the disadvantage of those with whom they had quarrels, and lies were easily believed, and punishments were inflicted sooner than the calumnies were forged. He who had just then been accusing another was accused himself, and was led away to execution together with him whom he had convicted; for the danger the king was in of his life made examinations be very short. He also proceeded to such a degree of bitterness, that he could not look on any of those that were not accused with a pleasant countenance, but was in the most barbarous disposition towards his own friends. Accordingly, he forbade a great many of them to come to court, and to those whom he had not power to punish actually he spake harshly. But for Antipater, he insulted Alexander, now he was under his misfortunes, and got a stout company of his kindred together, and raised all sorts of calumny against him; and for the king, he was brought to such a degree of terror by those prodigious slanders and contrivances, that he fancied he saw Alexander coming to him with a drawn sword in his hand. So he caused him to be seized upon immediately, and bound, and fell to examining his friends by torture, many of whom died [under the torture], but would discover nothing, nor say any thing against their consciences; but some of them, being forced to speak falsely by the pains they endured, said that Alexander, and his brother Aristobulus, plotted against him, and waited for an opportunity to kill him as he was hunting, and then fly away to Rome. These accusations though they were of an incredible nature, and only framed upon the great distress they were in, were readily believed by the king, who thought it some comfort to him, after he had bound his son, that it might appear he had not done it unjustly.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 25

Archelaus Procures A Reconciliation Between Alexander Pheroras, And Herod.

1 Now as to Alexander, since he perceived it impossible to persuade his father [that he was innocent], he resolved to meet his calamities, how severe soever they were; so he composed four books against his enemies, and confessed that he had been in a plot; but declared withal that the greatest part [of the courtiers] were in a plot with him, and chiefly Pheroras and Salome; nay, that Salome once came and forced him to lie with her in the night time, whether he would or no. These books were put into Herod's hands, and made a great clamour against the men in power. And now it was that Archelaus came hastily into Judea, as being affrighted for his son-in-law and his daughter; and he came as a proper assistant, and in a very prudent manner, and by a stratagem he obliged the king not to execute what he had threatened; for when he was come to him, he cried out, "Where in the world is this wretched son-in-law of mine? Where shall I see the head of him which contrived to murder his father, which I will tear to pieces with my own hands? I will do the same also to my daughter, who hath such a fine husband; for although she be not a partner in the plot, yet, by being the wife of such a creature, she is polluted. And I cannot but admire at thy patience, against whom this plot is laid, if Alexander be still alive; for as I came with what haste I could from Cappadocia, I expected to find him put to death for his crimes long ago; but still, in order to make an examination with thee about my daughter, whom, out of regard to thee and by dignity, I had espoused to him in marriage; but now we must take counsel about them both; and if thy paternal affection be so great, that thou canst not punish thy son, who hath plotted against thee, let us change our right hands, and let us succeed one to the other in expressing our rage upon this occasion."

2 When he had made this pompous declaration, he got Herod to remit of his anger, though he were in disorder, who thereupon gave him the books which Alexander had composed to be read by him; and as he came to every head, he considered of it, together with Herod. So Archelaus took hence the occasion for that stratagem which he made use of, and by degrees he laid the blame on those men whose names were in these books, and especially upon Pheroras; and when he saw that the king believed him [to be in earnest], he said, "We must consider whether the young man be not himself plotted against by such a number of wicked wretches, and not thou plotted against by the young man; for I cannot see any occasion for his falling into so horrid a crime, since he enjoys the advantages of royalty already, and has the expectation of being one of thy successors; I mean this, unless there were some persons that persuade him to it, and such persons as make an ill use of the facility they know there is to persuade young men; for by such persons, not only young men are sometimes imposed upon, but old men also, and by them sometimes are the most illustrious families and kingdoms overturned."

3 Herod assented to what he had said, and, by degrees, abated of his anger against Alexander, but was more angry at Pheroras; for the principal subject of the four books was Pheroras; who perceiving that the king's inclinations changed on a sudden, and that Archelaus's friendship could do every thing with him, and that he had no honourable method of preserving himself, he procured his safety by his impudence. So he left Alexander, and had recourse to Archelaus, who told him that he did not see how he could get him excused, now he was directly caught in so many crimes, whereby it was evidently demonstrated that he had plotted against the king, and had been the cause of those misfortunes which the young man was now under, unless he would moreover leave off his cunning knavery, and his denials of what he was charged withal, and confess the charge, and implore pardon of his brother, who still had a kindness for him; but that if he would do so, he would afford him all the assistance he was able.

4 With this advice Pheroras complied, and putting himself into such a habit as might most move compassion, he came with black cloth upon his body, and tears in his eyes, and threw himself down at Herod's feet, and begged his pardon for

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what he had done, and confessed that he had acted very wickedly, and was guilty of every thing that he had been accused of, and lamented that disorder of his mind, and distraction which his love to a woman, he said, had brought him to. So when Archelaus had brought Pheroras to accuse and bear witness against himself, he then made an excuse for him, and mitigated Herod's anger towards him, and this by using certain domestical examples; for that when he had suffered much greater mischiefs from a brother of his own, he prefered the obligations of nature before the passion of revenge; because it is in kingdoms as it is in gross bodies, where some member or other is ever swelled by the body's weight, in which case it is not proper to cut off such member, but to heal it by a gentle method of cure.

5 Upon Arehelaus's saying this, and much more to the same purpose, Herod's displeasure against Pheroras was mollified; yet did he persevere in his own indignation against Alexander, and said he would have his daughter divorced, and taken away from him, and this till he had brought Herod to that pass, that, contrary to his former behavior to him, he petitioned Archelaus for the young man, and that he would let his daughter continue espoused to him: but Archelaus made him strongly believe that he would permit her to be married to any one else, but not to Alexander, because he looked upon it as a very valuable advantage, that the relation they had contracted by that affinity, and the privileges that went along with it, might be preserved. And when the king said that his son would take it for a great favour to him, if he would not dissolve that marriage, especially since they had already children between the young man and her, and since that wife of his was so well beloved by him, and that as while she remains his wife she would be a great preservative to him, and keep him from offending, as he had formerly done; so if she should be once torn away from him, she would be the cause of his falling into despair, because such young men's attempts are best mollified when they are diverted from them by settling their affections at home. So Arehelaus complied with what Herod desired, but not without difficulty, and was both himself reconciled to the young man, and reconciled his father to him also. However, he said he must, by all means, be sent to Rome to discourse with Caesar, because he had already written a full account to him of this whole matter.

6 Thus a period was put to Archelaus's stratagem, whereby he delivered his son-in-law out of the dangers he was in; but when these reconciliations were over, they spent their time in feastings and agreeable entertainments. And when Archelaus was going away, Herod made him a present of seventy talents, with a golden throne set with precious stones, and some eunuchs, and a concubine who was called Pannychis. He also paid due honours to every one of his friends according to their dignity. In like manner did all the king's kindred, by his command, make glorious presents to Archelaus; and so he was conducted on his way by Herod and his nobility as far as Antioch.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 26

How Eurycles Calumniated The Sons Of Mariamne; And How Euaratus Of Cos's Apology For Them Had No Effect.

1 Now a little afterward there came into Judea a man that was much superior to Arehelaus's stratagems, who did not only overturn that reconciliation that had been so wisely made with Alexander, but proved the occasion of his ruin. He was a Lacedemonian, and his name was Eurycles. He was so corrupt a man, that out of the desire of getting money, he chose to live under a king, for Greece could not suffice his luxury. He presented Herod with splendid gifts, as a bait which he laid in order to compass his ends, and quickly received them back again manifold; yet did he esteem bare gifts as nothing, unless he imbrued the kingdom in blood by his purchases. Accordingly, he imposed upon the king by flattering him, and by talking subtlely to him, as also by the lying encomiums which he made upon him; for as he soon perceived Herod's blind side, so he said and did every thing that might please him, and thereby became one of his most intimate friends; for both the king and all that were about him had a great regard for this Spartan, on account of his country.

2 Now as soon as this fellow perceived the rotten parts of the family, and what quarrels the brothers had one with another, and in what disposition the father was towards each of them, he chose to take his lodging at the first in the house of Antipater, but deluded Alexander with a pretense of friendship to him, and falsely claimed to be an old acquaintance of Archelaus; for which reason he was presently admitted into Alexander's familiarity as a faithful friend. He also soon recommended himself to his brother Aristobulus. And when he had thus made trial of these several persons, he imposed upon one of them by one method, and upon another by another. But he was principally hired by Antipater, and so betrayed Alexander, and this by reproaching Antipater, because, while he was the eldest son he overlooked the intrigues of those who stood in the way of his expectations; and by reproaching Alexander, because he who was born of a queen, and was married to a king's daughter, permitted one that was born of a mean woman to lay claim to the succession, and this when he had Archelaus to support him in the most complete manner. Nor was his advice thought to be other than faithful by the young man, because of his pretended friendship with Archelaus; on which account it was that Alexander lamented to him Antipater's behavior with regard to himself, and this without concealing any thing from him; and how it was no wonder if Herod, after he had killed their mother, should deprive them of her kingdom. Upon this Eurycles pretended to commiserate his condition, and to grieve with him. He also, by a bait that he laid for him, procured Aristobulus to say the same things. Thus did he inveigle both the brothers to make complaints of their father, and then went to Antipater, and carried these grand secrets to him. He also added a fiction of his own, as if his brothers had laid a plot against him, and were almost ready to come upon him with their drawn swords. For this intelligence he received a great sum of money, and on that account he commended Antipater before his father, and at length undertook the work of bringing Alexander and Aristobulus to their graves, and accused them before their father. So he came to Herod, and told him that he would save his life, as a requital for the favours he had received from him, and would preserve his light [of life] by way of retribution for his kind entertainment; for that a sword had been long whetted, and Alexander's right hand had been long stretched out against him; but that he had laid impediments in his way, prevented his speed, and that by pretending to assist him in his design: how Alexander said that Herod was not contented to reign in a kingdom that belonged to others, and to make dilapidations in their mother's government after he had killed her; but besides all this, that he introduced a spurious successor, and proposed to give the kingdom of their ancestors to that pestilent fellow Antipater:—that he would now appease the ghosts of Hyrcanus and Mariamne, by taking vengeance on him; for that it was not fit for him to take the succession to the government from such a father without bloodshed: that many things happen every day to provoke him so to do, insomuch that he can say nothing at all, but it affords occasion for calumny against him; for that if any mention be made of nobility of birth, even in other cases, he is abused unjustly, while his father would say that nobody, to be sure, is of noble birth but Alexander, and that his father was inglorious for want of such nobility. If they be at any time hunting, and he says nothing, he gives offense; and if he commends any body, they take it in way of jest. That they always find their father unmercifully severe, and have no natural affection for any of them but for Antipater; on which accounts, if this plot does not take, he is very willing to die; but that in case he kill his father, he hath sufficient opportunities for saving himself. In the first place, he hath Archelaus his father-in-law to whom he can easily fly; and in the next place, he hath Caesar, who had never known Herod's character to this day; for that he shall not appear then before him with that dread he used to do when his father was there to terrify him; and that he will not then produce the accusations that concerned himself alone, but would, in the first place, openly insist on the calamities of their nation, and how they are taxed to death, and in what ways of luxury and wicked practices that wealth is spent which was gotten by bloodshed; what sort of persons they are that get our riches, and to whom those cities belong upon whom he bestows his favours; that he would have inquiry made what became of his grandfather [Hyrcanus], and his mother [Mariamne], and would openly proclaim the gross wickedness that was in the kingdom; on which accounts he should not be deemed a parricide.

3 When Eurycles had made this portentous speech, he greatly commended Antipater, as the only child that had an affection for his father, and on that account was an impediment to the other's plot against him. Hereupon the king, who had hardly repressed his anger upon the former accusations, was exasperated to an incurable degree. At which time Antipater took another occasion to send in other persons to his father to accuse his brethren, and to tell him that they had privately discoursed with Jucundus and Tyrannus, who had once been masters of the horse to the king, but for some offenses had been put out of that honourable employment. Herod was in a very great rage at these informations, and presently ordered those men to be tortured; yet did not they confess any thing of what the king had been informed; but a certain letter was produced, as written by Alexander to the governor of a castle, to desire him to receive him and Aristobulus into the castle when he had killed his father, and to give them weapons, and what other assistance he could, upon that occasion. Alexander said that this letter was a forgery of Diophantus. This Diophantus was the king's secretary, a bold man, and cunning in counterfeiting any one's hand; and after he had counterfeited a great number, he was at last put to death for it. Herod did also order the governor of the castle to be tortured, but got nothing out of him of what the accusations suggested.

4 However, although Herod found the proofs too weak, he gave order to have his sons kept in custody; for till now they had been at liberty. He also called that pest of his family, and forger of all this vile accusation, Eurycles, his savior and benefactor, and gave him a reward of fifty talents. Upon which he prevented any accurate accounts that could come of what he had done, by going immediately into Cappadocia, and there he got money of Archelaus, having the impudence to pretend that he had reconciled Herod to Alexander. He thence passed over into Greece, and used what he had thus wickedly gotten to the like wicked purposes. Accordingly, he was twice accused before Caesar, that he had filled Achaia with sedition, and had plundered its cities; and so he was sent into banishment. And thus was he punished for what wicked actions he had been guilty of about Aristobulus and Alexander.

5 But it will now be worth while to put Euaratus of Cos in opposition to this Spartan; for as he was one of Alexander's most intimate friends, and came to him in his travels at the same time that Eurycles came; so the king put the question to him, whether those things of which Alexander was accused were true? He assured him upon oath that he had never heard any such things from the young men; yet did this testimony avail nothing for the clearing those miserable creatures; for Herod was only disposed and most ready to hearken to what made against them, and every one was most agreeable to him that would believe they were guilty, and showed their indignation at them.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 27

Herod By Caesars Direction Accuses His Sons At Eurytus. They Are Not Produced Before The Courts But Yet Are Condemned; And In A Little Time They Are Sent To Sebaste, And Strangled There.

1 Moreover, Salome exasperated Herod's cruelty against his sons; for Aristobulus was desirous to bring her, who was his mother-in-law and his aunt, into the like dangers with themselves; so he sent to her to take care of her own safety, and told her that the king was preparing to put her to death, on account of the accusation that was laid against her, as if when she formerly endeavored to marry herself to Sylleus the Arabian, she had discovered the king's grand secrets to him, who was the king's enemy; and this it was that came as the last storm, and entirely sunk the young men when they were in great danger before. For Salome came running to the king, and informed him of what admonition had been given her; whereupon he could bear no longer, but commanded both the young men to be bound, and kept the one asunder from the other. He also sent Volumnius, the general of his army, to Caesar immediately, as also his friend Olympus with him, who carried the informations in writing along with them. Now as soon as they had sailed to Rome, and delivered the king's letters to Caesar, Caesar was mightily troubled at the case of the young men; yet did not he think he ought to take the power from the father of condemning his sons; so he wrote back to him, and appointed him to have the power over his sons; but said withal, that he would do well to make an examination into this matter of the plot against him in a public court, and to take for his assessors his own kindred, and the governors of the province. And if those sons be found guilty, to put them to death; but if they appear to have thought of no more than flying away from him, that he should moderate their punishment.

2 With these directions Herod complied, and came to Berytus, where Caesar had ordered the court to be assembled, and got the judicature together. The presidents sat first, as Caesar's letters had appointed, who were Saturninus and Pedanius, and their lieutenants that were with them, with whom was the procurator Volumnius also; next to them sat the king's kinsmen and friends, with Salome also, and Pheroras; after whom sat the principal men of all Syria, excepting Archelaus; for Herod had a suspicion of him, because he was Alexander's father-in-law. Yet did not he produce his sons in open court; and this was done very cunningly, for he knew well enough that had they but appeared only, they would certainly have been pitied; and if withal they had been suffered to speak, Alexander would easily have answered what they were accused of; but they were in custody at Platane, a village of the Sidontans.

3 So the king got up, and inveighed against his sons, as if they were present; and as for that part of the accusation that they had plotted against him, he urged it but faintly, because he was destitute of proofs; but he insisted before the assessors on the reproaches, and jests, and injurious carriage, and ten thousand the like offenses against him, which were heavier than death itself; and when nobody contradicted him, he moved them to pity his case, as though he had been condemned himself, now he had gained a bitter victory against his sons. So he asked every one's sentence, which sentence was first of all given by Saturninus, and was this: That he condemned the young men, but not to death; for that it was not fit for him, who had three sons of his own now present, to give his vote for the destruction of the sons of another. The two lieutenants also gave the like vote; some others there were also who followed their example; but Volumnius began to vote on the more melancholy side, and all those that came after him condemned the young men to die,

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some out of flattery, and some out of hatred to Herod; but none out of indignation at their crimes. And now all Syria and Judea was in great expectation, and waited for the last act of this tragedy; yet did nobody, suppose that Herod would be so barbarous as to murder his children: however, he carried them away to Tyre, and thence sailed to Cesarea, and deliberated with himself what sort of death the young men should suffer.

4 Now there was a certain old soldier of the king's, whose name was Tero, who had a son that was very familiar with and a friend to Alexander, and who himself particularly loved the young men. This soldier was in a manner distracted, out of the excess of the indignation he had at what was doing; and at first he cried out aloud, as he went about, that justice was trampled under foot; that truth was perished, and nature confounded; and that the life of man was full of iniquity, and every thing else that passion could suggest to a man who spared not his own life; and at last he ventured to go to the king, and said, "Truly I think thou art a most miserable man, when thou hearkenest to most wicked wretches, against those that ought to be dearest to thee; since thou hast frequently resolved that Pheroras and Salome should be put to death, and yet believest them against thy sons; while these, by cutting off the succession of thine own sons, leave all wholly to Antipater, and thereby choose to have thee such a king as may be thoroughly in their own power. However, consider whether this death of Antipater's brethren will not make him hated by the soldiers; for there is nobody but commiserates the young men; and of the captains, a great many show their indignation at it openly." Upon his saying this, he named those that had such indignation; but the king ordered those men, with Tero himself and his son, to be seized upon immediately.

5 At which time there was a certain barber, whose name was Trypho. This man leaped out from among the people in a kind of madness, and accused himself, and said, "This Tero endeavored to persuade me also to cut thy throat with my razor, when I trimmed thee, and promised that Alexander should give me large presents for so doing." When Herod heard this, he examined Tero, with his son and the barber, by the torture; but as the others denied the accusation, and he said nothing further, Herod gave order that Tero should be racked more severely; but his son, out of pity to his father, promised to discover the whole to the king, if he would grant [that his father should be no longer tortured]. When he had agreed to this, he said that his father, at the persuasion of Alexander, had an intention to kill him. Now some said this was forged, in order to free his father from his torments; and some said it was true.

6 And now Herod accused the captains and Tero in an assembly of the people, and brought the people together in a body against them; and accordingly there were they put to death, together with [Trypho] the barber; they were killed by the pieces of wood and the stones that were thrown at them. He also sent his sons to Sebaste, a city not far from Cesarea, and ordered them to be there strangled; and as what he had ordered was executed immediately, so he commanded that their dead bodies should be brought to the fortress Alexandrium, to be buried with Alexander, their grandfather by the mother's side. And this was the end of Alexander and Aristobulus.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 28

How Antipater Is Hated Of All Men; And How The King Espouses The Sons Of Those That Had Been Slain To His Kindred; But That Antipater Made Him Change Them For Other Women. Of Herod's Marriages, And Children.

1 But an intolerable hatred fell upon Antipater from the nation, though he had now an indisputable title to the succession, because they all knew that he was the person who contrived all the calumnies against his brethren. However, he began to be in a terrible fear, as he saw the posterity of those that had been slain growing up; for Alexander had two sons by Glaphyra, Tigranes and Alexander; and Aristobulus had Herod, and Agrippa, and Aristobulus, his sons, with Herodias and Mariamne, his daughters, and all by Bernice, Salome's daughter. As for Glaphyra, Herod, as soon as he had killed Alexander, sent her back, together with her portion, to Cappadocia. He married Bernice, Aristobulus's daughter, to Antipater's uncle by his mother, and it was Antipater who, in order to reconcile her to him, when she had been at variance with him, contrived this match; he also got into Pheroras's favour, and into the favour of Caesar's friends, by presents, and other ways of obsequiousness, and sent no small sums of money to Rome; Saturninus also, and his friends in Syria, were all well replenished with the presents he made them; yet the more he gave, the more he was hated, as not making these presents out of generosity, but spending his money out of fear. Accordingly, it so fell out that the receivers bore him no more good-will than before, but that those to whom he gave nothing were his more bitter enemies. However, he bestowed his money every day more and more profusely, on observing that, contrary to his expectations, the king was taking care about the orphans, and discovering at the same time his repentance for killing their fathers, by his commiseration of those that sprang from them.

2 Accordingly, Herod got together his kindred and friends, and set before them the children, and, with his eyes full of tears, said thus to them: "It was an unlucky fate that took away from me these children's fathers, which children are recommended to me by that natural commiseration which their orphan condition requires; however, I will endeavor, though I have been a most unfortunate father, to appear a better grandfather, and to leave these children such curators after myself as are dearest to me. I therefore betroth thy daughter, Pheroras, to the elder of these brethren, the children of Alexander, that thou mayst be obliged to take care of them. I also betroth to thy son, Antipater, the daughter of Aristobulus; be thou therefore a father to that orphan; and my son Herod [Philip] shall have her sister, whose grandfather, by the mother's side, was high priest. And let every one that loves me be of my sentiments in these dispositions, which none that hath an affection for me will abrogate. And I pray God that he will join these children together in marriage, to the advantage of my kingdom, and of my posterity; and may he look down with eyes more serene upon them than he looked upon their fathers."

3 While he spake these words he wept, and joined the children's right hands together; after which he embraced them every one after an affectionate manner, and dismissed the assembly. Upon this, Antipater was in great disorder immediately, and lamented publicly at what was done; for he supposed that this dignity which was conferred on these orphans was for his own destruction, even in his father's lifetime, and that he should run another risk of losing the government, if Alexander's sons should have both Archelaus [a king], and Pheroras a tetrarch, to support them. He also considered how he was himself hated by the nation, and how they pitied these orphans; how great affection the Jews bare to those brethren of his when they were alive, and how gladly they remembered them now they had perished by his means. So he resolved by all the ways possible to get these espousals dissolved.

4 Now he was afraid of going subtlely about this matter with his father, who was hard to be pleased, and was presently moved upon the least suspicion: so he ventured to go to him directly, and to beg of him before his face not to deprive him of that dignity which he had been pleased to bestow upon him; and that he might not have the bare name of a king, while the power was in other persons; for that he should never be able to keep the government, if Alexander's son was to have both his grandfather Archelaus and Pheroras for his curators; and he besought him earnestly, since there were so many of the royal family alive, that he would change those [intended] marriages. Now the king had nine wives, and children by seven of them; Antipater was himself born of Doris, and Herod Philip of Mariamne, the high priest's daughter; Antipas also and Archelaus were by Malthace, the Samaritan, as was his daughter Olympias, which his brother Joseph's son had married. By Cleopatra of Jerusalem he had Herod and Philip; and by Pallas, Phasaelus; he had also two daughters, Roxana and Salome, the one by Phedra, and the other by Elpis; he had also two wives that had no children, the one his first cousin, and the other his niece; and besides these he had two daughters, the sisters of Alexander and Aristobulus, by Mariamne. Since, therefore, the royal family was so numerous, Antipater prayed him to change these intended marriages.

5 When the king perceived what disposition he was in towards these orphans, he was angry at it, and a suspicion came into his mind as to those sons whom he had put to death, whether that had not been brought about by the false tales of Antipater; so that at that time he made Antipater a long and a peevish answer, and bid him begone. Yet was he afterwards prevailed upon cunningly by his flatteries, and changed the marriages; he married Aristobulus's daughter to him, and his son to Pheroras's daughter.

6 Now one may learn, in this instance, how very much this flattering Antipater could do,—even what Salome in the like circumstances could not do; for when she, who was his sister, and who, by the means of Julia, Caesar's wife, earnestly desired leave to be married to Sylleus the Arabian, Herod swore he would esteem her his bitter enemy, unless she would leave off that project: he also caused her, against her own consent, to be married to Alexas, a friend of his, and that one of her daughters should be married to Alexas's son, and the other to Antipater's uncle by the mother's side. And for the daughters the king had by Mariamne, the one was married to Antipater, his sister's son, and the other to his brother's son, Phasaelus.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 29

Antipater Becomes Intolerable. He Is Sent To Rome, And Carries Herod's Testament With Him; Pheroras Leaves His Brother, That He May Keep His Wife. He Dies At Home.

1 Now when Antipater had cut off the hopes of the orphans, and had contracted such affinities as would be most for his own advantage, he proceeded briskly, as having a certain expectation of the kingdom; and as he had now assurance added to his wickedness, he became intolerable; for not being able to avoid the hatred of all people, he built his security upon the terror he struck into them. Pheroras also assisted him in his designs, looking upon him as already fixed in the kingdom. There was also a company of women in the court, which excited new disturbances; for Pheroras's wife, together with her mother and sister, as also Antipater's mother, grew very impudent in the palace. She also was so insolent as to affront the king's two daughters, on which account the king hated her to a great degree; yet although these women were hated by him, they domineered over others: there was only Salome who opposed their good agreement, and informed the king of their meetings, as not being for the advantage of his affairs. And when those women knew what calumnies she had raised against them, and how much Herod was displeased, they left off their public meetings, and friendly entertainments of one another; nay, on the contrary, they pretended to quarrel one with another when the king was within hearing. The like dissimulation did Antipater make use of; and when matters were public, he opposed Pheroras; but still they had private cabals and merry meetings in the night time; nor did the observation of others do any more than confirm their mutual agreement. However, Salome knew every thing they did, and told every thing to Herod.

2 But he was inflamed with anger at them, and chiefly at Pheroras's wife; for Salome had principally accused her. So he got an assembly of his friends and kindred together, and there accused this woman of many things, and particularly of the affronts she had offered his daughters; and that she had supplied the Pharisees with money, by way of rewards for what they had done against him, and had procured his brother to become his enemy, by giving him love potions. At length he turned his speech to Pheroras, and told him that he would give him his choice of these two things: Whether he would keep in with his brother, or with his wife? And when Pheroras said that he would die rather than forsake his wife, Herod, not knowing what to do further in that matter, turned his speech to Antipater, and charged him to have no intercourse either with Pheroras's wife, or with Pheroras himself, or with any one belonging to her. Now though Antipater did not transgress that his injunction publicly, yet did he in secret come to their night meetings; and because he was afraid that Salome observed what he did, he procured, by the means of his Italian friends, that he might go and live at Rome; for when they wrote that it was proper for Antipater to be sent to Caesar for some time, Herod made no delay, but sent him, and that with a splendid attendance, and a great deal of money, and gave him his testament to carry with him,—wherein Antipater had the kingdom bequeathed to him, and wherein Herod was named for Antipater's successor; that Herod, I mean, who was the son of Mariamne, the high priest's daughter.

3 Sylleus also, the Arabian, sailed to Rome, without any regard to Caesar's injunctions, and this in order to oppose Antipater with all his might, as to that law-suit which Nicolaus had with him before. This Sylleus had also a great contest with Aretas his own king; for he had slain many others of Aretas's friends, and particularly Sohemus, the most potent man in the city Petra. Moreover, he had prevailed with Phabatus, who was Herod's steward, by giving him a great sum of money, to assist him against Herod; but when Herod gave him more, he induced him to leave Sylleus, and by this means he demanded of him all that Caesar had required of him to pay. But when Sylleus paid nothing of what he was to pay, and did also accuse Phabatus to Caesar, and said that he was not a steward for Caesar's advantage, but for Herod's, Phabatus was angry at him on that account, but was still in very great esteem with Herod, and discovered Sylleus's grand secrets, and told the king that Sylleus had corrupted Corinthus, one of the guards of his body, by bribing him, and of whom he must therefore have a care. Accordingly, the king complied; for this Corinthus, though he was brought up in Herod's kingdom, yet was he by birth an Arabian; so the king ordered him to be taken up immediately, and not only him, but two other Arabians, who were caught with him; the one of them was Sylleus's friend, the other the head of a tribe. These last, being put to the torture, confessed that they had prevailed with Corinthus, for a large sum of money, to kill Herod; and when they had been further examined before Saturninus, the president of Syria, they were sent to Rome.

4 However, Herod did not leave off importuning Pheroras, but proceeded to force him to put away his wife; yet could he not devise any way by which he could bring the woman herself to punishment, although he had many causes of hatred to her; till at length he was in such great uneasiness at her, that he cast both her and his brother out of his kingdom. Pheroras took this injury very patiently, and went away into his own tetrarchy, [Perea beyond Jordan,] and sware that there should be but one end put to his flight, and that should be Herod's death; and that he would never return while he was alive. Nor indeed would he return when his brother was sick, although he earnestly sent for him to come to him, because he had a mind to leave some injunctions with him before he died; but Herod unexpectedly recovered. A little afterward Pheroras

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himself fell sick, when Herod showed great moderation; for he came to him, and pitied his case, and took care of him; but his affection for him did him no good, for Pheroras died a little afterward. Now though Herod had so great an affection for him to the last day of his life, yet was a report spread abroad that he had killed him by poison. However, he took care to have his dead body carried to Jerusalem, and appointed a very great mourning to the whole nation for him, and bestowed a most pompous funeral upon him. And this was the end that one of Alexander's and Aristobulus's murderers came to.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 30

When Herod Made Inquiry About Pheroras's Death A Discovery Was Made That Antipater Had Prepared A Poisonous Draught For Him. Herod Casts Doris And Her Accomplices, As Also Mariamne, Out Of The Palace And Blots Her Son Herod Out Of His Testament.

1 But now the punishment was transferred unto the original author, Antipater, and took its rise from the death of Pheroras; for certain of his freed-men came with a sad countenance to the king, and told him that his brother had been destroyed by poison, and that his wife had brought him somewhat that was prepared after an unusual manner, and that, upon his eating it, he presently fell into his distemper; that Antipater's mother and sister, two days before, brought a woman out of Arabia that was skillful in mixing such drugs, that she might prepare a love potion for Pheroras; and that instead of a love potion, she had given him deadly poison; and that this was done by the management of Sylleus, who was acquainted with that woman.

2 The king was deeply affected with so many suspicions, and had the maid-servants and some of the free women also tortured; one of which cried out in her agonies, "May that God that governs the earth and the heaven punish this author of all these our miseries, Antipater's mother!" The king took a handle from this confession, and proceeded to inquire further into the truth of the matter. So this woman discovered the friendship of Antipater's mother to Pheroras, and Antipater's women, as also their secret meetings, and that Pheroras and Antipater had drunk with them for a whole night together as they returned from the king, and would not suffer any body, either man-servant or maidservant, to be there; while one of the free women discovered the matter.

3 Upon this Herod tortured the maid-servants every one by themselves separately, who all unanimously agreed in the foregoing discoveries, and that accordingly by agreement they went away, Antipater to Rome, and Pheroras to Perea; for that they oftentimes talked to one another thus: That after Herod had slain Alexander and Aristobulus, he would fall upon them, and upon their wives, because, after he Mariamne and her children he would spare nobody; and that for this reason it was best to get as far off the wild beast as they were able:—and that Antipater oftentimes lamented his own case before his mother, and said to her, that he had already gray hairs upon his head, and that his father grew younger again every day, and that perhaps death would overtake him before he should begin to be a king in earnest; and that in case Herod should die, which yet nobody knew when it would be, the enjoyment of the succession could certainly be but for a little time; for that these heads of Hydra, the sons of Alexander and Aristobulus, were growing up: that he was deprived by his father of the hopes of being succeeded by his children, for that his successor after his death was not to be any one of his own sons, but Herod the son of Mariamne: that in this point Herod was plainly distracted, to think that his testament should therein take place; for he would take care that not one of his posterity should remain, because he was of all fathers the greatest hater of his children. Yet does he hate his brother still worse; whence it was that he a while ago gave himself a hundred talents, that he should not have any intercourse with Pheroras. And when Pheroras said, Wherein have we done him any harm? Antipater replied, "I wish he would but deprive us of all we have, and leave us naked and alive only; but it is indeed impossible to escape this wild beast, who is thus given to murder, who will not permit us to love any person openly, although we be together privately; yet may we be so openly too, if we have but the courage and the hands of men."

4 These things were said by the women upon the torture; as also that Pheroras resolved to fly with them to Perea. Now Herod gave credit to all they said, on account of the affair of the hundred talents; for he had no discourse with any body about them, but only with Antipater. So he vented his anger first of all against Antipater's mother, and took away from her all the ornaments which he had given her, which cost a great many talents, and cast her out of the palace a second time. He also took care of Pheroras's women after their tortures, as being now reconciled to them; but he was in great consternation himself, and inflamed upon every suspicion, and had many innocent persons led to the torture, out of his fear lest he should leave any guilty person untortured.

5 And now it was that he betook himself to examine Antipater of Samaria, who was the steward of [his son] Antipater; and upon torturing him, he learned that Antipater had sent for a potion of deadly poison for him out of Egypt, by Antiphilus, a companion of his; that Theudio, the uncle of Antipater, had it from him, and delivered it to Pheroras; for that Antipater had charged him to take his father off while he was at Rome, and so free him from the suspicion of doing it himself: that Pheroras also committed this potion to his wife. Then did the king send for her, and bid her bring to him what she had received immediately. So she came out of her house as if she would bring it with her, but threw herself down from the top of the house, in order to prevent any examination and torture from the king. However, it came to pass, as it seems by the providence of God, when he intended to bring Antipater to punishment, that she fell not upon her head, but upon other parts of her body, and escaped. The king, when she was brought to him, took care of her, [for she was at first quite senseless upon her fall,] and asked her why she had thrown herself down; and gave her his oath, that if she would speak the real truth, he would excuse her from punishment; but that if she concealed any thing, he would have her body torn to pieces by torments, and leave no part of it to be buried.

6 Upon this the woman paused a little, and then said, "Why do I spare to speak of these grand secrets, now Pheroras is dead? that would only tend to save Antipater, who is all our destruction. Hear then, O king, and be thou, and God himself, who cannot be deceived, witnesses to the truth of what I am going to say. When thou didst sit weeping by Pheroras as he was dying," then it was that he called me to him, and said, "My dear wife, I have been greatly mistaken as to the disposition of my brother towards me, and have hated him that is so affectionate to me, and have contrived to kill him who is in such disorder for me before I am dead. As for myself, I receive the recompence of my impiety; but do thou bring what poison was left with us by Antipater, and which thou keepest in order to destroy him, and consume it immediately in the fire in my sight, that I may not be liable to the avenger in the invisible world." This I brought as he bid me, and emptied the greatest part of it into the fire, but reserved a little of it for my own use against uncertain futurity, and out of my fear of thee.

7 When she had said this, she brought the box, which had a small quantity of this potion in it: but the king let her alone, and transferred the tortures to Antiphilus's mother and brother; who both confessed that Antiphilus brought the box out of Egypt, and that they had received the potion from a brother of his, who was a physician at Alexandria. Then did the ghosts of Alexander and Aristobulus go round all the palace, and became the inquisitors and discoverers of what could not otherwise have been found out and brought such as were the freest from suspicion to be examined; whereby it was discovered that Mariamne, the high priest's daughter, was conscious of this plot; and her very brothers, when they were tortured, declared it so to be. Whereupon the king avenged this insolent attempt of the mother upon her son, and blotted Herod, whom he had by her, out of his tretament, who had been before named therein as successor to Antipater.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 31

Antipater Is Convicted By Bathyllus; But He Still Returns From Rome Without Knowing It. Herod Brings Him To His Trial.

1 After these things were over, Bathyllus came under examination, in order to convict Antipater, who proved the concluding attestation to Antipater's designs; for indeed he was no other than his freed-man. This man came, and brought another deadly potion, the poison of asps, and the juices of other serpents, that if the first potion did not do the business, Pheroras and his wife might be armed with this also to destroy the king. He brought also an addition to Antipater's insolent attempt against his father, which was the letters which he wrote against his brethren, Archelaus and Philip, which were the king's sons, and educated at Rome, being yet youths, but of generous dispositions. Antipater set himself to get rid of these as soon as he could, that they might not be prejudicial to his hopes; and to that end he forged letters against them in the name of his friends at Rome. Some of these he corrupted by bribes to write how they grossly reproached their father, and did openly bewail Alexander and Aristobulus, and were uneasy at their being recalled; for their father had already sent for them, which was the very thing that troubled Antipater.

2 Nay, indeed, while Antipater was in Judea, and before he was upon his journey to Rome, he gave money to have the like letters against them sent from Rome, and then came to his father, who as yet had no suspicion of him, and apologized for his brethren, and alleged on their behalf that some of the things contained in those letters were false, and others of them were only youthful errors. Yet at the same time that he expended a great deal of his money, by making presents to such as wrote against his brethren, did he aim to bring his accounts into confusion, by buying costly garments, and carpets of various contextures, with silver and gold cups, and a great many more curious things, that so, among the view great expenses laid out upon such furniture, he might conceal the money he had used in hiring men [to write the letters]; for he brought in an account of his expenses, amounting to two hundred talents, his main pretense for which was file law-suit he had been in with Sylleus. So while all his rogueries, even those of a lesser sort also, were covered by his greater villainy, while all the examinations by torture proclaimed his attempt to murder his father, and the letters proclaimed his second attempt to murder his brethren; yet did no one of those that came to Rome inform him of his misfortunes in Judea, although seven months had intervened between his conviction and his return, so great was the hatred which they all bore to him. And perhaps they were the ghosts of those brethren of his that had been murdered that stopped the mouths of those that intended to have told him. He then wrote from Rome, and informed his [friends] that he would soon come to them, and how he was dismissed with honour by Caesar.

3 Now the king, being desirous to get this plotter against him into his hands, and being also afraid lest he should some way come to the knowledge how his affairs stood, and be upon his guard, he dissembled his anger in his epistle to him, as in other points he wrote kindly to him, and desired him to make haste, because if he came quickly, he would then lay aside the complaints he had against his mother; for Antipater was not ignorant that his mother had been expelled out of the palace. However, he had before received a letter, which contained an account of the death of Pheroras, at Tarentum, and made great lamentations at it; for which some commended him, as being for his own uncle; though probably this confusion arose on account of his having thereby failed in his plot [on his father's life]; and his tears were more for the loss of him that was to have been subservient therein, than for [an uncle] Pheroras: moreover, a sort of fear came upon him as to his designs, lest the poison should have been discovered. However, when he was in Cilicia, he received the forementioned epistle from his father, and made great haste accordingly. But when he had sailed to Celenderis, a suspicion came into his mind relating to his mother's misfortunes; as if his soul foreboded some mischief to itself. Those therefore of his friends which were the most considerate advised him not rashly to go to his father, till he had learned what were the occasions why his mother had been ejected, because they were afraid that he might be involved in the calumnies that had been cast upon his mother: but those that were less considerate, and had more regard to their own desires of seeing their native country, than to Antipater's safety, persuaded him to make haste home, and not, by delaying his journey, afford his father ground for an ill suspicion, and give a handle to those that raised stories against him; for that in case any thing had been moved to his disadvantage, it was owing to his absence, which durst not have been done had he been present. And they said it was absurd to deprive himself of certain happiness, for the sake of an uncertain suspicion, and not rather to return to his father, and take the royal authority upon him, which was in a state of fluctuation on his account only. Antipater complied with this last advice, for Providence hurried him on [to his destruction]. So he passed over the sea, and landed at Sebastus, the haven of Cesarea.

4 And here he found a perfect and unexpected solitude, while ever body avoided him, and nobody durst come at him; for he was equally hated by all men; and now that hatred had liberty to show itself, and the dread men were in at the king's anger made men keep from him; for the whole city [of Jerusalem] was filled with the rumors about Antipater, and Antipater himself was the only person who was ignorant of them; for as no man was dismissed more magnificently when he began his voyage to Rome so was no man now received back with greater ignominy. And indeed he began already to suspect what misfortunes there were in Herod's family; yet did he cunningly conceal his suspicion; and while he was inwardly ready to die for fear, he put on a forced boldness of countenance. Nor could he now fly any whither, nor had he any way of emerging out of the difficulties which encompassed him; nor indeed had he even there any certain intelligence of the affairs of the royal family, by reason of the threats the king had given out: yet had he some small hopes of better tidings; for perhaps nothing had been discovered; or if any discovery had been made, perhaps he should be able to clear himself by impudence and artful tricks, which were the only things he relied upon for his deliverance.

5 And with these hopes did he screen himself, till he came to the palace, without any friends with him; for these were affronted, and shut out at the first gate. Now Varus, the president of Syria, happened to be in the palace [at this juncture]; so Antipater went in to his father, and, putting on a bold face, he came near to salute him. But Herod Stretched out his hands, and turned his head away from him, and cried out, "Even this is an indication of a parricide, to be desirous to get me into his arms, when he is under such heinous accusations. God confound thee, thou vile wretch; do not thou touch me, till thou hast cleared thyself of these crimes that are charged upon thee. I appoint thee a court where thou art to be judged, and this Varus, who is very seasonably here, to be thy judge; and get thou thy defense ready against tomorrow, for I give thee so much time to prepare suitable excuses for thyself." And as Antipater was so confounded, that

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he was able to make no answer to this charge, he went away; but his mother and wife came to him, and told him of all the evidence they had gotten against him. Hereupon he recollected himself, and considered what defense he should make against the accusations.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 32

Antipater Is Accused Before Varus, And Is Convicted Of Laying A Plot [Against His Father] By The Strongest Evidence. Herod Puts Off His Punishment Till He Should Be Recovered, And In The Mean Time Alters His Testament.

1 Now the day following the king assembled a court of his kinsmen and friends, and called in Antipater's friends also. Herod himself, with Varus, were the presidents; and Herod called for all the witnesses, and ordered them to be brought in; among whom some of the domestic servants of Antipater's mother were brought in also, who had but a little while before been caught, as they were carrying the following letter from her to her son: "Since all those things have been already discovered to thy father, do not thou come to him, unless thou canst procure some assistance from Caesar." When this and the other witnesses were introduced, Antipater came in, and falling on his face before his father's feet, he said, "Father, I beseech thee, do not condemn me beforehand, but let thy ears be unbiassed, and attend to my defense; for if thou wilt give me leave, I will demonstrate that I am innocent."

2 Hereupon Herod cried out to him to hold his peace, and spake thus to Varus: "I cannot but think that thou, Varus, and every other upright judge, will determine that Antipater is a vile wretch. I am also afraid that thou wilt abhor my ill fortune, and judge me also myself worthy of all sorts of calamity for begetting such children; while yet I ought rather to be pitied, who have been so affectionate a father to such wretched sons; for when I had settled the kingdom on my former sons, even when they were young, and when, besides the charges of their education at Rome, I had made them the friends of Caesar, and made them envied by other kings, I found them plotting against me. These have been put to death, and that, in great measure, for the sake of Antipater; for as he was then young, and appointed to be my successor, I took care chiefly to secure him from danger: but this profligate wild beast, when he had been over and above satiated with that patience which I showed him, he made use of that abundance I had given him against myself; for I seemed to him to live too long, and he was very uneasy at the old age I was arrived at; nor could he stay any longer, but would be a king by parricide. And justly I am served by him for bringing him back out of the country to court, when he was of no esteem before, and for thrusting out those sons of mine that were born of the queen, and for making him a successor to my dominions. I confess to thee, O Varus, the great folly I was guilty for I provoked those sons of mine to act against me, and cut off their just expectations for the sake of Antipater; and indeed what kindness did I do them; that could equal what I have done to Antipater? to I have, in a manner, yielded up my royal while I am alive, and whom I have openly named for the successor to my dominions in my testament, and given him a yearly revenue of his own of fifty talents, and supplied him with money to an extravagant degree out of my own revenue; and' when he was about to sail to Rome, I gave him three talents, and recommended him, and him alone of all my children, to Caesar, as his father's deliverer. Now what crimes were those other sons of mine guilty of like these of Antipater? and what evidence was there brought against them so strong as there is to demonstrate this son to have plotted against me? Yet does this parricide presume to speak for himself, and hopes to obscure the truth by his cunning tricks. Thou, O Varus, must guard thyself against him; for I know the wild beast, and I foresee how plausibly he will talk, and his counterfeit lamentation. This was he who exhorted me to have a care of Alexander when he was alive, and not to intrust my body with all men! This was he who came to my very bed, and looked about lest any one should lay snares for me! This was he who took care of my sleep, and secured me from fear of danger, who comforted me under the trouble I was in upon the slaughter of my sons, and looked to see what affection my surviving brethren bore me! This was my protector, and the guardian of my body! And when I call to mind, O Varus, his craftiness upon every occasion, and his art of dissembling, I can hardly believe that I am still alive, and I wonder how I have escaped such a deep plotter of mischief. However, since some fate or other makes my house desolate, and perpetually raises up those that are dearest to me against me, I will, with tears, lament my hard fortune, and privately groan under my lonesome condition; yet am I resolved that no one who thirsts after my blood shall escape punishment, although the evidence should extend itself to all my sons."

3 Upon Herod's saying this, he was interrupted by the confusion he was in; but ordered Nicolaus, one of his friends, to produce the evidence against Antipater. But in the mean time Antipater lifted up his head, [for he lay on the ground before his father's feet,] and cried out aloud, "Thou, O father, hast made my apology for me; for how can I be a parricide, whom thou thyself confessest to have always had for thy guardian? Thou callest my filial affection prodigious lies and hypocrisy! how then could it be that I, who was so subtle in other matters, should here be so mad as not to understand that it was not easy that he who committed so horrid a crime should be concealed from men, but impossible that he should be concealed from the Judge of heaven, who sees all things, and is present every where? or did not I know what end my brethren came to, on whom God inflicted so great a punishment for their evil designs against thee? And indeed what was there that could possibly provoke me against thee? Could the hope of being king do it? I was a king already. Could I suspect hatred from thee? No. Was not I beloved by thee? And what other fear could I have? Nay, by preserving thee safe, I was a terror to others. Did I want money? No; for who was able to expend so much as myself? Indeed, father, had I been the most execrable of all mankind, and had I had the soul of the most cruel wild beast, must I not have been overcome with the benefits thou hadst bestowed upon me? whom, as thou thyself sayest, thou broughtest [into the palace]; whom thou didst prefer before so many of thy sons; whom thou madest a king in thine own lifetime, and, by the vast magnitude of the other advantages thou bestowedst on me, thou madest me an object of envy. O miserable man! that thou shouldst undergo this bitter absence, and thereby afford a great opportunity for envy to arise against thee, and a long space for such as were laying designs against thee! Yet was I absent, father, on thy affairs, that Sylleus might not treat thee with contempt in thine old age. Rome is a witness to my filial affection, and so is Caesar, the ruler of the habitable earth, who oftentimes called me Philopater. Take here the letters he hath sent thee, they are more to be believed than the calumnies raised here; these letters are my only apology; these I use as the demonstration of that natural affection I have to thee. Remember that it was against my own choice that I sailed [to Rome], as knowing the latent hatred that was in the kingdom against me. It was thou, O father, however unwillingly, who hast been my ruin, by forcing me to allow time for calumnies against me, and envy at me. However, I am come hither, and am ready to hear the evidence there is against me. If I be a parricide, I have passed by land and by sea, without suffering any misfortune on either of them: but this method of trial is no advantage to me; for it seems, O father, that I am already condemned, both before God and before thee; and as I am already condemned, I beg that thou wilt not believe the others that have been tortured, but let fire be brought to torment me; let the racks march through my bowels; have no regard to any lamentations that this polluted body can make; for if I be a parricide, I ought not to die without torture." Thus did Antipater cry out with lamentation and weeping, and moved all the rest, and Varus in particular, to commiserate his case. Herod was the only person whose passion was too strong to permit him to weep, as knowing that the testimonies against him were true.

4 And now it was that, at the king's command, Nicolaus, when he had premised a great deal about the craftiness of Antipater, and had prevented the effects of their commiseration to him, afterwards brought in a bitter and large accusation against him, ascribing all the wickedness that had been in the kingdom to him, and especially the murder of his brethren; and demonstrated that they had perished by the calumnies he had raised against them. He also said that he had laid designs against them that were still alive, as if they were laying plots for the succession; and [said he] how can it be supposed that he who prepared poison for his father should abstain from mischief as to his brethren? He then proceeded to convict him of the attempt to poison Herod, and gave an account in order of the several discoveries that had been made; and had great indignation as to the affair of Pheroras, because Antipater had been for making him murder his brother, and had corrupted those that were dearest to the king, and filled the whole palace with wickedness; and when he had insisted on many other accusations, and the proofs for them, he left off.

5 Then Varus bid Antipater make his defense; but he lay along in silence, and said no more but this, "God is my witness that I am entirely innocent." So Varus asked for the potion, and gave it to be drunk by a condemned malefactor, who was then in prison, who died upon the spot. So Varus, when he had had a very private discourse with Herod, and had written an account of this assembly to Caesar, went away, after a day's stay. The king also bound Antipater, and sent away to inform Caesar of his misfortunes.

6 Now after this it was discovered that Antipater had laid a plot against Salome also; for one of Antiphilus's domestic servants came, and brought letters from Rome, from a maid-servant of Julia, [Caesar's wife,] whose name was Acme. By her a message was sent to the king, that she had found a letter written by Salome, among Julia's papers, and had sent it to him privately, out of her good-will to him. This letter of Salome contained the most bitter reproaches of the king, and the highest accusations against him. Antipater had forged this letter, and had corrupted Acme, and persuaded her to send it to Herod. This was proved by her letter to Antipater, for thus did this woman write to him: "As thou desirest, I have written a letter to thy father, and have sent that letter, and am persuaded that the king will not spare his sister when he reads it. Thou wilt do well to remember what thou hast promised when all is accomplished."

7 When this epistle was discovered, and what the epistle forged against Salome contained, a suspicion came into the king's mind, that perhaps the letters against Alexander were also forged: he was moreover greatly disturbed, and in a passion, because he had almost slain his sister on Antipater's account. He did no longer delay therefore to bring him to punishment for all his crimes; yet when he was eagerly pursuing Antipater, he was restrained by a severe distemper he fell into. However, he sent all account to Caesar about Acme, and the contrivances against Salome; he sent also for his testament, and altered it, and therein made Antipas king, as taking no care of Archelaus and Philip, because Antipater had blasted their reputations with him; but he bequeathed to Caesar, besides other presents that he gave him, a thousand talents; as also to his wife, and children, and friends, and freed-men about five hundred: he also bequeathed to all others a great quantity of land, and of money, and showed his respects to Salome his sister, by giving her most splendid gifts. And this was what was contained in his testament, as it was now altered.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 33

The Golden Eagle Is Cut To Pieces. Herod's Barbarity When He Was Ready To Die. He Attempts To Kill Himself. He Commands Antipater To Be Slain. He Survives Him Five Days And Then Dies.

1 Now Herod's distemper became more and more severe to him, and this because these his disorders fell upon him in his old age, and when he was in a melancholy condition; for he was already seventy years of age, and had been brought by the calamities that happened to him about his children, whereby he had no pleasure in life, even when he was in health; the grief also that Antipater was still alive aggravated his disease, whom he resolved to put to death now not at random, but as soon as he should be well again, and resolved to have him slain [in a public manner].

2 There also now happened to him, among his other calamities, a certain popular sedition. There were two men of learning in the city [Jerusalem,] who were thought the most skillful in the laws of their country, and were on that account had in very great esteem all over the nation; they were, the one Judas, the son of Sepphoris, and the other Matthias, the son of Margalus. There was a great concourse of the young men to these men when they expounded the laws, and there got together every day a kind of an army of such as were growing up to be men. Now when these men were informed that the king was wearing away with melancholy, and with a distemper, they dropped words to their acquaintance, how it was now a very proper time to defend the cause of God, and to pull down what had been erected contrary to the laws of their country; for it was unlawful there should be any such thing in the temple as images, or faces, or the like representation of any animal whatsoever. Now the king had put up a golden eagle over the great gate of the temple, which these learned men exhorted them to cut down; and told them, that if there should any danger arise, it was a glorious thing to die for the laws of their country; because that the soul was immortal, and that an eternal enjoyment of happiness did await such as died on that account; while the mean-spirited, and those that were not wise enough to show a right love of their souls, preferred a death by a disease, before that which is the result of a virtuous behavior.

3 At the same time that these men made this speech to their disciples, a rumor was spread abroad that the king was dying, which made the young men set about the work with greater boldness; they therefore let themselves down from the top of the temple with thick cords, and this at midday, and while a great number of people were in the temple, and cut down that golden eagle with axes. This was presently told to the king's captain of the temple, who came running with a great body of soldiers, and caught about forty of the young men, and brought them to the king. And when he asked them, first of all, whether they had been so hardy as to cut down the golden eagle, they confessed they had done so; and when he asked them by whose command they had done it, they replied, at the command of the law of their country; and when he further asked them how they could be so joyful when they were to be put to death, they replied, because they should enjoy greater happiness after they were dead.

4 At this the king was in such an extravagant passion, that he overcame his disease [for the time,] and went out, and spake to the people; wherein he made a terrible accusation against those men, as being guilty of sacrilege, and as making greater attempts under pretense of their law, and he thought they deserved to be punished as impious persons. Whereupon the people were afraid lest a great number should be found guilty and desired that when he had first punished those that put them upon this work, and then those that were caught in it, he would leave off his anger as to the rest. With this the king complied, though not without difficulty, and ordered those that had let themselves down, together with their Rabbins, to

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be burnt alive, but delivered the rest that were caught to the proper officers, to be put to death by them.

5 After this, the distemper seized upon his whole body, and greatly disordered all its parts with various symptoms; for there was a gentle fever upon him, and an intolerable itching over all the surface of his body, and continual pains in his colon, and dropsical turnouts about his feet, and an inflammation of the abdomen, and a putrefaction of his privy member, that produced worms. Besides which he had a difficulty of breathing upon him, and could not breathe but when he sat upright, and had a convulsion of all his members, insomuch that the diviners said those diseases were a punishment upon him for what he had done to the Rabbins. Yet did he struggle with his numerous disorders, and still had a desire to live, and hoped for recovery, and considered of several methods of cure. Accordingly, he went over Jordan, and made use of those hot baths at Callirrhoe, which ran into the lake Asphaltites, but are themselves sweet enough to be drunk. And here the physicians thought proper to bathe his whole body in warm oil, by letting it down into a large vessel full of oil; whereupon his eyes failed him, and he came and went as if he was dying; and as a tumult was then made by his servants, at their voice he revived again. Yet did he after this despair of recovery, and gave orders that each soldier should have fifty drachmae a-piece, and that his commanders and friends should have great sums of money given them.

6 He then returned back and came to Jericho, in such a melancholy state of body as almost threatened him with present death, when he proceeded to attempt a horrid wickedness; for he got together the most illustrious men of the whole Jewish nation, out of every village, into a place called the Hippodrome, and there shut them in. He then called for his sister Salome, and her husband Alexas, and made this speech to them: "I know well enough that the Jews will keep a festival upon my death however, it is in my power to be mourned for on other accounts, and to have a splendid funeral, if you will but be subservient to my commands. Do you but take care to send soldiers to encompass these men that are now in custody, and slay them immediately upon my death, and then all Judea, and every family of them, will weep at it, whether they will or no."

7 These were the commands he gave them; when there came letters from his ambassadors at Rome, whereby information was given that Acme was put to death at Caesar's command, and that Antipater was condemned to die; however, they wrote withal, that if Herod had a mind rather to banish him, Caesar permitted him so to do. So he for a little while revived, and had a desire to live; but presently after he was overborne by his pains, and was disordered by want of food, and by a convulsive cough, and endeavored to prevent a natural, death; so he took an apple, and asked for a knife for he used to pare apples and eat them; he then looked round about to see that there was nobody to hinder him, and lift up his right hand as if he would stab himself; but Achiabus, his first cousin, came running to him, and held his hand, and hindered him from so doing; on which occasion a very great lamentation was made in the palace, as if the king were expiring. As soon as ever Antipater heard that, he took courage, and with joy in his looks, besought his keepers, for a sum of money, to loose him and let him go; but the principal keeper of the prison did not only obstruct him in that his intention, but ran and told the king what his design was; hereupon the king cried out louder than his distemper would well bear, and immediately sent some of his guards and slew Antipater; he also gave order to have him buried at Hyrcanium, and altered his testament again, and therein made Archelaus, his eldest son, and the brother of Antipas, his successor, and made Antipas tetrarch.

8 So Herod, having survived the slaughter of his son five days, died, having reigned thirty-four years since he had caused Antigonus to be slain, and obtained his kingdom; but thirty-seven years since he had been made king by the Romans. Now as for his fortune, it was prosperous in all other respects, if ever any other man could be so, since, from a private man, he obtained the kingdom, and kept it so long, and left it to his own sons; but still in his domestic affairs he was a most unfortunate man. Now, before the soldiers knew of his death, Salome and her husband came out and dismissed those that were in bonds, whom the king had commanded to be slain, and told them that he had altered his mind, and would have every one of them sent to their own homes. When these men were gone, Salome, told the soldiers [the king was dead], and got them and the rest of the multitude together to an assembly, in the amphitheater at Jericho, where Ptolemy, who was intrusted by the king with his signet ring, came before them, and spake of the happiness the king had attained, and comforted the multitude, and read the epistle which had been left for the soldiers, wherein he earnestly exhorted them to bear good-will to his successor; and after he had read the epistle, he opened and read his testament, wherein Philip was to inherit Trachonitis, and the neighbouring countries, and Antipas was to be tetrarch, as we said before, and Archelaus was made king. He had also been commanded to carry Herod's ring to Caesar, and the settlements he had made, sealed up, because Caesar was to be lord of all the settlements he had made, and was to confirm his testament; and he ordered that the dispositions he had made were to be kept as they were in his former testament.

9 So there was an acclamation made to Archelaus, to congratulate him upon his advancement; and the soldiers, with the multitude, went round about in troops, and promised him their good-will, and besides, prayed God to bless his government. After this, they betook themselves to prepare for the king's funeral; and Archelaus omitted nothing of magnificence therein, but brought out all the royal ornaments to augment the pomp of the deceased. There was a bier all of gold, embroidered with precious stones, and a purple bed of various contexture, with the dead body upon it, covered with purple; and a diadem was put upon his head, and a crown of gold above it, and a sceptre in his right hand; and near to the bier were Herod's sons, and a multitude of his kindred; next to which came his guards, and the regiment of Thracians, the Germans also and Gauls, all accounted as if they were going to war; but the rest of the army went foremost, armed, and following their captains and officers in a regular manner; after whom five hundred of his domestic servants and freed-men followed, with sweet spices in their hands: and the body was carried two hundred furlongs, to Herodium, where he had given order to be buried. And this shall suffice for the conclusion of the life of Herod.

THE WARS OF THE JEWS VOLUME / BOOK 2

Containing The Interval Of Sixty-Nine Years.
From The Death Of Herod Till Vespasian Was Sent
To Subdue The Jews By Nero.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 1

Archelaus Makes A Funeral Feast For The People, On The Account Of Herod. After Which A Great Tumult Is Raised By The Multitude And He Sends The Soldiers Out Upon Them, Who Destroy About Three Thousand Of Them.

1 Now the necessity which Archelaus was under of taking a journey to Rome was the occasion of new disturbances; for when he had mourned for his father seven days, and had given a very expensive funeral feast to the multitude, [which custom is the occasion of poverty to many of the Jews, because they are forced to feast the multitude; for if any one omits it, he is not esteemed a holy person,] he put on a white garment, and went up to the temple, where the people accosted him with various acclamations. He also spake kindly to the multitude from an elevated seat and a throne of gold, and returned them thanks for the zeal they had shown about his father's funeral, and the submission they had made to him, as if he were already settled in the kingdom; but he told them withal, that he would not at present take upon him either the authority of a king, or the names thereto belonging, until Caesar, who is made lord of this whole affair by the testament, confirm the succession; for that when the soldiers would have set the diadem on his head at Jericho, he would not accept of it; but that he would make abundant requitals, not to the soldiers only, but to the people, for their alacrity and good-will to him, when the superior lords [the Romans] should have given him a complete title to the kingdom; for that it should be his study to appear in all things better than his father.

2 Upon this the multitude were pleased, and presently made a trial of what he intended, by asking great things of him; for some made a clamour that he would ease them in their taxes; others, that he would take off the duties upon commodities; and some, that he would loose those that were in prison; in all which cases he answered readily to their satisfaction, in order to get the good-will of the multitude; after which he offered [the proper] sacrifices, and feasted with his friends. And here it was that a great many of those that desired innovations came in crowds towards the evening, and began then to mourn on their own account, when the public mourning for the king was over. These lamented those that were put to death by Herod, because they had cut down the golden eagle that had been over the gate of the temple. Nor was this mourning of a private nature, but the lamentations were very great, the mourning solemn, and the weeping such as was loudly heard all over the city, as being for those men who had perished for the laws of their country, and for the temple. They cried out that a punishment ought to be inflicted for these men upon those that were honoured by Herod; and that, in the first place, the man whom he had made high priest should be deprived; and that it was fit to choose a person of greater piety and purity than he was.

3 At these clamours Archelaus was provoked, but restrained himself from taking vengeance on the authors, on account of the haste he was in of going to Rome, as fearing lest, upon his making war on the multitude, such an action might detain him at home. Accordingly, he made trial to quiet the innovators by persuasion, rather than by force, and sent his general in a private way to them, and by him exhorted them to be quiet. But the seditious threw stones at him, and drove him away, as he came into the temple, and before he could say any thing to them. The like treatment they showed to others, who came to them after him, many of which were sent by Archelaus, in order to reduce them to sobriety, and these answered still on all occasions after a passionate manner; and it openly appeared that they would not be quiet, if their numbers were but considerable. And indeed, at the feast of unleavened bread, which was now at hand, and is by the Jews called the Passover, and used to be celebrated with a great number of sacrifices, an innumerable multitude of the people came out of the country to worship; some of these stood in the temple bewailing the Rabbins [that had been put to death], and procured their sustenance by begging, in order to support their sedition. At this Archelaus was affrighted, and privately sent a tribune, with his cohort of soldiers, upon them, before the disease should spread over the whole multitude, and gave orders that they should constrain those that began the tumult, by force, to be quiet. At these the whole multitude were irritated, and threw stones at many of the soldiers, and killed them; but the tribune fled away wounded, and had much ado to escape so. After which they betook themselves to their sacrifices, as if they had done no mischief; nor did it appear to Archelaus that the multitude could be restrained without bloodshed; so he sent his whole army upon them, the footmen in great multitudes, by the way of the city, and the horsemen by the way of the plain, who, falling upon them on the sudden, as they were offering their sacrifices, destroyed about three thousand of them; but the rest of the multitude were dispersed upon the adjoining mountains: these were followed by Archelaus's heralds, who commanded every one to retire to their own homes, whither they all went, and left the festival.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 2

Archelaus Goes To Rome With A Great Number Of His Kindred. He Is There Accused Before Caesar By Antipater; But Is Superior To His Accusers In Judgement By The Means Of That Defense Which Nicolaus Made For Him.

1 Archelaus went down now to the sea-side, with his mother and his friends, Poplas, and Ptolemy, and Nicolaus, and left behind him Philip, to be his steward in the palace, and to take care of his domestic affairs. Salome went also along with him with her sons, as did also the king's brethren and sons-in-law. These, in appearance, went to give him all the assistance they were able, in order to secure his succession, but in reality to accuse him for his breach of the laws by what he had done at the temple.

2 But as they were come to Cesarea, Sabinus, the procurator of Syria, met them; he was going up to Judea, to secure Herod's effects; but Varus, [president of Syria,] who was come thither, restrained him from going any farther. This Varus Archelaus had sent for, by the earnest entreaty of Ptolemy. At this time, indeed, Sabinus, to gratify Varus, neither went to the citadels, nor did he shut up the treasuries where his father's money was laid up, but promised that he would lie still, until Caesar should have taken cognizance of the affair. So he abode at Cesarea; but as soon as those that were his hinderance were gone, when Varus was gone to Antioch, and Archelaus was sailed to Rome, he immediately went on to Jerusalem, and seized upon the palace. And when he had called for the governors of the citadels, and the stewards [of the king's private affairs], he tried to sift out the accounts of the money, and to take possession of the citadels. But the governors of those citadels were not unmindful of the commands laid upon them by Archelaus, and continued to guard them, and said the custody of them rather belonged to Caesar than to Archelaus.

3 In the mean time, Antipas went also to Rome, to strive for the kingdom, and to insist that the former testament, wherein he was named to be king, was valid before the latter testament. Salome had also promised to assist him, as had many of Archelaus's kindred, who sailed along with Archelaus himself also. He also carried along with him his mother, and Ptolemy, the brother of Nicolaus, who seemed one of great weight, on account of the great trust Herod put in him, he having been one of his most honoured friends. However, Antipas depended chiefly upon Ireneus, the orator; upon whose authority he had rejected such as advised him to yield to Archelaus, because he was his elder brother, and because the second testament gave the kingdom to him. The inclinations also of all Archelaus's kindred, who hated him, were removed to Antipas, when they came to Rome; although in the first place every one rather desired to live under their own laws [without a king], and to be under a Roman governor; but if they should fail in that point, these desired that Antipas might be their king.

4 Sabinus did also afford these his assistance to the same purpose by letters he sent, wherein he accused Archelaus before Caesar, and highly commended Antipas. Salome also, and those with her, put the crimes which they accused Archelaus of in order, and put them into Caesar's hands; and after they had done that, Archelaus wrote down the reasons of his claim, and, by Ptolemy, sent in his father's ring, and his father's accounts. And when Caesar had maturely weighed by himself what both had to allege for themselves, as also had considered of the great burden of the kingdom, and largeness of the revenues, and withal the number of the children Herod had left behind him, and had moreover read the letters he had received from Varus and Sabinus on this occasion, he

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assembled the principal persons among the Romans together, [in which assembly Caius, the son of Agrippa, and his daughter Julias, but by himself adopted for his own son, sat in the first seat,] and gave the pleaders leave to speak.

5 Then stood up Salome's son, Antipater, [who of all Archelaus's antagonists was the shrewdest pleader,] and accused him in the following speech: That Archelaus did in words contend for the kingdom, but that in deeds he had long exercised royal authority, and so did but insult Caesar in desiring to be now heard on that account, since he had not staid for his determination about the succession, and since he had suborned certain persons, after Herod's death, to move for putting the diadem upon his head; since he had set himself down in the throne, and given answers as a king, and altered the disposition of the army, and granted to some higher dignities; that he had also complied in all things with the people in the requests they had made to him as to their king, and had also dismissed those that had been put into bonds by his father for most important reasons. Now, after all this, he desires the shadow of that royal authority, whose substance he had already seized to himself, and so hath made Caesar lord, not of things, but of words. He also reproached him further, that his mourning for his father was only pretended, while he put on a sad countenance in the day time, but drank to great excess in the night; from which behavior, he said, the late disturbance among the multitude came, while they had an indignation thereat. And indeed the purport of his whole discourse was to aggravate Archelaus's crime in slaying such a multitude about the temple, which multitude came to the festival, but were barbarously slain in the midst of their own sacrifices; and he said there was such a vast number of dead bodies heaped together in the temple, as even a foreign war, that should come upon them [suddenly], before it was denounced, could not have heaped together. And he added, that it was the foresight his father had of that his barbarity which made him never give him any hopes of the kingdom, but when his mind was more infirm than his body, and he was not able to reason soundly, and did not well know what was the character of that son, whom in his second testament he made his successor; and this was done by him at a time when he had no complaints to make of him whom he had named before, when he was sound in body, and when his mind was free from all passion. That, however, if any one should suppose Herod's judgement, when he was sick, was superior to that at another time, yet had Archelaus forfeited his kingdom by his own behavior, and those his actions, which were contrary to the law, and to its disadvantage. Or what sort of a king will this man be, when he hath obtained the government from Caesar, who hath slain so many before he hath obtained it!

6 When Antipater had spoken largely to this purpose, and had produced a great number of Archelaus's kindred as witnesses, to prove every part of the accusation, he ended his discourse. Then stood up Nicolaus to plead for Archelaus. He alleged that the slaughter in the temple could not be avoided; that those that were slain were become enemies not to Archelaus's kingdom, only, but to Caesar, who was to determine about him. He also demonstrated that Archelaus's accusers had advised him to perpetrate other things of which he might have been accused. But he insisted that the latter testament should, for this reason, above all others, be esteemed valid, because Herod had therein appointed Caesar to be the person who should confirm the succession; for he who showed such prudence as to recede from his own power, and yield it up to the lord of the world, cannot be supposed mistaken in his judgement about him that was to be his heir; and he that so well knew whom to choose for arbitrator of the succession could not be unacquainted with him whom he chose for his successor.

7 When Nicolaus had gone through all he had to say, Archelaus came, and fell down before Caesar's knees, without any noise;—upon which he raised him up, after a very obliging manner, and declared that truly he was worthy to succeed his father. However, he still made no firm determination in his case; but when he had dismissed those assessors that had been with him that day, he deliberated by himself about the allegations which he had heard, whether it were fit to constitute any of those named in the testaments for Herod's successor, or whether the government should be parted among all his posterity, and this because of the number of those that seemed to stand in need of support therefrom.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 3

The Jews Fight A Great Battle With Sabinus's Soldiers, And A Great Destruction Is Made At Jerusalem.

1 Now before Caesar had determined any thing about these affairs, Malthace, Arehelaus's mother, fell sick and died. Letters also were brought out of Syria from Varus, about a revolt of the Jews. This was foreseen by Varus, who accordingly, after Archelaus was sailed, went up to Jerusalem to restrain the promoters of the sedition, since it was manifest that the nation would not be at rest; so he left one of those legions which he brought with him out of Syria in the city, and went himself to Antioch. But Sabinus came, after he was gone, and gave them an occasion of making innovations; for he compelled the keepers of the citadels to deliver them up to him, and made a bitter search after the king's money, as depending not only on the soldiers which were left by Varus, but on the multitude of his own servants, all which he armed and used as the instruments of his covetousness. Now when that feast, which was observed after seven weeks, and which the Jews called Pentecost, [i. e. the 50th day,] was at hand, its name being taken from the number of the days [after the passover], the people got together, but not on account of the accustomed Divine worship, but of the indignation they had ['at the present state of affairs']. Wherefore an immense multitude ran together, out of Galilee, and Idumea, and Jericho, and Perea, that was beyond Jordan; but the people that naturally belonged to Judea itself were above the rest, both in number, and in the alacrity of the men. So they distributed themselves into three parts, and pitched their camps in three places; one at the north side of the temple, another at the south side, by the Hippodrome, and the third part were at the palace on the west. So they lay round about the Romans on every side, and besieged them.

2 Now Sabinus was affrighted, both at their multitude, and at their courage, and sent messengers to Varus continually, and besought him to come to his succor quickly; for that if he delayed, his legion would be cut to pieces. As for Sabinus himself, he got up to the highest tower of the fortress, which was called Phasaelus; it is of the same name with Herod's brother, who was destroyed by the Parthians; and then he made signs to the soldiers of that legion to attack the enemy; for his astonishment was so great, that he durst not go down to his own men. Hereupon the soldiers were prevailed upon, and leaped out into the temple, and fought a terrible battle with the Jews; in which, while there were none over their heads to distress them, they were too hard for them, by their skill, and the others' want of skill, in war; but when once many of the Jews had gotten up to the top of the cloisters, and threw their darts downwards, upon the heads of the Romans, there were a great many of them destroyed. Nor was it easy to avenge themselves upon those that threw their weapons from on high, nor was it more easy for them to sustain those who came to fight them hand to hand.

3 Since therefore the Romans were sorely afflicted by both these circumstances, they set fire to the cloisters, which were works to be admired, both on account of their magnitude and costliness. Whereupon those that were above them were presently encompassed with the flame, and many of them perished therein; as many of them also were destroyed by the enemy, who came suddenly upon them; some of them also threw themselves down from the walls backward, and some there were who, from the desperate condition they were in, prevented the fire, by killing themselves with their own swords; but so many of them as crept out from the walls, and came upon the Romans, were easily mastered by them, by reason of the astonishment they were under; until at last some of the Jews being destroyed, and others dispersed by the terror they were in, the soldiers fell upon the treasure of God, which w now deserted, and plundered about four hundred talents, Of which sum Sabinus got together all that was not carried away by the soldiers.

4 However, this destruction of the works [about the temple], and of the men, occasioned a much greater number, and those of a more warlike sort, to get together, to oppose the Romans. These encompassed the palace round, and threatened to deploy all that were in it, unless they went their ways quickly; for they promised that Sabinus should come to no harm, if he would go out with his legion. There were also a great many of the king's party who deserted the Romans, and assisted the Jews; yet did the most warlike body of them all, who were three thousand of the men of Sebaste, go over to the Romans. Rufus also, and Gratus, their captains, did the same, [Gratus having the foot of the king's party under him, and Rufus the horse,] each of whom, even without the forces under them, were of great weight, on account of their strength and wisdom, which turn the scales in war. Now the Jews in the siege, and tried to break down walls of the fortress, and cried out to Sabinus and his party, that they should go their ways, and not prove a hinderance to them, now they hoped, after a long time, to recover that ancient liberty which their forefathers had enjoyed. Sabinus indeed was well contented to get out of the danger he was in, but he distrusted the assurances the Jews gave him, and suspected such gentle treatment was but a bait laid as a snare for them: this consideration, together with the hopes he had of succor from Varus, made him bear the siege still longer.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 4

Herod's Veteran Soldiers Become Tumultuous. The Robberies Of Judas. Simon And Athronoeus Take The Name Of King Upon Them.

1 At this time there were great disturbances in the country, and that in many places; and the opportunity that now offered itself induced a great many to set up for kings. And indeed in Idumea two thousand of Herod's veteran soldiers got together, and armed and fought against those of the king's party; against whom Achiabus, the king's first cousin, fought, and that out of some of the places that were the most strongly fortified; but so as to avoid a direct conflict with them in the plains. In Sepphoris also, a city of Galilee, there was one Judas [the son of that arch-robber Hezekias, who formerly overran the country, and had been subdued by king Herod]; this man got no small multitude together, and brake open the place where the royal armour was laid up, and armed those about him, and attacked those that were so earnest to gain the dominion.

2 In Perea also, Simon, one of the servants to the king, relying upon the handsome appearance and tallness of his body, put a diadem upon his own head also; he also went about with a company of robbers that he had gotten together, and burnt down the royal palace that was at Jericho, and many other costly edifices besides, and procured himself very easily spoils by rapine, as snatching them out of the fire. And he had soon burnt down all the fine edifices, if Gratus, the captain of the foot of the king's party, had not taken the Trachonite archers, and the most warlike of Sebaste, and met the man. His footmen were slain in the battle in abundance; Gratus also cut to pieces Simon himself, as he was flying along a strait valley, when he gave him an oblique stroke upon his neck, as he ran away, and brake it. The royal palaces that were near Jordan at Betharamptha were also burnt down by some other of the seditious that came out of Perea.

3 At this time it was that a certain shepherd ventured to set himself up for a king; he was called Athrongeus. It was his strength of body that made him expect such a dignity, as well as his soul, which despised death; and besides these qualifications, he had four brethren like himself. He put a troop of armed men under each of these his brethren, and made use of them as his generals and commanders, when he made his incursions, while he did himself act like a king, and meddled only with the more important affairs; and at this time he put a diadem about his head, and continued after that to overrun the country for no little time with his brethren, and became their leader in killing both the Romans and those of the king's party; nor did any Jew escape him, if any gain could accrue to him thereby. He once ventured to encompass a whole troop of Romans at Emmaus, who were carrying corn and weapons to their legion; his men therefore shot their arrows and darts, and thereby slew their centurion Arius, and forty of the stoutest of his men, while the rest of them, who were in danger of the same fate, upon the coming of Gratus, with those of Sebaste, to their assistance, escaped. And when these men had thus served both their own countrymen and foreigners, and that through this whole war, three of them were, after some time, subdued; the eldest by Archelaus, the two next by falling into the hands of Gratus and Ptolemeus; but the fourth delivered himself up to Archelaus, upon his giving him his right hand for his security. However, this their end was not till afterward, while at present they filled all Judea with a piratic war.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 5

Varus Composes The Tumults In Judea And Crucifies About Two Thousand Of The Seditious.

1 Upon Varus's reception of the letters that were written by Sabinus and the captains, he could not avoid being afraid for the whole legion [he had left there]. So he made haste to their relief, and took with him the other two legions, with the four troops of horsemen to them belonging, and marched to Ptolenlais; having given orders for the auxiliaries that were sent by the kings and governors of cities to meet him there. Moreover, he received from the people of Berytus, as he passed through their city, fifteen hundred armed men. Now as soon as the other body of auxiliaries were come to Ptolemais, as well as Aretas the Arabian, [who, out of the hatred he bore to Herod, brought a great army of horse and foot,] Varus sent a part of his army presently to Galilee, which lay near to Ptolemais, and Caius, one of his friends, for their captain. This Caius put those that met him to flight, and took the city Sepphoris, and burnt it, and made slaves of its inhabitants; but as for Varus himself, he marched to Samaria with his whole army, where he did not meddle with the city itself, because he found that it had made no commotion during these troubles, but pitched his camp about a certain village which was called Aras. It belonged to Ptolemy, and on that account was plundered by the Arabians, who were very angry even at Herod's friends also. He thence marched on to the village Sampho, another fortified place, which they plundered, as they had done the other. As they carried off all the money they lighted upon belonging to the public revenues, all was now full of fire and blood-shed, and nothing could resist the plunders of the Arabians. Emnaus was also burnt, upon the flight of its inhabitants, and this at the command of Varus, out of his rage at the slaughter of those that were about Arias.

2 Thence he marched on to Jerusalem, and as soon as he was but seen by the Jews, he made their camps disperse themselves; they also went away, and fled up and down the country. But the citizens received him, and cleared themselves of having any hand in this revolt, and said that they had raised no commotions, but had only been forced to admit the multitude,

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because of the festival, and that they were rather besieged together with the Romans, than assisted those that had revolted. There had before this met him Joseph, the first cousin of Archelaus, and Gratus, together with Rufus, who led those of Sebaste, as well as the king's army: there also met him those of the Roman legion, armed after their accustomed manner; for as to Sabinus, he durst not come into Varus's sight, but was gone out of the city before this, to the sea-side. But Varus sent a part of his army into the country, against those that had been the authors of this commotion, and as they caught great numbers of them, those that appeared to have been the least concerned in these tumults he put into custody, but such as were the most guilty he crucified; these were in number about two thousand.

3 He was also informed that there continued in Idumea ten thousand men still in arms; but when he found that the Arabians did not act like auxiliaries, but managed the war according to their own passions, and did mischief to the country otherwise than he intended, and this out of their hatred to Herod, he sent them away, but made haste, with his own legions, to march against those that had revolted; but these, by the advice of Achiabus, delivered themselves up to him before it came to a battle. Then did Varus forgive the multitude their offenses, but sent their captains to Caesar to be examined by him. Now Caesar forgave the rest, but gave orders that certain of the king's relations [for some of those that were among them were Herod's kinsmen] should be put to death, because they had engaged in a war against a king of their own family. When therefore Varus had settled matters at Jerusalem after this manner, and had left the former legion there as a garrison, he returned to Antioch.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 6

The Jews Greatly Complain Of Archelaus And Desire That They May Be Made Subject To Roman Governors. But When Caesar Had Heard What They Had To Say, He Distributed Herod's Dominions Among His Sons According To His Own Pleasure.

1 But now came another accusation from the Jews against Archelaus at Rome, which he was to answer to. It was made by those ambassadors who, before the revolt, had come, by Varus's permission, to plead for the liberty of their country; those that came were fifty in number, but there were more than eight thousand of the Jews at Rome who supported them. And when Caesar had assembled a council of the principal Romans in Apollo's temple, that was in the palace, [this was what he had himself built and adorned, at a vast expense,] the multitude of the Jews stood with the ambassadors, and on the other side stood Archelaus, with his friends; but as for the kindred of Archelaus, they stood on neither side; for to stand on Archelaus's side, their hatred to him, and envy at him, would not give them leave, while yet they were afraid to be seen by Caesar with his accusers. Besides these, there were present Archelaus's brother Philip, being sent thither beforehand, out of kindness by Varus, for two reasons: the one was this, that he might be assisting to Archelaus; and the other was this, that in case Caesar should make a distribution of what Herod possessed among his posterity, he might obtain some share of it.

2 And now, upon the permission that was given the accusers to speak, they, in the first place, went over Herod's breaches of their law, and said that he was not a king, but the most barbarous of all tyrants, and that they had found him to be such by the sufferings they underwent from him; that when a very great number had been slain by him, those that were left had endured such miseries, that they called those that were dead happy men; that he had not only tortured the bodies of his subjects, but entire cities, and had done much harm to the cities of his own country, while he adorned those that belonged to foreigners; and he shed the blood of Jews, in order to do kindnesses to those people that were out of their bounds; that he had filled the nation full of poverty, and of the greatest iniquity, instead of that happiness and those laws which they had anciently enjoyed; that, in short, the Jews had borne more calamities from Herod, in a few years, than had their forefathers during all that interval of time that had passed since they had come out of Babylon, and returned home, in the reign of Xerxes 3 that, however, the nation was come to so low a condition, by being inured to hardships, that they submitted to his successor of their own accord, though he brought them into bitter slavery; that accordingly they readily called Archelaus, though he was the son of so great a tyrant, king, after the decease of his father, and joined with him in mourning for the death of Herod, and in wishing him good success in that his succession; while yet this Archelaus, lest he should be in danger of not being thought the genuine son of Herod, began his reign with the murder of three thousand citizens; as if he had a mind to offer so many bloody sacrifices to God for his government, and to fill the temple with the like number of dead bodies at that festival: that, however, those that were left after so many miseries, had just reason to consider now at last the calamities they had undergone, and to oppose themselves, like soldiers in war, to receive those stripes upon their faces [but not upon their backs, as hitherto]. Whereupon they prayed that the Romans would have compassion upon the [poor] remains of Judea, and not expose what was left of them to such as barbarously tore them to pieces, and that they would join their country to Syria, and administer the government by their own commanders, whereby it would [soon] be demonstrated that those who are now under the calumny of seditious persons, and lovers of war, know how to bear governors that are set over them, if they be but tolerable ones. So the Jews concluded their accusation with this request. Then rose up Nicolaus, and confuted the accusations which were brought against the kings, and himself accused the Jewish nation, as hard to be ruled, and as naturally disobedient to kings. He also reproached all those kinsmen of Archelaus who had left him, and were gone over to his accusers.

3 So Caesar, after he had heard both sides, dissolved the assembly for that time; but a few days afterward, he gave the one half of Herod's kingdom to Archelaus, by the name of Ethnarch, and promised to make him king also afterward, if he rendered himself worthy of that dignity. But as to the other half, he divided it into two tetrarchies, and gave them to two other sons of Herod, the one of them to Philip, and the other to that Antipas who contested the kingdom with Archelaus. Under this last was Perea and Galilee, with a revenue of two hundred talents; but Batanea, and Trachonitis, and Auranitis, and certain parts of Zeno's house about Jamnia, with a revenue of a hundred talents, were made subject to Philip; while Idumea, and all Judea, and Samaria were parts of the ethnarchy of Archelaus, although Samaria was eased of one quarter of its taxes, out of regard to their not having revolted with the rest of the nation. He also made subject to him the following cities, viz. Strato's Tower, and Sebaste, and Joppa, and Jerusalem; but as to the Grecian cities, Gaza, and Gadara, and Hippos, he cut them off from the kingdom, and added them to Syria. Now the revenue of the country that was given to Archelaus was four hundred talents. Salome also, besides what the king had left her in his testaments, was now made mistress of Jamnia, and Ashdod, and Phasaelis. Caesar did moreover bestow upon her the royal palace of Ascalon; by all which she got together a revenue of sixty talents; but he put her house under the ethnarchy of Archelaus. And for the rest of Herod's offspring, they received what was bequeathed to them in his testaments; but, besides that, Caesar granted to Herod's two virgin daughters five hundred thousand [drachmae] of silver, and gave them in marriage to the sons of Pheroras: but after this family distribution, he gave between them what had been bequeathed to him by Herod, which was a thousand talents, reserving to himself only some inconsiderable presents, in honour of the deceased.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 7

The History Of The Spurious Alexander. Archelaus Is Banished And Glaphyra Dies, After What Was To Happen To Both Of Them Had Been Showed Them In Dreams.

1 In the meantime, there was a man, who was by birth a Jew, but brought up at Sidon with one of the Roman freed-men, who falsely pretended, on account of the resemblance of their countenances, that he was that Alexander who was slain by Herod. This man came to Rome, in hopes of not being detected. He had one who was his assistant, of his own nation, and who knew all the affairs of the kingdom, and instructed him to say how those that were sent to kill him and Aristobulus had pity upon them, and stole them away, by putting bodies that were like theirs in their places. This man deceived the Jews that were at Crete, and got a great deal of money of them for traveling in splendour; and thence sailed to Melos, where he was thought so certainly genuine, that he got a great deal more money, and prevailed with those that had treated him to sail along with him to Rome. So he landed at Dicearchia, [Puteoli,] and got very large presents from the Jews who dwelt there, and was conducted by his father's friends as if he were a king; nay, the resemblance in his countenance procured him so much credit, that those who had seen Alexander, and had known him very well, would take their oaths that he was the very same person. Accordingly, the whole body of the Jews that were at Rome ran out in crowds to see him, and an innumerable multitude there was which stood in the narrow places through which he was carried; for those of Melos were so far distracted, that they carried him in a sedan, and maintained a royal attendance for him at their own proper charges.

2 But Caesar, who knew perfectly well the lineaments of Alexander's face, because he had been accused by Herod before him, discerned the fallacy in his countenance, even before he saw the man. However, he suffered the agreeable fame that went of him to have some weight with him, and sent Celadus, one who well knew Alexander, and ordered him to bring the young man to him. But when Caesar saw him, he immediately discerned a difference in his countenance; and when he had discovered that his whole body was of a more robust texture, and like that of a slave, he understood the whole was a contrivance. But the impudence of what he said greatly provoked him to be angry at him; for when he was asked about Aristobulus, he said that he was also preserved alive, and was left on purpose in Cyprus, for fear of treachery, because it would be harder for plotters to get them both into their power while they were separate. Then did Caesar take him by himself privately, and said to him, "I will give thee thy life, if thou wilt discover who it was that persuaded thee to forge such stories." So he said that he would discover him, and followed Caesar, and pointed to that Jew who abused the resemblance of his face to get money; for that he had received more presents in every city than ever Alexander did when he was alive. Caesar laughed at the contrivance, and put this spurious Alexander among his rowers, on account of the strength of his body, but ordered him that persuaded him to be put to death. But for the people of Melos, they had been sufficiently punished for their folly, by the expenses they had been at on his account.

3 And now Archelaus took possession of his ethnarchy, and used not the Jews only, but the Samaritans also, barbarously; and this out of his resentment of their old quarrels with him. Whereupon they both of them sent ambassadors against him to Caesar; and in the ninth year of his government he was banished to Vienna, a city of Gaul, and his effects were put into Caesar's treasury. But the report goes, that before he was sent for by Caesar, he seemed to see nine ears of corn, full and large, but devoured by oxen. When, therefore, he had sent for the diviners, and some of the Chaldeans, and inquired of them what they thought it portended; and when one of them had one interpretation, and another had another, Simon, one of the sect of Essens, said that he thought the ears of corn denoted years, and the oxen denoted a mutation of things, because by their ploughing they made an alteration of the country. That therefore he should reign as many years as there were ears of corn; and after he had passed through various alterations of fortune, should die. Now five days after Archelaus had heard this interpretation he was called to his trial.

4 I cannot also but think it worthy to be recorded what dream Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, had, who had at first been wife to Alexander, who was the brother of Archelaus, concerning whom we have been discoursing. This Alexander was the son of Herod the king, by whom he was put to death, as we have already related. This Glaphyra was married, after his death, to Juba, king of Libya; and, after his death, was returned home, and lived a widow with her father. Then it was that Archelaus, the ethnarch, saw her, and fell so deeply in love with her, that he divorced Mariamne, who was then his wife, and married her. When, therefore, she was come into Judea, and had been there for a little while, she thought she saw Alexander stand by her, and that he said to her; "Thy marriage with the king of Libya might have been sufficient for thee; but thou wast not contented with him, but art returned again to my family, to a third husband; and him, thou impudent woman, hast thou chosen for thine husband, who is my brother. However, I shall not overlook the injury thou hast offered me; I shall [soon] have thee again, whether thou wilt or no." Now Glaphyra hardly survived the narration of this dream of hers two days.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 8

Archelaus's Ethnarchy Is Reduced Into A [Roman] Province. The Sedition Of Judas Of Galilee. The Three Sects.

1 And now Archelaus's part of Judea was reduced into a province, and Coponius, one of the equestrian order among the Romans, was sent as a procurator, having the power of [life and] death put into his hands by Caesar. Under his administration it was that a certain Galilean, whose name was Judas, prevailed with his countrymen to revolt, and said they were cowards if they would endure to pay a tax to the Romans and would after God submit to mortal men as their lords. This man was a teacher of a peculiar sect of his own, and was not at all like the rest of those their leaders.

2 For there are three philosophical sects among the Jews. The followers of the first of which are the Pharisees; of the second, the Sadducees; and the third sect, which pretends to a severer discipline, are called Essens. These last are Jews by birth, and seem to have a greater affection for one another than the other sects have. These Essens reject pleasures as an evil, but esteem continence, and the conquest over our passions, to be virtue. They neglect wedlock, but choose out other persons children, while they are pliable, and fit for learning, and esteem them to be of their kindred, and form them according to their own manners. They do not absolutely deny the fitness of marriage, and the succession of mankind thereby continued; but they guard against the lascivious behavior of women, and are persuaded that none of them preserve their fidelity to one man.

3 These men are despisers of riches, and so very communicative as raises our admiration. Nor is there any one to be found among them who hath more than another; for it is a law among them, that those who come to them must let what they have be common to the whole order,—insomuch that among them all there is no appearance of poverty, or excess of riches, but every one's possessions are intermingled with every other's possessions; and so there is, as it were, one patrimony among all the brethren. They think that oil is a

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defilement; and if any one of them be anointed without his own approbation, it is wiped off his body; for they think to be sweaty is a good thing, as they do also to be clothed in white garments. They also have stewards appointed to take care of their common affairs, who every one of them have no separate business for any, but what is for the uses of them all.

4 They have no one certain city, but many of them dwell in every city; and if any of their sect come from other places, what they have lies open for them, just as if it were their own; and they go in to such as they never knew before, as if they had been ever so long acquainted with them. For which reason they carry nothing at all with them when they travel into remote parts, though still they take their weapons with them, for fear of thieves. Accordingly, there is, in every city where they live, one appointed particularly to take care of strangers, and to provide garments and other necessaries for them. But the habit and management of their bodies is such as children use who are in fear of their masters. Nor do they allow of the change of garments or of shoes till be first torn to pieces, or worn out by time. Nor do they either buy or sell any thing to one another; but every one of them gives what he hath to him that wanteth it, and receives from him again in lieu of it what may be convenient for himself; and although there be no requital made, they are fully allowed to take what they want of whomsoever they please.

5 And as for their piety towards God, it is very extraordinary; for before sun-rising they speak not a word about profane matters, but put up certain prayers which they have received from their forefathers, as if they made a supplication for its rising. After this every one of them are sent away by their curators, to exercise some of those arts wherein they are skilled, in which they labour with great diligence till the fifth hour. After which they assemble themselves together again into one place; and when they have clothed themselves in white veils, they then bathe their bodies in cold water. And after this purification is over, they every one meet together in an apartment of their own, into which it is not permitted to any of another sect to enter; while they go, after a pure manner, into the dining-room, as into a certain holy temple, and quietly set themselves down; upon which the baker lays them loaves in order; the cook also brings a single plate of one sort of food, and sets it before every one of them; but a priest says grace before meat; and it is unlawful for any one to taste of the food before grace be said. The same priest, when he hath dined, says grace again after meat; and when they begin, and when they end, they praise God, as he that bestows their food upon them; after which they lay aside their [white] garments, and betake themselves to their labours again till the evening; then they return home to supper, after the same manner; and if there be any strangers there, they sit down with them. Nor is there ever any clamour or disturbance to pollute their house, but they give every one leave to speak in their turn; which silence thus kept in their house appears to foreigners like some tremendous mystery; the cause of which is that perpetual sobriety they exercise, and the same settled measure of meat and drink that is allotted them, and that such as is abundantly sufficient for them.

6 And truly, as for other things, they do nothing but according to the injunctions of their curators; only these two things are done among them at everyone's own free-will, which are to assist those that want it, and to show mercy; for they are permitted of their own accord to afford succor to such as deserve it, when they stand in need of it, and to bestow food on those that are in distress; but they cannot give any thing to their kindred without the curators. They dispense their anger after a just manner, and restrain their passion. They are eminent for fidelity, and are the ministers of peace; whatsoever they say also is firmer than an oath; but swearing is avoided by them, and they esteem it worse than perjury for they say that he who cannot be believed without [swearing by] God is already condemned. They also take great pains in studying the writings of the ancients, and choose out of them what is most for the advantage of their soul and body; and they inquire after such roots and medicinal stones as may cure their distempers.

7 But now if any one hath a mind to come over to their sect, he is not immediately admitted, but he is prescribed the same method of living which they use for a year, while he continues excluded'; and they give him also a small hatchet, and the fore-mentioned girdle, and the white garment. And when he hath given evidence, during that time, that he can observe their continence, he approaches nearer to their way of living, and is made a partaker of the waters of purification; yet is he not even now admitted to live with them; for after this demonstration of his fortitude, his temper is tried two more years; and if he appear to be worthy, they then admit him into their society. And before he is allowed to touch their common food, he is obliged to take tremendous oaths, that, in the first place, he will exercise piety towards God, and then that he will observe justice towards men, and that he will do no harm to any one, either of his own accord, or by the command of others; that he will always hate the wicked, and be assistant to the righteous; that he will ever show fidelity to all men, and especially to those in authority, because no one obtains the government without God's assistance; and that if he be in authority, he will at no time whatever abuse his authority, nor endeavor to outshine his subjects either in his garments, or any other finery; that he will be perpetually a lover of truth, and propose to himself to reprove those that tell lies; that he will keep his hands clear from theft, and his soul from unlawful gains; and that he will neither conceal any thing from those of his own sect, nor discover any of their doctrines to others, no, not though anyone should compel him so to do at the hazard of his life. Moreover, he swears to communicate their doctrines to no one any otherwise than as he received them himself; that he will abstain from robbery, and will equally preserve the books belonging to their sect, and the names of the angels [or messengers]. These are the oaths by which they secure their proselytes to themselves.

8 But for those that are caught in any heinous sins, they cast them out of their society; and he who is thus separated from them does often die after a miserable manner; for as he is bound by the oath he hath taken, and by the customs he hath been engaged in, he is not at liberty to partake of that food that he meets with elsewhere, but is forced to eat grass, and to famish his body with hunger, till he perish; for which reason they receive many of them again when they are at their last gasp, out of compassion to them, as thinking the miseries they have endured till they came to the very brink of death to be a sufficient punishment for the sins they had been guilty of.

9 But in the judgements they exercise they are most accurate and just, nor do they pass sentence by the votes of a court that is fewer than a hundred. And as to what is once determined by that number, it is unalterable. What they most of all honour, after God himself, is the name of their legislator [Moses], whom if any one blaspheme he is punished capitally. They also think it a good thing to obey their elders, and the major part. Accordingly, if ten of them be sitting together, no one of them will speak while the other nine are against it. They also avoid spitting in the midst of them, or on the right side. Moreover, they are stricter than any other of the Jews in resting from their labours on the seventh day; for they not only get their food ready the day before, that they may not be obliged to kindle a fire on that day, but they will not remove any vessel out of its place, nor go to stool thereon. Nay, on other days they dig a small pit, a foot deep, with a paddle [which kind of hatchet is given them when they are first admitted among them]; and covering themselves round with their garment, that they may not affront the Divine rays of light, they ease themselves into that pit, after which they put the earth that was dug out again into the pit; and even this they do only in the more lonely places, which they choose out for this purpose; and although this easement of the body be natural, yet it is a rule with them to wash themselves after it, as if it were a defilement to them.

10 Now after the time of their preparatory trial is over, they are parted into four classes; and so far are the juniors inferior to the seniors, that if the seniors should be touched by the juniors, they must wash themselves, as if they had intermixed themselves with the company of a foreigner. They are long-lived also, insomuch that many of them live above a hundred years, by means of the simplicity of their diet; nay, as I think, by means of the regular course of life they observe also. They contemn the miseries of life, and are above pain, by the generosity of their mind. And as for death, if it will be for their glory, they esteem it better than living always; and indeed our war with the Romans gave abundant evidence what great souls they had in their trials, wherein, although they were tortured and distorted, burnt and torn to pieces, and went through all kinds of instruments of torment, that they might be forced either to blaspheme their legislator, or to eat what was forbidden them, yet could they not be made to do either of them, no, nor once to flatter their tormentors, or to shed a tear; but they smiled in their very pains, and laughed those to scorn who inflicted the torments upon them, and resigned up their souls with great alacrity, as expecting to receive them again.

11 For their doctrine is this: That bodies are corruptible, and that the matter they are made of is not permanent; but that the souls are immortal, and continue for ever; and that they come out of the most subtile air, and are united to their bodies as to prisons, into which they are drawn by a certain natural enticement; but that when they are set free from the bonds of the flesh, they then, as released from a long bondage, rejoice and mount upward. And this is like the opinions of the Greeks, that good souls have their habitations beyond the ocean, in a region that is neither oppressed with storms of rain or snow, or with intense heat, but that this place is such as is refreshed by the gentle breathing of a west wind, that is perpetually blowing from the ocean; while they allot to bad souls a dark and tempestuous den, full of never-ceasing punishments. And indeed the Greeks seem to me to have followed the same notion, when they allot the islands of the blessed to their brave men, whom they call heroes and demi-gods; and to the souls of the wicked, the region of the ungodly, in Hades, where their fables relate that certain persons, such as Sisyphus, and Tantalus, and Ixion, and Tityus, are punished; which is built on this first supposition, that souls are immortal; and thence are those exhortations to virtue and dehortations from wickedness collected; whereby good men are bettered in the conduct of their life by the hope they have of reward after their death; and whereby the vehement inclinations of bad men to vice are restrained, by the fear and expectation they are in, that although they should lie concealed in this life, they should suffer immortal punishment after their death. These are the Divine doctrines of the Essens about the soul, which lay an unavoidable bait for such as have once had a taste of their philosophy.

12 There are also those among them who undertake to foretell things to come, by reading the holy books, and using several sorts of purifications, and being perpetually conversant in the discourses of the prophets; and it is but seldom that they miss in their predictions.

13 Moreover, there is another order of Essens, who agree with the rest as to their way of living, and customs, and laws, but differ from them in the point of marriage, as thinking that by not marrying they cut off the principal part of human life, which is the prospect of succession; nay, rather, that if all men should be of the same opinion, the whole race of mankind would fail. However, they try their spouses for three years; and if they find that they have their natural purgations thrice, as trials that they are likely to be fruitful, they then actually marry them. But they do not use to accompany with their wives when they are with child, as a demonstration that they do not many out of regard to pleasure, but for the sake of posterity. Now the women go into the baths with some of their garments on, as the men do with somewhat girded about them. And these are the customs of this order of Essens.

14 But then as to the two other orders at first mentioned, the Pharisees are those who are esteemed most skillful in the exact explication of their laws, and introduce the first sect. These ascribe all to fate [or providence], and to God, and yet allow, that to act what is right, or the contrary, is principally in the power of men, although fate does co-operate in every action. They say that all souls are incorruptible, but that the souls of good men only are removed into other bodies,—but that the souls of bad men are subject to eternal punishment. But the Sadducees are those that compose the second order, and take away fate entirely, and suppose that God is not concerned in our doing or not doing what is evil; and they say, that to act what is good, or what is evil, is at men's own choice, and that the one or the other belongs so to every one, that they may act as they please. They also take away the belief of the immortal duration of the soul, and the punishments and rewards in Hades. Moreover, the Pharisees are friendly to one another, and are for the exercise of concord, and regard for the public; but the behavior of the Sadducees one towards another is in some degree wild, and their conversation with those that are of their own party is as barbarous as if they were strangers to them. And this is what I had to say concerning the philosophic sects among the Jews.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 9

The Death Of Salome. The Cities Which Herod And Philip Built. Pilate Occasions Disturbances. Tiberius Puts Agrippa Into Bonds But Caius Frees Him From Them, And Makes Him King. Herod Antipas Is Banished.

1 And now as the ethnarchy of Archelaus was fallen into a Roman province, the other sons of Herod, Philip, and that Herod who was called Antipas, each of them took upon them the administration of their own tetrarchies; for when Salome died, she bequeathed to Julia, the wife of Augustus, both her toparchy, and Jamriga, as also her plantation of palm trees that were in Phasaelis. But when the Roman empire was translated to Tiberius, the son of Julia, upon the death of Augustus, who had reigned fifty-seven years, six months, and two days, both Herod and Philip continued in their tetrarchies; and the latter of them built the city Cesarea, at the fountains of Jordan, and in the region of Paneas; as also the city Julias, in the lower Gaulonitis. Herod also built the city Tiberius in Galilee, and in Perea [beyond Jordan] another that was also called Julias.

2 Now Pilate, who was sent as procurator into Judea by Tiberius, sent by night those images of Caesar that are called ensigns into Jerusalem. This excited a very among great tumult among the Jews when it was day; for those that were near them were astonished at the sight of them, as indications that their laws were trodden under foot; for those laws do not permit any sort of image to be brought into the city. Nay, besides the indignation which the citizens had themselves at this procedure, a vast number of people came running out of the country. These came zealously to Pilate to Cesarea, and besought him to carry those ensigns out of Jerusalem, and to preserve them their ancient laws inviolable; but upon Pilate's denial of their request, they fell down prostrate upon the ground, and continued immovable in that posture for five days and as many nights.

3 On the next day Pilate sat upon his tribunal, in the open market-place, and called to him the multitude, as desirous to give them an answer; and then gave a signal to the soldiers, that they should all by agreement at once encompass the Jews with their weapons; so the band of soldiers stood round about

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the Jews in three ranks. The Jews were under the utmost consternation at that unexpected sight. Pilate also said to them that they should be cut in pieces, unless they would admit of Caesar's images, and gave intimation to the soldiers to draw their naked swords. Hereupon the Jews, as it were at one signal, fell down in vast numbers together, and exposed their necks bare, and cried out that they were sooner ready to be slain, than that their law should be transgressed. Hereupon Pilate was greatly surprised at their prodigious superstition, and gave order that the ensigns should be presently carried out of Jerusalem.

4 After this he raised another disturbance, by expending that sacred treasure which is called Corban upon aqueducts, whereby he brought water from the distance of four hundred furlongs. At this the multitude had indignation; and when Pilate was come to Jerusalem, they came about his tribunal, and made a clamour at it. Now when he was apprized aforehand of this disturbance, he mixed his own soldiers in their armour with the multitude, and ordered them to conceal themselves under the habits of private men, and not indeed to use their swords, but with their staves to beat those that made the clamour. He then gave the signal from his tribunal [to do as he had bidden them]. Now the Jews were so sadly beaten, that many of them perished by the stripes they received, and many of them perished as trodden to death by themselves; by which means the multitude was astonished at the calamity of those that were slain, and held their peace.

5 In the mean time Agrippa, the son of that Aristobulus who had been slain by his father Herod, came to Tiberius, to accuse Herod the tetrarch; who not admitting of his accusation, he staid at Rome, and cultivated a friendship with others of the men of note, but principally with Caius the son of Germanicus, who was then but a private person. Now this Agrippa, at a certain time, feasted Caius; and as he was very complaisant to him on several other accounts, he at length stretched out his hands, and openly wished that Tiberius might die, and that he might quickly see him emperor of the world. This was told to Tiberius by one of Agrippa's domestics, who thereupon was very angry, and ordered Agrippa to be bound, and had him very ill-treated in the prison for six months, until Tiberius died, after he had reigned twenty-two years, six months, and three days.

6 But when Caius was made Caesar, he released Agrippa from his bonds, and made him king of Philip's tetrarchy, who was now dead; but when Agrippa had arrived at that degree of dignity, he inflamed the ambitious desires of Herod the tetrarch, who was chiefly induced to hope for the royal authority by his wife Herodias, who reproached him for his sloth, and told him that it was only because he would not sail to Caesar that he was destitute of that great dignity; for since Caesar had made Agrippa a king, from a private person, much mole would he advance him from a tetrarch to that dignity. These arguments prevailed with Herod, so that he came to Caius, by whom he was punished for his ambition, by being banished into Spain; for Agrippa followed him, in order to accuse him; to whom also Caius gave his tetrarchy, by way of addition. So Herod died in Spain, whither his wife had followed him.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 10

Caius Commands That His Statue Should Be Set Up In The Temple Itself; And What Petronius Did Thereupon.

1 Now Caius Caesar did so grossly abuse the fortune he had arrived at, as to take himself to be a god, and to desire to be so called also, and to cut off those of the greatest nobility out of his country. He also extended his impiety as far as the Jews. Accordingly, he sent Petronius with an army to Jerusalem, to place his statues in the temple, and commanded him that, in case the Jews would not admit of them, he should slay those that opposed it, and carry all the rest of the nation into captivity: but God concerned himself with these his commands. However, Petronius marched out of Antioch into Judea, with three legions, and many Syrian auxiliaries. Now as to the Jews, some of them could not believe the stories that spake of a war; but those that did believe them were in the utmost distress how to defend themselves, and the terror diffused itself presently through them all; for the army was already come to Ptolemais.

2 This Ptolemais is a maritime city of Galilee, built in the great plain. It is encompassed with mountains: that on the east side, sixty furlongs off, belongs to Galilee; but that on the south belongs to Carmel, which is distant from it a hundred and twenty furlongs; and that on the north is the highest of them all, and is called by the people of the country, The Ladder of the Tyrians, which is at the distance of a hundred furlongs. The very small river Belus runs by it, at the distance of two furlongs; near which there is Menmon's monument, and hath near it a place no larger than a hundred cubits, which deserves admiration; for the place is round and hollow, and affords such sand as glass is made of; which place, when it hath been emptied by the many ships there loaded, it is filled again by the winds, which bring into it, as it were on purpose, that sand which lay remote, and was no more than bare common sand, while this mine presently turns it into glassy sand. And what is to me still more wonderful, that glassy sand which is superfluous, and is once removed out of the place, becomes bare common sand again. And this is the nature of the place we are speaking of.

3 But now the Jews got together in great numbers with their wives and children into that plain that was by Ptolemais, and made supplication to Petronius, first for their laws, and, in the next place, for themselves. So he was prevailed upon by the multitude of the supplicants, and by their supplications, and left his army and the statues at Ptolemais, and then went forward into Galilee, and called together the multitude and all the men of note to Tiberias, and showed them the power of the Romans, and the threatenings of Caesar; and, besides this, proved that their petition was unreasonable, because while all the nations in subjection to them had placed the images of Caesar in their several cities, among the rest of their gods, for them alone to oppose it, was almost like the behavior of revolters, and was injurious to Caesar.

4 And when they insisted on their law, and the custom of their country, and how it was not only not permitted them to make either an image of God, or indeed of a man, and to put it in any despicable part of their country, much less in the temple itself, Petronius replied, "And am not I also," said he, "bound to keep the law of my own lord? For if I transgress it, and spare you, it is but just that I perish; while he that sent me, and not I, will commence a war against you; for I am under command as well as you." Hereupon the whole multitude cried out that they were ready to suffer for their law. Petronius then quieted them, and said to them, "Will you then make war against Caesar?" The Jews said, "We offer sacrifices twice every day for Caesar, and for the Roman people;" but that if he would place the images among them, he must first sacrifice the whole Jewish nation; and that they were ready to expose themselves, together with their children and wives, to be slain. At this Petronius was astonished, and pitied them, on account of the inexpressible sense of religion the men were under, and that courage of theirs which made them ready to die for it; so they were dismissed without success.

5 But on the following days he got together the men of power privately, and the multitude publicly, and sometimes he used persuasions to them, and sometimes he gave them his advice; but he chiefly made use of threatenings to them, and insisted upon the power of the Romans, and the anger of Caius; and besides, upon the necessity he was himself under [to do as he was enjoined]. But as they could be no way prevailed upon, and he saw that the country was in danger of lying without tillage; [for it was about seed time that the multitude continued for fifty days together idle;] so he at last got them together, and told them that it was best for him to run some hazard himself; "for either, by the Divine assistance, I shall prevail with Caesar, and shall myself escape the danger as well as you, which will be matter of joy to us both; or, in case Caesar continue in his rage, I will be ready to expose my own life for such a great number as you are." Whereupon he dismissed the multitude, who prayed greatly for his prosperity; and he took the army out of Ptolemais, and returned to Antioch; from whence he presently sent an epistle to Caesar, and informed him of the irruption he had made into Judea, and of the supplications of the nation; and that unless he had a mind to lose both the country and the men in it, he must permit them to keep their law, and must countermand his former injunction. Caius answered that epistle in a violent-way, and threatened to have Petronius put to death for his being so tardy in the execution of what he had commanded. But it happened that those who brought Caius's epistle were tossed by a storm, and were detained on the sea for three months, while others that brought the news of Caius's death had a good voyage. Accordingly, Petronins received the epistle concerning Caius seven and twenty days before he received that which was against himself.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 11

Concerning The Government Of Claudius, And The Reign Of Agrippa. Concerning The Deaths Of Agrippa And Of Herod And What Children They Both Left Behind Them.

1 Now when Caius had reigned three years and eight months, and had been slain by treachery, Claudius was hurried away by the armies that were at Rome to take the government upon him; but the senate, upon the reference of the consuls, Sentis Saturninus, and Pomponius Secundus, gave orders to the three regiments of soldiers that staid with them to keep the city quiet, and went up into the capitol in great numbers, and resolved to oppose Claudius by force, on account of the barbarous treatment they had met with from Caius; and they determined either to settle the nation under an aristocracy, as they had of old been governed, or at least to choose by vote such a one for emperor as might be worthy of it.

2 Now it happened that at this time Agrippa sojourned at Rome, and that both the senate called him to consult with them, and at the same time Claudius sent for him out of the camp, that he might be serviceable to him, as he should have occasion for his service. So he, perceiving that Claudius was in effect made Caesar already, went to him, who sent him as an ambassador to the senate, to let them know what his intentions were: that, in the first place, it was without his seeking that he was hurried away by the soldiers; moreover, that he thought it was not just to desert those soldiers in such their zeal for him, and that if he should do so, his own fortune would be in uncertainty; for that it was a dangerous case to have been once called to the empire. He added further, that he would administer the government as a good prince, and not like a tyrant; for that he would be satisfied with the honour of being called emperor, but would, in every one of his actions, permit them all to give him their advice; for that although he had not been by nature for moderation, yet would the death of Caius afford him a sufficient demonstration how soberly he ought to act in that station.

3 This message was delivered by Agrippa; to which the senate replied, that since they had an army, and the wisest counsels on their side, they would not endure a voluntary slavery. And when Claudius heard what answer the senate had made, he sent Agrippa to them again, with the following message: That he could not bear the thoughts of betraying them that had given their oaths to be true to him; and that he saw he must fight, though unwillingly, against such as he had no mind to fight; that, however, [if it must come to that,] it was proper to choose a place without the city for the war, because it was not agreeable to piety to pollute the temples of their own city with the blood of their own countrymen, and this only on occasion of their imprudent conduct. And when Agrippa had heard this message, he delivered it to the senators.

4 In the mean time, one of the soldiers belonging to the senate drew his sword, and cried out, "O my fellow soldiers, what is the meaning of this choice of ours, to kill our brethren, and to use violence to our kindred that are with Claudius? while we may have him for our emperor whom no one can blame, and who hath so many just reasons [to lay claim to the government]; and this with regard to those against whom we are going to fight." When he had said this, he marched through the whole senate, and carried all the soldiers along with him. Upon which all the patricians were immediately in a great fright at their being thus deserted. But still, because there appeared no other way whither they could turn themselves for deliverance, they made haste the same way with the soldiers, and went to Claudius. But those that had the greatest luck in flattering the good fortune of Claudius betimes met them before the walls with their naked swords, and there was reason to fear that those that came first might have been in danger, before Claudius could know what violence the soldiers were going to offer them, had not Agrippa ran before, and told him what a dangerous thing they were going about, and that unless he restrained the violence of these men, who were in a fit of madness against the patricians, he would lose those on whose account it was most desirable to rule, and would be emperor over a desert.

5 When Claudius heard this, he restrained the violence of the soldiery, and received the senate into the camp, and treated them after an obliging manner, and went out with them presently to offer their thank-offerings to God, which were proper upon, his first coming to the empire. Moreover, he bestowed on Agrippa his whole paternal kingdom immediately, and added to it, besides those countries that had been given by Augustus to Herod, Trachonitis and Auranitis, and still besides these, that kingdom which was called the kingdom of Lysanius. This gift he declared to the people by a decree, but ordered the magistrates to have the donation engraved on tables of brass, and to be set up in the capitol. He bestowed on his brother Herod, who was also his son-in-law, by marrying [his daughter] Bernice, the kingdom of Chalcis.

6 So now riches flowed in to Agrippa by his enjoyment of so large a dominion; nor did he abuse the money he had on small matters, but he began to encompass Jerusalem with such a wall, which, had it been brought to perfection, had made it impracticable for the Romans to take it by siege; but his death, which happened at Cesarea, before he had raised the walls to their due height, prevented him. He had then reigned three years, as he had governed his tetrarchies three other years. He left behind him three daughters, born to him by Cypros, Bernice, Mariamne, and Drusilla, and a son born of the same mother, whose name was Agrippa: he was left a very young child, so that Claudius made the country a Roman province, and sent Cuspius Fadus to be its procurator, and after him Tiberius Alexander, who, making no alterations of the ancient laws, kept the nation in tranquillity. Now after this, Herod the king of Chalcis died, and left behind him two sons, born to him of his brother's daughter Bernice; their names were Bernie Janus and Hyrcanus. [He also left behind him] Aristobulus, whom he had by his former wife Mariamne. There was besides another brother of his that died a private person, his name was also Aristobulus, who left behind him a daughter, whose name was Jotape: and these, as I have formerly said, were the children of Aristobulus the son of Herod, which Aristobulus and Alexander were born to Herod by Mariamne, and were slain by him. But as for Alexander's posterity, they reigned in Armenia.

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FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 12

Many Tumults Under Cumanus, Which Were Composed By Quadratus. Felix Is Procurator Of Judea. Agrippa Is Advanced From Chalcis To A Greater Kingdom.

1 Now after the death of Herod, king of Chalcis, Claudius set Agrippa, the son of Agrippa, over his uncle's kingdom, while Cumanus took upon him the office of procurator of the rest, which was a Roman province, and therein he succeeded Alexander; under which Cumanus began the troubles, and the Jews' ruin came on; for when the multitude were come together to Jerusalem, to the feast of unleavened bread, and a Roman cohort stood over the cloisters of the temple, [for they always were armed, and kept guard at the festivals, to prevent any innovation which the multitude thus gathered together might make,] one of the soldiers pulled back his garment, and cowering down after an indecent manner, turned his breech to the Jews, and spake such words as you might expect upon such a posture. At this the whole multitude had indignation, and made a clamour to Cumanus, that he would punish the soldier; while the rasher part of the youth, and such as were naturally the most tumultuous, fell to fighting, and caught up stones, and threw them at the soldiers. Upon which Cumanus was afraid lest all the people should make an assault upon him, and sent to call for more armed men, who, when they came in great numbers into the cloisters, the Jews were in a very great consternation; and being beaten out of the temple, they ran into the city; and the violence with which they crowded to get out was so great, that they trod upon each other, and squeezed one another, till ten thousand of them were killed, insomuch that this feast became the cause of mourning to the whole nation, and every family lamented their own relations.

2 Now there followed after this another calamity, which arose from a tumult made by robbers; for at the public road at Beth-boron, one Stephen, a servant of Caesar, carried some furniture, which the robbers fell upon and seized. Upon this Cumanus sent men to go round about to the neighbouring villages, and to bring their inhabitants to him bound, as laying it to their charge that they had not pursued after the thieves, and caught them. Now here it was that a certain soldier, finding the sacred book of the law, tore it to pieces, and threw it into the fire. Hereupon the Jews were in great disorder, as if their whole country were in a flame, and assembled themselves so many of them by their zeal for their religion, as by an engine, and ran together with united clamour to Cesarea, to Cumanus, and made supplication to him that he would not overlook this man, who had offered such an affront to God, and to his law; but punish him for what he had done. Accordingly, he, perceiving that the multitude would not be quiet unless they had a comfortable answer from him, gave order that the soldier should be brought, and drawn through those that required to have him punished, to execution, which being done, the Jews went their ways.

3 After this there happened a fight between the Galileans and the Samaritans; it happened at a village called Geman, which is situate in the great plain of Samaria; where, as a great number of Jews were going up to Jerusalem to the feast [of tabernacles,] a certain Galilean was slain; and besides, a vast number of people ran together out of Galilee, in order to fight with the Samaritans. But the principal men among them came to Cumanus, and besought him that, before the evil became incurable, he would come into Galilee, and bring the authors of this murder to punishment; for that there was no other way to make the multitude separate without coming to blows. However, Cumanus postponed their supplications to the other affairs he was then about, and sent the petitioners away without success.

4 But when the affair of this murder came to be told at Jerusalem, it put the multitude into disorder, and they left the feast; and without any generals to conduct them, they marched with great violence to Samaria; nor would they be ruled by any of the magistrates that were set over them, but they were managed by one Eleazar, the son of Dineus, and by Alexander, in these their thievish and seditious attempts. These men fell upon those that were in the neighbourhood of the Acrabatene toparchy, and slew them, without sparing any age, and set the villages on fire.

5 But Cumanus took one troop of horsemen, called the troop of Sebaste, out of Cesarea, and came to the assistance of those that were spoiled; he also seized upon a great number of those that followed Eleazar, and slew more of them. And as for the rest of the multitude of those that went so zealously to fight with the Samaritans, the rulers of Jerusalem ran out clothed with sackcloth, and having ashes on their head, and begged of them to go their ways, lest by their attempt to revenge themselves upon the Samaritans they should provoke the Romans to come against Jerusalem; to have compassion upon their country and temple, their children and their wives, and not bring the utmost dangers of destruction upon them, in order to avenge themselves upon one Galilean only. The Jews complied with these persuasions of theirs, and dispersed themselves; but still there were a great number who betook themselves to robbing, in hopes of impunity; and rapines and insurrections of the bolder sort happened over the whole country. And the men of power among the Samaritans came to Tyre, to Ummidius Quadratus, the president of Syria, and desired that they that had laid waste the country might be punished: the great men also of the Jews, and Jonathan the son of Ananus the high priest, came thither, and said that the Samaritans were the beginners of the disturbance, on account of that murder they had committed; and that Cumanus had given occasion to what had happened, by his unwillingness to punish the original authors of that murder.

6 But Quadratus put both parties off for that time, and told them, that when he should come to those places, he would make a diligent inquiry after every circumstance. After which he went to Cesarea, and crucified all those whom Cumanus had taken alive; and when from thence he was come to the city Lydda, he heard the affair of the Samaritans, and sent for eighteen of the Jews, whom he had learned to have been concerned in that fight, and beheaded them; but he sent two others of those that were of the greatest power among them, and both Jonathan and Ananias, the high priests, as also Artanus the son of this Ananias, and certain others that were eminent among the Jews, to Caesar; as he did in like manner by the most illustrious of the Samaritans. He also ordered that Cumanus [the procurator] and Celer the tribune should sail to Rome, in order to give an account of what had been done to Caesar. When he had finished these matters, he went up from Lydda to Jerusalem, and finding the multitude celebrating their feast of unleavened bread without any tumult, he returned to Antioch.

7 Now when Caesar at Rome had heard what Cumanus and the Samaritans had to say, [where it was done in the hearing of Agrippa, who zealously espoused the cause of the Jews, as in like manner many of the great men stood by Cumanus,] he condemned the Samaritans, and commanded that three of the most powerful men among them should be put to death; he banished Cumanus, and sent Celer bound to Jerusalem, to be delivered over to the Jews to be tormented; that he should be drawn round the city, and then beheaded.

8 After this Caesar sent Felix, the brother of Pallas, to be procurator of Galilee, and Samaria, and Perea, and removed Agrippa from Chalcis unto a greater kingdom; for he gave him the tetrarchy which had belonged to Philip, which contained Batanae, Trachonitis, and Gaulonitis: he added to it the kingdom of Lysanias, and that province [Abilene] which Varus had governed. But Claudius himself, when he had administered the government thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days, died, and left Nero to be his successor in the empire, whom he had adopted by his Wife Agrippina's delusions, in order to be his successor, although he had a son of his own, whose name was Britannicus, by Messalina his former wife, and a daughter whose name was Octavia, whom he had married to Nero; he had also another daughter by Petina, whose name was Antonia.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 13

Nero Adds Four Cities To Agrippas Kingdom; But The Other Parts Of Judea Were Under Felix. The Disturbances Which Were Raised By The Sicarii The Magicians And An Egyptian False Prophet. The Jews And Syrians Have A Contest At Cesarea.

1 Now as to the many things in which Nero acted like a madman, out of the extravagant degree of the felicity and riches which he enjoyed, and by that means used his good fortune to the injury of others; and after what manner he slew his brother, and wife, and mother, from whom his barbarity spread itself to others that were most nearly related to him; and how, at last, he was so distracted that he became an actor in the scenes, and upon the theater,—I omit to say any more about them, because there are writers enough upon those subjects every where; but I shall turn myself to those actions of his time in which the Jews were concerned.

2 Nero therefore bestowed the kingdom of the Lesser Armenia upon Aristobulus, Herod's son, and he added to Agrippa's kingdom four cities, with the toparchies to them belonging; I mean Abila, and that Julias which is in Perea, Tarichea also, and Tiberias of Galilee; but over the rest of Judea he made Felix procurator. This Felix took Eleazar the arch-robber, and many that were with him, alive, when they had ravaged the country for twenty years together, and sent them to Rome; but as to the number of the robbers whom he caused to be crucified, and of those who were caught among them, and whom he brought to punishment, they were a multitude not to be enumerated.

3 When the country was purged of these, there sprang up another sort of robbers in Jerusalem, which were called Sicarii, who slew men in the day time, and in the midst of the city; this they did chiefly at the festivals, when they mingled themselves among the multitude, and concealed daggers under their garments, with which they stabbed those that were their enemies; and when any fell down dead, the murderers became a part of those that had indignation against them; by which means they appeared persons of such reputation, that they could by no means be discovered. The first man who was slain by them was Jonathan the high priest, after whose death many were slain every day, while the fear men were in of being so served was more afflicting than the calamity itself; and while every body expected death every hour, as men do in war, so men were obliged to look before them, and to take notice of their enemies at a great distance; nor, if their friends were coming to them, durst they trust them any longer; but, in the midst of their suspicions and guarding of themselves, they were slain. Such was the celerity of the plotters against them, and so cunning was their contrivance.

4 There was also another body of wicked men gotten together, not so impure in their actions, but more wicked in their intentions, which laid waste the happy state of the city no less than did these murderers. These were such men as deceived and deluded the people under pretense of Divine inspiration, but were for procuring innovations and changes of the government; and these prevailed with the multitude to act like madmen, and went before them into the wilderness, as pretending that God would there show them the signals of liberty. But Felix thought this procedure was to be the beginning of a revolt; so he sent some horsemen and footmen both armed, who destroyed a great number of them.

5 But there was an Egyptian false prophet that did the Jews more mischief than the former; for he was a cheat, and pretended to be a prophet also, and got together thirty thousand men that were deluded by him; these he led round about from the wilderness to the mount which was called the Mount of Olives, and was ready to break into Jerusalem by force from that place; and if he could but once conquer the Roman garrison and the people, he intended to domineer over them by the assistance of those guards of his that were to break into the city with him. But Felix prevented his attempt, and met him with his Roman soldiers, while all the people assisted him in his attack upon them, insomuch that when it came to a battle, the Egyptian ran away, with a few others, while the greatest part of those that were with him were either destroyed or taken alive; but the rest of the multitude were dispersed every one to their own homes, and there concealed themselves.

6 Now when these were quieted, it happened, as it does in a diseased body, that another part was subject to an inflammation; for a company of deceivers and robbers got together, and persuaded the Jews to revolt, and exhorted them to assert their liberty, inflicting death on those that continued in obedience to the Roman government, and saying, that such as willingly chose slavery ought to be forced from such their desired inclinations; for they parted themselves into different bodies, and lay in wait up and down the country, and plundered the houses of the great men, and slew the men themselves, and set the villages on fire; and this till all Judea was filled with the effects of their madness. And thus the flame was every day more and more blown up, till it came to a direct war.

7 There was also another disturbance at Cesarea,—those Jews who were mixed with the Syrians that lived there rising a tumult against them. The Jews pretended that the city was theirs, and said that he who built it was a Jew, meaning king Herod. The Syrians confessed also that its builder was a Jew; but they still said, however, that the city was a Grecian city; for that he who set up statues and temples in it could not design it for Jews. On which account both parties had a contest with one another; and this contest increased so much, that it came at last to arms, and the bolder sort of them marched out to fight; for the elders of the Jews were not able to put a stop to their own people that were disposed to be tumultuous, and the Greeks thought it a shame for them to be overcome by the Jews. Now these Jews exceeded the others in riches and strength of body; but the Grecian part had the advantage of assistance from the soldiery; for the greatest part of the Roman garrison was raised out of Syria; and being thus related to the Syrian part, they were ready to assist it. However, the governors of the city were concerned to keep all quiet, and whenever they caught those that were most for fighting on either side, they punished them with stripes and bands. Yet did not the sufferings of those that were caught affright the remainder, or make them desist; but they were still more and more exasperated, and deeper engaged in the sedition. And as Felix came once into the market-place, and commanded the Jews, when they had beaten the Syrians, to go their ways, and threatened them if they would not, and they would not obey him, he sent his soldiers out upon them, and slew a great many of them, upon which it fell out that what they had was plundered. And as the sedition still continued, he chose out the most eminent men on both sides as ambassadors to Nero, to argue about their several privileges.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 14

Festus Succeeds Felix Who Is Succeeded By Albinus As He Is By Florus; Who By The Barbarity Of His Government Forces The Jews Into The War.

1 Now it was that Festus succeeded Felix as procurator, and made it his business to correct those that made disturbances in the country. So he caught the greatest part of the robbers, and destroyed a great many of them. But then Albinus, who succeeded Festus, did not execute his office as the other had done; nor was there any sort of wickedness that could be

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named but he had a hand in it. Accordingly, he did not only, in his political capacity, steal and plunder every one's substance, nor did he only burden the whole nation with taxes, but he permitted the relations of such as were in prison for robbery, and had been laid there, either by the senate of every city, or by the former procurators, to redeem them for money; and no body remained in the prisons as a malefactor but he who gave him nothing. At this time it was that the enterprises of the seditious at Jerusalem were very formidable; the principal men among them purchasing leave of Albinus to go on with their seditious practices; while that part of the people who delighted in disturbances joined themselves to such as had fellowship with Albinus; and every one of these wicked wretches were encompassed with his own band of robbers, while he himself, like an arch-robber, or a tyrant, made a figure among his company, and abused his authority over those about him, in order to plunder those that lived quietly. The effect of which was this, that those who lost their goods were forced to hold their peace, when they had reason to show great indignation at what they had suffered; but those who had escaped were forced to flatter him that deserved to be punished, out of the fear they were in of suffering equally with the others. Upon the Whole, nobody durst speak their minds, but tyranny was generally tolerated; and at this time were those seeds sown which brought the city to destruction.

2 And although such was the character of Albinus, yet did Gessius Florus who succeeded him, demonstrate him to have been a most excellent person, upon the comparison; for the former did the greatest part of his rogueries in private, and with a sort of dissimulation; but Gessius did his unjust actions to the harm of the nation after a pompous manner; and as though he had been sent as an executioner to punish condemned malefactors, he omitted no sort of rapine, or of vexation; where the case was really pitiable, he was most barbarous, and in things of the greatest turpitude he was most impudent. Nor could any one outdo him in disguising the truth; nor could any one contrive more subtle ways of deceit than he did. He indeed thought it but a petty offense to get money out of single persons; so he spoiled whole cities, and ruined entire bodies of men at once, and did almost publicly proclaim it all the country over, that they had liberty given them to turn robbers, upon this condition, that he might go shares with them in the spoils they got. Accordingly, this his greediness of gain was the occasion that entire toparchies were brought to desolation, and a great many of the people left their own country, and fled into foreign provinces.

3 And truly, while Cestius Gallus was president of the province of Syria, nobody durst do so much as send an embassage to him against Florus; but when he was come to Jerusalem, upon the approach of the feast of unleavened bread, the people came about him not fewer in number than three millions these besought him to commiserate the calamities of their nation, and cried out upon Florus as the bane of their country. But as he was present, and stood by Cestius, he laughed at their words. However, Cestius, when he had quieted the multitude, and had assured them that he would take care that Florus should hereafter treat them in a more gentle manner, returned to Antioch. Florus also conducted him as far as Cesarea, and deluded him, though he had at that very time the purpose of showing his anger at the nation, and procuring a war upon them, by which means alone it was that he supposed he might conceal his enormities; for he expected that if the peace continued, he should have the Jews for his accusers before Caesar; but that if he could procure them to make a revolt, he should divert their laying lesser crimes to his charge, by a misery that was so much greater; he therefore did every day augment their calamities, in order to induce them to a rebellion.

4 Now at this time it happened that the Grecians at Cesarea had been too hard for the Jews, and had obtained of Nero the government of the city, and had brought the judicial determination: at the same time began the war, in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, and the seventeenth of the reign of Agrippa, in the month of Artemisius [Jyar.] Now the occasion of this war was by no means proportionable to those heavy calamities which it brought upon us. For the Jews that dwelt at Cesarea had a synagogue near the place, whose owner was a certain Cesarean Greek: the Jews had endeavored frequently to have purchased the possession of the place, and had offered many times its value for its price; but as the owner overlooked their offers, so did he raise other buildings upon the place, in way of affront to them, and made working-shops of them, and left them but a narrow passage, and such as was very troublesome for them to go along to their synagogue. Whereupon the warmer part of the Jewish youth went hastily to the workmen, and forbade them to build there; but as Florus would not permit them to use force, the great men of the Jews, with John the publican, being in the utmost distress what to do, persuaded Florus, with the offer of eight talents, to hinder the work. He then, being intent upon nothing but getting money, promised he would do for them all they desired of him, and then went away from Cesarea to Sebaste, and left the sedition to take its full course, as if he had sold a license to the Jews to fight it out.

5 Now on the next day, which was the seventh day of the week, when the Jews were crowding apace to their synagogue, a certain man of Cesarea, of a seditious temper, got an earthen vessel, and set it with the bottom upward, at the entrance of that synagogue, and sacrificed birds. This thing provoked the Jews to an incurable degree, because their laws were affronted, and the place was polluted. Whereupon the sober and moderate part of the Jews thought it proper to have recourse to their governors again, while the seditious part, and such as were in the fervor of their youth, were vehemently inflamed to fight. The seditions also among the Gentiles of Cesarea stood ready for the same purpose; for they had, by agreement, sent the man to sacrifice beforehand [as ready to support him;] so that it soon came to blows. Hereupon Jucundus, the master of the horse, who was ordered to prevent the fight, came thither, and took away the earthen vessel, and endeavored to put a stop to the sedition; but when he was overcome by the violence of the people of Cesarea, the Jews caught up their books of the law, and retired to Narbata, which was a place to them belonging, distant from Cesarea sixty furlongs. But John, and twelve of the principal men with him, went to Florus, to Sebaste, and made a lamentable complaint of their case, and besought him to help them; and with all possible decency, put him in mind of the eight talents they had given him; but he had the men seized upon, and put in prison, and accused them for carrying the books of the law out of Cesarea.

6 Moreover, as to the citizens of Jerusalem, although they took this matter very ill, yet did they restrain their passion; but Florus acted herein as if he had been hired, and blew up the war into a flame, and sent some to take seventeen talents out of the sacred treasure, and pretended that Caesar wanted them. At this the people were in confusion immediately, and ran together to the temple, with prodigious clamours, and called upon Caesar by name, and besought him to free them from the tyranny of Florus. Some also of the seditious cried out upon Florus, and cast the greatest reproaches upon him, and carried a basket about, and begged some spills of money for him, as for one that was destitute of possessions, and in a miserable condition. Yet was not he made ashamed hereby of his love of money, but was more enraged, and provoked to get still more; and instead of coming to Cesarea, as he ought to have done, and quenching the flame of war, which was beginning thence, and so taking away the occasion of any disturbances, on which account it was that he had received a reward [of eight talents], he marched hastily with an army of horsemen and footmen against Jerusalem, that he might gain his will by the arms of the Romans, and might, by his terror, and by his threatenings, bring the city into subjection.

7 But the people were desirous of making Florus ashamed of his attempt, and met his soldiers with acclamations, and put themselves in order to receive him very submissively. But he sent Capito, a centurion, beforehand, with fifty soldiers, to bid them go back, and not now make a show of receiving him in an obliging manner, whom they had so foully reproached before; and said that it was incumbent on them, in case they had generous souls, and were free speakers, to jest upon him to his face, and appear to be lovers of liberty, not only in words, but with their weapons also. With this message was the multitude amazed; and upon the coming of Capito's horsemen into the midst of them, they were dispersed before they could salute Florus, or manifest their submissive behavior to him. Accordingly, they retired to their own houses, and spent that night in fear and confusion of face.

8 Now at this time Florus took up his quarters at the palace; and on the next day he had his tribunal set before it, and sat upon it, when the high priests, and the men of power, and those of the greatest eminence in the city, came all before that tribunal; upon which Florus commanded them to deliver up to him those that had reproached him, and told them that they should themselves partake of the vengeance to them belonging, if they did not produce the criminals; but these demonstrated that the people were peaceably disposed, and they begged forgiveness for those that had spoken amiss; for that it was no wonder at all that in so great a multitude there should be some more daring than they ought to be, and, by reason of their younger age, foolish also; and that it was impossible to distinguish those that offended from the rest, while every one was sorry for what he had done, and denied it out of fear of what would follow: that he ought, however, to provide for the peace of the nation, and to take such counsels as might preserve the city for the Romans, and rather for the sake of a great number of innocent people to forgive a few that were guilty, than for the sake of a few of the wicked to put so large and good a body of men into disorder.

9 Florus was more provoked at this, and called out aloud to the soldiers to plunder that which was called the Upper Market-place, and to slay such as they met with. So the soldiers, taking this exhortation of their commander in a sense agreeable to their desire of gain, did not only plunder the place they were sent to, but forcing themselves into every house, they slew its inhabitants; so the citizens fled along the narrow lanes, and the soldiers slew those that they caught, and no method of plunder was omitted; they also caught many of the quiet people, and brought them before Florus, whom he first chastised with stripes, and then crucified. Accordingly, the whole number of those that were destroyed that day, with their wives and children, [for they did not spare even the infants themselves,] was about three thousand and six hundred. And what made this calamity the heavier was this new method of Roman barbarity; for Florus ventured then to do what no one had done before, that is, to have men of the equestrian order whipped and nailed to the cross before his tribunal; who, although they were by birth Jews, yet were they of Roman dignity notwithstanding.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 15

Concerning Bernice's Petition To Florus, To Spare The Jews, But In Vain; As Also How, After The Seditious Flame Was Quenched, It Was Kindled Again By Florus.

1 About this very time king Agrippa was going to Alexandria, to congratulate Alexander upon his having obtained the government of Egypt from Nero; but as his sister Bernice was come to Jerusalem, and saw the wicked practices of the soldiers, she was sorely affected at it, and frequently sent the masters of her horse and her guards to Florus, and begged of him to leave off these slaughters; but he would not comply with her request, nor have any regard either to the multitude of those already slain, or to the nobility of her that interceded, but only to the advantage he should make by this plundering; nay, this violence of the soldiers brake out to such a degree of madness, that it spent itself on the queen herself; for they did not only torment and destroy those whom they had caught under her very eyes, but indeed had killed herself also, unless she had prevented them by flying to the palace, and had staid there all night with her guards, which she had about her for fear of an insult from the soldiers. Now she dwelt then at Jerusalem, in order to perform a vow which she had made to God; for it is usual with those that had been either afflicted with a distemper, or with any other distresses, to make vows; and for thirty days before they are to offer their sacrifices, to abstain from wine, and to shave the hair of their head. Which things Bernice was now performing, and stood barefoot before Florus's tribunal, and besought him [to spare the Jews]. Yet could she neither have any reverence paid to her, nor could she escape without some danger of being slain herself.

2 This happened upon the sixteenth day of the month Artemisius [Jyar]. Now, on the next day, the multitude, who were in a great agony, ran together to the Upper Market-place, and made the loudest lamentations for those that had perished; and the greatest part of the cries were such as reflected on Florus; at which the men of power were affrighted, together with the high priests, and rent their garments, and fell down before each of them, and besought them to leave off, and not to provoke Florus to some incurable procedure, besides what they had already suffered. Accordingly, the multitude complied immediately, out of reverence to those that had desired it of them, and out of the hope they had that Florus would do them no more injuries.

3 So Florus was troubled that the disturbances were over, and endeavored to kindle that flame again, and sent for the high priests, with the other eminent persons, and said the only demonstration that the people would not make any other innovations should be this, that they must go out and meet the soldiers that were ascending from Cesarea, whence two cohorts were coming; and while these men were exhorting the multitude so to do, he sent beforehand, and gave directions to the centurions of the cohorts, that they should give notice to those that were under them not to return the Jews' salutations; and that if they made any reply to his disadvantage, they should make use of their weapons. Now the high priests assembled the multitude in the temple, and desired them to go and meet the Romans, and to salute the cohorts very civilly, before their miserable case should become incurable. Now the seditious part would not comply with these persuasions; but the consideration of those that had been destroyed made them incline to those that were the boldest for action.

4 At this time it was that every priest, and every servant of God, brought out the holy vessels, and the ornamental garments wherein they used to minister in sacred things. The harpers also, and the singers of hymns, came out with their instruments of music, and fell down before the multitude, and begged of them that they would preserve those holy ornaments to them, and not provoke the Romans to carry off those sacred treasures. You might also see then the high priests themselves, with dust sprinkled in great plenty upon their heads, with bosoms deprived of any covering but what was rent; these besought every one of the eminent men by name, and the multitude in common, that they would not for a small offense betray their country to those that were desirous to have it laid waste; saying, "What benefit will it bring to the soldiers to have a salutation from the Jews? or what amendment of your affairs will it bring you, if you do not now go out to meet them? and that if they saluted them civilly, all handle would be cut off from Florus to begin a war; that they should thereby gain their country, and freedom from all further sufferings; and that, besides, it would be a sign of great want of command of themselves, if they should

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yield to a few seditious persons, while it was fitter for them who were so great a people to force the others to act soberly."

5 By these persuasions, which they used to the multitude and to the seditious, they restrained some by threatenings, and others by the reverence that was paid them. After this they led them out, and they met the soldiers quietly, and after a composed manner, and when they were come up with them, they saluted them; but when they made no answer, the seditious exclaimed against Florus, which was the signal given for falling upon them. The soldiers therefore encompassed them presently, and struck them with their clubs; and as they fled away, the horsemen trampled them down, so that a great many fell down dead by the strokes of the Romans, and more by their own violence in crushing one another. Now there was a terrible crowding about the gates, and while every body was making haste to get before another, the flight of them all was retarded, and a terrible destruction there was among those that fell down, for they were suffocated, and broken to pieces by the multitude of those that were uppermost; nor could any of them be distinguished by his relations in order to the care of his funeral; the soldiers also who beat them, fell upon those whom they overtook, without showing them any mercy, and thrust the multitude through the place called Bezetha, as they forced their way, in order to get in and seize upon the temple, and the tower Antonia. Florus also being desirous to get those places into his possession, brought such as were with him out of the king's palace, and would have compelled them to get as far as the citadel [Antonia;] but his attempt failed, for the people immediately turned back upon him, and stopped the violence of his attempt; and as they stood upon the tops of their houses, they threw their darts at the Romans, who, as they were sorely galled thereby, because those weapons came from above, and they were not able to make a passage through the multitude, which stopped up the narrow passages, they retired to the camp which was at the palace.

6 But for the seditious, they were afraid lest Florus should come again, and get possession of the temple, through Antonia; so they got immediately upon those cloisters of the temple that joined to Antonia, and cut them down. This cooled the avarice of Florus; for whereas he was eager to obtain the treasures of God [in the temple], and on that account was desirous of getting into Antonia, as soon as the cloisters were broken down, he left off his attempt; he then sent for the high priests and the sanhedrim, and told them that he was indeed himself going out of the city, but that he would leave them as large a garrison as they should desire. Hereupon they promised that they would make no innovations, in case he would leave them one band; but not that which had fought with the Jews, because the multitude bore ill-will against that band on account of what they had suffered from it; so he changed the band as they desired, and, with the rest of his forces, returned to Cesarea.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 16

Cestius Sends Neopolitanus The Tribune To See In What Condition The Affairs Of The Jews Were. Agrippa Makes A Speech To The People Of The Jews That He May Divert Them From Their Intentions Of Making War With The Romans.

1 However, Florus contrived another way to oblige the Jews to begin the war, and sent to Cestius, and accused the Jews falsely of revolting [from the Roman government], and imputed the beginning of the former fight to them, and pretended they had been the authors of that disturbance, wherein they were only the sufferers. Yet were not the governors of Jerusalem silent upon this occasion, but did themselves write to Cestius, as did Bernice also, about the illegal practices of which Florus had been guilty against the city; who, upon reading both accounts, consulted with his captains [what he should do]. Now some of them thought it best for Cestius to go up with his army, either to punish the revolt, if it was real, or to settle the Roman affairs on a surer foundation, if the Jews continued quiet under them; but he thought it best himself to send one of his intimate friends beforehand, to see the state of affairs, and to give him a faithful account of the intentions of the Jews. Accordingly, he sent one of his tribunes, whose name was Neopolitanus, who met with king Agrippa as he was returning from Alexandria, at Jamnia, and told him who it was that sent him, and on what errands he was sent.

2 And here it was that the high priests, and men of power among the Jews, as well as the sanhedrim, came to congratulate the king [upon his safe return]; and after they had paid him their respects, they lamented their own calamities, and related to him what barbarous treatment they had met with from Florus. At which barbarity Agrippa had great indignation, but transferred, after a subtle manner, his anger towards those Jews whom he really pitied, that he might beat down their high thoughts of themselves, and would have them believe that they had not been so unjustly treated, in order to dissuade them from avenging themselves. So these great men, as of better understanding than the rest, and desirous of peace, because of the possessions they had, understood that this rebuke which the king gave them was intended for their good; but as to the people, they came sixty furlongs out of Jerusalem, and congratulated both Agrippa and Neopolitanus; but the wives of those that had been slain came running first of all and lamenting. The people also, when they heard their mourning, fell into lamentations also, and besought Agrippa to assist them: they also cried out to Neopolitanus, and complained of the many miseries they had endured under Florus; and they showed them, when they were come into the city, how the market-place was made desolate, and the houses plundered. They then persuaded Neopolitanus, by the means of Agrippa, that he would walk round the city, with one only servant, as far as Siloam, that he might inform himself that the Jews submitted to all the rest of the Romans, and were only displeased at Florus, by reason of his exceeding barbarity to them. So he walked round, and had sufficient experience of the good temper the people were in, and then went up to the temple, where he called the multitude together, and highly commended them for their fidelity to the Romans, and earnestly exhorted them to keep the peace; and having performed such parts of Divine worship at the temple as he was allowed to do, he returned to Cestius.

3 But as for the multitude of the Jews, they addressed themselves to the king, and to the high priests, and desired they might have leave to send ambassadors to Nero against Florus, and not by their silence afford a suspicion that they had been the occasions of such great slaughters as had been made, and were disposed to revolt, alleging that they should seem to have been the first beginners of the war, if they did not prevent the report by showing who it was that began it; and it appeared openly that they would not be quiet, if any body should hinder them from sending such an embassage. But Agrippa, although he thought it too dangerous a thing for them to appoint men to go as the accusers of Florus, yet did he not think it fit for him to overlook them, as they were in a disposition for war. He therefore called the multitude together into a large gallery, and placed his sister Bernice in the house of the Asamoneans, that she might be seen by them, [which house was over the gallery, at the passage to the upper city, where the bridge joined the temple to the gallery,] and spake to them as follows:

4 "Had I perceived that you were all zealously disposed to go to war with the Romans, and that the purer and more sincere part of the people did not propose to live in peace, I had not come out to you, nor been so bold as to give you counsel; for all discourses that tend to persuade men to do what they ought to do are superfluous, when the hearers are agreed to do the contrary. But because some are earnest to go to war because they are young, and without experience of the miseries it brings, and because some are for it out of an unreasonable expectation of regaining their liberty, and because others hope to get by it, and are therefore earnestly bent upon it, that in the confusion of your affairs they may gain what belongs to those that are too weak to resist them, I have thought proper to get you all together, and to say to you what I think to be for your advantage; that so the former may grow wiser, and change their minds, and that the best men may come to no harm by the ill conduct of some others. And let not any one be tumultuous against me, in case what they hear me say do not please them; for as to those that admit of no cure, but are resolved upon a revolt, it will still be in their power to retain the same sentiments after my exhortation is over; but still my discourse will fall to the ground, even with a relation to those that have a mind to hear me, unless you will all keep silence. I am well aware that many make a tragical exclamation concerning the injuries that have been offered you by your procurators, and concerning the glorious advantages of liberty; but before I begin the inquiry, who you are that must go to war, and who they are against whom you must fight, I shall first separate those pretenses that are by some connected together; for if you aim at avenging yourselves on those that have done you injury, why do you pretend this to be a war for recovering your liberty? but if you think all servitude intolerable, to what purpose serve your complaint against your particular governors? for if they treated you with moderation, it would still be equally an unworthy thing to be in servitude. Consider now the several cases that may be supposed, how little occasion there is for your going to war. Your first occasion is the accusations you have to make against your procurators; now here you ought to be submissive to those in authority, and not give them any provocation; but when you reproach men greatly for small offenses, you excite those whom you reproach to be your adversaries; for this will only make them leave off hurting you privately, and with some degree of modesty, and to lay what you have waste openly. Now nothing so much damps the force of strokes as bearing them with patience; and the quietness of those who are injured diverts the injurious persons from afflicting. But let us take it for granted that the Roman ministers are injurious to you, and are incurably severe; yet are they not all the Romans who thus injure you; nor hath Caesar, against whom you are going to make war, injured you: it is not by their command that any wicked governor is sent to you; for they who are in the west cannot see those that are in the east; nor indeed is it easy for them there even to hear what is done in these parts. Now it is absurd to make war with a great many for the sake of one, to do so with such mighty people for a small cause; and this when these people are not able to know of what you complain: nay, such crimes as we complain of may soon be corrected, for the same procurator will not continue for ever; and probable it is that the successors will come with more moderate inclinations. But as for war, if it be once begun, it is not easily laid down again, nor borne without calamities coming therewith. However, as to the desire of recovering your liberty, it is unseasonable to indulge it so late; whereas you ought to have laboured earnestly in old time that you might never have lost it; for the first experience of slavery was hard to be endured, and the struggle that you might never have been subject to it would have been just; but that slave who hath been once brought into subjection, and then runs away, is rather a refractory slave than a lover of liberty; for it was then the proper time for doing all that was possible, that you might never have admitted the Romans [into your city], when Pompey came first into the country. But so it was, that our ancestors and their kings, who were in much better circumstances than we are, both as to money, and strong bodies, and [valiant] souls, did not bear the onset of a small body of the Roman army. And yet you, who have now accustomed yourselves to obedience from one generation to another, and who are so much inferior to those who first submitted, in your circumstances will venture to oppose the entire empire of the Romans. While those Athenians, who, in order to preserve the liberty of Greece, did once set fire to their own city; who pursued Xerxes, that proud prince, when he sailed upon the land, and walked upon the sea, and could not be contained by the seas, but conducted such an army as was too broad for Europe; and made him run away like a fugitive in a single ship, and brake so great a part of Asia at the Lesser Salamis; are yet at this time servants to the Romans; and those injunctions which are sent from Italy become laws to the principal governing city of Greece. Those Lacedemonians also who got the great victories at Thermopylae and Platea, and had Agesilaus [for their king], and searched every corner of Asia, are contented to admit the same lords. Those Macedonians also, who still fancy what great men their Philip and Alexander were, and see that the latter had promised them the empire over the world, these bear so great a change, and pay their obedience to those whom fortune hath advanced in their stead. Moreover, ten thousand ether nations there are who had greater reason than we to claim their entire liberty, and yet do submit. You are the only people who think it a disgrace to be servants to those to whom all the world hath submitted. What sort of an army do you rely on? What are the arms you depend on? Where is your fleet, that may seize upon the Roman seas? and where are those treasures which may be sufficient for your undertakings? Do you suppose, I pray you, that you are to make war with the Egyptians, and with the Arabians? Will you not carefully reflect upon the Roman empire? Will you not estimate your own weakness? Hath not your army been often beaten even by your neighbouring nations, while the power of the Romans is invincible in all parts of the habitable earth? nay, rather they seek for somewhat still beyond that; for all Euphrates is not a sufficient boundary for them on the east side, nor the Danube on the north; and for their southern limit, Libya hath been searched over by them, as far as countries uninhabited, as is Cadiz their limit on the west; nay, indeed, they have sought for another habitable earth beyond the ocean, and have carried their arms as far as such British islands as were never known before. What therefore do you pretend to? Are you richer than the Gauls, stronger than the Germans, wiser than the Greeks, more numerous than all men upon the habitable earth? What confidence is it that elevates you to oppose the Romans? Perhaps it will be said, It is hard to endure slavery. Yes; but how much harder is this to the Greeks, who were esteemed the noblest of all people under the sun! These, though they inhabit in a large country, are in subjection to six bundles of Roman rods. It is the same case with the Macedonians, who have juster reason to claim their liberty than you have. What is the case of five hundred cities of Asia? Do they not submit to a single governor, and to the consular bundle of rods? What need I speak of the Henlochi, and Colchi and the nation of Tauri, those that inhabit the Bosphorus, and the nations about Pontus, and Meotis, who formerly knew not so much as a lord of their own, but are now subject to three thousand armed men, and where forty long ships keep the sea in peace, which before was not navigable, and very tempestuous? How strong a plea may Bithynia, and Cappadocia, and the people of Pamphylia, the Lycians, and Cilicians, put in for liberty! But they are made tributary without an army. What are the circumstances of the Thracians, whose country extends in breadth five days' journey, and in length seven, and is of a much more harsh constitution, and much more defensible, than yours, and by the rigor of its cold sufficient to keep off armies from attacking them? do not they submit to two thousand men of the Roman garrisons? Are not the Illyrlans, who inhabit the country adjoining, as far as Dalmatia and the Danube, governed by barely two legions? by which also they put a stop to the incursions of the Daeians.

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And for the Dalmatians, who have made such frequent insurrections in order to regain their liberty, and who could never before be so thoroughly subdued, but that they always gathered their forces together again, revolted, yet are they now very quiet under one Roman legion. Moreover, if eat advantages might provoke any people to revolt, the Gauls might do it best of all, as being so thoroughly walled round by nature; on the east side by the Alps, on the north by the river Rhine, on the south by the Pyrenean mountains, and on the west by the ocean. Now although these Gauls have such obstacles before them to prevent any attack upon them, and have no fewer than three hundred and five nations among them, nay have, as one may say, the fountains of domestic happiness within themselves, and send out plentiful streams of happiness over almost the whole world, these bear to be tributary to the Romans, and derive their prosperous condition from them; and they undergo this, not because they are of effeminate minds, or because they are of an ignoble stock, as having borne a war of eighty years in order to preserve their liberty; but by reason of the great regard they have to the power of the Romans, and their good fortune, which is of greater efficacy than their arms. These Gauls, therefore, are kept in servitude by twelve hundred soldiers, which are hardly so many as are their cities; nor hath the gold dug out of the mines of Spain been sufficient for the support of a war to preserve their liberty, nor could their vast distance from the Romans by land and by sea do it; nor could the martial tribes of the Lusitanians and Spaniards escape; no more could the ocean, with its tide, which yet was terrible to the ancient inhabitants. Nay, the Romans have extended their arms beyond the pillars of Hercules, and have walked among the clouds, upon the Pyrenean mountains, and have subdued these nations. And one legion is a sufficient guard for these people, although they were so hard to be conquered, and at a distance so remote from Rome. Who is there among you that hath not heard of the great number of the Germans? You have, to be sure, yourselves seen them to be strong and tall, and that frequently, since the Romans have them among their captives every where; yet these Germans, who dwell in an immense country, who have minds greater than their bodies, and a soul that despises death, and who are in rage more fierce than wild beasts, have the Rhine for the boundary of their enterprises, and are tamed by eight Roman legions. Such of them as were taken captive became their servants; and the rest of the entire nation were obliged to save themselves by flight. Do you also, who depend on the walls of Jerusalem, consider what a wall the Britons had; for the Romans sailed away to them, an subdued them while they were encompassed by the ocean, and inhabited an island that is not less than the [continent of this] habitable earth; and four legions are a sufficient guard to so large all island And why should I speak much more about this matter, while the Parthians, that most warlike body of men, and lords of so many nations, and encompassed with such mighty forces, send hostages to the Romans? whereby you may see, if you please, even in Italy, the noblest nation of the East, under the notion of peace, submitting to serve them. Now when almost all people under the sun submit to the Roman arms, will you be the only people that make war against them? and this without regarding the fate of the Carthaginians, who, in the midst of their brags of the great Hannibal, and the nobility of their Phoenician original, fell by the hand of Scipio. Nor indeed have the Cyrenians, derived from the Lacedemonians, nor the Marmaridite, a nation extended as far as the regions uninhabitable for want of water, nor have the Syrtes, a place terrible to such as barely hear it described, the Nasamons and Moors, and the immense multitude of the Numidians, been able to put a stop to the Roman valour. And as for the third part of the habitable earth, [Akica,] whose nations are so many that it is not easy to number them, and which is bounded by the Atlantic Sea and the pillars of Hercules, and feeds an innumerable multitude of Ethiopians, as far as the Red Sea, these have the Romans subdued entirely. And besides the annual fruits of the earth, which maintain the multitude of the Romans for eight months in the year, this, over and above, pays all sorts of tribute, and affords revenues suitable to the necessities of the government. Nor do they, like you, esteem such injunctions a disgrace to them, although they have but one Roman legion that abides among them. And indeed what occasion is there for showing you the power of the Romans over remote countries, when it is so easy to learn it from Egypt, in your neighbourhood? This country is extended as far as the Ethiopians, and Arabia the Happy, and borders upon India; it hath seven millions five hundred thousand men, besides the inhabitants of Alexandria, as may be learned from the revenue of the poll tax; yet it is not ashamed to submit to the Roman government, although it hath Alexandria as a grand temptation to a revolt, by reason it is so full of people and of riches, and is besides exceeding large, its length being thirty furlongs, and its breadth no less than ten; and it pays more tribute to the Romans in one month than you do in a year; nay, besides what it pays in money, it sends corn to Rome that supports it for four months [in the year]: it is also walled round on all sides, either by almost impassable deserts, or seas that have no havens, or by rivers, or by lakes; yet have none of these things been found too strong for the Roman good fortune; however, two legions that lie in that city are a bridle both for the remoter parts of Egypt, and for the parts inhabited by the more noble Macedonians. Where then are those people whom you are to have for your auxiliaries? Must they come from the parts of the world that are uninhabited? for all that are in the habitable earth are [under the] Romans. Unless any of you extend his hopes as far as beyond the Euphrates, and suppose that those of your own nation that dwell in Adiabene will come to your assistance; but certainly these will not embarrass themselves with an unjustifiable war, nor, if they should follow such ill advice, will the Parthians permit them so to do; for it is their concern to maintain the truce that is between them and the Romans, and they will be supposed to break the covenants between them, if any under their government march against the Romans. What remains, therefore, is this, that you have recourse to Divine assistance; but this is already on the side of the Romans; for it is impossible that so vast an empire should be settled without God's providence. Reflect upon it, how impossible it is for your zealous observations of your religious customs to be here preserved, which are hard to be observed even when you fight with those whom you are able to conquer; and how can you then most of all hope for God's assistance, when, by being forced to transgress his law, you will make him turn his face from you? and if you do observe the custom of the sabbath days, and will not be revealed on to do any thing thereon, you will easily be taken, as were your forefathers by Pompey, who was the busiest in his siege on those days on which the besieged rested. But if in time of war you transgress the law of your country, I cannot tell on whose account you will afterward go to war; for your concern is but one, that you do nothing against any of your forefathers; and how will you call upon God to assist you, when you are voluntarily transgressing against his religion? Now all men that go to war do it either as depending on Divine or on human assistance; but since your going to war will cut off both those assistances, those that are for going to war choose evident destruction. What hinders you from slaying your children and wives with your own hands, and burning this most excellent native city of yours? for by this mad prank you will, however, escape the reproach of being beaten. But it were best, O my friends, it were best, while the vessel is still in the haven, to foresee the impending storm, and not to set sail out of the port into the middle of the hurricanes; for we justly pity those who fall into great misfortunes without fore-seeing them; but for him who rushes into manifest ruin, he gains reproaches [instead of commiseration]. But certainly no one can imagine that you can enter into a war as by agreement, or that when the Romans have got you under their power, they will use you with moderation, or will not rather, for an example to other nations, burn your holy city, and utterly destroy your whole nation; for those of you who shall survive the war will not be able to find a place whither to flee, since all men have the Romans for their lords already, or are afraid they shall have hereafter. Nay, indeed, the danger concerns not those Jews that dwell here only, but those of them which dwell in other cities also; for there is no people upon the habitable earth which have not some portion of you among them, whom your enemies will slay, in case you go to war, and on that account also; and so every city which hath Jews in it will be filled with slaughter for the sake of a few men, and they who slay them will be pardoned; but if that slaughter be not made by them, consider how wicked a thing it is to take arms against those that are so kind to you. Have pity, therefore, if not on your children and wives, yet upon this your metropolis, and its sacred walls; spare the temple, and preserve the holy house, with its holy furniture, for yourselves; for if the Romans get you under their power, they will no longer abstain from them, when their former abstinence shall have been so ungratefully requited. I call to witness your sanctuary, and the holy angels of God, and this country common to us all, that I have not kept back any thing that is for your preservation; and if you will follow that advice which you ought to do, you will have that peace which will be common to you and to me; but if you indulge four passions, you will run those hazards which I shall be free from."

5 When Agrippa had spoken thus, both he and his sister wept, and by their tears repressed a great deal of the violence of the people; but still they cried out, that they would not fight against the Romans, but against Florus, on account of what they had suffered by his means. To which Agrippa replied, that what they had already done was like such as make war against the Romans; "for you have not paid the tribute which is due to Caesar and you have cut off the cloisters [of the temple] from joining to the tower Antonia. You will therefore prevent any occasion of revolt if you will but join these together again, and if you will but pay your tribute; for the citadel does not now belong to Florus, nor are you to pay the tribute money to Florus."

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 17

How The War Of The Jews With The Romans Began, And Concerning Manahem.

1 This advice the people hearkened to, and went up into the temple with the king and Bernice, and began to rebuild the cloisters; the rulers also and senators divided themselves into the villages, and collected the tributes, and soon got together forty talents, which was the sum that was deficient. And thus did Agrippa then put a stop to that war which was threatened. Moreover, he attempted to persuade the multitude to obey Florus, until Caesar should send one to succeed him; but they were hereby more provoked, and cast reproaches upon the king, and got him excluded out of the city; nay, some of the seditious had the impudence to throw stones at him. So when the king saw that the violence of those that were for innovations was not to be restrained, and being very angry at the contumelies he had received, he sent their rulers, together with their men of power, to Florus, to Cesarea, that he might appoint whom he thought fit to collect the tribute in the country, while he retired into his own kingdom.

2 And at this time it was that some of those that principally excited the people to go to war made an assault upon a certain fortress called Masada. They took it by treachery, and slew the Romans that were there, and put others of their own party to keep it. At the same time Eleazar, the son of Ananias the high priest, a very bold youth, who was at that time governor of the temple, persuaded those that officiated in the Divine service to receive no gift or sacrifice for any foreigner. And this was the true beginning of our war with the Romans; for they rejected the sacrifice of Caesar on this account; and when many of the high priests and principal men besought them not to omit the sacrifice, which it was customary for them to offer for their princes, they would not be prevailed upon. These relied much upon their multitude, for the most flourishing part of the innovators assisted them; but they had the chief regard to Eleazar, the governor of the temple.

3 Hereupon the men of power got together, and conferred with the high priests, as did also the principal of the Pharisees; and thinking all was at stake, and that their calamities were becoming incurable, took counsel what was to be done. Accordingly, they determined to try what they could do with the seditious by words, and assembled the people before the brazen gate, which was that gate of the inner temple [court of the priests] which looked toward the sun-rising. And, in the first place, they showed the great indignation they had at this attempt for a revolt, and for their bringing so great a war upon their country; after which they confuted their pretense as unjustifiable, and told them that their forefathers had adorned their temple in great part with donations bestowed on them by foreigners, and had always received what had been presented to them from foreign nations; and that they had been so far from rejecting any person's sacrifice [which would be the highest instance of impiety,] that they had themselves placed those donation about the temple which were still visible, and had remained there so long a time; that they did now irritate the Romans to take arms against them, and invited them to make war upon them, and brought up novel rules of a strange Divine worship, and determined to run the hazard of having their city condemned for impiety, while they would not allow any foreigner, but Jews only, either to sacrifice or to worship therein. And if such a law should be introduced in the case of a single private person only, he would have indignation at it, as an instance of inhumanity determined against him; while they have no regard to the Romans or to Caesar, and forbid even their oblations to be received also; that however they cannot but fear, lest, by thus rejecting their sacrifices, they shall not be allowed to offer their own; and that this city will lose its principality, unless they grow wiser quickly, and restore the sacrifices as formerly, and indeed amend the injury [they have offered foreigners] before the report of it comes to the ears of those that have been injured.

4 And as they said these things, they produced those priests that were skillful in the customs of their country, who made the report that all their forefathers had received the sacrifices from foreign nations. But still not one of the innovators would hearken to what was said; nay, those that ministered about the temple would not attend their Divine service, but were preparing matters for beginning the war. So the men of power perceiving that the sedition was too hard for them to subdue, and that the danger which would arise from the Romans would come upon them first of all, endeavored to save themselves, and sent ambassadors, some to Florus, the chief of which was Simon the son of Ananias; and others to Agrippa, among whom the most eminent were Saul, and Antipas, and Costobarus, who were of the king's kindred; and they desired of them both that they would come with an army to the city, and cut off the seditious before it should be too hard to be subdued. Now this terrible message was good news to Florus; and because his design was to have a war kindled, he gave the ambassadors no answer at all. But Agrippa was equally solicitous for those that were revolting, and for those against whom the war was to be made, and was desirous to preserve the Jews for the Romans, and the temple and metropolis for the Jews; he was also sensible that it was not for his own advantage that the disturbances should proceed; so he sent three thousand horsemen to the assistance of the

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people out of Auranitis, and Batanea, and Trachonitis, and these under Darius, the master of his horse, and Philip the son of Jacimus, the general of his army.

5 Upon this the men of power, with the high priests, as also all the part of the multitude that were desirous of peace, took courage, and seized upon the upper city [Mount Sion;] for the seditious part had the lower city and the temple in their power; so they made use of stones and slings perpetually against one another, and threw darts continually on both sides; and sometimes it happened that they made incursions by troops, and fought it out hand to hand, while the seditious were superior in boldness, but the king's soldiers in skill. These last strove chiefly to gain the temple, and to drive those out of it who profaned it; as did the seditious, with Eleazar, besides what they had already, labour to gain the upper city. Thus were there perpetual slaughters on both sides for seven days' time; but neither side would yield up the parts they had seized on.

6 Now the next day was the festival of Xylophory; upon which the custom was for every one to bring wood for the altar [that there might never be a want of fuel for that fire which was unquenchable and always burning]. Upon that day they excluded the opposite party from the observation of this part of religion. And when they had joined to themselves many of the Sicarii, who crowded in among the weaker people, [that was the name for such robbers as had under their bosoms swords called Sicae,] they grew bolder, and carried their undertaking further; insomuch that the king's soldiers were overpowered by their multitude and boldness; and so they gave way, and were driven out of the upper city by force. The others then set fire to the house of Ananias the high priest, and to the palaces of Agrippa and Bernice; after which they carried the fire to the place where the archives were reposited, and made haste to burn the contracts belonging to their creditors, and thereby to dissolve their obligations for paying their debts; and this was done in order to gain the multitude of those who had been debtors, and that they might persuade the poorer sort to join in their insurrection with safety against the more wealthy; so the keepers of the records fled away, and the rest set fire to them. And when they had thus burnt down the nerves of the city, they fell upon their enemies; at which time some of the men of power, and of the high priests, went into the vaults under ground, and concealed themselves, while others fled with the king's soldiers to the upper palace, and shut the gates immediately; among whom were Ananias the high priest, and the ambassadors that had been sent to Agrippa. And now the seditious were contented with the victory they had gotten, and the buildings they had burnt down, and proceeded no further.

7 But on the next day, which was the fifteenth of the month Lous, [Ab,] they made an assault upon Antonia, and besieged the garrison which was in it two days, and then took the garrison, and slew them, and set the citadel on fire; after which they marched to the palace, whither the king's soldiers were fled, and parted themselves into four bodies, and made an attack upon the walls. As for those that were within it, no one had the courage to sally out, because those that assaulted them were so numerous; but they distributed themselves into the breast-works and turrets, and shot at the besiegers, whereby many of the robbers fell under the walls; nor did they cease to fight one with another either by night or by day, while the seditious supposed that those within would grow weary for want of food, and those without supposed the others would do the like by the tediousness of the siege.

8 In the mean time, one Manahem, the son of Judas, that was called the Galilean, [who was a very cunning sophister, and had formerly reproached the Jews under Cyrenius, that after God they were subject to the Romans,] took some of the men of note with him, and retired to Masada, where he broke open king Herod's armoury, and gave arms not only to his own people, but to other robbers also. These he made use of for a guard, and returned in the state of a king to Jerusalem; he became the leader of the sedition, and gave orders for continuing the siege; but they wanted proper instruments, and it was not practicable to undermine the wall, because the darts came down upon them from above. But still they dug a mine from a great distance under one of the towers, and made it totter; and having done that, they set on fire what was combustible, and left it; and when the foundations were burnt below, the tower fell down suddenly. Yet did they then meet with another wall that had been built within, for the besieged were sensible beforehand of what they were doing, and probably the tower shook as it was undermining; so they provided themselves of another fortification; which when the besiegers unexpectedly saw, while they thought they had already gained the place, they were under some consternation. However, those that were within sent to Manahem, and to the other leaders of the sedition, and desired they might go out upon a capitulation: this was granted to the king's soldiers and their own countrymen only, who went out accordingly; but the Romans that were left alone were greatly dejected, for they were not able to force their way through such a multitude; and to desire them to give them their right hand for their security, they thought it would be a reproach to them; and besides, if they should give it them, they durst not depend upon it; so they deserted their camp, as easily taken, and ran away to the royal towers,—that called Hippicus, that called Phasaelus, and that called Mariamne. But Manahem and his party fell upon the place whence the soldiers were fled, and slew as many of them as they could catch, before they got up to the towers, and plundered what they left behind them, and set fire to their camp. This was executed on the sixth day of the month Gorpieus [Elul].

9 But on the next day the high priest was caught where he had concealed himself in an aqueduct; he was slain, together with Hezekiah his brother, by the robbers: hereupon the seditious besieged the towers, and kept them guarded, lest any one of the soldiers should escape. Now the overthrow of the places of strength, and the death of the high priest Ananias, so puffed up Manahem, that he became barbarously cruel; and as he thought he had no antagonist to dispute the management of affairs with him, he was no better than an insupportable tyrant; but Eleazar and his party, when words had passed between them, how it was not proper when they revolted from the Romans, out of the desire of liberty, to betray that liberty to any of their own people, and to bear a lord, who, though he should be guilty of no violence, was yet meaner than themselves; as also, that in case they were obliged to set some one over their public affairs, it was fitter they should give that privilege to any one rather than to him; they made an assault upon him in the temple; for he went up thither to worship in a pompous manner, and adorned with royal garments, and had his followers with him in their armour. But Eleazar and his party fell violently upon him, as did also the rest of the people; and taking up stones to attack him withal, they threw them at the sophister, and thought, that if he were once ruined, the entire sedition would fall to the ground. Now Manahem and his party made resistance for a while; but when they perceived that the whole multitude were falling upon them, they fled which way every one was able; those that were caught were slain, and those that hid themselves were searched for. A few there were of them who privately escaped to Masada, among whom was Eleazar, the son of Jairus, who was of kin to Manahem, and acted the part of a tyrant at Masada afterward. As for Manahem himself, he ran away to the place called Ophla, and there lay skulking in private; but they took him alive, and drew him out before them all; they then tortured him with many sorts of torments, and after all slew him, as they did by those that were captains under him also, and particularly by the principal instrument of his tyranny, whose name was Apsalom.

10 And, as I said, so far truly the people assisted them, while they hoped this might afford some amendment to the seditious practices; but the others were not in haste to put an end to the war, but hoped to prosecute it with less danger, now they had slain Manahem. It is true, that when the people earnestly desired that they would leave off besieging the soldiers, they were the more earnest in pressing it forward, and this till Metilius, who was the Roman general, sent to Eleazar, and desired that they would give them security to spare their lives only; but agreed to deliver up their arms, and what else they had with them. The others readily complied with their petition, sent to them Gorion, the son of Nicodemus, and Ananias, the son of Sadduk, and Judas, the son of Jonathan, that they might give them the security Of their right hands, and of their oaths; after which Metilius brought down his soldiers; which soldiers, while they were in arms, were not meddled with by any of the seditious, nor was there any appearance of treachery; but as soon as, according to the articles of capitulation, they had all laid down their shields and their swords, and were under no further suspicion of any harm, but were going away, Eleazar's men attacked them after a violent manner, and encompassed them round, and slew them, while they neither defended themselves, nor entreated for mercy, but only cried out upon the breach of their articles of capitulation and their oaths. And thus were all these men barbarously murdered, excepting Metilius; for when he entreated for mercy, and promised that he would turn Jew, and be circumcised, they saved him alive, but none else. This loss to the Romans was but light, there being no more than a few slain out of an immense army; but still it appeared to be a prelude to the Jews' own destruction, while men made public lamentation when they saw that such occasions were afforded for a war as were incurable; that the city was all over polluted with such abominations, from which it was but reasonable to expect some vengeance, even though they should escape revenge from the Romans; so that the city was filled with sadness, and every one of the moderate men in it were under great disturbance, as likely themselves to undergo punishment for the wickedness of the seditious; for indeed it so happened that this murder was perpetrated on the sabbath day, on which day the Jews have a respite from their works on account of Divine worship.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 18

The Calamities And Slaughters That Came Upon The Jews.

1 Now the people of Cesarea had slain the Jews that were among them on the very same day and hour [when the soldiers were slain], which one would think must have come to pass by the direction of Providence; insomuch that in one hour's time above twenty thousand Jews were killed, and all Cesarea was emptied of its Jewish inhabitants; for Florus caught such as ran away, and sent them in bonds to the galleys. Upon which stroke that the Jews received at Cesarea, the whole nation was greatly enraged; so they divided themselves into several parties, and laid waste the villages of the Syrians, and their neighbouring cities, Philadelphia, and Sebonitis, and Gerasa, and Pella, and Scythopolis, and after them Gadara, and Hippos; and falling upon Gaulonitis, some cities they destroyed there, and some they set on fire, and then went to Kedasa, belonging to the Tyrians, and to Ptolemais, and to Gaba, and to Cesarea; nor was either Sebaste [Samaria] or Askelon able to oppose the violence with which they were attacked; and when they had burnt these to the ground; they entirely demolished Anthedon and Gaza; many also of the villages that were about every one of those cities were plundered, and an immense slaughter was made of the men who were caught in them.

2 However, the Syrians were even with the Jews in the multitude of the men whom they slew; for they killed those whom they caught in their cities, and that not only out of the hatred they bare them, as formerly, but to prevent the danger under which they were from them; so that the disorders in all Syria were terrible, and every city was divided into two armies, encamped one against another, and the preservation of the one party was in the destruction of the other; so the day time was spent in shedding of blood, and the night in fear, which was of the two the more terrible; for when the Syrians thought they had ruined the Jews, they had the Judaizers in suspicion also; and as each side did not care to slay those whom they only suspected on the other, so did they greatly fear them when they were mingled with the other, as if they were certainly foreigners. Moreover, greediness of gain was a provocation to kill the opposite party, even to such as had of old appeared very mild and gentle towards them; for they without fear plundered the effects of the slain, and carried off the spoils of those whom they slew to their own houses, as if they had been gained in a set battle; and he was esteemed a man of honour who got the greatest share, as having prevailed over the greatest number of his enemies. It was then common to see cities filled with dead bodies, still lying unburied, and those of old men, mixed with infants, all dead, and scattered about together; women also lay amongst them, without any covering for their nakedness: you might then see the whole province full of inexpressible calamities, while the dread of still more barbarous practices which were threatened was every where greater than what had been already perpetrated.

3 And thus far the conflict had been between Jews and foreigners; but when they made excursions to Scythopolis, they found Jew that acted as enemies; for as they stood in battle-array with those of Scythopolis, and preferred their own safety before their relation to us, they fought against their own countrymen; nay, their alacrity was so very great, that those of Scythopolis suspected them. These were afraid, therefore, lest they should make an assault upon the city in the night time, and, to their great misfortune, should thereby make an apology for themselves to their own people for their revolt from them. So they commanded them, that in case they would confirm their agreement and demonstrate their fidelity to them, who were of a different nation, they should go out of the city, with their families to a neighbouring grove; and when they had done as they were commanded, without suspecting any thing, the people of Scythopolis lay still for the interval of two days, to tempt them to be secure; but on the third night they watched their opportunity, and cut all their throats, some as they lay unguarded, and some as they lay asleep. The number that was slain was above thirteen thousand, and then they plundered them of all that they had.

4 It will deserve our relation what befell Simon; he was the son of one Saul, a man of reputation among the Jews. This man was distinguished from the rest by the strength of his body, and the boldness of his conduct, although he abused them both to the mischieving of his countrymen; for he came every day and slew a great many of the Jews of Scythopolis, and he frequently put them to flight, and became himself alone the cause of his army's conquering. But a just punishment overtook him for the murders he had committed upon those of the same nation with him; for when the people of Scythopolis threw their darts at them in the grove, he drew his sword, but did not attack any of the enemy; for he saw that he could do nothing against such a multitude; but he cried out after a very moving manner, and said, "O you people of Scythopolis, I deservedly suffer for what I have done with relation to you, when I gave you such security of my fidelity to you, by slaying so many of those that were related to me. Wherefore we very justly experience the perfidiousness of foreigners, while we acted after a most wicked manner against our own nation. I will therefore die, polluted wretch as I am, by mine own hands; for it is not fit I should die by the hand of our enemies; and let the same action be to me both a punishment for my great crimes, and a testimony of my courage to my commendation, that so no one of our enemies

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may have it to brag of, that he it was that slew me, and no one may insult upon me as I fall." Now when he had said this, he looked round about him upon his family with eyes of commiseration and of rage [that family consisted of a wife and children, and his aged parents]; so, in the first place, he caught his father by his grey hairs, and ran his sword through him, and after him he did the same to his mother, who willingly received it; and after them he did the like to his wife and children, every one almost offering themselves to his sword, as desirous to prevent being slain by their enemies; so when he had gone over all his family, he stood upon their bodies to be seen by all, and stretching out his right hand, that his action might be observed by all, he sheathed his entire sword into his own bowels. This young man was to be pitied, on account of the strength of his body and the courage of his soul; but since he had assured foreigners of his fidelity [against his own countrymen], he suffered deservedly.

5 Besides this murder at Scythopolis, the other cities rose up against the Jews that were among them; those of Askelon slew two thousand five hundred, and those of Ptolemais two thousand, and put not a few into bonds; those of Tyre also put a great number to death, but kept a greater number in prison; moreover, those of Hippos, and those of Gadara, did the like while they put to death the boldest of the Jews, but kept those of whom they were afraid in custody; as did the rest of the cities of Syria, according as they every one either hated them or were afraid of them; only the Antiochtans the Sidontans, and Apamians spared those that dwelt with them, and would not endure either to kill any of the Jews, or to put them in bonds. And perhaps they spared them, because their own number was so great that they despised their attempts. But I think the greatest part of this favour was owing to their commiseration of those whom they saw to make no innovations. As for the Gerasans, they did no harm to those that abode with them; and for those who had a mind to go away, they conducted them as far as their borders reached.

6 There was also a plot laid against the Jews in Agrippa's kingdom; for he was himself gone to Cestius Gallus, to Antioch, but had left one of his companions, whose name was Noarus, to take care of the public affairs; which Noarus was of kin to king Sohemus. Now there came certain men seventy in number, out of Batanea, who were the most considerable for their families and prudence of the rest of the people; these desired to have an army put into their hands, that if any tumult should happen, they might have about them a guard sufficient to restrain such as might rise up against them. This Noarus sent out some of the king's armed men by night, and slew all those [seventy] men; which bold action he ventured upon without the consent of Agrippa, and was such a lover of money, that he chose to be so wicked to his own countrymen, though he brought ruin on the kingdom thereby; and thus cruelly did he treat that nation, and this contrary to the laws also, until Agrippa was informed of it, who did not indeed dare to put him to death, out of regard to Sohemus; but still he put an end to his procuratorship immediately. But as to the seditious, they took the citadel which was called Cypros, and was above Jericho, and cut the throats of the garrison, and utterly demolished the fortifications. This was about the same time that the multitude of the Jews that were at Machaerus persuaded the Romans who were in garrison to leave the place, and deliver it up to them. These Romans being in great fear, lest the place should be taken by force, made an agreement with them to depart upon certain conditions; and when they had obtained the security they desired, they delivered up the citadel, into which the people of Machaerus put a garrison for their own security, and held it in their own power.

7 But for Alexandria, the sedition of the people of the place against the Jews was perpetual, and this from that very time when Alexander [the Great], upon finding the readiness of the Jews in assisting him against the Egyptians, and as a reward for such their assistance, gave them equal privileges in this city with the Grecians themselves; which honourary reward Continued among them under his successors, who also set apart for them a particular place, that they might live without being polluted [by the Gentiles], and were thereby not so much intermixed with foreigners as before; they also gave them this further privilege, that they should be called Macedonians. Nay, when the Romans got possession of Egypt, neither the first Caesar, nor any one that came after him, thought of diminishing the honours which Alexander had bestowed on the Jews. But still conflicts perpetually arose with the Grecians; and although the governors did every day punish many of them, yet did the sedition grow worse; but at this time especially, when there were tumults in other places also, the disorders among them were put into a greater flame; for when the Alexandrians had once a public assembly, to deliberate about an embassage they were sending to Nero, a great number of Jews came flocking to the theater; but when their adversaries saw them, they immediately cried out, and called them their enemies, and said they came as spies upon them; upon which they rushed out, and laid violent hands upon them; and as for the rest, they were slain as they ran away; but there were three men whom they caught, and hauled them along, in order to have them burnt alive; but all the Jews came in a body to defend them, who at first threw stones at the Grecians, but after that they took lamps, and rushed with violence into the theater, and threatened that they would burn the people to a man; and this they had soon done, unless Tiberius Alexander, the governor of the city, had restrained their passions. However, this man did not begin to teach them wisdom by arms, but sent among them privately some of the principal men, and thereby entreated them to be quiet, and not provoke the Roman army against them; but the seditious made a jest of the entreaties of Tiberius, and reproached him for so doing.

8 Now when he perceived that those who were for innovations would not be pacified till some great calamity should overtake them, he sent out upon them those two Roman legions that were in the city, and together with them five thousand other soldiers, who, by chance, were come together out of Libya, to the ruin of the Jews. They were also permitted not only to kill them, but to plunder them of what they had, and to set fire to their houses. These soldiers rushed violently into that part of the city that was called Delta, where the Jewish people lived together, and did as they were bidden, though not without bloodshed on their own side also; for the Jews got together, and set those that were the best armed among them in the forefront, and made a resistance for a great while; but when once they gave back, they were destroyed unmercifully; and this their destruction was complete, some being caught in the open field, and others forced into their houses, which houses were first plundered of what was in them, and then set on fire by the Romans; wherein no mercy was shown to the infants, and no regard had to the aged; but they went on in the slaughter of persons of every age, till all the place was overflowed with blood, and fifty thousand of them lay dead upon heaps; nor had the remainder been preserved, had they not be-taken themselves to supplication. So Alexander commiserated their condition, and gave orders to the Romans to retire; accordingly, these being accustomed to obey orders, left off killing at the first intimation; but the populace of Alexandria bare so very great hatred to the Jews, that it was difficult to recall them, and it was a hard thing to make them leave their dead bodies.

9 And this was the miserable calamity which at this time befell the Jews at Alexandria. Hereupon Cestius thought fit no longer to lie still, while the Jews were everywhere up in arms; so he took out of Antioch the twelfth legion entire, and out of each of the rest he selected two thousand, with six cohorts of footmen, and four troops of horsemen, besides those auxiliaries which were sent by the kings; of which Antiochus sent two thousand horsemen, and three thousand footmen, with as many archers; and Agrippa sent the same number of footmen, and one thousand horsemen; Sohemus also followed with four thousand, a third part whereof were horsemen, but most part were archers, and thus did he march to Ptolemais. There were also great numbers of auxiliaries gathered together from the [free] cities, who indeed had not the same skill in martial affairs, but made up in their alacrity and in their hatred to the Jews what they wanted in skill. There came also along with Cestius Agrippa himself, both as a guide in his march over the country, and a director what was fit to be done; so Cestius took part of his forces, and marched hastily to Zabulon, a strong city of Galilee, which was called the City of Men, and divides the country of Ptolemais from our nation; this he found deserted by its men, the multitude having fled to the mountains, but full of all sorts of good things; those he gave leave to the soldiers to plunder, and set fire to the city, although it was of admirable beauty, and had its houses built like those in Tyre, and Sidon, and Berytus. After this he overran all the country, and seized upon whatsoever came in his way, and set fire to the villages that were round about them, and then returned to Ptolemais. But when the Syrians, and especially those of Berytus, were busy in plundering, the Jews pulled up their courage again, for they knew that Cestius was retired, and fell upon those that were left behind unexpectedly, and destroyed about two thousand of them.

10 And now Cestius himself marched from Ptolemais, and came to Cesarea; but he sent part of his army before him to Joppa, and gave order, that if they could take that city [by surprise] they should keep it; but that in case the citizens should perceive they were coming to attack them, that they then should stay for him, and for the rest of the army. So some of them made a brisk march by the sea-side, and some by land, and so coming upon them on both sides, they took the city with ease; and as the inhabitants had made no provision beforehand for a flight, nor had gotten any thing ready for fighting, the soldiers fell upon them, and slew them all, with their families, and then plundered and burnt the city. The number of the slain was eight thousand four hundred. In like manner, Cestius sent also a considerable body of horsemen to the toparchy of Narbatene, that adjoined to Cesarea, who destroyed the country, and slew a great multitude of its people; they also plundered what they had, and burnt their villages.

11 But Cestius sent Gallus, the commander of the twelfth legion, into Galilee, and delivered to him as many of his forces as he supposed sufficient to subdue that nation. He was received by the strongest city of Galilee, which was Sepphoris, with acclamations of joy; which wise conduct of that city occasioned the rest of the cities to be in quiet; while the seditious part and the robbers ran away to that mountain which lies in the very middle of Galilee, and is situated over against Sepphoris; it is called Asamon. So Gallus brought his forces against them; but while those men were in the superior parts above the Romans, they easily threw their darts upon the Romans, as they made their approaches, and slew about two hundred of them. But when the Romans had gone round the mountains, and were gotten into the parts above their enemies, the others were soon beaten; nor could they who had only light armour on sustain the force of them that fought them armed all over; nor when they were beaten could they escape the enemies' horsemen; insomuch that only some few concealed themselves in certain places hard to be come at, among the mountains, while the rest, above two thousand in number, were slain.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 19

What Cestius Did Against The Jews; And How, Upon His Besieging Jerusalem, He Retreated From The City Without Any Just Occasion In The World. As Also What Severe Calamities He Under Went From The Jews In His Retreat.

1 And now Gallus, seeing nothing more that looked towards an innovation in Galilee, returned with his army to Cesarea: but Cestius removed with his whole army, and marched to Antipatris; and when he was informed that there was a great body of Jewish forces gotten together in a certain tower called Aphek, he sent a party before to fight them; but this party dispersed the Jews by affrighting them before it came to a battle: so they came, and finding their camp deserted, they burnt it, as well as the villages that lay about it. But when Cestius had marched from Antipatris to Lydda, he found the city empty of its men, for the whole multitude were gone up to Jerusalem to the feast of tabernacles; yet did he destroy fifty of those that showed themselves, and burnt the city, and so marched forwards; and ascending by Betboron, he pitched his camp at a certain place called Gabao, fifty furlongs distant from Jerusalem.

2 But as for the Jews, when they saw the war approaching to their metropolis, they left the feast, and betook themselves to their arms; and taking courage greatly from their multitude, went in a sudden and disorderly manner to the fight, with a great noise, and without any consideration had of the rest of the seventh day, although the Sabbath was the day to which they had the greatest regard; but that rage which made them forget the religious observation [of the sabbath] made them too hard for their enemies in the fight: with such violence therefore did they fall upon the Romans, as to break into their ranks, and to march through the midst of them, making a great slaughter as they went, insomuch that unless the horsemen, and such part of the footmen as were not yet tired in the action, had wheeled round, and succored that part of the army which was not yet broken, Cestius, with his whole army, had been in danger: however, five hundred and fifteen of the Romans were slain, of which number four hundred were footmen, and the rest horsemen, while the Jews lost only twenty-two, of whom the most valiant were the kinsmen of Monobazus, king of Adiabene, and their names were Monobazus and Kenedeus; and next to them were Niger of Perea, and Silas of Babylon, who had deserted from king Agrippa to the Jews; for he had formerly served in his army. When the front of the Jewish army had been cut off, the Jews retired into the city; but still Simon, the son of Giora, fell upon the backs of the Romans, as they were ascending up Bethoron, and put the hindmost of the army into disorder, and carried off many of the beasts that carried the weapons of war, and led Shem into the city. But as Cestius tarried there three days, the Jews seized upon the elevated parts of the city, and set watches at the entrances into the city, and appeared openly resolved not to rest when once the Romans should begin to march.

3 And now when Agrippa observed that even the affairs of the Romans were likely to be in danger, while such an immense multitude of their enemies had seized upon the mountains round about, he determined to try what the Jews would agree to by words, as thinking that he should either persuade them all to desist from fighting, or, however, that he should cause the sober part of them to separate themselves from the opposite party. So he sent Borceus and Phebus, the persons of his party that were the best known to them, and promised them that Cestius should give them his right hand, to secure them of the Romans' entire forgiveness of what they had done amiss, if they would throw away their arms, and come over to them; but the seditious, fearing lest the whole multitude, in hopes of security to themselves, should go over to Agrippa, resolved immediately to fall upon and kill the ambassadors; accordingly they slew Phebus before he said a word, but Borceus was only wounded, and so prevented his fate by flying away. And when the people were very angry at this, they had the seditious beaten with stones and clubs, and drove them before them into the city.

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4 But now Cestius, observing that the disturbances that were begun among the Jews afforded him a proper opportunity to attack them, took his whole army along with him, and put the Jews to flight, and pursued them to Jerusalem. He then pitched his camp upon the elevation called Scopus, [or watch-tower,] which was distant seven furlongs from the city; yet did not he assault them in three days' time, out of expectation that those within might perhaps yield a little; and in the mean time he sent out a great many of his soldiers into neighbouring villages, to seize upon their corn. And on the fourth day, which was the thirtieth of the month Hyperbereteus, [Tisri,] when he had put his army in array, he brought it into the city. Now for the people, they were kept under by the seditious; but the seditious themselves were greatly affrighted at the good order of the Romans, and retired from the suburbs, and retreated into the inner part of the city, and into the temple. But when Cestius was come into the city, he set the part called Bezetha, which is called Cenopolis, [or the new city,] on fire; as he did also to the timber market; after which he came into the upper city, and pitched his camp over against the royal palace; and had he but at this very time attempted to get within the walls by force, he had won the city presently, and the war had been put an end to at once; but Tyrannius Priseus, the muster-master of the army, and a great number of the officers of the horse, had been corrupted by Florus, and diverted him from that his attempt; and that was the occasion that this war lasted so very long, and thereby the Jews were involved in such incurable calamities.

5 In the mean time, many of the principal men of the city were persuaded by Ananus, the son of Jonathan, and invited Cestius into the city, and were about to open the gates for him; but he overlooked this offer, partly out of his anger at the Jews, and partly because he did not thoroughly believe they were in earnest; whence it was that he delayed the matter so long, that the seditious perceived the treachery, and threw Ananus and those of his party down from the wall, and, pelting them with stones, drove them into their houses; but they stood themselves at proper distances in the towers, and threw their darts at those that were getting over the wall. Thus did the Romans make their attack against the wall for five days, but to no purpose. But on the next day Cestius took a great many of his choicest men, and with them the archers, and attempted to break into the temple at the northern quarter of it; but the Jews beat them off from the cloisters, and repulsed them several times when they were gotten near to the wall, till at length the multitude of the darts cut them off, and made them retire; but the first rank of the Romans rested their shields upon the wall, and so did those that were behind them, and the like did those that were still more backward, and guarded themselves with what they call Testudo, [the back of] a tortoise, upon which the darts that were thrown fell, and slided off without doing them any harm; so the soldiers undermined the wall, without being themselves hurt, and got all things ready for setting fire to the gate of the temple.

6 And now it was that a horrible fear seized upon the seditious, insomuch that many of them ran out of the city, as though it were to be taken immediately; but the people upon this took courage, and where the wicked part of the city gave ground, thither did they come, in order to set open the gates, and to admit Cestius as their benefactor, who, had he but continued the siege a little longer, had certainly taken the city; but it was, I suppose, owing to the aversion God had already at the city and the sanctuary, that he was hindered from putting an end to the war that very day.

7 It then happened that Cestius was not conscious either how the besieged despaired of success, nor how courageous the people were for him; and so he recalled his soldiers from the place, and by despairing of any expectation of taking it, without having received any disgrace, he retired from the city, without any reason in the world. But when the robbers perceived this unexpected retreat of his, they resumed their courage, and ran after the hinder parts of his army, and destroyed a considerable number of both their horsemen and footmen; and now Cestius lay all night at the camp which was at Scopus; and as he went off farther next day, he thereby invited the enemy to follow him, who still fell upon the hindmost, and destroyed them; they also fell upon the flank on each side of the army, and threw darts upon them obliquely, nor durst those that were hindmost turn back upon those who wounded them behind, as imagining that the multitude of those that pursued them was immense; nor did they venture to drive away those that pressed upon them on each side, because they were heavy with their arms, and were afraid of breaking their ranks to pieces, and because they saw the Jews were light, and ready for making incursions upon them. And this was the reason why the Romans suffered greatly, without being able to revenge themselves upon their enemies; so they were galled all the way, and their ranks were put into disorder, and those that were thus put out of their ranks were slain; among whom were Priscus, the commander of the sixth legion, and Longinus, the tribune, and Emilius Secundus, the commander of a troop of horsemen. So it was not without difficulty that they got to Gabao, their former camp, and that not without the loss of a great part of their baggage. There it was that Cestius staid two days, and was in great distress to know what he should do in these circumstances; but when on the third day he saw a still much greater number of enemies, and all the parts round about him full of Jews, he understood that his delay was to his own detriment, and that if he staid any longer there, he should have still more enemies upon him.

8 That therefore he might fly the faster, he gave orders to cast away what might hinder his army's march; so they killed the mules and other creatures, excepting those that carried their darts and machines, which they retained for their own use, and this principally because they were afraid lest the Jews should seize upon them. He then made his army march on as far as Bethoron. Now the Jews did not so much press upon them when they were in large open places; but when they were penned up in their descent through narrow passages, then did some of them get before, and hindered them from getting out of them; and others of them thrust the hinder-most down into the lower places; and the whole multitude extended themselves over against the neck of the passage, and covered the Roman army with their darts. In which circumstances, as the footmen knew not how to defend themselves, so the danger pressed the horsemen still more, for they were so pelted, that they could not march along the road in their ranks, and the ascents were so high, that the cavalry were not able to march against the enemy; the precipices also and valleys into which they frequently fell, and tumbled down, were such on each side of them, that there was neither place for their flight, nor any contrivance could be thought of for their defense; till the distress they were at last in was so great, that they betook themselves to lamentations, and to such mournful cries as men use in the utmost despair: the joyful acclamations of the Jews also, as they encouraged one another, echoed the sounds back again, these last composing a noise of those that at once rejoiced and were in a rage. Indeed, things were come to such a pass, that the Jews had almost taken Cestius's entire army prisoners, had not the night come on, when the Romans fled to Bethoron, and the Jews seized upon all the places round about them, and watched for their coming out [in the morning].

9 And then it was that Cestius, despairing of obtaining room for a public march, contrived how he might best run away; and when he had selected four hundred of the most courageous of his soldiers, he placed them at the strongest of their fortifications, and gave order, that when they went up to the morning guard, they should erect their ensigns, that the Jews might be made to believe that the entire army was there still, while he himself took the rest of his forces with him, and marched, without any noise, thirty furlongs. But when the Jews perceived, in the morning, that the camp was empty, they ran upon those four hundred who had deluded them, and immediately threw their darts at them, and slew them; and then pursued after Cestius. But he had already made use of a great part of the night in his flight, and still marched quicker when it was day; insomuch that the soldiers, through the astonishment and fear they were in, left behind them their engines for sieges, and for throwing of stones, and a great part of the instruments of war. So the Jews went on pursuing the Romans as far as Antipatris; after which, seeing they could not overtake them, they came back, and took the engines, and spoiled the dead bodies, and gathered the prey together which the Romans had left behind them, and came back running and singing to their metropolis; while they had themselves lost a few only, but had slain of the Romans five thousand and three hundred footmen, and three hundred and eighty horsemen. This defeat happened on the eighth day of the month Dius, [Marchesvan,] in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 20

Cestius Sends Ambassadors To Nero. The People Of Damascus Slay Those Jews That Lived With Them. The People Of Jerusalem After They Had [Left Off] Pursuing Cestius, Return To The City And Get Things Ready For Its Defense And Make A Great Many Generals For Their Armies And Particularly Josephus The Writer Of These Books. Some Account Of His Administration.

1 After this calamity had befallen Cestius, many of the most eminent of the Jews swam away from the city, as from a ship when it was going to sink; Costobarus, therefore, and Saul, who were brethren, together with Philip, the son of Jacimus, who was the commander of king Agrippa's forces, ran away from the city, and went to Cestius. But then how Antipas, who had been besieged with them in the king's palace, but would not fly away with them, was afterward slain by the seditious, we shall relate hereafter. However, Cestius sent Saul and his friends, at their own desire, to Achaia, to Nero, to inform him of the great distress they were in, and to lay the blame of their kindling the war upon Florus, as hoping to alleviate his own danger, by provoking his indignation against Florus.

2 In the mean time, the people of Damascus, when they were informed of the destruction of the Romans, set about the slaughter of those Jews that were among them; and as they had them already cooped up together in the place of public exercises, which they had done out of the suspicion they had of them, they thought they should meet with no difficulty in the attempt; yet did they distrust their own wives, which were almost all of them addicted to the Jewish religion; on which account it was that their greatest concern was, how they might conceal these things from them; so they came upon the Jews, and cut their throats, as being in a narrow place, in number ten thousand, and all of them unarmed, and this in one hour's time, without any body to disturb them.

3 But as to those who had pursued after Cestius, when they were returned back to Jerusalem, they overbore some of those that favoured the Romans by violence, and some them persuaded [by en-treaties] to join with them, and got together in great numbers in the temple, and appointed a great many generals for the war. Joseph also, the son of Gorion, and Ananus the high priest, were chosen as governors of all affairs within the city, and with a particular charge to repair the walls of the city; for they did not ordain Eleazar the son of Simon to that office, although he had gotten into his possession the prey they had taken from the Romans, and the money they had taken from Cestius, together with a great part of the public treasures, because they saw he was of a tyrannical temper, and that his followers were, in their behavior, like guards about him. However, the want they were in of Eleazar's money, and the subtle tricks used by him, brought all so about, that the people were circumvented, and submitted themselves to his authority in all public affairs.

4 They also chose other generals for Idumea; Jesus, the son of Sapphias, one of the high priests; and Eleazar, the son of Ananias, the high priest; they also enjoined Niger, the then governor of Idumea, who was of a family that belonged to Perea, beyond Jordan, and was thence called the Peraite, that he should be obedient to those fore-named commanders. Nor did they neglect the care of other parts of the country; but Joseph the son of Simon was sent as general to Jericho, as was Manasseh to Perea, and John, the Esscue, to the toparchy of Thamna; Lydda was also added to his portion, and Joppa, and Emmaus. But John, the son of Matthias, was made governor of the toparchies of Gophnitica and Acrabattene; as was Josephus, the son of Matthias, of both the Galilees. Gamala also, which was the strongest city in those parts, was put under his command.

5 So every one of the other commanders administered the affairs of his portion with that alacrity and prudence they were masters of; but as to Josephus, when he came into Galilee, his first care was to gain the good-will of the people of that country, as sensible that he should thereby have in general good success, although he should fail in other points. And being conscious to himself that if he communicated part of his power to the great men, he should make them his fast friends; and that he should gain the same favour from the multitude, if he executed his commands by persons of their own country, and with whom they were well acquainted; he chose out seventy of the most prudent men, and those elders in age, and appointed them to be rulers of all Galilee, as he chose seven judges in every city to hear the lesser quarrels; for as to the greater causes, and those wherein life and death were concerned, he enjoined they should be brought to him and the seventy elders.

6 Josephus also, when he had settled these rules for determining causes by the law, with regard to the people's dealings one with another, betook himself to make provisions for their safety against external violence; and as he knew the Romans would fall upon Galilee, he built walls in proper places about Jotapata, and Bersabee, and Selamis; and besides these, about Capharecco, and Japha, and Sigo, and what they call Mount Tabor, and Taricheae, and Tiberias. Moreover, he built walls about the caves near the lake of Gennesar, which places lay in the Lower Galilee; the same he did to the places of Upper Galilee, as well as to the rock called the Rock of the Achabari, and to Seph, and Jamnith, and Meroth; and in Gaulonitis he fortified Seleucia, and Sogane, and Gamala; but as to those of Sepphoris, they were the only people to whom he gave leave to build their own walls, and this because he perceived they were rich and wealthy, and ready to go to war, without standing in need of any injunctions for that purpose. The case was the same with Gischala, which had a wall built about it by John the son of Levi himself, but with the consent of Josephus; but for the building of the rest of the fortresses, he laboured together with all the other builders, and was present to give all the necessary orders for that purpose. He also got together an army out of Galilee, of more than a hundred thousand young men, all of which he armed with the old weapons which he had collected together and prepared for them.

7 And when he had considered that the Roman power became invincible, chiefly by their readiness in obeying orders, and the constant exercise of their arms, he despaired of teaching these his men the use of their arms, which was to be obtained by experience; but observing that their readiness in obeying orders was owing to the multitude of their officers, he made his partitions in his army more after the Roman manner, and appointed a great many subalterns. He also

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distributed the soldiers into various classes, whom he put under captains of tens, and captains of hundreds, and then under captains of thousands; and besides these, he had commanders of larger bodies of men. He also taught them to give the signals one to another, and to call and recall the soldiers by the trumpets, how to expand the wings of an army, and make them wheel about; and when one wing hath had success, to turn again and assist those that were hard set, and to join in the defense of what had most suffered. He also continually instructed them in what concerned the courage of the soul, and the hardiness of the body; and, above all, he exercised them for war, by declaring to them distinctly the good order of the Romans, and that they were to fight with men who, both by the strength of their bodies and courage of their souls, had conquered in a manner the whole habitable earth. He told them that he should make trial of the good order they would observe in war, even before it came to any battle, in case they would abstain from the crimes they used to indulge themselves in, such as theft, and robbery, and rapine, and from defrauding their own countrymen, and never to esteem the harm done to those that were so near of kin to them to be any advantage to themselves; for that wars are then managed the best when the warriors preserve a good conscience; but that such as are ill men in private life will not only have those for enemies which attack them, but God himself also for their antagonist.

8 And thus did he continue to admonish them. Now he chose for the war such an army as was sufficient, i.e. sixty thousand footmen, and two hundred and fifty horsemen; and besides these, on which he put the greatest trust, there were about four thousand five hundred mercenaries; he had also six hundred men as guards of his body. Now the cities easily maintained the rest of his army, excepting the mercenaries, for every one of the cities enumerated above sent out half their men to the army, and retained the other half at home, in order to get provisions for them; insomuch that the one part went to the war, and the other part to their work, and so those that sent out their corn were paid for it by those that were in arms, by that security which they enjoyed from them.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 21

Concerning John Of Gichala. Josephus Uses Stratagems Against The Plots John Laid Against Him And Recovers Certain Cities Which Had Revolted From Him.

1 Now as Josephus was thus engaged in the administration of the affairs of Galilee, there arose a treacherous person, a man of Gischala, the son of Levi, whose name was John. His character was that of a very cunning and very knavish person, beyond the ordinary rate of the other men of eminence there, and for wicked practices he had not his fellow any where. Poor he was at first, and for a long time his wants were a hinderance to him in his wicked designs. He was a ready liar, and yet very sharp in gaining credit to his fictions: he thought it a point of virtue to delude people, and would delude even such as were the dearest to him. He was a hypocritical pretender to humanity, but where he had hopes of gain, he spared not the shedding of blood: his desires were ever carried to great things, and he encouraged his hopes from those mean wicked tricks which he was the author of. He had a peculiar knack at thieving; but in some time he got certain companions in his impudent practices; at first they were but few, but as he proceeded on in his evil course, they became still more and more numerous. He took care that none of his partners should be easily caught in their rogueries, but chose such out of the rest as had the strongest constitutions of body, and the greatest courage of soul, together with great skill in martial affairs; as he got together a band of four hundred men, who came principally out of the country of Tyre, and were vagabonds that had run away from its villages; and by the means of these he laid waste all Galilee, and irritated a considerable number, who were in great expectation of a war then suddenly to arise among them.

2 However, John's want of money had hitherto restrained him in his ambition after command, and in his attempts to advance himself. But when he saw that Josephus was highly pleased with the activity of his temper, he persuaded him, in the first place, to intrust him with the repairing of the walls of his native city, [Gischala,] in which work he got a great deal of money from the rich citizens. He after that contrived a very shrewd trick, and pretending that the Jews who dwelt in Syria were obliged to make use of oil that was made by others than those of their own nation, he desired leave of Josephus to send oil to their borders; so he bought four amphorae with such Tyrian money as was of the value of four Attic drachmae, and sold every half-amphora at the same price. And as Galilee was very fruitful in oil, and was peculiarly so at that time, by sending away great quantities, and having the sole privilege so to do, he gathered an immense sum of money together, which money he immediately used to the disadvantage of him who gave him that privilege; and, as he supposed, that if he could once overthrow Josephus, he should himself obtain the government of Galilee; so he gave orders to the robbers that were under his command to be more zealous in their thievish expeditions, that by the rise of many that desired innovations in the country, he might either catch their general in his snares, as he came to the country's assistance, and then kill him; or if he should overlook the robbers, he might accuse him for his negligence to the people of the country. He also spread abroad a report far and near that Josephus was delivering up the administration of affairs to the Romans; and many such plots did he lay, in order to ruin him.

3 Now at the same time that certain young men of the village Dabaritta, who kept guard in the Great Plain laid snares for Ptolemy, who was Agrippa's and Bernice's steward, and took from him all that he had with him; among which things there were a great many costly garments, and no small number of silver cups, and six hundred pieces of gold; yet were they not able to conceal what they had stolen, but brought it all to Josephus, to Taricheae. Hereupon he blamed them for the violence they had offered to the king and queen, and deposited what they brought to him with Eneas, the most potent man of Taricheae, with an intention of sending the things back to the owners at a proper time; which act of Josephus brought him into the greatest danger; for those that had stolen the things had an indignation at him, both because they gained no share of it for themselves, and because they perceived beforehand what was Josephus's intention, and that he would freely deliver up what had cost them so much pains to the king and queen. These ran away by night to their several villages, and declared to all men that Josephus was going to betray them: they also raised great disorders in all the neighbouring cities, insomuch that in the morning a hundred thousand armed men came running together; which multitude was crowded together in the hippodrome at Taricheae, and made a very peevish clamour against him; while some cried out, that they should depose the traitor; and others, that they should burn him. Now John irritated a great many, as did also one Jesus, the son of Sapphias, who was then governor of Tiberias. Then it was that Josephus's friends, and the guards of his body, were so affrighted at this violent assault of the multitude, that they all fled away but four; and as he was asleep, they awaked him, as the people were going to set fire to the house. And although those four that remained with him persuaded him to run away, he was neither surprised at his being himself deserted, nor at the great multitude that came against him, but leaped out to them with his clothes rent, and ashes sprinkled on his head, with his hands behind him, and his sword hanging at his neck. At this sight his friends, especially those of Taricheae, commiserated his condition; but those that came out of the country, and those in their neighbourhood, to whom his government seemed burdensome, reproached him, and bid him produce the money which belonged to them all immediately, and to confess the agreement he had made to betray them; for they imagined, from the habit in which he appeared, that he would deny nothing of what they suspected concerning him, and that it was in order to obtain pardon that he had put himself entirely into so pitiable a posture. But this humble appearance was only designed as preparatory to a stratagem of his, who thereby contrived to set those that were so angry at him at variance one with another about the things they were angry at. However, he promised he would confess all: hereupon he was permitted to speak, when he said, "I did neither intend to send this money back to Agrippa, nor to gain it myself; for I did never esteem one that was your enemy to be my friend, nor did I look upon what would tend to your disadvantage to be my advantage. But, O you people of Tarieheae, I saw that your city stood in more need than others of fortifications for your security, and that it wanted money in order for the building it a wall. I was also afraid lest the people of Tiberias and other cities should lay a plot to seize upon these spoils, and therefore it was that I intended to retain this money privately, that I might encompass you with a wall. But if this does not please you, I will produce what was brought me, and leave it to you to plunder it; but if I have conducted myself so well as to please you, you may if you please punish your benefactor."

4 Hereupon the people of Taricheae loudly commended him; but those of Tiberias, with the rest of the company, gave him hard names, and threatened what they would do to him; so both sides left off quarrelling with Josephus, and fell on quarrelling with one another. So he grew bold upon the dependence he had on his friends, which were the people of Taricheae, and about forty thousand in number, and spake more freely to the whole multitude, and reproached them greatly for their rashness; and told them, that with this money he would build walls about Taricheae, and would put the other cities in a state of security also; for that they should not want money, if they would but agree for whose benefit it was to be procured, and would not suffer themselves to be irritated against him who procured it for them.

5 Hereupon the rest of the multitude that had been deluded retired; but yet so that they went away angry, and two thousand of them made an assault upon him in their armour; and as he was already gone to his own house, they stood without and threatened him. On which occasion Josephus again used a second stratagem to escape them; for he got upon the top of his house, and with his right hand desired them to be silent, and said to them, "I cannot tell what you would have, nor can hear what you say, for the confused noise you make;" but he said that he would comply with all their demands, in case they would but send some of their number in to him that might talk with him about it. And when the principal of them, with their leaders, heard this, they came into the house. He then drew them to the most retired part of the house, and shut the door of that hall where he put them, and then had them whipped till every one of their inward parts appeared naked. In the mean time the multitude stood round the house, and supposed that he had a long discourse with those that were gone in about what they claimed of him. He had then the doors set open immediately, and sent the men out all bloody, which so terribly affrighted those that had before threatened him, that they threw away their arms and ran away.

6 But as for John, his envy grew greater [upon this escape of Josephus], and he framed a new plot against him; he pretended to be sick, and by a letter desired that Josephus would give him leave to use the hot baths that were at Tiberias, for the recovery of his health. Hereupon Josephus, who hitherto suspected nothing of John's plots against him, wrote to the governors of the city, that they would provide a lodging and necessaries for John; which favours, when he had made use of, in two days' time he did what he came about; some he corrupted with delusive frauds, and others with money, and so persuaded them to revolt from Josephus. This Silas, who was appointed guardian of the city by Josephus, wrote to him immediately, and informed him of the plot against him; which epistle when Josephus had received, he marched with great diligence all night, and came early in the morning to Tiberias; at which time the rest of the multitude met him. But John, who suspected that his coming was not for his advantage, sent however one of his friends, and pretended that he was sick, and that being confined to his bed, he could not come to pay him his respects. But as soon as Josephus had got the people of Tiberias together in the stadium, and tried to discourse with them about the letters that he had received, John privately sent some armed men, and gave them orders to slay him. But when the people saw that the armed men were about to draw their swords, they cried out; at which cry Josephus turned himself about, and when he saw that the swords were just at his throat, he marched away in great haste to the sea-shore, and left off that speech which he was going to make to the people, upon an elevation of six cubits high. He then seized on a ship which lay in the haven, and leaped into it, with two of his guards, and fled away into the midst of the lake.

7 But now the soldiers he had with him took up their arms immediately, and marched against the plotters; but Josephus was afraid lest a civil war should be raised by the envy of a few men, and bring the city to ruin; so he sent some of his party to tell them, that they should do no more than provide for their own safety; that they should not kill any body, nor accuse any for the occasion they had afforded [of disorder]. Accordingly, these men obeyed his orders, and were quiet; but the people of the neighbouring country, when they were informed of this plot, and of the plotter, they got together in great multitudes to oppose John. But he prevented their attempt, and fled away to Gischala, his native city, while the Galileans came running out of their several cities to Josephus; and as they were now become many ten thousands of armed men, they cried out, that they were come against John the common plotter against their interest, and would at the same time burn him, and that city which had received him. Hereupon Josephus told them that he took their good-will to him kindly, but still he restrained their fury, and intended to subdue his enemies by prudent conduct, rather than by slaying them; so he excepted those of every city which had joined in this revolt with John, by name, who had readily been shown him by these that came from every city, and caused public proclamation to be made, that he would seize upon the effects of those that did not forsake John within five days' time, and would burn both their houses and their families with fire. Whereupon three thousand of John's party left him immediately, who came to Josephus, and threw their arms down at his feet. John then betook himself, together with his two thousand Syrian runagates, from open attempts, to more secret ways of treachery. Accordingly, he privately sent messengers to Jerusalem, to accuse Josephus, as having to great power, and to let them know that he would soon come as a tyrant to their metropolis, unless they prevented him. This accusation the people were aware of beforehand, but had no regard to it. However, some of the grandees, out of envy, and some of the rulers also, sent money to John privately, that he might be able to get together mercenary soldiers, in order to fight Josephus; they also made a decree of themselves, and this for recalling him from his government, yet did they not think that decree sufficient; so they sent withal two thousand five hundred armed men, and four persons of the highest rank amongst them; Joazar the son of Nomicus, and Ananias the son of Sadduk, as also Simon and Judas the sons of Jonathan, all very able men in speaking, that these persons might withdraw the good-will of the people from Josephus. These had it in charge, that if he would voluntarily come away, they

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should permit him to [come and] give an account of his conduct; but if he obstinately insisted upon continuing in his government, they should treat him as an enemy. Now Josephus's friends had sent him word that an army was coming against him, but they gave him no notice beforehand what the reason of their coming was, that being only known among some secret councils of his enemies; and by this means it was that four cities revolted from him immediately, Sepphoris, and Gamala, and Gischala, and Tiberias. Yet did he recover these cities without war; and when he had routed those four commanders by stratagems, and had taken the most potent of their warriors, he sent them to Jerusalem; and the people [of Galilee] had great indignation at them, and were in a zealous disposition to slay, not only these forces, but those that sent them also, had not these forces prevented it by running away.

8 Now John was detained afterward within the walls of Gischala, by the fear he was in of Josephus; but within a few days Tiberias revolted again, the people within it inviting king Agrippa [to return to the exercise of his authority there]. And when he did not come at the time appointed, and when a few Roman horsemen appeared that day, they expelled Josephus out of the city. Now this revolt of theirs was presently known at Taricheae; and as Josephus had sent out all the soldiers that were with him to gather corn, he knew not how either to march out alone against the revolters, or to stay where he was, because he was afraid the king's soldiers might prevent him if he tarried, and might get into the city; for he did not intend to do any thing on the next day, because it was the sabbath day, and would hinder his proceeding. So he contrived to circumvent the revolters by a stratagem; and in the first place he ordered the gates of Taricheae to be shut, that nobody might go out and inform [those of Tiberias], for whom it was intended, what stratagem he was about; he then got together all the ships that were upon the lake, which were found to be two hundred and thirty, and in each of them he put no more than four mariners. So he sailed to Tiberias with haste, and kept at such a distance from the city, that it was not easy for the people to see the vessels, and ordered that the empty vessels should float up and down there, while himself, who had but seven of his guards with him, and those unarmed also, went so near as to be seen; but when his adversaries, who were still reproaching him, saw him from the walls, they were so astonished that they supposed all the ships were full of armed men, and threw down their arms, and by signals of intercession they besought him to spare the city.

9 Upon this Josephus threatened them terribly, and reproached them, that when they were the first that took up arms against the Romans, they should spend their force beforehand in civil dissensions, and do what their enemies desired above all things; and that besides they should endeavor so hastily to seize upon him, who took care of their safety, and had not been ashamed to shut the gates of their city against him that built their walls; that, however, he would admit of any intercessors from them that might make some excuse for them, and with whom he would make such agreements as might be for the city's security. Hereupon ten of the most potent men of Tiberias came down to him presently; and when he had taken them into one of his vessels, he ordered them to be carried a great way off from the city. He then commanded that fifty others of their senate, such as were men of the greatest eminence, should come to him, that they also might give him some security on their behalf. After which, under one new pretense or another, he called forth others, one after another, to make the leagues between them. He then gave order to the masters of those vessels which he had thus filled to sail away immediately for Taricheae, and to confine those men in the prison there; till at length he took all their senate, consisting of six hundred persons, and about two thousand of the populace, and carried them away to Taricheae.

10 And when the rest of the people cried out, that it was one Clitus that was the chief author of this revolt, they desired him to spend his anger upon him [only]; but Josephus, whose intention it was to slay nobody, commanded one Levius, belonging to his guards, to go out of the vessel, in order to cut off both Clitus's hands; yet was Levius afraid to go out by himself alone to such a large body of enemies, and refused to go. Now Clitus saw that Josephus was in a great passion in the ship, and ready to leap out of it, in order to execute the punishment himself; he begged therefore from the shore, that he would leave him one of his hands; which Josephus agreed to, upon condition that he would himself cutoff the other hand; accordingly he drew his sword, and with his right hand cut off his left, so great was the fear he was in of Josephus himself. And thus he took the people of Tiberias prisoners, and recovered the city again with empty ships and seven of his guard. Moreover, a few days afterward he retook Gischala, which had revolted with the people of Sepphoris, and gave his soldiers leave to plunder it; yet did he get all the plunder together, and restored it to the inhabitants; and the like he did to the inhabitants of Sepphoris and Tiberias. For when he had subdued those cities, he had a mind, by letting them be plundered, to give them some good instruction, while at the same time he regained their good-will by restoring them their money again.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 22

The Jews Make All Ready For The War; And Simon, The Son Of Gioras, Falls To Plundering.

1 And thus were the disturbances of Galilee quieted, when, upon their ceasing to prosecute their civil dissensions, they betook themselves to make preparations for the war with the Romans. Now in Jerusalem the high priest Artanus, and as many of the men of power as were not in the interest of the Romans, both repaired the walls, and made a great many warlike instruments, insomuch that in all parts of the city darts and all sorts of armour were upon the anvil. Although the multitude of the young men were engaged in exercises, without any regularity, and all places were full of tumultuous doings; yet the moderate sort were exceedingly sad; and a great many there were who, out of the prospect they had of the calamities that were coming upon them, made great lamentations. There were also such omens observed as were understood to be forerunners of evils by such as loved peace, but were by those that kindled the war interpreted so as to suit their own inclinations; and the very state of the city, even before the Romans came against it, was that of a place doomed to destruction. However, Ananus's concern was this, to lay aside, for a while, the preparations for the war, and to persuade the seditious to consult their own interest, and to restrain the madness of those that had the name of zealots; but their violence was too hard for him; and what end he came to we shall relate hereafter.

2 But as for the Acrabbene toparchy, Simon, the son of Gioras, got a great number of those that were fond of innovations together, and betook himself to ravage the country; nor did he only harass the rich men's houses, but tormented their bodies, and appeared openly and beforehand to affect tyranny in his government. And when an army was sent against him by Artanus, and the other rulers, he and his band retired to the robbers that were at Masada, and staid there, and plundered the country of Idumea with them, till both Ananus and his other adversaries were slain; and until the rulers of that country were so afflicted with the multitude of those that were slain, and with the continual ravage of what they had, that they raised an army, and put garrisons into the villages, to secure them from those insults. And in this state were the affairs of Judea at that time.

THE WARS OF THE JEWS BOOK 3

Containing The Interval Of About One Year.
From Vespasian's Coming To Subdue The Jews
To The Taking Of Gamala.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 1

Vespasian Is Sent Into Syria By Nero In Order To Make War With The Jews.

1 When Nero was informed of the Romans' ill success in Judea, a concealed consternation and terror, as is usual in such cases, fell upon him; although he openly looked very big, and was very angry, and said that what had happened was rather owing to the negligence of the commander, than to any valour of the enemy: and as he thought it fit for him, who bare the burden of the whole empire, to despise such misfortunes, he now pretended so to do, and to have a soul superior to all such sad accidents whatsoever. Yet did the disturbance that was in his soul plainly appear by the solicitude he was in [how to recover his affairs again].

2 And as he was deliberating to whom he should commit the care of the East, now it was in so great a commotion, and who might be best able to punish the Jews for their rebellion, and might prevent the same distemper from seizing upon the neighbouring nations also,—he found no one but Vespasian equal to the task, and able to undergo the great burden of so mighty a war, seeing he was growing an old man already in the camp, and from his youth had been exercised in warlike exploits: he was also a man that had long ago pacified the west, and made it subject to the Romans, when it had been put into disorder by the Germans; he had also recovered to them Britain by his arms, which had been little known before whereby he procured to his father Claudius to have a triumph bestowed on him without any sweat or labour of his own.

3 So Nero esteemed these circumstances as favourable omens, and saw that Vespasian's age gave him sure experience, and great skill, and that he had his sons as hostages for his fidelity to himself, and that the flourishing age they were in would make them fit instruments under their father's prudence. Perhaps also there was some interposition of Providence, which was paving the way for Vespasian's being himself emperor afterwards. Upon the whole, he sent this man to take upon him the command of the armies that were in Syria; but this not without great encomiums and flattering compellations, such as necessity required, and such as might mollify him into complaisance. So Vespasian sent his son Titus from Achaia, where he had been with Nero, to Alexandria, to bring back with him from thence the fifth and the tenth legions, while he himself, when he had passed over the Hellespont, came by land into Syria, where he gathered together the Roman forces, with a considerable number of auxiliaries from the kings in that neighbourhood.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 2

A Great Slaughter About Ascalon. Vespasian Comes To Ptolemais.

1 Now the Jews, after they had beaten Cestius, were so much elevated with their unexpected success, that they could not govern their zeal, but, like people blown up into a flame by their good fortune, carried the war to remoter places. Accordingly, they presently got together a great multitude of all their most hardy soldiers, and marched away for Ascalon. This is an ancient city that is distant from Jerusalem five hundred and twenty furlongs, and was always an enemy to the Jews; on which account they determined to make their first effort against it, and to make their approaches to it as near as possible. This excursion was led on by three men, who were the chief of them all, both for strength and sagacity; Niger, called the Persite, Silas of Babylon, and besides them John the Essene. Now Ascalon was strongly walled about, but had almost no assistance to be relied on [near them], for the garrison consisted of one cohort of footmen, and one troop of horsemen, whose captain was Antonius.

2 These Jews, therefore, out of their anger, marched faster than ordinary, and, as if they had come but a little way, approached very near the city, and were come even to it; but Antonius, who was not unapprized of the attack they were going to make upon the city, drew out his horsemen beforehand, and being neither daunted at the multitude, nor at the courage of the enemy, received their first attacks with great bravery; and when they crowded to the very walls, he beat them off. Now the Jews were unskillful in war, but were to fight with those who were skillful therein; they were footmen to fight with horsemen; they were in disorder, to fight those that were united together; they were poorly armed, to fight those that were completely so; they were to fight more by their rage than by sober counsel, and were exposed to soldiers that were exactly obedient; and did every thing they were bidden upon the least intimation. So they were easily beaten; for as soon as ever their first ranks were once in disorder, they were put to flight by the enemy's cavalry, and those of them that came behind such as crowded to the wall fell upon their own party's weapons, and became one another's enemies; and this so long till they were all forced to give way to the attacks of the horsemen, and were dispersed all the plain over, which plain was wide, and all fit for the horsemen; which circumstance was very commodious for the Romans, and occasioned the slaughter of the greatest number of the Jews; for such as ran away, they could overrun them, and make them turn back; and when they had brought them back after their flight, and driven them together, they ran them through, and slew a vast number of them, insomuch that others encompassed others of them, and drove them before them whithersoever they turned themselves, and slew them easily with their arrows; and the great number there were of the Jews seemed a solitude to themselves, by reason of the distress they were in, while the Romans had such good success with their small number, that they seemed to themselves to be the greater multitude. And as the former strove zealously under their misfortunes, out of the shame of a sudden flight, and hopes of the change in their success, so did the latter feel no weariness by reason of their good fortune; insomuch that the fight lasted till the evening, till ten thousand men of the Jews' side lay dead, with two of their generals, John and Silas, and the greater part of the remainder were wounded, with Niger, their remaining general, who fled away together to a small city of Idumea, called Sallis. Some few also of the Romans were wounded in this battle.

3 Yet were not the spirits of the Jews broken by so great a calamity, but the losses they had sustained rather quickened their resolution for other attempts; for, overlooking the dead bodies which lay under their feet, they were enticed by their former glorious actions to venture on a second destruction; so when they had lain still so little a while that their wounds were not yet thoroughly cured, they got together all their forces, and came with greater fury, and in much greater numbers, to Ascalon. But their former ill fortune followed them, as the consequence of their unskilfulness, and other deficiencies in war; for Antonius laid ambushes for them in the passages they were to go through, where they fell into snares unexpectedly, and where they were encompassed about with horsemen, before they could form themselves into a regular body for fighting, and were above eight thousand of them slain; so all the rest of them ran away, and with them Niger, who still did a great many bold exploits in his flight. However, they were driven along together by the enemy, who pressed hard upon them, into a certain strong tower belonging to a village called Bezedeh However, Antonius and his party, that they might neither spend any considerable time about this tower, which was hard to be taken, nor suffer their commander, and the most courageous man of them all, to escape from them, they set the wall on fire; and as the tower

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was burning, the Romans went away rejoicing, as taking it for granted that Niger was destroyed; but he leaped out of the tower into a subterraneous cave, in the innermost part of it, and was preserved; and on the third day afterward he spake out of the ground to those that with great lamentation were searching for him, in order to give him a decent funeral; and when he was come out, he filled all the Jews with an unexpected joy, as though he were preserved by God's providence to be their commander for the time to come.

4 And now Vespasian took along with him his army from Antioch, [which is the metropolis of Syria, and without dispute deserves the place of the third city in the habitable earth that was under the Roman empire, both in magnitude, and other marks of prosperity,] where he found king Agrippa, with all his forces, waiting for his coming, and marched to Ptolemais. At this city also the inhabitants of Sepphoris of Galilee met him, who were for peace with the Romans. These citizens had beforehand taken care of their own safety, and being sensible of the power of the Romans, they had been with Cestius Gallus before Vespasian came, and had given their faith to him, and received the security of his right hand, and had received a Roman garrison; and at this time withal they received Vespasian, the Roman general, very kindly, and readily promised that they would assist him against their own countrymen. Now the general delivered them, at their desire, as many horsemen and footmen as he thought sufficient to oppose the incursions of the Jews, if they should come against them. And indeed the danger of losing Sepphoris would be no small one, in this war that was now beginning, seeing it was the largest city of Galilee, and built in a place by nature very strong, and might be a security of the whole nation's [fidelity to the Romans].

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 3

A Description Of Galilee, Samaria, And Judea.

1 Now Phoenicia and Syria encompass about the Galilees, which are two, and called the Upper Galilee and the Lower. They are bounded toward the sun-setting, with the borders of the territory belonging to Ptolemais, and by Carmel; which mountain had formerly belonged to the Galileans, but now belonged to the Tyrians; to which mountain adjoins Gaba, which is called the City of Horsemen, because those horsemen that were dismissed by Herod the king dwelt therein; they are bounded on the south with Samaria and Scythopolis, as far as the river Jordan; on the east with Hippeae and Gadaris, and also with Ganlonitis, and the borders of the kingdom of Agrippa; its northern parts are hounded by Tyre, and the country of the Tyrians. As for that Galilee which is called the Lower, it, extends in length from Tiberias to Zabulon, and of the maritime places Ptolemais is its neighbour; its breadth is from the village called Xaloth, which lies in the great plain, as far as Bersabe, from which beginning also is taken the breadth of the Upper Galilee, as far as the village Baca, which divides the land of the Tyrians from it; its length is also from Meloth to Thella, a village near to Jordan.

2 These two Galilees, of so great largeness, and encompassed with so many nations of foreigners, have been always able to make a strong resistance on all occasions of war; for the Galileans are inured to war from their infancy, and have been always very numerous; nor hath the country been ever destitute of men of courage, or wanted a numerous set of them; for their soil is universally rich and fruitful, and full of the plantations of trees of all sorts, insomuch that it invites the most slothful to take pains in its cultivation, by its fruitfulness; accordingly, it is all cultivated by its inhabitants, and no part of it lies idle. Moreover, the cities lie here very thick, and the very many villages there are here are every where so full of people, by the richness of their soil, that the very least of them contain above fifteen thousand inhabitants.

3 In short, if any one will suppose that Galilee is inferior to Perea in magnitude, he will be obliged to prefer it before it in its strength; for this is all capable of cultivation, and is every where fruitful; but for Perea, which is indeed much larger in extent, the greater part of it is desert and rough, and much less disposed for the production of the milder kinds of fruits; yet hath it a moist soil [in other parts], and produces all kinds of fruits, and its plains are planted with trees of all sorts, while yet the olive tree, the vine, and the palm tree are chiefly cultivated there. It is also sufficiently watered with torrents, which issue out of the mountains, and with springs that never fail to run, even when the torrents fail them, as they do in the dog-days. Now the length of Perea is from Machaerus to Pella, and its breadth from Philadelphia to Jordan; its northern parts are bounded by Pella, as we have already said, as well as its Western with Jordan; the land of Moab is its southern border, and its eastern limits reach to Arabia, and Silbonitis, and besides to Philadelphene and Gerasa.

4 Now as to the country of Samaria, it lies between Judea and Galilee; it begins at a village that is in the great plain called Ginea, and ends at the Acrabbene toparchy, and is entirely of the same nature with Judea; for both countries are made up of hills and valleys, and are moist enough for agriculture, and are very fruitful. They have abundance of trees, and are full of autumnal fruit, both that which grows wild, and that which is the effect of cultivation. They are not naturally watered by many rivers, but derive their chief moisture from rain-water, of which they have no want; and for those rivers which they have, all their waters are exceeding sweet: by reason also of the excellent grass they have, their cattle yield more milk than do those in other places; and, what is the greatest sign of excellency and of abundance, they each of them are very full of people.

5 In the limits of Samaria and Judea lies the village Anuath, which is also named Borceos. This is the northern boundary of Judea. The southern parts of Judea, if they be measured lengthways, are bounded by a Village adjoining to the confines of Arabia; the Jews that dwell there call it Jordan. However, its breadth is extended from the river Jordan to Joppa. The city Jerusalem is situated in the very middle; on which account some have, with sagacity enough, called that city the Navel of the country. Nor indeed is Judea destitute of such delights as come from the sea, since its maritime places extend as far as Ptolemais: it was parted into eleven portions, of which the royal city Jerusalem was the supreme, and presided over all the neighbouring country, as the head does over the body. As to the other cities that were inferior to it, they presided over their several toparchies; Gophna was the second of those cities, and next to that Acrabatta, after them Thamna, and Lydda, and Emmaus, and Pella, and Idumea, and Engaddi, and Herodium, and Jericho; and after them came Jamnia and Joppa, as presiding over the neighbouring people; and besides these there was the region of Gamala, and Gaulonitis, and Batanea, and Trachonitis, which are also parts of the kingdom of Agrippa. This [last] country begins at Mount Libanus, and the fountains of Jordan, and reaches breadthways to the lake of Tiberias; and in length is extended from a village called Arpha, as far as Julias. Its inhabitants are a mixture of Jews and Syrians. And thus have I, with all possible brevity, described the country of Judea, and those that lie round about it.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 4

Josephus Makes An Attempt Upon Sepphoris But Is Repelled. Titus Comes With A Great Army To Ptolemais.

1 Now the auxiliaries which were sent to assist the people of Sepphoris, being a thousand horsemen, and six thousand footmen, under Placidus the tribune, pitched their camp in two bodies in the great plain. The foot were put into the city to be a guard to it, but the horse lodged abroad in the camp. These last, by marching continually one way or other, and overrunning the parts of the adjoining country, were very troublesome to Josephus and his men; they also plundered all the places that were out of the city's liberty, and intercepted such as durst go abroad. On this account it was that Josephus marched against the city, as hoping to take what he had lately encompassed with so strong a wall, before they revolted from the rest of the Galileans, that the Romans would have much ado to take it; by which means he proved too weak, and failed of his hopes, both as to the forcing the place, and as to his prevailing with the people of Sepphoris to deliver it up to him. By this means he provoked the Romans to treat the country according to the law of war; nor did the Romans, out of the anger they bore at this attempt, leave off, either by night or by day, burning the places in the plain, and stealing away the cattle that were in the country, and killing whatsoever appeared capable of fighting perpetually, and leading the weaker people as slaves into captivity; so that Galilee was all over filled with fire and blood; nor was it exempted from any kind of misery or calamity, for the only refuge they had was this, that when they were pursued, they could retire to the cities which had walls built them by Josephus.

2 But as to Titus, he sailed over from Achaia to Alexandria, and that sooner than the winter season did usually permit; so he took with him those forces he was sent for, and marching with great expedition, he came suddenly to Ptolemais, and there finding his father, together with the two legions, the fifth and the tenth, which were the most eminent legions of all, he joined them to that fifteenth legion which was with his father; eighteen cohorts followed these legions; there came also five cohorts from Cesarea, with one troop of horsemen, and five other troops of horsemen from Syria. Now these ten cohorts had severally a thousand footmen, but the other thirteen cohorts had no more than six hundred footmen apiece, with a hundred and twenty horsemen. There were also a considerable number of auxiliaries got together, that came from the kings Antiochus, and Agrippa, and Sohemus, each of them contributing one thousand footmen that were archers, and a thousand horsemen. Malchus also, the king of Arabia, sent a thousand horsemen, besides five thousand footmen, the greatest part of which were archers; so that the whole army, including the auxiliaries sent by the kings, as well horsemen as footmen, when all were united together, amounted to sixty thousand, besides the servants, who, as they followed in vast numbers, so because they had been trained up in war with the rest, ought not to be distinguished from the fighting men; for as they were in their masters' service in times of peace, so did they undergo the like dangers with them in times of war, insomuch that they were inferior to none, either in skill or in strength, only they were subject to their masters.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 5

A Description Of The Roman Armies And Roman Camps And Of Other Particulars For Which The Romans Are Commended.

1 Now here one cannot but admire at the precaution of the Romans, in providing themselves of such household servants, as might not only serve at other times for the common offices of life, but might also be of advantage to them in their wars. And, indeed, if any one does but attend to the other parts of their military discipline, he will be forced to confess that their obtaining so large a dominion hath been the acquisition of their valour, and not the bare gift of fortune; for they do not begin to use their weapons first in time of war, nor do they then put their hands first into motion, while they avoided so to do in times of peace; but, as if their weapons did always cling to them, they have never any truce from warlike exercises; nor do they stay till times of war admonish them to use them; for their military exercises differ not at all from the real use of their arms, but every soldier is every day exercised, and that with great diligence, as if it were in time of war, which is the reason why they bear the fatigue of battles so easily; for neither can any disorder remove them from their usual regularity, nor can fear affright them out of it, nor can labour tire them; which firmness of conduct makes them always to overcome those that have not the same firmness; nor would he be mistaken that should call those their exercises unbloody battles, and their battles bloody exercises. Nor can their enemies easily surprise them with the suddenness of their incursions; for as soon as they have marched into an enemy's land, they do not begin to fight till they have walled their camp about; nor is the fence they raise rashly made, or uneven; nor do they all abide in it, nor do those that are in it take their places at random; but if it happens that the ground is uneven, it is first leveled: their camp is also four-square by measure, and carpenters are ready, in great numbers, with their tools, to erect their buildings for them.

2 As for what is within the camp, it is set apart for tents, but the outward circumference hath the resemblance to a wall, and is adorned with towers at equal distances, where between the towers stand the engines for throwing arrows and darts, and for slinging stones, and where they lay all other engines that can annoy the enemy, all ready for their several operations. They also erect four gates, one at every side of the circumference, and those large enough for the entrance of the beasts, and wide enough for making excursions, if occasion should require. They divide the camp within into streets, very conveniently, and place the tents of the commanders in the middle; but in the very midst of all is the general's own tent, in the nature of a temple, insomuch, that it appears to be a city built on the sudden, with its market-place, and place for handicraft trades, and with seats for the officers superior and inferior, where, if any differences arise, their causes are heard and determined. The camp, and all that is in it, is encompassed with a wall round about, and that sooner than one would imagine, and this by the multitude and the skill of the labourers; and, if occasion require, a trench is drawn round the whole, whose depth is four cubits, and its breadth equal.

3 When they have thus secured themselves, they live together by companies, with quietness and decency, as are all their other affairs managed with good order and security. Each company hath also their wood, and their corn, and their water brought them, when they stand in need of them; for they neither sup nor dine as they please themselves singly, but all together. Their times also for sleeping, and watching, and rising are notified beforehand by the sound of trumpets, nor is any thing done without such a signal; and in the morning the soldiery go every one to their centurions, and these centurions to their tribunes, to salute them; with whom all the superior officers go to the general of the whole army, who then gives them of course the watchword and other orders, to be by them carried to all that are under their command; which is also observed when they go to fight, and thereby they turn themselves about on the sudden, when there is occasion for making sallies, as they come back when they are recalled in crowds also.

4 Now when they are to go out of their camp, the trumpet gives a sound, at which time nobody lies still, but at the first intimation they take down their tents, and all is made ready for their going out; then do the trumpets sound again, to order them to get ready for the march; then do they lay their baggage suddenly upon their mules, and other beasts of burden, and stand, as at the place of starting, ready to march; when also they set fire to their camp, and this they do because it will be easy for them to erect another camp, and that it may not ever be of use to their enemies. Then do the trumpets give a sound the third time, that they are to go out, in order to excite those that on any account are a little tardy, that so no one may be out of his rank when the army marches. Then does the crier stand at the general's right hand, and asks them thrice, in their own tongue, whether they be now ready to go

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out to war or not? To which they reply as often, with a loud and cheerful voice, saying, "We are ready." And this they do almost before the question is asked them: they do this as filled with a kind of martial fury, and at the same time that they so cry out, they lift up their right hands also.

5 When, after this, they are gone out of their camp, they all march without noise, and in a decent manner, and every one keeps his own rank, as if they were going to war. The footmen are armed with breastplates and head-pieces, and have swords on each side; but the sword which is upon their left side is much longer than the other, for that on the right side is not longer than a span. Those foot-men also that are chosen out from the rest to be about the general himself have a lance and a buckler, but the rest of the foot soldiers have a spear and a long buckler, besides a saw and a basket, a pick-axe and an axe, a thong of leather and a hook, with provisions for three days, so that a footman hath no great need of a mule to carry his burdens. The horsemen have a long sword on their right sides, axed a long pole in their hand; a shield also lies by them obliquely on one side of their horses, with three or more darts that are borne in their quiver, having broad points, and not smaller than spears. They have also head-pieces and breastplates, in like manner as have all the footmen. And for those that are chosen to be about the general, their armour no way differs from that of the horsemen belonging to other troops; and he always leads the legions forth to whom the lot assigns that employment.

6 This is the manner of the marching and resting of the Romans, as also these are the several sorts of weapons they use. But when they are to fight, they leave nothing without forecast, nor to be done off-hand, but counsel is ever first taken before any work is begun, and what hath been there resolved upon is put in execution presently; for which reason they seldom commit any errors; and if they have been mistaken at any time, they easily correct those mistakes. They also esteem any errors they commit upon taking counsel beforehand to be better than such rash success as is owing to fortune only; because such a fortuitous advantage tempts them to be inconsiderate, while consultation, though it may sometimes fail of success, hath this good in it, that it makes men more careful hereafter; but for the advantages that arise from chance, they are not owing to him that gains them; and as to what melancholy accidents happen unexpectedly, there is this comfort in them, that they had however taken the best consultations they could to prevent them.

7 Now they so manage their preparatory exercises of their weapons, that not the bodies of the soldiers only, but their souls may also become stronger: they are moreover hardened for war by fear; for their laws inflict capital punishments, not only for soldiers running away from the ranks, but for slothfulness and inactivity, though it be but in a lesser degree; as are their generals more severe than their laws, for they prevent any imputation of cruelty toward those under condemnation, by the great rewards they bestow on the valiant soldiers; and the readiness of obeying their commanders is so great, that it is very ornamental in peace; but when they come to a battle, the whole army is but one body, so well coupled together are their ranks, so sudden are their turnings about, so sharp their hearing as to what orders are given them, so quick their sight of the ensigns, and so nimble are their hands when they set to work; whereby it comes to pass that what they do is done quickly, and what they suffer they bear with the greatest patience. Nor can we find any examples where they have been conquered in battle, when they came to a close fight, either by the multitude of the enemies, or by their stratagems, or by the difficulties in the places they were in; no, nor by fortune neither, for their victories have been surer to them than fortune could have granted them. In a case, therefore, where counsel still goes before action, and where, after taking the best advice, that advice is followed by so active an army, what wonder is it that Euphrates on the east, the ocean on the west, the most fertile regions of Libya on the south, and the Danube and the Rhine on the north, are the limits of this empire? One might well say that the Roman possessions are not inferior to the Romans themselves.

8 This account I have given the reader, not so much with the intention of commending the Romans, as of comforting those that have been conquered by them, and for the deterring others from attempting innovations under their government. This discourse of the Roman military conduct may also perhaps be of use to such of the curious as are ignorant of it, and yet have a mind to know it. I return now from this digression.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 6

Placidus Attempts To Take Jotapata And Is Beaten Off. Vespasian Marches Into Galilee.

1 And now Vespasian, with his son Titus, had tarried some time at Ptolemais, and had put his army in order. But when Placidus, who had overrun Galilee, and had besides slain a number of those whom he had caught, [which were only the weaker part of the Galileans, and such as were of timorous souls,] saw that the warriors ran always to those cities whose walls had been built by Josephus, he marched furiously against Jotapata, which was of them all the strongest, as supposing he should easily take it by a sudden surprise, and that he should thereby obtain great honour to himself among the commanders, and bring a great advantage to them in their future campaign; because if this strongest place of them all were once taken, the rest would be so affrighted as to surrender themselves. But he was mightily mistaken in his undertaking; for the men of Jotapata were apprized of his coming to attack them, and came out of the city, and expected him there. So they fought the Romans briskly when they least expected it, being both many in number, and prepared for fighting, and of great alacrity, as esteeming their country, their wives, and their children to be in danger, and easily put the Romans to flight, and wounded many of them, and slew seven of them; 4 because their retreat was not made in a disorderly manner, be-cause the strokes only touched the surface of their bodies, which were covered with their armour in all parts, and because the Jews did rather throw their weapons upon them from a great distance, than venture to come hand to hand with them, and had only light armour on, while the others were completely armed. However, three men of the Jews' side were slain, and a few wounded; so Placidus, finding himself unable to assault the city, ran away.

2 But as Vespasian had a great mind to fall upon Galilee, he marched out of Ptolemais, having put his army into that order wherein the Romans used to march. He ordered those auxiliaries which were lightly armed, and the archers, to march first, that they might prevent any sudden insults from the enemy, and might search out the woods that looked suspiciously, and were capable of ambuscades. Next to these followed that part of the Romans which was completely armed, both footmen and horsemen. Next to these followed ten out of every hundred, carrying along with them their arms, and what was necessary to measure out a camp withal; and after them, such as were to make the road even and straight, and if it were any where rough and hard to be passed over, to plane it, and to cut down the woods that hindered their march, that the army might not be in distress, or tired with their march. Behind these he set such carriages of the army as belonged both to himself and to the other commanders, with a considerable number of their horsemen for their security. After these he marched himself, having with him a select body of footmen, and horsemen, and pikemen. After these came the peculiar cavalry of his own legion, for there were a hundred and twenty horsemen that peculiarly belonged to every legion. Next to these came the mules that carried the engines for sieges, and the other warlike machines of that nature. After these came the commanders of the cohorts and tribunes, having about them soldiers chosen out of the rest. Then came the ensigns encompassing the eagle, which is at the head of every Roman legion, the king, and the strongest of all birds, which seems to them a signal of dominion, and an omen that they shall conquer all against whom they march; these sacred ensigns are followed by the trumpeters. Then came the main army in their squadrons and battalions, with six men in depth, which were followed at last by a centurion, who, according to custom, observed the rest. As for the servants of every legion, they all followed the footmen, and led the baggage of the soldiers, which was borne by the mules and other beasts of burden. But behind all the legions came the whole multitude of the mercenaries; and those that brought up the rear came last of all for the security of the whole army, being both footmen, and those in their armour also, with a great number of horsemen.

3 And thus did Vespasian march with his army, and came to the bounds of Galilee, where he pitched his camp and restrained his soldiers, who were eager for war; he also showed his army to the enemy, in order to affright them, and to afford them a season for repentance, to see whether they would change their minds before it came to a battle, and at the same time he got things ready for besieging their strong minds. And indeed this sight of the general brought many to repent of their revolt, and put them all into a consternation; for those that were in Josephus's camp, which was at the city called Garis, not far from Sepphoris, when they heard that the war was come near them, and that the Romans would suddenly fight them hand to hand, dispersed themselves and fled, not only before they came to a battle, but before the enemy ever came in sight, while Josephus and a few others were left behind; and as he saw that he had not an army sufficient to engage the enemy, that the spirits of the Jews were sunk, and that the greater part would willingly come to terms, if they might be credited, he already despaired of the success of the whole war, and determined to get as far as he possibly could out of danger; so he took those that staid along with him, and fled to Tiberias.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 7

Vespasian, When He Had Taken The City Gadaea Marches To Jotapata. After A Long Siege The City Is Betrayed By A Deserter, And Taken By Vespasian.

1 So Vespasian marched to the city Gadara, and took it upon the first onset, because he found it destitute of any considerable number of men grown up and fit for war. He came then into it, and slew all the youth, the Romans having no mercy on any age whatsoever; and this was done out of the hatred they bore the nation, and because of the iniquity they had been guilty of in the affair of Cestius. He also set fire not only to the city itself, but to all the villas and small cities that were round about it; some of them were quite destitute of inhabitants, and out of some of them he carried the inhabitants as slaves into captivity.

2 As to Josephus, his retiring to that city which he chose as the most fit for his security, put it into great fear; for the people of Tiberias did not imagine that he would have run away, unless he had entirely despaired of the success of the war. And indeed, as to that point, they were not mistaken about his opinion; for he saw whither the affairs of the Jews would tend at last, and was sensible that they had but one way of escaping, and that was by repentance. However, although he expected that the Romans would forgive him, yet did he choose to die many times over, rather than to betray his country, and to dishonour that supreme command of the army which had been intrusted with him, or to live happily under those against whom he was sent to fight. He determined, therefore, to give an exact account of affairs to the principal men at Jerusalem by a letter, that he might not, by too much aggrandizing the power of the enemy, make them too timorous; nor, by relating that their power beneath the truth, might encourage them to stand out when they were perhaps disposed to repentance. He also sent them word, that if they thought of coming to terms, they must suddenly write him an answer; or if they resolved upon war, they must send him an army sufficient to fight the Romans. Accordingly, he wrote these things, and sent messengers immediately to carry his letter to Jerusalem.

3 Now Vespasian was very desirous of demolishing Jotapata, for he had gotten intelligence that the greatest part of the enemy had retired thither, and that it was, on other accounts, a place of great security to them. Accordingly, he sent both foot-men and horsemen to level the road, which was mountainous and rocky, not without difficulty to be traveled over by footmen, but absolutely impracticable for horsemen. Now these workmen accomplished what they were about in four days' time, and opened a broad way for the army. On the fifth day, which was the twenty-first of the month Artemisius, [Jyar,] Josephus prevented him, and came from Tiberias, and went into Jotapata, and raised the drooping spirits of the Jews. And a certain deserter told this good news to Vespasian, that Josephus had removed himself thither, which made him make haste to the city, as supposing that with taking that he should take all Judea, in case he could but withal get Josephus under his power. So he took this news to be of the vastest advantage to him, and believed it to be brought about by the providence of God, that he who appeared to be the most prudent man of all their enemies, had, of his own accord, shut himself up in a place of sure custody. Accordingly, he sent Placidus with a thousand horsemen, and Ebutius a decurion, a person that was of eminency both in council and in action, to encompass the city round, that Josephus might not escape away privately.

4 Vespasian also, the very next day, took his whole army and followed them, and by marching till late in the evening, arrived then at Jotapata; and bringing his army to the northern side of the city, he pitched his camp on a certain small hill which was seven furlongs from the city, and still greatly endeavored to be well seen by the enemy, to put them into a consternation; which was indeed so terrible to the Jews immediately, that no one of them durst go out beyond the wall. Yet did the Romans put off the attack at that time, because they had marched all the day, although they placed a double row of battalions round the city, with a third row beyond them round the whole, which consisted of cavalry, in order to stop up every way for an exit; which thing making the Jews despair of escaping, excited them to act more boldly; for nothing makes men fight so desperately in war as necessity.

5 Now when the next day an assault was made by the Romans, the Jews at first staid out of the walls and opposed them, and met them, as having formed themselves a camp before the city walls. But when Vespasian had set against them the archers and slingers, and the whole multitude that could throw to a great distance, he permitted them to go to work, while he himself, with the footmen, got upon an acclivity, whence the city might easily be taken. Josephus was then in fear for the city, and leaped out, and all the Jewish multitude with him; these fell together upon the Romans in great numbers, and drove them away from the wall, and performed a great many glorious and bold actions. Yet did they suffer as much as they made the enemy suffer; for as despair of deliverance encouraged the Jews, so did a sense of shame equally encourage the Romans. These last had skill as well as strength; the other had only courage, which armed them, and made them fight furiously. And when the fight had lasted all day, it was put an end to by the coming on of the night. They had wounded a great many of the Romans, and killed of them thirteen men; of the Jews' side seventeen were slain, and six hundred wounded.

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6 On the next day the Jews made another attack upon the Romans, and went out of the walls and fought a much more desperate battle with them than before. For they were now become more courageous than formerly, and that on account of the unexpected good opposition they had made the day before, as they found the Romans also to fight more desperately; for a sense of shame inflamed these into a passion, as esteeming their failure of a sudden victory to be a kind of defeat. Thus did the Romans try to make an impression upon the Jews till the fifth day continually, while the people of Jotapata made sallies out, and fought at the walls most desperately; nor were the Jews affrighted at the strength of the enemy, nor were the Romans discouraged at the difficulties they met with in taking the city.

7 Now Jotapata is almost all of it built on a precipice, having on all the other sides of it every way valleys immensely deep and steep, insomuch that those who would look down would have their sight fail them before it reaches to the bottom. It is only to be come at on the north side, where the utmost part of the city is built on the mountain, as it ends obliquely at a plain. This mountain Josephus had encompassed with a wall when he fortified the city, that its top might not be capable of being seized upon by the enemies. The city is covered all round with other mountains, and can no way be seen till a man comes just upon it. And this was the strong situation of Jotapata.

8 Vespasian, therefore, in order to try how he might overcome the natural strength of the place, as well as the bold defense of the Jews, made a resolution to prosecute the siege with vigor. To that end he called the commanders that were under him to a council of war, and consulted with them which way the assault might be managed to the best advantage. And when the resolution was there taken to raise a bank against that part of the wall which was practicable, he sent his whole army abroad to get the materials together. So when they had cut down all the trees on the mountains that adjoined to the city, and had gotten together a vast heap of stones, besides the wood they had cut down, some of them brought hurdles, in order to avoid the effects of the darts that were shot from above them. These hurdles they spread over their banks, under cover whereof they formed their bank, and so were little or nothing hurt by the darts that were thrown upon them from the wall, while others pulled the neighbouring hillocks to pieces, and perpetually brought earth to them; so that while they were busy three sorts of ways, nobody was idle. However, the Jews cast great stones from the walls upon the hurdles which protected the men, with all sorts of darts also; and the noise of what could not reach them was yet so terrible, that it was some impediment to the workmen.

9 Vespasian then set the engines for throwing stones and darts round about the city. The number of the engines was in all a hundred and sixty, and bid them fall to work, and dislodge those that were upon the wall. At the same time such engines as were intended for that purpose threw at once lances upon them with a great noise, and stones of the weight of a talent were thrown by the engines that were prepared for that purpose, together with fire, and a vast multitude of arrows, which made the wall so dangerous, that the Jews durst not only not come upon it, but durst not come to those parts within the walls which were reached by the engines; for the multitude of the Arabian archers, as well also as all those that threw darts and slung stones, fell to work at the same time with the engines. Yet did not the others lie still, when they could not throw at the Romans from a higher place; for they then made sallies out of the city, like private robbers, by parties, and pulled away the hurdles that covered the workmen, and killed them when they were thus naked; and when those workmen gave way, these cast away the earth that composed the bank, and burnt the wooden parts of it, together with the hurdles, till at length Vespasian perceived that the intervals there were between the works were of disadvantage to him; for those spaces of ground afforded the Jews a place for assaulting the Romans. So he united the hurdles, and at the same time joined one part of the army to the other, which prevented the private excursions of the Jews.

10 And when the bank was now raised, and brought nearer than ever to the battlements that belonged to the walls, Josephus thought it would be entirely wrong in him if he could make no contrivances in opposition to theirs, and that might be for the city's preservation; so he got together his workmen, and ordered them to build the wall higher; and while they said that this was impossible to be done while so many darts were thrown at them, he invented this sort of cover for them: He bid them fix piles, and expand before them the raw hides of oxen newly killed, that these hides by yielding and hollowing themselves when the stones were thrown at them might receive them, for that the other darts would slide off them, and the fire that was thrown would be quenched by the moisture that was in them. And these he set before the workmen, and under them these workmen went on with their works in safety, and raised the wall higher, and that both by day and by night, till it was twenty cubits high. He also built a good number of towers upon the wall, and fitted it to strong battlements. This greatly discouraged the Romans, who in their own opinions were already gotten within the walls, while they were now at once astonished at Josephus's contrivance, and at the fortitude of the citizens that were in the city.

11 And now Vespasian was plainly irritated at the great subtlety of this stratagem, and at the boldness of the citizens of Jotapata; for taking heart again upon the building of this wall, they made fresh sallies upon the Romans, and had every day conflicts with them by parties, together with all such contrivances, as robbers make use of, and with the plundering of all that came to hand, as also with the setting fire to all the other works; and this till Vespasian made his army leave off fighting them, and resolved to lie round the city, and to starve them into a surrender, as supposing that either they would be forced to petition him for mercy by want of provisions, or if they should have the courage to hold out till the last, they should perish by famine: and he concluded he should conquer them the more easily in fighting, if he gave them an interval, and then fell upon them when they were weakened by famine; but still he gave orders that they should guard against their coming out of the city.

12 Now the besieged had plenty of corn within the city, and indeed of all necessaries, but they wanted water, because there was no fountain in the city, the people being there usually satisfied with rain water; yet is it a rare thing in that country to have rain in summer, and at this season, during the siege, they were in great distress for some contrivance to satisfy their thirst; and they were very sad at this time particularly, as if they were already in want of water entirely, for Josephus seeing that the city abounded with other necessaries, and that the men were of good courage, and being desirous to protract the siege to the Romans longer than they expected, ordered their drink to be given them by measure; but this scanty distribution of water by measure was deemed by them as a thing more hard upon them than the want of it; and their not being able to drink as much as they would made them more desirous of drinking than they otherwise had been; nay, they were as much disheartened hereby as if they were come to the last degree of thirst. Nor were the Romans unacquainted with the state they were in, for when they stood over against them, beyond the wall, they could see them running together, and taking their water by measure, which made them throw their javelins thither the place being within their reach, and kill a great many of them.

13 Hereupon Vespasian hoped that their receptacles of water would in no long time be emptied, and that they would be forced to deliver up the city to him; but Josephus being minded to break such his hope, gave command that they should wet a great many of their clothes, and hang them out about the battlements, till the entire wall was of a sudden all wet with the running down of the water. At this sight the Romans were discouraged, and under consternation, when they saw them able to throw away in sport so much water, when they supposed them not to have enough to drink themselves. This made the Roman general despair of taking the city by their want of necessaries, and to betake himself again to arms, and to try to force them to surrender, which was what the Jews greatly desired; for as they despaired of either themselves or their city being able to escape, they preferred a death in battle before one by hunger and thirst.

14 However, Josephus contrived another stratagem besides the foregoing, to get plenty of what they wanted. There was a certain rough and uneven place that could hardly be ascended, and on that account was not guarded by the soldiers; so Josephus sent out certain persons along the western parts of the valley, and by them sent letters to whom he pleased of the Jews that were out of the city, and procured from them what necessaries soever they wanted in the city in abundance; he enjoined them also to creep generally along by the watch as they came into the city, and to cover their backs with such sheep-skins as had their wool upon them, that if any one should spy them out in the night time, they might be believed to be dogs. This was done till the watch perceived their contrivance, and encompassed that rough place about themselves.

15 And now it was that Josephus perceived that the city could not hold out long, and that his own life would be in doubt if he continued in it; so he consulted how he and the most potent men of the city might fly out of it. When the multitude understood this, they came all round about him, and begged of him not to overlook them while they entirely depended on him, and him alone; for that there was still hope of the city's deliverance, if he would stay with them, because every body would undertake any pains with great cheerfulness on his account, and in that case there would be some comfort for them also, though they should be taken: that it became him neither to fly from his enemies, nor to desert his friends, nor to leap out of that city, as out of a ship that was sinking in a storm, into which he came when it was quiet and in a calm; for that by going away he would be the cause of drowning the city, because nobody would then venture to oppose the enemy when he was once gone, upon whom they wholly confided. 16 Hereupon Josephus avoided letting them know that he was to go away to provide for his own safety, but told them that he would go out of the city for their sakes; for that if he staid with them, he should be able to do them little good while they were in a safe condition; and that if they were once taken, he should only perish with them to no purpose; but that if he were once gotten free from this siege, he should be able to bring them very great relief; for that he would then immediately get the Galileans together, out of the country, in great multitudes, and draw the Romans off their city by another war. That he did not see what advantage he could bring to them now, by staying among them, but only provoke the Romans to besiege them more closely, as esteeming it a most valuable thing to take him; but that if they were once informed that he was fled out of the city, they would greatly remit of their eagerness against it. Yet did not this plea move the people, but inflamed them the more to hang about him. Accordingly, both the children and the old men, and the women with their infants, came mourning to him, and fell down before him, and all of them caught hold of his feet, and held him fast, and besought him, with great lamentations, that he would take his share with them in their fortune; and I think they did this, not that they envied his deliverance, but that they hoped for their own; for they could not think they should suffer any great misfortune, provided Josephus would but stay with them.

17 Now Josephus thought, that if he resolved to stay, it would be ascribed to their entreaties; and if he resolved to go away by force, he should be put into custody. His commiseration also of the people under their lamentations had much broken that his eagerness to leave them; so he resolved to stay, and arming himself with the common despair of the citizens, he said to them, "Now is the time to begin to fight in earnest, when there is no hope of deliverance left. It is a brave thing to prefer glory before life, and to set about some such noble undertaking as may be remembered by late posterity." Having said this, he fell to work immediately, and made a sally, and dispersed the enemies' out-guards, and ran as far as the Roman camp itself, and pulled the coverings of their tents to pieces, that were upon their banks, and set fire to their works. And this was the manner in which he never left off fighting, neither the next day, nor the day after it, but went on with it for a considerable number of both days and nights.

18 Upon this, Vespasian, when he saw the Romans distressed by these sallies, [though they were ashamed to be made to run away by the Jews; and when at any time they made the Jews run away, their heavy armour would not let them pursue them far; while the Jews, when they had performed any action, and before they could be hurt themselves, still retired into the city,] ordered his armed men to avoid their onset, and not fight it out with men under desperation, while nothing is more courageous than despair; but that their violence would be quenched when they saw they failed of their purposes, as fire is quenched when it wants fuel; and that it was proper for the Romans to gain their victories as cheap as they could, since they are not forced to fight, but only to enlarge their own dominions. So he repelled the Jews in great measure by the Arabian archers, and the Syrian slingers, and by those that threw stones at them, nor was there any intermission of the great number of their offensive engines. Now the Jews suffered greatly by these engines, without being able to escape from them; and when these engines threw their stones or javelins a great way, and the Jews were within their reach, they pressed hard upon the Romans, and fought desperately, without sparing either soul or body, one part succoring another by turns, when it was tired down.

19 When, therefore, Vespasian looked upon himself as in a manner besieged by these sallies of the Jews, and when his banks were now not far from the walls, he determined to make use of his battering ram. This battering ram is a vast beam of wood like the mast of a ship, its forepart is armed with a thick piece of iron at the head of it, which is so carved as to be like the head of a ram, whence its name is taken. This ram is slung in the air by ropes passing over its middle, and is hung like the balance in a pair of scales from another beam, and braced by strong beams that pass on both sides of it, in the nature of a cross. When this ram is pulled backward by a great number of men with united force, and then thrust forward by the same men, with a mighty noise, it batters the walls with that iron part which is prominent. Nor is there any tower so strong, or walls so broad, that can resist any more than its first batteries, but all are forced to yield to it at last. This was the experiment which the Roman general betook himself to, when he was eagerly bent upon taking the city; but found lying in the field so long to be to his disadvantage, because the Jews would never let him be quiet. So these Romans brought the several engines for galling an enemy nearer to the walls, that they might reach such as were upon the wall, and endeavored to frustrate their attempts; these threw stones and javelins at them; in the like manner did the archers and slingers come both together closer to the wall. This brought matters to such a pass that none of the Jews durst mount the walls, and then it was that the other Romans brought the battering ram that was cased with hurdles all over, and in the tipper part was secured by skins that covered it, and this both for the security

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of themselves and of the engine. Now, at the very first stroke of this engine, the wall was shaken, and a terrible clamour was raised by the people within the city, as if they were already taken.

20 And now, when Josephus saw this ram still battering the same place, and that the wall would quickly be thrown down by it, he resolved to elude for a while the force of the engine. With this design he gave orders to fill sacks with chaff, and to hang them down before that place where they saw the ram always battering, that the stroke might be turned aside, or that the place might feel less of the strokes by the yielding nature of the chaff. This contrivance very much delayed the attempts of the Romans, because, let them remove their engine to what part they pleased, those that were above it removed their sacks, and placed them over against the strokes it made, insomuch that the wall was no way hurt, and this by diversion of the strokes, till the Romans made an opposite contrivance of long poles, and by tying hooks at their ends, cut off the sacks. Now when the battering ram thus recovered its force, and the wall having been but newly built, was giving way, Josephus and those about him had afterward immediate recourse to fire, to defend themselves withal; whereupon they took what materials soever they had that were but dry, and made a sally three ways, and set fire to the machines, and the hurdles, and the banks of the Romans themselves; nor did the Romans well know how to come to their assistance, being at once under a consternation at the Jews' boldness, and being prevented by the flames from coming to their assistance; for the materials being dry with the bitumen and pitch that were among them, as was brimstone also, the fire caught hold of every thing immediately, and what cost the Romans a great deal of pains was in one hour consumed.

21 And here a certain Jew appeared worthy of our relation and commendation; he was the son of Sameas, and was called Eleazar, and was born at Saab, in Galilee. This man took up a stone of a vast bigness, and threw it down from the wall upon the ram, and this with so great a force, that it broke off the head of the engine. He also leaped down, and took up the head of the ram from the midst of them, and without any concern carried it to the top of the wall, and this while he stood as a fit mark to be pelted by all his enemies. Accordingly, he received the strokes upon his naked body, and was wounded with five darts; nor did he mind any of them while he went up to the top of the wall, where he stood in the sight of them all, as an instance of the greatest boldness; after which he drew himself on a heap with his wounds upon him, and fell down together with the head of the ram. Next to him, two brothers showed their courage; their names were Netir and Philip, both of them of the village Ruma, and both of them Galileans also; these men leaped upon the soldiers of the tenth legion, and fell upon the Romans with such a noise and force as to disorder their ranks, and to put to flight all upon whomsoever they made their assaults.

22 After these men's performances, Josephus, and the rest of the multitude with him, took a great deal of fire, and burnt both the machines and their coverings, with the works belonging to the fifth and to the tenth legion, which they put to flight; when others followed them immediately, and buried those instruments and all their materials under ground. However, about the evening, the Romans erected the battering ram again, against that part of the wall which had suffered before; where a certain Jew that defended the city from the Romans hit Vespasian with a dart in his foot, and wounded him a little, the distance being so great, that no mighty impression could be made by the dart thrown so far off. However, this caused the greatest disorder among the Romans; for when those who stood near him saw his blood, they were disturbed at it, and a report went abroad, through the whole army, that the general was wounded, while the greatest part left the siege, and came running together with surprise and fear to the general; and before them all came Titus, out of the concern he had for his father, insomuch that the multitude were in great confusion, and this out of the regard they had for their general, and by reason of the agony that the son was in. Yet did the father soon put an end to the son's fear, and to the disorder the army was under, for being superior to his pains, and endeavoring soon to be seen by all that had been in a fright about him, he excited them to fight the Jews more briskly; for now every body was willing to expose himself to danger immediately, in order to avenge their general; and then they encouraged one another with loud voices, and ran hastily to the walls.

23 But still Josephus and those with him, although they fell down dead one upon another by the darts and stones which the engines threw upon them, yet did not they desert the wall, but fell upon those who managed the ram, under the protection of the hurdles, with fire, and iron weapons, and stones; and these could do little or nothing, but fell themselves perpetually, while they were seen by those whom they could not see, for the light of their own flame shone about them, and made them a most visible mark to the enemy, as they were in the day time, while the engines could not be seen at a great distance, and so what was thrown at them was hard to be avoided; for the force with which these engines threw stones and darts made them hurt several at a time, and the violent noise of the stones that were cast by the engines was so great, that they carried away the pinnacles of the wall, and broke off the corners of the towers; for no body of men could be so strong as not to be overthrown to the last rank by the largeness of the stones. And any one may learn the force of the engines by what happened this very night; for as one of those that stood round about Josephus was near the wall, his head was carried away by such a stone, and his skull was flung as far as three furlongs. In the day time also, a woman with child had her belly so violently struck, as she was just come out of her house, that the infant was carried to the distance of half a furlong, so great was the force of that engine. The noise of the instruments themselves was very terrible, the sound of the darts and stones that were thrown by them was so also; of the same sort was that noise the dead bodies made, when they were dashed against the wall; and indeed dreadful was the clamour which these things raised in the women within the city, which was echoed back at the same time by the cries of such as were slain; while the whole space of ground whereon they fought ran with blood, and the wall might have been ascended over by the bodies of the dead carcasses; the mountains also contributed to increase the noise by their echoes; nor was there on that night any thing of terror wanting that could either affect the hearing or the sight: yet did a great part of those that fought so hard for Jotapata fall manfully, as were a great part of them wounded. However, the morning watch was come ere the wall yielded to the machines employed against it, though it had been battered without intermission. However, those within covered their bodies with their armour, and raised works over against that part which was thrown down, before those machines were laid by which the Romans were to ascend into the city.

24 In the morning Vespasian got his army together, in order to take the city [by storm], after a little recreation upon the hard pains they had been at the night before; and as he was desirous to draw off those that opposed him from the places where the wall had been thrown down, he made the most courageous of the horsemen get off their horses, and placed them in three ranks over against those ruins of the wall, but covered with their armour on every side, and with poles in their hands, that so these might begin their ascent as soon as the instruments for such ascent were laid; behind them he placed the flower of the footmen; but for the rest of the horse, he ordered them to extend themselves over against the wall, upon the whole hilly country, in order to prevent any from escaping out of the city when it should be taken; and behind these he placed the archers round about, and commanded them to have their darts ready to shoot. The same command he gave to the slingers, and to those that managed the engines, and bid them to take up other ladders, and have them ready to lay upon those parts of the wall which were yet untouched, that the besieged might be engaged in trying to hinder their ascent by them, and leave the guard of the parts that were thrown down, while the rest of them should be overborne by the darts cast at them, and might afford his men an entrance into the city.

25 But Josephus, understanding the meaning of Vespasian's contrivance, set the old men, together with those that were tired out, at the sound parts of the wall, as expecting no harm from those quarters, but set the strongest of his men at the place where the wall was broken down, and before them all six men by themselves, among whom he took his share of the first and greatest danger. He also gave orders, that when the legions made a shout, they should stop their ears, that they might not be affrighted at it, and that, to avoid the multitude of the enemy's darts, they should bend down on their knees, and cover themselves with their shields, and that they should retreat a little backward for a while, till the archers should have emptied their quivers; but that When the Romans should lay their instruments for ascending the walls, they should leap out on the sudden, and with their own instruments should meet the enemy, and that every one should strive to do his best, in order not to defend his own city, as if it were possible to be preserved, but in order to revenge it, when it was already destroyed; and that they should set before their eyes how their old men were to be slain, and their children and wives were to be killed immediately by the enemy; and that they would beforehand spend all their fury, on account of the calamities just coming upon them, and pour it out on the actors.

26 And thus did Josephus dispose of both his bodies of men; but then for the useless part of the citizens, the women and children, when they saw their city encompassed by a threefold army, [for none of the usual guards that had been fighting before were removed,] when they also saw, not only the walls thrown down, but their enemies with swords in their hands, as also the hilly country above them shining with their weapons, and the darts in the hands of the Arabian archers, they made a final and lamentable outcry of the destruction, as if the misery were not only threatened, but actually come upon them already. But Josephus ordered the women to be shut up in their houses, lest they should render the warlike actions of the men too effeminate, by making them commiserate their condition, and commanded them to hold their peace, and threatened them if they did not, while he came himself before the breach, where his allotment was; for all those who brought ladders to the other places, he took no notice of them, but earnestly waited for the shower of arrows that was coming.

27 And now the trumpeters of the several Roman legions sounded together, and the army made a terrible shout; and the darts, as by order, flew so last, that they intercepted the light. However, Josephus's men remembered the charges he had given them, they stopped their ears at the sounds, and covered their bodies against the darts; and as to the engines that were set ready to go to work, the Jews ran out upon them, before those that should have used them were gotten upon them. And now, on the ascending of the soldiers, there was a great conflict, and many actions of the hands and of the soul were exhibited; while the Jews did earnestly endeavor, in the extreme danger they were in, not to show less courage than those who, without being in danger, fought so stoutly against them; nor did they leave struggling with the Romans till they either fell down dead themselves, or killed their antagonists. But the Jews grew weary with defending themselves continually, and had not enough to come in their places, and succor them; while, on the side of the Romans, fresh men still succeeded those that were tired; and still new men soon got upon the machines for ascent, in the room of those that were thrust down; those encouraging one another, and joining side to side with their shields, which were a protection to them, they became a body of men not to be broken; and as this band thrust away the Jews, as though they were themselves but one body, they began already to get upon the wall.

28 Then did Josephus take necessity for his counselor in this utmost distress, [which necessity is very sagacious in invention when it is irritated by despair,] and gave orders to pour scalding oil upon those whose shields protected them. Whereupon they soon got it ready, being many that brought it, and what they brought being a great quantity also, and poured it on all sides upon the Romans, and threw down upon them their vessels as they were still hissing from the heat of the fire: this so burnt the Romans, that it dispersed that united band, who now tumbled clown from the wall with horrid pains, for the oil did easily run down the whole body from head to foot, under their entire armour, and fed upon their flesh like flame itself, its fat and unctuous nature rendering it soon heated and slowly cooled; and as the men were cooped up in their head-pieces and breastplates, they could no way get free from this burning oil; they could only leap and roll about in their pains, as they fell down from the bridges they had laid. And as they thus were beaten back, and retired to their own party, who still pressed them forward, they were easily wounded by those that were behind them.

29 However, in this ill success of the Romans, their courage did not fail them, nor did the Jews want prudence to oppose them; for the Romans, although they saw their own men thrown down, and in a miserable condition, yet were they vehemently bent against those that poured the oil upon them; while every one reproached the man before him as a coward, and one that hindered him from exerting himself; and while the Jews made use of another stratagem to prevent their ascent, and poured boiling fenugreek upon the boards, in order to make them slip and fall down; by which means neither could those that were coming up, nor those that were going down, stand on their feet; but some of them fell backward upon the machines on which they ascended, and were trodden upon; many of them fell down upon the bank they had raised, and when they were fallen upon it were slain by the Jews; for when the Romans could not keep their feet, the Jews being freed from fighting hand to hand, had leisure to throw their darts at them. So the general called off those soldiers in the evening that had suffered so sorely, of whom the number of the slain was not a few, while that of the wounded was still greater; but of the people of Jotapata no more than six men were killed, although more than three hundred were carried off wounded. This fight happened on the twentieth day of the month Desius [Sivan].

30 Hereupon Vespasian comforted his army on occasion of what happened, and as he found them angry indeed, but rather wanting somewhat to do than any further exhortations, he gave orders to raise the banks still higher, and to erect three towers, each fifty feet high, and that they should cover them with plates of iron on every side, that they might be both firm by their weight, and not easily liable to be set on fire. These towers he set upon the banks, and placed upon them such as could shoot darts and arrows, with the lighter engines for throwing stones and darts also; and besides these, he set upon them the stoutest men among the slingers, who not being to be seen by reason of the height they stood upon, and the battlements that protected them, might throw their weapons at those that were upon the wall, and were easily seen by them. Hereupon the Jews, not being easily able to escape those darts that were thrown down upon their heads, nor to avenge themselves on those whom they could not see, and perceiving that the height of the towers was so great, that a dart which they threw with their hand could hardly reach it, and that the iron plates about them made it very hard to come at them by fire, they ran away from the walls, and fled hastily

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out of the city, and fell upon those that shot at them. And thus did the people of Jotapata resist the Romans, while a great number of them were every day killed, without their being able to retort the evil upon their enemies; nor could they keep them out of the city without danger to themselves.

31 About this time it was that Vespasian sent out Trajan against a city called Japha, that lay near to Jotapata, and that desired innovations, and was puffed up with the unexpected length of the opposition of Jotapata. This Trajan was the commander of the tenth legion, and to him Vespasian committed one thousand horsemen, and two thousand footmen. When Trajan came to the city, he found it hard to be taken, for besides the natural strength of its situation, it was also secured by a double wall; but when he saw the people of this city coming out of it, and ready to fight him, he joined battle with them, and after a short resistance which they made, he pursued after them; and as they fled to their first wall, the Romans followed them so closely, that they fell in together with them: but when the Jews were endeavoring to get again within their second wall, their fellow citizens shut them out, as being afraid that the Romans would force themselves in with them. It was certainly God therefore who brought the Romans to punish the Galileans, and did then expose the people of the city every one of them manifestly to be destroyed by their bloody enemies; for they fell upon the gates in great crowds, and earnestly calling to those that kept them, and that by their names also, yet had they their throats cut in the very midst of their supplications; for the enemy shut the gates of the first wall, and their own citizens shut the gates of the second, so they were enclosed between two walls, and were slain in great numbers together; many of them were run through by swords of their own men, and many by their own swords, besides an immense number that were slain by the Romans. Nor had they any courage to revenge themselves; for there was added to the consternation they were in from the enemy, their being betrayed by their own friends, which quite broke their spirits; and at last they died, cursing not the Romans, but their own citizens, till they were all destroyed, being in number twelve thousand. So Trajan gathered that the city was empty of people that could fight, and although there should a few of them be therein, he supposed that they would be too timorous to venture upon any opposition; so he reserved the taking of the city to the general. Accordingly, he sent messengers to Vespasian, and desired him to send his son Titus to finish the victory he had gained. Vespasian hereupon imagining there might be some pains still necessary, sent his son with an army of five hundred horsemen, and one thousand footmen. So he came quickly to the city, and put his army in order, and set Trajan over the left wing, while he had the right himself, and led them to the siege: and when the soldiers brought ladders to be laid against the wall on every side, the Galileans opposed them from above for a while; but soon afterward they left the walls. Then did Titus's men leap into the city, and seized upon it presently; but when those that were in it were gotten together, there was a fierce battle between them; for the men of power fell upon the Romans in the narrow streets, and the women threw whatsoever came next to hand at them, and sustained a fight with them for six hours' time; but when the fighting men were spent, the rest of the multitude had their throats cut, partly in the open air, and partly in their own houses, both young and old together. So there were no males now remaining, besides infants, which, with the women, were carried as slaves into captivity; so that the number of the slain, both now in the city and at the former fight, was fifteen thousand, and the captives were two thousand one hundred and thirty. This calamity befell the Galileans on the twenty-fifth day of the month Desius [Sivan.]

32 Nor did the Samaritans escape their share of misfortunes at this time; for they assembled themselves together upon the mountain called Gerizzim, which is with them a holy mountain, and there they remained; which collection of theirs, as well as the courageous minds they showed, could not but threaten somewhat of war; nor were they rendered wiser by the miseries that had come upon their neighbouring cities. They also, notwithstanding the great success the Romans had, marched on in an unreasonable manner, depending on their own weakness, and were disposed for any tumult upon its first appearance. Vespasian therefore thought it best to prevent their motions, and to cut off the foundation of their attempts. For although all Samaria had ever garrisons settled among them, yet did the number of those that were come to Mount Gerizzim, and their conspiracy together, give ground for fear what they would be at; he therefore sent thither Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion, with six hundred horsemen, and three thousand footmen, who did not think it safe to go up to the mountain, and give them battle, because many of the enemy were on the higher part of the ground; so he encompassed all the lower part of the mountain with his army, and watched them all that day. Now it happened that the Samaritans, who were now destitute of water, were inflamed with a violent heat, [for it was summer time, and the multitude had not provided themselves with necessaries,] insomuch that some of them died that very day with heat, while others of them preferred slavery before such a death as that was, and fled to the Romans; by whom Cerealis understood that those which still staid there were very much broken by their misfortunes. So he went up to the mountain, and having placed his forces round about the enemy, he, in the first place, exhorted them to take the security of his right hand, and come to terms with him, and thereby save themselves; and assured them, that if they would lay down their arms, he would secure them from any harm; but when he could not prevail with them, he fell upon them and slew them all, being in number eleven thousand and six hundred. This was done on the twenty-seventh day of the month Desius [Sivan]. And these were the calamities that befell the Samaritans at this time.

33 But as the people of Jotapata still held out manfully, and bore up under their miseries beyond all that could be hoped for, on the forty-seventh day [of the siege] the banks cast up by the Romans were become higher than the wall; on which day a certain deserter went to Vespasian, and told him how few were left in the city, and how weak they were, and that they had been so worn out with perpetual watching, and as perpetual fighting, that they could not now oppose any force that came against them, and that they might be taken by stratagem, if any one would attack them; for that about the last watch of the night, when they thought they might have some rest from the hardships they were under, and when a morning sleep used to come upon them, as they were thoroughly weary, he said the watch used to fall asleep; accordingly his advice was, that they should make their attack at that hour. But Vespasian had a suspicion about this deserter, as knowing how faithful the Jews were to one another, and how much they despised any punishments that could be inflicted on them; this last because one of the people of Jotapata had undergone all sorts of torments, and though they made him pass through a fiery trial of his enemies in his examination, yet would he inform them nothing of the affairs within the city, and as he was crucified, smiled at them. However, the probability there was in the relation itself did partly confirm the truth of what the deserter told them, and they thought he might probably speak truth. However, Vespasian thought they should be no great sufferers if the report was a sham; so he commanded them to keep the man in custody, and prepared the army for taking the city.

34 According to which resolution they marched without noise, at the hour that had been told them, to the wall; and it was Titus himself that first got upon it, with one of his tribunes, Domitius Sabinus, and had a few of the fifteenth legion along with him. So they cut the throats of the watch, and entered the city very quietly. After these came Cerealis the tribune, and Placidus, and led on those that were tinder them. Now when the citadel was taken, and the enemy were in the very midst of the city, and when it was already day, yet was not the taking of the city known by those that held it; for a great many of them were fast asleep, and a great mist, which then by chance fell upon the city, hindered those that got up from distinctly seeing the case they were in, till the whole Roman army was gotten in, and they were raised up only to find the miseries they were under; and as they were slaying, they perceived the city was taken. And for the Romans, they so well remembered what they had suffered during the siege, that they spared none, nor pitied any, but drove the people down the precipice from the citadel, and slew them as they drove them down; at which time the difficulties of the place hindered those that were still able to fight from defending themselves; for as they were distressed in the narrow streets, and could not keep their feet sure along the precipice, they were overpowered with the crowd of those that came fighting them down from the citadel. This provoked a great many, even of those chosen men that were about Josephus, to kill themselves with their own hands; for when they saw that they could kill none of the Romans, they resolved to prevent being killed by the Romans, and got together in great numbers in the utmost parts of the city, and killed themselves.

35 However, such of the watch as at the first perceived they were taken, and ran away as fast as they could, went up into one of the towers on the north side of the city, and for a while defended themselves there; but as they were encompassed with a multitude of enemies, they tried to use their right hands when it was too late, and at length they cheerfully offered their necks to be cut off by those that stood over them. And the Romans might have boasted that the conclusion of that siege was without blood [on their side] if there had not been a centurion, Antonius, who was slain at the taking of the city. His death was occasioned by the following treachery; for there was one of those that were fled into the caverns, which were a great number, who desired that this Antonius would reach him his right hand for his security, and would assure him that he would preserve him, and give him his assistance in getting up out of the cavern; accordingly, he incautiously reached him his right hand, when the other man prevented him, and stabbed him under his loins with a spear, and killed him immediately.

36 And on this day it was that the Romans slew all the multitude that appeared openly; but on the following days they searched the hiding-places, and fell upon those that were under ground, and in the caverns, and went thus through every age, excepting the infants and the women, and of these there were gathered together as captives twelve hundred; and as for those that were slain at the taking of the city, and in the former fights, they were numbered to be forty thousand. So Vespasian gave order that the city should be entirely demolished, and all the fortifications burnt down. And thus was Jotapata taken, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero, on the first day of the month Panemus [Tamuz].

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 8

How Josephus Was Discovered By A Woman, And Was Willing To Deliver Himself Up To The Romans; And What Discourse He Had With His Own Men, When They Endeavored To Hinder Him; And What He Said To Vespasian, When He Was Brought To Him; And After What Manner Vespasian Used Him Afterward.

1 And now the Romans searched for Josephus, both out of the hatred they bore him, and because their general was very desirous to have him taken; for he reckoned that if he were once taken, the greatest part of the war would be over. They then searched among the dead, and looked into the most concealed recesses of the city; but as the city was first taken, he was assisted by a certain supernatural providence; for he withdrew himself from the enemy when he was in the midst of them, and leaped into a certain deep pit, whereto there adjoined a large den at one side of it, which den could not be seen by those that were above ground; and there he met with forty persons of eminency that had concealed themselves, and with provisions enough to satisfy them for not a few days. So in the day time he hid himself from the enemy, who had seized upon all places, and in the night time he got up out of the den and looked about for some way of escaping, and took exact notice of the watch; but as all places were guarded every where on his account, that there was no way of getting off unseen, he went down again into the den. Thus he concealed himself two days; but on the third day, when they had taken a woman who had been with them, he was discovered. Whereupon Vespasian sent immediately and zealously two tribunes, Paulinus and Gallicanus, and ordered them to give Josephus their right hands as a security for his life, and to exhort him to come up.

2 So they came and invited the man to come up, and gave him assurances that his life should be preserved: but they did not prevail with him; for he gathered suspicions from the probability there was that one who had done so many things against the Romans must suffer for it, though not from the mild temper of those that invited him. However, he was afraid that he was invited to come up in order to be punished, until Vespasian sent besides these a third tribune, Nicanor, to him; he was one that was well known to Josephus, and had been his familiar acquaintance in old time. When he was come, he enlarged upon the natural mildness of the Romans towards those they have once conquered; and told him that he had behaved himself so valiantly, that the commanders rather admired than hated him; that the general was very desirous to have him brought to him, not in order to punish him, for that he could do though he should not come voluntarily, but that he was determined to preserve a man of his courage. He moreover added this, that Vespasian, had he been resolved to impose upon him, would not have sent to him a friend of his own, nor put the fairest colour upon the vilest action, by pretending friendship and meaning perfidiousness; nor would he have himself acquiesced, or come to him, had it been to deceive him.

3 Now as Josephus began to hesitate with himself about Nicanor's proposal, the soldiery were so angry, that they ran hastily to set fire to the den; but the tribune would not permit them so to do, as being very desirous to take the man alive. And now, as Nicanor lay hard at Josephus to comply, and he understood how the multitude of the enemies threatened him, he called to mind the dreams which he had dreamed in the night time, whereby God had signified to him beforehand both the future calamities of the Jews, and the events that concerned the Roman emperors. Now Josephus was able to give shrewd conjectures about the interpretation of such dreams as have been ambiguously delivered by God. Moreover, he was not unacquainted with the prophecies contained in the sacred books, as being a priest himself, and of the posterity of priests: and just then was he in an ecstasy; and setting before him the tremendous images of the dreams he had lately had, he put up a secret prayer to God, and said, "Since it pleaseth thee, who hast created the Jewish nation, to depress the same, and since all their good fortune is gone over to the Romans, and since thou hast made choice of this soul of mine to foretell what is to come to pass hereafter, I willingly give them my hands, and am content to live. And I protest openly that I do not go over to the Romans as a deserter of the Jews, but as a minister from thee."

4 When he had said this, he complied with Nicanor's invitation. But when those Jews who had fled with him understood that he yielded to those that invited him to come up, they came about him in a body, and cried out, "Nay, indeed, now may the laws of our forefathers, which God

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ordained himself, well groan to purpose; that God we mean who hath created the souls of the Jews of such a temper, that they despise death. O Josephus! art thou still fond of life? and canst thou bear to see the light in a state of slavery? How soon hast thou forgotten thyself! How many hast thou persuaded to lose their lives for liberty! Thou hast therefore had a false reputation for manhood, and a like false reputation for wisdom, if thou canst hope for preservation from those against whom thou hast fought so zealously, and art however willing to be preserved by them, if they be in earnest. But although the good fortune of the Romans hath made thee forget thyself, we ought to take care that the glory of our forefathers may not be tarnished. We will lend thee our right hand and a sword; and if thou wilt die willingly, thou wilt die as general of the Jews; but if unwillingly, thou wilt die as a traitor to them." As soon as they said this, they began to thrust their swords at him, and threatened they would kill him, if he thought of yielding himself to the Romans.

5 Upon this Josephus was afraid of their attacking him, and yet thought he should be a betrayer of the commands of God, if he died before they were delivered. So he began to talk like a philosopher to them in the distress he was then in, when he said thus to them: "O my friends, why are we so earnest to kill ourselves? and why do we set our soul and body, which are such dear companions, at such variance? Can any one pretend that I am not the man I was formerly? Nay, the Romans are sensible how that matter stands well enough. It is a brave thing to die in war; but so that it be according to the law of war, by the hand of conquerors. If, therefore, I avoid death from the sword of the Romans, I am truly worthy to be killed by my own sword, and my own hand; but if they admit of mercy, and would spare their enemy, how much more ought we to have mercy upon ourselves, and to spare ourselves? For it is certainly a foolish thing to do that to ourselves which we quarrel with them for doing to us. I confess freely that it is a brave thing to die for liberty; but still so that it be in war, and done by those who take that liberty from us; but in the present case our enemies do neither meet us in battle, nor do they kill us. Now he is equally a coward who will not die when he is obliged to die, and he who will die when he is not obliged so to do. What are we afraid of, when we will not go up to the Romans? Is it death? If so, what we are afraid of, when we but suspect our enemies will inflict it on us, shall we inflict it on ourselves for certain? But it may be said we must be slaves. And are we then in a clear state of liberty at present? It may also be said that it is a manly act for one to kill himself. No, certainly, but a most unmanly one; as I should esteem that pilot to be an arrant coward, who, out of fear of a storm, should sink his ship of his own accord. Now self-murder is a crime most remote from the common nature of all animals, and an instance of impiety against God our Creator; nor indeed is there any animal that dies by its own contrivance, or by its own means, for the desire of life is a law engraven in them all; on which account we deem those that openly take it away from us to be our enemies, and those that do it by treachery are punished for so doing. And do not you think that God is very angry when a man does injury to what he hath bestowed on him? For from him it is that we have received our being, and we ought to leave it to his disposal to take that being away from us. The bodies of all men are indeed mortal, and are created out of corruptible matter; but the soul is ever immortal, and is a portion of the divinity that inhabits our bodies. Besides, if any one destroys or abuses a depositum he hath received from a mere man, he is esteemed a wicked and perfidious person; but then if any one cast out of his body this Divine depositum, can we imagine that he who is thereby affronted does not know of it? Moreover, our law justly ordains that slaves which run away from their master shall be punished, though the masters they run away from may have been wicked masters to them. And shall we endeavor to run away from God, who is the best of all masters, and not guilty of impeity? Do not you know that those who depart out of this life according to the law of nature, and pay that debt which was received from God, when he that lent it us is pleased to require it back again, enjoy eternal fame; that their houses and their posterity are sure, that their souls are pure and obedient, and obtain a most holy place in heaven, from whence, in the revolutions of ages, they are again sent into pure bodies; while the souls of those whose hands have acted madly against themselves are received by the darkest place in Hades, and while God, who is their Father, punishes those that offend against either of them in their posterity? for which reason God hates such doings, and the crime is punished by our most wise legislator. Accordingly, our laws determine that the bodies of such as kill themselves should be exposed till the sun be set, without burial, although at the same time it be allowed by them to be lawful to bury our enemies [sooner]. The laws of other nations also enjoin such men's hands to be cut off when they are dead, which had been made use of in destroying themselves when alive, while they reckoned that as the body is alien from the soul, so is the hand alien from the body. It is therefore, my friends, a right thing to reason justly, and not add to the calamities which men bring upon us impiety towards our Creator. If we have a mind to preserve ourselves, let us do it; for to be preserved by those our enemies, to whom we have given so many demonstrations of our courage, is no way inglorious; but if we have a mind to die, it is good to die by the hand of those that have conquered us. For my part, I will not run over to our enemies' quarters, in order to be a traitor to myself; for certainly I should then be much more foolish than those that deserted to the enemy, since they did it in order to save themselves, and I should do it for destruction, for my own destruction. However, I heartily wish the Romans may prove treacherous in this matter; for if, after their offer of their right hand for security, I be slain by them, I shall die cheerfully, and carry away with me the sense of their perfidiousness, as a consolation greater than victory itself."

6 Now these and many the like motives did Josephus use to these men to prevent their murdering themselves; but desperation had shut their ears, as having long ago devoted themselves to die, and they were irritated at Josephus. They then ran upon him with their swords in their hands, one from one quarter, and another from another, and called him a coward, and everyone of them appeared openly as if he were ready to smite him; but he calling to one of them by name, and looking like a general to another, and taking a third by the hand, and making a fourth ashamed of himself, by praying him to forbear, and being in this condition distracted with various passions, [as he well might in the great distress he was then in,] he kept off every one of their swords from killing him, and was forced to do like such wild beasts as are encompassed about on every side, who always turn themselves against those that last touched them. Nay, some of their right hands were debilitated by the reverence they bare to their general in these his fatal calamities, and their swords dropped out of their hands; and not a few of them there were, who, when they aimed to smite him with their swords, they were not thoroughly either willing or able to do it.

7 However, in this extreme distress, he was not destitute of his usual sagacity; but trusting himself to the providence of God, he put his life into hazard [in the manner following]: "And now," said he, "since it is resolved among you that you will die, come on, let us commit our mutual deaths to determination by lot. He whom the lot falls to first, let him be killed by him that hath the second lot, and thus fortune shall make its progress through us all; nor shall any of us perish by his own right hand, for it would be unfair if, when the rest are gone, somebody should repent and save himself." This proposal appeared to them to be very just; and when he had prevailed with them to determine this matter by lots, he drew one of the lots for himself also. He who had the first lot laid his neck bare to him that had the next, as supposing that the general would die among them immediately; for they thought death, if Josephus might but die with them, was sweeter than life; yet was he with another left to the last, whether we must say it happened so by chance, or whether by the providence of God. And as he was very desirous neither to be condemned by the lot, nor, if he had been left to the last, to imbrue his right hand in the blood of his countrymen, he persuaded him to trust his fidelity to him, and to live as well as himself.

8 Thus Josephus escaped in the war with the Romans, and in this his own war with his friends, and was led by Nicanor to Vespasian. But now all the Romans ran together to see him; and as the multitude pressed one upon another about their general, there was a tumult of a various kind; while some rejoiced that Josephus was taken, and some threatened him, and some crowded to see him very near; but those that were more remote cried out to have this their enemy put to death, while those that were near called to mind the actions he had done, and a deep concern appeared at the change of his fortune. Nor were there any of the Roman commanders, how much soever they had been enraged at him before, but relented when they came to the sight of him. Above all the rest, Titus's own valour, and Josephus's own patience under his afflictions, made him pity him, as did also the commiseration of his age, when he recalled to mind that but a little while ago he was fighting, but lay now in the hands of his enemies, which made him consider the power of fortune, and how quick is the turn of affairs in war, and how no state of men is sure; for which reason he then made a great many more to be of the same pitiful temper with himself, and induced them to commiserate Josephus. He was also of great weight in persuading his father to preserve him. However, Vespasian gave strict orders that he should be kept with great caution, as though he would in a very little time send him to Nero.

9 When Josephus heard him give those orders, he said that he had somewhat in his mind that he would willingly say to himself alone. When therefore they were all ordered to withdraw, excepting Titus and two of their friends, he said, "Thou, O Vespasian, thinkest no more than that thou hast taken Josephus himself captive; but I come to thee as a messenger of greater tidings; for had not I been sent by God to thee, I knew what was the law of the Jews in this case? and how it becomes generals to die. Dost thou send me to Nero? For why? Are Nero's successors till they come to thee still alive? Thou, O Vespasian, art Caesar and emperor, thou, and this thy son. Bind me now still faster, and keep me for thyself, for thou, O Caesar, are not only lord over me, but over the land and the sea, and all mankind; and certainly I deserve to be kept in closer custody than I now am in, in order to be punished, if I rashly affirm any thing of God." When he had said this, Vespasian at present did not believe him, but supposed that Josephus said this as a cunning trick, in order to his own preservation; but in a little time he was convinced, and believed what he said to be true, God himself erecting his expectations, so as to think of obtaining the empire, and by other signs fore-showing his advancement. He also found Josephus to have spoken truth on other occasions; for one of those friends that were present at that secret conference said to Josephus, "I cannot but wonder how thou couldst not foretell to the people of Jotapata that they should be taken, nor couldst foretell this captivity which hath happened to thyself, unless what thou now sayest be a vain thing, in order to avoid the rage that is risen against thyself." To which Josephus replied, "I did foretell to the people of Jotapata that they would be taken on the forty-seventh day, and that I should be caught alive by the Romans." Now when Vespasian had inquired of the captives privately about these predictions, he found them to be true, and then he began to believe those that concerned himself. Yet did he not set Josephus at liberty from his hands, but bestowed on him suits of clothes, and other precious gifts; he treated him also in a very obliging manner, and continued so to do, Titus still joining his interest in the honours that were done him.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 9

How Joppa Was Taken, And Tiberias Delivered Up.

1 Now Vespasian returned to Ptolemais on the fourth day of the month Panemus, [Tamus] and from thence he came to Cesarea, which lay by the sea-side. This was a very great city of Judea, and for the greatest part inhabited by Greeks: the citizens here received both the Roman army and its general, with all sorts of acclamations and rejoicings, and this partly out of the good-will they bore to the Romans, but principally out of the hatred they bore to those that were conquered by them; on which account they came clamouring against Josephus in crowds, and desired he might be put to death. But Vespasian passed over this petition concerning him, as offered by the injudicious multitude, with a bare silence. Two of the legions also he placed at Cesarea, that they might there take their winter-quarters, as perceiving the city very fit for such a purpose; but he placed the tenth and the fifth at Scythopolis, that he might not distress Cesarea with the entire army. This place was warm even in winter, as it was suffocating hot in the summer time, by reason of its situation in a plain, and near to the sea [of Galilee].

2 In the mean time, there were gathered together as well such as had seditiously got out from among their enemies, as those that had escaped out of the demolished cities, which were in all a great number, and repaired Joppa, which had been left desolate by Cestius, that it might serve them for a place of refuge; and because the adjoining region had been laid waste in the war, and was not capable of supporting them, they determined to go off to sea. They also built themselves a great many piratical ships, and turned pirates upon the seas near to Syria, and Phoenicia, and Egypt, and made those seas unnavigable to all men. Now as soon as Vespasian knew of their conspiracy, he sent both footmen and horsemen to Joppa, which was unguarded in the night time; however, those that were in it perceived that they should be attacked, and were afraid of it; yet did they not endeavor to keep the Romans out, but fled to their ships, and lay at sea all night, out of the reach of their darts.

3 Now Joppa is not naturally a haven, for it ends in a rough shore, where all the rest of it is straight, but the two ends bend towards each other, where there are deep precipices, and great stones that jut out into the sea, and where the chains wherewith Andromeda was bound have left their footsteps, which attest to the antiquity of that fable. But the north wind opposes and beats upon the shore, and dashes mighty waves against the rocks which receive them, and renders the haven more dangerous than the country they had deserted. Now as those people of Joppa were floating about in this sea, in the morning there fell a violent wind upon them; it is called by those that sail there "the black north wind," and there dashed their ships one against another, and dashed some of them against the rocks, and carried many of them by force, while they strove against the opposite waves, into the main sea; for the shore was so rocky, and had so many of the enemy upon it, that they were afraid to come to land; nay, the waves rose so very high, that they drowned them; nor was there any place whither they could fly, nor any way to save themselves; while they were thrust out of the sea, by the violence of the wind, if they staid where they were, and out of the city by the violence of the Romans. And much lamentation there was when the ships were dashed against one another, and a terrible noise when they were broken to pieces; and some of the multitude that were in them were covered with waves, and so perished, and a great many were embarrassed with shipwrecks. But some of them thought that to die by their own swords was lighter than by the sea, and so they killed themselves before

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they were drowned; although the greatest part of them were carried by the waves, and dashed to pieces against the abrupt parts of the rocks, insomuch that the sea was bloody a long way, and the maritime parts were full of dead bodies; for the Romans came upon those that were carried to the shore, and destroyed them; and the number of the bodies that were thus thrown out of the sea was four thousand and two hundred. The Romans also took the city without opposition, and utterly demolished it.

4 And thus was Joppa taken twice by the Romans in a little time; but Vespasian, in order to prevent these pirates from coming thither any more, erected a camp there, where the citadel of Joppa had been, and left a body of horse in it, with a few footmen, that these last might stay there and guard the camp, and the horsemen might spoil the country that lay round it, and might destroy the neighbouring villages and smaller cities. So these troops overran the country, as they were ordered to do, and every day cut to pieces and laid desolate the whole region.

5 But now, when the fate of Jotapata was related at Jerusalem, a great many at the first disbelieved it, on account of the vastness of the calamity, and because they had no eye-witness to attest the truth of what was related about it; for not one person was saved to be a messenger of that news, but a fame was spread abroad at random that the city was taken, as such fame usually spreads bad news about. However, the truth was known by degrees, from the places near Jotapata, and appeared to all to be too true. Yet were there fictitious stories added to what was really done; for it was reported that Josephus was slain at the taking of the city, which piece of news filled Jerusalem full of sorrow. In every house also, and among all to whom any of the slain were allied, there was a lamentation for them; but the mourning for the commander was a public one; and some mourned for those that had lived with them, others for their kindred, others for their friends, and others for their brethren, but all mourned for Josephus; insomuch that the lamentation did not cease in the city before the thirtieth day; and a great many hired mourners, with their pipes, who should begin the melancholy ditties for them.

6 But as the truth came out in time, it appeared how the affairs of Jotapata really stood; yet was it found that the death of Josephus was a fiction; and when they understood that he was alive, and was among the Romans, and that the commanders treated him at another rate than they treated captives, they were as vehemently angry at him now as they had showed their good-will before, when he appeared to have been dead. He was also abused by some as having been a coward, and by others as a deserter; and the city was full of indignation at him, and of reproaches cast upon him; their rage was also aggravated by their afflictions, and more inflamed by their ill success; and what usually becomes an occasion of caution to wise men, I mean affliction, became a spur to them to venture on further calamities, and the end of one misery became still the beginning of another; they therefore resolved to fall on the Romans the more vehemently, as resolving to be revenged on him in revenging themselves on the Romans. And this was the state of Jerusalem as to the troubles which now came upon it.

7 But Vespasian, in order to see the kingdom of Agrippa, while the king persuaded himself so to do, [partly in order to his treating the general and his army in the best and most splendid manner his private affairs would enable him to do, and partly that he might, by their means, correct such things as were amiss in his government,] he removed from that Cesarea which was by the sea-side, and went to that which is called Cesarea Philippi and there he refreshed his army for twenty days, and was himself feasted by king Agrippa, where he also returned public thanks to God for the good success he had had in his undertakings. But as soon as he was informed that Tiberias was fond of innovations, and that Taricheae had revolted, both which cities were parts of the kingdom of Agrippa, and was satisfied within himself that the Jews were every where perverted [from their obedience to their governors], he thought it seasonable to make an expedition against these cities, and that for the sake of Agrippa, and in order to bring his cities to reason. So he sent away his son Titus to [the other] Cesarea, that he might bring the army that lay there to Seythopous, which is the largest city of Decapolis, and in the neighbourhood of Tiberias, whither he came, and where he waited for his son. He then came with three legions, and pitched his camp thirty furlongs off Tiberias, at a certain station easily seen by the innovators; it is named Sennabris. He also sent Valerian, a decurion, with fifty horsemen, to speak peaceably to those that were in the city, and to exhort them to give him assurances of their fidelity; for he had heard that the people were desirous of peace, but were obliged by some of the seditious part to join with them, and so were forced to fight for them. When Valerian had marched up to the place, and was near the wall, he alighted off his horse, and made those that were with him to do the same, that they might not be thought to come to skirmish with them; but before they could come to a discourse one with another, the most potent men among the seditious made a sally upon them armed; their leader was one whose name was Jesus, the son of Shaphat, the principal head of a band of robbers. Now Valerian, neither thinking it safe to fight contrary to the commands of the general, though he were secure of a victory, and knowing that it was a very hazardous undertaking for a few to fight with many, for those that were unprovided to fight those that were ready, and being on other accounts surprised at this unexpected onset of the Jews, he ran away on foot, as did five of the rest in like manner, and left their horses behind them; which horses Jesus led away into the city, and rejoiced as if they had taken them in battle, and not by treachery.

8 Now the seniors of the people, and such as were of principal authority among them, fearing what would be the issue of this matter, fled to the camp of the Romans; they then took their king along with them, and fell down before Vespasian, to supplicate his favour, and besought him not to overlook them, nor to impute the madness of a few to the whole city, to spare a people that have been ever civil and obliging to the Romans; but to bring the authors of this revolt to due punishment, who had hitherto so watched them, that though they were zealous to give them the security of their right hands of a long time, yet could they not accomplish the same. With these supplications the general complied, although he were very angry at the whole city about the carrying off his horses, and this because he saw that Agrippa was under a great concern for them. So when Vespasian and Agrippa had accepted of their right hands by way of security, Jesus and his party thought it not safe for them to continue at Tiberias, so they ran away to Taricheae. The next day Vespasian sent Trajan before with some horsemen to the citadel, to make trial of the multitude, whether they were all disposed for peace; and as soon as he knew that the people were of the same mind with the petitioner, he took his army, and went to the city; upon which the citizens opened to him their gates, and met him with acclamations of joy, and called him their savior and benefactor. But as the army was a great while in getting in at the gates, they were so narrow, Vespasian commanded the south wall to be broken down, and so made a broad passage for their entrance. However, he charged them to abstain from rapine and injustice, in order to gratify the king; and on his account spared the rest of the wall, while the king undertook for them that they should continue [faithful to the Romans] for the time to come. And thus did he restore this city to a quiet state, after it had been grievously afflicted by the sedition.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 10

How Taricheae Was Taken. A Description Of The River Jordan, And Of The Country Of Gennesareth.

1 And now Vespasian pitched his camp between this city and Taricheae, but fortified his camp more strongly, as suspecting that he should be forced to stay there, and have a long war; for all the innovators had gotten together at Taricheae, as relying upon the strength of the city, and on the lake that lay by it. This lake is called by the people of the country the Lake of Gennesareth. The city itself is situated like Tiberias, at the bottom of a mountain, and on those sides which are not washed by the sea, had been strongly fortified by Josephus, though not so strongly as Tiberias; for the wall of Tiberias had been built at the beginning of the Jews' revolt, when he had great plenty of money, and great power, but Taricheae partook only the remains of that liberality, Yet had they a great number of ships gotten ready upon the lake, that, in case they were beaten at land, they might retire to them; and they were so fitted up, that they might undertake a Sea-fight also. But as the Romans were building a wall about their camp, Jesu and his party were neither affrighted at their number, nor at the good order they were in, but made a sally upon them; and at the very first onset the builders of the wall were dispersed; and these pulled what little they had before built to pieces; but as soon as they saw the armed men getting together, and before they had suffered any thing themselves, they retired to their own men. But then the Romans pursued them, and drove them into their ships, where they launched out as far as might give them the opportunity of reaching the Romans with what they threw at them, and then cast anchor, and brought their ships close, as in a line of battle, and thence fought the enemy from the sea, who were themselves at land. But Vespasian hearing that a great multitude of them were gotten together in the plain that was before the city, he thereupon sent his son, with six hundred chosen horsemen, to disperse them.

2 But when Titus perceived that the enemy was very numerous, he sent to his father, and informed him that he should want more forces. But as he saw a great many of the horsemen eager to fight, and that before any succors could come to them, and that yet some of them were privately under a sort of consternation at the multitude of the Jews, he stood in a place whence he might be heard, and said to them, "My brave Romans! for it is right for me to put you in mind of what nation you are, in the beginning of my speech, that so you may not be ignorant who you are, and who they are against whom we are going to fight. For as to us, Romans, no part of the habitable earth hath been able to escape our hands hitherto; but as for the Jews, that I may speak of them too, though they have been already beaten, yet do they not give up the cause; and a sad thing it would be for us to grow wealthy under good success, when they bear up under their misfortunes. As to the alacrity which you show publicly, I see it, and rejoice at it; yet am I afraid lest the multitude of the enemy should bring a concealed fright upon some of you: let such a one consider again, who we are that are to fight, and who those are against whom we are to fight. Now these Jews, though they be very bold and great despisers of death, are but a disorderly body, and unskillful in war, and may rather be called a rout than an army; while I need say nothing of our skill and our good order; for this is the reason why we Romans alone are exercised for war in time of peace, that we may not think of number for number when we come to fight with our enemies: for what advantage should we reap by our continual sort of warfare, if we must still be equal in number to such as have not been used to war. Consider further, that you are to have a conflict with men in effect unarmed, while you are well armed; with footmen, while you are horsemen; with those that have no good general, while you have one; and as these advantages make you in effect manifold more than you are, so do their disadvantages mightily diminish their number. Now it is not the multitude of men, though they be soldiers, that manages wars with success, but it is their bravery that does it, though they be but a few; for a few are easily set in battle-array, and can easily assist one another, while over-numerous armies are more hurt by themselves than by their enemies. It is boldness and rashness, the effects of madness, that conduct the Jews. Those passions indeed make a great figure when they succeed, but are quite extinguished upon the least ill success; but we are led on by courage, and obedience, and fortitude, which shows itself indeed in our good fortune, but still does not for ever desert us in our ill fortune. Nay, indeed, your fighting is to be on greater motives than those of the Jews; for although they run the hazard of war for liberty, and for their country, yet what can be a greater motive to us than glory? and that it may never be said, that after we have got dominion of the habitable earth, the Jews are able to confront us. We must also reflect upon this, that there is no fear of our suffering any incurable disaster in the present case; for those that are ready to assist us are many, and at hand also; yet it is in our power to seize upon this victory ourselves; and I think we ought to prevent the coming of those my father is sending to us for our assistance, that our success may be peculiar to ourselves, and of greater reputation to us. And I cannot but think this an opportunity wherein my father, and I, and you shall be all put to the trial, whether he be worthy of his former glorious performances, whether I be his son in reality, and whether you be really my soldiers; for it is usual for my father to conquer; and for myself, I should not bear the thoughts of returning to him if I were once taken by the enemy. And how will you be able to avoid being ashamed, if you do not show equal courage with your commander, when he goes before you into danger? For you know very well that I shall go into the danger first, and make the first attack upon the enemy. Do not you therefore desert me, but persuade yourselves that God will be assisting to my onset. Know this also before we begin, that we shall now have better success than we should have, if we were to fight at a distance."

3 As Titus was saying this, an extraordinary fury fell upon the men; and as Trajan was already come before the fight began, with four hundred horsemen, they were uneasy at it, because the reputation of the victory would be diminished by being common to so many. Vespasian had also sent both Antonius and Silo, with two thousand archers, and had given it them in charge to seize upon the mountain that was over against the city, and repel those that were upon the wall; which archers did as they were commanded, and prevented those that attempted to assist them that way; And now Titus made his own horse march first against the enemy, as did the others with a great noise after him, and extended themselves upon the plain as wide as the enemy which confronted them; by which means they appeared much more numerous than they really were. Now the Jews, although they were surprised at their onset, and at their good order, made resistance against their attacks for a little while; but when they were pricked with their long poles, and overborne by the violent noise of the horsemen, they came to be trampled under their feet; many also of them were slain on every side, which made them disperse themselves, and run to the city, as fast as every one of them were able. So Titus pressed upon the hindmost, and slew them; and of the rest, some he fell upon as they stood on heaps, and some he prevented, and met them in the mouth, and run them through; many also he leaped upon as they fell one upon another, and trod them down, and cut off all the retreat they had to the wall, and turned them back into the plain, till at last they forced a passage by their multitude, and got away, and ran into the city.

4 But now there fell out a terrible sedition among them within the city; for the inhabitants themselves, who had possessions there, and to whom the city belonged, were not

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disposed to fight from the very beginning; and now the less so, because they had been beaten; but the foreigners, which were very numerous, would force them to fight so much the more, insomuch that there was a clamour and a tumult among them, as all mutually angry one at another. And when Titus heard this tumult, for he was not far from the wall, he cried out, "Fellow soldiers, now is the time; and why do we make any delay, when God is giving up the Jews to us? Take the victory which is given you: do not you hear what a noise they make? Those that have escaped our hands are in an uproar against one another. We have the city if we make haste; but besides haste, we must undergo some labour, and use some courage; for no great thing uses to be accomplished without danger: accordingly, we must not only prevent their uniting again, which necessity will soon compel them to do, but we must also prevent the coming of our own men to our assistance, that, as few as we are, we may conquer so great a multitude, and may ourselves alone take the city."

5 As soon as ever Titus had said this, he leaped upon his horse, and rode apace down to the lake; by which lake he marched, and entered into the city the first of them all, as did the others soon after him. Hereupon those that were upon the walls were seized with a terror at the boldness of the attempt, nor durst any one venture to fight with him, or to hinder him; so they left guarding the city, and some of those that were about Jesus fled over the country, while others of them ran down to the lake, and met the enemy in the teeth, and some were slain as they were getting up into the ships, but others of them as they attempted to overtake those that were already gone aboard. There was also a great slaughter made in the city, while those foreigners that had not fled away already made opposition; but the natural inhabitants were killed without fighting: for in hopes of Titus's giving them his right hand for their security, and out of a consciousness that they had not given any consent to the war, they avoided fighting, till Titus had slain the authors of this revolt, and then put a stop to any further slaughters, out of commiseration of these inhabitants of the place. But for those that had fled to the lake, upon seeing the city taken, they sailed as far as they possibly could from the enemy.

6 Hereupon Titus sent one of his horsemen to his father, and let him know the good news of what he had done; at which, as was natural, he was very joyful, both on account of the courage and glorious actions of his son; for he thought that now the greatest part of the war was over. He then came thither himself, and set men to guard the city, and gave them command to take care that nobody got privately out of it, but to kill such as attempted so to do. And on the next day he went down to the lake, and commanded that vessels should be fitted up, in order to pursue those that had escaped in the ships. These vessels were quickly gotten ready accordingly, because there was great plenty of materials, and a great number of artificers also.

7 Now this lake of Gennesareth is so called from the country adjoining to it. Its breadth is forty furlongs, and its length one hundred and forty; its waters are sweet, and very agreeable for drinking, for they are finer than the thick waters of other fens; the lake is also pure, and on every side ends directly at the shores, and at the sand; it is also of a temperate nature when you draw it up, and of a more gentle nature than river or fountain water, and yet always cooler than one could expect in so diffuse a place as this is. Now when this water is kept in the open air, it is as cold as that snow which the country people are accustomed to make by night in summer. There are several kinds of fish in it, different both to the taste and the sight from those elsewhere. It is divided into two parts by the river Jordan. Now Panium is thought to be the fountain of Jordan, but in reality it is carried thither after an occult manner from the place called Phiala: this place lies as you go up to Trachonitis, and is a hundred and twenty furlongs from Cesarea, and is not far out of the road on the right hand; and indeed it hath its name of Phiala [vial or bowl] very justly, from the roundness of its circumference, as being round like a wheel; its water continues always up to its edges, without either sinking or running over. And as this origin of Jordan was formerly not known, it was discovered so to be when Philip was tetrarch of Trachonitis; for he had chaff thrown into Phiala, and it was found at Paninto, where the ancients thought the fountain-head of the river was, whither it had been therefore carried [by the waters]. As for Panium itself, its natural beauty had been improved by the royal liberality of Agrippa, and adorned at his expenses. Now Jordan's visible stream arises from this cavern, and divides the marshes and fens of the lake Semechonitis; when it hath run another hundred and twenty furlongs, it first passes by the city Julias, and then passes through the middle of the lake Gennesareth; after which it runs a long way over a desert, and then makes its exit into the lake Asphaltites.

8 The country also that lies over against this lake hath the same name of Gennesareth; its nature is wonderful as well as its beauty; its soil is so fruitful that all sorts of trees can grow upon it, and the inhabitants accordingly plant all sorts of trees there; for the temper of the air is so well mixed, that it agrees very well with those several sorts, particularly walnuts, which require the coldest air, flourish there in vast plenty; there are palm trees also, which grow best in hot air; fig trees also and olives grow near them, which yet require an air that is more temperate. One may call this place the ambition of nature, where it forces those plants that are naturally enemies to one another to agree together; it is a happy contention of the seasons, as if every one of them laid claim to this country; for it not only nourishes different sorts of autumnal fruit beyond men's expectation, but preserves them a great while; it supplies men with the principal fruits, with grapes and figs continually, during ten months of the year and the rest of the fruits as they become ripe together through the whole year; for besides the good temperature of the air, it is also watered from a most fertile fountain. The people of the country call it Capharnaum. Some have thought it to be a vein of the Nile, because it produces the Coracin fish as well as that lake does which is near to Alexandria. The length of this country extends itself along the banks of this lake that bears the same name for thirty furlongs, and is in breadth twenty, And this is the nature of that place.

9 But now, when the vessels were gotten ready, Vespasian put upon ship-board as many of his forces as he thought sufficient to be too hard for those that were upon the lake, and set sail after them. Now these which were driven into the lake could neither fly to the land, where all was in their enemies' hand, and in war against them; nor could they fight upon the level by sea, for their ships were small and fitted only for piracy; they were too weak to fight with Vespasian's vessels, and the mariners that were in them were so few, that they were afraid to come near the Romans, who attacked them in great numbers. However, as they sailed round about the vessels, and sometimes as they came near them, they threw stones at the Romans when they were a good way off, or came closer and fought them; yet did they receive the greatest harm themselves in both cases. As for the stones they threw at the Romans, they only made a sound one after another, for they threw them against such as were in their armour, while the Roman darts could reach the Jews themselves; and when they ventured to come near the Romans, they became sufferers themselves before they could do any harm to the ether, and were drowned, they and their ships together. As for those that endeavored to come to an actual fight, the Romans ran many of them through with their long poles. Sometimes the Romans leaped into their ships, with swords in their hands, and slew them; but when some of them met the vessels, the Romans caught them by the middle, and destroyed at once their ships and themselves who were taken in them. And for such as were drowning in the sea, if they lifted their heads up above the water, they were either killed by darts, or caught by the vessels; but if, in the desperate case they were in, they attempted to swim to their enemies, the Romans cut off either their heads or their hands; and indeed they were destroyed after various manners every where, till the rest being put to flight, were forced to get upon the land, while the vessels encompassed them about [on the sea]: but as many of these were repulsed when they were getting ashore, they were killed by the darts upon the lake; and the Romans leaped out of their vessels, and destroyed a great many more upon the land: one might then see the lake all bloody, and full of dead bodies, for not one of them escaped. And a terrible stink, and a very sad sight there was on the following days over that country; for as for the shores, they were full of shipwrecks, and of dead bodies all swelled; and as the dead bodies were inflamed by the sun, and putrefied, they corrupted the air, insomuch that the misery was not only the object of commiseration to the Jews, but to those that hated them, and had been the authors of that misery. This was the upshot of the sea-fight. The number of the slain, including those that were killed in the city before, was six thousand and five hundred.

10 After this fight was over, Vespasian sat upon his tribunal at Taricheae, in order to distinguish the foreigners from the old inhabitants; for those foreigners appear to have begun the war. So he deliberated with the other commanders, whether he ought to save those old inhabitants or not. And when those commanders alleged that the dismission of them would be to his own disadvantage, because, when they were once set at liberty, they would not be at rest, since they would be people destitute of proper habitations, and would be able to compel such as they fled to fight against us, Vespasian acknowledged that they did not deserve to be saved, and that if they had leave given them to fly away, they would make use of it against those that gave them that leave. But still he considered with himself after what manner they should be slain for if he had them slain there, he suspected the people of the country would thereby become his enemies; for that to be sure they would never bear it, that so many that had been supplicants to him should be killed; and to offer violence to them, after he had given them assurances of their lives, he could not himself bear to do it. However, his friends were too hard for him, and pretended that nothing against Jews could be any impiety, and that he ought to prefer what was profitable before what was fit to be done, where both could not be made consistent. So he gave them an ambiguous liberty to do as they advised, and permitted the prisoners to go along no other road than that which led to Tiberias only. So they readily believed what they desired to be true, and went along securely, with their effects, the way which was allowed them, while the Romans seized upon all the road that led to Tiberias, that none of them might go out of it, and shut them up in the city. Then came Vespasian, and ordered them all to stand in the stadium, and commanded them to kill the old men, together with the others that were useless, which were in number a thousand and two hundred. Out of the young men he chose six thousand of the strongest, and sent them to Nero, to dig through the Isthmus, and sold the remainder for slaves, being thirty thousand and four hundred, besides such as he made a present of to Agrippa; for as to those that belonged to his kingdom, he gave him leave to do what he pleased with them; however, the king sold these also for slaves; but for the rest of the multitude, who were Trachonites, and Gaulanites, and of Hippos, and some of Gadara, the greatest part of them were seditious persons and fugitives, who were of such shameful characters, that they preferred war before peace. These prisoners were taken on the eighth day of the month Gorpieus [Elul].

THE WARS OF THE JEWS BOOK 4

Containing The Interval Of About One Year.
From The Siege Of Gamala To The Coming Of Titus
To Besiege Jerusalem.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 1

The Siege And Taking Of Gamala.

1 Now all those Galileans who, after the taking of Jotapata, had revolted from the Romans, did, upon the conquest of Taricheae, deliver themselves up to them again. And the Romans received all the fortresses and the cities, excepting Gischala and those that had seized upon Mount Tabor; Gamala also, which is a city ever against Taricheae, but on the other side of the lake, conspired with them. This city lay upon the borders of Agrippa's kingdom, as also did Sogana and Seleucia. And these were both parts of Gaulanitis; for Sogana was a part of that called the Upper Gaulanitis, as was Gamala of the Lower; while Seleucia was situated at the lake Semechouitis, which lake is thirty furlongs in breadth, and sixty in length; its marshes reach as far as the place Daphne, which in other respects is a delicious place, and hath such fountains as supply water to what is called Little Jordan, under the temple of the golden calf, where it is sent into Great Jordan. Now Agrippa had united Sogana and Seleucia by leagues to himself, at the very beginning of the revolt from the Romans; yet did not Gamala accede to them, but relied upon the difficulty of the place, which was greater than that of Jotapata, for it was situated upon a rough ridge of a high mountain, with a kind of neck in the middle: where it begins to ascend, it lengthens itself, and declines as much downward before as behind, insomuch that it is like a camel in figure, from whence it is so named, although the people of the country do not pronounce it accurately. Both on the side and the face there are abrupt parts divided from the rest, and ending in vast deep valleys; yet are the parts behind, where they are joined to the mountain, somewhat easier of ascent than the other; but then the people belonging to the place have cut an oblique ditch there, and made that hard to be ascended also. On its acclivity, which is straight, houses are built, and those very thick and close to one another. The city also hangs so strangely, that it looks as if it would fall down upon itself, so sharp is it at the top. It is exposed to the south, and its southern mount, which reaches to an immense height, was in the nature of a citadel to the city; and above that was a precipice, not walled about, but extending itself to an immense depth. There was also a spring of water within the wall, at the utmost limits of the city.

2 As this city was naturally hard to be taken, so had Josephus, by building a wall about it, made it still stronger, as also by ditches and mines under ground. The people that were in it were made more bold by the nature of the place than the people of Jotapata had been, but it had much fewer fighting men in it; and they had such a confidence in the situation of the place, that they thought the enemy could not be too many for them; for the city had been filled with those that had fled to it for safety, on account of its strength; on which account they had been able to resist those whom Agrippa sent to besiege it for seven months together.

3 But Vespasian removed from Emmaus, where he had last pitched his camp before the city Tiberias, [now Emmaus, if it be interpreted, may be rendered "a warm bath," for therein is a spring of warm water, useful for healing,] and came to Gamala; yet was its situation such that he was not able to encompass it all round with soldiers to watch it; but where the places were practicable, he set men to watch it, and seized upon the mountain which was over it. And as the legions, according to their usual custom, were fortifying their camp upon that mountain, he began to cast up banks at the bottom, at the part towards the east, where the highest tower of the whole city was, and where the fifteenth legion pitched their

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camp; while the fifth legion did duty over against the midst of the city, and whilst the tenth legion filled up the ditches and the valleys. Now at this time it was that as king Agrippa was come nigh the walls, and was endeavoring to speak to those that were on the walls about a surrender, he was hit with a stone on his right elbow by one of the slingers; he was then immediately surrounded with his own men. But the Romans were excited to set about the siege, by their indignation on the king's account, and by their fear on their own account, as concluding that those men would omit no kinds of barbarity against foreigners and enemies, who where so enraged against one of their own nation, and one that advised them to nothing but what was for their own advantage.

4 Now when the banks were finished, which was done on the sudden, both by the multitude of hands, and by their being accustomed to such work, they brought the machines; but Chares and Joseph, who were the most potent men in the city, set their armed men in order, though already in a fright, because they did not suppose that the city could hold out long, since they had not a sufficient quantity either of water, or of other necessaries. However, these their leaders encouraged them, and brought them out upon the wall, and for a while indeed they drove away those that were bringing the machines; but when those machines threw darts and stones at them, they retired into the city; then did the Romans bring battering rams to three several places, and made the wall shake [and fall]. They then poured in over the parts of the wall that were thrown down, with a mighty sound of trumpets and noise of armour, and with a shout of the soldiers, and brake in by force upon those that were in the city; but these men fell upon the Romans for some time, at their first entrance, and prevented their going any further, and with great courage beat them back; and the Romans were so overpowered by the greater multitude of the people, who beat them on every side, that they were obliged to run into the upper parts of the city. Whereupon the people turned about, and fell upon their enemies, who had attacked them, and thrust them down to the lower parts, and as they were distressed by the narrowness and difficulty of the place, slew them; and as these Romans could neither beat those back that were above them, nor escape the force of their own men that were forcing their way forward, they were compelled to fly into their enemies' houses, which were low; but these houses being thus full, of soldiers, whose weight they could not bear, fell down suddenly; and when one house fell, it shook down a great many of those that were under it, as did those do to such as were under them. By this means a vast number of the Romans perished; for they were so terribly distressed, that although they saw the houses subsiding, they were compelled to leap upon the tops of them; so that a great many were ground to powder by these ruins, and a great many of those that got from under them lost some of their limbs, but still a greater number were suffocated by the dust that arose from those ruins. The people of Gamala supposed this to be an assistance afforded them by God, and without regarding what damage they suffered themselves, they pressed forward, and thrust the enemy upon the tops of their houses; and when they stumbled in the sharp and narrow streets, and were perpetually falling down, they threw their stones or darts at them, and slew them. Now the very ruins afforded them stones enow; and for iron weapons, the dead men of the enemies' side afforded them what they wanted; for drawing the swords of those that were dead, they made use of them to despatch such as were only half dead; nay, there were a great number who, upon their falling down from the tops of the houses, stabbed themselves, and died after that manner; nor indeed was it easy for those that were beaten back to fly away; for they were so unacquainted with the ways, and the dust was so thick, that they wandered about without knowing one another, and fell down dead among the crowd.

5 Those therefore that were able to find the ways out of the city retired. But now Vespasian always staid among those that were hard set; for he was deeply affected with seeing the ruins of the city falling upon his army, and forgot to take care of his own preservation. He went up gradually towards the highest parts of the city before he was aware, and was left in the midst of dangers, having only a very few with him; for even his son Titus was not with him at that time, having been then sent into Syria to Mucianus. However, he thought it not safe to fly, nor did he esteem it a fit thing for him to do; but calling to mind the actions he had done from his youth, and recollecting his courage, as if he had been excited by a divine fury, he covered himself and those that were with him with their shields, and formed a testudo over both their bodies and their armour, and bore up against the enemy's attacks, who came running down from the top of the city; and without showing any dread at the multitude of the men or of their darts, he endured all, until the enemy took notice of that divine courage that was within him, and remitted of their attacks; and when they pressed less zealously upon him, he retired, though without showing his back to them till he was gotten out of the walls of the city. Now a great number of the Romans fell in this battle, among whom was Ebutius, the decurion, a man who appeared not only in this engagement, wherein he fell, but every where, and in former engagements, to be of the truest courage, and one that had done very great mischief to the Jews. But there was a centurion whose name was Gallus, who, during this disorder, being encompassed about, he and ten other soldiers privately crept into the house of a certain person, where he heard them talking at supper, what the people intended to do against the Romans, or about themselves [for both the man himself and those with him were Syrians]. So he got up in the night time, and cut all their throats, and escaped, together with his soldiers, to the Romans.

6 And now Vespasian comforted his army, which was much dejected by reflecting on their ill success, and because they had never before fallen into such a calamity, and besides this, because they were greatly ashamed that they had left their general alone in great dangers. As to what concerned himself, he avoided to say any thing, that he might by no means seem to complain of it; but he said that "we ought to bear manfully what usually falls out in war, and this, by considering what the nature of war is, and how it can never be that we must conquer without bloodshed on our own side; for there stands about us that fortune which is of its own nature mutable; that while they had killed so many ten thousands of the Jews, they had now paid their small share of the reckoning to fate; and as it is the part of weak people to be too much puffed up with good success, so is it the part of cowards to be too much affrighted at that which is ill; for the change from the one to the other is sudden on both sides; and he is the best warrior who is of a sober mind under misfortunes, that he may continue in that temper, and cheerfully recover what had been lost formerly; and as for what had now happened, it was neither owing to their own effeminacy, nor to the valour of the Jews, but the difficulty of the place was the occasion of their advantage, and of our disappointment. Upon reflecting on which matter one might blame your zeal as perfectly ungovernable; for when the enemy had retired to their highest fastnesses, you ought to have restrained yourselves, and not, by presenting yourselves at the top of the city, to be exposed to dangers; but upon your having obtained the lower parts of the city, you ought to have provoked those that had retired thither to a safe and settled battle; whereas, in rushing so hastily upon victory, you took no care of your safety. But this incautiousness in war, and this madness of zeal, is not a Roman maxim. While we perform all that we attempt by skill and good order, that procedure is the part of barbarians, and is what the Jews chiefly support themselves by. We ought therefore to return to our own virtue, and to be rather angry than any longer dejected at this unlucky misfortune, and let every one seek for his own consolation from his own hand; for by this means he will avenge those that have been destroyed, and punish those that have killed them. For myself, I will endeavor, as I have now done, to go first before you against your enemies in every engagement, and to be the last that retires from it."

7 So Vespasian encouraged his army by this speech; but for the people of Gamala, it happened that they took courage for a little while, upon such great and unaccountable success as they had had. But when they considered with themselves that they had now no hopes of any terms of accommodation, and reflecting upon it that they could not get away, and that their provisions began already to be short, they were exceedingly cast down, and their courage failed them; yet did they not neglect what might be for their preservation, so far as they were able, but the most courageous among them guarded those parts of the wall that were beaten down, while the more infirm did the same to the rest of the wall that still remained round the city. And as the Romans raised their banks, and attempted to get into the city a second time, a great many of them fled out of the city through impracticable valleys, where no guards were placed, as also through subterraneous caverns; while those that were afraid of being caught, and for that reason staid in the city, perished for want of food; for what food they had was brought together from all quarters, and reserved for the fighting men.

8 And these were the hard circumstances that the people of Gamala were in. But now Vespasian went about other work by the by, during this siege, and that was to subdue those that had seized upon Mount Tabor, a place that lies in the middle between the great plain and Scythopolis, whose top is elevated as high as thirty furlongs 2 and is hardly to be ascended on its north side; its top is a plain of twenty-six furlongs, and all encompassed with a wall. Now Josephus erected this so long a wall in forty days' time, and furnished it with other materials, and with water from below, for the inhabitants only made use of rain water. As therefore there was a great multitude of people gotten together upon this mountain, Vespasian sent Placidus with six hundred horsemen thither. Now, as it was impossible for him to ascend the mountain, he invited many of them to peace, by the offer of his right hand for their security, and of his intercession for them. Accordingly they came down, but with a treacherous design, as well as he had the like treacherous design upon them on the other side; for Placidus spoke mildly to them, as aiming to take them, when he got them into the plain; they also came down, as complying with his proposals, but it was in order to fall upon him when he was not aware of it: however, Placidus's stratagem was too hard for theirs; for when the Jews began to fight, he pretended to run away, and when they were in pursuit of the Romans, he enticed them a great way along the plain, and then made his horsemen turn back; whereupon he beat them, and slew a great number of them, and cut off the retreat of the rest of the multitude, and hindered their return. So they left Tabor, and fled to Jerusalem, while the people of the country came to terms with him, for their water failed them, and so they delivered up the mountain and themselves to Placidus.

9 But of the people of Gamala, those that were of the bolder sort fled away and hid themselves, while the more infirm perished by famine; but the men of war sustained the siege till the two and twentieth day of the month Hyperbereteus, [Tisri,] when three soldiers of the fifteenth legion, about the morning watch, got under a high tower that was near them, and undermined it, without making any noise; nor when they either came to it, which was in the night time, nor when they were under it, did those that guarded it perceive them. These soldiers then upon their coming avoided making a noise, and when they had rolled away five of its strongest stones, they went away hastily; whereupon the tower fell down on a sudden, with a very great noise, and its guard fell headlong with it; so that those that kept guard at other places were under such disturbance, that they ran away; the Romans also slew many of those that ventured to oppose them, among whom was Joseph, who was slain by a dart, as he was running away over that part of the wall that was broken down: but as those that were in the city were greatly affrighted at the noise, they ran hither and thither, and a great consternation fell upon them, as though all the enemy had fallen in at once upon them. Then it was that Chares, who was ill, and under the physician's hands, gave up the ghost, the fear he was in greatly contributing to make his distemper fatal to him. But the Romans so well remembered their former ill success, that they did not enter the city till the three and twentieth day of the forementioned month.

10 At which time Titus, who was now returned, out of the indignation he had at the destruction the Romans had undergone while he was absent, took two hundred chosen horsemen and some footmen with him, and entered without noise into the city. Now as the watch perceived that he was coming, they made a noise, and betook themselves to their arms; and as that his entrance was presently known to those that were in the city, some of them caught hold of their children and their wives, and drew them after them, and fled away to the citadel, with lamentations and cries, while others of them went to meet Titus, and were killed perpetually; but so many of them as were hindered from running up to the citadel, not knowing what in the world to do, fell among the Roman guards, while the groans of those that were killed were prodigiously great every where, and blood ran down over all the lower parts of the city, from the upper. But then Vespasian himself came to his assistance against those that had fled to the citadel, and brought his whole army with him; now this upper part of the city was every way rocky, and difficult of ascent, and elevated to a vast altitude, and very full of people on all sides, and encompassed with precipices, whereby the Jews cut off those that came up to them, and did much mischief to others by their darts, and the large stones which they rolled down upon them, while they were themselves so high that the enemy's darts could hardly reach them. However, there arose such a Divine storm against them as was instrumental to their destruction; this carried the Roman darts upon them, and made those which they threw return back, and drove them obliquely away from them; nor could the Jews indeed stand upon their precipices, by reason of the violence of the wind, having nothing that was stable to stand upon, nor could they see those that were ascending up to them; so the Romans got up and surrounded them, and some they slew before they could defend themselves, and others as they were delivering up themselves; and the remembrance of those that were slain at their former entrance into the city increased their rage against them now; a great number also of those that were surrounded on every side, and despaired of escaping, threw their children and their wives, and themselves also, down the precipices, into the valley beneath, which, near the citadel, had been dug hollow to a vast depth; but so it happened, that the anger of the Romans appeared not to be so extravagant as was the madness of those that were now taken, while the Romans slew but four thousand, whereas the number of those that had thrown themselves down was found to be five thousand: nor did any one escape except two women, who were the daughters of Philip, and Philip himself was the son of a certain eminent man called Jacimus, who had been general of king Agrippa's army; and these did therefore escape, because they lay concealed from the rage of the Romans when the city was taken; for otherwise they spared not so much as the infants, of which many were flung down by them from the citadel. And thus was Gamala taken on the three and twentieth day of the month Hyperbereteus, [Tisri,] whereas the city had first revolted on the four and twentieth day of the month Gorpieus [Elul].

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FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 2

The Surrender Of Gischala; While John Flies Away From It To Jerusalem.

1 Now no place of Galilee remained to be taken but the small city of Gischala, whose multitude yet were desirous of peace; for they were generally husbandmen, and always applied themselves to cultivate the fruits of the earth. However, there were a great number that belonged to a band of robbers, that were already corrupted, and had crept in among them, and some of the governing part of the citizens were sick of the same distemper. It was John, the son of a certain man whose name was Levi, that drew them into this rebellion, and encouraged them in it. He was a cunning knave, and of a temper that could put on various shapes; very rash in expecting great things, and very sagacious in bringing about what he hoped for. It was known to every body that he was fond of war, in order to thrust himself into authority; and the seditious part of the people of Gischala were under his management, by whose means the populace, who seemed ready to send ambassadors in order to surrender, waited for the coming of the Romans in battle-array. Vespasian sent against them Titus, with a thousand horsemen, but withdrew the tenth legion to Scythopolis, while he returned to Cesarea with the two other legions, that he might allow them to refresh themselves after their long and hard campaign, thinking withal that the plenty which was in those cities would improve their bodies and their spirits, against the difficulties they were to go through afterwards; for he saw there would be occasion for great pains about Jerusalem, which was not yet taken, because it was the royal city, and the principal city of the whole nation, and because those that had run away from the war in other places got all together thither. It was also naturally strong, and the walls that were built round it made him not a little concerned about it. Moreover, he esteemed the men that were in it to be so courageous and bold, that even without the consideration of the walls, it would be hard to subdue them; for which reason he took care of and exercised his soldiers beforehand for the work, as they do wrestlers before they begin their undertaking.

2 Now Titus, as he rode out to Gischala, found it would be easy for him to take the city upon the first onset; but knew withal, that if he took it by force, the multitude would be destroyed by the soldiers without mercy. [Now he was already satiated with the shedding of blood, and pitied the major part, who would then perish, without distinction, together with the guilty.] So he was rather desirous the city might be surrendered up to him on terms. Accordingly, when he saw the wall full of those men that were of the corrupted party, he said to them, That he could not but wonder what it was they depended on, when they alone staid to fight the Romans, after every other city was taken by them, especially when they have seen cities much better fortified than theirs is overthrown by a single attack upon them; while as many as have intrusted themselves to the security of the Romans' right hands, which he now offers to them, without regarding their former insolence, do enjoy their own possessions in safety; for that while they had hopes of recovering their liberty, they might be pardoned; but that their continuance still in their opposition, when they saw that to be impossible, was inexcusable; for that if they will not comply with such humane offers, and right hands for security, they should have experience of such a war as would spare nobody, and should soon be made sensible that their wall would be but a trifle, when battered by the Roman machines; in depending on which they demonstrate themselves to be the only Galileans that were no better than arrogant slaves and captives.

3 Now none of the populace durst not only make a reply, but durst not so much as get upon the wall, for it was all taken up by the robbers, who were also the guard at the gates, in order to prevent any of the rest from going out, in order to propose terms of submission, and from receiving any of the horsemen into the city. But John returned Titus this answer: That for himself he was content to hearken to his proposals, and that he would either persuade or force those that refused them. Yet he said that Titus ought to have such regard to the Jewish law, as to grant them leave to celebrate that day, which was the seventh day of the week, on which it was unlawful not only to remove their arms, but even to treat of peace also; and that even the Romans were not ignorant how the period of the seventh day was among them a cessation from all labours; and that he who should compel them to transgress the law about that day would be equally guilty with those that were compelled to transgress it: and that this delay could be of no disadvantage to him; for why should any body think of doing any thing in the night, unless it was to fly away? which he might prevent by placing his camp round about them; and that they should think it a great point gained, if they might not be obliged to transgress the laws of their country; and that it would be a right thing for him, who designed to grant them peace, without their expectation of such a favour, to preserve the laws of those they saved inviolable. Thus did this man put a trick upon Titus, not so much out of regard to the seventh day as to his own preservation, for he was afraid lest he should be quite deserted if the city should be taken, and had his hopes of life in that night, and in his flight therein. Now this was the work of God, who therefore preserved this John, that he might bring on the destruction of Jerusalem; as also it was his work that Titus was prevailed with by this pretense for a delay, and that he pitched his camp further off the city at Cydessa. This Cydessa was a strong Mediterranean village of the Tyrians, which always hated and made war against the Jews; it had also a great number of inhabitants, and was well fortified, which made it a proper place for such as were enemies to the Jewish nation.

4 Now, in the night time, when John saw that there was no Roman guard about the city, he seized the opportunity directly, and, taking with him not only the armed men that were about him, but a considerable number of those that had little to do, together with their families, he fled to Jerusalem. And indeed, though the man was making haste to get away, and was tormented with fears of being a captive, or of losing his life, yet did he prevail with himself to take out of the city along with him a multitude of women and children, as far as twenty furlongs; but there he left them as he proceeded further on his journey, where those that were left behind made sad lamentations; for the farther every one of them was come from his own people, the nearer they thought themselves to be to their enemies. They also affrighted themselves with this thought, that those who would carry them into captivity were just at hand, and still turned themselves back at the mere noise they made themselves in this their hasty flight, as if those from whom they fled were just upon them. Many also of them missed their ways, and the earnestness of such as aimed to outgo the rest threw down many of them. And indeed there was a miserable destruction made of the women and children; while some of them took courage to call their husbands and kinsmen back, and to beseech them, with the bitterest lamentations, to stay for them; but John's exhortation, who cried out to them to save themselves, and fly away, prevailed. He said also, that if the Romans should seize upon those whom they left behind, they would be revenged on them for it. So this multitude that run thus away was dispersed abroad, according as each of them was able to run, one faster or slower than another.

5 Now on the next day Titus came to the wall, to make the agreement; whereupon the people opened their gates to him, and came out to him, with their children and wives, and made acclamations of joy to him, as to one that had been their benefactor, and had delivered the city out of custody; they also informed him of John's flight, and besought him to spare them, and to come in, and bring the rest of those that were for innovations to punishment. But Titus, not so much regarding the supplications of the people, sent part of his horsemen to pursue after John, but they could not overtake him, for he was gotten to Jerusalem before; they also slew six thousand of the women and children who went out with him, but returned back, and brought with them almost three thousand. However, Titus was greatly displeased that he had not been able to bring this John, who had deluded him, to punishment; yet he had captives enough, as well as the corrupted part of the city, to satisfy his anger, when it missed of John. So he entered the city in the midst of acclamations of joy; and when he had given orders to the soldiers to pull down a small part of the wall, as of a city taken in war, he repressed those that had disturbed the city rather by threatenings than by executions; for he thought that many would accuse innocent persons, out of their own private animosities and quarrels, if he should attempt to distinguish those that were worthy of punishment from the rest; and that it was better to let a guilty person alone in his fears, that to destroy with him any one that did not deserve it; for that probably such a one might be taught prudence, by the fear of the punishment he had deserved, and have a shame upon him for his former offenses, when he had been forgiven; but that the punishment of such as have been once put to death could never be retrieved. However, he placed a garrison in the city for its security, by which means he should restrain those that were for innovations, and should leave those that were peaceably disposed in greater security. And thus was all Galilee taken, but this not till after it had cost the Romans much pains before it could be taken by them.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 3

Concerning John Of Gischala. Concerning The Zealots And The High Priest Ananus; As Also How The Jews Raise Seditions One Against Another [In Jerusalem].

1 Now upon John's entry into Jerusalem, the whole body of the people were in an uproar, and ten thousand of them crowded about every one of the fugitives that were come to them, and inquired of them what miseries had happened abroad, when their breath was so short, and hot, and quick, that of itself it declared the great distress they were in; yet did they talk big under their misfortunes, and pretended to say that they had not fled away from the Romans, but came thither in order to fight them with less hazard; for that it would be an unreasonable and a fruitless thing for them to expose themselves to desperate hazards about Gischala, and such weak cities, whereas they ought to lay up their weapons and their zeal, and reserve it for their metropolis. But when they related to them the taking of Gischala, and their decent departure, as they pretended, from that place, many of the people understood it to be no better than a flight; and especially when the people were told of those that were made captives, they were in great confusion, and guessed those things to be plain indications that they should be taken also. But for John, he was very little concerned for those whom he had left behind him, but went about among all the people, and persuaded them to go to war, by the hopes he gave them. He affirmed that the affairs of the Romans were in a weak condition, and extolled his own power. He also jested upon the ignorance of the unskillful, as if those Romans, although they should take to themselves wings, could never fly over the wall of Jerusalem, who found such great difficulties in taking the villages of Galilee, and had broken their engines of war against their walls.

2 These harangues of John's corrupted a great part of the young men, and puffed them up for the war; but as to the more prudent part, and those in years, there was not a man of them but foresaw what was coming, and made lamentation on that account, as if the city was already undone; and in this confusion were the people. But then it must be observed, that the multitude that came out of the country were at discord before the Jerusalem sedition began; for Titus went from Gischala to Cesates, and Vespasian from Cesarea to Jamnia and Azotus, and took them both; and when he had put garrisons into them, he came back with a great number of the people, who were come over to him, upon his giving them his right hand for their preservation. There were besides disorders and civil wars in every city; and all those that were at quiet from the Romans turned their hands one against another. There was also a bitter contest between those that were fond of war, and those that were desirous for peace. At the first this quarrelsome temper caught hold of private families, who could not agree among themselves; after which those people that were the dearest to one another brake through all restraints with regard to each other, and every one associated with those of his own opinion, and began already to stand in opposition one to another; so that seditions arose every where, while those that were for innovations, and were desirous of war, by their youth and boldness, were too hard for the aged and prudent men. And, in the first place, all the people of every place betook themselves to rapine; after which they got together in bodies, in order to rob the people of the country, insomuch that for barbarity and iniquity those of the same nation did no way differ from the Romans; nay, it seemed to be a much lighter thing to be ruined by the Romans than by themselves.

3 Now the Roman garrisons, which guarded the cities, partly out of their uneasiness to take such trouble upon them, and partly out of the hatred they bare to the Jewish nation, did little or nothing towards relieving the miserable, till the captains of these troops of robbers, being satiated with rapines in the country, got all together from all parts, and became a band of wickedness, and all together crept into Jerusalem, which was now become a city without a governor, and, as the ancient custom was, received without distinction all that belonged to their nation; and these they then received, because all men supposed that those who came so fast into the city came out of kindness, and for their assistance, although these very men, besides the seditions they raised, were otherwise the direct cause of the city's destruction also; for as they were an unprofitable and a useless multitude, they spent those provisions beforehand which might otherwise have been sufficient for the fighting men. Moreover, besides the bringing on of the war, they were the occasions of sedition and famine therein.

4 There were besides these other robbers that came out of the country, and came into the city, and joining to them those that were worse than themselves, omitted no kind of barbarity; for they did not measure their courage by their rapines and plunderings only, but preceded as far as murdering men; and this not in the night time or privately, or with regard to ordinary men, but did it openly in the day time, and began with the most eminent persons in the city; for the first man they meddled with was Antipas, one of the royal lineage, and the most potent man in the whole city, insomuch that the public treasures were committed to his care; him they took and confined; as they did in the next place to Levias, a person of great note, with Sophas, the son of Raguel, both which were of royal lineage also. And besides these, they did the same to the principal men of the country. This caused a terrible consternation among the people, and everyone contented himself with taking care of his own safety, as they would do if the city had been taken in war.

5 But these were not satisfied with the bonds into which they had put the men forementioned; nor did they think it safe for them to keep them thus in custody long, since they were men very powerful, and had numerous families of their own that were able to avenge them. Nay, they thought the very people would perhaps be so moved at these unjust proceedings, as to rise in a body against them; it was therefore resolved to have them slain accordingly, they sent one John, who was the

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most bloody-minded of them all, to do that execution: this man was also called "the son of Dorcas," in the language of our country. Ten more men went along with him into the prison, with their swords drawn, and so they cut the throats of those that were in custody there. The grand lying pretence these men made for so flagrant an enormity was this, that these men had had conferences with the Romans for a surrender of Jerusalem to them; and so they said they had slain only such as were traitors to their common liberty. Upon the whole, they grew the more insolent upon this bold prank of theirs, as though they had been the benefactors and saviors of the city.

6 Now the people were come to that degree of meanness and fear, and these robbers to that degree of madness, that these last took upon them to appoint high priests. So when they had disannulled the succession, according to those families out of which the high priests used to be made, they ordained certain unknown and ignoble persons for that office, that they might have their assistance in their wicked undertakings; for such as obtained this highest of all honours, without any desert, were forced to comply with those that bestowed it on them. They also set the principal men at variance one with another, by several sorts of contrivances and tricks, and gained the opportunity of doing what they pleased, by the mutual quarrels of those who might have obstructed their measures; till at length, when they were satiated with the unjust actions they had done towards men, they transferred their contumelious behavior to God himself, and came into the sanctuary with polluted feet.

7 And now the multitude were going to rise against them already; for Ananus, the ancientest of the high priests, persuaded them to it. He was a very prudent man, and had perhaps saved the city if he could but have escaped the hands of those that plotted against him. These men made the temple of God a strong hold for them, and a place whither they might resort, in order to avoid the troubles they feared from the people; the sanctuary was now become a refuge, and a shop of tyranny. They also mixed jesting among the miseries they introduced, which was more intolerable than what they did; for in order to try what surprise the people would be under, and how far their own power extended, they undertook to dispose of the high priesthood by casting lots for it, whereas, as we have said already, it was to descend by succession in a family. The pretense they made for this strange attempt was an ancient practice, while they said that of old it was determined by lot; but in truth, it was no better than a dissolution of an undeniable law, and a cunning contrivance to seize upon the government, derived from those that presumed to appoint governors as they themselves pleased.

8 Hereupon they sent for one of the pontifical tribes, which is called Eniachim, and cast lots which of it should be the high priest. By fortune the lot so fell as to demonstrate their iniquity after the plainest manner, for it fell upon one whose name was Phannias, the son of Samuel, of the village Aphtha. He was a man not only unworthy of the high priesthood, but that did not well know what the high priesthood was, such a mere rustic was he! yet did they hail this man, without his own consent, out of the country, as if they were acting a play upon the stage, and adorned him with a counterfeit tree; they also put upon him the sacred garments, and upon every occasion instructed him what he was to do. This horrid piece of wickedness was sport and pastime with them, but occasioned the other priests, who at a distance saw their law made a jest of, to shed tears, and sorely lament the dissolution of such a sacred dignity.

9 And now the people could no longer bear the insolence of this procedure, but did all together run zealously, in order to overthrow that tyranny; and indeed they were Gorion the son of Josephus, and Symeon the son of Gamaliel, who encouraged them, by going up and down when they were assembled together in crowds, and as they saw them alone, to bear no longer, but to inflict punishment upon these pests and plagues of their freedom, and to purge the temple of these bloody polluters of it. The best esteemed also of the high priests, Jesus the son of Gamalas, and Ananus the son of Ananus when they were at their assemblies, bitterly reproached the people for their sloth, and excited them against the zealots; for that was the name they went by, as if they were zealous in good undertakings, and were not rather zealous in the worst actions, and extravagant in them beyond the example of others.

10 And now, when the multitude were gotten together to an assembly, and every one was in indignation at these men's seizing upon the sanctuary, at their rapine and murders, but had not yet begun their attacks upon them, [the reason of which was this, that they imagined it to be a difficult thing to suppress these zealots, as indeed the case was,] Ananus stood in the midst of them, and casting his eyes frequently at the temple, and having a flood of tears in his eyes, he said, "Certainly it had been good for me to die before I had seen the house of God full of so many abominations, or these sacred places, that ought not to be trodden upon at random, filled with the feet of these blood-shedding villains; yet do I, who am clothed with the vestments of the high priesthood, and am called by that most venerable name [of high priest], still live, and am but too fond of living, and cannot endure to undergo a death which would be the glory of my old age; and if I were the only person concerned, and as it were in a desert, I would give up my life, and that alone for God's sake; for to what purpose is it to live among a people insensible of their calamities, and where there is no notion remaining of any remedy for the miseries that are upon them? for when you are seized upon, you bear it! and when you are beaten, you are silent! and when the people are murdered, nobody dare so much as send out a groan openly! O bitter tyranny that we are under! But why do I complain of the tyrants? Was it not you, and your sufferance of them, that have nourished them? Was it not you that overlooked those that first of all got together, for they were then but a few, and by your silence made them grow to be many; and by conniving at them when they took arms, in effect armed them against yourselves? You ought to have then prevented their first attempts, when they fell a reproaching your relations; but by neglecting that care in time, you have encouraged these wretches to plunder men. When houses were pillaged, nobody said a word, which was the occasion why they carried off the owners of those houses; and when they were drawn through the midst of the city, nobody came to their assistance. They then proceeded to put those whom you have betrayed into their hands into bonds. I do not say how many and of what characters those men were whom they thus served; but certainly they were such as were accused by none, and condemned by none; and since nobody succored them when they were put into bonds, the consequence was, that you saw the same persons slain. We have seen this also; so that still the best of the herd of brute animals, as it were, have been still led to be sacrificed, when yet nobody said one word, or moved his right hand for their preservation. Will you bear, therefore, will you bear to see your sanctuary trampled on? and will you lay steps for these profane wretches, upon which they may mount to higher degrees of insolence? Will not you pluck them down from their exaltation? for even by this time they had proceeded to higher enormities, if they had been able to overthrow any thing greater than the sanctuary. They have seized upon the strongest place of the whole city; you may call it the temple, if you please, though it be like a citadel or fortress. Now, while you have tyranny in so great a degree walled in, and see your enemies over your heads, to what purpose is it to take counsel? and what have you to support your minds withal? Perhaps you wait for the Romans, that they may protect our holy places: are our matters then brought to that pass? and are we come to that degree of misery, that our enemies themselves are expected to pity us? O wretched creatures! will not you rise up and turn upon those that strike you? which you may observe in wild beasts themselves, that they will avenge themselves on those that strike them. Will you not call to mind, every one of you, the calamities you yourselves have suffered? nor lay before your eyes what afflictions you yourselves have undergone? and will not such things sharpen your souls to revenge? Is therefore that most honourable and most natural of our passions utterly lost, I mean the desire of liberty? Truly we are in love with slavery, and in love with those that lord it over us, as if we had received that principle of subjection from our ancestors; yet did they undergo many and great wars for the sake of liberty, nor were they so far overcome by the power of the Egyptians, or the Medes, but that still they did what they thought fit, notwithstanding their commands to the contrary. And what occasion is there now for a war with the Romans? [I meddle not with determining whether it be an advantageous and profitable war or not.] What pretense is there for it? Is it not that we may enjoy our liberty? Besides, shall we not bear the lords of the habitable earth to be lords over us, and yet bear tyrants of our own country? Although I must say that submission to foreigners may be borne, because fortune hath already doomed us to it, while submission to wicked people of our own nation is too unmanly, and brought upon us by our own consent. However, since I have had occasion to mention the Romans, I will not conceal a thing that, as I am speaking, comes into my mind, and affects me considerably; it is this, that though we should be taken by them, [God forbid the event should be so!] yet can we undergo nothing that will be harder to be borne than what these men have already brought upon us. How then can we avoid shedding of tears, when we see the Roman donations in our temple, while we withal see those of our own nation taking our spoils, and plundering our glorious metropolis, and slaughtering our men, from which enormities those Romans themselves would have abstained? to see those Romans never going beyond the bounds allotted to profane persons, nor venturing to break in upon any of our sacred customs; nay, having a horror on their minds when they view at a distance those sacred walls; while some that have been born in this very country, and brought up in our customs, and called Jews, do walk about in the midst of the holy places, at the very time when their hands are still warm with the slaughter of their own countrymen. Besides, can any one be afraid of a war abroad, and that with such as will have comparatively much greater moderation than our own people have? For truly, if we may suit our words to the things they represent, it is probable one may hereafter find the Romans to be the supporters of our laws, and those within ourselves the subverters of them. And now I am persuaded that every one of you here comes satisfied before I speak that these overthrowers of our liberties deserve to be destroyed, and that nobody can so much as devise a punishment that they have not deserved by what they have done, and that you are all provoked against them by those their wicked actions, whence you have suffered so greatly. But perhaps many of you are affrighted at the multitude of those zealots, and at their audaciousness, as well as at the advantage they have over us in their being higher in place than we are; for these circumstances, as they have been occasioned by your negligence, so will they become still greater by being still longer neglected; for their multitude is every day augmented, by every ill man's running away to those that are like to themselves, and their audaciousness is therefore inflamed, because they meet with no obstruction to their designs. And for their higher place, they will make use of it for engines also, if we give them time to do so; but be assured of this, that if we go up to fight them, they will be made tamer by their own consciences, and what advantages they have in the height of their situation they will lose by the opposition of their reason; perhaps also God himself, who hath been affronted by them, will make what they throw at us return against themselves, and these impious wretches will be killed by their own darts: let us but make our appearance before them, and they will come to nothing. However, it is a right thing, if there should be any danger in the attempt, to die before these holy gates, and to spend our very lives, if not for the sake of our children and wives, yet for God's sake, and for the sake of his sanctuary. I will assist you both with my counsel and with my hand; nor shall any sagacity of ours be wanting for your support; nor shall you see that I will be sparing of my body neither."

11 By these motives Ananus encouraged the multitude to go against the zealots, although he knew how difficult it would be to disperse them, because of their multitude, and their youth, and the courage of their souls; but chiefly because of their consciousness of what they had done, since they would not yield, as not so much as hoping for pardon at the last for those their enormities. However, Ananus resolved to undergo whatever sufferings might come upon him, rather than overlook things, now they were in such great confusion. So the multitude cried out to him, to lead them on against those whom he had described in his exhortation to them, and every one of them was most readily disposed to run any hazard whatsoever on that account.

12 Now while Ananus was choosing out his men, and putting those that were proper for his purpose in array for fighting, the zealots got information of his undertaking, [for there were some who went to them, and told them all that the people were doing,] and were irritated at it, and leaping out of the temple in crowds, and by parties, spared none whom they met with. Upon this Ananus got the populace together on the sudden, who were more numerous indeed than the zealots, but inferior to them in arms, because they had not been regularly put into array for fighting; but the alacrity that every body showed supplied all their defects on both sides, the citizens taking up so great a passion as was stronger than arms, and deriving a degree of courage from the temple more forcible than any multitude whatsoever; and indeed these citizens thought it was not possible for them to dwell in the city, unless they could cut off the robbers that were in it. The zealots also thought that unless they prevailed, there would be no punishment so bad but it would be inflicted on them. So their conflicts were conducted by their passions; and at the first they only cast stones at each other in the city, and before the temple, and threw their javelins at a distance; but when either of them were too hard for the other, they made use of their swords; and great slaughter was made on both sides, and a great number were wounded. As for the dead bodies of the people, their relations carried them out to their own houses; but when any of the zealots were wounded, he went up into the temple, and defiled that sacred floor with his blood, insomuch that one may say it was their blood alone that polluted our sanctuary. Now in these conflicts the robbers always sallied out of the temple, and were too hard for their enemies; but the populace grew very angry, and became more and more numerous, and reproached those that gave back, and those behind would not afford room to those that were going off, but forced them on again, till at length they made their whole body to turn against their adversaries, and the robbers could no longer oppose them, but were forced gradually to retire into the temple; when Ananus and his party fell into it at the same time together with them. 7 This horribly affrighted the robbers, because it deprived them of the first court; so they fled into the inner court immediately, and shut the gates. Now Ananus did not think fit to make any attack against the holy gates, although the other threw their stones and darts at them from above. He also deemed it unlawful to introduce the multitude into that court before they were purified; he therefore chose out of them all by lot six thousand armed men, and placed them as guards in the

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cloisters; so there was a succession of such guards one after another, and every one was forced to attend in his course; although many of the chief of the city were dismissed by those that then took on them the government, upon their hiring some of the poorer sort, and sending them to keep the guard in their stead.

13 Now it was John who, as we told you, ran away from Gischala, and was the occasion of all these being destroyed. He was a man of great craft, and bore about him in his soul a strong passion after tyranny, and at a distance was the adviser in these actions; and indeed at this time he pretended to be of the people's opinion, and went all about with Ananus when he consulted the great men every day, and in the night time also when he went round the watch; but he divulged their secrets to the zealots, and every thing that the people deliberated about was by his means known to their enemies, even before it had been well agreed upon by themselves. And by way of contrivance how he might not be brought into suspicion, he cultivated the greatest friendship possible with Ananus, and with the chief of the people; yet did this overdoing of his turn against him, for he flattered them so extravagantly, that he was but the more suspected; and his constant attendance every where, even when he was not invited to be present, made him strongly suspected of betraying their secrets to the enemy; for they plainly perceived that they understood all the resolutions taken against them at their consultations. Nor was there any one whom they had so much reason to suspect of that discovery as this John; yet was it not easy to get quit of him, so potent was he grown by his wicked practices. He was also supported by many of those eminent men, who were to be consulted upon all considerable affairs; it was therefore thought reasonable to oblige him to give them assurance of his good-will upon oath; accordingly John took such an oath readily, that he would be on the people's side, and would not betray any of their counsels or practices to their enemies, and would assist them in overthrowing those that attacked them, and that both by his hand and his advice. So Ananus and his party believed his oath, and did now receive him to their consultations without further suspicion; nay, so far did they believe him, that they sent him as their ambassador into the temple to the zealots, with proposals of accommodation; for they were very desirous to avoid the pollution of the temple as much as they possibly could, and that no one of their nation should be slain therein.

14 But now this John, as if his oath had been made to the zealots, and for confirmation of his good-will to them, and not against them, went into the temple, and stood in the midst of them, and spake as follows: That he had run many hazards on their accounts, and in order to let them know of every thing that was secretly contrived against them by Ananus and his party; but that both he and they should be cast into the most imminent danger, unless some providential assistance were afforded them; for that Ananus made no longer delay, but had prevailed with the people to send ambassadors to Vespasian, to invite him to come presently and take the city; and that he had appointed a fast for the next day against them, that they might obtain admission into the temple on a religious account, or gain it by force, and fight with them there; that he did not see how long they could either endure a siege, or how they could fight against so many enemies. He added further, that it was by the providence of God he was himself sent as an ambassador to them for an accommodation; for that Artanus did therefore offer them such proposals, that he might come upon them when they were unarmed; that they ought to choose one of these two methods, either to intercede with those that guarded them, to save their lives, or to provide some foreign assistance for themselves; that if they fostered themselves with the hopes of pardon, in case they were subdued, they had forgotten what desperate things they had done, or could suppose, that as soon as the actors repented, those that had suffered by them must be presently reconciled to them; while those that have done injuries, though they pretend to repent of them, are frequently hated by the others for that sort of repentance; and that the sufferers, when they get the power into their hands, are usually still more severe upon the actors; that the friends and kindred of those that had been destroyed would always be laying plots against them; and that a large body of people were very angry on account of their gross breaches of their laws, and [illegal] judicatures, insomuch that although some part might commiserate them, those would be quite overborne by the majority.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 4

The Idumeans Being Sent For By The Zealots, Came Immediately To Jerusalem; And When They Were Excluded Out Of The City, They Lay All Night There. Jesus One Of The High Priests Makes A Speech To Them; And Simon The Idumean Makes A Reply To It.

1 Now, by this crafty speech, John made the zealots afraid; yet durst he not directly name what foreign assistance he meant, but in a covert way only intimated at the Idumeans. But now, that he might particularly irritate the leaders of the zealots, he calumniated Ananus, that he was about a piece of barbarity, and did in a special manner threaten them. These leaders were Eleazar, the son of Simon, who seemed the most plausible man of them all, both in considering what was fit to be done, and in the execution of what he had determined upon, and Zacharias, the son of Phalek; both of whom derived their families from the priests. Now when these two men had heard, not only the common threatenings which belonged to them all, but those peculiarly leveled against themselves; and besides, how Artanus and his party, in order to secure their own dominion, had invited the Romans to come to them, for that also was part of John's lie; they hesitated a great while what they should do, considering the shortness of the time by which they were straitened; because the people were prepared to attack them very soon, and because the suddenness of the plot laid against them had almost cut off all their hopes of getting any foreign assistance; for they might be under the height of their afflictions before any of their confederates could be informed of it. However, it was resolved to call in the Idumeans; so they wrote a short letter to this effect: That Ananus had imposed on the people, and was betraying their metropolis to the Romans; that they themselves had revolted from the rest, and were in custody in the temple, on account of the preservation of their liberty; that there was but a small time left wherein they might hope for their deliverance; and that unless they would come immediately to their assistance, they should themselves be soon in the power of Artanus, and the city would be in the power of the Romans. They also charged the messengers to tell many more circumstances to the rulers of the Idumeans. Now there were two active men proposed for the carrying this message, and such as were able to speak, and to persuade them that things were in this posture, and, what was a qualification still more necessary than the former, they were very swift of foot; for they knew well enough that these would immediately comply with their desires, as being ever a tumultuous and disorderly nation, always on the watch upon every motion, delighting in mutations; and upon your flattering them ever so little, and petitioning them, they soon take their arms, and put themselves into motion, and make haste to a battle, as if it were to a feast. There was indeed occasion for quick despatch in the carrying of this message, in which point the messengers were no way defective. Both their names were Ananias; and they soon came to the rulers of the Idumeans.

2 Now these rulers were greatly surprised at the contents of the letter, and at what those that came with it further told them; whereupon they ran about the nation like madmen, and made proclamation that the people should come to war; so a multitude was suddenly got together, sooner indeed than the time appointed in the proclamation, and every body caught up their arms, in order to maintain the liberty of their metropolis; and twenty thousand of them were put into battle-array, and came to Jerusalem, under four commanders, John, and Jacob the son of Sosas; and besides these were Simon, the son of Cathlas, and Phineas, the son of Clusothus.

3 Now this exit of the messengers was not known either to Ananus or to the guards, but the approach of the Idumeans was known to him; for as he knew of it before they came, he ordered the gates to be shut against them, and that the walls should be guarded. Yet did not he by any means think of fighting against them, but, before they came to blows, to try what persuasions would do. Accordingly, Jesus, the eldest of the high priests next to Artanus, stood upon the tower that was over against them, and said thus: "Many troubles indeed, and those of various kinds, have fallen upon this city, yet in none of them have I so much wondered at her fortune as now, when you are come to assist wicked men, and this after a manner very extraordinary; for I see that you are come to support the vilest of men against us, and this with so great alacrity, as you could hardly put on the like, in case our metropolis had called you to her assistance against barbarians. And if I had perceived that your army was composed of men like unto those who invited them, I had not deemed your attempt so absurd; for nothing does so much cement the minds of men together as the alliance there is between their manners. But now for these men who have invited you, if you were to examine them one by one, every one of them would be found to have deserved ten thousand deaths; for the very rascality and offscouring of the whole country, who have spent in debauchery their own substance, and, by way of trial beforehand, have madly plundered the neighbouring villages and cities, in the upshot of all, have privately run together into this holy city. They are robbers, who by their prodigious wickedness have profaned this most sacred floor, and who are to be now seen drinking themselves drunk in the sanctuary, and expending the spoils of those whom they have slaughtered upon their unsatiable bellies. As for the multitude that is with you, one may see them so decently adorned in their armour, as it would become them to be had their metropolis called them to her assistance against foreigners. What can a man call this procedure of yours but the sport of fortune, when he sees a whole nation coming to protect a sink of wicked wretches? I have for a good while been in doubt what it could possibly be that should move you to do this so suddenly; because certainly you would not take on your armour on the behalf of robbers, and against a people of kin to you, without some very great cause for your so doing. But we have an item that the Romans are pretended, and that we are supposed to be going to betray this city to them; for some of your men have lately made a clamour about those matters, and have said they are come to set their metropolis free. Now we cannot but admire at these wretches in their devising such a lie as this against us; for they knew there was no other way to irritate against us men that were naturally desirous of liberty, and on that account the best disposed to fight against foreign enemies, but by framing a tale as if we were going to betray that most desirable thing, liberty. But you ought to consider what sort of people they are that raise this calumny, and against what sort of people that calumny is raised, and to gather the truth of things, not by fictitious speeches, but out of the actions of both parties; for what occasion is there for us to sell ourselves to the Romans, while it was in our power not to have revolted from them at the first, or when we had once revolted, to have returned under their dominion again, and this while the neighbouring countries were not yet laid waste? whereas it is not an easy thing to be reconciled to the Romans, if we were desirous of it, now they have subdued Galilee, and are thereby become proud and insolent; and to endeavor to please them at the time when they are so near us, would bring such a reproach upon us as were worse than death. As for myself, indeed, I should have preferred peace with them before death; but now we have once made war upon them, and fought with them, I prefer death, with reputation, before living in captivity under them. But further, whether do they pretend that we, who are the rulers of the people, have sent thus privately to the Romans, or hath it been done by the common suffrages of the people? If it be ourselves only that have done it, let them name those friends of ours that have been sent, as our servants, to manage this treachery. Hath any one been caught as he went out on this errand, or seized upon as he came back? Are they in possession of our letters? How could we be concealed from such a vast number of our fellow citizens, among whom we are conversant every hour, while what is done privately in the country is, it seems, known by the zealots, who are but few in number, and under confinement also, and are not able to come out of the temple into the city. Is this the first time that they are become sensible how they ought to be punished for their insolent actions? For while these men were free from the fear they are now under, there was no suspicion raised that any of us were traitors. But if they lay this charge against the people, this must have been done at a public consultation, and not one of the people must have dissented from the rest of the assembly; in which case the public fame of this matter would have come to you sooner than any particular indication. But how could that be? Must there not then have been ambassadors sent to confirm the agreements? And let them tell us who this ambassador was that was ordained for that purpose. But this is no other than a pretense of such men as are loath to die, and are labouring to escape those punishments that hang over them; for if fate had determined that this city was to be betrayed into its enemies' hands, no other than these men that accuse us falsely could have the impudence to do it, there being no wickedness wanting to complete their impudent practices but this only, that they become traitors. And now you Idumeans are come hither already with your arms, it is your duty, in the first place, to be assisting to your metropolis, and to join with us in cutting off those tyrants that have infringed the rules of our regular tribunals, that have trampled upon our laws, and made their swords the arbitrators of right and wrong; for they have seized upon men of great eminence, and under no accusation, as they stood in the midst of the market-place, and tortured them with putting them into bonds, and, without bearing to hear what they had to say, or what supplications they made, they destroyed them. You may, if you please, come into the city, though not in the way of war, and take a view of the marks still remaining of what I now say, and may see the houses that have been depopulated by their rapacious hands, with those wives and families that are in black, mourning for their slaughtered relations; as also you may hear their groans and lamentations all the city over; for there is nobody but hath tasted of the incursions of these profane wretches, who have proceeded to that degree of madness, as not only to have transferred their impudent robberies out of the country, and the remote cities, into this city, the very face and head of the whole nation, but out of the city into the temple also; for that is now made their receptacle and refuge, and the fountain-head whence their preparations are made against us. And this place, which is adored by the habitable world, and honoured by such as only know it by report, as far as the ends of the earth, is trampled upon by these wild beasts born among ourselves. They now triumph in the desperate condition they are already in, when they hear that one people is going to fight against another people, and one city against another city, and that your nation hath gotten an army together against its own bowels. Instead of which procedure, it were highly fit and reasonable, as I said before, for you to join with us in cutting off these wretches, and in particular to be revenged on them for putting this very cheat upon you; I mean, for having

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the impudence to invite you to assist them, of whom they ought to have stood in fear, as ready to punish them. But if you have some regard to these men's invitation of you, yet may you lay aside your arms, and come into the city under the notion of our kindred, and take upon you a middle name between that of auxiliaries and of enemies, and so become judges in this case. However, consider what these men will gain by being called into judgement before you, for such undeniable and such flagrant crimes, who would not vouchsafe to hear such as had no accusations laid against them to speak a word for themselves. However, let them gain this advantage by your coming. But still, if you will neither take our part in that indignation we have at these men, nor judge between us, the third thing I have to propose is this, that you let us both alone, and neither insult upon our calamities, nor abide with these plotters against their metropolis; for though you should have ever so great a suspicion that some of us have discoursed with the Romans, it is in your power to watch the passages into the city; and in case any thing that we have been accused of is brought to light, then to come and defend your metropolis, and to inflict punishment on those that are found guilty; for the enemy cannot prevent you who are so near to the city. But if, after all, none of these proposals seem acceptable and moderate, do not you wonder that the gates are shut against you, while you bear your arms about you."

4 Thus spake Jesus; yet did not the multitude of the Idumeans give any attention to what he said, but were in a rage, because they did not meet with a ready entrance into the city. The generals also had indignation at the offer of laying down their arms, and looked upon it as equal to a captivity, to throw them away at any man's injunction whomsoever. But Simon, the son of Cathlas, one of their commanders, with much ado quieted the tumult of his own men, and stood so that the high priests might hear him, and said as follows: "I can no longer wonder that the patrons of liberty are under custody in the temple, since there are those that shut the gates of our common city to their own nation, and at the same time are prepared to admit the Romans into it; nay, perhaps are disposed to crown the gates with garlands at their coming, while they speak to the Idumeans from their own towers, and enjoin them to throw down their arms which they have taken up for the preservation of its liberty. And while they will not intrust the guard of our metropolis to their kindred, profess to make them judges of the differences that are among them; nay, while they accuse some men of having slain others without a legal trial, they do themselves condemn a whole nation after an ignominious manner, and have now walled up that city from their own nation, which used to be open to even all foreigners that came to worship there. We have indeed come in great haste to you, and to a war against our own countrymen; and the reason why we have made such haste is this, that we may preserve that freedom which you are so unhappy as to betray. You have probably been guilty of the like crimes against those whom you keep in custody, and have, I suppose, collected together the like plausible pretenses against them also that you make use of against us; after which you have gotten the mastery of those within the temple, and keep them in custody, while they are only taking care of the public affairs. You have also shut the gates of the city in general against nations that are the most nearly related to you; and while you give such injurious commands to others, you complain that you have been tyrannized over by them, and fix the name of unjust governors upon such as are tyrannized over by yourselves. Who can bear this your abuse of words, while they have a regard to the contrariety of your actions, unless you mean this, that those Idumeans do now exclude you out of your metropolis, whom you exclude from the sacred offices of your own country? One may indeed justly complain of those that are besieged in the temple, that when they had courage enough to punish those tyrants whom you call eminent men, and free from any accusations, because of their being your companions in wickedness, they did not begin with you, and thereby cut off beforehand the most dangerous parts of this treason. But if these men have been more merciful than the public necessity required, we that are Idumeans will preserve this house of God, and will fight for our common country, and will oppose by war as well those that attack them from abroad, as those that betray them from within. Here will we abide before the walls in our armour, until either the Romans grow weary in waiting for you, or you become friends to liberty, and repent of what you have done against it."

5 And now did the Idumeans make an acclamation to what Simon had said; but Jesus went away sorrowful, as seeing that the Idumeans were against all moderate counsels, and that the city was besieged on both sides. Nor indeed were the minds of the Idumeans at rest; for they were in a rage at the injury that had been offered them by their exclusion out of the city; and when they thought the zealots had been strong, but saw nothing of theirs to support them, they were in doubt about the matter, and many of them repented that they had come thither. But the shame that would attend them in case they returned without doing any thing at all, so far overcame that their repentance, that they lay all night before the wall, though in a very bad encampment; for there broke out a prodigious storm in the night, with the utmost violence, and very strong winds, with the largest showers of rain, with continued lightnings, terrible thunderings, and amazing concussions and bellowings of the earth, that was in an earthquake. These things were a manifest indication that some destruction was coming upon men, when the system of the world was put into this disorder; and any one would guess that these wonders foreshowed some grand calamities that were coming.

6 Now the opinion of the Idumeans and of the citizens was one and the same. The Idumeans thought that God was angry at their taking arms, and that they would not escape punishment for their making war upon their metropolis. Ananus and his party thought that they had conquered without fighting, and that God acted as a general for them; but truly they proved both ill conjectures at what was to come, and made those events to be ominous to their enemies, while they were themselves to undergo the ill effects of them; for the Idumeans fenced one another by uniting their bodies into one band, and thereby kept themselves warm, and connecting their shields over their heads, were not so much hurt by the rain. But the zealots were more deeply concerned for the danger these men were in than they were for themselves, and got together, and looked about them to see whether they could devise any means of assisting them. The hotter sort of them thought it best to force their guards with their arms, and after that to fall into the midst of the city, and publicly open the gates to those that came to their assistance; as supposing the guards would be in disorder, and give way at such an unexpected attempt of theirs, especially as the greater part of them were unarmed and unskilled in the affairs of war; and that besides the multitude of the citizens would not be easily gathered together, but confined to their houses by the storm: and that if there were any hazard in their undertaking, it became them to suffer any thing whatsoever themselves, rather than to overlook so great a multitude as were miserably perishing on their account. But the more prudent part of them disapproved of this forcible method, because they saw not only the guards about them very numerous, but the walls of the city itself carefully watched, by reason of the Idumeans. They also supposed that Ananus would be every where, and visit the guards every hour; which indeed was done upon other nights, but was omitted that night, not by reason of any slothfulness of Ananus, but by the overbearing appointment of fate, that so both he might himself perish, and the multitude of the guards might perish with him; for truly, as the night was far gone, and the storm very terrible, Ananus gave the guards in the cloisters leave to go to sleep; while it came into the heads of the zealots to make use of the saws belonging to the temple, and to cut the bars of the gates to pieces. The noise of the wind, and that not inferior sound of the thunder, did here also conspire with their designs, that the noise of the saws was not heard by the others.

7 So they secretly went out of the temple to the wall of the city, and made use of their saws, and opened that gate which was over against the Idumeans. Now at first there came a fear upon the Idumeans themselves, which disturbed them, as imagining that Ananus and his party were coming to attack them, so that every one of them had his right hand upon his sword, in order to defend himself; but they soon came to know who they were that came to them, and were entered the city. And had the Idumeans then fallen upon the city, nothing could have hindered them from destroying the people every man of them, such was the rage they were in at that time; but as they first of all made haste to get the zealots out of custody, which those that brought them in earnestly desired them to do, and not to overlook those for whose sakes they were come, in the midst of their distresses, nor to bring them into a still greater danger; for that when they had once seized upon the guards, it would be easy for them to fall upon the city; but that if the city were once alarmed, they would not then be able to overcome those guards, because as soon as they should perceive they were there, they would put themselves in order to fight them, and would hinder their coming into the temple.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 5

The Cruelty Of The Idumeans When They Were Gotten Into The Temple During The Storm; And Of The Zealots. Concerning The Slaughter Of Ananus, And Jesus, And Zacharias; And How The Idumeans Retired Home.

1 This advice pleased the Idumeans, and they ascended through the city to the temple. The zealots were also in great expectation of their coming, and earnestly waited for them. When therefore these were entering, they also came boldly out of the inner temple, and mixing themselves among the Idumeans, they attacked the guards; and some of those that were upon the watch, but were fallen asleep, they killed as they were asleep; but as those that were now awakened made a cry, the whole multitude arose, and in the amazement they were in caught hold of their arms immediately, and betook themselves to their own defense; and so long as they thought they were only the zealots who attacked them, they went on boldly, as hoping to overpower them by their numbers; but when they saw others pressing in upon them also, they perceived the Idumeans were got in; and the greatest part of them laid aside their arms, together with their courage, and betook themselves to lamentations. But some few of the younger sort covered themselves with their armour, and valiantly received the Idumeans, and for a while protected the multitude of old men. Others, indeed, gave a signal to those that were in the city of the calamities they were in; but when these were also made sensible that the Idumeans were come in, none of them durst come to their assistance, only they returned the terrible echo of wailing, and lamented their misfortunes. A great howling of the women was excited also, and every one of the guards were in danger of being killed. The zealots also joined in the shouts raised by the Idumeans; and the storm itself rendered the cry more terrible; nor did the Idumeans spare any body; for as they are naturally a most barbarous and bloody nation, and had been distressed by the tempest, they made use of their weapons against those that had shut the gates against them, and acted in the same manner as to those that supplicated for their lives, and to those that fought them, insomuch that they ran through those with their swords who desired them to remember the relation there was between them, and begged of them to have regard to their common temple. Now there was at present neither any place for flight, nor any hope of preservation; but as they were driven one upon another in heaps, so were they slain. Thus the greater part were driven together by force, as there was now no place of retirement, and the murderers were upon them; and, having no other way, threw themselves down headlong into the city; whereby, in my opinion, they underwent a more miserable destruction than that which they avoided, because that was a voluntary one. And now the outer temple was all of it overflowed with blood; and that day, as it came on, they saw eight thousand five hundred dead bodies there.

2 But the rage of the Idumeans was not satiated by these slaughters; but they now betook themselves to the city, and plundered every house, and slew every one they met; and for the other multitude, they esteemed it needless to go on with killing them, but they sought for the high priests, and the generality went with the greatest zeal against them; and as soon as they caught them they slew them, and then standing upon their dead bodies, in way of jest, upbraided Ananus with his kindness to the people, and Jesus with his speech made to them from the wall. Nay, they proceeded to that degree of impiety, as to cast away their dead bodies without burial, although the Jews used to take so much care of the burial of men, that they took down those that were condemned and crucified, and buried them before the going down of the sun. I should not mistake if I said that the death of Ananus was the beginning of the destruction of the city, and that from this very day may be dated the overthrow of her wall, and the ruin of her affairs, whereon they saw their high priest, and the procurer of their preservation, slain in the midst of their city. He was on other accounts also a venerable, and a very just man; and besides the grandeur of that nobility, and dignity, and honour of which he was possessed, he had been a lover of a kind of parity, even with regard to the meanest of the people; he was a prodigious lover of liberty, and an admirer of a democracy in government; and did ever prefer the public welfare before his own advantage, and preferred peace above all things; for he was thoroughly sensible that the Romans were not to be conquered. He also foresaw that of necessity a war would follow, and that unless the Jews made up matters with them very dexterously, they would be destroyed; to say all in a word, if Ananus had survived, they had certainly compounded matters; for he was a shrewd man in speaking and persuading the people, and had already gotten the mastery of those that opposed his designs, or were for the war. And the Jews had then put abundance of delays in the way of the Romans, if they had had such a general as he was. Jesus was also joined with him; and although he was inferior to him upon the comparison, he was superior to the rest; and I cannot but think that it was because God had doomed this city to destruction, as a polluted city, and was resolved to purge his sanctuary by fire, that he cut off these their great defenders and well-wishers, while those that a little before had worn the sacred garments, and had presided over the public worship; and had been esteemed venerable by those that dwelt on the whole habitable earth when they came into our city, were cast out naked, and seen to be the food of dogs and wild beasts. And I cannot but imagine that virtue itself groaned at these men's case, and lamented that she was here so terribly conquered by wickedness. And this at last was the end of Ananus and Jesus.

3 Now after these were slain, the zealots and the multitude of the Idumeans fell upon the people as upon a flock of profane animals, and cut their throats; and for the ordinary sort, they were destroyed in what place soever they caught them. But for the noblemen and the youth, they first caught them and bound them, and shut them up in prison, and put off their slaughter, in hopes that some of them would turn over to their party; but not one of them would comply with their desires, but all of them preferred death before being enrolled among such wicked wretches as acted against their own country. But this refusal of theirs brought upon them terrible

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torments; for they were so scourged and tortured, that their bodies were not able to sustain their torments, till at length, and with difficulty, they had the favour to be slain. Those whom they caught in the day time were slain in the night, and then their bodies were carried out and thrown away, that there might be room for other prisoners; and the terror that was upon the people was so great, that no one had courage enough either to weep openly for the dead man that was related to him, or to bury him; but those that were shut up in their own houses could only shed tears in secret, and durst not even groan without great caution, lest any of their enemies should hear them; for if they did, those that mourned for others soon underwent the same death with those whom they mourned for. Only in the night time they would take up a little dust, and throw it upon their bodies; and even some that were the most ready to expose themselves to danger would do it in the day time: and there were twelve thousand of the better sort who perished in this manner.

4 And now these zealots and Idumeans were quite weary of barely killing men, so they had the impudence of setting up fictitious tribunals and judicatures for that purpose; and as they intended to have Zacharias the son of Baruch, one of the most eminent of the citizens, slain, so what provoked them against him was, that hatred of wickedness and love of liberty which were so eminent in him: he was also a rich man, so that by taking him off, they did not only hope to seize his effects, but also to get rid of a mall that had great power to destroy them. So they called together, by a public proclamation, seventy of the principal men of the populace, for a show, as if they were real judges, while they had no proper authority. Before these was Zacharias accused of a design to betray their polity to the Romans, and having traitorously sent to Vespasian for that purpose. Now there appeared no proof or sign of what he was accused; but they affirmed themselves that they were well persuaded that so it was, and desired that such their affirmation might be taken for sufficient evidence. Now when Zacharias clearly saw that there was no way remaining for his escape from them, as having been treacherously called before them, and then put in prison, but not with any intention of a legal trial, he took great liberty of speech in that despair of his life he was under. Accordingly he stood up, and laughed at their pretended accusation, and in a few words confuted the crimes laid to his charge; after which he turned his speech to his accusers, and went over distinctly all their transgressions of the law, and made heavy lamentation upon the confusion they had brought public affairs to: in the mean time, the zealots grew tumultuous, and had much ado to abstain from drawing their swords, although they designed to preserve the appearance and show of judicature to the end. They were also desirous, on other accounts, to try the judges, whether they would be mindful of what was just at their own peril. Now the seventy judges brought in their verdict that the person accused was not guilty, as choosing rather to die themselves with him, than to have his death laid at their doors; hereupon there arose a great clamour of the zealots upon his acquittal, and they all had indignation at the judges for not understanding that the authority that was given them was but in jest. So two of the boldest of them fell upon Zacharias in the middle of the temple, and slew him; and as he fell down dead, they bantered him, and said, "Thou hast also our verdict, and this will prove a more sure acquittal to thee than the other." They also threw him down from the temple immediately into the valley beneath it. Moreover, they struck the judges with the backs of their swords, by way of abuse, and thrust them out of the court of the temple, and spared their lives with no other design than that, when they were dispersed among the people in the city, they might become their messengers, to let them know they were no better than slaves.

5 But by this time the Idumeans repented of their coming, and were displeased at what had been done; and when they were assembled together by one of the zealots, who had come privately to them, he declared to them what a number of wicked pranks they had themselves done in conjunction with those that invited them, and gave a particular account of what mischiefs had been done against their metropolis. He said that they had taken arms, as though the high priests were betraying their metropolis to the Romans, but had found no indication of any such treachery; but that they had succored those that had pretended to believe such a thing, while they did themselves the works of war and tyranny, after an insolent manner. It had been indeed their business to have hindered them from such their proceedings at the first, but seeing they had once been partners with them in shedding the blood of their own countrymen, it was high time to put a stop to such crimes, and not continue to afford any more assistance to such as are subverting the laws of their forefathers; for that if any had taken it ill that the gates had been shut against them, and they had not been permitted to come into the city, yet that those who had excluded them have been punished, and Ananus is dead, and that almost all those people had been destroyed in one night's time. That one may perceive many of themselves now repenting for what they had done, and might see the horrid barbarity of those that had invited them, and that they had no regard to such as had saved them; that they were so impudent as to perpetrate the vilest things, under the eyes of those that had supported them, and that their wicked actions would be laid to the charge of the Idumeans, and would be so laid to their charge till somebody obstructs their proceedings, or separates himself from the same wicked action; that they therefore ought to retire home, since the imputation of treason appears to be a Calumny, and that there was no expectation of the coming of the Romans at this time, and that the government of the city was secured by such walls as cannot easily be thrown down; and, by avoiding any further fellowship with these bad men, to make some excuse for themselves, as to what they had been so far deluded, as to have been partners with them hitherto.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 6

How The Zealots When They Were Freed From The Idumeans, Slew A Great Many More Of The Citizens; And How Vespasian Dissuaded The Romans When They Were Very Earnest To March Against The Jews From Proceeding In The War At That Time.

1 The Idumeans complied with these persuasions; and, in the first place, they set those that were in the prisons at liberty, being about two thousand of the populace, who thereupon fled away immediately to Simon, one whom we shall speak of presently. After which these Idumeans retired from Jerusalem, and went home; which departure of theirs was a great surprise to both parties; for the people, not knowing of their repentance, pulled up their courage for a while, as eased of so many of their enemies, while the zealots grew more insolent not as deserted by their confederates, but as freed from such men as might hinder their designs, and plot some stop to their wickedness. Accordingly, they made no longer any delay, nor took any deliberation in their enormous practices, but made use of the shortest methods for all their executions and what they had once resolved upon, they put in practice sooner than any one could imagine. But their thirst was chiefly after the blood of valiant men, and men of good families; the one sort of which they destroyed out of envy, the other out of fear; for they thought their whole security lay in leaving no potent men alive; on which account they slew Gorion, a person eminent in dignity, and on account of his family also; he was also for democracy, and of as great boldness and freedom of spirit as were any of the Jews whosoever; the principal thing that ruined him, added to his other advantages, was his free speaking. Nor did Niger of Peres escape their hands; he had been a man of great valour in their war with the Romans, but was now drawn through the middle of the city, and, as he went, he frequently cried out, and showed the scars of his wounds; and when he was drawn out of the gates, and despaired of his preservation, he besought them to grant him a burial; but as they had threatened him beforehand not to grant him any spot of earth for a grave, which he chiefly desired of them, so did they slay him [without permitting him to be buried]. Now when they were slaying him, he made this imprecation upon them, that they might undergo both famine and pestilence in this war, and besides all that, they might come to the mutual slaughter of one another; all which imprecations God confirmed against these impious men, and was what came most justly upon them, when not long afterward they tasted of their own madness in their mutual seditions one against another. So when this Niger was killed, their fears of being overturned were diminished; and indeed there was no part of the people but they found out some pretense to destroy them; for some were therefore slain, because they had had differences with some of them; and as to those that had not opposed them in times of peace, they watched seasonable opportunities to gain some accusation against them; and if any one did not come near them at all, he was under their suspicion as a proud man; if any one came with boldness, he was esteemed a contemner of them; and if any one came as aiming to oblige them, he was supposed to have some treacherous plot against them; while the only punishment of crimes, whether they were of the greatest or smallest sort, was death. Nor could any one escape, unless he were very inconsiderable, either on account of the meanness of his birth, or on account of his fortune.

2 And now all the rest of the commanders of the Romans deemed this sedition among their enemies to be of great advantage to them, and were very earnest to march to the city, and they urged Vespasian, as their lord and general in all cases, to make haste, and said to him, that "the providence of God is on our side, by setting our enemies at variance against one another; that still the change in such cases may be sudden, and the Jews may quickly be at one again, either because they may be tired out with their civil miseries, or repent them of such doings." But Vespasian replied, that they were greatly mistaken in what they thought fit to be done, as those that, upon the theater, love to make a show of their hands, and of their weapons, but do it at their own hazard, without considering, what was for their advantage, and for their security; for that if they now go and attack the city immediately, "they shall but occasion their enemies to unite together, and shall convert their force, now it is in its height, against themselves. But if they stay a while, they shall have fewer enemies, because they will be consumed in this sedition: that God acts as a general of the Romans better than he can do, and is giving the Jews up to them without any pains of their own, and granting their army a victory without any danger; that therefore it is their best way, while their enemies are destroying each other with their own hands, and falling into the greatest of misfortunes, which is that of sedition, to sit still as spectators of the dangers they run into, rather than to fight hand to hand with men that love murdering, and are mad one against another. But if any one imagines that the glory of victory, when it is gotten without fighting, will be more insipid, let him know this much, that a glorious success, quietly obtained, is more profitable than the dangers of a battle; for we ought to esteem these that do what is agreeable to temperance and prudence no less glorious than those that have gained great reputation by their actions in war: that he shall lead on his army with greater force when their enemies are diminished, and his own army refreshed after the continual labours they had undergone. However, that this is not a proper time to propose to ourselves the glory of victory; for that the Jews are not now employed in making of armour or building of walls, nor indeed in getting together auxiliaries, while the advantage will be on their side who give them such opportunity of delay; but that the Jews are vexed to pieces every day by their civil wars and dissensions, and are under greater miseries than, if they were once taken, could be inflicted on them by us. Whether therefore any one hath regard to what is for our safety, he ought to suffer these Jews to destroy one another; or whether he hath regard to the greater glory of the action, we ought by no means to meddle with those men, now they are afflicted with a distemper at home; for should we now conquer them, it would be said the conquest was not owing to our bravery, but to their sedition."

3 And now the commanders joined in their approbation of what Vespasian had said, and it was soon discovered how wise an opinion he had given. And indeed many there were of the Jews that deserted every day, and fled away from the zealots, although their flight was very difficult, since they had guarded every passage out of the city, and slew every one that was caught at them, as taking it for granted they were going over to the Romans; yet did he who gave them money get clear off, while he only that gave them none was voted a traitor. So the upshot was this, that the rich purchased their flight by money, while none but the poor were slain. Along all the roads also vast numbers of dead bodies lay in heaps, and even many of those that were so zealous in deserting at length chose rather to perish within the city; for the hopes of burial made death in their own city appear of the two less terrible to them. But these zealots came at last to that degree of barbarity, as not to bestow a burial either on those slain in the city, or on those that lay along the roads; but as if they had made an agreement to cancel both the laws of their country and the laws of nature, and, at the same time that they defiled men with their wicked actions, they would pollute the Divinity itself also, they left the dead bodies to putrefy under the sun; and the same punishment was allotted to such as buried any as to those that deserted, which was no other than death; while he that granted the favour of a grave to another would presently stand in need of a grave himself. To say all in a word, no other gentle passion was so entirely lost among them as mercy; for what were the greatest objects of pity did most of all irritate these wretches, and they transferred their rage from the living to those that had been slain, and from the dead to the living. Nay, the terror was so very great, that he who survived called them that were first dead happy, as being at rest already; as did those that were under torture in the prisons, declare, that, upon this comparison, those that lay unburied were the happiest. These men, therefore, trampled upon all the laws of men, and laughed at the laws of God; and for the oracles of the prophets, they ridiculed them as the tricks of jugglers; yet did these prophets foretell many things concerning [the rewards of] virtue, and [punishments of] vice, which when these zealots violated, they occasioned the fulfilling of those very prophecies belonging to their own country; for there was a certain ancient oracle of those men, that the city should then be taken and the sanctuary burnt, by right of war, when a sedition should invade the Jews, and their own hand should pollute the temple of God. Now while these zealots did not [quite] disbelieve these predictions, they made themselves the instruments of their accomplishment.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 7

How John Tyrannized Over The Rest; And What Mischiefs The Zealots Did At Masada. How Also Vespasian Took Gadara; And What Actions Were Performed By Placidus.

1 By this time John was beginning to tyrannize, and thought it beneath him to accept of barely the same honours that others had; and joining to himself by degrees a party of the wickedest of them all, he broke off from the rest of the faction. This was brought about by his still disagreeing with the opinions of others, and giving out injunctions of his own, in a very imperious manner; so that it was evident he was

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setting up a monarchical power. Now some submitted to him out of their fear of him, and others out of their good-will to him; for he was a shrewd man to entice men to him, both by deluding them and putting cheats upon them. Nay, many there were that thought they should be safer themselves, if the causes of their past insolent actions should now be reduced to one head, and not to a great many. His activity was so great, and that both in action and in counsel, that he had not a few guards about him; yet was there a great party of his antagonists that left him; among whom envy at him weighed a great deal, while they thought it a very heavy thing to be in subjection to one that was formerly their equal. But the main reason that moved men against him was the dread of monarchy, for they could not hope easily to put an end to his power, if he had once obtained it; and yet they knew that he would have this pretense always against them, that they had opposed him when he was first advanced; while every one chose rather to suffer any thing whatsoever in war, than that, when they had been in a voluntary slavery for some time, they should afterward perish. So the sedition was divided into two parts, and John reigned in opposition to his adversaries over one of them: but for their leaders, they watched one another, nor did they at all, or at least very little, meddle with arms in their quarrels; but they fought earnestly against the people, and contended one with another which of them should bring home the greatest prey. But because the city had to struggle with three of the greatest misfortunes, war, and tyranny, and sedition, it appeared, upon the comparison, that the war was the least troublesome to the populace of them all. Accordingly, they ran away from their own houses to foreigners, and obtained that preservation from the Romans which they despaired to obtain among their own people.

2 And now a fourth misfortune arose, in order to bring our nation to destruction. There was a fortress of very great strength not far from Jerusalem, which had been built by our ancient kings, both as a repository for their effects in the hazards of war, and for the preservation of their bodies at the same time. It was called Masada. Those that were called Sicarii had taken possession of it formerly, but at this time they overran the neighbouring countries, aiming only to procure to themselves necessaries; for the fear they were then in prevented their further ravages. But when once they were informed that the Roman army lay still, and that the Jews were divided between sedition and tyranny, they boldly undertook greater matters; and at the feast of unleavened bread, which the Jews celebrate in memory of their deliverance from the Egyptian bondage, when they were sent back into the country of their forefathers, they came down by night, without being discovered by those that could have prevented them, and overran a certain small city called Engaddi:—in which expedition they prevented those citizens that could have stopped them, before they could arm themselves, and fight them. They also dispersed them, and cast them out of the city. As for such as could not run away, being women and children, they slew of them above seven hundred. Afterward, when they had carried every thing out of their houses, and had seized upon all the fruits that were in a flourishing condition, they brought them into Masada. And indeed these men laid all the villages that were about the fortress waste, and made the whole country desolate; while there came to them every day, from all parts, not a few men as corrupt as themselves. At that time all the other regions of Judea that had hitherto been at rest were in motion, by means of the robbers. Now as it is in a human body, if the principal part be inflamed, all the members are subject to the same distemper; so, by means of the sedition and disorder that was in the metropolis,. had the wicked men that were in the country opportunity to ravage the same. Accordingly, when every one of them had plundered their own villages, they then retired into the desert; yet were these men that now got together, and joined in the conspiracy by parties, too small for an army, and too many for a gang of thieves: and thus did they fall upon the holy places and the cities; yet did it now so happen that they were sometimes very ill treated by those upon whom they fell with such violence, and were taken by them as men are taken in war: but still they prevented any further punishment as do robbers, who, as soon as their ravages [are discovered], run their way. Nor was there now any part of Judea that was not in a miserable condition, as well as its most eminent city also.

3 These things were told Vespasian by deserters; for although the seditious watched all the passages out of the city, and destroyed all, whosoever they were, that came thither, yet were there some that had concealed themselves, and when they had fled to the Romans, persuaded their general to come to their city's assistance, and save the remainder of the people; informing him withal, that it was upon account of the people's good-will to the Romans that many of them were already slain, and the survivors in danger of the same treatment. Vespasian did indeed already pity the calamities these men were in, and arose, in appearance, as though he was going to besiege Jerusalem, but in reality to deliver them from a [worse] siege they were already under. However, he was obliged first to overthrow what remained elsewhere, and to leave nothing out of Jerusalem behind him that might interrupt him in that siege. Accordingly, he marched against Gadara, the metropolis of Perea, which was a place of strength, and entered that city on the fourth day of the month Dystrus [Adar]; for the men of power had sent an embassage to him, without the knowledge of the seditious, to treat about a surrender; which they did out of the desire they had of peace, and for saving their effects, because many of the citizens of Gadara were rich men. This embassy the opposite party knew nothing of, but discovered it as Vespasian was approaching near the city. However, they despaired of keeping possession of the city, as being inferior in number to their enemies who were within the city, and seeing the Romans very near to the city; so they resolved to fly, but thought it dishonourable to do it without shedding some blood, and revenging themselves on the authors of this surrender; so they seized upon Dolesus, [a person not only the first in rank and family in that city, but one that seemed the occasion of sending such an embassy,] and slew him, and treated his dead body after a barbarous manner, so very violent was their anger at him, and then ran out of the city. And as now the Roman army was just upon them, the people of Gadara admitted Vespasian with joyful acclamations, and received from him the security of his right hand, as also a garrison of horsemen and footmen, to guard them against the excursions of the runagates; for as to their wall, they had pulled it down before the Romans desired them so to do, that they might thereby give them assurance that they were lovers of peace, and that, if they had a mind, they could not now make war against them.

4 And now Vespasian sent Placidus against those that had fled from Gadara, with five hundred horsemen, and three thousand footmen, while he returned himself to Cesarea, with the rest of the army. But as soon as these fugitives saw the horsemen that pursued them just upon their backs, and before they came to a close fight, they ran together to a certain village, which was called Bethennabris, where finding a great multitude of young men, and arming them, partly by their own consent, partly by force, they rashly and suddenly assaulted Placidus and the troops that were with him. These horsemen at the first onset gave way a little, as contriving to entice them further off the wall; and when they had drawn them into a place fit for their purpose, they made their horse encompass them round, and threw their darts at them. So the horsemen cut off the flight of the fugitives, while the foot terribly destroyed those that fought against them; for those Jews did no more than show their courage, and then were destroyed; for as they fell upon the Romans when they were joined close together, and, as it were, walled about with their entire armour, they were not able to find any place where the darts could enter, nor were they any way able to break their ranks, while they were themselves run through by the Roman darts, and, like the wildest of wild beasts, rushed upon the point of others' swords; so some of them were destroyed, as cut with their enemies' swords upon their faces, and others were dispersed by the horsemen.

5 Now Placidus's concern was to exclude them in their flight from getting into the village; and causing his horse to march continually on that side of them, he then turned short upon them, and at the same time his men made use of their darts, and easily took their aim at those that were the nearest to them, as they made those that were further off turn back by the terror they were in, till at last the most courageous of them brake through those horsemen and fled to the wall of the village. And now those that guarded the wall were in great doubt what to do; for they could not bear the thoughts of excluding those that came from Gadara, because of their own people that were among them; and yet, if they should admit them, they expected to perish with them, which came to pass accordingly; for as they were crowding together at the wall, the Roman horsemen were just ready to fall in with them. However, the guards prevented them, and shut the gates, when Placidus made an assault upon them, and fighting courageously till it was dark, he got possession of the wall, and of the people that were in the city, when the useless multitude were destroyed; but those that were more potent ran away, and the soldiers plundered the houses, and set the village on fire. As for those that ran out of the village, they stirred up such as were in the country, and exaggerating their own calamities, and telling them that the whole army of the Romans were upon them, they put them into great fear on every side; so they got in great numbers together, and fled to Jericho, for they knew no other place that could afford them any hope of escaping, it being a city that had a strong wall, and a great multitude of inhabitants. But Placidus, relying much upon his horsemen, and his former good success, followed them, and slew all that he overtook, as far as Jordan; and when he had driven the whole multitude to the river-side, where they were stopped by the current, [for it had been augmented lately by rains, and was not fordable,] he put his soldiers in array over against them; so the necessity the others were in provoked them to hazard a battle, because there was no place whither they could flee. They then extended themselves a very great way along the banks of the river, and sustained the darts that were thrown at them, as well as the attacks of the horsemen, who beat many of them, and pushed them into the current. At which fight, hand to hand, fifteen thousand of them were slain, while the number of those that were unwillingly forced to leap into Jordan was prodigious. There were besides two thousand and two hundred taken prisoners. A mighty prey was taken also, consisting of asses, and sheep, and camels, and oxen.

6 Now this destruction that fell upon the Jews, as it was not inferior to any of the rest in itself, so did it still appear greater than it really was; and this, because not only the whole country through which they fled was filled with slaughter, and Jordan could not be passed over, by reason of the dead bodies that were in it, but because the lake Asphaltites was also full of dead bodies, that were carried down into it by the river. And now Placidus, after this good success that he had, fell violently upon the neighbouring smaller cities and villages; when he took Abila, and Julias, and Bezemoth, and all those that lay as far as the lake Asphaltites, and put such of the deserters into each of them as he thought proper. He then put his soldiers on board the ships, and slew such as had fled to the lake, insomuch that all Perea had either surrendered themselves, or were taken by the Romans, as far as Machaerus.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 8

How Vespasian Upon Hearing Of Some Commotions In Gall, Made Haste To Finish The Jewish War. A Description Of Jericho, And Of The Great Plain; With An Account Besides Of The Lake Asphaltites.

1 In the mean time, an account came that there were commotions in Gall, and that Vindex, together with the men of power in that country, had revolted from Nero; which affair is more accurately described elsewhere. This report, thus related to Vespasian, excited him to go on briskly with the war; for he foresaw already the civil wars which were coming upon them, nay, that the very government was in danger; and he thought, if he could first reduce the eastern parts of the empire to peace, he should make the fears for Italy the lighter; while therefore the winter was his hinderance [from going into the field], he put garrisons into the villages and smaller cities for their security; he put decurions also into the villages, and centurions into the cities: he besides this rebuilt many of the cities that had been laid waste; but at the beginning of the spring he took the greatest part of his army, and led it from Cesarea to Antipatris, where he spent two days in settling the affairs of that city, and then, on the third day, he marched on, laying waste and burning all the neighbouring villages. And when he had laid waste all the places about the toparchy of Thamnas, he passed on to Lydda and Jamnia; and when both these cities had come over to him, he placed a great many of those that had come over to him [from other places] as inhabitants therein, and then came to Emmaus, where he seized upon the passage which led thence to their metropolis, and fortified his camp, and leaving the fifth legion therein, he came to the toparchy of Bethletephon. He then destroyed that place, and the neighbouring places, by fire, and fortified, at proper places, the strong holds all about Idumea; and when he had seized upon two villages, which were in the very midst of Idumea, Betaris and Caphartobas, he slew above ten thousand of the people, and carried into captivity above a thousand, and drove away the rest of the multitude, and placed no small part of his own forces in them, who overran and laid waste the whole mountainous country; while he, with the rest of his forces, returned to Emmaus, whence he came down through the country of Samaria, and hard by the city, by others called Neapolis, [or Sichem,] but by the people of that country Mabortha, to Corea, where he pitched his camp, on the second day of the month Desius [Sivan]; and on the day following he came to Jericho; on which day Trajan, one of his commanders, joined him with the forces he brought out of Perea, all the places beyond Jordan being subdued already.

2 Hereupon a great multitude prevented their approach, and came out of Jericho, and fled to those mountainous parts that lay over against Jerusalem, while that part which was left behind was in a great measure destroyed; they also found the city desolate. It is situated in a plain; but a naked and barren mountain, of a very great length, hangs over it, which extends itself to the land about Scythopolis northward, but as far as the country of Sodom, and the utmost limits of the lake Asphaltites, southward. This mountain is all of it very uneven and uninhabited, by reason of its barrenness: there is an opposite mountain that is situated over against it, on the other side of Jordan; this last begins at Julias, and the northern quarters, and extends itself southward as far as Somorrhon, which is the bounds of Petra, in Arabia. In this ridge of mountains there is one called the Iron Mountain, that runs in length as far as Moab. Now the region that lies in the middle between these ridges of mountains is called the Great Plain; it reaches from the village Ginnabris, as far as the lake Asphaltites; its length is two hundred and thirty furlongs, and its breadth a hundred and twenty, and it is divided in the midst by Jordan. It hath two lakes in it, that of Asphaltites, and that of Tiberias, whose natures are opposite to each other; for the former is salt and unfruitful, but that of Tiberias is

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sweet and fruitful. This plain is much burnt up in summer time, and, by reason of the extraordinary heat, contains a very unwholesome air; it is all destitute of water excepting the river Jordan, which water of Jordan is the occasion why those plantations of palm trees that are near its banks are more flourishing, and much more fruitful, as are those that are remote from it not so flourishing, or fruitful.

3 Notwithstanding which, there is a fountain by Jericho, that runs plentifully, and is very fit for watering the ground; it arises near the old city, which Joshua, the son of Naue, the general of the Hebrews, took the first of all the cities of the land of Canaan, by right of war. The report is, that this fountain, at the beginning, caused not only the blasting of the earth and the trees, but of the children born of women, and that it was entirely of a sickly and corruptive nature to all things whatsoever; but that it was made gentle, and very wholesome and fruitful, by the prophet Elisha. This prophet was familiar with Elijah, and was his successor, who, when he once was the guest of the people at Jericho, and the men of the place had treated him very kindly, he both made them amends as well as the country, by a lasting favour; for he went out of the city to this fountain, and threw into the current an earthen vessel full of salt; after which he stretched out his righteous hand unto heaven, and, pouring out a mild drink-offering, he made this supplication, That the current might be mollified, and that the veins of fresh water might be opened; that God also would bring into the place a more temperate and fertile air for the current, and would bestow upon the people of that country plenty of the fruits of the earth, and a succession of children; and that this prolific water might never fail them, while they continued to be righteous. To these prayers Elisha joined proper operations of his hands, after a skillful manner, and changed the fountain; and that water, which had been the occasion of barrenness and famine before, from that time did supply a numerous posterity, and afforded great abundance to the country. Accordingly, the power of it is so great in watering the ground, that if it do but once touch a country, it affords a sweeter nourishment than other waters do, when they lie so long upon them, till they are satiated with them. For which reason, the advantage gained from other waters, when they flow in great plenty, is but small, while that of this water is great when it flows even in little quantities. Accordingly, it waters a larger space of ground than any other waters do, and passes along a plain of seventy furlongs long, and twenty broad; wherein it affords nourishment to those most excellent gardens that are thick set with trees. There are in it many sorts of palm trees that are watered by it, different from each other in taste and name; the better sort of them, when they are pressed, yield an excellent kind of honey, not much inferior in sweetness to other honey. This country withal produces honey from bees; it also bears that balsam which is the most precious of all the fruits in that place, cypress trees also, and those that bear myrobalanum; so that he who should pronounce this place to be divine would not be mistaken, wherein is such plenty of trees produced as are very rare, and of the must excellent sort. And indeed, if we speak of those other fruits, it will not be easy to light on any climate in the habitable earth that can well be compared to it, what is here sown comes up in such clusters; the cause of which seems to me to be the warmth of the air, and the fertility of the waters; the warmth calling forth the sprouts, and making them spread, and the moisture making every one of them take root firmly, and supplying that virtue which it stands in need of in summer time. Now this country is then so sadly burnt up, that nobody cares to come at it; and if the water be drawn up before sun-rising, and after that exposed to the air, it becomes exceeding cold, and becomes of a nature quite contrary to the ambient air; as in winter again it becomes warm; and if you go into it, it appears very gentle. The ambient air is here also of so good a temperature, that the people of the country are clothed in linen-only, even when snow covers the rest of Judea. This place is one hundred and fifty furlongs from Jerusalem, and sixty from Jordan. The country, as far as Jerusalem, is desert and stony; but that as far as Jordan and the lake Asphaltites lies lower indeed, though it be equally desert and barren. But so much shall suffice to have said about Jericho, and of the great happiness of its situation.

4 The nature of the lake Asphaltites is also worth describing. It is, as I have said already, bitter and unfruitful. It is so light [or thick] that it bears up the heaviest things that are thrown into it; nor is it easy for any one to make things sink therein to the bottom, if he had a mind so to do. Accordingly, when Vespasian went to see it, he commanded that some who could not swim should have their hands tied behind them, and be thrown into the deep, when it so happened that they all swam as if a wind had forced them upwards. Moreover, the change of the colour of this lake is wonderful, for it changes its appearance thrice every day; and as the rays of the sun fall differently upon it, the light is variously reflected. However, it casts up black clods of bitumen in many parts of it; these swim at the top of the water, and resemble both in shape and bigness headless bulls; and when the labourers that belong to the lake come to it, and catch hold of it as it hangs together, they draw it into their ships; but when the ship is full, it is not easy to cut off the rest, for it is so tenacious as to make the ship hang upon its clods till they set it loose with the menstrual blood of women, and with urine, to which alone it yields. This bitumen is not only useful for the caulking of ships, but for the cure of men's bodies; accordingly, it is mixed in a great many medicines. The length of this lake is five hundred and eighty furlongs, where it is extended as far as Zoar in Arabia; and its breadth is a hundred and fifty. The country of Sodom borders upon it. It was of old a most happy land, both for the fruits it bore and the riches of its cities, although it be now all burnt up. It is related how, for the impiety of its inhabitants, it was burnt by lightning; in consequence of which there are still the remainders of that Divine fire, and the traces [or shadows] of the five cities are still to be seen, as well as the ashes growing in their fruits; which fruits have a colour as if they were fit to be eaten, but if you pluck them with your hands, they dissolve into smoke and ashes. And thus what is related of this land of Sodom hath these marks of credibility which our very sight affords us.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 9

That Vespasian, After He Had Taken Gadara Made Preparation For The Siege Of Jerusalem; But That, Upon His Hearing Of The Death Of Nero, He Changed His Intentions. As Also Concerning Simon Of Geras.

1 And now Vespasian had fortified all the places round about Jerusalem, and erected citadels at Jericho and Adida, and placed garrisons in them both, partly out of his own Romans, and partly out of the body of his auxiliaries. He also sent Lucius Annius to Gerasa, and delivered to him a body of horsemen, and a considerable number of footmen. So when he had taken the city, which he did at the first onset, he slew a thousand of those young men who had not prevented him by flying away; but he took their families captive, and permitted his soldiers to plunder them of their effects; after which he set fire to their houses, and went away to the adjoining villages, while the men of power fled away, and the weaker part were destroyed, and what was remaining was all burnt down. And now the war having gone through all the mountainous country, and all the plain country also, those that were at Jerusalem were deprived of the liberty of going out of the city; for as to such as had a mind to desert, they were watched by the zealots; and as to such as were not yet on the side of the Romans, their army kept them in, by encompassing the city round about on all sides.

2 Now as Vespasian was returned to Cesarea, and was getting ready with all his army to march directly to Jerusalem, he was informed that Nero was dead, after he had reigned thirteen years and eight days. But as to any narration after what manner he abused his power in the government, and committed the management of affairs to those vile wretches, Nymphidius and Tigellinus, his unworthy freed-men; and how he had a plot laid against him by them, and was deserted by all his guards, and ran away with four of his most trusty freed-men, and slew himself in the suburbs of Rome; and how those that occasioned his death were in no long time brought themselves to punishment; how also the war in Gall ended; and how Galba was made emperor and returned out of Spain to Rome; and how he was accused by the soldiers as a pusillanimous person, and slain by treachery in the middle of the market-place at Rome, and Otho was made emperor; with his expedition against the commanders of Vitellius, and his destruction thereupon; and besides what troubles there were under Vitellius, and the fight that was about the capitol; as also how Antonius Primus and Mucianus slew Vitellius, and his German legions, and thereby put an end to that civil war; I have omitted to give an exact account of them, because they are well known by all, and they are described by a great number of Greek and Roman authors; yet for the sake of the connexion of matters, and that my history may not be incoherent, I have just touched upon every thing briefly. Wherefore Vespasian put off at first his expedition against Jerusalem, and stood waiting whither the empire would be transferred after the death of Nero. Moreover, when he heard that Galba was made emperor, he attempted nothing till he also should send him some directions about the war: however, he sent his son Titus to him, to salute him, and to receive his commands about the Jews. Upon the very same errand did king Agrippa sail along with Titus to Galba; but as they were sailing in their long ships by the coasts of Achaia, for it was winter time, they heard that Galba was slain, before they could get to him, after he had reigned seven months and as many days. After whom Otho took the government, and undertook the management of public affairs. So Agrippa resolved to go on to Rome without any terror; on account of the change in the government; but Titus, by a Divine impulse, sailed back from Greece to Syria, and came in great haste to Cesarea, to his father. And now they were both in suspense about the public affairs, the Roman empire being then in a fluctuating condition, and did not go on with their expedition against the Jews, but thought that to make any attack upon foreigners was now unseasonable, on account of the solicitude they were in for their own country.

3 And now there arose another war at Jerusalem. There was a son of Giora, one Simon, by birth of Gerasa, a young man, not so cunning indeed as John [of Gisehala], who had already seized upon the city, but superior in strength of body and courage; on which account, when he had been driven away from that Acrabattene toparchy, which he once had, by Ananus the high priest, he came to those robbers who had seized upon Masada. At the first they suspected him, and only permitted him to come with the women he brought with him into the lower part of the fortress, while they dwelt in the upper part of it themselves. However, his manner so well agreed with theirs, and he seemed so trusty a man, that he went out with them, and ravaged and destroyed the country with them about Masada; yet when he persuaded them to undertake greater things, he could not prevail with them so to do; for as they were accustomed to dwell in that citadel, they were afraid of going far from that which was their hiding-place; but he affecting to tyrannize, and being fond of greatness, when he had heard of the death of Ananus, he left them, and went into the mountainous part of the country. So he proclaimed liberty to those in slavery, and a reward to those already free, and got together a set of wicked men from all quarters.

4 And as he had now a strong body of men about him, he overran the villages that lay in the mountainous country, and when there were still more and more that came to him, he ventured to go down into the lower parts of the country, and since he was now become formidable to the cities, many of the men of power were corrupted by him; so that his army was no longer composed of slaves and robbers, but a great many of the populace were obedient to him as to their king. He then overran the Acrabattene toparchy, and the places that reached as far as the Great Idumea; for he built a wall at a certain village called Nain, and made use of that as a fortress for his own party's security; and at the valley called Paran, he enlarged many of the caves, and many others he found ready for his purpose; these he made use of as repositories for his treasures, and receptacles for his prey, and therein he laid up the fruits that he had got by rapine; and many of his partizans had their dwelling in them; and he made no secret of it that he was exercising his men beforehand, and making preparations for the assault of Jerusalem.

5 Whereupon the zealots, out of the dread they were in of his attacking them, and being willing to prevent one that was growing up to oppose them, went out against him with their weapons. Simon met them, and joining battle with them, slew a considerable number of them, and drove the rest before him into the city, but durst not trust so much upon his forces as to make an assault upon the walls; but he resolved first to subdue Idumea, and as he had now twenty thousand armed men, he marched to the borders of their country. Hereupon the rulers of the Idumeans got together on the sudden the most warlike part of their people, about twenty-five thousand in number, and permitted the rest to be a guard to their own country, by reason of the incursions that were made by the Sicarii that were at Masada. Thus they received Simon at their borders, where they fought him, and continued the battle all that day; and the dispute lay whether they had conquered him, or been conquered by him. So he went back to Nain, as did the Idumeans return home. Nor was it long ere Simon came violently again upon their country; when he pitched his camp at a certain village called Thecoe, and sent Eleazar, one of his companions, to those that kept garrison at Herodium, and in order to persuade them to surrender that fortress to him. The garrison received this man readily, while they knew nothing of what he came about; but as soon as he talked of the surrender of the place, they fell upon him with their drawn swords, till he found that he had no place for flight, when he threw himself down from the wall into the valley beneath; so he died immediately: but the Idumeans, who were already much afraid of Simon's power, thought fit to take a view of the enemy's army before they hazarded a battle with them.

6 Now there was one of their commanders named Jacob, who offered to serve them readily upon that occasion, but had it in his mind to betray them. He went therefore from the village Alurus, wherein the army of the Idumeans were gotten together, and came to Simon, and at the very first he agreed to betray his country to him, and took assurances upon oath from him that he should always have him in esteem, and then promised him that he would assist him in subduing all Idumea under him; upon which account he was feasted after an obliging manner by Simon, and elevated by his mighty promises; and when he was returned to his own men, he at first belied the army of Simon, and said it was manifold more in number than what it was; after which, he dexterously persuaded the commanders, and by degrees the whole multitude, to receive Simon, and to surrender the whole government up to him without fighting. And as he was doing this, he invited Simon by his messengers, and promised him to disperse the Idumeans, which he performed also; for as soon as their army was nigh them, he first of all got upon his horse, and fled, together with those whom he had corrupted; hereupon a terror fell upon the whole multitude; and before it

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came to a close fight, they broke their ranks, and every one retired to his own home.

7 Thus did Simon unexpectedly march into Idumea, without bloodshed, and made a sudden attack upon the city Hebron, and took it; wherein he got possession of a great deal of prey, and plundered it of a vast quantity of fruit. Now the people of the country say that it is an ancienter city, not only than any in that country, but than Memphis in Egypt, and accordingly its age is reckoned at two thousand and three hundred years. They also relate that it had been the habitation of Abram, the progenitor of the Jews, after he had removed out of Mesopotamia; and they say that his posterity descended from thence into Egypt, whose monuments are to this very time showed in that small city; the fabric of which monuments are of the most excellent marble, and wrought after the most elegant manner. There is also there showed, at the distance of six furlongs from the city, a very large turpentine tree and the report goes, that this tree has continued ever since the creation of the world. Thence did Simon make his progress over all Idumea, and did not only ravage the cities and villages, but lay waste the whole country; for, besides those that were completely armed, he had forty thousand men that followed him, insomuch that he had not provisions enough to suffice such a multitude. Now, besides this want of provisions that he was in, he was of a barbarous disposition, and bore great anger at this nation, by which means it came to pass that Idumea was greatly depopulated; and as one may see all the woods behind despoiled of their leaves by locusts, after they have been there, so was there nothing left behind Simon's army but a desert. Some places they burnt down, some they utterly demolished, and whatsoever grew in the country, they either trod it down or fed upon it, and by their marches they made the ground that was cultivated harder and more untractable than that which was barren. In short, there was no sign remaining of those places that had been laid waste, that ever they had had a being.

8 This success of Simon excited the zealots afresh; and though they were afraid to fight him openly in a fair battle, yet did they lay ambushes in the passes, and seized upon his wife, with a considerable number of her attendants; whereupon they came back to the city rejoicing, as if they had taken Simon himself captive, and were in present expectation that he would lay down his arms, and make supplication to them for his wife; but instead of indulging any merciful affection, he grew very angry at them for seizing his beloved wife; so he came to the wall of Jerusalem, and, like wild beasts when they are wounded, and cannot overtake those that wounded them, he vented his spleen upon all persons that he met with. Accordingly, he caught all those that were come out of the city gates, either to gather herbs or sticks, who were unarmed and in years; he then tormented them and destroyed them, out of the immense rage he was in, and was almost ready to taste the very flesh of their dead bodies. He also cut off the hands of a great many, and sent them into the city to astonish his enemies, and in order to make the people fall into a sedition, and desert those that had been the authors of his wife's seizure. He also enjoined them to tell the people that Simon swore by the God of the universe, who sees all things, that unless they will restore him his wife, he will break down their wall, and inflict the like punishment upon all the citizens, without sparing any age, and without making any distinction between the guilty and the innocent. These threatenings so greatly affrighted, not the people only, but the zealots themselves also, that they sent his wife back to him; when he became a little milder, and left off his perpetual blood-shedding.

9 But now sedition and civil war prevailed, not only over Judea, but in Italy also; for now Galba was slain in the midst of the Roman market-place; then was Otho made emperor, and fought against Vitellius, who set up for emperor also; for the legions in Germany had chosen him. But when he gave battle to Valens and Cecinna, who were Vitellius's generals, at Betriacum, in Gaul, Otho gained the advantage on the first day, but on the second day Vitellius's soldiers had the victory; and after much slaughter Otho slew himself, when he had heard of this defeat at Brixia, and after he had managed the public affairs three months and two days. Otho's army also came over to Vitellius's generals, and he came himself down to Rome with his army. But in the mean time Vespasian removed from Cesarea, on the fifth day of the month Desius, [Sivan,] and marched against those places of Judea which were not yet overthrown. So he went up to the mountainous country, and took those two toparchies that were called the Gophnitick and Acrabattene toparchies. After which he took Bethel and Ephraim, two small cities; and when he had put garrisons into them, he rode as far as Jerusalem, in which march he took many prisoners, and many captives; but Cerealis, one of his commanders, took a body of horsemen and footmen, and laid waste that part of Idumea which was called the Upper Idumea, and attacked Caphethra, which pretended to be a small city, and took it at the first onset, and burnt it down. He also attacked Caphatabira, and laid siege to it, for it had a very strong wall; and when he expected to spend a long time in that siege, those that were within opened their gates on the sudden, and came to beg pardon, and surrendered themselves up to him. When Cerealis had conquered them, he went to Hebron, another very ancient city. I have told you already that this city is situated in a mountainous country not far off Jerusalem; and when he had broken into the city by force, what multitude and young men were left therein he slew, and burnt down the city; so that as now all the places were taken, excepting Herodlum, and Masada, and Machaerus, which were in the possession of the robbers, so Jerusalem was what the Romans at present aimed at.

10 And now, as soon as Simon had set his wife free, and recovered her from the zealots, he returned back to the remainders of Idumea, and driving the nation all before him from all quarters, he compelled a great number of them to retire to Jerusalem; he followed them himself also to the city, and encompassed the wall all round again; and when he lighted upon any labourers that were coming thither out of the country, he slew them. Now this Simon, who was without the wall, was a greater terror to the people than the Romans themselves, as were the zealots who were within it more heavy upon them than both of the other; and during this time did the mischievous contrivances and courage [of John] corrupt the body of the Galileans; for these Galileans had advanced this John, and made him very potent, who made them suitable requital from the authority he had obtained by their means; for he permitted them to do all things that any of them desired to do, while their inclination to plunder was insatiable, as was their zeal in searching the houses of the rich; and for the murdering of the men, and abusing of the women, it was sport to them. They also devoured what spoils they had taken, together with their blood, and indulged themselves in feminine wantonness, without any disturbance, till they were satiated therewith; while they decked their hair, and put on women's garments, and were besmeared over with ointments; and that they might appear very comely, they had paints under their eyes, and imitated not only the ornaments, but also the lusts of women, and were guilty of such intolerable uncleanness, that they invented unlawful pleasures of that sort. And thus did they roll themselves up and down the city, as in a brothel-house, and defiled it entirely with their impure actions; nay, while their faces looked like the faces of women, they killed with their right hands; and when their gait was effeminate, they presently attacked men, and became warriors, and drew their swords from under their finely dyed cloaks, and ran every body through whom they alighted upon. However, Simon waited for such as ran away from John, and was the more bloody of the two; and he who had escaped the tyrant within the wall was destroyed by the other that lay before the gates, so that all attempts of flying and deserting to the Romans were cut off, as to those that had a mind so to do.

11 Yet did the army that was under John raise a sedition against him, and all the Idumeans separated themselves from the tyrant, and attempted to destroy him, and this out of their envy at his power, and hatred of his cruelty; so they got together, and slew many of the zealots, and drove the rest before them into that royal palace that was built by Grapte, who was a relation of Izates, the king of Adiabene; the Idumeans fell in with them, and drove the zealots out thence into the temple, and betook themselves to plunder John's effects; for both he himself was in that palace, and therein had he laid up the spoils he had acquired by his tyranny. In the mean time, the multitude of those zealots that were dispersed over the city ran together to the temple unto those that fled thither, and John prepared to bring them down against the people and the Idumeans, who were not so much afraid of being attacked by them [because they were themselves better soldiers than they] as at their madness, lest they should privately sally out of the temple and get among them, and not only destroy them, but set the city on fire also. So they assembled themselves together, and the high priests with them, and took counsel after what manner they should avoid their assault. Now it was God who turned their opinions to the worst advice, and thence they devised such a remedy to get themselves free as was worse than the disease itself. Accordingly, in order to overthrow John, they determined to admit Simon, and earnestly to desire the introduction of a second tyrant into the city; which resolution they brought to perfection, and sent Matthias, the high priest, to beseech this Simon to come in to them, of whom they had so often been afraid. Those also that had fled from the zealots in Jerusalem joined in this request to him, out of the desire they had of preserving their houses and their effects. Accordingly he, in an arrogant manner, granted them his lordly protection, and came into the city, in order to deliver it from the zealots. The people also made joyful acclamations to him, as their savior and their preserver; but when he was come in, with his army, he took care to secure his own authority, and looked upon those that had invited him in to be no less his enemies than those against whom the invitation was intended.

12 And thus did Simon get possession of Jerusalem, in the third year of the war, in the month Xanthicus [Nisan]; whereupon John, with his multitude of zealots, as being both prohibited from coming out of the temple, and having lost their power in the city, [for Simon and his party had plundered them of what they had,] were in despair of deliverance. Simon also made an assault upon the temple, with the assistance of the people, while the others stood upon the cloisters and the battlements, and defended themselves from their assaults. However, a considerable number of Simon's party fell, and many were carried off wounded; for the zealots threw their darts easily from a superior place, and seldom failed of hitting their enemies; but having the advantage of situation, and having withal erected four very large towers aforehand, that their darts might come from higher places, one at the north-east corner of the court, one above the Xystus, the third at another corner over against the lower city, and the last was erected above the top of the Pastophoria, where one of the priests stood of course, and gave a signal beforehand, with a trumpet at the beginning of every seventh day, in the evening twilight, as also at the evening when that day was finished, as giving notice to the people when they were to leave off work, and when they were to go to work again. These men also set their engines to cast darts and stones withal, upon those towers, with their archers and slingers. And now Simon made his assault upon the temple more faintly, by reason that the greatest part of his men grew weary of that work; yet did he not leave off his opposition, because his army was superior to the others, although the darts which were thrown by the engines were carried a great way, and slew many of those that fought for him.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 10

How The Soldiers, Both In Judea And Egypt, Proclaimed Vespasian Emperor; And How Vespasian Released Josephus From His Bonds.

1 Now about this very time it was that heavy calamities came about Rome on all sides; for Vitellius was come from Germany with his soldiery, and drew along with him a great multitude of other men besides. And when the spaces allotted for soldiers could not contain them, he made all Rome itself his camp, and filled all the houses with his armed men; which men, when they saw the riches of Rome with those eyes which had never seen such riches before, and found themselves shone round about on all sides with silver and gold, they had much ado to contain their covetous desires, and were ready to betake themselves to plunder, and to the slaughter of such as should stand in their way. And this was the state of affairs in Italy at that time.

2 But when Vespasian had overthrown all the places that were near to Jerusalem, he returned to Cesarea, and heard of the troubles that were at Rome, and that Vitellius was emperor. This produced indignation in him, although he well knew how to be governed as well as to govern, and could not, with any satisfaction, own him for his lord who acted so madly, and seized upon the government as if it were absolutely destitute of a governor. And as this sorrow of his was violent, he was not able to support the torments he was under, nor to apply himself further in other wars, when his native country was laid waste; but then, as much as his passion excited him to avenge his country, so much was he restrained by the consideration of his distance therefrom; because fortune might prevent him, and do a world of mischief before he could himself sail over the sea to Italy, especially as it was still the winter season; so he restrained his anger, how vehement soever it was at this time.

3 But now his commanders and soldiers met in several companies, and consulted openly about changing the public affairs; and, out of their indignation, cried out, how "at Rome there are soldiers that live delicately, and when they have not ventured so much as to hear the fame of war, they ordain whom they please for our governors, and in hopes of gain make them emperors; while you, who have gone through so many labours, and are grown into years under your helmets, give leave to others to use such a power, when yet you have among yourselves one more worthy to rule than any whom they have set up. Now what juster opportunity shall they ever have of requiting their generals, if they do not make use of this that is now before them? while there is so much juster reasons for Vespasian's being emperor than for Vitellius; as they are themselves more deserving than those that made the other emperors; for that they have undergone as great wars as have the troops that come from Germany; nor are they inferior in war to those that have brought that tyrant to Rome, nor have they undergone smaller labours than they; for that neither will the Roman senate, nor people, bear such a lascivious emperor as Vitellius, if he be compared with their chaste Vespasian; nor will they endure a most barbarous tyrant, instead of a good governor, nor choose one that hath no child to preside over them, instead of him that is a father; because the advancement of men's own children to dignities is certainly the greatest security kings can have for themselves. Whether, therefore, we estimate the capacity of governing from the skill of a person in years, we ought to have Vespasian, or whether from the strength of a young man, we ought to have Titus; for by this means we shall have the advantage of both their ages, for that they will afford strength to those that shall be made emperors, they having already three legions,

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besides other auxiliaries from the neighbouring kings, and will have further all the armies in the east to support them, as also those in Europe, so they as they are out of the distance and dread of Vitellius, besides such auxiliaries as they may have in Italy itself; that is, Vespasian's brother, and his other son [Domitian]; the one of whom will bring in a great many of those young men that are of dignity, while the other is intrusted with the government of the city, which office of his will be no small means of Vespasian's obtaining the government. Upon the whole, the case may be such, that if we ourselves make further delays, the senate may choose an emperor, whom the soldiers, who are the saviors of the empire, will have in contempt."

4 These were the discourses the soldiers had in their several companies; after which they got together in a great body, and, encouraging one another, they declared Vespasian emperor, and exhorted him to save the government, which was now in danger. Now Vespasian's concern had been for a considerable time about the public, yet did he not intend to set up for governor himself, though his actions showed him to deserve it, while he preferred that safety which is in a private life before the dangers in a state of such dignity; but when he refused the empire, the commanders insisted the more earnestly upon his acceptance; and the soldiers came about him, with their drawn swords in their hands, and threatened to kill him, unless he would now live according to his dignity. And when he had shown his reluctance a great while, and had endeavored to thrust away this dominion from him, he at length, being not able to persuade them, yielded to their solicitations that would salute him emperor.

5 So upon the exhortations of Mucianus, and the other commanders, that he would accept of the empire, and upon that of the rest of the army, who cried out that they were willing to be led against all his opposers, he was in the first place intent upon gaining the dominion over Alexandria, as knowing that Egypt was of the greatest consequence, in order to obtain the entire government, because of its supplying of corn [to Rome]; which corn, if he could be master of, he hoped to dethrone Vitellius, supposing he should aim to keep the empire by force [for he would not be able to support himself, if the multitude at Rome should once be in want of food]; and because he was desirous to join the two legions that were at Alexandria to the other legions that were with him. He also considered with himself, that he should then have that country for a defense to himself against the uncertainty of fortune; for Egypt is hard to be entered by land, and hath no good havens by sea. It hath on the west the dry deserts of Libya; and on the south Siene, that divides it from Ethiopia, as well as the cataracts of the Nile, that cannot be sailed over; and on the east the Red Sea extended as far as Coptus; and it is fortified on the north by the land that reaches to Syria, together with that called the Egyptian Sea, having no havens in it for ships. And thus is Egypt walled about on every side. Its length between Pelusium and Siene is two thousand furlongs, and the passage by sea from Plinthine to Pelusium is three thousand six hundred furlongs. Its river Nile is navigable as far as the city called Elephantine, the forenamed cataracts hindering ships from going any farther, The haven also of Alexandria is not entered by the mariners without difficulty, even in times of peace; for the passage inward is narrow, and full of rocks that lie under the water, which oblige the mariners to turn from a straight direction: its left side is blocked up by works made by men's hands on both sides; on its right side lies the island called Pharus, which is situated just before the entrance, and supports a very great tower, that affords the sight of a fire to such as sail within three hundred furlongs of it, that ships may cast anchor a great way off in the night time, by reason of the difficulty of sailing nearer. About this island are built very great piers, the handiwork of men, against which, when the sea dashes itself, and its waves are broken against those boundaries, the navigation becomes very troublesome, and the entrance through so narrow a passage is rendered dangerous; yet is the haven itself, when you are got into it, a very safe one, and of thirty furlongs in largeness; into which is brought what the country wants in order to its happiness, as also what abundance the country affords more than it wants itself is hence distributed into all the habitable earth.

6 Justly, therefore, did Vespasian desire to obtain that government, in order to corroborate his attempts upon the whole empire; so he immediately sent to Tiberius Alexander, who was then governor of Egypt and of Alexandria, and informed him what the army had put upon him, and how he, being forced to accept of the burden of the government, was desirous to have him for his confederate and supporter. Now as soon as ever Alexander had read this letter, he readily obliged the legions and the multitude to take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian, both which willingly complied with him, as already acquainted with the courage of the man, from that his conduct in their neighbourhood. Accordingly Vespasian, looking upon himself as already intrusted with the government, got all things ready for his journey [to Rome]. Now fame carried this news abroad more suddenly than one could have thought, that he was emperor over the east, upon which every city kept festivals, and celebrated sacrifices and oblations for such good news; the legions also that were in Mysia and Pannonia, who had been in commotion a little before, on account of this insolent attempt of Vitellius, were very glad to take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian, upon his coming to the empire. Vespasian then removed from Cesarea to Berytus, where many embassages came to him from Syria, and many from other provinces, bringing with them from every city crowns, and the congratulations of the people. Mucianus came also, who was the president of the province, and told him with what alacrity the people [received the news of his advancement], and how the people of every city had taken the oath of fidelity to him.

7 So Vespasian's good fortune succeeded to his wishes every where, and the public affairs were, for the greatest part, already in his hands; upon which he considered that he had not arrived at the government without Divine Providence, but that a righteous kind of fate had brought the empire under his power; for as he called to mind the other signals, which had been a great many every where, that foretold he should obtain the government, so did he remember what Josephus had said to him when he ventured to foretell his coming to the empire while Nero was alive; so he was much concerned that this man was still in bonds with him. He then called for Mucianus, together with his other commanders and friends, and, in the first place, he informed them what a valiant man Josephus had been, and what great hardships he had made him undergo in the siege of Jotapata. After that he related those predictions of his which he had then suspected as fictions, suggested out of the fear he was in, but which had by time been demonstrated to be Divine. "It is a shameful thing [said he] that this man, who hath foretold my coming to the empire beforehand, and been the minister of a Divine message to me, should still be retained in the condition of a captive or prisoner." So he called for Josephus, and commanded that he should be set at liberty; whereupon the commanders promised themselves glorious things, froth this requital Vespasian made to a stranger. Titus was then present with his father, and said, "O father, it is but just that the scandal [of a prisoner] should be taken off Josephus, together with his iron chain. For if we do not barely loose his bonds, but cut them to pieces, he will be like a man that had never been bound at all." For that is the usual method as to such as have been bound without a cause. This advice was agreed to by Vespasian also; so there came a man in, and cut the chain to pieces; while Josephus received this testimony of his integrity for a reward, and was moreover esteemed a person of credit as to futurities also.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 11

That Upon The Conquest And Slaughter Of Vitellius Vespasian Hastened His Journey To Rome; But Titus His Son Returned To Jerusalem.

1 And now, when Vespasian had given answers to the embassages, and had disposed of the places of power justly, and according to every one's deserts, he came to Antioch, and consulting which way he had best take, he preferred to go for Rome, rather than to march to Alexandria, because he saw that Alexandria was sure to him already, but that the affairs at Rome were put into disorder by Vitellius; so he sent Mucianus to Italy, and committed a considerable army both of horsemen and footmen to him; yet was Mucianus afraid of going by sea, because it was the middle of winter, and so he led his army on foot through Cappadocia and Phrygia.

2 In the mean time, Antonius Primus took the third of the legions that were in Mysia, for he was president of that province, and made haste, in order to fight Vitellius; whereupon Vitellius sent away Cecinna, with a great army, having a mighty confidence in him, because of his having beaten Otho. This Cecinna marched out of Rome in great haste, and found Antonius about Cremona in Gall, which city is in the borders of Italy; but when he saw there that the enemy were numerous and in good order, he durst not fight them; and as he thought a retreat dangerous, so he began to think of betraying his army to Antonius. Accordingly, he assembled the centurions and tribunes that were under his command, and persuaded them to go over to Antonius, and this by diminishing the reputation of Vitellius, and by exaggerating the power of Vespasian. He also told them that with the one there was no more than the bare name of dominion, but with the other was the power of it; and that it was better for them to prevent necessity, and gain favour, and, while they were likely to be overcome in battle, to avoid the danger beforehand, and go over to Antonius willingly; that Vespasian was able of himself to subdue what had not yet submitted without their assistance, while Vitellius could not preserve what he had already with it.

3 Cecinna said this, and much more to the same purpose, and persuaded them to comply with him; and both he and his army deserted; but still the very same night the soldiers repented of what they had done, and a fear seized on them, lest perhaps Vitellius who sent them should get the better; and drawing their swords, they assaulted Cecinna, in order to kill him; and the thing had been done by them, if the tribunes had not fallen upon their knees, and besought them not to do it; so the soldiers did not kill him, but put him in bonds, as a traitor, and were about to send him to Vitellius. When [Antonius] Primus heard of this, he raised up his men immediately, and made them put on their armour, and led them against those that had revolted; hereupon they put themselves in order of battle, and made a resistance for a while, but were soon beaten, and fled to Cremona; then did Primus take his horsemen, and cut off their entrance into the city, and encompassed and destroyed a great multitude of them before the city, and fell into the city together with the rest, and gave leave to his soldiers to plunder it. And here it was that many strangers, who were merchants, as well as many of the people of that country, perished, and among them Vitellius's whole army, being thirty thousand and two hundred, while Antonius lost no more of those that came with him from Mysia than four thousand and five hundred: he then loosed Cecinna, and sent him to Vespasian to tell him the good news. So he came, and was received by him, and covered the scandal of his treachery by the unexpected honours he received from Vespasian.

4 And now, upon the news that Antonius was approaching, Sabinus took courage at Rome, and assembled those cohorts of soldiers that kept watch by night, and in the night time seized upon the capitol; and, as the day came on, many men of character came over to him, with Domitian, his brother's son, whose encouragement was of very great weight for the compassing the government. Now Vitellius was not much concerned at this Primus, but was very angry with those that had revolted with Sabinus; and thirsting, out of his own natural barbarity, after noble blood, he sent out that part of the army which came along with him to fight against the capitol; and many bold actions were done on this side, and on the side of those that held the temple. But at last, the soldiers that came from Germany, being too numerous for the others, got the hill into their possession, where Domitian, with many other of the principal Romans, providentially escaped, while the rest of the multitude were entirely cut to pieces, and Sabinus himself was brought to Vitellius, and then slain; the soldiers also plundered the temple of its ornaments, and set it on fire. But now within a day's time came Antonius, with his army, and were met by Vitellius and his army; and having had a battle in three several places, the last were all destroyed. Then did Vitellius come out of the palace, in his cups, and satiated with an extravagant and luxurious meal, as in the last extremity, and being drawn along through the multitude, and abused with all sorts of torments, had his head cut off in the midst of Rome, having retained the government eight months and five days and had he lived much longer, I cannot but think the empire would not have been sufficient for his lust. Of the others that were slain, were numbered above fifty thousand. This battle was fought on the third day of the month Apelleus [Casleu]; on the next day Mucianus came into the city with his army, and ordered Antonius and his men to leave off killing; for they were still searching the houses, and killed many of Vitellius's soldiers, and many of the populace, as supposing them to be of his party, preventing by their rage any accurate distinction between them and others. He then produced Domitian, and recommended him to the multitude, until his father should come himself; so the people being now freed from their fears, made acclamations of joy for Vespasian, as for their emperor, and kept festival days for his confirmation, and for the destruction of Vitellius.

5 And now, as Vespasian was come to Alexandria, this good news came from Rome, and at the same time came embassies from all his own habitable earth, to congratulate him upon his advancement; and though this Alexandria was the greatest of all cities next to Rome, it proved too narrow to contain the multitude that then came to it. So upon this confirmation of Vespasian's entire government, which was now settled, and upon the unexpected deliverance of the public affairs of the Romans from ruin, Vespasian turned his thoughts to what remained unsubdued in Judea. However, he himself made haste to go to Rome, as the winter was now almost over, and soon set the affairs of Alexandria in order, but sent his son Titus, with a select part of his army, to destroy Jerusalem. So Titus marched on foot as far as Nicopolis, which is distant twenty furlongs from Alexandria; there he put his army on board some long ships, and sailed upon the river along the Mendesian Nomus, as far as the city Tumuis; there he got out of the ships, and walked on foot, and lodged all night at a small city called Tanis. His second station was Heracleopolis, and his third Pelusium; he then refreshed his army at that place for two days, and on the third passed over the mouths of the Nile at Pelusium; he then proceeded one station over the desert, and pitched his camp at the temple of the Casian Jupiter, and on the next day at Ostracine. This station had no water, but the people of the country make use of water brought from other places. After this he rested at Rhinocolura, and from thence he went to Raphia, which was his fourth station. This city is the beginning of Syria. For his fifth station he pitched his camp at Gaza; after which he came to Ascalon, and thence to Jamnia, and after that to Joppa, and from Joppa to Cesarea, having taken a resolution to gather all his other forces together at that place.

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THE WARS OF THE JEWS BOOK 5

Containing The Interval Of Near Six Months.
From The Coming Of Titus To Besiege Jerusalem, To
The Great Extremity To Which The Jews Were Reduced.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 1

Concerning The Seditions At Jerusalem And What Terrible Miseries Afflicted The City By Their Means.

1 When therefore Titus had marched over that desert which lies between Egypt and Syria, in the manner forementioned, he came to Cesarea, having resolved to set his forces in order at that place, before he began the war. Nay, indeed, while he was assisting his father at Alexandria, in settling that government which had been newly conferred upon them by God, it so happened that the sedition at Jerusalem was revived, and parted into three factions, and that one faction fought against the other; which partition in such evil cases may be said to be a good thing, and the effect of Divine justice. Now as to the attack the zealots made upon the people, and which I esteem the beginning of the city's destruction, it hath been already explained after an accurate manner; as also whence it arose, and to how great a mischief it was increased. But for the present sedition, one should not mistake if he called it a sedition begotten by another sedition, and to be like a wild beast grown mad, which, for want of food from abroad, fell now upon eating its own flesh.

2 For Eleazar, the son of Simon, who made the first separation of the zealots from the people, and made them retire into the temple, appeared very angry at John's insolent attempts, which he made everyday upon the people; for this man never left off murdering; but the truth was, that he could not bear to submit to a tyrant who set up after him. So he being desirous of gaining the entire power and dominion to himself, revolted from John, and took to his assistance Judas the son of Chelcias, and Simon the son of Ezron, who were among the men of greatest power. There was also with him Hezekiah, the son of Chobar, a person of eminence. Each of these were followed by a great many of the zealots; these seized upon the inner court of the temple and laid their arms upon the holy gates, and over the holy fronts of that court. And because they had plenty of provisions, they were of good courage, for there was a great abundance of what was consecrated to sacred uses, and they scrupled not the making use of them; yet were they afraid, on account of their small number; and when they had laid up their arms there, they did not stir from the place they were in. Now as to John, what advantage he had above Eleazar in the multitude of his followers, the like disadvantage he had in the situation he was in, since he had his enemies over his head; and as he could not make any assault upon them without some terror, so was his anger too great to let them be at rest; nay, although he suffered more mischief from Eleazar and his party than he could inflict upon them, yet would he not leave off assaulting them, insomuch that there were continual sallies made one against another, as well as darts thrown at one another, and the temple was defiled every where with murders.

3 But now the tyrant Simon, the son of Gioras, whom the people had invited in, out of the hopes they had of his assistance in the great distresses they were in, having in his power the upper city, and a great part of the lower, did now make more vehement assaults upon John and his party, because they were fought against from above also; yet was he beneath their situation when he attacked them, as they were beneath the attacks of the others above them. Whereby it came to pass that John did both receive and inflict great damage, and that easily, as he was fought against on both sides; and the same advantage that Eleazar and his party had over him, since he was beneath them, the same advantage had he, by his higher situation, over Simon. On which account he easily repelled the attacks that were made from beneath, by the weapons thrown from their hands only; but was obliged to repel those that threw their darts from the temple above him, by his engines of war; for he had such engines as threw darts, and javelins, and stones, and that in no small number, by which he did not only defend himself from such as fought against him, but slew moreover many of the priests, as they were about their sacred ministrations. For notwithstanding these men were mad with all sorts of impiety, yet did they still admit those that desired to offer their sacrifices, although they took care to search the people of their own country beforehand, and both suspected and watched them; while they were not so much afraid of strangers, who, although they had gotten leave of them, how cruel soever they were, to come into that court, were yet often destroyed by this sedition; for those darts that were thrown by the engines came with that force, that they went over all the buildings, and reached as far as the altar, and the temple itself, and fell upon the priests, and those that were about the sacred offices; insomuch that many persons who came thither with great zeal from the ends of the earth, to offer sacrifices at this celebrated place, which was esteemed holy by all mankind, fell down before their own sacrifices themselves, and sprinkled that altar which was venerable among all men, both Greeks and Barbarians, with their own blood; till the dead bodies of strangers were mingled together with those of their own country, and those of profane persons with those of the priests, and the blood of all sorts of dead carcasses stood in lakes in the holy courts themselves. And now, "O most wretched city, what misery so great as this didst thou suffer from the Romans, when they came to purify thee from thy intestine hatred! 'For thou couldst be no longer a place fit for God, nor couldst thou long continue in being, after thou hadst been a sepulcher for the bodies of thy own people, and hadst made the holy house itself a burying-place in this civil war of thine. Yet mayst thou again grow better, if perchance thou wilt hereafter appease the anger of that God who is the author of thy destruction." But I must restrain myself from these passions by the rules of history, since this is not a proper time for domestical lamentations, but for historical narrations; I therefore return to the operations that follow in this sedition.

4 And now there were three treacherous factions in the city, the one parted from the other. Eleazar and his party, that kept the sacred first-fruits, came against John in their cups. Those that were with John plundered the populace, and went out with zeal against Simon. This Simon had his supply of provisions from the city, in opposition to the seditious. When, therefore, John was assaulted on both sides, he made his men turn about, throwing his darts upon those citizens that came up against him, from the cloisters he had in his possession, while he opposed those that attacked him from the temple by his engines of war. And if at any time he was freed from those that were above him, which happened frequently, from their being drunk and tired, he sallied out with a great number upon Simon and his party; and this he did always in such parts of the city as he could come at, till he set on fire those houses that were full of corn, and of all other provisions. The same thing was done by Simon, when, upon the other's retreat, he attacked the city also; as if they had, on purpose, done it to serve the Romans, by destroying what the city had laid up against the siege, and by thus cutting off the nerves of their own power. Accordingly, it so came to pass, that all the places that were about the temple were burnt down, and were become an intermediate desert space, ready for fighting on both sides of it; and that almost all that corn was burnt, which would have been sufficient for a siege of many years. So they were taken by the means of the famine, which it was impossible they should have been, unless they had thus prepared the way for it by this procedure.

5 And now, as the city was engaged in a war on all sides, from these treacherous crowds of wicked men, the people of the city, between them, were like a great body torn in pieces. The aged men and the women were in such distress by their internal calamities, that they wished for the Romans, and earnestly hoped for an external war, in order to their delivery from their domestical miseries. The citizens themselves were under a terrible consternation and fear; nor had they any opportunity of taking counsel, and of changing their conduct; nor were there any hopes of coming to an agreement with their enemies; nor could such as had a mind flee away; for guards were set at all places, and the heads of the robbers, although they were seditious one against another in other respects, yet did they agree in killing those that were for peace with the Romans, or were suspected of an inclination to desert them, as their common enemies. They agreed in nothing but this, to kill those that were innocent. The noise also of those that were fighting was incessant, both by day and by night; but the lamentations of those that mourned exceeded the other; nor was there ever any occasion for them to leave off their lamentations, because their calamities came perpetually one upon another, although the deep consternation they were in prevented their outward wailing; but being constrained by their fear to conceal their inward passions, they were inwardly tormented, without daring to open their lips in groans. Nor was any regard paid to those that were still alive, by their relations; nor was there any care taken of burial for those that were dead; the occasion of both which was this, that every one despaired of himself; for those that were not among the seditious had no great desires of any thing, as expecting for certain that they should very soon be destroyed; but for the seditious themselves, they fought against each other, while they trod upon the dead bodies as they lay heaped one upon another, and taking up a mad rage from those dead bodies that were under their feet, became the fiercer thereupon. They, moreover, were still inventing somewhat or other that was pernicious against themselves; and when they had resolved upon any thing, they executed it without mercy, and omitted no method of torment or of barbarity. Nay, John abused the sacred materials, 5 and employed them in the construction of his engines of war; for the people and the priests had formerly determined to support the temple, and raise the holy house twenty cubits higher; for king Agrippa had at a very great expense, and with very great pains, brought thither such materials as were proper for that purpose, being pieces of timber very well worth seeing, both for their straightness and their largeness; but the war coming on, and interrupting the work, John had them cut, and prepared for the building him towers, he finding them long enough to oppose from them those his adversaries that thought him from the temple that was above him. He also had them brought and erected behind the inner court over against the west end of the cloisters, where alone he could erect them; whereas the other sides of that court had so many steps as would not let them come nigh enough the cloisters.

6 Thus did John hope to be too hard for his enemies by these engines constructed by his impiety; but God himself demonstrated that his pains would prove of no use to him, by bringing the Romans upon him, before he had reared any of his towers; for Titus, when he had gotten together part of his forces about him, and had ordered the rest to meet him at Jerusalem, marched out of Cesarea. He had with him those three legions that had accompanied his father when he laid Judea waste, together with that twelfth legion which had been formerly beaten with Cestius; which legion, as it was otherwise remarkable for its valour, so did it march on now with greater alacrity to avenge themselves on the Jews, as remembering what they had formerly suffered from them. Of these legions he ordered the fifth to meet him, by going through Emmaus, and the tenth to go up by Jericho; he also moved himself, together with the rest; besides whom, marched those auxiliaries that came from the kings, being now more in number than before, together with a considerable number that came to his assistance from Syria. Those also that had been selected out of these four legions, and sent with Mucianus to Italy, had their places filled up out of these soldiers that came out of Egypt with Titus; who were two thousand men, chosen out of the armies at Alexandria. There followed him also three thousand drawn from those that guarded the river Euphrates; as also there came Tiberius Alexander, who was a friend of his, most valuable, both for his good-will to him, and for his prudence. He had formerly been governor of Alexandria, but was now thought worthy to be general of the army [under Titus]. The reason of this was, that he had been the first who encouraged Vespasian very lately to accept this his new dominion, and joined himself to him with great fidelity, when things were uncertain, and fortune had not yet declared for him. He also followed Titus as a counselor, very useful to him in this war, both by his age and skill in such affairs.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 2

How Titus Marched To Jerusalem, And How He Was In Danger As He Was Taking A View Of The City Of The Place Also Where He Pitched His Camp

1 Now, as Titus was upon his march into the enemy's country, the auxiliaries that were sent by the kings marched first, having all the other auxiliaries with them; after whom followed those that were to prepare the roads and measure out the camp; then came the commander's baggage, and after that the other soldiers, who were completely armed to support them; then came Titus himself, having with him another select body; and then came the pikemen; after whom came the horse belonging to that legion. All these came before the engines; and after these engines came the tribunes and the leaders of the cohorts, with their select bodies; after these came the ensigns, with the eagle; and before those ensigns came the trumpeters belonging to them; next these came the main body of the army in their ranks, every rank being six deep; the servants belonging to every legion came after these; and before these last their baggage; the mercenaries came last, and those that guarded them brought up the rear. Now Titus, according to the Roman usage, went in the front of the army after a decent manner, and marched through Samaria to Gophna, a city that had been formerly taken by his father, and was then garrisoned by Roman soldiers; and when he had lodged there one night, he marched on in the morning; and when he had gone as far as a day's march, he pitched his camp at that valley which the Jews, in their own tongue, call "the Valley of Thorns," near a certain village called Gabaothsath, which signifies "the Hill of Saul," being distant from Jerusalem about thirty furlongs. There it was that he chose out six hundred select horsemen, and went to take a view of the city, to observe what strength it was of, and how courageous the Jews were; whether, when they saw him, and before they came to a direct battle, they would be affrighted and submit; for he had been informed what was really true, that the people who were fallen under the power of the seditious and the robbers were greatly desirous of peace; but being too weak to rise up against the rest, they lay still.

2 Now, so long as he rode along the straight road which led to the wall of the city, nobody appeared out of the gates; but when he went out of that road, and declined towards the tower Psephinus, and led the band of horsemen obliquely, an immense number of the Jews leaped out suddenly at the towers called the "Women's Towers," through that gate which was over against the monuments of queen Helena, and intercepted his horse; and standing directly opposite to those that still ran along the road, hindered them from joining those that had declined out of it. They intercepted Titus also, with a few other. Now it was here impossible for him to go forward, because all the places had trenches dug in them from the wall, to preserve the gardens round about, and were full of gardens obliquely situated, and of many hedges; and to return back to

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his own men, he saw it was also impossible, by reason of the multitude of the enemies that lay between them; many of whom did not so much as know that the king was in any danger, but supposed him still among them. So he perceived that his preservation must be wholly owing to his own courage, and turned his horse about, and cried out aloud to those that were about him to follow him, and ran with violence into the midst of his enemies, in order to force his way through them to his own men. And hence we may principally learn, that both the success of wars, and the dangers that kings are in, are under the providence of God; for while such a number of darts were thrown at Titus, when he had neither his head-piece on, nor his breastplate, [for, as I told you, he went out not to fight, but to view the city,] none of them touched his body, but went aside without hurting him; as if all of them missed him on purpose, and only made a noise as they passed by him. So he diverted those perpetually with his sword that came on his side, and overturned many of those that directly met him, and made his horse ride over those that were overthrown. The enemy indeed made a shout at the boldness of Caesar, and exhorted one another to rush upon him. Yet did these against whom he marched fly away, and go off from him in great numbers; while those that were in the same danger with him kept up close to him, though they were wounded both on their backs and on their sides; for they had each of them but this one hope of escaping, if they could assist Titus in opening himself a way, that he might not be encompassed round by his enemies before he got away from them. Now there were two of those that were with him, but at some distance; the one of which the enemy compassed round, and slew him with their darts, and his horse also; but the other they slew as he leaped down from his horse, and carried off his horse with them. But Titus escaped with the rest, and came safe to the camp. So this success of the Jews' first attack raised their minds, and gave them an ill-grounded hope; and this short inclination of fortune, on their side, made them very courageous for the future.

3 But now, as soon as that legion that had been at Emmaus was joined to Caesar at night, he removed thence, when it was day, and came to a place called Seopus; from whence the city began already to be seen, and a plain view might be taken of the great temple. Accordingly, this place, on the north quarter of the city, and joining thereto, was a plain, and very properly named Scopus, [the prospect,] and was no more than seven furlongs distant from it. And here it was that Titus ordered a camp to be fortified for two legions that were to be together; but ordered another camp to be fortified, at three furlongs farther distance behind them, for the fifth legion; for he thought that, by marching in the night, they might be tired, and might deserve to be covered from the enemy, and with less fear might fortify themselves; and as these were now beginning to build, the tenth legion, who came through Jericho, was already come to the place, where a certain party of armed men had formerly lain, to guard that pass into the city, and had been taken before by Vespasian. These legions had orders to encamp at the distance of six furlongs from Jerusalem, at the mount called the Mount of Olives which lies over against the city on the east side, and is parted from it by a deep valley, interposed between them, which is named Cedron.

4 Now when hitherto the several parties in the city had been dashing one against another perpetually, this foreign war, now suddenly come upon them after a violent manner, put the first stop to their contentions one against another; and as the seditious now saw with astonishment the Romans pitching three several camps, they began to think of an awkward sort of concord, and said one to another, "What do we here, and what do we mean, when we suffer three fortified walls to be built to coop us in, that we shall not be able to breathe freely? while the enemy is securely building a kind of city in opposition to us, and while we sit still within our own walls, and become spectators only of what they are doing, with our hands idle, and our armour laid by, as if they were about somewhat that was for our good and advantage. We are, it seems, [so did they cry out,] only courageous against ourselves, while the Romans are likely to gain the city without bloodshed by our sedition." Thus did they encourage one another when they were gotten together, and took their armour immediately, and ran out upon the tenth legion, and fell upon the Romans with great eagerness, and with a prodigious shout, as they were fortifying their camp. These Romans were caught in different parties, and this in order to perform their several works, and on that account had in great measure laid aside their arms; for they thought the Jews would not have ventured to make a sally upon them; and had they been disposed so to do, they supposed their sedition would have distracted them. So they were put into disorder unexpectedly; when some of them left their works they were about, and immediately marched off, while many ran to their arms, but were smitten and slain before they could turn back upon the enemy. The Jews became still more and more in number, as encouraged by the good success of those that first made the attack; and while they had such good fortune, they seemed both to themselves and to the enemy to be many more than they really were. The disorderly way of their fighting at first put the Romans also to a stand, who had been constantly used to fight skillfully in good order, and with keeping their ranks, and obeying the orders that were given them; for which reason the Romans were caught unexpectedly, and were obliged to give way to the assaults that were made upon them. Now when these Romans were overtaken, and turned back upon the Jews, they put a stop to their career; yet when they did not take care enough of themselves through the vehemency of their pursuit, they were wounded by them; but as still more and more Jews sallied out of the city, the Romans were at length brought into confusion, and put to flight, and ran away from their camp. Nay, things looked as though the entire legion would have been in danger, unless Titus had been informed of the case they were in, and had sent them succors immediately. So he reproached them for their cowardice, and brought those back that were running away, and fell himself upon the Jews on their flank, with those select troops that were with him, and slew a considerable number, and wounded more of them, and put them all to flight, and made them run away hastily down the valley. Now as these Jews suffered greatly in the declivity of the valley, so when they were gotten over it, they turned about, and stood over against the Romans, having the valley between them, and there fought with them. Thus did they continue the fight till noon; but when it was already a little after noon, Titus set those that came to the assistance of the Romans with him, and those that belonged to the cohorts, to prevent the Jews from making any more sallies, and then sent the rest of the legion to the upper part of the mountain, to fortify their camp.

5 This march of the Romans seemed to the Jews to be a flight; and as the watchman who was placed upon the wall gave a signal by shaking his garment, there came out a fresh multitude of Jews, and that with such mighty violence, that one might compare it to the running of the most terrible wild beasts. To say the truth, none of those that opposed them could sustain the fury with which they made their attacks; but, as if they had been cast out of an engine, they brake the enemies' ranks to pieces, who were put to flight, and ran away to the mountain; none but Titus himself, and a few others with him, being left in the midst of the acclivity. Now these others, who were his friends, despised the danger they were in, and were ashamed to leave their general, earnestly exhorting him to give way to these Jews that are fond of dying, and not to run into such dangers before those that ought to stay before him; to consider what his fortune was, and not, by supplying the place of a common soldier, to venture to turn back upon the enemy so suddenly; and this because he was general in the war, and lord of the habitable earth, on whose preservation the public affairs do all depend. These persuasions Titus seemed not so much as to hear, but opposed those that ran upon him, and smote them on the face; and when he had forced them to go back, he slew them: he also fell upon great numbers as they marched down the hill, and thrust them forward; while those men were so amazed at his courage and his strength, that they could not fly directly to the city, but declined from him on both sides, and pressed after those that fled up the hill; yet did he still fall upon their flank, and put a stop to their fury. In the mean time, a disorder and a terror fell again upon those that were fortifying their camp at the top of the hill, upon their seeing those beneath them running away; insomuch that the whole legion was dispersed, while they thought that the sallies of the Jews upon them were plainly insupportable, and that Titus was himself put to flight; because they took it for granted, that, if he had staid, the rest would never have fled for it. Thus were they encompassed on every side by a kind of panic fear, and some dispersed themselves one way, and some another, till certain of them saw their general in the very midst of an action, and being under great concern for him, they loudly proclaimed the danger he was in to the entire legion; and now shame made them turn back, and they reproached one another that they did worse than run away, by deserting Caesar. So they used their utmost force against the Jews, and declining from the straight declivity, they drove them on heaps into the bottom of the valley. Then did the Jews turn about and fight them; but as they were themselves retiring, and now, because the Romans had the advantage of the ground, and were above the Jews, they drove them all into the valley. Titus also pressed upon those that were near him, and sent the legion again to fortify their camp; while he, and those that were with him before, opposed the enemy, and kept them from doing further mischief; insomuch that, if I may be allowed neither to add any thing out of flattery, nor to diminish any thing out of envy, but to speak the plain truth, Caesar did twice deliver that entire legion when it was in jeopardy, and gave them a quiet opportunity of fortifying their camp.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 3

How The Sedition Was Again Revived Within Jerusalem And Yet The Jews Contrived Snares For The Romans. How Titus Also Threatened His Soldiers For Their Ungovernable Rashness.

1 As now the war abroad ceased for a while, the sedition within was revived; and on the feast of unleavened bread, which was now come, it being the fourteenth day of the month Xanthicus, [Nisan,] when it is believed the Jews were first freed from the Egyptians, Eleazar and his party opened the gates of this [inmost court of the] temple, and admitted such of the people as were desirous to worship God into it. But John made use of this festival as a cloak for his treacherous designs, and armed the most inconsiderable of his own party, the greater part of whom were not purified, with weapons concealed under their garments, and sent them with great zeal into the temple, in order to seize upon it; which armed men, when they were gotten in, threw their garments away, and presently appeared in their armour. Upon which there was a very great disorder and disturbance about the holy house; while the people, who had no concern in the sedition, supposed that this assault was made against all without distinction, as the zealots thought it was made against themselves only. So these left off guarding the gates any longer, and leaped down from their battlements before they came to an engagement, and fled away into the subterranean caverns of the temple; while the people that stood trembling at the altar, and about the holy house, were rolled on heaps together, and trampled upon, and were beaten both with wooden and with iron weapons without mercy. Such also as had differences with others slew many persons that were quiet, out of their own private enmity and hatred, as if they were opposite to the seditious; and all those that had formerly offended any of these plotters were now known, and were now led away to the slaughter; and when they had done abundance of horrid mischief to the guiltless, they granted a truce to the guilty, and let those go off that came out of the caverns. These followers of John also did now seize upon this inner temple, and upon all the warlike engines therein, and then ventured to oppose Simon. And thus that sedition, which had been divided into three factions, was now reduced to two.

2 But Titus, intending to pitch his camp nearer to the city than Scopus, placed as many of his choice horsemen and footmen as he thought sufficient opposite to the Jews, to prevent their sallying out upon them, while he gave orders for the whole army to level the distance, as far as the wall of the city. So they threw down all the hedges and walls which the inhabitants had made about their gardens and groves of trees, and cut down all the fruit trees that lay between them and the wall of the city, and filled up all the hollow places and the chasms, and demolished the rocky precipices with iron instruments; and thereby made all the place level from Scopus to Herod's monuments, which adjoined to the pool called the Serpent's Pool.

3 Now at this very time the Jews contrived the following stratagem against the Romans. The bolder sort of the seditious went out at the towers, called the Women's Towers, as if they had been ejected out of the city by those who were for peace, and rambled about as if they were afraid of being assaulted by the Romans, and were in fear of one another; while those that stood upon the wall, and seemed to be of the people's side, cried out aloud for peace, and entreated they might have security for their lives given them, and called for the Romans, promising to open the gates to them; and as they cried out after that manner, they threw stones at their own people, as though they would drive them away from the gates. These also pretended that they were excluded by force, and that they petitioned those that were within to let them in; and rushing upon the Romans perpetually, with violence, they then came back, and seemed to be in great disorder. Now the Roman soldiers thought this cunning stratagem of theirs was to be believed real, and thinking they had the one party under their power, and could punish them as they pleased, and hoping that the other party would open their gates to them, set to the execution of their designs accordingly. But for Titus himself, he had this surprising conduct of the Jews in suspicion; for whereas he had invited them to come to terms of accommodation, by Josephus, but one day before, he could then receive no civil answer from them; so he ordered the soldiers to stay where they were. However, some of them that were set in the front of the works prevented him, and catching up their arms ran to the gates; whereupon those that seemed to have been ejected at the first retired; but as soon as the soldiers were gotten between the towers on each side of the gate, the Jews ran out and encompassed them round, and fell upon them behind, while that multitude which stood upon the wall threw a heap of stones and darts of all kinds at them, insomuch that they slew a considerable number, and wounded many more; for it was not easy for the Romans to escape, by reason those behind them pressed them forward; besides which, the shame they were under for being mistaken, and the fear they were in of their commanders, engaged them to persevere in their mistake; wherefore they fought with their spears a great while, and received many blows from the Jews, though indeed they gave them as many blows again, and at last repelled those that had encompassed them about, while the Jews pursued them as they retired, and followed them, and threw darts at them as far as the monuments of queen Helena.

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4 After this these Jews, without keeping any decorum, grew insolent upon their good fortune, and jested upon the Romans for being deluded by the trick they had put upon them, and making a noise with beating their shields, leaped for gladness, and made joyful exclamations; while these soldiers were received with threatenings by their officers, and with indignation by Caesar himself, [who spake to them thus]: These Jews, who are only conducted by their madness, do every thing with care and circumspection; they contrive stratagems, and lay ambushes, and fortune gives success to their stratagems, because they are obedient, and preserve their goodwill and fidelity to one another; while the Romans, to whom fortune uses to be ever subservient, by reason of their good order, and ready submission to their commanders, have now had ill success by their contrary behavior, and by not being able to restrain their hands from action, they have been caught; and that which is the most to their reproach, they have gone on without their commanders, in the very presence of Caesar. "Truly," says Titus, "the laws of war cannot but groan heavily, as will my father also himself, when he shall be informed of this wound that hath been given us, since he who is grown old in wars did never make so great a mistake. Our laws of war do also ever inflict capital punishment on those that in the least break into good order, while at this time they have seen an entire army run into disorder. However, those that have been so insolent shall be made immediately sensible, that even they who conquer among the Romans without orders for fighting are to be under disgrace." When Titus had enlarged upon this matter before the commanders, it appeared evident that he would execute the law against all those that were concerned; so these soldiers' minds sunk down in despair, as expecting to be put to death, and that justly and quickly. However, the other legions came round about Titus, and entreated his favour to these their fellow soldiers, and made supplication to him, that he would pardon the rashness of a few, on account of the better obedience of all the rest; and promised for them that they should make amends for their present fault, by their more virtuous behavior for the time to come.

5 So Caesar complied with their desires, and with what prudence dictated to him also; for he esteemed it fit to punish single persons by real executions, but that the punishment of great multitudes should proceed no further than reproofs; so he was reconciled to the soldiers, but gave them a special charge to act more wisely for the future; and he considered with himself how he might be even with the Jews for their stratagem. And now when the space between the Romans and the wall had been leveled, which was done in four days, and as he was desirous to bring the baggage of the army, with the rest of the multitude that followed him, safely to the camp, he set the strongest part of his army over against that wall which lay on the north quarter of the city, and over against the western part of it, and made his army seven deep, with the foot-men placed before them, and the horsemen behind them, each of the last in three ranks, whilst the archers stood in the midst in seven ranks. And now as the Jews were prohibited, by so great a body of men, from making sallies upon the Romans, both the beasts that bare the burdens, and belonged to the three legions, and the rest of the multitude, marched on without any fear. But as for Titus himself, he was but about two furlongs distant from the wall, at that part of it where was the corner and over against that tower which was called Psephinus, at which tower the compass of the wall belonging to the north bended, and extended itself over against the west; but the other part of the army fortified itself at the tower called Hippicus, and was distant, in like manner, by two furlongs from the city. However, the tenth legion continued in its own place, upon the Mount of Olives.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 4

The Description Of Jerusalem.

1 The city of Jerusalem was fortified with three walls, on such parts as were not encompassed with unpassable valleys; for in such places it had but one wall. The city was built upon two hills, which are opposite to one another, and have a valley to divide them asunder; at which valley the corresponding rows of houses on both hills end. Of these hills, that which contains the upper city is much higher, and in length more direct. Accordingly, it was called the "Citadel," by king David; he was the father of that Solomon who built this temple at the first; but it is by us called the "Upper Market-place." But the other hill, which was called "Acra," and sustains the lower city, is of the shape of a moon when she is horned; over against this there was a third hill, but naturally lower than Acra, and parted formerly from the other by a broad valley. However, in those times when the Asamoneans reigned, they filled up that valley with earth, and had a mind to join the city to the temple. They then took off part of the height of Acra, and reduced it to be of less elevation than it was before, that the temple might be superior to it. Now the Valley of the Cheesemongers, as it was called, and was that which we told you before distinguished the hill of the upper city from that of the lower, extended as far as Siloam; for that is the name of a fountain which hath sweet water in it, and this in great plenty also. But on the outsides, these hills are surrounded by deep valleys, and by reason of the precipices to them belonging on both sides they are every where unpassable.

2 Now, of these three walls, the old one was hard to be taken, both by reason of the valleys, and of that hill on which it was built, and which was above them. But besides that great advantage, as to the place where they were situated, it was also built very strong; because David and Solomon, and the following kings, were very zealous about this work. Now that wall began on the north, at the tower called "Hippicus," and extended as far as the "Xistus," a place so called, and then, joining to the council-house, ended at the west cloister of the temple. But if we go the other way westward, it began at the same place, and extended through a place called "Bethso," to the gate of the Essens; and after that it went southward, having its bending above the fountain Siloam, where it also bends again towards the east at Solomon's pool, and reaches as far as a certain place which they called "Ophlas," where it was joined to the eastern cloister of the temple. The second wall took its beginning from that gate which they called "Gennath," which belonged to the first wall; it only encompassed the northern quarter of the city, and reached as far as the tower Antonia. The beginning of the third wall was at the tower Hippicus, whence it reached as far as the north quarter of the city, and the tower Psephinus, and then was so far extended till it came over against the monuments of Helena, which Helena was queen of Adiabene, the daughter of Izates; it then extended further to a great length, and passed by the sepulchral caverns of the kings, and bent again at the tower of the corner, at the monument which is called the "Monument of the Fuller," and joined to the old wall at the valley called the "Valley of Cedron." It was Agrippa who encompassed the parts added to the old city with this wall, which had been all naked before; for as the city grew more populous, it gradually crept beyond its old limits, and those parts of it that stood northward of the temple, and joined that hill to the city, made it considerably larger, and occasioned that hill, which is in number the fourth, and is called "Bezetha," to be inhabited also. It lies over against the tower Antonia, but is divided from it by a deep valley, which was dug on purpose, and that in order to hinder the foundations of the tower of Antonia from joining to this hill, and thereby affording an opportunity for getting to it with ease, and hindering the security that arose from its superior elevation; for which reason also that depth of the ditch made the elevation of the towers more remarkable. This new-built part of the city was called "Bezetha," in our language, which, if interpreted in the Grecian language, may be called "the New City." Since, therefore, its inhabitants stood in need of a covering, the father of the present king, and of the same name with him, Agrippa, began that wall we spoke of; but he left off building it when he had only laid the foundations, out of the fear he was in of Claudius Caesar, lest he should suspect that so strong a wall was built in order to make some innovation in public affairs; for the city could no way have been taken if that wall had been finished in the manner it was begun; as its parts were connected together by stones twenty cubits long, and ten cubits broad, which could never have been either easily undermined by any iron tools, or shaken by any engines. The wall was, however, ten cubits wide, and it would probably have had a height greater than that, had not his zeal who began it been hindered from exerting itself. After this, it was erected with great diligence by the Jews, as high as twenty cubits, above which it had battlements of two cubits, and turrets of three cubits altitude, insomuch that the entire altitude extended as far as twenty-five cubits.

3 Now the towers that were upon it were twenty cubits in breadth, and twenty cubits in height; they were square and solid, as was the wall itself, wherein the niceness of the joints, and the beauty of the stones, were no way inferior to those of the holy house itself. Above this solid altitude of the towers, which was twenty cubits, there were rooms of great magnificence, and over them upper rooms, and cisterns to receive rain-water. They were many in number, and the steps by which you ascended up to them were every one broad: of these towers then the third wall had ninety, and the spaces between them were each two hundred cubits; but in the middle wall were forty towers, and the old wall was parted into sixty, while the whole compass of the city was thirty-three furlongs. Now the third wall was all of it wonderful; yet was the tower Psephinus elevated above it at the north-west corner, and there Titus pitched his own tent; for being seventy cubits high it both afforded a prospect of Arabia at sun-rising, as well as it did of the utmost limits of the Hebrew possessions at the sea westward. Moreover, it was an octagon, and over against it was the tower Hipplicus, and hard by two others were erected by king Herod, in the old wall. These were for largeness, beauty, and strength beyond all that were in the habitable earth; for besides the magnanimity of his nature, and his magnificence towards the city on other occasions, he built these after such an extraordinary manner, to gratify his own private affections, and dedicated these towers to the memory of those three persons who had been the dearest to him, and from whom he named them. They were his brother, his friend, and his wife. This wife he had slain, out of his love [and jealousy], as we have already related; the other two he lost in war, as they were courageously fighting. Hippicus, so named from his friend, was square; its length and breadth were each twenty-five cubits, and its height thirty, and it had no vacuity in it. Over this solid building, which was composed of great stones united together, there was a reservoir twenty cubits deep, over which there was a house of two stories, whose height was twenty-five cubits, and divided into several parts; over which were battlements of two cubits, and turrets all round of three cubits high, insomuch that the entire height added together amounted to fourscore cubits. The second tower, which he named from his brother Phasaelus, had its breadth and its height equal, each of them forty cubits; over which was its solid height of forty cubits; over which a cloister went round about, whose height was ten cubits, and it was covered from enemies by breast-works and bulwarks. There was also built over that cloister another tower, parted into magnificent rooms, and a place for bathing; so that this tower wanted nothing that might make it appear to be a royal palace. It was also adorned with battlements and turrets, more than was the foregoing, and the entire altitude was about ninety cubits; the appearance of it resembled the tower of Pharus, which exhibited a fire to such as sailed to Alexandria, but was much larger than it in compass. This was now converted to a house, wherein Simon exercised his tyrannical authority. The third tower was Mariamne, for that was his queen's name; it was solid as high as twenty cubits; its breadth and its length were twenty cubits, and were equal to each other; its upper buildings were more magnificent, and had greater variety, than the other towers had; for the king thought it most proper for him to adorn that which was denominated from his wife, better than those denominated from men, as those were built stronger than this that bore his wife's name. The entire height of this tower was fifty cubits.

4 Now as these towers were so very tall, they appeared much taller by the place on which they stood; for that very old wall wherein they were was built on a high hill, and was itself a kind of elevation that was still thirty cubits taller; over which were the towers situated, and thereby were made much higher to appearance. The largeness also of the stones was wonderful; for they were not made of common small stones, nor of such large ones only as men could carry, but they were of white marble, cut out of the rock; each stone was twenty cubits in length, and ten in breadth, and five in depth. They were so exactly united to one another, that each tower looked like one entire rock of stone, so growing naturally, and afterward cut by the hand of the artificers into their present shape and corners; so little, or not at all, did their joints or connexion appear low as these towers were themselves on the north side of the wall, the king had a palace inwardly thereto adjoined, which exceeds all my ability to describe it; for it was so very curious as to want no cost nor skill in its construction, but was entirely walled about to the height of thirty cubits, and was adorned with towers at equal distances, and with large bed-chambers, that would contain beds for a hundred guests a-piece, in which the variety of the stones is not to be expressed; for a large quantity of those that were rare of that kind was collected together. Their roofs were also wonderful, both for the length of the beams, and the splendour of their ornaments. The number of the rooms was also very great, and the variety of the figures that were about them was prodigious; their furniture was complete, and the greatest part of the vessels that were put in them was of silver and gold. There were besides many porticoes, one beyond another, round about, and in each of those porticoes curious pillars; yet were all the courts that were exposed to the air every where green. There were, moreover, several groves of trees, and long walks through them, with deep canals, and cisterns, that in several parts were filled with brazen statues, through which the water ran out. There were withal many dove-courts of tame pigeons about the canals. But indeed it is not possible to give a complete description of these palaces; and the very remembrance of them is a torment to one, as putting one in mind what vastly rich buildings that fire which was kindled by the robbers hath consumed; for these were not burnt by the Romans, but by these internal plotters, as we have already related, in the beginning of their rebellion. That fire began at the tower of Antonia, and went on to the palaces, and consumed the upper parts of the three towers themselves.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 5

A Description Of The Temple.

1 Now this temple, as I have already said, was built upon a strong hill. At first the plain at the top was hardly sufficient for the holy house and the altar, for the ground about it was very uneven, and like a precipice; but when king Solomon, who was the person that built the temple, had built a wall to it on its east side, there was then added one cloister founded on a bank cast up for it, and on the other parts the holy house stood naked. But in future ages the people added new banks, and the hill became a larger plain. They then broke down the wall on the north side, and took in as much as sufficed

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afterward for the compass of the entire temple. And when they had built walls on three sides of the temple round about, from the bottom of the hill, and had performed a work that was greater than could be hoped for, [in which work long ages were spent by them, as well as all their sacred treasures were exhausted, which were still replenished by those tributes which were sent to God from the whole habitable earth,] they then encompassed their upper courts with cloisters, as well as they [afterward] did the lowest [court of the] temple. The lowest part of this was erected to the height of three hundred cubits, and in some places more; yet did not the entire depth of the foundations appear, for they brought earth, and filled up the valleys, as being desirous to make them on a level with the narrow streets of the city; wherein they made use of stones of forty cubits in magnitude; for the great plenty of money they then had, and the liberality of the people, made this attempt of theirs to succeed to an incredible degree; and what could not be so much as hoped for as ever to be accomplished, was, by perseverance and length of time, brought to perfection.

2 Now for the works that were above these foundations, these were not unworthy of such foundations; for all the cloisters were double, and the pillars to them belonging were twenty-five cubits in height, and supported the cloisters. These pillars were of one entire stone each of them, and that stone was white marble; and the roofs were adorned with cedar, curiously graven. The natural magnificence, and excellent polish, and the harmony of the joints in these cloisters, afforded a prospect that was very remarkable; nor was it on the outside adorned with any work of the painter or engraver. The cloisters [of the outmost court] were in breadth thirty cubits, while the entire compass of it was by measure six furlongs, including the tower of Antonia; those entire courts that were exposed to the air were laid with stones of all sorts. When you go through these [first] cloisters, unto the second [court of the] temple, there was a partition made of stone all round, whose height was three cubits: its construction was very elegant; upon it stood pillars, at equal distances from one another, declaring the law of purity, some in Greek, and some in Roman letters, that "no foreigner should go within that sanctuary" for that second [court of the] temple was called "the Sanctuary," and was ascended to by fourteen steps from the first court. This court was four-square, and had a wall about it peculiar to itself; the height of its buildings, although it were on the outside forty cubits, was hidden by the steps, and on the inside that height was but twenty-five cubits; for it being built over against a higher part of the hill with steps, it was no further to be entirely discerned within, being covered by the hill itself. Beyond these thirteen steps there was the distance of ten cubits; this was all plain; whence there were other steps, each of five cubits a-piece, that led to the gates, which gates on the north and south sides were eight, on each of those sides four, and of necessity two on the east. For since there was a partition built for the women on that side, as the proper place wherein they were to worship, there was a necessity for a second gate for them: this gate was cut out of its wall, over against the first gate. There was also on the other sides one southern and one northern gate, through which was a passage into the court of the women; for as to the other gates, the women were not allowed to pass through them; nor when they went through their own gate could they go beyond their own wall. This place was allotted to the women of our own country, and of other countries, provided they were of the same nation, and that equally. The western part of this court had no gate at all, but the wall was built entire on that side. But then the cloisters which were betwixt the gates extended from the wall inward, before the chambers; for they were supported by very fine and large pillars. These cloisters were single, and, excepting their magnitude, were no way inferior to those of the lower court.

3 Now nine of these gates were on every side covered over with gold and silver, as were the jambs of their doors and their lintels; but there was one gate that was without the [inward court of the] holy house, which was of Corinthian brass, and greatly excelled those that were only covered over with silver and gold. Each gate had two doors, whose height was severally thirty cubits, and their breadth fifteen. However, they had large spaces within of thirty cubits, and had on each side rooms, and those, both in breadth and in length, built like towers, and their height was above forty cubits. Two pillars did also support these rooms, and were in circumference twelve cubits. Now the magnitudes of the other gates were equal one to another; but that over the Corinthian gate, which opened on the east over against the gate of the holy house itself, was much larger; for its height was fifty cubits; and its doors were forty cubits; and it was adorned after a most costly manner, as having much richer and thicker plates of silver and gold upon them than the other. These nine gates had that silver and gold poured upon them by Alexander, the father of Tiberius. Now there were fifteen steps, which led away from the wall of the court of the women to this greater gate; whereas those that led thither from the other gates were five steps shorter.

4 As to the holy house itself, which was placed in the midst [of the inmost court], that most sacred part of the temple, it was ascended to by twelve steps; and in front its height and its breadth were equal, and each a hundred cubits, though it was behind forty cubits narrower; for on its front it had what may be styled shoulders on each side, that passed twenty cubits further. Its first gate was seventy cubits high, and twenty-five cubits broad; but this gate had no doors; for it represented the universal visibility of heaven, and that it cannot be excluded from any place. Its front was covered with gold all over, and through it the first part of the house, that was more inward, did all of it appear; which, as it was very large, so did all the parts about the more inward gate appear to shine to those that saw them; but then, as the entire house was divided into two parts within, it was only the first part of it that was open to our view. Its height extended all along to ninety cubits in height, and its length was fifty cubits, and its breadth twenty. But that gate which was at this end of the first part of the house was, as we have already observed, all over covered with gold, as was its whole wall about it; it had also golden vines above it, from which clusters of grapes hung as tall as a man's height. But then this house, as it was divided into two parts, the inner part was lower than the appearance of the outer, and had golden doors of fifty-five cubits altitude, and sixteen in breadth; but before these doors there was a veil of equal largeness with the doors. It was a Babylonian curtain, embroidered with blue, and fine linen, and scarlet, and purple, and of a contexture that was truly wonderful. Nor was this mixture of colours without its mystical interpretation, but was a kind of image of the universe; for by the scarlet there seemed to be enigmatically signified fire, by the fine flax the earth, by the blue the air, and by the purple the sea; two of them having their colours the foundation of this resemblance; but the fine flax and the purple have their own origin for that foundation, the earth producing the one, and the sea the other. This curtain had also embroidered upon it all that was mystical in the heavens, excepting that of the [twelve] signs, representing living creatures.

5 When any persons entered into the temple, its floor received them. This part of the temple therefore was in height sixty cubits, and its length the same; whereas its breadth was but twenty cubits: but still that sixty cubits in length was divided again, and the first part of it was cut off at forty cubits, and had in it three things that were very wonderful and famous among all mankind, the candlestick, the table [of shew-bread], and the altar of incense. Now the seven lamps signified the seven planets; for so many there were springing out of the candlestick. Now the twelve loaves that were upon the table signified the circle of the zodiac and the year; but the altar of incense, by its thirteen kinds of sweet-smelling spices with which the sea replenished it, signified that God is the possessor of all things that are both in the uninhabitable and habitable parts of the earth, and that they are all to be dedicated to his use. But the inmost part of the temple of all was of twenty cubits. This was also separated from the outer part by a veil. In this there was nothing at all. It was inaccessible and inviolable, and not to be seen by any; and was called the Holy of Holies. Now, about the sides of the lower part of the temple, there were little houses, with passages out of one into another; there were a great many of them, and they were of three stories high; there were also entrances on each side into them from the gate of the temple. But the superior part of the temple had no such little houses any further, because the temple was there narrower, and forty cubits higher, and of a smaller body than the lower parts of it. Thus we collect that the whole height, including the sixty cubits from the floor, amounted to a hundred cubits.

6 Now the outward face of the temple in its front wanted nothing that was likely to surprise either men's minds or their eyes; for it was covered all over with plates of gold of great weight, and, at the first rising of the sun, reflected back a very fiery splendour, and made those who forced themselves to look upon it to turn their eyes away, just as they would have done at the sun's own rays. But this temple appeared to strangers, when they were coming to it at a distance, like a mountain covered with snow; for as to those parts of it that were not gilt, they were exceeding white. On its top it had spikes with sharp points, to prevent any pollution of it by birds sitting upon it. Of its stones, some of them were forty-five cubits in length, five in height, and six in breadth. Before this temple stood the altar, fifteen cubits high, and equal both in length and breadth; each of which dimensions was fifty cubits. The figure it was built in was a square, and it had corners like horns; and the passage up to it was by an insensible acclivity. It was formed without any iron tool, nor did any such iron tool so much as touch it at any time. There was also a wall of partition, about a cubit in height, made of fine stones, and so as to be grateful to the sight; this encompassed the holy house and the altar, and kept the people that were on the outside off from the priests. Moreover, those that had the gonorrhea and the leprosy were excluded out of the city entirely; women also, when their courses were upon them, were shut out of the temple; nor when they were free from that impurity, were they allowed to go beyond the limit before-mentioned; men also, that were not thoroughly pure, were prohibited to come into the inner [court of the] temple; nay, the priests themselves that were not pure were prohibited to come into it also.

7 Now all those of the stock of the priests that could not minister by reason of some defect in their bodies, came within the partition, together with those that had no such imperfection, and had their share with them by reason of their stock, but still made use of none except their own private garments; for nobody but he that officiated had on his sacred garments; but then those priests that were without any blemish upon them went up to the altar clothed in fine linen. They abstained chiefly from wine, out of this fear, lest otherwise they should transgress some rules of their ministration. The high priest did also go up with them; not always indeed, but on the seventh days and new moons, and if any festivals belonging to our nation, which we celebrate every year, happened. When he officiated, he had on a pair of breeches that reached beneath his privy parts to his thighs, and had on an inner garment of linen, together with a blue garment, round, without seam, with fringe work, and reaching to the feet. There were also golden bells that hung upon the fringes, and pomegranates intermixed among them. The bells signified thunder, and the pomegranates lightning. But that girdle that tied the garment to the breast was embroidered with five rows of various colours, of gold, and purple, and scarlet, as also of fine linen and blue, with which colours we told you before the veils of the temple were embroidered also. The like embroidery was upon the ephod; but the quantity of gold therein was greater. Its figure was that of a stomacher for the breast. There were upon it two golden buttons like small shields, which buttoned the ephod to the garment; in these buttons were enclosed two very large and very excellent sardonyxes, having the names of the tribes of that nation engraved upon them: on the other part there hung twelve stones, three in a row one way, and four in the other; a sardius, a topaz, and an emerald; a carbuncle, a jasper, and a sapphire; an agate, an amethyst, and a ligure; an onyx, a beryl, and a chrysolite; upon every one of which was again engraved one of the forementioned names of the tribes. A mitre also of fine linen encompassed his head, which was tied by a blue ribbon, about which there was another golden crown, in which was engraven the sacred name [of God]: it consists of four vowels. However, the high priest did not wear these garments at other times, but a more plain habit; he only did it when he went into the most sacred part of the temple, which he did but once in a year, on that day when our custom is for all of us to keep a fast to God. And thus much concerning the city and the temple; but for the customs and laws hereto relating, we shall speak more accurately another time; for there remain a great many things thereto relating which have not been here touched upon.

8 Now as to the tower of Antonia, it was situated at the corner of two cloisters of the court of the temple; of that on the west, and that on the north; it was erected upon a rock of fifty cubits in height, and was on a great precipice; it was the work of king Herod, wherein he demonstrated his natural magnanimity. In the first place, the rock itself was covered over with smooth pieces of stone, from its foundation, both for ornament, and that any one who would either try to get up or to go down it might not be able to hold his feet upon it. Next to this, and before you come to the edifice of the tower itself, there was a wall three cubits high; but within that wall all the space of the tower of Antonia itself was built upon, to the height of forty cubits. The inward parts had the largeness and form of a palace, it being parted into all kinds of rooms and other conveniences, such as courts, and places for bathing, and broad spaces for camps; insomuch that, by having all conveniences that cities wanted, it might seem to be composed of several cities, but by its magnificence it seemed a palace. And as the entire structure resembled that of a tower, it contained also four other distinct towers at its four corners; whereof the others were but fifty cubits high; whereas that which lay upon the southeast corner was seventy cubits high, that from thence the whole temple might be viewed; but on the corner where it joined to the two cloisters of the temple, it had passages down to them both, through which the guard [for there always lay in this tower a Roman legion] went several ways among the cloisters, with their arms, on the Jewish festivals, in order to watch the people, that they might not there attempt to make any innovations; for the temple was a fortress that guarded the city, as was the tower of Antonia a guard to the temple; and in that tower were the guards of those three. There was also a peculiar fortress belonging to the upper city, which was Herod's palace; but for the hill Bezetha, it was divided from the tower Antonia, as we have already told you; and as that hill on which the tower of Antonia stood was the highest of these three, so did it adjoin to the new city, and was the only place that hindered the sight of the temple on the north. And this shall suffice at present to have spoken about the city and the walls about it, because I have proposed to myself to make a more accurate description of it elsewhere.

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FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 6

Concerning The Tyrants Simon And John. How Also As Titus Was Going Round The Wall Of This City Nicanor Was Wounded By A Dart; Which Accident Provoked Titus To Press On The Siege.

1 Now the warlike men that were in the city, and the multitude of the seditious that were with Simon, were ten thousand, besides the Idumeans. Those ten thousand had fifty commanders, over whom this Simon was supreme. The Idumeans that paid him homage were five thousand, and had eight commanders, among whom those of greatest fame were Jacob the son of Sosas, and Simon the son of Cathlas. Jotre, who had seized upon the temple, had six thousand armed men under twenty commanders; the zealots also that had come over to him, and left off their opposition, were two thousand four hundred, and had the same commander that they had formerly, Eleazar, together with Simon the son of Arinus. Now, while these factions fought one against another, the people were their prey on both sides, as we have said already; and that part of the people who would not join with them in their wicked practices were plundered by both factions. Simon held the upper city, and the great wall as far as Cedron, and as much of the old wall as bent from Siloam to the east, and which went down to the palace of Monobazus, who was king of the Adiabeni, beyond Euphrates; he also held that fountain, and the Acra, which was no other than the lower city; he also held all that reached to the palace of queen Helena, the mother of Monobazus. But John held the temple, and the parts thereto adjoining, for a great way, as also Ophla, and the valley called "the Valley of Cedron;" and when the parts that were interposed between their possessions were burnt by them, they left a space wherein they might fight with each other; for this internal sedition did not cease even when the Romans were encamped near their very wall. But although they had grown wiser at the first onset the Romans made upon them, this lasted but a while; for they returned to their former madness, and separated one from another, and fought it out, and did everything that the besiegers could desire them to do; for they never suffered any thing that was worse from the Romans than they made each other suffer; nor was there any misery endured by the city after these men's actions that could be esteemed new. But it was most of all unhappy before it was overthrown, while those that took it did it a greater kindness for I venture to affirm that the sedition destroyed the city, and the Romans destroyed the sedition, which it was a much harder thing to do than to destroy the walls; so that we may justly ascribe our misfortunes to our own people, and the just vengeance taken on them to the Romans; as to which matter let every one determine by the actions on both sides.

2 Now when affairs within the city were in this posture, Titus went round the city on the outside with some chosen horsemen, and looked about for a proper place where he might make an impression upon the walls; but as he was in doubt where he could possibly make an attack on any side, [for the place was no way accessible where the valleys were, and on the other side the first wall appeared too strong to be shaken by the engines,] he thereupon thought it best to make his assault upon the monument of John the high priest; for there it was that the first fortification was lower, and the second was not joined to it, the builders neglecting to build strong where the new city was not much inhabited; here also was an easy passage to the third wall, through which he thought to take the upper city, and, through the tower of Antonia, the temple itself But at this time, as he was going round about the city, one of his friends, whose name was Nicanor, was wounded with a dart on his left shoulder, as he approached, together with Josephus, too near the wall, and attempted to discourse to those that were upon the wall, about terms of peace; for he was a person known by them. On this account it was that Caesar, as soon as he knew their vehemence, that they would not hear even such as approached them to persuade them to what tended to their own preservation, was provoked to press on the siege. He also at the same time gave his soldiers leave to set the suburbs on fire, and ordered that they should bring timber together, and raise banks against the city; and when he had parted his army into three parts, in order to set about those works, he placed those that shot darts and the archers in the midst of the banks that were then raising; before whom he placed those engines that threw javelins, and darts, and stones, that he might prevent the enemy from sallying out upon their works, and might hinder those that were upon the wall from being able to obstruct them. So the trees were now cut down immediately, and the suburbs left naked. But now while the timber was carrying to raise the banks, and the whole army was earnestly engaged in their works, the Jews were not, however, quiet; and it happened that the people of Jerusalem, who had been hitherto plundered and murdered, were now of good courage, and supposed they should have a breathing time, while the others were very busy in opposing their enemies without the city, and that they should now be avenged on those that had been the authors of their miseries, in case the Romans did but get the victory.

3 However, John staid behind, out of his fear of Simon, even while his own men were earnest in making a sally upon their enemies without. Yet did not Simon lie still, for he lay near the place of the siege; he brought his engines of war, and disposed of them at due distances upon the wall, both those which they took from Cestius formerly, and those which they got when they seized the garrison that lay in the tower Antonia. But though they had these engines in their possession, they had so little skill in using them, that they were in great measure useless to them; but a few there were who had been taught by deserters how to use them, which they did use, though after an awkward manner. So they cast stones and arrows at those that were making the banks; they also ran out upon them by companies, and fought with them. Now those that were at work covered themselves with hurdles spread over their banks, and their engines were opposed to them when they made their excursions. The engines, that all the legions had ready prepared for them, were admirably contrived; but still more extraordinary ones belonged to the tenth legion: those that threw darts and those that threw stones were more forcible and larger than the rest, by which they not only repelled the excursions of the Jews, but drove those away that were upon the walls also. Now the stones that were cast were of the weight of a talent, and were carried two furlongs and further. The blow they gave was no way to be sustained, not only by those that stood first in the way, but by those that were beyond them for a great space. As for the Jews, they at first watched the coming of the stone, for it was of a white colour, and could therefore not only be perceived by the great noise it made, but could be seen also before it came by its brightness; accordingly the watchmen that sat upon the towers gave them notice when the engine was let go, and the stone came from it, and cried out aloud, in their own country language, The Stone Cometh so those that were in its way stood off, and threw themselves down upon the ground; by which means, and by their thus guarding themselves, the stone fell down and did them no harm. But the Romans contrived how to prevent that by blacking the stone, who then could aim at them with success, when the stone was not discerned beforehand, as it had been till then; and so they destroyed many of them at one blow. Yet did not the Jews, under all this distress, permit the Romans to raise their banks in quiet; but they shrewdly and boldly exerted themselves, and repelled them both by night and by day.

4 And now, upon the finishing the Roman works, the workmen measured the distance there was from the wall, and this by lead and a line, which they threw to it from their banks; for they could not measure it any otherwise, because the Jews would shoot at them, if they came to measure it themselves; and when they found that the engines could reach the wall, they brought them thither. Then did Titus set his engines at proper distances, so much nearer to the wall, that the Jews might not be able to repel them, and gave orders they should go to work; and when thereupon a prodigious noise echoed round about from three places, and that on the sudden there was a great noise made by the citizens that were within the city, and no less a terror fell upon the seditious themselves; whereupon both sorts, seeing the common danger they were in, contrived to make a like defense. So those of different factions cried out one to another, that they acted entirely as in concert with their enemies; whereas they ought however, notwithstanding God did not grant them a lasting concord, in their present circumstances, to lay aside their enmities one against another, and to unite together against the Romans. Accordingly, Simon gave those that came from the temple leave, by proclamation, to go upon the wall; John also himself, though he could not believe Simon was in earnest, gave them the same leave. So on both sides they laid aside their hatred and their peculiar quarrels, and formed themselves into one body; they then ran round the walls, and having a vast number of torches with them, they threw them at the machines, and shot darts perpetually upon those that impelled those engines which battered the wall; nay, the bolder sort leaped out by troops upon the hurdles that covered the machines, and pulled them to pieces, and fell upon those that belonged to them, and beat them, not so much by any skill they had, as principally by the boldness of their attacks. However, Titus himself still sent assistance to those that were the hardest set, and placed both horsemen and archers on the several sides of the engines, and thereby beat off those that brought the fire to them; he also thereby repelled those that shot stones or darts from the towers, and then set the engines to work in good earnest; yet did not the wall yield to these blows, excepting where the battering ram of the fifteenth legion moved the corner of a tower, while the wall itself continued unhurt; for the wall was not presently in the same danger with the tower, which was extant far above it; nor could the fall of that part of the tower easily break down any part of the wall itself together with it.

5 And now the Jews intermitted their sallies for a while; but when they observed the Romans dispersed all abroad at their works, and in their several camps, [for they thought the Jews had retired out of weariness and fear,] they all at once made a sally at the tower Hippicus, through an obscure gate, and at the same time brought fire to burn the works, and went boldly up to the Romans, and to their very fortifications themselves, where, at the cry they made, those that were near them came presently to their assistance, and those farther off came running after them; and here the boldness of the Jews was too hard for the good order of the Romans; and as they beat those whom they first fell upon, so they pressed upon those that were now gotten together. So this fight about the machines was very hot, while the one side tried hard to set them on fire, and the other side to prevent it; on both sides there was a confused cry made, and many of those in the forefront of the battle were slain. However, the Jews were now too hard for the Romans, by the furious assaults they made like madmen; and the fire caught hold of the works, and both all those works, and the engines themselves, had been in danger of being burnt, had not many of these select soldiers that came from Alexandria opposed themselves to prevent it, and had they not behaved themselves with greater courage than they themselves supposed they could have done; for they outdid those in this fight that had greater reputation than themselves before. This was the state of things till Caesar took the stoutest of his horsemen, and attacked the enemy, while he himself slew twelve of those that were in the forefront of the Jews; which death of these men, when the rest of the multitude saw, they gave way, and he pursued them, and drove them all into the city, and saved the works from the fire. Now it happened at this fight that a certain Jew was taken alive, who, by Titus's order, was crucified before the wall, to see whether the rest of them would be affrighted, and abate of their obstinacy. But after the Jews were retired, John, who was commander of the Idumeans, and was talking to a certain soldier of his acquaintance before the wall, was wounded by a dart shot at him by an Arabian, and died immediately, leaving the greatest lamentation to the Jews, and sorrow to the seditious. For he was a man of great eminence, both for his actions and his conduct also.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 7

How One Of The Towers Erected By The Romans Fell Down Of Its Own Accord; And How The Romans After Great Slaughter Had Been Made Got Possession Of The First Wall. How Also Titus Made His Assaults Upon The Second Wall; As Also Concerning Longinus The Roman, And Castor The Jew.

1 Now, on the next night, a surprising disturbance fell upon the Romans; for whereas Titus had given orders for the erection of three towers of fifty cubits high, that by setting men upon them at every bank, he might from thence drive those away who were upon the wall, it so happened that one of these towers fell down about midnight; and as its fall made a very great noise, fear fell upon the army, and they, supposing that the enemy was coming to attack them, ran all to their arms. Whereupon a disturbance and a tumult arose among the legions, and as nobody could tell what had happened, they went on after a disconsolate manner; and seeing no enemy appear, they were afraid one of another, and every one demanded of his neighbour the watchword with great earnestness, as though the Jews had invaded their camp. And now were they like people under a panic fear, till Titus was informed of what had happened, and gave orders that all should be acquainted with it; and then, though with some difficulty, they got clear of the disturbance they had been under.

2 Now these towers were very troublesome to the Jews, who otherwise opposed the Romans very courageously; for they shot at them out of their lighter engines from those towers, as they did also by those that threw darts, and the archers, and those that flung stones. For neither could the Jews reach those that were over them, by reason of their height; and it was not practicable to take them, nor to overturn them, they were so heavy, nor to set them on fire, because they were covered with plates of iron. So they retired out of the reach of the darts, and did no longer endeavor to hinder the impression of their rams, which, by continually beating upon the wall, did gradually prevail against it; so that the wall already gave way to the Nico, for by that name did the Jews themselves call the greatest of their engines, because it conquered all things. And now they were for a long while grown weary of fighting, and of keeping guards, and were retired to lodge in the night time at a distance from the wall. It was on other accounts also thought by them to be superfluous to guard the wall, there being besides that two other fortifications still remaining, and they being slothful, and their counsels having been ill concerted on all occasions; so a great many grew lazy and retired. Then the Romans mounted the breach, where Nico had made one, and all the Jews left the guarding that wall, and retreated to the second wall; so those that had gotten over that wall opened the gates, and received all the army within it. And thus did the Romans get possession of this first wall, on the fifteenth day of the siege, which was the seventh day of the month Artemisius, [Jyar,] when they demolished a great part of it, as well as they did of the northern parts of the city, which had been demolished also by Cestius formerly.

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3 And now Titus pitched his camp within the city, at that place which was called "the Camp of the Assyrians," having seized upon all that lay as far as Cedron, but took care to be out of the reach of the Jews' darts. He then presently began his attacks, upon which the Jews divided themselves into several bodies, and courageously defended that wall; while John and his faction did it from the tower of Antonia, and from the northern cloister of the temple, and fought the Romans before the monuments of king Alexander; and Sireoh's army also took for their share the spot of ground that was near John's monument, and fortified it as far as to that gate where water was brought in to the tower Hippicus. However, the Jews made violent sallies, and that frequently also, and in bodies together out of the gates, and there fought the Romans; and when they were pursued all together to the wall, they were beaten in those fights, as wanting the skill of the Romans. But when they fought them from the walls, they were too hard for them; the Romans being encouraged by their power, joined to their skill, as were the Jews by their boldness, which was nourished by the fear they were in, and that hardiness which is natural to our nation under calamities; they were also encouraged still by the hope of deliverance, as were the Romans by their hopes of subduing them in a little time. Nor did either side grow weary; but attacks and rightings upon the wall, and perpetual sallies out in bodies, were there all the day long; nor were there any sort of warlike engagements that were not then put in use. And the night itself had much ado to part them, when they began to fight in the morning; nay, the night itself was passed without sleep on both sides, and was more uneasy than the day to them, while the one was afraid lest the wall should be taken, and the other lest the Jews should make sallies upon their camps; both sides also lay in their armour during the night time, and thereby were ready at the first appearance of light to go to the battle. Now among the Jews the ambition was who should undergo the first dangers, and thereby gratify their commanders. Above all, they had a great veneration and dread of Simon; and to that degree was he regarded by every one of those that were under him, that at his command they were very ready to kill themselves with their own hands. What made the Romans so courageous was their usual custom of conquering and disuse of being defeated, their constant wars, and perpetual warlike exercises, and the grandeur of their dominion; and what was now their chief encouragement—Titus who was present every where with them all; for it appeared a terrible thing to grow weary while Caesar was there, and fought bravely as well as they did, and was himself at once an eye-witness of such as behaved themselves valiantly, and he who was to reward them also. It was, besides, esteemed an advantage at present to have any one's valour known by Caesar; on which account many of them appeared to have more alacrity than strength to answer it. And now, as the Jews were about this time standing in array before the wall, and that in a strong body, and while both parties were throwing their darts at each other, Longinus, one of the equestrian order, leaped out of the army of the Romans, and leaped into the very midst of the army of the Jews; and as they dispersed themselves upon the attack, he slew two of their men of the greatest courage; one of them he struck in his mouth as he was coming to meet him, the other was slain by him by that very dart which he drew out of the body of the other, with which he ran this man through his side as he was running away from him; and when he had done this, he first of all ran out of the midst of his enemies to his own side. So this man signalized himself for his valour, and many there were who were ambitious of gaining the like reputation. And now the Jews were unconcerned at what they suffered themselves from the Romans, and were only solicitous about what mischief they could do them; and death itself seemed a small matter to them, if at the same time they could but kill any one of their enemies. But Titus took care to secure his own soldiers from harm, as well as to have them overcome their enemies. He also said that inconsiderate violence was madness, and that this alone was the true courage that was joined with good conduct. He therefore commanded his men to take care, when they fought their enemies, that they received no harm from them at the same time, and thereby show themselves to be truly valiant men.

4 And now Titus brought one of his engines to the middle tower of the north part of the wall, in which a certain crafty Jew, whose name was Castor, lay in ambush, with ten others like himself, the rest being fled away by reason of the archers. These men lay still for a while, as in great fear, under their breastplates; but when the tower was shaken, they arose, and Castor did then stretch out his hand, as a petitioner, and called for Caesar, and by his voice moved his compassion, and begged of him to have mercy upon them; and Titus, in the innocency of his heart, believing him to be in earnest, and hoping that the Jews did now repent, stopped the working of the battering ram, and forbade them to shoot at the petitioners, and bid Castor say what he had a mind to say to him. He said that he would come down, if he would give him his right hand for his security. To which Titus replied, that he was well pleased with such his agreeable conduct, and would be well pleased if all the Jews would be of his mind, and that he was ready to give the like security to the city. Now five of the ten dissembled with him, and pretended to beg for mercy, while the rest cried out aloud that they would never be slaves to the Romans, while it was in their power to die in a state of freedom. Now while these men were quarrelling for a long while, the attack was delayed; Castor also sent to Simon, and told him that they might take some time for consultation about what was to be done, because he would elude the power of the Romans for a considerable time. And at the same time that he sent thus to him, he appeared openly to exhort those that were obstinate to accept of Titus's hand for their security; but they seemed very angry at it, and brandished their naked swords upon the breast-works, and struck themselves upon their breast, and fell down as if they had been slain. Hereupon Titus, and those with him, were amazed at the courage of the men; and as they were not able to see exactly what was done, they admired at their great fortitude, and pitied their calamity. During this interval, a certain person shot a dart at Castor, and wounded him in his nose; whereupon he presently pulled out the dart, and showed it to Titus, and complained that this was unfair treatment; so Caesar reproved him that shot the dart, and sent Josephus, who then stood by him, to give his right hand to Castor. But Josephus said that he would not go to him, because these pretended petitioners meant nothing that was good; he also restrained those friends of his who were zealous to go to him. But still there was one Eneas, a deserter, who said he would go to him. Castor also called to them, that somebody should come and receive the money which he had with him; this made Eneas the more earnestly to run to him with his bosom open. Then did Castor take up a great stone, and threw it at him, which missed him, because he guarded himself against it; but still it wounded another soldier that was coming to him. When Caesar understood that this was a delusion, he perceived that mercy in war is a pernicious thing, because such cunning tricks have less place under the exercise of greater severity. So he caused the engine to work more strongly than before, on account of his anger at the deceit put upon him. But Castor and his companions set the tower on fire when it began to give way, and leaped through the flame into a hidden vault that was under it, which made the Romans further suppose that they were men of great courage, as having cast themselves into the fire.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 8

How The Romans Took The Second Wall Twice, And Got All Ready For Taking The Third Wall.

1 Now Caesar took this wall there on the fifth day after he had taken the first; and when the Jews had fled from him, he entered into it with a thousand armed men, and those of his choice troops, and this at a place where were the merchants of wool, the braziers, and the market for cloth, and where the narrow streets led obliquely to the wall. Wherefore, if Titus had either demolished a larger part of the wall immediately, or had come in, and, according to the law of war, had laid waste what was left, his victory would not, I suppose, have been mixed with any loss to himself. But now, out of the hope he had that he should make the Jews ashamed of their obstinacy, by not being willing, when he was able, to afflict them more than he needed to do, he did not widen the breach of the wall, in order to make a safer retreat upon occasion; for he did not think they would lay snares for him that did them such a kindness. When therefore he came in, he did not permit his soldiers to kill any of those they caught, nor to set fire to their houses neither; nay, he gave leave to the seditious, if they had a mind, to fight without any harm to the people, and promised to restore the people's effects to them; for he was very desirous to preserve the city for his own sake, and the temple for the sake of the city. As to the people, he had them of a long time ready to comply with his proposals; but as to the fighting men, this humanity of his seemed a mark of his weakness, and they imagined that he made these proposals because he was not able to take the rest of the city. They also threatened death to the people, if they should any one of them say a word about a surrender. They moreover cut the throats of such as talked of a peace, and then attacked those Romans that were come within the wall. Some of them they met in the narrow streets, and some they fought against from their houses, while they made a sudden sally out at the upper gates, and assaulted such Romans as were beyond the wall, till those that guarded the wall were so affrighted, that they leaped down from their towers, and retired to their several camps: upon which a great noise was made by the Romans that were within, because they were encompassed round on every side by their enemies; as also by them that were without, because they were in fear for those that were left in the city. Thus did the Jews grow more numerous perpetually, and had great advantages over the Romans, by their full knowledge of those narrow lanes; and they wounded a great many of them, and fell upon them, and drove them out of the city. Now these Romans were at present forced to make the best resistance they could; for they were not able, in great numbers, to get out at the breach in the wall, it was so narrow. It is also probable that all those that were gotten within had been cut to pieces, if Titus had not sent them succors; for he ordered the archers to stand at the upper ends of these narrow lanes, and he stood himself where was the greatest multitude of his enemies, and with his darts he put a stop to them; as with him did Domitius Sabinus also, a valiant man, and one that in this battle appeared so to be. Thus did Caesar continue to shoot darts at the Jews continually, and to hinder them from coming upon his men, and this until all his soldiers had retreated out of the city.

2 And thus were the Romans driven out, after they had possessed themselves of the second wall. Whereupon the fighting men that were in the city were lifted up in their minds, and were elevated upon this their good success, and began to think that the Romans would never venture to come into the city any more; and that if they kept within it themselves, they should not be any more conquered. For God had blinded their minds for the transgressions they had been guilty of, nor could they see how much greater forces the Romans had than those that were now expelled, no more than they could discern how a famine was creeping upon them; for hitherto they had fed themselves out of the public miseries, and drank the blood of the city. But now poverty had for a long time seized upon the better part, and a great many had died already for want of necessaries; although the seditious indeed supposed the destruction of the people to be an easement to themselves; for they desired that none others might be preserved but such as were against a peace with the Romans, and were resolved to live in opposition to them, and they were pleased when the multitude of those of a contrary opinion were consumed, as being then freed from a heavy burden. And this was their disposition of mind with regard to those that were within the city, while they covered themselves with their armour, and prevented the Romans, when they were trying to get into the city again, and made a wall of their own bodies over against that part of the wall that was cast down. Thus did they valiantly defend themselves for three days; but on the fourth day they could not support themselves against the vehement assaults of Titus but were compelled by force to fly whither they had fled before; so he quietly possessed himself again of that wall, and demolished it entirely. And when he had put a garrison into the towers that were on the south parts of the city, he contrived how he might assault the third wall.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 9

Titus When The Jews Were Not At All Mollified By His Leaving Off The Siege For A While, Set Himself Again To Prosecute The Same; But Soon Sent Josephus To Discourse With His Own Countrymen About Peace.

1 A Resolution was now taken by Titus to relax the siege for a little while, and to afford the seditious an interval for consideration, and to see whether the demolishing of their second wall would not make them a little more compliant, or whether they were not somewhat afraid of a famine, because the spoils they had gotten by rapine would not be sufficient for them long; so he made use of this relaxation in order to compass his own designs. Accordingly, as the usual appointed time when he must distribute subsistence money to the soldiers was now come, he gave orders that the commanders should put the army into battle-array, in the face of the enemy, and then give every one of the soldiers their pay. So the soldiers, according to custom, opened the cases wherein their arms before lay covered, and marched with their breastplates on, as did the horsemen lead their horses in their fine trappings. Then did the places that were before the city shine very splendidly for a great way; nor was there any thing so grateful to Titus's own men, or so terrible to the enemy, as that sight. For the whole old wall, and the north side of the temple, were full of spectators, and one might see the houses full of such as looked at them; nor was there any part of the city which was not covered over with their multitudes; nay, a very great consternation seized upon the hardiest of the Jews themselves, when they saw all the army in the same place, together with the fineness of their arms, and the good order of their men. And I cannot but think that the seditious would have changed their minds at that sight, unless the crimes they had committed against the people had been so horrid, that they despaired of forgiveness from the Romans; but as they believed death with torments must be their punishment, if they did not go on in the defense of the city, they thought it much better to die in war. Fate also prevailed so far over them, that the innocent were to perish with the guilty, and the city was to be destroyed with the seditious that were in it.

2 Thus did the Romans spend four days in bringing this subsistence-money to the several legions. But on the fifth day, when no signs of peace appeared to come from the Jews, Titus divided his legions, and began to raise banks, both at the tower of Antonia and at John's monument. Now his designs were to take the upper city at that monument, and the temple at the tower of Antonia; for if the temple were not taken, it would be dangerous to keep the city itself; so at each of these parts he raised him banks, each legion raising one. As for those that wrought at John's monument, the Idumeans, and those that were in arms with Simon, made sallies upon them, and put some stop to them; while John's party, and the multitude of zealots with them, did the like to those that were

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before the tower of Antonia. These Jews were now too hard for the Romans, not only in direct fighting, because they stood upon the higher ground, but because they had now learned to use their own engines; for their continual use of them one day after another did by degrees improve their skill about them; for of one sort of engines for darts they had three hundred, and forty for stones; by the means of which they made it more tedious for the Romans to raise their banks. But then Titus, knowing that the city would be either saved or destroyed for himself, did not only proceed earnestly in the siege, but did not omit to have the Jews exhorted to repentance; so he mixed good counsel with his works for the siege. And being sensible that exhortations are frequently more effectual than arms, he persuaded them to surrender the city, now in a manner already taken, and thereby to save themselves, and sent Josephus to speak to them in their own language; for he imagined they might yield to the persuasion of a countryman of their own.

3 So Josephus went round about the wall, and tried to find a place that was out of the reach of their darts, and yet within their hearing, and besought them, in many words, to spare themselves, to spare their country and their temple, and not to be more obdurate in these cases than foreigners themselves; for that the Romans, who had no relation to those things, had a reverence for their sacred rites and places, although they belonged to their enemies, and had till now kept their hands off from meddling with them; while such as were brought up under them, and, if they be preserved, will be the only people that will reap the benefit of them, hurry on to have them destroyed. That certainly they have seen their strongest walls demolished, and that the wall still remaining was weaker than those that were already taken. That they must know the Roman power was invincible, and that they had been used to serve them; for, that in case it be allowed a right thing to fight for liberty, that ought to have been done at first; but for them that have once fallen under the power of the Romans, and have now submitted to them for so many long years, to pretend to shake off that yoke afterward, was the work of such as had a mind to die miserably, not of such as were lovers of liberty. Besides, men may well enough grudge at the dishonour of owning ignoble masters over them, but ought not to do so to those who have all things under their command; for what part of the world is there that hath escaped the Romans, unless it be such as are of no use for violent heat, or for violent cold? And evident it is that fortune is on all hands gone over to them; and that God, when he had gone round the nations with this dominion, is now settled in Italy. That, moreover, it is a strong and fixed law, even among brute beasts, as well as among men, to yield to those that are too strong for them; and to suffer those to have the dominion who are too hard for the rest in war; for which reason it was that their forefathers, who were far superior to them, both in their souls and bodies, and other advantages, did yet submit to the Romans, which they would not have suffered, had they not known that God was with them. As for themselves, what can they depend on in this their opposition, when the greatest part of their city is already taken? and when those that are within it are under greater miseries than if they were taken, although their walls be still standing? For that the Romans are not unacquainted with that famine which is in the city, whereby the people are already consumed, and the fighting men will in a little time be so too; for although the Romans should leave off the siege, and not fall upon the city with their swords in their hands, yet was there an insuperable war that beset them within, and was augmented every hour, unless they were able to wage war with famine, and fight against it, or could alone conquer their natural appetites. He added this further, how right a thing it was to change their conduct before their calamities were become incurable, and to have recourse to such advice as might preserve them, while opportunity was offered them for so doing; for that the Romans would not be mindful of their past actions to their disadvantage, unless they persevered in their insolent behavior to the end; because they were naturally mild in their conquests, and preferred what was profitable, before what their passions dictated to them; which profit of theirs lay not in leaving the city empty of inhabitants, nor the country a desert; on which account Caesar did now offer them his right hand for their security. Whereas, if he took the city by force, he would not save any of them, and this especially, if they rejected his offers in these their utmost distresses; for the walls that were already taken could not but assure them that the third wall would quickly be taken also. And though their fortifications should prove too strong for the Romans to break through them, yet would the famine fight for the Romans against them.

4 While Josephus was making this exhortation to the Jews, many of them jested upon him from the wall, and many reproached him; nay, some threw their darts at him: but when he could not himself persuade them by such open good advice, he betook himself to the histories belonging to their own nation, and cried out aloud, "O miserable creatures! are you so unmindful of those that used to assist you, that you will fight by your weapons and by your hands against the Romans? When did we ever conquer any other nation by such means? and when was it that God, who is the Creator of the Jewish people, did not avenge them when they had been injured? Will not you turn again, and look back, and consider whence it is that you fight with such violence, and how great a Supporter you have profanely abused? Will not you recall to mind the prodigious things done for your forefathers and this holy place, and how great enemies of yours were by him subdued under you? I even tremble myself in declaring the works of God before your ears, that are unworthy to hear them; however, hearken to me, that you may be informed how you fight not only against the Romans, but against God himself. In old times there was one Necao, king of Egypt, who was also called Pharaoh; he came with a prodigious army of soldiers, and seized queen Sarah, the mother of our nation. What did Abraham our progenitor then do? Did he defend himself from this injurious person by war, although he had three hundred and eighteen captains under him, and an immense army under each of them? Indeed he deemed them to be no number at all without God's assistance, and only spread out his hands towards this holy place, which you have now polluted, and reckoned upon him as upon his invincible supporter, instead of his own army. Was not our queen sent back, without any defilement, to her husband, the very next evening?—while the king of Egypt fled away, adoring this place which you have defiled by shedding thereon the blood of your own countrymen; and he also trembled at those visions which he saw in the night season, and bestowed both silver and gold on the Hebrews, as on a people beloved by God. Shall I say nothing, or shall I mention the removal of our fathers into Egypt, who, when they were used tyrannically, and were fallen under the power of foreign kings for four hundred years together, and might have defended themselves by war and by fighting, did yet do nothing but commit themselves to God! Who is there that does not know that Egypt was overrun with all sorts of wild beasts, and consumed by all sorts of distempers? how their land did not bring forth its fruit? how the Nile failed of water? how the ten plagues of Egypt followed one upon another? and how by those means our fathers were sent away under a guard, without any bloodshed, and without running any dangers, because God conducted them as his peculiar servants? Moreover, did not Palestine groan under the ravage the Assyrians made, when they carried away our sacred ark? as did their idol Dagon, and as also did that entire nation of those that carried it away, how they were smitten with a loathsome distemper in the secret parts of their bodies, when their very bowels came down together with what they had eaten, till those hands that stole it away were obliged to bring it back again, and that with the sound of cymbals and timbrels, and other oblations, in order to appease the anger of God for their violation of his holy ark. It was God who then became our General, and accomplished these great things for our fathers, and this because they did not meddle with war and fighting, but committed it to him to judge about their affairs. When Sennacherib, king of Assyria, brought along with him all Asia, and encompassed this city round with his army, did he fall by the hands of men? were not those hands lifted up to God in prayers, without meddling with their arms, when an angel of God destroyed that prodigious army in one night? when the Assyrian king, as he rose the next day, found a hundred fourscore and five thousand dead bodies, and when he, with the remainder of his army, fled away from the Hebrews, though they were unarmed, and did not pursue them. You are also acquainted with the slavery we were under at Babylon, where the people were captives for seventy years; yet were they not delivered into freedom again before God made Cyrus his gracious instrument in bringing it about; accordingly they were set free by him, and did again restore the worship of their Deliverer at his temple. And, to speak in general, we can produce no example wherein our fathers got any success by war, or failed of success when without war they committed themselves to God. When they staid at home, they conquered, as pleased their Judge; but when they went out to fight, they were always disappointed: for example, when the king of Babylon besieged this very city, and our king Zedekiah fought against him, contrary to what predictions were made to him by Jeremiah the prophet, he was at once taken prisoner, and saw the city and the temple demolished. Yet how much greater was the moderation of that king, than is that of your present governors, and that of the people then under him, than is that of you at this time! for when Jeremiah cried out aloud, how very angry God was at them, because of their transgressions, and told them they should be taken prisoners, unless they would surrender up their city, neither did the king nor the people put him to death; but for you, [to pass over what you have done within the city, which I am not able to describe as your wickedness deserves,] you abuse me, and throw darts at me, who only exhort you to save yourselves, as being provoked when you are put in mind of your sins, and cannot bear the very mention of those crimes which you every day perpetrate. For another example, when Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, lay before this city, and had been guilty of many indignities against God, and our forefathers met him in arms, they then were slain in the battle, this city was plundered by our enemies, and our sanctuary made desolate for three years and six months. And what need I bring any more examples? Indeed what can it be that hath stirred up an army of the Romans against our nation? Is it not the impiety of the inhabitants? Whence did our servitude commence? Was it not derived from the seditions that were among our forefathers, when the madness of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, and our mutual quarrels, brought Pompey upon this city, and when God reduced those under subjection to the Romans who were unworthy of the liberty they had enjoyed? After a siege, therefore, of three months, they were forced to surrender themselves, although they had not been guilty of such offenses, with regard to our sanctuary and our laws, as you have; and this while they had much greater advantages to go to war than you have. Do not we know what end Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came to, under whose reign God provided that this city should be taken again upon account of the people's offenses? When Herod, the son of Antipater, brought upon us Sosius, and Sosius brought upon us the Roman army, they were then encompassed and besieged for six months, till, as a punishment for their sins, they were taken, and the city was plundered by the enemy. Thus it appears that arms were never given to our nation, but that we are always given up to be fought against, and to be taken; for I suppose that such as inhabit this holy place ought to commit the disposal of all things to God, and then only to disregard the assistance of men when they resign themselves up to their Arbitrator, who is above. As for you, what have you done of those things that are recommended by our legislator? and what have you not done of those things that he hath condemned? How much more impious are you than those who were so quickly taken! You have not avoided so much as those sins that are usually done in secret; I mean thefts, and treacherous plots against men, and adulteries. You are quarrelling about rapines and murders, and invent strange ways of wickedness. Nay, the temple itself is become the receptacle of all, and this Divine place is polluted by the hands of those of our own country; which place hath yet been reverenced by the Romans when it was at a distance from them, when they have suffered many of their own customs to give place to our law. And, after all this, do you expect Him whom you have so impiously abused to be your supporter? To be sure then you have a right to be petitioners, and to call upon Him to assist you, so pure are your hands! Did your king [Hezekiah] lift up such hands in prayer to God against the king of Assyria, when he destroyed that great army in one night? And do the Romans commit such wickedness as did the king of Assyria, that you may have reason to hope for the like vengeance upon them? Did not that king accept of money from our king on this condition, that he should not destroy the city, and yet, contrary to the oath he had taken, he came down to burn the temple? while the Romans do demand no more than that accustomed tribute which our fathers paid to their fathers; and if they may but once obtain that, they neither aim to destroy this city, nor to touch this sanctuary; nay, they will grant you besides, that your posterity shall be free, and your possessions secured to you, and will preserve our holy laws inviolate to you. And it is plain madness to expect that God should appear as well disposed towards the wicked as towards the righteous, since he knows when it is proper to punish men for their sins immediately; accordingly he brake the power of the Assyrians the very first night that they pitched their camp. Wherefore, had he judged that our nation was worthy of freedom, or the Romans of punishment, he had immediately inflicted punishment upon those Romans, as he did upon the Assyrians, when Pompey began to meddle with our nation, or when after him Sosius came up against us, or when Vespasian laid waste Galilee, or, lastly, when Titus came first of all near to this city; although Magnus and Sosius did not only suffer nothing, but took the city by force; as did Vespasian go from the war he made against you to receive the empire; and as for Titus, those springs that were formerly almost dried up when they were under your power since he is come, run more plentifully than they did before; accordingly, you know that Siloam, as well as all the other springs that were without the city, did so far fail, that water was sold by distinct measures; whereas they now have such a great quantity of water for your enemies, as is sufficient not only for drink both for themselves and their cattle, but for watering their gardens also. The same wonderful sign you had also experience of formerly, when the forementioned king of Babylon made war against us, and when he took the city, and burnt the temple; while yet I believe the Jews of that age were not so impious as you are. Wherefore I cannot but suppose that God is fled out of his sanctuary, and stands on the side of those against whom you fight. Now even a man, if he be but a good man, will fly from an impure house, and will hate those that are in it; and do you persuade yourselves that God will abide with you in your iniquities, who sees all secret things, and hears what is kept most private? Now what crime is there, I pray you, that is so much as kept secret among you, or is concealed by you? nay, what is there that is not open to your very enemies? for you show your transgressions after a pompous manner, and

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contend one with another which of you shall be more wicked than another; and you make a public demonstration of your injustice, as if it were virtue. However, there is a place left for your preservation, if you be willing to accept of it; and God is easily reconciled to those that confess their faults, and repent of them. O hard-hearted wretches as you are! cast away all your arms, and take pity of your country already going to ruin; return from your wicked ways, and have regard to the excellency of that city which you are going to betray, to that excellent temple with the donations of so many countries in it. Who could bear to be the first that should set that temple on fire? who could be willing that these things should be no more? and what is there that can better deserve to be preserved? O insensible creatures, and more stupid than are the stones themselves! And if you cannot look at these things with discerning eyes, yet, however, have pity upon your families, and set before every one of your eyes your children, and wives, and parents, who will be gradually consumed either by famine or by war. I am sensible that this danger will extend to my mother, and wife, and to that family of mine who have been by no means ignoble, and indeed to one that hath been very eminent in old time; and perhaps you may imagine that it is on their account only that I give you this advice; if that be all, kill them; nay, take my own blood as a reward, if it may but procure your preservation; for I am ready to die, in case you will but return to a sound mind after my death."

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 10

How A Great Many Of The People Earnestly Endeavored To Desert To The Romans; As Also What Intolerable Things Those That Staid Behind Suffered By Famine, And The Sad Consequences Thereof.

1 As Josephus was speaking thus with a loud voice, the seditious would neither yield to what he said, nor did they deem it safe for them to alter their conduct; but as for the people, they had a great inclination to desert to the Romans; accordingly, some of them sold what they had, and even the most precious things that had been laid up as treasures by them, for every small matter, and swallowed down pieces of gold, that they might not be found out by the robbers; and when they had escaped to the Romans, went to stool, and had wherewithal to provide plentifully for themselves; for Titus let a great number of them go away into the country, whither they pleased. And the main reasons why they were so ready to desert were these: That now they should be freed from those miseries which they had endured in that city, and yet should not be in slavery to the Romans: however, John and Simon, with their factions, did more carefully watch these men's going out than they did the coming in of the Romans; and if any one did but afford the least shadow of suspicion of such an intention, his throat was cut immediately.

2 But as for the richer sort, it proved all one to them whether they staid in the city, or attempted to get out of it; for they were equally destroyed in both cases; for every such person was put to death under this pretense, that they were going to desert, but in reality that the robbers might get what they had. The madness of the seditious did also increase together with their famine, and both those miseries were every day inflamed more and more; for there was no corn which any where appeared publicly, but the robbers came running into, and searched men's private houses; and then, if they found any, they tormented them, because they had denied they had any; and if they found none, they tormented them worse, because they supposed they had more carefully concealed it. The indication they made use of whether they had any or not was taken from the bodies of these miserable wretches; which, if they were in good case, they supposed they were in no want at all of food; but if they were wasted away, they walked off without searching any further; nor did they think it proper to kill such as these, because they saw they would very soon die of themselves for want of food. Many there were indeed who sold what they had for one measure; it was of wheat, if they were of the richer sort; but of barley, if they were poorer. When these had so done, they shut themselves up in the inmost rooms of their houses, and ate the corn they had gotten; some did it without grinding it, by reason of the extremity of the want they were in, and others baked bread of it, according as necessity and fear dictated to them: a table was no where laid for a distinct meal, but they snatched the bread out of the fire, half-baked, and ate it very hastily.

3 It was now a miserable case, and a sight that would justly bring tears into our eyes, how men stood as to their food, while the more powerful had more than enough, and the weaker were lamenting [for want of it.] But the famine was too hard for all other passions, and it is destructive to nothing so much as to modesty; for what was otherwise worthy of reverence was in this case despised; insomuch that children pulled the very morsels that their fathers were eating out of their very mouths, and what was still more to be pitied, so did the mothers do as to their infants; and when those that were most dear were perishing under their hands, they were not ashamed to take from them the very last drops that might preserve their lives: and while they ate after this manner, yet were they not concealed in so doing; but the seditious every where came upon them immediately, and snatched away from them what they had gotten from others; for when they saw any house shut up, this was to them a signal that the people within had gotten some food; whereupon they broke open the doors, and ran in, and took pieces of what they were eating almost up out of their very throats, and this by force: the old men, who held their food fast, were beaten; and if the women hid what they had within their hands, their hair was torn for so doing; nor was there any commiseration shown either to the aged or to the infants, but they lifted up children from the ground as they hung upon the morsels they had gotten, and shook them down upon the floor. But still they were more barbarously cruel to those that had prevented their coming in, and had actually swallowed down what they were going to seize upon, as if they had been unjustly defrauded of their right. They also invented terrible methods of torments to discover where any food was, and they were these to stop up the passages of the privy parts of the miserable wretches, and to drive sharp stakes up their fundaments; and a man was forced to bear what it is terrible even to hear, in order to make him confess that he had but one loaf of bread, or that he might discover a handful of barley-meal that was concealed; and this was done when these tormentors were not themselves hungry; for the thing had been less barbarous had necessity forced them to it; but this was done to keep their madness in exercise, and as making preparation of provisions for themselves for the following days. These men went also to meet those that had crept out of the city by night, as far as the Roman guards, to gather some plants and herbs that grew wild; and when those people thought they had got clear of the enemy, they snatched from them what they had brought with them, even while they had frequently entreated them, and that by calling upon the tremendous name of God, to give them back some part of what they had brought; though these would not give them the least crumb, and they were to be well contented that they were only spoiled, and not slain at the same time.

4 These were the afflictions which the lower sort of people suffered from these tyrants' guards; but for the men that were in dignity, and withal were rich, they were carried before the tyrants themselves; some of whom were falsely accused of laying treacherous plots, and so were destroyed; others of them were charged with designs of betraying the city to the Romans; but the readiest way of all was this, to suborn somebody to affirm that they were resolved to desert to the enemy. And he who was utterly despoiled of what he had by Simon was sent back again to John, as of those who had been already plundered by Jotre, Simon got what remained; insomuch that they drank the blood of the populace to one another, and divided the dead bodies of the poor creatures between them; so that although, on account of their ambition after dominion, they contended with each other, yet did they very well agree in their wicked practices; for he that did not communicate what he got by the miseries of others to the other tyrant seemed to be too little guilty, and in one respect only; and he that did not partake of what was so communicated to him grieved at this, as at the loss of what was a valuable thing, that he had no share in such barbarity.

5 It is therefore impossible to go distinctly over every instance of these men's iniquity. I shall therefore speak my mind here at once briefly:—That neither did any other city ever suffer such miseries, nor did any age ever breed a generation more fruitful in wickedness than this was, from the beginning of the world. Finally, they brought the Hebrew nation into contempt, that they might themselves appear comparatively less impious with regard to strangers. They confessed what was true, that they were the slaves, the scum, and the spurious and abortive offspring of our nation, while they overthrew the city themselves, and forced the Romans, whether they would or no, to gain a melancholy reputation, by acting gloriously against them, and did almost draw that fire upon the temple, which they seemed to think came too slowly; and indeed when they saw that temple burning from the upper city, they were neither troubled at it, nor did they shed any tears on that account, while yet these passions were discovered among the Romans themselves; which circumstances we shall speak of hereafter in their proper place, when we come to treat of such matters.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 11

How The Jews Were Crucified Before The Walls Of The City Concerning Antiochus Epiphanes; And How The Jews Overthrew The Banks That Had Been Raised By The Romans.

1 So now Titus's banks were advanced a great way, notwithstanding his soldiers had been very much distressed from the wall. He then sent a party of horsemen, and ordered they should lay ambushes for those that went out into the valleys to gather food. Some of these were indeed fighting men, who were not contented with what they got by rapine; but the greater part of them were poor people, who were deterred from deserting by the concern they were under for their own relations; for they could not hope to escape away, together with their wives and children, without the knowledge of the seditious; nor could they think of leaving these relations to be slain by the robbers on their account; nay, the severity of the famine made them bold in thus going out; so nothing remained but that, when they were concealed from the robbers, they should be taken by the enemy; and when they were going to be taken, they were forced to defend themselves for fear of being punished; as after they had fought, they thought it too late to make any supplications for mercy; so they were first whipped, and then tormented with all sorts of tortures, before they died, and were then crucified before the wall of the city. This miserable procedure made Titus greatly to pity them, while they caught every day five hundred Jews; nay, some days they caught more: yet it did not appear to be safe for him to let those that were taken by force go their way, and to set a guard over so many he saw would be to make such as great deal them useless to him. The main reason why he did not forbid that cruelty was this, that he hoped the Jews might perhaps yield at that sight, out of fear lest they might themselves afterwards be liable to the same cruel treatment. So the soldiers, out of the wrath and hatred they bore the Jews, nailed those they caught, one after one way, and another after another, to the crosses, by way of jest, when their multitude was so great, that room was wanting for the crosses, and crosses wanting for the bodies.

2 But so far were the seditious from repenting at this sad sight, that, on the contrary, they made the rest of the multitude believe otherwise; for they brought the relations of those that had deserted upon the wall, with such of the populace as were very eager to go over upon the security offered them, and showed them what miseries those underwent who fled to the Romans; and told them that those who were caught were supplicants to them, and not such as were taken prisoners. This sight kept many of those within the city who were so eager to desert, till the truth was known; yet did some of them run away immediately as unto certain punishment, esteeming death from their enemies to be a quiet departure, if compared with that by famine. So Titus commanded that the hands of many of those that were caught should be cut off, that they might not be thought deserters, and might be credited on account of the calamity they were under, and sent them in to John and Simon, with this exhortation, that they would now at length leave off [their madness], and not force him to destroy the city, whereby they would have those advantages of repentance, even in their utmost distress, that they would preserve their own lives, and so find a city of their own, and that temple which was their peculiar. He then went round about the banks that were cast up, and hastened them, in order to show that his words should in no long time be followed by his deeds. In answer to which the seditious cast reproaches upon Caesar himself, and upon his father also, and cried out, with a loud voice, that they contemned death, and did well in preferring it before slavery; that they would do all the mischief to the Romans they could while they had breath in them; and that for their own city, since they were, as he said, to be destroyed, they had no concern about it, and that the world itself was a better temple to God than this. That yet this temple would be preserved by him that inhabited therein, whom they still had for their assistant in this war, and did therefore laugh at all his threatenings, which would come to nothing, because the conclusion of the whole depended upon God only. These words were mixed with reproaches, and with them they made a mighty clamour.

3 In the mean time Antiochus Epiphanes came to the city, having with him a considerable number of other armed men, and a band called the Macedonian band about him, all of the same age, tall, and just past their childhood, armed, and instructed after the Macedonian manner, whence it was that they took that name. Yet were many of them unworthy of so famous a nation; for it had so happened, that the king of Commagene had flourished more than any other kings that were under the power of the Romans, till a change happened in his condition; and when he was become an old man, he declared plainly that we ought not to call any man happy before he is dead. But this son of his, who was then come thither before his father was decaying, said that he could not but wonder what made the Romans so tardy in making their attacks upon the wall. Now he was a warlike man, and naturally bold in exposing himself to dangers; he was also so strong a man, that his boldness seldom failed of having success. Upon this Titus smiled, and said he would share the pains of an attack with him. However, Antiochus went as he then was, and with his Macedonians made a sudden assault upon the wall; and, indeed, for his own part, his strength and skill were so great, that he guarded himself from the Jewish darts, and yet shot his darts at them, while yet the young men with him were almost all sorely galled; for they had so great a regard to the promises that had been made of their courage, that they would needs persevere in their fighting, and at length many of them retired, but not till they were wounded; and then they perceived that true Macedonians, if they were to be conquerors, must have Alexander's good fortune also.

4. Now as the Romans began to raise their banks on the twelfth day of the month Artemisius, [Jyar,] so had they much ado to finish them by the twenty-ninth day of the same month,

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after they had laboured hard for seventeen days continually. For there were now four great banks raised, one of which was at the tower Antonia; this was raised by the fifth legion, over against the middle of that pool which was called Struthius. Another was cast up by the twelfth legion, at the distance of about twenty cubits from the other. But the labours of the tenth legion, which lay a great way off these, were on the north quarter, and at the pool called Amygdalon; as was that of the fifteenth legion about thirty cubits from it, and at the high priest's monument. And now, when the engines were brought, John had from within undermined the space that was over against the tower of Antonia, as far as the banks themselves, and had supported the ground over the mine with beams laid across one another, whereby the Roman works stood upon an uncertain foundation. Then did he order such materials to be brought in as were daubed over with pitch and bitumen, and set them on fire; and as the cross beams that supported the banks were burning, the ditch yielded on the sudden, and the banks were shaken down, and fell into the ditch with a prodigious noise. Now at the first there arose a very thick smoke and dust, as the fire was choked with the fall of the bank; but as the suffocated materials were now gradually consumed, a plain flame brake out; on which sudden appearance of the flame a consternation fell upon the Romans, and the shrewdness of the contrivance discouraged them; and indeed this accident coming upon them at a time when they thought they had already gained their point, cooled their hopes for the time to come. They also thought it would be to no purpose to take the pains to extinguish the fire, since if it were extinguished, the banks were swallowed up already [and become useless to them].

5 Two days after this, Simon and his party made an attempt to destroy the other banks; for the Romans had brought their engines to bear there, and began already to make the wall shake. And here one Tephtheus, of Garsis, a city of Galilee, and Megassarus, one who was derived from some of queen Mariamne's servants, and with them one from Adiabene, he was the son of Nabateus, and called by the name of Chagiras, from the ill fortune he had, the word signifying "a lame man," snatched some torches, and ran suddenly upon the engines. Nor were there during this war any men that ever sallied out of the city who were their superiors, either in their boldness, or in the terror they struck into their enemies. For they ran out upon the Romans, not as if they were enemies, but friends, without fear or delay; nor did they leave their enemies till they had rushed violently through the midst of them, and set their machines on fire. And though they had darts thrown at them on every side, and were on every side assaulted with their enemies' swords, yet did they not withdraw themselves out of the dangers they were in, till the fire had caught hold of the instruments; but when the flame went up, the Romans came running from their camp to save their engines. Then did the Jews hinder their succors from the wall, and fought with those that endeavored to quench the fire, without any regard to the danger their bodies were in. So the Romans pulled the engines out of the fire, while the hurdles that covered them were on fire; but the Jews caught hold of the battering rams through the flame itself, and held them fast, although the iron upon them was become red hot; and now the fire spread itself from the engines to the banks, and prevented those that came to defend them; and all this while the Romans were encompassed round about with the flame; and, despairing of saving their works from it, they retired to their camp. Then did the Jews become still more and more in number by the coming of those that were within the city to their assistance; and as they were very bold upon the good success they had had, their violent assaults were almost irresistible; nay, they proceeded as far as the fortifications of the enemies' camp, and fought with their guards. Now there stood a body of soldiers in array before that camp, which succeeded one another by turns in their armour; and as to those, the law of the Romans was terrible, that he who left his post there, let the occasion be whatsoever it might be, he was to die for it; so that body of soldiers, preferring rather to die in fighting courageously, than as a punishment for their cowardice, stood firm; and at the necessity these men were in of standing to it, many of the others that had run away, out of shame, turned back again; and when they had set the engines against the wall, they put the multitude from coming more of them out of the city, [which they could the more easily do] because they had made no provision for preserving or guarding their bodies at this time; for the Jews fought now hand to hand with all that came in their way, and, without any caution, fell against the points of their enemies' spears, and attacked them bodies against bodies; for they were now too hard for the Romans, not so much by their other warlike actions, as by these courageous assaults they made upon them; and the Romans gave way more to their boldness than they did to the sense of the harm they had received from them.

6 And now Titus was come from the tower of Antonia, whither he was gone to look out for a place for raising other banks, and reproached the soldiers greatly for permitting their own walls to be in danger, when they had taken the wails of their enemies, and sustained the fortune of men besieged, while the Jews were allowed to sally out against them, though they were already in a sort of prison. He then went round about the enemy with some chosen troops, and fell upon their flank himself; so the Jews, who had been before assaulted in their faces, wheeled about to Titus, and continued the fight. The armies also were now mixed one among another, and the dust that was raised so far hindered them from seeing one another, and the noise that was made so far hindered them from hearing one another, that neither side could discern an enemy from a friend. However, the Jews did not flinch, though not so much from their real strength, as from their despair of deliverance. The Romans also would not yield, by reason of the regard they had to glory, and to their reputation in war, and because Caesar himself went into the danger before them; insomuch that I cannot but think the Romans would in the conclusion have now taken even the whole multitude of the Jews, so very angry were they at them, had these not prevented the upshot of the battle, and retired into the city. However, seeing the banks of the Romans were demolished, these Romans were very much cast down upon the loss of what had cost them so long pains, and this in one hour's time. And many indeed despaired of taking the city with their usual engines of war only.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 12

Titus Thought Fit To Encompass The City Round With A Wall; After Which The Famine Consumed The People By Whole Houses And Families Together.

1 And now did Titus consult with his commanders what was to be done. Those that were of the warmest tempers thought he should bring the whole army against the city and storm the wall; for that hitherto no more than a part of their army had fought with the Jews; but that in case the entire army was to come at once, they would not be able to sustain their attacks, but would be overwhelmed by their darts. But of those that were for a more cautious management, some were for raising their banks again; and others advised to let the banks alone, but to lie still before the city, to guard against the coming out of the Jews, and against their carrying provisions into the city, and so to leave the enemy to the famine, and this without direct fighting with them; for that despair was not to be conquered, especially as to those who are desirous to die by the sword, while a more terrible misery than that is reserved for them. However, Titus did not think it fit for so great an army to lie entirely idle, and that yet it was in vain to fight with those that would be destroyed one by another; he also showed them how impracticable it was to cast up any more banks, for want of materials, and to guard against the Jews coming out still more impracticable; as also, that to encompass the whole city round with his army was not very easy, by reason of its magnitude, and the difficulty of the situation, and on other accounts dangerous, upon the sallies the Jews might make out of the city. For although they might guard the known passages out of the place, yet would they, when they found themselves under the greatest distress, contrive secret passages out, as being well acquainted with all such places; and if any provisions were carried in by stealth, the siege would thereby be longer delayed. He also owned that he was afraid that the length of time thus to be spent would diminish the glory of his success; for though it be true that length of time will perfect every thing, yet that to do what we do in a little time is still necessary to the gaining reputation. That therefore his opinion was, that if they aimed at quickness joined with security, they must build a wall round about the whole city; which was, he thought, the only way to prevent the Jews from coming out any way, and that then they would either entirely despair of saving the city, and so would surrender it up to him, or be still the more easily conquered when the famine had further weakened them; for that besides this wall, he would not lie entirely at rest afterward, but would take care then to have banks raised again, when those that would oppose them were become weaker. But that if any one should think such a work to be too great, and not to be finished without much difficulty, he ought to consider that it is not fit for Romans to undertake any small work, and that none but God himself could with ease accomplish any great thing whatsoever.

2 These arguments prevailed with the commanders. So Titus gave orders that the army should be distributed to their several shares of this work; and indeed there now came upon the soldiers a certain divine fury, so that they did not only part the whole wall that was to be built among them, nor did only one legion strive with another, but the lesser divisions of the army did the same; insomuch that each soldier was ambitious to please his decurion, each decurion his centurion, each centurion his tribune, and the ambition of the tribunes was to please their superior commanders, while Caesar himself took notice of and rewarded the like contention in those commanders; for he went round about the works many times every day, and took a view of what was done. Titus began the wall from the camp of the Assyrians, where his own camp was pitched, and drew it down to the lower parts of Cenopolis; thence it went along the valley of Cedron, to the Mount of Olives; it then bent towards the south, and encompassed the mountain as far as the rock called Peristereon, and that other hill which lies next it, and is over the valley which reaches to Siloam; whence it bended again to the west, and went down to the valley of the Fountain, beyond which it went up again at the monument of Ananus the high priest, and encompassing that mountain where Pompey had formerly pitched his camp, it returned back to the north side of the city, and was carried on as far as a certain village called "The House of the Erebinthi;" after which it encompassed Herod's monument, and there, on the east, was joined to Titus's own camp, where it began. Now the length of this wall was forty furlongs, one only abated. Now at this wall without were erected thirteen places to keep garrison in, whose circumferences, put together, amounted to ten furlongs; the whole was completed in three days; so that what would naturally have required some months was done in so short an interval as is incredible. When Titus had therefore encompassed the city with this wall, and put garrisons into proper places, he went round the wall, at the first watch of the night, and observed how the guard was kept; the second watch he allotted to Alexander; the commanders of legions took the third watch. They also cast lots among themselves who should be upon the watch in the night time, and who should go all night long round the spaces that were interposed between the garrisons.

3 So all hope of escaping was now cut off from the Jews, together with their liberty of going out of the city. Then did the famine widen its progress, and devoured the people by whole houses and families; the upper rooms were full of women and children that were dying by famine, and the lanes of the city were full of the dead bodies of the aged; the children also and the young men wandered about the market-places like shadows, all swelled with the famine, and fell down dead, wheresoever their misery seized them. As for burying them, those that were sick themselves were not able to do it; and those that were hearty and well were deterred from doing it by the great multitude of those dead bodies, and by the uncertainty there was how soon they should die themselves; for many died as they were burying others, and many went to their coffins before that fatal hour was come. Nor was there any lamentations made under these calamities, nor were heard any mournful complaints; but the famine confounded all natural passions; for those who were just going to die looked upon those that were gone to rest before them with dry eyes and open mouths. A deep silence also, and a kind of deadly night, had seized upon the city; while yet the robbers were still more terrible than these miseries were themselves; for they brake open those houses which were no other than graves of dead bodies, and plundered them of what they had; and carrying off the coverings of their bodies, went out laughing, and tried the points of their swords in their dead bodies; and, in order to prove what metal they were made of they thrust some of those through that still lay alive upon the ground; but for those that entreated them to lend them their right hand and their sword to despatch them, they were too proud to grant their requests, and left them to be consumed by the famine. Now every one of these died with their eyes fixed upon the temple, and left the seditious alive behind them. Now the seditious at first gave orders that the dead should be buried out of the public treasury, as not enduring the stench of their dead bodies. But afterwards, when they could not do that, they had them cast down from the walls into the valleys beneath.

4 However, when Titus, in going his rounds along those valleys, saw them full of dead bodies, and the thick putrefaction running about them, he gave a groan; and, spreading out his hands to heaven, called God to witness that this was not his doing; and such was the sad case of the city itself. But the Romans were very joyful, since none of the seditious could now make sallies out of the city, because they were themselves disconsolate, and the famine already touched them also. These Romans besides had great plenty of corn and other necessaries out of Syria, and out of the neighbouring provinces; many of whom would stand near to the wall of the city, and show the people what great quantities of provisions they had, and so make the enemy more sensible of their famine, by the great plenty, even to satiety, which they had themselves. However, when the seditious still showed no inclinations of yielding, Titus, out of his commiseration of the people that remained, and out of his earnest desire of rescuing what was still left out of these miseries, began to raise his banks again, although materials for them were hard to be come at; for all the trees that were about the city had been already cut down for the making of the former banks. Yet did the soldiers bring with them other materials from the distance of ninety furlongs, and thereby raised banks in four parts, much greater than the former, though this was done only at the tower of Antonia. So Caesar went his rounds through the legions, and hastened on the works, and showed the robbers that they were now in his hands. But these men, and these only, were incapable of repenting of the wickednesses they had been guilty of; and separating their souls from their bodies, they used them both as if they belonged to other folks, and not to themselves. For no gentle affection could touch their souls, nor could any pain affect their bodies, since they could still tear the dead bodies

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of the people as dogs do, and fill the prisons with those that were sick.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 13

The Great Slaughters And Sacrilege That Were In Jerusalem.

1 Accordingly Simon would not suffer Matthias, by whose means he got possession of the city, to go off without torment. This Matthias was the son of Boethus, and was one of the high priests, one that had been very faithful to the people, and in great esteem with them; he, when the multitude were distressed by the zealots, among whom John was numbered, persuaded the people to admit this Simon to come in to assist them, while he had made no terms with him, nor expected any thing that was evil from him. But when Simon was come in, and had gotten the city under his power, he esteemed him that had advised them to admit him as his enemy equally with the rest, as looking upon that advice as a piece of his simplicity only; so he had him then brought before him, and condemned to die for being on the side of the Romans, without giving him leave to make his defense. He condemned also his three sons to die with him; for as to the fourth, he prevented him by running away to Titus before. And when he begged for this, that he might be slain before his sons, and that as a favour, on account that he had procured the gates of the city to be opened to him, he gave order that he should be slain the last of them all; so he was not slain till he had seen his sons slain before his eyes, and that by being produced over against the Romans; for such a charge had Simon given to Artanus, the son of Bamadus, who was the most barbarous of all his guards. He also jested upon him, and told him that he might now see whether those to whom he intended to go over would send him any succors or not; but still he forbade their dead bodies should be buried. After the slaughter of these, a certain priest, Ananias, the son of Masambalus, a person of eminency, as also Aristens, the scribe of the sanhedrim, and born at Emmaus, and with them fifteen men of figure among the people, were slain. They also kept Josephus's father in prison, and made public proclamation, that no citizen whosoever should either speak to him himself, or go into his company among others, for fear he should betray them. They also slew such as joined in lamenting these men, without any further examination.

2 Now when Judas, the son of Judas, who was one of Simon's under officers, and a person intrusted by him to keep one of the towers, saw this procedure of Simon, he called together ten of those under him, that were most faithful to him, [perhaps this was done partly out of pity to those that had so barbarously been put to death, but principally in order to provide for his own safety,] and spoke thus to them: "How long shall we bear these miseries? or what hopes have we of deliverance by thus continuing faithful to such wicked wretches? Is not the famine already come against us? Are not the Romans in a manner gotten within the city? Is not Simon become unfaithful to his benefactors? and is there not reason to fear he will very soon bring us to the like punishment, while the security the Romans offer us is sure? Come on, let us surrender up this wall, and save ourselves and the city. Nor will Simon be very much hurt, if, now he despairs of deliverance, he be brought to justice a little sooner than he thinks on." Now these ten were prevailed upon by those arguments; so he sent the rest of those that were under him, some one way, and some another, that no discovery might be made of what they had resolved upon. Accordingly, he called to the Romans from the tower about the third hour; but they, some of them out of pride, despised what he said, and others of them did not believe him to be in earnest, though the greatest number delayed the matter, as believing they should get possession of the city in a little time, without any hazard. But when Titus was just coming thither with his armed men, Simon was acquainted with the matter before he came, and presently took the tower into his own custody, before it was surrendered, and seized upon these men, and put them to death in the sight of the Romans themselves; and when he had mangled their dead bodies, he threw them down before the wall of the city.

3 In the mean time, Josephus, as he was going round the city, had his head wounded by a stone that was thrown at him; upon which he fell down as giddy. Upon which fall of his the Jews made a sally, and he had been hurried away into the city, if Caesar had not sent men to protect him immediately; and as these men were fighting, Josephus was taken up, though he heard little of what was done. So the seditious supposed they had now slain that man whom they were the most desirous of killing, and made thereupon a great noise, in way of rejoicing. This accident was told in the city, and the multitude that remained became very disconsolate at the news, as being persuaded that he was really dead, on whose account alone they could venture to desert to the Romans. But when Josephus's mother heard in prison that her son was dead, she said to those that watched about her, That she had always been of opinion, since the siege of Jotapata, [that he would be slain,] and she should never enjoy him alive any more. She also made great lamentation privately to the maid-servants that were about her, and said, That this was all the advantage she had of bringing so extraordinary a person as this son into the world; that she should not be able even to bury that son of hers, by whom she expected to have been buried herself. However, this false report did not put his mother to pain, nor afford merriment to the robbers, long; for Josephus soon recovered of his wound, and came out, and cried out aloud, That it would not be long ere they should be punished for this wound they had given him. He also made a fresh exhortation to the people to come out upon the security that would be given them. This sight of Josephus encouraged the people greatly, and brought a great consternation upon the seditious.

4 Hereupon some of the deserters, having no other way, leaped down from the wall immediately, while others of them went out of the city with stones, as if they would fight them; but thereupon they fled away to the Romans. But here a worse fate accompanied these than what they had found within the city; and they met with a quicker despatch from the too great abundance they had among the Romans, than they could have done from the famine among the Jews; for when they came first to the Romans, they were puffed up by the famine, and swelled like men in a dropsy; after which they all on the sudden overfilled those bodies that were before empty, and so burst asunder, excepting such only as were skillful enough to restrain their appetites, and by degrees took in their food into bodies unaccustomed thereto. Yet did another plague seize upon those that were thus preserved; for there was found among the Syrian deserters a certain person who was caught gathering pieces of gold out of the excrements of the Jews' bellies; for the deserters used to swallow such pieces of gold, as we told you before, when they came out, and for these did the seditious search them all; for there was a great quantity of gold in the city, insomuch that as much was now sold [in the Roman camp] for twelve Attic [drams], as was sold before for twenty-five. But when this contrivance was discovered in one instance, the fame of it filled their several camps, that the deserters came to them full of gold. So the multitude of the Arabians, with the Syrians, cut up those that came as supplicants, and searched their bellies. Nor does it seem to me that any misery befell the Jews that was more terrible than this, since in one night's time about two thousand of these deserters were thus dissected.

5 When Titus came to the knowledge of this wicked practice, he had like to have surrounded those that had been guilty of it with his horse, and have shot them dead; and he had done it, had not their number been so very great, and those that were liable to this punishment would have been manifold more than those whom they had slain. However, he called together the commanders of the auxiliary troops he had with him, as well as the commanders of the Roman legions, [for some of his own soldiers had been also guilty herein, as he had been informed,] and had great indignation against both sorts of them, and said to them, "What! have any of my own soldiers done such things as this out of the uncertain hope of gain, without regarding their own weapons, which are made of silver and gold? Moreover, do the Arabians and Syrians now first of all begin to govern themselves as they please, and to indulge their appetites in a foreign war, and then, out of their barbarity in murdering men, and out of their hatred to the Jews, get it ascribed to the Romans?" for this infamous practice was said to be spread among some of his own soldiers also. Titus then threatened that he would put such men to death, if any of them were discovered to be so insolent as to do so again; moreover, he gave it in charge to the legions, that they should make a search after such as were suspected, and should bring them to him. But it appeared that the love of money was too hard for all their dread of punishment, and a vehement desire of gain is natural to men, and no passion is so venturesome as covetousness; otherwise such passions have certain bounds, and are subordinate to fear. But in reality it was God who condemned the whole nation, and turned every course that was taken for their preservation to their destruction. This, therefore, which was forbidden by Caesar under such a threatening, was ventured upon privately against the deserters, and these barbarians would go out still, and meet those that ran away before any saw them, and looking about them to see that no Roman spied them, they dissected them, and pulled this polluted money out of their bowels; which money was still found in a few of them, while yet a great many were destroyed by the bare hope there was of thus getting by them, which miserable treatment made many that were deserting to return back again into the city.

6 But as for John, when he could no longer plunder the people, he betook himself to sacrilege, and melted down many of the sacred utensils, which had been given to the temple; as also many of those vessels which were necessary for such as ministered about holy things, the caldrons, the dishes, and the tables; nay, he did not abstain from those pouring vessels that were sent them by Augustus and his wife; for the Roman emperors did ever both honour and adorn this temple; whereas this man, who was a Jew, seized upon what were the donations of foreigners, and said to those that were with him, that it was proper for them to use Divine things, while they were fighting for the Divinity, without fear, and that such whose warfare is for the temple should live of the temple; on which account he emptied the vessels of that sacred wine and oil, which the priests kept to be poured on the burnt-offerings, and which lay in the inner court of the temple, and distributed it among the multitude, who, in their anointing themselves and drinking, used [each of them] above an hin of them. And here I cannot but speak my mind, and what the concern I am under dictates to me, and it is this: I suppose, that had the Romans made any longer delay in coming against these villains, that the city would either have been swallowed up by the ground opening upon them, or been overflowed by water, or else been destroyed by such thunder as the country of Sodom perished by, for it had brought forth a generation of men much more atheistical than were those that suffered such punishments; for by their madness it was that all the people came to be destroyed.

7 And, indeed, why do I relate these particular calamities? while Manneus, the son of Lazarus, came running to Titus at this very time, and told him that there had been carried out through that one gate, which was intrusted to his care, no fewer than a hundred and fifteen thousand eight hundred and eighty dead bodies, in the interval between the fourteenth day of the month Xanthicus, [Nisan,] when the Romans pitched their camp by the city, and the first day of the month Panemus [Tamuz]. This was itself a prodigious multitude; and though this man was not himself set as a governor at that gate, yet was he appointed to pay the public stipend for carrying these bodies out, and so was obliged of necessity to number them, while the rest were buried by their relations; though all their burial was but this, to bring them away, and cast them out of the city. After this man there ran away to Titus many of the eminent citizens, and told him the entire number of the poor that were dead, and that no fewer than six hundred thousand were thrown out at the gates, though still the number of the rest could not be discovered; and they told him further, that when they were no longer able to carry out the dead bodies of the poor, they laid their corpses on heaps in very large houses, and shut them up therein; as also that a medimnus of wheat was sold for a talent; and that when, a while afterward, it was not possible to gather herbs, by reason the city was all walled about, some persons were driven to that terrible distress as to search the common sewers and old dunghills of cattle, and to eat the dung which they got there; and what they of old could not endure so much as to see they now used for food. When the Romans barely heard all this, they commiserated their case; while the seditious, who saw it also, did not repent, but suffered the same distress to come upon themselves; for they were blinded by that fate which was already coming upon the city, and upon themselves also.

THE WARS OF THE JEWS BOOK 6

Containing The Interval Of About One Month.
From The Great Extremity To Which The Jews
Were Reduced To The Taking Of Jerusalem By Titus.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 1

That The Miseries Still Grew Worse; And How The Romans Made An Assault Upon The Tower Of Antonia.

1 Thus did the miseries of Jerusalem grow worse and worse every day, and the seditious were still more irritated by the calamities they were under, even while the famine preyed upon themselves, after it had preyed upon the people. And indeed the multitude of carcasses that lay in heaps one upon another was a horrible sight, and produced a pestilential stench, which was a hinderance to those that would make sallies out of the city, and fight the enemy: but as those were to go in battle-array, who had been already used to ten thousand murders, and must tread upon those dead bodies as they marched along, so were not they terrified, nor did they pity men as they marched over them; nor did they deem this affront offered to the deceased to be any ill omen to themselves; but as they had their right hands already polluted with the murders of their own countrymen, and in that condition ran out to fight with foreigners, they seem to me to have cast a reproach upon God himself, as if he were too slow in punishing them; for the war was not now gone on with as if they had any hope of victory; for they gloried after a brutish manner in that despair of deliverance they were already in. And now the Romans, although they were greatly distressed in getting together their materials, raised their banks in one and twenty days, after they had cut down all the trees that were in the country that adjoined to the city, and that for ninety furlongs round about, as I have already related. And truly the very view itself of the country was a melancholy thing; for those places which were before adorned with trees and pleasant gardens were now become a desolate country every way, and its trees were all cut down: nor could any foreigner that had formerly seen Judea and the most beautiful suburbs of the city, and now saw it as a desert, but lament and mourn sadly at so great a change: for the war had laid all the signs of beauty quite waste: nor if any one that had known the place before, had come on a sudden to it now, would he have known it again; but though he were at the city itself, yet would he have inquired for it notwithstanding.

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2 And now the banks were finished, they afforded a foundation for fear both to the Romans and to the Jews; for the Jews expected that the city would be taken, unless they could burn those banks, as did the Romans expect that, if these were once burnt down, they should never be able to take it; for there was a mighty scarcity of materials, and the bodies of the soldiers began to fail with such hard labours, as did their souls faint with so many instances of ill success; nay, the very calamities themselves that were in the city proved a greater discouragement to the Romans than those within the city; for they found the fighting men of the Jews to be not at all mollified among such their sore afflictions, while they had themselves perpetually less and less hopes of success, and their banks were forced to yield to the stratagems of the enemy, their engines to the firmness of their wall, and their closest fights to the boldness of their attack; and, what was their greatest discouragement of all, they found the Jews' courageous souls to be superior to the multitude of the miseries they were under, by their sedition, their famine, and the war itself; insomuch that they were ready to imagine that the violence of their attacks was invincible, and that the alacrity they showed would not be discouraged by their calamities; for what would not those be able to bear if they should be fortunate, who turned their very misfortunes to the improvement of their valour! These considerations made the Romans to keep a stronger guard about their banks than they formerly had done.

3 But now John and his party took care for securing themselves afterward, even in case this wall should be thrown down, and fell to their work before the battering rams were brought against them. Yet did they not compass what they endeavored to do, but as they were gone out with their torches, they came back under great discouragement before they came near to the banks; and the reasons were these: that, in the first place, their conduct did not seem to be unanimous, but they went out in distinct parties, and at distinct intervals, and after a slow manner, and timorously, and, to say all in a word, without a Jewish courage; for they were now defective in what is peculiar to our nation, that is, in boldness, in violence of assault, and in running upon the enemy all together, and in persevering in what they go about, though they do not at first succeed in it; but they now went out in a more languid manner than usual, and at the same time found the Romans set in array, and more courageous than ordinary, and that they guarded their banks both with their bodies and their entire armour, and this to such a degree on all sides, that they left no room for the fire to get among them, and that every one of their souls was in such good courage, that they would sooner die than desert their ranks; for besides their notion that all their hopes were cut off, in case these their works were once burnt, the soldiers were greatly ashamed that subtlety should quite be too hard for courage, madness for armour, multitude for skill, and Jews for Romans. The Romans had now also another advantage, in that their engines for sieges co-operated with them in throwing darts and stones as far as the Jews, when they were coming out of the city; whereby the man that fell became an impediment to him that was next to him, as did the danger of going farther make them less zealous in their attempts; and for those that had run under the darts, some of them were terrified by the good order and closeness of the enemies' ranks before they came to a close fight, and others were pricked with their spears, and turned back again; at length they reproached one another for their cowardice, and retired without doing any thing. This attack was made upon the first day of the month Panemus [Tamuz.] So when the Jews were retreated, the Romans brought their engines, although they had all the while stones thrown at them from the tower of Antonia, and were assaulted by fire and sword, and by all sorts of darts, which necessity afforded the Jews to make use of; for although these had great dependence on their own wall, and a contempt of the Roman engines, yet did they endeavor to hinder the Romans from bringing them. Now these Romans struggled hard, on the contrary, to bring them, as deeming that this zeal of the Jews was in order to avoid any impression to be made on the tower of Antonia, because its wall was but weak, and its foundations rotten. However, that tower did not yield to the blows given it from the engines; yet did the Romans bear the impressions made by the enemies' darts which were perpetually cast at them, and did not give way to any of those dangers that came upon them from above, and so they brought their engines to bear. But then, as they were beneath the other, and were sadly wounded by the stones thrown down upon them, some of them threw their shields over their bodies, and partly with their hands, and partly with their bodies, and partly with crows, they undermined its foundations, and with great pains they removed four of its stones. Then night came upon both sides, and put an end to this struggle for the present; however, that night the wall was so shaken by the battering rams in that place where John had used his stratagem before, and had undermined their banks, that the ground then gave way, and the wall fell down suddenly.

4 When this accident had unexpectedly happened, the minds of both parties were variously affected; for though one would expect that the Jews would be discouraged, because this fall of their wall was unexpected by them, and they had made no provision in that case, yet did they pull up their courage, because the tower of Antonia itself was still standing; as was the unexpected joy of the Romans at this fall of the wall soon quenched by the sight they had of another wall, which John and his party had built within it. However, the attack of this second wall appeared to be easier than that of the former, because it seemed a thing of greater facility to get up to it through the parts of the former wall that were now thrown down. This new wall appeared also to be much weaker than the tower of Antonia, and accordingly the Romans imagined that it had been erected so much on the sudden, that they should soon overthrow it: yet did not any body venture now to go up to this wall; for that such as first ventured so to do must certainly be killed.

5 And now Titus, upon consideration that the alacrity of soldiers in war is chiefly excited by hopes and by good words, and that exhortations and promises do frequently make men to forget the hazards they run, nay, sometimes to despise death itself, got together the most courageous part of his army, and tried what he could do with his men by these methods. "O fellow soldiers," said he, "to make an exhortation to men to do what hath no peril in it, is on that very account inglorious to such to whom that exhortation is made; and indeed so it is in him that makes the exhortation, an argument of his own cowardice also. I therefore think that such exhortations ought then only to be made use of when affairs are in a dangerous condition, and yet are worthy of being attempted by every one themselves; accordingly, I am fully of the same opinion with you, that it is a difficult task to go up this wall; but that it is proper for those that desire reputation for their valour to struggle with difficulties in such cases as will then appear, when I have particularly shown that it is a brave thing to die with glory, and that the courage here necessary shall not go unrewarded in those that first begin the attempt. And let my first argument to move you to it be taken from what probably some would think reasonable to dissuade you, I mean the constancy and patience of these Jews, even under their ill successes; for it is unbecoming you, who are Romans and my soldiers, who have in peace been taught how to make wars, and who have also been used to conquer in those wars, to be inferior to Jews, either in action of the hand, or in courage of the soul, and this especially when you are at the conclusion of your victory, and are assisted by God himself; for as to our misfortunes, they have been owing to the madness of the Jews, while their sufferings have been owing to your valour, and to the assistance God hath afforded you; for as to the seditions they have been in, and the famine they are under, and the siege they now endure, and the fall of their walls without our engines, what can they all be but demonstrations of God's anger against them, and of his assistance afforded us? It will not therefore be proper for you, either to show yourselves inferior to those to whom you are really superior, or to betray that Divine assistance which is afforded you. And, indeed, how can it be esteemed otherwise than a base and unworthy thing, that while the Jews, who need not be much ashamed if they be deserted, because they have long learned to be slaves to others, do yet despise death, that they may be so no longer; and do make sallies into the very midst of us frequently, not in hopes of conquering us, but merely for a demonstration of their courage; we, who have gotten possession of almost all the world that belongs to either land or sea, to whom it will be a great shame if we do not conquer them, do not once undertake any attempt against our enemies wherein there is much danger, but sit still idle, with such brave arms as we have, and only wait till the famine and fortune do our business themselves, and this when we have it in our power, with some small hazard, to gain all that we desire! For if we go up to this tower of Antonia, we gain the city; for if there should be any more occasion for fighting against those within the city, which I do not suppose there will, since we shall then be upon the top of the hill and be upon our enemies before they can have taken breath, these advantages promise us no less than a certain and sudden victory. As for myself, I shall at present wave any commendation of those who die in war, and omit to speak of the immortality of those men who are slain in the midst of their martial bravery; yet cannot I forbear to imprecate upon those who are of a contrary disposition, that they may die in time of peace, by some distemper or other, since their souls are condemned to the grave, together with their bodies. For what man of virtue is there who does not know, that those souls which are severed from their fleshly bodies in battles by the sword are received by the ether, that purest of elements, and joined to that company which are placed among the stars; that they become good demons, and propitious heroes, and show themselves as such to their posterity afterwards? while upon those souls that wear away in and with their distempered bodies comes a subterranean night to dissolve them to nothing, and a deep oblivion to take away all the remembrance of them, and this notwithstanding they be clean from all spots and defilements of this world; so that, in this ease, the soul at the same time comes to the utmost bounds of its life, and of its body, and of its memorial also. But since he hath determined that death is to come of necessity upon all men, a sword is a better instrument for that purpose than any disease whatsoever. Why is it not then a very mean thing for us not to yield up that to the public benefit which we must yield up to fate? And this discourse have I made, upon the supposition that those who at first attempt to go upon this wall must needs be killed in the attempt, though still men of true courage have a chance to escape even in the most hazardous undertakings. For, in the first place, that part of the former wall that is thrown down is easily to be ascended; and for the new-built wall, it is easily destroyed. Do you, therefore, many of you, pull up your courage, and set about this work, and do you mutually encourage and assist one another; and this your bravery will soon break the hearts of your enemies; and perhaps such a glorious undertaking as yours is may be accomplished without bloodshed. For although it be justly to be supposed that the Jews will try to hinder you at your first beginning to go up to them; yet when you have once concealed yourselves from them, and driven them away by force, they will not be able to sustain your efforts against them any longer, though but a few of you prevent them, and get over the wall. As for that person who first mounts the wall, I should blush for shame if I did not make him to be envied of others, by those rewards I would bestow upon him. If such a one escape with his life, he shall have the command of others that are now but his equals; although it be true also that the greatest rewards will accrue to such as die in the attempt."

6 Upon this speech of Titus, the rest of the multitude were afrighted at so great a danger. But there was one, whose name was Sabinus, a soldier that served among the cohorts, and a Syrian by birth, who appeared to be of very great fortitude, both in the actions he had done, and the courage of his soul he had shown; although any body would have thought, before he came to his work, that he was of such a weak constitution of body, that he was not fit to be a soldier; for his colour was black, his flesh was lean and thin, and lay close together; but there was a certain heroic soul that dwelt in this small body, which body was indeed much too narrow for that peculiar courage which was in him. Accordingly he was the first that rose up, when he thus spake: "I readily surrender up myself to thee, O Caesar; I first ascend the wall, and I heartily wish that my fortune may follow my courage and my resolution And if some ill fortune grudge me the success of my undertaking, take notice that my ill success will not be unexpected, but that I choose death voluntarily for thy sake." When he had said this, and had spread out his shield over his head with his left hand, and had, with his right hand, drawn his sword, he marched up to the wall, just about the sixth hour of the day. There followed him eleven others, and no more, that resolved to imitate his bravery; but still this was the principal person of them all, and went first, as excited by a divine fury. Now those that guarded the wall shot at them from thence, and cast innumerable darts upon them from every side; they also rolled very large stones upon them, which overthrew some of those eleven that were with him. But as for Sabinus himself, he met the darts that were cast at him and though he was overwhelmed with them, yet did he not leave off the violence of his attack before he had gotten up on the top of the wall, and had put the enemy to flight. For as the Jews were astonished at his great strength, and the bravery of his soul, and as, withal, they imagined more of them had got upon the wall than really had, they were put to flight. And now one cannot but complain here of fortune, as still envious at virtue, and always hindering the performance of glorious achievements: this was the case of the man before us, when he had just obtained his purpose; for he then stumbled at a certain large stone, and fell down upon it headlong, with a very great noise. Upon which the Jews turned back, and when they saw him to be alone, and fallen down also, they threw darts at him from every side. However, he got upon his knee, and covered himself with his shield, and at the first defended himself against them, and wounded many of those that came near him; but he was soon forced to relax his right hand, by the multitude of the wounds that had been given him, till at length he was quite covered over with darts before he gave up the ghost. He was one who deserved a better fate, by reason of his bravery; but, as might be expected, he fell under so vast an attempt. As for the rest of his partners, the Jews dashed three of them to pieces with stones, and slew them as they were gotten up to the top of the wall; the other eight being wounded, were pulled down, and carried back to the camp. These things were done upon the third day of the month Panemus [Tamuz].

7 Now two days afterward twelve of those men that were on the forefront, and kept watch upon the banks, got together, and called to them the standard-bearer of the fifth legion, and two others of a troop of horsemen, and one trumpeter; these went without noise, about the ninth hour of the night, through the ruins, to the tower of Antonia; and when they had cut the throats of the first guards of the place, as they

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were asleep, they got possession of the wall, and ordered the trumpeter to sound his trumpet. Upon which the rest of the guard got up on the sudden, and ran away, before any body could see how many they were that were gotten up; for, partly from the fear they were in, and partly from the sound of the trumpet which they heard, they imagined a great number of the enemy were gotten up. But as soon as Caesar heard the signal, he ordered the army to put on their armour immediately, and came thither with his commanders, and first of all ascended, as did the chosen men that were with him. And as the Jews were flying away to the temple, they fell into that mine which John had dug under the Roman banks. Then did the seditious of both the bodies of the Jewish army, as well that belonging to John as that belonging to Simon, drive them away; and indeed were no way wanting as to the highest degree of force and alacrity; for they esteemed themselves entirely ruined if once the Romans got into the temple, as did the Romans look upon the same thing as the beginning of their entire conquest. So a terrible battle was fought at the entrance of the temple, while the Romans were forcing their way, in order to get possession of that temple, and the Jews were driving them back to the tower of Antonia; in which battle the darts were on both sides useless, as well as the spears, and both sides drew their swords, and fought it out hand to hand. Now during this struggle the positions of the men were undistinguished on both sides, and they fought at random, the men being intermixed one with another, and confounded, by reason of the narrowness of the place; while the noise that was made fell on the ear after an indistinct manner, because it was so very loud. Great slaughter was now made on both sides, and the combatants trod upon the bodies and the armour of those that were dead, and dashed them to pieces. Accordingly, to which side soever the battle inclined, those that had the advantage exhorted one another to go on, as did those that were beaten make great lamentation. But still there was no room for flight, nor for pursuit, but disorderly revolutions and retreats, while the armies were intermixed one with another; but those that were in the first ranks were under the necessity of killing or being killed, without any way for escaping; for those on both sides that came behind forced those before them to go on, without leaving any space between the armies. At length the Jews' violent zeal was too hard for the Romans' skill, and the battle already inclined entirely that way; for the fight had lasted from the ninth hour of the night till the seventh hour of the day, While the Jews came on in crowds, and had the danger the temple was in for their motive; the Romans having no more here than a part of their army; for those legions, on which the soldiers on that side depended, were not come up to them. So it was at present thought sufficient by the Romans to take possession of the tower of Antonia.

8 But there was one Julian, a centurion, that came from Bithynia, a man he was of great reputation, whom I had formerly seen in that war, and one of the highest fame, both for his skill in war, his strength of body, and the courage of his soul. This man, seeing the Romans giving ground, and in a sad condition, [for he stood by Titus at the tower of Antonia,] leaped out, and of himself alone put the Jews to flight, when they were already conquerors, and made them retire as far as the corner of the inner court of the temple; from him the multitude fled away in crowds, as supposing that neither his strength nor his violent attacks could be those of a mere man. Accordingly, he rushed through the midst of the Jews, as they were dispersed all abroad, and killed those that he caught. Nor, indeed, was there any sight that appeared more wonderful in the eyes of Caesar, or more terrible to others, than this. However, he was himself pursued by fate, which it was not possible that he, who was but a mortal man, should escape; for as he had shoes all full of thick and sharp nails as had every one of the other soldiers, so when he ran on the pavement of the temple, he slipped, and fell down upon his back with a very great noise, which was made by his armour. This made those that were running away to turn back; whereupon those Romans that were in the tower of Antonia set up a great shout, as they were in fear for the man. But the Jews got about him in crowds, and struck at him with their spears and with their swords on all sides. Now he received a great many of the strokes of these iron weapons upon his shield, and often attempted to get up again, but was thrown down by those that struck at him; yet did he, as he lay along, stab many of them with his sword. Nor was he soon killed, as being covered with his helmet and his breastplate in all those parts of his body where he might be mortally wounded; he also pulled his neck close to his body, till all his other limbs were shattered, and nobody durst come to defend him, and then he yielded to his fate. Now Caesar was deeply affected on account of this man of so great fortitude, and especially as he was killed in the sight of so many people; he was desirous himself to come to his assistance, but the place would not give him leave, while such as could have done it were too much terrified to attempt it. Thus when Julian had struggled with death a great while, and had let but few of those that had given him his mortal wound go off unhurt, he had at last his throat cut, though not without some difficulty, and left behind him a very great fame, not only among the Romans, and with Caesar himself, but among his enemies also; then did the Jews catch up his dead body, and put the Romans to flight again, and shut them up in the tower of Antonia. Now those that most signalized themselves, and fought most zealously in this battle of the Jewish side, were one Alexas and Gyphtheus, of John's party, and of Simon's party were Malachias, and Judas the son of Merto, and James the son of Sosas, the commander of the Idumeans; and of the zealots, two brethren, Simon and Judas, the sons of Jairus.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 2

How Titus Gave Orders To Demolish The Tower Of Antonia And Then Persuaded Josephus To Exhort The Jews Again [To A Surrender].

1 And now Titus gave orders to his soldiers that were with him to dig up the foundations of the tower of Antonia, and make him a ready passage for his army to come up; while he himself had Josephus brought to him, [for he had been informed that on that very day, which was the seventeenth day of Panemus, [Tamuz,] the sacrifice called "the Daily Sacrifice" had failed, and had not been offered to God, for want of men to offer it, and that the people were grievously troubled at it,] and commanded him to say the same things to John that he had said before, that if he had any malicious inclination for fighting, he might come out with as many of his men as he pleased, in order to fight, without the danger of destroying either his city or temple; but that he desired he would not defile the temple, nor thereby offend against God. That he might, if he pleased, offer the sacrifices which were now discontinued by any of the Jews whom he should pitch upon. Upon this Josephus stood in such a place where he might be heard, not by John only, but by many more, and then declared to them what Caesar had given him in charge, and this in the Hebrew language. So he earnestly prayed them to spare their own city, and to prevent that fire which was just ready to seize upon the temple, and to offer their usual sacrifices to God therein. At these words of his a great sadness and silence were observed among the people. But the tyrant himself cast many reproaches upon Josephus, with imprecations besides; and at last added this withal, that he did never fear the taking of the city, because it was God's own city. In answer to which Josephus said thus with a loud voice: "To be sure thou hast kept this city wonderfully pure for God's sake; the temple also continues entirely unpolluted! Nor hast thou been guilty of any impiety against him for whose assistance thou hopest! He still receives his accustomed sacrifices! Vile wretch that thou art! if any one should deprive thee of thy daily food, thou wouldst esteem him to be an enemy to thee; but thou hopest to have that God for thy supporter in this war whom thou hast deprived of his everlasting worship; and thou imputest those sins to the Romans, who to this very time take care to have our laws observed, and almost compel these sacrifices to be still offered to God, which have by thy means been intermitted! Who is there that can avoid groans and lamentations at the amazing change that is made in this city? since very foreigners and enemies do now correct that impiety which thou hast occasioned; while thou, who art a Jew, and wast educated in our laws, art become a greater enemy to them than the others. But still, John, it is never dishonourable to repent, and amend what hath been done amiss, even at the last extremity. Thou hast an instance before thee in Jechoniah, the king of the Jews, if thou hast a mind to save the city, who, when the king of Babylon made war against him, did of his own accord go out of this city before it was taken, and did undergo a voluntary captivity with his family, that the sanctuary might not be delivered up to the enemy, and that he might not see the house of God set on fire; on which account he is celebrated among all the Jews, in their sacred memorials, and his memory is become immortal, and will be conveyed fresh down to our posterity through all ages. This, John, is an excellent example in such a time of danger, and I dare venture to promise that the Romans shall still forgive thee. And take notice that I, who make this exhortation to thee, am one of thine own nation; I, who am a Jew, do make this promise to thee. And it will become thee to consider who I am that give thee this counsel, and whence I am derived; for while I am alive I shall never be in such slavery, as to forego my own kindred, or forget the laws of our forefathers. Thou hast indignation at me again, and makest a clamour at me, and reproachest me; indeed I cannot deny but I am worthy of worse treatment than all this amounts to, because, in opposition to fate, I make this kind invitation to thee, and endeavor to force deliverance upon those whom God hath condemned. And who is there that does not know what the writings of the ancient prophets contain in them,—and particularly that oracle which is just now going to be fulfilled upon this miserable city? For they foretold that this city should be then taken when somebody shall begin the slaughter of his own countrymen. And are not both the city and the entire temple now full of the dead bodies of your countrymen? It is God, therefore, it is God himself who is bringing on this fire, to purge that city and temple by means of the Romans, and is going to pluck up this city, which is full of your pollutions."

2 As Josephus spoke these words, with groans and tears in his eyes, his voice was intercepted by sobs. However, the Romans could not but pity the affliction he was under, and wonder at his conduct. But for John, and those that were with him, they were but the more exasperated against the Romans on this account, and were desirous to get Josephus also into their power: yet did that discourse influence a great many of the better sort; and truly some of them were so afraid of the guards set by the seditious, that they tarried where they were, but still were satisfied that both they and the city were doomed to destruction. Some also there were who, watching a proper opportunity when they might quietly get away, fled to the Romans, of whom were the high priests Joseph and Jesus, and of the sons of high priests three, whose father was Ishmael, who was beheaded in Cyrene, and four sons of Matthias, as also one son of the other Matthias, who ran away after his father's death, and whose father was slain by Simon the son of Gioras, with three of his sons, as I have already related; many also of the other nobility went over to the Romans, together with the high priests. Now Caesar not only received these men very kindly in other respects, but, knowing they would not willingly live after the customs of other nations, he sent them to Gophna, and desired them to remain there for the present, and told them, that when he was gotten clear of this war, he would restore each of them to their possessions again; so they cheerfully retired to that small city which was allotted them, without fear of any danger. But as they did not appear, the seditious gave out again that these deserters were slain by the Romans, which was done in order to deter the rest from running away, by fear of the like treatment. This trick of theirs succeeded now for a while, as did the like trick before; for the rest were hereby deterred from deserting, by fear of the like treatment.

3 However, when Titus had recalled those men from Gophna, he gave orders that they should go round the wall, together with Josephus, and show themselves to the people; upon which a great many fled to the Romans. These men also got in a great number together, and stood before the Romans, and besought the seditious, with groans and tears in their eyes, in the first place to receive the Romans entirely into the city, and save that their own place of residence again; but that, if they would not agree to such a proposal, they would at least depart out of the temple, and save the holy house for their own use; for that the Romans would not venture to set the sanctuary on fire but under the most pressing necessity. Yet did the seditious still more and more contradict them; and while they cast loud and bitter reproaches upon these deserters, they also set their engines for throwing of darts, and javelins, and stones upon the sacred gates of the temple, at due distances from one another, insomuch that all the space round about within the temple might be compared to a burying-ground, so great was the number of the dead bodies therein; as might the holy house itself be compared to a citadel. Accordingly, these men rushed upon these holy places in their armour, that were otherwise unapproachable, and that while their hands were yet warm with the blood of their own people which they had shed; nay, they proceeded to such great transgressions, that the very same indignation which Jews would naturally have against Romans, had they been guilty of such abuses against them, the Romans now had against Jews, for their impiety in regard to their own religious customs. Nay, indeed, there were none of the Roman soldiers who did not look with a sacred horror upon the holy house, and adored it, and wished that the robbers would repent before their miseries became incurable.

4 Now Titus was deeply affected with this state of things, and reproached John and his party, and said to them, "Have not you, vile wretches that you are, by our permission, put up this partition-wall before your sanctuary? Have not you been allowed to put up the pillars thereto belonging, at due distances, and on it to engrave in Greek, and in your own letters, this prohibition, that no foreigner should go beyond that wall. Have not we given you leave to kill such as go beyond it, though he were a Roman? And what do you do now, you pernicious villains? Why do you trample upon dead bodies in this temple? and why do you pollute this holy house with the blood of both foreigners and Jews themselves? I appeal to the gods of my own country, and to every god that ever had any regard to this place; [for I do not suppose it to be now regarded by any of them;] I also appeal to my own army, and to those Jews that are now with me, and even to yourselves, that I do not force you to defile this your sanctuary; and if you will but change the place whereon you will fight, no Roman shall either come near your sanctuary, or offer any affront to it; nay, I will endeavor to preserve you your holy house, whether you will or not."

5 As Josephus explained these things from the mouth of Caesar, both the robbers and the tyrant thought that these exhortations proceeded from Titus's fear, and not from his good-will to them, and grew insolent upon it. But when Titus saw that these men were neither to be moved by commiseration towards themselves, nor had any concern upon them to have the holy house spared, he proceeded unwillingly to go on again with the war against them. He could not

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indeed bring all his army against them, the place was so narrow; but choosing thirty soldiers of the most valiant out of every hundred, and committing a thousand to each tribune, and making Cerealis their commander-in-chief, he gave orders that they should attack the guards of the temple about the ninth hour of that night. But as he was now in his armour, and preparing to go down with them, his friends would not let him go, by reason of the greatness of the danger, and what the commanders suggested to them; for they said that he would do more by sitting above in the tower of Antonia, as a dispenser of rewards to those soldiers that signalized themselves in the fight, than by coming down and hazarding his own person in the forefront of them; for that they would all fight stoutly while Caesar looked upon them. With this advice Caesar complied, and said that the only reason he had for such compliance with the soldiers was this, that he might be able to judge of their courageous actions, and that no valiant soldier might lie concealed, and miss of his reward, and no cowardly soldier might go unpunished; but that he might himself be an eye-witness, and able to give evidence of all that was done, who was to be the disposer of punishments and rewards to them. So he sent the soldiers about their work at the hour forementioned, while he went out himself to a higher place in the tower of Antonia, whence he might see what was done, and there waited with impatience to see the event.

6 However, the soldiers that were sent did not find the guards of the temple asleep, as they hoped to have done; but were obliged to fight with them immediately hand to hand, as they rushed with violence upon them with a great shout. Now as soon as the rest within the temple heard that shout of those that were upon the watch, they ran out in troops upon them. Then did the Romans receive the onset of those that came first upon them; but those that followed them fell upon their own troops, and many of them treated their own soldiers as if they had been enemies; for the great confused noise that was made on both sides hindered them from distinguishing one another's voices, as did the darkness of the night hinder them from the like distinction by the sight, besides that blindness which arose otherwise also from the passion and the fear they were in at the same time; for which reason it was all one to the soldiers who it was they struck at. However, this ignorance did less harm to the Romans than to the Jews, because they were joined together under their shields, and made their sallies more regularly than the others did, and each of them remembered their watch-word; while the Jews were perpetually dispersed abroad, and made their attacks and retreats at random, and so did frequently seem to one another to be enemies; for every one of them received those of their own men that came back in the dark as Romans, and made an assault upon them; so that more of them were wounded by their own men than by the enemy, till, upon the coming on of the day, the nature of the right was discerned by the eye afterward. Then did they stand in battle-array in distinct bodies, and cast their darts regularly, and regularly defended themselves; nor did either side yield or grow weary. The Romans contended with each other who should fight the most strenuously, both single men and entire regiments, as being under the eye of Titus; and every one concluded that this day would begin his promotion if he fought bravely. What were the great encouragements of the Jews to act vigorously were, their fear for themselves and for the temple, and the presence of their tyrant, who exhorted some, and beat and threatened others, to act courageously. Now, it so happened, that this fight was for the most part a stationary one, wherein the soldiers went on and came back in a short time, and suddenly; for there was no long space of ground for either of their flights or pursuits. But still there was a tumultuous noise among the Romans from the tower of Antonia, who loudly cried out upon all occasions to their own men to press on courageously, when they were too hard for the Jews, and to stay when they were retiring backward; so that here was a kind of theater of war; for what was done in this fight could not be concealed either from Titus, or from those that were about him. At length it appeared that this fight, which began at the ninth hour of the night, was not over till past the fifth hour of the day; and that, in the same place where the battle began, neither party could say they had made the other to retire; but both the armies left the victory almost in uncertainty between them; wherein those that signalized themselves on the Roman side were a great many, but on the Jewish side, and of those that were with Simon, Judas the son of Merto, and Simon the son of Josas; of the Idumeans, James and Simon, the latter of whom was the son of Cathlas, and James was the son of Sosas; of those that were with John, Gyphtheus and Alexas; and of the zealots, Simon the son of Jairus.

7 In the mean time, the rest of the Roman army had, in seven days' time, overthrown [some] foundations of the tower of Antonia, and had made a ready and broad way to the temple. Then did the legions come near the first court, and began to raise their banks. The one bank was over against the north-west corner of the inner temple another was at that northern edifice which was between the two gates; and of the other two, one was at the western cloister of the outer court of the temple; the other against its northern cloister. However, these works were thus far advanced by the Romans, not without great pains and difficulty, and particularly by being obliged to bring their materials from the distance of a hundred furlongs. They had further difficulties also upon them; sometimes by their over-great security they were in that they should overcome the Jewish snares laid for them, and by that boldness of the Jews which their despair of escaping had inspired them withal; for some of their horsemen, when they went out to gather wood or hay, let their horses feed without having their bridles on during the time of foraging; upon which horses the Jews sallied out in whole bodies, and seized them. And when this was continually done, and Caesar believed what the truth was, that the horses were stolen more by the negligence of his own men than by the valour of the Jews, he determined to use greater severity to oblige the rest to take care of their horses; so he commanded that one of those soldiers who had lost their horses should be capitally punished; whereby he so terrified the rest, that they preserved their horses for the time to come; for they did not any longer let them go from them to feed by themselves, but, as if they had grown to them, they went always along with them when they wanted necessaries. Thus did the Romans still continue to make war against the temple, and to raise their banks against it.

8 Now after one day had been interposed since the Romans ascended the breach, many of the seditious were so pressed by the famine, upon the present failure of their ravages, that they got together, and made an attack on those Roman guards that were upon the Mount of Olives, and this about the eleventh hour of the day, as supposing, first, that they would not expect such an onset, and, in the next place, that they were then taking care of their bodies, and that therefore they should easily beat them. But the Romans were apprized of their coming to attack them beforehand, and, running together from the neighbouring camps on the sudden, prevented them from getting over their fortification, or forcing the wall that was built about them. Upon this came on a sharp fight, and here many great actions were performed on both sides; while the Romans showed both their courage and their skill in war, as did the Jews come on them with immoderate violence and intolerable passion. The one part were urged on by shame, and the other by necessity; for it seemed a very shameful thing to the Romans to let the Jews go, now they were taken in a kind of net; while the Jews had but one hope of saving themselves, and that was in case they could by violence break through the Roman wall; and one whose name was Pedanius, belonging to a party of horsemen, when the Jews were already beaten and forced down into the valley together, spurred his horse on their flank with great vehemence, and caught up a certain young man belonging to the enemy by his ankle, as he was running away; the man was, however, of a robust body, and in his armour; so low did Pedanius bend himself downward from his horse, even as he was galloping away, and so great was the strength of his right hand, and of the rest of his body, as also such skill had he in horsemanship. So this man seized upon that his prey, as upon a precious treasure, and carried him as his captive to Caesar; whereupon Titus admired the man that had seized the other for his great strength, and ordered the man that was caught to be punished [with death] for his attempt against the Roman wall, but betook himself to the siege of the temple, and to pressing on the raising of the banks.

9 In the mean time, the Jews were so distressed by the fights they had been in, as the war advanced higher and higher, and creeping up to the holy house itself, that they, as it were, cut off those limbs of their body which were infected, in order to prevent the distemper's spreading further; for they set the north-west cloister, which was joined to the tower of Antonia, on fire, and after that brake off about twenty cubits of that cloister, and thereby made a beginning in burning the sanctuary; two days after which, or on the twenty-fourth day of the forenamed month, [Panemus or Tamuz,] the Romans set fire to the cloister that joined to the other, when the fire went fifteen cubits farther. The Jews, in like manner, cut off its roof; nor did they entirely leave off what they were about till the tower of Antonia was parted from the temple, even when it was in their power to have stopped the fire; nay, they lay still while the temple was first set on fire, and deemed this spreading of the fire to be for their own advantage. However, the armies were still fighting one against another about the temple, and the war was managed by continual sallies of particular parties against one another.

10 Now there was at this time a man among the Jews, low of stature he was, and of a despicable appearance; of no character either as to his family, or in other respects: his name was Jonathan. He went out at the high priest John's monument, and uttered many other insolent things to the Romans, and challenged the best of them all to a single combat. But many of those that stood there in the army huffed him, and many of them [as they might well be] were afraid of him. Some of them also reasoned thus, and that justly enough: that it was not fit to fight with a man that desired to die, because those that utterly despaired of deliverance had, besides other passions, a violence in attacking men that could not be opposed, and had no regard to God himself; and that to hazard oneself with a person, whom, if you overcome, you do no great matter, and by whom it is hazardous that you may be taken prisoner, would be an instance, not of manly courage, but of unmanly rashness. So there being nobody that came out to accept the man's challenge, and the Jew cutting them with a great number of reproaches, as cowards, [for he was a very haughty man in himself, and a great despiser of the Romans,] one whose name was Pudens, of the body of horsemen, out of his abomination of the other's words, and of his impudence withal, and perhaps out of an inconsiderate arrogance, on account of the other's lowness of stature, ran out to him, and was too hard for him in other respects, but was betrayed by his ill fortune; for he fell down, and as he was down, Jonathan came running to him, and cut his throat, and then, standing upon his dead body, he brandished his sword, bloody as it was, and shook his shield with his left hand, and made many acclamations to the Roman army, and exulted over the dead man, and jested upon the Romans; till at length one Priscus, a centurion, shot a dart at him as he was leaping and playing the fool with himself, and thereby pierced him through; upon which a shout was set up both by the Jews and the Romans, though on different accounts. So Jonathan grew giddy by the pain of his wounds, and fell down upon the body of his adversary, as a plain instance how suddenly vengeance may come upon men that have success in war, without any just deserving the same.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 3

Concerning A Stratagem That Was Devised By The Jews, By Which They Burnt Many Of The Romans; With Another Description Of The Terrible Famine That Was In The City.

1 But now the seditious that were in the temple did every day openly endeavor to beat off the soldiers that were upon the banks, and on the twenty-seventh day of the forenamed month [Panemus or Tamuz] contrived such a stratagem as this: They filled that part of the western cloister which was between the beams, and the roof under them, with dry materials, as also with bitumen and pitch, and then retired from that place, as though they were tired with the pains they had taken; at which procedure of theirs, many of the most inconsiderate among the Romans, who were carried away with violent passions, followed hard after them as they were retiring, and applied ladders to the cloister, and got up to it suddenly; but the prudent part of them, when they understood this unaccountable retreat of the Jews, stood still where they were before. However, the cloister was full of those that were gone up the ladders; at which time the Jews set it all on fire; and as the flame burst out every where on the sudden, the Romans that were out of the danger were seized with a very great consternation, as were those that were in the midst of the danger in the utmost distress. So when they perceived themselves surrounded with the flames, some of them threw themselves down backwards into the city, and some among their enemies [in the temple]; as did many leap down to their own men, and broke their limbs to pieces; but a great number of those that were going to take these violent methods were prevented by the fire; though some prevented the fire by their own swords. However, the fire was on the sudden carried so far as to surround those who would have otherwise perished. As for Caesar himself, he could not, however, but commiserate those that thus perished, although they got up thither without any order for so doing, since there was no way of giving the many relief. Yet was this some comfort to those that were destroyed, that every body might see that person grieve, for whose sake they came to their end; for he cried out openly to them, and leaped up, and exhorted those that were about him to do their utmost to relieve them; So every one of them died cheerfully, as carrying along with him these words and this intention of Caesar as a sepulchral monument. Some there were indeed who retired into the wall of the cloister, which was broad, and were preserved out of the fire, but were then surrounded by the Jews; and although they made resistance against the Jews for a long time, yet were they wounded by them, and at length they all fell down dead.

2 At the last a young man among them, whose name was Longus, became a decoration to this sad affair, and while every one of them that perished were worthy of a memorial, this man appeared to deserve it beyond all the rest. Now the Jews admired this man for his courage, and were further desirous of having him slain; so they persuaded him to come down to them, upon security given him for his life. But Cornelius his brother persuaded him on the contrary, not to tarnish his own glory, nor that of the Roman army. He complied with this last advice, and lifting up his sword before both armies, he slew himself. Yet there was one Artorius among those surrounded by the fire who escaped by his subtlety; for when he had with a loud voice called to him Lucius, one of his fellow soldiers that lay with him in the same tent, and said to him, "I do leave thee heir of all I have, if thou wilt come and receive me." Upon this he came running to receive him readily; Artorius then threw himself down upon

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him, and saved his own life, while he that received him was dashed so vehemently against the stone pavement by the other's weight, that he died immediately. This melancholy accident made the Romans sad for a while, but still it made them more upon their guard for the future, and was of advantage to them against the delusions of the Jews, by which they were greatly damaged through their unacquaintedness with the places, and with the nature of the inhabitants. Now this cloister was burnt down as far as John's tower, which he built in the war he made against Simon over the gates that led to the Xystus. The Jews also cut off the rest of that cloister from the temple, after they had destroyed those that got up to it. But the next day the Romans burnt down the northern cloister entirely, as far as the east cloister, whose common angle joined to the valley that was called Cedron, and was built over it; on which account the depth was frightful. And this was the state of the temple at that time.

3 Now of those that perished by famine in the city, the number was prodigious, and the miseries they underwent were unspeakable; for if so much as the shadow of any kind of food did any where appear, a war was commenced presently, and the dearest friends fell a fighting one with another about it, snatching from each other the most miserable supports of life. Nor would men believe that those who were dying had no food, but the robbers would search them when they were expiring, lest any one should have concealed food in their bosoms, and counterfeited dying; nay, these robbers gaped for want, and ran about stumbling and staggering along like mad dogs, and reeling against the doors of the houses like drunken men; they would also, in the great distress they were in, rush into the very same houses two or three times in one and the same day. Moreover, their hunger was so intolerable, that it obliged them to chew every thing, while they gathered such things as the most sordid animals would not touch, and endured to eat them; nor did they at length abstain from girdles and shoes; and the very leather which belonged to their shields they pulled off and gnawed: the very wisps of old hay became food to some; and some gathered up fibres, and sold a very small weight of them for four Attic [drachmae]. But why do I describe the shameless impudence that the famine brought on men in their eating inanimate things, while I am going to relate a matter of fact, the like to which no history relates, either among the Greeks or Barbarians? It is horrible to speak of it, and incredible when heard. I had indeed willingly omitted this calamity of ours, that I might not seem to deliver what is so portentous to posterity, but that I have innumerable witnesses to it in my own age; and besides, my country would have had little reason to thank me for suppressing the miseries that she underwent at this time.

4 There was a certain woman that dwelt beyond Jordan, her name was Mary; her father was Eleazar, of the village Bethezob, which signifies the house of Hyssop. She was eminent for her family and her wealth, and had fled away to Jerusalem with the rest of the multitude, and was with them besieged therein at this time. The other effects of this woman had been already seized upon, such I mean as she had brought with her out of Perea, and removed to the city. What she had treasured up besides, as also what food she had contrived to save, had been also carried off by the rapacious guards, who came every day running into her house for that purpose. This put the poor woman into a very great passion, and by the frequent reproaches and imprecations she cast at these rapacious villains, she had provoked them to anger against her; but none of them, either out of the indignation she had raised against herself, or out of commiseration of her case, would take away her life; and if she found any food, she perceived her labours were for others, and not for herself; and it was now become impossible for her any way to find any more food, while the famine pierced through her very bowels and marrow, when also her passion was fired to a degree beyond the famine itself; nor did she consult with any thing but with her passion and the necessity she was in. She then attempted a most unnatural thing; and snatching up her son, who was a child sucking at her breast, she said, "O thou miserable infant! for whom shall I preserve thee in this war, this famine, and this sedition? As to the war with the Romans, if they preserve our lives, we must be slaves. This famine also will destroy us, even before that slavery comes upon us. Yet are these seditious rogues more terrible than both the other. Come on; be thou my food, and be thou a fury to these seditious varlets, and a by-word to the world, which is all that is now wanting to complete the calamities of us Jews." As soon as she had said this, she slew her son, and then roasted him, and eat the one half of him, and kept the other half by her concealed. Upon this the seditious came in presently, and smelling the horrid scent of this food, they threatened her that they would cut her throat immediately if she did not show them what food she had gotten ready. She replied that she had saved a very fine portion of it for them, and withal uncovered what was left of her son. Hereupon they were seized with a horror and amazement of mind, and stood astonished at the sight, when she said to them, "This is mine own son, and what hath been done was mine own doing! Come, eat of this food; for I have eaten of it myself! Do not you pretend to be either more tender than a woman, or more compassionate than a mother; but if you be so scrupulous, and do abominate this my sacrifice, as I have eaten the one half, let the rest be reserved for me also." After which those men went out trembling, being never so much affrighted at any thing as they were at this, and with some difficulty they left the rest of that meat to the mother. Upon which the whole city was full of this horrid action immediately; and while every body laid this miserable case before their own eyes, they trembled, as if this unheard of action had been done by themselves. So those that were thus distressed by the famine were very desirous to die, and those already dead were esteemed happy, because they had not lived long enough either to hear or to see such miseries.

5 This sad instance was quickly told to the Romans, some of whom could not believe it, and others pitied the distress which the Jews were under; but there were many of them who were hereby induced to a more bitter hatred than ordinary against our nation. But for Caesar, he excused himself before God as to this matter, and said that he had proposed peace and liberty to the Jews, as well as an oblivion of all their former insolent practices; but that they, instead of concord, had chosen sedition; instead of peace, war; and before satiety and abundance, a famine. That they had begun with their own hands to burn down that temple which we have preserved hitherto; and that therefore they deserved to eat such food as this was. That, however, this horrid action of eating an own child ought to be covered with the overthrow of their very country itself, and men ought not to leave such a city upon the habitable earth to be seen by the sun, wherein mothers are thus fed, although such food be fitter for the fathers than for the mothers to eat of, since it is they that continue still in a state of war against us, after they have undergone such miseries as these. And at the same time that he said this, he reflected on the desperate condition these men must be in; nor could he expect that such men could be recovered to sobriety of mind, after they had endured those very sufferings, for the avoiding whereof it only was probable they might have repented.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 4

When The Banks Were Completed And The Battering Rams Brought, And Could Do Nothing, Titus Gave Orders To Set Fire To The Gates Of The Temple; In No Long Time After Which The Holy House Itself Was Burnt Down, Even Against His Consent.

1 And now two of the legions had completed their banks on the eighth day of the month Lous [Ab]. Whereupon Titus gave orders that the battering rams should be brought, and set over against the western edifice of the inner temple; for before these were brought, the firmest of all the other engines had battered the wall for six days together without ceasing, without making any impression upon it; but the vast largeness and strong connexion of the stones were superior to that engine, and to the other battering rams also. Other Romans did indeed undermine the foundations of the northern gate, and after a world of pains removed the outermost stones, yet was the gate still upheld by the inner stones, and stood still unhurt; till the workmen, despairing of all such attempts by engines and crows, brought their ladders to the cloisters. Now the Jews did not interrupt them in so doing; but when they were gotten up, they fell upon them, and fought with them; some of them they thrust down, and threw them backwards headlong; others of them they met and slew; they also beat many of those that went down the ladders again, and slew them with their swords before they could bring their shields to protect them; nay, some of the ladders they threw down from above when they were full of armed men; a great slaughter was made of the Jews also at the same time, while those that bare the ensigns fought hard for them, as deeming it a terrible thing, and what would tend to their great shame, if they permitted them to be stolen away. Yet did the Jews at length get possession of these engines, and destroyed those that had gone up the ladders, while the rest were so intimidated by what those suffered who were slain, that they retired; although none of the Romans died without having done good service before his death. Of the seditious, those that had fought bravely in the former battles did the like now, as besides them did Eleazar, the brother's son of Simon the tyrant. But when Titus perceived that his endeavors to spare a foreign temple turned to the damage of his soldiers, and then be killed, he gave order to set the gates on fire.

2 In the mean time, there deserted to him Ananus, who came from Emmaus, the most bloody of all Simon's guards, and Archelaus, the son of Magadatus, they hoping to be still forgiven, because they left the Jews at a time when they were the conquerors. Titus objected this to these men, as a cunning trick of theirs; and as he had been informed of their other barbarities towards the Jews, he was going in all haste to have them both slain. He told them that they were only driven to this desertion because of the utmost distress they were in, and did not come away of their own good disposition; and that those did not deserve to be preserved, by whom their own city was already set on fire, out of which fire they now hurried themselves away. However, the security he had promised deserters overcame his resentments, and he dismissed them accordingly, though he did not give them the same privileges that he had afforded to others. And now the soldiers had already put fire to the gates, and the silver that was over them quickly carried the flames to the wood that was within it, whence it spread itself all on the sudden, and caught hold on the cloisters. Upon the Jews seeing this fire all about them, their spirits sunk together with their bodies, and they were under such astonishment, that not one of them made any haste, either to defend himself or to quench the fire, but they stood as mute spectators of it only. However, they did not so grieve at the loss of what was now burning, as to grow wiser thereby for the time to come; but as though the holy house itself had been on fire already, they whetted their passions against the Romans. This fire prevailed during that day and the next also; for the soldiers were not able to burn all the cloisters that were round about together at one time, but only by pieces.

3 But then, on the next day, Titus commanded part of his army to quench the fire, and to make a road for the more easy marching up of the legions, while he himself gathered the commanders together. Of those there were assembled the six principal persons: Tiberius Alexander, the commander [under the general] of the whole army; with Sextus Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion; and Larcius Lepidus, the commander of the tenth legion; and Titus Frigius, the commander of the fifteenth legion: there was also with them Eternius, the leader of the two legions that came from Alexandria; and Marcus Antonius Julianus, procurator of Judea: after these came together all the rest of the procurators and tribunes. Titus proposed to these that they should give him their advice what should be done about the holy house. Now some of these thought it would be the best way to act according to the rules of war, [and demolish it,] because the Jews would never leave off rebelling while that house was standing; at which house it was that they used to get all together. Others of them were of opinion, that in case the Jews would leave it, and none of them would lay their arms up in it, he might save it; but that in case they got upon it, and fought any more, he might burn it; because it must then be looked upon not as a holy house, but as a citadel; and that the impiety of burning it would then belong to those that forced this to be done, and not to them. But Titus said, that "although the Jews should get upon that holy house, and fight us thence, yet ought we not to revenge ourselves on things that are inanimate, instead of the men themselves;" and that he was not in any case for burning down so vast a work as that was, because this would be a mischief to the Romans themselves, as it would be an ornament to their government while it continued. So Fronto, and Alexander, and Cerealis grew bold upon that declaration, and agreed to the opinion of Titus. Then was this assembly dissolved, when Titus had given orders to the commanders that the rest of their forces should lie still; but that they should make use of such as were most courageous in this attack. So he commanded that the chosen men that were taken out of the cohorts should make their way through the ruins, and quench the fire.

4 Now it is true that on this day the Jews were so weary, and under such consternation, that they refrained from any attacks. But on the next day they gathered their whole force together, and ran upon those that guarded the outward court of the temple very boldly, through the east gate, and this about the second hour of the day. These guards received that their attack with great bravery, and by covering themselves with their shields before, as if it were with a wall, they drew their squadron close together; yet was it evident that they could not abide there very long, but would be overborne by the multitude of those that sallied out upon them, and by the heat of their passion. However, Caesar seeing, from the tower of Antonia, that this squadron was likely to give way, he sent some chosen horsemen to support them. Hereupon the Jews found themselves not able to sustain their onset, and upon the slaughter of those in the forefront, many of the rest were put to flight. But as the Romans were going off, the Jews turned upon them, and fought them; and as those Romans came back upon them, they retreated again, until about the fifth hour of the day they were overborne, and shut themselves up in the inner [court of the] temple.

5 So Titus retired into the tower of Antonia, and resolved to storm the temple the next day, early in the morning, with his whole army, and to encamp round about the holy house. But as for that house, God had, for certain, long ago doomed it to the fire; and now that fatal day was come, according to the revolution of ages; it was the tenth day of the month Lous, [Ab,] upon which it was formerly burnt by the king of Babylon; although these flames took their rise from the Jews themselves, and were occasioned by them; for upon Titus's retiring, the seditious lay still for a little while, and then attacked the Romans again, when those that guarded the holy house fought with those that quenched the fire that was burning the inner [court of the] temple; but these Romans put the Jews to flight, and proceeded as far as the holy house itself. At which time one of the soldiers, without staying for any orders, and without any concern or dread upon him at so great an undertaking, and being hurried on by a certain

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divine fury, snatched somewhat out of the materials that were on fire, and being lifted up by another soldier, he set fire to a golden window, through which there was a passage to the rooms that were round about the holy house, on the north side of it. As the flames went upward, the Jews made a great clamour, such as so mighty an affliction required, and ran together to prevent it; and now they spared not their lives any longer, nor suffered any thing to restrain their force, since that holy house was perishing, for whose sake it was that they kept such a guard about it.

6 And now a certain person came running to Titus, and told him of this fire, as he was resting himself in his tent after the last battle; whereupon he rose up in great haste, and, as he was, ran to the holy house, in order to have a stop put to the fire; after him followed all his commanders, and after them followed the several legions, in great astonishment; so there was a great clamour and tumult raised, as was natural upon the disorderly motion of so great an army. Then did Caesar, both by calling to the soldiers that were fighting, with a loud voice, and by giving a signal to them with his right hand, order them to quench the fire. But they did not hear what he said, though he spake so loud, having their ears already dimmed by a greater noise another way; nor did they attend to the signal he made with his hand neither, as still some of them were distracted with fighting, and others with passion. But as for the legions that came running thither, neither any persuasions nor any threatenings could restrain their violence, but each one's own passion was his commander at this time; and as they were crowding into the temple together, many of them were trampled on by one another, while a great number fell among the ruins of the cloisters, which were still hot and smoking, and were destroyed in the same miserable way with those whom they had conquered; and when they were come near the holy house, they made as if they did not so much as hear Caesar's orders to the contrary; but they encouraged those that were before them to set it on fire. As for the seditious, they were in too great distress already to afford their assistance [towards quenching the fire]; they were every where slain, and every where beaten; and as for a great part of the people, they were weak and without arms, and had their throats cut wherever they were caught. Now round about the altar lay dead bodies heaped one upon another, as at the steps going up to it ran a great quantity of their blood, whither also the dead bodies that were slain above [on the altar] fell down.

7 And now, since Caesar was no way able to restrain the enthusiastic fury of the soldiers, and the fire proceeded on more and more, he went into the holy place of the temple, with his commanders, and saw it, with what was in it, which he found to be far superior to what the relations of foreigners contained, and not inferior to what we ourselves boasted of and believed about it. But as the flame had not as yet reached to its inward parts, but was still consuming the rooms that were about the holy house, and Titus supposing what the fact was, that the house itself might yet be saved, he came in haste and endeavored to persuade the soldiers to quench the fire, and gave order to Liberalius the centurion, and one of those spearmen that were about him, to beat the soldiers that were refractory with their staves, and to restrain them; yet were their passions too hard for the regards they had for Caesar, and the dread they had of him who forbade them, as was their hatred of the Jews, and a certain vehement inclination to fight them, too hard for them also. Moreover, the hope of plunder induced many to go on, as having this opinion, that all the places within were full of money, and as seeing that all round about it was made of gold. And besides, one of those that went into the place prevented Caesar, when he ran so hastily out to restrain the soldiers, and threw the fire upon the hinges of the gate, in the dark; whereby the flame burst out from within the holy house itself immediately, when the commanders retired, and Caesar with them, and when nobody any longer forbade those that were without to set fire to it. And thus was the holy house burnt down, without Caesar's approbation.

8 Now although any one would justly lament the destruction of such a work as this was, since it was the most admirable of all the works that we have seen or heard of, both for its curious structure and its magnitude, and also for the vast wealth bestowed upon it, as well as for the glorious reputation it had for its holiness; yet might such a one comfort himself with this thought, that it was fate that decreed it so to be, which is inevitable, both as to living creatures, and as to works and places also. However, one cannot but wonder at the accuracy of this period thereto relating; for the same month and day were now observed, as I said before, wherein the holy house was burnt formerly by the Babylonians. Now the number of years that passed from its first foundation, which was laid by king Solomon, till this its destruction, which happened in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, are collected to be one thousand one hundred and thirty, besides seven months and fifteen days; and from the second building of it, which was done by Haggai, in the second year of Cyrus the king, till its destruction under Vespasian, there were six hundred and thirty-nine years and forty-five days.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 5

The Great Distress The Jews Were In Upon The Conflagration Of The Holy House. Concerning A False Prophet, And The Signs That Preceded This Destruction.

1 While the holy house was on fire, every thing was plundered that came to hand, and ten thousand of those that were caught were slain; nor was there a commiseration of any age, or any reverence of gravity, but children, and old men, and profane persons, and priests were all slain in the same manner; so that this war went round all sorts of men, and brought them to destruction, and as well those that made supplication for their lives, as those that defended themselves by fighting. The flame was also carried a long way, and made an echo, together with the groans of those that were slain; and because this hill was high, and the works at the temple were very great, one would have thought the whole city had been on fire. Nor can one imagine any thing either greater or more terrible than this noise; for there was at once a shout of the Roman legions, who were marching all together, and a sad clamour of the seditious, who were now surrounded with fire and sword. The people also that were left above were beaten back upon the enemy, and under a great consternation, and made sad moans at the calamity they were under; the multitude also that was in the city joined in this outcry with those that were upon the hill. And besides, many of those that were worn away by the famine, and their mouths almost closed, when they saw the fire of the holy house, they exerted their utmost strength, and brake out into groans and outcries again: Perea did also return the echo, as well as the mountains round about [the city,] and augmented the force of the entire noise. Yet was the misery itself more terrible than this disorder; for one would have thought that the hill itself, on which the temple stood, was seething hot, as full of fire on every part of it, that the blood was larger in quantity than the fire, and those that were slain more in number than those that slew them; for the ground did no where appear visible, for the dead bodies that lay on it; but the soldiers went over heaps of those bodies, as they ran upon such as fled from them. And now it was that the multitude of the robbers were thrust out [of the inner court of the temple by the Romans,] and had much ado to get into the outward court, and from thence into the city, while the remainder of the populace fled into the cloister of that outer court. As for the priests, some of them plucked up from the holy house the spikes that were upon it, with their bases, which were made of lead, and shot them at the Romans instead of darts. But then as they gained nothing by so doing, and as the fire burst out upon them, they retired to the wall that was eight cubits broad, and there they tarried; yet did two of these of eminence among them, who might have saved themselves by going over to the Romans, or have borne up with courage, and taken their fortune with the others, throw themselves into the fire, and were burnt together with the holy house; their names were Meirus the son of Belgas, and Joseph the son of Daleus.

2 And now the Romans, judging that it was in vain to spare what was round about the holy house, burnt all those places, as also the remains of the cloisters and the gates, two excepted; the one on the east side, and the other on the south; both which, however, they burnt afterward. They also burnt down the treasury chambers, in which was an immense quantity of money, and an immense number of garments, and other precious goods there reposited; and, to speak all in a few words, there it was that the entire riches of the Jews were heaped up together, while the rich people had there built themselves chambers [to contain such furniture]. The soldiers also came to the rest of the cloisters that were in the outer [court of the] temple, whither the women and children, and a great mixed multitude of the people, fled, in number about six thousand. But before Caesar had determined any thing about these people, or given the commanders any orders relating to them, the soldiers were in such a rage, that they set that cloister on fire; by which means it came to pass that some of these were destroyed by throwing themselves down headlong, and some were burnt in the cloisters themselves. Nor did any one of them escape with his life. A false prophet was the occasion of these people's destruction, who had made a public proclamation in the city that very day, that God commanded them to get upon the temple, and that there they should receive miraculous signs of their deliverance. Now there was then a great number of false prophets suborned by the tyrants to impose on the people, who denounced this to them, that they should wait for deliverance from God; and this was in order to keep them from deserting, and that they might be buoyed up above fear and care by such hopes. Now a man that is in adversity does easily comply with such promises; for when such a seducer makes him believe that he shall be delivered from those miseries which oppress him, then it is that the patient is full of hopes of such his deliverance.

3 Thus were the miserable people persuaded by these deceivers, and such as belied God himself; while they did not attend nor give credit to the signs that were so evident, and did so plainly foretell their future desolation, but, like men infatuated, without either eyes to see or minds to consider, did not regard the denunciations that God made to them. Thus there was a star resembling a sword, which stood over the city, and a comet, that continued a whole year. Thus also before the Jews' rebellion, and before those commotions which preceded the war, when the people were come in great crowds to the feast of unleavened bread, on the eighth day of the month Xanthicus, [Nisan,] and at the ninth hour of the night, so great a light shone round the altar and the holy house, that it appeared to be bright day time; which lasted for half an hour. This light seemed to be a good sign to the unskillful, but was so interpreted by the sacred scribes, as to portend those events that followed immediately upon it. At the same festival also, a heifer, as she was led by the high priest to be sacrificed, brought forth a lamb in the midst of the temple. Moreover, the eastern gate of the inner [court of the] temple, which was of brass, and vastly heavy, and had been with difficulty shut by twenty men, and rested upon a basis armed with iron, and had bolts fastened very deep into the firm floor, which was there made of one entire stone, was seen to be opened of its own accord about the sixth hour of the night. Now those that kept watch in the temple came hereupon running to the captain of the temple, and told him of it; who then came up thither, and not without great difficulty was able to shut the gate again. This also appeared to the vulgar to be a very happy prodigy, as if God did thereby open them the gate of happiness. But the men of learning understood it, that the security of their holy house was dissolved of its own accord, and that the gate was opened for the advantage of their enemies. So these publicly declared that the signal foreshowed the desolation that was coming upon them. Besides these, a few days after that feast, on the one and twentieth day of the month Artemisius, [Jyar,] a certain prodigious and incredible phenomenon appeared: I suppose the account of it would seem to be a fable, were it not related by those that saw it, and were not the events that followed it of so considerable a nature as to deserve such signals; for, before sun-setting, chariots and troops of soldiers in their armour were seen running about among the clouds, and surrounding of cities. Moreover, at that feast which we call Pentecost, as the priests were going by night into the inner [court of the temple,] as their custom was, to perform their sacred ministrations, they said that, in the first place, they felt a quaking, and heard a great noise, and after that they heard a sound as of a great multitude, saying, "Let us remove hence." But, what is still more terrible, there was one Jesus, the son of Ananus, a plebeian and a husbandman, who, four years before the war began, and at a time when the city was in very great peace and prosperity, came to that feast whereon it is our custom for every one to make tabernacles to God in the temple, began on a sudden to cry aloud, "A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and the holy house, a voice against the bridegrooms and the brides, and a voice against this whole people!" This was his cry, as he went about by day and by night, in all the lanes of the city. However, certain of the most eminent among the populace had great indignation at this dire cry of his, and took up the man, and gave him a great number of severe stripes; yet did not he either say any thing for himself, or any thing peculiar to those that chastised him, but still went on with the same words which he cried before. Hereupon our rulers, supposing, as the case proved to be, that this was a sort of divine fury in the man, brought him to the Roman procurator, where he was whipped till his bones were laid bare; yet he did not make any supplication for himself, nor shed any tears, but turning his voice to the most lamentable tone possible, at every stroke of the whip his answer was, "Woe, woe to Jerusalem!" And when Albinus [for he was then our procurator] asked him, Who he was? and whence he came? and why he uttered such words? he made no manner of reply to what he said, but still did not leave off his melancholy ditty, till Albinus took him to be a madman, and dismissed him. Now, during all the time that passed before the war began, this man did not go near any of the citizens, nor was seen by them while he said so; but he every day uttered these lamentable words, as if it were his premeditated vow, "Woe, woe to Jerusalem!" Nor did he give ill words to any of those that beat him every day, nor good words to those that gave him food; but this was his reply to all men, and indeed no other than a melancholy presage of what was to come. This cry of his was the loudest at the festivals; and he continued this ditty for seven years and five months, without growing hoarse, or being tired therewith, until the very time that he saw his presage in earnest fulfilled in our siege, when it ceased; for as he was going round upon the wall, he cried out with his utmost force, "Woe, woe to the city again, and to the people, and to the holy house!" And just as he added at the last, "Woe, woe to myself also!" there came a stone out of one of the engines, and smote him, and killed him immediately; and as he was uttering the very same presages he gave up the ghost.

4 Now if any one consider these things, he will find that God takes care of mankind, and by all ways possible foreshows to our race what is for their preservation; but that

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men perish by those miseries which they madly and voluntarily bring upon themselves; for the Jews, by demolishing the tower of Antonia, had made their temple four-square, while at the same time they had it written in their sacred oracles, "That then should their city be taken, as well as their holy house, when once their temple should become four-square." But now, what did the most elevate them in undertaking this war, was an ambiguous oracle that was also found in their sacred writings, how, "about that time, one from their country should become governor of the habitable earth." The Jews took this prediction to belong to themselves in particular, and many of the wise men were thereby deceived in their determination. Now this oracle certainly denoted the government of Vespasian, who was appointed emperor in Judea. However, it is not possible for men to avoid fate, although they see it beforehand. But these men interpreted some of these signals according to their own pleasure, and some of them they utterly despised, until their madness was demonstrated, both by the taking of their city and their own destruction.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 6

How The Romans Carried Their Ensigns To The Temple, And Made Joyful Acclamations To Titus. The Speech That Titus Made To The Jews When They Made Supplication For Mercy. What Reply They Made Thereto; And How That Reply Moved Titus's Indignation Against Them.

1 And now the Romans, upon the flight of the seditious into the city, and upon the burning of the holy house itself, and of all the buildings round about it, brought their ensigns to the temple and set them over against its eastern gate; and there did they offer sacrifices to them, and there did they make Titus imperator with the greatest acclamations of joy. And now all the soldiers had such vast quantities of the spoils which they had gotten by plunder, that in Syria a pound weight of gold was sold for half its former value. But as for those priests that kept themselves still upon the wall of the holy house, there was a boy that, out of the thirst he was in, desired some of the Roman guards to give him their right hands as a security for his life, and confessed he was very thirsty. These guards commiserated his age, and the distress he was in, and gave him their right hands accordingly. So he came down himself, and drank some water, and filled the vessel he had with him when he came to them with water, and then went off, and fled away to his own friends; nor could any of those guards overtake him; but still they reproached him for his perfidiousness. To which he made this answer: "I have not broken the agreement; for the security I had given me was not in order to my staying with you, but only in order to my coming down safely, and taking up some water; both which things I have performed, and thereupon think myself to have been faithful to my engagement." Hereupon those whom the child had imposed upon admired at his cunning, and that on account of his age. On the fifth day afterward, the priests that were pined with the famine came down, and when they were brought to Titus by the guards, they begged for their lives; but he replied, that the time of pardon was over as to them, and that this very holy house, on whose account only they could justly hope to be preserved, was destroyed; and that it was agreeable to their office that priests should perish with the house itself to which they belonged. So he ordered them to be put to death.

2 But as for the tyrants themselves, and those that were with them, when they found that they were encompassed on every side, and, as it were, walled round, without any method of escaping, they desired to treat with Titus by word of mouth. Accordingly, such was the kindness of his nature, and his desire of preserving the city from destruction, joined to the advice of his friends, who now thought the robbers were come to a temper, that he placed himself on the western side of the outer [court of the] temple; for there were gates on that side above the Xystus, and a bridge that connected the upper city to the temple. This bridge it was that lay between the tyrants and Caesar, and parted them; while the multitude stood on each side; those of the Jewish nation about Sinran and John, with great hopes of pardon; and the Romans about Caesar, in great expectation how Titus would receive their supplication. So Titus charged his soldiers to restrain their rage, and to let their darts alone, and appointed an interpreter between them, which was a sign that he was the conqueror, and first began the discourse, and said, "I hope you, sirs, are now satiated with the miseries of your country, who have not had any just notions, either of our great power, or of your own great weakness, but have, like madmen, after a violent and inconsiderate manner, made such attempts, as have brought your people, your city, and your holy house to destruction. You have been the men that have never left off rebelling since Pompey first conquered you, and have, since that time, made open war with the Romans. Have you depended on your multitude, while a very small part of the Roman soldiery have been strong enough for you? Have you relied on the fidelity of your confederates? And what nations are there, out of the limits of our dominion, that would choose to assist the Jews before the Romans? Are your bodies stronger than ours? nay, you know that the [strong] Germans themselves are our servants. Have you stronger walls than we have? Pray, what greater obstacle is there than the wall of the ocean, with which the Britons are encompassed, and yet do adore the arms of the Romans. Do you exceed us in courage of soul, and in the sagacity of your commanders? Nay, indeed, you cannot but know that the very Carthaginians have been conquered by us. It can therefore be nothing certainly but the kindness of us Romans which hath excited you against us; who, in the first place, have given you this land to possess; and, in the next place, have set over you kings of your own nation; and, in the third place, have preserved the laws of your forefathers to you, and have withal permitted you to live, either by yourselves, or among others, as it should please you: and, what is our chief favour of all we have given you leave to gather up that tribute which is paid to God with such other gifts that are dedicated to him; nor have we called those that carried these donations to account, nor prohibited them; till at length you became richer than we ourselves, even when you were our enemies; and you made preparations for war against us with our own money; nay, after all, when you were in the enjoyment of all these advantages, you turned your too great plenty against those that gave it you, and, like merciless serpents, have thrown out your poison against those that treated you kindly. I suppose, therefore, that you might despise the slothfulness of Nero, and, like limbs of the body that are broken or dislocated, you did then lie quiet, waiting for some other time, though still with a malicious intention, and have now showed your distemper to be greater than ever, and have extended your desires as far as your impudent and immense hopes would enable you to do it. At this time my father came into this country, not with a design to punish you for what you had done under Cestius, but to admonish you; for had he come to overthrow your nation, he had run directly to your fountain-head, and had immediately laid this city waste; whereas he went and burnt Galilee and the neighbouring parts, and thereby gave you time for repentance; which instance of humanity you took for an argument of his weakness, and nourished up your impudence by our mildness. When Nero was gone out of the world, you did as the wickedest wretches would have done, and encouraged yourselves to act against us by our civil dissensions, and abused that time, when both I and my father were gone away to Egypt, to make preparations for this war. Nor were you ashamed to raise disturbances against us when we were made emperors, and this while you had experienced how mild we had been, when we were no more than generals of the army. But when the government was devolved upon us, and all other people did thereupon lie quiet, and even foreign nations sent embassies, and congratulated our access to the government, then did you Jews show yourselves to be our enemies. You sent embassies to those of your nation that are beyond Euphrates to assist you in your raising disturbances; new walls were built by you round your city, seditions arose, and one tyrant contended against another, and a civil war broke out among you; such indeed as became none but so wicked a people as you are. I then came to this city, as unwillingly sent by my father, and received melancholy injunctions from him. When I heard that the people were disposed to peace, I rejoiced at it; I exhorted you to leave off these proceedings before I began this war; I spared you even when you had fought against me a great while; I gave my right hand as security to the deserters; I observed what I had promised faithfully. When they fled to me, I had compassion on many of those that I had taken captive; I tortured those that were eager for war, in order to restrain them. It was unwillingly that I brought my engines of war against your walls; I always prohibited my soldiers, when they were set upon your slaughter, from their severity against you. After every victory I persuaded you to peace, as though I had been myself conquered. When I came near your temple, I again departed from the laws of war, and exhorted you to spare your own sanctuary, and to preserve your holy house to yourselves. I allowed you a quiet exit out of it, and security for your preservation; nay, if you had a mind, I gave you leave to fight in another place. Yet have you still despised every one of my proposals, and have set fire to your holy house with your own hands. And now, vile wretches, do you desire to treat with me by word of mouth? To what purpose is it that you would save such a holy house as this was, which is now destroyed? What preservation can you now desire after the destruction of your temple? Yet do you stand still at this very time in your armour; nor can you bring yourselves so much as to pretend to be supplicants even in this your utmost extremity. O miserable creatures! what is it you depend on? Are not your people dead? is not your holy house gone? is not your city in my power? and are not your own very lives in my hands? And do you still deem it a part of valour to die? However, I will not imitate your madness. If you throw down your arms, and deliver up your bodies to me, I grant you your lives; and I will act like a mild master of a family; what cannot be healed shall be punished, and the rest I will preserve for my own use."

3 To that offer of Titus they made this reply: That they could not accept of it, because they had sworn never to do so; but they desired they might have leave to go through the wall that had been made about them, with their wives and children; for that they would go into the desert, and leave the city to him. At this Titus had great indignation, that when they were in the case of men already taken captives, they should pretend to make their own terms with him, as if they had been conquerors. So he ordered this proclamation to be made to them, That they should no more come out to him as deserters, nor hope for any further security; for that he would henceforth spare nobody, but fight them with his whole army; and that they must save themselves as well as they could; for that he would from henceforth treat them according to the laws of war. So he gave orders to the soldiers both to burn and to plunder the city; who did nothing indeed that day; but on the next day they set fire to the repository of the archives, to Acra, to the council-house, and to the place called Ophlas; at which time the fire proceeded as far as the palace of queen Helena, which was in the middle of Acra; the lanes also were burnt down, as were also those houses that were full of the dead bodies of such as were destroyed by famine.

4 On the same day it was that the sons and brethren of Izates the king, together with many others of the eminent men of the populace, got together there, and besought Caesar to give them his right hand for their security; upon which, though he was very angry at all that were now remaining, yet did he not lay aside his old moderation, but received these men. At that time, indeed, he kept them all in custody, but still bound the king's sons and kinsmen, and led them with him to Rome, in order to make them hostages for their country's fidelity to the Romans.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 7

What Afterward Befell The Seditious When They Had Done A Great Deal Of Mischief, And Suffered Many Misfortunes; As Also How Caesar Became Master Of The Upper City.

1 And now the seditious rushed into the royal palace, into which many had put their effects, because it was so strong, and drove the Romans away from it. They also slew all the people that had crowded into it, who were in number about eight thousand four hundred, and plundered them of what they had. They also took two of the Romans alive; the one was a horseman, and the other a footman. They then cut the throat of the footman, and immediately had him drawn through the whole city, as revenging themselves upon the whole body of the Romans by this one instance. But the horseman said he had somewhat to suggest to them in order to their preservation; whereupon he was brought before Simon; but he having nothing to say when he was there, he was delivered to Ardalas, one of his commanders, to be punished, who bound his hands behind him, and put a riband over his eyes, and then brought him out over against the Romans, as intending to cut off his head. But the man prevented that execution, and ran away to the Romans, and this while the Jewish executioner was drawing out his sword. Now when he was gotten away from the enemy, Titus could not think of putting him to death; but because he deemed him unworthy of being a Roman soldier any longer, on account that he had been taken alive by the enemy, he took away his arms, and ejected him out of the legion whereto he had belonged; which, to one that had a sense of shame, was a penalty severer than death itself.

2 On the next day the Romans drove the robbers out of the lower city, and set all on fire as far as Siloam. These soldiers were indeed glad to see the city destroyed. But they missed the plunder, because the seditious had carried off all their effects, and were retired into the upper city; for they did not yet at all repent of the mischiefs they had done, but were insolent, as if they had done well; for, as they saw the city on fire, they appeared cheerful, and put on joyful countenances, in expectation, as they said, of death to end their miseries. Accordingly, as the people were now slain, the holy house was burnt down, and the city was on fire, there was nothing further left for the enemy to do. Yet did not Josephus grow weary, even in this utmost extremity, to beg of them to spare what was left of the city; he spake largely to them about their barbarity and impiety, and gave them his advice in order to their escape; though he gained nothing thereby more than to be laughed at by them; and as they could not think of surrendering themselves up, because of the oath they had taken, nor were strong enough to fight with the Romans any longer upon the square, as being surrounded on all sides, and a kind of prisoners already, yet were they so accustomed to kill people, that they could not restrain their right hands from acting accordingly. So they dispersed themselves before the city, and laid themselves in ambush among its ruins, to catch those that attempted to desert to the Romans; accordingly many such deserters were caught by them, and were all slain; for these were too weak, by reason of their want of food, to fly away from them; so their dead bodies were thrown to the dogs. Now every other sort of death was thought more tolerable than the famine, insomuch that, though the Jews despaired now of mercy, yet would they fly to the Romans, and would themselves, even of their own accord, fall among the murderous rebels also. Nor was there any place in the city that had no dead bodies in it, but what was entirely

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covered with those that were killed either by the famine or the rebellion; and all was full of the dead bodies of such as had perished, either by that sedition or by that famine.

3 So now the last hope which supported the tyrants, and that crew of robbers who were with them, was in the caves and caverns under ground; whither, if they could once fly, they did not expect to be searched for; but endeavored, that after the whole city should be destroyed, and the Romans gone away, they might come out again, and escape from them. This was no better than a dream of theirs; for they were not able to lie hid either from God or from the Romans. However, they depended on these under-ground subterfuges, and set more places on fire than did the Romans themselves; and those that fled out of their houses thus set on fire into the ditches, they killed without mercy, and pillaged them also; and if they discovered food belonging to any one, they seized upon it and swallowed it down, together with their blood also; nay, they were now come to fight one with another about their plunder; and I cannot but think that, had not their destruction prevented it, their barbarity would have made them taste of even the dead bodies themselves.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 8

How Caesar Raised Banks Round About The Upper City [Mount Zion] And When They Were Completed, Gave Orders That The Machines Should Be Brought. He Then Possessed Himself Of The Whole City.

1 Now when Caesar perceived that the upper city was so steep that it could not possibly be taken without raising banks against it, he distributed the several parts of that work among his army, and this on the twentieth day of the month Lous [Ab]. Now the carriage of the materials was a difficult task, since all the trees, as I have already told you, that were about the city, within the distance of a hundred furlongs, had their branches cut off already, in order to make the former banks. The works that belonged to the four legions were erected on the west side of the city, over against the royal palace; but the whole body of the auxiliary troops, with the rest of the multitude that were with them, [erected their banks] at the Xystus, whence they reached to the bridge, and that tower of Simon which he had built as a citadel for himself against John, when they were at war one with another.

2 It was at this time that the commanders of the Idumeans got together privately, and took counsel about surrendering up themselves to the Romans. Accordingly, they sent five men to Titus, and entreated him to give them his right hand for their security. So Titus thinking that the tyrants would yield, if the Idumeans, upon whom a great part of the war depended, were once withdrawn from them, after some reluctancy and delay, complied with them, and gave them security for their lives, and sent the five men back. But as these Idumeans were preparing to march out, Simon perceived it, and immediately slew the five men that had gone to Titus, and took their commanders, and put them in prison, of whom the most eminent was Jacob, the son of Sosas; but as for the multitude of the Idumeans, who did not at all know what to do, now their commanders were taken from them, he had them watched, and secured the walls by a more numerous garrison, Yet could not that garrison resist those that were deserting; for although a great number of them were slain, yet were the deserters many more in number. They were all received by the Romans, because Titus himself grew negligent as to his former orders for killing them, and because the very soldiers grew weary of killing them, and because they hoped to get some money by sparing them; for they left only the populace, and sold the rest of the multitude, with their wives and children, and every one of them at a very low price, and that because such as were sold were very many, and the buyers were few: and although Titus had made proclamation beforehand, that no deserter should come alone by himself, that so they might bring out their families with them, yet did he receive such as these also. However, he set over them such as were to distinguish some from others, in order to see if any of them deserved to be punished. And indeed the number of those that were sold was immense; but of the populace above forty thousand were saved, whom Caesar let go whither every one of them pleased.

3 But now at this time it was that one of the priests, the son of Thebuthus, whose name was Jesus, upon his having security given him, by the oath of Caesar, that he should be preserved, upon condition that he should deliver to him certain of the precious things that had been reposited in the temple came out of it, and delivered him from the wall of the holy house two candlesticks, like to those that lay in the holy house, with tables, and cisterns, and vials, all made of solid gold, and very heavy. He also delivered to him the veils and the garments, with the precious stones, and a great number of other precious vessels that belonged to their sacred worship. The treasurer of the temple also, whose name was Phineas, was seized on, and showed Titus the coats and girdles of the priests, with a great quantity of purple and scarlet, which were there reposited for the uses of the veil, as also a great deal of cinnamon and cassia, with a large quantity of other sweet spices, which used to be mixed together, and offered as incense to God every day. A great many other treasures were also delivered to him, with sacred ornaments of the temple not a few; which things thus delivered to Titus obtained of him for this man the same pardon that he had allowed to such as deserted of their own accord.

4 And now were the banks finished on the seventh day of the month Gorpieus, [Elul,] in eighteen days' time, when the Romans brought their machines against the wall. But for the seditious, some of them, as despairing of saving the city, retired from the wall to the citadel; others of them went down into the subterranean vaults, though still a great many of them defended themselves against those that brought the engines for the battery; yet did the Romans overcome them by their number and by their strength; and, what was the principal thing of all, by going cheerfully about their work, while the Jews were quite dejected, and become weak. Now as soon as a part of the wall was battered down, and certain of the towers yielded to the impression of the battering rams, those that opposed themselves fled away, and such a terror fell upon the tyrants, as was much greater than the occasion required; for before the enemy got over the breach they were quite stunned, and were immediately for flying away. And now one might see these men, who had hitherto been so insolent and arrogant in their wicked practices, to be cast down and to tremble, insomuch that it would pity one's heart to observe the change that was made in those vile persons. Accordingly, they ran with great violence upon the Roman wall that encompassed them, in order to force away those that guarded it, and to break through it, and get away. But when they saw that those who had formerly been faithful to them had gone away, [as indeed they were fled whithersoever the great distress they were in persuaded them to flee,] as also when those that came running before the rest told them that the western wall was entirely overthrown, while others said the Romans were gotten in, and others that they were near, and looking out for them, which were only the dictates of their fear, which imposed upon their sight, they fell upon their face, and greatly lamented their own mad conduct; and their nerves were so terribly loosed, that they could not flee away. And here one may chiefly reflect on the power of God exercised upon these wicked wretches, and on the good fortune of the Romans; for these tyrants did now wholly deprive themselves of the security they had in their own power, and came down from those very towers of their own accord, wherein they could have never been taken by force, nor indeed by any other way than by famine. And thus did the Romans, when they had taken such great pains about weaker walls, get by good fortune what they could never have gotten by their engines; for three of these towers were too strong for all mechanical engines whatsoever, concerning which we have treated above.

5 So they now left these towers of themselves, or rather they were ejected out of them by God himself, and fled immediately to that valley which was under Siloam, where they again recovered themselves out of the dread they were in for a while, and ran violently against that part of the Roman wall which lay on that side; but as their courage was too much depressed to make their attacks with sufficient force, and their power was now broken with fear and affliction, they were repulsed by the guards, and dispersing themselves at distances from each other, went down into the subterranean caverns. So the Romans being now become masters of the walls, they both placed their ensigns upon the towers, and made joyful acclamations for the victory they had gained, as having found the end of this war much lighter than its beginning; for when they had gotten upon the last wall, without any bloodshed, they could hardly believe what they found to be true; but seeing nobody to oppose them, they stood in doubt what such an unusual solitude could mean. But when they went in numbers into the lanes of the city with their swords drawn, they slew those whom they overtook without and set fire to the houses whither the Jews were fled, and burnt every soul in them, and laid waste a great many of the rest; and when they were come to the houses to plunder them, they found in them entire families of dead men, and the upper rooms full of dead corpses, that is, of such as died by the famine; they then stood in a horror at this sight, and went out without touching any thing. But although they had this commiseration for such as were destroyed in that manner, yet had they not the same for those that were still alive, but they ran every one through whom they met with, and obstructed the very lanes with their dead bodies, and made the whole city run down with blood, to such a degree indeed that the fire of many of the houses was quenched with these men's blood. And truly so it happened, that though the slayers left off at the evening, yet did the fire greatly prevail in the night; and as all was burning, came that eighth day of the month Gorpieus [Elul] upon Jerusalem, a city that had been liable to so many miseries during this siege, that, had it always enjoyed as much happiness from its first foundation, it would certainly have been the envy of the world. Nor did it on any other account so much deserve these sore misfortunes, as by producing such a generation of men as were the occasions of this its overthrow.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 9

What Injunctions Caesar Gave When He Was Come Within The City. The Number Of The Captives And Of Those That Perished In The Siege; As Also Concerning Those That Had Escaped Into The Subterranean Caverns, Among Whom Were The Tyrants Simon And John Themselves.

1 Now when Titus was come into this [upper] city, he admired not only some other places of strength in it, but particularly those strong towers which the tyrants in their mad conduct had relinquished; for when he saw their solid altitude, and the largeness of their several stones, and the exactness of their joints, as also how great was their breadth, and how extensive their length, he expressed himself after the manner following: "We have certainly had God for our assistant in this war, and it was no other than God who ejected the Jews out of these fortifications; for what could the hands of men or any machines do towards overthrowing these towers?" At which time he had many such discourses to his friends; he also let such go free as had been bound by the tyrants, and were left in the prisons. To conclude, when he entirely demolished the rest of the city, and overthrew its walls, he left these towers as a monument of his good fortune, which had proved his auxiliaries, and enabled him to take what could not otherwise have been taken by him.

2 And now, since his soldiers were already quite tired with killing men, and yet there appeared to be a vast multitude still remaining alive, Caesar gave orders that they should kill none but those that were in arms, and opposed them, but should take the rest alive. But, together with those whom they had orders to slay, they slew the aged and the infirm; but for those that were in their flourishing age, and who might be useful to them, they drove them together into the temple, and shut them up within the walls of the court of the women; over which Caesar set one of his freed-men, as also Fronto, one of his own friends; which last was to determine every one's fate, according to his merits. So this Fronto slew all those that had been seditious and robbers, who were impeached one by another; but of the young men he chose out the tallest and most beautiful, and reserved them for the triumph; and as for the rest of the multitude that were above seventeen years old, he put them into bonds, and sent them to the Egyptian mines. Titus also sent a great number into the provinces, as a present to them, that they might be destroyed upon their theatres, by the sword and by the wild beasts; but those that were under seventeen years of age were sold for slaves. Now during the days wherein Fronto was distinguishing these men, there perished, for want of food, eleven thousand; some of whom did not taste any food, through the hatred their guards bore to them; and others would not take in any when it was given them. The multitude also was so very great, that they were in want even of corn for their sustenance.

3 Now the number of those that were carried captive during this whole war was collected to be ninety-seven thousand; as was the number of those that perished during the whole siege eleven hundred thousand, the greater part of whom were indeed of the same nation [with the citizens of Jerusalem], but not belonging to the city itself; for they were come up from all the country to the feast of unleavened bread, and were on a sudden shut up by an army, which, at the very first, occasioned so great a straitness among them, that there came a pestilential destruction upon them, and soon afterward such a famine, as destroyed them more suddenly. And that this city could contain so many people in it, is manifest by that number of them which was taken under Cestius, who being desirous of informing Nero of the power of the city, who otherwise was disposed to contemn that nation, entreated the high priests, if the thing were possible, to take the number of their whole multitude. So these high priests, upon the coming of that feast which is called the Passover, when they slay their sacrifices, from the ninth hour till the eleventh, but so that a company not less than ten belong to every sacrifice, [for it is not lawful for them to feast singly by themselves,] and many of us are twenty in a company, found the number of sacrifices was two hundred and fifty-six thousand five hundred; which, upon the allowance of no more than ten that feast together, amounts to two millions seven hundred thousand and two hundred persons that were pure and holy; for as to those that have the leprosy, or the gonorrhea, or women that have their monthly courses, or such as are otherwise polluted, it is not lawful for them to be partakers of this sacrifice; nor indeed for any foreigners neither, who come hither to worship.

4 Now this vast multitude is indeed collected out of remote places, but the entire nation was now shut up by fate as in prison, and the Roman army encompassed the city when it was crowded with inhabitants. Accordingly, the multitude of those that therein perished exceeded all the destructions that either men or God ever brought upon the world; for, to speak only of what was publicly known, the Romans slew some of them, some they carried captives, and others they made a search for under ground, and when they found where they were, they broke up the ground and slew all they met with. There were also found slain there above two thousand persons, partly by their own hands, and partly by one another, but chiefly destroyed by the famine; but then the ill savor of the

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dead bodies was most offensive to those that lighted upon them, insomuch that some were obliged to get away immediately, while others were so greedy of gain, that they would go in among the dead bodies that lay on heaps, and tread upon them; for a great deal of treasure was found in these caverns, and the hope of gain made every way of getting it to be esteemed lawful. Many also of those that had been put in prison by the tyrants were now brought out; for they did not leave off their barbarous cruelty at the very last: yet did God avenge himself upon them both, in a manner agreeable to justice. As for John, he wanted food, together with his brethren, in these caverns, and begged that the Romans would now give him their right hand for his security, which he had often proudly rejected before; but for Simon, he struggled hard with the distress he was in, still he was forced to surrender himself, as we shall relate hereafter; so he was reserved for the triumph, and to be then slain; as was John condemned to perpetual imprisonment. And now the Romans set fire to the extreme parts of the city, and burnt them down, and entirely demolished its walls.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 10

That Whereas The City Of Jerusalem Had Been Five Times Taken Formerly, This Was The Second Time Of Its Desolation. A Brief Account Of Its History.

1 And thus was Jerusalem taken, in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, on the eighth day of the month Gorpeius [Elul]. It had been taken five times before, though this was the second time of its desolation; for Shishak, the king of Egypt, and after him Antiochus, and after him Pompey, and after them Sosius and Herod, took the city, but still preserved it; but before all these, the king of Babylon conquered it, and made it desolate, one thousand four hundred and sixty-eight years and six months after it was built. But he who first built it was a potent man among the Canaanites, and is in our own tongue called [Melchisedek], the Righteous King, for such he really was; on which account he was [there] the first priest of God, and first built a temple [there], and called the city Jerusalem, which was formerly called Salem. However, David, the king of the Jews, ejected the Canaanites, and settled his own people therein. It was demolished entirely by the Babylonians, four hundred and seventy-seven years and six months after him. And from king David, who was the first of the Jews who reigned therein, to this destruction under Titus, were one thousand one hundred and seventy-nine years; but from its first building, till this last destruction, were two thousand one hundred and seventy-seven years; yet hath not its great antiquity, nor its vast riches, nor the diffusion of its nation over all the habitable earth, nor the greatness of the veneration paid to it on a religious account, been sufficient to preserve it from being destroyed. And thus ended the siege of Jerusalem.

THE WARS OF THE JEWS BOOK 7

Containing The Interval Of About Three Years. From The Taking Of Jerusalem By Titus To The Sedition At Cyrene

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 1

How The Entire City Of Jerusalem Was Demolished, Excepting Three Towers; And How Titus Commended His Soldiers In A Speech Made To Them, And Distributed Rewards To Them And Then Dismissed Many Of Them.

1 Now as soon as the army had no more people to slay or to plunder, because there remained none to be the objects of their fury, [for they would not have spared any, had there remained any other work to be done,] Caesar gave orders that they should now demolish the entire city and temple, but should leave as many of the towers standing as were of the greatest eminency; that is, Phasaelus, and Hippicus, and Mariamne; and so much of the wall as enclosed the city on the west side. This wall was spared, in order to afford a camp for such as were to lie in garrison, as were the towers also spared, in order to demonstrate to posterity what kind of city it was, and how well fortified, which the Roman valour had subdued; but for all the rest of the wall, it was so thoroughly laid even with the ground by those that dug it up to the foundation, that there was left nothing to make those that came thither believe it had ever been inhabited. This was the end which Jerusalem came to by the madness of those that were for innovations; a city otherwise of great magnificence, and of mighty fame among all mankind.

2 But Caesar resolved to leave there, as a guard, the tenth legion, with certain troops of horsemen, and companies of footmen. So, having entirely completed this war, he was desirous to commend his whole army, on account of the great exploits they had performed, and to bestow proper rewards on such as had signalized themselves therein. He had therefore a great tribunal made for him in the midst of the place where he had formerly encamped, and stood upon it with his principal commanders about him, and spake so as to be heard by the whole army in the manner following: That he returned them abundance of thanks for their good-will which they had showed to him: he commended them for that ready obedience they had exhibited in this whole war, which obedience had appeared in the many and great dangers which they had courageously undergone; as also for that courage they had shown, and had thereby augmented of themselves their country's power, and had made it evident to all men, that neither the multitude of their enemies, nor the strength of their places, nor the largeness of their cities, nor the rash boldness and brutish rage of their antagonists, were sufficient at any time to get clear of the Roman valour, although some of them may have fortune in many respects on their side. He said further, that it was but reasonable for them to put an end to this war, now it had lasted so long, for that they had nothing better to wish for when they entered into it; and that this happened more favourably for them, and more for their glory, that all the Romans had willingly accepted of those for their governors, and the curators of their dominions, whom they had chosen for them, and had sent into their own country for that purpose, which still continued under the management of those whom they had pitched on, and were thankful to them for pitching upon them. That accordingly, although he did both admire and tenderly regard them all, because he knew that every one of them had gone as cheerfully about their work as their abilities and opportunities would give them leave; yet, he said, that he would immediately bestow rewards and dignities on those that had fought the most bravely, and with greater force, and had signalized their conduct in the most glorious manner, and had made his army more famous by their noble exploits; and that no one who had been willing to take more pains than another should miss of a just retribution for the same; for that he had been exceeding careful about this matter, and that the more, because he had much rather reward the virtues of his fellow soldiers than punish such as had offended.

3 Hereupon Titus ordered those whose business it was to read the list of all that had performed great exploits in this war, whom he called to him by their names, and commended them before the company, and rejoiced in them in the same manner as a man would have rejoiced in his own exploits. He also put on their heads crowns of gold, and golden ornaments about their necks, and gave them long spears of gold, and ensigns that were made of silver, and removed every one of them to a higher rank; and besides this, he plentifully distributed among them, out of the spoils, and the other prey they had taken, silver, and gold, and garments. So when they had all these honours bestowed on them, according to his own appointment made to every one, and he had wished all sorts of happiness to the whole army, he came down, among the great acclamations which were made to him, and then betook himself to offer thank-offerings [to the gods], and at once sacrificed a vast number of oxen, that stood ready at the altars, and distributed them among the army to feast on. And when he had staid three days among the principal commanders, and so long feasted with them, he sent away the rest of his army to the several places where they would be every one best situated; but permitted the tenth legion to stay, as a guard at Jerusalem, and did not send them away beyond Euphrates, where they had been before. And as he remembered that the twelfth legion had given way to the Jews, under Cestius their general, he expelled them out of all Syria, for they had lain formerly at Raphanea, and sent them away to a place called Meletine, near Euphrates, which is in the limits of Armenia and Cappadocia; he also thought fit that two of the legions should stay with him till he should go to Egypt. He then went down with his army to that Cesarea which lay by the sea-side, and there laid up the rest of his spoils in great quantities, and gave order that the captives should be kept there; for the winter season hindered him then from sailing into Italy.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 2

How Titus Exhibited All Sorts Of Shows At Cesarea Philippi. Concerning Simon The Tyrant How He Was Taken, And Reserved For The Triumph.

1 Now at the same time that Titus Caesar lay at the siege of Jerusalem, did Vespasian go on board a merchantship and sailed from Alexandria to Rhodes; whence he sailed away in ships with three rows of oars; and as he touched at several cities that lay in his road, he was joyfully received by them all, and so passed over from Ionia into Greece; whence he set sail from Corcyra to the promontory of Iapyx, whence he took his journey by land. But as for Titus, he marched from that Cesarea which lay by the sea-side, and came to that which is named Cesarea Philippi, and staid there a considerable time, and exhibited all sorts of shows there. And here a great number of the captives were destroyed, some being thrown to wild beasts, and others in multitudes forced to kill one another, as if they were their enemies. And here it was that Titus was informed of the seizure of Simon the son of Gioras, which was made after the manner following: This Simon, during the siege of Jerusalem, was in the upper city; but when the Roman army was gotten within the walls, and were laying the city waste, he then took the most faithful of his friends with him, and among them some that were stone-cutters, with those iron tools which belonged to their occupation, and as great a quantity of provisions as would suffice them for a long time, and let himself and all them down into a certain subterraneous cavern that was not visible above ground. Now, so far as had been digged of old, they went onward along it without disturbance; but where they met with solid earth, they dug a mine under ground, and this in hopes that they should be able to proceed so far as to rise from under ground in a safe place, and by that means escape. But when they came to make the experiment, they were disappointed of their hope; for the miners could make but small progress, and that with difficulty also; insomuch that their provisions, though they distributed them by measure, began to fail them. And now Simon, thinking he might be able to astonish and elude the Romans, put on a white frock, and buttoned upon him a purple cloak, and appeared out of the ground in the place where the temple had formerly been. At the first, indeed, those that saw him were greatly astonished, and stood still where they were; but afterward they came nearer to him, and asked him who he was. Now Simon would not tell them, but bid them call for their captain; and when they ran to call him, Terentius Rufus who was left to command the army there, came to Simon, and learned of him the whole truth, and kept him in bonds, and let Caesar know that he was taken. Thus did God bring this man to be punished for what bitter and savage tyranny he had exercised against his countrymen by those who were his worst enemies; and this while he was not subdued by violence, but voluntarily delivered himself up to them to be punished, and that on the very same account that he had laid false accusations against many Jews, as if they were falling away to the Romans, and had barbarously slain them; for wicked actions do not escape the Divine anger, nor is justice too weak to punish offenders, but in time overtakes those that transgress its laws, and inflicts its punishments upon the wicked in a manner, so much more severe, as they expected to escape it on account of their not being punished immediately. Simon was made sensible of this by falling under the indignation of the Romans. This rise of his out of the ground did also occasion the discovery of a great number of others of the seditious at that time, who had hidden themselves under ground. But for Simon, he was brought to Caesar in bonds, when he was come back to that Cesarea which was on the seaside, who gave orders that he should be kept against that triumph which he was to celebrate at Rome upon this occasion.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 3

How Titus Upon The Celebration Of His Brothers And Fathers Birthdays Had Many Of The Jews Slain. Concerning The Danger The Jews Were In At Antioch, By Means Of The Transgression And Impiety Of One Antiochus, A Jew.

1 While Titus was at Cesarea, he solemnized the birthday of his brother [Domitian] after a splendid manner, and inflicted a great deal of the punishment intended for the Jews in honour of him; for the number of those that were now slain in fighting with the beasts, and were burnt, and fought with one another, exceeded two thousand five hundred. Yet did all this seem to the Romans, when they were thus destroyed ten thousand several ways, to be a punishment beneath their deserts. After this Caesar came to Berytus, which is a city of Phoenicia, and a Roman colony, and staid there a longer time, and exhibited a still more pompous solemnity about his father's birthday, both in the magnificence of the shows, and in the other vast expenses he was at in his devices thereto belonging; so that a great multitude of the captives were here destroyed after the same manner as before.

2 It happened also about this time, that the Jews who remained at Antioch were under accusations, and in danger of perishing, from the disturbances that were raised against them by the Antiochians; and this both on account of the slanders spread abroad at this time against them, and on account of what pranks they had played not long before; which I am obliged to describe without fail, though briefly, that I may the better connect my narration of future actions with those that went before.

3 For as the Jewish nation is widely dispersed over all the habitable earth among its inhabitants, so it is very much intermingled with Syria by reason of its neighbourhood, and had the greatest multitudes in Antioch by reason of the largeness of the city, wherein the kings, after Antiochus, had afforded them a habitation with the most undisturbed tranquillity; for though Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, laid Jerusalem waste, and spoiled the temple, yet did those that succeeded him in the kingdom restore all the donations that were made of brass to the Jews of Antioch, and dedicated them to their synagogue, and granted them the enjoyment of equal privileges of citizens with the Greeks themselves; and as the succeeding kings treated them after the same manner, they both multiplied to a great number, and adorned their temple gloriously by fine ornaments, and with great magnificence, in the use of what had been given them. They also made proselytes of a great many of the Greeks perpetually, and thereby after a sort brought them to be a portion of their own body. But about this time when the present war began, and Vespasian was newly sailed to Syria, and all men had taken up a great hatred against the Jews, then it was that a certain

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person, whose name was Antiochus, being one of the Jewish nation, and greatly respected on account of his father, who was governor of the Jews at Antioch 5 came upon the theater at a time when the people of Antioch were assembled together, and became an informer against his father, and accused both him and others that they had resolved to burn the whole city in one night; he also delivered up to them some Jews that were foreigners, as partners in their resolutions. When the people heard this, they could not refrain their passion, but commanded that those who were delivered up to them should have fire brought to burn them, who were accordingly all burnt upon the theater immediately. They did also fall violently upon the multitude of the Jews, as supposing that by punishing them suddenly they should save their own city. As for Antiochus, he aggravated the rage they were in, and thought to give them a demonstration of his own conversion, arm of his hatred of the Jewish customs, by sacrificing after the manner of the Greeks; he persuaded the rest also to compel them to do the same, because they would by that means discover who they were that had plotted against them, since they would not do so; and when the people of Antioch tried the experiment, some few complied, but those that would not do so were slain. As for Antiochus himself, he obtained soldiers from the Roman commander, and became a severe master over his own citizens, not permitting them to rest on the seventh day, but forcing them to do all that they usually did on other days; and to that degree of distress did he reduce them in this matter, that the rest of the seventh day was dissolved not only at Antioch, but the same thing which took thence its rise was done in other cities also, in like manner, for some small time.

4 Now, after these misfortunes had happened to the Jews at Antioch, a second calamity befell them, the description of which when we were going about we premised the account foregoing; for upon this accident, whereby the four-square market-place was burnt down, as well as the archives, and the place where the public records were preserved, and the royal palaces, [and it was not without difficulty that the fire was then put a stop to, which was likely, by the fury wherewith it was carried along, to have gone over the whole city,] Antiochus accused the Jews as the occasion of all the mischief that was done. Now this induced the people of Antioch, who were now under the immediate persuasion, by reason of the disorder they were in, that this calumny was true, and would have been under the same persuasion, even though they had not borne an ill-will at the Jews before, to believe this man's accusation, especially when they considered what had been done before, and this to such a degree, that they all fell violently upon those that were accused, and this, like madmen, in a very furious rage also, even as if they had seen the Jews in a manner setting fire themselves to the city; nor was it without difficulty that one Cneius Collegas, the legate, could prevail with them to permit the affairs to be laid before Caesar; for as to Cesennius Petus, the president of Syria, Vespasian had already sent him away; and so it happened that he was not yet come back thither. But when Collegas had made a careful inquiry into the matter, he found out the truth, and that not one of those Jews that were accused by Antiochus had any hand in it, but that all was done by some vile persons greatly in debt, who supposed that if they could once set fire to the market-place, and burn the public records, they should have no further demands made upon them. So the Jews were under great disorder and terror, in the uncertain expectations of what would be the upshot of these accusations against them.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 4

How Vespasian Was Received At Rome; As Also How The Germans Revolted From The Romans, But Were Subdued. That The Sarmatians Overran Mysia, But Were Compelled To Retire To Their Own Country Again.

1 And now Titus Caesar, upon the news that was brought him concerning his father, that his coming was much desired by all the Italian cities, and that Rome especially received him with great alacrity and splendour, betook himself to rejoicing and pleasures to a great degree, as now freed from the solicitude he had been under, after the most agreeable manner. For all men that were in Italy showed their respects to him in their minds before he came thither, as if he were already come, as esteeming the very expectation they had of him to be his real presence, on account of the great desires they had to see him, and because the good-will they bore him was entirely free and unconstrained; for it was, desirable thing to the senate, who well remembered the calamities they had undergone in the late changes of their governors, to receive a governor who was adorned with the gravity of old age, and with the highest skill in the actions of war, whose advancement would be, as they knew, for nothing else but for the preservation of those that were to be governed. Moreover, the people had been so harassed by their civil miseries, that they were still more earnest for his coming immediately, as supposing they should then be firmly delivered from their calamities, and believed they should then recover their secure tranquillity and prosperity; and for the soldiery, they had the principal regard to him, for they were chiefly apprized of his great exploits in war; and since they had experienced the want of skill and want of courage in other commanders, they were very desirous to be free from that great shame they had undergone by their means, and heartily wished to receive such a prince as might be a security and an ornament to them. And as this good-will to Vespasian was universal, those that enjoyed any remarkable dignities could not have patience enough to stay in Rome, but made haste to meet him at a very great distance from it; nay, indeed, none of the rest could endure the delay of seeing him, but did all pour out of the city in such crowds, and were so universally possessed with the opinion that it was easier and better for them to go out than to stay there, that this was the very first time that the city joyfully perceived itself almost empty of its citizens; for those that staid within were fewer than those that went out. But as soon as the news was come that he was hard by, and those that had met him at first related with what good humor he received every one that came to him, then it was that the whole multitude that had remained in the city, with their wives and children, came into the road, and waited for him there; and for those whom he passed by, they made all sorts of acclamations, on account of the joy they had to see him, and the pleasantness of his countenance, and styled him their Benefactor and Savior, and the only person who was worthy to be ruler of the city of Rome. And now the city was like a temple, full of garlands and sweet odors; nor was it easy for him to come to the royal palace, for the multitude of the people that stood about him, where yet at last he performed his sacrifices of thanksgiving to his household gods for his safe return to the city. The multitude did also betake themselves to feasting; which feasts and drink-offerings they celebrated by their tribes, and their families, and their neighbourhoods, and still prayed God to grant that Vespasian, his sons, and all their posterity, might continue in the Roman government for a very long time, and that his dominion might be preserved from all opposition. And this was the manner in which Rome so joyfully received Vespasian, and thence grew immediately into a state of great prosperity.

2 But before this time, and while Vespasian was about Alexandria, and Titus was lying at the siege of Jerusalem, a great multitude of the Germans were in commotion, and tended to rebellion; and as the Gauls in their neighbourhood joined with them, they conspired together, and had thereby great hopes of success, and that they should free themselves from the dominion of the Romans. The motives that induced the Germans to this attempt for a revolt, and for beginning the war, were these: In the first place, the nature [of the people], which was destitute of just reasonings, and ready to throw themselves rashly into danger, upon small hopes; in the next place, the hatred they bore to those that were their governors, while their nation had never been conscious of subjection to any but to the Romans, and that by compulsion only. Besides these motives, it was the opportunity that now offered itself, which above all the rest prevailed with them so to do; for when they saw the Roman government in a great internal disorder, by the continual changes of its rulers, and understood that every part of the habitable earth under them was in an unsettled and tottering condition, they thought this was the best opportunity that could afford itself for themselves to make a sedition, when the state of the Romans was so ill. Classicus also, and Vitellius, two of their commanders, puffed them up with such hopes. These had for a long time been openly desirous of such an innovation, and were induced by the present opportunity to venture upon the declaration of their sentiments; the multitude was also ready; and when these men told them of what they intended to attempt, that news was gladly received by them. So when a great part of the Germans had agreed to rebel, and the rest were no better disposed, Vespasian, as guided by Divine Providence, sent letters to Petilius Cerealis, who had formerly had the command of Germany, whereby he declared him to have the dignity of consul, and commanded him to take upon him the government of Britain; so he went whither he was ordered to go, and when he was informed of the revolt of the Germans, he fell upon them as soon as they were gotten together, and put his army in battle-array, and slew a great number of them in the fight, and forced them to leave off their madness, and to grow wiser; nay, had he not fallen thus suddenly upon them on the place, it had not been long ere they would however have been brought to punishment; for as soon as ever the news of their revolt was come to Rome, and Caesar Domitian was made acquainted with it, he made no delay, even at that his age, when he was exceeding young, but undertook this weighty affair. He had a courageous mind from his father, and had made greater improvements than belonged to such an age: accordingly he marched against the barbarians immediately; whereupon their hearts failed them at the very rumor of his approach, and they submitted themselves to him with fear, and thought it a happy thing that they were brought under their old yoke again without suffering any further mischiefs. When therefore Domitian had settled all the affairs of Gaul in such good order, that it would not be easily put into disorder any more, he returned to Rome with honour and glory, as having performed such exploits as were above his own age, but worthy of so great a father.

3 At the very same time with the forementioned revolt of the Germans did the bold attempt of the Scythians against the Romans occur; for those Scythians who are called Sarmatians, being a very numerous people, transported themselves over the Danube into Mysia, without being perceived; after which, by their violence, and entirely unexpected assault, they slew a great many of the Romans that guarded the frontiers; and as the consular legate Fonteius Agrippa came to meet them, and fought courageously against them, he was slain by them. They then overran all the region that had been subject to him, tearing and rending every thing that fell in their way. But when Vespasian was informed of what had happened, and how Mysia was laid waste, he sent away Rubrius Gallus to punish these Sarmatians; by whose means many of them perished in the battles he fought against them, and that part which escaped fled with fear to their own country. So when this general had put an end to the war, he provided for the future security of the country also; for he placed more and more numerous garrisons in the place, till he made it altogether impossible for the barbarians to pass over the river any more. And thus had this war in Mysia a sudden conclusion.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 5

Concerning The Sabbatic River Which Titus Saw As He Was Journeying Through Syria; And How The People Of Antioch Came With A Petition To Titus Against The Jews But Were Rejected By Him; As Also Concerning Titus's And Vespasian's Triumph.

1 Now Titus Caesar tarried some time at Berytus, as we told you before. He thence removed, and exhibited magnificent shows in all those cities of Syria through which he went, and made use of the captive Jews as public instances of the destruction of that nation. He then saw a river as he went along, of such a nature as deserves to be recorded in history; it runs in the middle between Arcea, belonging to Agrippa's kingdom, and Raphanea. It hath somewhat very peculiar in it; for when it runs, its current is strong, and has plenty of water; after which its springs fail for six days together, and leave its channel dry, as any one may see; after which days it runs on the seventh day as it did before, and as though it had undergone no change at all; it hath also been observed to keep this order perpetually and exactly; whence it is that they call it the Sabbatic River that name being taken from the sacred seventh day among the Jews.

2 But when the people of Antioch were informed that Titus was approaching, they were so glad at it, that they could not keep within their walls, but hasted away to give him the meeting; nay, they proceeded as far as thirty furlongs, and more, with that intention. These were not the men only, but a multitude of women also with their children did the same; and when they saw him coming up to them, they stood on both sides of the way, and stretched out their right hands, saluting him, and making all sorts of acclamations to him, and turned back together with him. They also, among all the acclamations they made to him, besought him all the way they went to eject the Jews out of their city; yet did not Titus at all yield to this their petition, but gave them the bare hearing of it quietly. However, the Jews were in a great deal of terrible fear, under the uncertainty they were in what his opinion was, and what he would do to them. For Titus did not stay at Antioch, but continued his progress immediately to Zeugma, which lies upon the Euphrates, whither came to him messengers from Vologeses king of Parthia, and brought him a crown of gold upon the victory he had gained over the Jews; which he accepted of, and feasted the king's messengers, and then came back to Antioch. And when the senate and people of Antioch earnestly entreated him to come upon their theater, where their whole multitude was assembled, and expected him, he complied with great humanity; but when they pressed him with much earnestness, and continually begged of him that he would eject the Jews out of their city, he gave them this very pertinent answer: "How can this be done, since that country of theirs, whither the Jews must be obliged then to retire, is destroyed, and no place will receive them besides?" Whereupon the people of Antioch, when they had failed of success in this their first request, made him a second; for they desired that he would order those tables of brass to be removed on which the Jews' privileges were engraven. However, Titus would not grant that neither, but permitted the Jews of Antioch to continue to enjoy the very same privileges in that city which they had before, and then departed for Egypt; and as he came to Jerusalem in his progress, and compared the melancholy condition he saw it then in, with the ancient glory of the city, and called to mind the greatness of its present ruins, as well as its ancient splendour, he could not but pity the destruction of the city, so far was he from boasting that so great and goodly a city as that was had been by him taken by force; nay, he frequently cursed those that had been the authors of their revolt, and had brought such a punishment upon the city; insomuch that it openly appeared that he did not desire that such a calamity as this punishment of theirs amounted to should be a

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demonstration of his courage. Yet was there no small quantity of the riches that had been in that city still found among its ruins, a great deal of which the Romans dug up; but the greatest part was discovered by those who were captives, and so they carried it away; I mean the gold and the silver, and the rest of that most precious furniture which the Jews had, and which the owners had treasured up under ground, against the uncertain fortunes of war.

3 So Titus took the journey he intended into Egypt, and passed over the desert very suddenly, and came to Alexandria, and took up a resolution to go to Rome by sea. And as he was accompanied by two legions, he sent each of them again to the places whence they had before come; the fifth he sent to Mysia, and the fifteenth to Pannonia: as for the leaders of the captives, Simon and John, with the other seven hundred men, whom he had selected out of the rest as being eminently tall and handsome of body, he gave order that they should be soon carried to Italy, as resolving to produce them in his triumph. So when he had had a prosperous voyage to his mind, the city of Rome behaved itself in his reception, and their meeting him at a distance, as it did in the case of his father. But what made the most splendid appearance in Titus's opinion was, when his father met him, and received him; but still the multitude of the citizens conceived the greatest joy when they saw them all three together, as they did at this time; nor were many days overpast when they determined to have but one triumph, that should be common to both of them, on account of the glorious exploits they had performed, although the senate had decreed each of them a separate triumph by himself. So when notice had been given beforehand of the day appointed for this pompous solemnity to be made, on account of their victories, not one of the immense multitude was left in the city, but every body went out so far as to gain only a station where they might stand, and left only such a passage as was necessary for those that were to be seen to go along it.

4 Now all the soldiery marched out beforehand by companies, and in their several ranks, under their several commanders, in the night time, and were about the gates, not of the upper palaces, but those near the temple of Isis; for there it was that the emperors had rested the foregoing night. And as soon as ever it was day, Vespasian and Titus came out crowned with laurel, and clothed in those ancient purple habits which were proper to their family, and then went as far as Octavian's Walks; for there it was that the senate, and the principal rulers, and those that had been recorded as of the equestrian order, waited for them. Now a tribunal had been erected before the cloisters, and ivory chairs had been set upon it, when they came and sat down upon them. Whereupon the soldiery made an acclamation of joy to them immediately, and all gave them attestations of their valour; while they were themselves without their arms, and only in their silken garments, and crowned with laurel: then Vespasian accepted of these shouts of theirs; but while they were still disposed to go on in such acclamations, he gave them a signal of silence. And when every body entirely held their peace, he stood up, and covering the greatest part of his head with his cloak, he put up the accustomed solemn prayers; the like prayers did Titus put up also; after which prayers Vespasian made a short speech to all the people, and then sent away the soldiers to a dinner prepared for them by the emperors. Then did he retire to that gate which was called the Gate of the Pomp, because pompous shows do always go through that gate; there it was that they tasted some food, and when they had put on their triumphal garments, and had offered sacrifices to the gods that were placed at the gate, they sent the triumph forward, and marched through the theatres, that they might be the more easily seen by the multitudes.

5 Now it is impossible to describe the multitude of the shows as they deserve, and the magnificence of them all; such indeed as a man could not easily think of as performed, either by the labour of workmen, or the variety of riches, or the rarities of nature; for almost all such curiosities as the most happy men ever get by piece-meal were here one heaped on another, and those both admirable and costly in their nature; and all brought together on that day demonstrated the vastness of the dominions of the Romans; for there was here to be seen a mighty quantity of silver, and gold, and ivory, contrived into all sorts of things, and did not appear as carried along in pompous show only, but, as a man may say, running along like a river. Some parts were composed of the rarest purple hangings, and so carried along; and others accurately represented to the life what was embroidered by the arts of the Babylonians. There were also precious stones that were transparent, some set in crowns of gold, and some in other places, as the workmen pleased; and of these such a vast number were brought, that we could not but thence learn how vainly we imagined any of them to be rarities. The images of the gods were also carried, being as well wonderful for their largeness, as made very artificially, and with great skill of the workmen; nor were any of these images of any other than very costly materials; and many species of animals were brought, every one in their own natural ornaments. The men also who brought every one of these shows were great multitudes, and adorned with purple garments, all over interwoven with gold; those that were chosen for carrying these pompous shows having also about them such magnificent ornaments as were both extraordinary and surprising. Besides these, one might see that even the great number of the captives was not unadorned, while the variety that was in their garments, and their fine texture, concealed from the sight the deformity of their bodies. But what afforded the greatest surprise of all was the structure of the pageants that were borne along; for indeed he that met them could not but be afraid that the bearers would not be able firmly enough to support them, such was their magnitude; for many of them were so made, that they were on three or even four stories, one above another. The magnificence also of their structure afforded one both pleasure and surprise; for upon many of them were laid carpets of gold. There was also wrought gold and ivory fastened about them all; and many resemblances of the war, and those in several ways, and variety of contrivances, affording a most lively portraiture of itself. For there was to be seen a happy country laid waste, and entire squadrons of enemies slain; while some of them ran away, and some were carried into captivity; with walls of great altitude and magnitude overthrown and ruined by machines; with the strongest fortifications taken, and the walls of most populous cities upon the tops of hills seized on, and an army pouring itself within the walls; as also every place full of slaughter, and supplications of the enemies, when they were no longer able to lift up their hands in way of opposition. Fire also sent upon temples was here represented, and houses overthrown, and falling upon their owners: rivers also, after they came out of a large and melancholy desert, ran down, not into a land cultivated, nor as drink for men, or for cattle, but through a land still on fire upon every side; for the Jews related that such a thing they had undergone during this war. Now the workmanship of these representations was so magnificent and lively in the construction of the things, that it exhibited what had been done to such as did not see it, as if they had been there really present. On the top of every one of these pageants was placed the commander of the city that was taken, and the manner wherein he was taken. Moreover, there followed those pageants a great number of ships; and for the other spoils, they were carried in great plenty. But for those that were taken in the temple of Jerusalem, they made the greatest figure of them all; that is, the golden table, of the weight of many talents; the candlestick also, that was made of gold, though its construction were now changed from that which we made use of; for its middle shaft was fixed upon a basis, and the small branches were produced out of it to a great length, having the likeness of a trident in their position, and had every one a socket made of brass for a lamp at the tops of them. These lamps were in number seven, and represented the dignity of the number seven among the Jews; and the last of all the spoils, was carried the Law of the Jews. After these spoils passed by a great many men, carrying the images of Victory, whose structure was entirely either of ivory or of gold. After which Vespasian marched in the first place, and Titus followed him; Domitian also rode along with them, and made a glorious appearance, and rode on a horse that was worthy of admiration.

6 Now the last part of this pompous show was at the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, whither when they were come, they stood still; for it was the Romans' ancient custom to stay till somebody brought the news that the general of the enemy was slain. This general was Simon, the son of Gioras, who had then been led in this triumph among the captives; a rope had also been put upon his head, and he had been drawn into a proper place in the forum, and had withal been tormented by those that drew him along; and the law of the Romans required that malefactors condemned to die should be slain there. Accordingly, when it was related that there was an end of him, and all the people had set up a shout for joy, they then began to offer those sacrifices which they had consecrated, in the prayers used in such solemnities; which when they had finished, they went away to the palace. And as for some of the spectators, the emperors entertained them at their own feast; and for all the rest there were noble preparations made for feasting at home; for this was a festival day to the city of Rome, as celebrated for the victory obtained by their army over their enemies, for the end that was now put to their civil miseries, and for the commencement of their hopes of future prosperity and happiness.

7 After these triumphs were over, and after the affairs of the Romans were settled on the surest foundations, Vespasian resolved to build a temple to Peace, which was finished in so short a time, and in so glorious a manner, as was beyond all human expectation and opinion: for he having now by Providence a vast quantity of wealth, besides what he had formerly gained in his other exploits, he had this temple adorned with pictures and statues; for in this temple were collected and deposited all such rarities as men aforetime used to wander all over the habitable world to see, when they had a desire to see one of them after another; he also laid up therein those golden vessels and instruments that were taken out of the Jewish temple, as ensigns of his glory. But still he gave order that they should lay up their Law, and the purple veils of the holy place, in the royal palace itself, and keep them there.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 6

Concerning Machaerus, And How Lucilius Bassus Took That Citadel, And Other Places.

1 Now Lucilius Bassus was sent as legate into Judea, and there he received the army from Cerealis Vitellianus, and took that citadel which was in Herodium, together with the garrison that was in it; after which he got together all the soldiery that was there, [which was a large body, but dispersed into several parties,] with the tenth legion, and resolved to make war upon Machaerus; for it was highly necessary that this citadel should be demolished, lest it might be a means of drawing away many into a rebellion, by reason of its strength; for the nature of the place was very capable of affording the surest hopes of safety to those that possessed it, as well as delay and fear to those that should attack it; for what was walled in was itself a very rocky hill, elevated to a very great height; which circumstance alone made it very hard to be subdued. It was also so contrived by nature, that it could not be easily ascended; for it is, as it were, ditched about with such valleys on all sides, and to such a depth, that the eye cannot reach their bottoms, and such as are not easily to be passed over, and even such as it is impossible to fill up with earth. For that valley which cuts it on the west extends to threescore furlongs, and did not end till it came to the lake Asphaltites; on the same side it was also that Machaerus had the tallest top of its hill elevated above the rest. But then for the valleys that lay on the north and south sides, although they be not so large as that already described, yet it is in like manner an impracticable thing to think of getting over them; and for the valley that lies on the east side, its depth is found to be no less than a hundred cubits. It extends as far as a mountain that lies over against Machaerus, with which it is bounded.

2 Now when Alexander [Janneus], the king of the Jews, observed the nature of this place, he was the first who built a citadel here, which afterwards was demolished by Gabinius, when he made war against Aristobulus. But when Herod came to be king, he thought the place to be worthy of the utmost regard, and of being built upon in the firmest manner, and this especially because it lay so near to Arabia; for it is seated in a convenient place on that account, and hath a prospect toward that country; he therefore surrounded a large space of ground with walls and towers, and built a city there, out of which city there was a way that led up to the very citadel itself on the top of the mountain; nay, more than this, he built a wall round that top of the hill, and erected towers at the corners, of a hundred and sixty cubits high; in the middle of which place he built a palace, after a magnificent manner, wherein were large and beautiful edifices. He also made a great many reservoirs for the reception of water, that there might be plenty of it ready for all uses, and those in the properest places that were afforded him there. Thus did he, as it were, contend with the nature of the place, that he might exceed its natural strength and security [which yet itself rendered it hard to be taken] by those fortifications which were made by the hands of men. Moreover, he put a large quantity of darts and other machines of war into it, and contrived to get every thing thither that might any way contribute to its inhabitants' security, under the longest siege possible.

3 Now within this place there grew a sort of rue that deserves our wonder on account of its largeness, for it was no way inferior to any fig tree whatsoever, either in height or in thickness; and the report is, that it had lasted ever since the times of Herod, and would probably have lasted much longer, had it not been cut down by those Jews who took possession of the place afterward. But still in that valley which encompasses the city on the north side there is a certain place called Baaras, which produces a root of the same name with itself its colour is like to that of flame, and towards the evenings it sends out a certain ray like lightning. It is not easily taken by such as would do it, but recedes from their hands, nor will yield itself to be taken quietly, until either the urine of a woman, or her menstrual blood, be poured upon it; nay, even then it is certain death to those that touch it, unless any one take and hang the root itself down from his hand, and so carry it away. It may also be taken another way, without danger, which is this: they dig a trench quite round about it, till the hidden part of the root be very small, they then tie a dog to it, and when the dog tries hard to follow him that tied him, this root is easily plucked up, but the dog dies immediately, as if it were instead of the man that would take the plant away; nor after this need any one be afraid of taking it into their hands. Yet, after all this pains in getting, it is only valuable on account of one virtue it hath, that if it be only brought to sick persons, it quickly drives away those called demons, which are no other than the spirits of the wicked, that enter into men that are alive and kill them, unless they can obtain some help against them. Here are also fountains of hot water, that flow out of this place, which have a very different taste one from the other; for some of them are bitter, and others of them are plainly

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sweet. Here are also many eruptions of cold waters, and this not only in the places that lie lower, and have their fountains near one another, but, what is still more wonderful, here is to be seen a certain cave hard by, whose cavity is not deep, but it is covered over by a rock that is prominent; above this rock there stand up two [hills or] breasts, as it were, but a little distant one from another, the one of which sends out a fountain that is very cold, and the other sends out one that is very hot; which waters, when they are mingled together, compose a most pleasant bath; they are medicinal indeed for other maladies, but especially good for strengthening the nerves. This place has in it also mines of sulfur and alum.

4 Now when Bassus had taken a full view of this place, he resolved to besiege it, by filling up the valley that lay on the east side; so he fell hard to work, and took great pains to raise his banks as soon as possible, and by that means to render the siege easy. As for the Jews that were caught in this place, they separated themselves from the strangers that were with them, and they forced those strangers, as an otherwise useless multitude, to stay in the lower part of the city, and undergo the principal dangers, while they themselves seized on the upper citadel, and held it, and this both on account of its strength, and to provide for their own safety. They also supposed they might obtain their pardon, in case they should [at last] surrender the citadel. However, they were willing to make trial, in the first place, whether the hopes they had of avoiding a siege would come to any thing; with which intention they made sallies every day, and fought with those that met them; in which conflicts they were many of them slain, as they therein slew many of the Romans. But still it was the opportunities that presented themselves which chiefly gained both sides their victories; these were gained by the Jews, when they fell upon the Romans as they were off their guard; but by the Romans, when, upon the others' sallies against their banks, they foresaw their coming, and were upon their guard when they received them. But the conclusion of this siege did not depend upon these bickerings; but a certain surprising accident, relating to what was done in this siege, forced the Jews to surrender the citadel. There was a certain young man among the besieged, of great boldness, and very active of his hand, his name was Eleazar; he greatly signalized himself in those sallies, and encouraged the Jews to go out in great numbers, in order to hinder the raising of the banks, and did the Romans a vast deal of mischief when they came to fighting; he so managed matters, that those who sallied out made their attacks easily, and returned back without danger, and this by still bringing up the rear himself. Now it happened that, on a certain time, when the fight was over, and both sides were parted, and retired home, he, in way of contempt of the enemy, and thinking that none of them would begin the fight again at that time, staid without the gates, and talked with those that were upon the wall, and his mind was wholly intent upon what they said. Now a certain person belonging to the Roman camp, whose name was Rufus, by birth an Egyptian, ran upon him suddenly, when nobody expected such a thing, and carried him off, with his armour itself; while, in the mean time, those that saw it from the wall were under such an amazement, that Rufus prevented their assistance, and carried Eleazar to the Roman camp. So the general of the Romans ordered that he should be taken up naked, set before the city to be seen, and sorely whipped before their eyes. Upon this sad accident that befell the young man, the Jews were terribly confounded, and the city, with one voice, sorely lamented him, and the mourning proved greater than could well be supposed upon the calamity of a single person. When Bassus perceived that, he began to think of using a stratagem against the enemy, and was desirous to aggravate their grief, in order to prevail with them to surrender the city for the preservation of that man. Nor did he fail of his hope; for he commanded them to set up a cross, as if he were just going to hang Eleazar upon it immediately; the sight of this occasioned a sore grief among those that were in the citadel, and they groaned vehemently, and cried out that they could not bear to see him thus destroyed. Whereupon Eleazar besought them not to disregard him, now he was going to suffer a most miserable death, and exhorted them to save themselves, by yielding to the Roman power and good fortune, since all other people were now conquered by them. These men were greatly moved with what he said, there being also many within the city that interceded for him, because he was of an eminent and very numerous family; so they now yielded to their passion of commiseration, contrary to their usual custom. Accordingly, they sent out immediately certain messengers, and treated with the Romans, in order to a surrender of the citadel to them, and desired that they might be permitted to go away, and take Eleazar along with them. Then did the Romans and their general accept of these terms; while the multitude of strangers that were in the lower part of the city, hearing of the agreement that was made by the Jews for themselves alone, were resolved to fly away privately in the night time; but as soon as they had opened their gates, those that had come to terms with Bassus told him of it; whether it were that they envied the others' deliverance, or whether it were done out of fear, lest an occasion should be taken against them upon their escape, is uncertain. The most courageous, therefore, of those men that went out prevented the enemy, and got away, and fled for it; but for those men that were caught within they were slain to the number of one thousand seven hundred, as were the women and children made slaves. But as Bassus thought he must perform the covenant he had made with those that surrendered the citadel, he let them go, and restored Eleazar to them.

5 When Bassus had settled these affairs, he marched hastily to the forest of Jarden, as it is called; for he had heard that a great many of those that had fled from Jerusalem and Machaerus formerly were there gotten together. When he was therefore come to the place, and understood that the former news was no mistake, he, in the first place, surrounded the whole place with his horsemen, that such of the Jews as had boldness enough to try to break through might have no way possible for escaping, by reason of the situation of these horsemen; and for the footmen, he ordered them to cut down the trees that were in the wood whither they were fled. So the Jews were under a necessity of performing some glorious exploit, and of greatly exposing themselves in a battle, since they might perhaps thereby escape. So they made a general attack, and with a great shout fell upon those that surrounded them, who received them with great courage; and so while the one side fought desperately, and the others would not yield, the fight was prolonged on that account. But the event of the battle did not answer the expectation of the assailants; for so it happened, that no more than twelve fell on the Roman side, with a few that were wounded; but not one of the Jews escaped out of this battle, but they were all killed, being in the whole not fewer in number than three thousand, together with Judas, the son of Jairus, their general, concerning whom we have before spoken, that he had been a captain of a certain band at the siege of Jerusalem, and by going down into a certain vault under ground, had privately made his escape.

6 About the same time it was that Caesar sent a letter to Bassus, and to Liberius Maximus, who was the procurator [of Judea], and gave order that all Judea should be exposed to sale for he did not found any city there, but reserved the country for himself. However, he assigned a place for eight hundred men only, whom he had dismissed from his army, which he gave them for their habitation; it is called Emmaus, and is distant from Jerusalem threescore furlongs. He also laid a tribute upon the Jews wheresoever they were, and enjoined every one of them to bring two drachmae every year into the Capitol, as they used to pay the same to the temple at Jerusalem. And this was the state of the Jewish affairs at this time.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 7

Concerning The Calamity That Befell Antiochus, King Of Commagene. As Also Concerning The Alans And What Great Mischiefs They Did To The Medes And Armenians.

1 And now, in the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian, it came to pass that Antiochus, the king of Commagene, with all his family, fell into very great calamities. The occasion was this: Cesennius Petus, who was president of Syria at this time, whether it were done out of regard to truth, or whether out of hatred to Antiochus, [for which was the real motive was never thoroughly discovered,] sent an epistle to Caesar, and therein told him that Antiochus, with his son Epiphanes, had resolved to rebel against the Romans, and had made a league with the king of Parthia to that purpose; that it was therefore fit to prevent them, lest they prevent us, and begin such a war as may cause a general disturbance in the Roman empire. Now Caesar was disposed to take some care about the matter, since this discovery was made; for the neighbourhood of the kingdoms made this affair worthy of greater regard; for Samoseta, the capital of Commagene, lies upon Euphrates, and upon any such design could afford an easy passage over it to the Parthians, and could also afford them a secure reception. Petus was accordingly believed, and had authority given him of doing what he should think proper in the case; so he set about it without delay, and fell upon Commagene before Antiochus and his people had the least expectation of his coming: he had with him the tenth legion, as also some cohorts and troops of horsemen. These kings also came to his assistance: Aristobulus, king of the country called Chalcidene, and Sohemus, who was called king of Emesa. Nor was there any opposition made to his forces when they entered the kingdom; for no one of that country would so much as lift up his hand against them. When Antiochus heard this unexpected news, he could not think in the least of making war with the Romans, but determined to leave his whole kingdom in the state wherein it now was, and to retire privately, with his wife and children, as thinking thereby to demonstrate himself to the Romans to be innocent as to the accusation laid against him. So he went away from that city as far as a hundred and twenty furlongs, into a plain, and there pitched his tents.

2 Petus then sent some of his men to seize upon Samosate, and by their means took possession of that city, while he went himself to attack Antiochus with the rest of his army. However, the king was not prevailed upon by the distress he was in to do any thing in the way of war against the Romans, but bemoaned his own hard fate, and endured with patience what he was not able to prevent. But his sons, who were young, and unexperienced in war, but of strong bodies, were not easily induced to bear this calamity without fighting. Epiphanes, therefore, and Callinicus, betook themselves to military force; and as the battle was a sore one, and lasted all the day long, they showed their own valour in a remarkable manner, and nothing but the approach of night put a period thereto, and that without any diminution of their forces; yet would not Antiochus, upon this conclusion of the fight, continue there by any means, but took his wife and his daughters, and fled away with them to Cilicia, and by so doing quite discouraged the minds of his own soldiers. Accordingly, they revolted, and went over to the Romans, out of the despair they were in of his keeping the kingdom; and his case was looked upon by all as quite desperate. It was therefore necessary that Epiphanes and his soldiers should get clear of their enemies before they became entirely destitute of any confederates; nor were there any more than ten horsemen with him, who passed with him over Euphrates, whence they went undisturbed to Vologeses, the king of Parthia, where they were not disregarded as fugitives, but had the same respect paid them as if they had retained their ancient prosperity.

3 Now when Antiochus was come to Tarsus in Cilicia, Petus ordered a centurion to go to him, and send him in bonds to Rome. However, Vespasian could not endure to have a king brought to him in that manner, but thought it fit rather to have a regard to the ancient friendship that had been between them, than to preserve an inexorable anger upon pretense of this war. Accordingly, he gave orders that they should take off his bonds, while he was still upon the road, and that he should not come to Rome, but should now go and live at Lacedemon; he also gave him large revenues, that he might not only live in plenty, but like a king also. When Epiphanes, who before was in great fear for his father, was informed of this, their minds were freed from that great and almost incurable concern they had been under. He also hoped that Caesar would be reconciled to them, upon the intercession of Vologeses; for although he lived in plenty, he knew not how to bear living out of the Roman empire. So Caesar gave him leave, after an obliging manner, and he came to Rome; and as his father came quickly to him from Lacedemon, he had all sorts of respect paid him there, and there he remained.

4 Now there was a nation of the Alans, which we have formerly mentioned some where as being Scythians and inhabiting at the lake Meotis. This nation about this time laid a design of falling upon Media, and the parts beyond it, in order to plunder them; with which intention they treated with the king of Hyrcania; for he was master of that passage which king Alexander [the Great] shut up with iron gates. This king gave them leave to come through them; so they came in great multitudes, and fell upon the Medes unexpectedly, and plundered their country, which they found full of people, and replenished with abundance of cattle, while nobody durst make any resistance against them; for Paeorus, the king of the country, had fled away for fear into places where they could not easily come at him, and had yielded up every thing he had to them, and had only saved his wife and his concubines from them, and that with difficulty also, after they had been made captives, by giving them a hundred talents for their ransom. These Alans therefore plundered the country without opposition, and with great ease, and proceeded as far as Armenia, laying all waste before them. Now Tiridates was king of that country, who met them, and fought them, but had like to have been taken alive in the battle; for a certain man threw a net over him from a great distance, and had soon drawn him to him, unless he had immediately cut the cord with his sword, and ran away, and prevented it. So the Alans, being still more provoked by this sight, laid waste the country, and drove a great multitude of the men, and a great quantity of the other prey they had gotten out of both kingdoms, along with them, and then retreated back to their own country.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 8

Concerning Masada And Those Sicarii Who Kept It; And How Silva Betook Himself To Form The Siege Of That Citadel. Eleazar's Speeches To The Besieged.

1 When Bassus was dead in Judea, Flavius Silva succeeded him as procurator there; who, when he saw that all the rest of the country was subdued in this war, and that there was but one only strong hold that was still in rebellion, he got all his army together that lay in different places, and made an expedition against it. This fortress was called Masada. It was one Eleazar, a potent man, and the commander of these Sicarii, that had seized upon it. He was a descendant from that Judas who had persuaded abundance of the Jews, as we have formerly related, not to submit to the taxation when Cyrenius was sent into Judea to make one; for then it was that the Sicarii got together against those that were willing to submit to the Romans, and treated them in all respects as if they had been their enemies, both by plundering them of what they had, by driving away their cattle, and by setting fire to their houses; for they said that they differed not at all from

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foreigners, by betraying, in so cowardly a manner, that freedom which Jews thought worthy to be contended for to the utmost, and by owning that they preferred slavery under the Romans before such a contention. Now this was in reality no better than a pretense and a cloak for the barbarity which was made use of by them, and to colour over their own avarice, which they afterwards made evident by their own actions; for those that were partners with them in their rebellion joined also with them in the war against the Romans, and went further lengths with them in their impudent undertakings against them; and when they were again convicted of dissembling in such their pretenses, they still more abused those that justly reproached them for their wickedness. And indeed that was a time most fertile in all manner of wicked practices, insomuch that no kind of evil deeds were then left undone; nor could any one so much as devise any bad thing that was new, so deeply were they all infected, and strove with one another in their single capacity, and in their communities, who should run the greatest lengths in impiety towards God, and in unjust actions towards their neighbours; the men of power oppressing the multitude, and the multitude earnestly labouring to destroy the men of power. The one part were desirous of tyrannizing over others, and the rest of offering violence to others, and of plundering such as were richer than themselves. They were the Sicarii who first began these transgressions, and first became barbarous towards those allied to them, and left no words of reproach unsaid, and no works of perdition untried, in order to destroy those whom their contrivances affected. Yet did John demonstrate by his actions that these Sicarii were more moderate than he was himself, for he not only slew all such as gave him good counsel to do what was right, but treated them worst of all, as the most bitter enemies that he had among all the Citizens; nay, he filled his entire country with ten thousand instances of wickedness, such as a man who was already hardened sufficiently in his impiety towards God would naturally do; for the food was unlawful that was set upon his table, and he rejected those purifications that the law of his country had ordained; so that it was no longer a wonder if he, who was so mad in his impiety towards God, did not observe any rules of gentleness and common affection towards men. Again, therefore, what mischief was there which Simon the son of Gioras did not do? or what kind of abuses did he abstain from as to those very free-men who had set him up for a tyrant? What friendship or kindred were there that did not make him more bold in his daily murders? for they looked upon the doing of mischief to strangers only as a work beneath their courage, but thought their barbarity towards their nearest relations would be a glorious demonstration thereof. The Idumeans also strove with these men who should be guilty of the greatest madness! for they [all], vile wretches as they were, cut the throats of the high priests, that so no part of a religious regard to God might be preserved; they thence proceeded to destroy utterly the least remains of a political government, and introduced the most complete scene of iniquity in all instances that were practicable; under which scene that sort of people that were called zealots grew up, and who indeed corresponded to the name; for they imitated every wicked work; nor, if their memory suggested any evil thing that had formerly been done, did they avoid zealously to pursue the same; and although they gave themselves that name from their zeal for what was good, yet did it agree to them only by way of irony, on account of those they had unjustly treated by their wild and brutish disposition, or as thinking the greatest mischiefs to be the greatest good. Accordingly, they all met with such ends as God deservedly brought upon them in way of punishment; for all such miseries have been sent upon them as man's nature is capable of undergoing, till the utmost period of their lives, and till death came upon them in various ways of torment; yet might one say justly that they suffered less than they had done, because it was impossible they could be punished according to their deserving. But to make a lamentation according to the deserts of those who fell under these men's barbarity, this is not a proper place for it;—I therefore now return again to the remaining part of the present narration.

2 For now it was that the Roman general came, and led his army against Eleazar and those Sicarii who held the fortress Masada together with him; and for the whole country adjoining, he presently gained it, and put garrisons into the most proper places of it; he also built a wall quite round the entire fortress, that none of the besieged might easily escape; he also set his men to guard the several parts of it; he also pitched his camp in such an agreeable place as he had chosen for the siege, and at which place the rock belonging to the fortress did make the nearest approach to the neighbouring mountain, which yet was a place of difficulty for getting plenty of provisions; for it was not only food that was to be brought from a great distance [to the army], and this with a great deal of pain to those Jews who were appointed for that purpose, but water was also to be brought to the camp, because the place afforded no fountain that was near it. When therefore Silva had ordered these affairs beforehand, he fell to besieging the place; which siege was likely to stand in need of a great deal of skill and pains, by reason of the strength of the fortress, the nature of which I will now describe.

3 There was a rock, not small in circumference, and very high. It was encompassed with valleys of such vast depth downward, that the eye could not reach their bottoms; they were abrupt, and such as no animal could walk upon, excepting at two places of the rock, where it subsides, in order to afford a passage for ascent, though not without difficulty. Now, of the ways that lead to it, one is that from the lake Asphaltites, towards the sun-rising, and another on the west, where the ascent is easier: the one of these ways is called the Serpent, as resembling that animal in its narrowness and its perpetual windings; for it is broken off at the prominent precipices of the rock, and returns frequently into itself, and lengthening again by little and little, hath much ado to proceed forward; and he that would walk along it must first go on one leg, and then on the other; there is also nothing but destruction, in case your feet slip; for on each side there is a vastly deep chasm and precipice, sufficient to quell the courage of every body by the terror it infuses into the mind. When, therefore, a man hath gone along this way for thirty furlongs, the rest is the top of the hill—not ending at a small point, but is no other than a plain upon the highest part of the mountain. Upon this top of the hill, Jonathan the high priest first of all built a fortress, and called it Masada: after which the rebuilding of this place employed the care of king Herod to a great degree; he also built a wall round about the entire top of the hill, seven furlongs long; it was composed of white stone; its height was twelve, and its breadth eight cubits; there were also erected upon that wall thirty-eight towers, each of them fifty cubits high; out of which you might pass into lesser edifices, which were built on the inside, round the entire wall; for the king reserved the top of the hill, which was of a fat soil, and better mould than any valley for agriculture, that such as committed themselves to this fortress for their preservation might not even there be quite destitute of food, in case they should ever be in want of it from abroad. Moreover, he built a palace therein at the western ascent; it was within and beneath the walls of the citadel, but inclined to its north side. Now the wall of this palace was very high and strong, and had at its four corners towers sixty cubits high. The furniture also of the edifices, and of the cloisters, and of the baths, was of great variety, and very costly; and these buildings were supported by pillars of single stones on every side; the walls and also the floors of the edifices were paved with stones of several colours. He also had cut many and great pits, as reservoirs for water, out of the rocks, at every one of the places that were inhabited, both above and round about the palace, and before the wall; and by this contrivance he endeavored to have water for several uses, as if there had been fountains there. Here was also a road digged from the palace, and leading to the very top of the mountain, which yet could not be seen by such as were without [the walls]; nor indeed could enemies easily make use of the plain roads; for the road on the east side, as we have already taken notice, could not be walked upon, by reason of its nature; and for the western road, he built a large tower at its narrowest place, at no less a distance from the top of the hill than a thousand cubits; which tower could not possibly be passed by, nor could it be easily taken; nor indeed could those that walked along it without any fear [such was its contrivance] easily get to the end of it; and after such a manner was this citadel fortified, both by nature and by the hands of men, in order to frustrate the attacks of enemies.

4 As for the furniture that was within this fortress, it was still more wonderful on account of its splendour and long continuance; for here was laid up corn in large quantities, and such as would subsist men for a long time; here was also wine and oil in abundance, with all kinds of pulse and dates heaped up together; all which Eleazar found there, when he and his Sicarii got possession of the fortress by treachery. These fruits were also fresh and full ripe, and no way inferior to such fruits newly laid in, although they were little short of a hundred years from the laying in these provisions [by Herod], till the place was taken by the Romans; nay, indeed, when the Romans got possession of those fruits that were left, they found them not corrupted all that while; nor should we be mistaken, if we supposed that the air was here the cause of their enduring so long; this fortress being so high, and so free from the mixture of all terrain and muddy particles of matter. There was also found here a large quantity of all sorts of weapons of war, which had been treasured up by that king, and were sufficient for ten thousand men; there was cast iron, and brass, and tin, which show that he had taken much pains to have all things here ready for the greatest occasions; for the report goes how Herod thus prepared this fortress on his own account, as a refuge against two kinds of danger; the one for fear of the multitude of the Jews, lest they should depose him, and restore their former kings to the government; the other danger was greater and more terrible, which arose from Cleopatra queen of Egypt, who did not conceal her intentions, but spoke often to Antony, and desired him to cut off Herod, and entreated him to bestow the kingdom of Judea upon her. And certainly it is a great wonder that Antony did never comply with her commands in this point, as he was so miserably enslaved to his passion for her; nor should any one have been surprised if she had been gratified in such her request. So the fear of these dangers made Herod rebuild Masada, and thereby leave it for the finishing stroke of the Romans in this Jewish war.

5 Since therefore the Roman commander Silva had now built a wall on the outside, round about this whole place, as we have said already, and had thereby made a most accurate provision to prevent any one of the besieged running away, he undertook the siege itself, though he found but one single place that would admit of the banks he was to raise; for behind that tower which secured the road that led to the palace, and to the top of the hill from the west; there was a certain eminency of the rock, very broad and very prominent, but three hundred cubits beneath the highest part of Masada; it was called the White Promontory. Accordingly, he got upon that part of the rock, and ordered the army to bring earth; and when they fell to that work with alacrity, and abundance of them together, the bank was raised, and became solid for two hundred cubits in height. Yet was not this bank thought sufficiently high for the use of the engines that were to be set upon it; but still another elevated work of great stones compacted together was raised upon that bank; this was fifty cubits, both in breadth and height. The other machines that were now got ready were like to those that had been first devised by Vespasian, and afterwards by Titus, for sieges. There was also a tower made of the height of sixty cubits, and all over plated with iron, out of which the Romans threw darts and stones from the engines, and soon made those that fought from the walls of the place to retire, and would not let them lift up their heads above the works. At the same time Silva ordered that great battering ram which he had made to be brought thither, and to be set against the wall, and to make frequent batteries against it, which with some difficulty broke down a part of the wall, and quite overthrew it. However, the Sicarii made haste, and presently built another wall within that, which should not be liable to the same misfortune from the machines with the other; it was made soft and yielding, and so was capable of avoiding the terrible blows that affected the other. It was framed after the following manner: They laid together great beams of wood lengthways, one close to the end of another, and the same way in which they were cut: there were two of these rows parallel to one another, and laid at such a distance from each other as the breadth of the wall required, and earth was put into the space between those rows. Now, that the earth might not fall away upon the elevation of this bank to a greater height, they further laid other beams over cross them, and thereby bound those beams together that lay lengthways. This work of theirs was like a real edifice; and when the machines were applied, the blows were weakened by its yielding; and as the materials by such concussion were shaken closer together, the pile by that means became firmer than before. When Silva saw this, he thought it best to endeavor the taking of this wall by setting fire to it; so he gave order that the soldiers should throw a great number of burning torches upon it: accordingly, as it was chiefly made of wood, it soon took fire; and when it was once set on fire, its hollowness made that fire spread to a mighty flame. Now, at the very beginning of this fire, a north wind that then blew proved terrible to the Romans; for by bringing the flame downward, it drove it upon them, and they were almost in despair of success, as fearing their machines would be burnt: but after this, on a sudden the wind changed into the south, as if it were done by Divine Providence, and blew strongly the contrary way, and carried the flame, and drove it against the wall, which was now on fire through its entire thickness. So the Romans, having now assistance from God, returned to their camp with joy, and resolved to attack their enemies the very next day; on which occasion they set their watch more carefully that night, lest any of the Jews should run away from them without being discovered.

6 However, neither did Eleazar once think of flying away, nor would he permit any one else to do so; but when he saw their wall burned down by the fire, and could devise no other way of escaping, or room for their further courage, and setting before their eyes what the Romans would do to them, their children, and their wives, if they got them into their power, he consulted about having them all slain. Now as he judged this to be the best thing they could do in their present circumstances, he gathered the most courageous of his companions together, and encouraged them to take that course by a speech 15 which he made to them in the manner following: "Since we, long ago, my generous friends, resolved never to be servants to the Romans, nor to any other than to God himself, who alone is the true and just Lord of mankind, the time is now come that obliges us to make that resolution true in practice. And let us not at this time bring a reproach upon ourselves for self-contradiction, while we formerly would not undergo slavery, though it were then without danger, but must now, together with slavery, choose such punishments also as are intolerable; I mean this, upon the supposition that the Romans once reduce us under their power while we are alive. We were the very first that revolted

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from them, and we are the last that fight against them; and I cannot but esteem it as a favour that God hath granted us, that it is still in our power to die bravely, and in a state of freedom, which hath not been the case of others, who were conquered unexpectedly. It is very plain that we shall be taken within a day's time; but it is still an eligible thing to die after a glorious manner, together with our dearest friends. This is what our enemies themselves cannot by any means hinder, although they be very desirous to take us alive. Nor can we propose to ourselves any more to fight them, and beat them. It had been proper indeed for us to have conjectured at the purpose of God much sooner, and at the very first, when we were so desirous of defending our liberty, and when we received such sore treatment from one another, and worse treatment from our enemies, and to have been sensible that the same God, who had of old taken the Jewish nation into his favour, had now condemned them to destruction; for had he either continued favourable, or been but in a lesser degree displeased with us, he had not overlooked the destruction of so many men, or delivered his most holy city to be burnt and demolished by our enemies. To be sure we weakly hoped to have preserved ourselves, and ourselves alone, still in a state of freedom, as if we had been guilty of no sins ourselves against God, nor been partners with those of others; we also taught other men to preserve their liberty. Wherefore, consider how God hath convinced us that our hopes were in vain, by bringing such distress upon us in the desperate state we are now in, and which is beyond all our expectations; for the nature of this fortress which was in itself unconquerable, hath not proved a means of our deliverance; and even while we have still great abundance of food, and a great quantity of arms, and other necessaries more than we want, we are openly deprived by God himself of all hope of deliverance; for that fire which was driven upon our enemies did not of its own accord turn back upon the wall which we had built; this was the effect of God's anger against us for our manifold sins, which we have been guilty of in a most insolent and extravagant manner with regard to our own countrymen; the punishments of which let us not receive from the Romans, but from God himself, as executed by our own hands; for these will be more moderate than the other. Let our wives die before they are abused, and our children before they have tasted of slavery; and after we have slain them, let us bestow that glorious benefit upon one another mutually, and preserve ourselves in freedom, as an excellent funeral monument for us. But first let us destroy our money and the fortress by fire; for I am well assured that this will be a great grief to the Romans, that they shall not be able to seize upon our bodies, and shall fail of our wealth also; and let us spare nothing but our provisions; for they will be a testimonial when we are dead that we were not subdued for want of necessaries, but that, according to our original resolution, we have preferred death before slavery."

7 This was Eleazar's speech to them. Yet did not the opinions of all the auditors acquiesce therein; but although some of them were very zealous to put his advice in practice, and were in a manner filled with pleasure at it, and thought death to be a good thing, yet had those that were most effeminate a commiseration for their wives and families; and when these men were especially moved by the prospect of their own certain death, they looked wistfully at one another, and by the tears that were in their eyes declared their dissent from his opinion. When Eleazar saw these people in such fear, and that their souls were dejected at so prodigious a proposal, he was afraid lest perhaps these effeminate persons should, by their lamentations and tears, enfeeble those that heard what he had said courageously; so he did not leave off exhorting them, but stirred up himself, and recollecting proper arguments for raising their courage, he undertook to speak more briskly and fully to them, and that concerning the immortality of the soul. So he made a lamentable groan, and fixing his eyes intently on those that wept, he spake thus: "Truly, I was greatly mistaken when I thought to be assisting to brave men who struggled hard for their liberty, and to such as were resolved either to live with honour, or else to die; but I find that you are such people as are no better than others, either in virtue or in courage, and are afraid of dying, though you be delivered thereby from the greatest miseries, while you ought to make no delay in this matter, nor to await any one to give you good advice; for the laws of our country, and of God himself, have from ancient times, and as soon as ever we could use our reason, continually taught us, and our forefathers have corroborated the same doctrine by their actions, and by their bravery of mind, that it is life that is a calamity to men, and not death; for this last affords our souls their liberty, and sends them by a removal into their own place of purity, where they are to be insensible of all sorts of misery; for while souls are tied down to a mortal body, they are partakers of its miseries; and really, to speak the truth, they are themselves dead; for the union of what is divine to what is mortal is disagreeable. It is true, the power of the soul is great, even when it is imprisoned in a mortal body; for by moving it after a way that is invisible, it makes the body a sensible instrument, and causes it to advance further in its actions than mortal nature could otherwise do. However, when it is freed from that weight which draws it down to the earth and is connected with it, it obtains its own proper place, and does then become a partaker of that blessed power, and those abilities, which are then every way incapable of being hindered in their operations. It continues invisible, indeed, to the eyes of men, as does God himself; for certainly it is not itself seen while it is in the body; for it is there after an invisible manner, and when it is freed from it, it is still not seen. It is this soul which hath one nature, and that an incorruptible one also; but yet it is the cause of the change that is made in the body; for whatsoever it be which the soul touches, that lives and flourishes; and from whatsoever it is removed, that withers away and dies; such a degree is there in it of immortality. Let me produce the state of sleep as a most evident demonstration of the truth of what I say; wherein souls, when the body does not distract them, have the sweetest rest depending on themselves, and conversing with God, by their alliance to him; they then go every where, and foretell many futurities beforehand. And why are we afraid of death, while we are pleased with the rest that we have in sleep? And how absurd a thing is it to pursue after liberty while we are alive, and yet to envy it to ourselves where it will be eternal! We, therefore, who have been brought up in a discipline of our own, ought to become an example to others of our readiness to die. Yet, if we do stand in need of foreigners to support us in this matter, let us regard those Indians who profess the exercise of philosophy; for these good men do but unwillingly undergo the time of life, and look upon it as a necessary servitude, and make haste to let their souls loose from their bodies; nay, when no misfortune presses them to it, nor drives them upon it, these have such a desire of a life of immortality, that they tell other men beforehand that they are about to depart; and nobody hinders them, but every one thinks them happy men, and gives them letters to be carried to their familiar friends [that are dead], so firmly and certainly do they believe that souls converse with one another [in the other world]. So when these men have heard all such commands that were to be given them, they deliver their body to the fire; and, in order to their getting their soul a separation from the body in the greatest purity, they die in the midst of hymns of commendations made to them; for their dearest friends conduct them to their death more readily than do any of the rest of mankind conduct their fellow-citizens when they are going a very long journey, who at the same time weep on their own account, but look upon the others as happy persons, as so soon to be made partakers of the immortal order of beings. Are not we, therefore, ashamed to have lower notions than the Indians? and by our own cowardice to lay a base reproach upon the laws of our country, which are so much desired and imitated by all mankind? But put the case that we had been brought up under another persuasion, and taught that life is the greatest good which men are capable of, and that death is a calamity; however, the circumstances we are now in ought to be an inducement to us to bear such calamity courageously, since it is by the will of God, and by necessity, that we are to die; for it now appears that God hath made such a decree against the whole Jewish nation, that we are to be deprived of this life which [he knew] we would not make a due use of. For do not you ascribe the occasion of our present condition to yourselves, nor think the Romans are the true occasion that this war we have had with them is become so destructive to us all: these things have not come to pass by their power, but a more powerful cause hath intervened, and made us afford them an occasion of their appearing to be conquerors over us. What Roman weapons, I pray you, were those by which the Jews at Cesarea were slain? On the contrary, when they were no way disposed to rebel, but were all the while keeping their seventh day festival, and did not so much as lift up their hands against the citizens of Cesarea, yet did those citizens run upon them in great crowds, and cut their throats, and the throats of their wives and children, and this without any regard to the Romans themselves, who never took us for their enemies till we revolted from them. But some may be ready to say, that truly the people of Cesarea had always a quarrel against those that lived among them, and that when an opportunity offered itself, they only satisfied the old rancor they had against them. What then shall we say to those of Scythopolis, who ventured to wage war with us on account of the Greeks? Nor did they do it by way of revenge upon the Romans, when they acted in concert with our countrymen. Wherefore you see how little our good-will and fidelity to them profited us, while they were slain, they and their whole families, after the most inhuman manner, which was all the requital that was made them for the assistance they had afforded the others; for that very same destruction which they had prevented from falling upon the others did they suffer themselves from them, as if they had been ready to be the actors against them. It would be too long for me to speak at this time of every destruction brought upon us; for you cannot but know that there was not any one Syrian city which did not slay their Jewish inhabitants, and were not more bitter enemies to us than were the Romans themselves; nay, even those of Damascus, when they were able to allege no tolerable pretense against us, filled their city with the most barbarous slaughters of our people, and cut the throats of eighteen thousand Jews, with their wives and children. And as to the multitude of those that were slain in Egypt, and that with torments also, we have been informed they were more than sixty thousand; those indeed being in a foreign country, and so naturally meeting with nothing to oppose against their enemies, were killed in the manner forementioned. As for all those of us who have waged war against the Romans in our own country, had we not sufficient reason to have sure hopes of victory? For we had arms, and walls, and fortresses so prepared as not to be easily taken, and courage not to be moved by any dangers in the cause of liberty, which encouraged us all to revolt from the Romans. But then these advantages sufficed us but for a short time, and only raised our hopes, while they really appeared to be the origin of our miseries; for all we had hath been taken from us, and all hath fallen under our enemies, as if these advantages were only to render their victory over us the more glorious, and were not disposed for the preservation of those by whom these preparations were made. And as for those that are already dead in the war, it is reasonable we should esteem them blessed, for they are dead in defending, and not in betraying their liberty; but as to the multitude of those that are now under the Romans, who would not pity their condition? and who would not make haste to die, before he would suffer the same miseries with them? Some of them have been put upon the rack, and tortured with fire and whippings, and so died. Some have been half devoured by wild beasts, and yet have been reserved alive to be devoured by them a second time, in order to afford laughter and sport to our enemies; and such of those as are alive still are to be looked on as the most miserable, who, being so desirous of death, could not come at it. And where is now that great city, the metropolis of the Jewish nation, which was fortified by so many walls round about, which had so many fortresses and large towers to defend it, which could hardly contain the instruments prepared for the war, and which had so many ten thousands of men to fight for it? Where is this city that was believed to have God himself inhabiting therein? It is now demolished to the very foundations, and hath nothing but that monument of it preserved, I mean the camp of those that hath destroyed it, which still dwells upon its ruins; some unfortunate old men also lie upon the ashes of the temple, and a few women are there preserved alive by the enemy, for our bitter shame and reproach. Now who is there that revolves these things in his mind, and yet is able to bear the sight of the sun, though he might live out of danger? Who is there so much his country's enemy, or so unmanly, and so desirous of living, as not to repent that he is still alive? And I cannot but wish that we had all died before we had seen that holy city demolished by the hands of our enemies, or the foundations of our holy temple dug up after so profane a manner. But since we had a generous hope that deluded us, as if we might perhaps have been able to avenge ourselves on our enemies on that account, though it be now become vanity, and hath left us alone in this distress, let us make haste to die bravely. Let us pity ourselves, our children, and our wives while it is in our own power to show pity to them; for we were born to die, as well as those were whom we have begotten; nor is it in the power of the most happy of our race to avoid it. But for abuses, and slavery, and the sight of our wives led away after an ignominious manner, with their children, these are not such evils as are natural and necessary among men; although such as do not prefer death before those miseries, when it is in their power so to do, must undergo even them, on account of their own cowardice. We revolted from the Romans with great pretensions to courage; and when, at the very last, they invited us to preserve ourselves, we would not comply with them. Who will not, therefore, believe that they will certainly be in a rage at us, in case they can take us alive? Miserable will then be the young men who will be strong enough in their bodies to sustain many torments! miserable also will be those of elder years, who will not be able to bear those calamities which young men might sustain! One man will be obliged to hear the voice of his son implore help of his father, when his hands are bound. But certainly our hands are still at liberty, and have a sword in them; let them then be subservient to us in our glorious design; let us die before we become slaves under our enemies, and let us go out of the world, together with our children and our wives, in a state of freedom. This it is that our laws command us to do; this it is that our wives and children crave at our hands; nay, God himself hath brought this necessity upon us; while the Romans desire the contrary, and are afraid lest any of us should die before we are taken. Let us therefore make haste, and instead of affording them so much pleasure, as they hope for in getting us under their power, let us leave them an example which shall at once cause their astonishment at our death, and their admiration of our hardiness therein."

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 9

How The People That Were In The Fortress Were Prevailed On By The Words Of Eleazar, Two Women And Five

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Children Only Excepted And All Submitted To Be Killed By One Another.

1 Now as Eleazar was proceeding on in this exhortation, they all cut him off short, and made haste to do the work, as full of an unconquerable ardour of mind, and moved with a demoniacal fury. So they went their ways, as one still endeavoring to be before another, and as thinking that this eagerness would be a demonstration of their courage and good conduct, if they could avoid appearing in the last class; so great was the zeal they were in to slay their wives and children, and themselves also! Nor indeed, when they came to the work itself, did their courage fail them, as one might imagine it would have done, but they then held fast the same resolution, without wavering, which they had upon the hearing of Eleazar's speech, while yet every one of them still retained the natural passion of love to themselves and their families, because the reasoning they went upon appeared to them to be very just, even with regard to those that were dearest to them; for the husbands tenderly embraced their wives, and took their children into their arms, and gave the longest parting kisses to them, with tears in their eyes. Yet at the same time did they complete what they had resolved on, as if they had been executed by the hands of strangers; and they had nothing else for their comfort but the necessity they were in of doing this execution, to avoid that prospect they had of the miseries they were to suffer from their enemies. Nor was there at length any one of these men found that scrupled to act their part in this terrible execution, but every one of them despatched his dearest relations. Miserable men indeed were they! whose distress forced them to slay their own wives and children with their own hands, as the lightest of those evils that were before them. So they being not able to bear the grief they were under for what they had done any longer, and esteeming it an injury to those they had slain, to live even the shortest space of time after them, they presently laid all they had upon a heap, and set fire to it. They then chose ten men by lot out of them to slay all the rest; every one of whom laid himself down by his wife and children on the ground, and threw his arms about them, and they offered their necks to the stroke of those who by lot executed that melancholy office; and when these ten had, without fear, slain them all, they made the same rule for casting lots for themselves, that he whose lot it was should first kill the other nine, and after all should kill himself. Accordingly, all these had courage sufficient to be no way behind one another in doing or suffering; so, for a conclusion, the nine offered their necks to the executioner, and he who was the last of all took a view of all the other bodies, lest perchance some or other among so many that were slain should want his assistance to be quite despatched, and when he perceived that they were all slain, he set fire to the palace, and with the great force of his hand ran his sword entirely through himself, and fell down dead near to his own relations. So these people died with this intention, that they would not leave so much as one soul among them all alive to be subject to the Romans. Yet was there an ancient woman, and another who was of kin to Eleazar, and superior to most women in prudence and learning, with five children, who had concealed themselves in caverns under ground, and had carried water thither for their drink, and were hidden there when the rest were intent upon the slaughter of one another. Those others were nine hundred and sixty in number, the women and children being withal included in that computation. This calamitous slaughter was made on the fifteenth day of the month Xanthicus [Nisan].

2 Now for the Romans, they expected that they should be fought in the morning, when, accordingly, they put on their armour, and laid bridges of planks upon their ladders from their banks, to make an assault upon the fortress, which they did; but saw nobody as an enemy, but a terrible solitude on every side, with a fire within the place, as well as a perfect silence. So they were at a loss to guess at what had happened. At length they made a shout, as if it had been at a blow given by the battering ram, to try whether they could bring any one out that was within; the women heard this noise, and came out of their under-ground cavern, and informed the Romans what had been done, as it was done; and the second of them clearly described all both what was said and what was done, and this manner of it; yet did they not easily give their attention to such a desperate undertaking, and did not believe it could be as they said; they also attempted to put the fire out, and quickly cutting themselves a way through it, they came within the palace, and so met with the multitude of the slain, but could take no pleasure in the fact, though it were done to their enemies. Nor could they do other than wonder at the courage of their resolution, and the immovable contempt of death which so great a number of them had shown, when they went through with such an action as that was.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 10

That Many Of The Sicarii Fled To Alexandria Also And What Dangers They Were In There; On Which Account That Temple Which Had Formerly Been Built By Onias The High Priest Was Destroyed.

1 When Masada was thus taken, the general left a garrison in the fortress to keep it, and he himself went away to Cesarea; for there were now no enemies left in the country, but it was all overthrown by so long a war. Yet did this war afford disturbances and dangerous disorders even in places very far remote from Judea; for still it came to pass that many Jews were slain at Alexandria in Egypt; for as many of the Sicarii as were able to fly thither, out of the seditious wars in Judea, were not content to have saved themselves, but must needs be undertaking to make new disturbances, and persuaded many of those that entertained them to assert their liberty, to esteem the Romans to be no better than themselves, and to look upon God as their only Lord and Master. But when part of the Jews of reputation opposed them, they slew some of them, and with the others they were very pressing in their exhortations to revolt from the Romans; but when the principal men of the senate saw what madness they were come to, they thought it no longer safe for themselves to overlook them. So they got all the Jews together to an assembly, and accused the madness of the Sicarii, and demonstrated that they had been the authors of all the evils that had come upon them. They said also that "these men, now they were run away from Judea, having no sure hope of escaping, because as soon as ever they shall be known, they will be soon destroyed by the Romans, they come hither and fill us full of those calamities which belong to them, while we have not been partakers with them in any of their sins." Accordingly, they exhorted the multitude to have a care, lest they should be brought to destruction by their means, and to make their apology to the Romans for what had been done, by delivering these men up to them; who being thus apprized of the greatness of the danger they were in, complied with what was proposed, and ran with great violence upon the Sicarii, and seized upon them; and indeed six hundred of them were caught immediately: but as to all those that fled into Egypt and to the Egyptian Thebes, it was not long ere they were caught also, and brought back, whose courage, or whether we ought to call it madness, or hardiness in their opinions, every body was amazed at. For when all sorts of torments and vexations of their bodies that could be devised were made use of to them, they could not get any one of them to comply so far as to confess, or seem to confess, that Caesar was their lord; but they preserved their own opinion, in spite of all the distress they were brought to, as if they received these torments and the fire itself with bodies insensible of pain, and with a soul that in a manner rejoiced under them. But what was most of all astonishing to the beholders was the courage of the children; for not one of these children was so far overcome by these torments, as to name Caesar for their lord. So far does the strength of the courage [of the soul] prevail over the weakness of the body.

2 Now Lupus did then govern Alexandria, who presently sent Caesar word of this commotion; who having in suspicion the restless temper of the Jews for innovation, and being afraid lest they should get together again, and persuade some others to join with them, gave orders to Lupus to demolish that Jewish temple which was in the region called Onion, and was in Egypt, which was built and had its denomination from the occasion following: Onias, the son of Simon, one of the Jewish high priests fled from Antiochus the king of Syria, when he made war with the Jews, and came to Alexandria; and as Ptolemy received him very kindly, on account of hatred to Antiochus, he assured him, that if he would comply with his proposal, he would bring all the Jews to his assistance; and when the king agreed to do it so far as he was able, he desired him to give him leave to build a temple some where in Egypt, and to worship God according to the customs of his own country; for that the Jews would then be so much readier to fight against Antiochus who had laid waste the temple at Jerusalem, and that they would then come to him with greater good-will; and that, by granting them liberty of conscience, very many of them would come over to him.

3 So Ptolemy complied with his proposals, and gave him a place one hundred and eighty furlongs distant from Memphis. That Nomos was called the Nomos of Hellopolis, where Onias built a fortress and a temple, not like to that at Jerusalem, but such as resembled a tower. He built it of large stones to the height of sixty cubits; he made the structure of the altar in imitation of that in our own country, and in like manner adorned with gifts, excepting the make of the candlestick, for he did not make a candlestick, but had a [single] lamp hammered out of a piece of gold, which illuminated the place with its rays, and which he hung by a chain of gold; but the entire temple was encompassed with a wall of burnt brick, though it had gates of stone. The king also gave him a large country for a revenue in money, that both the priests might have a plentiful provision made for them, and that God might have great abundance of what things were necessary for his worship. Yet did not Onias do this out of a sober disposition, but he had a mind to contend with the Jews at Jerusalem, and could not forget the indignation he had for being banished thence. Accordingly, he thought that by building this temple he should draw away a great number from them to himself. There had been also a certain ancient prediction made by [a prophet] whose name was Isaiah, about six hundred years before, that this temple should be built by a man that was a Jew in Egypt. And this is the history of the building of that temple.

4 And now Lupus, the governor of Alexandria, upon the receipt of Caesar's letter, came to the temple, and carried out of it some of the donations dedicated thereto, and shut up the temple itself. And as Lupus died a little afterward, Paulinus succeeded him. This man left none of those donations there, and threatened the priests severely if they did not bring them all out; nor did he permit any who were desirous of worshipping God there so much as to come near the whole sacred place; but when he had shut up the gates, he made it entirely inaccessible, insomuch that there remained no longer the least footsteps of any Divine worship that had been in that place. Now the duration of the time from the building of this temple till it was shut up again was three hundred and forty-three years.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS WARS CHAPTER 11

Concerning Jonathan, One Of The Sicarii, That Stirred Up A Sedition In Cyrene, And Was A False Accuser [Of The Innocent].

1 And now did the madness of the Sicarii, like a disease, reach as far as the cities of Cyrene; for one Jonathan, a vile person, and by trade a weaver, came thither and prevailed with no small number of the poorer sort to give ear to him; he also led them into the desert, upon promising them that he would show them signs and apparitions. And as for the other Jews of Cyrene, he concealed his knavery from them, and put tricks upon them; but those of the greatest dignity among them informed Catullus, the governor of the Libyan Pentapolis, of his march into the desert, and of the preparations he had made for it. So he sent out after him both horsemen and footmen, and easily overcame them, because they were unarmed men; of these many were slain in the fight, but some were taken alive, and brought to Catullus. As for Jonathan, the head of this plot, he fled away at that time; but upon a great and very diligent search, which was made all the country over for him, he was at last taken. And when he was brought to Catullus, he devised a way whereby he both escaped punishment himself, and afforded an occasion to Catullus of doing much mischief; for he falsely accused the richest men among the Jews, and said that they had put him upon what he did.

2 Now Catullus easily admitted of these his calumnies, and aggravated matters greatly, and made tragical exclamations, that he might also be supposed to have had a hand in the finishing of the Jewish war. But what was still harder, he did not only give a too easy belief to his stories, but he taught the Sicarii to accuse men falsely. He bid this Jonathan, therefore, to name one Alexander, a Jew [with whom he had formerly had a quarrel, and openly professed that he hated him]; he also got him to name his wife Bernice, as concerned with him. These two Catullus ordered to be slain in the first place; nay, after them he caused all the rich and wealthy Jews to be slain, being no fewer in all than three thousand. This he thought he might do safely, because he confiscated their effects, and added them to Caesar's revenues.

3 Nay, indeed, lest any Jews that lived elsewhere should convict him of his villainy, he extended his false accusations further, and persuaded Jonathan, and certain others that were caught with him, to bring an accusation of attempts for innovation against the Jews that were of the best character both at Alexandria and at Rome. One of these, against whom this treacherous accusation was laid, was Josephus, the writer of these books. However, this plot, thus contrived by Catullus, did not succeed according to his hopes; for though he came himself to Rome, and brought Jonathan and his companions along with him in bonds, and thought he should have had no further inquisition made as to those lies that were forged under his government, or by his means; yet did Vespasian suspect the matter and made an inquiry how far it was true. And when he understood that the accusation laid against the Jews was an unjust one, he cleared them of the crimes charged upon them, and this on account of Titus's concern about the matter, and brought a deserved punishment upon Jonathan; for he was first tormented, and then burnt alive.

4 But as to Catullus, the emperors were so gentle to him, that he underwent no severe condemnation at this time; yet was it not long before he fell into a complicated and almost incurable distemper, and died miserably. He was not only afflicted in body, but the distemper in his mind was more heavy upon him than the other; for he was terribly disturbed, and continually cried out that he saw the ghosts of those whom he had slain standing before him. Where upon he was not able to contain himself, but leaped out of his bed, as if both torments and fire were brought to him. This his distemper grew still a great deal worse and worse continually, and his very entrails were so corroded, that they fell out of his body, and in that condition he died. Thus he became as great an instance of Divine Providence as ever was, and demonstrated that God punishes wicked men.

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5 And here we shall put an end to this our history; wherein we formerly promised to deliver the same with all accuracy, to such as should be desirous of understanding after what manner this war of the Romans with the Jews was managed. Of which history, how good the style is, must be left to the determination of the readers; but as for its agreement with the facts, I shall not scruple to say, and that boldly, that truth hath been what I have alone aimed at through its entire composition.

The End

THE LIFE OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

By Titus Flavius Josephus
Translation: William Whiston, 1737
Estimated Range of Dating: 79-85 A.D.

(The Life of [Flavius] Josephus [Greek: Iosepou bios], also called the "Life of Flavius Josephus", or simply Vita, is an autobiographical text written by Titus Flavius Josephus in c. 79-81 AD where the author for the most part re-visits the events of the War, apparently in response to allegations made against him by Justus of Tiberias.

[Justus of Tiberias was a Jewish author and historian living in the second half of the 1st century AD. Little is known about his life, except as told by his political and literary enemy Josephus Flavius. Justus, the son of Pistus, was born in Tiberias, a Greek city in Galilee, and was a man of learning. He was close to the Tetrarch Agrippa II and became a leading citizen of his hometown.

During the First Jewish-Roman War (66-73), he ran into conflict with Josephus, a Jewish leader in Galilee. When the Romans had reconquered Galilee, Justus sought sanctuary with the Tetrach Herod Agrippa. Vespasian, who led the Roman troops, demanded that Justus be put to death, but Herod Agrippa spared him and merely imprisoned him. The tetrarch even appointed Justus as his secretary, but later dismissed him as unreliable.

Justus wrote a history of the war in which he blamed Josephus for the troubles of Galilee. He also portrayed his former master Agrippa in an unfavourable light, but did not publish the work until after Herod Agrippa's death. Justus also wrote a chronicle of the Jewish people from Moses to Herod Agrippa II. Neither of his works has survived, only in little fragments. Titus Flavius Josephus, Justus' rival, criticised the Tiberian's account of the war and defended his own conduct in the Autobiography, from whose polemical passages we derive most of what we know about Justus' life. As well as a history of the war, Justus also wrote a chronicle of the kings of Israel from the time of Moses to Herod Agrippa II.

The Jewish Encyclopedia from 1906 writes: With Josephus in Galilee: Historical writer and one of the leaders of the Jews against the Romans in Galilee in the year 66. What is known of him comes mostly from his political and literary enemy, Titus Flavius Josephus; so that an exact biography of him can not be given. He was a man of Greek education and of moving eloquence. By his oratorical ability he prevailed on the Tiberians, who felt themselves slighted by the favour which Agrippa II. and Rome had shown at their expense to the people of Sepphoris, to revolt. An unnamed brother helped him in this task. With his followers Justus burned the villages that belonged to Gadara and Hippos, whose people had always been ill-disposed toward the Jews. Soon afterward Josephus came as governor to Galilee, and he persuaded the chief people of Tiberias, among them Justus, to demolish the palace of Herod the Tetrarch because it was ornamented with figures of animals. Josephus himself says he had to force the people to it. From this it follows conclusively that the actual rebellion in Galilee was instigated mainly by Josephus rather than by Justus. Later, out of fear of the Romans, neither historian wished to admit in his writings his part in the matter; and each blamed the other. Even at the beginning of the war the Tiberians, and especially Justus and his father, Pistus, wished to break with Josephus and to attach themselves to John of Giscala, but Josephus frustrated the plan. At one time Josephus caused the Tiberians who had been arrested, among them Justus and Pistus, to be taken out of prison; and while eating with them he suggested that it would be wiser for them to surrender to the Romans at a suitable opportunity. He reminded Justus that before he (Josephus) had entered on his office, the brother of Justus had had his hands cut off by the Galileans, who claimed that he had forged letters, and that furthermore Jesus, Justus' sister's husband, had had to suffer from anarchy. The next day he let Justus and his followers go free. Jesus and the sister of Justus were killed in Gamala. Still Justus continued to agitate against Josephus.

When Galilee was subdued, the inhabitants of Decapolis ["10 Cities", a region east of Galilee], primarily those of Gadara and Hippos, denounced Justus before General Vespasian, and demanded his punishment. Agrippa was ordered to put him to death; but on the plea of his sister Berenice [and lover of General Titus] he merely imprisoned him. Justus had previously fled to Agrippa at Berytus, and had apparently made himself so popular at court that Agrippa even gave him money. For some unknown crime Agrippa twice put Justus in prison; and the latter was often advised to escape out of his native city. Nevertheless Agrippa made him his secretary, but when he proved unreliable he was expelled by the king.

His History of the Jewish War: During his enforced leisure he wrote his history of the Jewish war, in which, being a man of mean nature, he very likely out of revenge made Agrippa appear in a decidedly unfavorable light. This was probably the reason why he did not publish his work until after Agrippa's death, although he had then had it completed for twenty years. Josephus with justice charges him with not daring to publish his book during the lifetimes of Vespasian, Titus, and Agrippa, and also that he did not use the records of Vespasian. Even the events in Galilee, e.g., the siege of Jotapata, are not exactly described; yet Justus thought himself to be the most reliable narrator of these events. The "Vita," the autobiography of Josephus, was directed against this very work of Justus. His Chronicle.

Furthermore, Justus was the author of "The Chronicle of the Jewish People from Moses to the Death of Agrippa II." Use was probably made of this work by Sextus Julius Africanus, from whom Eusebius in his chronicle and the Eastern Roman historian Syncellus draw material.].)

1. The family from which I am derived is not an ignoble one, but hath descended all along from the priests; and as nobility among several people is of a different origin, so with us to be of the sacerdotal dignity, is an indication of the splendour of a family. Now, I am not only sprung from a sacerdotal family in general, but from the first of the twenty-four courses; and as among us there is not only a considerable difference between one family of each course and another, I am of the chief family of that first course also; nay, further, by my mother I am of the royal blood; for the children of Asamoneus, from whom that family was derived, had both the office of the high priesthood, and the dignity of a king, for a long time together. I will accordingly set down my progenitors in order. My grandfather's father was named Simon, with the addition of Psellus: he lived at the same time with that son of Simon the high priest, who first of all the high priests was named Hyrcanus. This Simon Psellus had nine sons, one of whom was Matthias, called Ephlias: he married the daughter of Jonathan the high priest, which Jonathan was the first of the sons of Asamoneus, who was high priest, and was the brother of Simon the high priest also. This Matthias had a son called Matthias Curtus, and that in the first year of the government of Hyrcanus: his son's name was Joseph, born in the ninth year of the reign of Alexandra: his son Matthias was born in the tenth year of the reign of Archclaus; as was I born to Matthias in the first year of the reign of Caius Caesar. I have three sons: Hyrcanus, the eldest, was born in the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian [74 AD], as was Justus born in the seventh [77 AD], and Agrippa in the ninth [79 AD]. Thus have I set down the genealogy of my family as I have found it described in the public records, and so bid adieu to those who calumniate me [as of a lower original].

2. Now, my father Matthias was not only eminent on account of his nobility, but had a higher commendation on account of his righteousness, and was in great reputation in Jerusalem, the greatest city we have. I was myself brought up with my brother, whose name was Matthias, for he was my own brother, by both father and mother; and I made mighty proficiency in the improvements of my learning, and appeared to have both a great memory and understanding. Moreover, when I was a child, and about fourteen years of age, I was commended by all for the love I had to learning; on which account the high priests and principal men of the city came then frequently to me together, in order to know my opinion about the accurate understanding of points of the law. And when I was about sixteen years old, I had a mind to make trim of the several sects that were among us. These sects are three:— The first is that of the Pharisees, the second that Sadducees, and the third that of the Essens, as we have frequently told you; for I thought that by this means I might choose the best, if I were once acquainted with them all; so I contented myself with hard fare, and underwent great difficulties, and went through them all. Nor did I content myself with these trials only; but when I was informed that one, whose name was Banus, lived in the desert, and used no other clothing than grew upon trees, and had no other food than what grew of its own accord, and bathed himself in cold water frequently, both by night and by day, in order to preserve his chastity, I imitated him in those things, and continued with him three years. So when I had accomplished my desires, I returned back to the city, being now nineteen years old, and began to conduct myself according to the rules of the sect of the Pharisees, which is of kin to the sect of the Stoics, as the Greeks call them.

3. But when I was in the twenty-sixth year of my age, it happened that I took a voyage to Rome, and this on the occasion which I shall now describe. At the time when Felix was procurator of Judea there were certain priests of my acquaintance, and very excellent persons they were, whom on a small and trifling occasion he had put into bonds, and sent to Rome to plead their cause before Caesar. These I was desirous to procure deliverance for, and that especially because I was informed that they were not unmindful of piety towards God, even under their afflictions, but supported themselves with figs and nuts. Accordingly I came to Rome, though it were through a great number of hazards by sea; for as our ship was drowned in the Adriatic Sea, we that were in it, being about six hundred in number, swam for our lives all the night; when, upon the first appearance of the day, and upon our sight of a ship of Cyrene, I and some others, eighty in all, by God's providence, prevented the rest, and were taken up into the other ship. And when I had thus escaped, and was come to Dieearchia, which the Italians call Puteoli, I became acquainted with Aliturius, an actor of plays, and much beloved by Nero, but a Jew by birth; and through his interest became known to Poppea, Caesar's wife, and took care, as soon as possible, to entreat her to procure that the priests might be set at liberty. And when, besides this favour, I had obtained many presents from Poppea, I returned home again.

4. And now I perceived innovations were already begun, and that there were a great many very much elevated in hopes of a revolt from the Romans. I therefore endeavored to put a stop to these tumultuous persons, and persuaded them to change their minds; and laid before their eyes against whom it was that they were going to fight, and told them that they were inferior to the Romans not only in martial skill, but also in good fortune; and desired them not rashly, and after the most foolish manner, to bring on the dangers of the most terrible mischiefs upon their country, upon their families, and upon themselves. And this I said with vehement exhortation, because I foresaw that the end of such a war would be most unfortunate to us. But I could not persuade them; for the madness of desperate men was quite too hard for me.

5. I was then afraid, lest, by inculcating these things so often, I should incur their hatred and their suspicions, as if I were of our enemies' party, and should run into the danger of being seized by them, and slain; since they were already possessed of Antonia, which was the citadel; so I retired into the inner court of the temple. Yet did I go out of the temple again, after Manahem and the principal of the band of robbers were put to death, when I abode among the high priests and the chief of the Pharisees. But no small fear seized upon us when we saw the people in arms, while we ourselves knew not what we should do, and were not able to restrain the seditious. However, as the danger was directly upon us, we pretended that we were of the same opinion with them, but only advised them to be quiet for the present, and to let the enemy go away, still hoping that Gessius [Florus] would not be long ere he came, and that with great forces, and so put an end to these seditious proceedings.

6. But, upon his coming and fighting, he was beaten, and a great many of those that were with him fell. And this disgrace which Gessius [with Cestius] received, became the calamity of our whole nation; for those that were fond of the war were so far elevated with this success, that they had hopes of finally conquering the Romans. Of which war another occasion was ministered; which was this:— Those that dwelt in the neighbouring cities of Syria seized upon such Jews as dwelt among them, with their wives and children, and slew them, when they had not the least occasion of complaint against them; for they did neither attempt any innovation or revolt from the Romans, nor had they given any marks of hatred or treacherous designs towards the Syrians. But what was done by the inhabitants of Scythopolis was the most impious and most highly criminal of all; for when the Jews their enemies came upon them from without, they forced the Jews that were among them to bear arms against their own countrymen, which it is unlawful for us to do; and when, by their assistance, they had joined battle with those who attacked them, and had beaten them, after that victory they forgot the assurances they had given these their fellow citizens and confederates, and slew them all, being in number many ten thousands [13,000]. The like miseries were undergone by those Jews that were the inhabitants of Damascus. But we have given a more accurate account of these things in the books of the Jewish war. I only mention them now, because I would demonstrate to my readers, that the Jews' war with the Romans was not voluntary, but that, for the main, they were forced by necessity to enter into it.

7. So when Gessius had been beaten, as we have said already, the principal men of Jerusalem, seeing that the robbers and innovators had arms in great plenty, and fearing lest they, while they were unprovided of arms, should be in subjection to their enemies, which also came to be the case afterward; and, being informed that all Galilee had not yet revolted from the Romans, but that some part of it was still quiet; they sent me and two others of the priests, who were men of excellent characters, Joazar and Judas, in order to persuade the ill men there to lay down their arms, and to teach them this lesson,— That it were better to have those arms reserved for the most courageous men that the nation had [than to be kept there]; for that it had been resolved, That those our best men should

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always have their arms ready against futurity; but still so, that they should wait to see what the Romans would do.

8. When I had therefore received these instructions, I came into Galilee, and found the people of Sepphoris in no small agony about their country, by reason that the Galileans had resolved to plunder it, on account of the friendship they had with the Romans, and because they had given their right hand, and made a league with Cestius Gallus, the president of Syria. But I delivered them all out of the fear they were in, and persuaded the multitude to deal kindly with them, and permitted them to send to those that were their own hostages with Gessius to Dora, which is a city of Phoenicia, as often as they pleased; though I still found the inhabitants of Tiberias ready to take arms, and that on the occasion following:—

9. There were three factions in this city. The first was composed of men of worth and gravity; of these Julius Capellus was the head. Now he, as well as all his companions, Herod the son of Miarus, and Herod the son of Gamalus, and Compsus the son of Compsus; [for as to Compsus's brother Crispus, who had once been governor of the city under the great king [Agrippa] he was beyond Jordan in his own possessions;] all these persons before named gave their advice, that the city should then continue in their allegiance to the Romans and to the king. But Pistus, who was guided by his son Justus, did not acquiesce in that resolution; otherwise he was himself naturally of a good and virtuous character. But the second faction was composed of the most ignoble persons, and was determined for war. But as for Justus, the son of Pistus, who was the head of the third faction, although he pretended to be doubtful about going to war, yet was he really desirous of innovation, as supposing that he should gain power to himself by the change of affairs. He therefore came into the midst of them, and endeavored to inform the multitude that "the city Tiberius had ever been a city of Galilee, and that in the days of Herod the tetrarch, who had built it, it had obtained the principal place, and that he had ordered that the city Sepphoris should be subordinate to the city Tiberias; that they had not lost this preeminence even under Agrippa the father, but had retained it until Felix was procurator of Judea. But he told them, that now they had been so unfortunate as to be made a present by Nero to Agrippa, junior; and that, upon Sepphoris's submission of itself to the Romans, that was become the capital city of Galilee, and that the royal library and the archives were now removed from them." When he had spoken these things, and a great many more, against king Agrippa, in order to provoke the people to a revolt, he added that "this was the time for them to take arms, and join with the Galileans as their confederates [whom they might command, and who would now willingly assist them, out of the hatred they bare to the people of Sepphoris; because they preserved their fidelity to the Romans], and to gather a great number of forces, in order to punish them." And as he said this, he exhorted the multitude, [to go to war;] for his abilities lay in making harangues to the people, and in being too hard in his speeches for such as opposed him, though they advised what was more to their advantage, and this by his craftiness and his fallacies, for he was not unskilful in the learning of the Greeks; and in dependence on that skill it was, that he undertook to write a history of these affairs, as aiming, by this way of haranguing, to disguise the truth. But as to this man, and how ill were his character and conduct of life, and how he and his brother were, in great measure, the authors of our destruction, I shall give the reader an account in the progress of my narration. So when Justus had, by his persuasions, prevailed with the citizens of Tiberias to take arms, nay, and had forced a great many so to do against their wills, he went out, and set the villages that belonged to Gadara and Hippos on fire; which villages were situated on the borders of Tiberias, and of the region of Scythopolis.

10. And this was the state Tiberias was now in. But as for Gischala, its affairs were thus:— When John, the son of Levi, saw some of the citizens much elevated upon their revolt from the Romans, he laboured to restrain them, and entreated them that they would keep their allegiance to them. But he could not gain his purpose, although he did his endeavors to the utmost; for the neighbouring people of Gadara, Gabara, and Sogana, with the Tyrians, got together a great army, and fell upon Gischala, and took Gischala by force, and set it on fire; and when they had entirely demolished it, they returned home. Upon which John was so enraged, that he armed all his men, and joined battle with the people forementioned; and rebuilt Gischala after a manner better than before, and fortified it with walls for its future security.

11. But Gamala persevered in its allegiance to the Romans, for the reason following:— Philip, the son of Jacimus, who was their governor under king Agrippa, had been unexpectedly preserved when the royal palace at Jerusalem had been besieged; but, as he fled away, had fallen into another danger, and that was, of being killed by Manahem, and the robbers that were with him; but certain Babylonians, who were of his kindred, and were then in Jerusalem, hindered the robbers from executing their design. So Philip staid there four days, and fled away on the fifth, having disguised himself with fictitious hair, that he might not be discovered; and when he was come to one of the villages to him belonging, but one that was situated at the borders of the citadel of Gamala, he sent to some of those that were under him, and commanded them to come to him. But God himself hindered that his intention, and this for his own advantage also; for had it not so happened, he had certainly perished. For a fever having seized upon him immediately, he wrote to Agrippa and Bernice, and gave them to one of his freed-men to carry them to Varus, who at this time was procurator of the kingdom, which the king and his sister had intrusted him withal, while they were gone to Berytus with an intention of meeting Gessius. When Varus had received these letters of Philip, and had learned that he was preserved, he was very uneasy at it, as supposing that he should appear useless to the king and his sister, now Philip was come. He therefore produced the carrier of the letters before the multitude, and accused him of forging the same; and said that he spake falsely when he related that Philip was at Jerusalem, fighting among the Jews against the Romans. So he slew him. And when this freed-man of Philip did not return again, Philip was doubtful what should be the occasion of his stay, and sent a second messenger with letters, that he might, upon his return, inform him what had befallen the other that had been sent before, and why he tarried so long. Varus accused this messenger also, when he came, of telling a falsehood, and slew him. For he was puffed up by the Syrians that were at Caesarea, and had great expectations; for they said that Agrippa would be slain by the Romans for the crimes which the Jews had committed, and that he should himself take the government, as derived from their kings; for Varus was, by the confession of all, of the royal family, as being a descendant of Sohemus, who had enjoyed a tetrarchy about Libanus; for which reason it was that he was puffed up, and kept the letters to himself. He contrived, also, that the king should not meet with those writings, by guarding all the passes, lest any one should escape, and inform the king what had been done. He moreover slew many of the Jews, in order to gratify the Syrians of Cesarea. He had a mind also to join with the Trachonites in Batanea, and to take up arms and make an assault upon the Babylonian Jews that were at Ecbatana; for that was the name they went by. He therefore called to him twelve of the Jews of Cesarea, of the best character, and ordered them to go to Ecbatana, and inform their countrymen who dwelt there, That Varus hath heard that "you intend to march against the king; but, not believing that report, he hath sent us to persuade you to lay down your arms, and that this compliance will be a sign that he did well not to give credit to those that raised the report concerning you." He also enjoined them to send seventy of their principal men to make a defense for them as to the accusation laid against them. So when the twelve messengers came to their countrymen at Ecbatana, and found that they had no designs of innovation at all, they persuaded them to send the seventy men also; who, not at all suspecting what would come, sent them accordingly. So these seventy went down to Caesarea, together with the twelve ambassadors; where Varus met them with the king's forces, and slew them all, together with the [twelve] ambassadors, and made an expedition against the Jews of Ecbatana. But one there was of the seventy who escaped, and made haste to inform the Jews of their coming; upon which they took their arms, with their wives and children, and retired to the citadel at Gamala, leaving their own villages full of all sorts of good things, and having many ten thousands of cattle therein. When Philip was informed of these things, he also came to the citadel of Gamala; and when he was come, the multitude cried aloud, and desired him to resume the government, and to make an expedition against Varus, and the Syrians of Cesarea; for it was reported that they had slain the king. But Philip restrained their zeal, and put them in mind of the benefits the king had bestowed upon them; and told them how powerful the Romans were, and said it was not for their advantage to make war with them; and at length he prevailed with them. But now, when the king was acquainted with Varus's design, which was to cut off the Jews of Caesarea, being many ten thousands, with their wives and children, and all in one day, he called to him Equiculus Modius, and sent him to be Varus's successor, as we have elsewhere related. But still Philip kept possession of the citadel of Gamala, and of the country adjoining to it, which thereby continued in their allegiance to the Romans.

12. Now, as soon as I was come into Galilee, and had learned this state of things by the information of such as told me of them, I wrote to the sanhedrim at Jerusalem about them, and required their direction what I should do. Their direction was, that I should continue there, and that, if my fellow legates were willing, I should join with them in the care of Galilee. But those my fellow legates, having gotten great riches from those tithes which as priests were their dues, and were given to them, determined to return to their own country. Yet when I desired them to stay so long, that we might first settle the public affairs, they complied with me. So I removed, together with them, from the city of Sepphoris, and came to a certain village called Bethmaus, four furlongs distant from Tiberius; and thence I sent messengers to the senate of Tiberius, and desired that the principal men of the city would come to me: and when they were come, Justus himself being also with them, I told them that I was sent to them by the people of Jerusalem as a legate, together with these other priests, in order to persuade them to demolish that house which Herod the tetrarch had built there, and which had the figures of living creatures in it, although our laws have forbidden us to make any such figures; and I desired that they would give us leave so to do immediately. But for a good while Capellus and the principal men belonging to the city would not give us leave, but were at length entirely overcome by us, and were induced to be of our opinion. So Jesus the son of Sapphias, one of those whom we have already mentioned as the leader of a seditious tumult of mariners and poor people, prevented us, and took with him certain Galileans, and set the entire palace on fire, and thought he should get a great deal of money thereby, because he saw some of the roofs gilt with gold. They also plundered a great deal of the furniture, which was done without our approbation; for after we had discoursed with Capellus and the principal men of the city, we departed from Bethmaus, and went into the Upper Galilee. But Jesus and his party slew all the Greeks that were inhabitants of Tiberias, and as many others as were their enemies before the war began.

13. When I understood this state of things, I was greatly provoked, and went down to Tiberias, and took all the care I could of the royal furniture, to recover all that could be recovered from such as had plundered it. They consisted of candlesticks made of Corinthian brass, and of royal tables, and of a great quantity of uncoined silver; and I resolved to preserve whatsoever came to my hand for the king. So I sent for ten of the principal men of the senate, and for Capellus the son of Antyllus, and committed the furniture to them, with this charge, That they should part with it to nobody else but to myself. From thence I and my fellow legates went to Gichala, to John, as desirous to know his intentions, and soon saw that he was for innovations, and had a mind to the principality; for he desired me to give him authority to carry off that corn which belonged to Caesar, and lay in the villages of Upper Galilee; and he pretended that he would expend what it came to in building the walls of his own city. But when I perceived what he endeavored at, and what he had in his mind, I said I would not permit him so to do; for that I thought either to keep it for the Romans or for myself, now I was intrusted with the public affairs there by the people of Jerusalem. But, when he was not able to prevail with me, he betook himself to my fellow legates; for they had no sagacity in providing for futurity, and were very ready to take bribes. So he corrupted them with money to decree, That all that corn which was within his province should be delivered to him; while I, who was but one, was outvoted by two, and held my tongue. Then did John introduce another cunning contrivance of his; for he said that those Jews who inhabited Cesarea Philippi, and were shut up by the order of the king's deputy there, had sent to him to desire him, that, since they had no oil that was pure for their use, he would provide a sufficient quantity of such oil for them, lest they should be forced to make use of oil that came from the Greeks, and thereby transgress their own laws. Now this was said by John, not out of his regard to religion, but out of his most flagrant desire of gain; for he knew that two sextaries were sold with them of Caesarea for one drachma, but that at Gischala fourscore sextaxies were sold for four sextaries. So he gave order that all the oil which was there should be carried away, as having my permission for so doing; which yet I did not grant him voluntarily, but only out of fear of the multitude, since, if I had forbidden him, I should have been stoned by them. When I had therefore permitted this to be done by John, he gained vast sums of money by this his knavery.

14. But when I had dismissed my fellow legates, and sent them back to Jerusalem, I took care to have arms provided, and the cities fortified. And when I had sent for the most hardy among the robbers, I saw that it was not in my power to take their arms from them; but I persuaded the multitude to allow them money as pay, and told them it was better for them to give them a little willingly, rather than to [be forced to] overlook them when they plundered their goods from them. And when I had obliged them to take an oath not to come into that country, unless they were invited to come, or else when they had not their pay given them, I dismissed them, and charged them neither to make an expedition against the Romans, nor against those their neighbours that lay round about them; for my first care was to keep Galilee in peace. So I was willing to have the principal of the Galileans, in all seventy, as hostages for their fidelity, but still under the notion of friendship. Accordingly, I made them my friends and companions as I journeyed, and set them to judge causes; and with their approbation it was that I gave my sentences, while I endeavored not to mistake what justice required, and to keep my hands clear of all bribery in those determinations.

15. I was now about the thirtieth year of my age; in which time of life it is a hard thing for any one to escape the calumnies of the envious, although he restrain himself from

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fulfilling any unlawful desires, especially where a person is in great authority. Yet did I preserve every woman free from injuries; and as to what presents were offered me, I despised them, as not standing in need of them. Nor indeed would I take those tithes, which were due to me as a priest, from those that brought them. Yet do I confess, that I took part of the spoils of those Syrians which inhabited the cities that adjoined to us, when I had conquered them, and that I sent them to my kindred at Jerusalem; although, when I twice took Sepphoris by force, and Tiberias four times, and Gadara once, and when I had subdued and taken John, who often laid treacherous snares for me, I did not punish [with death] either him or any of the people forenamed, as the progress of this discourse will show. And on this account, I suppose, it was that God, who is never unacquainted with those that do as they ought to do, delivered me still out of the hands of these my enemies, and afterwards preserved me when I fell into those many dangers which I shall relate hereafter.

16. Now the multitude of the Galileans had that great kindness for me, and fidelity to me, that when their cities were taken by force, and their wives and children carried into slavery, they did not so deeply lament for their own calamities, as they were solicitous for my preservation. But when John saw this, he envied me, and wrote to me, desiring that I would give him leave to come down, and make use of the hot-baths of Tiberias for the recovery of the health of his body. Accordingly, I did not hinder him, as having no suspicion of any wicked designs of his; and I wrote to those to whom I had committed the administration of the affairs of Tiberius by name, that they should provide a lodging for John, and for such as should come with him, and should procure him what necessaries soever he should stand in need of. Now at this time my abode was in a village of Galilee, which is named Cans.

17. But when John was come to the city of Tiberias, he persuaded the men to revolt from their fidelity to me, and to adhere to him; and many of them gladly received that invitation of his, as ever fond of innovations, and by nature disposed to changes, and delighting in seditions; but they were chiefly Justus and his father Pistus, that were earnest for their revolt from me, and their adherence to John. But I came upon them, and prevented them; for a messenger had come to me from Silas, whom I had made governor of Tiberias, as I have said already, and had told me of the inclinations of the people of Tiberias, and advised me to make haste thither; for that, if I made any delay, the city would come under another's jurisdiction. Upon the receipt of this letter of Silas, I took two hundred men along with me, and traveled all night, having sent before a messenger to let the people of Tiberias know that I was coming to them. When I came near to the city, which was early in the morning, the multitude came out to meet me; and John came with them, and saluted me, but in a most disturbed manner, as being afraid that my coming was to call him to an account for what I was now sensible he was doing. So he, in great haste, went to his lodging. But when I was in the open place of the city, having dismissed the guards I had about me, excepting one, and ten armed men that were with him, I attempted to make a speech to the multitude of the people of Tiberias: and, standing on a certain elevated place, I entreated them not to be so hasty in their revolt; for that such a change in their behavior would be to their reproach, and that they would then justly be suspected by those that should be their governors hereafter, as if they were not likely to be faithful to them neither.

18. But before I had spoken all I designed, I heard one of my own domestics bidding me come down, for that it was not a proper time to take care of retaining the good-will of the people of Tiberias, but to provide for my own safety, and escape my enemies there; for John had chosen the most trusty of those armed men that were about him out of those thousand that he had with him, and had given them orders when he sent them, to kill me, having learned that I was alone, excepting some of my domestics. So those that were sent came as they were ordered, and they had executed what they came about, had I not leaped down from the elevation I stood on, and with one of my guards, whose name was James, been carried [out of the crowd] upon the back of one Herod of Tiberias, and guided by him down to the lake, where I seized a ship, and got into it, and escaped my enemies unexpectedly, and came to Tarichese.

19. Now, as soon as the inhabitants of that city understood the perfidiousness of the people of Tiberias, they were greatly provoked at them. So they snatched up their arms, and desired me to be their leader against them; for they said they would avenge their commander's cause upon them. They also carried the report of what had been done to me to all the Galileans, and eagerly endeavored to irritate them against the people of Tiberias, and desired that vast numbers of them would get together, and come to them, that they might act in concert with their commander, what should be determined as fit to be done. Accordingly, the Galileans came to me in great numbers, from all parts, with their weapons, and besought me to assault Tiberias, to take it by force, and to demolish it, till it lay even with the ground, and then to make slaves of its inhabitants, with their wives and children. Those that were Josephus's friends also, and had escaped out of Tiberias, gave him the same advice. But I did not comply with them, thinking it a terrible thing to begin a civil war among them; for I thought that this contention ought not to proceed further than words; nay, I told them that it was not for their own advantage to do what they would have me to do, while the Romans expected no other than that we should destroy one another by our mutual seditions. And by saying this, I put a stop to the anger of the Galileans.

20. But now John was afraid for himself, since his treachery had proved unsuccessful. So he took the armed men that were about him, and removed from Tiberias to Gischala, and wrote to me to apologize for himself concerning What had been done, as if it had been done without his approbation, and desired me to have no suspicion of him to his disadvantage. He also added oaths and certain horrible curses upon himself, and supposed he should be thereby believed in the points he wrote about to me.

21. But now another great number of the Galileans came together again with their weapons, as knowing the man, how wicked and how sadly perjured he was, and desired me to lead them against him and promised me that they would utterly both him and Gischala. Hereupon I professed that I was obliged to them for their readiness to serve me, and that I would more than requite their good-will to me. However, I entreated them to restrain themselves, and begged of them to give me leave to do what I intended, which was to put an end to these troubles without bloodshed; and when I had prevailed with the multitude of the Galileans to let me do so, I came to Sepphoris.

22. But the inhabitants of this city having determined to continue in their allegiance to the Romans, were afraid of my coming to them, and tried, by putting me upon another action, to divert me, that they might be freed from the terror they were in. Accordingly, they sent to Jesus, the captain of those robbers who were in the confines of Ptolemais, and promised to give him a great deal of money, if he would come with those forces he had with him, which were in number eight hundred, and fight with us. Accordingly, he complied with what they desired, upon the promises they had made him, and was desirous to fall upon us when we were unprepared for him, and knew nothing of his coming beforehand. So he sent to me, and desired that I would give him leave to come and salute me. When I had given him that leave, which I did without the least knowledge of his treacherous intentions beforehand, he took his band of robbers, and made haste to come to me. Yet did not this his knavery succeed well at last; for as he was already nearly approaching, one of those with him deserted him, and came to me, and told me what he had undertaken to do. When I was informed of this, I went into the market-place, and pretended to know nothing of his treacherous purpose. I took with me many Galileans that were armed, as also some of those of Tiberias; and, when I had given orders that all the roads should be carefully guarded, I charged the keepers of the gates to give admittance to none but Jesus, when he came, with the principal of his men, and to exclude the rest; and in case they aimed to force themselves in, to use stripes [in order to repel them]. Accordingly, those that had received such a charge did as they were bidden, and Jesus came in with a few others; and when I had ordered him to throw down his arms immediately, and told him, that if he refused so to do, he was a dead man, he seeing armed men standing all round about him, was terrified, and complied; and as for those of his followers that were excluded, when they were informed that he was seized, they ran away. I then called Jesus to me by himself, and told him, "that I was not a stranger to that treacherous design he had against me, nor was I ignorant by whom he was sent for; that, however, I would forgive him what he had done already, if he would repent of it, and be faithful to me hereafter." And thus, upon his promise to do all that I desired, I let him go, and gave him leave to get those whom he had formerly had with him together again. But I threatened the inhabitants of Sepphoris, that, if they would not leave off their ungrateful treatment of me, I would punish them sufficiently.

23. At this time it was that two great men, who were under the jurisdiction of the king [Agrippa] came to me out of the region of Trachonius, bringing their horses and their arms, and carrying with them their money also; and when the Jews would force them to be circumcised, if they would stay among them, I would not permit them to have any force put upon them, but said to them, "Every one ought to worship God according to his own inclinations, and not to be constrained by force; and that these men, who had fled to us for protection, ought not to be so treated as to repent of their coming hither." And when I had pacified the multitude, I provided for the men that were come to us whatsoever it was they wanted, according to their usual way of living, and that in great plenty also.

24. Now king Agrippa sent an army to make themselves masters of the citadel of Gamala, and over it Equieulus Modius; but the forces that were sent were not allow to encompass the citadel quite round, but lay before it in the open places, and besieged it. But when Ebutius the decurion, who was intrusted with the government of the great plain, heard that I was at Simonias, a village situated in the confines of Galilee, and was distant from him sixty furlongs, he took a hundred horsemen that were with him by night, and a certain number of footmen, about two hundred, and brought the inhabitants of the city Gibea along with him as auxiliaries, and marched in the night, and came to the village where I abode. Upon this I pitched my camp over against him, which had a great number of forces in it: but Ebutius tried to draw us down into the plain, as greatly depending upon his horsemen; but we would not come down; for when I was satisfied of the advantage that his horse would have if we came down into the plain, while we were all footmen, I resolved to join battle with the enemy where I was. Now Ebutius and his party made a courageous opposition for some time; but when he saw that his horse were useless to him in that place, he retired back to the city Gibea, having lost three of his men in the fight. So I followed him directly with two thousand armed men; and when I was at the city Besara, that lay in the confines of Ptolemais, but twenty furlongs from Gibea, where Ebutius abode, I placed my armed men on the outside of the village, and gave orders that they should guard the passes with great care, that the enemy might not disturb us until we should have carried off the corn, a great quantity of which lay there: it belonged to Bernice the queen, and had been gathered together out of the neighbouring villages into Besara; so I loaded my camels and asses, a great number of which I had brought along with me, and sent the corn into Galilee. When I had done this, I offered Ebutius battle; but when he would not accept of the offer, for he was terrified at our readiness and courage, I altered my route, and marched towards Neopolitanus, because I had heard that the country about Tiberias was laid waste by him. This Neopolitanus was captain of a troop of horse, and had the custody of Scythopolis intrusted to his care by the enemy; and when I had hindered him from doing any further mischief to Tiberias, I set myself to make provision for the affairs of Galilee.

25. But when John, the son of Levi, who, as we before told you, abode at Gischala, was informed how all things had succeeded to my mind, and that I was much in favour with those that were under me, as also that the enemy were greatly afraid of me, he was not pleased with it, as thinking my prosperity tended to his ruin. So he took up a bitter envy and enmity against me; and hoping, that if he could inflame those that were under me to hate me, he should put an end to the prosperity I was in, he tried to persuade the inhabitants of Tiberias and of Sepphoris, [and for those of Gabara he supposed they would be also of the same mind with the others,] which were the greatest cities of Galilee, to revolt from their subjection to me, and to be of his party; and told them that he would command them better than I did. As for the people of Sepphoris, who belonged to neither of us, because they had chosen to be in subjection to the Romans, they did not comply with his proposal; and for those of Tiberias, they did not indeed so far comply as to make a revolt from under me, but they agreed to be his friends, while the inhabitants of Gabara did go over to John; and it was Simon that persuaded them so to do, one who was both the principal man in the city, and a particular friend and companion of John. It is true, these did not openly own the making a revolt, because they were in great fear of the Galileans, and had frequent experience of the good-will they bore to me; yet did they privately watch for a proper opportunity to lay snares for me; and indeed I thereby came into the greatest danger, on the occasion following.

26. There were some bold young men of the village of Dabaritta, who observed that the wife of Ptolemy, the king's procurator, was to make a progress over the great plain with a mighty attendance, and with some horsemen that followed as a guard to them, and this out of a country that was subject to the king and queen, into the jurisdiction of the Romans; and fell upon them on a sudden, and obliged the wife of Ptolemy to fly away, and plundered all the carriages. They also came to me to Tarichese, with four mules' loading of garments, and other furniture; and the weight of the silver they brought was not small, and there were five hundred pieces of gold also. Now I had a mind to preserve these spoils for Ptolemy, who was my countryman; and it is prohibited by our laws even to spoil our enemies; so I said to those that brought these spoils, that they ought to be kept, in order to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem with them when they came to be sold. But the young men took it very ill that they did not receive a part of those spoils for themselves, as they expected to have done; so they went among the villages in the neighbourhood of Tiberias, and told the people that I was going to betray their country to the Romans, and that I used deceitful language to them, when I said, that what had been thus gotten by rapine should be kept for the rebuilding of the walls of the city of Jerusalem; although I had resolved to restore these spoils again to their former owner. And indeed they were herein not mistaken as to my intentions; for when I had gotten clear of them, I sent for two of the principal men, Dassion, and Janneus the son of Levi, persons that were among the chief friends of the king, and commanded them to take the furniture that had been plundered, and to send it to

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him; and I threatened that I would order them to be put to death by way of punishment, if they discovered this my command to any other person.

27. Now, when all Galilee was filled with this rumor, that their country was about to be betrayed by me to the Romans, and when all men were exasperated against me, and ready to bring me to punishment, the inhabitants of Tarichee did also themselves suppose that what the young men said was true, and persuaded my guards and armed men to leave me when I was asleep, and to come presently to the hippodrome, in order there to take counsel against me their commander. And when they had prevailed with them, and they were gotten together, they found there a great company assembled already, who all joined in one clamour, to bring the man who was so wicked to them as to betray them, to his due punishment; and it was Jesus, the son of Sapphias, who principally set them on. He was ruler in Tiberias, a wicked man, and naturally disposed to make disturbances in matters of consequence; a seditious person he was indeed, and an innovator beyond every body else. He then took the laws of Moses into his hands, and came into the midst of the people, and said, "O my fellow citizens! if you are not disposed to hate Josephus on your own account, have regard, however, to these laws of your country, which your commander-in-chief is going to betray; hate him therefore on both these accounts, and bring the man who hath acted thus insolently, to his deserved punishment."

28. When he had said this, and the multitude had openly applauded him for what he had said, he took some of the armed men, and made haste away to the house in which I lodged, as if he would kill me immediately, while I was wholly insensible of all till this disturbance happened; and by reason of the pains I had been taking, was fallen fast asleep. But Simon, who was intrusted with the care of my body, and was the only person that stayed with me, and saw the violent incursion the citizens made upon me, awaked me, and told me of the danger I was in, and desired me to let him kill me, that I might die bravely and like a general, before my enemies came in, and forced me [to kill myself], or killed me themselves. Thus did he discourse to me; but I committed the care of my life to God, and made haste to go out to the multitude. Accordingly, I put on a black garment, and hung my sword at my neck, and went by such a different way to the hippodrome, wherein I thought none of my adversaries would meet me; so I appeared among them on the sudden, and fell down flat on the earth, and bedewed the ground with my tears: then I seemed to them all an object of compassion. And when I perceived the change that was made in the multitude, I tried to divide their opinions before the armed men should return from my house; so I granted them that I had been as wicked as they supposed me to be; but still I entreated them to let me first inform them for what use I had kept that money which arose from the plunder, and, that they might then kill me if they pleased: and upon the multitude's ordering me to speak, the armed men came upon me, and when they saw me, they ran to kill me; but when the multitude bade them hold their hands, they complied, and expected that as soon as I should own to them that I kept the money for the king, it would be looked on as a confession of my treason, and they should then be allowed to kill me.

29. When, therefore, silence was made by the whole multitude, I spake thus to them: "O my countrymen! I refuse not to die, if justice so require. However, I am desirous to tell you the truth of this matter before I die; for as I know that this city of yours [Tarichee] was a city of great hospitality, and filled with abundance of such men as have left their own countries, and are come hither to be partakers of your fortune, whatever it be, I had a mind to build walls about it, out of this money, for which you are so angry with me, while yet it was to be expended in building your own walls." Upon my saying this, the people of Taricheae and the strangers cried out, that "they gave me thanks, and desired me to be of good courage," although the Galileans and the people of Tiberias continued in their wrath against me, insomuch that there arose a tumult among them, while some threatened to kill me, and some bade me not to regard them; but when I promised them that I would build them walls at Tiberias, and at other cities that wanted them, they gave credit to what I promised, and returned every one to his own home. So I escaped the forementioned danger, beyond all my hopes, and returned to my own house, accompanied with my friends, and twenty armed men also.

30. However, these robbers and other authors of this tumult, who were afraid, on their own account, lest I should punish them for what they had done, took six hundred armed men, and came to the house where I abode, in order to set it on fire. When this their insult was told me, I thought it indecent for me to run away, and I resolved to expose myself to danger, and to act with some boldness; so I gave order to shut the doors, and went up into an upper room, and desired that they would send in some of their men to receive the money [from the spoils] for I told them they would then have no occasion to be angry with me; and when they had sent in one of the boldest of them all, I had him whipped severely, and I commanded that one of his hands should be cut off, and hung about his neck; and in this case was he put out to those that sent him. At which procedure of mine they were greatly affrighted, and in no small consternation, and were afraid that they should themselves be served in like manner, if they staid there; for they supposed that I had in the house more armed men than they had themselves; so they ran away immediately, while I, by the use of this stratagem, escaped this their second treacherous design against me.

31. But there were still some that irritated the multitude against me, and said that those great men that belonged to the king ought not to be suffered to live, if they would not change their religion to the religion of those to whom they fled for safety: they spake reproachfully of them also, and said that they were wizards, and such as called in the Romans upon them. So the multitude was soon deluded by such plausible pretenses as were agreeable to their own inclinations, and were prevailed on by them. But when I was informed of this, I instructed the multitude again, that those who fled to them for refuge ought not to be persecuted: I also laughed at the allegation about witchcraft, and told them that the Romans would not maintain so many ten thousand soldiers, if they could overcome their enemies by wizards. Upon my saying this, the people assented for a while; but they returned again afterwards, as irritated by some ill people against the great men; nay, they once made an assault upon the house in which they dwelt at Tarichess, in order to kill them; which, when I was informed of, I was afraid lest so horrid a crime should take effect, and nobody else would make that city their refuge any more. I therefore came myself, and some others with me, to the house where these great men lived, and locked the doors, and had a trench drawn from their house leading to the lake, and sent for a ship, and embarked therein with them, and sailed to the confines of Hippos: I also paid them the value of their horses; nor in such a flight could I have their horses brought to them. I then dismissed them, and begged of them earnestly that they would courageously bear I this distress which befell them. I was also myself I greatly displeased that I was compelled to expose those that had fled to me to go again into an enemy's country; yet did I think it more eligible that they should perish among the Romans, if it should so happen, than in the country that was under my jurisdiction. However, they escaped at length, and king Agrippa forgave them their offenses. And this was the conclusion of what concerned these men.

32. But as for the inhabitants of the city of Tiberias, they wrote to the king, and desired him to send them forces sufficient to be a guard to their country; for that they were desirous to come over to him: this was what they wrote to him. But when I came to them, they desired me to build their walls, as I had promised them to do; for they had heard that the walls of Tarichess were already built. I agreed to their proposal accordingly; and when I had made preparation for the entire building, I gave order to the architects to go to work; but on the third day, when I was gone to Tarichess, which was thirty furlongs distant from Tiberias, it so fell out, that some Roman horsemen were discovered on their march, not far from the city, which made it to be supposed that the forces were come from the king; upon which they shouted, and lifted up their voices in commendations of the king, and in reproaches against me. Hereupon one came running to me, and told me what their dispositions were, and that they had resolved to revolt from me: upon hearing which news I was very much alarmed; for I had already sent away my armed men from Tarichess, to their own homes, because the next day was our sabbath; for I would not have the people of Tarichess disturbed [on that day] by a multitude of soldiers; and indeed, whenever I sojourned at that city, I never took any particular care for a guard about my own body, because I had had frequent instances of the fidelity its inhabitants bore to me. I had now about me no more than seven armed men, besides some friends, and was doubtful what to do; for to send to recall my own forces I did not think proper, because the present day was almost over; and had those forces been with me, I could not take up arms on the next day, because our laws forbade us so to do, even though our necessity should be very great; and if I should permit the people of Tarichess, and the strangers with them, to guard the city, I saw that they would not be sufficient for that purpose, and I perceived that I should be obliged to delay my assistance a great while; for I thought with myself that the forces that came from the king would prevent me, and that I should be driven out of the city. I considered, therefore, how to get clear of these forces by a stratagem; so I immediately placed those my friends of Tarichee, on whom I could best confide, at the gates, to watch those very carefully who went out at those gates: I also called to me the heads of families, and bade every one of them to seize upon a ship to go on board it, and to take a master with them, and follow him to the city of Tiberias. I also myself went on board one of those ships, with my friends, and the seven armed men already mentioned, and sailed for Tiberias.

33. But now, when the people of Tiberias perceived that there were no forces come from the king, and yet saw the whole lake full of ships, they were in fear what would become of their city, and were greatly terrified, as supposing that the ships were full of men on board; so they then changed their minds, and threw down their weapons, and met me with their wives and children, and made acclamations to me with great commendations; for they imagined that I did not know their former inclinations [to have been against me]; so they persuaded me to spare the city. But when I was come near enough, I gave order to the masters of the ships to cast anchor a good way off the land, that the people of Tiberias might not perceive that the ships had no men on board; but I went nearer to the people in one of the ships, and rebuked them for their folly, and that they were so fickle as, without any just occasion in the world, to revolt from their fidelity to me. However, assured them that I would entirely forgive them for the time to come, if they would send ten of the ringleaders of the multitude to me; and when they complied readily with this proposal, and sent me the men forementioned, I put them on board a ship, and sent them away to Tarichese; and ordered them to be kept in prison.

34. And by this stratagem it was that I gradually got all the senate of Tiberias into my power, and sent them to the city forementioned, with many of the principal men among the populace, and those not fewer in number than the other. But when the multitude saw into what great miseries they had brought themselves, they desired me to punish the author of this sedition: his name was Clitus, a young man, bold and rash in his undertakings. Now, since I thought it not agreeable to piety to put one of my own people to death, and yet found it necessary to punish him, I ordered Levi, one of my own guards, to go to him, and cut off one of Clitus's hands; but as he that was ordered to do this, was afraid to go out of the ship alone, among 'so great a multitude, I was not willing that the timorousness of the soldier should appear to the people of Tiberias. So I called to Clitus himself and said to him, "Since thou deservest to lose both thine hands for thy ingratitude to me, be thou thine own executioner, lest, if thou refusest so to be, thou undergo a worse punishment." And when he earnestly begged of me to spare him one of his hands, it was with difficulty that I granted it. So, in order to prevent the loss of both his hands, he willingly took his sword, and cut off his own left hand; and this put an end to the sedition.

35. Now the men of Tiberias, after I was gone to Taricheae, perceived what stratagem I had used against them, and they admired how I had put an end to their foolish sedition, without shedding of blood. But now, when I had sent for some of those multitudes of the people of Tiberias out of prison, among whom were Justus and his father Pistus, I made them to sup with me; and during our supper time I said to them, that I knew the power of the Romans was superior to all others, but did not say so [publicly] because of the robbers. So I advised them to do as I did, and to wait for a proper opportunity, and not to be uneasy at my being their commander; for that they could not expect to have another who would use the like moderation that I had done. I also put Justus in mind how the Galileans had cut off his brother's hands before ever I came to Jerusalem, upon an accusation laid against him, as if he had been a rogue, and had forged some letters; as also how the people of Gamala, in a sedition they raised against the Babylonians, after the departure of Philip, slew Chares, who was a kinsman of Philip, and withal how they had wisely punished Jesus, his brother Justuses sister's husband [with death]. When I had said this to them during supper time, I in the morning ordered Justus, and all the rest that were in prison, to be loosed out of it, and sent away.

36. But before this, it happened that Philip, the son of Jacimus, went out of the citadel of Gamala upon the following occasion: When Philip had been informed that Varus was put out of his government by king Agrippa, and that Equieulus Modius, a man that was of old his friend and companion, was come to succeed him, he wrote to him, and related what turns of fortune he had had, and desired him to forward the letters he sent to the king and queen. Now, when Modius had received these letters, he was exceedingly glad, and sent the letters to the king and queen, who were then about Berytus. But when king Agrippa knew that the story about Philip was false, [for it had been given out, that the Jews had begun a war with the Romans, and that this Philip had been their commander in that war,] he sent some horsemen to conduct Philip to him; and when he was come, he saluted him very obligingly, and showed him to the Roman commanders, and told them that this was the man of whom the report had gone about as if he had revolted from the Romans. He also bid him to take some horsemen with him, and to go quickly to the citadel of Gamala, and to bring out thence all his domestics, and to restore the Babylonians to Batanea again. He also gave it him in charge to take all possible care that none of his subjects should be guilty of making any innovation. Accordingly, upon these directions from the king, he made haste to do what he was commanded.

37. Now there was one Joseph, the son of a female physician, who excited a great many young men to join with him. He also insolently addressed himself to the principal persons at Gamala, and persuaded them to revolt from the king; and take up arms, and gave them hopes that they should, by his

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means, recover their liberty. And some they forced into the service, and those that would not acquiesce in what they had resolved on, they slew. They also slew Chares, and with him Jesus, one of his kinsmen, and a brother of Justus of Tiberias, as we have already said. Those of Gamala also wrote to me, desiring me to send them an armed force, and workmen to raise up the walls of their city; nor did I reject either of their requests. The region of Gaulanitis did also revolt from the king, as far as the village Solyma. I also built a wall about Seleucia and Soganni, which are villages naturally of ver great strength. Moreover, I, in like manner, walled several villages of Upper Galilee, though they were very rocky of themselves. Their names are Jamnia, and Meroth, and Achabare. I also fortified, in the Lower Galilee, the cities Tarichee, Tiberias, Sepphoris, and the villages, the cave of Arbela, Bersobe, Selamin, Jotapata, Capharecho, and Sigo, and Japha, and Mount Tabor. I also laid up a great quantity of corn in these places, and arms withal, that might be for their security afterward.

38. But the hatred that John, the son of Levi, bore to me, grew now more violent, while he could not bear my prosperity with patience. So he proposed to himself, by all means possible, to make away with me; and built the walls of Gischala, which was the place of his nativity. He then sent his brother Simon, and Jonathan, the son of Sisenna, and about a hundred armed men, to Jerusalem, to Simon, the son of Gamaliel, in order to persuade him to induce the commonalty of Jerusalem to take from me the government over the Galileans, and to give their suffrages for conferring that authority upon him. This Simon was of the city of Jerusalem, and of a very noble family of the sect of the Pharisees, which are supposed to excel others in the accurate knowledge of the laws of their country. He was a man of great wisdom and reason, and capable of restoring public affairs by his prudence, when they were in an ill posture. He was also an old friend and companion of John; but at that time he had a difference with me. When therefore he had received such an exhortation, he persuaded the high priests, Ananus, and Jesus the son of Gamala, and some others of the same seditious faction, to cut me down, now I was growing so great, and not to overlook me while I was aggrandizing myself to the height of glory; and he said that it would be for the advantage of the Galileans, if I were deprived of my government there. Ananus also, and his friends, desired them to make no delay about the matter, lest I should get the knowledge of what was doing too soon, and should come and make an assault upon the city with a great army. This was the counsel of Simon; but Artanus the high priest demonstrated to them that this was not an easy thing to be done, because many of the high priests and of the rulers of the people bore witness that I had acted like an excellent general, and that it was the work of ill men to accuse one against whom they had nothing to say.

39. When Simon heard Ananus say this, he desired that the messengers would conceal the thing, and not let it come among many; for that he would take care to have Josephus removed out of Galilee very quickly. So he called for John's brother, [Simon,] and charged him that they should send presents to Ananus and his friends; for, as he said, they might probably by that means persuade them to change their minds. And indeed Simon did at length thus compass what he aimed at; for Artanus, and those with him, being corrupted by bribes, agreed to expel me out of Galilee, without making the rest of the citizens acquainted with what they were doing. Accordingly, they resolved to send men of distinction as to their families, and of distinction as to their learning also. Two of these were of the populace, Jonathan and Ananias, by sect Pharisees; while the third, Jozar, was of the stock of the priests, and a Pharisee also; and Simon, the last of them, was of the youngest of the high priests. These had it given them in charge, that, when they were come to the multitude of the Galileans, they should ask them, what was the reason of their love to me? and if they said that it was because I was born at Jerusalem, that they should reply, that they four were all born at the same place; and if they should say, it was because I was well versed in their law, they should reply, that neither were they unacquainted with the practices of their country; but if, besides these, they should say, they loved me because I was a priest, they should reply, that two of these were priests also.

40. Now, when they had given Jonathan and his companions these instructions, they gave them forty thousand [drachmae] out of the public money: but when they heard that there was a certain Galilean that then sojourned at Jerusalem, whose name was Jesus, who had about him a band of six hundred armed men, they sent for him, and gave him three months pay, and gave him orders to follow Jonathan and his companions, and be obedient to them. They also gave money to three hundred men that were citizens of Jerusalem, to maintain them all, and ordered them also to follow the ambassadors; and when they had complied, and were gotten ready for the march, Jonathan and his companions went out with them, having along with them John's brother and a hundred armed men. The charge that was given them by those that sent them was this: That if I would voluntarily lay down my arms, they should send me alive to the city of Jerusalem; but that, in case I opposed them, they should kill me, and fear nothing; for that it was their command for them so to do. They also wrote to John to make all ready for fighting me, and gave orders to the inhabitants of Sepphoris, and Gabara, and Tiberins, to send auxiliaries to John.

41. Now, as my father wrote me an account of this, [for Jesus the son of Gamala, who was present in that council, a friend and companion of mine, told him of it,] I was very much troubled, as discovering thereby that my fellow citizens proved so ungrateful to me, as, out of envy, to give order that I should be slain: my father earnestly pressed me also in his letter to come to him, for that he longed to see his son before he died. I informed my friends of these things, and that in three days' time I should leave the country, and go home. Upon hearing this, they were all very sorry, and desired me, with tears in their eyes, not to leave them to be destroyed; for so they thought they should be, if I were deprived of the command over them: but as I did not grant their request, but was taking care of my own safety, the Galileans, out of their dread of the consequence of my departure, that they should then be at the mercy of the robbers, sent messengers over all Galilee to inform them of my resolution to leave them. Whereupon, as soon as they heard it, they got together in great numbers, from all parts, with their wives and children; and this they did, as it appeared to me, not more out of their affection to me, than out of their fear on their own account; for while I staid with them, they supposed that they should suffer no harm. So they all came into the great plain, wherein I lived, the name of which was Asochis.

42. But wonderful it was what a dream I saw that very night; for when I had betaken myself to my bed, as grieved and disturbed at the news that had been written to me, it seemed to me, that a certain person stood by me, and said, "O Josephus! leave off to afflict thy soul, and put away all fear; for what now grieves thee will render thee very considerable, and in all respects most happy; for thou shalt get over not only these difficulties, but many others, with great success. However, be not cast down, but remember that thou art to fight with the Romans." When I had seen this dream, I got up with an intention of going down to the plain. Now, when the whole multitude of the Galileans, among whom were the women and children, saw me, they threw themselves down upon their faces, and, with tears in their eyes, besought me not to leave them exposed to their enemies, nor to go away and permit their country to be injured by them. But when I did not comply, with their entreaties, they compelled me to take an oath, that I would stay with them: they also cast abundance of reproaches upon the people of Jerusalem, that they would not let their country enjoy peace.

43. When I heard this, and saw what sorrow the people were in, I was moved with compassion to them, and thought it became me to undergo the most manifest hazards for the sake of so great a multitude; so I let them know I would stay with them. And when I had given order that five thousand off them should come to me armed, and with provisions for their maintenance, I sent the rest away to their own homes; and when those five thousand were come, I took them, together with three thousand of the soldiers that were with me before, and eighty horsemen, and marched to the village of Chabolo, situated in the confines of Ptolimias, and there kept my forces together, pretending to get ready to fight with Placidus, who was come with two cohorts of footmen, and one troop of horsemen, and was sent thither by Cestius Gallus to burn those villages of Galilee that were near Ptolemais. Upon whose casting up a bank before the city Ptolemais, I also pitched my camp at about the distance of sixty furlongs from that village. And now we frequently brought out our forces as if we would fight, but proceeded no further than skirmishes at a distance; for when Placidus perceived that I was earnest to come to a battle, he was afraid, and avoided it. Yet did he not remove from the neighbourhood of Ptolemais.

44. About this time it was that Jonathan and his fellow legates came. They were sent, as we have said already, by Simon, and Ananus the high priest. And Jonathan contrived how he might catch me by treachery; for he durst not make any attempt upon me openly. So he wrote me the following epistle: "Jonathan and those that are with him, and are sent by the people of Jerusalem, to Josephus, send greeting. We are sent by the principal men of Jerusalem, who have heard that John of Gischala hath laid many snares for thee, to rebuke him, and to exhort him to be subject to thee hereafter. We are also desirous to consult with thee about our common concerns, and what is fit to be done. We therefore desire thee to come to us quickly, and to bring only a few men with thee; for this village will not contain a great number of soldiers." Thus it was that they wrote, as expecting one of these two things; either that I should come without armed men, and then they should have me wholly in their power; or, if I came with a great number, they should judge me to be a public enemy. Now it was a horseman who brought the letter, a man at other times bold, and one that had served in the army under the king. It was the second hour of the night that he came, when I was feasting with my friends, and the principal of the Galileans. This man, upon my servant's telling me that a certain horseman of the Jewish nation was come, was called in at my command, but did not so much as salute me at all, but held out a letter, and said, "This letter is sent thee by those that are come from Jerusalem; do thou write an answer to it quickly; for I am obliged to return to them very soon." Now my guests could not but wonder at the boldness of the soldier. But I desired him to sit down and sup with us; but when he refused so to do, I held the letter in my hands as I received it, and fell a talking with my guests about other matters. But a few hours afterwards, I got up, and when I had dismissed the rest to go to their beds, I bid only four of my intimate friends to stay, and ordered my servant to get some wine ready. I also opened the letter so, that nobody could perceive it; and understanding thereby presently the purportú of the writing, I sealed it up again, and appeared as if I had not yet read it, but only held it in my hands. I ordered twenty drachmae should be given the soldier for the charges of his journey; and when he took the money, and said that he thanked me for it, I perceived that he loved money, and that he was to be caught chiefly by that means; and I said to him, "If thou wilt but drink with us, thou shalt have a drachma for every glass thou drinkest." So he gladly embraced this proposal, and drank a great deal of wine, in order to get the more money, and was so drunk, that at last he could not keep the secrets he was intrusted with, but discovered them without my putting questions to him, viz. That a treacherous design was contrived against me, and that I was doomed to die by those that sent him. When I heard this, I wrote back this answer: "Josephus to Jonathan, and those that are with him, sendeth greeting. Upon the information that you are come in health into Galilee, I rejoice, and this especially because I can now resign the care of public affairs here into your hands, and return into my native country, which is what I have desired to do a great while; and I confess I ought not only to come to you as far as Xaloth, but farther, and this without your commands. But I desire you to excuse me, because I cannot do it now, since I watch the motions of Placidus, who hath a mind to go up into Galilee; and this I do here at Chabolo. Do you therefore, on the receipt of this epistle, come hither to me. Fare you well."

45. When I had written thus, and given the letter to be carried by the soldier, I sent along with him thirty of the Galileans of the best characters, and gave them instructions to salute those ambassadors, but to say nothing else to them. I also gave orders to as many of those armed men, whom I esteemed most faithful to me, to go along with the others, every one with him whom he was to guard, lest some conversation might pass between those whom I sent and those who were with Jonathan. So those men went [to Jonathan]. But when Jonathan and his partners had failed in this their first attempt, they sent me another letter, the contents whereof were as follows: "Jonathan, and those with him, to Josephus, send greeting. We require thee to come to us to the village Gabaroth, on the third day, without any armed men, that we may hear what thou hast to lay to the charge of John [of Gischala]." When they had written this letter, they saluted the Galileans whom I sent, and came to Japha, which was the largest village of all Galilee, and encompassed with very strong walls, and had a great number of inhabitants in it. There the multitude of men, with their wives and children, met them, and exclaimed loudly against them; and desired them to be gone, and not to envy them the advantage of an excellent commander. With these clamours Jonathan and his partners were greatly provoked, although they durst not show their anger openly; so they made them no answer, but went to other villages. But still the same clamours met them from all the people, who said, "Nobody should persuade them to have any other commander besides Josephus." So Jonathan and his partners went away from them without success, and came to Sepphoris, the greatest city of all Galilee. Now the men of that city, who inclined to the Romans in their sentiments, met them indeed, but neither praised nor reproached me and when they were gone down from Sepphoris to Asochis, the people of that place made a clamour against them, as those of Japha had done; whereupon they were able to contain themselves no longer, but ordered the armed men that were with them to beat those that made the clamour with their clubs. And when they came to Gabara, John met them with three thousand armed men; but, as I understood by their letter that they had resolved to fight against me, I arose from Chabolo, with three thousand armed men also; but left in my camp one of my fastest friends, and came to Jotapata, as desirous to be near them, the distance being no more than forty furlongs. Whence I wrote thus to them: "If you are very desirous that I should come to you, you know there are two hundred and forty cities and villages in Galilee; I will come to any of them which you please, excepting Gaburn and Gischala; the one of which is John's native city, and the other in confederacy and friendship with him."

46. When Jonathan and his partners had received this letter, they wrote me no more answers, but called a council of their friends together; and taking John into their consultation, they took counsel together by what means they might attack me. John's opinion was, that they should write to all the cities

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and villages that were in Galilee; for that there must be certainly one or two persons in every one of them that were at variance with me, and that they should be invited to come to oppose me as an enemy. He would also have them send this resolution of theirs to the city of Jerusalem, that its citizens, upon the knowledge of my being adjudged to be an enemy by the Galileans, might themselves I also confirm that determination. He said also, that when this was done, even those Galileans who were well affected to me, would desert me out of fear. When John had given them this counsel, what he had said was very agreeable to the rest of them. I was also made acquainted with these affairs about the third hour of the night, by the means of one Saccheus, who had belonged to them, but now deserted them and came over to me, and told me what they were about; so I perceived that no time was to be lost. Accordingly, I gave command to Jacob, an armed man of my guard, whom I esteemed faithful to me, to take two hundred men, and to guard the passages that led from Gahara to Galilee, and to seize upon the passengers, and send them to me, especially such as were caught with letters about them: I also sent Jeremias himself, one of my friends, with six hundred armed men, to the borders of Galilee, in order to watch the roads that led from this country to the city Jerusalem, and gave him charge to lay hold of such as traveled with letters about them, to keep the men in bonds upon the place, but to send me the letters.

47. When I had laid these commands upon them, I gave them orders, and bid them take their arms and bring three days' provision with them, and be with me the next day. I also parted those that were about me into four parts, and ordained those of them that were most faithful to me to be a guard to my body. I also set over them centurions, and commanded them to take care that not a soldier which they did not know should mingle himself among them. Now, on the fifth day following, when I was at Gabaroth, I found the entire plain that was before the village full of armed men, who were come out of Galilee to assist me: many others of the multitude, also, out of the village, ran along with me. But as soon as I had taken my place, and began to speak to them, they all made an acclamation, and called me the benefactor and savior of the country. And when I had made them my acknowledgments, and thanked them [for their affection to me], I also advised them to fight with nobody, nor to spoil the country; but to pitch their tents in the plain, and be content with their sustenance they had brought with them; for I told them that I had a mind to compose these troubles without shedding any blood. Now it came to pass, that on the very same day those who were sent by John with letters, fell among the guards whom I had appointed to watch the roads; so the men were themselves kept upon the place, as my orders were, but I got the letters, which were full of reproaches and lies; and I intended to fall upon these men, without saying a word of these matters to any body.

48. Now, as soon as Jonathan and his companions heard of my coming, they took all their own friends, and John with them, and retired to the house of Jesus, which indeed was a large castle, and no way unlike a citadel; so they privately laid a band of armed men therein, and shut all the other doors but one, which they kept open, and they expected that I should come out of the road to them, to salute them. And indeed they had given orders to the armed men, that when I came they should let nobody besides me come in, but should exclude others; as supposing that, by this means, they should easily get me under their power: but they were deceived in their expectation; for I perceived what snares they had laid for me. Now, as soon as I was got off my journey, I took up my lodgings over against them, and pretended to be asleep; so Jonathan and his party, thinking that I was really asleep and at rest, made haste to go down into the plain, to persuade the people that I was an ill governor. But the matter proved otherwise; for, upon their appearance, there was a cry made by the Galileans immediately, declaring their good opinion of me as their governor; and they made a clamour against Jonathan and his partners for coming to them when they had suffered no harm, and as though they would overturn their happy settlement; and desired them by all means to go back again, for that they would never be persuaded to have any other to rule over them but myself. When I heard of this, I did not fear to go down into the midst of them; I went, therefore, myself down presently to hear what Jonathan and his companions said. As soon as I appeared, there was immediately an acclamation made to me by the whole multitude, and a cry in my commendation by them, who confessed their thanks was owing to me for my good government of them.

49. When Jonathan and his companions heard this, they were in fear of their own lives, and in danger lest they should be assaulted by the Galileans on nay account; so they contrived how they might run away. But as they were not able to get off, for I desired them to stay, they looked down with concern at my words to them. I ordered, therefore, the multitude to restrain entirely their acclamations, and placed the most faithful of my armed men upon the avenues, to be a guard to us, lest John should unexpected fall upon us; and I encouraged the Galileans to take their weapons, lest they should be disturbed at their enemies, if any sudden insult should be made upon them. And then, in the first place, I put Jonathan and his partners in mind of their [former] letter, and after what manner they had written to me, and declared they were sent by the common consent to the people of Jerusalem, to make up the differences I had with John, and how they had desired me to come to them; and as I spake thus, I publicly showed that letter they had written, till they could not at all deny what they had done, the letter itself convicting them. I then said, "O Jonathan! and you that are sent with him as his colleagues, if I were to be judged as to my behavior, compared with that of John's, and had brought no more than two or three witnesses, good men and true, it is plain you had been forced, upon the examination of their characters beforehand, to discharge the accusations: that therefore you may be informed that I have acted well in the affairs of Galilee, I think three witnesses too few to be brought by a man that hath done as he ought to do; so I gave you all these for witnesses. Inquire of them how I have lived, and whether I have not behaved myself with all decency, and after a virtuous manner, among them. And I further conjure you, O Galileans! to hide no part of the truth, but to speak before these men as before judges, whether I have in any thing acted otherwise than well."

50. While I was thus speaking, the united voices of all the people joined together, and called me their benefactor and savior, and attested to my former behavior, and exhorted me to continue so to do hereafter; and they all said, upon their oaths, that their wives had been preserved free from injuries, and that no one had ever been aggrieved by me. After this, I read to the Galileans two of those epistles which had been sent by Jonathan and his colleagues, and which those whom I had appointed to guard the road had taken, and sent to me. These were full of reproaches, and of lies, as if I had acted more like a tyrant than a governor against them, with many other things besides therein contained, which were no better indeed than impudent falsities. I also informed the multitude how I came by these letters, and that those who carried them delivered them up voluntarily; for I was not willing that my enemies should know any thing of the guards I had set, lest they should be afraid, and leave off writing hereafter.

51. When the multitude heard these things, they were greatly provoked at Jonathan, and his colleagues that were with him, and were going to attack them, and kill them; and this they had certainly done, unless I had restrained the anger of the Galileans, and said, that "I forgave Jonathan and his colleagues what was past, if they would repent, and go to their own country, and tell those who sent them the truth, as to my conduct." When I had said this, I let them go, although I knew they would do nothing of what they had promised. But the multitude were very much enraged against them, and entreated me to give them leave to punish them for their insolence; yet did I try all methods to persuade them to spare the men; for I knew that every instance of sedition was pernicious to the public welfare. But the multitude was too angry with them to be dissuaded, and all of them went immediately to the house in which Jonathan and his colleagues abode. However, when I perceived that their rage could not be restrained, I got on horseback, and ordered the multitude to follow me to the village Sogane, which was twenty furlongs off Gabara; and by using this stratagem, I so managed myself, as not to appear to begin a civil war amongst them.

52. But when I was come near Sogane, I caused the multitude to make a halt, and exhorted them not to be so easily provoked to anger, and to the inflicting such punishments as could not be afterwards recalled: I also gave order, that a hundred men, who were already in years, and were principal men among them, should get themselves ready to go to the city of Jerusalem, and should make a complaint before the people of such as raised seditions in the country. And I said to them, that "in case they be moved with what you say, you shall desire the community to write to me, and to enjoin me to continue in Galilee, and to order Jonathan and his colleagues to depart out of it." When I had suggested these instructions to them, and while they were getting themselves ready as fast as they could, I sent them on this errand the third day after they had been assembled: I also sent five hundred armed men with them [as a guard]. I then wrote to my friends in Samaria, to take care that they might safely pass through the country: for Samaria was already under the Romans, and it was absolutely necessary for those that go quickly [to Jerusalem] to pass through that country; for in that road you may, in three days' time, go from Galilee to Jerusalem. I also went myself, and conducted the old men as far as the bounds of Galilee, and set guards in the roads, that it might not be easily known by any one that these men were gone. And when I had thus done, I went and abode at Japha.

53. Now Jonathan and his colleagues, having failed of accomplishing what they would have done against me, sent John back to Gischala, but went themselves to the city of Tiberias, expecting it would submit itself to them; and this was founded on a letter which Jesus, their then governor, had written them, promising that, if they came, the multitude would receive them, and choose to be under their government; so they went their ways with this expectation. But Silas, who, as I said, had been left curator of Tiberias by me, informed me of this, and desired me to make haste thither. Accordingly, I complied with his advice immediately, and came thither; but found myself in danger of my life, from the following occasion: Jonathan and his colleagues had been at Tiberias, and had persuaded a great many of such as had a quarrel with me to desert me; but when they heard of my coming, they were in fear for themselves, and came to me; and when they had saluted me, they said, that I was a happy man in having behaved myself so well in the government of Galilee; and they congratulated me upon the honours that were paid me: for they said that my glory was a credit to them, since they had been my teachers and fellow citizens; and they said further, that it was but just that they should prefer my friendship to them rather than John's, and that they would have immediately gone home, but that they staid that they might deliver up John into my power; and when they said this they took their oaths of it, and those such as are most tremendous amongst us, and such as I did not think fit to disbelieve. However, they desired me to lodge some where else, because the next day was the sabbath, and that it was not fit the city of Tiberias should be disturbed [on that day].

54. So I suspected nothing, and went away to Tarichese; yet did I withal leave some to make inquiry in the city how matters went, and whether any thing was said about me: I also set many persons all the way that led from Tarichese to Tiberias, that they might communicate from one to another, if they learned any news from those that were left in the city. On the next day, therefore, they all came into the Proseucha; it was a large edifice, and capable of receiving a great number of people; thither Jonathan went in, and though he durst not openly speak of a revolt, yet did he say that their city stood in need of a better governor than it then had. But Jesus, who was the ruler, made no scruple to speak out, and said openly, "O fellow citizens! it is better for you to be in subjection to four than to one; and those such as are of high birth, and not without reputation for their wisdom;" and pointed to Jonathan and his colleagues. Upon his saying this, Justus came in and commended him for what he had said, and persuaded some of the people to be of his mind also. But the multitude were not pleased with what was said, and had certainly gone into a tumult, unless the sixth hour, which was now come, had dissolved the assembly, at which hour our laws require us to go to dinner on sabbath days; so Jonathan and his colleagues put off their council till the next day, and went off without success. When I was informed of these affairs, I determined to go to the city of Tiberias in the morning. Accordingly, on the next day, about the first hour of the day, I came from Tarichee, and found the multitude already assembled in the Proseucha; but on what account they were gotten together, those that were assembled did not know. But when Jonathan and his colleagues saw me there unexpectedly, they were in disorder; after which they raised a report of their own contrivance, that Roman horsemen were seen at a place called Union, in the borders of Galilee, thirty furlongs distant from the city. Upon which report, Jonathan and his colleagues cunningly exhorted me not to neglect this matter, nor to suffer the land to be spoiled by the enemy. And this they said with a design to remove me out of the city, under the pretense of the want of extraordinary assistance, while they might dispose the city to be my enemy.

55. As for myself, although I knew of their design, yet did I comply with what they proposed, lest the people of Tiberias should have occasion to suppose that I was not careful of their security. I therefore went out; but, when I was at the place, I found not the least footsteps of any enemy, so I returned as fast as ever I could, and found the whole council assembled, and the body of the people gotten together, and Jonathan and his colleagues bringing vehement accusations against me, as one who had no concern to ease them of the burdens of war, and as one that lived luxuriously. And as they were discoursing thus, they produced four letters, as written to them from some people that lived at the borders of Galilee, imploring that they would come to their assistance, for that there was an army of Romans, both horsemen and footmen, who would come and lay waste the country on the third day; they desired them also to make haste, and not to overlook them. When the people of Tiberias heard this, they thought they spake truth, and made a clamour against me, and said I ought not to sit still, but to go away to the assistance of their countrymen. Hereupon I said [for I understood the meaning of Jonathan and his colleagues] that I was ready to comply with what they proposed, and without delay to march to the war which they spake of, yet did I advise them, at the same time, that since these letters declared that the Romans would make their assault in four several places, they should part their forces into five bodies, and make Jonathan and his colleagues generals of each body of them, because it was fit for brave men, not only to give counsel, but to take the place of leaders, and assist their countrymen when such a necessity pressed them; for, said I, it is not possible for me to lead more

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than one party. This advice of mine greatly pleased the multitude; so they compelled them to go forth to the war. But their designs were put into very much disorder, because they had not done what they had designed to do, on account of my stratagem, which was opposite to their undertakings.

56. Now there was one whose name was Ananias [a wicked man he was, and very mischievous]; he proposed that a general religious fast should be appointed the next day for all the people, and gave order that at the same hour they should come to the same place, without any weapons, to make it manifest before God, that while they obtained his assistance, they thought all these weapons useless. This he said, not out of piety, but that they might catch me and my friends unarmed. Now, I was hereupon forced to comply, lest I should appear to despise a proposal that tended to piety. As soon, therefore, as we were gone home, Jonathan and his colleagues wrote to John to come to them in the morning, and desiring him to come with as many soldiers as he possibly could, for that they should then be able easily to get me into their hands, and to do all they desired to do. When John had received this letter, he resolved to comply with it. As for myself, on the next day, I ordered two of the guards of my body, whom I esteemed the most courageous and most faithful, to hide daggers under their garments, and to go along with me, that we might defend ourselves, if any attack should be made upon us by our enemies. I also myself took my breastplate, and girded on my sword, so that it might be, as far as it was possible, concealed, and came into the Proseucha.

57. Now Jesus, who was the ruler, commanded that they should exclude all that came with me, for he kept the door himself, and suffered none but his friends to go in. And while we were engaged in the duties of the day, and had betaken ourselves to our prayers, Jesus got up, and inquired of me what was become of the vessels that were taken out of the king's palace, when it was burnt down [and] of that uncoined silver; and in whose possession they now were? This he said, in order to drive away time till John should come. I said that Capellus, and the ten principal men of Tiberias, had them all; and I told him that they might ask them whether I told a lie or not. And when they said they had them, he asked me, What is become of those twenty pieces of gold which thou didst receive upon the sale of a certain weight of uncoined money? I replied, that I had given them to those ambassadors of theirs, as a maintenance for them, when they were sent by them to Jerusalem. So Jonathan and his colleagues said that I had not done well to pay the ambassadors out of the public money. And when the multitude were very angry at them for this, for they perceived the wickedness of the men, I understood that a tumult was going to arise; and being desirous to provoke the people to a greater rage against the men, I said, "But if I have not done well in paying our ambassadors out of the public stock, leave off your anger at me, for I will repay the twenty pieces of gold myself."

58. When I had said this, Jonathan and his colleagues held their peace; but the people were still more irritated against them, upon their openly showing their unjust ill-will to me. When Jesus saw this change in file people, he ordered them to depart, but desired the senate to stay; for that they could not examine things of such a nature in a tumult: and as the people were crying out that they would not leave me alone, there came one and told Jesus and his friends privately, that John and his armed men were at hand: whereupon Jonathan and his colleagues, being able to contain themselves no longer, [and perhaps the providence of God hereby procuring my deliverance, for had not this been so, I had certainly been destroyed by John,] said, "O you people of Tiberias! leave off this inquiry about the twenty pieces of gold; for Josephus hath not deserved to die for them; but he hath deserved it by his desire of tyrannizing, and by cheating the multitude of the Galileans with his speeches, in order to gain the dominion over them." When he had said this, they presently laid hands upon me, and endeavored to kill me: but as soon as those that were with me saw what they did, they drew their swords, and threatened to smite them, if they offered any violence to me. The people also took up stones, and were about to throw them at Jonathan; and so they snatched me from the violence of my enemies.

59. But as I was gone out a little way, I was just upon meeting John, who was marching with his armed men. So I was afraid of him, and turned aside, and escaped by a narrow passage to the lake, and seized on a ship, and embarked in it, and sailed over to Tarichese. So, beyond my expectation, I escaped this danger. Whereupon I presently sent for the chief of the Galileans, and told them after what manner, against all faith given, I had been very near to destruction from Jonathan and his colleagues, and the people of Tiberias. Upon which the multitude of the Galileans were very angry, and encouraged me to delay no longer to make war upon them, but to permit them to go against John, and utterly to destroy him, as well as Jonathan and his colleagues. However, I restrained them, though they were in such a rage, and desired them to tarry a while, till we should be informed what orders those ambassadors, that were sent by them to the city of Jerusalem, should bring thence; for I told them that it was best for them to act according to their determination; whereupon they were prevailed on. At which time, also, John, when the snares he had laid did not take effect, returned back to Gischala.

60. Now, in a few days, those ambassadors whom he had sent, came back again and informed us, that the people were greatly provoked at Ananus, and Simon the son of Gamaliel, and their friends; that, without any public determination, they had sent to Galilee, and had done their endeavors that I might be turned out of the government. The ambassadors said further, that the people were ready to burn their houses. They also brought letters, whereby the chief men of Jerusalem, at the earnest petition of the people, confirmed me in the government of Galilee, and enjoined Jonathan and his colleagues to return home quickly. When I had gotten these letters, I came to the village Arbela, where I procured an assembly of the Galileans to meet, and bid the ambassadors declare to them the anger of the people of Jerusalem at what had been done by Jonathan and his colleagues, and how much they hated their wicked doings, and how they had confirmed me in the government of their country, as also what related to the order they had in writing for Jonathan and his colleagues to return home. So I immediately sent them the letter, and bid him that carried it to inquire, as well as he could, how they intended to act [on this occasion.]

61. Now, when they had received that letter, and were thereby greatly disturbed, they sent for John, and for the senators of Tiberias, and for the principal men of the Gabarens, and proposed to hold a council, and desired them to consider what was to be done by them. However, the governors of Tiberias were greatly disposed to keep the government to themselves; for they said it was not fit to desert their city, now it was committed to their trust, and that otherwise I should not delay to fall upon them; for they pretended falsely that so I had threatened to do. Now John was not only of their opinion, but advised them, that two of them should go to accuse me before the multitude [at Jerusalem], that I do not manage the affairs of Galilee as I ought to do; and that they would easily persuade the people, because of their dignity, and because the whole multitude are very mutable. When, therefore, it appeared that John had suggested the wisest advice to them, they resolved that two of them, Jonathan and Ananias, should go to the people of Jerusalem, and the other two [Simon and Joazar] should be left behind to tarry at Tiberins. They also took along with them a hundred soldiers for their guard.

62. However, the governors of Tiberias took care to have their city secured with walls, and commanded their inhabitants to take their arms. They also sent for a great many soldiers from John, to assist them against me, if there should be occasion for them. Now John was at Gischala. Jonathan, therefore, and those that were with him, when they were departed from Tiberias, and as soon as they were come to Dabaritta, a village that lay in the utmost parts of Galilee, in the great plain, they, about midnight, fell among the guards I had set, who both commanded them to lay aside their weapons, and kept them in bonds upon the place, as I had charged them to do. This news was written to me by Levi, who had the command of that guard committed to him by me. Hereupon I said nothing of it for two days; and, pretending to know nothing about it, I sent a message to the people of Tiberias, and advised them to lay their arms aside, and to dismiss their men, that they might go home. But, supposing that Jonathan, and those that were with him, were already arrived at Jerusalem, they made reproachful answers to me; yet was I not terrified thereby, but contrived another stratagem against them, for I did not think it agreeable with piety to kindle the fire of war against the citizens. As I was desirous to draw those men away from Tiberias, I chose out ten thousand of the best of my armed men, and divided them into three bodies, and ordered them to go privately, and lie still as an ambush, in the villages. I also led a thousand into another village, which lay indeed in the mountains, as did the others, but only four furlongs distant from Tiberias; and gave orders, that when they saw my signal, they should come down immediately, while I myself lay with my soldiers in the sight of every body. Hereupon the people of Tiberias, at the sight of me, came running out of the city perpetually, and abused me greatly. Nay, their madness was come to that height, that they made a decent bier for me, and, standing about it, they mourned over me in the way of jest and sport; and I could not but be myself in a pleasant humor upon the sight of this madness of theirs.

63. And now being desirous to catch Simon by a wile, and Joazar with him, I sent a message to them, and desired them to come a little way out of the city, and many of their friends to guard them; for I said I would come down to them, and make a league with them, and divide the government of Galilee with them. Accordingly, Simon was deluded on account of his imprudence, and out of the hopes of gain, and did not delay to come; but Joazar, suspecting snares were laid for him, staid behind. So when Simon was come out, and his friends with him, for his guard, I met him, and saluted him with great civility, and professed that I was obliged to him for his coming up to me; but a little while afterward I walked along with him as though I would say something to him by myself; and when I had drawn him a good way from his friends, I took him about the middle, and gave him to my friends that were with me, to carry him into a village; and, commanding my armed men to come down, I with them made an assault upon Tiberias. Now, as the fight grew hot on both sides, and the soldiers belonging to Tiberias were in a fair way to conquer me, [for my armed men were already fled away,] I saw the posture of my affairs; and encouraging those that were with me, I pursued those of Tiberias, even when they were already conquerors, into the city. I also sent another band of soldiers into the city by the lake, and gave them orders to set on fire the first house they could seize upon. When this was done, the people of Tiberinas thought that their city was taken by force, and so threw down their arms for fear, and implored, they, their wives, and children, that I would spare their city. So I was over-persuaded by their entreaties, and restrained the soldiers from the vehemency with which they pursued them; while I myself, upon the coming on of the evening, returned back with my soldiers, and went to refresh myself. I also invited Simon to sup with me, and comforted him on occasion of what had happened; and I promised that I would send him safe and secure to Jerusalem, and withal would give him provisions for his journey thither.

64. But on the next day, I brought ten thousand armed men with me, and came to Tiberias. I then sent for the principal men of the multitude into the public place, and enjoined them to tell me who were the authors of the revolt; and when they told me who the men were, I sent them bound to the city Jotapata. But as to Jonathan and Ananias, I freed them from their bonds, and gave them provisions for their journey, together with Simon and Joazar, and five hundred armed men who should guard them; and so I sent them to Jerusalem. The people of Tiberias also came to me again, and desired that I would forgive them for what they had done; and they said they would amend what they had done amiss with regard to me, by their fidelity for the time to come; and they besought me to preserve what spoils remained upon the plunder of the city, for those that had lost them. Accordingly, I enjoined those that had got them, to bring them all before us; and when they did not comply for a great while, and I saw one of the soldiers that were about me with a garment on that was more splendid than ordinary, I asked him whence he had it; and when he replied that he had it out of the plunder of the city, I had him punished with stripes; and I threatened all the rest to inflict a severer punishment upon them, unless they produced before us whatsoever they had plundered; and when a great many spoils were brought together, I restored to every one of Tiberias what they claimed to be their own.

65. And now I am come to this part of my narration, I have a mind to say a few things to Justus, who hath himself written a history concerning these affairs, as also to others who profess to write history, but have little regard to truth, and are not afraid, either out of ill-will or good-will to some persons, to relate falsehoods. These men do like those who compose forged deeds and conveyances; and because they are not brought to the like punishment with them, they have no regard to truth. When, therefore, Justus undertook to write about these facts, and about the Jewish war, that he might appear to have been an industrious man, he falsified in what he related about me, and could not speak truth even about his own country; whence it is that, being belied by him, I am under a necessity to make my defense; and so I shall say what I have concealed till now. And let no one wonder that I have not told the world these things a great while ago. For although it be necessary for an historian to write the truth, yet is such a one not bound severely to animadvert on the wickedness of certain men; not out of any favour to them, but out of an author's own moderation. How then comes it to pass, O Justus! thou most sagacious of writers, [that I may address myself to him as if he were here present,] for so thou boastest of thyself, that I and the Galileans have been the authors of that sedition which thy country engaged in, both against the Romans and against the king [Agrippa, junior] For before ever I was appointed governor of Galilee by the community of Jerusalem, both thou and all the people of Tiberias had not only taken up arms, but had made war with Decapolis of Syria. Accordingly, thou hadst ordered their villages to be burnt, and a domestic servant of thine fell in the battle. Nor is it I only who say this; but so it is written in the Commentaries of Vespasian, the emperor; as also how the inhabitants of Decapolis came clamouring to Vespasian at Ptolemais, and desired that thou, who wast the author [of that war], mightest be brought to punishment. And thou hadst certainly been punished at the command of Vespasian, had not king Agrippa, who had power given him to have thee put to death, at the earnest entreaty of his sister Bernice, changed the punishment from death into a long imprisonment. Thy political administration of affairs afterward doth also clearly discover both thy other behavior in life, and that thou wast the occasion of thy country's revolt from the Romans; plain signs of which I shall produce presently. I have also a mind to say a few things to the rest of the people of Tiberias on thy account,

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and to demonstrate to those that light upon this history, that you bare no good-will, neither to the Romans, nor to the king. To be sure, the greatest cities of Galilee, O Justus! were Sepphoris, and thy country Tiberias. But Sepphoris, situated in the very midst of Galilee, and having many villages about it, and able with ease to have been bold and troublesome to the Romans, if they had so pleased, yet did it resolve to continue faithful to those their masters, and at the same time excluded me out of their city, and prohibited all their citizens from joining with the Jews in the war; and, that they might be out of danger from me, they, by a wile, got leave of me to fortify their city with walls: they also, of their own accord, admitted of a garrison of Roman legions, sent them by Cestlus Gallus, who was then president of Syria, and so had me in contempt, though I was then very powerful, and all were greatly afraid of me; and at the same time that the greatest of our cities, Jerusalem, was besieged, and that temple of ours, which belonged to us all, was in danger of falling under the enemy's power, they sent no assistance thither, as not willing to have it thought they would bear arms against the Romans. But as for thy country, O Justus: situated upon the lake of Gennesareth, and distance from Hippos thirty furlongs, from Gadara sixty, and from Scythopolis, which was under the king's jurisdiction, a hundred and twenty; when there was no Jewish city near, it might easily have preserved its fidelity [to the Romans,] if it had so pleased them to do, for the city and its people had plenty of weapons. But, as thou sayest, I was then the author [of their revolts]. And pray, O Justus! who was that author afterwards? For thou knowest that I was in the power of the Romans before Jerusalem was besieged, and before the same time Jotapata was taker by force, as well as many other fortresses, and a great many of the Galileans fell in the war. It was therefore then a proper time, when you were certainly freed from any fear on my account, to throw away your weapons, and to demonstrate to the king and to the Romans, that it was not of choice, but as forced by necessity, that you fell into the war against them; but you staid till Vespasian came himself as far as your walls, with his whole army; and then you did indeed lay aside your weapons out of fear, and your city had for certain been taken by force, unless Vespasian had complied with the king's supplication for you, and had excused your madness. It was not I, therefore, who was the author of this, but your own inclinations to war. Do not you remember how often I got you under my power, and yet put none of you to death? Nay, you once fell into a tumult one against another, and slew one hundred and eighty-five of your citizens, not on account of your good-will to the king and to the Romans, but on account of your own wickedness, and this while I was besieged by the Romans in Jotapata. Nay, indeed, were there not reckoned up two thousand of the people of Tiberias during the siege of Jerusalem, some of whom were slain, and the rest caught and carried captives? But thou wilt pretend that thou didst not engage in the war, since thou didst flee to the king. Yes, indeed, thou didst flee to him; but I say it was out of fear of me. Thou sayest, indeed, that it is I who am a wicked man. But then, for what reason was it that king Agrippa, who procured thee thy life when thou wast condemned to die by Vespian, and who bestowed so much riches upon thee, did twice afterward put thee in bonds, and as often obliged thee to run away from thy country, and, when he had once ordered thee to be put to death, he granted thee a pardon at the earnest desire of Bernice? And when [after so many of thy wicked pranks] he made thee his secretary, he caught thee falsifying his epistles, and drove thee away from his sight. But I shall not inquire accurately into these matters of scandal against thee. Yet cannot I but wonder at thy impudence, when thou hast the assurance to say, that thou hast better related these affairs [of the war] than have all the others that have written about them, whilst thou didst not know what was done in Galilee; for thou wast then at Berytus with the king; nor didst thou know how much the Romans suffered at the siege of Jotapata, or what miseries they brought upon us; nor couldst thou learn by inquiry what I did during that siege myself; for all those that might afford such information were quite destroyed in that siege. But perhaps thou wilt say, thou hast written of what was done against the people of Jerusalem exactly. But how should that be? for neither wast thou concerned in that war, nor hast thou read the commentaries of Caesar; of which we have evident proof, because thou hast contradicted those commentaries of Caesar in thy history. But if thou art so hardy as to affirm, that thou hast written that history better than all the rest, why didst thou not publish thy history while the emperors Vespasian and Titus, the generals in that war, as well as king Agrippa and his family, who were men very well skilled in the learning of the Greeks, were all alive? for thou hast had it written these twenty years, and then mightest thou have had the testimony of thy accuracy. But now when these men are no longer with us, and thou thinkest thou canst not be contradicted, thou venturest to publish it. But then I was not in like manner afraid of my own writing, but I offered my books to the emperors themselves, when the facts were almost under men's eyes; for I was conscious to myself, that I had observed the truth of the facts; and as I expected to have their attestation to them, so I was not deceived in such expectation. Moreover, I immediately presented my history to many other persons, some of whom were concerned in the war, as was king Agrippa and some of his kindred. Now the emperor Titus was so desirous that the knowledge of these affairs should be taken from these books alone, that he subscribed his own hand to them, and ordered that they should be published; and for king Agrippa, he wrote me sixty-two letters, and attested to the truth of what I had therein delivered; two of which letters I have here subjoined, and thou mayst thereby know their contents:— "King Agrippa to Josephus, however, when thou comest to me, I will inform thee of a great many things which thou dost not know." So when this history was perfected, Agrippa, neither by way of flattery, which was not agreeable to him, nor by way of irony, as thou wilt say, [for he was entirely a stranger to such an evil disposition of mind,] but he wrote this by way of attestation to what was true, as all that read histories may do. And so much shall be said concerning Justus which I am obliged to add by way of digression.

66. Now, when I had settled the affairs of Tiberias, and had assembled my friends as a sanhedrim, I consulted what I should do as to John. Whereupon it appeared to be the opinion of all the Galileans, that I should arm them all, and march against John, and punish him as the author of all the disorders that had happened. Yet was not I pleased with their determination; as purposing to compose these troubles without bloodshed. Upon this I exhorted them to use the utmost care to learn the names of all that were under John; which when they had done, and I thereby was apprized who the men were, I published an edict, wherein I offered security and my right hand to such of John's party as had a mind to repent; and I allowed twenty days' time to such as would take this most advantageous course for themselves. I also threatened, that unless they threw down their arms, I would burn their houses, and expose their goods to public sale. When the men heard of this, they were in no small disorder, and deserted John; and to the number of four thousand threw down their arms, and came to me. So that no others staid with John but his own citizens, and about fifteen hundred strangers that came from the metropolis of Tyre; and when John saw that he had been outwitted by my stratagem, he continued afterward in his own country, and was in great fear of me.

67. But about this time it was that the people of Sepphoris grew insolent, and took up arms, out of a confidence they had in the strength of their walls, and because they saw me engaged in other affairs also. So they sent to Cestius Gallus, who was president of Syria, and desired that he would either come quickly to them, and take their city under his protection, or send them a garrison. Accordingly, Gallus promised them to come, but did not send word when he would come: and when I had learned so much, I took the soldiers that were with me, and made an assault upon the people of Sepphoris, and took the city by force. The Galileans took this opportunity, as thinking they had now a proper time for showing their hatred to them, since they bore ill-will to that city also. They then exerted themselves, as if they would destroy them all utterly, with those that sojourned there also. So they ran upon them, and set their houses on fire, as finding them without inhabitants; for the men, out of fear, ran together to the citadel. So the Galileans carried off every thing, and omitted no kind of desolation which they could bring upon their countrymen. When I saw this, I was exceedingly troubled at it, and commanded them to leave off, and put them in mind that it was not agreeable to piety to do such things to their countrymen: but since they neither would hearken to what I exhorted, nor to what I commanded them to do, [for the hatred they bore to the people there was too hard for my exhortations to them,] I bade those my friends, who were most faithful to me, and were about me, to give on reports, as if the Romans were falling upon the other part of the city with a great army; and this I did, that, by such a report being spread abroad, I might restrain the violence of the Galileans, and preserve the city of Sepphoris. And at length this stratagem had its effect; for, upon hearing this report, they were in fear for themselves, and so they left off plundering and ran away; and this more especially, because they saw me, their general, do the same also; for, that I might cause this report to be believed, I pretended to be in fear as well as they. Thus were the inhabitants of Sepphoris unexpectedly preserved by this contrivance of mine.

68. Nay, indeed, Tiberias had like to have been plundered by the Galileans also upon the following occasion:— The chief men of the senate wrote to the king, and desired that he would come to them, and take possession of their city. The king promised to come, and wrote a letter in answer to theirs, and gave it to one of his bed-chamber, whose name was Crispus, and who was by birth a Jew, to carry it to Tiberias. When the Galileans knew that this man carried such a letter, they caught him, and brought him to me; but as soon as the whole multitude heard of it, they were enraged, and betook themselves to their arms. So a great many of them together from all quarters the next day, and came to the city Asochis, where I then lodged, and made heavy clamours, and called the city of Tiberias a traitor to them, and a friend to the king; and desired leave of me to go down and utterly destroy it; for they bore the like ill-will to the people of Tiberias, as they did to those of Sepphoris.

69. When I heard this, I was in doubt what to do, and hesitated by what means I might deliver Tiberias from the rage of the Galileans; for I could not deny that those of Tiborias had written to the king, and invited him to come to them; for his letters to them, in answer thereto, would fully prove the truth of that. So I sat a long time musing with myself, and then said to them, "I know well enough that the people of Tiberias have offended; nor shall I forbid you to plunder the city. However, such things ought to be done with discretion; for they of Tiberias have not been the only betrayers of our liberty, but many of the most eminent patriots of the Galileans, as they pretended to be, have done the same. Tarry therefore till I shall thoroughly find out those authors of our danger, and then you shall have them all at once under your power, with all such as you shall yourselves bring in also." Upon my saying this, I pacifie the multitude, and they left off their anger, and went their ways; and I gave orders that he who brought the king's letters should be put into bonds; but in a few days I pretended that I was obliged, by a necessary affair of my own, to out of the kingdom. I then called Crispus privately, and ordered him to make the soldier that kept him drunk, and to run away to the king. So when Tiberias was in danger of being utterly destroyed a second time, it escaped the danger by my skillful management, and the care that I had for its preservation.

70. About this time it was that Justus, the son of Pistus, without my knowledge, ran away to the king; the occasion of which I will here relate. Upon the beginning of the war between the Jews and Romans, the people of Tiberias resolved to submit to the king, and not to revolt from the Romans; while Justus tried to persuade them to betake themselves to their arms, as being himself desirous of innovations, and having hopes of obtaining the government of Galilee, as well as of his own country [Tiberias] also. Yet did he not obtain what he hoped for, because the Galileans bore ill-will to those of Tiberias, and this on account of their anger at what miseries they had suffered from them before the war; thence it was that they would not endure that Justus should be their governor. I myself also, who had been intrusted by the community of Jerusalem with the government of Galilee, did frequently come to that degree of rage at Justus, that I had almost resolved to kill him, as not able to bear his mischievous disposition. He was therefore much afraid of me, lest at length my passion should come to extremity; so he went to the king, as supposing that he would dwell better and more safely with him.

71. Now, when the people of Sepphoris had, in so surprising a manner, escaped their first danger, they sent to Cestius Gallus, and desired him to come to them immediately, and take possession of their city, or else to send forces sufficient to repress all their enemies' incursions upon them; and at the last they did prevail with Gallus to send them a considerable army, both of horse and foot, which came in the night time, and which they admitted into the city. But when the country round about it was harassed by the Roman army, I took those soldiers that were about me, and came to Garisme, where I cast up a bank, a good way off the city Sepphoris; and when I was at twenty furlongs distance, I came upon it by night, and made an assault upon its walls with my forces; and when I had ordered a considerable number of my soldiers to scale them with ladders, I became master of the greatest part of the city. But soon after, our unacquaintedness with the places forced us to retire, after we had killed twelve of the Roman footmen, and two horsemen, and a few of the people of Sepphoris, with the loss of only a single man of our own. And when it afterwards came to a battle in the plain against the horsemen, and we had undergone the dangers of it courageously for a long time, we were beaten; for upon the Romans encompassing me about, my soldiers were afraid, and fell back. There fell in that battle one of those that had been intrusted to guard my body; his name was Justus, who at this time had the same post with the king. At the same time also there came forces, both horsemen and footmen, from the king, and Sylla their commander, who was the captain of his guard: this Sylla pitched his camp at five furlongs' distance from Julias, and set a guard upon the roads, both that which led to Cana, and that which led to the fortress Gamala, that he might hinder their inhabitants from getting provisions out of Galilee.

72. As soon as I had gotten intelligence of this, I sent two thousand armed men, and a captain over them, whose name was Jeremiah, who raised a bank a furlong off Julias, near to the river Jordan, and did no more than skirmish with the enemy; till I took three thousand soldiers myself, and came to them. But on the next day, when I had laid an ambush in a certain valley, not far from the banks, I provoked those that belonged to the king to come to a battle, and gave orders to my own soldiers to turn their backs upon them, until they should have drawn the enemy away from their camp, and brought them out into the field, which was done accordingly; for Sylla, supposing that our party did really run away, was

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ready to pursue them, when our soldiers that lay in ambush took them on their backs, and put them all into great disorder. I also immediately made a sudden turn with my own forces, and met those of the king's party, and put them to flight. And I had performed great things that day, if a certain fate had not been my hinderance; for the horse on which I rode, and upon whose back I fought, fell into a quagmire, and threw me on the ground, and I was bruised on my wrist, and carried into a village named Cepharnome, or Capernaum. When my soldiers heard of this, they were afraid I had been worse hurt than I was; and so they did not go on with their pursuit any further, but returned in very great concern for me. I therefore sent for the physicians, and while I was under their hands, I continued feverish that day; and as the physicians directed, I was that night removed to Taricheee.

73. When Sylla and his party were informed what happened to me, they took courage again; and understanding that the watch was negligently kept in our camp, they by night placed a body of horsemen in ambush beyond Jordan, and when it was day they provoked us to fight; and as we did not refuse it, but came into the plain, their horsemen appeared out of that ambush in which they had lain, and put our men into disorder, and made them run away; so they slew six men of our side. Yet did they not go off with the victory at last; for when they heard that some armed men were sailed from Taricheae to Juli, they were afraid, and retired.

74. It was not now long before Vespasian came to Tyre, and king Agrippa with him; but the Tyrians began to speak reproachfully of the king, and called him an enemy to the Romans. For they said that Philip, the general of his army, had betrayed the royal palace and the Roman forces that were in Jerusalem, and that it was done by his command. When Vespasian heard of this report, he rebuked the Tyrians for abusing a man who was both a king and a friend to the Romans; but he exhorted the king to send Philip to Rome, to answer for what he had done before Nero. But when Philip was sent thither, he did not come into the sight of Nero, for he found him very near death, on account of the troubles that then happened, and a civil war; and so he returned to the king. But when Vespasian was come to Ptolemais, the chief men of Decapolis of Syria made a clamour against Justus of Tiberias, because he had set their villages on fire: so Vespasian delivered him to the king, to be put to death by those under the king's jurisdiction; yet did the king only put him into bonds, and concealed what he had done from Vespasian, as I have before related. But the people of Sepphoris met Vespasian, and saluted him, and had forces sent him, with Placidus their commander: he also went up with them, as I also followed them, till Vespasian came into Galilee. As to which coming of his, and after what manner it was ordered, and how he fought his first battle with me near the village Taricheae, and how from thence they went to Jotapata, and how I was taken alive, and bound, and how I was afterward loosed, with all that was done by me in the Jewish war, and during the siege of Jerusalem, I have accurately related them in the books concerning the War of the Jews. However, it will, I think, be fit for me to add now an account of those actions of my life which I have not related in that book of the Jewish war.

75. For when the siege of Jotapata was over, and I was among the Romans, I was kept with much Care, by means of the great respect that Vespasian showed me. Moreover, at his command, I married a virgin, who was from among the captives of that country yet did she not live with me long, but was divorced, upon my being freed from my bonds, and my going to Alexandria. However, I married another wife at Alexandria, and was thence sent, together with Titus, to the siege of Jerusalem, and was frequently in danger of being put to death; while both the Jews were very desirous to get me under their power, in order to have me punished. And the Romans also, whenever they were beaten, supposed that it was occasioned by my treachery, and made continual clamours to the emperors, and desired that they would bring me to punishment, as a traitor to them: but Titus Caesar was well acquainted with the uncertain fortune of war, and returned no answer to the soldiers' vehement solicitations against me. Moreover, when the city Jerusalem was taken by force, Titus Caesar persuaded me frequently to take whatsoever I would of the ruins of my country; and did that he gave me leave so to do. But when my country was destroyed, I thought nothing else to be of any value, which I could take and keep as a comfort under my calamities; so I made this request to Titus, that my family might have their liberty: I had also the holy books by Titus's concession. Nor was it long after that I asked of him the life of my brother, and of fifty friends with him, and was not denied. When I also went once to the temple, by the permission of Titus, where there were a great multitude of captive women and children, I got all those that I remembered as among my own friends and acquaintances to be set free, being in number about one hundred and ninety; and so I delivered them without their paying any price of redemption, and restored them to their former fortune. And when I was sent by Titus Caesar with Cerealins, and a thousand horsemen, to a certain village called Thecoa, in order to know whether it were a place fit for a camp, as I came back, I saw many captives crucified, and remembered three of them as my former acquaintance. I was very sorry at this in my mind, and went with tears in my eyes to Titus, and told him of them; so he immediately commanded them to be taken down, and to have the greatest care taken of them, in order to their recovery; yet two of them died under the physician's hands, while the third recovered.

76. But when Titus had composed the troubles in Judea, and conjectured that the lands which I had in Judea would bring me no profit, because a garrison to guard the country was afterward to pitch there, he gave me another country in the plain. And when he was going away to Rome, he made choice of me to sail along with him, and paid me great respect: and when we were come to Rome, I had great care taken of me by Vespasian; for he gave me an apartment in his own house, which he lived in before he came to the empire. He also honoured me with the privilege of a Roman citizen, and gave me an annual pension; and continued to respect me to the end of his life, without any abatement of his kindness to me; which very thing made me envied, and brought me into danger; for a certain Jew, whose name was Jonathan, who had raised a tumult in Cyrene, and had persuaded two thousand men of that country to join with him, was the occasion of their ruin. But when he was bound by the governor of that country, and sent to the emperor, he told him that I had sent him both weapons and money. However, he could not conceal his being a liar from Vespasian, who condemned him to die; according to which sentence he was put to death. Nay, after that, when those that envied my good fortune did frequently bring accusations against me, by God's providence I escaped them all. I also received from Vespasian no small quantity of land, as a free gift, in Judea; about which time I divorced my wife also, as not pleased with her behaviour, though not till she had been the mother of three children, two of whom are dead, and one whom I named Hyrcanus, is alive. After this I married a wife who had lived at Crete, but a Jewess by birth: a woman she was of eminent parents, and such as were the most illustrious in all the country, and whose character was beyond that of most other women, as her future life did demonstrate. By her I had two sons; the elder's name was Justus, and the next Simonides, who was also named Agrippa. And these were the circumstances of my domestic affairs. However, the kindness of the emperor to me continued still the same; for when Vespasian was dead, Titus, who succeeded him in the government, kept up the same respect for me which I had from his father; and when I had frequent accusations laid against me, he would not believe them. And Domitian, who succeeded, still augmented his respects to me; for he punished those Jews that were my accusers, and gave command that a servant of mine, who was a eunuch, and my accuser, should be punished. He also made that country I had in Judea tax free, which is a mark of the greatest honour to him who hath it; nay, Domitia, the wife of Caesar, continued to do me kindnesses. And this is the account of the actions of my whole life; and let others judge of my character by them as they please. But to thee, O Epaphroditus, thou most excellent of men! do I dedicate all this treatise of our Antiquities; and so, for the present, I here conclude the whole.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS

By Titus Flavius Josephus
Translation: William Whiston, 1737
Estimated Range of Dating: 93 A.D.

(The Antiquities of the Jews (Latin: Antiquitates Iudaicae; Greek: Ioudaike archaiologia) is a 20-volume historiographical work, written in Greek, by the Jewish-Roman historian Titus Flavius Josephus. He might have begun this large work between the years 75 and 80 AD and he finished the last volume in the 13th year of the reign of Roman emperor Titus Flavius Domitian which was around AD 93 or 94. The Antiquities of the Jews contains an account of history of the Jewish people for Josephus' Roman patrons.

In the first ten volumes, Josephus outlines Jewish history beginning with the creation, as passed down through Jewish historical tradition. Abraham taught science to the Egyptians, who, in turn, taught the Greeks. Moses set up a senatorial priestly aristocracy, which, like that of Rome, resisted monarchy. The great figures of the Tanakh are presented as ideal philosopher-leaders.

The second ten volumes continues the history of the Jewish people beyond the biblical text and up to the Jewish War, or the First Jewish–Roman War, 66 to 73 AD. He includes an autobiographical appendix defending his conduct at the end of the war when he cooperated with the Roman forces.

This work, along with Josephus's other major work, The Jewish War (De Bello Iudaico), provides valuable background material for historians wishing to understand 1st-century AD Judaism and the early Christian period.)

PREFACE.

1. Those who undertake to write histories, do not, I perceive, take that trouble on one and the same account, but for many reasons, and those such as are very different one from another. For some of them apply themselves to this part of learning to show their skill in composition, and that they may therein acquire a reputation for speaking finely: others of them there are, who write histories in order to gratify those that happen to be concerned in them, and on that account have spared no pains, but rather gone beyond their own abilities in the performance: but others there are, who, of necessity and by force, are driven to write history, because they are concerned in the facts, and so cannot excuse themselves from committing them to writing, for the advantage of posterity; nay, there are not a few who are induced to draw their historical facts out of darkness into light, and to produce them for the benefit of the public, on account of the great importance of the facts themselves with which they have been concerned. Now of these several reasons for writing history, I must profess the two last were my own reasons also; for since I was myself interested in that war which we Jews had with the Romans, and knew myself its particular actions, and what conclusion it had, I was forced to give the history of it, because I saw that others perverted the truth of those actions in their writings.

2. Now I have undertaken the present work, as thinking it will appear to all the Greeks worthy of their study; for it will contain all our antiquities, and the constitution of our government, as interpreted out of the Hebrew Scriptures. And indeed I did formerly intend, when I wrote of the war, to explain who the Jews originally were,—what fortunes they had been subject to,—and by what legislature they had been instructed in piety, and the exercise of other virtues,—what wars also they had made in remote ages, till they were unwillingly engaged in this last with the Romans: but because this work would take up a great compass, I separated it into a set treatise by itself, with a beginning of its own, and its own conclusion; but in process of time, as usually happens to such as undertake great things, I grew weary and went on slowly, it being a large subject, and a difficult thing to translate our history into a foreign, and to us unaccustomed language. However, some persons there were who desired to know our history, and so exhorted me to go on with it; and, above all the rest, Epaphroditus, a man who is a lover of all kind of learning, but is principally delighted with the knowledge of history, and this on account of his having been himself concerned in great affairs, and many turns of fortune, and having shown a wonderful rigor of an excellent nature, and an immovable virtuous resolution in them all. I yielded to this man's persuasions, who always excites such as have abilities in what is useful and acceptable, to join their endeavors with his. I was also ashamed myself to permit any laziness of disposition to have a greater influence upon me, than the delight of taking pains in such studies as were very useful: I thereupon stirred up myself, and went on with my work more cheerfully. Besides the foregoing motives, I had others which I greatly reflected on; and these were, that our forefathers were willing to communicate such things to others; and that some of the Greeks took considerable pains to know the affairs of our nation.

3. I found, therefore, that the second of the Ptolemies was a king who was extraordinarily diligent in what concerned learning, and the collection of books; that he was also peculiarly ambitious to procure a translation of our law, and of the constitution of our government therein contained, into the Greek tongue. Now Eleazar the high priest, one not inferior to any other of that dignity among us, did not envy the forenamed king the participation of that advantage, which otherwise he would for certain have denied him, but that he knew the custom of our nation was, to hinder nothing of what we esteemed ourselves from being communicated to others. Accordingly, I thought it became me both to imitate the generosity of our high priest, and to suppose there might even now be many lovers of learning like the king; for he did not obtain all our writings at that time; but those who were sent to Alexandria as interpreters, gave him only the books of the law, while there were a vast number of other matters in our sacred books. They, indeed, contain in them the history of five thousand years; in which time happened many strange accidents, many chances of war, and great actions of the commanders, and mutations of the form of our government. Upon the whole, a man that will peruse this history, may principally learn from it, that all events succeed well, even to an incredible degree, and the reward of felicity is proposed by God; but then it is to those that follow his will, and do not venture to break his excellent laws: and that so far as men any way apostatize from the accurate observation of them, what was practical before becomes impracticable and whatsoever they set about as a good thing, is converted into an incurable calamity. And now I exhort all those that peruse these books, to apply their minds to God; and to examine the mind of our legislator, whether he hath not understood his nature in a manner worthy of him; and hath not ever ascribed to him such operations as become his power, and hath not preserved his writings from those indecent fables which others have framed, although, by the great distance of time when he lived, he might have securely forged such lies; for he lived two

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thousand years ago; at which vast distance of ages the poets themselves have not been so hardy as to fix even the generations of their gods, much less the actions of their men, or their own laws. As I proceed, therefore, I shall accurately describe what is contained in our records, in the order of time that belongs to them; for I have already promised so to do throughout this undertaking; and this without adding any thing to what is therein contained, or taking away any thing therefrom.

4. But because almost all our constitution depends on the wisdom of Moses, our legislator, I cannot avoid saying somewhat concerning him beforehand, though I shall do it briefly; I mean, because otherwise those that read my book may wonder how it comes to pass, that my discourse, which promises an account of laws and historical facts, contains so much of philosophy. The reader is therefore to know, that Moses deemed it exceeding necessary, that he who would conduct his own life well, and give laws to others, in the first place should consider the Divine nature; and, upon the contemplation of God's operations, should thereby imitate the best of all patterns, so far as it is possible for human nature to do, and to endeavor to follow after it: neither could the legislator himself have a right mind without such a contemplation; nor would any thing he should write tend to the promotion of virtue in his readers; I mean, unless they be taught first of all, that God is the Father and Lord of all things, and sees all things, and that thence he bestows a happy life upon those that follow him; but plunges such as do not walk in the paths of virtue into inevitable miseries. Now when Moses was desirous to teach this lesson to his countrymen, he did not begin the establishment of his laws after the same manner that other legislators did; I mean, upon contracts and other rights between one man and another, but by raising their minds upwards to regard God, and his creation of the world; and by persuading them, that we men are the most excellent of the creatures of God upon earth. Now when once he had brought them to submit to religion, he easily persuaded them to submit in all other things: for as to other legislators, they followed fables, and by their discourses transferred the most reproachful of human vices unto the gods, and afforded wicked men the most plausible excuses for their crimes; but as for our legislator, when he had once demonstrated that God was possessed of perfect virtue, he supposed that men also ought to strive after the participation of it; and on those who did not so think, and so believe, he inflicted the severest punishments. I exhort, therefore, my readers to examine this whole undertaking in that view; for thereby it will appear to them, that there is nothing therein disagreeable either to the majesty of God, or to his love to mankind; for all things have here a reference to the nature of the universe; while our legislator speaks some things wisely, but enigmatically, and others under a decent allegory, but still explains such things as required a direct explication plainly and expressly. However, those that have a mind to know the reasons of every thing, may find here a very curious philosophical theory, which I now indeed shall wave the explication of; but if God afford me time for it, I will set about writing it after I have finished the present work. I shall now betake myself to the history before me, after I have first mentioned what Moses says of the creation of the world, which I find described in the sacred books after the manner following.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES BOOK 1

Containing The Interval Of Three Thousand Eight Hundred And Thirty-Three Years. — From The Creation To The Death Of Isaac.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 1

The Constitution Of The World And The Disposition Of The Elements.

1. In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. But when the earth did not come into sight, but was covered with thick darkness, and a wind moved upon its surface, God commanded that there should be light: and when that was made, he considered the whole mass, and separated the light and the darkness; and the name he gave to one was Night, and the other he called Day: and he named the beginning of light, and the time of rest, The Evening and The Morning, and this was indeed the first day. But Moses said it was one day; the cause of which I am able to give even now; but because I have promised to give such reasons for all things in a treatise by itself, I shall put off its exposition till that time. After this, on the second day, he placed the heaven over the whole world, and separated it from the other parts, and he determined it should stand by itself. He also placed a crystalline [firmament] round it, and put it together in a manner agreeable to the earth, and fitted it for giving moisture and rain, and for affording the advantage of dews. On the third day he appointed the dry land to appear, with the sea itself round about it; and on the very same day he made the plants and the seeds to spring out of the earth. On the fourth day he adorned the heaven with the sun, the moon, and the other stars, and appointed them their motions and courses, that the vicissitudes of the seasons might be clearly signified. And on the fifth day he produced the living creatures, both those that swim, and those that fly; the former in the sea, the latter in the air: he also sorted them as to society and mixture, for procreation, and that their kinds might increase and multiply. On the sixth day he created the four-footed beasts, and made them male and female: on the same day he also formed man. Accordingly Moses says, That in just six days the world, and all that is therein, was made. And that the seventh day was a rest, and a release from the labour of such operations; whence it is that we Celebrate a rest from our labours on that day, and call it the Sabbath, which word denotes rest in the Hebrew tongue.

2. Moreover, Moses, after the seventh day was over begins to talk philosophically; and concerning the formation of man, says thus: That God took dust from the ground, and formed man, and inserted in him a spirit and a soul. This man was called Adam, which in the Hebrew tongue signifies one that is red, because he was formed out of red earth, compounded together; for of that kind is virgin and true earth. God also presented the living creatures, when he had made them, according to their kinds, both male and female, to Adam, who gave them those names by which they are still called. But when he saw that Adam had no female companion, no society, for there was no such created, and that he wondered at the other animals which were male and female, he laid him asleep, and took away one of his ribs, and out of it formed the woman; whereupon Adam knew her when she was brought to him, and acknowledged that she was made out of himself. Now a woman is called in the Hebrew tongue Issa; but the name of this woman was Eve, which signifies the mother of all living.

3. Moses says further, that God planted a paradise in the east, flourishing with all sorts of trees; and that among them was the tree of life, and another of knowledge, whereby was to be known what was good and evil; and that when he brought Adam and his wife into this garden, he commanded them to take care of the plants. Now the garden was watered by one river, which ran round about the whole earth, and was parted into four parts. And Phison, which denotes a multitude, running into India, makes its exit into the sea, and is by the Greeks called Ganges. Euphrates also, as well as Tigris, goes down into the Red Sea. Now the name Euphrates, or Phrath, denotes either a dispersion, or a flower: by Tiris, or Diglath, is signified what is swift, with narrowness; and Geon runs through Egypt, and denotes what arises from the east, which the Greeks call Nile.

4. God therefore commanded that Adam and his wife should eat of all the rest of the plants, but to abstain from the tree of knowledge; and foretold to them, that if they touched it, it would prove their destruction. But while all the living creatures had one language, at that time the serpent, which then lived together with Adam and his wife, shewed an envious disposition, at his supposal of their living happily, and in obedience to the commands of God; and imagining, that when they disobeyed them, they would fall into calamities, he persuaded the woman, out of a malicious intention, to taste of the tree of knowledge, telling them, that in that tree was the knowledge of good and evil; which knowledge, when they should obtain, they would lead a happy life; nay, a life not inferior to that of a god: by which means he overcame the woman, and persuaded her to despise the command of God. Now when she had tasted of that tree, and was pleased with its fruit, she persuaded Adam to make use of it also. Upon this they perceived that they were become naked to one another; and being ashamed thus to appear abroad, they invented somewhat to cover them; for the tree sharpened their understanding; and they covered themselves with fig-leaves; and tying these before them, out of modesty, they thought they were happier than they were before, as they had discovered what they were in want of. But when God came into the garden, Adam, who was wont before to come and converse with him, being conscious of his wicked behavior, went out of the way. This behavior surprised God; and he asked what was the cause of this his procedure; and why he, that before delighted in that conversation, did now fly from it, and avoid it. When he made no reply, as conscious to himself that he had transgressed the command of God, God said, "I had before determined about you both, how you might lead a happy life, without any affliction, and care, and vexation of soul; and that all things which might contribute to your enjoyment and pleasure should grow up by my providence, of their own accord, without your own labour and pains-taking; which state of labour and pains-taking would soon bring on old age, and death would not be at any remote distance: but now thou hast abused this my good-will, and hast disobeyed my commands; for thy silence is not the sign of thy virtue, but of thy evil conscience." However, Adam excused his sin, and entreated God not to be angry at him, and laid the blame of what was done upon his wife; and said that he was deceived by her, and thence became an offender; while she again accused the serpent. But God allotted him punishment, because he weakly submitted to the counsel of his wife; and said the ground should not henceforth yield its fruits of its own accord, but that when it should be harassed by their labour, it should bring forth some of its fruits, and refuse to bring forth others. He also made Eve liable to the inconveniency of breeding, and the sharp pains of bringing forth children; and this because she persuaded Adam with the same arguments wherewith the serpent had persuaded her, and had thereby brought him into a calamitous condition. He also deprived the serpent of speech, out of indignation at his malicious disposition towards Adam. Besides this, he inserted poison under his tongue, and made him an enemy to men; and suggested to them, that they should direct their strokes against his head, that being the place wherein lay his mischievous designs towards men, and it being easiest to take vengeance on him, that way. And when he had deprived him of the use of his feet, he made him to go rolling all along, and dragging himself upon the ground. And when God had appointed these penalties for them, he removed Adam and Eve out of the garden into another place.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 2

Concerning The Posterity Of Adam, And The Ten Generations From Him To The Deluge.

1. Adam and Eve had two sons: the elder of them was named Cain; which name, when it is interpreted, signifies a possession: the younger was Abel, which signifies sorrow. They had also daughters. Now the two brethren were pleased with different courses of life: for Abel, the younger, was a lover of righteousness; and believing that God was present at all his actions, he excelled in virtue; and his employment was that of a shepherd. But Cain was not only very wicked in other respects, but was wholly intent upon getting; and he first contrived to plough the ground. He slew his brother on the occasion following:—They had resolved to sacrifice to God. Now Cain brought the fruits of the earth, and of his husbandry; but Abel brought milk, and the first-fruits of his flocks: but God was more delighted with the latter oblation, when he was honoured with what grew naturally of its own accord, than he was with what was the invention of a covetous man, and gotten by forcing the ground; whence it was that Cain was very angry that Abel was preferred by God before him; and he slew his brother, and hid his dead body, thinking to escape discovery. But God, knowing what had been done, came to Cain, and asked him what was become of his brother, because he had not seen him of many days; whereas he used to observe them conversing together at other times. But Cain was in doubt with himself, and knew not what answer to give to God. At first he said that he was himself at a loss about his brother's disappearing; but when he was provoked by God, who pressed him vehemently, as resolving to know what the matter was, he replied, he was not his brother's guardian or keeper, nor was he an observer of what he did. But, in return, God convicted Cain, as having been the murderer of his brother; and said, "I wonder at thee, that thou knowest not what is become of a man whom thou thyself hast destroyed." God therefore did not inflict the punishment [of death] upon him, on account of his offering sacrifice, and thereby making supplication to him not to be extreme in his wrath to him; but he made him accursed, and threatened his posterity in the seventh generation. He also cast him, together with his wife, out of that land. And when he was afraid that in wandering about he should fall among Wild beasts, and by that means perish, God bid him not to entertain such a melancholy suspicion, and to go over all the earth without fear of what mischief he might suffer from wild beasts; and setting a mark upon him, that he might be known, he commanded him to depart.

2. And when Cain had traveled over many countries, he, with his wife, built a city, named Nod, which is a place so called, and there he settled his abode; where also he had children. However, he did not accept of his punishment in order to amendment, but to increase his wickedness; for he only aimed to procure every thing that was for his own bodily pleasure, though it obliged him to be injurious to his neighbours. He augmented his household substance with much wealth, by rapine and violence; he excited his acquaintance to procure pleasures and spoils by robbery, and became a great leader of men into wicked courses. He also introduced a change in that way of simplicity wherein men lived before; and was the author of measures and weights. And whereas they lived innocently and generously while they knew nothing of such arts, he changed the world into cunning craftiness. He first of all set boundaries about lands: he built a city, and fortified it with walls, and he compelled his family to come together to it; and called that city Enoch, after the name of his eldest son Enoch. Now Jared was the son of Enoch; whose son was Malaliel; whose son was Mathusela; whose son was Lamech; who had seventy-seven children by two wives, Silla and Ada. Of those children by Ada, one was Jabal: he erected tents, and loved the life of a shepherd. But Jubal, who was born of the same mother with him, exercised himself in music; and invented the psaltery and the harp. But Tubal, one of his children by the other wife, exceeded all men in strength, and was very expert and famous in martial performances. He procured what tended to the pleasures of the body by that method; and first of all invented the art of making brass.

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Lamech was also the father of a daughter, whose name was Naamah. And because he was so skillful in matters of divine revelation, that he knew he was to be punished for Cain's murder of his brother, he made that known to his wives. Nay, even while Adam was alive, it came to pass that the posterity of Cain became exceeding wicked, every one successively dying, one after another, more wicked than the former. They were intolerable in war, and vehement in robberies; and if any one were slow to murder people, yet was he bold in his profligate behavior, in acting unjustly, and doing injuries for gain.

3. Now Adam, who was the first man, and made out of the earth, [for our discourse must now be about him,] after Abel was slain, and Cain fled away, on account of his murder, was solicitous for posterity, and had a vehement desire of children, he being two hundred and thirty years old; after which time he lived other seven hundred, and then died. He had indeed many other children, but Seth in particular. As for the rest, it would be tedious to name them; I will therefore only endeavor to give an account of those that proceeded from Seth. Now this Seth, when he was brought up, and came to those years in which he could discern what was good, became a virtuous man; and as he was himself of an excellent character, so did he leave children behind him who imitated his virtues. All these proved to be of good dispositions. They also inhabited the same country without dissensions, and in a happy condition, without any misfortunes falling upon them, till they died. They also were the inventors of that peculiar sort of wisdom which is concerned with the heavenly bodies, and their order. And that their inventions might not be lost before they were sufficiently known, upon Adam's prediction that the world was to be destroyed at one time by the force of fire, and at another time by the violence and quantity of water, they made two pillars, the one of brick, the other of stone: they inscribed their discoveries on them both, that in case the pillar of brick should be destroyed by the flood, the pillar of stone might remain, and exhibit those discoveries to mankind; and also inform them that there was another pillar of brick erected by them. Now this remains in the land of Siriad to this day.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 3

Concerning The Flood; And After What Manner Noah Was Saved In An Ark, With His Kindred, And Afterwards Dwelt In The Plain Of Shinar.

1. Now this posterity of Seth continued to esteem God as the Lord of the universe, and to have an entire regard to virtue, for seven generations; but in process of time they were perverted, and forsook the practices of their forefathers; and did neither pay those honours to God which were appointed them, nor had they any concern to do justice towards men. But for what degree of zeal they had formerly shown for virtue, they now showed by their actions a double degree of wickedness, whereby they made God to be their enemy. For many angels of God accompanied with women, and begat sons that proved unjust, and despisers of all that was good, on account of the confidence they had in their own strength; for the tradition is, that these men did what resembled the acts of those whom the Grecians call giants. But Noah was very uneasy at what they did; and being displeased at their conduct, persuaded them to change their dispositions and their acts for the better: but seeing they did not yield to him, but were slaves to their wicked pleasures, he was afraid they would kill him, together with his wife and children, and those they had married; so he departed out of that land.

2. Now God loved this man for his righteousness: yet he not only condemned those other men for their wickedness, but determined to destroy the whole race of mankind, and to make another race that should be pure from wickedness; and cutting short their lives, and making their years not so many as they formerly lived, but one hundred and twenty only, he turned the dry land into sea; and thus were all these men destroyed: but Noah alone was saved; for God suggested to him the following contrivance and way of escape:—That he should make an ark of four stories high, three hundred cubits long, fifty cubits broad, and thirty cubits high. Accordingly he entered into that ark, and his wife, and sons, and their wives, and put into it not only other provisions, to support their wants there, but also sent in with the rest all sorts of living creatures, the male and his female, for the preservation of their kinds; and others of them by sevens. Now this ark had firm walls, and a roof, and was braced with cross beams, so that it could not be any way drowned or overborne by the violence of the water. And thus was Noah, with his family, preserved. Now he was the tenth from Adam, as being the son of Lamech, whose father was Mathusela; he was the son of Enoch, the son of Jared; and Jared was the son of Malaleel, who, with many of his sisters, were the children of Cainan, the son of Enos. Now Enos was the son of Seth, the son of Adam.

3. This calamity happened in the six hundredth year of Noah's government, [age,] in the second month, called by the Macedonians Dius, but by the Hebrews Marchesuan: for so did they order their year in Egypt. But Moses appointed that ú Nisan, which is the same with Xanthicus, should be the first month for their festivals, because he brought them out of Egypt in that month: so that this month began the year as to all the solemnities they observed to the honour of God, although he preserved the original order of the months as to selling and buying, and other ordinary affairs. Now he says that this flood began on the twenty-seventh [seventeenth] day of the forementioned month; and this was two thousand six hundred and fifty-six [one thousand six hundred and fifty-six] years from Adam, the first man; and the time is written down in our sacred books, those who then lived having noted down, with great accuracy, both the births and deaths of illustrious men.

4. For indeed Seth was born when Adam was in his two hundred and thirtieth year, who lived nine hundred and thirty years. Seth begat Enos in his two hundred and fifth year; who, when he had lived nine hundred and twelve years, delivered the government to Cainan his son, whom he had in his hundred and ninetieth year. He lived nine hundred and five years. Cainan, when he had lived nine hundred and ten years, had his son Malaleel, who was born in his hundred and seventieth year. This Malaleel, having lived eight hundred and ninety-five years, died, leaving his son Jared, whom he begat when he was in his hundred and sixty-fifth year. He lived nine hundred and sixty-two years; and then his son Enoch succeeded him, who was born when his father was one hundred and sixty-two years old. Now he, when he had lived three hundred and sixty-five years, departed and went to God; whence it is that they have not written down his death. Now Mathusela, the son of Enoch, who was born to him when he was one hundred and sixty-five years old, had Lamech for his son when he was one hundred and eighty-seven years of age; to whom he delivered the government, when he had retained it nine hundred and sixty-nine years. Now Lamech, when he had governed seven hundred and seventy-seven years, appointed Noah, his son, to be ruler of the people, who was born to Lamech when he was one hundred and eighty-two years old, and retained the government nine hundred and fifty years. These years collected together make up the sum before set down. But let no one inquire into the deaths of these men; for they extended their lives along together with their children and grandchildren; but let him have regard to their births only.

5. When God gave the signal, and it began to rain, the water poured down forty entire days, till it became fifteen cubits higher than the earth; which was the reason why there was no greater number preserved, since they had no place to fly to. When the rain ceased, the water did but just begin to abate after one hundred and fifty days, [that is, on the seventeenth day of the seventh month,] it then ceasing to subside for a little while. After this, the ark rested on the top of a certain mountain in Armenia; which, when Noah understood, he opened it; and seeing a small piece of land about it, he continued quiet, and conceived some cheerful hopes of deliverance. But a few days afterward, when the water was decreased to a greater degree, he sent out a raven, as desirous to learn whether any other part of the earth were left dry by the water, and whether he might go out of the ark with safety; but the raven, finding all the land still overflowed, returned to Noah again. And after seven days he sent out a dove, to know the state of the ground; which came back to him covered with mud, and bringing an olive branch: hereby Noah learned that the earth was become clear of the flood. So after he had staid seven more days, he sent the living creatures out of the ark; and both he and his family went out, when he also sacrificed to God, and feasted with his companions. However, the Armenians call this place, "The Place of Descent"; for the ark being saved in that place, its remains are shown there by the inhabitants to this day.

6. Now all the writers of barbarian histories make mention of this flood, and of this ark; among whom is Berosus the Chaldean. For when he is describing the circumstances of the flood, he goes on thus: "It is said there is still some part of this ship in Armenia, at the mountain of the Cordyaeans; and that some people carry off pieces of the bitumen, which they take away, and use chiefly as amulets for the averting of mischiefs." Hieronymus the Egyptian also, who wrote the Phoenician Antiquities, and Mnaseas, and a great many more, make mention of the same. Nay, Nicolaus of Damascus, in his ninety-sixth book, hath a particular relation about them; where he speaks thus: "There is a great mountain in Armenia, over Minyas, called Baris, upon which it is reported that many who fled at the time of the Deluge were saved; and that one who was carried in an ark came on shore upon the top of it; and that the remains of the timber were a great while preserved. This might be the man about whom Moses the legislator of the Jews wrote."

7. But as for Noah, he was afraid, since God had determined to destroy mankind, lest he should drown the earth every year; so he offered burnt-offerings, and besought God that nature might hereafter go on in its former orderly course, and that he would not bring on so great a judgement any more, by which the whole race of creatures might be in danger of destruction: but that, having now punished the wicked, he would of his goodness spare the remainder, and such as he had hitherto judged fit to be delivered from so severe a calamity; for that otherwise these last must be more miserable than the first, and that they must be condemned to a worse condition than the others, unless they be suffered to escape entirely; that is, if they be reserved for another deluge; while they must be afflicted with the terror and sight of the first deluge, and must also be destroyed by a second. He also entreated God to accept of his sacrifice, and to grant that the earth might never again undergo the like effects of 'his wrath; that men might be permitted to go on cheerfully in cultivating the same; to build cities, and live happily in them; and that they might not be deprived of any of those good things which they enjoyed before the Flood; but might attain to the like length of days, and old age, which the ancient people had arrived at before.

8. When Noah had made these supplications, God, who loved the man for his righteousness, granted entire success to his prayers, and said, that it was not he who brought the destruction on a polluted world, but that they underwent that vengeance on account of their own wickedness; and that he had not brought men into the world if he had himself determined to destroy them, it being an instance of greater wisdom not to have granted them life at all, than, after it was granted, to procure their destruction; "But the injuries," said he, "they offered to my holiness and virtue, forced me to bring this punishment upon them. But I will leave off for the time to come to require such punishments, the effects of so great wrath, for their future wicked actions, and especially on account of thy prayers. But if I shall at any time send tempests of rain, in an extraordinary manner, be not affrighted at the largeness of the showers; for the water shall no more overspread the earth. However, I require you to abstain from shedding the blood of men, and to keep yourselves pure from murder; and to punish those that commit any such thing. I permit you to make use of all the other living creatures at your pleasure, and as your appetites lead you; for I have made you lords of them all, both of those that walk on the land, and those that swim in the waters, and of those that fly in the regions of the air on high, excepting their blood, for therein is the life. But I will give you a sign that I have left off my anger by my bow." [whereby is meant the rainbow, for they determined that the rainbow was the bow of God]. And when God had said and promised thus, he went away.

9. Now when Noah had lived three hundred and fifty years after the Flood, and that all that time happily, he died, having lived the number of nine hundred and fifty years. But let no one, upon comparing the lives of the ancients with our lives, and with the few years which we now live, think that what we have said of them is false; or make the shortness of our lives at present an argument, that neither did they attain to so long a duration of life, for those ancients were beloved of God, and [lately] made by God himself; and because their food was then fitter for the prolongation of life, might well live so great a number of years: and besides, God afforded them a longer time of life on account of their virtue, and the good use they made of it in astronomical and geometrical discoveries, which would not have afforded the time of foretelling [the periods of the stars] unless they had lived six hundred years; for the great year is completed in that interval. Now I have for witnesses to what I have said, all those that have written Antiquities, both among the Greeks and barbarians; for even Manetho, who wrote the Egyptian History, and Berosus, who collected the Chaldean Monuments, and Mochus, and Hestieus, and, besides these, Hieronymus the Egyptian, and those who composed the Phoenician History, agree to what I here say: Hesiod also, and Hecatseus, Hellanicus, and Acusilaus; and, besides these, Ephorus and Nicolaus relate that the ancients lived a thousand years. But as to these matters, let every one look upon them as he thinks fit.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 4

Concerning The Tower Of Babylon, And The Confusion Of Tongues.

1. Now the sons of Noah were three,—Shem, Japhet, and Ham, born one hundred years before the Deluge. These first of all descended from the mountains into the plains, and fixed their habitation there; and persuaded others who were greatly afraid of the lower grounds on account of the flood, and so were very loath to come down from the higher places, to venture to follow their examples. Now the plain in which they first dwelt was called Shinar. God also commanded them to send colonies abroad, for the thorough peopling of the earth, that they might not raise seditions among themselves, but might cultivate a great part of the earth, and enjoy its fruits after a plentiful manner. But they were so ill instructed that they did not obey God; for which reason they fell into calamities, and were made sensible, by experience, of what sin they had been guilty: for when they flourished with a numerous youth, God admonished them again to send out colonies; but they, imagining the prosperity they enjoyed was not derived from the favour of God, but supposing that their own power was the proper cause of the plentiful condition they were in, did not obey him. Nay, they added to this their disobedience to the Divine will, the suspicion that they were therefore ordered to send out separate colonies, that, being divided asunder, they might the more easily be Oppressed.

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2. Now it was Nimrod who excited them to such an affront and contempt of God. He was the grandson of Ham, the son of Noah, a bold man, and of great strength of hand. He persuaded them not to ascribe it to God, as if it was through his means they were happy, but to believe that it was their own courage which procured that happiness. He also gradually changed the government into tyranny, seeing no other way of turning men from the fear of God, but to bring them into a constant dependence on his power. He also said he would be revenged on God, if he should have a mind to drown the world again; for that he would build a tower too high for the waters to be able to reach! and that he would avenge himself on God for destroying their forefathers!

3. Now the multitude were very ready to follow the determination of Nimrod, and to esteem it a piece of cowardice to submit to God; and they built a tower, neither sparing any pains, nor being in any degree negligent about the work: and, by reason of the multitude of hands employed in it, it grew very high, sooner than any one could expect; but the thickness of it was so great, and it was so strongly built, that thereby its great height seemed, upon the view, to be less than it really was. It was built of burnt brick, cemented together with mortar, made of bitumen, that it might not be liable to admit water. When God saw that they acted so madly, he did not resolve to destroy them utterly, since they were not grown wiser by the destruction of the former sinners; but he caused a tumult among them, by producing in them divers languages, and causing that, through the multitude of those languages, they should not be able to understand one another. The place wherein they built the tower is now called Babylon, because of the confusion of that language which they readily understood before; for the Hebrews mean by the word Babel, confusion. The Sibyl also makes mention of this tower, and of the confusion of the language, when she says thus: "When all men were of one language, some of them built a high tower, as if they would thereby ascend up to heaven, but the gods sent storms of wind and overthrew the tower, and gave every one his peculiar language; and for this reason it was that the city was called Babylon." But as to the plan of Shinar, in the country of Babylonia, Hestiaeus mentions it, when he says thus: "Such of the priests as were saved, took the sacred vessels of Jupiter Enyalius, and came to Shinar of Babylonia."

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 5

After What Manner The Posterity Of Noah Sent Out Colonies, And Inhabited The Whole Earth.

1. After this they were dispersed abroad, on account of their languages, and went out by colonies every where; and each colony took possession of that land which they light upon, and unto which God led them; so that the whole continent was filled with them, both the inland and the maritime countries. There were some also who passed over the sea in ships, and inhabited the islands: and some of those nations do still retain the denominations which were given them by their first founders; but some have lost them also, and some have only admitted certain changes in them, that they might be the more intelligible to the inhabitants. And they were the Greeks who became the authors of such mutations. For when in after-ages they grew potent, they claimed to themselves the glory of antiquity; giving names to the nations that sounded well [in Greek] that they might be better understood among themselves; and setting agreeable forms of government over them, as if they were a people derived from themselves.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 6

How Every Nation Was Denominated From Their First Inhabitants.

1. Now they were the grandchildren of Noah, in honour of whom names were imposed on the nations by those that first seized upon them. Japhet, the son of Noah, had seven sons: they inhabited so, that, beginning at the mountains Taurus and Amanus, they proceeded along Asia, as far as the river Tansis, and along Europe to Cadiz; and settling themselves on the lands which they light upon, which none had inhabited before, they called the nations by their own names. For Gomer founded those whom the Greeks now call Galatians, [Galls,] but were then called Gomerites. Magog founded those that from him were named Magogites, but who are by the Greeks called Scythians. Now as to Javan and Madai, the sons of Japhet; from Madai came the Madeans, who are called Medes, by the Greeks; but from Javan, Ionia, and all the Grecians, are derived. Thobel founded the Thobelites, who are now called Iberes; and the Mosocheni were founded by Mosoch; now they are Cappadocians. There is also a mark of their ancient denomination still to be shown; for there is even now among them a city called Mazaca, which may inform those that are able to understand, that so was the entire nation once called. Thiras also called those whom he ruled over Thirasians; but the Greeks changed the name into Thracians. And so many were the countries that had the children of Japhet for their inhabitants. Of the three sons of Gomer, Aschanax founded the Aschanaxians, who are now called by the Greeks Rheginians. So did Riphath found the Ripheans, now called Paphlagonians; and Thrugramma the Thrugrammeans, who, as the Greeks resolved, were named Phrygians. Of the three sons of Javan also, the son of Japhet, Elisa gave name to the Eliseans, who were his subjects; they are now the Aeolians. Tharsus to the Tharsians, for so was Cilicia of old called; the sign of which is this, that the noblest city they have, and a metropolis also, is Tarsus, the tau being by change put for the theta. Cethimus possessed the island Cethima: it is now called Cyprus; and from that it is that all islands, and the greatest part of the sea-coasts, are named Cethim by the Hebrews: and one city there is in Cyprus that has been able to preserve its denomination; it has been called Citius by those who use the language of the Greeks, and has not, by the use of that dialect, escaped the name of Cethim. And so many nations have the children and grandchildren of Japhet possessed. Now when I have premised somewhat, which perhaps the Greeks do not know, I will return and explain what I have omitted; for such names are pronounced here after the manner of the Greeks, to please my readers; for our own country language does not so pronounce them: but the names in all cases are of one and the same ending; for the name we here pronounce Noeas, is there Noah, and in every case retains the same termination.

2. The children of Ham possessed the land from Syria and Amanus, and the mountains of Libanus; seizing upon all that was on its sea-coasts, and as far as the ocean, and keeping it as their own. Some indeed of its names are utterly vanished away; others of them being changed, and another sound given them, are hardly to be discovered; yet a few there are which have kept their denominations entire. For of the four sons of Ham, time has not at all hurt the name of Chus; for the Ethiopians, over whom he reigned, are even at this day, both by themselves and by all men in Asia, called Chusites. The memory also of the Mesraites is preserved in their name; for all we who inhabit this country [of Judea] called Egypt Mestre, and the Egyptians Mestreans. Phut also was the founder of Libya, and called the inhabitants Phutites, from himself: there is also a river in the country of Moors which bears that name; whence it is that we may see the greatest part of the Grecian historiographers mention that river and the adjoining country by the appellation of Phut: but the name it has now has been by change given it from one of the sons of Mesraim, who was called Lybyos. We will inform you presently what has been the occasion why it has been called Africa also. Canaan, the fourth son of Ham, inhabited the country now called Judea, and called it from his own name Canaan. The children of these [four] were these: Sabas, who founded the Sabeans; Evilas, who founded the Evileans, who are called Getuli; Sabathes founded the Sabathens, they are now called by the Greeks Astaborans; Sabactas settled the Sabactens; and Ragmus the Ragmeans; and he had two sons, the one of whom, Judadas, settled the Judadeans, a nation of the western Ethiopians, and left them his name; as did Sabas to the Sabeans: but Nimrod, the son of Chus, staid and tyrannized at Babylon, as we have already informed you. Now all the children of Mesraim, being eight in number, possessed the country from Gaza to Egypt, though it retained the name of one only, the Philistim; for the Greeks call part of that country Palestine. As for the rest, Ludieim, and Enemim, and Labim, who alone inhabited in Libya, and called the country from himself, Nedim, and Phethrosim, and Chesloim, and Cephthorim, we know nothing of them besides their names; for the Ethiopic war17 which we shall describe hereafter, was the cause that those cities were overthrown. The sons of Canaan were these: Sidonius, who also built a city of the same name; it is called by the Greeks Sidon Amathus inhabited in Amathine, which is even now called Amathe by the inhabitants, although the Macedonians named it Epiphania, from one of his posterity: Arudeus possessed the island Aradus: Arucas possessed Arce, which is in Libanus. But for the seven others, [Eueus,] Chetteus, Jebuseus, Amorreus, Gergesus, Eudeus, Sineus, Samareus, we have nothing in the sacred books but their names, for the Hebrews overthrew their cities; and their calamities came upon them on the occasion following.

3. Noah, when, after the deluge, the earth was resettled in its former condition, set about its cultivation; and when he had planted it with vines, and when the fruit was ripe, and he had gathered the grapes in their season, and the wine was ready for use, he offered sacrifice, and feasted, and, being drunk, he fell asleep, and lay naked in an unseemly manner. When his youngest son saw this, he came laughing, and showed him to his brethren; but they covered their father's nakedness. And when Noah was made sensible of what had been done, he prayed for prosperity to his other sons; but for Ham, he did not curse him, by reason of his nearness in blood, but cursed his prosperity: and when the rest of them escaped that curse, God inflicted it on the children of Canaan. But as to these matters, we shall speak more hereafter.

4. Shem, the third son of Noah, had five sons, who inhabited the land that began at Euphrates, and reached to the Indian Ocean. For Elam left behind him the Elamites, the ancestors of the Persians. Ashur lived at the city Nineve; and named his subjects Assyrians, who became the most fortunate nation, beyond others. Arphaxad named the Arphaxadites, who are now called Chaldeans. Aram had the Aramites, which the Greeks called Syrians; as Laud founded the Laudites, which are now called Lydians. Of the four sons of Aram, Uz founded Trachonitis and Damascus: this country lies between Palestine and Celesyria. Ul founded Armenia; and Gather the Bactrians; and Mesa the Mesaneans; it is now called Charax Spasini. Sala was the son of Arphaxad; and his son was Heber, from whom they originally called the Jews Hebrews. 18 Heber begat Joetan and Phaleg: he was called Phaleg, because he was born at the dispersion of the nations to their several countries; for Phaleg among the Hebrews signifies division. Now Joctan, one of the sons of Heber, had these sons, Elmodad, Saleph, Asermoth, Jera, Adoram, Aizel, Decla, Ebal, Abimael, Sabeus, Ophir, Euilat, and Jobab. These inhabited from Cophen, an Indian river, and in part of Asia adjoining to it. And this shall suffice concerning the sons of Shem.

5. I will now treat of the Hebrews. The son of Phaleg, whose father Was Heber, was Ragau; whose son was Serug, to whom was born Nahor; his son was Terah, who was the father of Abraham, who accordingly was the tenth from Noah, and was born in the two hundred and ninety-second year after the deluge; for Terah begat Abram in his seventieth year. Nahor begat Haran when he was one hundred and twenty years old; Nahor was born to Serug in his hundred and thirty-second year; Ragau had Serug at one hundred and thirty; at the same age also Phaleg had Ragau; Heber begat Phaleg in his hundred and thirty-fourth year; he himself being begotten by Sala when he was a hundred and thirty years old, whom Arphaxad had for his son at the hundred and thirty-fifth year of his age. Arphaxad was the son of Shem, and born twelve years after the deluge. Now Abram had two brethren, Nahor and Haran: of these Haran left a son, Lot; as also Sarai and Milcha his daughters; and died among the Chaldeans, in a city of the Chaldeans, called Ur; and his monument is shown to this day. These married their nieces. Nabor married Milcha, and Abram married Sarai. Now Terah hating Chaldea, on account of his mourning for Ilaran, they all removed to Haran of Mesopotamia, where Terah died, and was buried, when he had lived to be two hundred and five years old; for the life of man was already, by degrees, diminished, and became shorter than before, till the birth of Moses; after whom the term of human life was one hundred and twenty years, God determining it to the length that Moses happened to live. Now Nahor had eight sons by Milcha; Uz and Buz, Kemuel, Chesed, Azau, Pheldas, Jadelph, and Bethuel. These were all the genuine sons of Nahor; for Teba, and Gaam, and Tachas, and Maaca, were born of Reuma his concubine: but Bethuel had a daughter, Rebecca, and a son, Laban.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 7

How Abram Our Forefather Went Out Of The Land Of The Chaldeans, And Lived In The Land Then Called Canaan But Now Judea.

1. Now Abram, having no son of his own, adopted Lot, his brother Haran's son, and his wife Sarai's brother; and he left the land of Chaldea when he was seventy-five years old, and at the command of God went into Canaan, and therein he dwelt himself, and left it to his posterity. He was a person of great sagacity, both for understanding all things and persuading his hearers, and not mistaken in his opinions; for which reason he began to have higher notions of virtue than others had, and he determined to renew and to change the opinion all men happened then to have concerning God; for he was the first that ventured to publish this notion, That there was but one God, the Creator of the universe; and that, as to other [gods], if they contributed any thing to the happiness of men, that each of them afforded it only according to his appointment, and not by their own power. This his opinion was derived from the irregular phenomena that were visible both at land and sea, as well as those that happen to the sun, and moon, and all the heavenly bodies, thus:—"If [said he] these bodies had power of their own, they would certainly take care of their own regular motions; but since they do not preserve such regularity, they make it plain, that in so far as they co-operate to our advantage, they do it not of their own abilities, but as they are subservient to Him that commands them, to whom alone we ought justly to offer our honour and thanksgiving." For which doctrines, when the Chaldeans, and other people of Mesopotamia, raised a tumult against him, he thought fit to leave that country; and at the command and by the assistance of God, he came and lived in the land of Canaan. And when he was there settled, he built an altar, and performed a sacrifice to God.

2. Berosus mentions our father Abram without naming him, when he says thus: "In the tenth generation after the Flood, there was among the Chaldeans a man righteous and great, and skillful in the celestial science." But Hecatseus does more than barely mention him; for he composed, and left behind him, a book concerning him. And Nicolaus of Damascus, in the fourth book of his History, says thus: "Abram reigned at Damascus, being a foreigner, who came with an army out of the land above Babylon, called the land of the Chaldeans: but, after a long time, he got him up, and removed from that country also, with his people, and went into the land then

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called the land of Canaan, but now the land of Judea, and this when his posterity were become a multitude; as to which posterity of his, we relate their history in another work. Now the name of Abram is even still famous in the country of Damascus; and there is shown a village named from him, The Habitation of Abram."

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 8

That When There Was A Famine In Canaan, Abram Went Thence Into Egypt; And After He Had Continued There A While He Returned Back Again.

1. Now, after this, when a famine had invaded the land of Canaan, and Abram had discovered that the Egyptians were in a flourishing condition, he was disposed to go down to them, both to partake of the plenty they enjoyed, and to become an auditor of their priests, and to know what they said concerning the gods; designing either to follow them, if they had better notions than he, or to convert them into a better way, if his own notions proved the truest. Now, seeing he was to take Sarai with him, and was afraid of the madness of the Egyptians with regard to women, lest the king should kill him on occasion of his wife's great beauty, he contrived this device:—he pretended to be her brother, and directed her in a dissembling way to pretend the same, for he said it would be for their benefit. Now, as soon as he came into Egypt, it happened to Abram as he supposed it would; for the fame of his wife's beauty was greatly talked of; for which reason Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, would not be satisfied with what was reported of her, but would needs see her himself, and was preparing to enjoy her; but God put a stop to his unjust inclinations, by sending upon him a distemper, and a sedition against his government. And when he inquired of the priests how he might be freed from these calamities, they told him that this his miserable condition was derived from the wrath of God, upon account of his inclinations to abuse the stranger's wife. He then, out of fear, asked Sarai who she was, and who it was that she brought along with her. And when he had found out the truth, he excused himself to Abram, that supposing the woman to be his sister, and not his wife, he set his affections on her, as desiring an affinity with him by marrying her, but not as incited by lust to abuse her. He also made him a large present in money, and gave him leave to enter into conversation with the most learned among the Egyptians; from which conversation his virtue and his reputation became more conspicuous than they had been before.

2. For whereas the Egyptians were formerly addicted to different customs, and despised one another's sacred and accustomed rites, and were very angry one with another on that account, Abram conferred with each of them, and, confuting the reasonings they made use of, every one for their own practices, demonstrated that such reasonings were vain and void of truth: whereupon he was admired by them in those conferences as a very wise man, and one of great sagacity, when he discoursed on any subject he undertook; and this not only in understanding it, but in persuading other men also to assent to him. He communicated to them arithmetic, and delivered to them the science of astronomy; for before Abram came into Egypt they were unacquainted with those parts of learning; for that science came from the Chaldeans into Egypt, and from thence to the Greeks also.

3. As soon as Abram was come back into Canaan, he parted the land between him and Lot, upon account of the tumultuous behavior of their shepherds, concerning the pastures wherein they should feed their flocks. However, he gave Lot his option, or leave, to choose which lands he would take; and he took himself what the other left, which were the lower grounds at the foot of the mountains; and he himself dwelt in Hebron, which is a city seven years more ancient than Tunis of Egypt. But Lot possessed the land of the plain, and the river Jordan, not far from the city of Sodom, which was then a fine city, but is now destroyed, by the will and wrath of God, the cause of which I shall show in its proper place hereafter.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 9

The Destruction Of The Sodomites By The Assyrian War.

At this time, when the Assyrians had the dominion over Asia, the people of Sodom were in a flourishing condition, both as to riches and the number of their youth. There were five kings that managed the affairs of this county: Ballas, Barsas, Senabar, and Sumobor, with the king of Bela; and each king led on his own troops: and the Assyrians made war upon them; and, dividing their army into four parts, fought against them. Now every part of the army had its own commander; and when the battle was joined, the Assyrians were conquerors, and imposed a tribute on the kings of the Sodomites, who submitted to this slavery twelve years; and so long they continued to pay their tribute: but on the thirteenth year they rebelled, and then the army of the Assyrians came upon them, under their commanders Amraphel, Arioch, Chodorlaomer, and Tidal. These kings had laid waste all Syria, and overthrown the offspring of the giants. And when they were come over against Sodom, they pitched their camp at the vale called the Slime Pits, for at that time there were pits in that place; but now, upon the destruction of the city of Sodom, that vale became the Lake Asphaltites, as it is called. However, concerning this lake we shall speak more presently. Now when the Sodomites joined battle with the Assyrians, and the fight was very obstinate, many of them were killed, and the rest were carried captive; among which captives was Lot, who had come to assist the Sodomites.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 10

How Abram Fought With The Assyrians, And Overcame Them, And Saved The Sodomite Prisoners, And Took From The Assyrians The Prey They Had Gotten.

1. When, Abram heard of their calamity, he was at once afraid for Lot his kinsman, and pitied the Sodomites, his friends and neighbours; and thinking it proper to afford them assistance, he did not delay it, but marched hastily, and the fifth night fell upon the Assyrians, near Dan, for that is the name of the other spring of Jordan; and before they could arm themselves, he slew some as they were in their beds, before they could suspect any harm; and others, who were not yet gone to sleep, but were so drunk they could not fight, ran away. Abram pursued after them, till, on the second day, he drove them in a body unto Hoba, a place belonging to Damascus; and thereby demonstrated that victory does not depend on multitude and the number of hands, but the alacrity and courage of soldiers overcome the most numerous bodies of men, while he got the victory over so great an army with no more than three hundred and eighteen of his servants, and three of his friends: but all those that fled returned home ingloriously.

2. So Abram, when he had saved the captive Sodomites, who had been taken by the Assyrians, and Lot also, his kinsman, returned home in peace. Now the king of Sodom met him at a certain place, which they called The King's Dale, where Melchisedec, king of the city Salem, received him. That name signifies, the righteous king: and such he was, without dispute, insomuch that, on this account, he was made the priest of God: however, they afterward called Salem Jerusalem. Now this Melchisedec supplied Abram's army in an hospitable manner, and gave them provisions in abundance; and as they were feasting, he began to praise him, and to bless God for subduing his enemies under him. And when Abram gave him the tenth part of his prey, he accepted of the gift: but the king of Sodom desired Abram to take the prey, but entreated that he might have those men restored to him whom Abram had saved from the Assyrians, because they belonged to him. But Abram would not do so; nor would make any other advantage of that prey than what his servants had eaten; but still insisted that he should afford a part to his friends that had assisted him in the battle. The first of them was called Eschol, and then Enner, and Mambre.

3. And God commended his virtue, and said, Thou shalt not however lose the rewards thou hast deserved to receive by such thy glorious actions. He answered, And what advantage will it be to me to have such rewards, when I have none to enjoy them after me?—for he was hitherto childless. And God promised that he should have a son, and that his posterity should be very numerous; insomuch that their number should be like the stars. When he heard that, he offered a sacrifice to God, as he commanded him. The manner of the sacrifice was this:—He took an heifer of three years old, and a she-goat of three years old, and a ram in like manner of three years old, and a turtle-dove, and a pigeon and as he was enjoined, he divided the three former, but the birds he did not divide. After which, before he built his altar, where the birds of prey flew about, as desirous of blood, a Divine voice came to him, declaring that their neighbours would be grievous to his posterity, when they should be in Egypt, for four hundred years; during which time they should be afflicted, but afterwards should overcome their enemies, should conquer the Canaanites in war, and possess themselves of their land, and of their cities.

4. Now Abram dwelt near the oak called Ogyges,—the place belongs to Canaan, not far from the city of Hebron. But being uneasy at his wife's barrenness, he entreated God to grant that he might have male issue; and God required of him to be of good courage, and said that he would add to all the rest of the benefits that he had bestowed upon him, ever since he led him out of Mesopotamia, the gift of children. Accordingly Sarai, at God's command, brought to his bed one of her handmaidens, a woman of Egyptian descent, in order to obtain children by her; and when this handmaid was with child, she triumphed, and ventured to affront Sarai, as if the dominion were to come to a son to be born of her. But when Abram resigned her into the hand of Sarai, to punish her, she contrived to fly away, as not able to bear the instances of Sarai's severity to her; and she entreated God to have compassion on her. Now a Divine Angel met her, as she was going forward in the wilderness, and bid her return to her master and mistress, for if she would submit to that wise advice, she would live better hereafter; for that the reason of her being in such a miserable case was this, that she had been ungrateful and arrogant towards her mistress. He also told her, that if she disobeyed God, and went on still in her way, she should perish; but if she would return back, she should become the mother of a son who should reign over that country. These admonitions she obeyed, and returned to her master and mistress, and obtained forgiveness. A little while afterwards, she bare Ismael; which may be interpreted Heard of God, because God had heard his mother's prayer.

5. The forementioned son was born to Abram when he was eighty-six years old: but when he was ninety-nine, God appeared to him, and promised him that he Should have a son by Sarai, and commanded that his name should be Isaac; and showed him, that from this son should spring great nations and kings, and that they should obtain all the land of Canaan by war, from Sidon to Egypt. But he charged him, in order to keep his posterity unmixed with others, that they should be circumcised in the flesh of their foreskin, and that this should be done on the eighth day after they were born: the reason of which circumcision I will explain in another place. And Abram inquiring also concerning Ismael, whether he should live or not, God signified to him that he should live to be very old, and should be the father of great nations. Abram therefore gave thanks to God for these blessings; and then he, and all his family, and his son Ismael, were circumcised immediately; the son being that day thirteen years of age, and he ninety-nine.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 11.

How God Overthrew The Nation Of The Sodomites, Out Of His Wrath Against Them For Their Sins.

1. About this time the Sodomites grew proud, on account of their riches and great wealth; they became unjust towards men, and impious towards God, insomuch that they did not call to mind the advantages they received from him: they hated strangers, and abused themselves with Sodomitical practices. God was therefore much displeased at them, and determined to punish them for their pride, and to overthrow their city, and to lay waste their country, until there should neither plant nor fruit grow out of it.

2. When God had thus resolved concerning the Sodomites, Abraham, as he sat by the oak of Mambre, at the door of his tent, saw three angels; and thinking them to be strangers, he rose up, and saluted them, and desired they would accept of an entertainment, and abide with him; to which, when they agreed, he ordered cakes of meal to be made presently; and when he had slain a calf, he roasted it, and brought it to them, as they sat under the oak. Now they made a show of eating; and besides, they asked him about his wife Sarah, where she was; and when he said she was within, they said they would come again hereafter, and find her become a mother. Upon which the woman laughed, and said that it was impossible she should bear children, since she was ninety years of age, and her husband was a hundred. Then they concealed themselves no longer, but declared that they were angels of God; and that one of them was sent to inform them about the child, and two of the overthrow of Sodom.

3. When Abraham heard this, he was grieved for the Sodomites; and he rose up, and besought God for them, and entreated him that he would not destroy the righteous with the wicked. And when God had replied that there was no good man among the Sodomites; for if there were but ten such man among them, he would not punish any of them for their sins, Abraham held his peace. And the angels came to the city of the Sodomites, and Lot entreated them to accept of a lodging with him; for he was a very generous and hospitable man, and one that had learned to imitate the goodness of Abraham. Now when the Sodomites saw the young men to be of beautiful countenances, and this to an extraordinary degree, and that they took up their lodgings with Lot, they resolved themselves to enjoy these beautiful boys by force and violence; and when Lot exhorted them to sobriety, and not to offer any thing immodest to the strangers, but to have regard to their lodging in his house; and promised that if their inclinations could not be governed, he would expose his daughters to their lust, instead of these strangers; neither thus were they made ashamed.

4. But God was much displeased at their impudent behavior, so that he both smote those men with blindness, and condemned the Sodomites to universal destruction. But Lot, upon God's informing him of the future destruction of the Sodomites, went away, taking with him his wife and daughters, who were two, and still virgins; for those that were betrothed to them were above the thoughts of going, and deemed that Lot's words were trifling. God then cast a thunderbolt upon the city, and set it on fire, with its inhabitants; and laid waste the country with the like burning, as I formerly said when I wrote the Jewish War. But Lot's wife continually turning back to view the city as she went from it, and being too nicely inquisitive what would become of it, although God had forbidden her so to do, was changed into a pillar of salt; for I have seen it, and it remains at this day. Now he and his daughters fled to a certain small place, encompassed with the fire, and settled in it: it is to this day called Zoar, for that is the word which the Hebrews use for a

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small thing. There it was that he lived a miserable life, on account of his having no company, and his want of provisions.

5. But his daughters, thinking that all mankind were destroyed, approached to their father, though taking care not to be perceived. This they did, that human kind might not utterly fail: and they bare sons; the son of the elder was named Moab, Which denotes one derived from his father; the younger bare Ammon, which name denotes one derived from a kinsman. The former of whom was the father of the Moabites, which is even still a great nation; the latter was the father of the Ammonites; and both of them are inhabitants of Celesyria. And such was the departure of Lot from among the Sodomites.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 12

Concerning Abimelech; And Concerning Ismael The Son Of Abraham; And Concerning The Arabians, Who Were His Posterity.

1. Abraham now removed to Gerar of Palestine, leading Sarah along with him, under the notion of his sister, using the like dissimulation that he had used before, and this out of fear: for he was afraid of Abimelech, the king of that country, who did also himself fall in love with Sarah, and was disposed to corrupt her; but he was restrained from satisfying his lust by a dangerous distemper which befell him from God. Now when his physicians despaired of curing him, he fell asleep, and saw a dream, warning him not to abuse the stranger's wife; and when he recovered, he told his friends that God had inflicted that disease upon him, by way of punishment, for his injury to the stranger; and in order to preserve the chastity of his wife, for that she did not accompany him as his sister, but as his legitimate wife; and that God had promised to be gracious to him for the time to come, if this person be once secure of his wife's chastity. When he had said this, by the advice of his friends, he sent for Abraham, and bid him not to be concerned about his wife, or fear the corruption of her chastity; for that God took care of him, and that it was by his providence that he received his wife again, without her suffering any abuse. And he appealed to God, and to his wife's conscience; and said that he had not any inclination at first to enjoy her, if he had known she was his wife; but since, said he, thou leddest her about as thy sister, I was guilty of no offense. He also entreated him to be at peace with him, and to make God propitious to him; and that if he thought fit to continue with him, he should have what he wanted in abundance; but that if he designed to go away, he should be honourably conducted, and have whatsoever supply he wanted when he came thither. Upon his saying this, Abraham told him that his pretense of kindred to his wife was no lie, because she was his brother's daughter; and that he did not think himself safe in his travels abroad, without this sort of dissimulation; and that he was not the cause of his distemper, but was only solicitous for his own safety: he said also, that he was ready to stay with him. Whereupon Abimelech assigned him land and money; and they coventanted to live together without guile, and took an oath at a certain well called Beersheba, which may be interpreted, The Well of the Oath: and so it is named by the people of the country unto this day.

2. Now in a little time Abraham had a son by Sarah, as God had foretold to him, whom he named Isaac, which signifies Laughter. And indeed they so called him, because Sarah laughed when God said that she should bear a son, she not expecting such a thing, as being past the age of child-bearing, for she was ninety years old, and Abraham a hundred; so that this son was born to them both in the last year of each of those decimal numbers. And they circumcised him upon the eighth day and from that time the Jews continue the custom of circumcising their sons within that number of days. But as for the Arabians, they circumcise after the thirteenth year, because Ismael, the founder of their nation, who was born to Abraham of the concubine, was circumcised at that age; concerning whom I will presently give a particular account, with great exactness.

3. As for Sarah, she at first loved Ismael, who was born of her own handmaid Hagar, with an affection not inferior to that of her own son, for he was brought up in order to succeed in the government; but when she herself had borne Isaac, she was not willing that Ismael should be brought up with him, as being too old for him, and able to do him injuries when their father should be dead; she therefore persuaded Abraham to send him and his mother to some distant country. Now, at the first, he did not agree to what Sarah was so zealous for, and thought it an instance of the greatest barbarity, to send away a young child and a woman unprovided of necessaries; but at length he agreed to it, because God was pleased with what Sarah had determined: so he delivered Ismael to his mother, as not yet able to go by himself; and commanded her to take a bottle of water, and a loaf of bread, and so to depart, and to take Necessity for her guide. But as soon as her necessary provisions failed, she found herself in an evil case; and when the water was almost spent, she laid the young child, who was ready to expire, under a fig-tree, and went on further, that so he might die while she was absent. But a Divine Angel came to her, and told her of a fountain hard by, and bid her take care, and bring up the child, because she should be very happy by the preservation of Ismael. She then took courage, upon the prospect of what was promised her, and, meeting with some shepherds, by their care she got clear of the distresses she had been in.

4. When the lad was grown up, he married a wife, by birth an Egyptian, from whence the mother was herself derived originally. Of this wife were born to Ismael twelve sons; Nabaioth, Kedar, Abdeel, Mabsam, Idumas, Masmaos, Masaos, Chodad, Theman, Jetur, Naphesus, Cadmas. These inhabited all the country from Euphrates to the Red Sea, and called it Nabatene. They are an Arabian nation, and name their tribes from these, both because of their own virtue, and because of the dignity of Abraham their father.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 13

Concerning Isaac The Legitimate Son Of Abraham.

1. Now Abraham greatly loved Isaac, as being his only begotten and given to him at the borders of old age, by the favour of God. The child also endeared himself to his parents still more, by the exercise of every virtue, and adhering to his duty to his parents, and being zealous in the worship of God. Abraham also placed his own happiness in this prospect, that, when he should die, he should leave this his son in a safe and secure condition; which accordingly he obtained by the will of God: who being desirous to make an experiment of Abraham's religious disposition towards himself, appeared to him, and enumerated all the blessings he had bestowed on him; how he had made him superior to his enemies; and that his son Isaac, who was the principal part of his present happiness, was derived from him; and he said that he required this son of his as a sacrifice and holy oblation. Accordingly he commanded him to carry him to the mountain Moriah, and to build an altar, and offer him for a burnt-offering upon it for that this would best manifest his religious disposition towards him, if he preferred what was pleasing to God, before the preservation of his own son.

2. Now Abraham thought that it was not right to disobey God in any thing, but that he was obliged to serve him in every circumstance of life, since all creatures that live enjoy their life by his providence, and the kindness he bestows on them. Accordingly he concealed this command of God, and his own intentions about the slaughter of his son, from his wife, as also from every one of his servants, otherwise he should have been hindered from his obedience to God; and he took Isaac, together with two of his servants, and laying what things were necessary for a sacrifice upon an ass, he went away to the mountain. Now the two servants went along with him two days; but on the third day, as soon as he saw the mountain, he left those servants that were with him till then in the plain, and, having his son alone with him, he came to the mountain. It was that mountain upon which king David afterwards built the temple. Now they had brought with them every thing necessary for a sacrifice, excepting the animal that was to be offered only. Now Isaac was twenty-five years old. And as he was building the altar, he asked his father what he was about to offer, since there was no animal there for an oblation:—to which it was answered, "That God would provide himself an oblation, he being able to make a plentiful provision for men out of what they have not, and to deprive others of what they already have, when they put too much trust therein; that therefore, if God pleased to be present and propitious at this sacrifice, he would provide himself an oblation."

3. As soon as the altar was prepared, and Abraham had laid on the wood, and all things were entirely ready, he said to his son, "O son, I poured out a vast number of prayers that I might have thee for my son; when thou wast come into the world, there was nothing that could contribute to thy support for which I was not greatly solicitous, nor any thing wherein I thought myself happier than to see thee grown up to man's estate, and that I might leave thee at my death the successor to my dominion; but since it was by God's will that I became thy father, and it is now his will that I relinquish thee, bear this consecration to God with a generous mind; for I resign thee up to God who has thought fit now to require this testimony of honour to himself, on account of the favours he hath conferred on me, in being to me a supporter and defender. Accordingly thou, my son, wilt now die, not in any common way of going out of the world, but sent to God, the Father of all men, beforehand, by thy own father, in the nature of a sacrifice. I suppose he thinks thee worthy to get clear of this world neither by disease, neither by war, nor by any other severe way, by which death usually comes upon men, but so that he will receive thy soul with prayers and holy offices of religion, and will place thee near to himself, and thou wilt there be to me a succorer and supporter in my old age; on which account I principally brought thee up, and thou wilt thereby procure me God for my Comforter instead of thyself."

4. Now Isaac was of such a generous disposition as became the son of such a father, and was pleased with this discourse; and said, "That he was not worthy to be born at first, if he should reject the determination of God and of his father, and should not resign himself up readily to both their pleasures; since it would have been unjust if he had not obeyed, even if his father alone had so resolved." So he went immediately to the altar to be sacrificed. And the deed had been done if God had not opposed it; for he called loudly to Abraham by his name, and forbade him to slay his son; and said, "It was not out of a desire of human blood that he was commanded to slay his son, nor was he willing that he should be taken away from him whom he had made his father, but to try the temper of his mind, whether he would be obedient to such a command. Since therefore he now was satisfied as to that his alacrity, and the surprising readiness he showed in this his piety, he was delighted in having bestowed such blessings upon him; and that he would not be wanting in all sort of concern about him, and in bestowing other children upon him; and that his son should live to a very great age; that he should live a happy life, and bequeath a large principality to his children, who should be good and legitimate." He foretold also, that his family should increase into many nations and that those patriarchs should leave behind them an everlasting name; that they should obtain the possession of the land of Canaan, and be envied by all men. When God had said this, he produced to them a ram, which did not appear before, for the sacrifice. So Abraham and Isaac receiving each other unexpectedly, and having obtained the promises of such great blessings, embraced one another; and when they had sacrificed, they returned to Sarah, and lived happily together, God affording them his assistance in all things they desired.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 14

Concerning Sarah Abraham's Wife; And How She Ended Her Days.

Now Sarah died a little while after, having lived one hundred and twenty-seven years. They buried her in Hebron; the Canaanites publicly allowing them a burying-place; which piece of ground Abraham bought for four hundred shekels, of Ephron, an inhabitant of Hebron. And both Abraham and his descendants built themselves sepulchers in that place.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 15

How The Nation Of The Troglodytes Were Derived From Abraham By Keturah.

Abraham after this married Keturah, by whom six sons were born to him, men of courage, and of sagacious minds: Zambran, and Jazar, and Madan, and Madian, and Josabak, and Sous. Now the sons of Sous were Sabathan and Dadan. The sons of Dadan were Latusim, and Assur, and Luom. The sons of Madiau were Ephas, and Ophren, and Anoch, and Ebidas, and Eldas. Now, for all these sons and grandsons, Abraham contrived to settle them in colonies; and they took possession of Troglodytis, and the country of Arabia the Happy, as far as it reaches to the Red Sea. It is related of this Ophren, that he made war against Libya, and took it, and that his grandchildren, when they inhabited it, called it [from his name] Africa. And indeed Alexander Polyhistor gives his attestation to what I here say; who speaks thus: "Cleodemus the prophet, who was also called Malchus, who wrote a History of the Jews, in agreement with the History of Moses, their legislator, relates, that there were many sons born to Abraham by Keturah: nay, he names three of them, Apher, and Surim, and Japhran. That from Surim was the land of Assyria denominated; and that from the other two [Apher and Japbran] the country of Africa took its name, because these men were auxiliaries to Hercules, when he fought against Libya and Antaeus; and that Hercules married Aphra's daughter, and of her he begat a son, Diodorus; and that Sophon was his son, from whom that barbarous people called Sophacians were denominated."

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 16

How Isaac Took Rebeka To Wife.

1. Now when Abraham, the father of Isaac, had resolved to take Rebeka, who was grand-daughter to his brother Nahor, for a wife to his son Isaac, who was then about forty years old, he sent the ancientest of his servants to betroth her, after he had obliged him to give him the strongest assurances of his fidelity; which assurances were given after the manner following:—They put each other's hands under each other's thighs; then they called upon God as the witness of what was to be done. He also sent such presents to those that were there as were in esteem, on account that that they either rarely or never were seen in that country, The servant got thither not under a considerable time; for it requires much time to pass through Meopotamia, in which it is tedious traveling, both in the winter for the depth of the clay, and in summer for want of water; and, besides this, for the robberies there committed, which are not to be avoided by travelers but by caution beforehand. However, the servant came to Haran; and when he was in the suburbs, he met a considerable number of maidens going to the water; he therefore prayed to God that Rebeka might be found among them, or her whom Abraham sent him as his servant to espouse to his son, in case his will were that this marriage should be consummated, and that she might be made known to him by the sign, That while others denied him water to drink, she might give it him.

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2. With this intention he went to the well, and desired the maidens to give him some water to drink: but while the others refused, on pretense that they wanted it all at home, and could spare none for him, one only of the company rebuked them for their peevish behavior towards the stranger; and said, What is there that you will ever communicate to anybody, who have not so much as given the man some water? She then offered him water in an obliging manner. And now he began to hope that his grand affair would succeed; but desiring still to know the truth, he commended her for her generosity and good nature, that she did not scruple to afford a sufficiency of water to those that wanted it, though it cost her some pains to draw it; and asked who were her parents, and wished them joy of such a daughter. "And mayst thou be espoused," said he, "to their satisfaction, into the family of an agreeable husband, and bring him legitimate children." Nor did she disdain to satisfy his inquiries, but told him her family. "They," says she, "call me Rebeka; my father was Bethuel, but he is dead; and Laban is my brother; and, together with my mother, takes care of all our family affairs, and is the guardian of my virginity." When the servant heard this, he was very glad at what had happened, and at what was told him, as perceiving that God had thus plainly directed his journey; and producing his bracelets, and some other ornaments which it was esteemed decent for virgins to wear, he gave them to the damsel, by way of acknowledgment, and as a reward for her kindness in giving him water to drink; saying, it was but just that she should have them, because she was so much more obliging than any of the rest. She desired also that he would come and lodge with them, since the approach of the night gave him not time to proceed farther. And producing his precious ornaments for women, he said he desired to trust them to none more safely than to such as she had shown herself to be; and that he believed he might guess at the humanity of her mother and brother, that they would not be displeased, from the virtue he found in her; for he would not be burdensome, but would pay the hire for his entertainment, and spend his own money. To which she replied, that he guessed right as to the humanity of her parents; but complained that he should think them so parsimonious as to take money, for that he should have all on free cost. But she said she would first inform her brother Laban, and, if he gave her leave, she would conduct him in.

3. As soon then as this was over, she introduced the stranger; and for the camels, the servants of Laban brought them in, and took care of them; and he was himself brought in to supper by Laban. And, after supper, he says to him, and to the mother of the damsel, addressing himself to her, "Abraham is the son of Terah, and a kinsman of yours; for Nahor, the grandfather of these children, was the brother of Abraham, by both father and mother; upon which account he hath sent me to you, being desirous to take this damsel for his son to wife. He is his legitimate son, and is brought up as his only heir. He could indeed have had the most happy of all the women in that country for him, but he would not have his son marry any of them; but, out of regard to his own relations, he desired him to match here, whose affection and inclination I would not have you despise; for it was by the good pleasure of God that other accidents fell out in my journey, and that thereby I lighted upon your daughter and your house; for when I was near to the city, I saw a great many maidens coming to a well, and I prayed that I might meet with this damsel, which has come to pass accordingly. Do you therefore confirm that marriage, whose espousals have been already made by a Divine appearance; and show the respect you have for Abraham, who hath sent me with so much solicitude, in giving your consent to the marriage of this damsel." Upon this they understood it to be the will of God, and greatly approved of the offer, and sent their daughter, as was desired. Accordingly Isaac married her, the inheritance being now come to him; for the children by Keturah were gone to their own remote habitations.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 17

Concerning The Death Of Abraham.

A Little while after this Abraham died. He was a man of incomparable virtue, and honoured by God in a manner agreeable to his piety towards him. The whole time of his life was one hundred seventy and five years, and he was buried in Hebron, with his wife Sarah, by their sons Isaac and Ismael.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 18

Concerning The Sons Of Isaac, Esau And Jacob; Of Their Nativity And Education.

1. Now Isaac's wife proved with child, after the death of Abraham; and when her belly was greatly burdened, Isaac was very anxious, and inquired of God; who answered, that Rebeka should bear twins; and that two nations should take the names of those sons; and that he who appeared the second should excel the elder. Accordingly she, in a little time, as God had foretold, bare twins; the elder of whom, from his head to his feet, was very rough and hairy; but the younger took hold of his heel as they were in the birth. Now the father loved the elder, who was called Esau, a name agreeable to his roughness, for the Hebrews call such a hairy roughness [Esau, or] Seir; but Jacob the younger was best beloved by his mother.

2. When there was a famine in the land, Isaac resolved to go into Egypt, the land there being good; but he went to Gerar, as God commanded him. Here Abimelech the king received him, because Abraham had formerly lived with him, and had been his friend. And as in the beginning he treated him exceeding kindly, so he was hindered from continuing in the same disposition to the end, by his envy at him; for when he saw that God was with Isaac, and took such great care of him, he drove him away from him. But Isaac, when he saw how envy had changed the temper of Abimelech retired to a place called the Valley, not far from Gerar: and as he was digging a well, the shepherds fell upon him, and began to fight, in order to hinder the work; and because he did not desire to contend, the shepherds seemed to get the him, so he still retired, and dug another and when certain other shepherds of Abimelech began to offer him violence, he left that also, still retired, thus purchasing security to himself a rational and prudent conduct. At length they gave him leave to dig a well without disturbance. He named this well Rehoboth, which denotes a large space; but of the former wells, one was called Escon, which denotes strife, the other Sitenna, name signifies enmity.

3. It was now that Isaac's affairs increased, and in a flourishing condition; and this his great riches. But Abimelech, thinking in opposition to him, while their living made them suspicious of each other, and retiring showing a secret enmity also, he afraid that his former friendship with Isaac would not secure him, if Isaac should endeavor the injuries he had formerly offered him; he therefore renewed his friendship with him, Philoc, one of his generals. And when he had obtained every thing he desired, by reason of Isaac's good nature, who preferred the earlier friendship Abimelech had shown to himself and his father to his later wrath against him, he returned home.

4. Now when Esau, one of the sons of Isaac, whom the father principally loved, was now come to the age of forty years, he married Adah, the daughter of Helon, and Aholibamah, the daughter of Esebeon; which Helon and Esebeon were great lords among the Canaanites: thereby taking upon himself the authority, and pretending to have dominion over his own marriages, without so much as asking the advice of his father; for had Isaac been the arbitrator, he had not given him leave to marry thus, for he was not pleased with contracting any alliance with the people of that country; but not caring to be uneasy to his son by commanding him to put away these wives, he resolved to be silent.

5. But when he was old, and could not see at all, he called Esau to him, and told him, that besides his blindness, and the disorder of his eyes, his very old age hindered him from his worship of God [by sacrifice]; he bid him therefore to go out a hunting, and when he had caught as much venison as he could, to prepare him a supper that after this he might make supplication to God, to be to him a supporter and an assister during the whole time of his life; saying, that it was uncertain when he should die, and that he was desirous, by prayers for him, to procure, beforehand, God to be merciful to him.

6. Accordingly, Esau went out a hunting. But Rebeka thinking it proper to have the supplication made for obtaining the favour of God to Jacob, and that without the consent of Isaac, bid him kill kids of the goats, and prepare a supper. So Jacob obeyed his mother, according to all her instructions. Now when the supper was got ready, he took a goat's skin, and put it about his arm, that by reason of its hairy roughness, he might by his father be believed to be Esau; for they being twins, and in all things else alike, differed only in this thing. This was done out of his fear, that before his father had made his supplications, he should be caught in his evil practice, and lest he should, on the contrary, provoke his father to curse him. So he brought in the supper to his father. Isaac perceivest to be Esau. So suspecting no deceit, he ate the supper, and betook himself to his prayers and intercessions with God; and said, "O Lord of all ages, and Creator of all substance; for it was thou that didst propose to my father great plenty of good things, and hast vouchsafed to bestow on me what I have; and hast promised to my posterity to be their kind supporter, and to bestow on them still greater blessings; do thou therefore confirm these thy promises, and do not overlook me, because of my present weak condition, on account of which I most earnestly pray to thee. Be gracious to this my son; and preserve him and keep him from every thing that is evil. Give him a happy life, and the possession of as many good things as thy power is able to bestow. Make him terrible to his enemies, and honourable and beloved among his friends."

7. Thus did Isaac pray to God, thinking his prayers had been made for Esau. He had but just finished them, when Esau came in from hunting. And when Isaac perceived his mistake, he was silent: but Esau required that he might be made partaker of the like blessing from his father that his brother had partook of; but his father refused it, because all his prayers had been spent upon Jacob: so Esau lamented the mistake. However, his father being grieved at his weeping, said, that "he should excel in hunting and strength of body, in arms, and all such sorts of work; and should obtain glory for ever on those accounts, he and his posterity after him; but still should serve his brother."

8. Now the mother delivered Jacob, when she was afraid that his brother would inflict some punishment upon him because of the mistake about the prayers of Isaac; for she persuaded her husband to take a wife for Jacob out of Mesopotamia, of her own kindred, Esau having married already Basemmath, the daughter of Ismael, without his father's consent; for Isaac did not like the Canaanites, so that he disapproved of Esau's former marriages, which made him take Basemmath to wife, in order to please him; and indeed he had a great affection for her.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 19

Concerning Jacob's Flight Into Mesopotamia, By Reason Of The Fear He Was In Of His Brother.

1. Now Jacob was sent by his mother to Mesopotamia, in order to marry Laban her brother's daughter [which marriage was permitted by Isaac, on account of his obsequiousness to the desires of his wife]; and he accordingly journeyed through the land of Canaan; and because he hated the people of that country, he would not lodge with any of them, but took up his lodging in the open air, and laid his head on a heap of stones that he had gathered together. At which time he saw in his sleep such a vision standing by him:—he seemed to see a ladder that reached from the earth unto heaven, and persons descending upon the ladder that seemed more excellent than human; and at last God himself stood above it, and was plainly visible to him, who, calling him by his name, spake to him in these words:—

2. "O Jacob, it is not fit for thee, who art the son of a good father, and grandson of one who had obtained a great reputation for his eminent virtue, to be dejected at thy present circumstances, but to hope for better times, for thou shalt have great abundance of all good things, by my assistance: for I brought Abraham hither, out of Mesopotamia, when he was driven away by his kinsmen, and I made thy father a happy man, nor will I bestow a lesser degree of happiness on thyself: be of good courage, therefore, and under my conduct proceed on this thy journey, for the marriage thou goest so zealously about shall be consummated. And thou shalt have children of good characters, but their multitude shall be innumerable; and they shall leave what they have to a still more numerous posterity, to whom, and to whose posterity, I give the dominion of all the land, and their posterity shall fill the entire earth and sea, so far as the sun beholds them: but do not thou fear any danger, nor be afraid of the many labours thou must undergo, for by my providence I will direct thee what thou art to do in the time present, and still much more in the time to come."

3. Such were the predictions which God made to Jacob; whereupon he became very joyful at what he had seen and heard; and he poured oil on the stones, because on them the prediction of such great benefits was made. He also vowed a vow, that he would offer sacrifices upon them, if he lived and returned safe; and if he came again in such a condition, he would give the tithe of what he had gotten to God. He also judged the place to be honourable and gave it the name of Bethel, which, in the Greek, is interpreted, The House of God.

4. So he proceeded on his journey to Mesopotamia, and at length came to Haran; and meeting with shepherds in the suburbs, with boys grown up, and maidens sitting about a certain well, he staid with them, as wanting water to drink; and beginning to discourse with them, he asked them whether they knew such a one as Laban, and whether he was still alive. Now they all said they knew him, for he was not so inconsiderable a person as to be unknown to any of them; and that his daughter fed her father's flock together with them; and that indeed they wondered that she was not yet come, for by her means thou mightest learn more exactly whatever thou desirest to know about that family. While they were saying this the damsel came, and the other shepherds that came down along with her. Then they showed her Jacob, and told her that he was a stranger, who came to inquire about her father's affairs. But she, as pleased, after the custom of children, with Jacob's coming, asked him who he was, and whence he came to them, and what it was he lacked that he came thither. She also wished it might be in their power to supply the wants he came about.

5. But Jacob was quite overcome, not so much by their kindred, nor by that affection which might arise thence, as by his love to the damsel, and his surprise at her beauty, which was so flourishing, as few of the women of that age could vie with. He said then, "There is a relation between thee and me, elder than either thy or my birth, if thou be the daughter of Laban; for Abraham was the son of Terah, as well as Haran and Nahor. Of the last of whom [Nahor] Bethuel thy grandfather was the son. Isaac my father was the son of Abraham and of Sarah, who was the daughter of Haran. But there is a nearer and later cement of mutual kindred which we bear to one another, for my mother Rebeka was sister to Laban thy father, both by the same father and mother; I

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therefore and thou are cousin-germans. And I am now come to salute you, and to renew that affinity which is proper between us." Upon this the damsel, at the mention of Rebeka, as usually happens to young persons, wept, and that out of the kindness she had for her father, and embraced Jacob, she having learned an account of Rebeka from her father, and knew that her parents loved to hear her named; and when she had saluted him, she said that "he brought the most desirable and greatest pleasures to her father, with all their family, who was always mentioning his mother, and always thinking of her, and her alone; and that this will make thee equal in his eyes to any advantageous circumstances whatsoever." Then she bid him go to her father, and follow her while she conducted him to him; and not to deprive him of such a pleasure, by staying any longer away from him.

6. When she had said thus, she brought him to Laban; and being owned by his uncle, he was secure himself, as being among his friends; and he brought a great deal of pleasure to them by his unexpected coning. But a little while afterward, Laban told him that he could not express in words the joy he had at his coming; but still he inquired of him the occasion of his coming, and why he left his aged mother and father, when they wanted to be taken care of by him; and that he would afford him all the assistance he wanted. Then Jacob gave him an account of the whole occasion of his journey, and told him, "that Isaac had two sons that were twins, himself and Esau; who, because he failed of his father's prayers, which by his mother's wisdom were put up for him, sought to kill him, as deprived of the kingdom which was to be given him of God, and of the blessings for which their father prayed; and that this was the occasion of his coming hither, as his mother had commanded him to do: for we are all [says he] brethren one to another; but our mother esteems an alliance with your family more than she does one with the families of the country; so I look upon yourself and God to be the supporters of my travels, and think myself safe in my present circumstances."

7. Now Laban promised to treat him with great humanity, both on account of his ancestors, and particularly for the sake of his mother, towards whom, he said, he would show his kindness, even though she were absent, by taking care of him; for he assured him he would make him the head shepherd of his flock, and give him authority sufficient for that purpose; and when he should have a mind to return to his parents, he would send him back with presents, and this in as honourable a manner as the nearness of their relation should require. This Jacob heard gladly; and said he would willingly, and with pleasure, undergo any sort of pains while he tarried with him, but desired Rachel to wife, as the reward of those pains, who was not only on other accounts esteemed by him, but also because she was the means of his coming to him; for he said he was forced by the love of the damsel to make this proposal. Laban was well pleased with this agreement, and consented to give the damsel to him, as not desirous to meet with any better son-in-law; and said he would do this, if he would stay with him some time, for he was not willing to send his daughter to be among the Canaanites, for he repented of the alliance he had made already by marrying his sister there. And when Jacob had given his consent to this, he agreed to stay seven years; for so many years he had resolved to serve his father-in-law, that, having given a specimen of his virtue, it might be better known what sort of a man he was. And Jacob, accepting of his terms, after the time was over, he made the wedding-feast; and when it was night, without Jacob's perceiving it, he put his other daughter into bed to him, who was both elder than Rachel, and of no comely countenance: Jacob lay with her that night, as being both in drink and in the dark. However, when it was day, he knew what had been done to him; and he reproached Laban for his unfair proceeding with him; who asked pardon for that necessity which forced him to do what he did; for he did not give him Lea out of any ill design, but as overcome by another greater necessity: that, notwithstanding this, nothing should hinder him from marrying Rachel; but that when he had served another seven years, he would give him her whom he loved. Jacob submitted to this condition, for his love to the damsel did not permit him to do otherwise; and when another seven years were gone, he took Rachel to wife.

8. Now each of these had handmaids, by their father's donation. Zilpha was handmaid to Lea, and Bilha to Rachel; by no means slaves, but however subject to their mistresses. Now Lea was sorely troubled at her husband's love to her sister; and she expected she should be better esteemed if she bare him children: so she entreated God perpetually; and when she had borne a son, and her husband was on that account better reconciled to her, she named her son Reubel, because God had had mercy upon her, in giving her a son, for that is the signification of this name. After some time she bare three more sons; Simeon, which name signifies that God had hearkened to her prayer. Then she bare Levi, the confirmer of their friendship. After him was born Judah, which denotes thanksgiving. But Rachel, fearing lest the fruitfulness of her sister should make herself enjoy a lesser share of Jacob's affections, put to bed to him her handmaid Bilha; by whom Jacob had Dan: one may interpret that name into the Greek tongue, a divine judgement. And after him Nephthalim, as it were, unconquerable in stratagems, since Rachel tried to conquer the fruitfulness of her sister by this stratagem. Accordingly, Lea took the same method, and used a counter-stratagem to that of her sister; for she put to bed to him her own handmaid. Jacob therefore had by Zilpha a son, whose name was Gad, which may be interpreted fortune; and after him Asher, which may be called a happy man, because he added glory to Lea. Now Reubel, the eldest son of Lea, brought apples of mandrakes to his mother. When Rachel saw them, she desired that she would give her the apples, for she longed to eat them; but when she refused, and bid her be content that she had deprived her of the benevolence she ought to have had from her husband, Rachel, in order to mitigate her sister's anger, said she would yield her husband to her; and he should lie with her that evening. She accepted of the favour, and Jacob slept with Lea, by the favour of Rachel. She bare then these sons: Issachar, denoting one born by hire: and Zabulon, one born as a pledge of benevolence towards her; and a daughter, Dina. After some time Rachel had a son, named Joseph, which signified there should be another added to him.

9. Now Jacob fed the flocks of Laban his father-in-law all this time, being twenty years, after which he desired leave of his father-in-law to take his wives and go home; but when his father-in-law would not give him leave, he contrived to do it secretly. He made trial therefore of the disposition of his wives what they thought of this journey;—when they appeared glad, and approved of it. Rachel took along with her the images of the gods, which, according to their laws, they used to worship in their own country, and ran away together with her sister. The children also of them both, and the handmaids, and what possessions they had, went along with them. Jacob also drove away half the cattle, without letting Laban know of it beforehand But the reason why Rachel took the images of the gods, although Jacob had taught her to despise such worship of those gods, was this, That in case they were pursued, and taken by her father, she might have recourse to these images, in order to obtain his pardon.

10. But Laban, after one day's time, being acquainted with Jacob's and his daughters' departure, was much troubled, and pursued after them, leading a band of men with him; and on the seventh day overtook them, and found them resting on a certain hill; and then indeed he did not meddle with them, for it was even-tide; but God stood by him in a dream, and warned him to receive his son-in-law and his daughters in a peaceable manner; and not to venture upon any thing rashly, or in wrath to but to make a league with Jacob. And he told him, that if he despised their small number, attacked them in a hostile manner, he would assist them. When Laban had been thus forewarned by God, he called Jacob to him the next day, in order to treat with him, and showed him what dream he had; in dependence whereupon he came confidently to him, and began to accuse him, alleging that he had entertained him when he was poor, and in want of all things, and had given him plenty of all things which he had. "For," said he, "I have joined my daughters to thee in marriage, and supposed that thy kindness to me be greater than before; but thou hast had no regard to either thy mother's relations to me, nor to the affinity now newly contracted between us; nor to those wives whom thou hast married; nor to those children, of whom I am the grandfather. Thou hast treated me as an enemy, driving away my cattle, and by persuading my daughters to run away from their father; and by carrying home those sacred paternal images which were worshipped by my forefathers, and have been honoured with the like worship which they paid them by myself. In short, thou hast done this whilst thou art my kinsman, and my sister's son, and the husband of my daughters, and was hospitably treated by me, and didst eat at my table." When Laban had said this, Jacob made his defense—That he was not the only person in whom God had implanted the love of his native country, but that he had made it natural to all men; and that therefore it was but reasonable that, after so long time, he should go back to it. "But as to the prey, of whose driving away thou accusest me, if any other person were the arbitrator, thou wouldst be found in the wrong; for instead of those thanks I ought to have had from thee, for both keeping thy cattle, and increasing them, how is it that thou art unjustly angry at me because I have taken, and have with me, a small portion of them? But then, as to thy daughters, take notice, that it is not through any evil practices of mine that they follow me in my return home, but from that just affection which wives naturally have to their husbands. They follow therefore not so properly myself as their own children." And thus far of his apology was made, in order to clear himself of having acted unjustly. To which he added his own complaint and accusation of Laban; saying, "While I was thy sister's son, and thou hadst given me thy daughters in marriage, thou hast worn me out with thy harsh commands, and detained me twenty years under them. That indeed which was required in order to my marrying thy daughters, hard as it was, I own to have been tolerable; but as to those that were put upon me after those marriages, they were worse, and such indeed as an enemy would have avoided." For certainly Laban had used Jacob very ill; for when he saw that God was assisting to Jacob in all that he desired, he promised him, that of the young cattle which should be born, he should have sometimes what was of a white colour, and sometimes what should be of a black colour; but when those that came to Jacob's share proved numerous, he did not keep his faith with him, but said he would give them to him the next year, because of his envying him the multitude of his possessions. He promised him as before, because he thought such an increase was not to be expected; but when it appeared to be fact, he deceived him.

11. But then, as to the sacred images, he bid him search for them; and when Laban accepted of the offer, Rachel, being informed of it, put those images into that camel's saddle on which she rode, and sat upon it; and said, that her natural purgation hindered her rising up: so Laban left off searching any further, not supposing that his daughter in such circumstances would approach to those images. So he made a league with Jacob, and bound it by oaths, that he would not bear him any malice on account of what had happened; and Jacob made the like league, and promised to love Laban's daughters. And these leagues they confirmed with oaths also, which the made upon certain as whereon they erected a pillar, in the form of an altar: whence that hill is called Gilead; and from thence they call that land the Land of Gilead at this day. Now when they had feasted, after the making of the league, Laban returned home.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 20

Concerning The Meeting Of Jacob And Esau.

1. Now as Jacob was proceeding on his journey to the land of Canaan, angels appeared to him, and suggested to him good hope of his future condition; and that place he named the Camp of God. And being desirous of knowing what his brother's intentions were to him, he sent messengers, to give him an exact account of every thing, as being afraid, on account of the enmities between them. He charged those that were sent, to say to Esau, "Jacob had thought it wrong to live together with him while he was in anger against him, and so had gone out of the country; and that he now, thinking the length of time of his absence must have made up their differences, was returning; that he brought with him his wives, and his children, with what possessions he had gotten; and delivered himself, with what was most dear to him, into his hands; and should think it his greatest happiness to partake together with his brother of what God had bestowed upon him." So these messengers told him this message. Upon which Esau was very glad, and met his brother with four hundred men. And Jacob, when he heard that he was coming to meet him with such a number of men, was greatly afraid: however, he committed his hope of deliverance to God; and considered how, in his present circumstances, he might preserve himself and those that were with him, and overcome his enemies if they attacked him injuriously. He therefore distributed his company into parts; some he sent before the rest, and the others he ordered to come close behind, that so, if the first were overpowered when his brother attacked them, they might have those that followed as a refuge to fly unto. And when he had put his company in this order, he sent some of them to carry presents to his brother. The presents were made up of cattle, and a great number of four-footed beasts, of many kinds, such as would be very acceptable to those that received them, on account of their rarity. Those who were sent went at certain intervals of space asunder, that, by following thick, one after another, they might appear to be more numerous, that Esau might remit of his anger on account of these presents, if he were still in a passion. Instructions were also given to those that were sent to speak gently to him.

2. When Jacob had made these appointments all the day, and night came on, he moved on with his company; and, as they were gone over a certain river called Jabboc, Jacob was left behind; and meeting with an angel, he wrestled with him, the angel beginning the struggle: but he prevailed over the angel, who used a voice, and spake to him in words, exhorting him to be pleased with what had happened to him, and not to suppose that his victory was a small one, but that he had overcome a divine angel, and to esteem the victory as a sign of great blessings that should come to him, and that his offspring should never fall, and that no man should be too hard for his power. He also commanded him to be called Israel, which in the Hebrew tongue signifies one that struggled with the divine angel. These promises were made at the prayer of Jacob; for when he perceived him to be the angel of God, he desired he would signify to him what should befall him hereafter. And when the angel had said what is before related, he disappeared; but Jacob was pleased with these things, and named the place Phanuel, which signifies, the face of God. Now when he felt pain, by this struggling, upon his broad sinew, he abstained from eating that sinew himself afterward; and for his sake it is still not eaten by us.

3. When Jacob understood that his brother was near, he ordered his wives to go before, each by herself, with the handmaids, that they might see the actions of the men as they were fighting, if Esau were so disposed. He then went up to

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his brother Esau, and bowed down to him, who had no evil design upon him, but saluted him; and asked him about the company of the children and of the women; and desired, when he had understood all he wanted to know about them, that he would go along with him to their father; but Jacob pretending that the cattle were weary, Esau returned to Seir, for there was his place of habitation, he having named the place Roughness, from his own hairy roughness.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 21

Concerning The Violation Of Dina's Chastity.

1. Hereupon Jacob came to the place, till this day called Tents [Succoth]; from whence he went to Shechem, which is a city of the Canaanites. Now as the Shechemites were keeping a festival Dina, who was the only daughter of Jacob, went into the city to see the finery of the women of that country. But when Shechem, the son of Hamor the king, saw her, he defiled her by violence; and being greatly in love with her, desired of his father that he would procure the damsel to him for a wife. To which desire he condescended, and came to Jacob, desiring him to give leave that his son Shechem might, according to law, marry Dina. But Jacob, not knowing how to deny the desire of one of such great dignity, and yet not thinking it lawful to marry his daughter to a stranger, entreated him to give him leave to have a consultation about what he desired him to do. So the king went away, in hopes that Jacob would grant him this marriage. But Jacob informed his sons of the defilement of their sister, and of the address of Hamor; and desired them to give their advice what they should do. Upon thiss, the greatest part said nothing, not knowing what advice to give. But Simeon and Levi, the brethren of the damsel by the same mother, agreed between themselves upon the action following: It being now the time of a festival, when the Shechemites were employed in ease and feasting, they fell upon the watch when they were asleep, and, coming into the city, slew all the males as also the king, and his son, with them; but spared the women. And when they had done this without their father's consent, they brought away their sister.

2. Now while Jacob was astonished at the greatness of this act, and was severely blaming his sons for it, God stood by him, and bid him be of good courage; but to purify his tents, and to offer those sacrifices which he had vowed to offer when he went first into Mesopotamia, and saw his vision. As he was therefore purifying his followers, he lighted upon the gods of Laban; [for he did not before know they were stolen by Rachel;] and he hid them in the earth, under an oak, in Shechem. And departing thence, he offered sacrifice at Bethel, the place where he saw his dream, when he went first into Mesopotamia.

3. And when he was gone thence, and was come over against Ephrata, he there buried Rachel, who died in child-bed: she was the only one of Jacob's kindred that had not the honour of burial at Hebron. And when he had mourned for her a great while, he called the son that was born of her Benjamin, because of the sorrow the mother had with him. These are all the children of Jacob, twelve males and one female.--Of them eight were legitimate,--viz. six of Lea, and two of Rachel; and four were of the handmaids, two of each; all whose names have been set down already.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 22

How Isaac Died, And Was Buried In Hebron.

From thence Jacob came to Hebron, a city situate among the Canaanites; and there it was that Isaac lived: and so they lived together for a little while; for as to Rebeka, Jacob did not find her alive. Isaac also died not long after the coming of his son; and was buried by his sons, with his wife, in Hebron, where they had a monument belonging to them from their forefathers. Now Isaac was a man who was beloved of God, and was vouchsafed great instances of providence by God, after Abraham his father, and lived to be exceeding old; for when he had lived virtuously one hundred and eighty-five years, he then died.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES BOOK 2

Containing The Interval Of Two Hundred And Twenty Years.—From The Death Of Isaac To The Exodus Out Of Egypt.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 1

How Esau And Jacob, Isaac's Sons Divided Their Habitation; And Esau Possessed Idumea And Jacob Canaan.

1. After the death of Isaac, his sons divided their habitations respectively; nor did they retain what they had before; but Esau departed from the city of Hebron, and left it to his brother, and dwelt in Seir, and ruled over Idumea. He called the country by that name from himself, for he was named Adom; which appellation he got on the following occasion:—One day returning from the toil of hunting very hungry, [it was when he was a child in age,] he lighted on his brother when he was getting ready lentile-pottage for his dinner, which was of a very red colour; on which account he the more earnestly longed for it, and desired him to give him some of it to eat: but he made advantage of his brother's hunger, and forced him to resign up to him his birthright; and he, being pinched with famine, resigned it up to him, under an oath. Whence it came, that, on account of the redness of this pottage, he was, in way of jest, by his contemporaries, called Adom, for the Hebrews call what is red Adom; and this was the name given to the country; but the Greeks gave it a more agreeable pronunciation, and named it Idumea.

2. He became the father of five sons; of whom Jaus, and Jalomus, and Coreus, were by one wife, whose name was Alibama; but of the rest, Aliphaz was born to him by Ada, and Raguel by Basemmath: and these were the sons of Esau. Aliphaz had five legitimate sons; Theman, Omer, Saphus, Gotham, and Kanaz; for Amalek was not legitimate, but by a concubine, whose name was Thamna. These dwelt in that part of Idumea which is called Gebalitis, and that denominated from Amalek, Amalekitis; for Idumea was a large country, and did then preserve the name of the whole, while in its several parts it kept the names of its peculiar inhabitants.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 2

How Joseph, The Youngest Of Jacob's Sons, Was Envied By His Brethren, When Certain Dreams Had Foreshown His Future Happiness.

1. It happened that Jacob came to so great happiness as rarely any other person had arrived at. He was richer than the rest of the inhabitants of that country; and was at once envied and admired for such virtuous sons, for they were deficient in nothing, but were of great souls, both for labouring with their hands and enduring of toil; and shrewd also in understanding. And God exercised such a providence over him, and such a care of his happiness, as to bring him the greatest blessings, even out of what appeared to be the most sorrowful condition; and to make him the cause of our forefathers' departure out of Egypt, him and his posterity. The occasion was this:—When Jacob had his son Joseph born to him by Rachel, his father loved him above the rest of his sons, both because of the beauty of his body, and the virtues of his mind, for he excelled the rest in prudence. This affection of his father excited the envy and the hatred of his brethren; as did also his dreams which he saw, and related to his father, and to them, which foretold his future happiness, it being usual with mankind to envy their very nearest relations such their prosperity. Now the visions which Joseph saw in his sleep were these:—

2. When they were in the middle of harvest, and Joseph was sent by his father, with his brethren, to gather the fruits of the earth, he saw a vision in a dream, but greatly exceeding the customary appearances that come when we are asleep; which, when he was got up, he told his brethren, that they might judge what it portended. He said, he saw the last night, that his wheat-sheaf stood still in the place where he set it, but that their sheaves ran to bow down to it, as servants bow down to their masters. But as soon as they perceived the vision foretold that he should obtain power and great wealth, and that his power should be in opposition to them, they gave no interpretation of it to Joseph, as if the dream were not by them understood: but they prayed that no part of what they suspected to be its meaning might come to pass; and they bare a still greater hatred to him on that account.

3. But God, in opposition to their envy, sent a second vision to Joseph, which was much more wonderful than the former; for it seemed to him that the sun took with him the moon, and the rest of the stars, and came down to the earth, and bowed down to him. He told the vision to his father, and that, as suspecting nothing of ill-will from his brethren, when they were there also, and desired him to interpret what it should signify. Now Jacob was pleased with the dream: for, considering the prediction in his mind, and shrewdly and wisely guessing at its meaning, he rejoiced at the great things thereby signified, because it declared the future happiness of his son; and that, by the blessing of God, the time would come when he should be honoured, and thought worthy of worship by his parents and brethren, as guessing that the moon and sun were like his mother and father; the former, as she that gave increase and nourishment to all things; and the latter, he that gave form and other powers to them; and that the stars were like his brethren, since they were eleven in number, as were the stars that receive their power from the sun and moon.

4. And thus did Jacob make a judgement of this vision, and that a shrewd one also. But these interpretations caused very great grief to Joseph's brethren; and they were affected to him hereupon as if he were a certain stranger, that was to those good things which were signified by the dreams and not as one that was a brother, with whom it was probable they should be joint-partakers; and as they had been partners in the same parentage, so should they be of the same happiness. They also resolved to kill the lad; and having fully ratified that intention of theirs, as soon as their collection of the fruits was over, they went to Shechem, which is a country good for feeding of cattle, and for pasturage; there they fed their flocks, without acquainting their father with their removal thither; whereupon he had melancholy suspicions about them, as being ignorant of his sons' condition, and receiving no messenger from the flocks that could inform him of the true state they were in; so, because he was in great fear about them, he sent Joseph to the flocks, to learn the circumstances his brethren were in, and to bring him word how they did.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 3.

How Joseph Was Thus Sold By His Brethren Into Egypt, By Reason Of Their Hatred To Him; And How He There Grew Famous And Illustrious And Had His Brethren Under His Power.

1. Now these brethren rejoiced as soon as they saw their brother coming to them, not indeed as at the presence of a near relation, or as at the presence of one sent by their father, but as at the presence of an enemy, and one that by Divine Providence was delivered into their hands; and they already resolved to kill him, and not let slip the opportunity that lay before them. But when Reubel, the eldest of them, saw them thus disposed, and that they had agreed together to execute their purpose, he tried to restrain them, showing them the heinous enterprise they were going about, and the horrid nature of it; that this action would appear wicked in the sight of God, and impious before men, even though they should kill one not related to them; but much more flagitious and detestable to appear to have slain their own brother, by which act the father must be treated unjustly in the son's slaughter, and the mother also be in perplexity while she laments that her son is taken away from her, and this not in a natural way neither. So he entreated them to have a regard to their own consciences, and wisely to consider what mischief would betide them upon the death of so good a child, and their youngest brother; that they would also fear God, who was already both a spectator and a witness of the designs they had against their brother; that he would love them if they abstained from this act, and yielded to repentance and amendment; but in case they proceeded to do the fact, all sorts of punishments would overtake them from God for this murder of their brother, since they polluted his providence, which was every where present, and which did not overlook what was done, either in deserts or in cities; for wheresoever a man is, there ought he to suppose that God is also. He told them further, that their consciences would be their enemies, if they attempted to go through so wicked an enterprise, which they can never avoid, whether it be a good conscience; or whether it be such a one as they will have within them when once they have killed their brother. He also added this besides to what he had before said, that it was not a righteous thing to kill a brother, though he had injured them; that it is a good thing to forget the actions of such near friends, even in things wherein they might seem to have offended; but that they were going to kill Joseph, who had been guilty of nothing that was ill towards them, in whose case the infirmity of his small age should rather procure him mercy, and move them to unite together in the care of his preservation. That the cause of killing him made the act itself much worse, while they determined to take him off out of envy at his future prosperity, an equal share of which they would naturally partake while he enjoyed it, since they were to him not strangers, but the nearest relations, for they might reckon upon what God bestowed upon Joseph as their own; and that it was fit for them to believe, that the anger of God would for this cause be more severe upon them, if they slew him who was judged by God to be worthy of that prosperity which was to be hoped for; and while, by murdering him, they made it impossible for God to bestow it upon him.

2. Reubel said these and many other things, and used entreaties to them, and thereby endeavored to divert them from the murder of their brother. But when he saw that his discourse had not mollified them at all, and that they made haste to do the fact, he advised them to alleviate the wickedness they were going about, in the manner of taking Joseph off; for as he had exhorted them first, when they were going to revenge themselves, to be dissuaded from doing it; so, since the sentence for killing their brother had prevailed, he said that they would not, however, be so grossly guilty, if they would be persuaded to follow his present advice, which would include what they were so eager about, but was not so very bad, but, in the distress they were in, of a lighter nature. He begged of them, therefore, not to kill their brother with their own hands, but to cast him into the pit that was hard by, and so to let him die; by which they would gain so much, that they would not defile their own hands with his blood. To this the young men readily agreed; so Reubel took the lad and tied him to a cord, and let him down gently into the pit, for it had no water at all in it; who, when he had done this, went his way to seek for such pasturage as was fit for feeding his flocks.

3. But Judas, being one of Jacob's sons also, seeing some Arabians, of the posterity of Ismael, carrying spices and Syrian wares out of the land of Gilead to the Egyptians, after Rubel was gone, advised his brethren to draw Joseph out of the pit, and sell him to the Arabians; for if he should die among strangers a great way off, they should be freed from this barbarous action. This, therefore, was resolved on; so they drew Joseph up out of the pit, and sold him to the

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merchants for twenty pounds 2 He was now seventeen years old. But Reubel, coming in the night-time to the pit, resolved to save Joseph, without the privity of his brethren; and when, upon his calling to him, he made no answer, he was afraid that they had destroyed him after he was gone; of which he complained to his brethren; but when they had told him what they had done, Reubel left off his mourning.

4. When Joseph's brethren had done thus to him, they considered what they should do to escape the suspicions of their father. Now they had taken away from Joseph the coat which he had on when he came to them at the time they let him down into the pit; so they thought proper to tear that coat to pieces, and to dip it into goats' blood, and then to carry it and show it to their father, that he might believe he was destroyed by wild beasts. And when they had so done, they came to the old man, but this not till what had happened to his son had already come to his knowledge. Then they said that they had not seen Joseph, nor knew what mishap had befallen him; but that they had found his coat bloody and torn to pieces, whence they had a suspicion that he had fallen among wild beasts, and so perished, if that was the coat he had on when he came from home. Now Jacob had before some better hopes that his son was only made a captive; but now he laid aside that notion, and supposed that this coat was an evident argument that he was dead, for he well remembered that this was the coat he had on when he sent him to his brethren; so he hereafter lamented the lad as now dead, and as if he had been the father of no more than one, without taking any comfort in the rest; and so he was also affected with his misfortune before he met with Joseph's brethren, when he also conjectured that Joseph was destroyed by wild beasts. He sat down also clothed in sackcloth and in heavy affliction, insomuch that he found no ease when his sons comforted him, neither did his pains remit by length of time.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 4

Concerning The Signal Chastity Of Joseph.

1. Now Potiphar, an Egyptian, who was chief cook to king Pharaoh, bought Joseph of the merchants, who sold him to him. He had him in the greatest honour, and taught him the learning that became a free man, and gave him leave to make use of a diet better than was allotted to slaves. He intrusted also the care of his house to him. So he enjoyed these advantages, yet did not he leave that virtue which he had before, upon such a change of his condition; but he demonstrated that wisdom was able to govern the uneasy passions of life, in such as have it in reality, and do not only put it on for a show, under a present state of prosperity.

2. For when his master's wife was fallen in love with him, both on account of his beauty of body, and his dexterous management of affairs; and supposed, that if she should make it known to him, she could easily persuade him to come and lie with her, and that he would look upon it as a piece of happy fortune that his mistress should entreat him, as regarding that state of slavery he was in, and not his moral character, which continued after his condition was changed. So she made known her naughty inclinations, and spake to him about lying with her. However, he rejected her entreaties, not thinking it agreeable to religion to yield so far to her, as to do what would tend to the affront and injury of him that purchased him, and had vouchsafed him so great honours. He, on the contrary, exhorted her to govern that passion; and laid before her the impossibility of her obtaining her desires, which he thought might be conquered, if she had no hope of succeeding; and he said, that as to himself, he would endure any thing whatever before he would be persuaded to it; for although it was fit for a slave, as he was, to do nothing contrary to his mistress, he might well be excused in a case where the contradiction was to such sort of commands only. But this opposition of Joseph, when she did not expect it, made her still more violent in her love to him; and as she was sorely beset with this naughty passion, so she resolved to compass her design by a second attempt.

3. When, therefore, there was a public festival coming on, in which it was the custom for women to come to the public solemnity; she pretended to her husband that she was sick, as contriving an opportunity for solitude and leisure, that she might entreat Joseph again. Which opportunity being obtained, she used more kind words to him than before; and said that it had been good for him to have yielded to her first solicitation, and to have given her no repulse, both because of the reverence he ought to bear to her dignity who solicited him, and because of the vehemence of her passion, by which she was forced though she were his mistress to condescend beneath her dignity; but that he may now, by taking more prudent advice, wipe off the imputation of his former folly; for whether it were that he expected the repetition of her solicitations she had now made, and that with greater earnestness than before, for that she had pretended sickness on this very account, and had preferred his conversation before the festival and its solemnity; or whether he opposed her former discourses, as not believing she could be in earnest; she now gave him sufficient security, by thus repeating her application, that she meant not in the least by fraud to impose upon him; and assured him, that if he complied with her affections, he might expect the enjoyment of the advantages he already had; and if he were submissive to her, he should have still greater advantages; but that he must look for revenge and hatred from her, in case he rejected her desires, and preferred the reputation of chastity before his mistress; for that he would gain nothing by such procedure, because she would then become his accuser, and would falsely pretend to her husband, that he had attempted her chastity; and that Potiphar would hearken to her words rather than to his, let his be ever so agreeable to the truth.

4. When the woman had said thus, and even with tears in her eyes, neither did pity dissuade Joseph from his chastity, nor did fear compel him to a compliance with her; but he opposed her solicitations, and did not yield to her threatenings, and was afraid to do an ill thing, and chose to undergo the sharpest punishment rather than to enjoy his present advantages, by doing what his own conscience knew would justly deserve that he should die for it. He also put her in mind that she was a married woman, and that she ought to cohabit with her husband only; and desired her to suffer these considerations to have more weight with her than the short pleasure of lustful dalliance, which would bring her to repentance afterwards, would cause trouble to her, and yet would not amend what had been done amiss. He also suggested to her the fear she would be in lest they should be caught; and that the advantage of concealment was uncertain, and that only while the wickedness was not known [would there be any quiet for them]; but that she might have the enjoyment of her husband's company without any danger. And he told her, that in the company of her husband she might have great boldness from a good conscience, both before God and before men. Nay, that she would act better like his mistress, and make use of her authority over him better while she persisted in her chastity, than when they were both ashamed for what wickedness they had been guilty of; and that it is much better to a life, well and known to have been so, than upon the hopes of the concealment of evil practices.

5. Joseph, by saying this, and more, tried to restrain the violent passion of the woman, and to reduce her affections within the rules of reason; but she grew more ungovernable and earnest in the matter; and since she despaired of persuading him, she laid her hands upon him, and had a mind to force him. But as soon as Joseph had got away from her anger, leaving also his garment with her, for he left that to her, and leaped out of her chamber, she was greatly afraid lest he should discover her lewdness to her husband, and greatly troubled at the affront he had offered her; so she resolved to be beforehand with him, and to accuse Joseph falsely to Potiphar, and by that means to revenge herself on him for his pride and contempt of her; and she thought it a wise thing in itself, and also becoming a woman, thus to prevent his accusation. Accordingly she sat sorrowful and in confusion, framing herself so hypocritically and angrily, that the sorrow, which was really for her being disappointed of her lust, might appear to be for the attempt upon her chastity; so that when her husband came home, and was disturbed at the sight of her and inquired what was the cause of the disorder she was in, she began to accuse Joseph: and, "O husband," said she, "mayst thou not live a day longer if thou dost not punish the wicked slave who has desired to defile thy bed; who has neither minded who he was when he came to our house, so as to behave himself with modesty; nor has he been mindful of what favours he had received from thy bounty [as he must be an ungrateful man indeed, unless he, in every respect, carry himself in a manner agreeable to us]: this man, I say, laid a private design to abuse thy wife, and this at the time of a festival, observing when thou wouldst be absent. So that it now is clear that his modesty, as it appeared to be formerly, was only because of the restraint he was in out of fear of thee, but that he was not really of a good disposition. This has been occasioned by his being advanced to honour beyond what he deserved, and what he hoped for; insomuch that he concluded, that he who was deemed fit to be trusted with thy estate and the government of thy family, and was preferred above thy eldest servants, might be allowed to touch thy wife also." Thus when she had ended her discourse, she showed him his garment, as if he then left it with her when he attempted to force her. But Potiphar not being able to disbelieve what his wife's tears showed, and what his wife said, and what he saw himself, and being seduced by his love to his wife, did not set himself about the examination of the truth; but taking it for granted that his wife was a modest woman, and condemning Joseph as a wicked man, he threw him into the malefactors' prison; and had a still higher opinion of his wife, and bare her witness that she was a woman of a becoming modesty and chastity.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 5

What Things Befell Joseph In Prison.

1. Now Joseph, commending all his affairs to God, did not betake himself to make his defense, nor to give an account of the exact circumstances of the fact, but silently underwent the bonds and the distress he was in, firmly believing that God, who knew the cause of his affliction, and the truth of the fact, would be more powerful than those that inflicted the punishments upon him:—a proof of whose providence he quickly received; for the keeper of the prison taking notice of his care and fidelity in the affairs he had set him about, and the dignity of his countenance, relaxed his bonds, and thereby made his heavy calamity lighter, and more supportable to him. He also permitted him to make use of a diet better than that of the rest of the prisoners. Now, as his fellow prisoners, when their hard labours were over, fell to discoursing one among another, as is usual in such as are equal sufferers, and to inquire one of another what were the occasions of their being condemned to a prison: among them the king's cupbearer, and one that had been respected by him, was put in bonds, upon the king's anger at him. This man was under the same bonds with Joseph, and grew more familiar with him; and upon his observing that Joseph had a better understanding than the rest had, he told him of a dream he had, and desired he would interpret its meaning, complaining that, besides the afflictions he underwent from the king, God did also add to him trouble from his dreams.

2. He therefore said, that in his sleep he saw three clusters of grapes hanging upon three branches of a vine, large already, and ripe for gathering; and that he squeezed them into a cup which the king held in his hand; and when he had strained the wine, he gave it to the king to drink, and that he received it from him with a pleasant countenance. This, he said, was what he saw; and he desired Joseph, that if he had any portion of understanding in such matters, he would tell him what this vision foretold. Who bid him be of good cheer, and expect to be loosed from his bonds in three days' time, because the king desired his service, and was about to restore him to it again; for he let him know that God bestows the fruit of the vine upon men for good; which wine is poured out to him, and is the pledge of fidelity and mutual confidence among men; and puts an end to their quarrels, takes away passion and grief out of the minds of them that use it, and makes them cheerful. "Thou sayest that thou didst squeeze this wine from three clusters of grapes with thine hands, and that the king received it: know, therefore, that this vision is for thy good, and foretells a release from thy present distress within the same number of days as the branches had whence thou gatheredst thy grapes in thy sleep. However, remember what prosperity I have foretold thee when thou hast found it true by experience; and when thou art in authority, do not overlook us in this prison, wherein thou wilt leave us when thou art gone to the place we have foretold; for we are not in prison for any crime; but for the sake of our virtue and sobriety are we condemned to suffer the penalty of malefactors, and because we are not willing to injure him that has thus distressed us, though it were for our own pleasure." The cupbearer, therefore, as was natural to do, rejoiced to hear such an interpretation of his dream, and waited the completion of what had been thus shown him beforehand.

3. But another servant there was of the king, who had been chief baker, and was now bound in prison with the cupbearer; he also was in good hope, upon Joseph's interpretation of the other's vision, for he had seen a dream also; so he desired that Joseph would tell him what the visions he had seen the night before might mean. They were these that follow:—"Methought," says he, "I carried three baskets upon my head; two were full of loaves, and the third full of sweetmeats and other eatables, such as are prepared for kings; but that the fowls came flying, and eat them all up, and had no regard to my attempt to drive them away." And he expected a prediction like to that of the cupbearer. But Joseph, considering and reasoning about the dream, said to him, that he would willingly be an interpreter of good events to him, and not of such as his dream denounced to him; but he told him that he had only three days in all to live, for that the [three] baskets signify, that on the third day he should be crucified, and devoured by fowls, while he was not able to help himself. Now both these dreams had the same several events that Joseph foretold they should have, and this to both the parties; for on the third day before mentioned, when the king solemnized his birth-day, he crucified the chief baker, but set the butler free from his bonds, and restored him to his former ministration.

4. But God freed Joseph from his confinement, after he had endured his bonds two years, and had received no assistance from the cupbearer, who did not remember what he had said to him formerly; and God contrived this method of deliverance for him. Pharaoh the king had seen in his sleep the same evening two visions; and after them had the interpretations of them both given him. He had forgotten the latter, but retained the dreams themselves. Being therefore troubled at what he had seen, for it seemed to him to be all of a melancholy nature, the next day he called together the wisest men among the Egyptians, desiring to learn from them the interpretation of his dreams. But when they hesitated about them, the king was so much the more disturbed. And now it was that the memory of Joseph, and his skill in dreams, came into the mind of the king's cupbearer, when he saw the

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confusion that Pharaoh was in; so he came and mentioned Joseph to him, as also the vision he had seen in prison, and how the event proved as he had said; as also that the chief baker was crucified on the very same day; and that this also happened to him according to the interpretation of Joseph. That Joseph himself was laid in bonds by Potiphar, who was his head cook, as a slave; but, he said, he was one of the noblest of the stock of the Hebrews; and said further, his father lived in great splendour. "If, therefore, thou wilt send for him, and not despise him on the score of his misfortunes, thou wilt learn what thy dreams signify." So the king commanded that they should bring Joseph into his presence; and those who received the command came and brought him with them, having taken care of his habit, that it might be decent, as the king had enjoined them to do.

5. But the king took him by the hand; and, "O young man," says he, "for my servant bears witness that thou art at present the best and most skillful person I can consult with; vouchsafe me the same favours which thou bestowedst on this servant of mine, and tell me what events they are which the visions of my dreams foreshow; and I desire thee to suppress nothing out of fear, nor to flatter me with lying words, or with what may please me, although the truth should be of a melancholy nature. For it seemed to me that, as I walked by the river, I saw kine fat and very large, seven in number, going from the river to the marshes; and other kine of the same number like them, met them out of the marshes, exceeding lean and ill-favoured, which ate up the fat and the large kine, and yet were no better than before, and not less miserably pinched with famine. After I had seen this vision, I awaked out of my sleep; and being in disorder, and considering with myself what this appearance should be, I fell asleep again, and saw another dream, much more wonderful than the foregoing, which still did more affright and disturb me:—I saw seven ears of corn growing out of one root, having their heads borne down by the weight of the grains, and bending down with the fruit, which was now ripe and fit for reaping; and near these I saw seven other ears of corn, meager and weak, for want of rain, which fell to eating and consuming those that were fit for reaping, and put me into great astonishment."

6. To which Joseph replied:—"This dream," said he, "O king, although seen under two forms, signifies one and the same event of things; for when thou sawest the fat kine, which is an animal made for the plough and for labour, devoured by the worser kine, and the ears of corn eaten up by the smaller ears, they foretell a famine, and want of the fruits of the earth for the same number of years, and equal with those when Egypt was in a happy state; and this so far, that the plenty of these years will be spent in the same number of years of scarcity, and that scarcity of necessary provisions will be very difficult to be corrected; as a sign whereof, the ill-favoured kine, when they had devoured the better sort, could not be satisfied. But still God foreshows what is to come upon men, not to grieve them, but that, when they know it beforehand, they may by prudence make the actual experience of what is foretold the more tolerable. If thou, therefore, carefully dispose of the plentiful crops which will come in the former years, thou wilt procure that the future calamity will not be felt by the Egyptians."

7. Hereupon the king wondered at the discretion and wisdom of Joseph; and asked him by what means he might so dispense the foregoing plentiful crops in the happy years, as to make the miserable crops more tolerable. Joseph then added this his advice: To spare the good crops, and not permit the Egyptians to spend them luxuriously, but to reserve what they would have spent in luxury beyond their necessity against the time of want. He also exhorted him to take the corn of the husbandmen, and give them only so much as will be sufficient for their food. Accordingly Pharaoh being surprised at Joseph, not only for his interpretation of the dream, but for the counsel he had given him, intrusted him with dispensing the corn; with power to do what he thought would be for the benefit of the people of Egypt, and for the benefit of the king, as believing that he who first discovered this method of acting, would prove the best overseer of it. But Joseph having this power given him by the king, with leave to make use of his seal, and to wear purple, drove in his chariot through all the land of Egypt, and took the corn of the husbandmen, allotting as much to every one as would be sufficient for seed, and for food, but without discovering to any one the reason why he did so.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 6.

How Joseph When He Was Become Famous In Egypt, Had His Brethren In Subjection.

1. Joseph was now grown up to thirty years of age, and enjoyed great honours from the king, who called him Psothom Phanech, out of regard to his prodigious degree of wisdom; for that name denotes the revealer of secrets. He also married a wife of very high quality; for he married the daughter of Petephres, one of the priests of Heliopolis; she was a virgin, and her name was Asenath. By her he had children before the scarcity came on; Manasseh, the elder, which signifies forgetful, because his present happiness made him forget his former misfortunes; and Ephraim, the younger, which signifies restored, because he was restored to the freedom of his forefathers. Now after Egypt had happily passed over seven years, according to Joseph's interpretation of the dreams, the famine came upon them in the eighth year; and because this misfortune fell upon them when they had no sense of it beforehand, they were all sorely afflicted by it, and came running to the king's gates; and he called upon Joseph, who sold the corn to them, being become confessedly a savior to the whole multitude of the Egyptians. Nor did he open this market of corn for the people of that country only, but strangers had liberty to buy also; Joseph being willing that all men, who are naturally akin to one another, should have assistance from those that lived in happiness.

2. Now Jacob also, when he understood that foreigners might come, sent all his sons into Egypt to buy corn, for the land of Canaan was grievously afflicted with the famine; and this great misery touched the whole continent. He only retained Benjamin, who was born to him by Rachel, and was of the same mother with Joseph. These sons of Jacob then came into Egypt, and applied themselves to Joseph, wanting to buy corn; for nothing of this kind was done without his approbation, since even then only was the honour that was paid the king himself advantageous to the persons that paid it, when they took care to honour Joseph also. Now when he well knew his brethren, they thought nothing of him; for he was but a youth when he left them, and was now come to an age so much greater, that the lineaments of his face were changed, and he was not known by them: besides this, the greatness of the dignity wherein he appeared, suffered them not so much as to suspect it was he. He now made trial what sentiments they had about affairs of the greatest consequence; for he refused to sell them corn, and said they were come as spies of the king's affairs; and that they came from several countries, and joined themselves together, and pretended that they were of kin, it not being possible that a private man should breed up so many sons, and those of so great beauty of countenance as they were, such an education of so many children being not easily obtained by kings themselves. Now this he did in order to discover what concerned his father, and what happened to him after his own departure from him, and as desiring to know what was become of Benjamin his brother; for he was afraid that they had ventured on the like wicked enterprise against him that they had done to himself, and had taken him off also.

3. Now these brethren of his were under distraction and terror, and thought that very great danger hung over them; yet not at all reflecting upon their brother Joseph, and standing firm under the accusations laid against them, they made their defense by Reubel, the eldest of them, who now became their spokesman: "We come not hither," said he, "with any unjust design, nor in order to bring any harm to the king's affairs; we only want to be preserved, as supposing your humanity might be a refuge for us from the miseries which our country labours under, we having heard that you proposed to sell corn, not only to your own countrymen, but to strangers also, and that you determined to allow that corn, in order to preserve all that want it; but that we are brethren, and of the same common blood, the peculiar lineaments of our faces, and those not so much different from one another, plainly show. Our father's name is Jacob, an Hebrew man, who had twelve of us for his sons by four wives; which twelve of us, while we were all alive, were a happy family; but when one of our brethren, whose name was Joseph, died, our affairs changed for the worse, for our father could not forbear to make a long lamentation for him; and we are in affliction, both by the calamity of the death of our brother, and the miserable state of our aged father. We are now, therefore, come to buy corn, having intrusted the care of our father, and the provision for our family, to Benjamin, our youngest brother; and if thou sendest to our house, thou mayst learn whether we are guilty of the least falsehood in what we say."

4. And thus did Reubel endeavor to persuade Joseph to have a better opinion of them. But when he had learned from them that Jacob was alive, and that his brother was not destroyed by them, he for the present put them in prison, as intending to examine more into their affairs when he should be at leisure. But on the third day he brought them out, and said to them, "Since you constantly affirm that you are not come to do any harm to the king's affairs; that you are brethren, and the sons of the father whom you named; you will satisfy me of the truth of what you say, if you leave one of your company with me, who shall suffer no injury here; and if, when ye have carried corn to your father, you will come to me again, and bring your brother, whom you say you left there, along with you, for this shall be by me esteemed an assurance of the truth of what you have told me." Hereupon they were in greater grief than before; they wept, and perpetually deplored one among another the calamity of Joseph; and said, "They were fallen into this misery as a punishment inflicted by God for what evil contrivances they had against him." And Reubel was large in his reproaches of them for their too late repentance, whence no profit arose to Joseph; and earnestly exhorted them to bear with patience whatever they suffered, since it was done by God in way of punishment, on his account. Thus they spake to one another, not imagining that Joseph understood their language. A general sadness also seized on them at Reubel's words, and a repentance for what they had done; and they condemned the wickedness they had perpetrated, for which they judged they were justly punished by God. Now when Joseph saw that they were in this distress, he was so affected at it that he fell into tears, and not being willing that they should take notice of him, he retired; and after a while came to them again, and taking Symeon in order to his being a pledge for his brethren's return, he bid them take the corn they had bought, and go their way. He also commanded his steward privily to put the money which they had brought with them for the purchase of corn into their sacks, and to dismiss them therewith; who did what he was commanded to do.

5. Now when Jacob's sons were come into the land of Canaan, they told their father what had happened to them in Egypt, and that they were taken to have come thither as spies upon the king; and how they said they were brethren, and had left their eleventh brother with their father, but were not believed; and how they had left Symeon with the governor, until Benjamin should go thither, and be a testimonial of the truth of what they had said: and they begged of their father to fear nothing, but to send the lad along with them. But Jacob was not pleased with any thing his sons had done; and he took the detention of Symeon heinously, and thence thought it a foolish thing to give up Benjamin also. Neither did he yield to Reubel's persuasion, though he begged it of him, and gave leave that the grandfather might, in way of requital, kill his own sons, in case any harm came to Benjamin in the journey. So they were distressed, and knew not what to do; nay, there was another accident that still disturbed them more,—the money that was found hidden in their sacks of corn. Yet when the corn they had brought failed them, and when the famine still afflicted them, and necessity forced them, Jacob did [not] still resolve to send Benjamin with his brethren, although there was no returning into Egypt unless they came with what they had promised. Now the misery growing every day worse, and his sons begging it of him, he had no other course to take in his present circumstances. And Judas, who was of a bold temper on other occasions, spake his mind very freely to him: "That it did not become him to be afraid on account of his son, nor to suspect the worst, as he did; for nothing could be done to his son but by the appointment of God, which must also for certain come to pass, though he were at home with him; that he ought not to condemn them to such manifest destruction; nor deprive them of that plenty of food they might have from Pharaoh, by his unreasonable fear about his son Benjamin, but ought to take care of the preservation of Symeon, lest, by attempting to hinder Benjamin's journey, Symeon should perish. He exhorted him to trust God for him; and said he would either bring his son back to him safe, or, together with his, lose his own life." So that Jacob was at length persuaded, and delivered Benjamin to them, with the price of the corn doubled; he also sent presents to Joseph of the fruits of the land of Canaan, balsam and rosin, as also turpentine and honey. Now their father shed many tears at the departure of his sons, as well as themselves. His concern was, that he might receive them back again safe after their journey; and their concern was, that they might find their father well, and no way afflicted with grief for them. And this lamentation lasted a whole day; so that the old man was at last tired with grief, and staid behind; but they went on their way for Egypt, endeavoring to mitigate their grief for their present misfortunes, with the hopes of better success hereafter.

6. As soon as they came into Egypt, they were brought down to Joseph: but here no small fear disturbed them, lest they should be accused about the price of the corn, as if they had cheated Joseph. They then made a long apology to Joseph's steward; and told him, that when they came home they found the money in their sacks, and that they had now brought it along with them. He said he did not know what they meant: so they were delivered from that fear. And when he had loosed Symeon, and put him into a handsome habit, he suffered him to be with his brethren; at which time Joseph came from his attendance on the king. So they offered him their presents; and upon his putting the question to them about their father, they answered that they found him well. He also, upon his discovery that Benjamin was alive, asked whether this was their younger brother; for he had seen him. Whereupon they said he was: he replied, that the God over all was his protector. But when his affection to him made him shed tears, he retired, desiring he might not be seen in that plight by his brethren. Then Joseph took them to supper, and they were set down in the same order as they used to sit at their father's table. And although Joseph treated them all kindly, yet did he send a mess to Benjamin that was double to what the rest of the guests had for their shares.

7. Now when after supper they had composed themselves to sleep, Joseph commanded his steward both to give them their measures of corn, and to hide its price again in their sacks; and that withal they should put into Benjamin's sack the golden cup, out of which he loved himself to drink.—which

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things he did, in order to make trial of his brethren, whether they would stand by Benjamin when he should be accused of having stolen the cup, and should appear to be in danger; or whether they would leave him, and, depending on their own innocency, go to their father without him. When the servant had done as he was bidden, the sons of Jacob, knowing nothing of all this, went their way, and took Symeon along with them, and had a double cause of joy, both because they had received him again, and because they took back Benjamin to their father, as they had promised. But presently a troop of horsemen encompassed them, and brought with them Joseph's servant, who had put the cup into Benjamin's sack. Upon which unexpected attack of the horsemen they were much disturbed, and asked what the reason was that they came thus upon men, who a little before had been by their lord thought worthy of an honourable and hospitable reception? They replied, by calling them wicked wretches, who had forgot that very hospitable and kind treatment which Joseph had given them, and did not scruple to be injurious to him, and to carry off that cup out of which he had, in so friendly a manner, drank to them, and not regarding their friendship with Joseph, no more than the danger they should be in if they were taken, in comparison of the unjust gain. Hereupon he threatened that they should be punished; for though they had escaped the knowledge of him who was but a servant, yet had they not escaped the knowledge of God, nor had gone off with what they had stolen; and, after all, asked why we come upon them, as if they knew nothing of the matter: and he told them that they should immediately know it by their punishment. This, and more of the same nature, did the servant say, in way of reproach to them: but they being wholly ignorant of any thing here that concerned them, laughed at what he said, and wondered at the abusive language which the servant gave them, when he was so hardy as to accuse those who did not before so much as retain the price of their corn, which was found in their sacks, but brought it again, though nobody else knew of any such thing,—so far were they from offering any injury to Joseph voluntarily. But still, supposing that a search would be a more sure justification of themselves than their own denial of the fact, they bid him search them, and that if any of them had been guilty of the theft, to punish them all; for being no way conscious to themselves of any crime, they spake with assurance, and, as they thought, without any danger to themselves also. The servants desired there might be a search made; but they said the punishment should extend to him alone who should be found guilty of the theft. So they made the search; and, having searched all the rest, they came last of all to Benjamin, as knowing it was Benjamin's sack in which they had hidden the cup, they having indeed searched the rest only for a show of accuracy: so the rest were out of fear for themselves, and were now only concerned about Benjamin, but still were well assured that he would also be found innocent; and they reproached those that came after them for their hindering them, while they might, in the mean while, have gotten a good way on their journey. But as soon as they had searched Benjamin's sack, they found the cup, and took it from him; and all was changed into mourning and lamentation. They rent their garments, and wept for the punishment which their brother was to undergo for his theft, and for the delusion they had put on their father, when they promised they would bring Benjamin safe to him. What added to their misery was, that this melancholy accident came unfortunately at a time when they thought they had been gotten off clear; but they confessed that this misfortune of their brother, as well as the grief of their father for him, was owing to themselves, since it was they that forced their father to send him with them, when he was averse to it.

8. The horsemen therefore took Benjamin and brought him to Joseph, his brethren also following him; who, when he saw him in custody, and them in the habit of mourners, said, "How came you, vile wretches as you are, to have such a strange notion of my kindness to you, and of God's providence, as impudently to do thus to your benefactor, who in such an hospitable manner had entertained you?" Whereupon they gave up themselves to be punished, in order to save Benjamin; and called to mind what a wicked enterprise they had been guilty of against Joseph. They also pronounced him more happy than themselves, if he were dead, in being freed from the miseries of this life; and if he were alive, that he enjoyed the pleasure of seeing God's vengeance upon them. They said further; that they were the plague of their father, since they should now add to his former affliction for Joseph, this other affliction for Benjamin. Reubel also was large in cutting them upon this occasion. But Joseph dismissed them; for he said they had been guilty of no offense, and that he would content himself with the lad's punishment; for he said it was not a fit thing to let him go free, for the sake of those who had not offended; nor was it a fit thing to punish them together with him who had been guilty of stealing. And when he promised to give them leave to go away in safety, the rest of them were under great consternation, and were able to say nothing on this sad occasion. But Judas, who had persuaded their father to send the lad from him, being otherwise also a very bold and active man, determined to hazard himself for the preservation of his brother. "It is true," said he, "O governor, that we have been very wicked with regard to thee, and on that account deserved punishment; even all of us may justly be punished, although the theft were not committed by all, but only by one of us, and he the youngest also; but yet there remains some hope for us, who otherwise must be under despair on his account, and this from thy goodness, which promises us a deliverance out of our present danger. And now I beg thou wilt not look at us, or at that great crime we have been guilty of, but at thy own excellent nature, and take advice of thine own virtue, instead of that wrath thou hast against us; which passion those that otherwise are of lower character indulge, as they do their strength, and that not only on great, but also on very trifling occasions. Overcome, sir, that passion, and be not subdued by it, nor suffer it to slay those that do not otherwise presume upon their own safety, but are desirous to accept of it from thee; for this is not the first time that thou wilt bestow it on us, but before, when we came to buy corn, thou affordedst us great plenty of food, and gavest us leave to carry so much home to our family as has preserved them from perishing by famine. Nor is there any difference between not overlooking men that were perishing for want of necessaries, and not punishing those that seem to be offenders, and have been so unfortunate as to lose the advantage of that glorious benefaction which they received from thee. This will be an instance of equal favour, though bestowed after a different manner; for thou wilt save those this way whom thou didst feed the other; and thou wilt hereby preserve alive, by thy own bounty, those souls which thou didst not suffer to be distressed by famine, it being indeed at once a wonderful and a great thing to sustain our lives by corn, and to bestow on us that pardon, whereby, now we are distressed, we may continue those lives. And I am ready to suppose that God is willing to afford thee this opportunity of showing thy virtuous disposition, by bringing us into this calamity, that it may appear thou canst forgive the injuries that are done to thyself, and mayst be esteemed kind to others, besides those who, on other accounts, stand in need of thy assistance; since it is indeed a right thing to do well to those who are in distress for want of food, but still a more glorious thing to save those who deserve to be punished, when it is on account of heinous offenses against thyself; for if it be a thing deserving commendation to forgive such as have been guilty of small offenses, that tend to a person's loss, and this be praiseworthy in him that overlooks such offenses, to restrain a man's passion as to crimes which are capital to the guilty, is to be like the most excellent nature of God himself. And truly, as for myself, had it not been that we had a father, who had discovered, on occasion of the death of Joseph, how miserably he is always afflicted at the loss of his sons, I had not made any words on account of the saving of our own lives; I mean, any further than as that would be an excellent character for thyself, to preserve even those that would have nobody to lament them when they were dead, but we would have yielded ourselves up to suffer whatsoever thou pleasedst; but now [for we do not plead for mercy to ourselves, though indeed, if we die, it will be while we are young, and before we have had the enjoyment of life] have regard to our father, and take pity of his old age, on whose account it is that we make these supplications to thee. We beg thou wilt give us those lives which this wickedness of ours has rendered obnoxious to thy punishment; and this for his sake who is not himself wicked, nor does his being our father make us wicked. He is a good man, and not worthy to have such trials of his patience; and now, we are absent, he is afflicted with care for us. But if he hear of our deaths, and what was the cause of it, he will on that account die an immature death; and the reproachful manner of our ruin will hasten his end, and will directly kill him; nay, will bring him to a miserable death, while he will make haste to rid himself out of the world, and bring himself to a state of insensibility, before the sad story of our end come abroad into the rest of the world. Consider these things in this manner, although our wickedness does now provoke thee with a just desire of punishing that wickedness, and forgive it for our father's sake; and let thy commiseration of him weigh more with thee than our wickedness. Have regard to the old age of our father, who, if we perish, will be very lonely while he lives, and will soon die himself also. Grant this boon to the name of fathers, for thereby thou wilt honour him that begat thee, and will grant it to thyself also, who enjoyest already that denomination; thou wilt then, by that denomination, be preserved of God, the Father of all,—by showing a pious regard to which, in the case of our father, thou wilt appear to honour him who is styled by the same name; I mean, if thou wilt have this pity on our father, upon this consideration, how miserable he will be if he be deprived of his sons! It is thy part therefore to bestow on us what God has given us, when it is in thy power to take it away, and so to resemble him entirely in charity; for it is good to use that power, which can either give or take away, on the merciful side; and when it is in thy power to destroy, to forget that thou ever hadst that power, and to look on thyself as only allowed power for preservation; and that the more any one extends this power, the greater reputation does he gain to himself. Now, by forgiving our brother what he has unhappily committed, thou wilt preserve us all; for we cannot think of living if he be put to death, since we dare not show ourselves alive to our father without our brother, but here must we partake of one and the same catastrophe of his life. And so far we beg of thee, O governor, that if thou condemnest our brother to die, thou wilt punish us together with him, as partners of his crime,—for we shall not think it reasonable to be reserved to kill ourselves for grief of our brother's death, but so to die rather as equally guilty with him of this crime. I will only leave with thee this one consideration, and then will say no more, viz. that our brother committed this fault when he was young, and not yet of confirmed wisdom in his conduct; and that men naturally forgive such young persons. I end here, without adding what more I have to say, that in case thou condemnest us, that omission may be supposed to have hurt us, and permitted thee to take the severer side. But in case thou settest us free, that this may be ascribed to thy own goodness, of which thou art inwardly conscious, that thou freest us from condemnation; and that not by barely preserving us, but by granting us such a favour as will make us appear more righteous than we really are, and by representing to thyself more motives for our deliverance than we are able to produce ourselves. If, therefore, thou resolvest to slay him, I desire thou wilt slay me in his stead, and send him back to his father; or if thou pleasest to retain him with thee as a slave, I am fitter to labour for thy advantage in that capacity, and, as thou seest, am better prepared for either of those sufferings." So Judas, being very willing to undergo any thing whatever for the deliverance of his brother, cast himself down at Joseph's feet, and earnestly laboured to assuage and pacify his anger. All his brethren also fell down before him, weeping and delivering themselves up to destruction for the preservation of the life of Benjamin.

10. But Joseph, as overcome now with his affections, and no longer able to personate an angry man, commanded all that were present to depart, that he might make himself known to his brethren when they were alone; and when the rest were gone out, he made himself known to his brethren; and said, "I commend you for your virtue, and your kindness to our brother: I find you better men than I could have expected from what you contrived about me. Indeed, I did all this to try your love to your brother; so I believe you were not wicked by nature in what you did in my case, but that all has happened according to God's will, who has hereby procured our enjoyment of what good things we have; and, if he continue in a favourable disposition, of what we hope for hereafter. Since, therefore, I know that our father is safe and well, beyond expectation, and I see you so well disposed to your brother, I will no longer remember what guilt you seem to have had about me, but will leave off to hate you for that your wickedness; and do rather return you my thanks, that you have concurred with the intentions of God to bring things to their present state. I would have you also rather to forget the same, since that imprudence of yours is come to such a happy conclusion, than to be uneasy and blush at those your offenses. Do not, therefore, let your evil intentions, when you condemned me, and that bitter remorse which might follow, be a grief to you now, because those intentions were frustrated. Go, therefore, your way, rejoicing in what has happened by the Divine Providence, and inform your father of it, lest he should be spent with cares for you, and deprive me of the most agreeable part of my felicity; I mean, lest he should die before he comes into my sight, and enjoys the good things that we now have. Bring, therefore, with you our father, and your wives and children, and all your kindred, and remove your habitations hither; for it is not proper that the persons dearest to me should live remote from me, now my affairs are so prosperous, especially when they must endure five more years of famine." When Joseph had said this, he embraced his brethren, who were in tears and sorrow; but the generous kindness of their brother seemed to leave among them no room for fear, lest they should be punished on account of what they had consulted and acted against him; and they were then feasting. Now the king, as soon as he heard that Joseph's brethren were come to him, was exceeding glad of it, as if it had been a part of his own good fortune; and gave them wagons full of corn and gold and silver, to be conveyed to his father. Now when they had received more of their brother part to be carried to their father, and part as free gifts to every one of themselves, Benjamin having still more than the rest, they departed.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 7

The Removal Of Joseph's Father With All His Family, To Him, On Account Of The Famine.

1. As soon as Jacob came to know, by his sons returning home, in what state Joseph was, that he had not only escaped death, for which yet he lived all along in mourning, but that he lived in splendour and happiness, and ruled over Egypt, jointly with the king, and had intrusted to his care almost all his affairs, he did not think any thing he was told to be incredible, considering the greatness of the works of God, and his kindness to him, although that kindness had, for some late

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times, been intermitted; so he immediately and zealously set out upon his journey to him.

2. When he came to the Well of the Oath, [Beersheba,] he offered sacrifice to God; and being afraid that the happiness there was in Egypt might tempt his posterity to fall in love with it, and settle in it, and no more think of removing into the land of Canaan, and possessing it, as God had promised them; as also being afraid, lest, if this descent into Egypt were made without the will of God, his family might be destroyed there; out of fear, withal, lest he should depart this life before he came to the sight of Joseph; he fell asleep, revolving these doubts in his mind.

3. But God stood by him, and called him twice by his name; and when he asked who he was, God said, "No, sure; it is not just that thou, Jacob, shouldst be unacquainted with that God who has been ever a protector and a helper to thy forefathers, and after them to thyself: for when thy father would have deprived thee of the dominion, I gave it thee; and by my kindness it was that, when thou wast sent into Mesopotamia all alone, thou obtainedst good wives, and returnedst with many children, and much wealth. Thy whole family also has been preserved by my providence; and it was I who conducted Joseph, thy son, whom thou gavest up for lost, to the enjoyment of great prosperity. I also made him lord of Egypt, so that he differs but little from a king. Accordingly, I come now as a guide to thee in this journey; and foretell to thee, that thou shalt die in the arms of Joseph: and I inform thee, that thy posterity shall be many ages in authority and glory, and that I will settle them in the land which I have promised them."

4. Jacob, encouraged by this dream, went on more cheerfully for Egypt with his sons, and all belonging to them. Now they were in all seventy. I once, indeed, thought it best not to set down the names of this family, especially because of their difficult pronunciation [by the Greeks]; but, upon the whole, I think it necessary to mention those names, that I may disprove such as believe that we came not originally from Mesopotamia, but are Egyptians. Now Jacob had twelve sons; of these Joseph was come thither before. We will therefore set down the names of Jacob's children and grandchildren. Reuben had four sons--Anoch, Phallu, Assaron, Charmi. Simeon had six--Jamuel, Jamin, Avod, Jachin, Soar, Saul. Levi had three sons--Gersom, Caath, Merari. Judas had three sons--Sala, Phares, Zerah; and by Phares two grandchildren, Esrom and Amar. Issachar had four sons--Thola, Phua, Jasob, Samaron. Zabulon had with him three sons--Sarad, Helon, Jalel. So far is the posterity of Lea; with whom went her daughter Dinah. These are thirty-three. Rachel had two sons, the one of whom, Joseph, had two sons also, Manasses and Ephraim. The other, Benjamin, had ten sons—Bolau, Bacchar, Asabel, Geras, Naaman, Jes, Ros, Momphis, Opphis, Arad. These fourteen added to the thirty-three before enumerated, amount to the number forty-seven. And this was the legitimate posterity of Jacob. He had besides by Bilhah, the handmaid of Rachel, Dan and Nephtliali; which last had four sons that followed him— Jesel, Guni, Issari, and Sellim. Dan had an only begotten son, Usi. If these be added to those before mentioned, they complete the number fifty-four. Gad and Aser were the sons of Zilpha, who was the handmaid of Lea. These had with them, Gad seven— Saphoniah, Augis, Sunis, Azabon, Aerin, Erocd, Ariel. Aser had a daughter, Sarah, and six male children, whose names were Jomne, Isus, Isoui, Baris, Abar and Melchiel. If we add these, which are sixteen, to the fifty-four, the forementioned number 70 is completed Jacob not being himself included in that number.

5. When Joseph understood that his father was coming, for Judas his brother was come before him, and informed him of his approach, he went out to meet him; and they met together at Heroopolis. But Jacob almost fainted away at this unexpected and great joy; however, Joseph revived him, being yet not himself able to contain from being affected in the same manner, at the pleasure he now had; yet was he not wholly overcome with his passion, as his father was. After this, he desired Jacob to travel on slowly; but he himself took five of his brethren with him, and made haste to the king, to tell him that Jacob and his family were come; which was a joyful hearing to him. He also bid Joseph tell him what sort of life his brethren loved to lead, that he might give them leave to follow the same, who told him they were good shepherds, and had been used to follow no other employment but this alone. Whereby he provided for them, that they should not be separated, but live in the same place, and take care of their father; as also hereby he provided, that they might be acceptable to the Egyptians, by doing nothing that would be common to them with the Egyptians; for the Egyptians are prohibited to meddle with feeding of sheep.

6. When Jacob was come to the king, and saluted him, and wished all prosperity to his government, Pharaoh asked him how old he now was; upon whose answer, that he was a hundred and thirty years old, he admired Jacob on account of the length of his life. And when he had added, that still he had not lived so long as his forefathers, he gave him leave to live with his children in Heliopolis; for in that city the king's shepherds had their pasturage.

7. However, the famine increased among the Egyptians, and this heavy judgement grew more oppressive to them, because neither did the river overflow the ground, for it did not rise to its former height, nor did God send rain upon it; nor did they indeed make the least provision for themselves, so ignorant were they what was to be done; but Joseph sold them corn for their money. But when their money failed them, they bought corn with their cattle and their slaves; and if any of them had a small piece of land, they gave up that to purchase them food, by which means the king became the owner of all their substance; and they were removed, some to one place, and some to another, that so the possession of their country might be firmly assured to the king, excepting the lands of the priests, for their country continued still in their own possession. And indeed this sore famine made their minds, as well as their bodies, slaves; and at length compelled them to procure a sufficiency of food by such dishonourable means. But when this misery ceased, and the river overflowed the ground, and the ground brought forth its fruits plentifully, Joseph came to every city, and gathered the people thereto belonging together, and gave them back entirely the land which, by their own consent, the king might have possessed alone, and alone enjoyed the fruits of it. He also exhorted them to look on it as every one's own possession, and to fall to their husbandry with cheerfulness, and to pay as a tribute to the king, the fifth part of the fruits for the land which the king, when it was his own, restored to them. These men rejoiced upon their becoming unexpectedly owners of their lands, and diligently observed what was enjoined them; and by this means Joseph procured to himself a greater authority among the Egyptians, and greater love to the king from them. Now this law, that they should pay the fifth part of their fruits as tribute, continued until their later kings.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 8

Of The Death Of Jacob And Joseph.

1. Now when Jacob had lived seventeen years in Egypt, he fell into a disease, and died in the presence of his sons; but not till he made his prayers for their enjoying prosperity, and till he had foretold to them prophetically how every one of them was to dwell in the land of Canaan. But this happened many years afterward. He also enlarged upon the praises of Joseph how he had not remembered the evil doings of his brethren to their disadvantage; nay, on the contrary, was kind to them, bestowing upon them so many benefits, as seldom are bestowed on men's own benefactors. He then commanded his own sons that they should admit Joseph's sons, Ephraim and Manasses, into their number, and divide the land of Canaan in common with them; concerning whom we shall treat hereafter. However, he made it his request that he might be buried at Hebron. So he died, when he had lived full a hundred and fifty years, three only abated, having not been behind any of his ancestors in piety towards God, and having such a recompense for it, as it was fit those should have who were so good as these were. But Joseph, by the king's permission, carried his father's dead body to Hebron, and there buried it, at a great expense. Now his brethren were at first unwilling to return back with him, because they were afraid lest, now their father was dead, he should punish them for their secret practices against him; since he was now gone, for whose sake he had been so gracious to them. But he persuaded them to fear no harm, and to entertain no suspicions of him: so he brought them along with him, and gave them great possessions, and never left off his particular concern for them.

2. Joseph also died when he had lived a hundred and ten years; having been a man of admirable virtue, and conducting all his affairs by the rules of reason; and used his authority with moderation, which was the cause of his so great felicity among the Egyptians, even when he came from another country, and that in such ill circumstances also, as we have already described. At length his brethren died, after they had lived happily in Egypt. Now the posterity and sons of these men, after some time, carried their bodies, and buried them at Hebron: but as to the bones of Joseph, they carried them into the land of Canaan afterward, when the Hebrews went out of Egypt, for so had Joseph made them promise him upon oath. But what became of every one of these men, and by what toils they got the possession of the land of Canaan, shall be shown hereafter, when I have first explained upon what account it was that they left Egypt.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 9

Concerning The Afflictions That Befell The Hebrews In Egypt, During Four Hundred Years.

1. Now it happened that the Egyptians grew delicate and lazy, as to pains-taking, and gave themselves up to other pleasures, and in particular to the love of gain. They also became very ill-affected towards the Hebrews, as touched with envy at their prosperity; for when they saw how the nation of the Israelites flourished, and were become eminent already in plenty of wealth, which they had acquired by their virtue and natural love of labour, they thought their increase was to their own detriment. And having, in length of time, forgotten the benefits they had received from Joseph, particularly the crown being now come into another family, they became very abusive to the Israelites, and contrived many ways of afflicting them; for they enjoined them to cut a great number of channels for the river, and to build walls for their cities and ramparts, that they might restrain the river, and hinder its waters from stagnating, upon its running over its own banks: they set them also to build pyramids, and by all this wore them out; and forced them to learn all sorts of mechanical arts, and to accustom themselves to hard labour. And four hundred years did they spend under these afflictions; for they strove one against the other which should get the mastery, the Egyptians desiring to destroy the Israelites by these labours, and the Israelites desiring to hold out to the end under them.

2. While the affairs of the Hebrews were in this condition, there was this occasion offered itself to the Egyptians, which made them more solicitous for the extinction of our nation. One of those sacred scribes, who are very sagacious in foretelling future events truly, told the king, that about this time there would a child be born to the Israelites, who, if he were reared, would bring the Egyptian dominion low, and would raise the Israelites; that he would excel all men in virtue, and obtain a glory that would be remembered through all ages. Which thing was so feared by the king, that, according to this man's opinion, he commanded that they should cast every male child, which was born to the Israelites, into the river, and destroy it; that besides this, the Egyptian midwives should watch the labours of the Hebrew women, and observe what is born, for those were the women who were enjoined to do the office of midwives to them; and by reason of their relation to the king, would not transgress his commands. He enjoined also, that if any parents should disobey him, and venture to save their male children alive, they and their families should be destroyed. This was a severe affliction indeed to those that suffered it, not only as they were deprived of their sons, and while they were the parents themselves, they were obliged to be subservient to the destruction of their own children, but as it was to be supposed to tend to the extirpation of their nation, while upon the destruction of their children, and their own gradual dissolution, the calamity would become very hard and inconsolable to them. And this was the ill state they were in. But no one can be too hard for the purpose of God, though he contrive ten thousand subtle devices for that end; for this child, whom the sacred scribe foretold, was brought up and concealed from the observers appointed by the king; and he that foretold him did not mistake in the consequences of his preservation, which were brought to pass after the manner following:—

3. A man whose name was Amram, one of the nobler sort of the Hebrews, was afraid for his whole nation, lest it should fail, by the want of young men to be brought up hereafter, and was very uneasy at it, his wife being then with child, and he knew not what to do. Hereupon he betook himself to prayer to God; and entreated him to have compassion on those men who had nowise transgressed the laws of his worship, and to afford them deliverance from the miseries they at that time endured, and to render abortive their enemies' hopes of the destruction of their nation. Accordingly God had mercy on him, and was moved by his supplication. He stood by him in his sleep, and exhorted him not to despair of his future favours. He said further, that he did not forget their piety towards him, and would always reward them for it, as he had formerly granted his favour to their forefathers, and made them increase from a few to so great a multitude. He put him in mind, that when Abraham was come alone out of Mesopotamia into Canaan, he had been made happy, not only in other respects, but that when his wife was at first barren, she was afterwards by him enabled to conceive seed, and bare him sons. That he left to Ismael and to his posterity the country of Arabia; as also to his sons by Ketura, Troglodytis; and to Isaac, Canaan. That by my assistance, said he, he did great exploits in war, which, unless you be yourselves impious, you must still remember. As for Jacob, he became well known to strangers also, by the greatness of that prosperity in which he lived, and left to his sons, who came into Egypt with no more than seventy souls, while you are now become above six hundred thousand. Know therefore that I shall provide for you all in common what is for your good, and particularly for thyself what shall make thee famous; for that child, out of dread of whose nativity the Egyptians have doomed the Israelite children to destruction, shall be this child of thine, and shall be concealed from those who watch to destroy him: and when he is brought up in a surprising way, he shall deliver the Hebrew nation from the distress they are under from the Egyptians. His memory shall be famous while the world lasts; and this not only among the Hebrews, but foreigners also:—all which shall be the effect of my favour to thee, and to thy posterity. He shall also have such a brother, that he shall himself obtain my priesthood, and his posterity shall have it after him to the end of the world.

4. When the vision had informed him of these things, Amram awaked and told it to Jochebed who was his wife. And now the fear increased upon them on account of the prediction in Amram's dream; for they were under concern, not only for the child, but on account of the great happiness

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that was to come to him also. However, the mother's labour was such as afforded a confirmation to what was foretold by God; for it was not known to those that watched her, by the easiness of her pains, and because the throes of her delivery did not fall upon her with violence. And now they nourished the child at home privately for three months; but after that time Amram, fearing he should be discovered, and, by falling under the king's displeasure, both he and his child should perish, and so he should make the promise of God of none effect, he determined rather to trust the safety and care of the child to God, than to depend on his own concealment of him, which he looked upon as a thing uncertain, and whereby both the child, so privately to be nourished, and himself should be in imminent danger; but he believed that God would some way for certain procure the safety of the child, in order to secure the truth of his own predictions. When they had thus determined, they made an ark of bulrushes, after the manner of a cradle, and of a bigness sufficient for an infant to be laid in, without being too straitened: they then daubed it over with slime, which would naturally keep out the water from entering between the bulrushes, and put the infant into it, and setting it afloat upon the river, they left its preservation to God; so the river received the child, and carried him along. But Miriam, the child's sister, passed along upon the bank over against him, as her mother had bid her, to see whither the ark would be carried, where God demonstrated that human wisdom was nothing, but that the Supreme Being is able to do whatsoever he pleases: that those who, in order to their own security, condemn others to destruction, and use great endeavors about it, fail of their purpose; but that others are in a surprising manner preserved, and obtain a prosperous condition almost from the very midst of their calamities; those, I mean, whose dangers arise by the appointment of God. And, indeed, such a providence was exercised in the case of this child, as showed the power of God.

5. Thermuthis was the king's daughter. She was now diverting herself by the banks of the river; and seeing a cradle borne along by the current, she sent some that could swim, and bid them bring the cradle to her. When those that were sent on this errand came to her with the cradle, and she saw the little child, she was greatly in love with it, on account of its largeness and beauty; for God had taken such great care in the formation of Moses, that he caused him to be thought worthy of bringing up, and providing for, by all those that had taken the most fatal resolutions, on account of the dread of his nativity, for the destruction of the rest of the Hebrew nation. Thermuthis bid them bring her a woman that might afford her breast to the child; yet would not the child admit of her breast, but turned away from it, and did the like to many other women. Now Miriam was by when this happened, not to appear to be there on purpose, but only as staying to see the child; and she said, "It is in vain that thou, O queen, callest for these women for the nourishing of the child, who are no way of kin to it; but still, if thou wilt order one of the Hebrew women to be brought, perhaps it may admit the breast of one of its own nation." Now since she seemed to speak well, Thermuthis bid her procure such a one, and to bring one of those Hebrew women that gave suck. So when she had such authority given her, she came back and brought the mother, who was known to nobody there. And now the child gladly admitted the breast, and seemed to stick close to it; and so it was, that, at the queen's desire, the nursing of the child was entirely intrusted to the mother.

6. Hereupon it was that Thermuthis imposed this name Mouses upon him, from what had happened when he was put into the river; for the Egyptians call water by the name of Mo, and such as are saved out of it, by the name of Uses: so by putting these two words together, they imposed this name upon him. And he was, by the confession of all, according to God's prediction, as well for his greatness of mind as for his contempt of difficulties, the best of all the Hebrews, for Abraham was his ancestor of the seventh generation. For Moses was the son of Amram, who was the son of Caath, whose father Levi was the son of Jacob, who was the son of Isaac, who was the son of Abraham. Now Moses's understanding became superior to his age, nay, far beyond that standard; and when he was taught, he discovered greater quickness of apprehension than was usual at his age, and his actions at that time promised greater, when he should come to the age of a man. God did also give him that tallness, when he was but three years old, as was wonderful. And as for his beauty, there was nobody so unpolite as, when they saw Moses, they were not greatly surprised at the beauty of his countenance; nay, it happened frequently, that those that met him as he was carried along the road, were obliged to turn again upon seeing the child; that they left what they were about, and stood still a great while to look on him; for the beauty of the child was so remarkable and natural to him on many accounts, that it detained the spectators, and made them stay longer to look upon him.

7. Thermuthis therefore perceiving him to be so remarkable a child, adopted him for her son, having no child of her own. And when one time had carried Moses to her father, she showed him to him, and said she thought to make him her successor, if it should please God she should have no legitimate child of her own; and to him, "I have brought up a child who is of a divine form, and of a generous mind; and as I have received him from the bounty of the river, in, I thought proper to adopt him my son, and the heir of thy kingdom." And she had said this, she put the infant into her father's hands: so he took him, and hugged him to his breast; and on his daughter's account, in a pleasant way, put his diadem upon his head; but Moses threw it down to the ground, and, in a puerile mood, he wreathed it round, and trod upon his feet, which seemed to bring along with evil presage concerning the kingdom of Egypt. But when the sacred scribe saw this, [he was the person who foretold that his nativity would lay the dominion of that kingdom low,] he made a violent attempt to kill him; and crying out in a frightful manner, he said, "This, O king! this child is he of whom God foretold, that if we kill him we shall be in no danger; he himself affords an attestation to the prediction of the same thing, by his trampling upon thy government, and treading upon thy diadem. Take him, therefore, out of the way, and deliver the Egyptians from the fear they are in about him; and deprive the Hebrews of the hope they have of being encouraged by him." But Thermuthis prevented him, and snatched the child away. And the king was not hasty to slay him, God himself, whose providence protected Moses, inclining the king to spare him. He was, therefore, educated with great care. So the Hebrews depended on him, and were of good hopes great things would be done by him; but the Egyptians were suspicious of what would follow such his education. Yet because, if Moses had been slain, there was no one, either akin or adopted, that had any oracle on his side for pretending to the crown of Egypt, and likely to be of greater advantage to them, they abstained from killing him.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 10

How Moses Made War With The Ethiopians.

1. Moses, therefore, when he was born, and brought up in the foregoing manner, and came to the age of maturity, made his virtue manifest to the Egyptians; and showed that he was born for the bringing them down, and raising the Israelites. And the occasion he laid hold of was this:—The Ethiopians, who are next neighbours to the Egyptians, made an inroad into their country, which they seized upon, and carried off the effects of the Egyptians, who, in their rage, fought against them, and revenged the affronts they had received from them; but being overcome in battle, some of them were slain, and the rest ran away in a shameful manner, and by that means saved themselves; whereupon the Ethiopians followed after them in the pursuit, and thinking that it would be a mark of cowardice if they did not subdue all Egypt, they went on to subdue the rest with greater vehemence; and when they had tasted the sweets of the country, they never left off the prosecution of the war: and as the nearest parts had not courage enough at first to fight with them, they proceeded as far as Memphis, and the sea itself, while not one of the cities was able to oppose them. The Egyptians, under this sad oppression, betook themselves to their oracles and prophecies; and when God had given them this counsel, to make use of Moses the Hebrew, and take his assistance, the king commanded his daughter to produce him, that he might be the general of their army. Upon which, when she had made him swear he would do him no harm, she delivered him to the king, and supposed his assistance would be of great advantage to them. She withal reproached the priest, who, when they had before admonished the Egyptians to kill him, was not ashamed now to own their want of his help.

2. So Moses, at the persuasion both of Thermuthis and the king himself, cheerfully undertook the business: and the sacred scribes of both nations were glad; those of the Egyptians, that they should at once overcome their enemies by his valour, and that by the same piece of management Moses would be slain; but those of the Hebrews, that they should escape from the Egyptians, because Moses was to be their general. But Moses prevented the enemies, and took and led his army before those enemies were apprized of his attacking them; for he did not march by the river, but by land, where he gave a wonderful demonstration of his sagacity; for when the ground was difficult to be passed over, because of the multitude of serpents, [which it produces in vast numbers, and, indeed, is singular in some of those productions, which other countries do not breed, and yet such as are worse than others in power and mischief, and an unusual fierceness of sight, some of which ascend out of the ground unseen, and also fly in the air, and so come upon men at unawares, and do them a mischief,] Moses invented a wonderful stratagem to preserve the army safe, and without hurt; for he made baskets, like unto arks, of sedge, and filled them with ibes, and carried them along with them; which animal is the greatest enemy to serpents imaginable, for they fly from them when they come near them; and as they fly they are caught and devoured by them, as if it were done by the harts; but the ibes are tame creatures, and only enemies to the serpentine kind: but about these ibes I say no more at present, since the Greeks themselves are not unacquainted with this sort of bird. As soon, therefore, as Moses was come to the land which was the breeder of these serpents, he let loose the ibes, and by their means repelled the serpentine kind, and used them for his assistants before the army came upon that ground. When he had therefore proceeded thus on his journey, he came upon the Ethiopians before they expected him; and, joining battle with them, he beat them, and deprived them of the hopes they had of success against the Egyptians, and went on in overthrowing their cities, and indeed made a great slaughter of these Ethiopians. Now when the Egyptian army had once tasted of this prosperous success, by the means of Moses, they did not slacken their diligence, insomuch that the Ethiopians were in danger of being reduced to slavery, and all sorts of destruction; and at length they retired to Saba, which was a royal city of Ethiopia, which Cambyses afterwards named Mero, after the name of his own sister. The place was to be besieged with very great difficulty, since it was both encompassed by the Nile quite round, and the other rivers, Astapus and Astaboras, made it a very difficult thing for such as attempted to pass over them; for the city was situate in a retired place, and was inhabited after the manner of an island, being encompassed with a strong wall, and having the rivers to guard them from their enemies, and having great ramparts between the wall and the rivers, insomuch, that when the waters come with the greatest violence, it can never be drowned; which ramparts make it next to impossible for even such as are gotten over the rivers to take the city. However, while Moses was uneasy at the army's lying idle, [for the enemies durst not come to a battle,] this accident happened:—Tharbis was the daughter of the king of the Ethiopians: she happened to see Moses as he led the army near the walls, and fought with great courage; and admiring the subtilty of his undertakings, and believing him to be the author of the Egyptians' success, when they had before despaired of recovering their liberty, and to be the occasion of the great danger the Ethiopians were in, when they had before boasted of their great achievements, she fell deeply in love with him; and upon the prevalancy of that passion, sent to him the most faithful of all her servants to discourse with him about their marriage. He thereupon accepted the offer, on condition she would procure the delivering up of the city; and gave her the assurance of an oath to take her to his wife; and that when he had once taken possession of the city, he would not break his oath to her. No sooner was the agreement made, but it took effect immediately; and when Moses had cut off the Ethiopians, he gave thanks to God, and consummated his marriage, and led the Egyptians back to their own land.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 11

How Moses Fled Out Of Egypt Into Midian.

1. Now the Egyptians, after they had been preserved by Moses, entertained a hatred to him, and were very eager in compassing their designs against him, as suspecting that he would take occasion, from his good success, to raise a sedition, and bring innovations into Egypt; and told the king he ought to be slain. The king had also some intentions of himself to the same purpose, and this as well out of envy at his glorious expedition at the head of his army, as out of fear of being brought low by him and being instigated by the sacred scribes, he was ready to undertake to kill Moses: but when he had learned beforehand what plots there were against him, he went away privately; and because the public roads were watched, he took his flight through the deserts, and where his enemies could not suspect he would travel; and, though he was destitute of food, he went on, and despised that difficulty courageously; and when he came to the city Midian, which lay upon the Red Sea, and was so denominated from one of Abraham's sons by Keturah, he sat upon a certain well, and rested himself there after his labourious journey, and the affliction he had been in. It was not far from the city, and the time of the day was noon, where he had an occasion offered him by the custom of the country of doing what recommended his virtue, and afforded him an opportunity of bettering his circumstances.

2. For that country having but little water, the shepherds used to seize on the wells before others came, lest their flocks should want water, and lest it should be spent by others before they came. There were now come, therefore, to this well seven sisters that were virgins, the daughters of Raguel, a priest, and one thought worthy by the people of the country of great honour. These virgins, who took care of their father's flocks, which sort of work it was customary and very familiar for women to do in the country of the Troglodytes, they came first of all, and drew water out of the well in a quantity sufficient for their flocks, into troughs, which were made for the reception of that water; but when the shepherds came upon the maidens, and drove them away, that they might have the command of the water themselves, Moses, thinking it would be a terrible reproach upon him if he overlooked the young women under unjust oppression, and should suffer the violence of the men to prevail over the right of the maidens, he drove away the men, who had a mind to more than their share, and afforded a proper assistance to the women; who, when they had received such a benefit from him, came to their father,

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and told him how they had been affronted by the shepherds, and assisted by a stranger, and entreated that he would not let this generous action be done in vain, nor go without a reward. Now the father took it well from his daughters that they were so desirous to reward their benefactor; and bid them bring Moses into his presence, that he might be rewarded as he deserved. And when Moses came, he told him what testimony his daughters bare to him, that he had assisted them; and that, as he admired him for his virtue, he said that Moses had bestowed such his assistance on persons not insensible of benefits, but where they were both able and willing to return the kindness, and even to exceed the measure of his generosity. So he made him his son, and gave him one of his daughters in marriage; and appointed him to be the guardian and superintendent over his cattle; for of old, all the wealth of the barbarians was in those cattle.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 12

Concerning The Burning Bush And The Rod Of Moses.

1. Now Moses, when he had obtained the favour of Jethro, for that was one of the names of Raguel, staid there and fed his flock; but some time afterward, taking his station at the mountain called Sinai, he drove his flocks thither to feed them. Now this is the highest of all the mountains thereabout, and the best for pasturage, the herbage being there good; and it had not been before fed upon, because of the opinion men had that God dwelt there, the shepherds not daring to ascend up to it; and here it was that a wonderful prodigy happened to Moses; for a fire fed upon a thorn bush, yet did the green leaves and the flowers continue untouched, and the fire did not at all consume the fruit branches, although the flame was great and fierce. Moses was affrighted at this strange sight, as it was to him; but he was still more astonished when the fire uttered a voice, and called to him by name, and spake words to him, by which it signified how bold he had been in venturing to come into a place whither no man had ever come before, because the place was divine; and advised him to remove a great way off from the flame, and to be contented with what he had seen; and though he were himself a good man, and the offspring of great men, yet that he should not pry any further; and he foretold to him, that he should have glory and honour among men, by the blessing of God upon him. He also commanded him to go away thence with confidence to Egypt, in order to his being the commander and conductor of the body of the Hebrews, and to his delivering his own people from the injuries they suffered there: "For," said God, "they shall inhabit this happy land which your forefather Abraham inhabited, and shall have the enjoyment of all good things." But still he enjoined them, when he brought the Hebrews out of the land of Egypt, to come to that place, and to offer sacrifices of thanksgiving there, Such were the divine oracles which were delivered out of the fire.

2. But Moses was astonished at what he saw, and much more at what he heard; and he said, "I think it would be an instance of too great madness, O Lord, for one of that regard I bear to thee, to distrust thy power, since I myself adore it, and know that it has been made manifest to my progenitors: but I am still in doubt how I, who am a private man, and one of no abilities, should either persuade my own countrymen to leave the country they now inhabit, and to follow me to a land whither I lead them; or, if they should be persuaded, how can I force Pharaoh to permit them to depart, since they augment their own wealth and prosperity by the labours and works they put upon them?"

3. But God persuaded him to be courageous on all occasions, and promised to be with him, and to assist him in his words, when he was to persuade men; and in his deeds, when he was to perform wonders. He bid him also to take a signal of the truth of what he said, by throwing his rod upon the ground, which, when he had done, it crept along, and was become a serpent, and rolled itself round in its folds, and erected its head, as ready to revenge itself on such as should assault it; after which it become a rod again as it was before. After this God bid Moses to put his right hand into his bosom: he obeyed, and when he took it out it was white, and in colour like to chalk, but afterward it returned to its wonted colour again. He also, upon God's command, took some of the water that was near him, and poured it upon the ground, and saw the colour was that of blood. Upon the wonder that Moses showed at these signs, God exhorted him to be of good courage, and to be assured that he would be the greatest support to him; and bid him make use of those signs, in order to obtain belief among all men, that "thou art sent by me, and dost all things according to my commands. Accordingly I enjoin thee to make no more delays, but to make haste to Egypt, and to travel night and day, and not to draw out the time, and so make the slavery of the Hebrews and their sufferings to last the longer."

4. Moses having now seen and heard these wonders that assured him of the truth of these promises of God, had no room left him to disbelieve them: he entreated him to grant him that power when he should be in Egypt; and besought him to vouchsafe him the knowledge of his own name; and since he had heard and seen him, that he would also tell him his name, that when he offered sacrifice he might invoke him by such his name in his oblations. Whereupon God declared to him his holy name, which had never been discovered to men before; concerning which it is not lawful for me to say any more. Now these signs accompanied Moses, not then only, but always when he prayed for them: of all which signs he attributed the firmest assent to the fire in the bush; and believing that God would be a gracious supporter to him, he hoped he should be able to deliver his own nation, and bring calamities on the Egyptians.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 13

How Moses And Aaron Returned Into Egypt To Pharaoh.

1. So Moses, when he understood that the Pharaoh, in whose reign he fled away, was dead, asked leave of Raguel to go to Egypt, for the benefit of his own people. And he took with him Zipporah, the daughter of Raguel, whom he had married, and the children he had by her, Gersom and Eleazer, and made haste into Egypt. Now the former of those names, Gersom, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies that he was in a strange land; and Eleazer, that, by the assistance of the God of his fathers, he had escaped from the Egyptians. Now when they were near the borders, Aaron his brother, by the command of God, met him, to whom he declared what had befallen him at the mountain, and the commands that God had given him. But as they were going forward, the chief men among the Hebrews, having learned that they were coming, met them: to whom Moses declared the signs he had seen; and while they could not believe them, he made them see them, So they took courage at these surprising and unexpected sights, and hoped well of their entire deliverance, as believing now that God took care of their preservation.

2. Since then Moses found that the Hebrews would be obedient to whatsoever he should direct, as they promised to be, and were in love with liberty, he came to the king, who had indeed but lately received the government, and told him how much he had done for the good of the Egyptians, when they were despised by the Ethiopians, and their country laid waste by them; and how he had been the commander of their forces, and had laboured for them, as if they had been his own people and he informed him in what danger he had been during that expedition, without having any proper returns made him as he had deserved. He also informed him distinctly what things happened to him at Mount Sinai; and what God said to him; and the signs that were done by God, in order to assure him of the authority of those commands which he had given him. He also exhorted him not to disbelieve what he told him, nor to oppose the will of God.

3. But when the king derided Moses; he made him in earnest see the signs that were done at Mount Sinai. Yet was the king very angry with him and called him an ill man, who had formerly run away from his Egyptian slavery, and came now back with deceitful tricks, and wonders, and magical arts, to astonish him. And when he had said this, he commanded the priests to let him see the same wonderful sights; as knowing that the Egyptians were skillful in this kind of learning, and that he was not the only person who knew them, and pretended them to be divine; as also he told him, that when he brought such wonderful sights before him, he would only be believed by the unlearned. Now when the priests threw down their rods, they became serpents. But Moses was not daunted at it; and said, "O king, I do not myself despise the wisdom of the Egyptians, but I say that what I do is so much superior to what these do by magic arts and tricks, as Divine power exceeds the power of man: but I will demonstrate that what I do is not done by craft, or counterfeiting what is not really true, but that they appear by the providence and power of God." And when he had said this, he cast his rod down upon the ground, and commanded it to turn itself into a serpent. It obeyed him, and went all round, and devoured the rods of the Egyptians, which seemed to be dragons, until it had consumed them all. It then returned to its own form, and Moses took it into his hand again.

4. However, the king was no more moved when it was done than before; and being very angry, he said that he should gain nothing by this his cunning and shrewdness against the Egyptians;—and he commanded him that was the chief taskmaster over the Hebrews, to give them no relaxation from their labours, but to compel them to submit to greater oppressions than before; and though he allowed them chaff before for making their bricks, he would allow it them no longer, but he made them to work hard at brick-making in the day-time, and to gather chaff in the night. Now when their labour was thus doubled upon them, they laid the blame upon Moses, because their labour and their misery were on his account become more severe to them. But Moses did not let his courage sink for the king's threatenings; nor did he abate of his zeal on account of the Hebrews' complaints; but he supported himself, and set his soul resolutely against them both, and used his own utmost diligence to procure liberty to his countrymen. So he went to the king, and persuaded him to let the Hebrews go to Mount Sinai, and there to sacrifice to God, because God had enjoined them so to do. He persuaded him also not to counterwork the designs of God, but to esteem his favour above all things, and to permit them to depart, lest, before he be aware, he lay an obstruction in the way of the Divine commands, and so occasion his own suffering such punishments as it was probable any one that counterworked the Divine commands should undergo, since the severest afflictions arise from every object to those that provoke the Divine wrath against them; for such as these have neither the earth nor the air for their friends; nor are the fruits of the womb according to nature, but every thing is unfriendly and adverse towards them. He said further, that the Egyptians should know this by sad experience; and that besides, the Hebrew people should go out of their country without their consent.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 14

Concerning The Ten Plagues Which Came Upon The Egyptians.

1. But when the king despised the words of Moses, and had no regard at all to them, grievous plagues seized the Egyptians; every one of which I will describe, both because no such plagues did ever happen to any other nation as the Egyptians now felt, and because I would demonstrate that Moses did not fail in any one thing that he foretold them; and because it is for the good of mankind, that they may learn this caution—Not to do anything that may displease God, lest he be provoked to wrath, and avenge their iniquities upon them. For the Egyptian river ran with bloody water at the command of God, insomuch that it could not be drunk, and they had no other spring of water neither; for the water was not only of the colour of blood, but it brought upon those that ventured to drink of it, great pains and bitter torment. Such was the river to the Egyptians; but it was sweet and fit for drinking to the Hebrews, and no way different from what it naturally used to be. As the king therefore knew not what to do in these surprising circumstances, and was in fear for the Egyptians, he gave the Hebrews leave to go away; but when the plague ceased, he changed his mind again, end would not suffer them to go.

2. But when God saw that he was ungrateful, and upon the ceasing of this calamity would not grow wiser, he sent another plague upon the Egyptians:—An innumerable multitude of frogs consumed the fruit of the ground; the river was also full of them, insomuch that those who drew water had it spoiled by the blood of these animals, as they died in, and were destroyed by, the water; and the country was full of filthy slime, as they were born, and as they died: they also spoiled their vessels in their houses which they used, and were found among what they eat and what they drank, and came in great numbers upon their beds. There was also an ungrateful smell, and a stink arose from them, as they were born, and as they died therein. Now, when the Egyptians were under the oppression of these miseries, the king ordered Moses to take the Hebrews with him, and be gone. Upon which the whole multitude of the frogs vanished away; and both the land and the river returned to their former natures. But as soon as Pharaoh saw the land freed from this plague, he forgot the cause of it, and retained the Hebrews; and, as though he had a mind to try the nature of more such judgements, he would not yet suffer Moses and his people to depart, having granted that liberty rather out of fear than out of any good consideration.

3. Accordingly, God punished his falseness with another plague, added to the former; for there arose out of the bodies of the Egyptians an innumerable quantity of lice, by which, wicked as they were, they miserably perished, as not able to destroy this sort of vermin either with washes or with ointments. At which terrible judgement the king of Egypt was in disorder, upon the fear into which he reasoned himself, lest his people should be destroyed, and that the manner of this death was also reproachful, so that he was forced in part to recover himself from his wicked temper to a sounder mind, for he gave leave for the Hebrews themselves to depart. But when the plague thereupon ceased, he thought it proper to require that they should leave their children and wives behind them, as pledges of their return; whereby he provoked God to be more vehemently angry at him, as if he thought to impose on his providence, and as if it were only Moses, and not God, who punished the Egyptians for the sake of the Hebrews: for he filled that country full of various sorts of pestilential creatures, with their various properties, such indeed as had never come into the sight of men before, by whose means the men perished themselves, and the land was destitute of husbandmen for its cultivation; but if any thing escaped destruction from them, it was killed by a distemper which the men underwent also.

4. But when Pharaoh did not even then yield to the will of God, but, while he gave leave to the husbands to take their wives with them, yet insisted that the children should be left behind, God presently resolved to punish his wickedness with several sorts of calamities, and those worse than the foregoing, which yet had so generally afflicted them; for their bodies had terrible boils, breaking forth with blains, while they were already inwardly consumed; and a great part of the Egyptians perished in this manner. But when the king was not brought to reason by this plague, hail was sent down from heaven; and

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such hail it was, as the climate of Egypt had never suffered before, nor was it like to that which falls in other climates in winter time, but was larger than that which falls in the middle of spring to those that dwell in the northern and north-western regions. This hail broke down their boughs laden with fruit. After this a tribe of locusts consumed the seed which was not hurt by the hail; so that to the Egyptians all hopes of the future fruits of the ground were entirely lost.

5. One would think the forementioned calamities might have been sufficient for one that was only foolish, without wickedness, to make him wise, and to make him Sensible what was for his advantage. But Pharaoh, led not so much by his folly as by his wickedness, even when he saw the cause of his miseries, he still contested with God, and willfully deserted the cause of virtue; so he bid Moses take the Hebrews away, with their wives and children, to leave their cattle behind, since their own cattle were destroyed. But when Moses said that what he desired was unjust, since they were obliged to offer sacrifices to God of those cattle, and the time being prolonged on this account, a thick darkness, without the least light, spread itself over the Egyptians, whereby their sight being obstructed, and their breathing hindered by the thickness of the air, they died miserably, and under a terror lest they should be swallowed up by the dark cloud. Besides this, when the darkness, after three days and as many nights, was dissipated, and when Pharaoh did not still repent and let the Hebrews go, Moses came to him and said, "How long wilt thou be disobedient to the command of God? for he enjoins thee to let the Hebrews go; nor is there any other way of being freed from the calamities you are under, unless you do so." But the king angry at what he said, and threatened to cut off his head if he came any more to trouble him these matters. Hereupon Moses said he not speak to him any more about them, for he himself, together with the principal men among the Egyptians, should desire the Hebrews away. So when Moses had said this, he his way.

6. But when God had signified, that with one plague he would compel the Egyptians to let Hebrews go, he commanded Moses to tell the people that they should have a sacrifice ready, and they should prepare themselves on the tenth day of the month Xanthicus, against the fourteenth, [which month is called by the Egyptians Pharmuth, Nisan by the Hebrews; but the Macedonians call it Xanthicus,] and that he should carry the Hebrews with all they had. Accordingly, he having got the Hebrews ready for their departure, and having sorted the people into tribes, he kept them together in one place: but when the fourteenth day was come, and all were ready to depart they offered the sacrifice, and purified their houses with the blood, using bunches of hyssop for that purpose; and when they had supped, they burnt the remainder of the flesh, as just ready to depart. Whence it is that we do still offer this sacrifice in like manner to this day, and call this festival Pascha which signifies the feast of the passover; because on that day God passed us over, and sent the plague upon the Egyptians; for the destruction of the first-born came upon the Egyptians that night, so that many of the Egyptians who lived near the king's palace, persuaded Pharaoh to let the Hebrews go. Accordingly he called for Moses, and bid them be gone; as supposing, that if once the Hebrews were gone out of the country, Egypt should be freed from its miseries. They also honoured the Hebrews with gifts; some, in order to get them to depart quickly, and others on account of their neighbourhood, and the friendship they had with them.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 15

How The Hebrews Under The Conduct Of Moses Left Egypt.

1. So the Hebrews went out of Egypt, while the Egyptians wept, and repented that they had treated them so hardly.—Now they took their journey by Letopolis, a place at that time deserted, but where Babylon was built afterwards, when Cambyses laid Egypt waste: but as they went away hastily, on the third day they came to a place called Beelzephon, on the Red Sea; and when they had no food out of the land, because it was a desert, they eat of loaves kneaded of flour, only warmed by a gentle heat; and this food they made use of for thirty days; for what they brought with them out of Egypt would not suffice them any longer time; and this only while they dispensed it to each person, to use so much only as would serve for necessity, but not for satiety. Whence it is that, in memory of the want we were then in, we keep a feast for eight days, which is called the feast of unleavened bread. Now the entire multitude of those that went out, including the women and children, was not easy to be numbered, but those that were of an age fit for war, were six hundred thousand.

2. They left Egypt in the month Xanthicus, on the fifteenth day of the lunar month; four hundred and thirty years after our forefather Abraham came into Canaan, but two hundred and fifteen years only after Jacob removed into Egypt. It was the eightieth year of the age of Moses, and of that of Aaron three more. They also carried out the bones of Joesph with them, as he had charged his sons to do.

3. But the Egyptians soon repented that the Hebrews were gone; and the king also was mightily concerned that this had been procured by the magic arts of Moses; so they resolved to go after them. Accordingly they took their weapons, and other warlike furniture, and pursued after them, in order to bring them back, if once they overtook them, because they would now have no pretense to pray to God against them, since they had already been permitted to go out; and they thought they should easily overcome them, as they had no armour, and would be weary with their journey; so they made haste in their pursuit, and asked of every one they met which way they were gone. And indeed that land was difficult to be traveled over, not only by armies, but by single persons. Now Moses led the Hebrews this way, that in case the Egyptians should repent and be desirous to pursue after them, they might undergo the punishment of their wickedness, and of the breach of those promises they had made to them. As also he led them this way on account of the Philistines, who had quarreled with them, and hated them of old, that by all means they might not know of their departure, for their country is near to that of Egypt; and thence it was that Moses led them not along the road that tended to the land of the Philistines, but he was desirous that they should go through the desert, that so after a long journey, and after many afflictions, they might enter upon the land of Canaan. Another reason of this was, that God commanded him to bring the people to Mount Sinai, that there they might offer him sacrifices. Now when the Egyptians had overtaken the Hebrews, they prepared to fight them, and by their multitude they drove them into a narrow place; for the number that pursued after them was six hundred chariots, with fifty thousand horsemen, and two hundred thousand foot-men, all armed. They also seized on the passages by which they imagined the Hebrews might fly, shutting them up between inaccessible precipices and the sea; for there was [on each side] a [ridge of] mountains that terminated at the sea, which were impassable by reason of their roughness, and obstructed their flight; wherefore they there pressed upon the Hebrews with their army, where [the ridges of] the mountains were closed with the sea; which army they placed at the chops of the mountains, that so they might deprive them of any passage into the plain.

4. When the Hebrews, therefore, were neither able to bear up, being thus, as it were, besieged, because they wanted provisions, nor saw any possible way of escaping; and if they should have thought of fighting, they had no weapons; they expected a universal destruction, unless they delivered themselves up to the Egyptians. So they laid the blame on Moses, and forgot all the signs that had been wrought by God for the recovery of their freedom; and this so far, that their incredulity prompted them to throw stones at the prophet, while he encouraged them and promised them deliverance; and they resolved that they would deliver themselves up to the Egyptians. So there was sorrow and lamentation among the women and children, who had nothing but destruction before their eyes, while they were encompassed with mountains, the sea, and their enemies, and discerned no way of flying from them.

5. But Moses, though the multitude looked fiercely at him, did not, however, give over the care of them, but despised all dangers, out of his trust in God, who, as he had afforded them the several steps already taken for the recovery of their liberty, which he had foretold them, would not now suffer them to be subdued by their enemies, to be either made slaves or be slain by them; and, standing in midst of them, he said, "It is not just of us to distrust even men, when they have hitherto well managed our affairs, as if they would not be the same hereafter; but it is no better than madness, at this time to despair of the providence of God, by whose power all those things have been performed he promised, when you expected no such things: I mean all that I have been concerned in for deliverance and escape from slavery. Nay, when we are in the utmost distress, as you see we ought rather to hope that God will succor us, by whose operation it is that we are now in this narrow place, that he may out of such difficulties as are otherwise insurmountable and out of which neither you nor your enemies expect you can be delivered, and may at once demonstrate his own power and his providence over us. Nor does God use to give his help in small difficulties to those whom he favours, but in such cases where no one can see how any hope in man can better their condition. Depend, therefore, upon such a Protector as is able to make small things great, and to show that this mighty force against you is nothing but weakness, and be not affrighted at the Egyptian army, nor do you despair of being preserved, because the sea before, and the mountains behind, afford you no opportunity for flying, for even these mountains, if God so please, may be made plain ground for you, and the sea become dry land."

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 16

How The Sea Was Divided Asunder For The Hebrews, When They Were Pursued By The Egyptians, And So Gave Them An Opportunity Of Escaping From Them.

1. When Moses had said this, he led them to the sea, while the Egyptians looked on; for they were within sight. Now these were so distressed by the toil of their pursuit, that they thought proper to put off fighting till the next day. But when Moses was come to the sea-shore, he took his rod, and made supplication to God, and called upon him to be their helper and assistant; and said "Thou art not ignorant, O Lord, that it is beyond human strength and human contrivance to avoid the difficulties we are now under; but it must be thy work altogether to procure deliverance to this army, which has left Egypt at thy appointment. We despair of any other assistance or contrivance, and have recourse only to that hope we have in thee; and if there be any method that can promise us an escape by thy providence, we look up to thee for it. And let it come quickly, and manifest thy power to us; and do thou raise up this people unto good courage and hope of deliverance, who are deeply sunk into a disconsolate state of mind. We are in a helpless place, but still it is a place that thou possessest; still the sea is thine, the mountains also that enclose us are thine; so that these mountains will open themselves if thou commandest them, and the sea also, if thou commandest it, will become dry land. Nay, we might escape by a flight through the air, if thou shouldst determine we should have that way of salvation."

2. When Moses had thus addressed himself to God, he smote the sea with his rod, which parted asunder at the stroke, and receiving those waters into itself, left the ground dry, as a road and a place of flight for the Hebrews. Now when Moses saw this appearance of God, and that the sea went out of its own place, and left dry land, he went first of all into it, and bid the Hebrews to follow him along that divine road, and to rejoice at the danger their enemies that followed them were in; and gave thanks to God for this so surprising a deliverance which appeared from him.

3. Now, while these Hebrews made no stay, but went on earnestly, as led by God's presence with them, the Egyptians supposed first that they were distracted, and were going rashly upon manifest destruction. But when they saw that they were going a great way without any harm, and that no obstacle or difficulty fell in their journey, they made haste to pursue them, hoping that the sea would be calm for them also. They put their horse foremost, and went down themselves into the sea. Now the Hebrews, while these were putting on their armour, and therein spending their time, were beforehand with them, and escaped them, and got first over to the land on the other side without any hurt. Whence the others were encouraged, and more courageously pursued them, as hoping no harm would come to them neither: but the Egyptians were not aware that they went into a road made for the Hebrews, and not for others; that this road was made for the deliverance of those in danger, but not for those that were earnest to make use of it for the others' destruction. As soon, therefore, as ever the whole Egyptian army was within it, the sea flowed to its own place, and came down with a torrent raised by storms of wind, and encompassed the Egyptians. Showers of rain also came down from the sky, and dreadful thunders and lightning, with flashes of fire. Thunderbolts also were darted upon them. Nor was there any thing which used to be sent by God upon men, as indications of his wrath, which did not happen at this time, for a dark and dismal night oppressed them. And thus did all these men perish, so that there was not one man left to be a messenger of this calamity to the rest of the Egyptians.

4. But the Hebrews were not able to contain themselves for joy at their wonderful deliverance, and destruction of their enemies; now indeed supposing themselves firmly delivered, when those that would have forced them into slavery were destroyed, and when they found they had God so evidently for their protector. And now these Hebrews having escaped the danger they were in, after this manner, and besides that, seeing their enemies punished in such a way as is never recorded of any other men whomsoever, were all the night employed in singing of hymns, and in mirth. Moses also composed a song unto God, containing his praises, and a thanksgiving for his kindness, in hexameter verse.

5. As for myself, I have delivered every part of this history as I found it in the sacred books; nor let any one wonder at the strangeness of the narration if a way were discovered to those men of old time, who were free from the wickedness of the modern ages, whether it happened by the will of God or whether it happened of its own accord;—while, for the sake of those that accompanied Alexander, king of Macedonia, who yet lived, comparatively but a little while ago, the Pamphylian Sea retired and afforded them a passage through itself, had no other way to go; I mean, when it was the will of God to destroy the monarchy of the Persians: and this is confessed to be true by all that have written about the actions of Alexander. But as to these events, let every one determine as he pleases.

6. On the next day Moses gathered together the weapons of the Egyptians, which were brought to the camp of the Hebrews by the current of the sea, and the force of the winds resisting it; and he conjectured that this also happened by Divine Providence, that so they might not be destitute of weapons. So when he had ordered the Hebrews to arm themselves with them, he led them to Mount Sinai, in order to offer sacrifice to God, and to render oblations for the salvation of the multitude, as he was charged to do beforehand.

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FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES BOOK 3

Containing The Interval Of Two Years.—From The Exodus Out Of Egypt, To The Rejection Of That Generation.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 1.

How Moses When He Had Brought The People Out Of Egypt Led Them To Mount Sinai; But Not Till They Had Suffered Much In Their Journey.

1. When the Hebrews had obtained such a wonderful deliverance, the country was a great trouble to them, for it was entirely a desert, and without sustenance for them; and also had exceeding little water, so that it not only was not at all sufficient for the men, but not enough to feed any of the cattle, for it was parched up, and had no moisture that might afford nutriment to the vegetables; so they were forced to travel over this country, as having no other country but this to travel in. They had indeed carried water along with them from the land over which they had traveled before, as their conductor had bidden them; but when that was spent, they were obliged to draw water out of wells, with pain, by reason of the hardness of the soil. Moreover, what water they found was bitter, and not fit for drinking, and this in small quantities also; and as they thus traveled, they came late in the evening to a place called Marah, which had that name from the badness of its water, for Mar denotes bitterness. Thither they came afflicted both by the tediousness of their journey, and by their want of food, for it entirely failed them at that time. Now here was a well, which made them choose to stay in the place, which, although it were not sufficient to satisfy so great an army, did yet afford them some comfort, as found in such desert places; for they heard from those who had been to search, that there was nothing to be found, if they traveled on farther. Yet was this water bitter, and not fit for men to drink; and not only so, but it was intolerable even to the cattle themselves.

2. When Moses saw how much the people were cast down, and that the occasion of it could not be contradicted, for the people were not in the nature of a complete army of men, who might oppose a manly fortitude to the necessity that distressed them; the multitude of the children, and of the women also, being of too weak capacities to be persuaded by reason, blunted the courage of the men themselves,—he was therefore in great difficulties, and made everybody's calamity his own; for they ran all of them to him, and begged of him; the women begged for their infants, and the men for the women, that he would not overlook them, but procure some way or other for their deliverance. He therefore betook himself to prayer to God, that he would change the water from its present badness, and make it fit for drinking. And when God had granted him that favour, he took the top of a stick that lay down at his feet, and divided it in the middle, and made the section lengthways. He then let it down into the well, and persuaded the Hebrews that God had hearkened to his prayers, and had promised to render the water such as they desired it to be, in case they would be subservient to him in what he should enjoin them to do, and this not after a remiss or negligent manner. And when they asked what they were to do in order to have the water changed for the better, he bid the strongest men among them that stood there, to draw up water and told them, that when the greatest part was drawn up, the remainder would be fit to drink. So they laboured at it till the water was so agitated and purged as to be fit to drink.

3. And now removing from thence they came to Elim; which place looked well at a distance, for there was a grove of palm-trees; but when they came near to it, it appeared to be a bad place, for the palm-trees were no more than seventy; and they were ill-grown and creeping trees, by the want of water, for the country about was all parched, and no moisture sufficient to water them, and make them hopeful and useful, was derived to them from the fountains, which were in number twelve: they were rather a few moist places than springs, which not breaking out of the ground, nor running over, could not sufficiently water the trees. And when they dug into the sand, they met with no water; and if they took a few drops of it into their hands, they found it to be useless, on account of its mud. The trees were too weak to bear fruit, for want of being sufficiently cherished and enlivened by the water. So they laid the blame on their conductor, and made heavy complaints against him; and said that this their miserable state, and the experience they had of adversity, were owing to him; for that they had then journeyed an entire thirty days, and had spent all the provisions they had brought with them; and meeting with no relief, they were in a very desponding condition. And by fixing their attention upon nothing but their present misfortunes, they were hindered from remembering what deliverances they had received from God, and those by the virtue and wisdom of Moses also; so they were very angry at their conductor, and were zealous in their attempt to stone him, as the direct occasion of their present miseries.

4. But as for Moses himself, while the multitude were irritated and bitterly set against him, he cheerfully relied upon God, and upon his consciousness of the care he had taken of these his own people; and he came into the midst of them, even while they clamoured against him, and had stones in their hands in order to despatch him. Now he was of an agreeable presence, and very able to persuade the people by his speeches; accordingly he began to mitigate their anger, and exhorted them not to be over-mindful of their present adversities, lest they should thereby suffer the benefits that had formerly been bestowed on them to slip out of their memories; and he desired them by no means, on account of their present uneasiness, to cast those great and wonderful favours and gifts, which they had obtained of God, out of their minds, but to expect deliverance out of those their present troubles which they could not free themselves from, and this by the means of that Divine Providence which watched over them. Seeing it is probable that God tries their virtue, and exercises their patience by these adversities, that it may appear what fortitude they have, and what memory they retain of his former wonderful works in their favour, and whether they will not think of them upon occasion of the miseries they now feel. He told them, it appeared they were not really good men, either in patience, or in remembering what had been successfully done for them, sometimes by contemning God and his commands, when by those commands they left the land of Egypt; and sometimes by behaving themselves ill towards him who was the servant of God, and this when he had never deceived them, either in what he said, or had ordered them to do by God's command. He also put them in mind of all that had passed; how the Egyptians were destroyed when they attempted to detain them, contrary to the command of God; and after what manner the very same river was to the others bloody, and not fit for drinking, but was to them sweet, and fit for drinking; and how they went a new road through the sea, which fled a long way from them, by which very means they were themselves preserved, but saw their enemies destroyed; and that when they were in want of weapons, God gave them plenty of them;-and so he recounted all the particular instances, how when they were, in appearance, just going to be destroyed, God had saved them in a surprising manner; and that he had still the same power; and that they ought not even now to despair of his providence over them; and accordingly he exhorted them to continue quiet, and to consider that help would not come too late, though it come not immediately, if it be present with them before they suffer any great misfortune; that they ought to reason thus: that God delays to assist them, not because he has no regard to them, but because he will first try their fortitude, and the pleasure they take in their freedom, that he may learn whether you have souls great enough to bear want of food, and scarcity of water, on its account; or whether you rather love to be slaves, as cattle are slaves to such as own them, and feed them liberally, but only in order to make them more useful in their service. That as for himself, he shall not be so much concerned for his own preservation; for if he die unjustly, he shall not reckon it any affliction, but that he is concerned for them, lest, by casting stones at him, they should be thought to condemn God himself.

5. By this means Moses pacified the people, and restrained them from stoning him, and brought them to repent of what they were going to do. And because he thought the necessity they were under made their passion less unjustifiable, he thought he ought to apply himself to God by prayer and supplication; and going up to an eminence, he requested of God for some succor for the people, and some way of deliverance from the want they were in, because in him, and in him alone, was their hope of salvation; and he desired that he would forgive what necessity had forced the people to do, since such was the nature of mankind, hard to please, and very complaining under adversities. Accordingly God promised he would take care of them, and afford them the succor they were desirous of. Now when Moses had heard this from God, he came down to the multitude. But as soon as they saw him joyful at the promises he had received from God, they changed their sad countenances into gladness. So he placed himself in the midst of them, and told them he came to bring them from God a deliverance from their present distresses. Accordingly a little after came a vast number of quails, which is a bird more plentiful in this Arabian Gulf than any where else, flying over the sea, and hovered over them, till wearied with their labourious flight, and, indeed, as usual, flying very near to the earth, they fell down upon the Hebrews, who caught them, and satisfied their hunger with them, and supposed that this was the method whereby God meant to supply them with food. Upon which Moses returned thanks to God for affording them his assistance so suddenly, and sooner than he had promised them.

6. But presently after this first supply of food, he sent them a second; for as Moses was lifting up his hands in prayer, a dew fell down; and Moses, when he found it stick to his hands, supposed this was also come for food from God to them. He tasted it; and perceiving that the people knew not what it was, and thought it snowed, and that it was what usually fell at that time of the year, he informed them that this dew did not fall from heaven after the manner they imagined, but came for their preservation and sustenance. So he tasted it, and gave them some of it, that they might be satisfied about what he told them. They also imitated their conductor, and were pleased with the food, for it was like honey in sweetness and pleasant taste, but like in its body to bdellium, one of the sweet spices, and in bigness equal to coriander seed. And very earnest they were in gathering it; but they were enjoined to gather it equally—the measure of an omer for each one every day, because this food should not come in too small a quantity, lest the weaker might not be able to get their share, by reason of the overbearing of the strong in collecting it. However, these strong men, when they had gathered more than the measure appointed for them, had no more than others, but only tired themselves more in gathering it, for they found no more than an omer apiece; and the advantage they got by what was superfluous was none at all, it corrupting, both by the worms breeding in it, and by its bitterness. So divine and wonderful a food was this! It also supplied the want of other sorts of food to those that fed on it. And even now, in all that place, this manna comes down in rain, according to what Moses then obtained of God, to send it to the people for their sustenance. Now the Hebrews call this food manna: for the particle man, in our language, is the asking of a question. What is this? So the Hebrews were very joyful at what was sent them from heaven. Now they made use of this food for forty years, or as long as they were in the wilderness.

7. As soon as they were removed thence, they came to Rephidim, being distressed to the last degree by thirst; and while in the foregoing days they had lit on a few small fountains, but now found the earth entirely destitute of water, they were in an evil case. They again turned their anger against Moses; but he at first avoided the fury of the multitude, and then betook himself to prayer to God, beseeching him, that as he had given them food when they were in the greatest want of it, so he would give them drink, since the favour of giving them food was of no value to them while they had nothing to drink. And God did not long delay to give it them, but promised Moses that he would procure them a fountain, and plenty of water, from a place they did not expect any. So he commanded him to smite the rock which they saw lying there, 5 with his rod, and out of it to receive plenty of what they wanted; for he had taken care that drink should come to them without any labour or pains-taking. When Moses had received this command from God, he came to the people, who waited for him, and looked upon him, for they saw already that he was coming apace from his eminence. As soon as he was come, he told them that God would deliver them from their present distress, and had granted them an unexpected favour; and informed them, that a river should run for their sakes out of the rock. But they were amazed at that hearing, supposing they were of necessity to cut the rock in pieces, now they were distressed by their thirst and by their journey; while Moses only smiting the rock with his rod, opened a passage, and out of it burst water, and that in great abundance, and very clear. But they were astonished at this wonderful effect; and, as it were, quenched their thirst by the very sight of it. So they drank this pleasant, this sweet water; and such it seemed to be, as might well be expected where God was the donor. They were also in admiration how Moses was honoured by God; and they made grateful returns of sacrifices to God for his providence towards them. Now that Scripture, which is laid up in the temple, informs us, how God foretold to Moses, that water timid in this manner be derived out of the rock.'

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 2

How The Amalekites And The Neighbouring Nations, Made War With The Hebrews And Were Beaten And Lost A Great Part Of Their Army.

1. The name of the Hebrews began already to be every where renowned, and rumors about them ran abroad. This made the inhabitants of those countries to be in no small fear. Accordingly they sent ambassadors to one another, and exhorted one another to defend themselves, and to endeavor to destroy these men. Those that induced the rest to do so, were such as inhabited Gobolitis and Petra. They were called Amalekites, and were the most warlike of the nations that lived thereabout; and whose kings exhorted one another, and their neighbours, to go to this war against the Hebrews; telling them that an army of strangers, and such a one as had run away from slavery under the Egyptians, lay in wait to ruin them; which army they were not, in common prudence and regard to their own safety, to overlook, but to crush them before they gather strength, and come to be in prosperity: and perhaps attack them first in a hostile manner, as presuming upon our indolence in not attacking them before; and that we ought to avenge ourselves of them for what they have done in the wilderness, but that this cannot be so well done when they have once laid their hands on our cities and our goods: that those who endeavor to crush a power in its first rise, are wiser than those that endeavor to put a stop to its progress when it is become formidable; for these last seem to be angry only at the flourishing of others, but the former do not leave any room for their enemies to become troublesome to them. After they had sent such embassages to the neighbouring nations, and among one another, they resolved to attack the Hebrews in battle.

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2. These proceedings of the people of those countries occasioned perplexity and trouble to Moses, who expected no such warlike preparations. And when these nations were ready to fight, and the multitude of the Hebrews were obliged to try the fortune of war, they were in a mighty disorder, and in want of all necessaries, and yet were to make war with men who were thoroughly well prepared for it. Then therefore it was that Moses began to encourage them, and to exhort them to have a good heart, and rely on God's assistance by which they had been put in a state of freedom and to hope for victory over those who were ready to fight with them, in order to deprive them of that blessing: that they were to suppose their own army to be numerous, wanting nothing, neither weapons, nor money, nor provisions, nor such other conveniences as, when men are in possession of, they fight undauntedly; and that they are to judge themselves to have all these advantages in the Divine assistance. They are also to suppose the enemy's army to be small, unarmed, weak, and such as want those conveniences which they know must be wanted, when it is God's will that they shall be beaten; and how valuable God's assistance is, they had experienced in abundance of trials; and those such as were more terrible than war, for that is only against men; but these were against famine and thirst, things indeed that are in their own nature insuperable; as also against mountains, and that sea which afforded them no way for escaping; yet had all these difficulties been conquered by God's gracious kindness to them. So he exhorted them to be courageous at this time, and to look upon their entire prosperity to depend on the present conquest of their enemies.

3. And with these words did Moses encourage the multitude, who then called together the princes of their tribes, and their chief men, both separately and conjointly. The young men he charged to obey their elders, and the elders to hearken to their leader. So the people were elevated in their minds, and ready to try their fortune in battle, and hoped to be thereby at length delivered from all their miseries: nay, they desired that Moses would immediately lead them against their enemies without the least delay, that no backwardness might be a hindrance to their present resolution. So Moses sorted all that were fit for war into different troops, and set Joshua, the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, over them; one that was of great courage, and patient to undergo labours; of great abilities to understand, and to speak what was proper; and very serious in the worship of God; and indeed made like another Moses, a teacher of piety towards God. He also appointed a small party of the armed men to be near the water, and to take care of the children, and the women, and of the entire camp. So that whole night they prepared themselves for the battle; they took their weapons, if any of them had such as were well made, and attended to their commanders as ready to rush forth to the battle as soon as Moses should give the word of command. Moses also kept awake, teaching Joshua after what manner he should order his camp. But when the day began, Moses called for Joshua again, and exhorted him to approve himself in deeds such a one as a his reputation made men expect from him; and to gain glory by the present expedition, in the opinion of those under him, for his exploits in this battle. He also gave a particular exhortation to the principal men of the Hebrews, and encouraged the whole army as it stood armed before him. And when he had thus animated the army, both by his words and works, and prepared every thing, he retired to a mountain, and committed the army to God and to Joshua.

4. So the armies joined battle; and it came to a close fight, hand to hand, both sides showing great alacrity, and encouraging one another. And indeed while Moses stretched out his hand towards heaven 7 the Hebrews were too hard for the Amalekites: but Moses not being able to sustain his hands thus stretched out, [for as often as he let down his hands, so often were his own people worsted,] he bade his brother Aaron, and Hur their sister Miriam's husband, to stand on each side of him, and take hold of his hands, and not permit his weariness to prevent it, but to assist him in the extension of his hands. When this was done, the Hebrews conquered the Amalekites by main force; and indeed they had all perished, unless the approach of the night had obliged the Hebrews to desist from killing any more. So our forefathers obtained a most signal and most seasonable victory; for they not only overcame those that fought against them, but terrified also the neighbouring nations, and got great and splendid advantages, which they obtained of their enemies by their hard pains in this battle: for when they had taken the enemy's camp, they got ready booty for the public, and for their own private families, whereas till then they had not any sort of plenty, of even necessary food. The forementioned battle, when they had once got it, was also the occasion of their prosperity, not only for the present, but for the future ages also; for they not only made slaves of the bodies of their enemies, but subdued their minds also, and after this battle, became terrible to all that dwelt round about them. Moreover, they acquired a vast quantity of riches; for a great deal of silver and gold was left in the enemy's camp; as also brazen vessels, which they made common use of in their families; many utensils also that were embroidered there were of both sorts, that is, of what were weaved, and what were the ornaments of their armour, and other things that served for use in the family, and for the furniture of their rooms; they got also the prey of their cattle, and of whatsoever uses to follow camps, when they remove from one place to another. So the Hebrews now valued themselves upon their courage, and claimed great merit for their valour; and they perpetually inured themselves to take pains, by which they deemed every difficulty might be surmounted. Such were the consequences of this battle.

5. On the next day, Moses stripped the dead bodies of their enemies, and gathered together the armour of those that were fled, and gave rewards to such as had signalized themselves in the action; and highly commended Joshua, their general, who was attested to by all the army, on account of the great actions he had done. Nor was any one of the Hebrews slain; but the slain of the enemy's army were too many to be enumerated. So Moses offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to God, and built an altar, which he named The Lord the Conqueror. He also foretold that the Amalekites should utterly be destroyed; and that hereafter none of them should remain, because they fought against the Hebrews, and this when they were in the wilderness, and in their distress also. Moreover, he refreshed the army with feasting. And thus did they fight this first battle with those that ventured to oppose them, after they were gone out of Egypt. But when Moses had celebrated this festival for the victory, he permitted the Hebrews to rest for a few days, and then he brought them out after the fight, in order of battle; for they had now many soldiers in light armour. And going gradually on, he came to Mount Sinai, in three months' time after they were removed out of Egypt; at which mountain, as we have before related, the vision of the bush, and the other wonderful appearances, had happened.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 3

That Moses Kindly Received-His Father-In-Law, Jethro, When He Came To Him To Mount Sinai.

Now when Raguel, Moses's father-in-law, understood in what a prosperous condition his affairs were, he willingly came to meet him and Moses and his children, and pleased himself with his coming. And when he had offered sacrifice, he made a feast for the multitude, near the Bush he had formerly seen; which multitude, every one according to their families, partook of the feast. But Aaron and his family took Raguel, and sung hymns to God, as to Him who had been the author procurer of their deliverance and their freedom. They also praised their conductor, as him by whose virtue it was that all things had succeeded with them. Raguel also, in his eucharistical oration to Moses, made great encomiums upon the whole multitude; and he could not but admire Moses for his fortitude, and that humanity he had shewn in the delivery of his friends.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 4

How Raguel Suggested To Moses To Set His People In Order, Under Their Rulers Of Thousands, And Rulers Of Hundreds, Who Lived Without Order Before; And How Moses Complied In All Things With His Father-In-Law's Admonition.

1. The next day, as Raguel saw Moses in the middle of a crowd of business for he determined the differences of those that referred them to him, every one still going to him, and supposing that they should then only obtain justice, if he were the arbitrator; and those that lost their causes thought it no harm, while they thought they lost them justly, and not by partiality. Raguel however said nothing to him at that time, as not desirous to be any hinderance to such as had a mind to make use of the virtue of their conductor. But afterward he took him to himself, and when he had him alone, he instructed him in what he ought to do; and advised him to leave the trouble of lesser causes to others, but himself to take care of the greater, and of the people's safety, for that certain others of the Hebrews might be found that were fit to determine causes, but that nobody but a Moses could take of the safety of so many ten thousands. "Be therefore," says he, "insensible of thine own virtue, and what thou hast done by ministering under God to the people's preservation. Permit, therefore, the determination of common causes to be done by others, but do thou reserve thyself to the attendance on God only, and look out for methods of preserving the multitude from their present distress. Make use of the method I suggest to you, as to human affairs; and take a review of the army, and appoint chosen rulers over tens of thousands, and then over thousands; then divide them into five hundreds, and again into hundreds, and into fifties; and set rulers over each of them, who may distinguish them into thirties, and keep them in order; and at last number them by twenties and by tens: and let there be one commander over each number, to be denominated from the number of those over whom they are rulers, but such as the whole multitude have tried, and do approve of, as being good and righteous men; and let those rulers decide the controversies they have one with another. But if any great cause arise, let them bring the cognizance of it before the rulers of a higher dignity; but if any great difficulty arise that is too hard for even their determination, let them send it to thee. By these means two advantages will be gained; the Hebrews will have justice done them, and thou wilt be able to attend constantly on God, and procure him to be more favourable to the people."

2. This was the admonition of Raguel; and Moses received his advice very kindly, and acted according to his suggestion. Nor did he conceal the invention of this method, nor pretend to it himself, but informed the multitude who it was that invented it: nay, he has named Raguel in the books he wrote, as the person who invented this ordering of the people, as thinking it right to give a true testimony to worthy persons, although he might have gotten reputation by ascribing to himself the inventions of other men; whence we may learn the virtuous disposition of Moses: but of such his disposition, we shall have proper occasion to speak in other places of these books.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 5

How Moses Ascended Up To Mount Sinai, And Received Laws From God, And Delivered Them To The Hebrews.

1. Now Moses called the multitude together, and told them that he was going from them unto mount Sinai to converse with God; to receive from him, and to bring back with him, a certain oracle; but he enjoined them to pitch their tents near the mountain, and prefer the habitation that was nearest to God, before one more remote. When he had said this, he ascended up to Mount Sinai, which is the highest of all the mountains that are in that country 9 and is not only very difficult to be ascended by men, on account of its vast altitude, but because of the sharpness of its precipices also; nay, indeed, it cannot be looked at without pain of the eyes: and besides this, it was terrible and inaccessible, on account of the rumor that passed about, that God dwelt there. But the Hebrews removed their tents as Moses had bidden them, and took possession of the lowest parts of the mountain; and were elevated in their minds, in expectation that Moses would return from God with promises of the good things he had proposed to them. So they feasted and waited for their conductor, and kept themselves pure as in other respects, and not accompanying with their wives for three days, as he had before ordered them to do. And they prayed to God that he would favourably receive Moses in his conversing with him, and bestow some such gift upon them by which they might live well. They also lived more plentifully as to their diet; and put on their wives and children more ornamental and decent clothing than they usually wore.

2. So they passed two days in this way of feasting; but on the third day, before the sun was up, a cloud spread itself over the whole camp of the Hebrews, such a one as none had before seen, and encompassed the place where they had pitched their tents; and while all the rest of the air was clear, there came strong winds, that raised up large showers of rain, which became a mighty tempest. There was also such lightning, as was terrible to those that saw it; and thunder, with its thunderbolts, were sent down, and declared God to be there present in a gracious way to such as Moses desired he should be gracious. Now, as to these matters, every one of my readers may think as he pleases; but I am under a necessity of relating this history as it is described in the sacred books. This sight, and the amazing sound that came to their ears, disturbed the Hebrews to a prodigious degree, for they were not such as they were accustomed to; and then the rumor that was spread abroad, how God frequented that mountain, greatly astonished their minds, so they sorrowfully contained themselves within their tents, as both supposing Moses to be destroyed by the Divine wrath, and expecting the like destruction for themselves.

3. When they were under these apprehensions, Moses appeared as joyful and greatly exalted. When they saw him, they were freed from their fear, and admitted of more comfortable hopes as to what was to come. The air also was become clear and pure of its former disorders, upon the appearance of Moses; whereupon he called together the people to a congregation, in order to their hearing what God would say to them: and when they were gathered together, he stood on an eminence whence they might all hear him, and said, "God has received me graciously, O Hebrews, as he has formerly done; and has suggested a happy method of living for you, and an order of political government, and is now present in the camp: I therefore charge you, for his sake and the sake of his works, and what we have done by his means, that you do not put a low value on what I am going to say, because the commands have been given by me that now deliver them to you, nor because it is the tongue of a man that delivers them to you; but if you have a due regard to the great importance of the things themselves, you will understand the greatness of Him whose institutions they are, and who has not disdained to communicate them to me for our common advantage; for it is not to be supposed that the author of these institutions is barely Moses, the son of Amram and Jochebed, but He who obliged the Nile to run bloody for your sakes, and tamed the haughtiness of the Egyptians by various sorts

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of judgements; he who provided a way through the sea for us; he who contrived a method of sending us food from heaven, when we were distressed for want of it; he who made the water to issue out of a rock, when we had very little of it before; he by whose means Adam was made to partake of the fruits both of the land and of the sea; he by whose means Noah escaped the deluge; he by whose means our forefather Abraham, of a wandering pilgrim, was made the heir of the land of Canaan; he by whose means Isaac was born of parents that were very old; he by whose means Jacob was adorned with twelve virtuous sons; he by whose means Joseph became a potent lord over the Egyptians; he it is who conveys these instructions to you by me as his interpreter. And let them be to you venerable, and contended for more earnestly by you than your own children and your own wives; for if you will follow them, you will lead a happy life you will enjoy the land fruitful, the sea calm, and the fruit of the womb born complete, as nature requires; you will be also terrible to your enemies for I have been admitted into the presence of God and been made a hearer of his incorruptible voice so great is his concern for your nation, and its duration."

4. When he had said this, he brought the people, with their wives and children, so near the mountain, that they might hear God himself speaking to them about the precepts which they were to practice; that the energy of what should be spoken might not be hurt by its utterance by that tongue of a man, which could but imperfectly deliver it to their understanding. And they all heard a voice that came to all of them from above, insomuch that no one of these words escaped them, which Moses wrote on two tables; which it is not lawful for us to set down directly, but their import we will declare

5. The first commandment teaches us that there is but one God, and that we ought to worship him only. The second commands us not to make the image of any living creature to worship it. The third, that we must not swear by God in a false matter. The fourth, that we must keep the seventh day, by resting from all sorts of work. The fifth, that we must honour our parents. The sixth that we must abstain from murder. The seventh that we must not commit adultery. The eighth, that we must not be guilty of theft. The ninth, that we must not bear false witness. The tenth, that we must not admit of the desire of any thing that is another's.

6. Now when the multitude had heard God himself giving those precepts which Moses had discoursed of, they rejoiced at what was said; and the congregation was dissolved: but on the following days they came to his tent, and desired him to bring them, besides, other laws from God. Accordingly he appointed such laws, and afterwards informed them in what manner they should act in all cases; which laws I shall make mention of in their proper time; but I shall reserve most of those laws for another work, and make there a distinct explication of them.

7. When matters were brought to this state, Moses went up again to Mount Sinai, of which he had told them beforehand. He made his ascent in their sight; and while he staid there so long a time, [for he was absent from them forty days,] fear seized upon the Hebrews, lest Moses should have come to any harm; nor was there any thing else so sad, and that so much troubled them, as this supposal that Moses was perished. Now there was a variety in their sentiments about it; some saying that he was fallen among wild beasts; and those that were of this opinion were chiefly such as were ill-disposed to him; but others said that he was departed, and gone to God; but the wiser sort were led by their reason to embrace neither of those opinions with any satisfaction, thinking, that as it was a thing that sometimes happens to men to fall among wild beasts and perish that way, so it was probable enough that he might depart and go to God, on account of his virtue; they therefore were quiet, and expected the event: yet were they exceeding sorry upon the supposal that they were deprived of a governor and a protector, such a one indeed as they could never recover again; nor would this suspicion give them leave to expect any comfortable event about this man, nor could they prevent their trouble and melancholy upon this occasion. However, the camp durst not remove all this while, because Moses had bidden them afore to stay there.

8. But when the forty days, and as many nights, were over, Moses came down, having tasted nothing of food usually appointed for the nourishment of men. His appearance filled the army with gladness, and he declared to them what care God had of them, and by what manner of conduct of their lives they might live happily; telling them, that during these days of his absence he had suggested to him also that he would have a tabernacle built for him, into which he would descend when he came to them, and how we should carry it about with us when we remove from this place; and that there would be no longer any occasion for going up to Mount Sinai, but that he would himself come and pitch his tabernacle amongst us, and be present at our prayers; as also, that the tabernacle should be of such measures and construction as he had shown him, and that you are to fall to the work, and prosecute it diligently. When he had said this, he showed them the two tables, with the ten commandments engraven upon them, five upon each table; and the writing was by the hand of God.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 6

Concerning The Tabernacle Which Moses Built In The Wilderness For The Honour Of God And Which Seemed To Be A Temple.

1. Hereupon the Israelites rejoiced at what they had seen and heard of their conductor, and were not wanting in diligence according to their ability; for they brought silver, and gold, and brass, and of the best sorts of wood, and such as would not at all decay by putrefaction; camels' hair also, and sheep-skins, some of them dyed of a blue colour, and some of a scarlet; some brought the flower for the purple colour, and others for white, with wool dyed by the flowers aforementioned; and fine linen and precious stones, which those that use costly ornaments set in ouches of gold; they brought also a great quantity of spices; for of these materials did Moses build the tabernacle, which did not at all differ from a movable and ambulatory temple. Now when these things were brought together with great diligence, [for every one was ambitious to further the work even beyond their ability,] he set architects over the works, and this by the command of God; and indeed the very same which the people themselves would have chosen, had the election been allowed to them. Now their names are set down in writing in the sacred books; and they were these: Besaleel, the son of Uri, of the tribe of Judah, the grandson of Miriam, the sister of their conductor and Aholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan. Now the people went on with what they had undertaken with so great alacrity, that Moses was obliged to restrain them, by making proclamation, that what had been brought was sufficient, as the artificers had informed him; so they fell to work upon the building of the tabernacle. Moses also informed them, according to the direction of God, both what the measures were to be, and its largeness; and how many vessels it ought to contain for the use of the sacrifices. The women also were ambitious to do their parts, about the garments of the priests, and about other things that would be wanted in this work, both for ornament and for the divine service itself.

2. Now when all things were prepared, the gold, and the silver, and the brass, and what was woven, Moses, when he had appointed beforehand that there should be a festival, and that sacrifices should be offered according to every one's ability, reared up the tabernacle and when he had measured the open court, fifty cubits broad and a hundred long, he set up brazen pillars, five cubits high, twenty on each of the longer sides, and ten pillars for the breadth behind; every one of the pillars also had a ring. Their chapiters were of silver, but their bases were of brass: they resembled the sharp ends of spears, and were of brass, fixed into the ground. Cords were also put through the rings, and were tied at their farther ends to brass nails of a cubit long, which, at every pillar, were driven into the floor, and would keep the tabernacle from being shaken by the violence of winds; but a curtain of fine soft linen went round all the pillars, and hung down in a flowing and loose manner from their chapiters, and enclosed the whole space, and seemed not at all unlike to a wall about it. And this was the structure of three of the sides of this enclosure; but as for the fourth side, which was fifty cubits in extent, and was the front of the whole, twenty cubits of it were for the opening of the gates, wherein stood two pillars on each side, after the resemblance of open gates. These were made wholly of silver, and polished, and that all over, excepting the bases, which were of brass. Now on each side of the gates there stood three pillars, which were inserted into the concave bases of the gates, and were suited to them; and round them was drawn a curtain of fine linen; but to the gates themselves, which were twenty cubits in extent, and five in height, the curtain was composed of purple, and scarlet, and blue, and fine linen, and embroidered with many and divers sorts of figures, excepting the figures of animals. Within these gates was the brazen laver for purification, having a basin beneath of the like matter, whence the priests might wash their hands and sprinkle their feet; and this was the ornamental construction of the enclosure about the court of the tabernacle, which was exposed to the open air.

3. As to the tabernacle itself, Moses placed it in the middle of that court, with its front to the east, that, when the sun arose, it might send its first rays upon it. Its length, when it was set up, was thirty cubits, and its breadth was twelve [ten] cubits. The one of its walls was on the south, and the other was exposed to the north, and on the back part of it remained the west. It was necessary that its height should be equal to its breadth [ten cubits]. There were also pillars made of wood, twenty on each side; they were wrought into a quadrangular figure, in breadth a cubit and a half, but the thickness was four fingers: they had thin plates of gold affixed to them on both sides, inwardly and outwardly: they had each of them two tenons belonging to them, inserted into their bases, and these were of silver, in each of which bases there was a socket to receive the tenon; but the pillars on the west wall were six. Now all these tenons and sockets accurately fitted one another, insomuch that the joints were invisible, and both seemed to be one entire and united wall. It was also covered with gold, both within and without. The number of pillars was equal on the opposite sides, and there were on each part twenty, and every one of them had the third part of a span in thickness; so that the number of thirty cubits were fully made up between them; but as to the wall behind, where the six pillars made up together only nine cubits, they made two other pillars, and cut them out of one cubit, which they placed in the corners, and made them equally fine with the other. Now every one of the pillars had rings of gold affixed to their fronts outward, as if they had taken root in the pillars, and stood one row over against another round about, through which were inserted bars gilt over with gold, each of them five cubits long, and these bound together the pillars, the head of one bar running into another, after the nature of one tenon inserted into another; but for the wall behind, there was but one row of bars that went through all the pillars, into which row ran the ends of the bars on each side of the longer walls; the male with its female being so fastened in their joints, that they held the whole firmly together; and for this reason was all this joined so fast together, that the tabernacle might not be shaken, either by the winds, or by any other means, but that it might preserve itself quiet and immovable continually.

4. As for the inside, Moses parted its length into three partitions. At the distance of ten cubits from the most secret end, Moses placed four pillars, the workmanship of which was the very same with that of the rest; and they stood upon the like bases with them, each a small matter distant from his fellow. Now the room within those pillars was the most holy place; but the rest of the room was the tabernacle, which was open for the priests. However, this proportion of the measures of the tabernacle proved to be an imitation of the system of the world; for that third part thereof which was within the four pillars, to which the priests were not admitted, is, as it were, a heaven peculiar to God. But the space of the twenty cubits, is, as it were, sea and land, on which men live, and so this part is peculiar to the priests only. But at the front, where the entrance was made, they placed pillars of gold, that stood on bases of brass, in number seven; but then they spread over the tabernacle veils of fine linen and purple, and blue, and scarlet colours, embroidered. The first veil was ten cubits every way, and this they spread over the pillars which parted the temple, and kept the most holy place concealed within; and this veil was that which made this part not visible to any. Now the whole temple was called The Holy Place: but that part which was within the four pillars, and to which none were admitted, was called The Holy of Holies. This veil was very ornamental, and embroidered with all sorts of flowers which the earth produces; and there were interwoven into it all sorts of variety that might be an ornament, excepting the forms of animals. Another veil there was which covered the five pillars that were at the entrance. It was like the former in its magnitude, and texture, and colour; and at the corner of every pillar a ring retained it from the top downwards half the depth of the pillars, the other half affording an entrance for the priests, who crept under it. Over this there was a veil of linen, of the same largeness with the former: it was to be drawn this way or that way by cords, the rings of which, fixed to the texture of the veil, and to the cords also, were subservient to the drawing and undrawing of the veil, and to the fastening it at the corner, that then it might be no hinderance to the view of the sanctuary, especially on solemn days; but that on other days, and especially when the weather was inclined to snow, it might be expanded, and afford a covering to the veil of divers colours. Whence that custom of ours is derived, of having a fine linen veil, after the temple has been built, to be drawn over the entrances. But the ten other curtains were four cubits in breadth, and twenty-eight in length; and had golden clasps, in order to join the one curtain to the other, which was done so exactly that they seemed to be one entire curtain. These were spread over the temple, and covered all the top and parts of the walls, on the sides and behind, so far as within one cubit of the ground. There were other curtains of the same breadth with these, but one more in number, and longer, for they were thirty cubits long; but these were woven of hair, with the like subtilty as those of wool were made, and were extended loosely down to the ground, appearing like a triangular front and elevation at the gates, the eleventh curtain being used for this very purpose. There were also other curtains made of skins above these, which afforded covering and protection to those that were woven both in hot weather and when it rained. And great was the surprise of those who viewed these curtains at a distance, for they seemed not at all to differ from the colour of the sky. But those that were made of hair and of skins, reached down in the same manner as did the veil at the gates, and kept off the heat of the sun, and what injury the rains might do. And after this manner was the tabernacle reared.

5. There was also an ark made, sacred to God, of wood that was naturally strong, and could not be corrupted. This was called Eron in our own language. Its construction was thus: its length was five spans, but its breadth and height was each of them three spans. It was covered all over with gold, both

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within and without, so that the wooden part was not seen. It had also a cover united to it, by golden hinges, after a wonderful manner; which cover was every way evenly fitted to it, and had no eminences to hinder its exact conjunction. There were also two golden rings belonging to each of the longer boards, and passing through the entire wood, and through them gilt bars passed along each board, that it might thereby be moved and carried about, as occasion should require; for it was not drawn in a cart by beasts of burden, but borne on the shoulders of the priests. Upon this its cover were two images, which the Hebrews call Cherubims; they are flying creatures, but their form is not like to that of any of the creatures which men have seen, though Moses said he had seen such beings near the throne of God. In this ark he put the two tables whereon the ten commandments were written, five upon each table, and two and a half upon each side of them; and this ark he placed in the most holy place.

6. But in the holy place he placed a table, like those at Delphi. Its length was two cubits, and its breadth one cubit, and its height three spans. It had feet also, the lower half of which were complete feet, resembling those which the Dorians put to their bedsteads; but the upper parts towards the table were wrought into a square form. The table had a hollow towards every side, having a ledge of four fingers' depth, that went round about like a spiral, both on the upper and lower part of the body of the work. Upon every one of the feet was there also inserted a ring, not far from the cover, through which went bars of wood beneath, but gilded, to be taken out upon occasion, there being a cavity where it was joined to the rings; for they were not entire rings; but before they came quite round they ended in acute points, the one of which was inserted into the prominent part of the table, and the other into the foot; and by these it was carried when they journeyed: Upon this table, which was placed on the north side of the temple, not far from the most holy place, were laid twelve unleavened loaves of bread, six upon each heap, one above another: they were made of two tenth-deals of the purest flour, which tenth-deal [an omer] is a measure of the Hebrews, containing seven Athenian cotyloe; and above those loaves were put two vials full of frankincense. Now after seven days other loaves were brought in their stead, on the day which is by us called the Sabbath; for we call the seventh day the Sabbath. But for the occasion of this intention of placing loaves here, we will speak to it in another place.

7. Over against this table, near the southern wall, was set a candlestick of cast gold, hollow within, being of the weight of one hundred pounds, which the Hebrews call Chinchares, if it be turned into the Greek language, it denotes a talent. It was made with its knops, and lilies, and pomegranates, and bowls [which ornaments amounted to seventy in all]; by which means the shaft elevated itself on high from a single base, and spread itself into as many branches as there are planets, including the sun among them. It terminated in seven heads, in one row, all standing parallel to one another; and these branches carried seven lamps, one by one, in imitation of the number of the planets. These lamps looked to the east and to the south, the candlestick being situate obliquely.

8. Now between this candlestick and the table, which, as we said, were within the sanctuary, was the altar of incense, made of wood indeed, but of the same wood of which the foregoing vessels were made, such as was not liable to corruption; it was entirely crusted over with a golden plate. Its breadth on each side was a cubit, but the altitude double. Upon it was a grate of gold, that was extant above the altar, which had a golden crown encompassing it round about, whereto belonged rings and bars, by which the priests carried it when they journeyed. Before this tabernacle there was reared a brazen altar, but it was within made of wood, five cubits by measure on each side, but its height was but three, in like manner adorned with brass plates as bright as gold. It had also a brazen hearth of network; for the ground underneath received the fire from the hearth, because it had no basis to receive it. Hard by this altar lay the basins, and the vials, and the censers, and the caldrons, made of gold; but the other vessels, made for the use of the sacrifices, were all of brass. And such was the construction of the tabernacle; and these were the vessels thereto belonging.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 7

Concerning The Garments Of The Priests, And Of The High Priest.

1. There were peculiar garments appointed for the priests, and for all the rest, which they call Cohanoeoe [-priestly] garments, as also for the high priests, which they call Cahanoeoe Rabbae, and denote the high priest's garments. Such was therefore the habit of the rest. But when the priest approaches the sacrifices, he purifies himself with the purification which the law prescribes; and, in the first place, he puts on that which is called Machanase, which means somewhat that is fast tied. It is a girdle, composed of fine twined linen, and is put about the privy parts, the feet being to be inserted into them in the nature of breeches, but above half of it is cut off, and it ends at the thighs, and is there tied fast.

2. Over this he wore a linen vestment, made of fine flax doubled: it is called Chethone, and denotes linen, for we call linen by the name of Chethone. This vestment reaches down to the feet, and sits close to the body; and has sleeves that are tied fast to the arms: it is girded to the breast a little above the elbows, by a girdle often going round, four fingers broad, but so loosely woven, that you would think it were the skin of a serpent. It is embroidered with flowers of scarlet, and purple, and blue, and fine twined linen, but the warp was nothing but fine linen. The beginning of its circumvolution is at the breast; and when it has gone often round, it is there tied, and hangs loosely there down to the ankles: I mean this, all the time the priest is not about any labourious service, for in this position it appears in the most agreeable manner to the spectators; but when he is obliged to assist at the offering sacrifices, and to do the appointed service, that he may not be hindered in his operations by its motion, he throws it to the left, and bears it on his shoulder. Moses indeed calls this belt Albaneth; but we have learned from the Babylonians to call it Emia, for so it is by them called. This vestment has no loose or hollow parts any where in it, but only a narrow aperture about the neck; and it is tied with certain strings hanging down from the edge over the breast and back, and is fastened above each shoulder: it is called Massabazanes.

3. Upon his head he wears a cap, not brought to a conic form nor encircling the whole head, but still covering more than the half of it, which is called Masnaemphthes; and its make is such that it seems to be a crown, being made of thick swathes, but the contexture is of linen; and it is doubled round many times, and sewed together; besides which, a piece of fine linen covers the whole cap from the upper part, and reaches down to the forehead, and hides the seams of the swathes, which would otherwise appear indecently: this adheres closely upon the solid part of the head, and is thereto so firmly fixed, that it may not fall off during the sacred service about the sacrifices. So we have now shown you what is the habit of the generality of the priests.

4. The high priest is indeed adorned with the same garments that we have described, without abating one; only over these he puts on a vestment of a blue colour. This also is a long robe, reaching to his feet, [in our language it is called Meeir,] and is tied round with a girdle, embroidered with the same colours and flowers as the former, with a mixture of gold interwoven. To the bottom of which garment are hung fringes, in colour like pomegranates, with golden bells by a curious and beautiful contrivance; so that between two bells hangs a pomegranate, and between two pomegranates a bell. Now this vesture was not composed of two pieces, nor was it sewed together upon the shoulders and the sides, but it was one long vestment so woven as to have an aperture for the neck; not an oblique one, but parted all along the breast and the back. A border also was sewed to it, lest the aperture should look too indecently: it was also parted where the hands were to come out.

5. Besides these, the high priest put on a third garment, which was called the Ephod, which resembles the Epomis of the Greeks. Its make was after this manner: it was woven to the depth of a cubit, of several colours, with gold intermixed, and embroidered, but it left the middle of the breast uncovered: it was made with sleeves also; nor did it appear to be at all differently made from a short coat. But in the void place of this garment there was inserted a piece of the bigness of a span, embroidered with gold, and the other colours of the ephod, and was called Essen, [the breastplate,] which in the Greek language signifies the Oracle. This piece exactly filled up the void space in the ephod. It was united to it by golden rings at every corner, the like rings being annexed to the ephod, and a blue riband was made use of to tie them together by those rings; and that the space between the rings might not appear empty, they contrived to fill it up with stitches of blue ribands. There were also two sardonyxes upon the ephod, at the shoulders, to fasten it in the nature of buttons, having each end running to the sardonyxes of gold, that they might be buttoned by them. On these were engraven the names of the sons of Jacob, in our own country letters, and in our own tongue, six on each of the stones, on either side; and the elder sons' names were on the right shoulder. Twelve stones also there were upon the breast-plate, extraordinary in largeness and beauty; and they were an ornament not to be purchased by men, because of their immense value. These stones, however, stood in three rows, by four in a row, and were inserted into the breastplate itself, and they were set in ouches of gold, that were themselves inserted in the breastplate, and were so made that they might not fall out. Now the first three stones were a sardonyx, a topaz, and an emerald. The second row contained a carbuncle, a jasper, and a sapphire. The first of the third row was a ligure, then an amethyst, and the third an agate, being the ninth of the whole number. The first of the fourth row was a chrysolite, the next was an onyx, and then a beryl, which was the last of all. Now the names of all those sons of Jacob were engraven in these stones, whom we esteem the heads of our tribes, each stone having the honour of a name, in the order according to which they were born. And whereas the rings were too weak of themselves to bear the weight of the stones, they made two other rings of a larger size, at the edge of that part of the breastplate which reached to the neck, and inserted into the very texture of the breastplate, to receive chains finely wrought, which connected them with golden bands to the tops of the shoulders, whose extremity turned backwards, and went into the ring, on the prominent back part of the ephod; and this was for the security of the breastplate, that it might not fall out of its place. There was also a girdle sewed to the breastplate, which was of the forementioned colours, with gold intermixed, which, when it had gone once round, was tied again upon the seam, and hung down. There were also golden loops that admitted its fringes at each extremity of the girdle, and included them entirely.

6. The high priest's mitre was the same that we described before, and was wrought like that of all the other priests; above which there was another, with swathes of blue embroidered, and round it was a golden crown polished, of three rows, one above another; out of which arose a cup of gold, which resembled the herb which we call Saccharus; but those Greeks that are skillful in botany call it Hyoscyamus. Now, lest any one that has seen this herb, but has not been taught its name, and is unacquainted with its nature, or, having known its name, knows not the herb when he sees it, I shall give such as these are a description of it. This herb is oftentimes in tallness above three spans, but its root is like that of a turnip [for he that should compare it thereto would not be mistaken]; but its leaves are like the leaves of mint. Out of its branches it sends out a calyx, cleaving to the branch; and a coat encompasses it, which it naturally puts off when it is changing, in order to produce its fruit. This calyx is of the bigness of the bone of the little finger, but in the compass of its aperture is like a cup. This I will further describe, for the use of those that are unacquainted with it. Suppose a sphere be divided into two parts, round at the bottom, but having another segment that grows up to a circumference from that bottom; suppose it become narrower by degrees, and that the cavity of that part grow decently smaller, and then gradually grow wider again at the brim, such as we see in the navel of a pomegranate, with its notches. And indeed such a coat grows over this plant as renders it a hemisphere, and that, as one may say, turned accurately in a lathe, and having its notches extant above it, which, as I said, grow like a pomegranate, only that they are sharp, and end in nothing but prickles. Now the fruit is preserved by this coat of the calyx, which fruit is like the seed of the herb Sideritis: it sends out a flower that may seem to resemble that of poppy. Of this was a crown made, as far from the hinder part of the head to each of the temples; but this Ephielis, for so this calyx may be called, did not cover the forehead, but it was covered with a golden plate, which had inscribed upon it the name of God in sacred characters. And such were the ornaments of the high priest.

7. Now here one may wonder at the ill-will which men bear to us, and which they profess to bear on account of our despising that Deity which they pretend to honour; for if any one do but consider the fabric of the tabernacle, and take a view of the garments of the high priest, and of those vessels which we make use of in our sacred ministration, he will find that our legislator was a divine man, and that we are unjustly reproached by others; for if any one do without prejudice, and with judgement, look upon these things, he will find they were every one made in way of imitation and representation of the universe. When Moses distinguished the tabernacle into three parts, and allowed two of them to the priests, as a place accessible and common, he denoted the land and the sea, these being of general access to all; but he set apart the third division for God, because heaven is inaccessible to men. And when he ordered twelve loaves to be set on the table, he denoted the year, as distinguished into so many months. By branching out the candlestick into seventy parts, he secretly intimated the Decani, or seventy divisions of the planets; and as to the seven lamps upon the candlesticks, they referred to the course of the planets, of which that is the number. The veils, too, which were composed of four things, they declared the four elements; for the fine linen was proper to signify the earth, because the flax grows out of the earth; the purple signified the sea, because that colour is dyed by the blood of a sea shell-fish; the blue is fit to signify the air; and the scarlet will naturally be an indication of fire. Now the vestment of the high priest being made of linen, signified the earth; the blue denoted the sky, being like lightning in its pomegranates, and in the noise of the bells resembling thunder. And for the ephod, it showed that God had made the universe of four elements; and as for the gold interwoven, I suppose it related to the splendour by which all things are enlightened. He also appointed the breastplate to be placed in the middle of the ephod, to resemble the earth, for that has the very middle place of the world. And the girdle which encompassed the high priest round, signified the ocean, for that goes round about and includes the universe. Each of the sardonyxes declares to us the sun and the moon; those, I mean, that were in the nature of buttons on the high priest's shoulders. And for the twelve stones, whether we understand by them the months, or whether we understand the like number of the signs of that circle which the Greeks call the Zodiac, we shall

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not be mistaken in their meaning. And for the mitre, which was of a blue colour, it seems to me to mean heaven; for how otherwise could the name of God be inscribed upon it? That it was also illustrated with a crown, and that of gold also, is because of that splendour with which God is pleased. Let this explication suffice at present, since the course of my narration will often, and on many occasions, afford me the opportunity of enlarging upon the virtue of our legislator.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 8

Of The Priesthood Of Aaron.

1. When what has been described was brought to a conclusion, gifts not being yet presented, God appeared to Moses, and enjoined him to bestow the high priesthood upon Aaron his brother, as upon him that best of them all deserved to obtain that honour, on account of his virtue. And when he had gathered the multitude together, he gave them an account of Aaron's virtue, and of his good-will to them, and of the dangers he had undergone for their sakes. Upon which, when they had given testimony to him in all respects, and showed their readiness to receive him, Moses said to them, "O you Israelites, this work is already brought to a conclusion, in a manner most acceptable to God, and according to our abilities. And now since you see that he is received into this tabernacle, we shall first of all stand in need of one that may officiate for us, and may minister to the sacrifices, and to the prayers that are to be put up for us. And indeed had the inquiry after such a person been left to me, I should have thought myself worthy of this honour, both because all men are naturally fond of themselves, and because I am conscious to myself that I have taken a great deal of pains for your deliverance; but now God himself has determined that Aaron is worthy of this honour, and has chosen him for his priest, as knowing him to be the most righteous person among you. So that he is to put on the vestments which are consecrated to God; he is to have the care of the altars, and to make provision for the sacrifices; and he it is that must put up prayers for you to God, who will readily hear them, not only because he is himself solicitous for your nation, but also because he will receive them as offered by one that he hath himself chosen to this office." The Hebrews were pleased with what was said, and they gave their approbation to him whom God had ordained; for Aaron was of them all the most deserving of this honour, on account of his own stock and gift of prophecy, and his brother's virtue. He had at that time four sons, Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar.

2. Now Moses commanded them to make use of all the utensils which were more than were necessary to the structure of the tabernacle, for covering the tabernacle itself, the candlestick, and altar of incense, and the other vessels, that they might not be at all hurt when they journeyed, either by the rain, or by the rising of the dust. And when he had gathered the multitude together again, he ordained that they should offer half a shekel for every man, as an oblation to God; which shekel is a piece among the Hebrews, and is equal to four Athenian drachmae. Whereupon they readily obeyed what Moses had commanded; and the number of the offerers was six hundred and five thousand five hundred and fifty. Now this money that was brought by the men that were free, was given by such as were about twenty years old, but under fifty; and what was collected was spent in the uses of the tabernacle.

3. Moses now purified the tabernacle and the priests; which purification was performed after the following manner:—He commanded them to take five hundred shekels of choice myrrh, an equal quantity of cassia, and half the foregoing weight of cinnamon and calamus [this last is a sort of sweet spice]; to beat them small, and wet them with an hin of oil of olives [an hin is our own country measure, and contains two Athenian choas, or congiuses]; then mix them together, and boil them, and prepare them after the art of the apothecary, and make them into a very sweet ointment; and afterward to take it to anoint and to purify the priests themselves, and all the tabernacle, as also the sacrifices. There were also many, and those of various kinds, of sweet spices, that belonged to the tabernacle, and such as were of very great price, and were brought to the golden altar of incense; the nature of which I do not now describe, lest it should be troublesome to my readers; but incense 19 was to be offered twice a-day, both before sun-rising and at sun-setting. They were also to keep oil already purified for the lamps; three of which were to give light all day long, upon the sacred candlestick, before God, and the rest were to be lighted at the evening.

4. Now all was finished. Besaleel and Aholiab appeared to be the most skillful of the workmen; for they invented finer works than what others had done before them, and were of great abilities to gain notions of what they were formerly ignorant of; and of these, Besaleel was judged to be the best. Now the whole time they were about this work was the interval of seven months; and after this it was that was ended the first year since their departure out of Egypt. But at the beginning of the second year, on the month Xanthicus, as the Macedonians call it, but on the month Nisan, as the Hebrews call it, on the new moon, they consecrated the tabernacle, and all its vessels, which I have already described.

5. Now God showed himself pleased with the work of the Hebrews, and did not permit their labours to be in vain; nor did he disdain to make use of what they had made, but he came and sojourned with them, and pitched his tabernacle in the holy house. And in the following manner did he come to it:—The sky was clear, but there was a mist over the tabernacle only, encompassing it, but not with such a very deep and thick cloud as is seen in the winter season, nor yet in so thin a one as men might be able to discern any thing through it, but from it there dropped a sweet dew, and such a one as showed the presence of God to those that desired and believed it.

6. Now when Moses had bestowed such honourary presents on the workmen, as it was fit they should receive, who had wrought so well, he offered sacrifices in the open court of the tabernacle, as God commanded him; a bull, a ram, and a kid of the goats, for a sin-offering. Now I shall speak of what we do in our sacred offices in my discourse about sacrifices; and therein shall inform men in what cases Moses bid us offer a whole burnt-offering, and in what cases the law permits us to partake of them as of food. And when Moses had sprinkled Aaron's vestments, himself, and his sons, with the blood of the beasts that were slain, and had purified them with spring waters and ointment, they became God's priests. After this manner did he consecrate them and their garments for seven days together. The same he did to the tabernacle, and the vessels thereto belonging, both with oil first incensed, as I said, and with the blood of bulls and of rams, slain day by day one, according to its kind. But on the eighth day he appointed a feast for the people, and commanded them to offer sacrifice according to their ability. Accordingly they contended one with another, and were ambitious to exceed each other in the sacrifices which they brought, and so fulfilled Moses's injunctions. But as the sacrifices lay upon the altar, a sudden fire was kindled from among them of its own accord, and appeared to the sight like fire from a flash of lightning, and consumed whatsoever was upon the altar.

7. Hereupon an affliction befell Aaron, considered as a man and a father, but was undergone by him with true fortitude; for he had indeed a firmness of soul in such accidents, and he thought this calamity came upon him according to God's will: for whereas he had four sons, as I said before, the two elder of them, Nadab and Abihu, did not bring those sacrifices which Moses bade them bring, but which they used to offer formerly, and were burnt to death. Now when the fire rushed upon them, and began to burn them, nobody could quench it. Accordingly they died in this manner. And Moses bid their father and their brethren to take up their bodies, to carry them out of the camp, and to bury them magnificently. Now the multitude lamented them, and were deeply affected at this their death, which so unexpectedly befell them. But Moses entreated their brethren and their father not to be troubled for them, and to prefer the honour of God before their grief about them; for Aaron had already put on his sacred garments.

8. But Moses refused all that honour which he saw the multitude ready to bestow upon him, and attended to nothing else but the service of God. He went no more up to Mount Sinai; but he went into the tabernacle, and brought back answers from God for what he prayed for. His habit was also that of a private man, and in all other circumstances he behaved himself like one of the common people, and was desirous to appear without distinguishing himself from the multitude, but would have it known that he did nothing else but take care of them. He also set down in writing the form of their government, and those laws by obedience whereto they would lead their lives so as to please God, and so as to have no quarrels one among another. However, the laws he ordained were such as God suggested to him; so I shall now discourse concerning that form of government, and those laws.

9. I will now treat of what I before omitted, the garment of the high priest: for he [Moses] left no room for the evil practices of [false] prophets; but if some of that sort should attempt to abuse the Divine authority, he left it to God to be present at his sacrifices when he pleased, and when he pleased to be absent. And he was willing this should be known, not to the Hebrews only, but to those foreigners also who were there. For as to those stones, which we told you before, the high priest bare on his shoulders, which were sardonyxes, [and I think it needless to describe their nature, they being known to every body,] the one of them shined out when God was present at their sacrifices; I mean that which was in the nature of a button on his right shoulder, bright rays darting out thence, and being seen even by those that were most remote; which splendour yet was not before natural to the stone. This has appeared a wonderful thing to such as have not so far indulged themselves in philosophy, as to despise Divine revelation. Yet will I mention what is still more wonderful than this: for God declared beforehand, by those twelve stones which the high priest bare on his breast, and which were inserted into his breastplate, when they should be victorious in battle; for so great a splendour shone forth from them before the army began to march, that all the people were sensible of God's being present for their assistance. Whence it came to pass that those Greeks, who had a veneration for our laws, because they could not possibly contradict this, called that breastplate the Oracle. Now this breastplate, and this sardonyx, left off shining two hundred years before I composed this book, God having been displeased at the transgressions of his laws. Of which things we shall further discourse on a fitter opportunity; but I will now go on with my proposed narration.

10. The tabernacle being now consecrated, and a regular order being settled for the priests, the multitude judged that God now dwelt among them, and betook themselves to sacrifices and praises to God as being now delivered from all expectation of evils and as entertaining a hopeful prospect of better times hereafter. They offered also gifts to God some as common to the whole nation, and others as peculiar to themselves, and these tribe by tribe; for the heads of the tribes combined together, two by two, and brought a waggon and a yoke of oxen. These amounted to six, and they carried the tabernacle when they journeyed. Besides which, each head of a tribe brought a bowl, and a charger, and a spoon, of ten darics, full of incense. Now the charger and the bowl were of silver, and together they weighed two hundred shekels, but the bowl cost no more than seventy shekels; and these were full of fine flour mingled with oil, such as they used on the altar about the sacrifices. They brought also a young bullock, and a ram, with a lamb of a year old, for a whole burnt-offering, as also a goat for the forgiveness of sins. Every one of the heads of the tribes brought also other sacrifices, called peace-offerings, for every day two bulls, and five rams, with lambs of a year old, and kids of the goats. These heads of tribes were twelve days in sacrificing, one sacrificing every day. Now Moses went no longer up to Mount Sinai, but went into the tabernacle, and learned of God what they were to do, and what laws should be made; which laws were preferable to what have been devised by human understanding, and proved to be firmly observed for all time to come, as being believed to be the gift of God, insomuch that the Hebrews did not transgress any of those laws, either as tempted in times of peace by luxury, or in times of war by distress of affairs. But I say no more here concerning them, because I have resolved to compose another work concerning our laws.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 9

The Manner Of Our Offering Sacrifices.

1. I Will now, however, make mention of a few of our laws which belong to purifications, and the like sacred offices, since I am accidentally come to this matter of sacrifices. These sacrifices were of two sorts; of those sorts one was offered for private persons, and the other for the people in general; and they are done in two different ways. In the one case, what is slain is burnt, as a whole burnt-offering, whence that name is given to it; but the other is a thank-offering, and is designed for feasting those that sacrifice. I will speak of the former. Suppose a private man offer a burnt-offering, he must slay either a bull, a lamb, or a kid of the goats, and the two latter of the first year, though of bulls he is permitted to sacrifice those of a greater age; but all burnt-offerings are to be of males. When they are slain, the priests sprinkle the blood round about the altar; they then cleanse the bodies, and divide them into parts, and salt them with salt, and lay them upon the altar, while the pieces of wood are piled one upon another, and the fire is burning; they next cleanse the feet of the sacrifices, and the inwards, in an accurate manner and so lay them to the rest to be purged by the fire, while the priests receive the hides. This is the way of offering a burnt-offering.

2. But those that offer thank-offerings do indeed sacrifice the same creatures, but such as are unblemished, and above a year old; however, they may take either males or females. They also sprinkle the altar with their blood; but they lay upon the altar the kidneys and the caul, and all the fat, and the lobe of the liver, together with the rump of the lamb; then, giving the breast and the right shoulder to the priests, the offerers feast upon the remainder of the flesh for two days; and what remains they burn.

3. The sacrifices for sins are offered in the same manner as is the thank-offering. But those who are unable to purchase complete sacrifices, offer two pigeons, or turtle doves; the one of which is made a burnt-offering to God, the other they give as food to the priests. But we shall treat more accurately about the oblation of these creatures in our discourse concerning sacrifices. But if a person fall into sin by ignorance, he offers an ewe lamb, or a female kid of the goats, of the same age; and the priests sprinkle the blood at the altar, not after the former manner, but at the corners of it. They also bring the kidneys and the rest of the fat, together with the lobe of the liver, to the altar, while the priests bear away the hides and the flesh, and spend it in the holy place, on the same day; for the law does not permit them to leave of it until the morning. But if any one sin, and is conscious of it himself, but hath nobody that can prove it upon him, he offers a ram, the law enjoining him so to do; the flesh of which the priests eat, as before, in the holy place, on the same day. And if the rulers offer sacrifices for their sins, they bring the same oblations

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that private men do; only they so far differ, that they are to bring for sacrifices a bull or a kid of the goats, both males.

4. Now the law requires, both in private and public sacrifices, that the finest flour be also brought; for a lamb the measure of one tenth deal,—for a ram two,—and for a bull three. This they consecrate upon the altar, when it is mingled with oil; for oil is also brought by those that sacrifice; for a bull the half of an hin, and for a ram the third part of the same measure, and one quarter of it for a lamb. This hin is an ancient Hebrew measure, and is equivalent to two Athenian choas [or congiuses]. They bring the same quantity of oil which they do of wine, and they pour the wine about the altar; but if any one does not offer a complete sacrifice of animals, but brings fine flour only for a vow, he throws a handful upon the altar as its first-fruits, while the priests take the rest for their food, either boiled or mingled with oil, but made into cakes of bread. But whatsoever it be that a priest himself offers, it must of necessity be all burnt. Now the law forbids us to sacrifice any animal at the same time with its dam; and, in other cases, not till the eighth day after its birth. Other sacrifices there are also appointed for escaping distempers, or for other occasions, in which meat-offerings are consumed, together with the animals that are sacrificed; of which it is not lawful to leave any part till the next day, only the priests are to take their own share.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 10

Concerning The Festivals; And How Each Day Of Such Festival Is To Be Observed.

1. The law requires, that out of the public expenses a lamb of the first year be killed every day, at the beginning and at the ending of the day; but on the seventh day, which is called the Sabbath, they kill two, and sacrifice them in the same manner. At the new moon, they both perform the daily sacrifices, and slay two bulls, with seven lambs of the first year, and a kid of the goats also, for the expiation of sins; that is, if they have sinned through ignorance.

2. But on the seventh month, which the Macedonians call Hyperberetaeus, they make an addition to those already mentioned, and sacrifice a bull, a ram, and seven lambs, and a kid of the goats, for sins.

3. On the tenth day of the same lunar month, they fast till the evening; and this day they sacrifice a bull, and two rams, and seven lambs, and a kid of the goats, for sins. And, besides these, they bring two kids of the goats; the one of which is sent alive out of the limits of the camp into the wilderness for the scapegoat, and to be an expiation for the sins of the whole multitude; but the other is brought into a place of great cleanness, within the limits of the camp, and is there burnt, with its skin, without any sort of cleansing. With this goat was burnt a bull, not brought by the people, but by the high priest, at his own charges; which, when it was slain, he brought of the blood into the holy place, together with the blood of the kid of the goats, and sprinkled the ceiling with his finger seven times, as also its pavement, and again as often toward the most holy place, and about the golden altar: he also at last brings it into the open court, and sprinkles it about the great altar. Besides this, they set the extremities, and the kidneys, and the fat, with the lobe of the liver, upon the altar. The high priest likewise presents a ram to God as a burnt-offering.

4. Upon the fifteenth day of the same month, when the season of the year is changing for winter, the law enjoins us to pitch tabernacles in every one of our houses, so that we preserve ourselves from the cold of that time of the year; as also that when we should arrive at our own country, and come to that city which we should have then for our metropolis, because of the temple therein to be built, and keep a festival for eight days, and offer burnt-offerings, and sacrifice thank-offerings, that we should then carry in our hands a branch of myrtle, and willow, and a bough of the palm-tree, with the addition of the pome citron: That the burnt-offering on the first of those days was to be a sacrifice of thirteen bulls, and fourteen lambs, and fifteen rams, with the addition of a kid of the goats, as an expiation for sins; and on the following days the same number of lambs, and of rams, with the kids of the goats; but abating one of the bulls every day till they amounted to seven only. On the eighth day all work was laid aside, and then, as we said before, they sacrificed to God a bullock, a ram, and seven lambs, with a kid of the goats, for an expiation of sins. And this is the accustomed solemnity of the Hebrews, when they pitch their tabernacles.

5. In the month of Xanthicus, which is by us called Nisan, and is the beginning of our year, on the fourteenth day of the lunar month, when the sun is in Aries, [for in this month it was that we were delivered from bondage under the Egyptians,] the law ordained that we should every year slay that sacrifice which I before told you we slew when we came out of Egypt, and which was called the Passover; and so we do celebrate this passover in companies, leaving nothing of what we sacrifice till the day following. The feast of unleavened bread succeeds that of the passover, and falls on the fifteenth day of the month, and continues seven days, wherein they feed on unleavened bread; on every one of which days two bulls are killed, and one ram, and seven lambs. Now these lambs are entirely burnt, besides the kid of the goats which is added to all the rest, for sins; for it is intended as a feast for the priest on every one of those days. But on the second day of unleavened bread, which is the sixteenth day of the month, they first partake of the fruits of the earth, for before that day they do not touch them. And while they suppose it proper to honour God, from whom they obtain this plentiful provision, in the first place, they offer the first-fruits of their barley, and that in the manner following: They take a handful of the ears, and dry them, then beat them small, and purge the barley from the bran; they then bring one tenth deal to the altar, to God; and, casting one handful of it upon the fire, they leave the rest for the use of the priest. And after this it is that they may publicly or privately reap their harvest. They also at this participation of the first-fruits of the earth, sacrifice a lamb, as a burnt-offering to God.

6. When a week of weeks has passed over after this sacrifice, [which weeks contain forty and nine days,] on the fiftieth day, which is Pentecost, but is called by the Hebrews Asartha, which signifies Pentecost, they bring to God a loaf, made of wheat flour, of two tenth deals, with leaven; and for sacrifices they bring two lambs; and when they have only presented them to God, they are made ready for supper for the priests; nor is it permitted to leave any thing of them till the day following. They also slay three bullocks for a burnt-offering, and two rams; and fourteen lambs, with two kids of the goats, for sins; nor is there anyone of the festivals but in it they offer burnt-offerings; they also allow themselves to rest on every one of them. Accordingly, the law prescribes in them all what kinds they are to sacrifice, and how they are to rest entirely, and must slay sacrifices, in order to feast upon them.

7. However, out of the common charges, baked bread [was set on the table of shew-bread], without leaven, of twenty-four tenth deals of flour, for so much is spent upon this bread; two heaps of these were baked, they were baked the day before the sabbath, but were brought into the holy place on the morning of the sabbath, and set upon the holy table, six on a heap, one loaf still standing over against another; where two golden cups full of frankincense were also set upon them, and there they remained till another sabbath, and then other loaves were brought in their stead, while the loaves were given to the priests for their food, and the frankincense was burnt in that sacred fire wherein all their offerings were burnt also; and so other frankincense was set upon the loaves instead of what was there before. The high priest also, of his own charges, offered a sacrifice, and that twice every day. It was made of flour mingled with oil, and gently baked by the fire; the quantity was one tenth deal of flour; he brought the half of it to the fire in the morning, and the other half at night. The account of these sacrifices I shall give more accurately hereafter; but I think I have premised what for the present may be sufficient concerning them.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 11

Of The Purifications.

1. Moses took out the tribe of Levi from communicating with the rest of the people, and set them apart to be a holy tribe; and purified them by water taken from perpetual springs, and with such sacrifices as were usually offered to God on the like occasions. He delivered to them also the tabernacle, and the sacred vessels, and the other curtains, which were made for covering the tabernacle, that they might minister under the conduct of the priests, who had been already consecrated to God.

2. He also determined concerning animals; which of them might be used for food, and which they were obliged to abstain from; which matters, when this work shall give me occasion, shall be further explained; and the causes shall be added by which he was moved to allot some of them to be our food, and enjoined us to abstain from others. However, he entirely forbade us the use of blood for food, and esteemed it to contain the soul and spirit. He also forbade us to eat the flesh of an animal that died of itself, as also the caul, and the fat of goats, and sheep, and bulls.

3. He also ordered that those whose bodies were afflicted with leprosy, and that had a gonorrhea, should not come into the city; nay, he removed the women, when they had their natural purgations, till the seventh day; after which he looked on them as pure, and permitted them to come in again. The law permits those also who have taken care of funerals to come in after the same manner, when this number of days is over; but if any continued longer than that number of days in a state of pollution, the law appointed the offering two lambs for a sacrifice; the one of which they are to purge by fire, and for the other, the priests take it for themselves. In the same manner do those sacrifice who have had the gonorrhea. But he that sheds his seed in his sleep, if he go down into cold water, has the same privilege with those that have lawfully accompanied with their wives. And for the lepers, he suffered them not to come into the city at all, nor to live with any others, as if they were in effect dead persons; but if any one had obtained by prayer to God, the recovery from that distemper, and had gained a healthful complexion again, such a one returned thanks to God, with several sorts of sacrifices; concerning which we will speak hereafter.

4. Whence one cannot but smile at those who say that Moses was himself afflicted with the leprosy when he fled out of Egypt, and that he became the conductor of those who on that account left that country, and led them into the land of Canaan; for had this been true, Moses would not have made these laws to his own dishonour, which indeed it was more likely he would have opposed, if others had endeavored to introduce them; and this the rather, because there are lepers in many nations, who yet are in honour, and not only free from reproach and avoidance, but who have been great captains of armies, and been intrusted with high offices in the commonwealth, and have had the privilege of entering into holy places and temples; so that nothing hindered, but if either Moses himself, or the multitude that was with him, had been liable to such a misfortune in the colour of his skin, he might have made laws about them for their credit and advantage, and have laid no manner of difficulty upon them. Accordingly, it is a plain case, that it is out of violent prejudice only that they report these things about us. But Moses was pure from any such distemper, and lived with countrymen who were pure of it also, and thence made the laws which concerned others that had the distemper. He did this for the honour of God. But as to these matters, let every one consider them after what manner he pleases.

5. As to the women, when they have born a child, Moses forbade them to come into the temple, or touch the sacrifices, before forty days were over, supposing it to be a boy; but if she hath born a girl, the law is that she cannot be admitted before twice that number of days be over. And when after the before-mentioned time appointed for them, they perform their sacrifices, the priests distribute them before God.

6. But if any one suspect that his wife has been guilty of adultery, he was to bring a tenth deal of barley flour; they then cast one handful to God and gave the rest of it to the priests for food. One of the priests set the woman at the gates that are turned towards the temple, and took the veil from her head, and wrote the name of God on parchment, and enjoined her to swear that she had not at all injured her husband; and to wish that, if she had violated her chastity, her right thigh might be put out of joint; that her belly might swell; and that she might die thus: but that if her husband, by the violence of his affection, and of the jealousy which arose from it, had been rashly moved to this suspicion, that she might bear a male child in the tenth month. Now when these oaths were over, the priest wiped the name of God out of the parchment, and wrung the water into a vial. He also took some dust out of the temple, if any happened to be there, and put a little of it into the vial, and gave it her to drink; whereupon the woman, if she were unjustly accused, conceived with child, and brought it to perfection in her womb: but if she had broken her faith of wedlock to her husband, and had sworn falsely before God, she died in a reproachful manner; her thigh fell off from her, and her belly swelled with a dropsy. And these are the ceremonies about sacrifices, and about the purifications thereto belonging, which Moses provided for his countrymen. He also prescribed the following laws to them:—

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 12

Several Laws.

1. As for adultery, Moses forbade it entirely, as esteeming it a happy thing that men should be wise in the affairs of wedlock; and that it was profitable both to cities and families that children should be known to be genuine. He also abhorred men's lying with their mothers, as one of the greatest crimes; and the like for lying with the father's wife, and with aunts, and sisters, and sons' wives, as all instances of abominable wickedness. He also forbade a man to lie with his wife when she was defiled by her natural purgation: and not to come near brute beasts; nor to approve of the lying with a male, which was to hunt after unlawful pleasures on account of beauty. To those who were guilty of such insolent behavior, he ordained death for their punishment.

2. As for the priests, he prescribed to them a double degree of purity for he restrained them in the instances above, and moreover forbade them to marry harlots. He also forbade them to marry a slave, or a captive, and such as got their living by cheating trades, and by keeping inns; as also a woman parted from her husband, on any account whatsoever. Nay, he did not think it proper for the high priest to marry even the widow of one that was dead, though he allowed that to the priests; but he permitted him only to marry a virgin, and to retain her. Whence it is that the high priest is not to come near to one that is dead, although the rest are not prohibited from coming near to their brethren, or parents, or children, when they are dead; but they are to be unblemished in all respects. He ordered that the priest who had any blemish, should have his portion indeed among the priests, but he forbade him to ascend the altar, or to enter into the holy house. He also enjoined them, not only to observe purity in their sacred ministrations, but in their daily conversation, that it might be unblamable also. And on this account it is that those who wear the sacerdotal garments are without spot,

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and eminent for their purity and sobriety: nor are they permitted to drink wine so long as they wear those garments. Moreover, they offer sacrifices that are entire, and have no defect whatsoever.

3. And truly Moses gave them all these precepts, being such as were observed during his own lifetime; but though he lived now in the wilderness, yet did he make provision how they might observe the same laws when they should have taken the land of Canaan. He gave them rest to the land from ploughing and planting every seventh year, as he had prescribed to them to rest from working every seventh day; and ordered, that then what grew of its own accord out of the earth should in common belong to all that pleased to use it, making no distinction in that respect between their own countrymen and foreigners: and he ordained, that they should do the same after seven times seven years, which in all are fifty years; and that fiftieth year is called by the Hebrews The Jubilee, wherein debtors are freed from their debts, and slaves are set at liberty; which slaves became such, though they were of the same stock, by transgressing some of those laws the punishment of which was not capital, but they were punished by this method of slavery. This year also restores the land to its former possessors in the manner following:—When the Jubilee is come, which name denotes liberty, he that sold the land, and he that bought it, meet together, and make an estimate, on one hand, of the fruits gathered; and, on the other hand, of the expenses laid out upon it. If the fruits gathered come to more than the expenses laid out, he that sold it takes the land again; but if the expenses prove more than the fruits, the present possessor receives of the former owner the difference that was wanting, and leaves the land to him; and if the fruits received, and the expenses laid out, prove equal to one another, the present possessor relinquishes it to the former owners. Moses would have the same law obtain as to those houses also which were sold in villages; but he made a different law for such as were sold in a city; for if he that sold it tendered the purchaser his money again within a year, he was forced to restore it; but in case a whole year had intervened, the purchaser was to enjoy what he had bought. This was the constitution of the laws which Moses learned of God when the camp lay under Mount Sinai, and this he delivered in writing to the Hebrews.

4. Now when this settlement of laws seemed to be well over, Moses thought fit at length to take a review of the host, as thinking it proper to settle the affairs of war. So he charged the heads of the tribes, excepting the tribe of Levi, to take an exact account of the number of those that were able to go to war; for as to the Levites, they were holy, and free from all such burdens. Now when the people had been numbered, there were found six hundred thousand that were able to go to war, from twenty to fifty years of age, besides three thousand six hundred and fifty. Instead of Levi, Moses took Manasseh, the son of Joseph, among the heads of tribes; and Ephraim instead of Joseph. It was indeed the desire of Jacob himself to Joseph, that he would give him his sons to be his own by adoption, as I have before related.

5. When they set up the tabernacle, they received it into the midst of their camp, three of the tribes pitching their tents on each side of it; and roads were cut through the midst of these tents. It was like a well-appointed market; and every thing was there ready for sale in due order; and all sorts of artificers were in the shops; and it resembled nothing so much as a city that sometimes was movable, and sometimes fixed. The priests had the first places about the tabernacle; then the Levites, who, because their whole multitude was reckoned from thirty days old, were twenty-three thousand eight hundred and eighty males; and during the time that the cloud stood over the tabernacle, they thought proper to stay in the same place, as supposing that God there inhabited among them; but when that removed, they journeyed also.

6. Moreover, Moses was the inventor of the form of their trumpet, which was made of silver. Its description is this:—In length it was little less than a cubit. It was composed of a narrow tube, somewhat thicker than a flute, but with so much breadth as was sufficient for admission of the breath of a man's mouth: it ended in the form of a bell, like common trumpets. Its sound was called in the Hebrew tongue Asosra. Two of these being made, one of them was sounded when they required the multitude to come together to congregations. When the first of them gave a signal, the heads of the tribes were to assemble, and consult about the affairs to them properly belonging; but when they gave the signal by both of them, they called the multitude together. Whenever the tabernacle was removed, it was done in this solemn order:—At the first alarm of the trumpet, those whose tents were on the east quarter prepared to remove; when the second signal was given, those that were on the south quarter did the like; in the next place, the tabernacle was taken to pieces, and was carried in the midst of six tribes that went before, and of six that followed, all the Levites assisting about the tabernacle; when the third signal was given, that part which had their tents towards the west put themselves in motion; and at the fourth signal those on the north did so likewise. They also made use of these trumpets in their sacred ministrations, when they were bringing their sacrifices to the altar as well on the Sabbaths as on the rest of the [festival] days; and now it was that Moses offered that sacrifice which was called the Passover in the Wilderness, as the first he had offered after the departure out of Egypt.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 13

Moses Removed From Mount Sinai, And Conducted The People To The Borders Of The Canaanites.

A Little while afterwards he rose up, and went from Mount Sinai; and, having passed through several mansions, of which we will speak he came to a place called Hazeroth, where the multitude began again to be mutinous, and to Moses for the misfortunes they had suffered their travels; and that when he had persuaded to leave a good land, they at once had lost land, and instead of that happy state he had them, they were still wandering in their miserable condition, being already in want of water; and if the manna should happen to fail, must then utterly perish. Yet while they spake many and sore things against the there was one of them who exhorted them to be unmindful of Moses, and of what great pains he had been at about their common safety; not to despair of assistance from God. The multitude thereupon became still more unruly, and mutinous against Moses than before. Hereupon Moses, although he was so basely abused by them encouraged them in their despairing conditioned and promised that he would procure them a quantity of flesh-meat, and that not for a few days only, but for many days. This they were not to believe; and when one of them asked, whence he could obtain such vast plenty of what he promised, he replied, "Neither God nor I, we hear such opprobrious language from will leave off our labours for you; and this soon appear also." As soon as ever he had said this, the whole camp was filled with quails, they stood round about them, and gathered great numbers. However, it was not long ere God punished the Hebrews for their insolence, those reproaches they had used towards him, no small number of them died; and still to this day the place retains the memory of this destruction and is named Kibrothhattaavah, which is, Graves of Lust.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 14

How Moses Sent Some Persons To Search Out The Land Of The Canaanites, And The Largeness Of Their Cities; And Further That When Those Who Were Sent Were Returned, After Forty Days And Reported That They Should Not Be A Match For Them, And Extolled The Strength Of The Canaanites The Multitude Were Disturbed And Fell Into Despair; And Were Resolved To Stone Moses, And To Return Back Again Into Egypt, And Serve The Egyptians.

1. When Moses had led the Hebrews away from thence to a place called Paran, which was near to the borders of the Canaanites, and a place difficult to be continued in, he gathered the multitude together to a congregation; and standing in the midst of them, he said, "Of the two things that God determined to bestow upon us, liberty, and the possession of a Happy Country, the one of them ye already are partakers of, by the gift of God, and the other you will quickly obtain; for we now have our abode near the borders of the Canaanites, and nothing can hinder the acquisition of it, when we now at last are fallen upon it: I say, not only no king nor city, but neither the whole race of mankind, if they were all gathered together, could do it. Let us therefore prepare ourselves for the work, for the Canaanites will not resign up their land to us without fighting, but it must be wrested from them by great struggles in war. Let us then send spies, who may take a view of the goodness of the land, and what strength it is of; but, above all things, let us be of one mind, and let us honour God, who above all is our helper and assister."

2. When Moses had said thus, the multitude requited him with marks of respect; and chose twelve spies, of the most eminent men, one out of each tribe, who, passing over all the land of Canaan, from the borders of Egypt, came to the city Hamath, and to Mount Lebanon; and having learned the nature of the land, and of its inhabitants, they came home, having spent forty days in the whole work. They also brought with them of the fruits which the land bare; they also showed them the excellency of those fruits, and gave an account of the great quantity of the good things that land afforded, which were motives to the multitude to go to war. But then they terrified them again with the great difficulty there was in obtaining it; that the rivers were so large and deep that they could not be passed over; and that the hills were so high that they could not travel along for them; that the cities were strong with walls, and their firm fortifications round about them. They told them also, that they found at Hebron the posterity of the giants. Accordingly these spies, who had seen the land of Canaan, when they perceived that all these difficulties were greater there than they had met with since they came out of Egypt, they were affrighted at them themselves, and endeavored to affright the multitude also.

3. So they supposed, from what they had heard, that it was impossible to get the possession of the country. And when the congregation was dissolved, they, their wives and children, continued their lamentation, as if God would not indeed assist them, but only promised them fair. They also again blamed Moses, and made a clamour against him and his brother Aaron, the high priest. Accordingly they passed that night very ill, and with contumelious language against them; but in the morning they ran to a congregation, intending to stone Moses and Aaron, and so to return back into Egypt.

4. But of the spies, there were Joshua the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, and Caleb of the tribe of Judah, that were afraid of the consequence, and came into the midst of them, and stilled the multitude, and desired them to be of good courage; and neither to condemn God, as having told them lies, nor to hearken to those who had affrighted them, by telling them what was not true concerning the Canaanites, but to those that encouraged them to hope for good success; and that they should gain possession of the happiness promised them, because neither the height of mountains, nor the depth of rivers, could hinder men of true courage from attempting them, especially while God would take care of them beforehand, and be assistant to them. "Let us then go," said they, "against our enemies, and have no suspicion of ill success, trusting in God to conduct us, and following those that are to be our leaders." Thus did these two exhort them, and endeavor to pacify the rage they were in. But Moses and Aaron fell on the ground, and besought God, not for their own deliverance, but that he would put a stop to what the people were unwarily doing, and would bring their minds to a quiet temper, which were now disordered by their present passion. The cloud also did now appear, and stood over the tabernacle, and declared to them the presence of God to be there.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 15

How Moses Was Displeased At This, And Foretold That God Was Angry And That They Should Continue In The Wilderness For Forty Years And Not, During That Time, Either Return Into Egypt Or Take Possession Of Canaan.

1. Moses came now boldly to the multitude, and informed them that God was moved at their abuse of him, and would inflict punishment upon them, not indeed such as they deserved for their sins, but such as parents inflict on their children, in order to their correction. For, he said, that when he was in the tabernacle, and was bewailing with ears that destruction which was coming upon them God put him in mind what things he had done for them, and what benefits they had received from him, and yet how ungrateful they had been to him that just now they had been induced, through the timorousness of the spies, to think that their words were truer than his own promise to them; and that on this account, though he would not indeed destroy them all, nor utterly exterminate their nation, which he had honoured more than any other part of mankind, yet he would not permit them to take possession of the land of Canaan, nor enjoy its happiness; but would make them wander in the wilderness, and live without a fixed habitation, and without a city, for forty years together, as a punishment for this their transgression; but that he had promised to give that land to our children, and that he would make them the possessors of those good things which, by your ungoverned passions, you have deprived yourselves of.

2. When Moses had discoursed thus to them according to the direction of God, the multitude grieved, and were in affliction; and entreated Most to procure their reconciliation to God, and to permit them no longer to wander in the wilderness, but bestow cities upon them. But he replied, that God would not admit of any such trial, for that God was not moved to this determination from any human levity or anger, but that he had judicially condemned them to that punishment. Now we are not to disbelieve that Moses, who was but a single person, pacified so many ten thousands when they were in anger, and converted them to a mildness temper; for God was with him, and prepared way to his persuasions of the multitude; and as they had often been disobedient, they were now sensible that such disobedience was disadvantageous to them and that they had still thereby fallen into calamities.

3. But this man was admirable for his virtue, and powerful in making men give credit to what he delivered, not only during the time of his natural life, but even there is still no one of the Hebrews who does not act even now as if Moses were present, and ready to punish him if he should do any thing that is indecent; nay, there is no one but is obedient to what laws he ordained, although they might be concealed in their transgressions. There are also many other demonstrations that his power was more than human, for still some there have been, who have come from the parts beyond Euphrates, a journey of four months, through many dangers, and at great expenses, in honour of our temple; and yet, when they had offered their oblations, could not partake of their own sacrifices, because Moses had forbidden it, by somewhat in the law that did not permit them, or somewhat that had befallen them, which our ancient customs made inconsistent therewith; some of these did not sacrifice at all, and others left their sacrifices in an imperfect condition; many were not able, even at first, so much as to enter the temple, but went their

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ways in this as preferring a submission to the laws of Moses before the fulfilling of their own inclinations, they had no fear upon them that anybody could convict them, but only out of a reverence to their own conscience. Thus this legislation, which appeared to be divine, made this man to be esteemed as one superior to his own nature. Nay, further, a little before the beginning of this war, when Claudius was emperor of the Romans, and Ismael was our high priest, and when so great a famine 27 was come upon us, that one tenth deal [of wheat] was sold for four drachmae, and when no less than seventy cori of flour were brought into the temple, at the feast of unleavened bread, [these cori are thirty-one Sicilian, but forty-one Athenian medimni,] not one of the priests was so hardy as to eat one crumb of it, even while so great a distress was upon the land; and this out of a dread of the law, and of that wrath which God retains against acts of wickedness, even when no one can accuse the actors. Whence we are not to wonder at what was then done, while to this very day the writings left by Moses have so great a force, that even those that hate us do confess, that he who established this settlement was God, and that it was by the means of Moses, and of his virtue; but as to these matters, let every one take them as he thinks fit.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES BOOK 4

Containing The Interval Of Thirty-Eight Years.—From The Rejection Of That Generation To The Death Of Moses.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 1

Fight Of The Hebrews With The Canaanites Without The Consent Of Moses; And Their Defeat.

1. Now this life of the Hebrews in the wilderness was so disagreeable and troublesome to them, and they were so uneasy at it, that although God had forbidden them to meddle with the Canaanites, yet could they not be persuaded to be obedient to the words of Moses, and to be quiet; but supposing they should be able to beat their enemies, without his approbation, they accused him, and suspected that he made it his business to keep them in a distressed condition, that they might always stand in need of his assistance. Accordingly they resolved to fight with the Canaanites, and said that God gave them his assistance, not out of regard to Moses's intercessions, but because he took care of their entire nation, on account of their forefathers, whose affairs he took under his own conduct; as also, that it was on account of their own virtue that he had formerly procured them their liberty, and would be assisting to them, now they were willing to take pains for it. They also said that they were possessed of abilities sufficient for the conquest of their enemies, although Moses should have a mind to alienate God from them; that, however, it was for their advantage to be their own masters, and not so far to rejoice in their deliverance from the indignities they endured under the Egyptians, as to bear the tyranny of Moses over them, and to suffer themselves to be deluded, and live according to his pleasure, as though God did only foretell what concerns us out of his kindness to him, as if they were not all the posterity of Abraham; that God made him alone the author of all the knowledge we have, and we must still learn it from him; that it would be a piece of prudence to oppose his arrogant pretenses, and to put their confidence in God, and to resolve to take possession of that land which he had promised them, and not to give ear to him, who on this account, and under the pretense of Divine authority, forbade them so to do. Considering, therefore, the distressed state they were in at present, and that in those desert places they were still to expect things would be worse with them, they resolved to fight with the Canaanites, as submitting only to God, their supreme Commander, and not waiting for any assistance from their legislator.

2. When, therefore, they had come to this resolution, as being best for them, they went against their enemies; but those enemies were not dismayed either at the attack itself, or at the great multitude that made it, and received them with great courage. Many of the Hebrews were slain; and the remainder of the army, upon the disorder of their troops, were pursued, and fled, after a shameful manner, to their camp. Whereupon this unexpected misfortune made them quite despond; and they hoped for nothing that was good; as gathering from it, that this affliction came from the wrath of God, because they rashly went out to war without his approbation.

3. But when Moses saw how deeply they were affected with this defeat, and being afraid lest the enemies should grow insolent upon this victory, and should be desirous of gaining still greater glory, and should attack them, he resolved that it was proper to withdraw the army into the wilderness to a further distance from the Canaanites: so the multitude gave themselves up again to his conduct, for they were sensible that, without his care for them, their affairs could not be in a good condition; and he caused the host to remove, and he went further into the wilderness, as intending there to let them rest, and not to permit them to fight the Canaanites before God should afford them a more favourable opportunity.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 2

The Sedition Of Corah And Of The Multitude Against Moses, And Against His Brother, Concerning The Priesthood.

1. That which is usually the case of great armies, and especially upon ill success, to be hard to be pleased, and governed with difficulty, did now befall the Jews; for they being in number six hundred thousand, and by reason of their great multitude not readily subject to their governors, even in prosperity, they at this time were more than usually angry, both against one another and against their leader, because of the distress they were in, and the calamities they then endured. Such a sedition overtook them, as we have not the like example either among the Greeks or the Barbarians, by which they were in danger of being all destroyed, but were notwithstanding saved by Moses, who would not remember that he had been almost stoned to death by them. Nor did God neglect to prevent their ruin; but, notwithstanding the indignities they had offered their legislator and the laws, and disobedience to the commandments which he had sent them by Moses, he delivered them from those terrible calamities which, without his providential care, had been brought upon them by this sedition. So I will first explain the cause whence this sedition arose, and then will give an account of the sedition itself; as also of what settlements made for their government after it was over.

2. Corah, a Hebrew of principal account, both by his family and by his wealth, one that was also able to speak well, and one that could easily persuade the people by his speeches, saw that Moses was in an exceeding great dignity, and was at it, and envied him on that account, [he of the same tribe with Moses, and of kin to him,] was particularly grieved, because he thought he better deserved that honourable post on account of great riches, and not inferior to him in his birth. So he raised a clamour against him among the Levites, who were of the same tribe, and among his kindred, saying, "That it was a very sad thing that they should overlook Moses, while he hunted after and paved the way to glory for himself, and by ill arts should obtain it, under the pretense of God's command, while, contrary to laws, he had given the priesthood to Aaron, the common suffrage of the multitude, but by his own vote, as bestowing dignities in a way on whom he pleased." He added, "That this concealed way of imposing on them was harder to be borne than if it had been done by an open force upon them, because he did now not only usurp their power without their consent, but even they were unapprised of his contrivances against them; for whosoever is conscious to himself that he deserves any dignity, aims to get it by persuasion, and not by an arrogant method of violence; those that believe it impossible to obtain honours justly, make a show of goodness, and do not introduce force, but by cunning tricks grow wickedly powerful. That it was proper for the multitude to punish such men, even while they think themselves concealed in their designs, and not suffer them to gain strength till they have them for their open enemies. For what account," added he, "is Moses able to give, why he has bestowed the priesthood on Aaron and his sons? for if God had determined to bestow that honour on one of the tribe of Levi, I am more worthy of it than he is; I myself being equal to Moses by my family, and superior to him both in riches and in age: but if God had determined to bestow it on the eldest be, that of Reuben might have it most justly; and then Dathan, and Abiram, and [On, the son of] Peleth, would have it; for these are the oldest men of that tribe, and potent on account of their great wealth also."

3. Now Corah, when he said this, had a mind to appear to take care of the public welfare, but in reality he was endeavoring to procure to have that dignity transferred by the multitude to himself. Thus did he, out of a malignant design, but with plausible words, discourse to those of his own tribe; when these words did gradually spread to more people, and when the hearers still added to what tended to the scandals that were cast upon Aaron, the whole army was full of them. Now of those that conspired with Corah, there were two hundred and fifty, and those of the principal men also, who were eager to have the priesthood taken away from Moses's brother, and to bring him into disgrace: nay, the multitude themselves were provoked to be seditious, and attempted to stone Moses, and gathered themselves together after an indecent manner, with confusion and disorder. And now all were, in a tumultuous manner, raising a clamour before the tabernacle of God, to prosecute the tyrant, and to relieve the multitude from their slavery under him who, under colour of the Divine laid violent injunctions upon them; for had it been God who chose one that was to perform the office of a priest, he would have raised person to that dignity, and would not have produced such a one as was inferior to many others nor have given him that office; and that in he had judged it fit to bestow it on Aaron, he would have permitted it to the multitude to bestow it, and not have left it to be bestowed by his own brother.

4. Now although Moses had a great while ago foreseen this calumny of Corah, and had seen the people were irritated, yet was he not affrighted at it; but being of good courage, because given them right advice about their affairs, and knowing that his brother had been made partaker of the priesthood at the command of God, and not by his own favour to him, he came to the assembly; and as for the multitude, he said not a word to them, but spake as loud to Corah as he could; and being very skillful in making speeches, and having this natural talent, among others, that he could greatly move the multitude with his discourses, he said, "O Corah, both thou and all these with thee [pointing to the two hundred and fifty men] seem to be worthy of this honour; nor do I pretend but that this whole company may be worthy of the like dignity, although they may not be so rich or so great as you are: nor have I taken and given this office to my brother because he excelled others in riches, for thou exceedest us both in the greatness of thy wealth; 1 nor indeed because he was of an eminent family, for God, by giving us the same common ancestor, has made our families equal: nay, nor was it out of brotherly affection, which another might yet have justly done; for certainly, unless I had bestowed this honour out of regard to God, and to his laws, I had not passed by myself, and given it to another, as being nearer of kin to myself than to my brother, and having a closer intimacy with myself than I have with him; for surely it would not be a wise thing for me to expose myself to the dangers of offending, and to bestow the happy employment on this account upon another. But I am above such base practices: nor would God have overlooked this matter, and seen himself thus despised; nor would he have suffered you to be ignorant of what you were to do, in order to please him; but he hath himself chosen one that is to perform that sacred office to him, and thereby freed us from that care. So that it was not a thing that I pretend to give, but only according to the determination of God; I therefore propose it still to be contended for by such as please to put in for it, only desiring that he who has been already preferred, and has already obtained it, may be allowed now also to offer himself for a candidate. He prefers your peace, and your living without sedition, to this honourable employment, although in truth it was with your approbation that he obtained it; for though God were the donor, yet do we not offend when we think fit to accept it with your good-will; yet would it have been an instance of impiety not to have taken that honourable employment when he offered it; nay, it had been exceedingly unreasonable, when God had thought fit any one should have it for all time to come, and had made it secure and firm to him, to have refused it. However, he himself will judge again who it shall be whom he would have to offer sacrifices to him, and to have the direction of matters of religion; for it is absurd that Corah, who is ambitious of this honour, should deprive God of the power of giving it to whom he pleases. Put an end, therefore, to your sedition and disturbance on this account; and tomorrow morning do every one of you that desire the priesthood bring a censer from home, and come hither with incense and fire: and do thou, O Corah, leave the judgement to God, and await to see on which side he will give his determination upon this occasion, but do not thou make thyself greater than God. Do thou also come, that this contest about this honourable employment may receive determination. And I suppose we may admit Aaron without offense, to offer himself to this scrutiny, since he is of the same lineage with thyself, and has done nothing in his priesthood that can be liable to exception. Come ye therefore together, and offer your incense in public before all the people; and when you offer it, he whose sacrifice God shall accept shall be ordained to the priesthood, and shall be clear of the present calumny on Aaron, as if I had granted him that favour because he was my brother."

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 3

How Those That Stirred Up This Sedition Were Destroyed, According To The Will Of God; And How Aaron, Moses's Brother Both He And His Posterity, Retained The Priesthood.

1. When Moses had said this, the multitude left off the turbulent behavior they had indulged, and the suspicion they had of Moses, and commended what he had said; for those proposals were good, and were so esteemed of the people. At that time therefore they dissolved the assembly. But on the next day they came to the congregation, in order to be present at the sacrifice, and at the determination that was to be made between the candidates for the priesthood. Now this congregation proved a turbulent one, and the multitude were in great suspense in expectation of what was to be done; for some of them would have been pleased if Moses had been convicted of evil practices, but the wiser sort desired that they might be delivered from the present disorder and disturbance; for they were afraid, that if this sedition went on, the good order of their settlement would rather be destroyed; but the whole body of the people do naturally delight in clamours against their governors, and, by changing their opinions upon the harangues of every speaker, disturb the public tranquillity. And now Moses sent messengers for Abiram and Dathan, and ordered them to come to the assembly, and wait there for the holy offices that were to be performed. But they answered the messenger, that they would not obey his summons; nay, would not overlook Moses's behavior, who was growing too great for them by evil practices. Now when

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Moses heard of this their answer, he desired the heads of the people to follow him, and he went to the faction of Dathan, not thinking it any frightful thing at all to go to these insolent people; so they made no opposition, but went along with him. But Dathan, and his associates, when they understood that Moses and the principal of the people were coming to them, came out, with their wives and children, and stood before their tents, and looked to see what Moses would do. They had also their servants about them to defend themselves, in case Moses should use force against them.

2. But he came near, and lifted up his hands to heaven, and cried out with a loud voice, in order to be heard by the whole multitude, and said, "O Lord of the creatures that are in the heaven, in the earth, and in the sea; for thou art the most authentic witness to what I have done, that it has all been done by thy appointment, and that it was thou that affordedst us assistance when we attempted any thing, and showedst mercy on the Hebrews in all their distresses; do thou come now, and hear all that I say, for no action or thought escapes thy knowledge; so that thou wilt not disdain to speak what is true, for my vindication, without any regard to the ungrateful imputations of these men. As for what was done before I was born, thou knowest best, as not learning them by report, but seeing them, and being present with them when they were done; but for what has been done of late, and which these men, although they know them well enough, unjustly pretend to suspect, be thou my witness. When I lived a private quiet life, I left those good things which, by my own diligence, and by thy counsel, I enjoyed with Raguel my father-in-law; and I gave myself up to this people, and underwent many miseries on their account. I also bore great labours at first, in order to obtain liberty for them, and now in order to their preservation; and have always showed myself ready to assist them in every distress of theirs. Now, therefore, since I am suspected by those very men whose being is owing to my labours, come thou, as it is reasonable to hope thou wilt; thou, I say, who showedst me that fire at mount Sinai, and madest me to hear its voice, and to see the several wonders which that place afforded thou who commandedst me to go to Egypt, and declare thy will to this people; thou who disturbest the happy estate of the Egyptians, and gavest us the opportunity of flying away from out under them, and madest the dominion of Pharaoh inferior to my dominion; thou who didst make the sea dry land for us, when we knew not whither to go, and didst overwhelm the Egyptians with those destructive waves which had been divided for us; thou who didst bestow upon us the security of weapons when we were naked; thou who didst make the fountains that were corrupted to flow, so as to be fit for drinking, and didst furnish us with water that came out of the rocks, when we were in want of it; thou who didst preserve our lives with [quails, which was] food from the sea, when the fruits of the ground failed us; thou didst send us such food from heaven as had never been seen before; thou who didst suggest to us the knowledge of thy laws, and appoint to us a form of government,—come thou, I say, O Lord of the whole world, and that as such a Judge and a Witness to me as cannot be bribed, and show how I never admitted of any gift against justice from any of the Hebrews; and have never condemned a man that ought to have been acquitted, on account of one that was rich; and have never attempted to hurt this commonwealth. I am now and am suspected of a thing the remotest from my intentions, as if I had given the preisthood to Aaron, not at thy command, but out own favour to him; do thou at this time demonstrate that all things are administered by thy providence and that nothing happens by chance, but is governed by thy will, and thereby attains its end: as also demonstrate that thou takest care that have done good to the Hebrews; demonstrate this, I say, by the punishment of Abiram and Dathan, who condemn thee as an insensible Being, and one overcome by my contrivances. This thou do by inflicting such an open punishment on these men who so madly fly in the face of thy glory, as will take them out of the world, not in an manner, but so that it may appear they do die after the manner of other men: let that ground which they tread upon open about them and consume them, with their families and goods. This will be a demonstration of thy power to all and this method of their sufferings will be an instruction of wisdom for those that entertain profane sentiments of thee. By this means I shall be a good servant, in the precepts thou hast given by me. But if the calumnies they have raised against me be true, mayst thou preserve these men from every evil accident, and bring all that destruction on me which I have imprecated upon them. And when thou hast inflicted punishment on those that have endeavored to deal unjustly with this people, bestow upon them concord and peace. Save this multitude that follow thy commandments, and preserve them free from harm, and let them not partake of the punishment of those that have sinned; for thou knowest thyself it is not just, that for the wickedness of those men the whole body of the Israelites should suffer punishment."

3. When Moses had said this, with tears in his eyes, the ground was moved on a sudden; and the agitation that set it in motion was like that which the wind produces in waves of the sea. The people were all affrighted; and the ground that was about their tents sunk down at the great noise, with a terrible sound, and carried whatsoever was dear to the seditious into itself, who so entirely perished, that there was not the least appearance that any man had ever been seen there, the earth that had opened itself about them, closing again, and becoming entire as it was before, insomuch that such as saw it afterward did not perceive that any such accident had happened to it. Thus did these men perish, and become a demonstration of the power of God. And truly, any one would lament them, not only on account of this calamity that befell them, which yet deserves our commiseration, but also because their kindred were pleased with their sufferings; for they forgot the relation they bare to them, and at the sight of this sad accident approved of the judgement given against them; and because they looked upon the people about Dathan as pestilent men, they thought they perished as such, and did not grieve for them.

4. And now Moses called for those that contended about the priesthood, that trial might be made who should be priest, and that he whose sacrifice God was best pleased with might be ordained to that function. There attended two hundred and fifty men, who indeed were honoured by the people, not only on account of the power of their ancestors, but also on account of their own, in which they excelled the others: Aaron also and Corah came forth, and they all offered incense, in those censers of theirs which they brought with them, before the tabernacle. Hereupon so great a fire shone out as no one ever saw in any that is made by the hand of man, neither in those eruptions out of the earth that are caused by subterraneous burn-rags, nor in such fires as arise of their own accord in the woods, when the agitation is caused by the trees rubbing one against another: but this fire was very bright, and had a terrible flame, such as is kindled at the command of God; by whose irruption on them, all the company, and Corah himself, were destroyed, and this so entirely, that their very bodies left no remains behind them. Aaron alone was preserved, and not at all hurt by the fire, because it was God that sent the fire to burn those only who ought to be burned. Hereupon Moses, after these men were destroyed, was desirous that the memory of this judgement might be delivered down to posterity, and that future ages might be acquainted with it; and so he commanded Eleazar, the son of Aaron, to put their censers near the brazen altar, that they might be a memorial to posterity of what these men suffered, for supposing that the power of God might be eluded. And thus Aaron was now no longer esteemed to have the priesthood by the favour of Moses, but by the public judgement of God; and thus he and his children peaceably enjoyed that honour afterward.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 4

What Happened To The Hebrews During Thirty-Eight Years In The Wilderness.

1. However, this sedition was so far from ceasing upon this destruction, that it grew much stronger, and became more intolerable. And the occasion of its growing worse was of that nature, as made it likely the calamity would never cease, but last for a long time; for the men, believing already that nothing is done without the providence of God, would have it that these things came thus to pass not without God's favour to Moses; they therefore laid the blame upon him that God was so angry, and that this happened not so much because of the wickedness of those that were punished, as because Moses procured the punishment; and that these men had been destroyed without any sin of theirs, only because they were zealous about the Divine worship; as also, that he who had been the cause of this diminution of the people, by destroying so many men, and those the most excellent of them all, besides his escaping any punishment himself, had now given the priesthood to his brother so firmly, that nobody could any longer dispute it with him; for no one else, to be sure, could now put in for it, since he must have seen those that first did so to have miserably perished. Nay, besides this, the kindred of those that were destroyed made great entreaties to the multitude to abate the arrogance of Moses, because it would be safest for them so to do.

2. Now Moses, upon his hearing for a good while that the people were tumultuous, was afraid that they would attempt some other innovation, and that some great and sad calamity would be the consequence. He called the multitude to a congregation, and patiently heard what apology they had to make for themselves, without opposing them, and this lest he should imbitter the multitude: he only desired the heads of the tribes to bring their rods, with the names of their tribes inscribed upon them, and that he should receive the priesthood in whose rod God should give a sign. This was agreed to. So the rest brought their rods, as did Aaron also, who had written the tribe of Levi on his rod. These rods Moses laid up in the tabernacle of God. On the next day he brought out the rods, which were known from one another by those who brought them, they having distinctly noted them, as had the multitude also; and as to the rest, in the same form Moses had received them, in that they saw them still; but they also saw buds and branches grown out of Aaron's rod, with ripe fruits upon them; they were almonds, the rod having been cut out of that tree. The people were so amazed at this strange sight, that though Moses and Aaron were before under some degree of hatred, they now laid that hatred aside, and began to admire the judgement of God concerning them; so that hereafter they applauded what God had decreed, and permitted Aaron to enjoy the priesthood peaceably. And thus God ordained him priest three several times, and he retained that honour without further disturbance. And hereby this sedition of the Hebrews, which had been a great one, and had lasted a great while, was at last composed.

3. And now Moses, because the tribe of Levi was made free from war and warlike expeditions, and was set apart for the Divine worship, lest they should want and seek after the necessaries of life, and so neglect the temple, commanded the Hebrews, according to the will of God, that when they should gain the possession of the land of Canaan, they should assign forty-eight good and fair cities to the Levites; and permit them to enjoy their suburbs, as far as the limit of two thousand cubits would extend from the walls of the city. And besides this, he appointed that the people should pay the tithe of their annual fruits of the earth, both to the Levites and to the priests. And this is what that tribe receives of the multitude; but I think it necessary to set down what is paid by all, peculiarly to the priests.

4. Accordingly he commanded the Levites to yield up to the priests thirteen of their forty-eight cities, and to set apart for them the tenth part of the tithes which they every year receive of the people; as also, that it was but just to offer to God the first-fruits of the entire product of the ground; and that they should offer the first-born of those four-footed beasts that are appointed for sacrifices, if it be a male, to the priests, to be slain, that they and their entire families may eat them in the holy city; but that the owners of those first-born which are not appointed for sacrifices in the laws of our country, should bring a shekel and a half in their stead: but for the first-born of a man, five shekels: that they should also have the first-fruits out of the shearing of the sheep; and that when any baked bread corn, and made loaves of it, they should give somewhat of what they had baked to them. Moreover, when any have made a sacred vow, I mean those that are called Nazarites, that suffer their hair to grow long, and use no wine, when they consecrate their hair, and offer it for a sacrifice, they are to allot that hair for the priests [to be thrown into the fire]. Such also as dedicate themselves to God, as a corban, which denotes what the Greeks call a gift, when they are desirous of being freed from that ministration, are to lay down money for the priests; thirty shekels if it be a woman, and fifty if it be a man; but if any be too poor to pay the appointed sum, it shall be lawful for the priests to determine that sum as they think fit. And if any slay beasts at home for a private festival, but not for a religious one, they are obliged to bring the maw and the cheek, [or breast,] and the right shoulder of the sacrifice, to the priests. With these Moses contrived that the priests should be plentifully maintained, besides what they had out of those offerings for sins which the people gave them, as I have set it down in the foregoing book. He also ordered, that out of every thing allotted for the priests, their servants, [their sons,] their daughters, and their wives, should partake, as well as themselves, excepting what came to them out of the sacrifices that were offered for sins; for of those none but the males of the family of the priests might eat, and this in the temple also, and that the same day they were offered.

5. When Moses had made these constitutions, after the sedition was over, he removed, together with the whole army, and came to the borders of Idumea. He then sent ambassadors to the king of the Idumeans, and desired him to give him a passage through his country; and agreed to send him what hostages he should desire, to secure him from an injury. He desired him also, that he would allow his army liberty to buy provisions; and, if he insisted upon it, he would pay down a price for the very water they should drink. But the king was not pleased with this embassage from Moses: nor did he allow a passage for the army, but brought his people armed to meet Moses, and to hinder them, in case they should endeavor to force their passage. Upon which Moses consulted God by the oracle, who would not have him begin the war first; and so he withdrew his forces, and traveled round about through the wilderness.

6. Then it was that Miriam, the sister of Moses, came to her end, having completed her fortieth year 5 since she left Egypt, on the first day of the lunar month Xanthicus. They then made a public funeral for her, at a great expense. She was buried upon a certain mountain, which they call Sin: and when they had mourned for her thirty days, Moses purified the people after this manner: He brought a heifer that had never been used to the plough or to husbandry, that was complete in all its parts, and entirely of a red colour, at a little distance from the camp, into a place perfectly clean. This heifer was slain by the high priest, and her blood sprinkled with his finger seven times before the tabernacle of God; after this, the entire heifer was burnt in that state, together with its skin and entrails; and they threw cedar-wood, and hyssop,

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and scarlet wool, into the midst of the fire; then a clean man gathered all her ashes together, and laid them in a place perfectly clean. When therefore any persons were defiled by a dead body, they put a little of these ashes into spring water, with hyssop, and, dipping part of these ashes in it, they sprinkled them with it, both on the third day, and on the seventh, and after that they were clean. This he enjoined them to do also when the tribes should come into their own land.

7. Now when this purification, which their leader made upon the mourning for his sister, as it has been now described, was over, he caused the army to remove and to march through the wilderness and through Arabia; and when he came to a place which the Arabians esteem their metropolis, which was formerly called Arce, but has now the name of Petra, at this place, which was encompassed with high mountains, Aaron went up one of them in the sight of the whole army, Moses having before told him that he was to die, for this place was over against them. He put off his pontifical garments, and delivered them to Eleazar his son, to whom the high priesthood belonged, because he was the elder brother; and died while the multitude looked upon him. He died in the same year wherein he lost his sister, having lived in all a hundred twenty and three years. He died on the first day of that lunar month which is called by the Athenians Hecatombaeon, by the Macedonians Lous, but by the Hebrews Abba.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 5

How Moses Conquered Sihon And Og Kings Of The Amorites, And Destroyed Their Whole Army And Then Divided Their Land By Lot To Two Tribes And A Half Of The Hebrews.

1. The people mourned for Aaron thirty days, and when this mourning was over, Moses removed the army from that place, and came to the river Arnon, which, issuing out of the mountains of Arabia, and running through all that wilderness, falls into the lake Asphaltitis, and becomes the limit between the land of the Moabites and the land of the Amorites. This land is fruitful, and sufficient to maintain a great number of men, with the good things it produces. Moses therefore sent messengers to Sihon, the king of this country, desiring that he would grant his army a passage, upon what security he should please to require; he promised that he should be no way injured, neither as to that country which Sihon governed, nor as to its inhabitants; and that he would buy his provisions at such a price as should be to their advantage, even though he should desire to sell them their very water. But Sihon refused his offer, and put his army into battle array, and was preparing every thing in order to hinder their passing over Arnon.

2. When Moses saw that the Amorite king was disposed to enter upon hostilities with them, he thought he ought not to bear that insult; and, determining to wean the Hebrews from their indolent temper, and prevent the disorders which arose thence, which had been the occasion of their former sedition, [nor indeed were they now thoroughly easy in their minds,] he inquired of God, whether he would give him leave to fight? which when he had done, and God also promised him the victory, he was himself very courageous, and ready to proceed to fighting. Accordingly he encouraged the soldiers; and he desired of them that they would take the pleasure of fighting, now God gave them leave so to do. They then, upon the receipt of this permission, which they so much longed for, put on their whole armour, and set about the work without delay. But the Amorite king was not now like to himself when the Hebrews were ready to attack him; but both he himself was affrighted at the Hebrews, and his army, which before had showed themselves to be of good courage, were then found to be timorous: so they could not sustain the first onset, nor bear up against the Hebrews, but fled away, as thinking this would afford them a more likely way for their escape than fighting, for they depended upon their cities, which were strong, from which yet they reaped no advantage when they were forced to fly to them; for as soon as the Hebrews saw them giving ground, they immediately pursued them close; and when they had broken their ranks, they greatly terrified them, and some of them broke off from the rest, and ran away to the cities. Now the Hebrews pursued them briskly, and obstinately persevered in the labours they had already undergone; and being very skillful in slinging, and very dexterous in throwing of darts, or any thing else of that kind, and also having nothing but light armour, which made them quick in the pursuit, they overtook their enemies; and for those that were most remote, and could not be overtaken, they reached them by their slings and their bows, so that many were slain; and those that escaped the slaughter were sorely wounded, and these were more distressed with thirst than with any of those that fought against them, for it was the summer season; and when the greatest number of them were brought down to the river out of a desire to drink, as also when others fled away by troops, the Hebrews came round them, and shot at them; so that, what with darts and what with arrows, they made a slaughter of them all. Sihon their king was also slain. So the Hebrews spoiled the dead bodies, and took their prey. The land also which they took was full of abundance of fruits, and the army went all over it without fear, and fed their cattle upon it; and they took the enemies prisoners, for they could no way put a stop to them, since all the fighting men were destroyed. Such was the destruction which overtook the Amorites, who were neither sagacious in counsel, nor courageous in action. Hereupon the Hebrews took possession of their land, which is a country situate between three rivers, and naturally resembled an island: the river Arnon being its southern; the river Jabbok determining its northern side, which running into Jordan loses its own name, and takes the other; while Jordan itself runs along by it, on its western coast.

3. When matters were come to this state, Og, the king of Gilead and Gaulanitis, fell upon the Israelites. He brought an army with him, and in haste to the assistance of his friend Sihon: but though he found him already slain, yet did he resolve still to come and fight the Hebrews, supposing he should be too hard for them, and being desirous to try their valour; but failing of his hope, he was both himself slain in the battle, and all his army was destroyed. So Moses passed over the river Jabbok, and overran the kingdom of Og. He overthrew their cities, and slew all their inhabitants, who yet exceeded in riches all the men in that part of the continent, on account of the goodness of the soil, and the great quantity of their wealth. Now Og had very few equals, either in the largeness of his body, or handsomeness of his appearance. He was also a man of great activity in the use of his hands, so that his actions were not unequal to the vast largeness and handsome appearance of his body. And men could easily guess at his strength and magnitude when they took his bed at Rabbath, the royal city of the Ammonites; its structure was of iron, its breadth four cubits, and its length a cubit more than double thereto. However, his fall did not only improve the circumstances of the Hebrews for the present, but by his death he was the occasion of further good success to them; for they presently took those sixty cities, which were encompassed with excellent walls, and had been subject to him, and all got both in general and in particular a great prey.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 6

Concerning Balaam The Prophet And What Kind Of Man He Was.

1. Now Moses, when he had brought his army to Jordan; pitched his camp in the great plain over against Jericho. This city is a very happy situation, and very fit for producing palm-trees and balsam. And now the Israelites began to be very proud of themselves, and were very eager for fighting. Moses then, after he had offered for a few days sacrifices of thanksgiving to God, and feasted the people, sent a party of armed men to lay waste the country of the Midianites, and to take their cities. Now the occasion which he took for making war upon them was this that follows:—

2. When Balak, the king of the Moabites, who had from his ancestors a friendship and league with the Midianites, saw how great the Israelites were grown, he was much affrighted on account of his own and his kingdom's danger; for he was not acquainted with this, that the Hebrews would not meddle with any other country, but were to be contented with the possession of the land of Canaan, God having forbidden them to go any farther 7 So he, with more haste than wisdom, resolved to make an attempt upon them by words; but he did not judge it prudent to fight against them, after they had such prosperous successes, and even became out of ill successes more happy than before, but he thought to hinder them, if he could, from growing greater, and so he resolved to send ambassadors to the Midianites about them. Now these Midianites knowing there was one Balaam, who lived by Euphrates, and was the greatest of the prophets at that time, and one that was in friendship with them, sent some of their honourable princes along with the ambassadors of Balak, to entreat the prophet to come to them, that he might imprecate curses to the destruction of the Israelites. So Balaam received the ambassadors, and treated them very kindly; and when he had supped, he inquired what was God's will, and what this matter was for which the Midianites entreated him to come to them. But when God opposed his going, he came to the ambassadors, and told them that he was himself very willing and desirous to comply with their request, but informed them that God was opposite to his intentions, even that God who had raised him to great reputation on account of the truth of his predictions; for that this army, which they entreated him to come and curse, was in the favour of God; on which account he advised them to go home again, and not to persist in their enmity against the Israelites; and when he had given them that answer, he dismissed the ambassadors.

3. Now the Midianites, at the earnest request and fervent entreaties of Balak, sent other ambassadors to Balaam, who, desiring to gratify the men, inquired again of God; but he was displeased at [second] trial 8 and bid him by no means to contradict the ambassadors. Now Balaam did not imagine that God gave this injunction in order to deceive him, so he went along with the ambassadors; but when the divine angel met him in the way, when he was in a narrow passage, and hedged in with a wall on both sides, the ass on which Balaam rode understood that it was a divine spirit that met him, and thrust Balaam to one of the walls, without regard to the stripes which Balaam, when he was hurt by the wall, gave her; but when the ass, upon the angel's continuing to distress her, and upon the stripes which were given her, fell down, by the will of God, she made use of the voice of a man, and complained of Balaam as acting unjustly to her; that whereas he had no fault to find with her in her former service to him, he now inflicted stripes upon her, as not understanding that she was hindered from serving him in what he was now going about, by the providence of God. And when he was disturbed by reason of the voice of the ass, which was that of a man, the angel plainly appeared to him, and blamed him for the stripes he had given his ass; and informed him that the brute creature was not in fault, but that he was himself come to obstruct his journey, as being contrary to the will of God. Upon which Balaam was afraid, and was preparing to return back again: yet did God excite him to go on his intended journey, but added this injunction, that he should declare nothing but what he himself should suggest to his mind.

4. When God had given him this charge, he came to Balak; and when the king had entertained him in a magnificent manner, he desired him to go to one of the mountains to take a view of the state of the camp of the Hebrews. Balak himself also came to the mountain, and brought the prophet along with him, with a royal attendance. This mountain lay over their heads, and was distant sixty furlongs from the camp. Now when he saw them, he desired the king to build him seven altars, and to bring him as many bulls and rams; to which desire the king did presently conform. He then slew the sacrifices, and offered them as burnt-offerings, that he might observe some signal of the flight of the Hebrews. Then said he, "Happy is this people, on whom God bestows the possession of innumerable good things, and grants them his own providence to be their assistant and their guide; so that there is not any nation among mankind but you will be esteemed superior to them in virtue, and in the earnest prosecution of the best rules of life, and of such as are pure from wickedness, and will leave those rules to your excellent children; and this out of the regard that God bears to you, and the provision of such things for you as may render you happier than any other people under the sun. You shall retain that land to which he hath sent you, and it shall ever be under the command of your children; and both all the earth, as well as the seas, shall be filled with your glory: and you shall be sufficiently numerous to supply the world in general, and every region of it in particular, with inhabitants out of your stock. However, O blessed army! wonder that you are become so many from one father: and truly, the land of Canaan can now hold you, as being yet comparatively few; but know ye that the whole world is proposed to be your place of habitation for ever. The multitude of your posterity also shall live as well in the islands as on the continent, and that more in number than are the stars of heaven. And when you are become so many, God will not relinquish the care of you, but will afford you an abundance of all good things in times of peace, with victory and dominion in times of war. May the children of your enemies have an inclination to fight against you; and may they be so hardy as to come to arms, and to assault you in battle, for they will not return with victory, nor will their return be agreeable to their children and wives. To so great a degree of valour will you be raised by the providence of God, who is able to diminish the affluence of some, and to supply the wants of others."

5. Thus did Balaam speak by inspiration, as not being in his own power, but moved to say what he did by the Divine Spirit. But then Balak was displeased, and said he had broken the contract he had made, whereby he was to come, as he and his confederates had invited him, by the promise of great presents: for whereas he came to curse their enemies, he had made an encomium upon them, and had declared that they were the happiest of men. To which Balaam replied, "O Balak, if thou rightly considerest this whole matter, canst thou suppose that it is in our power to be silent, or to say any thing, when the Spirit of God seizes upon us?—for he puts such words as he pleases in our mouths, and such discourses as we are not ourselves conscious of. I well remember by what entreaties both you and the Midianites so joyfully brought me hither, and on that account I took this journey. It was my prayer, that I might not put any affront upon you, as to what you desired of me; but God is more powerful than the purposes I had made to serve you; for those that take upon them to foretell the affairs of mankind, as from their own abilities, are entirely unable to do it, or to forbear to utter what God suggests to them, or to offer violence to his will; for when he prevents us and enters into us, nothing that we say is our own. I then did not intend to praise this army, nor to go over the several good things which God intended to do to their race; but since he was so favourable to them, and so ready to bestow upon them a happy life and eternal glory, he suggested the declaration of those things to me: but now, because it is my desire to oblige thee thyself, as well as the Midianites, whose entreaties it is not decent for me to reject, go to, let us again rear other altars, and offer the like sacrifices that we did

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before, that I may see whether I can persuade God to permit me to bind these men with curses." Which, when Balak had agreed to, God would not, even upon second sacrifices, consent to his cursing the Israelites. Then fell Balaam upon his face, and foretold what calamities would befall the several kings of the nations, and the most eminent cities, some of which of old were not so much as inhabited; which events have come to pass among the several people concerned, both in the foregoing ages, and in this, till my own memory, both by sea and by land. From which completion of all these predictions that he made, one may easily guess that the rest will have their completion in time to come.

6. But Balak being very angry that the Israelites were not cursed, sent away Balaam without thinking him worthy of any honour. Whereupon, when he was just upon his journey, in order to pass the Euphrates, he sent for Balak, and for the princes of the Midianites, and spake thus to them:—"O Balak, and you Midianites that are here present, [for I am obliged even without the will of God to gratify you,] it is true no entire destruction can seize upon the nation of the Hebrews, neither by war, nor by plague, nor by scarcity of the fruits of the earth, nor can any other unexpected accident be their entire ruin; for the providence of God is concerned to preserve them from such a misfortune; nor will it permit any such calamity to come upon them whereby they may all perish; but some small misfortunes, and those for a short time, whereby they may appear to be brought low, may still befall them; but after that they will flourish again, to the terror of those that brought those mischiefs upon them. So that if you have a mind to gain a victory over them for a short space of time, you will obtain it by following my directions:—Do you therefore set out the handsomest of such of your daughters as are most eminent for beauty, and proper to force and conquer the modesty of those that behold them, and these decked and trimmed to the highest degree able. Then do you send them to be near camp, and give them in charge, that the young men of the Hebrews desire their allow it them; and when they see they are enamored of them, let them take leaves; and if they entreat them to stay, let give their consent till they have persuaded leave off their obedience to their own laws, the worship of that God who established them to worship the gods of the Midianites and for by this means God will be angry at them." Accordingly, when Balaam had suggested counsel to them, he went his way.

7. So when the Midianites had sent their daughters, as Balaam had exhorted them, the Hebrew men were allured by their beauty, and came with them, and besought them not to grudge them the enjoyment of their beauty, nor to deny them their conversation. These daughters of Midianites received their words gladly, and consented to it, and staid with them; but when they brought them to be enamored of them, and their inclinations to them were grown to ripeness, they began to think of departing from them: then it was that these men became greatly disconsolate at the women's departure, and they were urgent with them not to leave them, but begged they would continue there, and become their wives; and they promised them they should be owned as mistresses all they had. This they said with an oath, and called God for the arbitrator of what they promised; and this with tears in their eyes, and all such marks of concern, as might shew how miserable they thought themselves without them, and so might move their compassion for them. So the women, as soon as they perceived they had made their slaves, and had caught them with their conservation began to speak thus to them:—

8. "O you illustrious young men! we have of our own at home, and great plenty of good things there, together with the natural, affectionate parents and friends; nor is it out of our want of any such things that we came to discourse with you; nor did we admit of your invitation with design to prostitute the beauty of our bodies for gain; but taking you for brave and worthy men, we agreed to your request, that we might treat you with such honours as hospitality required: and now seeing you say that you have a great affection for us, and are troubled when you think we are departing, we are not averse to your entreaties; and if we may receive such assurance of your good-will as we think can be alone sufficient, we will be glad to lead our lives with you as your wives; but we are afraid that you will in time be weary of our company, and will then abuse us, and send us back to our parents, after an ignominious manner." And they desired that they would excuse them in their guarding against that danger. But the young men professed they would give them any assurance they should desire; nor did they at all contradict what they requested, so great was the passion they had for them. "If then," said they, "this be your resolution, since you make use of such customs and conduct of life as are entirely different from all other men, 12 insomuch that your kinds of food are peculiar to yourselves, and your kinds of drink not common to others, it will be absolutely necessary, if you would have us for your wives, that you do withal worship our gods. Nor can there be any other demonstration of the kindness which you say you already have, and promise to have hereafter to us, than this, that you worship the same gods that we do. For has any one reason to complain, that now you are come into this country, you should worship the proper gods of the same country? especially while our gods are common to all men, and yours such as belong to nobody else but yourselves." So they said they must either come into such methods of divine worship as all others came into, or else they must look out for another world, wherein they may live by themselves, according to their own laws.

9. Now the young men were induced by the fondness they had for these women to think they spake very well; so they gave themselves up to what they persuaded them, and transgressed their own laws, and supposing there were many gods, and resolving that they would sacrifice to them according to the laws of that country which ordained them, they both were delighted with their strange food, and went on to do every thing that the women would have them do, though in contradiction to their own laws; so far indeed that this transgression was already gone through the whole army of the young men, and they fell into a sedition that was much worse than the former, and into danger of the entire abolition of their own institutions; for when once the youth had tasted of these strange customs, they went with insatiable inclinations into them; and even where some of the principal men were illustrious on account of the virtues of their fathers, they also were corrupted together with the rest.

10. Even Zimri, the head of the tribe of Simeon accompanied with Cozbi, a Midianitish women, who was the daughter of Sur, a man of authority in that country; and being desired by his wife to disregard the laws of Moses, and to follow those she was used to, he complied with her, and this both by sacrificing after a manner different from his own, and by taking a stranger to wife. When things were thus, Moses was afraid that matters should grow worse, and called the people to a congregation, but then accused nobody by name, as unwilling to drive those into despair who, by lying concealed, might come to repentance; but he said that they did not do what was either worthy of themselves, or of their fathers, by preferring pleasure to God, and to the living according to his will; that it was fit they should change their courses while their affairs were still in a good state, and think that to be true fortitude which offers not violence to their laws, but that which resists their lusts. And besides that, he said it was not a reasonable thing, when they had lived soberly in the wilderness, to act madly now when they were in prosperity; and that they ought not to lose, now they have abundance, what they had gained when they had little:— and so did he endeavor, by saying this, to correct the young inert, and to bring them to repentance for what they had done.

11. But Zimri arose up after him, and said, "Yes, indeed, Moses, thou art at liberty to make use of such laws as thou art so fond of, and hast, by accustoming thyself to them, made them firm; otherwise, if things had not been thus, thou hadst often been punished before now, and hadst known that the Hebrews are not easily put upon; but thou shalt not have me one of thy followers in thy tyrannical commands, for thou dost nothing else hitherto, but, under pretense of laws, and of God, wickedly impose on us slavery, and gain dominion to thyself, while thou deprivest us of the sweetness of life, which consists in acting according to our own wills, and is the right of free-men, and of those that have no lord over them. Nay, indeed, this man is harder upon the Hebrews then were the Egyptians themselves, as pretending to punish, according to his laws, every one's acting what is most agreeable to himself; but thou thyself better deservest to suffer punishment, who presumest to abolish what every one acknowledges to be what is good for him, and aimest to make thy single opinion to have more force than that of all the rest; and what I now do, and think to be right, I shall not hereafter deny to be according to my own sentiments. I have married, as thou sayest rightly, a strange woman, and thou hearest what I do from myself as from one that is free, for truly I did not intend to conceal myself. I also own that I sacrificed to those gods to whom you do not think it fit to sacrifice; and I think it right to come at truth by inquiring of many people, and not like one that lives under tyranny, to suffer the whole hope of my life to depend upon one man; nor shall any one find cause to rejoice who declares himself to have more authority over my actions than myself."

12. Now when Zimri had said these things, about what he and some others had wickedly done, the people held their peace, both out of fear of what might come upon them, and because they saw that their legislator was not willing to bring his insolence before the public any further, or openly to contend with him; for he avoided that, lest many should imitate the impudence of his language, and thereby disturb the multitude. Upon this the assembly was dissolved. However, the mischievous attempt had proceeded further, if Zimri had not been first slain, which came to pass on the following occasion:—Phineas, a man in other respects better than the rest of the young men, and also one that surpassed his contemporaries in the dignity of his father, [for he was the son of Eleazar the high priest, and the grandson of [Aaron] Moses's brother,] who was greatly troubled at what was done by Zimri, he resolved in earnest to inflict punishment on him, before his unworthy behavior should grow stronger by impunity, and in order to prevent this transgression from proceeding further, which would happen if the ringleaders were not punished. He was of so great magnanimity, both in strength of mind and body, that when he undertook any very dangerous attempt, he did not leave it off till he overcame it, and got an entire victory. So he came into Zimri's tent, and slew him with his javelin, and with it he slew Cozbi also, Upon which all those young men that had a regard to virtue, and aimed to do a glorious action, imitated Phineas's boldness, and slew those that were found to be guilty of the same crime with Zimri. Accordingly many of those that had transgressed perished by the magnanimous valour of these young men; and the rest all perished by a plague, which distemper God himself inflicted upon them; so that all those their kindred, who, instead of hindering them from such wicked actions, as they ought to have done, had persuaded them to go on, were esteemed by God as partners in their wickedness, and died. Accordingly there perished out of the army no fewer than fourteen [twenty-four] thousand at this time.

13. This was the cause why Moses was provoked to send an army to destroy the Midianites, concerning which expedition we shall speak presently, when we have first related what we have omitted; for it is but just not to pass over our legislator's due encomium, on account of his conduct here, because, although this Balaam, who was sent for by the Midianites to curse the Hebrews, and when he was hindered from doing it by Divine Providence, did still suggest that advice to them, by making use of which our enemies had well nigh corrupted the whole multitude of the Hebrews with their wiles, till some of them were deeply infected with their opinions; yet did he do him great honour, by setting down his prophecies in writing. And while it was in his power to claim this glory to himself, and make men believe they were his own predictions, there being no one that could be a witness against him, and accuse him for so doing, he still gave his attestation to him, and did him the honour to make mention of him on this account. But let every one think of these matters as he pleases.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 7

How The Hebrews Fought With The Midianites, And Overcame Them.

1. Now Moses sent an army against the land of Midian, for the causes forementioned, in all twelve thousand, taking an equal number out of every tribe, and appointed Phineas for their commander; of which Phineas we made mention a little before, as he that had guarded the laws of the Hebrews, and had inflicted punishment on Zimri when he had transgressed them. Now the Midianites perceived beforehand how the Hebrews were coming, and would suddenly be upon them: so they assembled their army together, and fortified the entrances into their country, and there awaited the enemy's coming. When they were come, and they had joined battle with them, an immense multitude of the Midianites fell; nor could they be numbered, they were so very many: and among them fell all their kings, five in number, viz. Evi, Zur, Reba, Hur, and Rekem, who was of the same name with a city, the chief and capital of all Arabia, which is still now so called by the whole Arabian nation, Arecem, from the name of the king that built it; but is by the Greeks called—Petra. Now when the enemies were discomfited, the Hebrews spoiled their country, and took a great prey, and destroyed the men that were its inhabitants, together with the women; only they let the virgins alone, as Moses had commanded Phineas to do, who indeed came back, bringing with him an army that had received no harm, and a great deal of prey; fifty-two thousand beeves, seventy-five thousand six hundred sheep, sixty thousand asses, with an immense quantity of gold and silver furniture, which the Midianites made use of in their houses; for they were so wealthy, that they were very luxurious. There were also led captive about thirty-two thousand virgins. So Moses parted the prey into parts, and gave one fiftieth part to Eleazar and the two priests, and another fiftieth part to the Levites; and distributed the rest of the prey among the people. After which they lived happily, as having obtained an abundance of good things by their valour, and there being no misfortune that attended them, or hindered their enjoyment of that happiness.

2. But Moses was now grown old, and appointed Joshua for his successor, both to receive directions from God as a prophet, and for a commander of the army, if they should at any time stand in need of such a one; and this was done by the command of God, that to him the care of the public should be committed. Now Joshua had been instructed in all those kinds of learning which concerned the laws and God himself, and Moses had been his instructor.

3. At this time it was that the two tribes of Gad and Reuben, and the half tribe of Manasseh, abounded in a multitude of cattle, as well as in all other kinds of prosperity; whence they had a meeting, and in a body came and besought Moses to give them, as their peculiar portion, that land of the Amorites which they had taken by right of war, because it was fruitful, and good for feeding of cattle; but Moses, supposing that they were afraid of fighting with the Canaanites, and invented this provision for their cattle as a handsome excuse for avoiding

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that war, he called them arrant cowards, and said they had only contrived a decent excuse for that cowardice; and that they had a mind to live in luxury and ease, while all the rest were labouring with great pains to obtain the land they were desirous to have; and that they were not willing to march along, and undergo the remaining hard service, whereby they were, under the Divine promise, to pass over Jordan, and overcome those our enemies which God had shown them, and so obtain their land. But these tribes, when they saw that Moses was angry with them, and when they could not deny but he had a just cause to be displeased at their petition, made an apology for themselves; and said, that it was not on account of their fear of dangers, nor on account of their laziness, that they made this request to him, but that they might leave the prey they had gotten in places of safety, and thereby might be more expedite, and ready to undergo difficulties, and to fight battles. They added this also, that when they had built cities, wherein they might preserve their children, and wives, and possessions, if he would bestow them upon them, they would go along with the rest of the army. Hereupon Moses was pleased with what they said; so he called for Eleazar the high priest, and Joshua, and the chief of the tribes, and permitted these tribes to possess the land of the Amorites; but upon this condition, that they should join with their kinsmen in the war until all things were settled. Upon which condition they took possession of the country, and built them strong cities, and put into them their children and their wives, and whatsoever else they had that might be an impediment to the labours of their future marches.

4. Moses also now built those ten cities which were to be of the number of the forty-eight [for the Levites;]; three of which he allotted to those that slew any person involuntarily, and fled to them; and he assigned the same time for their banishment with that of the life of that high priest under whom the slaughter and flight happened; after which death of the high priest he permitted the slayer to return home. During the time of his exile, the relations of him that was slain may, by this law, kill the manslayer, if they caught him without the bounds of the city to which he fled, though this permission was not granted to any other person. Now the cities which were set apart for this flight were these: Bezer, at the borders of Arabia; Ramoth, of the land of Gilead; and Golan, in the land of Bashan. There were to be also, by Moses's command, three other cities allotted for the habitation of these fugitives out of the cities of the Levites, but not till after they should be in possession of the land of Canaan.

5. At this time the chief men of the tribe of Manasseh came to Moses, and informed him that there was an eminent man of their tribe dead, whose name was Zelophehad, who left no male children, but left daughters; and asked him whether these daughters might inherit his land or not. He made this answer, That if they shall marry into their own tribe, they shall carry their estate along with them; but if they dispose of themselves in marriage to men of another tribe, they shall leave their inheritance in their father's tribe. And then it was that Moses ordained, that every one's inheritance should continue in his own tribe.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 8

The Polity Settled By Moses; And How He Disappeared From Among Mankind.

1. When forty years were completed, within thirty days, Moses gathered the congregation together near Jordan, where the city Abila now stands, a place full of palm-trees; and all the people being come together, he spake thus to them:—

2. "O you Israelites and fellow soldiers, who have been partners with me in this long and uneasy journey; since it is now the will of God, and the course of old age, at a hundred and twenty, requires it that I should depart out of this life; and since God has forbidden me to be a patron or an assistant to you in what remains to be done beyond Jordan; I thought it reasonable not to leave off my endeavors even now for your happiness, but to do my utmost to procure for you the eternal enjoyment of good things, and a memorial for myself, when you shall be in the fruition of great plenty and prosperity. Come, therefore, let me suggest to you by what means you may be happy, and may leave an eternal prosperous possession thereof to your children after you, and then let me thus go out of the world; and I cannot but deserve to be believed by you, both on account of the great things I have already done for you, and because, when souls are about to leave the body, they speak with the sincerest freedom. O children of Israel! there is but one source of happiness for all mankind, the favour of God 15 for he alone is able to give good things to those that deserve them, and to deprive those of them that sin against him; towards whom, if you behave yourselves according to his will, and according to what I, who well understand his mind, do exhort you to, you will both be esteemed blessed, and will be admired by all men; and will never come into misfortunes, nor cease to be happy: you will then preserve the possession of the good things you already have, and will quickly obtain those that you are at present in want of,—only do you be obedient to those whom God would have you to follow. Nor do you prefer any other constitution of government before the laws now given you; neither do you disregard that way of Divine worship which you now have, nor change it for any other form: and if you do this, you will be the most courageous of all men, in undergoing the fatigues of war, and will not be easily conquered by any of your enemies; for while God is present with you to assist you, it is to be expected that you will be able to despise the opposition of all mankind; and great rewards of virtue are proposed for you, if you preserve that virtue through your whole lives. Virtue itself is indeed the principal and the first reward, and after that it bestows abundance of others; so that your exercise of virtue towards other men will make your own lives happy, and render you more glorious than foreigners can be, and procure you an undisputed reputation with posterity. These blessings you will be able to obtain, in case you hearken to and observe those laws which, by Divine revelation, I have ordained for you; that is, in case you withal meditate upon the wisdom that is in them. I am going from you myself, rejoicing in the good things you enjoy; and I recommend you to the wise conduct of your law, to the becoming order of your polity, and to the virtues of your commanders, who will take care of what is for your advantage. And that God, who has been till now your Leader, and by whose goodwill I have myself been useful to you, will not put a period now to his providence over you, but as long as you desire to have him your Protector in your pursuits after virtue, so long will you enjoy his care over you. Your high priest also Eleazar, as well as Joshua, with the senate, and chief of your tribes, will go before you, and suggest the best advices to you; by following which advices you will continue to be happy: to whom do you give ear without reluctance, as sensible that all such as know well how to be governed, will also know how to govern, if they be promoted to that authority themselves. And do not you esteem liberty to consist in opposing such directions as your governors think fit to give you for your practice,—as at present indeed you place your liberty in nothing else but abusing your benefactors; which error if you can avoid for the time to come, your affairs will be in a better condition than they have hitherto been. Nor do you ever indulge such a degree of passion in these matters, as you have oftentimes done when you have been very angry at me; for you know that I have been oftener in danger of death from you than from our enemies. What I now put you in mind of, is not done in order to reproach you; for I do not think it proper, now I am going out of the world, to bring this to your remembrance, in order to leave you offended at me, since, at the time when I underwent those hardships from you, I was not angry at you; but I do it in order to make you wiser hereafter, and to teach you that this will be for your security; I mean, that you never be injurious to those that preside over you, even when you are become rich, as you will be to a great degree when you have passed over Jordan, and are in possession of the land of Canaan. Since, when you shall have once proceeded so far by your wealth, as to a contempt and disregard of virtue, you will also forfeit the favour of God; and when you have made him your enemy, you will be beaten in war, and will have the land which you possess taken away again from you by your enemies, and this with great reproaches upon your conduct. You will be scattered over the whole world, and will, as slaves, entirely fill both sea and land; and when once you have had the experience of what I now say, you will repent, and remember the laws you have broken, when it is too late. Whence I would advise you, if you intend to preserve these laws, to leave none of your enemies alive when you have conquered them, but to look upon it as for your advantage to destroy them all, lest, if you permit them to live, you taste of their manners, and thereby corrupt your own proper institutions. I also do further exhort you, to overthrow their altars, and their groves, and whatsoever temples they have among them, and to burn all such, their nation, and their very memory with fire; for by this means alone the safety of your own happy constitution can be firmly secured to you. And in order to prevent your ignorance of virtue, and the degeneracy of your nature into vice, I have also ordained you laws, by Divine suggestion, and a form of government, which are so good, that if you regularly observe them, you will be esteemed of all men the most happy."

3. When he had spoken thus, he gave them the laws and the constitution of government written in a book. Upon which the people fell into tears, and appeared already touched with the sense that they should have a great want of their conductor, because they remembered what a number of dangers he had passed through, and what care he had taken of their preservation: they desponded about what would come upon them after he was dead, and thought they should never have another governor like him; and feared that God would then take less care of them when Moses was gone, who used to intercede for them. They also repented of what they had said to him in the wilderness when they were angry, and were in grief on those accounts, insomuch that the whole body of the people fell into tears with such bitterness, that it was past the power of words to comfort them in their affliction. However, Moses gave them some consolation; and by calling them off the thought how worthy he was of their weeping for him, he exhorted them to keep to that form of government he had given them; and then the congregation was dissolved at that time.

4. Accordingly, I shall now first describe this form of government which was agreeable to the dignity and virtue of Moses; and shall thereby inform those that read these Antiquities, what our original settlements were, and shall then proceed to the remaining histories. Now those settlements are all still in writing, as he left them; and we shall add nothing by way of ornament, nor any thing besides what Moses left us; only we shall so far innovate, as to digest the several kinds of laws into a regular system; for they were by him left in writing as they were accidentally scattered in their delivery, and as he upon inquiry had learned them of God. On which account I have thought it necessary to premise this observation beforehand, lest any of my own countrymen should blame me, as having been guilty of an offense herein. Now part of our constitution will include the laws that belong to our political state. As for those laws which Moses left concerning our common conversation and intercourse one with another, I have reserved that for a discourse concerning our manner of life, and the occasions of those laws; which I propose to myself, with God's assistance, to write, after I have finished the work I am now upon.

5. When you have possessed yourselves of the land of Canaan, and have leisure to enjoy the good things of it, and when you have afterward determined to build cities, if you will do what is pleasing to God, you will have a secure state of happiness. Let there be then one city of the land of Canaan, and this situate in the most agreeable place for its goodness, and very eminent in itself, and let it be that which God shall choose for himself by prophetic revelation. Let there also be one temple therein, and one altar, not reared of hewn stones, but of such as you gather together at random; which stones, when they are whited over with mortar, will have a handsome appearance, and be beautiful to the sight. Let the ascent to it be not by steps 16 but by an acclivity of raised earth. And let there be neither an altar nor a temple in any other city; for God is but one, and the nation of the Hebrews is but one.

6. He that blasphemeth God, let him be stoned; and let him hang upon a tree all that day, and then let him be buried in an ignominious and obscure manner.

7. Let those that live as remote as the bounds of the land which the Hebrews shall possess, come to that city where the temple shall be, and this three times in a year, that they may give thanks to God for his former benefits, and may entreat him for those they shall want hereafter; and let them, by this means, maintain a friendly correspondence with one another by such meetings and feastings together, for it is a good thing for those that are of the same stock, and under the same institution of laws, not to be unacquainted with each other; which acquaintance will be maintained by thus conversing together, and by seeing and talking with one another, and so renewing the memorials of this union; for if they do not thus converse together continually, they will appear like mere strangers to one another.

8. Let there be taken out of your fruits a tenth, besides that which you have allotted to give to the priests and Levites. This you may indeed sell in the country, but it is to be used in those feasts and sacrifices that are to be celebrated in the holy city; for it is fit that you should enjoy those fruits of the earth which God gives you to possess, so as may be to the honour of the donor.

9. You are not to offer sacrifices out of the hire of a woman who is a harlot for the Deity is not pleased with any thing that arises from such abuses of nature; of which sort none can be worse than this prostitution of the body. In like manner no one may take the price of the covering of a bitch, either of one that is used in hunting, or in keeping of sheep, and thence sacrifice to God.

10. Let no one blaspheme those gods which other cities esteem such; nor may any one steal what belongs to strange temples, nor take away the gifts that are dedicated to any god.

11. Let not any one of you wear a garment made of woolen and linen, for that is appointed to be for the priests alone.

12. When the multitude are assembled together unto the holy city for sacrificing every seventh year, at the feast of tabernacles, let the high priest stand upon a high desk, whence he may be heard, and let him read the laws to all the people; and let neither the women nor the children be hindered from hearing, no, nor the servants neither; for it is a good thing that those laws should be engraven in their souls, and preserved in their memories, that so it may not be possible to blot them out; for by this means they will not be guilty of sin, when they cannot plead ignorance of what the laws have enjoined them. The laws also will have a greater authority among them, as foretelling what they will suffer if they break them; and imprinting in their souls by this hearing what they command them to do, that so there may always be within their minds that intention of the laws which they have despised and broken, and have thereby been the causes of their own mischief. Let the children also learn the laws, as the first

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thing they are taught, which will be the best thing they can be taught, and will be the cause of their future felicity.

13. Let every one commemorate before God the benefits which he bestowed upon them at their deliverance out of the land of Egypt, and this twice every day, both when the day begins and when the hour of sleep comes on, gratitude being in its own nature a just thing, and serving not only by way of return for past, but also by way of invitation of future favours. They are also to inscribe the principal blessings they have received from God upon their doors, and show the same remembrance of them upon their arms; as also they are to bear on their forehead and their arm those wonders which declare the power of God, and his good-will towards them, that God's readiness to bless them may appear every where conspicuous about them.

14. Let there be seven men to judge in every city, and these such as have been before most zealous in the exercise of virtue and righteousness. Let every judge have two officers allotted him out of the tribe of Levi. Let those that are chosen to judge in the several cities be had in great honour; and let none be permitted to revile any others when these are present, nor to carry themselves in an insolent manner to them; it being natural that reverence towards those in high offices among men should procure men's fear and reverence towards God. Let those that judge be permitted to determine according as they think to be right, unless any one can show that they have taken bribes, to the perversion of justice, or can allege any other accusation against them, whereby it may appear that they have passed an unjust sentence; for it is not fit that causes should be openly determined out of regard to gain, or to the dignity of the suitors, but that the judges should esteem what is right before all other things, otherwise God will by that means be despised, and esteemed inferior to those, the dread of whose power has occasioned the unjust sentence; for justice is the power of God. He therefore that gratifies those in great dignity, supposes them more potent than God himself. But if these judges be unable to give a just sentence about the causes that come before them, [which case is not unfrequent in human affairs,] let them send the cause undetermined to the holy city, and there let the high priest, the prophet, and the sanhedrim, determine as it shall seem good to them.

15. But let not a single witness be credited, but three, or two at the least, and those such whose testimony is confirmed by their good lives. But let not the testimony of women be admitted, on account of the levity and boldness of their sex nor let servants be admitted to give testimony, on account of the ignobility of their soul; since it is probable that they may not speak truth, either out of hope of gain, or fear of punishment. But if any one be believed to have borne false witness, let him, when he is convicted, suffer all the very same punishments which he against whom he bore witness was to have suffered.

16. If a murder be committed in any place, and he that did it be not found, nor is there any suspicion upon one as if he had hated the man, and so had killed him, let there be a very diligent inquiry made after the man, and rewards proposed to any one who will discover him; but if still no information can be procured, let the magistrates and senate of those cities that lie near the place in which the murder was committed, assemble together, and measure the distance from the place where the dead body lies; then let the magistrates of the nearest city thereto purchase a heifer, and bring it to a valley, and to a place therein where there is no land ploughed or trees planted, and let them cut the sinews of the heifer; then the priests and Levites, and the senate of that city, shall take water and wash their hands over the head of the heifer; and they shall openly declare that their hands are innocent of this murder, and that they have neither done it themselves, nor been assisting to any that did it. They shall also beseech God to be merciful to them, that no such horrid act may any more be done in that land.

17. Aristocracy, and the way of living under it, is the best constitution: and may you never have any inclination to any other form of government; and may you always love that form, and have the laws for your governors, and govern all your actions according to them; for you need no supreme governor but God. But if you shall desire a king, let him be one of your own nation; let him be always careful of justice and other virtues perpetually; let him submit to the laws, and esteem God's commands to be his highest wisdom; but let him do nothing without the high priest and the votes of the senators: let him not have a great number of wives, nor pursue after abundance of riches, nor a multitude of horses, whereby he may grow too proud to submit to the laws. And if he affect any such things, let him be restrained, lest he become so potent that his state be inconsistent with your welfare.

18. Let it not be esteemed lawful to remove boundaries, neither our own, nor of those with whom we are at peace. Have a care you do not take those landmarks away which are, as it were, a divine and unshaken limitation of rights made by God himself, to last for ever; since this going beyond limits, and gaining ground upon others, is the occasion of wars and seditions; for those that remove boundaries are not far off an attempt to subvert the laws.

19. He that plants a piece of land, the trees of which produce fruits before the fourth year, is not to bring thence any first-fruits to God, nor is he to make use of that fruit himself, for it is not produced in its proper season; for when nature has a force put upon her at an unseasonable time, the fruit is not proper for God, nor for the master's use; but let the owner gather all that is grown on the fourth year, for then it is in its proper season. And let him that has gathered it carry it to the holy city, and spend that, together with the tithe of his other fruits, in feasting with his friends, with the orphans, and the widows. But on the fifth year the fruit is his own, and he may use it as he pleases.

20. You are not to sow with seed a piece of land which is planted with vines, for it is enough that it supply nourishment to that plant, and be not harassed by ploughing also. You are to plough your land with oxen, and not to oblige other animals to come under the same yoke with them; but to till your land with those beasts that are of the same kind with each other. The seeds are also to be pure, and without mixture, and not to be compounded of two or three sorts, since nature does not rejoice in the union of things that are not in their own nature alike; nor are you to permit beasts of different kinds to gender together, for there is reason to fear that this unnatural abuse may extend from beasts of different kinds to men, though it takes its first rise from evil practices about such smaller things. Nor is any thing to be allowed, by imitation whereof any degree of subversion may creep into the constitution. Nor do the laws neglect small matters, but provide that even those may be managed after an unblamable manner.

21. Let not those that reap, and gather in the corn that is reaped, gather in the gleanings also; but let them rather leave some handfuls for those that are in want of the necessaries of life, that it may be a support and a supply to them, in order to their subsistence. In like manner when they gather their grapes, let them leave some smaller bunches for the poor, and let them pass over some of the fruits of the olive-trees, when they gather them, and leave them to be partaken of by those that have none of their own; for the advantage arising from the exact collection of all, will not be so considerable to the owners as will arise from the gratitude of the poor. And God will provide that the land shall more willingly produce what shall be for the nourishment of its fruits, in case you do not merely take care of your own advantage, but have regard to the support of others also. Nor are you to muzzle the mouths of the oxen when they tread the ears of corn in the thrashing-floor; for it is not just to restrain our fellow-labouring animals, and those that work in order to its production, of this fruit of their labours. Nor are you to prohibit those that pass by at the time when your fruits are ripe to touch them, but to give them leave to fill themselves full of what you have; and this whether they be of your own country or strangers,—as being glad of the opportunity of giving them some part of your fruits when they are ripe; but let it not be esteemed lawful for them to carry any away. Nor let those that gather the grapes, and carry them to the wine-presses, restrain those whom they meet from eating of them; for it is unjust, out of envy, to hinder those that desire it, to partake of the good things that come into the world according to God's will, and this while the season is at the height, and is hastening away as it pleases God. Nay, if some, out of bashfulness, are unwilling to touch these fruits, let them be encouraged to take of them [I mean, those that are Israelites] as if they were themselves the owners and lords, on account of the kindred there is between them. Nay, let them desire men that come from other countries, to partake of these tokens of friendship which God has given in their proper season; for that is not to be deemed as idly spent, which any one out of kindness communicates to another, since God bestows plenty of good things on men, not only for themselves to reap the advantage, but also to give to others in a way of generosity; and he is desirous, by this means, to make known to others his peculiar kindness to the people of Israel, and how freely he communicates happiness to them, while they abundantly communicate out of their great superfluities to even these foreigners also. But for him that acts contrary to this law, let him be beaten with forty stripes save one by the public executioner; let him undergo this punishment, which is a most ignominious one for a free-man, and this because he was such a slave to gain as to lay a blot upon his dignity; for it is proper for you who have had the experience of the afflictions in Egypt, and of those in the wilderness, to make provision for those that are in the like circumstances; and while you have now obtained plenty yourselves, through the mercy and providence of God, to distribute of the same plenty, by the like sympathy, to such as stand in need of it.

22. Besides those two tithes, which I have already said you are to pay every year, the one for the Levites, the other for the festivals, you are to bring every third year a third tithe to be distributed to those that want; to women also that are widows, and to children that are orphans. But as to the ripe fruits, let them carry that which is ripe first of all into the temple; and when they have blessed God for that land which bare them, and which he had given them for a possession, when they have also offered those sacrifices which the law has commanded them to bring, let them give the first-fruits to the priests. But when any one hath done this, and hath brought the tithe of all that he hath, together with those first-fruits that are for the Levites, and for the festivals, and when he is about to go home, let him stand before the holy house, and return thanks to God, that he hath delivered them from the injurious treatment they had in Egypt, and hath given them a good land, and a large, and lets them enjoy the fruits thereof; and when he hath openly testified that he hath fully paid the tithes [and other dues] according to the laws of Moses, let him entreat God that he will be ever merciful and gracious to him, and continue so to be to all the Hebrews, both by preserving the good things which he hath already given them, and by adding what it is still in his power to bestow upon them.

23. Let the Hebrews marry, at the age fit for it, virgins that are free, and born of good parents. And he that does not marry a virgin, let him not corrupt another man's wife, and marry her, nor grieve her former husband. Nor let free men marry slaves, although their affections should strongly bias any of them so to do; for it is decent, and for the dignity of the persons themselves, to govern those their affections. And further, no one ought to marry a harlot, whose matrimonial oblations, arising from the prostitution of her body, God will not receive; for by these means the dispositions of the children will be liberal and virtuous; I mean, when they are not born of base parents, and of the lustful conjunction of such as marry women that are not free. If any one has been espoused to a woman as to a virgin, and does not afterward find her so to be, let him bring his action, and accuse her, and let him make use of such indications to prove his accusation as he is furnished withal; and let the father or the brother of the damsel, or some one that is after them nearest of kin to her, defend her If the damsel obtain a sentence in her favour, that she had not been guilty, let her live with her husband that accused her; and let him not have any further power at all to put her away, unless she give him very great occasions of suspicion, and such as can be no way contradicted. But for him that brings an accusation and calumny against his wife in an impudent and rash manner, let him be punished by receiving forty stripes save one, and let him pay fifty shekels to her father: but if the damsel be convicted, as having been corrupted, and is one of the common people, let her be stoned, because she did not preserve her virginity till she were lawfully married; but if she were the daughter of a priest, let her be burnt alive. If any one has two wives, and if he greatly respect and be kind to one of them, either out of his affection to her, or for her beauty, or for some other reason, while the other is of less esteem with him; and if the son of her that is beloved be the younger by birth than another born of the other wife, but endeavors to obtain the right of primogeniture from his father's kindness to his mother, and would thereby obtain a double portion of his father's substance, for that double portion is what I have allotted him in the laws,—let not this be permitted; for it is unjust that he who is the elder by birth should be deprived of what is due to him, on the father's disposition of his estate, because his mother was not equally regarded by him. He that hath corrupted a damsel espoused to another man, in case he had her consent, let both him and her be put to death, for they are both equally guilty; the man, because he persuaded the woman willingly to submit to a most impure action, and to prefer it to lawful wedlock; the woman, because she was persuaded to yield herself to be corrupted, either for pleasure or for gain. However, if a man light on a woman when she is alone, and forces her, where nobody was present to come to her assistance, let him only be put to death. Let him that hath corrupted a virgin not yet espoused marry her; but if the father of the damsel be not willing that she should be his wife, let him pay fifty shekels as the price of her prostitution. He that desires to be divorced from his wife for any cause whatsoever, [and many such causes happen among men,] let him in writing give assurance that he will never use her as his wife any more; for by this means she may be at liberty to marry another husband, although before this bill of divorce be given, she is not to be permitted so to do: but if she be misused by him also, or if, when he is dead, her first husband would marry her again, it shall not be lawful for her to return to him. If a woman's husband die, and leave her without children, let his brother marry her, and let him call the son that is born to him by his brother's name, and educate him as the heir of his inheritance, for this procedure will be for the benefit of the public, because thereby families will not fail, and the estate will continue among the kindred; and this will be for the solace of wives under their affliction, that they are to be married to the next relation of their former husbands. But if the brother will not marry her, let the woman come before the senate, and protest openly that this brother will not admit her for his wife, but will injure the memory of his deceased brother, while she is willing to continue in the family, and to bear him children. And when the senate have inquired of him for what reason it is that he is averse to this marriage, whether he gives a bad or a good reason, the matter must come to this issue, That the woman shall loose the sandals of the brother, and shall spit in his face, and say, He deserves this

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reproachful treatment from her, as having injured the memory of the deceased. And then let him go away out of the senate, and bear this reproach upon him all his life long; and let her marry to whom she pleases, of such as seek her in marriage. But now, if any man take captive, either a virgin, or one that hath been married, and has a mind to marry her, let him not be allowed to bring her to bed to him, or to live with her as his wife, before she hath her head shaven, and hath put on her mourning habit, and lamented her relations and friends that were slain in the battle, that by this means she may give vent to her sorrow for them, and after that may betake herself to feasting and matrimony; for it is good for him that takes a woman, in order to have children by her, to be complaisant to her inclinations, and not merely to pursue his own pleasure, while he hath no regard to what is agreeable to her. But when thirty days are past, as the time of mourning, for so many are sufficient to prudent persons for lamenting the dearest friends, then let them proceed to the marriage; but in case when he hath satisfied his lust, he be too proud to retain her for his wife, let him not have it in his power to make her a slave, but let her go away whither she pleases, and have that privilege of a free woman.

24. As to those young men that despise their parents, and do not pay them honour, but offer them affronts, either because they are ashamed of them or think themselves wiser than they,—in the first place, let their parents admonish them in words, [for they are by nature of authority sufficient for becoming their judges,] and let them say thus to them:—That they cohabited together, not for the sake of pleasure, nor for the augmentation of their riches, by joining both their stocks together, but that they might have children to take care of them in their old age, and might by them have what they then should want. And say further to him, "That when thou wast born, we took thee up with gladness, and gave God the greatest thanks for thee, and brought time up with great care, and spared for nothing that appeared useful for thy preservation, and for thy instruction in what was most excellent. And now, since it is reasonable to forgive the sins of those that are young, let it suffice thee to have given so many indications Of thy contempt of us; reform thyself, and act more wisely for the time to come; considering that God is displeased with those that are insolent towards their parents, because he is himself the Father of the whole race of mankind, and seems to bear part of that dishonour which falls upon those that have the same name, when they do not meet with dire returns from their children. And on such the law inflicts inexorable punishment; of which punishment mayst thou never have the experience." Now if the insolence of young men be thus cured, let them escape the reproach which their former errors deserved; for by this means the lawgiver will appear to be good, and parents happy, while they never behold either a son or a daughter brought to punishment. But if it happen that these words and instructions, conveyed by them in order to reclaim the man, appear to be useless, then the offender renders the laws implacable enemies to the insolence he has offered his parents; let him therefore be brought forth by these very parents out of the city, with a multitude following him, and there let him be stoned; and when he has continued there for one whole day, that all the people may see him, let him be buried in the night. And thus it is that we bury all whom the laws condemn to die, upon any account whatsoever. Let our enemies that fall in battle be also buried; nor let any one dead body lie above the ground, or suffer a punishment beyond what justice requires.

25. Let no one lend to any one of the Hebrews upon usury, neither usury of what is eaten or what is drunken, for it is not just to make advantage of the misfortunes of one of thy own countrymen; but when thou hast been assistant to his necessities, think it thy gain if thou obtainest their gratitude to thee; and withal that reward which will come to thee from God, for thy humanity towards him.

26. Those who have borrowed either silver or any sort of fruits, whether dry or wet, [I mean this, when the Jewish affairs shall, by the blessing of God, be to their own mind,] let the borrowers bring them again, and restore them with pleasure to those who lent them, laying them up, as it were, in their own treasuries, and justly expecting to receive them thence, if they shall want them again. But if they be without shame, and do not restore it, let not the lender go to the borrower's house, and take a pledge himself, before judgement be given concerning it; but let him require the pledge, and let the debtor bring it of himself, without the least opposition to him that comes upon him under the protection of the law. And if he that gave the pledge be rich, let the creditor retain it till what he lent be paid him again; but if he be poor, let him that takes it return it before the going down of the sun, especially if the pledge be a garment, that the debtor may have it for a covering in his sleep, God himself naturally showing mercy to the poor. It is also not lawful to take a millstone, nor any utensil thereto belonging, for a pledge, that the debtor, may not be deprived of instruments to get their food withal, and lest they be undone by their necessity.

27. Let death be the punishment for stealing a man; but he that hath purloined gold or silver, let him pay double. If any one kill a man that is stealing something out of his house, let him be esteemed guiltless, although the man were only breaking in at the wall. Let him that hath stolen cattle pay fourfold what is lost, excepting the case of an ox, for which let the thief pay fivefold. Let him that is so poor that he cannot pay what mulet is laid upon him, be his servant to whom he was adjudged to pay it.

28. If any one be sold to one of his own nation, let him serve him six years, and on the seventh let him go free. But if he have a son by a woman servant in his purchaser's house, and if, on account of his good-will to his master, and his natural affection to his wife and children, he will be his servant still, let him be set free only at the coming of the year of jubilee, which is the fiftieth year, and let him then take away with him his children and wife, and let them be free also.

29. If any one find gold or silver on the road, let him inquire after him that lost it, and make proclamation of the place where he found it, and then restore it to him again, as not thinking it right to make his own profit by the loss of another. And the same rule is to be observed in cattle found to have wandered away into a lonely place. If the owner be not presently discovered, let him that is the finder keep it with himself, and appeal to God that he has not purloined what belongs to another.

30. It is not lawful to pass by any beast that is in distress, when in a storm it is fallen down in the mire, but to endeavor to preserve it, as having a sympathy with it in its pain.

31. It is also a duty to show the roads to those who do not know them, and not to esteem it a matter for sport, when we hinder others' advantages, by setting them in a wrong way.

32. In like manner, let no one revile a person blind or dumb.

33. If men strive together, and there be no instrument of iron, let him that is smitten be avenged immediately, by inflicting the same punishment on him that smote him: but if when he is carried home he lie sick many days, and then die, let him that smote him not escape punishment; but if he that is smitten escape death, and yet be at great expense for his cure, the smiter shall pay for all that has been expended during the time of his sickness, and for all that he has paid the physician. He that kicks a woman with child, so that the woman miscarry, let him pay a fine in money, as the judges shall determine, as having diminished the multitude by the destruction of what was in her womb; and let money also be given the woman's husband by him that kicked her; but if she die of the stroke, let him also be put to death, the law judging it equitable that life should go for life.

34. Let no one of the Israelites keep any poison that may cause death, or any other harm; but if he be caught with it, let him be put to death, and suffer the very same mischief that he would have brought upon them for whom the poison was prepared.

35. He that maimeth any one, let him undergo the like himself, and be deprived of the same member of which he hath deprived the other, unless he that is maimed will accept of money instead of it for the law makes the sufferer the judge of the value of what he hath suffered, and permits him to estimate it, unless he will be more severe.

36. Let him that is the owner of an ox which pusheth with his horn, kill him: but if he pushes and gores any one in the thrashing-floor, let him be put to death by stoning, and let him not be thought fit for food: but if his owner be convicted as having known what his nature was, and hath not kept him up, let him also be put to death, as being the occasion of the ox's having killed a man. But if the ox have killed a man-servant, or a maid-servant, let him be stoned; and let the owner of the ox pay thirty shekels to the master of him that was slain; but if it be an ox that is thus smitten and killed, let both the oxen, that which smote the other and that which was killed, be sold, and let the owners of them divide their price between them.

37. Let those that dig a well or a pit be careful to lay planks over them, and so keep them shut up, not in order to hinder any persons from drawing water, but that there may be no danger of falling into them. But if any one's beast fall into such a well or pit thus digged, and not shut up, and perish, let the owner pay its price to the owner of the beast. Let there be a battlement round the tops of your houses instead of a wall, that may prevent any persons from rolling down and perishing.

38. Let him that has received any thing in trust for another, take care to keep it as a sacred and divine thing; and let no one invent any contrivance whereby to deprive him that hath intrusted it with him of the same, and this whether he be a man or a woman; no, not although he or she were to gain an immense sum of gold, and this where he cannot be convicted of it by any body; for it is fit that a man's own conscience, which knows what he hath, should in all cases oblige him to do well. Let this conscience be his witness, and make him always act so as may procure him commendation from others; but let him chiefly have regard to God, from whom no wicked man can lie concealed: but if he in whom the trust was reposed, without any deceit of his own, lose what he was intrusted withal, let him come before the seven judges, and swear by God that nothing hath been lost willingly, or with a wicked intention, and that he hath not made use of any part thereof, and so let him depart without blame; but if he hath made use of the least part of what was committed to him, and it be lost, let him be condemned to repay all that he had received. After the same manner as in these trusts it is to be, if any one defraud those that undergo bodily labour for him. And let it be always remembered, that we are not to defraud a poor man of his wages, as being sensible that God has allotted these wages to him instead of land and other possessions; nay, this payment is not at all to be delayed, but to be made that very day, since God is not willing to deprive the labourer of the immediate use of what he hath laboured for.

39. You are not to punish children for the faults of their parents, but on account of their own virtue rather to vouchsafe them commiseration, because they were born of wicked parents, than hatred, because they were born of bad ones. Nor indeed ought we to impute the sin of children to their fathers, while young persons indulge themselves in many practices different from what they have been instructed in, and this by their proud refusal of such instruction.

40. Let those that have made themselves eunuchs be had in detestation; and do you avoid any conversation with them who have deprived themselves of their manhood, and of that fruit of generation which God has given to men for the increase of their kind: let such be driven away, as if they had killed their children, since they beforehand have lost what should procure them; for evident it is, that while their soul is become effeminate, they have withal transfused that effeminacy to their body also. In like manner do you treat all that is of a monstrous nature when it is looked on; nor is it lawful to geld men or any other animals.

41. Let this be the constitution of your political laws in time of peace, and God will be so merciful as to preserve this excellent settlement free from disturbance: and may that time never come which may innovate any thing, and change it for the contrary. But since it must needs happen that mankind fall into troubles and dangers, either undesignedly or intentionally, come let us make a few constitutions concerning them, that so being apprised beforehand what ought to be done, you may have salutary counsels ready when you want them, and may not then be obliged to go to seek what is to be done, and so be unprovided, and fall into dangerous circumstances. May you be a labourious people, and exercise your souls in virtuous actions, and thereby possess and inherit the land without wars; while neither any foreigners make war upon it, and so afflict you, nor any internal sedition seize upon it, whereby you may do things that are contrary to your fathers, and so lose the laws which they have established. And may you continue in the observation of those laws which God hath approved of, and hath delivered to you. Let all sort of warlike operations, whether they befall you now in your own time, or hereafter in the times of your posterity, be done out of your own borders: but when you are about to go to war, send embassages and heralds to those who are your voluntary enemies, for it is a right thing to make use of words to them before you come to your weapons of war; and assure them thereby, that although you have a numerous army, with horses and weapons, and, above these, a God merciful to you, and ready to assist you, you do however desire them not to compel you to fight against them, nor to take from them what they have, which will indeed be our gain, but what they will have no reason to wish we should take to ourselves. And if they hearken to you, it will be proper for you to keep peace with them; but if they trust in their own strength, as superior to yours, and will not do you justice, lead your army against them, making use of God as your supreme Commander, but ordaining for a lieutenant under him one that is of the greatest courage among you; for these different commanders, besides their being an obstacle to actions that are to be done on the sudden, are a disadvantage to those that make use of them. Lead an army pure, and of chosen men, composed of all such as have extraordinary strength of body and hardiness of soul; but do you send away the timorous part, lest they run away in the time of action, and so afford an advantage to your enemies. Do you also give leave to those that have lately built them houses, and have not yet lived in them a year's time; and to those that have planted them vineyards, and have not yet been partakers of their fruits,—to continue in their own country; as well as those also who have betrothed, or lately married them wives, lest they have such an affection for these things that they be too sparing of their lives, and, by reserving themselves for these enjoyments, they become voluntary cowards, on account of their wives.

42. When you have pitched your camp, take care that you do nothing that is cruel. And when you are engaged in a siege; and want timber for the making of warlike engines, do not you render the land naked by cutting down trees that bear fruit, but spare them, as considering that they were made for the benefit of men; and that if they could speak, they would have a just plea against you, because, though they are not occasions of the war, they are unjustly treated, and suffer in it, and would, if they were able, remove themselves into another land. When you have beaten your enemies in battle, slay those that have fought against you; but preserve the others alive,

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that they may pay you tribute, excepting the nation of the Canaanites; for as to that people, you must entirely destroy them.

43, Take care, especially in your battles, that no woman use the habit of a man, nor man the garment of a woman.

44. This was the form of political government which was left us by Moses. Moreover, he had already delivered laws in writing in the fortieth year [after they came out of Egypt], concerning which we will discourse in another book. But now on the following days [for he called them to assemble continually] he delivered blessings to them, and curses upon those that should not live according to the laws, but should transgress the duties that were determined for them to observe. After this, he read to them a poetic song, which was composed in hexameter verse, and left it to them in the holy book: it contained a prediction of what was to come to pass afterward; agreeably whereto all things have happened all along, and do still happen to us; and wherein he has not at all deviated from the truth. Accordingly, he delivered these books to the priest, 34 with the ark; into which he also put the ten commandments, written on two tables. He delivered to them the tabernacle also, and exhorted the people, that when they had conquered the land, and were settled in it, they should not forget the injuries of the Amalekites, but make war against them, and inflict punishment upon them for what mischief they did them when they were in the wilderness; and that when they had got possession of the land of the Canaanites, and when they had destroyed the whole multitude of its inhabitants, as they ought to do, they should erect an altar that should face the rising sun, not far from the city of Shechem, between the two mountains, that of Gerizzim, situate on the right hand, and that called Ebal, on the left; and that the army should be so divided, that six tribes should stand upon each of the two mountains, and with them the Levites and the priests. And that first, those that were upon Mount Gerizzim should pray for the best blessings upon those who were diligent about the worship of God, and the observation of his laws, and who did not reject what Moses had said to them; while the other wished them all manner of happiness also; and when these last put up the like prayers, the former praised them. After this, curses were denounced upon those that should transgress those laws, they, answering one another alternately, by way of confirmation of what had been said. Moses also wrote their blessings and their curses, that they might learn them so thoroughly, that they might never be forgotten by length of time. And when he was ready to die, he wrote these blessings and curses upon the altar, on each side of it; where he says also the people stood, and then sacrificed and offered burnt-offerings, though after that day they never offered upon it any other sacrifice, for it was not lawful so to do. These are the constitutions of Moses; and the Hebrew nation still live according to them.

45. On the next day, Moses called the people together, with the women and children, to a congregation, so as the very slaves were present also, that they might engage themselves to the observation of these laws by oath; and that, duly considering the meaning of God in them, they might not, either for favour of their kindred, or out of fear of any one, or indeed for any motive whatsoever, think any thing ought to be preferred to these laws, and so might transgress them. That in case any one of their own blood, or any city, should attempt to confound or dissolve their constitution of government, they should take vengeance upon them, both all in general, and each person in particular; and when they had conquered them, should overturn their city to the very foundations, and, if possible, should not leave the least footsteps of such madness: but that if they were not able to take such vengeance, they should still demonstrate that what was done was contrary to their wills. So the multitude bound themselves by oath so to do.

46. Moses taught them also by what means their sacrifices might be the most acceptable to God; and how they should go forth to war, making use of the stones [in the high priest's breastplate] for their direction, as I have before signified. Joshua also prophesied while Moses was present. And when Moses had recapitulated whatsoever he had done for the preservation of the people, both in their wars and in peace, and had composed them a body of laws, and procured them an excellent form of government, he foretold, as God had declared to him that if they transgressed that institution for the worship of God, they should experience the following miseries:—Their land should be full of weapons of war from their enemies, and their cities should be overthrown, and their temple should be burnt that they should be sold for slaves, to such men as would have no pity on them in their afflictions; that they would then repent, when that repentance would no way profit them under their sufferings. "Yet," said he, "will that God who founded your nation, restore your cities to your citizens, with their temple also; and you shall lose these advantages not once only, but often."

47. Now when Moses had encouraged Joshua to lead out the army against the Canaanites, by telling him that God would assist him in all his undertakings, and had blessed the whole multitude, he said, "Since I am going to my forefathers, and God has determined that this should be the day of my departure to them, I return him thanks while I am still alive and present with you, for that providence he hath exercised over you, which hath not only delivered us from the miseries we lay under, but hath bestowed a state of prosperity upon us; as also, that he hath assisted me in the pains I took, and in all the contrivances I had in my care about you, in order to better your condition, and hath on all occasions showed himself favourable to us; or rather he it was who first conducted our affairs, and brought them to a happy conclusion, by making use of me as a vicarious general under him, and as a minister in those matters wherein he was willing to do you good: on which account I think it proper to bless that Divine Power which will take care of you for the time to come, and this in order to repay that debt which I owe him, and to leave behind me a memorial that we are obliged to worship and honour him, and to keep those laws which are the most excellent gift of all those he hath already bestowed upon us, or which, if he continue favourable to us, he will bestow upon us hereafter. Certainly a human legislator is a terrible enemy when his laws are affronted, and are made to no purpose. And may you never experience that displeasure of God which will be the consequence of the neglect of these his laws, which he, who is your Creator, hath given you."

48. When Moses had spoken thus at the end of his life, and had foretold what would befall to every one of their tribes afterward, with the addition of a blessing to them, the multitude fell into tears, insomuch that even the women, by beating their breasts, made manifest the deep concern they had when he was about to die. The children also lamented still more, as not able to contain their grief; and thereby declared, that even at their age they were sensible of his virtue and mighty deeds; and truly there seemed to be a strife betwixt the young and the old who should most grieve for him. The old grieved because they knew what a careful protector they were to be deprived of, and so lamented their future state; but the young grieved, not only for that, but also because it so happened that they were to be left by him before they had well tasted of his virtue. Now one may make a guess at the excess of this sorrow and lamentation of the multitude, from what happened to the legislator himself; for although he was always persuaded that he ought not to be cast down at the approach of death, since the undergoing it was agreeable to the will of God and the law of nature, yet what the people did so overbore him, that he wept himself. Now as he went thence to the place where he was to vanish out of their sight, they all followed after him weeping; but Moses beckoned with his hand to those that were remote from him, and bade them stay behind in quiet, while he exhorted those that were near to him that they would not render his departure so lamentable. Whereupon they thought they ought to grant him that favour, to let him depart according as he himself desired; so they restrained themselves, though weeping still towards one another. All those who accompanied him were the senate, and Eleazar the high priest, and Joshua their commander. Now as soon as they were come to the mountain called Abarim, [which is a very high mountain, situate over against Jericho, and one that affords, to such as are upon it, a prospect of the greatest part of the excellent land of Canaan,] he dismissed the senate; and as he was going to embrace Eleazar and Joshua, and was still discoursing with them, a cloud stood over him on the sudden, and he disappeared in a certain valley, although he wrote in the holy books that he died, which was done out of fear, lest they should venture to say that, because of his extraordinary virtue, he went to God.

49. Now Moses lived in all one hundred and twenty years; a third part of which time, abating one month, he was the people's ruler; and he died on the last month of the year, which is called by the Macedonians Dystrus, but by us Adar, on the first day of the month. He was one that exceeded all men that ever were in understanding, and made the best use of what that understanding suggested to him. He had a very graceful way of speaking and addressing himself to the multitude; and as to his other qualifications, he had such a full command of his passions, as if he hardly had any such in his soul, and only knew them by their names, as rather perceiving them in other men than in himself. He was also such a general of an army as is seldom seen, as well as such a prophet as was never known, and this to such a degree, that whatsoever he pronounced, you would think you heard the voice of God himself. So the people mourned for him thirty days: nor did ever any grief so deeply affect the Hebrews as did this upon the death of Moses: nor were those that had experienced his conduct the only persons that desired him, but those also that perused the laws he left behind him had a strong desire after him, and by them gathered the extraordinary virtue he was master of. And this shall suffice for the declaration of the manner of the death of Moses.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES BOOK 5

Containing The Interval Of Four Hundred And Seventy-Six Years.—From The Death Of Moses To The Death Of Eli.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 1

How Joshua, The Commander Of The Hebrews, Made War With The Canaanites, And Overcame Them, And Destroyed Them, And Divided Their Land By Lot To The Tribes Of Israel.

1. When Moses was taken away from among men, in the manner already described, and when all the solemnities belonging to the mourning for him were finished, and the sorrow for him was over, Joshua commanded the multitude to get themselves ready for an expedition. He also sent spies to Jericho to discover what forces they had, and what were their intentions; but he put his camp in order, as intending soon to pass over Jordan at a proper season. And calling to him the rulers of the tribe of Reuben, and the governors of the tribe of Gad, and [the half tribe of] Manasseh, for half of this tribe had been permitted to have their habitation in the country of the Amorites, which was the seventh part of the land of Canaan, he put them in mind what they had promised Moses; and he exhorted them that, for the sake of the care that Moses had taken of them who had never been weary of taking pains for them no, not when he was dying, and for the sake of the public welfare, they would prepare themselves, and readily perform what they had promised; so he took fifty thousand of them who followed him, and he marched from Abila to Jordan, sixty furlongs.

2. Now when he had pitched his camp, the spies came to him immediately, well acquainted with the whole state of the Canaanites; for at first, before they were at all discovered, they took a full view of the city of Jericho without disturbance, and saw which parts of the walls were strong, and which parts were otherwise, and indeed insecure, and which of the gates were so weak as might afford an entrance to their army. Now those that met them took no notice of them when they saw them, and supposed they were only strangers, who used to be very curious in observing everything in the city, and did not take them for enemies; but at even they retired to a certain inn that was near to the wall, whither they went to eat their supper; which supper when they had done, and were considering how to get away, information was given to the king as he was at supper, that there were some persons come from the Hebrews' camp to view the city as spies, and that they were in the inn kept by Rahab, and were very solicitous that they might not be discovered. So he sent immediately some to them, and commanded to catch them, and bring them to him, that he might examine them by torture, and learn what their business was there. As soon as Rahab understood that these messengers were coming, she hid the spies under stalks of flax, which were laid to dry on the top of her house; and said to the messengers that were sent by the king, that certain unknown strangers had supped with her a little before sun-setting, and were gone away, who might easily be taken, if they were any terror to the city, or likely to bring any danger to the king. So these messengers being thus deluded by the woman, and suspecting no imposition, went their ways, without so much as searching the inn; but they immediately pursued them along those roads which they most probably supposed them to have gone, and those particularly which led to the river, but could hear no tidings of them; so they left off the pains of any further pursuit. But when the tumult was over, Rahab brought the men down, and desired them as soon as they should have obtained possession of the land of Canaan, when it would be in their power to make her amends for her preservation of them, to remember what danger she had undergone for their sakes; for that if she had been caught concealing them, she could not have escaped a terrible destruction, she and all her family with her, and so bid them go home; and desired them to swear to her to preserve her and her family when they should take the city, and destroy all its inhabitants, as they had decreed to do; for so far she said she had been assured by those Divine miracles of which she had been informed. So these spies acknowledged that they owed her thanks for what she had done already, and withal swore to requite her kindness, not only in words, but in deeds. But they gave her this advice, That when she should perceive that the city was about to be taken, she should put her goods, and all her family, by way of security, in her inn, and to hang out scarlet threads before her doors, [or windows,] that the commander of the Hebrews might know her house, and take care to do her no harm; for, said they, we will inform him of this matter, because of the concern thou hast had to preserve us: but if any one of thy family fall in the battle, do not thou blame us; and we beseech that God, by whom we have sworn, not then to be displeased with us, as though we had broken our oaths. So these men, when they had made this agreement, went away, letting themselves down by a rope from the wall, and escaped, and came and told their own people whatsoever they had done in their journey to this city. Joshua also told Eleazar the high priest, and the senate, what the spies had sworn to Rahab, who continued what had been sworn.

3. Now while Joshua, the commander, was in fear about their passing over Jordan, for the river ran with a strong current, and could not be passed over with bridges, for there never had been bridges laid over it hitherto; and while he suspected, that if he should attempt to make a bridge, that

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their enemies would not afford him time to perfect it, and for ferry-boats they had none,-God promised so to dispose of the river, that they might pass over it, and that by taking away the main part of its waters. So Joshua, after two days, caused the army and the whole multitude to pass over in the manner following:—The priests went first of all, having the ark with them; then went the Levites bearing the tabernacle and the vessels which belonged to the sacrifices; after which the entire multitude followed, according to their tribes, having their children and their wives in the midst of them, as being afraid for them, lest they should be borne away by the stream. But as soon as the priests had entered the river first, it appeared fordable, the depth of the water being restrained and the sand appearing at the bottom, because the current was neither so strong nor so swift as to carry it away by its force; so they all passed over the river without fear, finding it to be in the very same state as God had foretold he would put it in; but the priests stood still in the midst of the river till the multitude should be passed over, and should get to the shore in safety; and when all were gone over, the priests came out also, and permitted the current to run freely as it used to do before. Accordingly the river, as soon as the Hebrews were come out of it, arose again presently, and came to its own proper magnitude as before.

4. So the Hebrews went on farther fifty furlongs, and pitched their camp at the distance of ten furlongs from Jericho; but Joshua built an altar of those stones which all the heads of the tribes, at the command of the prophets, had taken out of the deep, to be afterwards a memorial of the division of the stream of this river, and upon it offered sacrifice to God; and in that place celebrated the passover, and had great plenty of all the things which they wanted hitherto; for they reaped the corn of the Canaanites, which was now ripe, and took other things as prey; for then it was that their former food, which was manna, and of which they had eaten forty years, failed them.

5. Now while the Israelites did this, and the Canaanites did not attack them, but kept themselves quiet within their own walls, Joshua resolved to besiege them; so on the first day of the feast [of the passover], the priests carried the ark round about, with some part of the armed men to be a guard to it. These priests went forward, blowing with their seven trumpets; and exhorted the army to be of good courage, and went round about the city, with the senate following them; and when the priests had only blown with the trumpets, for they did nothing more at all, they returned to the camp. And when they had done this for six days, on the seventh Joshua gathered the armed men and all the people together, and told them these good tidings, That the city should now be taken, since God would on that day give it them, by the falling down of the walls, and this of their own accord, and without their labour. However, he charged them to kill every one they should take, and not to abstain from the slaughter of their enemies, either for weariness or for pity, and not to fall on the spoil, and be thereby diverted from pursuing their enemies as they ran away; but to destroy all the animals, and to take nothing for their own peculiar advantage. He commanded them also to bring together all the silver and gold, that it might be set apart as first-fruits unto God out of this glorious exploit, as having gotten them from the city they first took; only that they should save Rahab and her kindred alive, because of the oath which the spies had sworn to her.

6. When he had said this, and had set his army in order, he brought it against the city: so they went round the city again, the ark going before them, and the priests encouraging the people to be zealous in the work; and when they had gone round it seven times, and had stood still a little, the wall fell down, while no instruments of war, nor any other force, was applied to it by the Hebrews.

7. So they entered into Jericho, and slew all the men that were therein, while they were affrighted at the surprising overthrow of the walls, and their courage was become useless, and they were not able to defend themselves; so they were slain, and their throats cut, some in the ways, and others as caught in their houses; nothing afforded them assistance, but they all perished, even to the women and the children; and the city was filled with dead bodies, and not one person escaped. They also burnt the whole city, and the country about it; but they saved alive Rahab, with her family, who had fled to her inn. And when she was brought to him, Joshua owned to her that they owed her thanks for her preservation of the spies: so he said he would not appear to be behind her in his benefaction to her; whereupon he gave her certain lands immediately, and had her in great esteem ever afterwards.

8. And if any part of the city escaped the fire, he overthrew it from the foundation; and he denounced a curse 3against its inhabitants, if any should desire to rebuild it; how, upon his laying the foundation of the walls, he should be deprived of his eldest son; and upon finishing it, he should lose his youngest son. But what happened hereupon we shall speak of hereafter.

9. Now there was an immense quantity of silver and gold, and besides those of brass also, that was heaped together out of the city when it was taken, no one transgressing the decree, nor purloining for their own peculiar advantage; which spoils Joshua delivered to the priests, to be laid up among their treasures. And thus did Jericho perish.

10. But there was one Achar, the son [of Charmi, the son] of Zebedias, of the tribe of Judah, who finding a royal garment woven entirely of gold, and a piece of gold that weighed two hundred shekels; and thinking it a very hard case, that what spoils he, by running some hazard, had found, he must give away, and offer it to God, who stood in no need of it, while he that wanted it must go without it,—made a deep ditch in his own tent, and laid them up therein, as supposing he should not only be concealed from his fellow soldiers, but from God himself also.

11. Now the place where Joshua pitched his camp was called Gilgal, which denotes liberty; for since now they had passed over Jordan, they looked on themselves as freed from the miseries which they had undergone from the Egyptians, and in the wilderness.

12. Now, a few days after the calamity that befell Jericho, Joshua sent three thousand armed men to take Ai, a city situate above Jericho; but, upon the sight of the people of Ai, with them they were driven back, and lost thirty-six of their men. When this was told the Israelites, it made them very sad, and exceeding disconsolate, not so much because of the relation the men that were destroyed bare to them, though those that were destroyed were all good men, and deserved their esteem, as by the despair it occasioned; for while they believed that they were already, in effect, in possession of the land, and should bring back the army out of the battles without loss, as God had promised beforehand, they now saw unexpectedly their enemies bold with success; so they put sackcloth over their garments, and continued in tears and lamentation all the day, without the least inquiry after food, but laid what had happened greatly to heart.

13. When Joshua saw the army so much afflicted, and possessed with forebodings of evil as to their whole expedition, he used freedom with God, and said, "We are not come thus far out of any rashness of our own, as though we thought ourselves able to subdue this land with our own weapons, but at the instigation of Moses thy servant for this purpose, because thou hast promised us, by many signs, that thou wouldst give us this land for a possession, and that thou wouldst make our army always superior in war to our enemies, and accordingly some success has already attended upon us agreeably to thy promises; but because we have now unexpectedly been foiled, and have lost some men out of our army, we are grieved at it, as fearing what thou hast promised us, and what Moses foretold us, cannot be depended on by us; and our future expectation troubles us the more, because we have met with such a disaster in this our first attempt. But do thou, O Lord, free us from these suspicions, for thou art able to find a cure for these disorders, by giving us victory, which will both take away the grief we are in at present, and prevent our distrust as to what is to come."

14. These intercessions Joshua put up to God, as he lay prostrate on his face: whereupon God answered him, That he should rise up, and purify his host from the pollution that had got into it; that "things consecrated to me have been impudently stolen from me," and that "this has been the occasion why this defeat had happened to them;" and that when they should search out and punish the offender, he would ever take care they should have the victory over their enemies. This Joshua told the people; and calling for Eleazar the high priest, and the men in authority, he cast lots, tribe by tribe; and when the lot showed that this wicked action was done by one of the tribe of Judah, he then again proposed the lot to the several families thereto belonging; so the truth of this wicked action was found to belong to the family of Zachar; and when the inquiry was made man by man, they took Achar, who, upon God's reducing him to a terrible extremity, could not deny the fact: so he confessed the theft, and produced what he had taken in the midst of them, whereupon he was immediately put to death; and attained no more than to be buried in the night in a disgraceful manner, and such as was suitable to a condemned malefactor.

15. When Joshua had thus purified the host, he led them against Ai: and having by night laid an ambush round about the city, he attacked the enemies as soon as it was day; but as they advanced boldly against the Israelites, because of their former victory, he made them believe he retired, and by that means drew them a great way from the city, they still supposing that they were pursuing their enemies, and despised them, as though the case had been the same with that in the former battle; after which Joshua ordered his forces to turn about, and placed them against their front. He then made the signals agreed upon to those that lay in ambush, and so excited them to fight; so they ran suddenly into the city, the inhabitants being upon the walls, nay, others of them being in perplexity, and coming to see those that were without the gates. Accordingly, these men took the city, and slew all that they met with; but Joshua forced those that came against him to come to a close fight, and discomfited them, and made them run away; and when they were driven towards the city, and thought it had not been touched, as soon as they saw it was taken, and perceived it was burnt, with their wives and children, they wandered about in the fields in a scattered condition, and were no way able to defend themselves, because they had none to support them. Now when this calamity was come upon the men of Ai, there were a great number of children, and women, and servants, and an immense quantity of other furniture. The Hebrews also took herds of cattle, and a great deal of money, for this was a rich country. So when Joshua came to Gilgal, he divided all these spoils among the soldiers.

16. But the Gibeonites, who inhabited very near to Jerusalem, when they saw what miseries had happened to the inhabitants of Jericho; and to those of Ai, and suspected that the like sore calamity would come as far as themselves, they did not think fit to ask for mercy of Joshua; for they supposed they should find little mercy from him, who made war that he might entirely destroy the nation of the Canaanites; but they invited the people of Cephirah and Kiriathjearim, who were their neighbours, to join in league with them; and told them that neither could they themselves avoid the danger they were all in, if the Israelites should prevent them, and seize upon them: so when they had persuaded them, they resolved to endeavor to escape the forces of the Israelites. Accordingly, upon their agreement to what they proposed, they sent ambassadors to Joshua to make a league of friendship with him, and those such of the citizens as were best approved of, and most capable of doing what was most advantageous to the multitude. Now these ambassadors thought it dangerous to confess themselves to be Canaanites, but thought they might by this contrivance avoid the danger, namely, by saying that they bare no relation to the Canaanites at all, but dwelt at a very great distance from them: and they said further, that they came a long way, on account of the reputation he had gained for his virtue; and as a mark of the truth of what they said, they showed him the habit they were in, for that their clothes were new when they came out, but were greatly worn by the length of thee they had been on their journey; for indeed they took torn garments, on purpose that they might make him believe so. So they stood in the midst of the people, and said that they were sent by the people of Gibeon, and of the circumjacent cities, which were very remote from the land where they now were, to make such a league of friendship with them, and this on such conditions as were customary among their forefathers; for when they understood that, by the favour of God, and his gift to them, they were to have the possession of the land of Canaan bestowed upon them, they said that they were very glad to hear it, and desired to be admitted into the number of their citizens. Thus did these ambassadors speak; and showing them the marks of their long journey, they entreated the Hebrews to make a league of friendship with them. Accordingly Joshua, believing what they said, that they were not of the nation of the Canaanites, entered into friendship with them; and Eleazar the high priest, with the senate, sware to them that they would esteem them their friends and associates, and would attempt nothing that should be unfair against them, the multitude also assenting to the oaths that were made to them. So these men, having obtained what they desired, by deceiving the Israelites, went home: but when Joshua led his army to the country at the bottom of the mountains of this part of Canaan, he understood that the Gibeonites dwelt not far from Jerusalem, and that they were of the stock of the Canaanites; so he sent for their governors, and reproached them with the cheat they had put upon him; but they alleged, on their own behalf, that they had no other way to save themselves but that, and were therefore forced to have recourse to it. So he called for Eleazar the high priest, and for the senate, who thought it right to make them public servants, that they might not break the oath they had made to them; and they ordained them to be so. And this was the method by which these men found safety and security under the calamity that was ready to overtake them.

17. But the king of Jerusalem took it to heart that the Gibeonites had gone over to Joshua; so he called upon the kings of the neighbouring nations to join together, and make war against them. Now when the Gibeonites saw these kings, which were four, besides the king of Jerusalem, and perceived that they had pitched their camp at a certain fountain not far from their city, and were getting ready for the siege of it, they called upon Joshua to assist them; for such was their case, as to expect to be destroyed by these Canaanites, but to suppose they should be saved by those that came for the destruction of the Canaanites, because of the league of friendship that was between them. Accordingly, Joshua made haste with his whole army to assist them, and marching day and night, in the morning he fell upon the enemies as they were going up to the siege; and when he had discomfited them, he followed them, and pursued them down the descent of the hills. The place is called Bethhoron; where he also understood that God assisted him, which he declared by thunder and thunderbolts, as also by the falling of hail larger than usual. Moreover, it happened that the day was lengthened 7 that the night might not come on too soon, and be an obstruction to the zeal of the Hebrews in pursuing their enemies; insomuch that Joshua took the

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kings, who were hidden in a certain cave at Makkedah, and put them to death. Now, that the day was lengthened at this thee, and was longer than ordinary, is expressed in the books laid up in the temple.

18. These kings which made war with, and were ready to fight the Gibeonites, being thus overthrown, Joshua returned again to the mountainous parts of Canaan; and when he had made a great slaughter of the people there, and took their prey, he came to the camp at Gilgal. And now there went a great fame abroad among the neighbouring people of the courage of the Hebrews; and those that heard what a number of men were destroyed, were greatly affrighted at it: so the kings that lived about Mount Libanus, who were Canaanites, and those Canaanites that dwelt in the plain country, with auxiliaries out of the land of the Philistines, pitched their camp at Beroth, a city of the Upper Galilee, not far from Cadesh, which is itself also a place in Galilee. Now the number of the whole army was three hundred thousand armed footmen, and ten thousand horsemen, and twenty thousand chariots; so that the multitude of the enemies affrighted both Joshua himself and the Israelites; and they, instead of being full of hopes of good success, were superstitiously timorous, with the great terror with which they were stricken. Whereupon God upbraided them with the fear they were in, and asked them whether they desired a greater help than he could afford them; and promised them that they should overcome their enemies; and withal charged them to make their enemies' horses useless, and to burn their chariots. So Joshua became full of courage upon these promises of God, and went out suddenly against the enemies; and after five days' march he came upon them, and joined battle with them, and there was a terrible fight, and such a number were slain as could not be believed by those that heard it. He also went on in the pursuit a great way, and destroyed the entire army of the enemies, few only excepted, and all the kings fell in the battle; insomuch, that when there wanted men to be killed, Joshua slew their horses, and burnt their chariots and passed all over their country without opposition, no one daring to meet him in battle; but he still went on, taking their cities by siege, and again killing whatever he took.

19. The fifth year was now past, and there was not one of the Canaanites remained any longer, excepting some that had retired to places of great strength. So Joshua removed his camp to the mountainous country, and placed the tabernacle in the city of Shiloh, for that seemed a fit place for it, because of the beauty of its situation, until such thee as their affairs would permit them to build a temple; and from thence he went to Shechem, together with all the people, and raised an altar where Moses had beforehand directed; then did he divide the army, and placed one half of them on Mount Gerizzim, and the other half on Mount Ebal, on which mountain the altar was; he also placed there the tribe of Levi, and the priests. And when they had sacrificed, and denounced the [blessings and the] curses, and had left them engraven upon the altar, they returned to Shiloh.

20. And now Joshua was old, and saw that the cities of the Canaanites were not easily to be taken, not only because they were situate in such strong places, but because of the strength of the walls themselves, which being built round about, the natural strength of the places on which the cities stood, seemed capable of repelling their enemies from besieging them, and of making those enemies despair of taking them; for when the Canaanites had learned that the Israelites came out of Egypt in order to destroy them, they were busy all that time in making their cities strong. So he gathered the people together to a congregation at Shiloh; and when they, with great zeal and haste, were come thither, he observed to them what prosperous successes they had already had, and what glorious things had been done, and those such as were worthy of that God who enabled them to do those things, and worthy of the virtue of those laws which they followed. He took notice also, that thirty-one of those kings that ventured to give them battle were overcome, and every army, how great soever it were, that confided in their own power, and fought with them, was utterly destroyed; so that not so much as any of their posterity remained. And as for the cities, since some of them were taken, but the others must be taken in length of time, by long sieges, both on account of the strength of their walls, and of the confidence the inhabitants had in them thereby, he thought it reasonable that those tribes that came along with them from beyond Jordan, and had partaken of the dangers they had undergone, being their own kindred, should now be dismissed and sent home, and should have thanks for the pains they had taken together with them. As also, he thought it reasonable that they should send one man out of every tribe, and he such as had the testimony of extraordinary virtue, who should measure the land faithfully, and without any fallacy or deceit should inform them of its real magnitude.

21. Now Joshua, when he had thus spoken to them, found that the multitude approved of his proposal. So he sent men to measure their country, and sent with them some geometricians, who could not easily fail of knowing the truth, on account of their skill in that art. He also gave them a charge to estimate the measure of that part of the land that was most fruitful, and what was not so good: for such is the nature of the land of Canaan, that one may see large plains, and such as are exceeding fit to produce fruit, which yet, if they were compared to other parts of the country, might be reckoned exceedingly fruitful; yet, if it be compared with the fields about Jericho, and to those that belong to Jerusalem, will appear to be of no account at all; and although it so falls out that these people have but a very little of this sort of land, and that it is, for the main, mountainous also, yet does it not come behind other parts, on account of its exceeding goodness and beauty; for which reason Joshua thought the land for the tribes should be divided by estimation of its goodness, rather than the largeness of its measure, it often happening that one acre of some sort of land was equivalent to a thousand other acres. Now the men that were sent, which were in number ten, traveled all about, and made an estimation of the land, and in the seventh month came to him to the city of Shiloh, where they had set up the tabernacle.

22. So Joshua took both Eleazar and the senate, and with them the heads of the tribes, and distributed the land to the nine tribes, and to the half-tribe of Manasseh, appointing the dimensions to be according to the largeness of each tribe. So when he had cast lots, Judah had assigned him by lot the upper part of Judea, reaching as far as Jerusalem, and its breadth extended to the Lake of Sodom. Now in the lot of this tribe there were the cities of Askelon and Gaza. The lot of Simeon, which was the second, included that part of Idumea which bordered upon Egypt and Arabia. As to the Benjamites, their lot fell so, that its length reached from the river Jordan to the sea, but in breadth it was bounded by Jerusalem and Bethel; and this lot was the narrowest of all, by reason of the goodness of the land, for it included Jericho and the city of Jerusalem. The tribe of Ephraim had by lot the land that extended in length from the river Jordan to Gezer; but in breadth as far as from Bethel, till it ended at the Great Plain. The half-tribe of Manasseh had the land from Jordan to the city of Dora; but its breadth was at Bethsham, which is now called Scythopolis. And after these was Issachar, which had its limits in length, Mount Carmel and the river, but its limit in breadth was Mount Tabor. The tribe of Zebulon's lot included the land which lay as far as the Lake of Genesareth, and that which belonged to Carmel and the sea. The tribe of Aser had that part which was called the Valley, for such it was, and all that part which lay over-against Sidon. The city Arce belonged to their share, which is also named Actipus. The Naphthalites received the eastern parts, as far as the city of Damascus and the Upper Galilee, unto Mount Libanus, and the Fountains of Jordan, which rise out of that mountain; that is, out of that part of it whose limits belong to the neighbouring city of Arce. The Danites' lot included all that part of the valley which respects the sun-setting, and were bounded by Azotus and Dora; as also they had all Jamnia and Gath, from Ekron to that mountain where the tribe of Judah begins.

23. After this manner did Joshua divide the six nations that bear the name of the sons of Canaan, with their land, to be possessed by the nine tribes and a half; for Moses had prevented him, and had already distributed the land of the Amorites, which itself was so called also from one of the sons of Canaan, to the two tribes and a half, as we have shown already. But the parts about Sidon, as also those that belonged to the Arkites, and the Amathites, and the Aradians, were not yet regularly disposed of.

24. But now was Joshua hindered by his age from executing what he intended to do [as did those that succeeded him in the government, take little care of what was for the advantage of the public]; so he gave it in charge to every tribe to leave no remainder of the race of the Canaanites in the land that had been divided to them by lot; that Moses had assured them beforehand, and they might rest fully satisfied about it, that their own security and their observation of their own laws depended wholly upon it. Moreover, he enjoined them to give thirty-eight cities to the Levites, for they had already received ten in the country of the Amorites; and three of these he assigned to those that fled from the man-slayers, who were to inhabit there; for he was very solicitous that nothing should be neglected which Moses had ordained. These cities were, of the tribe of Judah, Hebron; of that of Ephraim, Shechem; and of that of Naphthali, Cadesh, which is a place of the Upper Galilee. He also distributed among them the rest of the prey not yet distributed, which was very great; whereby they had an affluence of great riches, both all in general, and every one in particular; and this of gold and of vestments, and of other furniture, besides a multitude of cattle, whose number could not be told.

25. After this was over, he gathered the army together to a congregation, and spake thus to those tribes that had their settlement in the land of the Amorites beyond Jordan,—for fifty thousand of them had armed themselves, and had gone to the war along with them:—"Since that God, who is the Father and Lord of the Hebrew nation, has now given us this land for a possession, and promised to preserve us in the enjoyment of it as our own for ever; and since you have with alacrity offered yourselves to assist us when we wanted that assistance on all occasions, according to his command; it is but just, now all our difficulties are over, that you should be permitted to enjoy rest, and that we should trespass on your alacrity to help us no longer; that so, if we should again stand in need of it, we may readily have it on any future emergency, and not tire you out so much now as may make you slower in assisting us another time. We, therefore, return you our thanks for the dangers you have undergone with us, and we do it not at this time only, but we shall always be thus disposed; and be so good as to remember our friends, and to preserve in mind what advantages we have had from them; and how you have put off the enjoyments of your own happiness for our sakes, and have laboured for what we have now, by the goodwill of God, obtained, and resolved not to enjoy your own prosperity till you had afforded us that assistance. However, you have, by joining your labour with ours, gotten great plenty of riches, and will carry home with you much prey, with gold and silver, and, what is more than all these, our good-will towards you, and a mind willingly disposed to make a requital of your kindness to us, in what case soever you shall desire it, for you have not omitted any thing which Moses beforehand required of you, nor have you despised him because he was dead and gone from you, so that there is nothing to diminish that gratitude which we owe to you. We therefore dismiss you joyful to your own inheritances; and we entreat you to suppose, that there is no limit to be set to the intimate relation that is between us; and that you will not imagine, because this river is interposed between us, that you are of a different race from us, and not Hebrews; for we are all the posterity of Abraham, both we that inhabit here, and you that inhabit there; and it is the same God that brought our forefathers and yours into the world, whose worship and form of government we are to take care of, which he has ordained, and are most carefully to observe; because while you continue in those laws, God will also show himself merciful and assisting to you; but if you imitate the other nations, and forsake those laws, he will reject your nation." When Joshua had spoken thus, and saluted them all, both those in authority one by one, and the whole multitude in common, he himself staid where he was; but the people conducted those tribes on their journey, and that not without tears in their eyes; and indeed they hardly knew how to part one from the other.

26. Now when the tribe of Reuben, and that of Gad, and as many of the Manassites as followed them, were passed over the river, they built an altar on the banks of Jordan, as a monument to posterity, and a sign of their relation to those that should inhabit on the other side. But when those on the other side heard that those who had been dismissed had built an altar, but did not hear with what intention they built it, but supposed it to be by way of innovation, and for the introduction of strange gods, they did not incline to disbelieve it; but thinking this defamatory report, as if it were built for divine worship, was credible, they appeared in arms, as though they would avenge themselves on those that built the altar; and they were about to pass over the river, and to punish them for their subversion of the laws of their country; for they did not think it fit to regard them on account of their kindred or the dignity of those that had given the occasion, but to regard the will of God, and the manner wherein he desired to be worshipped; so these men put themselves in array for war. But Joshua, and Eleazar the high priest, and the senate, restrained them; and persuaded them first to make trial by words of their intention, and afterwards, if they found that their intention was evil, then only to proceed to make war upon them. Accordingly, they sent as ambassadors to them Phineas the son of Eleazar, and ten more persons that were in esteem among the Hebrews, to learn of them what was in their mind, when, upon passing over the river, they had built an altar upon its banks. And as soon as these ambassadors were passed over, and were come to them, and a congregation was assembled, Phineas stood up and said, That the offense they had been guilty of was of too heinous a nature to be punished by words alone, or by them only to be amended for the future; yet that they did not so look at the heinousness of their transgression as to have recourse to arms, and to a battle for their punishment immediately, but that, on account of their kindred, and the probability there was that they might be reclaimed, they took this method of sending an ambassage to them: "That when we have learned the true reasons by which you have been moved to build this altar, we may neither seem to have been too rash in assaulting you by our weapons of war, if it prove that you made the altar for justifiable reasons, and may then justly punish you if the accusation prove true; for we can hardly hardly suppose that you, have been acquainted with the will of God and have been hearers of those laws which he himself hath given us, now you are separated from us, and gone to that patrimony of yours, which you, through the grace of God, and that providence which he exercises over you, have obtained by lot, can forget him, and can leave that ark and that altar which is peculiar to us, and can introduce strange gods, and imitate the wicked practices of the Canaanites. Now this will appear to have been a small crime if you repent now, and proceed no further in

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your madness, but pay a due reverence to, and keep in mind the laws of your country; but if you persist in your sins, we will not grudge our pains to preserve our laws; but we will pass over Jordan and defend them, and defend God also, and shall esteem of you as of men no way differing from the Canaanites, but shall destroy you in the like manner as we destroyed them; for do not you imagine that, because you are got over the river, you are got out of the reach of God's power; you are every where in places that belong to him, and impossible it is to overrun his power, and the punishment he will bring on men thereby: but if you think that your settlement here will be any obstruction to your conversion to what is good, nothing need hinder us from dividing the land anew, and leaving this old land to be for the feeding of sheep; but you will do well to return to your duty, and to leave off these new crimes; and we beseech you, by your children and wives, not to force us to punish you. Take therefore such measures in this assembly, as supposing that your own safety, and the safety of those that are dearest to you, is therein concerned, and believe that it is better for you to be conquered by words, than to continue in your purpose, and to experience deeds and war therefore."

27. When Phineas had discoursed thus, the governors of the assembly, and the whole multitude, began to make an apology for themselves, concerning what they were accused of; and they said, That they neither would depart from the relation they bare to them, nor had they built the altar by way of innovation; that they owned one and the same common God with all the Hebrews, and that brazen altar which was before the tabernacle, on which they would offer their sacrifices; that as to the altar they had raised, on account of which they were thus suspected, it was not built for worship, "but that it might be a sign and a monument of our relation to you for ever, and a necessary caution to us to act wisely, and to continue in the laws of our country, but not a handle for transgressing them, as you suspect: and let God be our authentic witness, that this was the occasion of our building this altar: whence we beg you will have a better opinion of us, and do not impute such a thing to us as would render any of the posterity of Abraham well worthy of perdition, in case they attempt to bring in new rites, and such as are different from our usual practices."

28. When they had made this answer, and Phineas had commended them for it, he came to Joshua, and explained before the people what answer they had received. Now Joshua was glad that he was under no necessity of setting them in array, or of leading them to shed blood, and make war against men of their own kindred; and accordingly he offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to God for the same. So Joshua after that dissolved this great assembly of the people, and sent them to their own inheritances, while he himself lived in Shechem. But in the twentieth year after this, when he was very old, he sent for those of the greatest dignity in the several cities, with those in authority, and the senate, and as many of the common people as could be present; and when they were come, he put them in mind of all the benefits God had bestowed on them, which could not but be a great many, since from a low estate they were advanced to so great a degree of glory and plenty; and exhorted them to take notice of the intentions of God, which had been so gracious towards them; and told them that the Deity would continue their friend by nothing else but their piety; and that it was proper for him, now that he was about to depart out of this life, to leave such an admonition to them; and he desired that they would keep in memory this his exhortation to them.

29. So Joshua, when he had thus discoursed to them, died, having lived a hundred and ten years; forty of which he lived with Moses, in order to learn what might be for his advantage afterwards. He also became their commander after his death for twenty-five years. He was a man that wanted not wisdom nor eloquence to declare his intentions to the people, but very eminent on both accounts. He was of great courage and magnanimity in action and in dangers, and very sagacious in procuring the peace of the people, and of great virtue at all proper seasons. He was buried in the city of Timnab, of the tribe of Ephraim. About the same time died Eleazar the high priest, leaving the high priesthood to his son Phineas. His monument also, and sepulcher, are in the city of Gabatha.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 2

How, After The Death Of Joshua Their Commander, The Israelites Transgressed The Laws Of Their Country, And Experienced Great Afflictions; And When There Was A Sedition Arisen, The Tribe Of Benjamin Was Destroyed Excepting Only Six Hundred Men.

1. After the death of Joshua and Eleazar, Phineas prophesied, that according to God's will they should commit the government to the tribe of Judah, and that this tribe should destroy the race of the Canaanites; for then the people were concerned to learn what was the will of God. They also took to their assistance the tribe of Simeon; but upon this condition, that when those that had been tributary to the tribe of Judah should be slain, they should do the like for the tribe of Simeon.

2. But the affairs of the Canaanites were at this time in a flourishing condition, and they expected the Israelites with a great army at the city Bezek, having put the government into the hands of Adonibezek, which name denotes the Lord of Bezek, for Adoni in the Hebrew tongue signifies Lord. Now they hoped to have been too hard for the Israelites, because Joshua was dead; but when the Israelites had joined battle with them, I mean the two tribes before mentioned, they fought gloriously, and slew above ten thousand of them, and put the rest to flight; and in the pursuit they took Adonibezek, who, when his fingers and toes were cut off by them, said, "Nay, indeed, I was not always to lie concealed from God, as I find by what I now endure, while I have not been ashamed to do the same to seventy-two kings." So they carried him alive as far as Jerusalem; and when he was dead, they buried him in the earth, and went on still in taking the cities: and when they had taken the greatest part of them, they besieged Jerusalem; and when they had taken the lower city, which was not under a considerable time, they slew all the inhabitants; but the upper city was not to be taken without great difficulty, through the strength of its walls, and the nature of the place.

3. For which reason they removed their camp to Hebron; and when they had taken it, they slew all the inhabitants. There were till then left the race of giants, who had bodies so large, and countenances so entirely different from other men, that they were surprising to the sight, and terrible to the hearing. The bones of these men are still shown to this very day, unlike to any credible relations of other men. Now they gave this city to the Levites as an extraordinary reward, with the suburbs of two thousand cities; but the land thereto belonging they gave as a free gift to Caleb, according to the injunctions of Moses. This Caleb was one of the spies which Moses sent into the land of Canaan. They also gave land for habitation to the posterity of Jethro, the Midianite, who was the father-in-law to Moses; for they had left their own country, and followed them, and accompanied them in the wilderness.

4. Now the tribes of Judah and Simeon took the cities which were in the mountainous part of Canaan, as also Askelon and Ashdod, of those that lay near the sea; but Gaza and Ekron escaped them, for they, lying in a flat country, and having a great number of chariots, sorely galled those that attacked them. So these tribes, when they were grown very rich by this war, retired to their own cities, and laid aside their weapons of war.

5. But the Benjamites, to whom belonged Jerusalem, permitted its inhabitants to pay tribute. So they all left off, the one to kill, and the other to expose themselves to danger, and had time to cultivate the ground. The rest of the tribes imitated that of Benjamin, and did the same; and, contenting themselves with the tributes that were paid them, permitted the Canaanites to live in peace.

6. However, the tribe of Ephraim, when they besieged Bethel, made no advance, nor performed any thing worthy of the time they spent, and of the pains they took about that siege; yet did they persist in it, still sitting down before the city, though they endured great trouble thereby: but, after some time, they caught one of the citizens that came to them to get necessaries, and they gave him some assurances that, if he would deliver up the city to them, they would preserve him and his kindred; so he aware that, upon those terms, he would put the city into their hands. Accordingly, he that, thus betrayed the city was preserved with his family; and the Israelites slew all the inhabitants, and retained the city for themselves.

7. After this, the Israelites grew effeminate as to fighting any more against their enemies, but applied themselves to the cultivation of the land, which producing them great plenty and riches, they neglected the regular disposition of their settlement, and indulged themselves in luxury and pleasures; nor were they any longer careful to hear the laws that belonged to their political government: whereupon God was provoked to anger, and put them in mind, first, how, contrary to his directions, they had spared the Canaanites; and, after that, how those Canaanites, as opportunity served, used them very barbarously. But the Israelites, though they were in heaviness at these admonitions from God, yet were they still very unwilling to go to war; and since they got large tributes from the Canaanites, and were indisposed for taking pains by their luxury, they suffered their aristocracy to be corrupted also, and did not ordain themselves a senate, nor any other such magistrates as their laws had formerly required, but they were very much given to cultivating their fields, in order to get wealth; which great indolence of theirs brought a terrible sedition upon them, and they proceeded so far as to fight one against another, from the following occasion:—

8. There was a Levite a man of a vulgar family, that belonged to the tribe of Ephraim, and dwelt therein: this man married a wife from Bethlehem, which is a place belonging to the tribe of Judah. Now he was very fond of his wife, and overcome with her beauty; but he was unhappy in this, that he did not meet with the like return of affection from her, for she was averse to him, which did more inflame his passion for her, so that they quarreled one with another perpetually; and at last the woman was so disgusted at these quarrels, that she left her husband, and went to her parents in the fourth month. The husband being very uneasy at this her departure, and that out of his fondness for her, came to his father and mother-in-law, and made up their quarrels, and was reconciled to her, and lived with them there four days, as being kindly treated by her parents. On the fifth day he resolved to go home, and went away in the evening; for his wife's parents were loath to part with their daughter, and delayed the time till the day was gone. Now they had one servant that followed them, and an ass on which the woman rode; and when they were near Jerusalem, having gone already thirty furlongs, the servant advised them to take up their lodgings some where, lest some misfortune should befall them if they traveled in the night, especially since they were not far off enemies, that season often giving reason for suspicion of dangers from even such as are friends; but the husband was not pleased with this advice, nor was he willing to take up his lodging among strangers, for the city belonged to the Canaanites, but desired rather to go twenty furlongs farther, and so to take their lodgings in some Israelite city. Accordingly, he obtained his purpose, and came to Gibeah, a city of the tribe of Benjamin, when it was just dark; and while no one that lived in the market-place invited him to lodge with him, there came an old man out of the field, one that was indeed of the tribe of Ephraim, but resided in Gibeah, and met him, and asked him who he was, and for what reason he came thither so late, and why he was looking out for provisions for supper when it was dark? To which he replied, that he was a Levite, and was bringing his wife from her parents, and was going home; but he told him his habitation was in the tribe of Ephraim: so the old man, as well because of their kindred as because they lived in the same tribe, and also because they had thus accidentally met together, took him in to lodge with him. Now certain young men of the inhabitants of Gibeah, having seen the woman in the market-place, and admiring her beauty, when they understood that she lodged with the old man, came to the doors, as contemning the weakness and fewness of the old man's family; and when the old man desired them to go away, and not to offer any violence or abuse there, they desired him to yield them up the strange woman, and then he should have no harm done to him: and when the old man alleged that the Levite was of his kindred, and that they would be guilty of horrid wickedness if they suffered themselves to be overcome by their pleasures, and so offend against their laws, they despised his righteous admonition, and laughed him to scorn. They also threatened to kill him if he became an obstacle to their inclinations; whereupon, when he found himself in great distress, and yet was not willing to overlook his guests, and see them abused, he produced his own daughter to them; and told them that it was a smaller breach of the law to satisfy their lust upon her, than to abuse his guests, supposing that he himself should by this means prevent any injury to be done to those guests. When they no way abated of their earnestness for the strange woman, but insisted absolutely on their desires to have her, he entreated them not to perpetrate any such act of injustice; but they proceeded to take her away by force, and indulging still more the violence of their inclinations, they took the woman away to their house, and when they had satisfied their lust upon her the whole night, they let her go about daybreak. So she came to the place where she had been entertained, under great affliction at what had happened; and was very sorrowful upon occasion of what she had suffered, and durst not look her husband in the face for shame, for she concluded that he would never forgive her for what she had done; so she fell down, and gave up the ghost: but her husband supposed that his wife was only fast asleep, and, thinking nothing of a more melancholy nature had happened, endeavored to raise her up, resolving to speak comfortably to her, since she did not voluntarily expose herself to these men's lust, but was forced away to their house; but as soon as he perceived she was dead, he acted as prudently as the greatness of his misfortunes would admit, and laid his dead wife upon the beast, and carried her home; and cutting her, limb by limb, into twelve pieces, he sent them to every tribe, and gave it in charge to those that carried them, to inform the tribes of those that were the causes of his wife's death, and of the violence they had offered to her.

9. Upon this the people were greatly disturbed at what they saw, and at what they heard, as never having had the experience of such a thing before; so they gathered themselves to Shiloh, out of a prodigious and a just anger, and assembling in a great congregation before the tabernacle, they immediately resolved to take arms, and to treat the inhabitants of Gibeah as enemies; but the senate restrained them from doing so, and persuaded them, that they ought not so hastily to make war upon people of the same nation with them, before they discoursed them by words concerning the accusation laid against them; it being part of their law, that they should not bring an army against foreigners themselves, when they appear to have been injurious, without sending an ambassage first, and trying thereby whether they will repent or not: and accordingly they exhorted them to do what they ought to do in obedience to their laws, that is, to send to the inhabitants of Gibeah, to know whether they would deliver

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up the offenders to them, and if they deliver them up, to rest satisfied with the punishment of those offenders; but if they despised the message that was sent them, to punish them by taking, up arms against them. Accordingly they sent to the inhabitants of Gibeah, and accused the young men of the crimes committed in the affair of the Levite's wife, and required of them those that had done what was contrary to the law, that they might be punished, as having justly deserved to die for what they had done; but the inhabitants of Gibeah would not deliver up the young men, and thought it too reproachful to them, out of fear of war, to submit to other men's demands upon them; vaunting themselves to be no way inferior to any in war, neither in their number nor in courage. The rest of their tribe were also making great preparation for war, for they were so insolently mad as also to resolve to repel force by force.

10. When it was related to the Israelites what the inhabitants of Gibeah had resolved upon, they took their oath that no one of them would give his daughter in marriage to a Benjamite, but make war with greater fury against them than we have learned our forefathers made war against the Canaanites; and sent out presently an army of four hundred thousand against them, while the Benjamites' army-was twenty-five thousand and six hundred; five hundred of whom were excellent at slinging stones with their left hands, insomuch that when the battle was joined at Gibeah the Benjamites beat the Israelites, and of them there fell two thousand men; and probably more had been destroyed had not the night came on and prevented it, and broken off the fight; so the Benjamites returned to the city with joy, and the Israelites returned to their camp in a great fright at what had happened. On the next day, when they fought again, the Benjamites beat them; and eighteen thousand of the Israelites were slain, and the rest deserted their camp out of fear of a greater slaughter. So they came to Bethel, 13 a city that was near their camp, and fasted on the next day; and besought God, by Phineas the high priest, that his wrath against them might cease, and that he would be satisfied with these two defeats, and give them the victory and power over their enemies. Accordingly God promised them so to do, by the prophesying of Phineas.

11. When therefore they had divided the army into two parts, they laid the one half of them in ambush about the city Gibeah by night, while the other half attacked the Benjamites, who retiring upon the assault, the Benjamites pursued them, while the Hebrews retired by slow degrees, as very desirous to draw them entirely from the city; and the other followed them as they retired, till both the old men and the young men that were left in the city, as too weak to fight, came running out together with them, as willing to bring their enemies under. However, when they were a great way from the city the Hebrews ran away no longer, but turned back to fight them, and lifted up the signal they had agreed on to those that lay in ambush, who rose up, and with a great noise fell upon the enemy. Now, as soon as ever they perceived themselves to be deceived, they knew not what to do; and when they were driven into a certain hollow place which was in a valley, they were shot at by those that encompassed them, till they were all destroyed, excepting six hundred, which formed themselves into a close body of men, and forced their passage through the midst of their enemies, and fled to the neighbouring mountains, and, seizing upon them, remained there; but the rest of them, being about twenty-five thousand, were slain. Then did the Israelites burn Gibeah, and slew the women, and the males that were under age; and did the same also to the other cities of the Benjamites; and, indeed, they were enraged to that degree, that they sent twelve thousand men out of the army, and gave them orders to destroy Jabesh Gilead, because it did not join with them in fighting against the Benjamites. Accordingly, those that were sent slew the men of war, with their children and wives, excepting four hundred virgins. To such a degree had they proceeded in their anger, because they not only had the suffering of the Levite's wife to avenge, but the slaughter of their own soldiers.

12. However, they afterward were sorry for the calamity they had brought upon the Benjamites, and appointed a fast on that account, although they supposed those men had suffered justly for their offense against the laws; so they recalled by their ambassadors those six hundred which had escaped. These had seated themselves on a certain rock called Rimmon, which was in the wilderness. So the ambassadors lamented not only the disaster that had befallen the Benjamites, but themselves also, by this destruction of their kindred; and persuaded them to take it patiently; and to come and unite with them, and not, so far as in them lay, to give their suffrage to the utter destruction of the tribe of Benjamin; and said to them, "We give you leave to take the whole land of Benjamin to yourselves, and as much prey as you are able to carry away with you." So these men with sorrow confessed, that what had been done was according to the decree of God, and had happened for their own wickedness; and assented to those that invited them, and came down to their own tribe. The Israelites also gave them the four hundred virgins of Jabesh Gilead for wives; but as to the remaining two hundred, they deliberated about it how they might compass wives enough for them, and that they might have children by them; and whereas they had, before the war began, taken an oath, that no one would give his daughter to wife to a Benjamite, some advised them to have no regard to what they had sworn, because the oath had not been taken advisedly and judiciously, but in a passion, and thought that they should do nothing against God, if they were able to save a whole tribe which was in danger of perishing; and that perjury was then a sad and dangerous thing, not when it is done out of necessity, but when it is done with a wicked intention. But when the senate were affrighted at the very name of perjury, a certain person told them that he could show them a way whereby they might procure the Benjamites wives enough, and yet keep their oath. They asked him what his proposal was. He said, "That three times in a year, when we meet in Shiloh, our wives and our daughters accompany us: let then the Benjamites be allowed to steal away, and marry such women as they can catch, while we will neither incite them nor forbid them; and when their parents take it ill, and desire us to inflict punishment upon them, we will tell them, that they were themselves the cause of what had happened, by neglecting to guard their daughters, and that they ought not to be over angry at the Benjamites, since that anger was permitted to rise too high already." So the Israelites were persuaded to follow this advice, and decreed, That the Benjamites should be allowed thus to steal themselves wives. So when the festival was coming on, these two hundred Benjamites lay in ambush before the city, by two and three together, and waited for the coming of the virgins, in the vineyards and other places where they could lie concealed. Accordingly the virgins came along playing, and suspected nothing of what was coming upon them, and walked after an unguarded manner, so those that laid scattered in the road, rose up, and caught hold of them: by this means these Benjamites got them wives, and fell to agriculture, and took good care to recover their former happy state. And thus was this tribe of the Benjamites, after they had been in danger of entirely perishing, saved in the manner forementioned, by the wisdom of the Israelites; and accordingly it presently flourished, and soon increased to be a multitude, and came to enjoy all other degrees of happiness. And such was the conclusion of this war.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 3

How The Israelites After This Misfortune Grew Wicked And Served The Assyrians; And How God Delivered Them By Othniel, Who Ruled Over The Forty Years.

1. Now it happened that the tribe of Dan suffered in like manner with the tribe of Benjamin; and it came to do so on the occasion following:—When the Israelites had already left off the exercise of their arms for war, and were intent upon their husbandry, the Canaanites despised them, and brought together an army, not because they expected to suffer by them, but because they had a mind to have a sure prospect of treating the Hebrews ill when they pleased, and might thereby for the time to come dwell in their own cities the more securely; they prepared therefore their chariots, and gathered their soldiery together, their cities also combined together, and drew over to them Askelon and Ekron, which were within the tribe of Judah, and many more of those that lay in the plain. They also forced the Danites to fly into the mountainous country, and left them not the least portion of the plain country to set their foot on. Since then these Danites were not able to fight them, and had not land enough to sustain them, they sent five of their men into the midland country, to seek for a land to which they might remove their habitation. So these men went as far as the neighbourhood of Mount Libanus, and the fountains of the Lesser Jordan, at the great plain of Sidon, a day's journey from the city; and when they had taken a view of the land, and found it to be good and exceeding fruitful, they acquainted their tribe with it, whereupon they made an expedition with the army, and built there the city Dan, of the same name with the son of Jacob, and of the same name with their own tribe.

2. The Israelites grew so indolent, and unready of taking pains, that misfortunes came heavier upon them, which also proceeded in part from their contempt of the Divine worship; for when they had once fallen off from the regularity of their political government, they indulged themselves further in living according to their own pleasure, and according to their own will, till they were full of the evil doings that were common among the Canaanites. God therefore was angry with them, and they lost that their happy state which they had obtained by innumerable labours, by their luxury; for when Chushan, king of the Assyrians, had made war against them, they lost many of their soldiers in the battle, and when they were besieged, they were taken by force; nay, there were some who, out of fear, voluntarily submitted to him, and though the tribute laid upon them was more than they could bear, yet did they pay it, and underwent all sort of oppression for eight years; after which time they were freed from them in the following manner:—

3. There was one whose name was Othniel, the son of Kenaz, of the tribe of Judah, an active man and of great courage. He had an admonition from God not to overlook the Israelites in such a distress as they were now in, but to endeavor boldly to gain them their liberty; so when he had procured some to assist him in this dangerous undertaking, [and few they were, who, either out of shame at their present circumstances, or out of a desire of changing them, could be prevailed on to assist him,] he first of all destroyed that garrison which Chushan had set over them; but when it was perceived that he had not failed in his first attempt, more of the people came to his assistance; so they joined battle with the Assyrians, and drove them entirely before them, and compelled them to pass over Euphrates. Hereupon Othniel, who had given such proofs of his valour, received from the multitude authority to judge the people; and when he had ruled over them forty years, he died.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 4

How Our People Served The Moabites Eighteen Years, And Were Then Delivered From Slavery By One Ehud Who Retained The Dominion Eighty Years.

1. When Othniel was dead, the affairs of the Israelites fell again into disorder: and while they neither paid to God the honour due to him, nor were obedient to the laws, their afflictions increased, till Eglon, king of the Moabites, did so greatly despise them on account of the disorders of their political government, that he made war upon them, and overcame them in several battles, and made the most courageous to submit, and entirely subdued their army, and ordered them to pay him tribute. And when he had built him a royal palace at Jericho, he omitted no method whereby he might distress them; and indeed he reduced them to poverty for eighteen years. But when God had once taken pity of the Israelites, on account of their afflictions, and was moved to compassion by their supplications put up to him, he freed them from the hard usage they had met with under the Moabites. This liberty he procured for them in the following manner;—

2. There was a young man of the tribe of Benjamin, whose name was Ehud, the son of Gera, a man of very great courage in bold undertakings, and of a very strong body, fit for hard labour, but best skilled in using his left hand, in which was his whole strength; and he also dwelt at Jericho. Now this man became familiar with Eglon, and that by means of presents, with which he obtained his favour, and insinuated himself into his good opinion; whereby he was also beloved of those that were about the king. Now, when on a time he was bringing presents to the king, and had two servants with him, he put a dagger on his right thigh secretly, and went in to him: it was then summer time, and the middle of the day, when the guards were not strictly on their watch, both because of the heat, and because they were gone to dinner. So the young man, when he had offered his presents to the king, who then resided in a small parlor that stood conveniently to avoid the heat, fell into discourse with him, for they were now alone, the king having bid his servants that attended him to go their ways, because he had a mind to talk with Ehud. He was now sitting on his throne; and fear seized upon Ehud lest he should miss his stroke, and not give him a deadly wound; so he raised himself up, and said he had a dream to impart to him by the command of God; upon which the king leaped out of his throne for joy of the dream; so Ehud smote him to the heart, and leaving his dagger in his body, he went out and shut the door after him. Now the king's servants were very still, as supposing that the king had composed himself to sleep.

3. Hereupon Ehud informed the people of Jericho privately of what he had done, and exhorted them to recover their liberty; who heard him gladly, and went to their arms, and sent messengers over the country, that should sound trumpets of rams' horns; for it was our custom to call the people together by them. Now the attendants of Eglon were ignorant of what misfortune had befallen him for a great while; but, towards the evening, fearing some uncommon accident had happened, they entered into his parlor, and when they found him dead, they were in great disorder, and knew not what to do; and before the guards could be got together, the multitude of the Israelites came upon them, so that some of them were slain immediately, and some were put to flight, and ran away toward the country of Moab, in order to save themselves. Their number was above ten thousand. The Israelites seized upon the ford of Jordan, and pursued them, and slew them, and many of them they killed at the ford, nor did one of them escape out of their hands; and by this means it was that the Hebrews freed themselves from slavery under the Moabites. Ehud also was on this account dignified with the government over all the multitude, and died after he had held the government eighty years. He was a man worthy of commendation, even besides what he deserved for the forementioned act of his. After him Shamgat, the son of Anath, was elected for their governor, but died in the first year of his government.

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FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 5

How The Canaanites Brought The Israelites Under Slavery For Twenty Years; After Which They Were Delivered By Barak And Deborah, Who Ruled Over Them For Forty Years.

1. And now it was that the Israelites, taking no warning by their former misfortunes to amend their manners, and neither worshipping God nor submitting to the laws, were brought under slavery by Jabin, the king of the Canaanites, and that before they had a short breathing time after the slavery under the Moabites; for this Jabin out of Hazor, a city that was situate over the Semechonitis, and had in pay three hundred footmen, and ten thousand horsemen, with fewer than three thousand chariots. Sisera was commander of all his army, and was the principal person in the king's favour. He so sorely beat the Israelites when they fought with him, that he ordered them to pay tribute.

2. So they continued to that hardship for twenty years, as not good enough of themselves to grow wise by their misfortunes. God was willing also hereby the more to subdue their obstinacy and ingratitude towards himself: so when at length they were become penitent, and were so wise as to learn that their calamities arose from their contempt of the laws, they besought Deborah, a certain prophetess among them, [which name in the Hebrew tongue signifies a Bee,] to pray to God to take pity on them, and not to overlook them, now they were ruined by the Canaanites. So God granted them deliverance, and chose them a general, Barak, one that was of the tribe of Naphtali. Now Barak, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies Lightning.

3. So Deborah sent for Barak, and bade him choose out ten thousand young men to go against the enemy, because God had said that that number was sufficient, and promised them victory. But when Barak said that he would not be the general unless she would also go as a general with him, she had indignation at what he said "Thou, O Barak, deliverest up meanly that authority which God hath given thee into the hand of a woman, and I do not reject it!" So they collected ten thousand men, and pitched their camp at Mount Tabor, where, at the king's command, Sisera met them, and pitched his camp not far from the enemy; whereupon the Israelites, and Barak himself, were so affrighted at the multitude of those enemies, that they were resolved to march off, had not Deborah retained them, and commanded them to fight the enemy that very day, for that they should conquer them, and God would be their assistance.

4. So the battle began; and when they were come to a close fight, there came down from heaven a great storm, with a vast quantity of rain and hail, and the wind blew the rain in the face of the Canaanites, and so darkened their eyes, that their arrows and slings were of no advantage to them, nor would the coldness of the air permit the soldiers to make use of their swords; while this storm did not so much incommode the Israelites, because it came in their backs. They also took such courage, upon the apprehension that God was assisting them, that they fell upon the very midst of their enemies, and slew a great number of them; so that some of them fell by the Israelites, some fell by their own horses, which were put into disorder, and not a few were killed by their own chariots. At last Sisera, as soon as he saw himself beaten, fled away, and came to a woman whose name was Jael, a Kenite, who received him, when he desired to be concealed; and when he asked for somewhat to drink, she gave him sour milk, of which he drank so unmeasurably that he fell asleep; but when he was asleep, Jael took an iron nail, and with a hammer drove it through his temples into the floor; and when Barak came a little afterward, she showed Sisera nailed to the ground: and thus was this victory gained by a woman, as Deborah had foretold. Barak also fought with Jabin at Hazor; and when he met with him, he slew him: and when the general was fallen, Barak overthrew the city to the foundation, and was the commander of the Israelites for forty years.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 6

How The Midianites And Other Nations Fought Against The Israelites And Beat Them, And Afflicted Their Country For Seven Years, How They Were Delivered By Gideon, Who Ruled Over The Multitude For Forty Years.

1. Now when Barak and Deborah were dead, whose deaths happened about the same time, afterwards the Midianites called the Amalekites and Arabians to their assistance, and made war against the Israelites, and were too hard for those that fought against them; and when they had burnt the fruits of the earth, they carried off the prey. Now when they had done this for three years, the multitude of the Israelites retired to the mountains, and forsook the plain country. They also made themselves hollows under ground, and caverns, and preserved therein whatsoever had escaped their enemies; for the Midianites made expeditions in harvest-time, but permitted them to plough the land in winter, that so, when the others had taken the pains, they might have fruits for them to carry away. Indeed, there ensued a famine and a scarcity of food; upon which they betook themselves to their supplications to God, and besought him to save them.

2. Gideon also, the son of Joash, one of the principal persons of the tribe of Manasseh, brought his sheaves of corn privately, and thrashed them at the wine-press; for he was too fearful of their enemies to thrash them openly in the thrashing-floor. At this time somewhat appeared to him in the shape of a young man, and told him that he was a happy man, and beloved of God. To which he immediately replied, "A mighty indication of God's favour to me, that I am forced to use this wine-press instead of a thrashing-floor!" But the appearance exhorted him to be of good courage, and to make an attempt for the recovery of their liberty. He answered, that it was impossible for him to recover it, because the tribe to which he belonged was by no means numerous; and because he was but young himself, and too inconsiderable to think of such great actions. But the other promised him, that God would supply what he was defective in, and would afford the Israelites victory under his conduct.

3. Now, therefore, as Gideon was relating this to some young men, they believed him, and immediately there was an army of ten thousand men got ready for fighting. But God stood by Gideon in his sleep, and told him that mankind were too fond of themselves, and were enemies to such as excelled in virtue. Now that they might not pass God over, but ascribe the victory to him, and might not fancy it obtained by their own power, because they were a great many, and able of themselves to fight their enemies, but might confess that it was owing to his assistance, he advised him to bring his army about noon, in the violence of the heat, to the river, and to esteem those that bent down on their knees, and so drank, to be men of courage; but for all those that drank tumultuously, that he should esteem them to do it out of fear, and as in dread of their enemies. And when Gideon had done as God had suggested to him, there were found three hundred men that took water with their hands tumultuously; so God bid him take these men, and attack the enemy. Accordingly they pitched their camp at the river Jordan, as ready the next day to pass over it.

4. But Gideon was in great fear, for God had told him beforehand that he should set upon his enemies in the night-time; but God, being willing to free him from his fear, bid him take one of his soldiers, and go near to the Midianites' tents, for that he should from that very place have his courage raised, and grow bold. So he obeyed, and went and took his servant Phurah with him; and as he came near to one of the tents, he discovered that those that were in it were awake, and that one of them was telling to his fellow soldier a dream of his own, and that so plainly that Gideon could hear him. The dream was this:—He thought he saw a barley-cake, such a one as could hardly be eaten by men, it was so vile, rolling through the camp, and overthrowing the royal tent, and the tents of all the soldiers. Now the other soldier explained this vision to mean the destruction of the army; and told them what his reason was which made him so conjecture, viz. That the seed called barley was all of it allowed to be of the vilest sort of seed, and that the Israelites were known to be the vilest of all the people of Asia, agreeably to the seed of barley, and that what seemed to look big among the Israelites was this Gideon and the army that was with him; "and since thou sayest thou didst see the cake overturning our tents, I am afraid lest God hath granted the victory over us to Gideon."

5. When Gideon had heard this dream, good hope and courage came upon him; and he commanded his soldiers to arm themselves, and told them of this vision of their enemies. They also took courage at what was told them, and were ready to perform what he should enjoin them. So Gideon divided his army into three parts, and brought it out about the fourth watch of the night, each part containing a hundred men: they all bare empty pitchers and lighted lamps in their hands, that their onset might not be discovered by their enemies. They had also each of them a ram's horn in his right hand, which he used instead of a trumpet. The enemy's camp took up a large space of ground, for it happened that they had a great many camels; and as they were divided into different nations, so they were all contained in one circle. Now when the Hebrews did as they were ordered beforehand, upon their approach to their enemies, and, on the signal given, sounded with their rams' horns, and brake their pitchers, and set upon their enemies with their lamps, and a great shout, and cried, "Victory to Gideon, by God's assistance," a disorder and a fright seized upon the other men while they were half asleep, for it was night-time, as God would have it; so that a few of them were slain by their enemies, but the greatest part by their own soldiers, on account of the diversity of their language; and when they were once put into disorder, they killed all that they met with, as thinking them to be enemies also. Thus there was a great slaughter made. And as the report of Gideon's victory came to the Israelites, they took their weapons and pursued their enemies, and overtook them in a certain valley encompassed with torrents, a place which these could not get over; so they encompassed them, and slew them all, with their kings, Oreb and Zeeb. But the remaining captains led those soldiers that were left, which were about eighteen thousand, and pitched their camp a great way off the Israelites. However, Gideon did not grudge his pains, but pursued them with all his army, and joining battle with them, cut off the whole enemies' army, and took the other leaders, Zeba and Zalmuna, and made them captives. Now there were slain in this battle of the Midianites, and of their auxiliaries the Arabians, about a hundred and twenty thousand; and the Hebrews took a great prey, gold, and silver, and garments, and camels, and asses. And when Gideon was come to his own country of Ophrah, he slew the kings of the Midianites.

6. However, the tribe of Ephraim was so displeased at the good success of Gideon, that they resolved to make war against him, accusing him because he did not tell them of his expedition against their enemies. But Gideon, as a man of temper, and that excelled in every virtue, pleaded, that it was not the result of his own authority or reasoning, that made him attack the enemy without them; but that it was the command of God, and still the victory belonged to them as well as those in the army. And by this method of cooling their passions, he brought more advantage to the Hebrews, than by the success he had against these enemies, for he thereby delivered them from a sedition which was arising among them; yet did this tribe afterwards suffer the punishment of this their injurious treatment of Gideon, of which we will give an account in due time.

7. Hereupon Gideon would have laid down the government, but was over-persuaded to take it, which he enjoyed forty years, and distributed justice to them, as the people came to him in their differences; and what he determined was esteemed valid by all. And when he died, he was buried in his own country of Ophrah.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 7

That The Judges Who Succeeded Gideon Made War With The Adjoining Nations For A Long Time.

1. Now Gideon had seventy sons that were legitimate, for he had many wives; but he had also one that was spurious, by his concubine Drumah, whose name was Abimelech, who, after his father's death, retired to Shechem to his mother's relations, for they were of that place: and when he had got money of such of them as were eminent for many instances of injustice, he came with them to his father's house, and slew all his brethren, except Jotham, for he had the good fortune to escape and be preserved; but Abimelech made the government tyrannical, and constituted himself a lord, to do what he pleased, instead of obeying the laws; and he acted most rigidly against those that were the patrons of justice.

2. Now when, on a certain time, there was a public festival at Shechem, and all the multitude was there gathered together, Jotham his brother, whose escape we before related, went up to Mount Gerizzim, which hangs over the city Shechem, and cried out so as to be heard by the multitude, who were attentive to him. He desired they would consider what he was going to say to them: so when silence was made, he said, That when the trees had a human voice, and there was an assembly of them gathered together, they desired that the fig-tree would rule over them; but when that tree refused so to do, because it was contented to enjoy that honour which belonged peculiarly to the fruit it bare, and not that which should be derived to it from abroad, the trees did not leave off their intentions to have a ruler, so they thought proper to make the offer of that honour to the vine; but when the vine was chosen, it made use of the same words which the fig-tree had used before, and excused itself from accepting the government: and when the olive-tree had done the same, the brier, whom the trees had desired to take the kingdom, [it is a sort of wood good for firing,] it promised to take the government, and to be zealous in the exercise of it; but that then they must sit down under its shadow, and if they should plot against it to destroy it, the principle of fire that was in it should destroy them. He told them, that what he had said was no laughing matter; for that when they had experienced many blessings from Gideon, they overlooked Abimelech, when he overruled all, and had joined with him in slaying his brethren; and that he was no better than a fire himself. So when he had said this, he went away, and lived privately in the mountains for three years, out of fear of Abimelech.

3. A little while after this festival, the Shechemites, who had now repented themselves of having slain the sons of Gideon, drove Abimelech away, both from their city and their tribe; whereupon he contrived how he might distress their city. Now at the season of vintage, the people were afraid to go out and gather their fruits, for fear Abimelech should do them some mischief. Now it happened that there had come to them a man of authority, one Gaal, that sojourned with them, having his armed men and his kinsmen with him; so the Shechemites desired that he would allow them a guard during their vintage; whereupon he accepted of their desires, and so the people went out, and Gaal with them at the head of his soldiery. So they gathered their fruit with safety; and when they were at supper in several companies, they then ventured to curse Abimelech openly; and the magistrates laid ambushes in places about the city, and caught many of Abimelech's followers, and destroyed them.

4. Now there was one Zebul, a magistrate of the Shechemites, that had entertained Abimelech. He sent

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messengers, and informed him how much Gaal had irritated the people against him, and excited him to lay ambushes before the city, for that he would persuade Gaal to go out against him, which would leave it in his power to be revenged on him; and when that was once done, he would bring him to be reconciled to the city. So Abimelech laid ambushes, and himself lay with them. Now Gaal abode in the suburbs, taking little care of himself; and Zebul was with him. Now as Gaal saw the armed men coming on, he said to Zebul, That some armed men were coming; but the other replied, They were only shadows of huge stones: and when they were come nearer, Gaal perceived what was the reality, and said, They were not shadows, but men lying in ambush. Then said Zebul, "Didst not thou reproach Abimelech for cowardice? why dost thou not then show how very courageous thou art thyself, and go and fight him?" So Gaal, being in disorder, joined battle with Abimelech, and some of his men fell; whereupon he fled into the city, and took his men with him. But Zebul managed his matters so in the city, that he procured them to expel Gaal out of the city, and this by accusing him of cowardice in this action with the soldiers of Ahimelech. But Abimelech, when he had learned that the Shechemites were again coming out to gather their grapes, placed ambushes before the city, and when they were coming out, the third part of his army took possession of the gates, to hinder the citizens from returning in again, while the rest pursued those that were scattered abroad, and so there was slaughter every where; and when he had overthrown the city to the very foundations, for it was not able to bear a siege, and had sown its ruins with salt, he proceeded on with his army till all the Shechemites were slain. As for those that were scattered about the country, and so escaped the danger, they were gathered together unto a certain strong rock, and settled themselves upon it, and prepared to build a wall about it: and when Abimelech knew their intentions, he prevented them, and came upon them with his forces, and laid faggots of dry wood round the place, he himself bringing some of them, and by his example encouraging the soldiers to do the same. And when the rock was encompassed round about with these faggots, they set them on fire, and threw in whatsoever by nature caught fire the most easily: so a mighty flame was raised, and nobody could fly away from the rock, but every man perished, with their wives and children, in all about fifteen hundred men, and the rest were a great number also. And such was the calamity which fell upon the Shechemites; and men's grief on their account had been greater than it was, had they not brought so much mischief on a person who had so well deserved of them, and had they not themselves esteemed this as a punishment for the same.

5. Now Abimelech, when he had affrighted the Israelites with the miseries he had brought upon the Shechemites, seemed openly to affect greater authority than he now had, and appeared to set no bounds to his violence, unless it were with the destruction of all. Accordingly he marched to Thebes, and took the city on the sudden; and there being a great tower therein, where unto the whole multitude fled, he made preparation to besiege it. Now as he was rushing with violence near the gates, a woman threw a piece of a millstone upon his head, upon which Abimelech fell down, and desired his armour-bearer to kill him lest his death should be thought to be the work of a woman:—who did what he was bid to do. So he underwent this death as a punishment for the wickedness he had perpetrated against his brethren, and his insolent barbarity to the Shechemites. Now the calamity that happened to those Shechemites was according to the prediction of Jotham, However, the army that was with Abimelech, upon his fall, was scattered abroad, and went to their own homes.

6. Now it was that Jair the Gileadite, of the tribe of Manasseh, took the government. He was a man happy in other respects also, but particularly in his children, who were of a good character. They were thirty in number, and very skillful in riding on horses, and were intrusted with the government of the cities of Gilead. He kept the government twenty-two years, and died an old man; and he was buried in Camon, a city of Gilead.

7. And now all the affairs of the Hebrews were managed uncertainly, and tended to disorder, and to the contempt of God and of the laws. So the Ammonites and Philistines had them in contempt, and laid waste the country with a great army; and when they had taken all Perea, they were so insolent as to attempt to gain the possession of all the rest. But the Hebrews, being now amended by the calamities they had undergone, betook themselves to supplications to God; and brought sacrifices to him, beseeching him not to be too severe upon them, but to be moved by their prayers to leave off his anger against them. So God became more merciful to them, and was ready to assist them.

8. When the Ammonites had made an expedition into the land of Gilead, the inhabitants of the country met them at a certain mountain, but wanted a commander. Now there was one whose name was Jephtha, who, both on account of his father's virtue, and on account of that army which he maintained at his own expenses, was a potent man: the Israelites therefore sent to him, and entreated him to come to their assistance, and promised him the dominion over them all his lifetime. But he did not admit of their entreaty; and accused them, that they did not come to his assistance when he was unjustly treated, and this in an open manner by his brethren; for they cast him off, as not having the same mother with the rest, but born of a strange mother, that was introduced among them by his father's fondness; and this they did out of a contempt of his inability [to vindicate himself]. So he dwelt in the country of Gilead, as it is called, and received all that came to him, let them come from what place soever, and paid them wages. However, when they pressed him to accept the dominion, and sware they would grant him the government over them all his life, he led them to the war.

9. And when Jephtha had taken immediate care of their affairs, he placed his army at the city Mizpeh, and sent a message to the Ammonite [king], complaining of his unjust possession of their land. But that king sent a contrary message; and complained of the exodus of the Israelites out of Egypt, and desired him to go out of the land of the Amorites, and yield it up to him, as at first his paternal inheritance. But Jephtha returned this answer: That he did not justly complain of his ancestors about the land of the Amorites, and ought rather to thank them that they left the land of the Ammonites to them, since Moses could have taken it also; and that neither would he recede from that land of their own, which God had obtained for them, and they had now inhabited [above] three hundred years, but would fight with them about it.

10. And when he had given them this answer, he sent the ambassadors away. And when he had prayed for victory, and had vowed to perform sacred offices, and if he came home in safety, to offer in sacrifice what living creature soever should first meet him, he joined battle with the enemy, and gained a great victory, and in his pursuit slew the enemies all along as far as the city of Minnith. He then passed over to the land of the Ammonites, and overthrew many of their cities, and took their prey, and freed his own people from that slavery which they had undergone for eighteen years. But as he came back, he fell into a calamity no way correspondent to the great actions he had done; for it was his daughter that came to meet him; she was also an only child and a virgin: upon this Jephtha heavily lamented the greatness of his affliction, and blamed his daughter for being so forward in meeting him, for he had vowed to sacrifice her to God. However, this action that was to befall her was not ungrateful to her, since she should die upon occasion of her father's victory, and the liberty of her fellow citizens: she only desired her father to give her leave, for two months, to bewail her youth with her fellow citizens; and then she agreed, that at the forementioned time he might do with her according to his vow. Accordingly, when that time was over, he sacrificed his daughter as a burnt-offering, offering such an oblation as was neither conformable to the law nor acceptable to God, not weighing with himself what opinion the hearers would have of such a practice.

11. Now the tribe of Ephraim fought against him, because he did not take them along with him in his expedition against the Ammonites, but because he alone had the prey, and the glory of what was done to himself. As to which he said, first, that they were not ignorant how his kindred had fought against him, and that when they were invited, they did not come to his assistance, whereas they ought to have come quickly, even before they were invited. And in the next place, that they were going to act unjustly; for while they had not courage enough to fight their enemies, they came hastily against their own kindred: and he threatened them that, with God's assistance, he would inflict a punishment upon them, unless they would grow wiser. But when he could not persuade them, he fought with them with those forces which he sent for out of Gilead, and he made a great slaughter among them; and when they were beaten, he pursued them, and seized on the passages of Jordan by a part of his army which he had sent before, and slew about forty-two thousand of them.

12. So when Jephtha had ruled six years, he died, and was buried in his own country, Sebee, which is a place in the land of Gilead.

13. Now when Jephtha was dead, Ibzan took the government, being of the tribe of Judah, and of the city of Bethlehem. He had sixty children, thirty of them sons, and the rest daughters; all whom he left alive behind him, giving the daughters in marriage to husbands, and taking wives for his sons. He did nothing in the seven years of his administration that was worth recording, or deserved a memorial. So he died an old man, and was buried in his own country.

14. When Ibzan was dead after this manner, neither did Helon, who succeeded him in the government, and kept it ten years, do any thing remarkable: he was of the tribe of Zebulon.

15. Abdon also, the son of Hilel, of the tribe of Ephraim, and born at the city Pyrathon, was ordained their supreme governor after Helon. He is only recorded to have been happy in his children; for the public affairs were then so peaceable, and in such security, that neither did he perform any glorious action. He had forty sons, and by them left thirty grandchildren; and he marched in state with these seventy, who were all very skillful in riding horses; and he left them all alive after him. He died an old man, and obtained a magnificent burial in Pyrathon.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 8

Concerning The Fortitude Of Samson, And What Mischiefs He Brought Upon The Philistines.

1. After Abdon was dead, the Philistines overcame the Israelites, and received tribute of them for forty years; from which distress they were delivered after this manner:—

2. There was one Manoah, a person of such great virtue, that he had few men his equals, and without dispute the principal person of his country. He had a wife celebrated for her beauty, and excelling her contemporaries. He had no children; and, being uneasy at his want of posterity, he entreated God to give them seed of their own bodies to succeed them; and with that intent he came constantly into the suburbs together with his wife; which suburbs were in the Great Plain. Now he was fond of his wife to a degree of madness, and on that account was unmeasurably jealous of her. Now, when his wife was once alone, an apparition was seen by her: it was an angel of God, and resembled a young man beautiful and tall, and brought her the good news that she should have a son, born by God's providence, that should be a goodly child, of great strength; by whom, when he was grown up to man's estate, the Philistines should be afflicted. He exhorted her also not to poll his hair, and that he should avoid all other kinds of drink, [for so had God commanded,] and be entirely contented with water. So the angel, when he had delivered that message, went his way, his coming having been by the will of God.

3. Now the wife informed her husband when he came home of what the angel had said, who showed so great an admiration of the beauty and tallness of the young man that had appeared to her, that her husband was astonished, and out of himself for jealousy, and such suspicions as are excited by that passion: but she was desirous of having her husband's unreasonable sorrow taken away; accordingly she entreated God to send the angel again, that he might be seen by her husband. So the angel came again by the favour of God, while they were in the suburbs, and appeared to her when she was alone without her husband. She desired the angel to stay so long till she might bring her husband; and that request being granted, she goes to call Manoah. When he saw the angel he was not yet free from suspicion, and he desired him to inform him of all that he had told his wife; but when he said it was sufficient that she alone knew what he had said, he then requested of him to tell who he was, that when the child was born they might return him thanks, and give him a present. He replied that he did not want any present, for that he did not bring them the good news of the birth of a son out of the want of any thing. And when Manoah had entreated him to stay, and partake of his hospitality, he did not give his consent. However he was persuaded, at the earnest request of Manoah to stay so long as while he brought him one mark of his hospitality; so he slew a kid of the goats, and bid his wife boil it. When all was ready, the angel enjoined him to set the loaves and the flesh, but without the vessels, upon the rock; which when they had done, he touched the flesh with the rod which he had in his hand, which, upon the breaking out of a flame, was consumed, together with the loaves; and the angel ascended openly, in their sight, up to heaven, by means of the smoke, as by a vehicle. Now Manoah was afraid that some danger would come to them from this sight of God; but his wife bade him be of good courage, for that God appeared to them for their benefit.

4. So the woman proved with child, and was careful to observe the injunctions that were given her; and they called the child, when he was born, Samson, which name signifies one that is strong. So the child grew apace; and it appeared evidently that he would be a prophet, both by the moderation of his diet, and the permission of his hair to grow.

5. Now when he once came with his parents to Timhath, a city of the Philistines, when there was a great festival, he fell in love with a maid of that country, and he desired of his parents that they would procure him the damsel for his wife: but they refused so to do, because she was not of the stock of Israel; yet because this marriage was of God, who intended to convert it to the benefit of the Hebrews, he over-persuaded them to procure her to be espoused to him. And as he was continually coming to her parents, he met a lion, and though he was naked, he received his onset, and strangled him with his hands, and cast the wild beast into a woody piece of ground on the inside of the road.

6. And when he was going another time to the damsel, he lit upon a swarm of bees making their combs in the breast of that lion; and taking three honey-combs away, he gave them, together with the rest of his presents, to the damsel. Now the people of Timhath, out of a dread of the young man's strength, gave him during the time of the wedding-feast [for he then feasted them all] thirty of the most stout of their youth, in pretense to be his companions, but in reality to be a guard upon him, that he might not attempt to give them any disturbance. Now as they were drinking merrily and playing,

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Samson said, as was usual at such times, "Come, if I propose you a riddle, and you can expound it in these seven days' time, I will give you every one a linen shirt and a garment, as the reward of your wisdom." So they being very ambitious to obtain the glory of wisdom, together with the gains, desired him to propose his riddle. He, "That a devourer produced sweet food out of itself, though itself were very disagreeable." And when they were not able, in three days' time, to find out the meaning of the riddle, they desired the damsel to discover it by the means of her husband, and tell it them; and they threatened to burn her if she did not tell it them. So when the damsel entreated Samson to tell it her, he at first refused to do it; but when she lay hard at him, and fell into tears, and made his refusal to tell it a sign of his unkindness to her, he informed her of his slaughter of a lion, and how he found bees in his breast, and carried away three honey-combs, and brought them to her. Thus he, suspecting nothing of deceit, informed her of all, and she revealed it to those that desired to know it. Then on the seventh day, whereon they were to expound the riddle proposed to them, they met together before sun-setting, and said, "Nothing is more disagreeable than a lion to those that light on it, and nothing is sweeter than honey to those that make use of it." To which Samson made this rejoinder: "Nothing is more deceitful than a woman for such was the person that discovered my interpretation to you." Accordingly he gave them the presents he had promised them, making such Askelonites as met him upon the road his prey, who were themselves Philistines also. But he divorced this his wife; and the girl despised his anger, and was married to his companion, who made the former match between them.

7. At this injurious treatment Samson was so provoked, that he resolved to punish all the Philistines, as well as her: so it being then summer-time, and the fruits of the land being almost ripe enough for reaping, he caught three hundred foxes, and joining lighted torches to their tails, he sent them into the fields of the Philistines, by which means the fruits of the fields perished. Now when the Philistines knew that this was Samson's doing, and knew also for what cause he did it, they sent their rulers to Timhath, and burnt his former wife, and her relations, who had been the occasion of their misfortunes.

8. Now when Samson had slain many of the Philistines in the plain country, he dwelt at Etam, which is a strong rock of the tribe of Judah; for the Philistines at that time made an expedition against that tribe: but the people of Judah said that they did not act justly with them, in inflicting punishments upon them while they paid their tribute, and this only on account of Samson's offenses. They answered, that in case they would not be blamed themselves, they must deliver up Samson, and put him into their power. So they being desirous not to be blamed themselves, came to the rock with three thousand armed men, and complained to Samson of the bold insults he had made upon the Philistines, who were men able to bring calamity upon the whole nation of the Hebrews; and they told him they were come to take him, and to deliver him up to them, and put him into their power; so they desired him to bear this willingly. Accordingly, when he had received assurance from them upon oath, that they would do him no other harm than only to deliver him into his enemies' hands, he came down from the rock, and put himself into the power of his countrymen. Then did they bind him with two cords, and lead him on, in order to deliver him to the Philistines; and when they came to a certain place, which is now called the Jaw-bone, on account of the great action there performed by Samson, though of old it had no particular name at all, the Philistines, who had pitched their camp not far off, came to meet them with joy and shouting, as having done a great thing, and gained what they desired; but Samson broke his bonds asunder, and catching up the jaw-bone of an ass that lay down at his feet, fell upon his enemies, and smiting them with his jaw-bone, slew a thousand of them, and put the rest to flight and into great disorder.

9. Upon this slaughter Samson was too proud of what he had performed, and said that this did not come to pass by the assistance of God, but that his success was to be ascribed to his own courage; and vaunted himself, that it was out of a dread of him that some of his enemies fell and the rest ran away upon his use of the jaw-bone; but when a great thirst came upon him, he considered that human courage is nothing, and bare his testimony that all is to be ascribed to God, and besought him that he would not be angry at any thing he had said, nor give him up into the hands of his enemies, but afford him help under his affliction, and deliver him from the misfortune he was under. Accordingly God was moved with his entreaties, and raised him up a plentiful fountain of sweet water at a certain rock whence it was that Samson called the place the Jaw-bone, and so it is called to this day.

10. After this fight Samson held the Philistines in contempt, and came to Gaza, and took up his lodgings in a certain inn. When the rulers of Gaza were informed of his coming thither, they seized upon the gates, and placed men in ambush about them, that he might not escape without being perceived; but Samson, who was acquainted with their contrivances against him, arose about midnight, and ran by force upon the gates, with their posts and beams, and the rest of their wooden furniture, and carried them away on his shoulders, and bare them to the mountain that is over Hebron, and there laid them down.

11. However, he at length transgressed the laws of his country, and altered his own regular way of living, and imitated the strange customs of foreigners, which thing was the beginning of his miseries; for he fell in love with a woman that was a harlot among the Philistines: her name was Delilah, and he lived with her. So those that administered the public affairs of the Philistines came to her, and, with promises, induced her to get out of Samson what was the cause of that his strength, by which he became unconquerable to his enemies. Accordingly, when they were drinking, and had the like conversation together, she pretended to admire the actions he had done, and contrived to get out of him by subtlety, by what means he so much excelled others in strength. Samson, in order to delude Delilah, for he had not yet lost his senses, replied, that if he were bound with seven such green withs of a vine as might still be wreathed, he should be weaker than any other man. The woman said no more then, but told this to the rulers of the Philistines, and hid certain of the soldiers in ambush within the house; and when he was disordered in drink and asleep, she bound him as fast as possible with the withs; and then upon her awakening him, she told him some of the people were upon him; but he broke the withs, and endeavored to defend himself, as though some of the people were upon him. Now this woman, in the constant conversation Samson had with her, pretended that she took it very ill that he had such little confidence in her affections to him, that he would not tell her what she desired, as if she would not conceal what she knew it was for his interest to have concealed. However, he deluded her again, and told her, that if they bound him with seven cords, he should lose his strength. And when, upon doing this, she gained nothing, he told her the third time, that his hair should be woven into a web; but when, upon doing this, the truth was not yet discovered, at length Samson, upon Delilah's prayer, [for he was doomed to fall into some affliction,] was desirous to please her, and told her that God took care of him, and that he was born by his providence, and that "thence it is that I suffer my hair to grow, God having charged me never to poll my head, and thence my strength is according to the increase and continuance of my hair." When she had learned thus much, and had deprived him of his hair, she delivered him up to his enemies, when he was not strong enough to defend himself from their attempts upon him; so they put out his eyes, and bound him, and had him led about among them.

12. But in process of time Samson's hair grew again. And there was a public festival among the Philistines, when the rulers, and those of the most eminent character, were feasting together; [now the room wherein they were had its roof supported by two pillars;] so they sent for Samson, and he was brought to their feast, that they might insult him in their cups. Hereupon he, thinking it one of the greatest misfortunes, if he should not be able to revenge himself when he was thus insulted, persuaded the boy that led him by the hand, that he was weary and wanted to rest himself, and desired he would bring him near the pillars; and as soon as he came to them, he rushed with force against them, and overthrew the house, by overthrowing its pillars, with three thousand men in it, who were all slain, and Samson with them. And such was the end of this man, when he had ruled over the Israelites twenty years. And indeed this man deserves to be admired for his courage and strength, and magnanimity at his death, and that his wrath against his enemies went so far as to die himself with them. But as for his being ensnared by a woman, that is to be ascribed to human nature, which is too weak to resist the temptations to that sin; but we ought to bear him witness, that in all other respects he was one of extraordinary virtue. But his kindred took away his body, and buried it in Sarasat his own country, with the rest of his family.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 9

How Under Eli's Government Of The Israelites Booz Married Ruth, From Whom Came Obed The Grandfather Of David.

1. Now after the death of Samson, Eli the high priest was governor of the Israelites. Under him, when the country was afflicted with a famine, Elimelech of Bethlehem, which is a city of the tribe of Judah, being not able to support his family under so sore a distress, took with him Naomi his wife, and the children that were born to him by her, Chillon and Mahlon, and removed his habitation into the land of Moab; and upon the happy prosperity of his affairs there, he took for his sons wives of the Moabites, Orpah for Chillon, and Ruth for Mahlon. But in the compass of ten years, both Elimelech, and a little while after him, the sons, died; and Naomi being very uneasy at these accidents, and not being able to bear her lonesome condition, now those that were dearest to her were dead, on whose account it was that she had gone away from her own country, she returned to it again, for she had been informed it was now in a flourishing condition. However, her daughters-in-law were not able to think of parting with her; and when they had a mind to go out of the country with her, she could not dissuade them from it; but when they insisted upon it, she wished them a more happy wedlock than they had with her sons, and that they might have prosperity in other respects also; and seeing her own affairs were so low, she exhorted them to stay where they were, and not to think of leaving their own country, and partaking with her of that uncertainty under which she must return. Accordingly Orpah staid behind; but she took Ruth along with her, as not to be persuaded to stay behind her, but would take her fortune with her, whatsoever it should prove.

2. When Ruth was come with her mother-in-law to Bethlehem, Booz, who was near of kin to Elimelech, entertained her; and when Naomi was so called by her fellow citizens, according to her true name, she said, "You might more truly call me Mara." Now Naomi signifies in the Hebrew tongue happiness, and Mara, sorrow. It was now reaping time; and Ruth, by the leave of her mother-in-law, went out to glean, that they might get a stock of corn for their food. Now it happened that she came into Booz's field; and after some time Booz came thither, and when he saw the damsel, he inquired of his servant that was set over the reapers concerning the girl. The servant had a little before inquired about all her circumstances, and told them to his master, who kindly embraced her, both on account of her affection to her mother-in-law, and her remembrance of that son of hers to whom she had been married, and wished that she might experience a prosperous condition; so he desired her not to glean, but to reap what she was able, and gave her leave to carry it home. He also gave it in charge to that servant who was over the reapers, not to hinder her when she took it away, and bade him give her her dinner, and make her drink when he did the like to the reapers. Now what corn Ruth received of him she kept for her mother-in-law, and came to her in the evening, and brought the ears of corn with her; and Naomi had kept for her a part of such food as her neighbours had plentifully bestowed upon her. Ruth also told her mother-in-law what Booz had said to her; and when the other had informed her that he was near of kin to them, and perhaps was so pious a man as to make some provision for them, she went out again on the days following, to gather the gleanings with Booz's maidservants.

3. It was not many days before Booz, after the barley was winnowed, slept in his thrashing-floor. When Naomi was informed of this circumstance she contrived it so that Ruth should lie down by him, for she thought it might be for their advantage that he should discourse with the girl. Accordingly she sent the damsel to sleep at his feet; who went as she bade her, for she did not think it consistent with her duty to contradict any command of her mother-in-law. And at first she lay concealed from Booz, as he was fast asleep; but when he awaked about midnight, and perceived a woman lying by him, he asked who she was;—and when she told him her name, and desired that he whom she owned for her lord would excuse her, he then said no more; but in the morning, before the servants began to set about their work, he awaked her, and bid her take as much barley as she was able to carry, and go to her mother-in-law before any body there should see that she had lain down by him, because it was but prudent to avoid any reproach that might arise on that account, especially when there had been nothing done that was ill. But as to the main point she aimed at, the matter should rest here,—"He that is nearer of kin than I am, shall be asked whether he wants to take thee to wife: if he says he does, thou shalt follow him; but if he refuse it, I will marry thee, according to the law."

4. When she had informed her mother-in-law of this, they were very glad of it, out of the hope they had that Booz would make provision for them. Now about noon Booz went down into the city, and gathered the senate together, and when he had sent for Ruth, he called for her kinsman also; and when he was come, he said, "Dost not thou retain the inheritance of Elimelech and his sons?" He confessed that he did retain it, and that he did as he was permitted to do by the laws, because he was their nearest kinsman. Then said Booz, "Thou must not remember the laws by halves, but do every thing according to them; for the wife of Mahlon is come hither, whom thou must marry, according to the law, in case thou wilt retain their fields." So the man yielded up both the field and the wife to Booz, who was himself of kin to those that were dead, as alleging that he had a wife already, and children also; so Booz called the senate to witness, and bid the woman to loose his shoe, and spit in his face, according to the law; and when this was done, Booz married Ruth, and they had a son within a year's time. Naomi was herself a nurse to this child; and by the advice of the women, called him Obed, as being to be brought up in order to be subservient to her in her old age, for Obed in the Hebrew dialect signifies a servant. The son of Obed was Jesse, and David was his son, who was king, and left his dominions to his sons for one and twenty generations. I was therefore obliged to relate this history of Ruth, because I had a mind to demonstrate the power of God, who, without difficulty, can raise those that are of ordinary

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parentage to dignity and splendour, to which he advanced David, though he were born of such mean parents.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 10

Concerning The Birth Of Samuel; And How He Foretold The Calamity That Befell The Sons Of Eli.

1. And now upon the ill state of the affairs of the Hebrews, they made war again upon the Philistines. The occasion was this: Eli, the high priest, had two sons, Hophni and Phineas. These sons of Eli were guilty of injustice towards men, and of impiety towards God, and abstained from no sort of wickedness. Some of their gifts they carried off, as belonging to the honourable employment they had; others of them they took away by violence. They also were guilty of impurity with the women that came to worship God at the tabernacle, obliging some to submit to their lust by force, and enticing others by bribes; nay, the whole course of their lives was no better than tyranny. Their father therefore was angry at them for such their wickedness, and expected that God would suddenly inflict his punishments upon them for what they had done. The multitude took it heinously also. And as soon as God had foretold what calamity would befall Eli's sons, which he did both to Eli himself and to Samuel the prophet, who was yet but a child, he openly showed his sorrow for his sons' destruction.

2. I will first despatch what I have to say about the prophet Samuel, and after that will proceed to speak of the sons of Eli, and the miseries they brought on the whole people of the Hebrews. Elcanah, a Levite, one of a middle condition among his fellow citizens, and one that dwelt at Ramathaim, a city of the tribe of Ephraim, married two wives, Hannah and Peninnah. He had children by the latter; but he loved the other best, although she was barren. Now Elcanah came with his wives to the city Shiloh to sacrifice, for there it was that the tabernacle of God was fixed, as we have formerly said. Now when, after he had sacrificed, he distributed at that festival portions of the flesh to his wives and children, and when Hannah saw the other wife's children sitting round about their mother, she fell into tears, and lamented herself on account of her barrenness and lonesomeness; and suffering her grief to prevail over her husband's consolations to her, she went to the tabernacle to beseech God to give her seed, and to make her a mother; and to vow to consecrate the first son she should bear to the service of God, and this in such a way, that his manner of living should not be like that of ordinary men. And as she continued at her prayers a long time, Eli, the high priest, for he sat there before the tabernacle, bid her go away, thinking she had been disordered with wine; but when she said she had drank water, but was in sorrow for want of children, and was beseeching God for them, he bid her be of good cheer, and told her that God would send her children.

3. So she came to her husband full of hope, and ate her meal with gladness. And when they had returned to their own country she found herself with child, and they had a son born to them, to whom they gave the name of Samuel, which may be styled one that was asked of God. They therefore came to the tabernacle to offer sacrifice for the birth of the child, and brought their tithes with them; but the woman remembered the vows she had made concerning her son, and delivered him to Eli, dedicating him to God, that he might become a prophet. Accordingly his hair was suffered to grow long, and his drink was water. So Samuel dwelt and was brought up in the temple. But Elcanah had other sons by Hannah, and three daughters.

4. Now when Samuel was twelve years old, he began to prophesy: and once when he was asleep, God called to him by his name; and he, supposing he had been called by the high priest, came to him: but when the high priest said he did not call him, God did so thrice. Eli was then so far illuminated, that he said to him, "Indeed, Samuel, I was silent now as well as before: it is God that calls thee; do thou therefore signify it to him, and say, I am here ready." So when he heard God speak again, he desired him to speak, and to deliver what oracles he pleased to him, for he would not fail to perform any ministration whatsoever he should make use of him in;—to which God replied, "Since thou art here ready, learn what miseries are coming upon the Israelites,—such indeed as words cannot declare, nor faith believe; for the sons of Eli shall die on one day, and the priesthood shall be transferred into the family of Eleazar; for Eli hath loved his sons more than he hath loved my worship, and to such a degree as is not for their advantage." Which message Eli obliged the prophet by oath to tell him, for otherwise he had no inclination to afflict him by telling it. And now Eli had a far more sure expectation of the perdition of his sons; but the glory of Samuel increased more and more, it being found by experience that whatsoever he prophesied came to pass accordingly.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 11

Herein Is Declared What Befell The Sons Of Eli, The Ark, And The People And How Eli Himself Died Miserably.

1. About this time it was that the Philistines made war against the Israelites, and pitched their camp at the city Aphek. Now when the Israelites had expected them a little while, the very next day they joined battle, and the Philistines were conquerors, and slew above four thousand of the Hebrews, and pursued the rest of their multitude to their camp.

2. So the Hebrews being afraid of the worst, sent to the senate, and to the high priest, and desired that they would bring the ark of God, that by putting themselves in array, when it was present with them, they might be too hard for their enemies, as not reflecting that he who had condemned them to endure these calamities was greater than the ark, and for whose sake it was that this ark came to be honoured. So the ark came, and the sons of the high priest with it, having received a charge from their father, that if they pretended to survive the taking of the ark, they should come no more into his presence, for Phineas officiated already as high priest, his father having resigned his office to him, by reason of his great age. So the Hebrews were full of courage, as supposing that, by the coming of the ark, they should be too hard for their enemies: their enemies also were greatly concerned, and were afraid of the ark's coming to the Israelites: however, the upshot did not prove agreeable to the expectation of both sides, but when the battle was joined, that victory which the Hebrews expected was gained by the Philistines, and that defeat the Philistines were afraid of fell to the lot of the Israelites, and thereby they found that they had put their trust in the ark in vain, for they were presently beaten as soon as they came to a close fight with their enemies, and lost about thirty thousand men, among whom were the sons of the high priest; but the ark was carried away by the enemies.

3. When the news of this defeat came to Shiloh, with that of the captivity of the ark, [for a certain young man, a Benjamite, who was in the action, came as a messenger thither,] the whole city was full of lamentations. And Eli, the high priest, who sat upon a high throne at one of the gates, heard their mournful cries, and supposed that some strange thing had befallen his family. So he sent for the young man; and when he understood what had happened in the battle, he was not much uneasy as to his sons, or what was told him withal about the army, as having beforehand known by Divine revelation that those things would happen, and having himself declared them beforehand,—for what sad things come unexpectedly they distress men the most; but as soon as [he heard] the ark was carried captive by their enemies, he was very much grieved at it, because it fell out quite differently from what he expected; so he fell down from his throne and died, having in all lived ninety-eight years, and of them retained the government forty.

4. On the same day his son Phineas's wife died also, as not able to survive the misfortune of her husband; for they told her of her husband's death as she was in labour. However, she bare a son at seven months, who lived, and to whom they gave the name of Icabod, which name signifies disgrace,—and this because the army received a disgrace at this time.

5. Now Eli was the first of the family of Ithamar, the other son of Aaron, that had the government; for the family of Eleazar officiated as high priest at first, the son still receiving that honour from the father which Eleazar bequeathed to his son Phineas; after whom Abiezer his son took the honour, and delivered it to his son, whose name was Bukki, from whom his son Ozi received it; after whom Eli, of whom we have been speaking, had the priesthood, and so he and his posterity until the time of Solomon's reign; but then the posterity of Eleazar reassumed it.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES BOOK 6

Containing The Interval Of Thirty-Two Years.—From The Death Of Eli To The Death Of Saul.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 1.

The Destruction That Came Upon The Philistines, And Upon Their Land, By The Wrath Of Go On Account Of Their Having Carried The Ark Away Captive; And After What Manner They Sent It Back To The Hebrews.

1. When the Philistines had taken the ark of the Hebrews captive, as I said a little before, they carried it to the city of Ashdod, and put it by their own god, who was called Dagon, as one of their spoils; but when they went into his temple the next morning to worship their god, they found him paying the same worship to the ark, for he lay along, as having fallen down from the basis whereon he had stood: so they took him up, and set him on his basis again, and were much troubled at what had happened; and as they frequently came to Dagon and found him still lying along, in a posture of adoration to the ark, they were in very great distress and confusion. At length God sent a very destructive disease upon the city and country of Ashdod, for they died of the dysentery or flux, a sore distemper, that brought death upon them very suddenly; for before the soul could, as usual in easy deaths, be well loosed from the body, they brought up their entrails, and vomited up what they had eaten, and what was entirely corrupted by the disease. And as to the fruits of their country, a great multitude of mice arose out of the earth and hurt them, and spared neither the plants nor the fruits. Now while the people of Ashdod were under these misfortunes, and were not able to support themselves under their calamities, they perceived that they suffered thus because of the ark, and that the victory they had gotten, and their having taken the ark captive, had not happened for their good; they therefore sent to the people of Askelon, and desired that they would receive the ark among them. This desire of the people of Ashdod was not disagreeable to those of Askelon, so they granted them that favour. But when they had gotten the ark, they were in the same miserable condition; for the ark carried along with it the disasters that the people of Ashdod had suffered, to those who received it from them. Those of Askelon also sent it away from themselves to others: nor did it stay among those others neither; for since they were pursued by the same disasters, they still sent it to the neighbouring cities; so that the ark went round, after this manner, to the five cities of the Philistines, as though it exacted these disasters as a tribute to be paid it for its coming among them.

2. When those that had experienced these miseries were tired out with them, and when those that heard of them were taught thereby not to admit the ark among them, since they paid so dear a tribute for it, at length they sought for some contrivance and method how they might get free from it: so the governors of the five cities, Gath, and Ekron, and Askelon, as also of Gaza, and Ashdod, met together, and considered what was fit to be done; and at first they thought proper to send the ark back to its own people, as allowing that God had avenged its cause; that the miseries they had undergone came along with it, and that these were sent on their cities upon its account, and together with it. However, there were those that said they should not do so, nor suffer themselves to be deluded, as ascribing the cause of their miseries to it, because it could not have such power and force upon them; for, had God had such a regard to it, it would not have been delivered into the hands of men. So they exhorted them to be quiet, and to take patiently what had befallen them, and to suppose there was no other cause of it but nature, which, at certain revolutions of time, produces such mutations in the bodies of men, in the earth, in plants, and in all things that grow out of the earth. But the counsel that prevailed over those already described, was that of certain men, who were believed to have distinguished themselves in former times for their understanding and prudence, and who, in their present circumstances, seemed above all the rest to speak properly. These men said it was not right either to send the ark away, or to retain it, but to dedicate five golden images, one for every city, as a thank-offering to God, on account of his having taken care of their preservation, and having kept them alive when their lives were likely to be taken away by such distempers as they were not able to bear up against. They also would have them make five golden mice like to those that devoured and destroyed their country to put them in a bag, and lay them upon the ark; to make them a new cart also for it, and to yoke milch kine to it but to shut up their calves, and keep them from them, lest, by following after them, they should prove a hinderance to their dams, and that the dams might return the faster out of a desire of those calves; then to drive these milch kine that carried the ark, and leave it at a place where three ways met, and So leave it to the kine to go along which of those ways they pleased; that in case they went the way to the Hebrews, and ascended to their country, they should suppose that the ark was the cause of their misfortunes; but if they turned into another road, they said, "We will pursue after it, and conclude that it has no such force in it."

3. So they determined that these men spake well; and they immediately confirmed their opinion by doing accordingly. And when they had done as has been already described, they brought the cart to a place where three ways met, and left it there and went their ways; but the kine went the right way, and as if some persons had driven them, while the rulers of the Philistines followed after them, as desirous to know where they would stand still, and to whom they would go. Now there was a certain village of the tribe of Judah, the name of which was Bethshemesh, and to that village did the kine go; and though there was a great and good plain before them to proceed in, they went no farther, but stopped the cart there. This was a sight to those of that village, and they were very glad; for it being then summer-time, and all the inhabitants being then in the fields gathering in their fruits, they left off the labours of their hands for joy, as soon as they saw the ark, and ran to the cart, and taking the ark down, and the vessel that had the images in it, and the mice, they set them upon a certain rock which was in the plain; and when they had offered a splendid sacrifice to God, and feasted, they offered the cart and the kine as a burnt-offering: and when the lords of the Philistines saw this, they returned back.

4. But now it was that the wrath of God overtook them, and struck seventy persons of the village of Bethshemesh dead, who, not being priests, and so not worthy to touch the ark, had approached to it. 4 Those of that village wept for these that had thus suffered, and made such a lamentation as was naturally to be expected on so great a misfortune that was sent from God; and every one mourned for his own relation. And since they acknowledged themselves unworthy of the ark's abode with them, they sent to the public senate of the

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Israelites, and informed them that the ark was restored by the Philistines; which when they knew, they brought it away to Kirjathjearim, a city in the neighbourhood of Bethshemesh. In this city lived one Abinadab, by birth a Levite, and who was greatly commended for his righteous and religious course of life; so they brought the ark to his house, as to a place fit for God himself to abide in, since therein did inhabit a righteous man. His sons also ministered to the Divine service at the ark, and were the principal curators of it for twenty years; for so many years it continued in Kirjathjearim, having been but four months with the Philistines.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 2

The Expedition Of The Philistines Against The Hebrews And The Hebrews' Victory Under The Conduct Of Samuel The Prophet, Who Was Their General.

1. Now while the city of Kirjathjearim had the ark with them, the whole body of the people betook themselves all that time to offer prayers and sacrifices to God, and appeared greatly concerned and zealous about his worship. So Samuel the prophet, seeing how ready they were to do their duty, thought this a proper time to speak to them, while they were in this good disposition, about the recovery of their liberty, and of the blessings that accompanied the same. Accordingly he used such words to them as he thought were most likely to excite that inclination, and to persuade them to attempt it: "O you Israelites," said he, "to whom the Philistines are still grievous enemies, but to whom God begins to be gracious, it behooves you not only to be desirous of liberty, but to take the proper methods to obtain it. Nor are you to be contented with an inclination to get clear of your lords and masters, while you still do what will procure your continuance under them. Be righteous then, and cast wickedness out of your souls, and by your worship supplicate the Divine Majesty with all your hearts, and persevere in the honour you pay to him; for if you act thus, you will enjoy prosperity; you will be freed from your slavery, and will get the victory over your enemies: which blessings it is not possible you should attain, either by weapons of war, or by the strength of your bodies, or by the multitude of your assistants; for God has not promised to grant these blessings by those means, but by being good and righteous men; and if you will be such, I will be security to you for the performance of God's promises." When Samuel had said thus, the multitude applauded his discourse, and were pleased with his exhortation to them, and gave their consent to resign themselves up to do what was pleasing to God. So Samuel gathered them together to a certain city called Mizpeh, which, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies a watch-tower; there they drew water, and poured it out to God, and fasted all day, and betook themselves to their prayers.

2. This their assembly did not escape the notice of the Philistines: so when they had learned that so large a company had met together, they fell upon the Hebrews with a great army and mighty forces, as hoping to assault them when they did not expect it, nor were prepared for it. This thing affrighted the Hebrews, and put them into disorder and terror; so they came running to Samuel, and said that their souls were sunk by their fears, and by the former defeat they had received, and "that thence it was that we lay still, lest we should excite the power of our enemies against us. Now while thou hast brought us hither to offer up our prayers and sacrifices, and take oaths [to be obedient], our enemies are making an expedition against us, while we are naked and unarmed; wherefore we have no other hope of deliverance but that by thy means, and by the assistance God shall afford us upon thy prayers to him, we shall obtain deliverance from the Philistines." Hereupon Samuel bade them be of good cheer, and promised them that God would assist them; and taking a sucking lamb, he sacrificed it for the multitude, and besought God to hold his protecting hand over them when they should fight with the Philistines, and not to overlook them, nor suffer them to come under a second misfortune. Accordingly God hearkened to his prayers, and accepting their sacrifice with a gracious intention, and such as was disposed to assist them, he granted them victory and power over their enemies. Now while the altar had the sacrifice of God upon it, and had not yet consumed it wholly by its sacred fire, the enemy's army marched out of their camp, and was put in order of battle, and this in hope that they should be conquerors, since the Jews were caught in distressed circumstances, as neither having their weapons with them, nor being assembled there in order to fight. But things so fell out, that they would hardly have been credited though they had been foretold by anybody: for, in the first place, God disturbed their enemies with an earthquake, and moved the ground under them to such a degree, that he caused it to tremble, and made them to shake, insomuch that by its trembling, he made some unable to keep their feet, and made them fall down, and by opening its chasms, he caused that others should be hurried down into them; after which he caused such a noise of thunder to come among them, and made fiery lightning shine so terribly round about them, that it was ready to burn their faces; and he so suddenly shook their weapons out of their hands, that he made them fly and return home naked. So Samuel with the multitude pursued them to Bethcar, a place so called; and there he set up a stone as a boundary of their victory and their enemies' flight, and called it the Stone of Power, as a signal of that power God had given them against their enemies.

3. So the Philistines, after this stroke, made no more expeditions against the Israelites, but lay still out of fear, and out of remembrance of what had befallen them; and what courage the Philistines had formerly against the Hebrews, that, after this victory, was transferred to the Hebrews. Samuel also made an expedition against the Philistines, and slew many of them, and entirely humbled their proud hearts, and took from them that country, which, when they were formerly conquerors in battle, they had cut off from the Jews, which was the country that extended from the borders of Gath to the city of Ekron: but the remains of the Canaanites were at this time in friendship with the Israelites.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 3

How Samuel When He Was So Infirm With Old Age That He Could Not Take Care Of The Public Affairs Intrusted Them To His Sons; And How Upon The Evil Administration Of The Government By Them The Multitude Were So Angry, That They Required To Have A King To Govern Them, Although Samuel Was Much Displeased Thereat.

1. But Samuel the prophet, when he had ordered the affairs of the people after a convenient manner, and had appointed a city for every district of them, he commanded them to come to such cities, to have the controversies that they had one with another determined in them, he himself going over those cities twice in a year, and doing them justice; and by that means he kept them in very good order for a long time.

2. But afterwards he found himself oppressed with old age, and not able to do what he used to do, so he committed the government and the care of the multitude to his sons,—the elder of whom was called Joel, and the name of the younger was Abiah. He also enjoined them to reside and judge the people, the one at the city of Bethel, and the other at Beersheba, and divided the people into districts that should be under the jurisdiction of each of them. Now these men afford us an evident example and demonstration how some children are not of the like dispositions with their parents; but sometimes perhaps good and moderate, though born of wicked parents; and sometimes showing themselves to be wicked, though born of good parents: for these men turning aside from their father's good courses, and taking a course that was contrary to them, perverted justice for the 'filthy lucre of gifts and bribes, and made their determinations not according to truth, but according to bribery, and turned aside to luxury, and a costly way of living; so that as, in the first place, they practiced what was contrary to the will of God, so did they, in the second place, what was contrary to the will of the prophet their father, who had taken a great deal of care, and made a very careful provision that the multitude should be righteous.

3. But the people, upon these injuries offered to their former constitution and government by the prophet's sons, were very uneasy at their actions, and came running to the prophet, who then lived at the city Ramah, and informed him of the transgressions of his sons; and said, That as he was himself old already, and too infirm by that age of his to oversee their affairs in the manner he used to do, so they begged of him, and entreated him, to appoint some person to be king over them, who might rule over the nation, and avenge them of the Philistines, who ought to be punished for their former oppressions. These words greatly afflicted Samuel, on account of his innate love of justice, and his hatred to kingly government, for he was very fond of an aristocracy, as what made the men that used it of a divine and happy disposition; nor could he either think of eating or sleeping, out of his concern and torment of mind at what they had said, but all the night long did he continue awake and revolved these notions in his mind.

4. While he was thus disposed, God appeared to him, and comforted him, saying, That he ought not to be uneasy at what the multitude desired, because it was not he, but Himself whom they so insolently despised, and would not have to be alone their king; that they had been contriving these things from the very day that they came out of Egypt; that however in no long time they would sorely repent of what they did, which repentance yet could not undo what was thus done for futurity; that they would be sufficiently rebuked for their contempt, and the ungrateful conduct they have used towards me, and towards thy prophetic office. "So I command thee to ordain them such a one as I shall name beforehand to be their king, when thou hast first described what mischiefs kingly government will bring upon them, and openly testified before them into what a great change of affairs they are hasting."

5. When Samuel had heard this, he called the Jews early in the morning, and confessed to them that he was to ordain them a king; but he said that he was first to describe to them what would follow, what treatment they would receive from their kings, and with how many mischiefs they must struggle. "For know ye," said he, "that, in the first place, they will take your sons away from you, and they will command some of them to be drivers of their chariots, and some to be their horsemen, and the guards of their body, and others of them to be runners before them, and captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds; they will also make them their artificers, makers of armour, and of chariots, and of instruments; they will make them their husbandmen also, and the curators of their own fields, and the diggers of their own vineyards; nor will there be any thing which they will not do at their commands, as if they were slaves bought with money. They will also appoint your daughters to be confectioners, and cooks, and bakers; and these will be obliged to do all sorts of work which women slaves, that are in fear of stripes and torments, submit to. They will, besides this, take away your possessions, and bestow them upon their eunuchs, and the guards of their bodies, and will give the herds of your cattle to their own servants: and to say briefly all at once, you, and all that is yours, will be servants to your king, and will become no way superior to his slaves; and when you suffer thus, you will thereby be put in mind of what I now say. And when you repent of what you have done, you will beseech God to have mercy upon you, and to grant you a quick deliverance from your kings; but he will not accept your prayers, but will neglect you, and permit you to suffer the punishment your evil conduct has deserved."

6. But the multitude was still so foolish as to be deaf to these predictions of what would befall them; and too peevish to suffer a determination which they had injudiciously once made, to be taken out of their mind; for they could not be turned from their purpose, nor did they regard the words of Samuel, but peremptorily insisted on their resolution, and desired him to ordain them a king immediately, and not trouble himself with fears of what would happen hereafter, for that it was necessary they should have with them one to fight their battles, and to avenge them of their enemies, and that it was no way absurd, when their neighbours were under kingly government, that they should have the same form of government also. So when Samuel saw that what he had said had not diverted them from their purpose, but that they continued resolute, he said, "Go you every one home for the present; when it is fit I will send for you, as soon as I shall have learned from God who it is that he will give you for your king."

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 4

The Appointment Of A King Over The Israelites, Whose Name Was Saul; And This By The Command Of God.

1. Ther was one of the tribe of Benjamin, a man of a good family, and of a virtuous disposition; his name was Kish. He had a son, a young man of a comely countenance, and of a tall body, but his understanding and his mind were preferable to what was visible in him: they called him Saul. Now this Kish had some fine she-asses that were wandered out of the pasture wherein they fed, for he was more delighted with these than with any other cattle he had; so he sent out his son, and one servant with him, to search for the beasts; but when he had gone over his own tribe in search after the asses, he went to other tribes, and when he found them not there neither, he determined to go his way home, lest he should occasion any concern to his father about himself. But when his servant that followed him told him as they were near the city of Ramah, that there was a true prophet in that city, and advised him to go to him, for that by him they should know the upshot of the affair of their asses, he replied, That if they should go to him, they had nothing to give him as a reward for his prophecy, for their subsistence money was spent. The servant answered, that he had still the fourth part of a shekel, and he would present him with that; for they were mistaken out of ignorance, as not knowing that the prophet received no such reward. So they went to him; and when they were before the gates, they lit upon certain maidens that were going to fetch water, and they asked them which was the prophet's house. They showed them which it was; and bid them make haste before he sat down to supper, for he had invited many guests to a feast, and that he used to sit down before those that were invited. Now Samuel had then gathered many together to feast with him on this very account; for while he every day prayed to God to tell him beforehand whom he would make king, he had informed him of this man the day before, for that he would send him a certain young man out of the tribe of Benjamin about this hour of the day; and he sat on the top of the house in expectation of that time's being come. And when the time was completed, he came down and went to supper; so he met with Saul, and God discovered to him that this was he who should rule over them. Then Saul went up to Samuel and saluted him, and desired him to inform him which was the prophet's house; for he said he was a stranger and did not know it. When Samuel had told him that he himself was the person, he led him in to supper, and assured him that the asses were found which he had been to seek, and that the greatest of good things were assured to him: he replied, "I am too inconsiderable to hope for any such thing, and of a tribe to small to have kings made out of it, and of a family smaller than several other families; but thou tellest me this in jest, and

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makest me an object of laughter, when thou discoursest with me of greater matters than what I stand in need of." However, the prophet led him in to the feast, and made him sit down, him and his servant that followed him, above the other guests that were invited, which were seventy in number 7 and he gave orders to the servants to set the royal portion before Saul. And when the time of going to bed was come, the rest rose up, and every one of them went home; but Saul staid with the prophet, he and his servant, and slept with him.

2. Now as soon as it was day, Samuel raised up Saul out of his bed, and conducted him homeward; and when he was out of the city, he desired him to cause his servant to go before, but to stay behind himself, for that he had somewhat to say to him when nobody else was present. Accordingly, Saul sent away his servant that followed him; then did the prophet take a vessel of oil, and poured it upon the head of the young man, and kissed him, and said, "Be thou a king, by the ordination of God, against the Philistines, and for avenging the Hebrews for what they have suffered by them; of this thou shalt have a sign, which I would have thee take notice of:—As soon as thou art departed hence, thou will find three men upon the road, going to worship God at Bethel; the first of whom thou wilt see carrying three loaves of bread, the second carrying a kid of the goats, and the third will follow them carrying a bottle of wine. These three men will salute thee, and speak kindly to thee, and will give thee two of their loaves, which thou shalt accept of. And thence thou shalt come to a place called Rachel's Monument, where thou shalt meet with those that will tell thee thy asses are found; after this, when thou comest to Gabatha, thou shalt overtake a company of prophets, and thou shalt be seized with the Divine Spirit, and prophesy along with them, till every one that sees thee shall be astonished, and wonder, and say, Whence is it that the son of Kish has arrived at this degree of happiness? And when these signs have happened to thee, know that God is with thee; then do thou salute thy father and thy kindred. Thou shalt also come when I send for thee to Gilgal, that we may offer thank-offerings to God for these blessings." When Samuel had said this, and foretold these things, he sent the young man away. Now all things fell out to Saul according to the prophecy of Samuel.

3. But as soon as Saul came into the house of his kinsman Abner, whom indeed he loved better than the rest of his relations, he was asked by him concerning his journey, and what accidents happened to him therein; and he concealed none of the other things from him, no, not his coming to Samuel the prophet, nor how he told him the asses were found; but he said nothing to him about the kingdom, and what belonged thereto, which he thought would procure him envy, and when such things are heard, they are not easily believed; nor did he think it prudent to tell those things to him, although he appeared very friendly to him, and one whom he loved above the rest of his relations, considering, I suppose, what human nature really is, that no one is a firm friend, neither among our intimates, nor of our kindred; nor do they preserve that kind disposition when God advances men to great prosperity, but they are still ill-natured and envious at those that are in eminent stations.

4. Then Samuel called the people together to the city Mizpeh, and spake to them in the words following, which he said he was to speak by the command of God:—That when he had granted them a state of liberty, and brought their enemies into subjection, they were become unmindful of his benefits, and rejected God that he should not be their King, as not considering that it would be most for their advantage to be presided over by the best of beings, for God is the best of beings, and they chose to have a man for their king; while kings will use their subjects as beasts, according to the violence of their own wills and inclinations, and other passions, as wholly carried away with the lust of power, but will not endeavor so to preserve the race of mankind as his own workmanship and creation, which, for that very reason, God would take cake of. "But since you have come to a fixed resolution, and this injurious treatment of God has quite prevailed over you, dispose yourselves by your tribes and scepters, and cast lots."

5. When the Hebrews had so done, the lot fell upon the tribe of Benjamin; and when the lot was cast for the families of this tribe, that which was called Matri was taken; and when the lot was cast for the single persons of that family, Saul, the son of Kish, was taken for their king. When the young man knew this, he prevented [their sending for him], and immediately went away and hid himself. I suppose that it was because he would not have it thought that he willingly took the government upon him; nay, he showed such a degree of command over himself, and of modesty, that while the greatest part are not able to contain their joy, even in the gaining of small advantages, but presently show themselves publicly to all men, this man did not only show nothing of that nature, when he was appointed to be the lord of so many and so great tribes, but crept away and concealed himself out of the sight of those he was to reign over, and made them seek him, and that with a good deal of trouble. So when the people were at a loss, and solicitous, because Saul disappeared, the prophet besought God to show where the young man was, and to produce him before them. So when they had learned of God the place where Saul was hidden, they sent men to bring him; and when he was come, they set him in the midst of the multitude. Now he was taller than any of them, and his stature was very majestic.

6. Then said the prophet, "God gives you this man to be your king: see how he is higher than any of the people, and worthy of this dominion." So as soon as the people had made acclamation, God save the king, the prophet wrote down what would come to pass in a book, and read it in the hearing of the king, and laid up the book in the tabernacle of God, to be a witness to future generations of what he had foretold. So when Samuel had finished this matter, he dismissed the multitude, and came himself to the city Rainah, for it was his own country. Saul also went away to Gibeah, where he was born; and many good men there were who paid him the respect that was due to him; but the greater part were ill men, who despised him and derided the others, who neither did bring him presents, nor did they in affection, or even in words, regard to please him.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 5

Saul's Expedition Against The Nation Of The Ammonites And Victory Over Them And The Spoils He Took From Them.

1. After one month, the war which Saul had with Nahash, the king of the Ammonites, obtained him respect from all the people; for this Nahash had done a great deal of mischief to the Jews that lived beyond Jordan by the expedition he had made against them with a great and warlike army. He also reduced their cities into slavery, and that not only by subduing them for the present, which he did by force and violence, but by weakening them by subtlety and cunning, that they might not be able afterward to get clear of the slavery they were under to him; for he put out the right eyes of those that either delivered themselves to him upon terms, or were taken by him in war; and this he did, that when their left eyes were covered by their shields, they might be wholly useless in war. Now when the king of the Ammonites had served those beyond Jordan in this manner, he led his army against those that were called Gileadites, and having pitched his camp at the metropolis of his enemies, which was the city of Jabesh, he sent ambassadors to them, commanding them either to deliver themselves up, on condition to have their right eyes plucked out, or to undergo a siege, and to have their cities overthrown. He gave them their choice, whether they would cut off a small member of their body, or universally perish. However, the Gileadites were so affrighted at these offers, that they had not courage to say any thing to either of them, neither that they would deliver themselves up, nor that they would fight him. But they desired that he would give them seven days' respite, that they might send ambassadors to their countrymen, and entreat their assistance; and if they came to assist them, they would fight; but if that assistance were impossible to be obtained from them, they said they would deliver themselves up to suffer whatever he pleased to inflict upon them.

2. So Nabash, contemning the multitude of the Gileadites and the answer they gave, allowed them a respite, and gave them leave to send to whomsoever they pleased for assistance. So they immediately sent to the Israelites, city by city, and informed them what Nabash had threatened to do to them, and what great distress they were in. Now the people fell into tears and grief at the hearing of what the ambassadors from Jabesh said; and the terror they were in permitted them to do nothing more. But when the messengers were come to the city of king Saul, and declared the dangers in which the inhabitants of Jabesh were, the people were in the same affliction as those in the other cities, for they lamented the calamity of those related to them. And when Saul was returned from his husbandry into the city, he found his fellow citizens weeping; and when, upon inquiry, he had learned the cause of the confusion and sadness they were in, he was seized with a divine fury, and sent away the ambassadors from the inhabitants of Jabesh, and promised them to come to their assistance on the third day, and to beat their enemies before sun-rising, that the sun upon its rising might see that they had already conquered, and were freed from the fears they were under: but he bid some of them stay to conduct them the right way to Jabesh.

3. So being desirous to turn the people to this war against the Ammonites by fear of the losses they should otherwise undergo, and that they might the more suddenly be gathered together, he cut the sinews of his oxen, and threatened to do the same to all such as did not come with their armour to Jordan the next day, and follow him and Samuel the prophet whithersoever they should lead them. So they came together, out of fear of the losses they were threatened with, at the appointed time. And the multitude were numbered at the city Bezek. And he found the number of those that were gathered together, besides that of the tribe of Judah, to be seven hundred thousand, while those of that tribe were seventy thousand. So he passed over Jordan, and proceeded in marching all that night, thirty furlongs, and came to Jabesh before sun-rising. So he divided the army into three companies; and fell upon their enemies on every side on the sudden, and when they expected no such thing; and joining battle with them, they slew a great many of the Ammonites, as also their king Nabash. This glorious action was done by Saul, and was related with great commendation of him to all the Hebrews; and he thence gained a wonderful reputation for his valour: for although there were some of them that contemned him before, they now changed their minds, and honoured him, and esteemed him as the best of men: for he did not content himself with having saved the inhabitants of Jabesh only, but he made an expedition into the country of the Ammonites, and laid it all waste, and took a large prey, and so returned to his own country most gloriously. So the people were greatly pleased at these excellent performances of Saul, and rejoiced that they had constituted him their king. They also made a clamour against those that pretended he would be of no advantage to their affairs; and they said, Where now are these men?—let them be brought to punishment, with all the like things that multitudes usually say when they are elevated with prosperity, against those that lately had despised the authors of it. But Saul, although he took the good-will and the affection of these men very kindly, yet did he swear that he would not see any of his countrymen slain that day, since it was absurd to mix this victory, which God had given them, with the blood and slaughter of those that were of the same lineage with themselves; and that it was more agreeable to be men of a friendly disposition, and so to betake themselves to feasting.

4. And when Samuel had told them that he ought to confirm the kingdom to Saul by a second ordination of him, they all came together to the city of Gilgal, for thither did he command them to come. So the prophet anointed Saul with the holy oil in the sight of the multitude, and declared him to be king the second time. And so the government of the Hebrews was changed into a regal government; for in the days of Moses, and his disciple Joshua, who was their general, they continued under an aristocracy; but after the death of Joshua, for eighteen years in all, the multitude had no settled form of government, but were in an anarchy; after which they returned to their former government, they then permitting themselves to be judged by him who appeared to be the best warrior and most courageous, whence it was that they called this interval of their government the Judges.

5. Then did Samuel the prophet call another assembly also, and said to them, "I solemnly adjure you by God Almighty, who brought those excellent brethren, I mean Moses and Aaron, into the world, and delivered our fathers from the Egyptians, and from the slavery they endured under them, that you will not speak what you say to gratify me, nor suppress any thing out of fear of me, nor be overborne by any other passion, but say, What have I ever done that was cruel or unjust? or what have I done out of lucre or covetousness, or to gratify others? Bear witness against me, if I have taken an ox or a sheep, or any such thing, which yet when they are taken to support men, it is esteemed blameless; or have I taken an ass for mine own use of any one to his grief?—lay some one such crime to my charge, now we are in your king's presence." But they cried out, that no such thing had been done by him, but that he had presided over the nation after a holy and righteous manner.

6. Hereupon Samuel, when such a testimony had been given him by them all, said, "Since you grant that you are not able to lay any ill thing to my charge hitherto, come on now, and do you hearken while I speak with great freedom to you. You have been guilty of great impiety against God, in asking you a king. It behoves you to remember that our grandfather Jacob came down into Egypt, by reason of a famine, with seventy souls only of our family, and that their posterity multiplied there to many ten thousands, whom the Egyptians brought into slavery and hard oppression; that God himself, upon the prayers of our fathers, sent Moses and Aaron, who were brethren, and gave them power to deliver the multitude out of their distress, and this without a king. These brought us into this very land which you now possess: and when you enjoyed these advantages from God, you betrayed his worship and religion; nay, moreover, when you were brought under the hands of your enemies, he delivered you, first by rendering you superior to the Assyrians and their forces, he then made you to overcome the Ammonites and the Moabites, and last of all the Philistines; and these things have been achieved under the conduct of Jephtha and Gideon. What madness therefore possessed you to fly from God, and to desire to be under a king?—yet have I ordained him for king whom he chose for you. However, that I may make it plain to you that God is angry and displeased at your choice of kingly government, I will so dispose him that he shall declare this very plainly to you by strange signals; for what none of you ever saw here before, I mean a winter storm in the midst of harvest, I will entreat of God, and will make it visible to you." Now, as soon as he had said this, God gave such great signals by thunder and lightning, and the descent of hail, as attested the truth of all that the prophet had said, insomuch that they were amazed and terrified, and confessed they had sinned, and had fallen

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into that sin through ignorance; and besought the prophet, as one that was a tender and gentle father to them, to render God so merciful as to forgive this their sin, which they had added to those other offenses whereby they had affronted him and transgressed against him. So he promised them that he would beseech God, and persuade him to forgive them these their sins. However, he advised them to be righteous, and to be good, and ever to remember the miseries that had befallen them on account of their departure from virtue: as also to remember the strange signs God had shown them, and the body of laws that Moses had given them, if they had any desire of being preserved and made happy with their king. But he said, that if they should grow careless of these things, great judgements would come from God upon them, and upon their king. And when Samuel had thus prophesied to the Hebrews, he dismissed them to their own homes, having confirmed the kingdom to Saul the second time.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 6

How The Philistines Made Another Expedition Against The Hebrews And Were Beaten.

1. Now Saul chose out of the multitude about three thousand men, and he took two thousand of them to be the guards of his own body, and abode in the city Bethel, but he gave the rest of them to Jonathan his son, to be the guards of his body; and sent him to Gibeah, where he besieged and took a certain garrison of the Philistines, not far from Gilgal; for the Philistines of Gibeah had beaten the Jews, and taken their weapons away, and had put garrisons into the strongest places of the country, and had forbidden them to carry any instrument of iron, or at all to make use of any iron in any case whatsoever. And on account of this prohibition it was that the husbandmen, if they had occasion to sharpen any of their tools, whether it were the coulter or the spade, or any instrument of husbandry, they came to the Philistines to do it. Now as soon as the Philistines heard of this slaughter of their garrison, they were in a rage about it, and, looking on this contempt as a terrible affront offered them, they made war against the Jews, with three hundred thousand footmen, and thirty thousand chariots, and six thousand horses; and they pitched their camp at the city Michmash. When Saul, the king of the Hebrews, was informed of this, he went down to the city Gilgal, and made proclamation over all the country, that they should try to regain their liberty; and called them to the war against the Philistines, diminishing their forces, and despising them as not very considerable, and as not so great but they might hazard a battle with them. But when the people about Saul observed how numerous the Philistines were, they were under a great consternation; and some of them hid themselves in caves and in dens under ground, but the greater part fled into the land beyond Jordan, which belonged to Gad and Reuben.

2. But Saul sent to the prophet, and called him to consult with him about the war and the public affairs; so he commanded him to stay there for him, and to prepare sacrifices, for he would come to him within seven days, that they might offer sacrifices on the seventh day, and might then join battle with their enemies. So he waited 11 as the prophet sent to him to do; yet did not he, however, observe the command that was given him, but when he saw that the prophet tarried longer than he expected, and that he was deserted by the soldiers, he took the sacrifices and offered them; and when he heard that Samuel was come, he went out to meet him. But the prophet said he had not done well in disobeying the injunctions he had sent to him, and had not staid till his coming, which being appointed according to the will of God, he had prevented him in offering up those prayers and those sacrifices that he should have made for the multitude, and that he therefore had performed Divine offices in an ill manner, and had been rash in performing them. Hereupon Saul made an apology for himself, and said that he had waited as many days as Samuel had appointed him; that he had been so quick in offering his sacrifices, upon account of the necessity he was in, and because his soldiers were departing from him, out of their fear of the enemy's camp at Michmash, the report being gone abroad that they were coming down upon him of Gilgal. To which Samuel replied, "Nay, certainly, if thou hadst been a righteous man, and hadst not disobeyed me, nor slighted the commands which God suggested to me concerning the present state of affairs, and hadst not acted more hastily than the present circumstances required, thou wouldst have been permitted to reign a long time, and thy posterity after thee." So Samuel, being grieved at what happened, returned home; but Saul came to the city Gibeah, with his son Jonathan, having only six hundred men with him; and of these the greater part had no weapons, because of the scarcity of iron in that country, as well as of those that could make such weapons; for, as we showed a little before, the Philistines had not suffered them to have such iron or such workmen. Now the Philistines divided their army into three companies, and took as many roads, and laid waste the country of the Hebrews, while king Saul and his son Jonathan saw what was done, but were not able to defend the land, having no more than six hundred men with them. But as he, and his son, and Abiah the high priest, who was of the posterity of Eli the high priest, were sitting upon a pretty high hill, and seeing the land laid waste, they were mightily disturbed at it. Now Saul's son agreed with his armour-bearer, that they would go privately to the enemy's camp, and make a tumult and a disturbance among them. And when the armour-bearer had readily promised to follow him whithersoever he should lead him, though he should be obliged to die in the attempt, Jonathan made use of the young man's assistance, and descended from the hill, and went to their enemies. Now the enemy's camp was upon a precipice which had three tops, that ended in a small but sharp and long extremity, while there was a rock that surrounded them, like lines made to prevent the attacks of an enemy. There it so happened, that the out-guards of the camp were neglected, because of the security that here arose from the situation of the place, and because they thought it altogether impossible, not only to ascend up to the camp on that quarter, but so much as to come near it. As soon, therefore, as they came to the camp, Jonathan encouraged his armour-bearer, and said to him, "Let us attack our enemies; and if, when they see us, they bid us come up to them, take that for a signal of victory; but if they say nothing, as not intending to invite us to come up, let us return back again." So when they were approaching to the enemy's camp, just after break of day, and the Philistines saw them, they said one to another, "The Hebrews come out of their dens and caves:" and they said to Jonathan and to his armour-bearer, "Come on, ascend up to us, that we may inflict a just punishment upon you, for your rash attempt upon us." So Saul's son accepted of that invitation, as what signified to him victory, and he immediately came out of the place whence they were seen by their enemies: so he changed his place, and came to the rock, which had none to guard it, because of its own strength; from thence they crept up with great labour and difficulty, and so far overcame by force the nature of the place, till they were able to fight with their enemies. So they fell upon them as they were asleep, and slew about twenty of them, and thereby filled them with disorder and surprise, insomuch that some of them threw away their entire armour and fled; but the greatest part, not knowing one another, because they were of different nations, suspected one another to be enemies, [for they did not imagine there were only two of the Hebrews that came up,] and so they fought one against another; and some of them died in the battle, and some, as they were flying away, were thrown down from the rock headlong.

3. Now Saul's watchmen told the king that the camp of the Philistines was in confusion; then he inquired whether any body was gone away from the army; and when he heard that his son, and with him his armour-bearer, were absent, he bade the high priest take the garments of his high priesthood, and prophesy to him what success they should have; who said that they should get the victory, and prevail against their enemies. So he went out after the Philistines, and set upon them as they were slaying one another. Those also who had fled to dens and caves, upon hearing that Saul was gaining a victory, came running to him. When, therefore, the number of the Hebrews that came to Saul amounted to about ten thousand, he pursued the enemy, who were scattered all over the country; but then he fell into an action, which was a very unhappy one, and liable to be very much blamed; for, whether out of ignorance or whether out of joy for a victory gained so strangely, [for it frequently happens that persons so fortunate are not then able to use their reason consistently,] as he was desirous to avenge himself, and to exact a due punishment of the Philistines, he denounced a curse upon the Hebrews: That if any one put a stop to his slaughter of the enemy, and fell on eating, and left off the slaughter or the pursuit before the night came on, and obliged them so to do, he should be accursed. Now after Saul had denounced this curse, since they were now in a wood belonging to the tribe of Ephraim, which was thick and full of bees, Saul's son, who did not hear his father denounce that curse, nor hear of the approbation the multitude gave to it, broke off a piece of a honey-comb, and ate part of it. But, in the mean time, he was informed with what a curse his father had forbidden them to taste any thing before sun-setting: so he left off eating, and said his father had not done well in this prohibition, because, had they taken some food, they had pursued the enemy with greater rigor and alacrity, and had both taken and slain many more of their enemies.

4. When, therefore, they had slain many ten thousands of the Philistines, they fell upon spoiling the camp of the Philistines, but not till late in the evening. They also took a great deal of prey and cattle, and killed them, and ate them with their blood. This was told to the king by the scribes, that the multitude were sinning against God as they sacrificed, and were eating before the blood was well washed away, and the flesh was made clean. Then did Saul give order that a great stone should be rolled into the midst of them, and he made proclamation that they should kill their sacrifices upon it, and not feed upon the flesh with the blood, for that was not acceptable to God. And when all the people did as the king commanded them, Saul erected an altar there, and offered burnt-offerings upon it to God. This was the first altar that Saul built.

5. So when Saul was desirous of leading his men to the enemy's camp before it was day, in order to plunder it, and when the soldiers were not unwilling to follow him, but indeed showed great readiness to do as he commanded them, the king called Ahitub the high priest, and enjoined him to know of God whether he would grant them the favour and permission to go against the enemy's camp, in order to destroy those that were in it. And when the priest said that God did not give any answer, Saul replied, "And not without some cause does God refuse to answer what we inquire of him, while yet a little while ago he declared to us all that we desired beforehand, and even prevented us in his answer. To be sure there is some sin against him that is concealed from us, which is the occasion of his silence. Now I swear by him himself, that though he that hath committed this sin should prove to be my own son Jonathan, I will slay him, and by that means will appease the anger of God against us, and that in the very same manner as if I were to punish a stranger, and one not at all related to me, for the same offense." So when the multitude cried out to him so to do, he presently set all the rest on one side, and he and his son stood on the other side, and he sought to discover the offender by lot. Now the lot appeared to fall upon Jonathan himself. So when he was asked by his father what sin he had been guilty of, and what he was conscious of in the course of his life that might be esteemed instances of guilt or profaneness, his answer was this, "O father, I have done nothing more than that yesterday, without knowing of the curse and oath thou hadst denounced, while I was in pursuit of the enemy, I tasted of a honey-comb." But Saul sware that he would slay him, and prefer the observation of his oath before all the ties of birth and of nature. And Jonathan was not dismayed at this threatening of death, but, offering himself to it generously and undauntedly, he said, "Nor do I desire you, father, to spare me: death will be to me very acceptable, when it proceeds from thy piety, and after a glorious victory; for it is the greatest consolation to me that I leave the Hebrews victorious over the Philistines." Hereupon all the people were very sorry, and greatly afflicted for Jonathan; and they sware that they would not overlook Jonathan, and see him die, who was the author of their victory. By which means they snatched him out of the danger he was in from his father's curse, while they made their prayers to God also for the young man, that he would remit his sin.

6. So Saul, having slain about sixty thousand of the enemy, returned home to his own city, and reigned happily: and he also fought against the neighbouring nations, and subdued the Ammonites, and Moabites, and Philistines, and Edomites, and Amalekites, as also the king of Zobah. He had three male children, Jonathan, and Isui, and Melchishua; with Merab and Michal his daughters. He had also Abner, his uncle's son, for the captain of his host: that uncle's name was Ner. Now Ner, and Kish the father of Saul, were brothers. Saul had also a great many chariots and horsemen, and against whomsoever he made war he returned conqueror, and advanced the affairs of the Hebrews to a great degree of success and prosperity, and made them superior to other nations; and he made such of the young men as were remarkable for tallness and comeliness the guards of his body.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 7

Saul's War With The Amalekites, And Conquest Of Them.

1. Now Samuel came unto Saul, and said to him, that he was sent by God to put him in mind that God had preferred him before all others, and ordained him king; that he therefore ought to be obedient to him, and to submit to his authority, as considering, that though he had the dominion over the other tribes, yet that God had the dominion over him, and over all things. That accordingly God said to him, that "because the Amalekites did the Hebrews a great deal of mischief while they were in the wilderness, and when, upon their coming out of Egypt, they were making their way to that country which is now their own, I enjoin thee to punish the Amalekites, by making war upon them; and when thou hast subdued them, to leave none of them alive, but to pursue them through every age, and to slay them, beginning with the women and the infants, and to require this as a punishment to be inflicted upon them for the mischief they did to our forefathers; to spare nothing, neither asses nor other beasts, nor to reserve any of them for your own advantage and possession, but to devote them universally to God, and, in obedience to the commands of Moses, to blot out the name of Amalek entirely."

2. So Saul promised to do what he was commanded; and supposing that his obedience to God would be shown, not only in making war against the Amalekites, but more fully in the readiness and quickness of his proceedings, he made no delay, but immediately gathered together all his forces; and when he had numbered them in Gilgal, he found them to be about four hundred thousand of the Israelites, besides the tribe of Judah, for that tribe contained by itself thirty thousand. Accordingly, Saul made an irruption into the country of the Amalekites, and set many men in several parties

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in ambush at the river, that so he might not only do them a mischief by open fighting, but might fall upon them unexpectedly in the ways, and might thereby compass them round about, and kill them. And when he had joined battle with the enemy, he beat them; and pursuing them as they fled, he destroyed them all. And when that undertaking had succeeded, according as God had foretold, he set upon the cities of the Amalekites; he besieged them, and took them by force, partly by warlike machines, partly by mines dug under ground, and partly by building walls on the outsides. Some they starved out with famine, and some they gained by other methods; and after all, he betook himself to slay the women and the children, and thought he did not act therein either barbarously or inhumanly; first, because they were enemies whom he thus treated, and, in the next place, because it was done by the command of God, whom it was dangerous not to obey. He also took Agag, the enemies' king, captive,—the beauty and tallness of whose body he admired so much, that he thought him worthy of preservation. Yet was not this done however according to the will of God, but by giving way to human passions, and suffering himself to be moved with an unseasonable commiseration, in a point where it was not safe for him to indulge it; for God hated the nation of the Amalekites to such a degree, that he commanded Saul to have no pity on even those infants which we by nature chiefly compassionate; but Saul preserved their king and governor from the miseries which the Hebrews brought on the people, as if he preferred the fine appearance of the enemy to the memory of what God had sent him about. The multitude were also guilty, together with Saul; for they spared the herds and the flocks, and took them for a prey, when God had commanded they should not spare them. They also carried off with them the rest of their wealth and riches; but if there were any thing that was not worthy of regard, that they destroyed.

3. But when Saul had conquered all these Amalekites that reached from Pelusium of Egypt to the Red Sea, he laid waste all the rest of the enemy's country: but for the nation of the Shechemites, he did not touch them, although they dwelt in the very middle of the country of Midian; for before the battle, Saul had sent to them, and charged them to depart thence, lest they should be partakers of the miseries of the Amalekites; for he had a just occasion for saving them, since they were of the kindred of Raguel, Moses's father-in-law.

4. Hereupon Saul returned home with joy, for the glorious things he had done, and for the conquest of his enemies, as though he had not neglected any thing which the prophet had enjoined him to do when he was going to make war with the Amalekites, and as though he had exactly observed all that he ought to have done. But God was grieved that the king of the Amalekites was preserved alive, and that the multitude had seized on the cattle for a prey, because these things were done without his permission; for he thought it an intolerable thing that they should conquer and overcome their enemies by that power which he gave them, and then that he himself should be so grossly despised and disobeyed by them, that a mere man that was a king would not bear it. He therefore told Samuel the prophet, that he repented that he had made Saul king, while he did nothing that he had commanded him, but indulged his own inclinations. When Samuel heard that, he was in confusion, and began to beseech God all that night to be reconciled to Saul, and not to be angry with him; but he did not grant that forgiveness to Saul which the prophet asked for, as not deeming it a fit thing to grant forgiveness of [such] sins at his entreaties, since injuries do not otherwise grow so great as by the easy tempers of those that are injured; or while they hunt after the glory of being thought gentle and good-natured, before they are aware they produce other sins. As soon therefore as God had rejected the intercession of the prophet, and it plainly appeared he would not change his mind, at break of day Samuel came to Saul at Gilgal. When the king saw him, he ran to him, and embraced him, and said, "I return thanks to God, who hath given me the victory, for I have performed every thing that he hath commanded me." To which Samuel replied, "How is it then that I hear the bleating of the sheep and the lowing of the greater cattle in the camp?" Saul made answer, That the people had reserved them for sacrifices; but that, as to the nation of the Amalekites, it was entirely destroyed, as he had received it in command to see done, and that no one man was left; but that he had saved alive the king alone, and brought him to him, concerning whom, he said, they would advise together what should be done with him. But the prophet said, "God is not delighted with sacrifices, but with good and with righteous men, who are such as follow his will and his laws, and never think that any thing is well done by them but when they do it as God had commanded them; that he then looks upon himself as affronted, not when any one does not sacrifice, but when any one appears to be disobedient to him. But that from those who do not obey him, nor pay him that duty which is the alone true and acceptable worship, he will not kindly accept their oblations, be those they offer ever so many and so fat, and be the presents they make him ever so ornamental, nay, though they were made of gold and silver themselves, but he will reject them, and esteem them instances of wickedness, and not of piety. And that he is delighted with those that still bear in mind this one thing, and this only, how to do that, whatsoever it be, which God pronounces or commands for them to do, and to choose rather to die than to transgress any of those commands; nor does he require so much as a sacrifice from them. And when these do sacrifice, though it be a mean oblation, he better accepts of it as the honour of poverty, than such oblations as come from the richest men that offer them to him. Wherefore take notice, that thou art under the wrath of God, for thou hast despised and neglected what he commanded thee. How dost thou then suppose that he will respect a sacrifice out of such things as he hath doomed to destruction? unless perhaps thou dost imagine that it is almost all one to offer it in sacrifice to God as to destroy it. Do thou therefore expect that thy kingdom will be taken from thee, and that authority which thou hast abused by such insolent behavior, as to neglect that God who bestowed it upon thee." Then did Saul confess that he had acted unjustly, and did not deny that he had sinned, because he had transgressed the injunctions of the prophet; but he said that it was out of a dread and fear of the soldiers, that he did not prohibit and restrain them when they seized on the prey. "But forgive me," said he, "and be merciful to me, for I will be cautious how I offend for the time to come." He also entreated the prophet to go back with him, that he might offer his thank-offerings to God; but Samuel went home, because he saw that God would not be reconciled to him.

5. But then Saul was so desirous to retain Samuel, that he took hold of his cloak, and because the vehemence of Samuel's departure made the motion to be violent, the cloak was rent. Upon which the prophet said, that after the same manner should the kingdom be rent from him, and that a good and a just man should take it; that God persevered in what he had decreed about him; that to be mutable and changeable in what is determined, is agreeable to human passions only, but is not agreeable to the Divine Power. Hereupon Saul said that he had been wicked, but that what was done could not be undone: he therefore desired him to honour him so far, that the multitude might see that he would accompany him in worshipping God. So Samuel granted him that favour, and went with him and worshipped God. Agag also, the king of the Amalekites, was brought to him; and when the king asked, How bitter death was? Samuel said, "As thou hast made many of the Hebrew mothers to lament and bewail the loss of their children, so shalt thou, by thy death, cause thy mother to lament thee also." Accordingly, he gave order to slay him immediately at Gilgal, and then went away to the city Ramah.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 8

How, Upon Saul's Transgression Of The Prophet's Commands, Samuel Ordained Another Person To Be King Privately, Whose Name Was David, As God Commanded Him.

1. Now Saul being sensible of the miserable condition he had brought himself into, and that he had made God to be his enemy, he went up to his royal palace at Gibeah, which name denotes a hill, and after that day he came no more into the presence of the prophet. And when Samuel mourned for him, God bid him leave off his concern for him, and to take the holy oil, and go to Bethlehem, to Jesse the son of Obed, and to anoint such of his sons as he should show him for their future king. But Samuel said, he was afraid lest Saul, when he came to know of it, should kill him, either by some private method or even openly. But upon God's suggesting to him a safe way of going thither, he came to the forementioned city; and when they all saluted him, and asked what was the occasion of his coming, he told them he came to sacrifice to God. When, therefore, he had gotten the sacrifice ready, he called Jesse and his sons to partake of those sacrifices; and when he saw his eldest son to be a tall and handsome man, he guessed by his comeliness that he was the person who was to be their future king. But he was mistaken in judging about God's providence; for when Samuel inquired of God whether he should anoint this youth, whom he so admired, and esteemed worthy of the kingdom, God said, "Men do not see as God seeth. Thou indeed hast respect to the fine appearance of this youth, and thence esteemest him worthy of the kingdom, while I propose the kingdom as a reward, not of the beauty of bodies, but of the virtue of souls, and I inquire after one that is perfectly comely in that respect; I mean one who is beautiful in piety, and righteousness, and fortitude, and obedience, for in them consists the comeliness of the soul." When God had said this, Samuel bade Jesse to show him all his sons. So he made five others of his sons to come to him; of all of whom Eliab was the eldest, Aminadab the second, Shammall the third, Nathaniel the fourth, Rael the fifth, and Asam the sixth. And when the prophet saw that these were no way inferior to the eldest in their countenances, he inquired of God which of them it was whom he chose for their king. And when God said it was none of them, he asked Jesse whether he had not some other sons besides these; and when he said that he had one more, named David, but that he was a shepherd, and took care of the flocks, Samuel bade them call him immediately, for that till he was come they could not possibly sit down to the feast. Now, as soon as his father had sent for David, and he was come, he appeared to be of a yellow complexion, of a sharp sight, and a comely person in other respects also. This is he, said Samuel privately to himself, whom it pleases God to make our king. So he sat down to the feast, and placed the youth under him, and Jesse also, with his other sons; after which he took oil in the presence of David, and anointed him, and whispered him in the ear, and acquainted him that God chose him to be their king; and exhorted him to be righteous, and obedient to his commands, for that by this means his kingdom would continue for a long time, and that his house should be of great splendour, and celebrated in the world; that he should overthrow the Philistines; and that against what nations soever he should make war, he should be the conqueror, and survive the fight; and that while he lived he should enjoy a glorious name, and leave such a name to his posterity also.

2. So Samuel, when he had given him these admonitions, went away. But the Divine Power departed from Saul, and removed to David; who, upon this removal of the Divine Spirit to him, began to prophesy. But as for Saul, some strange and demoniacal disorders came upon him, and brought upon him such suffocations as were ready to choke him; for which the physicians could find no other remedy but this, That if any person could charm those passions by singing, and playing upon the harp, they advised them to inquire for such a one, and to observe when these demons came upon him and disturbed him, and to take care that such a person might stand over him, and play upon the harp, and recite hymns to him. Accordingly Saul did not delay, but commanded them to seek out such a man. And when a certain stander-by said that he had seen in the city of Bethlehem a son of Jesse, who was yet no more than a child in age, but comely and beautiful, and in other respects one that was deserving of great regard, who was skillful in playing on the harp, and in singing of hymns, [and an excellent soldier in war,] he sent to Jesse, and desired him to take David away from the flocks, and send him to him, for he had a mind to see him, as having heard an advantageous character of his comeliness and his valour. So Jesse sent his son, and gave him presents to carry to Saul. And when he was come, Saul was pleased with him, and made him his armour-bearer, and had him in very great esteem; for he charmed his passion, and was the only physician against the trouble he had from the demons, whensoever it was that it came upon him, and this by reciting of hymns, and playing upon the harp, and bringing Saul to his right mind again. However, he sent to Jesse, the father of the child, and desired him to permit David to stay with him, for that he was delighted with his sight and company; which stay, that he might not contradict Saul, he granted.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 9

How The Philistines Made Another Expedition Against The Hebrews Under The Reign Of Saul; And How They Were Overcome By David's Slaying Goliath In Single Combat.

1. Now the Philistines gathered themselves together again no very long time afterward; and having gotten together a great army, they made war against the Israelites; and having seized a place between Shochoh and Azekah, they there pitched their camp. Saul also drew out his army to oppose them; and by pitching his own camp on a certain hill, he forced the Philistines to leave their former camp, and to encamp themselves upon such another hill, over-against that on which Saul's army lay, so that a valley, which was between the two hills on which they lay, divided their camps asunder. Now there came down a man out of the camp of the Philistines, whose name was Goliath, of the city of Gath, a man of vast bulk, for he was of four cubits and a span in tallness, and had about him weapons suitable to the largeness of his body, for he had a breastplate on that weighed five thousand shekels: he had also a helmet and greaves of brass, as large as you would naturally suppose might cover the limbs of so vast a body. His spear was also such as was not carried like a light thing in his right hand, but he carried it as lying on his shoulders. He had also a lance of six hundred shekels; and many followed him to carry his armour. Wherefore this Goliath stood between the two armies, as they were in battle array, and sent out aloud voice, and said to Saul and the Hebrews, "I will free you from fighting and from dangers; for what necessity is there that your army should fall and be afflicted? Give me a man of you that will fight with me, and he that conquers shall have the reward of the conqueror and determine the war; for these shall serve those others to whom the conqueror shall belong; and certainly it is much better, and more prudent, to gain what you desire by the hazard of one man than of all." When he had said this, he retired to his own camp; but the next day he came again, and used the same words, and did not leave off for forty days together, to challenge the enemy in the same words, till Saul and his army were therewith terrified, while they put themselves in array as if they would fight, but did not come to a close battle.

2. Now while this war between the Hebrews and the Philistines was going on, Saul sent away David to his father Jesse, and contented himself with those three sons of his whom he had sent to his assistance, and to be partners in the dangers of the war: and at first David returned to feed his sheep and

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his flocks; but after no long time he came to the camp of the Hebrews, as sent by his father, to carry provisions to his brethren, and to know what they were doing. While Goliath came again, and challenged them, and reproached them, that they had no man of valour among them that durst come down to fight him; and as David was talking with his brethren about the business for which his father had sent him, he heard the Philistine reproaching and abusing the army, and had indignation at it, and said to his brethren, "I am ready to fight a single combat with this adversary." Whereupon Eliab, his eldest brother, reproved him, and said that he spoke too rashly and improperly for one of his age, and bid him go to his flocks, and to his father. So he was abashed at his brother's words, and went away, but still he spake to some of the soldiers that he was willing to fight with him that challenged them. And when they had informed Saul what was the resolution of the young man, the king sent for him to come to him: and when the king asked what he had to say, he replied, "O king, be not cast down, nor afraid, for I will depress the insolence of this adversary, and will go down and fight with him, and will bring him under me, as tall and as great as he is, till he shall be sufficiently laughed at, and thy army shall get great glory, when he shall be slain by one that is not yet of man's estate, neither fit for fighting, nor capable of being intrusted with the marshalling an army, or ordering a battle, but by one that looks like a child, and is really no elder in age than a child."

3. Now Saul wondered at the boldness and alacrity of David, but durst not presume on his ability, by reason of his age; but said he must on that account be too weak to fight with one that was skilled in the art of war. "I undertake this enterprise," said David, "in dependence on God's being with me, for I have had experience already of his assistance; for I once pursued after and caught a lion that assaulted my flocks, and took away a lamb from them; and I snatched the lamb out of the wild beast's mouth, and when he leaped upon me with violence, I took him by the tail, and dashed him against the ground. In the same manner did I avenge myself on a bear also; and let this adversary of ours be esteemed like one of these wild beasts, since he has a long while reproached our army, and blasphemed our God, who yet will reduce him under my power."

4. However, Saul prayed that the end might be, by God's assistance, not disagreeable to the alacrity and boldness of the child; and said, "Go thy way to the fight." So he put about him his breastplate, and girded on his sword, and fitted the helmet to his head, and sent him away. But David was burdened with his armour, for he had not been exercised to it, nor had he learned to walk with it; so he said, "Let this armour be thine, O king, who art able to bear it; but give me leave to fight as thy servant, and as I myself desire." Accordingly he laid by the armour, and taking his staff with him, and putting five stones out of the brook into a shepherd's bag, and having a sling in his right hand, he went towards Goliath. But the adversary seeing him come in such a manner, disdained him, and jested upon him, as if he had not such weapons with him as are usual when one man fights against another, but such as are used in driving away and avoiding of dogs; and said, "Dost thou take me not for a man, but a dog?" To which he replied, "No, not for a dog, but for a creature worse than a dog." This provoked Goliath to anger, who thereupon cursed him by the name of God, and threatened to give his flesh to the beasts of the earth, and to the fowls of the air, to be torn in pieces by them. To whom David answered, "Thou comest to me with a sword, and with a spear, and with a breastplate; but I have God for my armour in coming against thee, who will destroy thee and all thy army by my hands for I will this day cut off thy head, and cast the other parts of thy body to the dogs, and all men shall learn that God is the protector of the Hebrews, and that our armour and our strength is in his providence; and that without God's assistance, all other warlike preparations and power are useless." So the Philistine being retarded by the weight of his armour, when he attempted to meet David in haste, came on but slowly, as despising him, and depending upon it that he should slay him, who was both unarmed and a child also, without any trouble at all.

5. But the youth met his antagonist, being accompanied with an invisible assistant, who was no other than God himself. And taking one of the stones that he had out of the brook, and had put into his shepherd's bag, and fitting it to his sling, he slang it against the Philistine. This stone fell upon his forehead, and sank into his brain, insomuch that Goliath was stunned, and fell upon his face. So David ran, and stood upon his adversary as he lay down, and cut off his head with his own sword; for he had no sword himself. And upon the fall of Goliath the Philistines were beaten, and fled; for when they saw their champion prostrate on the ground, they were afraid of the entire issue of their affairs, and resolved not to stay any longer, but committed themselves to an ignominious and indecent flight, and thereby endeavored to save themselves from the dangers they were in. But Saul and the entire army of the Hebrews made a shout, and rushed upon them, and slew a great number of them, and pursued the rest to the borders of Garb, and to the gates of Ekron; so that there were slain of the Philistines thirty thousand, and twice as many wounded. But Saul returned to their camp, and pulled their fortification to pieces, and burnt it; but David carried the head of Goliath into his own tent, but dedicated his sword to God [at the tabernacle].

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 10

Saul Envies David For His Glorious Success, And Takes An Occasion Of Entrapping Him, From The Promise He Made Him Of Giving Him His Daughter In Marriage; But This Upon Condition Of His Bringing Him Six Hundred Heads Of The Philistines.

1. Now the women were an occasion of Saul's envy and hatred to David; for they came to meet their victorious army with cymbals, and drums, and all demonstrations of joy, and sang thus: The wives said, that "Saul had slain his many thousands of the Philistines." The virgins replied, that "David had slain his ten thousands." Now, when the king heard them singing thus, and that he had himself the smallest share in their commendations, and the greater number, the ten thousands, were ascribed to the young man; and when he considered with himself that there was nothing more wanting to David, after such a mighty applause, but the kingdom; he began to be afraid and suspicious of David. Accordingly he removed him from the station he was in before, for he was his armour-bearer, which, out of fear, seemed to him much too near a station for him; and so he made him captain over a thousand, and bestowed on him a post better indeed in itself, but, as he thought, more for his own security; for he had a mind to send him against the enemy, and into battles, as hoping he would be slain in such dangerous conflicts.

2. But David had God going along with him whithersoever he went, and accordingly he greatly prospered in his undertakings, and it was visible that he had mighty success, insomuch that Saul's daughter, who was still a virgin, fell in love with him; and her affection so far prevailed over her, that it could not be concealed, and her father became acquainted with it. Now Saul heard this gladly, as intending to make use of it for a snare against David, and he hoped that it would prove the cause of destruction and of hazard to him; so he told those that informed him of his daughter's affection, that he would willingly give David the virgin in marriage, and said, "I engage myself to marry my daughter to him if he will bring me six hundred heads of my enemies supposing that when a reward so ample was proposed to him, and when he should aim to get him great glory, by undertaking a thing so dangerous and incredible, he would immediately set about it, and so perish by the Philistines; and my designs about him will succeed finely to my mind, for I shall be freed from him, and get him slain, not by myself, but by another man." So he gave order to his servants to try how David would relish this proposal of marrying the damsel. Accordingly, they began to speak thus to him: That king Saul loved him, as well as did all the people, and that he was desirous of his affinity by the marriage of this damsel. To which he gave this answer:—"Seemeth it to you a light thing to be made the king's son-in-law? It does not seem so to me, especially when I am one of a family that is low, and without any glory or honour." Now when Saul was informed by his servants what answer David had made, he said,—"Tell him that I do not want any money nor dowry from him, which would be rather to set my daughter to sale than to give her in marriage; but I desire only such a son-in-law as hath in him fortitude, and all other kinds of virtue," of which he saw David was possessed, and that his desire was to receive of him, on account of his marrying his daughter, neither gold nor silver, nor that he should bring such wealth out of his father's house, but only some revenge on the Philistines, and indeed six hundred of their heads, than which a more desirable or a more glorious present could not be brought him, and that he had much rather obtain this, than any of the accustomed dowries for his daughter, viz. that she should be married to a man of that character, and to one who had a testimony as having conquered his enemies.

3. When these words of Saul were brought to David, he was pleased with them, and supposed that Saul was really desirous of this affinity with him; so that without bearing to deliberate any longer, or casting about in his mind whether what was proposed was possible, or was difficult or not, he and his companions immediately set upon the enemy, and went about doing what was proposed as the condition of the marriage. Accordingly, because it was God who made all things easy and possible to David, he slew many [of the Philistines], and cut off the heads of six hundred of them, and came to the king, and by showing him these heads of the Philistines, required that he might have his daughter in marriage. Accordingly, Saul having no way of getting off his engagements, as thinking it a base thing either to seem a liar when he promised him this marriage, or to appear to have acted treacherously by him, in putting him upon what was in a manner impossible, in order to have him slain, he gave him his daughter in marriage: her name was Michal.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 11

How David, Upon Saul's Laying Snares For Him, Did Yet Escape The Dangers He Was In By The Affection And Care Of Jonathan And The Contrivances Of His Wife Michal: And How He Came To Samuel The Prophet.

1. However, Saul was not disposed to persevere long in the state wherein he was, for when he saw that David was in great esteem, both with God and with the multitude, he was afraid; and being not able to conceal his fear as concerning great things, his kingdom and his life, to be deprived of either of which was a very great calamity, he resolved to have David slain, and commanded his son Jonathan and his most faithful servants to kill him: but Jonathan wondered at his father's change with relation to David, that it should be made to so great a degree, from showing him no small good-will, to contrive how to have him killed. Now, because he loved the young man, and reverenced him for his virtue, he informed him of the secret charge his father had given, and what his intentions were concerning him. However, he advised him to take care and be absent the next day, for that he would salute his father, and, if he met with a favourable opportunity, he would discourse with him about him, and learn the cause of his disgust, and show how little ground there was for it, and that for it he ought not to kill a man that had done so many good things to the multitude, and had been a benefactor to himself, on account of which he ought in reason to obtain pardon, had he been guilty of the greatest crimes; and "I will then inform thee of my father's resolution." Accordingly David complied with such an advantageous advice, and kept himself then out of the king's sight.

2. On the next day Jonathan came to Saul, as soon as he saw him in a cheerful and joyful disposition, and began to introduce a discourse about David: "What unjust action, O father, either little or great, hast thou found so exceptionable in David, as to induce thee to order us to slay a man who hath been of great advantage to thy own preservation, and of still greater to the punishment of the Philistines? A man who hath delivered the people of the Hebrews from reproach and derision, which they underwent for forty days together, when he alone had courage enough to sustain the challenge of the adversary, and after that brought as many heads of our enemies as he was appointed to bring, and had, as a reward for the same, my sister in marriage; insomuch that his death would be very sorrowful to us, not only on account of his virtue, but on account of the nearness of our relation; for thy daughter must be injured at the same time that he is slain, and must be obliged to experience widowhood, before she can come to enjoy any advantage from their mutual conversation. Consider these things, and change your mind to a more merciful temper, and do no mischief to a man, who, in the first place, hath done us the greatest kindness of preserving thee; for when an evil spirit and demons had seized upon thee, he cast them out, and procured rest to thy soul from their incursions: and, in the second place, hath avenged us of our enemies; for it is a base thing to forget such benefits." So Saul was pacified with these words, and sware to his son that he would do David no harm, for a righteous discourse proved too hard for the king's anger and fear. So Jonathan sent for David, and brought him good news from his father, that he was to be preserved. He also brought him to his father; and David continued with the king as formerly.

3. About this time it was that, upon the Philistines making a new expedition against the Hebrews, Saul sent David with an army to fight with them; and joining battle with them he slew many of them, and after his victory he returned to the king. But his reception by Saul was not as he expected upon such success, for he was grieved at his prosperity, because he thought he would be more dangerous to him by having acted so gloriously: but when the demoniacal spirit came upon him, and put him into disorder, and disturbed him, he called for David into his bed-chamber wherein he lay, and having a spear in his hand, he ordered him to charm him with playing on his harp, and with singing hymns; which when David did at his command, he with great force threw the spear at him; but David was aware of it before it came, and avoided it, and fled to his own house, and abode there all that day.

4. But at night the king sent officers, and commanded that he should be watched till the morning, lest he should get quite away, that he might come into the judgement-hall, and so might be delivered up, and condemned and slain. But when Michal, David's wife, the king's daughter, understood what her father designed, she came to her husband, as having small hopes of his deliverance, and as greatly concerned about her own life also, for she could not bear to live in case she were deprived of him; and she said, "Let not the sun find thee here when it rises, for if it do, that will be the last time it will see thee: fly away then while the night may afford thee opportunity, and may God lengthen it for thy sake; for know this, that if my father find thee, thou art a dead man." So she let him down by a cord out of the window, and saved him: and after she had done so, she fitted up a bed for him as if he were sick, and put under the bed-clothes a goat's liver and when her father, as soon as it was day, sent to seize David, she said to those that were there, That he had not been well that night,

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and showed them the bed covered, and made them believe, by the leaping of the liver, which caused the bed-clothes to move also, that David breathed like one that was asthmatic. So when those that were sent told Saul that David had not been well in the night he ordered him to be brought in that condition, for he intended to kill him. Now when they came and uncovered the bed, and found out the woman's contrivance, they told it to the king; and when her father complained of her that she had saved his enemy, and had put a trick upon himself, she invented this plausible defense for herself, and said, That when he had threatened to kill her, she lent him her assistance for his preservation, out of fear; for which her assistance she ought to be forgiven, because it was not done of her own free choice, but out of necessity: "For," said she, "I do not suppose that thou wast so zealous to kill thy enemy, as thou wast that I should be saved." Accordingly Saul forgave the damsel; but David, when he had escaped this danger, came to the prophet Samuel to Ramah, and told him what snares the king had laid for him, and how he was very near to death by Saul's throwing a spear at him, although he had been no way guilty with relation to him, nor had he been cowardly in his battles with his enemies, but had succeeded well in them all, by God's assistance; which thing was indeed the cause of Saul's hatred to David.

5. When the prophet was made acquainted with the unjust proceedings of the king, he left the city Ramah, and took David with him, to a certain place called Naioth, and there he abode with him. But when it was told Saul that David was with the prophet, he sent soldiers to him, and ordered them to take him, and bring him to him: and when they came to Samuel, and found there a congregation of prophets, they became partakers of the Divine Spirit, and began to prophesy; which when Saul heard of, he sent others to David, who prophesying in like manner as did the first, he again sent others; which third sort prophesying also, at last he was angry, and went thither in great haste himself; and when he was just by the place, Samuel, before he saw him, made him prophesy also. And when Saul came to him, he was disordered in mind and under the vehement agitation of a spirit; and, putting off his garments, he fell down, and lay on the ground all that day and night, in the presence of Samuel and David.

6. And David went thence, and came to Jonathan, the son of Saul, and lamented to him what snares were laid for him by his father; and said, that though he had been guilty of no evil, nor had offended against him, yet he was very zealous to get him killed. Hereupon Jonathan exhorted him not to give credit to such his own suspicions, nor to the calumnies of those that raised those reports, if there were any that did so, but to depend on him, and take courage; for that his father had no such intention, since he would have acquainted him with that matter, and have taken his advice, had it been so, as he used to consult with him in common when he acted in other affairs. But David sware to him that so it was; and he desired him rather to believe him, and to provide for his safety, than to despise what he, with great sincerity, told him: that he would believe what he said, when he should either see him killed himself, or learn it upon inquiry from others: and that the reason why his father did not tell him of these things, was this, that he knew of the friendship and affection that he bore towards him.

7. Hereupon, when Jonathan found that this intention of Saul was so well attested, he asked him what he would have him do for him. To which David replied, "I am sensible that thou art willing to gratify me in every thing, and procure me what I desire. Now tomorrow is the new moon, and I was accustomed to sit down then with the king at supper: now, if it seem good to thee, I will go out of the city, and conceal myself privately there; and if Saul inquire why I am absent, tell him that I am gone to my own city Bethlehem, to keep a festival with my own tribe; and add this also, that thou gavest me leave so to do. And if he say, as is usually said in the case of friends that are gone abroad, It is well that he went, then assure thyself that no latent mischief or enmity may be feared at his hand; but if he answer otherwise, that will be a sure sign that he hath some designs against me, Accordingly thou shalt inform me of thy father's inclinations; and that out of pity to my case and out of thy friendship for me, as instances of which friendship thou hast vouchsafed to accept of the assurances of my love to thee, and to give the like assurances to me, that is, those of a master to his servant; but if thou discoverest any wickedness in me, do thou prevent thy father, and kill me thyself."

8. But Jonathan heard these last words with indignation, and promised to do what he desired of him, and to inform him if his father's answers implied any thing of a melancholy nature, and any enmity against him. And that he might the more firmly depend upon him, he took him out into the open field, into the pure air, and sware that he would neglect nothing that might tend to the preservation of David; and he said, "I appeal to that God, who, as thou seest, is diffused every where, and knoweth this intention of mine, before I explain it in words, as the witness of this my covenant with thee, that I will not leave off to make frequent trims of the purpose of my father till I learn whether there be any lurking distemper in the most secret parts of his soul; and when I have learnt it, I will not conceal it from thee, but will discover it to thee, whether he be gently or peevishly disposed; for this God himself knows, that I pray he may always be with thee, for he is with thee now, and will not forsake thee, and will make thee superior to thine enemies, whether my father be one of them, or whether I myself be such. Do thou only remember what we now do; and if it fall out that I die, preserve my children alive, and requite what kindness thou hast now received to them." When he had thus sworn, he dismissed David, bidding him go to a certain place of that plain wherein he used to perform his exercises; for that, as soon as he knew the mind of his father, he would come thither to him, with one servant only; "and if," says he, "I shoot three darts at the mark, and then bid my servant to carry these three darts away, for they are before him, know thou that there is no mischief to be feared from my father; but if thou hearest me say the contrary, expect the contrary from the king. However, thou shalt gain security by my means, and shalt by no means suffer any harm; but see thou dost not forget what I have desired of thee in the time of thy prosperity, and be serviceable to my children." Now David, when he had received these assurances from Jonathan, went his way to the place appointed.

9. But on the next day, which was the new moon, the king, when he had purified himself, as the custom was, came to supper; and when there sat by him his son Jonathan on his right hand, and Abner, the captain of his host, on the other hand, he saw David's seat was empty, but said nothing, supposing that he had not purified himself since he had accompanied with his wife, and so could not be present; but when he saw that he was not there the second day of the month neither, he inquired of his son Jonathan why the son of Jesse did not come to the supper and the feast, neither the day before nor that day. So Jonathan said, That he was gone, according to the agreement between them, to his own city, where his tribe kept a festival, and that by his permission: that he also invited him to come to their sacrifice; "and," says Jonathan, "if thou wilt give me leave, I Will go thither, for thou knowest the good-will that I bear him." And then it was that Jonathan understood his father's hatred to David, and plainly saw his entire disposition; for Saul could not restrain his anger, but reproached Jonathan, and called him the son of a runagate, and an enemy; and said he was a partner with David, and his assistant, and that by his behavior he showed he had no regard to himself, or to his mother, and would not be persuaded of this,—that while David is alive, their kingdom was not secure to them; yet did he bid him send for him, that he might be punished. And when Jonathan said, in answer, "What hath he done that thou wilt punish him?" Saul no longer contented himself to express his anger in bare words, but snatched up his spear, and leaped upon him, and was desirous to kill him. He did not indeed do what he intended, because he was hindered by his friends; but it appeared plainly to his son that he hated David, and greatly desired to despatch him, insomuch that he had almost slain his son with his own hands on his account.

10. And then it was that the king's son rose hastily from supper; and being unable to admit any thing into his mouth for grief, he wept all night, both because he had himself been near destruction, and because the death of David was determined: but as soon as it was day, he went out into the plain that was before the city, as going to perform his exercises, but in reality to inform his friend what disposition his father was in towards him, as he had agreed with him to do; and when Jonathan had done what had been thus agreed, he dismissed his servant that followed him, to return to the city; but he himself went into the desert, and came into his presence, and communed with him. So David appeared and fell at Jonathan's feet, and bowed down to him, and called him the preserver of his soul; but he lifted him up from the earth, and they mutually embraced one another, and made a long greeting, and that not without tears. They also lamented their age, and that familiarity which envy would deprive them of, and that separation which must now be expected, which seemed to them no better than death itself. So recollecting themselves at length from their lamentation, and exhorting one another to be mindful of the oaths they had sworn to each other, they parted asunder.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 12

How David Fled To Ahimelech And Afterwards To The Kings Of The Philistines And Of The Moabites, And How Saul Slew Ahimelech And His Family.

1. But David fled from the king, and that death he was in danger of by him, and came to the city Nob, to Ahimelech the priest, who, when he saw him coming all alone, and neither a friend nor a servant with him, he wondered at it, and desired to learn of him the cause why there was nobody with him. To which David answered, That the king had commanded him to do a certain thing that was to be kept secret, to which, if he had a mind to know so much, he had no occasion for any one to accompany him; "however, I have ordered my servants to meet me at such and such a place." So he desired him to let him have somewhat to eat; and that in case he would supply him, he would act the part of a friend, and be assisting to the business he was now about: and when he had obtained what he desired, he also asked him whether he had any weapons with him, either sword or spear. Now there was at Nob a servant of Saul, by birth a Syrian, whose name was Doeg, one that kept the king's mules. The high priest said that he had no such weapons; but, he added, "Here is the sword of Goliath, which, when thou hadst slain the Philistine, thou didst dedicate to God."

2. When David had received the sword, he fled out of the country of the Hebrews into that of the Philistines, over which Achish reigned; and when the king's servants knew him, and he was made known to the king himself, the servants informing him that he was that David who had killed many ten thousands of the Philistines, David was afraid lest the king should put him to death, and that he should experience that danger from him which he had escaped from Saul; so he pretended to be distracted and mad, so that his spittle ran out of his mouth; and he did other the like actions before the king of Gath, which might make him believe that they proceeded from such a distemper. Accordingly the king was very angry at his servants that they had brought him a madman, and he gave orders that they should eject David immediately [out of the city].

3. So when David had escaped in this manner out of Gath, he came to the tribe of Judah, and abode in a cave by the city of Adullam. Then it was that he sent to his brethren, and informed them where he was, who then came to him with all their kindred, and as many others as were either in want or in fear of king Saul, came and made a body together, and told him they were ready to obey his orders; they were in all about four hundred. Whereupon he took courage, now such a force and assistance was come to him; so he removed thence and came to the king of the Moabites, and desired him to entertain his parents in his country, while the issue of his affairs were in such an uncertain condition. The king granted him this favour, and paid great respect to David's parents all the time they were with him.

4. As for himself, upon the prophet's commanding him to leave the desert, and to go into the portion of the tribe of Judah, and abide there, he complied therewith; and coming to the city Hareth, which was in that tribe, he remained there. Now when Saul heard that David had been seen with a multitude about him, he fell into no small disturbance and trouble; but as he knew that David was a bold and courageous man, he suspected that somewhat extraordinary would appear from him, and that openly also, which would make him weep and put him into distress; so he called together to him his friends, and his commanders, and the tribe from which he was himself derived, to the hill where his palace was; and sitting upon a place called Aroura, his courtiers that were in dignities, and the guards of his body, being with him, he spake thus to them:—"You that are men of my own tribe, I conclude that you remember the benefits that I have bestowed upon you, and that I have made some of you owners of land, and made you commanders, and bestowed posts of honour upon you, and set some of you over the common people, and others over the soldiers; I ask you, therefore, whether you expect greater and more donations from the son of Jesse? for I know that you are all inclinable to him; [even my own son Jonathan himself is of that opinion, and persuades you to be of the same]; for I am not unacquainted with the oaths and the covenants that are between him and David, and that Jonathan is a counselor and an assistant to those that conspire against me, and none of you are concerned about these things, but you keep silence and watch, to see what will be the upshot of these things." When the king had made this speech, not one of the rest of those that were present made any answer; but Doeg the Syrian, who fed his mules, said, that he saw David when he came to the city Nob to Ahimelech the high priest, and that he learned future events by his prophesying; that he received food from him, and the sword of Goliath, and was conducted by him with security to such as he desired to go to.

5. Saul therefore sent for the high priest, and for all his kindred; and said to them, "What terrible or ungrateful tiring hast thou suffered from me, that thou hast received the son of Jesse, and hast bestowed on him both food and weapons, when he was contriving to get the kingdom? And further, why didst thou deliver oracles to him concerning futurities? For thou couldst not be unacquainted that he was fled away from me, and that he hated my family." But the high priest did not betake himself to deny what he had done, but confessed boldly that he had supplied him with these things, not to gratify David, but Saul himself: and he said, "I did not know that he was thy adversary, but a servant of thine, who was very faithful to thee, and a captain over a thousand of thy soldiers, and, what is more than these, thy son-in-law, and kinsman. Men do not choose to confer such favours on their adversaries, but on those who are esteemed to bear the highest good-will and respect to them. Nor is this the first time that I prophesied for him, but I have done it often, and at other times as well as now. And when he told me that he was sent by thee in great haste to do somewhat, if I had furnished him with nothing that he desired I should have thought that it was

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rather in contradiction to thee than to him; wherefore do not thou entertain any ill opinion of me, nor do thou have a suspicion of what I then thought an act of humanity, from what is now told thee of David's attempts against thee, for I did then to him as to thy friend and son-in-law, and captain of a thousand, and not as to thine adversary."

6. When the high priest had spoken thus, he did not persuade Saul, his fear was so prevalent, that he could not give credit to an apology that was very just. So he commanded his armed men that stood about him to kill him, and all his kindred; but as they durst not touch the high priest, but were more afraid of disobeying God than the king, he ordered Doeg the Syrian to kill them. Accordingly, he took to his assistance such wicked men as were like himself, and slew Ahimelech and all his family, who were in all three hundred and eighty-five. Saul also sent to Nob, the city of the priests, and slew all that were there, without sparing either women or children, or any other age, and burnt it; only there was one son of Ahimelech, whose name was Abiathar, who escaped. However, these things came to pass as God had foretold to Eli the high priest, when he said that his posterity should be destroyed, on account of the transgression of his two sons.

7. Now this king Saul, by perpetrating so barbarous a crime, and murdering the whole family of the high-priestly dignity, by having no pity of the infants, nor reverence for the aged, and by overthrowing the city which God had chosen for the property, and for the support of the priests and prophets which were there, and had ordained as the only city allotted for the education of such men, gives all to understand and consider the disposition of men, that while they are private persons, and in a low condition, because it is not in their power to indulge nature, nor to venture upon what they wish for, they are equitable and moderate, and pursue nothing but what is just, and bend their whole minds and labours that way; then it is that they have this belief about God, that he is present to all the actions of their lives, and that he does not only see the actions that are done, but clearly knows those their thoughts also, whence those actions do arise. But when once they are advanced into power and authority, then they put off all such notions, and, as if they were no other than actors upon a theater, they lay aside their disguised parts and manners, and take up boldness, insolence, and a contempt of both human and Divine laws, and this at a time when they especially stand in need of piety and righteousness, because they are then most of all exposed to envy, and all they think, and all they say, are in the view of all men; then it is that they become so insolent in their actions, as though God saw them no longer, or were afraid of them because of their power: and whatsoever it is that they either are afraid of by the rumors they hear, or they hate by inclination, or they love without reason, these seem to them to be authentic, and firm, and true, and pleasing both to men and to God; but as to what will come hereafter, they have not the least regard to it. They raise those to honour indeed who have been at a great deal of pains for them, and after that honour they envy them; and when they have brought them into high dignity, they do not only deprive them of what they had obtained, but also, on that very account, of their lives also, and that on wicked accusations, and such as on account of their extravagant nature, are incredible. They also punish men for their actions, not such as deserve condemnation, but from calumnies and accusations without examination; and this extends not only to such as deserve to be punished, but to as many as they are able to kill. This reflection is openly confirmed to us from the example of Saul, the son of Kish, who was the first king who reigned after our aristocracy and government under the judges were over; and that by his slaughter of three hundred priests and prophets, on occasion of his suspicion about Ahimelech, and by the additional wickedness of the overthrow of their city, and this is as he were endeavoring in some sort to render the temple [tabernacle] destitute both of priests and prophets, which endeavor he showed by slaying so many of them, and not suffering the very city belonging to them to remain, that so others might succeed them.

8. But Abiathar, the son of Ahimelech, who alone could be saved out of the family of priests slain by Saul, fled to David, and informed him of the calamity that had befallen their family, and of the slaughter of his father; who hereupon said, He was not unapprised of what would follow with relation to them when he saw Doeg there; for he had then a suspicion that the high priest would be falsely accused by him to the king, and he blamed himself as having been the cause of this misfortune. But he desired him to stay there, and abide with him, as in a place where he might be better concealed than any where else.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 13

How David, When He Had Twice The Opportunity Of Killing Saul Did Not Kill Him. Also Concerning The Death Of Samuel And Nabal.

1. About this time it was that David heard how the Philistines had made an inroad into the country of Keilah, and robbed it; so he offered himself to fight against them, if God, when he should be consulted by the prophet, would grant him the victory. And when the prophet said that God gave a signal of victory, he made a sudden onset upon the Philistines with his companions, and he shed a great deal of their blood, and carried off their prey, and staid with the inhabitants of Keilah till they had securely gathered in their corn and their fruits. However, it was told Saul the king that David was with the men of Keilah; for what had been done and the great success that had attended him, were not confined among the people where the things were done, but the fame of it went all abroad, and came to the hearing of others, and both the fact as it stood, and the author of the fact, were carried to the king's ears. Then was Saul glad when he heard David was in Keilah; and he said, "God hath now put him into my hands, since he hath obliged him to come into a city that hath walls, and gates, and bars." So he commanded all the people suddenly, and when they had besieged and taken it to kill David. But when David perceived this, and learned of God that if he staid there the men of Keilah would deliver him up to Saul, he took his four hundred men and retired into a desert that was over against a city called Engedi. So that when the king heard he was fled away from the men of Keilah, he left off his expedition against him.

2. Then David removed thence, and came to a certain place called the New Place, belonging to Ziph; where Jonathan, the son of Saul, came to him, and saluted him, and exhorted him to be of good courage, and to hope well as to his condition hereafter, and not to despond at his present circumstances, for that he should be king, and have all the forces of the Hebrews under him: he told him that such happiness uses to come with great labour and pains: they also took oaths, that they would, all their lives long, continue in good-will and fidelity one to another; and he called God to witness, as to what execrations he had made upon himself if he should transgress his covenant, and should change to a contrary behavior. So Jonathan left him there, having rendered his cares and fears somewhat lighter, and returned home. Now the men of Ziph, to gratify Saul, informed him that David abode with them, and [assured him] that if he would come to them, they would deliver him up, for that if the king would seize on the Straits of Ziph, David would not escape to any other people. So the king commended them, and confessed that he had reason to thank them, because they had given him information of his enemy; and he promised them, that it should not be long ere he would requite their kindness. He also sent men to seek for David, and to search the wilderness wherein he was; and he promised that he himself would follow them. Accordingly they went before the king, to hunt for and to catch David, and used endeavors, not only to show their good-will to Saul, by informing him where his enemy was, but to evidence the same more plainly by delivering him up into his power. But these men failed of those their unjust and wicked desires, who, while they underwent no hazard by not discovering such an ambition of revealing this to Saul, yet did they falsely accuse and promise to deliver up a man beloved of God, and one that was unjustly sought after to be put to death, and one that might otherwise have lain concealed, and this out of flattery, and expectation of gain from the king; for when David was apprized of the malignant intentions of the men of Ziph, and the approach of Saul, he left the Straits of that country, and fled to the great rock that was in the wilderness of Maon.

3. Hereupon Saul made haste to pursue him thither; for, as he was marching, he learned that David was gone away from the Straits of Ziph, and Saul removed to the other side of the rock. But the report that the Philistines had again made an incursion into the country of the Hebrews, called Saul another way from the pursuit of David, when he was ready to be caught; for he returned back again to oppose those Philistines, who were naturally their enemies, as judging it more necessary to avenge himself of them, than to take a great deal of pains to catch an enemy of his own, and to overlook the ravage that was made in the land.

4. And by this means David unexpectedly escaped out of the danger he was in, and came to the Straits of Engedi; and when Saul had driven the Philistines out of the land, there came some messengers, who told him that David abode within the bounds of Engedi: so he took three thousand chosen men that were armed, and made haste to him; and when he was not far from those places, he saw a deep and hollow cave by the way-side; it was open to a great length and breadth, and there it was that David with his four hundred men were concealed. When therefore he had occasion to ease nature, he entered into it by himself alone; and being seen by one of David's companions, and he that saw him saying to him, that he had now, by God's providence, an opportunity of avenging himself of his adversary; and advising him to cut off his head, and so deliver himself out of that tedious, wandering condition, and the distress he was in; he rose up, and only cut off the skirt of that garment which Saul had on: but he soon repented of what he had done; and said it was not right to kill him that was his master, and one whom God had thought worthy of the kingdom; "for that although he were wickedly disposed towards us, yet does it not behoove me to be so disposed towards him." But when Saul had left the cave, David came near and cried out aloud, and desired Saul to hear him; whereupon the king turned his face back, and David, according to custom, fell down on his face before the king, and bowed to him; and said, "O king, thou oughtest not to hearken to wicked men, nor to such as forge calumnies, nor to gratify them so far as to believe what they say, nor to entertain suspicions of such as are your best friends, but to judge of the dispositions of all men by their actions; for calumny deludes men, but men's own actions are a clear demonstration of their kindness. Words indeed, in their own nature, may be either true or false, but men's actions expose their intentions nakedly to our view. By these, therefore it will be well for thee to believe me, as to my regard to thee and to thy house, and not to believe those that frame such accusations against me as never came into my mind, nor are possible to be executed, and do this further by pursuing after my life, and have no concern either day or night, but how to compass my life and to murder me, which thing I think thou dost unjustly prosecute; for how comes it about, that thou hast embraced this false opinion about me, as if I had a desire to kill thee? Or how canst thou escape the crime of impiety towards God, when thou wishest thou couldst kill, and deemest thine adversary, a man who had it in his power this day to avenge himself, and to punish thee, but would not do it? nor make use of such an opportunity, which, if it had fallen out to thee against me, thou hadst not let it slip, for when I cut off the skirt of thy garment, I could have done the same to thy head." So he showed him the piece of his garment, and thereby made him agree to what he said to be true; and added, "I, for certain, have abstained from taking a just revenge upon thee, yet art thou not ashamed to prosecute me with unjust hatred. May God do justice, and determine about each of our dispositions."—But Saul was amazed at the strange delivery he had received; and being greatly affected with the moderation and the disposition of the young man, he groaned; and when David had done the same, the king answered that he had the justest occasion to groan, "for thou hast been the author of good to me, as I have been the author of calamity to thee; and thou hast demonstrated this day, that thou possessest the righteousness of the ancients, who determined that men ought to save their enemies, though they caught them in a desert place. I am now persuaded that God reserves the kingdom for thee, and that thou wilt obtain the dominion over all the Hebrews. Give me then assurances upon oath, That thou wilt not root out my family, nor, out of remembrance of what evil I have done thee, destroy my posterity, but save and preserve my house." So David sware as he desired, and sent back Saul to his own kingdom; but he, and those that were with him, went up the Straits of Mastheroth.

5. About this time Samuel the prophet died. He was a man whom the Hebrews honoured in an extraordinary degree: for that lamentation which the people made for him, and this during a long time, manifested his virtue, and the affection which the people bore for him; as also did the solemnity and concern that appeared about his funeral, and about the complete observation of all his funeral rites. They buried him in his own city of Ramah; and wept for him a very great number of days, not looking on it as a sorrow for the death of another man, but as that in which they were every one themselves concerned. He was a righteous man, and gentle in his nature; and on that account he was very dear to God. Now he governed and presided over the people alone, after the death of Eli the high priest, twelve years, and eighteen years together with Saul the king. And thus we have finished the history of Samuel.

6. There was a man that was a Ziphite, of the city of Maon, who was rich, and had a vast number of cattle; for he fed a flock of three thousand sheep, and another flock of a thousand goats. Now David had charged his associates to keep these flocks without hurt and without damage, and to do them no mischief, neither out of covetousness, nor because they were in want, nor because they were in the wilderness, and so could not easily be discovered, but to esteem freedom from injustice above all other motives, and to look upon the touching of what belonged to another man as a horrible crime, and contrary to the will of God. These were the instructions he gave, thinking that the favours he granted this man were granted to a good man, and one that deserved to have such care taken of his affairs. This man was Nabal, for that was his name,—a harsh man, and of a very wicked life, being like a cynic in the course of his behavior, but still had obtained for his wife a woman of a good character, wise and handsome. To this Nabal, therefore, David sent ten men of his attendants at the time when he sheared his sheep, and by them saluted him; and also wished he might do what he now did for many years to come, but desired him to make him a present of what he was able to give him, since he had, to be sure, learned from his shepherds that we had done them no injury, but had been their guardians a long time together, while we continued in the wilderness; and he assured him he should never repent of giving any thing to David. When the messengers had carried this message to Nabal, he accosted them after an inhuman and rough manner; for he asked them who David was? and when he heard that he was the son of Jesse, he said, "Now is the time

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that fugitives grow insolent, and make a figure, and leave their masters." When they told David this, he was wroth, and commanded four hundred armed men to follow him, and left two hundred to take care of the stuff, [for he had already six hundred,] and went against Nabal: he also swore that he would that night utterly destroy the whole house and possessions of Nabal; for that he was grieved, not only that he had proved ungrateful to them, without making any return for the humanity they had shown him, but that he had also reproached them, and used ill language to them, when he had received no cause of disgust from them.

7. Hereupon one of those that kept the flocks of Nabal, said to his mistress, Nabal's wife, that when David sent to her husband he had received no civil answer at all from him; but that her husband had moreover added very reproachful language, while yet David had taken extraordinary care to keep his flocks from harm, and that what had passed would prove very pernicious to his master. When the servant had said this, Abigail, for that was his wife's name, saddled her asses, and loaded them with all sorts of presents; and, without telling her husband any thing of what she was about, [for he was not sensible on account of his drunkenness,] she went to David. She was then met by David as she was descending a hill, who was coming against Nabal with four hundred men. When the woman saw David, she leaped down from her ass, and fell on her face, and bowed down to the ground; and entreated him not to bear in mind the words of Nabal, since he knew that he resembled his name. Now Nabal, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies folly. So she made her apology, that she did not see the messengers whom he sent. "Forgive me, therefore," said she, "and thank God, who hath hindered thee from shedding human blood; for so long as thou keepest thyself innocent, he will avenge thee of wicked men, for what miseries await Nabal, they will fall upon the heads of thine enemies. Be thou gracious to me, and think me so far worthy as to accept of these presents from me; and, out of regard to me, remit that wrath and that anger which thou hast against my husband and his house, for mildness and humanity become thee, especially as thou art to be our king." Accordingly, David accepted her presents, and said, "Nay, but, O woman, it was no other than God's mercy which brought thee to us today, for, otherwise, thou hadst never seen another day, I having sworn to destroy Nabal's house this very night, and to leave alive not one of you who belonged to a man that was wicked and ungrateful to me and my companions; but now hast thou prevented me, and seasonably mollified my anger, as being thyself under the care of God's providence: but as for Nabal, although for thy sake he now escape punishment, he will not always avoid justice; for his evil conduct, on some other occasion, will be his ruin."

8. When David had said this, he dismissed the woman. But when she came home and found her husband feasting with a great company, and oppressed with wine, she said nothing to him then about what had happened; but on the next day, when he was sober, she told him all the particulars, and made his whole body to appear like that of a dead man by her words, and by that grief which arose from them; so Nabal survived ten days, and no more, and then died. And when David heard of his death, he said that God had justly avenged him of this man, for that Nabal had died by his own wickedness, and had suffered punishment on his account, while he had kept his own hands clean. At which time he understood that the wicked are prosecuted by God; that he does not overlook any man, but bestows on the good what is suitable to them, and inflicts a deserved punishment on the wicked. So he sent to Nabal's wife, and invited her to come to him, to live with him, and to be his wife. Whereupon she replied to those that came, that she was not worthy to touch his feet; however, she came, with all her servants, and became his wife, having received that honour on account of her wise and righteous course of life. She also obtained the same honour partly on account of her beauty. Now David had a wife before, whom he married from the city Abesar; for as to Michal, the daughter of king Saul, who had been David's wife, her father had given her in marriage to Phalti, the son of Laish, who was of the city of Gallim.

9. After this came certain of the Ziphites, and told Saul that David was come again into their country, and if he would afford them his assistance, they could catch him. So he came to them with three thousand armed men; and upon the approach of night, he pitched his camp at a certain place called Hachilah. But when David heard that Saul was coming against him, he sent spies, and bid them let him know to what place of the country Saul was already come; and when they told him that he was at Hachilah, he concealed his going away from his companions, and came to Saul's camp, having taken with him Abishai, his sister Zeruiah's son, and Ahimelech the Hittite. Now Saul was asleep, and the armed men, with Abner their commander, lay round about him in a circle. Hereupon David entered into the king's tent; but he did neither kill Saul, though he knew where he lay, by the spear that was stuck down by him, nor did he give leave to Abishai, who would have killed him, and was earnestly bent upon it so to do; for he said it was a horrid crime to kill one that was ordained king by God, although he was a wicked man; for that he who gave him the dominion would in time inflict punishment upon him. So he restrained his eagerness; but that it might appear to have been in his power to have killed him when he refrained from it, he took his spear, and the cruse of water which stood by Saul as he lay asleep, without being perceived by any in the camp, who were all asleep, and went securely away, having performed every thing among the king's attendants that the opportunity afforded, and his boldness encouraged him to do. So when he had passed over a brook, and was gotten up to the top of a hill, whence he might be sufficiently heard, he cried aloud to Saul's soldiers, and to Abner their commander, and awaked them out of their sleep, and called both to him and to the people. Hereupon the commander heard him, and asked who it was that called him. To whom David replied, "It is I, the son of Jesse, whom you make a vagabond. But what is the matter? Dost thou, that art a man of so great dignity, and of the first rank in the king's court, take so little care of thy master's body? and is sleep of more consequence to thee than his preservation, and thy care of him? This negligence of yours deserves death, and punishment to be inflicted on you, who never perceived when, a little while ago, some of us entered into your camp, nay, as far as to the king himself, and to all the rest of you. If thou look for the king's spear and his cruse of water, thou wilt learn what a mighty misfortune was ready to overtake you in your very camp without your knowing it." Now when Saul knew David's voice, and understood that when he had him in his power while he was asleep, and his guards took no care of him, yet did not he kill him, but spared him, when he might justly have cut him off, he said that he owed him thanks for his preservation; and exhorted him to be of good courage, and not be afraid of suffering any mischief from him any more, and to return to his own home, for he was now persuaded that he did not love himself so well as he was loved by him: that he had driven away him that could guard him, and had given many demonstrations of his good-will to him: that he had forced him to live so long in a state of banishment, and in great fears of his life, destitute of his friends and his kindred, while still he was often saved by him, and frequently received his life again when it was evidently in danger of perishing. So David bade them send for the spear and the cruse of water, and take them back; adding this withal, That God would be the judge of both their dispositions, and of the actions that flowed from the same, "who knows that then it was this day in my power to have killed thee I abstained from it."

10. Thus Saul having escaped the hands of David twice, he went his way to his royal palace, and his own city: but David was afraid, that if he staid there he should be caught by Saul; so he thought it better to go up into the land of the Philistines, and abide there. Accordingly, he came with the six hundred men that were with him to Achish, the king of Gath, which was one of their five cities. Now the king received both him and his men, and gave them a place to inhabit in. He had with him also his two wives, Ahinoam and Abigail, and he dwelt in Gath. But when Saul heard this, he took no further care about sending to him, or going after him, because he had been twice, in a manner, caught by him, while he was himself endeavoring to catch him. However, David had no mind to continue in the city of Gath, but desired the king, that since he had received him with such humanity, that he would grant him another favour, and bestow upon him some place of that country for his habitation, for he was ashamed, by living in the city, to be grievous and burdensome to him. So Achish gave him a certain village called Ziklag; which place David and his sons were fond of when he was king, and reckoned it to be their peculiar inheritance. But about those matters we shall give the reader further information elsewhere. Now the time that David dwelt in Ziklag, in the land of the Philistines, was four months and twenty days. And now he privately attacked those Geshurites and Amalekites that were neighbours to the Philistines, and laid waste their country, and took much prey of their beasts and camels, and then returned home; but David abstained from the men, as fearing they should discover him to king Achish; yet did he send part of the prey to him as a free gift. And when the king inquired whom they had attacked when they brought away the prey, he said, those that lay to the south of the Jews, and inhabited in the plain; whereby he persuaded Achish to approve of what he had done, for he hoped that David had fought against his own nation, and that now he should have him for his servant all his life long, and that he would stay in his country.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 14

How Saul Upon God's Not Answering Him Concerning The Fight With The Philistines Desired A Necromantic Woman To Raise Up The Soul Of Samuel To Him; And How He Died, With His Sons Upon The Overthrow Of The Hebrews In Battle.

1. About the same time the Philistines resolved to make war against the Israelites, and sent to all their confederates that they would go along with them to the war to Reggan, [near the city Shunem,] whence they might gather themselves together, and suddenly attack the Hebrews. Then did Achish, the king of Gath, desire David to assist them with his armed men against the Hebrews. This he readily promised; and said that the time was now come wherein he might requite him for his kindness and hospitality. So the king promised to make him the keeper of his body, after the victory, supposing that the battle with the enemy succeeded to their mind; which promise of honour and confidence he made on purpose to increase his zeal for his service.

2. Now Saul, the king of the Hebrews, had cast out of the country the fortune-tellers, and the necromancers, and all such as exercised the like arts, excepting the prophets. But when he heard that the Philistines were already come, and had pitched their camp near the city Shunem, situate in the plain, he made haste to oppose them with his forces; and when he was come to a certain mountain called Gilboa, he pitched his camp over-against the enemy; but when he saw the enemy's army he was greatly troubled, because it appeared to him to be numerous, and superior to his own; and he inquired of God by the prophets concerning the battle, that he might know beforehand what would be the event of it. And when God did not answer him, Saul was under a still greater dread, and his courage fell, foreseeing, as was but reasonable to suppose, that mischief would befall him, now God was not there to assist him; yet did he bid his servants to inquire out for him some woman that was a necromancer and called up the souls of the dead, that So he might know whether his affairs would succeed to his mind; for this sort of necromantic women that bring up the souls of the dead, do by them foretell future events to such as desire them. And one of his servants told him that there was such a woman in the city Endor, but was known to nobody in the camp; hereupon Saul put off his royal apparel, and took two of those his servants with him, whom he knew to be most faithful to him, and came to Endor to the woman, and entreated her to act the part of a fortune-teller, and to bring up such a soul to him as he should name to her. But when the woman opposed his motion, and said she did not despise the king, who had banished this sort of fortune-tellers, and that he did not do well himself, when she had done him no harm, to endeavor to lay a snare for her, and to discover that she exercised a forbidden art, in order to procure her to be punished, he sware that nobody should know what she did; and that he would not tell any one else what she foretold, but that she should incur no danger. As soon as he had induced her by this oath to fear no harm, he bid her bring up to him the soul of Samuel. She, not knowing who Samuel was, called him out of Hades. When he appeared, and the woman saw one that was venerable, and of a divine form, she was in disorder; and being astonished at the sight, she said, "Art not thou king Saul?" for Samuel had informed her who he was. When he had owned that to be true, and had asked her whence her disorder arose, she said that she saw a certain person ascend, who in his form was like to a god. And when he bid her tell him what he resembled, in what habit he appeared, and of what age he was, she told him he was an old man already, and of a glorious personage, and had on a sacerdotal mantle. So the king discovered by these signs that he was Samuel; and he fell down upon the ground, and saluted and worshipped him. And when the soul of Samuel asked him why he had disturbed him, and caused him to be brought up, he lamented the necessity he was under; for he said, that his enemies pressed heavily upon him; that he was in distress what to do in his present circumstances; that he was forsaken of God, and could obtain no prediction of what was coming, neither by prophets nor by dreams; and that "these were the reasons why I have recourse to time, who always took great care of me." But Samuel, seeing that the end of Saul's life was come, said, "It is in vain for thee to desire to learn of me any thing future, when God hath forsaken thee: however, hear what I say, that David is to be king, and to finish this war with good success; and thou art to lose thy dominion and thy life, because thou didst not obey God in the war with the Amalekites, and hast not kept his commandments, as I foretold thee while I was alive. Know, therefore, that the people shall be made subject to their enemies, and that thou, with thy sons, shall fall in the battle tomorrow, and thou shalt then be with me [in Hades]."

3. When Saul heard this, he could not speak for grief, and fell down on the floor, whether it were from the sorrow that arose upon what Samuel had said, or from his emptiness, for he had taken no food the foregoing day nor night, he easily fell quite down: and when with difficulty he had recovered himself, the woman would force him to eat, begging this of him as a favour on account of her concern in that dangerous instance of fortune-telling, which it was not lawful for her to have done, because of the fear she was under of the king, while she knew not who he was, yet did she undertake it, and go through with it; on which account she entreated him to admit that a table and food might be set before him, that he might recover his strength, and so get safe to his own camp. And when he opposed her motion, and entirely rejected it, by reason of his anxiety, she forced him, and at last persuaded him to it. Now she had one calf that she was very fond of, and one that she took a great deal of care of, and fed it herself; for she was a woman that got her living by the labour of her own hands, and had no other possession but that one calf; this she

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killed, and made ready its flesh, and set it before his servants and himself. So Saul came to the camp while it was yet night.

4. Now it is but just to recommend the generosity of this woman, because when the king had forbidden her to use that art whence her circumstances were bettered and improved, and when she had never seen the king before, she still did not remember to his disadvantage that he had condemned her sort of learning, and did not refuse him as a stranger, and one that she had had no acquaintance with; but she had compassion upon him, and comforted him, and exhorted him to do what he was greatly averse to, and offered him the only creature she had, as a poor woman, and that earnestly, and with great humanity, while she had no requital made her for her kindness, nor hunted after any future favour from him, for she knew he was to die; whereas men are naturally either ambitious to please those that bestow benefits upon them, or are very ready to serve those from whom they may receive some advantage. It would be well therefore to imitate the example and to do kindnesses to all such as are in want and to think that nothing is better, nor more becoming mankind, than such a general beneficence, nor what will sooner render God favourable, and ready to bestow good things upon us. And so far may suffice to have spoken concerning this woman. But I shall speak further upon another subject, which will afford me all opportunity of discoursing on what is for the advantage of cities, and people, and nations, and suited to the taste of good men, and will encourage them all in the prosecution of virtue; and is capable of showing them the desirability of acquiring glory, and an everlasting fame; and of imprinting in the kings of nations, and the rulers of cities, great inclination and diligence of doing well; as also of encouraging them to undergo dangers, and to die for their countries, and of instructing them how to despise all the most terrible adversities: and I have a fair occasion offered me to enter on such a discourse by Saul the king of the Hebrews; for although he knew what was coming upon him, and that he was to die immediately, by the prediction of the prophet, he did not resolve to fly from death, nor so far to indulge the love of life as to betray his own people to the enemy, or to bring a disgrace on his royal dignity; but exposing himself, as well as all his family and children, to dangers, he thought it a brave thing to fall together with them, as he was fighting for his subjects, and that it was better his sons should die thus, showing their courage, than to leave them to their uncertain conduct afterward, while, instead of succession and posterity, they gained commendation and a lasting name. Such a one alone seems to me to be a just, a courageous, and a prudent man; and when any one has arrived at these dispositions, or shall hereafter arrive at them, he is the man that ought to be by all honoured with the testimony of a virtuous or courageous man: for as to those that go out to war with hopes of success, and that they shall return safe, supposing they should have performed some glorious action, I think those do not do well who call these valiant men, as so many historians and other writers who treat of them are wont to do, although I confess those do justly deserve some commendation also; but those only may be styled courageous and bold in great undertakings, and despisers of adversities, who imitate Saul: for as for those that do not know what the event of war will be as to themselves, and though they do not faint in it, but deliver themselves up to uncertain futurity, and are tossed this way and that way, this is not so very eminent an instance of a generous mind, although they happen to perform many great exploits; but when men's minds expect no good event, but they know beforehand they must die, and that they must undergo that death in the battle also, after this neither to be affrighted, nor to be astonished at the terrible fate that is coming, but to go directly upon it, when they know it beforehand, this it is that I esteem the character of a man truly courageous. Accordingly this Saul did, and thereby demonstrated that all men who desire fame after they are dead are so to act as they may obtain the same: this especially concerns kings, who ought not to think it enough in their high stations that they are not wicked in the government of their subjects, but to be no more than moderately good to them. I could say more than this about Saul and his courage, the subject affording matter sufficient; but that I may not appear to run out improperly in his commendation, I return again to that history from which I made this digression.

5. Now when the Philistines, as I said before, had pitched their camp, and had taken an account of their forces, according to their nations, and kingdoms, and governments, king Achish came last of all with his own army; after whom came David with his six hundred armed men. And when the commanders of the Philistines saw him, they asked the king whence these Hebrews came, and at whose invitation. He answered that it was David, who was fled away from his master Saul, and that he had entertained him when he came to him, and that now he was willing to make him this requital for his favours, and to avenge himself upon Saul, and so was become his confederate. The commanders complained of this, that he had taken him for a confederate who was an enemy; and gave him counsel to send him away, lest he should unawares do his friends a great deal of mischief by entertaining him, for that he afforded him an opportunity of being reconciled to his master by doing a mischief to our army. They thereupon desired him, out of a prudent foresight of this, to send him away, with his six hundred armed men, to the place he had given him for his habitation; for that this was that David whom the virgins celebrated in their hymns, as having destroyed many ten thousands of the Philistines. When the king of Gath heard this, he thought they spake well; so he called David, and said to him, "As for myself, I can bear witness that thou hast shown great diligence and kindness about me, and on that account it was that I took thee for my confederate; however, what I have done does not please the commanders of the Philistines; go therefore within a day's time to the place I have given thee, without suspecting any harm, and there keep my country, lest any of our enemies should make an incursion upon it, which will be one part of that assistance which I expect from thee." So David came to Ziklag, as the king of Gath bade him; but it happened, that while he was gone to the assistance of the Philistines, the Amalekites had made an incursion, and taken Ziklag before, and had burnt it; and when they had taken a great deal of other prey out of that place, and out of the other parts of the Philistines' country, they departed.

6. Now when David found that Ziklag was laid waste, and that it was all spoiled, and that as well his own wives, who were two, as the wives of his companions, with their children, were made captives, he presently rent his clothes, weeping and lamenting, together with his friends; and indeed he was so cast down with these misfortunes, that at length tears themselves failed him. He was also in danger of being stoned to death by his companions, who were greatly afflicted at the captivity of their wives and children, for they laid the blame upon him of what had happened. But when he had recovered himself out of his grief, and had raised up his mind to God, he desired the high priest Abiathar to put on his sacerdotal garments, and to inquire of God, and to prophesy to him, whether God would grant; that if he pursued after the Amalekites, he should overtake them, and save their wives and their children, and avenge himself on the enemies. And when the high priest bade him to pursue after them, he marched apace, with his four hundred men, after the enemy; and when he was come to a certain brook called Besor, and had lighted upon one that was wandering about, an Egyptian by birth, who was almost dead with want and famine, [for he had continued wandering about without food in the wilderness three days,] he first of all gave him sustenance, both meat and drink, and thereby refreshed him. He then asked him to whom he belonged, and whence he came. Whereupon the man told him he was an Egyptian by birth, and was left behind by his master, because he was so sick and weak that he could not follow him. He also informed him that he was one of those who had burnt and plundered, not only other parts of Judea, but Ziklag itself also. So David made use of him as a guide to find oat the Amalekites; and when he had overtaken them, as they lay scattered about on the ground, some at dinner, some disordered, and entirely drunk with wine, and in the fruition of their spoils and their prey, he fell upon them on the sudden, and made a great slaughter among them; for they were naked, and expected no such thing, but had betaken themselves to drinking and feasting; and so they were all easily destroyed. Now some of them that were overtaken as they lay at the table were slain in that posture, and their blood brought up with it their meat and their drink. They slew others of them as they were drinking to one another in their cups, and some of them when their full bellies had made them fall asleep; and for so many as had time to put on their armour, they slew them with the sword, with no less ease than they did those that were naked; and for the partisans of David, they continued also the slaughter from the first hour of the day to the evening, so that there were, not above four hundred of the Amalekites left; and they only escaped by getting upon their dromedaries and camels. Accordingly David recovered not only all the other spoils which the enemy had carried away, but his wives also, and the wives of his companions. But when they were come to the place where they had left the two hundred men, which were not able to follow them, but were left to take care of the stuff, the four hundred men did not think fit to divide among them any other parts of what they had gotten, or of the prey, since they did not accompany them, but pretended to be feeble, and did not follow them in pursuit of the enemy, but said they should be contented to have safely recovered their wives; yet did David pronounce that this opinion of theirs was evil and unjust, and that when God had granted them such a favour, that they had avenged themselves on their enemies, and had recovered all that belonged to themselves, they should make an equal distribution of what they had gotten to all, because the rest had tarried behind to guard their stuff; and from that time this law obtained among them, that those who guarded the stuff, should receive an equal share with those that fought in the battle. Now when David was come to Ziklag, he sent portions of the spoils to all that had been familiar with him, and to his friends in the tribe of Judah. And thus ended the affairs of the plundering of Ziklag, and of the slaughter of the Amalekites.

7. Now upon the Philistines joining battle, there followed a sharp engagement, and the Philistine, became the conquerors, and slew a great number of their enemies; but Saul the king of Israel, and his sons, fought courageously, and with the utmost alacrity, as knowing that their entire glory lay in nothing else but dying honourably, and exposing themselves to the utmost danger from the enemy [for they had nothing else to hope for]; so they brought upon themselves the whole power of the enemy, till they were encompassed round and slain, but not before they had killed many of the Philistines Now the sons of Saul were Jonathan, and Abinadab, and Malchisua; and when these were slain the multitude of the Hebrews were put to flight, and all was disorder, and confusion, and slaughter, upon the Philistines pressing in upon them. But Saul himself fled, having a strong body of soldiers about him; and upon the Philistines sending after them those that threw javelins and shot arrows, he lost all his company except a few. As for himself, he fought with great bravery; and when he had received so many wounds, that he was not able to bear up nor to oppose any longer, and yet was not able to kill himself, he bade his armour-bearer draw his sword, and run him through, before the enemy should take him alive. But his armour-bearer not daring to kill his master, he drew his own sword, and placing himself over against its point, he threw himself upon it; and when he could neither run it through him, nor, by leaning against it, make the sword pass through him, he turned him round, and asked a certain young man that stood by who he was; and when he understood that he was an Amalekite, he desired him to force the sword through him, because he was not able to do it with his own hands, and thereby to procure him such a death as he desired. This the young man did accordingly; and he took the golden bracelet that was on Saul's arm, and his royal crown that was on his head, and ran away. And when Saul's armour-bearer saw that he was slain, he killed himself; nor did any of the king's guards escape, but they all fell upon the mountain called Gilboa. But when those Hebrews that dwelt in the valley beyond Jordan, and those who had their cities in the plain, heard that Saul and his sons were fallen, and that the multitude about them were destroyed, they left their own cities, and fled to such as were the best fortified and fenced; and the Philistines, finding those cities deserted, came and dwelt in them.

8. On the next day, when the Philistines came to strip their enemies that were slain, they got the bodies of Saul and of his sons, and stripped them, and cut off their heads; and they sent messengers all about their country, to acquaint them that their enemies were fallen; and they dedicated their armour in the temple of Astarte, but hung their bodies on crosses at the walls of the city Bethshun, which is now called Scythepolls. But when the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead heard that they had dismembered the dead bodies of Saul and of his sons, they deemed it so horrid a thing to overlook this barbarity, and to suffer them to be without funeral rites, that the most courageous and hardy among them [and indeed that city had in it men that were very stout both in body and mind] journeyed all night, and came to Bethshun, and approached to the enemy's wall, and taking down the bodies of Saul and of his sons, they carried them to Jabesh, while the enemy were not able enough nor bold enough to hinder them, because of their great courage. So the people of Jabesh wept all in general, and buried their bodies in the best place of their country, which was named Areurn; and they observed a public mourning for them seven days, with their wives and children, beating their breasts, and lamenting the king and his sons, without either tasting meat or drink [till the evening.]

9. To this his end did Saul come, according to the prophecy of Samuel, because he disobeyed the commands of God about the Amalekites, and on the account of his destroying the family of Ahimelech the high priest, with Ahimelech himself, and the city of the high priests. Now Saul, when he had reigned eighteen years while Samuel was alive, and after his death two [and twenty], ended his life in this manner.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES BOOK 7

Containing The Interval Of Forty Years.—From The Death Of Saul To The Death Of David.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 1

How David Reigned Over One Tribe At Hebron While The Son Of Saul Reigned Over The Rest Of The Multitude; And How, In The Civil War Which Then Arose Asahel And Abner Were Slain.

1. This fight proved to be on the same day whereon David was come back to Ziklag, after he had overcome the Amalekites. Now when he had been already two days at Ziklag, there came to him the man who slew Saul, which was the third day after the fight. He had escaped out of the battle which the Israelites had with the Philistines, and had his clothes rent, and ashes upon his head. And when he made his obeisance to David, he inquired of him whence he came. He replied, from the battle of the Israelites; and he informed him that the end of it was unfortunate, many ten thousands of the

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Israelites having been cut off, and Saul, together with his sons, slain. He also said that he could well give him this information, because he was present at the victory gained over the Hebrews, and was with the king when he fled. Nor did he deny that he had himself slain the king, when he was ready to be taken by the enemy, and he himself exhorted him to do it, because, when he was fallen on his sword, his great wounds had made him so weak that he was not able to kill himself. He also produced demonstrations that the king was slain, which were the golden bracelets that had been on the king's arms, and his crown, which he had taken away from Saul's dead body, and had brought them to him. So David having no longer any room to call in question the truth of what he said, but seeing most evident marks that Saul was dead, he rent his garments, and continued all that day with his companions in weeping and lamentation. This grief was augmented by the consideration of Jonathan; the son of Saul, who had been his most faithful friend, and the occasion of his own deliverance. He also demonstrated himself to have such great virtue, and such great kindness for Saul, as not only to take his death to heart, though he had been frequently in danger of losing his life by his means, but to punish him that slew him; for when David had said to him that he was become his own accuser, as the very man who had slain the king, and when he had understood that he was the son of an Amalekite, he commanded him to be slain. He also committed to writing some lamentations and funeral commendations of Saul and Jonathan, which have continued to my own age.

2. Now when David had paid these honours to the king, he left off his mourning, and inquired of God by the prophet which of the cities of the tribe of Judah he would bestow upon him to dwell in; who answered that he bestowed upon him Hebron. So he left Ziklag, and came to Hebron, and took with him his wives, who were in number two, and his armed men; whereupon all the people of the forementioned tribe came to him, and ordained him their king. But when he heard that the inhabitants of Jabesh- gilead had buried Saul and his sons [honourably], he sent to them and commended them, and took what they had done kindly, and promised to make them amends for their care of those that were dead; and at the same time he informed them that the tribe of Judah had chosen him for their king.

3. But as soon as Abner, the son of Ner, who was general of Saul's army, and a very active man, and good-natured, knew that the king, and Jonathan, and his two other sons, were fallen in the battle, he made haste into the camp; and taking away with him the remaining son of Saul, whose name was Ishbosheth, he passed over to the land beyond Jordan, and ordained him the king of the whole multitude, excepting the tribe of Judah; and made his royal seat in a place called in our own language Mahanaim, but in the language of the Grecians, The Camps; from whence Abner made haste with a select body of soldiers, to fight with such of the tribe of Judah as were disposed to it, for he was angry that this tribe had set up David for their king. But Joab, whose father was Suri, and his mother Zeruiah, David's sister, who was general of David's army, met him, according to David's appointment. He had with him his brethren, Abishai and Asahel, as also all David's armed men. Now when he met Abner at a certain fountain, in the city of Gibeon, he prepared to fight. And when Abner said to him, that he had a mind to know which of them had the more valiant soldiers, it was agreed between them that twelve soldiers of each side should fight together. So those that were chosen out by both the generals for this fight came between the two armies, and throwing their lances one against the other, they drew their swords, and catching one another by the head, they held one another fast, and ran each other's swords into their sides and groins, until they all, as it were by mutual agreement, perished together. When these were fallen down dead, the rest of the army came to a sore battle, and Abner's men were beaten; and when they were beaten, Joab did not leave off pursuing them, but he pressed upon them, and excited the soldiers to follow them close, and not to grow weary of killing them. His brethren also pursued them with great alacrity, especially the younger, Asahel, who was the most eminent of them. He was very famous for his swiftness of foot, for he could not only be too hard for men, but is reported to have overrun a horse, when they had a race together. This Asahel ran violently after Abner, and would not turn in the least out of the straight way, either to the one side or to the other. Hereupon Abner turned back, and attempted artfully to avoid his violence. Sometimes he bade him leave off the pursuit, and take the armour of one of his soldiers; and sometimes, when he could not persuade him so to do, he exhorted him to restrain himself, and not to pursue him any longer, lest he should force him to kill him, and he should then not be able to look his brother in the face: but when Asahel would not admit of any persuasions, but still continued to pursue him, Abner smote him with his spear, as he held it in his flight, and that by a back-stroke, and gave him a deadly wound, so that he died immediately; but those that were with him pursuing Abner, when they came to the place where Asahel lay, they stood round about the dead body, and left off the pursuit of the enemy. However, both Joab 1 himself, and his brother Abishai, ran past the dead corpse, and making their anger at the death of Asahel an occasion of greater zeal against Abner, they went on with incredible haste and alacrity, and pursued Abner to a certain place called Ammah: it was about sun-set. Then did Joab ascend a certain hill, as he stood at that place, having the tribe of Benjamin with him, whence he took a view of them, and of Abner also. Hereupon Abner cried aloud, and said that it was not fit that they should irritate men of the same nation to fight so bitterly one against another; that as for Asahel his brother, he was himself in the wrong, when he would not be advised by him not to pursue him any farther, which was the occasion of his wounding and death. So Joab consented to what he said, and accepted these his words as an excuse [about Asahel], and called the soldiers back with the sound of the trumpet, as a signal for their retreat, and thereby put a stop to any further pursuit. After which Joab pitched his camp there that night; but Abner marched all that night, and passed over the river Jordan, and came to Ishbosheth, Saul's son, to Mahanaim. On the next day Joab counted the dead men, and took care of all their funerals. Now there were slain of Abner's soldiers about three hundred and sixty; but of those of David nineteen, and Asahel, whose body Joab and Abishai carried to Bethlehem; and when they had buried him in the sepulcher of their fathers, they came to David to Hebron. From this time therefore there began an intestine war, which lasted a great while, in which the followers of David grew stronger in the dangers they underwent, and the servants and subjects of Saul's sons did almost every day become weaker.

4. About this time David was become the father of six sons, born of as many mothers. The eldest was by Ahinoam, and he was called Arenon; the second was Daniel, by his wife Abigail; the name of the third was Absalom, by Maacah, the daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur; the fourth he named Adonijah, by his wife Haggith; the fifth was Shephatiah, by Abital; the sixth he called Ithream, by Eglah. Now while this intestine war went on, and the subjects of the two kings came frequently to action and to fighting, it was Abner, the general of the host of Saul's son, who, by his prudence, and the great interest he had among the multitude, made them all continue with Ishbosheth; and indeed it was a considerable time that they continued of his party; but afterwards Abner was blamed, and an accusation was laid against him, that he went in unto Saul's concubine: her name was Rispah, the daughter of Aiah. So when he was complained of by Ishbosheth, he was very uneasy and angry at it, because he had not justice done him by Ishbosheth, to whom he had shown the greatest kindness; whereupon he threatened to transfer the kingdom to David, and demonstrate that he did not rule over the people beyond Jordan by his own abilities and wisdom, but by his warlike conduct and fidelity in leading his army. So he sent ambassadors to Hebron to David, and desired that he would give him security upon oath that he would esteem him his companion and his friend, upon condition that he should persuade the people to leave Saul's son, and choose him king of the whole country; and when David had made that league with Abner, for he was pleased with his message to him, he desired that he would give this as the first mark of performance of the present league, that he might have his wife Michal restored to him, as her whom he had purchased with great hazards, and with those six hundred heads of the Philistines which he had brought to Saul her father. So Abner took Michal from Phaltiel, who was then her husband, and sent her to David, Ishbosheth himself affording him his assistance, for David had written to him that of right he ought to have this his wife restored to him. Abner also called together the elders of the multitude, the commanders and captains of thousands, and spake thus to them: That he had formerly dissuaded them from their own resolution, when they were ready to forsake Ishbosheth, and to join themselves to David; that, however, he now gave them leave so to do, if they had a mind to it, for they knew that God had appointed David to be king of all the Hebrews by Samuel the prophet; and had foretold that he should punish the Philistines, and overcome them, and bring them under. Now when the elders and rulers heard this, and understood that Abner was come over to those sentiments about the public affairs which they were of before, they changed their measures, and came in to David. When these men had agreed to Abner's proposal, he called together the tribe of Benjamin, for all of that tribe were the guards of Ishbosheth's body, and he spake to them to the same purpose. And when he saw that they did not in the least oppose what he said, but resigned themselves up to his opinion, he took about twenty of his friends and came to David, in order to receive himself security upon oath from him; for we may justly esteem those things to be firmer which every one of us do by ourselves, than those which we do by another. He also gave him an account of what he had said to the rulers, and to the whole tribe of Benjamin; and when David had received him in a courteous manner, and had treated him with great hospitality for many days, Abner, when he was dismissed, desired him to bring the multitude with him, that he might deliver up the government to him, when David himself was present, and a spectator of what was done.

5. When David had sent Abner away, Joab, the of his army, came immediately to Hebron; he had understood that Abner had been with David, and had parted with him a little before under leagues and agreements that the government should be delivered up to David, he feared lest David should place Abner, who had assisted him to gain the kingdom, in the first rank of dignity, especially since he was a shrewd man in other respects, in understanding affairs, and in managing them artfully, as proper seasons should require, and that he should himself be put lower, and be deprived of the command of the army; so he took a knavish and a wicked course. In the first place, he endeavored to calumniate Abner to the king, exhorting him to have a care of him, and not to give attention to what he had engaged to do for him, because all he did tended to confirm the government to Saul's son; that he came to him deceitfully and with guile, and was gone away in hopes of gaining his purpose by this management: but when he could not thus persuade David, nor saw him at all exasperated, he betook himself to a project bolder than the former:—he determined to kill Abner; and in order thereto, he sent some messengers after him, to whom he gave in charge, that when they should overtake him they should recall him in David's name, and tell him that he had somewhat to say to him about his affairs, which he had not remembered to speak of when he was with him. Now when Abner heard what the messengers said, [for they overtook him in a certain place called Besira, which was distant from Hebron twenty furlongs,] he suspected none of the mischief which was befalling him, and came back. Hereupon Joab met him in the gate, and received him in the kindest manner, as if he were Abner's most benevolent acquaintance and friend; for such as undertake the vilest actions, in order to prevent the suspicion of any private mischief intended, do frequently make the greatest pretenses to what really good men sincerely do. So he took him aside from his own followers, as if he would speak with him in private, and brought him into a void place of the gate, having himself nobody with him but his brother Abishai; then he drew his sword, and smote him in the groin; upon which Abner died by this treachery of Joab, which, as he said himself, was in the way of punishment for his brother Asahel, whom Abner smote and slew as he was pursuing after him in the battle of Hebron, but as the truth was, out of his fear of losing his command of the army, and his dignity with the king, and lest he should be deprived of those advantages, and Abner should obtain the first rank in David's court. By these examples any one may learn how many and how great instances of wickedness men will venture upon for the sake of getting money and authority, and that they may not fail of either of them; for as when they are desirous of obtaining the same, they acquire them by ten thousand evil practices; so when they are afraid of losing them, they get them confirmed to them by practices much worse than the former, as if no other calamity so terrible could befall them as the failure of acquiring so exalted an authority; and when they have acquired it, and by long custom found the sweetness of it, the losing it again: and since this last would be the heaviest of all afflictions they all of them contrive and venture upon the most difficult actions, out of the fear of losing the same. But let it suffice that I have made these short reflections upon that subject.

6. When David heard that Abner was slain, it grieved his soul; and he called all men to witness, with stretching out his hands to God, and crying out that he was not a partaker in the murder of Abner, and that his death was not procured by his command or approbation. He also wished the heaviest curses might light upon him that slew him and upon his whole house; and he devoted those that had assisted him in this murder to the same penalties on its account; for he took care not to appear to have had any hand in this murder, contrary to the assurances he had given and the oaths he had taken to Abner. However, he commanded all the people to weep and lament this man, and to honour his dead body with the usual solemnities; that is, by rending their garments, and putting on sackcloth, and that things should be the habit in which they should go before the bier; after which he followed it himself, with the elders and those that were rulers, lamenting Abner, and by his tears demonstrating his good-will to him while he was alive, and his sorrow for him now he was dead, and that he was not taken off with his consent. So he buried him at Hebron in a magnificent manner, and indited funeral elegies for him; he also stood first over the monument weeping, and caused others to do the same; nay, so deeply did the death of Abner disorder him, that his companions could by no means force him to take any food, but he affirmed with an oath that he would taste nothing till the sun was set. This procedure gained him the good-will of the multitude; for such as had an affection for Abner were mightily satisfied with the respect he paid him when he was dead, and the observation of that faith he had plighted to him, which was shown in his vouchsafing him all the usual ceremonies, as if he had been his kinsman and his friend, and not suffering him to be neglected and injured with a dishonourable burial, as if he had been his

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enemy; insomuch that the entire nation rejoiced at the king's gentleness and mildness of disposition, every one being ready to suppose that the king would have taken the same care of them in the like circumstances, which they saw be showed in the burial of the dead body of Abner. And indeed David principally intended to gain a good reputation, and therefore he took care to do what was proper in this case, whence none had any suspicion that he was the author of Abner's death. He also said this to the multitude, that he was greatly troubled at the death of so good a man; and that the affairs of the Hebrews had suffered great detriment by being deprived of him, who was of so great abilities to preserve them by his excellent advice, and by the strength of his hands in war. But he added, that "God, who hath a regard to all men's actions, will not suffer this man [Joab] to go off unrevenged; but know ye, that I am not able to do any thing to these sons of Zeruiah, Joab and Abishai, who have more power than I have; but God will requite their insolent attempts upon their own heads." And this was the fatal conclusion of the life of Abner.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 2

That Upon The Slaughter Of Ishbosheth By The Treachery Of His Friends, David Received The Whole Kingdom.

1. When Ishbosheth, the son of Saul, had heard of the death of Abner, he took it to heart to be deprived of a man that was of his kindred, and had indeed given him the kingdom, but was greatly afflicted, and Abner's death very much troubled him; nor did he himself outlive any long time, but was treacherously set upon by the sons of Rimmon, [Baanah and Rechab were their names,] and was slain by them; for these being of a family of the Benjamites, and of the first rank among them, thought that if they should slay Ishbosheth, they should obtain large presents from David, and be made commanders by him, or, however, should have some other trust committed to them. So when they once found him alone, and asleep at noon, in an upper room, when none of his guards were there, and when the woman that kept the door was not watching, but was fallen asleep also, partly on account of the labour she had undergone, and partly on account of the heat of the day, these men went into the room in which Ishbosheth, Saul's son, lay asleep, and slew him; they also cut off his head, and took their journey all that night, and the next day, as supposing themselves flying away from those they had injured, to one that would accept of this action as a favour, and would afford them security. So they came to Hebron, and showed David the head of Ishbosheth, and presented themselves to him as his well-wishers, and such as had killed one that was his enemy and antagonist. Yet David did not relish what they had done as they expected, but said to them, "You vile wretches, you shall immediately receive the punishment you deserve. Did not you know what vengeance I executed on him that murdered Saul, and brought me his crown of gold, and this while he who made this slaughter did it as a favour to him, that he might not be caught by his enemies? Or do you imagine that I am altered in my disposition, and suppose that I am not the same man I then was, but am pleased with men that are wicked doers, and esteem your vile actions, when you are become murderers of your master, as grateful to me, when you have slain a righteous man upon his bed, who never did evil to any body, and treated you with great good-will and respect? Wherefore you shall suffer the punishment due on his account, and the vengeance I ought to inflict upon you for killing Ishbosheth, and for supposing that I should take his death kindly at your hands; for you could not lay a greater blot on my honour, than by making such a supposal." When David had said this, he tormented them with all sorts of torments, and then put them to death; and he bestowed all accustomed rites on the burial of the head of Ishbosheth, and laid it in the grave of Abner.

2. When these things were brought to this conclusion, all the principal men of the Hebrew people came to David to Hebron, with the heads of thousands, and other rulers, and delivered themselves up to him, putting him in mind of the good-will they had borne to him in Saul's lifetime, and the respect they then had not ceased to pay him when he was captain of a thousand, as also that he was chosen of God by Samuel the prophet, he and his sons; 2 and declaring besides, how God had given him power to save the land of the Hebrews, and to overcome the Philistines. Whereupon he received kindly this their alacrity on his account; and exhorted them to continue in it, for that they should have no reason to repent of being thus disposed to him. So when he had feasted them, and treated them kindly, he sent them out to bring all the people to him; upon which came to him about six thousand and eight hundred armed men of the tribe of Judah, who bare shields and spears for their weapons, for these had [till now] continued with Saul's son, when the rest of the tribe of Judah had ordained David for their king. There came also seven thousand and one hundred out of the tribe of Simeon. Out of the tribe of Levi came four thousand and seven hundred, having Jehoiada for their leader. After these came Zadok the high priest, with twenty-two captains of his kindred. Out of the tribe of Benjamin the armed men were four thousand; but the rest of the tribe continued, still expecting that some one of the house of Saul should reign over them. Those of the tribe of Ephraim were twenty thousand and eight hundred, and these mighty men of valour, and eminent for their strength. Out of the half tribe of Manasseh came eighteen thousand, of the most potent men. Out of the tribe of Issachar came two hundred, who foreknew what was to come hereafter, 3 but of armed men twenty thousand. Of the tribe of Zebulon fifty thousand chosen men. This was the only tribe that came universally in to David, and all these had the same weapons with the tribe of Gad. Out of the tribe of Naphtali the eminent men and rulers were one thousand, whose weapons were shields and spears, and the tribe itself followed after, being [in a manner] innumerable [thirty- seven thousand]. Out of the tribe of Dan there were of chosen men twenty-seven thousand and six hundred. Out of the tribe of Asher were forty thousand. Out of the two tribes that were beyond Jordan, and the rest of the tribe of Manasseh, such as used shields, and spears, and head-pieces, and swords, were a hundred and twenty thousand. The rest of the tribes also made use of swords. This multitude came together to Hebron to David, with a great quantity of corn, and wine, and all other sorts of food, and established David in his kingdom with one consent. And when the people had rejoiced for three days in Hebron, David and all the people removed and came to Jerusalem.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 3

How David Laid Siege To Jerusalem; And When He Had Taken The City, He Cast The Canaanites Out Of It, And Brought In The Jews To Inhabit Therein.

1. Now the Jebusites, who were the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and were by extraction Canaanites, shut their gates, and placed the blind, and the lame, and all their maimed persons, upon the wall, in way of derision of the king, and said that the very lame themselves would hinder his entrance into it. This they did out of contempt of his power, and as depending on the strength of their walls. David was hereby enraged, and began the siege of Jerusalem, and employed his utmost diligence and alacrity therein, as intending by the taking of this place to demonstrate his power, and to intimidate all others that might be of the like [evil] disposition towards him. So he took the lower city by force, but the citadel held out still; whence it was that the king, knowing that the proposal of dignities and rewards would encourage the soldiers to greater actions, promised that he who should first go over the ditches that were beneath the citadel, and should ascend to the citadel itself and take it, should have the command of the entire people conferred upon him. So they all were ambitious to ascend, and thought no pains too great in order to ascend thither, out of their desire of the chief command. However, Joab, the son of Zeruiah, prevented the rest; and as soon as he was got up to the citadel, cried out to the king, and claimed the chief command.

2. When David had cast the Jebusites out of the citadel, he also rebuilt Jerusalem, and named it The City of David, and abode there all the time of his reign; but for the time that he reigned over the tribe of Judah only in Hebron, it was seven years and six months. Now when he had chosen Jerusalem to be his royal city, his affairs did more and more prosper, by the providence of God, who took care that they should improve and be augmented. Hiram also, the king of the Tyrians, sent ambassadors to him, and made a league of mutual friendship and assistance with him. He also sent him presents, cedar-trees, and mechanics, and men skillful in building and architecture, that they might build him a royal palace at Jerusalem. Now David made buildings round about the lower city: he also joined the citadel to it, and made it one body; and when he had encompassed all with walls, he appointed Joab to take care of them. It was David, therefore, who first cast the Jebusites out of Jerusalem, and called it by his own name, The City of David: for under our forefather Abraham it was called [Salem, or] Solyma; but after that time, some say that Homer mentions it by that name of Solyma, [for he named the temple Solyma, according to the Hebrew language, which denotes security.] Now the whole time from the warfare under Joshua our general against the Canaanites, and from that war in which he overcame them, and distributed the land among the Hebrews, [nor could the Israelites ever cast the Canaanites out of Jerusalem until this time, when David took it by siege,] this whole time was five hundred and fifteen years.

3. I shall now make mention of Araunah, who was a wealthy man among the Jebusites, but was not slain by David in the siege of Jerusalem, because of the good-will he bore to the Hebrews, and a particular benignity and affection which he had to the king himself; which I shall take a more seasonable opportunity to speak of a little afterwards. Now David married other wives over and above those which he had before: he had also concubines. The sons whom he had were in number eleven, whose names were Amnon, Emnos, Eban, Nathan, Solomon, Jeban, Elien, Phalna, Ennaphen, Jenae, Eliphale; and a daughter, Tamar. Nine of these were born of legitimate wives, but the two last-named of concubines; and Tamar had the same mother with Absalom.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 4

That When David Had Conquered The Philistines Who Made War Against Him At Jerusalem, He Removed The Ark To Jerusalem And Had A Mind To Build A Temple.

1. When the Philistines understood that David was made king of the Hebrews, they made war against him at Jerusalem; and when they had seized upon that valley which is called The Valley of the Giants, and is a place not far from the city, they pitched their camp therein; but the king of the Jews, who never permitted himself to do any thing without prophecy, and the command of God and without depending on him as a security for the time to come, bade the high priest to foretell to him what was the will of God, and what would be the event of this battle. And when he foretold that he should gain the victory and the dominion, he led out his army against the Philistines; and when the battle was joined, he came himself behind, and fell upon the enemy on the sudden, and slew some of them, and put the rest to flight. And let no one suppose that it was a small army of the Philistines that came against the Hebrews, as guessing so from the suddenness of their defeat, and from their having performed no great action, or that was worth recording, from the slowness of their march, and want of courage; but let him know that all Syria and Phoenicia, with many other nations besides them, and those warlike nations also, came to their assistance, and had a share in this war, which thing was the only cause why, when they had been so often conquered, and had lost so many ten thousands of their men, they still came upon the Hebrews with greater armies; nay, indeed, when they had so often failed of their purpose in these battles, they came upon David with an army three times as numerous as before, and pitched their camp on the same spot of ground as before. The king of Israel therefore inquired of God again concerning the event of the battle; and the high priest prophesied to him, that he should keep his army in the groves, called the Groves of Weeping, which were not far from the enemy's camp, and that he should not move, nor begin to fight, till the trees of the grove should be in motion without the wind's blowing; but as soon as these trees moved, and the time foretold to him by God was come, he should, without delay, go out to gain what was an already prepared and evident victory; for the several ranks of the enemy's army did not sustain him, but retreated at the first onset, whom he closely followed, and slew them as he went along, and pursued them to the city Gaza [which is the limit of their country]: after this he spoiled their camp, in which he found great riches; and he destroyed their gods.

2. When this had proved the event of the battle, David thought it proper, upon a consultation with the elders, and rulers, and captains of thousands, to send for those that were in the flower of their age out of all his countrymen, and out of the whole land, and withal for the priests and the Levites, in order to their going to Kirjathjearim, to bring up the ark of God out of that city, and to carry it to Jerusalem, and there to keep it, and offer before it those sacrifices and those other honours with which God used to be well-pleased; for had they done thus in the reign of Saul, they had not undergone any great misfortunes at all. So when the whole body of the people were come together, as they had resolved to do, the king came to the ark, which the priest brought out of the house of Aminadab, and laid it upon a new cart, and permitted their brethren and their children to draw it, together with the oxen. Before it went the king, and the whole multitude of the people with him, singing hymns to God, and making use of all sorts of songs usual among them, with variety of the sounds of musical instruments, and with dancing and singing of psalms, as also with the sounds of trumpets and of cymbals, and so brought the ark to Jerusalem. But as they were come to the threshing-floor of Chidon, a place so called, Uzzah was slain by the anger of God; for as the oxen shook the ark, he stretched out his hand, and would needs take hold of it. Now, because he was not a priest and yet touched the ark, God struck him dead. Hereupon both the king and the people were displeased at the death of Uzzah; and the place where he died is still called the Breach of Uzzah unto this day. So David was afraid; and supposing that if he received the ark to himself into the city, he might suffer in the like manner as Uzzah had suffered, who, upon his bare putting out his hand to the ark, died in the manner already mentioned, he did not receive it to himself into the city, but he took it aside unto a certain place belonging to a righteous man, whose name was Obededom, who was by his family a Levite, and deposited the ark with him; and it remained there three entire months. This augmented the house of Obededom, and conferred many blessings upon it. And when the king heard what had befallen Obededom, how he was become, of a poor man in a low estate, exceeding happy, and the object of envy to all those that saw or inquired after his house, he took courage, and, hoping that he should meet with no misfortune thereby, he transferred the ark to his own house; the priests carrying it, while seven companies of singers, who were set in that order by the king, went before it, and while he himself played upon the harp, and joined in the music, insomuch, that when his wife Michel, the daughter of Saul, who was our first king, saw him so doing, she laughed at him. But when they had brought in the ark,

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they placed it under the tabernacle which David had pitched for it, and he offered costly sacrifices and peace-offerings, and treated the whole multitude, and dealt both to the women, and the men, and the infants a loaf of bread and a cake, and another cake baked in a pan, with the portion of the sacrifice. So when he had thus feasted the people, he sent them away, and he himself returned to his own house.

3. But when Michal his wife, the daughter of Saul, came and stood by him, she wished him all other happiness, and entreated that whatsoever he should further desire, to the utmost possibility, might be given him by God, and that he might be favourable to him; yet did she blame him, that so great a king as he was should dance after an unseemly manner, and in his dancing, uncover himself among the servants and the handmaidens. But he replied, that he was not ashamed to do what was acceptable to God, who had preferred him before her father, and before all others; that he would play frequently, and dance, without any regard to what the handmaidens and she herself thought of it. So this Michal, who was David's wife, had no children; however, when she was afterward married to him to whom Saul her father had given her, [for at this time David had taken her away from him, and had her himself,] she bare five children. But concerning those matters I shall discourse in a proper place.

4. Now when the king saw that his affairs grew better almost every day, by the will of God, he thought he should offend him, if, while he himself continued in houses made of cedar, such as were of a great height, and had the most curious works of architecture in them, he should overlook the ark while it was laid in a tabernacle, and was desirous to build a temple to God, as Moses had predicted such a temple should be built. 8 And when he had discoursed with Nathan the prophet about these things, and had been encouraged by him to do whatsoever he had a mind to do, as having God with him, and his helper in all things, he was thereupon the more ready to set about that building. But God appeared to Nathan that very night, and commanded him to say to David, 9 that he took his purpose and his desires kindly, since nobody had before now taken it into their head to build him a temple, although upon his having such a notion he would not permit him to build him that temple, because he had made many wars, and was defiled with the slaughter of his enemies; that, however, after his death, in his old age, and when he had lived a long life, there should be a temple built by a son of his, who should take the kingdom after him, and should be called Solomon, whom he promised to provide for, as a father provides for his son, by preserving the kingdom for his son's posterity, and delivering it to them; but that he would still punish him, if he sinned, with diseases and barrenness of land. When David understood this from the prophet, and was overjoyful at this knowledge of the sure continuance of the dominion to his posterity, and that his house should be splendid, and very famous, he came to the ark, and fell down on his face, and began to adore God, and to return thanks to him for all his benefits, as well for those that he had already bestowed upon him in raising him from a low state, and from the employment of a shepherd, to so great dignity of dominion and glory; as for those also which he had promised to his posterity; and besides, for that providence which he had exercised over the Hebrews in procuring them the liberty they enjoyed. And when he had said thus, and had sung a hymn of praise to God, he went his way.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 5

How David Brought Under The Philistines, And The Moabites, And The Kings Of Sophene And Of Damascus, And Of The Syrians As Also The Idumeans, In War; And How He Made A League With The King Of Hamath; And Was Mindful Of The Friendship That Jonathan, The Son Of Saul, Had Borne Him.

1. A Litlle while after this, he considered that he ought to make war against the Philistines, and not to see any idleness or laziness permitted in his management, that so it might prove, as God had foretold to him, that when he had overthrown his enemies, he should leave his posterity to reign in peace afterward: so he called together his army again, and when he had charged them to be ready and prepared for war, and when he thought that all things in his army were in a good state, he removed from Jerusalem, and came against the Philistines; and when he had overcome them in battle, and had cut off a great part of their country, and adjoined it to the country of the Hebrews, he transferred the war to the Moabites; and when he had overcome two parts of their army in battle, he took the remaining part captive, and imposed tribute upon them, to be paid annually. He then made war against Iadadezer, the son of Rehob, king of Sophene; and when he had joined battle with him at 'the river Euphrates, he destroyed twenty thousand of his footmen, and about seven thousand of his horsemen. He also took a thousand of his chariots, and destroyed the greatest part of them, and ordered that no more than one hundred should be kept.

2. Now when Hadad, king of Damascus and of Syria, heard that David fought against Hadadezer, who was his friend, he came to his assistance with a powerful army, in hopes to rescue him; and when he had joined battle with David at the river Euphrates, he failed of his purpose, and lost in the battle a great number of his soldiers; for there were slain of the army of Hadad twenty thousand, and all the rest fled. Nicelens also [of Damascus] makes mention of this king in the fourth book of his histories; where he speaks thus: "A great while after these things had happened, there was one of that country whose name was Hadad, who was become very potent; he reigned over Damascus, and, the other parts of Syria, excepting Phoenicia. He made war against David, the king of Judea, and tried his fortune in many battles, and particularly in the last battle at Euphrates, wherein he was beaten. He seemed to have been the most excellent of all their kings in strength and manhood," Nay, besides this, he says of his posterity, that "they succeeded one another in his kingdom, and in his name;" where he thus speaks: "When Hadad was dead, his posterity reigned for ten generations, each of his successors receiving from his father that his dominion, and this his name; as did the Ptolemies in Egypt. But the third was the most powerful of them all, and was willing to avenge the defeat his forefather had received; so he made an expedition against the Jews, and laid waste the city which is now called Samaria." Nor did he err from the truth; for this is that Hadad who made the expedition against Samaria, in the reign of Ahab, king of Israel, concerning whom we shall speak in due place hereafter.

3. Now when David had made an expedition against Damascus, and the other parts of Syria, and had brought it all into subjection, and had placed garrisons in the country, and appointed that they should pay tribute, he returned home. He also dedicated to God at Jerusalem the golden quivers, the entire armour which the guards of Hadad used to wear; which Shishak, the king of Egypt, took away when he fought with David's grandson, Rehoboam, with a great deal of other wealth which he carried out of Jerusalem. However, these things will come to be explained in their proper places hereafter. Now as for the king of the Hebrews, he was assisted by God, who gave him great success in his wars, and he made all expedition against the best cities of Hadadezer, Betah and Machen; so he took them by force, and laid them waste. Therein was found a very great quantity of gold and silver, besides that sort of brass which is said to be more valuable than gold; of which brass Solomon made that large vessel which was called The [Brazen] Sea, and those most curious lavers, when he built the temple for God.

4. But when the king of Hamath was informed of the ill success of Hadadezer, and had heard of the ruin of his army, he was afraid on his own account, and resolved to make a league of friendship and fidelity with David before he should come against him; so he sent to him his son Joram, and professed that he owed him thanks for fighting against Hadadezer, who was his enemy, and made a league with him of mutual assistance and friendship. He also sent him presents, vessels of ancient workmanship, both of gold, of silver, and of brass. So when David had made this league of mutual assistance with Toi, [for that was the name of the king of Hamath,] and had received the presents he sent him, he dismissed his son with that respect which was due on both sides; but then David brought those presents that were sent by him, as also the rest of the gold and silver which he had taken of the cities whom he had conquered, and dedicated them to God. Nor did God give victory and success to him only when he went to the battle himself, and led his own army, but he gave victory to Abishai, the brother of Joab, general of his forces, over the Idumeans, and by him to David, when he sent him with an army into Idumea: for Abishai destroyed eighteen thousand of them in the battle; whereupon the king [of Israel] placed garrisons through all Idumea, and received the tribute of the country, and of every head among them. Now David was in his nature just, and made his determination with regard to truth. He had for the general of his whole army Joab; and he made Jehoshaphat, the son of Ahilud, recorder. He also appointed Zadok, of the family of Phinehas, to be high priest, together with Abiathar, for he was his friend. He also made Seisan the scribe, and committed the command over the guards of his body to Benaiah; the son of Jehoiada. His elder sons were near his body, and had the care of it also.

5. He also called to mind the covenants and the oaths he had made with Jonathan, the son of Saul, and the friendship and affection Jonathan had for him; for besides all the rest of his excellent qualities with which he was endowed, he was also exceeding mindful of such as had at other times bestowed benefits upon him. He therefore gave order that inquiry should be made, whether any of Jonathan's lineage were living, to whom he might make return of that familiar acquaintance which Jonathan had had with him, and for which he was still debtor. And when one of Saul's freed men was brought to him, who was acquainted with those of his family that were still living, he asked him whether he could tell him of any one belonging to Jonathan that was now alive, and capable of a requital of the benefits which he had received from Jonathan. And he said, that a son of his was remaining, whose name was Mephibosheth, but that he was lame of his feet; for that when his nurse heard that the father and grandfather of the child were fallen in the battle, she snatched him up, and fled away, and let him fall from her shoulders, and his feet were lamed. So when he had learned where and by whom he was brought up, he sent messengers to Machir, to the city of Lodebar, for with him was the son of Jonathan brought up, and sent for him to come to him. So when Mephibosheth came to the king, he fell on his face and worshipped him; but David encouraged him, bade him be of good cheer, and expect better times. So he gave him his father's house, and all the estate which his grandfather Saul was in possession of, and bade him come and diet with him at his own table, and never to be absent one day from that table. And when the youth had worshipped him on account of his words and gifts given to him, he called for Ziba, and told him that he had given the youth his father's house, and all Saul's estate. He also ordered that Ziba should cultivate his land, and take care of it, and bring him the profits of all to Jerusalem. Accordingly, David brought him to his table every day, and bestowed upon the youth, Ziba and his sons, who were in number fifteen, and his servants, who were in number twenty. When the king had made these appointments, and Ziba had worshipped him, and promised to do all that he had bidden him, he went his way; so that this son of Jonathan dwelt at Jerusalem, and dieted at the king's table, and had the same care that a son could claim taken of him. He also had himself a son, whom he named Micha.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 6

How The War Was Waged Against The Ammonites And Happily Concluded.

1. This were the honours that such as were left of Saul's and Jonathan's lineage received from David. About this time died Nahash, the king of the Ammonites, who was a friend of David's; and when his son had succeeded his father in the kingdom, David sent ambassadors to him to comfort him; and exhorted him to take his father's death patiently, and to expect that he would continue the same kindness to himself which he had shown to his father. But the princes of the Ammonites took this message in evil part, and not as David's kind dispositions gave reason to take it; and they excited the king to resent it; and said that David had sent men to spy out the country, and what strength it had, under the pretense of humanity and kindness. They further advised him to have a care, and not to give heed to David's words, lest he should be deluded by him, and so fall into an inconsolable calamity. Accordingly Nahash's [son], the king of the Ammonites, thought these princes spake what was more probable than the truth would admit, and so abused the ambassadors after a very harsh manner; for he shaved the one half of their beards, and cut off one half of their garments, and sent his answer, not in words, but in deeds. When the king of Israel saw this, he had indignation at it, and showed openly that he would not overlook this injurious and contumelious treatment, but would make war with the Ammonites, and would avenge this wicked treatment of his ambassadors on their king. So that king's intimate friends and commanders, understanding that they had violated their league, and were liable to be punished for the same, made preparations for war; they also sent a thousand talents to the Syrian king of Mesopotamia, and endeavored to prevail with him to assist them for that pay, and Shobach. Now these kings had twenty thousand footmen. They also hired the king of the country called Maacah, and a fourth king, by name Ishtob; which last had twelve thousand armed men.

2. But David was under no consternation at this confederacy, nor at the forces of the Ammonites; and putting his trust in God, because he was going to war in a just cause, on account of the injurious treatment he had met with, he immediately sent Joab, the captain of his host, against them, and gave him the flower of his army, who pitched his camp by Rabbah, the metropolis of the Ammonites; whereupon the enemy came out, and set themselves in array, not all of them together, but in two bodies; for the auxiliaries were set in array in the plain by themselves, but the army of the Ammonites at the gates over against the Hebrews. When Joab saw this, he opposed one stratagem against another, and chose out the most hardy part of his men, and set them in opposition to the king of Syria, and the kings that were with him, and gave the other part to his brother Abishai, and bid him set them in opposition to the Ammonites; and said to him, that in case he should see that the Syrians distressed him, and were too hard for him, he should order his troops to turn about and assist him; and he said that he himself would do the same to him, if he saw him in the like distress from the Ammonites. So he sent his brother before, and encouraged him to do every thing courageously and with alacrity, which would teach them to be afraid of disgrace, and to fight manfully; and so he dismissed him to fight with the Ammonites, while he fell upon the Syrians. And though they made a strong opposition for a while, Joab slew many of them, but compelled the rest to betake themselves to flight; which, when the Ammonites saw, and were withal afraid of Abishai and his army, they staid no longer, but imitated their auxiliaries, and fled to the city. So Joab, when he had thus

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overcome the enemy, returned with great joy to Jerusalem to the king.

3. This defeat did not still induce the Ammonites to be quiet, nor to own those that were superior to them to be so, and be still, but they sent to Chalaman, the king of the Syrians, beyond Euphrates, and hired him for an auxiliary. He had Shobach for the captain of his host, with eighty thousand footmen, and ten thousand horsemen. Now when the king of the Hebrews understood that the Ammonites had again gathered so great an army together, he determined to make war with them no longer by his generals, but he passed over the river Jordan himself with all his army; and when he met them he joined battle with them, and overcame them, and slew forty thousand of their footmen, and seven thousand of their horsemen. He also wounded Shobach, the general of Chalaman's forces, who died of that stroke; but the people of Mesopotamia, upon such a conclusion of the battle, delivered themselves up to David, and sent him presents, who at winter time returned to Jerusalem. But at the beginning of the spring he sent Joab, the captain of his host, to fight against the Ammonites, who overran all their country, and laid it waste, and shut them up in their metropolis Rabbah, and besieged them therein.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 7

How David Fell In Love With Bathsheba, And Slew Her Husband Uriah, For Which He Is Reproved By Nathan.

1. But David fell now into a very grievous sin, though he were otherwise naturally a righteous and a religious man, and one that firmly observed the laws of our fathers; for when late in an evening he took a view round him from the roof of his royal palace, where he used to walk at that hour, he saw a woman washing herself in her own house: she was one of extraordinary beauty, and therein surpassed all other women; her name was Bathsheba. So he was overcome by that woman's beauty, and was not able to restrain his desires, but sent for her, and lay with her. Hereupon she conceived with child, and sent to the king, that he should contrive some way for concealing her sin [for, according to the laws of their fathers, she who had been guilty of adultery ought to be put to death]. So the king sent for Joab's armour-bearer from the siege, who was the woman's husband, and his name was Uriah. And when he was come, the king inquired of him about the army, and about the siege; and when he had made answer that all their affairs went according to their wishes, the king took some portions of meat from his supper, and gave them to him, and bade him go home to his wife, and take his rest with her. Uriah did not do so, but slept near the king with the rest of his armour-bearers. When the king was informed of this, he asked him why he did not go home to his house, and to his wife, after so long an absence; which is the natural custom of all men, when they come from a long journey. He replied, that it was not right, while his fellow soldiers, and the general of the army, slept upon the ground, in the camp, and in an enemy's country, that he should go and take his rest, and solace himself with his wife. So when he had thus replied, the king ordered him to stay there that night, that he might dismiss him the next day to the general. So the king invited Uriah to supper, and after a cunning and dexterous manlier plied him with drink at supper, till he was thereby disordered; yet did he nevertheless sleep at the king's gates without any inclination to go to his wife. Upon this the king was very angry at him; and wrote to Joab, and commanded him to punish Uriah, for he told him that he had offended him; and he suggested to him the manner in which he would have him punished, that it might not be discovered that he was himself the author of this his punishment; for he charged him to set him over against that part of the enemy's army where the attack would be most hazardous, and where he might be deserted, and be in the greatest jeopardy, for he bade him order his fellow soldiers to retire out of the fight. When he had written thus to him, and sealed the letter with his own seal, he gave it to Uriah to carry to Joab. When Joab had received it, and upon reading it understood the king's purpose, he set Uriah in that place where he knew the enemy would be most troublesome to them; and gave him for his partners some of the best soldiers in the army; and said that he would also come to their assistance with the whole army, that if possible they might break down some part of the wall, and enter the city. And he desired him to be glad of the opportunity of exposing himself to such great pains, and not to be displeased at it, since he was a valiant soldier, and had a great reputation for his valour, both with the king and with his countrymen. And when Uriah undertook the work he was set upon with alacrity, he gave private orders to those who were to be his companions, that when they saw the enemy make a sally, they should leave him. When, therefore, the Hebrews made an attack upon the city, the Ammonites were afraid that the enemy might prevent them, and get up into the city, and this at the very place whither Uriah was ordered; so they exposed their best soldiers to be in the forefront, and opened their gates suddenly, and fell upon the enemy with great vehemence, and ran violently upon them. When those that were with Uriah saw this, they all retreated backward, as Joab had directed them beforehand; but Uriah, as ashamed to run away and leave his post, sustained the enemy, and receiving the violence of their onset, he slew many of them; but being encompassed round, and caught in the midst of them, he was slain, and some other of his companions were slain with him.

2. When this was done, Joab sent messengers to the king, and ordered them to tell him that he did what he could to take the city soon; but that, as they made an assault on the wall, they had been forced to retire with great loss; and bade them, if they saw the king was angry at it, to add this, that Uriah was slain also. When the king had heard this of the messengers, he took it heinously, and said that they did wrong when they assaulted the wall, whereas they ought, by undermining and other stratagems of war, to endeavor the taking of the city, especially when they had before their eyes the example of Abimelech, the son of Gideon, who would needs take the tower in Thebes by force, and was killed by a large stone thrown at him by an old woman; and although he was a man of great prowess, he died ignominiously by the dangerous manner of his assault: that they should remember this accident, and not come near the enemy's wall, for that the best method of making war with success was to call to mind the accidents of former wars, and what good or bad success had attended them in the like dangerous cases, that so they might imitate the one, and avoid the other. But when the king was in this disposition, the messenger told him that Uriah was slain also; whereupon he was pacified. So he bade the messenger go back to Joab and tell him that this misfortune is no other than what is common among mankind, and that such is the nature, and such the accidents of war, insomuch that sometimes the enemy will have success therein, and sometimes others; but that he ordered him to go on still in his care about the siege, that no ill accident might befall him in it hereafter; that they should raise bulwarks and use machines in besieging the city; and when they have gotten it, to overturn its very foundations, and to destroy all those that are in it. Accordingly the messenger carried the king's message with which he was charged, and made haste to Joab. But Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, when she was informed of the death of her husband, mourned for his death many days; and when her mourning was over, and the tears which she shed for Uriah were dried up, the king took her to wife presently; and a son was born to him by her.

3. With this marriage God was not well pleased, but was thereupon angry at David; and he appeared to Nathan the prophet in his sleep, and complained of the king. Now Nathan was a fair and prudent man; and considering that kings, when they fall into a passion, are guided more by that passion than they are by justice, he resolved to conceal the threatenings that proceeded from God, and made a good-natured discourse to him, and this after the manner following:—He desired that the king would give him his opinion in the following case:—"There were," said he, "two men inhabiting the same city, the one of them was rich, and [the other poor]. The rich man had a great many flocks of cattle, of sheep, and of kine; but the poor man had but one ewe lamb. This he brought up with his children, and let her eat her food with them; and he had the same natural affection for her which any one might have for a daughter. Now upon the coming of a stranger to the rich man, he would not vouchsafe to kill any of his own flocks, and thence feast his friend; but he sent for the poor man's lamb, and took her away from him, and made her ready for food, and thence feasted the stranger." This discourse troubled the king exceedingly; and he denounced to Nathan, that "this man was a wicked man who could dare to do such a thing; and that it was but just that he should restore the lamb fourfold, and be punished with death for it also." Upon this Nathan immediately said that he was himself the man who ought to suffer those punishments, and that by his own sentence; and that it was he who had perpetrated this 'great and horrid crime.' He also revealed to him, and laid before him, the anger of God against him, who had made him king over the army of the Hebrews, and lord of all the nations, and those many and great nations round about him; who had formerly delivered him out of the hands of Saul, and had given him such wives as he had justly and legally married; and now this God was despised by him, and affronted by his impiety, when he had married, and now had, another man's wife; and by exposing her husband to the enemy, had really slain him; that God would inflict punishments upon him on account of those instances of wickedness; that his own wives should be forced by one of his sons; and that he should be treacherously supplanted by the same son; and that although he had perpetrated his wickedness secretly, yet should that punishment which he was to undergo be inflicted publicly upon him; "that, moreover," said he, "the child which was born to thee of her shall soon die." When the king was troubled at these messages, and sufficiently confounded, and said with tears and sorrow that he had sinned, [for he was without controversy a pious man, and guilty of no sin at all in his whole life, excepting those in the matter of Uriah,] God had compassion on him, and was reconciled to him, and promised that he would preserve to him both his life and his kingdom; for he said that, seeing he repented of the things he had done, he was no longer displeased with him. So Nathan, when he had delivered this prophecy to the king, returned home.

4. However, God sent a dangerous distemper upon the child that was born to David of the wife of Uriah, at which the king was troubled, and did not take any food for seven days, although his servants almost forced him to take it; but he clothed himself in a black garment, and fell down, and lay upon the ground in sackcloth, entrusting God for the recovery of the child, for he vehemently loved the child's mother; but when, on the seventh day, the child was dead, the king's servants durst not tell him of it, as supposing that when he knew it, he would still less admit of food, and other care of himself, by reason of his grief at the death of his son, since when the child was only sick, he so greatly afflicted himself, and grieved for him: but when the king perceived that his servants were in disorder, and seemed to be affected, as those who are very desirous to conceal something, he understood that the child was dead; and when he had called one of his servants to him, and discovered that so it was, he arose up and washed himself, and took a white garment, and came into the tabernacle of God. He also commanded them to set supper before him, and thereby greatly surprised his kindred and servants, while he did nothing of this when the child was sick, but did it all when he was dead. Whereupon having first begged leave to ask him a question, they besought him to tell them the reason of this his conduct; he then called them unskillful people, and instructed them how he had hopes of the recovery of the child while it was alive, and accordingly did all that was proper for him to do, as thinking by such means to render God propitious to him; but that when the child was dead, there was no longer any occasion for grief, which was then to no purpose. When he had said this, they commended the king's wisdom and understanding. He then went in unto Bathsheba his wife, and she conceived and bare a son; and by the command of Nathan the prophet called his name Solomon.

5. But Joab sorely distressed the Ammonites in the siege, by cutting off their waters, and depriving them of other means of subsistence, till they were in the greatest want of meat and drink, for they depended only on one small well of water, and this they durst not drink of too freely, lest the fountain should entirely fail them. So he wrote to the king, and informed him thereof; and persuaded him to come himself to take the city, that he might have the honour of the victory. Upon this letter of Joab's, the king accepted of his good-will and fidelity, and took with him his army, and came to the destruction of Rabbah; and when he had taken it by force, he gave it to his soldiers to plunder it; but he himself took the king of the Ammonites' crown, whose weight was a talent of gold; and it had in its middle a precious stone called a sardonyx; which crown David ever after wore on his own head. He also found many other vessels in the city, and those both splendid and of great price; but as for the men, he tormented them, and then destroyed them; and when he had taken the other cities of the Ammonites by force, he treated them after the same manner.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 8

How Absalom Murdered Amnon, Who Had Forced His Own Sister; And How He Was Banished And Afterwards Recalled By David.

1. When the king was returned to Jerusalem, a sad misfortune befell his house, on the occasion following: He had a daughter, who was yet a virgin, and very handsome, insomuch that she surpassed all the most beautiful women; her name was Tamar; she had the same mother with Absalom. Now Amnon, David's eldest son, fell in love with her, and being not able to obtain his desires, on account of her virginity, and the custody she was under, was so much out of order, nay, his grief so eat up his body, that he grew lean, and his colour was changed. Now there was one Jenadab, a kinsman and friend of his, who discovered this his passion, for he was an extraordinary wise man, and of great sagacity of mind. When, therefore, he saw that every morning Amnon was not in body as he ought to be, he came to him, and desired him to tell him what was the cause of it: however, he said that he guessed that it arose from the passion of love. Amnon confessed his passion, that he was in love with a sister of his, who had the same father with himself. So Jenadab suggested to him by what method and contrivance he might obtain his desires; for he persuaded him to pretend sickness, and bade him, when his father should come to him, to beg of him that his sister might come and minister to him; for if that were done, he should be better, and should quickly recover from his distemper. So Amnon lay down on his bed, and pretended to be sick, as Jonadab had suggested. When his father came, and inquired how he did, he begged of him to send his sister to him. Accordingly, he presently ordered her to be brought to him; and when she was come, Amnon bade her make cakes for him, and fry them in a pan, and do it all with her own hands, because he should take them better from her hand [than from any one's else]. So she kneaded the flour in the sight of her brother, and made him cakes, and baked them in a pan, and brought them to him; but at that time he would not taste

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them, but gave order to his servants to send all that were there out of his chamber, because he had a mind to repose himself, free from tumult and disturbance. As soon as what he had commanded was done, he desired his sister to bring his supper to him into the inner parlor; which, when the damsel had done, he took hold of her, and endeavored to persuade her to lie with him. Whereupon the damsel cried out, and said, "Nay, brother, do not force me, nor be so wicked as to transgress the laws, and bring upon thyself the utmost confusion. Curb this thy unrighteous and impure lust, from which our house will get nothing but reproach and disgrace." She also advised him to speak to his father about this affair; for he would permit him [to marry her]. This she said, as desirous to avoid her brother's violent passion at present. But he would not yield to her; but, inflamed with love and blinded with the vehemency of his passion, he forced his sister: but as soon as Amnon had satisfied his lust, he hated her immediately, and giving her reproachful words, bade her rise up and be gone. And when she said that this was a more injurious treatment than the former, if, now he had forced her, he would not let her stay with him till the evening, but bid her go away in the day- time, and while it was light, that she might meet with people that would be witnesses of her shame,—he commanded his servant to turn her out of his house. Whereupon she was sorely grieved at the injury and violence that had been offered to her, and rent her loose coat, [for the virgins of old time wore such loose coats tied at the hands, and let down to the ankles, that the inner coats might not be seen,] and sprinkled ashes on her head; and went up the middle of the city, crying out and lamenting for the violence that had been offered her. Now Absalom, her brother, happened to meet her, and asked her what sad thing had befallen her, that she was in that plight; and when she had told him what injury had been offered her, he comforted her, and desired her to be quiet, and take all patiently, and not to esteem her being corrupted by her brother as an injury. So she yielded to his advice, and left off her crying out, and discovering the force offered her to the multitude; and she continued as a widow with her brother Absalom a long time.

2. When David his father knew this, he was grieved at the actions of Amnon; but because he had an extraordinary affection for him, for he was his eldest son, he was compelled not to afflict him; but Absalom watched for a fit opportunity of revenging this crime upon him, for he thoroughly hated him. Now the second year after this wicked affair about his sister was over, and Absalom was about to go to shear his own sheep at Baalhazor, which is a city in the portion of Ephraim, he besought his father, as well as his brethren, to come and feast with him: but when David excused himself, as not being willing to be burdensome to him, Absalom desired he would however send his brethren; whom he did send accordingly. Then Absalom charged his own servants, that when they should see Amnon disordered and drowsy with wine, and he should give them a signal, they should fear nobody, but kill him.

3. When they had done as they were commanded, the rest of his brethren were astonished and disturbed, and were afraid for themselves, so they immediately got on horseback, and rode away to their father; but somebody there was who prevented them, and told their father they were all slain by Absalom; whereupon he was overcome with sorrow, as for so many of his sons that were destroyed at once, and that by their brother also; and by this consideration, that it was their brother that appeared to have slain them, he aggravated his sorrow for them. So he neither inquired what was the cause of this slaughter, nor staid to hear any thing else, which yet it was but reasonable to have done, when so very great, and by that greatness so incredible, a misfortune was related to him: he rent his clothes and threw himself upon the ground, and there lay lamenting the loss of all his sons, both those who, as he was informed, were slain, and of him who slew them. But Jonadab, the son of his brother Shemeah, entreated him not to indulge his sorrow so far, for as to the rest of his sons he did not believe that they were slain, for he found no cause for such a suspicion; but he said it might deserve inquiry as to Amnon, for it was not unlikely that Absalom might venture to kill him on account of the injury he had offered to Tamar. In the mean time, a great noise of horses, and a tumult of some people that were coming, turned their attention to them; they were the king's sons, who were fled away from the feast. So their father met them as they were in their grief, and he himself grieved with them; but it was more than he expected to see those his sons again, whom he had a little before heard to have perished. However, their were tears on both sides; they lamenting their brother who was killed, and the king lamenting his son, who was killed also; but Absalom fled to Geshur, to his grandfather by his mother's side, who was king of that country, and he remained with him three whole years.

4. Now David had a design to send to Absalom, not that he should come to be punished, but that he might be with him, for the effects of his anger were abated by length of time. It was Joab, the captain of his host, that chiefly persuaded him so to do; for he suborned an ordinary woman, that was stricken in age, to go to the king in mourning apparel, who said thus to him:—That two of her sons, in a coarse way, had some difference between them, and that in the progress of that difference they came to an open quarrel, and that one was smitten by the other, and was dead; and she desired him to interpose in this case, and to do her the favour to save this her son from her kindred, who were very zealous to have him that had slain his brother put to death, that so she might not be further deprived of the hopes she had of being taken care of in her old age by him; and that if he would hinder this slaughter of her son by those that wished for it, he would do her a great favour, because the kindred would not be restrained from their purpose by any thing else than by the fear of him. And when the king had given his consent to what the woman had begged of him, she made this reply to him:—"I owe thee thanks for thy benignity to me in pitying my old age, and preventing the loss of my only remaining child; but in order to assure me of this thy kindness, be first reconciled to thine own son, and cease to be angry with him; for how shall I persuade myself that thou hast really bestowed this favour upon me, while thou thyself continuest after the like manner in thy wrath to thine own son? for it is a foolish thing to add willfully another to thy dead son, while the death of the other was brought about without thy consent." And now the king perceived that this pretended story was a subornation derived from Joab, and was of his contrivance; and when, upon inquiry of the old woman, he understood it to be so in reality, he called for Joab, and told him he had obtained what he requested according to his own mind; and he bid him bring Absalom back, for he was not now displeased, but had already ceased to be angry with him. So Joab bowed himself down to the king, and took his words kindly, and went immediately to Geshur, and took Absalom with him, and came to Jerusalem.

5. However, the king sent a message to his son beforehand, as he was coming, and commanded him to retire to his own house, for he was not yet in such a disposition as to think fit at present to see him. Accordingly, upon the father's command, he avoided coming into his presence, and contented himself with the respects paid him by his own family only. Now his beauty was not impaired, either by the grief he had been under, or by the want of such care as was proper to be taken of a king's son, for he still surpassed and excelled all men in the tallness of his body, and was more eminent [in a fine appearance] than those that dieted the most luxuriously; and indeed such was the thickness of the hair of his head, that it was with difficulty that he was polled every eighth day; and his hair weighed two hundred shekels which are five pounds. However, he dwelt in Jerusalem two years, and became the father of three sons, and one daughter; which daughter was of very great beauty, and which Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, took to wife afterward, and had by her a son named Abijah. But Absalom sent to Joab, and desired him to pacify his father entirely towards him; and to beseech him to give him leave to come to him to see him, and speak with him. But when Joab neglected so to do, he sent some of his own servants, and set fire to the field adjoining to him; which, when Joab understood, he came to Absalom, and accused him of what he had done; and asked him the reason why he did so. To which Absalom replied, that "I have found out this stratagem that might bring thee to us, while thou hast taken no care to perform the injunction I laid upon thee, which was this, to reconcile my father to me; and I really beg it of thee, now thou art here, to pacify my father as to me, since I esteem my coming hither to be more grievous than my banishment, while my father's wrath against me continues." Hereby Joab was persuaded, and pitied the distress that Absalom was in, and became an intercessor with the king for him. And when he had discoursed with his father, he soon brought him to that amicable disposition towards Absalom, that he presently sent for him to come to him; and when he had cast himself down upon the ground, and had begged for the forgiveness of his offenses, the king raised him up, and promised him to forget what he had formerly done.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 9

Concerning The Insurrection Of Absalom Against David And Concerning Ahithophel And Hushai; And Concerning Ziba And Shimei; And How Ahithophel Hanged Himself.

1. Now Absalom, upon this his success with the king, procured to himself a great many horses, and many chariots, and that in a little time also. He had moreover fifty armour-bearers that were about him; and he came early every day to the king's palace, and spake what was agreeable to such as came for justice and lost their causes, as if that happened for want of good counselors about the king, or perhaps because the judges mistook in that unjust sentence they gave; whereby he gained the good-will of them all. He told them, that had he but such authority committed to him, he would distribute justice to them in a most equitable manner. When he had made himself so popular among the multitude, he thought he had already the good-will of the people secured to him; but when four years had passed since his father's reconciliation to him, he came to him, and besought him to give him leave to go to Hebron, and pay a sacrifice to God, because he vowed it to him when he fled out of the country. So when David had granted his request, he went thither, and great multitudes came running together to him, for he had sent to a great number so to do.

2. Among them came Ahithophel the Gilonite, a counsellor of David's, and two hundred men out of Jerusalem itself, who knew not his intentions, but were sent for as to a sacrifice. So he was appointed king by all of them, which he obtained by this stratagem. As soon as this news was brought to David, and he was informed of what he did not expect from his son, he was affrighted at this his impious and bold undertaking, and wondered that he was so far from remembering how his offense had been so lately forgiven him, that he undertook much worse and more wicked enterprises; first, to deprive him of that kingdom which was given him of God; and secondly, to take away his own father's life. He therefore resolved to fly to the parts beyond Jordan: so he called his most intimate friends together, and communicated to them all that he had heard of his son's madness. He committed himself to God, to judge between them about all their actions; and left the care of his royal palace to his ten concubines, and went away from Jerusalem, being willingly accompanied by the rest of the multitude, who went hastily away with him, and particularly by those six hundred armed men, who had been with him from his first flight in the days of Saul. But he persuaded Abiathar and Zadok, the high priests, who had determined to go away with him, as also all the Levites, who were with the ark, to stay behind, as hoping that God would deliver him without its removal; but he charged them to let him know privately how all things went on; and he had their sons, Ahimmaz the son of Zadok, and Jonathan the son of Abiathar, for faithful ministers in all things; but Ittai the Gitrite went out with him whether David would let him or not, for he would have persuaded him to stay, and on that account he appeared the more friendly to him. But as he was ascending the Mount of Olives barefooted, and all his company were in tears, it was told him that Ahithophel was with Absalom, and was of his side. This hearing augmented his grief; and he besought God earnestly to alienate the mind of Absalom from Ahithophel, for he was afraid that he should persuade him to follow his pernicious counsel, for he was a prudent man, and very sharp in seeing what was advantageous. When David was gotten upon the top of the mountain, he took a view of the city; and prayed to God with abundance of tears, as having already lost his kingdom; and here it was that a faithful friend of his, whose name was Hushai, met him. When David saw him with his clothes rent, and having ashes all over his head, and in lamentation for the great change of affairs, he comforted him, and exhorted him to leave off grieving; nay, at length he besought him to go back to Absalom, and appear as one of his party, and to fish out the secretest counsels of his mind, and to contradict the counsels of Ahithophel, for that he could not do him so much good by being with him as he might by being with Absalom. So he was prevailed on by David, and left him, and came to Jerusalem, whither Absalom himself came also a little while afterward.

3. When David was gone a little farther, there met him Ziba, the servant of Mephibosheth, [whom he had sent to take care of the possessions which had been given him, as the son of Jonathan, the son of Saul,] with a couple of asses, loaden with provisions, and desired him to take as much of them as he and his followers stood in need of. And when the king asked him where he had left Mephibosheth, he said he had left him in Jerusalem, expecting to be chosen king in the present confusions, in remembrance of the benefits Saul had conferred upon them. At this the king had great indignation, and gave to Ziba all that he had formerly bestowed on Mephibosheth; for he determined that it was much fitter that he should have them than the other; at which Ziba greatly rejoiced.

4. When David was at Bahurim, a place so called, there came out a kinsman of Saul's, whose name was Shimei, and threw stones at him, and gave him reproachful words; and as his friends stood about the king and protected him, he persevered still more in his reproaches, and called him a bloody man, and the author of all sorts of mischief. He bade him also go out of the land as an impure and accursed wretch; and he thanked God for depriving him of his kingdom, and causing him to be punished for what injuries he had done to his master [Saul], and this by the means of his own son. Now when they were all provoked against him, and angry at him, and particularly Abishai, who had a mind to kill Shimei, David restrained his anger. "Let us not," said he, "bring upon ourselves another fresh misfortune to those we have already, for truly I have not the least regard nor concern for this dog that raves at me: I submit myself to God, by whose permission this man treats me in such a wild manner; nor is it any wonder that I am obliged to undergo these abuses from him, while I experience the like from an impious son of my own; but perhaps God will have some commiseration upon us; if it be his will we shall overcome them." So he went on his way without troubling himself with Shimei, who ran along the other side of the mountain, and threw out his abusive language plentifully. But when David was come to Jordan, he allowed those that were with him to refresh themselves; for they were weary.

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5. But when Absalom, and Ahithophel his counselor, were come to Jerusalem, with all the people, David's friend, Hushai, came to them; and when he had worshipped Absalom, he withal wished that his kingdom might last a long time, and continue for all ages. But when Absalom said to him, "How comes this, that he who was so intimate a friend of my father's, and appeared faithful to him in all things, is not with him now, but hath left him, and is come over to me?" Hushai's answer was very pertinent and prudent; for he said, "We ought to follow God and the multitude of the people; while these, therefore, my lord and master, are with thee, it is fit that I should follow them, for thou hast received the kingdom from God. I will therefore, if thou believest me to be thy friend, show the same fidelity and kindness to thee, which thou knowest I have shown to thy father; nor is there any reason to be in the least dissatisfied with the present state of affairs, for the kingdom is not transferred into another, but remains still in the same family, by the son's receiving it after his father." This speech persuaded Absalom, who before suspected Hushai. And now he called Ahithophel, and consulted with him what he ought to do: he persuaded him to go in unto his father's concubines; for he said that "by this action the people would believe that thy difference with thy father is irreconcilable, and will thence fight with great alacrity against thy father, for hitherto they are afraid of taking up open enmity against him, out of an expectation that you will be reconciled again." Accordingly, Absalom was prevailed on by this advice, and commanded his servants to pitch him a tent upon the top of the royal palace, in the sight of the multitude; and he went in and lay with his father's concubines. Now this came to pass according to the prediction of Nathan, when he prophesied and signified to him that his son would rise up in rebellion against him.

6. And when Absalom had done what he was advised to by Ahithophel, he desired his advice, in the second place, about the war against his father. Now Ahithophel only asked him to let him have ten thousand chosen men, and he promised he would slay his father, and bring the soldiers back again in safety; and he said that then the kingdom would be firm to him when David was dead [but not otherwise]. Absalom was pleased with this advice, and called for Hushai, David's friend [for so did he style him]; and informing him of the opinion of Ahithophel, he asked, further, what was his opinion concerning that matter. Now he was sensible that if Ahithophel's counsel were followed, David would be in danger of being seized on, and slain; so he attempted to introduce a contrary opinion, and said, "Thou art not unacquainted, O king, with the valour of thy father, and of those that are now with him; that he hath made many wars, and hath always come off with victory, though probably he now abides in the camp, for he is very skillful in stratagems, and in foreseeing the deceitful tricks of his enemies; yet will he leave his own soldiers in the evening, and will either hide himself in some valley, or will place an ambush at some rock; so that when our army joins battle with him, his soldiers will retire for a little while, but will come upon us again, as encouraged by the king's being near them; and in the mean time your father will show himself suddenly in the time of the battle, and will infuse courage into his own people when they are in danger, but bring consternation to thine. Consider, therefore, my advice, and reason upon it, and if thou canst not but acknowledge it to be the best, reject the opinion of Ahithophel. Send to the entire country of the Hebrews, and order them to come and fight with thy father; and do thou thyself take the army, and be thine own general in this war, and do not trust its management to another; then expect to conquer him with ease, when thou overtakest him openly with his few partisans, but hast thyself many ten thousands, who will be desirous to demonstrate to thee their diligence and alacrity. And if thy father shall shut himself up in some city, and bear a siege, we will overthrow that city with machines of war, and by undermining it." When Hushai had said this, he obtained his point against Ahithophel, for his opinion was preferred by Absalom before the other's: however, it was no other than God who made the counsel of Hushai appear best to the mind of Absalom.

7. So Hushai made haste to the high priests, Zadok and Abiathar, and told them the opinion of Ahithophel, and his own, and that the resolution was taken to follow this latter advice. He therefore bade them send to David, and tell him of it, and to inform him of the counsels that had been taken; and to desire him further to pass quickly over Jordan, lest his son should change his mind, and make haste to pursue him, and so prevent him, and seize upon him before he be in safety. Now the high priests had their sons concealed in a proper place out of the city, that they might carry news to David of what was transacted. Accordingly, they sent a maid-servant, whom they could trust, to them, to carry the news of Absalom's counsels, and ordered them to signify the same to David with all speed. So they made no excuse nor delay, but taking along with them their fathers' injunctions, because pious and faithful ministers, and judging that quickness and suddenness was the best mark of faithful service, they made haste to meet with David. But certain horsemen saw them when they were two furlongs from the city, and informed Absalom of them, who immediately sent some to take them; but when the sons of the high priest perceived this, they went out of the road, and betook themselves to a certain village; that village was called Bahurim; there they desired a certain woman to hide them, and afford them security. Accordingly she let the young men down by a rope into a well, and laid fleeces of wool over them; and when those that pursued them came to her, and asked her whether she saw them, she did not deny that she had seen them, for that they staid with her some time, but she said they then went their ways; and she foretold that, however, if they would follow them directly, they would catch them; but when after a long pursuit they could not catch them, they came back again; and when the woman saw those men were returned, and that there was no longer any fear of the young men's being caught by them, she drew them up by the rope, and bade them go on their journey accordingly, they used great diligence in the prosecution of that journey, and came to David, and informed him accurately of all the counsels of Absalom. So he commanded those that were with him to pass over Jordan while it was night, and not to delay at all on that account.

8. But Ahithophel, on rejection of his advice, got upon his ass, and rode away to his own country, Gilon; and, calling his family together, he told them distinctly what advice he had given Absalom; and since he had not been persuaded by it, he said he would evidently perish, and this in no long time, and that David would overcome him, and return to his kingdom again; so he said it was better that he should take his own life away with freedom and magnanimity, than expose himself to be punished by David, in opposition to whom he had acted entirely for Absalom. When he had discoursed thus to them, he went into the inmost room of his house, and hanged himself; and thus was the death of Ahithophel, who was self-condemned; and when his relations had taken him down from the halter, they took care of his funeral. Now, as for David, he passed over Jordan, as we have said already, and came to Mahanaim, every fine and very strong city; and all the chief men of the country received him with great pleasure, both out of the shame they had that he should be forced to flee away [from Jerusalem], and out of the respect they bare him while he was in his former prosperity. These were Barzillai the Gileadite, and Siphar the ruler among the Ammonites, and Machir the principal man of Gilead; and these furnished him with plentiful provisions for himself and his followers, insomuch that they wanted no beds nor blankets for them, nor loaves of bread, nor wine; nay, they brought them a great many cattle for slaughter, and afforded them what furniture they wanted for their refreshment when they were weary, and for food, with plenty of other necessaries.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 10

How, When Absalom Was Beaten, He Was Caught In A Tree By His Hair And Was Slain

1. And this was the state of David and his followers: but Absalom got together a vast army of the Hebrews to oppose his father, and passed therewith over the river Jordan, and sat down not far off Mahanaim, in the country of Gilead. He appointed Amasa to be captain of all his host, instead of Joab his kinsman: his father was Ithra and his mother Abigail: now she and Zeruiah, the mother of Joab, were David's sisters. But when David had numbered his followers, and found them to be about four thousand, he resolved not to tarry till Absalom attacked him, but set over his men captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds, and divided his army into three parts; the one part he committed to Joab, the next to Abishai, Joab's brother, and the third to Ittai, David's companion and friend, but one that came from the city Gath; and when he was desirous of fighting himself among them, his friends would not let him: and this refusal of theirs was founded upon very wise reasons: "For," said they, "if we be conquered when he is with us, we have lost all good hopes of recovering ourselves; but if we should be beaten in one part of our army, the other parts may retire to him, and may thereby prepare a greater force, while the enemy will naturally suppose that he hath another army with him." So David was pleased with this their advice, and resolved himself to tarry at Mahanaim; and as he sent his friends and commanders to the battle, he desired them to show all possible alacrity and fidelity, and to bear in mind what advantages they had received from him, which, though they had not been very great, yet had they not been quite inconsiderable; and he begged of them to spare the young man Absalom, lest some mischief should befall himself, if he should be killed; and thus did he send out his army to the battle, and wished them victory therein.

2. Then did Joab put his army in battle-array over against the enemy in the Great Plain, where he had a wood behind him. Absalom also brought his army into the field to oppose him. Upon the joining of the battle, both sides showed great actions with their hands and their boldness; the one side exposing themselves to the greatest hazards, and using their utmost alacrity, that David might recover his kingdom; and the other being no way deficient, either in doing or suffering, that Absalom might not be deprived of that kingdom, and be brought to punishment by his father for his impudent attempt against him. Those also that were the most numerous were solicitous that they might not be conquered by those few that were with Joab, and with the other commanders, because that would be the greater disgrace to them; while David's soldiers strove greatly to overcome so many ten thousands as the enemy had with them. Now David's men were conquerors, as superior in strength and skill in war; so they followed the others as they fled away through the forests and valleys; some they took prisoners, and many they slew, and more in the flight than in the battle for there fell about twenty thousand that day. But all David's men ran violently upon Absalom, for he was easily known by his beauty and tallness. He was himself also afraid lest his enemies should seize on him, so he got upon the king's mule, and fled; but as he was carried with violence, and noise, and a great motion, as being himself light, he entangled his hair greatly in the large boughs of a knotty tree that spread a great way, and there he hung, after a surprising manner; and as for the beast, it went on farther, and that swiftly, as if his master had been still upon his back; but he, hanging in the air upon the boughs, was taken by his enemies. Now when one of David's soldiers saw this, he informed Joab of it; and when the general said, that if he had shot at and killed Absalom, he would have given him fifty shekels,—he replied, "I would not have killed my master's son if thou wouldst have given me a thousand shekels, especially when he desired that the young man might be spared in the hearing of us all." But Joab bade him show him where it was that he saw Absalom hang; whereupon he shot him to the heart, and slew him, and Joab's armour-bearers stood round the tree, and pulled down his dead body, and cast it into a great chasm that was out of sight, and laid a heap of stones upon him, till the cavity was filled up, and had both the appearance and the bigness of a grave. Then Joab sounded a retreat, and recalled his own soldiers from pursuing the enemy's army, in order to spare their countrymen.

3. Now Absalom had erected for himself a marble pillar in the king's dale, two furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which he named Absalom's Hand, saying, that if his children were killed, his name would remain by that pillar; for he had three sons and one daughter, named Tamar, as we said before, who when she was married to David's grandson, Rehoboam, bare a son, Abijah by name, who succeeded his father in the kingdom; but of these we shall speak in a part of our history which will be more proper. After the death of Absalom, they returned every one to their own homes respectively.

4. But now Ahimaaz, the son of Zadok the high priest, went to Joab, and desired he would permit him to go and tell David of this victory, and to bring him the good news that God had afforded his assistance and his providence to him. However, he did not grant his request, but said to him, "Wilt thou, who hast always been the messenger of good news, now go and acquaint the king that his son is dead?" So he desired him to desist. He then called Cushi, and committed the business to him, that he should tell the king what he had seen. But when Ahimaaz again desired him to let him go as a messenger, and assured him that he would only relate what concerned the victory, but not concerning the death of Absalom, he gave him leave to go to David. Now he took a nearer road than the former did, for nobody knew it but himself, and he came before Cushi. Now as David was sitting between the gates, and waiting to see when somebody would come to him from the battle, and tell him how it went, one of the watchmen saw Ahimaaz running, and before he could discern who he was, he told David that he saw somebody coming to him, who said he was a good messenger. A little while after, he informed him that another messenger followed him; whereupon the king said that he also was a good messenger: but when the watchman saw Ahimaaz, and that he was already very near, he gave the king notice that it was the son of Zadok the high priest who came running. So David was very glad, and said he was a messenger of good tidings, and brought him some such news from the battle as he desired to hear.

5. While the king was saying thus, Ahimaaz appeared, and worshipped the king. And when the king inquired of him about the battle, he said he brought him the good news of victory and dominion. And when he inquired what he had to say concerning his son, he said that he came away on the sudden as soon as the enemy was defeated, but that he heard a great noise of those that pursued Absalom, and that he could learn no more, because of the haste he made when Joab sent him to inform him of the victory. But when Cushi was come, and had worshipped him, and informed him of the victory, he asked him about his son, who replied, "May the like misfortune befall thine enemies as hath befallen Absalom." That word did not permit either himself or his soldiers to rejoice for the victory, though it was a very great one; but David went up to the highest part of the city, 19 and wept for his son, and beat his breast, tearing [the hair of] his head, tormenting himself all manner of ways, and crying out, "O my son! I wish that I had died myself, and ended my days with thee!" for he was of a tender natural affection, and had extraordinary compassion for this son in particular. But when the army and Joab heard that the king mourned for his son, they were ashamed to enter the city in the habit of conquerors,

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but they all came in as cast down, and in tears, as if they had been beaten. Now while the king covered himself, and grievously lamented his son, Joab went in to him, and comforted him, and said, "O my lord the king, thou art not aware that thou layest a blot on thyself by what thou now doest; for thou seemest to hate those that love thee, and undergo dangers for thee nay, to hate thyself and thy family, and to love those that are thy bitter enemies, and to desire the company of those that are no more, and who have been justly slain; for had Absalom gotten the victory, and firmly settled himself in the kingdom, there had been none of us left alive, but all of us, beginning with thyself and thy children, had miserably perished, while our enemies had not wept for his, but rejoiced over us, and punished even those that pitied us in our misfortunes; and thou art not ashamed to do this in the case of one that has been thy bitter enemy, who, while he was thine own son hath proved so wicked to thee. Leave off, therefore, thy unreasonable grief, and come abroad and be seen of thy soldiers, and return them thanks for the alacrity they showed in the fight; for I myself will this day persuade the people to leave thee, and to give the kingdom to another, if thou continuest to do thus; and then I shall make thee to grieve bitterly and in earnest." Upon Joab's speaking thus to him, he made the king leave off his sorrow, and brought him to the consideration of his affairs. So David changed his habit, and exposed himself in a manner fit to be seen by the multitude, and sat at the gates; whereupon all the people heard of it, and ran together to him, and saluted him. And this was the present state of David's affairs.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 11

How David, When He Had Recovered His Kingdom, Was Reconciled To Shimei, And To Ziba; And Showed A Great Affection To Barzillai; And How, Upon The Rise Of A Sedition, He Made Amasa Captain Of His Host, In Order To Pursue Seba; Which Amasa Was Slain By Joab.

1. Now those Hebrews that had been With Absalom, and had retired out of the battle, when they were all returned home, sent messengers to every city to put them in mind of what benefits David had bestowed upon them, and of that liberty which he had procured them, by delivering them from many and great wars. But they complained, that whereas they had ejected him out of his kingdom, and committed it to another governor, which other governor, whom they had set up, was already dead, they did not now beseech David to leave off his anger at them, and to become friends with them, and, as he used to do, to resume the care of their affairs, and take the kingdom again. This was often told to David. And, this notwithstanding, David sent to Zadok and Abiathar the high priests, that they should speak to the rulers of the tribe of Judah after the manner following: That it would be a reproach upon them to permit the other tribes to choose David for their king before their tribe, "and this," said he, "while you are akin to him, and of the same common blood." He commanded them also to say the same to Amasa the captain of their forces, That whereas he was his sister's son, he had not persuaded the multitude to restore the kingdom to David; that he might expect from him not only a reconciliation, for that was already granted, but that supreme command of the army also which Absalom had bestowed upon him. Accordingly the high priests, when they had discoursed with the rulers of the tribe, and said what the king had ordered them, persuaded Amasa to undertake the care of his affairs. So he persuaded that tribe to send immediately ambassadors to him, to beseech him to return to his own kingdom. The same did all the Israelites, at the like persuasion of Amasa.

2. When the ambassadors came to him, he came to Jerusalem; and the tribe of Judah was the first that came to meet the king at the river Jordan. And Shimei, the son of Gera, came with a thousand men, which he brought with him out of the tribe of Benjamin; and Ziba, the freed-man of Saul, with his sons, fifteen in number, and with his twenty servants. All these, as well as the tribe of Judah, laid a bridge [of boats] over the river, that the king, and those that were with him, might with ease pass over it. Now as soon as he was come to Jordan, the tribe of Judah saluted him. Shimei also came upon the bridge, and took hold of his feet, and prayed him to forgive him what he had offended, and not to be too bitter against him, nor to think fit to make him the first example of severity under his new authority; but to consider that he had repented of his failure of duty, and had taken care to come first of all to him. While he was thus entreating the king, and moving him to compassion, Abishai, Joab's brother, said, "And shall not this man die for this, that he hath cursed that king whom God hath appointed to reign over us?" But David turned himself to him, and said, "Will you never leave off, ye sons of Zeruiah? Do not you, I pray, raise new troubles and seditions among us, now the former are over; for I would not have you ignorant that I this day begin my reign, and therefore swear to remit to all offenders their punishments, and not to animadvert on any one that has sinned. Be thou, therefore," said he, "O Shimei, of good courage, and do not at all fear being put to death." So he worshipped him, and went on before him.

3. Mephibosheth also, Saul's grandson, met David, clothed in a sordid garment, and having his hair thick and neglected; for after David was fled away, he was in such grief that he had not polled his head, nor had he washed his clothes, as dooming himself to undergo such hardships upon occasion of the change-of the king's affairs. Now he had been unjustly calumniated to the king by Ziba, his steward. When he had saluted the king, and worshipped him, the king began to ask him why he did not go out of Jerusalem with him, and accompany him during his flight. He replied, that this piece of injustice was owing to Ziba; because, when he was ordered to get things ready for his going out with him, he took no care of it, but regarded him no more than if he had been a slave; "and, indeed, had I had my feet sound and strong, I had not deserted thee, for I could then have made use of them in my flight: but this is not all the injury that Ziba has done me, as to my duty to thee, my lord and master, but he hath calumniated me besides, and told lies about me of his own invention; but I know thy mind will not admit of such calumnies, but is righteously disposed, and a lover of truth, which it is also the will of God should prevail. For when thou wast in the greatest danger of suffering by my grandfather, and when, on that account, our whole family might justly have been destroyed, thou wast moderate and merciful, and didst then especially forget all those injuries, when, if thou hadst remembered them, thou hadst the power of punishing us for them; but thou hast judged me to be thy friend, and hast set me every day at thine own table; nor have I wanted any thing which one of thine own kinsmen, of greatest esteem with thee, could have expected." When he had said this, David resolved neither to punish Mephibosheth, nor to condemn Ziba, as having belied his master; but said to him, that as he had [before] granted all his estate to Ziba, because he did not come along with him, so he [now] promised to forgive him, and ordered that the one half of his estate should be restored to him. Whereupon Mephibosheth said, "Nay, let Ziba take all; it suffices me that thou hast recovered thy kingdom."

4. But David desired Barzillai the Gileadite, that great and good man, and one that had made a plentiful provision for him at Mahanaim, and had conducted him as far as Jordan, to accompany him to Jerusalem, for he promised to treat him in his old age with all manner of respect—to take care of him, and provide for him. But Barzillai was so desirous to live at home, that he entreated him to excuse him from attendance on him; and said that his age was too great to enjoy the pleasures [of a court,] since he was fourscore years old, and was therefore making provision for his death and burial: so he desired him to gratify him in this request, and dismiss him; for he had no relish of his meat, or his drink, by reason of his age; and that his ears were too much shut up to hear the sound of pipes, or the melody of other musical instruments, such as all those that live with kings delight in. When he entreated for this so earnestly, the king said, "I dismiss thee, but thou shalt grant me thy son Chimham, and upon him I will bestow all sorts of good things." So Barzillai left his son with him, and worshipped the king, and wished him a prosperous conclusion of all his affairs according to his own mind, and then returned home; but David came to Gilgal, having about him half the people [of Israel], and the [whole] tribe of Judah.

5. Now the principal men of the country came to Gilgal to him with a great multitude, and complained of the tribe of Judah, that they had come to him in a private manner; whereas they ought all conjointly, and with one and the same intention, to have given him the meeting. But the rulers of the tribe of Judah desired them not to be displeased, if they had been prevented by them; for, said they, "We are David's kinsmen, and on that account we the rather took care of him, and loved him, and so came first to him;" yet had they not, by their early coming, received any gifts from him, which might give them who came last any uneasiness. When the rulers of the tribe of Judah had said this, the rulers of the other tribes were not quiet, but said further, "O brethren, we cannot but wonder at you when you call the king your kinsman alone, whereas he that hath received from God the power over all of us in common ought to be esteemed a kinsman to us all; for which reason the whole people have eleven parts in him, and you but one part we are also elder than you; wherefore you have not done justly in coming to the king in this private and concealed manner."

6. While these rulers were thus disputing one with another, a certain wicked man, who took a pleasure in seditious practices, [his name was Sheba, the son of Bichri, of the tribe of Benjamin,] stood up in the midst of the multitude, and cried aloud, and spake thus to them: "We have no part in David, nor inheritance in the son of Jesse." And when he had used those words, he blew with a trumpet, and declared war against the king; and they all left David, and followed him; the tribe of Judah alone staid with him, and settled him in his royal palace at Jerusalem. But as for his concubines, with whom Absalom his son had accompanied, truly he removed them to another house, and ordered those that had the care of them to make a plentiful provision for them, but he came not near them any more. He also appointed Amasa for the captain of his forces, and gave him the same high office which Joab before had; and he commanded him to gather together, out of the tribe of Judah, as great an army as he could, and come to him within three days, that he might deliver to him his entire army, and might send him to fight against [Sheba] the son of Bichri. Now while Amasa was gone out, and made some delay in gathering the army together, and so was not yet returned, on the third day the king said to Joab, "It is not fit we should make any delay in this affair of Sheba, lest he get a numerous army about him, and be the occasion of greater mischief, and hurt our affairs more than did Absalom himself; do not thou therefore wait any longer, but take such forces as thou hast at hand, and that [old] body of six hundred men, and thy brother Abishai, with thee, and pursue after our enemy, and endeavor to fight him wheresoever thou canst overtake him. Make haste to prevent him, lest he seize upon some fenced cities, and cause us great labour and pains before we take him."

7. So Joab resolved to make no delay, but taking with him his brother, and those six hundred men, and giving orders that the rest of the army which was at Jerusalem should follow him, he marched with great speed against Sheba; and when he was come to Gibeon, which is a village forty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, Amasa brought a great army with him, and met Joab. Now Joab was girded with a sword, and his breastplate on; and when Amasa came near him to salute him, he took particular care that his sword should fall out, as it were, of its own accord: so he took it up from the ground, and while he approached Amasa, who was then near him, as though he would kiss him, he took hold of Amasa's beard with his other hand, and he smote him in his belly when he did not foresee it, and slew him. This impious and altogether profane action Joab did to a good young man, and his kinsman, and one that had done him no injury, and this out of jealousy that he would obtain the chief command of the army, and be in equal dignity with himself about the king; and for the same cause it was that he killed Abner. But as to that former wicked action, the death of his brother Asahel, which he seemed to revenge, afforded him a decent pretense, and made that crime a pardonable one; but in this murder of Amasa there was no such covering for it. Now when Joab had killed this general, he pursued after Sheba, having left a man with the dead body, who was ordered to proclaim aloud to the army, that Amasa was justly slain, and deservedly punished. "But," said he, "if you be for the king, follow Joab his general, and Abishai, Joab's brother:" but because the body lay on the road, and all the multitude came running to it, and, as is usual with the multitude, stood wondering a great while at it, he that guarded it removed it thence, and carried it to a certain place that was very remote from the road, and there laid it, and covered it with his garment. When this was done, all the people followed Joab. Now as he pursued Sheba through all the country of Israel, one told him that he was in a strong city, called Abelbeth-maachah. Hereupon Joab went thither, and set about it with his army, and cast up a bank round it, and ordered his soldiers to undermine the walls, and to overthrow them; and since the people in the city did not admit him, he was greatly displeased at them.

8. Now there was a woman of small account, and yet both wise and intelligent, who seeing her native city lying at the last extremity, ascended upon the wall, and, by means of the armed men, called for Joab; and when he came to her, she began to say, That "God ordained kings and generals of armies, that they might cut off the enemies of the Hebrews, and introduce a universal peace among them; but thou art endeavoring to overthrow and depopulate a metropolis of the Israelites, which hath been guilty of no offense." But he replied, "God continue to be merciful unto me: I am disposed to avoid killing any one of the people, much less would I destroy such a city as this; and if they will deliver me up Sheba, the son of Bichri, who hath rebelled against the king, I will leave off the siege, and withdraw the army from the place." Now as soon as the woman heard what Joab said, she desired him to intermit the siege for a little while, for that he should have the head of his enemy thrown out to him presently. So she went down to the citizens, and said to them, "Will you be so wicked as to perish miserably, with your children and wives, for the sake of a vile fellow, and one whom nobody knows who he is? And will you have him for your king instead of David, who hath been so great a benefactor to you, and oppose your city alone to such a mighty and strong army?" So she prevailed with them, and they cut off the head of Sheba, and threw it into Joab's army. When this was done, the king's general sounded a retreat, and raised the siege. And when he was come to Jerusalem, he was again appointed to be general of all the people. The king also constituted Benaiah captain of the guards, and of the six hundred men. He also set Adoram over the tribute, and Sabathes and Achilaus over the records. He made Sheva the scribe, and appointed Zadok and Abiathar the high priests.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 12

How The Hebrews Were Delivered From A Famine When The Gibeonites Had Caused Punishment To Be Inflicted For

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Those Of Them That Had Been Slain: As Also, What Great Actions Were Performed Against The Philistines By David, And The Men Of Valour About Him.

1. After this, when the country was greatly afflicted with a famine, David besought God to have mercy on the people, and to discover to him what was the cause of it, and how a remedy might be found for that distemper. And when the prophets answered, that God would have the Gibeonites avenged whom Saul the king was so wicked as to betray to slaughter, and had not observed the oath which Joshua the general and the senate had sworn to them: If, therefore, said God, the king would permit such vengeance to be taken for those that were slain as the Gibeonites should desire, he promised that he would be reconciled to them, and free the multitude from their miseries. As soon therefore as the king understood that this it was which God sought, he sent for the Gibeonites, and asked them what it was they should have; and when they desired to have seven sons of Saul delivered to them to be punished, he delivered them up, but spared Mephibosheth the son of Jonathan. So when the Gibeonites had received the men, they punished them as they pleased; upon which God began to send rain, and to recover the earth to bring forth its fruits as usual, and to free it from the foregoing drought, so that the country of the Hebrews flourished again. A little afterward the king made war against the Philistines; and when he had joined battle with them, and put them to flight, he was left alone, as he was in pursuit of them; and when he was quite tired down, he was seen by one of the enemy, his name was Achmon, the son of Araph, he was one of the sons of the giants. He had a spear, the handle of which weighed three hundred shekels, and a breastplate of chain-work, and a sword. He turned back, and ran violently to slay [David] their enemy's king, for he was quite tired out with labour; but Abishai, Joab's brother, appeared on the sudden, and protected the king with his shield, as he lay down, and slew the enemy. Now the multitude were very uneasy at these dangers of the king, and that he was very near to be slain; and the rulers made him swear that he would no more go out with them to battle, lest he should come to some great misfortune by his courage and boldness, and thereby deprive the people of the benefits they now enjoyed by his means, and of those that they might hereafter enjoy by his living a long time among them.

2. When the king heard that the Philistines were gathered together at the city Gazara, he sent an army against them, when Sibbechai the Hittite, one of David's most courageous men, behaved himself so as to deserve great commendation, for he slew many of those that bragged they were the posterity of the giants, and vaunted themselves highly on that account, and thereby was the occasion of victory to the Hebrews. After which defeat, the Philistines made war again; and when David had sent an army against them, Nephan his kinsman fought in a single combat with the stoutest of all the Philistines, and slew him, and put the rest to flight. Many of them also were slain in the fight. Now a little while after this, the Philistines pitched their camp at a city which lay not far off the bounds of the country of the Hebrews. They had a man who was six cubits tall, and had on each of his feet and hands one more toe and finger than men naturally have. Now the person who was sent against them by David out of his army was Jonathan, the son of Shimea, who fought this man in a single combat, and slew him; and as he was the person who gave the turn to the battle, he gained the greatest reputation for courage therein. This man also vaunted himself to be of the sons of the giants. But after this fight the Philistines made war no more against the Israelites.

3. And now David being freed from wars and dangers, and enjoying for the future a profound peace, composed songs and hymns to God of several sorts of metre; some of those which he made were trimeters, and some were pentameters. He also made instruments of music, and taught the Levites to sing hymns to God, both on that called the sabbath day, and on other festivals. Now the construction of the instruments was thus: The viol was an instrument of ten strings, it was played upon with a bow; the psaltery had twelve musical notes, and was played upon by the fingers; the cymbals were broad and large instruments, and were made of brass. And so much shall suffice to be spoken by us about these instruments, that the readers may not be wholly unacquainted with their nature.

4. Now all the men that were about David were men of courage. Those that were most illustrious and famous of them for their actions were thirty-eight; of five of whom I will only relate the performances, for these will suffice to make manifest the virtues of the others also; for these were powerful enough to subdue countries, and conquer great nations. First, therefore, was Jessai, the son of Achimaas, who frequently leaped upon the troops of the enemy, and did not leave off fighting till he overthrew nine hundred of them. After him was Eleazar, the son of Dodo, who was with the king at Arasam. This man, when once the Israelites were under a consternation at the multitude of the Philistines, and were running away, stood alone, and fell upon the enemy, and slew many of them, till his sword clung to his hand by the blood he had shed, and till the Israelites, seeing the Philistines retire by his means, came down from the mountains and pursued them, and at that time won a surprising and a famous victory, while Eleazar slew the men, and the multitude followed and spoiled their dead bodies. The third was Sheba, the son of Ilus. Now this man, when, in the wars against the Philistines, they pitched their camp at a place called Lehi, and when the Hebrews were again afraid of their army, and did not stay, he stood still alone, as an army and a body of men; and some of them he overthrew, and some who were not able to abide his strength and force he pursued. These are the works of the hands, and of fighting, which these three performed. Now at the time when the king was once at Jerusalem, and the army of the Philistines came upon him to fight him, David went up to the top of the citadel, as we have already said, to inquire of God concerning the battle, while the enemy's camp lay in the valley that extends to the city Bethlehem, which is twenty furlongs distant from Jerusalem. Now David said to his companions, "We have excellent water in my own city, especially that which is in the pit near the gate," wondering if any one would bring him some of it to drink; but he said that he would rather have it than a great deal of money. When these three men heard what he said, they ran away immediately, and burst through the midst of their enemy's camp, and came to Bethlehem; and when they had drawn the water, they returned again through the enemy's camp to the king, insomuch that the Philistines were so surprised at their boldness and alacrity, that they were quiet, and did nothing against them, as if they despised their small number. But when the water was brought to the king, he would not drink it, saying, that it was brought by the danger and the blood of men, and that it was not proper on that account to drink it. But he poured it out to God, and gave him thanks for the salvation of the men. Next to these was Abishai, Joab's brother; for he in one day slew six hundred. The fifth of these was Benaiah, by lineage a priest; for being challenged by [two] eminent men in the country of Moab, he overcame them by his valour, Moreover, there was a man, by nation an Egyptian, who was of a vast bulk, and challenged him, yet did he, when he was unarmed, kill him with his own spear, which he threw at him; for he caught him by force, and took away his weapons while he was alive and fighting, and slew him with his own weapons. One may also add this to the forementioned actions of the same man, either as the principal of them in alacrity, or as resembling the rest. When God sent a snow, there was a lion who slipped and fell into a certain pit, and because the pit's mouth was narrow it was evident he would perish, being enclosed with the snow; so when he saw no way to get out and save himself, he roared. When Benaiah heard the wild beast, he went towards him, and coming at the noise he made, he went down into the mouth of the pit and smote him, as he struggled, with a stake that lay there, and immediately slew him. The other thirty-three were like these in valour also.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 13

That When David Had Numbered the People, They Were Punished; and How the Divine Compassion Restrained That Punishment.

1. Now king David was desirous to know how many ten thousands there were of the people, but forgot the commands of Moses, who told them beforehand, that if the multitude were numbered, they should pay half a shekel to God for every head. Accordingly the king commanded Joab, the captain of his host, to go and number the whole multitude; but when he said there was no necessity for such a numeration, he was not persuaded [to countermand it], but he enjoined him to make no delay, but to go about the numbering of the Hebrews immediately. So Joab took with him the heads of the tribes, and the scribes, and went over the country of the Israelites, and took notice how numerous the multitude were, and returned to Jerusalem to the king, after nine months and twenty days; and he gave in to the king the number of the people, without the tribe of Benjamin, for he had not yet numbered that tribe, no more than the tribe of Levi, for the king repented of his having sinned against God. Now the number of the rest of the Israelites was nine hundred thousand men, who were able to bear arms and go to war; but the tribe of Judah, by itself, was four hundred thousand men.

2. Now when the prophets had signified to David that God was angry at him, he began to entreat him, and to desire he would be merciful to him, and forgive his sin. But God sent Nathan the prophet to him, to propose to him the election of three things, that he might choose which he liked best: Whether he would have famine come upon the country for seven years, or would have a war, and be subdued three months by his enemies? or, whether God should send a pestilence and a distemper upon the Hebrews for three days? But as he was fallen to a fatal choice of great miseries, he was in trouble, and sorely confounded; and when the prophet had said that he must of necessity make his choice, and had ordered him to answer quickly, that he might declare what he had chosen to God, the king reasoned with himself, that in case he should ask for famine, he would appear to do it for others, and without danger to himself, since he had a great deal of corn hoarded up, but to the harm of others; that in case he should choose to be overcome [by his enemies] for three months, he would appear to have chosen war, because he had valiant men about him, and strong holds, and that therefore he feared nothing therefrom: so he chose that affliction which is common to kings and to their subjects, and in which the fear was equal on all sides; and said this beforehand, that it was much better to fall into the hands of God, than into those of his enemies.

3. When the prophet had heard this, he declared it to God; who thereupon sent a pestilence and a mortality upon the Hebrews; nor did they die after one and the same manner, nor so that it was easy to know what the distemper was. Now the miserable disease was one indeed, but it carried them off by ten thousand causes and occasions, which those that were afflicted could not understand; for one died upon the neck of another, and the terrible malady seized them before they were aware, and brought them to their end suddenly, some giving up the ghost immediately with very great pains and bitter grief, and some were worn away by their distempers, and had nothing remaining to be buried, but as soon as ever they fell were entirely macerated; some were choked, and greatly lamented their case, as being also stricken with a sudden darkness; some there were who, as they were burying a relation, fell down dead, without finishing the rites of the funeral. Now there perished of this disease, which began with the morning, and lasted till the hour of dinner, seventy thousand. Nay, the angel stretched out his hand over Jerusalem, as sending this terrible judgement upon it. But David had put on sackcloth, and lay upon the ground, entreating God, and begging that the distemper might now cease, and that he would be satisfied with those that had already perished. And when the king looked up into the air, and saw the angel carried along thereby into Jerusalem, with his sword drawn, he said to God, that he might justly be punished, who was their shepherd, but that the sheep ought to be preserved, as not having sinned at all; and he implored God that he would send his wrath upon him, and upon all his family, but spare the people.

4. When God heard his supplication, he caused the pestilence to cease, and sent Gad the prophet to him, and commanded him to go up immediately to the thrashing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, and build an altar there to God, and offer sacrifices. When David heard that, he did not neglect his duty, but made haste to the place appointed him. Now Araunah was thrashing wheat; and when he saw the king and all his servants coming to him, he ran before, and came to him and worshipped him: he was by his lineage a Jebusite, but a particular friend of David's; and for that cause it was that, when he overthrew the city, he did him no harm, as we informed the reader a little before. Now Araunah inquired, "Wherefore is my lord come to his servant?" He answered, to buy of him the thrashing-floor, that he might therein build an altar to God, and offer a sacrifice. He replied, that he freely gave him both the thrashing-floor and the ploughs and the oxen for a burnt-offering; and he besought God graciously to accept his sacrifice. But the king made answer, that he took his generosity and magnanimity loudly, and accepted his good-will, but he desired him to take the price of them all, for that it was not just to offer a sacrifice that cost nothing. And when Araunah said he would do as he pleased, he bought the thrashing-floor of him for fifty shekels. And when he had built an altar, he performed Divine service, and brought a burnt-offering, and offered peace-offerings also. With these God was pacified, and became gracious to them again. Now it happened that Abraham came and offered his son Isaac for a burnt-offering at that very place; and when the youth was ready to have his throat cut, a ram appeared on a sudden, standing by the altar, which Abraham sacrificed in the stead of his son, as we have before related. Now when king David saw that God had heard his prayer, and had graciously accepted of his sacrifice, he resolved to call that entire place The Altar of all the People, and to build a temple to God there; which words he uttered very appositely to what was to be done afterward; for God sent the prophet to him, and told him that there should his son build him an altar, that son who was to take the kingdom after him.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 14

That David Made Great Preparations For The House Of God; And That, Upon Adonijah's Attempt To Gain The Kingdom, He Appointed Solomon To Reign.

1. After the delivery of this prophecy, the king commanded the strangers to be numbered; and they were found to be one hundred and eighty thousand; of these he appointed fourscore thousand to be hewers of stone, and the rest of the multitude to carry the stones, and of them he set over the workmen three thousand and five hundred. He also prepared a great quantity of iron and brass for the work, with many [and those exceeding large] cedar trees; the Tyrians and Sidonians sending them to him, for he had sent to them for a supply of those trees. And he told his friends that these things were now prepared, that he might leave materials ready for the building of the temple to his son, who was to reign after him, and that he might not have them to seek then, when he was very young,

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and by reason of his age unskillful in such matters, but might have them lying by him, and so might the more readily complete the work.

2. So David called his son Solomon, and charged him, when he had received the kingdom, to build a temple to God, and said, "I was willing to build God a temple myself, but he prohibited me, because I was polluted with blood and wars; but he hath foretold that Solomon, my youngest son, should build him a temple, and should be called by that name; over whom he hath promised to take the like care as a father takes over his son; and that he would make the country of the Hebrews happy under him, and that, not only in other respects, but by giving it peace and freedom from wars, and from internal seditions, which are the greatest of all blessings. Since, therefore," says he, "thou wast ordained king by God himself before thou wast born, endeavor to render thyself worthy of this his providence, as in other instances, so particularly in being religious, and righteous, and courageous. Keep thou also his commands and his laws, which he hath given us by Moses, and do not permit others to break them. Be zealous also to dedicate to God a temple, which he hath chosen to be built under thy reign; nor be thou affrighted by the vastness of the work, nor set about it timorously, for I will make all things ready before I die: and take notice, that there are already ten thousand talents of gold, and a hundred thousand talents of silver collected together. I have also laid together brass and iron without number, and an immense quantity of timber and of stones. Moreover, thou hast many ten thousand stone-cutters and carpenters; and if thou shalt want any thing further, do thou add somewhat of thine own. Wherefore, if thou performest this work, thou wilt be acceptable to God, and have him for thy patron." David also further exhorted the rulers of the people to assist his son in this building, and to attend to the Divine service, when they should be free from all their misfortunes, for that they by this means should enjoy, instead of them, peace and a happy settlement, with which blessings God rewards such men as are religious and righteous. He also gave orders, that when the temple should be once built, they should put the ark therein, with the holy vessels; and he assured them that they ought to have had a temple long ago, if their fathers had not been negligent of God's commands, who had given it in charge, that when they had got the possession of this land, they should build him a temple. Thus did David discourse to the governors, and to his son.

3. David was now in years, and his body, by length of time, was become cold, and benumbed, insomuch that he could get no heat by covering himself with many clothes; and when the physicians came together, they agreed to this advice, that a beautiful virgin, chosen out of the whole country, should sleep by the king's side, and that this damsel would communicate heat to him, and be a remedy against his numbness. Now there was found in the city one woman, of a superior beauty to all other women, [her name was Abishag,] who, sleeping with the king, did no more than communicate warmth to him, for he was so old that he could not know her as a husband knows his wife. But of this woman we shall speak more presently.

4. Now the fourth son of David was a beautiful young man, and tall, born to him of Haggith his wife. He was named Adonijah, and was in his disposition like to Absalom; and exalted himself as hoping to be king, and told his friends that he ought to take the government upon him. He also prepared many chariots and horses, and fifty men to run before him. When his father saw this, he did not reprove him, nor restrain him from his purpose, nor did he go so far as to ask wherefore he did so. Now Adonijah had for his assistants Joab the captain of the army, and Abiathar the high priest; and the only persons that opposed him were Zadok the high priest, and the prophet Nathan, and Benaiah, who was captain of the guards, and Shimei, David's friend, with all the other most mighty men. Now Adonijah had prepared a supper out of the city, near the fountain that was in the king's paradise, and had invited all his brethren except Solomon, and had taken with him Joab the captain of the army, and: Abiathar, and the rulers of the tribe of Judah, but had not invited to this feast either Zadok the high priest, or Nathan the prophet, or Benaiah the captain of the guards, nor any of those of the contrary party. This matter was told by Nathan the prophet to Bathsheba, Solomon's mother, that Adonijah was king, and that David knew nothing of it; and he advised her to save herself and her son Solomon, and to go by herself to David, and say to him, that he had indeed sworn that Solomon should reign after him, but that in the mean time Adonijah had already taken the kingdom. He said that he, the prophet himself, would come after her, and when she had spoken thus to the king, would confirm what she had said. Accordingly Bathsheba agreed with Nathan, and went in to the king and worshipped him, and when she had desired leave to speak with him, she told him all things in the manner that Nathan had suggested to her; and related what a supper Adonijah had made, and who they were whom he had invited; Abiathar the and Joab the general, and David's sons, excepting Solomon and his intimate friends. She also said that all the people had their eyes upon him, to know whom he would choose for their king. She desired him also to consider how, after his departure, Adonijah, if he were king, would slay her and her son Solomon.

5. Now, as Bathsheba was speaking, the keeper of the king's chambers told him that Nathan desired to see him. And when the king had commanded that he should be admitted, he came in, and asked him whether he had ordained Adonijah to be king, and delivered the government to him, or not; for that he had made a splendid supper, and invited all his sons, except Solomon; as also that he had invited Joab, the captain of his host, [and Abiathar the high priest,] who are feasting with applauses, and many joyful sounds of instruments, and wish that his kingdom may last for ever; but he hath not invited me, nor Zadok the high priest, nor Benaiah the captain of the guards; and it is but fit that all should know whether this be done by thy approbation or not. When Nathan had said thus, the king commanded that they should call Bathsheba to him, for she had gone out of the room when the prophet came. And when Bathsheba was come, David said, "I swear by Almighty God, that thy son Solomon shall certainly he king, as I formerly swore; and that he shall sit upon my throne, and that this very day also." So Bathsheba worshipped him, and wished him a long life; and the king sent for Zadok the high priest, and Benaiah the captain of the guards; and when they were come, he ordered them to take with them Nathan the prophet, and all the armed men about the palace, and to set his son Solomon upon the king's mule, and to carry him out of the city to the fountain called Gihon, and to anoint him there with the holy oil, and to make him king. This he charged Zadok the high priest, and Nathan the prophet, to do, and commanded them to follow Solomon through the midst of the city, and to sound the trumpets, and wish aloud that Solomon the king may sit upon the royal throne for ever, that so all the people may know that he is ordained king by his father. He also gave Solomon a charge concerning his government, to rule the whole nation of the Hebrews, and particularly the tribe of Judah, religiously and righteously. And when Benaiah had prayed to God to be favourable to Solomon, without any delay they set Solomon upon the mule, and brought him out of the city to the fountain, and anointed him with oil, and brought him into the city again, with acclamations and wishes that his kingdom might continue a long time: and when they had introduced him into the king's house, they set him upon the throne; whereupon all the people betook themselves to make merry, and to celebrate a festival, dancing and delighting themselves with musical pipes, till both the earth and the air echoed with the multitude of the instruments of music.

6. Now when Adonijah and his guests perceived this noise, they were in disorder; and Joab the captain of the host said he was not pleased with these echoes, and the sound of these trumpets. And when supper was set before them, nobody tasted of it, but they were all very thoughtful what would be the matter. Then Jonathan, the son of Abiathar the high priest, came running to them; and when Adonijah saw the young man gladly, and said to him that he was a good messenger, he declared to them the whole matter about Solomon, and the determination of king David: hereupon both Adonijah and all the guests rose hastily from the feast, and every one fled to their own homes. Adonijah also, as afraid of the king for what he had done, became a supplicant to God, and took hold of the horns of the altar, which were prominent. It was also told Solomon that he had so done; and that he desired to receive assurances from him that he would not remember the injury he had done, and not inflict any severe punishment for it. Solomon answered very mildly and prudently, that he forgave him this his offense; but said withal, that if he were found out in any attempt for new innovations, that he would be the author of his own punishment. So he sent to him, and raised him up from the place of his supplication. And when he was come to the king, and had worshipped him, the king bid him go away to his own house, and have no suspicion of any harm; and desired him to show himself a worthy man, as what would tend to his own advantage.

7. But David, being desirous of ordaining his son king of all the people, called together their rulers to Jerusalem, with the priests and the Levites; and having first numbered the Levites, he found them to be thirty-eight thousand, from thirty years old to fifty; out of which he appointed twenty-three thousand to take care of the building of the temple, and out of the same, six thousand to be judges of the people and scribes, four thousand for porters to the house of God, and as many for singers, to sing to the instruments which David had prepared, as we have said already. He divided them also into courses: and when he had separated the priests from them, he found of these priests twenty-four courses, sixteen of the house of Eleazar, and eight of that of Ithamar; and he ordained that one course should minister to God eight days, from sabbath to sabbath. And thus were the courses distributed by lot, in the presence of David, and Zadok and Abiathar the high priests, and of all the rulers; and that course which came up first was written down as the first, and accordingly the second, and so on to the twenty-fourth; and this partition hath remained to this day. He also made twenty-four parts of the tribe of Levi; and when they cast lots, they came up in the same manner for their courses of eight days. He also honoured the posterity of Moses, and made them the keepers of the treasures of God, and of the donations which the kings dedicated. He also ordained that all the tribe of Levi, as well as the priests, should serve God night and day, as Moses had enjoined them.

8. After this he parted the entire army into twelve parts, with their leaders [and captains of hundreds] and commanders. Now every part had twenty-four thousand, which were ordered to wait on Solomon, by thirty days at a time, from the first day till the last, with the captains of thousands and captains of hundreds. He also set rulers over every part, such as he knew to be good and righteous men. He set others also to take charge of the treasures, and of the villages, and of the fields, and of the beasts, whose names I do not think it necessary to mention. When David had ordered all these officers after the manner before mentioned, he called the rulers of the Hebrews, and their heads of tribes, and the officers over the several divisions, and those that were appointed over every work, and every possession; and standing upon a high pulpit, he said to the multitude as follows: "My brethren and my people, I would have you know that I intended to build a house for God, and prepared a large quantity of gold, and a hundred thousand talents of silver; but God prohibited me by the prophet Nathan, because of the wars I had on your account, and because my right hand was polluted with the slaughter of our enemies; but he commanded that my son, who was to succeed me in the kingdom, should build a temple for him. Now therefore, since you know that of the twelve sons whom Jacob our forefather had Judah was appointed to be king, and that I was preferred before my six brethren, and received the government from God, and that none of them were uneasy at it, so do I also desire that my sons be not seditious one against another, now Solomon has received the kingdom, but to bear him cheerfully for their lord, as knowing that God hath chosen him; for it is not a grievous thing to obey even a foreigner as a ruler, if it be God's will, but it is fit to rejoice when a brother hath obtained that dignity, since the rest partake of it with him. And I pray that the promises of God may be fulfilled; and that this happiness which he hath promised to bestow upon king Solomon, over all the country, may continue therein for all time to come. And these promises O son, will be firm, and come to a happy end, if thou showest thyself to be a religious and a righteous man, and an observer of the laws of thy country; but if not, expect adversity upon thy disobedience to them."

9. Now when the king had said this, he left off; but gave the description and pattern of the building of the temple in the sight of them all to Solomon: of the foundations and of the chambers, inferior and superior; how many they were to be, and how large in height and in breadth; as also he determined the weight of the golden and silver vessels: moreover, he earnestly excited them with his words to use the utmost alacrity about the work; he exhorted the rulers also, and particularly the tribe of Levi, to assist him, both because of his youth, and because God had chosen him to take care of the building of the temple, and of the government of the kingdom. He also declared to them that the work would be easy, and not very labourious to them, because he had prepared for it many talents of gold, and more of silver, with timber, and a great many carpenters and stone-cutters, and a large quantity of emeralds, and all sorts of precious stones; and he said, that even now he would give of the proper goods of his own dominion two hundred talents, and three hundred other talents of pure gold, for the most holy place, and for the chariot of God, the cherubim, which are to stand over and cover the ark. Now when David had done speaking, there appeared great alacrity among the rulers, and the priests, and the Levites, who now contributed and made great and splendid promises for a future Contribution; for they undertook to bring of gold five thousand talents, and ten thousand drams, and of silver ten thousand talents, and many ten thousand talents of iron; and if any one had a precious stone he brought it, and bequeathed it to be put among the treasures; of which Jachiel, one of the posterity of Moses, had the care.

10. Upon this occasion all the people rejoiced, as in particular did David, when he saw the zeal and forward ambition of the rulers, and the priests, and of all the rest; and he began to bless God with a loud voice, calling him the Father and Parent of the universe, and the Author of human and divine things, with which he had adorned Solomon, the patron and guardian of the Hebrew nation, and of its happiness, and of that kingdom which he hath given his son. Besides this, he prayed for happiness to all the people; and to Solomon his son, a sound and a righteous mind, and confirmed in all sorts of virtue; and then he commanded the multitude to bless God; upon which they all fell down upon the ground and worshipped him. They also gave thanks to David, on account of all the blessings which they had received ever since he had taken the kingdom. On the next day he

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presented sacrifices to God, a thousand bullocks, and as many lambs, which they offered for burnt-offerings. They also offered peace-offerings, and slew many ten thousand sacrifices; and the king feasted all day, together with all the people; and they anointed Solomon a second time with the oil, and appointed him to be king, and Zadok to be the high priest of the whole multitude. And when they had brought Solomon to the royal palace, and had set him upon his father's throne, they were obedient to him from that day.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 15

What Charge David Gave To his Son Solomon At The Approach Of His Death, And How Many Things He Left Him For The Building Of The Temple.

1. A Little afterward David also fell into a distemper, by reason of his age; and perceiving that he was near to death, he called his son Solomon, and discoursed to him thus: "I am now, O my son, going to my grave, and to my fathers, which is the common way which all men that now are, or shall be hereafter, must go; from which way it is no longer possible to return, and to know any thing that is done in this world. On which account I exhort thee, while I am still alive, though already very near to death, in the same manner as I have formerly said in my advice to thee, to be righteous towards thy subjects, and religious towards God, that hath given thee thy kingdom; to observe his commands and his laws, which he hath sent us by Moses; and neither do thou out of favour nor flattery allow any lust or other passion to weigh with thee to disregard them; for if thou transgressest his laws, thou wilt lose the favour of God, and thou wilt turn away his providence from thee in all things; but if thou behave thyself so as it behooves thee, and as I exhort thee, thou wilt preserve our kingdom to our family, and no other house will bear rule over the Hebrews but we ourselves for all ages. Be thou also mindful of the transgressions of Joab, the captain of the host, who hath slain two generals out of envy, and those righteous and good men, Abner the son of Ner, and Amasa the son of Jether; whose death do thou avenge as shall seem good to thee, since Joab hath been too hard for me, and more potent than myself, and so hath escaped punishment hitherto. I also commit to thee the son of Barzillai the Gileadite, whom, in order to gratify me, thou shalt have in great honour, and take great care of; for we have not done good to him first, but we only repay that debt which we owe to his father for what he did to me in my flight. There is also Shimei the son of Gera, of the tribe of Benjamin, who, after he had cast many reproaches upon me, when, in my flight, I was going to Mahanaim, met me at Jordan, and received assurances that he should then suffer nothing. Do thou now seek out for some just occasion, and punish him."

2. When David had given these admonitions to his son about public affairs, and about his friends, and about those whom he knew to deserve punishment, he died, having lived seventy years, and reigned seven years and six months in Hebron over the tribe of Judah, and thirty-three years in Jerusalem over all the country. This man was of an excellent character, and was endowed with all virtues that were desirable in a king, and in one that had the preservation of so many tribes committed to him; for he was a man of valour in a very extraordinary degree, and went readily and first of all into dangers, when he was to fight for his subjects, as exciting the soldiers to action by his own labours, and fighting for them, and not by commanding them in a despotic way. He was also of very great abilities in understanding, and apprehension of present and future circumstances, when he was to manage any affairs. He was prudent and moderate, and kind to such as were under any calamities; he was righteous and humane, which are good qualities, peculiarly fit for kings; nor was he guilty of any offense in the exercise of so great an authority, but in the business of the wife of Uriah. He also left behind him greater wealth than any other king, either of the Hebrews or, of other nations, ever did.

3. He was buried by his son Solomon, in Jerusalem, with great magnificence, and with all the other funeral pomp which kings used to be buried with; moreover, he had great and immense wealth buried with him, the vastness of which may be easily conjectured at by what I shall now say; for a thousand and three hundred years afterward Hyrcanus the high priest, when he was besieged by Antiochus, that was called the Pious, the son of Demetrius, and was desirous of giving him money to get him to raise the siege and draw off his army, and having no other method of compassing the money, opened one room of David's sepulcher, and took out three thousand talents, and gave part of that sum to Antiochus; and by this means caused the siege to be raised, as we have informed the reader elsewhere. Nay, after him, and that many years, Herod the king opened another room, and took away a great deal of money, and yet neither of them came at the coffins of the kings themselves, for their bodies were buried under the earth so artfully, that they did not appear to even those that entered into their monuments. But so much shall suffice us to have said concerning these matters.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES BOOK 8

Containing The Interval Of One Hundred And Sixty-Three Years.—From The Death Of David To The Death Of Ahab.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 1

How Solomon, When He Had Received The Kingdom Took Off His Enemies.

1. We have already treated of David, and his virtue, and of the benefits he was the author of to his countrymen; of his wars also and battles, which he managed with success, and then died an old man, in the foregoing book. And when Solomon his son, who was but a youth in age, had taken the kingdom, and whom David had declared, while he was alive, the lord of that people, according to God's will; when he sat upon the throne, the whole body of the people made joyful acclamations to him, as is usual at the beginning of a reign; and wished that all his affairs might come to a blessed conclusion; and that he might arrive at a great age, and at the most happy state of affairs possible.

2. But Adonijah, who, while his father was living, attempted to gain possession of the government, came to the king's mother Bathsheba, and saluted her with great civility; and when she asked him, whether he came to her as desiring her assistance in any thing or not, and bade him tell her if that were the case, for that she would cheerfully afford it him; he began to say, that she knew herself that the kingdom was his, both on account of his elder age, and of the disposition of the multitude, and that yet it was transferred to Solomon her son, according to the will of God. He also said that he was contented to be a servant under him, and was pleased with the present settlement; but he desired her to be a means of obtaining a favour from his brother to him, and to persuade him to bestow on him in marriage Abishag, who had indeed slept by his father, but, because his father was too old, he did not lie with her, and she was still a virgin. So Bathsheba promised him to afford him her assistance very earnestly, and to bring this marriage about, because the king would be willing to gratify him in such a thing, and because she would press it to him very earnestly. Accordingly he went away in hopes of succeeding in this match. So Solomon's mother went presently to her son, to speak to him about what she had promised, upon Adonijah's supplication to her. And when her son came forward to meet her, and embraced her, and when he had brought her into the house where his royal throne was set, he sat thereon, and bid them set another throne on the right hand for his mother. When Bathsheba was set down, she said, "O my son, grant me one request that I desire of thee, and do not any thing to me that is disagreeable or ungrateful, which thou wilt do if thou deniest me." And when Solomon bid her to lay her commands upon him, because it was agreeable to his duty to grant her every thing she should ask, and complained that she did not at first begin her discourse with a firm expectation of obtaining what she desired, but had some suspicion of a denial, she entreated him to grant that his brother Adonijah might marry Abishag.

3. But the king was greatly offended at these words, and sent away his mother, and said that Adonijah aimed at great things; and that he wondered that she did not desire him to yield up the kingdom to him, as to his elder brother, since she desired that he might marry Abishag; and that he had potent friends, Joab the captain of the host, and Abiathar the priest. So he called for Benaiah, the captain of the guards, and ordered him to slay his brother Adonijah. He also called for Abiathar the priest, and said to him, "I will not put thee to death because of those other hardships which thou hast endured with my father, and because of the ark which thou hast borne along with him; but I inflict this following punishment upon thee, because thou wast among Adonijah's followers, and wast of his party. Do not thou continue here, nor come any more into my sight, but go to thine own town, and live on thy own fields, and there abide all thy life; for thou hast offended so greatly, that it is not just that thou shouldst retain thy dignity any longer." For the forementioned cause, therefore, it was that the house of Ithamar was deprived of the sacerdotal dignity, as God had foretold to Eli, the grandfather of Abiathar. So it was transferred to the family of Phineas, to Zadok. Now those that were of the family of Phineas, but lived privately during the time that the high priesthood was transferred to the house of Ithamar, [of which family Eli was the first that received it,]were these that follow: Bukki, the son of Abishua the high priest; his son was Joatham; Joatham's son was Meraioth; Meraioth's son was Arophseus; Aropheus's son was Ahitub; and Ahitub's son was Zadok, who was first made high priest in the reign of David.

4. Now when Joab the captain of the host heard of the slaughter of Adonijah, he was greatly afraid, for he was a greater friend to him than to Solomon; and suspecting, not without reason, that he was in danger, on account of his favour to Adonijah, he fled to the altar, and supposed he might procure safety thereby to himself, because of the king's piety towards God. But when some told the king what Joab's supposal was, he sent Benaiah, and commanded him to raise him up from the altar, and bring him to the judgement-seat, in order to make his defense. However, Joab said he would not leave the altar, but would die there rather than in another place. And when Benaiah had reported his answer to the king, Solomon commanded him to cut off his head there and let him take that as a punishment for those two captains of the host whom he had wickedly slain, and to bury his body, that his sins might never leave his family, but that himself and his father, by Joab's death, might be guiltless. And when Benaiah had done what he was commanded to do, he was himself appointed to be captain of the whole army. The king also made Zadok to be alone the high priest, in the room of Abiathar, whom he had removed.

5. But as to Shimei, Solomon commanded that he should build him a house, and stay at Jerusalem, and attend upon him, and should not have authority to go over the brook Cedron; and that if he disobeyed that command, death should be his punishment. He also threatened him so terribly, that he compelled him to take all oath that he would obey. Accordingly Shimei said that he had reason to thank Solomon for giving him such an injunction; and added an oath, that he would do as he bade him; and leaving his own country, he made his abode in Jerusalem. But three years afterwards, when he heard that two of his servants were run away from him, and were in Gath, he went for his servants in haste; and when he was come back with them, the king perceived it, and was much displeased that he had contemned his commands, and, what was more, had no regard to the oaths he had sworn to God; so he called him, and said to him, "Didst not thou swear never to leave me, nor to go out of this city to another? Thou shalt not therefore escape punishment for thy perjury, but I will punish thee, thou wicked wretch, both for this crime, and for those wherewith thou didst abuse my father when he was in his flight, that thou mayst know that wicked men gain nothing at last, although they be not punished immediately upon their unjust practices; but that in all the time wherein they think themselves secure, because they have yet suffered nothing, their punishment increases, and is heavier upon them, and that to a greater degree than if they had been punished immediately upon the commission of their crimes." So Benaiah, on the king's command, slew Shimei.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 2

Concerning The Wife Of Solomon; Concerning His Wisdom And Riches; And Concerning What He Obtained Of Hiram For The Building Of The Temple.

1. Solomon having already settled himself firmly in his kingdom, and having brought his enemies to punishment, he married the daughter of Pharaoh king of Egypt, and built the walls of Jerusalem much larger and stronger than those that had been before, and thenceforward he managed public affairs very peaceably. Nor was his youth any hinderance in the exercise of justice, or in the observation of the laws, or in the remembrance of what charges his father had given him at his death; but he discharged every duty with great accuracy, that might have been expected from such as are aged, and of the greatest prudence. He now resolved to go to Hebron, and sacrifice to God upon the brazen altar that was built by Moses. Accordingly he offered there burnt-offerings, in number a thousand; and when he had done this, he thought he had paid great honour to God; for as he was asleep that very night God appeared to him, and commanded him to ask of him some gifts which he was ready to give him as a reward for his piety. So Solomon asked of God what was most excellent, and of the greatest worth in itself, what God would bestow with the greatest joy, and what it was most profitable for man to receive; for he did not desire to have bestowed upon him either gold or silver, or any other riches, as a man and a youth might naturally have done, for these are the things that generally are esteemed by most men, as alone of the greatest worth, and the best gifts of God; but, said he, "Give me, O Lord, a sound mind, and a good understanding, whereby I may speak and judge the people according to truth and righteousness." With these petitions God was well pleased; and promised to give him all those things that he had not mentioned in his option, riches, glory, victory over his enemies; and, in the first place, understanding and wisdom, and this in such a degree as no other mortal man, neither kings nor ordinary persons, ever had. He also promised to preserve the kingdom to his posterity for a very long time, if he continued righteous and obedient to him, and imitated his father in those things wherein he excelled. When Solomon heard this from God, he presently leaped out of his bed; and when he had worshipped him, he returned to Jerusalem; and after he had offered great sacrifices before the tabernacle, he feasted all his own family.

2. In these days a hard cause came before him in judgement, which it was very difficult to find any end of; and I think it necessary to explain the fact about which the contest was, that such as light upon my writings may know what a difficult cause Solomon was to determine, and those that are concerned in such matters may take this sagacity of the king for a pattern, that they may the more easily give sentence about such questions. There were two women, who were harlots in the course of their lives, that came to him; of whom she that

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seemed to be injured began to speak first, and said, "O king, I and this other woman dwell together in one room. Now it came to pass that we both bore a son at the same hour of the same day; and on the third day this woman overlaid her son, and killed it, and then took my son out of my bosom, and removed him to herself, and as I was asleep she laid her dead son in my arms. Now, when in the morning I was desirous to give the breast to the child, I did not find my own, but saw the woman's dead child lying by me; for I considered it exactly, and found it so to be. Hence it was that I demanded my son, and when I could not obtain him, I have recourse, my lord, to thy assistance; for since we were alone, and there was nobody there that could convict her, she cares for nothing, but perseveres in the stout denial of the fact." When this woman had told this her story, the king asked the other woman what she had to say in contradiction to that story. But when she denied that she had done what was charged upon her, and said that it was her child that was living, and that it was her antagonist's child that was dead, and when no one could devise what judgement could be given, and the whole court were blind in their understanding, and could not tell how to find out this riddle, the king alone invented the following way how to discover it. He bade them bring in both the dead child and the living child; and sent one of his guards, and commanded him to fetch a sword, and draw it, and to cut both the children into two pieces, that each of the women might have half the living and half the dead child. Hereupon all the people privately laughed at the king, as no more than a youth. But, in the mean time, she that was the real mother of the living child cried out that he should not do so, but deliver that child to the other woman as her own, for she would be satisfied with the life of the child, and with the sight of it, although it were esteemed the other's child; but the other woman was ready to see the child divided, and was desirous, moreover, that the first woman should be tormented. When the king understood that both their words proceeded from the truth of their passions, he adjudged the child to her that cried out to save it, for that she was the real mother of it; and he condemned the other as a wicked woman, who had not only killed her own child, but was endeavoring to see her friend's child destroyed also. Now the multitude looked on this determination as a great sign and demonstration of the king's sagacity and wisdom, and after that day attended to him as to one that had a divine mind.

3. Now the captains of his armies, and officers appointed over the whole country, were these: over the lot of Ephraim was Ures; over the toparchy of Bethlehem was Dioclerus; Abinadab, who married Solomon's daughter, had the region of Dora and the sea-coast under him; the Great Plain was under Benaiah, the son of Achilus; he also governed all the country as far as Jordan; Gabaris ruled over Gilead and Gaulanitis, and had under him the sixty great and fenced cities [of Og]; Achinadab managed the affairs of all Galilee as far as Sidon, and had himself also married a daughter of Solomon's, whose name was Basima; Banacates had the seacoast about Arce; as had Shaphat Mount Tabor, and Carmel, and [the Lower] Galilee, as far as the river Jordan; one man was appointed over all this country; Shimei was intrusted with the lot of Benjamin; and Gabares had the country beyond Jordan, over whom there was again one governor appointed. Now the people of the Hebrews, and particularly the tribe of Judah, received a wonderful increase when they betook themselves to husbandry, and the cultivation of their grounds; for as they enjoyed peace, and were not distracted with wars and troubles, and having, besides, an abundant fruition of the most desirable liberty, every one was busy in augmenting the product of their own lands, and making them worth more than they had formerly been.

4. The king had also other rulers, who were over the land of Syria and of the Philistines, which reached from the river Euphrates to Egypt, and these collected his tributes of the nations. Now these contributed to the king's table, and to his supper every day thirty cori of fine flour, and sixty of meal; as also ten fat oxen, and twenty oxen out of the pastures, and a hundred fat lambs; all these were besides what were taken by hunting harts and buffaloes, and birds and fishes, which were brought to the king by foreigners day by day. Solomon had also so great a number of chariots, that the stalls of his horses for those chariots were forty thousand; and besides these he had twelve thousand horsemen, the one half of which waited upon the king in Jerusalem, and the rest were dispersed abroad, and dwelt in the royal villages; but the same officer who provided for the king's expenses supplied also the fodder for the horses, and still carried it to the place where the king abode at that time.

5. Now the sagacity and wisdom which God had bestowed on Solomon was so great, that he exceeded the ancients; insomuch that he was no way inferior to the Egyptians, who are said to have been beyond all men in understanding; nay, indeed, it is evident that their sagacity was very much inferior to that of the king's. He also excelled and distinguished himself in wisdom above those who were most eminent among the Hebrews at that time for shrewdness; those I mean were Ethan, and Heman, and Chalcol, and Darda, the sons of Mahol. He also composed books of odes and songs a thousand and five, of parables and similitudes three thousand; for he spake a parable upon every sort of tree, from the hyssop to the cedar; and in like manner also about beasts, about all sorts of living creatures, whether upon the earth, or in the seas, or in the air; for he was not unacquainted with any of their natures, nor omitted inquiries about them, but described them all like a philosopher, and demonstrated his exquisite knowledge of their several properties. God also enabled him to learn that skill which expels demons, which is a science useful and sanative to men. He composed such incantations also by which distempers are alleviated. And he left behind him the manner of using exorcisms, by which they drive away demons, so that they never return; and this method of cure is of great force unto this day; for I have seen a certain man of my own country, whose name was Eleazar, releasing people that were demoniacal in the presence of Vespasian, and his sons, and his captains, and the whole multitude of his soldiers. The manner of the cure was this: He put a ring that had a Foot of one of those sorts mentioned by Solomon to the nostrils of the demoniac, after which he drew out the demon through his nostrils; and when the man fell down immediately, he abjured him to return into him no more, making still mention of Solomon, and reciting the incantations which he composed. And when Eleazar would persuade and demonstrate to the spectators that he had such a power, he set a little way off a cup or basin full of water, and commanded the demon, as he went out of the man, to overturn it, and thereby to let the spectators know that he had left the man; and when this was done, the skill and wisdom of Solomon was shown very manifestly: for which reason it is, that all men may know the vastness of Solomon's abilities, and how he was beloved of God, and that the extraordinary virtues of every kind with which this king was endowed may not be unknown to any people under the sun for this reason, I say, it is that we have proceeded to speak so largely of these matters.

6. Moreover Hiram, king of Tyre, when he had heard that Solomon succeeded to his father's kingdom, was very glad of it, for he was a friend of David's. So he sent ambassadors to him, and saluted him, and congratulated him on the present happy state of his affairs. Upon which Solomon sent him an epistle, the contents of which here follow:

Solomon To King Hiram: "Know thou that my father would have built a temple to God, but was hindered by wars, and continual expeditions; for he did not leave off to overthrow his enemies till he made them all subject to tribute. But I give thanks to God for the peace I at present enjoy, and on that account I am at leisure, and design to build a house to God, for God foretold to my father that such a house should be built by me; wherefore I desire thee to send some of thy subjects with mine to Mount Lebanon to cut down timber, for the Sidonians are more skillful than our people in cutting of wood. As for wages to the hewers of wood, I will pay whatsoever price thou shalt determine."

7. When Hiram had read this epistle, he was pleased with it; and wrote back this answer to Solomon.

Hiram To King Solomon: "It is fit to bless God that he hath committed thy father's government to thee, who art a wise man, and endowed with all virtues. As for myself, I rejoice at the condition thou art in, and will be subservient to thee in all that thou sendest to me about; for when by my subjects I have cut down many and large trees of cedar and cypress wood, I will send them to sea, and will order my subjects to make floats of them, and to sail to what place soever of thy country thou shalt desire, and leave them there, after which thy subjects may carry them to Jerusalem. But do thou take care to procure us corn for this timber, which we stand in need of, because we inhabit in an island."

8. The copies of these epistles remain at this day, and are preserved not only in our books, but among the Tyrians also; insomuch that if any one would know the certainty about them, he may desire of the keepers of the public records of Tyre to show him them, and he will find what is there set down to agree with what we have said. I have said so much out of a desire that my readers may know that we speak nothing but the truth, and do not compose a history out of some plausible relations, which deceive men and please them at the same time, nor attempt to avoid examination, nor desire men to believe us immediately; nor are we at liberty to depart from speaking truth, which is the proper commendation of an historian, and yet be blameless: but we insist upon no admission of what we say, unless we be able to manifest its truth by demonstration, and the strongest vouchers.

9. Now king Solomon, as soon as this epistle of the king of Tyre was brought him, commended the readiness and good-will he declared therein, and repaid him in what he desired, and sent him yearly twenty thousand cori of wheat, and as many baths of oil: now the bath is able to contain seventy-two sextaries. He also sent him the same measure of wine. So the friendship between Hiram and Solomon hereby increased more and more; and they swore to continue it for ever. And the king appointed a tribute to be laid on all the people, of thirty thousand labourers, whose work he rendered easy to them by prudently dividing it among them; for he made ten thousand cut timber in Mount Lebanon for one month; and then to come home, and rest two months, until the time when the other twenty thousand had finished their task at the appointed time; and so afterward it came to pass that the first ten thousand returned to their work every fourth month: and it was Adoram who was over this tribute. There were also of the strangers who were left by David, who were to carry the stones and other materials, seventy thousand; and of those that cut the stones, eighty thousand. Of these three thousand and three hundred were rulers over the rest. He also enjoined them to cut out large stones for the foundations of the temple, and that they should fit them and unite them together in the mountain, and so bring them to the city. This was done not only by our own country workmen, but by those workmen whom Hiram sent also.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 3

Of The Building Of This Temple

1. Solomon began to build the temple in the fourth year of his reign, on the second month, which the Macedonians call Artemisius, and the Hebrews Jur, five hundred and ninety-two years after the Exodus out of Egypt; but one thousand and twenty years from Abraham's coming out of Mesopotamia into Canaan, and after the deluge one thousand four hundred and forty years; and from Adam, the first man who was created, until Solomon built the temple, there had passed in all three thousand one hundred and two years. Now that year on which the temple began to be built was already the eleventh year of the reign of Hiram; but from the building of Tyre to the building of the temple, there had passed two hundred and forty years.

2. Now, therefore, the king laid the foundations of the temple very deep in the ground, and the materials were strong stones, and such as would resist the force of time; these were to unite themselves with the earth, and become a basis and a sure foundation for that superstructure which was to be erected over it; they were to be so strong, in order to sustain with ease those vast superstructures and precious ornaments, whose own weight was to be not less than the weight of those other high and heavy buildings which the king designed to be very ornamental and magnificent. They erected its entire body, quite up to the roof, of white stone; its height was sixty cubits, and its length was the same, and its breadth twenty. There was another building erected over it, equal to it in its measures; so that the entire altitude of the temple was a hundred and twenty cubits. Its front was to the east. As to the porch, they built it before the temple; its length was twenty cubits, and it was so ordered that it might agree with the breadth of the house; and it had twelve cubits in latitude, and its height was raised as high as a hundred and twenty cubits. He also built round about the temple thirty small rooms, which might include the whole temple, by their closeness one to another, and by their number and outward position round it. He also made passages through them, that they might come into on through another. Every one of these rooms had five cubits in breadth, and the same in length, but in height twenty. Above these there were other rooms, and others above them, equal, both in their measures and number; so that these reached to a height equal to the lower part of the house; for the upper part had no buildings about it. The roof that was over the house was of cedar; and truly every one of these rooms had a roof of their own, that was not connected with the other rooms; but for the other parts, there was a covered roof common to them all, and built with very long beams, that passed through the rest, and through the whole building, that so the middle walls, being strengthened by the same beams of timber, might be thereby made firmer: but as for that part of the roof that was under the beams, it was made of the same materials, and was all made smooth, and had ornaments proper for roofs, and plates of gold nailed upon them. And as he enclosed the walls with boards of cedar, so he fixed on them plates of gold, which had sculptures upon them; so that the whole temple shined, and dazzled the eyes of such as entered, by the splendour of the gold that was on every side of them, Now the whole structure of the temple was made with great skill of polished stones, and those laid together so very harmoniously and smoothly, that there appeared to the spectators no sign of any hammer, or other instrument of architecture; but as if, without any use of them, the entire materials had naturally united themselves together, that the agreement of one part with another seemed rather to have been natural, than to have arisen from the force of tools upon them. The king also had a fine contrivance for an ascent to the upper room over the temple, and that was by steps in the thickness of its wall; for it had no large door on the east end, as the lower house had, but the entrances were by the sides, through very small doors. He also overlaid the temple, both within and without, with boards of cedar, that were kept close together by thick chains, so that this contrivance was in the nature of a support and a strength to the building.

3. Now when the king had divided the temple into two parts, he made the inner house of twenty cubits [every way], to

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be the most secret chamber, but he appointed that of forty cubits to be the sanctuary; and when he had cut a door-place out of the wall, he put therein doors of Cedar, and overlaid them with a great deal of gold, that had sculptures upon it. He also had veils of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and the brightest and softest linen, with the most curious flowers wrought upon them, which were to be drawn before those doors. He also dedicated for the most secret place, whose breadth was twenty cubits, and length the same, two cherubims of solid gold; the height of each of them was five cubits they had each of them two wings stretched out as far as five cubits; wherefore Solomon set them up not far from each other, that with one wing they might touch the southern wall of the secret place, and with another the northern: their other wings, which joined to each other, were a covering to the ark, which was set between them; but nobody can tell, or even conjecture, what was the shape of these cherubims. He also laid the floor of the temple with plates of gold; and he added doors to the gate of the temple, agreeable to the measure of the height of the wall, but in breadth twenty cubits, and on them he glued gold plates. And, to say all in one word, he left no part of the temple, neither internal nor external, but what was covered with gold. He also had curtains drawn over these doors in like manner as they were drawn over the inner doors of the most holy place; but the porch of the temple had nothing of that sort.

4. Now Solomon sent for an artificer out of Tyre, whose name was Hiram; he was by birth of the tribe of Naphtali, on the mother's side, [for she was of that tribe,] but his father was Ur, of the stock of the Israelites. This man was skillful in all sorts of work; but his chief skill lay in working in gold, and silver, and brass; by whom were made all the mechanical works about the temple, according to the will of Solomon. Moreover, this Hiram made two [hollow] pillars, whose outsides were of brass, and the thickness of the brass was four fingers' breadth, and the height of the pillars was eighteen cubits and their circumference twelve cubits; but there was cast with each of their chapiters lily-work that stood upon the pillar, and it was elevated five cubits, round about which there was net-work interwoven with small palms, made of brass, and covered the lily-work. To this also were hung two hundred pomegranates, in two rows. The one of these pillars he set at the entrance of the porch on the right hand, and called it Jachin and the other at the left hand, and called it Booz.

5. Solomon also cast a brazen sea, whose figure was that of a hemisphere. This brazen vessel was called a sea for its largeness, for the laver was ten feet in diameter, and cast of the thickness of a palm. Its middle part rested on a short pillar that had ten spirals round it, and that pillar was ten cubits in diameter. There stood round about it twelve oxen, that looked to the four winds of heaven, three to each wind, having their hinder parts depressed, that so the hemispherical vessel might rest upon them, which itself was also depressed round about inwardly. Now this sea contained three thousand baths.

6. He also made ten brazen bases for so many quadrangular lavers; the length of every one of these bases was five cubits, and the breadth four cubits, and the height six cubits. This vessel was partly turned, and was thus contrived: There were four small quadrangular pillars that stood one at each corner; these had the sides of the base fitted to them on each quarter; they were parted into three parts; every interval had a border fitted to support [the laver]; upon which was engraven, in one place a lion, and in another place a bull, and an eagle. The small pillars had the same animals engraven that were engraven on the sides. The whole work was elevated, and stood upon four wheels, which were also cast, which had also naves and felloes, and were a foot and a half in diameter. Any one who saw the spokes of the wheels, how exactly they were turned, and united to the sides of the bases, and with what harmony they agreed to the felloes, would wonder at them. However, their structure was this: Certain shoulders of hands stretched out held the corners above, upon which rested a short spiral pillar, that lay under the hollow part of the laver, resting upon the fore part of the eagle and the lion, which were adapted to them, insomuch that those who viewed them would think they were of one piece: between these were engravings of palm trees. This was the construction of the ten bases. He also made ten large round brass vessels, which were the lavers themselves, each of which contained forty baths; for it had its height four cubits, and its edges were as much distant from each other. He also placed these lavers upon the ten bases that were called Mechonoth; and he set five of the lavers on the left side of the temple which was that side towards the north wind, and as many on the right side, towards the south, but looking towards the east; the same [eastern] way he also set the sea. Now he appointed the sea to be for washing the hands and the feet of the priests, when they entered into the temple and were to ascend the altar, but the lavers to cleanse the entrails of the beasts that were to be burnt-offerings, with their feet also.

7. He also made a brazen altar, whose length was twenty cubits, and its breadth the same, and its height ten, for the burnt-offerings. He also made all its vessels of brass, the pots, and the shovels, and the basons; and besides these, the snuffers and the tongs, and all its other vessels, he made of brass, and such brass as was in splendour and beauty like gold. The king also dedicated a great number of tables, but one that was large and made of gold, upon which they set the loaves of God; and he made ten thousand more that resembled them, but were done after another manner, upon which lay the vials and the cups; those of gold were twenty thousand, those of silver were forty thousand. He also made ten thousand candlesticks, according to the command of Moses, one of which he dedicated for the temple, that it might burn in the day time, according to the law; and one table with loaves upon it, on the north side of the temple, over against the candlestick; for this he set on the south side, but the golden altar stood between them. All these vessels were contained in that part of the holy house, which was forty cubits long, and were before the veil of that most secret place wherein the ark was to be set.

8. The king also made pouring vessels, in number eighty thousand, and a hundred thousand golden vials, and twice as many silver vials: of golden dishes, in order therein to offer kneaded fine flour at the altar, there were eighty thousand, and twice as many of silver. Of large basons also, wherein they mixed fine flour with oil, sixty thousand of gold, and twice as many of silver. Of the measures like those which Moses called the Hin and the Assaron, [a tenth deal,] there were twenty thousand of gold, and twice as many of silver. The golden censers, in which they carried the incense to the altar, were twenty thousand; the other censers, in which they carried fire from the great altar to the little altar, within the temple, were fifty thousand. The sacerdotal garments which belonged to the high priest, with the long robes, and the oracle, and the precious stones, were a thousand. But the crown upon which Moses wrote [the name of God] was only one, and hath remained to this very day. He also made ten thousand sacerdotal garments of fine linen, with purple girdles for every priest; and two hundred thousand trumpets, according to the command of Moses; also two hundred thousand garments of fine linen for the singers, that were Levites. And he made musical instruments, and such as were invented for singing of hymns, called Nablee and Cindree, [psalteries and harps,] which were made of electrum, [the finest brass,] forty thousand.

9. Solomon made all these things for the honour of God, with great variety and magnificence, sparing no cost, but using all possible liberality in adorning the temple; and these things he dedicated to the treasures of God. He also placed a partition round about the temple, which in our tongue we call Gison, but it is called Thrigcos by the Greeks, and he raised it up to the height of three cubits; and it was for the exclusion of the multitude from coming into the temple, and showing that it was a place that was free and open only for the priests. He also built beyond this court a temple, whose figure was that of a quadrangle, and erected for it great and broad cloisters; this was entered into by very high gates, each of which had its front exposed to one of the [four] winds, and were shut by golden doors. Into this temple all the people entered that were distinguished from the rest by being pure and observant of the laws. But he made that temple which was beyond this a wonderful one indeed, and such as exceeds all description in words; nay, if I may so say, is hardly believed upon sight; for when he had filled up great valleys with earth, which, on account of their immense depth, could not be looked on, when you bended down to see them, without pain, and had elevated the ground four hundred cubits, he made it to be on a level with the top of the mountain, on which the temple was built, and by this means the outmost temple, which was exposed to the air, was even with the temple itself. He encompassed this also with a building of a double row of cloisters, which stood on high upon pillars of native stone, while the roofs were of cedar, and were polished in a manner proper for such high roofs; but he made all the doors of this temple of silver.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 4

How Solomon Removed The Ark Into The Temple How He Made Supplication To God, And Offered Public Sacrifices To Him.

1. When king Solomon had finished these works, these large and beautiful buildings, and had laid up his donations in the temple, and all this in the interval of seven years, and had given a demonstration of his riches and alacrity therein, insomuch that any one who saw it would have thought it must have been an immense time ere it could have been finished; and would be surprised that so much should be finished in so short a time; short, I mean, if compared with the greatness of the work: he also wrote to the rulers and elders of the Hebrews, and ordered all the people to gather themselves together to Jerusalem, both to see the temple which he had built, and to remove the ark of God into it; and when this invitation of the whole body of the people to come to Jerusalem was every where carried abroad, it was the seventh month before they came together; which month is by our countrymen called Thisri, but by the Macedonians Hyperberetoets. The feast of tabernacles happened to fall at the same time, which was celebrated by the Hebrews as a most holy and most eminent feast. So they carried the ark and the tabernacle which Moses had pitched, and all the vessels that were for ministration, to the sacrifices of God, and removed them to the temple. The king himself, and all the people and the Levites, went before, rendering the ground moist with sacrifices, and drink-offerings, and the blood of a great number of oblations, and burning an immense quantity of incense, and this till the very air itself every where round about was so full of these odors, that it met, in a most agreeable manner, persons at a great distance, and was an indication of God's presence; and, as men's opinion was, of his habitation with them in this newly built and consecrated place, for they did not grow weary, either of singing hymns or of dancing, until they came to the temple; and in this manner did they carry the ark. But when they should transfer it into the most secret place, the rest of the multitude went away, and only those priests that carried it set it between the two cherubims, which embracing it with their wings, [for so were they framed by the artificer,] they covered it, as under a tent, or a cupola. Now the ark contained nothing else but those two tables of stone that preserved the ten commandments, which God spake to Moses in Mount Sinai, and which were engraved upon them; but they set the candlestick, and the table, and the golden altar in the temple, before the most secret place, in the very same places wherein they stood till that time in the tabernacle. So they offered up the daily sacrifices; but for the brazen altar, Solomon set it before the temple, over against the door, that when the door was opened, it might be exposed to sight, and the sacred solemnities, and the richness of the sacrifices, might be thence seen; and all the rest of the vessels they gathered together, and put them within the temple.

2. Now as soon as the priests had put all things in order about the ark, and were gone out, there came down a thick cloud, and stood there, and spread itself, after a gentle manner, into the temple; such a cloud it was as was diffused and temperate, not such a rough one as we see full of rain in the winter season. This cloud so darkened the place, that one priest could not discern another, but it afforded to the minds of all a visible image and glorious appearance of God's having descended into this temple, and of his having gladly pitched his tabernacle therein. So these men were intent upon this thought. But Solomon rose up, [for he was sitting before,] and used such words to God as he thought agreeable to the Divine nature to receive, and fit for him to give; for he said, "Thou hast an eternal house, O Lord, and such a one as thou hast created for thyself out of thine own works; we know it to be the heaven, and the air, and the earth, and the sea, which thou pervadest, nor art thou contained within their limits. I have indeed built this temple to thee, and thy name, that from thence, when we sacrifice, and perform sacred operations, we may send our prayers up into the air, and may constantly believe that thou art present, and art not remote from what is thine own; for neither when thou seest all things, and hearest all things, nor now, when it pleases thee to dwell here, dost thou leave the care of all men, but rather thou art very near to them all, but especially thou art present to those that address themselves to thee, whether by night or by day." When he had thus solemnly addressed himself to God, he converted his discourse to the multitude, and strongly represented the power and providence of God to them;—how he had shown all things that were come to pass to David his father, as many of those things had already come to pass, and the rest would certainly come to pass hereafter; and how he had given him his name, and told to David what he should be called before he was born; and foretold, that when he should be king after his father's death, he should build him a temple, which since they saw accomplished, according to his prediction, he required them to bless God, and by believing him, from the sight of what they had seen accomplished, never to despair of any thing that he had promised for the future, in order to their happiness, or suspect that it would not come to pass.

3. When the king had thus discoursed to the multitude, he looked again towards the temple, and lifting up his right hand to the multitude, he said, "It is not possible by what men can do to return sufficient thanks to God for his benefits bestowed upon them, for the Deity stands in need of nothing, and is above any such requital; but so far as we have been made superior, O Lord, to other animals by thee, it becomes us to bless thy Majesty, and it is necessary for us to return thee thanks for what thou hast bestowed upon our house, and on the Hebrew people; for with what other instrument can we better appease thee when thou art angry at us, or more properly preserve thy favour, than with our voice? which, as we have it from the air, so do we know that by that air it ascends upwards [towards thee]. I therefore ought myself to return thee thanks thereby, in the first place, concerning my father, whom thou hast raised from obscurity unto so great joy; and, in the next place, concerning myself, since thou hast performed all that thou hast promised unto this very day. And I beseech thee for the time to come to afford us whatsoever thou, O God, hast power to bestow on such as thou dost esteem; and to augment our house for all ages, as thou hast promised to David my father to do, both in his lifetime and at

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his death, that our kingdom shall continue, and that his posterity should successively receive it to ten thousand generations. Do not thou therefore fail to give us these blessings, and to bestow on my children that virtue in which thou delightest. And besides all this, I humbly beseech thee that thou wilt let some portion of thy Spirit come down and inhabit in this temple, that thou mayst appear to be with us upon earth. As to thyself, the entire heavens, and the immensity of the things that are therein, are but a small habitation for thee, much more is this poor temple so; but I entreat thee to keep it as thine own house, from being destroyed by our enemies for ever, and to take care of it as thine own possession: but if this people be found to have sinned, and be thereupon afflicted by thee with any plague, because of their sin, as with dearth or pestilence, or any other affliction which thou usest to inflict on those that transgress any of thy holy laws, and if they fly all of them to this temple, beseeching thee, and begging of time to deliver them, then do thou hear their prayers, as being within thine house, and have mercy upon them, and deliver them from their afflictions. Nay, moreover, this help is what I implore of thee, not for the Hebrews only, when they are in distress, but when any shall come hither from any ends of the world whatsoever, and shall return from their sins and implore thy pardon, do thou then pardon them, and hear their prayer. For hereby all shall learn that thou thyself wast pleased with the building of this house for thee; and that we are not ourselves of an unsociable nature, nor behave ourselves like enemies to such as are not of our own people; but are willing that thy assistance should be communicated by thee to all men in common, and that they may have the enjoyment of thy benefits bestowed upon them."

4. When Solomon had said this, and had cast himself upon the ground, and worshipped a long time, he rose up, and brought sacrifices to the altar; and when he had filled it with unblemished victims, he most evidently discovered that God had with pleasure accepted of all that he had sacrificed to him, for there came a fire running out of the air, and rushed with violence upon the altar, in the sight of all, and caught hold of and consumed the sacrifices. Now when this Divine appearance was seen, the people supposed it to be a demonstration of God's abode in the temple, and were pleased with it, and fell down upon the ground and worshipped. Upon which the king began to bless God, and exhorted the multitude to do the same, as now having sufficient indications of God's favourable disposition to them; and to pray that they might always have the like indications from him, and that he would preserve in them a mind pure from all wickedness, in righteousness and religious worship, and that they might continue in the observation of those precepts which God had given them by Moses, because by that means the Hebrew nation would be happy, and indeed the most blessed of all nations among all mankind. He exhorted them also to be mindful, that by what methods they had attained their present good things, by the same they must preserve them sure to themselves, and make them greater and more than they were at present; for that it was not sufficient for them to suppose they had received them on account of their piety and righteousness, but that they had no other way of preserving them for the time to come; for that it is not so great a thing for men to acquire somewhat which they want, as to preserve what they have acquired, and to be guilty of no sin whereby it may be hurt.

5. So when the king had spoken thus to the multitude, he dissolved the congregation, but not till he had completed his oblations, both for himself and for the Hebrews, insomuch that he sacrificed twenty and two thousand oxen, and a hundred and twenty thousand sheep; for then it was that the temple did first of all taste of the victims, and all the Hebrews, with their wives and children, feasted therein: nay, besides this, the king then observed splendidly and magnificently the feast which is called the Feast of Tabernacles, before the temple, for twice seven days; and he then feasted together with all the people.

6. When all these solemnities were abundantly satisfied, and nothing was omitted that concerned the Divine worship, the king dismissed them; and they every one went to their own homes, giving thanks to the king for the care he had taken of them, and the works he had done for them; and praying to God to preserve Solomon to be their king for a long time. They also took their journey home with rejoicing, and making merry, and singing hymns to God. And indeed the pleasure they enjoyed took away the sense of the pains they all underwent in their journey home. So when they had brought the ark into the temple, and had seen its greatness, and how fine it was, and had been partakers of the many sacrifices that had been offered, and of the festivals that had been solemnized, they every one returned to their own cities. But a dream that appeared to the king in his sleep informed him that God had heard his prayers; and that he would not only preserve the temple, but would always abide in it; that is, in case his posterity and the whole multitude would be righteous. And for himself, it said, that if he continued according to the admonitions of his father, he would advance him to an immense degree of dignity and happiness, and that then his posterity should be kings of that country, of the tribe of Judah, for ever; but that still, if he should be found a betrayer of the ordinances of the law, and forget them, and turn away to the worship of strange gods, he would cut him off by the roots, and would neither suffer any remainder of his family to continue, nor would overlook the people of Israel, or preserve them any longer from afflictions, but would utterly destroy them with ten thousand wars and misfortunes; would cast them out of the land which he had given their fathers, and make them sojourners in strange lands; and deliver that temple which was now built to be burnt and spoiled by their enemies, and that city to be utterly overthrown by the hands of their enemies; and make their miseries deserve to be a proverb, and such as should very hardly be credited for their stupendous magnitude, till their neighbours, when they should hear of them, should wonder at their calamities, and very earnestly inquire for the occasion, why the Hebrews, who had been so far advanced by God to such glory and wealth, should be then so hated by him? and that the answer that should be made by the remainder of the people should be, by confessing their sins, and their transgression of the laws of their country. Accordingly we have it transmitted to us in writing, that thus did God speak to Solomon in his sleep.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 5

How Solomon Built Himself A Royal Palace, Very Costly And Splendid; And How He Solved The Riddles Which Were Sent Him By Hiram.

1. After the building of the temple, which, as we have before said, was finished in seven years, the king laid the foundation of his palace, which he did not finish under thirteen years, for he was not equally zealous in the building of this palace as he had been about the temple; for as to that, though it was a great work, and required wonderful and surprising application, yet God, for whom it was made, so far co-operated therewith, that it was finished in the forementioned number of years: but the palace, which was a building much inferior in dignity to the temple, both on account that its materials had not been so long beforehand gotten ready, nor had been so zealously prepared, and on account that this was only a habitation for kings, and not for God, it was longer in finishing. However, this building was raised so magnificently, as suited the happy state of the Hebrews, and of the king thereof. But it is necessary that I describe the entire structure and disposition of the parts, that so those that light upon this book may thereby make a conjecture, and, as it were, have a prospect of its magnitude.

2. This house was a large and curious building, and was supported by many pillars, which Solomon built to contain a multitnde for hearing causes, and taking cognizance of suits. It was sufficiently capacious to contain a great body of men, who would come together to have their causes determined. It was a hundred cubits long, and fifty broad, and thirty high, supported by quadrangular pillars, which were all of cedar; but its roof was according to the Corinthian order, with folding doors, and their adjoining pillars of equal magnitude, each fluted with three cavities; which building as at once firm, and very ornamental. There was also another house so ordered, that its entire breadth was placed in the middle; it was quadrangular, and its breadth was thirty cubits, having a temple over against it, raised upon massy pillars; in which temple there was a large and very glorious room, wherein the king sat in judgement. To this was joined another house that was built for his queen. There were other smaller edifices for diet, and for sleep, after public matters were over; and these were all floored with boards of cedar. Some of these Solomon built with stones of ten cubits, and wainscoted the walls with other stones that were sawed, and were of great value, such as are dug out of the earth for the ornaments of temples, and to make fine prospects in royal palaces, and which make the mines whence they are dug famous. Now the contexture of the curious workmanship of these stones was in three rows, but the fourth row would make one admire its sculptures, whereby were represented trees, and all sorts of plants; with the shades that arose from their branches, and leaves that hung down from them. Those trees and plants covered the stone that was beneath them, and their leaves were wrought so prodigious thin and subtile, that you would think they were in motion; but the other part up to the roof, was plastered over, and, as it were, embroidered with colours and pictures. He, moreover, built other edifices for pleasure; as also very long cloisters, and those situate in an agreeable place of the palace; and among them a most glorious dining room, for feastings and compotations, and full of gold, and such other furniture as so fine a room ought to have for the conveniency of the guests, and where all the vessels were made of gold. Now it is very hard to reckon up the magnitude and the variety of the royal apartments; how many rooms there were of the largest sort, how many of a bigness inferior to those, and how many that were subterraneous and invisible; the curiosity of those that enjoyed the fresh air; and the groves for the most delightful prospect, for the avoiding the heat, and covering of their bodies. And, to say all in brief, Solomon made the whole building entirely of white stone, and cedar wood, and gold, and silver. He also adorned the roofs and walls with stones set in gold, and beautified them thereby in the same manner as he had beautified the temple of God with the like stones. He also made himself a throne of prodigious bigness, of ivory, constructed as a seat of justice, and having six steps to it; on every one of which stood, on each end of the step two lions, two other lions standing above also; but at the sitting place of the throne hands came out and received the king; and when he sat backward, he rested on half a bullock, that looked towards his back; but still all was fastened together with gold.

3. When Solomon had completed all this in twenty years' time, because Hiram king of Tyre had contributed a great deal of gold, and more silver to these buildings, as also cedar wood and pine wood, he also rewarded Hiram with rich presents; corn he sent him also year by year, and wine and oil, which were the principal things that he stood in need of, because he inhabited an island, as we have already said. And besides these, he granted him certain cities of Galilee, twenty in number, that lay not far from Tyre; which, when Hiram went to, and viewed, and did not like the gift, he sent word to Solomon that he did not want such cities as they were; and after that time these cities were called the land of Cabul; which name, if it be interpreted according to the language of the Phoenicians, denotes what does not please. Moreover, the king of Tyre sent sophisms and enigmatical sayings to Solomon, and desired he would solve them, and free them from the ambiguity that was in them. Now so sagacious and understanding was Solomon, that none of these problems were too hard for him; but he conquered them all by his reasonings, and discovered their hidden meaning, and brought it to light. Menander also, one who translated the Tyrian archives out of the dialect of the Phoenicians into the Greek language, makes mention of these two kings, where he says thus: "When Abibalus was dead, his son Hiram received the kingdom from him, who, when he had lived fifty-three years, reigned thirty-four. He raised a bank in the large place, and dedicated the golden pillar which is in Jupiter's temple. He also went and cut down materials of timber out of the mountain called Libanus, for the roof of temples; and when he had pulled down the ancient temples, he both built the temple of Hercules and that of Astarte; and he first set up the temple of Hercules in the month Peritius; he also made an expedition against the Euchii, or Titii, who did not pay their tribute, and when he had subdued them to himself he returned. Under this king there was Abdemon, a very youth in age, who always conquered the difficult problems which Solomon, king of Jerusalem, commanded him to explain. Dius also makes mention of him, where he says thus: 'When Abibalus was dead, his son Hiram reigned. He raised the eastern parts of the city higher, and made the city itself larger. He also joined the temple of Jupiter, which before stood by itself, to the city, by raising a bank in the middle between them; and he adorned it with donations of gold. Moreover, he went up to Mount Libanus, and cut down materials of wood for the building of the temples.' He says also, that Solomon, who was then king of Jerusalem, sent riddles to Hiram, and desired to receive the like from him, but that he who could not solve them should pay money to them that did solve them, and that Hiram accepted the conditions; and when he was not able to solve the riddles proposed by Solomon, he paid a great deal of money for his fine; but that he afterward did solve the proposed riddles by means of Abdemon, a man of Tyre; and that Hiram proposed other riddles, which, when Solomon could not solve, he paid back a great deal of money to Hiram." This it is which Dius wrote.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 6.

How Solomon Fortified The City Of Jerusalem, And Built Great Cities; And How He Brought Some Of The Canaanites Into Subjection, And Entertained The Queen Of Egypt And Of Ethiopia.

1. Now when the king saw that the walls of Jerusalem stood in need of being better secured, and made stronger, [for he thought the wails that encompassed Jerusalem ought to correspond to the dignity of the city,] he both repaired them, and made them higher, with great towers upon them; he also built cities which might be counted among the strongest, Hazor and Megiddo, and the third Gezer, which had indeed belonged to the Philistines; but Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, had made an expedition against it, and besieged it, and taken it by force; and when he had slain all its inhabitants, he utterly overthrew it, and gave it as a present to his daughter, who had been married to Solomon; for which reason the king rebuilt it, as a city that was naturally strong, and might be useful in wars, and the mutations of affairs that sometimes happen. Moreover, he built two other cities not far from it, Beth-horon was the name of one of them, and Baalath of the other. He also built other cities that lay conveniently for these, in order to the enjoyment of pleasures and delicacies in them, such as were naturally of a good temperature of the air, and agreeable for fruits ripe in their proper seasons, and well watered with springs. Nay, Solomon went as far as the desert above Syria, and possessed himself of it, and built there a very great city, which was distant two days' journey from Upper

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Syria, and one day's journey from Euphrates, and six long days' journey from Babylon the Great. Now the reason why this city lay so remote from the parts of Syria that are inhabited is this, that below there is no water to be had, and that it is in that place only that there are springs and pits of water. When he had therefore built this city, and encompassed it with very strong walls, he gave it the name of Tadmor, and that is the name it is still called by at this day among the Syrians, but the Greeks name it Palmyra.

2. Now Solomon the king was at this time engaged in building these cities. But if any inquire why all the kings of Egypt from Menes, who built Memphis, and was many years earlier than our forefather Abraham, until Solomon, where the interval was more than one thousand three hundred years, were called Pharaohs, and took it from one Pharaoh that lived after the kings of that interval, I think it necessary to inform them of it, and this in order to cure their ignorance, and to make the occasion of that name manifest. Pharaoh, in the Egyptian tongue, signifies a king but I suppose they made use of other names from their childhood; but when they were made kings, they changed them into the name which in their own tongue denoted their authority; for thus it was also that the kings of Alexandria, who were called formerly by other names, when they took the kingdom, were named Ptolemies, from their first king. The Roman emperors also were from their nativity called by other names, but are styled Caesars, their empire and their dignity imposing that name upon them, and not suffering them to continue in those names which their fathers gave them. I suppose also that Herodotus of Halicarnassus, when he said there were three hundred and thirty kings of Egypt after Menes, who built Memphis, did therefore not tell us their names, because they were in common called Pharaohs; for when after their death there was a queen reigned, he calls her by her name Nicaule, as thereby declaring, that while the kings were of the male line, and so admitted of the same nature, while a woman did not admit the same, he did therefore set down that her name, which she could not naturally have. As for myself, I have discovered from our own books, that after Pharaoh, the father-in-law of Solomon, no other king of Egypt did any longer use that name; and that it was after that time when the forenamed queen of Egypt and Ethiopia came to Solomon, concerning whom we shall inform the reader presently; but I have now made mention of these things, that I may prove that our books and those of the Egyptians agree together in many things.

3. But king Solomon subdued to himself the remnant of the Canaanites that had not before submitted to him; those I mean that dwelt in Mount Lebanon, and as far as the city Hamath; and ordered them to pay tribute. He also chose out of them every year such as were to serve him in the meanest offices, and to do his domestic works, and to follow husbandry; for none of the Hebrews were servants [in such low employments]: nor was it reasonable, that when God had brought so many nations under their power, they should depress their own people to such mean offices of life, rather than those nations; while all the Israelites were concerned in warlike affairs, and were in armour; and were set over the chariots and the horses, rather than leading the life of slaves. He appointed also five hundred and fifty rulers over those Canaanites who were reduced to such domestic slavery, who received the entire care of them from the king, and instructed them in those labours and operations wherein he wanted their assistance.

4. Moreover, the king built many ships in the Egyptian Bay of the Red Sea, in a certain place called Ezion-geber: it is now called Berenice, and is not far from the city Eloth. This country belonged formerly to the Jews, and became useful for shipping from the donations of Hiram king of Tyre; for he sent a sufficient number of men thither for pilots, and such as were skillful in navigation, to whom Solomon gave this command: That they should go along with his own stewards to the land that was of old called Ophir, but now the Aurea Chersonesus, which belongs to India, to fetch him gold. And when they had gathered four hundred talents together, they returned to the king again.

5. There was then a woman queen of Egypt and Ethiopia; she was inquisitive into philosophy, and one that on other accounts also was to be admired. When this queen heard of the virtue and prudence of Solomon, she had a great mind to see him; and the reports that went every day abroad induced her to come to him, she being desirous to be satisfied by her own experience, and not by a bare hearing; [for reports thus heard are likely enough to comply with a false opinion, while they wholly depend on the credit of the relators;] so she resolved to come to him, and that especially in order to have a trial of his wisdom, while she proposed questions of very great difficulty, and entreated that he would solve their hidden meaning. Accordingly she came to Jerusalem with great splendour and rich furniture; for she brought with her camels laden with gold, with several sorts of sweet spices, and with precious stones. Now, upon the king's kind reception of her, he both showed a great desire to please her, and easily comprehending in his mind the meaning of the curious questions she propounded to him, he resolved them sooner than any body could have expected. So she was amazed at the wisdom of Solomon, and discovered that it was more excellent upon trial than what she had heard by report beforehand; and especially she was surprised at the fineness and largeness of his royal palace, and not less so at the good order of the apartments, for she observed that the king had therein shown great wisdom; but she was beyond measure astonished at the house which was called the Forest of Lebanon, as also at the magnificence of his daily table, and the circumstances of its preparation and ministration, with the apparel of his servants that waited, and the skillful and decent management of their attendance: nor was she less affected with those daily sacrifices which were offered to God, and the careful management which the priests and Levites used about them. When she saw this done every day, she was in the greatest admiration imaginable, insomuch that she was not able to contain the surprise she was in, but openly confessed how wonderfully she was affected; for she proceeded to discourse with the king, and thereby owned that she was overcome with admiration at the things before related; and said, "All things indeed, O king, that came to our knowledge by report, came with uncertainty as to our belief of them; but as to those good things that to thee appertain, both such as thou thyself possessest, I mean wisdom and prudence, and the happiness thou hast from thy kingdom, certainly the same that came to us was no falsity; it was not only a true report, but it related thy happiness after a much lower manner than I now see it to be before my eyes. For as for the report, it only attempted to persuade our hearing, but did not so make known the dignity of the things themselves as does the sight of them, and being present among them. I indeed, who did not believe what was reported, by reason of the multitude and grandeur of the things I inquired about, do see them to be much more numerous than they were reported to be. Accordingly I esteem the Hebrew people, as well as thy servants and friends, to be happy, who enjoy thy presence and hear thy wisdom every day continually. One would therefore bless God, who hath so loved this country, and those that inhabit therein, as to make thee king over them."

6. Now when the queen had thus demonstrated in words how deeply the king had affected her, her disposition was known by certain presents, for she gave him twenty talents of gold, and an immense quantity of spices and precious stones. (They say also that we possess the root of that balsam which our country still bears by this woman's gift.) Solomon also repaid her with many good things, and principally by bestowing upon her what she chose of her own inclination, for there was nothing that she desired which he denied her; and as he was very generous and liberal in his own temper, so did he show the greatness of his soul in bestowing on her what she herself desired of him. So when this queen of Ethiopia had obtained what we have already given an account of, and had again communicated to the king what she brought with her, she returned to her own kingdom.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 7

How Solomon Grew Rich, And Fell Desperately In Love With Women And How God, Being Incensed At It, Raised Up Ader And Jeroboam Against Him. Concerning The Death Of Solomon.

1. About the same time there were brought to the king from the Aurea Chersonesus, a country so called, precious stones, and pine trees, and these trees he made use of for supporting the temple and the palace, as also for the materials of musical instruments, the harps and the psalteries, that the Levites might make use of them in their hymns to God. The wood which was brought to him at this time was larger and finer than any that had ever been brought before; but let no one imagine that these pine trees were like those which are now so named, and which take that their denomination from the merchants, who so call them, that they may procure them to be admired by those that purchase them; for those we speak of were to the sight like the wood of the fig tree, but were whiter, and more shining. Now we have said thus much, that nobody may be ignorant of the difference between these sorts of wood, nor unacquainted with the nature of the genuine pine tree; and we thought it both a seasonable and humane thing, when we mentioned it, and the uses the king made of it, to explain this difference so far as we have done.

2. Now the weight of gold that was brought him was six hundred and sixty-six talents, not including in that sum what was brought by the merchants, nor what the toparchs and kings of Arabia gave him in presents. He also cast two hundred targets of gold, each of them weighing six hundred shekels. He also made three hundred shields, every one weighing three pounds of gold, and he had them carried and put into that house which was called The Forest of Lebanon. He also made cups of gold, and of [precious] stones, for the entertainment of his guests, and had them adorned in the most artificial manner; and he contrived that all his other furniture of vessels should be of gold, for there was nothing then to be sold or bought for silver; for the king had many ships which lay upon the sea of Tarsus, these he commanded to carry out all sorts of merchandise unto the remotest nations, by the sale of which silver and gold were brought to the king, and a great quantity of ivory, and Ethiopians, and apes; and they finished their voyage, going and returning, in three years' time.

3. Accordingly there went a great fame all around the neighbouring countries, which proclaimed the virtue and wisdom of Solomon, insomuch that all the kings every where were desirous to see him, as not giving credit to what was reported, on account of its being almost incredible: they also demonstrated the regard they had for him by the presents they made him; for they sent him vessels of gold, and silver, and purple garments, and many sorts of spices, and horses, and chariots, and as many mules for his carriages as they could find proper to please the king's eyes, by their strength and beauty. This addition that he made to those chariots and horses which he had before from those that were sent him, augmented the number of his chariots by above four hundred, for he had a thousand before, and augmented the number of his horses by two thousand, for he had twenty thousand before. These horses also were so much exercised, in order to their making a fine appearance, and running swiftly, that no others could, upon the comparison, appear either finer or swifter; but they were at once the most beautiful of all others, and their swiftness was incomparable also. Their riders also were a further ornament to them, being, in the first place, young men in the most delightful flower of their age, and being eminent for their largeness, and far taller than other men. They had also very long heads of hair hanging down, and were clothed in garments of Tyrian purple. They had also dust of gold every day sprinkled on their hair, so that their heads sparkled with the reflection of the sun-beams from the gold. The king himself rode upon a chariot in the midst of these men, who were still in armour, and had their bows fitted to them. He had on a white garment, and used to take his progress out of the city in the morning. There was a certain place about fifty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which is called Etham, very pleasant it is in fine gardens, and abounding in rivulets of water; thither did he use to go out in the morning, sitting on high [in his chariot.]

4. Now Solomon had a divine sagacity in all things, and was very diligent and studious to have things done after an elegant manner; so he did not neglect the care of the ways, but he laid a causeway of black stone along the roads that led to Jerusalem, which was the royal city, both to render them easy for travelers, and to manifest the grandeur of his riches and government. He also parted his chariots, and set them in a regular order, that a certain number of them should be in every city, still keeping a few about him; and those cities he called the cities of his chariots. And the king made silver as plentiful in Jerusalem as stones in the street; and so multiplied cedar trees in the plains of Judea, which did not grow there before, that they were like the multitude of common sycamore trees. He also ordained the Egyptian merchants that brought him their merchandise to sell him a chariot, with a pair of horses, for six hundred drachmae of silver, and he sent them to the kings of Syria, and to those kings that were beyond Euphrates.

5. But although Solomon was become the most glorious of kings, and the best beloved by God, and had exceeded in wisdom and riches those that had been rulers of the Hebrews before him, yet did not he persevere in this happy state till he died. Nay, he forsook the observation of the laws of his fathers, and came to an end no way suitable to our foregoing history of him. He grew mad in his love of women, and laid no restraint on himself in his lusts; nor was he satisfied with the women of his country alone, but he married many wives out of foreign nations; Sidontans, and Tyrians, and Ammonites, and Edomites; and he transgressed the laws of Moses, which forbade Jews to marry any but those that were of their own people. He also began to worship their gods, which he did in order to the gratification of his wives, and out of his affection for them. This very thing our legislator suspected, and so admonished us beforehand, that we should not marry women of other countries, lest we should be entangled with foreign customs, and apostatize from our own; lest we should leave off to honour our own God, and should worship their gods. But Solomon was Gllen headlong into unreasonable pleasures, and regarded not those admonitions; for when he had married seven hundred wives, the daughters of princes and of eminent persons, and three hundred concubines, and those besides the king of Egypt's daughter, he soon was governed by them, till he came to imitate their practices. He was forced to give them this demonstration of his kindness and affection to them, to live according to the laws of their countries. And as he grew into years, and his reason became weaker by length of time, it was not sufficient to recall to his mind the institutions of his own country; so he still more and more contemned his own God, and continued to regard the gods that his marriages had introduced nay, before this happened, he sinned, and fell into an error about the observation of the laws, when he made the images of brazen oxen that supported the brazen sea, and the images of lions about his own throne; for these he made, although it was not agreeable to piety so to do; and this he did, notwithstanding that he had his father as a most excellent

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and domestic pattern of virtue, and knew what a glorious character he had left behind him, because of his piety towards God. Nor did he imitate David, although God had twice appeared to him in his sleep, and exhorted him to imitate his father. So he died ingloriously. There came therefore a prophet to him, who was sent by God, and told him that his wicked actions were not concealed from God; and threatened him that he should not long rejoice in what he had done; that, indeed, the kingdom should not be taken from him while he was alive, because God had promised to his father David that he would make him his successor, but that he would take care that this should befall his son when he was dead; not that he would withdraw all the people from him, but that he would give ten tribes to a servant of his, and leave only two tribes to David's grandson for his sake, because he loved God, and for the sake of the city of Jerusalem, wherein he should have a temple.

6. When Solomon heard this he was grieved, and greatly confounded, upon this change of almost all that happiness which had made him to be admired, into so bad a state; nor had there much time passed after the prophet had foretold what was coming before God raised up an enemy against him, whose name was Ader, who took the following occasion of his enmity to him. He was a child of the stock of the Edomites, and of the blood royal; and when Joab, the captain of David's host, laid waste the land of Edom, and destroyed all that were men grown, and able to bear arms, for six months' time, this Hadad fled away, and came to Pharaoh the king of Egypt, who received him kindly, and assigned him a house to dwell in, and a country to supply him with food; and when he was grown up he loved him exceedingly, insomuch that he gave him his wife's sister, whose name was Tahpenes, to wife, by whom he had a son; who was brought up with the king's children. When Hadad heard in Egypt that both David and Joab were dead, he came to Pharaoh, and desired that he would permit him to go to his own country; upon which the king asked what it was that he wanted, and what hardship he had met with, that he was so desirous to leave him. And when he was often troublesome to him, and entreated him to dismiss him, he did not then do it; but at the time when Solomon's affairs began to grow worse, on account of his forementioned transgressions and God's anger against him for the same, Hadad, by Pharaoh's permission, came to Edom; and when he was not able to make the people forsake Solomon, for it was kept under by many garrisons, and an innovation was not to be made with safety, he removed thence, and came into Syria; there he lighted upon one Rezon, who had run away from Hadadezer, king of Zobah, his master, and was become a robber in that country, and joined friendship with him, who had already a band of robbers about him. So he went up, and seized upon that part of Syria, and was made king thereof. He also made incursions into the land of Israel, and did it no small mischief, and spoiled it, and that in the lifetime of Solomon. And this was the calamity which the Hebrews suffered by Hadad.

7. There was also one of Solomon's own nation that made an attempt against him, Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who had an expectation of rising, from a prophecy that had been made to him long before. He was left a child by his father, and brought up by his mother; and when Solomon saw that he was of an active and bold disposition, he made him the curator of the walls which he built round about Jerusalem; and he took such care of those works, that the king approved of his behavior, and gave him, as a reward for the same, the charge of the tribe of Joseph. And when about that time Jeroboam was once going out of Jerusalem, a prophet of the city Shilo, whose name was Ahijah, met him and saluted him; and when he had taken him a little aside to a place out of the way, where there was not one other person present, he rent the garment he had on into twelve pieces, and bid Jeroboam take ten of them; and told him beforehand, that "this is the will of God; he will part the dominion of Solomon, and give one tribe, with that which is next it, to his son, because of the promise made to David for his succession, and will have ten tribes to thee, because Solomon hath sinned against him, and delivered up himself to women, and to their gods. Seeing therefore thou knowest the cause for which God hath changed his mind, and is alienated from Solomon, be thou...."

8. So Jeroboam was elevated by these words of the prophet; and being a young man, of a warm temper, and ambitious of greatness, he could not be quiet; and when he had so great a charge in the government, and called to mind what had been revealed to him by Ahijah, he endeavored to persuade the people to forsake Solomon, to make a disturbance, and to bring the government over to himself. But when Solomon understood his intention and treachery, he sought to catch him and kill him; but Jeroboam was informed of it beforehand, and fled to Shishak, the king of Egypt, and there abode till the death of Solomon; by which means he gained these two advantages to suffer no harm from Solomon, and to be preserved for the kingdom. So Solomon died when he was already an old man, having reigned eighty years, and lived ninety-four. He was buried in Jerusalem, having been superior to all other kings in happiness, and riches, and wisdom, excepting that when he was growing into years he was deluded by women, and transgressed the law; concerning which transgressions, and the miseries which befell the Hebrews thereby, I think proper to discourse at another opportunity.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 8

How, Upon The Death Of Solomon The People Forsook His Son Rehoboam, And Ordained Jeroboam King Over The Ten Tribes.

1. Now when Solomon was dead, and his son Rehoboam [who was born of an Ammonite wife; whose name was Naamah] had succeeded him in the kingdom, the rulers of the multitude sent immediately into Egypt, and called back Jeroboam; and when he was come to them, to the city Shethem, Rehoboam came to it also, for he had resolved to declare himself king to the Israelites while they were there gathered together. So the rulers of the people, as well as Jeroboam, came to him, and besought him, and said that he ought to relax, and to be gentler than his father, in the servitude he had imposed on them, because they had borne a heavy yoke, and that then they should be better affected to him, and be well contented to serve him under his moderate government, and should do it more out of love than fear. But Rehoboam told them they should come to him again in three days' time, when he would give an answer to their request. This delay gave occasion to a present suspicion, since he had not given them a favourable answer to their mind immediately; for they thought that he should have given them a humane answer off-hand, especially since he was but young. However, they thought that this consultation about it, and that he did not presently give them a denial, afforded them some good hope of success.

2. Rehoboam now called his father's friends, and advised with them what sort of answer he ought to give to the multitude; upon which they gave him the advice which became friends, and those that knew the temper of such a multitude. They advised him to speak in a way more popular than suited the grandeur of a king, because he would thereby oblige them to submit to him with goodwill, it being most agreeable to subjects that their kings should be almost upon the level with them. But Rehoboam rejected this so good, and in general so profitable, advice, [it was such, at least, at that time when he was to be made king,] God himself, I suppose, causing what was most advantageous to be condemned by him. So he called for the young men who were brought up with him, and told them what advice the elders had given him, and bade them speak what they thought he ought to do. They advised him to give the following answer to the people [for neither their youth nor God himself suffered them to discern what was best]: That his little finger should be thicker than his father's loins; and if they had met with hard usage from his father, they should experience much rougher treatment from him; and if his father had chastised them with whips, they must expect that he would do it with scorpions. The king was pleased with this advice, and thought it agreeable to the dignity of his government to give them such an answer. Accordingly, when the multitude was come together to hear his answer on the third day, all the people were in great expectation, and very intent to hear what the king would say to them, and supposed they should hear somewhat of a kind nature; but he passed by his friends, and answered as the young men had given him counsel. Now this was done according to the will of God, that what Ahijah had foretold might come to pass.

3. By these words the people were struck as it were by an iron hammer, and were so grieved at the words, as if they had already felt the effects of them; and they had great indignation at the king; and all cried out aloud, and said, "We will have no longer any relation to David or his posterity after this day." And they said further, "We only leave to Rehoboam the temple which his father built;" and they threatened to forsake him. Nay, they were so bitter, and retained their wrath so long, that when he sent Adoram, which was over the tribute, that he might pacify them, and render them milder, and persuade them to forgive him, if he had said any thing that was rash or grievous to them in his youth, they would not hear it, but threw stones at him, and killed him. When Rehoboam saw this, he thought himself aimed at by those stones with which they had killed his servant, and feared lest he should undergo the last of punishments in earnest; so he got immediately into his chariot, and fled to Jerusalem, where the tribe of Judah and that of Benjamin ordained him king; but the rest of the multitude forsook the sons of David from that day, and appointed Jeroboam to be the ruler of their public affairs. Upon this Rehoboam, Solomon's son, assembled a great congregation of those two tribes that submitted to him, and was ready to take a hundred and eighty thousand chosen men out of the army, to make an expedition against Jeroboam and his people, that he might force them by war to be his servants; but he was forbidden of God by the prophet [Shemaiah] to go to war, for that it was not just that brethren of the same country should fight one against another. He also said that this defection of the multitude was according to the purpose of God. So he did not proceed in this expedition. And now I will relate first the actions of Jeroboam the king of Israel, after which we will relate what are therewith connected, the actions of Rehoboam, the king of the two tribes; by this means we shall preserve the good order of the history entire.

4. When therefore Jeroboam had built him a palace in the city Shechem, he dwelt there. He also built him another at Penuel, a city so called. And now the feast of tabernacles was approaching in a little time, Jeroboam considered, that if he should permit the multitude to go to worship God at Jerusalem, and there to celebrate the festival, they would probably repent of what they had done, and be enticed by the temple, and by the worship of God there performed, and would leave him, and return to their first kings; and if so, he should run the risk of losing his own life; so he invented this contrivance; He made two golden heifers, and built two little temples for them, the one in the city Bethel, and the other in Dan, which last was at the fountains of the Lesser Jordan and he put the heifers into both the little temples, in the forementioned cities. And when he had called those ten tribes together over whom he ruled, he made a speech to the people in these words: "I suppose, my countrymen, that you know this, that every place hath God in it; nor is there any one determinate place in which he is, but he every where hears and sees those that worship him; on which account I do not think it right for you to go so long a journey to Jerusalem, which is an enemy's city, to worship him. It was a man that built the temple: I have also made two golden heifers, dedicated to the same God; and the one of them I have consecrated in the city Bethel, and the other in Dan, to the end that those of you that dwell nearest those cities may go to them, and worship God there; and I will ordain for you certain priests and Levites from among yourselves, that you may have no want of the tribe of Levi, or of the sons of Aaron; but let him that is desirous among you of being a priest, bring to God a bullock and a ram, which they say Aaron the first priest brought also." When Jeroboam had said this, he deluded the people, and made them to revolt from the worship of their forefathers, and to transgress their laws. This was the beginning of miseries to the Hebrews, and the cause why they were overcome in war by foreigners, and so fell into captivity. But we shall relate those things in their proper places hereafter.

5. When the feast [of tabernacles] was just approaching, Jeroboam was desirous to celebrate it himself in Bethel, as did the two tribes celebrate it in Jerusalem. Accordingly he built an altar before the heifer, and undertook to be high priest himself. So he went up to the altar, with his own priests about him; but when he was going to offer the sacrifices and the burnt-offerings, in the sight of all the people, a prophet, whose name was Jadon, was sent by God, and came to him from Jerusalem, who stood in the midst of the multitude, and in the 'hearing of' the king, and directing his discourse to the altar, said thus: "God foretells that there shall be a certain man of the family of David, Josiah by name, who shall slay upon thee those false priests that shall live at that time, and upon thee shall burn the bones of those deceivers of the people, those impostors' and wicked wretches. However, that this people may believe that these things shall so come to pass, I foretell a sign to them that shall also come to pass. This altar shall be broken to pieces immediately, and all the fat of the sacrifices that is upon it shall be poured upon the ground." When the prophet had said this, Jeroboam fell into a passion, and stretched out his hand, and bid them lay hold of him; but that hand which he stretched out was enfeebled, and he was not able to pull it in again to him, for it was become withered, and hung down, as if it were a dead hand. The altar also was broken to pieces, and all that was upon it was poured out, as the prophet had foretold should come to pass. So the king understood that he was a man of veracity, and had a Divine foreknowledge; and entreated him to pray to God that he would restore his right hand. Accordingly the prophet did pray to God to grant him that request. So the king, having his hand recovered to its natural state, rejoiced at it, and invited the prophet to sup with him; but Jadon said that he could not endure to come into his house, nor to taste of bread or water in this city, for that was a thing God had forbidden him to do; as also to go back by the same way which he came, but he said he was to return by another way. So the king wondered at the abstinence of the man, but was himself in fear, as suspecting a change of his affairs for the worse, from what had been said to him.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 9

How Jadon The Prophet Was Persuaded By Another Lying Prophet And Returned [To Bethel,] And Was Afterwards Slain By A Lion. As Also What Words The Wicked Prophet Made Use Of To Persuade The King, And Thereby Alienated His Mind From God.

1. Now there was a certain wicked man in that city, who was a false prophet, whom Jeroboam had in great esteem, but was deceived by him and his flattering words. This man was bedrid, by reason or the infirmities of old age: however, he was informed by his sons concerning the prophet that was come from Jerusalem, and concerning the signs done by him; and how, when Jeroboam's right hand had been enfeebled, at

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the prophet's prayer he had it revived again. Whereupon he was afraid that this stranger and prophet should be in better esteem with the king than himself, and obtain greater honour from him: and he gave orders to his sons to saddle his ass presently, and make all ready that he might go out. Accordingly they made haste to do what they were commanded, and he got upon the ass and followed after the prophet; and when he had overtaken him, as he was resting himself under a very large oak tree that was thick and shady, he at first saluted him, but presently he complained of him, because he had not come into his house, and partaken of his hospitality. And when the other said that God had forbidden him to taste of any one's provision in that city, he replied, that "for certain God had not forbidden that I should set food before thee, for I am a prophet as thou art, and worship God in the same manner that thou dost; and I am now come as sent by him, in order to bring thee into my house, and make thee my guest." Now Jadon gave credit to this lying prophet, and returned back with him. But when they were at dinner, and merry together, God appeared to Jadon, and said that he should suffer punishment for transgressing his commands,—and he told him what that punishment should be for he said that he should meet with a lion as he was going on his way, by which lion he should be torn in pieces, and be deprived of burial in the sepulchers of his fathers; which things came to pass, as I suppose, according to the will of God, that so Jeroboam might not give heed to the words of Jadon as of one that had been convicted of lying. However, as Jadon was again going to Jerusalem, a lion assaulted him, and pulled him off the beast he rode on, and slew him; yet did he not at all hurt the ass, but sat by him, and kept him, as also the prophet's body. This continued till some travelers that saw it came and told it in the city to the false prophet, who sent his sons, and brought the body unto the city, and made a funeral for him at great expense. He also charged his sons to bury himself with him and said that all which he had foretold against that city, and the altar, and priests, and false prophets, would prove true; and that if he were buried with him, he should receive no injurious treatment after his death, the bones not being then to be distinguished asunder. But now, when he had performed those funeral rites to the prophet, and had given that charge to his sons, as he was a wicked and an impious man, he goes to Jeroboam, and says to him, "And wherefore is it now that thou art disturbed at the words of this silly fellow?" And when the king had related to him what had happened about the altar, and about his own hand, and gave him the names of divine man, and an excellent prophet, he endeavored by a wicked trick to weaken that his opinion; and by using plausible words concerning what had happened, he aimed to injure the truth that was in them; for he attempted to persuade him that his hand was enfeebled by the labour it had undergone in supporting the sacrifices, and that upon its resting awhile it returned to its former nature again; and that as to the altar, it was but new, and had borne abundance of sacrifices, and those large ones too, and was accordingly broken to pieces, and fallen down by the weight of what had been laid upon it. He also informed him of the death of him that had foretold those things, and how he perished; [whence he concluded that] he had not any thing in him of a prophet, nor spake any thing like one. When he had thus spoken, he persuaded the king, and entirely alienated his mind from God, and from doing works that were righteous and holy, and encouraged him to go on in his impious practices and accordingly he was to that degree injurious to God, and so great a transgressor, that he sought for nothing else every day but how he might be guilty of some new instances of wickedness, and such as should be more detestable than what he had been so insolent as to do before. And so much shall at present suffice to have said concerning Jeroboam.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 10

Concerning Rehoboam, And How God Inflicted Punishment Upon Him For His Impiety By Shishak [King Of Egypt].

1. Now Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, who, as we said before, was king of the two tribes, built strong and large cities, Bethlehem, and Etare, and Tekoa, and Bethzur, and Shoco, and Adullam, and Ipan, and Maresha, and Ziph, and Adorlam, and Lachlsh, and Azekah, and Zorah, and Aijalon, and Hebron; these he built first of all in the tribe of Judah. He also built other large cities in the tribe of Benjamin, and walled them about, and put garrisons in them all, and captains, and a great deal of corn, and wine, and oil, and he furnished every one of them plentifully with other provisions that were necessary for sustenance; moreover, he put therein shields and spears for many ten thousand men. The priests also that were in all Israel, and the Levites, and if there were any of the multitude that were good and righteous men, they gathered themselves together to him, having left their own cities, that they might worship God in Jerusalem; for they were not willing to be forced to worship the heifers which Jeroboam had made; and they augmented the kingdom of Rehoboam for three years. And after he had married a woman of his own kindred, and had by her three children born to him, he married also another of his own kindred, who was daughter of Absalom by Tamar, whose name was Maachah, and by her he had a son, whom he named Abijah. He had moreover many other children by other wives, but he loved Maachah above them all. Now he had eighteen legitimate wives, and thirty concubines; and he had born to him twenty-eight sons and threescore daughters; but he appointed Abijah, whom he had by Maachah, to be his successor in the kingdom, and intrusted him already with the treasures and the strongest cities.

2. Now I cannot but think that the greatness of a kingdom, and its change into prosperity, often become the occasion of mischief and of transgression to men; for when Rehoboam saw that his kingdom was so much increased, he went out of the right way unto unrighteous and irreligious practices, and he despised the worship of God, till the people themselves imitated his wicked actions: for so it usually happens, that the manners of subjects are corrupted at the same time with those of their governors, which subjects then lay aside their own sober way of living, as a reproof of their governors' intemperate courses, and follow their wickedness as if it were virtue; for it is not possible to show that men approve of the actions of their kings, unless they do the same actions with them. Agreeable whereto it now happened to the subjects of Rehoboam; for when he was grown impious, and a transgressor himself, they endeavored not to offend him by resolving still to be righteous. But God sent Shishak, king of Egypt, to punish them for their unjust behavior towards him, concerning whom Herodotus was mistaken, and applied his actions to Sesostris; for this Shishak, in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam, made an expedition [into Judea] with many ten thousand men; for he had one thousand two hundred chariots in number that followed him, and threescore thousand horsemen, and four hundred thousand footmen. These he brought with him, and they were the greatest part of them Libyans and Ethiopians. Now therefore when he fell upon the country of the Hebrews, he took the strongest cities of Rehoboam's kingdom without fighting; and when he had put garrisons in them, he came last of all to Jerusalem.

3. Now when Rehoboam, and the multitude with him, were shut up in Jerusalem by the means of the army of Shishak, and when they besought God to give them victory and deliverance, they could not persuade God to be on their side. But Shemaiah the prophet told them, that God threatened to forsake them, as they had themselves forsaken his worship. When they heard this, they were immediately in a consternation of mind; and seeing no way of deliverance, they all earnestly set themselves to confess that God might justly overlook them, since they had been guilty of impiety towards him, and had let his laws lie in confusion. So when God saw them in that disposition, and that they acknowledge their sins, he told the prophet that he would not destroy them, but that he would, however, make them servants to the Egyptians, that they may learn whether they will suffer less by serving men or God. So when Shishak had taken the city without fighting, because Rehoboam was afraid, and received him into it, yet did not Shishak stand to the covenants he had made, but he spoiled the temple, and emptied the treasures of God, and those of the king, and carried off innumerable ten thousands of gold and silver, and left nothing at all behind him. He also took away the bucklers of gold, and the shields, which Solomon the king had made; nay, he did not leave the golden quivers which David had taken from the king of Zobah, and had dedicated to God; and when he had thus done, he returned to his own kingdom. Now Herodotus of Halicarnassus mentions this expedition, having only mistaken the king's name; and [in saying that] he made war upon many other nations also, and brought Syria of Palestine into subjection, and took the men that were therein prisoners without fighting. Now it is manifest that he intended to declare that our nation was subdued by him; for he saith that he left behind him pillars in the land of those that delivered themselves up to him without fighting, and engraved upon them the secret parts of women. Now our king Rehoboam delivered up our city without fighting. He says withal that the Ethiopians learned to circumcise their privy parts from the Egyptians, with this addition, that the Phoenicians and Syrians that live in Palestine confess that they learned it of the Egyptians. Yet it is evident that no other of the Syrians that live in Palestine, besides us alone, are circumcised. But as to such matters, let every one speak what is agreeable to his own opinion.

4. When Shishak was gone away, king Rehoboam made bucklers and shields of brass, instead of those of gold, and delivered the same number of them to the keepers of the king's palace. So, instead of warlike expeditions, and that glory which results from those public actions, he reigned in great quietness, though not without fear, as being always an enemy to Jeroboam, and he died when he had lived fifty-seven years, and reigned seventeen. He was in his disposition a proud and a foolish man, and lost [part of his] dominions by not hearkening to his father's friends. He was buried in Jerusalem, in the sepulchers of the kings; and his son Abijah succeeded him in the kingdom, and this in the eighteenth year of Jeroboam's reign over the ten tribes; and this was the conclusion of these affairs. It must be now our business to relate the affairs of Jeroboam, and how he ended his life; for he ceased not nor rested to be injurious to God, but every day raised up altars upon high mountains, and went on making priests out of the multitude.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 11

Concerning The Death Of A Son Of Jeroboam. How Jeroboam Was Beaten By Abijah Who Died A Little Afterward And Was Succeeded In His Kingdom By Asa. And Also How, After The Death Of Jeroboam Baasha Destroyed His Son Nadab And All The House Of Jeroboam.

1. However, God was in no long time ready to return Jeroboam's wicked actions, and the punishment they deserved, upon his own head, and upon the heads of all his house. And whereas a son of his lay sick at that time, who was called Abijah, he enjoined his wife to lay aside her robes, and to take the garments belonging to a private person, and to go to Abijah the prophet, for that he was a wonderful man in foretelling futurities, it having been he who told me that I should be king. He also enjoined her, when she came to him, to inquire concerning the child, as if she were a stranger, whether he should escape this distemper. So she did as her husband bade her, and changed her habit, and came to the city Shiloh, for there did Ahijah live. And as she was going into his house, his eyes being then dim with age, God appeared to him, and informed him of two things; that the wife of Jeroboam was come to him, and what answer he should make to her inquiry. Accordingly, as the woman was coming into the house like a private person and a stranger, he cried out, "Come in, O thou wife of Jeroboam! Why concealest thou thyself? Thou art not concealed from God, who hath appeared to me, and informed me that thou wast coming, and hath given me in command what I shall say to thee." So he said that she should go away to her husband, and speak to him thus: "Since I made thee a great man when thou wast little, or rather wast nothing, and rent the kingdom from the house of David, and gave it to thee, and thou hast been unmindful of these benefits, hast left off my worship, hast made thee molten gods and honoured them, I will in like manner cast thee down again, and will destroy all thy house, and make them food for the dogs and the fowls; for a certain king is rising up, by appointment, over all this people, who shall leave none of the family of Jeroboam remaining. The multitude also shall themselves partake of the same punishment, and shall be cast out of this good land, and shall be scattered into the places beyond Euphrates, because they have followed the wicked practices of their king, and have worshipped the gods that he made, and forsaken my sacrifices. But do thou, O woman, make haste back to thy husband, and tell him this message; but thou shalt then find thy son dead, for as thou enterest the city he shall depart this life; yet shall he be buried with the lamentation of all the multitude, and honoured with a general mourning, for he was the only person of goodness of Jeroboam's family." When the prophet had foretold these events, the woman went hastily away with a disordered mind, and greatly grieved at the death of the forenamed child. So she was in lamentation as she went along the road, and mourned for the death of her son, that was just at hand. She was indeed in a miserable condition at the unavoidable misery of his death, and went apace, but in circumstances very unfortunate, because of her son: for the greater haste she made, she would the sooner see her son dead, yet was she forced to make such haste on account of her husband. Accordingly, when she was come back, she found that the child had given up the ghost, as the prophet had said; and she related all the circumstances to the king.

2. Yet did not Jeroboam lay any of these things to heart, but he brought together a very numerous army, and made a warlike expedition against Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, who had succeeded his father in the kingdom of the two tribes; for he despised him because of his age. But when he heard of the expedition of Jeroboam, he was not affrighted at it, but proved of a courageous temper of mind, superior both to his youth and to the hopes of his enemy; so he chose him an army out of the two tribes, and met Jeroboam at a place called Mount Zemaraim, and pitched his camp near the other, and prepared everything necessary for the fight. His army consisted of four hundred thousand, but the army of Jeroboam was double to it. Now as the armies stood in array, ready for action and dangers, and were just going to fight, Abijah stood upon an elevated place, and beckoning with his hand, he desired the multitude and Jeroboam himself to hear first with silence what he had to say. And when silence was made, he began to speak, and told them,—"God had consented that David and his posterity should be their rulers for all time to come, and this you yourselves are not unacquainted with; but I cannot but wonder how you should forsake my father, and join yourselves to his servant Jeroboam, and are now here with him to fight against those who, by God's own determination, are to reign, and to deprive them of that dominion which they have still retained; for as to the

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greater part of it, Jeroboam is unjustly in possession of it. However, I do not suppose he will enjoy it any longer; but when he hath suffered that punishment which God thinks due to him for what is past, he will leave off the transgressions he hath been guilty of, and the injuries he hath offered to him, and which he hath still continued to offer and hath persuaded you to do the same: yet when you were not any further unjustly treated by my father, than that he did not speak to you so as to please you, and this only in compliance with the advice of wicked men, you in anger forsook him, as you pretended, but, in reality, you withdrew yourselves from God, and from his laws, although it had been right for you to have forgiven a man that was young in age, and not used to govern people, not only some disagreeable words, but if his youth and unskilfulness in affairs had led him into some unfortunate actions, and that for the sake of his father Solomon, and the benefits you received from him; for men ought to excuse the sins of posterity on account of the benefactions of parent; but you considered nothing of all this then, neither do you consider it now, but come with so great an army against us. And what is it you depend upon for victory? Is it upon these golden heifers, and the altars that you have on high places, which are demonstrations of your impiety, and not of religious worship? Or is it the exceeding multitude of your army which gives you such good hopes? Yet certainly there is no strength at all in an army of many ten thousands, when the war is unjust; for we ought to place our surest hopes of success against our enemies in righteousness alone, and in piety towards God; which hope we justly have, since we have kept the laws from the beginning, and have worshipped our own God, who was not made by hands out of corruptible matter; nor was he formed by a wicked king, in order to deceive the multitude; but who is his own workmanship, and the beginning and end of all things. I therefore give you counsel even now to repent, and to take better advice, and to leave off the prosecution of the war; to call to mind the laws of your country, and to reflect what it hath been that hath advanced you to so happy a state as you are now in."

3. This was the speech which Abijah made to the multitude. But while he was still speaking Jeroboam sent some of his soldiers privately to encompass Abijah round about, on certain parts of the camp that were not taken notice of; and when he was thus within the compass of the enemy, his army was affrighted, and their courage failed them; but Abijah encouraged them, and exhorted them to place their hopes on God, for that he was not encompassed by the enemy. So they all at once implored the Divine assistance, while the priests sounded with the trumpet, and they made a shout, and fell upon their enemies, and God brake the courage and cast down the force of their enemies, and made Ahijah's army superior to them; for God vouchsafed to grant them a wonderful and very famous victory; and such a slaughter was now made of Jeroboam's army as is never recorded to have happened in any other war, whether it were of the Greeks or of the Barbarians, for they overthrew [and slew] five hundred thousand of their enemies, and they took their strongest cities by force, and spoiled them; and besides those, they did the same to Bethel and her towns, and Jeshanah and her towns. And after this defeat Jeroboam never recovered himself during the life of Abijah, who yet did not long survive, for he reigned but three years, and was buried in Jerusalem in the sepulchers of his forefathers. He left behind him twenty-two sons, and sixteen daughters; and he had also those children by fourteen wives; and Asa his son succeeded in the kingdom; and the young man's mother was Michaiah. Under his reign the country of the Israelites enjoyed peace for ten years.

4. And so far concerning Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, as his history hath come down to us. But Jeroboam, the king of the ten tribes, died when he had governed them two and twenty years; whose son Nadab succeeded him, in the second year of the reign of Asa. Now Jeroboam's son governed two years, and resembled his father in impiety and wickedness. In these two years he made an expedition against Gibbethon, a city of the Philistines, and continued the siege in order to take it; but he was conspired against while he was there by a friend of his, whose name was Baasha, the son of Ahijah, and was slain; which Baasha took the kingdom after the other's death, and destroyed the whole house of Jeroboam. It also came to pass, according as God had foretold, that some of Jeroboam's kindred that died in the city were torn to pieces and devoured by dogs, and that others of them that died in the fields were torn and devoured by the fowls. So the house of Jeroboam suffered the just punishment of his impiety, and of his wicked actions.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 12

How Zerah, King Of The Ethiopians, Was Beaten By Asa; And How Asa, Upon Baasha's Making War Against Him, Invited The King Of The Damascens To Assist Him; And How, On The Destruction Of The House Of Baasha Zimri Got The Kingdom As Did His Son Ahab After Him.

1. Now Asa, the king of Jerusalem, was of an excellent character, and had a regard to God, and neither did nor designed any thing but what had relation to the observation of the laws. He made a reformation of his kingdom, and cut off whatsoever was wicked therein, and purified it from every impurity. Now he had an army of chosen men that were armed with targets and spears; out of the tribe of Judah three hundred thousand; and out of the tribe of Benjamin, that bore shields and drew bows, two hundred and fifty thousand. But when he had already reigned ten years, Zerah, king of Ethiopia, made an expedition against him, with a great army, of nine hundred thousand footmen, and one hundred thousand horsemen, and three hundred chariots, and came as far as Mareshah, a city that belonged to the tribe of Judah. Now when Zerah had passed so far with his own army, Asa met him, and put his army in array over against him, in a valley called Zephathah, not far from the city; and when he saw the multitude of the Ethiopians, he cried out, and besought God to give him the victory, and that he might kill many ten thousands of the enemy: "For," said he, "I depend on nothing else but that assistance which I expect from thee, which is able to make the fewer superior to the more numerous, and the weaker to the stronger; and thence it is alone that I venture to meet Zerah, and fight him."

2. While Asa was saying this, God gave him a signal of victory, and joining battle cheerfully on account of what God had foretold about it, he slew a great many of the Ethiopians; and when he had put them to flight, he pursued them to the country of Gerar; and when they left off killing their enemies, they betook themselves to spoiling them, [for the city Gerar was already taken,] and to spoiling their camp, so that they carried off much gold, and much silver, and a great deal of [other] prey, and camels, and great cattle, and flocks of sheep. Accordingly, when Asa and his army had obtained such a victory, and such wealth from God, they returned to Jerusalem. Now as they were coming, a prophet, whose name was Azariah, met them on the road, and bade them stop their journey a little; and began to say to them thus: That the reason why they had obtained this victory from God was this, that they had showed themselves righteous and religious men, and had done every thing according to the will of God; that therefore, he said, if they persevered therein, God would grant that they should always overcome their enemies, and live happily; but that if they left off his worship, all things shall fall out on the contrary; and a time should come, wherein no true prophet shall be left in your whole multitude, nor a priest who shall deliver you a true answer from the oracle; but your cities shall be overthrown, and your nation scattered over the whole earth, and live the life of strangers and wanderers. So he advised them, while they had time, to be good, and not to deprive themselves of the favour of God. When the king and the people heard this, they rejoiced; and all in common, and every one in particular, took great care to behave themselves righteously. The king also sent some to take care that those in the country should observe the laws also.

3. And this was the state of Asa, king of the two tribes. I now return to Baasha, the king of the multitude of the Israelites, who slew Nadab, the son of Jeroboam, and retained the government. He dwelt in the city Tirzah, having made that his habitation, and reigned twenty-four years. He became more wicked and impious than Jeroboam or his son. He did a great deal of mischief to the multitude, and was injurious to God, who sent the prophet Jehu, and told him beforehand that his whole family should be destroyed, and that he would bring the same miseries on his house which had brought that of Jeroboam to ruin; because when he had been made king by him, he had not requited his kindness, by governing the multitude righteously and religiously; which things, in the first place, tended to their own happiness, and, in the next place, were pleasing to God: that he had imitated this very wicked king Jeroboam; and although that man's soul had perished, yet did he express to the life his wickedness; and he said that he should therefore justly experience the like calamity with him, since he had been guilty of the like wickedness. But Baasha, though he heard beforehand what miseries would befall him and his whole family for their insolent behavior, yet did not he leave off his wicked practices for the time to come, nor did he care to appear other than worse and worse till he died; nor did he then repent of his past actions, nor endeavor to obtain pardon of God for them, but did as those do who have rewards proposed to them, when they have once in earnest set about their work, they do not leave off their labours; for thus did Baasha, when the prophet foretold to him what would come to pass, grow worse, as if what were threatened, the perdition of his family, and the destruction of his house, [which are really among the greatest of evils,] were good things; and, as if he were a combatant for wickedness, he every day took more and more pains for it: and at last he took his army and assaulted a certain considerable city called Ramah, which was forty furlongs distant from Jerusalem; and when he had taken it, he fortified it, having determined beforehand to leave a garrison in it, that they might thence make excursions, and do mischief to the kingdom of Asa.

4. Whereupon Asa was afraid of the attempts the enemy might make upon him; and considering with himself how many mischiefs this army that was left in Ramah might do to the country over which he reigned, he sent ambassadors to the king of the Damascenes, with gold and silver, desiring his assistance, and putting him in mind that we have had a friendship together from the times of our forefathers. So he gladly received that sum of money, and made a league with him, and broke the friendship he had with Baasha, and sent the commanders of his own forces unto the cities that were under Baasha's dominion, and ordered them to do them mischief. So they went and burnt some of them, and spoiled others; Ijon, and Dan, and Abelmain and many others. Now when the king of Israel heard this, he left off building and fortifying Ramah, and returned presently to assist his own people under the distresses they were in; but Asa made use of the materials that were prepared for building that city, for building in the same place two strong cities, the one of which was called Geba, and the other Mizpah; so that after this Baasha had no leisure to make expeditions against Asa, for he was prevented by death, and was buried in the city Tirzah; and Elah his son took the kingdom, who, when he had reigned two years, died, being treacherously slain by Zimri, the captain of half his army; for when he was at Arza, his steward's house, he persuaded some of the horsemen that were under him to assault Elah, and by that means he slew him when he was without his armed men and his captains, for they were all busied in the siege of Gibbethon, a city of the Philistines.

5. When Zimri, the captain of the army, had killed Elah, he took the kingdom himself, and, according to Jehu's prophecy, slew all the house of Baasha; for it came to pass that Baasha's house utterly perished, on account of his impiety, in the same manner as we have already described the destruction of the house of Jeroboam. But the army that was besieging Gibbethon, when they heard what had befallen the king, and that when Zimri had killed him, he had gained the kingdom, they made Omri their general king, who drew off his army from Gibbethon, and came to Tirzah, where the royal palace was, and assaulted the city, and took it by force. But when Zimri saw that the city had none to defend it, he fled into the inmost part of the palace, and set it on fire, and burnt himself with it, when he had reigned only seven days. Upon which the people of Israel were presently divided, and part of them would have Tibni to be king, and part Omri; but when those that were for Omri's ruling had beaten Tibni, Omri reigned over all the multitude. Now it was in the thirtieth year of the reign of Asa that Omri reigned for twelve years; six of these years he reigned in the city Tirzah, and the rest in the city called Semareon, but named by the Greeks Samaria; but he himself called it Semareon, from Semer, who sold him the mountain whereon he built it. Now Omri was no way different from those kings that reigned before him, but that he grew worse than they, for they all sought how they might turn the people away from God by their daily wicked practices; and on that account it was that God made one of them to be slain by another, and that no one person of their families should remain. This Omri also died in Samaria and Ahab his son succeeded him.

6. Now by these events we may learn what concern God hath for the affairs of mankind, and how he loves good men, and hates the wicked, and destroys them root and branch; for many of these kings of Israel, they and their families, were miserably destroyed, and taken away one by another, in a short time, for their transgression and wickedness; but Asa, who was king of Jerusalem, and of the two tribes, attained, by God's blessing, a long and a blessed old age, for his piety and righteousness, and died happily, when he had reigned forty and one years; and when he was dead, his son Jehoshaphat succeeded him in the government. He was born of Asa's wife Azubah. And all men allowed that he followed the works of David his forefather, and this both in courage and piety; but we are not obliged now to speak any more of the affairs of this king.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 13

How Ahab When He Had Taken Jezebel To Wife Became More Wicked Than All The Kings That Had Been Before Him; Of The Actions Of The Prophet Elijah, And What Befell Naboth.

1. Now Ahab the king of Israel dwelt in Samaria, and held the government for twenty-two years; and made no alteration in the conduct of the kings that were his predecessors, but only in such things as were of his own invention for the worse, and in his most gross wickedness. He imitated them in their wicked courses, and in their injurious behavior towards God, and more especially he imitated the transgression of Jeroboam; for he worshipped the heifers that he had made; and he contrived other absurd objects of worship besides those heifers: he also took to wife the daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Tyrians and Sidonians, whose name was Jezebel, of whom he learned to worship her own gods. This woman was active and bold, and fell into so great a degree of impurity and madness, that she built a temple to the god of the Tyrians, Which they call Belus, and planted a grove of all sorts of trees; she also appointed priests and false prophets to this god. The king also

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himself had many such about him, and so exceeded in madness and wickedness all [the kings] that went before him.

2. There was now a prophet of God Almighty, of Thesbon, a country in Gilead, that came to Ahab, and said to him, that God foretold he would not send rain nor dew in those years upon the country but when he should appear. And when he had confirmed this by an oath, he departed into the southern parts, and made his abode by a brook, out of which he had water to drink; for as for his food, ravens brought it to him every day: but when that river was dried up for want of rain, he came to Zarephath, a city not far from Sidon and Tyre, for it lay between them, and this at the command of God, for [God told him] that he should there find a woman who was a widow that should give him sustenance. So when he was not far off the city, he saw a woman that laboured with her own hands, gathering of sticks: so God informed him that this was the woman who was to give him sustenance. So he came and saluted her, and desired her to bring him some water to drink; but as she was going so to do, he called to her, and would have her to bring him a loaf of bread also; whereupon she affirmed upon oath that she had at home nothing more than one handful of meal, and a little oil, and that she was going to gather some sticks, that she might knead it, and make bread for herself and her son; after which, she said, they must perish, and be consumed by the famine, for they had nothing for themselves any longer. Hereupon he said, "Go on with good courage, and hope for better things; and first of all make me a little cake, and bring it to me, for I foretell to thee that this vessel of meal and this cruse of oil shall not fail until God send rain." When the prophet had said this, she came to him, and made him the before-named cake; of which she had part for herself, and gave the rest to her son, and to the prophet also; nor did any thing of this fall until the drought ceased. Now Menander mentions this drought in his account of the acts of Ethbaal, king of the Tyrians; where he says thus: "Under him there was a want of rain from the month Hyperberetmus till the month Hyperberetmus of the year following; but when he made supplications, there came great thunders. This Ethbaal built the city Botrys in Phoenicia, and the city Auza in Libya." By these words he designed the want of rain that was in the days of Ahab, for at that time it was that Ethbaal also reigned over the Tyrians, as Menander informs us.

3. Now this woman, of whom we spake before, that sustained the prophet, when her son was fallen into a distemper till he gave up the ghost, and appeared to be dead, came to the prophet weeping, and beating her breasts with her hands, and sending out such expressions as her passions dictated to her, and complained to him that he had come to her to reproach her for her sins, and that on this account it was that her son was dead. But he bid her be of good cheer, and deliver her son to him, for that he would deliver him again to her alive. So when she had delivered her son up to him, he carried him into an upper room, where he himself lodged, and laid him down upon the bed, and cried unto God, and said, that God had not done well, in rewarding the woman who had entertained him and sustained him, by taking away her son; and he prayed that he would send again the soul of the child into him, and bring him to life again. Accordingly God took pity on the mother, and was willing to gratify the prophet, that he might not seem to have come to her to do her a mischief, and the child, beyond all expectation, came to life again. So the mother returned the prophet thanks, and said she was then clearly satisfied that God did converse with him.

4. After a little while Elijah came to king Ahab, according to God's will, to inform him that rain was coming. Now the famine had seized upon the whole country, and there was a great want of what was necessary for sustenance, insomuch that it was after the recovery of the widow's son of Sarepta, God sent not only men that wanted it, but the earth itself also, which did not produce enough for the horse and the other beasts of what was useful for them to feed on, by reason of the drought. So the king called for Obadiah, who was steward over his cattle, and said to him, that he would have him go to the fountains of water, and to the brooks, that if any herbs could be found for them, they might mow it down, and reserve it for the beasts. And when he had sent persons all over the habitable earth to discover the prophet Elijah, and they could not find him, he bade Obadiah accompany him. So it was resolved they should make a progress, and divide the ways between them; and Obadiah took one road, and the king another. Now it happened that the same time when queen Jezebel slew the prophets, that this Obadiah had hidden a hundred prophets, and had fed them with nothing but bread and water. But when Obadiah was alone, and absent from the king, the prophet Elijah met him; and Obadiah asked him who he was; and when he had learned it from him, he worshipped him. Elijah then bid him go to the king, and tell him that I am here ready to wait on him. But Obadiah replied, "What evil have I done to thee, that thou sendest me to one who seeketh to kill thee, and hath sought over all the earth for thee? Or was he so ignorant as not to know that the king had left no place untouched unto which he had not sent persons to bring him back, in order, if they could take him, to have him put to death?" For he told him he was afraid lest God should appear to him again, and he should go away into another place; and that when the king should send him for Elijah, and he should miss of him, and not be able to find him any where upon earth, he should be put to death. He desired him therefore to take care of his preservation; and told him how diligently he had provided for those of his own profession, and had saved a hundred prophets, when Jezebel slew the rest of them, and had kept them concealed, and that they had been sustained by him. But Elijah bade him fear nothing, but go to the king; and he assured him upon oath that he would certainly show himself to Ahab that very day.

5. So when Obadiah had informed the king that Elijah was there, Ahab met him, and asked him, in anger, if he were the man that afflicted the people of the Hebrews, and was the occasion of the drought they lay under? But Elijah, without any flattery, said that he was himself the man, he and his house, which brought such sad afflictions upon them, and that by introducing strange gods into their country, and worshipping them, and by leaving their own, who was the only true God, and having no manner of regard to him. However, he bade him go his way, and gather together all the people to him to Mount Carmel, with his own prophets, and those of his wife, telling him how many there were of them, as also the prophets of the groves, about four hundred in number. And as all the men whom Ahab sent for ran away to the forenamed mountain, the prophet Elijah stood in the midst of them, and said, "How long will you live thus in uncertainty of mind and opinion?" He also exhorted them, that in case they esteemed their own country God to be the true and the only God, they would follow him and his commandments; but in case they esteemed him to be nothing, but had an opinion of the strange gods, and that they ought to worship them, his counsel was, that they should follow them. And when the multitude made no answer to what he said, Elijah desired that, for a trial of the power of the strange gods, and of their own God, he, who was his only prophet, while they had four hundred, might take a heifer and kill it as a sacrifice, and lay it upon pieces of wood, and not kindle any fire, and that they should do the same things, and call upon their own gods to set the wood on fire; for if that were done, they would thence learn the nature of the true God. This proposal pleased the people. So Elijah bade the prophets to choose out a heifer first, and kill it, and to call on their gods. But when there appeared no effect of the prayer or invocation of the prophets upon their sacrifice, Elijah derided them, and bade them call upon their gods with a loud voice, for they might either be on a journey, or asleep; and when these prophets had done so from morning till noon, and cut themselves with swords and lances, according to the customs of their country, and he was about to offer his sacrifice, he bade [the prophets] go away, but bade [the people] come near and observe what he did, lest he should privately hide fire among the pieces of wood. So, upon the approach of the multitude, he took twelve stones, one for each tribe of the people of the Hebrews, and built an altar with them, and dug a very deep trench; and when he had laid the pieces of wood upon the altar, and upon them had laid the pieces of the sacrifices, he ordered them to fill four barrels with the water of the fountain, and to pour it upon the altar, till it ran over it, and till the trench was filled with the water poured into it. When he had done this, he began to pray to God, and to invocate him to make manifest his power to a people that had already been in an error a long time; upon which words a fire came on a sudden from heaven in the sight of the multitude, and fell upon the altar, and consumed the sacrifice, till the very water was set on fire, and the place was become dry.

6. Now when the Israelites saw this, they fell down upon the ground, and worshipped one God, and called him The great and the only true God; but they called the others mere names, framed by the evil and vile opinions of men. So they caught their prophets, and, at the command of Elijah, slew them. Elijah also said to the king, that he should go to dinner without any further concern, for that in a little time he would see God send them rain. Accordingly Ahab went his way. But Elijah went up to the highest top of Mount Carmel, and sat down upon the ground, and leaned his head upon his knees, and bade his servant go up to a certain elevated place, and look towards the sea, and when he should see a cloud rising any where, he should give him notice of it, for till that time the air had been clear. When the Servant had gone up, and had said many times that he saw nothing, at the seventh time of his going up, he said that he saw a small black thing in the sky, not larger than a man's foot. When Elijah heard that, he sent to Ahab, and desired him to go away to the city before the rain came down. So he came to the city Jezreel; and in a little time the air was all obscured, and covered with clouds, and a vehement storm of wind came upon the earth, and with it a great deal of rain; and the prophet was under a Divine fury, and ran along with the king's chariot unto Jezreel a city of Izar [Issaachar].

7. When Jezebel, the wife of Ahab, understood what signs Elijah had wrought, and how he had slain her prophets, she was angry, and sent messengers to him, and by them threatened to kill him, as he had destroyed her prophets. At this Elijah was affrighted, and fled to the city called Beersheba, which is situate at the utmost limits of the country belonging to the tribe of Judah, towards the land of Edom; and there he left his servant, and went away into the desert. He prayed also that he might die, for that he was not better than his fathers, nor need he be very desirous to live, when they were dead; and he lay and slept under a certain tree; and when somebody awakened him, and he was risen up, he found food set by him and water: so when he had eaten, and recovered his strength by that his food, he came to that mountain which is called Sinai, where it is related that Moses received his laws from God; and finding there a certain hollow cave, he entered into it, and continued to make his abode in it. But when a certain voice came to him, but from whence he knew not, and asked him, why he was come thither, and had left the city? he said, that because he had slain the prophets of the foreign gods, and had persuaded the people that he alone whom they had worshipped from the beginning was God, he was sought for by the king's wife to be punished for so doing. And when he had heard another voice, telling him that he should come out the next day into the open air, and should thereby know what he was to do, he came out of the cave the next day accordingly, When he both heard an earthquake, and saw the bright splendour of a fire; and after a silence made, a Divine voice exhorted him not to be disturbed with the circumstances he was in, for that none of his enemies should have power over him. The voice also commanded him to return home, and to ordain Jehu, the son of Nimshi, to be king over their own multitude; and Hazael, of Damascus, to be over the Syrians; and Elisha, of the city Abel, to be a prophet in his stead; and that of the impious multitude, some should be slain by Hazael, and others by Jehu. So Elijah, upon hearing this charge, returned into the land of the Hebrews. And when he found Elisha, the son of Shaphat, ploughing, and certain others with him, driving twelve yoke of oxen, he came to him, and cast his own garment upon him; upon which Elisha began to prophesy presently, and leaving his oxen, he followed Elijah. And when he desired leave to salute his parents, Elijah gave him leave so to do; and when he had taken his leave of them, he followed him, and became the disciple and the servant of Elijah all the days of his life. And thus have I despatched the affairs in which this prophet was concerned.

8. Now there was one Naboth, of the city Izar, [Jezreel,] who had a field adjoining to that of the king: the king would have persuaded him to sell him that his field, which lay so near to his own lands, at what price he pleased, that he might join them together, and make them one farm; and if he would not accept of money for it, he gave him leave to choose any of his other fields in its stead. But Naboth said he would not do so, but would keep the possession of that land of his own, which he had by inheritance from his father. Upon this the king was grieved, as if he had received an injury, when he could not get another man's possession, and he would neither wash himself, nor take any food: and when Jezebel asked him what it was that troubled him, and why he would neither wash himself, nor eat either dinner or supper, he related to her the perverseness of Naboth, and how, when he had made use of gentle words to him, and such as were beneath the royal authority, he had been affronted, and had not obtained what he desired. However, she persuaded him not to be cast down at this accident, but to leave off his grief, and return to the usual care of his body, for that she would take care to have Naboth punished; and she immediately sent letters to the rulers of the Israelites [Jezreelites] in Ahab's name, and commanded them to fast and to assemble a congregation, and to set Naboth at the head of them, because he was of an illustrious family, and to have three bold men ready to bear witness that he had blasphemed God and the king, and then to stone him, and slay him in that manner. Accordingly, when Naboth had been thus testified against, as the queen had written to them, that he had blasphemed against God and Ahab the king, she desired him to take possession of Naboth's vineyard on free cost. So Ahab was glad at what had been done, and rose up immediately from the bed whereon he lay to go to see Naboth's vineyard; but God had great indignation at it, and sent Elijah the prophet to the field of Naboth, to speak to Ahab, and to say to him, that he had slain the true owner of that field unjustly. And as soon as he came to him, and the king had said that he might do with him what he pleased, [for he thought it a reproach to him to be thus caught in his sin,] Elijah said, that in that very place in which the dead body of Naboth was eaten by dogs both his own blood and that of his wife's should be shed, and that all his family should perish, because he had been so insolently wicked, and had slain a citizen unjustly, and contrary to the laws of his country. Hereupon Ahab began to be sorry for the things he had done, and to repent of them; and he put on sackcloth, and went barefoot and would not touch any food; he also confessed his sins, and endeavored thus to appease God. But God said to the prophet, that while Ahab was living he would put off the punishment of his family, because he repented of those insolent crimes he had been guilty of, but that still he would fulfill his threatening under Ahab's son; which message the prophet delivered to the king.

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FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 14

How Hadad King Of Damascus And Of Syria, Made Two Expeditions Against Ahab And Was Beaten.

1. When the affairs of Ahab were thus, at that very time the son of Hadad, [Benhadad,] who was king of the Syrians and of Damascus, got together an army out of all his country, and procured thirty-two kings beyond Euphrates to be his auxiliaries: so he made an expedition against Ahab; but because Ahab's army was not like that of Benhadad, he did not set it in array to fight him, but having shut up every thing that was in the country in the strongest cities he had, he abode in Samaria himself, for the walls about it were very strong, and it appeared to be not easily to be taken in other respects also. So the king of Syria took his army with him, and came to Samaria, and placed his army round about the city, and besieged it. He also sent a herald to Ahab, and desired he would admit the ambassadors he would send him, by whom he would let him know his pleasure. So, upon the king of Israel's permission for him to send, those ambassador's came, and by their king's command spake thus: That Ahab's riches, and his children, and his wives were Benhadad's, and if he would make an agreement, and give him leave to take as much of what he had as he pleased, he would withdraw his army, and leave off the siege. Upon this Ahab bade the ambassadors to go back, and tell their king, that both he himself and all that he hath are his possessions. And when these ambassadors had told this to Benhadad, he sent them to him again, and desired, since he confessed that all he had was his, that he would admit those servants of his which he should send the next day; and he commanded him to deliver to those whom he should send whatsoever, upon their searching his palace, and the houses of his friends and kindred, they should find to be excellent in its kind, but that what did not please them they should leave to him. At this second embassage of the king of Syria, Ahab was surprised, and gathered together the multitude to a congregation, and told them that, for himself, he was ready, for their safety and peace, to give up his own wives and children to the enemy, and to yield to him all his own possessions, for that was what the Syrian king required at his first embassage; but that now he desires to send his servants to search all their houses, and in them to leave nothing that is excellent in its kind, seeking an occasion of fighting against him, "as knowing that I would not spare what is mine own for your sakes, but taking a handle from the disagreeable terms he offers concerning you to bring a war upon us; however, I will do what you shall resolve is fit to be done." But the multitude advised him to hearken to none of his proposals, but to despise him, and be in readiness to fight him. Accordingly, when he had given the ambassadors this answer to be reported, that he still continued in the mind to comply with what terms he at first desired, for the safety of the citizens; but as for his second desires, he cannot submit to them,—he dismissed them.

2. Now when Benhadad heard this, he had indignation, and sent ambassadors to Ahab the third time, and threatened that his army would raise a bank higher than those walls, in confidence of whose strength he despised him, and that by only each man of his army taking a handful of earth; hereby making a show of the great number of his army, and aiming to affright him. Ahab answered, that he ought not to vaunt himself when he had only put on his armour, but when he should have conquered his enemies in the battle. So the ambassadors came back, and found the king at supper with his thirty-two kings, and informed him of Ahab's answer; who then immediately gave order for proceeding thus: To make lines round the city, and raise a bulwark, and to prosecute the siege all manner of ways. Now, as this was doing, Ahab was in a great agony, and all his people with him; but he took courage, and was freed from his fears, upon a certain prophet coming to him, and saying to him, that God had promised to subdue so many ten thousands of his enemies under him. And when he inquired by whose means the victory was to be obtained, he said, "By the sons of the princes; but under thy conduct as their leader, by reason of their unskilfulness [in war]." Upon which he called for the sons of the princes, and found them to be two hundred and thirty-two persons. So when he was informed that the king of Syria had betaken himself to feasting and repose, he opened the gates, and sent out the princes' sons. Now when the sentinels told Benhadad of it, he sent some to meet them, and commanded them, that if these men were come out for fighting, they should bind them, and bring them to him; and that if they came out peaceably, they should do the same. Now Ahab had another army ready within the walls, but the sons of the princes fell upon the out-guard, and slew many of them, and pursued the rest of them to the camp; and when the king of Israel saw that these had the upper hand, he sent out all the rest of his army, which, falling suddenly upon the Syrians, beat them, for they did not think they would have come out; on which account it was that they assaulted them when they were naked and drunk, insomuch that they left all their armour behind them when they fled out of the camp, and the king himself escaped with difficulty, by fleeing away on horseback. But Ahab went a great way in pursuit of the Syrians; and when he had spoiled their camp, which contained a great deal of wealth, and moreover a large quantity of gold and silver, he took Benhadad's chariots and horses, and returned to the city; but as the prophet told him he ought to have his army ready, because the Syrian king would make another expedition against him the next year, Ahab was busy in making provision for it accordingly.

3. Now Benhadad, when he had saved himself, and as much of his army as he could, out of the battle, he consulted with his friends how he might make another expedition against the Israelites. Now those friends advised him not to fight with them on the hills, because their God was potent in such places, and thence it had come to pass that they had very lately been beaten; but they said, that if they joined battle with them in the plain, they should beat them. They also gave him this further advice, to send home those kings whom he had brought as his auxiliaries, but to retain their army, and to set captains over it instead of the kings, and to raise an army out of their country, and let them be in the place of the former who perished in the battle, together with horses and chariots. So he judged their counsel to be good, and acted according to it in the management of the army.

4. At the beginning of the spring, Benhadad took his army with him, and led it against the Hebrews; and when he was come to a certain city which was called Aphek, he pitched his camp in the great plain. Ahab also went to meet him with his army, and pitched his camp over against him, although his army was a very small one, if it were compared with the enemy's; but the prophet came again to him, and told him, that God would give him the victory, that he might demonstrate his own power to be, not only on the mountains, but on the plains also; which it seems was contrary to the opinion of the Syrians. So they lay quiet in their camp seven days; but on the last of those days, when the enemies came out of their camp, and put themselves in array in order to fight, Ahab also brought out his own army; and when the battle was joined, and they fought valiantly, he put the enemy to flight, and pursued them, and pressed upon them, and slew them; nay, they were destroyed by their own chariots, and by one another; nor could any more than a few of them escape to their own city Aphek, who were also killed by the walls falling upon them, being in number twenty-seven thousand. Now there were slain in this battle a hundred thousand more; but Benhadad, the king of the Syrians, fled away, with certain others of his most faithful servants, and hid himself in a cellar under ground; and when these told him that the kings of Israel were humane and merciful men, and that they might make use of the usual manner of supplication, and obtain deliverance from Ahab, in case he would give them leave to go to him, he gave them leave accordingly. So they came to Ahab, clothed in sackcloth, with ropes about their heads, (for this was the ancient manner of supplication among the Syrians,) and said, that Benhadad desired he would save him, and that he would ever be a servant to him for that favour. Ahab replied he was glad that he was alive, and not hurt in the battle; and he further promised him the same honour and kindness that a man would show to his brother. So they received assurances upon oath from him, that when he came to him he should receive no harm from him, and then went and brought him out of the cellar wherein he was hid, and brought him to Ahab as he sat in his chariot. So Benhadad worshipped him; and Ahab gave him his hand, and made him come up to him into his chariot, and kissed him, and bid him be of good cheer, and not to expect that any mischief should be done to him. So Benhadad returned him thanks, and professed that he also would remember his kindness to him all the days of his life; and promised he would restore those cities of the Israelites which the former kings had taken from them, and grant that he should have leave to come to Damascus, as his forefathers had to come to Samaria. So they confirmed their covenant by oaths, and Ahab made him many presents, and sent him back to his own kingdom. And this was the conclusion of the war that Benhadad made against Ahab and the Israelites.

5. But a certain prophet, whose name was Micaiah, came to one of the Israelites, and bid him smite him on the head, for by so doing he would please God; but when he would not do so, he foretold to him, that since he disobeyed the commands of God, he should meet with a lion, and be destroyed by him. When that sad accident had befallen the man, the prophet came again to another, and gave him the same injunction; so he smote him, and wounded his skull; upon which he bound up his head, and came to the king, and told him that he had been a soldier of his, and had the custody of one of the prisoners committed to him by an officer, and that the prisoner being run away, he was in danger of losing his own life by the means of that officer, who had threatened him, that if the prisoner escaped he would kill him. And when Ahab had said that he would justly die, he took off the binding about his head, and was known by the king to be Micaiah the prophet, who made use of this artifice as a prelude to his following words; for he said that God would punish him who had suffered Benhadad, a blasphemer against him, to escape punishment; and that he would so bring it about, that he should die by the other's means and his people by the other's army. Upon which Ahab was very angry at the prophet, and gave commandment that he should be put in prison, and there kept; but for himself, he was in confusion at the words of Micaiah, and returned to his own house.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 15

Concerning Jehoshaphat The King Of Jerusalem And How Ahab Made An Expedition Against The Syrians And Was Assisted Therein By Jehoshaphat, But Was Himself Overcome In Battle And Perished Therein.

1. And these were the circumstances in which Ahab was. But I now return to Jehoshaphat, the king of Jerusalem, who, when he had augmented his kingdom, had set garrisons in the cities of the countries belonging to his subjects, and had put such garrisons no less into those cities which were taken out of the tribe of Ephraim by his grandfather Abijah, when Jeroboam reigned over the ten tribes [than he did into the other]. But then he had God favourable and assisting to him, as being both righteous and religious, and seeking to do somewhat every day that should be agreeable and acceptable to God. The kings also that were round about him honoured him with the presents they made him, till the riches that he had acquired were immensely great, and the glory he had gained was of a most exalted nature.

2. Now, in the third year of this reign, he called together the rulers of the country, and the priests, and commanded them to go round the land, and teach all the people that were under him, city by city, the laws of Moses, and to keep them, and to be diligent in the worship of God. With this the whole multitude was so pleased, that they were not so eagerly set upon or affected with any thing so much as the observation of the laws. The neighbouring nations also continued to love Jehoshaphat, and to be at peace with him. The Philistines paid their appointed tribute, and the Arabians supplied him every year with three hundred and sixty lambs, and as many kids of the goats. He also fortified the great cities, which were many in number, and of great consequence. He prepared also a mighty army of soldiers and weapons against their enemies. Now the army of men that wore their armour, was three hundred thousand of the tribe of Judah, of whom Adnah was the chief; but John was chief of two hundred thousand. The same man was chief of the tribe of Benjamin, and had two hundred thousand archers under him. There was another chief, whose name was Jehozabad, who had a hundred and fourscore thousand armed men. This multitude was distributed to be ready for the king's service, besides those whom he sent to the best fortified cities.

3. Jehoshaphat took for his son Jehoram to wife the daughter of Ahab, the king of the ten tribes, whose name was Athaliah. And when, after some time, he went to Samaria, Ahab received him courteously, and treated the army that followed him in a splendid manner, with great plenty of corn and wine, and of slain beasts; and desired that he would join with him in his war against the king of Syria, that he might recover from him the city Ramoth, in Gilead; for though it had belonged to his father, yet had the king of Syria's father taken it away from him; and upon Jehoshaphat's promise to afford him his assistance, [for indeed his army was not inferior to the other,] and his sending for his army from Jerusalem to Samaria, the two kings went out of the city, and each of them sat on his own throne, and each gave their orders to their several armies. Now Jehoshaphat bid them call some of the prophets, if there were any there, and inquire of them concerning this expedition against the king of Syria, whether they would give them counsel to make that expedition at this time, for there was peace at that time between Ahab and the king of Syria, which had lasted three years, from the time he had taken him captive till that day.

4. So Ahab called his own prophets, being in number about four hundred, and bid them inquire of God whether he would grant him the victory, if he made an expedition against Benhadad, and enable him to overthrow that city, for whose sake it was that he was going to war. Now these prophets gave their counsel for making this expedition, and said that he would beat the king of Syria, and, as formerly, would reduce him under his power. But Jehoshaphat, understanding by their words that they were false prophets, asked Ahab whether there were not some other prophet, and he belonging to the true God, that we may have surer information concerning futurities. Hereupon Ahab said there was indeed such a one, but that he hated him, as having prophesied evil to him, and having foretold that he should be overcome and slain by the king of Syria, and that for this cause he had him now in prison, and that his name was Micaiah, the son of Imlah. But upon Jehoshaphat's desire that he might be produced, Ahab sent a eunuch, who brought Micaiah to him. Now the eunuch had informed him by the way, that all the other prophets had foretold that the king should gain the victory; but he said, that it was not lawful for him to lie against God, but that he must speak what he should say to him about the king, whatsoever it were. When he came to Ahab, and he had adjured him upon oath to speak the truth to him, he said that God had shown to him the Israelites running away, and pursued by the Syrians, and dispersed upon the mountains by them, as flocks of sheep are dispersed when their shepherd is

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slain. He said further, that God signified to him, that those Israelites should return in peace to their own home, and that he only should fall in the battle. When Micaiah had thus spoken, Ahab said to Jehoshaphat, "I told thee a little while ago the disposition of the man with regard to me, and that he uses to prophesy evil to me." Upon which Micaiah replied, that he ought to hear all, whatsoever it be, that God foretells; and that in particular, they were false prophets that encouraged him to make this war in hope of victory, whereas he must fight and be killed. Whereupon the king was in suspense with himself: but Zedekiah, one of those false prophets, came near, and exhorted him not to hearken to Micaiah, for he did not at all speak truth; as a demonstration of which he instanced in what Elijah had said, who was a better prophet in foretelling futurities than Micaiah 42 for he foretold that the dogs should lick his blood in the city of Jezreel, in the field of Naboth, as they licked the blood of Naboth, who by his means was there stoned to death by the multitude; that therefore it was plain that this Micaiah was a liar, as contradicting a greater prophet than himself, and saying that he should be slain at three days' journey distance: "and [said he] you shall soon know whether he be a true prophet, and hath the power of the Divine Spirit; for I will smite him, and let him then hurt my hand, as Jadon caused the hand of Jeroboam the king to wither when he would have caught him; for I suppose thou hast certainly heard of that accident." So when, upon his smiting Micaiah, no harm happened to him, Ahab took courage, and readily led his army against the king of Syria; for, as I suppose, fate was too hard for him, and made him believe that the false prophets spake truer than the true one, that it might take an occasion of bringing him to his end. However, Zedekiah made horns of iron, and said to Ahab, that God made those horns signals, that by them he should overthrow all Syria. But Micaiah replied, that Zedekiah, in a few days, should go from one secret chamber to another to hide himself, that he might escape the punishment of his lying. Then did the king give orders that they should take Micaiah away, and guard him to Amon, the governor of the city, and to give him nothing but bread and water.

5. Then did Ahab, and Jehoshaphat the king of Jerusalem, take their forces, and marched to Ramoth a city of Gilead; and when the king of Syria heard of this expedition, he brought out his army to oppose them, and pitched his camp not far from Ramoth. Now Ahab and Jehoshaphat had agreed that Ahab should lay aside his royal robes, but that the king of Jerusalem should put on his [Ahab's] proper habit, and stand before the army, in order to disprove, by this artifice, what Micaiah had foretold. But Ahab's fate found him out without his robes; for Benhadad, the king of Assyria, had charged his army, by the means of their commanders, to kill nobody else but only the king of Israel. So when the Syrians, upon their joining battle with the Israelites, saw Jehoshaphat stand before the army, and conjectured that he was Ahab, they fell violently upon him, and encompassed him round; but when they were near, and knew that it was not he, they all returned back; and while the fight lasted from the morning till late in the evening, and the Syrians were conquerors, they killed nobody, as their king had commanded them. And when they sought to kill Ahab alone, but could not find him, there was a young nobleman belonging to king Benhadad, whose name was Naaman; he drew his bow against the enemy, and wounded the king through his breastplate, in his lungs. Upon this Ahab resolved not to make his mischance known to his army, lest they should run away; but he bid the driver of his chariot to turn it back, and carry him out of the battle, because he was sorely and mortally wounded. However, he sat in his chariot and endured the pain till sunset, and then he fainted away and died.

6. And now the Syrian army, upon the coming on of the night, retired to their camp; and when the herald belonging to the camp gave notice that Ahab was dead, they returned home; and they took the dead body of Ahab to Samaria, and buried it there; but when they had washed his chariot in the fountain of Jezreel, which was bloody with the dead body of the king, they acknowledged that the prophecy of Elijah was true, for the dogs licked his blood, and the harlots continued afterwards to wash themselves in that fountain; but still he died at Ramoth, as Micaiah had foretold. And as what things were foretold should happen to Ahab by the two prophets came to pass, we ought thence to have high notions of God, and every where to honour and worship him, and never to suppose that what is pleasant and agreeable is worthy of belief before what is true, and to esteem nothing more advantageous than the gift of prophecy and that foreknowledge of future events which is derived from it, since God shows men thereby what we ought to avoid. We may also guess, from what happened to this king, and have reason to consider the power of fate; that there is no way of avoiding it, even when we know it. It creeps upon human souls, and flatters them with pleasing hopes, till it leads them about to the place where it will be too hard for them. Accordingly Ahab appears to have been deceived thereby, till he disbelieved those that foretold his defeat; but, by giving credit to such as foretold what was grateful to him, was slain; and his son Ahaziah succeeded him.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES BOOK 9

Containing The Interval Of One Hundred And Fifty-Seven Years.—From The Death Of Ahab To The Captivity Of The Ten Tribes.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 1

Concerning Jehoshaphat Again; How He Constituted Judges And, By God's Assistance Overcame His Enemies.

1. When Jehoshaphat the king was come to Jerusalem, from the assistance he had afforded Ahab, the king of Israel, when he fought with Benhadad, king of Syria, the prophet Jehu met him, and accused him for assisting Ahab, a man both impious and wicked; and said to him, that God was displeased with him for so doing, but that he delivered him from the enemy, notwithstanding he had sinned, because of his own proper disposition, which was good. Whereupon the king betook himself to thanksgivings and sacrifices to God; after which he presently went over all that country which he ruled round about, and taught the people, as well the laws which God gave them by Moses, as that religious worship that was due to him. He also constituted judges in every one of the cities of his kingdom; and charged them to have regard to nothing so much in judging the multitude as to do justice, and not to be moved by bribes, nor by the dignity of men eminent for either their riches or their high birth, but to distribute justice equally to all, as knowing that God is conscious of every secret action of theirs. When he had himself instructed them thus, and gone over every city of the two tribes, he returned to Jerusalem. He there also constituted judges out of the priests and the Levites, and principal persons of the multitude, and admonished them to pass all their sentences with care and justice. And that if any of the people of his country had differences of great consequence, they should send them out of the other cities to these judges, who would be obliged to give righteous sentences concerning such causes; and this with the greater care, because it is proper that the sentences which are given in that city wherein the temple of God is, and wherein the king dwells, be given with great care and the utmost justice. Now he set over them Amariah the priest, and Zebadiah, [both] of the tribe of Judah; and after this manner it was that the king ordered these affairs.

2. About the same time the Moabites and Ammonites made an expedition against Jehoshaphat, and took with them a great body of Arabians, and pitched their camp at Engedi, a city that is situate at the lake Asphaltiris, and distant three hundred furlongs from Jerusalem. In that place grows the best kind of palm trees, and the opobalsamum. Now Jehoshaphat heard that the enemies had passed over the lake, and had made an irruption into that country which belonged to his kingdom; at which news he was affrighted, and called the people of Jerusalem to a congregation in the temple, and standing over against the temple itself, he called upon God to afford him power and strength, so as to inflict punishment on those that made this expedition against them [for that those who built this his temple had prayed, that he would protect that city, and take vengeance on those that were so bold as to come against it]; for they are come to take from us that land which thou hast given us for a possession. When he had prayed thus, he fell into tears; and the whole multitude, together with their wives and children, made their supplications also: upon which a certain prophet, Jahaziel by name, came into the midst of the assembly, and cried out, and spake both to the multitude and to the king, that God heard their prayers, and promised to fight against their enemies. He also gave order that the king should draw his forces out the next day, for that he should find them between Jerusalem and the ascent of Engedi, at a place called The Eminence, and that he should not fight against them, but only stand still, and see how God would fight against them. When the prophet had said this, both the king and the multitude fell upon their faces, and gave thanks to God, and worshipped him; and the Levites continued singing hymns to God with their instruments of music.

3. As soon as it was day, and the king was come into that wilderness which is under the city of Tekoa, he said to the multitude, "that they ought to give credit to what the prophet had said, and not to set themselves in array for fighting; but to set the priests with their trumpets, and the Levites with the singers of hymns, to give thanks to God, as having already delivered our country from our enemies." This opinion of the king pleased [the people], and they did what he advised them to do. So God caused a terror and a commotion to arise among the Ammonites, who thought one another to be enemies, and slew one another, insomuch that not one man out of so great an army escaped; and when Jehoshaphat looked upon that valley wherein their enemies had been encamped, and saw it full of dead men, he rejoiced at so surprising an event, as was this assistance of God, while he himself by his own power, and without their labour, had given them the victory. He also gave his army leave to take the prey of the enemy's camp, and to spoil their dead bodies; and indeed so they did for three days together, till they were weary, so great was the number of the slain; and on the fourth day, all the people were gathered together unto a certain hollow place or valley, and blessed God for his power and assistance, from which the place had this name given it, the Valley of [Berachah, or] Blessing.

4. And when the king had brought his army back to Jerusalem, he betook himself to celebrate festivals, and offer sacrifices, and this for many days. And indeed, after this destruction of their enemies, and when it came to the ears of the foreign nations, they were all greatly affrighted, as supposing that God would openly fight for him hereafter. So Jehoshaphat from that time lived in great glory and splendour, on account of his righteousness and his piety towards God. He was also in friendship with Ahab's son, who was king of Israel; and he joined with him in the building of ships that were to sail to Pontus, and the traffic cities of Thrace 3 but he failed of his gains, for the ships were destroyed by being so great [and unwieldy]; on which account he was no longer concerned about shipping. And this is the history of Jehoshaphat, the king of Jerusalem.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 2

Concerning Ahaziah; The King Of Israel; And Again Concerning The Prophet Elijah.

1. And now Ahaziah, the son of Ahab, reigned over Israel, and made his abode in Samaria. He was a wicked man, and in all respects like to both his parents and to Jeroboam, who first of all transgressed, and began to deceive the people. In the second year of his reign, the king of Moab fell off from his obedience, and left off paying those tributes which he before paid to his father Ahab. Now it happened that Ahaziah, as he was coming down from the top of his house, fell down from it, and in his sickness sent to the Fly, which was the god of Ekron, for that was this god's name, to inquire about his recovery but the God of the Hebrews appeared to Elijah the prophet, and commanded him to go and meet the messengers that were sent, and to ask them, whether the people of Israel had not a God of their own, that the king sent to a foreign god to inquire about his recovery? and to bid them return and tell the king that he would not escape this disease. And when Elijah had performed what God had commanded him, and the messengers had heard what he said, they returned to the king immediately; and when the king wondered how they could return so soon, and asked them the reason of it, they said that a certain man met them, and forbade them to go on any farther; but to return and tell thee, from the command of the God of Israel, that this disease will have a bad end. And when the king bid them describe the man that said this to them, they replied that he was a hairy man, and was girt about with a girdle of leather. So the king understood by this that the man who was described by the messengers was Elijah; whereupon he sent a captain to him, with fifty soldiers, and commanded them to bring Elijah to him; and when the captain that was sent found Elijah sitting upon the top of a hill, he commanded him to come down, and to come to the king, for so had he enjoined; but that in case he refused, they would carry him by force. Elijah said to him, "That you may have a trial whether I be a true prophet, I will pray that fire may fall from heaven, and destroy both the soldiers and yourself." 5 So he prayed, and a whirlwind of fire fell [from heaven], and destroyed the captain, and those that were with him. And when the king was informed of the destruction of these men, he was very angry, and sent another captain with the like number of armed men that were sent before. And when this captain also threatened the prophet, that unless he came down of his own accord, he would take him and carry him away, upon his prayer against him, the fire [from heaven] slew this captain as well the other. And when, upon inquiry, the king was informed of what happened to him, he sent out a third captain. But when this captain, who was a wise man, and of a mild disposition, came to the place where Elijah happened to be, and spake civilly to him; and said that he knew that it was without his own consent, and only in submission to the king's command that he came to him; and that those that came before did not come willingly, but on the same account;—he therefore desired him to have pity on those armed men that were with him, and that he would come down and follow him to the king. So Elijah accepted of his discreet words and courteous behavior, and came down and followed him. And when he came to the king, he prophesied to him and told him that God said, "Since thou hast despised him as not being God, and so unable to foretell the truth about thy distemper, but hast sent to the god of Ekron to inquire of him what will be the end of this thy distemper, know this, that thou shalt die."

2. Accordingly the king in a very little time died, as Elijah had foretold; but Jehoram his brother succeeded him in the kingdom, for he died without children: but for this Jehoram, he was like his father Ahab in wickedness, and reigned twelve years, indulging himself in all sorts of wickedness and impiety towards God, for, leaving off his worship, he worshipped foreign gods; but in other respects he was an active man. Now at this time it was that Elijah disappeared from among men,

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and no one knows of his death to this very day; but he left behind him his disciple Elisha, as we have formerly declared. And indeed, as to Elijah, and as to Enoch, who was before the deluge, it is written in the sacred books that they disappeared, but so that nobody knew that they died.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 3

How Joram And Jehoshaphat Made An Expedition Against The Moabites; As Also Concerning The Wonders Of Elisha; And The Death Of Jehoshaphat.

1. When Joram had taken upon him the kingdom, he determined to make an expedition against the king of Moab, whose name was Mesha; for, as we told you before, he was departed from his obedience to his brother [Ahaziah], while he paid to his father Ahab two hundred thousand sheep, with their fleeces of wool. When therefore he had gathered his own army together, he sent also to Jehoshaphat, and entreated him, that since he had from the beginning been a friend to his father, he would assist him in the war that he was entering into against the Moabites, who had departed from their obedience, who not only himself promised to assist him, but would also oblige the king of Edom, who was under his authority, to make the same expedition also. When Joram had received these assurances of assistance from Jehoshaphat, he took his army with him, and came to Jerusalem; and when he had been sumptuously entertained by the king of Jerusalem, it was resolved upon by them to take their march against their enemies through the wilderness of Edom. And when they had taken a compass of seven days' journey, they were in distress for want of water for the cattle, and for the army, from the mistake of their roads by the guides that conducted them, insomuch that they were all in an agony, especially Joram; and cried to God, by reason of their sorrow, and [desired to know] what wickedness had been committed by them that induced him to deliver three kings together, without fighting, unto the king of Moab. But Jehoshaphat, who was a righteous man, encouraged him, and bade him send to the camp, and know whether any prophet of God was come along with them, that we might by him learn from God what we should do. And when one of the servants of Joram said that he had seen there Elisha, the son of Shaphat, the disciple of Elijah, the three kings went to him, at the entreaty of Jehoshaphat; and when they were come at the prophet's tent, which tent was pitched out of the camp, they asked him what would become of the army? and Joram was particularly very pressing with him about it. And when he replied to him, that he should not trouble him, but go to his father's and mother's prophets, for they [to be sure] were true prophets, he still desired him to prophesy, and to save them. So he swore by God that he would not answer him, unless it were on account of Jehoshaphat, who was a holy and righteous man; and when, at his desire, they brought him a man that could play on the psaltery, the Divine Spirit came upon him as the music played, and he commanded them to dig many trenches in the valley; for, said he, "though there appear neither cloud, nor wind, nor storm of rain, ye shall see this river full of water, till the army and the cattle be saved for you by drinking of it. Nor will this be all the favour that you shall receive from God, but you shall also overcome your enemies, and take the best and strongest cities of the Moabites, and you shall cut down their fruit trees, and lay waste their country, and stop up their fountains and rivers."

2. When the prophet had said this, the next day, before the sun-rising, a great torrent ran strongly; for God had caused it to rain very plentifully at the distance of three days' journey into Edom, so that the army and the cattle found water to drink in abundance. But when the Moabites heard that the three kings were coming upon them, and made their approach through the wilderness, the king of Moab gathered his army together presently, and commanded them to pitch their camp upon the mountains, that when the enemies should attempt to enter their country, they might not be concealed from them. But when at the rising of the sun they saw the water in the torrent, for it was not far from the land of Moab, and that it was of the colour of blood, for at such a time the water especially looks red, by the shining of the sun upon it, they formed a false notion of the state of their enemies, as if they had slain one another for thirst; and that the river ran with their blood. However, supposing that this was the case, they desired their king would send them out to spoil their enemies; whereupon they all went in haste, as to an advantage already gained, and came to the enemy's camp, as supposing them destroyed already. But their hope deceived them; for as their enemies stood round about them, some of them were cut to pieces, and others of them were dispersed, and fled to their own country. And when the kings fell into the land of Moab, they overthrew the cities that were in it, and spoiled their fields, and marred them, filling them with stones out of the brooks, and cut down the best of their trees, and stopped up their fountains of water, and overthrew their walls to their foundations. But the king of Moab, when he was pursued, endured a siege; and seeing his city in danger of being overthrown by force, made a sally, and went out with seven hundred men, in order to break through the enemy's camp with his horsemen, on that side where the watch seemed to be kept most negligently; and when, upon trial, he could not get away, for he lighted upon a place that was carefully watched, he returned into the city, and did a thing that showed despair and the utmost distress; for he took his eldest son, who was to reign after him, and lifting him up upon the wall, that he might be visible to all the enemies, he offered him as a whole burnt-offering to God, whom, when the kings saw, they commiserated the distress that was the occasion of it, and were so affected, in way of humanity and pity, that they raised the siege, and every one returned to his own house. So Jehoshaphat came to Jerusalem, and continued in peace there, and outlived this expedition but a little time, and then died, having lived in all sixty years, and of them reigned twenty-five. He was buried in a magnificent manner in Jerusalem, for he had imitated the actions of David.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 4

Jehoram Succeeds Jehoshaphat; How Joram, His Namesake, King Of Israel, Fought With The Syrians; And What Wonders Were Done By The Prophet Elisha.

1. Jehoshapat had a good number of children; but he appointed his eldest son Jehoram to be his successor, who had the same name with his mother's brother, that was king of Israel, and the son of Ahab. Now when the king of Israel was come out of the land of Moab to Samaria, he had with him Elisha the prophet, whose acts I have a mind to go over particularly, for they were illustrious, and worthy to be related, as we have them set down in the sacred books.

2. For they say that the widow of Obadiah, Ahab's steward, came to him, and said, that he was not ignorant how her husband had preserved the prophets that were to be slain by Jezebel, the wife of Ahab; for she said that he hid a hundred of them, and had borrowed money for their maintenance, and that, after her husband's death, she and her children were carried away to be made slaves by the creditors; and she desired of him to have mercy upon her on account of what her husband did, and afford her some assistance. And when he asked her what she had in the house, she said, "Nothing but a very small quantity of oil in a cruse." So the prophet bid her go away, and borrow a great many empty vessels of her neighbours, and when she had shut her chamber door, to pour the oil into them all; for that God would fill them full. And when the woman had done what she was commanded to do, and bade her children bring every one of the vessels, and all were filled, and not one left empty, she came to the prophet, and told him that they were all full; upon which he advised her to go away, and sell the oil, and pay the creditors what was owing them, for that there would be some surplus of the price of the oil, which she might make use of for the maintenance of her children. And thus did Elisha discharge the woman's debts, and free her from the vexation of her creditors.

3. Elisha also sent a hasty message to Joram, and exhorted him to take care of that place, for that therein were some Syrians lying in ambush to kill him. So the king did as the prophet exhorted him, and avoided his going a hunting. And when Benhadad missed of the success of his lying in ambush, he was wroth with his own servants, as if they had betrayed his ambushment to Joram; and he sent for them, and said they were the betrayers of his secret counsels; and he threatened that he would put them to death, since such their practice was evident, because he had intrusted this secret to none but them, and yet it was made known to his enemy. And one that was present said that he should not mistake himself, nor suspect that they had discovered to his enemy his sending men to kill him, but that he ought to know that it was Elisha the prophet who discovered all to him, and laid open all his counsels. So he gave order that they should send some to learn in what city Elisha dwelt. Accordingly those that were sent brought word that he was in Dothan; wherefore Benhadad sent to that city a great army, with horses and chariots, to take Elisha: so they encompassed the city round about by night, and kept him therein confined; but when the prophet's servant in the morning perceived this, and that his enemies sought to take Elisha, he came running, and crying out after a disordered manner to him, and told him of it; but he encouraged him, and bid him not be afraid, and to despise the enemy, and trust in the assistance of God, and was himself without fear; and he besought God to make manifest to his servant his power and presence, so far as was possible, in order to the inspiring him with hope and courage. Accordingly God heard the prayer of the prophet, and made the servant see a multitude of chariots and horses encompassing Elisha, till he laid aside his fear, and his courage revived at the sight of what he supposed was come to their assistance. After this Elisha did further entreat God, that he would dim the eyes of their enemies, and cast a mist before them, whereby they might not discern him. When this was done, he went into the midst of his enemies, and asked them who it was that they came to seek; and when they replied, "The prophet Elisha," he promised he would deliver him to them, if they would follow him to the city where he was. So these men were so darkened by God in their sight and in their mind, that they followed him very diligently; and when Elisha had brought them to Samaria, he ordered Joram the king to shut the gates, and to place his own army round about them; and prayed to God to clear the eyes of these their enemies, and take the mist from before them. Accordingly, when they were freed from the obscurity they had been in, they saw themselves in the midst of their enemies; and as the Syrians were strangely amazed and distressed, as was but reasonable, at an action so Divine and surprising, and as king Joram asked the prophet if he would give him leave to shoot at them, Elisha forbade him so to do; and said, that "it is just to kill those that are taken in battle, but that these men had done the country no harm, but, without knowing it, were come thither by the Divine Power:"—so that his counsel was to treat them in a hospitable manner at his table, and then send them away without hurting them. Wherefore Joram obeyed the prophet; and when he had feasted the Syrians in a splendid and magnificent manner, he let them go to Benhadad their king.

4. Now when these men were come back, and had showed Benhadad how strange an accident had befallen them, and what an appearance and power they had experienced of the God of Israel, he wondered at it, as also at that prophet with whom God was so evidently present; so he determined to make no more secret attempts upon the king of Israel, out of fear of Elisha, but resolved to make open war with them, as supposing he could be too hard for his enemies by the multitude of his army and power. So he made an expedition with a great army against Joram, who, not thinking himself a match for him, shut himself up in Samaria, and depended on the strength of its walls; but Benhadad supposed he should take the city, if not by his engines of war, yet that he should overcome the Samaritans by famine, and the want of necessaries, and brought his army upon them, and besieged the city; and the plenty of necessaries was brought so low with Joram, that from the extremity of want an ass's head was sold in Samaria for fourscore pieces of silver, and the Hebrews bought a sextary of dore's dung, instead of salt, for five pieces of silver. Now Joram was in fear lest somebody should betray the city to the enemy, by reason of the famine, and went every day round the walls and the guards to see whether any such were concealed among them; and by being thus seen, and taking such care, he deprived them of the opportunity of contriving any such thing; and if they had a mind to do it, he, by this means, prevented them: but upon a certain woman's crying out, "Have pity on me, my lord," while he thought that she was about to ask for somewhat to eat, he imprecated God's curse upon her, and said he had neither thrashing-floor nor wine-press, whence he might give her any thing at her petition. Upon which she said she did not desire his aid in any such thing, nor trouble him about food, but desired that he would do her justice as to another woman. And when he bade her say on, and let him know what she desired, she said she had made an agreement with the other woman who was her neighbour and her friend, that because the famine and want was intolerable, they should kill their children, each of them having a son of their own, "and we will live upon them ourselves for two days, the one day upon one son, and the other day upon the other; and," said she, "I have killed my son the first day, and we lived upon my son yesterday; but this other woman will not do the same thing, but hath broken her agreement, and hath hid her son." This story mightily grieved Joram when he heard it; so he rent his garment, and cried out with a loud voice, and conceived great wrath against Elisha the prophet, and set himself eagerly to have him slain, because he did not pray to God to provide them some exit and way of escape out of the miseries with which they were surrounded; and sent one away immediately to cut off his head, who made haste to kill the prophet. But Elisha was not unacquainted with the wrath of the king against him; for as he sat in his house by himself, with none but his disciples about him, he told them that Joram, who was the son of a murderer, had sent one to take away his head; "but," said he, "when he that is commanded to do this comes, take care that you do not let him come in, but press the door against him, and hold him fast there, for the king himself will follow him, and come to me, having altered his mind." Accordingly, they did as they were bidden, when he that was sent by the king to kill Elisha came. But Joram repented of his wrath against the prophet; and for fear he that was commanded to kill him should have done it before he came, he made haste to hinder his slaughter, and to save the prophet: and when he came to him, he accused him that he did not pray to God for their deliverance from the miseries they now lay under, but saw them so sadly destroyed by them. Hereupon Elisha promised, that the very next day, at the very same hour in which the king came to him, they should have great plenty of food, and that two seahs of barley should be sold in the market for a shekel, and a seah of fine flour should be sold for a shekel. This prediction made Joram, and those that were present, very joyful, for they did not scruple believing what the prophet said, on account of the experience they had of the truth of his former predictions; and the expectation of plenty made the want they were in that day, with the uneasiness that accompanied it, appear a light thing to them: but the captain of the third band, who was a friend of the king, and on whose hand the king leaned, said, "Thou

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talkest of incredible things, O prophet! for as it is impossible for God to pour down torrents of barley, or fine flour, out of heaven, so is it impossible that what thou sayest should come to pass." To which the prophet made this reply," Thou shalt see these things come to pass, but thou shalt not be in the least a partaker of them."

5. Now what Elisha had thus foretold came to pass in the manner following: There was a law at Samaria that those that had the leprosy, and whose bodies were not cleansed from it, should abide without the city: and there were four men that on this account abode before the gates, while nobody gave them any food, by reason of the extremity of the famine; and as they were prohibited from entering into the city by the law, and they considered that if they were permitted to enter, they should miserably perish by the famine; as also, that if they staid where they were, they should suffer in the same manner,—they resolved to deliver themselves up to the enemy, that in case they should spare them, they should live; but if they should be killed, that would be an easy death. So when they had confirmed this their resolution, they came by night to the enemy's camp. Now God had begun to affright and disturb the Syrians, and to bring the noise of chariots and armour to their ears, as though an army were coming upon them, and had made them suspect that it was coming nearer and nearer to them In short, they were in such a dread of this army, that they left their tents, and ran together to Benhadad, and said that Joram the king of Israel had hired for auxiliaries both the king of Egypt and the king of the Islands, and led them against them for they heard the noise of them as they were coming. And Benhadad believed what they said [for there came the same noise to his ears as well as it did to theirs]; so they fell into a mighty disorder and tumult, and left their horses and beasts in their camp, with immense riches also, and betook themselves to flight. And those lepers who had departed from Samaria, and were gone to the camp of the Syrians, of whom we made mention a little before, when they were in the camp, saw nothing but great quietness and silence: accordingly they entered into it, and went hastily into one of their tents; and when they saw nobody there, they eat and drank, and carried garments, and a great quantity of gold, and hid it out of the camp; after which they went into another tent, and carried off what was in it, as they did at the former, and this did they for several times, without the least interruption from any body. So they gathered thereby that the enemies were departed; whereupon they reproached themselves that they did not inform Joram and the citizens of it. So they came to the walls of Samaria, and called aloud to the watchmen, and told them in what state the enemies were, as did these tell the king's guards, by whose means Joram came to know of it; who then sent for his friends, and the captains of his host, and said to them, that he suspected that this departure of the king of Syria was by way of ambush and treachery, and that, "out of despair of ruining you by famine, when you imagine them to be fled away, you may come out of the city to spoil their camp, and he may then fall upon you on a sudden, and may both kill you, and take the city without fighting; whence it is that I exhort you to guard the city carefully, and by no means to go out of it, or proudly to despise your enemies, as though they were really gone away." And when a certain person said that he did very well and wisely to admit such a suspicion, but that he still advised him to send a couple of horsemen to search all the country as far as Jordan, that "if they were seized by an ambush of the enemy, they might be a security to your army, that they may not go out as if they suspected nothing, nor undergo the like misfortune; and," said he, "those horsemen may be numbered among those that have died by the famine, supposing they be caught and destroyed by the enemy." So the king was pleased with this opinion, and sent such as might search out the truth, who performed their journey over a road that was without any enemies, but found it full of provisions, and of weapons, that they had therefore thrown away, and left behind them, in order to their being light and expeditious in their flight. When the king heard this, he sent out the multitude to take the spoils of the camp; which gains of theirs were not of things of small value, but they took a great quantity of gold, and a great quantity of silver, and flocks of all kinds of cattle. They also possessed themselves of [so many] ten thousand measures of wheat and barley, as they never in the least dreamed of; and were not only freed from their former miseries, but had such plenty, that two seahs of barley were bought for a shekel, and a seah of fine flour for a shekel, according to the prophecy of Elisha. Now a seah is equal to an Italian modius and a half. The captain of the third band was the only man that received no benefit by this plenty; for as he was appointed by the king to oversee the gate, that he might prevent the too great crowd of the multitude, and they might not endanger one another to perish, by treading on one another in the press, he suffered himself in that very way, and died in that very manner, as Elisha had foretold such his death, when he alone of them all disbelieved what he said concerning that plenty of provisions which they should soon have.

6. Hereupon, when Benhadad, the king of Syria, had escaped to Damascus, and understood that it was God himself that cast all his army into this fear and disorder, and that it did not arise from the invasion of enemies, he was mightily cast down at his having God so greatly for his enemy, and fell into a distemper. Now it happened that Elisha the prophet, at that time, was gone out of his own country to Damascus, of which Benhadad was informed: he sent Hazael, the most faithful of all his servants, to meet him, and to carry him presents, and bade him inquire of him about his distemper, and whether he should escape the danger that it threatened. So Hazael came to Elisha with forty camels, that carried the best and most precious fruits that the country of Damascus afforded, as well as those which the king's palace supplied. He saluted him kindly, and said that he was sent to him by king Benhadad, and brought presents with him, in order to inquire concerning his distemper, whether he should recover from it or not. Whereupon the prophet bid him tell the king no melancholy news; but still he said he would die. So the king's servant was troubled to hear it; and Elisha wept also, and his tears ran down plenteously at his foresight of what miseries his people would undergo after the death of Benhadad. And when Hazael asked him what was the occasion of this confusion he was in, he said that he wept out of his commiseration for the multitude of the Israelites, and what terrible miseries they will suffer by thee; "for thou wilt slay the strongest of them, and wilt burn their strongest cities, and wilt destroy their children, and dash them against the stones, and wilt rip up their women with child." And when Hazael said, "How can it be that I should have power enough to do such things?" the prophet replied, that God had informed him that he should be king of Syria. So when Hazael was come to Benhadad, he told him good news concerning his distemper but on the next day he spread a wet cloth, in the nature of a net, over him, and strangled him, and took his dominion. He was an active man, and had the good-will of the Syrians, and of the people of Damascus, to a great degree; by whom both Benhadad himself, and Hazael, who ruled after him, are honoured to this day as gods, by reason of their benefactions, and their building them temples by which they adorned the city of the Damascenes. They also every day do with great pomp pay their worship to these kings, and value themselves upon their antiquity; nor do they know that these kings are much later than they imagine, and that they are not yet eleven hundred years old. Now when Joram, the king of Israel, heard that Benhadad was dead, he recovered out of the terror and dread he had been in on his account, and was very glad to live in peace.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 5

Concerning The Wickedness Of Jehoram King Of Jerusalem; His Defeat And Death.

1. Now Jehoram the king of Jerusalem, for we have said before that he had the same name with the king of Israel, as soon as he had taken the government upon him, betook himself to the slaughter of his brethren, and his father's friends, who were governors under him, and thence made a beginning and a demonstration of his wickedness; nor was he at all better than those kings of Israel who at first transgressed against the laws of their country, and of the Hebrews, and against God's worship. And it was Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab, whom he had married, who taught him to be a bad man in other respects, and also to worship foreign gods. Now God would not quite root out this family, because of the promise he had made to David. However, Jehoram did not leave off the introduction of new sorts of customs to the propagation of impiety, and to the ruin of the customs of his own country. And when the Edomites about that time had revolted from him, and slain their former king, who was in subjection to his father, and had set up one of their own choosing, Jehoram fell upon the land of Edom, with the horsemen that were about him, and the chariots, by night, and destroyed those that lay near to his own kingdom, but did not proceed further. However, this expedition did him no service, for they all revolted from him, with those that dwelt in the country of Libnah. He was indeed so mad as to compel the people to go up to the high places of the mountains, and worship foreign gods.

2. As he was doing this, and had entirely cast his own country laws out of his mind, there was brought him an epistle from Elijah the prophet which declared that God would execute great judgements upon him, because he had not imitated his own fathers, but had followed the wicked courses of the kings of Israel; and had compelled the tribe of Judah, and the citizens of Jerusalem, to leave the holy worship of their own God, and to worship idols, as Ahab had compelled the Israelites to do, and because he had slain his brethren, and the men that were good and righteous. And the prophet gave him notice in this epistle what punishment he should undergo for these crimes, namely, the destruction of his people, with the corruption of the king's own wives and children; and that he should himself die of a distemper in his bowels, with long torments, those his bowels falling out by the violence of the inward rottenness of the parts, insomuch that, though he see his own misery, he shall not be able at all to help himself, but shall die in that manner. This it was which Elijah denounced to him in that epistle.

3. It was not long after this that an army of those Arabians that lived near to Ethiopia, and of the Philistines, fell upon the kingdom of Jehoram, and spoiled the country and the king's house. Moreover, they slew his sons and his wives: one only of his sons was left him, who escaped the enemy; his name was Ahaziah; after which calamity, he himself fell into that disease which was foretold by the prophet, and lasted a great while, [for God inflicted this punishment upon him in his belly, out of his wrath against him,] and so he died miserably, and saw his own bowels fall out. The people also abused his dead body; I suppose it was because they thought that such his death came upon him by the wrath of God, and that therefore he was not worthy to partake of such a funeral as became kings. Accordingly, they neither buried him in the sepulchers of his fathers, nor vouchsafed him any honours, but buried him like a private man, and this when he had lived forty years, and reigned eight. And the people of Jerusalem delivered the government to his son Ahaziah.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 6

How Jehu Was Anointed King, And Slew Both Joram And Ahaziah; As Also What He Did For The Punishment Of The Wicked.

1. Now Joram, the king of Israel, after the death of Benhadad, hoped that he might now take Ramoth, a city of Gilead, from the Syrians. Accordingly he made an expedition against it, with a great army; but as he was besieging it, an arrow was shot at him by one of the Syrians, but the wound was not mortal. So he returned to have his wound healed in Jezreel, but left his whole army in Ramoth, and Jehu, the son of Nimshi, for their general; for he had already taken the city by force; and he proposed, after he was healed, to make war with the Syrians; but Elisha the prophet sent one of his disciples to Ramoth, and gave him holy oil to anoint Jehu, and to tell him that God had chosen him to be their king. He also sent him to say other things to him, and bid him to take his journey as if he fled, that when he came away he might escape the knowledge of all men. So when he was come to the city, he found Jehu sitting in the midst of the captains of the army, as Elisha had foretold he should find him. So he came up to him, and said that he desired to speak with him about certain matters; and when he was arisen, and had followed him into an inward chamber, the young man took the oil, and poured it on his head, and said that God ordained him to be king, in order to his destroying the house of Ahab, and that he might revenge the blood of the prophets that were unjustly slain by Jezebel, that so their house might utterly perish, as those of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and of Baasha, had perished for their wickedness, and no seed might remain of Ahab's family. So when he had said this, he went away hastily out of the chamber, and endeavored not to be seen by any of the army.

2. But Jehu came out, and went to the place where he before sat with the captains; and when they asked him, and desired him to tell them, wherefore it was that this young man came to him, and added withal that he was mad, he replied,—"You guess right, for the words he spake were the words of a madman;" and when they were eager about the matter, and desired he would tell them, he answered, that God had said he had chosen him to be king over the multitude. When he had said this, every one of them put off his garment, and strewed it under him, and blew with trumpets, and gave notice that Jehu was king. So when he had gotten the army together, he was preparing to set out immediately against Joram, at the city Jezreel, in which city, as we said before, he was healing of the wound which he had received in the siege of Ramoth. It happened also that Ahaziah, king of Jerusalem, was now come to Joram, for he was his sister's son, as we have said already, to see how he did after his wound, and this upon account of their kindred; but as Jehu was desirous to fall upon Joram, and those with him, on the sudden, he desired that none of the soldiers might run away and tell to Joram what had happened, for that this would be an evident demonstration of their kindness to him, and would show that their real inclinations were to make him king.

3. So they were pleased with what he did, and guarded the roads, lest somebody should privately tell the thing to those that were at Jezreel. Now Jehu took his choice horsemen, and sat upon his chariot, and went on for Jezreel; and when he was come near, the watchman whom Joram had set there to spy out such as came to the city, saw Jehu marching on, and told Joram that he saw a troop of horsemen marching on. Upon which he immediately gave orders, that one of his horsemen should be sent out to meet them, and to know who it was that was coming. So when the horseman came up to Jehu, he asked him in what condition the army was, for that the king wanted to know it; but Jehu bid him not at all to meddle with such matters, but to follow him. When the watchman saw this, he told Joram that the horseman had mingled himself among the company, and came along with them. And when the king had sent a second messenger, Jehu commanded him to do as the former did; and as soon as the watchman told this also to

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Joram, he at last got upon his chariot himself, together with Ahaziah, the king of Jerusalem; for, as we said before, he was there to see how Joram did, after he had been wounded, as being his relation. So he went out to meet Jehu, who marched slowly, and in good order; and when Joram met him in the field of Naboth, he asked him if all things were well in the camp; but Jehu reproached him bitterly, and ventured to call his mother a witch and a harlot. Upon this the king, fearing what he intended, and suspecting he had no good meaning, turned his chariot about as soon as he could, and said to Ahaziah, "We are fought against by deceit and treachery." But Jehu drew his bow, and smote him, the arrow going through his heart: so Joram fell down immediately on his knee, and gave up the ghost. Jehu also gave orders to Bidkar, the captain of the third part of his army, to cast the dead body of Joram into the field of Naboth, putting him in mind of the prophecy which Elijah prophesied to Ahab his father, when he had slain Naboth, that both he and his family should perish in that place; for that as they sat behind Ahab's chariot, they heard the prophet say so, and that it was now come to pass according to his prophecy. Upon the fall of Joram, Ahaziah was afraid of his own life, and turned his chariot into another road, supposing he should not be seen by Jehu; but he followed after him, and overtook him at a certain acclivity, and drew his bow, and wounded him; so he left his chariot, and got upon his horse, and fled from Jehu to Megiddo; and though he was under cure, in a little time he died of that wound, and was carried to Jerusalem, and buried there, after he had reigned one year, and had proved a wicked man, and worse than his father.

4. Now when Jehu was come to Jezreel, Jezebel adorned herself and stood upon a tower, and said, he was a fine servant that had killed his master! And when he looked up to her, he asked who she was, and commanded her to come down to him. At last he ordered the eunuchs to throw her down from the tower; and being thrown down, she be-sprinkled the wall with her blood, and was trodden upon by the horses, and so died. When this was done, Jehu came to the palace with his friends, and took some refreshment after his journey, both with other things, and by eating a meal. He also bid his servants to take up Jezebel and bury her, because of the nobility of her blood, for she was descended from kings; but those that were appointed to bury her found nothing else remaining but the extreme parts of her body, for all the rest were eaten by dogs. When Jehu heard this, he admired the prophecy of Elijah, for he foretold that she should perish in this manner at Jezreel.

5. Now Ahab had seventy sons brought up in Samaria. So Jehu sent two epistles, the one to them that brought up the children, the other to the rulers of Samaria, which said, that they should set up the most valiant of Ahab's sons for king, for that they had abundance of chariots, and horses, and armour, and a great army, and fenced cities, and that by so doing they might avenge the murder of Ahab. This he wrote to try the intentions of those of Samaria. Now when the rulers, and those that had brought up the children, had read the letter, they were afraid; and considering that they were not at all able to oppose him, who had already subdued two very great kings, they returned him this answer: That they owned him for their lord, and would do whatsoever he bade them. So he wrote back to them such a reply as enjoined them to obey what he gave order for, and to cut off the heads of Ahab's sons, and send them to him. Accordingly the rulers sent for those that brought up the sons of Ahab, and commanded them to slay them, to cut off their heads, and send them to Jehu. So they did whatsoever they were commanded, without omitting any thing at all, and put them up in wicker baskets, and sent them to Jezreel. And when Jehu, as he was at supper with his friends, was informed that the heads of Ahab's' sons were brought, he ordered them to make two heaps of them, one before each of the gates; and in the morning he went out to take a view of them, and when he saw them, he began to say to the people that were present, that he did himself make an expedition against his master [Joram], and slew him, but that it was not he that slew all these; and he desired them to take notice, that as to Ahab's family, all things had come to pass according to God's prophecy, and his house was perished, according as Elijah had foretold. And when he had further destroyed all the kindred of Ahab that were found in Jezreel, he went to Samaria; and as he was upon the road, he met the relations of Ahaziah king of Jerusalem, and asked them whither they were going? they replied, that they came to salute Joram, and their own king Ahaziah, for they knew not that he had slain them both. So Jehu gave orders that they should catch these, and kill them, being in number forty-two persons.

6. After these, there met him a good and a righteous man, whose name was Jehonadab, and who had been his friend of old. He saluted Jehu, and began to commend him, because he had done every thing according to the will of God, in extirpating the house of Ahab. So Jehu desired him to come up into his chariot, and make his entry with him into Samaria; and told him that he would not spare one wicked man, but would punish the false prophets, and false priests, and those that deceived the multitude, and persuaded them to leave the worship of God Almighty, and to worship foreign gods; and that it was a most excellent and most pleasing sight to a good and a righteous man to see the wicked punished. So Jehonadab was persuaded by these arguments, and came up into Jehu's chariot, and came to Samaria. And Jehu sought out for all Ahab's kindred, and slew them. And being desirous that none of the false prophets, nor the priests of Ahab's god, might escape punishment, he caught them deceitfully by this wile; for he gathered all the people together, and said that he would worship twice as many gods as Ahab worshipped, and desired that his priests, and prophets, and servants might be present, because he would offer costly and great sacrifices to Ahab's god; and that if any of his priests were wanting, they should be punished with death. Now Ahab's god was called Baal; and when he had appointed a day on which he would offer those sacrifices, he sent messengers through all the country of the Israelites, that they might bring the priests of Baal to him. So Jehu commanded to give all the priests vestments; and when they had received them, he went into the house [of Baal], with his friend Jehonadab, and gave orders to make search whether there were not any foreigner or stranger among them, for he would have no one of a different religion to mix among their sacred offices. And when they said that there was no stranger there, and they were beginning their sacrifices, he set fourscore men without, they being such of his soldiers as he knew to be most faithful to him, and bid them slay the prophets, and now vindicate the laws of their country, which had been a long time in disesteem. He also threatened, that if any one of them escaped, their own lives should go for them. So they slew them all with the sword, and burnt the house of Baal, and by that means purged Samaria of foreign customs [idolatrous worship]. Now this Baal was the god of the Tyrians; and Ahab, in order to gratify his father-in-law, Ethbaal, who was the king of Tyre and Sidon, built a temple for him in Samaria, and appointed him prophets, and worshipped him with all sorts of worship, although, when this god was demolished, Jehu permitted the Israelites to worship the golden heifers. However, because he had done thus, and taken care to punish the wicked, God foretold by his prophet that his sons should reign over Israel for four generations. And in this condition was Jehu at this time.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 7

How Athaliah Reigned Over Jerusalem For Five [Six] Years When Jehoiada The High Priest Slew Her And Made Jehoash, The Son Of Ahaziah, King.

1. Now when Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab, heard of the death of her brother Joram, and of her son Ahaziah, and of the royal family, she endeavored that none of the house of David might be left alive, but that the whole family might be exterminated, that no king might arise out of it afterward; and, as she thought, she had actually done it; but one of Ahaziah's sons was preserved, who escaped death after the manner following: Ahaziah had a sister by the same father, whose name was Jehosheba, and she was married to the high priest Jehoiada. She went into the king's palace, and found Jehoash, for that was the little child's name, who was not above a year old, among those that were slain, but concealed with his nurse; so she took him with her into a secret bed-chamber, and shut him up there, and she and her husband Jehoiada brought him up privately in the temple six years, during which time Athaliah reigned over Jerusalem and the two tribes.

2. Now, on the Seventh year, Jehoiada communicated the matter to certain of the captains of hundreds, five in number, and persuaded them to be assisting to what attempts he was making against Athaliah, and to join with him in asserting the kingdom to the child. He also received such oaths from them as are proper to secure those that assist one another from the fear of discovery; and he was then of good hope that they should depose Athaliah. Now those men whom Jehoiada the priest had taken to be his partners went into all the country, and gathered together the priests and the Levites, and the heads of the tribes out of it, and came and brought them to Jerusalem to the high priest. So he demanded the security of an oath of them, to keep private whatsoever he should discover to them, which required both their silence and their assistance. So when they had taken the oath, and had thereby made it safe for him to speak, he produced the child that he had brought up of the family of David, and said to them, "This is your king, of that house which you know God hath foretold should reign over you for all time to come. I exhort you therefore that one-third part of you guard him in the temple, and that a fourth part keep watch at all the gates of the temple, and that the next part of you keep guard at the gate which opens and leads to the king's palace, and let the rest of the multitude be unarmed in the temple, and let no armed person go into the temple, but the priest only." He also gave them this order besides, "That a part of the priests and the Levites should be about the king himself, and be a guard to him, with their drawn swords, and to kill that man immediately, whoever he be, that should be so bold as to enter armed into the temple; and bid them be afraid of nobody, but persevere in guarding the king." So these men obeyed what the high priest advised them to, and declared the reality of their resolution by their actions. Jehoiada also opened that armoury which David had made in the temple, and distributed to the captains of hundreds, as also to the priests and Levites, all the spears and quivers, and what kind of weapons soever it contained, and set them armed in a circle round about the temple, so as to touch one another's hands, and by that means excluding those from entering that ought not to enter. So they brought the child into the midst of them, and put on him the royal crown, and Jehoiada anointed him with the oil, and made him king; and the multitude rejoiced, and made a noise, and cried, "God save the king!"

3. When Athaliah unexpectedly heard the tumult and the acclamations, she was greatly disturbed in her mind, and suddenly issued out of the royal palace with her own army; and when she was come to the temple, the priests received her; but as for those that stood round about the temple, as they were ordered by the high priest to do, they hindered the armed inert that followed her from going in. But when Athaliah saw the child standing upon a pillar, with the royal crown upon his head, she rent her clothes, and cried out vehemently, and commanded [her guards] to kill him that had laid snares for her, and endeavored to deprive her of the government. But Jehoiada called for the captains of hundreds, and commanded them to bring Athaliah to the valley of Cedron, and slay her there, for he would not have the temple defiled with the punishments of this pernicious woman; and he gave order, that if any one came near to help her, he should be slain also; wherefore those that had the charge of her slaughter took hold of her, and led her to the gate of the king's mules, and slew her there.

4. Now as soon as what concerned Athaliah was by this stratagem, after this manner, despatched, Jehoiada called together the people and the armed men into the temple, and made them take an oath that they would be obedient to the king, and take care of his safety, and of the safety of his government; after which he obliged the king to give security [upon oath] that he would worship God, and not transgress the laws of Moses. They then ran to the house of Baal, which Athaliah and her husband Jehoram had built, to the dishonour of the God of their fathers, and to the honour of Ahab, and demolished it, and slew Mattan, that had his priesthood. But Jehoiada intrusted the care and custody of the temple to the priests and Levites, according to the appointment of king David, and enjoined them to bring their regular burnt-offerings twice a day, and to offer incense according to the law. He also ordained some of the Levites, with the porters, to be a guard to the temple, that no one that was defiled might come there.

5. And when Jehoiada had set these things in order, he, with the captains of hundreds, and the rulers, and all the people, took Jehoash out of the temple into the king's palace; and when he had set him upon the king's throne, the people shouted for joy, and betook themselves to feasting, and kept a festival for many days; but the city was quiet upon the death of Athaliah. Now Jehoash was seven years old when he took the kingdom. His mother's name was Zibiah, of the city Beersheba. And all the time that Jehoiada lived Jehoash was careful that the laws should be kept, and very zealous in the worship of God; and when he was of age, he married two wives, who were given to him by the high priest, by whom were born to him both sons and daughters. And thus much shall suffice to have related concerning king Jehoash, how he escaped the treachery of Athaliah, and how he received the kingdom.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 8

Hazael Makes An Expedition Against The People Of Israel And The Inhabitants Of Jerusalem. Jehu Dies, And Jehoahaz Succeeds In The Government. Jehoash The King Of Jerusalem At First Is Careful About The Worship Of God But Afterwards Becomes Impious And Commands Zechariah To Be Stoned. When Jehoash [King Of Judah] Was Dead, Amaziah Succeeds Him In The Kingdom.

1. Now Hazael, king of Syria, fought against the Israelites and their king Jehu, and spoiled the eastern parts of the country beyond Jordan, which belonged to the Reubenites and Gadites, and to [the half tribe of] Manassites; as also Gilead and Bashan, burning, and spoiling, and offering violence to all that he laid his hands on, and this without impeachment from Jehu, who made no haste to defend the country when it was under this distress; nay, he was become a contemner of religion, and a despiser of holiness, and of the laws, and died when he had reigned over the Israelites twenty-seven years. He was buried in Samaria, and left Jehoahaz his son his successor in the government.

2. Now Jehoash, king of Jerusalem, had an inclination to repair the temple of God; so he called Jehoiada, and bid him send the Levites and priests through all the country, to require half a shekel of silver for every head, towards the rebuilding and repairing of the temple, which was brought to decay by Jehoram, and Athaliah and her sons. But the high priest did not do this, as concluding that no one would

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willingly pay that money; but in the twenty-third year of Jehoash's reign, when the king sent for him and the Levites, and complained that they had not obeyed what he enjoined them, and still commanded them to take care of the rebuilding the temple, he used this stratagem for collecting the money, with which the multitude was pleased. He made a wooden chest, and closed it up fast on all sides, but opened one hole in it; he then set it in the temple beside the altar, and desired every one to cast into it, through the hole, what he pleased, for the repair of the temple. This contrivance was acceptable to the people, and they strove one with another, and brought in jointly large quantities of silver and gold; and when the scribe and the priest that were over the treasuries had emptied the chest, and counted the money in the king's presence, they then set it in its former place, and thus did they every day. But when the multitude appeared to have cast in as much as was wanted, the high priest Jehoiada, and king Joash, sent to hire masons and carpenters, and to buy large pieces of timber, and of the most curious sort; and when they had repaired the temple, they made use of the remaining gold and silver, which was not a little, for bowls, and basons, and cups, and other vessels, and they went on to make the altar every day fat with sacrifices of great value. And these things were taken suitable care of as long as Jehoiada lived.

3. But as soon as he was dead [which was when he had lived one hundred and thirty years, having been a righteous, and in every respect a very good man, and was buried in the king's sepulchers at Jerusalem, because he had recovered the kingdom to the family of David] king Jehoash betrayed his [want of] care about God. The principal men of the people were corrupted also together with him, and offended against their duty, and what their constitution determined to be most for their good. Hereupon God was displeased with the change that was made on the king, and on the rest of the people, and sent prophets to testify to them what their actions were, and to bring them to leave off their wickedness; but they had gotten such a strong affection and so violent an inclination to it, that neither could the examples of those that had offered affronts to the laws, and had been so severely punished, they and their entire families, nor could the fear of what the prophets now foretold, bring them to repentance, and turn them back from their course of transgression to their former duty. But the king commanded that Zechariah, the son of the high priest Jehoiada, should be stoned to death in the temple, and forgot the kindnesses he had received from his father; for when God had appointed him to prophesy, he stood in the midst of the multitude, and gave this counsel to them and to the king: That they should act righteously; and foretold to them, that if they would not hearken to his admonitions, they should suffer a heavy punishment. But as Zechariah was ready to die, he appealed to God as a witness of what he suffered for the good counsel he had given them, and how he perished after a most severe and violent manner for the good deeds his father had done to Jehoash.

4. However, it was not long before the king suffered punishment for his transgression; for when Hazael, king of Syria, made an irruption into his country, and when he had overthrown Gath, and spoiled it, he made an expedition against Jerusalem; upon which Jehoash was afraid, and emptied all the treasures of God and of the kings [before him], and took down the gifts that had been dedicated [in the temple], and sent them to the king of Syria, and procured so much by them, that he was not besieged, nor his kingdom quite endangered; but Hazael was induced by the greatness of the sum of money not to bring his army against Jerusalem; yet Jehoash fell into a severe distemper, and was set upon by his friends, in order to revenge the death of Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada. These laid snares for the king, and slew him. He was indeed buried in Jerusalem, but not in the royal sepulchers of his forefathers, because of his impiety. He lived forty-seven years, and Amaziah his son succeeded him in the kingdom.

5. In the one and twentieth year of the reign of Jehoash, Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, took the government of the Israelites in Samaria, and held it seventeen years. He did not [properly] imitate his father, but was guilty of as wicked practices as those that first had God in contempt: but the king of Syria brought him low, and by an expedition against him did so greatly reduce his forces, that there remained no more of so great an army than ten thousand armed men, and fifty horsemen. He also took away from him his great cities, and many of them also, and destroyed his army. And these were the things that the people of Israel suffered, according to the prophecy of Elisha, when he foretold that Hazael should kill his master, and reign over the Syrians and Damscenes. But when Jehoahaz was under such unavoidable miseries, he had recourse to prayer and supplication to God, and besought him to deliver him out of the hands of Hazael, and not overlook him, and give him up into his hands. Accordingly God accepted of his repentance instead of virtue; and being desirous rather to admonish those that might repent, and not to determine that they should be utterly destroyed, he granted him deliverance from war and dangers. So the country having obtained peace, returned again to its former condition, and flourished as before.

6. Now after the death of Jehoahaz, his son Joash took the kingdom, in the thirty-seventh year of Jehoash, the king of the tribe of Judah. This Joash then took the kingdom of Israel in Samaria, for he had the same name with the king of Jerusalem, and he retained the kingdom sixteen years. He was a good man, and in his disposition was not at all like his father. Now at this time it was that when Elisha the prophet, who was already very old, and was now fallen into a disease, the king of Israel came to visit him; and when he found him very near death, he began to weep in his sight, and lament, to call him his father, and his weapons, because it was by his means that he never made use of his weapons against his enemies, but that he overcame his own adversaries by his prophecies, without fighting; and that he was now departing this life, and leaving him to the Syrians, that were already armed, and to other enemies of his that were under their power; so he said it was not safe for him to live any longer, but that it would be well for him to hasten to his end, and depart out of this life with him. As the king was thus bemoaning himself, Elisha comforted him, and bid the king bend a bow that was brought him; and when the king had fitted the bow for shooting, Elisha took hold of his hands and bid him shoot; and when he had shot three arrows, and then left off, Elisha said, "If thou hadst shot more arrows, thou hadst cut the kingdom of Syria up by the roots; but since thou hast been satisfied with shooting three times only, thou shalt fight and beat the Syrians no more times than three, that thou mayst recover that country which they cut off from thy kingdom in the reign of thy father." So when the king had heard that, he departed; and a little while after the prophet died. He was a man celebrated for righteousness, and in eminent favour with God. He also performed wonderful and surprising works by prophecy, and such as were gloriously preserved in memory by the Hebrews. He also obtained a magnificent funeral, such a one indeed as it was fit a person so beloved of God should have. It also happened, that at that time certain robbers cast a man whom they had slain into Elisha's grave, and upon his dead body coming close to Elisha's body, it revived again. And thus far have we enlarged about the actions of Elisha the prophet, both such as he did while he was alive, and how he had a Divine power after his death also.

7. Now, upon the death of Hazael, the king of Syria, that kingdom came to Adad his son, with whom Joash, king of Israel, made war; and when he had beaten him in three battles, he took from him all that country, and all those cities and villages, which his father Hazael had taken from the kingdom of Israel, which came to pass, however, according to the prophecy of Elisha. But when Joash happened to die, he was buried in Samaria, and the government devolved on his son Jeroboam.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 9

How Amaziah Made An Expedition Against The Edomites And Amalekites And Conquered Them; But When He Afterwards Made War Against Joash, He Was Beaten And Not Long After Was Slain, And Uzziah Succeeded In The Government.

1. Now, in the second year of the reign of Joash over Israel, Amaziah reigned over the tribe of Judah in Jerusalem. His mother's name was Jehoaddan, who was born at Jerusalem. He was exceeding careful of doing what was right, and this when he was very young; but when he came to the management of affairs, and to the government, he resolved that he ought first of all to avenge his father Je-hoash, and to punish those his friends that had laid violent hands upon him: so he seized upon them all, and put them to death; yet did he execute no severity on their children, but acted therein according to the laws of Moses, who did not think it just to punish children for the sins of their fathers. After this he chose him an army out of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin, of such as were in the flower of their age, and about twenty years old; and when he had collected about three hundred thousand of them together, he set captains of hundreds over them. He also sent to the king of Israel, and hired a hundred thousand of his soldiers for a hundred talents of silver, for he had resolved to make an expedition against the nations of the Amalekites, and Edomites, and Gebalites: but as he was preparing for his expedition, and ready to go out to the war, a prophet gave him counsel to dismiss the army of the Israelites, because they were bad men, and because God foretold that he should be beaten, if he made use of them as auxiliaries; but that he should overcome his enemies, though he had but a few soldiers, when it so pleased God. And when the king grudged at his having already paid the hire of the Israelites, the prophet exhorted him to do what God would have him, because he should thereby obtain much wealth from God. So he dismissed them, and said that he still freely gave them their pay, and went himself with his own army, and made war with the nations before mentioned; and when he had beaten them in battle, he slew of them ten thousand, and took as many prisoners alive, whom he brought to the great rock which is in Arabia, and threw them down from it headlong. He also brought away a great deal of prey and vast riches from those nations. But while Amaziah was engaged in this expedition, those Israelites whom he had hired, and then dismissed, were very uneasy at it, and taking their dismission for an affront, [as supposing that this would not have been done to them but out of contempt,] they fell upon his kingdom, and proceeded to spoil the country as far as Beth- horon, and took much cattle, and slew three thousand men.

2. Now upon the victory which Amaziah had gotten, and the great acts he had done, he was puffed up, and began to overlook God, who had given him the victory, and proceeded to worship the gods he had brought out of the country of the Amalekites. So a prophet came to him, and said, that he wondered how he could esteem these to be gods, who had been of no advantage to their own people who paid them honours, nor had delivered them from his hands, but had overlooked the destruction of many of them, and had suffered themselves to be carried captive, for that they had been carried to Jerusalem in the same manner as any one might have taken some of the enemy alive, and led them thither. This reproof provoked the king to anger, and he commanded the prophet to hold his peace, and threatened to punish him if he meddled with his conduct. So he replied, that he should indeed hold his peace; but foretold withal, that God would not overlook his attempts for innovation. But Amaziah was not able to contain himself under that prosperity which God had given him, although he had affronted God thereupon; but in a vein of insolence he wrote to Joash, the king of Israel, and commanded that he and all his people should be obedient to him, as they had formerly been obedient to his progenitors, David and Solomon; and he let him know, that if he would not be so wise as to do what he commanded him, he must fight for his dominion. To which message Joash returned this answer in writing: "King Joash to king Amaziah. There was a vastly tall cypress tree in Mount Lebanon, as also a thistle; this thistle sent to the cypress tree to give the cypress tree's daughter in marriage to the thistle's son; but as the thistle was saying this, there came a wild beast, and trod down the thistle: and this may be a lesson to thee, not to be so ambitious, and to have a care, lest upon thy good success in the fight against the Amalekites thou growest so proud, as to bring dangers upon thyself and upon thy kingdom."

3. When Amaziah had read this letter, he was more eager upon this expedition, which, I suppose, was by the impulse of God, that he might be punished for his offense against him. But as soon as he led out his army against Joash, and they were going to join battle with him, there came such a fear and consternation upon the army of Amaziah, as God, when he is displeased, sends upon men, and discomfited them, even before they came to a close fight. Now it happened, that as they were scattered about by the terror that was upon them, Amaziah was left alone, and was taken prisoner by the enemy; whereupon Joash threatened to kill him, unless he would persuade the people of Jerusalem to open their gates to him, and receive him and his army into the city. Accordingly Amaziah was so distressed, and in such fear of his life, that he made his enemy to be received into the city. So Joash over threw a part of the wall, of the length of four hundred cubits, and drove his chariot through the breach into Jerusalem, and led Amaziah captive along with him; by which means he became master of Jerusalem, and took away the treasures of God, and carried off all the gold and silver that was in the king's palace, and then freed the king from captivity, and returned to Samaria. Now these things happened to the people of Jerusalem in the fourteenth year of the reign of Amaziah, who after this had a conspiracy made against him by his friends, and fled to the city Lachish, and was there slain by the conspirators, who sent men thither to kill him. So they took up his dead body, and carried it to Jerusalem, and made a royal funeral for him. This was the end of the life of Amaziah, because of his innovations in religion, and his contempt of God, when he had lived fifty-four years, and had reigned twenty-nine. He was succeeded by his son, whose name was Uzziah.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 10

Concerning Jeroboam King Of Israel And Jonah The Prophet; And How After The Death Of Jeroboam His Son Zachariah Took The Government. How Uzziah, King Of Jerusalem, Subdued The Nations That Were Round About Him; And What Befell Him When He Attempted To Offer Incense To God.

1. In the fifteenth year of the reign of Amaziah, Jeroboam the son of Joash reigned over Israel in Samaria forty years. This king was guilty of contumely against God, and became very wicked in worshipping of idols, and in many undertakings that were absurd and foreign. He was also the cause of ten thousand misfortunes to the people of Israel. Now one Jonah, a prophet, foretold to him that he should make war with the Syrians, and conquer their army, and enlarge the bounds of his kingdom on the northern parts to the city Hamath, and on the southern to the lake Asphaltitis; for the bounds of the Canaanites originally were these, as Joshua their general had determined them. So Jeroboam made an

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expedition against the Syrians, and overran all their country, as Jonah had foretold.

2. Now I cannot but think it necessary for me, who have promised to give an accurate account of our affairs, to describe the actions of this prophet, so far as I have found them written down in the Hebrew books. Jonah had been commanded by God to go to the kingdom of Nineveh; and when he was there, to publish it in that city, how it should lose the dominion it had over the nations. But he went not, out of fear; nay, he ran away from God to the city of Joppa, and finding a ship there, he went into it, and sailed to Tarsus, in Cilicia and upon the rise of a most terrible storm, which was so great that the ship was in danger of sinking, the mariners, the master, and the pilot himself, made prayers and vows, in case they escaped the sea: but Jonah lay still and covered [in the ship,] without imitating any thing that the others did; but as the waves grew greater, and the sea became more violent by the winds, they suspected, as is usual in such cases, that some one of the persons that sailed with them was the occasion of this storm, and agreed to discover by lot which of them it was. When they had cast lots, the lot fell upon the prophet; and when they asked him whence he came, and what he had done? he replied, that he was a Hebrew by nation, and a prophet of Almighty God; and he persuaded them to cast him into the sea, if they would escape the danger they were in, for that he was the occasion of the storm which was upon them. Now at the first they durst not do so, as esteeming it a wicked thing to cast a man who was a stranger, and who had committed his life to them, into such manifest perdition; but at last, when their misfortune overbore them, and the ship was just going to be drowned, and when they were animated to do it by the prophet himself, and by the fear concerning their own safety, they cast him into the sea; upon which the sea became calm. It is also reported that Jonah was swallowed down by a whale, and that when he had been there three days, and as many nights, he was vomited out upon the Euxine Sea, and this alive, and without any hurt upon his body; and there, on his prayer to God, he obtained pardon for his sins, and went to the city Nineveh, where he stood so as to be heard, and preached, that in a very little time they should lose the dominion of Asia. And when he had published this, he returned. Now I have given this account about him as I found it written [in our books.]

3. When Jeroboam the king had passed his life in great happiness, and had ruled forty years, he died, and was buried in Samaria, and his son Zachariah took the kingdom. After the same manner did Uzziah, the son of Amaziah, begin to reign over the two tribes in Jerusalem, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Jeroboam. He was born of Jecoliah, his mother, who was a citizen of Jerusalem. He was a good man, and by nature righteous and magnanimous, and very labourious in taking care of the affairs of his kingdom. He made an expedition also against the Philistines, and overcame them in battle, and took the cities of Gath and Jabneh, and brake down their walls; after which expedition he assaulted those Arabs that adjoined to Egypt. He also built a city upon the Red Sea, and put a garrison into it. He, after this, overthrew the Ammonites, and appointed that they should pay tribute. He also overcame all the countries as far as the bounds of Egypt, and then began to take care of Jerusalem itself for the rest of his life; for he rebuilt and repaired all those parts of the wall which had either fallen down by length of time, or by the carelessness of the kings, his predecessors, as well as all that part which had been thrown down by the king of Israel, when he took his father Amaziah prisoner, and entered with him into the city. Moreover, he built a great many towers, of one hundred and fifty cubits high, and built walled towns in desert places, and put garrisons into them, and dug many channels for conveyance of water. He had also many beasts for labour, and an immense number of cattle; for his country was fit for pasturage. He was also given to husbandry, and took care to cultivate the ground, and planted it with all sorts of plants, and sowed it with all sorts of seeds. He had also about him an army composed of chosen men, in number three hundred and seventy thousand, who were governed by general officers and captains of thousands, who were men of valour, and of unconquerable strength, in number two thousand. He also divided his whole army into bands, and armed them, giving every one a sword, with brazen bucklers and breastplates, with bows and slings; and besides these, he made for them many engines of war for besieging of cities, such as cast stones and darts, with grapplers, and other instruments of that sort.

4. While Uzziah was in this state, and making preparation [for futurity], he was corrupted in his mind by pride, and became insolent, and this on account of that abundance which he had of things that will soon perish, and despised that power which is of eternal duration [which consisted in piety towards God, and in the observation of the laws]; so he fell by occasion of the good success of his affairs, and was carried headlong into those sins of his father, which the splendour of that prosperity he enjoyed, and the glorious actions he had done, led him into, while he was not able to govern himself well about them. Accordingly, when a remarkable day was come, and a general festival was to be celebrated, he put on the holy garment, and went into the temple to offer incense to God upon the golden altar, which he was prohibited to do by Azariah the high priest, who had fourscore priests with him, and who told him that it was not lawful for him to offer sacrifice, and that "none besides the posterity of Aaron were permitted so to do." And when they cried out that he must go out of the temple, and not transgress against God, he was wroth at them, and threatened to kill them, unless they would hold their peace. In the mean time a great earthquake shook the ground and a rent was made in the temple, and the bright rays of the sun shone through it, and fell upon the king's face, insomuch that the leprosy seized upon him immediately. And before the city, at a place called Eroge, half the mountain broke off from the rest on the west, and rolled itself four furlongs, and stood still at the east mountain, till the roads, as well as the king's gardens, were spoiled by the obstruction. Now, as soon as the priests saw that the king's face was infected with the leprosy, they told him of the calamity he was under, and commanded that he should go out of the city as a polluted person. Hereupon he was so confounded at the sad distemper, and sensible that he was not at liberty to contradict, that he did as he was commanded, and underwent this miserable and terrible punishment for an intention beyond what befitted a man to have, and for that impiety against God which was implied therein. So he abode out of the city for some time, and lived a private life, while his son Jotham took the government; after which he died with grief and anxiety at what had happened to him, when he had lived sixty-eight years, and reigned of them fifty-two; and was buried by himself in his own gardens.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 11.

How Zachariah Shallum, Menahem Pekahiah And Pekah Took The Government Over The Israelites; And How Pul And Tiglath-Pileser Made An Expedition Against The Israelites. How Jotham, The Son Of Uzziah Reigned Over The Tribe Of Judah; And What Things Nahum Prophesied Against The Assyrians.

1. Now when Zachariah, the son of Jeroboam, had reigned six months over Israel, he was slain by the treachery of a certain friend of his, whose name was Shallum, the son of Jabesh, who took the kingdom afterward, but kept it no longer than thirty days; for Menahem, the general of his army, who was at that time in the city Tirzah, and heard of what had befallen Zachariah, removed thereupon with all his forces to Samaria, and joining battle with Shallum, slew him; and when he had made himself king, he went thence, and came to the city Tiphsah; but the citizens that were in it shut their gates, and barred them against the king, and would not admit him: but in order to be avenged on them, he burnt the country round about it, and took the city by force, upon a siege; and being very much displeased at what the inhabitants of Tiphsah had done, he slew them all, and spared not so much as the infants, without omitting the utmost instances of cruelty and barbarity; for he used such severity upon his own countrymen, as would not be pardonable with regard to strangers who had been conquered by him. And after this manner it was that this Menahem continued to reign with cruelty and barbarity for ten years. But when Pul, king of Assyria, had made an expedition against him, he did not think meet to fight or engage in battle with the Assyrians, but he persuaded him to accept of a thousand talents of silver, and to go away, and so put an end to the war. This sum the multitude collected for Menahem, by exacting fifty drachmae as poll-money for every head; after which he died, and was buried in Samaria, and left his son Pekahiah his successor in the kingdom, who followed the barbarity of his father, and so ruled but two years only, after which he was slain with his friends at a feast, by the treachery of one Pekah, the general of his horse, and the son of Remaliah, who laid snares for him. Now this Pekah held the government twenty years, and proved a wicked man and a transgressor. But the king of Assyria, whose name was Tiglath-Pileser, when he had made an expedition against the Israelites, and had overrun all the land of Gilead, and the region beyond Jordan, and the adjoining country, which is called Galilee, and Kadesh, and Hazor, he made the inhabitants prisoners, and transplanted them into his own kingdom. And so much shall suffice to have related here concerning the king of Assyria.

2. Now Jotham the son of Uzziah reigned over the tribe of Judah in Jerusalem, being a citizen thereof by his mother, whose name was Jerusha. This king was not defective in any virtue, but was religious towards God, and righteous towards men, and careful of the good of the city [for what part soever wanted to be repaired or adorned he magnificently repaired and adorned them]. He also took care of the foundations of the cloisters in the temple, and repaired the walls that were fallen down, and built very great towers, and such as were almost impregnable; and if any thing else in his kingdom had been neglected, he took great care of it. He also made an expedition against the Ammonites, and overcame them in battle, and ordered them to pay tribute, a hundred talents, and ten thousand cori of wheat, and as many of barley, every year, and so augmented his kingdom, that his enemies could not despise it, and his own people lived happily.

3. Now there was at that time a prophet, whose name was Nahum, who spake after this manner concerning the overthrow of the Assyrians and of Nineveh: "Nineveh shall be a pool of water in motion so shall all her people be troubled, and tossed, and go away by flight, while they say one to another, Stand, stand still, seize their gold and silver, for there shall be no one to wish them well, for they will rather save their lives than their money; for a terrible contention shall possess them one with another, and lamentation, and loosing of the members, and their countenances shall be perfectly black with fear. And there will be the den of the lions, and the mother of the young lions! God says to thee, Nineveh, that they shall deface thee, and the lion shall no longer go out from thee to give laws to the world." And indeed this prophet prophesied many other things besides these concerning Nineveh, which I do not think necessary to repeat, and I here omit them, that I may not appear troublesome to my readers; all which thing happened about Nineveh a hundred and fifteen years afterward: so this may suffice to have spoken of these matters.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 12

How Upon The Death Of Jotham, Ahaz Reigned In His Stead; Against Whom Rezin, King Of Syria And Pekah King Of Israel, Made War; And How Tiglath-Pileser, King Of Assyria Came To The Assistance Of Ahaz, And Laid Syria Waste And Removing The Damascenes Into Media Placed Other Nations In Their Room.

1. Now Jotham died when he had lived forty-one years, and of them reigned sixteen, and was buried in the sepulchers of the kings; and the kingdom came to his son Ahaz, who proved most impious towards God, and a transgressor of the laws of his country. He imitated the kings of Israel, and reared altars in Jerusalem, and offered sacrifices upon them to idols; to which also he offered his own son as a burnt-offering, according to the practices of the Canaanites. His other actions were also of the same sort. Now as he was going on in this mad course, Rezin, the king of Syria and Damascus, and Pekah, the king of Israel, who were now at amity one with another, made war with him; and when they had driven him into Jerusalem, they besieged that city a long while, making but a small progress, on account of the strength of its walls; and when the king of Syria had taken the city Elath, upon the Red Sea, and had slain the inhabitants, he peopled it with Syrians; and when he had slain those in the [other] garrisons, and the Jews in their neighbourhood, and had driven away much prey, he returned with his army back to Damascus. Now when the king of Jerusalem knew that the Syrians were returned home, he, supposing himself a match for the king of Israel, drew out his army against him, and joining battle with him was beaten; and this happened because God was angry with him, on account of his many and great enormities. Accordingly there were slain by the Israelites one hundred and twenty thousand of his men that day, whose general, Amaziah by name, slew Zechariah the king's son, in his conflict with Ahaz, as well as the governor of the kingdom, whose name was Azricam. He also carried Elkanah, the general of the troops of the tribe of Judah, into captivity. They also carried the women and children of the tribe of Benjamin captives; and when they had gotten a great deal of prey, they returned to Samaria.

2. Now there was one Obed, who was a prophet at that time in Samaria; he met the army before the city walls, and with a loud voice told them that they had gotten the victory not by their own strength, but by reason of the anger God had against king Ahaz. And he complained that they were not satisfied with the good success they had had against him, but were so bold as to make captives out of their kinsmen the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. He also gave them counsel to let them go home without doing them any harm, for that if they did not obey God herein, they should be punished. So the people of Israel came together to their assembly, and considered of these matters, when a man whose name was Berechiah, and who was one of chief reputation in the government, stood up, and the others with him, and said, "We will not suffer the citizens to bring these prisoners into the city, lest we be all destroyed by God; we have sins enough of our own that we have committed against him, as the prophets assure us; nor ought we therefore to introduce the practice of new crimes." When the soldiers heard that, they permitted them to do what they thought best. So the forenamed men took the captives, and let them go, and took care of them, and gave them provisions, and sent them to their own country, without doing them any harm. However, these four went along with them, and conducted them as far as Jericho, which is not far from Jerusalem, and returned to Samaria.

3. Hereupon king Ahaz, having been so thoroughly beaten by the Israelites, sent to Tiglath-Pileser, king of the Assyrians, and sued for assistance from him in his war against the Israelites, and Syrians, and Damascenes, with a promise to send him much money; he sent him also great presents at the

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same time. Now this king, upon the reception of those ambassadors, came to assist Ahaz, and made war upon the Syrians, and laid their country waste, and took Damascus by force, and slew Rezin their king, and transplanted the people of Damascus into the Upper Media, and brought a colony of Assyrians, and planted them in Damascus. He also afflicted the land of Israel, and took many captives out of it. While he was doing thus with the Syrians, king Ahaz took all the gold that was in the king's treasures, and the silver, and what was in the temple of God, and what precious gifts were there, and he carried them with him, and came to Damascus, and gave it to the king of Assyria, according to his agreement. So he confessed that he owed him thanks for all he had done for him, and returned to Jerusalem. Now this king was so sottish and thoughtless of what was for his own good, that he would not leave off worshipping the Syrian gods when he was beaten by them, but he went on in worshipping them, as though they would procure him the victory; and when he was beaten again, he began to honour the gods of the Assyrians; and he seemed more desirous to honour any other gods than his own paternal and true God, whose anger was the cause of his defeat; nay, he proceeded to such a degree of despite and contempt [of God's worship], that he shut up the temple entirely, and forbade them to bring in the appointed sacrifices, and took away the gifts that had been given to it. And when he had offered these indignities to God, he died, having lived thirty-six years, and of them reigned sixteen; and he left his son Hezekiah for his successor.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 13

How Pekah Died By The Treachery Of Hoshea Who Was A Little After Subdued By Shalmaneser; And How Hezekiah Reigned Instead Of Ahaz; And What Actions Of Piety And Justice He Did.

1. About the same time Pekah, the king of Israel, died by the treachery of a friend of his, whose name was Hoshea, who retained the kingdom nine years' time, but was a wicked man, and a despiser of the Divine worship; and Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, made an expedition against him, and overcame him, [which must have been because he had not God favourable nor assistant to him,] and brought him to submission, and ordered him to pay an appointed tribute. Now, in the fourth year of the reign of Hoshea, Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz, began to reign in Jerusalem; and his mother's name was Abijah, a citizen of Jerusalem. His nature was good, and righteous, and religious; for when he came to the kingdom, he thought that nothing was prior, or more necessary, or more advantageous to himself, and to his subjects, than to worship God. Accordingly, he called the people together, and the priests, and the Levites, and made a speech to them, and said, "You are not ignorant how, by the sins of my father, who transgressed that sacred honour which was due to God, you have had experience of many and great miseries, while you were corrupted in your mind by him, and were induced to worship those which he supposed to be gods; I exhort you, therefore, who have learned by sad experience how dangerous a thing impiety is, to put that immediately out of your memory, and to purify yourselves from your former pollutions, and to open the temple to these priests and Levites who are here convened, and to cleanse it with the accustomed sacrifices, and to recover all to the ancient honour which our fathers paid to it; for by this means we may render God favourable, and he will remit the anger he hath had to us."

2. When the king had said this, the priests opened the temple; and when they had set in order the vessels of God, and east out what was impure, they laid the accustomed sacrifices upon the altar. The king also sent to the country that was under him, and called the people to Jerusalem to celebrate the feast of unleavened bread, for it had been intermitted a long time, on account of the wickedness of the forementioned kings. He also sent to the Israelites, and exhorted them to leave off their present way of living, and return to their ancient practices, and to worship God, for that he gave them leave to come to Jerusalem, and to celebrate, all in one body, the feast of unleavened bread; and this he said was by way of invitation only, and to be done of their own good-will, and for their own advantage, and not out of obedience to him, because it would make them happy. But the Israelites, upon the coming of the ambassadors, and upon their laying before them what they had in charge from their own king, were so far from complying therewith, that they laughed the ambassadors to scorn, and mocked them as fools: as also they affronted the prophets, which gave them the same exhortations, and foretold what they would suffer if they did not return to the worship of God, insomuch that at length they caught them, and slew them; nor did this degree of transgressing suffice them, but they had more wicked contrivances than what have been described: nor did they leave off, before God, as a punishment for their impiety, brought them under their enemies: but of that more hereafter. However, many there were of the tribe of Manasseh, and of Zebulon, and of Issachar, who were obedient to what the prophets exhorted them to do, and returned to the worship of God. Now all these came running to Jerusalem, to Hezekiah, that they might worship God [there].

3. When these men were come, king Hezekiah went up into the temple, with the rulers and all the people, and offered for himself seven bulls, and as many rams, with seven lambs, and as many kids of the goats. The king also himself, and the rulers, laid their hands on the heads of the sacrifices, and permitted the priests to complete the sacred offices about them. So they both slew the sacrifices, and burnt the burnt-offerings, while the Levites stood round about them, with their musical instruments, and sang hymns to God, and played on their psalteries, as they were instructed by David to do, and this while the rest of the priests returned the music, and sounded the trumpets which they had in their hands; and when this was done, the king and the multitude threw themselves down upon their face, and worshipped God. He also sacrificed seventy bulls, one hundred rams, and two hundred lambs. He also granted the multitude sacrifices to feast upon, six hundred oxen, and three thousand other cattle; and the priests performed all things according to the law. Now the king was so pleased herewith, that he feasted with the people, and returned thanks to God; but as the feast of unleavened bread was now come, when they had offered that sacrifice which is called the passover, they after that offered other sacrifices for seven days. When the king had bestowed on the multitude, besides what they sanctified of themselves, two thousand bulls, and seven thousand other cattle, the same thing was done by the rulers; for they gave them a thousand bulls, and a thousand and forty other cattle. Nor had this festival been so well observed from the days of king Solomon, as it was now first observed with great splendour and magnificence; and when the festival was ended, they went out into the country and purged it, and cleansed the city of all the pollution of the idols. The king also gave order that the daily sacrifices should be offered, at his own charges, and according to the law; and appointed that the tithes and the first-fruits should be given by the multitude to the priests and Levites, that they might constantly attend upon Divine service, and never be taken off from the worship of God. Accordingly, the multitude brought together all sorts of their fruits to the priests and the Levites. The king also made garners and receptacles for these fruits, and distributed them to every one of the priests and Levites, and to their children and wives; and thus did they return to their old form of Divine worship. Now when the king had settled these matters after the manner already described, he made war upon the Philistines, and beat them, and possessed himself of all the enemy's cities, from Gaza to Gath; but the king of Assyria sent to him, and threatened to overturn all his dominions, unless he would pay him the tribute which his father paid him formerly; but king Hezekiah was not concerned at his threatenings, but depended on his piety towards God, and upon Isaiah the prophet, by whom he inquired and accurately knew all future events. And thus much shall suffice for the present concerning this king Hezekiah.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 14

How Shalmaneser Took Samaria By Force And How He Transplanted The Ten Tribes Into Media, And Brought The Nation Of The Cutheans Into Their Country [In Their Room].

1. When Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, had it told him, that [Hoshea] the king of Israel had sent privately to So, the king of Egypt, desiring his assistance against him, he was very angry, and made an expedition against Samaria, in the seventh year of the reign of Hoshea; but when he was not admitted [into the city] by the king, he besieged Samaria three years, and took it by force in the ninth year of the reign of Hoshea, and in the seventh year of Hezekiah, king of Jerusalem, and quite demolished the government of the Israelites, and transplanted all the people into Media and Persia among whom he took king Hoshea alive; and when he had removed these people out of this their land he transplanted other nations out of Cuthah, a place so called, [for there is [still] a river of that name in Persia,] into Samaria, and into the country of the Israelites. So the ten tribes of the Israelites were removed out of Judea nine hundred and forty-seven years after their forefathers were come out of the land of Egypt, and possessed themselves of the country, but eight hundred years after Joshua had been their leader, and, as I have already observed, two hundred and forty years, seven months, and seven days after they had revolted from Rehoboam, the grandson of David, and had given the kingdom to Jeroboam. And such a conclusion overtook the Israelites, when they had transgressed the laws, and would not hearken to the prophets, who foretold that this calamity would come upon them, if they would not leave off their evil doings. What gave birth to these evil doings, was that sedition which they raised against Rehoboam, the grandson of David, when they set up Jeroboam his servant to be their king, when, by sinning against God, and bringing them to imitate his bad example, made God to be their enemy, while Jeroboam underwent that punishment which he justly deserved.

2. And now the king of Assyria invaded all Syria and Phoenicia in a hostile manner. The name of this king is also set down in the archives of Tyre, for he made an expedition against Tyre in the reign of Eluleus; and Menander attests to it, who, when he wrote his Chronology, and translated the archives of Tyre into the Greek language, gives us the following history: "One whose name was Eluleus reigned thirty-six years; this king, upon the revolt of the Citteans, sailed to them, and reduced them again to a submission. Against these did the king of Assyria send an army, and in a hostile manner overrun all Phoenicia, but soon made peace with them all, and returned back; but Sidon, and Ace, and Palsetyrus revolted; and many other cities there were which delivered themselves up to the king of Assyria. Accordingly, when the Tyrians would not submit to him, the king returned, and fell upon them again, while the Phoenicians had furnished him with threescore ships, and eight hundred men to row them; and when the Tyrians had come upon them in twelve ships, and the enemy's ships were dispersed, they took five hundred men prisoners, and the reputation of all the citizens of Tyre was thereby increased; but the king of Assyria returned, and placed guards at their rivers and aqueducts, who should hinder the Tyrians from drawing water. This continued for five years; and still the Tyrians bore the siege, and drank of the water they had out of the wells they dug." And this is what is written in the Tyrian archives concerning Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria.

3. But now the Cutheans, who removed into Samaria, [for that is the name they have been called by to this time, because they were brought out of the country called Cuthah, which is a country of Persia, and there is a river of the same name in it,] each of them, according to their nations, which were in number five, brought their own gods into Samaria, and by worshipping them, as was the custom of their own countries, they provoked Almighty God to be angry and displeased at them, for a plague seized upon them, by which they were destroyed; and when they found no cure for their miseries, they learned by the oracle that they ought to worship Almighty God, as the method for their deliverance. So they sent ambassadors to the king of Assyria, and desired him to send them some of those priests of the Israelites whom he had taken captive. And when he thereupon sent them, and the people were by them taught the laws, and the holy worship of God, they worshipped him in a respectful manner, and the plague ceased immediately; and indeed they continue to make use of the very same customs to this very time, and are called in the Hebrew tongue Cutlans, but in the Greek tongue Samaritans. And when they see the Jews in prosperity, they pretend that they are changed, and allied to them, and call them kinsmen, as though they were derived from Joseph, and had by that means an original alliance with them; but when they see them falling into a low condition, they say they are no way related to them, and that the Jews have no right to expect any kindness or marks of kindred from them, but they declare that they are sojourners, that come from other countries. But of these we shall have a more seasonable opportunity to discourse hereafter.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES BOOK 10

Containing The Interval Of One Hundred And Eighty-Two Years And A Half.—From The Captivity Of The Ten Tribes To The First Year Of Cyrus.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 1

How Sennacherib Made An Expedition Against Hezekiah; What Threatenings Rabshakeh Made To Hezekiah When Sennacherib Was Gone Against The Egyptians; How Isaiah The Prophet Encouraged Him; How Sennacherib Having Failed Of Success In Egypt, Returned Thence To Jerusalem; And How Upon His Finding His Army Destroyed, He Returned Home; And What Befell Him A Little Afterward.

1. It was now the fourteenth year of the government of Hezekiah, king of the two tribes, when the king of Assyria, whose name was Sennacherib, made an expedition against him with a great army, and took all the cities of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin by force; and when he was ready to bring his army against Jerusalem, Hezekiah sent ambassadors to him beforehand, and promised to submit, and pay what tribute he should appoint. Hereupon Sennacherib, when he heard of what offers the ambassadors made, resolved not to proceed in the war, but to accept of the proposals that were made him; and if he might receive three hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold, he promised that he would depart in a friendly manner; and he gave security upon oath to the ambassadors that he would then do him no harm, but go away as he came. So Hezekiah submitted, and emptied his treasures, and sent the money, as supposing he should be freed from his enemy, and from any further distress about his kingdom. Accordingly, the Assyrian king took it, and yet had no regard to what he had promised; but while he himself went to the war against the Egyptians and Ethiopians, he left his general Rabshakeh, and two other of his principal commanders, with great forces, to destroy Jerusalem. The names of the two other commanders were Tartan and Rabsaris.

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2. Now as soon as they were come before the walls, they pitched their camp, and sent messengers to Hezekiah, and desired that they might speak with him; but he did not himself come out to them for fear, but he sent three of his most intimate friends; the name of one was Eliakim, who was over the kingdom, and Shebna, and Joah the recorder. So these men came out, and stood over against the commanders of the Assyrian army; and when Rabshakeh saw them, he bid them go and speak to Hezekiah in the manner following: That Sennacherib, the great king, 1 desires to know of him, on whom it is that he relies and depends, in flying from his lord, and will not hear him, nor admit his army into the city? Is it on account of the Egyptians, and in hopes that his army would be beaten by them? Whereupon he lets him know, that if this be what he expects, he is a foolish man, and like one who leans on a broken reed; while such a one will not only fall down, but will have his hand pierced and hurt by it. That he ought to know he makes this expedition against him by the will of God, who hath granted this favour to him, that he shall overthrow the kingdom of Israel, and that in the very same manner he shall destroy those that are his subjects also. When Rabshakeh had made this speech in the Hebrew tongue, for he was skillful in that language, Eliakim was afraid lest the multitude that heard him should be disturbed; so he desired him to speak in the Syrian tongue. But the general, understanding what he meant, and perceiving the fear that he was in, he made his answer with a greater and a louder voice, but in the Hebrew tongue; and said, that "since they all heard what were the king's commands, they would consult their own advantage in delivering up themselves to us; for it is plain the both you and your king dissuade the people from submitting by vain hopes, and so induce them to resist; but if you be courageous, and think to drive our forces away, I am ready to deliver to you two thousand of these horses that are with me for your use, if you can set as many horsemen on their backs, and show your strength; but what you have not you cannot produce. Why therefore do you delay to deliver up yourselves to a superior force, who can take you without your consent? although it will be safer for you to deliver yourselves up voluntarily, while a forcible capture, when you are beaten, must appear more dangerous, and will bring further calamities upon you."

3. When the people, as well as the ambassadors, heard what the Assyrian commander said, they related it to Hezekiah, who thereupon put off his royal apparel, and clothed himself with sackcloth, and took the habit of a mourner, and, after the manner of his country, he fell upon his face, and besought God, and entreated him to assist them, now they had no other hope of relief. He also sent some of his friends, and some of the priests, to the prophet Isaiah, and desired that he would pray to God, and offer sacrifices for their common deliverance, and so put up supplications to him, that he would have indignation at the expectations of their enemies, and have mercy upon his people. And when the prophet had done accordingly, an oracle came from God to him, and encouraged the king and his friends that were about him; and foretold that their enemies should be beaten without fighting, and should go away in an ignominious manner, and not with that insolence which they now show, for that God would take care that they should be destroyed. He also foretold that Sennacherib, the king of Assyria, should fail of his purpose against Egypt, and that when he came home he should perish by the sword.

4. About the same time also the king of Assyria wrote an epistle to Hezekiah, in which he said he was a foolish man, in supposing that he should escape from being his servant, since he had already brought under many and great nations; and he threatened, that when he took him, he would utterly destroy him, unless he now opened the gates, and willingly received his army into Jerusalem. When he read this epistle, he despised it, on account of the trust that he had in God; but he rolled up the epistle, and laid it up within the temple. And as he made his further prayers to God for the city, and for the preservation of all the people, the prophet Isaiah said that God had heard his prayer, and that he should not be besieged at this time by the king of Assyria 2 that for the future he might be secure of not being at all disturbed by him; and that the people might go on peaceably, and without fear, with their husbandry and other affairs. But after a little while the king of Assyria, when he had failed of his treacherous designs against the Egyptians, returned home without success, on the following occasion: He spent a long time in the siege of Pelusium; and when the banks that he had raised over against the walls were of a great height, and when he was ready to make an immediate assault upon them, but heard that Tirhaka, king of the Ethiopians, was coming and bringing great forces to aid the Egyptians, and was resolved to march through the desert, and so to fall directly upon the Assyrians, this king Sennacherib was disturbed at the news, and, as I said before, left Pelusium, and returned back without success. Now concerning this Sennacherib, Herodotus also says, in the second book of his histories, how "this king came against the Egyptian king, who was the priest of Vulcan; and that as he was besieging Pelusium, he broke up the siege on the following occasion: This Egyptian priest prayed to God, and God heard his prayer, and sent a judgement upon the Arabian king." But in this Herodotus was mistaken, when he called this king not king of the Assyrians, but of the Arabians; for he saith that "a multitude of mice gnawed to pieces in one night both the bows and the rest of the armour of the Assyrians, and that it was on that account that the king, when he had no bows left, drew off his army from Pelusium." And Herodotus does indeed give us this history; nay, and Berosus, who wrote of the affairs of Chaldea, makes mention of this king Sennacherib, and that he ruled over the Assyrians, and that he made an expedition against all Asia and Egypt; and says thus:

5. "Now when Sennacherib was returning from his Egyptian war to Jerusalem, he found his army under Rabshakeh his general in danger [by a plague], for God had sent a pestilential distemper upon his army; and on the very first night of the siege, a hundred fourscore and five thousand, with their captains and generals, were destroyed. So the king was in a great dread and in a terrible agony at this calamity; and being in great fear for his whole army, he fled with the rest of his forces to his own kingdom, and to his city Nineveh; and when he had abode there a little while, he was treacherously assaulted, and died by the hands of his elder sons, 3 Adrammelech and Seraser, and was slain in his own temple, which was called Araske. Now these sons of his were driven away on account of the murder of their father by the citizens, and went into Armenia, while Assarachoddas took the kingdom of Sennacherib." And this proved to be the conclusion of this Assyrian expedition against the people of Jerusalem.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 2

How Hezekiah Was Sick, And Ready To Die; And How God Bestowed Upon Him Fifteen Years Longer Life, [And Secured That Promise] By The Going Back Of The Shadow Ten Degrees.

1. Now king Hezekiah being thus delivered, after a surprising manner, from the dread he was in, offered thank-offerings to God, with all his people, because nothing else had destroyed some of their enemies, and made the rest so fearful of undergoing the same fate that they departed from Jerusalem, but that Divine assistance. Yet, while he was very zealous and diligent about the worship of God, did he soon afterwards fall into a severe distemper, insomuch that the physicians despaired of him, and expected no good issue of his sickness, as neither did his friends: and besides the distemper itself, there was a very melancholy circumstance that disordered the king, which was the consideration that he was childless, and was going to die, and leave his house and his government without a successor of his own body; so he was troubled at the thoughts of this his condition, and lamented himself, and entreated of God that he would prolong his life for a little while till he had some children, and not suffer him to depart this life before he was become a father. Hereupon God had mercy upon him, and accepted of his supplication, because the trouble he was under at his supposed death was not because he was soon to leave the advantages he enjoyed in the kingdom, nor did he on that account pray that he might have a longer life afforded him, but in order to have sons, that might receive the government after him. And God sent Isaiah the prophet, and commanded him to inform Hezekiah, that within three days' time he should get clear of his distemper, and should survive it fifteen years, and that he should have children also. Now, upon the prophet's saying this, as God had commanded him, he could hardly believe it, both on account of the distemper he was under, which was very sore, and by reason of the surprising nature of what was told him; so he desired that Isaiah would give him some sign or wonder, that he might believe him in what he had said, and be sensible that he came from God; for things that are beyond expectation, and greater than our hopes, are made credible by actions of the like nature. And when Isaiah had asked him what sign he desired to be exhibited, he desired that he would make the shadow of the sun, which he had already made to go down ten steps [or degrees] in his house, to return again to the same place, and to make it as it was before. And when the prophet prayed to God to exhibit this sign to the king, he saw what he desired to see, and was freed from his distemper, and went up to the temple, where he worshipped God, and made vows to him.

2. At this time it was that the dominion of the Assyrians was overthrown by the Medes; but of these things I shall treat elsewhere. But the king of Babylon, whose name was Baladan, sent ambassadors to Hezekiah, with presents, and desired he would be his ally and his friend. So he received the ambassadors gladly, and made them a feast, and showed them his treasures, and his armoury, and the other wealth he was possessed of, in precious stones and in gold, and gave them presents to be carried to Baladan, and sent them back to him. Upon which the prophet Isaiah came to him, and inquired of him whence those ambassadors came; to which he replied, that they came from Babylon, from the king; and that he had showed them all he had, that by the sight of his riches and forces he might thereby guess at [the plenty he was in], and be able to inform the king of it. But the prophet rejoined, and said, "Know thou, that, after a little while, these riches of thine shall be carried away to Babylon, and thy posterity shall be made eunuchs there, and lose their manhood, and be servants to the king of Babylon; for that God foretold such things would come to pass." Upon which words Hezekiah was troubled, and said that he was himself unwilling that his nation should fall into such calamities; yet since it is not possible to alter what God had determined, he prayed that there might be peace while he lived. Berosus also makes mention of this Baladan, king of Babylon. Now as to this prophet [Isaiah], he was by the confession of all, a divine and wonderful man in speaking truth; and out of the assurance that he had never written what was false, he wrote down all his prophecies, and left them behind him in books, that their accomplishment might be judged of from the events by posterity: nor did this prophet do so alone, but the others, which were twelve in number, did the same. And whatsoever is done among us, Whether it be good, or whether it be bad, comes to pass according to their prophecies; but of every one of these we shall speak hereafter.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 3

How Manasseh Reigned After Hezekiah; And How When He Was In Captivity He Returned To God And Was Restored To His Kingdom And Left It To [His Son] Amon.

1. When king Hezekiah had survived the interval of time already mentioned, and had dwelt all that time in peace, he died, having completed fifty-four years of his life, and reigned twenty-nine. But when his son Manasseh, whose mother's name was Hephzibah, of Jerusalem, had taken the kingdom, he departed from the conduct of his father, and fell into a course of life quite contrary thereto, and showed himself in his manners most wicked in all respects, and omitted no sort of impiety, but imitated those transgressions of the Israelites, by the commission of which against God they had been destroyed; for he was so hardy as to defile the temple of God, and the city, and the whole country; for, by setting out from a contempt of God, he barbarously slew all the righteous men that were among the Hebrews; nor would he spare the prophets, for he every day slew some of them, till Jerusalem was overflown with blood. So God was angry at these proceedings, and sent prophets to the king, and to the multitude, by whom he threatened the very same calamities to them which their brethren the Israelites, upon the like affronts offered to God, were now under. But these men would not believe their words, by which belief they might have reaped the advantage of escaping all those miseries; yet did they in earnest learn that what the prophets had told them was true.

2. And when they persevered in the same course of life, God raised up war against them from the king of Babylon and Chaldea, who sent an army against Judea, and laid waste the country; and caught king Manasseh by treachery, and ordered him to be brought to him, and had him under his power to inflict what punishment he pleased upon him. But then it was that Manasseh perceived what a miserable condition he was in, and esteeming himself the cause of all, he besought God to render his enemy humane and merciful to him. Accordingly, God heard his prayer, and granted him what he prayed for. So Manasseh was released by the king of Babylon, and escaped the danger he was in; and when he was come to Jerusalem, he endeavored, if it were possible, to cast out of his memory those his former sins against God, of which he now repented, and to apply himself to a very religious life. He sanctified the temple, and purged the city, and for the remainder of his days he was intent on nothing but to return his thanks to God for his deliverance, and to preserve him propitious to him all his life long. He also instructed the multitude to do the same, as having very nearly experienced what a calamity he was fallen into by a contrary conduct. He also rebuilt the altar, and offered the legal sacrifices, as Moses commanded. And when he had re-established what concerned the Divine worship, as it ought to be, he took care of the security of Jerusalem: he did not only repair the old walls with great diligence, but added another wall to the former. He also built very lofty towers, and the garrisoned places before the city he strengthened, not only in other respects, but with provisions of all sorts that they wanted. And indeed, when he had changed his former course, he so led his life for the time to come, that from the time of his return to piety towards God he was deemed a happy man, and a pattern for imitation. When therefore he had lived sixty-seven years, he departed this life, having reigned fifty-five years, and was buried in his own garden; and the kingdom came to his son Amon, whose mother's name was Meshulemeth, of the city of Jotbath.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 4

How Amon Reigned Instead Of Manasseh; And After Amon Reigned Josiah; He Was Both Righteous And Religious. As Also Concerning Huldah The Prophetess.

1. This Amon imitated those works of his father which he insolently did when he was young: so he had a conspiracy made against him by his own servants, and was slain in his own house, when he had lived twenty-four years, and of them

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had reigned two. But the multitude punished those that slew Amon, and buried him with his father, and gave the kingdom to his son Josiah, who was eight years old. His mother was of the city of Boscath, and her name was Jedidah. He was of a most excellent disposition, and naturally virtuous, and followed the actions of king David, as a pattern and a rule to him in the whole conduct of his life. And when he was twelve years old, he gave demonstrations of his religious and righteous behavior; for he brought the people to a sober way of living, and exhorted them to leave off the opinion they had of their idols, because they were not gods, but to worship their own God. And by repeating on the actions of his progenitors, he prudently corrected what they did wrong, like a very elderly man, and like one abundantly able to understand what was fit to be done; and what he found they had well done, he observed all the country over, and imitated the same. And thus he acted in following the wisdom and sagacity of his own nature, and in compliance with the advice and instruction of the elders; for by following the laws it was that he succeeded so well in the order of his government, and in piety with regard to the Divine worship. And this happened because the transgressions of the former kings were seen no more, but quite vanished away; for the king went about the city, and the whole country, and cut down the groves which were devoted to strange gods, and overthrew their altars; and if there were any gifts dedicated to them by his forefathers, he made them ignominious, and plucked them down; and by this means he brought the people back from their opinion about them to the worship of God. He also offered his accustomed sacrifices and burnt- offerings upon the altar. Moreover, he ordained certain judges and overseers, that they might order the matters to them severally belonging, and have regard to justice above all things, and distribute it with the same concern they would have about their own soul. He also sent over all the country, and desired such as pleased to bring gold and silver for the repairs of the temple, according to every one's inclinations and abilities. And when the money was brought in, he made one Maaseiah the governor of the city, and Shaphan the scribe, and Joab the recorder, and Eliakim the high priest, curators of the temple, and of the charges contributed thereto; who made no delay, nor put the work off at all, but prepared architects, and whatsoever was proper for those repairs, and set closely about the work. So the temple was repaired by this means, and became a public demonstration of the king's piety.

2. But when he was now in the eighteenth year of his reign, he sent to Eliakim the high priest, and gave order, that out of what money was overplus, he should cast cups, and dishes, and vials, for ministration [in the temple]; and besides, that they should bring all the gold or silver which was among the treasures, and expend that also in making cups and the like vessels. But as the high priest was bringing out the gold, he lighted upon the holy books of Moses that were laid up in the temple; and when he had brought them out, he gave them to Shaphan the scribe, who, when he had read them, came to the king, and informed him that all was finished which he had ordered to be done. He also read over the books to him, who, when he had heard them read, rent his garment, and called for Eliakim the high priest, and for [Shaphan] the scribe, and for certain [other] of his most particular friends, and sent them to Huldah the prophetess, the wife of Shallum, [which Shallum was a man of dignity, and of an eminent family,] and bid them go to her, and say that [he desired] she would appease God, and endeavor to render him propitious to them, for that there was cause to fear, lest, upon the transgression of the laws of Moses by their forefathers, they should be in peril of going into captivity, and of being cast out of their own country; lest they should be in want of all things, and so end their days miserably. When the prophetess had heard this from the messengers that were sent to her by the king, she bid them go back to the king, and say that "God had already given sentence against them, to destroy the people, and cast them out of their country, and deprive them of all the happiness they enjoyed;" which sentence none could set aside by any prayers of theirs, since it was passed on account of their transgressions of the laws, and of their not having repented in so long a time, while the prophets had exhorted them to amend, and had foretold the punishment that would ensue on their impious practices; which threatening God would certainly execute upon them, that they might be persuaded that he is God, and had not deceived them in any respect as to what he had denounced by his prophets; that yet, because Josiah was a righteous man, he would at present delay those calamities, but that after his death he would send on the multitude what miseries he had determined for them.

3. So these messengers, upon this prophecy of the woman, came and told it to the king; whereupon he sent to the people every where, and ordered that the priests and the Levites should come together to Jerusalem; and commanded that those of every age should be present also. And when they had gathered together, he first read to them the holy books; after which he stood upon a pulpit, in the midst of the multitude, and obliged them to make a covenant, with an oath, that they would worship God, and keep the laws of Moses. Accordingly, they gave their assent willingly, and undertook to do what the king had recommended to them. So they immediately offered sacrifices, and that after an acceptable manner, and besought God to be gracious and merciful to them. He also enjoined the high priest, that if there remained in the temple any vessel that was dedicated to idols, or to foreign gods, they should cast it out. So when a great number of such vessels were got together, he burnt them, and scattered their ashes abroad, and slew the priests of the idols that were not of the family of Aaron.

4. And when he had done thus in Jerusalem, he came into the country, and utterly destroyed what buildings had been made therein by king Jeroboam, in honour of strange gods; and he burnt the bones of the false prophets upon that altar which Jeroboam first built; and, as the prophet [Jadon], who came to Jeroboam when he was offering sacrifice, and when all the people heard him, foretold what would come to pass, viz. that a certain man of the house of David, Josiah by name, should do what is here mentioned. And it happened that those predictions took effect after three hundred and sixty-one years.

5. After these things, Josiah went also to such other Israelites as had escaped captivity and slavery under the Assyrians, and persuaded them to desist from their impious practices, and to leave off the honours they paid to strange gods, but to worship rightly their own Almighty God, and adhere to him. He also searched the houses, and the villages, and the cities, out of a suspicion that somebody might have one idol or other in private; nay, indeed, he took away the chariots [of the sun] that were set up in his royal palace, 7 which his predecessors had framed, and what thing soever there was besides which they worshipped as a god. And when he had thus purged all the country, he called the people to Jerusalem, and there celebrated the feast of unleavened bread, and that called the passover. He also gave the people for paschal sacrifices, young kids of the goats, and lambs, thirty thousand, and three thousand oxen for burnt-offerings. The principal of the priests also gave to the priests against the passover two thousand and six hundred lambs; the principal of the Levites also gave to the Levites five thousand lambs, and five hundred oxen, by which means there was great plenty of sacrifices; and they offered those sacrifices according to the laws of Moses, while every priest explained the matter, and ministered to the multitude. And indeed there had been no other festival thus celebrated by the Hebrews from the times of Samuel the prophet; and the plenty of sacrifices now was the occasion that all things were performed according to the laws, and according to the custom of their forefathers. So when Josiah had after this lived in peace, nay, in riches and reputation also, among all men, he ended his life in the manner following.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 5

How Josiah Fought With Neco [King Of Egypt.] And Was Wounded And Died In A Little Time Afterward; As Also How Neco Carried Jehoahaz, Who Had Been Made King Into Egypt And Delivered The Kingdom To Jehoiakim; And [Lastly] Concerning Jeremiah And Ezekiel.

1. Now Neco, king of Egypt, raised an army, and marched to the river Euphrates, in order to fight with the Medes and Babylonians, who had overthrown the dominion of the Assyrians, for he had a desire to reign over Asia. Now when he was come to the city Mendes, which belonged to the kingdom of Josiah, he brought an army to hinder him from passing through his own country, in his expedition against the Medes. Now Neco sent a herald to Josiah, and told him that he did not make this expedition against him, but was making haste to Euphrates; and desired that he would not provoke him to fight against him, because he obstructed his march to the place whither he had resolved to go. But Josiah did not admit of this advice of Neco, but put himself into a posture to hinder him from his intended march. I suppose it was fate that pushed him on this conduct, that it might take an occasion against him; for as he was setting his army in array, and rode about in his chariot, from one wing of his army to another, one of the Egyptians shot an arrow at him, and put an end to his eagerness of fighting; for being sorely wounded, he command a retreat to be sounded for his army, and returned to Jerusalem, and died of that wound; and was magnificently buried in the sepulcher of his fathers, when he had lived thirty-nine years, and of them had reigned thirty-one. But all the people mourned greatly for him, lamenting and grieving on his account many days; and Jeremiah the prophet composed an elegy to lament him, which is extant till this time also. Moreover, this prophet denounced beforehand the sad calamities that were coming upon the city. He also left behind him in writing a description of that destruction of our nation which has lately happened in our days, and the taking of Babylon; nor was he the only prophet who delivered such predictions beforehand to the multitude, but so did Ezekiel also, who was the first person that wrote, and left behind him in writing two books concerning these events. Now these two prophets were priests by birth, but of them Jeremiah dwelt in Jerusalem, from the thirteenth year of the reign of Josiah, until the city and temple were utterly destroyed. However, as to what befell this prophet, we will relate it in its proper place.

2. Upon the death of Josiah, which we have already mentioned, his son, Jehoahaz by name, took the kingdom, being about twenty-three years old. He reigned in Jerusalem; and his mother was Hamutal, of the city Libhah. He was an impious man, and impure in his course of life; but as the king of Egypt returned from the battle, he sent for Jehoahaz to come to him, to the city called Hamath which belongs to Syria; and when he was come, he put him in bands, and delivered the kingdom to a brother of his, by the father's side, whose name was Eliakim, and changed his name to Jehoiakim and laid a tribute upon the land of a hundred talents of silver, and a talent of gold; and this sum of money Jehoiakim paid by way of tribute; but Neco carried away Jehoahaz into Egypt, where he died when he had reigned three months and ten days. Now Jehoiakim's mother was called Zebudah, of the city Rumah. He was of a wicked disposition, and ready to do mischief; nor was he either religious towards God, or good-natured towards men.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 6

How Nebuchadnezzar, When He Had Conquered The King Of Egypt Made An Expedition Against The Jews, And Slew Jehoiakim, And Made Jehoiachin His Son King.

1. Now in the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, one whose name was Nebuchadnezzar took the government over the Babylonians, who at the same time went up with a great army to the city Carchemish, which was at Euphrates, upon a resolution he had taken to fight with Neco king of Egypt, under whom all Syria then was. And when Neco understood the intention of the king of Babylon, and that this expedition was made against him, he did not despise his attempt, but made haste with a great band of men to Euphrates to defend himself from Nebuchadnezzar; and when they had joined battle, he was beaten, and lost many ten thousands [of his soldiers] in the battle. So the king of Babylon passed over Euphrates, and took all Syria, as far as Pelusium, excepting Judea. But when Nebuchadnezzar had already reigned four years, which was the eighth of Jehoiakim's government over the Hebrews, the king of Babylon made an expedition with mighty forces against the Jews, and required tribute of Jehoiakim, and threatened upon his refusal to make war against him. He was affrighted at his threatening, and bought his peace with money, and brought the tribute he was ordered to bring for three years.

2. But on the third year, upon hearing that the king of the Babylonians made an expedition against the Egyptians, he did not pay his tribute; yet was he disappointed of his hope, for the Egyptians durst not fight at this time. And indeed the prophet Jeremiah foretold every day, how vainly they relied on their hopes from Egypt, and how the city would be overthrown by the king of Babylon, and Jehoiakim the king would be subdued by him. But what he thus spake proved to be of no advantage to them, because there were none that should escape; for both the multitude and the rulers, when they heard him, had no concern about what they heard; but being displeased at what was said, as if the prophet were a diviner against the king, they accused Jeremiah, and bringing him before the court, they required that a sentence and a punishment might be given against him. Now all the rest gave their votes for his condemnation, but the elders refused, who prudently sent away the prophet from the court of [the prison], and persuaded the rest to do Jeremiah no harm; for they said that he was not the only person who foretold what would come to the city, but that Micah signified the same before him, as well as many others, none of which suffered any thing of the kings that then reigned, but were honoured as the prophets of God. So they mollified the multitude with these words, and delivered Jeremiah from the punishment to which he was condemned. Now when this prophet had written all his prophecies, and the people were fasting, and assembled at the temple, on the ninth month of the fifth year of Jehoiakim, he read the book he had composed of his predictions of what was to befall the city, and the temple, and the multitude. And when the rulers heard of it, they took the book from him, and bid him and Baruch the scribe to go their ways, lest they should be discovered by one or other; but they carried the book, and gave it to the king; so he gave order, in the presence of his friends, that his scribe should take it, and read it. When the king heard what it contained, he was angry, and tore it, and cast it into the fire, where it was consumed. He also commanded that they should seek for Jeremiah, and Baruch the scribe, and bring them to him, that they might be punished. However, they escaped his anger.

3. Now, a little time afterwards, the king of Babylon made an expedition against Jehoiakim, whom he received [into the city], and this out of fear of the foregoing predictions of this prophet, as supposing he should suffer nothing that was terrible, because he neither shut the gates, nor fought against him; yet when he was come into the city, he did not observe the covenants he had made, but he slew such as were in the flower of their age, and such as were of the greatest dignity, together with their king Jehoiakim, whom he commanded to be thrown before the walls, without any burial; and made his son Jehoiachin king of the country, and of the city: he also

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took the principal persons in dignity for captives, three thousand in number, and led them away to Babylon; among which was the prophet Ezekiel, who was then but young. And this was the end of king Jehoiakim, when he had lived thirty-six years, and of them reigned eleven. But Jehoiachin succeeded him in the kingdom, whose mother's name was Nehushta; she was a citizen of Jerusalem. He reigned three months and ten days.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 7

That The King Of Babylon Repented Of Making Jehoiachin King, And Took Him Away To Babylon And Delivered The Kingdom To Zedekiah. This King Would Not Believe What Was Predicted By Jeremiah And Ezekiel But Joined Himself To The Egyptians; Who When They Came Into Judea, Were Vanquished By The King Of Babylon; As Also What Befell Jeremiah.

1. But a terror seized on the king of Babylon, who had given the kingdom to Jehoiachin, and that immediately; he was afraid that he should bear him a grudge, because of his killing his father, and thereupon should make the country revolt from him; wherefore he sent an army, and besieged Jehoiachin in Jerusalem; but because he was of a gentle and just disposition, he did not desire to see the city endangered on his account, but he took his mother and kindred, and delivered them to the commanders sent by the king of Babylon, and accepted of their oaths, that neither should they suffer any harm, nor the city; which agreement they did not observe for a single year, for the king of Babylon did not keep it, but gave orders to his generals to take all that were in the city captives, both the youth and the handicraftsmen, and bring them bound to him; their number was ten thousand eight hundred and thirty-two; as also Jehoiachin, and his mother and friends. And when these were brought to him, he kept them in custody, and appointed Jehoiachin's uncle, Zedekiah, to be king; and made him take an oath, that he would certainly keep the kingdom for him, and make no innovation, nor have any league of friendship with the Egyptians.

2. Now Zedekiah was twenty and one year's old when he took the government; and had the same mother with his brother Jehoiakim, but was a despiser of justice and of his duty, for truly those of the same age with him were wicked about him, and the whole multitude did what unjust and insolent things they pleased; for which reason the prophet Jeremiah came often to him, and protested to him, and insisted, that he must leave off his impieties and transgressions, and take care of what was right, and neither give ear to the rulers, [among whom were wicked men,] nor give credit to their false prophets, who deluded them, as if the king of Babylon would make no more war against them, and as if the Egyptians would make war against him, and conquer him, since what they said was not true, and the events would not prove such [as they expected]. Now as to Zedekiah himself, while he heard the prophet speak, he believed him, and agreed to every thing as true, and supposed it was for his advantage; but then his friends perverted him, and dissuaded him from what the prophet advised, and obliged him to do what they pleased. Ezekiel also foretold in Babylon what calamities were coming upon the people, which when he heard, he sent accounts of them unto Jerusalem. But Zedekiah did not believe their prophecies, for the reason following: It happened that the two prophets agreed with one another in what they said as in all other things, that the city should be taken, and Zedekiah himself should be taken captive; but Ezekiel disagreed with him, and said that Zedekiah should not see Babylon, while Jeremiah said to him, that the king of Babylon should carry him away thither in bonds....

3. Now when Zedekiah had preserved the league of mutual assistance he had made with the Babylonians for eight years, he brake it, and revolted to the Egyptians, in hopes, by their assistance, of overcoming the Babylonians. When the king of Babylon knew this, he made war against him: he laid his country waste, and took his fortified towns, and came to the city Jerusalem itself to besiege it. But when the king of Egypt heard what circumstances Zedekiah his ally was in, he took a great army with him, and came into Judea, as if he would raise the siege; upon which the king of Babylon departed from Jerusalem, and met the Egyptians, and joined battle with them, and beat them; and when he had put them to flight, he pursued them, and drove them out of all Syria. Now as soon as the king of Babylon was departed from Jerusalem, the false prophets deceived Zedekiah, and said that the king of Babylon would not any more make war against him or his people, nor remove them out of their own country into Babylon; and that those then in captivity would return, with all those vessels of the temple of which the king of Babylon had despoiled that temple. But Jeremiah came among them, and prophesied what contradicted those predictions, and what proved to be true, that they did ill, and deluded the king; that the Egyptians would be of no advantage to them, but that the king of Babylon would renew the war against Jerusalem, and besiege it again, and would destroy the people by famine, and carry away those that remained into captivity, and would take away what they had as spoils, and would carry off those riches that were in the temple; nay, that, besides this, he would burn it, and utterly overthrow the city, and that they should serve him and his posterity seventy years; that then the Persians and the Medes should put an end to their servitude, and overthrow the Babylonians; "and that we shall be dismissed, and return to this land, and rebuild the temple, and restore Jerusalem." When Jeremiah said this, the greater part believed him; but the rulers, and those that were wicked, despised him, as one disordered in his senses. Now he had resolved to go elsewhere, to his own country, which was called Anathoth, and was twenty furlongs distant from Jerusalem; and as he was going, one of the rulers met him, and seized upon him, and accused him falsely, as though he were going as a deserter to the Babylonians; but Jeremiah said that he accused him falsely, and added, that he was only going to his own country; but the other would not believe him, but seized upon him, and led him away to the rulers, and laid an accusation against him, under whom he endured all sorts of torments and tortures, and was reserved to be punished; and this was the condition he was in for some time, while he suffered what I have already described unjustly.

4. Now in the ninth year of the reign of Zedekiah, on the tenth day of the tenth month, the king of Babylon made a second expedition against Jerusalem, and lay before it eighteen months, and besieged it with the utmost application. There came upon them also two of the greatest calamities at the same time that Jerusalem was besieged, a famine and a pestilential distemper, and made great havoc of them. And though the prophet Jeremiah was in prison, he did not rest, but cried out, and proclaimed aloud, and exhorted the multitude to open their gates, and admit the king of Babylon, for that if they did so, they should be preserved, and their whole families; but if they did not so, they should be destroyed; and he foretold, that if any one staid in the city, he should certainly perish by one of these ways,—either be consumed by the famine, or slain by the enemy's sword; but that if he would flee to the enemy, he should escape death. Yet did not these rulers who heard believe him, even when they were in the midst of their sore calamities; but they came to the king, and in their anger informed him what Jeremiah had said, and accused him, and complained of the prophet as of a madman, and one that disheartened their minds, and by the denunciation of miseries weakened the alacrity of the multitude, who were otherwise ready to expose themselves to dangers for him, and for their country, while he, in a way of threatening, warned them to flee to the enemy, and told them that the city should certainly be taken, and be utterly destroyed.

5. But for the king himself, he was not at all irritated against Jeremiah, such was his gentle and righteous disposition; yet, that he might not be engaged in a quarrel with those rulers at such a time, by opposing what they intended, he let them do with the prophet whatsoever they would; whereupon, when the king had granted them such a permission, they presently came into the prison, and took him, and let him down with a cord into a pit full of mire, that he might be suffocated, and die of himself. So he stood up to the neck in the mire which was all about him, and so continued; but there was one of the king's servants, who was in esteem with him, an Ethiopian by descent, who told the king what a state the prophet was in, and said that his friends and his rulers had done evil in putting the prophet into the mire, and by that means contriving against him that he should suffer a death more bitter than that by his bonds only. When the king heard this, he repented of his having delivered up the prophet to the rulers, and bid the Ethiopian take thirty men of the king's guards, and cords with them, and whatsoever else they understood to be necessary for the prophet's preservation, and to draw him up immediately. So the Ethiopian took the men he was ordered to take, and drew up the prophet out of the mire, and left him at liberty [in the prison].

6. But when the king had sent to call him privately, and inquired what he could say to him from God, which might be suitable to his present circumstances, and desired him to inform him of it, Jeremiah replied, that he had somewhat to say; but he said withal, he should not be believed, nor, if he admonished them, should be hearkened to; "for," said he, "thy friends have determined to destroy me, as though I had been guilty of some wickedness; and where are now those men who deceived us, and said that the king of Babylon would not come and fight against us any more? but I am afraid now to speak the truth, lest thou shouldst condemn me to die." And when the king had assured him upon oath, that he would neither himself put him to death, nor deliver him up to the rulers, he became bold upon that assurance that was given him, and gave him this advice: That he should deliver the city up to the Babylonians; and he said that it was God who prophesied this by him, that [he must do so] if he would be preserved, and escape out of the danger he was in, and that then neither should the city fall to the ground, nor should the temple be burned; but that [if he disobeyed] he would be the cause of these miseries coming upon the citizens, and of the calamity that would befall his whole house. When the king heard this, he said that he would willingly do what he persuaded him to, and what he declared would be to his advantage, but that he was afraid of those of his own country that had fallen away to the Babylonians, lest he should be accused by them to the king of Babylon, and be punished. But the prophet encouraged him, and said he had no cause to fear such punishment, for that he should not have the experience of any misfortune, if he would deliver all up to the Babylonians, neither himself, nor his children, nor his wives, and that the temple should then continue unhurt. So when Jeremiah had said this, the king let him go, and charged him to betray what they had resolved on to none of the citizens, nor to tell any of these matters to any of the rulers, if they should have learned that he had been sent for, and should inquire of him what it was that he was sent for, and what he had said to him; but to pretend to them that he besought him that he might not be kept in bonds and in prison. And indeed he said so to them; for they came to the prophet, and asked him what advice it was that he came to give the king relating to them. And thus I have finished what concerns this matter.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 8

How The King Of Babylon Took Jerusalem And Burnt The Temple And Removed The People Of Jerusalem And Zedekiah To Babylon. As Also, Who They Were That Had Succeeded In The High Priesthood Under The Kings.

1. Now the king of Babylon was very intent and earnest upon the siege of Jerusalem; and he erected towers upon great banks of earth, and from them repelled those that stood upon the walls; he also made a great number of such banks round about the whole city, whose height was equal to those walls. However, those that were within bore the siege with courage and alacrity, for they were not discouraged, either by the famine, or by the pestilential distemper, but were of cheerful minds in the prosecution of the war, although those miseries within oppressed them also, and they did not suffer themselves to be terrified, either by the contrivances of the enemy, or by their engines of war, but contrived still different engines to oppose all the other withal, till indeed there seemed to be an entire struggle between the Babylonians and the people of Jerusalem, which had the greater sagacity and skill; the former party supposing they should be thereby too hard for the other, for the destruction of the city; the latter placing their hopes of deliverance in nothing else but in persevering in such inventions in opposition to the other, as might demonstrate the enemy's engines were useless to them. And this siege they endured for eighteen months, until they were destroyed by the famine, and by the darts which the enemy threw at them from the towers.

2. Now the city was taken on the ninth day of the fourth month, in the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah. They were indeed only generals of the king of Babylon, to whom Nebuchadnezzar committed the care of the siege, for he abode himself in the city of Riblah. The names of these generals who ravaged and subdued Jerusalem, if any one desire to know them, were these: Nergal Sharezer, Samgar Nebo, Rabsaris, Sorsechim, and Rabmag. And when the city was taken about midnight, and the enemy's generals were entered into the temple, and when Zedekiah was sensible of it, he took his wives, and his children, and his captains, and his friends, and with them fled out of the city, through the fortified ditch, and through the desert; and when certain of the deserters had informed the Babylonians of this, at break of day, they made haste to pursue after Zedekiah, and overtook him not far from Jericho, and encompassed him about. But for those friends and captains of Zedekiah who had fled out of the city with him, when they saw their enemies near them, they left him, and dispersed themselves, some one way, and some another, and every one resolved to save himself; so the enemy took Zedekiah alive, when he was deserted by all but a few, with his children and his wives, and brought him to the king. When he was come, Nebuchadnezzar began to call him a wicked wretch, and a covenant-breaker, and one that had forgotten his former words, when he promised to keep the country for him. He also reproached him for his ingratitude, that when he had received the kingdom from him, who had taken it from Jehoiachin, and given it to him, he had made use of the power he gave him against him that gave it; "but," said he, "God is great, who hated that conduct of thine, and hath brought thee under us." And when he had used these words to Zedekiah, he commanded his sons and his friends to be slain, while Zedekiah and the rest of the captains looked on; after which he put out the eyes of Zedekiah, and bound him, and carried him to Babylon. And these things happened to him, as Jeremiah and Ezekiel had foretold to him, that he should be caught, and brought before the king of Babylon, and should speak to him face to face, and should see his eyes with his own eyes; and thus far did Jeremiah prophesy. But he was also made blind, and brought to Babylon, but did not see it, according to the prediction of Ezekiel.

3. We have said thus much, because it was sufficient to show the nature of God to such as are ignorant of it, that it is various, and acts many different ways, and that all events happen after a regular manner, in their proper season, and that it foretells what must come to pass. It is also sufficient to

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show the ignorance and incredulity of men, whereby they are not permitted to foresee any thing that is future, and are, without any guard, exposed to calamities, so that it is impossible for them to avoid the experience of those calamities.

4. And after this manner have the kings of David's race ended their lives, being in number twenty-one, until the last king, who all together reigned five hundred and fourteen years, and six months, and ten days; of whom Saul, who was their first king, retained the government twenty years, though he was not of the same tribe with the rest.

5. And now it was that the king of Babylon sent Nebuzaradan, the general of his army, to Jerusalem, to pillage the temple, who had it also in command to burn it and the royal palace, and to lay the city even with the ground, and to transplant the people into Babylon. Accordingly, he came to Jerusalem in the eleventh year of king Zedekiah, and pillaged the temple, and carried out the vessels of God, both gold and silver, and particularly that large laver which Solomon dedicated, as also the pillars of brass, and their chapiters, with the golden tables and the candlesticks; and when he had carried these off, he set fire to the temple in the fifth month, the first day of the month, in the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah, and in the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar: he also burnt the palace, and overthrew the city. Now the temple was burnt four hundred and seventy years, six months, and ten days after it was built. It was then one thousand and sixty-two years, six months, and ten days from the departure out of Egypt; and from the deluge to the destruction of the temple, the whole interval was one thousand nine hundred and fifty-seven years, six months, and ten days; but from the generation of Adam, until this befell the temple, there were three thousand five hundred and thirteen years, six months, and ten days; so great was the number of years hereto belonging. And what actions were done during these years we have particularly related. But the general of the Babylonian king now overthrew the city to the very foundations, and removed all the people, and took for prisoners the high priest Seraiah, and Zephaniah the priest that was next to him, and the rulers that guarded the temple, who were three in number, and the eunuch who was over the armed men, and seven friends of Zedekiah, and his scribe, and sixty other rulers; all which, together with the vessels which they had pillaged, he carried to the king of Babylon to Riblah, a city of Syria. So the king commanded the heads of the high priest and of the rulers to be cut off there; but he himself led all the captives and Zedekiah to Babylon. He also led Josedek the high priest away bound. He was the son of Seraiah the high priest, whom the king of Babylon had slain in Riblah, a city of Syria, as we just now related.

6. And now, because we have enumerated the succession of the kings, and who they were, and how long they reigned, I think it necessary to set down the names of the high priests, and who they were that succeeded one another in the high priesthood under the Kings. The first high priest then at the temple which Solomon built was Zadok; after him his son Achimas received that dignity; after Achimas was Azarias; his son was Joram, and Joram's son was Isus; after him was Axioramus; his son was Phidens, and Phideas's son was Sudeas, and Sudeas's son was Juelus, and Juelus's son was Jotham, and Jotham's son was Urias, and Urias's son was Nerias, and Nerias's son was Odeas, and his son was Sallumus, and Sallumus's son was Elcias, and his son [was Azarias, and his son] was Sareas, and his son was Josedec, who was carried captive to Babylon. All these received the high priesthood by succession, the sons from their father.

7. When the king was come to Babylon, he kept Zedekiah in prison until he died, and buried him magnificently, and dedicated the vessels he had pillaged out of the temple of Jerusalem to his own gods, and planted the people in the country of Babylon, but freed the high priest from his bonds.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 9

How Nebuzaradan Set Gedaliah Over The Jews That Were Left In Judea Which Gedaliah Was A Little Afterward Slain By Ishmael; And How Johanan After Ishmael Was Driven Away Went Down Into Egypt With The People Which People Nebuchadnezzar When He Made An Expedition Against The Egyptians Took Captive And Brought Them Away To Babylon.

1. Now the general of the army, Nebuzaradan, when he had carried the people of the Jews into captivity, left the poor, and those that had deserted, in the country, and made one, whose name was Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam, a person of a noble family, their governor; which Gedaliah was of a gentle and righteous disposition. He also commanded them that they should cultivate the ground, and pay an appointed tribute to the king. He also took Jeremiah the prophet out of prison, and would have persuaded him to go along with him to Babylon, for that he had been enjoined by the king to supply him with whatsoever he wanted; and if he did not like to do so, he desired him to inform him where he resolved to dwell, that he might signify the same to the king. But the prophet had no mind to follow him, nor to dwell any where else, but would gladly live in the ruins of his country, and in the miserable remains of it. When the general understood what his purpose was, he enjoined Gedaliah, whom he left behind, to take all possible care of him, and to supply him with whatsoever he wanted. So when he had given him rich presents, he dismissed him. Accordingly, Jeremiah abode in a city of that country, which was called Mispah; and desired of Nebuzaradan that he would set at liberty his disciple Baruch, the son of Neriah, one of a very eminent family, and exceeding skillful in the language of his country.

2. When Nebuzaradan had done thus, he made haste to Babylon. But as to those that fled away during the siege of Jerusalem, and had been scattered over the country, when they heard that the Babylonians were gone away, and had left a remnant in the land of Jerusalem, and those such as were to cultivate the same, they came together from all parts to Gedaliah to Mispah. Now the rulers that were over them were Johanan, the son of Kareah, and Jezaniah, and Seraiah, and others beside them. Now there was of the royal family one Ishmael, a wicked man, and very crafty, who, during the siege of Jerusalem, fled to Baalis, the king of the Ammonites, and abode with him during that time; and Gedaliah persuaded them, now they were there, to stay with him, and to have no fear of the Babylonians, for that if they would cultivate the country, they should suffer no harm. This he assured them of by oath; and said that they should have him for their patron, and that if any disturbance should arise, they should find him ready to defend them. He also advised them to dwell in any city, as every one of them pleased; and that they would send men along with his own servants, and rebuild their houses upon the old foundations, and dwell there; and he admonished them beforehand, that they should make preparation, while the season lasted, of corn, and wine, and oil, that they might have whereon to feed during the winter. When he had thus discoursed to them, he dismissed them, that every one might dwell in what place of the country he pleased.

3. Now when this report was spread abroad as far as the nations that bordered on Judea, that Gedaliah kindly entertained those that came to him, after they had fled away, upon this [only] condition, that they should pay tribute to the king of Babylon, they also came readily to Gedaliah, and inhabited the country. And when Johanan, and the rulers that were with him, observed the country, and the humanity of Gedaliah, they were exceedingly in love with him, and told him that Baalis, the king of the Ammonites, had sent Ishmael to kill him by treachery, and secretly, that he might have the dominion over the Israelites, as being of the royal family; and they said that he might deliver himself from this treacherous design, if he would give them leave to slay Ishmael, and nobody should know it, for they told him they were afraid that, when he was killed by the other, the entire ruin of the remaining strength of the Israelites would ensue. But he professed that he did not believe what they said, when they told him of such a treacherous design, in a man that had been well treated by him; because it was not probable that one who, under such a want of all things, had failed of nothing that was necessary for him, should be found so wicked and ungrateful towards his benefactor, that when it would be an instance of wickedness in him not to save him, had he been treacherously assaulted by others, to endeavor, and that earnestly, to kill him with his own hands: that, however, if he ought to suppose this information to be true, it was better for himself to be slain by the other, than to destroy a man who fled to him for refuge, and intrusted his own safety to him, and committed himself to his disposal.

4. So Johanan, and the rulers that were with him, not being able to persuade Gedaliah, went away. But after the interval of thirty days was over, Ishmael came again to Gedaliah, to the city Mispah, and ten men with him; and when he had feasted Ishmael, and those that were with him, in a splendid manner at his table, and had given them presents, he became disordered in drink, while he endeavored to be very merry with them; and when Ishmael saw him in that case, and that he was drowned in his cups to the degree of insensibility, and fallen asleep, he rose up on a sudden, with his ten friends, and slew Gedaliah, and those that were with him at the feast; and when he had slain them, he went out by night, and slew all the Jews that were in the city, and those soldiers also which were left therein by the Babylonians. But the next day fourscore men came out of the country with presents to Gedaliah, none of them knowing what had befallen him; when Ishmael saw them, he invited them in to Gedaliah, and when they were come in, he shut up the court, and slew them, and cast their dead bodies down into a certain deep pit, that they might not be seen; but of these fourscore men Ishmael spared those that entreated him not to kill them, till they had delivered up to him what riches they had concealed in the fields, consisting of their furniture, and garments, and corn: but he took captive the people that were in Mispah, with their wives and children; among whom were the daughters of king Zedekiah, whom Nebuzaradan, the general of the army of Babylon, had left with Gedaliah. And when he had done this, he came to the king of the Ammonites.

5. But when Johanan and the rulers with him heard of what was done at Mispah by Ishmael, and of the death of Gedaliah, they had indignation at it, and every one of them took his own armed men, and came suddenly to fight with Ishmael, and overtook him at the fountain in Hebron. And when those that were carried away captives by Ishmael saw Johanan and the rulers, they were very glad, and looked upon them as coming to their assistance; so they left him that had carried them captives, and came over to Johanan: then Ishmael, with eight men, fled to the king of the Ammonites; but Johanan took those whom he had rescued out of the hands of Ishmael, and the eunuchs, and their wives and children, and came to a certain place called Mandra, and there they abode that day, for they had determined to remove from thence and go into Egypt, out of fear, lest the Babylonians should slay them, in case they continued in the country, and that out of anger at the slaughter of Gedaliah, who had been by them set over it for governor.

6. Now while they were under this deliberation, Johanan, the son of Kareah, and the rulers that were with him, came to Jeremiah the prophet, and desired that he would pray to God, that because they were at an utter loss about what they ought to do, he would discover it to them, and they sware that they would do whatsoever Jeremiah should say to them. And when the prophet said he would be their intercessor with God, it came to pass, that after ten days God appeared to him, and said that he should inform Johanan, and the other rulers, and all the people, that he would be with them while they continued in that country, and take care of them, and keep them from being hurt by the Babylonians, of whom they were afraid; but that he would desert them if they went into Egypt, and, out of this wrath against them, would inflict the same punishments upon them which they knew their brethren had already endured. So when the prophet had informed Johanan and the people that God had foretold these things, he was not believed, when he said that God commanded them to continue in the country; but they imagined that he said so to gratify Baruch, his own disciple, and belied God, and that he persuaded them to stay there, that they might be destroyed by the Babylonians. Accordingly, both the people and Johanan disobeyed the counsel of God, which he gave them by the prophet, and removed into Egypt, and carried Jeremiah and Barnch along with him.

7. And when they were there, God signified to the prophet that the king of Babylon was about making an expedition against the Egyptians, and commanded him to foretell to the people that Egypt should be taken, and the king of Babylon should slay some of them and, should take others captive, and bring them to Babylon; which things came to pass accordingly; for on the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, which was the twenty-third of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, he made an expedition against Celesyria; and when he had possessed himself of it, he made war against the Ammonites and Moabites; and when he had brought all these nations under subjection, he fell upon Egypt, in order to overthrow it; and he slew the king that then reigned 15 and set up another; and he took those Jews that were there captives, and led them away to Babylon. And such was the end of the nation of the Hebrews, as it hath been delivered down to us, it having twice gone beyond Euphrates; for the people of the ten tribes were carried out of Samaria by the Assyrians, in the days of king Hoshea; after which the people of the two tribes that remained after Jerusalem was taken [were carried away] by Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon and Chaldea. Now as to Shalmanezer, he removed the Israelites out of their country, and placed therein the nation of the Cutheans, who had formerly belonged to the inner parts of Persia and Media, but were then called Samaritans, by taking the name of the country to which they were removed; but the king of Babylon, who brought out the two tribes, 16 placed no other nation in their country, by which means all Judea and Jerusalem, and the temple, continued to be a desert for seventy years; but the entire interval of time which passed from the captivity of the Israelites, to the carrying away of the two tribes, proved to be a hundred and thirty years, six months, and ten days.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 10

Concerning Daniel And What Befell Him At Babylon.

1. But now Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, took some of the most noble of the Jews that were children, and the kinsmen of Zedekiah their king, such as were remarkable for the beauty of their bodies, and the comeliness of their countenances, and delivered them into the hands of tutors, and to the improvement to be made by them. He also made some of them to be eunuchs; which course he took also with those of other nations whom he had taken in the flower of their age, and afforded them their diet from his own table, and had them instructed in the institutes of the country, and taught the learning of the Chaldeans; and they had now exercised themselves sufficiently in that wisdom which he had ordered they should apply themselves to. Now among these there were four of the family of Zedekiah, of most excellent dispositions, one of whom was called Daniel, another was called Ananias, another Misael, and the fourth Azarias; and the king of Babylon changed their names, and commanded that they should make use of other names. Daniel he called

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Baltasar; Ananias, Shadrach; Misael, Meshach; and Azarias, Abednego. These the king had in esteem, and continued to love, because of the very excellent temper they were of, and because of their application to learning, and the profess they had made in wisdom.

2. Now Daniel and his kinsmen had resolved to use a severe diet, and to abstain from those kinds of food which came from the king's table, and entirely to forbear to eat of all living creatures. So he came to Ashpenaz, who was that eunuch to whom the care of them was committed, and desired him to take and spend what was brought for them from the king, but to give them pulse and dates for their food, and any thing else, besides the flesh of living creatures, that he pleased, for that their inclinations were to that sort of food, and that they despised the other. He replied, that he was ready to serve them in what they desired, but he suspected that they would be discovered by the king, from their meagre bodies, and the alteration of their countenances, because it could not be avoided but their bodies and colours must be changed with their diet, especially while they would be clearly discovered by the finer appearance of the other children, who would fare better, and thus they should bring him into danger, and occasion him to be punished; yet did they persuade Arioch, who was thus fearful, to give them what food they desired for ten days, by way of trial; and in case the habit of their bodies were not altered, to go on in the same way, as expecting that they should not be hurt thereby afterwards; but if he saw them look meagre, and worse than the rest, he should reduce them to their former diet. Now when it appeared that they were so far from becoming worse by the use of this food, that they grew plumper and fuller in body than the rest, insomuch that he thought those who fed on what came from the king's table seemed less plump and full, while those that were with Daniel looked as if they had lived in plenty, and in all sorts of luxury. Arioch, from that time, securely took himself what the king sent every day from his supper, according to custom, to the children, but gave them the forementioned diet, while they had their souls in some measure more pure, and less burdened, and so fitter for learning, and had their bodies in better tune for hard labour; for they neither had the former oppressed and heavy with variety of meats, nor were the other effeminate on the same account; so they readily understood all the learning that was among the Hebrews, and among the Chaldeans, as especially did Daniel, who being already sufficiently skillful in wisdom, was very busy about the interpretation of dreams; and God manifested himself to him.

3. Now two years after the destruction of Egypt, king Nebuchadnezzar saw a wonderful dream, the accomplishment of which God showed him in his sleep; but when he arose out of his bed, he forgot the accomplishment. So he sent for the Chaldeans and magicians, and the prophets, and told them that he had seen a dream, and informed them that he had forgotten the accomplishment of what he had seen, and he enjoined them to tell him both what the dream was, and what was its signification; and they said that this was a thing impossible to be discovered by men; but they promised him, that if he would explain to them what dream he had seen, they would tell him its signification. Hereupon he threatened to put them to death, unless they told him his dream; and he gave command to have them all put to death, since they confessed they could not do what they were commanded to do. Now when Daniel heard that the king had given a command, that all the wise men should be put to death, and that among them himself and his three kinsmen were in danger, he went to Arioch, who was captain of the king's guards, and desired to know of him what was the reason why the king had given command that all the wise men, and Chaldeans, and magicians should be slain. So when he had learned that the king had had a dream, and had forgotten it, and that when they were enjoined to inform the king of it, they had said they could not do it, and had thereby provoked him to anger, he desired of Arioch that he would go in to the king, and desire respite for the magicians for one night, and to put off their slaughter so long, for that he hoped within that time to obtain, by prayer to God, the knowledge of the dream. Accordingly, Arioch informed the king of what Daniel desired. So the king bid them delay the slaughter of the magicians till he knew what Daniel's promise would come to; but the young man retired to his own house, with his kinsmen, and besought God that whole night to discover the dream, and thereby deliver the magicians and Chaldeans, with whom they were themselves to perish, from the king's anger, by enabling him to declare his vision, and to make manifest what the king had seen the night before in his sleep, but had forgotten it. Accordingly, God, out of pity to those that were in danger, and out of regard to the wisdom of Daniel, made known to him the dream and its interpretation, that so the king might understand by him its signification also. When Daniel had obtained this knowledge from God, he arose very joyful, and told it his brethren, and made them glad, and to hope well that they should now preserve their lives, of which they despaired before, and had their minds full of nothing but the thoughts of dying. So when he had with them returned thanks to God, who had commiserated their youth, when it was day he came to Arioch, and desired him to bring him to the king, because he would discover to him that dream which he had seen the night before.

4. When Daniel was come in to the king, he excused himself first, that he did not pretend to be wiser than the other Chaldeans and magicians, when, upon their entire inability to discover his dream, he was undertaking to inform him of it; for this was not by his own skill, or on account of his having better cultivated his understanding than the rest; but he said, "God hath had pity upon us, when we were in danger of death, and when I prayed for the life of myself, and of those of my own nation, hath made manifest to me both the dream, and the interpretation thereof; for I was not less concerned for thy glory than for the sorrow that we were by thee condemned to die, while thou didst so unjustly command men, both good and excellent in themselves, to be put to death, when thou enjoinedst them to do what was entirely above the reach of human wisdom, and requiredst of them what was only the work of God. Wherefore, as thou in thy sleep wast solicitous concerning those that should succeed thee in the government of the whole world, God was desirous to show thee all those that should reign after thee, and to that end exhibited to thee the following dream: Thou seemedst to see a great image standing before thee, the head of which proved to be of gold, the shoulders and arms of silver, and the belly and the thighs of brass, but the legs and the feet of iron; after which thou sawest a stone broken off from a mountain, which fell upon the image, and threw it down, and brake it to pieces, and did not permit any part of it to remain whole; but the gold, the silver, the brass, and the iron, became smaller than meal, which, upon the blast of a violent wind, was by force carried away, and scattered abroad, but the stone did increase to such a degree, that the whole earth beneath it seemed to be filled therewith. This is the dream which thou sawest, and its interpretation is as follows: The head of gold denotes thee, and the kings of Babylon that have been before thee; but the two hands and arms signify this, that your government shall be dissolved by two kings; but another king that shall come from the west, armed with brass, shall destroy that government; and another government, that shall be like unto iron, shall put an end to the power of the former, and shall have dominion over all the earth, on account of the nature of iron, which is stronger than that of gold, of silver, and of brass." Daniel did also declare the meaning of the stone to the king but I do not think proper to relate it, since I have only undertaken to describe things past or things present, but not things that are future; yet if any one be so very desirous of knowing truth, as not to wave such points of curiosity, and cannot curb his inclination for understanding the uncertainties of futurity, and whether they will happen or not, let him be diligent in reading the book of Daniel, which he will find among the sacred writings.

5. When Nebuchadnezzar heard this, and recollected his dream, he was astonished at the nature of Daniel, and fell upon his knee; and saluted Daniel in the manner that men worship God, and gave command that he should be sacrificed to as a god. And this was not all, for he also imposed the name, of his own god upon him, [Baltasar,] and made him and his kinsmen rulers of his whole kingdom; which kinsmen of his happened to fall into great danger by the envy and malice [of their enemies]; for they offended the king upon the occasion following: he made an image of gold, whose height was sixty cubits, and its breadth six cubits, and set it in the great plain of Babylon; and when he was going to dedicate the image, he invited the principal men out of all the earth that was under his dominions, and commanded them, in the first place, that when they should hear the sound of the trumpet, they should then fall down and worship the image; and he threatened, that those who did not so, should be cast into a fiery furnace. When therefore all the rest, upon the hearing of the sound of the trumpet, worshipped the image, they relate that Daniel's kinsmen did not do it, because they would not transgress the laws of their country. So these men were convicted, and cast immediately into the fire, but were saved by Divine Providence, and after a surprising manner escaped death, for the fire did not touch them; and I suppose that it touched them not, as if it reasoned with itself, that they were cast into it without any fault of theirs, and that therefore it was too weak to burn the young men when they were in it. This was done by the power of God, who made their bodies so far superior to the fire, that it could not consume them. This it was which recommended them to the king as righteous men, and men beloved of God, on which account they continued in great esteem with him.

6. A little after this the king saw in his sleep again another vision; how he should fall from his dominion, and feed among the wild beasts, and that when he halt lived in this manner in the desert for seven years, he should recover his dominion again. When he had seen this dream, he called the magicians together again, and inquired of them about it, and desired them to tell him what it signified; but when none of them could find out the meaning of the dream, nor discover it to the king, Daniel was the only person that explained it; and as he foretold, so it came to pass; for after he had continued in the wilderness the forementioned interval of time, while no one durst attempt to seize his kingdom during those seven years, he prayed to God that he might recover his kingdom, and he returned to it. But let no one blame me for writing down every thing of this nature, as I find it in our ancient books; for as to that matter, I have plainly assured those that think me defective in any such point, or complain of my management, and have told them in the beginning of this history, that I intended to do no more than translate the Hebrew books into the Greek language, and promised them to explain those facts, without adding any thing to them of my own, or taking any thing away from there.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 11

Concerning Nebuchadnezzar And His Successors And How Their Government Was Dissolved By The Persians; And What Things Befell Daniel In Media; And What Prophecies He Delivered There.

1. Now when king Nebuchadnezzar had reigned forty-three years, he ended his life. He was an active man, and more fortunate than the kings that were before him. Now Berosus makes mention of his actions in the third book of his Chaldaic History, where he says thus: "When his father Nebuchodonosor [Nabopollassar] heard that the governor whom he had set over Egypt, and the places about Coelesyria and Phoenicia, had revolted from him, while he was not himself able any longer to undergo the hardships [of war], he committed to his son Nebuchadnezzar, who was still but a youth, some parts of his army, and sent them against him. So when Nebuchadnezzar had given battle, and fought with the rebel, he beat him, and reduced the country from under his subjection, and made it a branch of his own kingdom; but about that time it happened that his father Nebuchodonosor [Nabopollassar] fell ill, and ended his life in the city Babylon, when he had reigned twenty-one years; and when he was made sensible, as he was in a little time, that his father Nebuchodonosor [Nabopollassar] was dead, and having settled the affairs of Egypt, and the other countries, as also those that concerned the captive Jews, and Phoenicians, and Syrians, and those of the Egyptian nations; and having committed the conveyance of them to Babylon to certain of his friends, together with the gross of his army, and the rest of their ammunition and provisions, he went himself hastily, accompanied with a few others, over the desert, and came to Babylon. So he took upon him the management of public affairs, and of the kingdom which had been kept for him by one that was the principal of the Chaldeans, and he received the entire dominions of his father, and appointed, that when the captives came, they should be placed as colonies, in the most proper places of Babylonia; but then he adorned the temple of Belus, and the rest of the temples, in a magnificent manner, with the spoils he had taken in the war. He also added another city to that which was there of old, and rebuilt it, that such as would besiege it hereafter might no more turn the course of the river, and thereby attack the city itself. He therefore built three walls round about the inner city, and three others about that which was the outer, and this he did with burnt brick. And after he had, after a becoming manner, walled the city, and adorned its gates gloriously, he built another palace before his father's palace, but so that they joined to it; to describe whose vast height and immense riches it would perhaps be too much for me to attempt; yet as large and lofty as they were, they were completed in fifteen days. He also erected elevated places for walking, of stone, and made it resemble mountains, and built it so that it might be planted with all sorts of trees. He also erected what was called a pensile paradise, because his wife was desirous to have things like her own country, she having been bred up in the palaces of Media." Megasthenes also, in his fourth book of his Accounts of India [Megasthenes' Indika], makes mention of these things, and thereby endeavors to show that this king [Nebuchadnezzar] exceeded Hercules in fortitude, and in the greatness of his actions; for he saith that he conquered a great part of Libya and Iberia. Diocles also, in the second book of his Accounts of Persia, mentions this king; as does Philostrates in his Accounts both of India and of Phoenicia, say, that this king besieged Tyre thirteen years, while at the same time Ethbaal reigned at Tyre. These are all the histories that I have met with concerning this king.

2. But now, after the death of Nebuchadnezzar, Evil-Merodach his son succeeded in the kingdom, who immediately set Jeconiah at liberty, and esteemed him among his most intimate friends. He also gave him many presents, and made him honourable above the rest of the kings that were in Babylon; for his father had not kept his faith with Jeconiah, when he voluntarily delivered up himself to him, with his wives and children, and his whole kindred, for the sake of his country, that it might not be taken by siege, and utterly destroyed, as we said before. When Evil-Merodach was dead, after a reign of eighteen years, Niglissar his son took the government, and retained it forty years, and then ended his life; and after him the succession in the kingdom came to his son Labosordacus, who continued in it in all but nine months; and when he was dead, it came to Baltasar, who by the Babylonians was called Naboandelus; against him did Cyrus,

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the king of Persia, and Darius, the king of Media, make war; and when he was besieged in Babylon, there happened a wonderful and prodigious vision. He was sat down at supper in a large room, and there were a great many vessels of silver, such as were made for royal entertainments, and he had with him his concubines and his friends; whereupon he came to a resolution, and commanded that those vessels of God which Nebuchadnezzar had plundered out of Jerusalem, and had not made use of, but had put them into his own temple, should be brought out of that temple. He also grew so haughty as to proceed to use them in the midst of his cups, drinking out of them, and blaspheming against God. In the mean time, he saw a hand proceed out of the wall, and writing upon the wall certain syllables; at which sight, being disturbed, he called the magicians and Chaldeans together, and all that sort of men that are among these barbarians, and were able to interpret signs and dreams, that they might explain the writing to him. But when the magicians said they could discover nothing, nor did understand it, the king was in great disorder of mind, and under great trouble at this surprising accident; so he caused it to be proclaimed through all the country, and promised, that to him who could explain the writing, and give the signification couched therein, he would give him a golden chain for his neck, and leave to wear a purple garment, as did the kings of Chaldea, and would bestow on him the third part of his own dominions. When this proclamation was made, the magicians ran together more earnestly, and were very ambitious to find out the importance of the writing, but still hesitated about it as much as before. Now when the king's grandmother saw him cast down at this accident, she began to encourage him, and to say, that there was a certain captive who came from Judea, a Jew by birth, but brought away thence by Nebuchadnezzar when he had destroyed Jerusalem, whose name was Daniel, a wise man, and one of great sagacity in finding out what was impossible for others to discover, and what was known to God alone, who brought to light and answered such questions to Nebuchadnezzar as no one else was able to answer when they were consulted. She therefore desired that he would send for him, and inquire of him concerning the writing, and to condemn the unskilfulness of those that could not find their meaning, and this, although what God signified thereby should be of a melancholy nature.

3. When Baltasar heard this, he called for Daniel; and when he had discoursed to him what he had learned concerning him and his wisdom, and how a Divine Spirit was with him, and that he alone was fully capable of finding out what others would never have thought of, he desired him to declare to him what this writing meant; that if he did so, he would give him leave to wear purple, and to put a chain of gold about his neck, and would bestow on him the third part of his dominion, as an honourary reward for his wisdom, that thereby he might become illustrious to those who saw him, and who inquired upon what occasion he obtained such honours. But Daniel desired that he would keep his gifts to himself; for what is the effect of wisdom and of Divine revelation admits of no gifts, and bestows its advantages on petitioners freely; but that still he would explain the writing to him; which denoted that he should soon die, and this because he had not learnt to honour God, and not to admit things above human nature, by what punishments his progenitor had undergone for the injuries he had offered to God; and because he had quite forgotten how Nebuchadnezzar was removed to feed among wild beasts for his impieties, and did not recover his former life among men and his kingdom, but upon God's mercy to him, after many supplications and prayers; who did thereupon praise God all the days of his life, as one of almighty power, and who takes care of mankind. [He also put him in mind] how he had greatly blasphemed against God, and had made use of his vessels amongst his concubines; that therefore God saw this, and was angry with him, and declared by this writing beforehand what a sad conclusion of his life he should come to. And he explained the writing thus: "MANEH. This, if it be expounded in the Greek language, may signify a Number, because God hath numbered so long a time for thy life, and for thy government, and that there remains but a small portion. THEKEL This signifies a weight, and means that God hath weighed thy kingdom in a balance, and finds it going down already.—PHARES. This also, in the Greek tongue, denotes a fragment. God will therefore break thy kingdom in pieces, and divide it among the Medes and Persians."

4. When Daniel had told the king that the writing upon the wall signified these events, Baltasar was in great sorrow and affliction, as was to be expected, when the interpretation was so heavy upon him. However, he did not refuse what he had promised Daniel, although he were become a foreteller of misfortunes to him, but bestowed it all upon him; as reasoning thus, that what he was to reward was peculiar to himself, and to fate, and did not belong to the prophet, but that it was the part of a good and a just man to give what he had promised, although the events were of a melancholy nature. Accordingly, the king determined so to do. Now, after a little while, both himself and the city were taken by Cyrus, the king of Persia, who fought against him; for it was Baltasar, under whom Babylon was taken, when he had reigned seventeen years. And this is the end of the posterity of king Nebuchadnezzar, as history informs us; but when Babylon was taken by Darius, and when he, with his kinsman Cyrus, had put an end to the dominion of the Babylonians, he was sixty-two years old. He was the son of Astyages, and had another name among the Greeks. Moreover, he took Daniel the prophet, and carried him with him into Media, and honoured him very greatly, and kept him with him; for he was one of the three presidents whom he set over his three hundred and sixty provinces, for into so many did Darius part them.

5. However, while Daniel was in so great dignity, and in so great favour with Darius, and was alone intrusted with every thing by him, a having somewhat divine in him, he was envied by the rest; for those that see others in greater honour than themselves with kings envy them; and when those that were grieved at the great favour Daniel was in with Darius sought for an occasion against him, he afforded them no occasion at all, for he was above all the temptations of money, and despised bribery, and esteemed it a very base thing to take any thing by way of reward, even when it might be justly given him; he afforded those that envied him not the least handle for an accusation. So when they could find nothing for which they might calumniate him to the king, nothing that was shameful or reproachful, and thereby deprive him of the honour he was in with him, they sought for some other method whereby they might destroy him. When therefore they saw that Daniel prayed to God three times a day, they thought they had gotten an occasion by which they might ruin him; so they came to Darius and told him that the princes and governors had thought proper to allow the multitude a relaxation for thirty days, that no one might offer a petition or prayer either to himself or to the gods, but that, "he who shall transgress this decree shall be east into the den of lions, and there perish."

6. Whereupon the king, not being acquainted with their wicked design, nor suspecting that it was a contrivance of theirs against Daniel, said he was pleased with this decree of theirs, and he promised to confirm what they desired; he also published an edict to promulgate to the people that decree which the princes had made. Accordingly, all the rest took care not to transgress those injunctions, and rested in quiet; but Daniel had no regard to them, but, as he was wont, he stood and prayed to God in the sight of them all; but the princes having met with the occasion they so earnestly sought to find against Daniel, came presently to the king, and accused him, that Daniel was the only person that transgressed the decree, while not one of the rest durst pray to their gods. This discovery they made, not because of his impiety, but because they had watched him, and observed him out of envy; for supposing that Darius did thus out of a greater kindness to him than they expected, and that he was ready to grant him pardon for this contempt of his injunctions, and envying this very pardon to Daniel, they did not become more honourable to him, but desired he might be cast into the den of lions according to the law. So Darius, hoping that God would deliver him, and that he would undergo nothing that was terrible by the wild beasts, bid him bear this accident cheerfully. And when he was cast into the den, he put his seal to the stone that lay upon the mouth of the den, and went his way, but he passed all the night without food and without sleep, being in great distress for Daniel; but when it was day, he got up, and came to the den, and found the seal entire, which he had left the stone sealed withal; he also opened the seal, and cried out, and called to Daniel, and asked him if he were alive. And as soon as he heard the king's voice, and said that he had suffered no harm, the king gave order that he should be drawn up out of the den. Now when his enemies saw that Daniel had suffered nothing which was terrible, they would not own that he was preserved by God, and by his providence; but they said that the lions had been filled full with food, and on that account it was, as they supposed, that the lions would not touch Daniel, nor come to him; and this they alleged to the king. But the king, out of an abhorrence of their wickedness, gave order that they should throw in a great deal of flesh to the lions; and when they had filled themselves, he gave further order that Daniel's enemies should be cast into the den, that he might learn whether the lions, now they were full, would touch them or not. And it appeared plain to Darius, after the princes had been cast to the wild beasts, that it was God who preserved Daniel for the lions spared none of them, but tore them all to pieces, as if they had been very hungry, and wanted food. I suppose therefore it was not their hunger, which had been a little before satisfied with abundance of flesh, but the wickedness of these men, that provoked them [to destroy the princes]; for if it so please God, that wickedness might, by even those irrational creatures, be esteemed a plain foundation for their punishment.

7. When therefore those that had intended thus to destroy Daniel by treachery were themselves destroyed, king Darius sent [letters] over all the country, and praised that God whom Daniel worshipped, and said that he was the only true God, and had all power. He had also Daniel in very great esteem, and made him the principal of his friends. Now when Daniel was become so illustrious and famous, on account of the opinion men had that he was beloved of God, he built a tower at Ecbatana, in Media: it was a most elegant building, and wonderfully made, and it is still remaining, and preserved to this day; and to such as see it, it appears to have been lately built, and to have been no older than that very day when any one looks upon it, it is so fresh 26 flourishing, and beautiful, and no way grown old in so long time; for buildings suffer the same as men do, they grow old as well as they, and by numbers of years their strength is dissolved, and their beauty withered. Now they bury the kings of Media, of Persia, and Parthia in this tower to this day, and he who was entrusted with the care of it was a Jewish priest; which thing is also observed to this day. But it is fit to give an account of what this man did, which is most admirable to hear, for he was so happy as to have strange revelations made to him, and those as to one of the greatest of the prophets, insomuch, that while he was alive he had the esteem and applause both of the kings and of the multitude; and now he is dead, he retains a remembrance that will never fail, for the several books that he wrote and left behind him are still read by us till this time; and from them we believe that Daniel conversed with God; for he did not only prophesy of future events, as did the other prophets, but he also determined the time of their accomplishment. And while prophets used to foretell misfortunes, and on that account were disagreeable both to the kings and to the multitude, Daniel was to them a prophet of good things, and this to such a degree, that by the agreeable nature of his predictions, he procured the goodwill of all men; and by the accomplishment of them, he procured the belief of their truth, and the opinion of [a sort of] divinity for himself, among the multitude. He also wrote and left behind him what made manifest the accuracy and undeniable veracity of his predictions; for he saith, that when he was in Susa, the metropolis of Persia, and went out into the field with his companions, there was, on the sudden, a motion and concussion of the earth, and that he was left alone by himself, his friends fleeing away from him, and that he was disturbed, and fell on his face, and on his two hands, and that a certain person touched him, and, at the same time, bid him rise, and see what would befall his countrymen after many generations. He also related, that when he stood up, he was shown a great rain, with many horns growing out of his head, and that the last was higher than the rest: that after this he looked to the west, and saw a he-goat carried through the air from that quarter; that he rushed upon the ram with violence, and smote him twice with his horns, and overthrew him to the ground, and trampled upon him: that afterward he saw a very great horn growing out of the head of the he-goat, and that when it was broken off, four horns grew up that were exposed to each of the four winds, and he wrote that out of them arose another lesser horn, which, as he said, waxed great; and that God showed to him that it should fight against his nation, and take their city by force, and bring the temple worship to confusion, and forbid the sacrifices to be offered for one thousand two hundred and ninety-six days. Daniel wrote that he saw these visions in the Plain of Susa; and he hath informed us that God interpreted the appearance of this vision after the following manner: He said that the ram signified the kingdoms of the Medes and Persians, and the horns those kings that were to reign in them; and that the last horn signified the last king, and that he should exceed all the kings in riches and glory: that the he-goat signified that one should come and reign from the Greeks, who should twice fight with the Persian, and overcome him in battle, and should receive his entire dominion: that by the great horn which sprang out of the forehead of the he-goat was meant the first king; and that the springing up of four horns upon its falling off, and the conversion of every one of them to the four quarters of the earth, signified the successors that should arise after the death of the first king, and the partition of the kingdom among them, and that they should be neither his children, nor of his kindred, that should reign over the habitable earth for many years; and that from among them there should arise a certain king that should overcome our nation and their laws, and should take away their political government, and should spoil the temple, and forbid the sacrifices to be offered for three years' time. And indeed it so came to pass, that our nation suffered these things under Antiochus Epiphanes, according to Daniel's vision, and what he wrote many years before they came to pass. In the very same manner Daniel also wrote concerning the Roman government, and that our country should be made desolate by them. All these things did this man leave in writing, as God had showed them to him, insomuch that such as read his prophecies, and see how they have been fulfilled, would wonder at the honour wherewith God honoured Daniel; and may thence discover how the Epicureans are in an error, who cast Providence out of human life, and do not believe that God takes care of the affairs of the world, nor that the universe is governed and continued in being by that blessed and immortal nature, but say that the world is carried along of its own accord, without a ruler and a curator; which, were it destitute of a guide to conduct it, as

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they imagine, it would be like ships without pilots, which we see drowned by the winds, or like chariots without drivers, which are overturned; so would the world be dashed to pieces by its being carried without a Providence, and so perish, and come to nought. So that, by the forementioned predictions of Daniel, those men seem to me very much to err from the truth, who determine that God exercises no providence over human affairs; for if that were the case, that the world went on by mechanical necessity, we should not see that all things would come to pass according to his prophecy. Now as to myself, I have so described these matters as I have found them and read them; but if any one is inclined to another opinion about them, let him enjoy his different sentiments without any blame from me.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES BOOK 11

Containing The Interval Of Two Hundred And Fifty-Three Years And Five Months.—From The First Of Cyrus To The Death Of Alexander The Great.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 1

How Cyrus, King Of The Persians, Delivered The Jews Out Of Babylon And Suffered Them To Return To Their Own Country And To Build Their Temple, For Which Work He Gave Them Money.

1. In the first year of the reign of Cyrus which was the seventieth from the day that our people were removed out of their own land into Babylon, God commiserated the captivity and calamity of these poor people, according as he had foretold to them by Jeremiah the prophet, before the destruction of the city, that after they had served Nebuchadnezzar and his posterity, and after they had undergone that servitude seventy years, he would restore them again to the land of their fathers, and they should build their temple, and enjoy their ancient prosperity. And these things God did afford them; for he stirred up the mind of Cyrus, and made him write this throughout all Asia: "Thus saith Cyrus the king: Since God Almighty hath appointed me to be king of the habitable earth, I believe that he is that God which the nation of the Israelites worship; for indeed he foretold my name by the prophets, and that I should build him a house at Jerusalem, in the country of Judea."

2. This was known to Cyrus by his reading the book which Isaiah left behind him of his prophecies; for this prophet said that God had spoken thus to him in a secret vision: "My will is, that Cyrus, whom I have appointed to be king over many and great nations, send back my people to their own land, and build my temple." This was foretold by Isaiah one hundred and forty years before the temple was demolished. Accordingly, when Cyrus read this, and admired the Divine power, an earnest desire and ambition seized upon him to fulfill what was so written; so he called for the most eminent Jews that were in Babylon, and said to them, that he gave them leave to go back to their own country, and to rebuild their city Jerusalem, 2 and the temple of God, for that he would be their assistant, and that he would write to the rulers and governors that were in the neighbourhood of their country of Judea, that they should contribute to them gold and silver for the building of the temple, and besides that, beasts for their sacrifices.

3. When Cyrus had said this to the Israelites, the rulers of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, with the Levites and priests, went in haste to Jerusalem; yet did many of them stay at Babylon, as not willing to leave their possessions; and when they were come thither, all the king's friends assisted them, and brought in, for the building of the temple, some gold, and some silver, and some a great many cattle and horses. So they performed their vows to God, and offered the sacrifices that had been accustomed of old time; I mean this upon the rebuilding of their city, and the revival of the ancient practices relating to their worship. Cyrus also sent back to them the vessels of God which king Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged out of the temple, and had carried to Babylon. So he committed these things to Mithridates, the treasurer, to be sent away, with an order to give them to Sanabassar, that he might keep them till the temple was built; and when it was finished, he might deliver them to the priests and rulers of the multitude, in order to their being restored to the temple. Cyrus also sent an epistle to the governors that were in Syria, the contents whereof here follow:

"King Cyrus To Sisinnes And Sathrabuzanes Sendeth Greeting.

"I have given leave to as many of the Jews that dwell in my country as please to return to their own country, and to rebuild their city, and to build the temple of God at Jerusalem on the same place where it was before. I have also sent my treasurer Mithridates, and Zorobabel, the governor of the Jews, that they may lay the foundations of the temple, and may build it sixty cubits high, and of the same latitude, making three edifices of polished stones, and one of the wood of the country, and the same order extends to the altar whereon they offer sacrifices to God. I require also that the expenses for these things may be given out of my revenues. Moreover, I have also sent the vessels which king Nebuchadnezzar pillaged out of the temple, and have given them to Mithridates the treasurer, and to Zorobabel the governor of the Jews, that they may have them carried to Jerusalem, and may restore them to the temple of God. Now their number is as follows: Fifty chargers of gold, and five hundred of silver; forty Thericlean cups of gold, and five hundred of silver; fifty basons of gold, and five hundred of silver; thirty vessels for pouring [the drink-offerings], and three hundred of silver; thirty vials of gold, and two thousand four hundred of silver; with a thousand other large vessels. I permit them to have the same honour which they were used to have from their forefathers, as also for their small cattle, and for wine and oil, two hundred and five thousand and five hundred drachmae; and for wheat flour, twenty thousand and five hundred artabae; and I give order that these expenses shall be given them out of the tributes due from Samaria. The priests shall also offer these sacrifices according to the laws of Moses in Jerusalem; and when they offer them, they shall pray to God for the preservation of the king and of his family, that the kingdom of Persia may continue. But my will is, that those who disobey these injunctions, and make them void, shall be hung upon a cross, and their substance brought into the king's treasury." And such was the import of this epistle. Now the number of those that came out of captivity to Jerusalem, were forty-two thousand four hundred and sixty-two.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 2

How Upon The Death Of Cyrus The Jews Were Hindered In Building Of The Temple By The Cutheans, And The Neighbouring Governors; And How Cambyses Entirely Forbade The Jews To Do Any Such Thing.

1. When the foundations of the temple were laying, and when the Jews were very zealous about building it, the neighbouring nations, and especially the Cutheans, whom Shalmanezer, king of Assyria, had brought out of Persia and Media, and had planted in Samaria, when he carried the people of Israel captives, besought the governors, and those that had the care of such affairs, that they would interrupt the Jews, both in the rebuilding of their city, and in the building of their temple. Now as these men were corrupted by them with money, they sold the Cutheans their interest for rendering this building a slow and a careless work, for Cyrus, who was busy about other wars, knew nothing of all this; and it so happened, that when he had led his army against the Massagetae, he ended his life. But when Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, had taken the kingdom, the governors in Syria, and Phoenicia, and in the countries of Ammon, and Moab, and Samaria, wrote an epistle to Cambyses; whose contents were as follow: "To our lord Cambyses. We thy servants, Rathumus the historiographer, and Semellius the scribe, and the rest that are thy judges in Syria and Phoenicia, send greeting. It is fit, O king, that thou shouldst know that those Jews which were carried to Babylon are come into our country, and are building that rebellious and wicked city, and its market-places, and setting up its walls, and raising up the temple; know therefore, that when these things are finished, they will not be willing to pay tribute, nor will they submit to thy commands, but will resist kings, and will choose rather to rule over others than be ruled over themselves. We therefore thought it proper to write to thee, O king, while the works about the temple are going on so fast, and not to overlook this matter, that thou mayst search into the books of thy fathers, for thou wilt find in them that the Jews have been rebels, and enemies to kings, as hath their city been also, which, for that reason, hath been till now laid waste. We thought proper also to inform thee of this matter, because thou mayst otherwise perhaps be ignorant of it, that if this city be once inhabited and be entirely encompassed with walls, thou wilt be excluded from thy passage to Celesyria and Phoenicia."

2. When Cambyses had read the epistle, being naturally wicked, he was irritated at what they told him, and wrote back to them as follows: "Cambyses the king, to Rathumus the historiographer, to Beeltethmus, to Semellius the scribe, and the rest that are in commission, and dwelling in Samaria and Phoenicia, after this manner: I have read the epistle that was sent from you; and I gave order that the books of my forefathers should be searched into, and it is there found that this city hath always been an enemy to kings, and its inhabitants have raised seditions and wars. We also are sensible that their kings have been powerful and tyrannical, and have exacted tribute of Celesyria and Phoenicia. Wherefore I gave order, that the Jews shall not be permitted to build that city, lest such mischief as they used to bring upon kings be greatly augmented." When this epistle was read, Rathumus, and Semellius the scribe, and their associates, got suddenly on horseback, and made haste to Jerusalem; they also brought a great company with them, and forbade the Jews to build the city and the temple. Accordingly, these works were hindered from going on till the second year of the reign of Darius, for nine years more; for Cambyses reigned six years, and within that time overthrew Egypt, and when he was come back, he died at Damascus.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 3

How After The Death Of Cambyses And The Slaughter Of The Magi But Under The Reign Of Darius, Zorobabel Was Superior To The Rest In The Solution Of Problems And Thereby Obtained This Favour Of The King, That The Temple Should Be Built.

1. After the slaughter of the Magi, who, upon the death of Cambyses, attained the government of the Persians for a year, those families which were called the seven families of the Persians appointed Darius, the son of Hystaspes, to be their king. Now he, while he was a private man, had made a vow to God, that if he came to be king, he would send all the vessels of God that were in Babylon to the temple at Jerusalem. Now it so fell out, that about this time Zorobabel, who had been made governor of the Jews that had been in captivity, came to Darius, from Jerusalem; for there had been an old friendship between him and the king. He was also, with two others, thought worthy to be guard of the king's body; and obtained that honour which he hoped for.

2. Now, in the first year of the king's reign, Darius feasted those that were about him, and those born in his house, with the rulers of the Medes, and princes of the Persians, and the toparchs of India and Ethiopia, and the generals of the armies of his hundred and twenty-seven provinces. But when they had eaten and drunk to satiety, and abundantly, they every one departed to go to bed at their own houses, and Darius the king went to bed; but after he had rested a little part of the night, he awaked, and not being able to sleep any more, he fell into conversation with the three guards of his body, and promised, that to him who should make an oration about points that he should inquire of, such as should be most agreeable to truth, and to the dictates of wisdom, he would grant it as a reward of his victory, to put on a purple garment, and to drink in cups of gold, and to sleep upon gold, and to have a chariot with bridles of gold, and a head tire of fine linen, and a chain of gold about his neck, and to sit next to himself, on account of his wisdom; "and," says he, "he shall be called my cousin." Now when he had promised to give them these gifts, he asked the first of them, "Whether wine was not the strongest?"—the second, "Whether kings were not such?"—and the third, "Whether women were not such? or whether truth was not the strongest of all?" When he had proposed that they should make their inquiries about these problems, he went to rest; but in the morning he sent for his great men, his princes, and toparchs of Persia and Media, and set himself down in the place where he used to give audience, and bid each of the guards of his body to declare what they thought proper concerning the proposed questions, in the hearing of them all.

3. Accordingly, the first of them began to speak of the strength of wine, and demonstrated it thus: "When," said he, "I am to give my opinion of wine, O you men, I find that it exceeds every thing, by the following indications: It deceives the mind of those that drink it, and reduces that of the king to the same state with that of the orphan, and he who stands in need of a tutor; and erects that of the slave to the boldness of him that is free; and that of the needy becomes like that of the rich man, for it changes and renews the souls of men when it gets into them; and it quenches the sorrow of those that are under calamities, and makes men forget the debts they owe to others, and makes them think themselves to be of all men the richest; it makes them talk of no small things, but of talents, and such other names as become wealthy men only; nay more, it makes them insensible of their commanders, and of their kings, and takes away the remembrance of their friends and companions, for it arms men even against those that are dearest to them, and makes them appear the greatest strangers to them; and when they are become sober, and they have slept out their wine in the night, they arise without knowing any thing they have done in their cups. I take these for signs of power, and by them discover that wine is the strongest and most insuperable of all things."

4. As soon as the first had given the forementioned demonstrations of the strength of wine, he left off; and the next to him began to speak about the strength of a king, and demonstrated that it was the strongest of all, and more powerful than any thing else that appears to have any force or wisdom. He began his demonstration after the following manner; and said, "They are men who govern all things; they force the earth and the sea to become profitable to them in what they desire, and over these men do kings rule, and over them they have authority. Now those who rule over that animal which is of all the strongest and most powerful, must needs deserve to be esteemed insuperable in power and force. For example, when these kings command their subjects to make wars, and undergo dangers, they are hearkened to; and when they send them against their enemies, their power is so great that they are obeyed. They command men to level mountains, and to pull down walls and towers; nay, when they are commanded to be killed and to kill, they submit to it, that they may not appear to transgress the king's commands;

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and when they have conquered, they bring what they have gained in the war to the king. Those also who are not soldiers, but cultivate the ground, and plough it, and when, after they have endured the labour and all the inconveniences of such works of husbandry, they have reaped and gathered in their fruits, they bring tributes to the king; and whatsoever it is which the king says or commands, it is done of necessity, and that without any delay, while he in the mean time is satiated with all sorts of food and pleasures, and sleeps in quiet. He is guarded by such as watch, and such as are, as it were, fixed down to the place through fear; for no one dares leave him, even when he is asleep, nor does any one go away and take care of his own affairs; but he esteems this one thing the only work of necessity, to guard the king, and accordingly to this he wholly addicts himself. How then can it be otherwise, but that it must appear that the king exceeds all in strength, while so great a multitude obeys his injunctions?"

5. Now when this man had held his peace, the third of them, who was Zorobabel, began to instruct them about women, and about truth, who said thus: "Wine is strong, as is the king also, whom all men obey, but women are superior to them in power; for it was a woman that brought the king into the world; and for those that plant the vines and make the wine, they are women who bear them, and bring them up: nor indeed is there any thing which we do not receive from them; for these women weave garments for us, and our household affairs are by their means taken care of, and preserved in safety; nor can we live separate from women. And when we have gotten a great deal of gold and silver, and any other thing that is of great value, and deserving regard, and see a beautiful woman, we leave all these things, and with open mouth fix our eyes upon her countenance, and are willing to forsake what we have, that we may enjoy her beauty, and procure it to ourselves. We also leave father, and mother, and the earth that nourishes us, and frequently forget our dearest friends, for the sake of women; nay, we are so hardy as to lay down our lives for them. But what will chiefly make you take notice of the strength of women is this that follows: Do not we take pains, and endure a great deal of trouble, and that both by land and sea, and when we have procured somewhat as the fruit of our labours, do not we bring them to the women, as to our mistresses, and bestow them upon them? Nay, I once saw the king, who is lord of so many people, smitten on the face by Apame, the daughter of Rabsases Themasius, his concubine, and his diadem taken away from him, and put upon her own head, while he bore it patiently; and when she smiled he smiled, and when she was angry he was sad; and according to the change of her passions, he flattered his wife, and drew her to reconciliation by the great humiliation of himself to her, if at any time he saw her displeased at him."

6. And when the princes and rulers looked one upon another, he began to speak about truth; and he said, "I have already demonstrated how powerful women are; but both these women themselves, and the king himself, are weaker than truth; for although the earth be large, and the heaven high, and the course of the sun swift, yet are all these moved according to the will of God, who is true and righteous, for which cause we also ought to esteem truth to be the strongest of all things, and that what is unrighteous is of no force against it. Moreover, all things else that have any strength are mortal and short-lived, but truth is a thing that is immortal and eternal. It affords us not indeed such a beauty as will wither away by time, nor such riches as may be taken away by fortune, but righteous rules and laws. It distinguishes them from injustice, and puts what is unrighteous to rebuke."

7. So when Zorobabel had left off his discourse about truth, and the multitude had cried out aloud that he had spoken the most wisely, and that it was truth alone that had immutable strength, and such as never would wax old, the king commanded that he should ask for somewhat over and above what he had promised, for that he would give it him because of his wisdom, and that prudence wherein he exceeded the rest; "and thou shalt sit with me," said the king, "and shalt be called my cousin." When he had said this, Zorobabel put him in mind of the vow he had made in case he should ever have the kingdom. Now this vow was, "to rebuild Jerusalem, and to build therein the temple of God; as also to restore the vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged, and carried to Babylon. And this," said he, "is that request which thou now permittest me to make, on account that I have been judged to be wise and understanding."

8. So the king was pleased with what he had said, and arose and kissed him; and wrote to the toparchs and governors, and enjoined them to conduct Zorobabel and those that were going with him to build the temple. He also sent letters to those rulers that were in Syria and Phoenicia to cut down and carry cedar trees from Lebanon to Jerusalem, and to assist him in building the city. He also wrote to them, that all the captives who should go to Judea should be free; and he prohibited his deputies and governors to lay any king's taxes upon the Jews; he also permitted that they should have all that land which they could possess themselves of without tributes. He also enjoined the Idumeans and Samaritans, and the inhabitants of Celesyria, to restore those villages which they had taken from the Jews; and that, besides all this, fifty talents should be given them for the building of the temple. He also permitted them to offer their appointed sacrifices, and that whatsoever the high priest and the priests wanted, and those sacred garments wherein they used to worship God, should be made at his own charges; and that the musical instruments which the Levites used in singing hymns to God should be given them. Moreover, he charged them, that portions of land should be given to those that guarded the city and the temple, as also a determinate sum of money every year for their maintenance; and withal he sent the vessels. And all that Cyrus intended to do before him relating to the restoration of Jerusalem, Darius also ordained should be done accordingly.

9. Now when Zorobabel had obtained these grants from the king, he went out of the palace, and looking up to heaven, he began to return thanks to God for the wisdom he had given him, and the victory he had gained thereby, even in the presence of Darius himself; for, said he, "I had not been thought worthy of these advantages, O Lord, unless thou hadst been favourable to me." When therefore he had returned these thanks to God for the present circumstances he was in, and had prayed to him to afford him the like favour for the time to come, he came to Babylon, and brought the good news to his countrymen of what grants he had procured for them from the king; who, when they heard the same, gave thanks also to God that he restored the land of their forefathers to them again. So they betook themselves to drinking and eating, and for seven days they continued feasting, and kept a festival, for the rebuilding and restoration of their country: after this they chose themselves rulers, who should go up to Jerusalem, out of the tribes of their forefathers, with their wives, and children, and cattle, who traveled to Jerusalem with joy and pleasure, under the conduct of those whom Darius sent along with them, and making a noise with songs, and pipes, and cymbals. The rest of the Jewish multitude also besides accompanied them with rejoicing.

10. And thus did these men go, a certain and determinate number out of every family, though I do not think it proper to recite particularly the names of those families, that I may not take off the mind of my readers from the connexion of the historical facts, and make it hard for them to follow the coherence of my narrations; but the sum of those that went up, above the age of twelve years, of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, was four hundred and sixty-two myriads and eight thousand the Levites were seventy-four; the number of the women and children mixed together was forty thousand seven hundred and forty-two; and besides these, there were singers of the Levites one hundred and twenty-eight, and porters one hundred and ten, and of the sacred ministers three hundred and ninety-two; there were also others besides these, who said they were of the Israelites, but were not able to show their genealogies, six hundred and sixty-two: some there were also who were expelled out of the number and honour of the priests, as having married wives whose genealogies they could not produce, nor were they found in the genealogies of the Levites and priests; they were about five hundred and twenty-five: the multitude also of servants that followed those that went up to Jerusalem were seven thousand three hundred and thirty-seven; the singing men and singing women were two hundred and forty-five; the camels were four hundred and thirty-five; the beasts used to the yoke were five thousand five hundred and twenty-five; and the governors of all this multitude thus numbered were Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, of the posterity of David, and of the tribe of Judah; and Jeshua, the son of Josedek the high priest; and besides these there were Mordecai and Serebeus, who were distinguished from the multitude, and were rulers, who also contributed a hundred pounds of gold, and five thousand of silver. By this means therefore the priests and the Levites, and a certain part of the entire people of the Jews that were in Babylon, came and dwelt in Jerusalem; but the rest of the multitude returned every one to their own countries.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 4

How The Temple Was Built While The Cutheans Endeavored In Vain To Obstruct The Work.

1. Now in the seventh month after they were departed out of Babylon, both Jeshua the high priest, and Zorobabel the governor, sent messengers every way round about, and gathered those that were in the country together to Jerusalem universally, who came very gladly thither. He then built the altar on the same place it had formerly been built, that they might offer the appointed sacrifices upon it to God, according to the laws of Moses. But while they did this, they did not please the neighbouring nations, who all of them bare an ill-will to them. They also celebrated the feast of tabernacles at that time, as the legislator had ordained concerning it; and after they offered sacrifices, and what were called the daily sacrifices, and the oblations proper for the Sabbaths, and for all the holy festivals. Those also that had made vows performed them, and offered their sacrifices from the first day of the seventh month. They also began to build the temple, and gave a great deal of money to the masons and to the carpenters, and what was necessary for the maintenance of the workmen. The Sidonians also were very willing and ready to bring the cedar trees from Libanus, to bind them together, and to make a united float of them, and to bring them to the port of Joppa, for that was what Cyrus had commanded at first, and what was now done at the command of Darius.

2. In the second year of their coming to Jerusalem, as the Jews were there in the second month, the building of the temple went on apace; and when they had laid its foundations on the first day of the second month of that second year, they set, as overseers of the work, such Levites as were full twenty years old; and Jeshua and his sons and brethren, and Codmiel the brother of Judas, the son of Aminadab, with his sons; and the temple, by the great diligence of those that had the care of it, was finished sooner than any one would have expected. And when the temple was finished, the priests, adorned with their accustomed garments, stood with their trumpets, while the Levites, and the sons of Asaph, stood and sung hymns to God, according as David first of all appointed them to bless God. Now the priests and Levites, and the elder part of the families, recollecting with themselves how much greater and more sumptuous the old temple had been, seeing that now made how much inferior it was, on account of their poverty, to that which had been built of old, considered with themselves how much their happy state was sunk below what it had been of old, as well as their temple. Hereupon they were disconsolate, and not able to contain their grief, and proceeded so far as to lament and shed tears on those accounts; but the people in general were contented with their present condition; and because they were allowed to build them a temple, they desired no more, and neither regarded nor remembered, nor indeed at all tormented themselves with the comparison of that and the former temple, as if this were below their expectations; but the wailing of the old men and of the priests, on account of the deficiency of this temple, in their opinion, if compared with that which had been demolished, overcame the sounds of the trumpets and the rejoicing of the people.

3. But when the Samaritans, who were still enemies to the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, heard the sound of the trumpets, they came running together, and desired to know what was the occasion of this tumult; and when they perceived that it was from the Jews, who had been carried captive to Babylon, and were rebuilding their temple, they came to Zorobabel and to Jeshua, and to the heads of the families, and desired that they would give them leave to build the temple with them, and to be partners with them in building it; for they said, "We worship their God, and especially pray to him, and are desirous of their religious settlement, and this ever since Shalmanezer, the king of Assyria, transplanted us out of Cuthah and Media to this place." When they said thus, Zorobabel and Jeshua the high priest, and the heads of the families of the Israelites, replied to them, that it was impossible for them to permit them to be their partners, whilst they [only] had been appointed to build that temple at first by Cyrus, and now by Darius, although it was indeed lawful for them to come and worship there if they pleased, and that they could allow them nothing but that in common with them, which was common to them with all other men, to come to their temple and worship God there.

4. When the Cuthearts heard this, for the Samaritans have that appellation, they had indignation at it, and persuaded the nations of Syria to desire of the governors, in the same manner as they had done formerly in the days of Cyrus, and again in the days of Cambyses afterwards, to put a stop to the building of the temple, and to endeavor to delay and protract the Jews in their zeal about it. Now at this time Sisinnes, the governor of Syria and Phoenicia, and Sathrabuzanes, with certain others, came up to Jerusalem, and asked the rulers of the Jews, by whose grant it was that they built the temple in this manner, since it was more like to a citadel than a temple? and for what reason it was that they built cloisters and walls, and those strong ones too, about the city? To which Zorobabel and Jeshua the high priest replied, that they were the servants of God Almighty; that this temple was built for him by a king of theirs, that lived in great prosperity, and one that exceeded all men in virtue; and that it continued a long time, but that because of their fathers' impiety towards God, Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Babylonians and of the Chaldeans, took their city by force, and destroyed it, and pillaged the temple, and burnt it down, and transplanted the people whom he had made captives, and removed them to Babylon; that Cyrus, who, after him, was king of Babylonia and Persia, wrote to them to build the temple, and committed the gifts and vessels, and whatsoever Nebuchadnezzar had carried out of it, to Zorobabel, and Mithridates the treasurer; and gave order to have them carried to Jerusalem, and to have them restored to their own temple, when it was built; for he had sent to them to have that done speedily, and commanded Sanabassar to go up to Jerusalem, and to take care of the building of the temple; who, upon receiving that epistle from Cyrus, came, and immediately laid its foundations; "and

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although it hath been in building from that time to this, it hath not yet been finished, by reason of the malignity of our enemies. If therefore you have a mind, and think it proper, write this account to Darius, that when he hath consulted the records of the kings, he may find that we have told you nothing that is false about this matter."

5. When Zorobabel and the high priest had made this answer, Sisinnes, and those that were with him, did not resolve to hinder the building, until they had informed king Darius of all this. So they immediately wrote to him about these affairs; but as the Jews were now under terror, and afraid lest the king should change his resolutions as to the building of Jerusalem and of the temple, there were two prophets at that time among them, Haggai and Zechariah, who encouraged them, and bid them be of good cheer, and to suspect no discouragement from the Persians, for that God foretold this to them. So, in dependence on those prophets, they applied themselves earnestly to building, and did not intermit one day.

6. Now Darius, when the Samaritans had written to him, and in their epistle had accused the Jews, how they fortified the city, and built the temple more like to a citadel than to a temple; and said, that their doings were not expedient for the king's affairs; and besides, they showed the epistle of Cambyses, wherein he forbade them to build the temple: and when Darius thereby understood that the restoration of Jerusalem was not expedient for his affairs, and when he had read the epistle that was brought him from Sisinnes, and those that were with him, he gave order that what concerned these matters should be sought for among the royal records. Whereupon a book was found at Ecbatana, in the tower that was in Media, wherein was written as follows: "Cyrus the king, in the first year of his reign, commanded that the temple should be built in Jerusalem; and the altar in height threescore cubits, and its breadth of the same, with three edifices of polished stone, and one edifice of stone of their own country; and he ordained that the expenses of it should be paid out of the king's revenue. He also commanded that the vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged [out of the temple], and had carried to Babylon, should be restored to the people of Jerusalem; and that the care of these things should belong to Sanabassar, the governor and president of Syria and Phoenicia, and his associates, that they may not meddle with that place, but may permit the servants of God, the Jews and their rulers, to build the temple. He also ordained that they should assist them in the work; and that they should pay to the Jews, out of the tribute of the country where they were governors, on account of the sacrifices, bulls, and rams, and lambs, and kids of the goats, and fine flour, and oil, and wine, and all other things that the priests should suggest to them; and that they should pray for the preservation of the king, and of the Persians; and that for such as transgressed any of these orders thus sent to them, he commanded that they should be caught, and hung upon a cross, and their substance confiscated to the king's use. He also prayed to God against them, that if any one attempted to hinder the building of the temple, God would strike him dead, and thereby restrain his wickedness."

7. When Darius had found this book among the records of Cyrus, he wrote an answer to Sisinnes and his associates, whose contents were these: "King Darius to Sisinnes the governor, and to Sathrabuzanes, sendeth greeting. Having found a copy of this epistle among the records of Cyrus, I have sent it you; and I will that all things be done as is therein written. Fare ye well." So when Sisinnes, and those that were with him, understood the intention of the king, they resolved to follow his directions entirely for the time to come. So they forwarded the sacred works, and assisted the elders of the Jews, and the princes of the Sanhedrim; and the structure of the temple was with great diligence brought to a conclusion, by the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah, according to God's commands, and by the injunctions of Cyrus and Darius the kings. Now the temple was built in seven years' time. And in the ninth year of the reign of Darius, on the twenty-third day of the twelfth month, which is by us called Adar, but by the Macedonians Dystrus, the priests, and Levites, and the other multitude of the Israelites, offered sacrifices, as the renovation of their former prosperity after their captivity, and because they had now the temple rebuilt, a hundred bulls, two hundred rains, four hundred lambs, and twelve kids of the goats, according to the number of their tribes, [for so many are the tribes of the Israelites,] and this last for the sins of every tribe. The priests also and the Levites set the porters at every gate, according to the laws of Moses. The Jews also built the cloisters of the inner temple that were round about the temple itself.

8. And as the feast of unleavened bread was at hand, in the first month, which, according to the Macedonians, is called Xanthicus, but according to us Nisan, all the people ran together out of the villages to the city, and celebrated the festival, having purified themselves, with their wives and children, according to the law of their country; and they offered the sacrifice which was called the Passover, on the fourteenth day of the same month, and feasted seven days, and spared for no cost, but offered whole burnt-offerings to God, and performed sacrifices of thanksgiving, because God had led them again to the land of their fathers, and to the laws thereto belonging, and had rendered the mind of the king of Persia favourable to them. So these men offered the largest sacrifices on these accounts, and used great magnificence in the worship of God, and dwelt in Jerusalem, and made use of a form of government that was aristocratical, but mixed with an oligarchy, for the high priests were at the head of their affairs, until the posterity of the Asamoneans set up kingly government; for before their captivity, and the dissolution of their polity, they at first had kingly government from Saul and David for five hundred and thirty- two years, six months, and ten days; but before those kings, such rulers governed them as were called judges and monarchs. Under this form of government they continued for more than five hundred years after the death of Moses, and of Joshua their commander. And this is the account I had to give of the Jews who had been carried into captivity, but were delivered from it in the times of Cyrus and Darius.

9. 7 But the Samaritans, being evil and enviously disposed to the Jews, wrought them many mischiefs, by reliance on their riches, and by their pretense that they were allied to the Persians, on account that thence they came; and whatsoever it was that they were enjoined to pay the Jews by the king's order out of their tributes for the sacrifices, they would not pay it. They had also the governors favourable to them, and assisting them for that purpose; nor did they spare to hurt them, either by themselves or by others, as far as they were able. So the Jews determined to send an embassage to king Darius, in favour of the people of Jerusalem, and in order to accuse the Samaritans. The ambassadors were Zorobabel, and four others of the rulers; and as soon as the king knew from the ambassadors the accusations and complaints they brought against the Samaritans, he gave them an epistle to be carried to the governors and council of Samaria; the contents of which epistle were these: "King Darius to Tanganas and Sambabas, the governors of the Sainaritans, to Sadraces and Bobelo, and the rest of their fellow servants that are in Samaria: Zorobabel, Ananias, and Mordecai, the ambassadors of the Jews, complain of you, that you obstruct them in the building of the temple, and do not supply them with the expenses which I commanded you to do for the offering their sacrifices. My will therefore is this, That upon the reading of this epistle, you supply them with whatsoever they want for their sacrifices, and that out of the royal treasury, of the tributes of Samaria, as the priest shall desire, that they may not leave off offering their daily sacrifices, nor praying to God for me and the Persians." And these were the contents of that epistle.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 5

How Xerxes The Son Of Darius Was Well Disposed To The Jews; As Also Concerning Esdras And Nehemiah.

1. Upon the death of Darius, Xerxes his son took the kingdom, who, as he inherited his father's kingdom, so did he inherit his piety towards God, and honour of him; for he did all things suitably to his father relating to Divine worship, and he was exceeding friendly to the Jews. Now about this time a son of Jeshua, whose name was Joacim, was the high priest. Moreover, there was now in Babylon a righteous man, and one that enjoyed a great reputation among the multitude. He was the principal priest of the people, and his name was Esdras. He was very skillful in the laws of Moses, and was well acquainted with king Xerxes. He had determined to go up to Jerusalem, and to take with him some of those Jews that were in Babylon; and he desired that the king would give him an epistle to the governors of Syria, by which they might know who he was. Accordingly, the king wrote the following epistle to those governors: "Xerxes, king of kings, to Esdras the priest, and reader of the Divine law, greeting. I think it agreeable to that love which I bear to mankind, to permit those of the Jewish nation that are so disposed, as well as those of the priests and Levites that are in our kingdom, to go together to Jerusalem. Accordingly, I have given command for that purpose; and let every one that hath a mind go, according as it hath seemed good to me, and to my seven counselors, and this in order to their review of the affairs of Judea, to see whether they be agreeable to the law of God. Let them also take with them those presents which I and my friends have vowed, with all that silver and gold that is found in the country of the Babylonians, as dedicated to God, and let all this be carried to Jerusalem to God for sacrifices. Let it also be lawful for thee and thy brethren to make as many vessels of silver and gold as thou pleasest. Thou shalt also dedicate those holy vessels which have been given thee, and as many more as thou hast a mind to make, and shall take the expenses out of the king's treasury. I have, moreover, written to the treasurers of Syria and Phoenicia, that they take care of those affairs that Esdras the priest, and reader of the laws of God, is sent about. And that God may not be at all angry with me, or with my children, I grant all that is necessary for sacrifices to God, according to the law, as far as a hundred cori of wheat. And I enjoin you not to lay any treacherous imposition, or any tributes, upon their priests or Levites, or sacred singers, or porters, or sacred servants, or scribes of the temple. And do thou, O Esdras, appoint judges according to the wisdom [given thee] of God, and those such as understand the law, that they may judge in all Syria and Phoenicia; and do thou instruct those also which are ignorant of it, that if any one of thy countrymen transgress the law of God, or that of the king, he may be punished, as not transgressing it out of ignorance, but as one that knows it indeed, but boldly despises and contemns it; and such may be punished by death, or by paying fines. Farewell."

2. When Esdras had received this epistle, he was very joyful, and began to worship God, and confessed that he had been the cause of the king's great favour to him, and that for the same reason he gave all the thanks to God. So he read the epistle at Babylon to those Jews that were there; but he kept the epistle itself, and sent a copy of it to all those of his own nation that were in Media. And when these Jews had understood what piety the king had towards God, and what kindness he had for Esdras, they were all greatly pleased; nay, many of them took their effects with them, and came to Babylon, as very desirous of going down to Jerusalem; but then the entire body of the people of Israel remained in that country; wherefore there are but two tribes in Asia and Europe subject to the Iomans, while the ten tribes are beyond Euphrates till now, and are an immense multitude, and not to be estimated by numbers. Now there came a great number of priests, and Levites, and porters, and sacred singers, and sacred servants to Esdras. So he gathered those that were in the captivity together beyond Euphrates, and staid there three days, and ordained a fast for them, that they might make their prayers to God for their preservation, that they might suffer no misfortunes by the way, either from their enemies, or from any other ill accident; for Esdras had said beforehand that he had told the king how God would preserve them, and so he had not thought fit to request that he would send horsemen to conduct them. So when they had finished their prayers, they removed from Euphrates on the twelfth day of the first month of the seventh year of the reign of Xerxes, and they came to Jerusalem on the fifth month of the same year. Now Esdras presented the sacred money to the treasurers, who were of the family of the priests, of silver six hundred and fifty talents, vessels of silver one hundred talents, vessels of gold twenty talents, vessels of brass, that was more precious than gold, twelve talents by weight; for these Presents had been made by the king and his counselors, and by all the Israelites that staid at Babylon. So when Esdras had delivered these things to the priests, he gave to God, as the appointed sacrifices of whole burnt-offerings, twelve bulls on account of the common preservation of the people, ninety rams, seventy-two lambs, and twelve kids of the goats, for the remission of sins. He also delivered the king's epistle to the king's officers, and to the governors of Celesyria and Phoenicia; and as they were under a necessity of doing what was enjoined by him, they honoured our nation, and were assistant to them in all their necessities.

3. Now these things were truly done under the conduct of Esdras; and he succeeded in them, because God esteemed him worthy of the success of his conduct, on account of his goodness and righteousness. But some time afterward there came some persons to him, and brought an accusation against certain of the multitude, and of the priests and Levites, who had transgressed their settlement, and dissolved the laws of their country, by marrying strange wives, and had brought the family of the priests into confusion. These persons desired him to support the laws, lest God should take up a general anger against them all, and reduce them to a calamitous condition again. Hereupon he rent his garment immediately, out of grief, and pulled off the hair of his head and beard, and cast himself upon the ground, because this crime had reached the principal men among the people; and considering that if he should enjoin them to cast out their wives, and the children they had by them, he should not be hearkened to, he continued lying upon the ground. However, all the better sort came running to him, who also themselves wept, and partook of the grief he was under for what had been done. So Esdras rose up from the ground, and stretched out his hands towards heaven, and said that he was ashamed to look towards it, because of the sins which the people had committed, while they had cast out of their memories what their fathers had undergone on account of their wickedness; and he besought God, who had saved a seed and a remnant out of the calamity and captivity they had been in, and had restored them again to Jerusalem, and to their own land, and had obliged the kings of Persia to have compassion on them, that he would also forgive them their sins they had now committed, which, though they deserved death, yet, was it agreeable to the mercy of God, to remit even to these the punishment due to them.

4. After Esdras had said this, he left off praying; and when all those that came to him with their wives and children were under lamentation, one whose name was Jechonias, a principal man in Jerusalem, came to him, and said that they had sinned in marrying strange wives; and he persuaded him to adjure them all to cast those wives out, and the children born of them, and that those should be punished who would

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not obey the law. So Esdras hearkened to this advice, and made the heads of the priests, and of the Levites, and of the Israelites, swear that they would put away those wives and children, according to the advice of Jechonias. And when he had received their oaths, he went in haste out of the temple into the chamber of Johanan, the son of Eliasib, and as he had hitherto tasted nothing at all for grief, so he abode there that day. And when proclamation was made, that all those of the captivity should gather themselves together to Jerusalem, and those that did not meet there in two or three days should be banished from the multitude, and that their substance should b appropriated to the uses of the temple, according to the sentence of the elders, those that were of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin came together in three days, viz. on the twentieth day of the ninth month, which, according to the Hebrews, is called Tebeth, and according to the Macedonians, Apelleius. Now as they were sitting in the upper room of the temple, where the elders also were present, but were uneasy because of the cold, Esdras stood up and accused them, and told them that they had sinned in marrying wives that were not of their own nation; but that now they would do a thing both pleasing to God, and advantageous to themselves, if they would put those wives away. Accordingly, they all cried out that they would do so. That, however, the multitude was great, and that the season of the year was winter, and that this work would require more than one or two days. "Let their rulers, therefore, [said they,] and those that have married strange wives, come hither at a proper time, while the elders of every place, that are in common to estimate the number of those that have thus married, are to be there also." Accordingly, this was resolved on by them, and they began the inquiry after those that had married strange wives on the first day of the tenth month, and continued the inquiry to the first day of the next month, and found a great many of the posterity of Jeshua the high priest, and of the priests and Levites, and Israelites, who had a greater regard to the observation of the law than to their natural affection, and immediately cast out their wives, and the children which were born of them. And in order to appease God, they offered sacrifices, and slew rams, as oblations to him; but it does not seem to me to be necessary to set down the names of these men. So when Esdras had reformed this sin about the marriages of the forementioned persons, he reduced that practice to purity, so that it continued in that state for the time to come.

5. Now when they kept the feast of tabernacles in the seventh month and almost all the people were come together to it, they went up to the open part of the temple, to the gate which looked eastward, and desired of Esdras that the laws of Moses might be read to them. Accordingly, he stood in the midst of the multitude and read them; and this he did from morning to noon. Now, by hearing the laws read to them, they were instructed to be righteous men for the present and for the future; but as for their past offenses, they were displeased at themselves, and proceeded to shed tears on their account, as considering with themselves that if they had kept the law, they had endured none of these miseries which they had experienced. But when Esdras saw them in that disposition, he bade them go home, and not weep, for that it was a festival, and that they ought not to weep thereon, for that it was not lawful so to do. He exhorted them rather to proceed immediately to feasting, and to do what was suitable to a feast, and what was agreeable to a day of joy; but to let their repentance and sorrow for their former sins be a security and a guard to them, that they fell no more into the like offenses. So upon Esdras's exhortation they began to feast; and when they had so done for eight days, in their tabernacles, they departed to their own homes, singing hymns to God, and returning thanks to Esdras for his reformation of what corruptions had been introduced into their settlement. So it came to pass, that after he had obtained this reputation among the people, he died an old man, and was buried in a magnificent manner at Jerusalem. About the same time it happened also that Joacim, the high priest, died; and his son Eliasib succeeded in the high priesthood. 6. Now there was one of those Jews that had been carried captive who was cup-bearer to king Xerxes; his name was Nehemiah. As this man was walking before Susa, the metropolis of the Persians, he heard some strangers that were entering the city, after a long journey, speaking to one another in the Hebrew tongue; so he went to them, and asked them whence they came. And when their answer was, that they came from Judea, he began to inquire of them again in what state the multitude was, and in what condition Jerusalem was; and when they replied that they were in a bad state for that their walls were thrown down to the ground, and that the neighbouring nations did a great deal of mischief to the Jews, while in the day time they overran the country, and pillaged it, and in the night did them mischief, insomuch that not a few were led away captive out of the country, and out of Jerusalem itself, and that the roads were in the day time found full of dead men. Hereupon Nehemiah shed tears, out of commiseration of the calamities of his countrymen; and, looking up to heaven, he said, "How long, O Lord, wilt thou overlook our nation, while it suffers so great miseries, and while we are made the prey and spoil of all men?" And while he staid at the gate, and lamented thus, one told him that the king was going to sit down to supper; so he made haste, and went as he was, without wishing himself, to minister to the king in his office of cup-bearer. But as the king was very pleasant after supper, and more cheerful than usual, he cast his eyes on Nehemiah, and seeing him look sad, he asked him why he was sad. Whereupon he prayed to God to give him favour, and afford him the power of persuading by his words, and said, "How can I, O king, appear otherwise than thus, and not be in trouble, while I hear that the walls of Jerusalem, the city where are the sepulchers of my fathers, are thrown down to the ground, and that its gates are consumed by fire? But do thou grant me the favour to go and build its wall, and to finish the building of the temple." Accordingly, the king gave him a signal that he freely granted him what he asked; and told him that he should carry an epistle to the governors, that they might pay him due honour, and afford him whatsoever assistance he wanted, and as he pleased. "Leave off thy sorrow then," said the king, "and be cheerful in the performance of thy office hereafter." So Nehemiah worshipped God, and gave the king thanks for his promise, and cleared up his sad and cloudy countenance, by the pleasure he had from the king's promises. Accordingly, the king called for him the next day, and gave him an epistle to be carried to Adeus, the governor of Syria, and Phoenicia, and Samaria; wherein he sent to him to pay due honour to Nehemiah, and to supply him with what he wanted for his building.

7. Now when he was come to Babylon, and had taken with him many of his countrymen, who voluntarily followed him, he came to Jerusalem in the twenty and fifth year of the reign of Xerxes. And when he had shown the epistles to God he gave them to Adeus, and to the other governors. He also called together all the people to Jerusalem, and stood in the midst of the temple, and made the following speech to them: "You know, O Jews, that God hath kept our fathers, Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in mind continually, and for the sake of their righteousness hath not left off the care of you. Indeed he hath assisted me in gaining this authority of the king to raise up our wall, and finish what is wanting of the temple. I desire you, therefore who well know the ill-will our neighbouring nations bear to us, and that when once they are made sensible that we are in earnest about building, they will come upon us, and contrive many ways of obstructing our works, that you will, in the first place, put your trust in God, as in him that will assist us against their hatred, and to intermit building neither night nor day, but to use all diligence, and to hasten on the work, now we have this especial opportunity for it." When he had said this, he gave order that the rulers should measure the wall, and part the work of it among the people, according to their villages and cities, as every one's ability should require. And when he had added this promise, that he himself, with his servants, would assist them, he dissolved the assembly. So the Jews prepared for the work: that is the name they are called by from the day that they came up from Babylon, which is taken from the tribe of Judah, which came first to these places, and thence both they and the country gained that appellation.

8. But now when the Ammonites, and Moabites, and Samaritans, and all that inhabited Celesyria, heard that the building went on apace, they took it heinously, and proceeded to lay snares for them, and to hinder their intentions. They also slew many of the Jews, and sought how they might destroy Nehemiah himself, by hiring some of the foreigners to kill him. They also put the Jews in fear, and disturbed them, and spread abroad rumors, as if many nations were ready to make an expedition against them, by which means they were harassed, and had almost left off the building. But none of these things could deter Nehemiah from being diligent about the work; he only set a number of men about him as a guard to his body, and so unweariedly persevered therein, and was insensible of any trouble, out of his desire to perfect this work. And thus did he attentively, and with great forecast, take care of his own safety; not that he feared death, but of this persuasion, that if he were dead, the walls for his citizens would never be raised. He also gave orders that the builders should keep their ranks, and have their armour on while they were building. Accordingly, the mason had his sword on, as well as he that brought the materials for building. He also appointed that their shields should lie very near them; and he placed trumpeters at every five hundred feet, and charged them, that if their enemies appeared, they should give notice of it to the people, that they might fight in their armour, and their enemies might not fall upon them naked. He also went about the compass of the city by night, being never discouraged, neither about the work itself, nor about his own diet and sleep, for he made no use of those things for his pleasure, but out of necessity. And this trouble he underwent for two years and four months; 14 for in so long a time was the wall built, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Xerxes, in the ninth month. Now when the walls were finished, Nehemiah and the multitude offered sacrifices to God for the building of them, and they continued in feasting eight days. However, when the nations which dwelt in Syria heard that the building of the wall was finished, they had indignation at it. But when Nehemiah saw that the city was thin of people, he exhorted the priests and the Levites that they would leave the country, and remove themselves to the city, and there continue; and he built them houses at his own expenses; and he commanded that part of the people which were employed in cultivating the land to bring the tithes of their fruits to Jerusalem, that the priests and Levites having whereof they might live perpetually, might not leave the Divine worship; who willingly hearkened to the constitutions of Nehemiah, by which means the city Jerusalem came to be fuller of people than it was before. So when Nehemiah had done many other excellent things, and things worthy of commendation, in a glorious manner, he came to a great age, and then died. He was a man of a good and righteous disposition, and very ambitious to make his own nation happy; and he hath left the walls of Jerusalem as an eternal monument for himself. Now this was done in the days of Xerxes.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 6

Concerning Esther And Mordecai And Haman; And How In The Reign Of Artaxerxes The Whole Nation Of The Jews Was In Danger Of Perishing.

1. After the death of Xerxes, the kingdom came to be transferred to his son Cyrus, whom the Greeks called Artaxerxes. When this man had obtained the government over the Persians, the whole nation of the Jews, with their wives and children, were in danger of perishing; the occasion whereof we shall declare in a little time; for it is proper, in the first place, to explain somewhat relating to this king, and how he came to marry a Jewish wife, who was herself of the royal family also, and who is related to have saved our nation; for when Artaxerxes had taken the kingdom, and had set governors over the hundred twenty and seven provinces, from India even unto Ethiopia, in the third year of his reign, he made a costly feast for his friends, and for the nations of Persia, and for their governors, such a one as was proper for a king to make, when he had a mind to make a public demonstration of his riches, and this for a hundred and fourscore days; after which he made a feast for other nations, and for their ambassadors, at Shushan, for seven days. Now this feast was ordered after the manner following: He caused a tent to be pitched, which was supported by pillars of gold and silver, with curtains of linen and purple spread over them, that it might afford room for many ten thousands to sit down. The cups with which the waiters ministered were of gold, and adorned with precious stones, for pleasure and for sight. He also gave order to the servants that they should not force them to drink, by bringing them wine continually, as is the practice of the Persians, but to permit every one of the guests to enjoy himself according to his own inclination. Moreover, he sent messengers through the country, and gave order that they should have a remission of their labours, and should keep a festival many days, on account of his kingdom. In like manner did Vashti the queen gather her guests together, and made them a feast in the palace. Now the king was desirous to show her, who exceeded all other women in beauty, to those that feasted with him, and he sent some to command her to come to his feast. But she, out of regard to the laws of the Persians, which forbid the wives to be seen by strangers, did not go to the king and though he oftentimes sent the eunuchs to her, she did nevertheless stay away, and refused to come, till the king was so much irritated, that he brake up the entertainment, and rose up, and called for those seven who had the interpretation of the laws committed to them, and accused his wife, and said that he had been affronted by her, because that when she was frequently called by him to his feast, she did not obey him once. He therefore gave order that they should inform him what could be done by the law against her. So one of them, whose name was Memucan, said that this affront was offered not to him alone, but to all the Persians, who were in danger of leading their lives very ill with their wives, if they must be thus despised by them; for that none of their wives would have any reverence for their husbands, if they, "had such an example of arrogance in the queen towards thee, who rulest over all." Accordingly, he exhorted him to punish her, who had been guilty of so great an affront to him, after a severe manner; and when he had so done, to publish to the nations what had been decreed about the queen. So the resolution was to put Vashti away, and to give her dignity to another woman.

2. But the king having been fond of her, did not well bear a separation, and yet by the law he could not admit of a reconciliation; so he was under trouble, as not having it in his power to do what he desired to do. But when his friends saw him so uneasy, they advised him to cast the memory of his wife, and his love for her, out of his mind, but to send abroad over all the habitable earth, and to search out for comely virgins, and to take her whom he should best like for his wife, because his passion for his former wife would be quenched by the introduction of another, and the kindness he had for Vashti would be withdrawn from her, and be placed on her that was with him. Accordingly, he was persuaded to follow this advice, and gave order to certain persons to choose out of the virgins

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that were in his kingdom those that were esteemed the most comely. So when a great number of these virgins were gathered together, there was found a damsel in Babylon, whose parents were both dead, and she was brought up with her uncle Mordecai, for that was her uncle's name. This uncle was of the tribe of Benjamin, and was one of the principal persons among the Jews. Now it proved that this damsel, whose name was Esther, was the most beautiful of all the rest, and that the grace of her countenance drew the eyes of the spectators principally upon her. So she was committed to one of the eunuchs to take the care of her; and she was very exactly provided with sweet odors, in great plenty, and with costly ointments, such as her body required to be anointed withal; and this was used for six months by the virgins, who were in number four hundred. And when the eunuch thought the virgins had been sufficiently purified, in the fore-mentioned time, and were now fit to go to the king's bed, he sent one to be with the king every day. So when he had accompanied with her, he sent her back to the eunuch; and when Esther had come to him, he was pleased with her, and fell in love with the damsel, and married her, and made her his lawful wife, and kept a wedding feast for her on the twelfth month of the seventh year of his reign, which was called Adar. He also sent angari, as they are called, or messengers, unto every nation, and gave orders that they should keep a feast for his marriage, while he himself treated the Persians and the Medes, and the principal men of the nations, for a whole month, on account of this his marriage. Accordingly, Esther came to his royal palace, and he set a diadem on her head. And thus was Esther married, without making known to the king what nation she was derived from. Her uncle also removed from Babylon to Shushan, and dwelt there, being every day about the palace, and inquiring how the damsel did, for he loved her as though she had been his own daughter.

3. Now the king had made a law, that none of his own people should approach him unless he were called, when he sat upon his throne and men, with axes in their hands, stood round about his throne, in order to punish such as approached to him without being called. However, the king sat with a golden scepter in his hand, which he held out when he had a mind to save any one of those that approached to him without being called, and he who touched it was free from danger. But of this matter we have discoursed sufficiently.

4. Some time after this [two eunuchs], Bigthan and Teresh, plotted against the king; and Barnabazus, the servant of one of the eunuchs, being by birth a Jew, was acquainted with their conspiracy, and discovered it to the queen's uncle; and Mordecai, by the means of Esther, made the conspirators known to the king. This troubled the king; but he discovered the truth, and hanged the eunuchs upon a cross, while at that time he gave no reward to Mordecai, who had been the occasion of his preservation. He only bid the scribes to set down his name in the records, and bid him stay in the palace, as an intimate friend of the king.

5. Now there was one Haman, the son of Amedatha, by birth an Amalekite, that used to go in to the king; and the foreigners and Persians worshipped him, as Artaxerxes had commanded that such honour should be paid to him; but Mordecai was so wise, and so observant of his own country's laws, that he would not worship the man. When Haman observed this, he inquired whence he came; and when he understood that he was a Jew, he had indignation at him, and said within himself, that whereas the Persians, who were free men, worshipped him, this man, who was no better than a slave, does not vouchsafe to do so. And when he desired to punish Mordecai, he thought it too small a thing to request of the king that he alone might be punished; he rather determined to abolish the whole nation, for he was naturally an enemy to the Jews, because the nation of the Amalekites, of which he was; had been destroyed by them. Accordingly he came to the king, and accused them, saying, "There is a certain wicked nation, and it is dispersed over all the habitable earth that was under his dominion; a nation separate from others, unsociable, neither admitting the same sort of Divine worship that others do, nor using laws like to the laws of others, at enmity with thy people, and with all men, both in their manners and practices. Now, if thou wilt be a benefactor to thy subjects, thou wilt give order to destroy them utterly, and not leave the least remains of them, nor preserve any of them, either for slaves or for captives." But that the king might not be damnified by the loss of the tributes which the Jews paid him, Haman promised to give him out of his own estate forty thousand talents whensoever he pleased; and he said he would pay this money very willingly, that the kingdom might be freed from such a misfortune.

6. When Haman had made this petition, the king both forgave him the money, and granted him the men, to do what he would with them. So Haman, having gained what he desired, sent out immediately a decree, as from the king, to all nations, the contents whereof were these: "Artaxerxes, the great king, to the rulers of the hundred twenty and seven provinces, from India to Ethiopia, sends this writing. Whereas I have governed many nations, and obtained the dominions of all the habitable earth, according to my desire, and have not been obliged to do any thing that is insolent or cruel to my subjects by such my power, but have showed myself mild and gentle, by taking care of their peace and good order, and have sought how they might enjoy those blessings for all time to come. And whereas I have been kindly informed by Haman, who, on account of his prudence and justice, is the first in my esteem, and in dignity, and only second to myself, for his fidelity and constant good-will to me, that there is an ill-natured nation intermixed with all mankind, that is averse to our laws, and not subject to kings, and of a different conduct of life from others, that hateth monarchy, and of a disposition that is pernicious to our affairs, I give order that all these men, of whom Haman our second father hath informed us, be destroyed, with their wives and children, and that none of them be spared, and that none prefer pity to them before obedience to this decree. And this I will to be executed on the fourteenth day of the twelfth month of this present year, that so when all that have enmity to us are destroyed, and this in one day, we may be allowed to lead the rest of our lives in peace hereafter." Now when this decree was brought to the cities, and to the country, all were ready for the destruction and entire abolishment of the Jews, against the day before mentioned; and they were very hasty about it at Shushan, in particular. Accordingly, the king and Haman spent their time in feasting together with good cheer and wine, but the city was in disorder.

7. Now when Mordecai was informed of what was done, he rent his clothes, and put on sackcloth, and sprinkled ashes upon his head, and went about the city, crying out, that "a nation that had been injurious to no man was to be destroyed." And he went on saying thus as far as to the king's palace, and there he stood, for it was not lawful for him to go into it in that habit. The same thing was done by all the Jews that were in the several cities wherein this decree was published, with lamentation and mourning, on account of the calamities denounced against them. But as soon as certain persons had told the queen that Mordecai stood before the court in a mourning habit, she was disturbed at this report, and sent out such as should change his garments; but when he could not be induced to put off his sackcloth, because the sad occasion that forced him to put it on was not yet ceased, she called the eunuch Acratheus, for he was then present, and sent him to Mordecai, in order to know of him what sad accident had befallen him, for which he was in mourning, and would not put off the habit he had put on at her desire. Then did Mordecai inform the eunuch of the occasion of his mourning, and of the decree which was sent by the king into all the country, and of the promise of money whereby Haman brought the destruction of their nation. He also gave him a copy of what was proclaimed at Shushan, to be carried to Esther; and he charged her to petition the king about this matter, and not to think it a dishonourable thing in her to put on a humble habit, for the safety of her nation, wherein she might deprecate the ruin of the Jews, who were in danger of it; for that Haman, whose dignity was only inferior to that of the king, had accused the Jews, and had irritated the king against them. When she was informed of this, she sent to Mordecai again, and told him that she was not called by the king, and that he who goes in to him without being called, is to be slain, unless when he is willing to save any one, he holds out his golden scepter to him; but that to whomsoever he does so, although he go in without being called, that person is so far from being slain, that he obtains pardon, and is entirely preserved. Now when the eunuch carried this message from Esther to Mordecai, he bade him also tell her that she must not only provide for her own preservation, but for the common preservation of her nation, for that if she now neglected this opportunity, there would certainly arise help to them from God some other way, but she and her father's house would be destroyed by those whom she now despised. But Esther sent the very same eunuch back to Mordecai [to desire him] to go to Shushan, and to gather the Jews that were there together to a congregation, and to fast and abstain from all sorts of food, on her account, and [to let him know that] she with her maidens would do the same: and then she promised that she would go to the king, though it were against the law, and that if she must die for it, she would not refuse it.

8. Accordingly, Mordecai did as Esther had enjoined him, and made the people fast; and he besought God, together with them, not to overlook his nation, particularly at this time, when it was going to be destroyed; but that, as he had often before provided for them, and forgiven, when they had sinned, so he would now deliver them from that destruction which was denounced against them; for although it was not all the nation that had offended, yet must they so ingloriously be slain, and that he was himself the occasion of the wrath of Haman, "Because," said he, "I did not worship him, nor could I endure to pay that honour to him which I used to pay to thee, O Lord; for upon that his anger hath he contrived this present mischief against those that have not transgressed thy laws." The same supplications did the multitude put up, and entreated that God would provide for their deliverance, and free the Israelites that were in all the earth from this calamity which was now coming upon them, for they had it before their eyes, and expected its coming. Accordingly, Esther made supplication to God after the manner of her country, by casting herself down upon the earth, and putting on her mourning garments, and bidding farewell to meat and drink, and all delicacies, for three days' time; and she entreated God to have mercy upon her, and make her words appear persuasive to the king, and render her countenance more beautiful than it was before, that both by her words and beauty she might succeed, for the averting of the king's anger, in case he were at all irritated against her, and for the consolation of those of her own country, now they were in the utmost danger of perishing; as also that he would excite a hatred in the king against the enemies of the Jews, and those that had contrived their future destruction, if they proved to be contemned by him.

9. When Esther had used this supplication for three days, she put off those garments, and changed her habit, and adorned herself as became a queen, and took two of her handmaids with her, the one of which supported her, as she gently leaned upon her, and the other followed after, and lifted up her large train [which swept along the ground] with the extremities of her fingers. And thus she came to the king, having a blushing redness in her countenance, with a pleasant agreeableness in her behavior; yet did she go in to him with fear; and as soon as she was come over against him, as he was sitting on his throne, in his royal apparel, which was a garment interwoven with gold and precious stones, which made him seem to her more terrible, especially when he looked at her somewhat severely, and with a countenance on fire with anger, her joints failed her immediately, out of the dread she was in, and she fell down sideways in a swoon: but the king changed his mind, which happened, as I suppose, by the will of God, and was concerned for his wife, lest her fear should bring some very ill thing upon her, and he leaped from his throne, and took her in his arms, and recovered her, by embracing her, and speaking comfortably to her, and exhorting her to be of good cheer, and not to suspect any thing that was sad on account of her coming to him without being called, because that law was made for subjects, but that she, who was a queen, as well as he a king, might be entirely secure; and as he said this, he put the scepter into her hand, and laid his rod upon her neck, on account of the law; and so freed her from her fear. And after she had recovered herself by these encouragements, she said, "My lord, it is not easy for me, on the sudden, to say what hath happened, for as soon as I saw thee to be great, and comely, and terrible, my spirit departed from me, and I had no soul left in me." And while it was with difficulty, and in a low voice, that she could say thus much, the king was in a great agony and disorder, and encouraged Esther to be of good cheer, and to expect better fortune, since he was ready, if occasion should require it, to grant her the half of his kingdom. Accordingly, Esther desired that he and his friend Haman would come to her to a banquet, for she said she had prepared a supper for him. He consented to it; and when they were there, as they were drinking, he bid Esther to let him know what she desired; for that she should not be disappointed though she should desire the half of his kingdom. But she put off the discovery of her petition till the next day, if he would come again, together with Haman, to her banquet.

10. Now when the king had promised so to do, Haman went away very glad, because he alone had the honour of supping with the king at Esther's banquet, and because no one else partook of the same honour with kings but himself; yet when he saw Mordecai in the court, he was very much displeased, for he paid him no manner of respect when he saw him. So he went home and called for his wife Zeresh, and his friends, and when they were come, he showed them what honour he enjoyed not only from the king, but from the queen also, for as he alone had that day supped with her, together with the king, so was he also invited again for the next day; "yet," said he, "am I not pleased to see Mordecai the Jew in the court." Hereupon his wife Zeresh advised him to give order that a gallows should be made fifty cubits high, and that in the morning he should ask it of the king that Mordecai might be hanged thereon. So he commended her advice, and gave order to his servants to prepare the gallows, and to place it in the court, for the punishment of Mordecai thereon, which was accordingly prepared. But God laughed to scorn the wicked expectations of Haman; and as he knew what the event would be, he was delighted at it, for that night he took away the king's sleep; and as the king was not willing to lose the time of his lying awake, but to spend it in something that might be of advantage to his kingdom, he commanded the scribe to bring him the chronicles of the former kings, and the records of his own actions; and when he had brought them, and was reading them, one was found to have received a country on account of his excellent management on a certain occasion, and the name of the country was set down; another was found to have had a present made him on account of his fidelity: then the scribe came to Bigthan and Teresh, the eunuchs that had made a conspiracy against the king, which Mordecai had discovered; and when the scribe said no more but that, and was going on to another history, the king stopped him, and inquired "whether it was not added that Mordecai had a reward given

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him?" and when he said there was no such addition, he bade him leave off; and he inquired of those that were appointed for that purpose, what hour of the night it was; and when he was informed that it was already day, he gave order, that if they found any one of his friends already come, and standing before the court, they should tell him. Now it happened that Haman was found there, for he was come sooner than ordinary to petition the king to have Mordecai put to death; and when the servants said that Haman was before the court, he bid them call him in; and when he was come in, he said, "Because I know that thou art my only fast friend, I desire thee to give me advice how I may honour one that I greatly love, and that after a manner suitable to my magnificence." Now Haman reasoned with himself, that what opinion he should give it would be for himself, since it was he alone who was beloved by the king: so he gave that advice which he thought of all other the best; for he said, "If thou wouldst truly honour a man whom thou sayest thou dost love, give order that he may ride on horseback, with the same garment on which thou wearest, and with a gold chain about his neck, and let one of thy intimate friends go before him, and proclaim through the whole city, that whosoever the king honoureth obtaineth this mark of his honour." This was the advice which Haman gave, out of a supposal that such a reward would come to himself. Hereupon the king was pleased with the advice, and said, "Go thou therefore, for thou hast the horse, the garment, and the chain, ask for Mordecai the Jew, and give him those things, and go before his horse and proclaim accordingly; for thou art," said he, "my intimate friend, and hast given me good advice; be thou then the minister of what thou hast advised me to. This shall be his reward from us, for preserving my life." When he heard this order, which was entirely unexpected, he was confounded in his mind, and knew not what to do. However, he went out and led the horse, and took the purple garment, and the golden chain for the neck, and finding Mordecai before the court, clothed in sackcloth, he bid him put that garment off, and put the purple garment on. But Mordecai, not knowing the truth of the matter, but thinking that it was done in mockery, said, "O thou wretch, the vilest of all mankind, dost thou thus laugh at our calamities?" But when he was satisfied that the king bestowed this honour upon him, for the deliverance he had procured him when he convicted the eunuchs who had conspired against him, he put on that purple garment which the king always wore, and put the chain about his neck, and got on horseback, and went round the city, while Haman went before and proclaimed, "This shall be the reward which the king will bestow on every one whom he loves, and esteems worthy of honour." And when they had gone round the city, Mordecai went in to the king; but Haman went home, out of shame, and informed his wife and friends of what had happened, and this with tears; who said, that he would never be able to be revenged of Mordecai, for that God was with him.

11. Now while these men were thus talking one to another, Esther's eunuchs hastened Haman away to come to supper; but one of the eunuchs, named Sabuchadas, saw the gallows that was fixed in Haman's house, and inquired of one of his servants for what purpose they had prepared it. So he knew that it was for the queen's uncle, because Haman was about to petition the king that he might be punished; but at present he held his peace. Now when the king, with Haman, were at the banquet, he desired the queen to tell him what gifts she desired to obtain, and assured her that she should have whatsoever she had a mind to. She then lamented the danger her people were in; and said that "she and her nation were given up to be destroyed, and that she, on that account, made this her petition; that she would not have troubled him if he had only given order that they should be sold into bitter servitude, for such a misfortune would not have been intolerable; but she desired that they might be delivered from such destruction." And when the king inquired of her whom was the author of this misery to them, she then openly accused Haman, and convicted him, that he had been the wicked instrument of this, and had formed this plot against them. When the king was hereupon in disorder, and was gone hastily out of the banquet into the gardens, Haman began to intercede with Esther, and to beseech her to forgive him, as to what he had offended, for he perceived that he was in a very bad case. And as he had fallen upon the queen's bed, and was making supplication to her, the king came in, and being still more provoked at what he saw, "O thou wretch," said he, "thou vilest of mankind, dost thou aim to force in wife?" And when Haman was astonished at this, and not able to speak one word more, Sabuchadas the eunuch came in and accused Haman, and said, He found a gallows at his house, prepared for Mordecai; for that the servant told him so much upon his inquiry, when he was sent to him to call him to supper. He said further, that the gallows was fifty cubits high: which, when the king heard, he determined that Haman should be punished after no other manner than that which had been devised by him against Mordecai; so he gave order immediately that he should be hung upon those gallows, and be put to death after that manner. And from hence I cannot forbear to admire God, and to learn hence his wisdom and his justice, not only in punishing the wickedness of Haman, but in so disposing it, that he should undergo the very same punishment which he had contrived for another; as also because thereby he teaches others this lesson, that what mischiefs any one prepares against another, he, without knowing of it, first contrives it against himself.

12. Wherefore Haman, who had immoderately abused the honour he had from the king, was destroyed after this manner, and the king granted his estate to the queen. He also called for Mordecai, [for Esther had informed him that she was akin to him,] and gave that ring to Mordecai which he had before given to Haman. The queen also gave Haman's estate to Mordecai; and prayed the king to deliver the nation of the Jews from the fear of death, and showed him what had been written over all the country by Haman the son of Ammedatha; for that if her country were destroyed, and her countrymen were to perish, she could not bear to live herself any longer. So the king promised her that he would not do any thing that should be disagreeable to her, nor contradict what she desired; but he bid her write what she pleased about the Jews, in the king's name, and seal it with his seal, and send it to all his kingdom, for that those who read epistles whose authority is secured by having the king's seal to them, would no way contradict what was written therein. So he commanded the king's scribes to be sent for, and to write to the nations, on the Jews' behalf, and to his lieutenants and governors, that were over his hundred twenty and seven provinces, from India to Ethiopia. Now the contents of this epistle were these: "The great king Artaxerxes to our rulers, and those that are our faithful subjects, sendeth greeting. Many men there are who, on account of the greatness of the benefits bestowed on them, and because of the honour which they have obtained from the wonderful kind treatment of those that bestowed it, are not only injurious to their inferiors, but do not scruple to do evil to those that have been their benefactors, as if they would take away gratitude from among men, and by their insolent abuse of such benefits as they never expected, they turn the abundance they have against those that are the authors of it, and suppose they shall lie concealed from God in that case, and avoid that vengeance which comes from him. Some of these men, when they have had the management of affairs committed to them by their friends, and bearing private malice of their own against some others, by deceiving those that have the power, persuade them to be angry at such as have done them no harm, till they are in danger of perishing, and this by laying accusations and calumnies: nor is this state of things to be discovered by ancient examples, or such as we have learned by report only, but by some examples of such impudent attempts under our own eyes; so that it is not fit to attend any longer to calumnies and accusations, nor to the persuasions of others, but to determine what any one knows of himself to have been really done, and to punish what justly deserves it, and to grant favours to such as are innocent. This hath been the case of Haman, the son of Ammedatha, by birth an Amalekite, and alien from the blood of the Persians, who, when he was hospitably entertained by us, and partook of that kindness which we bear to all men to so great a degree, as to be called my father, and to be all along worshipped, and to have honour paid him by all in the second rank after the royal honour due to ourselves, he could not bear his good fortune, nor govern the magnitude of his prosperity with sound reason; nay, he made a conspiracy against me and my life, who gave him his authority, by endeavoring to take away Mordecai, my benefactor, and my savior, and by basely and treacherously requiring to have Esther, the partner of my life, and of my dominion, brought to destruction; for he contrived by this means to deprive me of my faithful friends, and transfer the government to others: but since I perceived that these Jews, that were by this pernicious fellow devoted to destruction, were not wicked men, but conducted their lives after the best manner, and were men dedicated to the worship of that God who hath preserved the kingdom to me and to my ancestors, I do not only free them from the punishment which the former epistle, which was sent by Haman, ordered to be inflicted on them, to which if you refuse obedience, you shall do well; but I will that they have all honour paid to them. Accordingly, I have hanged up the man that contrived such things against them, with his family, before the gates of Shushan; that punishment being sent upon him by God, who seeth all things. And I give you in charge, that you publicly propose a copy of this epistle through all my kingdom, that the Jews may be permitted peaceably to use their own laws, and that you assist them, that at the same season whereto their miserable estate did belong, they may defend themselves the very same day from unjust violence, the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which is Adar; for God hath made that day a day of salvation instead of a day of destruction to them; and may it be a good day to those that wish us well, and a memorial of the punishment of the conspirators against us: and I will that you take notice, that every city, and every nation, that shall disobey any thing that is contained in this epistle, shall be destroyed by fire and sword. However, let this epistle be published through all the country that is under our obedience, and let all the Jews, by all means, be ready against the day before mentioned, that they may avenge themselves upon their enemies."

13. Accordingly, the horsemen who carried the epistles proceeded on the ways which they were to go with speed: but as for Mordecai, as soon as he had assumed the royal garment, and the crown of gold, and had put the chain about his neck, he went forth in a public procession; and when the Jews who were at Shushan saw him in so great honour with the king, they thought his good fortune was common to themselves also, and joy and a beam of salvation encompassed the Jews, both those that were in the cities, and those that were in the countries, upon the publication of the king's letters, insomuch that many even of other nations circumcised their foreskin for fear of the Jews, that they might procure safety to themselves thereby; for on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which according to the Hebrews is called Adar, but according to the Macedonians, Dystrus, those that carried the king's epistle gave them notice, that the same day wherein their danger was to have been, on that very day should they destroy their enemies. But now the rulers of the provinces, and the tyrants, and the kings, and the scribes, had the Jews in esteem; for the fear they were in of Mordecai forced them to act with discretion. Now when the royal decree was come to all the country that was subject to the king, it fell out that the Jews at Shushan slew five hundred of their enemies; and when the king had told Esther the number of those that were slain in that city, but did not well know what had been done in the provinces, he asked her whether she would have any thing further done against them, for that it should be done accordingly: upon which she desired that the Jews might be permitted to treat their remaining enemies in the same manner the next day; as also that they might hang the ten sons of Haman upon the gallows. So the king permitted the Jews so to do, as desirous not to contradict Esther. So they gathered themselves together again on the fourteenth day of the month Dystrus, and slew about three hundred of their enemies, but touched nothing of what riches they had. Now there were slain by the Jews that were in the country, and in the other cities, seventy-five thousand of their enemies, and these were slain on the thirteenth day of the month, and the next day they kept as a festival. In like manner the Jews that were in Shushan gathered themselves together, and feasted on the fourteenth day, and that which followed it; whence it is that even now all the Jews that are in the habitable earth keep these days festival, and send portions to one another. Mordecai also wrote to the Jews that lived in the kingdom of Artaxerxes to observe these days, and celebrate them as festivals, and to deliver them down to posterity, that this festival might continue for all time to come, and that it might never be buried in oblivion; for since they were about to be destroyed on these days by Haman, they would do a right thing, upon escaping the danger in them, and on them inflicting punishment on their enemies, to observe those days, and give thanks to God on them; for which cause the Jews still keep the forementioned days, and call them days of Phurim (or Purim.) And Mordecai became a great and illustrious person with the king, and assisted him in the government of the people. He also lived with the queen; so that the affairs of the Jews were, by their means, better than they could ever have hoped for. And this was the state of the Jews under the reign of Artaxerxes.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 7

How John Slew His Brother Jesus In The Temple; And How Bagoses Offered Many Injuries To The Jews; And What Sanballat Did.

1. When Eliashib the high priest was dead, his son Judas succeeded in the high priesthood; and when he was dead, his son John took that dignity; on whose account it was also that Bagoses, the general of another Artaxerxes's army, polluted the temple, and imposed tributes on the Jews, that out of the public stock, before they offered the daily sacrifices, they should pay for every lamb fifty shekels. Now Jesus was the brother of John, and was a friend of Bagoses, who had promised to procure him the high priesthood. In confidence of whose support, Jesus quarreled with John in the temple, and so provoked his brother, that in his anger his brother slew him. Now it was a horrible thing for John, when he was high priest, to perpetrate so great a crime, and so much the more horrible, that there never was so cruel and impious a thing done, neither by the Greeks nor Barbarians. However, God did not neglect its punishment, but the people were on that very account enslaved, and the temple was polluted by the Persians. Now when Bagoses, the general of Artaxerxes's army, knew that John, the high priest of the Jews, had slain his own brother Jesus in the temple, he came upon the Jews immediately, and began in anger to say to them, "Have you had the impudence to perpetrate a murder in your temple?" And as he was aiming to go into the temple, they forbade him so to do; but he said to them, "Am not I purer than he that was slain in the temple?" And when he had said these words, he went into the temple. Accordingly, Bagoses made use of

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this pretense, and punished the Jews seven years for the murder of Jesus.

2. Now when John had departed this life, his son Jaddua succeeded in the high priesthood. He had a brother, whose name was Manasseh. Now there was one Sanballat, who was sent by Darius, the last king [of Persia], into Samaria. He was a Cutheam by birth; of which stock were the Samaritans also. This man knew that the city Jerusalem was a famous city, and that their kings had given a great deal of trouble to the Assyrians, and the people of Celesyria; so that he willingly gave his daughter, whose name was Nicaso, in marriage to Manasseh, as thinking this alliance by marriage would be a pledge and security that the nation of the Jews should continue their good-will to him.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 8

Concerning Sanballat And Manasseh, And The Temple Which They Built On Mount Gerizzim; As Also How Alexander Made His Entry Into The City Jerusalem, And What Benefits He Bestowed On The Jews.

1. About this time it was that Philip, king of Macedon, was treacherously assaulted and slain at Egae by Pausanias, the son of Cerastes, who was derived from the family of Oreste, and his son Alexander succeeded him in the kingdom; who, passing over the Hellespont, overcame the generals of Darius's army in a battle fought at Granicum. So he marched over Lydia, and subdued Ionia, and overran Caria, and fell upon the places of Pamphylia, as has been related elsewhere.

2. But the elders of Jerusalem being very uneasy that the brother of Jaddua the high priest, though married to a foreigner, should be a partner with him in the high priesthood, quarreled with him; for they esteemed this man's marriage a step to such as should be desirous of transgressing about the marriage of [strange] wives, and that this would be the beginning of a mutual society with foreigners, although the offense of some about marriages, and their having married wives that were not of their own country, had been an occasion of their former captivity, and of the miseries they then underwent; so they commanded Manasseh to divorce his wife, or not to approach the altar, the high priest himself joining with the people in their indignation against his brother, and driving him away from the altar. Whereupon Manasseh came to his father-in-law, Sanballat, and told him, that although he loved his daughter Nicaso, yet was he not willing to be deprived of his sacerdotal dignity on her account, which was the principal dignity in their nation, and always continued in the same family. And then Sanballat promised him not only to preserve to him the honour of his priesthood, but to procure for him the power and dignity of a high priest, and would make him governor of all the places he himself now ruled, if he would keep his daughter for his wife. He also told him further, that he would build him a temple like that at Jerusalem, upon Mount Gerizzini, which is the highest of all the mountains that are in Samaria; and he promised that he would do this with the approbation of Darius the king. Manasseh was elevated with these promises, and staid with Sanballat, upon a supposal that he should gain a high priesthood, as bestowed on him by Darius, for it happened that Sanballat was then in years. But there was now a great disturbance among the people of Jerusalem, because many of those priests and Levites were entangled in such matches; for they all revolted to Manasseh, and Sanballat afforded them money, and divided among them land for tillage, and habitations also, and all this in order every way to gratify his son-in-law.

3. About this time it was that Darius heard how Alexander had passed over the Hellespont, and had beaten his lieutenants in the battle at Granicum, and was proceeding further; whereupon he gathered together an army of horse and foot, and determined that he would meet the Macedonians before they should assault and conquer all Asia. So he passed over the river Euphrates, and came over Taurus, the Cilician mountain, and at Issus of Cilicia he waited for the enemy, as ready there to give him battle. Upon which Sanballat was glad that Darius was come down; and told Manasseh that he would suddenly perform his promises to him, and this as soon as ever Darius should come back, after he had beaten his enemies; for not he only, but all those that were in Asia also, were persuaded that the Macedonians would not so much as come to a battle with the Persians, on account of their multitude. But the event proved otherwise than they expected; for the king joined battle with the Macedonians, and was beaten, and lost a great part of his army. His mother also, and his wife and children, were taken captives, and he fled into Persia. So Alexander came into Syria, and took Damascus; and when he had obtained Sidon, he besieged Tyre, when he sent an epistle to the Jewish high priest, to send him some auxiliaries, and to supply his army with provisions; and that what presents he formerly sent to Darius, he would now send to him, and choose the friendship of the Macedonians, and that he should never repent of so doing. But the high priest answered the messengers, that he had given his oath to Darius not to bear arms against him; and he said that he would not transgress this while Darius was in the land of the living. Upon hearing this answer, Alexander was very angry; and though he determined not to leave Tyre, which was just ready to be taken, yet as soon as he had taken it, he threatened that he would make an expedition against the Jewish high priest, and through him teach all men to whom they must keep their oaths. So when he had, with a good deal of pains during the siege, taken Tyre, and had settled its affairs, he came to the city of Gaza, and besieged both the city and him that was governor of the garrison, whose name was Babemeses.

4. But Sanballat thought he had now gotten a proper opportunity to make his attempt, so he renounced Darius, and taking with him seven thousand of his own subjects, he came to Alexander; and finding him beginning the siege of Tyre, he said to him, that he delivered up to him these men, who came out of places under his dominion, and did gladly accept of him for his lord instead of Darius. So when Alexander had received him kindly, Sanballat thereupon took courage, and spake to him about his present affair. He told him that he had a son-in-law, Manasseh, who was brother to the high priest Jaddua; and that there were many others of his own nation, now with him, that were desirous to have a temple in the places subject to him; that it would be for the king's advantage to have the strength of the Jews divided into two parts, lest when the nation is of one mind, and united, upon any attempt for innovation, it prove troublesome to kings, as it had formerly proved to the kings of Assyria. Whereupon Alexander gave Sanballat leave so to do, who used the utmost diligence, and built the temple, and made Manasseh the priest, and deemed it a great reward that his daughter's children should have that dignity; but when the seven months of the siege of Tyre were over, and the two months of the siege of Gaza, Sanballat died. Now Alexander, when he had taken Gaza, made haste to go up to Jerusalem; and Jaddua the high priest, when he heard that, was in an agony, and under terror, as not knowing how he should meet the Macedonians, since the king was displeased at his foregoing disobedience. He therefore ordained that the people should make supplications, and should join with him in offering sacrifice to God, whom he besought to protect that nation, and to deliver them from the perils that were coming upon them; whereupon God warned him in a dream, which came upon him after he had offered sacrifice, that he should take courage, and adorn the city, and open the gates; that the rest should appear in white garments, but that he and the priests should meet the king in the habits proper to their order, without the dread of any ill consequences, which the providence of God would prevent. Upon which, when he rose from his sleep, he greatly rejoiced, and declared to all the warning he had received from God. According to which dream he acted entirely, and so waited for the coming of the king.

5. And when he understood that he was not far from the city, he went out in procession, with the priests and the multitude of the citizens. The procession was venerable, and the manner of it different from that of other nations. It reached to a place called Sapha, which name, translated into Greek, signifies a prospect, for you have thence a prospect both of Jerusalem and of the temple. And when the Phoenicians and the Chaldeans that followed him thought they should have liberty to plunder the city, and torment the high priest to death, which the king's displeasure fairly promised them, the very reverse of it happened; for Alexander, when he saw the multitude at a distance, in white garments, while the priests stood clothed with fine linen, and the high priest in purple and scarlet clothing, with his mitre on his head, having the golden plate whereon the name of God was engraved, he approached by himself, and adored that name, and first saluted the high priest. The Jews also did all together, with one voice, salute Alexander, and encompass him about; whereupon the kings of Syria and the rest were surprised at what Alexander had done, and supposed him disordered in his mind. However, Parmenio alone went up to him, and asked him how it came to pass that, when all others adored him, he should adore the high priest of the Jews? To whom he replied, "I did not adore him, but that God who hath honoured him with his high priesthood; for I saw this very person in a dream, in this very habit, when I was at Dios in Macedonia, who, when I was considering with myself how I might obtain the dominion of Asia, exhorted me to make no delay, but boldly to pass over the sea thither, for that he would conduct my army, and would give me the dominion over the Persians; whence it is that, having seen no other in that habit, and now seeing this person in it, and remembering that vision, and the exhortation which I had in my dream, I believe that I bring this army under the Divine conduct, and shall therewith conquer Darius, and destroy the power of the Persians, and that all things will succeed according to what is in my own mind." And when he had said this to Parmenio, and had given the high priest his right hand, the priests ran along by him, and he came into the city. And when he went up into the temple, he offered sacrifice to God, according to the high priest's direction, and magnificently treated both the high priest and the priests. And when the Book of Daniel was showed him wherein Daniel declared that one of the Greeks should destroy the empire of the Persians, he supposed that himself was the person intended. And as he was then glad, he dismissed the multitude for the present; but the next day he called them to him, and bid them ask what favours they pleased of him; whereupon the high priest desired that they might enjoy the laws of their forefathers, and might pay no tribute on the seventh year. He granted all they desired. And when they entreated him that he would permit the Jews in Babylon and Media to enjoy their own laws also, he willingly promised to do hereafter what they desired. And when he said to the multitude, that if any of them would enlist themselves in his army, on this condition, that they should continue under the laws of their forefathers, and live according to them, he was willing to take them with him, many were ready to accompany him in his wars.

6. So when Alexander had thus settled matters at Jerusalem, he led his army into the neighbouring cities; and when all the inhabitants to whom he came received him with great kindness, the Samaritans, who had then Shechem for their metropolis, [a city situate at Mount Gerizzim, and inhabited by apostates of the Jewish nation,] seeing that Alexander had so greatly honoured the Jews, determined to profess themselves Jews; for such is the disposition of the Samaritans, as we have already elsewhere declared, that when the Jews are in adversity, they deny that they are of kin to them, and then they confess the truth; but when they perceive that some good fortune hath befallen them, they immediately pretend to have communion with them, saying that they belong to them, and derive their genealogy from the posterity of Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh. Accordingly, they made their address to the king with splendour, and showed great alacrity in meeting him at a little distance from Jerusalem. And when Alexander had commended them, the Shechemites approached to him, taking with them the troops that Sanballat had sent him, and they desired that he would come to their city, and do honour to their temple also; to whom he promised, that when he returned he would come to them. And when they petitioned that he would remit the tribute of the seventh year to them, because they did but sow thereon, he asked who they were that made such a petition; and when they said that they were Hebrews, but had the name of Sidonians, living at Shechem, he asked them again whether they were Jews; and when they said they were not Jews, "It was to the Jews," said he, "that I granted that privilege; however, when I return, and am thoroughly informed by you of this matter, I will do what I shall think proper." And in this manner he took leave of the Shechemites; but ordered that the troops of Sanballat should follow him into Egypt, because there he designed to give them lands, which he did a little after in Thebais, when he ordered them to guard that country.

7. Now when Alexander was dead, the government was parted among his successors, but the temple upon Mount Gerizzim remained. And if any one were accused by those of Jerusalem of having eaten things common or of having broken the sabbath, or of any other crime of the like nature, he fled away to the Shechemites, and said that he was accused unjustly. About this time it was that Jaddua the high priest died, and Onias his son took the high priesthood. This was the state of the affairs of the people of Jerusalem at this time.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES BOOK 12

Containing The Interval Of A Hundred And Seventy Years.—From The Death Of Alexander The Great To The Death Of Judas Maccabeus.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 1

How Ptolemy The Son Of Lagus Took Jerusalem And Judea By Deceit And Treachery, And Carried Many Thence, And Planted Them In Egypt.

1. Now when Alexander, king of Macedon, had put an end to the dominion of the Persians, and had settled the affairs in Judea after the forementioned manner, he ended his life. And as his government fell among many, Antigonus obtained Asia, Seleucus Babylon; and of the other nations which were there, Lysimachus governed the Hellespont, and Cassander possessed Macedonia; as did Ptolemy the son of Lagus seize upon Egypt. And while these princes ambitiously strove one against another, every one for his own principality, it came to pass that there were continual wars, and those lasting wars too; and the cities were sufferers, and lost a great many of their inhabitants in these times of distress, insomuch that all Syria, by the means of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, underwent the reverse of that denomination of Savior, which he then had. He also seized upon Jerusalem, and for that end made use of deceit and treachery; for as he came into the city on a sabbath day, as if he would offer sacrifices he, without any trouble, gained the city, while the Jews did not oppose him, for they did not suspect him to be their enemy; and he gained it thus, because they were free from suspicion of him, and because on that day they were at rest and quietness; and when he had gained it, he ruled over it in a cruel manner. Nay, Agatharchides of Cnidus, who wrote the acts of Alexander's successors, reproaches us with superstition, as if we, by it, had

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lost our liberty; where he says thus: "There is a nation called the nation of the Jews, who inhabit a city strong and great, named Jerusalem. These men took no care, but let it come into the hands of Ptolemy, as not willing to take arms, and thereby they submitted to be under a hard master, by reason of their unseasonable superstition." This is what Agatharchides relates of our nation. But when Ptolemy had taken a great many captives, both from the mountainous parts of Judea, and from the places about Jerusalem and Samaria, and the places near Mount Gerizzim, he led them all into Egypt, 2 and settled them there. And as he knew that the people of Jerusalem were most faithful in the observation of oaths and covenants; and this from the answer they made to Alexander, when he sent an embassage to them, after he had beaten Darius in battle; so he distributed many of them into garrisons, and at Alexandria gave them equal privileges of citizens with the Macedonians themselves; and required of them to take their oaths, that they would keep their fidelity to the posterity of those who committed these places to their care. Nay, there were not a few other Jews who, of their own accord, went into Egypt, as invited by the goodness of the soil, and by the liberality of Ptolemy. However, there were disorders among their posterity, with relation to the Samaritans, on account of their resolution to preserve that conduct of life which was delivered to them by their forefathers, and they thereupon contended one with another, while those of Jerusalem said that their temple was holy, and resolved to send their sacrifices thither; but the Samaritans were resolved that they should be sent to Mount Gerizzim.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 2

How Ptolemy Philadelphus Procured The Laws Of The Jews To Be Translated Into The Greek Tongue And Set Many Captives Free, And Dedicated Many Gifts To God.

1. When Alexander had reigned twelve years, and after him Ptolemy Soter forty years, Philadelphus then took the kingdom of Egypt, and held it forty years within one. He procured the law to be interpreted, and set free those that were come from Jerusalem into Egypt, and were in slavery there, who were a hundred and twenty thousand. The occasion was this: Demetrius Phalerius, who was library keeper to the king, was now endeavoring, if it were possible, to gather together all the books that were in the habitable earth, and buying whatsoever was any where valuable, or agreeable to the king's inclination, [who was very earnestly set upon collecting of books,] to which inclination of his Demetrius was zealously subservient. And when once Ptolemy asked him how many ten thousands of books he had collected, he replied, that he had already about twenty times ten thousand; but that, in a little time, he should have fifty times ten thousand. But he said he had been informed that there were many books of laws among the Jews worthy of inquiring after, and worthy of the king's library, but which, being written in characters and in a dialect of their own, will cause no small pains in getting them translated into the Greek tongue; that the character in which they are written seems to be like to that which is the proper character of the Syrians, and that its sound, when pronounced, is like theirs also; and that this sound appears to be peculiar to themselves. Wherefore he said that nothing hindered why they might not get those books to be translated also; for while nothing is wanting that is necessary for that purpose, we may have their books also in this library. So the king thought that Demetrius was very zealous to procure him abundance of books, and that he suggested what was exceeding proper for him to do; and therefore he wrote to the Jewish high priest, that he should act accordingly.

2. Now there was one Aristeus, who was among the king's most intimate friends, and on account of his modesty very acceptable to him. This Aristeus resolved frequently, and that before now, to petition the king that he would set all the captive Jews in his kingdom free; and he thought this to be a convenient opportunity for the making that petition. So he discoursed, in the first place, with the captains of the king's guards, Sosibius of Tarentum, and Andreas, and persuaded them to assist him in what he was going to intercede with the king for. Accordingly Aristeus embraced the same opinion with those that have been before mentioned, and went to the king, and made the following speech to him: "It is not fit for us, O king, to overlook things hastily, or to deceive ourselves, but to lay the truth open. For since we have determined not only to get the laws of the Jews transcribed, but interpreted also, for thy satisfaction, by what means can we do this, while so many of the Jews are now slaves in thy kingdom? Do thou then what will be agreeable to thy magnanimity, and to thy good nature: free them from the miserable condition they are in, because that God, who supporteth thy kingdom, was the author of their laws as I have learned by particular inquiry; for both these people, and we also, worship the same God the framer of all things. We call him, and that truly, by the name of GREEK, [or life, or Jupiter,] because he breathes life into all men. Wherefore do thou restore these men to their own country, and this do to the honour of God, because these men pay a peculiarly excellent worship to him. And know this further, that though I be not of kin to them by birth, nor one of the same country with them, yet do I desire these favours to be done them, since all men are the workmanship of God; and I am sensible that he is well-pleased with those that do good. I do therefore put up this petition to thee, to do good to them."

3. When Aristeus was saying thus, the king looked upon him with a cheerful and joyful countenance, and said, "How many ten thousands dost thou suppose there are of such as want to be made free?" To which Andreas replied, as he stood by, and said, "A few more than ten times ten thousand." The king made answer, "And is this a small gift that thou askest, Aristeus?" But Sosibius, and the rest that stood by, said that he ought to offer such a thank-offering as was worthy of his greatness of soul, to that God who had given him his kingdom. With this answer he was much pleased; and gave order, that when they paid the soldiers their wages, they should lay down [a hundred and] twenty drachmas for every one of the slaves? And he promised to publish a magnificent decree, about what they requested, which should confirm what Aristeus had proposed, and especially what God willed should be done; whereby he said he would not only set those free who had been led away captive by his father and his army, but those who were in this kingdom before, and those also, if any such there were, who had been brought away since. And when they said that their redemption money would amount to above four hundred talents, he granted it. A copy of which decree I have determined to preserve, that the magnanimity of this king may be made known. Its contents were as follows: "Let all those who were soldiers under our father, and who, when they overran Syria and Phoenicia, and laid waste Judea, took the Jews captives, and made them slaves, and brought them into our cities, and into this country, and then sold them; as also all those that were in my kingdom before them, and if there be any that have been lately brought thither,—be made free by those that possess them; and let them accept of [a hundred and] twenty drachmas for every slave. And let the soldiers receive this redemption money with their pay, but the rest out of the king's treasury: for I suppose that they were made captives without our father's consent, and against equity; and that their country was harassed by the insolence of the soldiers, and that, by removing them into Egypt, the soldiers have made a great profit by them. Out of regard therefore to justice, and out of pity to those that have been tyrannized over, contrary to equity, I enjoin those that have such Jews in their service to set them at liberty, upon the receipt of the before-mentioned sum; and that no one use any deceit about them, but obey what is here commanded. And I will that they give in their names within three days after the publication of this edict, to such as are appointed to execute the same, and to produce the slaves before them also, for I think it will be for the advantage of my affairs. And let every one that will inform against those that do not obey this decree, and I will that their estates be confiscated into the king's treasury." When this decree was read to the king, it at first contained the rest that is here inserted, and omitted only those Jews that had formerly been brought, and those brought afterwards, which had not been distinctly mentioned; so he added these clauses out of his humanity, and with great generosity. He also gave order that the payment, which was likely to be done in a hurry, should be divided among the king's ministers, and among the officers of his treasury. When this was over, what the king had decreed was quickly brought to a conclusion; and this in no more than seven days' time, the number of the talents paid for the captives being above four hundred and sixty, and this, because their masters required the [hundred and] twenty drachmas for the children also, the king having, in effect, commanded that these should be paid for, when he said in his decree, that they should receive the forementioned sum for every slave.

4. Now when this had been done after so magnificent a manner, according to the king's inclinations, he gave order to Demetrius to give him in writing his sentiments concerning the transcribing of the Jewish books; for no part of the administration is done rashly by these kings, but all things are managed with great circumspection. On which account I have subjoined a copy of these epistles, and set down the multitude of the vessels sent as gifts [to Jerusalem], and the construction of every one, that the exactness of the artificers' workmanship, as it appeared to those that saw them, and which workman made every vessel, may be made manifest, and this on account of the excellency of the vessels themselves. Now the copy of the epistle was to this purpose: "Demetrius to the great king. When thou, O king, gavest me a charge concerning the collection of books that were wanting to fill your library, and concerning the care that ought to be taken about such as are imperfect, I have used the utmost diligence about those matters. And I let you know, that we want the books of the Jewish legislation, with some others; for they are written in the Hebrew characters, and being in the language of that nation, are to us unknown. It hath also happened to them, that they have been transcribed more carelessly than they ought to have been, because they have not had hitherto royal care taken about them. Now it is necessary that thou shouldst have accurate copies of them. And indeed this legislation is full of hidden wisdom, and entirely blameless, as being the legislation of God; for which cause it is, as Hecateus of Abdera says, that the poets and historians make no mention of it, nor of those men who lead their lives according to it, since it is a holy law, and ought not to be published by profane mouths. If then it please thee, O king, thou mayst write to the high priest of the Jews, to send six of the elders out of every tribe, and those such as are most skillful of the laws, that by their means we may learn the clear and agreeing sense of these books, and may obtain an accurate interpretation of their contents, and so may have such a collection of these as may be suitable to thy desire."

5. When this epistle was sent to the king, he commanded that an epistle should be drawn up for Eleazar, the Jewish high priest, concerning these matters; and that they should inform him of the release of the Jews that had been in slavery among them. He also sent fifty talents of gold for the making of large basons, and vials, and cups, and an immense quantity of precious stones. He also gave order to those who had the custody of the chest that contained those stones, to give the artificers leave to choose out what sorts of them they pleased. He withal appointed, that a hundred talents in money should be sent to the temple for sacrifices, and for other uses. Now I will give a description of these vessels, and the manner of their construction, but not till after I have set down a copy of the epistle which was written to Eleazar the high priest, who had obtained that dignity on the occasion following: When Onias the high priest was dead, his son Simon became his successor. He was called Simon the Just because of both his piety towards God, and his kind disposition to those of his own nation. When he was dead, and had left a young son, who was called Onias, Simon's brother Eleazar, of whom we are speaking, took the high priesthood; and he it was to whom Ptolemy wrote, and that in the manner following: "King Ptolemy to Eleazar the high priest, sendeth greeting. There are many Jews who now dwell in my kingdom, whom the Persians, when they were in power, carried captives. These were honoured by my father; some of them he placed in the army, and gave them greater pay than ordinary; to others of them, when they came with him into Egypt, he committed his garrisons, and the guarding of them, that they might be a terror to the Egyptians. And when I had taken the government, I treated all men with humanity, and especially those that are thy fellow citizens, of whom I have set free above a hundred thousand that were slaves, and paid the price of their redemption to their masters out of my own revenues; and those that are of a fit age, I have admitted into them number of my soldiers. And for such as are capable of being faithful to me, and proper for my court, I have put them in such a post, as thinking this [kindness done to them] to be a very great and an acceptable gift, which I devote to God for his providence over me. And as I am desirous to do what will be grateful to these, and to all the other Jews in the habitable earth, I have determined to procure an interpretation of your law, and to have it translated out of Hebrew into Greek, and to be deposited in my library. Thou wilt therefore do well to choose out and send to me men of a good character, who are now elders in age, and six in number out of every tribe. These, by their age, must be skillful in the laws, and of abilities to make an accurate interpretation of them; and when this shall be finished, I shall think that I have done a work glorious to myself. And I have sent to thee Andreas, the captain of my guard, and Aristeus, men whom I have in very great esteem; by whom I have sent those first-fruits which I have dedicated to the temple, and to the sacrifices, and to other uses, to the value of a hundred talents. And if thou wilt send to us, to let us know what thou wouldst have further, thou wilt do a thing acceptable to me."

6. When this epistle of the king was brought to Eleazar, he wrote an answer to it with all the respect possible: "Eleazar the high priest to king Ptolemy, sendeth greeting. If thou and thy queen Arsinoe, 6 and thy children, be well, we are entirely satisfied. When we received thy epistle, we greatly rejoiced at thy intentions; and when the multitude were gathered together, we read it to them, and thereby made them sensible of the piety thou hast towards God. We also showed them the twenty vials of gold, and thirty of silver, and the five large basons, and the table for the shew-bread; as also the hundred talents for the sacrifices, and for the making what shall be needful at the temple; which things Andreas and Aristeus, those most honoured friends of thine, have brought us; and truly they are persons of an excellent character, and of great learning, and worthy of thy virtue. Know then that we will gratify thee in what is for thy advantage, though we do what we used not to do before; for we ought to make a return for the numerous acts of kindness which thou hast done to our countrymen. We immediately, therefore, offered sacrifices for thee and thy sister, with thy children and friends; and the multitude made prayers, that thy affairs may be to thy mind, and that thy kingdom may be preserved in peace, and that the translation of our law may come to the conclusion thou desirest, and be for thy advantage. We have also chosen six elders out of every tribe, whom we have sent, and the law with them. It will be thy part, out of thy piety and justice, to send

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back the law, when it hath been translated, and to return those to us that bring it in safety. Farewell."

7. This was the reply which the high priest made. But it does not seem to me to be necessary to set down the names of the seventy [two] elders who were sent by Eleazar, and carried the law, which yet were subjoined at the end of the epistle. However, I thought it not improper to give an account of those very valuable and artificially contrived vessels which the king sent to God, that all may see how great a regard the king had for God; for the king allowed a vast deal of expenses for these vessels, and came often to the workmen, and viewed their works, and suffered nothing of carelessness or negligence to be any damage to their operations. And I will relate how rich they were as well as I am able, although perhaps the nature of this history may not require such a description; but I imagine I shall thereby recommend the elegant taste and magnanimity of this king to those that read this history.

8. And first I will describe what belongs to the table. It was indeed in the king's mind to make this table vastly large in its dimensions; but then he gave orders that they should learn what was the magnitude of the table which was already at Jerusalem, and how large it was, and whether there was a possibility of making one larger than it. And when he was informed how large that was which was already there, and that nothing hindered but a larger might be made, he said that he was willing to have one made that should be five times as large as the present table; but his fear was, that it might be then useless in their sacred ministrations by its too great largeness; for he desired that the gifts he presented them should not only be there for show, but should be useful also in their sacred ministrations. According to which reasoning, that the former table was made of so moderate a size for use, and not for want of gold, he resolved that he would not exceed the former table in largeness; but would make it exceed it in the variety and elegancy of its materials. And as he was sagacious in observing the nature of all things, and in having a just notion of what was new and surprising, and where there was no sculptures, he would invent such as were proper by his own skill, and would show them to the workmen, he commanded that such sculptures should now be made, and that those which were delineated should be most accurately formed by a constant regard to their delineation.

9. When therefore the workmen had undertaken to make the table, they framed it in length two cubits [and a half], in breadth one cubit, and in height one cubit and a half; and the entire structure of the work was of gold. They withal made a crown of a hand-breadth round it, with wave-work wreathed about it, and with an engraving which imitated a cord, and was admirably turned on its three parts; for as they were of a triangular figure, every angle had the same disposition of its sculptures, that when you turned them about, the very same form of them was turned about without any variation. Now that part of the crown-work that was enclosed under the table had its sculptures very beautiful; but that part which went round on the outside was more elabourately adorned with most beautiful ornaments, because it was exposed to sight, and to the view of the spectators; for which reason it was that both those sides which were extant above the rest were acute, and none of the angles, which we before told you were three, appeared less than another, when the table was turned about. Now into the cordwork thus turned were precious stones inserted, in rows parallel one to the other, enclosed in golden buttons, which had ouches in them; but the parts which were on the side of the crown, and were exposed to the sight, were adorned with a row of oval figures obliquely placed, of the most excellent sort of precious stones, which imitated rods laid close, and encompassed the table round about. But under these oval figures, thus engraven, the workmen had put a crown all round it, where the nature of all sorts of fruit was represented, insomuch that the bunches of grapes hung up. And when they had made the stones to represent all the kinds of fruit before mentioned, and that each in its proper colour, they made them fast with gold round the whole table. The like disposition of the oval figures, and of the engraved rods, was framed under the crown, that the table might on each side show the same appearance of variety and elegancy of its ornaments; so that neither the position of the wave-work nor of the crown might be different, although the table were turned on the other side, but that the prospect of the same artificial contrivances might be extended as far as the feet; for there was made a plate of gold four fingers broad, through the entire breadth of the table, into which they inserted the feet, and then fastened them to the table by buttons and button-holes, at the place where the crown was situate, that so on what side soever of the table one should stand, it might exhibit the very same view of the exquisite workmanship, and of the vast expenses bestowed upon it: but upon the table itself they engraved a meander, inserting into it very valuable stones in the middle like stars, of various colours; the carbuncle and the emerald, each of which sent out agreeable rays of light to the spectators; with such stones of other sorts also as were most curious and best esteemed, as being most precious in their kind. Hard by this meander a texture of net-work ran round it, the middle of which appeared like a rhombus, into which were inserted rock-crystal and amber, which, by the great resemblance of the appearance they made, gave wonderful delight to those that saw them. The chapiters of the feet imitated the first buddings of lilies, while their leaves were bent and laid under the table, but so that the chives were seen standing upright within them. Their bases were made of a carbuncle; and the place at the bottom, which rested on that carbuncle, was one palm deep, and eight fingers in breadth. Now they had engraven upon it with a very fine tool, and with a great deal of pains, a branch of ivy and tendrils of the vine, sending forth clusters of grapes, that you would guess they were nowise different from real tendrils; for they were so very thin, and so very far extended at their extremities, that they were moved with the wind, and made one believe that they were the product of nature, and not the representation of art. They also made the entire workmanship of the table appear to be threefold, while the joints of the several parts were so united together as to be invisible, and the places where they joined could not be distinguished. Now the thickness of the table was not less than half a cubit. So that this gift, by the king's great generosity, by the great value of the materials, and the variety of its exquisite structure, and the artificer's skill in imitating nature with graying tools, was at length brought to perfection, while the king was very desirous, that though in largeness it were not to be different from that which was already dedicated to God, yet that in exquisite workmanship, and the novelty of the contrivances, and in the splendour of its construction, it should far exceed it, and be more illustrious than that was.

10. Now of the cisterns of gold there were two, whose sculpture was of scale-work, from its basis to its belt-like circle, with various sorts of stones enchased in the spiral circles. Next to which there was upon it a meander of a cubit in height; it was composed of stones of all sorts of colours. And next to this was the rod-work engraven; and next to that was a rhombus in a texture of net-work, drawn out to the brim of the basin, while small shields, made of stones, beautiful in their kind, and of four fingers' depth, filled up the middle parts. About the top of the basin were wreathed the leaves of lilies, and of the convolvulus, and the tendrils of vines in a circular manner. And this was the construction of the two cisterns of gold, each containing two firkins. But those which were of silver were much more bright and splendid than looking-glasses, and you might in them see the images that fell upon them more plainly than in the other. The king also ordered thirty vials; those of which the parts that were of gold, and filled up with precious stones, were shadowed over with the leaves of ivy and of vines, artificially engraven. And these were the vessels that were after an extraordinary manner brought to this perfection, partly by the skill of the workmen, who were admirable in such fine work, but much more by the diligence and generosity of the king, who not only supplied the artificers abundantly, and with great generosity, with what they wanted, but he forbade public audiences for the time, and came and stood by the workmen, and saw the whole operation. And this was the cause why the workmen were so accurate in their performance, because they had regard to the king, and to his great concern about the vessels, and so the more indefatigably kept close to the work.

11. And these were what gifts were sent by Ptolemy to Jerusalem, and dedicated to God there. But when Eleazar the high priest had devoted them to God, and had paid due respect to those that brought them, and had given them presents to be carried to the king, he dismissed them. And when they were come to Alexandria, and Ptolemy heard that they were come, and that the seventy elders were come also, he presently sent for Andreas and Aristens, his ambassadors, who came to him, and delivered him the epistle which they brought him from the high priest, and made answer to all the questions he put to them by word of mouth. He then made haste to meet the elders that came from Jerusalem for the interpretation of the laws; and he gave command, that every body who came on other occasions should be sent away, which was a thing surprising, and what he did not use to do; for those that were drawn thither upon such occasions used to come to him on the fifth day, but ambassadors at the month's end. But when he had sent those away, he waited for these that were sent by Eleazar; but as the old men came in with the presents, which the high priest had given them to bring to the king, and with the membranes, upon which they had their laws written in golden letters 7 he put questions to them concerning those books; and when they had taken off the covers wherein they were wrapt up, they showed him the membranes. So the king stood admiring the thinness of those membranes, and the exactness of the junctures, which could not be perceived; [so exactly were they connected one with another;] and this he did for a considerable time. He then said that he returned them thanks for coming to him, and still greater thanks to him that sent them; and, above all, to that God whose laws they appeared to be. Then did the elders, and those that were present with them, cry out with one voice, and wished all happiness to the king. Upon which he fell into tears by the violence of the pleasure he had, it being natural to men to afford the same indications in great joy that they do under sorrows. And when he had bid them deliver the books to those that were appointed to receive them, he saluted the men, and said that it was but just to discourse, in the first place, of the errand they were sent about, and then to address himself to themselves. He promised, however, that he would make this day on which they came to him remarkable and eminent every year through the whole course of his life; for their coming to him, and the victory which he gained over Antigonus by sea, proved to be on the very same day. He also gave orders that they should sup with him; and gave it in charge that they should have excellent lodgings provided for them in the upper part of the city.

12. Now he that was appointed to take care of the reception of strangers, Nicanor by name, called for Dorotheus, whose duty it was to make provision for them, and bid him prepare for every one of them what should be requisite for their diet and way of living; which thing was ordered by the king after this manner: he took care that those that belonged to every city, which did not use the same way of living, that all things should be prepared for them according to the custom of those that came to him, that, being feasted according to the usual method of their own way of living, they might be the better pleased, and might not be uneasy at any thing done to them from which they were naturally averse. And this was now done in the case of these men by Dorotheus, who was put into this office because of his great skill in such matters belonging to common life; for he took care of all such matters as concerned the reception of strangers, and appointed them double seats for them to sit on, according as the king had commanded him to do; for he had commanded that half of their seats should be set at his right hand, and the other half behind his table, and took care that no respect should be omitted that could be shown them. And when they were thus set down, he bid Dorotheus to minister to all those that were come to him from Judea, after the manner they used to be ministered to; for which cause he sent away their sacred heralds, and those that slew the sacrifices, and the rest that used to say grace; but called to one of those that were come to him, whose name was Eleazar, who was a priest, and desired him to say grace; who then stood in the midst of them, and prayed, that all prosperity might attend the king, and those that were his subjects. Upon which an acclamation was made by the whole company, with joy and a great noise; and when that was over, they fell to eating their supper, and to the enjoyment of what was set before them. And at a little interval afterward, when the king thought a sufficient time had been interposed, he began to talk philosophically to them, and he asked every one of them a philosophical question 9 and such a one as might give light in those inquiries; and when they had explained all the problems that had been proposed by the king about every point, he was well-pleased with their answers. This took up the twelve days in which they were treated; and he that pleases may learn the particular questions in that book of Aristeus, which he wrote on this very occasion.

13. And while not the king only, but the philosopher Menedemus also, admired them, and said that all things were governed by Providence, and that it was probable that thence it was that such force or beauty was discovered in these men's words, they then left off asking any more such questions. But the king said that he had gained very great advantages by their coming, for that he had received this profit from them, that he had learned how he ought to rule his subjects. And he gave order that they should have every one three talents given them, and that those that were to conduct them to their lodging should do it. Accordingly, when three days were over, Demetrius took them, and went over the causeway seven furlongs long: it was a bank in the sea to an island. And when they had gone over the bridge, he proceeded to the northern parts, and showed them where they should meet, which was in a house that was built near the shore, and was a quiet place, and fit for their discoursing together about their work. When he had brought them thither, he entreated them [now they had all things about them which they wanted for the interpretation of their law] that they would suffer nothing to interrupt them in their work. Accordingly, they made an accurate interpretation, with great zeal and great pains, and this they continued to do till the ninth hour of the day; after which time they relaxed, and took care of their body, while their food was provided for them in great plenty: besides, Dorotheus, at the king's command, brought them a great deal of what was provided for the king himself. But in the morning they came to the court and saluted Ptolemy, and then went away to their former place, where, when they had washed their hands, and purified themselves, they betook themselves to the interpretation of the laws. Now when the law was transcribed, and the labour of interpretation was over, which came to its conclusion in seventy-two days, Demetrius gathered all the Jews together to the place where the laws were translated, and where the interpreters were, and read them over. The multitude did also approve of those elders that were the interpreters of the law. They withal commended Demetrius for his proposal, as the inventor of what was greatly for their happiness; and they desired that he would

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give leave to their rulers also to read the law. Moreover, they all, both the priest and the ancientest of the elders, and the principal men of their commonwealth, made it their request, that since the interpretation was happily finished, it might continue in the state it now was, and might not be altered. And when they all commended that determination of theirs, they enjoined, that if any one observed either any thing superfluous, or any thing omitted, that he would take a view of it again, and have it laid before them, and corrected; which was a wise action of theirs, that when the thing was judged to have been well done, it might continue for ever.

14. So the king rejoiced when he saw that his design of this nature was brought to perfection, to so great advantage; and he was chiefly delighted with hearing the Laws read to him; and was astonished at the deep meaning and wisdom of the legislator. And he began to discourse with Demetrius, "How it came to pass, that when this legislation was so wonderful, no one, either of the poets or of the historians, had made mention of it." Demetrius made answer, "that no one durst be so bold as to touch upon the description of these laws, because they were Divine and venerable, and because some that had attempted it were afflicted by God." He also told him, that "Theopompus was desirous of writing somewhat about them, but was thereupon disturbed in his mind for above thirty days' time; and upon some intermission of his distemper, he appeased God [by prayer], as suspecting that his madness proceeded from that cause." Nay, indeed, he further saw in a dream, that his distemper befell him while he indulged too great a curiosity about Divine matters, and was desirous of publishing them among common men; but when he left off that attempt, he recovered his understanding again. Moreover, he informed him of Theodectes, the tragic poet, concerning whom it was reported, that when in a certain dramatic representation he was desirous to make mention of things that were contained in the sacred books, he was afflicted with a darkness in his eyes; and that upon his being conscious of the occasion of his distemper, and appeasing God [by prayer], he was freed from that affliction.

15. And when the king had received these books from Demetrius, as we have said already, he adored them, and gave order that great care should be taken of them, that they might remain uncorrupted. He also desired that the interpreters would come often to him out of Judea, and that both on account of the respects that he would pay them, and on account of the presents he would make them; for he said it was now but just to send them away, although if, of their own accord, they would come to him hereafter, they should obtain all that their own wisdom might justly require, and what his generosity was able to give them. So he then sent them away, and gave to every one of them three garments of the best sort, and two talents of gold, and a cup of the value of one talent, and the furniture of the room wherein they were feasted. And these were the things he presented to them. But by them he sent to Eleazar the high priest ten beds, with feet of silver, and the furniture to them belonging, and a cup of the value of thirty talents; and besides these, ten garments, and purple, and a very beautiful crown, and a hundred pieces of the finest woven linen; as also vials and dishes, and vessels for pouring, and two golden cisterns to be dedicated to God. He also desired him, by an epistle, that he would give these interpreters leave, if any of them were desirous of coming to him, because he highly valued a conversation with men of such learning, and should be very willing to lay out his wealth upon such men. And this was what came to the Jews, and was much to their glory and honour, from Ptolemy Philadelphus.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 3

How The Kings Of Asia Honoured The Nation Of The Jews And Made Them Citizens Of Those Cities Which They Built.

1. The Jews also obtained honours from the kings of Asia when they became their auxiliaries; for Seleucus Nicator made them citizens in those cities which he built in Asia, and in the lower Syria, and in the metropolis itself, Antioch; and gave them privileges equal to those of the Macedonians and Greeks, who were the inhabitants, insomuch that these privileges continue to this very day: an argument for which you have in this, that whereas the Jews do not make use of oil prepared by foreigners, they receive a certain sum of money from the proper officers belonging to their exercises as the value of that oil; which money, when the people of Antioch would have deprived them of, in the last war, Mucianus, who was then president of Syria, preserved it to them. And when the people of Alexandria and of Antioch did after that, at the time that Vespasian and Titus his son governed the habitable earth, pray that these privileges of citizens might be taken away, they did not obtain their request in which behavior any one may discern the equity and generosity of the Romans, 12 especially of Vespasian and Titus, who, although they had been at a great deal of pains in the war against the Jews, and were exasperated against them, because they did not deliver up their weapons to them, but continued the war to the very last, yet did not they take away any of their forementioned privileges belonging to them as citizens, but restrained their anger, and overcame the prayers of the Alexandrians and Antiochians, who were a very powerful people, insomuch that they did not yield to them, neither out of their favour to these people, nor out of their old grudge at those whose wicked opposition they had subdued in the war; nor would they alter any of the ancient favours granted to the Jews, but said, that those who had borne arms against them, and fought them, had suffered punishment already, and that it was not just to deprive those that had not offended of the privileges they enjoyed.

2. We also know that Marcus Agrippa was of the like disposition towards the Jews: for when the people of Ionia were very angry at them, and besought Agrippa that they, and they only, might have those privileges of citizens which Antiochus, the grandson of Seleucus, [who by the Greeks was called The God,] had bestowed on them, and desired that, if the Jews were to be joint-partakers with them, they might be obliged to worship the gods they themselves worshipped: but when these matters were brought to the trial, the Jews prevailed, and obtained leave to make use of their own customs, and this under the patronage of Nicolaus of Damascus; for Agrippa gave sentence that he could not innovate. And if any one hath a mind to know this matter accurately, let him peruse the hundred and twenty-third and hundred and twenty-fourth books of the history of this Nicolaus. Now as to this determination of Agrippa, it is not so much to be admired, for at that time our nation had not made war against the Romans. But one may well be astonished at the generosity of Vespasian and Titus, that after so great wars and contests which they had from us, they should use such moderation. But I will now return to that part of my history whence I made the present digression.

3. Now it happened that in the reign of Antiochus the Great, who ruled over all Asia, that the Jews, as well as the inhabitants of Celesyria, suffered greatly, and their land was sorely harassed; for while he was at war with Ptolemy Philopater, and with his son, who was called Epiphanes, it fell out that these nations were equally sufferers, both when he was beaten, and when he beat the others: so that they were very like to a ship in a storm, which is tossed by the waves on both sides; and just thus were they in their situation in the middle between Antiochus's prosperity and its change to adversity. But at length, when Antiochus had beaten Ptolemy, he seized upon Judea; and when Philopater was dead, his son sent out a great army under Scopas, the general of his forces, against the inhabitants of Celesyria, who took many of their cities, and in particular our nation; which when he fell upon them, went over to him. Yet was it not long afterward when Antiochus overcame Scopas, in a battle fought at the fountains of Jordan, and destroyed a great part of his army. But afterward, when Antiochus subdued those cities of Celesyria which Scopas had gotten into his possession, and Samaria with them, the Jews, of their own accord, went over to him, and received him into the city [Jerusalem], and gave plentiful provision to all his army, and to his elephants, and readily assisted him when he besieged the garrison which was in the citadel of Jerusalem. Wherefore Antiochus thought it but just to requite the Jews' diligence and zeal in his service. So he wrote to the generals of his armies, and to his friends, and gave testimony to the good behavior of the Jews towards him, and informed them what rewards he had resolved to bestow on them for that their behavior. I will set down presently the epistles themselves which he wrote to the generals concerning them, but will first produce the testimony of Polybius of Megalopolis; for thus does he speak, in the sixteenth book of his history: "Now Scopas, the general of Ptolemy's army, went in haste to the superior parts of the country, and in the winter time overthrew the nation of the Jews?" He also saith, in the same book, that "when Seopas was conquered by Antiochus, Antiochus received Batanea, and Samaria, and Abila, and Gadara; and that, a while afterwards, there came in to him those Jews that inhabited near that temple which was called Jerusalem; concerning which, although I have more to say, and particularly concerning the presence of God about that temple, yet do I put off that history till another opportunity." This it is which Polybius relates. But we will return to the series of the history, when we have first produced the epistles of king Antiochus.

"King Antiochus To Ptolemy, Sendeth Greeting: Since the Jews, upon our first entrance on their country, demonstrated their friendship towards us, and when we came to their city [Jerusalem], received us in a splendid manner, and came to meet us with their senate, and gave abundance of provisions to our soldiers, and to the elephants, and joined with us in ejecting the garrison of the Egyptians that were in the citadel, we have thought fit to reward them, and to retrieve the condition of their city, which hath been greatly depopulated by such accidents as have befallen its inhabitants, and to bring those that have been scattered abroad back to the city. And, in the first place, we have determined, on account of their piety towards God, to bestow on them, as a pension, for their sacrifices of animals that are fit for sacrifice, for wine, and oil, and frankincense, the value of twenty thousand pieces of silver, and [six] sacred artabrae of fine flour, with one thousand four hundred and sixty medimni of wheat, and three hundred and seventy-five medimni of salt. And these payments I would have fully paid them, as I have sent orders to you. I would also have the work about the temple finished, and the cloisters, and if there be any thing else that ought to be rebuilt. And for the materials of wood, let it be brought them out of Judea itself and out of the other countries, and out of Libanus tax free; and the same I would have observed as to those other materials which will be necessary, in order to render the temple more glorious; and let all of that nation live according to the laws of their own country; and let the senate, and the priests, and the scribes of the temple, and the sacred singers, be discharged from poll-money and the crown tax and other taxes also. And that the city may the sooner recover its inhabitants, I grant a discharge from taxes for three years to its present inhabitants, and to such as shall come to it, until the month Hyperheretus. We also discharge them for the future from a third part of their taxes, that the losses they have sustained may be repaired. And all those citizens that have been carried away, and are become slaves, we grant them and their children their freedom, and give order that their substance be restored to them."

4. And these were the contents of this epistle. He also published a decree through all his kingdom in honour of the temple, which contained what follows: "It shall be lawful for no foreigner to come within the limits of the temple round about; which thing is forbidden also to the Jews, unless to those who, according to their own custom, have purified themselves. Nor let any flesh of horses, or of mules, or of asses, he brought into the city, whether they be wild or tame; nor that of leopards, or foxes, or hares; and, in general, that of any animal which is forbidden for the Jews to eat. Nor let their skins be brought into it; nor let any such animal be bred up in the city. Let them only be permitted to use the sacrifices derived from their forefathers, with which they have been obliged to make acceptable atonements to God. And he that transgresseth any of these orders, let him pay to the priests three thousand drachmae of silver." Moreover, this Antiochus bare testimony to our piety and fidelity, in an epistle of his, written when he was informed of a sedition in Phrygia and Lydia, at which time he was in the superior provinces, wherein he commanded Zenxis, the general of his forces, and his most intimate friend, to send some of our nation out of Babylon into Phrygia. The epistle was this:

"King Antiochus To Zeuxis His Father, Sendeth Greeting: If you are in health, it is well. I also am in health. Having been informed that a sedition is arisen in Lydia and Phrygia, I thought that matter required great care; and upon advising with my friends what was fit to be done, it hath been thought proper to remove two thousand families of Jews, with their effects, out of Mesopotamia and Babylon, unto the castles and places that lie most convenient; for I am persuaded that they will be well-disposed guardians of our possessions, because of their piety towards God, and because I know that my predecessors have borne witness to them, that they are faithful, and with alacrity do what they are desired to do. I will, therefore, though it be a labourious work, that thou remove these Jews, under a promise, that they shall be permitted to use their own laws. And when thou shalt have brought them to the places forementioned, thou shalt give everyone of their families a place for building their houses, and a portion of the land for their husbandry, and for the plantation of their vines; and thou shalt discharge them from paying taxes of the fruits of the earth for ten years; and let them have a proper quantity of wheat for the maintenance of their servants, until they receive bread corn out of the earth; also let a sufficient share be given to such as minister to them in the necessaries of life, that by enjoying the effects of our humanity, they may show themselves the more willing and ready about our affairs. Take care likewise of that nation, as far as thou art able, that they may not have any disturbance given them by any one." Now these testimonials which I have produced are sufficient to declare the friendship that Antiochus the Great bare to the Jews.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 4

How Antiochus Made A League With Ptolemy And How Onias Provoked Ptolemy Euergetes To Anger; And How Joseph Brought All Things Right Again, And Entered Into Friendship With Him; And What Other Things Were Done By Joseph, And His Son Hyrcanus.

1. After this Antiochus made a friendship and league with Ptolemy, and gave him his daughter Cleopatra to wife, and yielded up to him Celesyria, and Samaria, and Judea, and Phoenicia, by way of dowry. And upon the division of the taxes between the two kings, all the principal men framed the taxes of their several countries, and collecting the sum that was settled for them, paid the same to the [two] kings. Now at this time the Samaritans were in a flourishing condition, and much distressed the Jews, cutting off parts of their land, and carrying off slaves. This happened when Onias was high priest; for after Eleazar's death, his uncle Manasseh took the priesthood, and after he had ended his life, Onias received that dignity. He was the son of Simon, who was called The Just: which Simon was the brother of Eleazar, as I said before. This

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Onias was one of a little soul, and a great lover of money; and for that reason, because he did not pay that tax of twenty talents of silver, which his forefathers paid to these things out of their own estates, he provoked king Ptolemy Euergetes to anger, who was the father of Philopater. Euergetes sent an ambassador to Jerusalem, and complained that Onias did not pay his taxes, and threatened, that if he did not receive them, he would seize upon their land, and send soldiers to live upon it. When the Jews heard this message of the king, they were confounded; but so sordidly covetous was Onias, that nothing of things nature made him ashamed.

2. There was now one Joseph, young in age, but of great reputation among the people of Jerusalem, for gravity, prudence, and justice. His father's name was Tobias; and his mother was the sister of Onias the high priest, who informed him of the coming of the ambassador; for he was then sojourning at a village named Phicol, 13 where he was born. Hereupon he came to the city [Jerusalem], and reproved Onias for not taking care of the preservation of his countrymen, but bringing the nation into dangers, by not paying this money. For which preservation of them, he told him he had received the authority over them, and had been made high priest; but that, in case he was so great a lover of money, as to endure to see his country in danger on that account, and his countrymen suffer the greatest damages, he advised him to go to the king, and petition him to remit either the whole or a part of the sum demanded. Onias's answer was this: That he did not care for his authority, and that he was ready, if the thing were practicable, to lay down his high priesthood; and that he would not go to the king, because he troubled not himself at all about such matters. Joseph then asked him if he would not give him leave to go ambassador on behalf of the nation. He replied, that he would give him leave. Upon which Joseph went up into the temple, and called the multitude together to a congregation, and exhorted them not to be disturbed nor affrighted, because of his uncle Onias's carelessness, but desired them to be at rest, and not terrify themselves with fear about it; for he promised them that he would be their ambassador to the king, and persuade him that they had done him no wrong. And when the multitude heard this, they returned thanks to Joseph. So he went down from the temple, and treated Ptolemy's ambassador in a hospitable manner. He also presented him with rich gifts, and feasted him magnificently for many days, and then sent him to the king before him, and told him that he would soon follow him; for he was now more willing to go to the king, by the encouragement of the ambassador, who earnestly persuaded him to come into Egypt, and promised him that he would take care that he should obtain every thing that he desired of Ptolemy; for he was highly pleased with his frank and liberal temper, and with the gravity of his deportment.

3. When Ptolemy's ambassador was come into Egypt, he told the king of the thoughtless temper of Onias; and informed him of the goodness of the disposition of Joseph; and that he was coming to him to excuse the multitude, as not having done him any harm, for that he was their patron. In short, he was so very large in his encomiums upon the young man, that he disposed both the king and his wife Cleopatra to have a kindness for him before he came. So Joseph sent to his friends at Samaria, and borrowed money of them, and got ready what was necessary for his journey, garments and cups, and beasts for burden, which amounted to about twenty thousand drachmae, and went to Alexandria. Now it happened that at this time all the principal men and rulers went up out of the cities of Syria and Phoenicia, to bid for their taxes; for every year the king sold them to the men of the greatest power in every city. So these men saw Joseph journeying on the way, and laughed at him for his poverty and meanness. But when he came to Alexandria, and heard that king Ptolemy was at Memphis, he went up thither to meet with him; which happened as the king was sitting in his chariot, with his wife, and with his friend Athenion, who was the very person who had been ambassador at Jerusalem, and had been entertained by Joseph. As soon therefore as Athenion saw him, he presently made him known to the king, how good and generous a young man he was. So Ptolemy saluted him first, and desired him to come up into his chariot; and as Joseph sat there, he began to complain of the management of Onias: to which he answered, "Forgive him, on account of his age; for thou canst not certainly be unacquainted with this, that old men and infants have their minds exactly alike; but thou shalt have from us, who are young men, every thing thou desirest, and shalt have no cause to complain." With this good humor and pleasantry of the young man, the king was so delighted, that he began already, as though he had had long experience of him, to have a still greater affection for him, insomuch that he bade him take his diet in the king's palace, and be a guest at his own table every day. But when the king was come to Alexandria, the principal men of Syria saw him sitting with the king, and were much offended at it.

4. And when the day came on which the king was to let the taxes of the cities to farm, and those that were the principal men of dignity in their several countries were to bid for them, the sum of the taxes together, of Celesyria, and Phoenicia, and Judea, with Samaria, [as they were bidden for,] came to eight thousand talents. Hereupon Joseph accused the bidders, as having agreed together to estimate the value of the taxes at too low a rate; and he promised that he would himself give twice as much for them: but for those who did not pay, he would send the king home their whole substance; for this privilege was sold together with the taxes themselves. The king was pleased to hear that offer; and because it augmented his revenues, he said he would confirm the sale of the taxes to him. But when he asked him this question, Whether he had any sureties that would be bound for the payment of the money? he answered very pleasantly, "I will give such security, and those of persons good and responsible, and which you shall have no reason to distrust." And when he bid him name them who they were, he replied, "I give thee no other persons, O king, for my sureties, than thyself, and this thy wife; and you shall be security for both parties." So Ptolemy laughed at the proposal, and granted him the farming of the taxes without any sureties. This procedure was a sore grief to those that came from the cities into Egypt, who were utterly disappointed; and they returned every one to their own country with shame.

5. But Joseph took with him two thousand foot soldiers from the king, for he desired he might have some assistance, in order to force such as were refractory in the cities to pay. And borrowing of the king's friends at Alexandria five hundred talents, he made haste back into Syria. And when he was at Askelon, and demanded the taxes of the people of Askelon, they refused to pay any thing, and affronted him also; upon which he seized upon about twenty of the principal men, and slew them, and gathered what they had together, and sent it all to the king, and informed him what he had done. Ptolemy admired the prudent conduct of the man, and commended him for what he had done, and gave him leave to do as he pleased. When the Syrians heard of this, they were astonished; and having before them a sad example in the men of Askelon that were slain, they opened their gates, and willingly admitted Joseph, and paid their taxes. And when the inhabitants of Scythopolis attempted to affront him, and would not pay him those taxes which they formerly used to pay, without disputing about them, he slew also the principal men of that city, and sent their effects to the king. By this means he gathered great wealth together, and made vast gains by this farming of the taxes; and he made use of what estate he had thus gotten, in order to support his authority, as thinking it a piece of prudence to keep what had been the occasion and foundation of his present good fortune; and this he did by the assistance of what he was already possessed of, for he privately sent many presents to the king, and to Cleopatra, and to their friends, and to all that were powerful about the court, and thereby purchased their good-will to himself.

6. This good fortune he enjoyed for twenty-two years, and was become the father of seven sons by one wife; he had also another son, whose name was Hyrcanus, by his brother Solymius's daughter, whom he married on the following occasion. He once came to Alexandria with his brother, who had along with him a daughter already marriageable, in order to give her in wedlock to some of the Jews of chief dignity there. He then supped with the king, and falling in love with an actress that was of great beauty, and came into the room where they feasted, he told his brother of it, and entreated him, because a Jew is forbidden by their law to come near to a foreigner, to conceal his offense; and to be kind and subservient to him, and to give him an opportunity of fulfilling his desires. Upon which his brother willingly entertained the proposal of serving him, and adorned his own daughter, and brought her to him by night, and put her into his bed. And Joseph, being disordered with drink, knew not who she was, and so lay with his brother's daughter; and this did he many times, and loved her exceedingly; and said to his brother, that he loved this actress so well, that he should run the hazard of his life [if he must part with her], and yet probably the king would not give him leave [to take her with him]. But his brother bid him be in no concern about that matter, and told him he might enjoy her whom he loved without any danger, and might have her for his wife; and opened the truth of the matter to him, and assured him that he chose rather to have his own daughter abused, than to overlook him, and see him come to [public] disgrace. So Joseph commended him for this his brotherly love, and married his daughter; and by her begat a son, whose name was Hyrcanus, as we said before. And when this his youngest son showed, at thirteen years old, a mind that was both courageous and wise, and was greatly envied by his brethren, as being of a genius much above them, and such a one as they might well envy, Joseph had once a mind to know which of his sons had the best disposition to virtue; and when he sent them severally to those that had then the best reputation for instructing youth, the rest of his children, by reason of their sloth and unwillingness to take pains, returned to him foolish and unlearned. After them he sent out the youngest, Hyrcanus, and gave him three hundred yoke of oxen, and bid him go two days' journey into the wilderness, and sow the land there, and yet kept back privately the yokes of the oxen that coupled them together. When Hyrcanus came to the place, and found he had no yokes with him, he condemned the drivers of the oxen, who advised him to send some to his father, to bring them some yokes; but he thinking that he ought not to lose his time while they should be sent to bring him the yokes, he invented a kind of stratagem, and what suited an age older than his own; for he slew ten yoke of the oxen, and distributed their flesh among the labourers, and cut their hides into several pieces, and made him yokes, and yoked the oxen together with them; by which means he sowed as much land as his father had appointed him to sow, and returned to him. And when he was come back, his father was mightily pleased with his sagacity, and commended the sharpness of his understanding, and his boldness in what he did. And he still loved him the more, as if he were his only genuine son, while his brethren were much troubled at it.

7. But when one told him that Ptolemy had a son just born, and that all the principal men of Syria, and the other countries subject to him, were to keep a festival, on account of the child's birthday, and went away in haste with great retinues to Alexandria, he was himself indeed hindered from going by old age; but he made trial of his sons, whether any of them would be willing to go to the king. And when the elder sons excused themselves from going, and said they were not courtiers good enough for such conversation, and advised him to send their brother Hyrcanus, he gladly hearkened to that advice, and called Hyrcanus, and asked him whether he would go to the king, and whether it was agreeable to him to go or not. And upon his promise that he would go, and his saying that he should not want much money for his journey, because he would live moderately, and that ten thousand drachmas would be sufficient, he was pleased with his son's prudence. After a little while, the son advised his father not to send his presents to the king from thence, but to give him a letter to his steward at Alexandria, that he might furnish him with money, for purchasing what should be most excellent and most precious. So he thinking that the expense of ten talents would be enough for presents to be made the king, and commending his son, as giving him good advice, wrote to Arion his steward, that managed all his money matters at Alexandria; which money was not less than three thousand talents on his account, for Joseph sent the money he received in Syria to Alexandria. And when the day appointed for the payment of the taxes to the king came, he wrote to Arion to pay them. So when the son had asked his father for a letter to the steward, and had received it, he made haste to Alexandria. And when he was gone, his brethren wrote to all the king's friends, that they should destroy him.

8. But when he was come to Alexandria, he delivered his letter to Arion, who asked him how many talents he would have [hoping he would ask for no more than ten, or a little more]; he said he wanted a thousand talents. At which the steward was angry, and rebuked him, as one that intended to live extravagantly; and he let him know how his father had gathered together his estate by painstaking, and resisting his inclinations, and wished him to imitate the example of his father: he assured him withal, that he would give him but ten talents, and that for a present to the king also. The son was irritated at this, and threw Arion into prison. But when Arion's wife had informed Cleopatra of this, with her entreaty, that she would rebuke the child for what he had done, [for Arion was in great esteem with her,] Cleopatra informed the king of it. And Ptolemy sent for Hyrcanus, and told him that he wondered, when he was sent to him by his father, that he had not yet come into his presence, but had laid the steward in prison. And he gave order, therefore, that he should come to him, and give an account of the reason of what he had done. And they report that the answer he made to the king's messenger was this: That "there was a law of his that forbade a child that was born to taste of the sacrifice, before he had been at the temple and sacrificed to God. According to which way of reasoning he did not himself come to him in expectation of the present he was to make to him, as to one who had been his father's benefactor; and that he had punished the slave for disobeying his commands, for that it mattered not Whether a master was little or great: so that unless we punish such as these, thou thyself mayst also expect to be despised by thy subjects." Upon hearing this his answer he fell a laughing, and wondered at the great soul of the child.

9. When Arion was apprized that this was the king's disposition, and that he had no way to help himself, he gave the child a thousand talents, and was let out of prison. So after three days were over, Hyrcanus came and saluted the king and queen. They saw him with pleasure, and feasted him in an obliging manner, out of the respect they bare to his father. So he came to the merchants privately, and bought a hundred boys, that had learning, and were in the flower of their ages, each at a talent apiece; as also he bought a hundred maidens, each at the same price as the other. And when he was invited to feast with the king among the principal men in the country, he sat down the lowest of them all, because he was little regarded, as a child in age still; and this by those who placed every one according to their dignity. Now when all

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those that sat with him had laid the bones Of the several parts on a heap before Hyrcanus, [for they had themselves taken away the flesh belonging to them,] till the table where he sat was filled full with them, Trypho, who was the king's jester, and was appointed for jokes and laughter at festivals, was now asked by the guests that sat at the table [to expose him to laughter]. So he stood by the king, and said, "Dost thou not see, my lord, the bones that lie by Hyrcanus? by this similitude thou mayst conjecture that his father made all Syria as bare as he hath made these bones." And the king laughing at what Trypho said, and asking of Hyrcanus, How he came to have so many bones before him? he replied, "Very rightfully, my lord; for they are dogs that eat the flesh and the bones together, as these thy guests have done, [looking in the mean time at those guests,] for there is nothing before them; but they are men that eat the flesh, and cast away the hones, as I, who am also a man, have now done." Upon which the king admired at his answer, which was so wisely made; and bid them all make an acclamation, as a mark of their approbation of his jest, which was truly a facetious one. On the next day Hyrcanus went to every one of the king's friends, and of the men powerful at court, and saluted them; but still inquired of the servants what present they would make the king on his son's birthday; and when some said that they would give twelve talents, and that others of greater dignity would every one give according to the quantity of their riches, he pretended to every one of them to be grieved that he was not able to bring so large a present; for that he had no more than five talents. And when the servants heard what he said, they told their masters; and they rejoiced in the prospect that Joseph would be disapproved, and would make the king angry, by the smallness of his present. When the day came, the others, even those that brought the most, offered the king not above twenty talents; but Hyrcanus gave to every one of the hundred boys and hundred maidens that he had bought a talent apiece, for them to carry, and introduced them, the boys to the king, and the maidens to Cleopatra; every body wondering at the unexpected richness of the presents, even the king and queen themselves. He also presented those that attended about the king with gifts to the value of a great number of talents, that he might escape the danger he was in from them; for to these it was that Hyrcanus's brethren had written to destroy him. Now Ptolemy admired at the young man's magnanimity, and commanded him to ask what gift he pleased. But he desired nothing else to be done for him by the king than to write to his father and brethren about him. So when the king had paid him very great respects, and had given him very large gifts, and had written to his father and his brethren, and all his commanders and officers, about him, he sent him away. But when his brethren heard that Hyrcanus had received such favours from the king, and was returning home with great honour, they went out to meet him, and to destroy him, and that with the privity of their father; for he was angry at him for the [large] sum of money that he bestowed for presents, and so had no concern for his preservation. However, Joseph concealed the anger he had at his son, out of fear of the king. And when Hyrcanus's brethren came to fight him, he slew many others of those that were with them, as also two of his brethren themselves; but the rest of them escaped to Jerusalem to their father. But when Hyrcanus came to the city, where nobody would receive him, he was afraid for himself, and retired beyond the river Jordan, and there abode, but obliging the barbarians to pay their taxes.

10. At this time Seleucus, who was called Soter, reigned over Asia, being the son of Antiochus the Great. And [now] Hyrcanus's father, Joseph, died. He was a good man, and of great magnanimity; and brought the Jews out of a state of poverty and meanness, to one that was more splendid. He retained the farm of the taxes of Syria, and Phoenicia, and Samaria twenty-two years. His uncle also, Onias, died [about this time], and left the high priesthood to his son Simeon. And when he was dead, Onias his son succeeded him in that dignity. To him it was that Areus, king of the Lacedemonians, sent an embassage, with an epistle; the copy whereof here follows:

"Areus, King Of The Lacedemonians, To Onias, Sendeth Greeting.

"We have met with a certain writing, whereby we have discovered that both the Jews and the Lacedemonians are of one stock, and are derived from the kindred of Abraham. It is but just therefore that you, who are our brethren, should send to us about any of your concerns as you please. We will also do the same thing, and esteem your concerns as our own, and will look upon our concerns as in common with yours. Demoteles, who brings you this letter, will bring your answer back to us. This letter is four-square; and the seal is an eagle, with a dragon in his claws."

11. And these were the contents of the epistle which was sent from the king of the Lacedemonians. But, upon the death of Joseph, the people grew seditious, on account of his sons. For whereas the elders made war against Hyrcanus, who was the youngest of Joseph's sons, the multitude was divided, but the greater part joined with the elders in this war; as did Simon the high priest, by reason he was of kin to them. However, Hyrcanus determined not to return to Jerusalem any more, but seated himself beyond Jordan, and was at perpetual war with the Arabians, and slew many of them, and took many of them captives. He also erected a strong castle, and built it entirely of white stone to the very roof, and had animals of a prodigious magnitude engraven upon it. He also drew round it a great and deep canal of water. He also made caves of many furlongs in length, by hollowing a rock that was over against him; and then he made large rooms in it, some for feasting, and some for sleeping and living in. He introduced also a vast quantity of waters which ran along it, and which were very delightful and ornamental in the court. But still he made the entrances at the mouth of the caves so narrow, that no more than one person could enter by them at once. And the reason why he built them after that manner was a good one; it was for his own preservation, lest he should be besieged by his brethren, and run the hazard of being caught by them. Moreover, he built courts of greater magnitude than ordinary, which he adorned with vastly large gardens. And when he had brought the place to this state, he named it Tyre. This place is between Arabia and Judea, beyond Jordan, not far from the country of Heshbon. And he ruled over those parts for seven years, even all the time that Seleucus was king of Syria. But when he was dead, his brother Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, took the kingdom. Ptolemy also, the king of Egypt, died, who was besides called Epiphanes. He left two sons, and both young in age; the elder of which was called Philometer, and the youngest Physcon. As for Hyrcanus, when he saw that Antiochus had a great army, and feared lest he should be caught by him, and brought to punishment for what he had done to the Arabians, he ended his life, and slew himself with his own hand; while Antiochus seized upon all his substance.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 5

How, Upon The Quarrels One Against Another About The High Priesthood Antiochus Made An Expedition Against Jerusalem, Took The City And Pillaged The Temples. And Distressed The Jews' As Also How Many Of The Jews Forsook The Laws Of Their Country; And How The Samaritans Followed The Customs Of The Greeks And Named Their Temple At Mount Gerizzim The Temple Of Jupiter Hellenius.

1. About this time, upon the death of Onias the high priest, they gave the high priesthood to Jesus his brother; for that son which Onias left [or Onias IV.] was yet but an infant; and, in its proper place, we will inform the reader of all the circumstances that befell this child. But this Jesus, who was the brother of Onias, was deprived of the high priesthood by the king, who was angry with him, and gave it to his younger brother, whose name also was Onias; for Simon had these three sons, to each of which the priesthood came, as we have already informed the reader. This Jesus changed his name to Jason, but Onias was called Menelaus. Now as the former high priest, Jesus, raised a sedition against Menelaus, who was ordained after him, the multitude were divided between them both. And the sons of Tobias took the part of Menelaus, but the greater part of the people assisted Jason; and by that means Menelaus and the sons of Tobias were distressed, and retired to Antiochus, and informed him that they were desirous to leave the laws of their country, and the Jewish way of living according to them, and to follow the king's laws, and the Grecian way of living. Wherefore they desired his permission to build them a Gymnasium at Jerusalem. And when he had given them leave, they also hid the circumcision of their genitals, that even when they were naked they might appear to be Greeks. Accordingly, they left off all the customs that belonged to their own country, and imitated the practices of the other nations.

2. Now Antiochus, upon the agreeable situation of the affairs of his kingdom, resolved to make an expedition against Egypt, both because he had a desire to gain it, and because he contemned the son of Ptolemy, as now weak, and not yet of abilities to manage affairs of such consequence; so he came with great forces to Pelusium, and circumvented Ptolemy Philometor by treachery, and seized upon Egypt. He then came to the places about Memphis; and when he had taken them, he made haste to Alexandria, in hopes of taking it by siege, and of subduing Ptolemy, who reigned there. But he was driven not only from Alexandria, but out of all Egypt, by the declaration of the Romans, who charged him to let that country alone; according as I have elsewhere formerly declared. I will now give a particular account of what concerns this king, how he subdued Judea and the temple; for in my former work I mentioned those things very briefly, and have therefore now thought it necessary to go over that history again, and that with great accuracy.

3. King Antiochus returning out of Egypt for fear of the Romans, made an expedition against the city Jerusalem; and when he was there, in the hundred and forty-third year of the kingdom of the Seleucidse, he took the city without fighting, those of his own party opening the gates to him. And when he had gotten possession of Jerusalem, he slew many of the opposite party; and when he had plundered it of a great deal of money, he returned to Antioch.

4. Now it came to pass, after two years, in the hundred forty and fifth year, on the twenty-fifth day of that month which is by us called Chasleu, and by the Macedonians Apelleus, in the hundred and fifty-third olympiad, that the king came up to Jerusalem, and, pretending peace, he got possession of the city by treachery; at which time he spared not so much as those that admitted him into it, on account of the riches that lay in the temple; but, led by his covetous inclination, [for he saw there was in it a great deal of gold, and many ornaments that had been dedicated to it of very great value,] and in order to plunder its wealth, he ventured to break the league he had made. So he left the temple bare, and took away the golden candlesticks, and the golden altar [of incense], and table [of shew-bread], and the altar [of burnt-offering]; and did not abstain from even the veils, which were made of fine linen and scarlet. He also emptied it of its secret treasures, and left nothing at all remaining; and by this means cast the Jews into great lamentation, for he forbade them to offer those daily sacrifices which they used to offer to God, according to the law. And when he had pillaged the whole city, some of the inhabitants he slew, and some he carried captive, together with their wives and children, so that the multitude of those captives that were taken alive amounted to about ten thousand. He also burnt down the finest buildings; and when he had overthrown the city walls, he built a citadel in the lower part of the city, for the place was high, and overlooked the temple; on which account he fortified it with high walls and towers, and put into it a garrison of Macedonians. However, in that citadel dwelt the impious and wicked part of the [Jewish] multitude, from whom it proved that the citizens suffered many and sore calamities. And when the king had built an idol altar upon God's altar, he slew swine upon it, and so offered a sacrifice neither according to the law, nor the Jewish religious worship in that country. He also compelled them to forsake the worship which they paid their own God, and to adore those whom he took to be gods; and made them build temples, and raise idol altars in every city and village, and offer swine upon them every day. He also commanded them not to circumcise their sons, and threatened to punish any that should be found to have transgressed his injunction. He also appointed overseers, who should compel them to do what he commanded. And indeed many Jews there were who complied with the king's commands, either voluntarily, or out of fear of the penalty that was denounced. But the best men, and those of the noblest souls, did not regard him, but did pay a greater respect to the customs of their country than concern as to the punishment which he threatened to the disobedient; on which account they every day underwent great miseries and bitter torments; for they were whipped with rods, and their bodies were torn to pieces, and were crucified, while they were still alive, and breathed. They also strangled those women and their sons whom they had circumcised, as the king had appointed, hanging their sons about their necks as they were upon the crosses. And if there were any sacred book of the law found, it was destroyed, and those with whom they were found miserably perished also.

5. When the Samaritans saw the Jews under these sufferings, they no longer confessed that they were of their kindred, nor that the temple on Mount Gerizzim belonged to Almighty God. This was according to their nature, as we have already shown. And they now said that they were a colony of Medes and Persians; and indeed they were a colony of theirs. So they sent ambassadors to Antiochus, and an epistle, whose contents are these: "To king Antiochus the god, Epiphanes, a memorial from the Sidonians, who live at Shechem. Our forefathers, upon certain frequent plagues, and as following a certain ancient superstition, had a custom of observing that day which by the Jews is called the Sabbath. 18 And when they had erected a temple at the mountain called Gerrizzim, though without a name, they offered upon it the proper sacrifices. Now, upon the just treatment of these wicked Jews, those that manage their affairs, supposing that we were of kin to them, and practiced as they do, make us liable to the same accusations, although we be originally Sidonians, as is evident from the public records. We therefore beseech thee, our benefactor and Savior, to give order to Apollonius, the governor of this part of the country, and to Nicanor, the procurator of thy affairs, to give us no disturbance, nor to lay to our charge what the Jews are accused for, since we are aliens from their nation, and from their customs; but let our temple, which at present hath no name at all be named the Temple of Jupiter Hellenius. If this were once done, we should be no longer disturbed, but should be more intent on our own occupation with quietness, and so bring in a greater revenue to thee." When the Samaritans had petitioned for this, the king sent them back the following answer, in an epistle: "King Antiochus to Nicanor. The Sidonians, who live at Shechem, have sent me the memorial enclosed. When therefore we were advising with our friends about it, the messengers sent by them represented to us that they are no way concerned with accusations which belong to the Jews, but choose to live after the customs of the Greeks. Accordingly, we declare them free from such accusations, and order that, agreeable to their petition, their temple be named the Temple of Jupiter

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Hellenius." He also sent the like epistle to Apollonius, the governor of that part of the country, in the forty-sixth year, and the eighteenth day of the month Hecatorabeom.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 6

How, Upon Antiochus's Prohibition To The Jews To Make Use Of The Laws Of Their Country Mattathias, The Son Of Asamoneus, Alone Despised The King, And Overcame The Generals Of Antiochus's Army; As Also Concerning The Death Of Mattathias, And The Succession Of Judas.

1. Now at this time there was one whose name was Mattathias, who dwelt at Modin, the son of John, the son of Simeon, the son of Asamoneus, a priest of the order of Joarib, and a citizen of Jerusalem. He had five sons; John, who was called Gaddis, and Simon, who was called Matthes, and Judas, who was called Maccabeus, and Eleazar, who was called Auran, and Jonathan, who was called Apphus. Now this Mattathias lamented to his children the sad state of their affairs, and the ravage made in the city, and the plundering of the temple, and the calamities the multitude were under; and he told them that it was better for them to die for the laws of their country, than to live so ingloriously as they then did.

2. But when those that were appointed by the king were come to Modin, that they might compel the Jews to do what they were commanded, and to enjoin those that were there to offer sacrifice, as the king had commanded, they desired that Mattathias, a person of the greatest character among them, both on other accounts, and particularly on account of such a numerous and so deserving a family of children, would begin the sacrifice, because his fellow citizens would follow his example, and because such a procedure would make him honoured by the king. But Mattathias said he would not do it; and that if all the other nations would obey the commands of Antiochus, either out of fear, or to please him, yet would not he nor his sons leave the religious worship of their country. But as soon as he had ended his speech, there came one of the Jews into the midst of them, and sacrificed, as Antiochus had commanded. At which Mattathias had great indignation, and ran upon him violently, with his sons, who had swords with them, and slew both the man himself that sacrificed, and Apelles the king's general, who compelled them to sacrifice, with a few of his soldiers. He also overthrew the idol altar, and cried out, "If," said he, "any one be zealous for the laws of his country, and for the worship of God, let him follow me." And when he had said this, he made haste into the desert with his sons, and left all his substance in the village. Many others did the same also, and fled with their children and wives into the desert, and dwelt in caves. But when the king's generals heard this, they took all the forces they then had in the citadel at Jerusalem, and pursued the Jews into the desert; and when they had overtaken them, they in the first place endeavored to persuade them to repent, and to choose what was most for their advantage, and not put them to the necessity of using them according to the law of war. But when they would not comply with their persuasions, but continued to be of a different mind, they fought against them on the sabbath day, and they burnt them as they were in the caves, without resistance, and without so much as stopping up the entrances of the caves. And they avoided to defend themselves on that day, because they were not willing to break in upon the honour they owed the sabbath, even in such distresses; for our law requires that we rest upon that day. There were about a thousand, with their wives and children, who were smothered and died in these caves; but many of those that escaped joined themselves to Mattathias, and appointed him to be their ruler, who taught them to fight, even on the sabbath day; and told them that unless they would do so, they would become their own enemies, by observing the law [so rigorously], while their adversaries would still assault them on this day, and they would not then defend themselves, and that nothing could then hinder but they must all perish without fighting. This speech persuaded them. And this rule continues among us to this day, that if there be a necessity, we may fight on sabbath days. So Mattathias got a great army about him, and overthrew their idol altars, and slew those that broke the laws, even all that he could get under his power; for many of them were dispersed among the nations round about them for fear of him. He also commanded that those boys which were not yet circumcised should be circumcised now; and he drove those away that were appointed to hinder such their circumcision.

3. But when he had ruled one year, and was fallen into a distemper, he called for his sons, and set them round about him, and said, "O my sons, I am going the way of all the earth; and I recommend to you my resolution, and beseech you not to be negligent in keeping it, but to be mindful of the desires of him who begat you, and brought you up, and to preserve the customs of your country, and to recover your ancient form of government, which is in danger of being overturned, and not to be carried away with those that, either by their own inclination, or out of necessity, betray it, but to become such sons as are worthy of me; to be above all force and necessity, and so to dispose your souls, as to be ready, when it shall be necessary, to die for your laws; as sensible of this, by just reasoning, that if God see that you are so disposed he will not overlook you, but will have a great value for your virtue, and will restore to you again what you have lost, and will return to you that freedom in which you shall live quietly, and enjoy your own customs. Your bodies are mortal, and subject to fate; but they receive a sort of immortality, by the remembrance of what actions they have done. And I would have you so in love with this immortality, that you may pursue after glory, and that, when you have undergone the greatest difficulties, you may not scruple, for such things, to lose your lives. I exhort you, especially, to agree one with another; and in what excellency any one of you exceeds another, to yield to him so far, and by that means to reap the advantage of every one's own virtues. Do you then esteem Simon as your father, because he is a man of extraordinary prudence, and be governed by him in what counsels he gives you. Take Maccabeus for the general of your army, because of his courage and strength, for he will avenge your nation, and will bring vengeance on your enemies. Admit among you the righteous and religious, and augment their power."

4. When Mattathias had thus discoursed to his sons, and had prayed to God to be their assistant, and to recover to the people their former constitution, he died a little afterward, and was buried at Modin; all the people making great lamentation for him. Whereupon his son Judas took upon him the administration of public affairs, in the hundred forty and sixth year; and thus, by the ready assistance of his brethren, and of others, Judas cast their enemies out of the country, and put those of their own country to death who had transgressed its laws, and purified the land of all the pollutions that were in it.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 7

How Judas Overthrew The Forces Of Apollonius And Seron And Killed The Generals Of Their Armies Themselves; And How When, A Little While Afterwards Lysias And Gorgias Were Beaten He Went Up To Jerusalem And Purified The Temple.

1. When Apollonius, the general of the Samaritan forces, heard this, he took his army, and made haste to go against Judas, who met him, and joined battle with him, and beat him, and slew many of his men, and among them Apollonius himself, their general, whose sword being that which he happened then to wear, he seized upon, and kept for himself; but he wounded more than he slew, and took a great deal of prey from the enemy's camp, and went his way. But when Seron, who was general of the army of Celesyria, heard that many had joined themselves to Judas, and that he had about him an army sufficient for fighting, and for making war, he determined to make an expedition against him, as thinking it became him to endeavor to punish those that transgressed the king's injunctions. He then got together an army, as large as he was able, and joined to it the runagate and wicked Jews, and came against Judas. He came as far as Bethhoron, a village of Judea, and there pitched his camp; upon which Judas met him; and when he intended to give him battle, he saw that his soldiers were backward to fight, because their number was small, and because they wanted food, for they were fasting, he encouraged them, and said to them, that victory and conquest of enemies are not derived from the multitude in armies, but in the exercise of piety towards God; and that they had the plainest instances in their forefathers, who, by their righteousness, exerting themselves on behalf of their own laws, and their own children, had frequently conquered many ten thousands,—for innocence is the strongest army. By this speech he induced his men to condemn the multitude of the enemy, and to fall upon Seron. And upon joining battle with him, he beat the Syrians; and when their general fell among the rest, they all ran away with speed, as thinking that to be their best way of escaping. So he pursued them unto the plain, and slew about eight hundred of the enemy; but the rest escaped to the region which lay near to the sea.

2. When king Antiochus heard of these things, he was very angry at what had happened; so he got together all his own army, with many mercenaries, whom he had hired from the islands, and took them with him, and prepared to break into Judea about the beginning of the spring. But when, upon his mustering his soldiers, he perceived that his treasures were deficient, and there was a want of money in them, for all the taxes were not paid, by reason of the seditions there had been among the nations he having been so magnanimous and so liberal, that what he had was not sufficient for him, he therefore resolved first to go into Persia, and collect the taxes of that country. Hereupon he left one whose name was Lysias, who was in great repute with him governor of the kingdom, as far as the bounds of Egypt, and of the Lower Asia, and reaching from the river Euphrates, and committed to him a certain part of his forces, and of his elephants, and charged him to bring up his son Antiochus with all possible care, until he came back; and that he should conquer Judea, and take its inhabitants for slaves, and utterly destroy Jerusalem, and abolish the whole nation. And when king Antiochus had given these things in charge to Lysias, he went into Persia; and in the hundred and forty-seventh year he passed over Euphrates, and went to the superior provinces.

3. Upon this Lysias chose Ptolemy, the son of Dorymenes, and Nicanor, and Gorgias, very potent men among the king's friends, and delivered to them forty thousand foot soldiers, and seven thousand horsemen, and sent them against Judea, who came as far as the city Emmaus, and pitched their camp in the plain country. There came also to them auxiliaries out of Syria, and the country round about; as also many of the runagate Jews. And besides these came some merchants to buy those that should be carried captives, [having bonds with them to bind those that should be made prisoners,] with that silver and gold which they were to pay for their price. And when Judas saw their camp, and how numerous their enemies were, he persuaded his own soldiers to be of good courage, and exhorted them to place their hopes of victory in God, and to make supplication to him, according to the custom of their country, clothed in sackcloth; and to show what was their usual habit of supplication in the greatest dangers, and thereby to prevail with God to grant you the victory over your enemies. So he set them in their ancient order of battle used by their forefathers, under their captains of thousands, and other officers, and dismissed such as were newly married, as well as those that had newly gained possessions, that they might not fight in a cowardly manner, out of an inordinate love of life, in order to enjoy those blessings. When he had thus disposed his soldiers, he encouraged them to fight by the following speech, which he made to them: "O my fellow soldiers, no other time remains more opportune than the present for courage and contempt of dangers; for if you now fight manfully, you may recover your liberty, which, as it is a thing of itself agreeable to all men, so it proves to be to us much more desirable, by its affording us the liberty of worshipping God. Since therefore you are in such circumstances at present, you must either recover that liberty, and so regain a happy and blessed way of living, which is that according to our laws, and the customs of our country, or to submit to the most opprobrious sufferings; nor will any seed of your nation remain if you be beat in this battle. Fight therefore manfully; and suppose that you must die, though you do not fight; but believe, that besides such glorious rewards as those of the liberty of your country, of your laws, of your religion, you shall then obtain everlasting glory. Prepare yourselves, therefore, and put yourselves into such an agreeable posture, that you may be ready to fight with the enemy as soon as it is day tomorrow morning."

4. And this was the speech which Judas made to encourage them. But when the enemy sent Gorgias, with five thousand foot and one thousand horse, that he might fall upon Judas by night, and had for that purpose certain of the runagate Jews as guides, the son of Mattathias perceived it, and resolved to fall upon those enemies that were in their camp, now their forces were divided. When they had therefore supped in good time, and had left many fires in their camp, he marched all night to those enemies that were at Emmaus. So that when Gorgias found no enemy in their camp, but suspected that they were retired, and had hidden themselves among the mountains, he resolved to go and seek them wheresoever they were. But about break of day Judas appeared to those enemies that were at Emmaus, with only three thousand men, and those ill armed, by reason of their poverty; and when he saw the enemy very well and skillfully fortified in their camp, he encouraged the Jews, and told them that they ought to fight, though it were with their naked bodies, for that God had sometimes of old given such men strength, and that against such as were more in number, and were armed also, out of regard to their great courage. So he commanded the trumpeters to sound for the battle; and by thus falling upon the enemies when they did not expect it, and thereby astonishing and disturbing their minds, he slew many of those that resisted him, and went on pursuing the rest as far as Gadara, and the plains of Idumea, and Ashdod, and Jamnia; and of these there fell about three thousand. Yet did Judas exhort his soldiers not to be too desirous of the spoils, for that still they must have a contest and battle with Gorgias, and the forces that were with him; but that when they had once overcome them, then they might securely plunder the camp, because they were the only enemies remaining, and they expected no others. And just as he was speaking to his soldiers, Gorgias's men looked down into that army which they left in their camp, and saw that it was overthrown, and the camp burnt; for the smoke that arose from it showed them, even when they were a great way off, what had happened. When therefore those that were with Gorgias understood that things were in this posture, and perceived that those that were with Judas were ready to fight them, they also were affrighted, and put to flight; but then Judas, as though he had already beaten Gorgias's soldiers without fighting, returned and seized on the spoils. He took a great quantity of gold, and silver, and purple, and blue, and then returned home with joy, and singing hymns to God for their good success; for this victory greatly contributed to the recovery of their liberty.

5. Hereupon Lysias was confounded at the defeat of the army which he had sent, and the next year he got together

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sixty thousand chosen men. He also took five thousand horsemen, and fell upon Judea; and he went up to the hill country of Bethsur, a village of Judea, and pitched his camp there, where Judas met him with ten thousand men; and when he saw the great number of his enemies, he prayed to God that he would assist him, and joined battle with the first of the enemy that appeared, and beat them, and slew about five thousand of them, and thereby became terrible to the rest of them. Nay, indeed, Lysias observing the great spirit of the Jews, how they were prepared to die rather than lose their liberty, and being afraid of their desperate way of fighting, as if it were real strength, he took the rest of the army back with him, and returned to Antioch, where he listed foreigners into the service, and prepared to fall upon Judea with a greater army.

6. When therefore the generals of Antiochus's armies had been beaten so often, Judas assembled the people together, and told them, that after these many victories which God had given them, they ought to go up to Jerusalem, and purify the temple, and offer the appointed sacrifices. But as soon as he, with the whole multitude, was come to Jerusalem, and found the temple deserted, and its gates burnt down, and plants growing in the temple of their own accord, on account of its desertion, he and those that were with him began to lament, and were quite confounded at the sight of the temple; so he chose out some of his soldiers, and gave them order to fight against those guards that were in the citadel, until he should have purified the temple. When therefore he had carefully purged it, and had brought in new vessels, the candlestick, the table [of shew-bread], and the altar [of incense], which were made of gold, he hung up the veils at the gates, and added doors to them. He also took down the altar [of burnt-offering], and built a new one of stones that he gathered together, and not of such as were hewn with iron tools. So on the five and twentieth day of the month Casleu, which the Macedonians call Apeliens, they lighted the lamps that were on the candlestick, and offered incense upon the altar [of incense], and laid the loaves upon the table [of shew-bread], and offered burnt-offerings upon the new altar [of burnt-offering]. Now it so fell out, that these things were done on the very same day on which their Divine worship had fallen off, and was reduced to a profane and common use, after three years' time; for so it was, that the temple was made desolate by Antiochus, and so continued for three years. This desolation happened to the temple in the hundred forty and fifth year, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Apeliens, and on the hundred fifty and third olympiad: but it was dedicated anew, on the same day, the twenty-fifth of the month Apeliens, on the hundred and forty-eighth year, and on the hundred and fifty-fourth olympiad. And this desolation came to pass according to the prophecy of Daniel, which was given four hundred and eight years before; for he declared that the Macedonians would dissolve that worship [for some time].

7. Now Judas celebrated the festival of the restoration of the sacrifices of the temple for eight days, and omitted no sort of pleasures thereon; but he feasted them upon very rich and splendid sacrifices; and he honoured God, and delighted them by hymns and psalms. Nay, they were so very glad at the revival of their customs, when, after a long time of intermission, they unexpectedly had regained the freedom of their worship, that they made it a law for their posterity, that they should keep a festival, on account of the restoration of their temple worship, for eight days. And from that time to this we celebrate this festival, and call it Lights. I suppose the reason was, because this liberty beyond our hopes appeared to us; and that thence was the name given to that festival. Judas also rebuilt the walls round about the city, and reared towers of great height against the incursions of enemies, and set guards therein. He also fortified the city Bethsura, that it might serve as a citadel against any distresses that might come from our enemies.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 8

How Judas Subdued The Nations Round About; And How Simon Beat The People Of Tyre And Ptolemais; And How Judas Overcame Timotheus, And Forced Him To Fly Away, And Did Many Other Things After Joseph And Azarias Had Been Beaten.

1. When these things were over, the nations round about the Jews were very uneasy at the revival of their power, and rose up together, and destroyed many of them, as gaining advantage over them by laying snares for them, and making secret conspiracies against them. Judas made perpetual expeditions against these men, and endeavored to restrain them from those incursions, and to prevent the mischiefs they did to the Jews. So he fell upon the Idumeans, the posterity of Esau, at Acrabattene, and slew a great many of them, and took their spoils. He also shut up the sons of Bean, that laid wait for the Jews; and he sat down about them, and besieged them, and burnt their towers, and destroyed the men [that were in them]. After this he went thence in haste against the Ammonites, who had a great and a numerous army, of which Timotheus was the commander. And when he had subdued them, he seized on the city Jazer, and took their wives and their children captives, and burnt the city, and then returned into Judea. But when the neighbouring nations understood that he was returned, they got together in great numbers in the land of Gilead, and came against those Jews that were at their borders, who then fled to the garrison of Dathema; and sent to Judas, to inform him that Timotheus was endeavoring to take the place whither they were fled. And as these epistles were reading, there came other messengers out of Galilee, who informed him that the inhabitants of Ptolemais, and of Tyre and Sidon, and strangers of Galilee, were gotten together.

2. Accordingly Judas, upon considering what was fit to be done, with relation to the necessity both these cases required, gave order that Simon his brother should take three thousand chosen men, and go to the assistance of the Jews in Galilee, while he and another of his brothers, Jonathan, made haste into the land of Gilead, with eight thousand soldiers. And he left Joseph, the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, to be over the rest of the forces; and charged them to keep Judea very carefully, and to fight no battles with any persons whomsoever until his return. Accordingly, Simon went into Galilee, and fought the enemy, and put them to flight, and pursued them to the very gates of Ptolemais, and slew about three thousand of them, and took the spoils of those that were slain, and those Jews whom they had made captives, with their baggage, and then returned home.

3. Now as for Judas Maccabeus, and his brother Jonathan, they passed over the river Jordan; and when they had gone three days journey, they lighted upon the Nabateans, who came to meet them peaceably, and who told them how the affairs of those in the land of Gilead stood; and how many of them were in distress, and driven into garrisons, and into the cities of Galilee; and exhorted him to make haste to go against the foreigners, and to endeavor to save his own countrymen out of their hands. To this exhortation Judas hearkened, and returned to the wilderness; and in the first place fell upon the inhabitants of Bosor, and took the city, and beat the inhabitants, and destroyed all the males, and all that were able to fight, and burnt the city. Nor did he stop even when night came on, but he journeyed in it to the garrison where the Jews happened to be then shut up, and where Timotheus lay round the place with his army. And Judas came upon the city in the morning; and when he found that the enemy were making an assault upon the walls, and that some of them brought ladders, on which they might get upon those walls, and that others brought engines [to batter them], he bid the trumpeter to sound his trumpet, and he encouraged his soldiers cheerfully to undergo dangers for the sake of their brethren and kindred; he also parted his army into three bodies, and fell upon the backs of their enemies. But when Timotheus's men perceived that it was Maccabeus that was upon them, of both whose courage and good success in war they had formerly had sufficient experience, they were put to flight; but Judas followed them with his army, and slew about eight thousand of them. He then turned aside to a city of the foreigners called Malle, and took it, and slew all the males, and burnt the city itself. He then removed from thence, and overthrew Casphom and Bosor, and many other cities of the land of Gilead.

4. But not long after this, Timotheus prepared a great army, and took many others as auxiliaries; and induced some of the Arabians, by the promise of rewards, to go with him in this expedition, and came with his army beyond the brook, over against the city Raphon; and he encouraged his soldiers, if it came to a battle with the Jews, to fight courageously, and to hinder their passing over the brook; for he said to them beforehand, that "if they come over it, we shall be beaten." And when Judas heard that Timotheus prepared himself to fight, he took all his own army, and went in haste against Timotheus his enemy; and when he had passed over the brook, he fell upon his enemies, and some of them met him, whom he slew, and others of them he so terrified, that he compelled them to throw down their arms and fly; and some of them escaped, but some of them fled to what was called the Temple of Camaim, and hoped thereby to preserve themselves; but Judas took the city, and slew them, and burnt the temple, and so used several ways of destroying his enemies.

5. When he had done this, he gathered the Jews together, with their children and wives, and the substance that belonged to them, and was going to bring them back into Judea; but as soon as he was come to a certain city, whose name was Ephron, that lay upon the road, [and it was not possible for him to go any other way, so he was not willing to go back again,] he then sent to the inhabitants, and desired that they would open their gates, and permit them to go on their way through the city; for they had stopped up the gates with stones, and cut off their passage through it. And when the inhabitants of Ephron would not agree to this proposal, he encouraged those that were with him, and encompassed the city round, and besieged it, and, lying round it by day and night, took the city, and slew every male in it, and burnt it all down, and so obtained a way through it; and the multitude of those that were slain was so great, that they went over the dead bodies. So they came over Jordan, and arrived at the great plain, over against which is situate the city Bethshah, which is called by the Greeks Scythopolis. And going away hastily from thence, they came into Judea, singing psalms and hymns as they went, and indulging such tokens of mirth as are usual in triumphs upon victory. They also offered thank-offerings, both for their good success, and for the preservation of their army, for not one of the Jews was slain in these battles.

6. But as to Joseph, the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, whom Judas left generals [of the rest of his forces] at the same time when Simon was in Galilee, fighting against the people of Ptolemais, and Judas himself, and his brother Jonathan, were in the land of Gilead, did these men also affect the glory of being courageous generals in war, in order whereto they took the army that was under their command, and came to Jamnia. There Gorgias, the general of the forces of Jamnia, met them; and upon joining battle with him, they lost two thousand of their army, and fled away, and were pursued to the very borders of Judea. And this misfortune befell them by their disobedience to what injunctions Judas had given them, not to fight with any one before his return. For besides the rest of Judas's sagacious counsels, one may well wonder at this concerning the misfortune that befell the forces commanded by Joseph and Azarias, which he understood would happen, if they broke any of the injunctions he had given them. But Judas and his brethren did not leave off fighting with the Idumeans, but pressed upon them on all sides, and took from them the city of Hebron, and demolished all its fortifications, and set all its towers on fire, and burnt the country of the foreigners, and the city Marissa. They came also to Ashdod, and took it, and laid it waste, and took away a great deal of the spoils and prey that were in it, and returned to Judea.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 9

Concerning The Death Of Antiochus Epiphane. How Antiochus Eupator Fought Against Juda And Besieged Him In The Temple And Afterwards Made Peace With Him And Departed; Of Alcimus And Onias.

1. About this time it was that king Antiochus, as he was going over the upper countries, heard that there was a very rich city in Persia, called Elymais; and therein a very rich temple of Diana, and that it was full of all sorts of donations dedicated to it; as also weapons and breastplates, which, upon inquiry, he found had been left there by Alexander, the son of Philip, king of Macedonia. And being incited by these motives, he went in haste to Elymais, and assaulted it, and besieged it. But as those that were in it were not terrified at his assault, nor at his siege, but opposed him very courageously, he was beaten off his hopes; for they drove him away from the city, and went out and pursued after him, insomuch that he fled away as far as Babylon, and lost a great many of his army. And when he was grieving for this disappointment, some persons told him of the defeat of his commanders whom he had left behind him to fight against Judea, and what strength the Jews had already gotten. When this concern about these affairs was added to the former, he was confounded, and by the anxiety he was in fell into a distemper, which, as it lasted a great while, and as his pains increased upon him, so he at length perceived he should die in a little time; so he called his friends to him, and told them that his distemper was severe upon him; and confessed withal, that this calamity was sent upon him for the miseries he had brought upon the Jewish nation, while he plundered their temple, and contemned their God; and when he had said this, he gave up the ghost. Whence one may wonder at Polybius of Megalopolis, who, though otherwise a good man, yet saith that "Antiochus died because he had a purpose to plunder the temple of Diana in Persia;" for the purposing to do a thing, but not actually doing it, is not worthy of punishment. But if Polybius could think that Antiochus thus lost his life on that account, it is much more probable that this king died on account of his sacrilegious plundering of the temple at Jerusalem. But we will not contend about this matter with those who may think that the cause assigned by this Polybius of Megalopolis is nearer the truth than that assigned by us.

2. However, Antiochus, before he died, called for Philip, who was one of his companions, and made him the guardian of his kingdom; and gave him his diadem, and his garment, and his ring, and charged him to carry them, and deliver them to his son Antiochus; and desired him to take care of his education, and to preserve the kingdom for him. This Antiochus died in the hundred forty and ninth year; but it was Lysias that declared his death to the multitude, and appointed his son Antiochus to be king, [of whom at present he had the care,] and called him Eupator.

3. At this time it was that the garrison in the citadel of Jerusalem, with the Jewish runagates, did a great deal of harm to the Jews; for the soldiers that were in that garrison rushed out upon the sudden, and destroyed such as were going up to the temple in order to offer their sacrifices, for this citadel adjoined to and overlooked the temple. When these misfortunes had often happened to them, Judas resolved to destroy that garrison; whereupon he got all the people together, and vigorously besieged those that were in the citadel. This was in the hundred and fiftieth year of the dominion of the Seleucidse. So he made engines of war, and

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erected bulwarks, and very zealously pressed on to take the citadel. But there were not a few of the runagates who were in the place that went out by night into the country, and got together some other wicked men like themselves, and went to Antiochus the king, and desired of him that he would not suffer them to be neglected, under the great hardships that lay upon them from those of their own nation; and this because their sufferings were occasioned on his father's account, while they left the religious worship of their fathers, and preferred that which he had commanded them to follow: that there was danger lest the citadel, and those appointed to garrison it by the king, should be taken by Judas, and those that were with him, unless he would send them succors. When Antiochus, who was but a child, heard this, he was angry, and sent for his captains and his friends, and gave order that they should get an army of mercenaries together, with such men also of his own kingdom as were of an age fit for war. Accordingly, an army was collected of about a hundred thousand footmen, and twenty thousand horsemen, and thirty-two elephants.

4. So the king took this army, and marched hastily out of Antioch, with Lysias, who had the command of the whole, and came to Idumea, and thence went up to the city Bethsura, a city that was strong, and not to be taken without great difficulty. He set about this city, and besieged it. And while the inhabitants of Bethsura courageously opposed him, and sallied out upon him, and burnt his engines of war, a great deal of time was spent in the siege. But when Judas heard of the king's coming, he raised the siege of the citadel, and met the king, and pitched his camp in certain straits, at a place called Bethzachriah, at the distance of seventy furlongs from the enemy; but the king soon drew his forces from Bethsura, and brought them to those straits. And as soon as it was day, he put his men in battle-array, and made his elephants follow one another through the narrow passes, because they could not be set sideways by one another. Now round about every elephant there were a thousand footmen, and five hundred horsemen. The elephants also had high towers [upon their backs], and archers [in them]. And he also made the rest of his army to go up the mountains, and put his friends before the rest; and gave orders for the army to shout aloud, and so he attacked the enemy. He also exposed to sight their golden and brazen shields, so that a glorious splendour was sent from them; and when they shouted the mountains echoed again. When Judas saw this, he was not terrified, but received the enemy with great courage, and slew about six hundred of the first ranks. But when his brother Eleazar, whom they called Auran, saw the tallest of all the elephants armed with royal breastplates, and supposed that the king was upon him, he attacked him with great quickness and bravery. He also slew many of those that were about the elephant, and scattered the rest, and then went under the belly of the elephant, and smote him, and slew him; so the elephant fell upon Eleazar, and by his weight crushed him to death. And thus did this man come to his end, when he had first courageously destroyed many of his enemies.

5. But Judas, seeing the strength of the enemy, retired to Jerusalem, and prepared to endure a siege. As for Antiochus, he sent part of his army to Bethsura, to besiege it, and with the rest of his army he came against Jerusalem; but the inhabitants of Bethsura were terrified at his strength; and seeing that their provisions grew scarce, they delivered themselves up on the security of oaths that they should suffer no hard treatment from the king. And when Antiochus had thus taken the city, he did them no other harm than sending them out naked. He also placed a garrison of his own in the city. But as for the temple of Jerusalem, he lay at its siege a long time, while they within bravely defended it; for what engines soever the king set against them, they set other engines again to oppose them. But then their provisions failed them; what fruits of the ground they had laid up were spent and the land being not ploughed that year, continued unsowed, because it was the seventh year, on which, by our laws, we are obliged to let it lay uncultivated. And withal, so many of the besieged ran away for want of necessaries, that but a few only were left in the temple.

6. And these happened to be the circumstances of such as were besieged in the temple. But then, because Lysias, the general of the army, and Antiochus the king, were informed that Philip was coming upon them out of Persia, and was endeavoring to get the management of public affairs to himself, they came into these sentiments, to leave the siege, and to make haste to go against Philip; yet did they resolve not to let this be known to the soldiers or to the officers: but the king commanded Lysias to speak openly to the soldiers and the officers, without saying a word about the business of Philip; and to intimate to them that the siege would be very long; that the place was very strong; that they were already in want of provisions; that many affairs of the kingdom wanted regulation; and that it was much better to make a league with the besieged, and to become friends to their whole nation, by permitting them to observe the laws of their fathers, while they broke out into this war only because they were deprived of them, and so to depart home. When Lysias had discoursed thus to them, both the army and the officers were pleased with this resolution.

7. Accordingly the king sent to Judas, and to those that were besieged with them, and promised to give them peace, and to permit them to make use of, and live according to, the laws of their fathers; and they gladly received his proposals; and when they had gained security upon oath for their performance, they went out of the temple. But when Antiochus came into it, and saw how strong the place was, he broke his oaths, and ordered his army that was there to pluck down the walls to the ground; and when he had so done, he returned to Antioch. He also carried with him Onias the high priest, who was also called Menelaus; for Lysias advised the king to slay Menelaus, if he would have the Jews be quiet, and cause him no further disturbance, for that this man was the origin of all the mischief the Jews had done them, by persuading his father to compel the Jews to leave the religion of their fathers. So the king sent Menelaus to Berea, a city of Syria, and there had him put to death, when he had been high priest ten years. He had been a wicked and an impious man; and, in order to get the government to himself, had compelled his nation to transgress their own laws. After the death of Menelaus, Alcimus, who was also called Jacimus, was made high priest. But when king Antiochus found that Philip had already possessed himself of the government, he made war against him, and subdued him, and took him, and slew him. Now as to Onias, the son of the high priest, who, as we before informed you, was left a child when his father died, when he saw that the king had slain his uncle Menelaus, and given the high priesthood to Alcimus, who was not of the high priest stock, but was induced by Lysias to translate that dignity from his family to another house, he fled to Ptolemy, king of Egypt; and when he found he was in great esteem with him, and with his wife Cleopatra, he desired and obtained a place in the Nomus of Heliopolis, wherein he built a temple like to that at Jerusalem; of which therefore we shall hereafter give an account, in a place more proper for it.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 10

How Bacchides, The General Of Demetrius's Army, Made An Expedition Against Judea, And Returned Without Success; And How Nicanor Was Sent A Little Afterward Against Judas And Perished, Together With His Army; As Also Concerning The Death Of Alcimus And The Succession Of Judas.

1. About the same time Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, fled away from Rome, and took Tripoli, a city of Syria, and set the diadem on his own head. He also gathered certain mercenary soldiers together, and entered into his kingdom, and was joyfully received by all, who delivered themselves up to him. And when they had taken Autiochus the king, and Lysias, they brought them to him alive; both which were immediately put to death by the command of Demetrius, when Antiochus had reigned two years, as we have already elsewhere related. But there were now many of the wicked Jewish runagates that came together to him, and with them Alcimus the high priest, who accused the whole nation, and particularly Judas and his brethren; and said that they had slain all his friends, and that those in his kingdom that were of his party, and waited for his return, were by them put to death; that these men had ejected them out of their own country, and caused them to be sojourners in a foreign land; and they desired that he would send some one of his own friends, and know from him what mischief Judas's party had done.

2. At this Demetrius was very angry, and sent Bacchides, a friend of Antiochus Epiphanes, a good man, and one that had been intrusted with all Mesopotamia, and gave him an army, and committed Alcimus the high priest to his care; and gave him charge to slay Judas, and those that were with him. So Bacchides made haste, and went out of Antioch with his army; and when he was come into Judea, he sent to Judas and his brethren, to discourse with them about a league of friendship and peace, for he had a mind to take him by treachery. But Judas did not give credit to him, for he saw that he came with so great an army as men do not bring when they come to make peace, but to make war. However, some of the people acquiesced in what Bacchides caused to be proclaimed; and supposing they should undergo no considerable harm from Alcimus, who was their countryman, they went over to them; and when they had received oaths from both of them, that neither they themselves, nor those of the same sentiments, should come to any harm, they intrusted themselves with them. But Bacchides troubled not himself about the oaths he had taken, but slew threescore of them, although, by not keeping his faith with those that first went over, he deterred all the rest, who had intentions to go over to him, from doing it. But as he was gone out of Jerusalem, and was at the village called Bethzetho, he sent out, and caught many of the deserters, and some of the people also, and slew them all; and enjoined all that lived in the country to submit to Alcimus. So he left him there, with some part of the army, that he might have wherewith to keep the country in obedience and returned to Antioch to king Demetrius.

3. But Alcimus was desirous to have the dominion more firmly assured to him; and understanding that, if he could bring it about that the multitude should be his friends, he should govern with greater security, he spake kind words to them all, and discoursed to each of them after an agreeable and pleasant manner; by which means he quickly had a great body of men and an army about him, although the greater part of them were of the wicked, and the deserters. With these, whom he used as his servants and soldiers, he went all over the country, and slew all that he could find of Judas's party. But when Judas saw that Alcimus was already become great, and had destroyed many of the good and holy men of the country, he also went all over the country, and destroyed those that were of the other party. But when Alcimus saw that he was not able to oppose Judas, nor was equal to him in strength, he resolved to apply himself to king Demetrius for his assistance; so he came to Antioch, and irritated him against Judas, and accused him, alleging that he had undergone a great many miseries by his means, and that he would do more mischief unless he were prevented, and brought to punishment, which must be done by sending a powerful force against him.

4. So Demetrius, being already of opinion that it would be a thing pernicious to his own affairs to overlook Judas, now he was becoming so great, sent against him Nicanor, the most kind and most faithful of all his friends; for he it was who fled away with him from the city of Rome. He also gave him as many forces as he thought sufficient for him to conquer Judas withal, and bid him not to spare the nation at all. When Nicanor was come to Jerusalem, he did not resolve to fight Judas immediately, but judged it better to get him into his power by treachery; so he sent him a message of peace, and said there was no manner of necessity for them to fight and hazard themselves; and that he would give him his oath that he would do him no harm, for that he only came with some friends, in order to let him know what king Demetrius's intentions were, and what opinion he had of their nation. When Nicanor had delivered this message, Judas and his brethren complied with him, and suspecting no deceit, they gave him assurances of friendship, and received Nicanor and his army; but while he was saluting Judas, and they were talking together, he gave a certain signal to his own soldiers, upon which they were to seize upon Judas; but he perceived the treachery, and ran back to his own soldiers, and fled away with them. So upon this discovery of his purpose, and of the snares laid for Judas, Nicanor determined to make open war with him, and gathered his army together, and prepared for fighting him; and upon joining battle with him at a certain village called Capharsalama, he beat Judas, and forced him to fly to that citadel which was at Jerusalem.

5. And when Nicanor came down from the citadel unto the temple, some of the priests and elders met him, and saluted him; and showed him the sacrifices which they offered to God for the king: upon which he blasphemed, and threatened them, that unless the people would deliver up Judas to him, upon his return he would pull down their temple. And when he had thus threatened them, he departed from Jerusalem. But the priests fell into tears out of grief at what he had said, and besought God to deliver them from their enemies But now for Nicanor, when he was gone out of Jerusalem, and was at a certain village called Bethoron, he there pitched his camp, another army out of Syria having joined him. And Judas pitched his camp at Adasa, another village, which was thirty furlongs distant from Bethoron, having no more than one thousand soldiers. And when he had encouraged them not to be dismayed at the multitude of their enemies, nor to regard how many they were against whom they were going to fight, but to consider who they themselves were, and for what great rewards they hazarded themselves, and to attack the enemy courageously, he led them out to fight, and joining battle with Nicanor, which proved to be a severe one, he overcame the enemy, and slew many of them; and at last Nicanor himself, as he was fighting gloriously, fell:—upon whose fall the army did not stay; but when they had lost their general, they were put to flight, and threw down their arms. Judas also pursued them and slew them, and gave notice by the sound of the trumpets to the neighbouring villages that he had conquered the enemy; which, when the inhabitants heard, they put on their armour hastily, and met their enemies in the face as they were running away, and slew them, insomuch that not one of them escaped out of this battle, who were in number nine thousand This victory happened to fall on the thirteenth day of that month which by the Jews is called Adar and by the Macedonians Dystrus; and the Jews thereon celebrate this victory every year, and esteem it as a festival day. After which the Jewish nation were, for a while, free from wars, and enjoyed peace; but afterward they returned into their former state of wars and hazards.

6. But now as the high priest Alcimus, was resolving to pull down the wall of the sanctuary, which had been there of old time, and had been built by the holy prophets, he was smitten suddenly by God, and fell down. This stroke made him fall down speechless upon the ground; and undergoing torments for many days, he at length died, when he had been high priest four years. And when he was dead, the people bestowed the

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high priesthood on Judas; who hearing of the power of the Romans, and that they had conquered in war Galatia, and Iberia, and Carthage, and Libya; and that, besides these, they had subdued Greece, and their kings, Perseus, and Philip, and Antiochus the Great also; he resolved to enter into a league of friendship with them. He therefore sent to Rome some of his friends, Eupolemus the son of John, and Jason the son of Eleazar, and by them desired the Romans that they would assist them, and be their friends, and would write to Demetrius that he would not fight against the Jews. So the senate received the ambassadors that came from Judas to Rome, and discoursed with them about the errand on which they came, and then granted them a league of assistance. They also made a decree concerning it, and sent a copy of it into Judea. It was also laid up in the capitol, and engraven in brass. The decree itself was this: "The decree of the senate concerning a league of assistance and friendship with the nation of the Jews. It shall not be lawful for any that are subject to the Romans to make war with the nation of the Jews, nor to assist those that do so, either by sending them corn, or ships, or money; and if any attack be made upon the Jews, the Romans shall assist them, as far as they are able; and again, if any attack be made upon the Romans, the Jews shall assist them. And if the Jews have a mind to add to, or to take away any thing from, this league of assistance, that shall be done with the common consent of the Romans. And whatsoever addition shall thus be made, it shall be of force." This decree was written by Eupolemus the son of John, and by Jason the son of Eleazar, when Judas was high priest of the nation, and Simon his brother was general of the army. And this was the first league that the Romans made with the Jews, and was managed after this manner.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 11

That Bacchides Was Again Sent Out Against Judas; And How Judas Fell As He Was Courageously Fighting.

1. But when Demetrius was informed of the death of Nicanor, and of the destruction of the army that was with him, he sent Bacchides again with an army into Judea, who marched out of Antioch, and came into Judea, and pitched his camp at Arbela, a city of Galilee; and having besieged and taken those that were there in caves, [for many of the people fled into such places,] he removed, and made all the haste he could to Jerusalem. And when he had learned that Judas had pitched his camp at a certain village whose name was Bethzetho, he led his army against him: they were twenty thousand foot-men, and two thousand horsemen. Now Judas had no more soldiers than one thousand. When these saw the multitude of Bacchides's men, they were afraid, and left their camp, and fled all away, excepting eight hundred. Now when Judas was deserted by his own soldiers, and the enemy pressed upon him, and gave him no time to gather his army together, he was disposed to fight with Bacchides's army, though he had but eight hundred men with him; so he exhorted these men to undergo the danger courageously, and encouraged them to attack the enemy. And when they said they were not a body sufficient to fight so great an army, and advised that they should retire now, and save themselves and that when he had gathered his own men together, then he should fall upon the enemy afterwards, his answer was this: "Let not the sun ever see such a thing, that I should show my back to the enemy and although this be the time that will bring me to my end, and I must die in this battle, I will rather stand to it courageously, and bear whatsoever comes upon me, than by now running away bring reproach upon my former great actions, or tarnish their glory." This was the speech he made to those that remained with him, whereby he encouraged them to attack the enemy.

2. But Bacchldes drew his army out of their camp, and put them in array for the battle. He set the horsemen on both the wings, and the light soldiers and the archers he placed before the whole army, but he was himself on the right wing. And when he had thus put his army in order of battle, and was going to join battle with the enemy, he commanded the trumpeter to give a signal of battle, and the army to make a shout, and to fall on the enemy. And when Judas had done the same, he joined battle with them; and as both sides fought valiantly, and the battle continued till sun-set, Judas saw that Bacehides and the strongest part of the army was in the right wing, and thereupon took the most courageous men with him, and ran upon that part of the army, and fell upon those that were there, and broke their ranks, and drove them into the middle, and forced them to run away, and pursued them as far as to a mountain called Aza: but when those of the left wing saw that the right wing was put to flight, they encompassed Judas, and pursued him, and came behind him, and took him into the middle of their army; so being not able to fly, but encompassed round about with enemies, he stood still, and he and those that were with him fought; and when he had slain a great many of those that came against him, he at last was himself wounded, and fell and gave up the ghost, and died in a way like to his former famous actions. When Judas was dead, those that were with him had no one whom they could regard [as their commander]; but when they saw themselves deprived of such a general, they fled. But Simon and Jonathan, Judas's brethren, received his dead body by a treaty from the enemy, and carried it to the village of Modin, where their father had been buried, and there buried him; while the multitude lamented him many days, and performed the usual solemn rites of a funeral to him. And this was the end that Judas came to. He had been a man of valour and a great warrior, and mindful of the commands of their father Matrathins; and had undergone all difficulties, both in doing and suffering, for the liberty of his countrymen. And when his character was so excellent [while he was alive], he left behind him a glorious reputation and memorial, by gaining freedom for his nation, and delivering them from slavery under the Macedonians. And when he had retained the high priesthood three years, he died.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES BOOK 13

Containing The Interval Of Eighty-Two Years.—From The Death Of Judas Maccabeus To The Death Of Queen Alexandra.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 1

How Jonathan Took The Government After His Brother Judas; And How He, Together With His Brother Simon, Waged War Against Bacchides.

1. By what means the nation of the Jews recovered their freedom when they had been brought into slavery by the Macedonians, and what struggles, and how great battles, Judas, the general of their army, ran through, till he was slain as he was fighting for them, hath been related in the foregoing book; but after he was dead, all the wicked, and those that transgressed the laws of their forefathers, sprang up again in Judea, and grew upon them, and distressed them on every side. A famine also assisted their wickedness, and afflicted the country, till not a few, who by reason of their want of necessaries, and because they were not able to bear up against the miseries that both the famine and their enemies brought upon them, deserted their country, and went to the Macedonians. And now Bacchides gathered those Jews together who had apostatized from the accustomed way of living of their forefathers, and chose to live like their neighbours, and committed the care of the country to them, who also caught the friends of Judas, and those of his party, and delivered them up to Bacchides, who when he had, in the first place, tortured and tormented them at his pleasure, he, by that means, at length killed them. And when this calamity of the Jews was become so great, as they had never had experience of the like since their return out of Babylon, those that remained of the companions of Judas, seeing that the nation was ready to be destroyed after a miserable manner, came to his brother Jonathan, and desired him that he would imitate his brother, and that care which he took of his countrymen, for whose liberty in general he died also; and that he would not permit the nation to be without a governor, especially in those destructive circumstances wherein it now was. And where Jonathan said that he was ready to die for them, and esteemed no inferior to his brother, he was appointed to be the general of the Jewish army.

2. When Bacchides heard this, and was afraid that Jonathan might be very troublesome to the king and the Macedonians, as Judas had been before him, he sought how he might slay him by treachery. But this intention of his was not unknown to Jonathan, nor to his brother Simon; but when these two were apprized of it, they took all their companions, and presently fled into that wilderness which was nearest to the city; and when they were come to a lake called Asphar, they abode there. But when Bacchides was sensible that they were in a low state, and were in that place, he hasted to fall upon them with all his forces, and pitching his camp beyond Jordan, he recruited his army. But when Jonathan knew that Bacchides Was coming upon him, he sent his brother John, who was also called Gaddis, to the Nabatean Arabs, that he might lodge his baggage with them until the battle with Bacchides should be over, for they were the Jews' friends. And the sons of Ambri laid an ambush for John from the city Medaba, and seized upon him, and upon those that were with him, and plundered all that they had with them. They also slew John, and all his companions. However, they were sufficiently punished for what they now did by John's brethren, as we shall relate presently.

3. But when Bacchides knew that Jonathan had pitched his camp among the lakes of Jordan, he observed when their sabbath day came, and then assaulted him, [as supposing that he would not fight because of the law for resting on that day]: but he exhorted his companions [to fight]; and told them that their lives were at stake, since they were encompassed by the river, and by their enemies, and had no way to escape, for that their enemies pressed upon them from before, and the river was behind them. So after he had prayed to God to give them the victory, he joined battle with the enemy, of whom he overthrew many; and as he saw Bacchides coming up boldly to him, he stretched out his right hand to smite him; but the other foreseeing and avoiding the stroke, Jonathan with his companions leaped into the river, and swam over it, and by that means escaped beyond Jordan while the enemies did not pass over that river; but Bacchides returned presently to the citadel at Jerusalem, having lost about two thousand of his army. He also fortified many cities of Judea, whose walls had been demolished; Jericho, and Emmaus, and Betboron, and Bethel, and Tinma, and Pharatho, and Tecoa, and Gazara, and built towers in every one of these cities, and encompassed them with strong walls, that were very large also, and put garrisons into them, that they might issue out of them, and do mischief to the Jews. He also fortified the citadel at Jerusalem more than all the rest. Moreover, he took the sons of the principal Jews as pledges, and shut them up in the citadel, and in that manner guarded it.

4. About the same time one came to Jonathan, and to his brother Simon, and told them that the sons of Ambri were celebrating a marriage, and bringing the bride from the city Gabatha, who was the daughter of one of the illustrious men among the Arabians, and that the damsel was to be conducted with pomp, and splendour, and much riches: so Jonathan and Simon thinking this appeared to be the fittest time for them to avenge the death of their brother, and that they had forces sufficient for receiving satisfaction from them for his death, they made haste to Medaba, and lay in wait among the mountains for the coming of their enemies; and as soon as they saw them conducting the virgin, and her bridegroom, and such a great company of their friends with them as was to be expected at this wedding, they sallied out of their ambush, and slew them all, and took their ornaments, and all the prey that then followed them, and so returned, and received this satisfaction for their brother John from the sons of Ambri; for as well those sons themselves, as their friends, and wives, and children that followed them, perished, being in number about four hundred.

5. However, Simon and Jonathan returned to the lakes of the river, and abode there. But Bacchides, when he had secured all Judea with his garrisons, returned to the king; and then it was that the affairs of Judea were quiet for two years. But when the deserters and the wicked saw that Jonathan and those that were with him lived in the country very quietly, by reason of the peace, they sent to king Demetrius, and excited him to send Bacchides to seize upon Jonathan, which they said was to be done without any trouble, and in one night's time; and that if they fell upon them before they were aware, they might slay them all. So the king sent Bacchides, who, when he was come into Judea, wrote to all his friends, both Jews and auxiliaries, that they should seize upon Jonathan, and bring him to him; and when, upon all their endeavors, they were not able to seize upon Jonathan, for he was sensible of the snares they laid for him, and very carefully guarded against them, Bacchides was angry at these deserters, as having imposed upon him, and upon the king, and slew fifty of their leaders: whereupon Jonathan, with his brother, and those that were with him, retired to Bethagla, a village that lay in the wilderness, out of his fear of Bacchides. He also built towers in it, and encompassed it with walls, and took care that it should be safely guarded. Upon the hearing of which Bacchides led his own army along with him, and besides took his Jewish auxiliaries, and came against Jonathan, and made an assault upon his fortifications, and besieged him many days; but Jonathan did not abate of his courage at the zeal Bacchides used in the siege, but courageously opposed him. And while he left his brother Simon in the city to fight with Bacchides, he went privately out himself into the country, and got a great body of men together of his own party, and fell upon Bacchides's camp in the night time, and destroyed a great many of them. His brother Simon knew also of this his falling upon them, because he perceived that the enemies were slain by him; so he sallied out upon them, and burnt the engines which the Macedonians used, and made a great slaughter of them. And when Bacchides saw himself encompassed with enemies, and some of them before and some behind him, he fell into despair and trouble of mind, as confounded at the unexpected ill success of this siege. However, he vented his displeasure at these misfortunes upon those deserters who sent for him from the king, as having deluded him. So he had a mind to finish this siege after a decent manner, if it were possible for him so to do, and then to return home.

6. When Jonathan understood these his intentions, he sent ambassadors to him about a league of friendship and mutual assistance, and that they might restore those they had taken captive on both sides. So Bacchides thought this a pretty decent way of retiring home, and made a league of friendship with Jonathan, when they sware that they would not any more make war one against another. Accordingly, he restored the captives, and took his own men with him, and returned to the king at Antioch; and after this his departure, he never came into Judea again. Then did Jonathan take the opportunity of this quiet state of things, and went and lived in the city Michmash; and there governed the multitude, and punished the wicked and ungodly, and by that means purged the nation of them.

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FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 2

How Alexander [Bala] In His War With Demetrius, Granted Jonathan Many Advantages And Appointed Him To Be High Priest And Persuaded Him To Assist Him Although Demetrius Promised Him Greater Advantages On The Other Side. Concerning The Death

Of Demetrius.

1. Now in the hundred and sixtieth year, it fell out that Alexander, the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, 1 came up into Syria, and took Ptolemais the soldiers within having betrayed it to him; for they were at enmity with Demetrius, on account of his insolence and difficulty of access; for he shut himself up in a palace of his that had four towers which he had built himself, not far from Antioch and admitted nobody. He was withal slothful and negligent about the public affairs, whereby the hatred of his subjects was the more kindled against him, as we have elsewhere already related. When therefore Demetrius heard that Alexander was in Ptolemais, he took his whole army, and led it against him; he also sent ambassadors to Jonathan about a league of mutual assistance and friendship, for he resolved to be beforehand with Alexander, lest the other should treat with him first, and gain assistance from him; and this he did out of the fear he had lest Jonathan should remember how ill Demetrius had formerly treated him, and should join with him in this war against him. He therefore gave orders that Jonathan should be allowed to raise an army, and should get armour made, and should receive back those hostages of the Jewish nation whom Baechides had shut up in the citadel of Jerusalem. When this good fortune had befallen Jonathan, by the concession of Demetrius, he came to Jerusalem, and read the king's letter in the audience of the people, and of those that kept the citadel. When these were read, these wicked men and deserters, who were in the citadel, were greatly afraid, upon the king's permission to Jonathan to raise an army, and to receive back the hostages. So he delivered every one of them to his own parents. And thus did Jonathan make his abode at Jerusalem, renewing the city to a better state, and reforming the buildings as he pleased; for he gave orders that the walls of the city should be rebuilt with square stones, that it might be more secure from their enemies. And when those that kept the garrisons that were in Judea saw this, they all left them, and fled to Antioch, excepting those that were in the city Bethsura, and those that were in the citadel of Jerusalem, for the greater part of these was of the wicked Jews and deserters, and on that account these did not deliver up their garrisons.

2. When Alexander knew what promises Demetrius had made Jonathan, and withal knew his courage, and what great things he had done when he fought the Macedonians, and besides what hardships he had undergone by the means of Demetrius, and of Bacchides, the general of Demetrius's army, he told his friends that he could not at present find any one else that might afford him better assistance than Jonathan, who was both courageous against his enemies, and had a particular hatred against Demetrius, as having both suffered many hard things from him, and acted many hard things against him. If therefore they were of opinion that they should make him their friend against Demetrius, it was more for their advantage to invite him to assist them now than at another time. It being therefore determined by him and his friends to send to Jonathan, he wrote to him this epistle: "King Alexander to his brother Jonathan, sendeth greeting. We have long ago heard of thy courage and thy fidelity, and for that reason have sent to thee, to make with thee a league of friendship and mutual assistance. We therefore do ordain thee this day the high priest of the Jews, and that thou beest called my friend. I have also sent thee, as presents, a purple robe and a golden crown, and desire that, now thou art by us honoured, thou wilt in like manner respect us also."

3. When Jonathan had received this letter, he put on the pontifical robe at the time of the feast of tabernacles, 2 four years after the death of his brother Judas, for at that time no high priest had been made. So he raised great forces, and had abundance of armour got ready. This greatly grieved Demetrius when he heard of it, and made him blame himself for his slowness, that he had not prevented Alexander, and got the good-will of Jonathan, but had given him time so to do. However, he also himself wrote a letter to Jonathan, and to the people, the contents whereof are these: "King Demetrius to Jonathan, and to the nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting. Since you have preserved your friendship for us, and when you have been tempted by our enemies, you have not joined yourselves to them, I both commend you for this your fidelity, and exhort you to continue in the same disposition, for which you shall be repaid, and receive rewards from us; for I will free you from the greatest part of the tributes and taxes which you formerly paid to the kings my predecessors, and to myself; and I do now set you free from those tributes which you have ever paid; and besides, I forgive you the tax upon salt, and the value of the crowns which you used to offer to me and instead of the third part of the fruits [of the field], and the half of the fruits of the trees, I relinquish my part of them from this day: and as to the poll-money, which ought to be given me for every head of the inhabitants of Judea, and of the three toparchies that adjoin to Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, and Peres, that I relinquish to you for this time, and for all time to come. I will also that the city of Jerusalem be holy and inviolable, and free from the tithe, and from the taxes, unto its utmost bounds. And I so far recede from my title to the citadel, as to permit Jonathan your high priest to possess it, that he may place such a garrison in it as he approves of for fidelity and good-will to himself, that they may keep it for us. I also make free all those Jews who have been made captives and slaves in my kingdom. I also give order that the beasts of the Jews be not pressed for our service; and let their sabbaths, and all their festivals, and three days before each of them, be free from any imposition. In the same manner, I set free the Jews that are inhabitants of my kingdom, and order that no injury be done them. I also give leave to such of them as are willing to list themselves in my army, that they may do it, and those as far as thirty thousand; which Jewish soldiers, wheresoever they go, shall have the same pay that my own army hath; and some of them I will place in my garrisons, and some as guards about mine own body, and as rulers over those that are in my court. I give them leave also to use the laws of their forefathers, and to observe them; and I will that they have power over the three toparchies that are added to Judea; and it shall be in the power of the high priest to take care that no one Jew shall have any other temple for worship but only that at Jerusalem. I bequeath also, out of my own revenues, yearly, for the expenses about the sacrifices, one hundred and fifty thousand [drachmae]; and what money is to spare, I will that it shall be your own. I also release to you those ten thousand drachmae which the kings received from the temple, because they appertain to the priests that minister in that temple. And whosoever shall fly to the temple at Jerusalem, or to the places thereto belonging, or who owe the king money, or are there on any other account, let them be set free, and let their goods be in safety. I also give you leave to repair and rebuild your temple, and that all be done at my expenses. I also allow you to build the walls of your city, and to erect high towers, and that they be erected at my charge. And if there be any fortified town that would be convenient for the Jewish country to have very strong, let it be so built at my expenses."

4. This was what Demetrius promised and granted to the Jews by this letter. But king Alexander raised a great army of mercenary soldiers, and of those that deserted to him out of Syria, and made an expedition against Demetrius. And when it was come to a battle, the left wing of Demetrius put those who opposed them to flight, and pursued them a great way, and slew many of them, and spoiled their camp; but the right wing, where Demetrius happened to be, was beaten; and as for all the rest, they ran away. But Demetrius fought courageously, and slew a great many of the enemy; but as he was in the pursuit of the rest, his horse carried him into a deep bog, where it was hard to get out, and there it happened, that upon his horse's falling down, he could not escape being killed; for when his enemies saw what had befallen him, they returned back, and encompassed Demetrius round, and they all threw their darts at him; but he, being now on foot, fought bravely. But at length he received so many wounds, that he was not able to bear up any longer, but fell. And this is the end that Demetrius came to, when he had reigned eleven years, as we have elsewhere related.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 3

The Friendship That Was Between Onias And Ptolemy Philometor; And How Onias Built A Temple In Egypt Like To That At Jerusalem.

1. But then the son of Onias the high priest, who was of the same name with his father, and who fled to king Ptolemy, who was called Philometor, lived now at Alexandria, as we have said already. When this Onias saw that Judea was oppressed by the Macedonians and their kings, out of a desire to purchase to himself a memorial and eternal fame he resolved to send to king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra, to ask leave of them that he might build a temple in Egypt like to that at Jerusalem, and might ordain Levites and priests out of their own stock. The chief reason why he was desirous so to do, was, that he relied upon the prophet Isaiah, who lived above six hundred years before, and foretold that there certainly was to be a temple built to Almighty God in Egypt by a man that was a Jew. Onias was elevated with this prediction, and wrote the following epistle to Ptolemy and Cleopatra: "Having done many and great things for you in the affairs of the war, by the assistance of God, and that in Celesyria and Phoenicia, I came at length with the Jews to Leontopolis, and to other places of your nation, where I found that the greatest part of your people had temples in an improper manner, and that on this account they bare ill-will one against another, which happens to the Egyptians by reason of the multitude of their temples, and the difference of opinions about Divine worship. Now I found a very fit place in a castle that hath its name from the country Diana; this place is full of materials of several sorts, and replenished with sacred animals; I desire therefore that you will grant me leave to purge this holy place, which belongs to no master, and is fallen down, and to build there a temple to Almighty God, after the pattern of that in Jerusalem, and of the same dimensions, that may be for the benefit of thyself, and thy wife and children, that those Jews which dwell in Egypt may have a place whither they may come and meet together in mutual harmony one with another, and he subservient to thy advantages; for the prophet Isaiah foretold that, 'there should be an altar in Egypt to the Lord God;'" 5 and many other such things did he prophesy relating to that place.

2. And this was what Onias wrote to king Ptolemy. Now any one may observe his piety, and that of his sister and wife Cleopatra, by that epistle which they wrote in answer to it; for they laid the blame and the transgression of the law upon the head of Onias. And this was their reply: "King Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra to Onias, send greeting. We have read thy petition, wherein thou desirest leave to be given thee to purge that temple which is fallen down at Leontopolis, in the Nomus of Heliopolis, and which is named from the country Bubastis; on which account we cannot but wonder that it should be pleasing to God to have a temple erected in a place so unclean, and so full of sacred animals. But since thou sayest that Isaiah the prophet foretold this long ago, we give thee leave to do it, if it may be done according to your law, and so that we may not appear to have at all offended God herein."

3. So Onias took the place, and built a temple, and an altar to God, like indeed to that in Jerusalem, but smaller and poorer. I do not think it proper for me now to describe its dimensions or its vessels, which have been already described in my seventh book of the Wars of the Jews. However, Onias found other Jews like to himself, together with priests and Levites, that there performed Divine service. But we have said enough about this temple.

4. Now it came to pass that the Alexandrian Jews, and those Samaritans who paid their worship to the temple that was built in the days of Alexander at Mount Gerizzim, did now make a sedition one against another, and disputed about their temples before Ptolemy himself; the Jews saying that, according to the laws of Moses, the temple was to be built at Jerusalem; and the Samaritans saying that it was to be built at Gerizzim. They desired therefore the king to sit with his friends, and hear the debates about these matters, and punish those with death who were baffled. Now Sabbeus and Theodosius managed the argument for the Samaritans, and Andronicus, the son of Messalamus, for the people of Jerusalem; and they took an oath by God and the king to make their demonstrations according to the law; and they desired of Ptolemy, that whomsoever he should find that transgressed what they had sworn to, he would put him to death. Accordingly, the king took several of his friends into the council, and sat down, in order to hear what the pleaders said. Now the Jews that were at Alexandria were in great concern for those men, whose lot it was to contend for the temple at Jerusalem; for they took it very ill that any should take away the reputation of that temple, which was so ancient and so celebrated all over the habitable earth. Now when Sabbeus and Theodosius had given leave to Andronicus to speak first, he began to demonstrate out of the law, and out of the successions of the high priests, how they every one in succession from his father had received that dignity, and ruled over the temple; and how all the kings of Asia had honoured that temple with their donations, and with the most splendid gifts dedicated thereto. But as for that at Gerizzm, he made no account of it, and regarded it as if it had never had a being. By this speech, and other arguments, Andronicus persuaded the king to determine that the temple at Jerusalem was built according to the laws of Moses, and to put Sabbeus and Theodosius to death. And these were the events that befell the Jews at Alexandria in the days of Ptolemy Philometor.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 4

How Alexander Honoured Jonathan After An Extraordinary Manner; And How Demetrius, The Son Of Demetrius, Overcame Alexander And Made A League Of Friendship With Jonathan.

1. Demetrius being thus slain in battle, as we have above related, Alexander took the kingdom of Syria; and wrote to Ptolemy Philometor, and desired his daughter in marriage; and said it was but just that he should be joined an affinity to one that had now received the principality of his forefathers, and had been promoted to it by God's providence, and had conquered Demetrius, and that was on other accounts not unworthy of being related to him. Ptolemy received this proposal of marriage gladly; and wrote him an answer, saluting him on account of his having received the principality of his forefathers; and promising him that he would give him his daughter in marriage; and assured him that he was coming to meet him at Ptolemais, and desired that he would there meet him, for that he would accompany her from Egypt so far, and would there marry his child to him. When Ptolemy had written thus, he came suddenly to Ptolemais, and brought his daughter Cleopatra along with him; and as he found Alexander there before him, as he desired him to come, he gave him his child in marriage, and for her

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portion gave her as much silver and gold as became such a king to give.

2. When the wedding was over, Alexander wrote to Jonathan the high priest, and desired him to come to Ptolemais. So when he came to these kings, and had made them magnificent presents, he was honoured by them both. Alexander compelled him also to put off his own garment, and to take a purple garment, and made him sit with him in his throne; and commanded his captains that they should go with him into the middle of the city, and proclaim, that it was not permitted to any one to speak against him, or to give him any disturbance. And when the captains had thus done, those that were prepared to accuse Jonathan, and who bore him ill-will, when they saw the honour that was done him by proclamation, and that by the king's order, ran away, and were afraid lest some mischief should befall them. Nay, king Alexander was so very kind to Jonathan, that he set him down as the principal of his friends.

3. But then, upon the hundred and sixty-fifth year, Demetrius, the son of Demetrius, came from Crete with a great number of mercenary soldiers, which Lasthenes, the Cretian, brought him, and sailed to Cilicia. This thing cast Alexander into great concern and disorder when he heard it; so he made haste immediately out of Phoenicia, and came to Antioch, that he might put matters in a safe posture there before Demetrius should come. He also left Apollonius Daus governor of Celesyria, who coming to Jamnia with a great army, sent to Jonathan the high priest, and told him that it was not right that he alone should live at rest, and with authority, and not be subject to the king; that this thing had made him a reproach among all men, that he had not yet made him subject to the king. "Do not thou therefore deceive thyself, and sit still among the mountains, and pretend to have forces with thee; but if thou hast any dependence on thy strength, come down into the plain, and let our armies be compared together, and the event of the battle will demonstrate which of us is the most courageous. However, take notice, that the most valiant men of every city are in my army, and that these are the very men who have always beaten thy progenitors; but let us have the battle in such a place of the country where we may fight with weapons, and not with stones, and where there may be no place whither those that are beaten may fly."

4. With this Jonathan was irritated; and choosing himself out ten thousand of his soldiers, he went out of Jerusalem in haste, with his brother Simon, and came to Joppa, and pitched his camp on the outside of the city, because the people of Joppa had shut their gates against him, for they had a garrison in the city put there by Apollonius. But when Jonathan was preparing to besiege them, they were afraid he would take them by force, and so they opened the gates to him. But Apollonius, when he heard that Joppa was taken by Jonathan, took three thousand horsemen, and eight thousand footmen and came to Ashdod; and removing thence, he made his journey silently and slowly, and going up to Joppa, he made as if he was retiring from the place, and so drew Jonathan into the plain, as valuing himself highly upon his horsemen, and having his hopes of victory principally in them. However, Jonathan sallied out, and pursued Apollonius to Ashdod; but as soon as Apollonius perceived that his enemy was in the plain, he came back and gave him battle. But Apollonius had laid a thousand horsemen in ambush in a valley, that they might be seen by their enemies as behind them; which when Jonathan perceived, he was under no consternation, but ordering his army to stand in a square battle-array, he gave them a charge to fall on the enemy on both sides, and set them to face those that attacked them both before and behind; and while the fight lasted till the evening, he gave part of his forces to his brother Simon, and ordered him to attack the enemies; but for himself, he charged those that were with him to cover themselves with their armour, and receive the darts of the horsemen, who did as they were commanded; so that the enemy's horsemen, while they threw their darts till they had no more left, did them no harm, for the darts that were thrown did not enter into their bodies, being thrown upon the shields that were united and conjoined together, the closeness of which easily overcame the force of the darts, and they flew about without any effect. But when the enemy grew remiss in throwing their darts from morning till late at night, Simon perceived their weariness, and fell upon the body of men before him; and because his soldiers showed great alacrity, he put the enemy to flight. And when the horsemen saw that the footmen ran away, neither did they stay themselves, but they being very weary, by the duration of the fight till the evening, and their hope from the footmen being quite gone, they basely ran away, and in great confusion also, till they were separated one from another, and scattered over all the plain. Upon which Jonathan pursued them as far as Ashdod, and slew a great many of them, and compelled the rest, in despair of escaping, to fly to the temple of Dagon, which was at Ashdod; but Jonathan took the city on the first onset, and burnt it, and the villages about it; nor did he abstain from the temple of Dagon itself, but burnt it also, and destroyed those that had fled to it. Now the entire multitude of the enemies that fell in the battle, and were consumed in the temple, were eight thousand. When Jonathan therefore had overcome so great an army, he removed from Ashdod, and came to Askelon; and when he had pitched his camp without the city, the people of Askelon came out and met him, bringing him hospitable presents, and honouring him; so he accepted of their kind intentions, and returned thence to Jerusalem with a great deal of prey, which he brought thence when he conquered his enemies. But when Alexander heard that Apollonius, the general of his army, was beaten, he pretended to be glad of it, because he had fought with Jonathan his friend and ally against his directions. Accordingly, he sent to Jonathan, and gave testimony to his worth; and gave him honourary rewards, as a golden button, 8 which it is the custom to give the king's kinsmen, and allowed him Ekron and its toparchy for his own inheritance.

5. About this time it was that king Ptolemy, who was called Philometor, led an army, part by the sea, and part by land, and came to Syria, to the assistance of Alexander, who was his son-in-law; and accordingly all the cities received him willingly, as Alexander had commanded them to do, and conducted him as far as Ashdod; where they all made loud complaints about the temple of Dagon, which was burnt, and accused Jonathan of having laid it waste, and destroyed the country adjoining with fire, and slain a great number of them. Ptolemy heard these accusations, but said nothing. Jonathan also went to meet Ptolemy as far as Joppa, and obtained from him hospitable presents, and those glorious in their kinds, with all the marks of honour; and when he had conducted him as far as the river called Eleutherus, he returned again to Jerusalem.

6. But as Ptolemy was at Ptolemais, he was very near to a most unexpected destruction; for a treacherous design was laid for his life by Alexander, by the means of Ammonius, who was his friend; and as the treachery was very plain, Ptolemy wrote to Alexander, and required of him that he should bring Ammonius to condign punishment, informing him what snares had been laid for him by Ammonius, and desiring that he might be accordingly punished for it. But when Alexander did not comply with his demands, he perceived that it was he himself who laid the design, and was very angry at him. Alexander had also formerly been on very ill terms with the people of Antioch, for they had suffered very much by his means; yet did Ammonius at length undergo the punishment his insolent crimes had deserved, for he was killed in an opprobrious manner, like a woman, while he endeavored to conceal himself in a feminine habit, as we have elsewhere related.

7. Hereupon Ptolemy blamed himself for having given his daughter in marriage to Alexander, and for the league he had made with him to assist him against Demetrius; so he dissolved his relation to him, and took his daughter away from him, and immediately sent to Demetrius, and offered to make a league of mutual assistance and friendship with him, and agreed with him to give him his daughter in marriage, and to restore him to the principality of his fathers. Demetrius was well pleased with this embassage, and accepted of his assistance, and of the marriage of his daughter. But Ptolemy had still one more hard task to do, and that was to persuade the people of Antioch to receive Demetrius, because they were greatly displeased at him, on account of the injuries his father Demetrius had done them; yet did he bring this about; for as the people of Antioch hated Alexander on Ammonius's account, as we have shown already, they were easily prevailed with to cast him out of Antioch; who, thus expelled out of Antioch, came into Cilicia. Ptolemy came then to Antioch, and was made king by its inhabitants, and by the army; so that he was forced to put on two diadems, the one of Asia, the other of Egypt: but being naturally a good and a righteous man, and not desirous of what belonged to others, and besides these dispositions, being also a wise man in reasoning about futurities, he determined to avoid the envy of the Romans; so he called the people of Antioch together to an assembly, and persuaded them to receive Demetrius; and assured them that he would not be mindful of what they did to his father in case he should be now obliged by them; and he undertook that he would himself be a good monitor and governor to him, and promised that he would not permit him to attempt any bad actions; but that, for his own part, he was contented with the kingdom of Egypt. By which discourse he persuaded the people of Antioch to receive Demetrius.

8. But now Alexander made haste with a numerous and great army, and came out of Cilicia into Syria, and burnt the country belonging to Antioch, and pillaged it; whereupon Ptolemy, and his son-in-law Demetrius, brought their army against him, [for he had already given him his daughter in marriage,] and beat Alexander, and put him to flight; and accordingly he fled into Arabia. Now it happened in the time of the battle that Ptolemy' horse, upon hearing the noise of an elephant, cast him off his back, and threw him on the ground; upon the sight of which accident, his enemies fell upon him, and gave him many wounds upon his head, and brought him into danger of death; for when his guards caught him up, he was so very ill, that for four days' time he was not able either to understand or to speak. However, Zabdiel, a prince among the Arabians, cut off Alexander's head, and sent it to Ptolemy, who recovering of his wounds, and returning to his understanding, on the fifth day, heard at once a most agreeable hearing, and saw a most agreeable sight, which were the death and the head of Alexander; yet a little after this his joy for the death of Alexander, with which he was so greatly satisfied, he also departed this life. Now Alexander, who was called Balas, reigned over Asia five years, as we have elsewhere related.

9. But when Demetrius, who was styled Nicator, had taken the kingdom, he was so wicked as to treat Ptolemy's soldiers very hardly, neither remembering the league of mutual assistance that was between them, nor that he was his son-in-law and kinsman, by Cleopatra's marriage to him; so the soldiers fled from his wicked treatment to Alexandria; but Demetrius kept his elephants. But Jonathan the high priest levied an army out of all Judea, and attacked the citadel at Jerusalem, and besieged it. It was held by a garrison of Macedonians, and by some of those wicked men who had deserted the customs of their forefathers. These men at first despised the attempts of Jonathan for taking the place, as depending on its strength; but some of those wicked men went out by night, and came to Demetrius, and informed him that the citadel was besieged; who was irritated with what he heard, and took his army, and came from Antioch, against Jonathan. And when he was at Antioch, he wrote to him, and commanded him to come to him quickly to Ptolemais: upon which Jonathan did not intermit the siege of the citadel, but took with him the elders of the people, and the priests, and carried with him gold, and silver, and garments, and a great number of presents of friendship, and came to Demetrius, and presented him with them, and thereby pacified the king's anger. So he was honoured by him, and received from him the confirmation of his high priesthood, as he had possessed it by the grants of the kings his predecessors. And when the Jewish deserters accused him, Demetrius was so far from giving credit to them, that when he petitioned him that he would demand no more than three hundred talents for the tribute of all Judea, and the three toparchies of Samaria, and Perea, and Galilee, he complied with the proposal, and gave him a letter confirming all those grants; whose contents were as follows: "King Demetrius to Jonathan his brother, and to the nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting. We have sent you a copy of that epistle which we have written to Lasthones our kinsman, that you may know its contents. 'King Demetrus to Lasthenes our father, sendeth greeting. I have determined to return thanks, and to show favour to the nation of the Jews, which hath observed the rules of justice in our concerns. Accordingly, I remit to them the three prefectures, Apherims, and Lydda, and Ramatha, which have been added to Judea out of Samaria, with their appurtenances; as also what the kings my predecessors received from those that offered sacrifices in Jerusalem, and what are due from the fruits of the earth, and of the trees, and what else belongs to us; with the salt-pits, and the crowns that used to be presented to us. Nor shall they be compelled to pay any of those taxes from this time to all futurity. Take care therefore that a copy of this epistle be taken, and given to Jonathan, and be set up in an eminent place of their holy temple.'" And these were the contents of this writing. And now when Demetrius saw that there was peace every where, and that there was no danger, nor fear of war, he disbanded the greatest part of his army, and diminished their pay, and even retained in pay no others than such foreigners as came up with him from Crete, and from the other islands. However, this procured him ill-will and hatred from the soldiers; on whom he bestowed nothing from this time, while the kings before him used to pay them in time of peace as they did before, that they might have their good-will, and that they might be very ready to undergo the difficulties of war, if any occasion should require it.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 5

How Trypho After He Had Beaten Demetrius Delivered The Kingdom To Antiochus The Son Of Alexander, And Gained Jonathan For His Assistant; And Concerning The Actions And Embassies Of Jonathan.

1. Now there was a certain commander of Alexander's forces, an Apanemian by birth, whose name was Diodotus, and was also called Trypho, took notice the ill-will of the soldiers bare to Demetrius, and went to Malchus the Arabian, who brought up Antiochus, the son of Alexander, and told him what ill-will the army bare Demetrius, and persuaded him to give him Antiochus, because he would make him king, and recover to him the kingdom of his father. Malchus at the first opposed him in this attempt, because he could not believe him; but when Trypho lay hard at him for a long time, he over-persuaded him to comply with Trypho's intentions and entreaties. And this was the state Trypho was now in.

2. But Jonathan the high priest, being desirous to get clear of those that were in the citadel of Jerusalem, and of the Jewish deserters, and wicked men, as well as of those in all the garrisons in the country, sent presents and ambassadors to Demetrius, and entreated him to take away his soldiers out of

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the strong holds of Judea. Demetrius made answer, that after the war, which he was now deeply engaged in, was over, he would not only grant him that, but greater things than that also; and he desired he would send him some assistance, and informed him that his army had deserted him. So Jonathan chose out three thousand of his soldiers, and sent them to Demetrius.

3. Now the people of Antioch hated Demetrius, both on account of what mischief he had himself done them, and because they were his enemies also on account of his father Demetrius, who had greatly abused them; so they watched some opportunity which they might lay hold on to fall upon him. And when they were informed of the assistance that was coming to Demetrius from Jonathan, and considered at the same time that he would raise a numerous army, unless they prevented him, and seized upon him, they took their weapons immediately, and encompassed his palace in the way of a siege, and seizing upon all the ways of getting out, they sought to subdue their king. And when he saw that the people of Antioch were become his bitter enemies and that they were thus in arms, he took the mercenary soldiers which he had with them, and those Jews who were sent by Jonathan, and assaulted the Antiochians; but he was overpowered by them, for they were many ten thousands, and was beaten. But when the Jews saw that the Antiochians were superior, they went up to the top of the palace, and shot at them from thence; and because they were so remote from them by their height, that they suffered nothing on their side, but did great execution on the others, as fighting from such an elevation, they drove them out of the adjoining houses, and immediately set them on fire, whereupon the flame spread itself over the whole city, and burnt it all down. This happened by reason of the closeness of the houses, and because they were generally built of wood. So the Antiochians, when they were not able to help themselves, nor to stop the fire, were put to flight. And as the Jews leaped from the top of one house to the top of another, and pursued them after that manner, it thence happened that the pursuit was so very surprising. But when the king saw that the Antiochians were were busy in saving their children and their wives, and so did not fight any longer, he fell upon them in the narrow passages, and fought them, and slew a great many of them, till at last they were forced to throw down their arms, and to deliver themselves up to Demetrius. So he forgave them this their insolent behavior, and put an end to the sedition; and when he had given rewards to the Jews out of the rich spoils he had gotten, and had returned them thanks, as the cause of his victory, he sent them away to Jerusalem to Jonathan, with an ample testimony of the assistance they had afforded him. Yet did he prove an ill man to Jonathan afterward, and broke the promises he had made; and he threatened that he would make war upon him, unless he would pay all that tribute which the Jewish nation owed to the first kings [of Syria]. And this he had done, if Trypho had not hindered him, and diverted his preparations against Jonathan to a concern for his own preservation; for he now returned out of Arabia into Syria, with the child Antiochus, for he was yet in age but a youth, and put the diadem on his head; and as the whole forces that had left Demetrius, because they had no pay, came to his assistance, he made war upon Demetrius, and joining battle with him, overcame him in the fight, and took from him both his elephants and the city Antioch.

4. Demetrius, upon this defeat, retired into Cilicia; but the child Antiochus sent ambassadors and an epistle to Jonathan, and made him his friend and confederate, and confirmed to him the high priesthood, and yielded up to him the four prefectures which had been added to Judea. Moreover, he sent him vessels and cups of gold, and a purple garment, and gave him leave to use them. He also presented him with a golden button, and styled him one of his principal friends, and appointed his brother Simon to be the general over the forces, from the Ladder of Tyre unto Egypt. So Jonathan was so pleased with these grants made him by Antiochus, that he sent ambassadors to him and to Trypho, and professed himself to be their friend and confederate, and said he would join with him in a war against Demetrius, informing him that he had made no proper returns for the kindness he had done him; for that when he had received many marks of kindness from him, when he stood in great need of them, he, for such good turns, had requited him with further injuries.

5. So Antiochus gave Jonathan leave to raise himself a numerous army out of Syria and Phoenicia and to make war against Demetrius's generals; whereupon he went in haste to the several cities which received him splendidly indeed, but put no forces into his hands. And when he was come from thence to Askelon, the inhabitants of Askelon came and brought him presents, and met him in a splendid manner. He exhorted them, and every one of the cities of Celesyria, to forsake Demetrius, and to join with Antiochus; and, in assisting him, to endeavor to punish Demetrius for what offenses he had been guilty of against themselves; and told them there were many reasons for that their procedure, if they had a mind so to do. And when he had persuaded those cities to promise their assistance to Antiochus, he came to Gaza, in order to induce them also to be friends to Antiochus; but he found the inhabitants of Gaza much more alienated from him than he expected, for they had shut their gates against him; and although they had deserted Demetrius, they had not resolved to join themselves to Antiochus. This provoked Jonathan to besiege them, and to harass their country; for as he set a part of his army round about Gaza itself, so with the rest he overran their land, and spoiled it, and burnt what was in it. When the people of Gaza saw themselves in this state of affliction, and that no assistance came to them from Demetrius, that what distressed them was at hand, but what should profit them was still at a great distance, and it was uncertain whether it would come at all or not, they thought it would be prudent conduct to leave off any longer continuance with them, and to cultivate friendship with the other; so they sent to Jonathan, and professed they would be his friends, and afford him assistance: for such is the temper of men, that before they have had the trial of great afflictions, they do not understand what is for their advantage; but when they find themselves under such afflictions, they then change their minds, and what it had been better for them to have done before they had been at all damaged, they choose to do, but not till after they have suffered such damages. However, he made a league of friendship with them, and took from them hostages for their performance of it, and sent these hostages to Jerusalem, while he went himself over all the country, as far as Damascus.

6. But when he heard that the generals of Demetrius's forces were come to the city Cadesh with a numerous army, [the place lies between the land of the Tyrians and Galilee,]for they supposed they should hereby draw him out of Syria, in order to preserve Galilee, and that he would not overlook the Galileans, who were his own people, when war was made upon them, he went to meet them, having left Simon in Judea, who raised as great an army as he was able out of the country, and then sat down before Bethsura, and besieged it, that being the strongest place in all Judea; and a garrison of Demetrius's kept it, as we have already related. But as Simon was raising banks, and bringing his engines of war against Bethsura, and was very earnest about the siege of it, the garrison was afraid lest the place should be taken of Simon by force, and they put to the sword; so they sent to Simon, and desired the security of his oath, that they should come to no harm from him, and that they would leave the place, and go away to Demetrius. Accordingly he gave them his oath, and ejected them out of the city, and he put therein a garrison of his own.

7. But Jonathan removed out of Galilee, and from the waters which are called Gennesar, for there he was before encamped, and came into the plain that is called Asor, without knowing that the enemy was there. When therefore Demetrius's men knew a day beforehand that Jonathan was coming against them, they laid an ambush in the mountain, who were to assault him on the sudden, while they themselves met him with an army in the plain; which army, when Jonathan saw ready to engage him, he also got ready his own soldiers for the battle as well as he was able; but those that were laid in ambush by Demetrius's generals being behind them, the Jews were afraid lest they should be caught in the midst between two bodies, and perish; so they ran away in haste, and indeed all the rest left Jonathan; but a few there were, in number about fifty, who staid with him, and with them Mattathias, the son of Absalom, and Judas, the son of Chapseus, who were commanders of the whole army. These marched boldly, and like men desperate, against the enemy, and so pushed them, that by their courage they daunted them, and with their weapons in their hands they put them to flight. And when those soldiers of Jonathan that had retired saw the enemy giving way, they got together after their flight, and pursued them with great violence; and this did they as far as Cadesh, where the camp of the enemy lay.

8. Jonathan having thus gotten a glorious victory, and slain two thousand of the enemy, returned to Jerusalem. So when he saw that all his affairs prospered according to his mind, by the providence of God, he sent ambassadors to the Romans, being desirous of renewing that friendship which their nation had with them formerly. He enjoined the same ambassadors, that, as they came back, they should go to the Spartans, and put them in mind of their friendship and kindred. So when the ambassadors came to Rome, they went into their senate, and said what they were commanded by Jonathan the high priest to say, how he had sent them to confirm their friendship. The senate then confirmed what had been formerly decreed concerning their friendship with the Jews, and gave them letters to carry to all the kings of Asia and Europe, and to the governors of the cities, that they might safely conduct them to their own country. Accordingly, as they returned, they came to Sparta, and delivered the epistle which they had received of Jonathan to them; a copy of which here follows: "Jonathan the high priest of the Jewish nation, and the senate, and body of the people of the Jews, to the ephori, and senate, and people of the Lacedemonians, send greeting. If you be well, and both your public and private affairs be agreeable to your mind, it is according to our wishes. We are well also. When in former times an epistle was brought to Onias, who was then our high priest, from Areus, who at that time was your king, by Demoteles, concerning the kindred that was between us and you, a copy of which is here subjoined, we both joyfully received the epistle, and were well pleased with Demoteles and Areus, although we did not need such a demonstration, because we were satisfied about it from the sacred writings yet did not we think fit first to begin the claim of this relation to you, lest we should seem too early in taking to ourselves the glory which is now given us by you. It is a long time since this relation of ours to you hath been renewed; and when we, upon holy and festival days, offer sacrifices to God, we pray to him for your preservation and victory. As to ourselves, although we have had many wars that have compassed us around, by reason of the covetousness of our neighbours, yet did not we determine to be troublesome either to you, or to others that were related to us; but since we have now overcome our enemies, and have occasion to send Numenius the son of Antiochus, and Antipater the son of Jason, who are both honourable men belonging to our senate, to the Romans, we gave them this epistle to you also, that they might renew that friendship which is between us. You will therefore do well yourselves to write to us, and send us an account of what you stand in need of from us, since we are in all things disposed to act according to your desires." So the Lacedemonians received the ambassadors kindly, and made a decree for friendship and mutual assistance, and sent it to them.

9. At this time there were three sects among the Jews, who had different opinions concerning human actions; the one was called the sect of the Pharisees, another the sect of the Sadducees, and the other the sect of the Essens. Now for the Pharisees, they say that some actions, but not all, are the work of fate, and some of them are in our own power, and that they are liable to fate, but are not caused by fate. But the sect of the Essens affirm, that fate governs all things, and that nothing befalls men but what is according to its determination. And for the Sadducees, they take away fate, and say there is no such thing, and that the events of human affairs are not at its disposal; but they suppose that all our actions are in our own power, so that we are ourselves the causes of what is good, and receive what is evil from our own folly. However, I have given a more exact account of these opinions in the second book of the Jewish War.

10. But now the generals of Demetrius being willing to recover the defeat they had had, gathered a greater army together than they had before, and came against Jonathan; but as soon as he was informed of their coming, he went suddenly to meet them, to the country of Hamoth, for he resolved to give them no opportunity of coming into Judea; so he pitched his camp at fifty furlongs' distance from the enemy, and sent out spies to take a view of their camp, and after what manner they were encamped. When his spies had given him full information, and had seized upon some of them by night, who told him the enemy would soon attack him, he, thus apprized beforehand, provided for his security, and placed watchmen beyond his camp, and kept all his forces armed all night; and he gave them a charge to be of good courage, and to have their minds prepared to fight in the night time, if they should be obliged so to do, lest their enemy's designs should seem concealed from them. But when Demetrius's commanders were informed that Jonathan knew what they intended, their counsels were disordered, and it alarmed them to find that the enemy had discovered those their intentions; nor did they expect to overcome them any other way, now they had failed in the snares they had laid for them; for should they hazard an open battle, they did not think they should be a match for Jonathan's army, so they resolved to fly; and having lighted many fires, that when the enemy saw them they might suppose they were there still, they retired. When Jonathan came to give them battle in the morning in their camp, and found it deserted, and understood they were fled, he pursued them; yet he could not overtake them, for they had already passed over the river Eleutherus, and were out of danger. So when Jonathan was returned thence, he went into Arabia, and fought against the Nabateans, and drove away a great deal of their prey, and took [many] captives, and came to Damascus, and there sold off what he had taken. About the same time it was that Simon his brother went over all Judea and Palestine, as far as Askelon, and fortified the strong holds; and when he had made them very strong, both in the edifices erected, and in the garrisons placed in them, he came to Joppa; and when he had taken it, he brought a great garrison into it, for he heard that the people of Joppa were disposed to deliver up the city to Demetrius's generals.

11. When Simon and Jonathan had finished these affairs, they returned to Jerusalem, where Jonathan gathered all the people together, and took counsel to restore the walls of Jerusalem, and to rebuild the wall that encompassed the temple, which had been thrown down, and to make the places adjoining stronger by very high towers; and besides that, to build another wall in the midst of the city, in order to exclude the market-place from the garrison, which was in the citadel, and by that means to hinder them from any plenty of provisions; and moreover, to make the fortresses that were in

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the country much stronger and more defensible than they were before. And when these things were approved of by the multitude, as rightly proposed, Jonathan himself took care of the building that belonged to the city, and sent Simon away to make the fortresses in the country more secure than formerly. But Demetrius passed over [Euphrates], and came into Mesopotamia, as desirous to retain that country still, as well as Babylon; and when he should have obtained the dominion of the upper provinces, to lay a foundation for recovering his entire kingdom; for those Greeks and Macedonians who dwelt there frequently sent ambassadors to him, and promised, that if he would come to them, they would deliver themselves up to him, and assist him in fighting against Arsaces, the king of the Parthians. So he was elevated with these hopes, and came hastily to them, as having resolved, that if he had once overthrown the Parthians, and gotten an army of his own, he would make war against Trypho, and eject him out of Syria; and the people of that country received him with great alacrity. So he raised forces, with which he fought against Arsaces, and lost all his army, and was himself taken alive, as we have elsewhere related.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 6

How Jonathan Was Slain By Treachery; And How Thereupon The Jews Made Simon Their General And High Priest: What Courageous Actions He Also Performed Especially Against Trypho.

1. Now when Trypho knew what had befallen Demetrius, he was no longer firm to Antiochus, but contrived by subtlety to kill him, and then take possession of his kingdom; but the fear that he was in of Jonathan was an obstacle to this his design, for Jonathan was a friend to Antiochus, for which cause he resolved first to take Jonathan out of the way, and then to set about his design relating to Antiochus; but he judging it best to take him off by deceit and treachery, came from Antioch to Bethshan, which by the Greeks is called Scythopolis, at which place Jonathan met him with forty thousand chosen men, for he thought that he came to fight him; but when he perceived that Jonathan was ready to fight, he attempted to gain him by presents and kind treatment, and gave order to his captains to obey him, and by these means was desirous to give assurance of his good-will, and to take away all suspicions out of his mind, that so he might make him careless and inconsiderate, and might take him when he was unguarded. He also advised him to dismiss his army, because there was no occasion for bringing it with him when there was no war, but all was in peace. However, he desired him to retain a few about him, and go with him to Ptolemais, for that he would deliver the city up to him, and would bring all the fortresses that were in the country under his dominion; and he told him that he came with those very designs.

2. Yet did not Jonathan suspect any thing at all by this his management, but believed that Trypho gave him this advice out of kindness, and with a sincere design. Accordingly, he dismissed his army, and retained no more than three thousand of them with him, and left two thousand in Galilee; and he himself, with one thousand, came with Trypho to Ptolemais. But when the people of Ptolemais had shut their gates, as it had been commanded by Trypho to do, he took Jonathan alive, and slew all that were with him. He also sent soldiers against those two thousand that were left in Galilee, in order to destroy them; but those men having heard the report of what had happened to Jonathan, they prevented the execution; and before those that were sent by Trypho came, they covered themselves with their armour, and went away out of the country. Now when those that were sent against them saw that they were ready to fight for their lives, they gave them no disturbance, but returned back to Trypho.

3. But when the people of Jerusalem heard that Jonathan was taken, and that the soldiers who were with him were destroyed, they deplored his sad fate; and there was earnest inquiry made about him by every body, and a great and just fear fell upon them, and made them sad, lest, now they were deprived of the courage and conduct of Jonathan, the nations about them should bear them ill-will; and as they were before quiet on account of Jonathan they should now rise up against them, and by making war with them, should force them into the utmost dangers. And indeed what they suspected really befell them; for when those nations heard of the death of Jonathan, they began to make war with the Jews as now destitute of a governor and Trypho himself got an army together, and had intention to go up to Judea, and make war against its inhabitants. But when Simon saw that the people of Jerusalem were terrified at the circumstances they were in, he desired to make a speech to them, and thereby to render them more resolute in opposing Trypho when he should come against them. He then called the people together into the temple, and thence began thus to encourage them: "O my countrymen, you are not ignorant that our father, myself, and my brethren, have ventured to hazard our lives, and that willingly, for the recovery of your liberty; since I have therefore such plenty of examples before me, and we of our family have determined with ourselves to die for our laws, and our Divine worship, there shall no terror be so great as to banish this resolution from our souls, nor to introduce in its place a love of life, and a contempt of glory. Do you therefore follow me with alacrity whithersoever I shall lead you, as not destitute of such a captain as is willing to suffer, and to do the greatest things for you; for neither am I better than my brethren that I should be sparing of my own life, nor so far worse than they as to avoid and refuse what they thought the most honourable of all things,—I mean, to undergo death for your laws, and for that worship of God which is peculiar to you; I will therefore give such proper demonstrations as will show that I am their own brother; and I am so bold as to expect that I shall avenge their blood upon our enemies, and deliver you all with your wives and children from the injuries they intend against you, and, with God's assistance, to preserve your temple from destruction by them; for I see that these nations have you in contempt, as being without a governor, and that they thence are encouraged to make war against you."

4. By this speech of Simon he inspired the multitude with courage; and as they had been before dispirited through fear, they were now raised to a good hope of better things, insomuch that the whole multitude of the people cried out all at once that Simon should be their leader; and that instead of Judas and Jonathan his brethren, he should have the government over them; and they promised that they would readily obey him in whatsoever he should command them. So he got together immediately all his own soldiers that were fit for war, and made haste in rebuilding the walls of the city, and strengthening them by very high and strong towers, and sent a friend of his, one Jonathan, the son of Absalom, to Joppa, and gave him order to eject the inhabitants out of the city, for he was afraid lest they should deliver up the city to Trypho; but he himself staid to secure Jerusalem.

5. But Trypho removed from Ptolemais with a great army, and came into Judea, and brought Jonathan with him in bonds. Simon also met him with his army at the city Adida, which is upon a hill, and beneath it lie the plains of Judea. And when Trypho knew that Simon was by the Jews made their governor, he sent to him, and would have imposed upon him by deceit and trenchery, and desired, if he would have his brother Jonathan released, that he would send him a hundred talents of silver, and two of Jonathan's sons as hostages, that when he shall be released, he may not make Judea revolt from the king; for that at present he was kept in bonds on account of the money he had borrowed of the king, and now owed it to him. But Simon was aware of the craft of Trypho; and although he knew that if he gave him the money he should lose it, and that Trypho would not set his brother free and withal should deliver the sons of Jonathan to the enemy, yet because he was afraid that he should have a calumny raised against him among the multitude as the cause of his brother's death, if he neither gave the money, nor sent Jonathan's sons, he gathered his army together, and told them what offers Trypho had made; and added this, that the offers were ensnaring and treacherous, and yet that it was more eligible to send the money and Jonathan's sons, than to be liable to the imputation of not complying with Trypho's offers, and thereby refusing to save his brother. Accordingly, Simon sent the sons of Jonathan and the money; but when Trypho had received them, he did not keep his promise, nor set Jonathan free, but took his army, and went about all the country, and resolved to go afterward to Jerusalem by the way of Idumea, while Simon went over against him with his army, and all along pitched his own camp over against his.

6. But when those that were in the citadel had sent to Trypho, and besought him to make haste and come to them, and to send them provisions, he prepared his cavalry as though he would be at Jerusalem that very night; but so great a quantity of snow fell in the night, that it covered the roads, and made them so deep, that there was no passing, especially for the cavalry. This hindered him from coming to Jerusalem; whereupon Trypho removed thence, and came into Celesyria, and falling vehemently upon the land of Gilead, he slew Jonathan there; and when he had given order for his burial, he returned himself to Antioch. However, Simon sent some to the city Basca to bring away his brother's bones, and buried them in their own city Modin; and all the people made great lamentation over him. Simon also erected a very large monument for his father and his brethren, of white and polished stone, and raised it a great height, and so as to be seen a long way off, and made cloisters about it, and set up pillars, which were of one stone apiece; a work it was wonderful to see. Moreover, he built seven pyramids also for his parents and his brethren, one for each of them, which were made very surprising, both for their largeness and beauty, and which have been preserved to this day; and we know that it was Simon who bestowed so much zeal about the burial of Jonathan, and the building of these monuments for his relations. Now Jonathan died when he had been high priest four years and had been also the governor of his nation. And these were the circumstances that concerned his death.

7. But Simon, who was made high priest by the multitude, on the very first year of his high priesthood set his people free from their slavery under the Macedonians, and permitted them to pay tribute to them no longer; which liberty and freedom from tribute they obtained after a hundred and seventy years of the kingdom of the Assyrians, which was after Seleucus, who was called Nicator, got the dominion over Syria. Now the affection of the multitude towards Simon was so great, that in their contracts one with another, and in their public records, they wrote, "in the first year of Simon the benefactor and ethnarch of the Jews;" for under him they were very happy, and overcame the enemies that were round about them; for Simon overthrew the city Gazara, and Joppa, and Jamhis. He also took the citadel of Jerusalem by siege, and cast it down to the ground, that it might not be any more a place of refuge to their enemies when they took it, to do them a mischief, as it had been till now. And when he had done this, he thought it their best way, and most for their advantage, to level the very mountain itself upon which the citadel happened to stand, that so the temple might be higher than it. And indeed, when he had called the multitude to an assembly, he persuaded them to have it so demolished, and this by putting them in mind what miseries they had suffered by its garrison and the Jewish deserters, and what miseries they might hereafter suffer in case any foreigner should obtain the kingdom, and put a garrison into that citadel. This speech induced the multitude to a compliance, because he exhorted them to do nothing but what was for their own good: so they all set themselves to the work, and leveled the mountain, and in that work spent both day and night without any intermission, which cost them three whole years before it was removed, and brought to an entire level with the plain of the rest of the city. After which the temple was the highest of all the buildings, now the citadel, as well as the mountain whereon it stood, were demolished. And these actions were thus performed under Simon.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 7

How Simon Confederated Himself With Antiochus Pius, And Made War Against Trypho, And A Little Afterward, Against Cendebeus, The General Of Antiochus's Army; As Also How Simon Was Murdered By His Son-In-Law Ptolemy, And That By Treachery.

1. Now a little while after Demetrius had been carried into captivity, Trypho his governor destroyed Antiochus, the son of Alexander, who was also called The God, and this when he had reigned four years, though he gave it out that he died under the hands of the surgeons. He then sent his friends, and those that were most intimate with him, to the soldiers, and promised that he would give them a great deal of money if they would make him king. He intimated to them that Demetrius was made a captive by the Parthians; and that Demetrius's brother Atitiochus, if he came to be king, would do them a great deal of mischief, in way of revenge for their revolting from his brother. So the soldiers, in expectation of the wealth they should get by bestowing the kingdom on Trypho, made him their ruler. However, when Trypho had gained the management of affairs, he demonstrated his disposition to be wicked; for while he was a private person, he cultivated familiarity with the multitude, and pretended to great moderation, and so drew them on artfully to whatsoever he pleased; but when he had once taken the kingdom, he laid aside any further dissimulation, and was the true Trypho; which behavior made his enemies superior to him; for the soldiery hated him, and revolted from him to Cleopatra, the wife of Demetrius, who was then shut up in Seleucia with her children. But as Antiochus, the brother of Demetrius who was called Soter, was not admitted by any of the cities on account of Trypho, Cleopatra sent to him, and invited him to marry her, and to take the kingdom. The reasons why she made this invitation were these: That her friends persuaded her to it, and that she was afraid for herself, in case some of the people of Seleucia should deliver up the city to Trypho.

2. As Antiochus was now come to Seleucia, and his forces increased every day, he marched to fight Trypho; and having beaten him in the battle, he ejected him out of the Upper Syria into Phoenicia, and pursued him thither, and besieged him in Dora which was a fortress hard to be taken, whither he had fled. He also sent ambassadors to Simon the Jewish high priest, about a league of friendship and mutual assistance; who readily accepted of the invitation, and sent to Antiochus great sums of money and provisions for those that besieged Dora, and thereby supplied them very plentifully, so that for a little while he was looked upon as one of his most intimate friends; but still Trypho fled from Dora to Apamia, where he was taken during the siege, and put to death, when he had reigned three years.

3. However, Antiochus forgot the kind assistance that Simon had afforded him in his necessity, by reason of his covetous and wicked disposition, and committed an army of soldiers to his friend Cendebeus, and sent him at once to ravage Judea, and to seize Simon. When Simon heard of Antiochus's breaking his league with him, although he were now in years, yet, provoked with the unjust treatment he had met with from Antiochus, and taking a resolution brisker than his age could well bear, he went like a young man to act as general of his army. He also sent his sons before among the

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most hardy of his soldiers, and he himself marched on with his army another way, and laid many of his men in ambushes in the narrow valleys between the mountains; nor did he fail of success in any one of his attempts, but was too hard for his enemies in every one of them. So he led the rest of his life in peace, and did also himself make a league with the Romans.

4. Now he was the ruler of the Jews in all eight years; but at a feast came to his end. It was caused by the treachery of his son-in-law Ptolemy, who caught also his wife, and two of his sons, and kept them in bonds. He also sent some to kill John the third son, whose name was Hyrcanus; but the young man perceiving them coming, he avoided the danger he was in from them, and made haste into the city [Jerusalem], as relying on the good-will of the multitude, because of the benefits they had received from his father, and because of the hatred the same multitude bare to Ptolemy; so that when Ptolemy was endeavoring to enter the city by another gate, they drove him away, as having already admitted Hyrcanus.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 8

Hyrcanus Receives The High Priesthood, And Ejects Ptolemy Out Of The Country. Antiochus Makes War Against Hyrcanus And Afterwards Makes A League With Him.

1. So Ptolemy retired to one of the fortresses that was above Jericho, which was called Dagon. But Hyrcanus having taken the high priesthood that had been his father's before, and in the first place propitiated God by sacrifices, he then made an expedition against Ptolemy; and when he made his attacks upon the place, in other points he was too hard for him, but was rendered weaker than he, by the commiseration he had for his mother and brethren, and by that only; for Ptolemy brought them upon the wall, and tormented them in the sight of all, and threatened that he would throw them down headlong, unless Hyrcanus would leave off the siege. And as he thought that so far as he relaxed as to the siege and taking of the place, so much favour did he show to those that were dearest to him by preventing their misery, his zeal about it was cooled. However, his mother spread out her hands, and begged of him that he would not grow remiss on her account, but indulge his indignation so much the more, and that he would do his utmost to take the place quickly, in order to get their enemy under his power, and then to avenge upon him what he had done to those that were dearest to himself; for that death would be to her sweet, though with torment, if that enemy of theirs might but be brought to punishment for his wicked dealings to them. Now when his mother said so, he resolved to take the fortress immediately; but when he saw her beaten, and torn to pieces, his courage failed him, and he could not but sympathize with what his mother suffered, and was thereby overcome. And as the siege was drawn out into length by this means, that year on which the Jews used to rest came on; for the Jews observe this rest every seventh year, as they do every seventh day; so that Ptolemy being for this cause released from the war, he slew the brethren of Hyrcanus, and his mother; and when he had so done, he fled to Zeno, who was called Cotylas, who was then the tyrant of the city Philadelphia.

2. But Antiochus, being very uneasy at the miseries that Simon had brought upon him, he invaded Judea in the fourth years' of his reign, and the first year of the principality of Hyrcanus, in the hundred and sixty-second olympiad. And when he had burnt the country, he shut up Hyrcanus in the city, which he encompassed round with seven encampments; but did just nothing at the first, because of the strength of the walls, and because of the valour of the besieged, although they were once in want of water, which yet they were delivered from by a large shower of rain, which fell at the setting of the Pleiades However, about the north part of the wall, where it happened the city was upon a level with the outward ground, the king raised a hundred towers of three stories high, and placed bodies of soldiers upon them; and as he made his attacks every day, he cut a double ditch, deep and broad, and confined the inhabitants within it as within a wall; but the besieged contrived to make frequent sallies out; and if the enemy were not any where upon their guard, they fell upon them, and did them a great deal of mischief; and if they perceived them, they then retired into the city with ease. But because Hyrcanus discerned the inconvenience of so great a number of men in the city, while the provisions were the sooner spent by them, and yet, as is natural to suppose, those great numbers did nothing, he separated the useless part, and excluded them out of the city, and retained that part only which were in the flower of their age, and fit for war. However, Antiochus would not let those that were excluded go away, who therefore wandering about between the wails, and consuming away by famine, died miserably; but when the feast of tabernacles was at hand, those that were within commiserated their condition, and received them in again. And when Hyrcanus sent to Antiochus, and desired there might be a truce for seven days, because of the festival, he gave way to this piety towards God, and made that truce accordingly. And besides that, he sent in a magnificent sacrifice, bulls with their horns gilded, with all sorts of sweet spices, and with cups of gold and silver. So those that were at the gates received the sacrifices from those that brought them, and led them to the temple, Antiochus the mean while feasting his army, which was a quite different conduct from Antiochus Epiphanes, who, when he had taken the city, offered swine upon the altar, and sprinkled the temple with the broth of their flesh, in order to violate the laws of the Jews, and the religion they derived from their forefathers; for which reason our nation made war with him, and would never be reconciled to him; but for this Antiochus, all men called him Antiochus the Pious, for the great zeal he had about religion.

3. Accordingly, Hyrcanus took this moderation of his kindly; and when he understood how religious he was towards the Deity, he sent an embassage to him, and desired that he would restore the settlements they received from their forefathers. So he rejected the counsel of those that would have him utterly destroy the nation, 23 by reason of their way of living, which was to others unsociable, and did not regard what they said. But being persuaded that all they did was out of a religious mind, he answered the ambassadors, that if the besieged would deliver up their arms, and pay tribute for Joppa, and the other cities which bordered upon Judea, and admit a garrison of his, on these terms he would make war against them no longer. But the Jews, although they were content with the other conditions, did not agree to admit the garrison, because they could not associate with other people, nor converse with them; yet were they willing, instead of the admission of the garrison, to give him hostages, and five hundred talents of silver; of which they paid down three hundred, and sent the hostages immediately, which king Antiochus accepted. One of those hostages was Hyrcanus's brother. But still he broke down the fortifications that encompassed the city. And upon these conditions Antiochus broke up the siege, and departed.

4. But Hyrcanus opened the sepulcher of David, who excelled all other kings in riches, and took out of it three thousand talents. He was also the first of the Jews that, relying on this wealth, maintained foreign troops. There was also a league of friendship and mutual assistance made between them; upon which Hyrcanus admitted him into the city, and furnished him with whatsoever his army wanted in great plenty, and with great generosity, and marched along with him when he made an expedition against the Parthians; of which Nicolaus of Damascus is a witness for us; who in his history writes thus: "When Antiochus had erected a trophy at the river Lycus, upon his conquest of Indates, the general of the Parthians, he staid there two days. It was at the desire of Lyrcanus the Jew, because it was such a festival derived to them from their forefathers, whereon the law of the Jews did not allow them to travel." And truly he did not speak falsely in saying so; for that festival, which we call Pentecost, did then fall out to be the next day to the Sabbath. Nor is it lawful for us to journey, either on the Sabbath day, or on a festival day. But when Antiochus joined battle with Arsaces, the king of Parthia, he lost a great part of his army, and was himself slain; and his brother Demetrius succeeded in the kingdom of Syria, by the permission of Arsaces, who freed him from his captivity at the same time that Antiochus attacked Parthia, as we have formerly related elsewhere.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 9

How, After The Death Of Antiochus, Hyrcanus Made An Expedition Against Syria, And Made A League With The Romans. Concerning The Death Of King Demetrius And Alexander.

1. But when Hyrcanus heard of the death of Antiochus, he presently made an expedition against the cities of Syria, hoping to find them destitute of fighting men, and of such as were able to defend them. However, it was not till the sixth month that he took Medaba, and that not without the greatest distress of his army. After this he took Samega, and the neighbouring places; and besides these, Shechem and Gerizzim, and the nation of the Cutheans, who dwelt at the temple which resembled that temple which was at Jerusalem, and which Alexander permitted Sanballat, the general of his army, to build for the sake of Manasseh, who was son-in-law to Jaddua the high priest, as we have formerly related; which temple was now deserted two hundred years after it was built. Hyrcanus took also Dora and Marissa, cities of Idumea, and subdued all the Idumeans; and permitted them to stay in that country, if they would circumcise their genitals, and make use of the laws of the Jews; and they were so desirous of living in the country of their forefathers, that they submitted to the use of circumcision, and of the rest of the Jewish ways of living; at which time therefore this befell them, that they were hereafter no other than Jews.

2. But Hyrcanus the high priest was desirous to renew that league of friendship they had with the Romans. Accordingly, he sent an embassage to them; and when the senate had received their epistle, they made a league of friendship with them, after the manner following: "Fanius, the son of Marcus, the praetor, gathered the senate together on the eighth day before the Ides of February, in the senate-house, when Lucius Manlius, the son of Lucius, of the Mentine tribe, and Caius Sempronius, the son of Caius, of the Falernian tribe, were present. The occasion was, that the ambassadors sent by the people of the Jews. Simon, the son of Dositheus, and Apollonius, the son of Alexander, and Diodorus, the son of Jason, who were good and virtuous men, had somewhat to propose about that league of friendship and mutual assistance which subsisted between them and the Romans, and about other public affairs, who desired that Joppa, and the havens, and Gazara, and the springs [of Jordan], and the several other cities and countries of theirs, which Antiochus had taken from them in the war, contrary to the decree of the senate, might be restored to them; and that it might not be lawful for the king's troops to pass through their country, and the countries of those that are subject to them; and that what attempts Antiochus had made during that war, without the decree of the senate, might be made void; and that they would send ambassadors, who should take care that restitution be made them of what Antiochus had taken from them, and that they should make an estimate of the country that had been laid waste in the war; and that they would grant them letters of protection to the kings and free people, in order to their quiet return home. It was therefore decreed, as to these points, to renew their league of friendship and mutual assistance with these good men, and who were sent by a good and a friendly people." But as to the letters desired, their answer was, that the senate would consult about that matter when their own affairs would give them leave; and that they would endeavor, for the time to come, that no like injury should be done to them; and that their praetor Fanius should give them money out of the public treasury to bear their expenses home. And thus did Fanius dismiss the Jewish ambassadors, and gave them money out of the public treasury; and gave the decree of the senate to those that were to conduct them, and to take care that they should return home in safety.

3. And thus stood the affairs of Hyrcanus the high priest. But as for king Demetrius, who had a mind to make war against Hyrcanus, there was no opportunity nor room for it, while both the Syrians and the soldiers bare ill-will to him, because he was an ill man. But when they had sent ambassadors to Ptolemy, who was called Physcon, that he would send them one of the family at Seleueus, in order to take the kingdom, and he had sent them Alexander, who was called Zebina, with an army, and there had been a battle between them, Demetrius was beaten in the fight, and fled to Cleopatra his wife, to Ptolemais; but his wife would not receive him. He went thence to Tyre, and was there caught; and when he had suffered much from his enemies before his death, he was slain by them. So Alexander took the kingdom, and made a league with Hyrcanus, who yet, when he afterward fought with Antiochus the son of Demetrius, who was called Grypus, was also beaten in the fight, and slain.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 10

How Upon The Quarrel Between Antiochus Grypus And Antiochus Cyzicenus About The Kingdom Hyrcanus Tooksamaria, And Utterly Demolished It; And How Hyrcanus Joined Himself To The Sect Of The Sadducees, And Left That Of The Pharisees.

1. When Antiochus had taken the kingdom, he was afraid to make war against Judea, because he heard that his brother by the same mother, who was also called Antiochus, was raising an army against him out of Cyzicum; so he staid in his own land, and resolved to prepare himself for the attack he expected from his brother, who was called Cyzicenus, because he had been brought up in that city. He was the son of Antiochus that was called Soter, who died in Parthia. He was the brother of Demetrius, the father of Grypus; for it had so happened, that one and the same Cleopatra was married to two who were brethren, as we have related elsewhere. But Antiochus Cyzicenus coming into Syria, continued many years at war with his brother. Now Hyrcanus lived all this while in peace; for after the death of Antiochus, he revolted from the Macedonians, nor did he any longer pay them the least regard, either as their subject or their friend; but his affairs were in a very improving and flourishing condition in the times of Alexander Zebina, and especially under these brethren, for the war which they had with one another gave Hyrcanus the opportunity of enjoying himself in Judea quietly, insomuch that he got an immense quantity of money. How ever, when Antiochus Cyzicenus distressed his land, he then openly showed what he meant. And when he saw that Antiochus was destitute of Egyptian auxiliaries, and that both he and his brother were in an ill condition in the struggles they had one with another, he despised them both.

2. So he made an expedition against Samaria which was a very strong city; of whose present name Sebaste, and its rebuilding by Herod, we shall speak at a proper time; but he made his attack against it, and besieged it with a great deal of pains; for he was greatly displeased with the Samaritans for the injuries they had done to the people of Merissa, a colony of the Jews, and confederate with them, and this in compliance to the kings of Syria. When he had therefore drawn a ditch, and built a double wall round the city, which was fourscore furlongs long, he set his sons Antigonus and Arisrobulna over the siege; which brought the Samaritans to

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that great distress by famine, that they were forced to eat what used not to be eaten, and to call for Antiochus Cyzicenus to help them, who came readily to their assistance, but was beaten by Aristobulus; and when he was pursued as far as Scythopolis by the two brethren, he got away. So they returned to Samaria, and shut them again within the wall, till they were forced to send for the same Antiochus a second time to help them, who procured about six thousand men from Ptolemy Lathyrus, which were sent them without his mother's consent, who had then in a manner turned him out of his government. With these Egyptians Antiochus did at first overrun and ravage the country of Hyrcanus after the manner of a robber, for he durst not meet him in the face to fight with him, as not having an army sufficient for that purpose, but only from this supposal, that by thus harassing his land he should force Hyrcanus to raise the siege of Samaria; but because he fell into snares, and lost many of his soldiers therein, he went away to Tripoli, and committed the prosecution of the war against the Jews to Callimander and Epicrates.

3. But as to Callimander, he attacked the enemy too rashly, and was put to flight, and destroyed immediately; and as to Epicrates, he was such a lover of money, that he openly betrayed Scythopolis, and other places near it, to the Jews, but was not able to make them raise the siege of Samaria. And when Hyrcanus had taken that city, which was not done till after a year's siege, he was not contented with doing that only, but he demolished it entirely, and brought rivulets to it to drown it, for he dug such hollows as might let the water run under it; nay, he took away the very marks that there had ever been such a city there. Now a very surprising thing is related of this high priest Hyrcanus, how God came to discourse with him; for they say that on the very same day on which his sons fought with Antiochus Cyzicenus, he was alone in the temple, as high priest, offering incense, and heard a voice, that his sons had just then overcome Antiochus. And this he openly declared before all the multitude upon his coming out of the temple; and it accordingly proved true; and in this posture were the affairs of Hyrcanus.

4. Now it happened at this time, that not only those Jews who were at Jerusalem and in Judea were in prosperity, but also those of them that were at Alexandria, and in Egypt and Cyprus; for Cleopatra the queen was at variance with her son Ptolemy, who was called Lathyrus, and appointed for her generals Chelcias and Ananias, the sons of that Onias who built the temple in the prefecture of Heliopolis, like to that at Jerusalem, as we have elsewhere related. Cleopatra intrusted these men with her army, and did nothing without their advice, as Strabo of Cappadocia attests, when he saith thus, "Now the greater part, both those that came to Cyprus with us, and those that were sent afterward thither, revolted to Ptolemy immediately; only those that were called Onias's party, being Jews, continued faithful, because their countrymen Chelcias and Ananias were in chief favour with the queen." These are the words of Strabo.

5. However, this prosperous state of affairs moved the Jews to envy Hyrcanus; but they that were the worst disposed to him were the Pharisees, who were one of the sects of the Jews, as we have informed you already. These have so great a power over the multitude, that when they say any thing against the king, or against the high priest, they are presently believed. Now Hyrcanus was a disciple of theirs, and greatly beloved by them. And when he once invited them to a feast, and entertained them very kindly, when he saw them in a good humor, he began to say to them, that they knew he was desirous to be a righteous man, and to do all things whereby he might please God, which was the profession of the Pharisees also. However, he desired, that if they observed him offending in any point, and going out of the right way, they would call him back and correct him. On which occasion they attested to his being entirely virtuous; with which commendation he was well pleased. But still there was one of his guests there, whose name was Eleazar, a man of an ill temper, and delighting in seditious practices. This man said, "Since thou desirest to know the truth, if thou wilt be righteous in earnest, lay down the high priesthood, and content thyself with the civil government of the people," And when he desired to know for what cause he ought to lay down the high priesthood, the other replied, "We have heard it from old men, that thy mother had been a captive under the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes." This story was false, and Hyrcanus was provoked against him; and all the Pharisees had a very great indignation against him.

6. Now there was one Jonathan, a very great friend of Hyrcanus's, but of the sect of the Sadducees, whose notions are quite contrary to those of the Pharisees. He told Hyrcanus that Eleazar had cast such a reproach upon him, according to the common sentiments of all the Pharisees, and that this would be made manifest if he would but ask them the question, What punishment they thought this man deserved? for that he might depend upon it, that the reproach was not laid on him with their approbation, if they were for punishing him as his crime deserved. So the Pharisees made answer, that he deserved stripes and bonds, but that it did not seem right to punish reproaches with death. And indeed the Pharisees, even upon other occasions, are not apt to be severe in punishments. At this gentle sentence, Hyrcanus was very angry, and thought that this man reproached him by their approbation. It was this Jonathan who chiefly irritated him, and influenced him so far, that he made him leave the party of the Pharisees, and abolish the decrees they had imposed on the people, and to punish those that observed them. From this source arose that hatred which he and his sons met with from the multitude: but of these matters we shall speak hereafter. What I would now explain is this, that the Pharisees have delivered to the people a great many observances by succession from their fathers, which are not written in the laws of Moses; and for that reason it is that the Sadducees reject them, and say that we are to esteem those observances to be obligatory which are in the written word, but are not to observe what are derived from the tradition of our forefathers. And concerning these things it is that great disputes and differences have arisen among them, while the Sadducees are able to persuade none but the rich, and have not the populace obsequious to them, but the Pharisees have the multitude on their side. But about these two sects, and that of the Essens, I have treated accurately in the second book of Jewish affairs.

7. But when Hyrcanus had put an end to this sedition, he after that lived happily, and administered the government in the best manner for thirty-one years, and then died, leaving behind him five sons. He was esteemed by God worthy of three of the greatest privileges,—the government of his nation, the dignity of the high priesthood, and prophecy; for God was with him, and enabled him to know futurities; and to foretell this in particular, that, as to his two eldest sons, he foretold that they would not long continue in the government of public affairs; whose unhappy catastrophe will be worth our description, that we may thence learn how very much they were inferior to their father's happiness.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 11

How Aristobulus, When He Had Taken The Government First Of All Put A Diadem On His Head, And Was Most Barbarously Cruel To His Mother And His Brethren; And How, After He Had Slain Antigonus, He Himself Died.

1. Now when their father Hyrcanus was dead, the eldest son Aristobulus, intending to change the government into a kingdom, for so he resolved to do, first of all put a diadem on his head, four hundred eighty and one years and three months after the people had been delivered from the Babylonish slavery, and were returned to their own country again. This Aristobulus loved his next brother Antigonus, and treated him as his equal; but the others he held in bonds. He also cast his mother into prison, because she disputed the government with him; for Hyrcanus had left her to be mistress of all. He also proceeded to that degree of barbarity, as to kill her in prison with hunger; nay, he was alienated from his brother Antigonus by calumnies, and added him to the rest whom he slew; yet he seemed to have an affection for him, and made him above the rest a partner with him in the kingdom. Those calumnies he at first did not give credit to, partly because he loved him, and so did not give heed to what was said against him, and partly because he thought the reproaches were derived from the envy of the relaters. But when Antigonus was once returned from the army, and that feast was then at hand when they make tabernacles to [the honour of God,] it happened that Arlstobulus was fallen sick, and that Antigonus went up most splendidly adorned, and with his soldiers about him in their armour, to the temple to celebrate the feast, and to put up many prayers for the recovery of his brother, when some wicked persons, who had a great mind to raise a difference between the brethren, made use of this opportunity of the pompous appearance of Antigonus, and of the great actions which he had done, and went to the king, and spitefully aggravated the pompous show of his at the feast, and pretended that all these circumstances were not like those of a private person; that these actions were indications of an affectation of royal authority; and that his coming with a strong body of men must be with an intention to kill him; and that his way of reasoning was this: That it was a silly thing in him, while it was in his power to reign himself, to look upon it as a great favour that he was honoured with a lower dignity by his brother.

2. Aristobulus yielded to these imputations, but took care both that his brother should not suspect him, and that he himself might not run the hazard of his own safety; so he ordered his guards to lie in a certain place that was under ground, and dark; [he himself then lying sick in the tower which was called Antonia;] and he commanded them, that in case Antigonus came in to him unarmed, they should not touch any body, but if armed, they should kill him; yet did he send to Antigonus, and desired that he would come unarmed; but the queen, and those that joined with her in the plot against Antigonus, persuaded the messenger to tell him the direct contrary: how his brother had heard that he had made himself a fine suit of armour for war, and desired him to come to him in that armour, that he might see how fine it was. So Antigonus suspecting no treachery, but depending on the good-will of his brother, came to Aristobulus armed, as he used to be, with his entire armour, in order to show it to him; but when he was come to a place which was called Strato's Tower, where the passage happened to be exceeding dark, the guards slew him; which death of his demonstrates that nothing is stronger than envy and calumny, and that nothing does more certainly divide the good-will and natural affections of men than those passions. But here one may take occasion to wonder at one Judas, who was of the sect of the Essens, and who never missed the truth in his predictions; for this man, when he saw Antigonus passing by the temple, cried out to his companions and friends, who abode with him as his scholars, in order to learn the art of foretelling things to come? "That it was good for him to die now, since he had spoken falsely about Antigonus, who is still alive, and I see him passing by, although he had foretold he should die at the place called Strato's Tower that very day, while yet the place is six hundred furlongs off, where he had foretold he should be slain; and still this day is a great part of it already past, so that he was in danger of proving a false prophet." As he was saying this, and that in a melancholy mood, the news came that Antigonus was slain in a place under ground, which itself was called also Strato's Tower, or of the same name with that Caesarea which is seated at the sea. This event put the prophet into a great disorder.

3. But Aristobulus repented immediately of this slaughter of his brother; on which account his disease increased upon him, and he was disturbed in his mind, upon the guilt of such wickedness, insomuch that his entrails were corrupted by his intolerable pain, and he vomited blood: at which time one of the servants that attended upon him, and was carrying his blood away, did, by Divine Providence, as I cannot but suppose, slip down, and shed part of his blood at the very place where there were spots of Antigonus's blood, there slain, still remaining; and when there was a cry made by the spectators, as if the servant had on purpose shed the blood on that place, Aristobulus heard it, and inquired what the matter was; and as they did not answer him, he was the more earnest to know what it was, it being natural to men to suspect that what is thus concealed is very bad: so upon his threatening, and forcing them by terrors to speak, they at length told him the truth; whereupon he shed many tears, in that disorder of mind which arose from his consciousness of what he had done, and gave a deep groan, and said, "I am not therefore, I perceive, to be concealed from God, in the impious and horrid crimes I have been guilty of; but a sudden punishment is coming upon me for the shedding the blood of my relations. And now, O thou most impudent body of mine, how long wilt thou retain a soul that ought to die, in order to appease the ghosts of my brother and my mother? Why dost thou not give it all up at once? And why do I deliver up my blood drop by drop to those whom I have so wickedly murdered?" In saying which last words he died, having reigned a year. He was called a lover of the Grecians; and had conferred many benefits on his own country, and made war against Iturea, and added a great part of it to Judea, and compelled the inhabitants, if they would continue in that country, to be circumcised, and to live according to the Jewish laws. He was naturally a man of candor, and of great modesty, as Strabo bears witness, in the name of Timagenes; who says thus: "This man was a person of candor, and very serviceable to the Jews; for he added a country to them, and obtained a part of the nation of the Itureans for them, and bound them to them by the bond of the circumcision of their genitals."

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 12

How Alexander When He Had Taken The Government Made An Expedition Against Ptolemais, And Then Raised The Siege Out Of Fear Of Ptolemy Lathyrus; And How Ptolemy Made War Against Him, Because He Had Sent To Cleopatra To Persuade Her To Make War Against Ptolemy, And Yet Pretended To Be In Friendship With Him, When He Beat The Jews In The Battle.

1. When Aristobulus was dead, his wife Salome, who, by the Greeks, was called Alexandra, let his brethren out of prison, [for Aristobulus had kept them in bonds, as we have said already,] and made Alexander Janneus king, who was the superior in age and in moderation. This child happened to be hated by his father as soon as he was born, and could never be permitted to come into his father's sight till he died. The occasion of which hatred is thus reported: when Hyrcanus chiefly loved the two eldest of his sons, Antigonus and Aristobulus, God appeared to him in his sleep, of whom he inquired which of his sons should be his successor. Upon God's representing to him the countenance of Alexander, he was grieved that he was to be the heir of all his goods, and suffered him to be brought up in Galilee, However, God did not deceive Hyrcanus; for after the death of Aristobulus, he certainly took the kingdom; and one of his brethren, who affected the kingdom, he slew; and the other, who chose to live a private and quiet life, he had in esteem.

2. When Alexander Janneus had settled the government in the manner that he judged best, he made an expedition against Ptolemais; and having overcome the men in battle, he shut

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them up in the city, and sat round about it, and besieged it; for of the maritime cities there remained only Ptolemais and Gaza to be conquered, besides Strato's Tower and Dora, which were held by the tyrant Zoilus. Now while Antiochus Philometor, and Antiochus who was called Cyzicenus, were making war one against another, and destroying one another's armies, the people of Ptolemais could have no assistance from them; but when they were distressed with this siege, Zoilus, who possessed Strato's Tower and Dora, and maintained a legion of soldiers, and, on occasion of the contest between the kings, affected tyranny himself, came and brought some small assistance to the people of Ptolemais; nor indeed had the kings such a friendship for them, as that they should hope for any advantage from them. Both those kings were in the case of wrestlers, who finding themselves deficient in strength, and yet being ashamed to yield, put off the fight by laziness, and by lying still as long as they can. The only hope they had remaining was from the kings of Egypt, and from Ptolemy Lathyrus, who now held Cyprus, and who came to Cyprus when he was driven from the government of Egypt by Cleopatra his mother. So the people of Ptolemais sent to this Ptolemy Lathyrus, and desired him to come as a confederate, to deliver them, now they were in such danger, out of the hands of Alexander. And as the ambassadors gave him hopes, that if he would pass over into Syria, he would have the people of Gaza on the side of those of Ptolemais; as also they said, that Zoilus, and besides these the Sidonians, and many others, would assist them; so he was elevated at this, and got his fleet ready as soon as possible.

3. But in this interval Demenetus, one that was of abilities to persuade men to do as he would have them, and a leader of the populace, made those of Ptolemais change their opinions; and said to them, that it was better to run the hazard of being subject to the Jews, than to admit of evident slavery by delivering themselves up to a master; and besides that, to have not only a war at present, but to expect a much greater war from Egypt; for that Cleopatra would not overlook an army raised by Ptolemy for himself out of the neighbourhood, but would come against them with a great army of her own, and this because she was labouring to eject her son out of Cyprus also; that as for Ptolemy, if he fail of his hopes, he can still retire to Cyprus, but that they will be left in the greatest danger possible. Now Ptolemy, although he had heard of the change that was made in the people of Ptolemais, yet did he still go on with his voyage, and came to the country called Sycamine, and there set his army on shore. This army of his, in the whole horse and foot together, were about thirty thousand, with which he marched near to Ptolemais, and there pitched his camp. But when the people of Ptolemais neither received his ambassadors, nor would hear what they had to say, he was under a very great concern.

4. But when Zoilus and the people of Gaza came to him, and desired his assistance, because their country was laid waste by the Jews, and by Alexander, Alexander raised the siege, for fear of Ptolemy: and when he had drawn off his army into his own country, he used a stratagem afterwards, by privately inviting Cleopatra to come against Ptolemy, but publicly pretending to desire a league of friendship and mutual assistance with him; and promising to give him four hundred talents of silver, he desired that, by way of requital, he would take off Zoilus the tyrant, and give his country to the Jews. And then indeed Ptolemy, with pleasure, made such a league of friendship with Alexander, and subdued Zoilus; but when he afterwards heard that he had privily sent to Cleopatra his mother, he broke the league with him, which yet he had confirmed with an oath, and fell upon him, and besieged Ptolemais, because it would not receive him. However, leaving his generals, with some part of his forces, to go on with the siege, he went himself immediately with the rest to lay Judea waste; and when Alexander understood this to be Ptolemy's intention, he also got together about fifty thousand soldiers out of his own country; nay, as some writers have said, eighty thousand 33 He then took his army, and went to meet Ptolemy; but Ptolemy fell upon Asochis, a city of Galilee, and took it by force on the sabbath day, and there he took about ten thousand slaves, and a great deal of other prey.

5. He then tried to take Sepphoris, which was a city not far from that which was destroyed, but lost many of his men; yet did he then go to fight with Alexander; which Alexander met him at the river Jordan, near a certain place called Saphoth, [not far from the river Jordan,] and pitched his camp near to the enemy. He had however eight thousand in the first rank, which he styled Hecatontomachi, having shields of brass. Those in the first rank of Ptolemy's soldiers also had shields covered with brass. But Ptolemy's soldiers in other respects were inferior to those of Alexander, and therefore were more fearful of running hazards; but Philostephanus, the camp-master, put great courage into them, and ordered them to pass the river, which was between their camps. Nor did Alexander think fit to hinder their passage over it; for he thought, that if the enemy had once gotten the river on their back, that he should the easier take them prisoners, when they could not flee out of the battle: in the beginning of which, the acts on both sides, with their hands, and with their alacrity, were alike, and a great slaughter was made by both the armies; but Alexander was superior, till Philostephanus opportunely brought up the auxiliaries, to help those that were giving way; but as there were no auxiliaries to afford help to that part of the Jews that gave way, it fell out that they fled, and those near them did not assist them, but fled along with them. However, Ptolemy's soldiers acted quite otherwise; for they followed the Jews, and killed them, till at length those that slew them pursued after them when they had made them all run away, and slew them so long, that their weapons of iron were blunted, and their hands quite tired with the slaughter; for the report was, that thirty thousand men were then slain. Timagenes says they were fifty thousand. As for the rest, they were part of them taken captives, and the other part ran away to their own country.

6. After this victory, Ptolemy overran all the country; and when night came on, he abode in certain villages of Judea, which when he found full of women and children, he commanded his soldiers to strangle them, and to cut them in pieces, and then to cast them into boiling caldrons, and then to devour their limbs as sacrifices. This commandment was given, that such as fled from the battle, and came to them, might suppose their enemies were cannibals, and eat men's flesh, and might on that account be still more terrified at them upon such a sight. And both Strabo and Nicholaus [of Damascus] affirm, that they used these people after this manner, as I have already related. Ptolemy also took Ptolemais by force, as we have declared elsewhere.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 13

How Alexander, upon the League of Mutual Defense Which Cleopatra Had Agreed with Him, Made an Expedition Against Coelesyria, and Utterly Overthrew the City of Gaza; and How He Slew Many Ten Thousands of Jews That Rebelled Against Him.

Also Concerning Antiochus Grypus, Seleucus Antiochus Cyzicenus, and Antiochus Pius, and Others.

1. When Cleopatra saw that her son was grown great, and laid Judea waste, without disturbance, and had gotten the city of Gaza under his power, she resolved no longer to overlook what he did, when he was almost at her gates; and she concluded, that now he was so much stronger than before, he would be very desirous of the dominion over the Egyptians; but she immediately marched against him, with a fleet at sea and an army of foot on land, and made Chelcias and Ananias the Jews generals of her whole army, while she sent the greatest part of her riches, her grandchildren, and her testament, to the people of Cos. Cleopatra also ordered her son Alexander to sail with a great fleet to Phoenicia; and when that country had revolted, she came to Ptolemais; and because the people of Ptolemais did not receive her, she besieged the city; but Ptolemy went out of Syria, and made haste unto Egypt, supposing that he should find it destitute of an army, and soon take it, though he failed of his hopes. At this time Chelcias, one of Cleopatra's generals, happened to die in Celesyria, as he was in pursuit of Ptolemy.

2. When Cleopatra heard of her son's attempt, and that his Egyptian expedition did not succeed according to his expectations, she sent thither part of her army, and drove him out of that country; so when he was returned out of Egypt again, he abode during the winter at Gaza, in which time Cleopatra took the garrison that was in Ptolemais by siege, as well as the city; and when Alexander came to her, he gave her presents, and such marks of respect as were but proper, since under the miseries he endured by Ptolemy he had no other refuge but her. Now there were some of her friends who persuaded her to seize Alexander, and to overrun and take possession of the country, and not to sit still and see such a multitude of brave Jews subject to one man. But Ananias's counsel was contrary to theirs, who said that she would do an unjust action if she deprived a man that was her ally of that authority which belonged to him, and this a man who is related to us; "for [said he] I would not have thee ignorant of this, that what in justice thou dost to him will make all us that are Jews to be thy enemies." This desire of Ananias Cleopatra complied with, and did no injury to Alexander, but made a league of mutual assistance with him at Scythopolis, a city of Celesyria.

3. So when Alexander was delivered from the fear he was in of Ptolemy, he presently made an expedition against Coelesyria. He also took Gadara, after a siege of ten months. He took also Areathus, a very strong fortress belonging to the inhabitants above Jordan, where Theodorus, the son of Zeno, had his chief treasure, and what he esteemed most precious. This Zeno fell unexpectedly upon the Jews, and slew ten thousand of them, and seized upon Alexander's baggage. Yet did not this misfortune terrify Alexander; but he made an expedition upon the maritime parts of the country, Raphia and Anthedon, [the name of which king Herod afterwards changed to Agrippias,] and took even that by force. But when Alexander saw that Ptolemy was retired from Gaza to Cyprus, and his mother Cleopatra was returned to Egypt, he grew angry at the people of Gaza, because they had invited Ptolemy to assist them, and besieged their city, and ravaged their country. But as Apollodotus, the general of the army of Gaza, fell upon the camp of the Jews by night, with two thousand foreign and ten thousand of his own forces, while the night lasted, those of Gaza prevailed, because the enemy was made to believe that it was Ptolemy who attacked them; but when day was come on, and that mistake was corrected, and the Jews knew the truth of the matter, they came back again, and fell upon those of Gaza, and slew of them about a thousand. But as those of Gaza stoutly resisted them, and would not yield for either their want of any thing, nor for the great multitude that were slain, [for they would rather suffer any hardship whatever than come under the power of their enemies,] Aretas, king of the Arabians, a person then very illustrious, encouraged them to go on with alacrity, and promised them that he would come to their assistance; but it happened that before he came Apollodotus was slain; for his brother Lysimachus envying him for the great reputation he had gained among the citizens, slew him, and got the army together, and delivered up the city to Alexander, who, when he came in at first, lay quiet, but afterward set his army upon the inhabitants of Gaza, and gave them leave to punish them; so some went one way, and some went another, and slew the inhabitants of Gaza; yet were not they of cowardly hearts, but opposed those that came to slay them, and slew as many of the Jews; and some of them, when they saw themselves deserted, burnt their own houses, that the enemy might get none of their spoils; nay, some of them, with their own hands, slew their children and their wives, having no other way but this of avoiding slavery for them; but the senators, who were in all five hundred, fled to Apollo's temple, [for this attack happened to be made as they were sitting,] whom Alexander slew; and when he had utterly overthrown their city, he returned to Jerusalem, having spent a year in that siege.

4. About this very time Antiochus, who was called Grypus, died. His death was caused by Heracleon's treachery, when he had lived forty-five years, and had reigned twenty-nine. His son Seleucus succeeded him in the kingdom, and made war with Antiochus, his father's brother, who was called Antiochus Cyzicenus, and beat him, and took him prisoner, and slew him. But after a while Antiochus, the son of Cyzicenus, who was called Pius, came to Aradus, and put the diadem on his own head, and made war with Seleucus, and beat him, and drove him out of all Syria. But when he fled out of Syria, he came to Mopsuestia again, and levied money upon them; but the people of Mopsuestia had indignation at what he did, and burnt down his palace, and slew him, together with his friends. But when Antiochus, the son of Cyzicenus, was king of Syria, Antiochus, the brother of Seleucus, made war upon him, and was overcome, and destroyed, he and his army. After him, his brother Philip put on the diadem, and reigned over some part of Syria; but Ptolemy Lathyrus sent for his fourth brother Demetrius, who was called Eucerus, from Cnidus, and made him king of Damascus. Both these brothers did Antiochus vehemently oppose, but presently died; for when he was come as an auxiliary to Laodice, queen of the Gileadites, when she was making war against the Parthians, and he was fighting courageously, he fell, while Demetrius and Philip governed Syria, as hath been elsewhere related.

5. As to Alexander, his own people were seditious against him; for at a festival which was then celebrated, when he stood upon the altar, and was going to sacrifice, the nation rose upon him, and pelted him with citrons [which they then had in their hands, because] the law of the Jews required that at the feast of tabernacles every one should have branches of the palm tree and citron tree; which thing we have elsewhere related. They also reviled him, as derived from a captive, and so unworthy of his dignity and of sacrificing. At this he was in a rage, and slew of them about six thousand. He also built a partition-wall of wood round the altar and the temple, as far as that partition within which it was only lawful for the priests to enter; and by this means he obstructed the multitude from coming at him. He also maintained foreigners of Pisidie and Cilicia; for as to the Syrians, he was at war with them, and so made no use of them. He also overcame the Arabians, such as the Moabites and Gileadites, and made them bring tribute. Moreover, he demolished Amathus, while Theodorus durst not fight with him; but as he had joined battle with Obedas, king of the Arabians, and fell into an ambush in the places that were rugged and difficult to be traveled over, he was thrown down into a deep valley, by the multitude of the camels at Gadurn, a village of Gilead, and hardly escaped with his life. From thence he fled to Jerusalem, where, besides his other ill success, the nation insulted him, and he fought against them for six years, and slew no fewer than fifty thousand of them. And when he desired that they would desist from their ill-will to him, they hated him so much the more, on account of what had already happened; and when he had asked them what he ought to do, they all cried out, that he ought to kill himself. They also sent to Demetrius Eucerus, and desired him to make a league of mutual defense with them.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 14

How Demetrius Eucerus Overcame Alexander And Yet In A Little Time Retired Out Of The Country For Fear; As Also

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How Alexander Slew Many Of The Jews And Thereby Got Clear Of His Troubles. Concerning The Death Of Demetrius.

1. So Demetrius came with an army, and took those that invited him, and pitched his camp near the city Shechem; upon which Alexander, with his six thousand two hundred mercenaries, and about twenty thousand Jews, who were of his party, went against Demetrius, who had three thousand horsemen, and forty thousand footmen. Now there were great endeavors used on both sides,—Demetrius trying to bring off the mercenaries that were with Alexander, because they were Greeks, and Alexander trying to bring off the Jews that were with Demetrius. However, when neither of them could persuade them so to do, they came to a battle, and Demetrius was the conqueror; in which all Alexander's mercenaries were killed, when they had given demonstration of their fidelity and courage. A great number of Demetrius's soldiers were slain also.

2. Now as Alexander fled to the mountains, six thousand of the Jews hereupon came together [from Demetrius] to him out of pity at the change of his fortune; upon which Demetrius was afraid, and retired out of the country; after which the Jews fought against Alexander, and being beaten, were slain in great numbers in the several battles which they had; and when he had shut up the most powerful of them in the city Bethome, he besieged them therein; and when he had taken the city, and gotten the men into his power, he brought them to Jerusalem, and did one of the most barbarous actions in the world to them; for as he was feasting with his concubines, in the sight of all the city, he ordered about eight hundred of them to be crucified; and while they were living, he ordered the throats of their children and wives to be cut before their eyes. This was indeed by way of revenge for the injuries they had done him; which punishment yet was of an inhuman nature, though we suppose that he had been never so much distressed, as indeed he had been, by his wars with them, for he had by their means come to the last degree of hazard, both of his life and of his kingdom, while they were not satisfied by themselves only to fight against him, but introduced foreigners also for the same purpose; nay, at length they reduced him to that degree of necessity, that he was forced to deliver back to the king of Arabia the land of Moab and Gilead, which he had subdued, and the places that were in them, that they might not join with them in the war against him, as they had done ten thousand other things that tended to affront and reproach him. However, this barbarity seems to have been without any necessity, on which account he bare the name of a Thracian among the Jews whereupon the soldiers that had fought against him, being about eight thousand in number, ran away by night, and continued fugitives all the time that Alexander lived; who being now freed from any further disturbance from them, reigned the rest of his time in the utmost tranquillity.

3. But when Demetrius was departed out of Judea, he went to Berea, and besieged his brother Philip, having with him ten thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen. However Strato, the tyrant of Berea, the confederate of Philip, called in Zizon, the ruler of the Arabian tribes, and Mithridates Sinax, the ruler of the Parthians, who coming with a great number of forces, and besieging Demetrius in his encampment, into which they had driven them with their arrows, they compelled those that were with him by thirst to deliver up themselves. So they took a great many spoils out of that country, and Demetrius himself, whom they sent to Mithridates, who was then king of Parthia; but as to those whom they took captives of the people of Antioch, they restored them to the Antiochinus without any reward. Now Mithridates, the king of Parthia, had Demetrius in great honour, till Demetrius ended his life by sickness. So Philip, presently after the fight was over, came to Antioch, and took it, and reigned over Syria.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 15

How Antiochus, Who Was Called Dionysus, And After Him Aretas Made Expeditions Into Judea; As Also How Alexander Took Many Cities And Then Returned To Jerusalem, And After A Sickness Of Three Years Died; And What Counsel He Gave To Alexandra.

1. After this, Antiochus, who was called Dionysus, and was Philip's brother, aspired to the dominion, and came to Damascus, and got the power into his hands, and there he reigned; but as he was making war against the Arabians, his brother Philip heard of it, and came to Damascus, where Milesius, who had been left governor of the citadel, and the Damascens themselves, delivered up the city to him; yet because Philip was become ungrateful to him, and had bestowed upon him nothing of that in hopes whereof he had received him into the city, but had a mind to have it believed that it was rather delivered up out of fear than by the kindness of Milesius, and because he had not rewarded him as he ought to have done, he became suspected by him, and so he was obliged to leave Damascus again; for Milesius caught him marching out into the Hippodrome, and shut him up in it, and kept Damascus for Antiochus [Eucerus], who hearing how Philip's affairs stood, came back out of Arabia. He also came immediately, and made an expedition against Judea, with eight thousand armed footmen, and eight hundred horsemen. So Alexander, out of fear of his coming, dug a deep ditch, beginning at Chabarzaba, which is now called Antipatris, to the sea of Joppa, on which part only his army could be brought against him. He also raised a wall, and erected wooden towers, and intermediate redoubts, for one hundred and fifty furlongs in length, and there expected the coming of Antiochus; but he soon burnt them all, and made his army pass by that way into Arabia. The Arabian king [Aretas] at first retreated, but afterward appeared on the sudden with ten thousand horsemen. Antiochus gave them the meeting, and fought desperately; and indeed when he had gotten the victory, and was bringing some auxiliaries to that part of his army that was in distress, he was slain. When Antiochus was fallen, his army fled to the village Cana, where the greatest part of them perished by famine.

2. After him, Arems reigned over Celesyria, being called to the government by those that held Damascus, by reason of the hatred they bare to Ptolemy Menneus. He also made thence an expedition against Judea, and beat Alexander in battle, near a place called Adida; yet did he, upon certain conditions agreed on between them, retire out of Judea.

3. But Alexander marched again to the city Dios, and took it; and then made an expedition against Essa, where was the best part of Zeno's treasures, and there he encompassed the place with three walls; and when he had taken the city by fighting, he marched to Golan and Seleucia; and when he had taken these cities, he, besides them, took that valley which is called The Valley of Antiochus, as also the fortress of Gamala. He also accused Demetrius, who was governor of those places, of many crimes, and turned him out; and after he had spent three years in this war, he returned to his own country, when the Jews joyfully received him upon this his good success.

4. Now at this time the Jews were in possession of the following cities that had belonged to the Syrians, and Idumeans, and Phoenicians: At the sea-side, Strato's Tower, Apollonia, Joppa, Jamhis, Ashdod, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, and Rhinocolura; in the middle of the country, near to Idumea, Adorn, and Marissa; near the country of Samaria, Mount Carmel, and Mount Tabor, Scythopolis, and Gadara; of the country of Gaulonitis, Seleucia and Gabala; in the country of Moab, Heshbon, and Medaba, Lemba, and Oronas, Gelithon, Zorn, the valley of the Cilices, and Pollo; which last they utterly destroyed, because its inhabitants would not bear to change their religious rites for those peculiar to the Jews. 43 The Jews also possessed others of the principal cities of Syria, which had been destroyed.

5. After this, king Alexander, although he fell into a distemper by hard drinking, and had a quartan ague, which held him three years, yet would not leave off going out with his army, till he was quite spent with the labours he had undergone, and died in the bounds of Ragaba, a fortress beyond Jordan. But when his queen saw that he was ready to die, and had no longer any hopes of surviving, she came to him weeping and lamenting, and bewailed herself and her sons on the desolate condition they should be left in; and said to him, "To whom dost thou thus leave me and my children, who are destitute of all other supports, and this when thou knowest how much ill-will thy nation bears thee?" But he gave her the following advice: That she need but follow what he would suggest to her, in order to retain the kingdom securely, with her children: that she should conceal his death from the soldiers till she should have taken that place; after this she should go in triumph, as upon a victory, to Jerusalem, and put some of her authority into the hands of the Pharisees; for that they would commend her for the honour she had done them, and would reconcile the nation to her for he told her they had great authority among the Jews, both to do hurt to such as they hated, and to bring advantages to those to whom they were friendly disposed; for that they are then believed best of all by the multitude when they speak any severe thing against others, though it be only out of envy at them. And he said that it was by their means that he had incurred the displeasure of the nation, whom indeed he had injured. "Do thou, therefore," said he, "when thou art come to Jerusalem, send for the leading men among them, and show them my body, and with great appearance of sincerity, give them leave to use it as they themselves please, whether they will dishonour the dead body by refusing it burial, as having severely suffered by my means, or whether in their anger they will offer any other injury to that body. Promise them also that thou wilt do nothing without them in the affairs of the kingdom. If thou dost but say this to them, I shall have the honour of a more glorious Funeral from them than thou couldst have made for me; and when it is in their power to abuse my dead body, they will do it no injury at all, and thou wilt rule in safety." So when he had given his wife this advice, he died, after he had reigned twenty-seven years, and lived fifty years within one.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 16

How Alexandra By Gaining The Good-Will Of The Pharisees, Retained The Kingdom Nine Years, And Then, Having Done Many Glorious Actions Died.

1. So Alexandra, when she had taken the fortress, acted as her husband had suggested to her, and spake to the Pharisees, and put all things into their power, both as to the dead body, and as to the affairs of the kingdom, and thereby pacified their anger against Alexander, and made them bear goodwill and friendship to him; who then came among the multitude, and made speeches to them, and laid before them the actions of Alexander, and told them that they had lost a righteous king; and by the commendation they gave him, they brought them to grieve, and to be in heaviness for him, so that he had a funeral more splendid than had any of the kings before him. Alexander left behind him two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, but committed the kingdom to Alexandra. Now, as to these two sons, Hyrcanus was indeed unable to manage public affairs, and delighted rather in a quiet life; but the younger, Aristobulus, was an active and a bold man; and for this woman herself, Alexandra, she was loved by the multitude, because she seemed displeased at the offenses her husband had been guilty of.

2. So she made Hyrcanus high priest, because he was the elder, but much more because he cared not to meddle with politics, and permitted the Pharisees to do every thing; to whom also she ordered the multitude to be obedient. She also restored again those practices which the Pharisees had introduced, according to the traditions of their forefathers, and which her father-in-law, Hyrcanus, had abrogated. So she had indeed the name of the regent, but the Pharisees had the authority; for it was they who restored such as had been banished, and set such as were prisoners at liberty, and, to say all at once, they differed in nothing from lords. However, the queen also took care of the affairs of the kingdom, and got together a great body of mercenary soldiers, and increased her own army to such a degree, that she became terrible to the neighbouring tyrants, and took hostages of them: and the country was entirely at peace, excepting the Pharisees; for they disturbed the queen, and desired that she would kill those who persuaded Alexander to slay the eight hundred men; after which they cut the throat of one of them, Diogenes; and after him they did the same to several, one after another, till the men that were the most potent came into the palace, and Aristobulus with them, for he seemed to be displeased at what was done; and it appeared openly, that if he had an opportunity, he would not permit his mother to go on so. These put the queen in mind what great dangers they had gone through, and great things they had done, whereby they had demonstrated the firmness of their fidelity to their master, insomuch that they had received the greatest marks of favour from him; and they begged of her, that she would not utterly blast their hopes, as it now happened, that when they had escaped the hazards that arose from their [open] enemies, they were to be cut off at home by their [private] enemies, like brute beasts, without any help whatsoever. They said also, that if their adversaries would be satisfied with those that had been slain already, they would take what had been done patiently, on account of their natural love to their governors; but if they must expect the same for the future also, they implored of her a dismission from her service; for they could not bear to think of attempting any method for their deliverance without her, but would rather die willingly before the palace gate, in case she would not forgive them. And that it was a great shame, both for themselves and for the queen, that when they were neglected by her, they should come under the lash of her husband's enemies; for that Aretas, the Arabian king, and the monarchs, would give any reward, if they could get such men as foreign auxiliaries, to whom their very names, before their voices be heard, may perhaps be terrible; but if they could not obtain this their second request, and if she had determined to prefer the Pharisees before them, they still insisted that she would place them every one in her fortresses; for if some fatal demon hath a constant spite against Alexander's house, they would be willing to bear their part, and to live in a private station there.

3. As these men said thus, and called upon Alexander's ghost for commiseration of those already slain, and those in danger of it, all the bystanders brake out into tears. But Aristobulus chiefly made manifest what were his sentiments, and used many reproachful expressions to his mother, [saying,] "Nay, indeed, the case is this, that they have been themselves the authors of their own calamities, who have permitted a woman who, against reason, was mad with ambition, to reign over them, when there were sons in the flower of their age fitter for it." So Alexandra, not knowing what to do with any decency, committed the fortresses to them, all but Hyrcania, and Alexandrium, and Macherus, where her principal treasures were. After a little while also, she sent her son Aristobulus with an army to Damascus against Ptolemy, who was called Menneus, who was such a bad neighbour to the city; but he did nothing considerable there, and so returned home.

4. About this time news was brought that Tigranes, the king of Armenia, had made an irruption into Syria with five

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hundred thousand soldiers, and was coming against Judea. This news, as may well be supposed, terrified the queen and the nation. Accordingly, they sent him many and very valuable presents, as also ambassadors, and that as he was besieging Ptolemais; for Selene the queen, the same that was also called Cleopatra, ruled then over Syria, who had persuaded the inhabitants to exclude Tigranes. So the Jewish ambassadors interceded with him, and entreated him that he would determine nothing that was severe about their queen or nation. He commended them for the respects they paid him at so great a distance, and gave them good hopes of his favour. But as soon as Ptolemais was taken, news came to Tigranes, that Lucullus, in his pursuit of Mithridates, could not light upon him, who was fled into Iberia, but was laying waste Armenia, and besieging its cities. Now when Tigranes knew this, he returned home.

5. After this, when the queen was fallen into a dangerous distemper, Aristobulus resolved to attempt the seizing of the government; so he stole away secretly by night, with only one of his servants, and went to the fortresses, wherein his friends, that were such from the days of his father, were settled; for as he had been a great while displeased at his mother's conduct, so he was now much more afraid, lest, upon her death, their whole family should be under the power of the Pharisees; for he saw the inability of his brother, who was to succeed in the government; nor was any one conscious of what he was doing but only his wife, whom he left at Jerusalem with their children. He first of all came to Agaba, where was Galestes, one of the potent men before mentioned, and was received by him. When it was day, the queen perceived that Aristobulus was fled; and for some time she supposed that his departure was not in order to make any innovation; but when messengers came one after another with the news that he had secured the first place, the second place, and all the places, for as soon as one had begun they all submitted to his disposal, then it was that the queen and the nation were in the greatest disorder, for they were aware that it would not be long ere Aristobulus would be able to settle himself firmly in the government. What they were principally afraid of was this, that he would inflict punishment upon them for the mad treatment his house had had from them. So they resolved to take his wife and children into custody, and keep them in the fortress that was over the temple. Now there was a mighty conflux of people that came to Aristobulus from all parts, insomuch that he had a kind of royal attendants about him; for in a little more than fifteen days he got twenty-two strong places, which gave him the opportunity of raising an army from Libanus and Trachonitis, and the monarchs; for men are easily led by the greater number, and easily submit to them. And besides this, that by affording him their assistance, when he could not expect it, they, as well as he, should have the advantages that would come by his being king, because they had been the occasion of his gaining the kingdom. Now the elders of the Jews, and Hyrcanus with them, went in unto the queen, and desired that she would give them her sentiments about the present posture of affairs, for that Aristobulus was in effect lord of almost all the kingdom, by possessing of so many strong holds, and that it was absurd for them to take any counsel by themselves, how ill soever she were, whilst she was alive, and that the danger would be upon them in no long time. But she bid them do what they thought proper to be done; that they had many circumstances in their favour still remaining, a nation in good heart, an army, and money in their several treasuries; for that she had small concern about public affairs now, when the strength of her body already failed her.

6. Now a little while after she had said this to them, she died, when she had reigned nine years, and had in all lived seventy-three. A woman she was who showed no signs of the weakness of her sex, for she was sagacious to the greatest degree in her ambition of governing; and demonstrated by her doings at once, that her mind was fit for action, and that sometimes men themselves show the little understanding they have by the frequent mistakes they make in point of government; for she always preferred the present to futurity, and preferred the power of an imperious dominion above all things, and in comparison of that had no regard to what was good, or what was right. However, she brought the affairs of her house to such an unfortunate condition, that she was the occasion of the taking away that authority from it, and that in no long time afterward, which she had obtained by a vast number of hazards and misfortunes, and this out of a desire of what does not belong to a woman, and all by a compliance in her sentiments with those that bare ill-will to their family, and by leaving the administration destitute of a proper support of great men; and, indeed, her management during her administration while she was alive, was such as filled the palace after her death with calamities and disturbance. However, although this had been her way of governing, she preserved the nation in peace. And this is the conclusion of the affairs of, Alexandra.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES BOOK 14

Containing The Interval Of Thirty-Two Years.—From The Death Of Queen Alexandra To The Death Of Antigonus.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 1

The War Between Aristobulus And Hyrcanus About The Kingdom; And How They Made Anagreement That Aristobulus Should Be King, And Hyrcanus Live A Private Life; As Also How Hyrcanus A Little Afterward Was Persuaded By Antipater To Fly To Aretas.

1. We have related the affairs of queen Alexandra, and her death, in the foregoing book and will now speak of what followed, and was connected with those histories; declaring, before we proceed, that we have nothing so much at heart as this, that we may omit no facts, either through ignorance or laziness; for we are upon the history and explication of such things as the greatest part are unacquainted withal, because of their distance from our times; and we aim to do it with a proper beauty of style, so far as that is derived from proper words harmonically disposed, and from such ornaments of speech also as may contribute to the pleasure of our readers, that they may entertain the knowledge of what we write with some agreeable satisfaction and pleasure. But the principal scope that authors ought to aim at above all the rest, is to speak accurately, and to speak truly, for the satisfaction of those that are otherwise unacquainted with such transactions, and obliged to believe what these writers inform them of.

2. Hyrcanus then began his high priesthood on the third year of the hundred and seventy-seventh olympiad, when Quintus Hortensius and Quintus Metellus, who was called Metellus of Crete, were consuls at Rome; when presently Aristobulus began to make war against him; and as it came to a battle with Hyrcanus at Jericho, many of his soldiers deserted him, and went over to his brother; upon which Hyrcanus fled into the citadel, where Aristobulus's wife and children were imprisoned by their mother, as we have said already, and attacked and overcame those his adversaries that had fled thither, and lay within the walls of the temple. So when he had sent a message to his brother about agreeing the matters between them, he laid aside his enmity to him on these conditions, that Aristobulus should be king, that he should live without intermeddling with public affairs, and quietly enjoy the estate he had acquired. When they had agreed upon these terms in the temple, and had confirmed the agreement with oaths, and the giving one another their right hands, and embracing one another in the sight of the whole multitude, they departed; the one, Aristobulus, to the palace; and Hyrcanus, as a private man, to the former house of Aristobulus.

3. But there was a certain friend of Hyrcanus, an Idumean, called Antipater, who was very rich, and in his nature an active and a seditious man; who was at enmity with Aristobulus, and had differences with him on account of his good-will to Hyrcanus. It is true that Nicolaus of Damascus says, that Antipater was of the stock of the principal Jews who came out of Babylon into Judea; but that assertion of his was to gratify Herod, who was his son, and who, by certain revolutions of fortune, came afterward to be king of the Jews, whose history we shall give you in its proper place hereafter. However, this Antipater was at first called Antipas, and that was his father's name also; of whom they relate this: That king Alexander and his wife made him general of all Idumea, and that he made a league of friendship with those Arabians, and Gazites, and Ascalonites, that were of his own party, and had, by many and large presents, made them his fast friends. But now this younger Antipater was suspicious of the power of Aristobulus, and was afraid of some mischief he might do him, because of his hatred to him; so he stirred up the most powerful of the Jews, and talked against him to them privately; and said that it was unjust to overlook the conduct of Aristobulus, who had gotten the government unrighteously, and ejected his brother out of it, who was the elder, and ought to retain what belonged to him by prerogative of his birth. And the same speeches he perpetually made to Hyrcanus; and told him that his own life would be in danger, unless he guarded himself, and got shut of Aristobulus; for he said that the friends of Aristobulus omitted no opportunity of advising him to kill him, as being then, and not before, sure to retain his principality. Hyrcanus gave no credit to these words of his, as being of a gentle disposition, and one that did not easily admit of calumnies against other men. This temper of his not disposing him to meddle with public affairs, and want of spirit, occasioned him to appear to spectators to be degenerous and unmanly; while. Aristobulus was of a contrary temper, an active man, and one of a great and generous soul.

4. Since therefore Antipater saw that Hyrcanus did not attend to what he said, he never ceased, day by day, to charge reigned crimes upon Aristobulus, and to calumniate him before him, as if he had a mind to kill him; and so, by urging him perpetually, he advised him, and persuaded him to fly to Aretas, the king of Arabia; and promised, that if he would comply with his advice, he would also himself assist him and go with him. When Hyrcanus heard this, he said that it was for his advantage to fly away to Aretas. Now Arabia is a country that borders upon Judea. However, Hyrcanus sent Antipater first to the king of Arabia, in order to receive assurances from him, that when he should come in the manner of a supplicant to him, he would not deliver him up to his enemies. So Antipater having received such assurances, returned to Hyrcanus to Jerusalem. A while afterward he took Hyrcanus, and stole out of the city by night, and went a great journey, and came and brought him to the city called Petra, where the palace of Aretas was; and as he was a very familiar friend of that king, he persuaded him to bring back Hyrcanus into Judea, and this persuasion he continued every day without any intermission. He also proposed to make him presents on that account. At length he prevailed with Aretas in his suit. Moreover, Hyrcanus promised him, that when he had been brought thither, and had received his kingdom, he would restore that country, and those twelve cities which his father Alexander had taken from the Arabians, which were these, Medaba, Naballo, Libias, Tharabasa, Agala, Athone, Zoar, Orone, Marissa, Rudda, Lussa, and Oruba.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 2

How Aretas And Hyrcanus Made An Expedition Against Aristobulus And Besieged Jerusalem; And How Scaurus The Roman General Raised The Siege. Concerning The Death Of Onias.

1. After these promises had been given to Aretas, he made an expedition against Aristobulus with an army of fifty thousand horse and foot, and beat him in the battle. And when after that victory many went over to Hyrcanus as deserters, Aristobulus was left desolate, and fled to Jerusalem; upon which the king of Arabia took all his army, and made an assault upon the temple, and besieged Aristobulus therein, the people still supporting Hyrcanus, and assisting him in the siege, while none but the priests continued with Aristobulus. So Aretas united the forces of the Arabians and of the Jews together, and pressed on the siege vigorously. As this happened at the time when the feast of unleavened bread was celebrated, which we call the passover, the principal men among the Jews left the country, and fled into Egypt. Now there was one, whose name was Onias, a righteous man he was, and beloved of God, who, in a certain drought, had prayed to God to put an end to the intense heat, and whose prayers God had heard, and had sent them rain. This man had hid himself, because he saw that this sedition would last a great while. However, they brought him to the Jewish camp, and desired, that as by his prayers he had once put an end to the drought, so he would in like manner make imprecations on Aristobulus and those of his faction. And when, upon his refusal, and the excuses that he made, he was still by the multitude compelled to speak, he stood up in the midst of them, and said, "O God, the King of the whole world! since those that stand now with me are thy people, and those that are besieged are also thy priests, I beseech thee, that thou wilt neither hearken to the prayers of those against these, nor bring to effect what these pray against those." Whereupon such wicked Jews as stood about him, as soon as he had made this prayer, stoned him to death.

2. But God punished them immediately for this their barbarity, and took vengeance of them for the murder of Onias, in the manner following: While the priests and Aristobulus were besieged, it happened that the feast called the passover was come, at which it is our custom to offer a great number of sacrifices to God; but those that were with Aristobulus wanted sacrifices, and desired that their countrymen without would furnish them with such sacrifices, and assured them they should have as much money for them as they should desire; and when they required them to pay a thousand drachmae for each head of cattle, Aristobulus and the priests willingly undertook to pay for them accordingly, and those within let down the money over the walls, and gave it them. But when the others had received it, they did not deliver the sacrifices, but arrived at that height of wickedness as to break the assurances they had given, and to be guilty of impiety towards God, by not furnishing those that wanted them with sacrifices. And when the priests found they had been cheated, and that the agreements they had made were violated, they prayed to God that he would avenge them on their countrymen. Nor did he delay that their punishment, but sent a strong and vehement storm of wind, that destroyed the fruits of the whole country, till a modius of wheat was then bought for eleven drachmae.

3. In the mean time Pompey sent Scaurus into Syria, while he was himself in Armenia, and making war with Tigranes; but when Scaurus was come to Damascus, and found that Lollins and Metellus had newly taken the city, he came himself hastily into Judea. And when he was come thither, ambassadors came to him, both from Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, and both desired he would assist them. And when both of them promised to give him money, Aristobulus four hundred talents, and Hyrcanus no less, he accepted of Aristobulus's promise, for he was rich, and had a great soul, and desired to obtain nothing but what was moderate; whereas the other was poor, and tenacious, and made

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incredible promises in hopes of greater advantages; for it was not the same thing to take a city that was exceeding strong and powerful, as it was to eject out of the country some fugitives, with a greater number of Mabateans, who were no very warlike people. He therefore made an agreement with Aristobulus, for the reasons before mentioned, and took his money, and raised the siege, and ordered Aretas to depart, or else he should be declared an enemy to the Romans. So Scaurus returned to Damascus again; and Aristobulus, with a great army, made war with Aretas and Hyrcanus, and fought them at a place called Papyron, and beat them in the battle, and slew about six thousand of the enemy, with whom fell Phalion also, the brother of Antipater.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 3

How Aristobulus And Hyrcanus Came To Pompey In Order To Argue Who Ought To Have The Kingdom; And How Upon The Plight Of Aristobulus To The Fortress Alexandrium Pompey Led His Army Against Him And Ordered Him To Deliver Up The Fortresses Whereof He Was Possessed.

1. A Little afterward Pompey came to Damascus, and marched over Celesyria; at which time there came ambassadors to him from all Syria, and Egypt, and out of Judea also, for Aristobulus had sent him a great present, which was a golden vine of the value of five hundred talents. Now Strabo of Cappadocia mentions this present in these words: "There came also an embassage out of Egypt, and a crown of the value of four thousand pieces of gold; and out of Judea there came another, whether you call it a vine or a garden; they call the thing Terpole, the Delight. However, we ourselves saw that present reposited at Rome, in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, with this inscription, 'The gift of Alexander, the king of the Jews.' It was valued at five hundred talents; and the report is, that Aristobulus, the governor of the Jews, sent it."

2. In a little time afterward came ambassadors again to him, Antipater from Hyrcanus, and Nicodemus from Aristobulus; which last also accused such as had taken bribes; first Gabinius, and then Scaurus,—the one three hundred talents, and the other four hundred; by which procedure he made these two his enemies, besides those he had before. And when Pompey had ordered those that had controversies one with another to come to him in the beginning of the spring, he brought his army out of their winter quarters, and marched into the country of Damascus; and as he went along he demolished the citadel that was at Apamia, which Antiochus Cyzicenus had built, and took cognizance of the country of Ptolemy Menneus, a wicked man, and not less so than Dionysius of Tripoli, who had been beheaded, who was also his relation by marriage; yet did he buy off the punishment of his crimes for a thousand talents, with which money Pompey paid the soldiers their wages. He also conquered the place called Lysias, of which Silas a Jew was tyrant. And when he had passed over the cities of Heliopolis and Chalcis, and got over the mountain which is on the limit of Celesyria, he came from Pella to Damascus; and there it was that he heard the causes of the Jews, and of their governors Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who were at difference one with another, as also of the nation against them both, which did not desire to be under kingly' government, because the form of government they received from their forefathers was that of subjection to the priests of that God whom they worshipped; and [they complained], that though these two were the posterity of priests, yet did they seek to change the government of their nation to another form, in order to enslave them. Hyrcanus complained, that although he were the elder brother, he was deprived of the prerogative of his birth by Aristobulus, and that he had but a small part of the country under him, Aristobulus having taken away the rest from him by force. He also accused him, that the incursions which had been made into their neighbours' countries, and the piracies that had been at sea, were owing to him; and that the nation would not have revolted, unless Aristobulus had been a man given to violence and disorder; and there were no fewer than a thousand Jews, of the best esteem among them, who confirmed this accusation; which confirmation was procured by Antipater. But Aristobulus alleged against him, that it was Hyrcanus's own temper, which was inactive, and on that account contemptible, which caused him to be deprived of the government; and that for himself, he was necessitated to take it upon him, for fear lest it should be transferred to others. And that as to his title [of king], it was no other than what his father had taken [before him]. He also called for witnesses of what he said some persons who were both young and insolent; whose purple garments, fine heads of hair, and other ornaments, were detested [by the court], and which they appeared in, not as though they were to plead their cause in a court of justice, but as if they were marching in a pompous procession.

3. When Pompey had heard the causes of these two, and had condemned Aristobulus for his violent procedure, he then spake civilly to them, and sent them away; and told them, that when he came again into their country, he would settle all their affairs, after he had first taken a view of the affairs of the Nabateans. In the mean time, he ordered them to be quiet; and treated Aristobulus civilly, lest he should make the nation revolt, and hinder his return; which yet Aristobulus did; for without expecting any further determination, which Pompey had promised them, he went to the city Delius, and thence marched into Judea.

4. At this behavior Pompey was angry; and taking with him that army which he was leading against the Nabateans, and the auxiliaries that came from Damascus, and the other parts of Syria, with the other Roman legions which he had with him, he made an expedition against Aristobulus; but as he passed by Pella and Scythopolis, he came to Corem, which is the first entrance into Judea when one passes over the midland countries, where he came to a most beautiful fortress that was built on the top of a mountain called Alexandrium, whither Aristobulus had fled; and thence Pompey sent his commands to him, that he should come to him. Accordingly, at the persuasions of many that he would not make war with the Romans, he came down; and when he had disputed with his brother about the right to the government, he went up again to the citadel, as Pompey gave him leave to do; and this he did two or three times, as flattering himself with the hopes of having the kingdom granted him; so that he still pretended he would obey Pompey in whatsoever he commanded, although at the same time he retired to his fortress, that he might not depress himself too low, and that he might be prepared for a war, in case it should prove as he feared, that Pompey would transfer the government to Hyrcanus. But when Pompey enjoined Aristobulus to deliver up the fortresses he held, and to send an injunction to their governors under his own hand for that purpose, for they had been forbidden to deliver them up upon any other commands, he submitted indeed to do so; but still he retired in displeasure to Jerusalem, and made preparation for war. A little after this, certain persons came out of Pontus, and informed Pompey, as he was on the way, and conducting his army against Aristobulus, that Mithridates was dead, and was slain by his son Pharmaces.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 4

How Pompey When The Citizens Of Jerusalem Shut Their Gates Against Him Besieged The City And Took It By Force; As Also What Other Things He Did In Judea.

1. Now when Pompey had pitched his camp at Jericho, [where the palm tree grows, and that balsam which is an ointment of all the most precious, which upon any incision made in the wood with a sharp stone, distills out thence like a juice,] he marched in the morning to Jerusalem. Hereupon Aristobulus repented of what he was doing, and came to Pompey, had [promised to] give him money, and received him into Jerusalem, and desired that he would leave off the war, and do what he pleased peaceably. So Pompey, upon his entreaty, forgave him, and sent Gabinius, and soldiers with him, to receive the money and the city: yet was no part of this performed; but Gabinius came back, being both excluded out of the city, and receiving none of the money promised, because Aristobulus's soldiers would not permit the agreements to be executed. At this Pompey was very angry, and put Aristobulus into prison, and came himself to the city, which was strong on every side, excepting the north, which was not so well fortified, for there was a broad and deep ditch that encompassed the city 5 and included within it the temple, which was itself encompassed about with a very strong stone wall.

2. Now there was a sedition of the men that were within the city, who did not agree what was to be done in their present circumstances, while some thought it best to deliver up the city to Pompey; but Aristobulus's party exhorted them to shut the gates, because he was kept in prison. Now these prevented the others, and seized upon the temple, and cut off the bridge which reached from it to the city, and prepared themselves to abide a siege; but the others admitted Pompey's army in, and delivered up both the city and the king's palace to him. So Pompey sent his lieutenant Piso with an army, and placed garrisons both in the city and in the palace, to secure them, and fortified the houses that joined to the temple, and all those which were more distant and without it. And in the first place, he offered terms of accommodation to those within; but when they would not comply with what was desired, he encompassed all the places thereabout with a wall, wherein Hyrcanus did gladly assist him on all occasions; but Pompey pitched his camp within [the wall], on the north part of the temple, where it was most practicable; but even on that side there were great towers, and a ditch had been dug, and a deep valley begirt it round about, for on the parts towards the city were precipices, and the bridge on which Pompey had gotten in was broken down. However, a bank was raised, day by day, with a great deal of labour, while the Romans cut down materials for it from the places round about. And when this bank was sufficiently raised, and the ditch filled up, though but poorly, by reason of its immense depth, he brought his mechanical engines and battering-rams from Tyre, and placing them on the bank, he battered the temple with the stones that were thrown against it. And had it not been our practice, from the days of our forefathers, to rest on the seventh day, this bank could never have been perfected, by reason of the opposition the Jews would have made; for though our law gives us leave then to defend ourselves against those that begin to fight with us and assault us, yet does it not permit us to meddle with our enemies while they do any thing else.

3. Which thing when the Romans understood, on those days which we call Sabbaths they threw nothing at the Jews, nor came to any pitched battle with them; but raised up their earthen banks, and brought their engines into such forwardness, that they might do execution the next day. And any one may hence learn how very great piety we exercise towards God, and the observance of his laws, since the priests were not at all hindered from their sacred ministrations by their fear during this siege, but did still twice a-day, in the morning and about the ninth hour, offer their sacrifices on the altar; nor did they omit those sacrifices, if any melancholy accident happened by the stones that were thrown among them; for although the city was taken on the third month, on the day of the fast, upon the hundred and seventy-ninth olympiad, when Caius Antonius and Marcus Tullius Cicero were consuls, and the enemy then fell upon them, and cut the throats of those that were in the temple; yet could not those that offered the sacrifices be compelled to run away, neither by the fear they were in of their own lives, nor by the number that were already slain, as thinking it better to suffer whatever came upon them, at their very altars, than to omit any thing that their laws required of them. And that this is not a mere brag, or an encomium to manifest a degree of our piety that was false, but is the real truth, I appeal to those that have written of the acts of Pompey; and, among them, to Strabo and Nicolaus [of Damascus]; and besides these two, Titus Livius, the writer of the Roman History, who will bear witness to this thing.

4. But when the battering-engine was brought near, the greatest of the towers was shaken by it, and fell down, and broke down a part of the fortifications, so the enemy poured in apace; and Cornelius Faustus, the son of Sylla, with his soldiers, first of all ascended the wall, and next to him Furius the centurion, with those that followed on the other part, while Fabius, who was also a centurion, ascended it in the middle, with a great body of men after him. But now all was full of slaughter; some of the Jews being slain by the Romans, and some by one another; nay, some there were who threw themselves down the precipices, or put fire to their houses, and burnt them, as not able to bear the miseries they were under. Of the Jews there fell twelve thousand, but of the Romans very few. Absalom, who was at once both uncle and father-in-law to Aristobulus, was taken captive; and no small enormities were committed about the temple itself, which, in former ages, had been inaccessible, and seen by none; for Pompey went into it, and not a few of those that were with him also, and saw all that which it was unlawful for any other men to see but only for the high priests. There were in that temple the golden table, the holy candlestick, and the pouring vessels, and a great quantity of spices; and besides these there were among the treasures two thousand talents of sacred money: yet did Pompey touch nothing of all this, on account of his regard to religion; and in this point also he acted in a manner that was worthy of his virtue. The next day he gave order to those that had the charge of the temple to cleanse it, and to bring what offerings the law required to God; and restored the high priesthood to Hyrcanus, both because he had been useful to him in other respects, and because he hindered the Jews in the country from giving Aristobulus any assistance in his war against him. He also cut off those that had been the authors of that war; and bestowed proper rewards on Faustus, and those others that mounted the wall with such alacrity; and he made Jerusalem tributary to the Romans, and took away those cities of Celesyria which the inhabitants of Judea had subdued, and put them under the government of the Roman president, and confined the whole nation, which had elevated itself so high before, within its own bounds. Moreover, he rebuilt Gadara, which had been demolished a little before, to gratify Demetrius of Gadara, who was his freedman, and restored the rest of the cities, Hippos, and Scythopolis, and Pella, and Dios, and Samaria, as also Marissa, and Ashdod, and Jamnia, and Arethusa, to their own inhabitants: these were in the inland parts. Besides those that had been demolished, and also of the maritime cities, Gaza, and Joppa, and Dora, and Strato's Tower; which last Herod rebuilt after a glorious manner, and adorned with havens and temples, and changed its name to Caesarea. All these Pompey left in a state of freedom, and joined them to the province of Syria.

5. Now the occasions of this misery which came upon Jerusalem were Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, by raising a sedition one against the other; for now we lost our liberty, and became subject to the Romans, and were deprived of that country which we had gained by our arms from the Syrians, and were compelled to restore it to the Syrians. Moreover, the Romans exacted of us, in a little time, above ten thousand talents; and the royal authority, which was a dignity formerly bestowed on those that were high priests, by the right of their

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family, became the property of private men. But of these matters we shall treat in their proper places. Now Pompey committed Celesyria, as far as the river Euphrates and Egypt, to Scaurus, with two Roman legions, and then went away to Cilicia, and made haste to Rome. He also carried bound along with him Aristobulus and his children; for he had two daughters, and as many sons; the one of which ran away, but the younger, Antigonus, was carried to Rome, together with his sisters.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 5

How Scaurus Made A League Of Mutual Assistance With Aretas; And What Gabinius Did In Judea, After He Had Conquered Alexander, The Son Of Aristobulus.

1. Scaurus made now an expedition against Petrea, in Arabia, and set on fire all the places round about it, because of the great difficulty of access to it. And as his army was pinched by famine, Antipater furnished him with corn out of Judea, and with whatever else he wanted, and this at the command of Hyrcanus. And when he was sent to Aretas, as an ambassador by Scaurus, because he had lived with him formerly, he persuaded Aretas to give Scaurus a sum of money, to prevent the burning of his country, and undertook to be his surety for three hundred talents. So Scaurus, upon these terms, ceased to make war any longer; which was done as much at Scaurus's desire, as at the desire of Aretas.

2. Some time after this, when Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, made an incursion into Judea, Gabinius came from Rome into Syria, as commander of the Roman forces. He did many considerable actions; and particularly made war with Alexander, since Hyrcanus was not yet able to oppose his power, but was already attempting to rebuild the wall of Jerusalem, which Pompey had overthrown, although the Romans which were there restrained him from that his design. However, Alexander went over all the country round about, and armed many of the Jews, and suddenly got together ten thousand armed footmen, and fifteen hundred horsemen, and fortified Alexandrium, a fortress near to Corem, and Macherus, near the mountains of Arabia. Gabinius therefore came upon him, having sent Marcus Antonius, with other commanders, before. These armed such Romans as followed them; and, together with them, such Jews as were subject to them, whose leaders were Pitholaus and Malichus; and they took with them also their friends that were with Antipater, and met Alexander, while Gabinius himself followed with his legion. Hereupon Alexander retired to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, where they fell upon one another, and it came to a pitched battle, in which the Romans slew of their enemies about three thousand, and took a like number alive.

3. At which time Gabinius came to Alexandrium, and invited those that were in it to deliver it up on certain conditions, and promised that then their former offenses should be forgiven. But as a great number of the enemy had pitched their camp before the fortress, whom the Romans attacked, Marcus Antonius fought bravely, and slew a great number, and seemed to come off with the greatest honour. So Gabinius left part of his army there, in order to take the place, and he himself went into other parts of Judea, and gave order to rebuild all the cities that he met with that had been demolished; at which time were rebuilt Samaria, Ashdod, Scythopolis, Anthedon, Raphia, and Dora; Marissa also, and Gaza, and not a few others besides. And as the men acted according to Gabinius's command, it came to pass, that at this time these cities were securely inhabited, which had been desolate for a long time.

4. When Gabinius had done thus in the country, he returned to Alexandrium; and when he urged on the siege of the place, Alexander sent an embassage to him, desiring that he would pardon his former offenses; he also delivered up the fortresses, Hyrcania and Macherus, and at last Alexandrium itself which fortresses Gabinius demolished. But when Alexander's mother, who was of the side of the Romans, as having her husband and other children at Rome, came to him, he granted her whatsoever she asked; and when he had settled matters with her, he brought Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, and committed the care of the temple to him. And when he had ordained five councils, he distributed the nation into the same number of parts. So these councils governed the people; the first was at Jerusalem, the second at Gadara, the third at Amathus, the fourth at Jericho, and the fifth at Sepphoris in Galilee. So the Jews were now freed from monarchic authority, and were governed by an aristocracy.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 6

How Gabinius Caught Aristobulus After He Had Fled From Rome, And Sent Him Back To Rome Again; And How The Same Gabinius As He Returned Out Of Egypt Overcame Alexander And The Nabateans In Battle.

1. Now Aristobulus ran away from Rome to Judea, and set about the rebuilding of Alexandrium, which had been newly demolished. Hereupon Gabinius sent soldiers against him, add for their commanders Sisenna, and Antonius, and Servilius, in order to hinder him from getting possession of the country, and to take him again. And indeed many of the Jews ran to Aristobulus, on account of his former glory, as also because they should be glad of an innovation. Now there was one Pitholaus, a lieutenant at Jerusalem, who deserted to him with a thousand men, although a great number of those that came to him were unarmed; and when Aristobulus had resolved to go to Macherus, he dismissed those people, because they were unarmed; for they could not be useful to him in what actions he was going about; but he took with him eight thousand that were armed, and marched on; and as the Romans fell upon them severely, the Jews fought valiantly, but were beaten in the battle; and when they had fought with alacrity, but were overborne by the enemy, they were put to flight; of whom were slain about five thousand, and the rest being dispersed, tried, as well as they were able, to save themselves. However, Aristobulus had with him still above a thousand, and with them he fled to Macherus, and fortified the place; and though he had had ill success, he still had good hope of his affairs; but when he had struggled against the siege for two days' time, and had received many wounds, he was brought as a captive to Gabinius, with his son Antigonus, who also fled with him from Rome. And this was the fortune of Aristobulus, who was sent back again to Rome, and was there retained in bonds, having been both king and high priest for three years and six months; and was indeed an eminent person, and one of a great soul. However, the senate let his children go, upon Gabinius's writing to them that he had promised their mother so much when she delivered up the fortresses to him; and accordingly they then returned into Judea.

2. Now when Gabinius was making an expedition against the Parthians, and had already passed over Euphrates, he changed his mind, and resolved to return into Egypt, in order to restore Ptolemy to his kingdom. 11 This hath also been related elsewhere. However, Antipater supplied his army, which he sent against Archelaus, with corn, and weapons, and money. He also made those Jews who were above Pelusium his friends and confederates, and had been the guardians of the passes that led into Egypt. But when he came back out of Egypt, he found Syria in disorder, with seditions and troubles; for Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, having seized on the government a second time by force, made many of the Jews revolt to him; and so he marched over the country with a great army, and slew all the Romans he could light upon, and proceeded to besiege the mountain called Gerizzim, whither they had retreated.

3. But when Gabinius found Syria in such a state, he sent Antipater, who was a prudent man, to those that were seditious, to try whether he could cure them of their madness, and persuade them to return to a better mind; and when he came to them, he brought many of them to a sound mind, and induced them to do what they ought to do; but he could not restrain Alexander, for he had an army of thirty thousand Jews, and met Gabinius, and joining battle with him, was beaten, and lost ten thousand of his men about Mount Tabor.

4. So Gabinius settled the affairs which belonged to the city Jerusalem, as was agreeable to Antipater's inclination, and went against the Nabateans, and overcame them in battle. He also sent away in a friendly manner Mithridates and Orsanes, who were Parthian deserters, and came to him, though the report went abroad that they had run away from him. And when Gabinius had performed great and glorious actions, in his management of the affairs of war, he returned to Rome, and delivered the government to Crassus. Now Nicolaus of Damascus, and Strabo of Cappadocia, both describe the expeditions of Pompey and Gabinius against the Jews, while neither of them say anything new which is not in the other.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 7

How Crassus Came Into Judea, And Pillaged The Temple; And Then Marched Against The Parthians And Perished, With His Army. Also How Cassius Obtained Syria, And Put A Stop To The Parthians And Then Went Up To Judea.

1. Now Crassus, as he was going upon his expedition against the Parthians, came into Judea, and carried off the money that was in the temple, which Pompey had left, being two thousand talents, and was disposed to spoil it of all the gold belonging to it, which was eight thousand talents. He also took a beam, which was made of solid beaten gold, of the weight of three hundred minae, each of which weighed two pounds and a half. It was the priest who was guardian of the sacred treasures, and whose name was Eleazar, that gave him this beam, not out of a wicked design, for he was a good and a righteous man; but being intrusted with the custody of the veils belonging to the temple, which were of admirable beauty, and of very costly workmanship, and hung down from this beam, when he saw that Crassus was busy in gathering money, and was in fear for the entire ornaments of the temple, he gave him this beam of gold as a ransom for the whole, but this not till he had given his oath that he would remove nothing else out of the temple, but be satisfied with this only, which he should give him, being worth many ten thousand [shekels]. Now this beam was contained in a wooden beam that was hollow, but was known to no others; but Eleazar alone knew it; yet did Crassus take away this beam, upon the condition of touching nothing else that belonged to the temple, and then brake his oath, and carried away all the gold that was in the temple.

2. And let no one wonder that there was so much wealth in our temple, since all the Jews throughout the habitable earth, and those that worshipped God, nay, even those of Asia and Europe, sent their contributions to it, and this from very ancient times. Nor is the largeness of these sums without its attestation; nor is that greatness owing to our vanity, as raising it without ground to so great a height; but there are many witnesses to it, and particularly Strabo of Cappadocia, who says thus: "Mithridates sent to Cos, and took the money which queen Cleopatra had deposited there, as also eight hundred talents belonging to the Jews." Now we have no public money but only what appertains to God; and it is evident that the Asian Jews removed this money out of fear of Mithridates; for it is not probable that those of Judea, who had a strong city and temple, should send their money to Cos; nor is it likely that the Jews who are inhabitants of Alexandria should do so neither, since they were in no fear of Mithridates. And Strabo himself bears witness to the same thing in another place, that at the same time that Sylla passed over into Greece, in order to fight against Mithridates, he sent Lucullus to put an end to a sedition that our nation, of whom the habitable earth is full, had raised in Cyrene; where he speaks thus: "There were four classes of men among those of Cyrene; that of citizens, that of husbandmen, the third of strangers, and the fourth of Jews. Now these Jews are already gotten into all cities; and it is hard to find a place in the habitable earth that hath not admitted this tribe of men, and is not possessed by them; and it hath come to pass that Egypt and Cyrene, as having the same governors, and a great number of other nations, imitate their way of living, and maintain great bodies of these Jews in a peculiar manner, and grow up to greater prosperity with them, and make use of the same laws with that nation also. Accordingly, the Jews have places assigned them in Egypt, wherein they inhabit, besides what is peculiarly allotted to this nation at Alexandria, which is a large part of that city. There is also an ethnarch allowed them, who governs the nation, and distributes justice to them, and takes care of their contracts, and of the laws to them belonging, as if he were the ruler of a free republic. In Egypt, therefore, this nation is powerful, because the Jews were originally Egyptians, and because the land wherein they inhabit, since they went thence, is near to Egypt. They also removed into Cyrene, because that this land adjoined to the government of Egypt, as well as does Judea, or rather was formerly under the same government." And this is what Strabo says.

3. So when Crassus had settled all things as he himself pleased, he marched into Parthia, where both he himself and all his army perished, as hath been related elsewhere. But Cassius, as he fled from Rome to Syria, took possession of it, and was an impediment to the Parthians, who by reason of their victory over Crassus made incursions upon it. And as he came back to Tyre, he went up into Judea also, and fell upon Tarichee, and presently took it, and carried about thirty thousand Jews captives; and slew Pitholaus, who succeeded Aristobulus in his seditious practices, and that by the persuasion of Antipater, who proved to have great interest in him, and was at that time in great repute with the Idumeans also: out of which nation he married a wife, who was the daughter of one of their eminent men, and her name was Cypros, by whom he had four sons, Phasael, and Herod, who was afterwards made king, and Joseph, and Pheroras; and a daughter, named Salome. This Antipater cultivated also a friendship and mutual kindness with other potentates, but especially with the king of Arabia, to whom he committed his children, while he fought against Aristobulus. So Cassius removed his camp, and marched to Euphrates, to meet those that were coming to attack him, as hath been related by others.

4. But some time afterward Caesar, when he had taken Rome, and after Pompey and the senate were fled beyond the Ionian Sea, freed Aristobulus from his bonds, and resolved to send him into Syria, and delivered two legions to him, that he might set matters right, as being a potent man in that country. But Aristobulus had no enjoyment of what he hoped for from the power that was given him by Caesar; for those of Pompey's party prevented it, and destroyed him by poison; and those of Caesar's party buried him. His dead body also lay, for a good while, embalmed in honey, till Antony afterward sent it to Judea, and caused him to be buried in the royal sepulcher. But Scipio, upon Pompey's sending to him to slay Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, because the young man was accused of what offenses he had been guilty of at first against the Romans, cut off his head; and thus did he die at Antioch. But Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, who was the ruler of Chalcis, under Mount Libanus, took his brethren to him, and sent his son Philippion to Askelon to Aristobulus's wife, and desired her to send back with him her son Antigonus, and her daughters; the one of which, whose name was Alexandra, Philippion fell in love with, and married her, though

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afterward his father Ptolemy slew him, and married Alexandra, and continued to take care of her brethren.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 8

The Jews Become Confederates With Caesar When He Fought Against Egypt. The Glorious Actions Of Antipater, And His Friendship With Caesar. The Honours Which The Jews Received From The Romans And Athenians.

1. Now after Pompey was dead, and after that victory Caesar had gained over him, Antipater, who managed the Jewish affairs, became very useful to Caesar when he made war against Egypt, and that by the order of Hyrcanus; for when Mithridates of Pergainus was bringing his auxiliaries, and was not able to continue his march through Pelusium, but obliged to stay at Askelon, Antipater came to him, conducting three thousand of the Jews, armed men. He had also taken care the principal men of the Arabians should come to his assistance; and on his account it was that all the Syrians assisted him also, as not willing to appear behindhand in their alacrity for Caesar, viz. Jamblicus the ruler, and Ptolemy his son, and Tholomy the son of Sohemus, who dwelt at Mount Libanus, and almost all the cities. So Mithridates marched out of Syria, and came to Pelusium; and when its inhabitants would not admit him, he besieged the city. Now Antipater signalized himself here, and was the first who plucked down a part of the wall, and so opened a way to the rest, whereby they might enter the city, and by this means Pelusium was taken. But it happened that the Egyptian Jews, who dwelt in the country called Onion, would not let Antipater and Mithridates, with their soldiers, pass to Caesar; but Antipater persuaded them to come over with their party, because he was of the same people with them, and that chiefly by showing them the epistles of Hyrcanus the high priest, wherein he exhorted them to cultivate friendship with Caesar, and to supply his army with money, and all sorts of provisions which they wanted; and accordingly, when they saw Antipater and the high priest of the same sentiments, they did as they were desired. And when the Jews about Memphis heard that these Jews were come over to Caesar, they also invited Mithridates to come to them; so he came and received them also into his army.

2. And when Mithridates had gone over all Delta, as the place is called, he came to a pitched battle with the enemy, near the place called the Jewish Camp. Now Mithridates had the right wing, and Antipater the left; and when it came to a fight, that wing where Mithridates was gave way, and was likely to suffer extremely, unless Antipater had come running to him with his own soldiers along the shore, when he had already beaten the enemy that opposed him; so he delivered Mithridates, and put those Egyptians who had been too hard for him to flight. He also took their camp, and continued in the pursuit of them. He also recalled Mithridates, who had been worsted, and was retired a great way off; of whose soldiers eight hundred fell, but of Antipater's fifty. So Mithridates sent an account of this battle to Caesar, and openly declared that Antipater was the author of this victory, and of his own preservation, insomuch that Caesar commended Antipater then, and made use of him all the rest of that war in the most hazardous undertakings; he happened also to be wounded in one of those engagements.

3. However, when Caesar, after some time, had finished that war, and was sailed away for Syria, he honoured Antipater greatly, and confirmed Hyrcanus in the high priesthood; and bestowed on Antipater the privilege of a citizen of Rome, and a freedom from taxes every where; and it is reported by many, that Hyrcanus went along with Antipater in this expedition, and came himself into Egypt. And Strabo of Cappadocia bears witness to this, when he says thus, in the name of Aslnius: "After Mithridates had invaded Egypt, and with him Hyrcanus the high priest of the Jews." Nay, the same Strabo says thus again, in another place, in the name of Hypsicrates, that "Mithridates at first went out alone; but that Antipater, who had the care of the Jewish affairs, was called by him to Askelon, and that he had gotten ready three thousand soldiers to go along with him, and encouraged other governors of the country to go along with him also; and that Hyrcanus the high priest was also present in this expedition." This is what Strabo says.

4. But Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came at this time to Caesar, and lamented his father's fate; and complained, that it was by Antipater's means that Aristobulus was taken off by poison, and his brother was beheaded by Scipio, and desired that he would take pity of him who had been ejected out of that principality which was due to him. He also accused Hyrcanus and Antipater as governing the nation by violence, and offering injuries to himself. Antipater was present, and made his defense as to the accusations that were laid against him. He demonstrated that Antigonus and his party were given to innovation, and were seditious persons. He also put Caesar in mind what difficult services he had undergone when he assisted him in his wars, and discoursed about what he was a witness of himself. He added, that Aristobulus was justly carried away to Rome, as one that was an enemy to the Romans, and could never be brought to be a friend to them, and that his brother had no more than he deserved from Scipio, as being seized in committing robberies; and that this punishment was not inflicted on him in a way of violence or injustice by him that did it.

5. When Antipater had made this speech, Caesar appointed Hyrcauus to be high priest, and gave Antipater what principality he himself should choose, leaving the determination to himself; so he made him procurator of Judea. He also gave Hyrcanus leave to raise up the walls of his own city, upon his asking that favour of him, for they had been demolished by Pompey. And this grant he sent to the consuls to Rome, to be engraven in the capitol. The decree of the senate was this that follows: "Lucius Valerius, the son of Lucius the praetor, referred this to the senate, upon the Ides of December, in the temple of Concord. There were present at the writing of this decree Lucius Coponius, the son of Lucius of the Colline tribe, and Papirius of the Quirine tribe, concerning the affairs which Alexander, the son of Jason, and Numenius, the son of Antiochus, and Alexander, the son of Dositheus, ambassadors of the Jews, good and worthy men, proposed, who came to renew that league of goodwill and friendship with the Romans which was in being before. They also brought a shield of gold, as a mark of confederacy, valued at fifty thousand pieces of gold; and desired that letters might be given them, directed both to the free cities and to the kings, that their country and their havens might be at peace, and that no one among them might receive any injury. It therefore pleased [the senate] to make a league of friendship and good-will with them, and to bestow on them whatsoever they stood in need of, and to accept of the shield which was brought by them. This was done in the ninth year of Hyrcanus the high priest and ethnarch, in the month Panemus." Hyrcanus also received honours from the people of Athens, as having been useful to them on many occasions. And when they wrote to him, they sent him this decree, as it here follows "Under the prutaneia and priesthood of Dionysius, the son of Esculapius, on the fifth day of the latter part of the month Panemus, this decree of the Athenians was given to their commanders, when Agathocles was archon, and Eucles, the son of Menander of Alimusia, was the scribe. In the month Munychion, on the eleventh day of the prutaneia, a council of the presidents was held in the theater. Dorotheus the high priest, and the fellow presidents with him, put it to the vote of the people. Dionysius, the son of Dionysius, gave the sentence. Since Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, continues to bear good-will to our people in general, and to every one of our citizens in particular, and treats them with all sorts of kindness; and when any of the Athenians come to him, either as ambassadors, or on any occasion of their own, he receives them in an obliging manner, and sees that they are conducted back in safety, of which we have had several former testimonies; it is now also decreed, at the report of Theodosius, the son of Theodorus, and upon his putting the people in mind of the virtue of this man, and that his purpose is to do us all the good that is in his power, to honour him with a crown of gold, the usual reward according to the law, and to erect his statue in brass in the temple of Demus and of the Graces; and that this present of a crown shall be proclaimed publicly in the theater, in the Dionysian shows, while the new tragedies are acting; and in the Panathenean, and Eleusinian, and Gymnical shows also; and that the commanders shall take care, while he continues in his friendship, and preserves his good-will to us, to return all possible honour and favour to the man for his affection and generosity; that by this treatment it may appear how our people receive the good kindly, and repay them a suitable reward; and he may be induced to proceed in his affection towards us, by the honours we have already paid him. That ambassadors be also chosen out of all the Athenians, who shall carry this decree to him, and desire him to accept of the honours we do him, and to endeavor always to be doing some good to our city." And this shall suffice us to have spoken as to the honours that were paid by the Romans and the people of Athens to Hyrcanus.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 9

How Antipater Committed The Care Of Galilee To Herod, And That Of Jerusalem To Phasaelus; As Also How Herod Upon The Jews' Envy At Antipater Was Accused Before Hyrcanus.

1. Now when Caesar had settled the affairs of Syria, he sailed away. And as soon as Antipater had conducted Caesar out of Syria, he returned to Judea. He then immediately raised up the wall which had been thrown down by Pompey; and, by coming thither, he pacified that tumult which had been in the country, and this by both threatening and advising them to be quiet; for that if they would be of Hyrcanus's side, they would live happily, and lead their lives without disturbance, and in the enjoyment of their own possessions; but if they were addicted to the hopes of what might come by innovation, and aimed to get wealth thereby, they should have him a severe master instead of a gentle governor, and Hyrcanus a tyrant instead of a king, and the Romans, together with Caesar, their bitter enemies instead of rulers, for that they would never bear him to be set aside whom they had appointed to govern. And when Antipater had said this to them, he himself settled the affairs of this country.

2. And seeing that Hyrcanus was of a slow and slothful temper, he made Phasaelus, his eldest son, governor of Jerusalem, and of the places that were about it, but committed Galilee to Herod, his next son, who was then a very young man, for he was but fifteen years of age. But that youth of his was no impediment to him; but as he was a youth of great mind, he presently met with an opportunity of signalizing his courage; for finding that there was one Hezekiah, a captain of a band of robbers, who overran the neighbouring parts of Syria with a great troop of them, he seized him and slew him, as well as a great number of the other robbers that were with him; for which action he was greatly beloved by the Syrians; for when they were very desirous to have their country freed from this nest of robbers, he purged it of them. So they sung songs in his commendation in their villages and cities, as having procured them peace, and the secure enjoyment of their possessions; and on this account it was that he became known to Sextus Caesar, who was a relation of the great Caesar, and was now president of Syria. Now Phasaelus, Herod's brother, was moved with emulation at his actions, and envied the fame he had thereby gotten, and became ambitious not to be behindhand with him in deserving it. So he made the inhabitants of Jerusalem bear him the greatest good-will while he held the city himself, but did neither manage its affairs improperly, nor abuse his authority therein. This conduct procured from the nation to Antipater such respect as is due to kings, and such honours as he might partake of if he were an absolute lord of the country. Yet did not this splendour of his, as frequently happens, in the least diminish in him that kindness and fidelity which he owed to Hyrcanus.

3. But now the principal men among the Jews, when they saw Antipater and his sons to grow so much in the good-will the nation bare to them, and in the revenues which they received out of Judea, and out of Hyrcanus's own wealth, they became ill- disposed to him; for indeed Antipater had contracted a friendship with the Roman emperors; and when he had prevailed with Hyrcanus to send them money, he took it to himself, and purloined the present intended, and sent it as if it were his own, and not Hyrcanus's gift to them. Hyrcanus heard of this his management, but took no care about it; nay, he rather was very glad of it. But the chief men of the Jews were therefore in fear, because they saw that Herod was a violent and bold man, and very desirous of acting tyrannically; so they came to Hyrcanus, and now accused Antipater openly, and said to him, "How long wilt thou be quiet under such actions as are now done? Or dost thou not see that Antipater and his sons have already seized upon the government, and that it is only the name of a king which is given thee? But do not thou suffer these things to be hidden from thee, nor do thou think to escape danger by being so careless of thyself and of thy kingdom; for Antipater and his sons are not now stewards of thine affairs: do not thou deceive thyself with such a notion; they are evidently absolute lords; for Herod, Antipater's son, hath slain Hezekiah, and those that were with him, and hath thereby transgressed our law, which hath forbidden to slay any man, even though he were a wicked man, unless he had been first condemned to suffer death by the Sanhedrim yet hath he been so insolent as to do this, and that without any authority from thee."

4. Upon Hyrcanus hearing this, he complied with them. The mothers also of those that had been slain by Herod raised his indignation; for those women continued every day in the temple, persuading the king and the people that Herod might undergo a trial before the Sanhedrim for what he had done. Hyrcanus was so moved by these complaints, that he summoned Herod to come to his trial for what was charged upon him. Accordingly he came; but his father had persuaded him to come not like a private man, but with a guard, for the security of his person; and that when he had settled the affairs of Galilee in the best manner he could for his own advantage, he should come to his trial, but still with a body of men sufficient for his security on his journey, yet so that he should not come with so great a force as might look like terrifying Hyrcanus, but still such a one as might not expose him naked and unguarded [to his enemies.] However, Sextus Caesar, president of Syria, wrote to Hyrcanus, and desired him to clear Herod, and dismiss him at his trial, and threatened him beforehand if he did not do it. Which epistle of his was the occasion of Hyrcanus delivering Herod from suffering any harm from the Sanhedrim, for he loved him as his own son. But when Herod stood before the Sanhedrim, with his body of men about him, he affrighted them all, and no one of his former accusers durst after that bring any charge against him, but there was a deep silence, and nobody knew what was to be done. When affairs stood thus, one whose name was Sameas, a righteous man he was, and for that reason above all fear, rose up, and said, "O you that are assessors with me, and O thou that art our king, I neither have ever myself known such a case, nor do I suppose that any one of you can name its parallel, that one who is called to take his trial by us ever stood in such

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a manner before us; but every one, whosoever he be, that comes to be tried by this Sanhedrim, presents himself in a submissive manner, and like one that is in fear of himself, and that endeavors to move us to compassion, with his hair dishevelled, and in a black and mourning garment: but this admirable man Herod, who is accused of murder, and called to answer so heavy an accusation, stands here clothed in purple, and with the hair of his head finely trimmed, and with his armed men about him, that if we shall condemn him by our law, he may slay us, and by overbearing justice may himself escape death. Yet do not I make this complaint against Herod himself; he is to be sure more concerned for himself than for the laws; but my complaint is against yourselves, and your king, who gave him a license so to do. However, take you notice, that God is great, and that this very man, whom you are going to absolve and dismiss, for the sake of Hyrcanus, will one day punish both you and your king himself also." Nor did Sameas mistake in any part of this prediction; for when Herod had received the kingdom, he slew all the members of this Sanhedrim, and Hyrcanus himself also, excepting Sameas, for he had a great honour for him on account of his righteousness, and because, when the city was afterward besieged by Herod and Sosius, he persuaded the people to admit Herod into it; and told them that for their sins they would not be able to escape his hands:—which things will be related by us in their proper places.

5. But when Hyrcanus saw that the members of the Sanhedrim were ready to pronounce the sentence of death upon Herod, he put off the trial to another day, and sent privately to Herod, and advised him to fly out of the city, for that by this means he might escape. So he retired to Damascus, as though he fled from the king; and when he had been with Sextus Caesar, and had put his own affairs in a sure posture, he resolved to do thus; that in case he were again summoned before the Sanhedrim to take his trial, he would not obey that summons. Hereupon the members of the Sanhedrim had great indignation at this posture of affairs, and endeavored to persuade Hyrcanus that all these things were against him; which state of matters he was not ignorant of; but his temper was so unmanly, and so foolish, that he was able to do nothing at all. But when Sextus had made Herod general of the army of Celesyria, for he sold him that post for money, Hyrcanus was in fear lest Herod should make war upon him; nor was the effect of what he feared long in coming upon him; for Herod came and brought an army along with him to fight with Hyrcanus, as being angry at the trial he had been summoned to undergo before the Sanhedrim; but his father Antipater, and his brother [Phasaelus], met him, and hindered him from assaulting Jerusalem. They also pacified his vehement temper, and persuaded him to do no overt action, but only to affright them with threatenings, and to proceed no further against one who had given him the dignity he had: they also desired him not only to be angry that he was summoned, and obliged to come to his trial, but to remember withal how he was dismissed without condemnation, and how he ought to give Hyrcanus thanks for the same; and that he was not to regard only what was disagreeable to him, and be unthankful for his deliverance. So they desired him to consider, that since it is God that turns the scales of war, there is great uncertainty in the issue of battles, and that therefore he ought of to expect the victory when he should fight with his king, and him that had supported him, and bestowed many benefits upon him, and had done nothing itself very severe to him; for that his accusation, which was derived from evil counselors, and not from himself, had rather the suspicion of some severity, than any thing really severe in it. Herod was persuaded by these arguments, and believed that it was sufficient for his future hopes to have made a show of his strength before the nation, and done no more to it—and in this state were the affairs of Judea at this time.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 10

The Honours That Were Paid The Jews; And The Leagues That Were Made By The Romans And Other Nations, With Them.

1. Now when Caesar was come to Rome, he was ready to sail into Africa to fight against Scipio and Cato, when Hyrcanus sent ambassadors to him, and by them desired that he would ratify that league of friendship and mutual alliance which was between them, And it seems to me to be necessary here to give an account of all the honours that the Romans and their emperor paid to our nation, and of the leagues of mutual assistance they have made with it, that all the rest of mankind may know what regard the kings of Asia and Europe have had to us, and that they have been abundantly satisfied of our courage and fidelity; for whereas many will not believe what hath been written about us by the Persians and Macedonians, because those writings are not every where to be met with, nor do lie in public places, but among us ourselves, and certain other barbarous nations, while there is no contradiction to be made against the decrees of the Romans, for they are laid up in the public places of the cities, and are extant still in the capitol, and engraven upon pillars of brass; nay, besides this, Julius Caesar made a pillar of brass for the Jews at Alexandria, and declared publicly that they were citizens of Alexandria. Out of these evidences will I demonstrate what I say; and will now set down the decrees made both by the senate and by Julius Caesar, which relate to Hyrcanus and to our nation.

2. "Caius Julius Caesar, imperator and high priest, and dictator the second time, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Sidon, sendeth greeting. If you be in health, it is well. I also and the army are well. I have sent you a copy of that decree, registered on the tables, which concerns Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, that it may be laid up among the public records; and I will that it be openly proposed in a table of brass, both in Greek and in Latin. It is as follows: I Julius Caesar, imperator the second time, and high priest, have made this decree, with the approbation of the senate. Whereas Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander the Jew, hath demonstrated his fidelity and diligence about our affairs, and this both now and in former times, both in peace and in war, as many of our generals have borne witness, and came to our assistance in the last Alexandrian war, with fifteen hundred soldiers; and when he was sent by me to Mithridates, showed himself superior in valour to all the rest of that army;—for these reasons I will that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, and his children, be ethnarchs of the Jews, and have the high priesthood of the Jews for ever, according to the customs of their forefathers, and that he and his sons be our confederates; and that besides this, everyone of them be reckoned among our particular friends. I also ordain that he and his children retain whatsoever privileges belong to the office of high priest, or whatsoever favours have been hitherto granted them; and if at any time hereafter there arise any questions about the Jewish customs, I will that he determine the same. And I think it not proper that they should be obliged to find us winter quarters, or that any money should be required of them."

3. "The decrees of Caius Caesar, consul, containing what hath been granted and determined, are as follows: That Hyrcanus and his children bear rule over the nation of the Jews, and have the profits of the places to them bequeathed; and that he, as himself the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, defend those that are injured; and that ambassadors be sent to Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest of the Jews, that may discourse with him about a league of friendship and mutual assistance; and that a table of brass, containing the premises, be openly proposed in the capitol, and at Sidon, and Tyre, and Askelon, and in the temple, engraven in Roman and Greek letters: that this decree may also be communicated to the quaestors and praetors of the several cities, and to the friends of the Jews; and that the ambassadors may have presents made them; and that these decrees be sent every where."

4. "Caius Caesar, imperator, dictator, consul, hath granted, That out of regard to the honour, and virtue, and kindness of the man, and for the advantage of the senate, and of the people of Rome, Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, both he and his children, be high priests and priests of Jerusalem, and of the Jewish nation, by the same right, and according to the same laws, by which their progenitors have held the priesthood."

5. "Caius Caesar, consul the fifth time, hath decreed, That the Jews shall possess Jerusalem, and may encompass that city with walls; and that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, retain it in the manner he himself pleases; and that the Jews be allowed to deduct out of their tribute, every second year the land is let [in the Sabbatic period], a corus of that tribute; and that the tribute they pay be not let to farm, nor that they pay always the same tribute."

6. "Caius Caesar, imperator the second time, hath ordained, That all the country of the Jews, excepting Joppa, do pay a tribute yearly for the city Jerusalem, excepting the seventh, which they call the sabbatical year, because thereon they neither receive the fruits of their trees, nor do they sow their land; and that they pay their tribute in Sidon on the second year [of that sabbatical period], the fourth part of what was sown: and besides this, they are to pay the same tithes to Hyrcanus and his sons which they paid to their forefathers. And that no one, neither president, nor lieutenant, nor ambassador, raise auxiliaries within the bounds of Judea; nor may soldiers exact money of them for winter quarters, or under any other pretense; but that they be free from all sorts of injuries; and that whatsoever they shall hereafter have, and are in possession of, or have bought, they shall retain them all. It is also our pleasure that the city Joppa, which the Jews had originally, when they made a league of friendship with the Romans, shall belong to them, as it formerly did; and that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, and his sons, have as tribute of that city from those that occupy the land for the country, and for what they export every year to Sidon, twenty thousand six hundred and seventy-five modii every year, the seventh year, which they call the Sabbatic year, excepted, whereon they neither plough, nor receive the product of their trees. It is also the pleasure of the senate, that as to the villages which are in the great plain, which Hyrcanus and his forefathers formerly possessed, Hyrcanus and the Jews have them with the same privileges with which they formerly had them also; and that the same original ordinances remain still in force which concern the Jews with regard to their high priests; and that they enjoy the same benefits which they have had formerly by the concession of the people, and of the senate; and let them enjoy the like privileges in Lydda. It is the pleasure also of the senate that Hyrcanus the ethnarch, and the Jews, retain those places, countries, and villages which belonged to the kings of Syria and Phoenicia, the confederates of the Romans, and which they had bestowed on them as their free gifts. It is also granted to Hyrcanus, and to his sons, and to the ambassadors by them sent to us, that in the fights between single gladiators, and in those with beasts, they shall sit among the senators to see those shows; and that when they desire an audience, they shall be introduced into the senate by the dictator, or by the general of the horse; and when they have introduced them, their answers shall be returned them in ten days at the furthest, after the decree of the senate is made about their affairs."

7. "Caius Caesar, imperator, dictator the fourth time, and consul the fifth time, declared to be perpetual dictator, made this speech concerning the rights and privileges of Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews. Since those imperators that have been in the provinces before me have borne witness to Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews, and to the Jews themselves, and this before the senate and people of Rome, when the people and senate returned their thanks to them, it is good that we now also remember the same, and provide that a requital be made to Hyrcanus, to the nation of the Jews, and to the sons of Hyrcanus, by the senate and people of Rome, and that suitably to what good-will they have shown us, and to the benefits they have bestowed upon us."

8. "Julius Caius, praetor [consul] of Rome, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Parians, sendeth greeting. The Jews of Delos, and some other Jews that sojourn there, in the presence of your ambassadors, signified to us, that, by a decree of yours, you forbid them to make use of the customs of their forefathers, and their way of sacred worship. Now it does not please me that such decrees should be made against our friends and confederates, whereby they are forbidden to live according to their own customs, or to bring in contributions for common suppers and holy festivals, while they are not forbidden so to do even at Rome itself; for even Caius Caesar, our imperator and consul, in that decree wherein he forbade the Bacchanal rioters to meet in the city, did yet permit these Jews, and these only, both to bring in their contributions, and to make their common suppers. Accordingly, when I forbid other Bacchanal rioters, I permit these Jews to gather themselves together, according to the customs and laws of their forefathers, and to persist therein. It will be therefore good for you, that if you have made any decree against these our friends and confederates, to abrogate the same, by reason of their virtue and kind disposition towards us."

9. Now after Caius was slain, when Marcus Antonius and Publius Dolabella were consuls, they both assembled the senate, and introduced Hyrcanus's ambassadors into it, and discoursed of what they desired, and made a league of friendship with them. The senate also decreed to grant them all they desired. I add the decree itself, that those who read the present work may have ready by them a demonstration of the truth of what we say. The decree was this:

10. "The decree of the senate, copied out of the treasury, from the public tables belonging to the quaestors, when Quintus Rutilius and Caius Cornelius were quaestors, and taken out of the second table of the first class, on the third day before the Ides of April, in the temple of Concord. There were present at the writing of this decree, Lucius Calpurnius Piso of the Menenian tribe, Servius Papinins Potitus of the Lemonian tribe, Caius Caninius Rebilius of the Terentine tribe, Publius Tidetius, Lucius Apulinus, the son of Lucius, of the Sergian tribe, Flavius, the son of Lucius, of the Lemonian tribe, Publius Platins, the son of Publius, of the Papyrian tribe, Marcus Acilius, the son of Marcus, of the Mecian tribe, Lucius Erucius, the son of Lucius, of the Stellatine tribe, Mareils Quintus Plancillus, the son of Marcus, of the Pollian tribe, and Publius Serius. Publius Dolabella and Marcus Antonius, the consuls, made this reference to the senate, that as to those things which, by the decree of the senate, Caius Caesar had adjudged about the Jews, and yet had not hitherto that decree been brought into the treasury, it is our will, as it is also the desire of Publius Dolabella and Marcus Antonius, our consuls, to have these decrees put into the public tables, and brought to the city quaestors, that they may take care to have them put upon the double tables. This was done before the fifth of the Ides of February, in the temple of Concord. Now the ambassadors from Hyrcanus the high priest were these: Lysimachus, the son of Pausanias, Alexander, the son of Theodorus, Patroclus, the son of Chereas, and Jonathan the son of Onias."

11. Hyrcanus sent also one of these ambassadors to Dolabella, who was then the prefect of Asia, and desired him to dismiss the Jews from military services, and to preserve to

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them the customs of their forefathers, and to permit them to live according to them. And when Dolabella had received Hyrcanus's letter, without any further deliberation, he sent an epistle to all the Asiatics, and particularly to the city of the Ephesians, the metropolis of Asia, about the Jews; a copy of which epistle here follows:

12. "When Artermon was prytanis, on the first day of the month Leneon, Dolabella, imperator, to the senate, and magistrates, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting. Alexander, the son of Theodorus, the ambassador of Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, appeared before me, to show that his countrymen could not go into their armies, because they are not allowed to bear arms or to travel on the sabbath days, nor there to procure themselves those sorts of food which they have been used to eat from the times of their forefathers;—I do therefore grant them a freedom from going into the army, as the former prefects have done, and permit them to use the customs of their forefathers, in assembling together for sacred and religious purposes, as their law requires, and for collecting oblations necessary for sacrifices; and my will is, that you write this to the several cities under your jurisdiction."

13. And these were the concessions that Dolabella made to our nation when Hyrcanus sent an embassage to him. But Lucius the consul's decree ran thus: "I have at my tribunal set these Jews, who are citizens of Rome, and follow the Jewish religious rites, and yet live at Ephesus, free from going into the army, on account of the superstition they are under. This was done before the twelfth of the calends of October, when Lucius Lentulus and Caius Marcellus were consuls, in the presence of Titus Appius Balgus, the son of Titus, and lieutenant of the Horatian tribe; of Titus Tongins, the son of Titus, of the Crustumine tribe; of Quintus Resius, the son of Quintus; of Titus Pompeius Longinus, the son of Titus; of Catus Servilius, the son of Caius, of the Terentine tribe; of Bracchus the military tribune; of Publius Lucius Gallus, the son of Publius, of the Veturian tribe; of Caius Sentins, the son of Caius, of the Sabbatine tribe; of Titus Atilius Bulbus, the son of Titus, lieutenant and vice-praetor to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting. Lucius Lentulus the consul freed the Jews that are in Asia from going into the armies, at my intercession for them; and when I had made the same petition some time afterward to Phanius the imperator, and to Lucius Antonius the vice-quaestor, I obtained that privilege of them also; and my will is, that you take care that no one give them any disturbance."

14. The decree of the Delians. "The answer of the praetors, when Beotus was archon, on the twentieth day of the month Thargeleon. While Marcus Piso the lieutenant lived in our city, who was also appointed over the choice of the soldiers, he called us, and many other of the citizens, and gave order, that if there be here any Jews who are Roman citizens, no one is to give them any disturbance about going into the army, because Cornelius Lentulus, the consul, freed the Jews from going into the army, on account of the superstition they are under;—you are therefore obliged to submit to the praetor." And the like decree was made by the Sardians about us also.

15. "Caius Phanius, the son of Caius, imperator and consul, to the magistrates of Cos, sendeth greeting. I would have you know that the ambassadors of the Jews have been with me, and desired they might have those decrees which the senate had made about them; which decrees are here subjoined. My will is, that you have a regard to and take care of these men, according to the senate's decree, that they may be safely conveyed home through your country."

16. The declaration of Lucius Lentulus the consul: "I have dismissed those Jews who are Roman citizens, and who appear to me to have their religious rites, and to observe the laws of the Jews at Ephesus, on account of the superstition they are under. This act was done before the thirteenth of the calends of October."

17. "Lucius Antonius, the son of Marcus, vice-quaestor, and vice-praetor, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Sardians, sendeth greeting. Those Jews that are our fellow citizens of Rome came to me, and demonstrated that they had an assembly of their own, according to the laws of their forefathers, and this from the beginning, as also a place of their own, wherein they determined their suits and controversies with one another. Upon their petition therefore to me, that these might be lawful for them, I gave order that these their privileges be preserved, and they be permitted to do accordingly."

18. The declaration of Marcus Publius, the son of Spurius, and of Marcus, the son of Marcus, and of Lucius, the son of Publius: "We went to the proconsul, and informed him of what Dositheus, the son of Cleopatrida of Alexandria, desired, that, if he thought good, he would dismiss those Jews who were Roman citizens, and were wont to observe the rites of the Jewish religion, on account of the superstition they were under. Accordingly, he did dismiss them. This was done before the thirteenth of the calends of October."

19. "In the month Quntius, when Lucius Lentulus and Caius Mercellus were consuls; and there were present Titus Appius Balbus, the son of Titus, lieutenant of the Horatian tribe, Titus Tongius of the Crustumine tribe, Quintus Resius, the son of Quintus, Titus Pompeius, the son of Titus, Cornelius Longinus, Caius Servilius Bracchus, the son of Caius, a military tribune, of the Terentine tribe, Publius Clusius Gallus, the son of Publius, of the Veturian tribe, Caius Teutius, the son of Caius, a milital tribune, of the EmilJan tribe, Sextus Atilius Serranus, the son of Sextus, of the Esquiline tribe, Caius Pompeius, the son of Caius, of the Sabbatine tribe, Titus Appius Menander, the son of Titus, Publius Servilius Strabo, the son of Publius, Lucius Paccius Capito, the son of Lucius, of the Colline tribe, Aulus Furius Tertius, the son of Aulus, and Appius Menus. In the presence of these it was that Lentulus pronounced this decree: I have before the tribunal dismissed those Jews that are Roman citizens, and are accustomed to observe the sacred rites of the Jews at Ephesus, on account of the superstition they are under."

20. "The magistrates of the Laodiceans to Caius Rubilius, the son of Caius, the consul, sendeth greeting. Sopater, the ambassador of Hyrcanus the high priest, hath delivered us an epistle from thee, whereby he lets us know that certain ambassadors were come from Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews, and brought an epistle written concerning their nation, wherein they desire that the Jews may be allowed to observe their Sabbaths, and other sacred rites, according to the laws of their forefathers, and that they may be under no command, because they are our friends and confederates, and that nobody may injure them in our provinces. Now although the Trallians there present contradicted them, and were not pleased with these decrees, yet didst thou give order that they should be observed, and informedst us that thou hadst been desired to write this to us about them. We therefore, in obedience to the injunctions we have received from thee, have received the epistle which thou sentest us, and have laid it up by itself among our public records. And as to the other things about which thou didst send to us, we will take care that no complaint be made against us."

21. "Publius Servilius, the son of Publius, of the Galban tribe, the proconsul, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Milesians, sendeth greeting. Prytanes, the son of Hermes, a citizen of yours, came to me when I was at Tralles, and held a court there, and informed me that you used the Jews in a way different from my opinion, and forbade them to celebrate their Sabbaths, and to perform the Sacred rites received from their forefathers, and to manage the fruits of the land, according to their ancient custom; and that he had himself been the promulger of your decree, according as your laws require: I would therefore have you know, that upon hearing the pleadings on both sides, I gave sentence that the Jews should not be prohibited to make use of their own customs."

22. The decree of those of Pergamus. "When Cratippus was prytanis, on the first day of the month Desius, the decree of the praetors was this: Since the Romans, following the conduct of their ancestors, undertake dangers for the common safety of all mankind, and are ambitious to settle their confederates and friends in happiness, and in firm peace, and since the nation of the Jews, and their high priest Hyrcanus, sent as ambassadors to them, Strato, the son of Theodatus, and Apollonius, the son of Alexander, and Eneas, the son of Antipater, and Aristobulus, the son of Amyntas, and Sosipater, the son of Philip, worthy and good men, who gave a particular account of their affairs, the senate thereupon made a decree about what they had desired of them, that Antiochus the king, the son of Antiochus, should do no injury to the Jews, the confederates of the Romans; and that the fortresses, and the havens, and the country, and whatsoever else he had taken from them, should be restored to them; and that it may be lawful for them to export their goods out of their own havens; and that no king nor people may have leave to export any goods, either out of the country of Judea, or out of their havens, without paying customs, but only Ptolemy, the king of Alexandria, because he is our confederate and friend; and that, according to their desire, the garrison that is in Joppa may be ejected. Now Lucius Pettius, one of our senators, a worthy and good man, gave order that we should take care that these things should be done according to the senate's decree; and that we should take care also that their ambassadors might return home in safety. Accordingly, we admitted Theodorus into our senate and assembly, and took the epistle out his hands, as well as the decree of the senate. And as he discoursed with great zeal about the Jews, and described Hyrcanus's virtue and generosity, and how he was a benefactor to all men in common, and particularly to every body that comes to him, we laid up the epistle in our public records; and made a decree ourselves, that since we also are in confederacy with the Romans, we would do every thing we could for the Jews, according to the senate's decree. Theodorus also, who brought the epistle, desired of our praetors, that they would send Hyrcanus a copy of that decree, as also ambassadors to signify to him the affection of our people to him, and to exhort them to preserve and augment their friendship for us, and be ready to bestow other benefits upon us, as justly expecting to receive proper requitals from us; and desiring them to remember that our ancestors were friendly to the Jews even in the days of Abraham, who was the father of all the Hebrews, as we have [also] found it set down in our public records."

23. The decree of those of Halicarnassus. "When Memnon, the son of Orestidas by descent, but by adoption of Euonymus, was priest, on the —— day of the month Aristerion, the decree of the people, upon the representation of Marcus Alexander, was this: Since we have ever a great regard to piety towards God, and to holiness; and since we aim to follow the people of the Romans, who are the benefactors of all men, and what they have written to us about a league of friendship and mutual assistance between the Jews and our city, and that their sacred offices and accustomed festivals and assemblies may be observed by them; we have decreed, that as many men and women of the Jews as are willing so to do, may celebrate their Sabbaths, and perform their holy offices, according to Jewish laws; and may make their proseuchae at the sea-side, according to the customs of their forefathers; and if any one, whether he be a magistrate or private person, hindereth them from so doing, he shall be liable to a fine, to be applied to the uses of the city."

24. The decree of the Sardians. "This decree was made by the senate and people, upon the representation of the praetors: Whereas those Jews who are fellow citizens, and live with us in this city, have ever had great benefits heaped upon them by the people, and have come now into the senate, and desired of the people, that upon the restitution of their law and their liberty, by the senate and people of Rome, they may assemble together, according to their ancient legal custom, and that we will not bring any suit against them about it; and that a place may be given them where they may have their congregations, with their wives and children, and may offer, as did their forefathers, their prayers and sacrifices to God. Now the senate and people have decreed to permit them to assemble together on the days formerly appointed, and to act according to their own laws; and that such a place be set apart for them by the praetors, for the building and inhabiting the same, as they shall esteem fit for that purpose; and that those that take care of the provision for the city, shall take care that such sorts of food as they esteem fit for their eating may be imported into the city."

25. The decree of the Ephesians. "When Menophilus was prytanis, on the first day of the month Artemisius, this decree was made by the people: Nicanor, the son of Euphemus, pronounced it, upon the representation of the praetors. Since the Jews that dwell in this city have petitioned Marcus Julius Pompeius, the son of Brutus, the proconsul, that they might be allowed to observe their Sabbaths, and to act in all things according to the customs of their forefathers, without impediment from any body, the praetor hath granted their petition. Accordingly, it was decreed by the senate and people, that in this affair that concerned the Romans, no one of them should be hindered from keeping the sabbath day, nor be fined for so doing, but that they may be allowed to do all things according to their own laws."

26. Now there are many such decrees of the senate and imperators of the Romans 20 and those different from these before us, which have been made in favour of Hyrcanus, and of our nation; as also, there have been more decrees of the cities, and rescripts of the praetors, to such epistles as concerned our rights and privileges; and certainly such as are not ill-disposed to what we write may believe that they are all to this purpose, and that by the specimens which we have inserted; for since we have produced evident marks that may still be seen of the friendship we have had with the Romans, and demonstrated that those marks are engraven upon columns and tables of brass in the capitol, that axe still in being, and preserved to this day, we have omitted to set them all down, as needless and disagreeable; for I cannot suppose any one so perverse as not to believe the friendship we have had with the Romans, while they have demonstrated the same by such a great number of their decrees relating to us; nor will they doubt of our fidelity as to the rest of those decrees, since we have shown the same in those we have produced, And thus have we sufficiently explained that friendship and confederacy we at those times had with the Romans.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 11

How Marcus, Succeeded Sextus When He Had Been Slain By Bassus's Treachery; And How, After The Death Of Caesar, Cassius Came Into Syria, And Distressed Judea; As Also How Malichus Slew Antipater And Was Himself Slain By Herod.

1. Now it so fell out, that about this very time the affairs of Syria were in great disorder, and this on the occasion following: Cecilius Bassus, one of Pompey's party, laid a treacherous design against Sextus Caesar, and slew him, and then took his army, and got the management of public affairs into his own hand; so there arose a great war about Apamia, while Caesar's generals came against him with an army of horsemen and footmen; to these Antipater also sent succors, and his sons with them, as calling to mind the kindnesses they had received from Caesar, and on that account he thought it but just to require punishment for him, and to take vengeance on the man that had murdered him. And as the war was drawn

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out into a great length, Marcus came from Rome to take Sextus's government upon him. But Caesar was slain by Cassius and Brutus in the senate-house, after he had retained the government three years and six months. This fact however, is related elsewhere.

2. As the war that arose upon the death of Caesar was now begun, and the principal men were all gone, some one way, and some another, to raise armies, Cassius came from Rome into Syria, in order to receive the [army that lay in the] camp at Apamia; and having raised the siege, he brought over both Bassus and Marcus to his party. He then went over the cities, and got together weapons and soldiers, and laid great taxes upon those cities; and he chiefly oppressed Judea, and exacted of it seven hundred talents: but Antipater, when he saw the state to be in so great consternation and disorder, he divided the collection of that sum, and appointed his two sons to gather it; and so that part of it was to be exacted by Malichus, who was ill- disposed to him, and part by others. And because Herod did exact what is required of him from Galilee before others, he was in the greatest favour with Cassius; for he thought it a part of prudence to cultivate a friendship with the Romans, and to gain their goodwill at the expense of others; whereas the curators of the other cities, with their citizens, were sold for slaves; and Cassius reduced four cities into a state of slavery, the two most potent of which were Gophna and Emmaus; and, besides these, Lydia and Thamna. Nay, Cassius was so very angry at Malichus, that he had killed him, [for he assaulted him,] had not Hyrcanus, by the means of Antipater, sent him a hundred talents of his own, and thereby pacified his anger against him.

3. But after Cassius was gone out of Judea, Malichus laid snares for Antipater, as thinking that his death would-be the preservation of Hyrcanus's government; but his design was not unknown to Antipater, which when he perceived, he retired beyond Jordan, and got together an army, partly of Arabs, and partly of his own countrymen. However, Malichus, being one of great cunning, denied that he had laid any snares for him, and made his defense with an oath, both to himself and his sons; and said that while Phasaelus had a garrison in Jerusalem, and Herod had the weapons of war in his custody, he could never have a thought of any such thing. So Antipater, perceiving the distress that Malichus was in, was reconciled to him, and made an agreement with him: this was when Marcus was president of Syria; who yet perceiving that this Malichus was making a disturbance in Judea, proceeded so far that he had almost killed him; but still, at the intercession of Antipater, he saved him.

4. However, Antipater little thought that by saving Malichus he had saved his own murderer; for now Cassius and Marcus had got together an army, and intrusted the entire care of it with Herod, and made him general of the forces of Celesyria, and gave him a fleet of ships, and an army of horsemen and footmen; and promised him, that after the war was over they would make him king of Judea; for a war was already begun between Antony and the younger Caesar: but as Malichus was most afraid of Antipater, he took him out of the way; and by the offer of money, persuaded the butler of Hyrcanus, with whom they were both to feast, to kill him by poison. This being done, and he having armed men with him, settled the affairs of the city. But when Antipater's sons, Herod and Phasaelus, were acquainted with this conspiracy against their father, and had indignation at it, Malichus denied all, and utterly renounced any knowledge of the murder. And thus died Antipater, a man that had distinguished himself for piety and justice, and love to his country. And whereas one of his sons, Herod, resolved immediately to revenge their father's death, and was coming upon Malichus with an army for that purpose, the elder of his sons, Phasaelus, thought it best rather to get this man into their hands by policy, lest they should appear to begin a civil war in the country; so he accepted of Malichus's defense for himself, and pretended to believe him that he had had no hand in the violent death of Antipater his father, but erected a fine monument for him. Herod also went to Samaria; and when he found them in great distress, he revived their spirits, and composed their differences.

5. However, a little after this, Herod, upon the approach of a festival, came with his soldiers into the city; whereupon Malichus was affrighted, and persuaded Hyrcanus not to permit him to come into the city. Hyrcanus complied; and, for a pretense of excluding him, alleged, that a rout of strangers ought not to be admitted when the multitude were purifying themselves. But Herod had little regard to the messengers that were sent to him, and entered the city in the night time, and affrighted Malichus; yet did he remit nothing of his former dissimulation, but wept for Antipater, and bewailed him as a friend of his with a loud voice; but Herod and his friends though, it proper not openly to contradict Malichus's hypocrisy, but to give him tokens of mutual friendship, in order to prevent his suspicion of them.

6. However, Herod sent to Cassius, and informed him of the murder of his father; who knowing what sort of man Malichus was as to his morals, sent him back word that he should revenge his father's death; and also sent privately to the commanders of his army at Tyre, with orders to assist Herod in the execution of a very just design of his. Now when Cassius had taken Laodicea, they all went together to him, and carried him garlands and money; and Herod thought that Malichus might be punished while he was there; but he was somewhat apprehensive of the thing, and designed to make some great attempt, and because his son was then a hostage at Tyre, he went to that city, and resolved to steal him away privately, and to march thence into Judea; and as Cassius was in haste to march against Antony, he thought to bring the country to revolt, and to procure the government for himself. But Providence opposed his counsels; and Herod being a shrewd man, and perceiving what his intention was, he sent thither beforehand a servant, in appearance indeed to get a supper ready, for he had said before that he would feast them all there, but in reality to the commanders of the army, whom he persuaded to go out against Malichus, with their daggers. So they went out and met the man near the city, upon the sea-shore, and there stabbed him. Whereupon Hyrcanus was so astonished at what had happened, that his speech failed him; and when, after some difficulty, he had recovered himself, he asked Herod what the matter could be, and who it was that slew Malichus; and when he said that it was done by the command of Cassius, he commended the action; for that Malichus was a very wicked man, and one that conspired against his own country. And this was the punishment that was inflicted on Malichus for what he wickedly did to Antipater.

7. But when Cassius was marched out of Syria, disturbances arose in Judea; for Felix, who was left at Jerusalem with an army, made a sudden attempt against Phasaelus, and the people themselves rose in arms; but Herod went to Fabius, the prefect of Damascus, and was desirous to run to his brother's assistance, but was hindered by a distemper that seized upon him, till Phasaelus by himself had been too hard for Felix, and had shut him up in the tower, and there, on certain conditions, dismissed him. Phasaelus also complained of Hyrcanus, that although he had received a great many benefits from them, yet did he support their enemies; for Malichus's brother had made many places to revolt, and kept garrisons in them, and particularly Masada, the strongest fortress of them all. In the mean time, Herod was recovered of his disease, and came and took from Felix all the places he had gotten; and, upon certain conditions, dismissed him also.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 12

Herod Ejects Antigonus, The Son Of Aristobulus Out Of Judea, And Gains The Friendship Of Antony, Who Was Now Come Into Syria, By Sending Him Much Money; On Which Account He Would Not Admit Of Those That Would Have Accused Herod: And What It Was That Antony Wrote To The Tyrians In Behalf.

1. Now, Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, brought back into Judea Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, who had already raised an army, and had, by money, made Fabius to be his friend, add this because he was of kin to him. Marion also gave him assistance. He had been left by Cassius to tyrannize over Tyre; for this Cassius was a man that seized on Syria, and then kept it under, in the way of a tyrant. Marion also marched into Galilee, which lay in his neighbourhood, and took three of his fortresses, and put garrisons into them to keep them. But when Herod came, he took all from him; but the Tyrian garrison he dismissed in a very civil manner; nay, to some of the soldiers he made presents out of the good-will he bare to that city. When he had despatched these affairs, and was gone to meet Antigonus, he joined battle with him, and beat him, and drove him out of Judea presently, when he was just come into its borders. But when he was come to Jerusalem, Hyrcanus and the people put garlands about his head; for he had already contracted an affinity with the family of Hyrcanus by having espoused a descendant of his, and for that reason Herod took the greater care of him, as being to marry the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, add the granddaughter of Hyrcanus, by which wife he became the father of three male and two female children. He had also married before this another wife, out of a lower family of his own nation, whose name was Doris, by whom he had his eldest son Antipater.

2. Now Antonius and Caesar had beaten Cassius near Philippi, as others have related; but after the victory, Caesar went into Gaul, [Italy,] and Antony marched for Asia, who, when he was arrived at Bithynia, he had ambassadors that met him from all parts. The principal men also of the Jews came thither, to accuse Phasaelus and Herod; and they said that Hyrcanus had indeed the appearance of reigning, but that these men had all the power: but Antony paid great respect to Herod, who was come to him to make his defense against his accusers, on which account his adversaries could not so much as obtain a hearing; which favour Herod had gained of Antony by money. But still, when Antony was come to Ephesus, Hyrcanus the high priest, and our nation, sent an embassage to him, which carried a crown of gold with them, and desired that he would write to the governors of the provinces, to set those Jews free who had been carried captive by Cassius, and this without their having fought against him, and to restore them that country, which, in the days of Cassius, had been taken from them. Antony thought the Jews' desires were just, and wrote immediately to Hyrcanus, and to the Jews. He also sent, at the same time, a decree to the Tyrians; the contents of which were to the same purpose.

3. "Marcus Antonius, imperator, to Hyrcanus the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, sendeth greeting. It you be in health, it is well; I am also in health, with the army. Lysimachus, the son of Pausanias, and Josephus, the son of Menneus, and Alexander, the son of Theodorus, your ambassadors, met me at Ephesus, and have renewed the embassage which they had formerly been upon at Rome, and have diligently acquitted themselves of the present embassage, which thou and thy nation have intrusted to them, and have fully declared the goodwill thou hast for us. I am therefore satisfied, both by your actions and your words, that you are well-disposed to us; and I understand that your conduct of life is constant and religious: so I reckon upon you as our own. But when those that were adversaries to you, and to the Roman people, abstained neither from cities nor temples, and did not observe the agreement they had confirmed by oath, it was not only on account of our contest with them, but on account of all mankind in common, that we have taken vengeance on those who have been the authors of great injustice towards men, and of great wickedness towards the gods; for the sake of which we suppose it was that the sun turned away his light from us, as unwilling to view the horrid crime they were guilty of in the case of Caesar. We have also overcome their conspiracies, which threatened the gods themselves, which Macedonia received, as it is a climate peculiarly proper for impious and insolent attempts; and we have overcome that confused rout of men, half mad with spite against us, which they got together at Philippi in Macedonia, when they seized on the places that were proper for their purpose, and, as it were, walled them round with mountains to the very sea, and where the passage was open only through a single gate. This victory we gained, because the gods had condemned those men for their wicked enterprises. Now Brutus, when he had fled as far as Philippi, was shut up by us, and became a partaker of the same perdition with Cassius; and now these have received their punishment, we suppose that we may enjoy peace for the time to come, and that Asia may be at rest from war. We therefore make that peace which God hath given us common to our confederates also, insomuch that the body of Asia is now recovered out of that distemper it was under by the means of our victory. I, therefore, bearing in mind both thee and your nation, shall take care of what may be for your advantage. I have also sent epistles in writing to the several cities, that if any persons, whether free-men or bond-men, have been sold under the spear by Caius Cassius, or his subordinate officers, they may be set free. And I will that you kindly make use of the favours which I and Dolabella have granted you. I also forbid the Tyrians to use any violence with you; and for what places of the Jews they now possess, I order them to restore them. I have withal accepted of the crown which thou sentest me."

4. "Marcus Antonius, imperator, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Tyre, sendeth greeting. The ambassadors of Hyrcanus, the high priest and ethnarch [of the Jews], appeared before me at Ephesus, and told me that you are in possession of part of their country, which you entered upon under the government of our adversaries. Since, therefore, we have undertaken a war for the obtaining the government, and have taken care to do what was agreeable to piety and justice, and have brought to punishment those that had neither any remembrance of the kindnesses they had received, nor have kept their oaths, I will that you be at peace with those that are our confederates; as also, that what you have taken by the means of our adversaries shall not be reckoned your own, but be returned to those from whom you took them; for none of them took their provinces or their armies by the gift of the senate, but they seized them by force, and bestowed them by violence upon such as became useful to them in their unjust proceedings. Since, therefore, those men have received the punishment due to them, we desire that our confederates may retain whatsoever it was that they formerly possessed without disturbance, and that you restore all the places which belong to Hyrcanus, the ethnarch of the Jews, which you have had, though it were but one day before Caius Cassius began an unjustifiable war against us, and entered into our province; nor do you use any force against him, in order to weaken him, that he may not be able to dispose of that which is his own; but if you have any contest with him about your respective rights, it shall be lawful for you to plead your cause when we come upon the places concerned, for we shall alike preserve the rights and hear all the causes of our confederates."

5. "Marcus Antonius, imperator, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Tyre, sendeth greeting. I have sent you my decree, of which I will that ye take care that it be engraven on the public tables, in Roman and Greek letters, and that it stand engraven in the most illustrious places, that it may be read by all. Marcus Antonius, imperator, one of the triumvirate over the public affairs, made this declaration:

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Since Caius Cassius, in this revolt he hath made, hath pillaged that province which belonged not to him, and was held by garrisons there encamped, while they were our confederates, and hath spoiled that nation of the Jews that was in friendship with the Roman people, as in war; and since we have overcome his madness by arms, we now correct by our decrees and judicial determinations what he hath laid waste, that those things may be restored to our confederates. And as for what hath been sold of the Jewish possessions, whether they be bodies or possessions, let them be released; the bodies into that state of freedom they were originally in, and the possessions to their former owners. I also will that he who shall not comply with this decree of mine shall be punished for his disobedience; and if such a one be caught, I will take care that the offenders suffer condign punishment."

6. The same thing did Antony write to the Sidonians, and the Antiochians, and the Aradians. We have produced these decrees, therefore, as marks for futurity of the truth of what we have said, that the Romans had a great concern about our nation.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 13

How Antony Made Herod And Phasaelus Tetrarchs, After They Had Been Accused To No Purpose; And How The Parthians When They Brought Antigonus Into Judea Took Hyrcanus And Phasaelus Captives. Herod's Flight; And What Afflictions Hyrcanus And Phasaelus Endured.

1. When after this Antony came into Syria, Cleopatra met him in Cilicia, and brought him to fall in love with her. And there came now also a hundred of the most potent of the Jews to accuse Herod and those about him, and set the men of the greatest eloquence among them to speak. But Messala contradicted them, on behalf of the young men, and all this in the presence of Hyrcanus, who was Herod's father-in-law already. When Antony had heard both sides at Daphne, he asked Hyrcanus who they were that governed the nation best. He replied, Herod and his friends. Hereupon Antony, by reason of the old hospitable friendship he had made with his father [Antipater], at that time when he was with Gabinius, he made both Herod and Phasaelus tetrarchs, and committed the public affairs of the Jews to them, and wrote letters to that purpose. He also bound fifteen of their adversaries, and was going to kill them, but that Herod obtained their pardon.

2. Yet did not these men continue quiet when they were come back, but a thousand of the Jews came to Tyre to meet him there, whither the report was that he would come. But Antony was corrupted by the money which Herod and his brother had given him; and so he gave order to the governor of the place to punish the Jewish ambassadors, who were for making innovations, and to settle the government upon Herod; but Herod went out hastily to them, and Hyrcanus was with him, [for they stood upon the shore before the city,] and he charged them to go their ways, because great mischief would befall them if they went on with their accusation. But they did not acquiesce; whereupon the Romans ran upon them with their daggers, and slew some, and wounded more of them, and the rest fled away and went home, and lay still in great consternation. And when the people made a clamour against Herod, Antony was so provoked at it, that he slew the prisoners.

3. Now, in the second year, Pacorus, the king of Parthia's son, and Barzapharnes, a commander of the Parthians, possessed themselves of Syria. Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, also was now dead, and Lysanias his son took his government, and made a league of friendship with Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus; and in order to obtain it, made use of that commander, who had great interest in him. Now Antigonus had promised to give the Parthians a thousand talents, and five hundred women, upon condition they would take the government away from Hyrcanus, and bestow it upon him, and withal kill Herod. And although he did not give them what he had promised, yet did the Parthians make an expedition into Judea on that account, and carried Antigonus with them. Pacorus went along the maritime parts, but the commander Barzapharnes through the midland. Now the Tyrians excluded Pacorus, but the Sidonians and those of Ptolemais received him. However, Pacorus sent a troop of horsemen into Judea, to take a view of the state of the country, and to assist Antigonus; and sent also the king's butler, of the same name with himself. So when the Jews that dwelt about Mount Carmel came to Antigonus, and were ready to march with him into Judea, Antigonus hoped to get some part of the country by their assistance. The place is called Drymi; and when some others came and met them, the men privately fell upon Jerusalem; and when some more were come to them, they got together in great numbers, and came against the king's palace, and besieged it. But as Phasaelus's and Herod's party came to the other's assistance, and a battle happened between them in the market-place, the young men beat their enemies, and pursued them into the temple, and sent some armed men into the adjoining houses to keep them in, who yet being destitute of such as should support them, were burnt, and the houses with them, by the people who rose up against them. But Herod was revenged on these seditious adversaries of his a little afterward for this injury they had offered him, when he fought with them, and slew a great number of them.

4. But while there were daily skirmishes, the enemy waited for the coming of the multitude out of the country to Pentecost, a feast of ours so called; and when that day was come, many ten thousands of the people were gathered together about the temple, some in armour, and some without. Now those that came guarded both the temple and the city, excepting what belonged to the palace, which Herod guarded with a few of his soldiers; and Phasaelus had the charge of the wall, while Herod, with a body of his men, sallied out upon the enemy, who lay in the suburbs, and fought courageously, and put many ten thousands to flight, some flying into the city, and some into the temple, and some into the outer fortifications, for some such fortifications there were in that place. Phasaelus came also to his assistance; yet was Pacorus, the general of the Parthians, at the desire of Antigonus, admitted into the city, with a few of his horsemen, under pretence indeed as if he would still the sedition, but in reality to assist Antigonus in obtaining the government. And when Phasaelus met him, and received him kindly, Pacorus persuaded him to go himself as ambassador to Barzapharnes, which was done fraudulently. Accordingly, Phasaelus, suspecting no harm, complied with his proposal, while Herod did not give his consent to what was done, because of the perfidiousness of these barbarians, but desired Phasaelus rather to fight those that were come into the city.

5. So both Hyrcanus and Phasaelus went on the embassage; but Pacorus left with Herod two hundred horsemen, and ten men, who were called the freemen, and conducted the others on their journey; and when they were in Galilee, the governors of the cities there met them in their arms. Barzapharnes also received them at the first with cheerfulness, and made them presents, though he afterward conspired against them; and Phasaelus, with his horsemen, were conducted to the sea-side. But when they heard that Antigonus had promised to give the Parthians a thousand talents, and five hundred women, to assist him against them, they soon had a suspicion of the barbarians. Moreover, there was one who informed them that snares were laid for them by night, while a guard came about them secretly; and they had then been seized upon, had not they waited for the seizure of Herod by the Parthians that were about Jerusalem, lest, upon the slaughter of Hyrcanus and Phasaelus, he should have an intimation of it, and escape out of their hands. And these were the circumstances they were now in; and they saw who they were that guarded them. Some persons indeed would have persuaded Phasaelus to fly away immediately on horseback, and not stay any longer; and there was one Ophellius, who, above all the rest, was earnest with him to do so; for he had heard of this treachery from Saramalla, the richest of all the Syrians at that time, who also promised to provide him ships to carry him off; for the sea was just by them. But he had no mind to desert Hyrcanus, nor bring his brother into danger; but he went to Barzapharnes, and told him he did not act justly when he made such a contrivance against them; for that if he wanted money, he would give him more than Antigonus; and besides, that it was a horrible thing to slay those that came to him upon the security of their oaths, and that when they had done them no injury. But the barbarian swore to him that there was no truth in any of his suspicions, but that he was troubled with nothing but false proposals, and then went away to Pacorus.

6. But as soon as he was gone away, some men came and bound Hyrcanus and Phasaelus, while Phasaelus greatly reproached the Parthians for their perjury; However, that butler who was sent against Herod had it in command to get him without the walls of the city, and seize upon him; but messengers had been sent by Phasaelus to inform Herod of the perfidiousness of the Parthians. And when he knew that the enemy had seized upon them, he went to Pacorus, and to the most potent of the Parthians, as to the lord of the rest, who, although they knew the whole matter, dissembled with him in a deceitful way; and said that he ought to go out with them before the walls, and meet those which were bringing him his letters, for that they were not taken by his adversaries, but were coming to give him an account of the good success Phasaelus had had. Herod did not give credit to what they said; for he had heard that his brother was seized upon by others also; and the daughter of Hyrcanus, whose daughter he had espoused, was his monitor also [not to credit them], which made him still more suspicious of the Parthians; for although other people did not give heed to her, yet did he believe her as a woman of very great wisdom.

7. Now while the Parthians were in consultation what was fit to be done; for they did not think it proper to make an open attempt upon a person of his character; and while they put off the determination to the next day, Herod was under great disturbance of mind, and rather inclining to believe the reports he heard about his brother and the Parthians, than to give heed to what was said on the other side, he determined, that when the evening came on, he would make use of it for his flight, and not make any longer delay, as if the dangers from the enemy were not yet certain. He therefore removed with the armed men whom he had with him; and set his wives upon the beasts, as also his mother, and sister, and her whom he was about to marry, [Mariamne,] the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, with her mother, the daughter of Hyrcanus, and his youngest brother, and all their servants, and the rest of the multitude that was with him, and without the enemy's privity pursued his way to Idumea. Nor could any enemy of his who then saw him in this case be so hardhearted, but would have commiserated his fortune, while the women drew along their infant children and left their own country, and their friends in prison, with tears in their eyes, and sad lamentations, and in expectation of nothing but what was of a melancholy nature.

8. But for Herod himself, he raised his mind above the miserable state he was in, and was of good courage in the midst of his misfortunes; and as he passed along, he bid them every one to be of good cheer, and not to give themselves up to sorrow, because that would hinder them in their flight, which was now the only hope of safety that they had. Accordingly, they tried to bear with patience the calamity they were under, as he exhorted them to do; yet was he once almost going to kill himself, upon the overthrow of a waggon, and the danger his mother was then in of being killed; and this on two accounts, because of his great concern for her, and because he was afraid lest, by this delay, the enemy should overtake him in the pursuit: but as he was drawing his sword, and going to kill himself therewith, those that were present restrained him, and being so many in number, were too hard for him; and told him that he ought not to desert them, and leave them a prey to their enemies, for that it was not the part of a brave man to free himself from the distresses he was in, and to overlook his friends that were in the same distresses also. So he was compelled to let that horrid attempt alone, partly out of shame at what they said to him, and partly out of regard to the great number of those that would not permit him to do what he intended. So he encouraged his mother, and took all the care of her the time would allow, and proceeded on the way he proposed to go with the utmost haste, and that was to the fortress of Masada. And as he had many skirmishes with such of the Parthians as attacked him and pursued him, he was conqueror in them all.

9. Nor indeed was he free from the Jews all along as he was in his flight; for by that time he was gotten sixty furlongs out of the city, and was upon the road, they fell upon him, and fought hand to hand with him, whom he also put to flight, and overcame, not like one that was in distress and in necessity, but like one that was excellently prepared for war, and had what he wanted in great plenty. And in this very place where he overcame the Jews it was that he some time afterward build a most excellent palace, and a city round about it, and called it Herodium. And when he was come to Idumea, at a place called Thressa, his brother Joseph met him, and he then held a council to take advice about all his affairs, and what was fit to be done in his circumstances, since he had a great multitude that followed him, besides his mercenary soldiers, and the place Masada, whither he proposed to fly, was too small to contain so great a multitude; so he sent away the greater part of his company, being above nine thousand, and bid them go, some one way, and some another, and so save themselves in Idumea, and gave them what would buy them provisions in their journey. But he took with him those that were the least encumbered, and were most intimate with him, and came to the fortress, and placed there his wives and his followers, being eight hundred in number, there being in the place a sufficient quantity of corn and water, and other necessaries, and went directly for Petra, in Arabia. But when it was day, the Parthians plundered all Jerusalem, and the palace, and abstained from nothing but Hyrcanus's money, which was three hundred talents. A great deal of Herod's money escaped, and principally all that the man had been so provident as to send into Idumea beforehand; nor indeed did what was in the city suffice the Parthians, but they went out into the country, and plundered it, and demolished the city Marissa.

10. And thus was Antigonus brought back into Judea by the king of the Parthians, and received Hyrcanus and Phasaelus for his prisoners; but he was greatly cast down because the women had escaped, whom he intended to have given the enemy, as having promised they should have them, with the money, for their reward: but being afraid that Hyrcanus, who was under the guard of the Parthians, might have his kingdom restored to him by the multitude, he cut off his ears, and thereby took care that the high priesthood should never come to him any more, because he was maimed, while the law required that this dignity should belong to none but such as had all their members entire. But now one cannot but here admire the fortitude of Phasaelus, who, perceiving that he was to be put to death, did not think death any terrible thing at all; but to die thus by the means of his enemy, this he thought a most pitiable and dishonourable thing; and therefore, since he had not his hands at liberty, but the bonds he was in prevented him from killing himself thereby, he dashed his head against a great stone, and thereby took away his own life, which he thought to be the best thing he could do

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in such a distress as he was in, and thereby put it out of the power of the enemy to bring him to any death he pleased. It is also reported, that when he had made a great wound in his head, Antigonus sent physicians to cure it, and, by ordering them to infuse poison into the wound, killed him. However, Phasaelus hearing, before he was quite dead, by a certain woman, that his brother Herod had escaped the enemy, underwent his death cheerfully, since he now left behind him one who would revenge his death, and who was able to inflict punishment on his enemies.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 14

How Herod Got Away From The King Of Arabia And Made Haste To Go Into Egypt And Thence Went Away In Haste Also To Rome; And How, By Promising A Great Deal Of Money To Antony He Obtained Of The Senate And Of Caesar To Be Made King Of The Jews.

1. As for Herod, the great miseries he was in did not discourage him, but made him sharp in discovering surprising undertakings; for he went to Malchus, king of Arabia, whom he had formerly been very kind to, in order to receive somewhat by way of requital, now he was in more than ordinary want of it, and desired he would let him have some money, either by way of loan, or as his free gift, on account of the many benefits he had received from him; for not knowing what was become of his brother, he was in haste to redeem him out of the hand of his enemies, as willing to give three hundred talents for the price of his redemption. He also took with him the son of Phasaelus, who was a child of but seven years of age, for this very reason, that he might be a hostage for the repayment of the money. But there came messengers from Malchus to meet him, by whom he was desired to be gone, for that the Parthians had laid a charge upon him not to entertain Herod. This was only a pretense which he made use of, that he might not be obliged to repay him what he owed him; and this he was further induced to by the principal men among the Arabians, that they might cheat him of what sums they had received from [his father] Antipater, and which he had committed to their fidelity. He made answer, that he did not intend to be troublesome to them by his coning thither, but that he desired only to discourse with them about certain affairs that were to him of the greatest importance.

2. Hereupon he resolved to go away, and did go very prudently the road to Egypt; and then it was that he lodged in a certain temple; for he had left a great many of his followers there. On the next day he came to Rhinocolura, and there it was that he heard what was befallen his brother. Though Malehus soon repented of what he had done, and came running after Herod; but with no manner of success, for he was gotten a very great way off, and made haste into the road to Pelusium; and when the stationary ships that lay there hindered him from sailing to Alexandria, he went to their captains, by whose assistance, and that out of much reverence of and great regard to him, he was conducted into the city [Alexandria], and was retained there by Cleopatra; yet was she not able to prevail with him to stay there, because he was making haste to Rome, even though the weather was stormy, and he was informed that the affairs of Italy were very tumultuous, and in great disorder.

3. So he set sail from thence to Pamphylia, and falling into a violent storm, he had much ado to escape to Rhodes, with the loss of the ship's burden; and there it was that two of his friends, Sappinas and Ptolemeus, met with him; and as he found that city very much damaged in the war against Cassius, though he were in necessity himself, he neglected not to do it a kindness, but did what he could to recover it to its former state. He also built there a three-decked ship, and set sail thence, with his friends, for Italy, and came to the port of Brundusium; and when he was come from thence to Rome, he first related to Antony what had befallen him in Judea, and how Phasaelus his brother was seized on by the Parthians, and put to death by them, and how Hyrcanus was detained captive by them, and how they had made Antigonus king, who had promised them a sum of money, no less than a thousand talents, with five hundred women, who were to be of the principal families, and of the Jewish stock; and that he had carried off the women by night; and that, by undergoing a great many hardships, he had escaped the hands of his enemies; as also, that his own relations were in danger of being besieged and taken, and that he had sailed through a storm, and contemned all these terrible dangers of it, in order to come, as soon as possible, to him, who was his hope and only succor at this time.

4. This account made Antony commiserate the change that had happened in Herod's condition; and reasoning with himself that this was a common case among those that are placed in such great dignities, and that they are liable to the mutations that come from fortune, he was very ready to give him the assistance he desired, and this because he called to mind the friendship he had had with Antipater because Herod offered him money to make him king, as he had formerly given it him to make him tetrarch, and chiefly because of his hatred to Antigonus; for he took him to be a seditious person, and an enemy to the Romans. Caesar was also the forwarder to raise Herod's dignity, and to give him his assistance in what he desired, on account of the toils of war which he had himself undergone with Antipater his father in Egypt, and of the hospitality he had treated him withal, and the kindness he had always showed him, as also to gratify Antony, who was very zealous for Herod. So a senate was convocated; and Messala first, and then Atratinus, introduced Herod into it, and enlarged upon the benefits they had received from his father, and put them in mind of the good-will he had borne to the Romans. At the same time, they accused Antigonus, and declared him an enemy, not only because of his former opposition to them, but that he had now overlooked the Romans, and taken the government from the Parthians. Upon this the senate was irritated; and Antony informed them further, that it was for their advantage in the Parthian war that Herod should be king. This seemed good to all the senators; and so they made a decree accordingly.

5. And this was the principal instance of Antony's affection for Herod, that he not only procured him a kingdom which he did not expect, [for he did not come with an intention to ask the kingdom for himself, which he did not suppose the Romans would grant him, who used to bestow it on some of the royal family, but intended to desire it for his wife's brother, who was grandson by his father to Aristobulus, and to Hyrcanus by his mother,] but that he procured it for him so suddenly, that he obtained what he did not expect, and departed out of Italy in so few days as seven in all. This young man [the grandson] Herod afterward took care to have slain, as we shall show in its proper place. But when the senate was dissolved, Antony and Caesar went out of the senate house with Herod between them, and with the consuls and other magistrates before them, in order to offer sacrifices, and to lay up their decrees in the capitol. Antony also feasted Herod the first day of his reign. And thus did this man receive the kingdom, having obtained it on the hundred and eighty-fourth olympiad, when Caius Domitius Calvinus was consul the second time, and Caius Asinius Pollio [the first time].

6. All this while Antigonus besieged those that were in Masada, who had plenty of all other necessaries, but were only in want of water insomuch that on this occasion Joseph, Herod's brother, was contriving to run away from it, with two hundred of his dependents, to the Arabians; for he had heard that Malchus repented of the offenses he had been guilty of with regard to Herod; but God, by sending rain in the night time, prevented his going away, for their cisterns were thereby filled, and he was under no necessity of running away on that account; but they were now of good courage, and the more so, because the sending that plenty of water which they had been in want of seemed a mark of Divine Providence; so they made a sally, and fought hand to hand with Antigonus's soldiers, [with some openly, with some privately,] and destroyed a great number of them. At the same time Ventidius, the general of the Romans, was sent out of Syria, to drive the Parthians out of it, and marched after them into Judea, in pretense indeed to succor Joseph; but in reality the whole affair was no more than a stratagem, in order to get money of Antigonus; so they pitched their camp very near to Jerusalem, and stripped Antigonus of a great deal of money, and then he retired himself with the greater part of the army; but, that the wickedness he had been guilty of might be found out, he left Silo there, with a certain part of his soldiers, with whom also Antigonus cultivated an acquaintance, that he might cause him no disturbance, and was still in hopes that the Parthians would come again and defend him.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 15

How Herod Sailed Out Of Italy To Judea, And Fought With Antigonus And What Other Things Happened In Judea About That Time.

1. By this time Herod had sailed out of Italy to Ptolemais, and had gotten together no small army, both of strangers and of his own countrymen, and marched through Galilee against Antignus. Silo also, and Ventidius, came and assisted him, being persuaded by Dellius, who was sent by Antony to assist in bringing back Herod. Now for Ventidius, he was employed in composing the disturbances that had been made in the cities by the means of the Parthians; and for Silo, he was in Judea indeed, but corrupted by Antigonus. However, as Herod went along his army increased every day, and all Galilee, with some small exception, joined him; but as he was to those that were in Masada, [for he was obliged to endeavor to save those that were in that fortress now they were besieged, because they were his relations,] Joppa was a hinderance to him, for it was necessary for him to take that place first, it being a city at variance with him, that no strong hold might be left in his enemies' hands behind him when he should go to Jerusalem. And when Silo made this a pretense for rising up from Jerusalem, and was thereupon pursued by the Jews, Herod fell upon them with a small body of men, and both put the Jews to flight and saved Silo, when he was very poorly able to defend himself; but when Herod had taken Joppa, he made haste to set free those of his family that were in Masada. Now of the people of the country, some joined him because of the friendship they had had with his father, and some because of the splendid appearance he made, and others by way of requital for the benefits they had received from both of them; but the greatest number came to him in hopes of getting somewhat from him afterward, if he were once firmly settled in the kingdom.

2. Herod had now a strong army; and as he marched on, Antigonus laid snares and ambushes in the passes and places most proper for them; but in truth he thereby did little or no damage to the enemy. So Herod received those of his family out of Masada, and the fortress Ressa, and then went on for Jerusalem. The soldiery also that was with Silo accompanied him all along, as did many of the citizens, being afraid of his power; and as soon as he had pitched his camp on the west side of the city, the soldiers that were set to guard that part shot their arrows and threw their darts at him; and when some sallied out in a crowd, and came to fight hand to hand with the first ranks of Herod's army, he gave orders that they should, in the first place, make proclamation about the wall, that he came for the good of the people, and for the preservation of the city, and not to bear any old grudge at even his most open enemies, but ready to forget the offenses which his greatest adversaries had done him. But Antigonus, by way of reply to what Herod had caused to be proclaimed, and this before the Romans, and before Silo also, said that they would not do justly, if they gave the kingdom to Herod, who was no more than a private man, and an Idumean, i.e. a half Jew, whereas they ought to bestow it on one of the royal family, as their custom was; for that in case they at present bear an ill-will to him, and had resolved to deprive him of the kingdom, as having received it from the Parthians, yet were there many others of his family that might by their law take it, and these such as had no way offended the Romans; and being of the sacerdotal family, it would be an unworthy thing to put them by. Now while they said thus one to another, and fell to reproaching one another on both sides, Antigonus permitted his own men that were upon the wall to defend themselves, who using their bows, and showing great alacrity against their enemies, easily drove them away from the towers.

3. And now it was that Silo discovered that he had taken bribes; for he set a good number of his soldiers to complain aloud of the want of provisions they were in, and to require money to buy them food; and that it was fit to let them go into places proper for winter quarters, since the places near the city were a desert, by reason that Antigonus's soldiers had carried all away; so he set the army upon removing, and endeavored to march away; but Herod pressed Silo not to depart, and exhorted Silo's captains and soldiers not to desert him, when Caesar, and Antony, and the senate had sent him thither, for that he would provide them plenty of all the things they wanted, and easily procure them a great abundance of what they required; after which entreaty, he immediately went out into the country, and left not the least pretense to Silo for his departure; for he brought an unexpected quantity of provisions, and sent to those friends of his who inhabited about Samaria to bring down corn, and wine, and oil, and cattle, and all other provisions, to Jericho, that those might be no want of a supply for the soldiers for the time to come. Antigonus was sensible of this, and sent presently over the country such as might restrain and lie in ambush for those that went out for provisions. So these men obeyed the orders of Antigonus, and got together a great number of armed men about Jericho, and sat upon the mountains, and watched those that brought the provisions. However, Herod was not idle in the mean time, for he took ten bands of soldiers, of whom five were of the Romans, and five of the Jews, with some mercenaries among them, and with some few horsemen, and came to Jericho; and as they found the city deserted, but that five hundred of them had settled themselves on the tops of the hills, with their wives and children, those he took and sent away; but the Romans fell upon the city, and plundered it, and found the houses full of all sorts of good things. So the king left a garrison at Jericho, and came back again, and sent the Roman army to take their winter quarters in the countries that were come over to him, Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria. And so much did Antigonus gain of Silo for the bribes he gave him, that part of the army should be quartered at Lydda, in order to please Antony. So the Romans laid their weapons aside, and lived in plenty of all things.

4. But Herod was not pleased with lying still, but sent out his brother Joseph against Idumea with two thousand armed footmen, and four hundred horsemen, while he himself came to Samaria, and left his mother and his other relations there, for they were already gone out of Masada, and went into Galilee, to take certain places which were held by the garrisons of Antigonus; and he passed on to Sepphoris, as God sent a snow, while Antigonus's garrisons withdrew themselves, and had great plenty of provisions. He also went thence, and resolved to destroy those robbers that dwelt in the caves, and did much mischief in the country; so he sent a troop of horsemen, and three companies of armed footmen, against them. They were very near to a village called Arbela; and on the fortieth day after, he came himself with his whole army: and as the enemy sallied out boldly upon him, the left wing of

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his army gave way; but he appearing with a body of men, put those to flight who were already conquerors, and recalled his men that ran away. He also pressed upon his enemies, and pursued them as far as the river Jordan, though they ran away by different roads. So he brought over to him all Galilee, excepting those that dwelt in the caves, and distributed money to every one of his soldiers, giving them a hundred and fifty drachmae apiece, and much more to their captains, and sent them into winter quarters; at which time Silo came to him, and his commanders with him, because Antigonus would not give them provisions any longer, for he supplied them for no more than one month; nay, he had sent to all the country about, and ordered them to carry off the provisions that were there, and retire to the mountains, that the Romans might have no provisions to live upon, and so might perish by famine. But Herod committed the care of that matter to Pheroras, his youngest brother, and ordered him to repair Alexandrium also. Accordingly, he quickly made the soldiers abound with great plenty of provisions, and rebuilt Alexandrium, which had been before desolate.

5. About this time it was that Antony continued some time at Athens, and that Ventidius, who was now in Syria, sent for Silo, and commanded him to assist Herod, in the first place, to finish the present war, and then to send for their confederates for the war they were themselves engaged in; but as for Herod, he went in haste against the robbers that were in the caves, and sent Silo away to Ventidius, while he marched against them. These caves were in mountains that were exceeding abrupt, and in their middle were no other than precipices, with certain entrances into the caves, and those caves were encompassed with sharp rocks, and in these did the robbers lie concealed, with all their families about them; but the king caused certain chests to be made, in order to destroy them, and to be hung down, bound about with iron chains, by an engine, from the top of the mountain, it being not possible to get up to them, by reason of the sharp ascent of the mountains, nor to creep down to them from above. Now these chests were filled with armed men, who had long hooks in their hands, by which they might pull out such as resisted them, and then tumble them down, and kill them by so doing; but the letting the chests down proved to be a matter of great danger, because of the vast depth they were to be let down, although they had their provisions in the chests themselves. But when the chests were let down, and not one of those in the mouths of the caves durst come near them, but lay still out of fear, some of the armed men girt on their armour, and by both their hands took hold of the chain by which the chests were let down, and went into the mouths of the caves, because they fretted that such delay was made by the robbers not daring to come out of the caves; and when they were at any of those mouths, they first killed many of those that were in the mouths with their darts, and afterwards pulled those to them that resisted them with their hooks, and tumbled them down the precipices, and afterwards went into the caves, and killed many more, and then went into their chests again, and lay still there; but, upon this, terror seized the rest, when they heard the lamentations that were made, and they despaired of escaping. However, when the night came on, that put an end to the whole work; and as the king proclaimed pardon by a herald to such as delivered themselves up to him, many accepted of the offer. The same method of assault was made use of the next day; and they went further, and got out in baskets to fight them, and fought them at their doors, and sent fire among them, and set their caves on fire, for there was a great deal of combustible matter within them. Now there was one old man who was caught within one of these caves, with seven children and a wife; these prayed him to give them leave to go out, and yield themselves up to the enemy; but he stood at the cave's mouth, and always slew that child of his who went out, till he had destroyed them every one, and after that he slew his wife, and cast their dead bodies down the precipice, and himself after them, and so underwent death rather than slavery: but before he did this, he greatly reproached Herod with the meanness of his family, although he was then king. Herod also saw what he was doing, and stretched out his hand, and offered him all manner of security for his life; by which means all these caves were at length subdued entirely.

6. And when the king had set Ptolemy over these parts of the country as his general, he went to Samaria, with six hundred horsemen, and three thousand armed footmen, as intending to fight Antigonus. But still this command of the army did not succeed well with Ptolemy, but those that had been troublesome to Galilee before attacked him, and slew him; and when they had done this, they fled among the lakes and places almost inaccessible laying waste and plundering whatsoever they could come at in those places. But Herod soon returned, and punished them for what they had done; for some of these rebels he slew, and others of them, who had fled to the strong holds he besieged, and both slew them, and demolished their strong holds. And when he had thus put an end to their rebellion, he laid a fine upon the cities of a hundred talents.

7. In the mean time, Pacorus was fallen in a battle, and the Parthians were defeated, when Ventidius sent Macheras to the assistance of Herod, with two legions, and a thousand horsemen, while Antony encouraged him to make haste. But Macheras, at the instigation of Antigonus, without the approbation of Herod, as being corrupted by money, went about to take a view of his affairs; but Antigonus suspecting this intention of his coming, did not admit him into the city, but kept him at a distance, with throwing stones at him, and plainly showed what he himself meant. But when Macheras was sensible that Herod had given him good advice, and that he had made a mistake himself in not hearkening to that advice, he retired to the city Emmaus; and what Jews he met with he slew them, whether they were enemies or friends, out of the rage he was in at what hardships he had undergone. The king was provoked at this conduct of his, and went to Samaria, and resolved to go to Antony about these affairs, and to inform him that he stood in no need of such helpers, who did him more mischief than they did his enemies; and that he was able of himself to beat Antigonus. But Macheras followed him, and desired that he would not go to Antony; or if he was resolved to go, that he would join his brother Joseph with them, and let them fight against Antigonus. So he was reconciled to Macheras, upon his earnest entreaties. Accordingly, he left Joseph there with his army, but charged him to run no hazards, nor to quarrel with Macheras.

8. But for his own part, he made haste to Antony [who was then at the siege of Samosata, a place upon Euphrates] with his troops, both horsemen and footmen, to be auxiliaries to him. And when he came to Antioch, and met there a great number of men gotten together that were very desirous to go to Antony, but durst not venture to go, out of fear, because the barbarians fell upon men on the road, and slew many, so he encouraged them, and became their conductor upon the road. Now when they were within two days' march of Samosata, the barbarians had laid an ambush there to disturb those that came to Antony, and where the woods made the passes narrow, as they led to the plains, there they laid not a few of their horsemen, who were to lie still until those passengers were gone by into the wide place. Now as soon as the first ranks were gone by, [for Herod brought on the rear,] those that lay in ambush, who were about five hundred, fell upon them on the sudden, and when they had put the foremost to flight, the king came riding hard, with the forces that were about him, and immediately drove back the enemy; by which means he made the minds of his own men courageous, and imboldened them to go on, insomuch that those who ran away before now returned back, and the barbarians were slain on all sides. The king also went on killing them, and recovered all the baggage, among which were a great number of beasts for burden, and of slaves, and proceeded on in his march; and whereas there were a great number of those in the woods that attacked them, and were near the passage that led into the plain, he made a sally upon these also with a strong body of men, and put them to flight, and slew many of them, and thereby rendered the way safe for those that came after; and these called Herod their savior and protector.

9. And when he was near to Samosata, Antony sent out his army in all their proper habiliments to meet him, in order to pay Herod this respect, and because of the assistance he had given him; for he had heard what attacks the barbarians had made upon him [in Judea]. He also was very glad to see him there, as having been made acquainted with the great actions he had performed upon the road. So he entertained him very kindly, and could not but admire his courage. Antony also embraced him as soon as he saw him, and saluted him after a most affectionate manner, and gave him the upper hand, as having himself lately made him a king; and in a little time Antiochus delivered up the fortress, and on that account this war was at an end; then Antony committed the rest to Sosius, and gave him orders to assist Herod, and went himself to Egypt. Accordingly, Sosius sent two legions before into Judea to the assistance of Herod, and he followed himself with the body of the army.

10. Now Joseph was already slain in Judea, in the manner following: He forgot what charge his brother Herod had given him when he went to Antony; and when he had pitched his camp among the mountains, for Macheras had lent him five regiments, with these he went hastily to Jericho, in order to reap the corn thereto belonging; and as the Roman regiments were but newly raised, and were unskillful in war, for they were in great part collected out of Syria, he was attacked by the enemy, and caught in those places of difficulty, and was himself slain, as he was fighting bravely, and the whole army was lost, for there were six regiments slain. So when Antigonus had got possession of the dead bodies, he cut off Joseph's head, although Pheroras his brother would have redeemed it at the price of fifty talents. After which defeat, the Galileans revolted from their commanders, and took those of Herod's party, and drowned them in the lake, and a great part of Judea was become seditious; but Macheras fortified the place Gitta [in Samaria].

11. At this time messengers came to Herod, and informed him of what had been done; and when he was come to Daphne by Antioch, they told him of the ill fortune that had befallen his brother; which yet he expected, from certain visions that appeared to him in his dreams, which clearly foreshowed his brother's death. So he hastened his march; and when he came to Mount Libanus, he received about eight hundred of the men of that place, having already with him also one Roman legion, and with these he came to Ptolemais. He also marched thence by night with his army, and proceeded along Galilee. Here it was that the enemy met him, and fought him, and were beaten, and shut up in the same place of strength whence they had sallied out the day before. So he attacked the place in the morning; but by reason of a great storm that was then very violent, he was able to do nothing, but drew off his army into the neighbouring villages; yet as soon as the other legion that Antony sent him was come to his assistance, those that were in garrison in the place were afraid, and deserted it in the night time. Then did the king march hastily to Jericho, intending to avenge himself on the enemy for the slaughter of his brother; and when he had pitched his tents, he made a feast for the principal commanders; and after this collation was over, and he had dismissed his guests, he retired to his own chamber; and here may one see what kindness God had for the king, for the upper part of the house fell down when nobody was in it, and so killed none, insomuch that all the people believed that Herod was beloved of God, since he had escaped such a great and surprising danger.

12. But the next day six thousand of the enemy came down from the tops of the mountains to fight the Romans, which greatly terrified them; and the soldiers that were in light armour came near, and pelted the king's guards that were come out with darts and stones, and one of them hit him on the side with a dart. Antigonus also sent a commander against Samaria, whose name was Pappus, with some forces, being desirous to show the enemy how potent he was, and that he had men to spare in his war with them. He sat down to oppose Macheras; but Herod, when he had taken five cities, took such as were left in them, being about two thousand, and slew them, and burnt the cities themselves, and then returned to go against Pappus, who was encamped at a village called Isanas; and there ran in to him many out of Jericho and Judea, near to which places he was, and the enemy fell upon his men, so stout were they at this time, and joined battle with them, but he beat them in the fight; and in order to be revenged on them for the slaughter of his brother, he pursued them sharply, and killed them as they ran away; and as the houses were full of armed men, and many of them ran as far as the tops of the houses, he got them under his power, and pulled down the roofs of the houses, and saw the lower rooms full of soldiers that were caught, and lay all on a heap; so they threw stones down upon them as they lay piled one upon another, and thereby killed them; nor was there a more frightful spectacle in all the war than this, where beyond the walls an immense multitude of dead men lay heaped one upon another. This action it was which chiefly brake the spirits of the enemy, who expected now what would come; for there appeared a mighty number of people that came from places far distant, that were now about the village, but then ran away; and had it not been for the depth of winter, which then restrained them, the king's army had presently gone to Jerusalem, as being very courageous at this good success, and the whole work had been done immediately; for Antigonus was already looking about how he might fly away and leave the city.

13. At this time the king gave order that the soldiers should go to supper, for it was late at night, while he went into a chamber to use the bath, for he was very weary; and here it was that he was in the greatest danger, which yet, by God's providence, he escaped; for as he was naked, and had but one servant that followed him, to be with him while he was bathing in an inner room, certain of the enemy, who were in their armour, and had fled thither, out of fear, were then in the place; and as he was bathing, the first of them came out with his naked sword drawn, and went out at the doors, and after him a second, and a third, armed in like manner, and were under such a consternation, that they did no hurt to the king, and thought themselves to have come off very well ill suffering no harm themselves in their getting out of the house. However, on the next day, he cut off the head of Pappus, for he was already slain, and sent it to Pheroras, as a punishment of what their brother had suffered by his means, for he was the man that slew him with his own hand.

14. When the rigor of winter was over, Herod removed his army, and came near to Jerusalem, and pitched his camp hard by the city. Now this was the third year since he had been made king at Rome; and as he removed his camp, and came near that part of the wall where it could be most easily assaulted, he pitched that camp before the temple, intending to make his attacks in the same manner as did Pompey. So he encompassed the place with three bulwarks, and erected towers, and employed a great many hands about the work, and cut down the trees that were round about the city; and when he had appointed proper persons to oversee the works, even while the army lay before the city, he himself went to Samaria, to complete his marriage, and to take to wife the

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daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus; for he had betrothed her already, as I have before related.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 16

How Herod, When He Had Married Mariamne Took Jerusalem With The Assistance Of Sosius By Force; And How The Government Of The Asamoneans Was Put An End To.

1. After the wedding was over, came Sosius through Phoenicia, having sent out his army before him over the midland parts. He also, who was their commander, came himself, with a great number of horsemen and footmen. The king also came himself from Samaria, and brought with him no small army, besides that which was there before, for they were about thirty thousand; and they all met together at the walls of Jerusalem, and encamped at the north wall of the city, being now an army of eleven legions, armed men on foot, and six thousand horsemen, with other auxiliaries out of Syria. The generals were two: Sosius, sent by Antony to assist Herod, and Herod on his own account, in order to take the government from Antigonus, who was declared all enemy at Rome, and that he might himself be king, according to the decree of the Senate.

2. Now the Jews that were enclosed within the walls of the city fought against Herod with great alacrity and zeal [for the whole nation was gathered together]; they also gave out many prophecies about the temple, and many things agreeable to the people, as if God would deliver them out of the dangers they were in; they had also carried off what was out of the city, that they might not leave any thing to afford sustenance either for men or for beasts; and by private robberies they made the want of necessaries greater. When Herod understood this, he opposed ambushes in the fittest places against their private robberies, and he sent legions of armed men to bring its provisions, and that from remote places, so that in a little time they had great plenty of provisions. Now the three bulwarks were easily erected, because so many hands were continually at work upon it; for it was summer time, and there was nothing to hinder them in raising their works, neither from the air nor from the workmen; so they brought their engines to bear, and shook the walls of the city, and tried all manner of ways to get it; yet did not those within discover any fear, but they also contrived not a few engines to oppose their engines withal. They also sallied out, and burnt not only those engines that were not yet perfected, but those that were; and when they came hand to hand, their attempts were not less bold than those of the Romans, though they were behind them in skill. They also erected new works when the former were ruined, and making mines underground, they met each other, and fought there; and making use of brutish courage rather than of prudent valour, they persisted in this war to the very last; and this they did while a mighty army lay round about them, and while they were distressed by famine and the want of necessaries, for this happened to be a Sabbatic year. The first that scaled the walls were twenty chosen men, the next were Sosius's centurions; for the first wall was taken in forty days, and the second in fifteen more, when some of the cloisters that were about the temple were burnt, which Herod gave out to have been burnt by Antigonus, in order to expose him to the hatred of the Jews. And when the outer court of the temple and the lower city were taken, the Jews fled into the inner court of the temple, and into the upper city; but now fearing lest the Romans should hinder them from offering their daily sacrifices to God, they sent an embassage, and desired that they would only permit them to bring in beasts for sacrifices, which Herod granted, hoping they were going to yield; but when he saw that they did nothing of what he supposed, but bitterly opposed him, in order to preserve the kingdom to Antigonus, he made an assault upon the city, and took it by storm; and now all parts were full of those that were slain, by the rage of the Romans at the long duration of the siege, and by the zeal of the Jews that were on Herod's side, who were not willing to leave one of their adversaries alive; so they were murdered continually in the narrow streets and in the houses by crowds, and as they were flying to the temple for shelter, and there was no pity taken of either infants or the aged, nor did they spare so much as the weaker sex; nay, although the king sent about, and besought them to spare the people, yet nobody restrained their hand from slaughter, but, as if they were a company of madmen, they fell upon persons of all ages, without distinction; and then Antigonus, without regard to either his past or present circumstances, came down from the citadel, and fell down at the feet of Sosius, who took no pity of him, in the change of his fortune, but insulted him beyond measure, and called him Antigone [i.e. a woman, and not a man;] yet did he not treat him as if he were a woman, by letting him go at liberty, but put him into bonds, and kept him in close custody.

3. And now Herod having overcome his enemies, his care was to govern those foreigners who had been his assistants, for the crowd of strangers rushed to see the temple, and the sacred things in the temple; but the king, thinking a victory to be a more severe affliction than a defeat, if any of those things which it was not lawful to see should be seen by them, used entreaties and threatenings, and even sometimes force itself, to restrain them. He also prohibited the ravage that was made in the city, and many times asked Sosius whether the Romans would empty the city both of money and men, and leave him king of a desert; and told him that he esteemed the dominion over the whole habitable earth as by no means an equivalent satisfaction for such a murder of his citizens'; and when he said that this plunder was justly to be permitted the soldiers for the siege they had undergone, he replied, that he would give every one their reward out of his own money; and by this means be redeemed what remained of the city from destruction; and he performed what he had promised him, for he gave a noble present to every soldier, and a proportionable present to their commanders, but a most royal present to Sosius himself, till they all went away full of money.

4. This destruction befell the city of Jerusalem when Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallus were consuls of Rome on the hundred eighty and fifth olympiad, on the third month, on the solemnity of the fast, as if a periodical revolution of calamities had returned since that which befell the Jews under Pompey; for the Jews were taken by him on the same day, and this was after twenty-seven years' time. So when Sosius had dedicated a crown of gold to God, he marched away from Jerusalem, and carried Antigonus with him in bonds to Antony; but Herod was afraid lest Antigonus should be kept in prison [only] by Antony, and that when he was carried to Rome by him, he might get his cause to be heard by the senate, and might demonstrate, as he was himself of the royal blood, and Herod but a private man, that therefore it belonged to his sons however to have the kingdom, on account of the family they were of, in case he had himself offended the Romans by what he had done. Out of Herod's fear of this it was that he, by giving Antony a great deal of money, endeavored to persuade him to have Antigonus slain, which if it were once done, he should be free from that fear. And thus did the government of the Asamoneans cease, a hundred twenty and six years after it was first set up. This family was a splendid and an illustrious one, both on account of the nobility of their stock, and of the dignity of the high priesthood, as also for the glorious actions their ancestors had performed for our nation; but these men lost the government by their dissensions one with another, and it came to Herod, the son of Antipater, who was of no more than a vulgar family, and of no eminent extraction, but one that was subject to other kings. And this is what history tells us was the end of the Asamonean family.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES BOOK 15

Containing The Interval Of Eighteen Years.—From The Death Of Antigonus To The Finishing Of The Temple By Herod.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 1

Concerning Pollio And Sameas. Herod Slays The Principal Of Antigonus's Friends, And Spoils The City Of Its Wealth. Antony Beheads Antigonus.

1. How Sosius and Herod took Jerusalem by force; and besides that, how they took Antigonus captive, has been related by us in the foregoing book. We will now proceed in the narration. And since Herod had now the government of all Judea put into his hands, he promoted such of the private men in the city as had been of his party, but never left off avenging and punishing every day those that had chosen to be of the party of his enemies. But Pollio the Pharisee, and Sameas, a disciple of his, were honoured by him above all the rest; for when Jerusalem was besieged, they advised the citizens to receive Herod, for which advice they were well requited. But this Pollio, at the time when Herod was once upon his trial of life and death, foretold, in way of reproach, to Hyrcanus and the other judges, how this Herod, whom they suffered now to escape, would afterward inflict punishment on them all; which had its completion in time, while God fulfilled the words he had spoken.

2. At this time Herod, now he had got Jerusalem under his power, carried off all the royal ornaments, and spoiled the wealthy men of what they had gotten; and when, by these means, he had heaped together a great quantity of silver and gold, he gave it all to Antony, and his friends that were about him. He also slew forty-five of the principal men of Antigonus's party, and set guards at the gates of the city, that nothing might be carried out together with their dead bodies. They also searched the dead, and whatsoever was found, either of silver or gold, or other treasure, it was carried to the king; nor was there any end of the miseries he brought upon them; and this distress was in part occasioned by the covetousness of the prince regent, who was still in want of more, and in part by the Sabbatic year, which was still going on, and forced the country to lie still uncultivated, since we are forbidden to sow our land in that year. Now when Antony had received Antigonus as his captive, he determined to keep him against his triumph; but when he heard that the nation grew seditious, and that, out of their hatred to Herod, they continued to bear good-will to Antigonus, he resolved to behead him at Antioch, for otherwise the Jews could no way be brought to be quiet. And Strabo of Cappadocia attests to what I have said, when he thus speaks: "Antony ordered Antigonus the Jew to be brought to Antioch, and there to be beheaded. And this Antony seems to me to have been the very first man who beheaded a king, as supposing he could no other way bend the minds of the Jews so as to receive Herod, whom he had made king in his stead; for by no torments could they be forced to call him king, so great a fondness they had for their former king; so he thought that this dishonourable death would diminish the value they had for Antigonus's memory, and at the same time would diminish the hatred they bare to Herod." Thus far Strabo.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 2

How Hyrcanus Was Set At Liberty By The Parthians, And Returned To Herod; And What Alexandra Did When She Heard That Ananelus Was Made High Priest.

1. Now after Herod was in possession of the kingdom, Hyrcanus the high priest, who was then a captive among the Parthians, came to him again, and was set free from his captivity, in the manner following: Barzapharnes and Pacorus, the generals of the Parthians, took Hyrcanus, who was first made high priest and afterward king, and Herod's brother, Phasaelus captives, and were them away into Parthia. Phasaelus indeed could not bear the reproach of being in bonds; and thinking that death with glory was better than any life whatsoever, he became his own executioner, as I have formerly related.

2. But when Hyrcanus was brought into Parthia the king Phraates treated him after a very gentle manner, as having already learned of what an illustrious family he was; on which account he set him free from his bonds, and gave him a habitation at Babylon, where there were Jews in great numbers. These Jews honoured Hyrcanus as their high priest and king, as did all the Jewish nation that dwelt as far as Euphrates; which respect was very much to his satisfaction. But when he was informed that Herod had received the kingdom, new hopes came upon him, as having been himself still of a kind disposition towards him, and expecting that Herod would bear in mind what favour he had received from him; and when he was upon his trial, and when he was in danger that a capital sentence would be pronounced against him, he delivered him from that danger, and from all punishment. Accordingly, he talked of that matter with the Jews that came often to him with great affection; but they endeavored to retain him among them, and desired that he would stay with them, putting him in mind of the kind offices and honours they did him, and that those honours they paid him were not at all inferior to what they could pay to either their high priests or their kings; and what was a greater motive to determine him, they said, was this, that he could not have those dignities [in Judea] because of that maim in his body, which had been inflicted on him by Antigonus; and that kings do not use to requite men for those kindnesses which they received when they were private persons, the height of their fortune making usually no small changes in them.

3. Now although they suggested these arguments to him for his own advantage, yet did Hyrcanus still desire to depart. Herod also wrote to him, and persuaded him to desire of Phraates, and the Jews that were there, that they should not grudge him the royal authority, which he should have jointly with himself, for that now was the proper time for himself to make him amends for the favours he had received from him, as having been brought up by him, and saved by him also, as well as for Hyrcanus to receive it. And as he wrote thus to Hyrcanus, so did he send also Saramallas, his ambassador, to Phraates, and many presents with him, and desired him in the most obliging way that he would be no hinderance to his gratitude towards his benefactor. But this zeal of Herod's did not flow from that principle, but because he had been made governor of that country without having any just claim to it, he was afraid, and that upon reasons good enough, of a change in his condition, and so made what haste he could to get Hyrcanus into his power, or indeed to put him quite out of the way; which last thing he compassed afterward.

4. Accordingly, when Hyrcanus came, full of assurance, by the permission of the king of Parthia, and at the expense of the Jews, who supplied him with money, Herod received him with all possible respect, and gave him the upper place at public meetings, and set him above all the rest at feasts, and thereby deceived him. He called him his father, and endeavored, by all the ways possible, that he might have no suspicion of any treacherous design against him. He also did other things, in order to secure his government, which yet occasioned a sedition in his own family; for being cautious how he made any illustrious person the high priest of God, he sent for an obscure priest out of Babylon, whose name was Ananelus, and bestowed the high priesthood upon him.

5. However, Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus, and wife of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus the king, who had also brought Alexander [two] children, could not bear this indignity. Now this son was one of the greatest comeliness, and was called Aristobulus; and the daughter, Mariamne, was married to Herod, and eminent for her beauty also. This Alexandra was much disturbed, and took this indignity

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offered to her son exceeding ill, that while he was alive, any one else should be sent for to have the dignity of the high priesthood conferred upon him. Accordingly, she wrote to Cleopatra [a musician assisting her in taking care to have her letters carried] to desire her intercession with Antony, in order to gain the high priesthood for her son.

6. But as Antony was slow in granting this request, his friend Dellius came into Judea upon some affairs; and when he saw Aristobulus, he stood in admiration at the tallness and handsomeness of the child, and no less at Mariamne, the king's wife, and was open in his commendations of Alexandra, as the mother of most beautiful children. And when she came to discourse with him, he persuaded her to get pictures drawn of them both, and to send them to Antony, for that when he saw them, he would deny her nothing that she should ask. Accordingly, Alexandra was elevated with these words of his, and sent the pictures to Antony. Dellius also talked extravagantly, and said that these children seemed not derived from men, but from some god or other. His design in doing so was to entice Antony into lewd pleasures with them, who was ashamed to send for the damsel, as being the wife of Herod, and avoided it, because of the reproaches he should have from Cleopatra on that account; but he sent, in the most decent manner he could, for the young man; but added this withal, unless he thought it hard upon him so to do. When this letter was brought to Herod, he did not think it safe for him to send one so handsome as was Aristobulus, in the prime of his life, for he was sixteen years of age, and of so noble a family, and particularly not to Antony, the principal man among the Romans, and one that would abuse him in his amours, and besides, one that openly indulged himself in such pleasures as his power allowed him without control. He therefore wrote back to him, that if this boy should only go out of the country, all would be in a state of war and uproar, because the Jews were in hopes of a change in the government, and to have another king over them.

7. When Herod had thus excused himself to Antony, he resolved that he would not entirely permit the child or Alexandra to be treated dishonourably; but his wife Mariamne lay vehemently at him to restore the high priesthood to her brother; and he judged it was for his advantage so to do, because if he once had that dignity, he could not go out of the country. So he called his friends together, and told them that Alexandra privately conspired against his royal authority, and endeavored, by the means of Cleopatra, so to bring it about, that he might be deprived of the government, and that by Antony's means this youth might have the management of public affairs in his stead; and that this procedure of hers was unjust, since she would at the same time deprive her daughter of the dignity she now had, and would bring disturbances upon the kingdom, for which he had taken a great deal of pains, and had gotten it with extraordinary hazards; that yet, while he well remembered her wicked practices, he would not leave off doing what was right himself, but would even now give the youth the high priesthood; and that he formerly set up Ananelus, because Aristobulus was then so very young a child. Now when he had said this, not at random, but as he thought with the best discretion he had, in order to deceive the women, and those friends whom he had taken to consult withal, Alexandra, out of the great joy she had at this unexpected promise, and out of fear from the suspicions she lay under, fell a weeping; and made the following apology for herself; and said, that as to the [high] priesthood, she was very much concerned for the disgrace her son was under, and so did her utmost endeavors to procure it for him; but that as to the kingdom, she had made no attempts, and that if it were offered her [for her son], she would not accept it; and that now she would be satisfied with her son's dignity, while he himself held the civil government, and she had thereby the security that arose from his peculiar ability in governing to all the remainder of her family; that she was now overcome by his benefits, and thankfully accepted of this honour showed by him to her son, and that she would hereafter be entirely obedient. And she desired him to excuse her, if the nobility of her family, and that freedom of acting which she thought that allowed her, had made her act too precipitately and imprudently in this matter. So when they had spoken thus to one another, they came to an agreement, and all suspicions, so far as appeared, were vanished away.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 3

How Herod Upon His Making Aristobulus High Priest Took Care That He Should Be Murdered In A Little Time; And What Apology He Made To Antony About Aristobulus; As Also Concerning Joseph And Mariamne.

1. So king Herod immediately took the high priesthood away from Ananelus, who, as we said before, was not of this country, but one of those Jews that had been carried captive beyond Euphrates; for there were not a few ten thousands of this people that had been carried captives, and dwelt about Babylonia, whence Ananelus came. He was one of the stock of the high priests 4 and had been of old a particular friend of Herod; and when he was first made king, he conferred that dignity upon him, and now put him out of it again, in order to quiet the troubles in his family, though what he did was plainly unlawful, for at no other time [of old] was any one that had once been in that dignity deprived of it. It was Antiochus Epiphanes who first brake that law, and deprived Jesus, and made his brother Onias high priest in his stead. Aristobulus was the second that did so, and took that dignity from his brother [Hyrcanus]; and this Herod was the third, who took that high office away [from Ananelus], and gave it to this young man, Aristobulus, in his stead.

2. And now Herod seemed to have healed the divisions in his family; yet was he not without suspicion, as is frequently the case, of people seeming to be reconciled to one another, but thought that, as Alexandra had already made attempts tending to innovations, so did he fear that she would go on therein, if she found a fit opportunity for so doing; so he gave a command that she should dwell in the palace, and meddle with no public affairs. Her guards also were so careful, that nothing she did in private life every day was concealed. All these hardships put her out of patience, by little and little and she began to hate Herod; for as she had the pride of a woman to the utmost degree, she had great indignation at this suspicious guard that was about her, as desirous rather to undergo any thing that could befall her, than to be deprived of her liberty of speech, and, under the notion of an honourary guard, to live in a state of slavery and terror. She therefore sent to Cleopatra, and made a long complaint of the circumstances she was in, and entreated her to do her utmost for her assistance. Cleopatra hereupon advised her to take her son with her, and come away immediately to her into Egypt. This advice pleased her; and she had this contrivance for getting away: She got two coffins made, as if they were to carry away two dead bodies and put herself into one, and her son into the other and gave orders to such of her servants as knew of her intentions to carry them away in the night time. Now their road was to be thence to the sea-side and there was a ship ready to carry them into Egypt. Now Aesop, one of her servants, happened to fall upon Sabion, one of her friends, and spake of this matter to him, as thinking he had known of it before. When Sabion knew this, [who had formerly been an enemy of Herod, and been esteemed one of those that laid snares for and gave the poison to [his father] Antipater,] he expected that this discovery would change Herod's hatred into kindness; so he told the king of this private stratagem of Alexandra: whereupon be suffered her to proceed to the execution of her project, and caught her in the very fact; but still he passed by her offense; and though he had a great mind to do it, he durst not inflict any thing that was severe upon her, for he knew that Cleopatra would not bear that he should have her accused, on account of her hatred to him; but made a show as if it were rather the generosity of his soul, and his great moderation, that made him forgive them. However, he fully proposed to himself to put this young man out of the way, by one means or other; but he thought he might in probability be better concealed in doing it, if he did it not presently, nor immediately after what had lately happened.

3. And now, upon the approach of the feast of tabernacles, which is a festival very much observed among us, he let those days pass over, and both he and the rest of the people were therein very merry; yet did the envy which at this time arose in him cause him to make haste to do what he was about, and provoke him to it; for when this youth Aristobulus, who was now in the seventeenth year of his age, went up to the altar, according to the law, to offer the sacrifices, and this with the ornaments of his high priesthood, and when he performed the sacred offices, he seemed to be exceedingly comely, and taller than men usually were at that age, and to exhibit in his countenance a great deal of that high family he was sprung from,—a warm zeal and affection towards him appeared among the people, and the memory of the actions of his grandfather Aristobulus was fresh in their minds; and their affections got so far the mastery of them, that they could not forbear to show their inclinations to him. They at once rejoiced and were confounded, and mingled with good wishes their joyful acclamations which they made to him, till the good-will of the multitude was made too evident; and they more rashly proclaimed the happiness they had received from his family than was fit under a monarchy to have done. Upon all this, Herod resolved to complete what he had intended against the young man. When therefore the festival was over, and he was feasting at Jericho with Alexandra, who entertained them there, he was then very pleasant with the young man, and drew him into a lonely place, and at the same time played with him in a juvenile and ludicrous manner. Now the nature of that place was hotter than ordinary; so they went out in a body, and of a sudden, and in a vein of madness; and as they stood by the fish-ponds, of which there were large ones about the house, they went to cool themselves [by bathing], because it was in the midst of a hot day. At first they were only spectators of Herod's servants and acquaintance as they were swimming; but after a while, the young man, at the instigation of Herod, went into the water among them, while such of Herod's acquaintance, as he had appointed to do it, dipped him as he was swimming, and plunged him under water, in the dark of the evening, as if it had been done in sport only; nor did they desist till he was entirely suffocated. And thus was Aristobulus murdered, having lived no more in all than eighteen years, and kept the high priesthood one year only; which high priesthood Ananelus now recovered again.

4. When this sad accident was told the women, their joy was soon changed to lamentation, at the sight of the dead body that lay before them, and their sorrow was immoderate. The city also [of Jerusalem], upon the spreading of this news, were in very great grief, every family looking on this calamity as if it had not belonged to another, but that one of themselves was slain. But Alexandra was more deeply affected, upon her knowledge that he had been destroyed [on purpose]. Her sorrow was greater than that of others, by her knowing how the murder was committed; but she was under the necessity of bearing up under it, out of her prospect of a greater mischief that might otherwise follow; and she oftentimes came to an inclination to kill herself with her own hand, but still she restrained herself, in hopes she might live long enough to revenge the unjust murder thus privately committed; nay, she further resolved to endeavor to live longer, and to give no occasion to think she suspected that her son was slain on purpose, and supposed that she might thereby be in a capacity of revenging it at a proper opportunity. Thus did she restrain herself, that she might not be noted for entertaining any such suspicion. However, Herod endeavored that none abroad should believe that the child's death was caused by any design of his; and for this purpose he did not only use the ordinary signs of sorrow, but fell into tears also, and exhibited a real confusion of soul; and perhaps his affections were overcome on this occasion, when he saw the child's countenance so young and so beautiful, although his death was supposed to tend to his own security. So far at least this grief served as to make some apology for him; and as for his funeral, that he took care should be very magnificent, by making great preparation for a sepulcher to lay his body in, and providing a great quantity of spices, and burying many ornaments together with him, till the very women, who were in such deep sorrow, were astonished at it, and received in this way some consolation.

5. However, no such things could overcome Alexandra's grief; but the remembrance of this miserable case made her sorrow, both deep and obstinate. Accordingly, she wrote an account of this treacherous scene to Cleopatra, and how her son was murdered; but Cleopatra, as she had formerly been desirous to give her what satisfaction she could, and commiserating Alexandra's misfortunes, made the case her own, and would not let Antony be quiet, but excited him to punish the child's murder; for that it was an unworthy thing that Herod, who had been by him made king of a kingdom that no way belonged to him, should be guilty of such horrid crimes against those that were of the royal blood in reality. Antony was persuaded by these arguments; and when he came to Laodicea, he sent and commanded Herod to come and make his defense, as to what he had done to Aristobulus, for that such a treacherous design was not well done, if he had any hand in it. Herod was now in fear, both of the accusation, and of Cleopatra's ill-will to him, which was such that she was ever endeavoring to make Antony hate him. He therefore determined to obey his summons, for he had no possible way to avoid it. So he left his uncle Joseph procurator for his government, and for the public affairs, and gave him a private charge, that if Antony should kill him, he also should kill Mariamne immediately; for that he had a tender affection for this his wife, and was afraid of the injury that should be offered him, if, after his death, she, for her beauty, should be engaged to some other man: but his intimation was nothing but this at the bottom, that Antony had fallen in love with her, when he had formerly heard somewhat of her beauty. So when Herod had given Joseph this charge, and had indeed no sure hopes of escaping with his life, he went away to Antony.

6. But as Joseph was administering the public affairs of the kingdom, and for that reason was very frequently with Mariamne, both because his business required it, and because of the respects he ought to pay to the queen, he frequently let himself into discourses about Herod's kindness, and great affection towards her; and when the women, especially Alexandra, used to turn his discourses into feminine raillery, Joseph was so over-desirous to demonstrate the kings inclinations, that he proceeded so far as to mention the charge he had received, and thence drew his demonstration, that Herod was not able to live without her; and that if he should come to any ill end, he could not endure a separation from her, even after he was dead. Thus spake Joseph. But the women, as was natural, did not take this to be an instance of Herod's strong affection for them, but of his severe usage of them, that they could not escape destruction, nor a tyrannical death, even when he was dead himself. And this saying [of Joseph] was a foundation for the women's severe suspicions about him afterwards.

7. At this time a report went about the city Jerusalem among Herod's enemies, that Antony had tortured Herod, and put him to death. This report, as is natural, disturbed

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those that were about the palace, but chiefly the women; upon which Alexandra endeavored to persuade Joseph to go out of the palace, and fly away with them to the ensigns of the Roman legion, which then lay encamped about the city, as a guard to the kingdom, under the command of Julius; for that by this means, if any disturbance should happen about the palace, they should be in greater security, as having the Romans favourable to them; and that besides, they hoped to obtain the highest authority, if Antony did but once see Mariamne, by whose means they should recover the kingdom, and want nothing which was reasonable for them to hope for, because of their royal extraction.

8. But as they were in the midst of these deliberations, letters were brought from Herod about all his affairs, and proved contrary to the report, and of what they before expected; for when he was come to Antony, he soon recovered his interest with him, by the presents he made him, which he had brought with him from Jerusalem; and he soon induced him, upon discoursing with him, to leave off his indignation at him, so that Cleopatra's persuasions had less force than the arguments and presents he brought to regain his friendship; for Antony said that it was not good to require an account of a king, as to the affairs of his government, for at this rate he could be no king at all, but that those who had given him that authority ought to permit him to make use of it. He also said the same things to Cleopatra, that it would be best for her not busily to meddle with the acts of the king's government. Herod wrote an account of these things, and enlarged upon the other honours which he had received from Antony; how he sat by him at his hearing causes, and took his diet with him every day, and that he enjoyed those favours from him, notwithstanding the reproaches that Cleopatra so severely laid against him, who having a great desire of his country, and earnestly entreating Antony that the kingdom might be given to her, laboured with her utmost diligence to have him out of the way; but that he still found Antony just to him, and had no longer any apprehensions of hard treatment from him; and that he was soon upon his return, with a firmer additional assurance of his favour to him, in his reigning and managing public affairs; and that there was no longer any hope for Cleopatra's covetous temper, since Antony had given her Celesyria instead of what she had desired; by which means he had at once pacified her, and got clear of the entreaties which she made him to have Judea bestowed upon her.

9. When these letters were brought, the women left off their attempt for flying to the Romans, which they thought of while Herod was supposed to be dead; yet was not that purpose of theirs a secret; but when the king had conducted Antony on his way against the Partnians, he returned to Judea, when both his sister Salome and his mother informed him of Alexandra's intentions. Salome also added somewhat further against Joseph, though it was no more than a calumny, that he had often had criminal conversation with Mariamne. The reason of her saying so was this, that she for a long time bare her ill-will; for when they had differences with one another, Mariamne took great freedoms, and reproached the rest for the meanness of their birth. But Herod, whose affection to Mariamne was always very warm, was presently disturbed at this, and could not bear the torments of jealousy, but was still restrained from doing any rash thing to her by the love he had for her; yet did his vehement affection and jealousy together make him ask Mariamne by herself about this matter of Joseph; but she denied it upon her oath, and said all that an innocent woman could possibly say in her own defense; so that by little and little the king was prevailed upon to drop the suspicion, and left off his anger at her; and being overcome with his passion for his wife, he made an apology to her for having seemed to believe what he had heard about her, and returned her a great many acknowledgments of her modest behavior, and professed the extraordinary affection and kindness he had for her, till at last, as is usual between lovers, they both fell into tears, and embraced one another with a most tender affection. But as the king gave more and more assurances of his belief of her fidelity, and endeavored to draw her to a like confidence in him, Mariamne said, "Yet was not that command thou gavest, that if any harm came to thee from Antony, I, who had been no occasion of it, should perish with thee, a sign of thy love to me?" When these words were fallen from her, the king was shocked at them, and presently let her go out of his arms, and cried out, and tore his hair with his own hands, and said, that "now he had an evident demonstration that Joseph had had criminal conversation" with his wife; for that he would never have uttered what he had told him alone by himself, unless there had been such a great familiarity and firm confidence between them. And while he was in this passion he had like to have killed his wife; but being still overborne by his love to her, he restrained this his passion, though not without a lasting grief and disquietness of mind. However, he gave order to slay Joseph, without permitting him to come into his sight; and as for Alexandra, he bound her, and kept her in custody, as the cause of all this mischief.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 4

How Cleopatra, When She Had Gotten From Antony Some Parts Of Judea And Arabia Came Into Judea; And How Herod Gave Her Many Presents And Conducted Her On Her Way Back To Egypt.

1. Now at this time the affairs of Syria were in confusion by Cleopatra's constant persuasions to Antony to make an attempt upon every body's dominions; for she persuaded him to take those dominions away from their several princes, and bestow them upon her; and she had a mighty influence upon him, by reason of his being enslaved to her by his affections. She was also by nature very covetous, and stuck at no wickedness. She had already poisoned her brother, because she knew that he was to be king of Egypt, and this when he was but fifteen years old; and she got her sister Arsinoe to be slain, by the means of Antony, when she was a supplicant at Diana's temple at Ephesus; for if there were but any hopes of getting money, she would violate both temples and sepulchers. Nor was there any holy place that was esteemed the most inviolable, from which she would not fetch the ornaments it had in it; nor any place so profane, but was to suffer the most flagitious treatment possible from her, if it could but contribute somewhat to the covetous humor of this wicked creature: yet did not all this suffice so extravagant a woman, who was a slave to her lusts, but she still imagined that she wanted every thing she could think of, and did her utmost to gain it; for which reason she hurried Antony on perpetually to deprive others of their dominions, and give them to her. And as she went over Syria with him, she contrived to get it into her possession; so he slew Lysanias, the son of Ptolemy, accusing him of his bringing the Parthians upon those countries. She also petitioned Antony to give her Judea and Arabia; and, in order thereto, desired him to take these countries away from their present governors. As for Antony, he was so entirely overcome by this woman, that one would not think her conversation only could do it, but that he was some way or other bewitched to do whatsoever she would have him; yet did the grossest parts of her injustice make him so ashamed, that he would not always hearken to her to do those flagrant enormities she would have persuaded him to. That therefore he might not totally deny her, nor, by doing every thing which she enjoined him, appear openly to be an ill man, he took some parts of each of those countries away from their former governors, and gave them to her. Thus he gave her the cities that were within the river Eleutherus, as far as Egypt, excepting Tyre and Sidon, which he knew to have been free cities from their ancestors, although she pressed him very often to bestow those on her also.

2. When Cleopatra had obtained thus much, and had accompanied Antony in his expedition to Armenia as far as Euphrates, she returned back, and came to Apamia and Damascus, and passed on to Judea, where Herod met her, and farmed of her parts of Arabia, and those revenues that came to her from the region about Jericho. This country bears that balsam, which is the most precious drug that is there, and grows there alone. The place bears also palm trees, both many in number, and those excellent in their kind. When she was there, and was very often with Herod, she endeavored to have criminal conversation with the king; nor did she affect secrecy in the indulgence of such sort of pleasures; and perhaps she had in some measure a passion of love to him; or rather, what is most probable, she laid a treacherous snare for him, by aiming to obtain such adulterous conversation from him: however, upon the whole, she seemed overcome with love to him. Now Herod had a great while borne no good-will to Cleopatra, as knowing that she was a woman irksome to all; and at that time he thought her particularly worthy of his hatred, if this attempt proceeded out of lust; he had also thought of preventing her intrigues, by putting her to death, if such were her endeavors. However, he refused to comply with her proposals, and called a counsel of his friends to consult with them whether he should not kill her, now he had her in his power; for that he should thereby deliver all those from a multitude of evils to whom she was already become irksome, and was expected to be still so for the time to come; and that this very thing would be much for the advantage of Antony himself, since she would certainly not be faithful to him, in case any such season or necessity should come upon him as that he should stand in need of her fidelity. But when he thought to follow this advice, his friends would not let him; and told him that, in the first place, it was not right to attempt so great a thing, and run himself thereby into the utmost danger; and they laid hard at him, and begged of him to undertake nothing rashly, for that Antony would never bear it, no, not though any one should evidently lay before his eyes that it was for his own advantage; and that the appearance of depriving him of her conversation, by this violent and treacherous method, would probably set his affections more on a flame than before. Nor did it appear that he could offer any thing of tolerable weight in his defense, this attempt being against such a woman as was of the highest dignity of any of her sex at that time in the world; and as to any advantage to be expected from such an undertaking, if any such could be supposed in this case, it would appear to deserve condemnation, on account of the insolence he must take upon him in doing it: which considerations made it very plain that in so doing he would find his government filled with mischief, both great and lasting, both to himself and his posterity, whereas it was still in his power to reject that wickedness she would persuade him to, and to come off honourably at the same time. So by thus affrighting Herod, and representing to him the hazard he must, in all probability, run by this undertaking, they restrained him from it. So he treated Cleopatra kindly, and made her presents, and conducted her on her way to Egypt.

3. But Antony subdued Armenia, and sent Artabazes, the son of Tigranes, in bonds, with his children and procurators, to Egypt, and made a present of them, and of all the royal ornaments which he had taken out of that kingdom, to Cleopatra. And Artaxias, the eldest of his sons, who had escaped at that time, took the kingdom of Armenia; who yet was ejected by Archelaus and Nero Caesar, when they restored Tigranes, his younger brother, to that kingdom; but this happened a good while afterward.

4. But then, as to the tributes which Herod was to pay Cleopatra for that country which Antony had given her, he acted fairly with her, as deeming it not safe for him to afford any cause for Cleopatra to hate him. As for the king of Arabia, whose tribute Herod had undertaken to pay her, for some time indeed he paid him as much as came to two hundred talents; but he afterwards became very niggardly and slow in his payments, and could hardly be brought to pay some parts of it, and was not willing to pay even them without some deductions.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 5

How Herod Made War With The King Of Arabia, And After They Had Fought Many Battles, At Length Conquered Him, And Was Chosen By The Arabs To Be Governor Of That Nation; As Also Concerning A Great Earthquake.

1. Hereupon Herod held himself ready to go against the king of Arabia, because of his ingratitude to him, and because, after all, he would do nothing that was just to him, although Herod made the Roman war an occasion of delaying his own; for the battle at Actium was now expected, which fell into the hundred eighty and seventh olympiad, where Caesar and Antony were to fight for the supreme power of the world; but Herod having enjoyed a country that was very fruitful, and that now for a long time, and having received great taxes, and raised great armies therewith, got together a body of men, and carefully furnished them with all necessaries, and designed them as auxiliaries for Antony. But Antony said he had no want of his assistance; but he commanded him to punish the king of Arabia; for he had heard both from him, and from Cleopatra, how perfidious he was; for this was what Cleopatra desired, who thought it for her own advantage that these two kings should do one another as great mischief as possible. Upon this message from Antony, Herod returned back, but kept his army with him, in order to invade Arabia immediately. So when his army of horsemen and footmen was ready, he marched to Diospolis, whither the Arabians came also to meet them, for they were not unapprized of this war that was coming upon them; and after a great battle had been fought, the Jews had the victory. But afterward there were gotten together another numerous army of the Arabians, at Cana, which is a place of Celesyria. Herod was informed of this beforehand; so he came marching against them with the greatest part of the forces he had; and when he was come near to Cana, he resolved to encamp himself; and he cast up a bulwark, that he might take a proper season for attacking the enemy; but as he was giving those orders, the multitude of the Jews cried out that he should make no delay, but lead them against the Arabians. They went with great spirit, as believing they were in very good order; and those especially were so that had been in the former battle, and had been conquerors, and had not permitted their enemies so much as to come to a close fight with them. And when they were so tumultuous, and showed such great alacrity, the king resolved to make use of that zeal the multitude then exhibited; and when he had assured them he would not be behindhand with them in courage, he led them on, and stood before them all in his armour, all the regiments following him in their several ranks: whereupon a consternation fell upon the Arabians; for when they perceived that the Jews were not to be conquered, and were full of spirit, the greater part of them ran away, and avoided fighting; and they had been quite destroyed, had not Anthony fallen upon the Jews, and distressed them; for this man was Cleopatra's general over the soldiers she had there, and was at enmity with Herod, and very wistfully looked on to see what the event of the battle would be. He had also resolved, that in case the Arabians did any thing that was brave and successful, he would lie still; but in case they were beaten, as it really happened, he would attack the Jews with those forces he had of his own, and with those that the country had gotten together for him. So he fell upon the Jews unexpectedly, when they were fatigued, and thought they had already vanquished the enemy, and made a great slaughter of them; for as the Jews had spent their courage upon their

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known enemies, and were about to enjoy themselves in quietness after their victory, they were easily beaten by these that attacked them afresh, and in particular received a great loss in places where the horses could not be of service, and which were very stony, and where those that attacked them were better acquainted with the places than themselves. And when the Jews had suffered this loss, the Arabians raised their spirits after their defeat, and returning back again, slew those that were already put to flight; and indeed all sorts of slaughter were now frequent, and of those that escaped, a few only returned into the camp. So king Herod, when he despaired of the battle, rode up to them to bring them assistance; yet did he not come time enough to do them any service, though he laboured hard to do it; but the Jewish camp was taken; so that the Arabians had unexpectedly a most glorious success, having gained that victory which of themselves they were no way likely to have gained, and slaying a great part of the enemy's army: whence afterward Herod could only act like a private robber, and make excursions upon many parts of Arabia, and distress them by sudden incursions, while he encamped among the mountains, and avoided by any means to come to a pitched battle; yet did he greatly harass the enemy by his assiduity, and the hard labour he took in this matter. He also took great care of his own forces, and used all the means he could to restore his affairs to their old state.

2. At this time it was that the fight happened at Actium, between Octavius Caesar and Antony, in the seventh year of the reign of Herod and then it was also that there was an earthquake in Judea, such a one as had not happened at any other time, and which earthquake brought a great destruction upon the cattle in that country. About ten thousand men also perished by the fall of houses; but the army, which lodged in the field, received no damage by this sad accident. When the Arabians were informed of this, and when those that hated the Jews, and pleased themselves with aggravating the reports, told them of it, they raised their spirits, as if their enemy's country was quite overthrown, and the men were utterly destroyed, and thought there now remained nothing that could oppose them. Accordingly, they took the Jewish ambassadors, who came to them after all this had happened, to make peace with them, and slew them, and came with great alacrity against their army; but the Jews durst not withstand them, and were so cast down by the calamities they were under, that they took no care of their affairs, but gave up themselves to despair; for they had no hope that they should be upon a level again with them in battles, nor obtain any assistance elsewhere, while their affairs at home were in such great distress also. When matters were in this condition, the king persuaded the commanders by his words, and tried to raise their spirits, which were quite sunk; and first he endeavored to encourage and embolden some of the better sort beforehand, and then ventured to make a speech to the multitude, which he had before avoided to do, lest he should find them uneasy thereat, because of the misfortunes which had happened; so he made a consolatory speech to the multitude, in the manner following:

3. "You are not unacquainted, my fellow soldiers, that we have had, not long since, many accidents that have put a stop to what we are about, and it is probable that even those that are most distinguished above others for their courage can hardly keep up their spirits in such circumstances; but since we cannot avoid fighting, and nothing that hath happened is of such a nature but it may by ourselves be recovered into a good state, and this by one brave action only well performed, I have proposed to myself both to give you some encouragement, and, at the same time, some information; both which parts of my design will tend to this point; that you may still continue in your own proper fortitude. I will then, in the first place, demonstrate to you that this war is a just one on our side, and that on this account it is a war of necessity, and occasioned by the injustice of our adversaries; for if you be once satisfied of this, it will be a real cause of alacrity to you; after which I will further demonstrate, that the misfortunes we are under are of no great consequence, and that we have the greatest reason to hope for victory. I shall begin with the first, and appeal to yourselves as witnesses to what I shall say. You are not ignorant certainly of the wickedness of the Arabians, which is to that degree as to appear incredible to all other men, and to include somewhat that shows the grossest barbarity and ignorance of God. The chief things wherein they have affronted us have arisen from covetousness and envy; and they have attacked us in an insidious manner, and on the sudden. And what occasion is there for me to mention many instances of such their procedure? When they were in danger of losing their own government of themselves, and of being slaves to Cleopatra, what others were they that freed them from that fear? for it was the friendship I had with Antony, and the kind disposition he was in towards us, that hath been the occasion that even these Arabians have not been utterly undone, Antony being unwilling to undertake any thing which might be suspected by us of unkindness: but when he had a mind to bestow some parts of each of our dominions on Cleopatra, I also managed that matter so, that by giving him presents of my own, I might obtain a security to both nations, while I undertook myself to answer for the money, and gave him two hundred talents, and became surety for those two hundred more which were imposed upon the land that was subject to this tribute; and this they have defrauded us of, although it was not reasonable that Jews should pay tribute to any man living, or allow part of their land to be taxable; but although that was to be, yet ought we not to pay tribute for these Arabians, whom we have ourselves preserved; nor is it fit that they, who have professed [and that with great integrity and sense of our kindness] that it is by our means that they keep their principality, should injure us, and deprive us of what is our due, and this while we have been still not their enemies, but their friends. And whereas observation of covenants takes place among the bitterest enemies, but among friends is absolutely necessary, this is not observed among these men, who think gain to be the best of all things, let it be by any means whatsoever, and that injustice is no harm, if they may but get money by it: is it therefore a question with you, whether the unjust are to be punished or not? when God himself hath declared his mind that so it ought to be, and hath commanded that we ever should hate injuries and injustice, which is not only just, but necessary, in wars between several nations; for these Arabians have done what both the Greeks and barbarians own to be an instance of the grossest wickedness, with regard to our ambassadors, which they have beheaded, while the Greeks declare that such ambassadors are sacred and inviolable. And for ourselves, we have learned from God the most excellent of our doctrines, and the most holy part of our law, by angels or ambassadors; for this name brings God to the knowledge of mankind, and is sufficient to reconcile enemies one to another. What wickedness then can be greater than the slaughter of ambassadors, who come to treat about doing what is right? And when such have been their actions, how is it possible they can either live securely in common life, or be successful in war? In my opinion, this is impossible; but perhaps some will say, that what is holy, and what is righteous, is indeed on our side, but that the Arabians are either more courageous or more numerous than we are. Now, as to this, in the first place, it is not fit for us to say so, for with whom is what is righteous, with them is God himself; now where God is, there is both multitude and courage. But to examine our own circumstances a little, we were conquerors in the first battle; and when we fought again, they were not able to oppose us, but ran away, and could not endure our attacks or our courage; but when we had conquered them, then came Athenion, and made war against us without declaring it; and pray, is this an instance of their manhood? or is it not a second instance of their wickedness and treachery? Why are we therefore of less courage, on account of that which ought to inspire us with stronger hopes? and why are we terrified at these, who, when they fight upon the level, are continually beaten, and when they seem to be conquerors, they gain it by wickedness? and if we suppose that any one should deem them to be men of real courage, will not he be excited by that very consideration to do his utmost against them? for true valour is not shown by fighting against weak persons, but in being able to overcome the most hardy. But then if the distresses we are ourselves under, and the miseries that have come by the earthquake, hath affrighted any one, let him consider, in the first place, that this very thing will deceive the Arabians, by their supposal that what hath befallen us is greater than it really is. Moreover, it is not right that the same thing that emboldens them should discourage us; for these men, you see, do not derive their alacrity from any advantageous virtue of their own, but from their hope, as to us, that we are quite cast down by our misfortunes; but when we boldly march against them, we shall soon pull down their insolent conceit of themselves, and shall gain this by attacking them, that they will not be so insolent when we come to the battle; for our distresses are not so great, nor is what hath happened all indication of the anger of God against us, as some imagine; for such things are accidental, and adversities that come in the usual course of things; and if we allow that this was done by the will of God, we must allow that it is now over by his will also, and that he is satisfied with what hath already happened; for had he been willing to afflict us still more thereby, he had not changed his mind so soon. And as for the war we are engaged in, he hath himself demonstrated that he is willing it should go on, and that he knows it to be a just war; for while some of the people in the country have perished, all you who were in arms have suffered nothing, but are all preserved alive; whereby God makes it plain to us, that if you had universally, with your children and wives, been in the army, it had come to pass that you had not undergone any thing that would have much hurt you. Consider these things, and, what is more than all the rest, that you have God at all times for your Protector; and prosecute these men with a just bravery, who, in point of friendship, are unjust, in their battles perfidious, towards ambassadors impious, and always inferior to you in valour."

4. When the Jews heard this speech, they were much raised in their minds, and more disposed to fight than before. So Herod, when he had offered the sacrifices appointed by the law made haste, and took them, and led them against the Arabians; and in order to that passed over Jordan, and pitched his camp near to that of the enemy. He also thought fit to seize upon a certain castle that lay in the midst of them, as hoping it would be for his advantage, and would the sooner produce a battle; and that if there were occasion for delay, he should by it have his camp fortified; and as the Arabians had the same intentions upon that place, a contest arose about it; at first they were but skirmishes, after which there came more soldiers, and it proved a sort of fight, and some fell on both sides, till those of the Arabian side were beaten and retreated. This was no small encouragement to the Jews immediately; and when Herod observed that the enemy's army was disposed to any thing rather than to come to an engagement, he ventured boldly to attempt the bulwark itself, and to pull it to pieces, and so to get nearer to their camp, in order to fight them; for when they were forced out of their trenches, they went out in disorder, and had not the least alacrity, or hope of victory; yet did they fight hand to hand, because they were more in number than the Jews, and because they were in such a disposition of war that they were under a necessity of coming on boldly; so they came to a terrible battle, while not a few fell on each side. However, at length the Arabians fled; and so great a slaughter was made upon their being routed, that they were not only killed by their enemies, but became the authors of their own deaths also, and were trodden down by the multitude, and the great current of people in disorder, and were destroyed by their own armour; so five thousand men lay dead upon the spot, while the rest of the multitude soon ran within the bulwark for safety, but had no firm hope of safety, by reason of their want of necessaries, and especially of water. The Jews pursued them, but could not get in with them, but sat round about the bulwark, and watched any assistance that would get in to them, and prevented any there, that had a mind to it, from running away.

5. When the Arabians were in these circumstances, they sent ambassadors to Herod, in the first place, to propose terms of accommodation, and after that to offer him, so pressing was their thirst upon them, to undergo whatsoever he pleased, if he would free them from their present distress; but he would admit of no ambassadors, of no price of redemption, nor of any other moderate terms whatever, being very desirous to revenge those unjust actions which they had been guilty of towards his nation. So they were necessitated by other motives, and particularly by their thirst, to come out, and deliver themselves up to him, to be carried away captives; and in five days' time the number of four thousand were taken prisoners, while all the rest resolved to make a sally upon their enemies, and to fight it out with them, choosing rather, if so it must be, to die therein, than to perish gradually and ingloriously. When they had taken this resolution, they came out of their trenches, but could no way sustain the fight, being too much disabled, both in mind and body, and having not room to exert themselves, and thought it an advantage to be killed, and a misery to survive; so at the first onset there fell about seven thousand of them, after which stroke they let all the courage they had put on before fall, and stood amazed at Herod's warlike spirit under his own calamities; so for the future they yielded, and made him ruler of their nation; whereupon he was greatly elevated at so seasonable a success, and returned home, taking great authority upon him, on account of so bold and glorious an expedition as he had made.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 6

How Herod Slew Hyrcanus And Then Hasted Away To Caesar, And Obtained The Kingdom From Him Also; And How A Little Time Afterward, He Entertained Caesar In A Most Honourable Manner.

1. Herod's other affairs were now very prosperous, and he was not to be easily assaulted on any side. Yet did there come upon him a danger that would hazard his entire dominions, after Antony had been beaten at the battle of Actium by Caesar [Octavian]; for at that time both Herod's enemies and friends despaired of his affairs, for it was not probable that he would remain without punishment, who had showed so much friendship for Antony. So it happened that his friends despaired, and had no hopes of his escape; but for his enemies, they all outwardly appeared to be troubled at his case, but were privately very glad of it, as hoping to obtain a change for the better. As for Herod himself he saw that there was no one of royal dignity left but Hyrcanus, and therefore he thought it would be for his advantage not to suffer him to be an obstacle in his way any longer; for that in case he himself survived, and escaped the danger he was in, he thought it the safest way to put it out of the power of such a man to make any attempt against him, at such junctures of affairs, as was more worthy of the kingdom than himself; and in case he should be slain by Caesar, his envy prompted him to desire to slay him that would otherwise be king after him.

2. While Herod had these things in his mind, there was a certain occasion afforded him: for Hyrcanus was of so mild a temper, both then and at other times, that he desired not to meddle with public affairs, nor to concern himself with

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innovations, but left all to fortune, and contented himself with what that afforded him: but Alexandra [his daughter] was a lover of strife, and was exceeding desirous of a change of the government, and spake to her father not to bear for ever Herod's injurious treatment of their family, but to anticipate their future hopes, as he safely might; and desired him to write about these matters to Malchus, who was then governor of Arabia, to receive them, and to secure them [from Herod], for that if they went away, and Herod's affairs proved to be as it was likely they would be, by reason of Caesar's enmity to him, they should then be the only persons that could take the government; and this, both on account of the royal family they were of, and on account of the good disposition of: the multitude to them. While she used these persuasions, Hyrcanus put off her suit; but as she showed that she was a woman, and a contentious woman too, and would not desist either night or day, but would always be speaking to him about these matters, and about Herod's treacherous designs, she at last prevailed with him to intrust Dositheus, one of his friends, with a letter, wherein his resolution was declared; and he desired the Arabian governor to send to him some horsemen, who should receive him, and conduct him to the lake Asphaltites, which is from the bounds of Jerusalem three hundred furlongs: and he did therefore trust Dositheus with this letter, because he was a careful attendant on him, and on Alexandra, and had no small occasions to bear ill-will to Herod; for he was a kinsman of one Joseph, whom he had slain, and a brother of those that were formerly slain at Tyre by Antony: yet could not these motives induce Dositheus to serve Hyrcanus in this affair; for, preferring the hopes he had from the present king to those he had from him, he gave Herod the letter. So he took his kindness in good part, and bid him besides do what he had already done, that is, go on in serving him, by rolling up the epistle and sealing it again, and delivering it to Malchus, and then to bring back his letter in answer to it; for it would be much better if he could know Malchus's intentions also. And when Dositheus was very ready to serve him in this point also, the Arabian governor returned back for answer, that he would receive Hyrcanus, and all that should come with him, and even all the Jews that were of his party; that he would, moreover, send forces sufficient to secure them in their journey; and that he should be in no want of any thing he should desire. Now as soon as Herod had received this letter, he immediately sent for Hyrcanus, and questioned him about the league he had made with Malchus; and when he denied it, he showed his letter to the Sanhedrim, and put the man to death immediately.

3. And this account we give the reader, as it is contained in the commentaries of king Herod: but other historians do not agree with them, for they suppose that Herod did not find, but rather make, this an occasion for thus putting him to death, and that by treacherously laying a snare for him; for thus do they write: That Herod and he were once at a treat, and that Herod had given no occasion to suspect [that he was displeased at him], but put this question to Hyrcanus, Whether he had received any letters from Malchus? and when he answered that he had received letters, but those of salutation only; and when he asked further, whether he had not received any presents from him? and when he had replied that he had received no more than four horses to ride on, which Malchus had sent him; they pretended that Herod charged these upon him as the crimes of bribery and treason, and gave order that he should be led away and slain. And in order to demonstrate that he had been guilty of no offense, when he was thus brought to his end, they alleged how mild his temper had been, and that even in his youth he had never given any demonstration of boldness or rashness, and that the case was the same when he came to be king, but that he even then committed the management of the greatest part of public affairs to Antipater; and that he was now above fourscore years old, and knew that Herod's government was in a secure state. He also came over Euphrates, and left those who greatly honoured him beyond that river, though he were to be entirely under Herod's government; and that it was a most incredible thing that he should enterprise any thing by way of innovation, and not at all agreeable to his temper, but that this was a plot of Herod's contrivance.

4. And this was the fate of Hyrcanus; and thus did he end his life, after he had endured various and manifold turns of fortune in his lifetime. For he was made high priest of the Jewish nation in the beginning of his mother Alexandra's reign, who held the government nine years; and when, after his mother's death, he took the kingdom himself, and held it three months, he lost it, by the means of his brother Aristobulus. He was then restored by Pompey, and received all sorts of honour from him, and enjoyed them forty years; but when he was again deprived by Antigonus, and was maimed in his body, he was made a captive by the Parthians, and thence returned home again after some time, on account of the hopes that Herod had given him; none of which came to pass according to his expectation, but he still conflicted with many misfortunes through the whole course of his life; and, what was the heaviest calamity of all, as we have related already, he came to an end which was undeserved by him. His character appeared to be that of a man of a mild and moderate disposition, and suffered the administration of affairs to be generally done by others under him. He was averse to much meddling with the public, nor had shrewdness enough to govern a kingdom. And both Antipater and Herod came to their greatness by reason of his mildness; and at last he met with such an end from them as was not agreeable either to justice or piety.

5. Now Herod, as soon as he had put Hyrcanus out of the way, made haste to Caesar; and because he could not have any hopes of kindness from him, on account of the friendship he had for Antony, he had a suspicion of Alexandra, lest she should take this opportunity to bring the multitude to a revolt, and introduce a sedition into the affairs of the kingdom; so he committed the care of every thing to his brother Pheroras, and placed his mother Cypros, and his sister [Salome], and the whole family at Masada, and gave him a charge, that if he should hear any sad news about him, he should take care of the government. But as to Mariamne his wife, because of the misunderstanding between her and his sister, and his sister's mother, which made it impossible for them to live together, he placed her at Alexandrium, with Alexandra her mother, and left his treasurer Joseph and Sohemus of Iturea to take care of that fortress. These two had been very faithful to him from the beginning, and were now left as a guard to the women. They also had it in charge, that if they should hear any mischief had befallen him, they should kill them both, and, as far as they were able, to preserve the kingdom for his sons, and for his brother Pheroras.

6. When he had given them this charge, he made haste to Rhodes, to meet Caesar; and when he had sailed to that city, he took off his diadem, but remitted nothing else of his usual dignity. And when, upon his meeting him, he desired that he would let him speak to him, he therein exhibited a much more noble specimen of a great soul; for he did not betake himself to supplications, as men usually do upon such occasions, nor offered him any petition, as if he were an offender; but, after an undaunted manner, gave an account of what he had done; for he spake thus to Caesar: That he had the greatest friendship for Antony, and did every thing he could that he might attain the government; that he was not indeed in the army with him, because the Arabians had diverted him; but that he had sent him both money and corn, which was but too little in comparison of what he ought to have done for him; "for if a man owns himself to be another's friend, and knows him to be a benefactor, he is obliged to hazard every thing, to use every faculty of his soul, every member of his body, and all the wealth he hath, for him, in which I confess I have been too deficient. However, I am conscious to myself, that so far I have done right, that I have not deserted him upon his defeat at Actium; nor upon the evident change of his fortune have I transferred my hopes from him to another, but have preserved myself, though not as a valuable fellow soldier, yet certainly as a faithful counselor, to Antony, when I demonstrated to him that the only way that he had to save himself, and not to lose all his authority, was to slay Cleopatra; for when she was once dead, there would be room for him to retain his authority, and rather to bring thee to make a composition with him, than to continue at enmity any longer. None of which advises would he attend to, but preferred his own rash resolution before them, which have happened unprofitably for him, but profitably for thee. Now, therefore, in case thou determinest about me, and my alacrity in serving Antony, according to thy anger at him, I own there is no room for me to deny what I have done, nor will I be ashamed to own, and that publicly too, that I had a great kindness for him. But if thou wilt put him out of the case, and only examine how I behave myself to my benefactors in general, and what sort of friend I am, thou wilt find by experience that we shall do and be the same to thyself, for it is but changing the names, and the firmness of friendship that we shall bear to thee will not be disapproved by thee."

7. By this speech, and by his behavior, which showed Caesar the frankness of his mind, he greatly gained upon him, who was himself of a generous and magnificent temper, insomuch that those very actions, which were the foundation of the accusation against him, procured him Caesar's good-will. Accordingly, he restored him his diadem again; and encouraged him to exhibit himself as great a friend to himself as he had been to Antony, and then had him in great esteem. Moreover, he added this, that Quintus Didius had written to him that Herod had very readily assisted him in the affair of the gladiators. So when he had obtained such a kind reception, and had, beyond all his hopes, procured his crown to be more entirely and firmly settled upon him than ever by Caesar's donation, as well as by that decree of the Romans, which Caesar took care to procure for his greater security, he conducted Caesar on his way to Egypt, and made presents, even beyond his ability, to both him and his friends, and in general behaved himself with great magnanimity. He also desired that Caesar would not put to death one Alexander, who had been a companion of Antony; but Caesar had sworn to put him to death, and so he could not obtain that his petition. And now he returned to Judea again with greater honour and assurance than ever, and affrighted those that had expectations to the contrary, as still acquiring from his very dangers greater splendour than before, by the favour of God to him. So he prepared for the reception of Caesar, as he was going out of Syria to invade Egypt; and when he came, he entertained him at Ptolemais with all royal magnificence. He also bestowed presents on the army, and brought them provisions in abundance. He also proved to be one of Caesar's most cordial friends, and put the army in array, and rode along with Caesar, and had a hundred and fifty men, well appointed in all respects, after a rich and sumptuous manner, for the better reception of him and his friends. He also provided them with what they should want, as they passed over the dry desert, insomuch that they lacked neither wine nor water, which last the soldiers stood in the greatest need of; and besides, he presented Caesar with eight hundred talents, and procured to himself the good-will of them all, because he was assisting to them in a much greater and more splendid degree than the kingdom he had obtained could afford; by which means he more and more demonstrated to Caesar the firmness of his friendship, and his readiness to assist him; and what was of the greatest advantage to him was this, that his liberality came at a seasonable time also. And when they returned again out of Egypt, his assistances were no way inferior to the good offices he had formerly done them.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 7

How Herod Slew Sohemus And Mariamne And Afterward Alexandra And Costobarus, And His Most Intimate Friends, And At Last The Sons Of Babbas Also.

1. However, when he came into his kingdom again, he found his house all in disorder, and his wife Mariamne and her mother Alexandra very uneasy; for as they supposed [what was easy to be supposed] that they were not put into that fortress [Alexandrium] for the security of their persons, but as into a garrison for their imprisonment, and that they had no power over any thing, either of others or of their own affairs, they were very uneasy; and Mariamne supposing that the king's love to her was but hypocritical, and rather pretended [as advantageous to himself] than real, she looked upon it as fallacious. She also was grieved that he would not allow her any hopes of surviving him, if he should come to any harm himself. She also recollected what commands he had formerly given to Joseph, insomuch that she endeavored to please her keepers, and especially Sohemus, as well apprized how all was in his power. And at the first Sohemus was faithful to Herod, and neglected none of the things he had given him in charge; but when the women, by kind words and liberal presents, had gained his affections over to them, he was by degrees overcome, and at length discovered to them all the king's injunctions, and this on that account principally, that he did not so much as hope he would come back with the same authority he had before; so that he thought he should both escape any danger from him, and supposed that he did hereby much gratify the women, who were likely not to be overlooked in the settling of the government; nay, that they would be able to make him abundant recompense, since they must either reign themselves, or be very near to him that should reign. He had a further ground of hope also, that though Herod should have all the success he could wish for, and should return again, he could not contradict his wife in what she desired, for he knew that the king's fondness for his wife was inexpressible. These were the motives that drew Sohemus to discover what injunctions had been given him. So Mariamne was greatly displeased to hear that there was no end of the dangers she was under from Herod, and was greatly uneasy at it, and wished that he might obtain no favours [from Caesar], and esteemed it almost an insupportable task to live with him any longer; and this she afterward openly declared, without concealing her resentment.

2. And now Herod sailed home with joy, at the unexpected good success he had had; and went first of all, as was proper, to this his wife, and told her, and her only, the good news, as preferring her before the rest, on account of his fondness for her, and the intimacy there had been between them, and saluted her; but so it happened, that as he told her of the good success he had had, she was so far from rejoicing at it, that she rather was sorry for it; nor was she able to conceal her resentments, but, depending on her dignity, and the nobility of her birth, in return for his salutations, she gave a groan, and declared evidently that she rather grieved than rejoiced at his success, and this till Herod was disturbed at her, as affording him, not only marks of her suspicion, but evident signs of her dissatisfaction. This much troubled him, to see that this surprising hatred of his wife to him was not concealed, but open; and he took this so ill, and yet was so unable to bear it, on account of the fondness he had for her, that he could not continue long in any one mind, but sometimes was angry at her, and sometimes reconciled himself to her; but by always changing one passion for another, he was still in great uncertainty, and thus was he entangled between hatred and love, and was frequently disposed to inflict punishment on her for her insolence towards him; but being deeply in love with her in his soul, he was not able to

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get quit of this woman. In short, as he would gladly have her punished, so was he afraid lest, ere he were aware, he should, by putting her to death, bring a heavier punishment upon himself at the same time.

3. When Herod's sister and mother perceived that he was in this temper with regard to Mariamne they thought they had now got an excellent opportunity to exercise their hatred against her and provoked Herod to wrath by telling him, such long stories and calumnies about her, as might at once excite his hatred and his jealousy. Now, though he willingly enough heard their words, yet had not he courage enough to do any thing to her as if he believed them; but still he became worse and worse disposed to her, and these ill passions were more and more inflamed on both sides, while she did not hide her disposition towards him, and he turned his love to her into wrath against her. But when he was just going to put this matter past all remedy, he heard the news that Caesar was the victor in the war, and that Antony and Cleopatra were both dead, and that he had conquered Egypt; whereupon he made haste to go to meet Caesar, and left the affairs of his family in their present state. However, Mariamne recommended Sohemus to him, as he was setting out on his journey, and professed that she owed him thanks for the care he had taken of her, and asked of the king for him a place in the government; upon which an honourable employment was bestowed upon him accordingly. Now when Herod was come into Egypt, he was introduced to Caesar with great freedom, as already a friend of his, and received very great favours from him; for he made him a present of those four hundred Galatians who had been Cleopatra's guards, and restored that country to him again, which, by her means, had been taken away from him. He also added to his kingdom Gadara, Hippos, and Samaria; and, besides those, the maritime cities, Gaza, and Anthedon, and Joppa, and Strato's Tower.

4. Upon these new acquisitions, he grew more magnificent, and conducted Caesar as far as Antioch; but upon his return, as much as his prosperity was augmented by the foreign additions that had been made him, so much the greater were the distresses that came upon him in his own family, and chiefly in the affair of his wife, wherein he formerly appeared to have been most of all fortunate; for the affection he had for Mariamne was no way inferior to the affections of such as are on that account celebrated in history, and this very justly. As for her, she was in other respects a chaste woman, and faithful to him; yet had she somewhat of a woman rough by nature, and treated her husband imperiously enough, because she saw he was so fond of her as to be enslaved to her. She did not also consider seasonably with herself that she lived under a monarchy, and that she was at another's disposal, and accordingly would behave herself after a saucy manner to him, which yet he usually put off in a jesting way, and bore with moderation and good temper. She would also expose his mother and his sister openly, on account of the meanness of their birth, and would speak unkindly of them, insomuch that there was before this a disagreement and unpardonable hatred among the women, and it was now come to greater reproaches of one another than formerly, which suspicions increased, and lasted a whole year after Herod returned from Caesar. However, these misfortunes, which had been kept under some decency for a great while, burst out all at once upon such an occasion as was now offered; for as the king was one day about noon lain down on his bed to rest him, he called for Mariamne, out of the great affection he had always for her. She came in accordingly, but would not lie down by him; and when he was very desirous of her company, she showed her contempt of him; and added, by way of reproach, that he had caused her father and her brother to be slain. And when he took this injury very unkindly, and was ready to use violence to her, in a precipitate manner, the king's sister Salome, observing that he was more than ordinarily disturbed, sent in to the king his cup-bearer, who had been prepared long beforehand for such a design, and bid him tell the king how Mariamne had persuaded him to give his assistance in preparing a love potion for him; and if he appeared to be greatly concerned, and to ask what that love potion was, to tell him that she had the potion, and that he was desired only to give it him; but that in case he did not appear to be much concerned at this potion, to let the thing drop; and that if he did so, no harm should thereby come to him. When she had given him these instructions, she sent him in at this time to make such a speech. So he went in, after a composed manner, to gain credit to what he should say, and yet somewhat hastily, and said that Mariamne had given him presents, and persuaded him to give him a love potion. And when this moved the king, he said that this love potion was a composition that she had given him, whose effects he did not know, which was the reason of his resolving to give him this information, as the safest course he could take, both for himself and for the king. When Herod heard what he said, and was in an ill disposition before, his indignation grew more violent; and he ordered that eunuch of Mariamne, who was most faithful to her, to be brought to torture about this potion, as well knowing it was not possible that any thing small or great could be done without him. And when the man was under the utmost agonies, he could say nothing concerning the thing he was tortured about, but so far he knew, that Mariamne's hatred against him was occasioned by somewhat that Sohemus had said to her. Now as he was saying this, Herod cried out aloud, and said that Sohemus, who had been at all other times most faithful to him, and to his government, would not have betrayed what injunctions he had given him, unless he had had a nearer conversation than ordinary with Mariamne. So he gave order that Sohemus should be seized on and slain immediately; but he allowed his wife to take her trial; and got together those that were most faithful to him, and laid an elaborate accusation against her for this love potion and composition, which had been charged upon her by way of calumny only. However, he kept no temper in what he said, and was in too great a passion for judging well about this matter. Accordingly, when the court was at length satisfied that he was so resolved, they passed the sentence of death upon her; but when the sentence was passed upon her, this temper was suggested by himself, and by some others of the court, that she should not be thus hastily put to death, but be laid in prison in one of the fortresses belonging to the kingdom: but Salome and her party laboured hard to have the woman put to death; and they prevailed with the king to do so, and advised this out of caution, lest the multitude should be tumultuous if she were suffered to live; and thus was Mariamne led to execution.

5. When Alexandra observed how things went, and that there were small hopes that she herself should escape the like treatment from Herod, she changed her behavior to quite the reverse of what might have been expected from her former boldness, and this after a very indecent manner; for out of her desire to show how entirely ignorant she was of the crimes laid against Mariamne, she leaped out of her place, and reproached her daughter in the hearing of all the people; and cried out that she had been an ill woman, and ungrateful to her husband, and that her punishment came justly upon her for such her insolent behavior, for that she had not made proper returns to him who had been their common benefactor. And when she had for some time acted after this hypocritical manner, and been so outrageous as to tear her hair, this indecent and dissembling behavior, as was to be expected, was greatly condemned by the rest of the spectators, as it was principally by the poor woman who was to suffer; for at the first she gave her not a word, nor was discomposed at her peevishness, and only looked at her, yet did she out of a greatness of soul discover her concern for her mother's offense, and especially for her exposing herself in a manner so unbecoming her; but as for herself, she went to her death with an unshaken firmness of mind, and without changing the colour of her face, and thereby evidently discovered the nobility of her descent to the spectators, even in the last moments of her life.

6. And thus died Mariamne, a woman of an excellent character, both for chastity and greatness of soul; but she wanted moderation, and had too much of contention in her nature; yet had she all that can be said in the beauty of her body, and her majestic appearance in conversation; and thence arose the greatest part of the occasions why she did not prove so agreeable to the king, nor live so pleasantly with him, as she might otherwise have done; for while she was most indulgently used by the king, out of his fondness for her, and did not expect that he could do any hard thing to her, she took too unbounded a liberty. Moreover, that which most afflicted her was, what he had done to her relations, and she ventured to speak of all they had suffered by him, and at last greatly provoked both the king's mother and sister, till they became enemies to her; and even he himself also did the same, on whom alone she depended for her expectations of escaping the last of punishments.

7. But when she was once dead, the king's affections for her were kindled in a more outrageous manner than before, whose old passion for her we have already described; for his love to her was not of a calm nature, nor such as we usually meet with among other husbands; for at its commencement it was of an enthusiastic kind, nor was it by their long cohabitation and free conversation together brought under his power to manage; but at this time his love to Mariamne seemed to seize him in such a peculiar manner, as looked like Divine vengeance upon him for the taking away her life; for he would frequently call for her, and frequently lament for her in a most indecent manner. Moreover, he bethought him of every thing he could make use of to divert his mind from thinking of her, and contrived feasts and assemblies for that purpose, but nothing would suffice; he therefore laid aside the administration of public affairs, and was so far conquered by his passion, that he would order his servants to call for Mariamne, as if she were still alive, and could still hear them. And when he was in this way, there arose a pestilential disease, and carried off the greatest part of the multitude, and of his best and most esteemed friends, and made all men suspect that this was brought upon them by the anger of God, for the injustice that had been done to Mariamne. This circumstance affected the king still more, till at length he forced himself to go into desert places, and there, under pretense of going a hunting, bitterly afflicted himself; yet had he not borne his grief there many days before he fell into a most dangerous distemper himself: he had an inflammation upon him, and a pain in the hinder part of his head, joined with madness; and for the remedies that were used, they did him no good at all, but proved contrary to his case, and so at length brought him to despair. All the physicians also that were about him, partly because the medicines they brought for his recovery could not at all conquer the disease, and partly because his diet could be no other than what his disease inclined him to, desired him to eat whatever he had a mind to, and so left the small hopes they had of his recovery in the power of that diet, and committed him to fortune. And thus did his distemper go on, while he was at Samaria, now called Sebaste.

8. Now Alexandra abode at this time at Jerusalem; and being informed what condition Herod was in, she endeavored to get possession of the fortified places that were about the city, which were two, the one belonging to the city itself, the other belonging to the temple; and those that could get them into their hands had the whole nation under their power, for without the command of them it was not possible to offer their sacrifices; and to think of leaving on those sacrifices is to every Jew plainly impossible, who are still more ready to lose their lives than to leave off that Divine worship which they have been wont to pay unto God. Alexandra, therefore, discoursed with those that had the keeping of these strong holds, that it was proper for them to deliver the same to her, and to Herod's sons, lest, upon his death, any other person should seize upon the government; and that upon his recovery none could keep them more safely for him than those of his own family. These words were not by them at all taken in good part; and as they had been in former times faithful [to Herod], they resolved to continue so more than ever, both because they hated Alexandra, and because they thought it a sort of impiety to despair of Herod's recovery while he was yet alive, for they had been his old friends; and one of them, whose name was Achiabus, was his cousin-german. They sent messengers therefore to acquaint him with Alexandra's design; so he made no longer delay, but gave orders to have her slain; yet was it still with difficulty, and after he had endured great pain, that he got clear of his distemper. He was still sorely afflicted, both in mind and body, and made very uneasy, and readier than ever upon all occasions to inflict punishment upon those that fell under his hand. He also slew the most intimate of his friends, Costobarus, and Lysimachus, and Cadias, who was also called Antipater; as also Dositheus, and that upon the following occasion.

9. Costobarus was an Idumean by birth, and one of principal dignity among them, and one whose ancestors had been priests to the Koze, whom the Idumeans had [formerly] esteemed as a god; but after Hyrcanus had made a change in their political government, and made them receive the Jewish customs and law, Herod made Costobarus governor of Idumea and Gaza, and gave him his sister Salome to wife; and this was upon the slaughter of [his uncle] Joseph, who had that government before, as we have related already. When Costobarus had gotten to be so highly advanced, it pleased him and was more than he hoped for, and he was more and more puffed up by his good success, and in a little while he exceeded all bounds, and did not think fit to obey what Herod, as their ruler, commanded him, or that the Idumeans should make use of the Jewish customs, or be subject to them. He therefore sent to Cleopatra, and informed her that the Idumeans had been always under his progenitors, and that for the same reason it was but just that she should desire that country for him of Antony, for that he was ready to transfer his friendship to her; and this he did, not because he was better pleased to be under Cleopatra's government, but because he thought that, upon the diminution of Herod's power, it would not be difficult for him to obtain himself the entire government over the Idumeans, and somewhat more also; for he raised his hopes still higher, as having no small pretenses, both by his birth and by these riches which he had gotten by his constant attention to filthy lucre; and accordingly it was not a small matter that he aimed at. So Cleopatra desired this country of Antony, but failed of her purpose. An account of this was brought to Herod, who was thereupon ready to kill Costobarus; yet, upon the entreaties of his sister and mother, he forgave him, and vouchsafed to pardon him entirely; though he still had a suspicion of him afterward for this his attempt.

10. But some time afterward, when Salome happened to quarrel with Costobarus, she sent him a bill of divorce 12 and dissolved her marriage with him, though this was not according to the Jewish laws; for with us it is lawful for a husband to do so; but a wife; if she departs from her husband, cannot of herself be married to another, unless her former husband put her away. However, Salome chose to follow not the law of her country, but the law of her authority, and so renounced her wedlock; and told her brother Herod, that she left her husband out of her good-will to him, because she perceived that he, with Antipater, and Lysimachus, and Dositheus, were raising a sedition against him; as an evidence whereof, she alleged the case of the sons of Babas, that they

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had been by him preserved alive already for the interval of twelve years; which proved to be true. But when Herod thus unexpectedly heard of it, he was greatly surprised at it, and was the more surprised, because the relation appeared incredible to him. As for the fact relating to these sons of Babas, Herod had formerly taken great pains to bring them to punishment, as being enemies to his government; but they were now forgotten by him, on account of the length of time [since he had ordered them to be slain]. Now the cause of his ill-will and hatred to them arose hence, that while Antigonus was king, Herod, with his army, besieged the city of Jerusalem, where the distress and miseries which the besieged endured were so pressing, that the greater number of them invited Herod into the city, and already placed their hopes on him. Now the sons of Babas were of great dignity, and had power among the multitude, and were faithful to Antigonus, and were always raising calumnies against Herod, and encouraged the people to preserve the government to that royal family which held it by inheritance. So these men acted thus politically, and, as they thought, for their own advantage; but when the city was taken, and Herod had gotten the government into his hands, and Costobarus was appointed to hinder men from passing out at the gates, and to guard the city, that those citizens that were guilty, and of the party opposite to the king, might not get out of it, Costobarus, being sensible that the sons of Babas were had in respect and honour by the whole multitude, and supposing that their preservation might be of great advantage to him in the changes of government afterward, he set them by themselves, and concealed them in his own farms; and when the thing was suspected, he assured Herod upon oath that he really knew nothing of that matter, and so overcame the suspicions that lay upon him; nay, after that, when the king had publicly proposed a reward for the discovery, and had put in practice all sorts of methods for searching out this matter, he would not confess it; but being persuaded that when he had at first denied it, if the men were found, he should not escape unpunished, he was forced to keep them secret, not only out of his good-will to them, but out of a necessary regard to his own preservation also. But when the king knew the thing, by his sister's information, he sent men to the places where he had the intimation they were concealed, and ordered both them, and those that were accused as guilty with them, to be slain, insomuch that there were now none at all left of the kindred of Hyrcanus, and the kingdom was entirely in Herod's own power, and there was nobody remaining of such dignity as could put a stop to what he did against the Jewish laws.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 8

How Ten Men Of The Citizens [Of Jerusalem] Made A Conspiracy Against Herod, For The Foreign Practices He Had Introduced, Which Was A Transgression Of The Laws Of Their Country. Concerning The Building Of Sebaste And Caesarea, And Other Edifices Of Herod.

1. On this account it was that Herod revolted from the laws of his country, and corrupted their ancient constitution, by the introduction of foreign practices, which constitution yet ought to have been preserved inviolable; by which means we became guilty of great wickedness afterward, while those religious observances which used to lead the multitude to piety were now neglected; for, in the first place, he appointed solemn games to be celebrated every fifth year, in honour of Caesar, and built a theater at Jerusalem, as also a very great amphitheater in the plain. Both of them were indeed costly works, but opposite to the Jewish customs; for we have had no such shows delivered down to us as fit to be used or exhibited by us; yet did he celebrate these games every five years, in the most solemn and splendid manner. He also made proclamation to the neighbouring countries, and called men together out of every nation. The wrestlers also, and the rest of those that strove for the prizes in such games, were invited out of every land, both by the hopes of the rewards there to be bestowed, and by the glory of victory to be there gained. So the principal persons that were the most eminent in these sorts of exercises were gotten together, for there were very great rewards for victory proposed, not only to those that performed their exercises naked, but to those that played the musicians also, and were called Thymelici; and he spared no pains to induce all persons, the most famous for such exercises, to come to this contest for victory. He also proposed no small rewards to those who ran for the prizes in chariot races, when they were drawn by two, or three, or four pair of horses. He also imitated every thing, though never so costly or magnificent, in other nations, out of an ambition that he might give most public demonstration of his grandeur. Inscriptions also of the great actions of Caesar, and trophies of those nations which he had conquered in his wars, and all made of the purest gold and silver, encompassed the theater itself; nor was there any thing that could be subservient to his design, whether it were precious garments, or precious stones set in order, which was not also exposed to sight in these games. He had also made a great preparation of wild beasts, and of lions themselves in great abundance, and of such other beasts as were either of uncommon strength, or of such a sort as were rarely seen. These were prepared either to fight with one another, or that men who were condemned to death were to fight with them. And truly foreigners were greatly surprised and delighted at the vastness of the expenses here exhibited, and at the great dangers that were here seen; but to natural Jews, this was no better than a dissolution of those customs for which they had so great a veneration. It appeared also no better than an instance of barefaced impiety, to throw men to wild beasts, for the affording delight to the spectators; and it appeared an instance of no less impiety, to change their own laws for such foreign exercises: but, above all the rest, the trophies gave most distaste to the Jews; for as they imagined them to be images, included within the armour that hung round about them, they were sorely displeased at them, because it was not the custom of their country to pay honours to such images.

2. Nor was Herod unacquainted with the disturbance they were under; and as he thought it unseasonable to use violence with them, so he spake to some of them by way of consolation, and in order to free them from that superstitious fear they were under; yet could not he satisfy them, but they cried out with one accord, out of their great uneasiness at the offenses they thought he had been guilty of, that although they should think of bearing all the rest yet would they never bear images of men in their city, meaning the trophies, because this was disagreeable to the laws of their country. Now when Herod saw them in such a disorder, and that they would not easily change their resolution unless they received satisfaction in this point, he called to him the most eminent men among them, and brought them upon the theater, and showed them the trophies, and asked them what sort of things they took these trophies to be; and when they cried out that they were the images of men, he gave order that they should be stripped of these outward ornaments which were about them, and showed them the naked pieces of wood; which pieces of wood, now without any ornament, became matter of great sport and laughter to them, because they had before always had the ornaments of images themselves in derision.

3. When therefore Herod had thus got clear of the multitude, and had dissipated the vehemency of passion under which they had been, the greatest part of the people were disposed to change their conduct, and not to be displeased at him any longer; but still some of them continued in their displeasure against him, for his introduction of new customs, and esteemed the violation of the laws of their country as likely to be the origin of very great mischiefs to them, so that they deemed it an instance of piety rather to hazard themselves [to be put to death], than to seem as if they took no notice of Herod, who, upon the change he had made in their government, introduced such customs, and that in a violent manner, which they had never been used to before, as indeed in pretense a king, but in reality one that showed himself an enemy to their whole nation; on which account ten men that were citizens [of Jerusalem] conspired together against him, and sware to one another to undergo any dangers in the attempt, and took daggers with them under their garments [for the purpose of killing Herod]. Now there was a certain blind man among those conspirators who had thus sworn to one another, on account of the indignation he had against what he heard to have been done; he was not indeed able to afford the rest any assistance in the undertaking, but was ready to undergo any suffering with them, if so be they should come to any harm, insomuch that he became a very great encourager of the rest of the undertakers.

4. When they had taken this resolution, and that by common consent, they went into the theater, hoping that, in the first place, Herod himself could not escape them, as they should fall upon him so unexpectedly; and supposing, however, that if they missed him, they should kill a great many of those that were about him; and this resolution they took, though they should die for it, in order to suggest to the king what injuries he had done to the multitude. These conspirators, therefore, standing thus prepared beforehand, went about their design with great alacrity; but there was one of those spies of Herod, that were appointed for such purposes, to fish out and inform him of any conspiracies that should be made against him, who found out the whole affair, and told the king of it, as he was about to go into the theater. So when he reflected on the hatred which he knew the greatest part of the people bore him, and on the disturbances that arose upon every occasion, he thought this plot against him not to be improbable. Accordingly, he retired into his palace, and called those that were accused of this conspiracy before him by their several names; and as, upon the guards falling upon them, they were caught in the very fact, and knew they could not escape, they prepared themselves for their ends with all the decency they could, and so as not at all to recede from their resolute behavior, for they showed no shame for what they were about, nor denied it; but when they were seized, they showed their daggers, and professed that the conspiracy they had sworn to was a holy and pious action; that what they intended to do was not for gain, or out of any indulgence to their passions, but principally for those common customs of their country, which all the Jews were obliged to observe, or to die for them. This was what these men said, out of their undaunted courage in this conspiracy. So they were led away to execution by the king's guards that stood about them, and patiently underwent all the torments inflicted on them till they died. Nor was it long before that spy who had discovered them was seized on by some of the people, out of the hatred they bore to him; and was not only slain by them, but pulled to pieces, limb from limb, and given to the dogs. This execution was seen by many of the citizens, yet would not one of them discover the doers of it, till upon Herod's making a strict scrutiny after them, by bitter and severe tortures, certain women that were tortured confessed what they had seen done; the authors of which fact were so terribly punished by the king, that their entire families were destroyed for this their rash attempt; yet did not the obstinacy of the people, and that undaunted constancy they showed in the defense of their laws, make Herod any easier to them, but he still strengthened himself after a more secure manner, and resolved to encompass the multitude every way, lest such innovations should end in an open rebellion.

5. Since, therefore, he had now the city fortified by the palace in which he lived, and by the temple which had a strong fortress by it, called Antonia, and was rebuilt by himself, he contrived to make Samaria a fortress for himself also against all the people, and called it Sebaste, supposing that this place would be a strong hold against the country, not inferior to the former. So he fortified that place, which was a day's journey distant from Jerusalem, and which would be useful to him in common, to keep both the country and the city in awe. He also built another fortress for the whole nation; it was of old called Strato's Tower, but was by him named Caesarea. Moreover, he chose out some select horsemen, and placed them in the great plain; and built [for them] a place in Galilee, called Gaba with Hesebonitis, in Perea. And these were the places which he particularly built, while he always was inventing somewhat further for his own security, and encompassing the whole nation with guards, that they might by no means get from under his power, nor fall into tumults, which they did continually upon any small commotion; and that if they did make any commotions, he might know of it, while some of his spies might be upon them from the neighbourhood, and might both be able to know what they were attempting, and to prevent it. And when he went about building the wall of Samaria, he contrived to bring thither many of those that had been assisting to him in his wars, and many of the people in that neighbourhood also, whom he made fellow citizens with the rest. This he did out of an ambitious desire of building a temple, and out of a desire to make the city more eminent than it had been before; but principally because he contrived that it might at once be for his own security, and a monument of his magnificence. He also changed its name, and called it Sebaste. Moreover, he parted the adjoining country, which was excellent in its kind, among the inhabitants of Samaria, that they might be in a happy condition, upon their first coming to inhabit. Besides all which, he encompassed the city with a wall of great strength, and made use of the acclivity of the place for making its fortifications stronger; nor was the compass of the place made now so small as it had been before, but was such as rendered it not inferior to the most famous cities; for it was twenty furlongs in circumference. Now within, and about the middle of it, he built a sacred place, of a furlong and a half [in circuit], and adorned it with all sorts of decorations, and therein erected a temple, which was illustrious on account of both its largeness and beauty. And as to the several parts of the city, he adorned them with decorations of all sorts also; and as to what was necessary to provide for his own security, he made the walls very strong for that purpose, and made it for the greatest part a citadel; and as to the elegance of the building, it was taken care of also, that he might leave monuments of the fineness of his taste, and of his beneficence, to future ages.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 9

Concerning The Famine That Happened In Judea And Syria; And How Herod, After He Had Married Another Wife, Rebuilt Caesarea, And Other Grecian Cities.

1. Now on this very year, which was the thirteenth year of the reign of Herod, very great calamities came upon the country; whether they were derived from the anger of God, or whether this misery returns again naturally in certain periods of time for, in the first place, there were perpetual droughts, and for that reason the ground was barren, and did not bring forth the same quantity of fruits that it used to produce; and after this barrenness of the soil, that change of food which the want of corn occasioned produced distempers in the bodies of men, and a pestilential disease prevailed, one misery following upon the back of another; and these circumstances, that they were destitute both of methods of cure and of food, made the pestilential distemper, which began after a violent manner, the more lasting. The destruction of men also after such a manner deprived those that survived of all their courage, because they had no way to provide remedies sufficient for the distresses they were in. When therefore the fruits of that year were spoiled, and whatsoever they had laid up beforehand was

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spent, there was no foundation of hope for relief remaining, but the misery, contrary to what they expected still increased upon them; and this not only on that year, while they had nothing for themselves left [at the end of it], but what seed they had sown perished also, by reason of the ground not yielding its fruits on the second year. This distress they were in made them also, out of necessity, to eat many things that did not use to be eaten; nor was the king himself free from this distress any more than other men, as being deprived of that tribute he used to have from the fruits of the ground, and having already expended what money he had, in his liberality to those whose cities he had built; nor had he any people that were worthy of his assistance, since this miserable state of things had procured him the hatred of his subjects: for it is a constant rule, that misfortunes are still laid to the account of those that govern.

2. In these circumstances he considered with himself how to procure some seasonable help; but this was a hard thing to be done, while their neighbours had no food to sell them; and their money also was gone, had it been possible to purchase a little food at a great price. However, he thought it his best way, by all means, not to leave off his endeavors to assist his people; so he cut off the rich furniture that was in his palace, both of silver and gold, insomuch that he did not spare the finest vessels he had, or those that were made with the most elabourate skill of the artificers, but sent the money to Petronius, who had been made prefect of Egypt by Caesar; and as not a few had already fled to him under their necessities, and as he was particularly a friend to Herod, and desirous to have his subjects preserved, he gave leave to them in the first place to export corn, and assisted them every way, both in purchasing and exporting the same; so that he was the principal, if not the only person, who afforded them what help they had. And Herod taking care the people should understand that this help came from himself, did thereby not only remove the ill opinion of those that formerly hated him, but gave them the greatest demonstration possible of his good-will to them, and care of them; for, in the first place, as for those who were able to provide their own food, he distributed to them their proportion of corn in the exactest manner; but for those many that were not able, either by reason of their old age, or any other infirmity, to provide food for themselves, he made this provision for them, the bakers should make their bread ready for them. He also took care that they might not be hurt by the dangers of winter, since they were in great want of clothing also, by reason of the utter destruction and consumption of their sheep and goats, till they had no wool to make use of, nor any thing else to cover themselves withal. And when he had procured these things for his own subjects, he went further, in order to provide necessaries for their neighbours, and gave seed to the Syrians, which thing turned greatly to his own advantage also, this charitable assistance being afforded most seasonably to their fruitful soil, so that every one had now a plentiful provision of food. Upon the whole, when the harvest of the land was approaching, he sent no fewer than fifty thousand men, whom he had sustained, into the country; by which means he both repaired the afflicted condition of his own kingdom with great generosity and diligence, and lightened the afflictions of his neighbours, who were under the same calamities; for there was nobody who had been in want that was left destitute of a suitable assistance by him; nay, further, there were neither any people, nor any cities, nor any private men, who were to make provision for the multitudes, and on that account were in want of support, and had recourse to him, but received what they stood in need of, insomuch that it appeared, upon a computation, that the number of cori of wheat, of ten attic medimni apiece, that were given to foreigners, amounted to ten thousand, and the number that was given in his own kingdom was about fourscore thousand. Now it happened that this care of his, and this seasonable benefaction, had such influence on the Jews, and was so cried up among other nations, as to wipe off that old hatred which his violation of some of their customs, during his reign, had procured him among all the nation, and that this liberality of his assistance in this their greatest necessity was full satisfaction for all that he had done of that nature, as it also procured him great fame among foreigners; and it looked as if these calamities that afflicted his land, to a degree plainly incredible, came in order to raise his glory, and to be to his great advantage; for the greatness of his liberality in these distresses, which he now demonstrated beyond all expectation, did so change the disposition of the multitude towards him, that they were ready to suppose he had been from the beginning not such a one as they had found him to be by experience, but such a one as the care he had taken of them in supplying their necessities proved him now to be.

3. About this time it was that he sent five hundred chosen men out of the guards of his body as auxiliaries to Caesar, whom Aelius Gallus led to the Red Sea, and who were of great service to him there. When therefore his affairs were thus improved, and were again in a flourishing condition, he built himself a palace in the upper city, raising the rooms to a very great height, and adorning them with the most costly furniture of gold, and marble seats, and beds; and these were so large that they could contain very many companies of men. These apartments were also of distinct magnitudes, and had particular names given them; for one apartment was called Caesar's, another Agrippa's. He also fell in love again, and married another wife, not suffering his reason to hinder him from living as he pleased. The occasion of this his marriage was as follows: There was one Simon, a citizen of Jerusalem, the son of one Boethus, a citizen of Alexandria, and a priest of great note there; this man had a daughter, who was esteemed the most beautiful woman of that time; and when the people of Jerusalem began to speak much in her commendation, it happened that Herod was much affected with what was said of her; and when he saw the damsel, he was smitten with her beauty, yet did he entirely reject the thoughts of using his authority to abuse her, as believing, what was the truth, that by so doing he should be stigmatized for violence and tyranny; so he thought it best to take the damsel to wife. And while Simon was of a dignity too inferior to be allied to him, but still too considerable to be despised, he governed his inclinations after the most prudent manner, by augmenting the dignity of the family, and making them more honourable; so he immediately deprived Jesus, the son of Phabet, of the high priesthood, and conferred that dignity on Simon, and so joined in affinity with him [by marrying his daughter].

4. When this wedding was over, he built another citadel in that place where he had conquered the Jews when he was driven out of his government, and Antigonus enjoyed it. This citadel is distant from Jerusalem about threescore furlongs. It was strong by nature, and fit for such a building. It is a sort of a moderate hill, raised to a further height by the hand of man, till it was of the shape of a woman's breast. It is encompassed with circular towers, and hath a strait ascent up to it, which ascent is composed of steps of polished stones, in number two hundred. Within it are royal and very rich apartments, of a structure that provided both for security and for beauty. About the bottom there are habitations of such a structure as are well worth seeing, both on other accounts, and also on account of the water which is brought thither from a great way off, and at vast expenses, for the place itself is destitute of water. The plain that is about this citadel is full of edifices, not inferior to any city in largeness, and having the hill above it in the nature of a castle.

5. And now, when all Herod's designs had succeeded according to his hopes, he had not the least suspicion that any troubles could arise in his kingdom, because he kept his people obedient, as well by the fear they stood in of him, for he was implacable in the infliction of his punishments, as by the provident care he had showed towards them, after the most magnanimous manner, when they were under their distresses. But still he took care to have external security for his government as a fortress against his subjects; for the orations he made to the cities were very fine, and full of kindness; and he cultivated a seasonable good understanding with their governors, and bestowed presents on every one of them, inducing them thereby to be more friendly to him, and using his magnificent disposition so as his kingdom might be the better secured to him, and this till all his affairs were every way more and more augmented. But then this magnificent temper of his, and that submissive behavior and liberality which he exercised towards Caesar, and the most powerful men of Rome, obliged him to transgress the customs of his nation, and to set aside many of their laws, and by building cities after an extravagant manner, and erecting temples,—not in Judea indeed, for that would not have been borne, it being forbidden for us to pay any honour to images, or representations of animals, after the manner of the Greeks; but still he did thus in the country [properly] out of our bounds, and in the cities thereof. The apology which he made to the Jews for these things was this: That all was done, not out of his own inclinations, but by the commands and injunctions of others, in order to please Caesar and the Romans, as though he had not the Jewish customs so much in his eye as he had the honour of those Romans, while yet he had himself entirely in view all the while, and indeed was very ambitious to leave great monuments of his government to posterity; whence it was that he was so zealous in building such fine cities, and spent such vast sums of money upon them.

6. Now upon his observation of a place near the sea, which was very proper for containing a city, and was before called Strato's Tower, he set about getting a plan for a magnificent city there, and erected many edifices with great diligence all over it, and this of white stone. He also adorned it with most sumptuous palaces and large edifices for containing the people; and what was the greatest and most labourious work of all, he adorned it with a haven, that was always free from the waves of the sea. Its largeness was not less than the Pyrmum [at Athens], and had towards the city a double station for the ships. It was of excellent workmanship; and this was the more remarkable for its being built in a place that of itself was not suitable to such noble structures, but was to be brought to perfection by materials from other places, and at very great expenses. This city is situate in Phoenicia, in the passage by sea to Egypt, between Joppa and Dora, which are lesser maritime cities, and not fit for havens, on account of the impetuous south winds that beat upon them, which rolling the sands that come from the sea against the shores, do not admit of ships lying in their station; but the merchants are generally there forced to ride at their anchors in the sea itself. So Herod endeavored to rectify this inconvenience, and laid out such a compass towards the land as might be sufficient for a haven, wherein the great ships might lie in safety; and this he effected by letting down vast stones of above fifty feet in length, not less than eighteen in breadth, and nine in depth, into twenty fathom deep; and as some were lesser, so were others bigger than those dimensions. This mole which he built by the sea-side was two hundred feet wide, the half of which was opposed to the current of the waves, so as to keep off those waves which were to break upon them, and so was called Procymatia, or the first breaker of the waves; but the other half had upon it a wall, with several towers, the largest of which was named Drusus, and was a work of very great excellence, and had its name from Drusus, the son-in-law of Caesar, who died young. There were also a great number of arches where the mariners dwelt. There was also before them a quay, [or landing place,] which ran round the entire haven, and was a most agreeable walk to such as had a mind to that exercise; but the entrance or mouth of the port was made on the north quarter, on which side was the stillest of the winds of all in this place: and the basis of the whole circuit on the left hand, as you enter the port, supported a round turret, which was made very strong, in order to resist the greatest waves; while on the right hand, as you enter, stood two vast stones, and those each of them larger than the turret, which were over against them; these stood upright, and were joined together. Now there were edifices all along the circular haven, made of the politest stone, with a certain elevation, whereon was erected a temple, that was seen a great way off by those that were sailing for that haven, and had in it two statues, the one of Rome, the other of Caesar. The city itself was called Caesarea, which was also itself built of fine materials, and was of a fine structure; nay, the very subterranean vaults and cellars had no less of architecture bestowed on them than had the buildings above ground. Some of these vaults carried things at even distances to the haven and to the sea; but one of them ran obliquely, and bound all the rest together, that both the rain and the filth of the citizens were together carried off with ease, and the sea itself, upon the flux of the tide from without, came into the city, and washed it all clean. Herod also built therein a theater of stone; and on the south quarter, behind the port, an amphitheater also, capable of holding a vast number of men, and conveniently situated for a prospect to the sea. So this city was thus finished in twelve years; during which time the king did not fail to go on both with the work, and to pay the charges that were necessary.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 10

How Herod Sent His Sons To Rome; How Also He Was Accused By Zenodorus And The Gadarens, But Was Cleared Of What They Accused Him Of And Withal Gained To Himself The Good-Will Of Caesar. Concerning The Pharisees, The Essens And Manahem.

1. When Herod was engaged in such matters, and when he had already re-edified Sebaste, [Samaria,] he resolved to send his sons Alexander and Aristobulus to Rome, to enjoy the company of Caesar; who, when they came thither, lodged at the house of Pollio, who was very fond of Herod's friendship; and they had leave to lodge in Caesar's own palace, for he received these sons of Herod with all humanity, and gave Herod leave to give his kingdom to which of his sons he pleased; and besides all this, he bestowed on him Trachon, and Batanea, and Auranitis, which he gave him on the occasion following: One Zenodorus had hired what was called the house of Lysanias, who, as he was not satisfied with its revenues, became a partner with the robbers that inhabited the Trachonites, and so procured himself a larger income; for the inhabitants of those places lived in a mad way, and pillaged the country of the Damascenes, while Zenodorus did not restrain them, but partook of the prey they acquired. Now as the neighbouring people were hereby great sufferers, they complained to Varro, who was then president [of Syria], and entreated him to write to Caesar about this injustice of Zenodorus. When these matters were laid before Caesar, he wrote back to Varro to destroy those nests of robbers, and to give the land to Herod, that so by his care the neighbouring countries might be no longer disturbed with these doings of the Trachonites; for it was not an easy firing to restrain them, since this way of robbery had been their usual practice, and they had no other way to get their living, because they had neither any city of their own, nor lands in their possession, but only some receptacles and dens in the earth, and there they and their cattle lived in common together. However, they had made contrivances to get pools of water, and laid up corn in granaries for themselves, and were able to make great resistance, by issuing out on the sudden against any that attacked them; for the entrances of their caves were narrow, in which but one could come in at a time, and the places within incredibly large, and made very wide but the ground over

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their habitations was not very high, but rather on a plain, while the rocks are altogether hard and difficult to be entered upon, unless any one gets into the plain road by the guidance of another, for these roads are not straight, but have several revolutions. But when these men are hindered from their wicked preying upon their neighbours, their custom is to prey one upon another, insomuch that no sort of injustice comes amiss to them. But when Herod had received this grant from Caesar, and was come into this country, he procured skillful guides, and put a stop to their wicked robberies, and procured peace and quietness to the neighbouring people.

2. Hereupon Zenodorus was grieved, in the first place, because his principality was taken away from him; and still more so, because he envied Herod, who had gotten it; So he went up to Rome to accuse him, but returned back again without success. Now Agrippa was [about this time] sent to succeed Caesar in the government of the countries beyond the Ionian Sea, upon whom Herod lighted when he was wintering about Mitylene, for he had been his particular friend and companion, and then returned into Judea again. However, some of the Gadarens came to Agrippa, and accused Herod, whom he sent back bound to the king without giving them the hearing. But still the Arabians, who of old bare ill-will to Herod's government, were nettled, and at that time attempted to raise a sedition in his dominions, and, as they thought, upon a more justifiable occasion; for Zenodorus, despairing already of success as to his own affairs, prevented [his enemies], by selling to those Arabians a part of his principality, called Auranitis, for the value of fifty talents; but as this was included in the donations of Caesar, they contested the point with Herod, as unjustly deprived of what they had bought. Sometimes they did this by making incursions upon him, and sometimes by attempting force against him, and sometimes by going to law with him. Moreover, they persuaded the poorer soldiers to help them, and were troublesome to him, out of a constant hope that they should reduce the people to raise a sedition; in which designs those that are in the most miserable circumstances of life are still the most earnest; and although Herod had been a great while apprized of these attempts, yet did not he indulge any severity to them, but by rational methods aimed to mitigate things, as not willing to give any handle for tumults.

3. Now when Herod had already reigned seventeen years, Caesar came into Syria; at which time the greatest part of the inhabitants of Gadara clamoured against Herod, as one that was heavy in his injunctions, and tyrannical. These reproaches they mainly ventured upon by the encouragement of Zenodorus, who took his oath that he would never leave Herod till he had procured that they should be severed from Herod's kingdom, and joined to Caesar's province. The Gadarens were induced hereby, and made no small cry against him, and that the more boldly, because those that had been delivered up by Agrippa were not punished by Herod, who let them go, and did them no harm; for indeed he was the principal man in the world who appeared almost inexorable in punishing crimes in his own family, but very generous in remitting the offenses that were committed elsewhere. And while they accused Herod of injuries, and plunderings, and subversions of temples, he stood unconcerned, and was ready to make his defense. However, Caesar gave him his right hand, and remitted nothing of his kindness to him, upon this disturbance by the multitude; and indeed these things were alleged the first day, but the hearing proceeded no further; for as the Gadarens saw the inclination of Caesar and of his assessors, and expected, as they had reason to do, that they should be delivered up to the king, some of them, out of a dread of the torments they might undergo, cut their own throats in the night time, and some of them threw themselves down precipices, and others of them cast themselves into the river, and destroyed themselves of their own accord; which accidents seemed a sufficient condemnation of the rashness and crimes they had been guilty of; whereupon Caesar made no longer delay, but cleared Herod from the crimes he was accused of. Another happy accident there was, which was a further great advantage to Herod at this time; for Zenodorus's belly burst, and a great quantity of blood issued from him in his sickness, and he thereby departed this life at Antioch in Syria; so Caesar bestowed his country, which was no small one, upon Herod; it lay between Trachon and Galilee, and contained Ulatha, and Paneas, and the country round about. He also made him one of the procurators of Syria, and commanded that they should do every thing with his approbation; and, in short, he arrived at that pitch of felicity, that whereas there were but two men that governed the vast Roman empire, first Caesar, and then Agrippa, who was his principal favourite, Caesar preferred no one to Herod besides Agrippa, and Agrippa made no one his greater friend than Herod besides Caesar. And when he had acquired such freedom, he begged of Caesar a tetrarchy for his brother Pheroras, while he did himself bestow upon him a revenue of a hundred talents out of his own kingdom, that in case he came to any harm himself, his brother might be in safety, and that his sons might not have dominion over him. So when he had conducted Caesar to the sea, and was returned home, he built him a most beautiful temple, of the whitest stone, in Zenodorus's country, near the place called Panlure. This is a very fine cave in a mountain, under which there is a great cavity in the earth, and the cavern is abrupt, and prodigiously deep, and full of a still water; over it hangs a vast mountain; and under the caverns arise the springs of the river Jordan. Herod adorned this place, which was already a very remarkable one, still further by the erection of this temple, which he dedicated to Caesar.

4. At which time Herod released to his subjects the third part of their taxes, under pretense indeed of relieving them, after the dearth they had had; but the main reason was, to recover their good-will, which he now wanted; for they were uneasy at him, because of the innovations he had introduced in their practices, of the dissolution of their religion, and of the disuse of their own customs; and the people every where talked against him, like those that were still more provoked and disturbed at his procedure; against which discontents he greatly guarded himself, and took away the opportunities they might have to disturb him, and enjoined them to be always at work; nor did he permit the citizens either to meet together, or to walk or eat together, but watched every thing they did, and when any were caught, they were severely punished; and many there were who were brought to the citadel Hyrcania, both openly and secretly, and were there put to death; and there were spies set every where, both in the city and in the roads, who watched those that met together; nay, it is reported that he did not himself neglect this part of caution, but that he would oftentimes himself take the habit of a private man, and mix among the multitude, in the night time, and make trial what opinion they had of his government: and as for those that could no way be reduced to acquiesce under his scheme of government, he prosecuted them all manner of ways; but for the rest of the multitude, he required that they should be obliged to take an oath of fidelity to him, and at the same time compelled them to swear that they would bear him good-will, and continue certainly so to do, in his management of the government; and indeed a great part of them, either to please him, or out of fear of him, yielded to what he required of them; but for such as were of a more open and generous disposition, and had indignation at the force he used to them, he by one means or other made away, with them. He endeavored also to persuade Pollio the Pharisee, and Satneas, and the greatest part of their scholars, to take the oath; but these would neither submit so to do, nor were they punished together with the rest, out of the reverence he bore to Pollio. The Essens also, as we call a sect of ours, were excused from this imposition. These men live the same kind of life as do those whom the Greeks call Pythagoreans, concerning whom I shall discourse more fully elsewhere. However, it is but fit to set down here the reasons wherefore Herod had these Essens in such honour, and thought higher of them than their mortal nature required; nor will this account be unsuitable to the nature of this history, as it will show the opinion men had of these Essens.

5. Now there was one of these Essens, whose name was Manahem, who had this testimony, that he not only conducted his life after an excellent manner, but had the foreknowledge of future events given him by God also. This man once saw Herod when he was a child, and going to school, and saluted him as king of the Jews; but he, thinking that either he did not know him, or that he was in jest, put him in mind that he was but a private man; but Manahem smiled to himself, and clapped him on his backside with his hand, and said, "However that be, thou wilt be king, and wilt begin thy reign happily, for God finds thee worthy of it. And do thou remember the blows that Manahem hath given thee, as being a signal of the change of thy fortune. And truly this will be the best reasoning for thee, that thou love justice [towards men], and piety towards God, and clemency towards thy citizens; yet do I know how thy whole conduct will be, that thou wilt not be such a one, for thou wilt excel all men in happiness, and obtain an everlasting reputation, but wilt forget piety and righteousness; and these crimes will not be concealed from God, at the conclusion of thy life, when thou wilt find that he will be mindful of them, and punish them for them." Now at that time Herod did not at all attend to what Manahem said, as having no hopes of such advancement; but a little afterward, when he was so fortunate as to be advanced to the dignity of king, and was in the height of his dominion, he sent for Manahem, and asked him how long he should reign. Manahem did not tell him the full length of his reign; wherefore, upon that silence of his, he asked him further, whether he should reign ten years or not? He replied, "Yes, twenty, nay, thirty years;" but did not assign the just determinate limit of his reign. Herod was satisfied with these replies, and gave Manahem his hand, and dismissed him; and from that time he continued to honour all the Essens. We have thought it proper to relate these facts to our readers, how strange soever they be, and to declare what hath happened among us, because many of these Essens have, by their excellent virtue, been thought worthy of this knowledge of Divine revelations.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 11

How Herod Rebuilt The Temple And Raised It Higher And Made It More Magnificent Than It Was Before; As Also Concerning That Tower Which He Called Antonia.

1. And now Herod, in the eighteenth year of his reign, and after the acts already mentioned, undertook a very great work, that is, to build of himself the temple of God, and make it larger in compass, and to raise it to a most magnificent altitude, as esteeming it to be the most glorious of all his actions, as it really was, to bring it to perfection; and that this would be sufficient for an everlasting memorial of him; but as he knew the multitude were not ready nor willing to assist him in so vast a design, he thought to prepare them first by making a speech to them, and then set about the work itself; so he called them together, and spake thus to them: "I think I need not speak to you, my countrymen, about such other works as I have done since I came to the kingdom, although I may say they have been performed in such a manner as to bring more security to you than glory to myself; for I have neither been negligent in the most difficult times about what tended to ease your necessities, nor have the buildings. I have made been so proper to preserve me as yourselves from injuries; and I imagine that, with God's assistance, I have advanced the nation of the Jews to a degree of happiness which they never had before; and for the particular edifices belonging to your own country, and your own cities, as also to those cities that we have lately acquired, which we have erected and greatly adorned, and thereby augmented the dignity of your nation, it seems to me a needless task to enumerate them to you, since you well know them yourselves; but as to that undertaking which I have a mind to set about at present, and which will be a work of the greatest piety and excellence that can possibly be undertaken by us, I will now declare it to you. Our fathers, indeed, when they were returned from Babylon, built this temple to God Almighty, yet does it want sixty cubits of its largeness in altitude; for so much did that first temple which Solomon built exceed this temple; nor let any one condemn our fathers for their negligence or want of piety herein, for it was not their fault that the temple was no higher; for they were Cyrus, and Darius the son of Hystaspes, who determined the measures for its rebuilding; and it hath been by reason of the subjection of those fathers of ours to them and to their posterity, and after them to the Macedonians, that they had not the opportunity to follow the original model of this pious edifice, nor could raise it to its ancient altitude; but since I am now, by God's will, your governor, and I have had peace a long time, and have gained great riches and large revenues, and, what is the principal thing of all, I am at amity with and well regarded by the Romans, who, if I may so say, are the rulers of the whole world, I will do my endeavor to correct that imperfection, which hath arisen from the necessity of our affairs, and the slavery we have been under formerly, and to make a thankful return, after the most pious manner, to God, for what blessings I have received from him, by giving me this kingdom, and that by rendering his temple as complete as I am able."

2. And this was the speech which Herod made to them; but still this speech affrighted many of the people, as being unexpected by them; and because it seemed incredible, it did not encourage them, but put a damp upon them, for they were afraid that he would pull down the whole edifice, and not be able to bring his intentions to perfection for its rebuilding; and this danger appeared to them to be very great, and the vastness of the undertaking to be such as could hardly be accomplished. But while they were in this disposition, the king encouraged them, and told them he would not pull down their temple till all things were gotten ready for building it up entirely again. And as he promised them this beforehand, so he did not break his word with them, but got ready a thousand waggons, that were to bring stones for the building, and chose out ten thousand of the most skillful workmen, and bought a thousand sacerdotal garments for as many of the priests, and had some of them taught the arts of stone-cutters, and others of carpenters, and then began to build; but this not till every thing was well prepared for the work.

3. So Herod took away the old foundations, and laid others, and erected the temple upon them, being in length a hundred cubits, and in height twenty additional cubits, which [twenty], upon the sinking of their foundations 23 fell down; and this part it was that we resolved to raise again in the days of Nero. Now the temple was built of stones that were white and strong, and each of their length was twenty-five cubits, their height was eight, and their breadth about twelve; and the whole structure, as also the structure of the royal cloister, was on each side much lower, but the middle was much higher, till they were visible to those that dwelt in the country for a great many furlongs, but chiefly to such as lived over against them, and those that approached to them. The temple had doors also at the entrance, and lintels over them, of the same height with the temple itself. They were adorned with embroidered veils, with their flowers of purple, and pillars interwoven; and over these, but under the crown-work, was spread out a golden vine, with its branches hanging down from a great height, the largeness and fine workmanship of which was a

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surprising sight to the spectators, to see what vast materials there were, and with what great skill the workmanship was done. He also encompassed the entire temple with very large cloisters, contriving them to be in a due proportion thereto; and he laid out larger sums of money upon them than had been done before him, till it seemed that no one else had so greatly adorned the temple as he had done. There was a large wall to both the cloisters, which wall was itself the most prodigious work that was ever heard of by man. The hill was a rocky ascent, that declined by degrees towards the east parts of the city, till it came to an elevated level. This hill it was which Solomon, who was the first of our kings, by Divine revelation, encompassed with a wall; it was of excellent workmanship upwards, and round the top of it. He also built a wall below, beginning at the bottom, which was encompassed by a deep valley; and at the south side he laid rocks together, and bound them one to another with lead, and included some of the inner parts, till it proceeded to a great height, and till both the largeness of the square edifice and its altitude were immense, and till the vastness of the stones in the front were plainly visible on the outside, yet so that the inward parts were fastened together with iron, and preserved the joints immovable for all future times. When this work [for the foundation] was done in this manner, and joined together as part of the hill itself to the very top of it, he wrought it all into one outward surface, and filled up the hollow places which were about the wall, and made it a level on the external upper surface, and a smooth level also. This hill was walled all round, and in compass four furlongs, [the distance of] each angle containing in length a furlong: but within this wall, and on the very top of all, there ran another wall of stone also, having, on the east quarter, a double cloister, of the same length with the wall; in the midst of which was the temple itself. This cloister looked to the gates of the temple; and it had been adorned by many kings in former times; and round about the entire temple were fixed the spoils taken from barbarous nations; all these had been dedicated to the temple by Herod, with the addition of those he had taken from the Arabians.

4. Now on the north side [of the temple] was built a citadel, whose walls were square, and strong, and of extraordinary firmness. This citadel was built by the kings of the Asamonean race, who were also high priests before Herod, and they called it the Tower, in which were reposited the vestments of the high priest, which the high priest only put on at the time when he was to offer sacrifice. These vestments king Herod kept in that place; and after his death they were under the power of the Romans, until the time of Tiberius Caesar; under whose reign Vitellius, the president of Syria, when he once came to Jerusalem, and had been most magnificently received by the multitude, he had a mind to make them some requital for the kindness they had shewn him; so, upon their petition to have those holy vestments in their own power, he wrote about them to Tiberius Caesar, who granted his request: and this their power over the sacerdotal vestments continued with the Jews till the death of king Agrippa; but after that, Cassius Longinus, who was president of Syria, and Cuspius Fadus, who was procurator of Judea, enjoined the Jews to reposit those vestments in the tower of Antonia, for that they ought to have them in their power, as they formerly had. However, the Jews sent ambassadors to Claudius Caesar, to intercede with him for them; upon whose coming, king Agrippa, junior, being then at Rome, asked for and obtained the power over them from the emperor, who gave command to Vitellius, who was then commander in Syria, to give it them accordingly. Before that time they were kept under the seal of the high priest, and of the treasurers of the temple; which treasurers, the day before a festival, went up to the Roman captain of the temple guards, and viewed their own seal, and received the vestments; and again, when the festival was over, they brought it to the same place, and showed the captain of the temple guards their seal, which corresponded with his seal, and reposited them there. And that these things were so, the afflictions that happened to us afterwards [about them] are sufficient evidence. But for the tower itself, when Herod the king of the Jews had fortified it more firmly than before, in order to secure and guard the temple, he gratified Antonius, who was his friend, and the Roman ruler, and then gave it the name of the Tower of Antonia.

5. Now in the western quarters of the enclosure of the temple there were four gates; the first led to the king's palace, and went to a passage over the intermediate valley; two more led to the suburbs of the city; and the last led to the other city, where the road descended down into the valley by a great number of steps, and thence up again by the ascent for the city lay over against the temple in the manner of a theater, and was encompassed with a deep valley along the entire south quarter; but the fourth front of the temple, which was southward, had indeed itself gates in its middle, as also it had the royal cloisters, with three walks, which reached in length from the east valley unto that on the west, for it was impossible it should reach any farther: and this cloister deserves to be mentioned better than any other under the sun; for while the valley was very deep, and its bottom could not be seen, if you looked from above into the depth, this further vastly high elevation of the cloister stood upon that height, insomuch that if any one looked down from the top of the battlements, or down both those altitudes, he would be giddy, while his sight could not reach to such an immense depth. This cloister had pillars that stood in four rows one over against the other all along, for the fourth row was interwoven into the wall, which [also was built of stone]; and the thickness of each pillar was such, that three men might, with their arms extended, fathom it round, and join their hands again, while its length was twenty-seven feet, with a double spiral at its basis; and the number of all the pillars [in that court] was a hundred and sixty-two. Their chapiters were made with sculptures after the Corinthian order, and caused an amazement [to the spectators], by reason of the grandeur of the whole. These four rows of pillars included three intervals for walking in the middle of this cloister; two of which walks were made parallel to each other, and were contrived after the same manner; the breadth of each of them was thirty feet, the length was a furlong, and the height fifty feet; but the breadth of the middle part of the cloister was one and a half of the other, and the height was double, for it was much higher than those on each side; but the roofs were adorned with deep sculptures in wood, representing many sorts of figures. The middle was much higher than the rest, and the wall of the front was adorned with beams, resting upon pillars, that were interwoven into it, and that front was all of polished stone, insomuch that its fineness, to such as had not seen it, was incredible, and to such as had seen it, was greatly amazing. Thus was the first enclosure. In the midst of which, and not far from it, was the second, to be gone up to by a few steps: this was encompassed by a stone wall for a partition, with an inscription, which forbade any foreigner to go in under pain of death. Now this inner enclosure had on its southern and northern quarters three gates [equally] distant one from another; but on the east quarter, towards the sun-rising, there was one large gate, through which such as were pure came in, together with their wives; but the temple further inward in that gate was not allowed to the women; but still more inward was there a third [court of the] temple, whereinto it was not lawful for any but the priests alone to enter. The temple itself was within this; and before that temple was the altar, upon which we offer our sacrifices and burnt-offerings to God. Into none of these three did king Herod enter, for he was forbidden, because he was not a priest. However, he took care of the cloisters and the outer enclosures, and these he built in eight years.

6. But the temple itself was built by the priests in a year and six months; upon which all the people were full of joy; and presently they returned thanks, in the first place, to God; and in the next place, for the alacrity the king had showed. They feasted and celebrated this rebuilding of the temple: and for the king, he sacrificed three hundred oxen to God, as did the rest every one according to his ability; the number of which sacrifices is not possible to set down, for it cannot be that we should truly relate it; for at the same time with this celebration for the work about the temple fell also the day of the king's inauguration, which he kept of an old custom as a festival, and it now coincided with the other, which coincidence of them both made the festival most illustrious.

7. There was also an occult passage built for the king; it led from Antonia to the inner temple, at its eastern gate; over which he also erected for himself a tower, that he might have the opportunity of a subterraneous ascent to the temple, in order to guard against any sedition which might be made by the people against their kings. It is also reported, that during the time that the temple was building, it did not rain in the daytime, but that the showers fell in the nights, so that the work was not hindered. And this our fathers have delivered to us; nor is it incredible, if any one have regard to the manifestations of God. And thus was performed the work of the rebuilding of the temple.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES BOOK XVI.

Containing The Interval Of Twelve Years.—From The Finishing Of The Temple By Herod To The Death Of Alexander And Aristobulus.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 1

A Law Of Herod's About, Thieves. Salome And Pheroras Calumniate Alexander And Aristobulus, Upon Their Return From Rome For Whom Yet Herod Provides Wives.

1. As king Herod was very zealous in the administration of his entire government, and desirous to put a stop to particular acts of injustice which were done by criminals about the city and country, he made a law, no way like our original laws, and which he enacted of himself, to expose house-breakers to be ejected out of his kingdom; which punishment was not only grievous to be borne by the offenders, but contained in it a dissolution of the customs of our forefathers; for this slavery to foreigners, and such as did not live after the manner of Jews, and this necessity that they were under to do whatsoever such men should command, was an offense against our religious settlement, rather than a punishment to such as were found to have offended, such a punishment being avoided in our original laws; for those laws ordain, that the thief shall restore fourfold; and that if he have not so much, he shall be sold indeed, but not to foreigners, nor so that he be under perpetual slavery, for he must have been released after six years. But this law, thus enacted, in order to introduce a severe and illegal punishment, seemed to be a piece of insolence of Herod, when he did not act as a king, but as a tyrant, and thus contemptuously, and without any regard to his subjects, did he venture to introduce such a punishment. Now this penalty, thus brought into practice, was like Herod's other actions, and became a part of his accusation, and an occasion of the hatred he lay under.

2. Now at this time it was that he sailed to Italy, as very desirous to meet with Caesar, and to see his sons who lived at Rome; and Caesar was not only very obliging to him in other respects, but delivered him his sons again, that he might take them home with him, as having already completed themselves in the sciences; but as soon as the young men were come from Italy, the multitude were very desirous to see them, and they became conspicuous among them all, as adorned with great blessings of fortune, and having the countenances of persons of royal dignity. So they soon appeared to be the objects of envy to Salome, the king's sister, and to such as had raised calumnies against Mariamne; for they were suspicious, that when these came to the government, they should be punished for the wickedness they had been guilty of against their mother; so they made this very fear of theirs a motive to raise calumnies against them also. They gave it out that they were not pleased with their father's company, because he had put their mother to death, as if it were not agreeable to piety to appear to converse with their mother's murderer. Now, by carrying these stories; that had indeed a true foundation [in the fact], but were only built on probabilities as to the present accusation, they were able to do them mischief, and to make Herod take away that kindness from his sons which he had before borne to them; for they did not say these things to him openly, but scattered abroad such words, among the rest of the multitude; from which words, when carried to Herod, he was induced [at last] to hate them, and which natural affection itself, even in length of time, was not able to overcome; yet was the king at that time in a condition to prefer the natural affection of a father before all the suspicions and calumnies his sons lay under. So he respected them as he ought to do, and married them to wives, now they were of an age suitable thereto. To Aristobulus he gave for a wife Bernice, Salome's daughter; and to Alexander, Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 2

How Herod Twice Sailed To Agrippa; And How Upon The Complaint In Ionia Against The Greeks Agrippa Confirmed The Laws To Them.

1. When Herod had despatched these affairs, and he understood that Marcus Agrippa had sailed again out of Italy into Asia, he made haste to him, and besought him to come to him into his kingdom, and to partake of what he might justly expect from one that had been his guest, and was his friend. This request he greatly pressed, and to it Agrippa agreed, and came into Judea; whereupon Herod omitted nothing that might please him. He entertained him in his new-built cities, and showed him the edifices he had built, and provided all sorts of the best and most costly dainties for him and his friends, and that at Sebaste and Caesarea, about that port that he had built, and at the fortresses which he had erected at great expenses, Alexandrium, and Herodium, and Hyrcania. He also conducted him to the city Jerusalem, where all the people met him in their festival garments, and received him with acclamations. Agrippa also offered a hecatomb of sacrifices to God; and feasted the people, without omitting any of the greatest dainties that could be gotten. He also took so much pleasure there, that he abode many days with them, and would willingly have staid longer, but that the season of the year made him make haste away; for as winter was coming on, he thought it not safe to go to sea later, and yet he was of necessity to return again to Ionia.

2. So Agrippa went away, when Herod had bestowed on him, and on the principal of those that were with him, many presents; but king Herod, when he had passed the winter in his own dominions, made haste to get to him again in the spring, when he knew he designed to go to a campaign at the Bosphorus. So when he had sailed by Rhodes and by Cos, he touched at Lesbos, as thinking he should have overtaken Agrippa there; but he was taken short here by a north wind, which hindered his ship from going to the shore; so he continued many days at Chius, and there he kindly treated a great many that came to him, and obliged them by giving them royal gifts. And when he saw that the portico of the city was fallen down, which as it was overthrown in the Mithridatic war, and was very large and fine building, so was it not so easy to rebuild that as it was the rest, yet did he furnish a sum not only large enough for that purpose, but

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what was more than sufficient to finish the building; and ordered them not to overlook that portico, but to rebuild it quickly, that so the city might recover its proper ornaments. And when the high winds were laid, he sailed to Mytilene, and thence to Byzantium; and when he heard that Agrippa was sailed beyond the Cyanean rocks, he made all the haste possible to overtake him, and came up with him about Sinope, in Pontus. He was seen sailing by the ship-men most unexpectedly, but appeared to their great joy; and many friendly salutations there were between them, insomuch that Agrippa thought he had received the greatest marks of the king's kindness and humanity towards him possible, since the king had come so long a voyage, and at a very proper season, for his assistance, and had left the government of his own dominions, and thought it more worth his while to come to him. Accordingly, Herod was all in all to Agrippa, in the management of the war, and a great assistant in civil affairs, and in giving him counsel as to particular matters. He was also a pleasant companion for him when he relaxed himself, and a joint partaker with him in all things; ill troubles because of his kindness, and in prosperity because of the respect Agrippa had for him. Now as soon as those affairs of Pontus were finished, for whose sake Agrippa was sent thither, they did not think fit to return by sea, but passed through Paphlagonia and Cappadocia; they then traveled thence over great Phrygia, and came to Ephesus, and then they sailed from Ephesus to Samos. And indeed the king bestowed a great many benefits on every city that he came to, according as they stood in need of them; for as for those that wanted either money or kind treatment, he was not wanting to them; but he supplied the former himself out of his own expenses: he also became an intercessor with Agrippa for all such as sought after his favour, and he brought things so about, that the petitioners failed in none of their suits to him, Agrippa being himself of a good disposition, and of great generosity, and ready to grant all such requests as might be advantageous to the petitioners, provided they were not to the detriment of others. The inclination of the king was of great weight also, and still excited Agrippa, who was himself ready to do good; for he made a reconciliation between the people of Ilium, at whom he was angry, and paid what money the people of Chius owed Caesar's procurators, and discharged them of their tributes; and helped all others, according as their several necessities required.

3. But now, when Agrippa and Herod were in Ionia, a great multitude of Jews, who dwelt in their cities, came to them, and laying hold of the opportunity and the liberty now given them, laid before them the injuries which they suffered, while they were not permitted to use their own laws, but were compelled to prosecute their law-suits, by the ill usage of the judges, upon their holy days, and were deprived of the money they used to lay up at Jerusalem, and were forced into the army, and upon such other offices as obliged them to spend their sacred money; from which burdens they always used to be freed by the Romans, who had still permitted them to live according to their own laws. When this clamour was made, the king desired of Agrippa that he would hear their cause, and assigned Nicolaus, one of his friends, to plead for those their privileges. Accordingly, when Agrippa had called the principal of the Romans, and such of the kings and rulers as were there, to be his assessors, Nicolaus stood up, and pleaded for the Jews, as follows: "It is of necessity incumbent on such as are in distress to have recourse to those that have it in their power to free them from those injuries they lie under; and for those that now are complainants, they approach you with great assurance; for as they have formerly often obtained your favour, so far as they have even wished to have it, they now only entreat that you, who have been the donors, will take care that those favours you have already granted them may not be taken away from them. We have received these favours from you, who alone have power to grant them, but have them taken from us by such as are no greater than ourselves, and by such as we know are as much subjects as we are; and certainly, if we have been vouchsafed great favours, it is to our commendation who have obtained them, as having been found deserving of such great favours; and if those favours be but small ones, it would be barbarous for the donors not to confirm them to us. And for those that are the hinderance of the Jews, and use them reproachfully, it is evident that they affront both the receivers, while they will not allow those to be worthy men to whom their excellent rulers themselves have borne their testimony, and the donors, while they desire those favours already granted may be abrogated. Now if any one should ask these Gentiles themselves, which of the two things they would choose to part with, their lives, or the customs of their forefathers, their solemnities, their sacrifices, their festivals, which they celebrated in honour of those they suppose to be gods? I know very well that they would choose to suffer any thing whatsoever rather than a dissolution of any of the customs of their forefathers; for a great many of them have rather chosen to go to war on that account, as very solicitous not to transgress in those matters. And indeed we take an estimate of that happiness which all mankind do now enjoy by your means from this very thing, that we are allowed every one to worship as our own institutions require, and yet to live [in peace]; and although they would not be thus treated themselves, yet do they endeavor to compel others to comply with them, as if it were not as great an instance of impiety profanely to dissolve the religious solemnities of any others, as to be negligent in the observation of their own towards their gods. And let us now consider the one of these practices. Is there any people, or city, or community of men, to whom your government and the Roman power does not appear to be the greatest blessing? Is there any one that can desire to make void the favours they have granted? No one is certainly so mad; for there are no men but such as have been partakers of their favours, both public and private; and indeed those that take away what you have granted, can have no assurance but every one of their own grants made them by you may be taken from them also; which grants of yours can yet never be sufficiently valued; for if they consider the old governments under kings, together with your present government, besides the great number of benefits which this government hath bestowed on them, in order to their happiness, this is instead of all the rest, that they appear to be no longer in a state of slavery, but of freedom. Now the privileges we desire, even when we are in the best circumstances, are not such as deserve to be envied, for we are indeed in a prosperous state by your means, but this is only in common with others; and it is no more than this which we desire, to preserve our religion without any prohibition; which as it appears not in itself a privilege to be envied us, so it is for the advantage of those that grant it to us; for if the Divinity delights in being honoured, it must delight in those that permit them to be honoured. And there are none of our customs which are inhuman, but all tending to piety, and devoted to the preservation of justice; nor do we conceal those injunctions of ours by which we govern our lives, they being memorials of piety, and of a friendly conversation among men. And the seventh day we set apart from labour; it is dedicated to the learning of our customs and laws, we thinking it proper to reflect on them, as well as on any [good] thing else, in order to our avoiding of sin. If any one therefore examine into our observances, he will find they are good in themselves, and that they are ancient also, though some think otherwise, insomuch that those who have received them cannot easily be brought to depart from them, out of that honour they pay to the length of time they have religiously enjoyed them and observed them. Now our adversaries take these our privileges away in the way of injustice; they violently seize upon that money of ours which is owed to God, and called sacred money, and this openly, after a sacrilegious manner; and they impose tributes upon us, and bring us before tribunals on holy days, and then require other like debts of us, not because the contracts require it, and for their own advantage, but because they would put an affront on our religion, of which they are conscious as well as we, and have indulged themselves in an unjust, and to them involuntary, hatred; for your government over all is one, tending to the establishing of benevolence, and abolishing of ill-will among such as are disposed to it. This is therefore what we implore from thee, most excellent Agrippa, that we may not be ill-treated; that we may not be abused; that we may not be hindered from making use of our own customs, nor be despoiled of our goods, nor be forced by these men to do what we ourselves force nobody to do; for these privileges of ours are not only according to justice, but have formerly been granted us by you. And we are able to read to you many decrees of the senate, and the tables that contain them, which are still extant in the capitol, concerning these things, which it is evident were granted after you had experience of our fidelity towards you, which ought to be valued, though no such fidelity had been; for you have hitherto preserved what people were in possession of, not to us only, but almost to all men, and have added greater advantages than they could have hoped for, and thereby your government is become a great advantage to them. And if any one were able to enumerate the prosperity you have conferred on every nation, which they possess by your means, he could never put an end to his discourse; but that we may demonstrate that we are not unworthy of all those advantages we have obtained, it will be sufficient for us, to say nothing of other things, but to speak freely of this king who now governs us, and is now one of thy assessors; and indeed in what instance of good-will, as to your house, hath he been deficient? What mark of fidelity to it hath he omitted? What token of honour hath he not devised? What occasion for his assistance of you hath he not regarded at the very first? What hindereth; therefore, but that your kindnesses may be as numerous as his so great benefits to you have been? It may also perhaps be fit not here to pass over in silence the valour of his father Antipater, who, when Caesar made an expedition into Egypt, assisted him with two thousand armed men, and proved inferior to none, neither in the battles on land, nor in the management of the navy; and what need I say any thing of how great weight those soldiers were at that juncture? or how many and how great presents they were vouchsafed by Caesar? And truly I ought before now to have mentioned the epistles which Caesar wrote to the senate; and how Antipater had honours, and the freedom of the city of Rome, bestowed upon him; for these are demonstrations both that we have received these favours by our own deserts, and do on that account petition thee for thy confirmation of them, from whom we had reason to hope for them, though they had not been given us before, both out of regard to our king's disposition towards you, and your disposition towards him. And further, we have been informed by those Jews that were there with what kindness thou camest into our country, and how thou offeredst the most perfect sacrifices to God, and honouredst him with remarkable vows, and how thou gavest the people a feast, and acceptedst of their own hospitable presents to thee. We ought to esteem all these kind entertainments made both by our nation and to our city, to a man who is the ruler and manager of so much of the public affairs, as indications of that friendship which thou hast returned to the Jewish nation, and which hath been procured them by the family of Herod. So we put thee in mind of these things in the presence of the king, now sitting by thee, and make our request for no more but this, that what you have given us yourselves you will not see taken away by others from us."

4. When Nicolaus had made this speech, there was no opposition made to it by the Greeks, for this was not an inquiry made, as in a court of justice, but an intercession to prevent violence to be offered to the Jews any longer; nor did the Greeks make any defense of themselves, or deny what it was supposed they had done. Their pretense was no more than this, that while the Jews inhabited in their country, they were entirely unjust to them [in not joining in their worship] but they demonstrated their generosity in this, that though they worshipped according to their institutions, they did nothing that ought to grieve them. So when Agrippa perceived that they had been oppressed by violence, he made this answer: That, on account of Herod's good-will and friendship, he was ready to grant the Jews whatsoever they should ask him, and that their requests seemed to him in themselves just; and that if they requested any thing further, he should not scruple to grant it them, provided they were no way to the detriment of the Roman government; but that while their request was no more than this, that what privileges they had already given them might not be abrogated, he confirmed this to them, that they might continue in the observation of their own customs, without any one offering them the least injury. And when he had said thus, he dissolved the assembly; upon which Herod stood up and saluted him, and gave him thanks for the kind disposition he showed to them. Agrippa also took this in a very obliging manner, and saluted him again, and embraced him in his arms; after which he went away from Lesbos; but the king determined to sail from Samos to his own country; and when he had taken his leave of Agrippa, he pursued his voyage, and landed at Caesarea in a few days' time, as having favourable winds; from whence he went to Jerusalem, and there gathered all the people together to an assembly, not a few being there out of the country also. So he came to them, and gave them a particular account of all his journey, and of the affairs of all the Jews in Asia, how by his means they would live without injurious treatment for the time to come. He also told them of the entire good fortune he had met with and how he had administered the government, and had not neglected any thing which was for their advantage; and as he was very joyful, he now remitted to them the fourth part of their taxes for the last year. Accordingly, they were so pleased with his favour and speech to them, that they went their ways with great gladness, and wished the king all manner of happiness.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 3

How Great Disturbances Arose In Herods Family On His Preferring Antipater His Eldest Son Before The Rest, Till Alexander Took That Injury Very Heinously.

1. But now the affairs in Herod's family were in more and more disorder, and became more severe upon him, by the hatred of Salome to the young men [Alexander and Aristobulus], which descended as it were by inheritance [from their mother Mariamne]; and as she had fully succeeded against their mother, so she proceeded to that degree of madness and insolence, as to endeavor that none of her posterity might be left alive, who might have it in their power to revenge her death. The young men had also somewhat of a bold and uneasy disposition towards their father occasioned by the remembrance of what their mother had unjustly suffered, and by their own affectation of dominion. The old grudge was also renewed; and they cast reproaches on Salome and Pheroras, who requited the young men with malicious designs, and actually laid treacherous snares for them. Now as for this hatred, it was equal on both sides, but the manner of exerting that hatred was different; for as for the young men, they were rash, reproaching and affronting the others openly, and were inexperienced enough to think it the most generous to declare their minds in that undaunted manner; but the others did not take that method, but made use of calumnies after a subtle and a spiteful manner, still provoking the young men, and imagining that their boldness might in time turn to the offering violence to their father; for inasmuch as they were

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not ashamed of the pretended crimes of their mother, nor thought she suffered justly, these supposed that might at length exceed all bounds, and induce them to think they ought to be avenged on their father, though it were by despatching him with their own hands. At length it came to this, that the whole city was full of their discourses, and, as is usual in such contests, the unskilfulness of the young men was pitied; but the contrivance of Salome was too hard for them, and what imputations she laid upon them came to be believed, by means of their own conduct; for they who were so deeply affected with the death of their mother, that while they said both she and themselves were in a miserable case, they vehemently complained of her pitiable end, which indeed was truly such, and said that they were themselves in a pitiable case also, because they were forced to live with those that had been her murderers, and to be partakers with them.

2. These disorders increased greatly, and the king's absence abroad had afforded a fit opportunity for that increase; but as soon as Herod was returned, and had made the forementioned speech to the multitude, Pheroras and Salome let fill words immediately as if he were in great danger, and as if the young men openly threatened that they would not spare him any longer, but revenge their mother's death upon him. They also added another circumstance, that their hopes were fixed on Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia, that they should be able by his means to come to Caesar, and accuse their father. Upon hearing such things, Herod was immediately disturbed; and indeed was the more astonished, because the same things were related to him by some others also. He then called to mind his former calamity, and considered that the disorders in his family had hindered him from enjoying any comfort from those that were dearest to him or from his wife whom he loved so well; and suspecting that his future troubles would soon be heavier and greater than those that were past, he was in great confusion of mind; for Divine Providence had in reality conferred upon him a great many outward advantages for his happiness, even beyond his hopes; but the troubles he had at home were such as he never expected to have met with, and rendered him unfortunate; nay, both sorts came upon him to such a degree as no one could imagine, and made it a doubtful question, whether, upon the comparison of both, he ought to have exchanged so great a success of outward good things for so great misfortunes at home, or whether he ought not to have chosen to avoid the calamities relating to his family, though he had, for a compensation, never been possessed of the admired grandeur of a kingdom.

3. As he was thus disturbed and afflicted, in order to depress these young men, he brought to court another of his sons, that was born to him when he was a private man; his name was Antipater; yet did he not then indulge him as he did afterwards, when he was quite overcome by him, and let him do every thing as he pleased, but rather with a design of depressing the insolence of the sons of Mariamne, and managing this elevation of his so, that it might be for a warning to them; for this bold behavior of theirs [he thought] would not be so great, if they were once persuaded that the succession to the kingdom did not appertain to them alone, or must of necessity come to them. So he introduced Antipater as their antagonist, and imagined that he made a good provision for discouraging their pride, and that after this was done to the young men, there might be a proper season for expecting these to be of a better disposition; but the event proved otherwise than he intended, for the young men thought he did them a very great injury; and as Antipater was a shrewd man, when he had once obtained this degree of freedom, and began to expect greater things than he had before hoped for, he had but one single design in his head, and that was to distress his brethren, and not at all to yield to them the pre-eminence, but to keep close to his father, who was already alienated from them by the calumnies he had heard about them, and ready to be wrought upon in any way his zeal against them should advise him to pursue, that he might be continually more and more severe against them. Accordingly, all the reports that were spread abroad came from him, while he avoided himself the suspicion as if those discoveries proceeded from him; but he rather chose to make use of those persons for his assistants that were unsuspected, and such as might be believed to speak truth by reason of the good-will they bore to the king; and indeed there were already not a few who cultivated a friendship with Antipater, in hopes of gaining somewhat by him, and these were the men who most of all persuaded Herod, because they appeared to speak thus out of their good-will to him: and with these joint accusations, which from various foundations supported one another's veracity, the young men themselves afforded further occasions to Antipater also; for they were observed to shed tears often, on account of the injury that was offered them, and had their mother in their mouths; and among their friends they ventured to reproach their father, as not acting justly by them; all which things were with an evil intention reserved in memory by Antipater against a proper opportunity; and when they were told to Herod, with aggravations, increased the disorder so much, that it brought a great tumult into the family; for while the king was very angry at imputations that were laid upon the sons of Mariamne, and was desirous to humble them, he still increased the honour that he had bestowed on Antipater, and was at last so overcome by his persuasions, that he brought his mother to court also. He also wrote frequently to Caesar in favour of him, and more earnestly recommended him to his care particularly. And when Agrippa was returning to Rome, after he had finished his ten years' government in Asia. Herod sailed from Judea; and when he met with him, he had none with him but Antipater, whom he delivered to Agrippa, that he might take him along with him, together with many presents, that so he might become Caesar's friend, insomuch that things already looked as if he had all his father's favour, and that the young men were already entirely rejected from any hopes of the kingdom.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 4

How During Antipater's Abode At Rome, Herod Brought Alexander And Aristobulus Before Caesar And Accused Them. Alexander's Defense Of Himself Before Caesar And Reconciliation To His Father.

1. And now what happened during Antipater's absence augmented the honour to which he had been promoted, and his apparent eminence above his brethren; for he had made a great figure in Rome, because Herod had sent recommendations of him to all his friends there; only he was grieved that he was not at home, nor had proper opportunities of perpetually calumniating his brethren; and his chief fear was, lest his father should alter his mind, and entertain a more favourable opinion of the sons of Mariamne; and as he had this in his mind, he did not desist from his purpose, but continually sent from Rome any such stories as he hoped might grieve and irritate his father against his brethren, under pretense indeed of a deep concern for his preservation, but in truth such as his malicious mind dictated, in order to purchase a greater hope of the succession, which yet was already great in itself: and thus he did till he had excited such a degree of anger in Herod, that he was already become very ill-disposed towards the young men; but still while he delayed to exercise so violent a disgust against them, and that he might not either be too remiss or too rash, and so offend, he thought it best to sail to Rome, and there accuse his sons before Caesar, and not indulge himself in any such crime as might be heinous enough to be suspected of impiety. But as he was going up to Rome, it happened that he made such haste as to meet with Caesar at the city Aquilei so when he came to the speech of Caesar, he asked for a time for hearing this great cause, wherein he thought himself very miserable, and presented his sons there, and accused them of their mad actions, and of their attempts against him: That they were enemies to him; and by all the means they were able, did their endeavors to show their hatred to their own father, and would take away his life, and so obtain his kingdom, after the most barbarous manner: that he had power from Caesar to dispose of it, not by necessity, but by choice, to him who shall exercise the greatest piety towards him; while these my sons are not so desirous of ruling, as they are, upon a disappointment thereof, to expose their own life, if so be they may but deprive their father of his life; so wild and polluted is their mind by time become, out of their hatred to him: that whereas he had a long time borne this his misfortune, he was now compelled to lay it before Caesar, and to pollute his ears with such language, while he himself wants to know what severity they have ever suffered from him, or what hardships he hath ever laid upon them to make them complain of him; and how they can think it just that he should not be lord of that kingdom which he in a long time, and with great danger, had gained, and not allow him to keep it and dispose of it to him who should deserve best; and this, with other advantages, he proposes as a reward for the piety of such a one as will hereafter imitate the care he hath taken of it, and that such a one may gain so great a requital as that is: and that it is an impious thing for them to pretend to meddle with it beforehand; for he who hath ever the kingdom in his view, at the same time reckons upon procuring the death of his father, because otherwise he cannot come at the government: that as for himself, he had hitherto given them all that he was able, and what was agreeable to such as are subject to the royal authority, and the sons of a king; what ornaments they wanted, with servants and delicate fare, and had married them into the most illustrious families, the one [Aristobulus] to his sister's daughter, but Alexander to the daughter of king Archelaus; and, what was the greatest favour of all, when their crimes were so very bad, and he had authority to punish them, yet had he not made use of it against them, but had brought them before Caesar, their common benefactor, and had not used the severity which, either as a father who had been impiously abused, or as a king who had been assaulted treacherously, he might have done, but made them stand upon a level with him in judgement: that, however, it was necessary that all this should not be passed over without punishment, nor himself live in the greatest fears; nay, that it was not for their own advantage to see the light of the sun after what they have done, although they should escape at this time, since they had done the vilest things, and would certainly suffer the greatest punishments that ever were known among mankind.

2. These were the accusations which Herod laid with great vehemency against his sons before Caesar. Now the young men, both while he was speaking, and chiefly at his concluding, wept, and were in confusion. Now as to themselves, they knew in their own conscience they were innocent; but because they were accused by their father, they were sensible, as the truth was, that it was hard for them to make their apology, since though they were at liberty to speak their minds freely as the occasion required, and might with force and earnestness refute the accusation, yet was it not now decent so to do. There was therefore a difficulty how they should be able to speak; and tears, and at length a deep groan, followed, while they were afraid, that if they said nothing, they should seem to be in this difficulty from a consciousness of guilt,—nor had they any defense ready, by reason of their youth, and the disorder they were under; yet was not Caesar unapprized, when he looked upon them in the confusion they were in, that their delay to make their defense did not arise from any consciousness of great enormities, but from their unskilfulness and modesty. They were also commiserated by those that were there in particular; and they moved their father's affections in earnest till he had much ado to conceal them.

3. But when they saw there was a kind disposition arisen both in him and in Caesar, and that every one of the rest did either shed tears, or at least did all grieve with them, the one of them, whose name was Alexander, called to his father, and attempted to answer his accusation, and said, "O father, the benevolence thou hast showed to us is evident, even in this very judicial procedure, for hadst thou had any pernicious intentions about us, thou hadst not produced us here before the common savior of all, for it was in thy power, both as a king and as a father, to punish the guilty; but by thus bringing us to Rome, and making Caesar himself a witness to what is done, thou intimatest that thou intendest to save us; for no one that hath a design to slay a man will bring him to the temples, and to the altars; yet are our circumstances still worse, for we cannot endure to live ourselves any longer, if it be believed that we have injured such a father; nay, perhaps it would be worse for us to live with this suspicion upon us, that we have injured him, than to die without such guilt. And if our open defense may be taken to be true, we shall be happy, both in pacifying thee, and in escaping the danger we are in; but if this calumny so prevails, it is more than enough for us that we have seen the sun this day; which why should we see, if this suspicion be fixed upon us? Now it is easy to say of young men, that they desire to reign; and to say further, that this evil proceeds from the case of our unhappy mother. This is abundantly sufficient to produce our present misfortune out of the former; but consider well, whether such an accusation does not suit all such young men, and may not be said of them all promiscuously; for nothing can hinder him that reigns, if he have children, and their mother be dead, but the father may have a suspicion upon all his sons, as intending some treachery to him; but a suspicion is not sufficient to prove such an impious practice. Now let any man say, whether we have actually and insolently attempted any such thing, whereby actions otherwise incredible use to be made credible? Can any body prove that poison hath been prepared? or prove a conspiracy of our equals, or the corruption of servants, or letters written against thee? though indeed there are none of those things but have sometimes been pretended by way of calumny, when they were never done; for a royal family that is at variance with itself is a terrible thing; and that which thou callest a reward of piety often becomes, among very wicked men, such a foundation of hope, as makes them leave no sort of mischief untried. Nor does any one lay any wicked practices to our charge; but as to calumnies by hearsay, how can he put an end to them, who will not hear what we have to say? Have we talked with too great freedom? Yes; but not against thee, for that would be unjust, but against those that never conceal any thing that is spoken to them. Hath either of us lamented our mother? Yes; but not because she is dead, but because she was evil spoken of by those that had no reason so to do. Are we desirous of that dominion which we know our father is possessed of? For what reason can we do so? If we already have royal honours, as we have, should not we labour in vain? And if we have them not, yet are not we in hopes of them? Or supposing that we had killed thee, could we expect to obtain thy kingdom? while neither the earth would let us tread upon it, nor the sea let us sail upon it, after such an action as that; nay, the religion of all your subjects, and the piety of the whole nation, would have prohibited parricides from assuming the government, and from entering into that most holy temple which was built by thee. But suppose we had made light of other dangers, can any murderer go off unpunished while Caesar is alive? We are thy sons, and not so impious or so thoughtless as that comes to, though perhaps more unfortunate than is convenient for thee. But in case thou neither findest any causes of complaint, nor any treacherous designs, what sufficient evidence hast thou to make such a wickedness of ours credible? Our mother is dead indeed, but then what befell her might be an instruction to us to caution,

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and not an incitement to wickedness. We are willing to make a larger apology for ourselves; but actions never done do not admit of discourse. Nay, we will make this agreement with thee, and that before Caesar, the lord of all, who is now a mediator between us, If thou, O father, canst bring thyself, by the evidence of truth, to have a mind free from suspicion concerning us let us live, though even then we shall live in an unhappy way, for to be accused of great acts of wickedness, though falsely, is a terrible thing; but if thou hast any fear remaining, continue thou on in thy pious life, we will give this reason for our own conduct; our life is not so desirable to us as to desire to have it, if it tend to the harm of our father who gave it us."

4. When Alexander had thus spoken, Caesar, who did not before believe so gross a calumny, was still more moved by it, and looked intently upon Herod, and perceived he was a little confounded: the persons there present were under an anxiety about the young men, and the fame that was spread abroad made the king hated, for the very incredibility of the calumny, and the commiseration of the flower of youth, the beauty of body, which were in the young men, pleaded for assistance, and the more so on this account, that Alexander had made their defense with dexterity and prudence; nay, they did not themselves any longer continue in their former countenances, which had been bedewed with tears, and cast downwards to the ground, but now there arose in them hope of the best; and the king himself appeared not to have had foundation enough to build such an accusation upon, he having no real evidence wherewith to correct them. Indeed he wanted some apology for making the accusation; but Caesar, after some delay, said, that although the young men were thoroughly innocent of that for which they were calumniated, yet had they been so far to blame, that they had not demeaned themselves towards their father so as to prevent that suspicion which was spread abroad concerning them. He also exhorted Herod to lay all such suspicions aside, and to be reconciled to his sons; for that it was not just to give any credit to such reports concerning his own children; and that this repentance on both sides might still heal those breaches that had happened between them, and might improve that their good-will to one another, whereby those on both sides, excusing the rashness of their suspicions, might resolve to bear a greater degree of affection towards each other than they had before. After Caesar had given them this admonition, he beckoned to the young men. When therefore they were disposed to fall down to make intercession to their father, he took them up, and embraced them, as they were in tears, and took each of them distinctly in his arms, till not one of those that were present, whether free-man or slave, but was deeply affected with what they saw.

5. Then did they return thanks to Caesar, and went away together; and with them went Antipater, with an hypocritical pretense that he rejoiced at this reconciliation. And in the last days they were with Caesar, Herod made him a present of three hundred talents, as he was then exhibiting shows and largesses to the people of Rome; and Caesar made him a present of half the revenue of the copper mines in Cyprus, and committed the care of the other half to him, and honoured him with other gifts and incomes; and as to his own kingdom, he left it in his own power to appoint which of his sons he pleased for his successor, or to distribute it in parts to every one, that the dignity might thereby come to them all. And when Herod was disposed to make such a settlement immediately, Caesar said he would not give him leave to deprive himself, while he was alive, of the power over his kingdom, or over his sons.

6. After this, Herod returned to Judea again. But during his absence no small part of his dominion about Trachon had revolted, whom yet the commanders he left there had vanquished, and compelled to a submission again. Now as Herod was sailing with his sons, and was come over against Cilicia, to [the island] Eleusa, which hath now changed its name for Sebaste, he met with Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, who received him kindly, as rejoicing that he was reconciled to his sons, and that the accusation against Alexander, who had married his daughter, was at an end. They also made one another such presents as it became kings to make, From thence Herod came to Judea and to the temple, where he made a speech to the people concerning what had been done in this his journey. He also discoursed to them about Caesar's kindness to him, and about as many of the particulars he had done as he thought it for his advantage other people should be acquainted with. At last he turned his speech to the admonition of his sons; and exhorted those that lived at court, and the multitude, to concord; and informed them that his sons were to reign after him; Antipater first, and then Alexander and Aristobulus, the sons of Mariamne: but he desired that at present they should all have regard to himself, and esteem him king and lord of all, since he was not yet hindered by old age, but was in that period of life when he must be the most skillful in governing; and that he was not deficient in other arts of management that might enable him to govern the kingdom well, and to rule over his children also. He further told the rulers under him, and the soldiery, that in case they would look upon him alone, their life would be led in a peaceable manner, and they would make one another happy. And when he had said this, he dismissed the assembly. Which speech was acceptable to the greatest part of the audience, but not so to them all; for the contention among his sons, and the hopes he had given them, occasioned thoughts and desires of innovations among them.

CHAPTER 5. How Herod Celebrated The Games That Were To Return Every Fifth Year Upon The Building Of Caesarea; And How He Built And Adorned Many Other Places After A Magnificent Manner; And Did Many Other Actions Gloriously

1. About this time it was that Caesarea Sebaste, which he had built, was finished. The entire building being accomplished: in the tenth year, the solemnity of it fell into the twenty-eighth year of Herod's reign, and into the hundred and ninety-second olympiad. There was accordingly a great festival and most sumptuous preparations made presently, in order to its dedication; for he had appointed a contention in music, and games to be performed naked. He had also gotten ready a great number of those that fight single combats, and of beasts for the like purpose; horse races also, and the most chargeable of such sports and shows as used to be exhibited at Rome, and in other places. He consecrated this combat to Caesar, and ordered it to be celebrated every fifth year. He also sent all sorts of ornaments for it out of his own furniture, that it might want nothing to make it decent; nay, Julia, Caesar's wife, sent a great part of her most valuable furniture [from Rome], insomuch that he had no want of any thing. The sum of them all was estimated at five hundred talents. Now when a great multitude was come to that city to see the shows, as well as the ambassadors whom other people sent, on account of the benefits they had received from Herod, he entertained them all in the public inns, and at public tables, and with perpetual feasts; this solemnity having in the day time the diversions of the fights, and in the night time such merry meetings as cost vast sums of money, and publicly demonstrated the generosity of his soul; for in all his undertakings he was ambitious to exhibit what exceeded whatsoever had been done before of the same kind. And it is related that Caesar and Agrippa often said, that the dominions of Herod were too little for the greatness of his soul; for that he deserved to have both all the kingdom of Syria, and that of Egypt also.

2. After this solemnity and these festivals were over, Herod erected another city in the plain called Capharsaba, where he chose out a fit place, both for plenty of water and goodness of soil, and proper for the production of what was there planted, where a river encompassed the city itself, and a grove of the best trees for magnitude was round about it: this he named Antipatris, from his father Antipater. He also built upon another spot of ground above Jericho, of the same name with his mother, a place of great security and very pleasant for habitation, and called it Cypros. He also dedicated the finest monuments to his brother Phasaelus, on account of the great natural affection there had been between them, by erecting a tower in the city itself, not less than the tower of Pharos, which he named Phasaelus, which was at once a part of the strong defenses of the city, and a memorial for him that was deceased, because it bare his name. He also built a city of the same name in the valley of Jericho, as you go from it northward, whereby he rendered the neighbouring country more fruitful by the cultivation its inhabitants introduced; and this also he called Phasaelus.

3. But as for his other benefits, it is impossible to reckon them up, those which he bestowed on cities, both in Syria and in Greece, and in all the places he came to in his voyages; for he seems to have conferred, and that after a most plentiful manner, what would minister to many necessities, and the building of public works, and gave them the money that was necessary to such works as wanted it, to support them upon the failure of their other revenues: but what was the greatest and most illustrious of all his works, he erected Apollo's temple at Rhodes, at his own expenses, and gave them a great number of talents of silver for the repair of their fleet. He also built the greatest part of the public edifices for the inhabitants of Nicopolis, at Actium; 6 and for the Antiochinus, the inhabitants of the principal city of Syria, where a broad street cuts through the place lengthways, he built cloisters along it on both sides, and laid the open road with polished stone, and was of very great advantage to the inhabitants. And as to the olympic games, which were in a very low condition, by reason of the failure of their revenues, he recovered their reputation, and appointed revenues for their maintenance, and made that solemn meeting more venerable, as to the sacrifices and other ornaments; and by reason of this vast liberality, he was generally declared in their inscriptions to be one of the perpetual managers of those games.

4. Now some there are who stand amazed at the diversity of Herod's nature and purposes; for when we have respect to his magnificence, and the benefits which he bestowed on all mankind, there is no possibility for even those that had the least respect for him to deny, or not openly to confess, that he had a nature vastly beneficent; but when any one looks upon the punishments he inflicted, and the injuries he did, not only to his subjects, but to his nearest relations, and takes notice of his severe and unrelenting disposition there, he will be forced to allow that he was brutish, and a stranger to all humanity; insomuch that these men suppose his nature to be different, and sometimes at contradiction with itself; but I am myself of another opinion, and imagine that the occasion of both these sort of actions was one and the same; for being a man ambitious of honour, and quite overcome by that passion, he was induced to be magnificent, wherever there appeared any hopes of a future memorial, or of reputation at present; and as his expenses were beyond his abilities, he was necessitated to be harsh to his subjects; for the persons on whom he expended his money were so many, that they made him a very bad procurer of it; and because he was conscious that he was hated by those under him, for the injuries he did them, he thought it not an easy thing to amend his offenses, for that it was inconvenient for his revenue; he therefore strove on the other side to make their ill- will an occasion of his gains. As to his own court, therefore, if any one was not very obsequious to him in his language, and would not confess himself to be his slave, or but seemed to think of any innovation in his government, he was not able to contain himself, but prosecuted his very kindred and friends, and punished them as if they were enemies and this wickedness he undertook out of a desire that he might be himself alone honoured. Now for this, my assertion about that passion of his, we have the greatest evidence, by what he did to honour Caesar and Agrippa, and his other friends; for with what honours he paid his respects to them who were his superiors, the same did he desire to be paid to himself; and what he thought the most excellent present he could make another, he discovered an inclination to have the like presented to himself. But now the Jewish nation is by their law a stranger to all such things, and accustomed to prefer righteousness to glory; for which reason that nation was not agreeable to him, because it was out of their power to flatter the king's ambition with statues or temples, or any other such performances; And this seems to me to have been at once the occasion of Herod's crimes as to his own courtiers and counselors, and of his benefactions as to foreigners and those that had no relation to him.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 6

An Embassage In Cyrene And Asia To Caesar, Concerning The Complaints They Had To Make Against The Greeks; With Copies Of The Epistles Which Caesar And Agrippa Wrote To The Cities For Them.

1. Now the cities ill-treated the Jews in Asia, and all those also of the same nation which lived in Libya, which joins to Cyrene, while the former kings had given them equal privileges with the other citizens; but the Greeks affronted them at this time, and that so far as to take away their sacred money, and to do them mischief on other particular occasions. When therefore they were thus afflicted, and found no end of their barbarous treatment they met with among the Greeks, they sent ambassadors to Caesar on those accounts, who gave them the same privileges as they had before, and sent letters to the same purpose to the governors of the provinces, copies of which I subjoin here, as testimonials of the ancient favourable disposition the Roman emperors had towards us.

2. "Caesar Augustus, high priest and tribune of the people, ordains thus: Since the nation of the Jews hath been found grateful to the Roman people, not only at this time, but in time past also, and chiefly Hyrcanus the high priest, under my father Caesar the emperor, it seemed good to me and my counselors, according to the sentence and oath of the people of Rome, that the Jews have liberty to make use of their own customs, according to the law of their forefathers, as they made use of them under Hyrcanus the high priest of the Almighty God; and that their sacred money be not touched, but be sent to Jerusalem, and that it be committed to the care of the receivers at Jerusalem; and that they be not obliged to go before any judge on the sabbath day, nor on the day of the preparation to it, after the ninth hour. But if any one be caught stealing their holy books, or their sacred money, whether it be out of the synagogue or public school, he shall be deemed a sacrilegious person, and his goods shall be brought into the public treasury of the Romans. And I give order that the testimonial which they have given me, on account of my regard to that piety which I exercise toward all mankind, and out of regard to Caius Marcus Censorinus, together with the present decree, be proposed in that most eminent place which hath been consecrated to me by the community of Asia at Ancyra. And if any one transgress any part of what is above decreed, he shall be severely punished." This was inscribed upon a pillar in the temple of Caesar.

3. "Caesar to Norbanus Flaccus, sendeth greeting. Let those Jews, how many soever they be, who have been used, according to their ancient custom, to send their sacred money to Jerusalem, do the same freely." These were the decrees of Caesar.

4. Agrippa also did himself write after the manner following, on behalf of the Jews: "Agrippa, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting. I will

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that the care and custody of the sacred money that is carried to the temple at Jerusalem be left to the Jews of Asia, to do with it according to their ancient custom; and that such as steal that sacred money of the Jews, and fly to a sanctuary, shall be taken thence and delivered to the Jews, by the same law that sacrilegious persons are taken thence. I have also written to Sylvanus the praetor, that no one compel the Jews to come before a judge on the sabbath day."

5. "Marcus Agrippa to the magistrates, senate, and people of Cyrene, sendeth greeting. The Jews of Cyrene have interceded with me for the performance of what Augustus sent orders about to Flavius, the then praetor of Libya, and to the other procurators of that province, that the sacred money may be sent to Jerusalem freely, as hath been their custom from their forefathers, they complaining that they are abused by certain informers, and under pretense of taxes which were not due, are hindered from sending them, which I command to be restored without any diminution or disturbance given to them. And if any of that sacred money in the cities be taken from their proper receivers, I further enjoin, that the same be exactly returned to the Jews in that place."

6. "Caius Norbanus Flaccus, proconsul, to the magistrates of the Sardians, sendeth greeting. Caesar hath written to me, and commanded me not to forbid the Jews, how many soever they be, from assembling together according to the custom of their forefathers, nor from sending their money to Jerusalem. I have therefore written to you, that you may know that both Caesar and I would have you act accordingly."

7. Nor did Julius Antonius, the proconsul, write otherwise. "To the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting. As I was dispensing justice at Ephesus, on the Ides of February, the Jews that dwell in Asia demonstrated to me that Augustus and Agrippa had permitted them to use their own laws and customs, and to offer those their first-fruits, which every one of them freely offers to the Deity on account of piety, and to carry them in a company together to Jerusalem without disturbance. They also petitioned me that I also would confirm what had been granted by Augustus and Agrippa by my own sanction. I would therefore have you take notice, that according to the will of Augustus and Agrippa, I permit them to use and do according to the customs of their forefathers without disturbance."

8. I have been obliged to set down these decree because the present history of our own acts will go generally among the Greeks; and I have hereby demonstrated to them that we have formerly been in great esteem, and have not been prohibited by those governors we were under from keeping any of the laws of our forefathers; nay, that we have been supported by them, while we followed our own religion, and the worship we paid to God; and I frequently make mention of these decrees, in order to reconcile other people to us, and to take away the causes of that hatred which unreasonable men bear to us. As for our customs 9 there is no nation which always makes use of the same, and in every city almost we meet with them different from one another; but natural justice is most agreeable to the advantage of all men equally, both Greeks and barbarians, to which our laws have the greatest regard, and thereby render us, if we abide in them after a pure manner, benevolent and friendly to all men; on which account we have reason to expect the like return from others, and to inform them that they ought not to esteem difference of positive institutions a sufficient cause of alienation, but [join with us in] the pursuit of virtue and probity, for this belongs to all men in common, and of itself alone is sufficient for the preservation of human life. I now return to the thread of my history.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 7

How, Upon Herod's Going Down Into David's Sepulcher, The Sedition In His Family Greatly Increased.

1. As for Herod, he had spent vast sums about the cities, both without and within his own kingdom; and as he had before heard that Hyrcanus, who had been king before him, had opened David's sepulcher, and taken out of it three thousand talents of silver, and that there was a much greater number left behind, and indeed enough to suffice all his wants, he had a great while an intention to make the attempt; and at this time he opened that sepulcher by night, and went into it, and endeavored that it should not be at all known in the city, but took only his most faithful friends with him. As for any money, he found none, as Hyrcanus had done, but that furniture of gold, and those precious goods that were laid up there; all which he took away. However, he had a great desire to make a more diligent search, and to go farther in, even as far as the very bodies of David and Solomon; where two of his guards were slain, by a flame that burst out upon those that went in, as the report was. So he was terribly affrighted, and went out, and built a propitiatory monument of that fright he had been in; and this of white stone, at the mouth of the sepulcher, and that at great expense also. And even Nicolaus his historiographer makes mention of this monument built by Herod, though he does not mention his going down into the sepulcher, as knowing that action to be of ill repute; and many other things he treats of in the same manner in his book; for he wrote in Herod's lifetime, and under his reign, and so as to please him, and as a servant to him, touching upon nothing but what tended to his glory, and openly excusing many of his notorious crimes, and very diligently concealing them. And as he was desirous to put handsome colours on the death of Mariamne and her sons, which were barbarous actions in the king, he tells falsehoods about the incontinence of Mariamne, and the treacherous designs of his sons upon him; and thus he proceeded in his whole work, making a pompous encomium upon what just actions he had done, but earnestly apologizing for his unjust ones. Indeed, a man, as I said, may have a great deal to say by way of excuse for Nicolaus; for he did not so properly write this as a history for others, as somewhat that might be subservient to the king himself. As for ourselves, who come of a family nearly allied to the Asamonean kings, and on that account have an honourable place, which is the priesthood, we think it indecent to say any thing that is false about them, and accordingly we have described their actions after an unblemished and upright manner. And although we reverence many of Herod's posterity, who still reign, yet do we pay a greater regard to truth than to them, and this though it sometimes happens that we incur their displeasure by so doing.

2. And indeed Herod's troubles in his family seemed to be augmented by reason of this attempt he made upon David's sepulcher; whether Divine vengeance increased the calamities he lay under, in order to render them incurable, or whether fortune made an assault upon him, in those cases wherein the seasonableness of the cause made it strongly believed that the calamities came upon him for his impiety; for the tumult was like a civil war in his palace, and their hatred towards one another was like that where each one strove to exceed another in calumnies. However, Antipater used stratagems perpetually against his brethren, and that very cunningly; while abroad he loaded them with accusations, but still took upon him frequently to apologize for them, that this apparent benevolence to them might make him be believed, and forward his attempts against them; by which means he, after various manners, circumvented his father, who believed all that he did was for his preservation. Herod also recommended Ptolemy, who was a great director of the affairs of his kingdom, to Antipater; and consulted with his mother about the public affairs also. And indeed these were all in all, and did what they pleased, and made the king angry against any other persons, as they thought it might be to their own advantage; but still the sons of Mariamne were in a worse and worse condition perpetually; and while they were thrust out, and set in a more dishonourable rank, who yet by birth were the most noble, they could not bear the dishonour. And for the women, Glaphyra, Alexander's wife, the daughter of Archelaus, hated Salome, both because of her love to her husband, and because Glaphyra seemed to behave herself somewhat insolently towards Salome's daughter, who was the wife of Aristobulus, which equality of hers to herself Glaphyra took very impatiently.

3. Now, besides this second contention that had fallen among them, neither did the king's brother Pheroras keep himself out of trouble, but had a particular foundation for suspicion and hatred; for he was overcome with the charms of his wife, to such a degree of madness, that he despised the king's daughter, to whom he had been betrothed, and wholly bent his mind to the other, who had been but a servant. Herod also was grieved by the dishonour that was done him, because he had bestowed many favours upon him, and had advanced him to that height of power that he was almost a partner with him in the kingdom, and saw that he had not made him a due return for his labours, and esteemed himself unhappy on that account. So upon Pheroras's unworthy refusal, he gave the damsel to Phasaelus's son; but after some time, when he thought the heat of his brother's affections was over, he blamed him for his former conduct, and desired him to take his second daughter, whose name was Cypros. Ptolemy also advised him to leave off affronting his brother, and to forsake her whom he had loved, for that it was a base thing to be so enamored of a servant, as to deprive himself of the king's good-will to him, and become an occasion of his trouble, and make himself hated by him. Pheroras knew that this advice would be for his own advantage, particularly because he had been accused before, and forgiven; so he put his wife away, although he already had a son by her, and engaged to the king that he would take his second daughter, and agreed that the thirtieth day after should be the day of marriage; and sware he would have no further conversation with her whom he had put away; but when the thirty days were over, he was such a slave to his affections, that he no longer performed any thing he had promised, but continued still with his former wife. This occasioned Herod to grieve openly, and made him angry, while the king dropped one word or other against Pheroras perpetually; and many made the king's anger an opportunity for raising calumnies against him. Nor had the king any longer a single quiet day or hour, but occasions of one fresh quarrel or another arose among his relations, and those that were dearest to him; for Salome was of a harsh temper, and ill-natured to Mariamne's sons; nor would she suffer her own daughter, who was the wife of Aristobulus, one of those young men, to bear a good-will to her husband, but persuaded her to tell her if he said any thing to her in private, and when any misunderstandings happened, as is common, she raised a great many suspicions out of it; by which means she learned all their concerns, and made the damsel ill-natured to the young man. And in order to gratify her mother, she often said that the young men used to mention Mariamne when they were by themselves; and that they hated their father, and were continually threatening, that if they had once got the kingdom, they would make Herod's sons by his other wives country schoolmasters, for that the present education which was given them, and their diligence in learning, fitted them for such an employment. And as for the women, whenever they saw them adorned with their mother's clothes, they threatened, that instead of their present gaudy apparel, they should be clothed in sackcloth, and confined so closely that they should not see the light of the sun. These stories were presently carried by Salome to the king, who was troubled to hear them, and endeavored to make up matters; but these suspicions afflicted him, and becoming more and more uneasy, he believed every body against every body. However, upon his rebuking his sons, and hearing the defense they made for themselves, he was easier for a while, though a little afterwards much worse accidents came upon him.

4. For Pheroras came to Alexander, the husband of Glaphyra, who was the daughter of Archelaus, as we have already told you, and said that he had heard from Salome that Herod has enamored on Glaphyra, and that his passion for her was incurable. When Alexander heard that, he was all on fire, from his youth and jealousy; and he interpreted the instances of Herod's obliging behavior to her, which were very frequent, for the worse, which came from those suspicions he had on account of that word which fell from Pheroras; nor could he conceal his grief at the thing, but informed him what word Pheroras had said. Upon which Herod was in a greater disorder than ever; and not bearing such a false calumny, which was to his shame, was much disturbed at it; and often did he lament the wickedness of his domestics, and how good he had been to them, and how ill requitals they had made him. So he sent for Pheroras, and reproached him, and said, "Thou vilest of all men! art thou come to that unmeasurable and extravagant degree of ingratitude, as not only to suppose such things of me, but to speak of them? I now indeed perceive what thy intentions are. It is not thy only aim to reproach me, when thou usest such words to my son, but thereby to persuade him to plot against me, and get me destroyed by poison. And who is there, if he had not a good genius at his elbow, as hath my son, but would not bear such a suspicion of his father, but would revenge himself upon him? Dost thou suppose that thou hast only dropped a word for him to think of, and not rather hast put a sword into his hand to slay his father? And what dost thou mean, when thou really hatest both him and his brother, to pretend kindness to them, only in order to raise a reproach against me, and talk of such things as no one but such an impious wretch as thou art could either devise in their mind, or declare in their words? Begone, thou art such a plague to thy benefactor and thy brother, and may that evil conscience of thine go along with thee; while I still overcome my relations by kindness, and am so far from avenging myself of them, as they deserve, that I bestow greater benefits upon them than they are worthy of."

5. Thus did the king speak. Whereupon Pheroras, who was caught in the very act of his villainy, said that "it was Salome who was the framer of this plot, and that the words came from her." But as soon as she heard that, for she was at hand, she cried out, like one that would be believed, that no such thing ever came out of her mouth; that they all earnestly endeavored to make the king hate her, and to make her away, because of the good-will she bore to Herod, and because she was always foreseeing the dangers that were coming upon him, and that at present there were more plots against him than usual; for while she was the only person who persuaded her brother to put away the wife he now had, and to take the king's daughter, it was no wonder if she were hated by him. As she said this, and often tore her hair, and often beat her breast, her countenance made her denial to be believed; but the peverseness of her manners declared at the same time her dissimulation in these proceedings; but Pheroras was caught between them, and had nothing plausible to offer in his own defense, while he confessed that he had said what was charged upon him, but was not believed when he said he had heard it from Salome; so the confusion among them was increased, and their quarrelsome words one to another. At last the king, out of his hatred to his brother and sister, sent them both away; and when he had commended the moderation of his son, and that he had himself told him of the report, he went in the evening to refresh himself. After such a contest as this had fallen out among them, Salome's reputation suffered greatly, since she was supposed to have first raised the calumny; and the king's wives were grieved at her, as knowing she was a very ill-natured woman, and would sometimes be a friend, and sometimes an enemy, at different seasons: so they

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perpetually said one thing or another against her; and somewhat that now fell out made them the bolder in speaking against her.

6. There was one Obodas, king of Arabia, an inactive and slothful man in his nature; but Sylleus managed most of his affairs for him. He was a shrewd man, although he was but young, and was handsome withal. This Sylleus, upon some occasion coming to Herod, and supping with him, saw Salome, and set his heart upon her; and understanding that she was a widow, he discoursed with her. Now because Salome was at this time less in favour with her brother, she looked upon Sylleus with some passion, and was very earnest to be married to him; and on the days following there appeared many, and those very great, indications of their agreement together. Now the women carried this news to the king, and laughed at the indecency of it; whereupon Herod inquired about it further of Pheroras, and desired him to observe them at supper, how their behavior was one toward another; who told him, that by the signals which came from their heads and their eyes, they both were evidently in love. After this, Sylleus the Arabian being suspected, went away, but came again in two or three months afterwards, as it were on that very design, and spake to Herod about it, and desired that Salome might be given him to wife; for that his affinity might not be disadvantageous to his affairs, by a union with Arabia, the government of which country was already in effect under his power, and more evidently would be his hereafter. Accordingly, when Herod discoursed with his sister about it, and asked her whether she were disposed to this match, she immediately agreed to it. But when Sylleus was desired to come over to the Jewish religion, and then he should marry her, and that it was impossible to do it on any other terms, he could not bear that proposal, and went his way; for he said, that if he should do so, he should be stoned by the Arabs. Then did Pheroras reproach Salome for her incontinency, as did the women much more; and said that Sylleus had debauched her. As for that damsel which the king had betrothed to his brother Pheroras, but he had not taken her, as I have before related, because he was enamored on his former wife, Salome desired of Herod she might be given to her son by Costobarus; which match he was very willing to, but was dissuaded from it by Pheroras, who pleaded that this young man would not be kind to her, since his father had been slain by him, and that it was more just that his son, who was to be his successor in the tetrarchy, should have her. So he begged his pardon, and persuaded him to do so. Accordingly the damsel, upon this change of her espousals, was disposal of to this young man, the son of Pheroras, the king giving for her portion a hundred talents.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 8

How Herod Took Up Alexander And Bound Him; Whom Yet Archelaus King Of Cappadocia Reconciled To His Father Herod Again.

1. But still the affairs of Herod's family were no better, but perpetually more troublesome. Now this accident happened, which arose from no decent occasion, but proceeded so far as to bring great difficulties upon him. There were certain eunuchs which the king had, and on account of their beauty was very fond of them; and the care of bringing him drink was intrusted to one of them; of bringing him his supper, to another; and of putting him to bed, to the third, who also managed the principal affairs of the government; and there was one told the king that these eunuchs were corrupted by Alexander the king's son with great sums of money. And when they were asked whether Alexander had had criminal conversation with them, they confessed it, but said they knew of no further mischief of his against his father; but when they were more severely tortured, and were in the utmost extremity, and the tormentors, out of compliance with Antipater, stretched the rack to the very utmost, they said that Alexander bare great ill-will and innate hatred to his father; and that he told them that Herod despaired to live much longer; and that, in order to cover his great age, he coloured his hair black, and endeavored to conceal what would discover how old he was; but that if he would apply himself to him, when he should attain the kingdom, which, in spite of his father, could come to no one else, he should quickly have the first place in that kingdom under him, for that he was now ready to take the kingdom, not only as his birth-right, but by the preparations he had made for obtaining it, because a great many of the rulers, and a great many of his friends, were of his side, and those no ill men neither, ready both to do and to suffer whatsoever should come on that account.

2. When Herod heard this confession, he was all over anger and fear, some parts seeming to him reproachful, and some made him suspicious of dangers that attended him, insomuch that on both accounts he was provoked, and bitterly afraid lest some more heavy plot was laid against him than he should be then able to escape from; whereupon he did not now make an open search, but sent about spies to watch such as he suspected, for he was now overrun with suspicion and hatred against all about him; and indulging abundance of those suspicions, in order to his preservation, he continued to suspect those that were guiltless; nor did he set any bounds to himself, but supposing that those who staid with him had the most power to hurt him, they were to him very frightful; and for those that did not use to come to him, it seemed enough to name them [to make them suspected], and he thought himself safer when they were destroyed. And at last his domestics were come to that pass, that being no way secure of escaping themselves, they fell to accusing one another, and imagining that he who first accused another was most likely to save himself; yet when any had overthrown others, they were hated; and they were thought to suffer justly who unjustly accused others, and they only thereby prevented their own accusation; nay, they now executed their own private enmities by this means, and when they were caught, they were punished in the same way. Thus these men contrived to make use of this opportunity as an instrument and a snare against their enemies; yet when they tried it, were themselves caught also in the same snare which they laid for others: and the king soon repented of what he had done, because he had no clear evidence of the guilt of those whom he had slain; and yet what was still more severe in him, he did not make use of his repentance, in order to leave off doing the like again, but in order to inflict the same punishment upon their accusers.

3. And in this state of disorder were the affairs of the palace; and he had already told many of his friends directly that they ought not to appear before him, nor come into the palace; and the reason of this injunction was, that [when they were there], he had less freedom of acting, or a greater restraint on himself on their account; for at this time it was that he expelled Andromachus and Gamellus, men who had of old been his friends, and been very useful to him in the affairs of his kingdom, and been of advantage to his family, by their embassages and counsels; and had been tutors to his sons, and had in a manner the first degree of freedom with him. He expelled Andromachus, because his son Demetrius was a companion to Alexander; and Gamellus, because he knew that he wished him well, which arose from his having been with him in his youth, when he was at school, and absent at Rome. These he expelled out of his palace, and was willing enough to have done worse by them; but that he might not seem to take such liberty against men of so great reputation, he contented himself with depriving them of their dignity, and of their power to hinder his wicked proceedings.

4. Now it was Antipater who was the cause of all this; who when he knew what a mad and licentious way of acting his father was in, and had been a great while one of his counselors, he hurried him on, and then thought he should bring him to do somewhat to purpose, when every one that could oppose him was taken away. When therefore Andromachus and his friends were driven away, and had no discourse nor freedom with the king any longer, the king, in the first place, examined by torture all whom he thought to be faithful to Alexander, Whether they knew of any of his attempts against him; but these died without having any thing to say to that matter, which made the king more zealous [after discoveries], when he could not find out what evil proceedings he suspected them of. As for Antipater, he was very sagacious to raise a calumny against those that were really innocent, as if their denial was only their constancy and fidelity [to Alexander], and thereupon provoked Herod to discover by the torture of great numbers what attempts were still concealed. Now there was a certain person among the many that were tortured, who said that he knew that the young man had often said, that when he was commended as a tall man in his body, and a skillful marksman, and that in his other commendable exercises he exceeded all men, these qualifications given him by nature, though good in themselves, were not advantageous to him, because his father was grieved at them, and envied him for them; and that when he walked along with his father, he endeavored to depress and shorten himself, that he might not appear too tall; and that when he shot at any thing as he was hunting, when his father was by, he missed his mark on purpose, for he knew how ambitious his father was of being superior in such exercises. So when the man was tormented about this saying, and had ease given his body after it, he added, that he had his brother Aristobulus for his assistance, and contrived to lie in wait for their father, as they were hunting, and kill him; and when they had done so to fly to Rome, and desire to have the kingdom given them. There were also letters of the young man found, written to his brother, wherein he complained that his father did not act justly in giving Antipater a country, whose [yearly] revenues amounted to two hundred talents. Upon these confessions Herod presently thought he had somewhat to depend on, in his own opinion, as to his suspicion about his sons; so he took up Alexander and bound him: yet did he still continue to be uneasy, and was not quite satisfied of the truth of what he had heard; and when he came to recollect himself, he found that they had only made juvenile complaints and contentions, and that it was an incredible thing, that when his son should have slain him, he should openly go to Rome [to beg the kingdom]; so he was desirous to have some surer mark of his son's wickedness, and was very solicitous about it, that he might not appear to have condemned him to be put in prison too rashly; so he tortured the principal of Alexander's friends, and put not a few of them to death, without getting any of the things out of them which he suspected. And while Herod was very busy about this matter, and the palace was full of terror and trouble, one of the younger sort, when he was in the utmost agony, confessed that Alexander had sent to his friends at Rome, and desired that he might be quickly invited thither by Caesar, and that he could discover a plot against him; that Mithridates, the king of Parthia, was joined in friendship with his father against the Romans, and that he had a poisonous potion ready prepared at Askelori.

5. To these accusations Herod gave credit, and enjoyed hereby, in his miserable case, some sort of consolation, in excuse of his rashness, as flattering himself with finding things in so bad a condition; but as for the poisonous potion, which he laboured to find, he could find none. As for Alexander, he was very desirous to aggravate the vast misfortunes he was under, so he pretended not to deny the accusations, but punished the rashness of his father with a greater crime of his own; and perhaps he was willing to make his father ashamed of his easy belief of such calumnies: he aimed especially, if he could gain belief to his story, to plague him and his whole kingdom; for he wrote four letters, and sent them to him, that he did not need to torture any more persons, for he had plotted against him; and that he had for his partners Pheroras and the most faithful of his friends; and that Salome came in to him by night, and that she lay with him whether he would or not; and that all men were come to be of one mind, to make away with him as soon as they could, and so get clear of the continual fear they were in from him. Among these were accused Ptolemy and Sapinnius, who were the most faithful friends to the king. And what more can be said, but that those who before were the most intimate friends, were become wild beasts to one another, as if a certain madness had fallen upon them, while there was no room for defense or refutation, in order to the discovery of the truth, but all were at random doomed to destruction; so that some lamented those that were in prison, some those that were put to death, and others lamented that they were in expectation of the same miseries; and a melancholy solitude rendered the kingdom deformed, and quite the reverse to that happy state it was formerly in. Herod's own life also was entirely disturbed; and because he could trust nobody, he was sorely punished by the expectation of further misery; for he often fancied in his imagination that his son had fallen upon him, or stood by him with a sword in his hand; and thus was his mind night and day intent upon this thing, and revolved it over and over, no otherwise than if he were under a distraction. And this was the sad condition Herod was now in.

6. But when Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, heard of the state that Herod was in, and being in great distress about his daughter, and the young man [her husband], and grieving with Herod, as with a man that was his friend, on account of so great a disturbance as he was under, he came [to Jerusalem] on purpose to compose their differences; and when he found Herod in such a temper, he thought it wholly unseasonable to reprove him, or to pretend that he had done any thing rashly, for that he should thereby naturally bring him to dispute the point with him, and by still more and more apologizing for himself to be the more irritated: he went, therefore, another way to work, in order to correct the former misfortunes, and appeared angry at the young man, and said that Herod had been so very mild a man, that he had not acted a rash part at all. He also said he would dissolve his daughter's marriage with Alexander, nor could in justice spare his own daughter, if she were conscious of any thing, and did not inform Herod of it. When Archelaus appeared to be of this temper, and otherwise than Herod expected or imagined, and, for the main, took Herod's part, and was angry on his account, the king abated of his harshness, and took occasion from his appearing to have acted justly hitherto, to come by degrees to put on the affection of a father, and was on both sides to be pitied; for when some persons refuted the calumnies that were laid on the young man, he was thrown into a passion; but when Archelaus joined in the accusation, he was dissolved into tears and sorrow after an affectionate manner. Accordingly, he desired that he would not dissolve his son's marriage, and became not so angry as before for his offenses. So when Archelaus had brought him to a more moderate temper, he transferred the calumnies upon his friends; and said it must be owing to them that so young a man, and one unacquainted with malice, was corrupted; and he supposed that there was more reason to suspect the brother than the soft. Upon which Herod was very much displeased at Pheroras, who indeed now had no one that could make a reconciliation between him and his brother. So when he saw that Archelaus had the greatest power with Herod, he betook himself to him in the habit of a mourner, and like one that had all the signs upon him of an undone man. Upon this Archelaus did not overlook the intercession he made to him, nor yet did he undertake to change the king's disposition towards him immediately; and he said that it was better for him to come himself to the king, and confess himself the occasion of all; that this would make the king's anger not to be extravagant towards him, and that

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then he would be present to assist him. When he had persuaded him to this, he gained his point with both of them; and the calumnies raised against the young man were, beyond all expectation, wiped off. And Archelaus, as soon as he had made the reconciliation, went then away to Cappadocia, having proved at this juncture of time the most acceptable person to Herod in the world; on which account he gave him the richest presents, as tokens of his respects to him; and being on other occasions magnanimous, he esteemed him one of his dearest friends. He also made an agreement with him that he would go to Rome, because he had written to Caesar about these affairs; so they went together as far as Antioch, and there Herod made a reconciliation between Archelaus and Titus, the president of Syria, who had been greatly at variance, and so returned back to Judea.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 9

Concerning The Revolt Of The Trachonites; How Sylleus Accused Herod Before Caesar; And How Herod, When Caesar Was Angry At Him, Resolved To Send Nicolaus To Rome.

1. When Herod had been at Rome, and was come back again, a war arose between him and the Arabians, on the occasion following: The inhabitants of Trachonitis, after Caesar had taken the country away from Zenodorus, and added it to Herod, had not now power to rob, but were forced to plough the land, and to live quietly, which was a thing they did not like; and when they did take that pains, the ground did not produce much fruit for them. However, at the first the king would not permit them to rob, and so they abstained from that unjust way of living upon their neighbours, which procured Herod a great reputation for his care. But when he was sailing to Rome, it was at that time when he went to accuse his son Alexander, and to commit Antipater to Caesar's protection, the Trachonites spread a report as if he were dead, and revolted from his dominion, and betook themselves again to their accustomed way of robbing their neighbours; at which time the king's commanders subdued them during his absence; but about forty of the principal robbers, being terrified by those that had been taken, left the country, and retired into Arabia, Sylleus entertaining them, after he had missed of marrying Salome, and gave them a place of strength, in which they dwelt. So they overran not only Judea, but all Celesyria also, and carried off the prey, while Sylleus afforded them places of protection and quietness during their wicked practices. But when Herod came back from Rome, he perceived that his dominions had greatly suffered by them; and since he could not reach the robbers themselves, because of the secure retreat they had in that country, and which the Arabian government afforded them, and yet being very uneasy at the injuries they had done him, he went all over Trachonitis, and slew their relations; whereupon these robbers were more angry than before, it being a law among them to be avenged on the murderers of their relations by all possible means; so they continued to tear and rend every thing under Herod's dominion with impunity. Then did he discourse about these robberies to Saturninus and Volumnius, and required that they should be punished; upon which occasion they still the more confirmed themselves in their robberies, and became more numerous, and made very great disturbances, laying waste the countries and villages that belonged to Herod's kingdom, and killing those men whom they caught, till these unjust proceedings came to be like a real war, for the robbers were now become about a thousand;—at which Herod was sore displeased, and required the robbers, as well as the money which he had lent Obodas, by Sylleus, which was sixty talents, and since the time of payment was now past, he desired to have it paid him; but Sylleus, who had laid Obodas aside, and managed all by himself, denied that the robbers were in Arabia, and put off the payment of the money; about which there was a hearing before Saturninus and Volumnius, who were then the presidents of Syria. At last he, by their means, agreed, that within thirty days' time Herod should be paid his money, and that each of them should deliver up the other's subjects reciprocally. Now, as to Herod, there was not one of the other's subjects found in his kingdom, either as doing any injustice, or on any other account, but it was proved that the Arabians had the robbers amongst them.

2. When this day appointed for payment of the money was past, without Sylleus's performing any part of his agreement, and he was gone to Rome, Herod demanded the payment of the money, and that the robbers that were in Arabia should be delivered up; and, by the permission of Saturninus and Volumnius, executed the judgement himself upon those that were refractory. He took an army that he had, and let it into Arabia, and in three days' time marched seven mansions; and when he came to the garrison wherein the robbers were, he made an assault upon them, and took them all, and demolished the place, which was called Raepta, but did no harm to any others. But as the Arabians came to their assistance, under Naceb their captain, there ensued a battle, wherein a few of Herod's soldiers, and Naceb, the captain of the Arabians, and about twenty of his soldiers, fell, while the rest betook themselves to flight. So when he had brought these to punishment, he placed three thousand Idumeans in Trachonitis, and thereby restrained the robbers that were there. He also sent an account to the captains that were about Phoenicia, and demonstrated that he had done nothing but what he ought to do, in punishing the refractory Arabians, which, upon an exact inquiry, they found to be no more than what was true.

3. However, messengers were hasted away to Sylleus to Rome, and informed him what had been done, and, as is usual, aggravated every thing. Now Sylleus had already insinuated himself into the knowledge of Caesar, and was then about the palace; and as soon as he heard of these things, he changed his habit into black, and went in, and told Caesar that Arabia was afflicted with war, and that all his kingdom was in great confusion, upon Herod's laying it waste with his army; and he said, with tears in his eyes, that two thousand five hundred of the principal men among the Arabians had been destroyed, and that their captain Nacebus, his familiar friend and kinsman, was slain; and that the riches that were at Raepta were carried off; and that Obodas was despised, whose infirm state of body rendered him unfit for war; on which account neither he, nor the Arabian army, were present. When Sylleus said so, and added invidiously, that he would not himself have come out of the country, unless he had believed that Caesar would have provided that they should all have peace one with another, and that, had he been there, he would have taken care that the war should not have been to Herod's advantage; Caesar was provoked when this was said, and asked no more than this one question, both of Herod's friends that were there, and of his own friends, who were come from Syria, Whether Herod had led an army thither? And when they were forced to confess so much, Caesar, without staying to hear for what reason he did it, and how it was done, grew very angry, and wrote to Herod sharply. The sum of his epistle was this, that whereas of old he had used him as his friend, he should now use him as his subject. Sylleus also wrote an account of this to the Arabians, who were so elevated with it, that they neither delivered up the robbers that had fled to them, nor paid the money that was due; they retained those pastures also which they had hired, and kept them without paying their rent, and all this because the king of the Jews was now in a low condition, by reason of Caesar's anger at him. Those of Trachonitis also made use of this opportunity, and rose up against the Idumean garrison, and followed the same way of robbing with the Arabians, who had pillaged their country, and were more rigid in their unjust proceedings, not only in order to get by it, but by way of revenge also.

4. Now Herod was forced to bear all this, that confidence of his being quite gone with which Caesar's favour used to inspire him; for Caesar would not admit so much as an embassage from him to 'make an apology for him; and when they came again, he sent them away without success. So he was cast into sadness and fear; and Sylleus's circumstances grieved him exceedingly, who was now believed by Caesar, and was present at Rome, nay, sometimes aspiring higher. Now it came to pass that Obodas was dead; and Aeneas, whose name was afterward changed to Aretas, took the government, for Sylleus endeavored by calumnies to get him turned out of his principality, that he might himself take it; with which design he gave much money to the courtiers, and promised much money to Caesar, who indeed was angry that Aretas had not sent to him first before he took the kingdom; yet did Aeneas send an epistle and presents to Caesar, and a golden crown, of the weight of many talents. Now that epistle accused Sylleus as having been a wicked servant, and having killed Obodas by poison; and that while he was alive, he had governed him as he pleased; and had also debauched the wives of the Arabians; and had borrowed money, in order to obtain the dominion for himself: yet did not Caesar give heed to these accusations, but sent his ambassadors back, without receiving any of his presents. But in the mean time the affairs of Judea and Arabia became worse and worse, partly because of the anarchy they were under, and partly because, as bad as they were, nobody had power to govern them; for of the two kings, the one was not yet confirmed in his kingdom, and so had not authority sufficient to restrain the evil-doers; and as for Herod, Caesar was immediately angry at him for having avenged himself, and so he was compelled to bear all the injuries that were offered him. At length, when he saw no end of the mischief which surrounded him, he resolved to send ambassadors to Rome again, to see whether his friends had prevailed to mitigate Caesar, and to address themselves to Caesar himself; and the ambassador he sent thither was Nicolans of Damascus.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 10

How Eurycles Falsely Accused Herod's Sons; And How Their Father Bound Them, And Wrote To Caesar About Them. Of Sylleus And How He Was Accused By Nicolaus.

1. The disorders about Herod's family and children about this time grew much worse; for it now appeared certain, nor was it unforeseen before-hand, that fortune threatened the greatest and most insupportable misfortunes possible to his kingdom. Its progress and augmentation at this time arose on the occasion following: One Eurycles, a Lacedemonian, [a person of note there, but a man of a perverse mind, and so cunning in his ways of voluptuousness and flattery, as to indulge both, and yet seem to indulge neither of them,] came in his travels to Herod, and made him presents, but so that he received more presents from him. He also took such proper seasons for insinuating himself into his friendship, that he became one of the most intimate of the king's friends. He had his lodging in Antipater's house; but he had not only access, but free conversation, with Alexander, as pretending to him that he was in great favour with Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia; whence he pretended much respect to Glaphyra, and in an occult manner cultivated a friendship with them all; but always attending to what was said and done, that he might be furnished with calumnies to please them all. In short, he behaved himself so to every body in his conversation, as to appear to be his particular friend, and he made others believe that his being any where was for that person's advantage. So he won upon Alexander, who was but young; and persuaded him that he might open his grievances to him with assurance and with nobody else. So he declared his grief to him, how his father was alienated from him. He related to him also the affairs of his mother, and of Antipater; that he had driven them from their proper dignity, and had the power over every thing himself; that no part of this was tolerable, since his father was already come to hate them; and he added, that he would neither admit them to his table, nor to his conversation. Such were the complaints, as was but natural, of Alexander about the things that troubled him; and these discourses Eurycles carried to Antipater, and told him he did not inform him of this on his own account, but that being overcome by his kindness, the great importance of the thing obliged him to do it; and he warned him to have a care of Alexander, for that what he said was spoken with vehemency, and that, in consequence of what he said, he would certainly kill him with his own hand. Whereupon Antipater, thinking him to be his friend by this advice, gave him presents upon all occasions, and at length persuaded him to inform Herod of what he had heard. So when he related to the king Alexander's ill temper, as discovered by the words he had heard him speak, he was easily believed by him; and he thereby brought the king to that pass, turning him about by his words, and irritating him, till he increased his hatred to him and made him implacable, which he showed at that very time, for he immediately gave Eurycles a present of fifty talents; who, when he had gotten them, went to Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and commended Alexander before him, and told him that he had been many ways of advantage to him, in making a reconciliation between him and his father. So he got money from him also, and went away, before his pernicious practices were found out; but when Eurycles was returned to Lacedemon, he did not leave off doing mischief; and so, for his many acts of injustice, he was banished from his own country.

2. But as for the king of the Jews, he was not now in the temper he was in formerly towards Alexander and Aristobulus, when he had been content with the hearing their calumnies when others told him of them; but he was now come to that pass as to hate them himself, and to urge men to speak against them, though they did not do it of themselves. He also observed all that was said, and put questions, and gave ear to every one that would but speak, if they could but say any thing against them, till at length he heard that Euaratus of Cos was a conspirator with Alexander; which thing to Herod was the most agreeable and sweetest news imaginable.

3. But still a greater misfortune came upon the young men; while the calumnies against them were continually increased, and, as a man may say, one would think it was every one's endeavor to lay some grievous thing to their charge, which might appear to be for the king's preservation. There were two guards of Herod's body, who were in great esteem for their strength and tallness, Jucundus and Tyrannus; these men had been cast off by Herod, who was displeased at them; these now used to ride along with Alexander, and for their skill in their exercises were in great esteem with him, and had some gold and other gifts bestowed on them. Now the king having an immediate suspicion of those men, had them tortured, who endured the torture courageously for a long time; but at last confessed that Alexander would have persuaded them to kill Herod, when he was in pursuit of the wild beasts, that it might be said he fell from his horse, and was run through with his own spear, for that he had once such a misfortune formerly. They also showed where there was money hidden in the stable under ground; and these convicted the king's chief hunter, that he had given the young men the royal hunting spears and weapons to Alexander's dependents, at Alexander's command.

4. After these, the commander of the garrison of Alexandrium was caught and tortured; for he was accused to have promised to receive the young men into his fortress, and to supply them with that money of the king's which was laid up in that fortress, yet did not he acknowledge any thing of it himself; but his son came ill, and said it was so, and delivered up the writing, which, so far as could be guessed, was in Alexander's hand. Its contents were these: "When we have finished, by God's help, all that we have proposed to do, we will come to you; but do your endeavors, as you have promised, to receive us into your fortress." After this writing

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was produced, Herod had no doubt about the treacherous designs of his sons against him. But Alexander said that Diophantus the scribe had imitated his hand, and that the paper was maliciously drawn up by Antipater; for Diophantus appeared to be very cunning in such practices; and as he was afterward convicted of forging other papers, he was put to death for it.

5. So the king produced those that had been tortured before the multitude at Jericho, in order to have them accuse the young men, which accusers many of the people stoned to death; and when they were going to kill Alexander and Aristobulus likewise, the king would not permit them to do so, but restrained the multitude, by the means of Ptolemy and Pheroras. However, the young men were put under a guard, and kept in custody, that nobody might come at them; and all that they did or said was watched, and the reproach and fear they were in was little or nothing different from those of condemned criminals: and one of them, who was Aristobulus, was so deeply affected, that he brought Salome, who was his aunt, and his mother-in-law, to lament with him for his calamities, and to hate him who had suffered things to come to that pass; when he said to her, "Art thou not in danger of destruction also, while the report goes that thou hadst disclosed beforehand all our affairs to Syllcus, when thou wast in hopes of being married to him?" But she immediately carried these words to her brother. Upon this he was out of patience, and gave command to bind him; and enjoined them both, now they were kept separate one from the other, to write down the ill things they had done against their father, and bring the writings to him, So when this was enjoined them, they wrote this, that they had laid no treacherous designs, nor made any preparations against their father, but that they had intended to fly away; and that by the distress they were in, their lives being now uncertain and tedious to them.

6. About this time there came an ambassador out of Cappadocia from Archelaus, whose name was Melas; he was one of the principal rulers under him. So Herod, being desirous to show Archelaus's ill-will to him, called for Alexander, as he was in his bonds, and asked him again concerning his fight, whether and how they had resolved to retire Alexander replied, To Archelaus, who had promised to send them away to Rome; but that they had no wicked nor mischievous designs against their father, and that nothing of that nature which their adversaries had charged upon them was true; and that their desire was, that he might have examined Tyrannus and Jucundus more strictly, but that they had been suddenly slain by the means of Antipater, who put his own friends among the multitude [for that purpose].

7. When this was said, Herod commanded that both Alexander and Melas should be carried to Glaphyra, Archelaus's daughter, and that she should be asked, whether she did not know somewhat of Alexander's treacherous designs against Herod? Now as soon as they were come to her, and she saw Alexander in bonds, she beat her head, and in a great consternation gave a deep and moving groan. The young man also fell into tears. This was so miserable a spectacle to those present, that, for a great while, they were not able to say or to do any thing; but at length Ptolemy, who was ordered to bring Alexander, bid him say whether his wife was conscious of his actions. He replied, "How is it possible that she, whom I love better than my own soul, and by whom I have had children, should not know what I do?" Upon which she cried out that she knew of no wicked designs of his; but that yet, if her accusing herself falsely would tend to his preservation, she would confess it all. Alexander replied, "There is no such wickedness as those [who ought the least of all so to do] suspect, which either I have imagined, or thou knowest of, but this only, that we had resolved to retire to Archelaus, and from thence to Rome." Which she also confessed. Upon which Herod, supposing that Archelaus's ill-will to him was fully proved, sent a letter by Olympus and Volumnius; and bid them, as they sailed by, to touch at Eleusa of Cilicia, and give Archelaus the letter. And that when they had ex-postulated with him, that he had a hand in his son's treacherous design against him, they should from thence sail to Rome; and that, in case they found Nicolaus had gained any ground, and that Caesar was no longer displeased at him, he should give him his letters, and the proofs which he had ready to show against the young men. As to Archelaus, he made his defense for himself, that he had promised to receive the young men, because it was both for their own and their father's advantage so to do, lest some too severe procedure should be gone upon in that anger and disorder they were in on occasion of the present suspicions; but that still he had not promised to send them to Caesar; and that he had not promised any thing else to the young men that could show any ill-will to him.

8. When these ambassadors were come to Rome, they had a fit opportunity of delivering their letters to Caesar, because they found him reconciled to Herod; for the circumstances of Nicolaus's embassage had been as follows: As soon as he was come to Rome, and was about the court, he did not first of all set about what he was come for only, but he thought fit also to accuse Sylleus. Now the Arabians, even before he came to talk with them, were quarrelling one with another; and some of them left Sylleus's party, and joining themselves to Nicolaus, informed him of all the wicked things that had been done; and produced to him evident demonstrations of the slaughter of a great number of Obodas's friends by Sylleus; for when these men left Sylleus, they had carried off with them those letters whereby they could convict him. When Nicolaus saw such an opportunity afforded him, he made use of it, in order to gain his own point afterward, and endeavored immediately to make a reconciliation between Caesar and Herod; for he was fully satisfied, that if he should desire to make a defense for Herod directly, he should not be allowed that liberty; but that if he desired to accuse Sylleus, there would an occasion present itself of speaking on Herod's behalf. So when the cause was ready for a hearing, and the day was appointed, Nicolaus, while Aretas's ambassadors were present, accused Sylleus, and said that he imputed to him the destruction of the king [Obodas], and of many others of the Arabians; that he had borrowed money for no good design; and he proved that he had been guilty of adultery, not only with the Arabian, but Reinan women also. And he added, that above all the rest he had alienated Caesar from Herod, and that all that he had said about the actions of Herod were falsities. When Nicolaus was come to this topic, Caesar stopped him from going on, and desired him only to speak to this affair of Herod, and to show that he had not led an army into Arabia, nor slain two thousand five hundred men there, nor taken prisoners, nor pillaged the country. To which Nicolaus made this answer: "I shall principally demonstrate, that either nothing at all, or but a very little, of those imputations are true, of which thou hast been informed; for had they been true, thou mightest justly have been still more angry at Herod." At this strange assertion Caesar was very attentive; and Nicolaus said that there was a debt due to Herod of five hundred talents, and a bond, wherein it was written, that if the time appointed be lapsed, it should be lawful to make a seizure out of any part of his country. "As for the pretended army," he said, "it was no army, but a party sent out to require the just payment of the money; that this was not sent immediately, nor so soon as the bond allowed, but that Sylleus had frequently come before Saturninus and Volumnius, the presidents of Syria; and that at last he had sworn at Berytus, by thy fortune, that he would certainly pay the money within thirty days, and deliver up the fugitives that were under his dominion. And that when Sylleus had performed nothing of this, Herod came again before the presidents; and upon their permission to make a seizure for his money, he, with difficulty, went out of his country with a party of soldiers for that purpose. And this is all the war which these men so tragically describe; and this is the affair of the expedition into Arabia. And how can this be called a war, when thy presidents permitted it, the covenants allowed it, and it was not executed till thy name, O Caesar, as well as that of the other gods, had been profaned? And now I must speak in order about the captives. There were robbers that dwelt in Trachonitis; at first their number was no more than forty, but they became more afterwards, and they escaped the punishment Herod would have inflicted on them, by making Arabia their refuge. Sylleus received them, and supported them with food, that they might be mischievous to all mankind, and gave them a country to inhabit, and himself received the gains they made by robbery; yet did he promise that he would deliver up these men, and that by the same oaths and same time that he sware and fixed for payment of his debt: nor can he by any means show that any other persons have at this time been taken out of Arabia besides these, and indeed not all these neither, but only so many as could not conceal themselves. And thus does the calumny of the captives, which hath been so odiously represented, appear to be no better than a fiction and a lie, made on purpose to provoke thy indignation; for I venture to affirm that when the forces of the Arabians came upon us, and one or two of Herod's party fell, he then only defended himself, and there fell Nacebus their general, and in all about twenty-five others, and no more; whence Sylleus, by multiplying every single soldier to a hundred, he reckons the slain to have been two thousand five hundred."

9. This provoked Caesar more than ever. So he turned to Sylleus full of rage, and asked him how many of the Arabians were slain. Hereupon he hesitated, and said he had been imposed upon. The covenants also were read about the money he had borrowed, and the letters of the presidents of Syria, and the complaints of the several cities, so many as had been injured by the robbers. The conclusion was this, that Sylleus was condemned to die, and that Caesar was reconciled to Herod, and owned his repentance for what severe things he had written to him, occasioned by calumny, insomuch that he told Sylleus, that he had compelled him, by his lying account of things, to be guilty of ingratitude against a man that was his friend. At the last all came to this, Sylleus was sent away to answer Herod's suit, and to repay the debt that he owed, and after that to be punished [with death]. But still Caesar was offended with Aretas, that he had taken upon himself the government, without his consent first obtained, for he had determined to bestow Arabia upon Herod; but that the letters he had sent hindered him from so doing; for Olympus and Volumnius, perceiving that Caesar was now become favourable to Herod, thought fit immediately to deliver him the letters they were commanded by Herod to give him concerning his sons. When Caesar had read them, he thought it would not be proper to add another government to him, now he was old, and in an ill state with relation to his sons, so he admitted Aretas's ambassadors; and after he had just reproved him for his rashness, in not tarrying till he received the kingdom from him, he accepted of his presents, and confirmed him in his government.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 11

How Herod, By Permission From Caesar Accused His Sons Before An Assembly Of Judges At Berytus; And What Tero Suffered For Using A Boundless And Military Liberty Of Speech. Concerning Also The Death Of The Young Men And Their Burial At

Alexandrium.

So Caesar was now reconciled to Herod, and wrote thus to him: That he was grieved for him on account of his sons; and that in case they had been guilty of any profane and insolent crimes against him, it would behoove him to punish them as parricides, for which he gave him power accordingly; but if they had only contrived to fly away, he would have him give them an admonition, and not proceed to extremity with them. He also advised him to get an assembly together, and to appoint some place near Berytus, which is a city belonging to the Romans, and to take the presidents of Syria, and Archelaus king of Cappadocia, and as many more as he thought to be illustrious for their friendship to him, and the dignities they were in, and determine what should be done by their approbation. These were the directions that Caesar gave him. Accordingly Herod, when the letter was brought to him, was immediately very glad of Caesar's reconciliation to him, and very glad also that he had a complete authority given him over his sons. And it strangely came about, that whereas before, in his adversity, though he had indeed showed himself severe, yet had he not been very rash nor hasty in procuring the destruction of his sons; he now, in his prosperity, took advantage of this change for the better, and the freedom he now had, to exercise his hatred against them after an unheard of manner; he therefore sent and called as many as he thought fit to this assembly, excepting Archelaus; for as for him, he either hated him, so that he would not invite him, or he thought he would be an obstacle to his designs.

2. When the presidents, and the rest that belonged to the cities, were come to Berytus, he kept his sons in a certain village belonging to Sidon, called Platana, but near to this city, that if they were called, he might produce them, for he did not think fit to bring them before the assembly: and when there were one hundred and fifty assessors present, Herod came by himself alone, and accused his sons, and that in such a way as if it were not a melancholy accusation, and not made but out of necessity, and upon the misfortunes he was under; indeed, in such a way as was very indecent for a father to accuse his sons, for he was very vehement and disordered when he came to the demonstration of the crime they were accused of, and gave the greatest signs of passion and barbarity: nor would he suffer the assessors to consider of the weight of the evidence, but asserted them to be true by his own authority, after a manner most indecent in a father against his sons, and read himself what they themselves had written, wherein there was no confession of any plots or contrivances against him, but only how they had contrived to fly away, and containing withal certain reproaches against him, on account of the ill-will he bare them; and when he came to those reproaches, he cried out most of all, and exaggerated what they said, as if they had confessed the design against him, and took his oath that he had rather lose his life than hear such reproachful words. At last he said that he had sufficient authority, both by nature and by Caesar's grant to him, [to do what he thought fit]. He also added an allegation of a law of their country, which enjoined this: That if parents laid their hands on the head of him that was accused, the standers by were obliged to cast stones at him, and thereby to slay him; which though he were ready to do in his own country and kingdom, yet did he wait for their determination; and yet they came thither not so much as judges, to condemn them for such manifest designs against him, whereby he had almost perished by his sons' means, but as persons that had an opportunity of showing their detestation of such practices, and declaring how unworthy a thing it must be in any, even the most remote, to pass over such treacherous designs [without punishment].

3. When the king had said this, and the young men had not been produced to make any defense for themselves, the assessors perceived there was no room for equity and reconciliation, so they confirmed his authority. And in the first place, Saturninus, a person that had been consul, and one of great dignity, pronounced his sentence, but with great moderation and trouble; and said that he condemned Herod's sons, but did not think they should be put to death. He had

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sons of his own, and to put one's son to death is a greater misfortune than any other that could befall him by their means. After him Saturninus's sons, for he had three sons that followed him, and were his legates, pronounced the same sentence with their father. On the contrary, Volumnius's sentence was to inflict death on such as had been so impiously undutiful to their father; and the greatest part of the rest said the same, insomuch that the conclusion seemed to be, that the young men were condemned to die. Immediately after this Herod came away from thence, and took his sons to Tyre, where Nicolaus met him in his voyage from Rome; of whom he inquired, after he had related to him what had passed at Berytus, what his sentiments were about his sons, and what his friends at Rome thought of that matter. His answer was, "That what they had determined to do to thee was impious, and that thou oughtest to keep them in prison; and if thou thinkest any thing further necessary, thou mayst indeed so punish them, that thou mayst not appear to indulge thy anger more than to govern thyself by judgement; but if thou inclinest to the milder side, thou mayst absolve them, lest perhaps thy misfortunes be rendered incurable; and this is the opinion of the greatest part of thy friends at Rome also." Whereupon Herod was silent, and in great thoughtfulness, and bid Nicolaus sail along with him.

4. Now as they came to Caesarea, every body was there talking of Herod's sons, and the kingdom was in suspense, and the people in great expectation of what would become of them; for a terrible fear seized upon all men, lest the ancient disorders of the family should come to a sad conclusion, and they were in great trouble about their sufferings; nor was it without danger to say any rash thing about this matter, nor even to hear another saying it, but men's pity was forced to be shut up in themselves, which rendered the excess of their sorrow very irksome, but very silent yet was there an old soldier of Herod's, whose name was Tero, who had a son of the same age with Alexander, and his friend, who was so very free as openly to speak out what others silently thought about that matter; and was forced to cry out often among the multitude, and said, in the most unguarded manner, that truth was perished, and justice taken away from men, while lies and ill-will prevailed, and brought such a mist before public affairs, that the offenders were not able to see the greatest mischiefs that can befall men. And as he was so bold, he seemed not to have kept himself out of danger, by speaking so freely; but the reasonableness of what he said moved men to regard him as having behaved himself with great manhood, and this at a proper time also, for which reason every one heard what he said with pleasure; and although they first took care of their own safety by keeping silent themselves, yet did they kindly receive the great freedom he took; for the expectation they were in of so great an affliction, put a force upon them to speak of Tero whatsoever they pleased.

5. This man had thrust himself into the king's presence with the greatest freedom, and desired to speak with him by himself alone, which the king permitted him to do, where he said this: "Since I am not able, O king, to bear up under so great a concern as I am under, I have preferred the use of this bold liberty that I now take, which may be for thy advantage, if thou mind to get any profit by it, before my own safety. Whither is thy understanding gone, and left thy soul empty? Whither is that extraordinary sagacity of thine gone whereby thou hast performed so many and such glorious-actions? Whence comes this solitude, and desertion of thy friends and relations? Of which I cannot but determine that they are neither thy friends nor relations, while they overlook such horrid wickedness in thy once happy kingdom. Dost not thou perceive what is doing? Wilt thou slay these two young men, born of thy queen, who are accomplished with every virtue in the highest degree, and leave thyself destitute in thy old age, but exposed to one son, who hath very ill managed the hopes thou hast given him,' and to relations, whose death thou hast so often resolved on thyself? Dost not thou take notice, that the very silence of the multitude at once sees the crime, and abhors the fact? The whole army and the officers have commiseration on the poor unhappy youths, and hatred to those that are the actors in this matter." These words the king heard, and for some time with good temper. But what can one say? When Tero plainly touched upon the bad behavior and perfidiousness of his domestics, he was moved at it; but Tero went on further, and by degrees used an unbounded military freedom of speech, nor was he so well disciplined as to accommodate himself to the time. So Herod was greatly disturbed, and seeming to be rather reproached by this speech, than to be hearing what was for his advantage, while he learned thereby that both the soldiers abhorred the thing he was about, and the officers had indignation at it, he gave order that all whom Tero had named, and Tero himself, should be bound and kept in prison.

6. When this was over, one Trypho, who was the king's barber, took the opportunity, and came and told the king, that Tero would often have persuaded him, when he trimmed him with a razor, to cut his throat, for that by this means he should be among the chief of Alexander's friends, and receive great rewards from him. When he had said this, the king gave order that Tero, and his son, and the barber should be tortured, which was done accordingly; but while Tero bore up himself, his son seeing his father already in a sad case, and had no hope of deliverance, and perceiving what would be the consequence of his terrible sufferings, said, that if the king would free him and his father from these torments for what he should say, he would tell the truth. And when the king had given his word to do so, he said that there was an agreement made, that Tero should lay violent hands on the king, because it was easy for him to come when he was alone; and that if, when he had done the thing, he should suffer death for it, as was not unlikely, it would be an act of generosity done in favour of Alexander. This was what Tero's son said, and thereby freed his father from the distress he was in; but uncertain it is whether he had been thus forced to speak what was true, or whether it were a contrivance of his, in order to procure his own and his father's deliverance from their miseries.

7. As for Herod, if he had before any doubt about the slaughter of his sons, there was now no longer any room left in his soul for it; but he had banished away whatsoever might afford him the least suggestion of reasoning better about this matter, so he already made haste to bring his purpose to a conclusion. He also brought out three hundred of the officers that were under an accusation, as also Tero and his son, and the barber that accused them before an assembly, and brought an accusation against them all; whom the multitude stoned with whatsoever came to hand, and thereby slew them. Alexander also and Aristobulus were brought to Sebaste, by their father's command, and there strangled; but their dead bodies were in the night time carried to Alexandrium, where their uncle by the mother's side, and the greatest part of their ancestors, had been deposited.

8. 15 And now perhaps it may not seem unreasonable to some, that such an inveterate hatred might increase so much [on both sides], as to proceed further, and overcome nature; but it may justly deserve consideration, whether it be to be laid to the charge of the young men, that they gave such an occasion to their father's anger, and led him to do what he did, and by going on long in the same way put things past remedy, and brought him to use them so unmercifully; or whether it be to be laid to the father's charge, that he was so hard-hearted, and so very tender in the desire of government, and of other things that would tend to his glory, that tae would take no one into a partnership with him, that so whatsoever he would have done himself might continue immovable; or, indeed, whether fortune have not greater power than all prudent reasonings; whence we are persuaded that human actions are thereby determined beforehand by an inevitable necessity, and we call her Fate, because there is nothing which is not done by her; wherefore I suppose it will be sufficient to compare this notion with that other, which attribute somewhat to ourselves, and renders men not unaccountable for the different conducts of their lives, which notion is no other than the philosophical determination of our ancient law. Accordingly, of the two other causes of this sad event, any body may lay the blame on the young men, who acted by youthful vanity, and pride of their royal birth, that they should bear to hear the calumnies that were raised against their father, while certainly they were not equitable judges of the actions of his life, but ill-natured in suspecting, and intemperate in speaking of it, and on both accounts easily caught by those that observed them, and revealed them to gain favour; yet cannot their father be thought worthy excuse, as to that horrid impiety which he was guilty of about them, while he ventured, without any certain evidence of their treacherous designs against him, and without any proofs that they had made preparations for such attempt, to kill his own sons, who were of very comely bodies, and the great darlings of other men, and no way deficient in their conduct, whether it were in hunting, or in warlike exercises, or in speaking upon occasional topics of discourse; for in all these they were skillful, and especially Alexander, who was the eldest; for certainly it had been sufficient, even though he had condemned them, to have kept them alive in bonds, or to let them live at a distance from his dominions in banishment, while he was surrounded by the Roman forces, which were a strong security to him, whose help would prevent his suffering any thing by a sudden onset, or by open force; but for him to kill them on the sudden, in order to gratify a passion that governed him, was a demonstration of insufferable impiety. He also was guilty of so great a crime in his older age; nor will the delays that he made, and the length of time in which the thing was done, plead at all for his excuse; for when a man is on a sudden amazed, and in commotion of mind, and then commits a wicked action, although this be a heavy crime, yet is it a thing that frequently happens; but to do it upon deliberation, and after frequent attempts, and as frequent puttings-off, to undertake it at last, and accomplish it, was the action of a murderous mind, and such as was not easily moved from that which is evil. And this temper he showed in what he did afterward, when he did not spare those that seemed to be the best beloved of his friends that were left, wherein, though the justice of the punishment caused those that perished to be the less pitied, yet was the barbarity of the man here equal, in that he did not abstain from their slaughter also. But of those persons we shall have occasion to discourse more hereafter.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES BOOK 17

Containing The Interval Of Fourteen Years.—From The Death Of Alexander And Aristobulus To The Banishment Of Archelaus.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 1

How Antipater Was Hated By All The Nation [Of The Jews] For The Slaughter Of His Brethren; And How, For That Reason He Got Into Peculiar Favour With His Friends At Rome, By Giving Them Many Presents; As He Did Also With Saturninus, The President Of Syria And The Governors Who Were Under Him; And Concerning Herod's Wives And Children.

1. When Antipater had thus taken off his brethren, and had brought his father into the highest degree of impiety, till he was haunted with furies for what he had done, his hopes did not succeed to his mind, as to the rest of his life; for although he was delivered from the fear of his brethren being his rivals as to the government, yet did he find it a very hard thing, and almost impracticable, to come at the kingdom, because the hatred of the nation against him on that account was become very great; and besides this very disagreeable circumstance, the affair of the soldiery grieved him still more, who were alienated from him, from which yet these kings derived all the safety which they had, whenever they found the nation desirous of innovation: and all this danger was drawn upon him by his destruction of his brethren. However, he governed the nation jointly with his father, being indeed no other than a king already; and he was for that very reason trusted, and the more firmly depended on, for the which he ought himself to have been put to death, as appearing to have betrayed his brethren out of his concern for the preservation of Herod, and not rather out of his ill-will to them, and, before them, to his father himself: and this was the accursed state he was in. Now all Antipater's contrivances tended to make his way to take off Herod, that he might have nobody to accuse him in the vile practices he was devising: and that Herod might have no refuge, nor any to afford him their assistance, since they must thereby have Antipater for their open enemy; insomuch that the very plots he had laid against his brethren were occasioned by the hatred he bore his father. But at this time he was more than ever set upon the execution of his attempts against Herod, because if he were once dead, the government would now be firmly secured to him; but if he were suffered to live any longer, he should be in danger, upon a discovery of that wickedness of which he had been the contriver, and his father would of necessity then become his enemy. And on this account it was that he became very bountiful to his father's friends, and bestowed great sums on several of them, in order to surprise men with his good deeds, and take off their hatred against him. And he sent great presents to his friends at Rome particularly, to gain their good-will; and above all to Saturninus, the president of Syria. He also hoped to gain the favour of Saturninus's brother with the large presents he bestowed on him; as also he used the same art to [Salome] the king's sister, who had married one of Herod's chief friends. And when he counterfeited friendship to those with whom he conversed, he was very subtle in gaining their belief, and very cunning to hide his hatred against any that he really did hate. But he could not impose upon his aunt, who understood him of a long time, and was a woman not easily to be deluded, especially while she had already used all possible caution in preventing his pernicious designs. Although Antipeter's uncle by the mother's side was married to her daughter, and this by his own connivance and management, while she had before been married to Aristobulus, and while Salome's other daughter by that husband was married to the son of Calleas; yet that marriage was no obstacle to her, who knew how wicked he was, in her discovering his designs, as her former kindred to him could not prevent her hatred of him. Now Herod had compelled Salome, while she was in love with Sylleus the Arabian, and had taken a fondness for him, to marry Alexas; which match was by her submitted to at the instance of Julia, who persuaded Salome not to refuse it, lest she should herself be their open enemy, since Herod had sworn that he would never be friends with Salome, if she would not accept of Alexas for her husband; so she submitted to Julia as being Caesar's wife; and besides that, she advised her to nothing but what was very much for her own advantage. At this time also it was that Herod sent back king Archelaus's daughter, who had been Alexander's wife, to her father, returning the portion he had with her out of his own estate, that there might be no dispute between them about it.

2. Now Herod brought up his sons' children with great care; for Alexander had two sons by Glaphyra; and Aristobulus had three sons by Bernice, Salome's daughter, and two daughters; and as his friends were once with him, he presented the children before them; and deploring the hard fortune of his

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own sons, he prayed that no such ill fortune would befall these who were their children, but that they might improve in virtue, and obtain what they justly deserved, and might make him amends for his care of their education. He also caused them to be betrothed against they should come to the proper age of marriage; the elder of Alexander's sons to Pheroras's daughter, and Antipater's daughter to Aristobulus's eldest son. He also allotted one of Aristobulus's daughters to Antipater's son, and Aristobulus's other daughter to Herod, a son of his own, who was born to him by the high priest's daughter; for it is the ancient practice among us to have many wives at the same time. Now the king made these espousals for the children, out of commiseration of them now they were fatherless, as endeavoring to render Antipater kind to them by these intermarriages. But Antipater did not fail to bear the same temper of mind to his brothers' children which he had borne to his brothers themselves; and his father's concern about them provoked his indignation against them upon this supposal, that they would become greater than ever his brothers had been; while Archelaus, a king, would support his daughter's sons, and Pheroras, a tetrarch, would accept of one of the daughters as a wife to his son. What provoked him also was this, that all the multitude would so commiserate these fatherless children, and so hate him [for making them fatherless], that all would come out, since they were no strangers to his vile disposition towards his brethren. He contrived, therefore, to overturn his father's settlements, as thinking it a terrible thing that they should be so related to him, and be so powerful withal. So Herod yielded to him, and changed his resolution at his entreaty; and the determination now was, that Antipater himself should marry Aristobulus's daughter, and Antipater's son should marry Pheroras's daughter. So the espousals for the marriages were changed after this manner, even without the king's real approbation.

3. Now Herod the king had at this time nine wives; one of them Antipater's mother, and another the high priest's daughter, by whom he had a son of his own name. He had also one who was his brother's daughter, and another his sister's daughter; which two had no children. One of his wives also was of the Samaritan nation, whose sons were Antipas and Archelaus, and whose daughter was Olympias; which daughter was afterward married to Joseph, the king's brother's son; but Archelaus and Antipas were brought up with a certain private man at Rome. Herod had also to wife Cleopatra of Jerusalem, and by her he had his sons Herod and Philip; which last was also brought up at Rome. Pallas also was one of his wives, which bare him his son Phasaelus. And besides these, he had for his wives Phedra and Elpis, by whom he had his daughters Roxana and Salome. As for his elder daughters by the same mother with Alexander and Aristobulus, and whom Pheroras neglected to marry, he gave the one in marriage to Antipater, the king's sister's son, and the other to Phasaelus, his brother's son. And this was the posterity of Herod.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 2

Concerning Zamaris, The Babylonian Jew; Concerning The Plots Laid By Antipater Against His Father; And Somewhat About The Pharisees.

1. And now it was that Herod, being desirous of securing himself on the side of the Trachonites, resolved to build a village as large as a city for the Jews, in the middle of that country, which might make his own country difficult to be assaulted, and whence he might be at hand to make sallies upon them, and do them a mischief. Accordingly, when he understood that there was a man that was a Jew come out of Babylon, with five hundred horsemen, all of whom could shoot their arrows as they rode on horse-back, and, with a hundred of his relations, had passed over Euphrates, and now abode at Antioch by Daphne of Syria, where Saturninus, who was then president, had given them a place for habitation, called Valatha, he sent for this man, with the multitude that followed him, and promised to give him land in the toparchy called Batanea, which country is bounded with Trachonitis, as desirous to make that his habitation a guard to himself. He also engaged to let him hold the country free from tribute, and that they should dwell entirely without paying such customs as used to be paid, and gave it him tax-free.

2. The Babylonian was reduced by these offers to come hither; so he took possession of the land, and built in it fortresses and a village, and named it Bathyra. Whereby this man became a safeguard to the inhabitants against the Trachonites, and preserved those Jews who came out of Babylon, to offer their sacrifices at Jerusalem, from being hurt by the Trachonite robbers; so that a great number came to him from all those parts where the ancient Jewish laws were observed, and the country became full of people, by reason of their universal freedom from taxes. This continued during the life of Herod; but when Philip, who was [tetrarch] after him, took the government, he made them pay some small taxes, and that for a little while only; and Agrippa the Great, and his son of the same name, although they harassed them greatly, yet would they not take their liberty away. From whom, when the Romans have now taken the government into their own hands, they still gave them the privilege of their freedom, but oppress them entirely with the imposition of taxes. Of which matter I shall treat more accurately in the progress of this history.

3. At length Zamaris the Babylonian, to whom Herod had given that country for a possession, died, having lived virtuously, and left children of a good character behind him; one of whom was Jacim, who was famous for his valour, and taught his Babylonians how to ride their horses; and a troop of them were guards to the forementioned kings. And when Jacim was dead in his old age, he left a son, whose name was Philip, one of great strength in his hands, and in other respects also more eminent for his valour than any of his contemporaries; on which account there was a confidence and firm friendship between him and king Agrippa. He had also an army which he maintained as great as that of a king, which he exercised and led wheresoever he had occasion to march.

4. When the affairs of Herod were in the condition I have described, all the public affairs depended upon Antipater; and his power was such, that he could do good turns to as many as he pleased, and this by his father's concession, in hopes of his good-will and fidelity to him; and this till he ventured to use his power still further, because his wicked designs were concealed from his father, and he made him believe every thing he said. He was also formidable to all, not so much on account of the power and authority he had, as for the shrewdness of his vile attempts beforehand; but he who principally cultivated a friendship with him was Pheroras, who received the like marks of his friendship; while Antipater had cunningly encompassed him about by a company of women, whom he placed as guards about him; for Pheroras was greatly enslaved to his wife, and to her mother, and to her sister; and this notwithstanding the hatred he bare them for the indignities they had offered to his virgin daughters. Yet did he bear them, and nothing was to be done without the women, who had got this man into their circle, and continued still to assist each other in all things, insomuch that Antipater was entirely addicted to them, both by himself and by his mother; for these four women, 3 said all one and the same thing; but the opinions of Pheroras and Antipater were different in some points of no consequence. But the king's sister [Salome] was their antagonist, who for a good while had looked about all their affairs, and was apprized that this their friendship was made in order to do Herod some mischief, and was disposed to inform the king of it. And since these people knew that their friendship was very disagreeable to Herod, as tending to do him a mischief, they contrived that their meetings should not be discovered; so they pretended to hate one another, and to abuse one another when time served, and especially when Herod was present, or when any one was there that would tell him: but still their intimacy was firmer than ever, when they were private. And this was the course they took. But they could not conceal from Salome neither their first contrivance, when they set about these their intentions, nor when they had made some progress in them; but she searched out every thing; and, aggravating the relations to her brother, declared to him, as well their secret assemblies and compotations, as their counsels taken in a clandestine manner, which if they were not in order to destroy him, they might well enough have been open and public. But to appearance they are at variance, and speak about one another as if they intended one another a mischief, but agree so well together when they are out of the sight of the multitude; for when they are alone by themselves, they act in concert, and profess that they will never leave off their friendship, but will fight against those from whom they conceal their designs. And thus did she search out these things, and get a perfect knowledge of them, and then told her brother of them, who understood also of himself a great deal of what she said, but still durst not depend upon it, because of the suspicions he had of his sister's calumnies. For there was a certain sect of men that were Jews, who valued themselves highly upon the exact skill they had in the law of their fathers, and made men believe they were highly favoured by God, by whom this set of women were inveigled. These are those that are called the sect of the Pharisees, who were in a capacity of greatly opposing kings. A cunning sect they were, and soon elevated to a pitch of open fighting and doing mischief. Accordingly, when all the people of the Jews gave assurance of their good-will to Caesar, and to the king's government, these very men did not swear, being above six thousand; and when the king imposed a fine upon them, Pheroras's wife paid their fine for them. In order to requite which kindness of hers, since they were believed to have the foreknowledge of things to come by Divine inspiration, they foretold how God had decreed that Herod's government should cease, and his posterity should be deprived of it; but that the kingdom should come to her and Pheroras, and to their children. These predictions were not concealed from Salome, but were told the king; as also how they had perverted some persons about the palace itself; so the king slew such of the Pharisees as were principally accused, and Bagoas the eunuch, and one Carus, who exceeded all men of that time in comeliness, and one that was his catamite. He slew also all those of his own family who had consented to what the Pharisees foretold; and for Bagoas, he had been puffed up by them, as though he should be named the father and the benefactor of him who, by the prediction, was foretold to be their appointed king; for that this king would have all things in his power, and would enable Bagoas to marry, and to have children of his own body begotten.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 3

Concerning The Enmity Between Herod And Pheroras; How Herod Sent Antipater To Caesar; And Of The Death Of Pheroras.

1. When Herod had punished those Pharisees who had been convicted of the foregoing crimes, he gathered an assembly together of his friends, and accused Pheroras's wife; and ascribing the abuses of the virgins to the impudence of that woman, brought an accusation against her for the dishonour she had brought upon them: that she had studiously introduced a quarrel between him and his brother, and, by her ill temper, had brought them into a state of war, both by her words and actions; that the fines which he had laid had not been paid, and the offenders had escaped punishment by her means; and that nothing which had of late been done had been done without her; "for which reason Pheroras would do well, if he would of his own accord, and by his own command, and not at my entreaty, or as following my opinion, put this his wife away, as one that will still be the occasion of war between thee and me. And now, Pheroras, if thou valuest thy relation to me, put this wife of thine away; for by this means thou wilt continue to be a brother to me, and wilt abide in thy love to me." Then said Pheroras, [although he was pressed hard by the former words,] that as he would not do so unjust a thing as to renounce his brotherly relation to him, so would he not leave off his affection for his wife; that he would rather choose to die than to live, and be deprived of a wife that was so dear unto him. Hereupon Herod put off his anger against Pheroras on these accounts, although he himself thereby underwent a very uneasy punishment. However, he forbade Antipater and his mother to have any conversation with Pheroras, and bid them to take care to avoid the assemblies of the women; which they promised to do, but still got together when occasion served, and both Ptieroras and Antipater had their own merry meetings. The report went also, that Antipater had criminal conversation with Pheroras's wife, and that they were brought together by Antipater's mother.

2. But Antipater had now a suspicion of his father, and was afraid that the effects of his hatred to him might increase; so he wrote to his friends at Rome, and bid them to send to Herod, that he would immediately send Antipater to Caesar; which when it was done, Herod sent Antipater thither, and sent most noble presents along with him; as also his testament, wherein Antipater was appointed to be his successor; and that if Antipater should die first, his son [Herod Philip] by the high priest's daughter should succeed. And, together with Antipater, there went to Rome Sylleus the Arabian, although he had done nothing of all that Caesar had enjoined him. Antipater also accused him of the same crimes of which he had been formerly accused by Herod. Sylleus was also accused by Aretas, that without his consent he had slain many of the chief of the Arabians at Petra; and particularly Soemus, a man that deserved to be honoured by all men; and that he had slain Fabatus, a servant of Caesar. These were the things of which Sylleus was accused, and that on the occasion following: There was one Corinthus, belonging to Herod, of the guards of the king's body, and one who was greatly trusted by him. Sylleus had persuaded this man with the offer of a great sum of money to kill Herod; and he had promised to do it. When Fabatus had been made acquainted with this, for Sylleus had himself told him of it, he informed the king of it; who caught Corinthus, and put him to the torture, and thereby got out of him the whole conspiracy. He also caught two other Arabians, who were discovered by Corinthus; the one the head of a tribe, and the other a friend to Sylleus, who both were by the king brought to the torture, and confessed that they were come to encourage Corinthus not to fail of doing what he had undertaken to do; and to assist him with their own hands in the murder, if need should require their assistance. So Saturninus, upon Herod's discovering the whole to him, sent them to Rome.

3. At this time Herod commanded Pheroras, that since he was so obstinate in his affection for his wife, he should retire into his own tetrarchy; which he did very willingly, and sware many oaths that he would not come again till he heard that Herod was dead. And indeed when, upon a sickness of the king, he was desired to come to him before he died, that he might intrust him with some of his injunctions, he had such a regard to his oath, that he would not come to him; yet did not Herod so retain his hatred to Pheroras, but remitted of his purpose [not to see him], which he before had, and that for such great causes as have been already mentioned: but as soon as he began to be ill, he came to him, and this without being sent for; and when he was dead, he took care of his funeral, and had his body brought to Jerusalem, and buried there, and appointed a solemn mourning for him. This [death of Pheroras] became the origin of Antipater's misfortunes,

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although he were already sailed for Rome, God now being about to punish him for the murder of his brethren, I will explain the history of this matter very distinctly, that it may be for a warning to mankind, that they take care of conducting their whole lives by the rules of virtue.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 4

Pheroras's Wife Is Accused By His Freedmen, As Guilty Of Poisoning Him; And How Herod, Upon Examining; Of The Matter By Torture Found The Poison; But So That It Had Been Prepared For Himself By His Son Antipater; And Upon An Inquiry By Torture He Discovered The Dangerous Designs Of Antipater.

1. As soon as Pheroras was dead, and his funeral was over, two of Pheroras's freed-men, who were much esteemed by him, came to Herod, and entreated him not to leave the murder of his brother without avenging it, but to examine into such an unreasonable and unhappy death. When he was moved with these words, for they seemed to him to be true, they said that Pheroras supped with his wife the day before he fell sick, and that a certain potion was brought him in such a sort of food as he was not used to eat; but that when he had eaten, he died of it: that this potion was brought out of Arabia by a woman, under pretense indeed as a love-potion, for that was its name, but in reality to kill Pheroras; for that the Arabian women are skillful in making such poisons: and the woman to whom they ascribe this was confessedly a most intimate friend of one of Sylleus's mistresses; and that both the mother and the sister of Pheroras's wife had been at the places where she lived, and had persuaded her to sell them this potion, and had come back and brought it with them the day before that his supper. Hereupon the king was provoked, and put the women slaves to the torture, and some that were free with them; and as the fact did not yet appear, because none of them would confess it, at length one of them, under the utmost agonies, said no more but this, that she prayed that God would send the like agonies upon Antipater's mother, who had been the occasion of these miseries to all of them. This prayer induced Herod to increase the women's tortures, till thereby all was discovered; their merry meetings, their secret assemblies, and the disclosing of what he had said to his son alone unto Pheroras's 4 women. [Now what Herod had charged Antipater to conceal, was the gift of a hundred talents to him not to have any conversation with Pheroras.] And what hatred he bore to his father; and that he complained to his mother how very long his father lived; and that he was himself almost an old man, insomuch that if the kingdom should come to him, it would not afford him any great pleasure; and that there were a great many of his brothers, or brothers' children, bringing up, that might have hopes of the kingdom as well as himself, all which made his own hopes of it uncertain; for that even now, if he should himself not live, Herod had ordained that the government should be conferred, not on his son, but rather on a brother. He also had accused the king of great barbarity, and of the slaughter of his sons; and that it was out of the fear he was under, lest he should do the like to him, that made him contrive this his journey to Rome, and Pheroras contrive to go to his own tetrarchy.

2. These confessions agreed with what his sister had told him, and tended greatly to corroborate her testimony, and to free her from the suspicion of her unfaithfulness to him. So the king having satisfied himself of the spite which Doris, Antipater's mother, as well as himself, bore to him, took away from her all her fine ornaments, which were worth many talents, and then sent her away, and entered into friendship with Pheroras's women. But he who most of all irritated the king against his son was one Antipater, the procurator of Antipater the king's son, who, when he was tortured, among other things, said that Antipater had prepared a deadly potion, and given it to Pheroras, with his desire that he would give it to his father during his absence, and when he was too remote to have the least suspicion cast upon him thereto relating; that Antiphilus, one of Antipater's friends, brought that potion out of Egypt; and that it was sent to Pheroras by Thendion, the brother of the mother of Antipater, the king's son, and by that means came to Pheroras's wife, her husband having given it her to keep. And when the king asked her about it, she confessed it; and as she was running to fetch it, she threw herself down from the house-top; yet did she not kill herself, because she fell upon her feet; by which means, when the king had comforted her, and had promised her and her domestics pardon, upon condition of their concealing nothing of the truth from him, but had threatened her with the utmost miseries if she proved ungrateful [and concealed any thing]: so she promised, and swore that she would speak out every thing, and tell after what manner every thing was done; and said what many took to be entirely true, that the potion was brought out of Egypt by Antiphilus; and that his brother, who was a physician, had procured it; and that "when Thendion brought it us, she kept it upon Pheroras's committing it to her; and that it was prepared by Antipater for thee. When, therefore, Pheroras was fallen sick, and thou camest to him and tookest care of him, and when he saw the kindness thou hadst for him, his mind was overborne thereby. So he called me to him, and said to me, 'O woman! Antipater hath circumvented me in this affair of his father and my brother, by persuading me to have a murderous intention to him, and procuring a potion to be subservient thereto; do thou, therefore, go and fetch my potion, [since my brother appears to have still the same virtuous disposition towards me which he had formerly, and I do not expect to live long myself, and that I may not defile my forefathers by the murder of a brother,] and burn it before my face:' that accordingly she immediately brought it, and did as her husband bade her; and that she burnt the greatest part of the potion; but that a little of it was left, that if the king, after Pheroras's death, should treat her ill, she might poison herself, and thereby get clear of her miseries." Upon her saying thus, she brought out the potion, and the box in which it was, before them all. Nay, there was another brother of Antiphilus, and his mother also, who, by the extremity of pain and torture, confessed the same things, and owned the box [to be that which had been brought out of Egypt]. The high priest's daughter also, who was the king's wife, was accused to have been conscious of all this, and had resolved to conceal it; for which reason Herod divorced her, and blotted her son out of his testament, wherein he had been mentioned as one that was to reign after him; and he took the high priesthood away from his father-in-law, Simeon the son of Boethus, and appointed Matthias the son of Theophilus, who was born at Jerusalem, to be high priest in his room.

3. While this was doing, Bathyllus also, Antipater's freed-man, came from Rome, and, upon the torture, was found to have brought another potion, to give it into the hands of Antipater's mother, and of Pheroras, that if the former potion did not operate upon the king, this at least might carry him off. There came also letters from Herod's friends at Rome, by the approbation and at the suggestion of Antipater, to accuse Archelaus and Philip, as if they calumniated their father on account of the slaughter of Alexander and Aristobulus, and as if they commiserated their deaths, and as if, because they were sent for home, [for their father had already recalled them,] they concluded they were themselves also to be destroyed. These letters had been procured by great rewards by Antipater's friends; but Antipater himself wrote to his father about them, and laid the heaviest things to their charge; yet did he entirely excuse them of any guilt, and said they were but young men, and so imputed their words to their youth. But he said that he had himself been very busy in the affair relating to Sylleus, and in getting interest among the great men; and on that account had bought splendid ornaments to present them withal, which cost him two hundred talents. Now one may wonder how it came about, that while so many accusations were laid against him in Judea during seven months before this time, he was not made acquainted with any of them. The causes of which were, that the roads were exactly guarded, and that men hated Antipater; for there was nobody who would run any hazard himself to gain him any advantages.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 5

Antipater's Navigation From Rome To His Father; And How He Was Accused By Nicolaus Of Damascus And Condemned To Die By His Father, And By Quintilius Varus, Who Was Then President Of Syria; And How He Was Then Bound Till Caesar Should Be Informed Of His Cause.

1. Now Herod, upon Antipater's writing to him, that having done all that he was to do, and this in the manner he was to do it, he would suddenly come to him, concealed his anger against him, and wrote back to him, and bid him not delay his journey, lest any harm should befall himself in his absence. At the same time also he made some little complaint about his mother, but promised that he would lay those complaints aside when he should return. He withal expressed his entire affection for him, as fearing lest he should have some suspicion of him, and defer his journey to him; and lest, while he lived at Rome, he should lay plots for the kingdom, and, moreover, do somewhat against himself. This letter Antipater met with in Cilicia; but had received an account of Pheroras's death before at Tarentum. This last news affected him deeply; not out of any affection for Pheroras, but because he was dead without having murdered his father, which he had promised him to do. And when he was at Celenderis in Cilicia, he began to deliberate with himself about his sailing home, as being much grieved with the ejection of his mother. Now some of his friends advised him that he should tarry a while some where, in expectation of further information. But others advised him to sail home without delay; for that if he were once come thither, he would soon put an end to all accusations, and that nothing afforded any weight to his accusers at present but his absence. He was persuaded by these last, and sailed on, and landed at the haven called Sebastus, which Herod had built at vast expenses in honour of Caesar, and called Sebastus. And now was Antipater evidently in a miserable condition, while nobody came to him nor saluted him, as they did at his going away, with good wishes of joyful acclamations; nor was there now any thing to hinder them from entertaining him, on the contrary, with bitter curses, while they supposed he was come to receive his punishment for the murder of his brethren.

2. Now Quintilius Varus was at this time at Jerusalem, being sent to succeed Saturninus as president of Syria, and was come as an assessor to Herod, who had desired his advice in his present affairs; and as they were sitting together, Antipater came upon them, without knowing any thing of the matter; so he came into the palace clothed in purple. The porters indeed received him in, but excluded his friends. And now he was in great disorder, and presently understood the condition he was in, while, upon his going to salute his father, he was repulsed by him, who called him a murderer of his brethren, and a plotter of destruction against himself, and told him that Varus should be his auditor and his judge the very next day; so he found that what misfortunes he now heard of were already upon him, with the greatness of which he went away in confusion; upon which his mother and his wife met him, [which wife was the daughter of Antigonus, who was king of the Jews before Herod,] from whom he learned all circumstances which concerned him, and then prepared himself for his trial.

3. On the next day Varus and the king sat together in judgement, and both their friends were also called in, as also the king's relations, with his sister Salome, and as many as could discover any thing, and such as had been tortured; and besides these, some slaves of Antipater's mother, who were taken up a little before Antipater's coming, and brought with them a written letter, the sum of which was this: That he should not come back, because all was come to his father's knowledge; and that Caesar was the only refuge he had left to prevent both his and her delivery into his father's hands. Then did Antipater fall down at his father's feet, and besought him not to prejudge his cause, but that he might be first heard by his father, and that his father would keep himself unprejudiced. So Herod ordered him to be brought into the midst, and then lamented himself about his children, from whom he had suffered such great misfortunes; and because Antipater fell upon him in his old age. He also reckoned up what maintenance and what education he had given them; and what seasonable supplies of wealth he had afforded them, according to their own desires; none of which favours had hindered them from contriving against him, and from bringing his very life into danger, in order to gain his kingdom, after an impious manner, by taking away his life before the course of nature, their father's wishes, or justice required that that kingdom should come to them; and that he wondered what hopes could elevate Antipater to such a pass as to be hardy enough to attempt such things; that he had by his testament in writing declared him his successor in the government; and while he was alive, he was in no respect inferior to him, either in his illustrious dignity, or in power and authority, he having no less than fifty talents for his yearly income, and had received for his journey to Rome no fewer than thirty talents. He also objected to him the case of his brethren whom he had accused; and if they were guilty, he had imitated their example; and if not, he had brought him groundless accusations against his near relations; for that he had been acquainted with all those things by him, and by nobody else, and had done what was done by his approbation, and whom he now absolved from all that was criminal, by becoming the inheritor of the guilt of such their parricide.

4. When Herod had thus spoken, he fell a weeping, and was not able to say any more; but at his desire Nicolaus of Damascus, being the king's friend, and always conversant with him, and acquainted with whatsoever he did, and with the circumstances of his affairs, proceeded to what remained, and explained all that concerned the demonstrations and evidences of the facts. Upon which Antipater, in order to make his legal defense, turned himself to his father, and enlarged upon the many indications he had given of his good-will to him; and instanced in the honours that had been done him, which yet had not been done, had he not deserved them by his virtuous concern about him; for that he had made provision for every thing that was fit to be foreseen beforehand, as to giving him his wisest advice; and whenever there was occasion for the labour of his own hands, he had not grudged any such pains for him. And that it was almost impossible that he, who had delivered his father from so many treacherous contrivances laid against him, should be himself in a plot against him, and so lose all the reputation he had gained for his virtue, by his wickedness which succeeded it; and this while he had nothing to prohibit him, who was already appointed his successor, to enjoy the royal honour with his father also at present; and that there was no likelihood that a person who had the one half of that authority without any danger, and with a good character, should hunt after the whole with infamy and danger, and this when it was doubtful whether he could obtain it or not; and when he saw the sad example of his brethren before him, and was both the informer and the accuser against them, at a time when they might not otherwise have been discovered; nay, was the author of the punishment inflicted upon them, when it appeared evidently that they were guilty of a wicked attempt against their father; and that even the contentions there were

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in the king's family were indications that he had ever managed affairs out of the sincerest affection to his father. And as to what he had done at Rome, Caesar was a witness thereto, who yet was no more to be imposed upon than God himself; of whose opinions his letters sent hither are sufficient evidence; and that it was not reasonable to prefer the calumnies of such as proposed to raise disturbances before those letters; the greatest part of which calumnies had been raised during his absence, which gave scope to his enemies to forge them, which they had not been able to do if he had been there. Moreover he showed the weakness of the evidence obtained by torture, which was commonly false, because the distress men are in under such tortures naturally obliges them to say many things in order to please those that govern them. He also offered himself to the torture.

5. Hereupon there was a change observed in the assembly, while they greatly pitied Antipater, who by weeping and putting on a countenance suitable to his sad case made them commiserate the same, insomuch that his very enemies were moved to compassion; and it appeared plainly that Herod himself was affected in his own mind, although he was not willing it should be taken notice of. Then did Nicolaus begin to prosecute what the king had begun, and that with great bitterness; and summed up all the evidence which arose from the tortures, or from the testimonies. He principally and largely cried up the king's virtues, which he had exhibited in the maintenance and education of his sons; while he never could gain any advantage thereby, but still fell from one misfortune to another. Although he owned that he was not so much surprised with that thoughtless behavior of his former sons, who were but young, and were besides corrupted by wicked counselors, who were the occasion of their wiping out of their minds the righteous dictates of nature, and this out of a desire of coming to the government sooner than they ought to do; yet that he could not but justly stand amazed at the horrid wickedness of Antipater, who, although he had not only had great benefits bestowed on him by his father, enough to tame his reason, yet could not be more tamed than the most envenomed serpents; whereas even those creatures admit of some mitigation, and will not bite their benefactors, while Antipater hath not let the misfortunes of his brethren be any hinderance to him, but he hath gone on to imitate their barbarity notwithstanding. "Yet wast thou, O Antipater! [as thou hast thyself confessed,] the informer as to what wicked actions they had done, and the searcher out of the evidence against them, and the author of the punishment they underwent upon their detection. Nor do we say this as accusing thee for being so zealous in thy anger against them, but are astonished at thy endeavors to imitate their profligate behavior; and we discover thereby that thou didst not act thus for the safety of thy father, but for the destruction of thy brethren, that by such outside hatred of their impiety thou mightest be believed a lover of thy father, and mightest thereby get thee power enough to do mischief with the greatest impunity; which design thy actions indeed demonstrate. It is true, thou tookest thy brethren off, because thou didst convict theft of their wicked designs; but thou didst not yield up to justice those who were their partners; and thereby didst make it evident to all men that thou madest a covenant with them against thy father, when thou chosest to be the accuser of thy brethren, as desirous to gain to thyself alone this advantage of laying plots to kill thy father, and so to enjoy double pleasure, which is truly worthy of thy evil disposition, which thou has openly showed against thy brethren; on which account thou didst rejoice, as having done a most famous exploit, nor was that behavior unworthy of thee. But if thy intention were otherwise, thou art worse than they: while thou didst contrive to hide thy treachery against thy father, thou didst hate them, not as plotters against thy father, for in that case thou hadst not thyself fallen upon the like crime, but as successors of his dominions, and more worthy of that succession than thyself. Thou wouldst kill thy father after thy brethren, lest thy lies raised against them might be detected; and lest thou shouldst suffer what punishment thou hadst deserved, thou hadst a mind to exact that punishment of thy unhappy father, and didst devise such a sort of uncommon parricide as the world never yet saw. For thou who art his son didst not only lay a treacherous design against thy father, and didst it while he loved thee, and had been thy benefactor, had made thee in reality his partner in the kingdom, and had openly declared thee his successor, while thou wast not forbidden to taste the sweetness of authority already, and hadst the firm hope of what was future by thy father's determination, and the security of a written testament; but, for certain, thou didst not measure these things according to thy father's various disposition, but according to thy own thoughts and inclinations; and was desirous to take the part that remained away from thy too indulgent father, and soughtest to destroy him with thy deeds, whom thou in words pretendedst to preserve. Nor wast thou content to be wicked thyself, but thou filledst thy mother's head with thy devices, and raised disturbances among thy brethren, and hadst the boldness to call thy father a wild beast; while thou hadst thyself a mind more cruel than any serpent, whence thou sentest out that poison among thy nearest kindred and greatest benefactors, and invitedst them to assist thee and guard thee, and didst hedge thyself in on all sides, by the artifices of both men and women, against an old man, as though that mind of thine was not sufficient of itself to support so great a hatred as thou baredst to him. And here thou appearest, after the tortures of free-men, of domestics, of men and women, which have been examined on thy account, and after the informations of thy fellow conspirators, as making haste to contradict the truth; and hast thought on ways not only how to take thy father out of the world, but to disannul that written law which is against thee, and the virtue of Varus, and the nature of justice; nay, such is that impudence of thine on which thou confidest, that thou desirest to be put to the torture thyself, while thou allegest that the tortures of those already examined thereby have made them tell lies; that those that have been the deliverers of thy father may not be allowed to have spoken the truth; but that thy tortures may be esteemed the discoverers of truth. Wilt not thou, O Varus! deliver the king from the injuries of his kindred? Wilt not thou destroy this wicked wild beast, which hath pretended kindness to his father, in order to destroy his brethren; while yet he is himself alone ready to carry off the kingdom immediately, and appears to be the most bloody butcher to him of them all? for thou art sensible that parricide is a general injury both to nature and to common life, and that the intention of parricide is not inferior to its perpetration; and he who does not punish it is injurious to nature itself."

6. Nicolaus added further what belonged to Antipater's mother, and whatsoever she had prattled like a woman; as also about the predictions and the sacrifices relating to the king; and whatsoever Antipater had done lasciviously in his cups and his amours among Pheroras's women; the examination upon torture; and whatsoever concerned the testimonies of the witnesses, which were many, and of various kinds; some prepared beforehand, and others were sudden answers, which further declared and confirmed the foregoing evidence. For those men who were not acquainted with Antipater's practices, but had concealed them out of fear, when they saw that he was exposed to the accusations of the former witnesses, and that his great good fortune, which had supported him hitherto, had now evidently betrayed him into the hands of his enemies, who were now insatiable in their hatred to him, told all they knew of him. And his ruin was now hastened, not so much by the enmity of those that were his accusers, as by his gross, and impudent, and wicked contrivances, and by his ill-will to his father and his brethren; while he had filled their house with disturbance, and caused them to murder one another; and was neither fair in his hatred, nor kind in his friendship, but just so far as served his own turn. Now there were a great number who for a long time beforehand had seen all this, and especially such as were naturally disposed to judge of matters by the rules of virtue, because they were used to determine about affairs without passion, but had been restrained from making any open complaints before; these, upon the leave now given them, produced all that they knew before the public. The demonstrations also of these wicked facts could no way be disproved, because the many witnesses there were did neither speak out of favour to Herod, nor were they obliged to keep what they had to say silent, out of suspicion of any danger they were in; but they spake what they knew, because they thought such actions very wicked, and that Antipater deserved the greatest punishment; and indeed not so much for Herod's safety, as on account of the man's own wickedness. Many things were also said, and those by a great number of persons, who were no way obliged to say them, insomuch that Antipater, who used generally to be very shrewd in his lies and impudence, was not able to say one word to the contrary. When Nicolaus had left off speaking, and had produced the evidence, Varus bid Antipater to betake himself to the making his defense, if he had prepared any thing whereby it might appear that he was not guilty of the crimes he was accused of; for that, as he was himself desirous, so did he know that his father was in like manner desirous also, to have him found entirely innocent. But Antipater fell down on his face, and appealed to God and to all men for testimonials of his innocency, desiring that God would declare, by some evident signals, that he had not laid any plot against his father. This being the usual method of all men destitute of virtue, that when they set about any wicked undertakings, they fall to work according to their own inclinations, as if they believed that God was unconcerned in human affairs; but when once they are found out, and are in danger of undergoing the punishment due to their crimes, they endeavor to overthrow all the evidence against them by appealing to God; which was the very thing which Antipater now did; for whereas he had done everything as if there were no God in the world, when he was on all sides distressed by justice, and when he had no other advantage to expect from any legal proofs, by which he might disprove the accusations laid against him, he impudently abused the majesty of God, and ascribed it to his power that he had been preserved hitherto; and produced before them all what difficulties he had ever undergone in his bold acting for his father's preservation.

7. So when Varus, upon asking Antipater what he had to say for himself, found that he had nothing to say besides his appeal to God, and saw that there was no end of that, he bid them bring the potion before the court, that he might see what virtue still remained in it; and when it was brought, and one that was condemned to die had drank it by Varus's command, he died presently. Then Varus got up, and departed out of the court, and went away the day following to Antioch, where his usual residence was, because that was the palace of the Syrians; upon which Herod laid his son in bonds. But what were Varus's discourses to Herod was not known to the generality, and upon what words it was that he went away; though it was also generally supposed that whatsoever Herod did afterward about his son was done with his approbation. But when Herod had bound his son, he sent letters to Rome to Caesar about him, and such messengers withal as should, by word of mouth, inform Caesar of Antipater's wickedness. Now at this very time there was seized a letter of Antiphilus, written to Antipater out of Egypt [for he lived there]; and when it was opened by the king, it was found to contain what follows: "I have sent thee Acme's letter, and hazarded my own life; for thou knowest that I am in danger from two families, if I be discovered. I wish thee good success in thy affair." These were the contents of this letter; but the king made inquiry about the other letter also, for it did not appear; and Antiphilus's slave, who brought that letter which had been read, denied that he had received the other. But while the king was in doubt about it, one of Herod's friends seeing a seam upon the inner coat of the slave, and a doubling of the cloth, [for he had two coats on,] he guessed that the letter might be within that doubling; which accordingly proved to be true. So they took out the letter, and its contents were these: "Acme to Antipater. I have written such a letter to thy father as thou desiredst me. I have also taken a copy and sent it, as if it came from Salome, to my lady [Livia]; which, when thou readest, I know that Herod Will punish Salome, as plotting against him?' Now this pretended letter of Salome to her lady was composed by Antipater, in the name of Salome, as to its meaning, but in the words of Acme. The letter was this: 'Acme to king Herod. I have done my endeavor that nothing that is done against thee should be concealed from thee. So, upon my finding a letter of Salome written to my lady against thee, I have written out a copy, and sent it to thee; with hazard to myself, but for thy advantage.' The reason why she wrote it was this, that she had a mind to be married to Sylleus. Do thou therefore tear this letter in pieces, that I may not come into danger of my life." Now Acme had written to Antipater himself, and informed him, that, in compliance with his command, she had both herself written to Herod, as if Salome had laid a sudden plot entirely against him, and had herself sent a copy of an epistle, as coming from Salome to her lady. Now Acme was a Jew by birth, and a servant to Julia, Caesar's wife; and did this out of her friendship for Antipater, as having been corrupted by him with a large present of money, to assist in his pernicious designs against his father and his aunt.

8. Hereupon Herod was so amazed at the prodigious wickedness of Antipater, that he was ready to have ordered him to be slain immediately, as a turbulent person in the most important concerns, and as one that had laid a plot not only against himself, but against his sister also, and even corrupted Caesar's own domestics. Salome also provoked him to it, beating her breast, and bidding him kill her, if he could produce any credible testimony that she had acted in that manner. Herod also sent for his son, and asked him about this matter, and bid him contradict if he could, and not suppress any thing he had to say for himself; and when he had not one word to say, he asked him, since he was every way caught in his villainy, that he would make no further delay, but discover his associates in these his wicked designs. So he laid all upon Antiphilus, but discovered nobody else. Hereupon Herod was in such great grief, that he was ready to send his son to Rome to Caesar, there to give an account of these his wicked contrivances. But he soon became afraid, lest he might there, by the assistance of his friends, escape the danger he was in; so he kept him bound as before, and sent more ambassadors and letters [to Rome] to accuse his son, and an account of what assistance Acme had given him in his wicked designs, with copies of the epistles before mentioned.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 6

Concerning The Disease That Herod Fell Into And The Sedition Which The Jews Raised Thereupon; With The Punishment Of The Seditious.

1. Now Herod's ambassadors made haste to Rome; but sent, as instructed beforehand, what answers they were to make to the questions put to them. They also carried the epistles with them. But Herod now fell into a distemper, and made his will, and bequeathed his kingdom to [Antipas], his youngest son; and this out of that hatred to Archelaus and Philip, which the calumnies of Antipater had raised against them. He also bequeathed a thousand talents to Caesar, and five hundred to

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Julia, Caesar's wife, to Caesar's children, and friends and freed-men. He also distributed among his sons and their sons his money, his revenues, and his lands. He also made Salome his sister very rich, because she had continued faithful to him in all his circumstances, and was never so rash as to do him any harm; and as he despaired of recovering, for he was about the seventieth year of his age, he grew fierce, and indulged the bitterest anger upon all occasions; the cause whereof was this, that he thought himself despised, and that the nation was pleased with his misfortunes; besides which, he resented a sedition which some of the lower sort of men excited against him, the occasion of which was as follows.

2. There was one Judas, the son of Saripheus, and Matthias, the son of Margalothus, two of the most eloquent men among the Jews, and the most celebrated interpreters of the Jewish laws, and men well beloved by the people, because of their education of their youth; for all those that were studious of virtue frequented their lectures every day. These men, when they found that the king's distemper was incurable, excited the young men that they would pull down all those works which the king had erected contrary to the law of their fathers, and thereby obtain the rewards which the law will confer on them for such actions of piety; for that it was truly on account of Herod's rashness in making such things as the law had forbidden, that his other misfortunes, and this distemper also, which was so unusual among mankind, and with which he was now afflicted, came upon him; for Herod had caused such things to be made which were contrary to the law, of which he was accused by Judas and Matthias; for the king had erected over the great gate of the temple a large golden eagle, of great value, and had dedicated it to the temple. Now the law forbids those that propose to live according to it, to erect images or representations of any living creature. So these wise men persuaded [their scholars] to pull down the golden eagle; alleging, that although they should incur any danger, which might bring them to their deaths, the virtue of the action now proposed to them would appear much more advantageous to them than the pleasures of life; since they would die for the preservation and observation of the law of their fathers; since they would also acquire an everlasting fame and commendation; since they would be both commended by the present generation, and leave an example of life that would never be forgotten to posterity; since that common calamity of dying cannot be avoided by our living so as to escape any such dangers; that therefore it is a right thing for those who are in love with a virtuous conduct, to wait for that fatal hour by such behavior as may carry them out of the world with praise and honour; and that this will alleviate death to a great degree, thus to come at it by the performance of brave actions, which bring us into danger of it; and at the same time to leave that reputation behind them to their children, and to all their relations, whether they be men or women, which will be of great advantage to them afterward.

3. And with such discourses as this did these men excite the young men to this action; and a report being come to them that the king was dead, this was an addition to the wise men's persuasions; so, in the very middle of the day, they got upon the place, they pulled down the eagle, and cut it into pieces with axes, while a great number of the people were in the temple. And now the king's captain, upon hearing what the undertaking was, and supposing it was a thing of a higher nature than it proved to be, came up thither, having a great band of soldiers with him, such as was sufficient to put a stop to the multitude of those who pulled down what was dedicated to God; so he fell upon them unexpectedly, and as they were upon this bold attempt, in a foolish presumption rather than a cautious circumspection, as is usual with the multitude, and while they were in disorder, and incautious of what was for their advantage; so he caught no fewer than forty of the young men, who had the courage to stay behind when the rest ran away, together with the authors of this bold attempt, Judas and Matthias, who thought it an ignominious thing to retire upon his approach, and led them to the king. And when they were come to the king, and he asked them if they had been so bold as to pull down what he had dedicated to God, "Yes, [said they,] what was contrived we contrived, and what hath been performed we performed it, and that with such a virtuous courage as becomes men; for we have given our assistance to those things which were dedicated to the majesty of God, and we have provided for what we have learned by hearing the law; and it ought not to be wondered at, if we esteem those laws which Moses had suggested to him, and were taught him by God, and which he wrote and left behind him, more worthy of observation than thy commands. Accordingly we will undergo death, and all sorts of punishments which thou canst inflict upon us, with pleasure, since we are conscious to ourselves that we shall die, not for any unrighteous actions, but for our love to religion." And thus they all said, and their courage was still equal to their profession, and equal to that with which they readily set about this undertaking. And when the king had ordered them to be bound, he sent them to Jericho, and called together the principal men among the Jews; and when they were come, he made them assemble in the theater, and because he could not himself stand, he lay upon a couch, and enumerated the many labours that he had long endured on their account, and his building of the temple, and what a vast charge that was to him; while the Asamoneans, during the hundred and twenty-five years of their government, had not been able to perform any so great a work for the honour of God as that was; that he had also adorned it with very valuable donations, on which account he hoped that he had left himself a memorial, and procured himself a reputation after his death. He then cried out, that these men had not abstained from affronting him, even in his lifetime, but that in the very day time, and in the sight of the multitude, they had abused him to that degree, as to fall upon what he had dedicated, and in that way of abuse had pulled it down to the ground. They pretended, indeed, that they did it to affront him; but if any one consider the thing truly, they will find that they were guilty of sacrilege against God therein.

4. But the people, on account of Herod's barbarous temper, and for fear he should be so cruel and to inflict punishment on them, said what was done was done without their approbation, and that it seemed to them that the actors might well be punished for what they had done. But as for Herod, he dealt more mildly with others [of the assembly] but he deprived Matthias of the high priesthood, as in part an occasion of this action, and made Joazar, who was Matthias's wife's brother, high priest in his stead. Now it happened, that during the time of the high priesthood of this Matthias, there was another person made high priest for a single day, that very day which the Jews observed as a fast. The occasion was this: This Matthias the high priest, on the night before that day when the fast was to be celebrated, seemed, in a dream, to have conversation with his wife; and because he could not officiate himself on that account, Joseph, the son of Ellemus, his kinsman, assisted him in that sacred office. But Herod deprived this Matthias of the high priesthood, and burnt the other Matthias, who had raised the sedition, with his companions, alive. And that very night there was an eclipse of the moon.

5. But now Herod's distemper greatly increased upon him after a severe manner, and this by God's judgement upon him for his sins; for a fire glowed in him slowly, which did not so much appear to the touch outwardly, as it augmented his pains inwardly; for it brought upon him a vehement appetite to eating, which he could not avoid to supply with one sort of food or other. His entrails were also ex-ulcerated, and the chief violence of his pain lay on his colon; an aqueous and transparent liquor also had settled itself about his feet, and a like matter afflicted him at the bottom of his belly. Nay, further, his privy-member was putrefied, and produced worms; and when he sat upright, he had a difficulty of breathing, which was very loathsome, on account of the stench of his breath, and the quickness of its returns; he had also convulsions in all parts of his body, which increased his strength to an insufferable degree. It was said by those who pretended to divine, and who were endued with wisdom to foretell such things, that God inflicted this punishment on the king on account of his great impiety; yet was he still in hopes of recovering, though his afflictions seemed greater than any one could bear. He also sent for physicians, and did not refuse to follow what they prescribed for his assistance, and went beyond the river Jordan, and bathed himself in the warm baths that were at Callirrhoe, which, besides their other general virtues, were also fit to drink; which water runs into the lake called Asphaltiris. And when the physicians once thought fit to have him bathed in a vessel full of oil, it was supposed that he was just dying; but upon the lamentable cries of his domestics, he revived; and having no longer the least hopes of recovering, he gave order that every soldier should be paid fifty drachmae; and he also gave a great deal to their commanders, and to his friends, and came again to Jericho, where he grew so choleric, that it brought him to do all things like a madman; and though he were near his death, he contrived the following wicked designs. He commanded that all the principal men of the entire Jewish nation, wheresoever they lived, should be called to him. Accordingly, they were a great number that came, because the whole nation was called, and all men heard of this call, and death was the penalty of such as should despise the epistles that were sent to call them. And now the king was in a wild rage against them all, the innocent as well as those that had afforded ground for accusations; and when they were come, he ordered them to be all shut up in the hyppodrome, and sent for his sister Salome, and her husband Alexas, and spake thus to them: "I shall die in a little time, so great are my pains; which death ought to be cheerfully borne, and to be welcomed by all men; but what principally troubles me is this, that I shall die without being lamented, and without such mourning as men usually expect at a king's death." For that he was not unacquainted with the temper of the Jews, that his death would be a thing very desirable, and exceedingly acceptable to them, because during his lifetime they were ready to revolt from him, and to abuse the donations he had dedicated to God that it therefore was their business to resolve to afford him some alleviation of his great sorrows on this occasion; for that if they do not refuse him their consent in what he desires, he shall have a great mourning at his funeral, and such as never had any king before him; for then the whole nation would mourn from their very soul, which otherwise would be done in sport and mockery only. He desired therefore, that as soon as they see he hath given up the ghost, they shall place soldiers round the hippodrome, while they do not know that he is dead; and that they shall not declare his death to the multitude till this is done, but that they shall give orders to have those that are in custody shot with their darts; and that this slaughter of them all will cause that he shall not miss to rejoice on a double account; that as he is dying, they will make him secure that his will shall be executed in what he charges them to do; and that he shall have the honour of a memorable mourning at his funeral. So he deplored his condition, with tears in his eyes, and obtested them by the kindness due from them, as of his kindred, and by the faith they owed to God, and begged of them that they would not hinder him of this honourable mourning at his funeral. So they promised him not to transgress his commands.

6. Now any one may easily discover the temper of this man's mind, which not only took pleasure in doing what he had done formerly against his relations, out of the love of life, but by those commands of his which savored of no humanity; since he took care, when he was departing out of this life, that the whole nation should be put into mourning, and indeed made desolate of their dearest kindred, when he gave order that one out of every family should be slain, although they had done nothing that was unjust, or that was against him, nor were they accused of any other crimes; while it is usual for those who have any regard to virtue to lay aside their hatred at such a time, even with respect to those they justly esteemed their enemies.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 7

Herod Has Thoughts Of Killing Himself With His Own Hand; And A Little Afterwards He Orders Antipater To Be Slain.

1. As he was giving these commands to his relations, there came letters from his ambassadors, who had been sent to Rome unto Caesar, which, when they were read, their purport was this: That Acme was slain by Caesar, out of his indignation at what hand, she had in Antipater's wicked practices; and that as to Antipater himself, Caesar left it to Herod to act as became a father and a king, and either to banish him, or to take away his life, which he pleased. When Herod heard this, he was some- what better, out of the pleasure he had from the contents of the letters, and was elevated at the death of Acme, and at the power that was given him over his son; but as his pains were become very great, he was now ready to faint for want of somewhat to eat; so he called for an apple and a knife; for it was his custom formerly to pare the apple himself, and soon afterwards to cut it, and eat it. When he had got the knife, he looked about, and had a mind to stab himself with it; and he had done it, had not his first cousin, Achiabus, prevented him, and held his hand, and cried out loudly. Whereupon a woeful lamentation echoed through the palace, and a great tumult was made, as if the king were dead. Upon which Antipater, who verily believed his father was deceased, grew bold in his discourse, as hoping to be immediately and entirely released from his bonds, and to take the kingdom into his hands without any more ado; so he discoursed with the jailer about letting him go, and in that case promised him great things, both now and hereafter, as if that were the only thing now in question. But the jailer did not only refuse to do what Antipater would have him, but informed the king of his intentions, and how many solicitations he had had from him [of that nature]. Hereupon Herod, who had formerly no affection nor good-will towards his son to restrain him, when he heard what the jailer said, he cried out, and beat his head, although he was at death's door, and raised himself upon his elbow, and sent for some of his guards, and commanded them to kill Antipater without tiny further delay, and to do it presently, and to bury him in an ignoble manner at Hyrcania.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 8

Concerning Herod's Death, And Testament, And Burial.

1. And now Herod altered his testament upon the alteration of his mind; for he appointed Antipas, to whom he had before left the kingdom, to be tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, and granted the kingdom to Archelaus. He also gave Gaulonitis, and Trachonitis, and Paneas to Philip, who was his son, but own brother to Archelaus by the name of a tetrarchy; and bequeathed Jarnnia, and Ashdod, and Phasaelis to Salome his sister, with five hundred thousand [drachmae] of silver that was coined. He also made provision for all the rest of his kindred, by giving them sums of money and annual revenues, and so left them all in a wealthy condition. He bequeathed also to Caesar ten millions [of drachmae] of coined money, besides both vessels of gold and silver, and garments exceeding costly, to Julia, Caesar's wife; and to certain others, five millions. When he had done these things, he died, the fifth day after he had caused Antipater to be slain; having reigned,

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since he had procured Antigonus to be slain, thirty-four years; but since he had been declared king by the Romans, thirty-seven. A man he was of great barbarity towards all men equally, and a slave to his passion; but above the consideration of what was right; yet was he favoured by fortune as much as any man ever was, for from a private man he became a king; and though he were encompassed with ten thousand dangers, he got clear of them all, and continued his life till a very old age. But then, as to the affairs of his family and children, in which indeed, according to his own opinion, he was also very fortunate, because he was able to conquer his enemies, yet, in my opinion, he was herein very unfortunate.

2. But then Salome and Alexas, before the king's death was made known, dismissed those that were shut up in the hippodrome, and told them that the king ordered them to go away to their own lands, and take care of their own affairs, which was esteemed by the nation a great benefit. And now the king's death was made public, when Salome and Alexas gathered the soldiery together in the amphitheater at Jericho; and the first thing they did was, they read Herod's letter, written to the soldiery, thanking them for their fidelity and good-will to him, and exhorting them to afford his son Archelaus, whom he had appointed for their king, like fidelity and good-will. After which Ptolemy, who had the king's seal intrusted to him, read the king's testament, which was to be of force no otherwise than as it should stand when Caesar had inspected it; so there was presently an acclamation made to Archelaus, as king; and the soldiers came by bands, and their commanders with them, and promised the same good-will to him, and readiness to serve him, which they had exhibited to Herod; and they prayed God to be assistant to him.

3. After this was over, they prepared for his funeral, it being Archelaus's care that the procession to his father's sepulcher should be very sumptuous. Accordingly, he brought out all his ornaments to adorn the pomp of the funeral. The body was carried upon a golden bier, embroidered with very precious stones of great variety, and it was covered over with purple, as well as the body itself; he had a diadem upon his head, and above it a crown of gold: he also had a scepter in his right hand. About the bier were his sons and his numerous relations; next to these was the soldiery, distinguished according to their several countries and denominations; and they were put into the following order: First of all went his guards, then the band of Thracians, and after them the Germans; and next the band of Galatians, every one in their habiliments of war; and behind these marched the whole army in the same manner as they used to go out to war, and as they used to be put in array by their muster-masters and centurions; these were followed by five hundred of his domestics carrying spices. So they went eight furlongs to Herodium; for there by his own command he was to be buried. And thus did Herod end his life.

4. Now Archelaus paid him so much respect, as to continue his mourning till the seventh day; for so many days are appointed for it by the law of our fathers. And when he had given a treat to the multitude, and left off his motoring, he went up into the temple; he had also acclamations and praises given him, which way soever he went, every one striving with the rest who should appear to use the loudest acclamations. So he ascended a high elevation made for him, and took his seat, in a throne made of gold, and spake kindly to the multitude, and declared with what joy he received their acclamations, and the marks of the good-will they showed to him; and returned them thanks that they did not remember the injuries his father had done them to his disadvantage; and promised them he would endeavor not to be behindhand with them in rewarding their alacrity in his service, after a suitable manner; but that he should abstain at present from the name of king, and that he should have the honour of that dignity, if Caesar should confirm and settle that testament which his father had made; and that it was on this account, that when the army would have put the diadem on him at Jericho, he would not accept of that honour, which is usually so much desired, because it was not yet evident that he who was to be principally concerned in bestowing it would give it him; although, by his acceptance of the government, he should not want the ability of rewarding their kindness to him and that it should be his endeavor, as to all things wherein they were concerned, to prove in every respect better than his father. Whereupon the multitude, as it is usual with them, supposed that the first days of those that enter upon such governments declare the intentions of those that accept them; and so by how much Archelaus spake the more gently and civilly to them, by so much did they more highly commend him, and made application to him for the grant of what they desired. Some made a clamour that he would ease them of some of their annual payments; but others desired him to release those that were put into prison by Herod, who were many, and had been put there at several times; others of them required that he would take away those taxes which had been severely laid upon what was publicly sold and bought. So Archelaus contradicted them in nothing, since he pretended to do all things so as to get the good-will of the multitude to him, as looking upon that good-will to be a great step towards his preservation of the government. Hereupon he went and offered sacrifice to God, and then betook himself to feast with his friends.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 9

How The People Raised A Sedition Against Archelaus, And How He Sailed To Rome.

1. At this time also it was that some of the Jews got together out of a desire of innovation. They lamented Matthias, and those that were slain with him by Herod, who had not any respect paid them by a funeral mourning, out of the fear men were in of that man; they were those who had been condemned for pulling down the golden eagle. The people made a great clamour and lamentation hereupon, and cast out some reproaches against the king also, as if that tended to alleviate the miseries of the deceased. The people assembled together, and desired of Archelaus, that, in way of revenge on their account, he would inflict punishment on those who had been honoured by Herod; and that, in the first and principal place, he would deprive that high priest whom Herod had made, and would choose one more agreeable to the law, and of greater purity, to officiate as high priest. This was granted by Archelaus, although he was mightily offended at their importunity, because he proposed to himself to go to Rome immediately to look after Caesar's determination about him. However, he sent the general of his forces to use persuasions, and to tell them that the death which was inflicted on their friends was according to the law; and to represent to them that their petitions about these things were carried to a great height of injury to him; that the time was not now proper for such petitions, but required their unanimity until such time as he should be established in the government by the consent of Caesar, and should then be come back to them; for that he would then consult with them in common concerning the purport of their petitions; but that they ought at present to be quiet, lest they should seem seditious persons.

2. So when the king had suggested these things, and instructed his general in what he was to say, he sent him away to the people; but they made a clamour, and would not give him leave to speak, and put him in danger of his life, and as many more as were desirous to venture upon saying openly any thing which might reduce them to a sober mind, and prevent their going on in their present courses, because they had more concern to have all their own wills performed than to yield obedience to their governors; thinking it to be a thing insufferable, that, while Herod was alive, they should lose those that were most dear to them, and that when he was dead, they could not get the actors to be punished. So they went on with their designs after a violent manner, and thought all to be lawful and right which tended to please them, and being unskillful in foreseeing what dangers they incurred; and when they had suspicion of such a thing, yet did the present pleasure they took in the punishment of those they deemed their enemies overweigh all such considerations; and although Archelaus sent many to speak to them, yet they treated them not as messengers sent by him, but as persons that came of their own accord to mitigate their anger, and would not let one of them speak. The sedition also was made by such as were in a great passion; and it was evident that they were proceeding further in seditious practices, by the multitude running so fast upon them.

3. Now, upon the approach of that feast of unleavened bread, which the law of their fathers had appointed for the Jews at this time, which feast is called the Passover and is a memorial of their deliverance out of Egypt, when they offer sacrifices with great alacrity; and when they are required to slay more sacrifices in number than at any other festival; and when an innumerable multitude came thither out of the country, nay, from beyond its limits also, in order to worship God, the seditious lamented Judas and Matthias, those teachers of the laws, and kept together in the temple, and had plenty of food, because these seditious persons were not ashamed to beg it. And as Archelaus was afraid lest some terrible thing should spring up by means of these men's madness, he sent a regiment of armed men, and with them a captain of a thousand, to suppress the violent efforts of the seditious before the whole multitude should be infected with the like madness; and gave them this charge, that if they found any much more openly seditious than others, and more busy in tumultuous practices, they should bring them to him. But those that were seditious on account of those teachers of the law, irritated the people by the noise and clamours they used to encourage the people in their designs; so they made an assault upon the soldiers, and came up to them, and stoned the greatest part of them, although some of them ran away wounded, and their captain among them; and when they had thus done, they returned to the sacrifices which were already in their hands. Now Archelaus thought there was no way to preserve the entire government but by cutting off those who made this attempt upon it; so he sent out the whole army upon them, and sent the horsemen to prevent those that had their tents without the temple from assisting those that were within the temple, and to kill such as ran away from the footmen when they thought themselves out of danger; which horsemen slew three thousand men, while the rest went to the neighbouring mountains. Then did Archelaus order proclamation to be made to them all, that they should retire to their own homes; so they went away, and left the festival, out of fear of somewhat worse which would follow, although they had been so bold by reason of their want of instruction. So Archelaus went down to the sea with his mother, and took with him Nicolaus and Ptolemy, and many others of his friends, and left Philip his brother as governor of all things belonging both to his own family and to the public. There went out also with him Salome, Herod's sister who took with her, her children, and many of her kindred were with her; which kindred of hers went, as they pretended, to assist Archelaus in gaining the kingdom, but in reality to oppose him, and chiefly to make loud complaints of what he had done in the temple. But Sabinus, Caesar's steward for Syrian affairs, as he was making haste into Judea to preserve Herod's effects, met with Archelaus at Caesarea; but Varus [president of Syria] came at that time, and restrained him from meddling with them, for he was there as sent for by Archceaus, by the means of Ptolemy. And Sabinus, out of regard to Varus, did neither seize upon any of the castles that were among the Jews, nor did he seal up the treasures in them, but permitted Archelaus to have them, until Caesar should declare his resolution about them; so that, upon this his promise, he tarried still at Caesarea. But after Archelaus was sailed for Rome, and Varus was removed to Antioch, Sabinus went to Jerusalem, and seized on the king's palace. He also sent for the keepers of the garrisons, and for all those that had the charge of Herod's effects, and declared publicly that he should require them to give an account of what they had; and he disposed of the castles in the manner he pleased; but those who kept them did not neglect what Archelaus had given them in command, but continued to keep all things in the manner that had been enjoined them; and their pretense was, that they kept them all for Caesar.

4. At the same time also did Antipas, another of Herod's sons, sail to Rome, in order to gain the government; being buoyed up by Salome with promises that he should take that government; and that he was a much honester and fitter man than Archelaus for that authority, since Herod had, in his former testament, deemed him the worthiest to be made king, which ought to be esteemed more valid than his latter testament. Antipas also brought with him his mother, and Ptolemy the brother of Nicolaus, one that had been Herod's most honoured friend, and was now zealous for Antipas; but it was Ireneus the orator, and one who, on account of his reputation for sagacity, was intrusted with the affairs of the kingdom, who most of all encouraged him to attempt to gain the kingdom; by whose means it was, that when some advised him to yield to Archelaus, as to his elder brother, and who had been declared king by their father's last will, he would not submit so to do. And when he was come to Rome, all his relations revolted to him; not out of their good-will to him, but out of their hatred to Archelaus; though indeed they were most of all desirous of gaining their liberty, and to be put under a Roman governor; but if there were too great an opposition made to that, they thought Antipas preferable to Archelaus, and so joined with him, in order to procure the kingdom for him. Sabinus also, by letters, accused Archelaus to Caesar.

5. Now when Archelaus had sent in his papers to Caesar, wherein he pleaded his right to the kingdom, and his father's testament, with the accounts of Herod's money, and with Ptolemy, who brought Herod's seal, he so expected the event; but when Caesar had read these papers, and Varus's and Sabinus's letters, with the accounts of the money, and what were the annual incomes of the kingdom, and understood that Antipas had also sent letters to lay claim to the kingdom, he summoned his friends together, to know their opinions, and with them Caius, the son of Agrippa, and of Julia his daughter, whom he had adopted, and took him, and made him sit first of all, and desired such as pleased to speak their minds about the affairs now before them. Now Antipater, Salome's son, a very subtle orator, and a bitter enemy to Archelaus, spake first to this purpose: That it was ridiculous in Archelaus to plead now to have the kingdom given him, since he had, in reality, taken already the power over it to himself, before Caesar had granted it to him; and appealed to those bold actions of his, in destroying so many at the Jewish festival; and if the men had acted unjustly, it was but fit the punishing of them should have been reserved to those that were out of the country, but had the power to punish them, and not been executed by a man that, if he pretended to be a king, he did an injury to Caesar, by usurping that authority before it was determined for him by Caesar; but if he owned himself to be a private person, his case was much worse, since he who was putting in for the kingdom could by no means expect to have that power granted him, of which he had already deprived Caesar [by taking it to himself]. He also touched sharply upon him, and appealed to his changing the commanders in the army, and his sitting in the royal throne beforehand, and his determination of law-suits; all done as if he were no other than a king. He appealed also to his concessions to those that petitioned him on a public account,

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and indeed doing such things, than which he could devise no greater if he had been already settled in the kingdom by Caesar. He also ascribed to him the releasing of the prisoners that were in the hippodrome, and many other things, that either had been certainly done by him, or were believed to be done, and easily might be believed to have been done, because they were of such a nature as to be usually done by young men, and by such as, out of a desire of ruling, seize upon the government too soon. He also charged him with his neglect of the funeral mourning for his father, and with having merry meetings the very night in which he died; and that it was thence the multitude took the handle of raising a tumult: and if Archelaus could thus requite his dead father, who had bestowed such benefits upon him, and bequeathed such great things to him, by pretending to shed tears for him in the day time, like an actor on the stage, but every night making mirth for having gotten the government, he would appear to be the same Archelaus with regard to Caesar, if he granted him the kingdom, which he hath been to his father; since he had then dancing and singing, as though an enemy of his were fallen, and not as though a man were carried to his funeral, that was so nearly related, and had been so great a benefactor to him. But he said that the greatest crime of all was this, that he came now before Caesar to obtain the government by his grant, while he had before acted in all things as he could have acted if Caesar himself, who ruled all, had fixed him firmly in the government. And what he most aggravated in his pleading was the slaughter of those about the temple, and the impiety of it, as done at the festival; and how they were slain like sacrifices themselves, some of whom were foreigners, and others of their own country, till the temple was full of dead bodies: and all this was done, not by an alien, but by one who pretended to the lawful title of a king, that he might complete the wicked tyranny which his nature prompted him to, and which is hated by all men. On which account his father never so much as dreamed of making him his successor in the kingdom, when he was of a sound mind, because he knew his disposition; and in his former and more authentic testament, he appointed his antagonist Antipas to succeed; but that Archelaus was called by his father to that dignity when he was in a dying condition, both of body and mind; while Antipas was called when he was ripest in his judgement, and of such strength of body as made him capable of managing his own affairs: and if his father had the like notion of him formerly that he hath now showed, yet hath he given a sufficient specimen what a king he is likely to be, when he hath [in effect] deprived Caesar of that power of disposing of the kingdom, which he justly hath, and hath not abstained from making a terrible slaughter of his fellow citizens in the temple, while he was but a private person.

6. So when Antipater had made this speech, and had confirmed what he had said by producing many witnesses from among Archelaus's own relations, he made an end of his pleading. Upon which Nicolaus arose up to plead for Archelaus, and said, "That what had been done at the temple was rather to be attributed to the mind of those that had been killed, than to the authority of Archelaus; for that those who were the authors of such things are not only wicked in the injuries they do of themselves, but in forcing sober persons to avenge themselves upon them. Now it is evident that what these did in way of opposition was done under pretense, indeed, against Archelaus, but in reality against Caesar himself, for they, after an injurious manner, attacked and slew those who were sent by Archelaus, and who came only to put a stop to their doings. They had no regard, either to God or to the festival, whom Antipater yet is not ashamed to patronize, whether it be out of his indulgence of an enmity to Archelaus, or out of his hatred of virtue and justice. For as to those who begin such tumults, and first set about such unrighteous actions, they are the men who force those that punish them to betake themselves to arms even against their will. So that Antipater in effect ascribes the rest of what was done to all those who were of counsel to the accusers; for nothing which is here accused of injustice has been done but what was derived from them as its authors; nor are those things evil in themselves, but so represented only in order to do harm to Archelaus. Such is these men's inclination to do an injury to a man that is of their kindred, their father's benefactor, and familiarity acquainted with them, and that hath ever lived in friendship with them; for that, as to this testament, it was made by the king when he was of a sound mind, and so ought to be of more authority than his former testament; and that for this reason, because Caesar is therein left to be the judge and disposer of all therein contained; and for Caesar, he will not, to be sure, at all imitate the unjust proceedings of those men, who, during Herod's whole life, had on all occasions been joint partakers of power with him, and yet do zealously endeavor to injure his determination, while they have not themselves had the same regard to their kinsman [which Archelaus had]. Caesar will not therefore disannul the testament of a man whom he had entirely supported, of his friend and confederate, and that which is committed to him in trust to ratify; nor will Caesar's virtuous and upright disposition, which is known and uncontested through all the habitable world, imitate the wickedness of these men in condemning a king as a madman, and as having lost his reason, while he hath bequeathed the succession to a good son of his, and to one who flies to Caesar's upright determination for refuge. Nor can Herod at any time have been mistaken in his judgement about a successor, while he showed so much prudence as to submit all to Caesar's determination."

7. Now when Nicolaus had laid these things before Caesar, he ended his plea; whereupon Caesar was so obliging to Archelaus, that he raised him up when he had cast himself down at his feet, and said that he well deserved the kingdom; and he soon let them know that he was so far moved in his favour, that he would not act otherwise than his father's testament directed, and than was for the advantage of Archelaus. However, while he gave this encouragement to Archelaus to depend on him securely, he made no full determination about him; and when the assembly was broken up, he considered by himself whether he should confirm the kingdom to Archelaus, or whether he should part it among all Herod's posterity; and this because they all stood in need of much assistance to support them.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 10

A Sedition Against Sabinus; And How Varus Brought The Authors Of It To Punishment.

1. But before these things could be brought to a settlement, Malthace, Archelaus's mother, fell into a distemper, and died of it; and letters came from Varus, the president of Syria, which informed Caesar of the revolt of the Jews; for after Archelaus was sailed, the whole nation was in a tumult. So Varus, since he was there himself, brought the authors of the disturbance to punishment; and when he had restrained them for the most part from this sedition, which was a great one, he took his journey to Antioch, leaving one legion of his army at Jerusalem to keep the Jews quiet, who were now very fond of innovation. Yet did not this at all avail to put an end to that their sedition; for after Varus was gone away, Sabinus, Caesar's procurator, staid behind, and greatly distressed the Jews, relying on the forces that were left there that they would by their multitude protect him; for he made use of them, and armed them as his guards, thereby so oppressing the Jews, and giving them so great disturbance, that at length they rebelled; for he used force in seizing the citadels, and zealously pressed on the search after the king's money, in order to seize upon it by force, on account of his love of gain and his extraordinary covetousness.

2. But on the approach of pentecost, which is a festival of ours, so called from the days of our forefathers, a great many ten thousands of men got together; nor did they come only to celebrate the festival, but out of their indignation at the madness of Sabinus, and at the injuries he offered them. A great number there was of Galileans, and Idumeans, and many men from Jericho, and others who had passed over the river Jordan, and inhabited those parts. This whole multitude joined themselves to all the rest, and were more zealous than the others in making an assault on Sabinus, in order to be avenged on him; so they parted themselves into three bands, and encamped themselves in the places following:—some of them seized on the hippodrome and of the other two bands, one pitched themselves from the northern part of the temple to the southern, on the east quarter; but the third band held the western part of the city, where the king's palace was. Their work tended entirely to besiege the Romans, and to enclose them on all sides. Now Sabinus was afraid of these men's number, and of their resolution, who had little regard to their lives, but were very desirous not to be overcome, while they thought it a point of puissance to overcome their enemies; so he sent immediately a letter to Varus, and, as he used to do, was very pressing with him, and entreated him to come quickly to his assistance, because the forces he had left were in imminent danger, and would probably, in no long time, be seized upon, and cut to pieces; while he did himself get up to the highest tower of the fortress Phasaelus, which had been built in honour of Phasaelus, king Herod's brother, and called so when the Parthians had brought him to his death. 14 So Sabinus gave thence a signal to the Romans to fall upon the Jews, although he did not himself venture so much as to come down to his friends, and thought he might expect that the others should expose themselves first to die on account of his avarice. However, the Romans ventured to make a sally out of the place, and a terrible battle ensued; wherein, though it is true the Romans beat their adversaries, yet were not the Jews daunted in their resolutions, even when they had the sight of that terrible slaughter that was made of them; but they went round about, and got upon those cloisters which encompassed the outer court of the temple, where a great fight was still continued, and they cast stones at the Romans, partly with their hands, and partly with slings, as being much used to those exercises. All the archers also in array did the Romans a great deal of mischief, because they used their hands dexterously from a place superior to the others, and because the others were at an utter loss what to do; for when they tried to shoot their arrows against the Jews upwards, these arrows could not reach them, insomuch that the Jews were easily too hard for their enemies. And this sort of fight lasted a great while, till at last the Romans, who were greatly distressed by what was done, set fire to the cloisters so privately, that those that were gotten upon them did not perceive it. This fire 15 being fed by a great deal of combustible matter, caught hold immediately on the roof of the cloisters; so the wood, which was full of pitch and wax, and whose gold was laid on it with wax, yielded to the flame presently, and those vast works, which were of the highest value and esteem, were destroyed utterly, while those that were on the roof unexpectedly perished at the same time; for as the roof tumbled down, some of these men tumbled down with it, and others of them were killed by their enemies who encompassed them. There was a great number more, who, out of despair of saving their lives, and out of astonishment at the misery that surrounded them, did either cast themselves into the fire, or threw themselves upon their swords, and so got out of their misery. But as to those that retired behind the same way by which they ascended, and thereby escaped, they were all killed by the Romans, as being unarmed men, and their courage failing them; their wild fury being now not able to help them, because they were destitute of armour, insomuch that of those that went up to the top of the roof, not one escaped. The Romans also rushed through the fire, where it gave them room so to do, and seized on that treasure where the sacred money was reposited; a great part of which was stolen by the soldiers, and Sabinus got openly four hundred talents.

3. But this calamity of the Jews' friends, who fell in this battle, grieved them, as did also this plundering of the money dedicated to God in the temple. Accordingly, that body of them which continued best together, and was the most warlike, encompassed the palace, and threatened to set fire to it, and kill all that were in it. Yet still they commanded them to go out presently, and promised, that if they would do so, they would not hurt them, nor Sabinus neither; at which time the greatest part of the king's troops deserted to them, while Rufus and Gratus, who had three thousand of the most warlike of Herod's army with them, who were men of active bodies, went over to the Romans. There was also a band of horsemen under the command of Rufus, which itself went over to the Romans also. However, the Jews went on with the siege, and dug mines under the palace walls, and besought those that were gone over to the other side not to be their hinderance, now they had such a proper opportunity for the recovery of their country's ancient liberty; and for Sabinus, truly he was desirous of going away with his soldiers, but was not able to trust himself with the enemy, on account of what mischief he had already done them; and he took this great [pretended] lenity of theirs for an argument why he should not comply with them; and so, because he expected that Varus was coming, he still bore the siege.

4. Now at this time there were ten thousand other disorders in Judea, which were like tumults, because a great number put themselves into a warlike posture, either out of hopes of gain to themselves, or out of enmity to the Jews. In particular, two thousand of Herod's old soldiers, who had been already disbanded, got together in Judea itself, and fought against the king's troops, although Achiabus, Herod's first cousin, opposed them; but as he was driven out of the plains into the mountainous parts by the military skill of those men, he kept himself in the fastnesses that were there, and saved what he could.

5. There was also Judas, the son of that Ezekias who had been head of the robbers; which Ezekias was a very strong man, and had with great difficulty been caught by Herod. This Judas, having gotten together a multitude of men of a profligate character about Sepphoris in Galilee, made an assault upon the palace [there,] and seized upon all the weapons that were laid up in it, and with them armed every one of those that were with him, and carried away what money was left there; and he became terrible to all men, by tearing and rending those that came near him; and all this in order to raise himself, and out of an ambitious desire of the royal dignity; and he hoped to obtain that as the reward not of his virtuous skill in war, but of his extravagance in doing injuries.

6. There was also Simon, who had been a slave of Herod the king, but in other respects a comely person, of a tall and robust body; he was one that was much superior to others of his order, and had had great things committed to his care. This man was elevated at the disorderly state of things, and was so bold as to put a diadem on his head, while a certain number of the people stood by him, and by them he was declared to be a king, and thought himself more worthy of that dignity than any one else. He burnt down the royal palace at Jericho, and plundered what was left in it. He also set fire to many other of the king's houses in several places of the country, and utterly destroyed them, and permitted those that were with him to take what was left in them for a prey; and he would have done greater things, unless care had been taken to repress him immediately; for Gratus, when he had joined himself to some Roman soldiers, took the forces he had with him, and met Simon, and after a great and a long fight,

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no small part of those that came from Perea, who were a disordered body of men, and fought rather in a bold than in a skillful manner, were destroyed; and although Simon had saved himself by flying away through a certain valley, yet Gratus overtook him, and cut off his head. The royal palace also at Amathus, by the river Jordan, was burnt down by a party of men that were got together, as were those belonging to Simon. And thus did a great and wild fury spread itself over the nation, because they had no king to keep the multitude in good order, and because those foreigners who came to reduce the seditious to sobriety did, on the contrary, set them more in a flame, because of the injuries they offered them, and the avaricious management of their affairs.

7. But because Athronges, a person neither eminent by the dignity of his progenitors, nor for any great wealth he was possessed of, but one that had in all respects been a shepherd only, and was not known by any body; yet because he was a tall man, and excelled others in the strength of his hands, he was so bold as to set up for king. This man thought it so sweet a thing to do more than ordinary injuries to others, that although he should be killed, he did not much care if he lost his life in so great a design. He had also four brethren, who were tall men themselves, and were believed to be superior to others in the strength of their hands, and thereby were encouraged to aim at great things, and thought that strength of theirs would support them in retaining the kingdom. Each of these ruled over a band of men of their own; for those that got together to them were very numerous. They were every one of them also commanders; but when they came to fight, they were subordinate to him, and fought for him, while he put a diadem about his head, and assembled a council to debate about what things should be done, and all things were done according to his pleasure. And this man retained his power a great while; he was also called king, and had nothing to hinder him from doing what he pleased. He also, as well as his brethren, slew a great many both of the Romans and of the king's forces, and managed matters with the like hatred to each of them. The king's forces they fell upon, because of the licentious conduct they had been allowed under Herod's government; and they fell upon the Romans, because of the injuries they had so lately received from them. But in process of time they grew more cruel to all sorts of men, nor could any one escape from one or other of these seditions, since they slew some out of the hopes of gain, and others from a mere custom of slaying men. They once attacked a company of Romans at Emmaus, who were bringing corn and weapons to the army, and fell upon Arius, the centurion, who commanded the company, and shot forty of the best of his foot soldiers; but the rest of them were affrighted at their slaughter, and left their dead behind them, but saved themselves by the means of Gratus, who came with the king's troops that were about him to their assistance. Now these four brethren continued the war a long while by such sort of expeditions, and much grieved the Romans; but did their own nation also a great deal of mischief. Yet were they afterwards subdued; one of them in a fight with Gratus, another with Ptolemy; Archelaus also took the eldest of them prisoner; while the last of them was so dejected at the other's misfortune, and saw so plainly that he had no way now left to save himself, his army being worn away with sickness and continual labours, that he also delivered himself up to Archelaus, upon his promise and oath to God [to preserve his life.] But these things came to pass a good while afterward.

8. And now Judea was full of robberies; and as the several companies of the seditious lighted upon any one to head them, he was created a king immediately, in order to do mischief to the public. They were in some small measure indeed, and in small matters, hurtful to the Romans; but the murders they committed upon their own people lasted a long while.

9. As soon as Varus was once informed of the state of Judea by Sabinus's writing to him, he was afraid for the legion he had left there; so he took the two other legions, [for there were three legions in all belonging to Syria,] and four troops of horsemen, with the several auxiliary forces which either the kings or certain of the tetrarchs afforded him, and made what haste he could to assist those that were then besieged in Judea. He also gave order that all that were sent out for this expedition, should make haste to Ptolemais. The citizens of Berytus also gave him fifteen hundred auxiliaries as he passed through their city. Aretas also, the king of Arabia Petrea, out of his hatred to Herod, and in order to purchase the favour of the Romans, sent him no small assistance, besides their footmen and horsemen; and when he had now collected all his forces together, he committed part of them to his son, and to a friend of his, and sent them upon an expedition into Galilee, which lies in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais; who made an attack upon the enemy, and put them to flight, and took Sepphoris, and made its inhabitants slaves, and burnt the city. But Varus himself pursued his march for Samaria with his whole army; yet did not he meddle with the city of that name, because it had not at all joined with the seditious; but pitched his camp at a certain village that belonged to Ptolemy, whose name was Arus, which the Arabians burnt, out of their hatred to Herod, and out of the enmity they bore to his friends; whence they marched to another village, whose name was Sampho, which the Arabians plundered and burnt, although it was a fortified and a strong place; and all along this march nothing escaped them, but all places were full of fire and of slaughter. Emmaus was also burnt by Varus's order, after its inhabitants had deserted it, that he might avenge those that had there been destroyed. From thence he now marched to Jerusalem; whereupon those Jews whose camp lay there, and who had besieged the Roman legion, not bearing the coming of this army, left the siege imperfect: but as to the Jerusalem Jews, when Varus reproached them bitterly for what had been done, they cleared themselves of the accusation, and alleged that the conflux of the people was occasioned by the feast; that the war was not made with their approbation, but by the rashness of the strangers, while they were on the side of the Romans, and besieged together with them, rather than having any inclination to besiege them. There also came beforehand to meet Varus, Joseph, the cousin-german of king Herod, as also Gratus and Rufus, who brought their soldiers along with them, together with those Romans who had been besieged; but Sabinus did not come into Varus's presence, but stole out of the city privately, and went to the sea-side.

10. Upon this, Varus sent a part of his army into the country, to seek out those that had been the authors of the revolt; and when they were discovered, he punished some of them that were most guilty, and some he dismissed: now the number of those that were crucified on this account were two thousand. After which he disbanded his army, which he found no way useful to him in the affairs he came about; for they behaved themselves very disorderly, and disobeyed his orders, and what Varus desired them to do, and this out of regard to that gain which they made by the mischief they did. As for himself, when he was informed that ten thousand Jews had gotten together, he made haste to catch them; but they did not proceed so far as to fight him, but, by the advice of Achiabus, they came together, and delivered themselves up to him: hereupon Varus forgave the crime of revolting to the multitude, but sent their several commanders to Caesar, many of whom Caesar dismissed; but for the several relations of Herod who had been among these men in this war, they were the only persons whom he punished, who, without the least regard to justice, fought against their own kindred.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 11

An Embassage To Caesar; And How Caesar Confirmed Herod's Testament.

1. So when Varus had settled these affairs, and had placed the former legion at Jerusalem, he returned back to Antioch; but as for Archelaus, he had new sources of trouble come upon him at Rome, on the occasions following: for an embassage of the Jews was come to Rome, Varus having permitted the nation to send it, that they might petition for the liberty of living by their own laws. Now the number of the ambassadors that were sent by the authority of the nation were fifty, to which they joined above eight thousand of the Jews that were at Rome already. Hereupon Caesar assembled his friends, and the chief men among the Romans, in the temple of Apollo, which he had built at a vast charge; whither the ambassadors came, and a multitude of the Jews that were there already came with them, as did also Archelaus and his friends; but as for the several kinsmen which Archelaus had, they would not join themselves with him, out of their hatred to him; and yet they thought it too gross a thing for them to assist the ambassadors [against him], as supposing it would be a disgrace to them in Caesar's opinion to think of thus acting in opposition to a man of their own kindred. Philip also was come hither out of Syria, by the persuasion of Varus, with this principal intention to assist his brother [Archelaus]; for Varus was his great friend: but still so, that if there should any change happen in the form of government, [which Varus suspected there would,] and if any distribution should be made on account of the number that desired the liberty of living by their own laws, that he might not be disappointed, but might have his share in it.

2. Now upon the liberty that was given to the Jewish ambassadors to speak, they who hoped to obtain a dissolution of kingly government betook themselves to accuse Herod of his iniquities; and they declared that he was indeed in name a king, but that he had taken to himself that uncontrollable authority which tyrants exercise over their subjects, and had made use of that authority for the destruction of the Jews, and did not abstain from making many innovations among them besides, according to his own inclinations; and that whereas there were a great many who perished by that destruction he brought upon them, so many indeed as no other history relates, they that survived were far more miserable than those that suffered under him; not only by the anxiety they were in from his looks and disposition towards them, but from the danger their estates were in of being taken away by him. That he did never leave off adorning these cities that lay in their neighbourhood, but were inhabited by foreigners; but so that the cities belonging to his own government were ruined, and utterly destroyed that whereas, when he took the kingdom, it was in an extraordinary flourishing condition, he had filled the nation with the utmost degree of poverty; and when, upon unjust pretenses, he had slain any of the nobility, he took away their estates; and when he permitted any of them to live, he condemned them to the forfeiture of what they possessed. And besides the annual impositions which he laid upon every one of them, they were to make liberal presents to himself, to his domestics and friends, and to such of his slaves as were vouchsafed the favour of being his tax-gatherers, because there was no way of obtaining a freedom from unjust violence without giving either gold or silver for it. That they would say nothing of the corruption of the chastity of their virgins, and the reproach laid on their wives for incontinency, and those things acted after an insolent and inhuman manner; because it was not a smaller pleasure to the sufferers to have such things concealed, than it would have been not to have suffered them. That Herod had put such abuses upon them as a wild beast would not have put on them, if he had power given him to rule over us; and that although their nation had passed through many subversions and alterations of government, their history gave no account of any calamity they had ever been under, that could be compared with this which Herod had brought upon their nation; that it was for this reason that they thought they might justly and gladly salute Archelaus as king, upon this supposition, that whosoever should be set over their kingdom, he would appear more mild to them than Herod had been; and that they had joined with him in the mourning for his father, in order to gratify him, and were ready to oblige him in other points also, if they could meet with any degree of moderation from him; but that he seemed to be afraid lest he should not be deemed Herod's own son; and so, without any delay, he immediately let the nation understand his meaning, and this before his dominion was well established, since the power of disposing of it belonged to Caesar, who could either give it to him or not, as he pleased. That he had given a specimen of his future virtue to his subjects, and with what kind of moderation and good administration he would govern them, by that his first action, which concerned them, his own citizens, and God himself also, when he made the slaughter of three thousand of his own countrymen at the temple. How then could they avoid the just hatred of him, who, to the rest of his barbarity, hath added this as one of our crimes, that we have opposed and contradicted him in the exercise of his authority? Now the main thing they desired was this: That they might be delivered from kingly and the like forms of government, 20 and might be added to Syria, and be put under the authority of such presidents of theirs as should be sent to them; for that it would thereby be made evident, whether they be really a seditious people, and generally fond of innovations, or whether they would live in an orderly manner, if they might have governors of any sort of moderation set over them.

3. Now when the Jews had said this, Nicolaus vindicated the kings from those accusations, and said, that as for Herod, since he had never been thus accused all the time of his life, it was not fit for those that might have accused him of lesser crimes than those now mentioned, and might have procured him to be punished during his lifetime, to bring an accusation against him now he is dead. He also attributed the actions of Archlaus to the Jews' injuries to him, who, affecting to govern contrary to the laws, and going about to kill those that would have hindered them from acting unjustly, when they were by him punished for what they had done, made their complaints against him; so he accused them of their attempts for innovation, and of the pleasure they took in sedition, by reason of their not having learned to submit to justice and to the laws, but still desiring to be superior in all things. This was the substance of what Nicolaus said.

4. When Caesar had heard these pleadings, he dissolved the assembly; but a few days afterwards he appointed Archelaus, not indeed to be king of the whole country, but ethnarch of the one half of that which had been subject to Herod, and promised to give him the royal dignity hereafter, if he governed his part virtuously. But as for the other half, he divided it into two parts, and gave it to two other of Herod's sons, to Philip and to Antipas, that Antipas who disputed with Archelaus for the whole kingdom. Now to him it was that Peres and Galilee paid their tribute, which amounted annually to two hundred talents, while Batanea, with Trachonitis, as well as Auranitis, with a certain part of what was called the House of Zenodorus, paid the tribute of one hundred talents to Philip; but Idumea, and Judea, and the country of Samaria paid tribute to Archelaus, but had now a fourth part of that tribute taken off by the order of Caesar, who decreed them that mitigation, because they did not join in this revolt with the rest of the multitude. There were also certain of the cities which paid tribute to Archelaus: Strato's Tower and Sebaste, with Joppa and Jerusalem; for as to Gaza, and Gadara, and Hippos, they were Grecian cities, which Caesar separated from his government, and added them to the province of Syria. Now the tribute-money that came to Archelaus every year from his own dominions amounted to six hundred talents.

5. And so much came to Herod's sons from their father's inheritance. But Salome, besides what her brother left her by his testament, which were Jamnia, and Ashdod, and Phasaelis,

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and five hundred thousand [drachmae] of coined silver, Caesar made her a present of a royal habitation at Askelo; in all, her revenues amounted to sixty talents by the year, and her dwelling-house was within Archelaus's government. The rest also of the king's relations received what his testament allotted them. Moreover, Caesar made a present to each of Herod's two virgin daughters, besides what their father left them, of two hundred and fifty thousand [drachmae] of silver, and married them to Pheroras's sons: he also granted all that was bequeathed to himself to the king's sons, which was one thousand five hundred talents, excepting a few of the vessels, which he reserved for himself; and they were acceptable to him, not so much for the great value they were of, as because they were memorials of the king to him.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 12

Concerning A Spurious Alexander.

1. When these affairs had been thus settled by Caesar, a certain young man, by birth a Jew, but brought up by a Roman freed-man in the city Sidon, ingrafted himself into the kindred of Herod, by the resemblance of his countenance, which those that saw him attested to be that of Alexander, the son of Herod, whom he had slain; and this was an incitement to him to endeavor to obtain the government; so he took to him as an assistant a man of his own country, [one that was well acquainted with the affairs of the palace, but, on other accounts, an ill man, and one whose nature made him capable of causing great disturbances to the public, and one that became a teacher of such a mischievous contrivance to the other,] and declared himself to be Alexander, and the son of Herod, but stolen away by one of those that were sent to slay him, who, in reality, slew other men, in order to deceive the spectators, but saved both him and his brother Aristobulus. Thus was this man elated, and able to impose on those that came to him; and when he was come to Crete, he made all the Jews that came to discourse with him believe him [to be Alexander]. And when he had gotten much money which had been presented to him there, he passed over to Melos, where he got much more money than he had before, out of the belief they had that he was of the royal family, and their hopes that he would recover his father's principality, and reward his benefactors; so he made haste to Rome, and was conducted thither by those strangers who entertained him. He was also so fortunate, as, upon his landing at Dicearchia, to bring the Jews that were there into the same delusion; and not only other people, but also all those that had been great with Herod, or had a kindness for him, joined themselves to this man as to their king. The cause of it was this, that men were glad of his pretenses, which were seconded by the likeness of his countenance, which made those that had been acquainted with Alexander strongly to believe that he was no other but the very same person, which they also confirmed to others by oath; insomuch that when the report went about him that he was coming to Rome, the whole multitude of the Jews that were there went out to meet him, ascribing it to Divine Providence that he has so unexpectedly escaped, and being very joyful on account of his mother's family. And when he was come, he was carried in a royal litter through the streets; and all the ornaments about him were such as kings are adorned withal; and this was at the expense of those that entertained him. The multitude also flocked about him greatly, and made mighty acclamations to him, and nothing was omitted which could be thought suitable to such as had been so unexpectedly preserved.

2. When this thing was told Caesar, he did not believe it, because Herod was not easily to be imposed upon in such affairs as were of great concern to him; yet, having some suspicion it might be so, he sent one Celadus, a freed-man of his, and one that had conversed with the young men themselves, and bade him bring Alexander into his presence; so he brought him, being no more accurate in judging about him than the rest of the multitude. Yet did not he deceive Caesar; for although there was a resemblance between him and Alexander, yet was it not so exact as to impose on such as were prudent in discerning; for this spurious Alexander had his hands rough, by the labours he had been put to and instead of that softness of body which the other had, and this as derived from his delicate and generous education, this man, for the contrary reason, had a rugged body. When, therefore, Caesar saw how the master and the scholar agreed in this lying story, and in a bold way of talking, he inquired about Aristobulus, and asked what became of him who [it seems] was stolen away together with him, and for what reason it was that he did not come along with him, and endeavor to recover that dominion which was due to his high birth also. And when he said that he had been left in the isle of Crete, for fear of the dangers of the sea, that, in case any accident should come to himself, the posterity of Mariamne might not utterly perish, but that Aristobulus might survive, and punish those that laid such treacherous designs against them; and when he persevered in his affirmations, and the author of the imposture agreed in supporting it, Caesar took the young man by himself, and said to him, "If thou wilt not impose upon me, thou shalt have this for thy reward, that thou shalt escape with thy life; tell me, then, who thou art, and who it was that had boldness enough to contrive such a cheat as this. For this contrivance is too considerable a piece of villainy to be undertaken by one of thy age." Accordingly, because he had no other way to take, he told Caesar the contrivance, and after what manner and by whom it was laid together. So Caesar, upon observing the spurious Alexander to be a strong active man, and fit to work with his hands, that he might not break his promise to him, put him among those that were to row among the mariners, but slew him that induced him to do what he had done; for as for the people of Melos, he thought them sufficiently punished, in having thrown away so much of their money upon this spurious Alexander. And such was the ignominious conclusion of this bold contrivance about the spurious Alexander.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 13

How Archelaus Upon A Second Accusation, Was Banished To Vienna.

1. When Archelaus was entered on his ethnarchy, and was come into Judea, he accused Joazar, the son of Boethus, of assisting the seditious, and took away the high priesthood from him, and put Eleazar his brother in his place. He also magnificently rebuilt the royal palace that had been at Jericho, and he diverted half the water with which the village of Neara used to be watered, and drew off that water into the plain, to water those palm trees which he had there planted: he also built a village, and put his own name upon it, and called it Archelais. Moreover, he transgressed the law of our fathers and married Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, who had been the wife of his brother Alexander, which Alexander had three children by her, while it was a thing detestable among the Jews to marry the brother's wife. Nor did this Eleazar abide long in the high priesthood, Jesus, the son of Sie, being put in his room while he was still living.

2. But in the tenth year of Archelaus's government, both his brethren, and the principal men of Judea and Samaria, not being able to bear his barbarous and tyrannical usage of them, accused him before Caesar, and that especially because they knew he had broken the commands of Caesar, which obliged him to behave himself with moderation among them. Whereupon Caesar, when he heard it, was very angry, and called for Archelaus's steward, who took care of his affairs at Rome, and whose name was Archelaus also; and thinking it beneath him to write to Archelaus, he bid him sail away as soon as possible, and bring him to us: so the man made haste in his voyage, and when he came into Judea, he found Archelaus feasting with his friends; so he told him what Caesar had sent him about, and hastened him away. And when he was come [to Rome], Caesar, upon hearing what certain accusers of his had to say, and what reply he could make, both banished him, and appointed Vienna, a city of Gaul, to be the place of his habitation, and took his money away from him.

3. Now, before Archelaus was gone up to Rome upon this message, he related this dream to his friends: That he saw ears of corn, in number ten, full of wheat, perfectly ripe, which ears, as it seemed to him, were devoured by oxen. And when he was awake and gotten up, because the vision appeared to be of great importance to him, he sent for the diviners, whose study was employed about dreams. And while some were of one opinion, and some of another, [for all their interpretations did not agree,] Simon, a man of the sect of the Essens, desired leave to speak his mind freely, and said that the vision denoted a change in the affairs of Archelaus, and that not for the better; that oxen, because that animal takes uneasy pains in his labours, denoted afflictions, and indeed denoted, further, a change of affairs, because that land which is ploughed by oxen cannot remain in its former state; and that the ears of corn being ten, determined the like number of years, because an ear of corn grows in one year; and that the time of Archelaus's government was over. And thus did this man expound the dream. Now on the fifth day after this dream came first to Archelaus, the other Archelaus, that was sent to Judea by Caesar to call him away, came hither also.

4. The like accident befell Glaphyra his wife, who was the daughter of king Archelaus, who, as I said before, was married, while she was a virgin, to Alexander, the son of Herod, and brother of Archelaus; but since it fell out so that Alexander was slain by his father, she was married to Juba, the king of Lybia; and when he was dead, and she lived in widowhood in Cappadocia with her father, Archelaus divorced his former wife Mariamne, and married her, so great was his affection for this Glphyra; who, during her marriage to him, saw the following dream: She thought she saw Alexander standing by her, at which she rejoiced, and embraced him with great affection; but that he complained o her, and said, O Glaphyra! thou provest that saying to be true, which assures us that women are not to be trusted. Didst not thou pledge thy faith to me? and wast not thou married to me when thou wast a virgin? and had we not children between us? Yet hast thou forgotten the affection I bare to thee, out of a desire of a second husband. Nor hast thou been satisfied with that injury thou didst me, but thou hast been so bold as to procure thee a third husband to lie by thee, and in an indecent and imprudent manner hast entered into my house, and hast been married to Archelaus, thy husband and my brother. However, I will not forget thy former kind affection for me, but will set thee free from every such reproachful action, and cause thee to be mine again, as thou once wast. When she had related this to her female companions, in a few days' time she departed this life.

5. Now I did not think these histories improper for the present discourse, both because my discourse now is concerning kings, and otherwise also on account of the advantage hence to be drawn, as well for the confirmation of the immortality of the soul, as of the providence of God over human affairs, I thought them fit to be set down; but if any one does not believe such relations, let him indeed enjoy his own opinion, but let him not hinder another that would thereby encourage himself in virtue. So Archelaus's country was laid to the province of Syria; and Cyrenius, one that had been consul, was sent by Caesar to take account of people's effects in Syria, and to sell the house of Archelaus.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES BOOK 18

Containing The Interval Of Thirty-Two Years.—From The Banishment Of Archelaus To The Departure From Babylon.

CHAPTER 1. How Cyrenius Was Sent By Caesar To Make A Taxation Of Syria And Judea; And How Coponius Was Sent To Be Procurator Of Judea; Concerning Judas Of Galilee And Concerning The Sects That Were Among The Jews.

1. Now Cyrenius, a Roman senator, and one who had gone through other magistracies, and had passed through them till he had been consul, and one who, on other accounts, was of great dignity, came at this time into Syria, with a few others, being sent by Caesar to be a judge of that nation, and to take an account of their substance. Coponius also, a man of the equestrian order, was sent together with him, to have the supreme power over the Jews. Moreover, Cyrenius came himself into Judea, which was now added to the province of Syria, to take an account of their substance, and to dispose of Archelaus's money; but the Jews, although at the beginning they took the report of a taxation heinously, yet did they leave off any further opposition to it, by the persuasion of Joazar, who was the son of Beethus, and high priest; so they, being over-persuaded by Joazar's words, gave an account of their estates, without any dispute about it. Yet was there one Judas, a Gaulonite, of a city whose name was Gamala, who, taking with him Sadduc, a Pharisee, became zealous to draw them to a revolt, who both said that this taxation was no better than an introduction to slavery, and exhorted the nation to assert their liberty; as if they could procure them happiness and security for what they possessed, and an assured enjoyment of a still greater good, which was that of the honour and glory they would thereby acquire for magnanimity. They also said that God would not otherwise be assisting to them, than upon their joining with one another in such councils as might be successful, and for their own advantage; and this especially, if they would set about great exploits, and not grow weary in executing the same; so men received what they said with pleasure, and this bold attempt proceeded to a great height. All sorts of misfortunes also sprang from these men, and the nation was infected with this doctrine to an incredible degree; one violent war came upon us after another, and we lost our friends which used to alleviate our pains; there were also very great robberies and murder of our principal men. This was done in pretense indeed for the public welfare, but in reality for the hopes of gain to themselves; whence arose seditions, and from them murders of men, which sometimes fell on those of their own people, [by the madness of these men towards one another, while their desire was that none of the adverse party might be left,] and sometimes on their enemies; a famine also coming upon us, reduced us to the last degree of despair, as did also the taking and demolishing of cities; nay, the sedition at last increased so high, that the very temple of God was burnt down by their enemies' fire. Such were the consequences of this, that the customs of our fathers were altered, and such a change was made, as added a mighty weight toward bringing all to destruction, which these men occasioned by their thus conspiring together; for Judas and Sadduc, who excited a fourth philosophic sect among us, and had a great many followers therein, filled our civil government with tumults at present, and laid the foundations of our future miseries, by this system of philosophy, which we were before unacquainted withal, concerning which I will discourse a little, and this the rather because the infection which spread thence among the younger sort, who were zealous for it, brought the public to destruction.

2. The Jews had for a great while had three sects of philosophy peculiar to themselves; the sect of the Essens, and the sect of the Sadducees, and the third sort of opinions was that of those called Pharisees; of which sects, although I have already spoken in the second book of the Jewish War, yet will I a little touch upon them now.

3. Now, for the Pharisees, they live meanly, and despise delicacies in diet; and they follow the conduct of reason; and

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what that prescribes to them as good for them they do; and they think they ought earnestly to strive to observe reason's dictates for practice. They also pay a respect to such as are in years; nor are they so bold as to contradict them in any thing which they have introduced; and when they determine that all things are done by fate, they do not take away the freedom from men of acting as they think fit; since their notion is, that it hath pleased God to make a temperament, whereby what he wills is done, but so that the will of man can act virtuously or viciously. They also believe that souls have an immortal rigor in them, and that under the earth there will be rewards or punishments, according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life; and the latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but that the former shall have power to revive and live again; on account of which doctrines they are able greatly to persuade the body of the people; and whatsoever they do about Divine worship, prayers, and sacrifices, they perform them according to their direction; insomuch that the cities give great attestations to them on account of their entire virtuous conduct, both in the actions of their lives and their discourses also.

4. But the doctrine of the Sadducees is this: That souls die with the bodies; nor do they regard the observation of any thing besides what the law enjoins them; for they think it an instance of virtue to dispute with those teachers of philosophy whom they frequent: but this doctrine is received but by a few, yet by those still of the greatest dignity. But they are able to do almost nothing of themselves; for when they become magistrates, as they are unwillingly and by force sometimes obliged to be, they addict themselves to the notions of the Pharisees, because the multitude would not otherwise bear them.

5. The doctrine of the Essens is this: That all things are best ascribed to God. They teach the immortality of souls, and esteem that the rewards of righteousness are to be earnestly striven for; and when they send what they have dedicated to God into the temple, they do not offer sacrifices because they have more pure lustrations of their own; on which account they are excluded from the common court of the temple, but offer their sacrifices themselves; yet is their course of life better than that of other men; and they entirely addict themselves to husbandry. It also deserves our admiration, how much they exceed all other men that addict themselves to virtue, and this in righteousness; and indeed to such a degree, that as it hath never appeared among any other men, neither Greeks nor barbarians, no, not for a little time, so hath it endured a long while among them. This is demonstrated by that institution of theirs, which will not suffer any thing to hinder them from having all things in common; so that a rich man enjoys no more of his own wealth than he who hath nothing at all. There are about four thousand men that live in this way, and neither marry wives, nor are desirous to keep servants; as thinking the latter tempts men to be unjust, and the former gives the handle to domestic quarrels; but as they live by themselves, they minister one to another. They also appoint certain stewards to receive the incomes of their revenues, and of the fruits of the ground; such as are good men and priests, who are to get their corn and their food ready for them. They none of them differ from others of the Essens in their way of living, but do the most resemble those Dacae who are called Polistae [dwellers in cities].

6. But of the fourth sect of Jewish philosophy, Judas the Galilean was the author. These men agree in all other things with the Pharisaic notions; but they have an inviolable attachment to liberty, and say that God is to be their only Ruler and Lord. They also do not value dying any kinds of death, nor indeed do they heed the deaths of their relations and friends, nor can any such fear make them call any man lord. And since this immovable resolution of theirs is well known to a great many, I shall speak no further about that matter; nor am I afraid that any thing I have said of them should be disbelieved, but rather fear, that what I have said is beneath the resolution they show when they undergo pain. And it was in Gessius Florus's time that the nation began to grow mad with this distemper, who was our procurator, and who occasioned the Jews to go wild with it by the abuse of his authority, and to make them revolt from the Romans. And these are the sects of Jewish philosophy.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 2

How Herod And Philip Built Several Cities In Honour Of Caesar. Concerning The Succession Of Priests And Procurators; As Also What Befell Phraates And The Parthians.

1. When Cyrenius had now disposed of Archelaus's money, and when the taxings were come to a conclusion, which were made in the thirty-seventh year of Caesar's victory over Antony at Actium, he deprived Joazar of the high priesthood, which dignity had been conferred on him by the multitude, and he appointed Ananus, the son of Seth, to be high priest; while Herod and Philip had each of them received their own tetrarchy, and settled the affairs thereof. Herod also built a wall about Sepphoris, [which is the security of all Galilee,] and made it the metropolis of the country. He also built a wall round Betharamphtha, which was itself a city also, and called it Julias, from the name of the emperor's wife. When Philip also had built Paneas, a city at the fountains of Jordan, he named it Caesarea. He also advanced the village Bethsaida, situate at the lake of Gennesareth, unto the dignity of a city, both by the number of inhabitants it contained, and its other grandeur, and called it by the name of Julias, the same name with Caesar's daughter.

2. As Coponius, who we told you was sent along with Cyrenius, was exercising his office of procurator, and governing Judea, the following accidents happened. As the Jews were celebrating the feast of unleavened bread, which we call the Passover, it was customary for the priests to open the temple-gates just after midnight. When, therefore, those gates were first opened, some of the Samaritans came privately into Jerusalem, and threw about dead men's bodies, in the cloisters; on which account the Jews afterward excluded them out of the temple, which they had not used to do at such festivals; and on other accounts also they watched the temple more carefully than they had formerly done. A little after which accident Coponius returned to Rome, and Marcus Ambivius came to be his successor in that government; under whom Salome, the sister of king Herod, died, and left to Julia, [Caesar's wife,] Jamnia, all its toparchy, and Phasaelis in the plain, and Arehelais, where is a great plantation of palm trees, and their fruit is excellent in its kind. After him came Annius Rufus, under whom died Caesar, the second emperor of the Romans, the duration of whose reign was fifty-seven years, besides six months and two days [of which time Antonius ruled together with him fourteen years; but the duration of his life was seventy-seven years]; upon whose death Tiberius Nero, his wife Julia's son, succeeded. He was now the third emperor; and he sent Valerius Gratus to be procurator of Judea, and to succeed Annius Rufus. This man deprived Ananus of the high priesthood, and appointed Ismael, the son of Phabi, to be high priest. He also deprived him in a little time, and ordained Eleazar, the son of Ananus, who had been high priest before, to be high priest; which office, when he had held for a year, Gratus deprived him of it, and gave the high priesthood to Simon, the son of Camithus; and when he had possessed that dignity no longer than a year, Joseph Caiaphas was made his successor. When Gratus had done those things, he went back to Rome, after he had tarried in Judea eleven years, when Pontius Pilate came as his successor.

3. And now Herod the tetrarch, who was in great favour with Tiberius, built a city of the same name with him, and called it Tiberias. He built it in the best part of Galilee, at the lake of Gennesareth. There are warm baths at a little distance from it, in a village named Emmaus. Strangers came and inhabited this city; a great number of the inhabitants were Galileans also; and many were necessitated by Herod to come thither out of the country belonging to him, and were by force compelled to be its inhabitants; some of them were persons of condition. He also admitted poor people, such as those that were collected from all parts, to dwell in it. Nay, some of them were not quite free-men, and these he was benefactor to, and made them free in great numbers; but obliged them not to forsake the city, by building them very good houses at his own expenses, and by giving them land also; for he was sensible, that to make this place a habitation was to transgress the Jewish ancient laws, because many sepulchers were to be here taken away, in order to make room for the city Tiberias 5 whereas our laws pronounce that such inhabitants are unclean for seven days.

4. About this time died Phraates, king of the Parthians, by the treachery of Phraataces his son, upon the occasion following: When Phraates had had legitimate sons of his own, he had also an Italian maid-servant, whose name was Thermusa, who had been formerly sent to him by Julius Caesar, among other presents. He first made her his concubine; but he being a great admirer of her beauty, in process of time having a son by her, whose name was Phraataces, he made her his legitimate wife, and had a great respect for her. Now she was able to persuade him to do any thing that she said, and was earnest in procuring the government of Parthia for her son; but still she saw that her endeavors would not succeed, unless she could contrive how to remove Phraates's legitimate sons [out of the kingdom;] so she persuaded him to send those his sons as pledges of his fidelity to Rome; and they were sent to Rome accordingly, because it was not easy for him to contradict her commands. Now while Phraataces was alone brought up in order to succeed in the government, he thought it very tedious to expect that government by his father's donation [as his successor]; he therefore formed a treacherous design against his father, by his mother's assistance, with whom, as the report went, he had criminal conversation also. So he was hated for both these vices, while his subjects esteemed this [wicked] love of his mother to be no way inferior to his parricide; and he was by them, in a sedition, expelled out of the country before he grew too great, and died. But as the best sort of Parthians agreed together that it was impossible they should be governed without a king, while also it was their constant practice to choose one of the family of Arsaces, [nor did their law allow of any others; and they thought this kingdom had been sufficiently injured already by the marriage with an Italian concubine, and by her issue,] they sent ambassadors, and called Orodes [to take the crown]; for the multitude would not otherwise have borne them; and though he was accused of very great cruelty, and was of an untractable temper, and prone to wrath, yet still he was one of the family of Arsaces. However, they made a conspiracy against him, and slew him, and that, as some say, at a festival, and among their sacrifices; [for it is the universal custom there to carry their swords with them;] but, as the more general report is, they slew him when they had drawn him out a hunting. So they sent ambassadors to Rome, and desired they would send one of those that were there as pledges to be their king. Accordingly, Vonones was preferred before the rest, and sent to them [for he seemed capable of such great fortune, which two of the greatest kingdoms under the sun now offered him, his own and a foreign one]. However, the barbarians soon changed their minds, they being naturally of a mutable disposition, upon the supposal that this man was not worthy to be their governor; for they could not think of obeying the commands of one that had been a slave, [for so they called those that had been hostages,] nor could they bear the ignominy of that name; and this was the more intolerable, because then the Parthians must have such a king set over them, not by right of war, but in time of peace. So they presently invited Artabanus, king of Media, to be their king, he being also of the race of Arsaces. Artabanus complied with the offer that was made him, and came to them with an army. So Vonones met him; and at first the multitude of the Parthians stood on this side, and he put his army in array; but Artabanus was beaten, and fled to the mountains of Media. Yet did he a little after gather a great army together, and fought with Vonones, and beat him; whereupon Vonones fled away on horseback, with a few of his attendants about him, to Seleucia [upon Tigris]. So when Artabanus had slain a great number, and this after he had gotten the victory by reason of the very great dismay the barbarians were in, he retired to Ctesiphon with a great number of his people; and so he now reigned over the Parthians. But Vonones fled away to Armenia; and as soon as he came thither, he had an inclination to have the government of the country given him, and sent ambassadors to Rome [for that purpose]. But because Tiberius refused it him, and because he wanted courage, and because the Parthian king threatened him, and sent ambassadors to him to denounce war against him if he proceeded, and because he had no way to take to regain any other kingdom, [for the people of authority among the Armenians about Niphates joined themselves to Artabanus,] he delivered up himself to Silanus, the president of Syria, who, out of regard to his education at Rome, kept him in Syria, while Artabanus gave Armenia to Orodes, one of his own sons.

5. At this time died Antiochus, the king of Commagene; whereupon the multitude contended with the nobility, and both sent ambassadors to [Rome]; for the men of power were desirous that their form of government might be changed into that of a [Roman] province; as were the multitude desirous to be under kings, as their fathers had been. So the senate made a decree that Germanicus should be sent to settle the affairs of the East, fortune hereby taking a proper opportunity for depriving him of his life; for when he had been in the East, and settled all affairs there, his life was taken away by the poison which Piso gave him, as hath been related elsewhere.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 3

Sedition Of The Jews Against Pontius Pilate. Concerning Christ, And What Befell Paulina And The Jews At Rome.

1. But now Pilate, the procurator of Judea, removed the army from Caesarea to Jerusalem, to take their winter quarters there, in order to abolish the Jewish laws. So he introduced Caesar's effigies, which were upon the ensigns, and brought them into the city; whereas our law forbids us the very making of images; on which account the former procurators were wont to make their entry into the city with such ensigns as had not those ornaments. Pilate was the first who brought those images to Jerusalem, and set them up there; which was done without the knowledge of the people, because it was done in the night time; but as soon as they knew it, they came in multitudes to Caesarea, and interceded with Pilate many days that he would remove the images; and when he would not grant their requests, because it would tend to the injury of Caesar, while yet they persevered in their request, on the sixth day he ordered his soldiers to have their weapons privately, while he came and sat upon his judgement-seat, which seat was so prepared in the open place of the city, that it concealed the army that lay ready to oppress them; and when the Jews petitioned him again, he gave a signal to the soldiers to encompass them routed, and threatened that their punishment should be no less than immediate death, unless they would leave off disturbing him, and go their ways home. But they threw themselves upon the ground, and laid their necks bare, and said they would take their death very willingly, rather than the wisdom of their laws should be transgressed; upon which Pilate was deeply affected with their firm resolution to keep their laws inviolable, and presently

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commanded the images to be carried back from Jerusalem to Caesarea.

2. But Pilate undertook to bring a current of water to Jerusalem, and did it with the sacred money, and derived the origin of the stream from the distance of two hundred furlongs. However, the Jews were not pleased with what had been done about this water; and many ten thousands of the people got together, and made a clamour against him, and insisted that he should leave off that design. Some of them also used reproaches, and abused the man, as crowds of such people usually do. So he habited a great number of his soldiers in their habit, who carried daggers under their garments, and sent them to a place where they might surround them. So he bid the Jews himself go away; but they boldly casting reproaches upon him, he gave the soldiers that signal which had been beforehand agreed on; who laid upon them much greater blows than Pilate had commanded them, and equally punished those that were tumultuous, and those that were not; nor did they spare them in the least: and since the people were unarmed, and were caught by men prepared for what they were about, there were a great number of them slain by this means, and others of them ran away wounded. And thus an end was put to this sedition.

3. Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man; for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles. He was [the] Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men amongst us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake him; for he appeared to them alive again the third day; as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day.

4. About the same time also another sad calamity put the Jews into disorder, and certain shameful practices happened about the temple of Isis that was at Rome. I will now first take notice of the wicked attempt about the temple of Isis, and will then give an account of the Jewish affairs. There was at Rome a woman whose name was Paulina; one who, on account of the dignity of her ancestors, and by the regular conduct of a virtuous life, had a great reputation: she was also very rich; and although she was of a beautiful countenance, and in that flower of her age wherein women are the most gay, yet did she lead a life of great modesty. She was married to Saturninus, one that was every way answerable to her in an excellent character. Decius Mundus fell in love with this woman, who was a man very high in the equestrian order; and as she was of too great dignity to be caught by presents, and had already rejected them, though they had been sent in great abundance, he was still more inflamed with love to her, insomuch that he promised to give her two hundred thousand Attic drachmae for one night's lodging; and when this would not prevail upon her, and he was not able to bear this misfortune in his amours, he thought it the best way to famish himself to death for want of food, on account of Paulina's sad refusal; and he determined with himself to die after such a manner, and he went on with his purpose accordingly. Now Mundus had a freed-woman, who had been made free by his father, whose name was Ide, one skillful in all sorts of mischief. This woman was very much grieved at the young man's resolution to kill himself, [for he did not conceal his intentions to destroy himself from others,] and came to him, and encouraged him by her discourse, and made him to hope, by some promises she gave him, that he might obtain a night's lodging with Paulina; and when he joyfully hearkened to her entreaty, she said she wanted no more than fifty thousand drachmae for the entrapping of the woman. So when she had encouraged the young man, and gotten as much money as she required, she did not take the same methods as had been taken before, because she perceived that the woman was by no means to be tempted by money; but as she knew that she was very much given to the worship of the goddess Isis, she devised the following stratagem: She went to some of Isis's priests, and upon the strongest assurances [of concealment], she persuaded them by words, but chiefly by the offer of money, of twenty-five thousand drachmae in hand, and as much more when the thing had taken effect; and told them the passion of the young man, and persuaded them to use all means possible to beguile the woman. So they were drawn in to promise so to do, by that large sum of gold they were to have. Accordingly, the oldest of them went immediately to Paulina; and upon his admittance, he desired to speak with her by herself. When that was granted him, he told her that he was sent by the god Anubis, who was fallen in love with her, and enjoined her to come to him. Upon this she took the message very kindly, and valued herself greatly upon this condescension of Anubis, and told her husband that she had a message sent her, and was to sup and lie with Anubis; so he agreed to her acceptance of the offer, as fully satisfied with the chastity of his wife. Accordingly, she went to the temple, and after she had supped there, and it was the hour to go to sleep, the priest shut the doors of the temple, when, in the holy part of it, the lights were also put out. Then did Mundus leap out, [for he was hidden therein,] and did not fail of enjoying her, who was at his service all the night long, as supposing he was the god; and when he was gone away, which was before those priests who knew nothing of this stratagem were stirring, Paulina came early to her husband, and told him how the god Anubis had appeared to her. Among her friends, also, she declared how great a value she put upon this favour, who partly disbelieved the thing, when they reflected on its nature, and partly were amazed at it, as having no pretense for not believing it, when they considered the modesty and the dignity of the person. But now, on the third day after what had been done, Mundus met Paulina, and said, "Nay, Paulina, thou hast saved me two hundred thousand drachmae, which sum thou mightest have added to thy own family; yet hast thou not failed to be at my service in the manner I invited thee. As for the reproaches thou hast laid upon Mundus, I value not the business of names; but I rejoice in the pleasure I reaped by what I did, while I took to myself the name of Anubis." When he had said this, he went his way. But now she began to come to the sense of the grossness of what she had done, and rent her garments, and told her husband of the horrid nature of this wicked contrivance, and prayed him not to neglect to assist her in this case. So he discovered the fact to the emperor; whereupon Tiberius inquired into the matter thoroughly by examining the priests about it, and ordered them to be crucified, as well as Ide, who was the occasion of their perdition, and who had contrived the whole matter, which was so injurious to the woman. He also demolished the temple of Isis, and gave order that her statue should be thrown into the river Tiber; while he only banished Mundus, but did no more to him, because he supposed that what crime he had committed was done out of the passion of love. And these were the circumstances which concerned the temple of Isis, and the injuries occasioned by her priests. I now return to the relation of what happened about this time to the Jews at Rome, as I formerly told you I would.

5. There was a man who was a Jew, but had been driven away from his own country by an accusation laid against him for transgressing their laws, and by the fear he was under of punishment for the same; but in all respects a wicked man. He, then living at Rome, professed to instruct men in the wisdom of the laws of Moses. He procured also three other men, entirely of the same character with himself, to be his partners. These men persuaded Fulvia, a woman of great dignity, and one that had embraced the Jewish religion, to send purple and gold to the temple at Jerusalem; and when they had gotten them, they employed them for their own uses, and spent the money themselves, on which account it was that they at first required it of her. Whereupon Tiberius, who had been informed of the thing by Saturninus, the husband of Fulvia, who desired inquiry might be made about it, ordered all the Jews to be banished out of Rome; at which time the consuls listed four thousand men out of them, and sent them to the island Sardinia; but punished a greater number of them, who were unwilling to become soldiers, on account of keeping the laws of their forefathers. Thus were these Jews banished out of the city by the wickedness of four men.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 4

How The Samaritans Made A Tumult And Pilate Destroyed Many Of Them; How Pilate Was Accused And What Things Were Done By Vitellius Relating To The Jews And The Parthians.

1. But the nation of the Samaritans did not escape without tumults. The man who excited them to it was one who thought lying a thing of little consequence, and who contrived every thing so that the multitude might be pleased; so he bid them to get together upon Mount Gerizzim, which is by them looked upon as the most holy of all mountains, and assured them, that when they were come thither, he would show them those sacred vessels which were laid under that place, because Moses put them there. So they came thither armed, and thought the discourse of the man probable; and as they abode at a certain village, which was called Tirathaba, they got the rest together to them, and desired to go up the mountain in a great multitude together; but Pilate prevented their going up, by seizing upon the roads with a great band of horsemen and foot-men, who fell upon those that were gotten together in the village; and when it came to an action, some of them they slew, and others of them they put to flight, and took a great many alive, the principal of which, and also the most potent of those that fled away, Pilate ordered to be slain.

2. But when this tumult was appeased, the Samaritan senate sent an embassy to Vitellius, a man that had been consul, and who was now president of Syria, and accused Pilate of the murder of those that were killed; for that they did not go to Tirathaba in order to revolt from the Romans, but to escape the violence of Pilate. So Vitellius sent Marcellus, a friend of his, to take care of the affairs of Judea, and ordered Pilate to go to Rome, to answer before the emperor to the accusations of the Jews. So Pilate, when he had tarried ten years in Judea, made haste to Rome, and this in obedience to the orders of Vitellius, which he durst not contradict; but before he could get to Rome Tiberius was dead.

3. But Vitellius came into Judea, and went up to Jerusalem; it was at the time of that festival which is called the Passover. Vitellius was there magnificently received, and released the inhabitants of Jerusalem from all the taxes upon the fruits that were bought and sold, and gave them leave to have the care of the high priest's vestments, with all their ornaments, and to have them under the custody of the priests in the temple, which power they used to have formerly, although at this time they were laid up in the tower of Antonia, the citadel so called, and that on the occasion following: There was one of the [high] priests, named Hyrcanus; and as there were many of that name, he was the first of them; this man built a tower near the temple, and when he had so done, he generally dwelt in it, and had these vestments with him, because it was lawful for him alone to put them on, and he had them there reposited when he went down into the city, and took his ordinary garments; the same things were continued to be done by his sons, and by their sons after them. But when Herod came to be king, he rebuilt this tower, which was very conveniently situated, in a magnificent manner; and because he was a friend to Antonius, he called it by the name of Antonia. And as he found these vestments lying there, he retained them in the same place, as believing, that while he had them in his custody, the people would make no innovations against him. The like to what Herod did was done by his son Archelaus, who was made king after him; after whom the Romans, when they entered on the government, took possession of these vestments of the high priest, and had them reposited in a stone-chamber, under the seal of the priests, and of the keepers of the temple, the captain of the guard lighting a lamp there every day; and seven days before a festival they were delivered to them by the captain of the guard, when the high priest having purified them, and made use of them, laid them up again in the same chamber where they had been laid up before, and this the very next day after the feast was over. This was the practice at the three yearly festivals, and on the fast day; but Vitellius put those garments into our own power, as in the days of our forefathers, and ordered the captain of the guard not to trouble himself to inquire where they were laid, or when they were to be used; and this he did as an act of kindness, to oblige the nation to him. Besides which, he also deprived Joseph, who was also called Caiaphas, of the high priesthood, and appointed Jonathan the son of Ananus, the former high priest, to succeed him. After which, he took his journey back to Antioch.

4. Moreover, Tiberius sent a letter to Vitellius, and commanded him to make a league of friendship with Artabanus, the king of Parthia; for while he was his enemy, he terrified him, because he had taken Armenia away from him, lest he should proceed further, and told him he should no otherwise trust him than upon his giving him hostages, and especially his son Artabanus. Upon Tiberius's writing thus to Vitellius, by the offer of great presents of money, he persuaded both the king of Iberia and the king of Albania to make no delay, but to fight against Artabanus; and although they would not do it themselves, yet did they give the Scythians a passage through their country, and opened the Caspian gates to them, and brought them upon Artabanus. So Armenia was again taken from the Parthians, and the country of Parthia was filled with war, and the principal of their men were slain, and all things were in disorder among them: the king's son also himself fell in these wars, together with many ten thousands of his army. Vitellius had also sent such great sums of money to Artabanus's father's kinsmen and friends, that he had almost procured him to be slain by the means of those bribes which they had taken. And when Artabanus perceived that the plot laid against him was not to be avoided, because it was laid by the principal men, and those a great many in number, and that it would certainly take effect,—when he had estimated the number of those that were truly faithful to him, as also of those who were already corrupted, but were deceitful in the kindness they professed to him, and were likely, upon trial, to go over to his enemies, he made his escape to the upper provinces, where he afterwards raised a great army out of the Dahae and Sacre, and fought with his enemies, and retained his principality.

5. When Tiberius had heard of these things, he desired to have a league of friendship made between him and Artabanus; and when, upon this invitation, he received the proposal kindly, Artabanus and Vitellius went to Euphrates, and as a bridge was laid over the river, they each of them came with their guards about them, and met one another on the midst of the bridge. And when they had agreed upon the terms of peace Herod, the tetrarch erected a rich tent on the midst of the passage, and made them a feast there. Artabanus also, not long afterward, sent his son Darius as an hostage, with many presents, among which there was a man seven cubits tall, a Jew he was by birth, and his name was Eleazar, who, for his tallness, was called a giant. After which Vitellius went to Antioch, and Artabanus to Babylon; but Herod [the tetrarch] being desirous to give Caesar the first information that they had obtained hostages, sent posts with letters, wherein he had accurately described all the particulars, and had left nothing for the consular Vitellius to inform him of. But when

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Vitellius's letters were sent, and Caesar had let him know that he was acquainted with the affairs already, because Herod had given him an account of them before, Vitellius was very much troubled at it; and supposing that he had been thereby a greater sufferer than he really was, he kept up a secret anger upon this occasion, till he could be revenged on him, which he was after Caius had taken the government.

6. About this time it was that Philip, Herod's brother, departed this life, in the twentieth year of the reign of Tiberius, after he had been tetrarch of Trachonitis and Gaulanitis, and of the nation of the Bataneans also, thirty-seven years. He had showed himself a person of moderation and quietness in the conduct of his life and government; he constantly lived in that country which was subject to him; he used to make his progress with a few chosen friends; his tribunal also, on which he sat in judgement, followed him in his progress; and when any one met him who wanted his assistance, he made no delay, but had his tribunal set down immediately, wheresoever he happened to be, and sat down upon it, and heard his complaint: he there ordered the guilty that were convicted to be punished, and absolved those that had been accused unjustly. He died at Julias; and when he was carried to that monument which he had already erected for himself beforehand, he was buried with great pomp. His principality Tiberius took, [for he left no sons behind him,] and added it to the province of Syria, but gave order that the tributes which arose from it should be collected, and laid up in his tetrachy.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 5

Herod The Tetrarch Makes War With Aretas, The King Of Arabia, And Is Beaten By Him As Also Concerning The Death Of John The Baptist. How Vitellius Went Up To Jerusalem; Together With Some Account Of Agrippa And Of The Posterity Of Herod The Great.

1. About this time Aretas [the king of Arabia Petres] and Herod had a quarrel on the account following: Herod the tetrarch had, married the daughter of Aretas, and had lived with her a great while; but when he was once at Rome, he lodged with Herod, who was his brother indeed, but not by the same mother; for this Herod was the son of the high priest Sireoh's daughter. However, he fell in love with Herodias, this last Herod's wife, who was the daughter of Aristobulus their brother, and the sister of Agrippa the Great. This man ventured to talk to her about a marriage between them; which address, when she admitted, an agreement was made for her to change her habitation, and come to him as soon as he should return from Rome: one article of this marriage also was this, that he should divorce Aretas's daughter. So Antipas, when he had made this agreement, sailed to Rome; but when he had done there the business he went about, and was returned again, his wife having discovered the agreement he had made with Herodias, and having learned it before he had notice of her knowledge of the whole design, she desired him to send her to Macherus, which is a place in the borders of the dominions of Aretas and Herod, without informing him of any of her intentions. Accordingly Herod sent her thither, as thinking his wife had not perceived any thing; now she had sent a good while before to Macherus, which was subject to her father and so all things necessary for her journey were made ready for her by the general of Aretas's army; and by that means she soon came into Arabia, under the conduct of the several generals, who carried her from one to another successively; and she soon came to her father, and told him of Herod's intentions. So Aretas made this the first occasion of his enmity between him and Herod, who had also some quarrel with him about their limits at the country of Gamalitis. So they raised armies on both sides, and prepared for war, and sent their generals to fight instead of themselves; and when they had joined battle, all Herod's army was destroyed by the treachery of some fugitives, who, though they were of the tetrarchy of Philip, joined with Aretas's army.. So Herod wrote about these affairs to Tiberius, who being very angry at the attempt made by Aretas, wrote to Vitellius to make war upon him, and either to take him alive, and bring him to him in bonds, or to kill him, and send him his head. This was the charge that Tiberius gave to the president of Syria.

2. Now some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very justly, as a punishment of what he did against John, that was called the Baptist: for Herod slew him, who was a good man, and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism; for that the washing [with water] would be acceptable to him, if they made use of it, not in order to the putting away [or the remission] of some sins [only], but for the purification of the body; supposing still that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness. Now when [many] others came in crowds about him, for they were very greatly moved [or pleased] by hearing his words, Herod, who feared lest the great influence John had over the people might put it into his power and inclination to raise a rebellion, [for they seemed ready to do any thing he should advise,] thought it best, by putting him to death, to prevent any mischief he might cause, and not bring himself into difficulties, by sparing a man who might make him repent of it when it would be too late. Accordingly he was sent a prisoner, out of Herod's suspicious temper, to Macherus, the castle I before mentioned, and was there put to death. Now the Jews had an opinion that the destruction of this army was sent as a punishment upon Herod, and a mark of God's displeasure to him.

3. So Vitellius prepared to make war with Aretas, having with him two legions of armed men; he also took with him all those of light armature, and of the horsemen which belonged to them, and were drawn out of those kingdoms which were under the Romans, and made haste for Petra, and came to Ptolemais. But as he was marching very busily, and leading his army through Judea, the principal men met him, and desired that he would not thus march through their land; for that the laws of their country would not permit them to overlook those images which were brought into it, of which there were a great many in their ensigns; so he was persuaded by what they said, and changed that resolution of his which he had before taken in this matter. Whereupon he ordered the army to march along the great plain, while he himself, with Herod the tetrarch and his friends, went up to Jerusalem to offer sacrifice to God, an ancient festival of the Jews being then just approaching; and when he had been there, and been honourably entertained by the multitude of the Jews, he made a stay there for three days, within which time he deprived Jonathan of the high priesthood, and gave it to his brother Theophilus. But when on the fourth day letters came to him, which informed him of the death of Tiberius, he obliged the multitude to take an oath of fidelity to Caius; he also recalled his army, and made them every one go home, and take their winter quarters there, since, upon the devolution of the empire upon Caius, he had not the like authority of making this war which he had before. It was also reported, that when Aretas heard of the coming of Vitellius to fight him, he said, upon his consulting the diviners, that it was impossible that this army of Vitellius's could enter Petra; for that one of the rulers would die, either he that gave orders for the war, or he that was marching at the other's desire, in order to be subservient to his will, or else he against whom this army is prepared. So Vitellius truly retired to Antioch; but Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, went up to Rome, a year before the death of Tiberius, in order to treat of some affairs with the emperor, if he might be permitted so to do. I have now a mind to describe Herod and his family, how it fared with them, partly because it is suitable to this history to speak of that matter, and partly because this thing is a demonstration of the interposition of Providence, how a multitude of children is of no advantage, no more than any other strength that mankind set their hearts upon, besides those acts of piety which are done towards God; for it happened, that, within the revolution of a hundred years, the posterity of Herod, which were a great many in number, were, excepting a few, utterly destroyed. One may well apply this for the instruction of mankind, and learn thence how unhappy they were: it will also show us the history of Agrippa, who, as he was a person most worthy of admiration, so was he from a private man, beyond all the expectation of those that knew him, advanced to great power and authority. I have said something of them formerly, but I shall now also speak accurately about them.

4. Herod the Great had two daughters by Mariamne, the [grand] daughter of Hyrcanus; the one was Salampsio, who was married to Phasaelus, her first cousin, who was himself the son of Phasaelus, Herod's brother, her father making the match; the other was Cypros, who was herself married also to her first cousin Antipater, the son of Salome, Herod's sister. Phasaelus had five children by Salampsio; Antipater, Herod, and Alexander, and two daughters, Alexandra and Cypros; which last Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, married; and Timius of Cyprus married Alexandra; he was a man of note, but had by her no children. Agrippa had by Cypros two sons and three daughters, which daughters were named Bernice, Mariamne, and Drusius; but the names of the sons were Agrippa and Drusus, of which Drusus died before he came to the years of puberty; but their father, Agrippa, was brought up with his other brethren, Herod and Aristobulus, for these were also the sons of the son of Herod the Great by Bernice; but Bernice was the daughter of Costobarus and of Salome, who was Herod's sister. Aristobulus left these infants when he was slain by his father, together with his brother Alexander, as we have already related. But when they were arrived at years of puberty, this Herod, the brother of Agrippa, married Mariamne, the daughter of Olympias, who was the daughter of Herod the king, and of Joseph, the son of Joseph, who was brother to Herod the king, and had by her a son, Aristobulus; but Aristobulus, the third brother of Agrippa, married Jotape, the daughter of Sampsigeramus, king of Emesa; they had a daughter who was deaf, whose name also was Jotape; and these hitherto were the children of the male line. But Herodias, their sister, was married to Herod [Philip], the son of Herod the Great, who was born of Mariamne, the daughter of Simon the high priest, who had a daughter, Salome; after whose birth Herodias took upon her to confound the laws of our country, and divorced herself from her husband while he was alive, and was married to Herod [Antipas], her husband's brother by the father's side, he was tetrarch of Galilee; but her daughter Salome was married to Philip, the son of Herod, and tetrarch of Trachonitis; and as he died childless, Aristobulus, the son of Herod, the brother of Agrippa, married her; they had three sons, Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus; and this was the posterity of Phasaelus and Salampsio. But the daughter of Antipater by Cypros was Cypros, whom Alexas Selcias, the son of Alexas, married; they had a daughter, Cypros; but Herod and Alexander, who, as we told you, were the brothers of Antipater, died childless. As to Alexander, the son of Herod the king, who was slain by his father, he had two sons, Alexander and Tigranes, by the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. Tigranes, who was king of Armenia, was accused at Rome, and died childless; Alexander had a son of the same name with his brother Tigranes, and was sent to take possession of the kingdom of Armenia by Nero; he had a son, Alexander, who married Jotape, the daughter of Antiochus, the king of Commagena; Vespasian made him king of an island in Cilicia. But these descendants of Alexander, soon after their birth, deserted the Jewish religion, and went over to that of the Greeks. But for the rest of the daughters of Herod the king, it happened that they died childless. And as these descendants of Herod, whom we have enumerated, were in being at the same time that Agrippa the Great took the kingdom, and I have now given an account of them, it now remains that I relate the several hard fortunes which befell Agrippa, and how he got clear of them, and was advanced to the greatest height of dignity and power.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 6

Of The Navigation Of King Agrippa To Rome, To Tiberius Caesar; And Now Upon His Being Accused By His Own Freed-Man, He Was Bound; How Also He, Was Set At Liberty By Caius, After Tiberius's Death And Was Made King Of The Tetrarchy Of Philip.

1. A Little before the death of Herod the king, Agrippa lived at Rome, and was generally brought up and conversed with Drusus, the emperor Tiberius's son, and contracted a friendship with Antonia, the wife of Drusus the Great, who had his mother Bernice in great esteem, and was very desirous of advancing her son. Now as Agrippa was by nature magnanimous and generous in the presents he made, while his mother was alive, this inclination of his mind did not appear, that he might be able to avoid her anger for such his extravagance; but when Bernice was dead, and he was left to his own conduct, he spent a great deal extravagantly in his daily way of living, and a great deal in the immoderate presents he made, and those chiefly among Caesar's freed-men, in order to gain their assistance, insomuch that he was, in a little time, reduced to poverty, and could not live at Rome any longer. Tiberius also forbade the friends of his deceased son to come into his sight, because on seeing them he should be put in mind of his son, and his grief would thereby be revived.

2. For these reasons he went away from Rome, and sailed to Judea, but in evil circumstances, being dejected with the loss of that money which he once had, and because he had not wherewithal to pay his creditors, who were many in number, and such as gave him no room for escaping them. Whereupon he knew not what to do; so, for shame of his present condition, he retired to a certain tower, at Malatha, in Idumea, and had thoughts of killing himself; but his wife Cypros perceived his intentions, and tried all sorts of methods to divert him from his taking such a course; so she sent a letter to his sister Herodias, who was now the wife of Herod the tetrarch, and let her know Agrippa's present design, and what necessity it was which drove him thereto, and desired her, as a kinswoman of his, to give him her help, and to engage her husband to do the same, since she saw how she alleviated these her husband's troubles all she could, although she had not the like wealth to do it withal. So they sent for him, and allotted him Tiberias for his habitation, and appointed him some income of money for his maintenance, and made him a magistrate of that city, by way of honour to him. Yet did not Herod long continue in that resolution of supporting him, though even that support was not sufficient for him; for as once they were at a feast at Tyre, and in their cups, and reproaches were cast upon one another, Agrippa thought that was not to be borne, while Herod hit him in the teeth with his poverty, and with his owing his necessary food to him. So he went to Flaccus, one that had been consul, and had been a very great friend to him at Rome formerly, and was now president of Syria.

3. Hereupon Flaccus received him kindly, and he lived with him. Flaccus had also with him there Aristobulus, who was indeed Agrippa's brother, but was at variance with him; yet did not their enmity to one another hinder the friendship of Flaccus to them both, but still they were honourably treated by him. However, Aristobulus did not abate of his ill-will to Agrippa, till at length he brought him into ill terms with Flaccus; the occasion of bringing on which estrangement was this: The Damascens were at difference with the Sidonians

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about their limits, and when Flaccus was about to hear the cause between them, they understood that Agrippa had a mighty influence upon him; so they desired that he would be of their side, and for that favour promised him a great deal of money; so he was zealous in assisting the Damascens as far as he was able. Now Aristobulus had gotten intelligence of this promise of money to him, and accused him to Flaccus of the same; and when, upon a thorough examination of the matter, it appeared plainly so to be, he rejected Agrippa out of the number of his friends. So he was reduced to the utmost necessity, and came to Ptolemais; and because he knew not where else to get a livelihood, he thought to sail to Italy; but as he was restrained from so doing by want of money, he desired Marsyas, who was his freed-man, to find some method for procuring him so much as he wanted for that purpose, by borrowing such a sum of some person or other. So Marsyas desired of Peter, who was the freed-man of Bernice, Agrippa's mother, and by the right of her testament was bequeathed to Antonia, to lend so much upon Agrippa's own bond and security; but he accused Agrippa of having defrauded him of certain sums of money, and so obliged Marsyas, when he made the bond of twenty thousand Attic drachmae, to accept of twenty-five hundred drachma as less than what he desired, which the other allowed of, because he could not help it. Upon the receipt of this money, Agrippa came to Anthedon, and took shipping, and was going to set sail; but Herennius Capito, who was the procurator of Jamhis, sent a band of soldiers to demand of him three hundred thousand drachmae of silver, which were by him owing to Caesar's treasury while he was at Rome, and so forced him to stay. He then pretended that he would do as he bid him; but when night came on, he cut his cables, and went off, and sailed to Alexandria, where he desired Alexander the alabarch to lend him two hundred thousand drachmae; but he said he would not lend it to him, but would not refuse it to Cypros, as greatly astonished at her affection to her husband, and at the other instances of her virtue; so she undertook to repay it. Accordingly, Alexander paid them five talents at Alexandria, and promised to pay them the rest of that sum at Dicearchia [Puteoli]; and this he did out of the fear he was in that Agrippa would soon spend it. So this Cypros set her husband free, and dismissed him to go on with his navigation to Italy, while she and her children departed for Judea.

4. And now Agrippa was come to Puteoli, whence he wrote a letter to Tiberius Caesar, who then lived at Capreae, and told him that he was come so far in order to wait on him, and to pay him a visit; and desired that he would give him leave to come over to Caprein: so Tiberius made no difficulty, but wrote to him in an obliging way in other respects; and withal told him he was glad of his safe return, and desired him to come to Capreae; and when he was come, he did not fail to treat him as kindly as he had promised him in his letter to do. But the next day came a letter to Caesar from Herennius Capito, to inform him that Agrippa had borrowed three hundred thousand drachmae, and not pad it at the time appointed; but when it was demanded of him, he ran away like a fugitive, out of the places under his government, and put it out of his power to get the money of him. When Caesar had read this letter, he was much troubled at it, and gave order that Agrippa should be excluded from his presence until he had paid that debt: upon which he was no way daunted at Caesar's anger, but entreated Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, and of Claudius, who was afterward Caesar himself, to lend him those three hundred thousand drachmae, that he might not be deprived of Tiberius's friendship; so, out of regard to the memory of Bernice his mother, [for those two women were very familiar with one another,] and out of regard to his and Claudius's education together, she lent him the money; and, upon the payment of this debt, there was nothing to hinder Tiberius's friendship to him. After this, Tiberius Caesar recommended to him his grandson, and ordered that he should always accompany him when he went abroad. But upon Agrippa's kind reception by Antonia, he betook him to pay his respects to Caius, who was her grandson, and in very high reputation by reason of the good-will they bare his father. Now there was one Thallus, a freed-man of Caesar, of whom he borrowed a million of drachmae, and thence repaid Antonia the debt he owed her; and by sending the overplus in paying his court to Caius, became a person of great authority with him.

5. Now as the friendship which Agrippa had for Caius was come to a great height, there happened some words to pass between them, as they once were in a chariot together, concerning Tiberius; Agrippa praying [to God] [for they two sat by themselves] that Tiberius might soon go off the stage, and leave the government to Caius, who was in every respect more worthy of it. Now Eutychus, who was Agrippa's freed-man, and drove his chariot, heard these words, and at that time said nothing of them; but when Agrippa accused him of stealing some garments of his, [which was certainly true,] he ran away from him; but when he was caught, and brought before Piso, who was governor of the city, and the man was asked why he ran away, he replied, that he had somewhat to say to Caesar, that tended to his security and preservation: so Piso bound him, and sent him to Capreae. But Tiberius, according to his usual custom, kept him still in bonds, being a delayer of affairs, if ever there was any other king or tyrant that was so; for he did not admit ambassadors quickly, and no successors were despatched away to governors or procurators of the provinces that had been formerly sent, unless they were dead; whence it was that he was so negligent in hearing the causes of prisoners; insomuch that when he was asked by his friends what was the reason of his delay in such cases, he said that he delayed to hear ambassadors, lest, upon their quick dismission, other ambassadors should be appointed, and return upon him; and so he should bring trouble upon himself in their public reception and dismission: that he permitted those governors who had been sent once to their government [to stay there a long while], out of regard to the subjects that were under them; for that all governors are naturally disposed to get as much as they can; and that those who are not to fix there, but to stay a short time, and that at an uncertainty when they shall be turned out, do the more severely hurry themselves on to fleece the people; but that if their government be long continued to them; they are at last satiated with the spoils, as having gotten a vast deal, and so become at length less sharp in their pillaging; but that if successors are sent quickly, the poor subjects, who are exposed to them as a prey, will not be able to bear the new ones, while they shall not have the same time allowed them wherein their predecessors had filled themselves, and so grew more unconcerned about getting more; and this because they are removed before they have had time [for their oppressions]. He gave them an example to show his meaning: A great number of flies came about the sore places of a man that had been wounded; upon which one of the standers-by pitied the man's misfortune, and thinking he was not able to drive those flies away himself, was going to drive them away for him; but he prayed him to let them alone: the other, by way of reply, asked him the reason of such a preposterous proceeding, in preventing relief from his present misery; to which he answered, "If thou drivest these flies away, thou wilt hurt me worse; for as these are already full of my blood, they do not crowd about me, nor pain me so much as before, but are somewhat more remiss, while the fresh ones that come almost famished, and find me quite tired down already, will be my destruction. For this cause, therefore, it is that I am myself careful not to send such new governors perpetually to those my subjects, who are already sufficiently harassed by many oppressions, as may, like these flies, further distress them; and so, besides their natural desire of gain, may have this additional incitement to it, that they expect to be suddenly deprived of that pleasure which they take in it." And, as a further attestation to what I say of the dilatory nature of Tiberius, I appeal to this his practice itself; for although he was emperor twenty-two years, he sent in all but two procurators to govern the nation of the Jews, Gratus, and his successor in the government, Pilate. Nor was he in one way of acting with respect to the Jews, and in another with respect to the rest of his subjects. He further informed them, that even in the hearing of the causes of prisoners, he made such delays, because immediate death to those that must be condemned to die would be an alleviation of their present miseries, while those wicked wretches have not deserved any such favour; "but I do it, that, by being harassed with the present calamity, they may undergo greater misery."

6. On this account it was that Eutychus could not obtain a bearing, but was kept still in prison. However, some time afterward, Tiberius came from Capreae to Tusculanum, which is about a hundred furlongs from Rome. Agrippa then desired of Antonia that she would procure a hearing for Eutychus, let the matter whereof he accused him prove what it would. Now Antonia was greatly esteemed by Tiberius on all accounts, from the dignity of her relation to him, who had been his brother Drusus's wife, and from her eminent chastity; for though she was still a young woman, she continued in her widowhood, and refused all other matches, although Augustus had enjoined her to be married to somebody else; yet did she all along preserve her reputation free from reproach. She had also been the greatest benefactress to Tiberius, when there was a very dangerous plot laid against him by Sejanus, a man who had been her husband's friend, and who had the greatest authority, because he was general of the army, and when many members of the senate and many of the freed-men joined with him, and the soldiery was corrupted, and the plot was come to a great height. Now Sejanus had certainly gained his point, had not Antonia's boldness been more wisely conducted than Sejanus's malice; for when she had discovered his designs against Tiberius, she wrote him an exact account of the whole, and gave the letter to Pallas, the most faithful of her servants, and sent him to Caprere to Tiberius, who, when he understood it, slew Sejanus and his confederates; so that Tiberius, who had her in great esteem before, now looked upon her with still greater respect, and depended upon her in all things. So when Tiberius was desired by this Antonia to examine Eutychus, he answered, "If indeed Eutychus hath falsely accused Agrippa in what he hath said of him, he hath had sufficient punishment by what I have done to him already; but if, upon examination, the accusation appears to be true, let Agrippa have a care, lest, out of desire of punishing his freed-man, he do not rather bring a punishment upon himself." Now when Antonia told Agrippa of this, he was still much more pressing that the matter might be examined into; so Antonia, upon Agrippa's lying hard at her continually to beg this favour, took the following opportunity: As Tiberius lay once at his ease upon his sedan, and was carried about, and Caius, her grandson, and Agrippa, were before him after dinner she walked by the sedan, and desired him to call Eutychus, and have him examined; to which he replied, "O Antonia! the gods are my witnesses that I am induced to do what I am going to do, not by my own inclination, but because I am forced to it by thy prayers." When he had said this, he ordered Macro, who succeeded Sejanus, to bring Eutychus to him; accordingly, without any delay, he was brought. Then Tiberius asked him what he had to say against a man who had given him his liberty. Upon which he said, "O my lord! this Caius, and Agrippa with him, were once riding in a chariot, when I sat at their feet, and, among other discourses that passed, Agrippa said to Caius, Oh that the day would once come when this old fellow will die and name thee for the governor of the habitable earth! for then this Tiberius, his grandson, would be no hinderance, but would be taken off by thee, and that earth would be happy, and I happy also." Now Tiberius took these to be truly Agrippa's words, and bearing a grudge withal at Agrippa, because, when he had commanded him to pay his respects to Tiberius, his grandson, and the son of Drusus, Agrippa had not paid him that respect, but had disobeyed his commands, and transferred all his regard to Caius; he said to Macro, "Bind this man." But Macro, not distinctly knowing which of them it was whom he bid him bind, and not expecting that he would have any such thing done to Agrippa, he forbore, and came to ask more distinctly what it was that he said. But when Caesar had gone round the hippodrome, he found Agrippa standing: "For certain," said he, "Macro, this is the man I meant to have bound;" and when he still asked, "Which of these is to be bound?" he said "Agrippa." Upon which Agrippa betook himself to make supplication for himself, putting him in mind of his son, with whom he was brought up, and of Tiberius [his grandson] whom he had educated; but all to no purpose; for they led him about bound even in his purple garments. It was also very hot weather, and they had but little wine to their meal, so that he was very thirsty; he was also in a sort of agony, and took this treatment of him heinously: as he therefore saw one of Caius's slaves, whose name was Thaumastus, carrying some water in a vessel, he desired that he would let him drink; so the servant gave him some water to drink, and he drank heartily, and said, "O thou boy! this service of thine to me will be for thy advantage; for if I once get clear of these my bonds, I will soon procure thee thy freedom of Caius who has not been wanting to minister to me now I am in bonds, in the same manner as when I was in my former state and dignity." Nor did he deceive him in what he promised him, but made him amends for what he had now done; for when afterward Agrippa was come to the kingdom, he took particular care of Thaumastus, and got him his liberty from Caius, and made him the steward over his own estate; and when he died, he left him to Agrippa his son, and to Bernice his daughter, to minister to them in the same capacity. The man also grew old in that honourable post, and therein died. But all this happened a good while later.

7. Now Agrippa stood in his bonds before the royal palace, and leaned on a certain tree for grief, with many others, who were in bonds also; and as a certain bird sat upon the tree on which Agrippa leaned, [the Romans call this bird bubo,] [an owl,] one of those that were bound, a German by nation, saw him, and asked a soldier who that man in purple was; and when he was informed that his name was Agrippa, and that he was by nation a Jew, and one of the principal men of that nation, he asked leave of the soldier to whom he was bound, to let him come nearer to him, to speak with him; for that he had a mind to inquire of him about some things relating to his country; which liberty, when he had obtained, and as he stood near him, he said thus to him by an interpreter: "This sudden change of thy condition, O young man! is grievous to thee, as bringing on thee a manifold and very great adversity; nor wilt thou believe me, when I foretell how thou wilt get clear of this misery which thou art now under, and how Divine Providence will provide for thee. Know therefore [and I appeal to my own country gods, as well as to the gods of this place, who have awarded these bonds to us] that all I am going to say about thy concerns shall neither be said for favour nor bribery, nor out of an endeavor to make thee cheerful without cause; for such predictions, when they come to fail, make the grief at last, and in earnest, more bitter than if the party had never heard of any such thing. However, though I run the hazard of my own self, I think it fit to declare to thee the prediction of the gods. It cannot be that thou shouldst long continue in these bonds; but thou wilt soon be delivered from them, and wilt be promoted to the highest dignity and power, and thou wilt be envied by all those who now pity thy hard fortune; and thou wilt be happy till thy death, and wilt leave thine happiness to

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the children whom thou shalt have. But do thou remember, when thou seest this bird again, that thou wilt then live but five days longer. This event will be brought to pass by that God who hath sent this bird hither to be a sign unto thee. And I cannot but think it unjust to conceal from thee what I foreknow concerning thee, that, by thy knowing beforehand what happiness is coming upon thee, thou mayst not regard thy present misfortunes. But when this happiness shall actually befall thee, do not forget what misery I am in myself, but endeavor to deliver me." So when the German had said this, he made Agrippa laugh at him as much as he afterwards appeared worthy of admiration. But now Antonia took Agrippa's misfortune to heart: however, to speak to Tiberius on his behalf, she took to be a very difficult thing, and indeed quite impracticable, as to any hope of success; yet did she procure of Macro, that the soldiers that kept him should be of a gentle nature, and that the centurion who was over them and was to diet with him, should be of the same disposition, and that he might have leave to bathe himself every day, and that his freed-men and friends might come to him, and that other things that tended to ease him might be indulged him. So his friend Silas came in to him, and two of his freed-men, Marsyas and Stechus, brought him such sorts of food as he was fond of, and indeed took great care of him; they also brought him garments, under pretense of selling them; and when night came on, they laid them under him; and the soldiers assisted them, as Macro had given them order to do beforehand. And this was Agrippa's condition for six months' time, and in this case were his affairs.

8. But for Tiberius, upon his return to Caprein, he fell sick. At first his distemper was but gentle; but as that distemper increased upon him, he had small or no hopes of recovery. Hereupon he bid Euodus, who was that freed-man whom he most of all respected, to bring the children to him, for that he wanted to talk to them before he died. Now he had at present no sons of his own alive for Drusus, who was his only son, was dead; but Drusus's son Tiberius was still living, whose additional name was Gemellus: there was also living Caius, the son of Germanicus, who was the son of his brother [Drusus]. He was now grown up, and had a liberal education, and was well improved by it, and was in esteem and favour with the people, on account of the excellent character of his father Germanicus, who had attained the highest honour among the multitude, by the firmness of his virtuous behavior, by the easiness and agreeableness of his conversing with the multitude, and because the dignity he was in did not hinder his familiarity with them all, as if they were his equals; by which behavior he was not only greatly esteemed by the people and the senate, but by every one of those nations that were subject to the Romans; some of which were affected when they came to him with the gracefulness of their reception by him, and others were affected in the same manner by the report of the others that had been with him; and, upon his death, there was a lamentation made by all men; not such a one as was to be made in way of flattery to their rulers, while they did but counterfeit sorrow, but such as was real; while every body grieved at his death, as if they had lost one that was near to them. And truly such had been his easy conversation with men, that it turned greatly to the advantage of his son among all; and, among others, the soldiery were so peculiarly affected to him, that they reckoned it an eligible thing, if need were, to die themselves, if he might but attain to the government.

9. But when Tiberius had given order to Euodus to bring the children to him the next day in the morning, he prayed to his country gods to show him a manifest signal which of those children should come to the government; being very desirous to leave it to his son's son, but still depending upon what God should foreshow concerning them more than upon his own opinion and inclination; so he made this to be the omen, that the government should be left to him who should come to him first the next day. When he had thus resolved within himself, he sent to his grandson's tutor, and ordered him to bring the child to him early in the morning, as supposing that God would permit him to be made emperor. But God proved opposite to his designation; for while Tiberius was thus contriving matters, and as soon as it was at all day, he bid Euodus to call in that child which should be there ready. So he went out, and found Caius before the door, for Tiberius was not yet come, but staid waiting for his breakfast; for Euodus knew nothing of what his lord intended; so he said to Caius, "Thy father calls thee," and then brought him in. As soon as Tiberius saw Caius, and not before, he reflected on the power of God, and how the ability of bestowing the government on whom he would was entirely taken from him; and thence he was not able to establish what he had intended. So he greatly lamented that his power of establishing what he had before contrived was taken from him, and that his grandson Tiberius was not only to lose the Roman empire by his fatality, but his own safety also, because his preservation would now depend upon such as would be more potent than himself, who would think it a thing not to be borne, that a kinsman should live with them, and so his relation would not be able to protect him; but he would be feared and hated by him who had the supreme authority, partly on account of his being next to the empire, and partly on account of his perpetually contriving to get the government, both in order to preserve himself, and to be at the head of affairs also. Now Tiberius had been very much given to astrology, 25 and the calculation of nativities, and had spent his life in the esteem of what predictions had proved true, more than those whose profession it was. Accordingly, when he once saw Galba coming in to him, he said to his most intimate friends, that there came in a man that would one day have the dignity of the Roman empire. So that this Tiberius was more addicted to all such sorts of diviners than any other of the Roman emperors, because he had found them to have told him truth in his own affairs. And indeed he was now in great distress upon this accident that had befallen him, and was very much grieved at the destruction of his son's son, which he foresaw, and complained of himself, that he should have made use of such a method of divination beforehand, while it was in his power to have died without grief by this knowledge of futurity; whereas he was now tormented by his foreknowledge of the misfortune of such as were dearest to him, and must die under that torment. Now although he was disordered at this unexpected revolution of the government to those for whom he did not intend it, he spake thus to Caius, though unwillingly, and against his own inclination: "O child! although Tiberius be nearer related to me than thou art, I, by my own determination, and the conspiring suffrage of the gods, do give and put into thy hand the Roman empire; and I desire thee never to be unmindful when thou comest to it, either of my kindness to thee, who set thee in so high a dignity, or of thy relation to Tiberius. But as thou knowest that I am, together with and after the gods, the procurer of so great happiness to thee; so I desire that thou wilt make me a return for my readiness to assist thee, and wilt take care of Tiberius because of his near relation to thee. Besides which, thou art to know, that while Tiberius is alive, he will be a security to thee, both as to empire and as to thy own preservation; but if he die, that will be but a prelude to thy own misfortunes; for to be alone under the weight of such vast affairs is very dangerous; nor will the gods suffer those actions which are unjustly done, contrary to that law which directs men to act otherwise, to go off unpunished." This was the speech which Tiberius made, which did not persuade Caius to act accordingly, although he promised so to do; but when he was settled in the government, he took off this Tiberius, as was predicted by the other Tiberius; as he was also himself, in no long time afterward, slain by a secret plot laid against him.

10. So when Tiberius had at this time appointed Caius to be his successor, he outlived but a few days, and then died, after he had held the government twenty-two years five months and three days. Now Caius was the fourth emperor. But when the Romans understood that Tiberius was dead, they rejoiced at the good news, but had not courage to believe it; not because they were unwilling it should be true, for they would have given huge sums of money that it might be so, but because they were afraid, that if they had showed their joy when the news proved false, their joy should be openly known, and they should be accused for it, and be thereby undone. For this Tiberius had brought a vast number of miseries on the best families of the Romans, since he was easily inflamed with passion in all cases, and was of such a temper as rendered his anger irrevocable, till he had executed the same, although he had taken a hatred against men without reason; for he was by nature fierce in all the sentences he gave, and made death the penalty for the lightest offenses; insomuch that when the Romans heard the rumor about his death gladly, they were restrained from the enjoyment of that pleasure by the dread of such miseries as they foresaw would follow, if their hopes proved ill-grounded. Now Marsyas, Agrippa's freed-man, as soon as he heard of Tiberius's death, came running to tell Agrippa the news; and finding him going out to the bath, he gave him a nod, and said, in the Hebrew tongue, "The lion is dead;" who, understanding his meaning, and being overjoyed at the news, "Nay," said he, "but all sorts of thanks and happiness attend thee for this news of thine; only I wish that what thou sayest may prove true." Now the centurion who was set to keep Agrippa, when he saw with what haste Marsyas came, and what joy Agrippa had from what he said, he had a suspicion that his words implied some great innovation of affairs, and he asked them about what was said. They at first diverted the discourse; but upon his further pressing, Agrippa, without more ado, told him, for he was already become his friend; so he joined with him in that pleasure which this news occasioned, because it would be fortunate to Agrippa, and made him a supper. But as they were feasting, and the cups went about, there came one who said that Tiberius was still alive, and would return to the city in a few days. At which news the centurion was exceedingly troubled, because he had done what might cost him his life, to have treated so joyfully a prisoner, and this upon the news of the death of Caesar; so he thrust Agrippa from the couch whereon he lay, and said, "Dost thou think to cheat me by a lie about the emperor without punishment? and shalt not thou pay for this thy malicious report at the price of thine head?" When he had so said, he ordered Agrippa to be bound again, [for he had loosed him before,] and kept a severer guard over him than formerly, and in that evil condition was Agrippa that night; but the next day the rumor increased in the city, and confirmed the news that Tiberius was certainly dead; insomuch that men durst now openly and freely talk about it; nay, some offered sacrifices on that account. Several letters also came from Caius; one of them to the senate, which informed them of the death of Tiberius, and of his own entrance on the government; another to Piso, the governor of the city, which told him the same thing. He also gave order that Agrippa should be removed out of the camp, and go to that house where he lived before he was put in prison; so that he was now out of fear as to his own affairs; for although he was still in custody, yet it was now with ease to his own affairs. Now, as soon as Caius was come to Rome, and had brought Tiberius's dead body with him, and had made a sumptuous funeral for him, according to the laws of his country, he was much disposed to set Agrippa at liberty that very day; but Antonia hindered him, not out of any ill-will to the prisoner, but out of regard to decency in Caius, lest that should make men believe that he received the death of Tiberius with pleasure, when he loosed one whom he had bound immediately. However, there did not many days pass ere he sent for him to his house, and had him shaved, and made him change his raiment; after which he put a diadem upon his head, and appointed him to be king of the tetrarchy of Philip. He also gave him the tetrarchy of Lysanias, and changed his iron chain for a golden one of equal weight. He also sent Marullus to be procurator of Judea.

11. Now, in the second year of the reign of Caius Caesar, Agrippa desired leave to be given him to sail home, and settle the affairs of his government; and he promised to return again, when he had put the rest in order, as it ought to be put. So, upon the emperor's permission, he came into his own country, and appeared to them all unexpectedly as asking, and thereby demonstrated to the men that saw him the power of fortune, when they compared his former poverty with his present happy affluence; so some called him a happy man, and others could not well believe that things were so much changed with him for the better.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 7

How Herod The Tetrarch Was Banished.

1. But Herodias, Agrippa's sister, who now lived as wife to that Herod who was tetrarch of Galilee and Peres, took this authority of her brother in an envious manner, particularly when she saw that he had a greater dignity bestowed on him than her husband had; since, when he ran away, it was because he was not able to pay his debts; and now he was come back, he was in a way of dignity, and of great good fortune. She was therefore grieved and much displeased at so great a mutation of his affairs; and chiefly when she saw him marching among the multitude with the usual ensigns of royal authority, she was not able to conceal how miserable she was, by reason of the envy she had towards him; but she excited her husband, and desired him that he would sail to Rome, to court honours equal to his; for she said that she could not bear to live any longer, while Agrippa, the son of that Aristobulus who was condemned to die by his father, one that came to her husband in such extreme poverty, that the necessaries of life were forced to be entirely supplied him day by day; and when he fled away from his creditors by sea, he now returned a king; while he was himself the son of a king, and while the near relation he bare to royal authority called upon him to gain the like dignity, he sat still, and was contented with a privater life. "But then, Herod, although thou wast formerly not concerned to be in a lower condition than thy father from whom thou wast derived had been, yet do thou now seek after the dignity which thy kinsman hath attained to; and do not thou bear this contempt, that a man who admired thy riches should be in greater honour than thyself, nor suffer his poverty to show itself able to purchase greater things than our abundance; nor do thou esteem it other than a shameful thing to be inferior to one who, the other day, lived upon thy charity. But let us go to Rome, and let us spare no pains nor expenses, either of silver or gold, since they cannot be kept for any better use than for the obtaining of a kingdom."

2. But for Herod, he opposed her request at this time, out of the love of ease, and having a suspicion of the trouble he should have at Rome; so he tried to instruct her better. But the more she saw him draw back, the more she pressed him to it, and desired him to leave no stone unturned in order to be king; and at last she left not off till she engaged him, whether he would or not, to be of her sentiments, because he could no otherwise avoid her importunity. So he got all things ready, after as sumptuous a manner as he was able, and spared for nothing, and went up to Rome, and took Herodias along with him. But Agrippa, when he was made sensible of their intentions and preparations, he also prepared to go thither; and as soon as he heard they set sail, he sent Fortunatus, one of his freed-men, to Rome, to carry presents to the emperor, and letters against Herod, and to give Caius a particular account of those matters, if he should have any opportunity.

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This man followed Herod so quick, and had so prosperous a voyage, and came so little after Herod, that while Herod was with Caius, he came himself, and delivered his letters; for they both sailed to Dicearchia, and found Caius at Bairn, which is itself a little city of Campania, at the distance of about five furlongs from Dicearchia. There are in that place royal palaces, with sumptuous apartments, every emperor still endeavoring to outdo his predecessor's magnificence; the place also affords warm baths, that spring out of the ground of their own accord, which are of advantage for the recovery of the health of those that make use of them; and, besides, they minister to men's luxury also. Now Caius saluted Herod, for he first met with him, and then looked upon the letters which Agrippa had sent him, and which were written in order to accuse Herod; wherein he accused him, that he had been in confederacy with Sejanus against Tiberius's and that he was now confederate with Artabanus, the king of Parthia, in opposition to the government of Caius; as a demonstration of which he alleged, that he had armour sufficient for seventy thousand men ready in his armoury. Caius was moved at this information, and asked Herod whether what was said about the armour was true; and when he confessed there was such armour there, for he could not deny the same, the truth of it being too notorious, Caius took that to be a sufficient proof of the accusation, that he intended to revolt. So he took away from him his tetrarchy, and gave it by way of addition to Agrippa's kingdom; he also gave Herod's money to Agrippa, and, by way of punishment, awarded him a perpetual banishment, and appointed Lyons, a city of Gaul, to be his place of habitation. But when he was informed that Herodias was Agrippa's sister, he made her a present of what money was her own, and told her that it was her brother who prevented her being put under the same calamity with her husband. But she made this reply: "Thou, indeed, O emperor! actest after a magnificent manner, and as becomes thyself in what thou offerest me; but the kindness which I have for my husband hinders me from partaking of the favour of thy gift; for it is not just that I, who have been made a partner in his prosperity, should forsake him in his misfortunes." Hereupon Caius was angry at her, and sent her with Herod into banishment, and gave her estate to Agrippa. And thus did God punish Herodias for her envy at her brother, and Herod also for giving ear to the vain discourses of a woman. Now Caius managed public affairs with great magnanimity during the first and second year of his reign, and behaved himself with such moderation, that he gained the good-will of the Romans themselves, and of his other subjects. But, in process of time, he went beyond the bounds of human nature in his conceit of himself, and by reason of the vastness of his dominions made himself a god, and took upon himself to act in all things to the reproach of the Deity itself.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 8

Concerning The Embassage Of The Jews To Caius; And How Caius Sent Petronius Into Syria To Make War Against The Jews, Unless They Would Receive His Statue.

1. There was now a tumult arisen at Alexandria, between the Jewish inhabitants and the Greeks; and three ambassadors were chosen out of each party that were at variance, who came to Caius. Now one of these ambassadors from the people of Alexandria was Apion, who uttered many blasphemies against the Jews; and, among other things that he said, he charged them with neglecting the honours that belonged to Caesar; for that while all who were subject to the Roman empire built altars and temples to Caius, and in other regards universally received him as they received the gods, these Jews alone thought it a dishonourable thing for them to erect statues in honour of him, as well as to swear by his name. Many of these severe things were said by Apion, by which he hoped to provoke Caius to anger at the Jews, as he was likely to be. But Philo, the principal of the Jewish embassage, a man eminent on all accounts, brother to Alexander the alabarch, and one not unskillful in philosophy, was ready to betake himself to make his defense against those accusations; but Caius prohibited him, and bid him begone; he was also in such a rage, that it openly appeared he was about to do them some very great mischief. So Philo being thus affronted, went out, and said to those Jews who were about him, that they should be of good courage, since Caius's words indeed showed anger at them, but in reality had already set God against himself.

2. Hereupon Caius, taking it very heinously that he should be thus despised by the Jews alone, sent Petronius to be president of Syria, and successor in the government to Vitellius, and gave him order to make an invasion into Judea, with a great body of troops; and if they would admit of his statue willingly, to erect it in the temple of God; but if they were obstinate, to conquer them by war, and then to do it. Accordingly, Petronius took the government of Syria, and made haste to obey Caesar's epistle. He got together as great a number of auxiliaries as he possibly could, and took with him two legions of the Roman army, and came to Ptolemais, and there wintered, as intending to set about the war in the spring. He also wrote word to Caius what he had resolved to do, who commended him for his alacrity, and ordered him to go on, and to make war with them, in case they would not obey his commands. But there came many ten thousands of the Jews to Petronius, to Ptolemais, to offer their petitions to him, that he would not compel them to transgress and violate the law of their forefathers; "but if," said they, "thou art entirely resolved to bring this statue, and erect it, do thou first kill us, and then do what thou hast resolved on; for while we are alive we cannot permit such things as are forbidden us to be done by the authority of our legislator, and by our forefathers' determination that such prohibitions are instances of virtue." But Petronius was angry at them, and said, "If indeed I were myself emperor, and were at liberty to follow my own inclination, and then had designed to act thus, these your words would be justly spoken to me; but now Caesar hath sent to me, I am under the necessity of being subservient to his decrees, because a disobedience to them will bring upon me inevitable destruction." Then the Jews replied, "Since, therefore, thou art so disposed, O Petronius! that thou wilt not disobey Caius's epistles, neither will we transgress the commands of our law; and as we depend upon the excellency of our laws, and, by the labours of our ancestors, have continued hitherto without suffering them to be transgressed, we dare not by any means suffer ourselves to be so timorous as to transgress those laws out of the fear of death, which God hath determined are for our advantage; and if we fall into misfortunes, we will bear them, in order to preserve our laws, as knowing that those who expose themselves to dangers have good hope of escaping them, because God will stand on our side, when, out of regard to him, we undergo afflictions, and sustain the uncertain turns of fortune. But if we should submit to thee, we should be greatly reproached for our cowardice, as thereby showing ourselves ready to transgress our law; and we should incur the great anger of God also, who, even thyself being judge, is superior to Caius."

3. When Petronius saw by their words that their determination was hard to be removed, and that, without a war, he should not be able to be subservient to Caius in the dedication of his statue, and that there must be a great deal of bloodshed, he took his friends, and the servants that were about him, and hasted to Tiberias, as wanting to know in what posture the affairs of the Jews were; and many ten thousands of the Jews met Petronius again, when he was come to Tiberias. These thought they must run a mighty hazard if they should have a war with the Romans, but judged that the transgression of the law was of much greater consequence, and made supplication to him, that he would by no means reduce them to such distresses, nor defile their city with the dedication of the statue. Then Petronius said to them, "Will you then make war with Caesar, without considering his great preparations for war, and your own weakness?" They replied, "We will not by any means make war with him, but still we will die before we see our laws transgressed." So they threw themselves down upon their faces, and stretched out their throats, and said they were ready to be slain; and this they did for forty days together, and in the mean time left off the tilling of their ground, and that while the season of the year required them to sow it. Thus they continued firm in their resolution, and proposed to themselves to die willingly, rather than to see the dedication of the statue.

4. When matters were in this state, Aristobulus, king Agrippa's brother, and Heleias the Great, and the other principal men of that family with them, went in unto Petronius, and besought him, that since he saw the resolution of the multitude, he would not make any alteration, and thereby drive them to despair; but would write to Caius, that the Jews had an insuperable aversion to the reception of the statue, and how they continued with him, and left off the tillage off their ground: that they were not willing to go to war with him, because they were not able to do it, but were ready to die with pleasure, rather than suffer their laws to be transgressed: and how, upon the land's continuing unsown, robberies would grow up, on the inability they would be under of paying their tributes; and that Caius might be thereby moved to pity, and not order any barbarous action to be done to them, nor think of destroying the nation: that if he continues inflexible in his former opinion to bring a war upon them, he may then set about it himself. And thus did Aristobulus, and the rest with him, supplicate Petronius. So Petronius, partly on account of the pressing instances which Aristobulus and the rest with him made, and because of the great consequence of what they desired, and the earnestness wherewith they made their supplication,—partly on account of the firmness of the opposition made by the Jews, which he saw, while he thought it a terrible thing for him to be such a slave to the madness of Caius, as to slay so many ten thousand men, only because of their religious disposition towards God, and after that to pass his life in expectation of punishment; Petronius, I say, thought it much better to send to Caius, and to let him know how intolerable it was to him to bear the anger he might have against him for not serving him sooner, in obedience to his epistle, for that perhaps he might persuade him; and that if this mad resolution continued, he might then begin the war against them; nay, that in case he should turn his hatred against himself, it was fit for virtuous persons even to die for the sake of such vast multitudes of men. Accordingly, he determined to hearken to the petitioners in this matter.

5. He then called the Jews together to Tiberias, who came many ten thousands in number; he also placed that army he now had with him opposite to them; but did not discover his own meaning, but the commands of the emperor, and told them that his wrath would, without delay, be executed on such as had the courage to disobey what he had commanded, and this immediately; and that it was fit for him, who had obtained so great a dignity by his grant, not to contradict him in any thing:—"yet," said he, "I do not think it just to have such a regard to my own safety and honour, as to refuse to sacrifice them for your preservation, who are so many in number, and endeavor to preserve the regard that is due to your law; which as it hath come down to you from your forefathers, so do you esteem it worthy of your utmost contention to preserve it: nor, with the supreme assistance and power of God, will I be so hardy as to suffer your temple to fall into contempt by the means of the imperial authority. I will, therefore, send to Caius, and let him know what your resolutions are, and will assist your suit as far as I am able, that you may not be exposed to suffer on account of the honest designs you have proposed to yourselves; and may God be your assistant, for his authority is beyond all the contrivance and power of men; and may he procure you the preservation of your ancient laws, and may not he be deprived, though without your consent, of his accustomed honours. But if Caius be irritated, and turn the violence of his rage upon me, I will rather undergo all that danger and that affliction that may come either on my body or my soul, than see so many of you to perish, while you are acting in so excellent a manner. Do you, therefore, every one of you, go your way about your own occupations, and fall to the cultivation of your ground; I will myself send to Rome, and will not refuse to serve you in all things, both by myself and by my friends."

6. When Petronius had said this, and had dismissed the assembly of the Jews, he desired the principal of them to take care of their husbandry, and to speak kindly to the people, and encourage them to have good hope of their affairs. Thus did he readily bring the multitude to be cheerful again. And now did God show his presence to Petronius, and signify to him that he would afford him his assistance in his whole design; for he had no sooner finished the speech that he made to the Jews, but God sent down great showers of rain, contrary to human expectation; for that day was a clear day, and gave no sign, by the appearance of the sky, of any rain; nay, the whole year had been subject to a great drought, and made men despair of any water from above, even when at any time they saw the heavens overcast with clouds; insomuch that when such a great quantity of rain came, and that in an unusual manner, and without any other expectation of it, the Jews hoped that Petronius would by no means fail in his petition for them. But as to Petronius, he was mightily surprised when he perceived that God evidently took care of the Jews, and gave very plain signs of his appearance, and this to such a degree, that those that were in earnest much inclined to the contrary had no power left to contradict it. This was also among those other particulars which he wrote to Caius, which all tended to dissuade him, and by all means to entreat him not to make so many ten thousands of these men go distracted; whom, if he should slay, [for without war they would by no means suffer the laws of their worship to be set aside,] he would lose the revenue they paid him, and would be publicly cursed by them for all future ages. Moreover, that God, who was their Governor, had shown his power most evidently on their account, and that such a power of his as left no room for doubt about it. And this was the business that Petronius was now engaged in.

7. But king Agrippa, who now lived at Rome, was more and more in the favour of Caius; and when he had once made him a supper, and was careful to exceed all others, both in expenses and in such preparations as might contribute most to his pleasure; nay, it was so far from the ability of others, that Caius himself could never equal, much less exceed it [such care had he taken beforehand to exceed all men, and particularly to make all agreeable to Caesar]; hereupon Caius admired his understanding and magnificence, that he should force himself to do all to please him, even beyond such expenses as he could bear, and was desirous not to be behind Agrippa in that generosity which he exerted in order to please him. So Caius, when he had drank wine plentifully, and was merrier than ordinary, said thus during the feast, when Agrippa had drunk to him: "I knew before now how great a respect thou hast had for me, and how great kindness thou hast shown me, though with those hazards to thyself, which thou underwentest under Tiberius on that account; nor hast thou omitted any thing to show thy good-will towards us, even beyond thy ability; whence it would be a base thing for me to be conquered by thy affection. I am therefore desirous to make thee amends for every thing in which I have been formerly deficient; for all that I have bestowed on thee, that may be called my gifts, is but little. Everything that may contribute to thy happiness shall be at thy service, and that cheerfully, and so far as my ability will reach." And this was what Caius said to Agrippa,

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thinking he would ask for some large country, or the revenues of certain cities. But although he had prepared beforehand what he would ask, yet had he not discovered his intentions, but made this answer to Caius immediately: That it was not out of any expectation of gain that he formerly paid his respects to him, contrary to the commands of Tiberius, nor did he now do any thing relating to him out of regard to his own advantage, and in order to receive any thing from him; that the gifts he had already bestowed upon him were great, and beyond the hopes of even a craving man; for although they may be beneath thy power, [who art the donor,] yet are they greater than my inclination and dignity, who am the receiver. And as Caius was astonished at Agrippa's inclinations, and still the more pressed him to make his request for somewhat which he might gratify him with, Agrippa replied, "Since thou, O my lord! declarest such is thy readiness to grant, that I am worthy of thy gifts, I will ask nothing relating to my own felicity; for what thou hast already bestowed on me has made me excel therein; but I desire somewhat which may make thee glorious for piety, and render the Divinity assistant to thy designs, and may be for an honour to me among those that inquire about it, as showing that I never once fail of obtaining what I desire of thee; for my petition is this, that thou wilt no longer think of the dedication of that statue which thou hast ordered to be set up in the Jewish temple by Petronius."

8. And thus did Agrippa venture to cast the die upon this occasion, so great was the affair in his opinion, and in reality, though he knew how dangerous a thing it was so to speak; for had not Caius approved of it, it had tended to no less than the loss of his life. So Caius, who was mightily taken with Agrippa's obliging behavior, and on other accounts thinking it a dishonourable thing to be guilty of falsehood before so many witnesses, in points wherein he had with such alacrity forced Agrippa to become a petitioner, and that it would look as if he had already repented of what he had said, and because he greatly admired Agrippa's virtue, in not desiring him at all to augment his own dominions, either with larger revenues, or other authority, but took care of the public tranquillity, of the laws, and of the Divinity itself, he granted him what he had requested. He also wrote thus to Petronius, commending him for his assembling his army, and then consulting him about these affairs. "If therefore," said' he, "thou hast already erected my statue, let it stand; but if thou hast not yet dedicated it, do not trouble thyself further about it, but dismiss thy army, go back, and take care of those affairs which I sent thee about at first, for I have now no occasion for the erection of that statue. This I have granted as a favour to Agrippa, a man whom I honour so very greatly, that I am not able to contradict what he would have, or what he desired me to do for him." And this was what Caius wrote to Petronius, which was before he received his letter, informing him that the Jews were very ready to revolt about the statue, and that they seemed resolved to threaten war against the Romans, and nothing else. When therefore Caius was much displeased that any attempt should be made against his government as he was a slave to base and vicious actions on all occasions, and had no regard to what was virtuous and honourable, and against whomsoever he resolved to show his anger, and that for any cause whatsoever, he suffered not himself to be restrained by any admonition, but thought the indulging his anger to be a real pleasure, he wrote thus to Petronius: "Seeing thou esteemest the presents made thee by the Jews to be of greater value than my commands, and art grown insolent enough to be subservient to their pleasure, I charge thee to become thy own judge, and to consider what thou art to do, now thou art under my displeasure; for I will make thee an example to the present and to all future ages, that they may not dare to contradict the commands of their emperor."

9. This was the epistle which Caius wrote to Petronius; but Petronius did not receive it while Caius was alive, that ship which carried it sailing so slow, that other letters came to Petronius before this, by which he understood that Caius was dead; for God would not forget the dangers Petronius had undertaken on account of the Jews, and of his own honour. But when he had taken Caius away, out of his indignation of what he had so insolently attempted in assuming to himself divine worship, both Rome and all that dominion conspired with Petronius, especially those that were of the senatorian order, to give Caius his due reward, because he had been unmercifully severe to them; for he died not long after he had written to Petronius that epistle which threatened him with death. But as for the occasion of his death, and the nature of the plot against him, I shall relate them in the progress of this narration. Now that epistle which informed Petronius of Caius's death came first, and a little afterward came that which commanded him to kill himself with his own hands. Whereupon he rejoiced at this coincidence as to the death of Caius, and admired God's providence, who, without the least delay, and immediately, gave him a reward for the regard he had to the temple, and the assistance he afforded the Jews for avoiding the dangers they were in. And by this means Petronius escaped that danger of death, which he could not foresee.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 9

What Befell The Jews That Were In Babylon On Occasion Of Asineus And Anileus, Two Brethren.

1. A Very sad calamity now befell the Jews that were in Mesopotamia, and especially those that dwelt in Babylonia. Inferior it was to none of the calamities which had gone before, and came together with a great slaughter of them, and that greater than any upon record before; concerning all which I shall speak accurately, and shall explain the occasions whence these miseries came upon them. There was a city of Babylonia called Neerda; not only a very populous one, but one that had a good and a large territory about it, and, besides its other advantages, full of men also. It was, besides, not easily to be assaulted by enemies, from the river Euphrates encompassing it all round, and from the wails that were built about it. There was also the city Nisibis, situate on the same current of the river. For which reason the Jews, depending on the natural strength of these places, deposited in them that half shekel which every one, by the custom of our country, offers unto God, as well as they did other things devoted to him; for they made use of these cities as a treasury, whence, at a proper time, they were transmitted to Jerusalem; and many ten thousand men undertook the carriage of those donations, out of fear of the ravages of the Parthians, to whom the Babylonians were then subject. Now there were two men, Asineus and Anileus, of the city Neerda by birth, and brethren to one another. They were destitute of a father, and their mother put them to learn the art of weaving curtains, it not being esteemed disgrace among them for men to be weavers of cloth. Now he that taught them that art, and was set over them, complained that they came too late to their work, and punished them with stripes; but they took this just punishment as an affront, and carried off all the weapons which were kept in that house, which were not a few, and went into a certain place where was a partition of the rivers, and was a place naturally very fit for the feeding of cattle, and for preserving such fruits as were usually laid up against winter. The poorest sort of the young men also resorted to them, whom they armed with the weapons they had gotten, and became their captains; and nothing hindered them from being their leaders into mischief; for as soon as they were become invincible, and had built them a citadel, they sent to such as fed cattle, and ordered them to pay them so much tribute out of them as might be sufficient for their maintenance, proposing also that they would be their friends, if they would submit to them, and that they would defend them from all their other enemies on every side, but that they would kill the cattle of those that refused to obey them. So they hearkened to their proposals, [for they could do nothing else,] and sent them as many sheep as were required of them; whereby their forces grew greater, and they became lords over all they pleased, because they marched suddenly, and did them a mischief, insomuch that every body who had to do with them chose to pay them respect; and they became formidable to such as came to assault them, till the report about them came to the ears of the king of Parthia himself.

2. But when the governor of Babylonia understood this, and had a mind to put a stop to them before they grew greater, and before greater mischiefs should arise from them, he got together as great an army as he could, both of Parthians and Babylonians, and marched against them, thinking to attack them and destroy them before any one should carry them the news that he had got an army together. He then encamped at a lake, and lay still; but on the next day [it was the sabbath, which is among the Jews a day of rest from all sorts of work] he supposed that the enemy would not dare to fight him thereon, but that he would take them and carry them away prisoners, without fighting. He therefore proceeded gradually, and thought to fall upon them on the sudden. Now Asineus was sitting with the rest, and their weapons lay by them; upon which he said, "Sirs, I hear a neighing of horses; not of such as are feeding, but such as have men on their backs; I also hear such a noise of their bridles, that I am afraid that some enemies are coming upon us to encompass us round. However, let somebody go to look about, and make report of what reality there is in the present state of things; and may what I have said prove a false alarm." And when he had said this, some of them went out to spy out what was the matter; and they came again immediately, and said to him, that "neither hast thou been mistaken in telling us what our enemies were doing, nor will those enemies permit us to be injurious to people any longer. We are caught by their intrigues like brute beasts, and there is a large body of cavalry marching upon us, while we are destitute of hands to defend ourselves withal, because we are restrained from doing it by the prohibition of our law, which obliges us to rest [on this day]." But Asineus did not by any means agree with the opinion of his spy as to what was to be done, but thought it more agreeable to the law to pluck up their spirits in this necessity they were fallen into, and break their law by avenging themselves, although they should die in the action, than by doing nothing to please their enemies in submitting to be slain by them. Accordingly, he took up his weapons, and infused courage into those that were with him to act as courageously as himself. So they fell upon their enemies, and slew a great many of them, because they despised them and came as to a certain victory, and put the rest to flight.

3. But when the news of this fight came to the king of Parthia, he was surprised at the boldness of these brethren, and was desirous to see them, and speak with them. He therefore sent the most trusty of all his guards to say thus to them: "That king Artabanus, although he had been unjustly treated by you, who have made an attempt against his government, yet hath he more regard to your courageous behavior, than to the anger he bears to you, and hath sent me to give you his right hand and security; and he permits you to come to him safely, and without any violence upon the road; and he wants to have you address yourselves to him as friends, without meaning any guile or deceit to you. He also promises to make you presents, and to pay you those respects which will make an addition of his power to your courage, and thereby be of advantage to you." Yet did Asineus himself put off his journey thither, but sent his brother Anileus with all such presents as he could procure. So he went, and was admitted to the king's presence; and when Artabanus saw Anileus coming alone, he inquired into the reason why Asineus avoided to come along with him; and when he understood that he was afraid, and staid by the lake, he took an oath, by the gods of his country, that he would do them no harm, if they came to him upon the assurances he gave them, and gave him his right hand. This is of the greatest force there with all these barbarians, and affords a firm security to those who converse with them; for none of them will deceive you when once they have given you their right hands, nor will any one doubt of their fidelity, when that is once given, even though they were before suspected of injustice. When Artabanus had done this, he sent away Anileus to persuade his brother to come to him. Now this the king did, because he wanted to curb his own governors of provinces by the courage of these Jewish brethren, lest they should make a league with them; for they were ready for a revolt, and were disposed to rebel, had they been sent on an expedition against them. He was also afraid, lest when he was engaged in a war, in order to subdue those governors of provinces that had revolted, the party of Asineus, and those in Babylonia, should be augmented, and either make war upon him, when they should hear of that revolt, or if they should be disappointed in that case, they would not fail of doing further mischief to him.

4. When the king had these intentions, he sent away Anileus, and Anileus prevailed on his brother [to come to the king], when he had related to him the king's good-will, and the oath that he had taken. Accordingly, they made haste to go to Artabanus, who received them when they were come with pleasure, and admired Asineus's courage in the actions he had done, and this because he was a little man to see to, and at first sight appeared contemptible also, and such as one might deem a person of no value at all. He also said to his friends, how, upon the comparison, he showed his soul to be in all respects superior to his body; and when, as they were drinking together, he once showed Asineus to Abdagases, one of the generals of his army, and told him his name, and described the great courage he was of in war, and Abdagases had desired leave to kill him, and thereby to inflict on him a punishment for those injuries he had done to the Parthian government, the king replied, "I will never give thee leave to kill a man who hath depended on my faith, especially not after I have sent him my right hand, and endeavored to gain his belief by oaths made by the gods. But if thou be a truly warlike man, thou standest not in need of my perjury. Go thou then, and avenge the Parthian government; attack this man, when he is returned back, and conquer him by the forces that are under thy command, without my privity." Hereupon the king called for Asineus, and said to him, "It is time for thee, O thou young man! to return home, and not provoke the indignation of my generals in this place any further, lest they attempt to murder thee, and that without my approbation. I commit to thee the country of Babylonia in trust, that it may, by thy care, be preserved free from robbers, and from other mischiefs. I have kept my faith inviolable to thee, and that not in trifling affairs, but in those that concerned thy safety, and do therefore deserve thou shouldst be kind to me." When he had said this, and given Asineus some presents, he sent him away immediately; who, when he was come home, built fortresses, and became great in a little time, and managed things with such courage and success, as no other person, that had no higher a beginning, ever did before him. Those Parthian governors also, who were sent that way, paid him great respect; and the honour that was paid him by the Babylonians seemed to them too small, and beneath his deserts, although he were in no small dignity and power there; nay, indeed, all the affairs of Mesopotamia depended upon him, and he more and more flourished in this happy condition of his for fifteen years.

5. But as their affairs were in so flourishing a state, there sprang up a calamity among them on the following occasion. When once they had deviated from that course of virtue whereby they had gained so great power, they affronted and transgressed the laws of their forefathers, and fell under the

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dominion of their lusts and pleasures. A certain Parthian, who came as general of an army into those parts, had a wife following him, who had a vast reputation for other accomplishments, and particularly was admired above all other women for her beauty. Anileus, the brother of Asineus, either heard of that her beauty from others, or perhaps saw her himself also, and so became at once her lover and her enemy; partly because he could not hope to enjoy this woman but by obtaining power over her as a captive, and partly because he thought he could not conquer his inclinations for her. As soon therefore as her husband had been declared an enemy to them, and was fallen in the battle, the widow of the deceased was married to this her lover. However, this woman did not come into their house without producing great misfortunes, both to Anileus himself, and to Asineus also; but brought great mischiefs upon them on the occasion following. Since she was led away captive, upon the death of her husband, she concealed the images of those gods which were their country gods, common to her husband and to herself: now it was the custom of that country for all to have the idols they worship in their own houses, and to carry them along with them when they go into a foreign land; agreeable to which custom of theirs she carried her idols with her. Now at first she performed her worship to them privately; but when she was become Anileus's married wife, she worshipped them in her accustomed manner, and with the same appointed ceremonies which she used in her former husband's days; upon which their most esteemed friends blamed him at first, that he did not act after the manner of the Hebrews, nor perform what was agreeable to their laws, in marrying a foreign wife, and one that transgressed the accurate appointments of their sacrifices and religious ceremonies; that he ought to consider, lest, by allowing himself in many pleasures of the body, he might lose his principality, on account of the beauty of a wife, and that high authority which, by God's blessing, he had arrived at. But when they prevailed not at all upon him, he slew one of them for whom he had the greatest respect, because of the liberty he took with him; who, when he was dying, out of regard to the laws, imprecated a punishment upon his murderer Anileus, and upon Asineus also, and that all their companions might come to a like end from their enemies; upon the two first as the principal actors of this wickedness, and upon the rest as those that would not assist him when he suffered in the defense of their laws. Now these latter were sorely grieved, yet did they tolerate these doings, because they remembered that they had arrived at their present happy state by no other means than their fortitude. But when they also heard of the worship of those gods whom the Parthians adore, they thought the injury that Anileus offered to their laws was to be borne no longer; and a greater number of them came to Asineus, and loudly complained of Anileus, and told him that it had been well that he had of himself seen what was advantageous to them; but that however it was now high time to correct what had been done amiss, before the crime that had been committed proved the ruin of himself and all the rest of them. They added, that the marriage of this woman was made without their consent, and without a regard to their old laws; and that the worship which this woman paid [to her gods] was a reproach to the God whom they worshipped. Now Asineus was sensible of his brother's offense, that it had been already the cause of great mischiefs, and would be so for the time to come; yet did he tolerate the same from the good-will he had to so near a relation, and forgiving it to him, on account that his brother was quite overborne by his wicked inclinations. But as more and more still came about him every day, and the clamours about it became greater, he at length spake to Anileus about these clamours, reproving him for his former actions, and desiring him for the future to leave them off, and send the woman back to her relations. But nothing was gained by these reproofs; for as the woman perceived what a tumult was made among the people on her account, and was afraid for Anileus, lest he should come to any harm for his love to her, she infused poison into Asineus's food, and thereby took him off, and was now secure of prevailing, when her lover was to be judge of what should be done about her.

6. So Anileus took the government upon himself alone, and led his army against the villages of Mithridates, who was a man of principal authority in Parthia, and had married king Artabanus's daughter; he also plundered them, and among that prey was found much money, and many slaves, as also a great number of sheep, and many other things, which, when gained, make men's condition happy. Now when Mithridates, who was there at this time, heard that his villages were taken, he was very much displeased to find that Anileus had first begun to injure him, and to affront him in his present dignity, when he had not offered any injury to him beforehand; and he got together the greatest body of horsemen he was able, and those out of that number which were of an age fit for war, and came to fight Anileus; and when he was arrived at a certain village of his own, he lay still there, as intending to fight him on the day following, because it was the sabbath, the day on which the Jews rest. And when Anileus was informed of this by a Syrian stranger of another village, who not only gave him an exact account of other circumstances, but told him where Mithridates would have a feast, he took his supper at a proper time, and marched by night, with an intent of falling upon the Parthians while they were unapprised what they should do; so he fell upon them about the fourth watch of the night, and some of them he slew while they were asleep, and others he put to flight, and took Mithridates alive, and set him naked upon an ass which, among the Parthians, is esteemed the greatest reproach possible. And when he had brought him into a wood with such a resolution, and his friends desired him to kill Mithridates, he soon told them his own mind to the contrary, and said that it was not right to kill a man who was of one of the principal families among the Parthians, and greatly honoured with matching into the royal family; that so far as they had hitherto gone was tolerable; for although they had injured Mithridates, yet if they preserved his life, this benefit would be remembered by him to the advantage of those that gave it him; but that if he were once put to death, the king would not be at rest till he had made a great slaughter of the Jews that dwelt at Babylon; "to whose safety we ought to have a regard, both on account of our relation to them, and because if any misfortune befall us, we have no other place to retire to, since he hath gotten the flower of their youth under him." By this thought, and this speech of his made in council, he persuaded them to act accordingly; so Mithridates was let go. But when he was got away, his wife reproached him, that although he was son-in-law to the king, he neglected to avenge himself on those that had injured him, while he took no care about it, but was contented to have been made a captive by the Jews, and to have escaped them; and she bid him either to go back like a man of courage, or else she sware by the gods of their royal family that she would certainly dissolve her marriage with him. Upon which, partly because he could not bear the daily trouble of her taunts, and partly because he was afraid of her insolence, lest she should in earnest dissolve their marriage, he unwillingly, and against his inclinations, got together again as great an army as he could, and marched along with them, as himself thinking it a thing not to be borne any longer, that he, a Parthian, should owe his preservation to the Jews, when they had been too hard for him in the war.

7. But as soon as Anileus understood that Mithridates was marching with a great army against him, he thought it too ignominious a thing to tarry about the lakes, and not to take the first opportunity of meeting his enemies, and he hoped to have the same success, and to beat their enemies as they did before; as also he ventured boldly upon the like attempts. Accordingly, he led out his army, and a great many more joined themselves to that army, in order to betake themselves to plunder the people, and in order to terrify the enemy again by their numbers. But when they had marched ninety furlongs, while the road had been through dry [and sandy] places, and about the midst of the day, they were become very thirsty; and Mithridates appeared, and fell upon them, as they were in distress for want of water, on which account, and on account of the time of the day, they were not able to bear their weapons. So Anileus and his men were put to an ignominious rout, while men in despair were to attack those that were fresh and in good plight; so a great slaughter was made, and many ten thousand men fell. Now Anileus, and all that stood firm about him, ran away as fast as they were able into a wood, and afforded Mithridates the pleasure of having gained a great victory over them. But there now came in to Anileus a conflux of bad men, who regarded their own lives very little, if they might but gain some present ease, insomuch that they, by thus coming to him, compensated the multitude of those that perished in the fight. Yet were not these men like to those that fell, because they were rash, and unexercised in war; however, with these he came upon the villages of the Babylonians, and a mighty devastation of all things was made there by the injuries that Anileus did them. So the Babylonians, and those that had already been in the war, sent to Neerda to the Jews there, and demanded Anileus. But although they did not agree to their demands, [for if they had been willing to deliver him up, it was not in their power so to do,] yet did they desire to make peace with them. To which the other replied, that they also wanted to settle conditions of peace with them, and sent men together with the Babylonians, who discoursed with Anileus about them. But the Babylonians, upon taking a view of his situation, and having learned where Anileus and his men lay, fell secretly upon them as they were drunk and fallen asleep, and slew all that they caught of them, without any fear, and killed Anileus himself also.

8. The Babylonians were now freed from Anileus's heavy incursions, which had been a great restraint to the effects of that hatred they bore to the Jews; for they were almost always at variance, by reason of the contrariety of their laws; and which party soever grew boldest before the other, they assaulted the other: and at this time in particular it was, that upon the ruin of Anileus's party, the Babylonians attacked the Jews, which made those Jews so vehemently to resent the injuries they received from the Babylonians, that being neither able to fight them, nor bearing to live with them, they went to Seleucia, the principal city of those parts, which was built by Seleucus Nicator. It was inhabited by many of the Macedonians, but by more of the Grecians; not a few of the Syrians also dwelt there; and thither did the Jews fly, and lived there five years, without any misfortunes. But on the sixth year, a pestilence came upon these at Babylon, which occasioned new removals of men's habitations out of that city; and because they came to Seleucia, it happened that a still heavier calamity came upon them on that account which I am going to relate immediately.

9. Now the way of living of the people of Seleucia, which were Greeks and Syrians, was commonly quarrelsome, and full of discords, though the Greeks were too hard for the Syrians. When, therefore, the Jews were come thither, and dwelt among them, there arose a sedition, and the Syrians were too hard for the other, by the assistance of the Jews, who are men that despise dangers, and very ready to fight upon any occasion. Now when the Greeks had the worst in this sedition, and saw that they had but one way of recovering their former authority, and that was, if they could prevent the agreement between the Jews and the Syrians, they every one discoursed with such of the Syrians as were formerly their acquaintance, and promised they would be at peace and friendship with them. Accordingly, they gladly agreed so to do; and when this was done by the principal men of both nations, they soon agreed to a reconciliation; and when they were so agreed, they both knew that the great design of such their union would be their common hatred to the Jews. Accordingly, they fell upon them, and slew about fifty thousand of them; nay, the Jews were all destroyed, excepting a few who escaped, either by the compassion which their friends or neighbours afforded them, in order to let them fly away. These retired to Ctesiphon, a Grecian city, and situate near to Seleucia, where the king [of Parthia] lives in winter every year, and where the greatest part of his riches are reposited; but the Jews had here no certain settlement, those of Seleucia having little concern for the king's honour. Now the whole nation of the Jews were in fear both of the Babylonians and of the Seleucians, because all the Syrians that live in those places agreed with the Seleucians in the war against the Jews; so the most of them gathered themselves together, and went to Neerda and Nisibis, and obtained security there by the strength of those cities; besides which their inhabitants, who were a great many, were all warlike men. And this was the state of the Jews at this time in Babylonia.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES BOOK 19

Containing The Interval Of Three Years And A Half.—From The Departure Out Of Babylon To Fadus, The Roman Procurator.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 1

How Caius Was Slain By Cherea.

1. Now this Caius did not demonstrate his madness in offering injuries only to the Jews at Jerusalem, or to those that dwelt in the neighbourhood; but suffered it to extend itself through all the earth and sea, so far as was in subjection to the Romans, and filled it with ten thousand mischiefs; so many indeed in number as no former history relates. But Rome itself felt the most dismal effects of what he did, while he deemed that not to be any way more honourable than the rest of the cities; but he pulled and hauled its other citizens, but especially the senate, and particularly the nobility, and such as had been dignified by illustrious ancestors; he also had ten thousand devices against such of the equestrian order, as it was styled, who were esteemed by the citizens equal in dignity and wealth with the senators, because out of them the senators were themselves chosen; these he treated after all ignominious manner, and removed them out of his way, while they were at once slain, and their wealth plundered, because he slew men generally in order to seize on their riches. He also asserted his own divinity, and insisted on greater honours to be paid him by his subjects than are due to mankind. He also frequented that temple of Jupiter which they style the Capitol, which is with them the most holy of all their temples, and had boldness enough to call himself the brother of Jupiter. And other pranks he did like a madman; as when he laid a bridge from the city Dicearchia, which belongs to Campania, to Misenum, another city upon the sea-side, from one promontory to another, of the length of thirty furlongs, as measured over the sea. And this was done because he esteemed it to be a most tedious thing to row over it in a small ship, and thought withal that it became him to make that bridge, since he was lord of the sea, and might oblige it to give marks of obedience as well as the earth; so he enclosed the whole bay within his bridge, and drove his chariot over it; and thought that, as he was a god, it was fit for him to travel over such roads as this was. Nor did he abstain from the plunder of any of the Grecian temples, and gave order that all the engravings and sculptures, and the rest of the ornaments of the statues and donations therein dedicated, should be brought to him, saying that the best things ought to be set no where but in the best place, and that the city of Rome was that best place. He

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also adorned his own house and his gardens with the curiosities brought from those temples, together with the houses he lay at when he traveled all over Italy; whence he did not scruple to give a command that the statue of Jupiter Olympius, so called because he was honoured at the Olympian games by the Greeks, which was the work of Phidias the Athenian, should be brought to Rome. Yet did not he compass his end, because the architects told Memmius Regulus, who was commanded to remove that statue of Jupiter, that the workmanship was such as would be spoiled, and would not bear the removal. It was also reported that Memmius, both on that account, and on account of some such mighty prodigies as are of an incredible nature, put off the taking it down, and wrote to Caius those accounts, as his apology for not having done what his epistle required of him; and that when he was thence in danger of perishing, he was saved by Caius being dead himself, before he had put him to death.

2. Nay, Caius's madness came to this height, that when he had a daughter born, he carried her into the capitol, and put her upon the knees of the statue, and said that the child was common to him and to Jupiter, and determined that she had two fathers, but which of these fathers were the greatest he left undetermined; and yet mankind bore him in such his pranks. He also gave leave to slaves to accuse their masters of any crimes whatsoever they pleased; for all such accusations were terrible, because they were in great part made to please him, and at his suggestion, insomuch that Pollux, Claudius's slave, had the boldness to lay an accusation against Claudius himself; and Caius was not ashamed to be present at his trial of life and death, to hear that trial of his own uncle, in hopes of being able to take him off, although he did not succeed to his mind. But when he had filled the whole habitable world which he governed with false accusations and miseries, and had occasioned the greatest insults of slaves against their masters, who indeed in a great measure ruled them, there were many secret plots now laid against him; some in anger, and in order for men to revenge themselves, on account of the miseries they had already undergone from him; and others made attempts upon him, in order to take him off before they should fall into such great miseries, while his death came very fortunately for the preservation of the laws of all men, and had a great influence upon the public welfare; and this happened most happily for our nation in particular, which had almost utterly perished if he had not been suddenly slain. And I confess I have a mind to give a full account of this matter particularly, because it will afford great assurance of the power of God, and great comfort to those that are under afflictions, and wise caution to those who think their happiness will never end, nor bring them at length to the most lasting miseries, if they do not conduct their lives by the principles of virtue.

3. Now there were three several conspiracies made in order to take off Caius, and each of these three were conducted by excellent persons. Emilius Regulus, born at Corduba in Spain, got some men together, and was desirous to take Caius off, either by them or by himself. Another conspiracy there was laid by them, under the conduct of Cherea Cassius, the tribune [of the Pretorian band]. Minucianus Annins was also one of great consequence among those that were prepared to oppose his tyranny. Now the several occasions of these men's several hatred and conspiracy against Caius were these: Regulus had indignation and hatred against all injustice, for he had a mind naturally angry, and bold, and free, which made him not conceal his counsels; so he communicated them to many of his friends, and to others who seemed to him persons of activity and vigor: Minucianus entered into this conspiracy, because of the injustice done to Lepidus his particular friend, and one of the best character of all the citizens, whom Caius had slain, as also because he was afraid of himself, since Caius's wrath tended to the slaughter of all alike: and for Cherea, he came in, because he thought it a deed worthy of a free ingenuous man to kill Caius, and was ashamed of the reproaches he lay under from Caius, as though he were a coward; as also because he was himself in danger every day from his friendship with him, and the observance he paid him. These men proposed this attempt to all the rest that were concerned, who saw the injuries that were offered them, and were desirous that Caius's slaughter might succeed by their mutual assistance of one another, and they might themselves escape being killed by the taking off Caius; that perhaps they should gain their point; and that it would be a happy thing, if they should gain it, to approve themselves to so many excellent persons, as earnestly wished to be partakers with them in their design for the delivery of the city and of the government, even at the hazard of their own lives. But still Cherea was the most zealous of them all, both out of a desire of getting himself the greatest name, and also by reason of his access to Caius's presence with less danger, because he was tribune, and could therefore the more easily kill him.

4. Now at this time came on the horse-races [Circensian games]; the view of which games was eagerly desired by the people of Rome, for they come with great alacrity into the hippodrome [circus] at such times, and petition their emperors, in great multitudes, for what they stand in need of; who usually did not think fit to deny them their requests, but readily and gratefully granted them. Accordingly, they most importunately desired that Caius would now ease them in their tributes, and abate somewhat of the rigor of their taxes imposed upon them; but he would not hear their petition; and when their clamours increased, he sent soldiers some one way and some another, and gave order that they should lay hold on those that made the clamours, and without any more ado bring them out, and put them to death. These were Caius's commands, and those who were commanded executed the same; and the number of those who were slain on this occasion was very great. Now the people saw this, and bore it so far, that they left off clamouring, because they saw with their own eyes that this petition to be relieved, as to the payment of their money, brought immediate death upon them. These things made Cherea more resolute to go on with his plot, in order to put an end to this barbarity of Caius against men. He then at several times thought to fall upon Caius, even as he was feasting; yet did he restrain himself by some considerations; not that he had any doubt on him about killing him, but as watching for a proper season, that the attempt might not be frustrated, but that he might give the blow so as might certainly gain his purpose.

5. Cherea had been in the army a long time, yet was he not pleased with conversing so much with Caius. But Caius had set him to require the tributes, and other dues, which, when not paid in due time, were forfeited to Caesar's treasury; and he had made some delays in requiring them, because those burdens had been doubled, and had rather indulged his own mild disposition than performed Caius's command; nay, indeed, he provoked Caius to anger by his sparing men, and pitying the hard fortunes of those from whom he demanded the taxes; and Caius upbraided him with his sloth and effeminacy in being so long about collecting the taxes. And indeed he did not only affront him in other respects, but when he gave him the watchword of the day, to whom it was to be given by his place, he gave him feminine words, and those of a nature very reproachful; and these watchwords he gave out, as having been initiated in the secrets of certain mysteries, which he had been himself the author of. Now although he had sometimes put on women's clothes, and had been wrapt in some embroidered garments to them belonging, and done a great many other things, in order to make the company mistake him for a woman; yet did he, by way of reproach, object the like womanish behavior to Cherea. But when Cherea received the watchword from him, he had indignation at it, but had greater indignation at the delivery of it to others, as being laughed at by those that received it; insomuch that his fellow tribunes made him the subject of their drollery; for they would foretell that he would bring them some of his usual watchwords when he was about to take the watchword from Caesar, and would thereby make him ridiculous; on which accounts he took the courage of assuming certain partners to him, as having just reasons for his indignation against Caius. Now there was one Pompedius, a senator, and one who had gone through almost all posts in the government, but otherwise an Epicurean, and for that reason loved to lead an inactive life. Now Timidius, an enemy of his, had informed Caius that he had used indecent reproaches against him, and he made use of Quintilia for a witness to them; a woman she was much beloved by many that frequented the theater, and particularly by Pompedius, on account of her great beauty. Now this woman thought it a horrible thing to attest to an accusation that touched the life of her lover, which was also a lie. Timidius, however, wanted to have her brought to the torture. Caius was irritated at this reproach upon him, and commanded Cherea, without any delay, to torture Quintilia, as he used to employ Cherea in such bloody matters, and those that required the torture, because he thought he would do it the more barbarously, in order to avoid that imputation of effeminacy which he had laid upon him. But Quintilia, when she was brought to the rack, trod upon the foot of one of her associates, and let him know that he might be of good courage, and not be afraid of the consequence of her tortures, for that she would bear them with magnanimity. Cherea tortured this woman after a cruel manner; unwillingly indeed, but because he could not help it. He then brought her, without being in the least moved at what she had suffered, into the presence of Caius, and that in such a state as was sad to behold; and Caius, being somewhat affected with the sight of Quintilia, who had her body miserably disordered by the pains she had undergone, freed both her and Pompedius of the crime laid to their charge. He also gave her money to make her an honourable amends, and comfort her for that maiming of her body which she had suffered, and for her glorious patience under such insufferable torments.

6. This matter sorely grieved Cherea, as having been the cause, as far as he could, or the instrument, of those miseries to men, which seemed worthy of consolation to Caius himself; on which account he said to Clement and to Papinius, [of whom Clement was general of the army, and Papinius was a tribune,] "To be sure, O Clement, we have no way failed in our guarding the emperor; for as to those that have made conspiracies against his government, some have been slain by our care and pains, and some have been by us tortured, and this to such a degree, that he hath himself pitied them. How great then is our virtue in submitting to conduct his armies!" Clement held his peace, but showed the shame he was under in obeying Caius's orders, both by his eyes and his blushing countenance, while he thought it by no means right to accuse the emperor in express words, lest their own safety should be endangered thereby. Upon which Cherea took courage, and spake to him without fear of the dangers that were before him, and discoursed largely of the sore calamities under which the city and the government then laboured, and said, "We may indeed pretend in words that Caius is the person unto whom the cause of such miseries ought to be imputed; but, in the opinion of such as are able to judge uprightly, it is I, O Clement! and this Papinius, and before us thou thyself, who bring these tortures upon the Romans, and upon all mankind. It is not done by our being subservient to the commands of Caius, but it is done by our own consent; for whereas it is in our power to put an end to the life of this man, who hath so terribly injured the citizens and his subjects, we are his guard in mischief, and his executioners instead of his soldiers, and are the instruments of his cruelty. We bear these weapons, not for our liberty, not for the Roman government, but only for his preservation, who hath enslaved both their bodies and their minds; and we are every day polluted with the blood that we shed, and the torments we inflict upon others; and this we do, till somebody becomes Caius's instrument in bringing the like miseries upon ourselves. Nor does he thus employ us because he hath a kindness for us, but rather because he hath a suspicion of us, as also because when abundance more have been killed, [for Caius will set no bounds to his wrath, since he aims to do all, not out of regard to justice, but to his own pleasure,] we shall also ourselves be exposed to his cruelty; whereas we ought to be the means of confirming the security and liberty of all, and at the same time to resolve to free ourselves from dangers."

7. Hereupon Clement openly commended Cherea's intentions, but bid him hold his tongue; for that in case his words should get out among many, and such things should be spread abroad as were fit to be concealed, the plot would come to be discovered before it was executed, and they should be brought to punishment; but that they should leave all to futurity, and the hope which thence arose, that some fortunate event would come to their assistance; that, as for himself, his age would not permit him to make any attempt in that case. "However, although perhaps I could suggest what may be safer than what thou, Cherea, hast contrived and said, yet how is it possible for any one to suggest what is more for thy reputation?" So Clement went his way home, with deep reflections on what he had heard, and what he had himself said. Cherea also was under a concern, and went quickly to Cornelius Sabinus, who was himself one of the tribunes, and whom he otherwise knew to be a worthy man, and a lover of liberty, and on that account very uneasy at the present management of public affairs, he being desirous to come immediately to the execution of what had been determined, and thinking it right for him to propose it to the other, and afraid lest Clement should discover them, and besides looking upon delays and puttings off to be the next to desisting from the enterprise.

8. But as all was agreeable to Sabinus, who had himself, equally without Cherea, the same design, but had been silent for want of a person to whom he could safely communicate that design; so having now met with one, who not only promised to conceal what he heard, but who had already opened his mind to him, he was much more encouraged, and desired of Cherea that no delay might be made therein. Accordingly they went to Minucianus, who was as virtuous a man, and as zealous to do glorious actions, as themselves, and suspected by Caius on occasion of the slaughter of Lepidus; for Minucianus and Lepidus were intimate friends, and both in fear of the dangers that they were under; for Caius was terrible to all the great men, as appearing ready to act a mad part towards each of them in particular, and towards all of them in general; and these men were afraid of one another, while they were yet uneasy at the posture of affairs, but avoided to declare their mind and their hatred against Caius to one another, out of fear of the dangers they might be in thereby, although they perceived by other means their mutual hatred against Caius, and on that account were not averse to a mutual kindness one towards another.

9. When Minucianus and Cherea had met together, and saluted one another, [as they had been used on former conversations to give the upper hand to Minucianus, both on account of his eminent dignity, for he was the noblest of all the citizens, and highly commended by all men, especially when he made speeches to them,] Minucianus began first, and asked Cherea, What was the watchword he had received that day from Caius; for the affront which was offered Cherea, in giving the watchwords, was famous over the city. But Cherea made no delay so long as to reply to that question, out of the joy he had that Minueianus would have such confidence in him as to discourse with him. "But do thou," said he, "give me the watchword of liberty. And I return thee my thanks that thou hast so greatly encouraged me to exert myself after

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an extraordinary manner; nor do I stand in need of many words to encourage me, since both thou and I are of the same mind, and partakers of the same resolutions, and this before we have conferred together. I have indeed but one sword girt on, but this one will serve us both. Come on, therefore, let us set about the work. Do thou go first, if thou hast a mind, and bid me follow thee; or else I will go first, and thou shalt assist me, and we will assist one another, and trust one another. Nor is there a necessity for even one sword to such as have a mind disposed to such works, by which mind the sword uses to be successful. I am zealous about this action, nor am I solicitous what I may myself undergo; for I can not at leisure to consider the dangers that may come upon myself, so deeply am I troubled at the slavery our once free country is now under, and at the contempt cast upon our excellent laws, and at the destruction which hangs over all men, by the means of Caius. I wish that I may be judged by thee, and that thou mayst esteem me worthy of credit in these matters, seeing we are both of the same opinion, and there is herein no difference between us."

10. When Minucianus saw the vehemency with which Cherea delivered himself, he gladly embraced him, and encouraged him in his bold attempt, commending him, and embracing him; so he let him go with his good wishes; and some affirm that he thereby confirmed Minucianus in the prosecution of what had been agreed among them; for as Cherea entered into the court, the report runs, that a voice came from among the multitude to encourage him, which bid him finish what he was about, and take the opportunity that Providence afforded; and that Cherea at first suspected that some one of the conspirators had betrayed him, and he was caught, but at length perceived that it was by way of exhortation. Whether somebody that was conscious of what he was about, gave a signal for his encouragement, or whether it was God himself, who looks upon the actions of men, that encouraged him to go on boldly in his design, is uncertain. The plot was now communicated to a great many, and they were all in their armour; some of the conspirators being senators, and some of the equestrian order, and as many of the soldiery as were made acquainted with it; for there was not one of them who would not reckon it a part of his happiness to kill Caius; and on that account they were all very zealous in the affair, by what means soever any one could come at it, that he might not be behindhand in these virtuous designs, but might be ready with all his alacrity or power, both by words and actions, to complete this slaughter of a tyrant. And besides these, Callistus also, who was a freed-man of Caius, and was the only man that had arrived at the greatest degree of power under him,—such a power, indeed, as was in a manner equal to the power of the tyrant himself, by the dread that all men had of him, and by the great riches he had acquired; for he took bribes most plenteously, and committed injuries without bounds, and was more extravagant in the use of his power in unjust proceedings than any other. He also knew the disposition of Caius to be implacable, and never to be turned from what he had resolved on. He had withal many other reasons why he thought himself in danger, and the vastness of his wealth was not one of the least of them; on which account he privately ingratiated himself with Claudius, and transferred his courtship to him, out of this hope, that in case, upon the removal of Caius, the government should come to him, his interest in such changes should lay a foundation for his preserving his dignity under him, since he laid in beforehand a stock of merit, and did Claudius good offices in his promotion. He had also the boldness to pretend that he had been persuaded to make away with Claudius, by poisoning him, but had still invented ten thousand excuses for delaying to do it. But it seems probable to me that Callistus only counterfeited this, in order to ingratiate himself with Claudius; for if Caius had been in earnest resolved to take off Claudius, he would not have admitted of Callistus's excuses; nor would Callistus, if he had been enjoined to do such an act as was desired by Caius, have put it off; nor if he had disobeyed those injunctions of his master, had he escaped immediate punishment; while Claudius was preserved from the madness of Caius by a certain Divine providence, and Callistus pretended to such a piece of merit as he no way deserved.

11. However, the execution of Cherea's designs was put off from day to day, by the sloth of many therein concerned; for as to Cherea himself, he would not willingly make any delay in that execution, thinking every time a fit time for it; for frequent opportunities offered themselves; as when Caius went up to the capitol to sacrifice for his daughter, or when he stood upon his royal palace, and threw gold and silver pieces of money among the people, he might be pushed down headlong, because the top of the palace, that looks towards the market-place, was very high; and also when he celebrated the mysteries, which he had appointed at that time; for he was then no way secluded from the people, but solicitous to do every thing carefully and decently, and was free from all suspicion that he should be then assaulted by any body; and although the gods should afford him no divine assistance to enable him to take away his life, yet had he strength himself sufficient to despatch Caius, even without a sword. Thus was Chorea angry at his fellow conspirators, for fear they should suffer a proper opportunity to pass by; and they were themselves sensible that he had just cause to be angry at them, and that his eagerness was for their advantage; yet did they desire he would have a little longer patience, lest, upon any disappointment they might meet with, they should put the city into disorder, and an inquisition should be made after the conspiracy, and should render the courage of those that were to attack Caius without success, while he would then secure himself more carefully than ever against them; that it would therefore be the best to set about the work when the shows were exhibited in the palace. These shows were acted in honour of that Caesar who first of all changed the popular government, and transferred it to himself; galleries being fixed before the palace, where the Romans that were patricians became spectators, together with their children and their wives, and Caesar himself was to be also a spectator; and they reckoned, among those many ten thousands who would there be crowded into a narrow compass, they should have a favourable opportunity to make their attempt upon him as he came in, because his guards that should protect him, if any of them should have a mind to do it, would not here be able to give him any assistance.

12. Cherea consented to this delay; and when the shows were exhibited, it was resolved to do the work the first day. But fortune, which allowed a further delay to his slaughter, was too hard for their foregoing resolution; and as three days of the regular times for these shows were now over, they had much ado to get the business done on the last day. Then Cherea called the conspirators together, and spake thus to them: "So much time passed away without effort is a reproach to us, as delaying to go through such a virtuous design as we are engaged in; but more fatal will this delay prove if we be discovered, and the design be frustrated; for Caius will then become more cruel in his unjust proceedings. Do we not see how long we deprive all our friends of their liberty, and give Caius leave still to tyrannize over them? while we ought to have procured them security for the future, and, by laying a foundation for the happiness of others, gain to ourselves great admiration and honour for all time to come." Now while the conspirators had nothing tolerable to say by way of contradiction, and yet did not quite relish what they were doing, but stood silent and astonished, he said further, "O my brave comrades! why do we make such delays? Do not you see that this is the last day of these shows, and that Caius is about to go to sea? for he is preparing to sail to Alexandria, in order to see Egypt. Is it therefore for your honour to let a man go out of your hands who is a reproach to mankind, and to permit him to go, after a pompous manner, triumphing both at land and sea? Shall not we be justly ashamed of ourselves, if we give leave to some Egyptian or other, who shall think his injuries insufferable to free-men, to kill him? As for myself, I will no longer bear your slow proceedings, but will expose myself to the dangers of the enterprise this very day, and bear cheerfully whatsoever shall be the consequence of the attempt; nor, let them be ever so great, will I put them off any longer: for, to a wise and courageous man, what can be more miserable than that, while I am alive, any one else should kill Caius, and deprive me of the honour of so virtuous an action?"

13. When Cherea had spoken thus, he zealously set about the work, and inspired courage into the rest to go on with it, and they were all eager to fall to it without further delay. So he was at the palace in the morning, with his equestrian sword girt on him; for it was the custom that the tribunes should ask for the watchword with their swords on, and this was the day on which Cherea was, by custom, to receive the watchword; and the multitude were already come to the palace, to be soon enough for seeing the shows, and that in great crowds, and one tumultuously crushing another, while Caius was delighted with this eagerness of the multitude; for which reason there was no order observed in the seating men, nor was any peculiar place appointed for the senators, or for the equestrian order; but they sat at random, men and women together, and free-men were mixed with the slaves. So Caius came out in a solemn manner, and offered sacrifice to Augustus Caesar, in whose honour indeed these shows were celebrated. Now it happened, upon the fall of a certain priest, that the garment of Asprenas, a senator, was filled with blood, which made Caius laugh, although this was an evident omen to Asprenas, for he was slain at the same time with Caius. It is also related that Caius was that day, contrary to his usual custom, so very affable and good-natured in his conversation, that every one of those that were present were astonished at it. After the sacrifice was over, Caius betook himself to see the shows, and sat down for that purpose, as did also the principal of his friends sit near him. Now the parts of the theater were so fastened together, as it used to be every year, in the manner following: It had two doors, the one door led to the open air, the other was for going into, or going out of, the cloisters, that those within the theater might not be thereby disturbed; but out of one gallery there went an inward passage, parted into partitions also, which led into another gallery, to give room to the combatants and to the musicians to go out as occasion served. When the multitude were set down, and Cherea, with the other tribunes, were set down also, and the right corner of the theater was allotted to Caesar, one Vatinius, a senator, commander of the praetorian band, asked of Cluvius, one that sat by him, and was of consular dignity also, whether he had heard any thing of news, or not? but took care that nobody should hear what he said; and when Cluvius replied, that he had heard no news, "Know then," said Vatinius, "that the game of the slaughter of tyrants is to be played this day." But Cluvius replied "O brave comrade hold thy peace, lest some other of the Achaians hear thy tale." And as there was abundance of autumnal fruit thrown among the spectators, and a great number of birds, that were of great value to such as possessed them, on account of their rareness, Caius was pleased with the birds fighting for the fruits, and with the violence wherewith the spectators seized upon them: and here he perceived two prodigies that happened there; for an actor was introduced, by whom a leader of robbers was crucified, and the pantomime brought in a play called Cinyras, wherein he himself was to be slain, as well as his daughter Myrrha, and wherein a great deal of fictitious blood was shed, both about him that was crucified, and also about Cinyras. It was also confessed that this was the same day wherein Pausanias, a friend of Philip, the son of Amyntas, who was king of Macedonia, slew him, as he was entering into the theater. And now Caius was in doubt whether he should tarry to the end of the shows, because it was the last day, or whether he should not go first to the bath, and to dinner, and then return and sit down as before. Hereupon Minucianus, who sat over Caius, and was afraid that the opportunity should fail them, got up, because he saw Cherea was already gone out, and made haste out, to confirm him in his resolution; but Caius took hold of his garment, in an obliging way, and said to him, "O brave man! whither art thou going?" Whereupon, out of reverence to Caesar, as it seemed, he sat down again; but his fear prevailed over him, and in a little time he got up again, and then Caius did no way oppose his going out, as thinking that he went out to perform some necessities of nature. And Asprenas, who was one of the confederates, persuaded Caius to go out to the bath, and to dinner, and then to come in again, as desirous that what had been resolved on might be brought to a conclusion immediately.

14. So Cherea's associates placed themselves in order, as the time would permit them, and they were obliged to labour hard, that the place which was appointed them should not be left by them; but they had an indignation at the tediousness of the delays, and that what they were about should be put off any longer, for it was already about the ninth hour of the day; and Cherea, upon Caius's tarrying so long, had a great mind to go in, and fall upon him in his seat, although he foresaw that this could not be done without much bloodshed, both of the senators, and of those of the equestrian order that were present; and although he knew this must happen, yet had he a great mind to do so, as thinking it a right thing to procure security and freedom to all, at the expense of such as might perish at the same time. And as they were just going back into the entrance to the theater, word was brought them that Caius was arisen, whereby a tumult was made; hereupon the conspirators thrust away the crowd, under pretense as if Caius was angry at them, but in reality as desirous to have a quiet place, that should have none in it to defend him, while they set about Caius's slaughter. Now Claudius, his uncle, was gone out before, and Marcus Vinicius his sister's husband, as also Valellus of Asia; whom though they had had such a mind to put out of their places, the reverence to their dignity hindered them so to do; then followed Caius, with Paulus Arruntius: and because Caius was now gotten within the palace, he left the direct road, along which those his servants stood that were in waiting, and by which road Claudius had gone out before, Caius turned aside into a private narrow passage, in order to go to the place for bathing, as also in order to take a view of the boys that came out of Asia, who were sent thence, partly to sing hymns in these mysteries which were now celebrated, and partly to dance in the Pyrrhic way of dancing upon the theatres. So Cherea met him, and asked him for the watchword; upon Caius's giving him one of his ridiculous words, he immediately reproached him, and drew his sword, and gave him a terrible stroke with it, yet was not this stroke mortal. And although there be those that say it was so contrived on purpose by Chorea, that Caius should not be killed at one blow, but should be punished more severely by a multitude of wounds; yet does this story appear to me incredible, because the fear men are under in such actions does not allow them to use their reason. And if Cherea was of that mind, I esteem him the greatest of all fools, in pleasing himself in his spite against Caius, rather than immediately procuring safety to himself and to his confederates from the dangers they were in, because there might many things still happen for helping Caius's escape, if he had not already given up the ghost; for certainly Cherea would have regard, not so much to the punishment of Caius, as to the affliction himself and his friends were in, while it was in his power, after such success, to keep silent, and to escape the wrath of Caius's defenders, and

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not to leave it to uncertainty whether he should gain the end he aimed at or not, and after an unreasonable manner to act as if he had a mind to ruin himself, and lose the opportunity that lay before him. But every body may guess as he please about this matter. However, Caius was staggered with the pain that the blow gave him; for the stroke of the sword falling in the middle, between the shoulder and the neck, was hindered by the first bone of the breast from proceeding any further. Nor did he either cry out, [in such astonishment was he,] nor did he call out for any of his friends; whether it were that he had no confidence in them, or that his mind was otherwise disordered, but he groaned under the pain he endured, and presently went forward and fled; when Cornelius Sabinus, who was already prepared in his mind so to do, thrust him down upon his knee, where many of them stood round about him, and struck him with their swords; and they cried out, and encouraged one another all at once to strike him again; but all agree that Aquila gave him the finishing stroke, which directly killed him. But one may justly ascribe this act to Cherea; for although many concurred in the act itself, yet was he the first contriver of it, and began long before all the rest to prepare for it, and was the first man that boldly spake of it to the rest; and upon their admission of what he said about it, he got the dispersed conspirators together; he prepared every thing after a prudent manner, and by suggesting good advice, showed himself far superior to the rest, and made obliging speeches to them, insomuch that he even compelled them all to go on, who otherwise had not courage enough for that purpose; and when opportunity served to use his sword in hand, he appeared first of all ready so to do, and gave the first blow in this virtuous slaughter; he also brought Caius easily into the power of the rest, and almost killed him himself, insomuch that it is but just to ascribe all that the rest did to the advice, and bravery, and labours of the hands of Cherea.

15. Thus did Caius come to his end, and lay dead, by the many wounds which had been given him. Now Cherea and his associates, upon Caius's slaughter, saw that it was impossible for them to save themselves, if they should all go the same way, partly on account of the astonishment they were under; for it was no small danger they had incurred by killing an emperor, who was honoured and loved by the madness of the people, especially when the soldiers were likely to make a bloody inquiry after his murderers. The passages also were narrow wherein the work was done, which were also crowded with a great multitude of Caius's attendants, and of such of the soldiers as were of the emperor's guard that day; whence it was that they went by other ways, and came to the house of Germanicus, the father of Caius, whom they had now killed [which house adjoined to the palace; for while the edifice was one, it was built in its several parts by those particular persons who had been emperors, and those parts bare the names of those that built them or the name of him who had begun to build its parts]. So they got away from the insults of the multitude, and then were for the present out of danger, that is, so long as the misfortune which had overtaken the emperor was not known. The Germans were the first who perceived that Caius was slain. These Germans were Caius's guard, and carried the name of the country whence they were chosen, and composed the Celtic legion. The men of that country are naturally passionate, which is commonly the temper of some other of the barbarous nations also, as being not used to consider much about what they do; they are of robust bodies and fall upon their enemies as soon as ever they are attacked by them; and which way soever they go, they perform great exploits. When, therefore, these German guards understood that Caius was slain, they were very sorry for it, because they did not use their reason in judging about public affairs, but measured all by the advantages themselves received, Caius being beloved by them because of the money he gave them, by which he had purchased their kindness to him; so they drew their swords, and Sabinus led them on. He was one of the tribunes, not by the means of the virtuous actions of his progenitors, for he had been a gladiator, but he had obtained that post in the army by his having a robust body. So these Germans marched along the houses in quest of Caesar's murderers, and cut Asprenas to pieces, because he was the first man they fell upon, and whose garment it was that the blood of the sacrifices stained, as I have said already, and which foretold that this his meeting the soldiers would not be for his good. Then did Norbanus meet them, who was one of the principal nobility of and could show many generals of armies among his ancestors; but they paid no regard to his dignity; yet was he of such great strength, that he wrested the sword of the first of those that assaulted him out of his hands, and appeared plainly not to be willing to die without a struggle for his life, until he was surrounded by a great number of assailants, and died by the multitude of the wounds which they gave him. The third man was Anteius, a senator, and a few others with him. He did not meet with these Germans by chance, as the rest did before, but came to show his hatred to Caius, and because he loved to see Caius lie dead with his own eyes, and took a pleasure in that sight; for Caius had banished Anteius's father, who was of the same name with himself, and being not satisfied with that, he sent out his soldiers, and slew him; so he was come to rejoice at the sight of him, now he was dead. But as the house was now all in a tumult, when he was aiming to hide himself, he could not escape that accurate search which the Germans made, while they barbarously slew those that were guilty, and those that were not guilty, and this equally also. And thus were these [three] persons slain.

16. But when the rumor that Caius was slain reached the theater, they were astonished at it, and could not believe it; even some that entertained his destruction with great pleasure, and were more desirous of its happening than almost any other faction that could come to them, were under such a fear, that they could not believe it. There were also those who greatly distrusted it, because they were unwilling that any such thing should come to Caius, nor could believe it, though it were ever so true, because they thought no man could possibly so much power as to kill Caius. These were the women, and the children, and the slaves, and some of the soldiery. This last sort had taken his pay, and in a manner tyrannized with him, and had abused the best of the citizens, in being subservient to his unjust commands, in order to gain honours and advantages to themselves; but for the women and the youth, they had been inveigled with shows, and the fighting of the gladiators, and certain distributions of flesh-meat among them, which things them pretense were designed for the pleasing of multitude, but in reality to satiate the barbarous cruelty and madness of Caius. The slaves also were sorry, because they were by Caius allowed to accuse and to despise their masters, and they could have recourse to his assistance when they had unjustly affronted them; for he was very easy in believing them against their masters, even when they the city, accused them falsely; and if they would discover what money their masters had, they might soon obtain both riches and liberty, as the rewards of their accusations, because the reward of these informers was the eighth part of the criminal's substance. As to the nobles, although the report appeared credible to some of them, either because they knew of the plot beforehand, or because they wished it might be true; however, they concealed not only the joy they had at the relation of it, but that they had heard any thing at all about it. These last acted so out of the fear they had, that if the report proved false, they should be punished, for having so soon let men know their minds. But those that knew Caius was dead, because they were partners with the conspirators, they concealed all still more cautiously, as not knowing one another's minds; and fearing lest they should speak of it to some of those to whom the continuance of tyranny was advantageous; and if Caius should prove to be alive, they might be informed against, and punished. And another report went about, that although Caius had been wounded indeed, yet was not he dead, but alive still, and under the physician's hands. Nor was any one looked upon by another as faithful enough to be trusted, and to whom any one would open his mind; for he was either a friend to Caius, and therefore suspected to favour his tyranny, or he was one that hated him, who therefore might be suspected to deserve the less credit, because of his ill-will to him. Nay, it was said by some [and this indeed it was that deprived the nobility of their hopes, and made them sad] that Caius was in a condition to despise the dangers he had been in, and took no care of healing his wounds, but was gotten away into the market- place, and, bloody as he was, was making an harangue to the people. And these were the conjectural reports of those that were so unreasonable as to endeavor to raise tumults, which they turned different ways, according to the opinions of the bearers. Yet did they not leave their seats, for fear of being accused, if they should go out before the rest; for they should not be sentenced according to the real intention with which they went out, but according to the supposals of the accusers and of the judges.

17. But now a multitude of Germans had surrounded the theater with their swords drawn: all the spectators looked for nothing but death, and at every one coming in a fear seized upon them, as if they were to be cut in pieces immediately; and in great distress they were, as neither having courage enough to go out of the theater, nor believing themselves safe from dangers if they tarried there. And when the Germans came upon them, the cry was so great, that the theater rang again with the entreaties of the spectators to the soldiers, pleading that they were entirely ignorant of every thing that related to such seditious contrivances, and that if there were any sedition raised, they knew nothing of it; they therefore begged that they would spare them, and not punish those that had not the least hand in such bold crimes as belonged to other persons, while they neglected to search after such as had really done whatsoever it be that hath been done. Thus did these people appeal to God, and deplore their infelicity with shedding of tears, and beating their faces, and said every thing that the most imminent danger and the utmost concern for their lives could dictate to them. This brake the fury of the soldiers, and made them repent of what they minded to do to the spectators, which would have been the greatest instance of cruelty. And so it appeared to even these savages, when they had once fixed the heads of those that were slain with Asprenas upon the altar; at which sight the spectators were sorely afflicted, both upon the consideration of the dignity of the persons, and out of a commiseration of their sufferings; nay, indeed, they were almost in as great disorder at the prospect of the danger themselves were in, seeing it was still uncertain whether they should entirely escape the like calamity. Whence it was that such as thoroughly and justly hated Caius could yet no way enjoy the pleasure of his death, because they were themselves in jeopardy of perishing together with him; nor had they hitherto any firm assurance of surviving.

18. There was at this time one Euaristus Arruntius, a public crier in the market, and therefore of a strong and audible voice, who vied in wealth with the richest of the Romans, and was able to do what he pleased in the city, both then and afterward. This man put himself into the most mournful habit he could, although he had a greater hatred against Caius than any one else; his fear and his wise contrivance to gain his safety taught him so to do, and prevailed over his present pleasure; so he put on such a mournful dress as he would have done had he lost his dearest friends in the world; this man came into the theater, and informed them of the death of Caius, and by this means put an end to that state of ignorance the men had been in. Arruntius also went round about the pillars, and called out to the Germans, as did the tribunes with him, bidding them put up their swords, and telling them that Caius was dead. And this proclamation it was plainly which saved those that were collected together in the theater, and all the rest who any way met the Germans; for while they had hopes that Caius had still any breath in him, they abstained from no sort of mischief; and such an abundant kindness they still had for Caius, that they would willingly have prevented the plot against him, and procured his escape from so sad a misfortune, at the expense of their own lives. But they now left off the warm zeal they had to punish his enemies, now they were fully satisfied that Caius was dead, because it was now in vain for them to show their zeal and kindness to him, when he who should reward them was perished. They were also afraid that they should be punished by the senate, if they should go on in doing such injuries; that is, in case the authority of the supreme governor should revert to them. And thus at length a stop was put, though not without difficulty, to that rage which possessed the Germans on account of Caius's death.

19. But Cherea was so much afraid for Minucianus, lest he should light upon the Germans now they were in their fury, that he went and spoke to every one of the soldiers, and prayed them to take care of his preservation, and made himself great inquiry about him, lest he should have been slain. And for Clement, he let Minucianus go when he was brought to him, and, with many other of the senators, affirmed the action was right, and commended the virtue of those that contrived it, and had courage enough to execute it; and said that "tyrants do indeed please themselves and look big for a while, upon having the power to act unjustly; but do not however go happily out of the world, because they are hated by the virtuous; and that Caius, together with all his unhappiness, was become a conspirator against himself, before these other men who attacked him did so; and by becoming intolerable, in setting aside the wise provision the laws had made, taught his dearest friends to treat him as an enemy; insomuch that although in common discourse these conspirators were those that slew Caius, yet that, in reality, he lies now dead as perishing by his own self."

20. Now by this time the people in the theatre were arisen from their seats, and those that were within made a very great disturbance; the cause of which was this, that the spectators were too hasty in getting away. There was also one Aleyon, a physician, who hurried away, as if to cure those that were wounded, and under that pretense he sent those that were with him to fetch what things were necessary for the healing of those wounded persons, but in reality to get them clear of the present dangers they were in. Now the senate, during this interval, had met, and the people also assembled together in the accustomed form, and were both employed in searching after the murderers of Caius. The people did it very zealously, but the senate in appearance only; for there was present Valerius of Asia, one that had been consul; this man went to the people, as they were in disorder, and very uneasy that they could not yet discover who they were that had murdered the emperor; he was then earnestly asked by them all who it was that had done it. He replied, "I wish I had been the man." The consuls also published an edict, wherein they accused Caius, and gave order to the people then got together, and to the soldiers, to go home; and gave the people hopes of the abatement of the oppressions they lay under; and promised the soldiers, if they lay quiet as they used to do, and would not go abroad to do mischief unjustly, that they would bestow rewards upon them; for there was reason to fear lest the city might suffer harm by their wild and ungovernable behavior, if they should once betake themselves to spoil the citizens, or plunder the temples. And now the whole multitude of the senators were assembled together, and especially those that had conspired to take away the life of Caius, who put on at this time an air of great assurance, and appeared with great

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magnanimity, as if the administration of the public affairs were already devolved upon them.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 2

How The Senators Determined To Restore The Democracy; But The Soldiers Were For Preserving The Monarchy, Concerning The Slaughter Of Caius's Wife And Daughter. A Character Of Caius's Morals.

1. When the public affairs were in this posture, Claudius was on the sudden hurried away out of his house; for the soldiers had a meeting together; and when they had debated about what was to be done, they saw that a democracy was incapable of managing such a vast weight of public affairs; and that if it should be set up, it would not be for their advantage; and in case any one of those already in the government should obtain the supreme power, it would in all respects be to their grief, if they were not assisting to him in this advancement; that it would therefore be right for them, while the public affairs were unsettled, to choose Claudius emperor, who was uncle to the deceased Caius, and of a superior dignity and worth to every one of those that were assembled together in the senate, both on account of the virtues of his ancestors, and of the learning he had acquired in his education; and who, if once settled in the empire, would reward them according to their deserts, and bestow largesses upon them. These were their consultations, and they executed the same immediately. Claudius was therefore seized upon suddenly by the soldiery. But Cneas Sentins Saturninus, although he understood that Claudius was seized, and that he intended to claim the government, unwillingly indeed in appearance, but in reality by his own free consent, stood up in the senate, and, without being dismayed, made an exhortatory oration to them, and such a one indeed as was fit for men of freedom and generosity, and spake thus:

2. "Although it be a thing incredible, O Romans! because of the great length of time, that so unexpected an event hath happened, yet are we now in possession of liberty. How long indeed this will last is uncertain, and lies at the disposal of the gods, whose grant it is; yet such it is as is sufficient to make us rejoice, and be happy for the present, although we may soon be deprived of it; for one hour is sufficient to those that are exercised in virtue, wherein we may live with a mind accountable only to ourselves, in our own country, now free, and governed by such laws as this country once flourished under. As for myself, I cannot remember our former time of liberty, as being born after it was gone; but I am beyond measure filled with joy at the thoughts of our present freedom. I also esteem those that were born and bred up in that our former liberty happy men, and that those men are worthy of no less esteem than the gods themselves who have given us a taste of it in this age; and I heartily wish that this quiet enjoyment of it, which we have at present, might continue to all ages. However, this single day may suffice for our youth, as well as for us that are in years. It will seem an age to our old men, if they might die during its happy duration: it may also be for the instruction of the younger sort, what kind of virtue those men, from whose loins we are derived, were exercised in. As for ourselves, our business is, during the space of time, to live virtuously, than which nothing can be more to our advantage; which course of virtue it is alone that can preserve our liberty; for as to our ancient state, I have heard of it by the relations of others; but as to our later state, during my lifetime, I have known it by experience, and learned thereby what mischiefs tyrannies have brought upon this commonwealth, discouraging all virtue, and depriving persons of magnanimity of their liberty, and proving the teachers of flattery and slavish fear, because it leaves the public administration not to be governed by wise laws, but by the humor of those that govern. For since Julius Caesar took it into his head to dissolve our democracy, and, by overbearing the regular system of our laws, to bring disorders into our administration, and to get above right and justice, and to be a slave to his own inclinations, there is no kind of misery but what hath tended to the subversion of this city; while all those that have succeeded him have striven one with another to overthrow the ancient laws of their country, and have left it destitute of such citizens as were of generous principles, because they thought it tended to their safety to have vicious men to converse withal, and not only to break the spirits of those that were best esteemed for their virtue, but to resolve upon their utter destruction. Of all which emperors, who have been many in number, and who laid upon us insufferable hardships during the times of their government, this Caius, who hath been slain today, hath brought more terrible calamities upon us than did all the rest, not only by exercising his ungoverned rage upon his fellow citizens, but also upon his kindred and friends, and alike upon all others, and by inflicting still greater miseries upon them, as punishments, which they never deserved, he being equally furious against men and against the gods. For tyrants are not content to gain their sweet pleasure, and this by acting injuriously, and in the vexation they bring both upon men's estates and their wives; but they look upon that to be their principal advantage, when they can utterly overthrow the entire families of their enemies; while all lovers of liberty are the enemies of tyranny. Nor can those that patiently endure what miseries they bring on them gain their friendship; for as they are conscious of the abundant mischiefs they have brought on these men, and how magnanimously they have borne their hard fortunes, they cannot but be sensible what evils they have done, and thence only depend on security from what they are suspicious of, if it may be in their power to take them quite out of the world. Since, then, we are now gotten clear of such great misfortunes, and are only accountable to one another, [which form of government affords us the best assurance of our present concord, and promises us the best security from evil designs, and will be most for our own glory in settling the city in good order,] you ought, every one of you in particular, to make provision for his own, and in general for the public utility: or, on the contrary, they may declare their dissent to such things as have been proposed, and this without any hazard of danger to come upon them, because they have now no lord set over them, who, without fear of punishment, could do mischief to the city, and had an uncontrollable power to take off those that freely declared their opinions. Nor has any thing so much contributed to this increase of tyranny of late as sloth, and a timorous forbearance of contradicting the emperor's will; while men had an over-great inclination to the sweetness of peace, and had learned to live like slaves; and as many of us as either heard of intolerable calamities that happened at a distance from us, or saw the miseries that were near us, out of the dread of dying virtuously, endured a death joined with the utmost infamy. We ought, then, in the first place, to decree the greatest honours we are able to those that have taken off the tyrant, especially to Cherea Cassius; for this one man, with the assistance of the gods, hath, by his counsel and by his actions, been the procurer of our liberty. Nor ought we to forget him now we have recovered our liberty, who, under the foregoing tyranny, took counsel beforehand, and beforehand hazarded himself for our liberties; but ought to decree him proper honours, and thereby freely declare that he from the beginning acted with our approbation. And certainly it is a very excellent thing, and what becomes free-men, to requite their benefactors, as this man hath been a benefactor to us all, though not at all like Cassius and Brutus, who slew Caius Julius [Caesar]; for those men laid the foundations of sedition and civil wars in our city; but this man, together with his slaughter of the tyrant, hath set our city free from all those sad miseries which arose from the tyranny."

3. And this was the purport of Sentius's oration, which was received with pleasure by the senators, and by as many of the equestrian order as were present. And now one Trebellius Maximus rose up hastily, and took off Sentius's finger a ring, which had a stone, with the image of Caius engraven upon it, and which, in his zeal in speaking, and his earnestness in doing what he was about, as it was supposed, he had forgotten to take off himself. This sculpture was broken immediately. But as it was now far in the night, Cherea demanded of the consuls the watchword, who gave him this word, Liberty. These facts were the subjects of admiration to themselves, and almost incredible; for it was a hundred years since the democracy had been laid aside, when this giving the watchword returned to the consuls; for before the city was subject to tyrants, they were the commanders of the soldiers. But when Cherea had received that watchword, he delivered it to those who were on the senate's side, which were four regiments, who esteemed the government without emperors to be preferable to tyranny. So these went away with their tribunes. The people also now departed very joyful, full of hope and of courage, as having recovered their former democracy, and were no longer under an emperor; and Cherea was in very great esteem with them.

4. And now Cherea was very uneasy that Caius's daughter and wife were still alive, and that all his family did not perish with him, since whosoever was left of them must be left for the ruin of the city and of the laws. Moreover, in order to finish this matter with the utmost zeal, and in order to satisfy his hatred of Caius, he sent Julius Lupus, one of the tribunes, to kill Caius's wife and daughter. They proposed this office to Lupus as to a kinsman of Clement, that he might be so far a partaker of this murder of the tyrant, and might rejoice in the virtue of having assisted his fellow citizens, and that he might appear to have been a partaker with those that were first in their designs against him. Yet did this action appear to some of the conspirators to be too cruel, as to this using such severity to a woman, because Caius did more indulge his own ill-nature than use her advice in all that he did; from which ill-nature it was that the city was in so desperate a condition with the miseries that were brought on it, and the flower of the city was destroyed. But others accused her of giving her consent to these things; nay, they ascribed all that Caius had done to her as the cause of it, and said she had given a potion to Caius, which had made him obnoxious to her, and had tied him down to love her by such evil methods; insomuch that she, having rendered him distracted, was become the author of all the mischiefs that had befallen the Romans, and that habitable world which was subject to them. So that at length it was determined that she must die; nor could those of the contrary opinion at all prevail to have her saved; and Lupus was sent accordingly. Nor was there any delay made in executing what he went about, but he was subservient to those that sent him on the first opportunity, as desirous to be no way blameable in what might be done for the advantage of the people. So when he was come into the palace, he found Cesonia, who was Caius's wife, lying by her husband's dead body, which also lay down on the ground, and destitute of all such things as the law allows to the dead, and all over herself besmeared with the blood of her husband's wounds, and bewailing the great affliction she was under, her daughter lying by her also; and nothing else was heard in these her circumstances but her complaint of Caius, as if he had not regarded what she had often told him of beforehand; which words of hers were taken in a different sense even at that time, and are now esteemed equally ambiguous by those that hear of them, and are still interpreted according to the different inclinations of people. Now some said that the words denoted that she had advised him to leave off his mad behavior and his barbarous cruelty to the citizens, and to govern the public with moderation and virtue, lest he should perish by the same way, upon their using him as he had used them. But some said, that as certain words had passed concerning the conspirators, she desired Caius to make no delay, but immediately to put them all to death, and this whether they were guilty or not, and that thereby he would be out of the fear of any danger; and that this was what she reproached him for, when she advised him so to do, but he was too slow and tender in the matter. And this was what Cesonia said, and what the opinions of men were about it. But when she saw Lupus approach, she showed him Caius's dead body, and persuaded him to come nearer, with lamentation and tears; and as she perceived that Lupus was in disorder, and approached her in order to execute some design disagreeable to himself, she was well aware for what purpose he came, and stretched out her naked throat, and that very cheerfully to him, bewailing her case, like one that utterly despaired of her life, and bidding him not to boggle at finishing the tragedy they had resolved upon relating to her. So she boldly received her death's wound at the hand of Lupus, as did the daughter after her. So Lupus made haste to inform Cherea of what he had done.

5. This was the end of Caius, after he had reigned four years, within four months. He was, even before he came to be emperor, ill-natured, and one that had arrived at the utmost pitch of wickedness; a slave to his pleasures, and a lover of calumny; greatly affected by every terrible accident, and on that account of a very murderous disposition where he durst show it. He enjoyed his exorbitant power to this only purpose, to injure those who least deserved it, with unreasonable insolence and got his wealth by murder and injustice. He laboured to appear above regarding either what was divine or agreeable to the laws, but was a slave to the commendations of the populace; and whatsoever the laws determined to be shameful, and punished, that he esteemed more honourable than what was virtuous. He was unmindful of his friends, how intimate soever, and though they were persons of the highest character; and if he was once angry at any of them, he would inflict punishment upon them on the smallest occasions, and esteemed every man that endeavored to lead a virtuous life his enemy. And whatsoever he commanded, he would not admit of any contradiction to his inclinations; whence it was that he had criminal conversation with his own sister; from which occasion chiefly it was also that a bitter hatred first sprang up against him among the citizens, that sort of incest not having been known of a long time; and so this provoked men to distrust him, and to hate him that was guilty of it. And for any great or royal work that he ever did, which might be for the present and for future ages, nobody can name any such, but only the haven that he made about Rhegium and Sicily, for the reception of the ships that brought corn from Egypt; which was indeed a work without dispute very great in itself, and of very great advantage to the navigation. Yet was not this work brought to perfection by him, but was the one half of it left imperfect, by reason of his want of application to it; the cause of which was this, that he employed his studies about useless matters, and that by spending his money upon such pleasures as concerned no one's benefit but his own, he could not exert his liberality in things that were undeniably of great consequence. Otherwise he was an excellent orator, and thoroughly acquainted with the Greek tongue, as well as with his own country or Roman language. He was also able, off-hand and readily, to give answers to compositions made by others, of considerable length and accuracy. He was also more skillful in persuading others to very great things than any one else, and this from a natural affability of temper, which had been improved by much exercise and pains-taking; for as he was the grandson of the brother of Tiberius, whose successor he was, this was a strong inducement to his acquiring of learning, because Tiberius aspired after the highest pitch of that sort of reputation; and Caius aspired after the like glory for eloquence, being induced thereto by the letters of his kinsman and his emperor. He was also among the first rank of his own citizens. But the advantages he received from his

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learning did not countervail the mischief he brought upon himself in the exercise of his authority; so difficult it is for those to obtain the virtue that is necessary for a wise man, who have the absolute power to do what they please without control. At the first he got himself such friends as were in all respects the most worthy, and was greatly beloved by them, while he imitated their zealous application to the learning and to the glorious actions of the best men; but when he became insolent towards them, they laid aside the kindness they had for him, and began to hate him; from which hatred came that plot which they raised against him, and wherein he perished.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 3

How Claudius Was Seized Upon And Brought Out Of His House And Brought To The Camp; And How The Senate Sent An Embassage To Him.

1. Now Claudius, as I said before, went out of that way along which Caius was gone; and as the family was in a mighty disorder upon the sad accident of the murder of Caius, he was in great distress how to save himself, and was found to have hidden himself in a certain narrow place, though he had no other occasion for suspicion of any dangers, besides the dignity of his birth; for while he was a private man, he behaved himself with moderation, and was contented with his present fortune, applying himself to learning, and especially to that of the Greeks, and keeping himself entirely clear from every thing that might bring on any disturbance. But as at this time the multitude were under a consternation, and the whole palace was full of the soldiers' madness, and the very emperor's guards seemed under the like fear and disorder with private persons, the band called pretorian, which was the purest part of the army, was in consultation what was to be done at this juncture. Now all those that were at this consultation had little regard to the punishment Caius had suffered, because he justly deserved such his fortune; but they were rather considering their own circumstances, how they might take the best care of themselves, especially while the Germans were busy in punishing the murderers of Caius; which yet was rather done to gratify their own savage temper, than for the good of the public; all which things disturbed Claudius, who was afraid of his own safety, and this particularly because he saw the heads of Asprenas and his partners carried about. His station had been on a certain elevated place, whither a few steps led him, and whither he had retired in the dark by himself. But when Gratus, who was one of the soldiers that belonged to the palace, saw him, but did not well know by his countenance who he was, because it was dark, though he could well judge that it was a man who was privately there on some design, he came nearer to him; and when Claudius desired that he would retire, he discovered who he was, and owned him to be Claudius. So he said to his followers, "This is a Germanicus; come on, let us choose him for our emperor." But when Claudius saw they were making preparations for taking him away by force, and was afraid they would kill him, as they had killed Caius, he besought them to spare him, putting them in mind how quietly he had demeaned himself, and that he was unacquainted with what had been done. Hereupon Gratus smiled upon him, and took him by the right hand, and said, "Leave off, sir, these low thoughts of saving yourself, while you ought to have greater thoughts, even of obtaining the empire, which the gods, out of their concern for the habitable world, by taking Caius out of the way, commit to thy virtuous conduct. Go to, therefore, and accept of the throne of thy ancestors." So they took him up and carried him, because he was not then able to go on foot, such was his dread and his joy at what was told him.

2. Now there was already gathered together about Gratus a great number of the guards; and when they saw Claudius carried off, they looked with a sad countenance, as supposing that he was carried to execution for the mischiefs that had been lately done; while yet they thought him a man who never meddled with public affairs all his life long, and one that had met with no contemptible dangers under the reign of Caius; and some of them thought it reasonable that the consuls should take cognizance of these matters; and as still more and more of the soldiery got together, the crowd about him ran away, and Claudius could hardly go on, his body was then so weak; and those who carried his sedan, upon an inquiry that was made about his being carried off, ran away and saved themselves, as despairing of their Lord's preservation. But when they were come into the large court of the palace, [which, as the report goes about it, was inhabited first of all the parts of the city of Rome,] and had just reached the public treasury, many more soldiers came about him, as glad to see Claudius's face, and thought it exceeding right to make him emperor, on account of their kindness for Germanicus, who was his brother, and had left behind him a vast reputation among all that were acquainted with him. They reflected also on the covetous temper of the leading men of the senate, and what great errors they had been guilty of when the senate had the government formerly; they also considered the impossibility of such an undertaking, as also what dangers they should be in, if the government should come to a single person, and that such a one should possess it as they had no hand in advancing, and not to Claudius, who would take it as their grant, and as gained by their good-will to him, and would remember the favours they had done him, and would make them a sufficient recompense for the same.

3. These were the discourses the soldiers had one with another by themselves, and they communicated them to all such as came in to them. Now those that inquired about this matter willingly embraced the invitation that was made them to join with the rest; so they carried Claudius into the camp, crowding about him as his guard, and encompassing him about, one chairman still succeeding another, that their vehement endeavors might not be hindered. But as to the populace and senators, they disagreed in their opinions. The latter were very desirous to recover their former dignity, and were zealous to get clear of the slavery that had been brought on them by the injurious treatment of the tyrants, which the present opportunity afforded them; but for the people, who were envious against them, and knew that the emperors were capable of curbing their covetous temper, and were a refuge from them, they were very glad that Claudius had been seized upon, and brought to them, and thought that if Claudius were made emperor, he would prevent a civil war, such as there was in the days of Pompey. But when the senate knew that Claudius was brought into the camp by the soldiers, they sent to him those of their body which had the best character for their virtues, that they might inform him that he ought to do nothing by violence, in order to gain the government; that he who was a single person, one either already or hereafter to be a member of their body, ought to yield to the senate, which consisted of so great a number; that he ought to let the law take place in the disposal of all that related to the public order, and to remember how greatly the former tyrants had afflicted their city, and what dangers both he and they had escaped under Caius; and that he ought not to hate the heavy burden of tyranny, when the injury is done by others, while he did himself willfully treat his country after a mad and insolent manner; that if he would comply with them, and demonstrate that his firm resolution was to live quietly and virtuously, he would have the greatest honours decreed to him that a free people could bestow; and by subjecting himself to the law, would obtain this branch of commendation, that he acted like a man of virtue, both as a ruler and a subject; but that if he would act foolishly, and learn no wisdom by Caius's death, they would not permit him to go on; that a great part of the army was got together for them, with plenty of weapons, and a great number of slaves, which they could make use of; that good hope was a great matter in such cases, as was also good fortune; and that the gods would never assist any others but those that undertook to act with virtue and goodness, who can be no other than such as fight for the liberty of their country.

4. Now these ambassadors, Veranius and Brocchus, who were both of them tribunes of the people, made this speech to Claudius; and falling down upon their knees, they begged of him that he would not throw the city into wars and misfortunes; but when they saw what a multitude of soldiers encompassed and guarded Claudius, and that the forces that were with the consuls were, in comparison of them, perfectly inconsiderable, they added, that if he did desire the government, he should accept of it as given by the senate; that he would prosper better, and be happier, if he came to it, not by the injustice, but by the good-will of those that would bestow it upon him.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 4

What Things King Agrippa Did For Claudius; And How Claudius When He Had Taken The Government Commanded The Murderers Of Caius To Be Slain.

1. Now Claudius, though he was sensible after what an insolent manner the senate had sent to him yet did he, according to their advice, behave himself for the present with moderation; but not so far that he could not recover himself out of his fright; so he was encouraged [to claim the government] partly by the boldness of the soldiers, and partly by the persuasion of king Agrippa, who exhorted him not to let such a dominion slip out of his hands, when it came thus to him of its own accord. Now this Agrippa, with relation to Caius, did what became one that had been so much honoured by him; for he embraced Caius's body after he was dead, and laid it upon a bed, and covered it as well as he could, and went out to the guards, and told them that Caius was still alive; but he said that they should call for physicians, since he was very ill of his wounds. But when he had learned that Claudius was carried away violently by the soldiers, he rushed through the crowd to him, and when he found that he was in disorder, and ready to resign up the government to the senate, he encouraged him, and desired him to keep the government; but when he had said this to Claudius, he retired home. And upon the senate's sending for him, he anointed his head with ointment, as if he had lately accompanied with his wife, and had dismissed her, and then came to them: he also asked of the senators what Claudius did; who told him the present state of affairs, and then asked his opinion about the settlement of the public. He told them in words that he was ready to lose his life for the honour of the senate, but desired them to consider what was for their advantage, without any regard to what was most agreeable to them; for that those who grasp at government will stand in need of weapons and soldiers to guard them, unless they will set up without any preparation for it, and so fall into danger. And when the senate replied that they would bring in weapons in abundance, and money, and that as to an army, a part of it was already collected together for them, and they would raise a larger one by giving the slaves their liberty,—Agrippa made answer, "O senators! may you be able to compass what you have a mind to; yet will I immediately tell you my thoughts, because they tend to your preservation. Take notice, then, that the army which will fight for Claudius hath been long exercised in warlike affairs; but our army will be no better than a rude multitude of raw men, and those such as have been unexpectedly made free from slavery, and ungovernable; we must then fight against those that are skillful in war, with men who know not so much as how to draw their swords. So that my opinion is, that we should send some persons to Claudius, to persuade him to lay down the government; and I am ready to be one of your ambassadors."

2. Upon this speech of Agrippa, the senate complied with him, and he was sent among others, and privately informed Claudius of the disorder the senate was in, and gave him instructions to answer them in a somewhat commanding strain, and as one invested with dignity and authority. Accordingly, Claudius said to the ambassadors, that he did not wonder the senate had no mind to have an emperor over them, because they had been harassed by the barbarity of those that had formerly been at the head of their affairs; but that they should taste of an equitable government under him, and moderate times, while he should only be their ruler in name, but the authority should be equally common to them all; and since he had passed through many and various scenes of life before their eyes, it would be good for them not to distrust him. So the ambassadors, upon their hearing this his answer, were dismissed. But Claudius discoursed with the army which was there gathered together, who took oaths that they would persist in their fidelity to him; Upon which he gave the guards every man five thousand drachmae a-piece, and a proportionable quantity to their captains, and promised to give the same to the rest of the armies wheresoever they were.

3. And now the consuls called the senate together into the temple of Jupiter the Conqueror, while it was still night; but some of those senators concealed themselves in the city, being uncertain what to do, upon the hearing of this summons; and some of them went out of the city to their own farms, as foreseeing whither the public affairs were going, and despairing of liberty; nay, these supposed it much better for them to be slaves without danger to themselves, and to live a lazy and inactive life, than by claiming the dignity of their forefathers, to run the hazard of their own safety. However, a hundred and no more were gotten together; and as they were in consultation about the present posture of affairs, a sudden clamour was made by the soldiers that were on their side, desiring that the senate would choose them an emperor, and not bring the government into ruin by setting up a multitude of rulers. So they fully declared themselves to be for the giving the government not to all, but to one; but they gave the senate leave to look out for a person worthy to be set over them, insomuch that now the affairs of the senate were much worse than before, because they had not only failed in the recovery of their liberty, which they boasted themselves of, but were in dread of Claudius also. Yet were there those that hankered after the government, both on account of the dignity of their families and that accruing to them by their marriages; for Marcus Minucianus was illustrious, both by his own nobility, and by his having married Julia, the sister of Caius, who accordingly was very ready to claim the government, although the consuls discouraged him, and made one delay after another in proposing it: that Minucianus also, who was one of Caius's murderers, restrained Valerius of Asia from thinking of such things; and a prodigious slaughter there had been, if leave had been given to these men to set up for themselves, and oppose Claudius. There were also a considerable number of gladiators besides, and of those soldiers who kept watch by night in the city, and rowers of ships, who all ran into the camp; insomuch that, of those who put in for the government, some left off their pretensions in order to spare the city, and others out of fear for their own persons.

4. But as soon as ever it was day, Cherea, and those that were with him, came into the senate, and attempted to make speeches to the soldiers. However, the multitude of those soldiers, when they saw that they were making signals for silence with their hands, and were ready to begin to speak to them, grew tumultuous, and would not let them speak at all, because they were all zealous to be under a monarchy; and they demanded of the senate one for their ruler, as not enduring any longer delays: but the senate hesitated about either their own governing, or how they should themselves be governed, while the soldiers would not admit them to govern,

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and the murderers of Caius would not permit the soldiers to dictate to them. When they were in these circumstances, Cherea was not able to contain the anger he had, and promised, that if they desired an emperor, he would give them one, if any one would bring him the watchword from Eutychus. Now this Eutychus was charioteer of the green-band faction, styled Prasine, and a great friend of Caius, who used to harass the soldiery with building stables for the horses, and spent his time in ignominious labours, which occasioned Cherea to reproach them with him, and to abuse them with much other scurrilous language; and told them he would bring them the head of Claudius; and that it was an amazing thing, that, after their former madness, they should commit their government to a fool. Yet were not they moved with his words, but drew their swords, and took up their ensigns, and went to Claudius, to join in taking the oath of fidelity to him. So the senate were left without any body to defend them, and the very consuls differed nothing from private persons. They were also under consternation and sorrow, men not knowing what would become of them, because Claudius was very angry at them; so they fell a reproaching one another, and repented of what they had done. At which juncture Sabinus, one of Caius's murderers, threatened that he would sooner come into the midst of them and kill himself, than consent to make Claudius emperor, and see slavery returning upon them; he also abused Cherea for loving his life too well, while he who was the first in his contempt of Caius, could think it a good thin to live, when, even by all that they had done for the recovery of their liberty, they found it impossible to do it. But Cherea said he had no manner of doubt upon him about killing himself; that yet he would first sound the intentions of Claudius before he did it.

5. These were the debates [about the senate]; but in the camp every body was crowding on all sides to pay their court to Claudius; and the other consul, Quintus Pomponhis, was reproached by the soldiery, as having rather exhorted the senate to recover their liberty; whereupon they drew their swords, and were going to assault him, and they had done it, if Claudius had not hindered them, who snatched the consul out of the danger he was in, and set him by him. But he did not receive that part of the senate which was with Quintus in the like honourable manner; nay, some of them received blows, and were thrust away as they came to salute Claudius; nay, Aponius went away wounded, and they were all in danger. However, king Agrippa went up to Claudius, and desired he would treat the senators more gently; for if any mischief should come to the senate, he would have no others over whom to rule. Claudius complied with him, and called the senate together into the palace, and was carried thither himself through the city, while the soldiery conducted him, though this was to the great vexation of the multitude; for Cherea and Sabinus, two of Caius's murderers, went in the fore-front of them, in an open manner, while Pollio, whom Claudius, a little before, had made captain of his guards, had sent them an epistolary edict, to forbid them to appear in public. Then did Claudius, upon his coming to the palace, get his friends together, and desired their suffrages about Cherea. They said that the work he had done was a glorious one; but they accused him that he did it of perfidiousness, and thought it just to inflict the punishment [of death] upon him, to discountenance such actions for the time to come. So Cherea was led to his execution, and Lupus and many other Romans with him. Now it is reported that Cherea bore this calamity courageously; and this not only by the firmness of his own behavior under it, but by the reproaches he laid upon Lupus, who fell into tears; for when Lupus laid his garment aside, and complained of the cold he said, that cold was never hurtful to Lupus [i.e. a wolf] And as a great many men went along with them to see the sight, when Cherea came to the place, he asked the soldier who was to be their executioner, whether this office was what he was used to, or whether this was the first time of his using his sword in that manner, and desired him to bring him that very sword with which he himself slew Caius. So he was happily killed at one stroke. But Lupus did not meet with such good fortune in going out of the world, since he was timorous, and had many blows leveled at his neck, because he did not stretch it out boldly [as he ought to have done].

6. Now, a few days after this, as the Parental solemnities were just at hand, the Roman multitude made their usual oblations to their several ghosts, and put portions into the fire in honour of Cherea, and besought him to be merciful to them, and not continue his anger against them for their ingratitude. And this was the end of the life that Cherea came to. But for Sabinus, although Claudius not only set him at liberty, but gave him leave to retain his former command in the army, yet did he think it would be unjust in him to fail of performing his obligations to his fellow confederates; so he fell upon his sword, and killed himself, the wound reaching up to the very hilt of the sword.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 5

How Claudius Restored To Agrippa His Grandfathers Kingdoms And Augmented His Dominions; And How He Published An Edict In Behalf.

1. Now when Claudius had taken out of the way all those soldiers whom he suspected, which he did immediately, he published an edict, and therein confirmed that kingdom to Agrippa which Caius had given him, and therein commended the king highly. He also made all addition to it of all that country over which Herod, who was his grandfather, had reigned, that is, Judea and Samaria; and this he restored to him as due to his family. But for Abila of Lysanias, and all that lay at Mount Libanus, he bestowed them upon him, as out of his own territories. He also made a league with this Agrippa, confirmed by oaths, in the middle of the forum, in the city of Rome: he also took away from Antiochus that kingdom which he was possessed of, but gave him a certain part of Cilicia and Commagena: he also set Alexander Lysimachus, the alabarch, at liberty, who had been his old friend, and steward to his mother Antonia, but had been imprisoned by Caius, whose son [Marcus] married Bernice, the daughter of Agrippa. But when Marcus, Alexander's son, was dead, who had married her when she was a virgin, Agrippa gave her in marriage to his brother Herod, and begged for him of Claudius the kingdom of Chalcis.

2. Now about this time there was a sedition between the Jews and the Greeks, at the city of Alexandria; for when Caius was dead, the nation of the Jews, which had been very much mortified under the reign of Caius, and reduced to very great distress by the people of Alexandria, recovered itself, and immediately took up their arms to fight for themselves. So Claudius sent an order to the president of Egypt to quiet that tumult; he also sent an edict, at the requests of king Agrippa and king Herod, both to Alexandria and to Syria, whose contents were as follows: "Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, high priest, and tribune of the people, ordains thus: Since I am assured that the Jews of Alexandria, called Alexandrians, have been joint inhabitants in the earliest times with the Alexandrians, and have obtained from their kings equal privileges with them, as is evident by the public records that are in their possession, and the edicts themselves; and that after Alexandria had been subjected to our empire by Augustus, their rights and privileges have been preserved by those presidents who have at divers times been sent thither; and that no dispute had been raised about those rights and privileges, even when Aquila was governor of Alexandria; and that when the Jewish ethnarch was dead, Augustus did not prohibit the making such ethnarchs, as willing that all men should be so subject [to the Romans] as to continue in the observation of their own customs, and not be forced to transgress the ancient rules of their own country religion; but that, in the time of Caius, the Alexandrians became insolent towards the Jews that were among them, which Caius, out of his great madness and want of understanding, reduced the nation of the Jews very low, because they would not transgress the religious worship of their country, and call him a god: I will therefore that the nation of the Jews be not deprived of their rights and privileges, on account of the madness of Caius; but that those rights and privileges which they formerly enjoyed be preserved to them, and that they may continue in their own customs. And I charge both parties to take very great care that no troubles may arise after the promulgation of this edict."

3. And such were the contents of this edict on behalf of the Jews that was sent to Alexandria. But the edict that was sent into the other parts of the habitable earth was this which follows: "Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, high priest, tribune of the people, chosen consul the second time, ordains thus: Upon the petition of king Agrippa and king Herod, who are persons very dear to me, that I would grant the same rights and privileges should be preserved to the Jews which are in all the Roman empire, which I have granted to those of Alexandria, I very willingly comply therewith; and this grant I make not only for the sake of the petitioners, but as judging those Jews for whom I have been petitioned worthy of such a favour, on account of their fidelity and friendship to the Romans. I think it also very just that no Grecian city should be deprived of such rights and privileges, since they were preserved to them under the great Augustus. It will therefore be fit to permit the Jews, who are in all the world under us, to keep their ancient customs without being hindered so to do. And I do charge them also to use this my kindness to them with moderation, and not to show a contempt of the superstitious observances of other nations, but to keep their own laws only. And I will that this decree of mine be engraven on tables by the magistrates of the cities, and colonies, and municipal places, both those within Italy and those without it, both kings and governors, by the means of the ambassadors, and to have them exposed to the public for full thirty days, in such a place whence it may plainly be read from the ground."

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 6

What Things Were Done By Agrippa At Jerusalem When He Was Returned Back Into Judea; And What It Was That Petronius Wrote To The Inhabitants Of Doris, In Behalf.

1. Now Claudius Caesar, by these decrees of his which were sent to Alexandria, and to all the habitable earth, made known what opinion he had of the Jews. So he soon sent Agrippa away to take his kingdom, now he was advanced to a more illustrious dignity than before, and sent letters to the presidents and procurators of the provinces that they should treat him very kindly. Accordingly, he returned in haste, as was likely he would, now he returned in much greater prosperity than he had before. He also came to Jerusalem, and offered all the sacrifices that belonged to him, and omitted nothing which the law required; on which account he ordained that many of the Nazarites should have their heads shorn. And for the golden chain which had been given him by Caius, of equal weight with that iron chain wherewith his royal hands had been bound, he hung it up within the limits of the temple, over the treasury, that it might be a memorial of the severe fate he had lain under, and a testimony of his change for the better; that it might be a demonstration how the greatest prosperity may have a fall, and that God sometimes raises up what is fallen down: for this chain thus dedicated afforded a document to all men, that king Agrippa had been once bound in a chain for a small cause, but recovered his former dignity again; and a little while afterward got out of his bonds, and was advanced to be a more illustrious king than he was before. Whence men may understand that all that partake of human nature, how great soever they are, may fall; and that those that fall may gain their former illustrious dignity again.

2. And when Agrippa had entirely finished all the duties of the Divine worship, he removed Theophilus, the son of Ananus, from the high priesthood, and bestowed that honour of his on Simon the son of Boethus, whose name was also Cantheras whose daughter king Herod married, as I have related above. Simon, therefore, had the [high] priesthood with his brethren, and with his father, in like manner as the sons of Simon, the son of Onias, who were three, had it formerly under the government of the Macedonians, as we have related in a former book.

3. When the king had settled the high priesthood after this manner, he returned the kindness which the inhabitants of Jerusalem had showed him; for he released them from the tax upon houses, every one of which paid it before, thinking it a good thing to requite the tender affection of those that loved him. He also made Silas the general of his forces, as a man who had partaken with him in many of his troubles. But after a very little while the young men of Doris, preferring a rash attempt before piety, and being naturally bold and insolent, carried a statue of Caesar into a synagogue of the Jews, and erected it there. This procedure of theirs greatly provoked Agrippa; for it plainly tended to the dissolution of the laws of his country. So he came without delay to Publius Petronius, who was then president of Syria, and accused the people of Doris. Nor did he less resent what was done than did Agrippa; for he judged it a piece of impiety to transgress the laws that regulate the actions of men. So he wrote the following letter to the people of Doris in an angry strain: "Publius Petronius, the president under Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, to the magistrates of Doris, ordains as follows: Since some of you have had the boldness, or madness rather, after the edict of Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus was published, for permitting the Jews to observe the laws of their country, not to obey the same, but have acted in entire opposition thereto, as forbidding the Jews to assemble together in the synagogue, by removing Caesar's statue, and setting it up therein, and thereby have offended not only the Jews, but the emperor himself, whose statue is more commodiously placed in his own temple than in a foreign one, where is the place of assembling together; while it is but a part of natural justice, that every one should have the power over the place belonging peculiarly to themselves, according to the determination of Caesar,—to say nothing of my own determination, which it would be ridiculous to mention after the emperor's edict, which gives the Jews leave to make use of their own customs, as also gives order that they enjoy equally the rights of citizens with the Greeks themselves,—I therefore ordain that Proculus Vitellius, the centurion, bring those men to me, who, contrary to Augustus's edict, have been so insolent as to do this thing, at which those very men, who appear to be of principal reputation among them, have an indignation also, and allege for themselves, 'that it was not done with their consent, but by the violence of the multitude, that they may give an account of what hath been done. I also exhort the principal magistrates among them, unless they have a mind to have this action esteemed to be done with their consent, to inform the centurion of those that were guilty of it, and take care that no handle be hence taken for raising a sedition or quarrel among them; which those seem to me to treat after who encourage such doings; while both I myself, and king Agrippa, for whom I have the highest honour, have nothing more under our care, than that the nation of the Jews

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may have no occasion given them of getting together, under the pretense of avenging themselves, and become tumultuous. And that it may be more publicly known what Augustus hath resolved about this whole matter, I have subjoined those edicts which he hath lately caused to be published at Alexandria, and which, although they may be well known to all, yet did king Agrippa, for whom I have the highest honour, read them at that time before my tribunal, and pleaded that the Jews ought not to be deprived of those rights which Augustus hath granted them. I therefore charge you, that you do not, for the time to come, seek for any occasion of sedition or disturbance, but that every one be allowed to follow their own religious customs."

4. Thus did Petronius take care of this matter, that such a breach of the law might be corrected, and that no such thing might be attempted afterwards against the Jews. And now king Agrippa took the [high] priesthood away from Simon Cantheras, and put Jonathan, the son of Ananus, into it again, and owned that he was more worthy of that dignity than the other. But this was not a thing acceptable to him, to recover that his former dignity. So he refused it, and said, "O king! I rejoice in the honour that thou hast for me, and take it kindly that thou wouldst give me such a dignity of thy own inclinations, although God hath judged that I am not at all worthy of the high priesthood. I am satisfied with having once put on the sacred garments; for I then put them on after a more holy manner than I should now receive them again. But if thou desirest that a person more worthy than myself should have this honourable employment, give me leave to name thee such a one. I have a brother that is pure from all sin against God, and of all offenses against thyself; I recommend him to thee, as one that is fit for this dignity." So the king was pleased with these words of his, and passed by Jonathan, and, according to his brother's desire, bestowed the high priesthood upon Matthias. Nor was it long before Marcus succeeded Petronius, as president of Syria.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 7

Concerning Silas And On What Account It Was That King Agrippa Was Angry At Him. How Agrippa Began To Encompass Jerusalem With A Wall; And What Benefits He Bestowed On The Inhabitants Of Berytus.

1. Now Silas, the general of the king's horse, because he had been faithful to him under all his misfortunes, and had never refused to be a partaker with him in any of his dangers, but had oftentimes undergone the most hazardous dangers for him, was full of assurance, and thought he might expect a sort of equality with the king, on account of the firmness of the friendship he had showed to him. Accordingly, he would no where let the king sit as his superior, and took the like liberty in speaking to him upon all occasions, till he became troublesome to the king, when they were merry together, extolling himself beyond measure, and oft putting the king in mind of the severity of fortune he had undergone, that he might, by way of ostentation, demonstrate What zeal he had showed in his service; and was continually harping upon this string, what pains he had taken for him, and much enlarged still upon that subject. The repetition of this so frequently seemed to reproach the king, insomuch that he took this ungovernable liberty of talking very ill at his hands. For the commemoration of times when men have been under ignominy, is by no means agreeable to them; and he is a very silly man who is perpetually relating to a person what kindness he had done him. At last, therefore, Silas had so thoroughly provoked the king's indignation, that he acted rather out of passion than good consideration, and did not only turn Silas out of his place, as general of his horse, but sent him in bonds into his own country. But the edge of his anger wore off by length of time, and made room for more just reasonings as to his judgement about this man; and he considered how many labours he had undergone for his sake. So when Agrippa was solemnizing his birth-day, and he gave festival entertainments to all his subjects, he sent for Silas on the sudden to be his guest. But as he was a very frank man, he thought he had now a just handle given him to be angry; which he could not conceal from those that came for him, but said to them, "What honour is this the king invites me to, which I conclude will soon be over? For the king hath not let me keep those original marks of the good-will I bore him, which I once had from him; but he hath plundered me, and that unjustly also. Does he think that I can leave off that liberty of speech, which, upon the consciousness of my deserts, I shall use more loudly than before, and shall relate how many misfortunes I have been delivered from; how many labours I have undergone for him, whereby I procured him deliverance and respect; as a reward for which I have borne the hardships of bonds and a dark prison? I shall never forget this usage. Nay, perhaps, my very soul, when it is departed out of the body, will not forget the glorious actions I did on his account." This was the clamour he made, and he ordered the messengers to tell it to the king. So he perceived that Silas was incurable in his folly, and still suffered him to lie in prison.

2. As for the walls of Jerusalem, that were adjoining to the new city [Bezetha], he repaired them at the expense of the public, and built them wider in breadth, and higher in altitude; and he had made them too strong for all human power to demolish, unless Marcus, the then president of Syria, had by letter informed Claudius Caesar of what he was doing. And when Claudius had some suspicion of attempts for innovation, he sent to Agrippa to leave off the building of those walls presently. So he obeyed, as not thinking it proper to contradict Claudius.

3. Now this king was by nature very beneficent and liberal in his gifts, and very ambitious to oblige people with such large donations; and he made himself very illustrious by the many chargeable presents he made them. He took delight in giving, and rejoiced in living with good reputation. He was not at all like that Herod who reigned before him; for that Herod was ill-natured, and severe in his punishments, and had no mercy on them that he hated; and every one perceived that he was more friendly to the Greeks than to the Jews; for he adorned foreign cities with large presents in money; with building them baths and theatres besides; nay, in some of those places he erected temples, and porticoes in others; but he did not vouchsafe to raise one of the least edifices in any Jewish city, or make them any donation that was worth mentioning. But Agrippa's temper was mild, and equally liberal to all men. He was humane to foreigners, and made them sensible of his liberality. He was in like manner rather of a gentle and compassionate temper. Accordingly, he loved to live continually at Jerusalem, and was exactly careful in the observance of the laws of his country. He therefore kept himself entirely pure; nor did any day pass over his head without its appointed sacrifice.

4. However, there was a certain mall of the Jewish nation at Jerusalem, who appeared to be very accurate in the knowledge of the law. His name was Simon. This man got together an assembly, while the king was absent at Caesarea, and had the insolence to accuse him as not living holily, and that he might justly be excluded out of the temple, since it belonged only to native Jews. But the general of Agrippa's army informed him that Simon had made such a speech to the people. So the king sent for him; and as he was sitting in the theater, he bid him sit down by him, and said to him with a low and gentle voice, "What is there done in this place that is contrary to the law?" But he had nothing to say for himself, but begged his pardon. So the king was more easily reconciled to him than one could have imagined, as esteeming mildness a better quality in a king than anger, and knowing that moderation is more becoming in great men than passion. So he made Simon a small present, and dismissed him.

5. Now as Agrippa was a great builder in many places, he paid a peculiar regard to the people of Berytus; for he erected a theater for them, superior to many others of that sort, both in Sumptuousness and elegance, as also an amphitheater, built at vast expenses; and besides these, he built them baths and porticoes, and spared for no costs in any of his edifices, to render them both handsome and large. He also spent a great deal upon their dedication, and exhibited shows upon them, and brought thither musicians of all sorts, and such as made the most delightful music of the greatest variety. He also showed his magnificence upon the theater, in his great number of gladiators; and there it was that he exhibited the several antagonists, in order to please the spectators; no fewer indeed than seven hundred men to fight with seven hundred other men and allotted all the malefactors he had for this exercise, that both the malefactors might receive their punishment, and that this operation of war might be a recreation in peace. And thus were these criminals all destroyed at once.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 8

What Other Acts Were Done By Agrippa Until His Death; And After What Manner He Died.

1. When Agrippa had finished what I have above related at Berytus, he removed to Tiberias, a city of Galilee. Now he was in great esteem among other kings. Accordingly there came to him Antiochus, king of Commalena, Sampsigeratnus, king of Emesa, and Cotys, who was king of the Lesser Armenia, and Polemo, who was king of Pontus, as also Herod his brother, who was king of Chalcis. All these he treated with agreeable entertainments, and after an obliging manner, and so as to exhibit the greatness of his mind, and so as to appear worthy of those respects which the kings paid to him, by coming thus to see him. However, while these kings staid with him, Marcus, the president of Syria, came thither. So the king, in order to preserve the respect that was due to the Romans, went out of the city to meet him, as far as seven furlongs. But this proved to be the beginning of a difference between him and Marcus; for he took with him in his chariot those other kings as his assessors. But Marcus had a suspicion what the meaning could be of so great a friendship of these kings one with another, and did not think so close an agreement of so many potentates to be for the interest of the Romans. He therefore sent some of his domestics to every one of them, and enjoined them to go their ways home without further delay. This was very ill taken by Agrippa, who after that became his enemy. And now he took the high priesthood away from Matthias, and made Elioneus, the son of Cantheras, high priest in his stead.

2. Now when Agrippa had reigned three years over all Judea, he came to the city Caesarea, which was formerly called Strato's Tower; and there he exhibited shows in honour of Caesar, upon his being informed that there was a certain festival celebrated to make vows for his safety. At which festival a great multitude was gotten together of the principal persons, and such as were of dignity through his province. On the second day of which shows he put on a garment made wholly of silver, and of a contexture truly wonderful, and came into the theater early in the morning; at which time the silver of his garment being illuminated by the fresh reflection of the sun's rays upon it, shone out after a surprising manner, and was so resplendent as to spread a horror over those that looked intently upon him; and presently his flatterers cried out, one from one place, and another from another, [though not for his good,] that he was a god; and they added, "Be thou merciful to us; for although we have hitherto reverenced thee only as a man, yet shall we henceforth own thee as superior to mortal nature." Upon this the king did neither rebuke them, nor reject their impious flattery. But as he presently afterward looked up, he saw an owl sitting on a certain rope over his head, and immediately understood that this bird was the messenger of ill tidings, as it had once been the messenger of good tidings to him; and fell into the deepest sorrow. A severe pain also arose in his belly, and began in a most violent manner. He therefore looked upon his friends, and said, "I, whom you call a god, am commanded presently to depart this life; while Providence thus reproves the lying words you just now said to me; and I, who was by you called immortal, am immediately to be hurried away by death. But I am bound to accept of what Providence allots, as it pleases God; for we have by no means lived ill, but in a splendid and happy manner." When he said this, his pain was become violent. Accordingly he was carried into the palace, and the rumor went abroad every where, that he would certainly die in a little time. But the multitude presently sat in sackcloth, with their wives and children, after the law of their country, and besought God for the king's recovery. All places were also full of mourning and lamentation. Now the king rested in a high chamber, and as he saw them below lying prostrate on the ground, he could not himself forbear weeping. And when he had been quite worn out by the pain in his belly for five days, he departed this life, being in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and in the seventh year of his reign; for he reigned four years under Caius Caesar, three of them were over Philip's tetrarchy only, and on the fourth he had that of Herod added to it; and he reigned, besides those, three years under the reign of Claudius Caesar; in which time he reigned over the forementioned countries, and also had Judea added to them, as well as Samaria and Caesarea. The revenues that he received out of them were very great, no less than twelve millions of drachmae. Yet did he borrow great sums from others; for he was so very liberal that his expenses exceeded his incomes, and his generosity was boundless.

3. But before the multitude were made acquainted with Agrippa's being expired, Herod the king of Chalcis, and Helcias the master of his horse, and the king's friend, sent Aristo, one of the king's most faithful servants, and slew Silas, who had been their enemy, as if it had been done by the king's own command.

CHAPTER 9. What Things Were Done After The Death Of Agrippa; And How Claudius, On Account Of The Youth And Unskilfulness Of Agrippa, Junior, Sent Cuspius Fadus To Be Procurator Of Judea, And Of The Entire Kingdom.

1. And thus did king Agrippa depart this life. But he left behind him a son, Agrippa by name, a youth in the seventeenth year of his age, and three daughters; one of which, Bernice, was married to Herod, his father's brother, and was sixteen years old; the other two, Mariamne and Drusilla, were still virgins; the former was ten years old, and Drusilla six. Now these his daughters were thus espoused by their father; Marlatone to Julius Archelaus Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus, the son of Chelcias; and Drusilla to the king of Commagena. But when it was known that Agrippa was departed this life, the inhabitants of Caesarea and of Sebaste forgot the kindnesses he had bestowed on them, and acted the part of the bitterest enemies; for they cast such reproaches upon the deceased as are not fit to be spoken of; and so many of them as were then soldiers, which were a great number, went to his house, and hastily carried off the statues of this king's daughters, and all at once carried them into the brothel-houses, and when they had set them on the tops of those houses, they abused them to the utmost of their power, and did such things to them as are too indecent to be related. They also laid themselves down in public places, and celebrated general feastings, with garlands on their heads, and with ointments and libations to Charon, and drinking to one another for joy that the king was expired. Nay, they were not only unmindful of Agrippa, who had extended his liberality to them in abundance, but of his grandfather Herod

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also, who had himself rebuilt their cities, and had raised them havens and temples at vast expenses.

2. Now Agrippa, the son of the deceased, was at Rome, and brought up with Claudius Caesar. And when Caesar was informed that Agrippa was dead, and that the inhabitants of Sebaste and Caesarea had abused him, he was sorry for the first news, and was displeased with the ingratitude of those cities. He was therefore disposed to send Agrippa, junior, away presently to succeed his father in the kingdom, and was willing to confirm him in it by his oath. But those freed-men and friends of his, who had the greatest authority with him, dissuaded him from it, and said that it was a dangerous experiment to permit so large a kingdom to come under the government of so very young a man, and one hardly yet arrived at years of discretion, who would not be able to take sufficient care of its administration; while the weight of a kingdom is heavy enough to a grown man. So Caesar thought what they said to be reasonable. Accordingly he sent Cuspins Fadus to be procurator of Judea, and of the entire kingdom, and paid that respect to the deceased as not to introduce Marcus, who had been at variance with him, into his kingdom. But he determined, in the first place, to send orders to Fadus, that he should chastise the inhabitants of Caesarea and Sebaste for those abuses they had offered to him that was deceased, and their madness towards his daughters that were still alive; and that he should remove that body of soldiers that were at Caesarea and Sebaste, with the five regiments, into Pontus, that they might do their military duty there; and that he should choose an equal number of soldiers out of the Roman legions that were in Syria, to supply their place. Yet were not those that had such orders actually removed; for by sending ambassadors to Claudius, they mollified him, and got leave to abide in Judea still; and these were the very men that became the source of very great calamities to the Jews in after-times, and sowed the seeds of that war which began under Florus; whence it was that when Vespasian had subdued the country, he removed them out of his province, as we shall relate hereafter.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES BOOK 20

Containing The Interval Of Twenty-Two Years.—From Fadus The Procurator To Florus.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 1

A Sedition Of The Philadelphians Against The Jews; And Also Concerning The Vestments Of The High Priest.

1. Upon the death of king Agrippa, which we have related in the foregoing book, Claudius Caesar sent Cassius Longinus as successor to Marcus, out of regard to the memory of king Agrippa, who had often desired of him by letters, while he was alive, that he would not suffer Marcus to be any longer president of Syria. But Fadus, as soon as he was come procurator into Judea, found quarrelsome doings between the Jews that dwelt in Perea, and the people of Philadelphia, about their borders, at a village called Mia, that was filled with men of a warlike temper; for the Jews of Perea had taken up arms without the consent of their principal men, and had destroyed many of the Philadelphians. When Fadus was informed of this procedure, it provoked him very much that they had not left the determination of the matter to him, if they thought that the Philadelphians had done them any wrong, but had rashly taken up arms against them. So he seized upon three of their principal men, who were also the causes of this sedition, and ordered them to be bound, and afterwards had one of them slain, whose name was Hannibal; and he banished the other two, Areram and Eleazar. Tholomy also, the arch robber, was, after some time, brought to him bound, and slain, but not till he had done a world of mischief to Idumea and the Arabians. And indeed, from that time, Judea was cleared of robberies by the care and providence of Fadus. He also at this time sent for the high priests and the principal citizens of Jerusalem, and this at the command of the emperor, and admonished them that they should lay up the long garment and the sacred vestment, which it is customary for nobody but the high priest to wear, in the tower of Antonia, that it might be under the power of the Romans, as it had been formerly. Now the Jews durst not contradict what he had said, but desired Fadus, however, and Longinus, [which last was come to Jerusalem, and had brought a great army with him, out of a fear that the [rigid] injunctions of Fadus should force the Jews to rebel,] that they might, in the first place, have leave to send ambassadors to Caesar, to petition him that they may have the holy vestments under their own power; and that, in the next place, they would tarry till they knew what answer Claudius would give to that their request. So they replied, that they would give them leave to send their ambassadors, provided they would give them their sons as pledges [for their peaceable behavior]. And when they had agreed so to do, and had given them the pledges they desired, the ambassadors were sent accordingly. But when, upon their coming to Rome, Agrippa, junior, the son of the deceased, understood the reason why they came, [for he dwelt with Claudius Caesar, as we said before,] he besought Caesar to grant the Jews their request about the holy vestments, and to send a message to Fadus accordingly.

2. Hereupon Claudius called for the ambassadors; and told them that he granted their request; and bade them to return their thanks to Agrippa for this favour, which had been bestowed on them upon his entreaty. And besides these answers of his, he sent the following letter by them: "Claudius Caesar Germanicus, tribune of the people the fifth time, and designed consul the fourth time, and imperator the tenth time, the father of his country, to the magistrates, senate, and people, and the whole nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting. Upon the presentation of your ambassadors to me by Agrippa, my friend, whom I have brought up, and have now with me, and who is a person of very great piety, who are come to give me thanks for the care I have taken of your nation, and to entreat me, in an earnest and obliging manner, that they may have the holy vestments, with the crown belonging to them, under their power,—I grant their request, as that excellent person Vitellius, who is very dear to me, had done before me. And I have complied with your desire, in the first place, out of regard to that piety which I profess, and because I would have every one worship God according to the laws of their own country; and this I do also because I shall hereby highly gratify king Herod, and Agrippa, junior, whose sacred regards to me, and earnest good-will to you, I am well acquainted with, and with whom I have the greatest friendship, and whom I highly esteem, and look on as persons of the best character. Now I have written about these affairs to Cuspius Fadus, my procurator. The names of those that brought me your letter are Cornelius, the son of Cero, Trypho, the son of Theudio, Dorotheus, the son of Nathaniel, and John, the son of Jotre. This letter is dated before the fourth of the calends of July, when Ruffis and Pompeius Sylvanus are consuls."

3. Herod also, the brother of the deceased Agrippa, who was then possessed of the royal authority over Chalcis, petitioned Claudius Caesar for the authority over the temple, and the money of the sacred treasure, and the choice of the high priests, and obtained all that he petitioned for. So that after that time this authority continued among all his descendants till the end of the war. Accordingly, Herod removed the last high priest, called Cimtheras, and bestowed that dignity on his successor Joseph, the son of Cantos.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 2

How Helena The Queen Of Adiabene And Her Son Izates, Embraced The Jewish Religion; And How Helena Supplied The Poor With Corn, When There Was A Great Famine At Jerusalem.

1. About this time it was that Helena, queen of Adiabene, and her son Izates, changed their course of life, and embraced the Jewish customs, and this on the occasion following: Monobazus, the king of Adiabene, who had also the name of Bazeus, fell in love with his sister Helena, and took her to be his wife, and begat her with child. But as he was in bed with her one night, he laid his hand upon his wife's belly, and fell asleep, and seemed to hear a voice, which bid him take his hand off his wife's belly, and not hurt the infant that was therein, which, by God's providence, would be safely born, and have a happy end. This voice put him into disorder; so he awaked immediately, and told the story to his wife; and when his son was born, he called him Izates. He had indeed Monobazus, his elder brother, by Helena also, as he had other sons by other wives besides. Yet did he openly place all his affections on this his only begotten son Izates, which was the origin of that envy which his other brethren, by the same father, bore to him; while on this account they hated him more and more, and were all under great affliction that their father should prefer Izates before them. Now although their father was very sensible of these their passions, yet did he forgive them, as not indulging those passions out of an ill disposition, but out of a desire each of them had to be beloved by their father. However, he sent Izates, with many presents, to Abennerig, the king of Charax- Spasini, and that out of the great dread he was in about him, lest he should come to some misfortune by the hatred his brethren bore him; and he committed his son's preservation to him. Upon which Abennerig gladly received the young man, and had a great affection for him, and married him to his own daughter, whose name was Samacha: he also bestowed a country upon him, from which he received large revenues.

2. But when Monobazus was grown old, and saw that he had but a little time to live, he had a mind to come to the sight of his son before he died. So he sent for him, and embraced him after the most affectionate manner, and bestowed on him the country called Carra; it was a soil that bare amomum in great plenty: there are also in it the remains of that ark, wherein it is related that Noah escaped the deluge, and where they are still shown to such as are desirous to see them. Accordingly, Izates abode in that country until his father's death. But the very day that Monobazus died, queen Helena sent for all the grandees, and governors of the kingdom, and for those that had the armies committed to their command; and when they were come, she made the following speech to them: "I believe you are not unacquainted that my husband was desirous Izates should succeed him in the government, and thought him worthy so to do. However, I wait your determination; for happy is he who receives a kingdom, not from a single person only, but from the willing suffrages of a great many." This she said, in order to try those that were invited, and to discover their sentiments. Upon the hearing of which, they first of all paid their homage to the queen, as their custom was, and then they said that they confirmed the king's determination, and would submit to it; and they rejoiced that Izates's father had preferred him before the rest of his brethren, as being agreeable to all their wishes: but that they were desirous first of all to slay his brethren and kinsmen, that so the government might come securely to Izates; because if they were once destroyed, all that fear would be over which might arise from their hatred and envy to him. Helena replied to this, that she returned them her thanks for their kindness to herself and to Izates; but desired that they would however defer the execution of this slaughter of Izates's brethren till he should be there himself, and give his approbation to it. So since these men had not prevailed with her, when they advised her to slay them, they exhorted her at least to keep them in bonds till he should come, and that for their own security; they also gave her counsel to set up some one whom she could put the greatest trust in, as a governor of the kingdom in the mean time. So queen Helena complied with this counsel of theirs, and set up Monobazus, the eldest son, to be king, and put the diadem upon his head, and gave him his father's ring, with its signet; as also the ornament which they call Sampser, and exhorted him to administer the affairs of the kingdom till his brother should come; who came suddenly upon hearing that his father was dead, and succeeded his brother Monobazus, who resigned up the government to him.

3. Now, during the time Izates abode at Charax-Spasini, a certain Jewish merchant, whose name was Ananias, got among the women that belonged to the king, and taught them to worship God according to the Jewish religion. He, moreover, by their means, became known to Izates, and persuaded him, in like manner, to embrace that religion; he also, at the earnest entreaty of Izates, accompanied him when he was sent for by his father to come to Adiabene; it also happened that Helena, about the same time, was instructed by a certain other Jew and went over to them. But when Izates had taken the kingdom, and was come to Adiabene, and there saw his brethren and other kinsmen in bonds, he was displeased at it; and as he thought it an instance of impiety either to slay or imprison them, but still thought it a hazardous thing for to let them have their liberty, with the remembrance of the injuries that had been offered them, he sent some of them and their children for hostages to Rome, to Claudius Caesar, and sent the others to Artabanus, the king of Parthia, with the like intentions.

4. And when he perceived that his mother was highly pleased with the Jewish customs, he made haste to change, and to embrace them entirely; and as he supposed that he could not be thoroughly a Jew unless he were circumcised, he was ready to have it done. But when his mother understood what he was about, she endeavored to hinder him from doing it, and said to him that this thing would bring him into danger; and that, as he was a king, he would thereby bring himself into great odium among his subjects, when they should understand that he was so fond of rites that were to them strange and foreign; and that they would never bear to be ruled over by a Jew. This it was that she said to him, and for the present persuaded him to forbear. And when he had related what she had said to Ananias, he confirmed what his mother had said; and when he had also threatened to leave him, unless he complied with him, he went away from him, and said that he was afraid lest such an action being once become public to all, he should himself be in danger of punishment for having been the occasion of it, and having been the king's instructor in actions that were of ill reputation; and he said that he might worship God without being circumcised, even though he did resolve to follow the Jewish law entirely, which worship of God was of a superior nature to circumcision. He added, that God would forgive him, though he did not perform the operation, while it was omitted out of necessity, and for fear of his subjects. So the king at that time complied with these persuasions of Ananias. But afterwards, as he had not quite left off his desire of doing this thing, a certain other Jew that came out of Galilee, whose name was Eleazar, and who was esteemed very skillful in the learning of his country, persuaded him to do the thing; for as he entered into his palace to salute him, and found him reading the law of Moses, he said to him, "Thou dost not consider, O king! that thou unjustly breakest the principal of those laws, and art injurious to God himself, [by omitting to be circumcised]; for thou oughtest not only to read them, but chiefly to practice what they enjoin thee. How long wilt thou continue uncircumcised? But if thou hast not yet read the law about circumcision, and dost not know how great impiety thou art guilty of by neglecting it, read it now." When the king had heard what he said, he delayed the thing no longer,

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but retired to another room, and sent for a surgeon, and did what he was commanded to do. He then sent for his mother, and Ananias his tutor, and informed them that he had done the thing; upon which they were presently struck with astonishment and fear, and that to a great degree, lest the thing should be openly discovered and censured, and the king should hazard the loss of his kingdom, while his subjects would not bear to be governed by a man who was so zealous in another religion; and lest they should themselves run some hazard, because they would be supposed the occasion of his so doing. But it was God himself who hindered what they feared from taking effect; for he preserved both Izates himself and his sons when they fell into many dangers, and procured their deliverance when it seemed to be impossible, and demonstrated thereby that the fruit of piety does not perish as to those that have regard to him, and fix their faith upon him only. But these events we shall relate hereafter.

5. But as to Helena, the king's mother, when she saw that the affairs of Izates's kingdom were in peace, and that her son was a happy man, and admired among all men, and even among foreigners, by the means of God's providence over him, she had a mind to go to the city of Jerusalem, in order to worship at that temple of God which was so very famous among all men, and to offer her thank-offerings there. So she desired her son to give her leave to go thither; upon which he gave his consent to what she desired very willingly, and made great preparations for her dismission, and gave her a great deal of money, and she went down to the city Jerusalem, her son conducting her on her journey a great way. Now her coming was of very great advantage to the people of Jerusalem; for whereas a famine did oppress them at that time, and many people died for want of what was necessary to procure food withal, queen Helena sent some of her servants to Alexandria with money to buy a great quantity of corn, and others of them to Cyprus, to bring a cargo of dried figs. And as soon as they were come back, and had brought those provisions, which was done very quickly, she distributed food to those that were in want of it, and left a most excellent memorial behind her of this benefaction, which she bestowed on our whole nation. And when her son Izates was informed of this famine, 5 he sent great sums of money to the principal men in Jerusalem. However, what favours this queen and king conferred upon our city Jerusalem shall be further related hereafter.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 3

How Artabanus, the King of Parthia out of Fear of the Secret Contrivances of His Subjects Against Him, Went to Izates, and Was By Him Reinstated in His Government; as Also How Bardanes His Son Denounced War Against Izates.

1. But now Artabanus, king of the Parthians perceiving that the governors of the provinces had framed a plot against him, did not think it safe for him to continue among them; but resolved to go to Izates, in hopes of finding some way for his preservation by his means, and, if possible, for his return to his own dominions. So he came to Izates, and brought a thousand of his kindred and servants with him, and met him upon the road, while he well knew Izates, but Izates did not know him. When Artabanus stood near him, and, in the first place, worshipped him, according to the custom, he then said to him, "O king! do not thou overlook me thy servant, nor do thou proudly reject the suit I make thee; for as I am reduced to a low estate, by the change of fortune, and of a king am become a private man, I stand in need of thy assistance. Have regard, therefore, unto the uncertainty of fortune, and esteem the care thou shalt take of me to be taken of thyself also; for if I be neglected, and my subjects go off unpunished, many other subjects will become the more insolent towards other kings also." And this speech Artabanus made with tears in his eyes, and with a dejected countenance. Now as soon as Izates heard Artabanus's name, and saw him stand as a supplicant before him, he leaped down from his horse immediately, and said to him, "Take courage, O king! nor be disturbed at thy present calamity, as if it were incurable; for the change of thy sad condition shall be sudden; for thou shalt find me to be more thy friend and thy assistant than thy hopes can promise thee; for I will either re-establish thee in the kingdom of Parthia, or lose my own."

2. When he had said this, he set Artabanus upon his horse, and followed him on foot, in honour of a king whom he owned as greater than himself; which, when Artabanus saw, he was very uneasy at it, and sware by his present fortune and honour that he would get down from his horse, unless Izates would get upon his horse again, and go before him. So he complied with his desire, and leaped upon his horse; and when he had brought him to his royal palace, he showed him all sorts of respect when they sat together, and he gave him the upper place at festivals also, as regarding not his present fortune, but his former dignity, and that upon this consideration also, that the changes of fortune are common to all men. He also wrote to the Parthians, to persuade them to receive Artabanus again; and gave them his right hand and his faith, that he should forget what was past and done, and that he would undertake for this as a mediator between them. Now the Parthians did not themselves refuse to receive him again, but pleaded that it was not now in their power so to do, because they had committed the government to another person, who had accepted of it, and whose name was Cinnamus; and that they were afraid lest a civil war should arise on this account. When Cinnamus understood their intentions, he wrote to Artabanus himself, for he had been brought up by him, and was of a nature good and gentle also, and desired him to put confidence in him, and to come and take his own dominions again. Accordingly, Artabanus trusted him, and returned home; when Cinnamus met him, worshipped him, and saluted him as a king, and took the diadem off his own head, and put it on the head of Artabanus.

3. And thus was Artahanus restored to his kingdom again by the means of Izates, when he had lost it by the means of the grandees of the kingdom. Nor was he unmindful of the benefits he had conferred upon him, but rewarded him with such honours as were of the greatest esteem among them; for he gave him leave to wear his tiara upright, and to sleep upon a golden bed, which are privileges and marks of honour peculiar to the kings of Parthia. He also cut off a large and fruitful country from the king of Armenia, and bestowed it upon him. The name of the country is Nisibis, wherein the Macedonians had formerly built that city which they called Antioch of Mygodonia. And these were the honours that were paid Izates by the king of the Parthians.

4. But in no long time Artabanus died, and left his kingdom to his son Bardanes. Now this Bardanes came to Izates, and would have persuaded him to join him with his army, and to assist him in the war he was preparing to make with the Romans; but he could not prevail with him. For Izates so well knew the strength and good fortune of the Romans, that he took Bardanes to attempt what was impossible to be done; and having besides sent his sons, five in number, and they but young also, to learn accurately the language of our nation, together with our learning, as well as he had sent his mother to worship at our temple, as I have said already, was the more backward to a compliance; and restrained Bardanes, telling him perpetually of the great armies and famous actions of the Romans, and thought thereby to terrify him, and desired thereby to hinder him from that expedition. But the Parthian king was provoked at this his behavior, and denounced war immediately against Izates. Yet did he gain no advantage by this war, because God cut off all his hopes therein; for the Parthians perceiving Bardanes's intentions, and how he had determined to make war with the Romans, slew him, and gave his kingdom to his brother Gotarzes. He also, in no long time, perished by a plot made against him, and Vologases, his brother, succeeded him, who committed two of his provinces to two of his brothers by the same father; that of the Medes to the elder, Pacorus; and Armenia to the younger, Tiridates.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 4

How Izates Was Betrayed By His Own Subjects, And Fought Against By The Arabians And How Izates, By The Providence Of God, Was Delivered Out Of Their Hands.

1. Now when the king's brother, Monobazus, and his other kindred, saw how Izates, by his piety to God, was become greatly esteemed by all men, they also had a desire to leave the religion of their country, and to embrace the customs of the Jews; but that act of theirs was discovered by Izates's subjects. Whereupon the grandees were much displeased, and could not contain their anger at them; but had an intention, when they should find a proper opportunity, to inflict a punishment upon them. Accordingly, they wrote to Abia, king of the Arabians, and promised him great sums of money, if he would make an expedition against their king; and they further promised him, that, on the first onset, they would desert their king, because they were desirous to punish him, by reason of the hatred he had to their religious worship; then they obliged themselves, by oaths, to be faithful to each other, and desired that he would make haste in this design. The king of Arabia complied with their desires, and brought a great army into the field, and marched against Izates; and, in the beginning of the first onset, and before they came to a close fight, those grandees, as if they had a panic terror upon them, all deserted Izates, as they had agreed to do, and, turning their backs upon their enemies, ran away. Yet was not Izates dismayed at this; but when he understood that the grandees had betrayed him, he also retired into his camp, and made inquiry into the matter; and as soon as he knew who they were that made this conspiracy with the king of Arabia, he cut off those that were found guilty; and renewing the fight on the next day, he slew the greatest part of his enemies, and forced all the rest to betake themselves to flight. He also pursued their king, and drove him into a fortress called Arsamus, and following on the siege vigorously, he took that fortress. And when he had plundered it of all the prey that was in it, which was not small, he returned to Adiabene; yet did not he take Abia alive, because, when he found himself encompassed on every side, he slew himself.

2. But although the grandees of Adiabene had failed in their first attempt, as being delivered up by God into their king's hands, yet would they not even then be quiet, but wrote again to Vologases, who was then king of Parthia, and desired that he would kill Izates, and set over them some other potentate, who should be of a Parthian family; for they said that they hated their own king for abrogating the laws of their forefathers, and embracing foreign customs. When the king of Parthia heard this, he boldly made war upon Izates; and as he had no just pretense for this war, he sent to him, and demanded back those honourable privileges which had been bestowed on him by his father, and threatened, on his refusal, to make war upon him. Upon hearing of this, Izates was under no small trouble of mind, as thinking it would be a reproach upon him to appear to resign those privileges that had been bestowed upon him out of cowardice; yet because he knew, that though the king of Parthia should receive back those honours, yet would he not be quiet, he resolved to commit himself to God, his Protector, in the present danger he was in of his life; and as he esteemed him to be his principal assistant, he intrusted his children and his wives to a very strong fortress, and laid up his corn in his citadels, and set the hay and the grass on fire. And when he had thus put things in order, as well as he could, he awaited the coming of the enemy. And when the king of Parthia was come, with a great army of footmen and horsemen, which he did sooner than was expected, [for he marched in great haste,] and had cast up a bank at the river that parted Adiabene from Media,—Izates also pitched his camp not far off, having with him six thousand horsemen. But there came a messenger to Izates, sent by the king of Parthia, who told him how large his dominions were, as reaching from the river Euphrates to Bactria, and enumerated that king's subjects; he also threatened him that he should be punished, as a person ungrateful to his lords; and said that the God whom he worshipped could not deliver him out of the king's hands. When the messenger had delivered this his message, Izates replied that he knew the king of Parthia's power was much greater than his own; but that he knew also that God was much more powerful than all men. And when he had returned him this answer, he betook himself to make supplication to God, and threw himself upon the ground, and put ashes upon his head, in testimony of his confusion, and fasted, together with his wives and children. Then he called upon God, and said, "O Lord and Governor, if I have not in vain committed myself to thy goodness, but have justly determined that thou only art the Lord and principal of all beings, come now to my assistance, and defend me from my enemies, not only on my own account, but on account of their insolent behavior with regard to thy power, while they have not feared to lift up their proud and arrogant tongue against thee." Thus did he lament and bemoan himself, with tears in his eyes; whereupon God heard his prayer. And immediately that very night Vologases received letters, the contents of which were these, that a great band of Dahe and Sacse, despising him, now he was gone so long a journey from home, had made an expedition, and laid Parthia waste; so that he [was forced to] retire back, without doing any thing. And thus it was that Izates escaped the threatenings of the Parthians, by the providence of God.

3. It was not long ere Izates died, when he had completed fifty-five years of his life, and had ruled his kingdom twenty-four years. He left behind him twenty-four sons and twenty-four daughters. However, he gave order that his brother Monobazus should succeed in the government, thereby requiting him, because, while he was himself absent after their father's death, he had faithfully preserved the government for him. But when Helena, his mother, heard of her son's death, she was in great heaviness, as was but natural, upon her loss of such a most dutiful son; yet was it a comfort to her that she heard the succession came to her eldest son. Accordingly, she went to him in haste; and when she was come into Adiabene, she did not long outlive her son Izates. But Monobazus sent her bones, as well as those of Izates, his brother, to Jerusalem, and gave order that they should be buried at the pyramids which their mother had erected; they were three in number, and distant no more than three furlongs from the city Jerusalem. But for the actions of Monobazus the king, which he did during the rest of his life, we will relate them hereafter.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 5

Concerning Theudas And The Sons Of Judas The Galilean; As Also What Calamity Fell Upon The Jews On The Day Of The Passover.

1. Now it came to pass, while Fadus was procurator of Judea, that a certain magician, whose name was Theudas, persuaded a great part of the people to take their effects with them, and follow him to the river Jordan; for he told them he was a prophet, and that he would, by his own command, divide the river, and afford them an easy passage over it; and many were deluded by his words. However, Fadus did not permit them to make any advantage of his wild attempt, but sent a troop of horsemen out against them; who, falling upon them unexpectedly, slew many of them, and took many of them alive. They also took Theudas alive, and cut off his head, and carried it to Jerusalem. This was what befell the Jews in the time of Cuspius Fadus's government.

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2. Then came Tiberius Alexander as successor to Fadus; he was the son of Alexander the alabarch of Alexandria, which Alexander was a principal person among all his contemporaries, both for his family and wealth: he was also more eminent for his piety than this his son Alexander, for he did not continue in the religion of his country. Under these procurators that great famine happened in Judea, in which queen Helena bought corn in Egypt at a great expense, and distributed it to those that were in want, as I have related already. And besides this, the sons of Judas of Galilee were now slain; I mean of that Judas who caused the people to revolt, when Cyrenius came to take an account of the estates of the Jews, as we have showed in a foregoing book. The names of those sons were James and Simon, whom Alexander commanded to be crucified. But now Herod, king of Chalcis, removed Joseph, the son of Camydus, from the high priesthood, and made Ananias, the son of Nebedeu, his successor. And now it was that Cumanus came as successor to Tiberius Alexander; as also that Herod, brother of Agrippa the great king, departed this life, in the eighth year of the reign of Claudius Caesar. He left behind him three sons; Aristobulus, whom he had by his first wife, with Bernicianus, and Hyrcanus, both whom he had by Bernice his brother's daughter. But Claudius Caesar bestowed his dominions on Agrippa, junior.

3. Now while the Jewish affairs were under the administration of Cumanus, there happened a great tumult at the city of Jerusalem, and many of the Jews perished therein. But I shall first explain the occasion whence it was derived. When that feast which is called the passover was at hand, at which time our custom is to use unleavened bread, and a great multitude was gathered together from all parts to that feast, Cumanus was afraid lest some attempt of innovation should then be made by them; so he ordered that one regiment of the army should take their arms, and stand in the temple cloisters, to repress any attempts of innovation, if perchance any such should begin; and this was no more than what the former procurators of Judea did at such festivals. But on the fourth day of the feast, a certain soldier let down his breeches, and exposed his privy members to the multitude, which put those that saw him into a furious rage, and made them cry out that this impious action was not done to approach them, but God himself; nay, some of them reproached Cumanus, and pretended that the soldier was set on by him, which, when Cumanus heard, he was also himself not a little provoked at such reproaches laid upon him; yet did he exhort them to leave off such seditious attempts, and not to raise a tumult at the festival. But when he could not induce them to be quiet for they still went on in their reproaches to him, he gave order that the whole army should take their entire armour, and come to Antonia, which was a fortress, as we have said already, which overlooked the temple; but when the multitude saw the soldiers there, they were affrighted at them, and ran away hastily; but as the passages out were but narrow, and as they thought their enemies followed them, they were crowded together in their flight, and a great number were pressed to death in those narrow passages; nor indeed was the number fewer than twenty thousand that perished in this tumult. So instead of a festival, they had at last a mournful day of it; and they all of them forgot their prayers and sacrifices, and betook themselves to lamentation and weeping; so great an affliction did the impudent obsceneness of a single soldier bring upon them.

4. Now before this their first mourning was over, another mischief befell them also; for some of those that raised the foregoing tumult, when they were traveling along the public road, about a hundred furlongs from the city, robbed Stephanus, a servant of Caesar, as he was journeying, and plundered him of all that he had with him; which things when Cumanus heard of, he sent soldiers immediately, and ordered them to plunder the neighbouring villages, and to bring the most eminent persons among them in bonds to him. Now as this devastation was making, one of the soldiers seized the laws of Moses that lay in one of those villages, and brought them out before the eyes of all present, and tore them to pieces; and this was done with reproachful language, and much scurrility; which things when the Jews heard of, they ran together, and that in great numbers, and came down to Caesarea, where Cumanus then was, and besought him that he would avenge, not themselves, but God himself, whose laws had been affronted; for that they could not bear to live any longer, if the laws of their forefathers must be affronted after this manner. Accordingly Cumanus, out of fear lest the multitude should go into a sedition, and by the advice of his friends also, took care that the soldier who had offered the affront to the laws should be beheaded, and thereby put a stop to the sedition which was ready to be kindled a second time.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 6

How There Happened A Quarrel Between The Jews And The Samaritans; And How Claudius Put An End To Their Differences.

1. Now there arose a quarrel between the Samaritans and the Jews on the occasion following: It was the custom of the Galileans, when they came to the holy city at the festivals, to take their journeys through the country of the Samaritans; and at this time there lay, in the road they took, a village that was called Ginea, which was situated in the limits of Samaria and the great plain, where certain persons thereto belonging fought with the Galileans, and killed a great many of them. But when the principal of the Galileans were informed of what had been done, they came to Cumanus, and desired him to avenge the murder of those that were killed; but he was induced by the Samaritans, with money, to do nothing in the matter; upon which the Galileans were much displeased, and persuaded the multitude of the Jews to betake themselves to arms, and to regain their liberty, saying that slavery was in itself a bitter thing, but that when it was joined with direct injuries, it was perfectly intolerable, And when their principal men endeavored to pacify them, and promised to endeavor to persuade Cumanus to avenge those that were killed, they would not hearken to them, but took their weapons, and entreated the assistance of Eleazar, the son of Dineus, a robber, who had many years made his abode in the mountains, with which assistance they plundered many villages of the Samaritans. When Cumanus heard of this action of theirs, he took the band of Sebaste, with four regiments of footmen, and armed the Samaritans, and marched out against the Jews, and caught them, and slew many of them, and took a great number of them alive; whereupon those that were the most eminent persons at Jerusalem, and that both in regard to the respect that was paid them, and the families they were of, as soon as they saw to what a height things were gone, put on sackcloth, and heaped ashes upon their heads, and by all possible means besought the seditious, and persuaded them that they would set before their eyes the utter subversion of their country, the conflagration of their temple, and the slavery of themselves, their wives, and children, which would be the consequences of what they were doing; and would alter their minds, would cast away their weapons, and for the future be quiet, and return to their own homes. These persuasions of theirs prevailed upon them. So the people dispersed themselves, and the robbers went away again to their places of strength; and after this time all Judea was overrun with robberies.

2. But the principal of the Samaritans went to Ummidius Quadratus, the president of Syria, who at that time was at Tyre, and accused the Jews of setting their villages on fire, and plundering them; and said withal, that they were not so much displeased at what they had suffered, as they were at the contempt thereby showed the Romans; while if they had received any injury, they ought to have made them the judges of what had been done, and not presently to make such devastation, as if they had not the Romans for their governors; on which account they came to him, in order to obtain that vengeance they wanted. This was the accusation which the Samaritans brought against the Jews. But the Jews affirmed that the Samaritans were the authors of this tumult and fighting, and that, in the first place, Cumanus had been corrupted by their gifts, and passed over the murder of those that were slain in silence;—which allegations when Quadratus heard, he put off the hearing of the cause, and promised that he would give sentence when he should come into Judea, and should have a more exact knowledge of the truth of that matter. So these men went away without success. Yet was it not long ere Quadratus came to Samaria, where, upon hearing the cause, he supposed that the Samaritans were the authors of that disturbance. But when he was informed that certain of the Jews were making innovations, he ordered those to be crucified whom Cumanus had taken captives. From whence he came to a certain village called Lydda, which was not less than a city in largeness, and there heard the Samaritan cause a second time before his tribunal, and there learned from a certain Samaritan that one of the chief of the Jews, whose name was Dortus, and some other innovators with him, four in number, persuaded the multitude to a revolt from the Romans; whom Quadratus ordered to be put to death: but still he sent away Ananias the high priest, and Ananus the commander [of the temple], in bonds to Rome, to give an account of what they had done to Claudius Caesar. He also ordered the principal men, both of the Samaritans and of the Jews, as also Cumanus the procurator, and Celer the tribune, to go to Italy to the emperor, that he might hear their cause, and determine their differences one with another. But he came again to the city of Jerusalem, out of his fear that the multitude of the Jews should attempt some innovations; but he found the city in a peaceable state, and celebrating one of the usual festivals of their country to God. So he believed that they would not attempt any innovations, and left them at the celebration of the festival, and returned to Antioch.

3. Now Cumanus, and the principal of the Samaritans, who were sent to Rome, had a day appointed them by the emperor whereon they were to have pleaded their cause about the quarrels they had one with another. But now Caesar's freedmen and his friends were very zealous on the behalf of Cumanus and the Samaritans; and they had prevailed over the Jews, unless Agrippa, junior, who was then at Rome, had seen the principal of the Jews hard set, and had earnestly entreated Agrippina, the emperor's wife, to persuade her husband to hear the cause, so as was agreeable to his justice, and to condemn those to be punished who were really the authors of this revolt from the Roman government:—whereupon Claudius was so well disposed beforehand, that when he had heard the cause, and found that the Samaritans had been the ringleaders in those mischievous doings, he gave order that those who came up to him should be slain, and that Cumanus should be banished. He also gave order that Celer the tribune should be carried back to Jerusalem, and should be drawn through the city in the sight of all the people, and then should be slain.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 7

Felix Is Made Procurator Of Judea; As Also Concerning Agrippa, Junior And His Sisters.

1. So Claudius sent Felix, the brother of Pallas, to take care of the affairs of Judea; and when he had already completed the twelfth year of his reign, he bestowed upon Agrippa the tetrarchy of Philip and Batanea, and added thereto Trachonites, with Abila; which last had been the tetrarchy of Lysanias; but he took from him Chalcis, when he had been governor thereof four years. And when Agrippa had received these countries as the gift of Caesar, he gave his sister Drusilla in marriage to Azizus, king of Emesa, upon his consent to be circumcised; for Epiphanes, the son of king Antiochus, had refused to marry her, because, after he had promised her father formerly to come over to the Jewish religion, he would not now perform that promise. He also gave Mariamne in marriage to Archelaus, the son of Helcias, to whom she had formerly been betrothed by Agrippa her father; from which marriage was derived a daughter, whose name was Bernice.

2. But for the marriage of Drusilla with Azizus, it was in no long time afterward dissolved upon the following occasion: While Felix was procurator of Judea, he saw this Drusilla, and fell in love with her; for she did indeed exceed all other women in beauty; and he sent to her a person whose name was Simon one of his friends; a Jew he was, and by birth a Cypriot, and one who pretended to be a magician, and endeavored to persuade her to forsake her present husband, and marry him; and promised, that if she would not refuse him, he would make her a happy woman. Accordingly she acted ill, and because she was desirous to avoid her sister Bernice's envy, for she was very ill treated by her on account of her beauty, was prevailed upon to transgress the laws of her forefathers, and to marry Felix; and when he had had a son by her, he named him Agrippa. But after what manner that young man, with his wife, perished at the conflagration of the mountain Vesuvius, in the days of Titus Caesar, shall be related hereafter.

3. But as for Bernice, she lived a widow a long while after the death of Herod [king of Chalcis], who was both her husband and her uncle; but when the report went that she had criminal conversation with her brother, [Agrippa, junior,] she persuaded Poleme, who was king of Cilicia, to be circumcised, and to marry her, as supposing that by this means she should prove those calumnies upon her to be false; and Poleme was prevailed upon, and that chiefly on account of her riches. Yet did not this matrimony endure long; but Bernice left Poleme, and, as was said, with impure intentions. So he forsook at once this matrimony, and the Jewish religion; and, at the same time, Mariamne put away Archelaus, and was married to Demetrius, the principal man among the Alexandrian Jews, both for his family and his wealth; and indeed he was then their alabarch. So she named her son whom she had by him Agrippinus. But of all these particulars we shall hereafter treat more exactly.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 8

After What Manner Upon The Death Of Claudius, Nero Succeeded In The Government; As Also What Barbarous Things He Did. Concerning The Robbers, Murderers And Impostors, That Arose While Felix And Festus Were Procurators Of Judea.

1. Now Claudius Caesar died when he had reigned thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days; and a report went about that he was poisoned by his wife Agrippina. Her father was Germanicus, the brother of Caesar. Her husband was Domitius Aenobarbus, one of the most illustrious persons that was in the city of Rome; after whose death, and her long continuance in widowhood, Claudius took her to wife. She brought along with her a son, Domtitus, of the same name with his father. He had before this slain his wife Messalina, out of jealousy, by whom he had his children Britannicus and Octavia; their eldest sister was Antonia, whom he had by Pelina his first wife. He also married Octavia to Nero; for that was the name that Caesar gave him afterward, upon his adopting him for his son.

2. But now Agrippina was afraid, lest, when Britannicus should come to man's estate, he should succeed his father in the government, and desired to seize upon the principality beforehand for her own son [Nero]; upon which the report went that she thence compassed the death of Claudius. Accordingly, she sent Burrhus, the general of the army,

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immediately, and with him the tribunes, and such also of the freed-men as were of the greatest authority, to bring Nero away into the camp, and to salute him emperor. And when Nero had thus obtained the government, he got Britannicus to be so poisoned, that the multitude should not perceive it; although he publicly put his own mother to death not long afterward, making her this requital, not only for being born of her, but for bringing it so about by her contrivances that he obtained the Roman empire. He also slew Octavia his own wife, and many other illustrious persons, under this pretense, that they plotted against him.

3. But I omit any further discourse about these affairs; for there have been a great many who have composed the history of Nero; some of which have departed from the truth of facts out of favour, as having received benefits from him; while others, out of hatred to him, and the great ill-will which they bare him, have so impudently raved against him with their lies, that they justly deserve to be condemned. Nor do I wonder at such as have told lies of Nero, since they have not in their writings preserved the truth of history as to those facts that were earlier than his time, even when the actors could have no way incurred their hatred, since those writers lived a long time after them. But as to those that have no regard to truth, they may write as they please; for in that they take delight: but as to ourselves, who have made truth our direct aim, we shall briefly touch upon what only belongs remotely to this undertaking, but shall relate what hath happened to us Jews with great accuracy, and shall not grudge our pains in giving an account both of the calamities we have suffered, and of the crimes we have been guilty of. I will now therefore return to the relation of our own affairs.

4. For in the first year of the reign of Nero, upon the death of Azizus, king of Emesa, Soemus, his brother, succeeded in his kingdom, and Aristobulus, the son of Herod, king of Chalcis, was intrusted by Nero with the government of the Lesser Armenia. Caesar also bestowed on Agrippa a certain part of Galilee, Tiberias, and Tarichae, and ordered them to submit to his jurisdiction. He gave him also Julias, a city of Perea, with fourteen villages that lay about it.

5. Now as for the affairs of the Jews, they grew worse and worse continually, for the country was again filled with robbers and impostors, who deluded the multitude. Yet did Felix catch and put to death many of those impostors every day, together with the robbers. He also caught Eleazar, the son of Dineas, who had gotten together a company of robbers; and this he did by treachery; for he gave him assurance that he should suffer no harm, and thereby persuaded him to come to him; but when he came, he bound him, and sent him to Rome. Felix also bore an ill-will to Jonathan, the high priest, because he frequently gave him admonitions about governing the Jewish affairs better than he did, lest he should himself have complaints made of him by the multitude, since he it was who had desired Caesar to send him as procurator of Judea. So Felix contrived a method whereby he might get rid of him, now he was become so continually troublesome to him; for such continual admonitions are grievous to those who are disposed to act unjustly. Wherefore Felix persuaded one of Jonathan's most faithful friends, a citizen of Jerusalem, whose name was Doras, to bring the robbers upon Jonathan, in order to kill him; and this he did by promising to give him a great deal of money for so doing. Doras complied with the proposal, and contrived matters so, that the robbers might murder him after the following manner: Certain of those robbers went up to the city, as if they were going to worship God, while they had daggers under their garments, and by thus mingling themselves among the multitude they slew Jonathan 19 and as this murder was never avenged, the robbers went up with the greatest security at the festivals after this time; and having weapons concealed in like manner as before, and mingling themselves among the multitude, they slew certain of their own enemies, and were subservient to other men for money; and slew others, not only in remote parts of the city, but in the temple itself also; for they had the boldness to murder men there, without thinking of the impiety of which they were guilty. And this seems to me to have been the reason why God, out of his hatred of these men's wickedness, rejected our city; and as for the temple, he no longer esteemed it sufficiently pure for him to inhabit therein, but brought the Romans upon us, and threw a fire upon the city to purge it; and brought upon us, our wives, and children, slavery, as desirous to make us wiser by our calamities.

6. These works, that were done by the robbers, filled the city with all sorts of impiety. And now these impostors and deceivers persuaded the multitude to follow them into the wilderness, and pretended that they would exhibit manifest wonders and signs, that should be performed by the providence of God. And many that were prevailed on by them suffered the punishments of their folly; for Felix brought them back, and then punished them. Moreover, there came out of Egypt about this time to Jerusalem one that said he was a prophet, and advised the multitude of the common people to go along with him to the Mount of Olives, as it was called, which lay over against the city, and at the distance of five furlongs. He said further, that he would show them from hence how, at his command, the walls of Jerusalem would fall down; and he promised them that he would procure them an entrance into the city through those walls, when they were fallen down. Now when Felix was informed of these things, he ordered his soldiers to take their weapons, and came against them with a great number of horsemen and footmen from Jerusalem, and attacked the Egyptian and the people that were with him. He also slew four hundred of them, and took two hundred alive. But the Egyptian himself escaped out of the fight, but did not appear any more. And again the robbers stirred up the people to make war with the Romans, and said they ought not to obey them at all; and when any persons would not comply with them, they set fire to their villages, and plundered them.

7. And now it was that a great sedition arose between the Jews that inhabited Caesarea, and the Syrians who dwelt there also, concerning their equal right to the privileges belonging to citizens; for the Jews claimed the pre-eminence, because Herod their king was the builder of Caesarea, and because he was by birth a Jew. Now the Syrians did not deny what was alleged about Herod; but they said that Caesarea was formerly called Strato's Tower, and that then there was not one Jewish inhabitant. When the presidents of that country heard of these disorders, they caught the authors of them on both sides, and tormented them with stripes, and by that means put a stop to the disturbance for a time. But the Jewish citizens depending on their wealth, and on that account despising the Syrians, reproached them again, and hoped to provoke them by such reproaches. However, the Syrians, though they were inferior in wealth, yet valuing themselves highly on this account, that the greatest part of the Roman soldiers that were there were either of Caesarea or Sebaste, they also for some time used reproachful language to the Jews also; and thus it was, till at length they came to throwing stones at one another, and several were wounded, and fell on both sides, though still the Jews were the conquerors. But when Felix saw that this quarrel was become a kind of war, he came upon them on the sudden, and desired the Jews to desist; and when they refused so to do, he armed his soldiers, and sent them out upon them, and slew many of them, and took more of them alive, and permitted his soldiers to plunder some of the houses of the citizens, which were full of riches. Now those Jews that were more moderate, and of principal dignity among them, were afraid of themselves, and desired of Felix that he would sound a retreat to his soldiers, and spare them for the future, and afford them room for repentance for what they had done; and Felix was prevailed upon to do so.

8. About this time king Agrippa gave the high priesthood to Ismael, who was the son of Fabi. And now arose a sedition between the high priests and the principal men of the multitude of Jerusalem; each of which got them a company of the boldest sort of men, and of those that loved innovations about them, and became leaders to them; and when they struggled together, they did it by casting reproachful words against one another, and by throwing stones also. And there was nobody to reprove them; but these disorders were done after a licentious manner in the city, as if it had no government over it. And such was the impudence 21 and boldness that had seized on the high priests, that they had the hardiness to send their servants into the threshing-floors, to take away those tithes that were due to the priests, insomuch that it so fell out that the poorest sort of the priests died for want. To this degree did the violence of the seditious prevail over all right and justice.

9. Now when Porcius Festus was sent as successor to Felix by Nero, the principal of the Jewish inhabitants of Caesarea went up to Rome to accuse Felix; and he had certainly been brought to punishment, unless Nero had yielded to the importunate solicitations of his brother Pallas, who was at that time had in the greatest honour by him. Two of the principal Syrians in Caesarea persuaded Burrhus, who was Nero's tutor, and secretary for his Greek epistles, by giving him a great sum of money, to disannul that equality of the Jewish privileges of citizens which they hitherto enjoyed. So Burrhus, by his solicitations, obtained leave of the emperor that an epistle should be written to that purpose. This epistle became the occasion of the following miseries that befell our nation; for when the Jews of Caesarea were informed of the contents of this epistle to the Syrians, they were more disorderly than before, till a war was kindled.

10. Upon Festus's coming into Judea, it happened that Judea was afflicted by the robbers, while all the villages were set on fire, and plundered by them. And then it was that the sicarii, as they were called, who were robbers, grew numerous. They made use of small swords, not much different in length from the Persian acinacae, but somewhat crooked, and like the Roman sicae, [or sickles,] as they were called; and from these weapons these robbers got their denomination; and with these weapons they slew a great many; for they mingled themselves among the multitude at their festivals, when they were come up in crowds from all parts to the city to worship God, as we said before, and easily slew those that they had a mind to slay. They also came frequently upon the villages belonging to their enemies, with their weapons, and plundered them, and set them on fire. So Festus sent forces, both horsemen and footmen, to fall upon those that had been seduced by a certain impostor, who promised them deliverance and freedom from the miseries they were under, if they would but follow him as far as the wilderness. Accordingly, those forces that were sent destroyed both him that had deluded them, and those that were his followers also.

11. About the same time king Agrippa built himself a very large dining-room in the royal palace at Jerusalem, near to the portico. Now this palace had been erected of old by the children of Asamoneus and was situate upon an elevation, and afforded a most delightful prospect to those that had a mind to take a view of the city, which prospect was desired by the king; and there he could lie down, and eat, and thence observe what was done in the temple; which thing, when the chief men of Jerusalem saw they were very much displeased at it; for it was not agreeable to the institutions of our country or law that what was done in the temple should be viewed by others, especially what belonged to the sacrifices. They therefore erected a wall upon the uppermost building which belonged to the inner court of the temple towards the west, which wall when it was built, did not only intercept the prospect of the dining-room in the palace, but also of the western cloisters that belonged to the outer court of the temple also, where it was that the Romans kept guards for the temple at the festivals. At these doings both king Agrippa, and principally Festus the procurator, were much displeased; and Festus ordered them to pull the wall down again: but the Jews petitioned him to give them leave to send an embassage about this matter to Nero; for they said they could not endure to live if any part of the temple should be demolished; and when Festus had given them leave so to do, they sent ten of their principal men to Nero, as also Ismael the high priest, and Helcias, the keeper of the sacred treasure. And when Nero had heard what they had to say, he not only forgave them what they had already done, but also gave them leave to let the wall they had built stand. This was granted them in order to gratify Poppea, Nero's wife, who was a religious woman, and had requested these favours of Nero, and who gave order to the ten ambassadors to go their way home; but retained Helcias and Ismael as hostages with herself. As soon as the king heard this news, he gave the high priesthood to Joseph, who was called Cabi, the son of Simon, formerly high priest.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 9

Concerning Albinus Under Whose Procuratorship James Was Slain; As Also What Edifices Were Built By Agrippa.

1. And now Caesar, upon hearing the death of Festus, sent Albinus into Judea, as procurator. But the king deprived Joseph of the high priesthood, and bestowed the succession to that dignity on the son of Ananus, who was also himself called Ananus. Now the report goes that this eldest Ananus proved a most fortunate man; for he had five sons who had all performed the office of a high priest to God, and who had himself enjoyed that dignity a long time formerly, which had never happened to any other of our high priests. But this younger Ananus, who, as we have told you already, took the high priesthood, was a bold man in his temper, and very insolent; he was also of the sect of the Sadducees, who are very rigid in judging offenders, above all the rest of the Jews, as we have already observed; when, therefore, Ananus was of this disposition, he thought he had now a proper opportunity [to exercise his authority]. Festus was now dead, and Albinus was but upon the road; so he assembled the sanhedrim of judges, and brought before them the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, whose name was James, and some others, [or, some of his companions]; and when he had formed an accusation against them as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned: but as for those who seemed the most equitable of the citizens, and such as were the most uneasy at the breach of the laws, they disliked what was done; they also sent to the king [Agrippa], desiring him to send to Ananus that he should act so no more, for that what he had already done was not to be justified; nay, some of them went also to meet Albinus, as he was upon his journey from Alexandria, and informed him that it was not lawful for Ananus to assemble a sanhedrim without his consent. Whereupon Albinus complied with what they said, and wrote in anger to Ananus, and threatened that he would bring him to punishment for what he had done; on which king Agrippa took the high priesthood from him, when he had ruled but three months, and made Jesus, the son of Damneus, high priest.

2. Now as soon as Albinus was come to the city of Jerusalem, he used all his endeavors and care that the country might be kept in peace, and this by destroying many of the Sicarii. But as for the high priest, Ananias he increased in glory every day, and this to a great degree, and had obtained the favour and esteem of the citizens in a signal manner; for he was a great hoarder up of money: he therefore cultivated the friendship of Albinus, and of the high priest [Jesus], by making them presents; he also had servants who were very wicked, who joined themselves to the boldest sort of the people, and went to the thrashing-floors, and took away the tithes that belonged to the priests by violence, and did not refrain from

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beating such as would not give these tithes to them. So the other high priests acted in the like manner, as did those his servants, without any one being able to prohibit them; so that [some of the] priests, that of old were wont to be supported with those tithes, died for want of food.

3. But now the Sicarii went into the city by night, just before the festival, which was now at hand, and took the scribe belonging to the governor of the temple, whose name was Eleazar, who was the son of Ananus [Ananias] the high priest, and bound him, and carried him away with them; after which they sent to Ananias, and said that they would send the scribe to him, if he would persuade Albinus to release ten of those prisoners which he had caught of their party; so Ananias was plainly forced to persuade Albinus, and gained his request of him. This was the beginning of greater calamities; for the robbers perpetually contrived to catch some of Ananias's servants; and when they had taken them alive, they would not let them go, till they thereby recovered some of their own Sicarii. And as they were again become no small number, they grew bold, and were a great affliction to the whole country.

4. About this time it was that king Agrippa built Caesarea Philippi larger than it was before, and, in honour of Nero, named it Neronlas. And when he had built a theater at Berytus, with vast expenses, he bestowed on them shows, to be exhibited every year, and spent therein many ten thousand [drachmae]; he also gave the people a largess of corn, and distributed oil among them, and adorned the entire city with statues of his own donation, and with original images made by ancient hands; nay, he almost transferred all that was most ornamental in his own kingdom thither. This made him more than ordinarily hated by his subjects, because he took those things away that belonged to them to adorn a foreign city. And now Jesus, the son of Gamaliel, became the successor of Jesus, the son of Damneus, in the high priesthood, which the king had taken from the other; on which account a sedition arose between the high priests, with regard to one another; for they got together bodies of the boldest sort of the people, and frequently came, from reproaches, to throwing of stones at each other. But Ananias was too hard for the rest, by his riches, which enabled him to gain those that were most ready to receive. Costobarus also, and Saulus, did themselves get together a multitude of wicked wretches, and this because they were of the royal family; and so they obtained favour among them, because of their kindred to Agrippa; but still they used violence with the people, and were very ready to plunder those that were weaker than themselves. And from that time it principally came to pass that our city was greatly disordered, and that all things grew worse and worse among us.

5. But when Albinus heard that Gessius Florus was coming to succeed him, he was desirous to appear to do somewhat that might be grateful to the people of Jerusalem; so he brought out all those prisoners who seemed to him to be most plainly worthy of death, and ordered them to be put to death accordingly. But as to those who had been put into prison on some trifling occasions, he took money of them, and dismissed them; by which means the prisons were indeed emptied, but the country was filled with robbers.

6. Now as many of the Levites, which is a tribe of ours, as were singers of hymns, persuaded the king to assemble a sanhedrim, and to give them leave to wear linen garments, as well as the priests for they said that this would be a work worthy the times of his government, that he might have a memorial of such a novelty, as being his doing. Nor did they fail of obtaining their desire; for the king, with the suffrages of those that came into the sanhedrim, granted the singers of hymns this privilege, that they might lay aside their former garments, and wear such a linen one as they desired; and as a part of this tribe ministered in the temple, he also permitted them to learn those hymns as they had besought him for. Now all this was contrary to the laws of our country, which, whenever they have been transgressed, we have never been able to avoid the punishment of such transgressions.

7. And now it was that the temple was finished. So when the people saw that the workmen were unemployed, who were above eighteen thousand and that they, receiving no wages, were in want because they had earned their bread by their labours about the temple; and while they were unwilling to keep by them the treasures that were there deposited, out of fear of [their being carried away by] the Romans; and while they had a regard to the making provision for the workmen; they had a mind to expend these treasures upon them; for if any one of them did but labour for a single hour, he received his pay immediately; so they persuaded him to rebuild the eastern cloisters. These cloisters belonged to the outer court, and were situated in a deep valley, and had walls that reached four hundred cubits [in length], and were built of square and very white stones, the length of each of which stones was twenty cubits, and their height six cubits. This was the work of king Solomon, who first of all built the entire temple. But king Agrippa, who had the care of the temple committed to him by Claudius Caesar, considering that it is easy to demolish any building, but hard to build it up again, and that it was particularly hard to do it to these cloisters, which would require a considerable time, and great sums of money, he denied the petitioners their request about that matter; but he did not obstruct them when they desired the city might be paved with white stone. He also deprived Jesus, the son of Gamaliel, of the high priesthood, and gave it to Matthias, the son of Theophilus, under whom the Jews' war with the Romans took its beginning.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 10

An Enumeration Of The High Priests.

1. And now I think it proper and agreeable to this history to give an account of our high priests; how they began, who those are which are capable of that dignity, and how many of them there had been at the end of the war. In the first place, therefore, history informs us that Aaron, the brother of Moses, officiated to God as a high priest, and that, after his death, his sons succeeded him immediately; and that this dignity hath been continued down from them all to their posterity. Whence it is a custom of our country, that no one should take the high priesthood of God but he who is of the blood of Aaron, while every one that is of another stock, though he were a king, can never obtain that high priesthood. Accordingly, the number of all the high priests from Aaron, of whom we have spoken already, as of the first of them, until Phanas, who was made high priest during the war by the seditious, was eighty-three; of whom thirteen officiated as high priests in the wilderness, from the days of Moses, while the tabernacle was standing, until the people came into Judea, when king Solomon erected the temple to God; for at the first they held the high priesthood till the end of their life, although afterward they had successors while they were alive. Now these thirteen, who were the descendants of two of the sons of Aaron, received this dignity by succession, one after another; for their form of government was an aristocracy, and after that a monarchy, and in the third place the government was regal. Now the number of years during the rule of these thirteen, from the day when our fathers departed out of Egypt, under Moses their leader, until the building of that temple which king Solomon erected at Jerusalem, were six hundred and twelve. After those thirteen high priests, eighteen took the high priesthood at Jerusalem, one in succession to another, from the days of king Solomon, until Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, made an expedition against that city, and burnt the temple, and removed our nation into Babylon, and then took Josadek, the high priest, captive; the times of these high priests were four hundred and sixty-six years, six months, and ten days, while the Jews were still under the regal government. But after the term of seventy years' captivity under the Babylonians, Cyrus, king of Persia, sent the Jews from Babylon to their own land again, and gave them leave to rebuild their temple; at which time Jesus, the son of Josadek, took the high priesthood over the captives when they were returned home. Now he and his posterity, who were in all fifteen, until king Antiochus Eupator, were under a democratical government for four hundred and fourteen years; and then the forementioned Antiochus, and Lysias the general of his army, deprived Onias, who was also called Menelaus, of the high priesthood, and slew him at Berea; and driving away the son [of Onias the third], put Jaeimus into the place of the high priest, one that was indeed of the stock of Aaron, but not of that family of Onias. On which account Onias, who was the nephew of Onias that was dead, and bore the same name with his father, came into Egypt, and got into the friendship of Ptolemy Philometor, and Cleopatra his wife, and persuaded them to make him the high priest of that temple which he built to God in the prefecture of Heliopolis, and this in imitation of that at Jerusalem; but as for that temple which was built in Egypt, we have spoken of it frequently already. Now when Jacimus had retained the priesthood three years, he died, and there was no one that succeeded him, but the city continued seven years without a high priest. But then the posterity of the sons of Asamoneus, who had the government of the nation conferred upon them, when they had beaten the Macedonians in war, appointed Jonathan to be their high priest, who ruled over them seven years. And when he had been slain by the treacherous contrivance of Trypho, as we have related some where, Simon his brother took the high priesthood; and when he was destroyed at a feast by the treachery of his son-in-law, his own son, whose name was Hyrcanus, succeeded him, after he had held the high priesthood one year longer than his brother. This Hyrcanus enjoyed that dignity thirty years, and died an old man, leaving the succession to Judas, who was also called Aristobulus, whose brother Alexander was his heir; which Judas died of a sore distemper, after he had kept the priesthood, together with the royal authority; for this Judas was the first that put on his head a diadem for one year. And when Alexander had been both king and high priest twenty-seven years, he departed this life, and permitted his wife Alexandra to appoint him that should be high priest; so she gave the high priesthood to Hyrcanus, but retained the kingdom herself nine years, and then departed this life. The like duration [and no longer] did her son Hyrcanus enjoy the high priesthood; for after her death his brother Aristobulus fought against him, and beat him, and deprived him of his principality; and he did himself both reign, and perform the office of high priest to God. But when he had reigned three years, and as many months, Pompey came upon him, and not only took the city of Jerusalem by force, but put him and his children in bonds, and sent them to Rome. He also restored the high priesthood to Hyrcanus, and made him governor of the nation, but forbade him to wear a diadem. This Hyrcanus ruled, besides his first nine years, twenty-four years more, when Barzapharnes and Pacorus, the generals of the Parthians, passed over Euphrates, and fought with Hyrcanus, and took him alive, and made Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, king; and when he had reigned three years and three months, Sosius and Herod besieged him, and took him, when Antony had him brought to Antioch, and slain there. Herod was then made king by the Romans, but did no longer appoint high priests out of the family of Asamoneus; but made certain men to be so that were of no eminent families, but barely of those that were priests, excepting that he gave that dignity to Aristobulus; for when he had made this Aristobulus, the grandson of that Hyrcanus who was then taken by the Parthians, and had taken his sister Mariarmne to wife, he thereby aimed to win the good-will of the people, who had a kind remembrance of Hyrcanus [his grandfather]. Yet did he afterward, out of his fear lest they should all bend their inclinations to Aristobulus, put him to death, and that by contriving how to have him suffocated as he was swimming at Jericho, as we have already related that matter; but after this man he never intrusted the priesthood to the posterity of the sons of Asamoneus. Archelaus also, Herod's son, did like his father in the appointment of the high priests, as did the Romans also, who took the government over the Jews into their hands afterward. Accordingly, the number of the high priests, from the days of Herod until the day when Titus took the temple and the City, and burnt them, were in all twenty-eight; the time also that belonged to them was a hundred and seven years. Some of these were the political governors of the people under the reign of Herod, and under the reign of Archelaus his son, although, after their death, the government became an aristocracy, and the high priests were intrusted with a dominion over the nation. And thus much may suffice to be said concerning our high priests.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS ANTIQUITIES CHAPTER 11

Concerning Florus The Procurator, Who Necessitated The Jews To Take Up Arms Against The Romans. The Conclusion.

1. Now Gessius Florus, who was sent as successor to Albinus by Nero, filled Judea with abundance of miseries. He was by birth of the city of Clazomene, and brought along with him his wife Cleopatra, [by whose friendship with Poppea, Nero's wife, he obtained this government,] who was no way different from him in wickedness. This Florus was so wicked, and so violent in the use of his authority, that the Jews took Albinus to have been [comparatively] their benefactor; so excessive were the mischiefs that he brought upon them. For Albinus concealed his wickedness, and was careful that it might not be discovered to all men; but Gessius Florus, as though he had been sent on purpose to show his crimes to every body, made a pompous ostentation of them to our nation, as never omitting any sort of violence, nor any unjust sort of punishment; for he was not to be moved by pity, and never was satisfied with any degree of gain that came in his way; nor had he any more regard to great than to small acquisitions, but became a partner with the robbers themselves. For a great many fell then into that practice without fear, as having him for their security, and depending on him, that he would save them harmless in their particular robberies; so that there were no bounds set to the nation's miseries; but the unhappy Jews, when they were not able to bear the devastations which the robbers made among them, were all under a necessity of leaving their own habitations, and of flying away, as hoping to dwell more easily any where else in the world among foreigners [than in their own country]. And what need I say any more upon this head? since it was this Florus who necessitated us to take up arms against the Romans, while we thought it better to be destroyed at once, than by little and little. Now this war began in the second year of the government of Florus, and the twelfth year of the reign of Nero. But then what actions we were forced to do, or what miseries we were enabled to suffer, may be accurately known by such as will peruse those books which I have written about the Jewish war.

2. I shall now, therefore, make an end here of my Antiquities; after the conclusion of which events, I began to write that account of the war; and these Antiquities contain what hath been delivered down to us from the original creation of man, until the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, as to what hath befallen the Jews, as well in Egypt as in Syria and in Palestine, and what we have suffered from the Assyrians and Babylonians, and what afflictions the Persians and Macedonians, and after them the Romans, have brought upon us; for I think I may say that I have composed this history with sufficient accuracy in all things. I have attempted to enumerate those high priests that we have had during the interval of two thousand years; I have also carried down the

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succession of our kings, and related their actions, and political administration, without [considerable] errors, as also the power of our monarchs; and all according to what is written in our sacred books; for this it was that I promised to do in the beginning of this history. And I am so bold as to say, now I have so completely perfected the work I proposed to myself to do, that no other person, whether he were a Jew or foreigner, had he ever so great an inclination to it, could so accurately deliver these accounts to the Greeks as is done in these books. For those of my own nation freely acknowledge that I far exceed them in the learning belonging to Jews; I have also taken a great deal of pains to obtain the learning of the Greeks, and understand the elements of the Greek language, although I have so long accustomed myself to speak our own tongue, that I cannot pronounce Greek with sufficient exactness; for our nation does not encourage those that learn the languages of many nations, and so adorn their discourses with the smoothness of their periods; because they look upon this sort of accomplishment as common, not only to all sorts of free-men, but to as many of the servants as please to learn them. But they give him the testimony of being a wise man who is fully acquainted with our laws, and is able to interpret their meaning; on which account, as there have been many who have done their endeavors with great patience to obtain this learning, there have yet hardly been so many as two or three that have succeeded therein, who were immediately well rewarded for their pains.

3. And now it will not be perhaps an invidious thing, if I treat briefly of my own family, and of the actions of my own life while there are still living such as can either prove what I say to be false, or can attest that it is true; with which accounts I shall put an end to these Antiquities, which are contained in twenty books, and sixty thousand verses. And if God permit me, I will briefly run over this war, and to add what befell them further to that very day, the 13th of Domitian, or A.D. 03, is not, that I have observed, taken distinct notice of by any one; nor do we ever again, with what befell us therein to this very day, which is the thirteenth year of the reign of Caesar Domitian, and the fifty-sixth year of my own life. I have also an intention to write three books concerning our Jewish opinions about God and his essence, and about our laws; why, according to them, some things are permitted us to do, and others are prohibited.

The End

AGAINST APION

by Titus Flavius Josephus,
Translation: William Whiston, 1737
Estimated Range of Dating: 94-96 A.D.

(Against Apion is a two-volume defence of Judaism written by Titus Flavius Josephus as a defense of Judaism as a classical religion and philosophy against criticism by Apion, stressing its antiquity against what he perceived as more recent traditions of the Greeks. Some myths accredited to Manetho are also addressed.One of his main sources was Menander of Ephesus. Against Apion cites Josephus' earlier work Antiquities of the Jews, so can be dated after 94 AD.)

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS APION BOOK 1

1. I Suppose that by my books of the Antiquity of the Jews, most excellent Epaphroditus, 2 have made it evident to those who peruse them, that our Jewish nation is of very great antiquity, and had a distinct subsistence of its own originally; as also, I have therein declared how we came to inhabit this country wherein we now live. Those Antiquities contain the history of five thousand years, and are taken out of our sacred books, but are translated by me into the Greek tongue. However, since I observe a considerable number of people giving ear to the reproaches that are laid against us by those who bear ill-will to us, and will not believe what I have written concerning the antiquity of our nation, while they take it for a plain sign that our nation is of a late date, because they are not so much as vouchsafed a bare mention by the most famous historiographers among the Grecians. I therefore have thought myself under an obligation to write somewhat briefly about these subjects, in order to convict those that reproach us of spite and voluntary falsehood, and to correct the ignorance of others, and withal to instruct all those who are desirous of knowing the truth of what great antiquity we really are. As for the witnesses whom I shall produce for the proof of what I say, they shall be such as are esteemed to be of the greatest reputation for truth, and the most skillful in the knowledge of all antiquity by the Greeks themselves. I will also show, that those who have written so reproachfully and falsely about us are to be convicted by what they have written themselves to the contrary. I shall also endeavor to give an account of the reasons why it hath so happened, that there have not been a great number of Greeks who have made mention of our nation in their histories. I will, however, bring those Grecians to light who have not omitted such our history, for the sake of those that either do not know them, or pretend not to know them already.

2. And now, in the first place, I cannot but greatly wonder at those men, who suppose that we must attend to none but Grecians, when we are inquiring about the most ancient facts, and must inform ourselves of their truth from them only, while we must not believe ourselves nor other men; for I am convinced that the very reverse is the truth of the case. I mean this,—if we will not be led by vain opinions, but will make inquiry after truth from facts themselves; for they will find that almost all which concerns the Greeks happened not long ago; nay, one may say, is of yesterday only. I speak of the building of their cities, the inventions of their arts, and the description of their laws; and as for their care about the writing down of their histories, it is very near the last thing they set about. However, they acknowledge themselves so far, that they were the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, and the Phoenicians (for I will not now reckon ourselves among them) that have preserved the memorials of the most ancient and most lasting traditions of mankind; for almost all these nations inhabit such countries as are least subject to destruction from the world about them; and these also have taken especial care to have nothing omitted of what was [remarkably] done among them; but their history was esteemed sacred, and put into public tables, as written by men of the greatest wisdom they had among them. But as for the place where the Grecians inhabit, ten thousand destructions have overtaken it, and blotted out the memory of former actions; so that they were ever beginning a new way of living, and supposed that every one of them was the origin of their new state. It was also late, and with difficulty, that they came to know the letters they now use; for those who would advance their use of these letters to the greatest antiquity pretend that they learned them from the Phoenicians and from Cadmus; yet is nobody able to demonstrate that they have any writing preserved from that time, neither in their temples, nor in any other public monuments. This appears, because the time when those lived who went to the Trojan war, so many years afterward, is in great doubt, and great inquiry is made, whether the Greeks used their letters at that time; and the most prevailing opinion, and that nearest the truth, is, that their present way of using those letters was unknown at that time. However, there is not any writing which the Greeks agree to be genuine among them ancienter than Homer's Poems, who must plainly he confessed later than the siege of Troy; nay, the report goes, that even he did not leave his poems in writing, but that their memory was preserved in songs, and they were put together afterward, and that this is the reason of such a number of variations as are found in them. 3 As for those who set themselves about writing their histories, I mean such as Cadmus of Miletus, and Acusilaus of Argos, and any others that may be mentioned as succeeding Acusilaus, they lived but a little while before the Persian expedition into Greece. But then for those that first introduced philosophy, and the consideration of things celestial and divine among them, such as Pherceydes the Syrian, and Pythagoras, and Thales, all with one consent agree, that they learned what they knew of the Egyptians and Chaldeans, and wrote but little And these are the things which are supposed to be the oldest of all among the Greeks; and they have much ado to believe that the writings ascribed to those men are genuine.

3. How can it then be other than an absurd thing, for the Greeks to be so proud, and to vaunt themselves to be the only people that are acquainted with antiquity, and that have delivered the true accounts of those early times after an accurate manner? Nay, who is there that cannot easily gather from the Greek writers themselves, that they knew but little on any good foundation when they set to write, but rather wrote their histories from their own conjectures? Accordingly, they confute one another in their own books to purpose, and are not ashamed. to give us the most contradictory accounts of the same things; and I should spend my time to little purpose, if I should pretend to teach the Greeks that which they know better than I already, what a great disagreement there is between Hellanicus and Acusilaus about their genealogies; in how many eases Acusilaus corrects Hesiod: or after what manner Ephorus demonstrates Hellanicus to have told lies in the greatest part of his history; as does Timeus in like manner as to Ephorus, and the succeeding writers do to Timeus, and all the later writers do to Herodotus nor could Timeus agree with Antiochus and Philistius, or with Callias, about the Sicilian History, no more than do the several writers of the Athide follow one another about the Athenian affairs; nor do the historians the like, that wrote the Argolics, about the affairs of the Argives. And now what need I say any more about particular cities and smaller places, while in the most approved writers of the expedition of the Persians, and of the actions which were therein performed, there are so great differences? Nay, Thucydides himself is accused of some as writing what is false, although he seems to have given us the exactest history of the affairs of his own time.

4. As for the occasions of so great disagreement of theirs, there may be assigned many that are very probable, if any have a mind to make an inquiry about them; but I ascribe these contradictions chiefly to two causes, which I will now mention, and still think what I shall mention in the first place to be the principal of all. For if we remember that in the beginning the Greeks had taken no care to have public records of their several transactions preserved, this must for certain have afforded those that would afterward write about those ancient transactions the opportunity of making mistakes, and the power of making lies also; for this original recording of such ancient transactions hath not only been neglected by the other states of Greece, but even among the Athenians themselves also, who pretend to be Aborigines, and to have applied themselves to learning, there are no such records extant; nay, they say themselves that the laws of Draco concerning murders, which are now extant in writing, are the most ancient of their public records; which Draco yet lived but a little before the tyrant Pisistratus. For as to the Arcadians, who make such boasts of their antiquity, what need I speak of them in particular, since it was still later before they got their letters, and learned them, and that with difficulty also.

5. There must therefore naturally arise great differences among writers, when they had no original records to lay for their foundation, which might at once inform those who had an inclination to learn, and contradict those that would tell lies. However, we are to suppose a second occasion besides the former of these contradictions; it is this: That those who were the most zealous to write history were not solicitous for the discovery of truth, although it was very easy for them always to make such a profession; but their business was to demonstrate that they could write well, and make an impression upon mankind thereby; and in what manner of writing they thought they were able to exceed others, to that did they apply themselves, Some of them betook themselves to the writing of fabulous narrations; some of them endeavored to please the cities or the kings, by writing in their commendation; others of them fell to finding faults with transactions, or with the writers of such transactions, and thought to make a great figure by so doing. And indeed these do what is of all things the most contrary to true history; for it is the great character of true history that all concerned therein both speak and write the same things; while these men, by writing differently about the same things, think they shall be believed to write with the greatest regard to truth. We therefore [who are Jews] must yield to the Grecian writers as to language and eloquence of composition; but then we shall give them no such preference as to the verity of ancient history, and least of all as to that part which concerns the affairs of our own several countries.

6. As to the care of writing down the records from the earliest antiquity among the Egyptians and Babylonians; that the priests were intrusted therewith, and employed a philosophical concern about it; that they were the Chaldean priests that did so among the Babylonians; and that the Phoenicians, who were mingled among the Greeks, did especially make use of their letters, both for the common affairs of life, and for the delivering down the history of common transactions, I think I may omit any proof, because all men allow it so to be. But now as to our forefathers, that they took no less care about writing such records, [for I will not say they took greater care than the others I spoke of,] and that they committed that matter to their high priests and to their prophets, and that these records have been written all along down to our own times with the utmost accuracy; nay, if it be not too bold for me to say it, our history will be so written hereafter;—I shall endeavor briefly to inform you.

7. For our forefathers did not only appoint the best of these priests, and those that attended upon the Divine worship, for that design from the beginning, but made provision that the stock of the priests should continue unmixed and pure; for he who is partaker of the priesthood must propagate of a wife of the same nation, without having any regard to money, or any other dignities; but he is to make a scrutiny, and take his wife's genealogy from the ancient tables, and procure many witnesses to it. And this is our practice not only in Judea, but wheresoever any body of men of our nation do live; and even there an exact catalogue of our priests' marriages is kept; I mean at Egypt and at Babylon, or in any other place of the rest of the habitable earth, whithersoever our priests are scattered; for they send to Jerusalem the ancient names of their parents in writing, as well as those of their remoter ancestors, and signify who are the witnesses also. But if any war falls out, such as have fallen out a great many of them already, when Antiochus Epiphanes made an invasion upon our country, as also when Pompey the Great and Quintilius Varus did so also, and principally in the wars that have happened in our own times, those priests that survive them compose new tables of genealogy out of the old records, and examine the circumstances of the women that remain; for still they do not admit of those that have been captives, as suspecting that they had conversation with some foreigners. But what is the strongest argument of our exact management in this matter is what I am now going to say, that we have the names of our high priests from father to son set down in our records for the interval of two thousand years; and if any of

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these have been transgressors of these rules, they are prohibited to present themselves at the altar, or to be partakers of any other of our purifications; and this is justly, or rather necessarily done, because every one is not permitted of his own accord to be a writer, nor is there any disagreement in what is written; they being only prophets that have written the original and earliest accounts of things as they learned them of God himself by inspiration; and others have written what hath happened in their own times, and that in a very distinct manner also.

8. For we have not an innumerable multitude of books among us, disagreeing from and contradicting one another, [as the Greeks have,] but only twenty-two books, which contain the records of all the past times; which are justly believed to be divine; and of them five belong to Moses, which contain his laws and the traditions of the origin of mankind till his death. This interval of time was little short of three thousand years; but as to the time from the death of Moses till the reign of Artaxerxes king of Persia, who reigned after Xerxes, the prophets, who were after Moses, wrote down what was done in their times in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God, and precepts for the conduct of human life. It is true, our history hath been written since Artaxerxes very particularly, but hath not been esteemed of the like authority with the former by our forefathers, because there hath not been an exact succession of prophets since that time; and how firmly we have given credit to these books of our own nation is evident by what we do; for during so many ages as have already passed, no one has been so bold as either to add any thing to them, to take any thing from them, or to make any change in them; but it is become natural to all Jews immediately, and from their very birth, to esteem these books to contain Divine doctrines, and to persist in them, and, if occasion be willingly to die for them. For it is no new thing for our captives, many of them in number, and frequently in time, to be seen to endure racks and deaths of all kinds upon the theatres, that they may not be obliged to say one word against our laws and the records that contain them; whereas there are none at all among the Greeks who would undergo the least harm on that account, no, nor in case all the writings that are among them were to be destroyed; for they take them to be such discourses as are framed agreeably to the inclinations of those that write them; and they have justly the same opinion of the ancient writers, since they see some of the present generation bold enough to write about such affairs, wherein they were not present, nor had concern enough to inform themselves about them from those that knew them; examples of which may be had in this late war of ours, where some persons have written histories, and published them, without having been in the places concerned, or having been near them when the actions were done; but these men put a few things together by hearsay, and insolently abuse the world, and call these writings by the name of Histories.

9. As for myself, I have composed a true history of that whole war, and of all the particulars that occurred therein, as having been concerned in all its transactions; for I acted as general of those among us that are named Galileans, as long as it was possible for us to make any opposition. I was then seized on by the Romans, and became a captive. Vespasian also and Titus had me kept under a guard, and forced me to attend them continually. At the first I was put into bonds, but was set at liberty afterward, and sent to accompany Titus when he came from Alexandria to the siege of Jerusalem; during which time there was nothing done which escaped my knowledge; for what happened in the Roman camp I saw, and wrote down carefully; and what informations the deserters brought [out of the city], I was the only man that understood them. Afterward I got leisure at Rome; and when all my materials were prepared for that work, I made use of some persons to assist me in learning the Greek tongue, and by these means I composed the history of those transactions. And I was so well assured of the truth of what I related, that I first of all appealed to those that had the supreme command in that war, Vespasian and Titus, as witnesses for me, for to them I presented those books first of all, and after them to many of the Romans who had been in the war. I also sold them to many of our own men who understood the Greek philosophy; among whom were Julius Archelaus, Herod [king of Chalcis], a person of great gravity, and king Agrippa himself, a person that deserved the greatest admiration. Now all these men bore their testimony to me, that I had the strictest regard to truth; who yet would not have dissembled the matter, nor been silent, if I, out of ignorance, or out of favour to any side, either had given false colours to actions, or omitted any of them.

10. There have been indeed some bad men, who have attempted to calumniate my history, and took it to be a kind of scholastic performance for the exercise of young men. A strange sort of accusation and calumny this! since every one that undertakes to deliver the history of actions truly ought to know them accurately himself in the first place, as either having been concerned in them himself, or been informed of them by such as knew them. Now both these methods of knowledge I may very properly pretend to in the composition of both my works; for, as I said, I have translated the Antiquities out of our sacred books; which I easily could do, since I was a priest by my birth, and have studied that philosophy which is contained in those writings: and for the History of the War, I wrote it as having been an actor myself in many of its transactions, an eye-witness in the greatest part of the rest, and was not unacquainted with any thing whatsoever that was either said or done in it. How impudent then must those deserve to be esteemed that undertake to contradict me about the true state of those affairs! who, although they pretend to have made use of both the emperors' own memoirs, yet could not they he acquainted with our affairs who fought against them.

11. This digression I have been obliged to make out of necessity, as being desirous to expose the vanity of those that profess to write histories; and I suppose I have sufficiently declared that this custom of transmitting down the histories of ancient times hath been better preserved by those nations which are called Barbarians, than by the Greeks themselves. I am now willing, in the next place, to say a few things to those that endeavor to prove that our constitution is but of late time, for this reason, as they pretend, that the Greek writers have said nothing about us; after which I shall produce testimonies for our antiquity out of the writings of foreigners; I shall also demonstrate that such as cast reproaches upon our nation do it very unjustly.

12. As for ourselves, therefore, we neither inhabit a maritime country, nor do we delight in merchandise, nor in such a mixture with other men as arises from it; but the cities we dwell in are remote from the sea, and having a fruitful country for our habitation, we take pains in cultivating that only. Our principal care of all is this, to educate our children well; and we think it to be the most necessary business of our whole life to observe the laws that have been given us, and to keep those rules of piety that have been delivered down to us. Since, therefore, besides what we have already taken notice of, we have had a peculiar way of living of our own, there was no occasion offered us in ancient ages for intermixing among the Greeks, as they had for mixing among the Egyptians, by their intercourse of exporting and importing their several goods; as they also mixed with the Phoenicians, who lived by the sea-side, by means of their love of lucre in trade and merchandise. Nor did our forefathers betake themselves, as did some others, to robbery; nor did they, in order to gain more wealth, fall into foreign wars, although our country contained many ten thousands of men of courage sufficient for that purpose. For this reason it was that the Phoenicians themselves came soon by trading and navigation to be known to the Grecians, and by their means the Egyptians became known to the Grecians also, as did all those people whence the Phoenicians in long voyages over the seas carried wares to the Grecians. The Medes also and the Persians, when they were lords of Asia, became well known to them; and this was especially true of the Persians, who led their armies as far as the other continent [Europe]. The Thracians were also known to them by the nearness of their countries, and the Scythians by the means of those that sailed to Pontus; for it was so in general that all maritime nations, and those that inhabited near the eastern or western seas, became most known to those that were desirous to be writers; but such as had their habitations further from the sea were for the most part unknown to them which things appear to have happened as to Europe also, where the city of Rome, that hath this long time been possessed of so much power, and hath performed such great actions in war, is yet never mentioned by Herodotus, nor by Thucydides, nor by any one of their contemporaries; and it was very late, and with great difficulty, that the Romans became known to the Greeks. Nay, those that were reckoned the most exact historians [and Ephorus for one] were so very ignorant of the Gauls and the Spaniards, that he supposed the Spaniards, who inhabit so great a part of the western regions of the earth, to be no more than one city. Those historians also have ventured to describe such customs as were made use of by them, which they never had either done or said; and the reason why these writers did not know the truth of their affairs was this, that they had not any commerce together; but the reason why they wrote such falsities was this, that they had a mind to appear to know things which others had not known. How can it then be any wonder, if our nation was no more known to many of the Greeks, nor had given them any occasion to mention them in their writings, while they were so remote from the sea, and had a conduct of life so peculiar to themselves?

13. Let us now put the case, therefore, that we made use of this argument concerning the Grecians, in order to prove that their nation was not ancient, because nothing is said of them in our records: would not they laugh at us all, and probably give the same reasons for our silence that I have now alleged, and would produce their neighbour nations as witnesses to their own antiquity? Now the very same thing will I endeavor to do; for I will bring the Egyptians and the Phoenicians as my principal witnesses, because nobody can complain Of their testimony as false, on account that they are known to have borne the greatest ill-will towards us; I mean this as to the Egyptians in general all of them, while of the Phoenicians it is known the Tyrians have been most of all in the same ill disposition towards us: yet do I confess that I cannot say the same of the Chaldeans, since our first leaders and ancestors were derived from them; and they do make mention of us Jews in their records, on account of the kindred there is between us. Now when I shall have made my assertions good, so far as concerns the others, I will demonstrate that some of the Greek writers have made mention of us Jews also, that those who envy us may not have even this pretense for contradicting what I have said about our nation.

14. I shall begin with the writings of the Egyptians; not indeed of those that have written in the Egyptian language, which it is impossible for me to do. But Manetho was a man who was by birth an Egyptian, yet had he made himself master of the Greek learning, as is very evident; for he wrote the history of his own country in the Greek tongue, by translating it, as he saith himself, out of their sacred records; he also finds great fault with Herodotus for his ignorance and false relations of Egyptian affairs. Now this Manetho, in the second book of his Egyptian History, writes concerning us in the following manner. I will set down his very words, as if I were to bring the very man himself into a court for a witness: "There was a king of ours whose name was Timaus. Under him it came to pass, I know not how, that God was averse to us, and there came, after a surprising manner, men of ignoble birth out of the eastern parts, and had boldness enough to make an expedition into our country, and with ease subdued it by force, yet without our hazarding a battle with them. So when they had gotten those that governed us under their power, they afterwards burnt down our cities, and demolished the temples of the gods, and used all the inhabitants after a most barbarous manner; nay, some they slew, and led their children and their wives into slavery. At length they made one of themselves king, whose name was Salatis; he also lived at Memphis, and made both the upper and lower regions pay tribute, and left garrisons in places that were the most proper for them. He chiefly aimed to secure the eastern parts, as fore-seeing that the Assyrians, who had then the greatest power, would be desirous of that kingdom, and invade them; and as he found in the Saite Nomos, [Sethroite,] a city very proper for this purpose, and which lay upon the Bubastic channel, but with regard to a certain theologic notion was called Avaris, this he rebuilt, and made very strong by the walls he built about it, and by a most numerous garrison of two hundred and forty thousand armed men whom he put into it to keep it. Thither Salatis came in summer time, partly to gather his corn, and pay his soldiers their wages, and partly to exercise his armed men, and thereby to terrify foreigners. When this man had reigned thirteen years, after him reigned another, whose name was Beon, for forty-four years; after him reigned another, called Apachnas, thirty-six years and seven months; after him Apophis reigned sixty-one years, and then Janins fifty years and one month; after all these reigned Assis forty-nine years and two months. And these six were the first rulers among them, who were all along making war with the Egyptians, and were very desirous gradually to destroy them to the very roots. This whole nation was styled Hycsos, that is, Shepherd-kings: for the first syllable Hyc, according to the sacred dialect, denotes a king, as is Sos a shepherd; but this according to the ordinary dialect; and of these is compounded Hycsos: but some say that these people were Arabians." Now in another copy it is said that this word does not denote Kings, but, on the contrary, denotes Captive Shepherds, and this on account of the particle Hyc; for that Hyc, with the aspiration, in the Egyptian tongue again denotes Shepherds, and that expressly also; and this to me seems the more probable opinion, and more agreeable to ancient history. [But Manetho goes on]: "These people, whom we have before named kings, and called shepherds also, and their descendants," as he says, "kept possession of Egypt five hundred and eleven years." After these, he says, "That the kings of Thebais and the other parts of Egypt made an insurrection against the shepherds, and that there a terrible and long war was made between them." He says further, "That under a king, whose name was Alisphragmuthosis, the shepherds were subdued by him, and were indeed driven out of other parts of Egypt, but were shut up in a place that contained ten thousand acres; this place was named Avaris." Manetho says, "That the shepherds built a wall round all this place, which was a large and a strong wall, and this in order to keep all their possessions and their prey within a place of strength, but that Thummosis the son of Alisphragmuthosis made an attempt to take them by force and by siege, with four hundred and eighty thousand men to lie rotund about them, but that, upon his despair of taking the place by that siege, they came to a composition with them, that they should leave Egypt, and go, without any harm to be done to them, whithersoever they would; and that, after this composition was made, they went away with their whole families and effects, not fewer in number than two hundred and forty thousand, and took their journey from Egypt, through the wilderness, for Syria; but that as they were in fear of the Assyrians, who had then the dominion over Asia, they built a city in that country which is now called Judea, and that large enough to contain this great number of men, and called it Jerusalem." Now Manetho, in another book of his,

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says, "That this nation, thus called Shepherds, were also called Captives, in their sacred books." And this account of his is the truth; for feeding of sheep was the employment of our forefathers in the most ancient ages and as they led such a wandering life in feeding sheep, they were called Shepherds. Nor was it without reason that they were called Captives by the Egyptians, since one of our ancestors, Joseph, told the king of Egypt that he was a captive, and afterward sent for his brethren into Egypt by the king's permission. But as for these matters, I shall make a more exact inquiry about them elsewhere. 11

15. But now I shall produce the Egyptians as witnesses to the antiquity of our nation. I shall therefore here bring in Manetho again, and what he writes as to the order of the times in this case; and thus he speaks: "When this people or shepherds were gone out of Egypt to Jerusalem, Tethtoosis the king of Egypt, who drove them out, reigned afterward twenty-five years and four months, and then died; after him his son Chebron took the kingdom for thirteen years; after whom came Amenophis, for twenty years and seven months; then came his sister Amesses, for twenty-one years and nine months; after her came Mephres, for twelve years and nine months; after him was Mephramuthosis, for twenty-five years and ten months; after him was Thmosis, for nine years and eight months; after him came Amenophis, for thirty years and ten months; after him came Orus, for thirty-six years and five months; then came his daughter Acenchres, for twelve years and one month; then was her brother Rathotis, for nine years; then was Acencheres, for twelve years and five months; then came another Acencheres, for twelve years and three months; after him Armais, for four years and one month; after him was Ramesses, for one year and four months; after him came Armesses Miammoun, for sixty-six years and two months; after him Amenophis, for nineteen years and six months; after him came Sethosis, and Ramesses, who had an army of horse, and a naval force. This king appointed his brother, Armais, to be his deputy over Egypt." [In another copy it stood thus: "After him came Sethosis, and Ramesses, two brethren, the former of whom had a naval force, and in a hostile manner destroyed those that met him upon the sea; but as he slew Ramesses in no long time afterward, so he appointed another of his brethren to be his deputy over Egypt.] He also gave him all the other authority of a king, but with these only injunctions, that he should not wear the diadem, nor be injurious to the queen, the mother of his children, and that he should not meddle with the other concubines of the king; while he made an expedition against Cyprus, and Phoenicia, and besides against the Assyrians and the Medes. He then subdued them all, some by his arms, some without fighting, and some by the terror of his great army; and being puffed up by the great successes he had had, he went on still the more boldly, and overthrew the cities and countries that lay in the eastern parts. But after some considerable time, Armais, who was left in Egypt, did all those very things, by way of opposition, which his brother had forbid him to do, without fear; for he used violence to the queen, and continued to make use of the rest of the concubines, without sparing any of them; nay, at the persuasion of his friends he put on the diadem, and set up to oppose his brother. But then he who was set over the priests of Egypt wrote letters to Sethosis, and informed him of all that had happened, and how his brother had set up to oppose him: he therefore returned back to Pelusium immediately, and recovered his kingdom again. The country also was called from his name Egypt; for Manetho says, that Sethosis was himself called Egyptus, as was his brother Armais called Danaus."

16. This is Manetho's account. And evident it is from the number of years by him set down belonging to this interval, if they be summed up together, that these shepherds, as they are here called, who were no other than our forefathers, were delivered out of Egypt, and came thence, and inhabited this country, three hundred and ninety-three years before Danaus came to Argos; although the Argives look upon him as their most ancient king Manetho, therefore, hears this testimony to two points of the greatest consequence to our purpose, and those from the Egyptian records themselves. In the first place, that we came out of another country into Egypt; and that withal our deliverance out of it was so ancient in time as to have preceded the siege of Troy almost a thousand years; but then, as to those things which Manetbo adds, not from the Egyptian records, but, as he confesses himself, from some stories of an uncertain original, I will disprove them hereafter particularly, and shall demonstrate that they are no better than incredible fables.

17. I will now, therefore, pass from these records, and come to those that belong to the Phoenicians, and concern our nation, and shall produce attestations to what I have said out of them. There are then records among the Tyrians that take in the history of many years, and these are public writings, and are kept with great exactness, and include accounts of the facts done among them, and such as concern their transactions with other nations also, those I mean which were worth remembering. Therein it was recorded that the temple was built by king Solomon at Jerusalem, one hundred forty-three years and eight months before the Tyrians built Carthage; and in their annals the building of our temple is related; for Hirom, the king of Tyre, was the friend of Solomon our king, and had such friendship transmitted down to him from his forefathers. He thereupon was ambitious to contribute to the splendour of this edifice of Solomon, and made him a present of one hundred and twenty talents of gold. He also cut down the most excellent timber out of that mountain which is called Libanus, and sent it to him for adorning its roof. Solomon also not only made him many other presents, by way of requital, but gave him a country in Galilee also, that was called Chabulon. 13 But there was another passion, a philosophic inclination of theirs, which cemented the friendship that was betwixt them; for they sent mutual problems to one another, with a desire to have them unriddled by each other; wherein Solomon was superior to Hirom, as he was wiser than he in other respects: and many of the epistles that passed between them are still preserved among the Tyrians. Now, that this may not depend on my bare word, I will produce for a witness Dius, one that is believed to have written the Phoenician History after an accurate manner. This Dius, therefore, writes thus, in his Histories of the Phoenicians: "Upon the death of Abibalus, his son Hirom took the kingdom. This king raised banks at the eastern parts of the city, and enlarged it; he also joined the temple of Jupiter Olympius, which stood before in an island by itself, to the city, by raising a causeway between them, and adorned that temple with donations of gold. He moreover went up to Libanus, and had timber cut down for the building of temples. They say further, that Solomon, when he was king of Jerusalem, sent problems to Hirom to be solved, and desired he would send others back for him to solve, and that he who could not solve the problems proposed to him should pay money to him that solved them. And when Hirom had agreed to the proposals, but was not able to solve the problems, he was obliged to pay a great deal of money, as a penalty for the same. As also they relate, that one OEabdemon, a man of Tyre, did solve the problems, and propose others which Solomon could not solve, upon which he was obliged to repay a great deal of money to Hirom." These things are attested to by Dius, and confirm what we have said upon the same subjects before.

18. And now I shall add Menander the Ephesian, as an additional witness. This Menander wrote the Acts that were done both by the Greeks and Barbarians, under every one of the Tyrian kings, and had taken much pains to learn their history out of their own records. Now when he was writing about those kings that had reigned at Tyre, he came to Hirom, and says thus: "Upon the death of Abibalus, his son Hirom took the kingdom; he lived fifty-three years, and reigned thirty-four. He raised a bank on that called the Broad Place, and dedicated that golden pillar which is in Jupiter's temple; he also went and cut down timber from the mountain called Libanus, and got timber Of cedar for the roofs of the temples. He also pulled down the old temples, and built new ones; besides this, he consecrated the temples of Hercules and of Astarte. He first built Hercules's temple in the month Peritus, and that of Astarte when he made his expedition against the Tityans, who would not pay him their tribute; and when he had subdued them to himself, he returned home. Under this king there was a younger son of Abdemon, who mastered the problems which Solomon king of Jerusalem had recommended to be solved." Now the time from this king to the building of Carthage is thus calculated: "Upon the death of Hirom, Baleazarus his son took the kingdom; he lived forty-three years, and reigned seven years: after him succeeded his son Abdastartus; he lived twenty-nine years, and reigned nine years. Now four sons of his nurse plotted against him and slew him, the eldest of whom reigned twelve years: after them came Astartus, the son of Deleastartus; he lived fifty-four years, and reigned twelve years: after him came his brother Aserymus; he lived fifty-four years, and reigned nine years: he was slain by his brother Pheles, who took the kingdom and reigned but eight months, though he lived fifty years: he was slain by Ithobalus, the priest of Astarte, who reigned thirty-two years, and lived sixty-eight years: he was succeeded by his son Badezorus, who lived forty-five years, and reigned six years: he was succeeded by Matgenus his son; he lived thirty-two years, and reigned nine years: Pygmalion succeeded him; he lived fifty-six years, and reigned forty-seven years. Now in the seventh year of his reign, his sister fled away from him, and built the city Carthage in Libya." So the whole time from the reign of Hirom, till the building of Carthage, amounts to the sum of one hundred fifty-five years and eight months. Since then the temple was built at Jerusalem in the twelfth year of the reign of Hirom, there were from the building of the temple, until the building of Carthage, one hundred forty-three years and eight months. Wherefore, what occasion is there for alleging any more testimonies out of the Phoenician histories [on the behalf of our nation], since what I have said is so thoroughly confirmed already? and to be sure our ancestors came into this country long before the building of the temple; for it was not till we had gotten possession of the whole land by war that we built our temple. And this is the point that I have clearly proved out of our sacred writings in my Antiquities.

19. I will now relate what hath been written concerning us in the Chaldean histories, which records have a great agreement with our books in oilier things also. Berosus shall be witness to what I say: he was by birth a Chaldean, well known by the learned, on account of his publication of the Chaldean books of astronomy and philosophy among the Greeks. This Berosus, therefore, following the most ancient records of that nation, gives us a history of the deluge of waters that then happened, and of the destruction of mankind thereby, and agrees with Moses's narration thereof. He also gives us an account of that ark wherein Noah, the origin of our race, was preserved, when it was brought to the highest part of the Armenian mountains; after which he gives us a catalogue of the posterity of Noah, and adds the years of their chronology, and at length comes down to Nabolassar, who was king of Babylon, and of the Chaldeans. And when he was relating the acts of this king, he describes to us how he sent his son Nabuchodonosor against Egypt, and against our land, with a great army, upon his being informed that they had revolted from him; and how, by that means, he subdued them all, and set our temple that was at Jerusalem on fire; nay, and removed our people entirely out of their own country, and transferred them to Babylon; when it so happened that our city was desolate during the interval of seventy years, until the days of Cyrus king of Persia. He then says, "That this Babylonian king conquered Egypt, and Syria, and Phoenicia, and Arabia, and exceeded in his exploits all that had reigned before him in Babylon and Chaldea." A little after which Berosus subjoins what follows in his History of Ancient Times. I will set down Berosus's own accounts, which are these: "When Nabolassar, father of Nabuchodonosor, heard that the governor whom he had set over Egypt, and over the parts of Celesyria and Phoenicia, had revolted from him, he was not able to bear it any longer; but committing certain parts of his army to his son Nabuchodonosor, who was then but young, he sent him against the rebel: Nabuchodonosor joined battle with him, and conquered him, and reduced the country under his dominion again. Now it so fell out that his father Nabolassar fell into a distemper at this time, and died in the city of Babylon, after he had reigned twenty-nine years. But as he understood, in a little time, that his father Nabolassar was dead, he set the affairs of Egypt and the other countries in order, and committed the captives he had taken from the Jews, and Phoenicians, and Syrians, and of the nations belonging to Egypt, to some of his friends, that they might conduct that part of the forces that had on heavy armour, with the rest of his baggage, to Babylonia; while he went in haste, having but a few with him, over the desert to Babylon; whither, when he was come, he found the public affairs had been managed by the Chaldeans, and that the principal person among them had preserved the kingdom for him. Accordingly, he now entirely obtained all his father's dominions. He then came, and ordered the captives to be placed as colonies in the most proper places of Babylonia; but for himself, he adorned the temple of Belus, and the other temples, after an elegant manner, out of the spoils he had taken in this war. He also rebuilt the old city, and added another to it on the outside, and so far restored Babylon, that none who should besiege it afterwards might have it in their power to divert the river, so as to facilitate an entrance into it; and this he did by building three walls about the inner city, and three about the outer. Some of these walls he built of burnt brick and bitumen, and some of brick only. So when he had thus fortified the city with walls, after an excellent manner, and had adorned the gates magnificently, he added a new palace to that which his father had dwelt in, and this close by it also, and that more eminent in its height, and in its great splendour. It would perhaps require too long a narration, if any one were to describe it. However, as prodigiously large and as magnificent as it was, it was finished in fifteen days. Now in this palace he erected very high walks, supported by stone pillars, and by planting what was called a pensile paradise, and replenishing it with all sorts of trees, he rendered the prospect an exact resemblance of a mountainous country. This he did to please his queen, because she had been brought up in Media, and was fond of a mountainous situation."

20. This is what Berosus relates concerning the forementioned king, as he relates many other things about him also in the third book of his Chaldean History; wherein he complains of the Grecian writers for supposing, without any foundation, that Babylon was built by Semiramis, queen of Assyria, and for her false pretense to those wonderful edifices thereto buildings at Babylon, do no way contradict those ancient and relating, as if they were her own workmanship; as indeed in these affairs the Chaldean History cannot but be the most credible. Moreover, we meet with a confirmation of what Berosus says in the archives of the Phoenicians, concerning this king Nabuchodonosor, that he conquered all Syria and Phoenicia; in which case Philostratus agrees with the others in that history which he composed, where he mentions the siege of Tyre; as does Megasthenes also, in the fourth book of his Indian History [Megasthenes' Indika],

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wherein he pretends to prove that the forementioned king of the Babylonians was superior to Hercules in strength and the greatness of his exploits; for he says that he conquered a great part of Libya, and conquered Iberia also. Now as to what I have said before about the temple at Jerusalem, that it was fought against by the Babylonians, and burnt by them, but was opened again when Cyrus had taken the kingdom of Asia, shall now be demonstrated from what Berosus adds further upon that head; for thus he says in his third book: "Nabuchodonosor, after he had begun to build the forementioned wall, fell sick, and departed this life, when he had reigned forty-three years; whereupon his son Evilmerodach obtained the kingdom. He governed public affairs after an illegal and impure manner, and had a plot laid against him by Neriglissoor, his sister's husband, and was slain by him when he had reigned but two years. After he was slain, Neriglissoor, the person who plotted against him, succeeded him in the kingdom, and reigned four years; his son Labourosoarchod obtained the kingdom, though he was but a child, and kept it nine mouths; but by reason of the very ill temper and ill practices he exhibited to the world, a plot was laid against him also by his friends, and he was tormented to death. After his death, the conspirators got together, and by common consent put the crown upon the head of Nabonnedus, a man of Babylon, and one who belonged to that insurrection. In his reign it was that the walls of the city of Babylon were curiously built with burnt brick and bitumen; but when he was come to the seventeenth year of his reign, Cyrus came out of Persia with a great army; and having already conquered all the rest of Asia, he came hastily to Babylonia. When Nabonnedus perceived he was coming to attack him, he met him with his forces, and joining battle with him was beaten, and fled away with a few of his troops with him, and was shut up within the city Borsippus. Hereupon Cyrus took Babylon, and gave order that the outer walls of the city should be demolished, because the city had proved very troublesome to him, and cost him a great deal of pains to take it. He then marched away to Borsippus, to besiege Nabonnedus; but as Nabonnedus did not sustain the siege, but delivered himself into his hands, he was at first kindly used by Cyrus, who gave him Carmania, as a place for him to inhabit in, but sent him out of Babylonia. Accordingly Nabonnedus spent the rest of his time in that country, and there died."

21. These accounts agree with the true histories in our books; for in them it is written that Nebuchadnezzar, in the eighteenth year of his reign, laid our temple desolate, and so it lay in that state of obscurity for fifty years; but that in the second year of the reign of Cyrus its foundations were laid, and it was finished again in the second year of Darius. I will now add the records of the Phoenicians; for it will not be superfluous to give the reader demonstrations more than enough on this occasion. In them we have this enumeration of the times of their several kings: "Nabuchodonosor besieged Tyre for thirteen years in the days of Ithobal, their king; after him reigned Baal, ten years; after him were judges appointed, who judged the people: Ecnibalus, the son of Baslacus, two months; Chelbes, the son of Abdeus, ten months; Abbar, the high priest, three months; Mitgonus and Gerastratus, the sons of Abdelemus, were judges six years; after whom Balatorus reigned one year; after his death they sent and fetched Merbalus from Babylon, who reigned four years; after his death they sent for his brother Hirom, who reigned twenty years. Under his reign Cyrus became king of Persia." So that the whole interval is fifty-four years besides three months; for in the seventh year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar he began to besiege Tyre, and Cyrus the Persian took the kingdom in the fourteenth year of Hirom. So that the records of the Chaldeans and Tyrians agree with our writings about this temple; and the testimonies here produced are an indisputable and undeniable attestation to the antiquity of our nation. And I suppose that what I have already said may be sufficient to such as are not very contentious.

22. But now it is proper to satisfy the inquiry of those that disbelieve the records of barbarians, and think none but Greeks to be worthy of credit, and to produce many of these very Greeks who were acquainted with our nation, and to set before them such as upon occasion have made mention of us in their own writings. Pythagoras, therefore, of Samos, lived in very ancient times, and was esteemed a person superior to all philosophers in wisdom and piety towards God. Now it is plain that he did not only know our doctrines, but was in very great measure a follower and admirer of them. There is not indeed extant any writing that is owned for his but many there are who have written his history, of whom Hermippus is the most celebrated, who was a person very inquisitive into all sorts of history. Now this Hermippus, in his first book concerning Pythagoras, speaks thus: "That Pythagoras, upon the death of one of his associates, whose name was Calliphon, a Crotonlate by birth, affirmed that this man's soul conversed with him both night and day, and enjoined him not to pass over a place where an ass had fallen down; as also not to drink of such waters as caused thirst again; and to abstain from all sorts of reproaches." After which he adds thus: "This he did and said in imitation of the doctrines of the Jews and Thracians, which he transferred into his own philosophy." For it is very truly affirmed of this Pythagoras, that he took a great many of the laws of the Jews into his own philosophy. Nor was our nation unknown of old to several of the Grecian cities, and indeed was thought worthy of imitation by some of them. This is declared by Theophrastus, in his writings concerning laws; for he says that "the laws of the Tyrians forbid men to swear foreign oaths." Among which he enumerates some others, and particularly that called Corban: which oath can only be found among the Jews, and declares what a man may call "A thing devoted to God." Nor indeed was Herodotus of Halicarnassus unacquainted with our nation, but mentions it after a way of his own, when he saith thus, in the second book concerning the Colchians. His words are these: "The only people who were circumcised in their privy members originally, were the Colchians, the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians; but the Phoenicians and those Syrians that are in Palestine confess that they learned it from the Egyptians. And for those Syrians who live about the rivers Thermodon and Parthenius, and their neighbours the Macrones, they say they have lately learned it from the Colchians; for these are the only people that are circumcised among mankind, and appear to have done the very same thing with the Egyptians. But as for the Egyptians and Ethiopians themselves, I am not able to say which of them received it from the other." This therefore is what Herodotus says, that "the Syrians that are in Palestine are circumcised." But there are no inhabitants of Palestine that are circumcised excepting the Jews; and therefore it must be his knowledge of them that enabled him to speak so much concerning them. Cherilus also, a still ancienter writer, and a poet, 16 makes mention of our nation, and informs us that it came to the assistance of king Xerxes, in his expedition against Greece. For in his enumeration of all those nations, he last of all inserts ours among the rest, when he says, "At the last there passed over a people, wonderful to be beheld; for they spake the Phoenician tongue with their mouths; they dwelt in the Solymean mountains, near a broad lake: their heads were sooty; they had round rasures on them; their heads and faces were like nasty horse-heads also, that had been hardened in the smoke." I think, therefore, that it is evident to every body that Cherilus means us, because the Solymean mountains are in our country, wherein we inhabit, as is also the lake called Asphaltitis; for this is a broader and larger lake than any other that is in Syria: and thus does Cherilus make mention of us. But now that not only the lowest sort of the Grecians, but those that are had in the greatest admiration for their philosophic improvements among them, did not only know the Jews, but when they lighted upon any of them, admired them also, it is easy for any one to know. For Clearchus, who was the scholar of Aristotle, and inferior to no one of the Peripatetics whomsoever, in his first book concerning sleep, says that "Aristotle his master related what follows of a Jew," and sets down Aristotle's own discourse with him. The account is this, as written down by him: "Now, for a great part of what this Jew said, it would be too long to recite it; but what includes in it both wonder and philosophy it may not be amiss to discourse of. Now, that I may be plain with thee, Hyperochides, I shall herein seem to thee to relate wonders, and what will resemble dreams themselves. Hereupon Hyperochides answered modestly, and said, For that very reason it is that all of us are very desirous of hearing what thou art going to say. Then replied Aristotle, For this cause it will be the best way to imitate that rule of the Rhetoricians, which requires us first to give an account of the man, and of what nation he was, that so we may not contradict our master's directions. Then said Hyperochides, Go on, if it so pleases thee. This man then, [answered Aristotle,] was by birth a Jew, and came from Celesyria; these Jews are derived from the Indian philosophers; they are named by the Indians Calami, and by the Syrians Judaei, and took their name from the country they inhabit, which is called Judea; but for the name of their city, it is a very awkward one, for they call it Jerusalem. Now this man, when he was hospitably treated by a great many, came down from the upper country to the places near the sea, and became a Grecian, not only in his language, but in his soul also; insomuch that when we ourselves happened to be in Asia about the same places whither he came, he conversed with us, and with other philosophical persons, and made a trial of our skill in philosophy; and as he had lived with many learned men, he communicated to us more information than he received from us." This is Aristotle's account of the matter, as given us by Clearchus; which Aristotle discoursed also particularly of the great and wonderful fortitude of this Jew in his diet, and continent way of living, as those that please may learn more about him from Clearchus's book itself; for I avoid setting down any more than is sufficient for my purpose. Now Clearchus said this by way of digression, for his main design was of another nature. But for Hecateus of Abdera, who was both a philosopher, and one very useful ill an active life, he was contemporary with king Alexander in his youth, and afterward was with Ptolemy, the son of Lagus; he did not write about the Jewish affairs by the by only, but composed an entire book concerning the Jews themselves; out of which book I am willing to run over a few things, of which I have been treating by way of epitome. And, in the first place, I will demonstrate the time when this Hecateus lived; for he mentions the fight that was between Ptolemy and Demetrius about Gaza, which was fought in the eleventh year after the death of Alexander, and in the hundred and seventeenth olympiad, as Castor says in his history. For when he had set down this olympiad, he says further, that "in this olympiad Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, beat in battle Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who was named Poliorcetes, at Gaza." Now, it is agreed by all, that Alexander died in the hundred and fourteenth olympiad; it is therefore evident that our nation flourished in his time, and in the time of Alexander. Again, Hecateus says to the same purpose, as follows: "Ptolemy got possession of the places in Syria after that battle at Gaza; and many, when they heard of Ptolemy's moderation and humanity, went along with him to Egypt, and were willing to assist him in his affairs; one of whom [Hecateus says] was Hezekiah the high priest of the Jews; a man of about sixty-six years of age, and in great dignity among his own people. He was a very sensible man, and could speak very movingly, and was very skillful in the management of affairs, if any other man ever were so; although, as he says, all the priests of the Jews took tithes of the products of the earth, and managed public affairs, and were in number not above fifteen hundred at the most." Hecateus mentions this Hezekiah a second time, and says, that "as he was possessed of so great a dignity, and was become familiar with us, so did he take certain of those that were with him, and explained to them all the circumstances of their people; for he had all their habitations and polity down in writing." Moreover, Hecateus declares again, "what regard we have for our laws, and that we resolve to endure any thing rather than transgress them, because we think it right for us to do so." Whereupon he adds, that "although they are in a bad reputation among their neighbours, and among all those that come to them, and have been often treated injuriously by the kings and governors of Persia, yet can they not be dissuaded from acting what they think best; but that when they are stripped on this account, and have torments inflicted upon them, and they are brought to the most terrible kinds of death, they meet them after an extraordinary manner, beyond all other people, and will not renounce the religion of their forefathers." Hecateus also produces demonstrations not a few of this their resolute tenaciousness of their laws, when he speaks thus: "Alexander was once at Babylon, and had an intention to rebuild the temple of Belus that was fallen to decay, and in order thereto, he commanded all his soldiers in general to bring earth thither. But the Jews, and they only, would not comply with that command; nay, they underwent stripes and great losses of what they had on this account, till the king forgave them, and permitted them to live in quiet." He adds further, that "when the Macedonians came to them into that country, and demolished the [old] temples and the altars, they assisted them in demolishing them all but [for not assisting them in rebuilding them] they either underwent losses, or sometimes obtained forgiveness." He adds further, that "these men deserve to be admired on that account." He also speaks of the mighty populousness of our nation, and says that "the Persians formerly carried away many ten thousands of our people to Babylon, as also that not a few ten thousands were removed after Alexander's death into Egypt and Phoenicia, by reason of the sedition that was arisen in Syria." The same person takes notice in his history, how large the country is which we inhabit, as well as of its excellent character, and says, that "the land in which the Jews inhabit contains three millions of arourae, 19 and is generally of a most excellent and most fruitful soil; nor is Judea of lesser dimensions." The same man describe our city Jerusalem also itself as of a most excellent structure, and very large, and inhabited from the most ancient times. He also discourses of the multitude of men in it, and of the construction of our temple, after the following manner: "There are many strong places and villages [says he] in the country of Judea; but one strong city there is, about fifty furlongs in circumference, which is inhabited by a hundred and twenty thousand men, or thereabouts; they call it Jerusalem. There is about the middle of the city a wall of stone, whose length is five hundred feet, and the breadth a hundred cubits, with double cloisters; wherein there is a square altar, not made of hewn stone, but composed of white stones gathered together, having each side twenty cubits long, and its altitude ten cubits. Hard by it is a large edifice, wherein there is an altar and a candlestick, both of gold, and in weight two talents: upon these there is a light that is never extinguished, either by night or by day. There is no image, nor any thing, nor any donations therein; nothing at all is there planted, neither grove, nor any thing of that sort. The priests abide therein both nights and days, performing certain purifications, and drinking not the least drop of wine while they are in the temple." Moreover, he attests that we Jews went as auxiliaries along with king Alexander, and after him with his successors. I will add further what he says he learned when he was himself with the same army, concerning the

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actions of a man that was a Jew. His words are these: "As I was myself going to the Red Sea, there followed us a man, whose name was Mosollam; he was one of the Jewish horsemen who conducted us; he was a person of great courage, of a strong body, and by all allowed to be the most skillful archer that was either among the Greeks or barbarians. Now this man, as people were in great numbers passing along the road, and a certain augur was observing an augury by a bird, and requiring them all to stand still, inquired what they staid for. Hereupon the augur showed him the bird from whence he took his augury, and told him that if the bird staid where he was, they ought all to stand still; but that if he got up, and flew onward, they must go forward; but that if he flew backward, they must retire again. Mosollam made no reply, but drew his bow, and shot at the bird, and hit him, and killed him; and as the augur and some others were very angry, and wished imprecations upon him, he answered them thus: Why are you so mad as to take this most unhappy bird into your hands? for how can this bird give us any true information concerning our march, who could not foresee how to save himself? for had he been able to foreknow what was future, he would not have come to this place, but would have been afraid lest Mosollam the Jew should shoot at him, and kill him." But of Hecateus's testimonies we have said enough; for as to such as desire to know more of them, they may easily obtain them from his book itself. However, I shall not think it too much for me to name Agatharchides, as having made mention of us Jews, though in way of derision at our simplicity, as he supposes it to be; for when he was discoursing of the affairs of Stratonice, "how she came out of Macedonia into Syria, and left her husband Demetrius, while yet Seleueus would not marry her as she expected, but during the time of his raising an army at Babylon, stirred up a sedition about Antioch; and how, after that, the king came back, and upon his taking of Antioch, she fled to Seleucia, and had it in her power to sail away immediately yet did she comply with a dream which forbade her so to do, and so was caught and put to death." When Agatharehides had premised this story, and had jested upon Stratonice for her superstition, he gives a like example of what was reported concerning us, and writes thus: "There are a people called Jews, and dwell in a city the strongest of all other cities, which the inhabitants call Jerusalem, and are accustomed to rest on every seventh day 20 on which times they make no use of their arms, nor meddle with husbandry, nor take care of any affairs of life, but spread out their hands in their holy places, and pray till the evening. Now it came to pass, that when Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, came into this city with his army, that these men, in observing this mad custom of theirs, instead of guarding the city, suffered their country to submit itself to a bitter lord; and their law was openly proved to have commanded a foolish practice. This accident taught all other men but the Jews to disregard such dreams as these were, and not to follow the like idle suggestions delivered as a law, when, in such uncertainty of human reasonings, they are at a loss what they should do." Now this our procedure seems a ridiculous thing to Agatharehides, but will appear to such as consider it without prejudice a great thing, and what deserved a great many encomiums; I mean, when certain men constantly prefer the observation of their laws, and their religion towards God, before the preservation of themselves and their country.

23. Now that some writers have omitted to mention our nation, not because they knew nothing of us, but because they envied us, or for some other unjustifiable reasons, I think I can demonstrate by particular instances; for Hieronymus, who wrote the History of Alexander's Successors, lived at the same time with Hecateus, and was a friend of king Antigonus, and president of Syria. Now it is plain that Hecateus wrote an entire book concerning us, while Hieronymus never mentions us in his history, although he was bred up very near to the places where we live. Thus different from one another are the inclinations of men; while the one thought we deserved to be carefully remembered, as some ill-disposed passion blinded the other's mind so entirely, that he could not discern the truth. And now certainly the foregoing records of the Egyptians, and Chaldeans, and Phoenicians, together with so many of the Greek writers, will be sufficient for the demonstration of our antiquity. Moreover, besides those forementioned, Theophilus, and Theodotus, and Mnaseas, and Aristophanes, and Hermogenes, Euhemerus also, and Conon, and Zopyrion, and perhaps many others, [for I have not lighted upon all the Greek books,] have made distinct mention of us. It is true, many of the men before mentioned have made great mistakes about the true accounts of our nation in the earliest times, because they had not perused our sacred books; yet have they all of them afforded their testimony to our antiquity, concerning which I am now treating. However, Demetrius Phalereus, and the elder Philo, with Eupolemus, have not greatly missed the truth about our affairs; whose lesser mistakes ought therefore to be forgiven them; for it was not in their power to understand our writings with the utmost accuracy.

24. One particular there is still remaining behind of what I at first proposed to speak to, and that is, to demonstrate that those calumnies and reproaches which some have thrown upon our nation, are lies, and to make use of those writers' own testimonies against themselves; and that in general this self-contradiction hath happened to many other authors by reason of their ill-will to some people, I conclude, is not unknown to such as have read histories with sufficient care; for some of them have endeavored to disgrace the nobility of certain nations, and of some of the most glorious cities, and have cast reproaches upon certain forms of government. Thus hath Theopompus abused the city of Athens, Polycrates that of Lacedemon, as hath he hat wrote the Tripoliticus [for he is not Theopompus, as is supposed by some] done by the city of Thebes. Timeils also hath greatly abused the foregoing people and others also; and this ill-treatment they use chiefly when they have a contest with men of the greatest reputation; some out of envy and malice, and others as supposing that by this foolish talking of theirs they may be thought worthy of being remembered themselves; and indeed they do by no means fail of their hopes, with regard to the foolish part of mankind, but men of sober judgement still condemn them of great malignity.

25. Now the Egyptians were the first that cast reproaches upon us; in order to please which nation, some others undertook to pervert the truth, while they would neither own that our forefathers came into Egypt from another country, as the fact was, nor give a true account of our departure thence. And indeed the Egyptians took many occasions to hate us and envy us: in the first place, because our ancestors had had the dominion over their country? and when they were delivered from them, and gone to their own country again, they lived there in prosperity. In the next place, the difference of our religion from theirs hath occasioned great enmity between us, while our way of Divine worship did as much exceed that which their laws appointed, as does the nature of God exceed that of brute beasts; for so far they all agree through the whole country, to esteem such animals as gods, although they differ one from another in the peculiar worship they severally pay to them. And certainly men they are entirely of vain and foolish minds, who have thus accustomed themselves from the beginning to have such bad notions concerning their gods, and could not think of imitating that decent form of Divine worship which we made use of, though, when they saw our institutions approved of by many others, they could not but envy us on that account; for some of them have proceeded to that degree of folly and meanness in their conduct, as not to scruple to contradict their own ancient records, nay, to contradict themselves also in their writings, and yet were so blinded by their passions as not to discern it.

26. And now I will turn my discourse to one of their principal writers, whom I have a little before made use of as a witness to our antiquity; I mean Manetho. He promised to interpret the Egyptian history out of their sacred writings, and premised this: that "our people had come into Egypt, many ten thousands in number, and subdued its inhabitants;" and when he had further confessed that "we went out of that country afterward, and settled in that country which is now called Judea, and there built Jerusalem and its temple." Now thus far he followed his ancient records; but after this he permits himself, in order to appear to have written what rumors and reports passed abroad about the Jews, and introduces incredible narrations, as if he would have the Egyptian multitude, that had the leprosy and other distempers, to have been mixed with us, as he says they were, and that they were condemned to fly out of Egypt together; for he mentions Amenophis, a fictitious king's name, though on that account he durst not set down the number of years of his reign, which yet he had accurately done as to the other kings he mentions; he then ascribes certain fabulous stories to this king, as having in a manner forgotten how he had already related that the departure of the shepherds for Jerusalem had been five hundred and eighteen years before; for Tethmosis was king when they went away. Now, from his days, the reigns of the intermediate kings, according to Manethe, amounted to three hundred and ninety-three years, as he says himself, till the two brothers Sethos and Hermeus; the one of whom, Sethos, was called by that other name of Egyptus, and the other, Hermeus, by that of Danaus. He also says that Sethos east the other out of Egypt, and reigned fifty-nine years, as did his eldest son Rhampses reign after him sixty-six years. When Manethe therefore had acknowledged that our forefathers were gone out of Egypt so many years ago, he introduces his fictitious king Amenophis, and says thus: "This king was desirous to become a spectator of the gods, as had Orus, one of his predecessors in that kingdom, desired the same before him; he also communicated that his desire to his namesake Amenophis, who was the son of Papis, and one that seemed to partake of a divine nature, both as to wisdom and the knowledge of futurities." Manethe adds, "how this namesake of his told him that he might see the gods, if he would clear the whole country of the lepers and of the other impure people; that the king was pleased with this injunction, and got together all that had any defect in their bodies out of Egypt; and that their number was eighty thousand; whom he sent to those quarries which are on the east side of the Nile, that they might work in them, and might be separated from the rest of the Egyptians." He says further, that "there were some of the learned priests that were polluted with the leprosy; but that still this Amenophis, the wise man and the prophet, was afraid that the gods would be angry at him and at the king, if there should appear to have been violence offered them; who also added this further, [out of his sagacity about futurities,] that certain people would come to the assistance of these polluted wretches, and would conquer Egypt, and keep it in their possession thirteen years; that, however, he durst not tell the king of these things, but that he left a writing behind him about all those matters, and then slew himself, which made the king disconsolate." After which he writes thus verbatim: "After those that were sent to work in the quarries had continued in that miserable state for a long while, the king was desired that he would set apart the city Avaris, which was then left desolate of the shepherds, for their habitation and protection; which desire he granted them. Now this city, according to the ancient theology, was Typho's city. But when these men were gotten into it, and found the place fit for a revolt, they appointed themselves a ruler out of the priests of Hellopolis, whose name was Osarsiph, and they took their oaths that they would be obedient to him in all things. He then, in the first place, made this law for them, That they should neither worship the Egyptian gods, nor should abstain from any one of those sacred animals which they have in the highest esteem, but kill and destroy them all; that they should join themselves to nobody but to those that were of this confederacy. When he had made such laws as these, and many more such as were mainly opposite to the customs of the Egyptians, he gave order that they should use the multitude of the hands they had in building walls about their City, and make themselves ready for a war with king Amenophis, while he did himself take into his friendship the other priests, and those that were polluted with them, and sent ambassadors to those shepherds who had been driven out of the land by Tefilmosis to the city called Jerusalem; whereby he informed them of his own affairs, and of the state of those others that had been treated after such an ignominious manner, and desired that they would come with one consent to his assistance in this war against Egypt. He also promised that he would, in the first place, bring them back to their ancient city and country Avaris, and provide a plentiful maintenance for their multitude; that he would protect them and fight for them as occasion should require, and would easily reduce the country under their dominion. These shepherds were all very glad of this message, and came away with alacrity all together, being in number two hundred thousand men; and in a little time they came to Avaris. And now Amenophis the king of Egypt, upon his being informed of their invasion, was in great confusion, as calling to mind what Amenophis, the son of Papis, had foretold him; and, in the first place, he assembled the multitude of the Egyptians, and took counsel with their leaders, and sent for their sacred animals to him, especially for those that were principally worshipped in their temples, and gave a particular charge to the priests distinctly, that they should hide the images of their gods with the utmost care he also sent his son Sethos, who was also named Ramesses, from his father Rhampses, being but five years old, to a friend of his. He then passed on with the rest of the Egyptians, being three hundred thousand of the most warlike of them, against the enemy, who met them. Yet did he not join battle with them; but thinking that would be to fight against the gods, he returned back and came to Memphis, where he took Apis and the other sacred animals which he had sent for to him, and presently marched into Ethiopia, together with his whole army and multitude of Egyptians; for the king of Ethiopia was under an obligation to him, on which account he received him, and took care of all the multitude that was with him, while the country supplied all that was necessary for the food of the men. He also allotted cities and villages for this exile, that was to be from its beginning during those fatally determined thirteen years. Moreover, he pitched a camp for his Ethiopian army, as a guard to king Amenophis, upon the borders of Egypt. And this was the state of things in Ethiopia. But for the people of Jerusalem, when they came down together with the polluted Egyptians, they treated the men in such a barbarous manner, that those who saw how they subdued the forementioned country, and the horrid wickedness they were guilty of, thought it a most dreadful thing; for they did not only set the cities and villages on fire but were not satisfied till they had been guilty of sacrilege, and destroyed the images of the gods, and used them in roasting those sacred animals that used to be worshipped, and forced the priests and prophets to be the executioners and murderers of those animals, and then ejected them naked out of the country. It was also reported that the priest, who ordained their polity and their laws, was by birth of Hellopolls, and his name Osarsiph, from Osyris, who was the god of Hellopolls; but that when he was gone over to these people, his name was changed, and he was called Moses."

27. This is what the Egyptians relate about the Jews, with much more, which I omit for the sake of brevity. But still Manetho goes on, that "after this, Amenophis returned back from Ethiopia with a great army, as did his son Ahampses

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with another army also, and that both of them joined battle with the shepherds and the polluted people, and beat them, and slew a great many of them, and pursued them to the bounds of Syria." These and the like accounts are written by Manetho. But I will demonstrate that he trifles, and tells arrant lies, after I have made a distinction which will relate to what I am going to say about him; for this Manetho had granted and confessed that this nation was not originally Egyptian, but that they had come from another country, and subdued Egypt, and then went away again out of it. But that those Egyptians who were thus diseased in their bodies were not mingled with us afterward, and that Moses who brought the people out was not one of that company, but lived many generations earlier, I shall endeavor to demonstrate from Manetho's own accounts themselves.

28. Now, for the first occasion of this fiction, Manetho supposes what is no better than a ridiculous thing; for he says that, "King Amenophis desired to see the gods." What gods, I pray, did he desire to see? If he meant the gods whom their laws ordained to be worshipped, the ox, the goat, the crocodile, and the baboon, he saw them already; but for the heavenly gods, how could he see them, and what should occasion this his desire? To be sure? it was because another king before him had already seen them. He had then been informed what sort of gods they were, and after what manner they had been seen, insomuch that he did not stand in need of any new artifice for obtaining this sight. However, the prophet by whose means the king thought to compass his design was a wise man. If so, how came he not to know that such his desire was impossible to be accomplished? for the event did not succeed. And what pretense could there be to suppose that the gods would not be seen by reason of the people's maims in their bodies, or leprosy? for the gods are not angry at the imperfection of bodies, but at wicked practices; and as to eighty thousand lepers, and those in an ill state also, how is it possible to have them gathered together in one day? nay, how came the king not to comply with the prophet? for his injunction was, that those that were maimed should be expelled out of Egypt, while the king only sent them to work in the quarries, as if he were rather in want of labourers, than intended to purge his country. He says further, that, "this prophet slew himself, as foreseeing the anger of the gods, and those events which were to come upon Egypt afterward; and that he left this prediction for the king in writing." Besides, how came it to pass that this prophet did not foreknow his own death at the first? nay, how came he not to contradict the king in his desire to see the gods immediately? how came that unreasonable dread upon him of judgements that were not to happen in his lifetime? or what worse thing could he suffer, out of the fear of which he made haste to kill himself? But now let us see the silliest thing of all:—The king, although he had been informed of these things, and terrified with the fear of what was to come, yet did not he even then eject these maimed people out of his country, when it had been foretold him that he was to clear Egypt of them; but, as Manetho says, "he then, upon their request, gave them that city to inhabit, which had formerly belonged to the shepherds, and was called Avaris; whither when they were gone in crowds," he says, "they chose one that had formerly been priest of Hellopolls; and that this priest first ordained that they should neither worship the gods, nor abstain from those animals that were worshipped by the Egyptians, but should kill and eat them all, and should associate with nobody but those that had conspired with them; and that he bound the multitude by oaths to be sure to continue in those laws; and that when he had built a wall about Avaris, he made war against the king." Manetho adds also, that "this priest sent to Jerusalem to invite that people to come to his assistance, and promised to give them Avaris; for that it had belonged to the forefathers of those that were coming from Jerusalem, and that when they were come, they made a war immediately against the king, and got possession of all Egypt." He says also that "the Egyptians came with an army of two hundred thousand men, and that Amenophis, the king of Egypt, not thinking that he ought to fight against the gods, ran away presently into Ethiopia, and committed Apis and certain other of their sacred animals to the priests, and commanded them to take care of preserving them." He says further, that, "the people of Jerusalem came accordingly upon the Egyptians, and overthrew their cities, and burnt their temples, and slew their horsemen, and, in short, abstained from no sort of wickedness nor barbarity; and for that priest who settled their polity and their laws," he says, "he was by birth of Hellopolis, and his name was Osarsiph, from Osyris the god of Hellopolis, but that he changed his name, and called himself Moses." He then says that "on the thirteenth year afterward, Amenophis, according to the fatal time of the duration of his misfortunes, came upon them out of Ethiopia with a great army, and joining battle with the shepherds and with the polluted people, overcame them in battle, and slew a great many of them, and pursued them as far as the bounds of Syria."

29. Now Manetho does not reflect upon the improbability of his lie; for the leprous people, and the multitude that was with them, although they might formerly have been angry at the king, and at those that had treated them so coarsely, and this according to the prediction of the prophet; yet certainly, when they were come out of the mines, and had received of the king a city, and a country, they would have grown milder towards him. However, had they ever so much hated him in particular, they might have laid a private plot against himself, but would hardly have made war against all the Egyptians; I mean this on the account of the great kindred they who were so numerous must have had among them. Nay still, if they had resolved to fight with the men, they would not have had impudence enough to fight with their gods; nor would they have ordained laws quite contrary to those of their own country, and to those in which they had been bred up themselves. Yet are we beholden to Manethe, that he does not lay the principal charge of this horrid transgression upon those that came from Jerusalem, but says that the Egyptians themselves were the most guilty, and that they were their priests that contrived these things, and made the multitude take their oaths for doing so. But still how absurd is it to suppose that none of these people's own relations or friends should be prevailed with to revolt, nor to undergo the hazards of war with them, while these polluted people were forced to send to Jerusalem, and bring their auxiliaries from thence! What friendship, I pray, or what relation was there formerly between them that required this assistance? On the contrary, these people were enemies, and greatly differed from them in their customs. He says, indeed, that they complied immediately, upon their praising them that they should conquer Egypt; as if they did not themselves very well know that country out of which they had been driven by force. Now had these men been in want, or lived miserably, perhaps they might have undertaken so hazardous an enterprise; but as they dwelt in a happy city, and had a large country, and one better than Egypt itself, how came it about that, for the sake of those that had of old been their enemies, of those that were maimed in their bodies, and of those whom none of their own relations would endure, they should run such hazards in assisting them? For they could not foresee that the king would run away from them: on the contrary, he saith himself that "Amenophis's son had three hundred thousand men with him, and met them at Pelusium." Now, to be sure, those that came could not be ignorant of this; but for the king's repentance and flight, how could they possibly guess at it? He then says, that "those who came from Jerusalem, and made this invasion, got the granaries of Egypt into their possession, and perpetrated many of the most horrid actions there." And thence he reproaches them, as though he had not himself introduced them as enemies, or as though he might accuse such as were invited from another place for so doing, when the natural Egyptians themselves had done the same things before their coming, and had taken oaths so to do. However, "Amenophis, some time afterward, came upon them, and conquered them in battle, and slew his enemies, and drove them before him as far as Syria." As if Egypt were so easily taken by people that came from any place whatsoever, and as if those that had conquered it by war, when they were informed that Amenophis was alive, did neither fortify the avenues out of Ethiopia into it, although they had great advantages for doing it, nor did get their other forces ready for their defense! but that he followed them over the sandy desert, and slew them as far as Syria; while yet it is rot an easy thing for an army to pass over that country, even without fighting.

30. Our nation, therefore, according to Manetho, was not derived from Egypt, nor were any of the Egyptians mingled with us. For it is to be supposed that many of the leprous and distempered people were dead in the mines, since they had been there a long time, and in so ill a condition; many others must be dead in the battles that happened afterward, and more still in the last battle and flight after it.

31. It now remains that I debate with Manetho about Moses. Now the Egyptians acknowledge him to have been a wonderful and a divine person; nay, they would willingly lay claim to him themselves, though after a most abusive and incredible manner, and pretend that he was of Heliopolis, and one of the priests of that place, and was ejected out of it among the rest, on account of his leprosy; although it had been demonstrated out of their records that he lived five hundred and eighteen years earlier, and then brought our forefathers out of Egypt into the country that is now inhabited by us. But now that he was not subject in his body to any such calamity, is evident from what he himself tells us; for he forbade those that had the leprosy either to continue in a city, or to inhabit in a village, but commanded that they should go about by themselves with their clothes rent; and declares that such as either touch them, or live under the same roof with them, should be esteemed unclean; nay, more, if any one of their disease be healed, and he recover his natural constitution again, he appointed them certain purifications, and washings with spring water, and the shaving off all their hair, and enjoins that they shall offer many sacrifices, and those of several kinds, and then at length to be admitted into the holy city; although it were to be expected that, on the contrary, if he had been under the same calamity, he should have taken care of such persons beforehand, and have had them treated after a kinder manner, as affected with a concern for those that were to be under the like misfortunes with himself. Nor was it only those leprous people for whose sake he made these laws, but also for such as should be maimed in the smallest part of their body, who yet are not permitted by him to officiate as priests; nay, although any priest, already initiated, should have such a calamity fall upon him afterward, he ordered him to be deprived of his honour of officiating. How can it then be supposed that Moses should ordain such laws against himself, to his own reproach and damage who so ordained them? Nor indeed is that other notion of Manetho at all probable, wherein he relates the change of his name, and says that "he was formerly called Osarsiph;" and this a name no way agreeable to the other, while his true name was Mosses, and signifies a person who is preserved out of the water, for the Egyptians call water Moil. I think, therefore, I have made it sufficiently evident that Manetho, while he followed his ancient records, did not much mistake the truth of the history; but that when he had recourse to fabulous stories, without any certain author, he either forged them himself, without any probability, or else gave credit to some men who spake so out of their ill-will to us.

32. And now I have done with Manetho, I will inquire into what Cheremon says. For he also, when he pretended to write the Egyptian history, sets down the same name for this king that Manetho did, Amenophis, as also of his son Ramesses, and then goes on thus: "The goddess Isis appeared to Amenophis in his sleep, and blamed him that her temple had been demolished in the war. But that Phritiphantes, the sacred scribe, said to him, that in case he would purge Egypt of the men that had pollutions upon them, he should be no longer troubled with such frightful apparitions. That Amenophis accordingly chose out two hundred and fifty thousand of those that were thus diseased, and cast them out of the country: that Moses and Joseph were scribes, and Joseph was a sacred scribe; that their names were Egyptian originally; that of Moses had been Tisithen, and that of Joseph, Peteseph: that these two came to Pelusium, and lighted upon three hundred and eighty thousand that had been left there by Amenophis, he not being willing to carry them into Egypt; that these scribes made a league of friendship with them, and made with them an expedition against Egypt: that Amenophis could not sustain their attacks, but fled into Ethiopia, and left his wife with child behind him, who lay concealed in certain caverns, and there brought forth a son, whose name was Messene, and who, when he was grown up to man's estate, pursued the Jews into Syria, being about two hundred thousand, and then received his father Amenophis out of Ethiopia."

33. This is the account Cheremon gives us. Now I take it for granted that what I have said already hath plainly proved the falsity of both these narrations; for had there been any real truth at the bottom, it was impossible they should so greatly disagree about the particulars. But for those that invent lies, what they write will easily give us very different accounts, while they forge what they please out of their own heads. Now Manetho says that the king's desire of seeing the gods was the origin of the ejection of the polluted people; but Cheremon feigns that it was a dream of his own, sent upon him by Isis, that was the occasion of it. Manetho says that the person who foreshowed this purgation of Egypt to the king was Amenophis; but this man says it was Phritiphantes. As to the numbers of the multitude that were expelled, they agree exceedingly well 24 the former reckoning them eighty thousand, and the latter about two hundred and fifty thousand! Now, for Manetho, he describes those polluted persons as sent first to work in the quarries, and says that the city Avaris was given them for their habitation. As also he relates that it was not till after they had made war with the rest of the Egyptians, that they invited the people of Jerusalem to come to their assistance; while Cheremon says only that they were gone out of Egypt, and lighted upon three hundred and eighty thousand men about Pelusium, who had been left there by Amenophis, and so they invaded Egypt with them again; that thereupon Amenophis fled into Ethiopia. But then this Cheremon commits a most ridiculous blunder in not informing us who this army of so many ten thousands were, or whence they came; whether they were native Egyptians, or whether they came from a foreign country. Nor indeed has this man, who forged a dream from Isis about the leprous people, assigned the reason why the king would not bring them into Egypt. Moreover, Cheremon sets down Joseph as driven away at the same time with Moses, who yet died four generations before Moses, which four generations make almost one hundred and seventy years. Besides all this, Ramesses, the son of Amenophis, by Manetho's account, was a young man, and assisted his father in his war, and left the country at the same time with him, and fled into Ethiopia. But Cheremon makes him to have been born in a certain cave, after his father was dead, and that he then overcame the Jews in battle, and drove them into Syria, being in number about two hundred thousand. O the levity of the man! for he had

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neither told us who these three hundred and eighty thousand were, nor how the four hundred and thirty thousand perished; whether they fell in war, or went over to Ramesses. And, what is the strangest of all, it is not possible to learn out of him who they were whom he calls Jews, or to which of these two parties he applies that denomination, whether to the two hundred and fifty thousand leprous people, or to the three hundred and eighty thousand that were about Pelusium. But perhaps it will be looked upon as a silly thing in me to make any larger confutation of such writers as sufficiently confute themselves; for had they been only confuted by other men, it had been more tolerable.

34. I shall now add to these accounts about Manethoand Cheremon somewhat about Lysimachus, who hath taken the same topic of falsehood with those forementioned, but hath gone far beyond them in the incredible nature of his forgeries; which plainly demonstrates that he contrived them out of his virulent hatred of our nation. His words are these: "The people of the Jews being leprous and scabby, and subject to certain other kinds of distempers, in the days of Bocchoris, king of Egypt, they fled to the temples, and got their food there by begging: and as the numbers were very great that were fallen under these diseases, there arose a scarcity in Egypt. Hereupon Bocehoris, the king of Egypt, sent some to consult the oracle of [Jupiter] Hammon about his scarcity. The god's answer was this, that he must purge his temples of impure and impious men, by expelling them out of those temples into desert places; but as to the scabby and leprous people, he must drown them, and purge his temples, the sun having an indignation at these men being suffered to live; and by this means the land will bring forth its fruits. Upon Bocchoris's having received these oracles, he called for their priests, and the attendants upon their altars, and ordered them to make a collection of the impure people, and to deliver them to the soldiers, to carry them away into the desert; but to take the leprous people, and wrap them in sheets of lead, and let them down into the sea. Hereupon the scabby and leprous people were drowned, and the rest were gotten together, and sent into desert places, in order to be exposed to destruction. In this case they assembled themselves together, and took counsel what they should do, and determined that, as the night was coming on, they should kindle fires and lamps, and keep watch; that they also should fast the next night, and propitiate the gods, in order to obtain deliverance from them. That on the next day there was one Moses, who advised them that they should venture upon a journey, and go along one road till they should come to places fit for habitation: that he charged them to have no kind regards for any man, nor give good counsel to any, but always to advise them for the worst; and to overturn all those temples and altars of the gods they should meet with: that the rest commended what he had said with one consent, and did what they had resolved on, and so traveled over the desert. But that the difficulties of the journey being over, they came to a country inhabited, and that there they abused the men, and plundered and burnt their temples; and then came into that land which is called Judea, and there they built a city, and dwelt therein, and that their city was named Hierosyla, from this their robbing of the temples; but that still, upon the success they had afterwards, they in time changed its denomination, that it might not be a reproach to them, and called the city Hierosolyma, and themselves Hierosolymites."

35. Now this man did not discover and mention the same king with the others, but feigned a newer name, and passing by the dream and the Egyptian prophet, he brings him to [Jupiter] Hammon, in order to gain oracles about the scabby and leprous people; for he says that the multitude of Jews were gathered together at the temples. Now it is uncertain whether he ascribes this name to these lepers, or to those that were subject to such diseases among the Jews only; for he describes them as a people of the Jews. What people does he mean? foreigners, or those of that country? Why then' dost thou call them Jews, if they were Egyptians? But if they were foreigners, why dost thou not tell us whence they came? And how could it be that, after the king had drowned many of them in the sea, and ejected the rest into desert places, there should be still so great a multitude remaining? Or after what manner did they pass over the desert, and get the land which we now dwell in, and build our city, and that temple which hath been so famous among all mankind? And besides, he ought to have spoken more about our legislator than by giving us his bare name; and to have informed us of what nation he was, and what parents he was derived from; and to have assigned the reasons why he undertook to make such laws concerning the gods, and concerning matters of injustice with regard to men during that journey. For in case the people were by birth Egyptians, they would not on the sudden have so easily changed the customs of their country; and in case they had been foreigners, they had for certain some laws or other which had been kept by them from long custom. It is true, that with regard to those who had ejected them, they might have sworn never to bear good-will to them, and might have had a plausible reason for so doing. But if these men resolved to wage an implacable war against all men, in case they had acted as wickedly as he relates of them, and this while they wanted the assistance of all men, this demonstrates a kind of mad conduct indeed; but not of the men themselves, but very greatly so of him that tells such lies about them. He hath also impudence enough to say that a name, implying "Robbers of the temples," 26 was given to their city, and that this name was afterward changed. The reason of which is plain, that the former name brought reproach and hatred upon them in the times of their posterity, while, it seems, those that built the city thought they did honour to the city by giving it such a name. So we see that this fine fellow had such an unbounded inclination to reproach us, that he did not understand that robbery of temples is not expressed By the same word and name among the Jews as it is among the Greeks. But why should a man say any more to a person who tells such impudent lies? However, since this book is arisen to a competent length, I will make another beginning, and endeavor to add what still remains to perfect my design in the following book.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS APION BOOK 2

1. In the former book, most honoured Epaphroditus, I have demonstrated our antiquity, and confirmed the truth of what I have said, from the writings of the Phoenicians, and Chaldeans, and Egyptians. I have, moreover, produced many of the Grecian writers as witnesses thereto. I have also made a refutation of Manetho and Cheremon, and of certain others of our enemies. I shall now 1 therefore begin a confutation of the remaining authors who have written any thing against us; although I confess I have had a doubt upon me about Apion the grammarian, whether I ought to take the trouble of confuting him or not; for some of his writings contain much the same accusations which the others have laid against us, some things that he hath added are very frigid and contemptible, and for the greatest part of what he says, it is very scurrilous, and, to speak no more than the plain truth, it shows him to be a very unlearned person, and what he lays together looks like the work of a man of very bad morals, and of one no better in his whole life than a mountebank. Yet, because there are a great many men so very foolish, that they are rather caught by such orations than by what is written with care, and take pleasure in reproaching other men, and cannot abide to hear them commended, I thought it to be necessary not to let this man go off without examination, who had written such an accusation against us, as if he would bring us to make an answer in open court. For I also have observed, that many men are very much delighted when they see a man who first began to reproach another, to be himself exposed to contempt on account of the vices he hath himself been guilty of. However, it is not a very easy thing to go over this man's discourse, nor to know plainly what he means; yet does he seem, amidst a great confusion and disorder in his falsehoods, to produce, in the first place, such things as resemble what we have examined already, and relate to the departure of our forefathers out of Egypt; and, in the second place, he accuses those Jews that are inhabitants of Alexandria; as, in the third place, he mixes with those things such accusations as concern the sacred purifications, with the other legal rites used in the temple.

2. Now although I cannot but think that I have already demonstrated, and that abundantly more than was necessary, that our fathers were not originally Egyptians, nor were thence expelled, either on account of bodily diseases, or any other calamities of that sort; yet will I briefly take notice of what Apion adds upon that subject; for in his third book, which relates to the affairs of Egypt, he speaks thus: "I have heard of the ancient men of Egypt, that Moses was of Heliopolis, and that he thought himself obliged to follow the customs of his forefathers, and offered his prayers in the open air, towards the city walls; but that he reduced them all to be directed towards sun-rising, which was agreeable to the situation of Heliopolis; that he also set up pillars instead of gnomons, under which was represented a cavity like that of a boat, and the shadow that fell from their tops fell down upon that cavity, that it might go round about the like course as the sun itself goes round in the other." This is that wonderful relation which we have given us by this grammarian. But that it is a false one is so plain, that it stands in need of few words to prove it, but is manifest from the works of Moses; for when he erected the first tabernacle to God, he did himself neither give order for any such kind of representation to be made at it, nor ordain that those that came after him should make such a one. Moreover, when in a future age Solomon built his temple in Jerusalem, he avoided all such needless decorations as Apion hath here devised. He says further, how he had "heard of the ancient men, that Moses was of Hellopolis." To be sure that was, because being a younger man himself, he believed those that by their elder age were acquainted and conversed with him. Now this grammarian, as he was, could not certainly tell which was the poet Homer's country, no more than he could which was the country of Pythagoras, who lived comparatively but a little while ago; yet does he thus easily determine the age of Moses, who preceded them such a vast number of years, as depending on his ancient men's relation, which shows how notorious a liar he was. But then as to this chronological determination of the time when he says he brought the leprous people, the blind, and the lame out of Egypt, see how well this most accurate grammarian of ours agrees with those that have written before him! Manetho says that the Jews departed out of Egypt, in the reign of Tethmosis, three hundred ninety-three years before Danaus fled to Argos; Lysimaehus says it was under king Bocchoris, that is, one thousand seven hundred years ago; Molo and some others determined it as every one pleased: but this Apion of ours, as deserving to be believed before them, hath determined it exactly to have been in the seventh olympiad, and the first year of that olympiad; the very same year in which he says that Carthage was built by the Phoenicians. The reason why he added this building of Carthage was, to be sure, in order, as he thought, to strengthen his assertion by so evident a character of chronology. But he was not aware that this character confutes his assertion; for if we may give credit to the Phoenician records as to the time of the first coming of their colony to Carthage, they relate that Hirom their king was above a hundred and fifty years earlier than the building of Carthage; concerning whom I have formerly produced testimonials out of those Phoenician records, as also that this Hirom was a friend of Solomon when he was building the temple of Jerusalem, and gave him great assistance in his building that temple; while still Solomon himself built that temple six hundred and twelve years after the Jews came out of Egypt. As for the number of those that were expelled out of Egypt, he hath contrived to have the very same number with Lysimaehus, and says they were a hundred and ten thousand. He then assigns a certain wonderful and plausible occasion for the name of Sabbath; for he says that "when the Jews had traveled a six days' journey, they had buboes in their groins; and that on this account it was that they rested on the seventh day, as having got safely to that country which is now called Judea; that then they preserved the language of the Egyptians, and called that day the Sabbath, for that malady of buboes on their groin was named Sabbatosis by the Egyptians." And would not a man now laugh at this fellow's trifling, or rather hate his impudence in writing thus? We must, it seems, fake it for granted that all these hundred and ten thousand men must have these buboes. But, for certain, if those men had been blind and lame, and had all sorts of distempers upon them, as Apion says they had, they could not have gone one single day's journey; but if they had been all able to travel over a large desert, and, besides that, to fight and conquer those that opposed them, they had not all of them had buboes on their groins after the sixth day was over; for no such distemper comes naturally and of necessity upon those that travel; but still, when there are many ten thousands in a camp together, they constantly march a settled space [in a day]. Nor is it at all probable that such a thing should happen by chance; this would be prodigiously absurd to be supposed. However, our admirable author Apion hath before told us that "they came to Judea in six days' time;" and again, that "Moses went up to a mountain that lay between Egypt and Arabia, which was called Sinai, and was concealed there forty days, and that when he came down from thence he gave laws to the Jews." But, then, how was it possible for them to tarry forty days in a desert place where there was no water, and at the same time to pass all over the country between that and Judea in the six days? And as for this grammatical translation of the word Sabbath, it either contains an instance of his great impudence or gross ignorance; for the words Sabbo and Sabbath are widely different from one another; for the word Sabbath in the Jewish language denotes rest from all sorts of work; but the word Sabbo, as he affirms, denotes among the Egyptians the malady of a bubo in the groin.

3. This is that novel account which the Egyptian Apion gives us concerning the Jews' departure out of Egypt, and is no better than a contrivance of his own. But why should we wonder at the lies he tells about our forefathers, when he affirms them to be of Egyptian original, when he lies also about himself? for although he was born at Oasis in Egypt, he pretends to be, as a man may say, the top man of all the Egyptians; yet does he forswear his real country and progenitors, and by falsely pretending to be born at Alexandria, cannot deny the 4 pravity of his family; for you see how justly he calls those Egyptians whom he hates, and endeavors to reproach; for had he not deemed Egyptians to be a name of great reproach, he would not have avoided the name of an Egyptian himself; as we know that those who brag of their own countries value themselves upon the denomination they acquire thereby, and reprove such as unjustly lay claim thereto. As for the Egyptians' claim to be of our kindred, they do it on one of the following accounts; I mean, either as they value themselves upon it, and pretend to bear that relation to us; or else as they would draw us in to be partakers of their own infamy. But this fine fellow Apion seems to broach this reproachful appellation against us, [that we were originally Egyptians,] in order to bestow it on the Alexandrians, as a reward for the privilege they had given him

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of being a fellow citizen with them: he also is apprised of the ill-will the Alexandrians bear to those Jews who are their fellow citizens, and so proposes to himself to reproach them, although he must thereby include all the other Egyptians also; while in both cases he is no better than an impudent liar.

4. But let us now see what those heavy and wicked crimes are which Apion charges upon the Alexandrian Jews. "They came [says he] out of Syria, and inhabited near the tempestuous sea, and were in the neighbourhood of the dashing of the waves." Now if the place of habitation includes any thing that is reproached, this man reproaches not his own real country, [Egypt,] but what he pretends to be his own country, Alexandria; for all are agreed in this, that the part of that city which is near the sea is the best part of all for habitation. Now if the Jews gained that part of the city by force, and have kept it hitherto without impeachment, this is a mark of their valour; but in reality it was Alexander himself that gave them that place for their habitation, when they obtained equal privileges there with the Macedonians. Nor call I devise what Apion would have said, had their habitation been at Necropolis? and not been fixed hard by the royal palace [as it is]; nor had their nation had the denomination of Macedonians given them till this very day [as they have]. Had this man now read the epistles of king Alexander, or those of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, or met with the writings of the succeeding kings, or that pillar which is still standing at Alexandria, and contains the privileges which the great [Julius] Caesar bestowed upon the Jews; had this man, I say, known these records, and yet hath the impudence to write in contradiction to them, he hath shown himself to be a wicked man; but if he knew nothing of these records, he hath shown himself to be a man very ignorant: nay, when lie appears to wonder how Jews could be called Alexandrians, this is another like instance of his ignorance; for all such as are called out to be colonies, although they be ever so far remote from one another in their original, receive their names from those that bring them to their new habitations. And what occasion is there to speak of others, when those of us Jews that dwell at Antioch are named Antiochians, because Seleucns the founder of that city gave them the privileges belonging thereto? After the like manner do those Jews that inhabit Ephesus, and the other cities of Ionia, enjoy the same name with those that were originally born there, by the grant of the succeeding princes; nay, the kindness and humanity of the Romans hath been so great, that it hath granted leave to almost all others to take the same name of Romans upon them; I mean not particular men only, but entire and large nations themselves also; for those anciently named Iberi, and Tyrrheni, and Sabini, are now called Romani. And if Apion reject this way of obtaining the privilege of a citizen of Alexandria, let him abstain from calling himself an Alexandrian hereafter; for otherwise, how can he who was born in the very heart of Egypt be an Alexandrian, if this way of accepting such a privilege, of which he would have us deprived, be once abrogated? although indeed these Romans, who are now the lords of the habitable earth, have forbidden the Egyptians to have the privileges of any city whatsoever; while this fine fellow, who is willing to partake of such a privilege himself as he is forbidden to make use of, endeavors by calumnies to deprive those of it that have justly received it; for Alexander did not therefore get some of our nation to Alexandria, because he wanted inhabitants for this his city, on whose building he had bestowed so much pains; but this was given to our people as a reward, because he had, upon a careful trial, found them all to have been men of virtue and fidelity to him; for, as Hecateus says concerning us, "Alexander honoured our nation to such a degree, that, for the equity and the fidelity which the Jews exhibited to him, he permitted them to hold the country of Samaria free from tribute. Of the same mind also was Ptolemy the son of Lagus, as to those Jews who dwelt at Alexandria." For he intrusted the fortresses of Egypt into their hands, as believing they would keep them faithfully and valiantly for him; and when he was desirous to secure the government of Cyrene, and the other cities of Libya, to himself, he sent a party of Jews to inhabit in them. And for his successor Ptolemy, who was called Philadelphus, he did not only set all those of our nation free who were captives under him, but did frequently give money [for their ransom]; and, what was his greatest work of all, he had a great desire of knowing our laws, and of obtaining the books of our sacred Scriptures; accordingly, he desired that such men might be sent him as might interpret our law to him; and, in order to have them well compiled, he committed that care to no ordinary persons, but ordained that Demetrius Phalereus, and Andreas, and Aristeas; the first, Demetrius, the most learned person of his age, and the others, such as were intrusted with the guard of his body; should take care of this matter: nor would he certainly have been so desirous of learning our law, and the philosophy of our nation, had he despised the men that made use of it, or had he not indeed had them in great admiration.

5. Now this Apion was unacquainted with almost all the kings of those Macedonians whom he pretends to have been his progenitors, who were yet very well affected towards us; for the third of those Ptolemies, who was called Euergetes, when he had gotten possession of all Syria by force, did not offer his thank-offerings to the Egyptian gods for his victory, but came to Jerusalem, and according to our own laws offered many sacrifices to God, and dedicated to him such gifts as were suitable to such a victory: and as for Ptolemy Philometer and his wife Cleopatra, they committed their whole kingdom to the Jews, when Onias and Dositheus, both Jews, whose names are laughed at by Apion, were the generals of their whole army. But certainly, instead of reproaching them, he ought to admire their actions, and return them thanks for saving Alexandria, whose citizen he pretends to be; for when these Alexandrians were making war with Cleopatra the queen, and were in danger of being utterly ruined, these Jews brought them to terms of agreement, and freed them from the miseries of a civil war. "But then [says Apion] Onias brought a small army afterward upon the city at the time when Thorruns the Roman ambassador was there present." Yes, do I venture to say, and that he did rightly and very justly in so doing; for that Ptolemy who was called Physco, upon the death of his brother Philometer, came from Cyrene, and would have ejected Cleopatra as well as her sons out of their kingdom, that he might obtain it for himself unjustly. 5 For this cause then it was that Onias undertook a war against him on Cleopatra's account; nor would he desert that trust the royal family had reposed in him in their distress. Accordingly, God gave a remarkable attestation to his righteous procedure; for when Ptolemy Physco 6 had the presumption to fight against Onias's army, and had caught all the Jews that were in the city [Alexandria], with their children and wives, and exposed them naked and in bonds to his elephants, that they might be trodden upon and destroyed, and when he had made those elephants drunk for that purpose, the event proved contrary to his preparations; for these elephants left the Jews who were exposed to them, and fell violently upon Physco's friends, and slew a great number of them; nay, after this Ptolemy saw a terrible ghost, which prohibited his hurting those men; his very concubine, whom he loved so well, [some call her Ithaca, and others Irene,] making supplication to him, that he would not perpetrate so great a wickedness. So he complied with her request, and repented of what he either had already done, or was about to do; whence it is well known that the Alexandrian Jews do with good reason celebrate this day, on the account that they had thereon been vouchsafed such an evident deliverance from God. However, Apion, the common calumniator of men, hath the presumption to accuse the Jews for making this war against Physco, when he ought to have commended them for the same. This man also makes mention of Cleopatra, the last queen of Alexandria, and abuses us, because she was ungrateful to us; whereas he ought to have reproved her, who indulged herself in all kinds of injustice and wicked practices, both with regard to her nearest relations and husbands who had loved her, and, indeed, in general with regard to all the Romans, and those emperors that were her benefactors; who also had her sister Arsinoe slain in a temple, when she had done her no harm: moreover, she had her brother slain by private treachery, and she destroyed the gods of her country and the sepulchers of her progenitors; and while she had received her kingdom from the first Caesar, she had the impudence to rebel against his son: 7 and successor; nay, she corrupted Antony with her love-tricks, and rendered him an enemy to his country, and made him treacherous to his friends, and [by his means] despoiled some of their royal authority, and forced others in her madness to act wickedly. But what need I enlarge upon this head any further, when she left Antony in his fight at sea, though he were her husband, and the father of their common children, and compelled him to resign up his government, with the army, and to follow her [into Egypt]? nay, when last of all Caesar had taken Alexandria, she came to that pitch of cruelty, that she declared she had some hope of preserving her affairs still, in case she could kill the Jews, though it were with her own hand; to such a degree of barbarity and perfidiousness had she arrived. And doth any one think that we cannot boast ourselves of any thing, if, as Apion says, this queen did not at a time of famine distribute wheat among us? However, she at length met with the punishment she deserved. As for us Jews, we appeal to the great Caesar what assistance we brought him, and what fidelity we showed to him against the Egyptians; as also to the senate and its decrees, and the epistles of Augustus Caesar, whereby our merits [to the Romans] are justified. Apion ought to have looked upon those epistles, and in particular to have examined the testimonies given on our behalf, under Alexander and all the Ptolemies, and the decrees of the senate and of the greatest Roman emperors. And if Germanicus was not able to make a distribution of corn to all the inhabitants of Alexandria, that only shows what a barren time it was, and how great a want there was then of corn, but tends nothing to the accusation of the Jews; for what all the emperors have thought of the Alexandrian Jews is well known, for this distribution of wheat was no otherwise omitted with regard to the Jews, than it was with regard to the other inhabitants of Alexandria. But they still were desirous to preserve what the kings had formerly intrusted to their care, I mean the custody of the river; nor did those kings think them unworthy of having the entire custody thereof, upon all occasions.

6. But besides this, Apion objects to us thus: "If the Jews [says he] be citizens of Alexandria, why do they not worship the same gods with the Alexandrians?" To which I give this answer: Since you are yourselves Egyptians, why do you fight it out one against another, and have implacable wars about your religion? At this rate we must not call you all Egyptians, nor indeed in general men, because you breed up with great care beasts of a nature quite contrary to that of men, although the nature of all men seems to be one and the same. Now if there be such differences in opinion among you Egyptians, why are you surprised that those who came to Alexandria from another country, and had original laws of their own before, should persevere in the observance of those laws? But still he charges us with being the authors of sedition; which accusation, if it be a just one, why is it not laid against us all, since we are known to be all of one mind. Moreover, those that search into such matters will soon discover that the authors of sedition have been such citizens of Alexandria as Apion is; for while they were the Grecians and Macedonians who were ill possession of this city, there was no sedition raised against us, and we were permitted to observe our ancient solemnities; but when the number of the Egyptians therein came to be considerable, the times grew confused, and then these seditions brake out still more and more, while our people continued uncorrupted. These Egyptians, therefore, were the authors of these troubles, who having not the constancy of Macedonians, nor the prudence of Grecians, indulged all of them the evil manners of the Egyptians, and continued their ancient hatred against us; for what is here so presumptuously charged upon us, is owing to the differences that are amongst themselves; while many of them have not obtained the privileges of citizens in proper times, but style those who are well known to have had that privilege extended to them all no other than foreigners: for it does not appear that any of the kings have ever formerly bestowed those privileges of citizens upon Egyptians, no more than have the emperors done it more lately; while it was Alexander who introduced us into this city at first, the kings augmented our privileges therein, and the Romans have been pleased to preserve them always inviolable. Moreover, Apion would lay a blot upon us, because we do not erect images for our emperors; as if those emperors did not know this before, or stood in need of Apion as their defender; whereas he ought rather to have admired the magnanimity and modesty of the Romans, whereby they do not compel those that are subject to them to transgress the laws of their countries, but are willing to receive the honours due to them after such a manner as those who are to pay them esteem consistent with piety and with their own laws; for they do not thank people for conferring honours upon them, When they are compelled by violence so to do. Accordingly, since the Grecians and some other nations think it a right thing to make images, nay, when they have painted the pictures of their parents, and wives, and children, they exult for joy; and some there are who take pictures for themselves of such persons as were no way related to them; nay, some take the pictures of such servants as they were fond of; what wonder is it then if such as these appear willing to pay the same respect to their princes and lords? But then our legislator hath forbidden us to make images, not by way of denunciation beforehand, that the Roman authority was not to be honoured, but as despising a thing that was neither necessary nor useful for either God or man; and he forbade them, as we shall prove hereafter, to make these images for any part of the animal creation, and much less for God himself, who is no part of such animal creation. Yet hath our legislator no where forbidden us to pay honours to worthy men, provided they be of another kind, and inferior to those we pay to God; with which honours we willingly testify our respect to our emperors, and to the people of Rome; we also offer perpetual sacrifices for them; nor do we only offer them every day at the common expenses of all the Jews, but although we offer no other such sacrifices out of our common expenses, no, not for our own children, yet do we this as a peculiar honour to the emperors, and to them alone, while we do the same to no other person whomsoever. And let this suffice for an answer in general to Apion, as to what he says with relation to the Alexandrian Jews.

7. However, I cannot but admire those other authors who furnished this man with such his materials; I mean Possidonius and Apollonius [the son of] Molo, who, while they accuse us for not worshipping the same gods whom others worship, they think themselves not guilty of impiety when they tell lies of us, and frame absurd and reproachful stories about our temple; whereas it is a most shameful thing for freemen to forge lies on any occasion, and much more so to forge them about our temple, which was so famous over all the world, and was preserved so sacred by us; for Apion hath the impudence to pretend that, "the Jews placed an ass's head in their holy place;" and he affirms that this was discovered when Antiochus Epiphanes spoiled our temple, and found that ass's head there made of gold, and worth a great deal of

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money. To this my first answer shall be this, that had there been any such thing among us, an Egyptian ought by no means to have thrown it in our teeth, since an ass is not a more contemptible animal than and goats, and other such creatures, which among them are gods. But besides this answer, I say further, how comes it about that Apion does not understand this to be no other than a palpable lie, and to be confuted by the thing itself as utterly incredible? For we Jews are always governed by the same laws, in which we constantly persevere; and although many misfortunes have befallen our city, as the like have befallen others, and although Theos [Epiphanes], and Pompey the Great, and Licinius Crassus, and last of all Titus Caesar, have conquered us in war, and gotten possession of our temple; yet have they none of them found any such thing there, nor indeed any thing but what was agreeable to the strictest piety; although what they found we are not at liberty to reveal to other nations. But for Antiochus [Epiphanes], he had no just cause for that ravage in our temple that he made; he only came to it when he wanted money, without declaring himself our enemy, and attacked us while we were his associates and his friends; nor did he find any thing there that was ridiculous. This is attested by many worthy writers; Polybius of Megalopolis, Strabo of Cappadocia, Nicolaus of Damascus, Timagenes, Castor the chronotoger, and Apollodorus; who all say that it was out of Antiochus's want of money that he broke his league with the Jews, and despoiled their temple when it was full of gold and silver. Apion ought to have had a regard to these facts, unless he had himself had either an ass's heart or a dog's impudence; of such a dog I mean as they worship; for he had no other external reason for the lies he tells of us. As for us Jews, we ascribe no honour or power to asses, as do the Egyptians to crocodiles and asps, when they esteem such as are seized upon by the former, or bitten by the latter, to be happy persons, and persons worthy of God. Asses are the same with us which they are with other wise men, viz. creatures that bear the burdens that we lay upon them; but if they come to our thrashing-floors and eat our corn, or do not perform what we impose upon them, we beat them with a great many stripes, because it is their business to minister to us in our husbandry affairs. But this Apion of ours was either perfectly unskillful in the composition of such fallacious discourses, or however, when he begun [somewhat better], he was not able to persevere in what he had undertaken, since he hath no manner of success in those reproaches he casts upon us.

8. He adds another Grecian fable, in order to reproach us. In reply to which, it would be enough to say, that they who presume to speak about Divine worship ought not to be ignorant of this plain truth, that it is a degree of less impurity to pass through temples, than to forge wicked calumnies of its priests. Now such men as he are more zealous to justify a sacrilegious king, than to write what is just and what is true about us, and about our temple; for when they are desirous of gratifying Antiochus, and of concealing that perfidiousness and sacrilege which he was guilty of, with regard to our nation, when he wanted money, they endeavor to disgrace us, and tell lies even relating to futurities. Apion becomes other men's prophet upon this occasion, and says that "Antiochus found in our temple a bed, and a man lying upon it, with a small table before him, full of dainties, from the [fishes of the] sea, and the fowls of the dry land; that this man was amazed at these dainties thus set before him; that he immediately adored the king, upon his coming in, as hoping that he would afford him all possible assistance; that he fell down upon his knees, and stretched out to him his right hand, and begged to be released; and that when the king bid him sit down, and tell him who he was, and why he dwelt there, and what was the meaning of those various sorts of food that were set before him the man made a lamentable complaint, and with sighs, and tears in his eyes, gave him this account of the distress he was in; and said that he was a Greek and that as he went over this province, in order to get his living, he was seized upon by foreigners, on a sudden, and brought to this temple, and shut up therein, and was seen by nobody, but was fattened by these curious provisions thus set before him; and that truly at the first such unexpected advantages seemed to him matter of great joy; that after a while, they brought a suspicion him, and at length astonishment, what their meaning should be; that at last he inquired of the servants that came to him and was by them informed that it was in order to the fulfilling a law of the Jews, which they must not tell him, that he was thus fed; and that they did the same at a set time every year: that they used to catch a Greek foreigner, and fat him thus up every year, and then lead him to a certain wood, and kill him, and sacrifice with their accustomed solemnities, and taste of his entrails, and take an oath upon this sacrificing a Greek, that they would ever be at enmity with the Greeks; and that then they threw the remaining parts of the miserable wretch into a certain pit." Apion adds further, that, "the man said there were but a few days to come ere he was to be slain, and implored of Antiochus that, out of the reverence he bore to the Grecian gods, he would disappoint the snares the Jews laid for his blood, and would deliver him from the miseries with which he was encompassed." Now this is such a most tragical fable as is full of nothing but cruelty and impudence; yet does it not excuse Antiochus of his sacrilegious attempt, as those who write it in his vindication are willing to suppose; for he could not presume beforehand that he should meet with any such thing in coming to the temple, but must have found it unexpectedly. He was therefore still an impious person, that was given to unlawful pleasures, and had no regard to God in his actions. But [as for Apion], he hath done whatever his extravagant love of lying hath dictated to him, as it is most easy to discover by a consideration of his writings; for the difference of our laws is known not to regard the Grecians only, but they are principally opposite to the Egyptians, and to some other nations also for while it so falls out that men of all countries come sometimes and sojourn among us, how comes it about that we take an oath, and conspire only against the Grecians, and that by the effusion of their blood also? Or how is it possible that all the Jews should get together to these sacrifices, and the entrails of one man should be sufficient for so many thousands to taste of them, as Apion pretends? Or why did not the king carry this man, whosoever he was, and whatsoever was his name, [which is not set down in Apion's book,] with great pomp back into his own country? when he might thereby have been esteemed a religious person himself, and a mighty lover of the Greeks, and might thereby have procured himself great assistance from all men against that hatred the Jews bore to him. But I leave this matter; for the proper way of confuting fools is not to use bare words, but to appeal to the things themselves that make against them. Now, then, all such as ever saw the construction of our temple, of what nature it was, know well enough how the purity of it was never to be profaned; for it had four several courts encompassed with cloisters round about, every one of which had by our law a peculiar degree of separation from the rest. Into the first court every body was allowed to go, even foreigners, and none but women, during their courses, were prohibited to pass through it; all the Jews went into the second court, as well as their wives, when they were free from all uncleanness; into the third court went in the Jewish men, when they were clean and purified; into the fourth went the priests, having on their sacerdotal garments; but for the most sacred place, none went in but the high priests, clothed in their peculiar garments. Now there is so great caution used about these offices of religion, that the priests are appointed to go into the temple but at certain hours; for in the morning, at the opening of the inner temple, those that are to officiate receive the sacrifices, as they do again at noon, till the doors are shut. Lastly, it is not so much as lawful to carry any vessel into the holy house; nor is there any thing therein, but the altar [of incense], the table [of shew-bread], the censer, and the candlestick, which are all written in the law; for there is nothing further there, nor are there any mysteries performed that may not be spoken of; nor is there any feasting within the place. For what I have now said is publicly known, and supported by the testimony of the whole people, and their operations are very manifest; for although there be four courses of the priests, and every one of them have above five thousand men in them, yet do they officiate on certain days only; and when those days are over, other priests succeed in the performance of their sacrifices, and assemble together at mid-day, and receive the keys of the temple, and the vessels by tale, without any thing relating to food or drink being carried into the temple; nay, we are not allowed to offer such things at the altar, excepting what is prepared for the sacrifices.

9. What then can we say of Apion, but that he examined nothing that concerned these things, while still he uttered incredible words about them? but it is a great shame for a grammarian not to be able to write true history. Now if he knew the purity of our temple, he hath entirely omitted to take notice of it; but he forges a story about the seizing of a Grecian, about ineffable food, and the most delicious preparation of dainties; and pretends that strangers could go into a place whereinto the noblest men among the Jews are not allowed to enter, unless they be priests. This, therefore, is the utmost degree of impiety, and a voluntary lie, in order to the delusion of those who will not examine into the truth of matters; whereas such unspeakable mischiefs as are above related have been occasioned by such calumnies that are raised upon us.

10. Nay, this miracle or piety derides us further, and adds the following pretended facts to his former fable; for he says that this man related how, "while the Jews were once in a long war with the Idumeans, there came a man out of one of the cities of the Idumeans, who there had worshipped Apollo. This man, whose name is said to have been Zabidus, came to the Jews, and promised that he would deliver Apollo, the god of Dora, into their hands, and that he would come to our temple, if they would all come up with him, and bring the whole multitude of the Jews with them; that Zabidus made him a certain wooden instrument, and put it round about him, and set three rows of lamps therein, and walked after such a manner, that he appeared to those that stood a great way off him to be a kind of star, walking upon the earth; that the Jews were terribly affrighted at so surprising an appearance, and stood very quiet at a distance; and that Zabidus, while they continued so very quiet, went into the holy house, and carried off that golden head of an ass, [for so facetiously does he write,] and then went his way back again to Dora in great haste." And say you so, sir! as I may reply; then does Apion load the ass, that is, himself, and lays on him a burden of fooleries and lies; for he writes of places that have no being, and not knowing the cities he speaks of, he changes their situation; for Idumea borders upon our country, and is near to Gaza, in which there is no such city as Dora; although there be, it is true, a city named Dora in Phoenicia, near Mount Carmel, but it is four days' journey from Idumea. Now, then, why does this man accuse us, because we have not gods in common with other nations, if our fathers were so easily prevailed upon to have Apollo come to them, and thought they saw him walking upon the earth, and the stars with him? for certainly those who have so many festivals, wherein they light lamps, must yet, at this rate, have never seen a candlestick! But still it seems that while Zabidus took his journey over the country, where were so many ten thousands of people, nobody met him. He also, it seems, even in a time of war, found the walls of Jerusalem destitute of guards. I omit the rest. Now the doors of the holy house were seventy 13 cubits high, and twenty cubits broad; they were all plated over with gold, and almost of solid gold itself, and there were no fewer than twenty men required to shut them every day; nor was it lawful ever to leave them open, though it seems this lamp-bearer of ours opened them easily, or thought he opened them, as he thought he had the ass's head in his hand. Whether, therefore, he returned it to us again, or whether Apion took it, and brought it into the temple again, that Antiochus might find it, and afford a handle for a second fable of Apion's, is uncertain.

11. Apion also tells a false story, when he mentions an oath of ours, as if we "swore by God, the Maker of the heaven, and earth, and sea, to bear no good will to any foreigner, and particularly to none of the Greeks." Now this liar ought to have said directly that, "we would bear no good-will to any foreigner, and particularly to none of the Egyptians." For then his story about the oath would have squared with the rest of his original forgeries, in case our forefathers had been driven away by their kinsmen, the Egyptians, not on account of any wickedness they had been guilty of, but on account of the calamities they were under; for as to the Grecians, we were rather remote from them in place, than different from them in our institutions, insomuch that we have no enmity with them, nor any jealousy of them. On the contrary, it hath so happened that many of them have come over to our laws, and some of them have continued in their observation, although others of them had not courage enough to persevere, and so departed from them again; nor did any body ever hear this oath sworn by us: Apion, it seems, was the only person that heard it, for he indeed was the first composer of it.

12. However, Apion deserves to be admired for his great prudence, as to what I am going to say, which is this, "That there is a plain mark among us, that we neither have just laws, nor worship God as we ought to do, because we are not governors, but are rather in subjection to Gentiles, sometimes to one nation, and sometimes to another; and that our city hath been liable to several calamities, while their city [Alexandria] hath been of old time an imperial city, and not used to be in subjection to the Romans." But now this man had better leave off this bragging, for every body but himself would think that Apion said what he hath said against himself; for there are very few nations that have had the good fortune to continue many generations in the principality, but still the mutations in human affairs have put them into subjection under others; and most nations have been often subdued, and brought into subjection by others. Now for the Egyptians, perhaps they are the only nation that have had this extraordinary privilege, to have never served any of those monarchs who subdued Asia and Europe, and this on account, as they pretend, that the gods fled into their country, and saved themselves by being changed into the shapes of wild beasts! Whereas these Egyptians are the very people that appear to have never, in all the past ages, had one day of freedom, no, not so much as from their own lords. For I will not reproach them with relating the manner how the Persians used them, and this not once only, but many times, when they laid their cities waste, demolished their temples, and cut the throats of those animals whom they esteemed to be gods; for it is not reasonable to imitate the clownish ignorance of Apion, who hath no regard to the misfortunes of the Athenians, or of the Lacedemonians, the latter of whom were styled by all men the most courageous, and the former the most religious of the Grecians. I say nothing of such kings as have been famous for piety, particularly of one of them, whose name was Cresus, nor what calamities he met with in his life; I say nothing of the citadel of Athens, of the temple at Ephesus, of that at Delphi, nor of ten thousand others which have been burnt down, while nobody cast reproaches on those that were the sufferers, but on those that were the actors therein. But now we have met with Apion, an accuser of our nation, though one that still forgets the miseries of his own people, the Egyptians; but

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it is that Sesostris who was once so celebrated a king of Egypt that hath blinded him. Now we will not brag of our kings, David and Solomon, though they conquered many nations; accordingly we will let them alone. However, Apion is ignorant of what every body knows, that the Egyptians were servants to the Persians, and afterwards to the Macedonians, when they were lords of Asia, and were no better than slaves, while we have enjoyed liberty formerly; nay, more than that, have had the dominion of the cities that lie round about us, and this nearly for a hundred and twenty years together, until Pompeius Magnus. And when all the kings every where were conquered by the Romans, our ancestors were the only people who continued to be esteemed their confederates and friends, on account of their fidelity to them.

13. "But," says Apion, "we Jews have not had any wonderful men amongst us, not any inventors of arts, nor any eminent for wisdom." He then enumerates Socrates, and Zeno, and Cleanthes, and some others of the same sort; and, after all, he adds himself to them, which is the most wonderful thing of all that he says, and pronounces Alexandria to be happy, because it hath such a citizen as he is in it; for he was the fittest man to be a witness to his own deserts, although he hath appeared to all others no better than a wicked mountebank, of a corrupt life and ill discourses; on which account one may justly pity Alexandria, if it should value itself upon such a citizen as he is. But as to our own men, we have had those who have been as deserving of commendation as any other whosoever, and such as have perused our Antiquities cannot be ignorant of them.

14. As to the other things which he sets down as blameworthy, it may perhaps be the best way to let them pass without apology, that he may be allowed to be his own accuser, and the accuser of the rest of the Egyptians. However, he accuses us for sacrificing animals, and for abstaining from swine's flesh, and laughs at us for the circumcision of our privy members. Now as for our slaughter of tame animals for sacrifices, it is common to us and to all other men; but this Apion, by making it a crime to sacrifice them, demonstrates himself to be an Egyptian; for had he been either a Grecian or a Macedonian, [as he pretends to be,] he had not shown any uneasiness at it; for those people glory in sacrificing whole hecatombs to the gods, and make use of those sacrifices for feasting; and yet is not the world thereby rendered destitute of cattle, as Apion was afraid would come to pass. Yet if all men had followed the manners of the Egyptians, the world had certainly been made desolate as to mankind, but had been filled full of the wildest sort of brute beasts, which, because they suppose them to be gods, they carefully nourish. However, if any one should ask Apion which of the Egyptians he thinks to be the most wise and most pious of them all, he would certainly acknowledge the priests to be so; for the histories say that two things were originally committed to their care by their kings' injunctions, the worship of the gods, and the support of wisdom and philosophy. Accordingly, these priests are all circumcised, and abstain from swine's flesh; nor does any one of the other Egyptians assist them in slaying those sacrifices they offer to the gods. Apion was therefore quite blinded in his mind, when, for the sake of the Egyptians, he contrived to reproach us, and to accuse such others as not only make use of that conduct of life which he so much abuses, but have also taught other men to be circumcised, as says Herodotus; which makes me think that Apion is hereby justly punished for his casting such reproaches on the laws of his own country; for he was circumcised himself of necessity, on account of an ulcer in his privy member; and when he received no benefit by such circumcision, but his member became putrid, he died in great torment. Now men of good tempers ought to observe their own laws concerning religion accurately, and to persevere therein, but not presently to abuse the laws of other nations, while this Apion deserted his own laws, and told lies about ours. And this was the end of Apion's life, and this shall be the conclusion of our discourse about him.

15. But now, since Apollonius Molo, and Lysimachus, and some others, write treatises about our lawgiver Moses, and about our laws, which are neither just nor true, and this partly out of ignorance, but chiefly out of ill-will to us, while they calumniate Moses as an impostor and deceiver, and pretend that our laws teach us wickedness, but nothing that is virtuous, I have a mind to discourse briefly, according to my ability, about our whole constitution of government, and about the particular branches of it. For I suppose it will thence become evident, that the laws we have given us are disposed after the best manner for the advancement of piety, for mutual communion with one another, for a general love of mankind, as also for justice, and for sustaining labours with fortitude, and for a contempt of death. And I beg of those that shall peruse this writing of mine, to read it without partiality; for it is not my purpose to write an encomium upon ourselves, but I shall esteem this as a most just apology for us, and taken from those our laws, according to which we lead our lives, against the many and the lying objections that have been made against us. Moreover, since this Apollonius does not do like Apion, and lay a continued accusation against us, but does it only by starts, and up and clown his discourse, while he sometimes reproaches us as atheists, and man-haters, and sometimes hits us in the teeth with our want of courage, and yet sometimes, on the contrary, accuses us of too great boldness and madness in our conduct; nay, he says that we are the weakest of all the barbarians, and that this is the reason why we are the only people who have made no improvements in human life; now I think I shall have then sufficiently disproved all these his allegations, when it shall appear that our laws enjoin the very reverse of what he says, and that we very carefully observe those laws ourselves. And if I he compelled to make mention of the laws of other nations, that are contrary to ours, those ought deservedly to thank themselves for it, who have pretended to depreciate our laws in comparison of their own; nor will there, I think, be any room after that for them to pretend either that we have no such laws ourselves, an epitome of which I will present to the reader, or that we do not, above all men, continue in the observation of them.

16. To begin then a good way backward, I would advance this, in the first place, that those who have been admirers of good order, and of living under common laws, and who began to introduce them, may well have this testimony that they are better than other men, both for moderation and such virtue as is agreeable to nature. Indeed their endeavor was to have every thing they ordained believed to be very ancient, that they might not be thought to imitate others, but might appear to have delivered a regular way of living to others after them. Since then this is the case, the excellency of a legislator is seen in providing for the people's living after the best manner, and in prevailing with those that are to use the laws he ordains for them, to have a good opinion of them, and in obliging the multitude to persevere in them, and to make no changes in them, neither in prosperity nor adversity. Now I venture to say, that our legislator is the most ancient of all the legislators whom we have ally where heard of; for as for the Lycurguses, and Solons, and Zaleucus Locrensis, and all those legislators who are so admired by the Greeks, they seem to be of yesterday, if compared with our legislator, insomuch as the very name of a law was not so much as known in old times among the Grecians. Homer is a witness to the truth of this observation, who never uses that term in all his poems; for indeed there was then no such thing among them, but the multitude was governed by wise maxims, and by the injunctions of their king. It was also a long time that they continued in the use of these unwritten customs, although they were always changing them upon several occasions. But for our legislator, who was of so much greater antiquity than the rest, [as even those that speak against us upon all occasions do always confess,] he exhibited himself to the people as their best governor and counselor, and included in his legislation the entire conduct of their lives, and prevailed with them to receive it, and brought it so to pass, that those that were made acquainted with his laws did most carefully observe them.

17. But let us consider his first and greatest work; for when it was resolved on by our forefathers to leave Egypt, and return to their own country, this Moses took the many tell thousands that were of the people, and saved them out of many desperate distresses, and brought them home in safety. And certainly it was here necessary to travel over a country without water, and full of sand, to overcome their enemies, and, during these battles, to preserve their children, and their wives, and their prey; on all which occasions he became an excellent general of an army, and a most prudent counselor, and one that took the truest care of them all; he also so brought it about, that the whole multitude depended upon him. And while he had them always obedient to what he enjoined, he made no manner of use of his authority for his own private advantage, which is the usual time when governors gain great powers to themselves, and pave the way for tyranny, and accustom the multitude to live very dissolutely; whereas, when our legislator was in so great authority, he, on the contrary, thought he ought to have regard to piety, and to show his great good-will to the people; and by this means he thought he might show the great degree of virtue that was in him, and might procure the most lasting security to those who had made him their governor. When he had therefore come to such a good resolution, and had performed such wonderful exploits, we had just reason to look upon ourselves as having him for a divine governor and counselor. And when he had first persuaded himself that his actions and designs were agreeable to God's will, he thought it his duty to impress, above all things, that notion upon the multitude; for those who have once believed that God is the inspector of their lives, will not permit themselves in any sin. And this is the character of our legislator: he was no impostor, no deceiver, as his revilers say, though unjustly, but such a one as they brag Minos to have been among the Greeks, and other legislators after him; for some of them suppose that they had their laws from Jupiter, while Minos said that the revelation of his laws was to be referred to Apollo, and his oracle at Delphi, whether they really thought they were so derived, or supposed, however, that they could persuade the people easily that so it was. But which of these it was who made the best laws, and which had the greatest reason to believe that God was their author, it will be easy, upon comparing those laws themselves together, to determine; for it is time that we come to that point. Now there are innumerable differences in the particular customs and laws that are among all mankind, which a man may briefly reduce under the following heads: Some legislators have permitted their governments to be under monarchies, others put them under oligarchies, and others under a republican form; but our legislator had no regard to any of these forms, but he ordained our government to be what, by a strained expression, may be termed a Theocracy, by ascribing the authority and the power to God, and by persuading all the people to have a regard to him, as the author of all the good things that were enjoyed either in common by all mankind, or by each one in particular, and of all that they themselves obtained by praying to him in their greatest difficulties. He informed them that it was impossible to escape God's observation, even in any of our outward actions, or in any of our inward thoughts. Moreover, he represented God as unbegotten, and immutable, through all eternity, superior to all mortal conceptions in pulchritude; and, though known to us by his power, yet unknown to us as to his essence. I do not now explain how these notions of God are the sentiments of the wisest among the Grecians, and how they were taught them upon the principles that he afforded them. However, they testify, with great assurance, that these notions are just, and agreeable to the nature of God, and to his majesty; for Pythagoras, and Anaxagoras, and Plato, and the Stoic philosophers that succeeded them, and almost all the rest, are of the same sentiments, and had the same notions of the nature of God; yet durst not these men disclose those true notions to more than a few, because the body of the people were prejudiced with other opinions beforehand. But our legislator, who made his actions agree to his laws, did not only prevail with those that were his contemporaries to agree with these his notions, but so firmly imprinted this faith in God upon all their posterity, that it never could be removed. The reason why the constitution of this legislation was ever better directed to the utility of all than other legislations were, is this, that Moses did not make religion a part of virtue, but he saw and he ordained other virtues to be parts of religion; I mean justice, and fortitude, and temperance, and a universal agreement of the members of the community with one another; for all our actions and studies, and all our words, [in Moses's settlement,] have a reference to piety towards God; for he hath left none of these in suspense, or undetermined. For there are two ways of coming at any sort of learning and a moral conduct of life; the one is by instruction in words, the other by practical exercises. Now other lawgivers have separated these two ways in their opinions, and choosing one of those ways of instruction, or that which best pleased every one of them, neglected the other. Thus did the Lacedemonians and the Cretians teach by practical exercises, but not by words; while the Athenians, and almost all the other Grecians, made laws about what was to be done, or left undone, but had no regard to the exercising them thereto in practice.

18. But for our legislator, he very carefully joined these two methods of instruction together; for he neither left these practical exercises to go on without verbal instruction, nor did he permit the hearing of the law to proceed without the exercises for practice; but beginning immediately from the earliest infancy, and the appointment of every one's diet, he left nothing of the very smallest consequence to be done at the pleasure and disposal of the person himself. Accordingly, he made a fixed rule of law what sorts of food they should abstain from, and what sorts they should make use of; as also, what communion they should have with others what great diligence they should use in their occupations, and what times of rest should be interposed, that, by living under that law as under a father and a master, we might be guilty of no sin, neither voluntary nor out of ignorance; for he did not suffer the guilt of ignorance to go on without punishment, but demonstrated the law to be the best and the most necessary instruction of all others, permitting the people to leave off their other employments, and to assemble together for the hearing of the law, and learning it exactly, and this not once or twice, or oftener, but every week; which thing all the other legislators seem to have neglected.

19. And indeed the greatest part of mankind are so far from living according to their own laws, that they hardly know them; but when they have sinned, they learn from others that they have transgressed the law. Those also who are in the highest and principal posts of the government, confess they are not acquainted with those laws, and are obliged to take such persons for their assessors in public administrations as profess to have skill in those laws; but for our people, if any body do but ask any one of them about our laws, he will more readily tell them all than he will tell his own name, and this in consequence of our having learned them immediately as soon as ever we became sensible of any thing, and of our having them as it were engraven on our souls. Our transgressors of

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them are but few, and it is impossible, when any do offend, to escape punishment.

20. And this very thing it is that principally creates such a wonderful agreement of minds amongst us all; for this entire agreement of ours in all our notions concerning God, and our having no difference in our course of life and manners, procures among us the most excellent concord of these our manners that is any where among mankind; for no other people but the Jews have avoided all discourses about God that any way contradict one another, which yet are frequent among other nations; and this is true not only among ordinary persons, according as every one is affected, but some of the philosophers have been insolent enough to indulge such contradictions, while some of them have undertaken to use such words as entirely take away the nature of God, as others of them have taken away his providence over mankind. Nor can any one perceive amongst us any difference in the conduct of our lives, but all our works are common to us all. We have one sort of discourse concerning God, which is conformable to our law, and affirms that he sees all things; as also we have but one way of speaking concerning the conduct of our lives, that all other things ought to have piety for their end; and this any body may hear from our women, and servants themselves.

21. And, indeed, hence hath arisen that accusation which some make against us, that we have not produced men that have been the inventors of new operations, or of new ways of speaking; for others think it a fine thing to persevere in nothing that has been delivered down from their forefathers, and these testify it to be an instance of the sharpest wisdom when these men venture to transgress those traditions; whereas we, on the contrary, suppose it to be our only wisdom and virtue to admit no actions nor supposals that are contrary to our original laws; which procedure of ours is a just and sure sign that our law is admirably constituted; for such laws as are not thus well made are convicted upon trial to want amendment.

22. But while we are ourselves persuaded that our law was made agreeably to the will of God, it would be impious for us not to observe the same; for what is there in it that any body would change? and what can be invented that is better? or what can we take out of other people's laws that will exceed it? Perhaps some would have the entire settlement of our government altered. And where shall we find a better or more righteous constitution than ours, while this makes us esteem God to be the Governor of the universe, and permits the priests in general to be the administrators of the principal affairs, and withal intrusts the government over the other priests to the chief high priest himself? which priests our legislator, at their first appointment, did not advance to that dignity for their riches, or any abundance of other possessions, or any plenty they had as the gifts of fortune; but he intrusted the principal management of Divine worship to those that exceeded others in an ability to persuade men, and in prudence of conduct. These men had the main care of the law and of the other parts of the people's conduct committed to them; for they were the priests who were ordained to be the inspectors of all, and the judges in doubtful cases, and the punishers of those that were condemned to suffer punishment.

23. What form of government then can be more holy than this? what more worthy kind of worship can be paid to God than we pay, where the entire body of the people are prepared for religion, where an extraordinary degree of care is required in the priests, and where the whole polity is so ordered as if it were a certain religious solemnity? For what things foreigners, when they solemnize such festivals, are not able to observe for a few days' time, and call them Mysteries and Sacred Ceremonies, we observe with great pleasure and an unshaken resolution during our whole lives. What are the things then that we are commanded or forbidden? They are simple, and easily known. The first command is concerning God, and affirms that God contains all things, and is a Being every way perfect and happy, self-sufficient, and supplying all other beings; the beginning, the middle, and the end of all things. He is manifest in his works and benefits, and more conspicuous than any other being whatsoever; but as to his form and magnitude, he is most obscure. All materials, let them be ever so costly, are unworthy to compose an image for him, and all arts are unartful to express the notion we ought to have of him. We can neither see nor think of any thing like him, nor is it agreeable to piety to form a resemblance of him. We see his works, the light, the heaven, the earth, the sun and the moon, the waters, the generations of animals, the productions of fruits. These things hath God made, not with hands, nor with labour, nor as wanting the assistance of any to cooperate with him; but as his will resolved they should be made and be good also, they were made and became good immediately. All men ought to follow this Being, and to worship him in the exercise of virtue; for this way of worship of God is the most holy of all others.

24. There ought also to be but one temple for one God; for likeness is the constant foundation of agreement. This temple ought to be common to all men, because he is the common God of all men. High priests are to be continually about his worship, over whom he that is the first by his birth is to be their ruler perpetually. His business must be to offer sacrifices to God, together with those priests that are joined with him, to see that the laws be observed, to determine controversies, and to punish those that are convicted of injustice; while he that does not submit to him shall be subject to the same punishment, as if he had been guilty of impiety towards God himself. When we offer sacrifices to him, we do it not in order to surfeit ourselves, or to be drunken; for such excesses are against the will of God, and would be an occasion of injuries and of luxury; but by keeping ourselves sober, orderly, and ready for our other occupations, and being more temperate than others. And for our duty at the sacrifices themselves, we ought, in the first place, to pray for the common welfare of all, and after that for our own; for we are made for fellowship one with another, and he who prefers the common good before what is peculiar to himself is above all acceptable to God. And let our prayers and supplications be made humbly to God, not [so much] that he would give us what is good, [for he hath already given that of his own accord, and hath proposed the same publicly to all,] as that we may duly receive it, and when we have received it, may preserve it. Now the law has appointed several purifications at our sacrifices, whereby we are cleansed after a funeral, after what sometimes happens to us in bed, and after accompanying with our wives, and upon many other occasions, which it would be too long now to set down. And this is our doctrine concerning God and his worship, and is the same that the law appoints for our practice.

25. But, then, what are our laws about marriage? That law owns no other mixture of sexes but that which nature hath appointed, of a man with his wife, and that this be used only for the procreation of children. But it abhors the mixture of a male with a male; and if any one do that, death is its punishment. It commands us also, when we marry, not to have regard to portion, nor to take a woman by violence, nor to persuade her deceitfully and knavishly; but to demand her in marriage of him who hath power to dispose of her, and is fit to give her away by the nearness of his kindred; for, says the Scripture, "A woman is inferior to her husband in all things." Let her, therefore, be obedient to him; not so that he should abuse her, but that she may acknowledge her duty to her husband; for God hath given the authority to the husband. A husband, therefore, is to lie only with his wife whom he hath married; but to have to do with another man's wife is a wicked thing, which, if any one ventures upon, death is inevitably his punishment: no more can he avoid the same who forces a virgin betrothed to another man, or entices another man's wife. The law, moreover, enjoins us to bring up all our offspring, and forbids women to cause abortion of what is begotten, or to destroy it afterward; and if any woman appears to have so done, she will be a murderer of her child, by destroying a living creature, and diminishing human kind; if any one, therefore, proceeds to such fornication or murder, he cannot be clean. Moreover, the law enjoins, that after the man and wife have lain together in a regular way, they shall bathe themselves; for there is a defilement contracted thereby, both in soul and body, as if they had gone into another country; for indeed the soul, by being united to the body, is subject to miseries, and is not freed therefrom again but by death; on which account the law requires this purification to be entirely performed.

26. Nay, indeed, the law does not permit us to make festivals at the births of our children, and thereby afford occasion of drinking to excess; but it ordains that the very beginning of our education should be immediately directed to sobriety. It also commands us to bring those children up in learning, and to exercise them in the laws, and make them acquainted with the acts of their predecessors, in order to their imitation of them, and that they might be nourished up in the laws from their infancy, and might neither transgress them, nor have any pretense for their ignorance of them.

27. Our law hath also taken care of the decent burial of the dead, but without any extravagant expenses for their funerals, and without the erection of any illustrious monuments for them; but hath ordered that their nearest relations should perform their obsequies; and hath showed it to be regular, that all who pass by when any one is buried should accompany the funeral, and join in the lamentation. It also ordains that the house and its inhabitants should be purified after the funeral is over, that every one may thence learn to keep at a great distance from the thoughts of being pure, if he hath been once guilty of murder.

28. The law ordains also, that parents should be honoured immediately after God himself, and delivers that son who does not requite them for the benefits he hath received from them, but is deficient on any such occasion, to be stoned. It also says that the young men should pay due respect to every elder, since God is the eldest of all beings. It does not give leave to conceal any thing from our friends, because that is not true friendship which will not commit all things to their fidelity: it also forbids the revelation of secrets, even though an enmity arise between them. If any judge takes bribes, his punishment is death: he that overlooks one that offers him a petition, and this when he is able to relieve him, he is a guilty person. What is not by any one intrusted to another ought not to be required back again. No one is to touch another's goods. He that lends money must not demand usury for its loan. These, and many more of the like sort, are the rules that unite us in the bands of society one with another.

29. It will be also worth our while to see what equity our legislator would have us exercise in our intercourse with strangers; for it will thence appear that he made the best provision he possibly could, both that we should not dissolve our own constitution, nor show any envious mind towards those that would cultivate a friendship with us. Accordingly, our legislator admits all those that have a mind to observe our laws so to do; and this after a friendly manner, as esteeming that a true union which not only extends to our own stock, but to those that would live after the same manner with us; yet does he not allow those that come to us by accident only to be admitted into communion with us.

30. However, there are other things which our legislator ordained for us beforehand, which of necessity we ought to do in common to all men; as to afford fire, and water, and food to such as want it; to show them the roads; not to let any one lie unburied. He also would have us treat those that are esteemed our enemies with moderation; for he doth not allow us to set their country on fire, nor permit us to cut down those trees that bear fruit; nay, further, he forbids us to spoil those that have been slain in war. He hath also provided for such as are taken captive, that they may not be injured, and especially that the women may not be abused. Indeed he hath taught us gentleness and humanity so effectually, that he hath not despised the care of brute beasts, by permitting no other than a regular use of them, and forbidding any other; and if any of them come to our houses, like supplicants, we are forbidden to slay them; nor may we kill the dams, together with their young ones; but we are obliged, even in an enemy's country, to spare and not kill those creatures that labour for mankind. Thus hath our lawgiver contrived to teach us an equitable conduct every way, by using us to such laws as instruct us therein; while at the same time he hath ordained that such as break these laws should be punished, without the allowance of any excuse whatsoever.

31. Now the greatest part of offenses with us are capital; as if any one be guilty of adultery; if any one force a virgin; if any one be so impudent as to attempt sodomy with a male; or if, upon another's making an attempt upon him, he submits to be so used. There is also a law for slaves of the like nature, that can never be avoided. Moreover, if any one cheats another in measures or weights, or makes a knavish bargain and sale, in order to cheat another; if any one steals what belongs to another, and takes what he never deposited; all these have punishments allotted them; not such as are met with among other nations, but more severe ones. And as for attempts of unjust behavior towards parents, or for impiety against God, though they be not actually accomplished, the offenders are destroyed immediately. However, the reward for such as live exactly according to the laws is not silver or gold; it is not a garland of olive branches or of small age, nor any such public sign of commendation; but every good man hath his own conscience bearing witness to himself, and by virtue of our legislator's prophetic spirit, and of the firm security God himself affords such a one, he believes that God hath made this grant to those that observe these laws, even though they be obliged readily to die for them, that they shall come into being again, and at a certain revolution of things shall receive a better life than they had enjoyed before. Nor would I venture to write thus at this time, were it not well known to all by our actions that many of our people have many a time bravely resolved to endure any sufferings, rather than speak one word against our law.

32. Nay, indeed, in case it had so fallen out, that our nation had not been so thoroughly known among all men as they are, and our voluntary submission to our laws had not been so open and manifest as it is, but that somebody had pretended to have written these laws himself, and had read them to the Greeks, or had pretended that he had met with men out of the limits of the known world, that had such reverent notions of God, and had continued a long time in the firm observance of such laws as ours, I cannot but suppose that all men would admire them on a reflection upon the frequent changes they had therein been themselves subject to; and this while those that have attempted to write somewhat of the same kind for politic government, and for laws, are accused as composing monstrous things, and are said to have undertaken an impossible task upon them. And here I will say nothing of those other philosophers who have undertaken any thing of this nature in their writings. But even Plato himself, who is so admired by the Greeks on account of that gravity in his manners, and force in his words, and that ability he had to persuade men beyond all other philosophers, is little better than laughed at and exposed to ridicule on that account, by those that pretend to sagacity in political affairs; although he that shall diligently peruse his writings will find his precepts to be somewhat gentle, and pretty near to the customs of the generality of mankind. Nay, Plato himself confesseth that it is

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not safe to publish the true notion concerning God among the ignorant multitude. Yet do some men look upon Plato's discourses as no better than certain idle words set off with great artifice. However, they admire Lycurgus as the principal lawgiver, and all men celebrate Sparta for having continued in the firm observance of his laws for a very long time. So far then we have gained, that it is to be confessed a mark of virtue to submit to laws. But then let such as admire this in the Lacedemonians compare that duration of theirs with more than two thousand years which our political government hath continued; and let them further consider, that though the Lacedemonians did seem to observe their laws exactly while they enjoyed their liberty, yet that when they underwent a change of their fortune, they forgot almost all those laws; while we, having been under ten thousand changes in our fortune by the changes that happened among the kings of Asia, have never betrayed our laws under the most pressing distresses we have been in; nor have we neglected them either out of sloth or for a livelihood. if any one will consider it, the difficulties and labours laid upon us have been greater than what appears to have been borne by the Lacedemonian fortitude, while they neither ploughed their land, nor exercised any trades, but lived in their own city, free from all such pains-taking, in the enjoyment of plenty, and using such exercises as might improve their bodies, while they made use of other men as their servants for all the necessaries of life, and had their food prepared for them by the others; and these good and humane actions they do for no other purpose but this, that by their actions and their sufferings they may be able to conquer all those against whom they make war. I need not add this, that they have not been fully able to observe their laws; for not only a few single persons, but multitudes of them, have in heaps neglected those laws, and have delivered themselves, together with their arms, into the hands of their enemies.

33. Now as for ourselves, I venture to say that no one can tell of so many; nay, not of more than one or two that have betrayed our laws, no, not out of fear of death itself; I do not mean such an easy death as happens in battles, but that which comes with bodily torments, and seems to be the severest kind of death of all others. Now I think those that have conquered us have put us to such deaths, not out of their hatred to us when they had subdued us, but rather out of their desire of seeing a surprising sight, which is this, whether there be such men in the world who believe that no evil is to them so great as to be compelled to do or to speak any thing contrary to their own laws. Nor ought men to wonder at us, if we are more courageous in dying for our laws than all other men are; for other men do not easily submit to the easier things in which we are instituted; I mean working with our hands, and eating but little, and being contented to eat and drink, not at random, or at every one's pleasure, or being under inviolable rules in lying with our wives, in magnificent furniture, and again in the observation of our times of rest; while those that can use their swords in war, and can put their enemies to flight when they attack them, cannot bear to submit to such laws about their way of living: whereas our being accustomed willingly to submit to laws in these instances, renders us fit to show our fortitude upon other occasions also.

34. Yet do the Lysimachi and the Molones, and some other writers, [unskillful sophists as they are, and the deceivers of young men,] reproach us as the vilest of all mankind. Now I have no mind to make an inquiry into the laws of other nations; for the custom of our country is to keep our own laws, but not to bring accusations against the laws of others. And indeed our legislator hath expressly forbidden us to laugh at and revile those that are esteemed gods by other people? on account of the very name of God ascribed to them. But since our antagonists think to run us down upon the comparison of their religion and ours, it is not possible to keep silence here, especially while what I shall say to confute these men will not be now first said, but hath been already said by many, and these of the highest reputation also; for who is there among those that have been admired among the Greeks for wisdom, who hath not greatly blamed both the most famous poets, and most celebrated legislators, for spreading such notions originally among the body of the people concerning the gods? such as these, that they may be allowed to be as numerous as they have a mind to have them; that they are begotten one by another, and that after all the kinds of generation you can imagine. They also distinguish them in their places and ways of living as they would distinguish several sorts of animals; as some to be under the earth; as some to be in the sea; and the ancientest of them all to be bound in hell; and for those to whom they have allotted heaven, they have set over them one, who in title is their father, but in his actions a tyrant and a lord; whence it came to pass that his wife, and brother, and daughter [which daughter he brought forth from his own head] made a conspiracy against him to seize upon him and confine hint, as he had himself seized upon and confined his own father before.

35. And justly have the wisest men thought these notions deserved severe rebukes; they also laugh at them for determining that we ought to believe some of the gods to be beardless and young, and others of them to be old, and to have beards accordingly; that some are set to trades; that one god is a smith, and another goddess is a weaver; that one god is a warrior, and fights with men; that some of them are harpers, or delight in archery; and besides, that mutual seditions arise among them, and that they quarrel about men, and this so far, that they not only lay hands upon one another, but that they are wounded by men, and lament, and take on for such their afflictions. But what is the grossest of all in point of lasciviousness, are those unbounded lusts ascribed to almost all of them, and their amours; which how can it be other than a most absurd supposal, especially when it reaches to the male gods, and to the female goddesses also? Moreover, the chief of all their gods, and their first father himself, overlooks those goddesses whom he hath deluded and begotten with child, and suffers them to be kept in prison, or drowned in the sea. He is also so bound up by fate, that he cannot save his own offspring, nor can he bear their deaths without shedding of tears. These are fine things indeed! as are the rest that follow. Adulteries truly are so impudently looked on in heaven by the gods, that some of them have confessed they envied those that were found in the very act. And why should they not do so, when the eldest of them, who is their king also, hath not been able to restrain himself in the violence of his lust, from lying with his wife, so long as they might get into their bedchamber? Now some of the gods are servants to men, and will sometimes be builders for a reward, and sometimes will be shepherds; while others of them, like malefactors, are bound in a prison of brass. And what sober person is there who would not be provoked at such stories, and rebuke those that forged them, and condemn the great silliness of those that admit them for true? Nay, others there are that have advanced a certain timorousness and fear, as also madness and fraud, and any other of the vilest passions, into the nature and form of gods, and have persuaded whole cities to offer sacrifices to the better sort of them; on which account they have been absolutely forced to esteem some gods as the givers of good things, and to call others of them averters of evil. They also endeavor to move them, as they would the vilest of men, by gifts and presents, as looking for nothing else than to receive some great mischief from them, unless they pay them such wages.

36. Wherefore it deserves our inquiry what should be the occasion of this unjust management, and of these scandals about the Deity. And truly I suppose it to be derived from the imperfect knowledge the heathen legislators had at first of the true nature of God; nor did they explain to the people even so far as they did comprehend of it: nor did they compose the other parts of their political settlements according to it, but omitted it as a thing of very little consequence, and gave leave both to the poets to introduce what gods they pleased, and those subject to all sorts of passions, and to the orators to procure political decrees from the people for the admission of such foreign gods as they thought proper. The painters also, and statuaries of Greece, had herein great power, as each of them could contrive a shape [proper for a god]; the one to be formed out of clay, and the other by making a bare picture of such a one. But those workmen that were principally admired, had the use of ivory and of gold as the constant materials for their new statues [whereby it comes to pass that some temples are quite deserted, while others are in great esteem, and adorned with all the rites of all kinds of purification]. Besides this, the first gods, who have long flourished in the honours done them, are now grown old [while those that flourished after them are come in their room as a second rank, that I may speak the most honourably of them I can]: nay, certain other gods there are who are newly introduced, and newly worshipped [as we, by way of digression, have said already, and yet have left their places of worship desolate]; and for their temples, some of them are already left desolate, and others are built anew, according to the pleasure of men; whereas they ought to have their opinion about God, and that worship which is due to him, always and immutably the same.

37. But now, this Apollonius Molo was one of these foolish and proud men. However, nothing that I have said was unknown to those that were real philosophers among the Greeks, nor were they unacquainted with those frigid pretensions of allegories [which had been alleged for such things]; on which account they justly despised them, but have still agreed with us as to the true and becoming notions of God; whence it was that Plato would not have political settlements admit to of any one of the other poets, and dismisses even Homer himself, with a garland on his head, and with ointment poured upon him, and this because he should not destroy the right notions of God with his fables. Nay, Plato principally imitated our legislator in this point, that he enjoined his citizens to have he main regard to this precept, "That every one of them should learn their laws accurately." He also ordained, that they should not admit of foreigners intermixing with their own people at random; and provided that the commonwealth should keep itself pure, and consist of such only as persevered in their own laws. Apollonius Molo did no way consider this, when he made it one branch of his accusation against us, that we do not admit of such as have different notions about God, nor will we have fellowship with those that choose to observe a way of living different from ourselves, yet is not this method peculiar to us, but common to all other men; not among the ordinary Grecians only, but among such of those Grecians as are of the greatest reputation among them. Moreover, the Lacedemonians continued in their way of expelling foreigners, and would not indeed give leave to their own people to travel abroad, as suspecting that those two things would introduce a dissolution of their own laws: and perhaps there may be some reason to blame the rigid severity of the Lacedemonians, for they bestowed the privilege of their city on no foreigners, nor indeed would give leave to them to stay among them; whereas we, though we do not think fit to imitate other institutions, yet do we willingly admit of those that desire to partake of ours, which, I think, I may reckon to be a plain indication of our humanity, and at the same time of our magnanimity also.

38. But I shall say no more of the Lacedemonians. As for the Athenians, who glory in having made their city to be common to all men, what their behavior was Apollonius did not know, while they punished those that did but speak one word contrary to the laws about the gods, without any mercy; for on what other account was it that Socrates was put to death by them? For certainly he neither betrayed their city to its enemies, nor was he guilty of any sacrilege with regard to any of their temples; but it was on this account, that he swore certain new oaths and that he affirmed either in earnest, or, as some say, only in jest, that a certain demon used to make signs to him [what he should not do]. For these reasons he was condemned to drink poison, and kill himself. His accuser also complained that he corrupted the young men, by inducing them to despise the political settlement and laws of their city: and thus was Socrates, the citizen of Athens, punished. There was also Anaxagoras, who, although he was of Clazomente, was within a few suffrages of being condemned to die, because he said the sun, which the Athenians thought to be a god, was a ball of fire. They also made this public proclamation, "That they would give a talent to any one who would kill Diagoras of Melos," because it was reported of him that he laughed at their mysteries. Protagoras also, who was thought to have written somewhat that was not owned for truth by the Athenians about the gods, had been seized upon, and put to death, if he had not fled away immediately. Nor need we at all wonder that they thus treated such considerable men, when they did not spare even women also; for they very lately slew a certain priestess, because she was accused by somebody that she initiated people into the worship of strange gods, it having been forbidden so to do by one of their laws; and a capital punishment had been decreed to such as introduced a strange god; it being manifest, that they who make use of such a law do not believe those of other nations to be really gods, otherwise they had not envied themselves the advantage of more gods than they already had. And this was the happy administration of the affairs of the Athenians! Now as to the Scythians, they take a pleasure in killing men, and differ but little from brute beasts; yet do they think it reasonable to have their institutions observed. They also slew Anacharsis, a person greatly admired for his wisdom among the Greeks, when he returned to them, because he appeared to come fraught with Grecian customs. One may also find many to have been punished among the Persians, on the very same account. And to be sure Apollonius was greatly pleased with the laws of the Persians, and was an admirer of them, because the Greeks enjoyed the advantage of their courage, and had the very same opinion about the gods which they had. This last was exemplified in the temples which they burnt, and their courage in coming, and almost entirely enslaving the Grecians. However, Apollonius has imitated all the Persian institutions, and that by his offering violence to other men's wives, and gelding his own sons. Now, with us, it is a capital crime, if any one does thus abuse even a brute beast; and as for us, neither hath the fear of our governors, nor a desire of following what other nations have in so great esteem, been able to withdraw us from our own laws; nor have we exerted our courage in raising up wars to increase our wealth, but only for the observation of our laws; and when we with patience bear other losses, yet when any persons would compel us to break our laws, then it is that we choose to go to war, though it be beyond our ability to pursue it, and bear the greatest calamities to the last with much fortitude. And, indeed, what reason can there be why we should desire to imitate the laws of other nations, while we see they are not observed by their own legislators. And why do not the Lacedemonians think of abolishing that form of their government which suffers them not to associate with any others, as well as their contempt of matrimony? And why do not the Eleans and Thebans abolish that unnatural and impudent lust, which makes them lie with males? For they will not show a sufficient sign of their repentance of what they of old thought to be very excellent, and very advantageous in their practices, unless they entirely avoid all such actions for the time to come: nay, such things are inserted into the body of their laws, and had once such a power among the Greeks, that they ascribed these sodomitical practices to the gods

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themselves, as a part of their good character; and indeed it was according to the same manner that the gods married their own sisters. This the Greeks contrived as an apology for their own absurd and unnatural pleasures.

39. I omit to speak concerning punishments, and how many ways of escaping them the greatest part of the legislators have afforded malefactors, by ordaining that, for adulteries, fines in money should be allowed, and for corrupting [virgins] they need only marry them as also what excuses they may have in denying the facts, if any one attempts to inquire into them; for amongst most other nations it is a studied art how men may transgress their laws; but no such thing is permitted amongst us; for though we be deprived of our wealth, of our cities, or of the other advantages we have, our law continues immortal; nor can any Jew go so far from his own country, nor be so aftrighted at the severest lord, as not to be more aftrighted at the law than at him. If, therefore, this be the disposition we are under, with regard to the excellency of our laws, let our enemies make us this concession, that our laws are most excellent; and if still they imagine, that though we so firmly adhere to them, yet are they bad laws notwithstanding, what penalties then do they deserve to undergo who do not observe their own laws, which they esteem so far superior to them? Whereas, therefore, length of time is esteemed to be the truest touchstone in all cases, I would make that a testimonial of the excellency of our laws, and of that belief thereby delivered to us concerning God. For as there hath been a very long time for this comparison, if any one will but compare its duration with the duration of the laws made by other legislators, he will find our legislator to have been the ancientest of them all.

40. We have already demonstrated that our laws have been such as have always inspired admiration and imitation into all other men; nay, the earliest Grecian philosophers, though in appearance they observed the laws of their own countries, yet did they, in their actions, and their philosophic doctrines, follow our legislator, and instructed men to live sparingly, and to have friendly communication one with another. Nay, further, the multitude of mankind itself have had a great inclination of a long time to follow our religious observances; for there is not any city of the Grecians, nor any of the barbarians, nor any nation whatsoever, whither our custom of resting on the seventh day hath not come, and by which our fasts and lighting up lamps, and many of our prohibitions as to our food, are not observed; they also endeavor to imitate our mutual concord with one another, and the charitable distribution of our goods, and our diligence in our trades, and our fortitude in undergoing the distresses we are in, on account of our laws; and, what is here matter of the greatest admiration, our law hath no bait of pleasure to allure men to it, but it prevails by its own force; and as God himself pervades all the world, so hath our law passed through all the world also. So that if any one will but reflect on his own country, and his own family, he will have reason to give credit to what I say. It is therefore but just, either to condemn all mankind of indulging a wicked disposition, when they have been so desirous of imitating laws that are to them foreign and evil in themselves, rather than following laws of their own that are of a better character, or else our accusers must leave off their spite against us. Nor are we guilty of any envious behavior towards them, when we honour our own legislator, and believe what he, by his prophetic authority, hath taught us concerning God. For though we should not be able ourselves to understand the excellency of our own laws, yet would the great multitude of those that desire to imitate them, justify us, in greatly valuing ourselves upon them.

41. But as for the [distinct] political laws by which we are governed, I have delivered them accurately in my books of Antiquities; and have only mentioned them now, so far as was necessary to my present purpose, without proposing to myself either to blame the laws of other nations, or to make an encomium upon our own; but in order to convict those that have written about us unjustly, and in an impudent affectation of disguising the truth. And now I think I have sufficiently completed what I proposed in writing these books. For whereas our accusers have pretended that our nation are a people of very late original, I have demonstrated that they are exceeding ancient; for I have produced as witnesses thereto many ancient writers, who have made mention of us in their books, while they had said that no such writer had so done. Moreover, they had said that we were sprung from the Egyptians, while I have proved that we came from another country into Egypt: while they had told lies of us, as if we were expelled thence on account of diseases on our bodies, it has appeared, on the contrary, that we returned to our country by our own choice, and with sound and strong bodies. Those accusers reproached our legislator as a vile fellow; whereas God in old time bare witness to his virtuous conduct; and since that testimony of God, time itself hath been discovered to have borne witness to the same thing.

42. As to the laws themselves, more words are unnecessary, for they are visible in their own nature, and appear to teach not impiety, but the truest piety in the world. They do not make men hate one another, but encourage people to communicate what they have to one another freely; they are enemies to injustice, they take care of righteousness, they banish idleness and expensive living, and instruct men to be content with what they have, and to be labourious in their calling; they forbid men to make war from a desire of getting more, but make men courageous in defending the laws; they are inexorable in punishing malefactors; they admit no sophistry of words, but are always established by actions themselves, which actions we ever propose as surer demonstrations than what is contained in writing only: on which account I am so bold as to say that we are become the teachers of other men, in the greatest number of things, and those of the most excellent nature only; for what is more excellent than inviolable piety? what is more just than submission to laws? and what is more advantageous than mutual love and concord? and this so far that we are to be neither divided by calamities, nor to become injurious and seditious in prosperity; but to contemn death when we are in war, and in peace to apply ourselves to our mechanical occupations, or to our tillage of the ground; while we in all things and all ways are satisfied that God is the inspector and governor of our actions. If these precepts had either been written at first, or more exactly kept by any others before us, we should have owed them thanks as disciples owe to their masters; but if it be visible that we have made use of them more than any other men, and if we have demonstrated that the original invention of them is our own, let the Apions, and the Molons, with all the rest of those that delight in lies and reproaches, stand confuted; but let this and the foregoing book be dedicated to thee, Epaphroditus, who art so great a lover of truth, and by thy means to those that have been in like manner desirous to be acquainted with the affairs of our nation.

DISCOURSE TO THE GREEKS CONCERNING HADES

formerly attributed to Titus Flavius Josephus
now believed to be (at least in its
original form) a work of Hippolytus of Rome
Translation: William Whiston, 1737
Estimated Range of Dating: 200–235 A.D.

(The Discourse to the Greeks concerning Hades is a short treatise believed to be the work of Hippolytus of Rome (c. 170–235 AD)

It is also known as Josephus's Discourse to the Greeks concerning Hades because it was erroneously attributed to the Jewish historian since at least the 9th century, although it is now believed to be (at least in its original form) the work of Hippolytus. It was first published in the translation of Josephus by William Whiston. As Whiston's translation is in the public domain, it appears in many present-day English editions of Josephus' work without any noting of its erroneous attribution. Although generally still reprinted in editions of Whiston's Josephus, later scholars have realised that this attribution is incorrect. This brief discourse, at least in its original form, is now attributed to the church father Hippolytus. The attribution to Josephus, recorded by Photius in his Bibliotheca, did not stand unchallenged even in antiquity, and the "Discourse" was also ascribed to Caius, Presbyter of Rome, Justin Martyr, and Irenaeus.

We now know that a work by Hippolytus published in Vol. 5 of the Ante-Nicene Fathers under the title "Against Plato, on the Cause of the Universe" is essentially the same work as the "Discourse" attributed to Josephus. This Hippolytus work is in fact a fragment from a longer treatise entitled "Against the Greeks."

There are, however, some slight differences between the Hippolytus version and the one that has passed under Josephus' name, notably in the final "Josephus" paragraph. This includes the "In whatsoever ways I shall find you" quote mentioned above, which is not in Hippolytus' fragment as given in the Ante-Nicene Fathers but does appear in Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho (chapter 47), where it is also attributed to Jesus.)

1 Now as to Hades, wherein the souls of the of the good things they see, and rejoice in the righteous and unrighteous are detained, it is necessary to speak of it. Hades is a place in the world not regularly finished; a subterraneous region, wherein the light of this world does not shine; from which circumstance, that in this region the light does not shine, it cannot be but there must be in it perpetual darkness. This region is allotted as a place of custody for souls, in which angels are appointed as guardians to them, who distribute to them temporary punishments, agreeable to every one's behavior and manners.

2 In this region there is a certain place set apart, as a lake of unquenchable fire, whereinto we suppose no one hath hitherto been cast; but it is prepared for a day afore-determined by God, in which one righteous sentence shall deservedly be passed upon all men; when the unjust, and those that have been disobedient to God, and have given honor to such idols as have been the vain operations of the hands of men, as to God himself, shall be adjudged to this everlasting punishment, as having been the causes of defilement; while the just shall obtain an incorruptible and never-fading kingdom. These are now indeed confined in Hades, but not in the same place wherein the unjust are confined.

3 For there is one descent into this region, at whose gate we believe there stands an archangel with an host; which gate when those pass through that are conducted down by the angels appointed over souls, they do not go the same way; but the just are guided to the right hand, and are led with hymns, sung by the angels appointed over that place, unto a region of light, in which the just have dwelt from the beginning of the world; not constrained by necessity, but ever enjoying the prospect of the good things they see, and rejoice in the expectation of those new enjoyments which will be peculiar to every one of them, and esteeming those things beyond what we have here; with whom there is no place of toil, no burning heat, no piercing cold, nor are any briers there; but the countenance of the fathers and of the just, which they see always, smiles upon them, while they wait for that rest and eternal new life in heaven, which is to succeed this region. This place we call The Bosom of Abraham.

4 But as to the unjust, they are dragged by force to the left hand by the angels allotted for punishment, no longer going with a good will, but as prisoners driven by violence; to whom are sent the angels appointed over them to reproach them and threaten them with their terrible looks, and to thrust them still downwards. Now those angels that are set over these souls, drag them into the neighbourhood of hell itself; who, when they are hard by it, continually hear the noise of it, and do not stand clear of the hot vapor itself; but when they have a near view of this spectacle, as of a terrible and exceeding great prospect of fire, they are struck with a fearful expectation of a future judgement, and in effect punished thereby: and not only so, but where they see the place [or choir] of the fathers and of the just, even hereby are they punished; for a chaos deep and large is fixed between them; insomuch that a just man that hath compassion upon them cannot be admitted, nor can one that is unjust, if he were bold enough to attempt it, pass over it.

5 This is the discourse concerning Hades, wherein the souls of all men are confined until a proper season, which God hath determined, when he will make a resurrection of all men from the dead, not procuring a transmigration of souls from one body to another, but raising again those very bodies, which you Greeks, seeing to be dissolved, do not believe [their resurrection]. But learn not to disbelieve it; for while you believe that the soul is created, and yet is made immortal by God, according to the doctrine of Plato, and this in time, be not incredulous; but believe that God is able, when he hath raised to life that body which was made as a compound of the same elements, to make it immortal; for it must never be said of God, that he is able to do some things, and unable to do others. We have therefore believed that the body will be raised again; for although it be dissolved, it is not perished; for the earth receives its remains, and preserves them; and while they are like seed, and are mixed among the more fruitful soil, they flourish, and what is sown is indeed sown bare grain, but at the mighty sound of God the Creator, it will sprout up, and be raised in a clothed and glorious condition, though not before it has been dissolved, and mixed [with the earth]. So that we have not rashly believed the resurrection of the body; for although it be dissolved for a time on account of the original transgression, it exists still, and is cast into the earth as into a potter's furnace, in order to be formed again, not in order to rise again such as it was before, but in a state of purity, and so as never to be destroyed any more. And to every body shall its own soul be restored. And when it hath clothed itself with that body, it will not be subject to misery, but, being itself pure, it will continue with its pure body, and rejoice with it, with which it having walked righteously now in this world, and never having had it as a snare, it will receive it again with great gladness. But as for the unjust, they will receive their bodies not changed, not freed from diseases or distempers, nor made glorious, but with the same diseases wherein they died; and such as they were in their unbelief, the same shall they be when they shall be faithfully judged.

6 For all men, the just as well as the unjust, shall be brought before God the word: for to him hath the Father committed all judgement: and he, in order to fulfill the will of his Father, shall come as Judge, whom we call Christ. For Minos and Rhadamanthus are not the judges, as you Greeks do suppose, but he whom God even the Father hath glorified: concerning whom we have elsewhere given a more particular account, for the sake of those who seek after truth. This person, exercising the righteous judgement of the Father towards all men, hath prepared a just sentence for every one, according to his works; at whose judgement seat when all men, and angels, and demons shall stand, they will send forth one voice, and say, just is thy judgement; the rejoinder to which will bring a just sentence upon both parties, by giving justly to those that have done well an everlasting fruition; but allotting to the lovers of wicked works eternal punishment. To these belong the unquenchable fire, and that without end, and a certain fiery worm never dying, and not destroying the

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body, but continuing its eruption out of the body with never-ceasing grief: neither will sleep give ease to these men, nor will the night afford them comfort; death will not free them from their punishment, nor will the interceding prayers of their kindred profit them; for the just are no longer seen by them, nor are they thought worthy of remembrance. But the just shall remember only their righteous actions, whereby they have attained the heavenly kingdom, in which there is no sleep, no sorrow, no corruption, no care, no night, no day measured by time, no sun driven in his course along the circle of heaven by necessity, and measuring out the bounds and conversions of the seasons, for the better illumination of the life of men; no moon decreasing and increasing, or introducing a variety of seasons, nor will she then moisten the earth; no burning sun, no Bear turning round [the pole], no Orion to rise, no wandering of innumerable stars. The earth will not then be difficult to be passed over, nor will it be hard to find out the court of Paradise, nor will there be any fearful roaring of the sea, forbidding the passengers to walk on it; even that will be made easily passable to the just, though it will not be void of moisture. Heaven will not then be uninhabitable by men, and it will not be impossible to discover the way of ascending thither. The earth will not be uncultivated, nor require too much labor of men, but will bring forth its fruits of its own accord, and will be well adorned with them. There will be no more generations of wild beasts, nor will the substance of the rest of the animals shoot out any more; for it will not produce men, but the number of the righteous will continue, and never fail, together with righteous angels, and spirits [of God], and with his word, as a choir of righteous men and women that never grow old, and continue in an incorruptible state, singing hymns to God, who hath advanced them to that happiness, by the means of a regular institution of life; with whom the whole creation also will lift up a perpetual hymn from corruption to incorruption, as glorified by a splendid and pure spirit. It will not then be restrained by a bond of necessity, but with a lively freedom shall offer up a voluntary hymn, and shall praise him that made them, together with the angels, and spirits, and men now freed from all bondage.

7 And now, if you Gentiles will be persuaded by these motives, and leave your vain imaginations about your pedigrees, and gaining of riches, and philosophy, and will not spend your time about subtleties of words, and thereby lead your minds into error, and if you will apply your ears to the hearing of the inspired prophets, the interpreters both of God and of his word, and will believe in God, you shall both be partakers of these things, and obtain the good things that are to come; you shall see the ascent unto the immense heaven plainly, and that kingdom which is there. For what God hath now concealed in silence [will be then made manifest] what neither eye hath seen, nor ear hath heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man, the things that God hath prepared for them that love him.

8 In whatsoever ways I shall find you, in them shall I judge you entirely; so cries the end of all things. And he who hath at first lived a virtuous life, but towards the latter end falls into vice, these labors by him before endured shall be altogether vain and unprofitable, even as in a play, brought to an ill catastrophe. Whosoever shall have lived wickedly and luxuriously may repent; however, there will be need of much time to conquer an evil habit, and even after repentance his whole life must be guarded with great care and diligence, after the manner of a body, which, after it hath been a long time afflicted with a distemper, requires a stricter diet and method of living; for though it may be possible, perhaps, to break off the chain of our irregular affections at once,--yet our amendment cannot be secured without the grace of God, the prayers of good men, the help of the brethren, and our own sincere repentance and constant care. It is a good thing not to sin at all; it is also good, having sinned, to repent,--as it is best to have health always, but it is a good thing to recover from a distemper. To God be glory and dominion for ever and ever, Amen.

THE LIVES OF THE PROPHETS

(also known as The Deaths of the Prophets)
Translated by Charles Cutler Torrey, 1946
Estimated Range of Dating: 1st century A.D.

(The Lives of the Prophets is an ancient apocryphal account of the lives of the prophets from the Old Testament. Jews or Christians do not regard the text as scripture, however, it is popular as it portrays shortly many prophets. The work may have been known by the author of some of the Pauline Epistles, as there are similarities in the descriptions of the fates of the prophets, although without naming the individuals concerned. The Lives of the Prophets includes the lives of the 23 prophets. Some lives are extremely short, only the most basic information is given, while for the others there are details and stories. The Names of the Prophets, and whence they were, where they died, and how and where they were buried.

The work survives only in Christian manuscripts. There are two groups of Greek manuscripts: the first group includes many versions, well known in the past centuries, with heavy Christian additions. Some of these versions were attributed to Epiphanius of Salamis, others to Dorotheus of Tyre. The other group of Greek manuscripts is more stable and free from the interpolations found in the previous group: the best codex is a 6th-century AD manuscript usually referred to as Q or as "Anonymous Recension". There is also a Latin version used by Isidorus Hispalensis (Isidore of Seville; c. 560–636). Other versions are in Syriac, Armenian, and Arabic. The original language was probably Greek with a semitic colouring. Authenticating the dating is highly problematic due to the Christian transmission and presumed expansions. Most scholars consider this work to be of Jewish origin dating the 1st century AD. Torrey suggests a date before 106 AD., others the 3rd to the 4th centuries.)

ISAIAH

He was of Jerusalem. He met his death at the hands of Manasseh, sawn in two, and was buried below the fountain of Rogel, hard by the conduit of the waters which Hezekiah spoiled (for the enemy) by blocking their course. For the prophet's sake God wrought the miracle of Siloah; for before his death, in fainting condition he prayed for water, and it was sent to him from this source. Hence it was called Siloah, which means "sent."

Also in the time of Hezekiah, before the king made the pools and the reservoirs, at the prayer of Isaiah a little water came forth here, lest the city, at that time besieged by the Gentiles, should be destroyed through lack of water. For the enemy were seeking a drinking place, and as they invested the city they encamped near Siloah. If then the Hebrews came to the pool, water flowed forth; if the Gentiles came, there was none. Hence even to the present day the water issues suddenly, to keep the miracle in mind. Because this was wrought through the prayer of Isaiah, the people in remembrance buried his body near the spot, with care and high honour, in order that through his prayers, even after his death, they might continue to have the benefit of the water. Indeed, a revelation had been given them concerning him. His tomb, however, is near the tomb of the kings, behind the tomb of the priests on the side toward the south.

Solomon constructed the tombs, which had been designed by David, on the east of Zion, where there is an entering road from Gibeon, the town twenty stadia distant from the city. He made a winding construction, its location unsuspected; even to the present day it is unknown to the most of the priests, and wholly unknown to the people. There the king kept the gold and the spices from Ethiopia. When Hezekiah showed to the Gentiles the secret of David and Solomon, and defiled the bones of his ancestors, therefore God laid upon him the curse, that his descendants should be in servitude to their enemies; and God made him to be childless, from that day.

JEREMIAH

He was of Anathoth, and he died in Taphnes in Egypt, stoned to death by the Jews. He is buried in the place where Pharaoh's palace stood; for the Egyptians held him in honour, because of the benefit which they had received through him. For at his prayer, the serpents which the Egyptians call ephoth departed from them; and even at the present day the faithful servants of God pray on that spot, and taking of the dust of the place they heal the bites of serpents. We have been told by the children of Antigonus and Ptolemy, aged men," that Alexander the Macedonian, when he stood at the place where the prophet was buried, and learned of the wonders which he had wrought, carried away his bones to Alexandria, placing them round about with due ceremony; where upon the whole race of poisonous serpents was driven out of the land. With like purpose he (the prophet) had introduced into Egypt the so-called argolai (that is, "snake-fighters").

Jeremiah also gave a sign to the priests of Egypt, that their idols would be shaken and their gods made with hands would all collapse, when there should arrive in Egypt a virgin bearing a child of divine appearance. Wherefore even to the present time they honour a virgin mother, and placing a babe in a manger they bow down to it. When Ptolemy the king sought the reason for this, they said to him: "It is a mystery handed down from our fathers, a sign delivered to them by a holy prophet, and we are awaiting its fulfiment."

This prophet, before the destruction of the temple, took possession of the ark of the law and the things within it, and caused them to be swallowed up in a rocky cliff, and he said to those who were present: "The Lord departed from Sinai into heaven, and he will again come with might; and this shall be for you the sign of his appearance, when all the Gentiles worship a piece of wood." He said also: "No one shall bring forth this ark but Aaron, and the tables within it no one of the priests or prophets shall unfold but Moses the elect of God." And in the resurrection the ark will rise first, and come forth from the rock, and will be placed on Mount Sinai; and all the saints will be assembled to it there, awaiting the Lord and fleeing from the enemy wishing to destroy them.

He sealed in the rock with his finger the name of God, and the writing was as though carved with iron. A cloud then covered the name; and no one knows the place, nor can the writing be read, to the present day and even to the end. The rock is in the wilderness where the ark was at first, between the two mountains on which Moses and Aaron are buried, and by night there is a cloud as it were of fire, according to the primal ordinance that the glory of God should never cease from his law. And God gave to Jeremiah the favor of completing this wonder, so that he might be the associate of Moses, and they are together to this day.

EZEKIEL

He was from the district of Sarira, of the priests; and he died in the land of Chaldea, in the time of the captivity, after uttering many prophecies to those who were in Judea. He was slaiii by the leader of the Israelite exiles, who had been rebuked by him for his worship of idols; and they buried him in the field of Nahor, in the tomb of Shem and Arphaxad, the ancestors of Abraham. The tomb is a double cave, according to whose plan Abraham also made the tomb of Sarah in Hebron. It is called "double" because it has a winding (stairway) and there is an upper chamber hidden from the main floor, hung in the rock above the ground-level.

This prophet gave to the people a sign, that they should pay attention to the river Chebar; when its waters should fail, they were to expect "the sickle of desolation to the ends of the earth" when it should overflow, the return to Jerusalem. While the saint was dwelling there, many kept coming to him; and on one occasion, when a throng had assembled to him, the Chaldeans feared an uprising and came upon them to destroy them. He made the water cease its flow, so that they could flee to the other side; but when the enemy ventured to pursue, they were drowned.

Through his prayer he provided for them ample sustenance in fish which came of their own accord to be caught. Many who were at the point of death he cheered with the news of life coming to them from God. When the people were being destroyed by the enemy, he went to the hostile captains and so terrified them with marvels which he wrought that they ceased. It was then that he said to the people: "Are we indeed perishing? is our hope at an end?" and by the vision of the dry bones" he persuaded them that there is hope for Israel both now and in the time to come. While he was there he showed to the people of Israel what was being done in Jerusalem and in the temple. He himself was borne away thence, and came to Jerusalem, for a rebuke to the faithless. Also after the manner of Moses he foresaw the fashion of the temple, with its walls and its broad surroundings, as Daniel also declared that it should be built.

He pronounced judgement in Babylon on the tribes of Dan and Gad, because they dealt wickedly against the Lord, persecuting those who were keeping the law; and he wrought upon them this grievous wonder, that their children and all their cattle should be killed by serpents. He also foretold, that because of their sin Israel would not return to its land but would remain in Media, until the end of this evildoing. One of their number was the man who slew Ezekiel, for they opposed him all the days of his life.

DANIEL

He was of the tribe of Judah, of a family prominent in the service of the king; but in his childhood he was carried away from Judea to the land of Chaldea. He was born in Upper Beth-horon. In his manhood he was chaste, so that the Jews thought him a eunuch. He mourned greatly over the city, and in fasting abstained from every sort of dainty food. He was lean and haggard in the eyes of men, but beautiful in the grace of the Most High.

He made great supplication in behalf of Nebuchadnezzar, whose son Belshazzar besought him for aid at the time when the king became a beast of the field, lest he should perish. For his head and foreparts were those of an ox, his legs and hinder parts those of a lion. The meaning of this marvel was revealed to the prophet: the king became a beast because of his self-indulgence and his stubbornness. It is the manner of tyrants,

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that in their youth they come under the yoke of Satan; in their latter years they become wild beasts, snatching, destroying, smiting, and slaying.

The prophet knew by divine revelation that the king was eating grass like an ox, and that it became for him the food of a human being. Therefore it was that Nebuchadnezzar himself, recovering human reason when digestion was completed, used to weep and beseech the Lord, praying forty times each day and night. Then the mind of a dumb animal would (again) take possession of him and he would forget that he had been a human being. His tongue had lost the power of speech; when he understood his condition he wept, and his eyes were like raw flesh from his weeping.

There were many who went out from the city to see him; Daniel alone had no wish to see him, but during all the time of his transformation he was in prayer for him. He declared that the king would be restored to human form, but they did not believe him. Daniel caused the seven years (the meaning of his "seven times") to become seven months. The mystery of the seven times was fulfilled upon the king, for in seven months he was restored, and in the (remaining) six years and five months he was doing penance to the Lord and confessing his wickedness. When his sin had been forgiven, the kingdom was given back to him. He ate neither bread nor flesh in the time of his repentance, for Daniel had bidden him eat pulse and greens while appeasing the Lord.

The king named the prophet Baltasar because he wished to make him a joint heir with his children; but the holy man said: "Far be it from me to forsake the heritage of my fathers and join in the inheritances of the uncircumcised." He also did for the other Persian kings many wonderful things which were not written down. He died there, and was buried with great honour, by himself, in the royal sepulcher. He appointed a sign in the mountains which are above Babylon: When the mountain on the north shall smoke, the end of Babylon will come; when it shall burn as with fire, the end of all the earth will be at hand. If the mountain on the south shall flow with water, Israel will return to its land; if it shall run blood, it portends a slaughter brought by Satan on all the earth. And the holy prophet slept in peace.

HOSEA

He was from Belemoth, of the tribe of Issachar, and he was buried in peace, in his own land. He gave a sign, that the Lord would come to the earth when the oak tree which is in Shiloh should of its own accord be divided and become twelve oaks.

MICAH

He was of the tribe of Ephraim. Having given much trouble to King Ahab, he was killed, thrown from a cliff, by Ahab's son Joram, because he rebuked him for the wickedness of his fathers. He was given solitary burial in his own land, near the burying place of the giants.

AMOS

He was from Tekoa. Amaziah (the priest of Bethel) had often beaten him, and at last Amaziah's son killed him with a cudgel, striking him on the temple. While still living he made his way to his land, and after some days died and was buried there.

JOEL

He was from the territory of Reuben, of the field of Beth-meon. He died in peace, and was buried there.

OBADIAH

He was from the region of Shechem, of the field of Beth-hakkerem. He was a pupil of Elijah, and having done much in his service he was saved from death by him. He was that third captain of fifty whom Elijah spared, and went down with him to Ahaziah. Afterward, leaving the service of the king he became a prophet, and upon his death he was buried with his fathers.

JONAH

He was from the district of Kiriath-maon, near the Gentile city of Azotus on the sea. After he had been cast on shore by the whale and had made his journey to Nineveh, on his return he did not stay in his own land, but took his mother and settled in Tyre, a country of foreign peoples. For he said, "In this way I will take away my reproach, that I prophesied falsely against the great city Nineveh."

Elijah was at that time rebuking the house of Ahab, and having called a famine upon the land he fled. Coming to the region of Tyre he found the widow and her son, for he himself could not lodge with the uncircumcised. He brought her a blessing; and when her child died, God raised him from the dead through Elijah, for he wished to show him that it is not possible to flee from God.

After the famine was over, Jonah came into the land of Judea. On the way thither his mother died, and he buried her beside the oak of Deborah. Thereafter having settled in the land of Seir, he died there and was buried in the tomb of the Kenizzite, the first who became judge in the days when there was no king. He gave a sign to Jerusalem and to all the land: When they should see a stone crying aloud in distress, the end would be at hand; and when they should see all the Gentiles gathered in Jerusalem, the city would be razed to its foundations.

NAHUM

He was of Elkosh, on the other side of the mountains toward Beth-gabrin, of the tribe of Simeon. This prophet after the time of Jonah gave a sign to Nineveh, that it would be destroyed by fresh waters and by underground fire; and indeed this came to pass. For the lake which surrounded the city overwhelmed it in an earthquake, and fire coming from the desert burned its upper portion. He died in peace, and was buried in his land.

HABAKKUK

He was from the tribe of Simeon, of the field of Beth-zachariah. Before the captivity he had a vision of the destruction of Jerusalem, and he grieved exceedingly. When Nebuchadnezzar came against Jerusalem, he fled to Ostracina (in Egypt), and then sojourned in the land of Ishmael.

When the Chaldeans returned (to their country), and all those who were left in Jerusalem went down to Egypt, he settled again in his own land. He was accustomed to carry food to the reapers of the harvest in his field; and one day, as he received the food, he announced to his family: "I am off for a far country, but will return immediately; if I should delay, carry out the food to the reapers." Finding himself straightway in Babylon, and having given Daniel his meal, he stood by the reapers as they ate; and he told no one what had happened.

He had knowledge that the people would soon come back from Babylon. Two years before the return he died, and was buried alone in his own field. He gave a sign to the people in Judea, that they would see in the temple a light shining, and thus they would know the glory of the sanctuary. Concerning the end of the temple, he foretold that it would be brought to pass by a western nation. Then, he said, the veil of the inner sanctuary will be torn to pieces, and the capitals of the two pillars will be taken away, and no one will know where they are; but they will be carried away by angels into the wilderness where in the beginning the Tabernacle of Witness was pitched. By them in the end the presence of the Lord will be made known, for they will give light to those who are pursued by the Serpent in darkness as at the beginning.

ZEPHANIAH

He was of the tribe of Simeon, of the field of Sabaratha. He prophesied concerning the city, also concerning the end of the nations and the confounding of the wicked. When he died he was buried in his own field.

HAGGAI

Probably as a youth he came from Babylon to Jerusalem, and he had prophesied publicly in regard to the return of the people. He witnessed in part the building of the temple. Upon his death he was buried near the tomb of the priests, honoured as though one of their number.

ZECHARIAH SON OF IDDO

He came from Chaldea when already advanced in age. While there, he prophesied often to the people, and did wonders in proof of his authority. He foretold to Jozadak that he would beget a son who would serve as priest in Jerusalem; he also congratulated Shealtiel on the birth of a son and gave him the name Zerubbabel. In the time of Cyrus he gave the king a sign of victory, and foretold the service which he was destined to perform for Jerusalem, and he praised him greatly. His prophecies uttered in Jerusalem had to do with the end of the nations, with Israel and the temple, with the laziness of prophets and priests, and with a double judgement. After reaching great age he was taken ill, and dying, was buried beside Haggai.

MALACHI

He was born in Sopha, after the return from the exile. Even in his boyhood he lived a blameless life, and since all the people paid him honour for his piety and his mildness, they called him "Malachi" (angel); he was also fair to look upon. Moreover, whatever things he uttered in prophecy were repeated on that same day by an angel of God who appeared; as had happened in the days when there was no king in Israel, as is written in the book of Judges. While yet in his youth, he was joined to his fathers in his own field.

NATHAN

He, David's prophet, was from Gibeon, of a Hivite clan, and it was he who taught the king the law of the Lord. He foresaw David's sin with Bathsheba, and set out in haste to warn him, but Satan ("Beliar") thwarted his attempt. He found lying by the road the naked body of a man who had been slain; and while he was detained by this duty, he knew that in that night the king had committed the sin; so he turned back to Gibeon in sorrow. Then when David caused the death of Bathsheba's husband, the Lord sent Nathan to convict him. He lived to an advanced old age, and when he died he was buried in his own land.

AHIJAH

He was from Shiloh, the city of Eli, where the tabernacle stood in days of old. He declared of Solomon, that he would provoke the Lord to anger. He also rebuked Jeroboam, because he dealt treacherously with the Lord, and he had a vision of two bullocks trampling on the people and charging upon the priests. He foretold to Solomon that his wives would bring disgrace on him and all his house. Upon his death he was buried beside the oak of Shiloh.

JOED

He was of the district of Samarlm. He was that prophet whom the lion attacked and slew, when he had rebuked Jeroboam concerning the bullocks; he who was buried in Bethel beside the false prophet who led him astray.

AZARIAH

He was from Subatha, the prophet who turned away from Judah the captivity that befell Israel. His burial was in his own field.

ZECHARIAH SON OF JEHOIADA

He was of Jerusalem, the son of Jehoiada the priest, the prophet whom Joash king of Judah slew beside the altar, whose blood the house of David shed within the sanctuary, in the court. The priests buried him beside his father. From that time on there were portentous appearances in the temple, and the priests could see no vision of angels of God, nor give forth oracles from the inner sanctuary; nor were they able to inquire with the ephod, nor to give answer to the people by Urim and Thummim, as in former time.

ELIJAH

He was a Tishbite, from the land of the Arabs, of the family of Aaron, residing in Gilead because Tishbi had been assigned to the priests. At the time of his birth his father, Shobach, saw how certain men of shining white appearance addressed the babe, and that they wrapped him in swaddling clothes of fire and gave him a flame of fire to eat. When he went and reported this in Jerusalem, the oracle gave answer: Fear not; for his dwelling will be light, and his word revelation, and he will judge Israel with sword and with fire.

ELISHA

He was from Abel-meholah, of the territory of Reuben. When he was born, in Gilgal, a marvelous thing happened: the golden calf bellowed so loudly that the shrill sound was heard in Jerusalem; and the priest announced by Urim and Thummim that a prophet had been born to Israel who should destroy their graven and molten idols. Upon his death he was buried in Samaria.

CENSUS EDICT OF GAIUS VIBIUS MAXIMUS

Source: Select Papyri. Vol. 2:
Non-Literary Papyri; Public Documents.
Loeb Classical Library 282. Cambridge:
Harvard University Press, 1934.
Translation: Hunt, A. S., and Edgar, C. C., 1934
Estimated Range of Dating: 104 A.D.

(Under the Inventory Number "P.London 904" is a Census Edict for Roman Egypt stored in the British Museum. It was dicovered in Egypt in about 1905 and it belongs to a genre called Official Census Edict. Its 21 lines of text are written in Greek on a sheet of papyrus in Roman standard size [21.3cm high, 15.2cm wide] in the year 104 AD.

This official Roman document makes it crystal clear that each and every person has to stay or return home during a census, and not go to his / her place of birth or "ancestral home" as suggested in the New Testament. In other words: Mary and Joseph were required not to go to Bethlehem in Judaea but stay at home [may be either at Nazareth or Bethlehem near the capital city Sepphoris] in Galilee. The only census in the time of Augustus was held when Judaea and Galilee were officially made province of the Roman Empire in the year 6 AD. Jesus was born most likely at this time and not earlier. As procedures of beaucracy hardly charged in those times, the following edict is most likely similar to the edict published at the time of Jesus' birth.)

Text:

Proclamation of Gaius Vibius Maximus, Praefect of Egypt.

The house-to-house census having started, it is essential that all persons who for any reason whatsoever are absent from their nomes [A "nome" was an Egyptian administrative district.] be summoned to return to their own hearths [home, residence], in order that they may perform the customary business of registration [for the census] and apply themselves

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to the cultivation which concerns them. Knowing, however, that some of the people from the country are needed by our city, I desire all those who think they have a satisfactory reason for remaining here [in Alexandria] to register themselves before . . . Festus, praefectus alae [the Cavalry Commander], whom I have appointed for this purpose, from those who have shown their presence to be necessary shall receive signed permits in accordance with this edict up to the 30th of the present month Epeiph. . . .

THE BIBLICAL ANTIQUITIES OF PHILO
or The Book of Biblical Antiquities
also caled Pseudo-Philo
Translation: Montague Rhodes James, 1917
Estimated range of dating: 50-400 AD

(Pseudo-Philo is the common name for this Jewish work in Latin, because it was transmitted along with Latin translations of the works of Philo of Alexandria, but is very obviously not written by Philo. The author is unknown. Its more proper Latin title is Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum, a title sometimes translated into English as the Book of Biblical Antiquities. Parts of this work were brought back into Hebrew for the medieval Chronicles of Jerahmeel. The temple in Jerusalem is said to be still standing, which some scholars suggest indicates a date of composition before it was destroyed in 70 AD. Other scholars believe, it was compiled and written much later. It is believed to have been written in Hebrew and then translated into Greek and the Greek translated again into Latin, with the result that a large number of proper names not found in Biblical texts are garbled beyond restoration.

It chronicles biblical history from Adam to the death of Saul with omissions, modifications, and additions to the biblical texts. Many of its additions have parallels in other Jewish traditions. Some scholars have reasoned that the fact that it ends with the death of Saul implies that there were further parts of the work which are now missing while others believe that it is complete. The work as source of legends: It is probably the earliest reference for many later legendary accretions to the Biblical texts.)

THE BIBLICAL ANTIQUITIES OF PHILO
or The History Of Philo
From The Beginning Of The World To King David

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 1

1 The beginning of the world. Adam begat three sons and one daughter, Cain, Noaba, Abel and Seth.

2 And Adam lived after he begat Seth 700 years, and begat 12 sons and 8 daughters.

3 And these are the names of the males: Eliseel, Suris, Elamiel, Brabal, Naat, Zarama, Zasam, Maathal, and Anath.

4 And these are his daughters: Phua, Iectas, Arebica, Sifa, Tecia, Saba, Asin.

5 And Seth lived 105 years and begat Enos. And Seth lived after he begat Enos 707 years, and begat 3 sons and 2 daughters.

6 And these are the names of his sons: Elidia, Phonna, and Matha: and of his daughters, Malida and Thila.

7 And Enos lived 180 years and begat Cainan. And Enos lived after he begat Cainan 715 years, and begat 2 sons and a daughter.

8 And these are the names of his sons: Phoë and Thaal; and of the daughter, Catennath.

9 And Cainan lived 520 years and begat Malalech. And Cainan lived after he begat Malalech 730 years, and begat 3 sons and 2 daughters.

10 And these are the names of the males: Athach, Socer, Lopha: and the names of the daughters, Ana and Leua.

11 And Malalech lived 165 years and begat Jareth. And Malalech lived after he begat Jareth 730 years, and begat 7 sons and 5 daughters.

12 And these are the names of the males: Leta, Matha, Cethar, Melie, Suriel, Lodo, Othim. And these are the names of the daughters: Ada and Noa, Iebal, Mada, Sella.

13 And Jareth lived 172 years and begat Enoch. And Jareth lived after he begat Enoch 800 years and begat 4 sons and 2 daughters.

14 And these are the names of the males: Lead, Anac, Soboac and Iectar: and of the daughters, Tetzeco, Lesse.

15 And Enoch lived 165 years and begat Matusalam. And Enoch lived after he begat Matusalam 200 years, and begat 5 sons and 3 daughters.

16 But Enoch pleased God at that time and was not found, for God translated him.

17 Now the names of his sons are: Anaz, Zeum, Achaun, Pheledi, Elith; and of the daughters, Theiz, Lefith, Leath.

18 And Mathusalam lived 187 years and begotLamech. And Mathusalam lived after he begat Lamech 782 years, and begot 2 sons and 2 daughters.

19 And these are the names of the males: Inab and Rapho; and of the daughters, Aluma and Amuga.

20 And Lamech lived 182 years and begot a son, and called him according to his nativity Noe, saying: This child will give rest to us and to the earth from those who are therein, upon whom (or in the day when) a visitation shall be made because of the iniquity of their evil deeds.

21 And Lamech lived after he begot Noe 585 years.

22 And Noe lived 300 years and begot 3 sons, Sem, Cham, and Japheth.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 2

1 But Cain dwelt in the earth trembling, according as God appointed unto him after he slew Abel his brother; and the name of his wife was Themech.

2 And Cain knew Themech his wife and she conceived and bare Enoch.

3 Now Cain was 15 years old when he did these things; and from that time he began to build cities, until he had founded seven cities. And these are the names of the cities: The name of the first city according to the name of his son Enoch. The name of the second city Mauli, and of the third Leeth, and the name of the fourth Teze, and the name of the fifth Iesca; the name of the sixth Celeth, and the name of the seventh Iebbath.

4 And Cain lived after he begat Enoch 715 years and begat 3 sons and 2 daughters. And these are the names of his sons: Olad, Lizaph, Fosal; and of his daughters, Citha and Maac. And all the days of Cain were 730 years, and he died.

5 Then took Enoch a wife of the daughters of Seth, which bare him Ciram and Cuuth and Madab. But Ciram begat Matusael, and Matusael begat Lamech.

6 But Lamech took unto himself two wives: the name of the one was Ada and the name of the other Sella.

7 And Ada bare him Iobab: he was the father of all that dwell in tents and herd flocks. And again she bare him Iobal, which was the first to teach all playing of instruments (lit. every psalm of organs).

8 And at that time, when they that dwelt on the earth had begun to do evil, every one with his neighbour's wife, defiling them, God was angry. And he began to play upon the lute (kinnor) and the harp and on every instrument of sweet psalmody (lit. psaltery), and to corrupt the earth.

9 But Sella bare Tubal and Misa and Theffa, and this is that Tubal which showed unto men arts in lead and tin and iron and copper and silver and gold: and then began the inhabiters of the earth to make graven images and to worship them.

10 Now Lamech said unto his two wives Ada and Sella: Hear my voice, ye wives of Lamech, give heed to my precept: for I have corrupted men for myself, and have taken away sucklings from the breasts, that I might show my sons how to work evil, and the inhabiters of the earth. And now shall vengeance be taken seven times of Cain, but of Lamech seventy times seven.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 3

1 And it came to pass when men had begun to multiply on the earth, that beautiful daughters were born unto them. And the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were exceeding fair, and took them wives of all that they had chosen.

2 And God said: My spirit shall not judge among these men for ever, because they are of flesh; but their years shall be 120. Upon whom he laid (or wherein I have set) the ends of the world, and in their hands wickednesses were not put out (or the law shall not be quenched).

3 And God saw that in all the dwellers upon earth works of evil were fulfilled: and inasmuch as their thought was upon iniquity all their days, God said: I will blot out man and all things that have budded upon the earth, for it repenteth me that I have made him.

4 But Noe found grace and mercy before the Lord, and these are his generations. Noe, which was a righteous man and undefiled in his generation, pleased the Lord. Unto whom God said: The time of all men that dwell upon the earth is come, for their deeds are very evil. And now make thee an ark of cedar wood, and thus shalt thou make it. 300 cubits shall be the length thereof, and 50 cubits the breadth, and 30 cubits the height. And thou shall enter into the ark, thou and thy wife and thy sons and thy sons' wives with thee. And I will make my covenant with thee, to destroy all the dwellers upon earth. Now of clean beasts and of the fowls of the heaven that are clean thou shalt take by sevens male and female, that their seed may be saved alive upon the earth. But of unclean beasts and fowls thou shalt take to thee by twos male and female, and shalt take provision for thee and for them also.

5 And Noe did that which God commanded him and entered into the ark, he and all his sons with him. And it came to pass after 7 days that the water of the flood began to be upon the earth. And in that day all the depths were opened and the great spring of water and the windows of heaven, and there was rain upon the earth 40 days and 40 nights.

6 And it was then the 1652nd (1656th) year from the time when God had made the heaven and the earth in the day when the earth was corrupted with the inhabiters thereof by reason of the iniquity of their works.

7 And when the flood continued 140 days upon the earth, Noe only and they that were with him in the ark remained alive: and when God remembered Noe, he made the water to diminish.

8 And it came to pass on the 90th day that God dried the earth, and said unto Noe: Go out of the ark, thou and all that are with thee, and grow and multiply upon the earth. And Noe went out of the ark, he an d his sons and his sons' wives, and all the beasts and creeping things and fowls and cattle brought he forth with him as God commanded him. Then built Noe an altar unto the Lord, and took of all the cattle and of the clean fowls and offered burnt offerings on the altar: and it was accepted of the Lord for a savour of rest.

9 And God said: I will not again curse the earth for man's sake, for the guise of man's heart hath left off from his youth. And therefore I will not again destroy together all living as I have done. But it shall be, when the dwellers upon earth have sinned, I will judge them by famine or by the sword or by fire or by pestilence (lit. death), and there shall be earthquakes, and they shall be scattered into places not inhabited (or, the places of their habitation shall be scattered). But I will not again spoil the earth with the water of a flood, and in all the days of the earth seed time and harvest, cold and heat, summer and autumn, day and night shall not cease, until I remember them that dwell on the earth, even until the times are fulfilled.

10 But when the years of the world shall be fulfilled, then shall the light cease and the darkness be quenched: and I will quicken the dead and raise up from the earth them that sleep: and Hell shall pay his debt and destruction give back that which was committed unto him, that I may render unto every man according to his works and according to the fruit of their imaginations, even until I judge between the soul and the flesh. And the world shall rest, and death shall be quenched, and Hell shall shut his mouth. And the earth shall not be without birth, neither barren for them that dwell therein: and none shall be polluted that hath been justified in me 1. And there shall be another earth and another heaven, even an everlasting habitation.

11 And the Lord spake further unto Noe and to his sons saying: Behold I will make my covenant with you and with your seed after you, and will not again spoil the earth with the water of a flood. And all that liveth and moveth therein shall be to you for meal. Nevertheless the flesh with the blood of the soul shall ye not eat. For he that sheddeth man's blood, his blood shall be shed; for in the image of God was man made. And ye, grow ye and multiply and fill the earth as the multitude of fishes that multiply in the waters. And God said: This is the covenant that I have made betwixt me and you; and it shall be when I cover the heaven with clouds, that my bow shall appear in the cloud, and it shall be for a memorial of the covenant betwixt me and you, and all the dwellers upon earth.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 4

1 And the sons of Noe which went forth of the ark were Sem, Cham, and Japheth.

2 The sons of Japheth: Gomer, Magog, and Madai, Nidiazech, Tubal, Mocteras, Cenez, Riphath, and Thogorma, Elisa, Dessin, Cethin, Tudant.

And the sons of Gomer: Thelez, Lud, Deberlet. And the sons of Magog: Cesse, Thipha, Pharuta, Ammiel, Phimei, Goloza, Samanach. And the sons of Duden: Sallus, Phelucta Phallita. And the sons of Tubal: Phanatonova, Eteva. And the sons of Tyras: Maac, Tabel, Ballana, Samplameac, Elaz. And the sons of Mellech: Amboradat, Urach, Bosara. And the sons of (As)cenez: Jubal, Zaraddana, Anac. And the sons of Heri: Phuddet, Doad, Dephadzeat, Enoc. And the sons of Togorma: Abiud, Saphath, Asapli, Zepthir. And the sons of Elisa: Etzaac, Zenez, Mastisa, Rira. And the sons of Zepti: Macziel, Temna, Aela, Phinon. And the sons of Tessis: Meccul, Loon, Zelataban. And the sons of Duodennin: Itheb, Beath, Phenech.

3 And these are they that were scattered abroad, and dwelt in the earth with the Persians and Medes, and in the islands that are in the sea. And Phenech, the son of Dudeni, went up and commanded that ships of the sea should be made: and then was the third part of the earth divided.

4 Domereth and his sons took Ladech; and Magog and his sons took Degal; Madam and his sons took Besto; Iuban (sc. Javan) and his sons took Ceel; Tubal and his sons took Pheed; Misech and his sons took Nepthi; <<T>>iras and his sons took <<Rôô>>; Duodennut and his sons took Goda; Riphath and his sons took Bosarra; Torgoma and his sons took Fud; Elisa and his sons took Thabola; Thesis (sc. Tarshish) and his sons took Marecham; Cethim and his sons took Thaan; Dudennin and his sons took Caruba.

5 And then began they to till the earth and to sow upon it: and when the earth was athirst, the dwellers therein cried unto the Lord and he heard them and gave rain abundantly, and it was so, when the rain descended upon the earth, that the bow appeared in the cloud, and the dwellers upon earth saw the memorial of the covenant and fell upon their faces and sacrificed, offering burnt offerings unto the Lord.

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6 Now the sons of Cham were Chus, Mestra, and Phuni, and Chanaan. And the sons of Chus: Saba, and [. . .] Tudan. And the sons of Phuni: [Effuntenus], Zeleutelup, Geluc, Lephuc. And the sons of Chanaan were Sydona, Endain, Racin, Simmin, Uruin, Nenugin, Amathin, Nephiti, Telaz, Elat, Cusin.

7 And Chus begat Nembroth. He began to be proud before the Lord. But Mestram begat Ludin and Megimin and Labin and Latuin and Petrosonoin and Ceslun: thence came forth the Philistines and the Cappadocians.

8 And then did they also begin to build cities: and these are the cities which they built: Sydon, and the parts that lie about it, that is Resun, Beosa, Maza, Gerara, Ascalon, Dabir, Camo, Tellun, Lacis, Sodom and Gomorra, Adama and Seboim.

9 And the sons of Sem: Elam, Assur, Arphaxa, Luzi, Aram. And the sons of Aram: Gedrum, Ese. And Arphaxa begat Sale, Sale begat Heber, and unto Heber were born two sons: the name of the one was Phalech, for in his days the earth was divided, and the name of his brother was Jectan.

10 And Jectan begat Helmadam and Salastra and Mazaam, Rea, Dura, Uzia, Deglabal, Mimoel, Sabthphin, Evilac, Iubab. And the sons of Phalech: Ragau, Rephuth, Zepheram, Aculon, Sachar, Siphaz, Nabi, Suri, Seciur, Phalacus, Rapho, Phalthia, Zaldephal, Zaphis, and Arteman, Heliphas. These are the sons of Phalech, and these are their names, and they took them wives of the daughters of Jectan and begat sons and daughters and filled the earth.

11 But Ragau took him to wife Melcha the daughter of Ruth, and she begat him Seruch. And when the day of her delivery came she said: Of this child shall be born in the fourth generation one who shall set his dwelling on high, and shall be called perfect, and undefiled, and he shall be the father of nations, and his covenant shall not be broken, and his seed shall be multiplied for ever.

12 And Ragau lived after he begat Seruch 119 years and begat 7 sons and 5 daughters. And these are the names of his sons: Abiel, Obed, Salma, Dedasal, Zeneza, Accur, Nephes. And these are the names of his daughters: Cedema, Derisa, Seipha, Pherita, Theila.

13 And Seruch lived 29 years and begat Nachor. And Seruch lived after he begat Nachor 67 years and begat 4 sons and 3 daughters. And these are the names of the males: Zela, Zoba, Dica and Phodde. And these are his daughters: Tephila, Oda, Selipha.

14 And Nachor lived 34 years and begat Thara. And Nachor lived after he begat Thara 200 years and begat 8 sons and 5 daughters. And these are the names of the males: Recap, Dediap, Berechap, Iosac, Sithal, Nisab, Nadab, Camoel. And these are his daughters: Esca, Thipha, Bruna, Ceneta.

15 And Thara lived 70 years and begat Abram, Nachor, and Aram. And Aram begat Loth.

16 Then began they that dwelt on the earth to look upon the stars, and began to prognosticate by them and to make divination, and to make their sons and daughters pass through the fire. But Seruch and his sons walked not according to them.

17 And these are the generations of Noe upon the earth according to their languages and their tribes, out of whom the nations were divided upon the earth after the flood.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 5

[Comment of the translator: "The numbers in this chapter are hopelessly incorrect. The separate items in the text add up to 704,000; the totals in the text to 734,500, omitting the evidently corrupt figure 9000 assigned to Shem and his descendants."]

1 Then came the sons of Cham, and made Nembroth a prince over themselves: but the sons of Japheth made Phenech their chief: and the sons of Sem gathered together and set over them Jectan to be their prince.

2 And when these three had met together they took counsel that they would look upon and take account of the people of their followers. And this was done while Noe was yet alive, even that all men should be gathered together: and they lived at one with each other, and the earth was at peace.

3 Now in the 340th year of the going forth of Noe out of the ark, after that God dried up the flood, did the princes take account of their people.

4 And first Phenech the son of Japheth looked upon them.

The sons of Gomer all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were in number 5,800.

But of the sons of Magog all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their leading the number was 6,200.

And of the sons of Madai all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were in number 5,700.

And the sons of Tubal. all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were in number 9,400.

And the sons of Mesca all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were in number 5,600.

The sons of Thiras all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were in number 12,300.

And the sons of Ripha<<th>> passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were in number l4,500.

And the sons of Thogorma passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincy were in number 14,400.

But the sons of Elisa passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincy were in number 14,900.

And the sons of Thersis all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincy were in number 12,100.

The sons of Cethin all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincy were in number 17,300.

And the sons of Doin passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were in number 17,700.

And the number of the camp of the sons of Japheth, all of them men of might and all girt with their armour, which were set in the sight of their captains was 140,202 besides women and children.

The account of Japheth in full was in number 142,000.

5 And Nembroth passed by, he and the son(s) of Cham all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were found in number 24,800.

The sons of Phua all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were in number 27,700.

And the sons of Canaan all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were found in number 32,800.

The sons of Soba all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were found in number 4,300.

The sons of Lebilla all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were found in number 22,300.

And the sons of Sata all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were found in number 25,300.

And the sons of Remma all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were found in number 30,600.

And the sons of Sabaca all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were found in number 46,400.

And the number of the camp of the sons of Cham, all of them mighty men, and furnished with armour, which were set in the sight of their captaincies was in number 244,900 besides women and children.

6 And Jectan the son of Sem looked upon the sons of Elam, and they were all of them passing by according to the number of the sceptres of their captaincies in number 47,000.

And the sons of Assur all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were found in number 73,000.

And the sons of Aram all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were found in number 87,300.

The sons of Lud all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were found in number 30,600.

[The number of the sons of Cham was 73,000.]

But the sons of Arfaxat all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were in number 114,600.

And the whole number of them was 347,600.

7 The number of the camp of the sons of Sem, all of them setting forth in valour and in the commandment of war in the sight of their captaincies was 9000 besides women and children.

8 And these are the generations of Noe set forth separately, whereof the whole number together was 914,000. And all these were counted while Noe was yet alive, and in the presence of Noe 350 years after the flood. And all the days of Noe were 950 years, and he died.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 6

1 Then all they that had been divided and dwelt upon the earth gathered together there after, and dwelt together; and they set forth from the East and found a plain in the land of Babylon: and there they dwelt, and they said every man to his neighbour: Behold, it will come to pass that we shall be scattered every man. from his brother, and in the latter days we shall be fighting one against another. Now, therefore, come and let us build for ourselves a tower, the head whereof shall reach unto heaven, and we shall make us a name and a renown upon the earth.

2 And they said everyone to his neighbour: Let us take bricks (lit. stones), and let us, each one, write our names upon the bricks and burn them with fire: and that which is thoroughly burned shall be for mortar and brick. (Perhaps, that which is not thoroughly burned shall be for mortar, and that which is, for brick.)

3 And they took every man their bricks, saving 12 men, which would not take them, and these are their names: Abraham, Nachor, Loth, Ruge, Tenute, Zaba, Armodath, Iobab, Esar, Abimahel, Saba, Auphin.

4 And the people of the land laid hands on them and brought them before their princes and said: These are the men that have transgressed our counsels and will not walk in our ways. And the princes said unto them: Wherefore would ye not set every man your bricks with the people of the land? And they answered and said: We will not set bricks with you, neither will we be joined with your desire. One Lord know we, and him do we worship. And if ye should cast us into the fire with your bricks, we will not consent to you.

5 And the princes were wroth and said: As they have said, so do unto them, and if they consent not to set bricks with you, ye shall burn them with fire together with your bricks.

6 Then answered Jectan which was the first prince of the captains: Not so, but there shall be given them a space of 7 days. And it shall be, if they repent of their evil counsels, and will set bricks along with us, they shall live; but if not, let them be burned according to your word. But he sought how he might save them out of the hands of the people; for he was of their tribe, and he served God.

7 And when he had thus said he took them and shut them up in the king's house: and when it was evening the prince commanded 50 mighty men of valour to be called unto him, and said unto them: Go forth and take to-night these men that are shut up in mine house, and put provision for them from my house upon 10 beasts, and the men bring ye to me, and their provision together with the beasts take ye to the mountains and wait for them there: and know this, that if any man shall know what I have said unto you, I will burn you with fire.

8 And the men set forth and did all that their prince commanded them, and took the men from his house by night; and took provision and put it upon beasts and took them to the hill country as he commanded them.

9 And the prince called unto him those 12 men and said to them: Be of good courage and fear not, for ye shall not die. For God in whom ye trust is mighty, and therefore be ye stablished in him, for he will deliver you and save you. And now lo, I have commanded So men to take [you with] provision from my house, and go before you into the hill country 1 and wait for you in the valley: and I will give you other 50 men which shall guide you thither: go ye therefore and hide yourselves there in the valley, having water to drink that floweth down from the rocks: hold yourselves there for 30 days, until the anger of the people of the land be appeased and until God send his wrath upon them and break them. For I know that the counsel of iniquity which they have agreed to perform shall not stand, for their thought is vain. And it shall be when 7 days are expired and they shall seek for you, I will say unto them: They have gone forth and have broken the door of the prison wherein they were shut up and have fled by night, and I have sent 100 men to seek them. So will I turn them from their madness that is upon them.

10 And there answered him 11 of the men saying: Thy servants have found favour in thy sight, in that we are set free out of the hands of these proud men.

11 But Abram only kept silence, and the prince said unto him: Wherefore answerest thou not me, Abram, servant of God? Abram answered and said: Lo, I flee away to-day into the hill country, and if I escape the fire, wild beasts will come out of the mountains and devour us. Or our victuals will fail and we shall die of hunger; and we shall be found fleeing from the people of the land and shall fall in our sins. And now, as he liveth in whom I trust, I will not remove from my place wherein they have put me: and if there be any sin of mine so that I be indeed burned, the will of God be done. And the prince said unto him: Thy blood be upon thy head, if thou refuse to go forth with these. But if thou consent, thou shall be delivered. Yet if thou wilt abide, abide as thou art. And Abram said: I will not go forth, but I will abide here.

12 And the prince took those 11 men and sent other 50 with them, and commanded them saying: Wait, ye also, in the hill country for 15 days with those 50 which were sent before you; and after that ye shall return and say We have not found them, as I said to the former ones. And know that if any man transgress one of all these words that I have spoken unto you, he shall be burned with fire. So the men went forth, and he took Abram by himself and shut him up where he had been shut up aforetime.

13 And after 7 days were passed, the people were gathered together and spake unto their prince saying: Restore us the men which would not consent unto us, that we may burn them with fire. And they sent captains to bring them, and they found them not, save Abram only. And they gathered all of them to their prince saying: The men whom ye shut up are fled and have escaped that which we counselled.

14 And Phenech and Nemroth said unto Jectan: Where are the men whom thou didst shut up? But he said: They have broken prison and fled by night: but I have sent 100 men to seek them, and commanded them if they find them that they should not only burn them with fire but give their bodies to the fowls of the heaven and so destroy them.

15 Then said they: This fellow which is found alone, let us burn him. And they took Abram and brought him before their princes and said to him: Where are they that were with thee? And he said: Verily at night I slept, and when I awaked I found them not.

16 And they took him and built a furnace and kindled it with fire, and put bricks burned with fire into the furnace. Then Jectan the prince being amazed (lit. melted) in his mind took Abram and put him with the bricks into the furnace of fire.

17 But God stirred up a great earthquake, and the fire gushed forth of the furnace and brake out into flames and sparks of fire and consumed all them that stood round about in sight of the furnace; and all they that were burned in that day were 83,500. But upon Abram was there not any the least hurt by the burning of the fire.

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18 And Abram arose out of the furnace, and the fiery furnace fell down, and Abram was saved. And he went unto the 11 men that were hid in the hill country and told them all that had befallen him, and they came down with him out of the hill country rejoicing in the name of the Lord, and no man met them to affright them that day. And they called that place by the name of Abram, and in the tongue of the Chaldeans Deli, which is being interpreted, God.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 7

1 And it came to pass after these things, that the people of the land turned not from their evil thoughts: and they came together again unto their princes and said: The people shall not be overcome for ever: and now let us come together and build us a city and a tower which shall never be removed.

2 And when they had begun to build, God saw the city and the tower which the children of men were building, and he said: Behold, this is one people and their speech is one, and this which they have begun to build the earth will not sustain, neither will the heaven suffer it, beholding it: and it shall be, if they be not now hindered, that they shall dare all things that they shall take in mind to do.

3 Therefore, lo, I will divide their speech, and scatter them over all countries, that they may not know every man his brother, neither every man understand the speech of his neighbour. And I will deliver them to the rocks, and they shall build themselves tabernacles of stubble and straw, and shall dig themselves caves and shall live therein like beasts of the field, and thus shall they continue before my face for ever, that they may never devise such things. And I will esteem them as a drop of water, and liken them unto spittle: 1 and unto some of them their end shall come by water, and other of them shall be dried up with thirst.

4 And before all of them will I choose my servant Abram, and I will bring him out from their land, and lead him into the land which mine eye hath looked upon from the beginning when all the dwellers upon earth sinned before my face, and I brought on them the water of the flood: and then I destroyed not that land, but preserved it. Therefore the fountains of my wrath did not break forth therein, neither did the water of my destruction come down upon it. For there will I make my servant Abram to dwell, and I will make my covenant with him, and bless his seed, and will be called his God for ever.

5 Howbeit when the people that dwelt in the land had begun to build the tower, God divided their speech, and changed their likeness. And they knew not every man his brother, neither did each understand the speech of his neighbour. So it came to pass that when the builders commanded their helpers to bring bricks they brought water, and if they asked for water, the others brought them straw. And so their counsel was broken and the), ceased building the city: and God scattered them thence over the face of all the earth. Therefore was the name of that place called Confusion, because there God confounded their speech, and scattered them thence over the face of all the earth.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 8

1 But Abram went forth thence and dwell in the land of Chanaan, and took with him Loth his brothers son, and Sarai his wife. And because Sarai was barren and had no offspring, then Abram took Agar her maid, and she bare him Ismahel. And Ismahel begat 12 sons.

2 Then Loth departed from Abram and dwelt in Sodom [but Abram dwelt in the land of Cam]. And the men of Sodom were very evil and sinners exceedingly.

3 And God appeared unto Abraham saying: Unto thy seed will I give this land; and thy name shall be called Abraham, and Sarai thy wife shall be called Sara. Ana I will give thee of her an eternal seed and make my covenant with thee. And Abraham knew Sara his wife, and she conceived and bare Isaac.

4 And Isaac took him a wife of Mesopotamia, the daughter of Bathuel, which conceived and bare him Esau and Jacob.

5 And Esau took to him for wives Judin the daughter of Bereu, and Basemath the daughter of Elon, and Elibema the daughter of Anan, and Manem the daughter of Samahel. And Basemath bare him Adelifan, and the sons of Adelifan were Temar, Omar, Seffor, Getan, Tenaz, Amalec. And Judin bare Tenacis, Ieruebemas, Bassemen, Rugil: and the sons of Rugil were Naizar, Samaza; and Elibema bare Auz, Iollam, Coro. Manem bare Tenetde, Thenatela.

6 And Jacob took to him for wives the daughters of Laban the Syrian, Lia and Rachel, and two concubines, Bala and Zelpha. And Lia bare him Ruben, Simeon, Levi, Juda, Isachar, Zabulon, and Dina their sister. But Rachel bare Joseph and Benjamin. Bala bare Dan and Neptalim, and Zelpha bare Gad and Aser. These are the 12 sons of Jacob and one daughter.

7 And Jacob dwelt in the land of Chanaan, and Sichem the son of Emor the Correan forced his daughter Dina and humbled her. And Simeon and Levi the sons of Jacob went in and slew all their city with the edge of the sword, and took Dina their sister, and went out thence.

8 And thereafter Job took her to wife and begat of her 14 sons and 6 daughters, even 7 sons and 3 daughters before he was smitten with affliction, and thereafter when he was made whole 7 sons and 3 daughters. And these are their names: Eliphac, Erinoe, Diasat, Philias, Diffar, Zellud, Thelon: and his daughters Meru, Litaz, Zeli. And such as had been the names of the former, so were they also of the latter.

9 Now Jacob and his 12 sons dwelt in the land of Chanaan: and his sons hated their brother Joseph, whom also they delivered into Egypt, to Petephres the chief of the cooks of Pharao, and he abode with him 14 years.

10 And it came to pass after that the king of Egypt had seen a dream, that they told him of Joseph, and he declared him the dreams. And it was so after he declared his dreams, that Pharao made him prince over all the land of Egypt. At that time there was a famine in all the land, as Joseph had foreseen. And his brethren came down into Egypt to buy food, because in Egypt only was there food. And Joseph knew his brethren, and was made known to them, and dealt not evilly with them. And he sent and called his father out of the land of Chanaan, and he came down unto him.

11 1 And these are the names of the sons of Israel which came down into Egypt with Jacob, each one with his house. The sons of Reuben, Enoch and Phallud, Esrom and Carmin; the sons of Simeon, Namuhel and Iamin and Dot and Iachin, and Saul the son of a Canaanitish woman. The sons of Levi, Gerson, Caat and Merari: but the sons of Juda, Auna, Selon, Phares, Zerami. The sons of Isachar, Tola and Phua, Job and Sombram. The sons of Zabulon, Sarelon and Iaillil. And Dina their sister bare 14 sons and 6 daughters. And these are the generations of Lia whom she bare to Jacob. All the souls of sons and daughters were 72.

12 Now the sons of Dan were Usinam. The sons of Neptalim, Betaal, Neemmu, Surem, Optisariel. And these are the generations of Balla which she bare to Jacob. All the souls were 8.

13 But the sons of Gad: . . . Sariel, Sua, Visui, Mophat and Sar: their sister the daughter of Seriebel, Melchiel. These are the generations of Zelpha the wife of Jacob which she bare to him. And all the souls of sons and daughters were in number 10.

14 And the sons of Joseph, Ephraim and Manassen: and Benjamin begat Gela, Esbel, Abocmephec, Utundeus. And these were the souls which Rachel bare to Jacob, And they went down into Egypt and abode there 210 years.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 9

1 And it came to pass after the departure of Joseph, the children of Israel were multiplied and increased greatly. And there arose another king in Egypt which knew not Joseph: and he said to his people: Lo, this people is multiplied more than we. Come let us take counsel against them that they multiply not. And the king of Egypt commanded all his people saying: Every son that shall be born to the He brews, cast into the river, but keep the females alive. And the Egyptians answered their king saying: Let us slay their males and keep their females, to give them to our bondmen for wives: and he that is born of them shall be a bondman and serve us. And this is that that did appear most evil before the Lord.

2 Then the elders of the people assembled the people with mourning and mourned and lamented saying: An untimely birth have the wombs of our wives suffered. Our fruit is delivered over to our enemies and now we are cut off. Yet let us appoint us an ordinance, that no man come near his wife, lest the fruit of their womb be defiled, and our bowels serve idols: for it is better to die childless, until we know what God will do.

3 And Amram answered and said: It will sooner come to pass that the age shall be utterly abolished and the immeasurable world fall, 1 or the heart of the depths touch the stars, than that the race of the children of Israel should be diminished. And it shall be, when the covenant is fulfilled whereof God when he made it spake to Abraham saying: Surely thy sons shall dwell in a land that is not theirs, and shall be brought into bondage and afflicted 400 years.--And lo, since the word was passed which God spake to Abraham, there are 350 years. (And) since we have been in bondage in Egypt it is 130 years.

4 Now therefore I will not abide by that which ye ordain, but will go in and take my wife and beget sons, that we may be made many on the earth. For God will not continue in his anger, neither will he alway forget his people, nor cast forth the race of Israel to nought upon the earth, neither did he in vain make his covenant with our fathers: yea, when as yet we were not, God spake of these things.

5 Now therefore I will go and take my wife, neither will I consent to the commandment of this king. And if it be right in your eyes, so let us do all of us, for it shall be, when our wives conceive, they shall not be known to be great with child until months are fulfilled, like as also our mother Thamar did, for her intent was not to fornication, but because she would not separate herself from the sons of Israel she took thought and said: It is better for me to die for sinning with my father-in-law than to be joined to Gentiles. And she hid the fruit of her womb till the 3rd month, for then was it perceived. And as she went to be put to death she affirmed it saying: The man whose is this staff and this ring and goatskin, of him have I conceived. And her device delivered her out of all peril.

6 Now therefore let us also do thus. And it shall be when the time of bringing forth is come, if it be possible, we will not cast forth the fruit of our womb. And who knoweth if thereby God will be provoked, to deliver us from our humiliation?

7 And the word which Amram had in his heart was pleasing before God: and God said: Because the thought of Amram is pleasing before me, and he hath not set at nought the covenant made between me and his fathers, therefore, lo now, that which is begotten of him shall serve me for ever, and by him will I do wonders in the house of Jacob, and will do by him signs and wonders for my people which I have done for none other, and will perform in them my glory and declare unto them my ways.

8 I the Lord will kindle for him my lamp to dwell in him, and will show him my covenant which no man hath seen, and manifest to him my great excellency, and my justice and judgements and will shine for him a perpetual light. For in ancient days I thought of him, saying: My spirit shall not be a mediator among these men for ever, for they are flesh, and their days shall be 120 years. 1

9 And Amram of the tribe of Levi went forth and took a wife of his tribe, and it was so when he took her, that the residue did after him and took their wives. Now he had one son and one daughter, and their names were Aaron and Maria,

10 And the spirit of God came upon Maria by night, and she saw a dream, 2 and told her parents in the morning saying: I saw this night, and behold a man in a linen garment stood and said to me: Go and tell thy parents: behold, that which shall be born of you shall be cast into the water, for by him water shall be dried up, and by him will I do signs, and I will save my people, and he shall have the captaincy thereof alway. And when Maria had told her dream her parents believed her not.

11 But the word of the king of Egypt prevailed against the children of Israel and they were humiliated and oppressed in the work of bricks.

12 But Jochabeth conceived of Amram and hid the child in her womb 3 months, for she could not hide it longer: because the king of Egypt had appointed overseers of the region, that when the Hebrew women brought forth they should cast the males into the river straightway. And she took her child and made him an ark of the bark of a pine-tree and set the ark on the edge of the river.

13 Now the boy was born in the covenant of God and in the covenant of his flesh.

14 And it came to pass, when they cast him out, all the elders gathered together and chode with Amram saying: Are not these the words which we spake saying: "It is better for us to die childless than that our fruit should be cast into the water?" And when they said so, Amram hearkened not to them.

15 But the daughter of Pharao came down to wash in the river according as she had seen in a dream, 1 and her maids saw the ark, and she sent one of them and took it and opened it. And when she saw the child and looked upon the covenant, that is, the testament in his flesh, she said: He is of the children of the Hebrews.

16 And she took him and nourished him and he became her son, and she called his name Moyses. But his mother called him Melchiel. 3 And the child was nourished and became glorious above all men, and by him God delivered the children of Israel, as he had said.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 10

1 Now when the king of Egypt was dead another king arose, and afflicted all the people of Israel. But they cried unto the Lord and he heard them, and sent Moses and delivered them out of the land of Egypt: and God sent also upon them 10 plagues and smote them. Now these were the plagues, namely, blood, and frogs, and all manner of flies, hail, and death of cattle, locusts and gnats, and darkness that might be felt, and the death of the firstborn.

2 And when they had gone forth thence and were journeying, the heart of the Egyptians was yet again hardened, and they continued to pursue them, and found them by the Red Sea. And the children of Israel cried unto their God and spake to Moyses saying: Lo, now is come the time of our destruction, for the sea is before us and the multitude of enemies behind us, and we in the midst. Was it for this that God brought us out, or are these the covenants which he made with our fathers saying: To your seed will I give the land wherein ye dwell? and now let him do with us that which seemeth good in his sight.

3 Then did the children of Israel sever their counsels into three divisions of counsels, because of the fear of the time. For the tribe of Ruben and of Isachar and. of Zabulon and of Symeon said: Come, let us cast ourselves into the sea, for it is better for us to die in the water than to be slain of our enemies. And the tribe of Gad and of Aser and of Dan and Neptalim said: Nay, but let us return with them, and if they will give us our lives, we will serve them. But the tribe of Levi and of Juda

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and Joseph and the tribe of Benjamin said: Not so, but let us take our weapons and fight them, and God will be with us.

4 Moses also cried unto the Lord and said: O Lord God of our fathers, didst thou not say unto me: Go and tell the sons of Lia, God hath sent me unto You? And now, behold, thou hast brought thy people to the brink of the sea, and the enemy follow after them: but thou, Lord, remember thy name.

5 And God said: Whereas thou hast cried unto me, take thy rod and smite the sea, and it shall be dried up. And when Moses did all this, God rebuked the sea, and the sea was dried up: the seas of waters stood still and the depths of the earth appeared, and the foundations of the dwelling-place were laid bare at the noise of the fear of God and at the breath of the anger of my Lord. 1

6 And Israel passed over on dry land in the midst of the sea. And the Egyptians saw and went on to pursue after them, and God hardened their mind, and they knew not that they were entering into the sea. And so it was that while the Egyptians were in the sea God commanded the sea yet again, and said to Moses: Smite the sea yet once again. And he did so. And the Lord commanded the sea and it returned unto his waves, and covered the Egyptians and their chariots and their horsemen unto this day.

7 But as for his own people, he led them forth into the wilderness: forty years did he rain bread from heaven for them, and he brought them quails from the sea, and a well of water following them brought he forth for them. And in a pillar of cloud he led them by day and in a pillar of fire by night did he give light unto them.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 11

1 And in the 3rd month of the journeying of the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt, they came into the wilderness of Sinai. And God remembered his word and said: I will give light unto the world, and lighten the habitable places, and make my covenant with the children of men, and glorify my people above all nations, for unto them will I put forth an eternal exaltation 1 which shall be unto them a light, but unto the ungodly a chastisement.

2 And he said unto Moses: Behold, I will call thee to-morrow: be thou ready and tell my people: "For three days let not a man come near his wife," and on the 3rd day I will speak unto thee and unto them, and after that thou shalt come up unto me. And I will put my words in thy mouth and thou shalt enlighten my people. For I have given into thy hands an everlasting law whereby I will judge all the world. For this shall be for a testimony. For if men say: "We have not known thee, and therefore we have not served thee," therefore will I take vengeance upon them, because they have not known my law.

3 And Moses did as God commanded him, and sanctified the people and said unto them: Be ye ready on the 3rd day, for after 3 days will God make his covenant with you. And the people were sanctified.

4 And it came to pass on the 3rd day that, lo, there were voices of thunderings (lit. them that sounded) and brightness of lightnings and the voice of instruments sounding aloud. And there was fear upon all the people that were in the camp. And Moses put forth the people to meet God. 5. 1 And behold the mountains burned with fire and the earth shook and the hills were removed and the mountains overthrown: the depths boiled, and all the habitable places were shaken: and the heavens were folded up and the clouds drew up water. And flames of fire shone forth and thunderings and lightnings were multiplied and winds and tempests made a roaring: the stars were gathered together and the angels ran before, until God established the law of an everlasting covenant with the children of Israel, and gave unto them an eternal commandment which should not pass away.

6 And at that time the Lord spake unto his people all these words, saying: I am the Lord thy God which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. Thou shalt not make to thyself graven gods, neither shalt thou make any abominable image of the sun or the moon or any of the ornaments of the heaven, nor the likeness of all things that are upon the earth nor of such as creep in the waters or upon the earth. I am the Lord thy God, a jealous God, requiting the sins of them that sleep upon the living children of the ungodly, if they walk in the ways of their fathers; unto the third and fourth generation, doing (or shewing) mercy unto 1000 generations to them that love me and keep my commandments.

7 Thou shall not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain, that my ways be not made vain. For God abominateth him that taketh his name in vain.

8 Keep the sabbath day to sanctify it. Six days do thy work, but the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord. In it thou shall do no work, thou and all thy labourers, saving that therein ye praise the Lord in the congregation of the elders and glorify the Mighty One in the seat of the aged. For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea and all that are in them, and all the world, the wilderness that is not inhabited, and all things that do labour, 2 and all the order of the heaven, and God rested the seventh day. Therefore God sanctified the seventh day, because he rested therein.

9 Thou shalt love thy father and my mother and fear them: and then shall thy light rise, and I will command the heaven and it shall pay thee the rain thereof, and the earth shall hasten her fruit and thy days shall be many, and thou shalt dwell in thy land, and shalt not be childless, for thy seed shall not fail, even that of them that dwell therein.

10 Thou shalt not commit adultery, for thine enemies did not commit adultery with thee, but thou camest out with a high hand.

11 Thou shall not kill: because thine enemies got not the mastery over thee to slay thee, but thou beheldest their death.

12 Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour, speaking falsely, lest thy watchmen speak falsely against thee.

13 Thou shall not covet thy neighbour's house, nor that which he hath, lest others also covet thy land.

14 And when the Lord ceased speaking, the people feared with a great fear: and they saw the mountain burning with torches of fire, and they said to Moses: Speak thou unto us, and let not God speak unto us, lest peradventure we die. For, lo, to-day we know that God speaketh with man face to face, and man shall live. And now have we perceived of a truth how that the earth bare the voice of God with trembling. And Moses said unto them: Fear not, for this cause came this voice unto you, that ye should not sin (or, for this cause, that he might prove. you, God came unto you, that ye might receive the fear of him unto you, that ye sin not).

15 And all the people stood afar off, but Moses drew near unto the cloud, knowing that God was there. And then God spake unto him his justice and judgements, and kept him by him 40 days and 40 nights. And there did he command him many things, and showed him the tree of life, whereof he cut and took and put it into Mara, and the water of Mara was made sweet and followed them in the desert 40 years, and went up into the hills with them and came down into the plain. Also he commanded him concerning the tabernacle and the ark of the Lord, and the sacrifice of burnt offerings and of incense, and the ordinance of the table and of the candlestick and concerning the laver and the base thereof, and the shoulder-piece and the breastplate, and the very precious stones, that the children of Israel should make them so: and he shewed him the likeness of them to make them according to the pattern which he saw. And said unto him: Make for me a sanctuary and the tabernacle of my glory shall be among you.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 12

1 And Moses came down: and whereas he was covered with invisible light--for he had gone down into the place where is the light of the sun and moon,--the light of his face overcame the brightness of the sun and moon, and he knew it not. And it was so, when he came down to the children of Israel, they saw him and knew him not. But when he spake, then they knew him. And this was like that which was done in Egypt when Joseph knew his brethren but they knew not him. And it came to pass after that, when Moses knew that his face was become glorious, he made him a veil to cover his face.

2 But while he was in the mount, the heart of the people was corrupted, and they came together to Aaron saying: Make us gods that we may serve them, as the other nations also have. For this Moses by whom the wonders were done before us, is taken from us. And Aaron said unto them: Have patience, for Moses will come and bring judgement near to us, and light up a law for us, and set forth from his mouth the great excellency of God, and appoint judgements unto our people.

3 And when he said this, they hearkened not unto him, that the word might be fulfilled which was spoken in the day when the people sinned in building the tower, when God said: And now if I forbid them not, they will adventure all that they take in mind to do, and worse. But Aaron feared, because the people was greatly strengthened, and said to them: Bring us the earrings of your wives. And the men sought every one his wife, and they gave them straightway, and they put them in the fire and they were made into a figure, and there came out a molten calf.

4 And the Lord said to Moses: Make haste hence, for the people is corrupted and hath dealt deceitfully with my ways which I commanded them. What and if the promises are at an end which I made to their fathers when I said: To your seed will I give this land wherein ye dwell? For behold the people is not yet entered into the land, even though they bear my judgements, yet have they forsaken me. And therefore I know that if they enter the land they will do yet greater iniquities. Now therefore I also will forsake them: and I will turn again and make peace with them, that a house may be built for me among them; and that house also shall be done away, because they will sin against me, and the race of men shall be unto me as a drop of a pitcher, and shall be counted as spittle.

5 And Moses hasted and came down and saw the calf, and he looked upon the tables and saw that they were not written: and he hasted and brake them; and his hands were opened and he became like a woman travailing of her firstborn, which when she is taken in her pangs her hands are upon her bosom, and she shall have no strength to help her to bring forth.

6 And it came to pass after an hour he said within himself: Bitterness prevaileth not for ever, neither hath evil the dominion alway. Now therefore will I arise, and strengthen my loins: for albeit they have sinned, yet shall not these things be in vain that were declared unto me above.

7 And he arose and brake the calf and cast it into the water, and made the people drink. And it was so, if any man's will in his mind were that the calf should be made, his tongue was cut off, but if any had been constrained thereto by fear, his face shone.

8 And then Moses went up into the mount and prayed the Lord, saying: Behold now, thou art God which hast planted this vineyard and set the roots thereof in the deep, and stretched out the shoots of it unto thy most high seat. Look upon it at this time, for the vineyard hath put forth her fruit and hath not known him that tilled her. And now if thou be wroth with thy vineyard and root it up out of the deep, and wither up the shoots from thy most high eternal seat, the deep will come no more to nourish it, neither thy throne to refresh that thy vineyard which thou hast burned.

9 For thou art he that art all light, and hast adorned thy house with precious stones and gold and perfumes and spices (or and jasper), and wood of balsam and cinnamon, and with roots of myrrh and costum 2 hast thou strewed thine house, and with divers meats and sweetness of many drinks hast thou satisfied it. If therefore thou have not pity upon thy vineyard, all these things are done in vain, Lord, and thou wilt have none to glorify thee. For even if thou plant another vineyard, neither will that one trust in thee, because thou didst destroy the former. For if verily thou forsake the world, who will do for thee that that thou hast spoken as God? And now let thy wrath be restrained from thy vineyard the more <<because of>> that thou hast said and that which remaineth to be spoken, and let not thy labour be in vain, neither let thine heritage be torn asunder in humiliation. 10. And God said to him: Behold I am become merciful according to thy words. Hew thee out therefore two tables of stone from the place whence thou hewedst the former, and write upon them again my judgements which were on the first.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 13

1 And Moses hasted and did all that God commanded him, and came down and made the tables <<and the tabernacle>>, and the vessels thereof, and the ark and the lamps and the table and the altar of burnt offerings and the altar of incense and the shoulderpiece and the breastplate and the precious stones and the laver and the bases and all things that were shewn him. And he ordered all the vestures of the priests, the girdles and the rest, the mitre, the golden plate and the holy crown: he made also the anointing oil for the priests, and the priests themselves he sanctified. And when all things were finished the cloud covered all of them.

2 Then Moses cried unto the Lord, and God spake to him from the tabernacle saying: This is the law of the altar, whereby ye shall sacrifice unto me and pray for your souls. But as concerning that which ye shall offer me, offer ye of cattle the calf, the sheep and the she goat: but of fowls the turtle and the dove.

3 And if there be leprosy in your land, and it so be that the leper is cleansed, let them take for the Lord two live young birds, and wood of cedar and hyssop and scarlet; and he shall come to the priest, and he shall kill one, and keep the other. And he shall order the leper according to all that I have commanded in my law.

4 And it shall be when the times come round to you, ye shall sanctify me with a feast-day and rejoice before me at the feast of the unleavened bread, and set bread before me, keeping a feast of remembrance because on that day ye came forth of the land of Egypt.

5 And in the feast of weeks ye shall set bread before me and make me an offering for your fruits.

6 But the feast of trumpets shall be for an offering for your watchers, because therein I oversaw my creation, that ye may be mindful of the whole world. In the beginning of the year, when ye show them me, I will acknowledge the number of the dead and of them that are born, and the fast of mercy. For ye shall fast unto me for your souls, that the promises of your fathers may be fulfilled.

7 Also the feast of tabernacles bring ye to me: ye shall take for me the pleasant fruit of the tree, and boughs of palm-tree and willows and cedars, and branches of myrrh: and I will remember the whole earth in rain, and the measure of the seasons shall be established, and I will order the stars and command the clouds, and the winds shall sound and the lightnings run abroad, and there shall be a storm of thunder, and this shall be for a perpetual sign. Also the nights shall yield dew, as I spake after the flood of the earth

8 When I (or Then he) gave him precept as concerning the year of the life of Noe, and said to him: These are the years which I ordained after the weeks wherein I visited the city of men, at what time I shewed them (or him) the place of birth and the colour (or and the serpent), and I (or he) said: This is. the place of which I taught the first man saying: If thou transgress not that I bade thee, all things shall be subject unto thee. But he transgressed my ways and was persuaded of his

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wife, and she was deceived by the serpent. And then was death ordained unto the generations of men.

9 And furthermore the Lord shewed (or, And the Lord said further: I shewed) him the ways of paradise 2 and said unto him: These are the ways which men have lost by not walking in them, because they have sinned against me.

10 And the Lord commanded him concerning the salvation of the souls of the people and said: If they shall walk in my ways I will not forsake them, but will alway be merciful unto them, and will bless their seed, and the earth shall haste to yield her fruit, and there shall be rain for them to increase their gains, and the earth shall not be barren. Yet verily I know that they will corrupt their ways, and I shall forsake them, and they will forget the covenants which I made with their fathers. Yet will I not forget them for ever: for in the last days they shall know that because of their sins their seed was forsaken; for I am faithful in my ways.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 14

1 At that time God said unto him: Begin to number my people from 20 years and upwards unto 40 years, that I may show your tribes all that I declared unto their fathers in a strange land. For by the 50th part of them did I raise them up out of the land of Egypt, but 40 and 9 parts of them died in the land of Egypt.

2 When thou hast ordered them and numbered them (or, While ye abode there. And when thou hast numbered them, etc.), write the tale of them, till I fulfil all that I spake unto their fathers, and set them firmly in their own land: for I will not diminish any word of those I have spoken unto their fathers, even of those which I said to them: Your seed shall be as the stars of heaven for multitude. By number shall they enter into the land, and in a short time shall they become without number.

3 Then Moses went down and numbered them, and the number of the people was 604,550. But the tribe of Levi numbered he not among them, for so was it commanded him; only he numbered them that were upwards of 50 years, of whom the number was 47,300. Also he numbered them that were below 20 years, and the number of them was 850,850. And he looked over the tribe of Levi and the whole number of them was CXX. CCXD. DCXX. CC. DCCC.

4 And Moses declared the number of them to God; and God said to him: These are the words which I spake to their fathers in the land of Egypt, and appointed a number, even 210 years, unto all that saw my wonders. Now the number of them all was 9000 times 10,000, 200 times 95,000 men, besides women, and I put to death the whole multitude of them 1 2 because they believed me not, and the 50th part of them I was left and I sanctified them unto me. Therefore do I command the generation of my people to give me tithes of their fruits, to be before me for a memorial of how great oppression I have removed from them. 5. And when Moses came down and declared these things to the people, they mourned and lamented and abode in the desert two years.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 15

1 And Moses sent spies to spy out the land, even 12 men, for so was it commanded him. And when they had gone up and seen the land, they returned to him bringing of the fruits of the land, and troubled the heart of the people, saying: Ye will not be able to inherit the land, for it is shut up with iron bars by their mighty men.

2 But two men out of the 12 spake not so, but said: Like as hard iron can overcome the stars, or as weapons can conquer the lightnings, or the fowls of the air put out the thunder, so can these men resist the Lord. For they saw how that as they went up the lightnings of the stars shone and the thunders followed, sounding with them.

3 And these are the names of the men: Chaleb the son of Jephone, the son of Beri, the son of Batuel, the son of Galipha, the son of Zenen, the son of Selimun, the son of Selon, the son of Juda. The other, Jesus the son of Naue, the son of Eliphat, the son of Gal, the son of Nephelien, the son of Emon, the son of Saul, the son of Dabra, the son of Effrem, the son of Joseph.

4 But the people would not hear the voice of the twain, but were greatly troubled, and spake saying: Be these the words which God spake to us saying: I will bring you into a land flowing with milk and honey? And how now doth he bring us up that we may fall on the sword, and our women shall go into captivity?

5 And when they said thus, the glory of God appeared suddenly, and he said to Moses: Doth this people thus persevere to hearken unto me not at all? Lo now the counsel which hath gone forth from me shall not be in vain. I will send the angel of mine anger upon them to break up their bodies with fire in the wilderness. And I will give commandment to mine angels which watch over them that they pray not for them, for I will shut up their souls in the treasuries of darkness, and I will say to my servants their fathers: Behold, this is the seed unto which I spake saying: Your seed shall come into a land that is not theirs, and the nation whom they shall serve I will judge. And I fulfilled my words and made their enemies to melt away, and subjected angels under their feet, and put a cloud for a covering of their heads, and commanded the sea, and the depths were broken before their face and walls of water stood up.

6 And there hath not been the like of this word since the day when I said: Let the waters under the heaven be gathered into one place, unto this day. And I brought them out, and slew their enemies and led them before me unto the Mount Sina. And I bowed the heavens and came down to kindle a lamp for my people, and to set bounds to all creatures. And I taught them to make me a sanctuary that I might dwell among them. But they have forsaken me and become faithless in my words, and their mind hath fainted, and now behold the days shall come when I will do unto them as they have desired and I will cast forth their bodies in the wilderness.

7 And Moses said: Before thou didst take seed wherewith to make man upon the earth, did I order his ways? therefore now let thy mercy suffer us unto the end, and thy pity for the length of days.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 16

1 At that time did he give him commandment concerning the fringes: and then did Choreb rebel and 200 men with him and spake saying: What if a law which we cannot bear is ordained for us?

2 And God was wroth and said: I commanded the earth and it gave me man, and unto him were born at the first two sons. And the elder arose and slew the younger, and the earth hasted and swallowed his blood. But I drove forth Cain, and cursed the earth and spake unto Sion saying: Thou shalt not any more swallow up blood. And now are the thoughts of men greatly polluted.

3 Lo, I will command the earth, and it shall swallow up body and soul together, and their dwelling shall be in darkness and in destruction, and they shall not die but shall pine away until I remember the world and renew the earth. And then shall they die and not live, and their life shall be taken away out of the number of all men: neither shall Hell vomit them forth again, and destruction shall not remember them, and their departure shall be as that of the tribe of the nations of whom I said, "I will not remember them," that is, the camp of the Egyptians, and the people whom I destroyed with the water of the flood. And the earth shall swallow them, and I will not do any more unto them. 1

4 And when Moses spake all these words unto the people, Choreb, and his men were yet unbelieving. And Choreb sent to call his seven sons which were not of counsel with him.

5 But they sent to him in answer saying: As the painter showeth not forth an image made by his art unless he be first instructed, so we also when we received the law of the Most Mighty which teacheth us his ways, did not enter . therein save that we might walk therein. Our father begat us [not], but the Most Mighty formed us, and now if we walk in his ways we shall be his children. But if thou believe not, go thine own way. And they came not up unto him.

6 And it came to pass after this that the earth opened before them, and his sons sent unto him saying: If thy madness be still upon thee, who shall help thee in the day of thy destruction? and he hearkened not unto them. And the earth opened her mouth and swallowed them up, and their houses, and four times was the foundation of the earth moved to swallow up the men, as it was commanded her. And thereafter Choreb and his company groaned, until the firmament of the earth should be delivered back. 1 7. But the assemblies of the people said unto Moses: We cannot abide round about 2 this place where Choreb and his men have been swallowed up. And he said to them. Take up your tents from round about them, neither be ye joined to their sins. And they did so.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 17

1 Then was the lineage of the priests of God declared by the choosing of a tribe, and it was said unto Moses: Take throughout every tribe one rod and put them in the tabernacle, and then shall the rod of him to whomsoever my glory shall speak, flourish, and I will take away the murmuring from my people.

2 And Moses did so and set 12 rods, and the rod of Aaron came out, and put forth blossom and yielded seed of almonds.

3 And this likeness which was born there was like unto the work which Israel wrought while he was in Mesopotamia with Laban the Syrian, when he took rods of almond, and put them at the gathering of waters, and the cattle came to drink and were divided among the peeled rods, and brought forth [kids] white and speckled and parti-coloured.

4 There fore was the synagogue of the people made like unto a flock of sheep, and as the cattle brought forth according to the almond rods, so was the priesthood established by means of the almond rods.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 18

1 At that time Moses slew Seon and Og, the kings of the Amorites, and divided all their land unto his people, and they dwelt therein.

2 But Balac was the king of Moab, that lived over against them, and he was greatly afraid, and sent to Balaam the son of Beor the interpreter of dreams, which dwelt in Mesopotamia, and charged him saying: Behold I know how that in the reign of my father Sefor, when the Amorites fought against him, thou didst curse them and they were delivered up before him. And now come and curse this people, for they are many, more than we, and will do thee great honour.

3 And Balaam said: Lo, this is good in the sight of Balac, but he knoweth not that the counsel of God is not as man's counsel. And he knoweth not that the spirit which is given unto us is given for a time, and our ways are not guided except God will. Now therefore abide ye here, and I will see what the Lord will say to me this night.

4 And in the night God said unto him: Who are the men that are come unto thee? And Balaam said: Wherefore, Lord, dost thou tempt the race of man? They therefore cannot sustain it, for thou knewest more than they, all that was in the world, before thou foundedst it. And now enlighten thy servant if it be right that I go with them.

5 And God said to him: Was it not concerning this people that I spake unto Abraham in a vision saying: Thy seed shall be as the stars of heaven, when I raised him up above the firmament and showed him all the orderings of the stars, and required of him his son for a burnt offering? and he brought him to be laid upon the altar, but I restored him to his father. And because he resisted not, his offering was acceptable in my sight, and for the blood of him did I choose this people. And then I said unto the angels that work subtilly: Said I not of him: To Abraham will I reveal all that I do?

6 Jacob also, when he wrestled in the dust with the angel that was over the praises, did not let him go until he blessed him. And now, behold, thou thinkest to go with these, and curse them whom I have chosen. But if thou curse them, who is he that shall bless thee?

7 And Balaam arose in the morning and said: Go your way, for God will not have me to come with you. And they went and told Balac all that was said of Balaam. And Balac sent yet again other men to Balaam saying: Behold, I know that when thou offerest burnt offerings to God, God will be reconciled with man, and now ask yet again of thy Lord, and entreat by burnt offerings, as many as he will. For if peradventure he will be propitiated in my necessity, thou shalt have thy reward, if so be God accept thy offerings.

8 And Balaam said to them: Lo, the son of Sephor is foolish, and knoweth not that he dwelleth hard by (lit. round about) the dead: And now tarry here this night and I will see what God will say unto me. And God said to him: Go with them, and thy journey shall be an offence, and Balac himself shall go unto destruction. And he arose and went with them.

9 And his she-ass came by the way of the desert and saw the angel, and he opened the eyes of Balaam and he saw the angel and worshipped him on the earth. And the angel said to him: Haste and go on, for what thou sayest shall come to pass with him.

10 And he came unto the land of Moab and built an altar and offered sacrifices: and when he had seen a part of the people, the spirit of God abode not in him, and he took up his parable and said: Lo, Balac hath brought me hither unto the mount, saying: Come, run into the fire of these men. (Lo), I cannot abide that (fire) which waters quench, but that fire which consumeth water who shall endure? And he said to him: It is easier to take away the foundations and all the topmost part of them, and to quench the light of the sun and darken the shining of the moon, than for him who will to root up the planting of the Most Mighty or spoil his vineyard. And Balac himself hath not known it, because his mind is puffed up, to the intent his destruction may come swiftly.

11 For behold, I see the heritage which the Most Mighty showed me in the night, and lo the days come when Moab shall be amazed at that which befalleth her, for Balac desired to persuade the Most Mighty with gifts and to purchase decision 1 with money. Oughtest thou not to have asked what he sent upon Pharao and upon his land because he would bring them into bondage? Behold an overshadowing vine, desirable exceedingly, and who shall be jealous against it, for it withereth not? But if any say in his counsel that the Most Mighty hath laboured in vain or chosen them to no purpose, lo now I see the salvation of deliverance which is to come unto them. I am restrained in the speech of my voice and I cannot express that which I see with mine eyes, for but a little is left to me of the holy spirit which abideth in me, since I know that in that I was persuaded of Balac I have lost the days of my life:

12 Lo, again I see the heritage of the abode of this people, and the light of it shineth above the brightness of lightning, and the running of it is swifter than arrows. And the time shall come when Moab shall groan, and they that serve Cham (Chemosh?) shall be weak, even such as took this counsel against them. But I shall gnash my teeth because I was deceived and did transgress that which was said to me in the night. Yet my prophecy shall remain manifest, and my words shall live, and the wise and prudent shall remember my words, for when I cursed I perished, and though I blessed I was not blessed. And when he had so said he held his peace. And Balac said: Thy God hath defrauded thee of many gifts from me.

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13 Then Balaam said unto him: Come and let us advise what thou shalt do to them. Choose out the most comely women that are among you and that are in Midian and set them before them naked, and adorned with gold and jewels, and it shall be when they shall see them and lie with them, they will sin against their Lord and fall into your hands, for otherwise thou canst not subdue them.

14 And so saying Balaam turned away and returned to his place. And thereafter the people were led astray after the daughters of Moab, for Balac did all that Balaam had showed him.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 19

1 At that time Moses slew the nations, and gave half of the spoils to the people, and he began to declare to them the words of the law which God spake to them in Oreb.

2 And he spake to them, saying: Lo, I sleep with my fathers, and shall go unto my people. But I know that ye will arise and forsake the words that were ordained unto you by me, and God will be wroth with you and forsake you and depart out of your land, and bring against you them that hate you, and they shall have dominion over you, but not unto the end, for he will remember the covenant which he made with your fathers.

3 But then both ye and your sons and all your generations after you will arise and seek the day of my death and will say in their heart: Who will give us a shepherd like unto Moses, or such another judge to the children of Israel, to pray for our sins at all times, 1 and to be heard for our iniquities?

4 Howbeit, this day I call heaven and earth to witness against you, for the heaven shall hear this and the earth shall take it in with her ears, that God hath revealed the end of the world, that he might covenant with you upon his high places, and hath kindled an everlasting lamp among you. Remember, ye wicked, how that when I spake unto you, ye answered saying: All that God hath said unto us we will hear and do. But if we transgress or corrupt our ways, he shall call a witness against us and cut us off.

5 But know ye that ye did eat the bread of angels 40 years. And now behold I do bless your tribes, before my end come. But ye, know ye my labour wherein I have laboured with you since the day ye came up out of the land of Egypt.

6 And when he had so said, God spake unto him the third time, saying: Behold, thou goest to sleep with thy fathers, and this people will arise and seek me, and will forget my law wherewith I have enlightened them, and I shall forsake their seed for a season.

7 But unto thee will I show the land before thou die, but thou shall not enter therein in this age, lest thou see the graven images whereby this people will be deceived and led out of the way. I will show thee the place wherein they shall serve me 740 (l. 850) years. And thereafter it shall be delivered into the hand of their enemies, and they shall destroy it, and strangers shall compass it about, and it shall be in that day as it was in the day when I brake the tables of the covenant which I made with thee in Oreb: and when they sinned, that which was written therein vanished away. Now that day was the 17th day of the 4th month.

8 And Moses went up into Mount Oreb, as God had bidden him, and prayed, saying: Behold, I have fulfilled the time of my life, even 120 years. And now I pray thee let thy mercy be with thy people and let thy compassion be continued upon thine heritage, Lord, and thy long-suffering in thy place upon the race of thy choosing, for thou hast loved them more than all.

9 And thou knowest that I was a shepherd of sheep, and when I fed the flock in the desert, I brought them unto thy Mount Oreb, and then first saw I thine angel in fire out of the bush; but thou calledst me out of the bush, and I feared and turned away my face, and thou sentest me unto them, and didst deliver them out of Egypt, and their enemies thou didst sink in the water. And thou gavest them a law and judgements whereby they should live. For what man is he that hath not sinned against thee? How shall thine heritage be established except thou have mercy on them? Or who shall yet be born without sin? Yet wilt thou correct them for a season, but not in anger.

10 Then the Lord shewed him the land and all that is therein and said: This is the land which I will give to my people. And he shewed him the place from whence the clouds draw up water to water all the earth, and the place whence the river receiveth his water, and the land of Egypt, and the place of the firmament, from whence the holy land only drinketh. He shewed him also the place from whence it rained manna for the people, and even unto the paths of paradise. And he shewed him the measures of the sanctuary, and the number of the offerings, and the sign whereby men shall interpret (lit. begin to look; upon) the heaven, and said: These are the things which were forbidden to the sons of men because they sinned.

11 And now, thy rod wherewith the signs were wrought shall be for a witness between me and my people. And when they sin I shall be wroth with them and remember my rod, and spare them according to my mercy, and thy rod shall be in my sight for a remembrance all the days, 1 and shall be like unto the bow wherein I made a covenant with Noe when he came out of the ark, saying: I will set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be a sign between me and men that the water of a flood be no more upon the earth.

12 But thee will I take hence and give thee sleep with thy fathers and give thee rest in thy slumber, and bury thee in peace, and all the angels shall lament for thee, and the hosts of heaven shall be sorrowful. But there shall not any, of angels or men, know thy sepulchre wherein thou art to be buried, but thou shalt rest therein until I visit the world, and raise thee up and thy fathers out of the earth [of Egypt] wherein ye shall sleep, and ye shall come together and dwell in an immortal habitation that is not subject unto time.

13 But this heaven shall be in my sight as a fleeting cloud, and like yesterday when it is past, and it shall be when I draw near to visit the world, I will command the years and charge the times, and they shall be shortened, and the stars shall be hastened, and the light of the sun make speed to set, neither shall the light of the moon endure, because I will hasten to raise up you that sleep, that in the place of sanctification which I shewed thee, all they that can live may dwell therein.

14 And Moses said: If I may ask yet one thing of thee, O Lord, according to the multitude of thy mercy, be not wroth with me. And shew me what measure of time hath passed by and what remaineth.

15 And the Lord said to him: An instant, the topmost part of a hand, the fulness of a moment, and the drop of a cup. And time hath fulfilled all. For 4½ have passed by, and 2½ remain.

16 And Moses when he heard was filled with understanding, and his likeness was changed gloriously: and he died in glory according to the mouth of the Lord, and he buried him as he had promised him, and the angels lamented at his death, and lightnings and torches and arrows went before him with one accor. And on that day the hymn of the hosts was not said because of the departure of Moses. Neither was there any day like unto it since the Lord made man upon earth, neither shall there be any such for ever, that he should make the hymn of the angels to cease because of a man; for he loved him greatly; and he buried him with his own hands on an high place of the earth, and in the light of the whole world.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 20

1 And at that time God made his covenant with Jesus the son of Naue which remained of the men that spied out the land: for the lot had fallen upon them that they should not see the land because they spake evil of it, and for this cause that generation died.

2 Then said God unto Jesus the son of Naue: Wherefore mournest thou, and wherefore hopest thou in vain, thinking that Moses shall yet live? Now therefore thou waitest to no purpose, for Moses is dead. Take the garments of his wisdom and put them on thee, and gird thy loins with the girdle of his knowledge, and thou shalt be changed and become another man. Did I not speak for thee unto Moses my servant, saying: "He shall lead my people after thee, and into his hand will I deliver the kings of the Amorites"?

3 And Jesus took the garments of wisdom and put them on, and girded his loins with the girdle of understanding. And it came to pass when he put it on, that his mind was kindled and his spirit stirred up, and he said to the people: Lo, the former generation died in the wilderness because they spake against their God. And, behold now, know, all ye captains, this day that if ye go forth in the ways of your God, your paths shall be made straight.

4 But if ye obey not his voice, and are like your fathers, your works shall be spoiled, and ye yourselves broken, and your name shall perish out of the land, and then where shall be the words which God spake unto your fathers? For even if the heathen say: It may be God hath failed, because he hath not delivered his people, yet whereas they perceive that he hath chosen to himself other peoples, working for them great wonders, they shall understand that the Most Mighty accepteth not persons. But because ye sinned through vanity, therefore he took his power from you and subdued you. And now arise and set Your heart to walk in the ways of your Lord and he shall direct you.

5 1 And the people said unto him: Lo, this day see we that which Eldad and Modat prophesied in the days of Moses, saying: After that Moses resteth, the captainship of Moses shall be given unto Jesus the son of Naue. And Moses was not envious, but rejoiced when he heard them; and thenceforth all the people believed that thou shouldest lead them, and divide the land unto them in peace: and now also if there be conflict, be strong and do valiantly, for thou only shalt be leader in Israel.

6 And when he heard that, Jesus thought to send spies into Jericho. And he called Cenez and Seenamias his brother, the two sons of Caleph, and spake to them, saying: I and your father were sent of Moses in the wilderness and went up with other ten men: and they returned and spake evil of the lands and melted the heart of the people, and they were scattered and the heart of the people with them. But I and your father only fulfilled the word of the Lord, and lo, we are alive this day. And now will I send you to spy out the land of Jericho. Do like unto your father and ye also shall live.

7 And they went up and spied out the city. And when they brought back word, the people went up and besieged the city and burned it with fire.

8 And after that Moses was dead, the manna ceased to come down for the children of Israel, and then began they to eat the fruits of the land. And these are the three things which God gave his people for the sake of three persons, that is, the well of the water of Mara for Maria's sake, and the pillar of cloud for Aaron's sake, and the manna for the sake of Moses. And when these three came to an end, those three gifts were taken away from them. 1

9 Now the people and Jesus fought against the Amorites, and when the battle waxed strong against their enemies throughout all the days of Jesus, 30 and 9 kings which dwelt in the land were cut off. And Jesus gave the land by lot to the people, to every tribe according to the lots, according as he had received commandment.

10 Then came Caleph unto him and said: Thou knowest how that we two were sent by lot by Moses to go with the spies, and because we fulfilled the word of the Lord, behold we are alive at this day: and now if it be well-pleasing in thy sight, let there be given unto my son Cenez for a portion the territory of the three (or the tribe of the) towers. And Jesus blessed him, and did so.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 21

1 And when Jesus was become old and well-stricken in years, God said to him: Behold, thou waxest old and well-stricken in days, and the land is become very great, and there is none to divide it (or take it by lot), and it shall be after thy departure this people will mingle with the inhabitants of the land and go astray after other gods, and I shall forsake them as I testified in my word unto Moses; but do thou testify unto them before thou diest.

2 And Jesus said: Thou knowest more than all, O Lord, what moveth the heart of the sea before it rageth, and thou hast tracked out the constellations and numbered the stars, and ordered the rain. Thou knowest the mind of all generations before they be born. And now, Lord, give unto thy people an heart of wisdom and a mind of prudence, and it shall be when thou givest these ordinances unto thine heritage, they shall not sin before thee and thou shall not be wroth with them.

3 Are not these the words which I spake before thee, Lord, when Achar stole of the curse, and the people were delivered up before thee, and I prayed in thy sight and said: Were it not better for us, O Lord, if we had died in the Red Sea, wherein thou drownedst our enemies? or if we had died in the wilderness, like our fathers, than to be delivered into the hand of the Amorites that we should be blotted out for ever?

4 Yet if thy word be about us, no evil shall befall us: for even though our end be removed unto death, thou livest which art before the world and after the world; and whereas a man cannot devise how to put one generation before another, he saith "God hath destroyed his people whom he chose": and behold, we shall be in Hell: yet thou wilt make thy word alive. And now let the fulness of thy mercies have patience with thy people, and choose for thine heritage a man which shall rule over thy people, he and his generation.

5 Was it not for this that our father Jacob spake, saying: A prince shall not depart from Juda, nor a leader from his loins. And now confirm the words spoken aforetime, that the nations of the earth and tribes of the world may learn that thou art everlasting.

6 And he said furthermore: O Lord, behold the days shall come and the house of Israel shall be like unto a brooding dove which setteth her young in the nest and will not forsake them nor forget her place. So, also, these shall turn from their deeds and fight against the salvation that shall be born unto them.

7 And Jesus went down from Galgala and built an altar of very great stones, and brought no iron upon them, as Moses had commanded, and set up great stones on mount Gebal, and whitened them and wrote on them the words of the law very plainly: and gathered all the people together and read in their ears all the words of the law.

8 And he came down with them and offered upon the altar peace-offerings, and they sang many praises, and lifted up the ark of the covenant of the Lord out of the tabernacle with timbrels and dances and lutes and harps and psalteries and all instruments of sweet sound.

9 And the priests and Levites were going up before the ark and rejoicing with psalms, and they set the ark before the altar, and lifted up on it yet again peace-offerings very many, and the whole house of Israel sang together with a loud voice saying: Behold, our Lord hath fulfilled that which he spake with our fathers saying: To your, seed will I give a land wherein to dwell, a land flowing with milk and honey. And lo, he hath brought us. into the land of our enemies and hath delivered them broken in heart before us, and he is the God which sent to our fathers in the secret places of souls, saying: Behold, the Lord hath done all that he spake unto us. And

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now know we of a truth that God hath confirmed all the words of the law which he spake to us in Oreb; and if our heart keep his ways it will be well with us, and with our sons after us.

10 And Jesus blessed them and said: The Lord grant your heart to continue therein (or in him) all the days, and if ye depart not from his name, the covenant of the Lord shall endure with you. And he grant that it be not corrupted, but that the dwelling-place of God be builded among you, as he spake when he sent you into his inheritance with mirth and gladness.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 22

1 And it came to pass after these things, when Jesus and all Israel had heard that the children of Ruben and the children of Gad and the half tribe of Manasse which dwelt about Jordan had built them an altar and did offer sacrifices thereon and had made priests for the sanctuary, all the people were troubled above measure and came unto them to Silon.

2 And Jesus and all the elders spake to them saying: What be these works which are done among you, while as yet we are not settled in our land? Are not these the words which Moses spake to you in the wilderness saying: See that when ye enter into the land ye spoil not your doings, and corrupt all the people? And now wherefore is it that our enemies have so much abounded, save because ye do corrupt your ways and have made all this trouble, and therefore will they assemble against us and overcome us.

3 And the children of Ruben and the children of Gad and the half tribe of Manasse said unto Jesus and all the people of Israel: Lo now hath God enlarged the fruit of the womb of men, and hath set up a light that that which is in darkness may see, for he knoweth what is in the secret places of the deep, and with him light abideth. Now the Lord God of our fathers knoweth if any of us or if we ourselves have done this thing in the way of iniquity, but only for our posterity's sake, that their heart be not separated from the Lord our God lest they say to us: Behold now, our brethren which be beyond Jordan have an altar, to make offerings upon it, but we in this place that have no altar, let us depart from the Lord our God, because our God hath set us afar off from his ways, that we should not serve him.

4 And then verily spake we among ourselves: Let us make us an altar, that they may have a zeal to seek the Lord. And verily there be some of us that stand by and know that we are your brothers and stand guiltless before your face. Do ye therefore that which is pleasing in the sight of the Lord.

5 And Jesus said: Is not the Lord our king mightier than woo sacrifices? And wherefore taught ye not your sons the words of the Lord which ye heard of us? For if your sons had been occupied in the meditation of the law of the Lord, their mind would not have been led aside after a sanctuary made with hands. Or know ye not that when the people were forsaken for a moment in the wilderness when Moses went up to receive the tables, their mind was led astray, and they made themselves idols? And except the mercy of the God of your fathers had kept us, all the synagogues should have become a byword, and all the sins of the people should have been blazed abroad because of your foolishness.

6 Therefore now go and dig down the sanctuaries that ye have builded you, and teach your sons the law, and they shall be meditating therein day and night, that the Lord may be with them for a witness and a judge unto them all the days of their life. And God shall be witness and judge between me and you, and between my heart and your heart, that if ye have done this thing in subtlety it shall be avenged upon you, because you would destroy your brothers: but if ye have done it ignorantly as ye say, God will be merciful unto you for your sons' sake. And all the people answered: Amen, Amen.

7 And Jesus and all the people of Israel offered for them 1,000 rams for a sin-offering (lit. the word of excusing), and prayed for them and sent them away in peace: and they went and destroyed the sanctuary, and fasted and wept, both they and their sons, and prayed and said: O God of our fathers, that knowest before the heart of all men, thou knowest that our ways were not wrought in iniquity in thy sight, neither have we swerved from thy ways, but have served thee all of us, for we are the work of thy hands: now therefore remember thy covenant with the sons of thy servants.

8 And after that Jesus went up unto Galgala, and reared up the tabernacle of the Lord, and the ark of the covenant and all the vessels thereof, and set it up in Silo, and put there the Demonstration and the Truth (i.e. the Urim and Thummim). And at that time Eleazar the priest which served the altar did teach by the Demonstration all them of the people that came to inquire of the Lord, for thereby it was shown unto them, but in the new sanctuary that was in Galgala, Jesus appointed even unto this day the burnt offerings that were offered by the children of Israel every year.

9 For until the house of the Lord was builded in Jerusalem, and so long as the offerings were made in the new sanctuary, the people were not forbidden to offer therein, because the Truth and the Demonstration revealed all things in Silo. And until the ark was set by Solomon in the sanctuary of the Lord they went on sacrificing there unto that day. But Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest of the Lord ministered in Silo.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 23

1 And Jesus the son of Naue ordered the people and divided unto them the land, being a mighty man of valour. And while yet the adversaries of Israel were in the land, the days of Jesus drew near that he should die, and he sent and called all Israel throughout all their land with their wives and their children, and said unto them: Gather yourselves together before the ark of the covenant of the Lord in Silo and I will make a covenant with you before I die.

2 And when all the people were gathered together on the 16th day of the 3rd month before the face of the Lord in Silo with their wives and their children, Jesus said unto them: Hear, O Israel, behold I make with you the covenant of this law which the Lord ordained with our fathers in Oreb, and therefore tarry ye here this night and see what God will say unto me concerning You.

3 And as the people waited there that night, the Lord appeared unto Jesus in a vision and spake saying: According to all these words will I speak unto this people.

4 And Jesus came in the morning and assembled all the people and said unto them: Thus saith the Lord: One rock was there from whence I digged out your father, and the cutting of that rock brought forth two men, whose names were Abraham and Nachor, and out of the chiselling of that place were born two women whose names were Sara and Melcha. And they dwelled together beyond the river. And Abraham took Sara to wife and Nachor took Melcha.

5 And when the people of the land were led astray, every man after his own devices, Abraham believed in me and was not led aside after them. And I saved him out of the fire and took him and brought him over into all the land of Chanaan. And I spake unto him in a vision saying: Unto thy seed will I give this land. And he said unto me: Behold now thou hast given me a wife and she is barren. And how shall I have seed of that womb that is shut up?

6 And I said unto him: Take for me a calf of three years old and a she-goat of three years and a ram of three years, a turtledove and a pigeon. And he took them as I commanded him. And I sent a sleep upon him and compassed him about with fear, and I set before him the place of fire wherein the works of them that commit iniquity against me shall be avenged, and I showed him the torches of fire whereby the righteous which have believed in me shall be enlightened.

7 And I said unto him: These shall be for a witness between me and thee that I will give thee seed of the womb that is shut up. And I will liken thee unto the dove, because thou hast received for me the city which thy sons shall (begin to) build in my sight. But the turtle-dove I will liken unto the prophets which shall be born of thee. And the ram will I liken unto the wise men which shall be born of thee and enlighten thy sons. But the calf I will liken unto the multitude of the peoples which shall be multiplied through thee. And the she-goat I will liken unto the women whose wombs I will open and they shall bring forth. These things shall be for a witness betwixt us that I will not transgress my words.

8 And I gave him Isaac and formed him in the womb of her that bare him, and commanded it that it should restore him quickly and render him unto me in the 7th month. And for this cause every woman that bringeth forth in the 7th month, her child shall live: because upon him did I call my glory, and showed forth the new age.

9 And I gave unto Isaac Jacob and Esau, and unto Esau I gave the land of Seir for an heritage. And Jacob and his sons went down into Egypt. And the Egyptians brought your fathers low, as ye know, and I remembered your fathers, and sent Moses my friend and delivered them from thence and smote their enemies.

10 And I brought them out with a high hand and led them through the Red Sea, and laid the cloud under their feet, and brought them out through the depth, and brought them beneath the mount Sina, and I bowed the heavens and came down, and I congealed the flame of the fire, and stopped up the springs of the deep, and impeded the course of the stars, and tamed the sound of the thunder, and quenched the fulness; of the wind, and rebuked the multitude of the clouds, and stayed their motions, and interrupted the storm of the hosts, that I should not break my covenant, for all things were moved at my coming down, and all things were quickened at my advent, and I suffered not my people to be scattered, but gave unto them my law, and enlightened them, that if they did these things they may live and have length of days and not die.

11 And I have brought you into this land and given you vineyards. Ye dwell in cities which ye built not. And I have fulfilled the covenant which I spake unto your fathers.

12 And now if ye obey your fathers, I will set my heart upon you for ever, and will overshadow you, and your enemies shall no more fight against you, and your land shall be renowned throughout all the world and your seed be elect in the midst of the peoples, which shall say: Behold the faithful people; because they believed the Lord, therefore hath the Lord delivered them and planted them. And therefore will I plant you as a desirable vineyard and will rule you as a beloved flock, and I will charge the rain and the dew, and they shall satisfy you all the days of your life.

13 And it shall be at the end that the lot of every one of you shall be in eternal life, both for you and your seed, and I will receive your souls and lay them up in peace, until the time of the age is fulfilled, and I restore you unto your fathers and your fathers unto you, and they shall know at your hand that it is not in vain that I have chosen you. These are the words that the Lord hath spoken unto me this night.

14 And all the people answered and said: The Lord is our God, and him only will we serve. And all the people made a great feast that day and a renewal 1 thereof for 28 days.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 24

1 And after these days Jesus the son of Naue assembled all the people yet again, and said unto them: Behold now the Lord hath testified unto you this day: I have called heaven and earth to witness to you that if ye will continue to serve the Lord ye shall be unto him a peculiar people. But if ye will not serve him and will obey the gods of the Amorites in whose land ye dwell, say so this day before the Lord and go forth. But I and my house will serve the Lord.

2 And all the people lifted up their voice and wept saying: Peradventure the Lord will account us worthy, and it is better for us to die in the fear of him, than to be destroyed out of the land.

3 And Jesus the son of Naue blessed the people and kissed them and said unto them: Let your words be for mercy before our Lord, and let him send his angel, and preserve you: Remember me after my death, and remember ye Moses the friend of the Lord. And let not the words of the covenant which he hath made with you depart from you all the days of your life. And he, sent them away and they departed every man to his inheritance.

4 But Jesus laid himself upon his bed, and sent and called Phineës the son of Eleazar the priest and said unto him: Behold now I see with mine eyes the transgression of this people wherein they will begin to deceive: but thou, strengthen thy hands in the time that thou art with them, And he kissed him and his father and his sons and blessed him and said: The Lord God of your fathers direct your ways and the ways of this people.

5 And when he ceased speaking unto them, he drew up his feet into the bed and slept with his fathers. And his sons laid their hands upon his eyes.

6 And then all Israel gathered together to bury him, and they lamented him with a great lamentation, and thus said they in their lamentation: Weep ye for the wing of this swift eagle, for he hath flown away from us. And weep ye for the strength of this lion's whelp, for he is hidden from us. Who now will go and report unto Moses the righteous, that we have had forty years a leader like unto him? And they fulfilled their mourning and buried him with their own hands in the mount Effraim and returned every man unto his tent. And after the death of Jesus the land of Israel was at rest.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 25

1 And the Philistines sought to fight with the men of Israel: 1 and they inquired of the Lord and said: Shall we go up and fight against the Philistines? and God said to them: If ye go up with a pure heart, fight; but if your heart is defiled, go not up. And they inquired yet again saying: How shall we know if all the heart of the people be alike? and God said to them: Cast lots among your tribes, and it shall be unto every tribe that cometh under the lot, that it shall be set apart into one lot, and then shall ye know whose heart is clean and whose is defiled.

2 And the people said: Let us first appoint over us a prince, and so cast lots. And the angel of the Lord said to them: Appoint. And the people said: Whom shall we appoint that is worthy, Lord? And the angel of the Lord said to them: Cast the lot upon the tribe of Caleb, and he that is shown by the lot, even he shall[[p. 148]] be your prince. And they cast the lot for the tribe of Caleb and it came out upon Cenez, and they made him ruler over Israel.

3 And Cenez said to the people: Bring your tribes unto me and hear ye the word of the Lord. And the people gathered together and Cenez said to them: Ye know that which Moses the friend of the Lord charged you, that ye should not transgress the law to the right hand or to the left. And Jesus [Joshua] also who was after him gave you the same charge. And now, lo, we have heard of the mouth of the Lord that your heart is defiled. And the Lord hath charged us to cast lots among your tribes to know whose heart hath departed from the Lord our God. Shall not the fury of anger come upon the people? But I promise you this day that even if a man of mine own house come out in the lot of sin, he shall not be saved alive, but shall be burned with fire. And the people said: Thou hast spoken a good counsel, to perform it.

4 And the tribes were brought before him, and there were found of the tribe of Juda 345 men, and of the tribe of Ruben 560, and of the tribe of Simeon 775, and of the tribe of Levi 150, and of the tribe of Zabulon 655 (or 645), and of the tribe

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of Isachar 665, (Gad) and of the tribe of Gad 380. Of the tribe of Aser 665, and of the tribe of Manasse 480, and of the tribe of Effraim 468, and of the tribe of Benjamin 267. And all the number of them that were found by the lot of sin was 6110. And Cenez took them all and shut them up in prison, till it should be known what should be done with them.

5 And Cenez said: Was it not of this that Moses the friend of the Lord spake saying: There is a strong root among you bringing forth gall and bitterness? Now blessed be the Lord who hath revealed all the devices of these men, neither hath he suffered them to corrupt his people by their evil works. Bring hither therefore the Demonstration and the Truth and call forth Eleazar the priest, and let us inquire of the Lord by him.

6 Then Cenez and Eleazar and all the elders and the whole synagogue prayed with one accord saying: Lord God of our fathers, reveal unto thy servants the truth, for we are found not believing in the wonders which thou didst for our fathers since thou broughtest them out of the land of Egypt unto this day. And the Lord answered and said: First ask them that were found, and let them confess their deeds which they did subtilly, and afterwards they shall be burned with fire.

7 And Cenez brought them forth and said to them: Behold now ye know how that Achiar confessed when the lot fell on him, and declared all that he had done. And now declare unto me all your wickedness and your inventions: who knoweth, if ye tell us the truth, even though ye die now, yet God will have mercy upon you when he shall quicken the dead?

8 And one of them named Elas said unto him: Shall not death come now upon us, that we shall die by fire? Nevertheless I tell thee, my Lord, there are none inventions like unto these which we have made wickedly. But if thou wilt search out the truth plainly, ask severally the men of every tribe, and so shall some one of them that stand by perceive the difference of their sins.

9 And Cenez asked them of his own tribe [Judah] and they told him: We desired to imitate and make the calf that they made in the wilderness. And after that he asked the men of the tribe of Ruben, which said: We desired to sacrifice unto the gods of them that dwell in the land. And he asked the men of the tribe of Levi, which said: We would prove the tabernacle, whether it were holy. And he asked the remnant of the tribe of Isachar, which said: We would inquire by the evil spirits of the idols, to see whether they revealed plainly. And he asked the men of the tribe of Zabulon, which said: We desired to eat the flesh of our children and to learn whether God hath care for them. And he asked the remnant of the tribe of Dan, which said: The Amorites taught us that which they did, that we might teach our children. And lo, they are hid under the tent of Elas, 1 who told thee to inquire of us. Send therefore and thou shall find them. And Cenez sent and found them.

10 And thereafter asked he them that were left over of the tribe of Gad, and they said: We committed adultery with each other's wives. And he asked next the men of the tribe of Aser, which said: We found seven golden images which the Amorites called the holy Nymphs, and we took them with the precious stones that were set upon them, and hid them: and lo, now they are laid up under the top of the mount Sychem. Send therefore and thou shalt find them. And Cenez sent men and removed them thence.

11 Now these are the Nymphs which when they were called upon did show unto the Amorites their works in every hour. For these are they which were devised by seven evil men after the flood, whose names are these: <? Cham> Chanaan, Phuth, Selath, Nembroth, Elath, Desuath. Neither shall there be again any like similitude in the world graven by the hand of the artificer and adorned with variety of painting, but they were set up and fixed for the consecration (i.e. the holy place?) of idols. Now the stones were precious, brought from the land of Euilath, among which was a crystal and a prase (or one crystalline and one green), and they shewed their fashion, being carved after the manner of a stone pierced with open-work, 2 and another of them was graven on the top, and another as it were marked with spots (or like a spotted chrysoprase) 3 so shone with its graving as if it shewed the water of the deep lying beneath.

12 And these are the precious stones which the Amorites had in their holy places, and the price of them was above reckoning. For when any entered in by night, he needed not the light of a lantern, so much did the natural light of the stones shine forth. Wherein that one gave the greatest light which was cut after the form of a stone pierced with open-work, and was cleansed with bristles; 1 for if any of the Amorites were blind, he went and put his eyes thereupon and recovered his sight. Now when Cenez found them, he set them apart and laid them up till he should know what should become of them.

13 And after that he asked them that were left of the tribe of Manasse, and they said: We did only defile the Lord's sabbaths. And he asked the forsaken of the tribe of Effraim, which said: We desired to pass our sons and our daughters through the fire, that we might know if that which was said were manifest. And he asked the forsaken of the tribe of Benjamin, which said: We desired at this time to examine the book of the law, whether God had plainly written that which was therein, or whether Moses had taught it of himself.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 26

1 And when Cenez had taken all these words and written them in a book and read them before the Lord, God said to him: Take the men and that which was found with them and all their goods and put them in the bed of the river Phison, and burn them with fire that mine anger may cease from them.

2 And Cenez said: Shall we burn these precious stones also with fire, or sanctify them unto thee, for among us there are none like unto them? And God said to him: If God should receive in his own name any of the accursed thing, what should man do? Therefore now take these precious stones and all that was found, both books and men: and when thou dealest so with the men, set apart these stones with the books, for fire will not avail to burn them, and afterwards I will shew thee how thou must destroy them. But the men and all that was found thou shalt burn with fire. And thou shalt assemble all the people, and say to them: Thus shall it be done unto every man whose heart turneth away from his God.

3 And when the fire hath consumed those men, then the books and the precious stones which cannot be burned with fire, neither cut with iron, nor blotted out with water, lay them upon the top of the mount beside the new altar; and I will command a cloud, and it shall go and take up dew and shed it upon the books, and shall blot out that which is written therein, for they cannot be blotted out with any other water than such as hath never served men. And thereafter I will send my lightning, and it shall burn up the books themselves.

4 But as concerning the precious stones, I will command mine angel and he shall take them and go and cast them into the depths of the sea, and I will charge the deep and it shall swallow them up, for they may not continue in the world because they have been polluted by the idols of the Amorites, And I will command another angel, and he shall take for me twelve stones out of the place whence these seven were taken; and thou, when thou findest them in the top of the mount where he shall lay them, take and put them on the shoulder-piece over against the twelve stones which Moses set therein in the wilderness, and sanctify them in the breastplate (lit. oracle) according to the twelve tribes: and say not, How shall I know which stone I shall set for which tribe? Lo, I will tell thee the name of the tribe answering unto the name of the stone, and thou shall find both one and other graven.

5 And Cenez went and took all that had been found and the men with it, and assembled all the people again, and said to them: Behold, ye have seen all the wonders which God hath shewed us unto this day, and lo, when we sought out all that had subtilly devised evil against the Lord and against Israel, God hath revealed them according to their works, and now cursed be every man that deviseth to do the like among you, brethren. And all the people answered Amen, Amen. And when he had so said, he burned all the men with fire, and all that was found with them, saving the precious stones.

6 And after that Cenez desired to prove whether the stones could be burned with fire, and cast them into the fire. And it was so, that when they fell therein, forthwith the fire was quenched. And Cenez took iron to break them, and when the sword touched them the iron thereof was melted; and thereafter he would at the least blot out the books with water; but it came to pass that the water when it fell upon them was congealed. And when he saw that, he said: Blessed be God who hath done so great wonders for the children of men, and made Adam the first-created and shewed him all things; that when Adam had sinned thereby, then he should deny him all these things, lest if he shewed them unto the race of men they should have the mastery over them.

7 And when he had so said, he took the books and the stones and laid them on the top of the mount 1 by the new altar as the Lord had commanded him, and took a peace-offering and burnt-offerings, and offered upon the new altar 2000, offering them all for a burnt sacrifice. And on that day they kept a great feast, he and all the people together.

8 And God did that night as he spake unto Cenez, for he commanded a cloud, and it went and took dew from the ice of paradise and shed it upon the books and blotted them out. And after that an angel came and burned them up, and another angel took the precious stones and cast them into the heart of the sea, and he charged the depth of the sea, and it swallowed them up. And another angel went and brought twelve stones and laid them hard by the place whence he had taken those seven. And he graved thereon the names of the twelve tribes.

9 And Cenez arose on the morrow and found those twelve stones on the top of the mount where himself had laid those seven. And the graving of them was so as if the form of eyes was portrayed upon them.

10 And the first stone, whereon was written the name of the tribe of Ruben, was like a sardine stone. The second stone was graven with a tooth (or ivory), and therein was graven the name of the tribe of Simeon, and the likeness of a topaz was seen in it; and on the third stone was graven the name of the tribe of Levi, and it was like unto an emerald. But the fourth stone was called a crystal, wherein was graven the name of the tribe of Juda, and it was likened to a carbuncle. The fifth stone was green, and upon it was graven the name of the tribe of Isachar, and the colour of a sapphire stone was therein. And of the sixth stone the graving was as if it had been inscribed, (or as a chrysoprase) speckled with diverse markings, and thereon was written the tribe of Zabulon, And the jasper stone was likened unto it.

11 Of the seventh stone the graving shone and shewed within itself, as it were, enclosed the water of the deep, and therein was written the name of the tribe of Dan, which stone was like a ligure. But the eighth stone was cut out with adamant, and therein was written the name of the tribe of Neptalim, and it was like an amethyst. And of the ninth stone 1 the graving was pierced, and it was from Mount Ophir, and therein was written the tribe of Gad, and an agate stone was likened unto it. And of the tenth stone the graving was hollowed, and gave the likeness of a stone of Theman, and there was written the tribe of Aser, and a chrysolite was likened unto it. And the eleventh stone was an elect stone from Libanus, and thereon was written the name of the tribe of Joseph, and a beryl was. likened to it. And the twelfth stone was cut out of the height of Sion 1 (or the quarry), and upon it was written the tribe of Benjamin; and the onyx stone was likened unto it.

12 And God said to Cenez: Take these stones and put them in the ark of the covenant of the Lord with the tables of the covenant which I gave unto Moses in Oreb, and they shall be there with them until Jahel arise 2 to build an house in my name, and then he shall set them before me upon the two cherubim, and they shall be in my sight for a memorial of the house of Israel. 13. And it shall be when the sins of my people are filled up, and their enemies have the mastery over their house, that I will take these stones and the former together with the tables, and lay them up in the place whence they were brought forth in the beginning, and they shall be there until I remember the world, and visit the dwellers upon earth. And then will I take them and many other better than they, from that place which eye hath not seen 3 nor ear heard neither hath it come up into the heart of man, until the like cometh to pass unto the world, and the just shall have no need for the light of the sun nor of the shining of the moon, for the light of the precious stones shall be their light. 14. And Cenez arose and said: Behold what good things God hath done for men, and because of their sins have they been deprived of them all. And now know I this day that the race of men is weak, and their life shall be accounted as nothing. 15. And so saying, he took the stones from the place where they were laid, and as he took them there was as it were the light of the sun poured out upon them, and the earth shone with their light. And Cenez put them in the ark of the covenant of the Lord with the tables as it was commanded him, and there they are unto this day.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 27

1 And after this he armed of the people 300,000 men and went up to fight against the Amorites, and slew on the first day 800,000 men, and on the second day he slew about 500,000.

2 And when the third day came, certain men of the people spake evil against Cenez, saying: Lo now, Cenez alone lieth in his house with his wife and his concubines, and sendeth us to battle, that we may be destroyed before our enemies.

3 And when the servants of Cenez heard, they brought him word. And he commanded a captain of fifty, and he brought of them thirty-seven men who spake against him and shut them up in ward.

4 And their names are these: Le and Uz, Betul, Ephal, Dealma, Anaph, Desac, Besac, Gethel, Anael, Anazim, Noac, Cehec, Boac, Obal, Iabal, Enath, Beath, Zelut, Ephor, Ezeth, Desaph, Abidan, Esar, Moab, Duzal, Azath, Phelac, Igat, Zophal, Eliesor, Ecar, Zebath, Sebath, Nesach and Zere. And when the captain of fifty had shut them up as Cenez commanded, Cenez said: When the Lord hath wrought salvation for his people by my hand, then will I punish these men.

5 And so saying, Cenez commanded the captain of fifty, saying: Go and choose of my servants 300 men, and as many horses, and let no man of the people know of the hour when I shall go forth to battle; but only in what hour I shall tell thee, prepare the men that they be ready this night.

6 And Cenez sent messengers, spies, to see where was the multitude of the camp of the Amorites. And the messengers went and spied, and saw that the multitude of the camp of the Amorites was moving among the rocks devising to come and fight against Israel. And the messengers returned and told him according to this word. And Cenez arose by night, he and 300 horsemen with him, and took a trumpet in his hand and began to go down with the 300 men. And it came to pass, when he was near to the camp of the Amorites, that he said to his servants: Abide here and I will go down alone and view the camp of the Amorites. And it shall be, if I blow with the trumpet ye shall come down, but if not, wait for me here.

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7 And Cenez went down alone, and before he went down he prayed, and said: O Lord God of our fathers, thou hast shewn unto thy servant the marvellous things which thou hast prepared to do by thy covenant in the last days: and now, send unto thy servant one of thy wonders, and I will overcome thine adversaries, that they and all the nations and thy people may know that the Lord delivereth not by the multitude of an host, neither by the strength of horsemen, when they shall perceive the sign of deliverance which thou shalt work for me this day (or horsemen, and that thou, Lord, wilt perform a sign of salvation with me this day). Behold, I will draw my sword out of the scabbard and it shall glitter in the camp of the Amorites: and it shall be, if the Amorites perceive that it is I, Cenez, then I shall know that thou hast delivered them into mine hand. But if they perceive not that it is I, and think that it is another, then I shall know that thou hast not hearkened unto me, but hast delivered me unto mine enemies. But and if I be indeed delivered unto death, I shall know that because of mine iniquities the Lord hath not heard me, and hath delivered me unto mine enemies; but he will not destroy, his inheritance by my death.

8 And he set forth after he had prayed, and heard the multitude of the Amorites saying: Let us arise and fight against Israel: for we know that our holy Nymphs are there among them and will deliver them into our hands.

9 And Cenez arose, for the spirit of the Lord clothed him as a garment, and he drew his sword, and when the light of it shone upon the Amorites like sharp lightning, they saw it, and said: Is not this the sword of Cenez which hath made our wounded many? Now is the word justified which we spake, saying that our holy Nymphs have delivered them into our hands. Lo, now, this day shall there be feasting for the Amorites, when our enemy is delivered unto us. Now, therefore, arise and let everyone gird on his sword and begin the battle.

10 And it came to pass when Cenez heard their words, he was clothed with the spirit of might and changed into another man, and went down into the camp of the Amorites and began to smite them. And the Lord sent before his face the angel Ingethel (or Gethel), who is set over the hidden things, and worketh unseen, (and another) angel of might helping with him: and Ingethel smote the Amorites with blindness, so that every man that saw his neighbour counted them his adversaries, and they slew one another. And the angel Zeruel, who is set over strength, bare up the arms of Cenez lest they should perceive him; and Cenez smote of the Amorites forty and five thousand men, and they themselves smote one another, and fell forty and five thousand men.

11 And when Cenez had smitten a great multitude, he would have loosened his hand from his sword, for the handle of the sword clave, 1 that it could not be loosed, and his right hand had taken into it the strength of the sword. Then they that were left of the Amorites fled into the mountains; but Cenez sought how he might loose his hand: and he looked with his eyes and saw a man of the Amorites fleeing, and he caught him and said to him: I know that the Amorites are cunning: now therefore shew me how I may loose my hand from this sword, and I will let thee go. And the Amorite said: Go and take a man of the Hebrews and kill him, and while his blood is yet warm hold thine hand beneath and receive his blood, so shall thine hand be loosed. And Cenez said: As the Lord liveth, if thou hadst said, Take a man of the Amorites, I would have taken one of them and saved thee alive: but forasmuch as thou saidest "of the Hebrews" that thou mightest show thine hatred, thy mouth shall be against thyself, and according as thou hast said, so will I do unto thee. And when he had thus said Cenez slew him, and while his blood was yet warm, he held his hand beneath and received it therein, and it was loosed.

12 And Cenez departed and put off his garments, and cast himself into the river and washed, and came up again and changed his garments, and returned to his young men. Now the Lord cast upon them a heavy sleep in the night, and they slept and knew not any thing of all that Cenez had done. And Cenez came and awaked them out of sleep; and they looked [upon him] with their eyes and saw, and behold, the field was full of dead bodies: and they were astonished in their mind, and looked every man on his neighbour. And Cenez said unto them: Why marvel ye? Are the ways of the Lord as the way of men? For with men a multitude prevaileth, but with God that which he appointeth. And therefore if God hath willed to work deliverance for this people by my hands, wherefore marvel ye? Arise and gird on every man your swords, and we will go home to our brethren.

13 And when all Israel heard the deliverance that was wrought by the hands of Cenez, all the people came out with one accord to meet him, and said: Blessed be the Lord which hath made thee ruler over his people, and hath shown that those things are sure which he spake unto thee: that which we heard by speech we see now with our eyes, for the work of the word of God is manifest.

14 And Cenez said unto them: Ask now your brethren, and let them tell you how greatly they laboured with me in the battle. And the men that were with him said: As the Lord liveth, we fought not, neither knew we anything, save only when we awaked, we saw the field full of dead bodies. And the people answered: Now know we that when the Lord appointeth to work deliverance for his people, he hath no need of a multitude, but only of sanctification.

15 And Cenez said to the captain of fifty which had shut up those men in prison: Bring forth those men that we may hear their words. And when he had brought them forth, Cenez said to them: Tell me, what saw ye in me that ye murmured among the people? And they said: Why askest thou us? Why askest thou us? Now therefore command that we be burned with fire, for we die not for this sin that we have now spoken, but for that former one wherein those men were taken which were burned in their sins; for then we did consent unto their sin, saying: Peradventure the people will not perceive us; and then we did escape the people. But now have we been (rightly) made a public example 1 by our sins in that we fell into slandering of thee. And Cenez said: If ye yourselves therefore witness against yourselves, how shall I have compassion upon you? And Cenez commanded them to be burned with fire, and cast their ashes into the place where they had burned the multitude of the sinners, even into the brook Phison.

16 And Cenez ruled over his people fifty and seven years, and there was fear upon all his enemies all his days.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 28

1 And when the days of Cenez drew nigh that he should die, he sent and called all men (or all the elders), and the two prophets Jabis and Phinees, and Phinees the son of Eleazar the priest, 1 and said to them: Behold now, the Lord hath showed me all his marvellous works which he hath prepared to do for his people in the last days.

2 And now will I make my covenant with you this day, that ye forsake not the Lord your God after my departing. For ye have seen all the marvels which came upon them that sinned, and all that they declared, confessing their sins of their own accord, and how the Lord our God made an end of them for that they transgressed his covenant. Wherefore now spare ye them of your house and your sons, and abide in the ways of the Lord your God, that the Lord destroy not his inheritance.

3 And Phinees, the son of Eleazar the priest, said: If Cenez the ruler bid me, and the prophets and the people and the elders, I will speak a word which I heard of my father when he was a-dying, and will not keep silence concerning the commandment which he commanded me when his soul was being received. And Cenez the ruler and the prophets said: Let Phinees say on. Shall any other speak before the priest which keepeth the commandments of the Lord our God, and that, seeing that truth proceedeth out of his mouth, and out of his heart a shining light?

4 Then said Phinees: My father, when he was a-dying, commanded me saying: Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel when they, are gathered together unto the assembly: The Lord appeared unto me the third day before this in a dream in the night, and said unto me: Behold, thou hast seen, and thy father before thee, how greatly I have laboured for my people; and it shall be after thy death that this people shall arise and corrupt their ways, departing from my commandments, and I shall be exceeding wroth with them. Yet will I remember the time which was before the ages, even in the time when there was not a man, and therein was no iniquity, when I said that the world should be, and they that should come should praise me therein, and I will plant a great vineyard, and out of it will I choose a plant, and order it and call it by my name, and it shall be mine for ever. But when I have done all that I have spoken, nevertheless my planting, which is called after me, will not know me, the planter thereof, but will corrupt his fruit, and will not yield me his fruit. These are the things which my father commanded me to speak unto this people.

5 And Cenez lifted up his voice, and the elders, and all the people with one accord, and wept with a great lamentation until the evening and said: Shall the shepherd destroy his flock to no purpose, except it continue in sin against him? And shall it not be he that shall spare according to the abundance of his mercy, seeing he hath spent great labour upon us?

6 Now while they were set, the holy spirit that dwelt in Cenez leapt upon him and took away from him his bodily sense, and he began to prophesy, saying: Behold now I see that which I looked not for, and perceive that I knew not. Hearken now, ye that dwell on the earth, even as they that sojourned therein prophesied before me, when they saw this hour, even before the earth was corrupted, that ye may know the prophecies appointed aforetime, all ye that dwell therein.

7 Behold now I see flames that burn not, and I hear springs of water awaked out of sleep, and they have no foundation, neither do I behold the tops of the mountains, nor the canopy of the firmament, but all things unappearing and invisible, which have no place whatsoever, and although mine eye knoweth not what it seeth, mine heart shall discover that which it may learn (or say).

8 Now out of the flame which I saw, and it burned not, I beheld, and lo a spark came up and as it were builded for itself a floor under heaven, and the likeness of the floor thereof was as a spider spinneth, in the fashion of a shield. And when the foundation was laid, I beheld, and from that spring there was stirred up as it were a boiling froth, and behold, it changed itself as it were into another foundation; and between the two foundations, even the upper and the lower, there drew near out of the light of the invisible place as it were forms of men, and they walked to and fro: and behold, a voice saying: These shall be for a foundation unto men and they shall dwell therein 7000 years.

9 And the lower foundation was a pavement and the upper was of froth, and they that came forth out of the light of the invisible place, they are those that shall dwell therein, and the name of that man is <Adam>. And it shall be, when he hath (or they have) sinned against me and the time is fulfilled, that the spark shall be quenched and the spring shall cease, and so they shall be changed.

10 And it came to pass after Cenez had spoken these words that he awaked and his sense returned unto him: but he knew not that which he had spoken neither that which he had seen, but this only he said to the people: If the rest of the righteous be such after they are dead, it is better for them to die to the corruptible world, that they see not sin. And when Cenez had so said, he died and slept with his fathers, and the people mourned for him 30 days.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 29

1 And after these things the people appointed Zebul ruler over them, and at that time he gathered the people together and said unto them: Behold now, we know all the labour wherewith Cenez laboured with us in the days of his life. Now if he had had sons, they should have been princes over the people, but inasmuch as his daughters are yet alive, let them receive a greater inheritance among the people, because their father in his life refused to give it unto them, lest he should be called covetous and greedy of gain. And the people said: Do all that is right in thine eyes.

2 Now Cenez had three daughters whose names are these: Ethema the firstborn, the second Pheila, the third Zelpha. And Zebul gave to the firstborn all that was round about the land of the Phœnicians, and to the second he gave the olive yard of Accaron, and to the third all the tilled land that was about Azotus. And he gave them husbands, namely to the firstborn Elisephan, to the second Odiel, and to the third Doel.

3 Now in those days Zebul set up a treasury for the Lord and said unto the people: Behold, if any man will sanctify unto the Lord gold and silver, let him bring it to the Lord's treasury in Sylo: only let not any that hath stuff belonging to idols think to sanctify it to the Lord's treasures, for the Lord desireth not the abominations of the accursed things, lest ye disturb the synagogue of the Lord, for the wrath that is passed by sufficeth. And all the people brought that which their heart moved them to bring, both men and women, even gold and silver. And all that was brought was weighed, and it was 20 talents of gold, and 250 talents of silver.

4 And Zebul judged the people twenty and five years. And when he had accomplished his time, he sent and called all the people and said: Lo, now I depart to die. Look ye to the testimonies which they that went before us testified, and let not your heart be like unto the waves of the sea, but like as the wave of the sea under standeth not save only those things which are in the sea, so let your heart also think upon nothing save only those things which belong unto the law. And Zebul slept with his fathers, and was buried in the sepulchre of his father.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 30

1 Then had the children of Israel no man whom they might appoint as judge over them: and their heart fell away, and they forgot the promise, and transgressed the ways which Moses and Jesus the servants of the Lord had commanded them, and were led away after the daughters of the Amorites, and served their gods.

2 And the Lord was wroth with them, and sent his angel and said: Behold, I chose me one people out of all the tribes of the earth, and I said that my glory should abide with them in this world, and I sent unto them Moses my servant, to declare unto them my great majesty and my judgements, and they have transgressed my ways. Now therefore behold I will stir up their enemies and they shall rule over them, and then shall all the people[s] say: Because we have transgressed the ways of God and of our fathers, therefore are these things come upon us. Yet there shall a woman rule over them which shall give them light 40 years.

3 And after these things the Lord stirred up against them Jabin king of Asor, and he began to fight against them, and he had as captain of his might Sisara, who had 8000 chariots of iron. And he came unto the mount Effrem and fought against the people, and Israel feared him greatly, and the people could not stand all the days of Sisara.

4 And when Israel was brought very low, all the children of Israel gathered together with one accord unto the mount of Juda and said: We did call ourselves blessed more than all

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people, and now, lo, we are brought so low, more than all nations, that we cannot dwell in our land, and our enemies bear rule over us. And now who hath done all this unto us? Is it not our iniquities, because we have forsaken the Lord God of our fathers, and have walked in those things which could not profit us? Now therefore come let us fast seven days, both men and women, and from the least (sic) even to the sucking child. Who knoweth whether God will be reconciled unto his inheritance, that he destroy not the planting of his vineyard?

5 And after the people had fasted 7 days, sitting in sackcloth, the Lord sent unto them on the 7th day Debbora, who said unto them: Can the sheep 1 that is appointed to the slaughter answer before him that slayeth it, when both he that slayeth < . . . > and he that is slain keepeth silence, when he is sometimes provoked against it? Now ye were born to be a flock before our Lord. And he led you into the height of the clouds, and subdued angels beneath your feet, and appointed unto you a law, and gave you commandments by prophets, and chastised you by rulers, and shewed you wonders not a few, and for your sake commanded the luminaries and they stood still in the places where they were bidden, and when your enemies came upon you he rained hailstones upon them and destroyed them, and Moses and Jesus and Cenez and Zebul gave you commandments. And ye have not obeyed them.

6 For while they lived, ye shewed yourselves as it were obedient unto your God, but when they died, your heart died also. And ye became like unto iron that is thrust into the fire, which when it is melted by the flame becometh as water, but when it is come out of the fire returneth unto its hardness. So ye also, while they that admonish you burn you, do show the effect, and when they are dead ye forget all things.

7 And now, behold, the Lord will have compassion upon you this day, not for your sakes, but for his covenant's sake which he made with your fathers and for his oath's sake which he sware, that he would not forsake you for ever. But know ye that after my decease ye will begin to sin in your latter days. Wherefore the Lord will perform marvellous things among you, and will deliver your enemies into your hands. For your fathers are dead, but God, which made a covenant with them, is life.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 31

1 And Debbora sent and called Barach and said to him: Arise and gird up thy loins as a man, and go down and fight against Sisara, For I see the constellations greatly moved in their ranks and preparing to fight for you. I see also the lightnings unmoveable in their courses, and setting forth to stay the wheels of the chariots of them that boast in the might of Sisara, who saith: I will surely go down in the arm of my might to fight against Israel, and will divide the spoil of them among my servants, and their fair women will I take unto me for concubines. Therefore hath the Lord spoken concerning him that the arm of a weak woman shall overcome him, and maidens shall take his spoil, and he also himself shall fall into the hands of a woman.

2 And when Debbora and the people and Barach went down to meet their enemies, immediately the Lord disturbed the goings of his stars, and spake unto them saying: Hasten and go ye, for our (or your) enemies fall upon you: confound their arms and break the strength of their hearts, for I am come that my people may prevail. For though it be that my people have sinned, yet will I have mercy on them. And when this was said, the stars went forth as it was commanded them and burned up their enemies. And the number of them that were gathered (or burned) and slain in one hour was go times 97,000 men. But Sisara they destroyed not, for so it was commanded them.

3 And when Sisara had fled on his horse to deliver his soul, Jahel the wife of Aber the Cinean decked herself with her ornaments and came out to meet him: now the woman was very fair: and when she saw him she said: Come in and take food, and sleep: and in. the evening I will send my servants with thee, for I know that thou wilt remember me and recompense me. And Sisara came in, and when he saw roses scattered upon the bed he said: If I be delivered, O Jahel, I will go unto my mother and thou shalt (or Jahel shall) be my wife.

4 And thereafter was Sisara athirst and he said to Jahel: Give me a little water, for I am faint and my soul burneth by reason of the flame which I beheld in the stars. And Jahel said unto him: Rest a little while and then thou shalt drink.

5 And when Sisara was fallen asleep, Jahel went to the flock and milked milk therefrom. And as she milked she said: Behold now, remember, O Lord, when thou didst divide every tribe and nation upon the earth, didst thou not choose out Israel only, and didst not liken him to any beast save only unto the ram that goeth before the flock and leadeth it? Behold therefore and see how Sisara hath thought in his heart saying: I will go and punish the flock of the Most Mighty. And lo, I will take of the milk of the beasts whereunto thou didst liken thy people, and will go and give him to drink, and when he hath drunk he shall become weak, and after that I will kill him. And this shall be the sign that thou shalt give me, O Lord, that, whereas Sisara sleepeth, when I go in, if he wake and ask me forthwith, saying: Give me water to drink, then I shall know that my prayer hath been heard.

6 So Jahel returned and entered in, and Sisara awaked and said to her: Give me to drink, for I burn mightily and my soul is inflamed. And Jahel took wine and mingled it with the milk and gave him to drink, and he drank and fell asleep.

7 But Jahel took a stake in her left hand and drew near unto him saying: If the Lord give me this sign I shall know that Sisara shall fall into my hands. Behold I will cast him upon the ground from off the bed whereon he sleepeth, and it shall be, if he perceive it not, that I shall know that he is delivered up. And Jahel took Sisara and pushed him from off the bed upon the earth, but he perceived it not, for he was exceeding faint. And Jahel said: Strengthen in me, O Lord, mine arm this day for thy sake and thy people's sake, and for them that put their trust in thee. And Jahel 'took the stake and set it upon his temple and smote with the hammer. And as he died Sisara' said to Jahel: Lo, pain hath come upon me, Jahel, and I die like a woman. And Jahel said unto him: Go boast thyself before thy father in hell, and tell him that thou hast fallen into (or say, I have been delivered into) the hands of a woman. And she made an end and slew him and laid his body there until Barach should return.

8 Now the mother of Sisara was called Themech, and she sent unto her friends saying: Come, let us go forth together to meet my son, and ye shall see the daughters of the Hebrews whom my son will bring hither to be his concubines.

9 But Barach returned from following after Sisara and was greatly vexed because he found him not, and Jahel came forth to meet him, and said: Come, enter in, thou blessed of God, and I will deliver thee thine enemy whom thou followedst after and hast not found. And Barach went in and found Sisara dead, and said: Blessed be the Lord which sent his spirit and said: Into the hands of a woman shall Sisara be delivered. And when he had so said he cut off the head of Sisara and sent it unto his mother, and gave her a message saying: Receive thy son whom thou didst look for to come with spoil.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 32

1 Then Debbora and Barach the son of Abino and all the people together sang an hymn unto the Lord in that day, saying: Behold, from on high hath the Lord shewn unto us his glory, even as he did aforetime when he sent forth his voice to confound the tongues of men. And he chose out our nation, and took Abraham our father out of the fire, and chose him before all his brethren, and kept him from the fire and delivered him from the bricks of the building of the tower, and gave him a son in the latter days of his old age, and brought him out of the barren womb, and all the angels were jealous against him, and the orderers of the hosts envied him.

2 And it came to pass, when they were jealous against him, God said unto him: Slay for me the fruit of thy belly and offer for my sake that which I gave thee. And Abraham did not gainsay him and set forth immediately. And as he went forth he said to his son: Lo, now, my son, I offer thee for a burnt offering and deliver thee into his hands who gave thee unto me.

3 And the son said to his father: Hear me, father. If a lamb of the flock is accepted for an offering to the Lord for an odour of sweetness, and if for the iniquities of men sheep are appointed to the slaughter, but man is set to inherit the world, how then sayest thou now unto me: Come and inherit a life secure, and a time that cannot be measured? What and if I had not been born in the world to be offered a sacrifice unto him that made me? And it shall be my blessedness beyond all men, for there shall be no other such thing; and in me shall the generations be instructed, and by me the peoples shall understand that the Lord hath accounted the soul of a man worthy to be a sacrifice unto him.

4 And when his father had offered him upon the altar and had bound his feet to slay him, the Most Mighty hasted and sent forth his voice from on high saying: Kill not thy son, neither destroy the fruit of thy body: for now have I showed forth myself that I might appear to them that know me not, and have shut the mouths of them that always speak evil against thee. And thy memorial shall be before me for ever, and thy name and the name of this thy son from one generation to another.

5 And to Isaac he gave two sons, which also were from a womb shut up, for at that time their mother was in the third year of her marriage. And it shall not be so with any other woman, neither shall any wife boast herself so, that cometh near to her husband in the third year. And there were born to him two sons, even Jacob and Esau. And God loved Jacob, but Esau he hated because of his deeds.

6 And it came to pass in the old age of their father, that Isaac blessed Jacob and sent him into Mesopotamia, and there he begat 12 sons, and they went down into Egypt and dwelled there.

7 And when their enemies dealt evilly with them, the people cried unto the Lord, and their prayer was heard, and he brought them out thence, and led them unto the mount Sina, and brought forth unto them the foundation of understanding which he had prepared from the birth of the world; and then the foundation was moved, the hosts sped forth the lightnings upon their courses, and the winds sounded out of their storehouses, and the earth was stirred from her foundation, and the mountains and the rocks trembled in their fastenings, and the clouds lifted up their waves against the flame of the fire that it should not consume the world.

8 Then did the depth awake from his springs, and all the waves of the sea came together. Then did Paradise give forth the breath of her fruits, and the cedars of Libanus were moved from their roots. And the beasts of the field were terrified in the dwellings of the forests, and all his works gathered together to behold the Lord when he ordained a covenant with the children of Israel. And all things that the Most Mighty said, these hath he observed, having for witness Moses his beloved.

9 And when he was dying God appointed unto him the firmament, and shewed him these witnesses whom now we have, saying: Let the heaven whereinto thou hast entered and the earth wherein thou hast walked until now be a witness between me and thee and my people. For the sun and the moon and the stars shall be ministers unto us (or you).

10 And when Jesus arose to rule over the people, it came to pass in the day wherein he fought against the enemies, that the evening drew near, while yet the battle was strong, and Jesus said to the sun and the moon: O ye ministers that were appointed between the Most Mighty and his sons, lo now, the battle goeth on still, and do ye forsake your office? Stand still therefore to-day and give light unto his sons, and put darkness upon our enemies. And they did so.

11 And now in these days Sisara arose to make us his bondmen, and we cried unto the Lord our God, and he commanded the stars and said: Depart out of your ranks, and burn mine enemies, that they may know my might. And the stars came down and overthrew their camp and kept us safe without any labour.

12 Therefore will we not cease to sing praises, neither shall our mouths keep silence from telling of his marvellous works: for he hath remembered his promises both new and old, and hath shown us his deliverance,: and therefore doth Jahel boast herself among women, because she alone hath brought this good way to success, in that with her own hands she slew Sisara.

13 O earth, go thou, go, ye heavens and lightnings, go, ye angels and hosts, [go ye] and tell the fathers in the treasure-houses of their souls, and say: The Most Mighty hath not forgotten the least of all the promises which he made with us, saying: Many wonders will I perform for your sons. And now from this day forth it shall be known that whatsoever God hath said unto men that he will perform, he will perform it, even though man die.

14 Sing praises, sing praises, O Debbora (or, if man delay to sing praises to God, yet sing thou, O Debbora), and let the grace of an holy spirit awake in thee, and begin to praise the works of the Lord: for there shall not again arise such a day, wherein the stars shall bear tidings and overcome the enemies of Israel, as it was commanded them. From this time forth if Israel fall into a strait, let him call upon these his witnesses together with their ministers, and they shall go upon an embassy to the most High, and he will remember this day, and will send a deliverance to his covenant.

15 And thou, Debbora, begin to speak of that thou sawest in the field: how that the people walked and went forth safely, and the stars fought on their part (or, how that, like peoples walking, so went forth the stars and fought). Rejoice, O land, over them that dwell in thee, for in thee is the knowledge of the Lord which buildeth his stronghold in thee. For it was of right that God took out of thee the rib of him that was first formed, knowing that out of his rib Israel should be born. And thy forming shall be for a testimony of what the Lord hath done for his people.

16 Tarry, O ye hours of the day, and hasten not onward, that we may declare that which our understanding can bring forth, for night will come upon us. And it shall be like the night when God smote the firstborn of the Egyptians for the sake of his firstborn.

17 And then shall I cease from my hymn because the time will be hastened (or prepared) for his righteous ones. For I will sing unto him as in the renewing of the creation, and the people shall remember this deliverance, and it shall be for a testimony unto them. Let the sea also bear witness, with the deeps thereof, for not only did God dry it up before the face of our fathers, but he did also overthrow the camp from its setting and overcame our enemies.

18 And when Debbora made an end of her words she went up with the people together unto Silo, and they offered sacrifices and burnt offerings and sounded upon the broad trumpets. 1 And when they sounded and had offered the sacrifices, Debbora said: This shall be for a testimony of the trumpets between the stars and the Lord of them.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 33

1 And Debbora went down thence, and judged Israel 40 years. And it came to pass when the day of her death drew

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near, that she sent and gathered all the people and said unto them: Hearken now, my people. Behold, I admonish you as a woman of God, and give you light as one of the race of women; obey me now as your mother, and give ear to my words, as men that shall yourselves die.

2 Behold, I depart to die by the way of all flesh, whereby ye also shall go: only direct your heart unto the Lord your God in the time of your life, for after your death ye will not be able to repent of those things wherein ye live.

3 For death is now sealed up, and accomplished, and the measure and the time and the years have restored that which was committed to them. For even if ye seek to do evil in hell after your death, ye will not be able, because the desire of sin shall cease, and the evil creation 2 shall lose its power, and hell, which receiveth that that is committed to it, will not restore it unless it be demanded by him that committed it. Now, therefore, my sons, obey ye my voice while ye have the time of life and the light of the law, and direct your ways.

4 And when Debbora spake these words, all the people lifted up their voice together and wept, saying: Behold now, mother, thou diest and forsakest thy sons; and to whom dost thou commit them? Pray thou, therefore, for us, and after thy departure thy soul shall be mindful of us for ever.

5 And Debbora answered and said to the people: While a man yet liveth he can pray for himself and for his sons; but after his end he will not be able to entreat nor to remember any man. Therefore, hope not in your fathers, for they will not profit you unless ye be found like unto them. But then your likeness shall be as the stars of the heaven, which have been manifested unto you at this time.

6 And Debbora died and slept with her fathers and was buried in the city of her fathers, and the people mourned for her 70 days. And as they bewailed her, thus they spake a lamentation, saying: Behold, a mother is perished out of Israel, and an holy one that bare rule in the house of Jacob, which made fast the fence about her generation, and her generation shall seek after her. And after her death the land had rest seven years.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 34

1 And at that time there came up a certain Aod of the priests of Madian, and he was a wizard, and he spake unto Israel, saying: Wherefore give ye ear to your law? Come and I will shew you such a thing as your law is not. And the people said: What canst thou shew us that our law hath not? And he said to the people: Have ye ever seen the sun by night? And they said: Nay. And he said: Whensoever ye will, I will shew it unto you, that ye may know that our gods have power, and will not deceive them that serve them. And they said: Shew us.

2 And he departed and wrought with his magic, commanding the angels that were set over sorceries, because for a long time he did sacrifice unto them. 3. <<For this was formerly in the power of the angels and was>> performed by the angels before they were judged, and they would have destroyed the unmeasurable world; and because they transgressed, it came to pass that the angels had no longer the power. 1 For when they were judged, then the power was not committed unto the rest: and by these signs (or powers) do they work who minister unto men in sorceries, until the unmeasurable age shall come.

4 And at that time Aod by art magic shewed unto the people the sun by night. And the people were astonished and said: Behold, what great things can the gods of the Madianites do, and we knew it not!

5 And God, willing to try Israel whether they were yet in iniquity, suffered the angels, and their work had good success, and the people of Israel were deceived and began to serve the gods of the Madianites. And God said: I will deliver them into the hands of the Madianites, inasmuch as by them are they deceived. And he delivered them into their hands, and the Madianites began to bring Israel into bondage.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 35

1 Now Gedeon was the son of Joath, the most mighty man among all his brethren. And when it was the time of summer, he came to the mountain, having sheaves with him, to thresh them there, and escape from the Madianites that pressed upon him. And the angel of the Lord met him, and said unto him: Whence comest thou and where is thine entering in?

2 He said to him: Why askest thou me whence I come? for straitness encompasseth me, for Israel is fallen into affliction, and they are verily delivered into the hands of the Madianites. And where are the wonders which our fathers have told us, saying: The Lord chose Israel alone before all the peoples of the earth? Lo, now he hath delivered us up, and hath forgotten the promises which he made to our fathers. For we should have chosen rather to be delivered unto death once for all, than that his people should be punished thus time after time.

3 And the angel of the Lord said unto him: It is not for nothing that ye are delivered up, but your own inventions have brought these things upon you, for like as ye have forsaken the promises which ye received of the Lord, these evils are come upon you, and ye have not been mindful of the commandments of God, which they commanded you that were before you. Therefore are ye come into the displeasure of your God. But he will have mercy upon you, as no man hath mercy, even upon the race of Israel, and that not for your sakes, but because of them that are fallen asleep.

4 And now come, I will send thee, and thou shalt deliver Israel out of the hand of the Madianites. For thus saith the Lord: Though Israel be not righteous, yet because the Madianites are sinners, therefore, knowing the iniquity of my people, I will forgive them, and after that I will rebuke them for that they have done evil, but upon the Madianites I will be avenged presently.

5 And Gedeon said: Who am I and what is my father's house, that I should go against the Madianites to battle? And the angel said unto him: Peradventure thou thinkest that as is man's way so is the way of God. For men look upon the glory of the world and upon riches, but God looketh upon that which is upright and good, and upon meekness. Now therefore go, gird up thy loins, and the Lord shall be with thee, for thee hath he chosen to take vengeance of his enemies, like as, behold, he hath bidden thee.

6 And Gedeon said to him: Let not my Lord be wroth if I speak a word. Behold, Moses, the first of all the prophets, besought the Lord for a sign, and it was given him. But who am I, except the Lord that hath chosen me give me a sign that I may know that I go aright. And the angel of the Lord said unto him: Run and take for me water out of the pit yonder and pour it upon this rock, and I will give thee a sign. And he went and took it as he commanded him.

7 And the angel said unto him: Before thou pour the water upon the rock, ask what thou wouldst have it to become, either blood, or fire, or that it appear not at all. And Gedeon said: Let it become half of it blood and half fire. And Gedeon poured out the water upon the rock, and it came to pass when he had poured it out, that the half part became flame, and the half part blood, and they were mingled together, that is, the fire and the blood, yet the blood did not quench the fire, neither did the fire consume the blood. And when Gedeon saw that, he asked for yet other signs, and they were given him. Are not these written in the book of the Judges?

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 36

1 And Gedeon took 300 men and departed and came unto the uttermost part of the camp of Madian, and he heard every man speaking to his neighbour and saying: Ye shall sec a confusion above reckoning, of the sword of Gedeon, coming upon us, for God hath delivered into his hands the camp of the Madianites, and he will begin to make an end of us, even the mother with the children, because our sins are filled up, even as also our gods have shewed us and we believed them not. And now arise, let us succour our souls and fly.

2 And when Gedeon heard these words, immediately he was clothed with the spirit of the Lord, and, being endued with power, he said unto the 300 men: Arise and let every one of you gird on his sword, for the Madianites are delivered into our hands. And the men went down with him, and he drew near and began to fight. And they blew the trumpet and cried out together and said: The sword of the Lord is upon us. And they slew of the Madianites about 120,000 men, and the residue of the Madianites fled.

3 And after these things Gedeon came and gathered the people of Israel together and said unto them: Behold, the Lord sent me to fight your battle, and I went according as he commanded me. And now I ask one petition of you: turn not away your face; and let every man of you give me the golden armlets which ye have on your hands. And Gedeon spread out a coat, and every man cast upon it their armlets, and they were all weighed, and the weight of them was found to be 12 talents (or 12,000 shekels). And Gedeon took them., and of them he made idols and worshipped them.

4 And God said: One way is verily appointed, that I should not rebuke Gedeon in his lifetime, even because when he destroyed the sanctuary of Baal, then all men said: Let Baal avenge himself. Now, therefore, if I chastise him for that he hath done evil against me, ye will say: It was not God that chastised him, but Baal, because he sinned aforetime against him. Therefore now shall Gedeon die in a good old age, that they may not have whereof to speak. But after that Gedeon is dead I will punish him once, because he hath transgressed against me. And Gedeon died in a good old age and was buried in his own city.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 37

1 And he had a son by a concubine whose name was Abimelech; the same slew all his brethren, desiring to be ruler over the people.

[One leaf of text missing]

2 Then all the trees of the field came together unto the fig-tree and said: Come, reign over us. And the fig-tree said: Was I indeed born in the kingdom or in the rulership over the trees? or was I planted to that and that I should reign over you? And therefore even as I cannot reign over you, neither shall Abimelech obtain continuance in his rulership. After that the trees came together unto the vine and said: Come, reign over us. And the vine said: I was planted to give unto men the sweetness of wine, and I am preserved by rendering unto them my fruit. But like as I cannot reign over you, so shall the blood of Abimelech be required at your hand. And after that the trees came unto the apple and said: Come, reign over us. And he said: It was commanded me to yield unto men a fruit of sweet savour. Therefore I cannot reign over you, and Abimelech shall die by stones.

3 Then came the trees unto the bramble and said: Come, reign over us. And the bramble said: When the thorn was born, truth did shine forth in the semblance of a thorn. And when our first father was condemned to death, the earth was condemned to bring forth thorns and thistles. And when the truth enlightened Moses, it was by a thorn bush that it enlightened him. Now therefore it shall be that by me the truth shall be heard of you. Now if ye have spoken in sincerity unto the bramble that it should in truth reign over you, sit ye under the shadow of it: but if with dissembling, then let fire go forth and devour and consume the trees of the field. For the apple-tree was made for the chastisers, and the fig-tree was made for the people, and the vine[yard] was made for them that were before us.

4 And now shall the bramble be unto you even as Abimelech, which slew his brethren with wrong, and desireth to rule over you. If Abimelech be worthy of them (or Let Abimelech be a fire unto them) whom he desireth to rule, let him be as the bramble which was made to rebuke the foolish among the people. And there went forth fire out of the bramble and devoured the trees that are in the field.

5 After that Abimelech ruled over the people for one year and six months, and he died hard by a certain tower, whence a woman cast down upon him the half of a millstone.

[Text missing: A gap in the text of uncertain length.]

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 38

(Then did Jair judge Israel 22 years.)

1 The same built a sanctuary to Baal, and led the people astray saying: Every man that sacrificeth not unto Baal shall die. And when all the people sacrificed, seven men only would not sacrifice whose names are these: Dephal, Abiesdrel, Getalibal, Selumi, Assur, Jonadali, Memihel.

2 The same answered and said unto Jair: Behold, we remember the precepts which they that were before us commanded us, and Debbora our mother, saying: Take heed that ye turn not away your heart to the right hand or to the left, but attend unto the law of the Lord day and night. Now therefore why dost thou corrupt the people of the Lord and deceive them, saying: Baal is God, let us worship him? And now if he be God as thou sayest, let him speak as a God, and then we will sacrifice unto him.

3 And Jair 1 said: Burn them with fire, for they have blasphemed Baal. And his servants took them to burn them with fire. And when they cast them upon the fire there went forth Nathaniel, the angel which is over fire, and quenched the fire and burned up the servants of Jair: but the seven men he made to escape, so that no man of the people saw them, for he had smitten the people with blindness.

4 And when Jair came to the place (or it came to the place of Jair) he also was burned. But before he burned him, the angel of the Lord said unto him: Hear the word of the Lord before thou diest. Thus saith the Lord: I raised thee up out of the land of Egypt, and appointed thee ruler over my peoples. But thou hast risen and corrupted my covenant, and hast led them astray, and hast sought to burn my servants in the flame, because they reproved thee, which though they be burned with corruptible fire, yet now are they quickened with living fire and are delivered. But thou shalt die, saith the Lord, and in the fire wherein thou shalt die, therein shalt thou have thy dwelling. And thereafter he burned him, and came even unto the pillar of Baal and overthrew it, and burned up Baal with the people that stood by, even 1000 men.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 39

1 And after these things came the children of Ammon and began to fight against Israel and took many of their cities. And when the people were greatly straitened, they gathered together in Masphath, saying every man to his neighbours: Behold now, we see the strait which encompasseth us, and the Lord is departed from us, and is no more with us, and our enemies have taken our cities, and there is no leader to go in and out before our face. Now therefore let us see whom we may set over us to fight our battle.

2 Now Jepthan the Galaadite was a mighty man of valour, and because he was jealous of his brothers, they had cast him out of his land, and he went and dwelt in the land of Tobi. And vagrant men gathered themselves unto him and abode with him.

3 And it came to pass when Israel was overcome in battle, that they came into the land of Tobi to Jepthan and said unto him: Come, rule over the people. For who knoweth whether thou wast therefore preserved to this day or wast therefore delivered out of the hands of thy brethren that thou mightest at this time bear rule over thy people? 4. And Jepthan said unto them: Doth love so return after hatred, or doth time

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overcome all things? For ye did cast me out of my land and out of my father's house; and now are ye come unto me when ye are in a strait? And they said unto him: If the God of our fathers remembered not our sins, but delivered us when we had sinned against him and he had given us over before the face of our enemies, and we were oppressed by them, why wilt thou that art a mortal man remember the iniquities which happened unto us, in the time of our affliction? Therefore be it not so before thee, lord. 5. And Jepthan said: God indeed is able to be unmindful of our sins, seeing he hath time and place to repose himself of his long-suffering, for he is God; but I am mortal, made of the earth: whereunto I shall return, and where shall I cast away mine anger, and the wrong wherewith ye have injured me? And the people said unto him: Let the dove instruct thee, whereunto Israel was likened, for though her young be taken away from her, yet departeth she not out of her place, but spurneth away her wrong and forgetteth it as it were in the bottom of the deep.

6 And Jepthan arose and went with them and gathered all the people, and said unto them: Ye know how that when our princes were alive, they admonished us to follow our law. And Ammon and his sons turned away the people from their way wherein they walked, to serve other gods which should destroy them. Now therefore set your hearts in the law of the Lord your God, and let us entreat him with one accord. And so will we fight against our adversaries, and trust and hope in the Lord that he will not deliver us up for ever. For although our sins do overabound, nevertheless his mercy filleth all the earth.

7 And the whole people prayed with one accord, both men and women, boys and sucklings. And when they prayed they said: Look, O Lord, upon the people whom thou hast chosen, and spoil not the vine which thy right hand hath planted; that this people may be before thee for an inheritance, whom thou hast possessed from the beginning, and whom thou hast preferred alway, and for whose sake thou hast made the habitable places, and brought them into the land which thou swarest unto them; deliver us not up before them that hate thee, O Lord. 8. And God repented him of his anger and strengthened the spirit of Jepthan.

And he sent a message unto Getal the king of the children of Ammon and said: Wherefore vexest thou our land and hast taken my cities, or wherefore afflictest thou us? Thou hast not been commanded of the God of Israel to destroy them that dwell in the land. Now therefore restore unto me my cities, and mine anger shall cease from thee. But if not, know that I will come up unto thee and repay thee for the former things, and recompense thy wickedness upon thine head: rememberest thou not how thou didst deal deceitfully with the people of Israel in the wilderness? And the messengers of Jepthan spake these words unto the king of the children of Ammon. 9. And Getal said: Did Israel take thought when he took the land of the Amorites? Say therefore: Know ye that now I will take from thee the remnant of thy cities and will repay thee thy wickedness and will take vengeance for the Amorites whom thou hast wronged. And Jepthan sent yet again to the king of the children of Ammon saying: Of a truth I perceive that God hath brought thee hither that I may destroy thee, unless thou rest from thine iniquity wherewith thou wilt vex Israel. And therefore I will come unto thee and show myself unto thee. For they are not, as ye say, gods which have given you the inheritance that ye possess. But because ye have been led astray after stones, fire shall follow after you unto vengeance.

10 And because the king of the children of Ammon would not hear the voice of Jepthan, Jepthan arose and armed all the people to go forth and fight in the borders saying: When the children of Ammon are delivered into my hands and I am returned, any that first meeteth with me shall be for a burnt offering unto the Lord.

11 And the Lord was very wroth and said: Behold, Jepthan hath vowed that he will offer unto me that which meeteth with him first. Now therefore if a dog meet with Jepthan first, shall a dog be offered unto me? And now let the vow of Jepthan be upon his firstborn, even upon the fruit of his body, and his prayer upon his only begotten daughter. But I will verily deliver my people at this time, not for his sake, but for the prayer which Israel hath prayed.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 40

1 And Jepthan came and fought against the children of Ammon, and the Lord delivered them into his hand, and he smote threescore of their cities. And Jepthan returned in peace. And the women came out to meet him with dances. And he had an only begotten daughter; the same came out first in the dances to meet her father. And when Jepthan saw her he fainted and said: Rightly is thy name called Seila, 1 that thou shouldest be offered for a sacrifice. And now who will put my heart in the balance and weigh my soul? and I will stand and see whether one will outweigh the other, the rejoicing that is come or the affliction which cometh upon me? for in that I have opened my mouth unto my Lord in the song of my vows, I cannot call it back again. 2. And Seila his daughter said unto him: And who is it that can be sorrowful in their death when they see the people delivered? Rememberest thou not that which was in the days of our fathers, when the father set his son for a burnt offering and he gainsaid him not, but consented unto him rejoicing? And he that was offered was ready, and he that offered was glad.

3 Now therefore annul not anything of that thou has vowed, but grant unto me one prayer. I ask of thee before I die a small request: I beseech thee that before I give up my soul, I may go into the mountains and wander (or abide) among the hills and walk about among the rocks, I and the virgins that are my fellows, and pour out my tears there and tell the affliction of my youth; and the trees of the field shall bewail me and the beasts of the field shall lament for me; for I am not sorrowful for that I die, neither doth it grieve me that I give up my soul: but whereas my father was overtaken in his vow, [and] if I offer not myself willingly for a sacrifice, I fear lest my death be not acceptable, and that I shall lose my life to no purpose. These things will I tell unto the mountains, and after that I will return. And her father said: Go.

4 And Seila the daughter of Jepthan went forth, she and the virgins that were her fellows, and came and told it to the wise men of the people. And no man could answer her words. And after that she went into the mount Stelac, and by night the Lord thought upon her, and said: Lo, now have I shut up the tongue of the wise among my people before this generation, that they could not answer the word of the daughter of Jepthan, that my word might be fulfilled, and my counsel not destroyed which I had devised: and I have seen that she is more wise than her father, and a maiden of understanding more than all the wise which are here. And now let her life be given her at her request, and her death shall be precious in my sight at all times.

5 And when the daughter of Jepthan came unto the mount Stelac, she began to lament. And this is her lamentation wherewith she mourned and bewailed herself before she departed, and she said: Hearken, O mountains, to my lamentation, and look, O hills, upon the tears of mine eyes, and be witness, O rocks, in the bewailing of my soul. Behold how I am accused, but my soul shall not be taken away in vain. Let my words go forth into the heavens, and let my tears be written before the face of the firmament, that the father overcome not (or fight not against) his daughter whom he hath vowed to offer up, that her ruler may hear that his only begotten daughter is promised for a sacrifice.

6 Yet I have not been satisfied with my bed of marriage, neither filled with the garlands of my wedding. For I have not been arrayed with brightness, sitting in my maidenhood; I have not used my precious ointment, neither hath my soul enjoyed the oil of anointing which was prepared for me. O my mother, to no purpose hast thou borne thine only begotten, and begotten her upon the earth, for hell is become my marriage chamber. Let all the mingling of oil which thou hast prepared for me be poured out, and the white robe which my mother wove for me, let the moth eat it, and the crown of flowers which my nurse plaited for me aforetime, let it wither, and the coverlet which she wove of violet and purple for my virginity, let the worm spoil it; and when the virgins, my fellows, tell of me, let them bewail me with groaning for many days.

7 Bow down your branches, O ye trees, and lament my youth. Come, ye beasts of the forest, and trample upon my virginity. For my years are cut off, and the days of my life are waxen old in darkness.

8 And when she had so said, Seila returned unto her father, and he did all that he had vowed, and offered burnt offerings. Then all the maidens of Israel gathered together and buried the daughter of Jepthan and bewailed her. And the children of Israel made a great lamentation and appointed in that month, on the 14th day of the month, that they should come together every year and lament for the daughter of Jepthan four days. And they called the name of her sepulchre according to her own name Seila.

9 And Jepthan judged the children of Israel ten years, and died, and was buried with his fathers.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 41

1 And after him there arose a judge in Israel, Addo the son of Elech of Praton, and he also judged the children of Israel eight years. In his days the king of Moab sent messengers unto him saying: Behold now, thou knowest that Israel hath taken my cities: now therefore restore them in recompense. And Addo said: Are ye not yet instructed by that which hath befallen the children of Ammon, unless peradventure the sins of Moab be filled up? And Addo sent and took of the people 20,000 men and came against Moab, and fought against them and slew of them 45,000 men. And the remnant fled before him. And Addo returned in peace and offered burnt offerings and sacrifices unto his Lord, and died, and was buried in Ephrata his city.

2 And at that time the people chose Elon and made him judge over them, and he judged Israel twenty years. In those days they fought against the Philistines and took of them twelve cities. And Elon died and was buried in his city.

3 But the children of Israel forgat the Lord their God and served the gods of the dwellers in the land. Therefore were they delivered unto the Philistines and served them forty years.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 42

1 Now there was a man of the tribe of Dan, whose name was Manue, the son of Edoc, the son of Odo, the son of Eriden, the son of Phadesur, the son of Dema, the son of Susi, the son of Dan. And he had a wife whose name was Eluma, the daughter of Remac. And she was barren and bare him no child. And when Manue her husband said to her day by day: Lo, the Lord hath shut up thy womb, that thou shouldest not bear; set me free, therefore, that I may take an other wife lest I die without issue. And she said: The Lord hath not shut up me from bearing, but thee, that I should bear no fruit. And he said to her: Let the law make plain our trial.

2 And as they contended day by day and both of them were sore grieved because they lacked fruit, upon a certain night the woman went up into the upper chamber and prayed saying: Do thou, O Lord God of all flesh, reveal unto me whether unto my husband or unto me it is not given to beget children, or to whom it is forbidden or to whom allowed to bear fruit, that to whom it is forbidden, the same may mourn for his sins, because he continueth without fruit. Or if both of us be deprived, reveal this also unto us, that we may bear our sin and keep silence before thee.

3 And the Lord hearkened to her voice and sent her his angel in the morning, and said unto her: Thou art the barren one that bringeth not forth, and thou art the womb which is forbidden, to bear fruit. But now hath the Lord heard thy voice and looked upon thy tears and opened thy womb. And behold thou shalt conceive and bear a son and shall call his name Samson, for he shall be holy unto thy Lord. But take heed that he taste not of any fruit of the vine, neither eat any unclean thing, for as himself hath said, he shall deliver Israel from the hand of the Philistines. And when the angel of the Lord had spoken these words he departed from her.

4 And she came unto her husband into the house and said unto him: Lo, I lay mine hand upon my mouth and will keep silence before thee all my days, because it was in vain that I boasted myself, and believed not thy words. For the angel of the Lord came unto me to-day, and showed me, saying: Eluma, thou art barren, but thou shalt conceive and bear a son.

5 And Manue believed not his wife. And he was ashamed and grieved and went up, he also, into the upper chamber and prayed saying: Lo, I am not worthy to hear the signs and wonders which God hath wrought in us, or to see the face of his messenger.

6 And it came to pass while he thus spake, the angel of the Lord came yet again unto his wife. Now she was in the field and Manue was in his house. And the angel said unto her: Run and call unto thine husband, for God hath accounted him worthy to hear my voice.

7 And the woman ran and called to her husband, and he hasted and came unto the angel in the field in Ammo, which said unto him: Go in unto thy wife and do quickly all these things. But he said to him: Yet see thou to it, Lord, that thy word be accomplished upon thy servant. And he said: It shall be so.

8 And Manue said unto him: If I were able, I would persuade thee to enter into mine house and eat bread with me, and know that when thou goest away I would give thee gifts to take with thee that thou mightest offer a sacrifice unto the Lord thy God. And the angel said unto him: I will not go in with thee into thine house, neither eat thy bread, neither will I receive thy gifts. For if thou offerest a sacrifice of that which is not thine, I can not show favour unto thee.

9 And Manue built an altar upon the rock, and offered sacrifices and burnt offerings. And it came to pass when he had cut up the flesh and laid it upon the holy place, the angel put forth his hand and touched it with the end of his sceptre. And there came forth fire out of the rock and consumed the burnt offerings and sacrifices. And the angel went up from him with the flame of the fire.

10 But Manue and his wife when they saw that, fell upon their faces and said: We shall surely die, because we have seen the Lord face to face. And it sufficed me not that I saw him, but I did also ask, his name, knowing not that he was the minister of God. Now the angel that came was called Phadahel.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 43

1 And it came to pass in the time of those days, that Eluma conceived and bare a son and called his name Samson. And the Lord was with him. And when he was begun to grow up, and sought to fight against the Philistines, he took him a wife of the Philistines. And the Philistines burned her with fire, for they were brought very low by Samson.

2 And after that Samson entered into (or was enraged against) Azotus. And they shut him in and compassed the city about and said: Behold, now is our adversary delivered into our hands. Now therefore let us gather ourselves together and succour the souls one of another. And when Samson was arisen in the night and saw the city closed in he said: Lo, now,

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these fleas have shut me up in their city. And now shall the Lord be with me, and I will go forth by their gates and fight against them.

3 And he went and set his left hand under the bar of the gate and shook it and threw down the gate of the wall. One of the gates he held in his right hand for a shield, and the other he laid upon his shoulders and bare it away, and because he had no sword he pursued after the Philistines with it, and killed therewith 25,000 men. And he lifted up all the purtenances of the gate and set them up on a mountain.

4 Now concerning the lion which he slew, and the jawbone of the ass wherewith he smote the Philistines, and the bands which he brake off from his arms as it were of themselves, and the foxes which he caught, are not these things written in the book of the Judges?

5 Then Samson went down unto Gerara, a city of the Philistines, and saw there an harlot whose name was Dalila, and was led away after her, and took her to him to wife. And God said: Behold, now Samson is led astray by his eyes and hath forgotten the mighty works which I have wrought with him, and is mingled with the daughters of the Philistines, and hath not considered my servant Joseph which was in a strange land and became a crown unto his brethren because he would not afflict his seed. Now therefore shall his concupiscence be a stumbling-block unto Samson, and his mingling shall be his destruction, and I will deliver him to his enemies and they shall blind him. Yet in the hour of his death will I remember him, and will avenge him yet once upon the Philistines.

6 And after these things his wife was importunate unto him, saying unto him: Show me thy strength, and wherein is thy might. So shall I know that thou lovest me. And when Samson had deceived her three times, and she continued importunate unto him every day, the fourth time he showed her his heart. But she made him drunk, and when he slumbered she called a barber, and he shaved the seven locks of his head, and his might departed from him, for so had himself revealed unto her. And she called the Philistines, and they smote Samson, and blinded him, and put him in prison.

7 And it came to pass in the day of their banqueting, that they called for Samson that they might mock him. And he being-bound between two pillars prayed saying: O Lord God of my fathers, hear me yet this once, and strengthen me that I may die with these Philistines: for this sight of the eyes which they have taken from me was freely given unto me by thee. And Samson added saying: Go forth, O my soul, and be not grieved. Die, O my body, and weep not for thyself.

8 And he took hold upon the two pillars of the house and shook them. And the house fell and all that was in it and slew all them that were round about it, and the number of them was 40,000 men and women. And the brethren of Samson came down and all his father's house, and took him and buried him in the sepulchre of his father. And he judged Israel twenty years.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 44

1 And in those days there was no prince in Israel: but every man did that which was pleasing in his sight.

2 At that time Michas arose, the son of Dedila the mother of Heliu, and he had 1000 drachms of gold and four wedges of molten gold, and 40 didrachms of silver. And his mother Dedila said unto him: My son, hear my voice and thou shalt make thee a name before thy death: take thou that gold and melt it, and thou shalt make thee idols, and they shall be to thee gods, and thou shalt become a priest to them.

3 And it shall be that whoso will inquire by them, they shall come to thee and thou shalt answer them. And there shall be in thine house an altar and a pillar built, and of that gold thou hast, thou shalt buy thee incense for burning and sheep for sacrifices. And it shall be that whoso will offer sacrifice, he shall give for sheep 7 didrachms, and for incense, if he will burn it, he shall give one didrachm of silver of full weight. And thy name shall be Priest, and thou shalt be called a worshipper of the gods.

4 And Michas said unto her: Thou hast well counselled me, my mother, how I may live: and now shall thy name be greater than my name, and in the last days these things shall be required of thee.

5 And Michas went and did all that his mother had commanded him. And he carved out and made for himself three images of boys, and of calves, and a lion and an eagle and a dragon and a dove. And it was so that all that were led astray came to him, and if any would ask for wives, they inquired of him by the dove; and if for sons, by the image of the boys: but he that would ask for riches took counsel by the likeness of the eagle, and he that asked for strength by the image of the lion: again, if they asked for men and maidens they inquired by the images of calves, but if for length of days, they inquired by the image of the dragon. And his iniquity was of many shapes, and his impiety was full of guile.

6 Therefore then, when the children of Israel departed from the Lord, the Lord said: Behold I will root out the earth and destroy all the race of men, because when I appointed great things upon mount Sina, I showed myself unto the children of Israel in the tempest and I said that they should not make idols, and they consented that they should not carve the likeness of gods. And I appointed to them they should not take my name in vain, and they chose this, even not to take my name in vain. And I commanded them to keep the sabbath day, and they consented unto me to sanctify themselves. And I said to them that they should honour their father and mother: and they promised that they would so do. And I appointed unto them not to steal, and they consented. And I bade them do no murder, and they received it, that they should not. And I commanded them not to commit adultery, and they refused not. And I appointed unto them to bear no false witness, and not to covet every man his neighbour's wife or his house or anything that is his: and they accepted it.

7 And now, whereas I spake unto them that they should not make idols, they have made the works of all those gods that are born of corruption by the name of a graven image. And also of them through whom all things have been corrupted. For mortal men made them, and the fire served in the melting of them: the act of men brought them forth, and hands have wrought them, and understanding contrived them. And whereas they have received them, they have taken my name in vain, and have given my name to graven images, and upon the sabbath day which they accepted, to keep it, they have wrought abominations therefrom. Because I said unto them that they should love their father and mother, they have dishonoured me their maker. And for that I said to them they should not steal, they have dealt thievishly in their understanding with graven images. And whereas I said they should not kill, they do kill them when they deceive. And when I had commanded them not to commit adultery, they have played the adulterer with their jealousy. And where they did choose not to bear false witness, they have received false witness from them whom they cast out, and have lusted after strange women.

8 Therefore, behold, I abhor the race of men, and to the end I may root out my creation, they that die shall be multiplied above the number of them that are born. For the house of Jacob is defiled with iniquities and the impieties of Israel are multiplied and I cannot [some words lost] wholly destroy the tribe of Benjamin, because that they first were led away after Michas. And the people of Israel also shall not be unpunished, but it shall be to them an offence for ever to the memory of all generations.

9 But Michas will I deliver unto the fire. And his mother shall pine away in his sight, living upon the earth, and worms shall issue forth out of her body. And when they shall speak one to the other, she shall say as it were a mother rebuking her son: Behold what a sin hast thou committed. And he shall answer as it were a son obedient to his mother and dealing craftily: And thou hast wrought yet greater iniquity. And the likeness of the dove which he made shall be to put out his eyes, and the likeness of the eagle shall be to shed fire from the wings of it, and the images of the boys he made shall be to scrape his sides, and for the image of the lion which he made, it shall be unto him as mighty ones tormenting him.

10 And thus will I do not only unto Michas but to all them also that sin against me. And now let the race. of men know that they shall not provoke me by their own inventions. Neither unto them only that make idols shall this chastisement come, but it shall be to every man, that with what sin he hath sinned therewith shall he be judged. Therefore if they shall speak lies before me, I will command the heaven and it shall defraud them of rain. And if any will covet the goods of his, neighbour, I will command death and it shall deny them the fruit of their body. And if they swear by my name falsely I will not bear their prayer. And when the soul parteth from the body, then they shall say: Let us not mourn for the things which we have suffered, but because whatsoever we have devised, that shall we also receive.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 45

1 And it came to pass at that time that a certain man of the tribe of Levi came to Gabaon, and when he desired to abide there, the sun set. And when he would enter in there, they that dwelt there suffered him not. And he said to his lad: Go on, lead the mule, and we will go to the city of Noba, peradventure they will suffer us to enter in there. And he came thither and sat in the street of the city. And no man said unto him: Come into my house.

2 But there was there a certain Levite whose name was Bethac. The same saw him and said unto him: Art thou Beel of my tribe? And he said: I am. And he said to him: Knowest thou not the wickedness of them that dwell in this city? Who counselled thee to enter in hither? Haste and go out hence, and come into my house wherein I dwell, and abide there to-day, and the, Lord shall shut up their heart before us, as he shut up the men of Sodom before the face of Lot. And he entered into the city and abode there that night.

3 And all the dwellers in the city came together and said unto Bethac: Bring forth them that came unto thee this day, and if not we will burn them and thee with fire. And he went out unto them and said to them: Are not they our brethren? Let us not deal evilly with them, lest our sins be multiplied against us. And they answered: It was never so, that strangers should give commands to the indwellers. And they entered in with violence and took out him and his concubine and cast them forth, and they, 'Let the man go, but they abused his concubine until she died; for she had transgressed against her husband at one time by sinning with the Amalekites, and therefore did the Lord God deliver her into the hands of sinners.

4 And when it was day Beel went out and found his concubine dead. And he laid her upon the mule and hasted and went out and came to Gades. And he took her body and divided it and sent it into all parts (or by portions) throughout the twelve tribes, saying: These things were done unto me in the city of Noba, for the dwellers therein rose up against me to slay me and took my concubine and shut me up and slew her. And if this is pleasing before your face) keep ye silence, and let the Lord be judge: but if ye will avenge it, the Lord shall help you.

5 And all the men, even the twelve tribes, were confounded. And they gathered together unto Silo and said every man to his neighbour: Hath such iniquity been done in Israel?

6 And the Lord said unto the Adversary: Seest thou how this foolish people is disturbed? In the hour when they should have died, even when Michas dealt craftily to deceive the people with these, that is, with the dove and the eagle and with the image of men and calves and of a lion and of a dragon, then were they not moved. And therefore because they were not provoked to anger, let their counsel now be vain and their heart moved, that they who allow evil may be consumed as well as the sinners.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 46

1 And when it was day the people of Israel were greatly moved and said: Let us go up and search out the sin that is done, that the iniquity may be taken away from us. And they spake thus, and said: Let us inquire first of the Lord and learn whether he will deliver our brethren into our hands. And if not, let us forbear. And Phinees said unto them: Let us offer the Demonstration and the Truth. And the Lord answered them and said: Go up, for I will deliver them into your hands. But he deceived them, that he might accomplish his word.

2 And they went up to battle and came to the city of Benjamin and sent messengers saying: Send us the men that have done this wickedness and we will spare you, but requite to every man his evil doing. And the people of Benjamin hardened their heart and said unto the people of Israel: Wherefore should we deliver our brethren unto you? If ye spare them not, we will even fight against you. And the people of Benjamin came out against the children of Israel and pursued after them, and the children of Israel fell before them and they smote of them 45,000 men.

3 And the heart of the people was very sore vexed, and they came weeping and mourning unto Silo and said: Behold, the Lord hath delivered us up before the dwellers in Noba. Now let us inquire of the Lord which among us hath sinned. And they inquired of the Lord and he said unto them: If ye will, go up and fight, and they shall be delivered into your hands; and then it shall be told you wherefore ye fell before them. And they went tip the second day to fight against them. And the children of Benjamin came out and pursued after Israel and smote of them 46,000 men.

4 And the heart of the people was altogether melted and they said: Hath God willed to deceive his people? or hath he so ordained because of the evil that is done that as well the innocent should fall as they that do evil? And when they spake thus they fell down before the ark of the covenant of the Lord and rent their clothes and put ashes upon their heads both they and Phinees the son of Eleazar the priest, which prayed and said: What is this deceit wherewith thou hast deceived us, O Lord? If it be righteous before thy face which the children of Benjamin have done, wherefore didst thou not tell us, that we might consider it? But if it was not pleasing in thy sight, wherefore didst thou suffer us to fall before them?

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 47

1 And Phinees added and said: O God of our fathers, hear my voice, and tell thy servant this day if it is well done in thy sight, or if peradventure the people have sinned and thou wouldest destroy their evil, that thou mightest correct among us also them that have sinned against thee. For I remember in my youth when Jambri sinned in the days of Moses thy servant, and I verily entered in, and was zealous in my soul, and lifted up both of them upon my sword, and the remnant would have risen against me to put me to death, and thou sentest thine angel and didst smite of them 24,000 men and deliver me out of their hands.

2 And now thou hast sent the eleven tribes and brought them hither saying: Go and smite them. And when they went they were delivered up. And now they say that the declarations of thy truth are lying before thee. And now, O Lord God of our fathers, hide it not from thy servant, but tell us wherefore thou hast done this iniquity against us.

3 And when the Lord saw that Phinees prayed earnestly before him, he said to him: By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, that had I not sworn, I would not have remembered

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thee in that thou hast spoken, neither would I have answered you this day. And now say unto the people: Stand up and hear the word of the Lord,

4 Thus saith the Lord: There was a certain mighty lion in the midst of the forest, and unto him all the beasts committed the forest that he should guard it by his power, lest perchance other beasts should come and lay it waste. And while the lion guarded it there came beasts of the field from another forest and devoured all the young of the beasts and laid waste the fruit of their body, and the lion saw it and held his peace. Now the beasts were at peace, because they had entrusted the forest unto the lion, and perceived not that their young were destroyed.

5 And after a time there arose a very small beast of those that had committed the forest unto the lion, and devoured the least of the whelps of another very evil beast. And lo, the lion cried out and stirred up all the beasts of the forest, and they fought among themselves, and every one fought against his neighbour.

6 And when many beasts were destroyed, another whelp out of another forest like unto it, saw it, and said: Hast thou not destroyed as many beasts? What iniquity is this, that in the beginning when many beasts and their young were destroyed unjustly by other evil beasts, and when all the beasts should have been moved to avenge themselves, seeing the fruit of their body was despoiled to no purpose, then thou didst keep silence and spakest not, but now one whelp of an evil beast hath perished, and thou hast stirred up the whole forest that all the beasts should devour one another without cause, and the forest be diminished. Now therefore thou oughtest first to be destroyed, and so the remnant be established. And when the young of the beasts heard that, they slew the lion first, and put over them the whelp in his stead, and so the rest of the beasts were subject together.

7 Michas arose and made you rich by that which he committed, both he and his mother. And there were evil things and wicked, which none devised before them, but in his subtlety he made graven images, which had not been made unto that day, and no man was provoked, but ye were all led astray, and did see the fruit of your body spoiled, and held your peace even as that evil lion.

8 And now when ye saw how that this man's concubine which suffered evil, died, ye were moved all of you and came unto me saying: Wilt thou deliver the children of Benjamin into our hands? Therefore did I deceive you and said: I will deliver them unto you. And now I have destroyed them which then held their peace, and so will I take vengeance on all that have done wickedly against me. But you, go ye up now, for I will deliver them unto you.

9 And all the people arose with one accord and went. And the children of Benjamin came out against them and thought that they would over come them as heretofore. And they knew not that their wickedness was fulfilled upon them. And when they had come on as at first, and were pursuing after them, the people fled from the face of them to give them place, and then they arose out of their ambushes, and the children of Benjamin were in the midst of them.

10 Then they which were fleeing turned back, and the men of the city of Noba were slain, both men and women, even 85,000 men, and the children of Israel burned the city and took the spoils and destroyed all things with the edge of the sword. And no man was left of the children of Benjamin save only 600 men which fled and were not found in the battle. And all the people returned unto Silo and Phinees the son of Eleazar the priest with them.

11 Now these are they that were left of the race of Benjamin, the princes of the tribe, of ten families whose names are these: of the 1st family: Ezbaile, Zieb, Balac, Reindebac, Belloch; and of the 2nd family: Nethac, Zenip, Phenoch, Demech, Geresaraz; and of the 3rd family: Jerimuth, Veloth, Amibel, Genuth, Nephuth, Phienna; and of the 4th city: Gemuph, Eliel, Gemoth, Soleph, Raphaph, and Doffo; and of the 5th family: Anuel, Code, Fretan, Remmon, Peccan, Nabath; and of the 6th family: Rephaz, Sephet, Araphaz, Metach, Adhoc, Balinoc; and of the 7th family: Benin, Mephiz, Araph, Ruimel, Belon, Iaal, Abac; and (of) the (8th, 9th and) 10th family: Enophlasa, Melec, Meturia, Meac; and the rest of the princes of the tribe which were left, in number threescore. 1

12. And at that time did the Lord requite unto Michas and unto his mother all the things that he had spoken. And Michas was melted with fire and his mother was pining away, even as the Lord had spoken concerning them.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 48

1 At that time also Phinees laid himself down to die, and the Lord said unto him: Behold thou hast overpassed the 120 years that were ordained unto all men. And now arise and go hence and dwell in the mount Danaben and abide there many years, and I will command mine eagle and he shall feed thee there, and thou shalt not comedown any more unto men until the time come and thou be proved in the time. And then shalt thou shut the heaven, and at thy word it shall be opened. And after that thou shalt be lifted up into the place whither they that were before thee were lifted up, and shalt be there until I remember the world. And then will I bring you and ye shall taste what is death.

2 And Phinees went up and did all that the Lord commanded him. Now in the days when he appointed him to be priest, he anointed him in Silo.

3 And at that time, when he went up, then it came to pass that the children of Israel when they kept the passover commanded the children of Benjamin saying: Go up and take wives for yourselves by force.. because we cannot give you our daughters, for we sware in the time of our anger: and it cannot be that a tribe perish out of Israel. And the children of Benjamin went up and seized for themselves wives and built Gabaon for them selves and began to dwell there.

4 And whereas in the meanwhile the children of Israel were at rest, they had no prince in those days, and every man did that which was right in his own eyes.

5 These are the commandments and the judgements and the testimonies and the manifestations that were in the days of the judges of Israel, before a king reigned over them.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 49

1 And at that time the children of Israel began to inquire of the Lord, and said: Let us; all cast lots, that we may see who there is that can rule over us like Cenez, for peradventure we shall find a man that can deliver us from our afflictions, for it is not expedient that the people should be without a prince.

2 And they cast the lot and found no man; and the people were greatly grieved and said: The people is not worthy to be heard by the Lord, for he hath not answered us. Now therefore let us cast lots even by tribes, if perchance God will be appeased by a multitude, for we know that he will be reconciled unto them that are worthy of him. And they cast lots by tribes, and upon no tribe did the lot come forth. And Israel said: Let us choose one of ourselves, for we are in a strait, for we perceive that God abhorreth his people, and that his soul is displeased at us.

3 And one answered and said unto the people, whose name was Nethez: It is not he that hateth us, but we ourselves have made ourselves to be hated, that God should forsake us. And therefore, even though we die, let us not forsake him, but let us flee unto him for refuge; for we have walked in our evil ways and have not known him that made us, and therefore will our device be vain. For I know that God will not cast us off for ever, neither will he hate his people unto all generations: therefore now be ye strong and let us pray yet again and cast lots by cities, for although our sins be enlarged, yet will his long-suffering not fail.

4 And they cast lots by cities, and the lot came upon Armathem. And the people said: Is Armathem accounted righteous beyond all the cities of Israel, that he hath chosen her thus before all the cities? And every man said to his neighbour: In that same city which hath come forth by lot let us cast the lot by men, and let us see whom the Lord hath chosen out of her.

5 And they cast the lot by men, and it took no man save Elchana, for upon him the lot leapt out, 1 and the people took him And said: Come and be ruler over us. And Elchana said unto the people: I cannot be a prince over this people, neither can I judge who can be a prince over you. But if my sins have found me out, that the lot should leap upon me, I will slay myself, that ye defile me not; for it is just that I should die for my own sins only and not have to bear the weight of the people.

6 And when the people saw that it was not the will of Elchana to take the leadership over them, they prayed again unto the Lord saying: O Lord God of Israel, wherefore hast thou forsaken thy people in the victory of the enemy and neglected thine heritage in the time of trouble? Behold even he that was taken by the lot hath not accomplished thy commandment; but only this hath come about, 3 that the lot leapt out upon him, and we believed that we had a prince. And lo, he also contendeth against the lot. Whom shall we yet require, or unto whom shall we flee, and where is the place of our rest? For if the ordinances are true which thou madest with our fathers, saying: I will enlarge your seed, and they shall know of this, then it were better that thou saidst to us, I will cut off your seed, than that thou shouldest have no regard to our root.

7 And God said unto them: If indeed I recompensed you according to your evil deeds, I ought not to give ear unto your people; but what shall I do, because my name cometh to be called upon you? And now know ye that Elchana upon whom the lot hath fallen cannot rule over you, but it is rather his son that shall be born of him; he shall be prince over you and shall prophesy; and from henceforth there shall not be wanting unto you a prince for many years.

8 And the people said: Behold, Lord, Elchana hath ten sons, and which of them shall be a prince or shall prophesy? And God said: Not any of the sons of Phenenna can be a prince over the people, but he that is born of the barren woman whom I have given him to wife, he shall be a prophet before me, and I will love him even as I loved Isaac, and his name shall be before me for ever. And the people said: Behold now, it may be that God hath remembered us, to deliver us from the hand of them that hate us. And in that day they offered peace offerings and feasted in their orders.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 50

1 Now [whereas] Elchana had two wives, the name of the one was Anna and the name of the other Phenenna. And because Phenenna had sons, and Anna had none, Phenenna reproached her, saying: What profiteth it thee that Elchana thine husband loveth thee? but thou art a dry tree. I know moreover that he will love me, because he delighteth to see my sons standing about him like the planting of an oliveyard.

2 And so it was, when she reproached her every day, and Anna was very sore at heart, and she feared God from her youth, it came to pass when the good day of the passover drew on, and her husband went up to do sacrifice, that Phenenna reviled Anna saying: A woman is not indeed beloved even if her husband love her or her beauty. Let not Anna therefore boast herself of her beauty, but he that boasteth let him boast when he seeth his seed before his face; and when it is not so among women, even the fruit of their womb, then shall love become of no account. For what profit was it unto Rachel that Jacob loved her? except there had been given her the fruit of her womb, surely his love would have been to no purpose? And when Anna heard that, her soul was melted within her and her eyes ran down with tears.

3 And her husband saw her and said: Wherefore art thou sad, and eatest not, and why is thy heart within thee cast down? Is not thy behaviour better than the ten sons of Phenenna? And Anna hearkened to him and arose after she had eaten, and came unto Silo to the house of the Lord where Heli the priest abode, whom Phinees the son of Eleazar the priest had presented as it was commanded him.

4 And Anna prayed and said: Hast not thou, O Lord, examined the heart of all generations before thou formedst the world? But what is the womb that is born open, or what one that is shut up dieth, except thou will it? And now let my prayer go up before thee this day, lest I go down hence empty, for thou knowest my heart, how I have walked before thee from the days of my youth.

5 And Anna would not pray aloud as do all men, for she took thought at that time saying: Lest perchance I be not worthy to be heard, and it shall be that Phenenna will envy me yet more and reproach me as she daily saith: Where is thy God in whom thou trustest? And I know that it is not she that hath many sons that is enriched, neither she that lacketh them is poor, but whoso aboundeth in the will of God, she is enriched. For they that know for what I have prayed, if they perceive that I am not heard in my prayer, will blaspheme. And I shall not only have a witness in mine own soul, for my tears also are handmaidens of my prayers.

6 And as she prayed, Heli the priest, seeing that she was afflicted in her mind and carried herself like one drunken, said unto her: Go, put away thy wine from thee. And she said: Is my prayer so heard that I am called drunken? Verily I am drunken with sorrow and have drunk the cup of my weeping.

7 And Heli the priest said unto her: Tell me thy reproach. And she said unto him: I am the wife of Elchana, and because God hath surely shut up my womb, therefore I prayed before him that I might not depart out of this world unto him Without fruit, neither die without leaving mine own image. And Heli the priest said unto her: Go, for I know wherefore thou hast prayed, and. thy prayer is heard.

8 But Heli the priest would not tell her that a prophet was foreordained to be born of her: for he had heard when the Lord spake concerning him. And Anna came unto her house, and was consoled of her sorrow, yet she told no man of that for which she had prayed.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 51

1 And in the time of those days she conceived and bare a son and called his name Samuel, which is interpreted Mighty, according as God called his name when he prophesied of him. And Anna sat and gave suck to the child until he was two years old, and when she had weaned him, she went up with him bearing gifts in her hands, and the child was very fair and the Lord was with him.

2 And Anna set the child before the face of Heli and said unto him: This is the desire which I desired, and this is the request which I sought. And Heli said unto her: Not thou only didst seek it, but the people also prayed for this. It is not thy request alone, but it was promised aforetime unto the tribes; and by this child is thy womb justified, that thou shouldest set up prophecy before the people, and appoint the milk of thy breasts for a fountain unto the twelve tribes.

3 And when Anna heard that, she prayed and said: Come ye at my voice, all ye peoples, and give ear unto my speech, all ye kingdoms, for my mouth is opened that I may speak, and my lips are commanded that I may sing praises unto the Lord. Drop, O my breasts, and give forth your testimonies, for it is appointed to you to give suck. For he shall be set up that is suckled by you, and by his words shall the people be enlightened, and he shall shew unto the nations their boundaries, and his horn shall be greatly exalted.

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4 And therefore will I utter my words openly, for out of me shall arise the ordinance of the Lord, and all men shall find the truth. Haste ye not to talk proudly, neither to utter high words out of your mouth, but delight yourselves in boasting when the light shall come forth out of which wisdom shall be born, that they be not called rich which have most possessions, neither they that have borne abundantly be termed mothers: for the barren hath been satisfied, and she that was multi plied in sons is become empty;

5 For the Lord killeth with judgement, and quickeneth in mercy: for the ungodly are in this world: therefore quickeneth he the righteous when he will, but the ungodly he will shut up in darkness. But unto the righteous he preserveth their light, and when the ungodly are dead, then shall they perish, and when the righteous are fallen asleep, then shall they be delivered. And so shall all judgement endure until he be revealed which holdeth it.

6 Speak thou, speak thou, O Anna, and keep not silence: sing praises, O daughter of Bathuel, be cause of thy wonders which God hath wrought with thee. Who is Anna, that a prophet should come out of her? or who is the daughter of Bathuel, that she should bring forth a light foil the peoples? Arise thou also, Elchana, and gird up thy loins. Sing praises for the signs of the Lord: For of thy son did Asaph prophesy in the wilderness saying: Moses and Aaron among his priests and Samuel among them. 1 Behold the word is accomplished and the prophecy come to pass. And these things endure thus, until they give an horn unto his anointed, and power cleaveth unto the throne of his king. Yet let my son stand here and minister, until there arise a light unto this people.

7 And they departed thence and set forth with mirth, rejoicing and exulting in heart for all the glory that God had wrought with them. But the people went down with one accord unto Silo with timbrels and dances, with lutes and harps, and came unto Heli the priest and offered Samuel unto him, whom they set before the face of the Lord and anointed him and said: Let the prophet live among the people, and let him be long a light unto this nation.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 52

1 But Samuel was a very young child and knew nothing of all these things. And whilst he served before the Lord, the two sons of Heli, which walked not in the ways of their fathers, began to do wickedly unto the people and multiplied their iniquities. And they dwelt hard by the house of Bethac, and when the people came together to sacrifice, Ophni and Phinees came and provoked the people to anger, seizing the oblations before the holy things were offered unto the Lord.

2 And this thing pleased not the Lord, neither the people, nor their father. And their father spake thus unto them: What is this report that I hear of you? Know ye not that I have received the place that Phinees committed unto me? And if we waste that we have received, what shall we say if he that committed it require it again, and vex us for that which he committed unto us? Now therefore make straight your ways, and walk in good paths, and your deeds shall endure. But if ye gainsay me and refrain not from your evil devices, ye will destroy yourselves, and the priesthood will be in vain, and that which was sanctified will come to nought. And then will they say: To no purpose did the rod of Aaron spring up, and the flower that was born of it is come to nothing.

3 Therefore while ye are yet able, my sons, correct that ye have done ill, and the men against whom ye have sinned will pray for you. But if ye will not, but persist in your iniquities, I shall be guiltless, and I shall not only sorrow lest (or and now I shall not blot out these great evils in you, lest) I hear of the day of your death before I die, but also if this befall (or but even if this befall not) I shall be clear of blame: and though I be afflicted, ye shall nevertheless perish. 4. And his sons obeyed him not, for the Lord had given sentence concerning them that they should die, because they had sinned: for when their father said to them: Repent you of your evil way, they said: When we grow old, then will we repent. 1 And for this cause it was not given unto them that they should repent when they were rebuked of their father, because they had always been rebellious, and had wrought very unjustly in despoiling Israel. But the Lord was angry with Heli.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 53

1 But Samuel was ministering before the Lord and knew not as yet what were the oracles of the Lord: for he had not yet heard the oracles of the Lord, for he was 8 years old.

2 But when God remembered Israel, he would reveal his words unto Samuel, and Samuel did sleep in the temple of the Lord. And it came to pass when God called unto him, that he considered first, and said: Be hold now, Samuel is young that he should be (or though he be) beloved in my sight; nevertheless because he hath not yet heard the voice of the Lord, neither is he confirmed unto the voice of the Most Highest, yet is he like unto Moses my servant: but unto Moses I spake when he was 80 years old, but Samuel is 8 years old. And Moses saw the fire first and his heart was afraid. And if Samuel shall see the fire now, how shall he abide it? There fore now shall there come unto him a voice as of a man, and not as of God. And when he under standeth, then I will speak unto him as God.

3 And at midnight a voice out of heaven called him: and Samuel awoke and perceived as it were the voice of Heli, and ran unto him and spake saying: Wherefore hast thou awaked me, father? For I was afraid, because thou didst never call me in the night. And Heli said: Woe is me, can it be that an unclean spirit hath deceived my son Samuel? And he said to him: Go and sleep, for I called thee not. Nevertheless, tell me if thou remember, how often he that called thee cried. And he said: Twice. And Heli said unto him: Say now, of whose voice wast thou aware, my son? And he said: Of thine, therefore ran I unto thee.

4 And Heli said: In thee do I behold the sign that men shall have from this day forward for ever, .that if one call unto another twice in the night or at noonday, they shall know that it is an evil spirit. But if he call a third time, they shall know that it is an angel. And Samuel went away and slept.

5 And he heard the second time a voice from heaven, and he arose and ran unto Heli and said unto him: Wherefore called he me, for I heard the voice of Elchana my father? Then did Heli under stand that God did begin to call him. And Heli said: In those two voices wherewith God hath called unto thee, he likened himself to thy father and to thy master, but now the third time he will speak as God.

6 And he said unto him: With thy right ear attend and with thy left refrain. For Phinees the priest commanded us, saying: The right ear heareth the Lord by night, and the left ear an angel. Therefore, if thou hear with thy right ear, say thus: Speak what thou wilt, for I hear thee, for thou hast formed me; but if thou hear with the left ear, come and tell me. And Samuel went away and slept as Heli had commanded him.

7 And the Lord added and spake yet a third time, and the right ear of Samuel was filled with the voice. And when he perceived that the speech of his father had come down unto him, Samuel turned upon his other side, and said: If I be able, speak, for thou hast formed me (or knowest well concerning me).

8 And God said unto him: Verily I enlightened the house of Israel in Egypt and chose unto me at that time Moses my servant for a prophet, and by him I wrought wonders for my people, and avenged them of mine enemies as I would, and I took my people into the wilderness, and enlightened them as they beheld.

9 And when one tribe rose up against another tribe, saying: Wherefore are the priests alone holy? I would not destroy them, but I said unto them: Give ye every one his rod, and it shall be that he whose rod flourisheth I have chosen him for the priesthood. And when they had all given their rods as I commanded, then did I command the earth of the tabernacle that the rod of Aaron should flourish, that his line might be manifested for many days. And now they which did flourish have abhorred my holy things.

10 Therefore, lo, the days shall come that I will cut off (lit. stop) the flower that came forth at that time, and I will go forth against them because they do transgress the word which I spake unto my servant Moses, saying: If thou meet with a nest, thou shalt not take the mother with the young, therefore it shall befall them that the mothers shall die with the children, and the fathers perish with the sons.

11 And when Samuel heard these words his heart was melted, and he said: Hath it thus come against me in my youth that I should prophesy unto the destruction of him that fostered me? and how then was I granted at the request of my mother? and who is he that brought me up? how hath he charged me to bear evil tidings?

12 And Samuel arose in the morning and would not tell it unto Heli. And Heli said unto him: Hear now, my son. Behold, before thou wast born God promised Israel that he would send thee unto them to prophesy. And now, when thy mother came hither and prayed, for she knew not that which had been done, I said unto her: Go forth, for that which shall be born of thee shall be a son unto me. Thus spake I unto thy mother, and thus hath the Lord directed thy way. And even if thou chasten thy nursing-father, as the Lord liveth, hide thou not from me the things that thou hast heard.

13 Then Samuel was, afraid, and told him all the words that he had heard. And he said: Can the thing formed answer him that formed it? So also can I not answer when he will take away that which he hath given, even the faithful giver, the holy one which hath prophesied, for I am subject unto his power.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 54

1 And in those days the Philistines assembled their camp to fight against Israel, and the children of Israel went out to fight with them. And when the people of Israel had been put to flight in the first battle, they said: Let us bring up the ark of the covenant of the Lord, peradventure it Will fight with us, because in it are the testimonies of the Lord which he ordained unto our fathers in Oreb.

2 And as the ark went up with them, when it was come into the camp, the Lord thundered and said: This time shall be likened unto that which was in the wilderness, when they took the ark without my commandment, and destruction befel them. So also, at this time, shall the people fall, and the ark shall be taken, that I may punish the adversaries of my people because of the ark, and rebuke my people because they have sinned.

3 And when the ark was come into the battle, the Philistines went forth to meet the children of Israel, and smote them. And there was there a certain Golia 1, a Philistine, which came even unto the ark, and Ophni and Phinees the sons of Heli and Saul the son of Cis held the ark. And Golia took it with his left hand and slew Ophni and Phinees.

4 But Saul, because he was light on his feet, fled from before him; and he rent his clothes, Sam. and put ashes on his head, and came unto Heli the priest. And Heli said unto him: Tell me what hath befallen in the camp? And Saul said unto him: Why askest thou me these things? for the people is overcome, and God hath forsaken Israel. Yea, and the priests also are slain with the sword, and the ark is delivered unto the Philistines.

5 And when Heli heard of the taking of the ark, he said: Behold, Samuel prophesied of me and my sons that we should die together, but the ark he named not unto me. And now the testimonies are delivered up unto the enemy, and what can I more say? Behold, Israel is perished from the truth, for the judgements are taken away from him. And because Heli despaired wholly, he fell off from his seat. And they died in one day, even Heli and Ophni and Phinees his sons.

6 And Heli's son's wife sat and travailed; and when she heard these things, all her bowels were melted. And the midwife said unto her: Be of good cheer, neither let thy soul faint, for a son is born to thee. And she said to her: Lo now is one soul born and we four die, that is, my father and his two sons and his daughter-in-law. And she called his name, Where is the glory? saying: The glory of God is perished in Israel because the ark of the Lord is taken captive. And when she had thus said she gave up the ghost.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 55

1 But Samuel knew nothing of all these things, because three days before the battle God sent him away, saying unto him: Go and look upon the place of Arimatha, there shall be thy dwelling. And when Samuel heard what had befallen Israel, he came and prayed unto the Lord) saying: Behold, now, in vain is understanding denied unto me that I might see the destruction of my people. And now I fear lest my days grow old in evil and my years be ended in sorrow, for whereas the ark of the Lord is not with me, why should I yet live?

2 And the Lord said unto him: Be not grieved, Samuel, that the ark is taken away. I will bring it again, and them that have taken it will I overthrow, and will avenge my people of their enemies. And Samuel said: Lo, even if thou avenge them in time, according to thy longsuffering, yet what shall we do which die now? And God said to him: Before thou diest thou shalt see the end which I will bring upon mine enemies, whereby the Philistines shall perish and shall be slain by scorpions and by all manner of noisome creeping things.

3 And when the Philistines had set the ark of the Lord that was taken in the temple of Dagon their god, and were come to enquire of Dagon concerning their going forth, they found him fallen on his face and his hands and feet laid before the ark. And they went forth on the first morning, having crucified his priests. And on the second day they came and found as on the day before, and the destruction was greatly multiplied among them.

4 Therefore the Philistines gathered together in Accaron, and said every man to his neighbour: Behold now, we see that the destruction is enlarged among us, and the fruit of our body perisheth, for the creeping things that are sent upon us destroy them that are with child and the sucklings and them also that give suck. And they said: Let us see wherefore the hand of the Lord is strong against us. Is it for the ark's sake? for every day is our god found fallen upon his face before the ark, and we have slain our priests to no purpose once and again.

5 And the wise men of the Philistines said: Lo, now by this may we know if the Lord have sent destruction upon us for his ark's sake or if a chance affliction 1 is come upon us for a season?

6 And now, whereas all that are with child and give suck die, and they that give suck are made childless, and they, that are suckled perish, we also will take kine that give suck and yoke them to a new cart, and set the ark upon it, and shut up the young of the kine. And it shall be, if the kine indeed go forth, and turn not back to their young, we shall know that we have suffered these things for the ark's sake; but if they refuse to go, yearning after their young, we shall know that the time of our fall is come upon us.

7 And certain of the wise men and diviners answered: Assay ye not only this, but let us set the kine at the head of the three ways that are about Accaron. For the middle way leadeth to Accaron, and the way on the right hand to Judaea, and the way on the left hand to Samaria. And direct ye the kine that bear the ark in the middle way. And if they set forth by the right-hand way straight unto Judaea, we shall know that of a

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truth the God of the Jews hath laid us waste; but if they go by those other ways, we shall know that an evil (lit. mighty) time 1 hath befallen us, for now have we denied our gods.

8 And the Philistines took milch kine and yoked them to a new cart and set the ark thereon, and set them at the head of the three ways, and their young they shut up at home. And the kine, albeit they lowed and yearned for their young, went forward nevertheless by the right-hand way that leadeth to Judaea. And then they knew that for the ark's sake they were laid waste.

9 And all the Philistines assembled and brought the ark again unto Silo with timbrels and pipes and dances. And because of the noisome creeping things that laid them waste, they made seats of gold and sanctified the ark. 10. And in that plaguing of the Philistines, the number was of them that died being with child 75,000, and of the sucking children 65,000, and of them that gave suck 55,000, and of men 25,000. And the land had rest seven years.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 56

1 And at that time the children of Israel required a king in their Just. And they gathered together unto Samuel, and said: Behold, now, thou art grown old, and thy sons walk not in the ways of the Lord; now, therefore, appoint a king over us to judge betwixt us, for the word is fulfilled which Moses spake unto our fathers in the wilderness, saying: Thou shalt surely appoint over thee a prince of your brethren.

2 And when Samuel heard mention of the kingdom, he was sore grieved in his heart, and said: Behold now I see that there is no more (or not yet) for us a time of a perpetual kingdom, neither of building the house of the Lord our God, inasmuch as these desire a king before the time. And now, if the Lord refuse it altogether (or But even if the Lord so will), it seemeth unto me that a king cannot be established.

3 And the Lord said unto him in the night: Be not grieved, for I will send them a king which shall lay them waste, and he himself shall be laid waste thereafter. Now he that shall come unto thee to-morrow at the sixth hour, he it is that shall reign over them.

4 And on the next day, Saul, the son of Cis, was coming from Mount Effrem, seeking the asses of his father; and when he was come to Armathem, he entered in to inquire of Samuel for the asses. Now he was walking hard by Baam, and Saul said unto him: Where is he that seeth? For at that time a prophet was called Seer. And Samuel said unto him: I am he that seeth. And he said: Canst thou tell me of the asses of my father? for they are lost.

5 And Samuel said unto him: Refresh thyself with me this day, and in the morning I will tell thee that whereof thou camest to inquire. And Samuel said unto the Lord: Direct, O Lord, thy people, and reveal unto me what thou hast determined concerning them. And Saul refreshed himself with Samuel that day and rose in the morning. And Samuel said unto him: Behold, know thou that the Lord hath chosen thee to be prince over his people at this time, and hath raised up thy ways, and thy time shall be directed.

6 And Saul said to Samuel: Who am 1, and what is my father's house, that my lord should speak thus unto me? For I understand not what thou sayest, because I am a youth. And Samuel[[p. 229]] said to Saul: Who will grant that thy word should come even unto accomplishment of itself, that thou mayest live many days? 1 but consider this, that thy words shall be likened unto the words of a prophet, whose name shall be Hieremias.

7 And as Saul went away that day, the people came unto Samuel, saying: Give us a king as thou didst promise us. And he said to them: Behold, the king shall come unto you after three days. And lo, Saul came. And there befell him all the signs which Samuel had told him. Are not these things written in the book of the Kings?

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 57

1 And Samuel sent and gathered all the people, and said unto them: Lo, ye and your king are here, and I am betwixt you, as the Lord commanded me.

2 And therefore I say unto you, before the face of your king, even as my lord Moses; the servant of God, said unto your fathers in the wilderness, when the synagogue of Core arose against him: Ye know that I have not taken aught of you, neither have I wronged any of you; and because certain lied at that time and said, Thou didst take, the earth swallowed them up.

3 Now, therefore, do ye whom the Lord hath not punished answer before the Lord and before his anointed, if it be for this cause that ye have required a king, because I have evil entreated you, and the Lord shall be your witness. But if, now the word of the Lord is fulfilled, I am free, and my father's house.

4 And the people answered: We are thy servants and our king with us; because we are unworthy to be judged by a prophet, therefore said we: Appoint a king over us to judge us. And all the people and the king wept with a great lamentation, and said: Let Samuel the prophet live. And when the king was appointed they offered sacrifices unto the Lord.

5 And after that Saul fought with the Philistines one year, and the battle prospered greatly.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 58

1 And at that time the Lord said unto Samuel: Go and say unto Saul: Thou art sent to destroy Amalech, that the words may be fulfilled which Moses my servant spake saying: I will destroy the name of Amalech out of the land whereof I spake in mine anger. And forget not to destroy every soul of them as it is commanded thee.

2 And Saul departed and fought against Amalech, and, saved alive Agag the king of Amalech because he said to him: I will shew thee hidden treasures. Therefore he spared him and saved him alive and brought him unto Armathem.

3 And God said unto Samuel: Hast thou seen how the king is corrupted with money even in a moment, and hath saved alive Agag king of Amalech and his wife? Now therefore suffer Agag and his wife to come together this night, and to-morrow thou shalt slay him; but his wife they shall preserve till she bring forth a male child, and then she also shall die, and he that is born of her shall be an offence unto Saul. But thou, arise on the morrow and slay Agag: for the sin of Saul is written before my face alway.

4 And when Samuel was risen on the morrow, Saul came forth to meet him and said unto him: The Lord hath delivered our enemies into our hands as he said. And Samuel said to Saul: Whom hath Israel wronged? for before the time was come that a king should rule over him, he demanded thee for his king, and thou, when thou wast sent to do the will of the Lord, hast transgressed it. Therefore he that was saved alive by thee shall die now, and those hidden treasures whereof he spake he shall not show thee, and he that is born of him shall be an offence unto thee. And Samuel came unto Agag with a sword and slew him, and returned unto his house.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 59

1 And the Lord said unto him: Go, anoint him whom I shall tell thee, for the time is fulfilled wherein his kingdom shall come. And. Samuel said: Lo, wilt thou now blot out the kingdom of Saul? And he said: I will blot it out.

2 And Samuel went forth unto Bethel, and sanctified the elders, and Jesse, and his sons. And Eliab the firstborn of Jesse came. And Samuel said: Behold now the holy one, the anointed of the Lord. And the Lord said unto him: Where is thy vision which thine heart hath seen? Art not thou he that saidst unto Saul: I am he that seeth? And how knowest thou not whom thou must anoint? And now let this rebuke suffice thee, and seek out the shepherd, the least of them all, and anoint him.

3 And Samuel said unto Jesse: Hearken, Jesse, send and bring hither thy son from the flock, for him hath God chosen. And Jesse sent and brought David, and Samuel anointed him in the midst of his brethren. And the Lord was with him from that day forward.

4 Then David began to sing this psalm, and said: In the ends of the earth will I begin to glorify him, and unto everlasting days will I sing praises. Abel at the first when he fed the sheep, his sacrifice was acceptable rather than his brother's. And his brother envied him and slew him. But it is not so with me, for God hath kept me, and hath delivered me unto his angels and his watchers to keep me, for my brethren envied me, and my father and my mother made me of no account, and when the prophet came they called not for me, and when the Lord's anointed was proclaimed they forgat me. But God came near unto me with his right hand, and with his mercy: therefore will I not cease to sing praises all the days of my life.

5 And as David yet spake, behold a fierce lion out of the wood and a she-bear out of the mountain took the bulls of David. And David said: Lo, this shall be a sign unto me for a mighty beginning of my victory in the battle. I will go out after them and deliver that which is carried off and will slay them. And David went out after them and took stones out of the wood and slew them. And God said unto him: Lo, by stones have I delivered thee these beasts in thy sight. And this shall be a sign unto thee that hereafter thou shalt slay with stones the adversary of my people.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 60

1 And at that time the spirit of the Lord was taken away from Saul, and an evil spirit oppressed (lit. choked) him. And Saul sent and fetched David, and he played a psalm upon his harp in the night. And this is the psalm which he sang unto Saul that the evil spirit might depart from him.

2 There were darkness and silence before the world was, and the silence spake, and the darkness became visible. And then was thy name created, even at the drawing together of that which was stretched out, whereof the upper was called heaven and the lower was called earth. And it was commanded to the upper that it should rain according to its season, and to the lower that it should bring forth food for man that should be made. And after that was the tribe of your spirits made.

3 Now therefore, be not injurious, whereas thou art a second creation, but if not, then remember Hell (lit. be mindful of Tartarus) wherein thou walkedst. Or is it not enough for thee to hear that by that which resoundeth before thee I sing unto many? Or forgettest thou that out of a rebounding echo in the abyss (or chaos) thy creation was born? But that new womb shall rebuke thee, whereof I am born, of whom shall be born after a time of my loins he that shall subdue you. And when David sung praises, the spirit spared Saul. hat evil spirits (Mazzikin) were created on the second day (as our text states) is the view expressed in some texts of Pirke R. Eliezer 3, and in Jerahmeel I. 3: c. 18 of Pirke R. E. and later books say they were created on the eve of the first Sabbath day.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 61

1 And after these things the Philistines came to fight against Israel. And David was returned to the wilderness to feed his sheep, and the Madianites came and would have taken his sheep, and he came down unto them and fought against them and slew of them 15,000 men. This is the first battle that David fought, being in the wilderness.

2 And there came a man out of the camp of the Philistines by name Golia, and he looked upon Saul and upon Israel and said: Art not thou Saul which fleddest before me when I took the ark from you and slew your priests? And now that thou reignest, wilt thou come down unto me like a man and a king and fight against us? If not, I will come unto thee, and will cause thee to be taken captive, and thy people to serve our gods. And when Saul and Israel heard that, they feared greatly. And the Philistine said: According to the number of the days wherein Israel feasted when they received the law in the wilderness, even 40 days, I will reproach them, and after that I will fight with them.

3 And it came to pass when the 40 days were fulfilled, and David was come to see the battle of his brethren, that he heard the words which the Philistine spake, and said: Is this peradventure the time whereof God said unto me: I will deliver the adversary of my people into thy hand by stones?

4 And Saul heard these words and sent and took him and said: What was the speech which thou spakest unto the people? And David said: Fear not, O king, for I will go and fight against the Philistine, and God will take away the hatred and reproach from Israel.

5 And David went forth and took 7 stones and wrote upon them the names of his fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Moses and Aaron, and his own name, and the name of the Most Mighty. 1 And God sent Cervihel, the angel that is over strength.

6 And David went forth unto Golia and said unto him: Hear a word before thou diest. Were not the two women of whom thou and I were born sisters? and thy mother was Orpha 2 and my mother was Ruth.

And Orpha chose for herself the gods of the Philistines and went after them, but Ruth chose for herself the ways of the Most Mighty and walked in them. And now thou and thy brethren are born of Orpha, and as thou art arisen this day and come to lay Israel waste, behold, I also that am born of thy kindred am come to avenge my people. For thy three brethren also shall fall into my hands after thy death. And then shall ye say unto your mother: He that was born of thy sister hath not spared us.

7 And David put a stone in his sling and smote the Philistine in his forehead, and ran upon him and drew his sword out of the sheath and took his head from him. And Golia said unto him while his life was yet in him: Hasten and slay me and rejoice. 8. And David said unto him: Before thou diest, open thine eyes and behold thy slayer which hath killed thee. And the Philistine looked and saw the angel and said: Thou hast not killed me by thyself, but he that was with thee, whose form is not as the form of a man. And then David took his head from him. 9. And the angel of the Lord lifted up the face of David and no man knew him. And when Saul saw David he asked him who he was, and there was no man that knew him who he was.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 62

1 And after these things Saul envied David and sought to kill him. But David and Jonathan, Saul's son, made a covenant together. And when David saw that Saul sought to kill him, he fled unto Armathem; and Saul went out after him.

2 And the spirit abode in Saul, and he prophesied, saying: Why art thou deceived, O Saul, or whom dost thou persecute in vain? The time of thy kingdom is fulfilled. Go unto thy place, for thou shalt die and David shall reign. Shalt not thou and thy son die together? And then shall the kingdom of David appear. And the spirit departed from Saul, and he knew not what he had prophesied.

3 But David came unto Jonathan and said unto him: Come and let us make a covenant before we be parted one from the other. For Saul, thy father, seeketh to slay me without cause. And since he hath perceived that thou lovest me he telleth thee not what he deviseth concerning me.

4 But for this cause he hateth me, because thou lovest me, and lest I should reign in his stead. And whereas I have done him good he requiteth me with evil. And whereas I slew Golia by the word of the Most Mighty, see thou what an end he

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purposeth for me. For he hath determined concerning my father's house, to destroy it. And would that the judgement of truth might be put in the balance, that the multitude of the prudent might hear the sentence.

5 And now I fear lest he kill me and lose his own life for my sake. For he shall never shed innocent blood without punishment. Wherefore should my soul suffer persecution? For I was the, least among my brethren, feeding the sheep, and wherefore am I in peril of death? For I am righteous and have none iniquity. And wherefore doth thy father hate me? Yet the righteousness of my father shall help me that I fall not into thy father's hands. And seeing I am young and tender of age, it is to no purpose that Saul envieth me.

6 If I had wronged him, I would pray him to forgive me the sin. For if God forgiveth iniquity, how much more thy father who is flesh and blood? I have walked in his house with a perfect heart, yea, I grew up before his face like a swift eagle, I put mine hands unto the harp and blessed him in songs, and he hath devised to slay me, and like a sparrow that fleeth before the face of the hawk, so have I fled before his face.

7 Unto whom have I spoken this, or unto whom have I told the things that I have suffered save unto thee and Melchol thy sister? For as for both of us, let us go together in truth.

8 And it were better, my brother, that I should be slain in battle than that I should fall into the hands of thy father: for in the battle mine eyes were looking on every side that I might defend him from his enemies. O my brother Jonathan, hear my words, and if there be iniquity in me, reprove me.

9 And Jonathan answered and said: Come unto me, my brother David, and I will tell thee thy righteousness. My soul pineth away sore at thy sadness because now we are parted one from another. And this have our sins compelled, that we should be parted from one another. But let us remember one another day and night while we live. And even if death part us, yet I know that our souls will know one another. For thine is the kingdom in this world, and of thee shall be the beginning of the kingdom, and it cometh in its time.

10 And now, like a child that is weaned from its mother, even so shall be our separation. Let the heaven be witness and let the earth be witness of those things which we have spoken together. And let us weep each with the other and Jay up our tears in one vessel and commit the vessel to the earth, and it shall be a testimony unto us. ii. And they bewailed each one the other sore, and kissed one another. But Jonathan feared and said unto David: Let us remember, O my brother, the covenant that is made betwixt us, and the oath which is set in our heart. And if I die before thee and thou indeed reign, as the Lord hath spoken, be not mindful of the anger of my father, but of the covenant which is made betwixt me and thee. Neither think upon the hatred wherewith my father hateth thee in vain but upon my love wherewith I have loved thee. Neither think upon that wherein my father was unthankful unto thee, but remember the table whereat we have eaten together. Neither keep in mind the envy wherewith my father envied thee evilly, but the faith which I and thou keep. Neither care thou for the lie wherewith Saul hath lied, but for the oaths that we have sworn one to another. And they kissed one another. And after that David departed into the wilderness, and Jonathan went into the city.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 63

1 At that time the priests that dwelt in Noba were polluting the holy things of the Lord and making the firstfruits a reproach unto the people. And God was wroth and said: Behold, I will wipe out the priests that dwell in Noba, because they walk in the ways of the sons of Heli.

2 And at that time came Doech the Syrian, which was over Saul's mules, unto Saul and said unto him: Knowest thou not that Abimelec the priest taketh counsel with David and hath given him a sword and sent him away in peace? And Saul sent and called Abimelec and said unto him: Thou shalt surely die, because thou hast taken counsel with mine enemy. And Saul slew Abimelec and all his father's house, and there was not so much as one of his tribe delivered save only Abiathar his son. The same came to David and told him all that had befallen him.

3 And God said: Behold, in the year when Saul began to reign, when Jonathan had sinned and he would have put him to death, this people rose up and suffered him not, and now when the priests were slain, even 385 men, they kept silence and said nothing. Therefore, lo, the days shall come quickly that I will deliver them into the hands of their enemies and they shall fall down wounded, they and their king.

4 And unto Doech the Syrian thus said the Lord: Behold, the days shall come quickly that the worm shall come up upon his tongue and shall cause him to pine away, and his dwelling shall be with Jair for ever in the fire that is not quenched.

5 Now all that Saul did, and the rest of his words, and how he pursued after David, are they not written in the book of the kings of Israel? 6. And after these things Samuel died, and all Israel gathered together and mourned him, and buried him.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 64

1 Then Saul took thought, saying: I will surely take away the sorcerers out of the land of Israel. So shall men remember me after my departure. And Saul scattered all the sorcerers out of the land. And God said: Behold, Saul hath taken away the sorcerers out of the land, not because of the fear of me, but that he might make himself a name. Behold, whom he hath scattered, unto them let him resort, and get divination from them, because he hath no prophets.

2 At that time the Philistines said every man to his neighbour: Behold, Samuel the prophet is dead and there is none that prayeth for Israel. David, also, which fought for them, is become Saul's adversary and is not with them. Now, therefore, let us arise and fight mightily against them, and avenge the blood of our fathers. And the Philistines assembled themselves and came up to battle.

3 And when Saul saw that Samuel was dead and David was not with him, his hands were loosened. And he inquired of the Lord, and he hearkened not unto him. And he sought prophets, and none appeared unto him. And Saul said unto the people: Let us seek out a diviner and inquire of him that which I have in mind. And the people answered him: Behold, now there is a woman named Sedecla, 1 the daughter of Debin (or Adod) the Madianite, which deceived the people of Israel with sorceries: and lo she dwelleth in Endor.

4 And Saul put on vile raiment and went unto her, he and two men with him, by night and said unto her: Raise up unto me Samuel. And she said: I am afraid of the king Saul. And Saul said unto her: Thou shalt not be harmed of Saul in this matter. And Saul said within himself: When I was king in Israel, even though the Gentiles saw me not, yet knew they that I was Saul. And Saul asked the woman, saying: Hast thou seen Saul at any time? And she said: Oftentimes. And Saul went out and wept and said: Lo, now I know that my beauty is changed, and that the glory of my kingdom is passed from me.

5 And it came to pass, when the woman saw Samuel coming up, and beheld Saul with him, that she cried out and said: Behold, thou art Saul, wherefore hast thou deceived me? And he said unto her: Fear not, but tell me what thou sawest. And she said: Lo, these 40 years have I raised up the dead for the Philistines, but this appearance hath not been seen, neither shall it be seen hereafter.

6 And Saul said unto her: What is his form? And she said: Thou inquirest of me concerning the gods. For, behold, his form is not the form of a man. For he is arrayed in a white robe and hath a mantle upon it, and two angels leading him. 1 And Saul remembered the mantle which Samuel had rent while he lived, and he smote his hands together and cast himself upon the earth.

7 And Samuel said unto him: Why hast thou disquieted me to bring me up? I thought that the time was come for me to receive the reward of my deeds. Therefore boast not thyself, O king, neither thou, O woman. For it is not ye that have brought me up, but the precept 2 which God spake unto me while I yet lived, that I should come and tell thee that thou hadst sinned yet the second time in neglecting God. For this cause are my bones disturbed after that I had rendered up my soul, that I should speak unto thee, and that being dead I should be heard as one living.

8 Now therefore to-morrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me, when the people are delivered into the hands of the Philistines. And because thy bowels have been moved with jealousy, therefore that that is thine shall be taken from thee. And Saul heard the words of Samuel, and his soul melted and he said: Behold, I depart to die with my sons, if perchance my destruction may be an atonement 3 for mine iniquities. And Saul arose and departed thence.

PSEUDO-PHILO CHAPTER 65

1 And the Philistines fought against Israel. And Saul went out to battle. And Israel fled before the Philistines: and when Saul saw that the battle waxed hard exceedingly, he said in his heart: Wherefore strengthenest thou thyself to live, seeing, Samuel hath proclaimed death unto thee and to thy sons?

2 And Saul said to him that bare his armour: Take thy sword and slay me before the Philistines come and abuse me. And he that bare his armour would not lay hands upon him.

3 And he himself bowed upon his sword, and he could not die. And he looked behind him and saw a man running and called unto him and said: Take my sword and slay me. For my life is yet in me.

4 And he came to slay him. And Saul said unto him: Before thou kill me, tell me, who art thou? And he said unto him: I am Edab, the son of Agag king of the Amalechites. And Saul said: Behold, now the words of Samuel are come upon me even as he said: He that shall be born of Agag shall be an offence unto thee.

5 But go thou and say unto David: I have slain thine enemy. And thou shalt say unto him: Thus saith Saul: Be not mindful of my hatred, neither of mine unrighteousness. . . .

THE LETTERS OF GOVERNOR PLINIUS AND EMPEROR TRAIANUS ON CHRISTIANS

(Letter No. 96 and No. 97)
Latin Source: Bibliotheca Augustana,
Edition by R. A. B. Mynors,1963
Translation: J. B. Firth, 1900
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 112 AD

(The two letter writers:

1. Pliny the Younger (Latin: Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus, born Gaius Caecilius or Gaius Caecilius Cilo (61–113), was a lawyer, author, and magistrate of Ancient Rome. Pliny's uncle, Pliny the Elder, helped raise and educate him. Pliny the Younger wrote hundreds of letters, of which 247 survive and are of great historical value. Some are addressed to reigning emperors or to notables such as the historian Tacitus. Pliny served as an imperial magistrate under Trajan (reigned 98–117), and his letters to Trajan provide one of the few surviving records of the relationship between the imperial office and provincial governors. Pliny rose through a series of civil and military offices, the cursus honorum. He was a friend of the historian Tacitus and might have employed the biographer Suetonius on his staff. Pliny also came into contact with other well-known men of the period, including the philosophers Artemidorus and Euphrates the Stoic, during his time in Syria.

2. Trajan (Latin: Imperator Caesar Nerva Traianus Divi Nervae filius Augustus; 53–117 AD) was Roman emperor from 98 to 117. Officially declared by the Senate optimus princeps ("best ruler"), Trajan is remembered as a successful soldier-emperor who presided over the greatest military expansion in Roman history, leading the empire to attain its maximum territorial extent by the time of his death. He is also known for his philanthropic rule, overseeing extensive public building programs and implementing social welfare policies, which earned him his enduring reputation as the second of the Five Good Emperors who presided over an era of peace and prosperity in the Mediterranean world.

Pliny the Younger, the Roman governor of Bithynia and Pontus (east of Constantinople, modern Turkey) wrote a letter to Emperor Trajan around AD 112 and asked for counsel on dealing with the early Christian community. The letter (Epistulae X.96) details an account of how Pliny conducted trials of suspected Christians who appeared before him as a result of anonymous accusations and asks for the Emperor's guidance on how they should be treated.

The letter is the first non-Christian account to refer to Christianity, providing key information on early Christians and how the Romans tried to deal with them. Neither Pliny nor Trajan mentions the crime that Christians had committed, except for being a Christian; the letters do not provide a simple answer to what that crime could be. It becomes clear, the two letter writers did not know anything about Christianity. We even cannot be sure if they really were talking about Christians, Gnostics, Jews, Jewish-Christians or any other of the many groups.

This is quite a shocking fact because it reveals that neither Pliny nor Emperor Trajan knew what they are talking about and this reminds us of the ignorance and incompetence of modern politicians who do not know the difference of Ialamism, Islam, Hamas, Al Qaeda, Taliban, Wahabi and Muslim Brotherhood.

Pliny states that he gives Christians multiple chances to affirm they are innocent and if they refuse three times, they are executed. Pliny states that his investigations have revealed nothing on the Christians' part but harmless practices and "depraved, excessive superstition." However, Pliny seems concerned about the rapid spread of this "superstition"; and views Christian gatherings as a potential starting point for sedition. The letter and Trajan's reply indicate that at the time of its writing there was no systematic and official persecution of Christians in the Roman Empire.)

EPISTLE 96 - Pliny's Letter to Trajan.

It is my custom, Sir, to refer to you in all cases where I do not feel sure, for who can better direct my doubts or inform my ignorance? I have never been present at any legal examination of the Christians, and I do not know, therefore, what are the usual penalties passed upon them, or the limits of those penalties, or how searching an inquiry should be made. I have hesitated a great deal in considering whether any distinctions should be drawn according to the ages of the accused; whether the weak should be punished as severely as the more robust; whether if they renounce their faith they should be pardoned, or whether the man who has once been a Christian should gain nothing by recanting; whether the name itself, even though otherwise innocent of crime, should be punished, or only the crimes that gather round it.

In the meantime, this is the plan which I have adopted in the case of those Christians who have been brought before me. I ask them whether they are Christians; if they say yes, then I repeat the question a second and a third time, warning them of the penalties it entails, and if they still persist, I order them to be taken away to prison. For I do not doubt that, whatever

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the character of the crime may be which they confess, their pertinacity and inflexible obstinacy certainly ought to be punished.* There were others who showed similar mad folly whom I reserved to be sent to Rome, as they were Roman citizens.** Subsequently, as is usually the way, the very fact of my taking up this question led to a great increase of accusations, and a variety of cases were brought before me. A pamphlet was issued anonymously, containing the names of a number of people. Those who denied that they were or had been Christians and called upon the gods in the usual formula, reciting the words after me, those who offered incense and wine before your image, which I had given orders to be brought forward for this purpose, together with the statues of the deities - all such I considered should be discharged, especially as they cursed the name of Christ, which, it is said, those who are really Christians cannot be induced to do. Others, whose names were given me by an informer, first said that they were Christians and afterwards denied it, declaring that they had been but were so no longer, some of them having recanted many years before, and more than one so long as twenty years back. They all worshipped your image and the statues of the deities, and cursed the name of Christ. But they declared that the sum of their guilt or their error only amounted to this, that on a stated day they had been accustomed to meet before daybreak and to recite a hymn among themselves to Christ, as though he were a god, and that so far from binding themselves by oath to commit any crime, their oath was to abstain from theft, robbery, adultery, and from breach of faith, and not to deny trust money placed in their keeping when called upon to deliver it. When this ceremony was concluded, it had been their custom to depart and meet again to take food, but it was of no special character and quite harmless, and they had ceased this practice after the edict in which, in accordance with your orders, I had forbidden all secret societies.*** I thought it the more necessary, therefore, to find out what truth there was in these statements by submitting two women, who were called deaconesses, to the torture, but I found nothing but a debased superstition carried to great lengths. So I postponed my examination, and immediately consulted you. The matter seems to me worthy of your consideration, especially as there are so many people involved in the danger. Many persons of all ages, and of both sexes alike, are being brought into peril of their lives by their accusers, and the process will go on. For the contagion of this superstition has spread not only through the free cities, but into the villages and the rural districts, and yet it seems to me that it can be checked and set right. It is beyond doubt that the temples, which have been almost deserted, are beginning again to be thronged with worshippers, that the sacred rites which have for a long time been allowed to lapse are now being renewed, and that the food for the sacrificial victims is once more finding a sale, whereas, up to recently, a buyer was hardly to be found. From this it is easy to infer what vast numbers of people might be reclaimed, if only they were given an opportunity of repentance.

(*) Pliny leaves it unclear whether the Christians were accused of a specific crime; it seems that to confess to being Christian was considered sufficient proof of guilt.

(**) Except by special delegation of the Emperor's own legal powers, no provincial governor had power to inflict the death penalty on a Roman citizen, but must allow him to take his trial at Rome.

(***) Or 'political societies'. The same word {hetaeriae} is used in relation to a guild of firemen, in letter 34 of this book.

EPISTLE 97 - Trajan's Answer to Pliny.

You have adopted the proper course, my dear Pliny, in examining into the cases of those who have been denounced to you as Christians, for no hard and fast rule can be laid down to meet a question of such wide extent. The Christians are not to be hunted out; if they are brought before you and the offence is proved, they are to be punished, but with this reservation - that if any one denies that he is a Christian and makes it clear that he is not, by offering prayers to our deities, then he is to be pardoned because of his recantation, however suspicious his past conduct may have been.* But pamphlets published anonymously must not carry any weight whatever, no matter what the charge may be, for they are not only a precedent of the very worst type, but they are not in consonance with the spirit of our age.

(*) For an early Christian reaction to Trajan's decision, see Tertullian's 'Apology', chapter 2 (written in about 197 A.D.).

THE MURATORIAN FRAGMENT

or The Canon Muratorianus
Source: In Muratori, V. C. Antiq.
Ital. Med. æv., Vol. 3. col. 854.
From: Ante-Nicene Fathers Vol. 5, 1885
Translation: Stewart Dingwall Fordyce Salmond, 1885.
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 170-300 A.D.

(The Muratorian fragment, also known as the Muratorian Canon or Canon Muratori, is a copy of perhaps the oldest known list of most of the books of the New Testament. The fragment, consisting of 85 lines, is a 7th-century Latin manuscript bound in a 7th- or 8th-century codex from the library of Columbanus's monastery at Bobbio Abbey; it contains features suggesting it is a translation from a Greek original written about 170 or as late as the 4th century. The acephalous fragment was ascribed by some to Caius. Both the degraded condition of the manuscript and the poor Latin in which it was written have made it difficult to translate. The beginning of the fragment is missing, and it ends abruptly. The fragment consists of all that remains of a section of a list of all the works that were accepted as canonical by the churches known to its original compiler. It was discovered in the Ambrosian Library in Milan by Father Ludovico Antonio Muratori (1672–1750), the most famous Italian historian of his generation, and published in 1740.

The definitive formation of the New Testament canon did not occur until 367, when bishop Athanasius of Alexandria in his annual Easter letter composed the list that is still recognised today as the canon of 27 books. However, it would take several more centuries of debates until agreement on Athanasius' canon had been reached within all of Christendom.)

1….those things at which he was present he placed thus. The third book of the Gospel, that according to Luke, the well-known physician Luke wrote in his own name in order after the ascension of Christ, and when Paul had associated him with himself as one studious of right. Nor did he himself see the Lord in the flesh; and he, according as he was able to accomplish it, began his narrative with the nativity of John. The fourth Gospel is that of John, one of the disciples. When his fellow-disciples and bishops entreated him, he said, "Fast ye now with me for the space of three days, and let us recount to each other whatever may be revealed to each of us." On the same night it was revealed to Andrew, one of the apostles, that John should narrate all things in his own name as they called them to mind. And hence, although different points are taught us in the several books of the Gospels, there is no difference as regards the faith of believers, inasmuch as in all of them all things are related under one imperial Spirit, which concern the Lord's nativity, His passion, His resurrection, His conversation with His disciples, and His twofold advent,—the first in the humiliation of rejection, which is now past, and the second in the glory of royal power, which is yet in the future. What marvel is it, then, that John brings forward these several things so constantly in his epistles also, saying in his own person, "What we have seen with our eyes, and heard with our ears, and our hands have handled, that have we written." For thus he professes himself to be not only the eye-witness, but also the hearer; and besides that, the historian of all the wondrous facts concerning the Lord in their order.

2. Moreover, the Acts of all the Apostles are comprised by Luke in one book, and addressed to the most excellent Theophilus, because these different events took place when he was present himself; and he shows this clearly—i.e., that the principle on which he wrote was, to give only what fell under his own notice—by the omission of the passion of Peter, and also of the journey of Paul, when he went from the city—Rome—to Spain.

3. As to the epistles of Paul, again, to those who will understand the matter, they indicate of themselves what they are, and from what place or with what object they were directed. He wrote first of all, and at considerable length, to the Corinthians, to check the schism of heresy; and then to the Galatians, to forbid circumcision; and then to the Romans on the rule of the Old Testament Scriptures, and also to show them that Christ is the first object in these;—which it is needful for us to discuss severally, as the blessed Apostle Paul, following the rule of his predecessor John, writes to no more than seven churches by name, in this order: the first to the Corinthians, the second to the Ephesians, the third to the Philippians, the fourth to the Colossians, the fifth to the Galatians, the sixth to the Thessalonians, the seventh to the Romans. Moreover, though he writes twice to the Corinthians and Thessalonians for their correction, it is yet shown—i.e., by this sevenfold writing—that there is one Church spread abroad through the whole world. And John too, indeed, in the Apocalypse, although he writes only to seven churches, yet addresses all. He wrote, besides these, one to Philemon, and one to Titus, and two to Timothy, in simple personal affection and love indeed; but yet these are hallowed in the esteem of the Catholic Church, and in the regulation of ecclesiastical discipline. There are also in circulation one to the Laodiceans, and another to the Alexandrians, forged under the name of Paul, and addressed against the heresy of Marcion; and there are also several others which cannot be received into the Catholic Church, for it is not suitable for gall to be mingled with honey.

4. The Epistle of Jude, indeed, and two belonging to the above-named John—or bearing the name of John—are reckoned among the Catholic epistles. And the book of Wisdom, written by the friends of Solomon in his honour. We receive also the Apocalypse of John and that of Peter, though some amongst us will not have this latter read in the Church. The Pastor, moreover, did Hermas write very recently in our times in the city of Rome, while his brother bishop Pius sat in the chair of the Church of Rome. And therefore it also ought to be read; but it cannot be made public in the Church to the people, nor placed among the prophets, as their number is complete, nor among the apostles to the end of time. Of the writings of Arsinous, called also Valentinus, or of Miltiades, we receive nothing at all. Those are rejected too who wrote the new Book of Psalms for Marcion, together with Basilides and the founder of the Asian Cataphrygians.

HEGESIPPUS

Hegesippos' Hypomnemata
Hegesippus' Memoirs or Memoranda
Fragments of Ayios Hegesippus the Nazarene,
or: The Treatise of Hegesippus;
Source: Eusebius of Caesarea, Historia Ecclesiae, 3:20
From: Ante-Nicene Fathers, Philip Schaff
Original Language: Greek
Estimated Range of Dating: 165-175 A.D.

(Hegesippus (Greek: Ayios Hegesippos; c. 110–180 AD), also known as Hegesippus the Nazarene. Our knowledge of Hegesippus is based on statements of Eusebius of Caesarea. According to that, Hegesippus spoke Hebrew and Aramaic, having been a Jewish convert. Eusebius of Caesarea wrote that the death of Antinous (130 AD) occurred in Hegesippus' lifetime, and that he came to Rome under Pope Anicetus and wrote in the time of Pope Eleuterus (Bishop of Rome, c. 174–189 AD).

Hegesippus was a chronicler of the early Roman Church and, as usual of that time, he probably wrote against heresies of other Christian groups, such as Gnostics and Marcionites. Hegesippus' work Hypomnemata ("Memoirs" or "Memoranda") in five books, is lost, except for eight passages. As Eusebius did not speak Hebrew and Aramaic well, and had only little knowledge of Jewish customs, he was unable to judge Hegesippus' texts. However, he found the Hegesippus' records on Jesus' family so fascinating that he quoted from Hegesippus' work. The quoted extracts refer chiefly to two incidents: (1st) The encounter of Titus Flavius Domitianus (Domitian, 81–96 AD) that he had with the two grandsons of Jude (the younger brother of Jesus, also called Judas Thaddeus) and (2nd) another encounter that Emperor Trajan (98–117) had with Symeon the son of Jesus' uncle Clopas, bishop of Jerusalem.

James the Just, "the brother of the Lord", was given the obscure Greek epithet Oblias, supposed to be a Semitic name in Greek translation. Dr. Robert Eisenman connects "Oblias" with "Protector of the people", as were other 'Zaddikim' (Zadokite / Saducees). He also transcribes from Hegesippus the story of the election of his successor Simeon, and the summoning of the descendants of St. Jude to Rome by the Emperor Flavius Domitianus. Jude was one of the Twelve Apostles of Jesus. He is generally identified with Thaddeus, and is also variously called Jude of James, Jude Thaddaeus, Judas Thaddaeus or Lebbaeus. He is sometimes identified with Jude, who was another brother of Jesus, or the son of this brother. The placement of James' death at the end rather than in the middle strongly suggests that the five books of Hegesippus' Memoranda did not actually constitute a chronological account of Church history, as Jerome (Greek: Eusebios Sophronios Hieronymos; c. 347–420) assumed but the history of Jesus and his family.

The statement on the Desposyni (blood relatives of Jesus) make a chilling reading indeed. It clearly shows that Jesus was not an isolated character. [* In the 3rd century, biological relatives with a connexion to the nuclear family of Jesus, without refering to them by name, were called the "desposynoi" in Greek meaning "of or belonging to the master or lord". The term was used by Sextus Julius Africanus, a writer of the early 3rd century.].)*

Text:

[One of the sub-Apostolic age, a contemporary of Justin and of the martyrs of "the good Aurelius," we must yet distinguish Hegesippus from the apologists. He is the earliest of the Church's chroniclers-we can hardly call him a historian. His aims were noble and his character was pure; nor can we refuse him the credit due to a foresight of the Church's ultimate want of historical material, which he endeavoured to supply.

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What is commonly regarded as his defect is in reality one of his greatest merits as a witness: he was a Hebrew, and looks at the Church from the stand-point of "James the Lord's brother." When we observe his Catholic spirit, therefore, as well as his Catholic orthodoxy; his sympathy with the Gentile Church and Pauline faith of the Corinthians; his abhorrence of "the Circumcision" so far as it bred sects and heresies against Christ; and when we find him confirming the testimony of the Apostolic Fathers, and sustaining the traditions of Antioch by those of Jerusalem,-we have double reason to cherish his name, and to treasure up "the fragments that remain" of his works. That touching episode of the kindred of Christ, as they appeared before Domitian, has always impressed my imagination as worthy to be classed with the story of St. John and the robber, as one of the most suggestive incidents of early Christian history. We must lament the loss of other portions of the Memoirs which were known to exist in the seventeenth century. He was a traveller, and must have seen much of the Apostolic churches in the East and West; and the mere scraps we have of his narrative concerning Corinth and Rome excite a natural curiosity as to the rest, which may lead to gratifying discoveries.]

Concerning the martyrdom of James, the brother of the Lord, from Hegesippus' Hypomnemata, Book V.

James, the Lord's brother, succeeds to the government of the Church, in conjunction with the apostles. He has been universally called the Just, from the days of the Lord down to the present time. For many bore the name of James; but this one was holy from his mother's womb. He drank no wine or other intoxicating liquor, nor did he eat flesh; no razor came upon his head; he did not anoint himself with oil, nor make use of the bath. He alone was permitted to enter the holy place: for he did not wear any woollen garment, but fine linen only. He alone, I say, was wont to go into the temple: and he used to be found kneeling on his knees, begging forgiveness for the people-so that the skin of his knees became horny like that of a camel's, by reason of his constantly bending the knee in adoration to God, and begging forgiveness for the people. Therefore, in consequence of his pre-eminent justice, he was called the Just, and Oblias, which signifies in Greek Defence of the People, and Justice, in accordance with what the prophets declare concerning him.

Now some persons belonging to the seven sects existing among the people, which have been before described by me in the Notes, asked him: "What is the door of Jesus? " And he replied that He was the Saviour. In Consequence of this answer, some believed that Jesus is the Christ. But the sects before mentioned did not believe, either in a resurrection or in the coming of One to requite every man according to his works; but those who did believe, believed because of James. So, when many even of the ruling class believed, there was a commotion among the Jews, and scribes, and Pharisees, who said: "A little more, and we shall have all the people looking for Jesus as the Christ.

They came, therefore, in a body to James, and said: "We entreat thee, restrain the people: for they are gone astray in their opinions about Jesus, as if he were the Christ. We entreat thee to persuade all who have come hither for the day of the passover, concerning Jesus. For we all listen to thy persuasion; since we, as well as all the people, bear thee testimony that thou art just, and showest partiality to none. Do thou, therefore, persuade the people not to entertain erroneous opinions concerning Jesus: for all the people, and we also, listen to thy persuasion. Take thy stand, then, upon the summit of the temple, that from that elevated spot thou mayest be clearly seen, and thy words may be plainly audible to all the people. For, in order to attend the passover, all the tribes have congregated hither, and some of the Gentiles also."

The aforesaid scribes and Pharisees accordingly set James on the summit of the temple, and cried aloud to him, and said: "O just one, whom we are all bound to obey, forasmuch as the people is in error, and follows Jesus the crucified, do thou tell us what is the door of Jesus, the crucified." And he answered with a loud voice: "Why ask ye me concerning Jesus the Son of man? He Himself sitteth in heaven, at the right hand of the Great Power, and shall come on the clouds of heaven."

And, when many were fully convinced by these words, and offered praise for the testimony of James, and said, "Hosanna to the son of David," then again the said Pharisees and scribes said to one another, "We have not done well in procuring this testimony to Jesus. But let us go up and throw him down, that they may be afraid, and not believe him." And they cried aloud, and said: "Oh! oh! the just man himself is in error." Thus they fulfilled the Scripture written in Isaiah: "Let us away with the just man, because he is troublesome to us: therefore shall they eat the fruit of their doings." So they went up and threw down the just man, and said to one another: "Let us stone James the Just." And they began to stone him: for he was not killed by the fall; but he turned, and kneeled down, and said: "I beseech Thee, Lord God our Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do."

And, while they were thus stoning him to death, one of the priests, the sons of Rechab, the son of Rechabim, to whom testimony is borne by Jeremiah the prophet, began to cry aloud, saying: "Cease, what do ye? The just man is praying for us." But one among them, one of the fullers, took the staff with which he was accustomed to wring out the garments he dyed, and hurled it at the head of the just man.

And so he suffered martyrdom; and they buried him on the spot, and the pillar erected to his memory still remains, close by the temple. This man was a true witness to both Jews and Greeks that Jesus is the Christ.

And shortly after Vespasian besieged Judaea, taking them captive.

Concerning the relatives of our Saviour.

There still survived of the kindred of the Lord the grandsons of Judas, who according to the flesh was called his brother. These were informed against, as belonging to the family of David, and Evocatus brought them before Domitian Caesar: for that emperor dreaded the advent of Christ, as Herod had done.

So he asked them whether they were of the family of David; and they confessed they were. Next he asked them what property they had, or how much money they possessed. They both replied that they had only 9000 denaria between them, each of them owning half that sum; but even this they said they did not possess in cash, but as the estimated value of some land, consisting of thirty-nine plethra only, out of which they had to pay the dues, and that they supported themselves by their own labour. And then they began to hold out their hands, exhibiting, as proof of their manual labour, the roughness of their skin, and the corns raised on their hands by constant work.

Being then asked concerning Christ and His kingdom, what was its nature, and when and where it was to appear, they returned answer that it was not of this world, nor of the earth, but belonging to the sphere of heaven and angels, and would make its appearance at the end of time, when He shall come in glory, and judge living and dead, and render to every one according to the course of his life.

Thereupon Domitian passed no condemnation upon them, but treated them with contempt, as too mean for notice, and let them go free. At the same time he issued a command, and put a stop to the persecution against the Church.

When they were released they became leaders of the churches, as was natural in the case of those who were at once martyrs and of the kindred of the Lord. And, after the establishment of peace to the Church, their lives were prolonged to the reign of Trojan.

Concerning the martyrdom of Symeon the son of Clopas, bishop of Jerusalem.

Some of these heretics, forsooth, laid an information against Symeon the son of Clopas, as being of the family of David, and a Christian. And on these charges he suffered martyrdom when he was 120 years old, in the reign of Trajan Caesar, when Atticus was consular legate in Syria. And it so happened, says the same writer, that, while inquiry was then being made for those belonging to the royal tribe of the Jews, the accusers themselves were convicted of belonging to it. With show of reason could it be said that Symeon was one of those who actually saw and heard the Lord, on the ground of his great age, and also because the Scripture of the Gospels makes mention of Mary the daughter of Clopas, who, as our narrative has shown already, was his father.

The same historian mentions others also, of the family of one of the reputed brothers of the Saviour, named Judas, as having survived until this same reign, after the testimony they bore for the faith of Christ in the time of Domitian, as already recorded.

He writes as follows: They came, then, and took the presidency of every church, as witnesses for Christ, and as being of the kindred of the Lord. And, after profound peace had been established in every church, they remained down to the reign of Trojan Caesar: that is, until the time when he who was sprung from an uncle of the Lord, the aforementioned Symeon son of Clopas, was informed against by the various heresies, and subjected to an accusation like the rest, and for the same cause, before the legate Atticus; and, while suffering outrage during many days, he bore testimony for Christ: so that all, including the legate himself, were astonished above measure that a man 120 years old should have been able to endure such torments. He was finally condemned to be crucified.

... Up to that period the Church had remained like a virgin pure and uncorrupted: for, if there were any persons who were disposed to tamper with the wholesome rule of the preaching of salvation, they still lurked in some dark place of concealment or other. But, when the sacred band of apostles had in various ways closed their lives, and that generation of men to whom it had been vouchsafed to listen to the Godlike Wisdom with their own ears had passed away, then did the confederacy of godless error take its rise through the treachery of false teachers, who, seeing that none of the apostles any longer survived, at length attempted with bare and uplifted head to oppose the preaching of the truth by preaching "knowledge falsely so called."

Concerning his journey to Rome, and the Jewish sects.

And the church of the Corinthians continued in the orthodox faith up to the time when Primus was bishop in Corinth. I had some intercourse with these brethren on my voyage to Rome, when I spent several days with the Corinthians, during which we were mutually refreshed by the orthodox faith.

On my arrival at Rome, I drew up a list of the succession of bishops down to Anicetus, whose deacon was Eleutherus. To Anicetus succeeded Soter, and after him came Eleutherus. But in the case of every succession, and in every city, the state of affairs is in accordance with the teaching of the Law and of the Prophets and of the Lord....

And after James the Just had suffered martyrdom, as had the Lord also and on the same account, again Symeon the son of Clopas, descended from the Lord's uncle, is made bishop, his election being promoted by all as being a kinsman of the Lord.

Therefore was the Church called a virgin, for she was not as yet corrupted by worthless teaching. Thebulis it was who, displeased because he was not made bishop, first began to corrupt her by stealth. He too was connected with the seven sects which existed among the people, like Simon, from whom come the Simoniani; and Cleobius, from whom come the Cleobiani; and Doritheus, from whom come the Dorithiani; and Gorthaeus, from whom come the Gortheani; Masbothaeus, from whom come the Masbothaei. From these men also come the Menandrianists, and the Marcionists, and the Carpocratians, and the Valentinians, and the Basilidians, and the Saturnilians. Each of these leaders in his own private and distinct capacity brought in his own private opinion. From these have come false Christs, false prophets, false apostles-men who have split up the one Church into parts through their corrupting doctrines, uttered in disparagement of God and of His Christ....

There were, moreover, various opinions in the matter of circumcision among the children of Israel, held by those who were opposed to the tribe of Judah and to Christ: such as the Essenes, the Galileans, the Hemerobaptists (those ones who take a bath every day), the Masbothaei (disciples of Masbotheus, who is said to have been a follower of Simon Magus), the Samaritans, the Sadducees (Zadokites, the Righteous ones), the Pharisees (the forerunners of peaceful, and not violent messianic movements. The Pharisees preferred cooperation with Greeks and Romans. They are the ancestors of today's peaceful Rabbinic Jews).

PSEUDO-HEGESIPPOS

or: De excidio urbis Hierosolymitanae
(On the ruin of the city of Jerusalem)
Translation: Wade Blocker, 2005
Estimated Range of Dating: 4th century A.D.

(Pseudo-Hegesippus is a conventional title for a fourth-century adaptor of The Jewish War of Flavius Josephus. There is a Latin text extant in numerous medieval manuscripts under the title of De excidio urbis Hierosolymitanae (On the ruin of the city of Jerusalem) or Historiae (History). The text is an original composition which borrows very heavily from the Jewish War of Josephus, and is sometimes considered as a free translation and rearrangement of that work.

The author is given in the manuscripts sometimes as Hegesippus -- which may be a corruption of Iosippus, the spelling of Josephus in many of the manuscripts. In other manuscripts it is ascribed to Ambrose of Milan, and indeed is sometimes transmitted to us together with some of his works. Scholars have sometimes attributed the work to him; others to Isaac, a Jewish convert active in Roman ecclesiastical politics in the 370's. Most scholars today consider the work anonymous, and by convention refer to it as Pseudo-Hegesippus. It should not be confused with the Latin translation of the Jewish War made by Rufinus, which is more literal and arranged in seven books, and was made later. It has nothing to do with the lost works of the second-century writer Hegesippus mentioned by Eusebius.

De excidio is arranged in five books. Books 1-4 correspond to the same books of the Jewish War; book 5 contains the material from books 5-6 and part of book 7 of Josephus. But material from Antiquities is also being used. In book 2 a version of the so-called Testimonium Flavianum can be found, although this might have come from one of the versions of the Jewish War into which that had been interpolated, or perhaps from Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History. But in book 2 chapter 4 the story of the seduction of Paulina comes from Antiquities 18.3. Likewise Book 1 chapter 38 contains material about a pestilence which followed Herod's execution of his wife Mariamne, which comes from Antiquities 15.7, 9. Neither appears in any version of the Jewish War, so indicating that the author had direct access to a manuscript of Antiquities.

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The work is usually dated to between 370-c.375 AD. It contains in book 2 chapter 9 what seems to be an allusion to the recent reconquest of Britain by Count Theodosius, ca. 370 AD, so cannot be earlier than this. It also refers to Constantinople by name. There is a reference to a Latin translation of Josephus in letter 71 of St. Jerome, written between 386 and 400 AD. The author refers to the triumphant position of the Roman empire, which suggests that it must precede the imperial crisis brought on by the disastrous defeat and death of the emperor Valens in battle with the Goths at Adrianople in 378, and still more so the sack of Rome in 410.

Although the author is sometimes termed a "translator", he never makes a claim to be translating either literally or freely. Rather, he considered himself a historian who used Josephus as his main source. The work is certainly too free to be considered a translation, as he frequently paraphrases and abridges. In addition, he adds passages based on other sources. As a whole it suggests the work of a rhetorician.

There are only five books, the first four corresponding to the first four of Josephus' War, but the fifth combines the fifth, sixth and seventh books of War. In addition, the author inserts some passages from Josephus' Antiquities, as well as some Latin authors. The Latin authors most frequently imitated are Virgil, Sallust, Cicero, and Suetonius who was a student of Titus Flavius Josephus. The Bible is rarely used.

It was printed in Paris in 1510. There is an edition by C. F. Weber and J. Caesar (Marburg, 1864).

Pseudo-Hegesippus' work must not be confounded with the literal Latin translation of War, which has seven books corresponding to the original Greek War. Traditionally, this latter translation has been attributed to Rufinus. However, it has been argued that the attribution to Rufinus must be incorrect, since Rufinus' translation of Eusebius of Caesarea's Historia Ecclesiastica quotes excerpts from War that are significantly different from the translated passages of the Latin War. It is improbable that Rufinus would have done a new and different translation of the same passages for his translation of Eusebius' Historia Ecclesiastica if he had already had them available from his Latin translation of War (or vice versa).

Attribution: The name is based on an error. In the manuscripts of the work "Iosippus" appears quite regularly for "Josephus". It has been suggested that from a corruption of Iosippus an unintelligent reviser derived Hegesippus. A more probable explanation is that the work was mistaken for the lost history of the Greek Christian author Hegesippus, which was also composed in five books. Some manuscripts attribute authorship to Ambrose of Milan.

The work began to circulate about the time of the death of Ambrose, then Bishop of Milan, in 398, or shortly after. A letter of St. Jerome (Epist. lxxi), written between 386 and 400, may bear witness to this, although it is also possible that Jerome refers here to the literal Latin translation of War, which was probably extant by that time. There is nothing to prove that Ambrose wrote this work at the end of his life. The various allusions, notably that to the defence of Britain by Count Theodosius (c. 368/9) are more readily explained if it is an earlier work.

Against the attribution to St. Ambrose: Vogel, De Hegesippo qui dicitur Iosephi interprete (Munich, 1880). // Klebs, Festschrift für Friedländer (1895), p. 210.

For the attribution: Ihm, Studia Ambrosiana (Leipzig, 1889), p. 62. / Landgraf, Die Hegesippus Frage in Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik, XII, p. 465. // Ussani, La Questione e la critica del cosi detto Egesippo in Studi italiani di Filologia classica (Florence, 1906), p. 245.)

PROLOGUE:

Having followed with my pen the four books of Kings which the sacred writings embrace all the way to the captivity of the Jews and the destruction of the wall and the triumphs of Babylon, I arranged this in the manner of history. The prophetic speech also summarises in a few words the things done by the Macchabaeans; of the rest all the way to the burning of the temple and the booty of Titus Caesar the excellent narrator Josephus (covers) with his historical pen, would that he had been attentive to religion and truth as to tracking down events and the staidness of speeches. He showed himself in his own words even a partner of the treachery of the Jews, which he made known about their punishment, and whose arms he deserted, but whose sacrilege he did not give up: he lamented tearfully their hardships, but he did not understand the cause of this hardship. Whence it was a concern for us relying not upon the help of tricks but the purpose of faith to go in the history of the Jews a little beyond the chain of sacred writing so that, as if seeking a rose among the thorns, among the savage crimes of the impious, which were paid off at a price worthy of the impiety, we may dig up something of reverence of the sacred law or of the miracle of the divine destiny, which although to evil heirs were either a pretext in unfavorable circumstances or a reason for honor in favorable ones; at the same time, because it is proof of domestic wickedness, establishes for all that they themselves were for themselves the authors of their own destruction, first because they turned the Romans who desired something different against themselves and attracted them to an examination of their kingdom, for which it was preferable to be ignored, not about to keep faith they asked for friendship, unequal in strength they violated the peace, finally they brought on war, to whom all hope was in their walls not in their strength, since to be shut in by a siege is a miserable thing for all, which even if it proceeds well, is accustomed more frequently to increase rather than to decrease the dangers. And lest anyone should think us to have undertaken a task empty of faith and unnecessary, let us consider that all the tribe of Hebrews was so led by their leaders, as is plainly evident, whether from the loins of Judas the successors of his begetting nowhere were deficient, or in truth offended in the chain of leaders, but continued in him in whom all things remained placed and who was himself the hope of the nations. From here therefore we take up our beginning.

PSEUDO-HEGESIPPUS BOOK 1

1 In the Parthian war, which was long lasting and frequent and with varying victory between the Macchabaean commanders and the people of the Medes, the resentment of sacrilege gave an incentive, because king Antiochus who had the name Illustrious, the son of the king of Antioch, when he had joined Egypt to his empire, raised up to arrogance, because the uncertainties of the wars had rewarded him, had ordered the rites of the Hebrews to be disregarded and their mysteries to be profaned, daring to decide this with many Jews demanding it. Which fact the priest Matthathias was unable to endure, and not only did he refrain from the sacrilege and not comply with the royal edict, but truly even having found one among his people sacrificing victims to images he transfixed him with a sword. And a troop having been collected and the Asidaeans having been associated in alliance he with his sons violating the practice of the ancestors and justice of the law killed some, drove out many and was the originator of undertaking war on the sabbath, lest by a similar trick they should themselves also be duped, thus already many of them, while they deprecated undertaking war on the sabbath, lay dead unavenged killed by an enemy rushing in upon them. The actions gave the power of success, and the desire of defense and the vigor of piety continued in the man to the end of life. But when he understood the final day to be at hand for him, he urged the citizens who had been called and his children standing by that they should protect the fatherland and the religion of the temple, and he left Juda the Macchabaean as leader to them and the successor of his office and responsibilities. Who strong in war, good in counsel, in comparison with the rest manifest in faith, how frequently he routed innumerable forces of the enemy with a small band, it is not the present task to follow up. Because however it is granted to collect in a short time, having experienced frequently advantageous successes he aroused against himself a great multitude of enemies, surrounded by whom on all sides, since he thinks it shameful to yield, his allies fleeing he rushes into battle. Those having been killed whom he had advanced against, surrounded from the side but however having avenged his own death he is killed. Ionatha succeeded him not less equal in likeness of courage than in affinity of birth. Who after many achievements in warfare, duties in religious matters, which concerning the purification of the temple were seen and approved, good faith having been pretended by the treachery of friendship besieged within a city of enemies after a short interval he was killed. Iohannes a brother older by birth and Eleazar younger than the rest did not refuse death for their religion. After them Simon received the highest position, which he approached not untrained but already proven by the triumphs of the fraternal alliance, would that he had been as perspicacious in avoiding trickery as he was strong in hand and well tested in the arts of waging war. For indeed when with the help of bravery he had established by treaty friendship with the commanders of the Romans and the kings of the peoples, invited by the treachery of Ptolomaeus his son in law to a banquet between the tables and drinking cups he was surrounded with his two sons who were present and without arms is given up to a wicked death. Truly however Iohannes sprung from Simon who had the name Hyrcanus avoided the treachery and hastened to the walls of a neighbouring city, where he was received by the people because of the excellent merits of his father, and also their dislike of the enemy crime. Indeed scarcely had he entered the city, and already Ptolomaeus was there. But when he wished to enter through another gate, driven away he judged that it must be yielded to the multitude. Ionathes immediately received the duties of his father's priesthood and having set out from the care of divine matters immediately pursued the duties of piety and the task of saving his relatives, desiring to remove his mother and brothers from danger. Made stronger by the assembly he was overcome by his natural feeling for their suffering, so that he did not gain control of the fortress in which they were held confined. For Ptolomaeus when he saw himself to be hard pressed, placed his mother and brothers on the walls to be thrown down immediately, if Ionathes did not desist from the war which he was waging. The young man was overcome by his feeling of tenderness, who conquered by the assumption of bravery, and called back the anger aroused against his enemy by compassion for the suffering of his kin. His mother however prepared for tortures extended her hands praying not for the remedy of safety but for the solace of vengeance. For she feared that her son was more afraid for his mother than devoted to vengeance for his father. For herself that death would be in place of immortality, by which her husband would be avenged and a wicked son in law would pay the price for his monstrous crime. But the youth fought himself more within himself than against his enemy; for whenever he thought upon his father, he was incensed, but again when he saw his mother to be lashed and to be ready for death, he weakened. He called back the attack, he gave back his position, because his passion dwindled. Idle between the pauses of the siege from the law the year arrived which was the seventh. Filial piety yielded to religion, the siege was lifted. But by that the brutality of Ptolomaeus was aroused more, so that he ordered them to be killed by whose putting into danger he had escaped destruction. Who immediately removed himself from retribution fleeing to the king of Philadelfia, Zenon who had the name Cotyla, that he might protect himself with his aid. Nor did Antiochus remain calm who resented his army to have been an object of mockery to Simon the father of Ionathas, and desiring to quench the beginnings of Ionathas yet rising, coming with a great band, he besieged Jerusalem and Hyrcanus. Hyrcanus fended him off with gold, which he was not able to do with weapons, and the tomb of David having been opened, as Josephus is our source, he dug up three thousand talents of gold, from which he counted out three hundred to Antiochus, so that he should abandon the siege, bought off by this price he went away. And that he should lighten the hatred of the deed, Hyrcanus first is said to have established a caravansary with this money, in which he received the visit of poor pilgrims. Furthermore having seen the difficult straits of Antiochus for he was inflicting war on the Medes, he avenged the expense and annexed many cities of Syria to himself. Also he surrounded Samaria, where afterwards Sebastia was established, with fortifications, whose storming he entrusted to his sons Aristobolus and Antigonus, whose slow siege forced those shut in all the way to fearful hunger and the offensive sustenance of human bodies. Driven by which necessity they thought that help must be sought from Antiochus, who had the name Aspondius, they added him bringing aid to the trouble with an alliance. For defeated by the brothers he saved himself from death by flight from the battle. The Samaritans however the city having been captured and destroyed by the sudden siege were given into slavery. Aroused by which progress of favorable things Aristobolus and Antigonus did not shrink from the attack, but thought to join to themselves forced by war the neighbouring states not at all hiding this: until jealousy having arisen a savage war blazed up the inhabitants of the regions conspiring together and a strong band having been collected. Which however having been defeated produced a profound tranquility for Johannes and peace for themselves. Hyrcanus having experienced the benefits of a long peace in his thirty first year of rule closed his life with five surviving children, which is deemed a blessed condition by most. An excellent governor and supremely sober, who left nothing ever to a chance outcome, in which his action was obscured, he entrusted tasks of great importance to his wife, having carefully judged her moderate in public affairs, holding with a certain prescience of mind that his sons would not be long lasting.

2 Nor was his opinion mistaken, inasmuch as Aristobolus, to whom among the brothers his age was greater, his mind more hasty, turned the leadership of the priesthood into rule over the kingdom and first presumed to place a crown upon himself. After four hundred seventy five years and a span of three months, from when returning from Babylon Israel having put off servitude took itself into its own land. And so haughtily not pleased to put part upon the other brothers he treated Antigonus alone with the appearance of esteem, because he seemed to love him; his mother, because she complained herself to be without a share of power and cheated of the judgement of her husband, he bound with chains and cruel in a parricidal spirit he proceeded to the point that he detained both her and his brothers chained a similar manner in close confinement, in which they were driven by starvation almost to death, if Aristobolus fearing the reward of the crime of parricide had not timely loosened them. And his savage spirit was irritated first against Antigonus himself and was turned from love into hatred, that he should kill him before all others, whom alone he had promised would be a partner to him in the state. There were perverse dispositions among the wicked to the extent that he is quickly influenced by vile suggestions.

3 It is proper therefore that we do not pass over the train of his cruelty, by which the judgement of Iohannes even after his death is shown to be sound, who considered that the supreme power of the state should by no means be entrusted to his

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older son, whom he foresaw would sink down with great madness from the law of piety and the standards of justice, I know not at all from contemplation of his customs or from the innate gratitude to the leaders of the priests, that to them some things which were about to be were revealed even to the less deserving. It was a wretched crime that they existed who begrudged to the brothers the love of nature. From this first arose the stain of evil, the fabrications that followed the jealousy are of this type.

4 They fabricated first things, to which Aristobolus gave no credence, he softened the disparagement from the influence of affection attributing to jealousy the harshness of the denunciation. Therefore they mixed false with true things, so that from those things which they had added for the appearance of truth they tricked him resisting.

5 The feast of the Tabernacles of the Jews was being celebrated in the lands according to law, a day naturally festive and full of reverence, where solemn sacrifice was being offered. On that day Antigonus famous for deeds of military service returned home and it happened that coming to his brother not equal he offended him. He goes immediately to the temple -- what indeed is placed ahead of religion -- girdled with military dress and surrounded by a suitable retinue, many there supplicating the lord for the safety of his brother, and from there attentive he hastens to his brother. From this a false accusation is constructed with bitter venom and prepared with a grievous outcome.

6 Immediately wicked men approach the king and arouse ill will, that he directed a more crowded retinue of armed men than was the custom for private citizens, that it would be a show for the rabble, that no one dared to hinder his efforts; that with such a great splendor nothing other was aimed at than the murder of the king and the usurpation of the rule of the state. With no great difficulty the infirm mind worn out by a sick body is persuaded, that he should consider credible what was alleged as truth, especially since the day dedicated to worship shut out any suspicion of falsehood, the ostentation aroused dislike, his sickness added fear and the retinue of armed men completed the belief of a crime being carried out. and so before any attempt of a parricidal crime was proved to him, he ordered his bodyguards with arms to be stationed in a dark underground passage, who should remove the armor of the arriving Antigonus, nor should they await the order of the king but themselves should kill him, an order truly having been sent ahead through messengers that he should come without weapons. The bride to Aristobolus changed the character of his message into the opposite, that she caused to be insinuated to Antigonus by those sworn to her, that his brother was delighted by the appearance of the armor outfitted in which he had recently arrived, but because of illness had not examined attentively, to request now that he should wear to his brother all that richly adorned military attire which he had collected, it would be pleasing to the king if he would arrive armed. Antigonus did not foresee treachery, he obeyed the request the more carefully because he desired equally to please his king and brother. Aristobolus was lying in the fortress, which first had the name Baris, afterwards Antonia, for by the triumvir Antonius the name was given with the dignity of the city. There after Antigonus came near and approached that dark passage, the body guards of the king seeing him to have come armed suddenly attacked and carry out their orders and and kill the unsuspecting youth. This place was called the tower of Strato, the common opinion is that Judas who was an Essene by birth was deceived by this name, who early history has handed down from the uprightness of his life or from mystic observation often announced things which were about to happen.

7 He, as we have received it, when he had seen Antigonus passing by to see his brother, said to those who were joined in the number of his disciples: "Father, now it good for me to die, when for me the truth is dead. Antigonus is alive whom to be killed today is unavoidable, the place however ordained for his death is the tower of Strato which is six hundred stadia from here. It is already the fourth hour of the day. And therefore faith in the predestined death is made impossible by the time." When he said this, he began to confer intently within himself how his opinion had been mistaken. And not much later the information is brought forth, Antigonus to have been killed in the underground passage at the tower of Strato, which place is accustomed to be named by the same word as that in the coastal region of Caesarea. Which crime having been accomplished Aristobolus reflecting within himself what a crime he had permitted fell into sickness. It was murder in his eyes, disturbance in his mind, nor was any interval given to dissimulation. Grief was imbedded deep in his heart, hatred was changed into suffering, because he killed an innocent man contrary to the law of brotherhood; the barbarity of this great wickedness festered in his mind, sleep was not given to his eyes, nor rest to his mind. The wound crawled with blind anguish, anxieties stirred up his sick vitals and concerns wounded his feeble limbs and exceedingly deep sighs with frequent groans broke forth.

8 And consequently the force of sickness broke out from the immoderate repentance to such a degree that his vitals having convulsed he threw out blood in the vomit of his mouth. Which a court servant performing his duties in accordance with court usages took outside and unaware of the fact, because it was done by chance rather by diligence, arrived at that place, in which Antigonus had been killed. There upon the spots of fraternal blood still wet he poured out the blood of his killer. An outcry suddenly was made there and the groans of those watching, because from a certain deep arrangement of the lord the blood of the wicked murderer was seen poured out upon the one murdered. Roused by the sound he inquired the cause; when no reply was forthcoming, he drew it out with insistence of inquiring and gestures of anger. Information of which having been obtained his eyes filled with tears and so great was the feeling within him that groaning he said: "a vicissitude fitting for my merits is weighed out. Nor was I the contriver of such a wicked crime able to get by the eye of god. A speedy disgrace and retribution is at hand and I am now met a price fitting my parricide. Goodbye, my body. How long will you detain a soul convicted by my brother and my mother? In what region do I pour out my blood for them? Against me all hands, if there is any goodness, brandish darts. Let all sons and brothers as the avengers of piety transfix me with swords. Let the parricidal victim be sacrificed and be offered to his violated relative. May his guilty flesh vomit out all its blood at once. Let it not be sated by the tortures of my flesh or the slow decay of evil spirits, which having dared thrust me into the abominable acts of a savage crime." With these words he gave an end to his rule and life having discharged the royal power for scarcely one year, because of the parricide which he had not fled from.

9 His wife immediately released and set free from imprisonment the brothers of the deceased, she appointed Alexander as king, whom it was considered that greater age and self control favored. Who as soon as he had secured royal power immediately killed a brother whom he had noticed too desirous of the kingship. The one who remained of the brothers, intent upon life and safety rather than royal power, he spared but devoid of responsibilities. And at once, as troubles of behavior hold him, he changed peace for war and a clash having taken place against Laturus Ptolomaeus he indeed killed very many of the enemy, but the victory accrued to Laturus. From whom however his mother Cleopatra took away the fruits of victory and forced him to retire into Egypt, to escape his mother threatening him. Alexander having taken notice of his absence, while he wishes to invade parts of his kingdom, turns even Theodorus against himself, inasmuch as he had annexed the most important of his possessions to himself. And so by a sudden attack Theodorus recovered the royal wealth, he routed also ten thousand of the Jews in a battle, but recovering above this blow Alexander added still more from the territory of the enemy to his empire and he forced the peoples of the captured cities into slavery. A civil uprising interrupted these successes, and strife having arisen from dinner parties all the way to war proceeded by the plague of this type familiar to the men of Jews, so that from the pastime of sumptuous feasting they arouse themselves to arms. And unless foreign aid had been ready at hand for the king, the rebellion would have prevailed, but even with the foreign troops it was barely suppressed nevertheless eight thousand almost of the Jews had been killed. Whence he directed his march into Arabia, and some of its cities were subjugated, and tribute by the right of victory was assessed of Moab and Gilead. From there he returned to Amathus, Theodorus having been frightened by his (i.e., Alexander's) great successes, finding his (i.e., Theodorus') fortress empty of defenders he (i.e., Alexander) captured it without delay. Obodeas the king of Arabia was not however altogether idle, nor did he long suffer the losses of his kingdom unavenged. For by ambushes advantageously located he destroyed all his (i.e., Alexander's) army which was crowded together at the bottom of a valley and squeezed together by a flock of camels. Alexander however escaped. Fleeing from the battle he seeks the shelter of the city of Jerusalem, hated by his own people, because they had broken out into hatred at the opportunity of his hardships, who previously were suppressed by fear of his power. Nor was the discord of minds hidden by silence or exercised by words only: it was fought not in one battle but in many, in which almost fifty thousand Jews were killed whom Alexander killed, as victor more destructive to his own forces than to his enemies and a greater detriment, because he diminished the strength of his kingdom by conquering. From which not even he was now pleased with his victories and having turned away from battle he treated those subordinate to himself with craft, so that now he pressed not with arms, but urged with words and dissolved the types of displeasures with speech only. He accomplished nothing however toward collecting favor for himself, because his outrages outweighed his pretenses and the sudden conversion itself to repentence and the cruel unevenness if his conduct was held suspect by those who had suffered.

10 Finally when they considered themselves to be surrounded by his pretended placidity, they aroused king Demetrius to be an aid to themselves in a war against Alexander. The fighting at close quarters was not delayed, although it had to be fought by one against two armies with inferior numbers. Accompanied by a thousand horsemen and six thousand foot soldiers, whon he had joined to himself by pay, also summoning to battle ten thousand Jews uniting with him near the city Sicim he came upon the enemy, who had three thousand horsemen and forty thousand foot soldiers. The troops were tested on both sides when Demetrius did not see those hired for money defect from faith, nor did Alexander see any of the Jews do so, to whom Demetrius had joined himself, he recognized hatred to be disposed against himself, they considered that it had to be fought with arms. Demetrius was made superior in the battle however with much blood of his troops. For it was fought with determination by those who had come hired for different pay, so that they fought with faith and valor all the way to death. And so Alexander seeing himself without troops bands of his cut down fled into the mountains. But beyond the expectation of either the appearance of victory came to the other of them, the profit was brought forth to the other, because Demetrius was left unprotected by the departure of the Hebrews, who had asked him to the alliance and six thousand of them joined themselves to Alexander in a certain fashion of human nature joining to pity in adverse circumstances. And so Demetrius yielded to him whom he had conquered in battle, seeing him with the Hebrews gradually drifting away already the gainer of the battle and himself left with a few. Whose victory moved fear of despotism to those accustomed to freedom. Savagery returned to Alexander with security and the kingdom was restored to his hands and the practice of war was resumed. To him inquiring from them doing what would reconcile the minds of the people to him it was answered, if he would die; scarcely even perhaps with him dead having endured such oppressive things would they be turned back to favour, that they should put aside hatred against him dead. Aroused by whom and the repeated practice of rebelling many having been killed he drove the rest into the city which has the name Bemeselel. Whose storming brought in a destruction more harsh than usual such a savage proceeding of cruelty, that from the number he crucified eight hundred in the middle of the city in whose sight he ordered their wives and children to be butchered.

11 This he watched lying back in the midst of his concubines, happy in his wine and cups but drunk more from blood than wine. He frightened the people by this act alone more than by the war, so that on the next night eight thousand of the Jews departed farther than Judea, to whom the end of their flight would be the death of Alexander, the horror of such a great evil brought quiet to the kingdom. But when it was at leisure from domestic battles there arose for him a cause of disquietude an expedition of Antiochus against the Arabia, which he considered terrible for himself and about to be a danger. This is the Antiochus who was even called Dionisius, the brother of Demetrius, the last descendent of Seleucus. Desiring to deny transit to whom Alexander between the city Antipatris and the Joppan shore a great ditch having been led and a very tall wall, towers also of wood having been established, mocked the work with the great labor of his men, no hindrance of the enemy, indeed by an easy task the ditches were filled and the towers burned. Also Alexander himself decided upon flight for himself as safer for the reason that he was considered not at all so great that the victor ought to pursue him in the first place. For it was reserved for a second part that he should avenge the injury received of the obstructed route, therefore he directed a route straight into Arabia. Whose king had placed himself in a place advantageous for battle, then the cavalry having been turned about suddenly with great force and in a sprawling multitude and without order charging they attacked the troops of the enemy. It was fought fiercely as long as Antiochus resisted; for he offered resistance, although his army was being cut down in the manner of cattle. When truly he himself was slain -- for he was accustomed to offer himself to dangers in front of the rest -- all were routed, the greatest part of whom scattered in the uncertainty of flight is destroyed, the rest having been forced into the village which has the name Ana and consumed by the lack of food, a very few of them barely survived this great slaughter.

12 With this success Areta was asked by the people of Damascus to rule, that he should govern at Coelesyria, from which they were shutting out Ptolomaeus whom they especially attacked with a hostile dislike, nor did he leave Judea exempt from attack, from which however, Alexander having been beaten and an agreement favorable to each party concluded, he departed as the victor and returned into his own kingdom. Alexander on the other hand overthrew Pella and advanced toward Gerasa again preparing to add to himself some parts from the possessions of Theodorus and he claimed that for himself in the war. From there he proceeded into Syria and overwhelmed Gaulane and Seleucia and Gamela, avenging the insult of the last battle, he demolished the fortifications themselves of Antioch. From which places he turned his route into Judea and beyond expectations was received with joy by the entire people for the extraordinary success of the things done. Whereby the calm born of the

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warring bestowed the beginning of sickness, affected to some degree by repeated bouts of the quartan fever, the ailment relieved for a short time, when he returns to his military undertakings and observes no limits, stronger in mind than body, he shattered all the vigor of his health and consumed his strength and therefore died. Thus for twenty and six years with various outcomes of events against countless commotions of wars he held the kingdom and he departed life with five children surviving. Judging whom unequal to the governing of the kingdom he consigned the supreme power to the care of his own wife, inasmuch as he recognized her to be more acceptable to the people and to have found favor among all for this reason, that she always thought to make herself apart from the brutality of her husband, so that she not only fled the partnership of his shameful acts, but even by opposing his unfairnesses she turned the goodwill of the entire people upon herself. Nor was the decision of her husband thoughtless. For the woman exercised the right of ruling without stumbling without any hindrance of her feminine sex and acquired the thanks of governing by the observation of the sacred law. For more attentive care is exercised concerning the templum and ministers are dismissed for fraud, and the power of the state increased. Nor was her love of the kingdom lessened by maternal affection, indeed from two children one was selected for the appearance of ruling, not for the power, Hyrcanus by name, the elder by birth, the lesser in ability, but she soothed Aristobolus the sharper in mind, lacking experience of power with the humbleness of a private citizen. The Pharisees attached themselves to the woman a class of men trained according to the teaching of the law, clever according to the nature of disposition, eager for jobs, desirous of money. Who captivating the exalted little woman acquired her power by extolling her, so that she committed to them most of the tasks of the kingdom, they employed whom they wished, they excluded whom they wished and deprived of court work. What more? They so insinuated themselves, that the fruits of all good things came to them; the costs and annoyances afflicted the woman alone. Nor was there a mediocre spirit in the woman, so that she dared great things and set out battles beyond the condition of the feminine sex, she even prepared an outstanding troop of her own forces and hired great forces of a foreign army, so that she would not only be safe at home for every contingency of ruling, but would truly be even formidable to external powers. She however excelled all the rest, but as if inferior she was submissive to the Pharisees. There was Diogenes in her kingdom who from the most powerful friends of Alexander had clung to her close friendship. Having attacked they killed him remembering that by his advice those eight hundred had been fixed a cross in the middle of the city by Alexander, against the other originators also of this outrage it was ordered that she should proceed for vengeance. And so they were killed whom the Pharisees ordered, not whom the state found guilty of crime. Many terrified by which fear to whom dangers of this type were held out and especially those oustanding in wealth or position beseeched intervention from Aristobolus, that he should bend his mother from the carrying of the too severe order to milder things. He wishing to obtain favor for himself did not refuse. She, although grudgingly, however yielded to the beseeching of her son, that in view of the honors which they had born, who were indicted on a charge of this type, the sentence of the supreme penalty would be softened and she would only order those whom she believed to have been the guilty inciters in preparing this crime to depart from the city. Who the security of life having been grasped dispersed into the countryside.

13 At the same time it happened that the youth was directed to Damascus for the reason that Ptolomaeus was wearing down the inhabitants of this renowned city by frequent raids, the difficulties of which undertaking required a strong military force from the army of Alexandra. Also Tigranes who was ruling over Armenia had shut up Cleopatra by blockade in the city which has the name Ptolomais. Alexandra soothed him with bribes that he should turn away from herself. Whom Lucullus an attack having been made forced to return into the lands of the Armenians with his goals not accomplished considering it more prudent to look after his own lands rather than to annex those of others. And so strained by such great tasks Alexandra fell into sickness. Which opportunity Aristobolus seized to his advantage and a band having been collected, those conspiring with him whom [p. 20] the heat of nature for daring anything abrupt had joined to him wishing the same, he seizes treasuries and with their resources intices volunteers for military service, and for a price arranges that they should keep faith in everything that he wishes and he puts on the regalia of kingship. Hyrcanus thrown into confusion of mind comes to their mother with tears. But she breathing ferocity shut up the sons and wife of Aristobolus in the fortress to which was at first the name called Baris afterwards Antonia, about which we made mention previously. The undertakings of Alexandra are given up with her early death. Hyrcanus advanced into the entire inheritance, who his mother still living had put on the office of the priesthood, Aristobolus excelled (him) in valor and wisdom, things were brought all the way to contention and conflict. When it was composed, most, Hyrcanus having been abandoned, followed him the second as better in war. Hyrcanus those accompanying him who were remaining in the conflict fled into Antonia and the sons and wife of Aristobolus having been discovered he found safety through hostages, because Aristobolus decided upon an agreement lest anything harsh should be done against his family. The agreement of the brothers was of this nature, that Hyrcanus should withdraw from the kingship and all right of ruling should transfer to Aristobolus but he would not however leave Hyrcanus without honors, but without share in the kingship he would allow him to be engaged in other honors, which he himself had bestowed. The agreement of this nature held the voluntary assent of both with the sacred reverence of the temple. And so him having departed with favor, wishing each other well in turn, Aristobolus took himself into the royal court, Hyrcanus with equanimity departed into the home of Aristobolus.

14 But there were those whom fear from this change of things assaulted, who recalled to mind themselves to have busied themselves against Aristobolus, and in front of the rest Antipater. He was of the Idumaean race, famous among them for his ancestors, not lacking money and therefore possessing great influence, made by remarkable craft for disdaining money for the sake of acquiring favor. When he persuaded Hyrcanus who was very frightened by his advice, that he had no safe expectation of his safety, who had retired from rule, unless he took counsel for himself by desertion to the enemy, he insinuates to king Areta that the man should be cultivated by aid, who had been tricked that he should retire from the royal power, this would be fitting for the king, if he should become the judge of restoring the command, and it would be much better, if he should order the things taken away to be restored to him defrauded by cunning, to whom the birthrights of the kingdom belonged. The former was crafty and sly and mistrusted by his neighbours, the latter was gentle and peaceful, who would receive as a great kindness, whatever was bestowed upon him by a foreigner, whom his brother had actually deprived of his right of ruling. And so announcing to Hyrcanus the favor of king Areta that had been prepared he brought hope of fleeing and pointed out the way, that with him he should seek Petra located within the boundaries of Arabia (The City of Petra lies on the slope of Jabal Al-Madbah in a basin among the mountains which form the eastern flank of the long Araba canyon [from which we have the name Arabia] that runs from the Dead Sea to the Gulf of Aqaba. Another name of that city was Macca or Mecca.), in which place they would visit the king. Who convinced by the persuasions and gifts of Antipater added a large troop of fighters to Hyrcanus so that he should be restored to his kingdom. There were almost fifty thousand foot soldiers and cavalry, defeated by which in the first encounter Aristobolus took refuge in Jerusalem, there also defenseless against such a great multitude of enemies, which would have captured him shut up, if Scaurus, the commander of the Roman army on the excuse of another war which was being waged against Tigranes, had not ended the siege having been sent by Pompey, for whom the avenging of Mithridates retaken had fired up the plan of a severe war undertaken against the father-in-law, for which reason he ordered Syria to be overrun by Scaurus, while he himself pressed against Tigranes and Armenia. And therefore to Scaurus arriving at Damascus, which Metullus and Lollius had completely overthrown, the legates of the brothers ran each beseeching for himself the aid of the Roman help, and although Aristobolus was inferior in strength, he prevailed however through the gift of money. The decision of the battle engagement is sold for three hundred talents and the justice of request is counterbalanced by the price, which money having counted out to him Scaurus orders Hyrcanus and the king of Arabia to depart from the siege, and if they should remain they should know it would have to be fought by them in a war against Pompey and the Romans. With that fear the siege is raised, Aretas set out for Philadelphia, Scaurus returned to Damascus. But Aristobolus not long satisfied with the danger having been averted collected a band, followed the enemy and near Papyron, that is the name for the place, killed six thousand of the enemies in a battle and at the same time Fallion the brother of Antipater. The hopes of Hyrcanus and Antipater were broken, for whom all reliance was on the forces of Arabia.

15 But when Pompey the Great began to meet Syria and arrived at Damascus, from the Romans, broken by whose aiding forces they had lost the victory, they ask for help and approach Pompey as if (he were) the arbiter of justice and not at all avaricious for money. And so with accusations, not with gifts such as they had begun to rely upon previously, inasmuch as his mind untouched against the corruption of money was not captured by the noose of avarice and without pay was able to dislike the affront to a brother's dignity. And thus having assailed him with these grievances, in which even envy by Aristobolus took part, that undeservedly he invaded foreign places, and favor was won over to Hyrcanus, to whom either from the merit of his life or judgement of his age the right of ruling was fitting the authority of his mother especially supporting, who had judgement of choosing and the right of bestowing. Nor was Aristobolus long absent. Although he saw nothing in the heart of the Great (i.e., of Pompey.) which favoured his tricks, he presupposed however from the bribery of Scaurus and boasted himself in his society. He came therefore outfitted in regal dress and with a greater retinue and surrounded with more ostentation than customary, as some one who lacks confidence in justice, who shut out prejudgement of assenting, denied the expectation of obeying. But he was unable to endure longer the loftiness of the Roman consular official, whose habit it was without a kingdom to command kings. And so when he arrived at the city which has the name Diapolis, having disdained from pride of kingdom the arrogance of Roman authority he departed elsewhere. By which departure of Aristobolus a cause of intolerable offense was given to the aroused consul to such degree that immediately the Roman arms were turned against Judaea with many even auxiliaries of Syria conjoined. When Aristobolus learned him to be near the city of Scythopolis and from there to be approaching Coreas, from which there was the beginning of the possessions of Judaea, he took refuge in the fortress Alexandrium which was exceedingly well fortified and located on a high mountain. Having learned which Pompey orders him to come down; but he considering it shameful as it were to obey the order of a master, immoderate of mind thought undergoing danger preferable to complying with the command. But seeing from above the Roman camp crowded with people, and at the same time warned by his own people that they into whose name and power almost the entire world had yielded should not be provoked, he came down, using many excuses, by which he sought to show the kingdom to have been bestowed upon him by right, or owed by the obligation of birth, or by the decision of the army, which followed the stronger, abandoned the cowardly, or by the outcome of the battle or by the agreement of a bargain, he returned to his fortifications. Again when Hyrcanus approached the consul, called to judgement Aristobolus presented himself, but when he saw recognition to be still put off he returned to his fortress. For in the middle between hope and fear he thought that by obeying his commands he might influence Pompey to favour toward himself, but again he was not compelled by force to yield to his command, he took himself back to Alexandrium. Nor did the cunning of the king pass by the Great (i.e., by Pompey.); he orders him to withdraw from the fortifications and required him instructions having been given to each guard of the fortification to be about to do that. Indeed he obeyed the orders which he did not dare to disobey, however he immediately removed himself to the walls of Jerusalem and began to prepare war against the Romans. Pompey not only followed him fleeing, he pressed him shut in and did not give any time for preparing the facilities of war. A report about Mitridates directed the attention of Pompey, that he (i.e., Mitridates) had ended the war with his death; the city of Jericho was holding Pompey in its vicinity, when information of this notable event came, the place near the city in which balsam is produced and is born of the trees which the children of the farmers cut with sharp stones, and through these incisions a beautiful fluid trickles down with dripping sap. From that place the man a veteran of military service his ranks having been drawn up moved his camp toward evening and at first light took a position before Jerusalem's walls and without warning poured in his armed soldiers.

16 Aristobolus astonished by the appearance of the arrangement, by the strength of the men, by the enthusiasm of the soldiers, voluntarily ran up beseeching pardon, offering money, the city, and himself. With words changed supplicatingly into more yielding he softened the anger of the consul; but with the supplication in vain, because the execution of his promise was lacking, the money not only having been denied but Gabinio having been excluded from the city, who had come seeking the things offered, he brooded on war. For Pompey, guards having been assigned to Aristobolus, began to examine the walls of the city and to explore carefully, in which places he should attempt a forcible entry, but when he had examined the strength of the walls, that they were not able to be stormed, and saw the temple in the city surrounded by fortifications not at all inferior so that there was a double danger to those who had entered both from the defenders of the temple and from those who were looking after the defence of the walls, he hesitated with a doubt in his mind and an uncertainty of opinion for some length of time, since suddenly an uprising had arisen within the city, the allies of Hyrcanus wishing to receive Pompey within the city, the champions of Aristobolus resisting: the former wishing to open the gates to Pompey, the latter to bar them and make war lest they might take away the king. But the weaker yielded to the majority whom fear of the Roman power had increased and took themselves into the temple the bridge having been broken down, which at the passable crossing in the middle joined the city and the temple. And so the Roman army was received into the city, and with their own hands the Jews opened the gates not much after that prophecy of David for the future was fulfilled by the

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conquerors of the city and temple: god, the nations have come into your inheritance, they have defiled your sacred temple. And so he voluntarily surrendered his royal trappings, yielded to the courtiers. To Piso, a man famous among his own and skilled in military services, was entrusted the task that with a strong band he should take care for the royal court and watch over the rest of the city. Which was looked after carefully by him, as if he led the Roman army to defend those things rather than to seize them. At the assault on the temple however, since it was stubbornly resisted, Pompey prepared the Jews, namely the supporters of Hyrcanus, that, if it was possible to be done, the Romans should not profane the foreign mysteries, at the same time that the Jews should fill the ditches with their own hands. With impious service and disgraceful servility they served their hands on a basket, their minds on robbery of sacred property. But filling the ditches profited nothing, since the partisans of Aristobolus resisted from the walls and caused hindrance from above, and Pompey's beginnings would have been ineffective, if not for the days of sacred religious rites occurring, on which the ancient observation was for the Jews to refrain from all work, he ordered his troops to concentrate on building up the ramparts of earth. In fact only the adoption contrary to custom of hand to hand fighting even on the sabbath having been changed, if however battle is brought in and extreme danger of safety is aimed at, Jews think it may be contested by them with weapons, remaining contests they consider to conscience. Already the wall had grown, already the siege engines had been brought near, the royal forces were fighting fiercely from the height of the walls, they were dejected by the nearer approach of Pompey. Pompey was astounded at the fierce minds of the men, at the appearance and magnitude of the wall and the never relaxed duties of the priests in the middle of the fury of war as if there were profound peace; nothing of the solemnity of the sacrifices was lacking, among the javelins of the fighters the bodies of the slain was poured out the blood of sacrificial victims, a victim was placed upon the altars; placed before the altar they were killed. Already the third month held the still doubtful contest. First was Sylla Faustus, descended from Cornelius, and two centurions, of whom one had the name Furius, to the second was Fabius, a tower of the walls having been knocked down they broke into the temple a crowd following each one, and going around the interior of the temple everywhere they transfixed with swords whomever they discovered. Those fleeing were killed, others fighting back were cut down, but however the ceremonies of the priests were not hindered by the savageries of those fighting. The enemy was threatening with bare swords, they however followed the order of the usual service. No class of service was interrupted. Whatever pertained to the ritual of purification, whatever to the observance of he sacred worship it could be seen was carried out; so great was the responsibility of the office, and if only it had been in behalf of devotion and faith. For the greater dangers arose from their own people, which were brought in by the Hebrews by turns upon themselves, and the fight within was more violent and closer to mutinous and a two front danger. From the front a foreign enemy threatened, from the back and sides a domestic.

17 And therefore shut in on all sides some threw themselves over the precipice, others were burned up in the flames of their country. The priests however persevered in their duty all the way to the end encouraging themselves in turn, that they should not place the obligations of the religion as lower in importance than the preservation of personal safety, it would be done with themselves properly if they were expended to their sense of duty, which was owed to necessity, if it was allowed to be buried in the bosom of their country. For what would it serve to escape and to live a survivor to the religion? A distinguished deed rather to die together for a conscientious duty. But if anyone should desert from fear of danger, it is sacrilege, if anyone should fulfill his duty, the sacrifice it is a victory of dutiful suffering. And so the head-banded priests were killed among their sacrificial victims and clothed in their priestly robes lay on the ground among the bodies of those slain. Scattered there were twelve thousand Jews, a few of the Romans were killed, many wounded. The Jews groaned over nothing more painfully in this misery than that the mysteries previously hidden of the sanctuary were uncovered by the Gentiles and revealed. Finally Pompey declining the balance of cares of this type, while he attended to the triumph rather than the burning, many of his following him, saw the second tabernacle, which in a solemn approach was open to the foremost of the priests alone, and within he saw the lamp and table and vessels for incense and the records of the covenant, and above these the heavenly choir, a great number of spices scattered about, and two thousand talents of sacred money. In which although there was much gold, untouched however by any greed of it or indeed if any of the sacred vessels were found, he ordered everything left untouched, and on the day following the introduction he ordered the temple overseers to purify the interior of the temple and to carry out the usual sacrifices. Also he gave Hyrcanus the leadership of the priesthood, having made use of his ready assistance in the difficult straits of the siege; for although faithless to his own people, he was faithful to he Romans so that his own country should be conquered --- but I think that no one can be called faithful who has been faithless to his own people --- because not perfunctorily in his own battle he gave assistance to the enemies of his own people and because he withdrew the multitude of people outside the walls supporting Aristobolus from his alliance. In all matters however by which Aristobolus was hindered or his authority taken away or the war was quickly finished Pompey was an outstanding commander, he added this splendid feature that he observed moderation in victory; in fact he joined those whom he had conquered to himself more with kindness than with fear, the originators only of the war he struck with the axe. He imposed tribute also on the conquered, he appointed the leader of Judaea, he set its boundaries. Judaea was circumscribed within its own territory. He restored even Gamara which the Jews had destroyed having been asked by Demetrius, who of his country had asked from his patron a favour of this nature, excelling with Pompey in this cause and many others above the norm of freedmen to the point of arousing jealousy. Aristobolus however with his sons and father in law he held as captives to take to Rome with him, but one of the royal offspring having escaped from his guards on the journey returned home; his name was Alexander, his age greater than his brother and two sisters. And so Antigonus younger in age and his siblings of the feminine sex were taken to Rome, Pompey went to Cilicia and from thence to Rome.

18 While in Syria Scaurus, to whom the office of commander had been assigned, those cities which the Jews had invaded having been recovered, inland Scythopolis, Ipponis, Pella, Samaria, Iamnia, Maresa, Azoto, Arethusa, on the coast also Gaza, Iope, Dora and that which was once called Strato's tower, afterwards however was named Caesarea under the of Herod, who both added decorations and changed the name, he undertook war against Arabia. Confining by decree Judaea between the Euphrates and Egypt, Syria also restored within its own boundaries, from the desire of plundering, as I think, rather than carrying forward the interests of the empire, wishing to take possession of the great Petra of the kingdom of Arabia (Arabia Petraea, i.e., Edom, Idumaea.), hindered indeed by the difficulty of its location, he was unable to break in, he laid waste however many either neighbouring to the city or located at a distance. In which places famine struck his tarrying army. And a wretched disaster would almost have happened, if Hyrcanus through Antipater had not furnished food to the suffering Romans, and likewise he with the counsel of Scaurus advised Aretas to end the war with money. Finally with three hundred talents the Arab freed himself from his enemy, he bought off Scaurus; this was the price of his retreat. Which thing established for Hyrcanus an alliance with the Romans and maintained the security of a profound peace, for which reason in territory hostile to the Roman army by his aid from a severe lack of grain a sufficiency was made and help was at hand.

19 But when Alexander having escaped from imprisonment by Pompey at first secretly and in a moderate of time collecting to himself a suitable band of soldiers, began to harass Judaea openly, Hyrcanus was disturbed and distrusted his situation, he pressed the Romans with his concern that the war might increase in violence, so that he had decided to repair the wall of Jerusalem, which Pompey had destroyed. And the task had nearly been undertaken, if Gabinius who had succeeded Scaurus, the remaining matters having been handled vigorously, by which he had strewn fear of his name, had not considered that resistance must be offered to the attempts of Alexander. Nor did Alexander think that he must flee but dared to contest it in a battle with ten thousand foot soldiers and one thousand five hundred cavalry. He even repaired the fortresses, Alexandrium, Hyrcanium, Macheruntis as places of refuge for himself, if circumstances should demand it, or would be a hindrance to enemies, for indeed near by Arabia was not sufficiently faithful to the Romans. Gabinius so that this might happen more quickly sent Marcus Antonius ahead with part of the army, so that the march of the enemy might be hindered, until he himself should arrive with the entire army. Antipater arriving with select troops and Malichus and Pitholaus relying upon diverse groups of Jews, joined their forces with Antonius. Whom when Alexander saw them massed together -- for Gabinius was now present -- he changed his plan so that he fell back. But since he was now not far from Jerusalem, forced to join battle, beaten he fled. Almost three thousand of his men having been killed, the rest captured or dispersed, scarcely a few were left to Alexander to be companions in flight rather than for the daring of rebelling. Finally seeking peace from Gabinius he surrendered even the fortresses to the Romans lest they hold something suspect. In that battle the valor of Antonius shone forth brightly, and everywhere gave very clear evidence of his bravery. Gabinius divided Judaea into five districts, in order to diminish its strength, from which arose haughtiness to one who had gained control of things. To Hyrcanus for the mildness of his temperament remained the public office of the priesthood, the responsibility however of an entire district of this region was bestowed by Gabinius not upon one but in common upon inhabitants of Jerusalem. Similarly the rest of the districts were assigned in like manner, through Gadara and Amathuntis and Hiericho and Sephoritanians, namely the more powerful cities, divided, by which nothing of the power of of the individual cities was left and the performance of the districts did not sway to and fro, which anticipated public concern. Which was received with gratitude both by the Romans for relieving the fear of rebellion and by the Jews for removing jealousy, since the race of Hebrews lived not under a king but beneath an aristocracy in a resemblance of the Roman state, in which not one governs, but all the best in turn, to whom selected by lot the magistrate yields, they direct without share of the kingdom but the judges of kings.

20 Provident forethought as opposed to the turbulence of the people is esteemed. But the escape of Aristobolus and his return into Judaea aroused much commotion, many flowing back to him, whom he had stirred up by the favors of long established friendship or the latest events, to which a remedy from the public discord was being sought by those desiring to mix the lowest with the highest and there were other lapsed hopes. Therefore having returned he built fortifications, he began to restore Alexandrium. Which having been discovered Gabinius, Sisinius and Antonius and Servilius having been sent with part of the army, prevented the work begun. Even with the fortifications deserted Aristobolus prepared himself for war, and because he dragged an army with a greater number than was useful he removed a multitude of unarmed people, and he collected only eight thousand armed men Pitholaus also having been added, who had come voluntarily from Jerusalem with a thousand men. Thereupon a battle having arisen -- for the Romans overhung their necks -- indeed it was fought vigorously for a considerable time, however Roman strength prevailed, five thousand Jews were killed, Aristobolus with a thousand men broke through the line and took himself back into the protection of the fortress Macheruntis, two thousand were dispersed elsewhere. The Romans however having attacked the fortress were delayed almost two days, for in the last extreme Aristobolus fought with all his strength, but by no means was able to hold out longer; captured with his son Antigonus whom fleeing from prison he had taken away with himself, sent to Gabinius and by him they were sent to Rome. Aristobolus having placed in custody of the senate, he sent his sons to Bithynia, because they report Gabinius to have insinuated in letters to the wife of Aristobolus a promise of rewarding her assiduity in thanks for the fortresses surrendered to him.

21 These things having been done in Judaea Gabinius having believed that a bold action must be taken prepared an expedition against the Parthians, but suspicions of the faction of king Ptolomaeus recalled the army which had set out. So Gabinius turned back his march from the Euphrates into Egypt, making use of the necessities for everything from the services of Antipater and Hyrcanus, but of Hyrcanus through Antipater, who aided the army also with money grain arms auxiliaries; and especially at the encounters near Pelusium, unless for the Jews familiar with the location and and the type of the entire war they would have easily discouraged Gabinius. But the army delaying again Alexander the son of Aristobolus undertook to plunge himself into a second Syria as if into an empty province, unless Gabinius aroused by the news had hastened his return and having sent Antipater ahead had called back most of the Jews from their alliance to Alexander, relying upon a multitude of whom he was preparing to give to destruction all in the region which had offended the Romans. In the end, although most of the Jews had dispersed through an agreement with Antipater, he had not however put aside his recklessness, having undertaken a battle with thirty thousand men near the mountain Itabirium, ten thousand having been lost he fled. The war was ended by the scattering of the rest. The task of the Jerusalem state having been assigned to the judgement of Antipater having departed from there he subjugated the Nabathaeans in a battle and sent back Mitridates and Orsanis fleeing secretly from Persis, he publicly informed his soldiers however that they had escaped by flight. Crassus succeeded Gabinius and about to set out for the Parthian war he stole all the gold which was in the temple at Jerusalem and besides he ordered the two thousand talents to be taken, which Pompey had left untouched, nor did he long enjoy it when he crossed the Euphrates, he lost the army and was himself killed. The elated Parthians believed they must go over into Syria, whom Cassius followed vigorously with ambushes and drove from the boundaries of the province committed to him, not without severe damage to the enemy, marching freely, because they thought no one about to dare to take a stand against him, he had seized those outstripped in the narrower places. Finally many of their troops having been routed they abandoned the war. Cassius the enemy having been driven back secure in his province charged into Judaea and Tarichaeae having been destroyed he sold thirty thousand Jews into slavery. He also ordered Pitholaus suspected of treachery by which he was supporting the faction of Aristobolus to be executed. Nor was Antipater without his

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advice, that he should as much as possible exclude any rival for power.

22 He recognised a wife who had the name Cypris who sprang from a glittering place among the women of Arabia and from her he received four children of the male sex and one feminine. The names to the males of this fashion, they were called, the first Phasaelus, the following Herodes, the third Josephus, the fourth Feroras, and the daughter Salome. And for this reason a man made eminent for obtaining the society of the powerful by gifts and friendship, he won over beyond the rest for himself the favor of the king of Arabia, because he held out the bond of a wife received from the region of Arabia. Finally preparing to fight in battle against Aristobolus he sent his sons to the aforementioned king of Arabia as pledges of mutual affection. Whom he received as a sacrosanct trust in that care in which he held his children at home and afterwards recalled he returned to their father. But when Aristobolus overcome in war was being held in chains, Alexander his son when in accordance with the conventions of peace, to which Cassius about to return to the Euphrates had obligated him, left off from battle, the boundaries of Persis were not at all molested by any incursion undertaken by the Parthians and the appearance of pleasant tranquility lightened human concerns in the regions of the East, Caesar from the transalpine regions of Gaul pouring himself into Italy drove Pompey and the senate beyond the Ionian sea. Pompey shut out from Italy sought Enathias and ordered the Roman columns from diverse places to follow him there, because he was preparing for war there. Intent on doing which things he left Aristobolus fettered at Rome. Caesar who was midway between the city of Rome and Pompey, because he was following Pompey on the easy routes from the Flaminia into Appia, so that he should either capture him or intercept his army, directed him (i.e., Aristobolus.) freed from chains with a number of military forces assigned into Syria, so that he should join Judaea to himself and threaten Pompey from the rear. But in the beginning of his attempts, when he came to the place, done away with by poison he left the task unfinished. The opinion of his death was ascribed to the supporters of Pompey. And so the arrangements of Caesar were mocked and the ambitions of Aristobolus abandoned by a certain new variety of changes, so that the exile would have been safer among the enemy, a captive in chains, than master in a chamber among his own citizens, a king at a banquet. Which having been learned Pompey, because Aristobolus in the falling back Judaea tried to renew the war for himself, indeed ordered his son Alexander suspected of being too favorable to the Caesarian faction to be executed. He ordered Scipio. He on behalf of the seat of judgement decided his guilt, so that the appearance of a trial should be put forth accusers also having been brought in and against him who had disturbed the Roman state with arms the sentence was brought forth, [p. 36] that in accordance with the authority of law rather by the execution of an order, in the manner in which the leaders of enemies, convicted of rebellion he was sentenced to be struck with an axe.

23 The death of both having been learned Ptolomaeus, who had taken the brothers of Aristobolus and the wife Alexandria, sent his son Philippion to the city Ascalona, to fetch those mentioned. He arriving took Antigonus and his sisters that he should escort them to his father; by the practice and custom of love a little spark pardonable certainly crept into the youth, if monarchs know to forgive, and he received the second of the sisters to himself in the bonds of marriage. His father Ptolomaeus did not tolerate this and the excellent censor of morals having killed his son united his own daughter-in-law to himself, who condemned the unasked joining to his son, so that he might defile his own self with parricide and incest. Pompey having been killed, who while he fled the arms of Caesar offered his head to an Egyptian eunuch to be cut off, an upheaval of things. He offered his head however with that patience with which he had so many times graced victory over great peoples, so that seeing in that fate the condition of a defeated exile, a mockery of the fluctuations of human fortunes, he offered his neck to the sword, from him to whom he had given a kingdom about to receive death as a favor. After whose death a change was made many from the familiars of Pompey seeking the friendship of Caesar and especially Antipater possessed in an incredible manner of the friendship of all whom he aimed at. For to all a wealth of necessities and especially in the instruments of battle, whereby from enemies and adversaries the most dear are repeatedly made.

24 And indeed because Ptolomaeus the king of Egypt had broken faith, he was pressed hard by Caesar himself in very severe battles. Mithridates of Pergamum with all the troops which he had brought with him, repulsed by the obstacle of Pelusius, stayed in the city of Ascalon the passage having been despaired of and the attempt ineffective, nor did he yet dare to commit himself to battle in an unfavorable place and unequal in strength. To whom in aid Antipater at first associated Arabia, then led with himself three thousand Jews strong in numbers and armed with weapons. Now too he moved the powerful of Syria to the support of himself, and the Ptolemy who lived in Libanus and Iamblicus and a second Ptolemy, relying on whose alliance even other peoples were fired up to the war. Relying on whom joined to his forces Mithridates approached Pelusius and, when he was prevented from passage, started a siege. In which place Antipater gave outstanding evidence of military prowess, in fact with the townspeople resisting, when it was being fought with great force on both sides, he was the first with his men a part of the walls having been shattered, in which he himself was fighting, he rushed into the city and captured it. Nor was this the end of his labor and assistance, for even when the army had proceeded within, and around that which is named the region of Onia of Judaea the Egyptians wished to resist, by which they blocked the way, Antipater not only stopped the battle but even brought about for aiding the army that those things which were essential for the enjoyment of human nature were furnished by the very people who had prepared the weapons against them. Whence the people of Memphis also recalled their minds from the battle and willingly gave themselves to the alliance of Mithridates. Who having gone past the more mistrusted, having judged that it must be fought hand to hand with the remaining Egyptians, indeed in more unimpeded places but with the stronger men of the region itself, whose non-resident Jews were called an army, he fought vigorously to such a point that he gave himself to a sudden danger and was almost killed, except that Antipater seeing the entire right wing in which Mithridates was to be hard pressed by the enemy, and in another part to be shut in by a river, nor was there any way of escape for the men, he rushed in from the left wing upon those who were attacking the withdrawing Mithridates; he pursued those there until all the people of the enemy were killed. In that battle Antipater lost only eighty men of his forces, Mithridates above eight hundred, so that beyond expectation he himself escaped. And this slaughter followed in a moment. Antipater many wounds having been received by his body found excellent testimony of his bravery before Caesar, Mithridates especially not only an espouser of his perfection but even a proclaimer of his bravery. Exceptionally pleased by which Caesar in honor, as was fitting, received Antipater among his friends. Then when he arranged those things which were being set up in Egypt and proceeded into Syria, he honors him with the esteem of the Roman state, he conferred also freedom from taxes and other things as he bestowed pledges of his favor to a man proven to him. Now too he confirmed willingly to Hyrcanus the high priesthood in accordance with the desire of Antipater.

25 Antigonus also ran to meet Caesar in Syria, and who it was fitting either to weep the calamity of his father, killed with poison by the friends of Pompey, or the punishment of his brother, whom Scipio with great cruelty as if guilty had executed with the axe, pursued the side of dislike rather than of grief, so that he brooded over Hyrcanus and Antipater to foreigners, the things which had been taken from himself and his brothers through wickedness, he piled up with the bitterest complaint, himself made an exile from his ancestral home, the land in which he was born to be denied to him, however his own injuries to be seen as more tolerable, much worse those by which the entire nation of the people of the Jews was afflicted by Hyrcanus and Antipater. And them to claim thanks for the things done well in Egypt, when not any care based on goodwill toward Caesar bestowed that service of aiding Mithridates, since fear from the knowledge of their Pompeian alliance extorted it, so that it was for disguising the offense. Against these things Antipater offering not an exchange of words but a demonstration of facts cut his garments to pieces and stripped of clothing, full of wounds with cloak torn open pesenting to the eyes of those standing around the proofs of the observed bravery: "look at this," he said, "their testimony refutes the charge of ill-will toward Caesar, which glitter like lights of the soul. The scars I present to you, Caesar, pledges of my inward good will, I put down these pledges of my faith and I bear them written on the top of my heart. If it is not believed by the citizens, let the enemy be questioned for whom I received these wounds. What did they establish in me other than the faith which I am offering to you? But he charges against me the good will to Pompey; I confess, Caesar, me to have been friend not to the man but to the Roman name and to have desired that eagerly, so that my duties [p. 40] threatened your state. And so I fought not for one but for all; Pompey was dear to me, but he began to be a friend to me before he was an enemy to Caesar. He was your son in law and you his father in law. When he was in the regions of Judaea I supported him the Roman commander, I did not however receive those wounds for him which I have received for you. For you I have paid pledges of death and the blows of weapons of the enemy. What is strange then, if a captive does not know the honor of wounds and a fugitive does not know the faith which exists? What moreover may a lasting enemy throw in my face except for your friendship? It truly seems strange that Antigonus approaches someone blamed the Romans, whom he is accustomed to attack, and before them complains that he has been deprived of rule, whose use and practice he desired not for power for himself nor for domestic honor but for provoking Roman arms and avenging the deaths if his father and brother; ungrateful for safety, he does not fear the Roman tribunal but dares to attack it further, although he knows in this affair his brother to have paid the price for his rebellion." When Antipater made an end of speaking, Caesar announces Hyrcanus seems more worthy of the high priesthood, however he bestowed on Antipater his choice of office. Then he desiring that same choice of public office and the governorship and placing a measure of esteen in him who is bestowing the office, quite cunningly gave the distinction of modesty and the increase in power. He was made the procurator of all Judaea. Reasonably he asked that he might rebuild the walls of Judaea which had been destroyed in the war, and secure in the loyalty given he asked and procured this great task. And these things, as was the custom for Roman commanders, was inscribed in the Capitol, which marks of honor Caesar judged should be conferred on Antipater, so that proofs of his uprightness and merits should exist also for the examination of a man of posterity. Moreover Antipater having followed Caesar out of Syria changed his route into Judaea and first rebuilt to its former condition the wall which Pompey had destroyed. Then he checked the commotion bringing together all with affection of a parent, now with admonitions to the gentler, now with threats that they should consider that those things must be followed which were of peace rather than of war and not irritate the mind of the king, who if he remained unoffended would be better for the citizen, if he were aroused, would present a tyrant. Even if by nature Hyrcanus was mild, they should however beware and not provoke him by insulting behavior; also his desire to be that he should adopt a middle path in behalf of an affectionate concern, not in behalf of power, but if they should try to make a new rebellion, the spirit of punishing would not be lacking to him. They should experience the friendship of the Romans rather than their domination. To whom if there should be doubt that they were about to erupt from friends into arms, if they should learn that him to whom they themselves had confirmed the kingdom was deprived of rule? Because as soon as he had learned Hyrcanus to have been too slow from mildness of temperament at executing the requirements of public office, he thought the care of protecting the region must be divided among his sons, because he was unequal to such a great burden and to ruling. And therefore he appointed Phasaelus the older of his children the protector of Jerusalem and the commander of the military forces. Herod also younger by birth and quite young he put in charge of Galilaea with equal honor. Who when he attained power, more sagacious by nature immediately found means from his natural capacity for attending to the tasks.

26 Syria was suffering from incursions of the brigand Ezechia, with which he the leader of a predatory band harassed the entire province and was present bitterly hostile in all places. Whom having seized he ordered to be executed and killed many of the robbers. Which produced both great glory of bravery and abundant gratitude among the Syrians. Whence he was celebrated in the cities and villages by the voices of people singing, as one who had restored peace and public tranquility after a long time. This talk with the favorable gossip of the people aroused the affectionate rivalry of praise of his brother, that Phasaelus equaled his junior by birth, whom he was not able to equal in bravery, in benevolence of mind, the most outstanding having been attracted into the rank of the foremost by benevolence, who tempered severity with kindness. Whence the greatest honor was bestowed publicly upon Antipater as the parent, he himself however changed nothing of his benevolence and faith, by which he was accustomed to treat Hyrcanus. But it is difficult to be without jealousy in triumphal circumstances. Finally the at first silent Hyrcanus criticized carpingly the praises of the young men, more vehemently however those things irritated him which were reported done famously in the campaigns of Herod, whom he saw to have gone beyond the laws of the Jews and the manner of a private citizen, that he had claimed all power for himself with his brother and father and they were stripping the king of every public office, to whom nothing but the name remained, because devoid of power he proffered a hollow appearance. Finally without him being consulted many had been given to death and killed without royal mandates, which the law of the fathers did not allow. From which many were saying it was necessary that Herod be called into court, that he should give the reason, by which favor, he had violated the law, which forbad that those unheard be given to death; Hyrcanus ought to rise up and from this put to the test, whether Herod was conducting himself as a king or a private citizen. Who called into judgement if he were not present, it would be evident to what by his great arrogance he had aspired. By these and words of this type of the royal courtiers Hyrcanus was by degrees inflamed, who uttered the nearer shame of faintheartedness, that he had retired from the duty of royal tasks, power to have been transferred to Antipater and his children, whom the diminished power to him of ruling had made masters. Aroused by which he decided that in his judgement Herod had not been at fault, he would be cleared of the usurpations against the law which were being charged. Herod nevertheless

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was resentful that he had been called into judgement, however either from the admonitions of his father or from calmer judgement he approached the fortifying of Galilaea undertaken beforehand, but however it did not seem that with an invidious troop war should be threatened or that he should bring forth safety for an unprotected garrison. He was the support of Sextus Caesar wishing favor himself, who fearing that something of treachery was being invited for the youth had ordered Hyrcanus with strict orders that he should consider refraining from the danger of an oppressive sentence. Whence he granted Sextus more an acquittal of the judgement than to his wish, although Hyrcanus, although he had ceased from making charges that he should call him into court, wishing however that he should acquit, since he preferred to protect Herod rather than take vengeance on him. But the latter with youthful passion grieving the offense, ungrateful for the absolution proceeded to Sextus the desire having put forward, that if he should be called again he would not obey, and he gave those disparaging him the opportunity of making charges. Although Hyrcanus did not rise up for vengeance, when he saw him superior, from the recollection however of injury, which is fed by the retracting, Herod angered an army having been collected was making for Jerusalem, that he should destroy every power of Hyrcanus, and he almost accomplished it, except that checked by his brother and father his attack weakened to them asking, so that he thought it enough to have risen up and he placed a limit with his threat of vengeance, he abstained however from the destruction of the commander, under whom he had achieved a not inconsiderable influence, so that he had secured great power. Indeed he seemed injured because he was called into judgement, but again he was treated with favor because he was absolved. It would be too unfeeling if he should follow up the injury and be ungrateful for his safety. The outcome of wars to be dubious and doubtful, grave also the burden of spite, when he should make war on his commander and on him, who had favored him with paternal affection, very frequently assisted him, never injured him, except when using wicked advisers he had aroused a shade of unfairness for him, by which he considered himself injured.

27 With these and other things he broke off the juvenile attack and the civil war was removed from Judaea, but transferred to the slaughter of the Romans, in fact Sextus Caesar was killed through treachery by Caecilius Bassus, and afterwards Julius Caesar having discharged uninterrupted power for three years and seven months, because he had gone beyond the condition of a private citizen, paid the most severe penalty in the senate to Cassius and Brutus the proposers. Whence men having been collected when the adoptive Julius determined to go avenging the death of his father Antonius having been joined to him, because aid having been sent Herod was judged to have aided the greatest faction of the war, command over all of Syria was given to him ruling. Which thing for Antipater was the cause of his fatal death.

28 For Malichus fearing the power of Antipater, which was heaped up by the valor of Herod, one of the royal ministers having been suborned, prepared poison for Antipater. Which having been drunk after a banquetAntipater immediately died his innate quality energetic among the rest and especially vigorous in seeking and establishing the rule of Hyrcanus. Herod felt the death of his father deeply and with army aroused he promised an avenger, but called back by the counsel of his brother, lest Judaea be disturbed violently by a civil war between Herod and Malichus, Malichus prepared for denial and especially dissembling that he was an accessory to the death of Antipater, he was easily led into another form of vengeance, so that satisfaction having accepted, that Antipater had died through no deceit of Malichus, Herod called Hyrcanus and Malichus to a dinner. And from the sentence of Cassius who had even ordered by his own direction that task for accomplishing vengeance, prepared centurions and prepositioned Roman armies met Hyrcanus and Malichus arriving together on the shore and with drawn swords surrounded each of them; however they butchered only Malichus pierced with many wounds and torn apart in a final death. Overcome with that terror Hyrcanus lost consciousness and having lost all vigor of mind and body collapsed; after a bit however when he recovered himself, Herod having been asked who had ordered Malichus to be killed, when he learned from the prepositioned troops he had been killed by order of Cassius the Roman commander, he responded immediately: "therefore Cassius was the savior of both me and my country, who killed the ambusher of both." But that Hyrcanus said this either from fear or that he he felt thus, is not at all clearly evident nor is able to be defined in our judgement. Elichus had risen up, who from fraternal kinship had desired the death of Malichus to be avenged, but because he did not dare to provoke Herod, he thought to strike his brother Phasaelus. Which having been learned Herod desiring to move himself was held back by sickness of body. Elichus in the meantime had seized certain fortresses and especially Masada a garrison having been placed there. But when the vigor of health returned to Herod, he recovered all and sent Elichus himself beseeching from the fortress Masada. Antigonus the son of Aristobolus, Ptolomaeus his father in law supporting him, whom Herod put to flight in battle, and Antigonus having been thrown out from Jerusalem, Herod returned the victor.

Furthermore there was great happiness from the fresh victory and especially from the new association. For at first Dosis his wife had adhered to him, from whom he received a son Antipater; afterwards he joined physically to himself in a second marriage Miriamme born to Alexander the son of Aristobolus, nearest to Hyrcanus and on account of that provided with royal rank. He did not however escape dislike, because he aspired to the kingdom seized to go to Hyrcanus. For when in the Macedoniam war Caesar and Antonius crushed Cassius and the supporters of Brutus and as victors the one hastened to return into Italy, the other believed he must hurry into Syria, many embassies flocking together to meet Antonius and those who were the more important of the Jews proceeded into Bithynia accusing Herod and his brother Phasaelus, for the reason that they the rule over all the state having been taken possession of by force had left the name only to Hyrcanus for a show of honor. But the presence of Herod prevailed and the gratitude, who with a not inconsiderable amount of money but with rich gifts had bound the mind of Antonius to himself. Whence weakened by no speech he removed from Antonius the dislike against himself of the simple mission. Again almost a hundred men of the Jews went all the way to Antioch to accuse with no less spirit, near Daphne they met Antonius now completely surrendered to his infatuation with Cleopatra and serving his passion. There they began to charge the intolerable power of the brothers. Messala countered in reply with Hyrcano attending and he refuted the arrogance of the people, who having been stirred up by a faction of a few, had disparaged their own people, who were asking foreigners (for support) and contriving the injury of Hyrcanus, although Hyrcanus had preferred what was best for the citizens. And so the charges of the factions having been heard Antonius asked Hyrcanus whom he considered to be most suitable. Whose affection for Herod and his brother being consistent, the responses harmonized with his wish, greatly pleased, because he was joined to the brothers by the bond of parternal hospitality, since Antipater received him arriving in Judaea with Gabinius very graciously with hospitality and took care of him with many kindnesses, he appointed Herod and Phasaelus tetrarchs and ordered them to conduct the management of all of Judaea. From this also the number of those making complaints was multiplied; for although he received others of the legates with confinement, he treated others with abuse, however afterwards a thousand delegates having been ordered to proceed to Antonius spending time in the city of Tyre a rebellion having been raised in Jerusalem, he did not neglect the will of the citizens. And since he was violently enraged against those shouting in protest, the governor of the Tyrians was sent to those daring to cry out, who seized those guilty of arrogance, although as if himself even Herod and Hyrcanus were seeking, lest they should beget the most severe punishments for themselves and disturbances of their country and causes for wars. When nothing was accomplished and all began to be embroiled in an irrational struggle, Antonius sent armed men, by whom some were killed, many gravely wounded, from Hyrcanus however the dead received the favor of burial or those who were able to escape of medical care, he gave an occasion of twofold kindness, by which his benevolence toward the citizens was made evident. The rest who had not only fled so angered Antonius by stirring up the city, that even again those whom he was holding in chains he ordered the supreme punishment.

29 Arrogance had yielded to harshness, but during almost two years the army of the Parthians had poured itself into Syria Pacorus the son of the king and Barzafranis a satrap of the Persians leading the barbarian army. Whom Lysanias the son of Ptolomaeus approached as instigator. His father having died who had the name Mennius, now deprived of rule, through the satrap mentioned he incited Pacorus a thousand talents of silver and five hundred women having been promised, that he should give the kingdom to Antigonus, he should take the highpriesthood from Hyrcanus. Pacorus gave part of the cavalry to a royal minister, inasmuch as he himself was detained by rebellions inside Syria, that he should cross into Judaea and manage things for Antigonus, that he might help his spirit. But this also had gone forward very little, unless the Jews fighting against themselves, Herod and Phasaelus opposed to Antigonus, from a way of thinking it had been proposed to Antigonus, that they should accept Pacorus as a mediator of peace. Which Phasaelus from levity of character, Herod objecting, approved in time, presently having experienced danger to himself, he recognised the barbarians by their nature to be treacherous. For sent to Barzafranis (who was) the mediator of peace and having set out with Hyrcanus he met the satrap concealing quite cunningly an ambush with the appearance of friendliness. In the end he gave gifts to those departing and he arranged in what way they were to be surrounded by his dispositions. They followed them more for the sake of confining them than as companions in dangers. Messages were delivered that Parthia had been bought with a thousand talents for the destruction of those mentioned. Ofellius also persuaded flight, because he had learned from Saramalla the richest of the Syrians that a party had been prepared for them. But not even thus was Phasaelus induced Hyrcanus having been abandoned to take counsel for himself, in truth he assailed the satrap with the most biting insults, that he betrayed a trust for money, that he considered money of greater value than justice, that he himself would give more for his safety than Antigonus would pay for the kingdom. But the Persian struggled to justify for himself with a false oath the trust which he had betrayed and to avert suspicion not much after he had completed the treachery. For that having been accomplished they carried away with curses Phasaelus and Hyrcanus to Pacorus, to whom they had given this task, when they were by now unable to accomplish the other, desiring false oaths of the barbarians and the treachery of betrayal to achieve vengeance. No small amount of wine had the accomplice sent into Judaea expended with his treacheries that he might capture Herod, but great concern for taking precautions had already exercised the latter suspecting for a long time the treacheries of the barbarians, he held himself within the fortifications. Nor did he think he should commit himself to go outside the walls and to talks with the enemy, orders having been counterfeited by Pacorus, with which as from Phasaelus he came with his arrogance to the brother. It having been learned that his brother and Hyrcanus were being held, he sent his troops ahead by night into Idumaea and he himself with servants routed the pursuing barbarians. Many having been killed he took himself hastily into Masada, having been tested more seriously than by the Parthians by the Jews, who had fallen upon him fleeing, and indeed he placed his troops within the fortifications having avenged himself upon those pursuing. He himself however a garrison having been left, which was a protection for his mother and younger brothers, hastened into the Arabian Petra. The Persians poured themselves into Jerusalem breaking into the homes of those fleeing. Everything was rurned into plunder war disturbance. And there the injustice went forward, the kingdom was awarded to Antigonus, Phasaelus and Hyrcanus were placed in his power for undergoing whatever might please him. He however was not able to restrain himself longer, but immediately an attack having been made upon Hyrcanus cut off his ears with his own teeth, lest at any time by a change of circumstances a return to the high priesthood might stand open for him. For it is necessary that the high priest be physically perfect, nor is it allowed through law to make a bid, that anyone with a mutilated body should hold the highest office of the priesthood. Phasaelus with swiftness avoided the disgrace of the death decreed for him, his head having been dashed against the rocks which by chance they had come upon, disdaining to be saved for mockery or to die by the order of a foreigner, who was able able although with bound hands and a sword denied to find an exit from life. There was nevertheless yet another report of this type, that Antigonus brought in a doctor for the wound, by whom poisons were poured upon the wound as if medications. Whichever of these his death had the defiant spirit of leaders. He is reported to have said in addition in his last moments when he was already breathing out his spirit, it having been learned that Herod was alive and had escaped by flight the prepared treachery, he died with thanks, who left behind a survivor, who would return vengeance for him. For Herod hastened in Arabia expecting that he would receive money with which alone he believed he would be able to influence the barbarian greed, that he would ransom the captivity of his brother and if he found the Arab either unmindful of his father's goodwill or holding fast against returning gifts, if he should demand money in return as the price of the ransom, for which he would pledge the son of the man to be ransomed, whom making use of the seven year old boy he had brought to them with himself. But this effort of pious brotherhood was forestalled by the death of Phasaelus and Herod was carefully pursuing his desire of a brotherly gift. Before however he had learned about the death of his brother, he met with Bocchus the foreign king of Arabia (i.e., Arabia Petraea, the kingdom of Petra, also called Edom or Idumaea.), whom he believed to be a friend. But he had changed his loyalty with time and he forbad Herod already approaching the boundaries of Arabia to enter, by prearrangement what had been insinuated to him by the messengers of the Parthians, that he should not consider receiving his fugitive into the kingdom of Arabia and beget for himself the cause of a painful war. Offended by which Herod immediately turned back, which the resentment of a justified agitation had brought forth, and from there he turned into Egypt. Presently however it repented Bocchus of the violated friendship those having been sent by whom he would be called back, Herod had outstripped them. To whom having entered the territory, which the Rinocorians inhabit, and (having learned) about the death of his brother and the captivity of Hyrcanus, who under chains had been led into Parthia, a great source of grief and made known by true evidence, such a great deposit of anxieties, that he prepared for flight rather than for war. Finally he hastened to

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Alexandria with the utmost zeal, and there was received with honor by Cleopatria, because she thought that a man of such a great name should be sought as the leader of their military forces by her party. From where the petitions of the queen having been put behind him he sailed for Rome the disturbances in Italy having been learned of and considering the storms of winter of lesser importance, than those more serious waves he shuddered at with every shipwreck in the fleet of Cleopatria. Finally having set out he fell into danger near Pamphilia from unexpected gusts of wind, but he escaped however and his ship having been replaced he arrived at Brundisium first and from there at Rome. There with the prerogative of paternal friendship he approached Antonius and his own afflictions and those of family relatives having been lamented, by which they had been placed under siege, he came to Rome beseeching, [p. 52] he influenced Antonius by the miseries received from such a great change of circumstances, because a powerful king for a long time and who had very often borne the task of the Roman state, suddenly as one shipwrecked and needing all things and destitute of help his people having been placed in peril he implores suppliantly, who had exchanged his seat for exile.

30 In which although Antonius was favorably influenced by the gratitude, which had been in him with his father Antipater, and especially because likewise making him tetrarch had left him predetermined for rule, Caesar however more extravagant in natural benevolence held the military service of Antipater in Egypt borne in all the battles of his father Caesar and the hospitable fellowship as more valued with renewed pledges of favor. He mistrusted however the character full of cunning of the king, perversely intent not on fairness and goodness but on the advantages of his activities. The opportunity having been given of addressing the senate, before which Messala and Atratinus detailing the good deeds of the father, also the services of Herod himself for the Roman state, it was resolved by the authority of the fathers that the rule of Herod seemed advantageous for the Roman empire, that with Antonius joining in it was advantageous that in the war being waged against the Parthians the alliance of the celebrated king be joined to the Romans. The senate having been dismissed Caesar and Antonius and Herod coming out from the senate house together are escorted by the accompanying attendance of the magistrates, on the first day, on which the kingdom had been bestowed upon Herod by the decree of the senate, Antonius prepares a banquet and invites the king. At almost the same time Joseph the brother of Herod from the lack of water had arranged a flight during the night, but suddenly such a great force of rain poured upon the earth, that it filled every reservoir of water. Therefore the flight having been called off, which he was preparing to the Arab nation, he routed the forces of the besieging Antigonus partly by ambushes partly by attack and open battle. But generally with the departure of the enemy he kept himself in the fortress. And now Herod unexpectedly arrived from Italy in the city of Ptolomais of Syria having set out quickly by ship with a great troop of citizens and travelers he was seeking Antigonus, Ventidius and Silon the commanders of the Roman military forces meeting up with him, whom Antonius had ordered to be in attendance on the arriving Herod. Dellius using them against the enemy as ordered by Antonius although shuddering at the task, because Antigonus had turned each of them aside for a price, with the appearance however of the nearest he had persuaded to come together, accordingly Ventidius was delaying in the nearest cities for the purpose of repressing the commotions of the Parthian war, Silon however stationed inside Judaea in an open alliance with Antigonus was amassing money. But however Herod did not lack assistance, to whom all had adhered except a few of the Galilaeans, and because he had proposed that he should rescue his people from the siege at Masada as soon as possible, he captured Joppa placed in the middle by fighting, filled with a band of enemies, lest having progressed further he should leave an enemy in his rear, and although Antigonus desired to hinder his march, he took back Masada as an easy task and extracted his people from danger. Next having set out for Jerusalem when he had accomplished everything so that he had no necessity of fighting, asserting himself to be for the citizens against the rebellion, to have undertaken the battle not against his own people, harassed by the supporters of Antigonus with arrows and light javelins from the wall he forced those shouting against him to flee. Nor would there have been any delay of the victory, if Silon the commander of the Roman troops had not suborned the soldiers, who from want had made complaint and everything around the walls having been devastated they alleged in excuse the difficulty of useful things and the meanness of provisions and already the time was at hand when it was necessary for them to depart to winter quarters, they threatened themselves about to break up the command, unless it was assented to. And the rebellion would already have grown strong, if Herod offering himself as mediator equally to the centurions and the soldiers had not pleaded, that they should not forsake him, whom Caesar and Antonius and the senate too had joined together in upholding, since especially it was promised that nothing of advantage would be neglected. And the speech having been completed having gone out into the region suddenly he caused an abundance of all things to be made available to the army, so that no excuse was left for Silon. And from that time the spirits of everyone having been raised with two thousand foot soldiers and five hundred horsemen he recovered Iudumaea the army of the Romans having been calmed already and stationed in winter quarters. The leader of this achievement Joseph was chosen for a lighter task, lest he should think something involving greater danger should be undertaken against Antigonus. He himself however when he had stationed his family and supporters taken out of Masada in Samaria, those fortifications and things which he believed would be of advantage having been provided for, in the frozen winter and all places filled with snow outstripping news of his approach having entered for refitting without any battle into Sepphoris formerly called by this name, which was afterwards called Diocaesaria (Nearby Nazareth and the Galilean Bethlehem, whom the winter frost and roads rough with ice had fatigued, which he judged advantageous; for there were in that place great supplies of foodstuffs. Where with his soldiers restored by food and their stationary placement, he thought that battle must be undertaken against the brigands, who overrunning the entire region [p. 55] ground down the inhabitants of the places no less than a military incursion. Therefore at first he sent ahead a certain part of the horsemen and foot soldiers against the village Arbela and he himself with remainder of the troops was present forty days later. But however the brigands were not frightened by the appearance of the army, but considering that a charge must be made with arms, they displayed military discipline and the recklessness of brigands. A clash having been held the left wing of Herod fell back, but Herod quickly restored it and reinforcements having been added he stationed his men, he overpowered them being overtaken and overcame their attack. Who were unable to endure Herod fighting hand to hand, having pursued those turning aside all the way to the Jordan he delivered them to death. All the rest were scattered beyond the river, so that Galilaea was freed from all fear of raids only those remaining, who hiding themselves in lairs and digging in caves delayed the victory. There were however in the steep places of the mountains, in the hollow dens of the rocks, presenting fearful appearances among the sharp rocks impassable on all sides and impossible except by approach to the inhabitants of the places, who by transverse paths and narrow stony tracks, by which alone they were accustomed to be approached, they were safer by the practice of danger being applied against danger. Blind within the recesses of caves, in front of which a rock projecting as if from the ridge of the continent all the way to the deep meeting of the waters removed hope of approaching the position made hazardous on all sides, from the brow of the mountains by falling waters and the ragged course of the rivers, so that the fall of the plunging streams and the rock overhanging with deep gullies give more of terror. Finally for a considerable time the king from uncertainty hesitated not discovering how he should defeat nature, afterwards however having made use of a scheme of this nature that a defence having been devised in the manner of boxes he shut in the strongest whom [p. 56] armed he lowered with certain ropes to the very mouths of the caves, who began easily to slaughter and to kill the unarmed and with every relative and generation and if any dared to resist to burn them with fire thrown in. There was no place for pity, moreover Herod wishing to rescue many from death and to give trust in fleeing to himself turned them aside to a greater extent, so that not one attached himself to Herod voluntarily and if any were driven by force they preferred death to captivity. Finally one of the elderly, whose seven sons and wife were present, for whose safety he was able to take counsel, killed all of them in this manner, he himself stood in the entrance ordering each one to come out and he killed the one of his sons appearing. Herod catching sight of such a sad and miserable deed, weakened by paternal bonds, held out his hand and asked with words, that he should spare his children promising safety. But he was not at all influenced by these words and having reviled the king killed his sons and wife above, the bodies of his sons having been thrown down from on high at last he gave himself headlong to the abyss. Terrified by these things Antigonus, because Herod had so easily overcome the multitude of brigands and the difficulty of their locations, he indeed refused his own presence, but turned himself against Ptolomaeus, whom Herod had put in charge of a part of the army, and a man very suitable for the trick of war through those, to whom it was the habit to disturb Galilaea, by a sudden attack he forced Ptolomaeus to be killed. He killed also Joseph the brother of Herod, his brother being occupied in other parts, actively fighting back with Roman soldiers, who having been collected had advanced recklessly to his aid. Not content with such a great triumph he added to the victory a painful insult against the dead, that he was left with his head cut off, for which Ferora the brother of the slain offered fifty talents but did not obtain it. By which victory the enthusiasm of many inside Galilaea was again changed to Antigonus, the tasks of war were renewed. Herod hastened to Antioch; there in a sufficiently pleasant place which they name Daphnen he rested, when the news having been received of the death of his brother lamenting for a brief while he put aside the sorrow of his suffering, he prepared vengeance. Antigonus did not receive his raging resentment, but hid himself within the fortifications. Herod broke in, that he should take vengeance on the originators of such a heinous crime, and easily routed the opposing army. There was a great slaughter of many, the streets were obstructed by the bodies of the dead, so that he very roads were filled with the corpses of the slain. The battle had been finished with all routed by flight, if Herod had thought he should immediately direct his route to Jerusalem. Antigonus threw away his spears, he feared the final punishment. All were confused by fear so that, when Herod had been called from pursuing by the severity of the winter and arms having put down he had entered the public baths accompanied by one servant, three men ran to him with drawn swords, then many, who had fled from the battle seeking hiding places. These alarmed by fear the king having been seen crossed through and hastened to the exit of the baths, so that they were able to escape, who were able to produce the death of the king and end the war; finally there was no one who could seize those fleeing. From which Herod concluding, how great a fear was in the enemy, devoted himself to the battle and killed Pappus the leader of the opposing army and ordered his head to be cut off, because his royal brother Joseph had been killed by him.

31 Meanwhile Antigonus who had prepared for flight delayed; whom delaying Herod besieged with the army poured around and gave attention to that part which was before the temple, actually that part where Pompey had broken into the city. However a great anticipation of victory was already upon the king. As with the siege having been started he was distracted to receiving as wife the daughter of Alexander and changing the trumpet call to a wedding celebration and mixing a wedding with war; and having seized the opportunity of a union from the occurrence of battle he turns back from the festival to war. Sossius came up sent by Antonius for assistance to the king. And thus the men having been joined since the Romans excelled in the practice of war and in military discipline and were supported by the desire of pleasing the king, a forcible entry having been made in barely the fifth month, the Herodians having dared to climb the wall, moreover the centurions of the Romans rushing in. Then there were countless slaughters, everything about the temple laid waste. Some fleeing to the temple, others collecting in their homes were cut down, no compassion for old age, none for infancy or feminine weakness. Antigonus presented himself and heedless of the place threw himself at the feet of Sossius. But the latter, whom such a great turning upside down of things ought to have prompted to compassion, having jeered the prostrate Antigonus called him, he did not however spare him like a woman, but thrust him bound into confinement. Herod was in doubt, how he should rescue the homeland from the hands of the Romans, how he might save the temple from being polluted by the gentiles. For the Romans were hurrying to look at the more intimate mysteries, to desecrate the holy of holies. In truth the king now by requests now by threats removed every one, having thought the victory worse than flight, if anything of the sacraments should be revealed. The Romans insisted upon booty, Herod resisted, lest they should leave an empty city for him and the rule of a desert would be left to him. Sossius spoke to the soldiers against the pillage of the captured city. But the king from his own promised the soldiers he would give them money and thus he saved with money the rest of his country which remained; he fulfilled what he had promised, he supported the soldiers most kindly, he rewarded the leaders reasonably, Sossius himself with royal generosity. No one departed ungrateful. Sossius offered the crown to god and having set out took Antigonus with him to Antonius, whom he struck as a man of degenerate mind with an axe.

32 Herod moreover having given much even to his men, gave very much to Antonius and his friends as a gift, he was not able however to buy from Antonius security for himself. For already Antonius overwhelmed by love of Cleopatra was serving her interests and enslaved was a servant to his lust, and was not able to overcome her feminine appetites and especially of the practiced woman in the slaughters of her relatives, who having been killed she had joined their possessions to her own as if spoils. With the same avarice likewise and cruelty if she had received anyone from Syria who according to rumor was rich she caused them to be killed and Antonius having been enslaved already to her desires she thought the kingdom also of Judaea and Arabia, the governing people of each nation having been killed, could be added to her avarice. But although drunk with lust in sleep Antonius serious in this matter came to his senses, so that he declined to kill such men and powerful kings in accordance with the command of that impudent woman. However lest he dismiss them unharmed, he struck down their friends, he took away the greatest part of their possessions and especially that region which produced balsam, all the cities located within the river Eleutherus, Tyre and Sidon however excepted, he

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awarded to the cupidity of Cleopatra. Who cajoled by the man with such a bribe, followed Antonius setting out against the Parthians all the way to the Euphrates, she returned through Judaea, where Herod did not overlook to win over the mind of the queen to himself with gifts and especially bribes. To whom favorable things increased her arrogance, so that immoderate womanish behavior lifted her up beyond bound, so that not much later the king of the Parthians Artabases the son of the very powerful king Tigranes was given to her as a gift. Whom Antonius holding as a captive with all the booty and Persian spoils destined for his triumph awarded to the woman as a common slave, so that the more illustrious had been his victory, the more disgraceful had been his bribery, which dishonored kings with mockery. But not for long was she master of favorable things, who knew not how to use them, with womanly haughtiness she aroused Augustus against herself. And so with great efforts the Actiacus war was prepared on both sides. Unhesitatingly the king with Antonius entered into the war, because Judaea was empty of the hostile uproar and he had recovered Hyrcania long held by the sister of Antigonus. But in this also Herod was most fortunate, to whom it was inadvisable to mix himself in a foreign dangers. Therefore Cleopatra wishing to alienate and divert his mind from the kings, persuaded the man, that Herod should wage war against the Arabs, by which if he should be the winner, Arabia would fall to the queen, if he should be the loser, the rule of Cleopatra would be extended into Judaea. Whichever should conquer, the other would pay off. Which action not according to plan but according to the outcome favored Herod. Who as soon as he started the battle, stronger in cavalry he routed the enemy, in the end he is overcome by the great number of the enemy and surrounded by their number, the men of the adversaries having gathered in Canatha, against whom wishing to strengthen his line, the minds of his men elated by the outcome of the preceding and for that reason sallying against the enemy, he was deserted by the treachery especially of Athenius, whom Cleopatra had joined to the leader, not that he should aid Herod, but that he should desert him in difficult in difficult straits. Finally the Arabs attacked his army deserted in rocky and impassable terrain and scatter and rout it with great slaughter and having pursued those put to flight to their refuge give them over to destruction. Herod indeed arrived later than necessity demanded, buy however having avenged the calamity in following battles he so afflicted the Arabs, that they often lamented that one victory of theirs. Besides a great weakness of minds is added by an upheaval of the earth, by which many cattle and almost thirty thousand men also were swallowed up. Every military troop however there which stayed in the open air survived unharmed. From this cause also the spirits of the enemy were raised as they thought they might more easily invade a deserted Judaea and and crush those struck by such prodigies. From which Herod thought they should be roused to his defence, and especially because he had learned that the envoys whom he had sent to Arabia had been treacherously killed. With this speech therefore he addressed those trembling: "since the state of the enemy has been broken by so many of our favorable battles to the point of their confession, who stirred up by a frenzied resentment about to be conquered have killed our envoys, it seems strange to me, that an irrational fear has struck you so strongly, that you put fortuitous events of the elements before the famous successes of our valor. There was no encounter, in which the Arabs did not immediately fall back and turned back into flight think that they must yield and, as they held themselves stolen things of war, that they had captured remedies by trickery and ambush, not that they themselves had conquered, but that they had delayed our victory. For whom since it is necessary to be confident, [p. 62] a disturbance followed as if a terrifying event of war, because the earth trembled, since they alone were innocent who are waging war, or if we wish to consider whom it impedes, we consider rather the Arabs, whom it it has led into war, that they have not taken themselves from the braver by fleeing. For I see them relying not on arms and strength but to have come back to the battle line because of the looses of our herds. For fragile is the hope, which depends not from confidence of its own valor but upon the distress of others, since on earth nothing is so changeable as either favorable things or adverse things. In a few moments the conditions of human fortunes are changed; neither long lasting prosperity nor adversity is persevering. And so neither misery nor the contrary is everlasting, but there are frequently successive and various changes of circumstances in the same. Finally from things it is permitted to take an example; in the previous conflict we were superior, but in the process of the battle our luck changed, so that we were conquered by those whom we had beaten. And so it is for us to hope, that they may be conquered by us, who had beaten us. For too great presumption and neglectful of self is always incautious. Fear however warns to look into the future and teaches care. In prosperity boldness creeps in and ill-advised rashness does not know to await the plan of the commander. Finally you advancing against my opinion the worthlessness of Athenio discovered an opportunity of doing harm. Now your alarm hurries to me the expectation of victory. Arouse therefore your spirits and raise the old brave spirit of the Jews; let not the agitations of things not knowable by the senses frighten you, nor consider the motions of the earth the signs of a second disaster. The sufferings of the elements have their harm, but you should not fear anything other than what is offensive in itself. For there are not signs of danger in the motion of the earth and the affliction of animals but dangers themselves. There is nothing therefore that we should fear as burdens to be borne who have borne more burdensome things. He is able to be more well-disposed who has taken vengeance and more merciful, than if he had not taken vengeance. What is preserved after an earthquake and plague except sympathy, because we set free doubled sins. And however we have untouched what is useful for war; for plague has taken away those placed outside of the war, our victory moreover has taken from the enemy, what they consider proper for war. Afterward for us there were dead cattle, for them the decision who thought the envoys we sent must be killed against justice and divine law. They transgressed against the law of all men, indeed of themselves barbarians, among themselves also, who are ignorant of civilization, envoys are considered untouchable. While heavenly vengeance is to be feared and god is feared as the avenger of such a heinous crime. This therefore our adversaries have let in, which neither human nor divine laws leave unpunished. Let us march out therefore not for territory or spoils but about to do battle for injury to the gods. Not love of wife or children urges us to battle but the protection of god obtained. We are carrying out not our own decisions but the sacred orders of divine law, that for them we claim vengeance, whom religion orders must be untouchable. Between hostile arms an embassy alone is a mediator of peace, he puts aside his enemy who is engaged in an embassy. Whose blood now cries out to god and demands vengeance. Let us therefore hasten to battle while we have god the revenger and avenger of those murdered. They are fighting better for us and surrounded by hosts of angels spread before in the battle line." Having exhorted his troops with such words he charged against the enemy seeking every opportunity of fighting. The Arabs were superior in numbers but inferior in spirit, whence an attack having been made almost five thousand of them were slain. The rest taking themselves into the fortifications were overcome by a lack of water, so an embassy having been sent they asked peace for a price. But when they saw themselves to be put off and their thirst was being inflamed further by the failing water, many coming out voluntarily offered themselves up to their enemies, preferring to die by the sword rather than from thirst, whom Herod guarded in fetters lest there should be treachery. And so in five days almost four thousand were taken in, others coming forth to fight again were killed to the number of seven thousand men. Humbled by which disaster the Arabs, as much inferior in courage as they were outstanding in good sense, sought from the king, whom they held an enemy, that he himself should be a defender and protector for them.

33 But a greater concern struck him the victor, as some one who had brought something upon himself, he trembled at not now the danger overhanging him of territory but of the entire kingdom. Antonius having been conquered whom he had joined to himself in faithful friendship. In fact Augustus Caesar the winner of the battle of Actiacus considered Antonius not yet overcome, since Herod had survived the victory. In anxiety therefore the king since he had discovered from a true source that Caesar had gone to Rhodes, sailed to him lest rumor should arrive before his earthly journey, and arriving his crown having been put aside he presented himself in private dress but with the mental attitude of a king. In fact leaving out nothing of the truth he kept his loyalty, he held on to his authority. "I," he said, "Augustus, confess not to have been a true ally of Antonius, rather someone who received the kingdom from him, to whom I do not deny myself a debtor up to now; I would have demonstrated that with arms, if Cleopatra had not been jealous and the Arabs had not prevented it. From that necessity I did not bear arms against you, not as the deserter of a friend or as one afraid of battle, but as occupied at home with managing affairs. Antonius did not perceive me as ungrateful to him, to whom I not present sent the assistance of the army and countless supplies of grain. And also you, Caesar, would not have judged me unmindful of his kindnesses, if I had been at the Actiacus battle. See that I leave out nothing. Before you I fear more to be seen ungrateful to your enemy than to be seen an enemy to you. Your judgement to me is more serious that the war, before whom not the merits of valor but crimes are tried. And I before you prefer to be tried for faithfulness rather than for unfaithfulness. See, Caesar, that I did not abandon the uninjured Antonius, I did not run away from him beaten. You conquered, Caesar, Antonius with your great legions, you conquered with your intelligence, you conquered with the strength of the Roman empire, which he abandoned, and which he refused, and truly he was beaten by your power but more by his behavior. His wife Cleopatra conquered him, his Egyptian love conquered him, his Conopeian extravagances conquered him, it conquered him, because he preferred to be conquered with Cleopatra rather than to conquer without her. A woman more dangerous to her own people than to her enemies conquered him. I had urged the death of the woman, if he wished to take counsel for himself, I had promised aid with which I would repair damage, I had promised forces with I would protect him fleeing, I offered myself as a companion in war, but the desires of Cleopatra blocked up his mind. He was conquered because he did not wish to hear me, I too was conquered with Antonius with less shame however, because Cleopatra conquered him, Antonius conquered me. He left behind a foreign woman, I did not abandon a friend. I laid aside the crown with him, but I have come to you retaining the favor of a faithful friend; I have given up the emblems of royal power, but I have not cast away the consciousness of worth. Judge as you wish, I however, of whatever kind your judgement, I return thanks with myself, that it will be thought that I was a friend of this sort."

34 Caesar responded to these things: "Be in good health," he said, "and now enjoy your reign more, because we do not dislike good character but we delight in it. For you are worthy to rule many, who thus protect [p. 66] friendship, so that you do not reject him placed in adversity and you do not blush to confess him a friend to you. But you have sufficiently proved to honor the more fortunate to cling to and to keep faith in good circumstances as in adverse circumstances. Antonius conquered you, but I will not consider you conquered, whom friendship has made equal to the victors. Therefore you may make requests fom us, because no outcome of the war has changed you, seeing that you did not abandon Antonius but Antonius earlier abandoned you, who entrusted himself more to Cleopatra than to you. The foolishness of that man gained you for us, because he picked the worst for himself, he rejected faith. It is no wonder that Antonius conquered should adhere to Cleopatra, by whom a victor he was captured. Why should you wonder, if Cleopatra made Antonius defect from you, since he separated from me and from a wife made an enemy of the empire? And so you were rejected with us and therefore the kingdoms with us. Nor indeed is this empty of benefit because, while we are occupied with civil war, you made the untamed people of Arabia subject, because we consider the enemies of the Jews as our enemies. For they carry arms against us who attack you. Therefore you fought for us, when you conquered for yourself, and thus we reward you, so that your kingdom is confirmed as our gift. Meanwhile your favor is not at all reduced, we undertake in the future that you do not need Antonius. Nor indeed is it fitting, that we do not conquer with benevolence whom we have conquered by war." When he had said this, he placed the crown on his head, adding painstaking attention to the gift. Encouraged by this esteem of Caesar wishing to reduce his displeasure against Alexan, one of the friends of Antonius, a man against whom Caesar was greatly angered, he pleaded with much prayer, but very great anger left no place for pardon. Having followed the march of Caesar setting forth into Egypt and having supplied all things, which were of use to him or to the army, he acquired the greatest goodwill and enthusiasm of the commander for himself, especially because in the very dry places all the way to Pelusium an abundant supply of water was supplied with royal foresight. With which services he infused a great love for himself into everyone, so that it was thought he deserved more than he had received and that the rule of a kingdom was less than the liberality of his kindness deserved. Therefore Caesar from this opinion, things having been accomplished in Egypt, Antonius and Cleopatra having died, returned to Herod not only what had been taken away, truly even beyond those things which Cleopatra had stolen, he granted to him Gadara, Ipponen, Samaria. He bestowed also at the same time the maritime cities, Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and Strato's Tower; also four hundred bodyguards from Gaul, surrounded by whom Cleopatra traveled, he granted many other things for the protection of the body of the king. But from all these things the king considered most important that above all he was loved, by Caesar below Agrippa only, by Agrippa below Caesar only.

35 And so in the fifteenth year of his reign, that he should respond to his blessed condition and favor, having been lifted up by such a great success of favorable things, he strained for goodness and so that he might demonstrate himself grateful to the heavenly gods for the favors flowing to him without limit, he adorned the temple, and he surrounded with a wall all that circuit of space about the temple and the space having been doubled he enclosed it at great expense of building and with exquisite beauty. For evidence there were great covered walks about the sanctuary, which he raised up from the foundations. Nor was his purpose less of guarding than of beautifying, accordingly he strengthened the fortress lying to the north, which he named Antonia in honor of Antonius, not at all inferior to the higher palaces. He added even in the citadel of the royal home twin residences of great extent of wonderful beauty, to whose grace you would think nothing should be added. One of them was named Caesarium, the other Agrippium, so that in his dwellings the lasting memory of such great friends would be celebrated. He also not only

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completed the building of the city Sebaste but even filled it with inhabitants, But I will not follow up every one, not at all easily was any place of long established cities neglected, which declining he did not renew or adorn with the buildings added which were seen to be lacking. Pouring his gifts to the five years contests he enriched that common class of men with his poured out riches. He even founded a temple of white marble to Caesar near the sources of the Jordan having been made unmindful of religious scruples, so that he consecrated a temple to the man and introduced a practice of the gentiles into Judaea. The name of the place is Panium, where a mountain of lofty height with a high peak extends high into the air, in whose side a gloomy cave is found, through which an oppressive abyss of a smelly precipice breathes out a harsh noxious exhalation. Within there was a meeting of the waters and without any motion much force, so that no estimation of the boundless depth could be made; without however around the base of the mountain itself springs gush out. Whence many have thought the source of the Jordan to be in that place, still it seems to us to us what the truth holds must be discovered in the future. There was in the coastal regions a city, which was called the Tower of Strato, already exhausted by frequent wars and decayed by old age itself into ruin, but prominent however by the the suitableness and loveliness of the place, which he renewed with white stone and buildings of the imperial court, and in it he expressed the character of his greatness of soul and the elegance of the work. For located in the middle between two coastal cities Dora and Iopen it is bound up in both directions by a harborless seashore, so that all whoever they may be who desire to travel from Egypt to Phoenicia, are rocked in the ocean, because in that place the sea is frequently stirred up by the winds and especially by the gusts of the southwest wind, by whose even more moderate blowing a disorder is raised, and likewise struck by the jutting rocks and thrown back by the broken attack it irritates the savage sea by yielding. And so the king setting no limit of expense conquered nature by greatness of soul and established a port greater than Piraeus and in it the devastation of the rocks having been penetrated he established safe stations. Also having measured the distance, to the size the port would come to, he put huge rocks into the sea, to which the depth was fifty feet and to others even greater. He divided the port itself with great towers, one of which he named Drusium, so that the name of Drusus, which was from the ancestors of Caesar, should weave into his conspicuous works. He even placed shorter steps at more frequent places, through which without severe labor ships could be hauled; he even beautified the entire loveliness of that port with three gigantic statues. Again he established a temple to Caesar in an elevated place and in the middle of the temple he placed a large statue with the name of Augustus as a likeness of the man himself, which was of not less magnitude than the likeness of Jupiter of Olympus or of Juno of Argos. You would not know the beauty in such great difficulties or the strength of the work and you might think the protection in such great beauty to be outstanding, since the work remains indestructible to the sea or age. And so many advantages accrue in one work; for a great city is added to the province and a port to sailors and honor to Caesar, from whose name Caesarea was named in this time.

36 The society sought of one woman lowered and weakened with sad pain this political power of the king flowing to his triumphal successes, from which against justice and divine law he thought a wife should be measured by the rank of her birth rather than by love, a certain royal practice. For he had in association a woman of Jerusalem Dosis by name, joined to himself a commoner previously, who ought to have been more pleasing to him, who had been good for her husband, with whom he had arrived at the royal peak. But unmindful of this goodness he cast aside Dosis, he marries Mariamme the granddaughter of Aristobolus, the daughter of Alexander. And so while he pursued noble birth, he met with turmoil, which his own home did not find fitting for him, to which the many peoples of the different provinces were submissive. And lest the eyes of the new bride with a stepmother's dislike should be offended by him placed at home whom Dosis had given birth to, Antipater, for that was the name of the youth, was ejected not only from his father's dwelling but also from the entire city, he made a situation with the inauspicious wedding, which he was celebrating with the banishment of his only son, and he was hardly summoned for the solemnities of the festal days. The woman seeing her husband to be compliant to her was even turned by the jeers of piety into haughtiness; for the reason was added, by which her mind was rightly inflamed, that she discovered that Hyrcanus her grandfather had been killed through the treachery of her husband, falsely accused because of a desire for royal power. He is the person about whom we made mention before, whom Barzafranes who was ruling the Persians, when he had seized Syria, took away captive, and held at first in Parthia, afterwards having pitied his worsened fate, relinquished to the Jews demanding him, who were living beyond the Euphrates. And would that he had conceded to those entreating him, even that he had believed those warning him, that the political power of his relatives should not in the manner of human nature arouse him, so that he would make the passage to Herod; she would be a danger to him, because desirous of saving his royal power he stirred up none more than those closest to him, and he should beware his relatives. But he from the tedium of living abroad and the desires of his people crossed the Euphrates, he returned into Judaea. Because he descended deeper into the breast of Herod than anyone had thought, not that he aspired to the royal power, but because a man of the royal stock and with the privilege of power long exercised him to be able to abstain from it was thought uncertain. The noose of death for Hyrcanus was therefore the husband of his granddaughter, with whose influence he had hurried to Herod, not knowing that captives lived more safely among the enemy than relatives near the king. And so with not even a slight expectation of ruling he was killed for this alone, that the kingdom was seen to be properly his. Meanwhile he loved Miriamme with an immoderate love and did not want her offended. Numerous offspring had piled favor upon the woman. For she had borne him five children, but of the three sons the youngest had died at Rome, while he was receiving a gentlemanly education. The remaining two were honored beyond the mode of commoners in royal style. The reason for the youths was the nobility of their mother and his rise in the kingdom, because they had been born with their father already ruling, but especially the love of Miriamme, by which the king was daily more and more inflamed, so that although no change of love was returned to him by his wife, he took care however that he should not sadden the mind of his wife in anything. With equal weight the hatred of his wife and the love of the man fought against him. More justly however Miriamme hated the man loving her, which Miriamme not loving him Herod loved, the hatred of the woman arose from the outrage, from the reliance on love, because first, by the grief of a granddaughter, she was turned away, second she was lifted up by the servility of a lover. And thus not even by the reprimands of the things thrown forth did he temper the crime, that he had through wickedness snatched away from her her grandfather Hyrcanus and her brother Jonathan, although one was his wife's grandfather, the other a relative by marriage, the former ought to have been saved because feeble of old age, the latter at least because of his adolescent age. A shameful crime, to whom a youth of seventeen years he had committed the high priesthood, to whom immediately he had conferred the office he inflicted death for no other cause, as we grasp it, unless that having put on the priestly garments, when he first approached the high altar on the sacred and honoured day, suddenly the people broke into tears. Because he was thus suspect to Herod, as he believed the people to have cried for joy and for that reason to have forsaken his affection for the boy, those tears to be indications of a wish, the enthusiasm of the people to be dangerous for himself, who showed with their inmost organs that they had enthusiasm for devotion to the young man, a noble descendent of kings, the son of a powerless woman, the brother of a shameless queen, who disdained her husband the king, who was about to rush forth to rule, if he were not timely taken from their midst, for whom beauty, for whom loveliness of appearance sufficed, by law it was thought that he should be preferred above all others (The translator has not tried in this literal translation to clarify the almost hopeless confusion in this Latin material of what pronoun refers to what individual as the confusion is inherent in the Latin. It can be straightened out only with knowledge of the actual situation.). And so he proposed to kill the young man. The mother of the youth attacked him, who was very keen for investigating and more vehement for avenging, nothing was endured hidden and nothing unpunished, and for this reason he decided to recall and restrain himself: Again the love heaped up as the days passed of everyone for the youth and the danger to his rule alarmed him. Whence aroused by a sudden rage he decided to take counsel for himself on some method.

37 The young man is sent at night to the city Jericho and there accustomed to take pleasure in his enthusiasm for swimming very many going together with him as if in a game, he is held submerged without limit, he is killed in the swimming pool. His sister did not tolerate this in silence, but from feelings of sisterhood announced it at a banquet and charged her husband that her brother had been taken from her by his order. Herself to have been abandoned by all, the home of her consort to be calamitous for her, who first took her grandfather from her, afterwards killed her brother, herself miserable to have been a cause of ruin for her relatives. Dire things to be called down upon her husband, father-in-law, and sister of the king; the common outrage of all, to ask god the avenger, that such a heinous crime should not be left unpunished. Herod received that as if captured by love and obedient to her commands, but the women raged and were not able to bear the insults of her cursing and her presumption expressing resentment, especially because overcome by his miracle Herod was not able to rise up against his beloved. And thus what the lover could to be more enraged with, a pretence of adultery is woven and a crime of this nature is constructed against the woman, that she had sent her likeness to Antonius in Egypt. That to have been a great lewdness, that to a man physically elsewhere and quick to passion, powerful besides, who made use of power in place of law, she offered her beauty for sale, that he might bid on her beauty. The woman had dishonoured herself by the trafficking of an unusual auction from either the force of love or from hatred of her husband, danger for whom she had sought for the pay of adultery. With this fabrication of the women in the house of Herod Miriamme was loved the more the more she was seriously assailed, nor however was the accusation itself although made by resentful women completely contrary to the truth. For the mother Alexandria raging, because another was placed before her son Aristobolus in the priesthood -- for by this name her son Ionathan, by which he brought back into memory his grandfather to have been king, preferred to be called -- had sought from Antonius through a certain (trustee of documents?) the priesthood for her son trust was nearer the truth. Afterward the friend Gallicus of Antonius arriving in Judaea recognized the young man to have been wondrous because of the loveliness of his most outstanding beauty, not less even Miriamme, whose rank was higher, by the amount her fame was more illustrious, and perhaps was found so by a certain fashion of human nature, by which men dear to their intimate friends also want to declare themselves, if they are granting the society of their hospitable table also to their near kin. There also the opportunity was given to Alexandra of speaking with Sossius, granted that to an unimpeded widow another opportunity of becoming acquainted with her host would not be able to be lacking, since especially she would be seeking occasions and persons of that kind. Then a plan having been discussed on both sides it settled on this opinion, that pictures of both would be sent to Antonius. He was bound up by the magnificence of the pictures and especially by the testimony of Sossius, who declared himself to have seen nothing like it ever on earth and the beauty in them to be not of men but divine, meretriciously that it would arouse the greatest lusts of a man, he wrote Herod that he should send Aristobolus to him without delay, about Miriamme because she was married to him he let pass, not for the reason that he was accustomed in the presence of their husbands to conceal his lusts for those who were married, to whom without danger he would use, outrage without shame, but for the reason that he was taking precautions against the anger of Cleopatra, who indeed was offended by a rival of either sex, but more if she discovered a woman joined to her husband, because she thought herself to excel all women in beauty. And so the letter having been read Herod made the excuse that without a rebellion of the people and the disturbance of the entire nation he could not tear away the noble youth from his people and so that he might satisfy Alexandra, he promised the priesthood to Aristobolus, but since she thought herself to be mocked by a trick and a delay to be made to the promises, Alexandra prepared a ship and in the apparatus of flight itself the plan having been learned through Sabiones she was called back with her son. Alarmed by this Herod dissembled the offense for a time and quickened the conferring of the priesthood upon Aristobolus, so that by the appearance of honor he might conceal the hatred of the prepared murder, which having been accomplished, as we said, as if struck by lightning, at the same time he was stirred up by the crime of feigned adultery forged by his kin, because he knew Antonius to be quick to carnal desires, and unveiled lusts, from the fact that he was powerful, and burning for every amatory mode; also especially the inexpiable resentment and frightfulness of the rivalry of Cleopatra killed many of the men whom she had discovered too slow about restraining the licentious behavior of their wives. He recoiled in terror from the danger overhanging him not only of losing his wife but even of undergoing death. And so he himself proposed to hasten into Egypt so that he might prevail on Antonius or Cleopatra whom he chiefly feared. Others report that summoned by the letter of Antonius he exerted himself for the purpose [p. 76] that he might set forth the reasons of the young man having been killed. However about to depart, he reveals secretly to Joseph his relation by marriage, to whom Salome the sister of the king had come in marriage, that death had been suspected for himself because of a desire for the beauty of his wife, which it was disclosed a picture of her good looks having been sent the woman had made known. This he committed as a task to his relation, that if he himself should be killed by Antonius, he should kill Miriamme, so that a reward for her crime should not remain. Joseph, not at all, as I think, from a desire of betrayal but that he should put to rest the complaints of the woman against her husband, by which she said herself afflicted to burn with hatred of her husband, he reveals the order and interprets it as due to the affection of a lover, that not even dead could Herod allow himself to be separated from the companionship of his wife. But the woman quite otherwise than Joseph had judged this dragged to the argument of the still entangled cruelty against herself, after whose death still being exercised he had also ordered her execution to his own relation. He was disturbed by the injury to himself, he examined his own suspicions not with some proof of truth but urged the outcome of sudden death, there

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would be no end to the hatreds which were being stretched out beyond the end itself of life and health. But Joseph unmindful of the domestic evil, since he was trying to reconcile a hostile wife to her husband, inflamed the suspicions of his own wife against himself, which she considered the conversations of her own husband with Miriamme, the stops made not at all perfunctorily in the court of the king. Finally when her brother returned, she did not put aside the accusation, adding her own injury to the affronts to the king, because also from her Miriamme had taken away a husband. But Herod, although stricken, was not at all very seriously alarmed at first, nor did he present himself enraged to his wife, but overcome even by the force of love he began one day to swear to his wife, that he loved her with such great affection, that he had never blazed with desire for another woman, thus he threw all from his mind, that he kept trust in his wife. But she: "you declared your love for me adequately in the orders which you gave to Joseph, commanding that he should kill me. How is he able to love who is able to kill?" The king frantic immediately when he heard his secret to have been betrayed, from that began to think that Joseph was never about to betray him, unless captured by love of the woman he had sought the the reward of the betrayal in sexual intercourse. It revealed what lay hidden a long time, a crime in the open, an indubitable corruption, not in vain he aroused his sister who placed personal injury before all else. And so wild with too much anger and not in control of his mind he sprang forth from his bed fleeing the contagion of disgraceful misconduct, nor did the court seize him raging. His sister heard him shouting and immediately seizing the opportunity of alleging an argument, an opportunity of doing harm she confirmed the suspicions of the indignant person. And therefore driven by the pain of the offense, by the accusation of his sister he ordered both to be killed. Not much afterwards regret of the things done followed, and when anger abated, love followed, and and passion was reawakened and such a great heat of desire blazed up, that he did not believe her dead and in a departure of his mind he spoke to her as if living. And as if to her who was living he directed the boys, asking that rivalries having been put down she should come to him and restore him to marital pleasures, scarcely finally taught by a great interval of time did he believe her to have died, whom because of love as a woman of imperishable beauty he believed not to be able to die. So great was his passion for the dead woman. Finally afterward he became savage and is reported irritated by hatred into the murder of many present, nor did he suffer only from sickness of mind but even from a severe illness of the body, which they said had been contracted from plague and also from the air. For the more corrupt parts of the air drawn in gives rise to plague in many. Whence those experienced in medicine having been consulted he hid himself in the remote places of the forest and vigor have been gradually poured back from hunts he recovered good health of body and sobriety of mind.

38 This also added to his marvels, by which he admired the grace of the deceased, himself to have suffered punishment for the unjust outrage and from the affliction of the elements had atoned the death of such a great beauty, by the ruin of the world, the death of one by the affliction of the people, vindicated however by an unequal fate, since the earth denied produce, famine increased the pestilence. A pure but immoderate knowledge of beauty brought to her husband in full possession of his senses this death of Miriamme. To whom magnanimity was superfluous, painstaking attention was lacking, so that she disdained the compliments of her husband, untroubled because she was able to endure nothing of ruin from him who loved her beyond measure. Not only did she discover vengeance for the present, but she transmitted inherited hatreds into the future. To whom followed her sons avengers of their mother's resentment with pious love for their mother but with irreverent feeling for their father, although the law of nature should be shared to each of the parents with equal service. Nor did grief find them unpracticed. For having long been instructed at Rome in Latin alongside Greek literature, they had adopted a not ordinary astuteness and absent the death of their mother having been learned they were made violent into hatred of their father by many instigators. Also respect not even of the sight of their father had poured care into them having returned, their ill-will increased with age. The presumption arose even from the society of his wife because to one the daughter of Salome the granddaughter of Herod, to the other a daughter born to Archelaus, who held the kingdom of Cappadocia (North of the kingdom of Commagene, in today's Central-Anatolia, Turkey.), had come in marriage, that the noble class of the union had given authority. Therefore Herod was offended by his sons' silent nature more stirred up than the paternal tenderness could endure. Besides which he is frequently offended from his expression. And goads were added by those who as if worried frequently announced he should beware the treachery of his sons, asserting that vengeful of their mother's death they were arming bands. Terrified by which Herod began to prefer Antipater the son of Doris to his brothers and began to excite favor to him by more plentiful affection, the royal court burned with greater hatreds and was struck by the conflict of the brothers, while they were indignant that the son of a woman who was a commoner was preferred to them born in royal power. He full of flattery the more he discerned himself inferior on his mother's side, the more studiously he commended himself to his father, he did not cease to attack his brothers with fabricated accusations, until he himself through himself through others whom he had joined to himself excluded them from the paternal affections. Finally he took all expectation of ruling from them, so that by a will publicly established he was designated the sole successor of the supreme power. And sent to Rome to Caesar except for the emblem of the crown he was supported by every ornament and royal dress. Thence having returned into Judaea, the favor toward him of Caesar and many distinguished men having been increased, in an interval of almost no time he prevailed to such an extent, that he even restored his mother to the marriage of his father, and with the twin arms, the art of flattery and cunning in making accusations, he began to so attack his brothers before their father, that the father prepared death for his sons. Finally raging of mind he sought Rome Alexander dragged with him, whom he set before Caesar charged with the crime of magic against himself. He the opportunity having been given of responding to the charge and every complaint, when he saw to be at hand for himself the authority of such a great judge, who could neither be converted by Herod through influence, nor tricked by Antipater, having decided that nothing should be passed by he blunted the shameful acts of his father with a certain restraint, so that he seemed to neither urge them as an accuser nor to allow them to be hidden, since it would help his cause greatly if he demonstrated himself on account of the pain of his mother's death to be attacked by the hatreds of his father. For in such trials nothing burdens children more, than the loyalty of nature and the influence of loyalty. Which if they are exhibited by some crime, prejudgement is reduced and its verdict hindered. Truly when it was come to the complaints of the father, rebutting with strong defenses he first showed his brother innocent of any crime, who was the sharer of their dangers, whom innocent he groaned to be called into judgement, the force of delivery and skill in speaking supported a clear conscience. He lamented most bitterly that nothing of honor had been left to him or his brother, that all had been taken away through the wickedness of his half-brother and the readiness of his father. Death for himself to be asked for, which his father hopes for to the point that he adds accusation, he attaches shameful things. With these words he forced everyone into tears and drew out the response of the court, that the accusation was not proven to Caesar, the father embraced reconciliation. It was very acceptable and most excellent to the Roman leader not only to have given a kingdom to the famous king but even to have restored his children. And so it was settled by a just balance, that respect for paternal rights remained unviolated and the innocence of the sons was protected, as was becoming for the father, that the children should be obedient, that he should exhibit the uninterrupted affection of nature for his sons, he might leave the kingdom however to whom he wished. Alexander returned with his father from the city of Rome freed more from judgement than from mistrust. For Antipater did not allow the mind of Herod to be free from hatred of his sons. And indeed he himself was the occasion of hatreds, he pressed still his pursuit with the appearance of a restorer so that he should not betray the public view of longed for brotherhood, he made plain his treachery. When it was come into Cilicia and sailing they landed at Eliusa, Archelaus received them with a rich banquet expressing thanks for the trial of his son in law Alexander, that freed from danger he had even been considered worthy of reconciliation. Furthermore he had asked friends in letters sent through his people, that they should be of assistance to the defence of his son in law, he presented him departing thirty talents a gift of hospitality and escorted him all the way to Zephyrium. Having returned home the king immediately summons the people, before whom he speaks in this manner.

39 "The reason for me, Hebrew citizens, of seeking Rome was both profitable and productive that Caesar should judge about my sons, so that I alone who was angry should not make inquiry. I proceeded to Caesar so that he who had given me the kingdom should make pronouncement about my successor. He added to his kindnesses that which was difficult he presented to the father his almost lost sons, to the brothers he restored amity which is above the kingdom. I return therefore richer than when I set out, I have learned to be a better father, because my sons have learned to be better children, by the kindness of Caesar. In fact he decided that the succession of my sons should depend upon my judgement; that the right of succession should not give birth to haughtiness, that I should give as successor to me whom I choose, him who had deserved it, him who had most honoured his father. I will imitate Caesar, for he in absolving my younger sons made them equal to the oldest son. And so today at the same time I designate my three sons kings, age supports the one, birth the others. let not the number cause alarm, the size of the kingdom suffices for many. God is first the judge of my decision, afterwards you are added besides, whom Caesar joined, the father arranged, you follow with suitable honor, so that the honor may be neither immoderate nor too little. The one makes arrogant, the other makes angry. What is imparted to each as his share is sufficient for his merits. For something does not delight him so much whom it honours beyond measure, as it harms him to whom it denies what is owed. And generally each of them is hurt when there is a fawning of preference. I am certainly the father to all, the honor of my sons is certainly a pleasure of the father. If however anyone honors my children beyond measure, he is actually liable to me in behalf of my children, for whom he is the source of the fault. For the cultivation of effrontery is taken as too great. Should I be jealous of my children? May god forbid, but I prefer them to have less power with favor than more with rebellion. But it is a fact of haughtiness and plunder that it is quickly slipped into, which of pleasure is long held. Whence it will be a concern to me, that I will join the the sponsors of concord to my children as parents and friends, by whose encouragement they put on the affection of mutual love. But when every evil word poisons the mind of the hearer, then incessant conversations chiefly and lasting practice are accustomed to pour pestilence into the mind, which by a certain contagion quickly crosses into the habits of those dwelling together. Although there may be tranquility of behavior, however as a lake although placid, can rise into rage from disturbing winds, thus a good nature may be agitated by wicked counselors. And so I think that each one ought to put his greatest expectations in me, not indeed that he destroys me because he approaches my children. Each of the tribunes or soldiers ought to honor the father of the commanders more. I exist, I am he who will weigh out the reward to all for those things which you have bestowed even upon my sons. If I notice proper spirits I will reward the acts, an evil disposition will return its price, so that he is deprived of profit also whom he has believed to be flattering. You however, my good sons, consider first reverence for nature, whose favor [p. 83] binds wild beasts, which even forces savage animals into love of their relatives --- there remains mutual love among untamed animals and wild creatures rescue their own kind from their own dangers --- furthermore respect Caesar, who has made you from enemies into friends; third respect me myself, who prefer to ask when I am able to command: remain brothers, do not cast aside what you have been born to. I give you the imperial robes and training, but it is of more value that I persuade the pure mark of your love: if sense of duty remains, if royal power delights, but if gratitude is lacking, the supreme power is worthless and mostly harmful. Therefore while I am putting you to the test, you have meanwhile not the royal power but the honors of royal power. If you shall have valued your father, the duty will follow. Demonstrate however love of me in yourselves: as leaders you will get possession of all the things with which royal power is accustomed to delight, the burdens of rule and the troubles of work will remain mine alone, although I do not wish it. And so it is advantageous for you to prefer my things, because I both will and judge what things are yours and mine." These things having been said he kissed his sons, so that he should bind them in turn to himself with one kiss of love. Which having been done he dismissed the convention.

40 The majority departed happy, whom the concord of brotherhood pleased, but when dissension returned to the brothers, and more seriously by that amount, by which their position was superior who were more envied and to whom there was a greater power of doing harm. The sons of Mariamme grieved the son of a woman who was a commoner, who did not know the lineage of royal power, to have been made equal to themselves. On the other hand Antipater disdained the separate expectation of royal power of himself and his brothers and was jealous of his brothers, for whom the following were scarcely reserved before the chiefs. But he covered and veiled himself, pretending affection in place of dislike, they not even seeking any hostile meaning in their speech, with a tongue quick and lavish of secrets. Whatever they had said, [p. 84] was at once before Antipater, much even which they had not said was fabricated. The intermediary added much material with an increment. The author of everything by which the brothers were attacked was Antipater, whose life was nothing but a meeting of slyness, a theater of wickedness, the plotting of crimes, the service of scandals. He brought forward tale bearers, he suborned witnesses, he pretended a defense as if carrying around in a theater the personality of a brother, so that he would cast out the lighter charges, grant the more serious, by which he deceived their father more and aroused him more stongly against his brothers, he especially piled up with cunning hatred of a father's murder made ready so that the kingdom might be seized, which from fear of danger was more suspected by kings. But lest these things might appear to the king less likely if no one objected, he himself first tried to refute them, then he wished himself to be seen to be constrained by the obvious proofs of the charges, so that the case having been delivered

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from both sides, as if nothing were lacking to a verdict, the father would be more aroused as if against convicted sons. For nothing gave more faith in the assertions than that Antipater was considered the defender of his brothers. By this trickery he captured the favor of most, he inclined the mind of his father to himself. Whatever was diminished daily from the brothers of paternal affection was transferred to himself. He enticed away the king's friends and parents and he especially made Feroras the brother of the king and Salome his sister alienated from the prodigals, so that not only did they not defend them, but they even attacked and hated them. Glafyra the wife of Alexander added material of hatreds, who in woman's fashion, quite overbearing of those present, had begun to extol herself with arrogant pride, for the reason that she excelled all the others in the fame of her lineage. And so she put herself forward as if she were the mistress of all who were in the royal court, and was accustomed to boast that the father and grandfather to her were kings and especially Darius the son of Hydaspes the highest honor of her mother's line and to afflict Salome the sister of the king or Dosis his wife with insults of their low birth, which was a source of anger for them and of hatred against herself. She irritated the other women in similar fashion, who were joined to the king more because of their beauty than because of the nobleness of their birth. For Herod beyond the custom of kings even was delighted by the practice of the Jews as if by a certain freedom of error, who considered the fashions of their ancestors a cloaking of their own faults. Therefore Alexander bore with reluctance the haughtiness of his wife. Aristobolus also reproached his wife with the same words as Glaphyra, her of low status not matching the royal descendants, unequal to Glaphyra, it to be a shame to him that his brother had gained a wife of royal family, he had lowered himself by union to a commoner as wife: who raging dismayed his own relatives by his reproaches. Struck with which abuses the wife of Aristobolus carried them to her mother with tears. Salome however announced the things learned through her daughter to king Herod. But he believing it better to warn his sons rather than destroy them, summoned and partly terrified them imperially, partly with paternal affection exhorted them that they should love their brother and not be separated like enemies, offering pardon for prior offenses, threatening punishment for future offenses. But they lamenting themselves to be attacked by many charges that had been settled, beseeched and at the same time promised with their actions in the future that they would be given belief in their own defense, only their father should look at their acts and not rashly believe things heard. For indeed they would not lack dishonest accusers in the future, so long as he a credulous hearer was at hand. The father having been softened by these and such, although they pushed aside for a time the overhanging fear, they piled up sadness, because they saw themselves to be attacked by Feroras and Salome, one of them their paternal uncle, the other the sister of their father by whom who should have been a defence they were ambushed. A great fear was added, because they had great influence with their brother. For with the crown excepted, Herod shared almost the entire rule of the kingdom with his brother. He had bestowed not ordinary wealth upon both and especially upon Feroras. In fact he put away a yearly payment of one hundred talents besides that region, which located beyond the Euphrates increased the amount of his income. He had also been appointed a tetrarch by Caesar at the request of Herod. And besides he had been presented with a relative of the royal consort, because he had received the sister of the royal consort in the function of his marriage partner. After whose death the oldest daughter of the king having been betrothed to him he advanced in the gratitude of his son in law, except that captured by the love for a slave girl he rejected the bond of the royal maiden. Enraged by which insult Herod handed over his daughter to him who later was slain in the Parthian war. Feroras however was accused before him that he had sought the life of his brother with poison, which suspicion he had not lacked not even when his wife was still living, at first the questioning of many and finally of his friends having been enforced, he willingly acquitted him found free of his crime which was alleged, giving even pardon for the flight the arrangement entered into, that the slave girl whom he loved having been seized, he should flee to the Parthians, he was exposed by the confessions of his household members. Alexander had enjoyed to some extent a respite, while Feroras is attacked and he himself attacks Salome because she had pledged her marriage to Sylleus the son of Obaedas, who was the [p. 87] deputy of the king of Arabia and very unfriendly to Herod. But the accusation having been relaxed for each, the storm of the household fell upon Alexander and enveloped him with great danger. For Antipater raged with the savageness of a plague and the storm of the entire court, attacking his brother in every way and with the support of his relatives, so that his father with the state of his sober mind disturbed protested with a loud voice that Alexander stood over him with a sword. A scene of this type had come into view, that Alexander had enticed three eunuchs, one of whom was accustomed to tend the cups of the king, another to bring in the food tray of dinner, the third to watch the royal couch and never to leave when Herod had settled himself in bed, with rich gifts to his favor and participation in shameful acts. Which having been brought forth forced by tortures the eunuchs revealed the wantonness of obscene lust. For unable to hide the love potions promised they related with what words they had been solicited and with what price of shame, so that parricide wrapped in disgraceful conduct was believed. There was in him the grace of youth the charm of beauty, the strength of age, contrasted to a feeble Herod already oppressed by old age, who dyed his hair, lest it betray his age, from which since he wished the right of ruling should be transferred to himself, it was necessary that great rewards be promised and thus for them to establish their hope in a youth, not in a decrepit old man, for whom nature itself was hastening an end. Which things indeed seriously disturbed Herod, but he considered it more important than the rest that it was discovered from the information of the eunuchs that the military troops and the leaders of the army and the centurions were conspiring against him. Indeed he was so aroused, that he thought that no type of savagery should be omitted, that he should believe no one, that he should consider everyone suspect. Punishments were swifter than investigations of the crimes, and the death of the culprits [p. 88] preceded judgement. They were seized everywhere for punishment whom any suspicion attacked. False accusations abounded, many wishing to please the king lodged information against the guilty, but immediately even those who reported others were denounced and were led with their guilty parties to the place of punishment. And so Herod brutalized everyone, so that if anyone remained who was suspected, the king not otherwise thinking himself to be safe unless the human race should become extinct, with irreconcilable accusations, disbelieving his friends, arrogant to his familiars, unmerciful to the guilty, terrified of everything so that he changed his residence frequently, spent his nights without sleep. Who exasperated by all suddenly surrounded Alexander bound in chains with guards and summoned his friends for investigations. Those who refused died during tortures, those who were silent, because they revealed nothing in support of suspicions, were tortured to death. However some overcome by the harshness of the tortures and punishments, asserted that it had been proposed by the youths, that they should kill their father while he was intent upon hunting and proceed to the city of Rome without delay, so that they should foil punishment by flight. Although it was supported by no evidence, the father however derived support of his fierce pursuit wishing to have just reasons for the chains of his son. And so therefore Alexander considering the ears of his father to be blocked against any defense of himself and that in no way was the thing able to be diverted, so that he would presuppose him innocent, who was assailed by such a mass of false accusations, he thought that the wicked accusers must be met by similar craft, that he should surround with snares the deceitful contrivers of false accusations and call those guilty into calumny, by whose calumnies he believed himself to be threatened. He wrote therefore four small books, in which he confessed the invention of a crime by which [p. 89] he threatened the safety of his father, and he exposed those accomplices of this type of treacheries many of them those by whom he himself had been attacked. And in these same booklets he especially wrote of Feroras and Salome, that also in the dead of night the sleeping chamber of the youth having been broken into in which he lived she enticed him unwilling and extorted from him resisting that he should commit incest. He sent the booklets to the king as informers of his shameful acts, with which he involved the very powerful who were companions and friends of the king. Archelaus came quickly at the right time into Judaea, so that he should bring what he could of help and aid to his son in law and daughter. But foreseeing the chances of a genuine defense before the hostile father to blocked to him, he skillfully repressed his agitation. For as soon as he entered the royal court, in a loud voice although he was already heard and seen by Herod as if furious of mind he began to shout: "Does that poisonous son in law of mine still live and despoil this light? I ask where he is, where may I find that parricidal head, that I may rend it with my own hands? By parricide he ought to perish, who wished to commit parricide. What will he do with a father in law who has not spared his father? Who will point him out? I will disembowel the scoundrel first, may I give my daughter to a good bridegroom; although she was not conscious of his wickedness, she is not however removed from contagion, who is in the power of a parricide. I do not acknowledge a daughter who does not recognize the tricks of her husband, who has not shown herself such a daughter in law to her father in law that she returned the son made subject to his father. I gave her in marriage not for the service of crime but for participation in matrimony, that she should show herself the joint heir of favor not an assistant in crime. I wonder at you, Herod, that Alexander still lives that schemer against his father. I thought him to have already paid the just penalty, which it was not necessary to be put off. Why indeed should the confessor of a parricidal outrage be saved? But perhaps also this was divine foresight, that he who in you injured the piety of each should be condemned by the judgement of the parents of both. I will not deny myself to be an avenger, who prepared myself a preacher of exact retribution, but I do not make my daughter an exception, whom I myself betrothed to this unfortunate marriage following you as its sponsor. But I did not surrender her to the moods of a husband but to your trust. Let her deliver the reason that she has ignored her surety, she loved her husband. About both now judgement is for us. If you are a firm avenger of such a great grief, gird yourself; father follow your duty. Duty is not wished for by fathers, but must not be ignored. If piety softens you, nature bends you, let us change places, so that we are the executors of mutual service I in the case of your son and you in the case of my child." Moving about with speech of this nature he converted Herod and from his fury of mind he little by little softened his intention, so that he believed himself a fellow sufferer and sharing the same purpose and gave him the the small booklets which Alexander had composed. But he giving attention to each when he realized them to be more crowded with pain than depending on faith, with a deep purpose gradually lessened the hatred of the parricidal attempt and the causes of the objections against them which they had described and began to transfer it especially against Feroras. And so when he noticed the king not to shrink from his opinion: "It must be considered," he said, "if perhaps the young man was attacked more by the treacheries of disloyal persons than you were by the young man. What cause was there, that he should seek your life, to whom you had conceded the honors of kingship, to whom you had reserved the right of ruling and the hope of the succession? Why should he seek what he had, or how would he ungrateful consider these great gifts? How other would he behave [p. 91] upon your death unless it would affect his danger, which with you alive he could not fear, with you dead he would certainly fear from them, from whom even positioned beneath his father he feared the destruction of his safety. That age is open to trickery, it is easily deceived and gotten round by the treacheries of tricksters. Old age scarcely withstands trickery, generally still the good sense of the aged is entangled by the cunning of those circumscribing them. Therefore if mature experience is often affected, what wonder if immature age was not able to be at hand for itself, when it was threatened by crowds of those lying in ambush? These therefore are disturbers of the royal home, they are inciters of the young, the sowers of discord who have led the young man into despair of his safety, who has given way more to ill-temper and revenge than he has strained for perfection, he has imparted something even to the commotion. Gradually influenced by which Herod had begun indeed to soften his anger about Alexander, but truly to be moved more strongly against Feroras, because he was put forth by those four little books as the accomplice of all the crimes and the deviser of the entire scene. Who seeing the king to have inclined his mind to Archelaus and to extend to him beyond the rest the favor of his close friendship, took himself to him beseeching that he should render the mind of the king conciliated to himself. Truly that one had not doubted that he was tied in by many chains of crimes, by which he was convinced that he had prepared treacheries against the king and had assailed the youth, he said him to have no chance of pardon, unless, the cunning of denying what had been advanced against him having been put aside, to confess to his loving brother and to ask from him leniency for himself. Himself would not fail to assist an action of this sort in any way he could. And so his garments having been changed suffused with tears, with a pitiable appearance clinging to the feet of his brother he beseeched pardon, confessed his wickedness, did not deny but acknowledged everything with which he was charged, madness to have been the reason to himself of such a great misstep, that a too great frenzy of love of the wife selected for him had boiled up. And so Feroras having been established as an accuser of his own crimes and equally as a witness besides as if in recompense of the prepared argument which he was submitting against his own advantage, Archelaus interceded with Herod, that with nature taken into consideration he should soften his anger and forgive his brother placing the law of nature above punishment. Nor is it a wonder if in great kingdoms like in fat bodies often some part should become inflamed, which must not be cut away but healed by more gentle medicines. Against himself likewise much more serious treacheries had been prepared by his own brother, but he had lessened to his relative what was owed for the offense, as the more he raised the punishment upon the ungrateful man the more he would aggravate its cause. When he wove together these thing and other things like them, he indeed soothed Herod so that he pardoned his brother, but he himself remained relentless against his son in law. Finally he threatened that he would divorce his daughter from him and he bellowed with such a great commotion of his anger, that Herod himself considered the crime against himself of his son sufficiently atoned for and asked to be the avenger of his own injuries and himself intervened with the father in law in behalf of his guilty culprit, by which he restored the marriage anew.

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Archelaus persevered, Herod should join his daughter in law to anyone he wished except Alexander, from whose cause even his wife was taken, and by this craft he urged Herod much more, [p. 93] that he should think his son restored to him, if he should not set free his consort, because he loved his wife very much, from whom he had received sons dear to their grandfather, beloved by their parents. This would be the gift of his son restored to him, because a good wife in no small part would check the errors of her husband or would offset with her kindnesses the dislike of his offenses, who if she should be separated from him, there would be no remedy for her husband so that he should not rush headlong into every wrong act. For presumptions of evil deeds were accustomed to be made softer which were called back by domestic affections. Scarcely finally was Archelaus prevailed upon that he reconciles to his son in law and reconciles the father to the same. With this scheme he snatched his son in law from death, that for recompense he should receive his absolution, while he pretends to condemn rather than to intervene, for which if he had thought he must intervene, without doubt he would have accomplished nothing. He added that it was necessary that he go to Rome that cleared which his father had suspected in him, inasmuch as he himself had written everything to Caesar, which was likewise planned I think, that when Alexander had cleared himself by this method he would be recommended to Caesar and the treacheries to the brothers prepared by Antipater made known.

41 By this plan the partisanship was loosened, a conversion made to happiness, living together restored, evidence that reconciliation was begun, upon whose originator Archelaus seventy talents and a golden throne decorated with precious stones also selected royal eunuchs are bestowed with generosity, and a concubine, whose name was Pannychis, was given as a gift and accepted. Likewise by order of the king his relatives presented Archelaus with magnificent gifts, nor was any member of his household without gifts, to all of whom of his Herod bestowed great gifts according to the merits of each. With his important people he followed him returning to his own kingdom all the way [p. 94] to the most splendid city of Syria Antioch by name. Alexander had escaped except that a man much more practiced in the tricks of Archelaus plunged himself into Judaea, Eurycles by name of the Spartan race, excessively greedy for wealth and a despiser of those things connected with work, when a greater hope of attaining it glittered. Finally not satisfied with the Spartan opportunities he turned his mind to royal extravagances and a master of hunting having attacked Herod with rich gifts he prepared the place for a most ample remuneration, and having gained what was richer by far than he had presented he was however not satisfied, unless insatiably cruel and with impious partisanship he had won over the favor of the king to himself. And so in this manner and enjoying the friendship of the Greeks by praising the king to his household and by his proclaiming to all, not only what was unworthy of praise but was even involved with crimes, he came in a short time into his intimate friendship, so that he was chosen among the principal overseers of secrets, the foremost of the country even offering support, because the Jews held the Spartans by race kindred to themselves closely associated as brothers. He when he learned the faults of the royal home, the mind of the father mistrusted and the hatreds of the brothers for each other, with new tricks pretending himself dear to everyone so that he was considered loyal to each, but he shaped his devotion according to the character of the king and the reward of his services, so that he was more closely bound to Antipater, he beset Alexander with tricks and snares, arousing each with the appearance of a friend, that one destined for royal power by the prerogative of age, this one gifted by his mother's noble birth superior by right of noble birth, nor a consort equal to him with a child of a worthless seduction. Captured by which Alexander as the younger, who took delight in the things which were being said to him, did not weigh those things carefully, which again were being fabricated about him before Antipater, he poured himself out to the hired worker to Antipater and he opened his mind to his betrayer with his easily moved nature and incautious affection, lamenting his father the originator of misfortunes for him, who snatched away his mother, brought shame on the kingdom, because he wished to turn away to himself from his grandfather and the marks of distinction of his ancient lineage the things owed. The legitimate to be defrauded of the right of succession, a bastard to be preferred at the price of shame, but not long would the judgements of god be quiet, that he who had killed an innocent wife that he should not be quickly deprived of the rule gained through his wife. Which without delay the Spartan took to Antipater, and also Aristobolus having been tricked that he would be tied by the nooses of the same complaint, and for a price he insinuated the piled up things to the king saying himself to have been unable to keep such a great crime in silence and for the service of hospitality himself to display his gratitude to the light, that the sons were proceeding to seize him, unless he had called them back by the pretense of faithful advice, that the father would have long since been killed by the sword of Alexander and the kingship made vacant for unworthy heirs. Nor to Alexander was this a parricidal atrocity to religion, who considered in the place of the greatest crime, that as yet they had not avenged the death of their mother. Them to be agreed and to be pressed by the grievance of those killed, that they should avenge that atrocious crime. Offerings to the dead of those killed were owed, blood was to be exacted, and their succession should not be contaminated, that the kingdom should be taken from him who had killed their ancestors. He would be restored by the judgement of Caesar not like as before from respect, but because Caesar would learn all the secrets of the king, the wealth obtained by blood, the province undermined. Themselves would recall from below their grandfather and would demonstrate the harsh death of their mother, that a foreigner might be elected as successor to the kingdom. Eurycles aroused the king, Antipater however considering a hint from just one to be of small account instigated many other accusers of the brothers also, who said talks to have been undertaken with the one time leaders of the cavalry of the army Jucundus and Tyrannus, ambushes to have been prepared for the king from the resentment of dismissal, danger upon his neck unless he should quickly take precautions. Indeed Herod did not delay and questions them seized immediately severely, but nothing is learned they having admitted what was being alleged. And because such terrible things were being fabricated with impunity before him, who was declaring himself the punisher of crimes, and unconcerned with false accusations, they were not lacking who devised plots of this kind, which they believed would be more acceptable to the father. For indeed a letter was brought forth as if it had been given to the commander of a fortress by Alexander and Aristobolus, that the king having been killed he should provide them a place of taking refuge, while they protected themselves with arms against hostile pursuers and were preparing a defense with their remaining forces. The commander of the fortress is tortured and confesses nothing. Nevertheless however not at all affected by any existing proofs of crime as if guilty Alexander and Aristobolus are given into custody. Eurycles having been given fifty talents is considered the source of safety and life. Nor is it fit that Coos be silent, the most faithful of the friends of Alexander, who had crossed into Judaea at the time of Eurycles, whom the king thought should be interrogated as knowledgeable about the attempts of that one, whether in truth they agreed with what the Spartan had had told about the young men. Truly he gave an oath a sacrament having been interposed that he had learned nothing from them whatever of this type, but it was of no benefit to the youths. He put aside the question from himself, lest he should reduce his dislike of the accusation and purge the dishonesty of Eurycles, if having been questioned very severely he should make denial. As if not worthy therefore to whom belief should be given he is excluded by Herod. For the good father willingly heard his sons to be accused, he did not allow them to be defended, he was delighted when they were accused, he was offended when they were cleared. Finally the Spartan made rich by royal gifts when however he reached Achaia he paid the price of his calumnies. Salome since she was unable to clear herself of the charge that she had agreed upon marriage to Syllaeus the Arab, when she betrayed the secret of her son in law warning her, that she should take heed for herself that she might evade the anger of her brother, because it was suspected from the hope of a future marriage she had announced the plans of the king to the Arabs, she might be summoned, she earned the requital of the transgression and twisted round all the storm of royal savagery against the youths, submerged by which latest and unavoidable shipwreck they paid the penalty. And so they are bound and because it was crueler than chains the brothers are separated from each other, and Voluntius the tribune of the military and Olympus a man from the friends of the king having been sent they disclose the matter before Caesar. But he although offended, because the father was asking punishment of his sons, not thinking however that the power should be denied to the father gave him license against his children, but added the advice that it would be better to consult, if a council should be convened of those nearest the king and of those who were preeminent in the provinces and the inquiry should proceed by the common verdict, whether or not any treacheries had been prepared by the sons against the father; if they should be found guilty of having threatened parricide let them be executed, but if in fact they should be convicted of flight or some lesser crime, the punishment should be more moderate. This having been permitted to him Herod with permission of parricide but with the stipulation of a trial, admonished besides of moderation hastens immediately to the city Beryton, which Caesar had prescribed for holding the trial. The leading men come together according to the instructions given to them by the Roman emperor Caesar. Saturninus and the legates hold sessions among whom is the procurator Volumnius, then the relatives and friends of the king, even Salome and Feroras and the first men of Syria. Archelaus alone the king of Cappadocia is excepted accused of suspected of favor toward his son in law, although the accusers of the youths and the ambushers of the judges were present. But what is the appearance of a trial, when for the accused to be present was not permitted to them and absent they were accused? For Herod had noticed that if they were only seen, they would be absolved the attitude of the men leaning toward sympathy, especially when there was a sign of natural favor, then if any opportunity of defense was allowed to Alexander, he would easily refute what was charged. And so they having been banished to the village of the Sidonians the accusation was directed against them as if present. Plots prepared against him were presented by the father, no proof was brought out, no evidence of the attempts. The accuser adhered to what none refuted; deserted on all sides he assembled classes of insults into hatred, which were thought harder to bear than death by those who were sitting in judgement; but no one disputed, no one dared to examine what was alleged by the father, what was commanded by the king. The appearance of piety prejudged, the law of power terrified. Confident of a sentence of victory he asked, ignorant that in a judgement of this sort he who won would be more distressed, than they who were sentenced so harshly. Saturninus finds the youths guilty because anything else was not permitted, but he moderates the sentence asserting that it must be avoided that two of he three brothers having been killed the death of the two might be ascribed to the third brother. Indeed apprehensively but he spoke the reason, that he was a supporter of peril for the brothers. Few of the many followed him. Volumnius moreover spoke out for death and after him everyone, weighing with the proposer what would be pleasing to such a king, they utter the sentence of death indeed with diverse feelings but with like fate, whom this or fawning had influenced or hatred had poured into, so that either the favor of the king was aimed at or the barbarity of parricide was afflicted with a greater punishment, who in his victory had reported nevertheless a bitter triumph about himself. No one however spoke as if he shuddered at the deed and as if disturbed. And indeed the appearance was of a stage, not the method of a court to condemn those not present, to condemn without a witness, with only the law of nature, which is accustomed to be derived for safety rather than for risk. All Syria was astounded and all Judaea and the end of such a great tragedy was awaited with astonished minds. For although the cruelty of Herod was well known, no one however was able to believe, that he would persevere all the way to parricide. But in him the savage force of mind was restrained neither by the sea or by land. And so as if by the practice of those celebrating a triumph, that he should drag his sons through hostiles, he made for the famous city of Tyre (Tyros, a Phoenician harbour city in today's Lebanon.), from that place he crossed by ship to Caesarea, carrying around the distressing spectacle parricide, as long as any outward appearance of a bitter death was found in his sons. All the army was stirred up, but they suppressed anger from fear. There was in the royal army a man Tiro by name of the old military service, having a son very close to Alexander, a very kind father and for that reason dear to his child, inasmuch as the lure of love especially for his own is a certain obligation of popular piety: favourably disposed with enthusiasm about young men and also the sons of the king, because his son was loved by them. Who anger conceived beyond measure, disturbed of mind, began to shout justice to be crushed, truth to be shut out, reverence to be destroyed, the rights of relatives to overturned, injustices to overflow the kindnesses of nature. Finally advancing into the face of the king himself he threw in he was a miserable wretch, who thought the most wicked should be believed against his own sons. Feroras and Salome to be chosen as judges of a council: what faith could be placed in them, who knew themselves to have been so very frequently convicted by the king of capital offenses, or what else would they do except take account of vengeance, so that destitute of suitable successors he would incline toward one from the rest who was too weak who was easily led astray, because the royal army itself would follow with hatred him, for whom the death of the two brothers would be a release. There was no one whom pity of their harmless age did not touch. Moreover many of the commanders do not now restrain their anger but announce it. Having spoken their names he made an end of talking. Who having been immediately seized with Tiro Tryfon from the servants of the royal court, to whom the art and practice of barbering was at hand, suddenly by a certain foolishness of mind makes evidence of himself, asserting it have been organized and persuaded to him by Tiro that when according to custom he was shaving the beard of Herod, he should press the razor to his throat until he had accomplished his death, that would be for him a very great benefit which was being promised from the gifts of Alexander. Tiro is questioned with his son, also an examination of the informer is made. The former making denials, the latter revealing nothing further, since clear confidence in things was lacking, no proof was at hand, no evidence from documents, Tiro is ordered to be tortured with more violent tortures. Then the son viewing with compassion the torments of his father promises that he would reveal everything, if the safety of his father were granted him, and pardon having been promised by the king he suggests that his

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father persuaded by Alexander had prepared death for the king. Most thought this made up for the occasion, that it should be considered evidence of such a child to Tiro, others said it was spoken for truth. But Herod judged doubtful things as reliable as if fearing that the charge of parricide for himself might be ruined. And so the people having been called together and the leaders collected concerning the treacheries discovered he brings out into view his complaint and arouses the people to their death, and thereupon Tiro together with his son and the barber are killed with stones and clubs.

42 Alexander and Aristobolus sent to the city Sebaste which was not far from the city Caesarea were strangled by order of the king. The sons of Miriamme had this end. Whose deaths not having enjoyed long, the sons having been removed Antipater without doubt coaxed the succession to himself, but soon a great hatred of the entire people blazed up against him, because among all it was well known that the brothers lay dead from his partisanship. besides there followed a not moderate fear in him considering how large the family of the killed was growing with time, since Alexander had left sons Tigranes and Alexander born to him from Glafyra, to Aristobolus from Berenice, the daughter of Salome, Herod and Agrippa and Aristobolus remained as survivors, and daughters Herodias and Miriamme also, whom their sex did not hinder and desire of royal power stirred up. Terrified by which things Antipater placed his hope in trickery and cunning and more and more pledged each one with gifts and presents, even friends and servants of Caesar he tried to entice to gratitude toward himself with pay. But on the contrary those even who were of the household fell back into opposition. For the king gradually with the process of time softened toward his descendants born to Alexander and Aristobolus and put forth repentance of the deed, since he felt compassion for those whose parents he had killed. Finally his friends and those closest to him having been collected on a certain day his face suffused with tears he said to them: "I see age to proceed for me and without tears I am not able to look at these little ones, the offspring of unhappy fathers, to whom I am a source of pain. I do not leave them in a worse condition than that I took away their parents. But a certain calamity took them from me, nature and compassion more and more commend them to me, the one because they are my descendants, the other because they are destitute of parents. The sons erred against their father, what have these descendants done for their grandfather. I was a quite wretched father, I ought to be a more concerned grandfather. I will try to look out for my decendants after me, would that I had looked out for my sons. Truly the trickery of a joint enemy and foe crept in them. It must be guarded against that the perils of the former do not involve the latter also and from one wound I lost at the same time my sons, I imperiled my descendants. Let us provide them the defenders which I took away. And so I will betroth to the elder of the sons of Alexander your, Feroras, daughter and I will constitute you a father to him, and moreover to your son, Antipater, the daughter of Aristobolus, so that in this manner you become the father of an orphan girl. My Herod received from Miriamme the daughter of Hyrcanus will accept her sister. This," he said, "is my decision, that the successors of my posterity may be united in turn to themselves by marriage entered into, by which no one may be suspect to another and I may see my descendants with more tranquil eyes than I saw their parents." Which things having been said he joined the right hands of those mentioned and having kissed each he wept. Which Antipater the others rejoicing received so reluctantly, that he bound by a not all moderate concern immediately betrayed his resentment even by his facial expression, because he discerned the applause offered for the sons of Alexander, of king Archelaus and of Feroras, who held a tetrarchy, to be stronger than for the others. He noticed hatred for himself to increase, sympathy moreover to favor the grandchildren. Nor was he able to receive the daughter of Aristobolus at home, lest, a sign of evil, she should be offended by his lasting glances. He did not dare to approach his father, lest he might rouse him easily swayed to every suspicion, if he should propose the contracts of agreed on marriages should be dissolved. But nevertheless he delicately presumed to plead that his father should give consideration to him, that he should not be exposed to the power of two powerful men a king and a tetrarch powerless with the bare name of royal power, he might cherish the honor certainly, which he had declared would be conferred on his son, but the appearance of royal power should not arrive to him, the actuality to them. And truly he did not hold only the sons of Alexander and Aristobolus suspect, but he considered all to stand in his way, whoever from the many wives of Herod even though silent were seen as competent for the succession of the kingdom, whose number was very great. And indeed nine wives had the status of royal consort, from these only two were without children, to the others offspring were at hand. Antipater exalted Dosides as parent, Herod Miriamme, Antipas and Archelaus were the sons of Malthaces a Samaritan and Olympias a daughter, who by right of marriage was joined to Joseph. Also Cleopatra a girl from Jerusalem had borne Herod and Philip to Herod, Pallas had borne Phasael. There also [p. 104] other daughters of the king Roxane and Salome, of whom Phedra was mother of the first, Elpis of the second. There were also the two full sisters of Alexander and Aristobolus whom Miriamme had borne from Herod, as we mentioned previously. And so Antipater fearing the many descendants of Herod, although with difficulty and the king having been much angered in his first attempts, because the descendants having been deprived of paternal aid he disliked the alliances arranged of close relations, in the end he brought about that the daughter of Aristobolus was married to himself and a son born to himself was married to a daughter of his uncle Feroras. He prevailed so much with flattery, that he stopped the marriages that had been agreed upon. But on the other hand when Salome wished to marry Syllaeus, not even with the aid of Livia who was the wife of Caesar was she able to gain permission from her brother, but against her will came together in marriage to a certain Alexander from the friends of the king. And so the arrangements of the king having been overturned Antipater, as if he taken heed of him as he had wished, exulted in mind and overcame all with his cunning. However he was not able in any way to suppress the hatred for himself, but inflamed it, inasmuch as he aspired to prepare protection for himself with terror. Also he had joined to himself as a fellow worker of his faction Feroras the brother of his father, whom not much later refusing to be divorced from his own wife, to whom on account of injuries which that woman had inflicted on his wife Dosidis he was considered very hostile, Herod banished from his household. Feroras however having embraced the insult departed into his own region, which he presided over as tetrarch, truly with the intention of mind that he would never return to a living Herod; finally not even then, when he had learned him to be affected with a severe illness and frequently beseeching that he should come to him, he (i.e., Herod.) thought he should be called upon because being about to die he thought certain things should be imparted to him [to him, i.e., to Feroras]. Although struck by the insult the king when beyond expectation he thrust aside his illness, however from brotherly affection went to him, when he learned him sick, and carefully looked after him and took him dead to Jerusalem and with great lamenting and much pomp arranged his burial. But he did not however with these evidences of attentive love exclude the conceived opinion, that he had eagerly assailed with poison. He was even that cruel against his own family. Nor was the belief difficult that he was able to kill his brother who had killed his sons.

43 And so one of the killers of Alexander and Aristobolus found this end of his evil doing, taking a beginning from which retribution crossed to Antipater the originator of the wickedness. For insomuch as Herod, urged by the complaints of freedmen, who asserted their patron to have been killed by poison, while he inquires with anxious care, it having been learned that Feroras had received from his wife a cup of a potion of Arabia, which was thought to be a love potion, and that to have been poison, which had been given at the urging of Syllaeus and immediately converted into destruction, it resulted in the questioning of many. From which one of the slave girls under torture cried out, that omnipotent god should transfer all suffering to the mother of Antipater the mistress of the shameful acts of all. Through her the hidden meetings of Antipater and Feroras carried out day and night, drinking to the point of drunkenness, since them returning from dinner parties of the king there would be drinking during entire nights. Which were [p. 106] not idle or free of attempts of intrigue, the servants and attendants especially having been removed, it was rightfully suspected, a long chain of meetings and evidence of a conspiracy of long delay, which are more suspect to kings in the privacy of solitude and the silence of night. It was arranged that Antipater would go to Rome and Feroras to Peraea. That they were accustomed to confer frequently among themselves was revealed, for the reason that after Alexander and Aristobolus Herod would turn himself to their death. They were wretched who had thought that Herod had disliked parricidal thoughts in them; he pursued heirs of the kingdom, not rivals of power to have been destroyed but sharers of wretchedness, against themselves every danger and hatreds to have crossed over. Not about to spare a woman because of her sex, who had not spared Miriamme beloved of him and those born from her. There was no other remedy for them except that they withdraw to some place far away, where they would be freed by flight from the fury of such a great beast. Frequent laments of Antipater deploring before his mother himself to burn from hatred of the royal succession, since the cruel aspects of the kingdom had especially settled upon him, that he is already not able to bear; he was given up to final rites and extreme dangers. Not only the right of ruling had died for him but of living also with the track rolled out of time. Age for him was very mature, his head was already gray, on the contrary however his father was growing younger, in vain to hope for his inheritance who perhaps even now surviving was spared such a long time. What however would be the value to him an aged heir of the succession, to whom the many children of Alexander and Aristobolus like a certain hydra with heads renewed sprouted forth what had been cut off. And by the testament of his father [p. 107] the common right even was taken away, that the appearance of ruling having been given, whose substitute he would be for a time, he could not place some one from his own sons in his rule, but he had the necessity to pour back the kingdom to Miriamme's son Herod. And so the appearance of rule was given to him not for enjoyment but for peril, as he was an object of suspicion to the king retiring, would be a burden to the king succeeding. Finally the king himself vigorous during a long old age and intent upon the slaughter of his people would be the executor of his own will, as no one would remain who could succeed. To act with great hatred against his sons and with no less against his brother, who had given himself one hundred talents so that he would not have converse with his uncle. And Feroras responding: "In what way have we harmed him? Am I the successor?" Antipater replied him to have no reasons for offense, but to make himself that, to be a wild beast, who was not satiated even by deaths, and was not able to tolerate any affection among his relatives to remain. "And would that everything having been lost it might be permitted that naked merely living we should escape him, but it is impossible" and so for the time their necessary meetings were hidden. There would be a time when they would use mature vigor of mind and energetic deliberation, and also the services of a protector at their right hand. These things were answered by slaves placed under torture, and Herod believed, especially since he had spoken to Antipater alone about the one hundred talents, nor had any interpreter of his speech been present. And so set on fire with anger he seized many for torture including innocent people, lest any of the guilty should be missed. The Samaritan Antipater is brought in for torture, for the reason that he was a manager for Antipater, and is tortured [p. 108] in diverse manners. The investigation brings forth that poison had been sent from Egypt through Antifilus a certain companion and it had been given by him to Theudion a friend of Antipater, through him delivered to Feroras, to whom Antipater the son of the king had assigned the carrying out, that while he himself was living in the city of Rome his father Herod should be extinguished, at which time there would be no suspicion of the absent person for the death accomplished: but Feroras at the time had entrusted the poison received to his own wife. Now too a dislike of the poison occurred in the wife of Feroras. The king immediately ordered the wife of Feroras to come, to bring the poison. The woman comes out as if about to bring what was being sought and throws herself from the roof of the building by which she might avoid the punishment of the double crime and by dying prevent evidence of guilt and the hardship of questioning. But because a fatal retribution of the parricide was hastening to Antipater, she did not fall upon the top of her head, in which event she would easily have been killed, but she fell on another part of her body and death was beaten back. The woman was stupefied however and astonished, because she had fallen from a high place. Herod orders her to be revived for a brief while, until she returned to herself, he promises pardon if she frankly revealed the series of things done. It was not for nothing that she had thrown herself down, but conscious of her great crime she had sought the avoidance of torture. All crimes would be unpunished for her confessing, or tortures would be piled upon her not confessing, burial itself would also be denied. But when she had recovered a little: "And for whom" she said "will I still preserve the silence of secrets with Feroras dead? I owed him the faith of being silent, for whom I would not refuse tortures, if they were necessary. But he is now free from sufferings and if there correction of pardonable error, he is free from blame. What therefore compels to wrap truth in lies? Or that I do the will of Antipater? I should spare him, not spare myself? Indeed we owe a great recompense to the man who pulled us all into these sufferings with his crimes. Hear o king, with god our protector who alone is the judge of truth for me, for I proposed to conceal nothing, hear, I say, but first recall how you set weeping with your brother at risk, that you might fulfill every duty of affectionate brotherhood about Feroras. To which he having changed, when you departed, he at once called me back to him and said: not a little I, wife, went astray from the zeal and affection of my brother, who thus hated him loving me and wished to kill him who was not tolerating the pain in my suffering. He was not able to bear the chance that I pressed a debt not owed. I was fooled, I confess, by the tricks of Antipater, but I bear the price of his thinking. You bring quickly to me the poison which you have that was left by him and pour it out beneath my eyes, that I may not carry a parricidal soul to hell. May it be absolution to have repented what is shameful to have prepared. Quickly, I say, wife, that I may outstrip death, since I cannot blame. Then I brought the poison and in his sight poured it out, a little from it however I saved for myself who am in fear of you, so that it would be a remedy, if it should be betrayed, that poison had been prepared for this use." These things having been said she brought forward the small box with that which remained of the poison. The mother of Antifilus and his brother are subjected to questioning. They confess Antifilus

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to have brought the box full of poison from Egypt, which he had received from a brother, who was abiding at Alexandria under the profession of medicine. Now too Miriamme is seized as aware of the plots which are being prepared by her husband, and that is made evident by the brothers confessing under torture. Whence the junior Herod paid the price of his mother's daring, whom substituted for Antipater in the succession of the kingdom the father who had substituted the same thought must be deleted from his will. And this indeed not trivial error of the senior Herod, that the crime of one being discovered another is punished, but actually the punishment of the junior Herod was not unjust. For it is seen as a precaution from heaven, as granted that his deeds are not yet done rightly however as the price of future wickedness he should be disinherited of the kingdom. For who would be able to tolerate him as king, who as a tetrarch was so arrogant that he was unable to be tolerated? There is added even another type of poisoning, that Bathyllus a freedman of Antipater delivered to Feroras and his wife a compound of the secretions of serpents and the poison of asps, so that if the first had not been strong enough for the death of Herod they would use the second.

44 There are discovered even letters composed against the brothers Archelaus and Philippus. These were sons of the king who were established at Rome, whom Antipater was attacking especially for this reason, that he saw them gifted with not ordinary wisdom, upon whom the king bent a father's pride; finally he had summoned them with letters that they should return home speedily. And so Antipater thought to oppose them with his advantages and to attack with his tricks, so that the expectation of the youths having been copied they might be overshadowed by all the zeal of his own party. And so he made up letters in the name of powerful men, whom while located in Rome he had enticed into his friendship, he twisted others with a reward that they should write, that the young men were attacking their father with hostile hatreds and with too much complaint were lamenting the death of Alexander and Aristobolus. And with secret tricks he forced upon his father through the household servants of his wickedness letters of this type, with the same cunning with which he formerly pretended to be a mediator in behalf of his brothers, with the pretense of piety the protection of impiety he concealed the parricide. All of these things having been brought into the open with the questionings that the life of the father, the death of the brothers had been sought was spread out very clearly by the letters, the decision is defined about their author that punishment must be exacted, who had next put out with a false accusation that he had attacked his brothers not as parricides but as rivals of a legitimate succession, not that he should defend his father but that he should not have a partner in the royal power. Meanwhile although the passages of seven months were concluded between the documents of the crimes and the return of Antipater, no information of the things done became known to Antipater, such great hatreds of all boiled around him. Uncertain therefore of everything he writes from the city of Rome he would be present without delay and he had been dismissed by Caesar with the greatest honor. To which letters Herod quickly wrote back in reply that he should hasten secure in the affections of his father, for whom not only had nothing been diminished by his absence, but in truth even so much favor had accrued, that by looking upon him the offense of his mother would be diminished. For again he had sent her from the household, stripped of the gifts of royal generosity, her partnership of complicity in the tricks of her son having been discovered: to whom he made evident from the appearance of the things written that he was about to relax his anger, from fear lest the expulsion of his mother having been learned Antipater should stir up his suspicions to taking precautions. And so arriving at Tarentum he first learned about the death of Feroras and exhibited great sorrow there, which by certain ones was attributed to the passion of piety, that he suffered unbearably the death of his uncle. He however was bemoaning that the agent of the attempted parricide was taken from him, not only that the preparation of the crime had not gone forward but truly even the poison to have remained was a source of fright, lest in some fashion it should come to the knowledge of the king and he should make the existence of the crime public knowledge. He crossed therefore to the port of Caesarea by no means devoid of serious worry and concern, since his expelled mother gave her children a not insignificant example of condemnation. But with his friends urging, who thought that everything which pertained to Antipater should be considered secondary to the desires of his father, then his nature having been considered, by which he was accustomed to easily bend with his counsel even an averse father from his own feelings, exhorting that he should promptly present himself to his father and the kingdom predestined for him, which no one would dare with him present to oppose, but the occasion alone of his absence might give rise to derision, that the mind of the king might be considered to be able to be turned from him, and thus it must be quickly prevented, lest by delaying more he should offend one desiring him or irritate one suspecting him, he would put out distrust of himself, and so he trusted in those persuading willingness more than necessities. Truly when he entered the port looking around he saw not anyone in his way and he felt his presence to be avoided like a plague, in the most crowded of places the greatest solitude, since no one dared to run to meet him, some fearing, others turning away --- and indeed at that time they had received authority so that they did not conceal hatreds --- he began to think over his crimes within himself and to be disturbed by pricks of conscience, there was no possibility of flight or opportunity of escaping left to him, surrounded as if with nets and held captive. He placed all hope in impudence, so that everything having been dissembled he presented himself unforeseen to his father, he rushed into an embrace, he depended on the obligations of piety. However the latter with hands extended pushing back the one thrusting himself forward and turning away his head, lest he should be touched by the kiss of the parricide, exclaimed this was the madness of a parricide, "that you seek an embrace who know yourself hated, you afflict your father with dread of yourself, you wrench out the sweetness of living with the touch of your guilty body. You will therefore not touch lest you will contaminate him whom you have attacked with wickedness. Cleanse yourself certainly first, if you are able, wash off the things charged. I will not flee from a trial nor will I allow a hearing to be denied you, I will not take to myself an examination of you, lest I will leave you a pretext of arguing. Conveniently Varus is at hand, before whom prepare your defense. Nor is there reason for delay, tomorrow although rich with trickery and deceits you have the opportunity of clearing yourself." But he struck dumb with fear of such a great commotion did not dare to reply anything nor was he able, but having gone out he wavered in mind, because he had learned nothing at all of those things which had been done and brought forth before the king. However his mother and wife coming to him later revealed everything. which things having been learned he began to collect and prepare himself in mind, in what fashion he should meet the accusation, diminish the offenses. On the following day all the relatives are assembled together, [p. 114] and the friends of Antipater were present for the judgement. All who had testified different things about Antipater were ordered to be brought in. And also the letters of the mother of Antipater are read, in which she had written to her son, that he should be aware of the picture of his crimes that had been presented to his father, he ought by no means to be present, unless somehow his hand should be summoned by Caesar, with whose protection he should wall himself round nor should he commit to judicial investigation who was assailed by the confessions of so many but should defend himself with arms. The having been added to the previous items Antipater having entered and throwing himself to the feet of his father beseeches, that he should not hold him precondemned, himself to be confident, if a hearing were granted, he would be free of crime if his father were willing. The father orders him to be silent and comes before him with speech of this sort: "that by no just person is a pardonable wickedness of Antipater able to be seen, I am quite certain, but from that me to be more burdened before you, Varus, I think. For I fear you will dislike me who have fathered parricides as sons, whom not even a father was able to spare, although from this also I am more to be pitied because I loved even such. But I am silent about them whom I myself irritated and I rejected their just charges against this man. They had no cause of anger against me, except that Antipater who had not been born into royal power was placed before them and had received the prerogative of a royal consort. I thought however that I would admit the elder by birth to guardianship over the younger, but I introduced an enemy, who was jealous of the more noble, aroused the little boys, assailed the weak, betrayed the unprotected. I do not deny the mistakes but it should be excused rather than attacked. Indeed Antipater took them from me, he compelled them to become plotters against me. I confess I grieved that those to whom I had given the expectation of royal power, for whom I had reserved the succession, plotted wicked actions against me, but in me they hated not the father but Antipater. And so they perished to the grief of their father, to the joy of Antipater. You ask, Varus, who killed them? Know whom their death profited. The household was emptied of the son of a stepmother, the royal court, which had many possible successors, opened to one for the succession. Nor was his bloodthirsty spirit and impious mind satisfied with the death of the brothers. After he did not have the brothers whom he had hated, he attacked his father. I reflect within myself: I who prepared this protection of inheritance for him, I am indeed seen to live too long for one disdaining him who is retiring. I have learned what he wished, I took away the competitors of his succession, he did not tolerate me delaying. He did not expect the kingship, unless he attained it by parricide. He gave me this return, because I collected the project and had given preference to him over those more noble. From whom indeed had I taken as much as I had given to him? To whom I living had yielded power, whom I had publicly by testament designated my heir, which is accustomed to be dangerous for kings, as he will know he will succeed in some way. I gave him fifty talents for enjoyment, I gave him departing for Rome three hundred talents. I commended him to Caesar as if an only son, I reserved nothing for myself, from which I should have feared parricide. But this armed him more for parricide, because he saw himself as superior. What so great of evil did his brothers commit, whom he forced to death? What evidence of this character against them was uncovered, what kind of this sort was discovered? But he dares to interrupt and roar with parricide and tries to roll up truth with trickery. You beware, Varus, I give warning, beware his simulated tears and groans composed by craft and not expressed from any grief. He is who took the feeling of tenderness from me, when with pretended fear he warned me to beware of Alexander, alleging the minds of many to agree with him, my presence must not be rashly committed to all. He pretended himself to be looking about at everything, to lead to the choice, to pick out and examine each one. He was the guardian of my sleep, my agent of safety, in whom I placed confidence, and with his services I lightened the pain from those killed. I thought that he would return them to me, that he would take away the grief, that he would spread goodness. He was my protector, whom I believed the guardian of my aged body. I know not how I am alive, how I escaped such a great plotter, with which blandishments he surrounded me, with which tricks he held me bound, so that I would entrust myself to him alone, whom alone it behooved me to beware. It is incredible to me that I escaped, nor do I seem to me to live but I think I dream. Who indeed would believe either that he would be so ungrateful, to whom I entrusted all power over me, or that I would be able to escape if Antipater did not wish it? I think however me to have been made safer from grace. But what thing. evil. my misfortune, makes them rise against me whom I most loved! I lament the trouble of my household, Varus, I mourn the loneliness, I groan over the force of such great pain. But however so great is the bitterness if the parricidal wickedness, that I allow no one to escape me, whosoever thirsts for my blood, not even if evidence of attempted parricide is brought forth against every son of mine." When he was saying these things, the voice of the speaker was broken equally by anger and pain. Immediately Antipater raising his head --- for as if struck and wounded by a severe wound he lay before the feet of his father --- no thinking to stand up he said: "You indeed, father, angrily accuse, but there is no greater defense for me than the evidence of your accusation, that I was always the guard of your safety. You have furnished a defense for me in the solemn testimony of the person accusing. For how am I a parricide whom you yourself admit to be your protector, or how circumspect and astute whom you argue to be the contriver of parricide, since to have planned that is extreme foolishness and execrable among men and before god cannot be unpunished? Indeed from the example of my brothers I was able to learn that there is no way of escape from such a great crime, because a crime of this type neither finds a hiding place nor escapes punishment, seeing that they paid the penalty for such great malevolence against you. But, as you say, a certain jealousy drove them to parricide, because they saw me to be preferred by you, whom the nobility of their mother's birth gave pride, so that they claimed that the kingdom was owed to them as if by maternal succession and they demanded it back as if it had been snatched away by you. Why would I do such who knew not to hope for a kingdom unless from you, to seek your verdict, to please you alone? What indeed was there that would impel me to dare anything against your safety? The hope of a kingdom? But I was a king; suspicion of your hatred? But I was loved; the pain of injury? But I was given preference. If fear alone of my preference armed them to parricide, I am absolved, because those preferred do not know how to plan parricide but hate it. Unless perhaps some fear from you compelled, but truly I, as your voice is a witness for me, knew nothing except to fear in behalf of you, for why would I fear who was the agent of your safety and the guardian of quiet? Or did a lack of money and poverty drive me, which is accustomed to persuade those in want to robbery? But you had given what not only was more than sufficient for the present but even for all time, and you had sent me rich to Rome, so that the kings of kings might proclaim about you that there was the beginning of rule, not of wealth. Finally I grasped Fabatus that governor of the Roman state and intimate of Caesar for you and so changed him, who had been bribed by Sylleus with a great amount of money that he should attack you, that he became your [p. 118] defender and a betrayer of his inciter. Through whom else, father, have plotters against your safety been detected? How therefore I a parricide who seized Corinthus the guard of your body hiding, I removed him lying in ambush, I brought him denying to confession? I was able not to consider parricide and to have the profit of parricide if I had been silent. But if I had the brutality of beasts, if the savagery of fierce wild animals were in me, however I was able to tame this with your great kindnesses, so that I placed no help except in assistance of your safety, in front of all I reported only love for you, I protected you with my body, I would contain you in my inmost organs if it were possible to be done. You displayed before more noble sons one

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less noble from his mother's stock, his mother also an exile from the kingdom you summoned into the kingdom, you held me not already as the successor of rule but as if a partner. Oh wretched me to to whom so much of good things poured itself, that it kindled envy. Oh stupid me, who left you, father, if place was given for hatred and power to plotters, for while I delayed long for your safety, I gave up mine, I still have nothing which I may add for myself. You, father, ordered me to go away, I went abroad for you, father, lest Sylleus should confound your old age, lest he should deprive you living of the kingdom, lest he should attack your well being before Caesar. Rome is a witness for me of piety, Caesar also the ruler of the world and the censor of all and the judge of my breast was accustomed to call me "a lover of his father." Testify, Caesar, before whom alone I would be able to do harm, what I spoke before you about my father, testify, I say, for me, you who have spoken about others, you thought I was not concealing parricide but investigating it. Oh if your presence breathed upon me! But you are absent and located far away, and [p. 119] and without you I am being judged by my father. You are absent but however are present in your letters. I offer your writings, which parricides are accustomed to fear, I carry your letter which they are accustomed to bring out who desire parricide not to lie hidden. Accept, father, the letter of Caesar, he may teach you who has long punished; accept the writings of Caesar stronger than all arguments. What you have long used for retribution, use now for redemption. I offer them as the chief witnesses of my innocence, that right hand has never failed you, that right hand of Caesar placed a crown upon you not took it away, that mind of Caesar presented again to you that kingdom which you had cast away. Caesar was able earlier to dislike me, if he had found me the like of my brothers, but he recognized and pronounced me the interpreter of goodness. Unless I had been at Rome, Sylleus would have won. For that I am being judged today, for that I wretched pay out a penalty. Be mindful, father, that I did not sail away voluntarily. I saw a pit of plotters already to be prepared for me, I preferred however, father, me rather than you to be put at risk. I do not however tremble at the risk to safety, but before you, father, I grieve me to be at risk as if your enemy. I am put in peril however, if before you the depositions of Caesar are challenged: I make use therefore of these evidences of my defense. I call upon Caesar not as if I must be heard but I invoke him as if I have been absolved. But if you think a judgement must be enforced, behold me, father: I came to you after Caesar, I hastened to you from Caesar, would that I had never been absent from you! But you, father, not knowing the dangers cast me out ordering me to go. I am at hand, father, I think for your safety the truth must be investigated not carelessly about worthless witnesses. They do not prejudge who are able to fear tortures, nor who are able to disdain them, every man is deceitful, says Scripture. I offer the incorruptible testimony of the elements. I come to you through the seas and the lands never suffering anything. As a parricide I ought not to have escaped if I were guilty. The sky acquits me before you, father, which did not strike me with lightning, the sea which did not submerge me, the land which did not swallow me. Through these I come to you safe, father, which they are not accustomed to escape even who are not parricides. The land devoured Dathan and Abyron with its wide open jaws, but they had not grasped after the fruitful father. The earth suspended Abessalon fleeing in the branches of its tree, lest he should reach to his father, if he had arrived to whom, he would have escaped. I came to you and as yet I am in peril. David punished his parricide, because he was not able to save him, I do not desire to be vindicated about my enemies and false accusers, that I might call them to tortures. Let them gain the punishment of false accusations. I ask one thing, father, that you not put trust in another's tortures, seek against me from me myself. Hang up your guilty party, let the investigation of truth proceed into my internal organs, let the instruments of torture penetrate into my body and innermost parts, let the blood flow forth which is accustomed to proclaim parricide, let the fires be brought to the guilty limbs, why do you hesitate, father? If you forbear, you pronounce me innocent, if you refrain from torture, you acquit me of crime. It is not parricide, which is thought worthy of a simple death. Or if you are lenient as to a son, have compassion for the members born from you, they are not your members which are the attendants of cruelty." When he said this, he made an end of speaking with great weeping and doleful groans and with great wailing bent Varus and all to pity. Herod alone was moved to no tears and himself intractable to pardon refrained from weeping, intent upon questioning, seeking vengeance.

45 Nicolaus by order of the king followed the speech of Antipater, who astutely responded to his cleverness and led away from pity those influenced by renewing against Antipater the hatred of the murder of the brothers, urging that if pity moved any one, those ought to be pitied, who killed by his trickery were seeking vengeance, if they absolved someone, all the household of the king would be brought into peril, brothers, relations, parents, the king himself, whose safety he had not spared. And so turned about to the cleverness of the speakers as if in conclusion he were rousing up from the lower regions the souls of those killed, who would fill the low seats with miserable complaint, themselves innocent to have died burdened by bribed witnesses, by contrived letters, by dishonest words. The father tricked to have believed his son, whom he did not think to be able to lie about his brothers. Him to offer now his punishments, who had not put faith in the tortures of his brothers, who bound them laden with chains, lest they be present for examination. A verdict to have been brought against them while they were absent, while they were located far away, to have been killed, lest their father should show compassion for them. And so there would be nothing left, if this one should escape who was trained to pour parricidal poisons into the entrails of his people, to change the minds of men, who even stirred up Feroras always the most loving of his brother Herod into his murder by a deadly parricide. When Nicolaus had added many other things to this for the purpose of arousing commotion, when he brought his speech to an end, Antipater was asked by Varus, if he wished to respond. He returned nothing other, except: "God is my witness that I have harmed nothing." Then Varus ordered the poison to be brought forward and it to be given to one of those who had already been sentenced to the penalty of death, which having been drunk he immediately died. It was reported about this to Caesar and Antipater is led into chains by the command of his father. He as not yet free of snares. For besides he tried an attempt against Salome letters having been sent, which Antipater had composed in the name of Salome, full of abuse against the king and had ordered to be carried to Acme a maidservant of Julia, who was wife to Caesar, by a manservant of Antifilus, which delivered to her Acme transmitted to the king. And the fraud almost resulted in the destruction of the woman, if a letter had not been discovered of Acme to Antipater, which revealed the trick, written in this fashion: "as you wished, I wrote to your father and and I sent those letters, and I do not doubt the king will rise up into danger of his sister. You having gotten the affect wished for make good the payment." These letters having been discovered the king was led into the suspicion, that Alexander with a like method had been attacked by a letter composed by his brother, and exasperated by by too great agitation he entered into severe illness. Seeing himself to be pressed by which danger he wrote in his will Antipas one of his sons to be the heir of the state preferred to Archelaus and Philippus his oldest children, because Antipater had made them also mistrusted by their father with his tricks and stratagems. To Caesar he bequeathed one thousand talents presents and gifts having been added, upon Caesar's wife and sons, freedmen and friends he bestowed five hundred. And he did not leave his sister Salome without his gifts. The illness proceeded to worsen and with the passage of time became extreme, which his feeble old age with its disadvantageous circumstances aggravated daily, in fact his body was burdened with not less than seventy years, he bore the affliction with frequent sorrow of mind, having been wounded by so many parricides, which either to have discovered in his sons or to have borne was a great distress. The fury of his illness was incurable however, because the surviving Antipater was feared. The disregard also was worse each day, the statues of Caesar and the likenesses of animals adjacent to the temple contrary to law were dragged down, the originators especially being Iudas and Mathias instructors of the youth, who said the time to have come to them for conspiring, by which the injury of the violated law would be avenged. The wretch would give punishment, who thought to be right anything that was permitted to power, not influenced by reverence but lifted up by arrogance to have exercised as lawful in the interior of the temple the desire of doing what he wished. And although the divine power would hasten retribution, it would be seen as noble if besides they demonstrated for the holy temple their freedom in defending the observation of the paternal rite. Nor should anyone be restrained by fear of danger, since to die for the ancestral law was worthy of immortality. And the first attacking tore down the golden eagle affixed above the roof of the gate, arrested and taken to the king when they were questioned, desiring to obey what they had committed such a great crime, they responded: "the ancestral law." And again to one asking on what they were so happily relying, since they summoned for the penalty of death, they replied, for the rewards of piety and devotion, the remuneration of which would pay those seeking death in behalf of the ancestral rite. He was no longer able to bear the consistency of the response, but made above his illness by anger, so that he overcame his weakness, he proceeded to an assembly of the people. And there reporting them to the people as if guilty of sacrilege he began to accuse, that more serious things than such as had been done were suspected. Which even if they should not be proved, however all suffering punishment every man fearing for himself of the originators who were seized entreated, that it not be proceeded against the rest, lest the investigation trouble many both outsiders and the innocent. And so having been asked against those present he spoke the sentence that they should be burned alive. From then his misfortune increased and the force of severe sickness consumed his entire body with diverse sufferings. His fever was severe, his itching was intolerable, the pains of his internal organs were continuous and without intermission, the middle of the large intestine was troubled, his feet were bothered by dropsy, the hidden parts of the body swarmed with maggots, spasms of the entire body, painful gasping and sighs were evidence of some trouble, which demanded the punishments of unjust parricide and sacrilegious condemnation. He did not however concede in mind and from desire of living struggled with his disease. The warm waters of Callirrhoe sought across the Jordan profited nothing. The Dead Sea bringing cures to many held the sick man without any progress. When while he was being kept warm with much oil relaxed with slackened body he turned up his eyes with the appearance of those dying, and his voice failed and feeling did not remain, but aroused by the noise of those shouting he recovers, And desiring to return to his own territory when he came to the neighbourhood of the place which was called Jericho, he was bothered continually by black bile and being threatened in a certain way by death itself he thought up an atrocious crime, by which the people would be cast out as if into the lower region itself. For long since ordering those who were the most noble from all Judaea to be assembled, so that from each village they should come together into one place, when the order had been complied with, he ordered them to be confined inside the racecourse and Salome and her husband Alexa having been summoned he ordered a legacy of blood, asserting that his death would be a joy to the peoples of the nation of Judaea and therefore himself to have thought up, a reason why his funeral would be magnificently celebrated; to demand from them, that when he had exhaled his last breath, they should immediately order them all to be killed who were being held confined. Thus there would be no one in all Judaea and all his household, to whom his death would be unlamented, since he had left grief the inheritance to all of his house, who while they lamented their own deaths would seem to pay respects to the funeral rites of the king, and so the happiness of the public religious celebrations would be prevented by domestic anguish. And lest perhaps by a wicked command ordered the execution should be abandoned, he ordered fifty drachmas each to be given to the soldiers, so that with the bribe of so great a crime given the soldiers would not refuse this deadly work, the horror of the execution would be compensated by the benefit of the remuneration. Already it came near the punishments of the great misfortune, but he desired the responses of the sad legation, which reported about Acme that punishment had been exacted for the grievance of Herod, Antipater also had been convicted of parricide and sentenced to death, however if to him driven from his native land the father might wish to grant the power of flight from the kingdom, Caesar giving consideration to the crime would would order the sentence, leaving the decision to piety. Nature had cancelled the necessity of parricide. For restored for a short time the power having been permitted him of acting as he wished, while he considers the mode of his death, distracted by pains he had desired to anticipate the day of his own death. And so he asked for an apple and also a knife, so that accustomed to slice the apple with it he might receive some refreshment, and lifting himself briefly supporting himself on the couch he lifted up his right hand desiring to stab himself, but Achiabus ran up and prevented the blow, and the entire house resounded with lamentation, so that it was thought outside that Herod had died. Antipater rejoiced at the sound of wailing and demanded from his guards that he be released from chains. But the guard placed for this duty not only refused what was asked, but even announced it to the king. He shouting the still living assassins to have behaved insultingly toward him directed that they should kill Antipater, and ordered him killed to be buried in Hyrcania. And again he changed his will and made Archelaus the older of the brothers king, he left Antipas a tetrarch. And so outliving Antipater by five days he died, having ruled the kingdom for thirty seven years, from when he was ordered to rule by the Romans, from the time when however he destroyed Antigonus his competitor for the kingdom, he spent thirty four years in in supreme power, would that he was as happy in his domestic experience as in his public successes. For so outside thus favorable things blew upon him, so that as a commoner he was admitted into royal power, and there having experienced very many courses of years, which was difficult, his practice of rule safe he died leaving to his children the succession of rule, which he himself had not received from his parents, but in his household the most unfortunate of men, which he filled with sorrow and the bitter blood of his relatives. But however he did not achieve the execution of his greatest cruelty, in this alone Salome disregarding the previous mockery of their crimes, because she sent away all those whom the king had ordered to be killed, saying the king to have later repented of his deadly order and the previous orders having been recalled to have ordered that all should be sent away to their own territories.

46 Then afterwards an assembly having been made in the amphitheater of the soldiers and the rest of the people an announcement was made about the death of the king.

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Ptolomaeus came forward, who was among the most faithful of the friends of the king, whom he had clung to to the end, and carrying his ring, which he took from the finger of the dead person, he extolled the king and warned the people to be tranquil. He opens a letter in which having beseeched the most faithful he exhorted the soldiers, that they should show benevolence and gratitude to his successor. The records of his will having been opened it is read aloud that Philippus was named heir of the region of Trachonitidis and the neighbouring places, Antipas was named a tetrarch, and Archelaus the king, thus however that his ring was to be carried to Caesar and to him was reserved the approval and executions of all his arrangements, and then finally his will would be established if Caesar had approved it. The remaining things he ordered to be observed according to his previous wills. Immediately the acclamation of the soldiers arose applauding Archelaus, he was at once surrounded by a crowd of attendants, they promise good will, they pledge loyalty. After this his funeral rites were suitably and magnificently arranged all the display of the royal riches was sent ahead and all the multitude of the funeral procession, his funeral couch was entirely of gold and distinguished with jewels, the coverlet glittering with purple, the body overspread with a purple robe, which a buckle shining with precious stones bound up, a diadem rested on his head and above that was a golden crown, a scepter in his right hand, so you would have thought him living. A column of Thracians preceded and the German and Gallic bodyguards of the king preserved military rank. In the same manner girded with arms as if they were going forth to battle, but sad of face similar troops followed. The remaining troops preceded with the customary decorations and with the usual grooming the leaders and centurions together accompanying. Furthermore fifty slaves and freedmen of the royal household sprinkled aromatic spices so that the entire way was redolent with an agreeable odor. The sons of the king and a great force of relatives surrounded the bier. He was buried in Herodium as he himself ordered. Which was two hundred stadia from that place, in which he found the end of life, escorted through such a great distance with the great subservience of all but not with the equal affection of all. For fear had not extorted devoted service, the grief within himself at least had free expression. Herod had this end.

PSEUDO-HEGESIPPUS BOOK 2

1 Herod having been buried the judgements of the people were drawn out as they customarily are against the dead: he was oppressive and intolerable to them; a tyrant not a king he enforced an unjust rule against the citizens; an assassin of his own family members, a plunderer of the people, who left behind nothing for anybody; taxes increased, everything taken away, foreigners enriched, the Jews impoverished; who brought an enemy into the temple, who defiled all things sacred by sacrilege. He rewarded those who were unworthy, while tortures were not lacking for the living, after the release from captivity Judea endured more evils in a few years under the rule of Herod than it sustained in the captivity itself under a barbarous enemy, when the kings of the Babylonians ruled them. Beneath them exile was more tolerable than living at home under Herod, released to their homeland by the former, driven into exile by the latter. More savage than Darius, more haughty than Artaxerxes, more rapacious than the Medians. To have hoped for an end to their evils, as it was permitted them to go out from exile, if he should end his day, but Archelaus as his voluntary successor invoked the misery of servitude, who would renew Herod and add new things. This misfortune in the kingdoms was that the master was chosen, the greater misfortune that he was imposed upon the unwilling. It is seen a solace of servitude, if they choose a master for themselves, that because he is more kindly if the supreme power is bestowed, more haughty if it is seized upon. By far therefore Archelaus would be more intolerable than Herod because the first seized the throne, the latter received it. These things were not only in Judea deliberated, but thrown in his face even in Rome Archelaus standing against vociferous accusers before Caesar and the senate, where it was long contested about confirming the kingdom of Archelaus or denying it. Finally when in the temple of Apollo, which Caesar had founded, and embellished with many ornaments, the opportunity was given for investigation, the son Antipater of Salome powerfully in speaking described in detail those things we mentioned above and many others: himself to marvel that Archelaus was alleging that the kingdom was being sought from Caesar, when he had already by a daring usurpation long exercised the kingship inside Judea without Caesar having been consulted. Why was the golden seat and the crown brought forth unless they were emblems of the kingdom? With what arrogance had he presumed to sit upon the royal throne? From the lofty throne to greet the people encompassed by surrounding military ranks; in the certain manner and practice of emperors the crown to be brought forth, which ought to have been preserved for the judgement of Caesar not only in behalf of the power of the Roman empire but in accordance with the law of testament. Indeed Herod had not been able to snatch from Caesar or the senate, what he had accepted from the senate or received from Caesar, and to have expressed adequately by an earlier testament an indication of his own wish, by which in sound mind and considered judgement he declared Antipas to succeed him in the royal power, and by a later to have reserved all things to the judgement of Caesar, although at this time of sound body, disturbed by the great danger and not capable at this time of any understanding or judgement he dictated not what he was thinking but what was forced upon him. The seizer of power therefore proclaimed about himself that he was not deserving by your judgement, Caesar, to be substituted in the kingship, for if he had been confident of his merit, he would have hastened to seek rather than to seize. Moreover by not seeking but by usurping those things that were set forth in the petition even to prejudge in money matters he mitigated that wrong-headed litigants might prejudice their cases. Here truly not the gain of property was called into question but the law of the Roman empire was violated, respect was disdained, its power was despised; the senate of the Roman court, which was accustomed to grant and to take away the kingship, was deemed unworthy, that it should maintain with Caesar the long established prerogative of conferring the supreme authority. Which was about to be done, when he began to be king lawfully, who before the royal power had grown haughty? In addition he had killed very many, because wearied by things they had asked for help and the alleviation of the taxes, he inflicted war on those demanding relief, he killed eight thousand Jews engaged in the venerable celebration itself among them of the Passover, men sacrificed instead of sheep, the blood spilled of the consecrated who had come together for the feast of the temple, a pitiable spectacle. If anyone should review the slaughter of those killed, he would think the Babylonians to have returned. How much more cruelly were those things committed by a citizen which in a barbarous enemy were considered full of savage cruelty and impiety? This dole he gave to the citizens, with this offering Archelaus committed the beginnings of his royal power. Caesar and the senate ought to pity the remnants of Judaea, which once supported by free peoples chose slavery, if only it should be permitted to endure tolerably under a just king. For a long while a king was away from the right of governing, since indeed to none among the Jews was the royal power suitable, unless to him who should be from the begetting of Juda, as the law asserted. But in truth that Idumaean race, which no origin of royal lineage touched, had crept into the honor not due them, inasmuch as, Antipater was an ancestor to them and to Archelaus, outstanding in wealth and strong in other skills and especially in the friendship of the Romans and proven in war to the elder Caesar. Since he was able to take over the kingdom for himself, he had never however aspired to it, moreover he preferred to fend off with others rather than to provide for himself, and deservedly he was considered as a good parent, who had delivered Judaea into freedom with his own wounds and had not led it into servitude. Herod by the testimony of Antonius who had been a paternal host to him had aspired to the kingdom; from him the condition of the Jews had been impaired, he had acted as an enemy not as a guide. Since therefore he has been a seducer itself of the kingdom, in what way could a legitimate king be created from him? It is not to be deprecated however that they are less under the kingship, but to demand that beneath the Roman whose favor to themselves had already been achieved in the Macchabaeans they had afterwards degenerated so much through the usurpation of the kingdom, that they were much inferior to those against whom they sought the Roman alliance. Finally themselves to pray 'that Judaea might obtain a guardian judgement from you under the condition that Syria had, by which a test of our devotion might be given, whether we who are called seditious and rebellious are able to be submissive to moderate judges'. Against these things Nicolaus responding in behalf of Archelaus claimed that a most stormy nation had paid the penalty for arrogance, lest from this especially Archelaus should be indicted on the grounds of an inexcusable offense, if through sedition they should disturb the peace and depart from the Roman alliance in spirit and with arms. About the display of the testament who should doubt, 'both that the last should customarily be preferred to those earlier and ought to be seen as much more valid than the rest, in which last the prerogative of confirming the royal power is reserved to Caesar, by which respect for the Roman name would be increased rather than diminished, and also there should not be taken away from kings by you, Caesar, what is allowed to private citizens, that their testaments are valid, and whom they wish most strongly to succeed them which they write with their final pen, and by them again that conferring of honour upon you is preserved, that the confirmation of the judgement should be sought from you, that he should succeed whom the father has chosen, you should approve? When therefore was Herod wiser, when he reserved to you, Caesar, the prerogative, or when he disregarded it? When Antipas is substituted, Caesar is disregarded, When Archelaus is chosen as successor, Caesar is approved of, without this support nothing is firm. And so by divine judgement, when justice was absent, when support has been lacking for either deceit or goodwill: when however fairness of mind was at hand, support was sought, that the judgement should be confirmed. Consider therefore whether he committed an injury who chose you, or if that ought to be rescinded which he left to be ratified by you as judge, the master of all things, to whom by right even kings concede power. For he who has investigated whom he should choose for confirmation, has certainly investigated whom he should choose for ruling, nor was he able to be mistaken in regard to the successor who was not mistaken in regard to the confirmer. For he who selected you as the arbiter certainly recognized that such a successor to himself should be established that he whom you would establish should not displease you.' The parties having been heard Caesar deferred his judgement. Then the decision having been discussed with the senate he placed Archelaus before the people, that he should perform the duty of a governor not with the status of a kingship. He promised however that the kingship would be granted, if he bore himself such that it should be approved. For already attempts of separation of the Israelite people were being reported. He established two tetrarchs the sons of Herod, Philippus, and Antipas who had contested with Archelaus for the kingship, he reserved a legateship for the sister of Herod who had the name Salome, and also he added other things. Also to the two daughters of Herod he added a thousand talents, which had been left to himself, having decided that they should be distributed and even another six hundred thousand and he decreed they should be shared with the children of Ferora.

2 In the meantime a certain young man, pretending to be Alexander and because of sympathy from those, to whom the task of killing had been given by Herod the father, others having been substituted in his place himself having been sent away with his brother Aristobolus, he traveled to Miletus and from thence to Rome, where it would be more difficult for him among strangers to be recognized. In which place he easily aroused the Jews most eager for new things, except that having learned these things Caesar had speedily ordered him to be brought to him by a certain Celadus who knew Alexander well. Celadus when he saw the young man, deceived by the similarity was undecided, but perceiving other information not to harmonise he asked where was Aristobolus. But he claimed him to remain alive on the island of Cyprus avoiding treachery there because the brothers joined together would be more easily killed. Thereon taken to Caesar he immediately revealed immunity having been promised that he relying on the appearance of similarity had pretended that he was Alexander, that he as the son of the king had obtained innumerable gifts from the Jews. Caesar laughed at the trickery, but dismissed him with immunity and those, who had bestowed gifts (upon him) as the son of the king beyond the manner of a private citizen, he pronounced to have been sufficiently punished, because with their overflowing expenditures they had suffered infinite losses. Archelaus however having set out to Judaea, charged before Caesar because of the indecency of his behaviour and his arrogance, his case having been examined between the parties, is banished to Vienna and his wealth joined to the treasury of Caesar. This price he deservedly paid who had not stifled his lusts for the wife of his half brother. For when Alexander died handed over to death at the command of his father, Glafyra his wife, descended from the the king Archelaus of Cappadocia, in what way we related above, was joined in a second marriage to Iuba the king of Libya. Who having died she returned to her father. Having gazed upon her there Archelaus, who by no means considered that the brother of a married man the uncle of sons should be conscientiously fled from, thus began to love (her) to distraction, so that he cast out his wife Mariamme and substituted Glafyra in her place. Not much later, when the woman returned to Judaea, she saw Alexander in a dream and desired to be embraced. But he similar to one resentful having fled from the embrace was seen to say: 'This is, Glafyra, the trustworthiness of a promise? Thus you have guarded my love for you, mindful of which you ought to be? But be you: as a young woman you had not shunned a second marriage, even a third, even the brother of your husband? Thus my injury pleased you, that you did not blush for shame to return to my home married to a third husband? But let not my affront your contagion remain longer a concern for me, not for long will the incest of a fraternal marriage be joyful. The woman arose and related the dream to the household, and herself dead two days later gave credibility, that marriages of this type are not unpunished by the laws of the living or by the desires of the dead.

3 Archelaus himself also saw in dreams nine large full ears of corn being devoured by oxen, to whom inquiring the interpreter answered nine years to be indicated by the nine ears, in which great and ample power would be enjoyed. But in the ninth year of his reign there would be a change for him, because the oxen, which are accustomed to plow the fields, indicate a change full of trouble, which would consume and swallow up the previous rewards. When these things had been

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learned on the fifth day there came from Caesar (a man) who should conduct him to Rome for judgement, in which found guilty and driven into exile he fulfilled his dreams by his death as well. The leadership of the tribe which belonged to Archelaus was changed into the name of a province by which term the Romans, when they drove back into their power by conquering, named regions located at a great distance. There remained however the tetrarchs Philippus and Herodes, the last who was previously called Antipas with a changed name. For Salome dying had left the regions which she had held and the rule over her people to Livia the wife of Caesar. This was the status of Judaea when Caesar died, leaving Tiberius, his stepson, the son of his wife Livia by her previous husband, the successor of the Roman empire, in whose honor Herodes founded Tiberiadis. Philippus also thought a city should be named Livia from the name of his mother. And because it has been proposed by us to reveal the causes, by which the people of the Jews defected from the Roman empire and hastened destruction for themselves, the event indicates that Pilatus the governor of the province gave the beginning of its ruin, seeing that the first of all he did hesitate to bring into the Jerusalem temples the images of Caesar. When the people disturbed by this resisted and he decreed the images had to be received. he forced very many into death. While these things were going on in Judaea, Agrippa the son of Aristobolus arrived at Rome desiring to contend in court before Tiberius against Herodes the tetrarch, but disdained by Tiberius, while he was spending time in Rome, he associated very many to himself in friendship and especially Gaius the son of Germanicus, who whether by reason of his father's name was loved by the people, or from the nearness to the royal family was considered the closest to the supreme power, or whether by a certain presentiment he zealously cultivated, which consideration of either age or his reputation allowed, so that on a certain day raising his hands he prayed, that Tiberius would die soon and he would see Gaius as emperor. Which having been revealed by Eutychus his freedman, Agrippa by order of Tiberius is commanded into chains and tortured in the most severe fashion, he was not released before Tiberius concluded his life. Whose loathsome times and retirement to the wantonness of the island of Capri-- the intolerable idleness--they incited no man however of effective work to his death, from respect for the recent Roman empire, as I judge, or from terror of the savage cruelty, because generally the more painful the harshness the safer it is.

4 With him ruling the notorious mockery of Paulina a woman of the most respectable type was made well known at Rome. Who although she had an excellent reputation for chastity, was moreover of outstanding beauty and eminent loveliness, neither tempted nor affected by the appeals of Mundus the leader of the equestrian forces, from the fault of too much superstition she was open to error, for instance by the bribed priests of Isis who as if Anubis conveyed orders to her, which invited her to the temple, himself delighted by her earnestness and modesty to request a night, he had what he wished to impart to her in private. Accepting which gladly she reported to her husband, the god was attentive to her prayers, her presence was demanded by the god, she was not able to refuse obedience. And so in accordance with her and her husband's decision she proceeds to the temple of Isis, and witnesses having been removed to a distance as if about to receive knowledge of the sacred mystery she arranged herself on her couch, thinking that her god would come to her in her dreams and show himself to her in a vision. However when something of the night had passed, by which a woman full of sleep might be more easily deceived, Mundus the mask and dress of Anubis having been assumed comes to her, he removes his garments, rushes into kisses. He says to the awakened woman that he is Anubis, he holds forth the mask of Anubis. She believes him the god, she asserts herself happy because the lord her god deemed her worthy to visit. She does not refuse the embrace of him seeking it, she puts the question however whether a god was able to unite to a human. He offered the examples that Alcmena had accepted Jupiter the greatest of the gods and that Leda had been gained in the sexual embrace of the same, and many others, who gave birth to gods. He persuades the woman about himself and also that a god would be borne by her, that they should mingle in intercourse. She returns to her husband quite happy, saying that she a woman had had intercourse with a god and according to his promise she would give birth to a god. The joy of the husband in the illicit intercourse of his wife is great. Afterwards Mundus met the woman and said: "You have been blessed, Paulina, by the embrace of a god, the great god Anubis, whose mysteries you accepted. But learn that you just like to gods have not denied to men, to whom they bestow what you would refuse, because they refused not to give your charms to us nor names. Behold the god Anubis called Mundus also to his sacred rites so that he should be united to you. What did your stubborness profit you, except that it deprived you of the twenty thousands which I had offered as payment. I mimicked the kind gods, who give us without price what cannot be obtained from you at great price. But if human names give offense to you, it pleases me to be called Anubis and the influence of his name supported the performance." Stricken by this speech the woman understood she had been made sport of and grieving the injury to her modesty she declared the trickery to her husband. He having nothing which he should hold against his wife, to whom he had himself allowed the opportunity of sleeping in the temple, and conscious of her conjugal chastity took the grievance to the leader. Who provoked by the abuse of a powerful man and the fabrication of this heinous crime seized the priests from the temple, subjects them to questioning, puts them to death when they confessed, and sinks the statue of Isis in the Tiber. The opportunity of fleeing was granted to Mundus, for the reason that overcome by the force of love and the grace of beauty it was judged that he should punished by a lighter penalty for his offenses.

5 This wantonness therefore which occurred with Tiberius reigning I thought ought not to be passed over, so that from it the impropriety of the emperor might be assessed. For indeed the life of uprightness of a good leader is a certain rule and pattern of living for all, so the filth of an emperor is a law for scoundrels. Pilatus was sent by him into Judaea, a wicked man and putting falsehoods in unimportant matters, he encircled the Samaritans as they were going to the mountain which has the name Gadir--for it was sacred to them--for the reason that he wished to learn their mysteries. And going up he outstripped the people with cavalry and infantry, he spread abroad with a contrived charge, that they had prepared to withdraw from the Romans and were seeking a place of assembly for themselves. What indeed did he not dare, who had put even Christ the lord on the cross, coming for the salvation of the human race, pouring forth upon men with many and divine works the grace of his mercy and teaching nothing other, unless that he should make peoples obedient first to god, and then to emperors? A raving man who was the servant of the madness of sacrilege, and who killed the author of salvation. And so through him the the state of the Jews as destroyed, through him there was ruin for the nation and a hastened destruction for the temple. For if Herodes, who handed over Johannes to be killed, paid the price for his treachery and cruelty (by being) thrown out from the royal power and given into exile, by how much more headlong fury is the action to be understood given (against) him who killed Christ? What was the cause of death for Johannes I shall set forth briefly. Philippus and Herodes who was previously called Antipas we showed above to have been brothers; the wife of Philippus (had been) Herodias whom Herodes unlawfully and wickedly associated to himself by right of marriage. Johannes did not tolerate this and said to him: "it is not lawful for you to have the wife of your brother." Then the former provoked threw Johannes into prison. And not much later he killed the just man and immovable executor of divine law. For not only as a preacher of the gospel had he blamed the incest of the brother's marriage bed, but even as an executor of the law he censured the transgressor of the law who had taken by force the wife of a living brother, especially having seed of him. Aroused by this the hatred and retribution of almost all Jews was hastened against Herodes. The supporter of whom Herodias, seeing Agrippa to have had much influence with Caesar, drove him to go to Rome, where he should win over the favor of the emperor to himself, putting before him the affront of idleness, because shunning work, while he stayed at home, he allowed indignities to be brought forward against himself. For since from being a private citizen Agrippa had been made a king, how much more therefore should Caesar not hesitate that he should confer a kingdom upon him who had already long been a tetrarch. And so by no means sustaining the reproaches of his wife, he proceeded to Rome, while he was seeking the friendship of Gaius, impugned by Agrippa he lost even the tetrarchy, which he had received from Julius Augustus, and going into exile in Spain together with his wife Herodias he died from grief of mind. Tiberius having died also Gaius succeeded, who, wishing himself as the ruler both to be seen as and to be called a god, gave causes to the Jews of a very serious rebellion, and lest he should destroy the empire with a quick end, made a quicker end of the nation of the Jews. For not only did he not call his men back from illegal acts, but he even threatened those sent into Judaea with the ultimate punishment, unless they accomplished with their arms everything against justice and the dictates of religion. Agrippa was very powerful in his state, but while he wished to encircle Jerusalem with a great wall, so that it would become impregnable to the Romans---for he foresaw its imminent destruction---prevented by death he left the task unfinished. Nor did he exercise less power while Claudius was ruling, because he was also in the midst of his own beginnings, since with Gaius having been killed he had been thrust by the soldiers into the rule of the empire, the senate resisting him from weariness of the royal power, he sent Agrippa as his deputy, with whom as negotiator the promise of moderation having been given, an accommodation having been begun, a peace is agreed upon. In place of Agrippa the father Agrippa his son is substituted as king by Claudius Caesar.

6 Claudius himself also, three and ten years having passed, died, he gave Nero to the Roman empire as its ruler having been captured by the persuasions of his wife Agrippina, who was so powerful through trickeries, that she rendered Britannicus the son of the emperor designated as the successor by the law of nature without share in the rule. Whose art soon displeased her, because as long as born from her he was deferent, she denied him the leadership, unaware that exalted by his supreme power he did not acknowledge his mother and would pervert the reward of (her) assistance into her destruction. Likewise however he held Octavia the daughter of Claudius in marriage, the son-in-law was preferred to the son in topsy-turvy order, the mischiefs of the state preponderated, to which is owed the parricide, the sacrilegious man, the incestuous man, so that in him crimes, not any merits of good conduct, ruled. Under such an emperor, whether from consideration of his morals or scorn of his indolence or because he was preparing a final destruction for the Jews the protection of the supreme god having been withdrawn because of their severe sacrilege, there broke out into great riots, brigandage, conflicts because of their haughtiness, whom for twenty years Eleazarus the leader of the robbers oppressively plundered, finally however captured by Felix, who was in charge of Judaea, and sent to Rome he suffered severe punishment. Not thus even were the people disheartened by the number killed of those inhabiting Judaea, but in Jerusalem itself another kind of brigands sprang forth, who were called dagger-men (The sicarii, a fundamentalistic faction of the Jewish Messianic Movement, similar to today's Islamic Jihadists, an uncompromising terrorist branch that was out to kill any non-Jew in the Holy Land). Not indeed hidden in secret, nor in nocturnal darkness lying in ambush for those going about without any guard, but in the light of day and in the middle of the city and a crowd of people, they strike whomsoever they had approached closely, carrying short swords in their hands, mingling in a crowd of people, where they pierce someone adhering close, the unsuspecting victim falls with a hidden wound, and death prevents an outcry. The corpse is in view but the assassin escaped notice, and if anyone had been alarmed by another's wound, happening closer to himself, he was a part of those struck down. Thus from the fear of the danger or the dissembling of the crime the assassin is not caught. So great was the speed of the ambushers and the skill of concealing themselves. The priest Ionathes is killed, many were added daily, the fear of the living was greater than the calamity of those killed. As if to a battle, each one came forth daily, the situation was worse however, because an enemy is foreseen, an assassin was hidden. Death before the eyes, fear in the mind. No one believed that he would return, nor was trust bestowed upon friends while the assassin was feared. By which the majority were terrified, indeed those innocent of the crime of brigandage or the companionship of assassins, although unhurt by the band, the less resolute purposely repaired to the desert. But while they are taking counsel with themselves, they aroused fear of a separation, from which at first a suspicion of war against the Romans, then a hatred blazed up. Alarmed by this the governor of the province, cavalry and a foot column having been sent, engendered a slaughter.

7 Also an Egyptian false prophet instructed in the magic arts arrived, he boasted himself with the prophetic spirit to pronounce heavenly prophecies; he joined almost thirty thousand Jews to himself and assembling them at Mount Olive he invaded Jerusalem with frequent assaults, so that even he accused the Roman guards, who spread tshemselves before Jerusalem lest anything should be provoked by the people. When indeed this arrogance was suppressed, just as in a sick body another part was gravely inflamed. For many openly cried out that they should separate from the Romans, that liberty should be preferred to servitude and the food which was lacking to those who had gone out into the fields was sought by force.

8 Finally in the city Caesarea a serious riot broke out between the Jews and gentiles, the Jews claiming to themselves possession of the entire city as founded by the Jew Herod, the gentiles resisting that the founder was indeed a Jew, but he had made it known with the name of Caesar, and in fact had constructed temples within it and had set up statues and from that it was to be seen that it had been transferred more to the use of gentiles. The strife of these controversies turned into bands, because the leaders of the Jews were not able to restrain their people who were dedicated to rebellion and regarded the gentiles with taunts, if they thought it should be conceded to them by the Jews. And so they aroused Felix, so that while he wished passionately to restrain the mob of each party that was not quieting down, he decided upon arms when he was unable otherwise. To whom Festus succeeded, who very many brigands having been seized gave the by no means small number to the ultimate destruction. Albinus also the same power having been entrusted to him by the Romans let pass no type of wickedness, a flagrant of plunder, so that he who did not give money was dragged off in chains although blameless, he who gave even though guilty was set free. Avarice give birth to arrogance, so that he presented himself a tyrant to the poor, their agent to the rich. Likewise however as he went past the wickedness of his predecessors, so by his successor Florus as it were lazy and sluggish in shameful acts

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but passed by and left behind last in a long interval, so that in comparison with those worse, he was considered honest. And those who at first had complained as having been ruined, afterwards longed for Festus as a good judge. For he stripped individuals, Florus laid waste to cities, the most polluted in indecencies, the cruelest in barbarity, disquieting everything with arms and sowing battles from battles, who implored did not pardon and glutted did not spare. In the sight of Beronice, who the sister of Agrippa the king had come to the temple for the sake of religion, he raged against the people with the harshest slaughter, having judged that it should not be granted to one praying, although he saw him paying attention to his religion, standing with bare feet, and he considered him with contempt who was praying. From this to Agrippa the king both she herself wrote and the people of the Jews directed a prayer beseeching help for liberty. To whom returning from Egypt very many ran to meet on the road more than sixty stadia from the city of Jerusalem and led about through the city while they proved the justness of their complaints, they began to insist that he should send ambassadors to Nero. In truth he felt the pain of the citizens seeing however that the attempts of war against the Romans should be moved with profound prudence, lest hatred for himself and a very great danger to the people should be brought forth, to the people collected together, in that place, which next to the temple and separated by a bridge was called Xystus, he delivered a speech of this type.

9 "Although in the majority thoughtless of taking counsel and impatient of moderation resentment may make some to seethe with angry complaints, however when counsel is taken, the effect of resentment is given up, for if I had learned that everyone out of this people so prompt at avenging injuries and at waging war against the Roman empire not to prefer the opinion of the better and quieter party which is for peace and which prefers calm, I would not have dared to come before you, nor to give advice. For it is useless to persuade what has to be done, when the assent of the hearers is for the worst. Because of the experience untried by some of the misfortunes of war, by others careless hopes of freedom, very sweet to aspire to but irrational for achieving, ---indeed while freedom is being sought servitude is enhanced, and often is taken away completely from many, to whom the name of freedom had remained, ---newness of things may excite others whom his supporters displease by present worthlessness, and if business is thrown into confusion it is considered a benefit, for that reason I considered that a consultation should be undertaken with you, lest either the sobriety of the more prudent be snatched away by the daring of the more arrogant, or so that those who do not know to be wise at least warned by our talk may recognize that there must be reconciliation with the more experienced. I recommend therefore that silence be offered, so that we may disclose those things which we think to be of advantage to you, and let no one of you be disturbed, if he hears something contrary to his own opinion. For no one will be able to judge how what is said may be, unless he shall have first heard it, whose approval or disapproval, since he himself is about to be the judge, disturbs to no purpose if he does not listen. It is permitted after deliberation to each one to think what he thinks and, if separation pleases him, even warned after sober considerations, to keep the opinion of his ill-advised desire. But someone says: why should I wish to be heard to no purpose, if they do not acquiesce who listen? Because if they do not wish to assent when they shall have heard, a part of the assembly will be in conflict with me, not the entire people; if however they are unwilling to listen, even when a part of the audience raises a disturbance, the profit of listening is taken away from all the people. And so my talk will die away among those who may have wished to hear it, if silence is not granted to me by even some part. For all the talk is cut off, as if it had all fallen away, as if it is deprived of life by the impediment of the tumultuous racket and the noise of the assembly. There are two things therefore to which I think response should be given first, which are in the great mass of the complaints, that very many are crying out about the injuries of the procurators and that many lament freedom for themselves to have been destroyed. The joining of which propositions it seems to me ought to be separated. For if the procurators are bad, what is necessary to achieve freedom? You should not be seen to impugn the procurators as agents of despotism not from their merits but from loathing of servitude. And if servitude is intolerable, then complaints about the procurators are superfluous. For if there is moderation in them, none the less servitude is shameful. Let us consider therefore whether in either of them there is not slight basis for wars. What however is more foolish than to complain about injuries and to attach a war and to change insults to dangers, while you run away from the judge, you bring on the enemy, while an unjust judge is generally an interpreter of the law, is an enemy however even always just a seeker after safety? It is fitting that a judge control himself and not be irritated, to beware an enemy, that you not aggravate another, that you not summon another, he becomes gentler with blandishments and such ought to be avoided lest he is able to do harm. Care must be taken with judges lest there be a quarrel greater than the injury and the dislike of the objection more serious than the reward of the perpetrator. For often those who at first more modestly commit offense, having been blamed are more immoderate, and who before stole secretly afterwards engage in brigandage openly. Nothing accordingly so irritates the fury of a wound than the incapacity to bear it. Finally in the fierce countrymen themselves the tightest of bonds, if they stir themselves up, are pressed in, if they should keep calm, they are loosened, the painful force of attacks of fever is lessened by tolerating it, it is increased by disturbances. But if they know country things to have regard for themselves so that they are forgetful of nature, by which they lessen pain, how much more so in men frequent experience has taught that of those who have been wounded tolerance for those wounding has been a disgrace, that without an accuser they have set right what they had not corrected by an accusation! But let it be, the arrogance of the Roman judges has been intolerable, what therefore is more tolerable, that everyone or one suffer? What moreover is the justice, when one has done the injury, to carry a war to all? Now are all the Romans the originators of the injury? Is Caesar himself? Or is the carefully chosen one dishonest who was sent to you? But they are not able to see across the seas and the eyes to stretch to the east from the west that they may see there what things are being done here, [p. 148] nor to hear easily, what, although solicitude should examine it, the great distance prevents by the difficulty of inspections. Will the fault of one therefore give birth to a separation from the Roman empire, when even without your complaints there may be a speedy correction with no ill will of an accusation, no hardship of a journey? With annual changes the Roman magistrates are moved, from which it happens that an arrogant one does not remain long and a more moderate one quickly succeeds. Nothing therefore will hurt anyone, since a remedy is bestowed even upon those who are keeping calm. To weave reasons for war is pernicious, since the condition of war is harsh against all, against the Romans it is a last resort. Whom if you wish to flee since you are not able to conquer, the world must be abandoned by you. But you allege the desire for freedom. That consideration of yours is too late. Before it had to be fought so that you would not lose your freedom, you demanded it back as if already lost. The experience of slavery is harsh, and therefore it ought not to have been submitted to from the beginning or having been accepted it ought to be borne with equanimity. It behooved to have resisted at that time, when you were called into slavery. That would have been a just fight. He however who has once given himself into slavery, although afterwards he may wish to withdraw, he is not considered as a lover of liberty, but is adjudged to be a defiant slave. Where was that defense of liberty when Pompeius was advancing upon your country, when he entered the city as your master? Where were the weapons for liberty? Why were they laid down by your fathers? And certainly they were braver than you. They were strong in mind, they had abundant forces, they desired to fight back, but they could not hold back even a small part of the Roman army. They were conquered but spared. They acknowledged the yoke of servitude, they did not bear the penalty of captivity. Why do you their heirs refuse what you owe by the law of succession? The actions of your fathers bind you. How do you refuse submission who are so much inferior to those who were submissive? And what will be left you when you arouse Caesar and all the Roman power against you? How can you resist them, who have triumphed in all things and are now helped by all who were fighting against them? And the Athenians even who surrendered their country to destruction for the freedom of all Greece, changing their homes for exile lest Xerxes should rule over them, who sailed across the land, marched across the waters, whom neither the seas stopped nor the land held back, the passage of his march included the space of all Europe, the boundaries of the earth narrower than the travels of his army, they so pursued him fleeing, that fleeing with scarcely one ship and lacking assistance, he took himself away from captivity. Truly these very men, who subdued all Asia because of little Salamis and gloriously put Xerxes to flight who ruled the waves and subjugated the seas in that he thought them subject to him, they now are subservient to the Romans, and the leaders of all Greece are now submissive to the commands of the Italians, and that Athens, which gave laws to others, now is a slave to foreign laws. The Lacedaemonians also after the triumphs of Thermopylae and of dead Leonidas, after Agesilaus the savior of Asia now love their masters. Macedonia and Africa, which through two very strong leaders had poured out the rule and control of the entire world into their authority, the power having been taken from them are not resentful and content with such a great change of fortune they desire the well-disposed whom they sought for slavery. Neither by the riches of Philippus nor the triumphs of Alexander are the Macedonians excited, which two leaders they consider not unmerited the most prudent of all, because one held himself inside Greece, the other fleeing the Roman arms arrived a conqueror all the way to the Caspian kingdoms and the limits of the Persian conquests and the remote regions of the Indians. He obtained the name of the Great, because he did not challenge the greatest of all. Whom an untimely death took away from the triumph of the Romans, it served however in his descendants by whom the plunder of the east was sought not for the support of domination but as the reward of slavery, so that the highest of the slaves might reach to the wealth of the victor. The great worth in Alexander: what was so wonderful? He extended his conquests to the ocean, the Romans beyond the ocean. The witness is Britain located outside the world but brought into the world by the valor of the Romans. They are slaves who indeed themselves did not know what slavery was having been born only for themselves and always free for themselves, who separated from the power of the strongest by an intervening ocean were not able to fear those whom they did not know. And so it was greater to have crossed to the Britons that to have triumphed over the Britons. What should be done by those elements already subject to Roman rule. The ocean taught them submission to slavery after it itself had acknowledged to itself unaccustomed servitude to the ships of the Romans and those crossing it. What shall I say about Hannibal? Who was the victor over so many countries and waged war on the Romans, to whose triumphs he opened the Alps, he laid out a path, he subjugated cities which were acquired by the victors. And although frequently victorious he never however had cut off hope to the beaten, and once beaten himself he was not able to recover. He fell back voluntarily to the victories, which as victor he did not keep up, and his arms having been abandoned to the victors [p. 151] he took himself to king Prusia, a hired soldier who had been a leader, a fugitive who had been a conqueror. A kindness to the inhabitants of Gaul a people wild by nature and wilder from the natural walls, whom not the cement of walls but the peaks of the Alps protect on the east, the ocean shuts in on the west, the ruggedness of the Pyrenees on the south, on the north the flowing of the Rhine and vast Germany were thought make them insuperable and inaccessible by the benefit of the barriers. To the Romans however traveling above the clouds and extending their rule beyond the Pillars of Hercules nothing was impassable: with great facility of the enemy both those who hid were discovered and those who resisted were conquered. From whose unexpected arrival Germany believed that the mountains had sunk down, the Rhine had dried up: more powerful than the rest from the size of their bodies and their contempt of death they previously thought their Rhine a shield, now a guardian of their safety. And so now it is filled not with the boats of the Germans but the warships of the Romans, which going over all the waters of the two-horned river to the sea press the at one time free tribes into slavery, so that those who had previously taken for granted their rule over the entire world, now have paid the price of their own slavery. What profited the Illyrians (Indo-European inhabitants of Yugoslavia.) the gold dug out from the veins of their lands, to whom it was not sufficient for the fight for freedom? How much more valuable was the Roman iron, whom does the gold of the Pannonians serve? And so Pannonius gives a tribute of gold and willingly transfers its wealth to the Roman treasury, that it may be safer in its servitude. Nor did the wild wave turbid with the gold of the Pactolus (A river in Lydia, in the today's western half of Turkey.) raise its inhabitant into haughtiness: it was a willing slave to those to whom it saw the states to be a slave. Nor does the Indian marvel at his jewel or the Chinese his wool: they cultivate them for the use of their masters, not the rewards of trade but the duties of performance. We hear of the proud states of the Persians but we see their hostages also, and although they may rule many nations, however they offer their children and they rejoice their nobility to serve the Romans as a pledge of peace, at the same time they learn by serving to rule themselves. They offer clothing, necklaces, elephants also. The kings impose one tax to the Romans. We add Egypt overflowing with its wealth and not lacking heavenly rain, which itself generates showers for itself and creates the abundance of showers. Finally although it is hotter than all regions, it alone does not complain of drought, and what occurs for no other place, it nourishes its crops by irrigation, it sails in the sands, it sails through the crops where rain is not known. Whose however extraordinary return and natural fruitfulness serves the Romans so that it feeds the masters during four months. What shall I say of that city named after the most powerful king? Which surrounded by the wall of a river does not know a blockade, for which the greatest of all rivers in a bowl spread out through a space of the land keeps at a distance the hindrance of a blockade and by bringing in those things which are necessary for use furnishes the remedy. What would have been more advantageous for rebelling than for Egypt to be incited? Which numbers ten times seven hundred fifty thousand men beyond the inhabitants of Alexandria subject to Roman rule. And although it has such a great multitude, it prefers however to conduct itself with the taxes of the Roman empire rather than to make war with its own military service. I shall not pass over the Cyrenensians a race of the Lacedaemonians who at one time fought with the Carthaginians about their territories and rule, offering death as an end of the contest,

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defeated by which offering but nevertheless having avenged the injury they conceded victory to the Phileni brothers. Nor shall I pass by the Syrtes 3 frightful even just to hear about which draw all to themselves and cling to all approaching in the shallow sea. Those experienced in things assert a third part of the entire world from the Atlantic Ocean and the Pillars of Hercules to the Red Sea and Ethiopia to be marked off. Who would count the people of so many races, protected by which Carthage did not withstand the right wing of Scipio and preferred to feed Rome against itself during two parts of the year rather than relying upon the help of others to rebel against the Romans? Crete also with one hundred noble cities, preferring rich kingdoms, surrounded on all sides by the sea, accustomed to repel an enemy by the waves just as if by mountains, fears one consul, and very many people bow down from fear of the six rods of the fasces; Asia, the Pontus, Eniochians, the Scythian nomads, the Tauroscythians, the Moetian kingdoms, and all the Bosphorians are made subject to the Roman empire, and that before fifty ships reduced the unnavigable sea to peace. On the other hand what shall I say about Armenia which not only preserves the quiet of its borders, but truly even intent on the guardianship of the Gates carefully searches out lest anybody about to disturb the peace should creep in? All are therefore eager to serve the Romans, you alone refuse to be submissive to them, to whom all are made subject? relying on what arms, proud with what army? Where is the fleet of your ships, which might blockade the straits, run through the seas of the Romans? For against their name the elements have crossed, against which the world has crossed, which is shut off and bounded by the Roman empire, finally it is called by most a Roman world. For if we seek the truth, as we said above, the earth itself is within the Roman empire, having progressed beyond which the Roman valor has sought another world for itself beyond the ocean and in Britain has found a new possession for itself removed from the confines of the world. Finally they to whom the law not only of the Roman state but even almost of human activity itself is denied, are directed there, and they live there as if exiles from the world. The ocean has submitted to its boundaries, the Roman knows how to seek out its remote secrets. With ourselves there will be war against whom not even nature has its rights. The Euphrates inaccessible before unless to its inhabitants on both banks is Roman and shows the entire east to be under the Roman empire. Hister in the northern regions flowing among innumerable and savage tribes has receives hostages, it restrains enemies. The southern region as far as it is able to be habitable cultivates for the Romans and collects its harvest for them. In the west at one time the farthest of the lands Gaditana beaches received new visitors who carry their tribute to the Roman empire, it has its own resources with which it directs its commerce. Where previously it valued only piracy, there now it carries on commerce. Since therefore all places belong to the Romans, from where for yourselves against the Romans will you seek help? From what uninhabitable region will you seek allies? For whoever are in the world are Romans all. Will you direct an embassy beyond the Euphrates to the Adiabenians? Nor is it free to them to abandon their concerns nor does the Parthian allow the peace sought for him to be granted lest himself in the neighbours be guilty of rebellion. You should not think this war like as if they are battles waged by you against Arabs and Egyptians. Roman weapons are different, and there are other resources sought out from the entire world. Nor should you be deluded by the protections for Jerusalem its walls: they have broken down the the stronger wall of the ocean. But do you anticipate about assistance from religion when the disciples of Jesus have already filled the Roman world? Or without the nod of god do we think that religion to grow and the city of Rome to extend its rule over all regions? Truly our religion long ago forsook us, because we abandoned the faith and in great numbers sought things prohibited by heavenly edicts. From where did the Egyptian come against us? How were we made captives of the Assyrians? Did not scripture say these things would happen? Was it not written that all the sacraments of the temple would be profaned? Those things already too frequently profaned are displaying their strength and all the influence of their mysteries. The temple has been contaminated with human blood, the couches have been filled with bodies, the altars covered with gore. Battles have been fought on the sabbath, transgression has occurred while the temple is defended not by its usage and the solemnity of its festivals but by bloody battle. And this certainly can be said again. Therefore how can we deserve divine aid as if against enemies opposed to religion, when we ourselves are inflicting violations upon our religion? What therefore is the remedy, when human resources do not lend support, nor does divine grace bring aid? For some to call upon the second of these for war is the custom, for you each is not available. What therefore remains except certain destruction? But if you do not turn aside while it is possible to beware, nothing else except that you yourselves will burn up your country and will burn up the temple, and you will give your wives and children also to death. To whom you will be the originators of the greatest loss, since the inconsolable development of all these evils will be ascribed to our blame which we are supporting. It adds to this that the wars of other cities have ended with the destructions of their inhabitants, your rebellion will be the destruction of the entire religion, which having diffused over the entire world has spread its peoples everywhere, and in all cities there is a part of us. Therefore in your battle all Jews will be implicated, nor will there be any region free from our blood. And if the Romans are such, that they do not take vengeance on the Jews and are not provoked by the war, how unjust is it to make war on those whose kindness you hope for? It is well, dearest ones, it is well, while the ship is still in port, to foresee the future storm, and that anyone not throw himself into threatening dangers, lest, when you have proceeded into the deep, already your are not able to avoid the shipwreck. And frequently certainly a sudden storm arises, and war follows, even though it is not inflicted; but it is better to attack an enemy that to ward him off. Not provoked he spares more, and necessity excuses insolence, when truly anyone plunges himself into abrupt danger, he is burdened with disgrace. He is not an enemy whom you are able to avoid by flight. Wherever you will go, danger follows, indeed you will surely find it. For all are friends of the Romans, and whoever is outside the friendship of the Romans is an enemy of everyone. May love of your country move you. If consideration of your hostages, of your wives does not call you back, let contemplation of the most sacred temple recall you, spare at least our religion, spare the consecrated priests, whom the Romans will not spare nor the temple itself, who regret that they spared them, inasmuch as for a long time all the nations wish to destroy our religion, Pompeius however spared it although he could have destroyed it. I have omitted nothing, I have warned of everything which pertains to our safety. I recommend to you what I choose for myself, you consider closely what is advantageous for yourselves. I wish for there to be peace with the Romans for you and me. If you reject it, you yourselves take away my association. Either there will be common good fortune, or peril without me." Saying this he wept, Beronice his sister also, for she herself was in the heights of Xystus. And Agrippa had influenced them greatly with his tears, so that the Jews say: 'It is not the Romans we rebel against but Florus who has committed acts deserving of war and whom we consider to be waging war.' Agrippa answered: 'But this is to make war against the Romans, your acts seek injury of the Romans. Not to Florus but to the Romans, tribute is being denied not to Florus but to Caesar, the troops not of Florus but of the Romans are in the fort, which is called Antonia, from which the colonnades having been pulled down and broken up you have separated the temple so that the guard may be isolated. Restore the previous situation. Let the tribute which is owed to Caesar be paid to Caesar, lest Florus should report this, not himself but the rule of Caesar to have been rejected by you.' The people had assented to his words, so that when Agrippa had ascended into the temple, they begin to build the colonnade as is was, they collect the tribute. Indeed within a short time diligent agents having been sent out for the duty of this type the forty talents were collected, which were lacking for the payment of the tribute. All the uproar of war had been suppressed, but Agrippa wishing to join to this, that they should be submissive to Florus, until a successor to him should come from Caesar, so irritated the common people, that they indeed did not refrain from abuse of him, but thrust out from the city it is uncertain whether some people stones having been thrown may have struck him. Provoked by which offense the king seized their leaders and sent them to Florus. Moreover he departed into his kingdom.

10 With him departing the instigators of war ambushes having been arranged captured Masada a fortress the guards of the Romans having been killed they stationed their own men. Eleazarus the son of the foremost of the priests a man of reckless boldness, persuaded that an offering or sacrifice of a foreigner should not be accepted, which was a trumpet call of war against the Romans and aroused everyone into an uproar. And so those who were most prominent seeing that this thing would be the cause of an abrupt withdrawal, stressed upon the people that not only war against Caesar would be invited but even the institution of religion would be violated and reverence for the temple would be diminished, the traditions of the fathers would be complained of and condemned, who from the offerings of foreigners decorated the temple, to which much more of wealth accrued from the contribution of nations and the gifts of separate and innumerable peoples, the sacred things of our ancestors would be forgotten, the sacred rites would be changed. What will happen with those things which have been previously collected, if in a similar manner offerings of the nations should be prohibited to be collected in the future? Or if that should be forbidden to the Romans alone which is permitted to all others, which would be an incentive of war? Finally it would be wicked, if among the Jews only it was not permitted to foreigners to sacrifice or to make offerings. It was necessary for them to consider that the peace of Caesar would be broken, who provoked by an offense of this nature without doubt it would come about that he would take from the Jews every practice of sacrifices; that they should not sacrifice for themselves who rejected the sacrifice of Caesar, this must be prevented in time; for if such plans should come to Florus and without doubt from there to Caesar, they would make destruction to the nation of the Jews. At the same time wishing to build on this by the testimony of the priests they asked if an offering of gentiles had ever been rejected by our ancestors. That this should be less allowed, prepared for riot they made a great noise, not even the attendants dared to insert themselves into such a great controversy of those quarrelling. One remedy was seen to remain, that Florus and Agrippa the king should arrive with a troop of soldiers, so they at least should desist from fear who by no means were recalled from their plan. But Florus, who wished the strife to be increased lest there be any reason for pardon to the Jews, from whom if they were involved with war every opportunity would be extinguished of pressing upon his brigandage and serious crimes, he allowed the madness of war to come forth, he gave nothing of a response to the ambassadors. Agrippa, whom the embassy of his relatives Cylus and Antipas and Costobarus especially canvassed, for the common good, so that he should save the Jews for the Romans and their religion for the Jews, the temple for the country, the city for the citizens and the glory of rule for himself, tranquillity for the kingdom, sent three thousand horsemen, Darius and Philippus the leaders of the troops, that relying upon the help of the honest men should support the counsellors of the factions. From this cause confidence arose for the honest men, anger for the disloyal; combat became established, when the juster cause, which however being nothing of weaponry does not aid the conflicts, inflamed the former, fury and the number of their multitude inflamed the latter. There were scattered lines of combatants. The foremost of the priests and that part of the common people, which wished for peace, with the royal cavalry seized the higher part of the city, the others situated in the lower part claimed for themselves the temple and the neighbouring sacred places. At first they provoke the fight on both sides with stones and rocks and the hurling of missiles, they decide it with arrows, afterwards hand to hand fighting when the necessity of fighting presented itself. From skill and experience the royal troops prevail wishing to keep the arousers of the war away from entry lest they should contaminate the temple. On the other side it was the desire of Eleazarus to take possession with his men of the higher part of the city which was called Sion. It was fought for seven days without any intermission. The eighth was the day of a festival, on which all were accustomed to bring in wood for the altars, lest at some time the fire should die out, which it was necessary to maintain inextinguishable, it added fury that all the attendants were shut out from the temple. The king's men yielded to the sicarii who were rushing in more daringly than usual nor did they dare to make a stand in the higher parts. The shrines of Agrippa and Beronice were burned, every royal instrument was plundered. The fire was spread about, so that even the hand written documents of debtors which were put away in the public records office were burned, so that those without resources rose up insolently against their lenders. Thinking themselves freed from every obligation they burned the city with their own hands. The sinews of the city were burned, the fort was stormed which has the name Antonia, all the guards discovered were killed, it was afterwards burned. Bursting into Masada also Manaemus the son of Judas the Galilaean, experienced in sophistical art and confusing situations, takes possession of the weapons armory and furnishes unarmed men with weapons. Going back into Jerusalem just as if in the royal manner with accompanying attendants he had become haughty to such a great extent that surpassing the practice of a private citizen not even from the unlawful, which free people were not able to bear, it was thought that he must be restrained. Many people rising up against him who upbraided him as a tyrant propped up by the royal garments and a lord lying upon the freedom of the citizens, he paid a heavy penalty as first overthrown he died from tortures. Not however was the conflict removed, for a much more serious disturbance rose up. At the end Metilius with the Roman soldiers pleaded that it should be permitted to them to depart, a pledge having been given and sacraments offered, when according to the agreement they had put down their weapons, they should depart without fear, by Eleazarus and the allies of his faction they were cut down unavenged, having decided that resistance should not be made against the violence nor beseeching, but only crying out the broken pledge and the perjury of the deceitful. And so all having been killed, Metilius himself the commander by asking and imploring, at the same time promising that he would become a Jew all the way also to circumcision alone is spared.

11 All Judaea was on fire, the entire province of Syria also was aroused to war. Finally the Caesarians killed whatever Jews they held, aroused by which anguish the Jews having attacked many cities of Syria revolted. There was nowhere law, nowhere respect for religion, he was more respected who had plundered more amassing the rewards of bravery. It was a wretched spectacle, when unburied bodies lay everywhere in the cities, old men mixed with boys, women also nor on account of modesty of observers were any protections left

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behind with which the pudenda might be covered; all places were disgusting and full of miserable sights. Which although the painful and abominable cruelties had exceeded foul horror, threatened even still worse things to them in turn. There was brutal villainy between the Jews and the Syrians, since there was no hope of safety unless they should mutually stop themselves. Indeed what of the city, which had Jews and Syrians mixed together? The days were passed in blood, the nights in terror, neither to hatred nor to rapacity was there any limit. For beyond the difference of parties and culture which had broken out into a public evil, inordinate desire of having and pillaging had eagerly taken possession of the mind, so that they considered that no one whom from desire for booty they had assigned to death should be spared. What may I say about the small number of the murdered? For besides the Antiochians and Sidonians and Apamenians it is difficult to find any people who did not persecute the Jews dwelling with them. On the other hand the Gerasenians followed those wishing to depart all the way to their own boundaries so that they might go away without any treachery. But at Alexandria a controversy having arisen between the gentiles and the Jews since the Jews were demanding vengeance and were threatening to burn up with seized torches the people of the gentiles gathered in the amphitheater, they turned against themselves the commander of the place Alexander Tiberius who was looking after other matters. At first indeed he tried to restore public harmony with peaceful words, but when he noticed he was being mocked by those whom he was carefully warning, and that by no other means was it possible for the riot to be stopped, he gave his soldiers the power of attacking them, who having surrounded and attacked them made a great slaughter through the entire city, when they killed some who were resisting, others who were hiding in their homes, nor did any mercy even of small children appear or respect for the aged or concern for the modesty of women. And so fifty thousand of the Jews were slain. The streets were overflowing with blood, all were filled with bodies, flames crackled through the city from the fierce fire, which thrown into the houses of the Jews laid waste their neighbourhoods. Unbending however Alexander finally orders the soldiers to abstain and the recall to be sounded, the anger of the mob however having once come forth into the capability of killing was by no means soothed.

12 They indeed paid the punishments of their crimes, who after they had crucified Jesus the judge of divine matters, afterwards even persecuted his disciples. However a great part of the Jews, and very many of the gentiles believed in him, since they were attracted by his moral precepts, by works beyond human capability flowing forth. For whom not even his death put an end to their faith and gratitude, on the contrary it increased their devotion. And so they brought in murderous bands and conducted the originator of life to Pilatus to be killed, they began to press the reluctant judge. In which however Pilatus is not absolved, but the madness of the Jews is piled up, because he was not obliged to judge, whom not at all guilty he had arrested, nor to double the sacrilege to this murder, that by those he should be killed who had offered himself to redeem and heal them. About which the Jews themselves bear witness, Josephus a writer of histories saying, that there was in that time a wise man, if it is proper however, he said, to call a man the creator of marvelous works, who appeared living to his disciples after three days of his death in accordance with the writings of the prophets, who prophesied both this and innumerable other things full of miracles about him. from which began the community of Christians and penetrated into every tribe of men nor has any nation of the Roman world remained, which was left without worship of him. If the Jews don't believe us, they should believe their own people. Josephus said this, whom they themselves think very great, but it is so that he was in his own self who spoke the truth otherwise in mind, so that he did not believe his own words. But he spoke because of loyalty to history, because he thought it a sin to deceive, he did not believe because of stubbornness of heart and the intention of treachery. He does not however prejudge the truth because he did not believe but he added more to his testimony, because although disbelieving and unwilling he did not refuse. In which the eternal power of Jesus Christ shone bright because even the leaders of the synagogue confessed him to be god whom they had seized for death. And truly as god speaking without limitation of persons or any fear of death he announced also the future destruction of the temple. But the damage of the temple did not move them, but because they were chastized by him in scandal and sacrilege, from this their wrath flared up that they should kill him, whom no ages had held. For while others had earned by praying to do what they did, he had it in his power that he could order all things what he wished to be done. John the Baptist a holy man, who never placed the truth of salvation in second place, had been killed before the death of Jesus. Finally to all things which he taught to be full of righteousness, with which he invited the Jews to the worship of god, he had instituted baptism for the sake of purification of mind and body. For whom freedom was the cause of his death, because he was unable, the law having violated of the right of fraternal marriage, to endure the wife abducted from a brother by Herod. For when this same Herod was travelling to Rome, having entered the house of his brother for the purpose of lodging, the wife to whom was Herodias the daughter of Aristobolus, the sister of king Agrippa, unmindful of nature he dared to solicit her, that the brother having been left behind she should marry him, when he had returned from the city of Rome, with the consent of the woman an agreement of lewdness having been entered into information of which thing came to the daughter of king Areta still remaining in marriage of Herod. She indignant at her rival insinuated to her returning husband that he should go to the town Macherunta which was in the boundaries of king Petreus and Herod. He who suspected nothing, at the same time because he had impaired the whole state around the same, by which he could more easily keep the faith of the agreement to Herodias if he should get rid of his wife, agreed to her diversion. But she when he came near to her father's kingdom revealed the things learned to her father Areta, who by an ambush attacked and completely destroyed in a battle the entire force of Herod, the betrayal having been made through those, who from the people of Philippus the tetrarch had associated themselves to Herod. Whence Herod took the quarrel to Caesar, but the vengeance ordered by Caesar the anger of god took away, for in the very preparation of war the death of Caesar was announced. And we discover this assessed by the Jews and believed, the author Joseph a suitable witness against himself, that not by the treachery of men but by the arousing of god Herod lost his army and indeed rightly on account of the vengeance of John the Baptist a just man who had said to him: it is not permitted you to have that wife. But we construe this thusly as if in their own people the Jews preserved their lawful rights, among whom the power of the high priest had perished and the avarice of those killed and the arrogance of the powerful, who thought the right to do what they wished was permitted to them. For from the beginning Aaron [p. 166] was the chief priest, who transmitted to his sons by the will of god and a lawful anointing the prerogative of the priesthood, by whom by the order of succession are constituted those exercising the chief command of the priesthood. Whence by the custom of our fathers it became valid for no one to become the foremost of the priests, unless he was from the blood of Aaron, to whom the first law of this method of the priesthood was entrusted. It is not permitted to succeed to a man of another descent even if a king. Finally Ozias, because he seized the office of the priesthood, overspread with leprosy ejected from the temple, he spent the rest of his life without authority. And without doubt he was a good king, but it was not permitted to him to usurp the office of religion.

13 And so there were from the time when our fathers departed from Egypt up to the building of the temple which Solomon founded thirteen leaders of the priests who make up six hundred twelve years inasmuch as at first he who was the foremost of the priests continued all the way to his death, nor was anyone substituted in the place of those living. Afterwards they were substituted even for the living. Therefore these thirteen inherited the priesthood through the right of succession, at which times the power of judges and kings was both rule by the best born and absolute rule. On the other hand from Solomon to the times of the captivity, when the people emigrated into Syria the city having been captured and the temple destroyed, there were eighteen leaders of the priests through four hundred sixty years and six months and ten days. Moreover the people were in captivity for seventy years. Afterwards Cyrus when he dismissed the people from the territory of the Assyrians and gave them permission to rebuild the temple he even permitted the chief of the priests Iosedec who had been taken away at the same time to return, in order that the solemnity of the ancient rite might be restored through the knowledge of an accustomed priest. He therefore and his male descendants to the number fifteen from the return of the people up to Antiochus Eupator functioned in the office in the order of succession and represented the leadership of the priesthood for four hundred fourteen years, the first being Antiochus, whom we mentioned above, and his commander Lysias, Onia the chief of the priests having been killed, in his place they substituted Iacimus into the priesthood. Who although he was of the family of Aaron, he was not however from the house itself. From which Ananias a brother of Onia traveling into Egypt sought from Ptolomaeus Filometor and Cleopatra the wife of Filometor, who had inserted the rites of the practices in imitation of the Jerusalem ritual in the observances of the city of Alexandria, that from there a leader of the priests should be substituted, for the reason that Iacimus did not have a lawful right of succession of the priesthood. But the same however three years having passed died; nor did he deserve to have a successor, who had annulled the necessary formality of the lawful succession. And so the state was three years without a leader of the priesthood. Up to this time of the retreat of the fathers from the land of the Egyptians it had maintained a democracy, for the reason that the people of the Jews recognized themselves to have been led into captivity because of the wickednesses of their kings. Afterwards the Asamonaeans, having gained the power of presiding over the people, set up Ionathan as chief of the priests, who having served for seven years the office having been received found the end of life through the treachery of Tryphonis. In whose place however Simon a full brother just as if through selection by hereditary right succeeded, whom we have received as killed during a dinner by the treachery of a son-in-law. From whom to his son Hyrcanus, whom flight had taken away from danger, the prerogative of the priesthood migrated. But to Hyrcanus Aristobolus was substituted, who had joined the kingship to the mentioned office so that he was a partaker of each, and to Aristobolus Alexander was substituted. Both the kingship and the priesthood remained in the power of Alexander all the way to the last day of his life, namely through seven and twenty years, but for the most part in a doubtful status, for between himself and Demetrius the victory was doubtful and there was great hatred from the citizens. Alexander dying, who saw that the inheritance of his hatreds would be full of danger for his sons, wished his wife Alexandria practiced in the exercise of rule and the association of impartial advisors, more acceptable moreover to the people, because against the fierceness of her husband she had frequently been a protection to those imperiled, and a moderation to her husband, to control the governing of the kingdom, at the same time establishing her the judge, to which of the sons the powerful peak of the priesthood should be entrusted. She substituted Hyrcanus for her father in the priesthood, either because of the prerogative of greater age, or because it seemed to his mother with a gentler nature than his brother he would stir up no troubles in charge of the business of the kingdom. To Aristobolus she gave nothing of the public offices, but he actually with his mother living, on the occasion however of her illness, exercised the kingship in remote and well fortified places. Displeased by whom and made uneasy by the complaints of Hyrcanus she the force of sickness having proceeded not beyond nine years of rule left Hyrcanus the heir of everything, not that she anticipated that he would watch over it, but that she should not support someone unworthy or by a more favorable judgement arouse the insolence of a usurper. Truly the death of Alexandria deprived Hyrcanus of the priesthood and the kingship. For defeated in war he took himself to a fortified place, and the wife and sons of Aristobolus having been held back, whom he had found in the fort, he embraced them to change the situation, that all power and the priesthood should go over to Aristobolus, he himself as a private citizen would submit into the house of Aristobolus. But however he was not content for long to have exchanged the royal court for a private household. So incited at first by Antipater he went into Arabia as if contesting the unfairness of the agreement, then when they were irresolute on his behalf against the Romans, whom Aristobolus had enticed into partnership of himself through Scaurus, he turned to the assistance of the Arab king, he took his complaint to Pompeius who was arriving. Who struck down in battle the cheating Aristobolus who was already governing in his third year, and before victory he gave him to prison and his people having been overcome and the city captured, ordering him as a captive with his sons to be taken to Rome, he gave back the position of the priesthood to Hyrcanus and decided however that he should govern the citizens without a crown and the headbands of royal power, an adviser indeed of great honor but of peace, so that the peace should not be disturbed by a spirit of fraternal haughtiness. Thus Aristobolus, although a captive, still deprived Hyrcanus of the kingship, and for twenty four years afterwards exercised power more in practice than in name.. Still however he was not the end of life for Hyrcanus who was in his power. For he (i.e., Hyrcanus) yielded the remaining time of infamy, as we recounted before, in fact overcome in battle with the Parthians (Persians) who were crossing the Euphrates he was captured and given into the power of Antigonus a son of Aristobolus and his ears also having been cut off not thus even did he satisfy the harshness of a wretched hardship. For after these things also carried away an exile into Parthia, a weak old man he showed himself a laughingstock to the barbarians, and it having been learned afterwards that Herod was ruling, whose wife Mariamme his granddaughter had gotten control of, he returned into Judaea. Where at first he was received with the greatest appearance of respect, by which a veil of treachery was concealed, not at all much later the crime having been alleged that he wished to regain power he was killed. Herod therefore having gained the kingdom, which he had received from the Romans at the price of the seige and surrender of the country, in the place of Antigonus, who had held the supreme power for three years and three months, he substituted as successors in the priestshood not of the family of Asamonaeus, whom we have accepted to have been of illustrious lineage, but of low birth whomever whom either lust or chance had given over, however fatigued by the requests of Alexandra or terrified by the accusations of his father-in-law he created Ionathen the brother of his wife a priest who served for seventeen years. Whom presently he himself gave to death suspected of a desire for supreme power, because around him the great favour of

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the entire people was seen to blaze up from day to day. And so Anhelus being held in less esteem, whom he had already nominated from the lowborn into the priesthood before Ionathan, he chose the rest in order of this sort, about whom he had nothing suspect. For what he was not able to tolerate in his relations, how could he not be ware of in strangers? Archelaus followed a similar pattern in making appointments of this character, with the appearance of an ancestral habit he held the opinion of a mean mind in a certain manner inherent in human mortals, that among them worthlessness of the stupid is less to be suspected than the favors of the good, although the weak mind may be more insolent in favorable circumstances, the more prudent will know to pay back reciprocally with favors. And therefore from the kingship of Herod to the rule of the Romans, which Archelaus having been deposed joined Iudaea to the other provinces, and so from there all the way to the destruction of the temple and the triumph of Titus there were twenty eight head priests during one hundred seventy years. Truly for most of these it was only a position of dignity, for in the hands of very few was there the exercise of power. It is evident therefore that among the chiefs of the priests succession of the legitimate family did not survive, because not all were from Aaron nor from his sons, who substituted in his place left to others the appearance of the prescribed succession. And so with avarice or treachery of their own the institutions of our elders were destroyed, the laws of religion dishonored, the protections of antiquity overthrown, not undeservedly the divine assistance deserted them. From that it proceeded as if against an empty people with every type of injuries, so that with domestic riots they turned their own hands against themselves, they were afflicted with most serious brigandage, the most offensive judges were chosen by lots, those more worthless succeeded the wicked. Finally Albinus the very worst was considered of the best, in truth with Florus his successor he was considered among the honest ones, who brought out the torch of war and inflamed the fight between the Romans and the Jews, which was the cause for the great destruction of the temple and the city.

14 For Cestius when he discovered the Jews to be on fire with madness of war, who had received from the Romans the great task of ruling the military in parts of Syria, in the twelfth year of the rule of Nero moved the forces of the Roman foot soldiers, to whom the guardianship of restraining madness and upholding peace was committed, so that he might punish murder. The forces of his allies having been collected and having entered into Iudaea, the city which has the name Zabulon, the inhabitants having melted away from fear, full of riches, which fleeing to the tops of mountains the owners had not been able to take away with them, having allowed it to be laid waste by the army, having admired also the beauty of the public works, he ordered to be burned. And as if this were not enough for vengeance, the army having been sent ahead lest anyone should take himself from destruction by flight, by land and sea, a rush by the boats which had been sent seized Joppa. Eight thousand men having been killed and four hundred more almost, when the pillage of robbery stopped, the city was burned. The neighbourhood of Caesarea also having been pillaged, he plundered what was found, he burned the villages. Whose attack he broke off all the Sephorians coming forth to meet Cestius on the road, mollified by whose goodwill and favour he left the city exempt from ruin. A brotherhood of bandits was active in these places, but with the army coming they had departed into the mountains. Who, having attacked Gallus carrying standards in command of the twelfth legion, fought bravely, so that they killed about two hundred of the Romans. But truly when the Romans seized the higher places the robbers were not able to withstand the infantry in close combat, and fleeing easily surrounded by the cavalry they are killed. And so above two thousand were cut down, a few routed were able to hide in the steep places of the mountains, and all the region was cleansed of brigandage. Gallus returned into Caesarea; Cestius with all his troops proceeded to Antipatris, in which the Jews had amassed a not inconsiderable multitude. But before they put together their troops, dispersed through scattered areas they abandoned the region and villages to plundering and fire. Lydda also was found empty of inhabitants and was burned by Gabaus, which was fifty stadia from Jerusalem, where placed in view it received the Roman army, it armed the Jews. Who, the celebration of the sabbath having been postponed, which they initiated with solemn attention and ancient observance, they sprang forth against the Romans with such great vigor, that they would have routed the entire army if the cavalry had not come to the assistance of the oppressed foot soldiers. Five hundred fifteen men of the Romans were killed, but all were gravely endangered, of the Jews moreover twenty two were lost in the battle. In which place shone the valour of Monobazus and Cedaeus, who, it having been learned what had been raised up against the Romans by the Jews, having attacked from the front thrust back very many and forced them to retire into the city.

15 Simon also drove off the ascending Romans in the vicinity of the city from their baggage, whence Cestius held himself in the region for three days. The enemy surrounded during this delay and situated on higher ground advanced and watched everyone, lest anyone should break in with impunity. Considering that without much loss on either side nothing could be attempted, king Agrippa sent his men Borcius and Phoebus, who were to say to the people that whatever of outrage had been committed by them against the Romans was pardonable, if only in the future their arms having been put down they would take counsel for themselves, reckoning what he believed that it would either be persuaded to all that they should reject war, or that part would be plucked away from the rest. But the mutinous to the contrary, from fear that the second of these might happen, attacked the ambassadors and killed Phoebus. Borcius however having received a wound was barely able to escape. Cestius, seeing contentions of this type in the city, in which some rose up against the ambassadors, others recommended that the Romans be received by the city, having tried to advance all the way to Jerusalem drove back those resisting and himself approached to the third stadia of the memorable city with the army and spent three days there, on the fourth day an attack having been made he entered and immediately burned Bethesda and Caenopolis. Who hastening to the heights of the city, the mutinous fleeing into its interior, if he had thought the city could be broken into, without a doubt the entire war could have ended. In fact Ananus the son of Jonathan had assembled a great number, so that they should encourage the Romans with their voices as if they were about to unbar the gates. But while Cestius either is called back by Priscus and several of the centurions, who having been corrupted by Florus desired that the war should flare up, or trusts too little, Ananus with his people lets himself down from the wall. Who fleeing back to their own supporters, the mutinous seized their place. The Romans trying different approaches for five days, when they realized that a break in was impossible for them, the strongest having been selected and with these and archers they attacked the temple from the northern side. The Jews fighting bravely also did not take a rest and the enemy having been driven back repeatedly were elated. But at last some having been wounded by the multitude of arrows, others struck and frightened yielded to the Romans to undermine the wall, to the attackers to burn the door of the temple. Great alarm invaded the mutinous and a certain confusion of their minds. Finally many as if by the uninterrupted destruction of the about to be destroyed city took themselves away in flight and not daring to make a stand they gave the people assurance that with those departing, by whose multitude they had been surrounded, as if already free and having put aside a certain blockade of the wicked they poured themselves around the gates, which having been opened they received Cestius as if he had come not to attack he city but to defend it. But also a certain stupidity suddenly took possession of Cestius himself, so that he did not consider the despair of the wicked nor the desire of the people, who if he had brooded over the undertaking a short while, would have averted the war, would have captured the city. But the opposite, as far as it is given to be understood, the will of god put off for the Jews the imminent end of the war, until ruin enveloped many and almost all of the Jewish race. It was awaited, as I think, that in every sin the enormous size of the crimes would grow and make equal the measure of the great shames to the increase of the impiety. Why was it that, when he should have pushed on, Cestius suddenly called back the army and lifted the seige? By what sudden reversal of the situation contrary to what was expected the spirits of the good people broken, and the robbers aroused that they took up confidence and having turned back from flight to pursuing they attack the rear of the marching army and attacking confusedly there they cut down many of the cavalry and foot soldiers. And already the day was declining, whence fearing the nearness of night and the fog of darkness, which they trusted more who were knowledgeable of the places, by which they urged on on all sides those uncertain of the region, Cestius established a wall before the city and on the following day, when he left the enemy, he armed it against himself, as they thought fear to be the cause of his departure. And so flowing around on the sides, at the rear, they cut down the hindmost, they harass the advancing army with darts, the force of darts thrown into crowded ranks is not at all easy to be eluded. If anyone dared to strike back, to be open to a wound, if anyone turned himself to those harassing, to be left by his companions, to be shut in by the enemy, he who follows always more protected than he who precedes, for the latter covers his chest, the former uncovers his back to the enemy. And so the Romans were vigorously urged on as if beset, and already themselves burdened by the weight of their arms not able to sustain or endure, the enemy being faster whom it was not easy to pursue, and there was great fear lest the battle array be broken up. From the unfair situation of the contest they were not able to do injury to the enemy, since they themselves were being seriously harassed. Cestius adhered to his plan, although through the entire march he saw that his forces were being wiped out, and already very many of the first rank had been hurt. He halted for two days as if about to renew the exhausted. But when he saw the number of the enemy to be increasing more and more and everything crowded together around the circumference to block the path to his adversaries and himself which would cause delay there because more were collecting together, on the third day seeking the saving of an easier passage he commanded that the baggage of the column be put away. The pack animals were killed, most of the vehicles were smashed and other things of this type, which were more of a burden than of use in perils, were burned up or thrown aside, as instruments of sieges and kinds of weapons, by which they were more frightened, lest they should arm the enemy against themselves with their own supplies. But when the Jews noticed that flight rather than battle was being prepared by the Romans, they occupied the confined parts of the route, they made a stand in the less spread out places, they hindered in the front, they hemmed in from the sides, they pressed from the rear, they forced against the precipices, against which they were confined on all sides or having fallen were thrown down. The many overspread the sky with javelins, they covered the troops with arrows their duty never relaxing and disaster alone for their adversaries. Already the foot soldiers were not able to hold out, and the danger was truly greater for the cavalry, who from the precipitousness of the rocks and the slipperiness the horses slipping and falling were rolled down and hindered by the narrow path could not maintain ranks. On one side the cliffs, on the other side the precipices denied the opportunity of either flight or defense. The Jews on the contrary were more fired up with the anticipation of victory, they were threatening weary troops, they were pressing hard against men in a difficult predicament, they trampled upon those who were giving up hope, and they would have completely destroyed almost all the the supplies of the Roman army, if night had not come, by whose darknesss the fighting was hampered, and for this reason the Romans were able to make their way into the nearest town to which the name Bethoron, so that the Jews having poured around on all sides spied out the exits from the place, lest the Romans should escape. Cestius despairing of an open path attempted flight by trickery. And so he chose forty men, to whom the despair of escaping had poured in contempt of death. He stationed them in the fortifications with the order that during the entire night with the greatest noise they should shout out the functions of those spread out on the wall so that the preparation of the departing army should not be made evident to Jews by any customary indications, by which those whoever they are who are agitated are wont to give themselves away, while in silence everyone went out with no indication to the mistrusting Jews, who heard the usual noise of the guards, from which all thought the Romans to be remaining in place. With this trickery Cestius led out the army, and had already accomplished thirty stadia taking advantage of the loyalty in doubtful circumstances of those few, who about to perish without payment preferred to stand up for their comrades rather than destroy their own dangers. And indeed night hid the trickery but day betrayed it. For when things were revealed in the diffuse light and every place, in which the Romans stayed, appeared empty, an attack having been made first against those, by whose simulated duties they had been deceived, the Jews rush in and the forty men having been destroyed a light task, they follow the army, which during the night had accomplished a great distance and was urging on the march even faster during the day, lest it should be involved in the dangers of the night. The road was full of baggage, which the fleeing Romans had abandoned, lest anyone should be delayed by a too heavy pack. Utensils lay everywhere, useful items, and even things necessary for fighting, spear throwing machines battering rams and other equipment brought along for the destruction of a city, which the Jews following passed by lest there should be delays, returning they collected them, so that they should use these against those, who had abandoned them. For having followed all the way to the city Antipatris, they struck against everything passed by and having dropped the hope of catching the Roman army, they turn back their track and picking up the spoils from those killed they return to Jerusalem with triumph and hymns. From which great rejoicing resulted, that few of their own having been lost five thousand foot soldiers from the Roman army and three hundred (eighty and three hundred) horsemen were killed. Which was done in the twelfth year of the rule of Nero, as previously mentioned.

16 But that exultation was not from all the Jews. For there were those who wished passionately after that to rescue themselves not from the battle with Cestius but from trouble as if from the great danger of a sinking ship and to swim away from the shipwreck of the state, before the rest Custobarus and Saulus brothers with Philippus the leader of the troops of king Agrippa. These fleeing took themselves to Cestius seeking that they should be sent into Achaia to Nero. Whom Cestius being willing received nor did he deny their requests, that through them Caesar might be taught the cause of the war to have been Florus; upon him the greatest responsibility for the war lay, that the army had been surrounded by an unexpected multitude of plotters, which it was established had been rescued from danger more by the plan of its leader than entangled in it. Cestius aroused against Florus had attempted

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to calm down the hatreds but had not been able to. And so he had fallen into the war, not brought it on. These indeed had been ordered, that alarmed by all the agitation of Caesar against Florus he hoped the displeasure of Caesar concerning himself to be lessened, that he had become fearful of the knowledge of a thing done badly. And so most however were terrified by the defeat of the Roman army, the inhabitants of Damascus, fearing the contagion of a mistrusted society on account of the sharing of lodging, killed the Jews collected in the sports center, who inhabited the city with them---because they either from mistrust or deceit had managed already for a long time that they were separated from social intercourse with the gentiles, lest they should change anything in the night or alone be open to destruction---a very great truly mystery of silence so that the attempt of this matter discussed should not be passed even to their wives, inasmuch as these also from a great part of the Jews were mixed together in their cultures.

17 And so in a confined place all of them having attacked they killed ten thousand Jews, which was easy as prevented by armed men and unarmed they died. And indeed a recent example of his barbarity at Scythopolis proceeded even farther, by which I think the Damascans were aroused. For when the Jews were laying waste every neighbouring area, they came to Scythopolis and there the inhabitants having attacked to test the Jews submitted to their adversaries, whom they considered faithful to themselves, inasmuch as in the manner of human nature concern of safety outweighed distress. In favourable circumstances therefore establishing a brotherhood of fellow tribesmen they preferred an alliance of inhabitants, they threaten ruin to the fellow tribesman. Which was suspected by the people, because the performance was stretched out by the manifest spirit of hatreds, lest treachery should be gotten ready under the guise of pretense and they should attack the city at night with the residents less cautious, and with all the people having been overthrown they should restore favor to themselves among the Jews. .And besides to show their loyalty by this even around the gentiles if they wished, every generation they would go out from their city and seek out the neighbouring grove. Which having been done the Scythopolitans were quiet for two days so that a part of the Jews would put aside mistrust, would put on carelessness. On the third night when already the anticipated trust in grace had removed any apprehension of the guard, incautious and sleeping, violence having been inflicted, and ten and three thousands of men were killed and whatever things they had were plundered.

18 The suffering of Simon bitter to see and pitiable to hear drives an explanation, but it was remarkable from the strangeness of the thing. He was among the people of the Jews born of Saulus a not at all ignoble father, gifted with boldness of mind and strength of body, both of which he used in the destruction of his fellow tribesmen, who killed very many of the people coming in from outside in the frequent attack of the Jews, as if perhaps the conspirators were present, alone he was accustomed to hold out against the battle array and to rout the massed forces, he was the bond of the whole and a troop in war, and generally the savior in desperate circumstances. He demonstrated this to the citizens against his own people serving the forces of the Scythopolitans, but not for long to a kinsman was the vengeance owed to the blood lacking. For when, the good faith having broken, the surrounding Scythopolitans, who out of a peaceful situation had taken themselves to the grove, began to threaten with war and to press in, a mob even having killed the sons and parents of Simon although beyond reach of the rest they attacked with missiles and darts. Simon seeing the innumerable multitude superior in an easy task, since he was not able to bear it longer, drew his sword and having turned against the enemy shouted saying: I am receiving the proper return for my acts, who threatened with the death of kinsmen rather than yours and demonstrated good will and gave fraternal blood a pledge of peace to you, for which treachery is justly assigned. Now while I grant a pledge to foreigners I have sent against my family. I have betrayed my children and parents, whom however to be killed by you was not necessary, if you consider the reward of wickedness. I die therefore but angry at all, a friend to none, who have assailed my own people, with my own hands I will first seek retribution from myself. I have killed associates of my religion and sharers of my faith, I recognize what is owed for my wickedness. I will pay for the parricide suited for such a great sacrilege, that it may be both the penalty for the outrage and the glory for courage, lest anyone else should boast about a wound of mine, my own right hand will afterwards be turned against me myself, that it may be seen to be of fury that I die, not of weakness. Lest anyone should mock the dying, that madness should be a protector of parricide, parricide of sacrilege. Having spoken this he turned his gaze upon his children and parents and with indignant eyes, since already pathos mixed with anger was following, he transfixed his father snatched from the crowd with his sword, after him the mother is drawn lest there should be any who might appear as descendents. His wife voluntarily offers herself in succession lest dislodged from such a great husband she might survive. The sons run up, lest in death itself they should be judged unworthy of such a great father. He hastened with a swift blow to forestall the enemy. And therefore all his family having been killed he stood firm in the middle of his corpses and as though they were triumphing over their domestic sufferings because he saw no one of his to perish by an alien sword, he raised his right hand so that all should see and exposing to all the terrifying death for himself victorious he transfixed himself with his own sword. A remarkable young man because of his strength of body and greatness of mind, but because he bestowed trust upon foreigners rather than upon his own, he was worthy of such a death.

PSEUDO-HEGESIPPUS BOOK 3

1 As soon as these things things were reported to Nero located in regions of Achaia, where he had striven in the rehearsal of songs in the tragic style so that he should bring back the theatrical crown -- you would not know which was the more shameful, whether that the emperor should come forth onto the stage, or whether that he should fill the stage with his shameful acts, who would defile Oresten by singing and exhibit himself as a parricide -- a great fear entered him, not greatly fearing those comparisons of the public spectacles but the ends of the wars, that he should at some time or other recover his senses from the foulness of the theatrical entertainments and the raving of the parricidal madness and turned back to the cares of the state he should roar and rage within himself, because from the want of care of the leader rather than from the valour of the opponents the Roman state might receive a great disaster. Indeed he was trying to simulate bravery, but fear contradicted, and as if to offer the appearance of magnanimity, that he had a mind above the tribulations of business, but was distracted by uneasiness of mind, he chose a leader for diminishing the disgrace by finishing off the war. The future subversion of the final ruin urged on Judaea, so that Nero assumed the regal character and with the voice of a foreseeing counselor rendered a sound decision. Vespasian alone to be (him) to whom he with justice would entrust the supreme command of military affairs in the districts of the east, a man from a youth of triumphal military service grown up in campaigning, who had pacified with lasting peace the warlike Gauls aroused into war by the disturbance of the Germans and the fierceness of innate rashness. Britain also heretofore lying hid among the waves he won for the Roman empire with arms, with the wealth of which triumphed over Rome was richer, Claudius was considered more wise, Nero braver. And so they did not see wars of which people, they celebrated victories over those subjugated. Under this leader, I say again, Nero was terrible. Nero was to be feared, powerful abroad, secure at home, the faith and fortitude of Vespasian between themselves being equal. That man of such greatness, by whose arms the faults of Nero were concealed from the minds of foreign peoples, as he also made bright by his triumphs the wantonness of (Nero's) human affairs and the scandal of (Nero's) unmanly impurity. And so when fighting had to be done in the farthest regions of the Roman territory, Vespasian was chosen out of all, when the war had been put down, Vespasian was associated in power in preference to all the rest, lest he should be left a public enemy or creep up a domestic enemy. He was worthy by (his) campaigns that he should have command of military affairs, he taught loyalty, he displayed high character. Nero reluctantly sent him, who took away guardianship of him, but he was restrained by future punishments of his crimes, so that he left himself defenceless dissociated from the great companionship of (this) leader. At no time actually would Galba have exercised desires of striving for the supreme power, unless he had learned Vespasian (to be) absent. But god managed this, that the man was sent into Syria, who both destroyed the insolence of the Jews by the final overthrow of the race and the disgrace of captivity, and forsook his support of Nero, granted that it is possible to bring an impediment of no value against celestial decisions. Demented however, when he had learned that a strong force of the Roman army had been shattered by the war of the Jews, he rose up against the Christians, so that a doomed end approached him.

2 At that time Peter and Paul were in Rome, teachers of the Christians, distinguished in works, brilliant in administration, who by virtue of their works had made Nero an adversary who had been captured by the enticements of the Magian Simon who had won over his mind to himself. To whom he promised with deadly arts the aid of victory, the subjections of peoples, longevity of life, the protection of safety, and he believed who did not know to examine the meaning of things. Finally he held the highest place of friendship with him, seeing that he was even considered the chief of his security and the guardian of his life. But when Peter uncovered his falsities and faults, and showed appearances to deceive him of things, and not to produce anything real or true, he was consumed with grief and considered an object of and worthy of mockery. And although in other parts of the world he had experienced the power of Peter, however preceding (Peter) to Rome he dared to boast, that he had restored the dead to life. There had died at that time at Rome a young noble relative of Caesar to the sorrow of everyone. Many suggested it should be tried whether he could be restored to life. Peter was considered the most renowned in these tasks, but among the gentiles no trust was accorded to achievements of this sort. Grief demanded a remedy, recourse was had to Peter. There were even those who thought Simon should be summoned. Both were at hand. Peter says to Simon, who was boasting about his ability, he would give (him) the first chances as if he were able to revivify the dead man. If he did not revivify (him), he would not be absent when Christ should carry succor to the dead man, at which time he would be able to arise. Simon, who thought his arts would be especially strong in the city of gentiles, proposed the condition that if he himself should revivify the dead man, Peter should be killed, who had proposed great authority, for it was named thus, by calling forth insults, but if indeed Peter should have superior power, he should in like manner make a claim against Simon. Peter assented, Simon made the attempt. He approached the bier of the dead man, he began to fix a spell and to murmur fearful incantations. He who was dead was seen to shake his head. a great clamor of the gentiles because he was now living, because he was speaking with Simon. Anger and displeasure against Peter because he had dared to compare himself to such great ability. Then the blessed apostle demanded silence and says: 'if the dead man is alive, let him speak; if he has been revivified, let him stand up, walk, converse.' That to be an illusion, not reality that he seems to have moved his head. Finally he says "let Simon be separated from the funeral-bed,' and then indeed it will not be a pretence. Simon is led away from the bed, he who was dead remains without the appearance of any motion. Peter stood farther away and intent within himself for a short time on his words he says with a loud voice: 'Young man, stand up: the lord Jesus makes you well.' Immediately the young man rose up and spoke and walked and took food and Peter gave him to his mother. Who when he was asked that he should not depart from him said: 'let him not depart from him who made him to rise up, whose servants we are. Be untroubled, mother, about your son, do not fear, he has his protector.' And when the people rose up against Simon that he should be stoned, Peter says: 'It is enough for his punishment that he knows his arts to have no strength. Let him live and even though unwilling see the kingdom of Christ to grow.' The Magian turned away from the glory of the apostle. He collected himself and calls forth all the power of his enchantments, he assembles the people, he says himself offended by the Galilaeans and to be about to leave the city which he was wont to guard. He set a date, he promises that he will fly, where he would be borne on celestial thrones, to whom when he should wish the heavens would open. On the appointed day he ascended the Capitoline hill and throwing himself from the rock he began to fly. The people marvelled and many worshipped saying the ability was god's, it was not a man, who should fly with a body, Christ to have done nothing similar. Then Peter standing in their midst says: 'Jesus Lord, show him his arts to be empty, lest by this display this people who are about to believe should be deceived. Let him fall, lord, in such a way however, that living he will recall himself able to do nothing.' And immediately on the words of Peter with a tangling of the wings which he had put on he fell to the ground, nor was he killed, but with a broken and lamed leg he withdrew to Aricia and died there. This having been learned Nero grieving himself deceived and abandoned by the fate of such a great friend, a man useful and necessary to the state having been taken away from him, indignant began to seek causes for which he should kill Peter. And already the time was at hand when the blessed apostles Peter and Paul would be called. Finally the order having been given that they should be seized Peter was asked that he should take himself elsewhere. He kept resisting saying he would never do it, as if terrified by the fear of death he should yield, it was good to suffer for Christ, who in behalf of all offered himself to death, not that death but immortality to come, how unworthy that he himself should flee the suffering of his body. Who by his teachings brought many to offer themselves as sacrifices for Christ, to be owed to himself according to the voice of the lord, that he himself also should give glory and honor to Christ in his suffering. This and other things Peter hid, but the common people sought with tears, that he should not abandon himself, and that he should abandon the wavering between the commotions of the gentiles. Overcome by the lamenting Peter conceded, he promised himself to be about to leave the city. The next night with brothers taken leave of and solemn speech he began to depart alone. When it was come to the gate, he saw Christ to be coming to meet him and adoring him he said: 'lord, for what purpose do you come?' Christ says to him: 'I come again to be crucified.' Peter understood it was said about his own suffering, because in him Christ would be seen about to suffer who suffered for every one, not certainly by pain of body but by a certain fellow-suffering of sympathy and celebration of glory. And turning around he returned into the city and was captured by pursuers. Condemned to the cross he demanded that he be fixed to the cross feet uppermost, because

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he was unworthy that he should be fixed to the cross in the same manner, as the son of god had suffered. Which was obtained either because it was owed as Christ had foretold, or because his persecutor not unwilling granted the augmentation of the punishment, and he himself and Paul one on the cross and the other by the sword were killed.

3 But let us return to the plan, alarmed by the serious news Nero, things in Judaea not going favorably, placed Vespasian a man experienced in war in charge of all military matters which were in Syria. He hastily, for indeed no time for delaying was given, his son Titus having been sent to Alexandria, so that he should lead thence some part of the soldiers who were present, he himself the Hellesponts strait having been crossed hastened his steps into Syria. In the meantime the Jews elated by the favorable affairs choose leaders of the military for the war. They assign the places to which each would be in charge, what duties each [what troops what function] should carry out. Joseph son of Gorion and Ananus chief of the priests they put in charge of the affairs of Jerusalem city and especially of restoring the walls. Eleazarus son of Simon desired ardently that something of the state offices be committed to him. But although he collected in his power all the booty they had captured from the Roman army, especially rich and fat, piled up by the avarice and unbounded robberies of Cestius, however having considered (him) more intent on preparing power for himself than appropriate for general benefit they determined that he should be turned down. But gradually by soliciting individually by giving by bribery he accomplished that the substance of all things should be committed to his control. Also one Jesus of the priests and Eleazarus the son of a priest placed in charge of military affairs received (the task of) guarding Idumaea, reserving however precedence always in the greatest matters to Nigerus the foremost man of all of Idumaea (In G. A. Williamson's translation of Book 2 of The Jewish War the opposite of this last phrase is stated [p. 180 of the Penguin Classic's edition], that Niger was instructed to take orders from these two.), Hiericho was allotted to Joseph of Simon, to Manassus was committed Perea a region located across the Euphrates to which from there tne name was conferred, because the Euphrates is crossed by those travelling to that region. Iohannes Essaeus, also another Iohannes the son of Anania and others assigned to various regions, which they were to protect with their care. And so each was not to forsake the duties committed to him, to build walls, to gather a fighting band. From whom Josephus descending into Galilaea, quickly took care to fortify the citadels, to establish defences, to join to himself the strongest and promptest to fight of the region, to restrain brigandage, to be present daily in the camp, to exercise the soldiers in the manner of the Roman troops, to distribute the ranks, to assign the centurions, to place most in authority (those) by whom discipline could be most easily exacted from everybody, lest anyone should escape notice whoever abandoned his individual duties. He put into effect even that they should recognize the summons and retreats of the trumpets, that they should follow the regular arrangement of the ranks, set straight the battle line, join together their shields, like a wall, if perhaps a great force of the enemy should make an assault, they should defend themselves against those making a charge, they should go to the aid of those hard pressed, to have compassion for the exhausted, to turn against themselves the dangers of others, not only to teach the arts of war like the Roman military but even before war to threaten which further assists fighters, as a soldier he should carry food for himself and arms, he should protect himself by a wall and ditch and he should forestall the enemy by placing fortified camps, he should obey orders, he should be accustomed to abstain from theft and robbery, he should think his gain appropriate if he inflicts nothing of expense upon rural farmers. For what distinguishes (him) from the enemy who himself carries off in a hostile manner things found, unless because it is more serious to attack his own rather than a foreigner's and to plunder his allies rather than his enemies? A good conscience avails much in war, because he anticipates more from divine aid who recognizes himself a connection of no crime. But from these things he experienced ill-will to have inflicted harm upon himself among the wicked more quickly than there was gratitude among the good. For when he had collected about sixty thousand foot soldiers, very few horsemen, those who fought for pay about four thousand men, also six hundred picked guards of his body, he took so much from the Jews, that more of peril before the war threatened from his own men than in the war itself from the Romans. I omit what of sedition was aroused, because it was suspected that they returned things seized by brigandage to those who had lost them, especially to Agrippa and Beronica, to whom things were rightly returned, lest they should make the king more hostile. But he however, by which he might soften the fury of the people, said that the money was saved for the construction rather of walls than for the indemnification of the rulers, and all those things which had been taken from Ptolomaeus, who had carried away the royal gold, garments, and remaining items; they judged that the Taricheatans to owe, for among them things were carried out, whether they thought it should be saved for the restoration of their walls, or whether it should be expended for plundering the robbers. It certainly seemed unfitting that he should receive punishment because he had planned better. And therefore these things having reversed he at the same time escaped ill-will and danger. Again when Tiberias had demanded the favor of king Agrippa and association, Josephus hurrying himself forth out of the celebrated city of the Taricheatians, closed the gates, lest any messenger should proceed to the city of Tiberias and point out that military assistance was lacking to Josephus. He however collected the fishing boats from the lake, which he was able to trace out in time, and he sought Tiberias by rowing, but when he came to that place, in which indeed a conspicuous display of boats had been stationed in the city, they were unable to be found out however whether they were empty of fighters, he ordered them to be scattered through the total space of the lake, that the number should be considered greater, nor could any be considered empty rather than filled with fighters, from which terrified, because they considered themselves powerless against such a great multitude, they threw down their arms and the gates having been opened they poured themselves out suppliant to Josephus, who as if the leader of a military host had approached nearer. It was sought by what madness finally they had put on the division in their minds, driven by what authorities were they about to surrender themselves to their adversaries. And at the same time those running up to him he ordered the governors that they should bring out Taricheas and with him almost six hundred members of the court, many of the people he seized in chains. Also Clituin the leader arraigned for his crimes he ordered to pay the penalty of his hands being amputated and he asking, that at least one hand be left to him, Josephus ordered, that he should take off for himself what he wished. Then he seizing a sword with his right hand cut off his left hand. And so Tiberias was recovered, but even Sephoris a separation having been attempted was nevertheless held fast by tenacity to Josephus among the cities (that were) partners of the Jews. He preferred to defend his own by peaceful policies rather than by attacking those hostile.

4 But in fact the Periatian Niger and the Babylonian Sylas and Johannes Essaeus, collecting all that were in Judaea of strong young men, attacked Ascalonis, large however and a city defended by strong walls, but in want of aid and assistance, which was separated from the city of Jerusalem by 720 stadia and by great hatreds. Therefore the Jews wishing to destroy a city hostile to themselves rushed upon it with their collected troops. Antonius was in charge of the city with a lesser number of Roman troops than he considered to be able to resist the Jews. But a man of acute judgement and an equally experienced soldier he allowed them scattered and trusting more upon number than valor, his cavalry having been led out, to cross to the city, then he attacked those in advance, harassed those following, scattered those crowded together, put the disordered to flight and pursued those straggling over the entire plain. Others turned about are driven against the walls all possibility of flight cut off, others seek different ways but surrounded by the horsemen they are cut to pieces. Many fall down upon themselves and in turn scatter themselves in their impetuosity. And so until evening slaughtered they lost out of their troops ten thousand men, their leaders Johannes and Sylas as well killed. Few however of the Romans were wounded in that battle. The rashness of the Jews however was not restrained but inflamed. For grief aroused their daring and the disgrace called out eagerness of avenging themselves. They are armed therefore with greater by far fury and the wounds of the injured not yet healed and more having been collected than the first time they rush in to attack, but them having been caught by arranged ambushes, before they came into hand to hand combat, Antonius cut them off surrounded by cavalry, and surrounded ordered them to be destroyed. Once more eight thousand were killed, the rest having been put to flight. Niger himself having slipped away betook himself into a fortification. There was a tower, enclosed on all sides by strong rock, the Romans because they were not able to destroy it encompassed it with set fires. Them having been lighted having crossed over from the tower into a certain cave he lay hidden from the enemy, he escaped the fire, and untroubled by the Romans because he himself should have been consumed by the conflagration, after the third day his own troops searching for his body for burial, he is restored alive and flourishing. And so with great joy saved from the enemy he is presented to the Jews.

5 Vespasian in the meantime the Hellespont having been crossed and crossing Bythinia and Cilicia, when he reached Syria, he led forth the legions and the other military forces which he found in it to Antioch. That city of Syria without objection is regarded as the foremost and thus the chief city, founded by those who adhered to the fighting Alexander the Great, called by the name of its founder. The location of the city: the length spread out immensely, narrower in width, because it is limited on the left by the steepness of a mountain, so that the sizes of the boundaries of the city are unable to be extended further. Necessity marks out the location, because the lofty mountain would give a hiding place to Parthians bursting in through hidden byways, from which they would pour themselves in an unexpected arrival and a quick attack against the unprepared Syria, unless the city threw up as if a barrier to the mountain and blocked the exit for those arriving, so that if any of the foreigners should climb it, he would immediately be seen from the middle of the city. Finally they say, when stage plays are frequented in that city, a certain actor of the mimes with eyes raised to the mountain saw Persians coming and said immediately: 'I either am dreaming or I see great danger. There! Persians!' For the mountain so overhangs the city, that not even the height of the theater is an impediment to seeing the mountain. A river in the middle cuts it asunder, which arising from the rising of the sun not far from the city is plunged into the sea, which from the course of its beginning men of old called the Orient, as it is commonly thought they gave the name to places, when from thence it was accepted. From the vigor itself of which flowing and the colder zephyrs continually blowing through those places the entire state is cooled at nearly every moment, so that it will have hidden the Orient in parts of the Orient. Within sweet waters, without a neighbouring grove interwoven with numerous cypresses and abundant fountains. They call it Daphnen, because it never puts aside its greenness. Numerous and happy people and as is the greatest part of the Orient more merry than almost all but nearer to licentiousness. Previously a city in the third place out of all, which in the Roman world are considered states, but now in the fourth place after the city of the Byzantines outgrew Constantinople, once the capital of the Persians, now a means of defence. I think enough has been said about the site of the city. Nor for instance does it seem worth delaying by describing its buildings. When I said the East was behind it, it was clear that South lay to the left, Europe lay in front, to the right the northern races live and the Caspian kingdoms are held, which previously were most inclined to invade Syria. But after Alexander the Great established the Caspian Gate at the critical spot of the Taurus mountain and shut off every route for the interior tribes, he restored the peaceful renowned city, unless perhaps mistrusting Persian movements. In that city king Agrippa with all his troops was awaiting the arrival of Vespasian, nor did he adhere longer to the loitering retinue. The route having been joined they began to make for the city Ptolomais. Near that city they met the inhabitants of Sepphorim (The capital of Galilee, nearby Nazareth and the Galilean Bethlehem.) seeking (that) the peace entered into long ago with Caesentius Gallus be confirmed by Vespasian. Whose discretion having been praised, because they took regard for their own safety by not provoking the Romans, and good faith having been accepted, he received them into friendship and auxiliary troops of foot soldiers and horsemen having been added he fostered security, lest perhaps stirred up by the pain of failure arousers of war should rise up against them, since like a certain frontier fortress of Judea, the Sepphoritanians offering themselves to the Roman empire, it was resolved, that a passable route into it would be open to an enemy, which would run against the protector of the entire race as a certain opportune obstacle against an enemy. For it was besides its fitness as a fortified place even the greatest city of Galilaea. Which thing suggests that since there are two Galilaeas, one higher, the other lower, connected and joined to themselves, we should distinguish one from the other. But first (something) must be said about each.

6 Syria and Phoenice touch each Galilaea and Ptolomais with the boundaries of its territory and Mount Carmelus limits them on the west, Mount Carmelus which previously belonged to the Galilaeans, but now is joined to the territory of the Tyrians, to which is joined the state Gabaa, which at one time was a great source of mischief for the Jews. On the east Ippene and Gadara cut it off with their territories; moreover the same [p. 195] boundaries were prescribed in ancient times to the Gaulanitidian region and to the kingdom of Agrippa. On the southern flank Scythopolis and Samaria with their own territories intercept each and they are not allowed to extend beyond the river Jordanis. Its northern parts Tyrus shuts off on the right side and all the territory of the Tyrians, by whose interposition the territories of Galilaea are delimited. Between themselves however they are distinguished by this only, that lower Galilaea so-called extends in length from the city of Tiberias all the way to the city which has the name Zabulon above the maritime boundaries of Ptolomais. Its width however extends not at all doubtfully from the village Xaloth which is in the great plain all the way to Bersaben. From which even the beginning of upper Galilaea is uncovered, which extends as far as to the boundaries of the village Bachathe; moreover by this very village even the boundaries of the land of Tyria are fixed. Also the beginning of its length is the village Thalla, Roth is the end. Thalla borders upon the Jordan. It is given to be understood from this, how far the territories of upper Galilaea stretch themselves, whose beginning is the Jordan, or its limit. Therefore by this assessment of its size each Galilaea is distinguished. The land however is fertile, abounding in grass, supporting itself by diverse types of agriculture,

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studded with trees, so that its attracts anyone whatever to his satisfaction and invites and excites anyone avoiding labor to the pursuit of agriculture. Finally [p. 196] no part of the land in that place however small is idle, it is crowded with many inhabitants. Many cities, numerous towns, an innumerable multitude of men, so that a small town in his district might have fifteen thousand inhabitants. Each Galilaea is surrounded also by foreign races poured around, and thus a warlike race of men, from the earliest age trained in battle exercises, abundant in number, ready in daring, and prepared in all the arts of war. The Perea region however is preeminent in size, which from thence had received the designation, which we told above. This greater but more useful Galilaea, all of which is cultivated, nor is any part of it unfruitful of crops but all its land is rich and productive, Perea however is more extended but in the greater part deserted which does not know to be softened by plowing nor to subdue easily the rougher furrows. But again a part of it is easy for cultivation, fertile for use, pleasant in aspect, mild for exercising, useful for fruit trees by grafting, producing everything, so that trees separated in front border its fields, in the middle they generally beautify and protect the crops from too much sun or cold, and especially a field covered with olive trees interwoven with vines, or distinguished with palm trees. It is indescribable how charming it is when the rows of palm trees driven by the wind make sounds and the pleasant odors of the dactyls are poured forth as usual. It is no wonder if all of this is thanks to the greenness, when the overflowed field is watered by the pleasant wanderings of the streams running down from the high peak of the mountains, bubbling over with snowy fountains it is seized with envy, wished for with thanks. Its length is from Macheruntis all the way to Pella, that is from the south to the north, its width however is from Philadelphia all the way to the river Jordan [p. 197] that is on the east it is bordered by the fields of Arabia, in the west however it is seen to extend all the way to the Jordan river. Also the Samaritan region lies midway between Iudea and Galilaea, beginning from the village which has the name Eleas, ending in the land of the Acrabattenians, of a very similar nature and not differing in any respect from Judaea. For each is mountainous and level according to the difference of locations, neither is everything spread out in plains nor is its broken up by the cliffs of mountains in all places, but it has the loveliness of each characteristic. For the practice of agriculture the loose and softer land and from that useful for grains and as for the fertility of the soil almost second to none, certainly for the maturity of the crops earlier than all. For while in other places they are still sowing grain, here they are reaping. The appearance also and the very nature of the grain is by no means considered more outstanding in any place else. The water is sweet, good in appearance, agreeable for drinking, so that according to the pleasures of the elements the Jews considered it that land promised to their fathers flowing milk and honey, when he promised them preference of resurrection. And indeed divine goodness had gathered each, if they had kept the faith, but with disloyal souls each snatched away by the yoke of captivity, there in the bonds of sin. A well-wooded region and therefore rich in cattle and flowing with milk. Finally nowhere so full of milk, the cattle bear udders, the woods fruits or grafted things above the amounts of all regions, each filled full however [p. 198] with a multitude of men from Samaria or Judaea, so that the Jews seem to me to have interpreted from this place that which is written that there was nothing among these sterile and unfruitful, since the law directed this about the fecundity of the well-deserving and about the fruitfulness of courage. The beginning of Samaria (is) from the boundaries of Arabia from the village which has the name Jordan, it ends in the north at the village Borceus. the breadth however of Judaea (extends) from the river Jordan all the way to Iopen. For it begins at the sources of the Jordan and from Mount Libanus and extends all the way to the lake of Tiberias. Also from the village Arfa (there is) the beginning of its length which extends all the way to the village Iuliadis, in which (there is) the joint habitation equally of Jews and Tyrians. In the middle however the city of Judaea as if the center of the entire region, is called Jerusalem, as pleased the sensible. A region abounding with inland resources but not cheated of the maritime, because it extends all the way to Ptolomais and it fringes upon all that sea with its shores. (There are) many cities but among all these Jerusalem stands out, and just as the head in the body does not overshadow its limbs but rules and is beauty and a protection for them. About Judaea and the neighbouring regions, although an abridgment is advantageous, we have not omitted those things which should have been pointed out.

7 The Sepphoritanians also attacked their neighbouring regions with (demands for) tribute, assistance, military items, claiming a free right for themselves to engage in brigandage under the pretext of the war, which was being waged by the Jews against the Roman empire. Whence Josephus eagerly desiring to avenge the injury of harshness received hastened to make an attack against the city Sepphorin having associated to himself a number of powerful people, in order that he should call them back into the alliance of Judaea or if he were able ovethrow them resisting by their final destruction. But he fell short in each attempt, because he was neither able to dissuade them from the election of the Roman alliance or to overthrow the city, which he himself had strengthened with such great fortifications, that it was not able to be stormed by the far more impressive Romans. And so an assault having been attempted without any effect he sounded the trumpet call and aroused war against the entire region. He laid waste everything by day and night burning buildings, plundering inheritances, killing whomever was fit for fighting that he had seized, throwing the weak into slavery. All Galilaea was filled with burning blood robbery, by the appearance of no exempt misery and of the deformity of all things, when if anything remained from fire and murder, it was held for captivity. For whose evils those things which a little before had been considered too harsh were brought forward.

8 This certain prelude of war was done before Titus should arrive. Who as soon as he crossed to Alexandria from Achaia, the troops having been brought over according the command of his father he hastened to the city of Ptolomais and there the fifth and tenth legions having been joined, the fifteenth also having been added, who were surpassingly good, the Roman army and its allies having been collected, they began the savage and remarkable war. For where the first beginnings with Placidus the leader were done successfully, those following ended in defeat, Vespasian having set out more dangerously with his son from the territory of Ptolomais [p. 200] plunged himself into Galilaea. It having been learned that they refused peace, to whom he had offered the opportunity of condemning a withdrawal if they should think to look after themselves, he destroyed Gadara completely, taking offense that it was empty of fighters, because all the stronger distrusting the weak fortifications had taken themselves to more strongly fortified places. And so he did not spare those discovered but ordered all to be killed with no consideration of age, with no compassion for weakness, which he carried out not so much from the right of war as from resentment of the Cestianus battle and hatred poured out against the Jews. Finally not only the city but even the villages and towns he ordered to be burned up. Nor was the commotion unjust, because after such great haughtiness he gave the opportunity of correcting their error but it was not taken advantage of. Joseph had crossed from that city into Tiberias before the Roman army had approached, but he had given over more fear than confidence from (their) presence. They were more afraid of this even, because Josephus considered himself unequal to waging war against the Romans. Nor did he anticipate this from elsewhere, unless perhaps the Jews had put aside the study of war: that was for him preferable to sentiment. If they should choose war, himself to prefer to be seen faithful to the citizens in undergoing danger than to be seen a traitor by declining it. There is nothing more to take precautions against than not to disfigure the honor committed to oneself of a military campaign. And so he writes to the city Jerusalem to pay attention to the war, and they should write back quickly in reply. Did they prefer peace or war, they should take counsel quickly. He pointed this out briefly, nothing readily against either side, he was not judged either a fearful fighter or stubborn in revolt.

9 Again from the city of Tiberias he aimed at Iotapata, either because it was fortified better than the rest and therefore very many of those most eager for war had taken themselves into it, or because Vespasian had sent many of his troops there who should build a road, because through the mountains was difficult, rocky and rough, for foot soldiers, for cavalry however it would be impassable and insurmountable. Finally within four days lest the difficulties should block the way, the surface of the roads was made passable, a route prepared by which the entire army could be sent across. On the fifth day Josephus crossed to there and aroused the downcast spirits of the Jews. Also when information was provided to Vespasian that Josephus had arrived there, an incentive of hastening the route was added, because he thought it would be a shortening of finishing the war, if the leader and people most eager for war should be cut off. And therefore he arrived with the army and gave time the first day to providing food for the soldiers, lest from concern for the war he should abuse them fatigued from the march. On the following day with a doubled battle line he surrounded the city with a wall and on the third day with a row of cavalry. Which seeing the Jews themselves cut off and besieged on all sides and not any way of escape took courage from their despair itself. For no thing makes a soldier more eager for war than the necessity of fighting and the outbreak of dangers. Vespasian pressed hard with darts, he pressed with arrows, also many Jews having gone beyond the walls as a purposed way of killing were wounded by missiles, they remained however fearless. Roman valor tried everything and especially where it had noticed the weaker reinforcement of the walls, there it attacked with a larger band of soldiers. Shame armed the former (i.e., the Romans.), the last hopes the latter (i.e., the Jews) wanting to open with the sword a way of safety for themselves. The Jews suffered severe losses, but they did not respond with lesser trials of courage. On the part of the Romans skill fought with valour, on the oart of the Jews fury with rashness. And so wearied, the latter fighting all day for safety, the former for victory, night put an end to battle. Also on the following day and the third, on the fourth and the fifth it was fought fiercely, but, as is usual in battles of light-armed soldiers, more wounds than deaths are inflicted, although sallies are attempted by the Jews and incursions by the Romans, the latter of whom shame inflamed into anger the victors over Hannibal and Antioch and all races were stayed by the Jewish battles. So great was the consciousness of Roman valor that not to conquer quickly was considered the role of the conquered. But for them it was more a contest against nature than against an enemy. For the city was almost shut off on all sides by steep cliffs, not by a wall and ditch like other cities, but was surrounded by deep precipices, which not a thing seen by men he did not comprehend, not a thing used he did not investigate, and dread more and more enveloped him looking at it anxiously. Only from the north in a falling away of the mountain one approach to the city however by an arduous ascent lay open. Which Josephus shut off by a wall, he surrounded it by defenders, so that between the lower wall and the higher city it would become a very dangerous attack for the besiegers and a priceless source of knowledge for those watching higher up. For the city itself is located on the summit of the mountain in a circling of the neighbouring mountains as if surrounded by a certain natural wall hidden by a fruitful wall so that no one would understand the city to be there before he would have entered into the city itself.

10 Vespasian since he was unable to overcome nature invoked her himself as an aid, so that by a blockade of long duration through a lack of drink and food he would force the beseiged into surrender. But the abundance of food collected long before averted the danger of hunger. The greatest difficulty was of water because there was no source in the city, and the customary dryness, rains being infrequent in those regions, lessened this assistance of drinking. They had blocked all the aqueducts so they should not go into the city. The dearth increased the desire, nature resisted. Josephus offered a scheme, that clothing should be spread out and suspended from the wall, so that gradually dripping water from the dew it would be believed that water for drinking was not lacking to them, because it was plentiful enough for the washing of clothing.

11 Depressed by that Vespasian again was stirred up to attacking the city, he assembles the entire army, he shakes the wall with siege engines, the battering ram pounds (it). The appearance gave it the name from this that the head of a strong and knotty tree trunk is covered with iron in like manner as the forehead of a ram is covered, which covered over with plates of metal swells up and sticks out. From its middle it appears as if a horn of solid iron. Its size in the manner of the mast of a ship, which not a gale of winds, not the billowings of the sails can bend. This suspended by ropes to a high and strong support from the joining of many trees is driven against the wall by a strong band of men, then pulled back and in the fashion of a pair of scales held up by a halter, it is applied with greater force, so that the side of the wall fatigued from the frequent blows would yield an opening hollowed in the breach, by which a way would open to the Romans into the interior of the city. At the first blow therefore the wall is shaken and trembles violently. A cry of fear immediately of all those trembling just as if the city had been taken, lest the struck wall should crack open. But Josephus ordered sacks filled with chaff to be sent out in that place, against which the battering ram would be launched by the Romans, so that each blow of the battering ram frustrated by the loose folds of the sacks would be softened. For hard bodies struck against hard bodies do harm, against softer they do not avail. In short hard bodies yield to softer bodies more easily than softer to hard. For although rocks are dissolved by the application of water, the falling of a rock is not any injury of waters, but masses thrown into narrow straits water retains it uses, but rocks among waves knows not how to retain theirs. Also the falling of marble does not break up sand and marble is broken up by the falling of sand. Indeed however the Romans brought things with which they nullified the inventions of the Jews, pruning hooks attached to long poles, with which they cut open the lowered sacks, by which emptied of chaff they were were not able to weaken the blow of the battering ram. And so the shock of the siege machine having been restored when the Jews saw themselves to be hard pressed, one of them Eleazarus raising a rock of huge size from the wall above the battering ram struck with such great force that it broke off the head of the siege engine. Jumping also into the midst of the enemy he seized it and fearlessly carried it onto the wall in the sight if his adversaries and open to wounding. Finally he is transfixed by five darts but not all turned back to his wounds he concentrated upon how he might overwhelm the enemy by the fall of the rock. And therefore he ascended the wall and conqueror of his pain he stood clearly visible of great boldness and threw himself and the rock upon the battering ram and fell with it, overcome indeed by death but

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the victor over the siege engine, since in himself a single person departed his country, in the smashing of the siege engine however he preserved the entire city from destruction. Netiras and Philippus threw themselves into the middle of the troop so that they should rout those whom they were attacking. Josephus fire having been thrown down so that he should burn all the seige engines in a brief time consumed most, but those consumed were repaired.

12 Vespasian pressed hard, he urged on so that he was struck in the heel by the dart of an arrow. The Romans were disturbed since they saw the blood of their leader to flow. Agitated his son ran to his father, but he bearing strength of mind above the pain of the wound forbad his son to worry and encouraged his soldiers more into the battle, that they should avenge the injury to their leader. Himself the standard bearer he recalled the army and collected it at the walls, he himself urged on the rest into the battle. Some with arrows, some with darts, some with military engines pressed hard upon the enemy. So great however was the force of this stone thrower, by which stones were thrown against the enemy, that one of the associates of Josephus having been struck, who was standing nearby, his head having been smashed died, the head was hurled beyond the third stadium. Also a pregnant woman struck in the stomach sent forth an infant more than half a stadium from the most secret seat of of her private genital organs. Finally when a victorious Roman soldier had already climbed the walls and it was being fought in the entrance itself with a strong band on both sides, they were so pressed together, Josephus ordered the Romans to be flooded with boiling oil, which flowed easily from the top to the lowest steps. Not less than by the heat of flame the heat of the boiling oil consumed every limb. Others advanced however and for most flowing sweat cooled the force of the oil. And although the nature of oil is of this type, that it quickly heats and later deposits its received heat, however in the enthusiasm of victory they ignore the injury. They rage in their minds and feel no burning of the body, nor did they consider the pain of boiling oil as great a penalty as the loss of glory, just as if those deprived of triumphs should desist from fighting who were the leaders in the dangers. And so extinguishing the fiery heat of the oil with their blood they fought.

13 Because of this delay of the siege the people of the city of Iafa which was neighbouring became insolent, because it was being fought so long. Alarmed by this Vespasian sent Trajan who was head of the office of commander of the fifteenth legion with a thousand horsemen and two thousand men of the infantry. Who without discussion having set out a man keen and gifted in the arts of fighting he with his zeal met with the appropriate outcome of the combat. For since it was a city enclosed by the nature of the place and surrounded by a double wall, the people not content to protect themselves with its fortifications thought they should attack the Romans. But daring to resist only a short time they took themselves back inside the exterior wall wishing equally to bring back the enemy, for when they themselves hurrying the Romans also entered. Also the gates to the interior walls had been closed by those taking refuge lest again the Romans equally should break in. And so the aid of god having been turned away from themselves the Jews were fighting, with which previously they had been accustomed to win. But they had offended with infamous shameful acts, and thus from them the punishment owed was demanded, that they should give their punishments to the gentiles. Finally they were crushed more nearly by their wars between themselves than by an enemy. The people of Iafa are an example, who opened the gates the gates for the Romans and closed them for themselves. For as the Romans attacked the first wall, they themselves opened it, and so that Jews should not penetrate the second wall, Jews closed it. And so an enemy is received, an ally is shut out, the first is received lest an assassin should be wanting, the second was shut out lest about to perish it should escape. And so between two walls the Jews were cut to pieces fighting hand to hand, at a distance from the wall. Many men of the Roman forces compressed by the narrowness climbed the wall and hurled javelins against those below. And so the Galilaeans more dangerous to their own than to the enemy asked that they (i.e., the enemy, the Romans.) should be received at the entrance of the interior wall, but they resisted their own. It was fought at the threshold of the gate Jews fighting among themselves. The one group warded off a rushing wedge with swords, the other group fought those resisting. They died calling down savage curses upon each other by turns and the smaller attested at the top of their voices themselves by their merits to have endured to the full. And so twelve thousand men out of all the fighters were killed. Thinking that either none would fight against him or that storming the city would be easy, being a man of long standing discipline, Trajan reserved the leadership of the victory for Vespasian and sent to him asking that he should send his son Titus, who would give an end to the battle. Who arriving a forcible entry having been made and many humans having been killed, not without labor and danger, victory yields to the Romans. Against them (i.e., against the Romans.) who had entered the interior wall whoever was suitable for fighting threw themselves and positioned in the narrow passage made a two front fight against the victors fighting from above men and women alongside and often even throwing rocks against their own and all types of weapons which by chance they had found. To sum up it was fought for six hours to the end itself from the beginning. Finally those having been killed, who had stood firm ready to fight, it was proceeded against the rest without order without method without mercy. Old men with young men were butchered, women or small children were saved not for pardon but for slavery, all males were killed except those whom childhood or infancy defended. As booty were led away two thousand eight hundred slaves, masters with their slaves in the same sort of situation whom captivity had made equals.

14 Nor were the Samaritans exempt from these miseries. For when according to their custom assembled together they had ascended their mountain Garizim, which was sacred to them, where they were accustomed to worship, and in the Gospel the Samaritan woman says: Our fathers worshipped on this mountain, and the answer to her is: the hour will come, when neither on this mountain nor in Jerusalem will you worship the father. For it was owed that superstition should cease and the true religion follow, the shade be purged, the truth come, so that no longer on the mountain like the Samaritans, not in Jerusalem three times in the year like the Jews, but in spirit in every place lifting clean hands each man should pay homage to god and in the name of Jesus should bend at the knee--, when therefore, as we said above, they remain assembled on the mountain according to their rites, the very appearance of the congregation puts forth threats of war or their sense, who were not recovering from evil neighbours, they were disturbed much more however through dislike by the triumphal successes of the Romans and things were near to an uproar, and it was considered most prudent for them to take precautions lest they should sally forth into a greater ruin. The commander of the fifth legion having been summoned, Vespasian sent him with three thousand men of each military service. But he considered that to ascend the mountain at the very beginning was dangerous, for there were at the same time joined a multitude of frightened people and the rugged places of nature, he surrounded the borders of the mountain with the army and for the entire day he made care be taken that no one should descend the mountain for water. When therefore he had harassed such a great crowd of people with thirst, which more and more was exasperated by the heat, and many preferred to offer themselves to slavery or even death lest they should die from hunger or thirst, Cerealis, for this was the name of the commander, judging that all of those coming down were exhausted surrounded the mountain with the military column, promising safety if they put down their arms, he ordered those refusing killed. And so eleven thousand six hundred men were killed in that place.

15 Also at Iotapata an attack was made at early dawn on the forty eighth day, although up to now fatigued from much labor of the previous day they were resting. Titus first of all having entered with Sabinus provided a way for the rest. The higher places in the narrow passages of the streets having been seized everywhere, and unaware as yet of the attack made they were slain. Some in their beds, some awakened, some on watch but lax from fasting and sleep, paid the penalty. Up to now however the power of the evil ones was concealed from the entire city. But when the army having entered bellowed with a military yell, to a man almost they rose up against the mood of approaching death. And if any attempted to gain the higher places they were driven back and killed, and for those to whom a wish of avenging was able to be at hand, the crowding took away the possibility of vengeance, and if any were preparing to resist they were sheltered from the fight by others rushing in before them. Others much wearied by the fight dropped their hands and offered themselves to a wounding, so that by death they would be snatched away from the deadly spectacle of their misfortunes. Deceived by the carelessness of those dying the centurion Antonius asked by a certain one who had taken refuge in caves, that he should give him his right hand a pledge of pardon and safety, heedless of treachery immediately extended it and, woe to the wretched too confident of triumph, but that one strikes him off guard with a javelin and immediately transfixes him, lest the victory be complete for the Romans. That very day all whosoever who were found were killed, on the following days however even from cellars and other underground holes they were brought out or killed on the spot small children and women excepted. Forty thousands were killed through all the days, in the number who were seized two hundred thousand were led into servitude. The city was destroyed and burned up by fire and every redoubt in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero. Josephus meanwhile in a certain cistern was hiding among the glowing ashes of the city, not all unaware that as the leader of the opposing forces he was being zealously sought for. Having come out on the second day, when he noticed that everything was encircled, he returned into the cistern. On the third day a certain woman found out (i.e., found by the Romans.) revealed to those seeking him that the hiding places of Josephus were known to her. But in the cistern also forty men who had fled there were hiding themselves. Who when they noticed Josephus to be summoned out by Vespasian in the hope of safety first through Paulinus and Gallicanus, afterwards through Nicanoris, who was bound to Josephus by virtue of ancient friendship, and for that reason sent that he should give a pledge, he willingly carried out the obligation of the assigned task, having surrounded Josephus they addressed him with words of such kind.

16 'Now the great downfall of the Jewish name is tested, now the bitter ashes, which submerge and hide the teaching of our splendid lineage and undermine every distinction, when Josephus a captive is ordered to be saved for the triumph. What do such solicitous inducements of the enemy suddenly wish for themselves? What of this voluntary offer of safety? They did not spare others seeking life: Josephus is sought out, Josephus is asked that he should live. They fear evidently that they may lose the pomp of a triumph, lest he should be wanting whom Rome would see a captive, whom in chains Vespasian would direct before his chariot. You wish therefore to be saved for this spectacle? And from what will they triumph, if their leader will be lacking that over which the triumph is celebrated? Or what sort of triumph, if an alliance is given to the conquered? Do not believe, Josephus, life is promised you, but worse things than death are being prepared. Roman arms conquered you, do not let deceit capture you. [p. 211] Their gifts are more heinous than wounds, the former threaten servitude, the latter save freedom. You are bowing, Joseph, and broken by a certain weakness of spirit you wish to be a survivor of your country? Where is the teaching of Moses, who sought to be erased from the divine book that he might not outlive the people of the lord? Where is Aaron, who stood in the middle between the living and the dead, so that death should not destroy a living people with a cruel contagion? Where is the spirit devoted to their country of king Saul and Ionathas, and that death bravely borne for the citizens, gloriously received? The son encouraged the father by example, the father did not forsake the son in the purpose of death, who although he was able to live, preferred himself to be killed rather than to be triumphed over by the enemy. He encouraged his weapon bearer saying: Strike me lest these uncircumcised should come and strike me and make sport of me. Because his weapon bearer feared to do this, he transfixed himself with his sword, worthy whom that David in a prophetic spirit would vindicate, because Amalechita had boasted falsely about the manner of his death and had thought to diminish the renown of the man who had saved himself from the enemy, he lied that he had been killed by himself (i.e., killed by Amalechita.), worthy whom that even such a great prophet should praise saying: Saul and Ionathas beautiful and beloved inseparables in their life and in death they were not separated, lighter than eagles, more powerful than lions. David himself also when he saw his people struck by an angel, wished to draw the heavenly vengeance upon himself lest he should be spared with the people perishing. Finally what of the divine law, whose interpreter you have always been, which promised everlasting immortality to the righteous instead of this brief life? When the god of the Hebrews, who teaches the righteous to have contempt for death, [p. 212] to owe it even to escape this earthly dwelling place, to fly back to the heavenly, to that region of paradise where god consecrates pious souls? Now finally you wish, Josephus, to live, when it is not fitting, indeed not permitted, what indeed is more important it is not proper? And you want to snatch at that life, I dare to say, of slavery which is in another's power? So that a Roman may snatch it away when he wishes? May throw into the dark corner of a prison when he wishes? And you would choose to flee from here and not be allowed to die? And with shame you go to them, from those whom you persuaded to die for their country? What excuse will you have that you have stayed so long? They are awaiting what you might do, they are certainly saying already: Why is Josephus delaying who ought to have come? Why does he come so tardily? Why is he refusing to imitate his followers whom he persuaded to die for freedom? We will permit certainly that you choose to serve a champion of freedom, but that you doom yourself a slave to the Romans, that you put bondage before freedom? But be it that you wish to live, how will you obtain this from them against whom you have fought so many times? How will they look upon you, with what eyes, with what feelings? How will you wish to live with angry masters even if it allowed? And who will not believe you to have been a traitor to your country, who will see to whom the reward of treason was paid? Choose whichever you may prefer, that it be one of these is necessary: your life will be the reward of treachery or the suffering of slavery.'

17 To this Joseph responds: 'And who would wish to be a survivor of so much death? Who would choose to become the inheritor of sorrow? Who does not wish his soul to be freed from that corpse of death if it is permitted? But permission is not given to set free unless to him who has done the binding. The soul is joined to the body by the chains of nature. Who is the originator of nature if not omnipotent god? Who would dare to break up and separate this companionship pleasing to god of our soul and body? If anyone should take away the chain put upon his hands by the order of his master without

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the authority of his master, will he not be found guilty of having inflicted his master with a severe injury? We are a possession of god, we owe servitude to god, as servants we may expect commands, as conquered we may be held with chains, as the faithful we should watch over the goods entrusted to us. We may not refuse the gift of that life which he gave us, we may not run away from the heavenly gift. If you should reject the gifts of a man, you are insulting: how much more we ought to protect what we have received from our god? from him himself we have received what we are, therefore we ought to be his as long as he wishes that we should be. Each is the act of an ungrateful person to depart earlier than he (i.e., God.) wishes and to live longer than he himself (i.e., God himself.) has wished, who has granted the life. For what happened in the past when Abraham hastened? What in the past when Moses ascended Mount Abarim this was said to him: Ascend Mount Abarim? However it was said ascend, and he ascended it and died. Like a good servant he awaited the command of the lord. It was Iob himself who said: May that day perish on which I was born, However although placed in wounds and griefs he did not sever the chains of this life but asked that he should be freed saying: As how light is given in bitterness, life however in the grief of souls? He was praising death certainly when he said: death is rest for man, however he did not rip it away but asked as is written: I am shattered in all my members and inasmuch as I am wicked why am I not dead? Why did I not fall from the womb of my mother into the grave or why the brief period of my life? Allow me to rest a little. Also another holy man said: Lead out my soul from confinement. He sought to escape, he sought to be freed from this body as if from a prison. None however of the holy men usurps this himself for himself, none snatches (his own life) away. If to die is a gain, then it is theft to usurp it before it is expected, if it is a good thing to live, then it is sacrilege to reject (life) before it is demanded. But you think it glorious to die in battle. Nor do I deny that it is good to die in battle for your country, for the citizens. But by the law of war I offer the throat, if the enemy seeks it, if the Romans should sink the sword point, to whom from us god gave the victory, to whom because of our sins he adjudged us. Nor is it more attractive to me because they promised to spare me. If only they are lying! but I would consider this a gain that they so feared me that they would deceive me, or that I should return this vengeance because they break faith. To die by an evil villainy of theirs rather than by mine. It is villainy if I turn my hand against myself, a favor if the enemy does it. Therefore they can give that favor by putting and end to me, if they have thought it should be granted: because if they have been engaged in villainy they have it in their power that they should kill a captive. But you are promising me the service of your band of soldiers. A true killer has been lacking to us, so that we are dying by our own evil deed. I am unwilling to perish by my own, by your own evil deed, but what is more than by mine, I am unwilling by mutual. That is, that each of us inflict his hands against himself, pay the price of a substitute death, so that the evil deed should owe not only for its own but even for the blood of another. Truly the precedent of king Saul comes to mind, his certainly who was both chosen king against the divine will and merited the displeasure of god, whence even while he was living he received his successor. An excellent example of a man to whom the favor of god was wanting. Yet also he wanted to die, because he could no longer live. He wanted moreover that his companion should kill him, but the latter thought it a sin, he refused the service. Not therefore making use of his plan but lacking a helper he accomplished, that he should turn his sword upon himself. If fearful he accomplished that he should not bring ridicule upon himself, how do you praise what is the result of fear? If he feared not, why did he first choose another? I do not fear the Romans either speaking mockingly or lying. Saul alone killed only himself, not Ionathas, not anyone else in our scriptures. Is it a wonder if he was able to kill himself, who was able even to kill his son? Aaron stood between the living and the dead, and this is an act of valor, not of daring. For he did inflict death upon himself, but he did not fear death, who thrust it away from his body and was an obstacle to the serpent against everything. Indeed I am not Aaron but however I am not unworthy of him behold! I offer my hands, let them strike who will. If I can fear their hands, I am deserving that I should perish at my own hands. If they show consideration for an adversary, why should I not show consideration for myself? If you seek why they should wish to show consideration, even among the enemy they may admire valor. For so great is the esteem of valor, that frequently even it delights an enemy. For you yourselves know how great the destruction I inflicted upon the Romans, how I turned aside the victors over all races from the destruction of the city of Jerusalem by the long lasting siege of the obscure city of Iotapata. I played a game of dice at the risk of a small loss of the entire war. All the others learned from my attempt to choose peace. Perhaps we are spared for this that the others are not discouraged but challenged. But you assert that it is pleasant to die for freedom. Who indeed denies that? However it is sweet to live with freedom. For who is offering friendship, is promising freedom. But if he should impose servitude, then certainly there will be a more suitable purpose in dying, if it should be fitting to die. Now however they offer life, they do not want to kill. He is cowardly however who does not wish to die when it is necessary, and wishes to when it not necessary. For who does not know that to wish to die, not that you may die, is a woman's freedom and a woman's fear? In fact fearful women, when they have learned some danger hangs over them, are wont to give themselves to the precipice. With a poor intellect they are not able to support the burden of terror and the fear of death. A man on the other hand is more enduring, who does not fear the present and reflects on the future, knows not to tremble when there is no fear. Finally it is written that the spirits of the effeminate will hunger for the sustenance of courage which not having they are hungry, and so they hasten to death before its time. Nor indeed filled with food does he ask for the hand of spiritual grace upon himself, since it is written that the mouth of the foolish invokes death. And again scripture says: he who does not take regard for himself in his works is the brother of him who puts himself away. Therefore he is condemned who kills himself. For what even is so against the law of nature? For what is against the nature of all living things? For it is innate in all creatures, whether wild beasts or peasants, to love themselves. For it is a strong law of nature to wish to live and not to aspire to death for oneself. And finally all families of living beings are not able to be armed against themselves with a sword even if they wished it. Men have found the noose of death hideous, wild beasts do not know it. But the jaws of wild beasts are weapons, their teeth are swords. When however has anyone heard, that some wild beast has deprived itself of a limb with its own jaws? Against others they use the weapons of their jaws, against themselves (they use) their mouths. As for us what is so sweet as life, what so unwelcome as death? Lastly he who will have defended life is a protector, he who will have tried to seek death is an ambusher. What therefore we detest in others, if they should assail us, we ourselves wish to inflict upon us? And although we exact something from others as a punishment, we ourselves invite this upon us as a favor? And although we take revenge on the helmsman if he strikes the ship entrusted to him upon a rock, we destroy with a sword the helm of our body entrusted to us and assign it to a voluntary shipwreck? But you throw before me an early death, when I shall have been led into the power of the enemy, I should receive it as a benefit, if what I fear from the enemy I myself shall bring upon me, when it can happen that what you are persuading me to do the enemy will not do? It is as if the helmsman seeing there is about to be a storm should sink the ship beneath the waves for the benefit of avoiding the storm. And because the enemy will demand the most severe punishments, you think it should be thus prevented? Or because you think it quick, that we ourselves should use the sword against us? But that is the refuge of weakness, not a sign of courage, to grasp the benefit of the punishments. To this therefore we hold fast, that it neither has the marks of bravery, nor the profit of usefulness? To which I may add that the religion of the dead person is dishonored? Omnipotent god has given us the best treasure, and included and sealed it in this vessel of clay he entrusted to us to be guarded by us, until it shall please him to ask it back. Is it not a crime in both, either to refuse the trust him who has given it not demanding it back, or to refuse it to him demanding it back? If it incurs the penalty of dishonor to violate that entrusted by a man, how much worse to violate that entrusted by god? That entrusted by god is the soul in this body, a soul that is not within the capacity of that death. For it is not bound and grasped by any fetters of death, but seems to produce death, when it is freed from the body and separated from the cohabitation committed to it. Why therefore before the thing entrusted is requested back are we asking for death and sending back the soul as if useless to us and excluding it from our home and are releasing the body into the earth without dignity and thanks? Why are we not awaiting the command of going forth from here? A soldier expects a signal, a slave a command. If any of these should leave without an order, the one is a deserter, the other a runaway slave. Who flees a man is liable to punishment although he may have fled a wicked master. Are not we fleeing the best of all things able to be bound by the shameful act of irreverence? For indeed that goes beyond our opinion, that god placed an angel near to the neighbourhood of those fearing him? It is he therefore who prohibits unless he has received an order. If there is no order, there is no provision for a journey. And how do we arrive without provision for a journey? Who will accept us in that unsoiled and secret place? Who will admit us to that community of blessed souls? Adam hid himself, because he violated an order of god, he was excluded from paradise, because he did not keep a command. It was said to him: Adam, where are you? as if to him who had fled, as if to him whose presence is not before god? Will it not be said to me: where are you, who have come contrary to an order, whom I have not loosed from natural chains? Lift him up into the outer darkness, in that place will be weeping and gnashing of teeth. We have received not only this disease of men but prohibitions with laws. For some order them to be thrown out unburied who have thrust a sword into themselves. It is indeed fitting that those who have not awaited the command of the father should be deprived, as if of the bosom of his mother, of a grave of earth. Others cut off the right hand of the dead person, so that there is separated from the limbs of his body that which in a mad rage made war against his body. But this consequence of sacrilege suffer either traitors or murderers of their parents. Who in truth do not acknowledge their father nor recognize themselves. Thus they are prohibited to be buried at all, or are not buried entire. Paradise also does not receive back their souls but the darkness of hell and fierce sufferings. To me reflecting on these things, although all things might be taken away, they are things only for fear and panic, that I should not impose upon myself, which even the enemy will not be able to impose, nor should I take away the things of paradise, which a Roman as yet has not been able to take away -- certainly he will be able to hasten it, he will not be able to take it away -- which things alone I impatiently long for. For not any desire of this life holds me, in which neither in the citizens nor in the enemy have I grasped what would give delight. The former denied me peace, the latter took away my homeland. Among so many disasters what can survive of charm in this life? You only, omnipotent father, who are the originator and judge of nature, grant an honorable death, you break this natural bond, return my soul to its haunts. Although my people may be extinguished, justice snatched away, freedom crushed, I will not however transgress your law that I might die unbidden. I await that you command, I await that you liberate one willing. You have many assistants, I await a command from you, and service from an assistant. It is good to die, but if I die as a Jew, not as a robber, not as a murderer, not as an enemy. Granted that I have been defeated in war, I will remain however what I was born, so that I will not desert the inheritance of father Abraham. I will not go over into the number of the enemy, so that I am my own destroyer. Expose me to the enemy to be killed without loss of loyalty, I am not able to turn my hands against the enemy for myself without sin. And in truth there is fear, that it is not fitted to us to live according to the law? In fact there is now great freedom for those to whom it is not permitted to die according to law.'

18 These things Josephus laid out, by which he voided the vindication of voluntary death. But those who had once vowed themselves to death, because they were unable to oppose their words, with their swords stood around the man as if they were about to strike immediately unless he should think he must acquiesce. But he surrounded called back one by the authority of a leader by the consciousness of courage he approached another with a severe gaze. He withdrew his right hand, he turned aside the wrath of that one, he soothed them with the wholesomeness of his counsel. By various methods he twisted away the irrational fury of each. And indeed although a last lot had twisted away the dignity of the conquered, he had not completely destroyed their respect. And so gradually their hands were withdrawn, their swords were sheathed, however their purpose persisted. When he saw himself to be held alone beset by many, he thought that by some chance or plan he should reduce the number of those opposing. 'Let us commit,' he said, 'the order of dying to a lottery, so that no one withdraws himself, since the lottery applies to all. The agreement of a lottery of this sort is, that he who will die by chance will be killed by him who follows.' And therefore it was that the lottery adjudged each to death, not his own will. 'Let each stand therefore beneath the lottery as the judge without sin and free from captivity, so that he does not quicken his future death by the decision of another or avoid it by his own. No one will be able to refuse the outcome, which either chance will have inflicted or the will of god will have designated.' An offering established faith and the agreement of everybody assented to the lottery. Each was chosen by chance, he provided death to the man following. And so it happened that all the rest having killed Josephus with one other remained for death. It necessarily remained that he would either be condemned by the lottery, or certainly if he should survive the slaughter he would be defiled by the blood of a comrade. He proposes that they should reject the lottery. Thus he escaped a domestic fight and by Nicanor was escorted to Vespasian. There was a rush to the sight of his coming almost all the Romans assembling together. Some wished to see him killed, whom shortly before they saw in charge of great affairs in a position of the greatest honor, others struggled to mock the captive, others marveled at such different and changeable turns of human events. Most prudently sighed, who thought that in other circumstances the same thing could happen to them. Titus in view of all the rest was moved by an innate gentleness of spirit, him for so long a proud fighter, suddenly sentenced to the power of the enemy, to await the lottery of an alien nod the shipwreck of life banished from hope uncertain of safety. To exert such great influence in battles, so that in a short time by chance he renders unequal to himself, when the powerful are either thrown out or overthrown are released. And so the better part of them, namely those in positions of honor, give the gentler

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counsel. Titus was for Josephus before his father the greatest portion of his safety. Vespasian ordered him to be kept in custody, lest by chance he should escape.

19 From there after a few days he returns to Ptolomaidis and from there he hastens to Caesarea, the greatest city of Judaea, but mostly filled with gentile inhabitants, for which reason they received the Roman army with applause and happiness not only from the favor of the Roman alliance having been longed for, but from an innate hatred also of the people of Judaea, whose leader Josephus they cried with the greatest clamor should be punished. Which Vespasian ignored in silence as the rabble's anger conceived without judgement. And because the season and the city were suitable for spending the winter, he stationed two legions in Caesarea, also the tenth and the fifth legion in the city of Scythopolis lest Caesarea should be worn away by the burden of the entire army. And therefore the celebrated city dedicated to Diana Scythica, although founded by Scythians, and named a city of the Scythians as Marseilles is of the Greeks. The location of the place reveals that the founders selected it more from the innate accessible hardness of the plains than from its advantages for the use of residences. For instance open to both the severity of winter and the burning season of summer it has more of labor than of pleasure, inasmuch as in winter they are open more to cold and the burning heat of summer is more severe in these places, in which they receive the entire sun without any pleasantness of a green field. And so the flat and coastal region of the renowned city is heated even more by the heat of the sea.

20 But however Vespasian was not unoccupied by military tasks. And indeed it having been learned that very many from separate locations had taken themselves to the city Iopen it being ideal to them for piratical raids the buildings having been repaired which had been destroyed by Cestius, they renewed them, since the region having been ravaged the supplying of food was obtained by sea, he searched out everything. But they building ships of such nature that were adapted to the use of pirates, having observed the passages of those traveling, the entire commerce almost of Phoenicia and Egypt was being plundered, so that the frequent pillagings closed all that sea with panic and its use for navigation was interrupted by fear of the certain danger. Which having been discovered he orders a band of foot soldiers and most of the cavalry to proceed and and to go into Iopen by night. Which was easily done, since no guard was spread before the city, inasmuch as it was thought that the rumor that the city had been destroyed would arouse no worries in the Roman leader. They were present however but not daring to resist and to deny entrance to the arriving Romans, having embarked on the boats beyond the range of an arrow of the advance force they spent the night on the sea. The situation is seen to demand a position on the shore from which to show quickly that Iopen is hemmed in, so that it would be clearly evident to the aforesaid city in what manner without any battle that there will be a second destruction. The city is without harbors by nature, whose shore is rough and straight but gently bent with curves on both sides, in which there are deep rocks and gigantic stones which stick up from the sea, and although they may rise up from the depths of the sea, they extend into the sea however. From which even Andromeda (is said) to have been there, when she was offered to the sea monster, the patterns of the places and the very appearances of things are seen to hand this down, applying a not mediocre trust to the old tales. And so by the breath of the north wind falling against the shore huge waves are raised up, which striking against the cliffs cause a great noise and falling back into the waves render that bay of the sea unquiet, so that there is more danger in the port than in desert wastes. In that place toward early morning a violent wind, which those sailing in these regions call the Melamborium, struck against the boats bouncing on the waves, which had been brought out from the city of Iopen as we said above, and immediately entangled the boats among themselves and overturned them with driving waves. Some their anchor cables having broken it drove into the rocks, the wave which standing very high above sank those crushed by its mass opposed others when they were lifted up violently against the sea -- the danger of the rocky shore or slaughter by the Romans, who scattered themselves on the shore, the sailors fleeing. Nor was there any place for one fleeing or hope of staying when the wind drove them from the sea. The sound of the ships was painful when they dashed together, the cries of the men unbearable when the ships broke up. Who when they saw the sea to break into the tottering ships, some experienced in swimming threw themselves (into the sea), others while they jump into the approaching ships having fallen into the sea are crushed by the collision of the ships, most sank down in the depths with the small ships, whom it deprived of any hope of swimming out. Death transfixed itself with less suffering however upon those to whom skill was lacking or any hope of attempts. But yet having been attacked in the nose the shattered remnants of the ships shook from frequent blows and struck in the sides they cruelly beat up the wretched limbs or death followed them driven against the rocks between the very vows of embracing the shore, having however whatever consolation it is to have perished on land. The face however had to be pitied, the heads of the unlucky having been struck the rocks were stained, and the shores were wet with blood. You could see the sea dyed with blood, the whole filled with bodies. And if anyone escaped those approaching the shore were killed by the appraising Romans, because a storm did not lessen its rage in these places from the roughness of the places or the use of the winds, but from divine anger beyond the ordinary the sea was enveloped by winds blowing together, lest the Jews should escape, and thus to pardon those fearing, whom god had not pardoned. There were those who killed themselves with the sword judging it more tolerable to perish by the sword than by shipwreck, others who wishing to push with the long lances had pierced the ships, some who pushed off with oars or struck with a dart those who having fallen into the sea if perhaps they were praying that they should be picked by those sailing by. I have not thus passed over that by which it is clear that the greatest danger to have been from the very people of the Jews to themselves rather than from the enemy, who (i.e., the Jews.) were killing themselves, as if the dangers were inadequate for their destruction at the same time as everything else, heaven, the enemy, the sea, and the rocks. And so four thousand five hundred bodies of the dead were counted, which the sea had spat out, without a battle the city was captured and razed to its foundations. And thus in a second short time the Roman troops razed Iopen, which with justice Vespasian thought should have been warned, that dwellings of pirates should not be built in that place a second time. Although departing from that place he left in it cavalry with a few foot soldiers, so that the foot soldiers should remain in the place lest a band accustomed to brigandage of robbers should dare something, the cavalry would harry the neighbouring areas of the region, and the villages and small towns, where all were completely destroyed lest daringly they should conspire against somebody.

21 While these things are being done in Iopen, although at a distance the inhabitants of Jerusalem were passing the time, not even thusly by the partnership of the slaughter they were keeping holiday. It having been heard what things have been done by the Romans in Judaea and especially because they had learned that Josephus had been killed, at first, because no one from those places had come to them as an informer, they did not believe, then they thought that such a great leader not to have fallen recklessly into the hands of the enemy. And in fact no messenger of such a great slaughter had survived, and from this itself the rumor of such a tremendous destruction, because no informer had survived, it was piled on everything to have been destroyed, and nothing to have remained or gotten abroad as information of the things done any rumor whatever greater in the telling, because the very silences themselves terrify the uncertain, everything was believed that was feared, and it was so far from anything that was announced, that even things that had not been done were added. For rumor declared emphatically that Josephus also had been killed and that was a great grief to everyone. But when he was discovered to be passing time with the Romans, they followed up with such a great hatred, that whose death at first they had grieved, that same one's life they called down curses upon as a sign of cowardice or betrayal. From this there was great excitement against the Romans, that they should avenge themselves for Josephus, and the more their situation grew worse, the more they were inflamed to war. When it ought to have been the finish, from there the beginning of misfortunes was seized. For to the wise unfavorable outcomes of things are more a warning to take precautions, lest again the same things happen which have already happened badly, for the foolish however (they are) an incentive of misfortunes. The peril of their allies ought therefore to have been for people of Jerusalem a reason for sobriety, but because they were unwilling to understand that they should conduct themselves rightly, it turned into their ruin.

22 Vespasian however, as they considered they themselves would be benefited by the delay itself and that the army should rest a short time from work, granted to Agrippa asking that he should interpose about twenty days in the city Caesarea of Phillipus of his kingdom, at the same time the troubles of his factions were recovering from the frenzy of agitation and disagreement, who should be able to recognize themselves to be able to be received by the intervention of the king, if they should turn aside, although the very painstaking contracts of agreements between the king and the Romans might come up. Finally Tiberias being close to Caesarea he did not deny a benefit, he found a reason. For also the very people boiled up from the serious distemper of disagreeing between themselves. Whence in a task to his son Vespasian ordered three strong legions to be summoned and to attack Scythopolis directly. Of ten cities that was the greatest neighbouring to Tiberias. He orders Valerianus to approach the walls from there with fifty horsemen, who should recommend peace offerings and call those shut in to loyalty to the alliance, that fear of the collected army should dismay those who were hostile, as a messenger of peace he should invite those willing. Valerianus near the walls dismounted from his horse, and also those did the same who had approached closer at the same time. Who thinking they should be scorned because of their (small) number, Jesus the the chief of the plundering band with his men, who having dared equally to attack, they drove (them) from the place with a sudden attack, and at the same time they madly rushed upon the horses which he had led away of those withdrawing, who did not notice that Valerianus had prudently withdrawn, and seized them the booty of haughtiness from those who were offering peace. Finally the elders incensed by the harshness of the deed leaving the city came to Vespasian begging that he would not ascribe the insolence of a few to all the people. Vespasian immediately ordered Traianus to the city, that he should investigate if the people turned themselves away from rashness of the ambushers. And they making known with prayers the agreements of the people the eagerness of the elders piled up their loyalty to the embassy. And so pardons were given to those petitioning for them, especially because Vespasian was giving consideration to the king who was concerned about the status of the entire city, with whose loyalty interposed nothing of the sort would be dared afterwards, wishing pardon of the offense, he departed.

23 From there he sought Taricheas with the army watchful and prepared, for the reason that very many of the rabble had collected at that very city because of the fortification of the place. And because Josephus had surrounded it with a wall, by which it was made inaccessible to foot soldiers, it was washed by the waves of lake Gennesarus, thus boats having been collected they clamored for a two front war: if a land battle should grow worse against them, they should flee to the ships, if they should yield in a naval contest, they should go back to the city and defend themselves by the encircling walls. The protection was similar in all respects in both places either in the city of Tiberias or Taricheas, but at Taricheas the natural disposition was better, the wall was stronger at Tiberias, but the fury of Taricheorans was more manifest, so that if it should be necessary that they could mix up everything, naval battles with land ones, land battles with fleet engagements. At worst blockaded by an enemy battle line since they would would act more boldly with resources, nor would any foolhardiness whatsoever move forward against the management of the Roman activity or also the valor of the veteran army, before they should undergo anything of destruction, overthrown into flight, they flew together to the ships. Who were pressed together as if they were fighting in a packed battle line, as if it were being fought hand to hand on land. And also in the plain an innumerable multitude awaited the enemy. Having learned that, Vespasian sent his son with selected horsemen. Who when he saw himself surrounded by huge forces, reported to his father that the multitude of the enemy was greater than rumor had expressed, but he infused into those assembled together whom he had brought with him an incentive of fighting with an address of this nature.

24 "Men,' he says "Romans -- it is proper that you who are about to fight should be mindful of your name and race, whose hands no one who is in the Roman world has escaped. For how have you given this name to all the world unless by conquering. Indeed you should be mindful of the place in which you now are and against whom you Romans are waging war. In the farthest part of the world we are standing together. Crossing even such a great distances of the world you have seen nothing belonging to others. For what does not belong to us, in whose possession is the world? Whatever is anywhere is your right. Whatever of the entire world a dwelling holds is your property -- you traveled well. Who has stopped you running triumphant over the entire world? Whom not Hasdrubal the Punician, not Pyrrus the Greek, not Brennus attacking the entrance of the Capitol, not the hordes of the Persians, not the Egyptian phalanxes were able to stop, them stopped rebellious Judaea offering an ignorant rashness of waging war, more suited for a noisy quarrel than a fight. Nor moreover is there anything I fear; but I think full of modesty [p. 229] you are wearied by conquering, those however who are defeated so many times have taken up daring, you are exhausted by favourable things, while they are more hardened to adverse things. Therefore lift up your spirits, men of Rome, and relying on your ancestral valor rise up against the swarms of the enemy. Nor should the number of the people of Judaea disturb you, although the innumerable marks of our valor may not discourage them, which are far more powerful than their number. Nor is there in the Hebrews any knowledge of military affairs or expertise in fighting or the value of control, no practice of discipline, no enduring of suffering. Only into battle they bring a contempt for death, but no one ever conquered an enemy by dying but by destroying him. They do not know weapons except in war, we in peace times exercise with weapons, so that in war we do not experience the uncertain chances of war. The outcome a matter of doubt to those not experienced, a customary victory to veterans. For why else do we practice every day, unless so that to us battles may never be strange. Each one at home exercises as if in battle, so that in battle there may be a certain view of the contest. Finally anyone will not have erred asserting that our practices are wars without blood, our wars

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are practices. We go into war completely protected, the head is covered by a helmet, the breast by a coat of armor, the entire body by a shield. An enemy is not able to discover where he should strike a Roman soldier, whom he sees enclosed in iron. To others such arms are a burden, to us they are a protection, because they are lightened by practice. Against those unarmored and therefore as if naked the battle is ours. And should we truly fear that we might be surrounded by their number? In the first place the cavalry is unimpeded in battles, it practices war by withdrawing and pursuing, and although it runs around the largest battle arrays, it withdraws to whatever distances it pleases. And afterwards in the battle on foot it is not so much the number of the larger group that determines the battle as the excellence of the smaller group. For a multitude arrogant of training is itself to itself an impediment to victory in good circumstances, an impediment to flight in bad circumstances. Truly patient courage strengthens in good circumstances nor does it fall away completely in adverse circumstances. That repeated experience of victories comes which is an incentive to us in fighting. For although they are fighting for their homeland for their children, they are not thereby more ready than is necessary for us. Nor indeed is it unimportant, indeed I do not at all know if it is more important, to fight for ourselves rather than for our people. We fight for ourselves when we fight for glory, nor are we the lesser because of that which we are. For who would doubt that it is better to fight for glory than for safety? For us however this fight is a test of reputation lest the right of birth should perish. We victors over the nations and foremost of the world make trial to appear the equals to the Jews, whom from the equal to us we have established as adversaries, if we approach not otherwise than equal in number. Our ancestors frequently routed great numbers of the enemy with a small band. And what has daily training conferred on us, the daily toil, if we come to battle equals? Indeed we have reported about the number to my father, because it is not permitted to do otherwise, but he directs us not to fear about the danger but to hold to our respect as a judge of the war. It is permitted to pour a libation for the battle to hold the enemy to seize the victory, while help is coming, lest those who shall have come should boast to us the enemy not to have been overcome so much by the common strength as protected by their valor. With what expression therefore will we come into the sight of my father if we have feared to begin the battle? With what shame shall I an ignoble son come into the eyes of such a great man, who does not know how to see his soldier unless as a victor? How shall I show myself his son, since he is always a victor, while I who overcome by my own judgement, which is most serious, have yielded to the enemy Judaea? What will happen to you your leader having been found unworthy, whom his confident father has sent to you? But I prefer you to plead the case about the courage of your leader rather than about his faintheartedness. Therefore let us rush forward against our adversaries, let us hurry, let us come before them. I shall run out first into danger, you will follow so that you may guard the trust and preserve the undertaking of my father. I weigh not the companions of danger but the partners in victory. You however take care that the palm of triumph offered to you not be taken from you, that you do not appear to have saved it for others. Certainly if it happens otherwise, I prefer that my father should recognize me his son in my wounds, if he shall not have recognized me among his soldiers. Let us put aside that my father would be offended by our undertaking of the battle. Which therefore is more tolerable, to have seized the victory or to have forsaken it? Haste in the seizing is a sign of bravery, in the forsaking a blame of faintheartedness. My father may disapprove certainly of the victors, I do not shrink from a charge of this nature, I prefer to be a culprit with the state celebrating a triumph rather than be unhurt with the state injured. Would that it be permitted to me in the peril alone to imitate the son of Manlius Torquatus, whom his father ordered to be struck with the headsman's axe, because against the command of his father he lead the army against the enemy. The young man with the enemy slaughtered and clothed in the triumphal garb stood firm beneath the executioner of his death because he thought it happy to die in victory. For what is more illustrious than to conclude life with a triumph and not be saved for the uncertainties of life after a certain victory? Oh the crime of victory should be sought by the farseeing, would that this be presented to us because we shall have conquered! certainly by this example I alone shall be put in peril, you will celebrate a triumph. But however my father has not forbad us to fight, but has ordered, whom he has sent to battle. And so I consider it more unworthy for us to have yielded to the Jews, when we can win, than to have fought.'

25 Saying this he as the foremost drove his horse against the enemy. And with a great shout the rest having followed stretched out over the entire field, by which even they were estimated to be more. Trajan also sent by Vespasian with three hundred horsemen came up to the advancing Titus. Nor were the Jews able to resist longer, since they were thrown into confusion by the lances of the men and the noises of the horses. Some were turned about in diverse directions, most sought the city. Titus leaps out, some fleeing he falls upon from their rear, he cuts down others wandering around aimlessly, and having reversed his course he thrusts back all from the walls and blocking the path of those running back he shuts off their flight. And again while some were overthrown, others escaped to whom the city was a refuge. But in that place also there was a fierce battle. For those who had flown in from neighbouring regions at the beginning preferred peace, but the people coming up wrenched out an eagerness for fighting from the unwilling. Whence inside the city there was great conflict and uproar. Roused by this noise Titus turns himself to his troops. 'This,' he says 'is the situation, most blessed fellow soldiers, which I was hoping for. The enemy inside the city are sowing discord among themselves, outside they are being slaughtered, inside they are fighting. Let us hasten while they are still disagreeing, lest perhaps from the fear of danger they return to agreement.' And so he mounted his horse, from which he had dismounted near to the walls and having turned to the lake he sought the city through the waves of the waters. And as the foremost he rushes into the city and the rest after him. And immediately all within were scattered into flight. Some were struck down, others climbing into boats were plunged into the lake, many people were killed inside. However many who were in the fields presented themselves to the Romans asserting themselves to be unconnected to the offense, to whom with conscientious management Titus thought he should be lenient, pursuing the originators of the rebellion alone. He sent a horseman to his father to report the results of the victory. By which Vespasian was delighted and especially by the triumph of his son, who had finished the greatest portion of the entire war which was being waged against the Jews, he hastened there and ordered the city to be watched carefully lest anyone should slip away, that because all were deserving of punishment. On another day however because of those who had taken themselves into boats, he ordered rafts to be built, which were made without delay, inasmuch as the neighbouring forests and the many workers gave the ability of hurrying the task.

26 For a very large bay of the lake itself, as if an extent of the sea, extends one hundred forty stadia in length, spreads out forty stadia in width, raising up a breeze with its sparkling waters to itself from its own self, from which it is called Gennesar from a Greek word as if producing a breeze for itself, of sweet water and suitable for drinking, accordingly as it does not receive anything thick or muddy of a marshy swamp, because it is surrounded on all sides by a sandy shore. And it is milder than the cold of a spring or river, it is colder however than the surface of a placid marsh, from the very fact that the water is not spread out in the manner of a lake, but the lake is frequently stirred up over great distances up by the blowing breezes. From which water drawn from it is both purer and softer for the use of drinking, and if anyone should wish to add spirit to the natural grace, as it appears in the summers suspended to the breezes in the nights by the custom of the inhabitants for drinking, it is considered to differ not at all from the usage of snow. The types also of fish are more outstanding in taste and appearance than in another lake. To finish things it seems good that we disclose the source of the Jordan which we promised elsewhere. For it was a matter of doubt of the previous generation, whether the Jordan arose from the lake to which is the name Gennesar, Philippus the tetrarch (i.e., a minor king.) of the Trachonitidis region refuted the false belief and ended the error sending chaff into the Fiala which a river in Panium bubbled up. From which is established that the beginning of the Jordan is not in Panium but a river. For its source is not there, so that it began from it in the manner of other rivers, but it draws off from the Fiala to the same place by underground courses. There again as if its source it gushes up and emerging it is put forth. It is moreover from Fiala in the Trachonitidis region one hundred twenty intervening stadia all the way to the city of Caesarea. The name of Fiala moreover gives the appearance as expressing the character of a wheel, because it is so continuously full of water, that neither overflows nor again is understood to be drawn off by any lessening. The water drops away below by a certain amount and again bubbles up where Panium is, as is made evident by the resurfacing chaff. So the Jordan is revealed to have risen up again there where it was considered to come into existence by the men of previous times. Nor however was it the same at Panium from the beginning except for the natural beauty alone, but by the royal bountifulness of Agrippa richer and more splendid decoration having been added to the place, from whom we received a cave constructed and adorned with wonderful beauty through which the Jordan raises itself. From whence no longer by a hidden and concealed movement through the hollows of the earth but beginning with a visible and exposed river it pours itself through the lands, it cuts through lake Semechonitin and its marshes. From that place also directing its courses one hundred twenty stadia without any influx it goes forward all the way to the city which has the name Julias. Afterwards it crosses that lake which is called Gennesar flowing through its middle, from which places wandering about through much wilderness it is received by the Dead Sea and is buried in it. And so the victor over two lakes having entered in a third it sticks. The district Gennesar stretches over the lake of the same name, from which the district itself takes its name, with a wonderful favor of nature and appearance of beauty. For the richness of the soil furnishes voluntary crops, and prolific of woods it raises itself up voluntarily into all types of fruit bearing trees, and cleverness of cultivation having imitated nature in which revolves the use of the rich fertility it diverts thanks, so that there is nothing in that place which nature has denied, which cultivation has disregarded. The weather is suitable for everything and not unsuitable ever for any crops, whose temperateness is so great that it is appropriate for the differences of all growing things. In that place those things which are nourished by cold spread themselves out in many ways and those things which are favored by heat, there summer mixed with winter you may see at the same time northern nuts and dates unless in the very hottest places they do not know how to be grown. What shall I say of figs or olives, which a milder period of weather nourishes? They do not however equal those last. The former indeed and certain domestic crops are the chief products of Palestine and are more abundant there, the latter are almost equal and however although at long intervals very close. You might say a congenial competition of nature and circumstances: the former as a fruitful mother creates everything, the proper mixture of the latter as a good nurse brings up all things with a gentle warming. And so not only are produced satisfactorily varieties of fruits but they are even kept under observation, so that some chief kinds do not become unavailable during part of the year. All the rest are available during the entire period of the year all the way to the end. For both grapes and figs, which are in grafts of a certain royal favor, are numerous during ten months without any disappearance, and the remaining fruits of the branches, which willing farms have either brought into existence of their own will or human industry has produced, have not learned from a certain practice of those managing to give up their service, unless to new replacements. To this fruitfulness of nature and temperateness of the air is added also the favour of a spring, which irrigates the renowned region with a certain generative watering. Its name is Capharnaum, which some have considered not at all superfluously a branch of the Nile river, not only because it makes fat fields fruitful, but truly even because it produces a fish of such a type, that you would think it a coracinum (A fish of the River Nile.) which is found in the Alexandrine lake from the flooding of the Nile. The region also named from the name of the lake stretches out thirty stadia in length, twenty in width. Inasmuch as we have spoken about the nature of the region, we are going back to the conclusion of the battle. And so Vespasian placed a military troop on the rafts prepared according to his order, which pursued those who had avoided destruction by the flight of the boats. They could not discover therefore what they should do. No place of safety on the land, all things surrounded by the enemy, no opportunity of fleeing on the waters, inasmuch as the lake was closed off and surrounded on all sides by the Romans, no confidence of resisting even in the light naval vessels, what even could a few do against the many on the approaching rafts? Even the slow approach of these and the more effective charge of the boats, but without any wound to themselves only the rattling of shields the darts having been deflected back was heard. The Jews did not dare to approach, nor had any light boat approached nearer with impunity, since from close by it would either be easily pierced by the blows of darts or sunk by the rafts, and if anyone should have tried to swim out or escape, pierced by the dart of an arrow he would have laid down his wretched life in the waves. Nor were they able to resist longer, since they were being reduced by a different method. For the Romans gradually by the many rafts running together forced a great number of boats to the shore. And crowded together there they either leaped down onto the land and were killed there by the Romans, or they were cut down by those who pressed upon them from the rafts, or were treaded under by the running together of the rafts, or they threw themselves into the lake, when the enemy jumped into their boats. You would see the waters mixed with blood, the lake full of dead bodies. For no one was spared whoever was resisting. A terrible odor, a most foul stench of the region. Six thousand Jews, with those preceding however, and seven hundred killed in this battle. The victor Vespasian went back to Taricheas. There he was preparing to separate the people of the region from the city, so that those who were not the originators of the rebellion might be spared. But in the opinion of most, those who were such a great multitude, which could rouse again the recurring battles, they considered a foe of peace and harmful to the region -- for where indeed cast out from their country could they subsist? With what food would they sustain themselves without a share of anything unless they should live by plunder? -- he persuaded the opinion and the forgiveness of death having been implanted he ordered that they should go out by that gate which was in the direction of Tiberias and that they should

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take themselves to that city. They easily believed what they hoped for. They began to go out but all the route having being lined beforehand the troops shut off any deviation of the Jews and led them into the stadium of the city. Vespasian entered also and the age and strength of everyone having been looked at, whom he had ordered to be stood before him, he chose six thousand of the strongest young people, whom he sent to Nero on the Isthmus. However he ordered one thousand two hundred of the old and weak to be killed, thirty thousand four hundred of the rest he offered for sale. All however who were found to be from parts of the kingdom of Agrippa he granted to the king, whom the king in like manner the prize having been received transferred into the service of slavery. In addition the other people of the Trachonitidis and Gaulanitidis region and of Hippenus and Gadarita as the inciters of the war and disturbers of harmony, abandoning proper behavior and raiding foreign soil, who having taken up arms had violated the peace, paid the just and owed penalties according to what was merited for their crimes.

PSEUDO-HEGESIPPUS BOOK 4

1 The Taricheans having been eliminated, for the most part the Romans were able to gain control of the Galilaean cities and territory, save only that the city Gamala of an obstinate people of the Gaulanitidian region relying upon (its) inaccessible location maintained (its) arrogance. For it is situated on a mountain. Circumscribed on the right and left sides by rugged cliffs, it is constrained to the summit, in front it is cut off by a deep opening, in the after part it is somewhat extended, from that side also, a narrow path and a difficult approach meandering to the city, you would judge the route similar to a tail; from the highest point a neck extending a great distance displays a fortress as if a head and lifts to a high altitude, narrow from the beginning and like a curved bottom with steep turnings and buried to a great depth, thence as if raising up in the middle a certain tendon of the neck, for the rest rugged and without a path. Whence very many from previous times think (it) to have been named Camela, because it offers the shape of a camel, but the name of Gamala to have stuck to the city from the incorrect usage of the inhabitants. Indeed if you look at the buildings jammed together, you would adjudge the city to be suspended and would especially consider its northern parts to hang suspended, turned back a little southerly. Josephus added fortifications to this city also, relying upon which and the number of the multitude coming together there they made sport through seven months of the siege of King Agrippa. For this city and Sotanis and Seleucia were parts of his kingdom, Seleucia next to that very pleasant forest Daphnes famous throughout Syria, filled with cypress trees, gushing with springs by which it pours in certain nutriments with milky abundance into the meandering river of this region, which they designate the Lesser Jordan. However this state and upper Sotanis and the portion of Gaulanitidis below Gamala, from where with dissonant enthusiasm the former chose the Roman partnership, the latter revolted so obstinately that when the king wished to address them too close to the walls he was wounded by the missile of a sling. Incensed by whose injury the Romans applied themselves to the siege more strongly, and it was conflicted promptly by both sides, by the Jews also, who had treated with violence their own king while he was persuading useful actions, who assessing themselves to be without any forgiveness if they were conquered were fighting with all their strength. Agrippa for the reason that he had been struck on the right elbow by a rock went out from the fighting, the Romans broke into the city. The enemy gave way to the missiles, the wall to the battering rams. For those who fought the war machines were not at all able to resist longer, and the wall shattered by three battering rams furnished an accessible route to the besiegers into the besieged. But that thing the impatience of haste brought an extraordinary slaughter upon the victors. For when they poured themselves into the dwellings, while they are searching through or hastening to go plundering, the critical falling to weight of houses, with crumbling foundations brought on catastrophe and the nearest and whatever was in proximity was dashed to destruction. Many Romans involved with these collapses met death in victory. Most pushing themselves forward were overwhelmed by falling dwellings, others half-dead with mangled body barely dug out, dust killed most. Pressed together in tight spaces they were killed, also women and weak old men and those of the younger who had fled were thrown down beneath stones from above. Darkness poured in upon everything took away sight confused the mind. Want of knowledge did not find a way out. And so barely withdrawing themselves from the danger they withdrew from the city. Vespasian meanwhile while pressing upon the enemy in the middle of the city had withdrawn and in the midst of a surrounded force of the enemy he spurred on the fight. For indeed it was totally unfitting for a man to offer his back to the enemy nor did he think it safe. He had directed his son Titus against Syria. He aroused the consciousness of their famous bravery and collecting themselves into their arms with shields joined together with the few whom he had at hand undaunted he stood as if weighing against whom he should launch himself. Whose attack the fearful Jews began to stand against with less strength and each fearing for himself to weaken their battle line. Thus Vespasian against the enemy gradually made progress resembling fighters more than advancers. At that place fell the decurion Butius proven previously in many battles and against the Jews a famous man of experience and great bravery. A centurion also with ten other Syrians accomplished an outstanding and memorable deed. For in the same confusion when he perceived the Romans to be hard pressed he took them (i.e., his own men.) into a hiding place of a certain home and there when the Jews were conferring among themselves while dining what they were contriving against the Romans, in the dead of night he killed them all and brought himself with his soldiers back to the Roman army.

2 Vespasian however when he noticed the army to be sorrowful because of the loss of so many men and especially because of the shame of having deserted their leader, because they had left him alone in the city of the enemy, with greatest kindness he consoled them saying: "if the occurrence of my peril is a matter of shame for you, I did not proceed to war in order to shun dangers but to grasp them; but truly so many of ours killed is not at all to be astonished at; for when is there any victory without blood? battles have their consequences. If proved valor is accustomed to excel in war, it is however usual that something be allowed to chance. But it is the part of a prudent man in adverse times to correct a fault, in prosperous times to exercise moderation; on the contrary however (persons) of a certain unskilled and ignorant temperament anticipate a successful outcome always as if the contest were not against men, the superstitious however at any setback despair of the main goal, when at some brief moments all the things that are being carried out in a war suddenly go awry. And so he is the most outstanding who in adverse circumstances sensibly deals with events and supplants (his) superior and to recover and correct himself seeks out his own failings. And truly he who is too reckless often falls (a victim) to his impulses and while he rushes in heedless diffuse in his attack he falls prostrate. But if this frequently happens when (there is) valor alone, how much more frequently in war when engaged armies of a different type are fighting, and there is neither one plan nor a common purpose, an unfavorable ground of difficult roughness, uneven in difficult condition for fighting, many against few, when even the multitude is a hindrance to itself, and few in the many are not frustrated. But these often burst forth in a moment, which come not from merit but happen from chance. Whence there is nothing which ought to trouble you, (my) fellow-soldiers, because the adverse circumstances (arose) not through any weakness of your hand and not through the bravery of the Jews, but the difficulty of the places was an impediment for us to victory, for them an opportunity for delay. Nor is there anything which it is possible to blame, unless the unadvised and confused attack. For when you followed them to the upper parts of the city and rushed blindly into their homes, you involved yourselves in dangers. Whose hospitality you come into, you take upon yourselves (their) dangers. You were holding the city, who forced you to go inside it? The enemy had to descend to you, you had not to fight unrestrainedly for victory unmindful of life and safety. Therefore ease your minds and about your worth take not only comfort, but what is more important take justification. You will have me certainly leading the way to battle. Be prepared in mind, Dangers make you more brave not more cowardly. It is easy to make good a mistake, if worth recollects itself."

3 With these words he kindled the courage of the soldiers, who repairing the wall the most part withdrew themselves from the siege through the broken openings. For already a lack of food was at hand, and the broken walls were thought about to yield to the siege machines, furthermore there was but one (water) well within the city and that was very close to the walls. Which thing put them in great fear and they slipped away in great numbers. Those who truly thought (the fight) should be continued fought obstinately. In the meantime the Romans undermining the highest tower overthrew it with great force, by which misfortune the city was greatly alarmed, all were disturbed and fearing the ruin of the entire city. From which Chares sick in body, making sounds of great terror breathless from fright accomplished (his) death. The Romans however having broken the city open refrained from entry, until Titus having returned and aroused by the smart of his father's danger rushed into the city with a few and inflicted a great slaughter on the Jews. However those who were in the higher elevations rolling rocks prohibited the Romans from access, they hurled darts violently, and shot arrows. By the Jews rocks pushed forward were easily rolled down, missiles came through, arrows came down not without danger to those whom they struck. Missiles thrown by the Romans against the higher elevations of the mountain were ineffective, the attempt was ineffectual and dangerous to themselves, when suddenly a storm of wind arose and bent back the arrows of the Jews, repelled their darts; and indeed carried those against the enemy which the Roman army was hurling. Thus oppressed by the restraints of their own elements and the commotions of the winds in the final sacking of the captured city all whosoever who were discovered there perished. We learned four thousands however to have been killed by the Romans, five thousands to have perished at a precipice, grace to have been granted to no age.

4 Thus far Gischala alone from the parts of Galilaea had not turned the enemy against itself, since contented with their fruits the more peaceful natures of its inhabitants seeing that (they were) a rural people manifested nothing bellicose, but by the communion of many, who employed their life in brigandage, even the inclinations of the milder (persons) were corrupted by wicked practices. There was besides a man, Levis Iohannes by name, a native, a plague of (his) people, second to none of the cunning in craft, knowing no equal in depravity, to whom a disposition of doing harm never lacked, sometime however a want of means of exercising iniquity was an impediment--which however I shall define not at all plainly I know whether poverty made him or hindered him, cunning in fraud, skilled in deceiving, trained to seek trust through lies and to ally credulity to concord, who thinks deceit is a virtue and would consider (it) tasteful to cheat those dearest (to him), ready to conspire impetuous to daring vigorous in performing, a trouble maker in leisure a deserter in danger, arrogant of good looks accustomed to brigandage, which when he was unable to conform to he joined however for the sake of obtaining control. Therefore a restless disposition, ready boldness supported him rather than deliberation, and wealth for uniting a band of profligates. Hence Vespasian discovered the people of the mentioned city with his faction to be roused up to war, in order that he should not fatigue the whole army he directed (his) son Titus with one thousand horsemen accompanied by whom he should draw near the city. But when he saw the walls crowded with people, he said himself to be astonished because they followed their example to make war, from whose destruction they ought to have come to their senses. Be it so however that the first trials have something of a presumption, what did the destruction of the hope of everyone show? The hopes of liberty were certainly pardonable in the beginning, however perseverance is not attainable by entreaty in extreme and hopeless circumstances. For those who are not influenced by an example of human kindness, by diligent warning of words, against them not words but arms are necessary. Having confidence in walls as if they would protect anyone against the valor of the Romans. Whatever else those shut in are able to bring forward, are not the besiegers able to stretch out (before it) except that the foolhardy are in captivity? No one had the opportunity to speak. The predatory band had seized the entire circuit of the walls. Iohannes was on guard lest anyone should invite the Romans in a friendly parley. And so he himself snatched away a report of a conversation, saying freely that he himself had undertaken the management of common concerns and had not neglected making use of a trial, if perhaps he was persuaded of its usefulness, or was satisfied with those things which brought forward, but he was prohibited by the law of his country, since there remained a day of the sacred week, to treat of conditions of peace, because forbidden that he should move the arms, thus even it was not allowed to take measures about peace on holidays. For indeed (it is) sacrilege for those forced to address the task at least with words, and not unpunished those who did the forcing. Himself to ask the indulgence of one day, a postponement so small as not to be in any way an impediment. Nor indeed with the enemy surrounding them was flight possible for those shut in. Conditions of peace to be offered him? such an equable option that fear was absent, him to be urged in the meantime that it was not necessary for considerations of peace for those for whom it was a moral obligation to that the law of the country be prevaricated. Such a generous offering of peace was arrived at that he who beyond hope freely offered peace, lest anyone should make a test, reserved his own laws for any about to attempt escape. Considering these things binding without treachery Titus sounded acceptance and recalled from the walls those whom he had brought with him. Thus Johannes having obtained the opportunity of fleeing departed in the dead of night with most of his forces. The women besides followed him departing. But the farther the men progressed the more women and children were left behind and abandoned by their men the frightened women regarded the road. And when already they lost their own men from sight, they thought the enemy to be at hand, trembling at every sound, if anyone should run, the miserable women were turned back, themselves to be sought, fearing to be thrown into chains, as if those whom they feared were already present. Titus in accordance with the convention, the sun already pouring down, hastened to the city with the army. The gates are opened, The people come out with exultation and receive the Romans with joy and eagerness, rejoicing the pestilential man to have gone away. Him to have fled during the night, the opportunity of free judgement to have been given to themselves, themselves to pray pardon that his fleeing not be a crime upon themselves, whom they were not able to hold without their own destruction. He satisfied with the delaying

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of punishment and the swiftness of accomplishing the task forthwith sent a great many to seize Johannes, if by chance they could overtake him. He having entered the city content to manage disturbers of the peace more by threats than by punishment pardoned everyone, so that no one aroused by hatred or domestic tasks should lead the blameless into ill-will and should strike with the fierceness of a severe crime, since it is much more tolerable to leave to the conscience of a fearful participant that which is uncertain than to condemn an innocent. For often fear corrects the guilty, punishment however of the innocent is without any remedy of correction. And so Johannes was not found by those whom Titus had sent, but the children and women who were following him were discovered. Up to two thousand almost were killed, three thousand however of infirm age and sex, when satiety of killing was achieved, were sentenced to servitude. He assigned a military guard to the state. And so all of Galilaea was brought into Roman power. For even the mountain Tabyrius, whose altitude is thirty stadia (one stadium is approximately 200 m / 606 English feet.), the very highest point of the level country lies at thirty three stadia, from scarcity of water deserted by some, pardon having been sought surrendered to the Romans by others, although by the valor also and diligence of Placidus, to whom this task had been committed by Vespasian, the entire crowd of refugees, he followed while going away and by cunning earnestly urged them to retrace their steps, surrounded in the middle of the plain lost their place of refuge, found death.

5 Up to this point it has been permissible to wander about, while we occupy our pen with the contagion of the sacred temple founded by our ancestors and of the sacred law and with those fleeing around other cities. But already it is time that we take up those things that were done at Jerusalem relying not upon memory, but so that we do not seem to have denied the administration of the law of our fatherland, or of the pain of our ancient culture. There will be perhaps in these a shadow not truth, but however the shadow points out the track of the truth. For the shadow has the features of the picture, it does not have the brightness, nor is it carried out to perfection, but it portrays the future to those observing carefully. And thus the less the image charms, the more it attracts thanks. Whence it was decided by a witness of things to destroy the old things, to found new things so that they should follow the truth who did not follow the phantoms of faithlessness through difficulties.

6 Fleeing as we said above, from the districts of Galilaea Johannes took himself to the city of Jerusalem and as if a certain plague infected the minds of a great many, who the leaders of outrages from diverse regions had assembled there as if in a cesspool. For this was in fact for that city the cause of its great destruction, that the incorrigible brought about with their villainies, that most came together there, in which place they believed they would be safer or more arrogantly could pile up their outrages, they were considered to put aside their faith. And so they were received everywhere as if they came from devoted love of the temple to defend it. This was the foremost stroke of misfortune. From this was suppressed the mildness of the few by the haughtiness of the many, from this it progressed into slaughter, since a stranger is less forbearing, from this it was plotted that the solemnities of the law should be be disregarded, the sacerdotal offices should be diverted from the good people to the wicked, because it was not known by men unacquainted not only with religious education but even with knowledge of the law what was sacred. At first were overcome the men of royal stock who were resisting, by which the rest yielded from fear, then were killed, and that the crime should be concealed, those whom they killed without trial assassins having been sent into the prison, they fabricated the same to have been killed for the invented crime of treachery. And so all were terrified by fear. For which powerful men and the blameless Antipas, Levias, and Foras were easily crushed, and already did not dare to resist. From this it progressed to the point that undistinguished and unfit men replaced the leaders of the priests and for whom no reason for meriting the honor was advanced, they contrary to their worth having obtained the priesthood were suborned to every crime in the judgement of those considering the matter. But when the priestly men and especially Ananus senior to the rest, lest through esteem should be granted a prerogative of the highest name, they demand the foremost of the priests be created by a drawing of lots, in which it is considered that the outcome of the drawing is entrusted not to favor but to a divine judgement. In truth they pretended an ancient usage by which it was the custom that those being placed in the first rank of the priesthood were selected by lot, evidently however they worked out a loosening of the law. For when the law of priestly succession selected men for the drawing, they for the sake of appearance alone from the priestly tribe set up one present Eniachim by name and ordered it done by lot. Then a certain Phanis was selected by lot, a village man the son of Samuel, to whom not only was no succession supported by leaders of the priests, but to whom there was not even any knowledge of priestly duty, for the reason that he was at leisure in the country and thus what the foremost of the priests was he did not know. Finally a false character if placed upon him drawn from his fields and resisting as if in a play. He puts on also the holy garments, at the right time he is taught what it is necessary for him to do. And therefore by the outcome of the lot was exposed the wickedness of the seditious, that the carrying out of the great sacerdotal duties was entrusted to an ignorant and rustic person. To them the mockery of the ancient solemnity was a joke, to the priests a grief, who weeping bewailed the mockery of the law by corrupt men. Relying however upon the power itself of devotion and the indignation of good men they collect themselves together and make an attack upon the troublemakers. But the latter although they distrusted their cause and numbers, fleeing to the temple as if into a refuge like a certain fort for themselves they prepared to drive back the multitude of people rushing in. But first placed before the doors of the temple and in the forecourt itself they fought against the people. If anybody was wounded he sought the interior of the temple, pouring out his blood there at interior doors and wounded wiping off his bloody features on the pavement. Wounds and entrails of an open wound were stuffed with those garments which it was not permitted to them to touch. There was fighting within the city, fighting between citizens, fighting before the temple. Not only this but fearing the brigands, since they were insistently urged by the people, they took themselves back into the temple itself and closed there the doors of the temple. Which having been set in the way Ananus was recalled, who lest he should be seen to carry fighting into the temple and to break down the temple doors which had been consecrated by the devoutness of their ancestors, he turned back the attack of the common people and stationed six thousand men in the porticos, who in attendance armed with weapons pretended a careful guarding. Gradually however he softened the passion so that he considered peace with this aim especially that he not defile the temple with the blood of the citizens, that he should persuade also that a legation a negotiator of peace should be sent so that the intestine war would be put aside. Johannes is associated to accompany the legation a man of doubtful faith and inflamed by the desire to achieve power. An oath is sought, he did not decline lest he be exposed to a charge of perjury if he should have refused. In order to deceive he pretended that he favored the common people. What else? He continues, he sends ahead a few things about peace, he hides more for an incitement of war saying in the name of peace that war was involved, that treachery was hidden, that Ananus had prepared to surrender the city to the Romans by which the practices of the ancients would be abolished, the precepts of the law annulled, collecting everything from all directions and expressing envy against the leader of the priests of those things he himself was intending. Shrewdly even he stirred up those whom he knew of those who had been imprisoned to be chiefs and leaders of a faction with dread of a prepared death, claiming that especially for them Ananus had planned death, he himself had come to expose the deceit, by quickly seeking help before the punishment should be demanded of them. What more? In the midst of peace he kindles the war. The are selected who would crave the Idumaeans to battle, a fickle race, restless, arrogant, quick to dissension, rejoicing in the changing of things, heedless of danger, rushing into a fight. And so diverting their course they come without delay, twenty thousand men are assembled, as is natural attentive to no cultivation of the lands but prepared for brigandage. It was not possible to conceal from Ananus the arrival of the Idumaeans. Immediately he ordered the gates to be closed lest they should make entrance with disorder, but if it were possible to be done that they should learn the truth, that they should renounce war.

7 And so the leaders of the priests ascending the wall spoke to the Idumaeans from a tower, it to be a great wonder to them, that so quickly ensnared in a net of lies they were pursuing with arms causes with which they had not yet become acquainted, when it was proper for them first to be arbitrators of affairs rather than fighters of wars and for the future to learn the merits rather than take up arms, and arms against men of their own race, their own culture, their own solemnities. Upon none was more of injury inflicted than upon the Idumaeans, who were aroused into an association of such loathsome scoundrels. For what other was demanded from them except horrible crime against the citizens, sacrilege against the temple? It is not wont for different inclinations among themselves and different ways to come together. In fact the similarity of customs makes a fellowship of inclinations and and it binds to itself kindred inclinations. The most worthless men, who support themselves by brigandage, took to themselves that they should invite the Idumaeans to be associates to them, so greatly abhorring the proposal of those by whom they were asked, that they wage war against their country, you truly they implored to come as if to defend a foreign city. We who are not criminal have nothing in common with robbers, who are sober have nothing in common with drunkards. Would that that drunkenness was from wine and not from rage. Who when they addict themselves to disgraceful acts, by overthrowing proper successions, they steal the property of others and things evilly acquired they carelessly destroy, they throw away the worst. There is no limit to their thievery, because there are no bounds to their luxurious consumption. When they have filled themselves with wine and sated their drunkenness, they throw up the excessive drinking of affairs of state, and make themselves drunk again with our blood and mock the sacred religious duties, which have always been for us a reason for veneration and reverence. Drive off the parricidal assemblies and abandon sacrilegious ventures, forsake the assemblages of brigands. You have been summoned to a society of wickedness: you have come to the assistance of native land. We see a distinguished people whom it is fitting to come to ask in a public assembly that to the most outstanding city of the Jews, which is considered the mother-city of the entire race, it should be of assistance against the enemy. But if we fail in our aim, while we hope for peace and do not wish to quickly tire you, we who offered peace to the arousers of war, you however, who have come as if by divine judgement, take counsel avoiding both extremes and display judges of both sides. Inquire from whence arose the beginnings of the disorder, who sounded the trumpet call to a peaceful city, who poured out the blood of the most outstanding citizens, by what authorities was punishment exacted from uncondemned persons, who were a ruination to us before the Romans. Against the former we resolved on war and at the present time we suffer them as enemies. Whose friendship with the Romans is therefore an object of suspicion, those who championed the Romans or those who rejected the Romans? This is certainly more important to us than the strifes of the Romans. From the former we died on behalf of freedom, by the latter we are murdered as if for a crime. Crimes of treason against the innocent are pretended and after death calumnies are fabricated, although judicial judgement is accustomed to precede punishment, not punishment the judicial judgement. For what profits it the dead man to be absolved when already nothing is withheld of the judgement? For however we admit a lottery of this sort, that after death an inquiry is made about innocence and we also gladly conduct the case of our and the dead persons' innocence before you who are armed in the presence of the established adversaries. Thus no evidence is supplied the calumniators, so that they have also a more difficult case before you who so quickly believed them. For a good judge grieves that he was deceived with lies and is more disturbed by the deceiving than by having been courted, that he had been rashly urged to believe falsehoods he thought must be avenged. But let us therefore reserve the complete consideration for ourselves and collect the truth not from a putting together of disputations, but from an ordering of tasks. First of all why we might surrender our country to the Romans, whom we were able not to provoke, and perhaps it was necessary to be done, that we should not incite the conquerors of every people. But this is already not an item of deliberation of the present factions. It was a task of previous times to choose the path we should follow, now it is necessary to die in behalf of freedom. For it is best to die for one's country. It would have beat before the war to prefer peace to death, but because war is upon us, many of our brothers already captured, others killed, grief from those dead lamentations from those bound up, a voluntary death is more to elected than a life of servitude. Notwithstanding there is available to those about to die because of false charges the effacing of the infamy of the charge of treason. In your presence, the Idumaeans, we plead the cause: let them be brought forth, let the witnessing expounders be summoned into the midst of the witnesses. If they hold witnesses, let them be brought forth, if they do not hold witnesses, what complaints do they make and what empty suspicions do they bring as charges, which they themselves have composed for themselves. They ought not to make charges which they are not able to prove. But because they do not dare to make accusations they wish to spread accusations about among the multitude and thus they spring forth to war lest they be called into judgement. For in war there is a content of madness, in peace there is an examination of truth. Behold! we are first at hand, we of our own accord offer ourselves for punishment, if indeed an accuser comes forth. Or if ill-will is whirled about in the people's presence, diligently inquire what was the purpose in a public meeting. Is it not that troops drawn up are being prepared for war, so that every one may aid his country in behalf of freedom. Surely against the bandits themselves what had been considered except that peace should be concluded. The anguish of every individual had provoked the displeasure of the people, the blood of innocents, the lamentations of women, the duplicity about the laws of our fathers, made the groans of all men resound, because each feared similar things for himself. The sacerdotal offices were conferred upon the most unfit. They began to be sought by voice, they struck the people with stones, they killed with weapons. The publish anguish blazed out, they made a place of refuge for themselves in the temple of the bandits. And so a place of peace inspiring awe even for the tribes and the seat of sanctity was made the place of assembly of plunderers, and that place to which from all parts of the land it was flocked

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together for the honoring of a festal celebration, there are now certain stables of wild beasts flowing with human blood. It is permitted to you, or the armed men, to inquire after these things, without the stipulation of war however. There was generally a judicial investigation in the midst of arms and compassion set aside the instruments of war, the judgement of fairness held in check the war-trumpets. You are able to transform these weapons to the defence of the city, which you took up for its subversion. For it is permitted to enter without weapons, to hear and investigate everything. If you should discover anything negligent against the enemy, consider it treachery. But if you wish to present neither defenders nor witnesses, why do you wonder if the gates are not opened to armed men? They are not closed against kinsmen but against weapons. Put aside war and the gates will open.'

8 When the priests and most particularly Iesus who was older than the rest, less important than Ananus however, who was engaged in second place, had said these things to the Idumaeans who were most indignant because they had been straightway received by the city, Simon one of the leaders of the Idumaeans (spoke thusly): 'It is not in the least,' he said, 'to be wondered at if they rage against citizens and hold them shut up who have closed the gates to an allied tribe and do not allow their colleagues and comrades to enter, who speak to us from the wall and drive us back from the walls as if enemies, whom they consider friends. Who may doubt that they prepare to admit the Romans and perhaps to wreathe the gates while they are entering? What is the greater injury? Certainly that city is accustomed to be open to all men for the reason of reverence of the way of life, to us alone as if enemies is it shut off, we alone are rejected, we alone are driven off. They pretend to seek our judgement whom they consider worthy not even of the threshold of the city. Those things are hidden which they have done against them, we are the witnesses and judges of our hurt. We have noticed what those shut in are enduring, when we are ordered to put down our arms, and it is believable what their decision is anticipated to be, whose credibility is mistrusted? Let us hasten therefore to rescue those who are shut up, for whom the temple has been made a prison, lest they should be held up to the arrival of the Roman army and given up as captives to Vespasian. Let us take away the siege from the temple, let us drive away the offensive guards who allow no one to go out even for purging their bowels. If anyone wishes to carry in food for those shut up, it is prevented, if anyone wishes to go out, he is snatched away to death. The practice of religion has been made a crime.'

9 Hearing these things Jesus retired considering himself to be resisting to no purpose with the will of god opposed, and indeed hostile forces were resounding within and without, and the state was being attacked from two sides. The Idumaeans were complaining because they were shut out, those located in the temple were plotting how they should be joined with the Idumaeans. Fear tormented the latter that the Idumaeans might go away before the accomplishment (of their purpose), the shame the intention of withdrawing tortured the former. And already almost distrust had arisen when suddenly at night there arises a terrible windstorm, a black tempest. The winds howl, the sky begins to tremble, the violence of the heavy rains pours forth strongly, there are dreadful flashes of lightning, monstrous thunderings, such rumblings of the earth that the world is thought to be dissolving. Who would think that this would more injure those located within the city than those existing outside the city, since the first were protected by roofed structures, the latter were exposed to the pouring rains? But the fear of injury frightened more than the injury itself. Finally those who had no refuge of roofed structures covered themselves with shields remaining on duty and not dispersing. Those about their homes and those who scattered gave opportunity that the gates should be opened by those who were within the temple. The opinions of the people were wavering and diverse. Some thought that the great offended god had moved the storms against the Idumaeans because they had come armed against their fellows. Ananus and the more profound abilities of the elders conjectured that the Idumaeans by the insult of themselves were more aroused to the destruction of their allies. Finally more disturbed than other nights Ananus that night remissly not from fatigue of the body but more from despair of the mind yielded to the circumstances flowing against him and the storms fighting for his and the world's destruction, he thought that the watches need not be looked to, as if he gave permission to disperse wherever and to whomever there was the desire. Having gotten which opportunity those who had taken refuge in the temple rising up cut the bars of the city gates. The din of the heavens worked with them so that the sound of the saws was not heard and the noise of those going out. Next coming to the wall they opened the gate near the crowds of Idumaeans. It would have been the last day for the entire people if they had not thought to go straightway to the temple before a place of concealment in the city. But because those who were being held shut in within the temple fearing for themselves and, the entrance of the Idumaeans having been recognized, fearing that an attack of the surrounding people might be made against themselves, that those about to die might demand vengeance, they asked that they themselves be taken away first for execution, then afterwards themselves and kindred men having been set free that they be sent forth among the people, to turn aside to those who had sent delegates asking assistance of safety, as soon as the price of the unexpected breakin should be paid to its originators chiefly by this service. For when things proceeded in accordance with their wish, all having poured forth from the temple like from a certain fortress in an extended battle line, they killed in every street whomsoever they met with, some sleeping, some terrified. Nothing availed prayers, nothing tears, nothing the insignia of public office, tokens of no merits, all were indiscriminately slain. Finally seeing the monstrous bestiality in these follow-ups, because none were spared, they themselves ensnared themselves, by a more wretched means as it seems to me, than if they had been killed by an enemy, because the suicide will be ascribed to cruelty, the knot of the hideous noose is given even to the upright. But what is the place for deliberation, when the fear of executions was so great, when each feared not death but torture before death, to which death would be a remedy. Blood overflowed everywhere and especially around the temple, because there were collected those who were guarding those shut in. Finally there were found that day of the killed eight thousand five hundred men. Afterwards turning against the city they killed in this way like a certain herd of cattle whatever men they encountered in their path. It was a lamentable sight for war to be waged within the city that was previously reverenced by all, for ruin to be brought upon the poor and feeble. Indeed the young and stronger were shut into prison, who were considered suitable for the faction, but with great courage the majority preferred to undergo every suffering rather than associate themselves with the morally lost. Nor was there any limit or sense of decency, so raged the madness of the monstrousness. Later when these (things) were seen to be madness, with the progress of time they began to pretend to themselves reasons for those slain, that they had brought the guilty to justice, not that justice was sought for, but that cruelty was aroused.

10 There was in the community of citizens Zacharias, who hated the wicked and would not mingle with the infamous, rich in property, whose abundance they thought would be effectual in disuniting his party or a rich booty for themselves. This they thought to acquire by a charge of betrayal. But he untouched by knowledge of this began to help himself with boldness, so that he not only countered the charges, but added those guilty of the greatest outrages. The matter was heard before seventy men. They set everyone free, because nothing was brought forward that was pertinent to the crime. But yet the former bursting in throw matters into disorder and drive away the judges not only with injury but with peril, so that by their example others in the future would beware to take steadfastness in making judgements if their will was opposed. On the contrary however lest anyone should be discharged, they themselves the executors of their wraths killed without judgement those whom they pleased. Gorgon a man pleasing and amiable was slain. Also Niger Peraites, who among the defenders of Iudaea had been chosen for watching over great matters, a fighting man, so that he even exhibited as signs of valor the scars of wounds, was seized for death and when he saw himself being led outside the city, he began to beg not for life but for burial. But he received a response of not even his so pitiable petition in accordance with mercifulness. False accusations were contrived: if anyone ransomed himself, he was innocent, whoever did not offer money was killed as if guilty.

11 While these things are being done in Jerusalem, Vespasian in the meantime was subduing other parts of the tribe of Judaea. It came to him what civil discord there was in Jerusalem, what slaughter they inflicted upon themselves in domestic battles, what sufferings of citizens was exacted by citizens. Many urged that he should hasten there, lest anything from the Roman triumph and of his glory should be detracted. But he a moderate and prudent man did not think that suitable which was judged so by the opinion of the crowd but thought to conduct matters by the higher consideration of the primary goal, he began to remind these things to those persuading that the state was not , who provoke the Romans. But if anyone claims anything of our glory to be detracted, let him learn that a solution with tranquility is always benefited by battles but generally even arms having been laid down praise is obtained and any debt of the country is dissolved. 'Of what interest is it how an enemy is overcome by our or his arms, unless that he is overcome by own arms without Roman unpopularity. For indeed they are not able to complain about us when they themselves have wounded themselves. At the same time they have promoted a true war against us they show, at the same time they do not spare themselves. This vindication to be seen from heaven, that they are inflicted with madness always regarded as superior to a battle with danger. Finally our Maximus conquered Hannibal more by delaying than by fighting. Although the Scipios subjugated Africa, however the victory of the wars was in common with many, to Maximus alone is given that he restored the Roman fortunes by delaying. It is more important to have preserved the Roman empire than to have enlarged it. Let us compare however the merits of the virtues. Indeed the thoughts of wisdom are not of less value in war itself than the marks of bravery. Let them perish therefore of their own arms, nothing is taken away from praise and much is added to our victory. They do not know theirs to be saved whom we spare. But what if we shall begin to threaten, perhaps they will come to their senses among themselves and will return to favour? -- which I do not fear, but I bring forward against your opinion -- but if the civil discord continues, let themselves be seen to have subdued themselves, the Roman army to have done nothing, our hands to have been idle, victory to have been obtained not by our valour but by the hostile slaughter between themselves? And so this more prudent counsel that in our absence they should rage to the point of destruction for themselves, let no one think them to have been engaged more by ours than by their own factions. Therefore we will approach better, when a victor shall be left who shall accede to our triumph. Certainly let those come to us who are fleeing their own, let them find among us the safety for themselves whom their own plague shall have harassed.'

12 Nor did his opinion fail Vespasian, for those who were able for a price to ransom themselves that they should be let go fled to the Romans. Every street of the roads was filled with those fleeing, every path. The rich were set free, and the poor, to whom money was lacking for ransoming, were killed, . Many even outside the city greatly feared ambushes and high-way robbery and especially those without resources to whom attendants were lacking. And so equal danger was offered to them outdoors and at home, both places dangerous, to most therefore with the hope of burial in their country death among their own was considered most tolerable.

13 When the fear of the people, from the great destruction spread among all, made everything subject to the faction, Johannes not content to exercise power in common with the leaders of the faction, began to aspire to despotic rule, and was offended by an equal. Therefore he destroyed the resolutions of the others, nothing except what was pleasing to him had approval, and he gradually joined followers to himself, whom he a master wished to deceive by guile and fraud, to put under obligation with money, to frighten with power, with which practices he had joined many to himself. Again there were not lacking those who from a dangerous eagerness had refused servitude, although especially accustomed to tyranny, were unable to endure servitude. And so there contended in one city three sorts of destructive calamities, tyranny, war, civil discord, of which each had destroyed not one but many cities. Of the three however war was the mildest and a just enemy seemed more tolerable than tyranny or faction. A fourth type added to these, of assassins who seeing the city seized by tyrannical commotions or the disturbances of civil disorder laid waste the entire vicinity, they carried off everything, women and boys who were not able to endure the labor of the journey from the infirmity of either sex or age they gave to death. And so to the number seven hundred were killed. Grain was collected in fortresses. They invaded fields, cities, temples, they carried off booty, an opportunity of killings was not let pass, with the appearance of an army on the march more exercised highway-robbery than had the experience of highway-robbery. The violence of robbery aggravated the war without forgiveness accorded surrender or gentleness in taking a thing in hand.

14 And so Vespasian was begged that he should come to (their) assistance, because of which (their) destruction was feared. He hastened to Gadara, where very many rich persons, who because of their paternal estates more and more feared the traps and assaults of the brigands and therefore secretly sent to Vespasian that he should come to them, by whom the state should be rescued from the brigands. The Roman army was at hand, seeing which the Gadarensians had a desire of fleeing, but by what route that would be without death for them they did not discover, so that the faction would not rise up against them departing and kill them all. Naturally conscious of his delegation, that Vespasian had been invited by a delegation of Gadarensians did not escape the attention of the chief of the city Dolesus by name. Capturing whom they killed, and having avenged their injury and left the city they took themselves into hiding and better protection. Gadara is surrendered to the Romans and Vespasian is received with great applause. He immediately ordered Placidus to pursue those who had fled. He himself returned to Caesarea.

15 Placidus five hundred cavalry having been sent ahead followed those fleeing and drove them into a village which was nearest, in which grown up males of picked young men were discovered to have assumed the audacity to rise up against the Romans. Which thing was the greatest disaster for them, because surrounded by cavalry and shut off from the village they were cut to pieces without hindrance, while others crowded together were withdrawing they were slaughtered before the thresholds of the gates. The mass piled up with bodies of the slain was level with the height of the walls. The Romans pierced some with arrows, they wounded

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others with various missiles, finally they captured the stronghold and there all except those to whom there was an opportunity to escape were killed. Others fleeing heightened the great reputation of Roman strength by their remarks, their bodies bigger than those seen of men, no assurance to anyone of resisting against the invincible. From which place terrified everyone fled immediately, not only from the vicinity and neighbouring places but even the city of Jericho, which on account of the number of its inhabitant multitude encouraged the hope of the rest, was abandoned. Placidus with events occurring to his satisfaction pursued them also with cavalry, some crowded together, others dispersed he laid low all the way to the river Jordan. He also found the greatest number at the bank of the river, the crossing hindered, because then by chance the heralded river had been enlarged by rains or swollen up by melted snows. But they when they saw the Romans to be at hand, prepare themselves and crowd together at the edge of the river. The aid of flight having been shut off, the remedy is turned back into their hands and an attack having been made the many throw themselves against the fewer horsemen. They with the known art and ancient custom of warfare riding in between begin to scatter the formations of the enemy, to break apart masses, to press upon the weary, to follow those giving way. Thus some by the weapons of the enemy, others by their own, because crowded together and thrown back upon themselves they run into one bunch, they are killed. Some tumble down into the river, who are a ruin to themselves, and others entangled with one another were submerged. Yet most thinking that they are able to get across gave themselves to the river, whom when they had progressed a short distance the force of the whirlpools swallowed up or the power of the river carried away. And if any by the exercise of swimming had moved forward upon the waters and by floating or floating under [p. 264] had sustained themselves, or hindered by the branches of trees which are carried off by the river or buffeted by the trunks themselves they deposited their soul in the river. Often even untrained in swimming, when he had grabbed a swimmer, he held on, in order that he himself should escape as well, and tired the one held in the arms, until both immersed each was the death of the other. And if anyone by chance running with a favorable river was thought to be about to escape, he was stitched up with arrows and suddenly on his back the oars of his arms stopping he perished. And there were even those who not knowing how to swim, while they seek a death devoid of pain, voluntarily throw themselves into the river from a high protuberance of the banks, others entering onto the sandy river-bank their foot-prints having been swallowed up sank down. Still the majority vexed by the slipperiness of the smooth rocks or by the shallow places and hesitating on the unstable ground of the stream were overwhelmed by those following. Thirteen thousands were cut to pieces with swords, however an innumerable multitude was annihilated by the river, a huge booty was acquired from the flocks of sheep and herds of camels and asses and cattle. Granted that the butchery of men was very great, it was estimated to be more, because not only was the entire region filled with human bodies, since dispersed and wandering about they were killed in whatever places they were seized, truly even the Jordan itself blocked up with the bodies of the dead was not able to follow its proper course, the Dead Sea also from the blood and viscera of the dead changed the appearance of its nature, into which everything whatever that the Jordan had attracted was carried. Finally on that day ninety two thousands and two hundreds of Judeans were estimated to have perished by only five hundred horsemen and three thousands of foot soldiers. Having progressed also to the farther places Placidus restored to the Roman Empire Abila and Iuliadis and Bethesmon and all the villages of this very place up to the Dead Sea. He placed soldiers also in boats, by whom all who had fled into the celebrated lake (i.e., into the Dead Sea.) were killed.

16 And thus both these and everything all the way to Maecheruntis was regained. Vespasian however was waiting for the time of the battle by which the chief city of the whole of Judaea would be attacked. In the midst of this to him occupied with the things entrusted to him news of an uprising from regions of Gaul found its way, that certain powerful men of the Roman military service had revolted from Nero. Which having become known, wishing to mitigate internal wars and the danger to the interests of the entire Roman empire, the disorder of the wars in the East having been reduced, alarmed by news of following events, in order to check or restrain all of Italy, as soon as the rigors of winter were moderated by the beginning of spring, with the greater part of the army he moved away from Caesarea. The state called by the name of Antipater received him. Proceeding from that place he burned villages, killed those whom he had found hostile, and he especially ravaged whatever neighbours to the Idumaeans he came upon, because an unquiet race of men would be a friend to wars rather than to peace and tranquillity. Seizing too two villages Legarim and Caphartoris of Idumaea and their inhabitants he overthrew them with great slaughter. Indeed more than ten thousands of men having been killed, he carried off a thousand captives, he drove out the remaining population, in order that he should station there a band of his own, because the mountainous places of this region were disturbed by brigandage. He himself with the army fell upon Amathun again, which takes the name from the hot waters, because the steam of the waters is said to be called Amathus in the speech of Syria. It is therefore called Thermae in Greek because it has hot springs within its walls. Next through Samaria near to Neapolis he hastened to Jericho, where Trajan driving a great band from those located beyond the Jordan at Perea, conquered peoples of the region, who had come back into Roman control, met him. And so at the news of the arriving Roman army, most from the city of Jericho, because they thought it unsafe, took themselves into the mountains of the region of Jerusalem. The entire crowd of those remaining was destroyed. For it was not difficult for the city to be captured quickly, which was not supported by natural defences and had been abandoned and deserted by its scattering inhabitants. The city was established on a plain, which a wide mountain bare of vegetation overhung. For it stretched out northwards all the way to the region of the city of Scythopolis, and was considered extended from the southern part all the way to the Sodomitana region and the Asphaltius boundaries. Moreover a diseased and barren soil and therefore deserted by inhabitants, because it was without any benefit to farmers because of its natural sterility. Opposite to this above the Jordan (is) a mountain whose beginning arises from Iuliade and northern parts. It stretches forth to the south all the way to Arabian Sebarus which is neighbouring to Petra, where indeed the mountain by the usage of the ancients is called Ferreus. A plain lies between these two mountains, which an account of its size, which stretches out into a great space, the inhabitants by ancient usage called Magnus. Whose length is two hundred thirty stadia, its width one hundred twenty, its beginning from the village Genuabaris, its end all the way to the Dead Sea. The Jordan intersects it in the middle of the plain, not only inoffensive but also annexed with thanks for the green banks from the flooding of the river and from the succeeding Asphaltio and the Tiberiadis (Both lakes in the region, actually the Asphaltio is now called the Dead Sea.) of a single source, and each lake of a separate quality. For the taste of the water of one is salt and its use unproductive, of the Tiberiadis sweet and fruitful. Truly in the days of summer an immoderate emanation boils up through the extent of the plain, whence from the increasing fault of excessive dryness and the dry earth the bad air brings about deplorable sicknesses for the inhabitants. For all things are dry except for the borders of the river. Finally at great distances even the fruit of trees grows worse, indeed the supply is more abundant and the fruit of palm trees more copious, that is produced above the banks of the river Jordan, another is far more meager.

17 There is near the city of Jericho an overflowing spring and indeed more than enough for drinking, plentiful for irrigation, which the Hebrew Jesus strong of hand, of the Nave stock, first wrested from the tribe of Chananaeans. It in the beginning was considered too contaminated, too unproductive for producing things, not healthy enough to be used for drinking. And so the prophet Heliseus, and likewise (his) disciple Heliae, in no way an unworthy successor to such a great teacher, was asked that he should leave recompense of his hospitality which he had come to see in places and that he should mitigate the corruption of the waters, he gave a cure, just as the ancient book of Kings clearly teaches, ordering a clay vessel with [p. 268] salt to be brought to him. Receiving which he threw the salt into the spring and said: I have healed these waters and there will not be dying in them nor barrenness from them. And the waters were healed according to the word it says of Heliseus the prophet. And so from that infusion of salt which had been blessed the waters were regulated and the banks of the spring opened, the movements of the waters made holy, in order that the gushing spring should pour forth sweeter drinks of its water courses and all the bitterness of the waters should become sweet, the earth should give more copious fruit, that a fertile succession also of generating offspring should furnish an abundant supply of progeny nor should the generative water fail him whom divine grace had breathed upon with the benedictions of such a great prophet for his faithful studies of the righteous. The reverberation of the divine declaration transformed the nature of the waters and immediately drove out the barrenness, it poured in fruitfulness. The begettings of men there began to increase, (and) the fruits of the lands, and the moisture hitherto dry and bitter and wont to destroy the crops and twist awry with disagreeableness the mouths of those drinking to pour in fertility to the soil, sweetness to those drinking, so that if it briefly touches fields of crops, it does more good than if it shall have flooded in for a longer period. It is indeed a new favor, that the increase is more overflowing, where the use is less, and where any use has been greater, there less fruit is, and there it irrigates more than the other springs, because indeed even its small use gives an abundant harvest. Finally the plain lies around it standing open seventy stadia in length [p. 269] twenty in width. In it you may discern an extraordinary beauty of gardens, various species of palm trees, and such a great sweetness of the dates, that you would consider honey to flow forth not at all inferior to others. Likewise there are in that place superior broods of bees, not to be wondered at where breathing in from different blossoms the parks pour out pleasant scents. In that place the juice of the balsam-tree is produced, which therefore we indicate with the addition, that the farmers cut into the branches through the bark in which the balsam is produced and through these cavities the fluid gradually trickling down collects itself. The cavity in the Greek language is called "ope." They say that in this place cyprum and mirobalanum are produced and other things of this type, which are not at all found in other places. Water and the rest of the springs. In summer it is cool, in winter moderately warm; The air is softer and in midwinter the inhabitants make use of linen clothing.

18 Now let us look at the nature of the Dead Sea. Fot it is better in descriptions of ancient places to occupy the pen with the marvel of the remaining elements rather than the dissensions of the Jews, if indeed the latter provoke the mind with outrage, the former soothe the mind while they are reviewed and recall the knowledge of ancient history. To us however, who have a more uncultivated nature, it is a matter of the heart to seek the tracks of our fathers coming out of Egypt all the way into the land of recovery, so that if by chance ours should come into the hands of anyone, let him go over not our (tracks), but retrace (our) fathers'. For indeed it is more pleasant to abide among the dwellings of our elders and to review in memory the sayings and deeds of the ancients and to cling to their graces. But already let us express either the nature or the property of the waters, so that our pen also not be thrown off in that lake, from which all things whatever the opinion is (if) immersed leap back, you would think living, and however violently thrown in are immediately ejected. The water itself is bitter and sterile, receiving nothing of living origins, and finally it supports neither fish nor birds accustomed to waters and happy with the practice of submerging. They report a lighted oil lamp to float, without any alteration the light having been extinguished to be immersed, and by whatever stratagem it is submerged, it is difficult for whatever may be living to remain submerged at a depth. Lastly they say Vespasian to have ordered persons ignorant of swimming to be cast into the deep with bound hands and all of them to have floated on the spot as if raised by a certain spirit of the wind and thrust back by a great force to have rebounded to a higher place. The majority have thought many fabulous things about this lake, which for us without experience to give out the truth of the thing has not at all been (our) intention. It has not suited to claim as true that the color of the water changes three times per day and glistens differently in the beams of the sun, since the water of the lake itself is darker than other waters and as if offering a resemblance to brown. Certainly if it is resplendent in the rays of the sun, nothing new and as if for a miracle must be brought forward, since this is common to all waters. It is certain that lumps of bitumen are scattered on the waters with a black fluid, which approaching with boats they for whom this is a duty collect. Bitumen is said to adhere to itself, so that it is not at all cut with iron tools or other sharpened forms of metal. It yields truly to the blood of women, by which monthly flows are said to be eased. By whose touch or urine, as they allege by whom it has been the practice of making tests, it is reported to be broken into pieces. Furthermore it is said to be useful for the caulking of ships and healthful added to medicines for the bodies of men. The length of this lake stretches out five hundred eighty stadia all the way to Zoaros of Arabia, the width in stadia one hundred fifty all the way to the neighbourhood of the Sodomites, who once inhabited a very fertile region abounding in crops, and distinguished also by the most splendid cities. Now however these places are deserted and consumed by fire. For when god had conferred all things upon them of his kindness, fields fruitful of produce, and lands planted with vineyards and also trees abounding in fruit, ungrateful and not holding before their eyes the power of the great god as if he does not discern everything, does not see all shameful things, and there is nothing which can be hidden from him or escape him, thus they began to mix and defile everything with the shameful acts of their excesses, by which they drew down divine displeasure. And for the punishment of their sins from heaven came down fire which consumed that region. And so five cities were burned, some traces of which and their appearance is seen in the ashes. The lands burned, the waters burn, in which the remnants of the fire from heaven are recognized and to this time there remain there fruits green in appearance, a cluster formed of grapes so that they produce in those seeing them the desire of eating. If you should pluck them, they fall apart and are loosened into ash and send forth smoke as is they are still burning. This on account of the well known punishment of the wicked people of the Sodomitan territory it is not necessary to pass over in silence. From these things that have been discussed it is not possible for a recompense to the righteous to be doubted.

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19 And accordingly Vespasian with the distributed reserves of the Roman army or of allies refilled the fortresses nearest the city of Jerusalem and the defenses of the cities, so that they should understand everything against them which they should consider before conspiracies among themselves for waging war against the Romans. Nevertheless Lucius Annius having been sent to Gerasa he captured the city by a stratagem. For he killed one thousand young people, who having been prevented, flight was taken away. Very many captives were taken away and the estates of everyone were invaded by the soldiers by the order of the leader, and the belongings which were found were destroyed, plunderings were carried out with license. They laid waste all the hilly regions and the flat areas, by which the city Jerusalem is surrounded he burned everywhere in the war. Nor were the inhabitants of Jerusalem freed from the perception of their dangers, by which all ways out were shut off lest anyone should be removed from peril by flight. Within (was) civil war, from without all was shut off, there was neither the choice of remaining nor the possibility of fleeing. And if anyone hoped for pardon from the Romans by going over to them he was prevented from going out by his own (people).

20 Vespasian returned to the city Caesarea, so that having collected all his forces he might undertake from there the investment of the city of Jerusalem. A messenger arrived (who reported) Nero had been slain the thirteenth year of his reign having been passed by, when already of the following year he had spent the eighth day (An error in the text, this should read "the eighth month".), deserving of that punishment, who not only had violated faith with sacrilege, dutiful conduct with parricide, virtue with incest, but also the sovereignty itself of the Roman Empire, whose duties and and tasks he had entrusted to the most wicked of freedmen. For since he himself kept faith with no one, he suspected everybody and thus thought himself especially trusted by the most worthless Nymfidius and Gemellinus, whom low in condition he had made servile. But even they sometimes shuddered at the example of his cruelty, and because he had killed those most dear to him, reckoning it was necessary to be on guard against him, they wished to prevent what they feared. And therefore a conspiracy having been made with others they forsook the parricide. For who was he considered about to spare who had not spared his (own) mother? Deserted therefore by all his own he fled out of the city with his four freedmen. And when he saw himself to be pressed by imminent conspirators and a hostile crowd, he withdrew secretly to the country near Rome torn asunder and torn apart by thorns while he feared to be seen by anyone lest he be given up. Then when he understood himself to be encircled, lest grievous punishments should be exacted, he prepared a certain contrivance for himself of wood and placed it with his own hands by which he should kill himself, and turning to his freedmen he said "what an artist dies." Thus the most repulsive parricide suffered a departure from life that fitted his merits, that he who had killed his mother and his (relatives) nor spared himself, truly a good engineer of his own death, who contrived that he should so perish, that his death should be free from indignities.

21 The report of the dead Nero had arrived in the manner of human nature, for which it is sufficient, when it will have received the desired (news), not to search for the remainder, but immediately to spread abroad into the public the incomplete (news) which will have pleased. And not much later however it became known that Galba was at the head of the Roman Empire. Hence it was the intention of Vespasian to inquire the opinion of the new leader about the war of the Jews and he sent his son Titus and the king Agrippa. Titus returned from Achaia, it having been learned that Galba in the seventh month and day of taking power was put aside and paid the penalty for the notable in the heart of the city, that is in the Roman forum, and Otho took possession of favorable circumstances and the imperial succession. Agrippa hastened to Rome, in order to establish favor with the new leader. Regard for paternal devotion seemed better to Titus than for imperial power, because if he should press on without his father's advice he thought it would not be pleasing to the ruler himself. Certainly the death seasonably informed him to return with the news to his father uncertain of where they tended. For finally Vespasian anxious about the entire Roman empire and the condition of his country suspended the war and withheld his attack, what was going on Judaea being considered of less importance compared to concern for the entire situation and to a dutiful solicitude for his country.

22 But Judaea was not keeping holiday, which was waging a more serious war within itself than against external enemies. For since the faction of Johannis was intolerable, there arose in addition Simon indeed inferior by the depravity of his behaviour but relying more upon the beauty of his body for daring every crime and upon brigandage, accustomed to the practice and trial of outrageous deeds. He was a Gerasan citizen, a strong youth, whom Ananus the leader of the priests had beaten down because of feigned stories of debauchery and had forced him driven from that place where he was dwelling to go away into other regions. But he for whom there was no place among the peaceful and gentle betook himself to a consortium of robbers. By them also in the beginning he was mistrusted, lest he should deceive them by partisanship, afterwards he easily ingratiated himself in by the mingling of customs. He plundered with them those places which were adjoining to fortifications because they did not venture to seek further places, but as if hiding in pits they lay in wait for passersby without any going abroad as if satisfied with domestic robbery. Simon unrestrained of mind was not long able to tolerate that and in a short time sought for himself a band of many promising liberty to slaves, plunder to free persons, recompense for those reduced to poverty, license to plunder for the many collecting together, daring to assault fortifications, to seize the peoples of cities, he was terrible to all. A place of refuge for himself in a village, which had the name Aiacis, he prepared walls. And already surrounded by twenty thousand armed men he was proceeding, when suddenly the inhabitants of Jerusalem fearing his daily advances and judging that these would be against them if they should come to maturity longer judged they must be cut down and in a sudden excursion armed men attacked Simon. Nor was he incautious and unprepared open to an ambush but he received those coming on and put most to flight, others routed in the battle he forced to retreat into the city.

23 Engaging with the Idumaeans also on equal terms he fell back and as if conquered because he had not won, he was vexed. When there should again be a coming together, considering it more favorable to try trickery he found a voluntary abettor of deceit. For when it was understood what he was striving for, Jacob one of the leaders of the Idumaeans, cunning and clever at tasks of this sort, came secretly to Simon and offered the betrayal of his country, that he would give good faith that he would encompass all the Idumaeans, the price asked for a future association, which would be the most powerful and the most faithful to him, he promises the surrender of all. With a social feast allied thanks and great promises of Simon the bargain was confirmed on both sides. When Jacob returned to his own people he began at first to boast to a few the exploring the strengths of the opponents to have gone forward, to have seen a strong band, men expert in war, a great multitude and invincible in war. He gradually implanted speech of this sort to the leaders, finally to spread it out to all, Simon himself to be vigorous in full measure, who had organised his army in a regal manner, had maintained the ranks, had apportioned the numbers, had appointed suitable leaders. It was necessary that the Idumaeans take counsel with themselves that they should experience such a man as a friend rather than as an enemy. Certainly if in a conference they should see him superior, they should withdraw without danger, they should beware of battle. When he learned that the sentiment of most was inclined to his opinion, Simon having been instructed that he should go forth into battle line, confident of the future routing of the Idumaeans, he did not disperse, here like a leader in battle and as if prepared for fighting, when a testing battle with the light armed troops, before it came to close quarters, his horse having been turned around he gave himself to flight. His men did the same. Thus he turned back and scattered all the forces and surrendered victory to Simon without the contest of battle. He having become master of such a great people by the triumph, was made more arrogant toward the rest. Chebron an ancient city, crowded with people, rich in treasure, he captured before it was expected and found in it much booty, he ravaged very rich crops. It is reported to be the most ancient community not only of the cities of Palestine, but even of all that were established in Egypt by the ancients, even Memphis, which is considered the most ancient, most judge to be later. There have been those even who have said father Abraham to have dwelled in it, afterwards having departed from Mesopotamia he traveled to Egypt, his sons to have there a tomb beautifully constructed of marble and with the most elegant workmanship, at the seventh stadium from the city. A large terebinthus tree is asserted to have been there from the constitution of the world, now however whether it remains to this time is uncertain to us. Proceeding from there he laid waste territories, stormed cities, collected peoples. Accompanied by forty thousand armed men he made desolate everything at whatever place he had approached even as if a friend or ally. For what place would suffice for the food of so many? Every place was trampled down by the footsteps alone of the foot soldiers in the manner of a pavement, in which he had stationed such a great number of fighters. Not only was whatever was a crop carried away, as if consumed by certain locusts, but even later the the beaten down earth was denying crops. It terrified Johannis that the power of Simon was increasing and the partners of the entire faction were shaking. They wished him destroyed but did not dare to provoke him to war. Once more they prepared an ambush and blocking the routes they seize and carry off his wife with all the feminine retinue and a few attendants of the men. They boasted as if they had achieved an important victory and, as if they were holding Simon himself captive, they thought that he would humble himself before them. But he unyielding, fierce, would meet with them from love for no one, he held nothing dear or sacred, he was angered as if by an injury received rather than by a dear one snatched away, and much more furious he tortured with severe pains those whom he discovered. He cut off the hands from many whom he sent to the enemy with maimed bodies, so that they would make known his cruelty, would would insinuate to threaten that he would throw down the walls, raze the city, unless his wife were restored to him immediately, likewise he would cut off the hands and cut out the viscera from everyone who lived within the city, unless they should have agreed without delay. And so terrified they send his wife straight to him, by which his anger having been softened he gave some little opportunity of reposing, that he would not press the siege.

24 Not only had Galba been killed, but even Othon had been killed, the leaders of Vitellius having come to an agreement, whom the army in Gaul had chosen as emperor. And indeed in the first battle Othon seemed superior. The battle having been resumed after a day Othon discovered that victory had fallen to Valentius and Caecina associates of Vitellius, also most of his men had been killed, located at Brixia he saved himself by a voluntary death with the jest, that he had been master for only three months and two days. And so the Victor with that army, which remained from both sides, hastened to Rome.

25 Vespasian at that time set out from the city Caesarea. He laid waste Iudaea, he finished off the neighbouring hill country and fortified places. He killed those resisting, he bestowed the grace of safety to those beseeching it, he routed his adversaries, he stationed his men. Cerealis also a leader of the Roman army overran everything with the cavalry, he killed some, he subjugated others, he collected a multitude of captives. He burned out everything around Jerusalem, lest there be any refuge for the Jews. Thus every way out for the Jews was cut off before a siege. But they not only did not take counsel with themselves, they even fought among themselves in domestic strife, Johannes a tyrant on the inside, Simon the enemy outside the walls, who issuing forth for a short time, his wife having been recovered, ravaged Idumaea and returned even stronger and surrounded the walls of the city Jerusalem on every side with armed men. Johannes positioned on the inside drove his men to the fight with unfavorable auspices, the judgement of crimes having been given. They seethed with eagerness for plunder, desires of base deeds, profusions of riotous living, odors of perfumes. They crimped their hair with curling irons, painted their eyes with antimony. donned women's clothing. Not only the clothing of women but even women's effeminacy was striven for, and the passions of unlawful pleasures. Men exercised the role of women, made womanish sounds, destroyed their sex by the weakness of their body, let grow their hair, whitened their face, smoothed their cheeks with pumice, plucked their little beard, and in this effeminacy exercised an intolerable savagery of cruelty. Finally they were advancing with irregular steps and suddenly fighters for a short while, covering hidden swords with purple cloaks, when they had suddenly bared them, whomever they met with they tore open. Anyone who had escaped Simon was killed by Johannes if he took himself into the city, anyone who had fled Johannes and was captured by Simon was killed before the walls. There was great dissension. The Idumaeans were seeking to end the tyranny of Johannes, they envied his power and hated his cruelty. They come together against the abettors of the tyranny, they divert them, they follow all the way to the royal court, which he had put together with the nearest family of king Adiabenus, the defenders having been driven out they rush in and they seize the temple, plundering the booty of the tyranny, since Johannes had established the hiding place of their treasures there. Great fear had arisen, that during the night the Idumaeans entering the city from the temple might kill the people with their arms, might destroy the city by burning. Terrified by which fear, by the judgement of the council, while they were unable to bear one tyrant, they admitted another. And Johannes had stolen into the tyranny by deceit: he having been asked, that he should grant the remedy of safety, brought in the domineering despot to the citizens of the city. Mathias the foremost of the priests was sent that he might beseech his entry. But he satisfied to be in power haughtily assented and as if he were vexed yielded to the canvassing for office, so that he could pour himself into the city with all his troops. They opened the gates to his troops so that they could bring in even worse, while they cursed the interior. And so Simon in accordance with the decision having entered showed himself equally an enemy to all, so that he took vengeance with a common hatred upon all, upon those who had summoned (him) and those against whom his aid had been requested: Johannes was impelled by his delusions, the state vacillated. There was a contest between Johannes and Simon who should most injure his own followers.

26 The rumour grew strong of civil wars in the Roman army: disclosed by the death of Galba and Otho and the ascendency of Vitellius, who more worthless than his predecessors had sunk down as if refuse. Men of the old military service began to gather with him and to tolerate indignantly that the praetorian legions at Rome should take so much upon themselves that although they had already

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become unaccustomed to experience the dangers of wars, although they did not know the names of the peoples who set war in motion, nevertheless they themselves decreed the leader in wars and decided that the choosing of the ruler of the Roman state was in their hands. Thence as an example of this sort the soldiers stationed in Gaul sought that they should give the supreme command to Vitellius without consulting the senate and the Roman people. Themselves in the meantime to be considered as hired servants, who obeyed foreign masters, the first into dangers, the last to be honored, they were waging war at such a time with triumphal celebrations increasing daily and were receiving masters from (their) inferiors, and them not even suitable but the most sluggish who were devoted to their appetites and shameful practices. They should go forward in the face of obstacles and the insult should be removed. They had an active man Vespasian whom it was fitting to be chosen ruler by all, mature of an age for taking counsel, stronger than his juniors for fighting. It should be hastened quickly, lest he should be chosen first by others, and those with whom he had grown up triumphing in military service should be objects of contempt. When would be a more opportune time, in which a recompense fitting for his accomplishments should be rewarded? Vitellius an abyss of personal causes of shame, not I should say of rulers. This the senate was not about to tolerate longer, not the Roman people, that the disgrace of drunkards should remain longer at the summit of the empire, to support whom the Roman state does not suffice. For who should suffer a tyrant to reign, when he has in the army a ruler worthy of the Roman empire? Which crew in truth threw itself into debauchery and devoted itself to vice, at the time when the incentive of war is the slothfulness of the state's ruler and on the contrary the stability of peace in the enemy is bravery, in the ruler of the state is moderation. Who does not admire in Vespasian up until now a private citizen the glory of power and the supremacy of the Roman empire? For whom so great a number of military men are at hand and the strongest band of the entire Roman army? What should we expect, that support for us is owed to anothers bravery because he is ruler and we give place to others because he is in command of our power? Certainly if we are unwilling to honor, we should not detract, nor should we make this injury, that he should be repudiated in our judgement as if unfit for the supreme command, for which Vitellius was considered fit. Finally since his brother and his son Domitian are in Italy, it must certainly be feared, lest anyone who ought to have long since been an embellishment to his family should be a danger, or if they as we believe should begin to urge an absolute ruler, to this deceit let it be that the brother and son had rebelled, and we should begin to see him responsible, whom we are unwilling to see as supreme commander. These with them the soldiers crying aloud address Vespasian, they ask that he take over the control of the Roman empire. He truly refused and said himself to be not fit, a supreme ruler to have been already put in place, a civil war should be avoided. They were quick to insist, he was most persevering in resisting. Finally armed men stood around him who was still resisting threatening death with swords, who pointed out a crime to themselves to remain and a grave danger, if he should refuse. And so he conceded to those pressing him rather than taking upon himself voluntarily that which others are accustomed to campaign for. The soldiers urged him, the leaders persuaded, that he should assume the administration before the honor. He hastened in to Egypt, for he knew the greatest forces of the Roman state to be there. From which place a supply of food was furnished, reserves for himself sought, if he should have conquered, resistance to Vitellius, if he thought the war would drag out longer. For there were two ranks of military men there, which he hastened to join to himself, so that the city very large and surrounded by many defences of nature should remain in his power rather than in another's, useful enough for either outcome of the war. And for that reason a few things should be said about the location of the places and above all about the metropolitan city itself.

27 Alexander founded the city of Alexandria to which the name of the great leader was given because of his great merits. It lies between Egypt and the sea as if closed off, a city without a harbour, as is most of Egypt, and difficult to approach from other places since it lies in the more distant parts of Asia. In the west Egypt itself borders upon the deserts of Libya, Soenen and the unnavigable cataracts of the Nile river divide its southern and upper regions from the Ethiopians, in the east the Red Sea is flung back all the way to Coptos, which most distant place opens a passable route for sailors from the farthest lands to the Indians. Hedged in on one side therefore by the boiling hot burning sun, from India and from the Egyptian sea, it leans upon one only northern wall of land which leads into Syria. The rest is shut off on every side and protected with the help of nature. However the defence of the northern region (is) separated and accessible by a certain twin entrance, by which foreign forces are conveyed to it through the Egyptian sea or a freer use is extended to the lands. The land extends to a boundless measure. For between Soenen and Pelusium (there is) an immense distance of two thousand stadia, if belief is given to assertions, and from Plinthinis all the way to Pelusium likewise three thousand six hundred stadia. A region unaccustomed to heavy rains but not however lacking in showers, upon which the overflowings of the Nile poured out water freely. The Nile is both things to it, the copiousness of the heavens and the fertility of the earth. It regulates the cultivated lands, it enriches the soil, to the benefit alike af sailors and farmers. The first sail upon it, the latter plant crops, they sail around the estates in boats, they farm: sowing without a plow, travelling without a carriage. You may see it divided by the river and as if elevated by a certain wall of boats. Dwelling places are spread over all the lands, which they overflow with the Nile. For it is navigable all the way to the city that they name Elephantus. The cataracts which we have mentioned do not allow a boat to proceed further, not by the falling away of a whirlpool but by the headlong falling down of the entire river and a certain tumbling down of the waters. The harbor of the city as most accesses to maritime places is difficult to approach and far more difficult than the rest, as if in the form of the human body, in the head itself and the harbor rather spacious, in the throat more narrow, by which one undertakes the passage of the sea and ships, by which certain aids of breathing are furnished to the port. If anyone shall have passed out the narrow neck and mouth of the port, the remaining shape of the body so to speak, the spreading out of the sea is extended far and wide. In the right side of the port there is a small island, on it is a tall tower, which the Greeks and Romans commonly have called Pharus from the use of the thing itself, because it may be seen from afar by sailors so that, before they come near the port, especially at night time they may learn that land is near them by the indication of flames, so that they deceived by darkness do not come upon rocks or are not able to discover the passage of the entrance. And so there are attendants there, by whom firebrands having been tossed in and other piles of wood the fire is burned as an indication of land and as a marker of the entrance of the port, showing the strait to anyone entering, the power of the waves, the winding of the entrance, so that the thin keels should not strike the jagged rocks and during the entrance itself strike against reefs hidden among the waves. And so it is necessary that the direct course be altered for a short time, lest dashed against hidden rocks a ship should run into danger there, where an escape from dangers is expected. For the approach into the port is more difficult, because on the right side it is contracted by brick, on the left by rocks, by which the left side of the port is obstructed. Also around the island heaped up piles of great size are thrown down, lest by the continual pounding of the surging sea the foundations of the island should give way and be loosened by the age-old assault. Whence it happens from the waves dashing themselves against part of the island and returning in the opposite direction between the jagged rocks and heaped together moles, the middle of the channel is always restless and entering becomes dangerous for boats because of the rough passage. The breadth of the port is thirty stadia, a safe harbor, great tranquility regardless of the weather, because having brought to mind the narrowness of the mouth and the interposition of the island it repels from itself the waves of the sea and inside it becomes a very safe port by a certain compensation of the dangerous ingress, because by the same narrowness of the mouth of the port the basin of the entire port is protected and removed from the effects of storms, it is calmed by the breaking of the waves by which the ingress is made rough. Not undeserved is either the protection or the size of a port of this sort, since it is necessary to bring together into it those things which contribute to the profit of the entire world. For indeed innumerable peoples of the same places seek the commerce of the entire world for the benefit of themselves, and a region, rich in crops and other rewards of the earth or businesses, overflowing entirely with grain nourish and furnish the world with necessary commodities.

28 Things with regard to himself in Alexandria and the desires of all who dealt with military matters about his supreme authority having been settled, relieved of anxiety about conspirators he hastens the going back of his absence into Syria, Tiberius Alexander having agreed to his orders, who was then presiding over Egypt, that he should join the allegiance of his army, which was then in the upper regions, to himself (i.e., to Vespasian.), he himself also would further the interests of the Roman empire to the extent he could with the forces which had been assigned to him. Tiberius circulated a letter to the provincial administrators and the soldiers, and this was received by all with joy, faithfulness was promised, approval was poured forth. Caesarea received Vespasian, after that Beritus, legations of these cities assembling with the greatest delight. There I, Josephus, who had been ordered chained, was set free. Titus approached the commander that the chains should be broken rather than unfastened, because if they were broken it would be as if he had not been fettered. His father agreed. He ordered an ax to be brought, the chains to be broken so that the Jews should notice that pardon would also not be denied to them, if they should turn around and ask for peace; he was saving him at once because of a not unfriendly judgement, since decisions on all matters had been referred to him.

29 He arrived at Antioch. There a discussion having been held, from which it was thought necessary to transfer into Italy, because he considered everything safe in Egypt or at Alexandria, a decision for speed. And therefore he sends Mucianus with a great part of the cavalry and the foot soldiers, so that he should precede the arrival in Italy of the supreme commander. He called back by the fear of a long voyage directed his march through Cappadocia and Phrygia. He also ordered Antonius the commander of the third military rank who was in Moesia to pour himself against the unprepared Italy, before the forces of Vitellius should move themselves. For Vitellius as if drunk with wine and sunk in sleep, thinking it was a matter of a social feast be managed, not of empire, placed in such great affairs was sleeping. And finally scarcely at last aroused by the news of the arriving Antonius he directs Caecina with part of the army and he entrusts the greatest of his danger to the judgement of another relying on the forces of Caecina, which had routed the troops of Otho. He near the city of the inhabitants of Cremona meets the advancing Antonius, he examines everything, he learns a very strong band from different directions to be at hand, active in wars, experienced in victories, himself on the other hand not of equal strength nor equal in number to be able to fight against those much stronger. The centurions having been called together he urges (them) to desist from fighting, because they were inferior in number and the renown of the commander was greater. It is sufficient in war that the reputation of a leader be strong to those engaging in great matters. Vespasian shone forth in the sections of Gaul and the British victories, Vespasian girded about with his eastern glories the great renown of his brilliant name. Vitellius nothing else except disorderly from wine and at social feasts always vomiting yesterday's sumptuous food awaiting nothing other than that when he should come up with the enemy full of drink he should perish without any sense of pain. From the former the spirits of the soldiers were enhanced by the fame of such a great commander, from the last they were thrown down by his scandals and foulnesses. They took counsel lest they should lose (their) good repute from the previous battle. They had vanquished Otho an equal to Vitellius, opposed to him now was the task, who had encompassed the entire world with his victories. The necessity must be anticipated with grace that they should rather choose Vespasian as a fellow citizen than try him as an enemy. It is wretched in a civil war even to conquer: how much more wretched to be conquered, that you are considered the enemy of your people. To the victor his fatherland remains, to the conquered it disappears, or, if it remains, there will remain the odium of a crime, that we appear to the citizens to have waged war in behalf of a tyrant. For he who is overcome is at the moment not a fellow citizen but is a tyrant. How do we bring together the hurts of the troops? Once let it be sufficient for the evil one to have conquered, that he shames whom we have conquered. We reckoned to be either temperate for the empire or aroused up by the weight of things to repudiate uninterrupted sleep. Why expect anything further? Our dangers are unwelcome to all fellow soldiers, our judgements blamed and and condemned by all peoples because of the outrages of the selected person. However deliberately it may be, yet he who was the victor has been repudiated. It was deliberated certainly prior to the outcome of the war and thus it was fought. If dangers have prevented, you will deliberate to no purpose, where the deliberation shall be acceptable, you may properly begin. What was a matter of the concerned leader, all things having been investigated for him, it was evident that the army of Vespasian was the stronger. His loyalty to Vitellius had long been proved. When he took for granted the outcome of the war, the following victory, when he distrusted, it was manifest what was about to be. Nor truly was his own death a matter of dread to him but the peril of the Roman army and, what grieves the men more, the loss at once of a part of their fame, that they should be seen conquered who are accustomed to conquer. It certainly had to be guarded against by him that it should be judged a matter not of bravery, but to have been a consequence because he had conquered in a preceding battle, (that it should be judged) a matter of cowardice because he had afterwards been beaten.

30 By these and talks of this kind he led the soldiers to his opinion, that they should go forward with him to Antonius. And so as volunteers they surrender themselves to him. But as the fickleness of the military crowd most particularly holds itself, many were pricked during the night in their beds by repentence of the deserted Vitellius, lest if he should be superior, no possibility of pardon for them would remain, who had abandoned their proper commander. And so arising they began to confer first with whomever they met in the way. then with everyone, how they would atone for their fault. Their swords having been unsheathed they threw themselves upon Caecina wishing to go avenge their injury. But the centurions and commanders (centurion, nominally commander of a hundred; chiliarches, nominally commander of a thousand.) intervening, having considered that indeed it

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must be moderated from his death, they prepared however to send him bound to Vitellius. Which having been learned Antonius set in motion those he had brought with with him, and with them under arms he rushed in upon the rebels. But they, the column turned different directions having been seen, prepared themselves for battle. But daring to resist only a short time, when they turned themselves that they might flee to Cremona, Antonius ran to meet them with cavalry, and prevented the approach of all, lest those fleeing together should be received, and killed them shut up before the city. A great multitude was killed there, he followed the rest into the city itself and killed them. Everything having been plundered, many traders from other places arriving, many inhabitants for the sake of booty were killed while protecting their property. Thirty thousand were killed and two hundred men who were present from the army of Vitellius. Also Primus, for this even was a surname to Antonius, lost four thousand five hundred of the Mesiacian soldiers, because from despair of safety and wishing to avenge themselves the Vitellian troops when they saw themselves surrounded yielded a by no means bloodless victory to the Antonian troops. Set free from his chains Caecina is sent to Vespasian by Antonius and there he was relieved of the stain of betrayal not only by freedom of anxiety about his safety but even by the payment of rewards.

31 Elated by the news of which victory Sabinus, wishing himself to prepare a commendation for himself in the eyes of the commander, if he should precede the arriving Antonius, either by the destruction or expulsion of Vitellius, if Vitellius should resist, if Antonius should come to help, who now and again was heard to be at hand, he assembled soldiers to himself, a band from those ranks, who stationed at Rome attended to the duties of keeping order. Indeed during the night he occupies the Capitol. Many of the nobles flock to him in the course of the day, among whom even was Domitian, the son of the brother of Vespasian, who feared that the Vitellian revenge might be diverted against himself as a nephew of Vespasian. Between the two Vitellius attacks the nearer, less worried by the more distant -- for the nearer dangers frighten more -- and angered he sends the Germans against the Capitol, who very violent from the monstrous size of the race, at the same time stronger in numbers, surrounded the martial band of Sabinus. Almost all were killed. Domitian however with most of the nobles, while the Germans are pressing against the heights of the Capitol and are driven back with the help of the position and by Sabinus and his associates, found an opportunity of fleeing, and by chance to the injury of the state was himself saved to be in future a tyrant. Vitellius puts Sabinus to death by torture, all the gifts that had been offered to the Capitol are plundered and the temple is burned.

32 After a day Antonius arrives, he comes in from different directions, a triple encounter having taken place around the walls of the city all the Vitellians are put to flight and killed. Meanwhile Vitellius was feasting lest being about to die he should miss a meal, and like those overflowing as they are accustomed to be at the last, he kept stuffing himself with the viands of his last table, he stupified himself with numerous goblets of wine, that he should lose consciousness of either future abuse or peril. He is plucked from a banquet, dragged through the throng, reviled as one about to die, injuries are applied that being drunk he did not feel. He is killed in the middle of the city pouring out wine and blood simultaneously, belching forth the wine drunk. Who if he had lived longer, would have consumed in daily living the wealth of the Roman empire in the expenses of his extravagances and the cost of his tables. In the end he ruled eight months and five days and already Rome had fallen short of his gluttony. Others of the killed were reckoned above fifty thousand.

33 Moreover on the following day Mucianus and Antonius having entered together with the army barely imposed an end to the killing upon the raging soldiers, that because they were hunting down the Vitellians who had presumed to establish the supreme authority of the empire and aroused by such a great provocation they were searching the homes of private citizens so that when they had discovered among the people some hiding from fear, they killed them as Vitellians, before an inquiry had disclosed the truth, so that too often the fury of the victors preceded a questioning. And because Vespasian was not present Mucianus put Domitian in charge of public affairs on account of the interregnum, lest any fault should lack appropriate handling. Not yet however had eagerness for shameful acts poured itself completely into Domitian. He was to this point clumsy in his moral faults and a beginner in crime as in authority. Vespasian had been held back by stormy weather and so the sea having been cut off by the winds he returns to Alexandria with his son. There the news of the victory and the good-will of the Roman people toward him having been made known he decided his departure should be hastened lest in his absence any change should be effected, nor however did he leave the war of Judaea unlooked after, which he thought should be entrusted to his son as a partner in their tasks and his successor, so that he himself should not be lacking to the Romans, nor Vespasian to the Jews, whom his son would represent. Selected the performer of his father's triumph Titus is directed with a select troop. The foot soldiers go forth, they seek Nicopolis. That city is twenty three stadia from Alexandria. From there the soldiers having been embarked on a fleet of bigger ships he travels on the Nile to the city of Thmui. Going forth from there he lingered in the city which has the name Thanis. The second stay for the travelers is the city Heracles, the third Pelusium. Two days of a stationary camp having been spent thanks to Pelusium making a journey through the desert he arrived all the way to the temple of Casus Jupiter. A stay Ostracine followed it, lacking sources of water, however by industry the inhabitants prepared a relief for themselves, they put in place a channel of waters. The Rinocorians received the advancing army not without a welcome refreshment. The city Raphiul presented itself, which city is the beginning of Syria for those traveling out of Egypt. It was come to Gaza -- that was the fifth city for those coming -- thence into Ascalona, then into Jamnia, from which it is crossed into Iopen, Caesarea is arrived at, where it was necessary to stay a short time, also to collect a troop of soldiers who were as yet in winter quarters. And already the severity of the winter was abating.

PSEUDO-HEGESIPPUS BOOK 5

1 In the first year of the supreme power having been bestowed upon Vespasian Judea was tormented by savage battles and civil riots, nor had it experienced a cessation of evils during the winter, when the savageries of wars are accustomed to become less severe. But even the third tyrant Eleazarus had approached it as if intending to correct the faults of his predecessors, who Iudas and Simon the son of Ezeron and Ezechia a youth not of low birth conspiring with him, whom many others were following, and the interior parts of the temple having been seized and all the border, they stationed armed men before the gates in front of the entrance itself. Johannes however excelled in the number of conspirators and the size of his faction, but he was lower in place, and could not at all rest but must fight back against those higher up, he was incommoded however because he had enemies above. In truth Simon, whom the people had brought in as tyrant over themselves, held the highest places of the city, the lower places also were filled by his people. The city was suffering from a threefold battle within itself, no let up no respite no suspension of hostilities, there was conflict at every moment. Many fell, countless were butchered, blood flowed, it polluted everything, it filled the threshold itself of the temple, dead bodies piled up everywhere, some were struck by arrows, others by missiles. Among the three Johannes was in the middle lower than Eleazarus, higher than Simon; by the amount he was overtopped by Eleazarus, by that amount he himself overtopped Simon: in the middle therefore between both he held that place, so that by the amount he was more oppressed by the one, indeed he himself more oppressed the other. Better equipped however with other helps of siege machines and types of weapons, he made equal the battle, so that indeed besides those who were pushing for war many indeed of the priests were killed and immolated among the very sacrificial victims they had slaughtered. Although indeed a frequent multitude of missiles fell upon everything and battles seethed everywhere, however the priests religiously attended to the duties of sacrificing nor did they take a holiday from the office committed to them. And where they were in the interior of the temple, there they were more seriously killed, because things done by the siege engines had a more violent blow. Indeed many who had come to pray from the ends of the earth hoping for the blessing of safety, the more they clung to the temple the more they were involved in great danger. You would see foreigners with the citizens, priests and laymen thrown down together, the important with the base, the self indulgent with the abstinent, the blood of all indiscriminately mixed and flowing like a stream the interior recesses themselves of the temple lying in pools, blood swelling up in every path, so that many while they seek each other as champions of the factions , offended by the slipperiness and about to satisfy their fury were immersed in blood. Nor thus terrified even by the dangers did the followers of the tyrants however withdraw from the fighting, and where was the greater danger there the greater storm of madness raged. And if destruction gravely threatened anyone, others as if they were vigorously supporting the victory would destroy those thrown into confusion. And indeed there was opportunity of yielding to Eleazarus or Simon, so that they would be separated as if by some persons or truces of hours. Johannes however was always in readiness for battle, every moment in combat. If those above were inactive, he pressed upon those below from the faction of Simon, if he drove these away, Eleazarus attacked. If he drove some away, he would leap upon others, always watchful in combat and indefatigable in savagery itself. When they were sparing of javelins, they would throw burning darts, which laid hold of by the roofs of houses destroyed buildings which filled to bursting with produce and other foodstuffs for enduring a lengthy war were burned up together with great amounts of fodder they gave to the fire. They destroy the charred remains of the materials, the roofs of the high buildings roll down. Thus by blood fire destruction hunger the sinews of the entire city were cut down. No place was free from danger, no time was found for deliberation, no hope of change, no opportunity of escape. Everything was gloomy, full of dread, full of frightfulness, lamentations everywhere, panic, everywhere the cries of women, lamentations of the aged, groans of the dying, the despair of the living, so you would say those were wretched who remained, those were happy who had died.

2 How you have been deceived, the city, by your people, to whom you once appeared blessed, how you have been conquered by your own forces and even your own hands have been turned against you, how you were accustomed to conquer without weapons to strike the enemy without any battle, when the angels fought for you and the waves of the sea were soldiers for you, the openings of the earth, the noises of heaven? Arise now, Moses, and see your people and the inheritance of the people entrusted to you perish by their own hands. Look upon those people of god, for whom advancing upon the impassable the sea opened, to whom starving heaven furnished food, without confinement by the sea, without blockade by Pharaoh, without hunger from the barrenness of the lands. Arise, Aaron, you who once, when because of the displeasure of omnipotent god death was consuming many of the people, stood between the living and the dead, and death stood still and by the interposition of your body affliction clung to you and was not able to go over to the contagion of the living. Awaken also you, Jesus Navis, who leveled the impregnable walls of Jericho with priests playing the trumpet, and see the people, to whom you made subject the foreigners, now the same made subject to be oppressed. Awaken, David, accustomed to soothe the rough spirit with the charm of the lyre, and see how madness dominates and has obliterated every sweetness of your psalms from the senses of the destroyers, and each one of the leaders offers all the nation to death, that he may twist away liberty, on behalf of which you offered your own self to death. Awaken, Heliseus, who introduced the enemy into Samaria and made him an ally. Through you the rattle of chariots sounded in the camps of Syria and the voice of cavalry and the voice of manhood, the enemy fled, Judaeus avoided the siege. Where now are those merits, where now those divine services of the blessed? It is not surprising if they have lost the aid of the prophets, because they have refused the mediator of the prophets. And so against yourself, Judaea, your arms are turned, your prayers profit you nothing, because your faith attends nothing; thus your people has been made against you, because your faithlessness has been turned against you. What remedy is being searched for, when the proposer of the remedy is not reconciled? What were you thinking would happen, when with your own hands you put your salvation on the cross, with your own hands you extinguished your life, with your own voices you banished your supporter, with your own attacks you killed your helper, except that you also put your hands against yourself? You have what you sought, you have snatched away from yourself the patron of peace, you sought for the arbiter of life to be killed, for Barabbas to be released to you, who on account of rebellion done in the city and murder had been sent to prison. Thus salvation departed from you, peace went away, calm left off, rebellion was given to you, destruction was given. Recognize you that Barabbas is alive today, Jesus is dead. Thus in you rebellion rules, peace is buried, and you are being destroyed more cruelly by your own people than if you were being destroyed by foreigners. How much of mischief, miserable city, did a Roman with his armies bring in to you as did your own people? The Romans wished peace, you proclaimed war. What cause was there that you should provoke those stronger? It was truly harsh that contrary to sacred law a gentile should have entered the temple, but already it was not the temple of god. You were not the city of god, nor were you able to be, for you were a tomb of the dead and especially of your own people whom you yourself had killed, not whom you had lost by an enemy. For how were you able to be the abode of life, who were the dwelling place of death, the lodging house of wickedness, the den of thieves? There lay dead in you unburied Ananus and Jesus the foremost of the priests, and they not long since clothed in the priestly garments, which were objects of veneration even to foreigners, they have lain with disfigured body, the food of birds and the devouring of dogs, dismembered and scattered over the entire city, so that the appearance of former sanctity was seen to lament such a great affront of the sacred name and the degradation of the public office. But you yourself made for yourself the beginning of this vileness, who killed the prophets in the middle of your bosom, who stoned the blessed ones of the lord. Zacharias lay lifeless before the temple, he lay unburied. Here therefore blood bathes him. But what cause of death was there for Ananus except that he upbraided your people, because it did not rise up in defense of the temple, because he complained about the surrendered freedom, the forsaken courage, the trampled relics of ancient religious rites, the polluted altars? He claimed the people would be abandoned, from the use of insensible images and statues of marble already perceiving nothing. Even mute animals are accustomed to note a change of punishment, to feel injury, to

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be aroused by a prick, to avoid blows. Who therefore is neither aroused nor knows to avoid what is harmful, is like those not feeling. And where is your true freedom, with whose spirit you at one time judged that not to the Egyptians, not to the Palestinians, not to the Assyrians, later not to the Medes, must submission be made. Where is that faith of the Macchabaens, which once in a few routed the Babylonians, put the Persians to flight, overpowered Demetrius, finally in the women and children at Antioch it overcame arms swords and fires and in accordance with paternal precept preferred to die rather than be submissive to the commands of the king. Where is that devotion of the fathers the most beautiful of all passions, with which they offered themselves to death not for their children, not for their spouses, more than for the temple of god? Before indeed the priestly staff cut off from its forest root flourished, but now faith withers and piety is buried and the emulation of all virtue has gone away. It is not a wonder if the people, who have withdrawn from god and follow a wicked spirit of contradiction, are divided among themselves, for how were they able to hold their peace who rejected the peace of god? Christ is the peace of god who made both one. Deservedly therefore from one people many have been made against themselves, because divided they were unwilling to follow Jesus uniting them in fellowship, but joined together they followed the dividing spirit of madness. You paid therefore, Jerusalem, the price of your faithlessness, when you yourself with your own hands destroyed your defenses, when with your own swords you dug out your entrails, so that the enemy felt pity, that he was lenient that you might rage. Indeed he saw that god was fighting against you and was engaged on behalf of the Romans, and you yourself were bringing in a voluntary betrayal. And thus the onlookers preferred to be Romans rather than murderers, lest, your innards raging among themselves, it should be thought troops of contagion rather than of bravery to be approaching. To these sufferings of abominable murder was added the barbarity of wicked inhumanity, that they denied burial to everyone, who was killed either in the temple or around the streets of the city. Nor was anyone free to do burials while they were occupied between themselves with war and the task of killing more than burying held everyone. And so by a certain madness the services of piety perished, the employment of ungodliness grew worse, and nothing in such great misfortunes was destroyed more than compassion, which alone is accustomed to lighten miseries, to mitigate hardships. And in fact both those who had lost their own did not dare to bury them because of fear, because great terror advanced from the leaders of the opposing factions, and those who had killed strangers took care lest anyone should snatch them away for burial. And so it was necessary for everyone to fear that what they wished to give to another they might take away from themselves, or what is worse they themselves might not be granted the use of a tomb which they prepared for another. In the temple therefore itself instead of the good smelling ointments, instead of the censers breathing out good smells, instead of the odors of different flowers, the stench of unburied bodies was hard to bear, which the rains had unloosened, which the fires had charred, which the sun had heated. All the limbs of the murdered citizens had a horrible odor. From this the putrefaction of the loosened entrails, thence the strong smell of the burnt bodies filled every sense and the mouths of the living, so that they not much later were taken by very severe illness and they groaned themselves to be survivors, by which they would die from a harsher punishment, and by that to have been saved so that they should see the laws of nature to be dissolved at the same time with their country, justice to be denied to the living, peace to the citizens, burial to the dead, human and divine affairs equally to be dishonored and polluted, everything mingled together, compassion to be criminal, cruelty to be held in the place of reverence. A military camp in the temple, warfare on the threshold, death on the altars, themselves to see those things about to happen which they had not believed the prophets announcing. Had not David said about these very things: they polluted your sacred temple, they placed the remains of your servants as food for the birds of the sky, they poured out their blood like water around Jerusalem and there was no one who should do burials? For at that time gentiles came into the heirship of god, who would snatch away all things, and the temple was defiled with their corpses and the unburied bodies of the dead lay as the food of birds, the greediness of wild beasts: blood was shed so that it lay in pools in the temple, he was lacking who should do burying, because the madness was shifted from the living into the dead, from the dead into those who were still living. Anybody who wished to bury someone dead, was himself killed, and he who had killed the dead man transferred his anger to the burier, so that he should deny burial to the former he killed the latter. Again he who had killed the burier exercised a greater barbarity about the dead man, whom already owing nothing to hatred, not feeling sufferings, he despoils of the funeral rites owed to nature. What else could befall them, who were not accepting divine precepts? They mocked the announcements of the prophets, they spurned every command of heaven, They did not believe the things about to be, which that they should take place they themselves hastened. For there was an ancient and repeated saying that the city of Jerusalem would then be ruined and the sacred things destroyed. when the strife of war attacked the law and domestic hands should contaminate the temple of god. Not even this did they understand; indeed how many times was the house of god destroyed, how many times was there rebellion, how often blockade, how often war! Never was that city destroyed, unless when truly they fixed the temple of god to a cross with domestic hands. And about that temple, let them hear: break up this temple and in three days I will rouse it again. And indeed what was it other than sacrilege, when they extended irreverent hands against the source of salvation, when they stoned him, when they scourged him, when they seized him, when they killed him? Then truly the divine fire consumed their sacred things. For when they were burned by the Babylonians they were afterwards renewed, destroyed by Pompey they were restored again, but they were thoroughly burned, when Jesus came, broken up by the heat of the divine spirit they vanished. It was necessary with a certain abundant lamenting for us to recite certain funeral rites of our ancestral rituals, and as it were to follow a certain funeral procession and to loosen the funeral rites with the customs of our ancestors. But let us come to the beginning of the siege of Jerusalem.

3 Titus had returned into Judaea and a few days having been interposed, so that the ranks of military numbers might be filled again, from which a select band had been sent into Italy, he increased the fighting hastening to join his father, lest he should send him into danger alone about to fight against the Vitellianan forces. He moved the route of the army with great propriety the column careful everywhere and prepared, mistrustful of ambush, because it saw itself superior in valor. It came into the territory of Samaria. Gofna received it, which had long since conceded to the Romans. It came into Aulona, from which Jerusalem was not more than thirty stadia. From that place cavalry to the number of six hundred having been taken up he stretched out the cavalry before the city, to explore also the situation of the place, [p. 302] the character of the defenses, the height of the walls, the spirit of the common people, who were reported to be oppressed by the forces of the brigands, who had unwillingly assented to the siege, and accordingly would proffer their consent against the Romans less if freedom to speak were to be given. Impressively therefore he rode with a small escort on the common rampart which was directed at the walls of the city, not was anyone seen to come forth. However when he turned his horse to one side to go around the circuit of the walls, while the rest of the troop followed their leader, very many suddenly poured forth from the place which is located facing the tomb of Helena and bursting forth they captured the road, so that they blocked off the greater part of the horsemen who were following Titus. He with a few had gone past in accordance with the plan of the ambushers, so that left by the others he might more easily be overwhelmed, because it was neither easy to retreat to his men on account of the multitude of enemies inserted, nor did a ditch and wall and other hindrances of the place allow him to go further by which peril was presented from two directions.

4 Seeing therefore that in valour alone was there any chance of safety for himself, nor of opening the road otherwise than by the sword --- for already the others with their horses turned around were departing, although they trusted that the son of the emperor would be following --- he turned his horse; having urged the rest with a shout that they should follow, he rushed against the enemy. This seemed impossible how he would be able to escape, unless it is noted that in war frequently boldness although alone can accomplish what is a wall for oneself, afterwards because with others following behind the common crowd thought more for looking after itself in danger than pursuing the enemy, as if he who had extended his hand so that he should hold a horse, should be killed. Finally only two of the associates of Titus having been killed, with those remaining the son of the emperor returned to his men. Nor truly does it seem possible to doubt, because with head bare and unprotected in other respects, who had gone forward in the sally not prepared for battle, who had put on neither a helmet nor a breastplate, and from that received nothing of a wound, although darts were thrown chiefly against him, that such a great man was being reserved for the overthrow of this city. Surely it is the heart of the king in the hand of god. And therefore the boldness did not increase for the Jews from the outcome of their trickery and the success of their deceit, he returns to the city with the army after a night and from a certain tower, from which the city was looked out upon and the great size of the temple, he pointed to his troops with what city there would be for himself a war, that it was necessary for them to be energetic and prudent because a numberless people prepared for trickery had to be conquered by them. He arranged which ranks should approach the walls; he had inquired which were yet wearied from the night march, he stations them at a distance as reserves. It is advanced little by little. When it was come to the mount of Olives, a valley below it lay midway between the route and the city which has the name Cedron, where looking from the walls upon the army drawn up, for it was six stadia away, they put aside for the time their zeal for strife and an external enemy arriving gave up in a domestic agreement the fights of the civil wars. For generally even fear suppressed the fierce hatreds. Finally the men of the parties encouraging each other in turns their zeals uniting that they should defend their country together, lest by their discord it should give a bloodless victory to the Romans, relying upon their numbers they thought that the enemy should quickly be attacked, and the foremost thrown into confusion by an unexpected attack. But when the Romans trained by actual long standing practice and battles of diverse types confirmed themselves in mind, relying upon their order they began to cut down those attacking, to push them away with their shields, to repulse them with the hurling of javelins, by no means however without mutual losses. Indeed the Jews were already pressing close and the Roman line was wavering, unless the situation having been learned Titus had arrived and charging against the adversaries encouraging his troops had renewed the battle had aroused the courage of the soldiers reproving the Roman ranks victory would have been yielded to the disordered multitude not without the shame of great disheartedness. And the Jews having been driven off, they pursued them divided by the valley, the victor he took himself back to his own men, secure in his judgement, because the higher positions against those lower, it they should attempt to give battle, were giving assistance, he took himself to another part of the Roman army. Caesar departing the Jews pour themselves down from the walls and rush in a great throng upon the enemy, so that the soldiers fled from the charge of the countless multitude and took themselves to the higher reaches of the mountains; the flank having been left unprotected even the rest who preferred battle, fled. In the meantime Caesar positioned in the middle, most beseeching, that he should not put himself in danger and with the army dispersed be placed alone in the greatest of the danger, when he was the master of the world, --- for he should not fight as before in the place of a soldier but of an emperor, in whose danger there was disaster for everyone, --- he did not acquiesce but placing the honor of military service before safety, in the view of which a glorious death outweighed the shame of a life, he turns his breast against the enemy and those deterred whom he had gone against he flings himself against others. For by his appearance alone and the fame of his exceedingly well known and courageous bravery he drove back the enemy. And so they fell back whom he had charged against, but from other sides the Jews more and more were pouring in. And they almost [p. 305] closed in upon Titus, except that many of the soldiers seeing Caesar to be engaged in the middle of the battle shout out to the rest pointing out that the son of the emperor must not be left in danger. Thus their sense of honor recalled everyone and armed their fears, that they should not be branded by the disgrace of having abandoned Caesar. And having wheeled about against the Jews with every effort and bravery they drove the undisciplined horde into the valley, nor was it difficult for those climbing out to fall back. Thus Titus twice called back from flight a number of fleeing soldiers and took them out of danger and disgrace, having made use of equal bravery and finally of their sense of honor, which while it turns aside faintheartedness, brought in bravery, first that Caesar should not be abandoned, afterwards even that the enemy should be driven back.

5 When the public fighting was inactive for a brief time, the internal fighting proceeded. For Johannes many having been incited by the occurrence of the passover celebration, that they should approach the temple as if for the sake of observing it, and as if the opportunity of entering had been given to allies, prepared a trick. For having entered with a peaceful appearance but armed on the inside the coverings having been thrown aside well prepared with defences and with armored breasts they raise their swords to fight. Demoralized by which panic those who were at leisure within the temple unarmed burst out and left the temple empty. The former having followed them and cutting the throats of those whom they were able to catch, pursuing the others beyond the bounds of the temple, the opportunity of breaking in was given to Johannes and his associates. Many humans were killed in that place, so that even those who had not resisted some cause or other having been feigned were killed, nor was stillness of benefit to the peaceful nor silence to those passed over nor patience to those yielding. And the interior parts of the temple having been seized Johannes rode against Simon even, Eleazarus and the other chief persons of the third faction having been named in the second place to himself.

6 Also on the third day Titus advances against the enemy and leads forth the army. And reaching it he struck against the the crowded multitude of Jews before the city with the appearance of wishing to surrender themselves to the Romans but as if fearing. Having suspected treachery and especially inasmuch as recently he had seen them conspiring among themselves and obstinate not having thought it credible them to have suddenly changed, he warned the soldiers that trickery must be guarded against and it must not rashly be approached

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near the walls in crowded ranks unless by his command, lest those who had come out from the city should surround from the rear. Suddenly from the city a noise arose and a certain strife gradually resounded of some pretending a voluntary exit, of others still resisting, because the first were demanding that the gates be opened for them, the last were ordering them to be kept closed, some were wishing for peace, others for war. The crowd of soldiers rushed themselves forward to aid those, who had asked from the walls that assistance be given them. A great many go beyond the command without formation without any method as if rushing to meet and bringing assistance to those coming, so that by the nearer assistance confidence of breaking out should be granted to a great number and fear to those resisting, or an opportunity among those struggling of breaking out for themselves. Whom they began to pour themselves around from behind who stood firm outside, they pressed upon those surrounded. These fled to the wall as if suspecting nothing from those who were pretending peace. Thereupon stones and missiles were thrown down and suddenly the fiction of peace was changed into battle. Whence aroused they rush against the enemy, who although they had tried to surround the foremost of the Roman soldiers, feared however that they themselves might be surrounded by the entire army, and so while they feared the whole, they lost almost from their hands those whom they had already considered captured although many wounds had been inflicted and themselves for the most part wounded. Followed however all the way to the tomb of Helena they made noise as the manner is by clashing shields, mocking the Romans because they had surrounded them a second time by trickery.

7 Caesar somewhat disturbed forbad those returning to be mingled with the rest and convoked an assembly saying: "Although the Roman valor is great, excelling the peoples of all the races, especially however it excels in orderly arrangement and obedience to orders. For that is the preservation of military training. Nor is it strange that the Jews devise tricks, they construct tricks who judge themselves unequal in strength. But as it is the part of the weaker to rely upon treachery, thus it is the part of the stronger to beware that trickery does not dupe strength. And so them to be amazed, because they agreed themselves to be in desperate straits, that the situation is not coming together in an advance of better things for the Romans 1 , and from that it happens that the performance of trickery for them is in doubt, for us the exertion of valor is in an uncertain state. But if the strength of the enemy is stronger than great trickery, it is less scandalous. For to be overcome by equals or indeed by those stronger is free from disgrace. But truly nothing in you gives offense except excess alone of contending and a certain hasty lack of self-control of the troops, what can be worse than for the discipline of the troops to be discarded when Caesar is present? Much I think the very rules of military service will groan from the shame of such a great disintegration, much the emperor will when he learns this, who always preferred himself to be obeyed by his soldiers than to be feared by the enemy. For obedience hastens the effect of the soldier, fear of the enemy delays victory. What is a father about to think of his son, whose authority is so weak over the army? For let it be proclaimed about the leader, whose order is disregarded, that he is more often vindicated against those who have fought the enemy against orders, than against those who attacking according to orders have yielded to valour. For by the laws death is prescribed for anyone leaving the ranks. What therefore will happen when not one but everywhere the army leaves its post and disregards the orders of its commander? Be aware that you are soldiers of the Roman empire of the people of the senate, for whom even to conquer without the authorization of an order is a crime." He terrified with a speech of this type not only those in command of the soldiers but even the entire army. For when he aimed at pointedly the leaders of the ranks, he was seen to be about to punish everyone. And so all who were scattered around were asking that the censure of the few who had first left their posts should be imposed upon all. Although Caesar was not quick for a requital of the transgression, he was not however relentless for leniency. He pardoned with great seriousness saying himself to forgive all and to have been sufficiently satisfied against everyone by the consequences of the attack, the reason that attention ought to be directed against each one all the way up to the outcome, against the multitude up to the command, against those things all the way up to punishment, against these things up top censure. Often even in good armies battle failures have given reasons for future valour.

8 After these things Titus turned his wrath against the enemy and reflecting upon the dangerous blockade among so many headlong, so may steep places, with unexpected sorties the outstripped soldiers did not have the means with which they might restore their position, from which they might forestall the enemy, where they might station war machines, he ordered the steep places before the city to be filled in. Which when they were thus done the Jewish excursions were not even a present danger. They were afflicted with the domestic struggle, when the Romans were occupied with filling in the steep places. Nor was the band of either party small. Ten thousand and their fifty leaders were with Simon. Idumaeans* also to the number five thousand were joined to the faction of Simon, which Iacobus and Simon junior were in charge of. (* or Edomites. The Hebrew word Edom means "red", and is derived from the name of its founder, Esau, the elder son of the Hebrew patriarch Isaac, because he was born "red all over". As a young adult, he sold his birthright to his brother Jacob for "red pottage". The Tanakh describes the Edomites as descendants of Esau. In the time of Nebuchadnezzar II the Edomites helped plunder Jerusalem and slaughter the Judaeans. For this treachery the Judaist prophets denounced Edom violently. The historian Strabo, writing around the time of Jesus, held that the Idumaeans, whom he identified as of Nabataean origin, constituted the majority of the population of Western Judaea, where they commingled with the Judaeans and adopted their customs. A view shared also by some modern scholarly works which consider Idumaeans as of Arab or Nabataean origins. The City of Petra is believed to have been settled as early as 9,000 BC, and it was possibly established in the 4th century BC as the capital city of the Nabataean Kingdom. The Nabataeans were nomadic Arabs who used Petra [due to its proximity to the trade routes] as a major trading hub.) Moreover Johannes the interior of the temple having been seized by that trick which we spoke of before, crowded together with six thousand armed men was stirring up the conflict. Two thousand with another four hundred men joined him, after they began to unite in a harmonious spirit for the defense of the city, Eleazarus and Simon Arinis whom they had used before the leaders .For whom fighting among themselves for booty the people were in the middle of those who won and as if the reward of the contest were transferred back and forth in accordance with the various outcomes. For a short time they had come together in the manner of armistices and awakened to the first attack of the Romans: they fell back with unsound entrails into the old disease of domestic fever, when the attack of the external diseases was more relaxed. Without there was generally war, within riot, more serious for the reason that the riot itself both was fed by the war and fed the war. The two factions were fighting for political power, the people between the two were concerned not about servitude, but that they should not fall to the worst master.

9 A certain powerful man founded the city Jerusalem of the Chananaeans, who in the native speech was called a just king, which at first he named Solymam, afterwards he added a temple, from the place the city was named Jerusalem. It from the beginning had its inhabitants from the race of Chananaeans. David the leading man of the Hebrew race drove out the Chananaeans, he installed his own people, who in that country made a royal palace for himself. He wanted also to found a temple to god, but forbidden by a prophecy he left Solomon his heir, who would build the temple which he himself had wanted. And therefore Solomon established the temple, to which kings for the beautification of the city added many things. Envy arose from its magnificence. Among all works however the temple was supreme with great work and gleaming marble, in which were large and precious hanging curtains woven with scarlet and blue and fine linen and purple. Not idle material of such great diversity but whose splendor signified mysteries of hidden things, for the reason that his was the temple who was master of the sky and air, the earth and sea as the creator of the elements and who alone ruled and governed all things. In scarlet the fiery sky was fashioned, in blue the air, in fine linen the earth which is begotten in it, in purple the sea which is dyed with the maritime shell-fish, so that you bind together two from the color, two from their begetting. Indeed the chief priest had been accustomed to portray these four things in his garments, because the greatest assembly was of the feast days, as if about to pray for the people he dressed himself in the whole world, in his image who was about to come, the chief of the priests Jesus, that he should take away the sins of the world. The chief priest covered the thighs inside with a linen covering, for the reason that before the rest faith of mind in a priest is sought and purity of body, which ought to gird about the lewdness of the flesh. There were two sacred tabernacles, one the inner, and the other the outer. The priests always entered into the outer, into the inner which was called the second the chief only of the priests [p. 311] would enter once without blood, that he should make offerings for himself and for the transgressions of the people, this signifying Jesus about to come with the holy spirit who truly alone would enter the inner sanctuary of the divine sacraments and, because he knew all the mysteries of the heavenly nature, alone also would reconcile the entire world to the father with his blood, so that he would have compassion for heaven and earth. Finally after he came, he appeased all things with blood of his cross, which are either in the earth or in heaven. Within a censer, within a table, within a lamp: the censer, because thus to god the father, as incense, is directed the prayer of the high priest, the table, because on that is the passion of Christ and the mysteries of the sacraments, from which indeed David said you have prepared a table in my sight, just as whose twelves loaves, the twelve apostles are witnesses of his suffering and resurrection. The lamp, which is placed on the lamp-stand, previously it was beneath the corn-measure, that is beneath the measure of the law, now it is in the fullness of grace seven-wicked pouring out light, for the reason that the holy spirit lights up the temple of god with the virtues of the seven greatest graces. Knowledge of the trinity was therefore in the interiors of the temple which were called the holies of holies, where the rod of Aaron once placed flourished, which by the grace of priests in Christ was about to work after the death which redeemed the world. There were fourteen steps before the temple, through which in the time of king Ezechia a shadow ascended signifying to him the end of his life was about to occur. But warned by a prophecy he prayed and earned a postponement of death by this evidence that the sun poured back by these same steps, which signified by such a great number the passage of years of life poured back to him.

10 Since therefore the city was fortified on all sides by the works of many kings and especially of Herod, who strengthened the fortress which has the name Antonia to the splendor of the greatest work and adorned it with great beauty, Caesar went round it seeking, from what direction he would be able most easily to pour himself into the city, and the circuit of the wall having been examined through its entire circumference he settled upon the area neighbouring the mound, where Johannes the the chief of the priests lay buried, for undertaking the siege. Adhering to which too closely reconnoitering Nicanor one of his friends giving his attention to the task too studiously was struck by an arrow and slain. Indeed he had approached too closely, while he thinks it would be some advance of future peace, if the opportunity of engaging in dialogue should be given him, whose effect it was reckoned would be powerful and strong in influencing the minds of the listeners. Caesar, angered because they had inflicted death by an unexpected wound on him who was exhorting well-being, orders the troops into battle and the war is stirred up by the hostile hurling of javelins and especially with missiles, the battering rams are moved up, with which the strong walls are struck. Alarmed by which all who previously were fighting with zeal among themselves about mastery enter into agreement and freedom from punishment of their superiors having been given they make themselves one body and the peril forcing acting in concert they defend the city. Coming forth against the mounds they hurl fire upon the war machines, that they might destroy the ramparts and burn up the moveable shelters, set fire to the battering rams. And they would have have burned almost all types of the machines, if many selected soldiers and allies especially from the region of the city of Alexandria had not fought back vigorously. To whom resisting strongly Caesar added the assistance of powerful cavalry. He himself fighting fiercely killed twelve champions of the opposing forces. Thus the force of the remaining multitude avoiding destruction returned into the city and the Roman works were protected from burning. Iohannes the leader of the Idumaeans fell in that battle, while he was engaged before the walls in conversation with a Roman soldier known to him, struck in the back by the wound of an arrow, he fell immediately. They consider Arabis the most skillful of his javelin throwers the author of his death, the Idumaeans affected by great grief, because they had lost a man quick in battle and wise in counsel.

11 The following night it happened that three towers which Titus had ordered to be erected upon the rampart by which he might transfix the Jews with darts either from a level with them or from higher, suddenly with no force of the enemies fell. By which noise the entire of the Romans was thrown into confusion from the opinion that the ramparts had been destroyed by the enemy, they thought the towers had been cut down, which falling caused great destruction far and wide. And a miserable outrage almost was admitted, that the victors would have yielded in flight during the night to an uncertain enemy, if the darkness and the fall itself by the dust raised had not taken away vision, so that they considered it uncertain in what direction they should flee. Each one inquired from the nearest person what had happened, nor was able to learn the truth of the matter, because the cause of this was similarly unknown by everyone, until Caesar the matter having been investigated ordered to be spread about, that what had happened was from the sudden fall, not from any hostile incursion. Thus the panic was calmed and every aid to storming the city located in strength, for when they were the height of the walls and most things were covered by iron or brass and the enemy were fended off by darts and the height itself, the Romans advanced the battering ram machines, by whose frequent blow the strengths of the wall were loosened, they began to rely upon lighter darts and arrows that they might divert the defenders, that they might push aside the obstacles of those hindering. Thus little by little the wall was yielding to those pounding. From which the Jews called the very largest battering ram a destroyer of cities. And so a part of the walls having been battered down the Jews untroubled forsook the defence of the wall itself, because they had two other interior walls, and departed to the second wall. Them fleeing the Romans, entering through the gaps of the wall,

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opened the gates. The entire army having been admitted deep within, it destroyed the exterior wall, lest it should be an impediment to those fighting or, if there should be setbacks, an enclosure for those escaping.

12 Allied together they allotted to themselves the places of Johannes and Simon around the second wall. Johannes with his men was fighting in the fortress which has the name Antonia. Neighbouring to him was the arcade of the temple which faced to the north. For that location, in which was the fortress afterwards designated by the name Antonia, lying between two arcades, was named toward the norther, that is the northern. Simon undertook the task of defending the city up to the tomb of Johannes. The battle for them was for safety, for the Romans it was for victory. Although for them bravery was more important for fighting, the location however was worse for the siege, since the fighting might oppress them from the wall. Daring was more immoderate for the Jews, firmness more important for the Romans. The leaders hung over the factions, and from that the greatest competition arose, while each is eager to demonstrate his own bravery to his commanders. Simon spurred on his own men with fear and terror, Titus encouraged the Romans as much as possible by their sense of honor, because they thought it worse than death not to show their courage to Caesar, since he himself had not hesitated so many times to offer himself to dangers in front of the army. The habit of winning armed them [p. 315] and the ignorance of losing, especially with Titus present, the judge of the courage of each one, by whom a reward for bravery was not expected, but above everything the reward of greatest value was to have done anything vigorously with him watching which did not displease him. Aroused by that incentive Longinus a man of the equestrian forces seeing enemies before the walls clusters of Jews and as if indignant that they had provoked the Romans to war and dared to come forth on even terms, dismounted from his horse and threw himself into the middle of the enemy. And he pierced one preparing to resist in the mouth itself with a javelin and simultaneously took away his voice and life, he thrust the javelin torn from the prostrate body into another and took himself back to his own men a victor. We are speaking of those most prominent: but there were many imitators from each side but of a different type. Despair gave boldness to the Jews, to the Romans the desire for glory added courage: an equal contempt of death however for unequal spirits. The Jews thought it a consolation to die together with the enemy, Titus was hastening to finish the war, but without the loss of his own men, he preferred even to save all the enemy themselves if he were able rather than to destroy them. He did not admonish a soldier otherwise than that fighting must be for a purpose, true valor to be this alone, to which the companion is foresight, for bravery without judgement should be seen as rashness, and in no place should more caution be taken than in victory. Defeated to die with the winner is a triumph. And so counsel must be taken that the outcome not be seen to have been that he conquered, but to have been worthlessness that he did not avoid the conjunction of danger. He orders therefore that the battering ram be moved to the middle of the north wall.

13 Castor was there a clever man and prepared for trickery, who the rest having been put to flight through the arrows of the bowmen stretched out with nine other associates in trickery. He when he noticed the tower to be destroyed the wall to be tottering and easily to be about to fall if the blow of the war machine were repeated, extending his hands asked Caesar in a miserable voice that he should now spare the city about to be destroyed and not think it must be undermined in a final destruction. Caesar thought that about to give up his troops he was asking for pardon. So that the surrender could proceed he orders the war machine to stop, the javelin throwers to refrain from battle. He gave Castor an opportunity of speaking. He pretended to climb down, then as if persuading his men, some willing others not yielding, and suddenly as if protesters who were being forced striking themselves above their breastplates they fell down. A great wonder although a trick lay hidden. Thus they prolonged the time. Among which one of the Roman soldiers struck the nose of Castor with the dart of an arrow. He bewailed and complained to Caesar, asked that he order someone to extend their right hand to him, that he was about to take asylum. Caesar entrusted the task to Josephus, in truth he who had experience in the treacheries of the Jews answered that he saw nothing sincere in it. Aeneas however advanced nearer the wall and that he might receive the one coming ran to meet him. To whom shoutings that he should open his bosom that he might receive gold, let fly a stone. He with watchful eyes foresaw the stone and having dropped with a quick leap of his body evaded it. However the vast catastrophe of the stone enveloped another standing near. Caesar brooded over this bitterly ordering the war machine to be driven with greater force for the casting down of the walls. In opposition fires were hurled down to burn up the machines. But when the wall was brought down Castor pretending greatness of mind in contempt of death with a trick as if he threw himself in the fire, with a disgraceful trick seized a way of escape with his life.

14 By now one wall that is the third remained two having been destroyed. Thus far Caesar kept his patience, who noticed that whatever had been destroyed was already lost to him. While he spares and and calls for surrender, an unanticipated troop with a few rushing over the second wall, a band having been assembled the Jews wound a great many. Furthermore many on both sides were dead. Then Caesar pierced those resisting with arrows from a distance, among those crowded together the darts were never eluded, no blow was without its wound. So the Jews began to move back and Titus recovered his own men. And already in the city hunger had advanced deeply. The Jews however for their victories because they had recovered the second wall, were boasting as if the Romans had been driven out, but they were not able to repair those fallen down nor to defend those about fall. But they continued to resist to some extent. It was fought for three days at the second wall, on the fourth day not holding back the Roman valor they fled back within the third wall. Caesar meanwhile orders that an assault be refrained from, he ordered only that the second wall be destroyed. And because a great part of the war remained, he decided that a soldier should gather food for himself, lest a lack should threaten the conquerors, weakening those wanting food. For four days the army collected grain for itself, and the time was also deemed suitable that the Jews should take counsel for themselves, that they should turn about. And indeed the people preferred this, but the leaders of the strife thinking that they had acted against the people with great crimes, while they looked forward to no place of pardon, thought it easier to perish with all than if as the instigators they should perish alone. Therefore on the fifth day, because nothing tending to making peace was offered by the Jews, Caesar attacks the walls with a double column and orders two ramparts to be erected, one against Antonia, the other against the wall which was about the tomb of Johannes. By the latter he was seeking the overthrow of the upper city, while by the other that he should conquer the fortress, even that he should get possession of the temple. Which if he did not bring into his power, he was not able even to hold the city without danger. Titus had divided his army into two parts. Separated also Johannes and Simon had assigned to themselves the duties of defense. Johannes was defending Antonia, Simon with his armed men and the people of the Idumaeans looked to the tomb of Johannes and from his higher position baffled every attempt of the besiegers by whatever means he was able. Also the more practiced had been taught by their misfortunes to charge against the siege engines and had themselves taken over for themselves many types of siege engines, with which they destroyed the works of the Romans, impeded their undertakings. Noticing whose headlong stubbornness to be confusing the tasks, Caesar wished conversation, so that they would not perhaps from despair of pardon resist more obstinately, and might from trust of things promised give up. He began to persuade them that they should not involve themselves in the destruction of the captured city, that they should relinquish it to his power, which was already held by his arms and walled around by the siege was being pressed to its final destruction; he would give pardon to those yielding, if only they took counsel for themselves and their country, so that the entire city will not be destroyed. He commands Josephus that he should address the citizens in their native tongue, that he himself might perhaps change his fellow tribesmen, that they should reject their madness. Who although he knew the hatred of the Jews to have been showered upon himself, moved back from the walls as far beyond the flight of an arrow as he was able, however so that he could be heard, he described in detail what was to the best interests of the citizens in this well known address to them.

15 "It has been, Hebrews, human nature to fight stubbornly, before things come to a climax, while you believed yourselves to be superior by reason of the place and assistance of the known region, although it would have been appropriate for the Romans insuperable in war not to be challenged in arms, by whom they have been often conquered who had conquered you, but however [p. 319] thoughtless minds of men have this lapse in favorable circumstances, at the same time because generally the outcome of war is doubtful, and so each one even though inferior in valor commits himself to chance, finally you have trusted to walls, you have not thought even all the way to the forthcoming destruction of the temple. Spare the sanctuaries, spare the altars, spare the one time house of god. For indeed god himself has already deserted you, because you have abandoned the observation of piety. We have suffered war in the middle of the temple. Fires distributed around the temple have gone astray, Fires scattered about the temple went astray, armed men stood around but not the sort as were accustomed. Up to this point however having hands unsoiled by sacrilege they prefer not to defile the sacred doorposts, nor to abolish the ancient rites, if you permit it. What more is expected? Two walls have been thrown down, a third survives but is weaker that the two torn down. Is divine help hoped for and assistance from the inner sanctuary? But he who was protecting us has gone over to the enemy, inasmuch as whom we were cherishing the Romans are venerating, we are offending. Who moreover does know that god is with them, who has made everything subservient to them except those things that are inaccessible from too much heat or cold, and thus outside the Roman empire because the same are outside human use? To different peoples god has given dominion by turns, no one denies him to have been the helper first to the Egyptians, after to the Jews, also to the Assyrians and Persians, afterwards turned to the Romans to remain with them; in fact all kingdoms to have yielded to them, all the earth to have been given into their possession. What do you with the victors over the entire earth, to whom the hidden parts of the ocean and the furthest limits of India lie open? What if I add Britain divided from all the world by an interposed sea but brought back into the circle of the earth by the Romans? The land of the Scots trembles before them which owes nothing to the world, Saxony inaccessible from swamps and hedged in by impassable regions trembles, which although it may seem to dare the intrigues of war, indeed itself is frequently added a captive to the Roman triumphs. It is regarded as the strongest race of men and as excelling the rest, it relies upon piracy and pirate ships, not upon strength, prepared for flight rather than battle. But you say to die is better than to lose freedom. When, Jews, did that opinion succeed among you, or when among the Hebrews was profitable servitude not preferred to unprofitable freedom? Jacob himself the patriarch led the Hebrews down into Egypt, lest they perish from starvation, likewise the twelve patriarchs his sons went down that famous beginning of our race. There the respected Judas from the race of Jews, who gave his name to the people, there Joseph exalted with his chariot and horses preferred to put himself under rule so that he might feed his people rather than go back to the freedom of his own origin, there Benjamin restrained by the conscientious trickery of his brother agreed to the deceit, because it was not a fault to be a slave to those more powerful, there their generation, when it was summoned by Moses, wanted to stay. Thus harsh servitude even did not displease your fathers so that it was preferred to dangers. You served the Egyptians and would that it were so again! And not only did you serve then, when you preferred the nourishment of foreign servitude to the showers of heavenly food, but even afterwards conquered and captives you descended into Egypt when you were fleeing from the Assyrians. You served even the Macedonians, you served even the Assyrians through the course of many years, and that servitude was pleasant. You served the Persians the Seleucians the Palestinians, you reckoned only the Romans oppressive to you, to whom indeed those were slaves whom you were serving. Which therefore hatred or gratitude do you owe them, who made you equals to your masters? I think this is your vengeance, not an indignity, because they have delivered you from those things to which you had been subjected. An Assyrian is oppressed by servitude who was ruling over all Asia. An Egyptian plows for the Romans, he sows from his own which he reaps for them. Macedonia which the Persian having been conquered spread its empire all the way to the Indians, recognizes as its masters those whom it disregarded, and remembers to no purpose that it imposed the name of Aeacides upon its kings, certainly it would not have stopped otherwise than for the triumph of the Romans, to whom even Pyrrus himself, an offspring and the race of Achilles and bearing the name, overcome by arms made himself subject from the desire of meriting peace do that he might ask for pardon. About the Palestinians what may I say whom the strength of a single governor restrains? Ungrateful, for is it not your renown to serve with the Persians? That is indeed to serve with royal powers and the greatest king to have the consolation of submission. But I ask when have you been free who are now rejecting servitude? When therefore have you been free? Or when were you master over others who were under a king? You had god for king, you rejected his rule under whom alone you were free. You were willing to serve men. Why do you tear away the testaments of the fathers, the hereditary succession willfully disobedient to the fathers? You chose a king who was named Saul. Him having been killed, the Palestinian people ruled you. After a time David succeeded to the rule of the entire people, indeed a gentler master but a master nevertheless. And before he rested David himself imposed a king upon the people. From Solomon the kingdom was again divided in two and the inheritance was divided through a long series of despotism. That I may pass over the captivities, Cyrus restored most of the Jews to their lands and their religious rites. But your fathers, when they were being ground down by the serious battles of the Persians, however much uplifted by the triumphs of the Machabaeans, chose the Roman alliance for themselves. The divine scripture held the agreements of many embassies. You were made allies of the Romans who were the slaves of the Persians. But again you preferred to have a king rather than a chief of the priests, to whom the people were submissive; when the savagery of your kings was intolerable, Herod having died, Archelaus having been defeated, you asked to be Roman under Caesar, you surrendered yourselves to Caesar, to whom all have been made subject, for a change to a softer servitude. In the common condition of every one to be a slave is a certain

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freedom, inasmuch as the obedience of the slaves is graced by the authority of those in control. Although the Romans do not exact slavery the supporters of freedom, who not only killed a harsh king but did not suffer an arrogant king, and thus among them the name of empire is in low regard because it increases theirs, not because it suppresses that of others. But be it: may it be useful to you not obey the Roman empire; let us see if it is free, if it is not deadly. The Roman battle lines beset us, the destruction of our country besets us, the destruction of the temple besets us. Assess carefully not what is useful but what is possible. For not the notion of vows but the prudence of possibility must be considered. The law of nature is certainly the same for everything, men, birds, wild animals, poured into beasts, and each yields to the more powerful, the bull to the lion, the stag to the bear, the wild goat to the leopard, the hawk to the eagle, the dove to the hawk, the weaker young bulls to the bull himself, the flocks of sheep to the ram, the she-goat to the he-goat, lest any difference of different birth be seen to exist, you to the more powerful. The Romans however drive out no one, you drive them out, on the contrary they promote, that not anyone even conquered should go out from their lands. They reserved a part of his kingdom for Antiochus. And now Caesar what does he work at unless that your land not be deserted, your region not be emptied, the city not be destroyed, the temple not be burned up? Not to everyone is victory given. Nature grants to be in charge to few, to be submissive to many. The bulls stand out over the herds, the rams over the flocks. Distinction belongs to few, tameness to many. And you clothe yourself in tameness, accept subjugation as even wild beasts clothe themselves in it." When Josephus was saying this, he was jeered from the wall, they slandered him who was persuading helpful actions. Many even were shooting arrows, trying if they could bring him down with death. But he, because he was not prevailing on the untameable with reasoning, thought they should be approached also with the evidences of the scriptures, especially because they were saying that god would not fail as a guard for his temple.

16 "You the reckless, now finally you hope that divine aid will appear for you, when you have thoroughly disturbed all things with arms, when you have violated the altars with fighting, when you have demolished the defences of the entire city?" he said, "and unmindful of your supporting forces, you have prepared shields and swords, and this against the Romans? Not with such arms are you accustomed to conquer. For when was the victory of the Hebrews in the spear and the sword? Call to mind from whence you arose, from what sites you set out, how your fathers conquered their enemies, you reckless ones, what assistant to you you snatched away when you asked for foreign help! not in a multitude of people but in the fear of god father Abraham entered Egypt and when he saw the modesty of his kidnapped wife captured, he abstained from war however, he took up the arms of pious speech, he summoned the protector who would wind around the sleeper, and the enemy having been conquered, would display his wife to him unstained. Sarra returned without arms reporting triumphant victory to her husband. Abraham slept and Pharao was turned. Sarra feared and Pharao refused guilt, he cast out another's wife and the crime having been condemned he respected purity more than he had desired to despoil it. He adds gold and silver for the shaming of Sarra, that he censured the desire free from outrage. He asked father Abraham that he pray to the lord on behalf of his household; for his household was unfruitful. Sarra returned richer with modesty unharmed, Abraham returned more blessed, who had recompensed the consideration for the modesty of his wife by the cure of sterility. What shall I say about his son Isaac? He also relying upon the ancestral defense against the haughtiness of a powerful neighbour led forth not armed troops, and certainly he had a strong band of 318 domestic troops, which had overcome five kings, had stripped them of booty, had restored the captive Loth to the uncle of Abraham. He did not take his sword from the sheath, but put on only patience against those who were jealous, he returned forthrightness. They came asking who had declared for expulsion, they demanded friendship who did not tolerate a neighbour. I tremble to review such a great marvel of the fathers. Jacob having been blessed his brother Esau threatening parricide left his homeland, abandoned his parents carrying a traveling allowance of prayer alone with him, and he rightly feared ambushes in strange places with his brothers, and he lacked the companionship and assistance of men, he found an association of angels, guided, as he said, to the stronghold of god, he wrestled with the lord and, as scripture says, prevailed over god, who thought himself unequal to men. What otherwise could Moses and his snakes have done against the army and king of the Egyptians if he had not raised his rod alone? O mighty rod which overlaid the sky with darkness, flooded the land with rain, dried up the sea with waves! The Egyptians had surrounded the Hebrews, Moses prayed and did not fight. The sea was divided and the people entered into it, Pharao followed, Moses positioned between the waves prayed. Pharao was submerged with his troops, Moses celebrated. Who considering these many things and others like them does not wonder and does not understand that for us the best weapons are in prayer rather than in valor? For the first brings divine aid to itself, the latter brings the aid of the body. The first acquired knowledge of those weapons which are not of the flesh but steadfastness in god, the disciple of Moses and also his successor Jesus Nave, his imitator and almost the equal of the teacher turned backwards the waters of the Jordan and likewise when he saw the invincible walls of the city of Jericho, ordered the priests to sound their trumpets and the people to sing out. Which having been done the walls suddenly fell and the city was destroyed and all were killed, except those whom the faith of the good courtesan Raab protected from the destruction of the celebrated city. Gedeon also chose 300 men for war, he ordered them to display not arms but mysteries, in the left hand to hold pots full of water, in the right torches. Demoralized by this sight the enemy fled immediately and victory came to the Hebrews. The observance of the sacred religion was interrupted by the negligence of the priest Helus, the divine authorities were forsaken. Battle was invited by foreigners, the Hebrews were conquered, captured even was the ark of god, and without any weapons necessary was returned, by which proof it became clear that indeed without reverence for religion arms do not conquer and religion conquers without arms. King Ezechias, the people of the Assyrians having been poured in to the people of Judaea with the voice of Rapsacis, in the empire of king Sennacherim, which reproaches were being thrown against god, which he discovered sufficiently well were being denounced by the people as the final ruin, to those creeping in he believed that words must not be returned to words nor arms to arms, but bestirring himself he clothed himself with a blanket as if with a shield, in the place of a helmet he covered his head with ashes, instead of javelins he hurled a prayer. The prayer ascended, an angel descended. One hundred eighty five thousand Assyrians were killed during the night. We counted the dead bodies, we did not see the killer. I passed over the five kings whom having engaged in war the lord not having been consulted, traveling through the desert, a lack of water began to greatly afflict, thirst harassed them also and their horses. Necessity forced the duties passed over to be revived. For there was a king Israhel negligent about the worship of god, warned however by others that he should seek a prophet of the lord, he learned that Heliseus was not far from the very places in which they were spending time. The aid of prayer and the cure of their troubles was desperately asked for. Although the offense was king Israhel's, because faithless he did not believe, he promised however both an abundance of water and swiftness of victory. Water began to flow through the desert and rivers voluntarily poured themselves over the land without any rains. The enemies arising whom confident of victory watchfulness having been relaxed abundant sleep had overwhelmed, suddenly saw the sun having been covered over the waters to redden and among the peoples of the kings they thought beaten, with whose blood the ground was wet. And so hastening in for booty everywhere without order without method they ran, each hindering the other, thus charging headlong into the middle of the enemy surrounded and killed they gave a huge slaughter of themselves. Thus the venerable prophet took away equally thirst and fear from our fathers. And he brought the same aid against famine. For when Samaria was under siege and king Israhel remained shut in there, severe famine developed, so that not even from abominable foods was there abstention. The prophet addressed by the ugliness of so much misery and likewise by a messenger of the king, who thought the famine to have become established because of he negligence of the prophet, answered: 'on the following day you will see both abundance of grain and cheapness.' He said to the not believing messenger, that he certainly because he did not believe would not see this, but that belief in the promises would not be wanting. Suddenly during the night in the camp of Syria the neighing of horses, the noise of chariots, the uproar of running four horse chariots, the sound of arms being heard threw fear into the victors, as if in aid to the Hebrews many and strong tribes had come, and were threatening them, as they thought, they hastened to extract themselves from danger by flight, the night hurried the decision, increased the terror. And so the Syrians fleeing all the supplies which they had brought in were found in their camp the following day. The abundance created cheapness, the cheapness inspired trust, the death of the unbeliever snatched away from him the enjoyment, it did not however hinder the rescue of the state. It is proven therefore that most leaders of the fathers gained victory when they fought least, others also to have been victorious in war to whom taking counsel as to the justice of waging war it had been permitted by the prophecy. Finally Amalech would have been conquered but when Moses raised his hand, Jesus Nave conquered when he caused the sun to stand still, and Gideon conquered he approved those about to fight in water, Samson also when he preserved his hair still untouched, Samuel also conquered, but when he proposed to pierce a helping stone. David triumphed when he joined Bersabea that is the daughter of Sabbatus as his wife in prophetic mysteries, he won even in civil war, because he fled from war inflicted, he did not wage war. Indeed nothing is more loathesome than civil war, except he who is able to wage war alone. Asaf also won in battle but afterwards his men despairing because they were inferior in number, he said nothing to be of advantage whether they were few or many, since god may make the few, fearing themselves before many, stronger, certainly a good man with faith if he had persevered to the end. Indeed also a woman won in arms who kept her faith in god. An truly Saul was conquered because he did not take heed of the commands of god; Iosias was wounded because contrary to commands he advanced against the enemy, otherwise blessed and thus snatched away so that he should not see the captivity appropriate to our sins. Nechao shouted: I have not been sent to you, bearing testimony of his trust, but he enveloped him, as previously Amessia, the partner of an unworthy society. Finally he had been warned by a man of god, that he should send away those whom he had hired for one hundred talents of silver as allies of the war, if he wished to win. To whom hesitating because he would lose such a great sum, the prophet answered, that the lord had much more from which indeed he restore to him the silver, relying on which he rejected the hired forces, and conquered with many fewer, not even he would have paid the price of such a great victory to god, but he had immediately offered sacrifices to the images themselves which as victor he had captured, as if he had conquered by their help those things which he had collected as the spoils of capture. Sedecias himself with ruin to the country already threatening, having agreed through the prophet Jeremiah, when he was pressed by a hostile siege, that he should not fear to go out from the city, that there would be victory if he obeyed the heavenly commands, but he would be a captive if he had thought it must be defended, cheated himself and his men by lack of faith. The people of the Jews were carried by the Assyrians into Babylonia, Those left who remained were considering transferring themselves to the Egyptians. The lord mandated through the prophet Isaiah and others that they should be content with rule of one race, lest a doubled captivity increase their calamity. Truly they neglecting the precepts of god were made the captives of two nations, who had impatiently desired to go out from under the yoke of one nation. But in truth they who were led into Assyria the time of their captivity having completed, that the lord had ordained because of the sins of the people, afterwards Cyrus ordering having received the opportunity of returning they returned with gratitude. The temple of god was restored with the help of Cyrus and the offerings of Darius and the rest of the Persians. And so the very ones who had destroyed gave the cost of restoring, they restored even the rights of the priests and assisted the observance of the religion, but in truth ours while they strive among themselves for the priesthood and canvass among the Parthians for the memorable office to be conferred upon them, made from the religion an object of merchandise. What should we complain of about the Babylonians? We experienced worse of our own. They returned to us the right of religion, they restored the creation of priests, and ours gave it back to the Persians. They permitted the priestly headbands to our authorities, ours made them subject to taxes for the Babylonians. What shall I add of the bloodstained sanctuary, the sacred threshold made wet with blood, the half ruined roof of the temple still standing? Less is the anger of god around us, than our own controversies. The first made us captives, these made us sacrilegious, the first spread the Jews abroad, the last destroyed them. Compare, if it seems good, what the difference is between our captivity and and our rebellion: our captivity spread the fellowship of our religion to the gentiles, our rebellion has actually taken from the Jews the favor of religion. What brought the Romans into Judaea, except the contention of Hyrcanus and Aristobolus? Who except Herod brought Sossius? Who Anthony except Sossius? Who appealed to Caesar as a king for themselves except you? Who other than you drove Antipater from the kingdom and the freedom under Antipater? And however I neither hold back nor deny that Florus acted wickedly against you. But the quarrel ought to have been submitted to the Romans, arms not to have been taken up. You despised Nero, but Vespasian had succeeded, who kindly by nature was able to be even more kind however from study, because he had taken over rule in Iudaea, or, if sense of responsibility did not move him, certainly his character ought to have impelled you that you took counsel of yourselves. For how could he not spare you who had spared Josephus? For indeed against whom ought he to have been more hostile than me? Who thrust out greater fortifications against the Romans? Who thought it must be fought more zealously for the country, after the option of war had been agreed upon by you? Indeed I did not approve the commencement of the warfare, but once it was undertaken I did not desert. The glowing ashes which still cover the struggle of the city of Iotapata bear witness to this, me not to have desisted from war until after the destruction of this city, me to have hidden as long as I was able in the grave of that destroyed city, me to have preferred starvation to surrendering myself to the Romans, me to have sought a way

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of escaping to you but was caught, not to have voluntarily come out, me to have preferred to die with my men but Caesar to have spared me, me to have wished to fight further with you, not because I approved of that policy, but because I chose the sharing of danger with you. Thanks be to god however that I did not fall into the partnership of such a great crime, that I might not be thought an inciter of rebellion or, because I was not able to be mixed with these, that I was able to divert murder from my hand lest I fill it with death: certainly that I should not see my blessed mother torn apart in front of me and my inner organs scattered about. Which indeed would be pitiable, but however it is more tolerable to suffer this than to do it. What therefore do you still expect? Signs from your ancestors? Those are not merited by you, not those obligations concerning the worship of god. But that of the Romans is not the unfaithfulness of the Assyrians, who the price of departure having been accepted broke faith, and thought not that they should leave but that they should advance more fiercely. But indeed, as we learn the thrust of the divine thought from those things happening, god is certainly against the Jews. In fact Siloa, which had dried up before the war, and every vein of water outside the city, which long since ceased to flow, so that water was lacking to our use unless sought out at a price, are now returning for their use and are pouring themselves out for the arriving Titus. Abundant streams are bubbling over and all things of overflowing water are filled, so that not only are they gushing up plentifully for the army for drinking, but even for the war horses and pack animals and all the cattle, and also an abundance of water is not lacking for the watering of the gardens, so that, as if the elements are supporting the Roman victory, you might believe there are great movements of the land. We recollect higher omens, which even then came before the capture of our city, water ceased for the Jews, it poured itself upon the enemy, lest the siege should be impeded by thirst. Nor is it a wonder that divine grace receded from the Jews, whom such great outrages walled round. And truly a good man filled with horror flees the inn and abandons his home, if he has learned that something of a crime has been committed in it, he avoids the close connection of a shameful residence, he detests the unfavourableness of associates: and we doubt about the great and unstained god, because he abhors the contagion of such great scandals, and recoils from the wickedness of such calamitous evils, nor lingers in the assemblies of murderers, who ordered Dathas and Abiron, because they had attacked Moses and Aaron by snatching away the offering of a benefice, to be separated from the blameless, lest he should contaminate the pious with a stain or from the association of the guilty involve them in punishment? But why should I delay longer with words, when full of dread and groans they are surrounded and ruin is hastening upon the temple? What eye is able to watch that, what sense to endure it, what soul to bear it? O more durable than stones, more hard than iron, who in such great wonders of human affairs till now have fought among yourselves from wickedness as if in emulation of virtue and what is worse you yourselves are destroying our country and are enlarging its ruin. Turn back before it is too late, come to your senses before it is too late, judge and see the beauty of the fatherland which you have betrayed. What city, what temple, what homes of the pious, what shrines of religious rites, what works of the prophets have been disemboweled by your hands? Against these does anyone lead flames and spread fires and supply conflagrations and not be moved by any compassion? The stiffness, if it could feel, of rocks would be relaxed. Certainly the insensible generally in the greatest harshness of circumstances feign the appearance of sense, so that rocks tremble and drops flow with dripping blood. But you persist unmoved, what is better that it should survive after this, what is better that you should spare it? Finally if these things do not move, which among the dutiful are most outstanding, show compassion at least for the close relatives of yours, place before your eyes the deaths of your sons, either by the sword or starvation and which are more harsh the slavery of your wives and daughters, to whom there will be a safe freedom with an agreement of surrender or captive slavery with the overthrowing of the city. Take heed while it is permitted, that you do not leave things worse after your death than you made them before death. Nor am I free from danger of this type. I know since the mother revered by me likewise fought with your people and my dear wife not at all of low birth and at one time a famous household. And perhaps because of my family members you think to persuade these things to me. Kill them and receive my blood above that recompense. I gladly pay that price of your salvation, if after me you can be wise."

17 Josephus cried out these things with tears and he influenced very many of the people, that they should take refuge with the Romans having sold all they possessed. Whom Titus directed whither each wished, to surrender themselves without fear to the Romans even though the remainder were being challenged. And so the opportunity found of coming out, assured of safety if they came to the Romans, and not anxious about slavery to whom freedom was saved. Those however who were supporting Johannes and Simon the overseers and inciters of the strife dreaded the punishment of their crimes more than the adversities of war and thus supposed this refuge unsafe for them. Not only did they not dare to go out, but they even alleged it was not allowed to any from the people to go out from the city, their greater concern was to prevent the departure of their people rather than the entrance of the Romans. And so they were held against their will and if anyone was caught, he received a severe punishment. A slight suspicion was reason for a painful death. The truth was sought not by evidence but by tortures. If they were wealthy the crime of betrayal having been counterfeited they were likewise dragged off to death; if they were destitute, because they did not have that with which to ransom themselves, they were open to death.

18 Now too hunger had begun to rage and the strife to proceed with frenzy and madness. Grain could not be found, no bread available to the public. If it was discovered to be anywhere, that home was immediately plundered. The master of the house or the storer of the grain was killed because he had hidden it. On the other hand fruits not having been found as if they had been hidden more carefully tortures were applied. Many chose the relief of death, since either hunger afflicted them or savagery tortured them. Finally those who were the most savage refused to kill begrudging the kindness of death, for whom already the more severe executioner starvation, their internal organs eaten up by the pitiable leanness, covered their stripped bones with thin skin. Half-dead they breathed to this point with spirit alone and dragged their unsound bodies. If anywhere they saw scraps of vegetables either dropped accidentally or thrown aside as dried out, feeble with weakened body, they sucked with their mouth the things lying on the ground. Or if anywhere grass was seen growing between the walls seizing it the wretched people assuaged their hunger with its juices. Those who were richer bought a measure of wheat with their entire wealth --- for indeed why should they save what would not profit them? Those who were so poor that even of barley no one saw selling or buying. For this even was punished severely with every wickedness. Nor truly was the practice of baking bread awaited, lest death should come before or the delay should summon a betrayer. In secret those hiding devoured the uncooked wheat, who had any or a meager supply of grain. No table, no chair, no light, lest anyone should come between and unforeseen seize it. If there was any sound the food was hidden. Solitude was suspected, there were frequent murders of relatives, sad fights between those kin. And indeed starvation excludes every affection and especially shame. For those wanting food a sense of honor is cost of life and a detriment of survival. If any man, who has a wife, sons, daughters, had anything to eat, he would hardly admit it. Likewise for women. If anyone had kinder feelings, when he had set out food, it was snatched from his hands. The food was miserable, the food was worthy of tears. Sons snatched it from parents, parents from sons and from the very jaws to which the food was being offered. To many the vomit of others was food. Nor was there dread to take up withered droppings or shame to take from one's relatives the drops of last life. And this was a sight of such wretched misfortune that it was not to be discovered. And so it was done with closed doors, lest anyone should come, who was seeking food from the mouth of a stranger and in the manner of dogs would lick up with his tongue the vomit of strangers. Not even this with impunity, for wherever doors were barred, the offence of hidden food was suspected. The agents of the rebellions would rush forward, they stormed the closed places, they enforced unbearable punishments of new cruelty. Not even from the private parts of the body was it withheld. To these also the punishment was applied, because in these there is a greater sensation of punishment. Many when they already saw the murderers breaking in, seized the prepared food so that they should not themselves be cheated of a final allowance and might avenge their about to occur death. And where the barbarity was seen most painful, those who seized food from the starving were not themselves starving. By rapine they were piling up for themselves the supplies of others and feeding on the hidden supplies of strangers, while those who had collected them were wasting away from hunger and fasting. If any woman aroused by maternal feelings, pitying the crying of an infant wished to pour the juice of food in its mouth, she paid the penalty of her tender care, and with the child hanging from her neck or clinging to her breast she was transfixed at the same time. Furthermore many thinking it a benefit to die went out from the city, as if they wished herbs or that they should feed on roots or collect the bark of trees, if any greenness in these could serve for the solace of food; whom the Romans discovering killed. Or else he who had avoided the enemy died at the very threshold of the gates emaciated from hunger and infirm of mouth, whom already the very ability to eat had deserted. Also a deadly band warded off those who returned, which tore away with the harshest means from the bosoms of the wretched people what they had sought at great peril. It was abominable that it saved not a part as the recompense at least of their danger. And therefore they died from the greater assault of their own people than from that of he enemy. Indeed that which even the enemy had conceded a fellow citizen took away, nor however did it profit to have seized food of this type, for not much later those vigorous of body, their middles swelling, shook with the pain of their inmost entrails, or loosened in the bowels their strength exhausted died, so tha they repented of the vow, which at the time was a comfort, afterwards a suffering. Next to green lizards and to other spoils of the serpent race which they had cooked they added pestilence. For if they had discovered the bodies of horses dragging them they fought fierce battles among themselves. Not even from the enemy who were crowded together was destruction given a respite. For when the multitude going out from the city with their sons and wives had taken themselves into that part, which had bent into the bottom of the steep cliffs, the Romans, either that they might lead away as captive slaves especially those of younger age, or that they might kill the stronger, lest perhaps anyone might dare to creep in among those fighting, watched, so that if anyone for the sake of seeking food, while he searches for roots in the fields, should advance to a greater distance, he would be intercepted. However they were not able although the enemy was poured around to restrain themselves, whom hunger gave daring, when the love of parents was not able to bear small children to be exhausted by emaciation and mouths open from hunger to be extended in vain, whom they had associated to themselves in the danger, lest they should be killed in their places by the originators of the rebellion as hostages of their flight. Hunger forced to go out those to whom it was a kindness to die by the sword rather than by comparison from starvation: In opposition the Romans, because they thought them contemptuous of death, increased the types of tortures beating first, also affixing to the yoke of the cross whomever they had caught, by which indeed the rashness of the rest by the sight of those crucified might be called back from the arrogance of harassments. And so the pitiable suffering was seen by Titus as the harshness if such great misfortunes. Innumerable were captured, almost five hundred per day were crucified and they cloaked the plains before the city with a series of pitiable retinues so that they might be seen from the walls, the Romans pitied them, the Jews were not moved, the enemy had compassion for them, their allies were not softened, pity was more easily found among their adversaries than among their associates. Nevertheless many were stirred up by anger, that in the midst of such great evils they became meaner. You might discern people fastened up in diverse manners and various types of punishments, the forms of tortures such an innumerable multitude, that already space for the forked gibbets was lacking, and gibbets for the bodies. Simon raged within, Johannes raged, they lay in ambush each for the other through his agents. If anyone attempted to flee, dragged over the ground he was torn into pieces. Those nearest to those who had gone away were tortured and the bodies of the many were fixed to a cross and displayed to their kin who had slipped away. From a different side actually they had cloaked the wall with a crop of gibbets as if triumphing over the enemies, if they had caught any who wished to flee from their own people to the Romans, so that fear of fleeing across might assault those remaining. No place was free from harshness, outside was captivity, within was starvation, in both places was fear. Arms were feared less however than tortures and it was gentler to die from the uprising rather than from murder by the enemy. But Caesar did not cease however to invite the leaders of the factions in the hope of surrender. For instance he announced that when the ramparts had been built up the effect of the work would not be far off, destruction to be imminent for the city, they should take counsel for themselves so that they should gain safety and the temple be rescued from burning. For the reason that they should readily believe this, many of the Jews were lined up and their hands cut off, lest they should be considered to have crossed over to the Romans in a voluntary desertion and as faithless they should not bestow trust upon them or they should kill them themselves. And in truth they for a warning flung back unremitting oppressive mockeries. The gentle conduct of Caesar was seen as more calamitous for them than his severity, because the one took away freedom, the other life. They preferred their children to die rather than to live as slaves. They consecrated their souls to the temple. Immortality would be theirs if, burned up with the temple, they should die at the ancestral altars and tombs. Titus achieved nothing, he rescued little, he gave up much. Before the temple paradise would follow them and to that place those who fought for the temple must be transferred, only with their own eyes they should not see the Roman triumphs and put captive necks under the yoke. Their small children to be dedicated, not to be killed whose parents were defenders of the heavenly sacraments. Alarmed by which Titus so that he should at least rescue those who were being held unwillingly, ordered the war machines to be moved forward.

19 There was in the army a son of Antiochus of Commagenus*, who had come to the fellowship of war, truly an energetic youth and eager of hand but not at all provident in counsel; who judging the guidance of the Roman army to

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be sluggish and not considering the difficulty of the task insinuated to Caesar, himself to marvel, that the Romans were delaying to approach the wall. (* Commagene, located in and around the ancient city of Samosata, which served as its capital. The Iron Age name of Samosata, today in the middle of southern Turkey. Antiochus' tomb is located on the Nemrud Dagh, Mount Nemrut.

The mountain lies 40 km [25 mi] north of Kahta, near Adiyaman. In 62 BC, King Antiochus I Theos of Commagene built on the mountain top a tomb-sanctuary flanked by huge statues 8–9-metre high [26–30 ft] of himself, two lions, two eagles and various Greek, Armenian, and Persian gods, such as Zeus-Aramazd [or Oromasdes, associated with Zoroastrian god Ahura Mazda], Hercules-Vahagn, Tyche-Bakht, and Apollo-Mihr-Mithras. The tomb of the king is under an enormous tumulus , which is 49-metre tall [161 ft] and 152 m [499 ft] in diameter. It is possible that the tumulus of loose rock was built to protect a tomb from robbers, since any excavation would quickly fill in.) Titus laughed and said: "The task is a joint one." At these words the youth rushed forward with those whom armed in the Machedonian fashion he regarded as most eager to fight. For in fact he although relying on others, had come, the cohort however, which was called the Machedonian, was considered to excel the rest in strength of body and stature itself. With these approaching the fighting peaked. In opposition by those eagerly fighting from the wall, whom the utmost dangers threatened and the approach of a prompt battle animated, although those lower down are very frequently pierced through by those higher up, not all darts reach those higher up, the son of the king however, an active youth, protected by armor, surrounded by an escort, avoided some blows, fended off others, which even as he avoided them he was informed about by his prompting associates, and therefore untouched by wounds he persisted. But many of the Machedonian corhort, because they thought it shame to yield even to nature and fortifications, fighting too stubbornly were wounded. And so after a fruitless attempt they yielded to those higher up, taught even by the Machedonian men, if they wished to prevail, the ardor of Alexander for fighting was necessary and his success in winning. For he when he besieged a city the rest staying behind and the army devoting attention to the usual machines of war, ladders having been placed he energetic mounted the wall and those present having been put to flight, who were fighting back from the wall, he alone threw himself into the city. And there was not time that he himself without a companion could open the gates, since dangers were threatening, but courageous beyond measure and eager for victory he leaped forward against the enemy. The troops fell back, but how many was he alone able to overthrow? Then through the diverse streets of the city the enemy crowded around. If Alexander attacked in one part, he gave others behind him the opportunity of blockading. And therefore the victor turns his steps, lest he should be surrounded by the people. But they crowded together began to press forward, a large body of missiles bristled in upon him. His helmet resounded with the clanging, his shield with the crash of stones. But unless the Macedonians not fearing to be led had rushed in, the conqueror of countless peoples had been overwhelmed within this poor city. Such was the eagerness with which he attacked the walls that he overwhelmed the enemy, with a triumphant leap he threw himself alone into the city, he routed the people with his attack; this was the outcome, which is chiefly attributable to the leader, in the face of so many threatening people, the flight of so many arrows, so many rushing missiles, there was no place for a fatal wound. For valour had brought on the danger, eagerness had brought in death, if fortune had abandoned the fighter. The Macedonians entered by the broken gate. Thus daring found a victory and the outcome turned danger into glory. Our David also when he was fighting against the giants, intent upon the enemy had a murderer behind him, but Abessa the follower of the king arrived balancing his blows. In truth chance saved Alexander, grace saved the prophet.

20 And so the son of Commagenus the king of Antiochus withdrawing, when he learned that the careful moderation of the Roman army was not from fear but from wariness, that they might attack the walls with ramparts and sheltered battering rams also and other siege engines, platforms were constructed the task having divided among many workers. Four especially rose up, out of which one in the region of the fortification, which had the name Antonia, was led through the middle of the fishpond which they called the Strutia. The fifth legion had made this platform to the height of thirty cubits close to the tomb of John. To which from a distance John the leader of the rebellion dug a tunnel and hindered the work of the Romans. They were ignorant of what the Jews had plotted with their hidden tunnel, because they had supported the tops of the tunnels with supports of timbers and the material dug out, all the trickery was hidden. And so when the right time arrived, they set a fire, which fed by sulfur and pitch, with which the material which gave support to the tunnel had been saturated, easily consumed all the wood. The collapse of the undermined works followed the burning. And so the collapsed works of the Romans suddenly gave out a tremendous noise. And so all things filled with dust and smoke spread a great darkness and the hidden cause aroused great fear. Then when the remaining fuel had been consumed, by which it had at first been concealed, afterwards free the fire burst forth, it revealed the trickery and for the Romans fear of danger was immediately lessened, but the weariness of the work made useless followed painfully--and for the future confidence in the assault being prepared grew cold. In another area two days later, when already the wall was being shaken by the batering ram, Tepthaeus from Galilaea and Magassarus, an Adiabenian and Agiras having seized torches rushed forth against the seige engines attacking the walls. (as written by Hegesippus in Latin there were four men involved, namely Tepthaeus, Magassarus, an Adiabenian, and Agiras, but in the Penguin Classic version of Josephus as translated into English by Williamson from the Greek there were only three men, with Agiras being the name of the Adiabenian.) Nothing was more daring than these men, nothing more frightful in that war came forth from the city against the enemy. For bursting forth into the middle of the enemy they did not waver, they did not draw back, but as if delaying in the fellowship of their households they did not think of returning, while from all sides javelins arrows spears were hurled against them, before they had destroyed by the fires they set the apparatus of the siege engines. There was a great charge of the Roman army, that they should extinguish the fires, and also a great clamour and zeal of the Jews, which constituted an impediment to the Romans, so that aid should not be brought. The former (i.e., The Romans.) were hastening to draw the battering rams from the flames, the latter (i.e., the Jews) were still spreading fires. From which everything having been ignited which was able to be burned, flames would have walled round the Romans, unless they had quickly taken counsel for themselves. For the Jews were pressing hard and from the very fact, that they had not had fruitless efforts in that region, success nourished their daring. In fact not satisfied indeed with the wall defense they proceeded further and assaulted the guards themselves of the Romans and the fort, in which the Romans were holding out, and would have overthrown it besides, except that the glory of the Roman name and the ancient discipline of the military service which prohibited to desert posts of this type by fear of the most severe punishment, they resisted those fighting furiously, and themselves the conquerors of cities they had fallen back to their own fortifications. And so the type of war and the use of blockade was altered. With catapults and missiles of a faster type the Romans were defending themselves, that they should repel the Jews by which by themselves resistance beyond the usual was offered. In the midst of these things Titus arrived aroused by the noise and summoned for assistance. Strength immediately added to the Romans with Caesar being present and shame fed their courage, shouting. To Titus it was a great disgrace of the Roman name, if they should in turn lose their own, they were failing to those of the enemy whose walls were already being torn down. The Jews despairing of their fortifications were relying upon rashness alone; the Romans had only to stand firm, victory would not be lacking. And so by encouraging and fighting equally Titus stationed his men, he turned aside the Jews, who were not only prepared in mind for death but by the exertion of body were rushing in that they might move the Romans from their position. Nor was the danger of Caesar moderate in all the confusion, when an ally could not be differentiated from an enemy. Among which Titus moved about in the midst a youth daring with eagerness for fame and very keen for fighting by which victory might be accomplished more quickly, placing any concern for his safety secondary to a triumph.

21 The enemy having been forced to withdraw, there were two choices: Some thought the platforms should be rebuilt, the siege machines for the walls repaired, others that the dangers of a blockade should be abstained from--material for repairing the platforms was lacking, danger was shared with the conquered--they thought closing off the city with a wall was more prudent, that hunger would kill off those weakened by the lack of nourishment. The opinion of this type prevailed, that they should be blockaded so that they had no unimpeded outlets, by which they would be finally defeated by the despair of fleeing and the lack of food. The parts having been distributed among a great number the wall rose quickly, by which the city was enclosed through its entire circumference. Caesar distributed the tasks to his men that at nights also they should not omit turns of guarding. During the first watch he himself undertook the task of going around each individual rank of pickets, he assigned the second watch to Alexander, then in order to the tribunes, in accordance as the skill of each was discovered, turns were ordered. The wall was interwoven at intervals with strong points, in these he spread out bands of soldiers, the watchmen were appointed by lot in a fair manner sleep for themselves and periods of wakefulness. They were going around the wall at every moment through the space assigned to each as his responsibility from strongpoint to strongpoint. By the changes of ranks and numbers the night was crowded. The hope of the Jews was cut off on every side and hunger had poured itself in upon those closed in and had penetrated the innermost parts of the people. Everything resounded with the groans of those lamenting the suffering of a miserable death. Every place was filled full with the half-dead and, if you would wait a bit, with bodies. They died in a short time whom you had found living. Also those who were still breathing finished off by poverty bore the appearance of death exhausted by hunger and ghastly from wasting away, not easily raising their eyes even, because their substance consumed by fasting gave no vigor of natural motion. The form only of a man remained, its use had ceased to exist. You would discern the likenesses, you would miss the functions. Skin shriveled with dryness clung to bones. If a light movement revealed one living, an offensive smell contradicted, thin limbs and complexion so dark you would think a shadow. Nor was the service of burying available for the wretched firstly everyone was exhausted and in consequence on the verge of dying. And if recent food gave some strength to anyone, the pile of bodies took away the hope, instilled the impossibility. Very many died while arranging the burial of their kin and left unfulfilled the duty of this final service by their own death. They collapsed upon the dead whom they had undertook to guard, so that he also added to the burden which he had come to lighten, requiring that service which he was offering to another. Nor was there any place for grief in the common misfortune of all, unless it was that the originators of such a great woe were surviving, nor was there time for complaint even indeed with free speech, if they were able to speak -- for what should those already dying fear for themselves? -- but however with mute senses gazing upon the temple as if from there vengeance for such a cruel death was being demanded. The tears of the final funeral rites had dried up, because the force of the misfortune had precluded every feeling. The mind had grown numb, every sense clung to more than could be relieved by weeping. Land was lacking for graves, all places inside the city had been dug up, which were able to be used for a burial. Some tried to go forth between the two walls, the new one of the enemy and the old one of the city, in the night time silence, very perilous although pious however trickery had persuaded them. And so instead of one many lay unburied, for the reason that, they were robbed of what they wished eagerly to bestow upon one as a good deed. For even when the enemy was absent, hunger was at work. For the one doing the burying generally anticipated that a burial would have to be done and in that grave which he had prepared for another, he was enclosed and suddenly lifeless and having fallen, when he had dug, as if with a certain zeal, he claimed the right of his own work. And were space was lacking, layers were woven together so that the bodies of the dead could be shut up in small places. Many prepared these for themselves with their own hands, lest a service of this type should not be available and inserted themselves voluntarily in these, mistrusting lest death might come and someone to bury them be wanting. All things were silent from fear, starvation had taken away voices, the city was full of death and there was no lamentation in funeral rites of the entire city. And although however the sense even of grief had ceased to be, wrong however did not cease. For there were not lacking in such great misfortunes profaners even of those buried much worse than all these. What shall I say that will not be shuddered at when they mocked the dead and tested the keenness of the swords in the bodies of the dead, some even tested by pressing upon the bodies of those still living, if their javelins were sharpened? And this service was denied to many asking, so that hunger should select the wretched people for more severe suffering. By no means however was vengeance lacking to those about to die, for because those alive were not able, the dead avenged themselves, creating an offensive smell an avenger for them by which they avenged themselves upon their plunderers. For whom violently raging seeking a remedy they put on a certain appearance of piety even those who were engaged in brigandage, so that they ordered them to be buried from the public treasury. But when this could not be done, then they threw the remains of the dead from the wall into deep chasms. And so Titus seeing the deep chasms full of bodies, the fluids flowing from the torn up entrails, groaned deeply and raising his hands to the heavens bore witness that this should by no means be attributed to him, who had wished to give pardon if submission had been made. Him to have hoped that they should ask for peace, him to have been ready that he should spare them unharmed if they had set aside war. And so he orders again that the platforms be advanced although there were no surrounding forests because every grove of trees close to the city had been cut down. The soldiers carried the lumber lightening the labor with the hope of victory. But however the leaders of the rebellion were not disheartened in mind. Simon raged nor satisfied with the deaths of so many did he yield and because personal enemies began to be lacking, he turned against his allies.

22 In the end even he tortured and killed Matthias, by whom as the responsible authority he was received into the city, convicted before him of no crime but charged of wanting to surrender and suspected of a plan, which it was insinuated he had entrusted carefully and without any deception to an

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intimate as advantageous for the people. He held that deeply impressed a long time, nor did he now trust him as a friend, but some other evidence of anger was counterfeited. Therefore accused before him that he had eagerly corresponded and met with the Romans, he ordered him to be seized with his sons. He is accused nor is any opportunity of defense given, before trial he is sentenced to execution nor are his progeny spared but are joined to the punishment. He pleaded not for the enjoyment of life but for a swift death, in the natural order, that he should be killed first, and not await the deaths of his sons, that he should not outlive the deaths of his children, his death to be accomplished immediately. He did not obtain what justice itself required, even if he had not asked it. And he asked this be granted to him for the service that he had opened the city to him. In guilt to the fatherland but a promoter of Simon, he owed this punishment to the citizens, however Simon owed him thanks: by which he was the more cruel, who neither spared a friend, nor relaxed the punishment of the advocate of his reception. The father is lead to execution with three children, for the fourth had saved himself by flight. He was placed as an object of mockery in view of the Roman army that they to whom he had wanted to go should witness his execution. "Let them free you," he said, "if your friends are able." And the sons are lead out. Nor was he allowed to give final kisses to his children nor to take his sons in a last embrace, not cheated however of the liberty of a father's voice, he addressed his sons with these pitiable words: "I, my sons, brought in the enemy to you, I invited the executioners, when I asked Simon to enter the city. That was the day of this death for us, that was the cause of this parricidal spectacle. I have deserved, I confess, and I do not excuse my fault: While I am eager to restrain one, I brought in a worser. Simon entreated for assistance and converted to the destruction of his country diverted careful plans into crime. We are guilty who sought a defender of our country. And rightly we have paid the penalty of our imprudence but not however of treachery. Simon himself absolves us while he kills, who proclaims it was not given to him by me but sought by consideration of the country, that he would be a help against the savagery of John as soon as he was present and brought in the Idumaeans. (Matthais now begins to speak to Simon.) We thought that with the two of us cooperating the people would be free. Who would believe me to have done this so eagerly not for you but to have judged this the most tolerable of the evils, so that you should not kill? But why should I speak as if I am offering excuses for a crime? Truly nothing worse than my decision was I able to do, than that I put you upon our necks. But in that I was guilty to the country, not to you. I owed death to the citizens but you owed thanks to me. I owed the country the penalty of my betrayal, that I brought you in. When did I begin to be a traitor to you? If I had thought I must flee, I had taken counsel for my own welfare, I had not dishonored my obligation to my country. For who does not flee an enemy and an internal enemy? We thought you a countryman but we found you an enemy. Summoned for assistance, what did you repay, what did you first promise and which you afterwards turned against? You entered that you should drive out the enemy not that you should exercise the role of the enemy, that you should prevent murders, not that you should add to them, that you should thrust back brigandage, not that you might engage in brigandage, that you should come to help an innocent people. Why did you turn your arms against them? Before this we were assailed by brigandage, you brought on war. Previously few were carried off to death, you accomplished the massacre of the people. Who is the traitor to the country, who helped the Roman arms, if not he who killed the defenders of the country, if not he who snatched away the defense of so many citizens, if not he who turned away the sword point from the enemy to his own allies? The enemy outside the walls offered peace, you fought inside the walls, he wished to lift the siege, you hastened the assault. He forbad the burning of our city, you hurled fire onto the roof itself of the temple. He gave a truce from respect for our sacraments, you on the very days of the sacrifices destroyed the high altars of god by the final destruction of the city, also with the blood of the priests. He had beset the walls, you the temple. I heap up the indictments of myself: I brought in gangs to our native city, I armed your madness, I brought on this total destruction by a folly of old age. I acknowledge the lack of wisdom of foolish age. We lessen the shame by confession, since we cannot cast off the sin by denying it. We two in advance of the others hastened the destruction of our native city, I by an error of policy, you by the practice of murder, I therefore pay out to you, my country, the punishment owed and I extend thanks to this Simon himself, because I will not be a witness to your ashes. And would that I should not outlive my children, but due to the harshness of your wickedness, Simon, I stand a spectator of the death of my sons. I have deserved it, I confess, who was not able to see Iohannes embellished and I chose you armed. O precipitous old age! We feared a phantom, we asked for a tyrant. I your guarantor, I your advocate, carried through the mission. I invited you as master, I brought in an assassin. Let us now see what we have done: the image of Iohannes frightened us, the villainy of Simon pleased us. The ostentation is hastened with funeral rites, let the executioner come, let the sons be killed before the eyes of the father and the father be killed upon the bodies of his sons. I a pitiable old man will drink in the blow of the executioner swinging his savage axe upon the necks of my children. Nothing is worse than this spectacle except he who orders it. Cruel, infamous man, I do what you order, I do it but unwillingly. I have however a consoling fact of this misfortune. I suffer whatever is most wretched, since you have ordered it. Whatever is most inhuman I undergo willingly with you the judge. I have filled the measure of the most savage crimes. May it at least be permitted to speak to my children, to say a last goodbye to my children. May there be an opportunity for last kisses, which are common to us with wild beasts. A pitiable embrace is not denied to nature, which fortune can even give to the dead. What therefore you have ordered for punishment, will accomplish justice for me. I will fall upon my dead and I will cover them still unburied with my body like a piece of turf lest vultures tear them to pieces or wild beasts devour them. I will lick up with a father's tongue the blood of my children and wash it away with mine, so that beasts do not lick it up. And perhaps this piety and compassion of nature itself will add that I dying will draw tight in a close embrace my children, so that you will not be able to separate us, though you may wish to. Certainly if you separate the bodies, you will not separate the souls. But enough, we have already exacted a supply of tears enough. Go before, my sons, and prepare the way for your father about to follow. If I will have been able to overtake, I will accompany at the same time, and if old age will be a hindrance there, so that I will follow active youths a little behind, go before to the mansion so that you may receive a weary father with lasting hospitality. I wished indeed to go before myself and I asked, but I was not granted this. However because you are blameless, better lodging will be given you there, than if I the summoner of Simon should come before. That mission oppresses me although ordered by the citizens, undertaken because the people asked. Therefore go ahead, sons, enjoying a heavenly path with a clean track. And the Macchabaeans came before their mother, but they came for a reward, we for punishment. The pious mother however saw her sons dying and wallowing in blood before, she saw the brothers embracing each other by turns from the bonds of nature, and she rejoiced in her triumph, which she followed from the tyrant. Indeed the merits of the sufferers were different, but the same cruelty of each receiving it. Antiochus found this in the Persian brutality, among them are devices of new tortures, you have followed. He however saved the great mother for the persuasion of the royal will, you ordered the father to be saved for the torture of paternal grief. Take comfort, dearest sons: we suffer what the martyrs have suffered, Simon has decided. What the savage persecutor has found, Simon has ordered. Let us therefore set out willingly, let us flee this gathering of thieves. Truly when we shall have departed life into that everlasting home, if they should come to us, who require, what that one time people of god is doing, what shall we respond ti them, especially if as is possible Ionathas untouched by age meets you who are young men, Saul me who am a sinner? What, I say, shall we reply, if not that that people, beloved when young by Juda, before whom the sea withdrew, for whom the sun stood still, the Jordan made way, that people, I say, for whom the flood was traversable, the sky was fruitful, the land was heavenly, which had not, like this our land, put on any appearance of corruption, but had taken on the grace of resurrection, now serves the Idumaeans and has been made subject to Simon the leader of thieves, and has neither a safe servitude nor danger with freedom? What do we think to answer to this, who chose to perish in war rather than to outlive the freedom of our country? What indeed would Mattathias the founder of the Macchabaeans respond, who preferred to die keeping holiday on the sabbath by observing the law rather than to live having fought, if he heard how Simon not only caused innumerable slaughters of the citizens on the sabbath but forced priests of the lord themselves to be slaughtered on days of the new moon and all holy days of festal celebration? How much will Iechonias sigh when he will have heard Simon, who at the beginning ruined the city by riots, dishonoured the ancient religion of the temple by slaughter of the citizens, agreed many times that by giving in to him he would free the city from the danger of burning, preferred everything to perish, the city to be destroyed, the temple to be burned, all the people to be killed, so that he should not lower the dignity of the seized dominion! How much, I say, will Iechonias grieve, although less happy in the time of pressing evils than under the empire, better however than his son. For the father preferred himself to be less happy than his country, although pathetically dutiful however. And so having departed the city with his family the Babylonians besieging he surrendered himself into servitude, so that he should not see his fatherland overthrown and the people of god captive. His son however with equal troubles but a lesser impression, while he feared for himself, led himself into exile and the city to destruction. He therefore was unlucky for his country and not lucky for himself, who lost both his children and his eyes, the former however was more wise who saved the captivity of the citizens by his own captivity. In fact he pointed out the solution. He the older died in power, he the younger died in slavery, although later the Babylonian king assigned a royal throne to him next to himself, and bestowed the privilege of being asked advice before the others, the compensation of a miserable calamity. Finally my fate to die after the murder of my children is more tolerable than to live, since you know how cruel he is who kills the sons before the eyes of the father. Furthermore whose royal duties are worse than the wounds of tenderness. For indeed he ought first no to have inflicted such wicked things, and to have substituted such honourable things afterwards. As if any dignity can make up for the loss of a son, or the slaughter of offspring be compensated by by the exercise of any honour. For certainly nothing, no office lessens such a great grief. No honor cures this wound except death alone, which annuls feeling, takes away the recollection. Hurry then, you executor. But delay yet, while I look at my children, while, before they die, I observe, lest anyone perhaps disturbed from immaturity of age fears death, while he escapes the tyrant. It is a a kindness, my sons, to die so that we do not see the captivity of our country. The wounds of the body are more tolerable than of the mind. Already I look on your deaths more bearably which I was fleeing, so that I would not look upon the deaths of all in common, so that I may not see the remains of our country and the entire city their grave. For he will be happier who will have died died, than he who will have been saved. Great god, let not Simon with his children with his children be scattered among the crowds of the guilty, let him a captive see what he has brought about. No indeed," he says, "for what he was able to plan, he is able to bear. I do not however pray for that. Let him consider how heavy the sin which he is not able to turn aside with a prayer who suffers it, if the retribution is harsh, how savage the inhumanity of the evil deed committed. Let there be what he desires, captive a survivor of his country, because the follies of life are worse than the tortures of death. But already let there be an end to words. Make haste, executioner, while you carry the sword bloodied with the blood of my sons, strike the father that the wound may comfort him. This alone if medicine for one about to die, the blow of the sword, the pain of the wound, is not felt by him alone, strike in the view of the Roman army, as has been ordered, that those about to be vindicated may see. Let the enemy feel pity, because the ally does not feel pity, let the Romans judge, because Simon kills without a trial. They are witnesses me to have been not a traitor to my country but a defender, who saw me fighting not deserting. I with my children, if I had been able, would have turned aside the enemy, not summoned the enemy!" Nor was any end of such great cruelty shown: the unburied children still lay with their father, sacrilege is added to the parricidal spectacle. Ananias a priest born of a famous stock is killed, although no one is more illustrious in the brilliance of his birth or in the service of religion. For excellence was earned by him, it was not sought by him. Let the old family have for itself the emblems of diverse honors, let the priesthoods also have their emblems, who are raised up not on shoulders but by morals, who are judged not by the length of their rods but by the persistence of their toils, the depth of their faith, the extent of their piety. Killed also was the clerk Aristeus himself of a famous family and with them fifteen others of the people overhanging the rest, although it was not nobility that caused the unjust death but innocence. For eleven men are seized beforehand, who equally alarmed by the barbarity of his crimes and each one fearing for himself what he had seen exercised against others had conspired, because he had been treacherous to friends even and hopes had been taken away, hunger ravaging everyone, the Romans time and time again about to break in. Simon agitated to the support of the defence, in a frenzy to the point of barbarity, the easy allurement of surrendering, which Iudas one of his men in charge of a tower had undertaken. He therefore when he called the Romans promising himself to be about to surrender the tower, some scornful because the surrender had appeared so late, others doubting because surrender having been frequently promised they had prepared trickery, Simon came first and from all the companions of the plot he exacted punishment. Also their bodies were thrown from the wall.

23 The father of Josephus was held imprisoned and access to him was not allowed to anyone. Josephus was zealously inviting the Jews to surrender and had too incautiously approached the wall, so that he might his country with his father. In which place struck in the head with a stone he fell, and would almost have been killed by the weapons thrown from above, unless by the order of Caesar they had been sent who snatched him protected by their shields from death. His mother the wound of her son having been learned and terrified by the shouts of the mocking bandits of his death put on alarm and faith at the same time. She also began to lament pitiably herself to have been saved for these fruits of fecundity, that she should neither gain the service of a living son nor bury him dead. It had been her prayer, that he rather would give burial to his mother, that she would breath out her last

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breath between his hands, that he would warm the cold limbs of her dying, that he would collect the last breaths from her mouth, he would close the eyes of her the dying, that he would compose her yet breathing face. But because he had escaped her prayer, it would have been a consolation, if she herself had even been able to be present at the last moments of her dying son, indeed a miserable circumstance but bearable however, that whom she had wished to outlive her, she should instead hold his funeral rites, "even if from the wall," she said. "May it be permitted me to see the dead body of my son, even if it is not permitted to touch it. Would indeed that no one prevents! But whom should I abandoned by such a great son fear? Why should I fear, for whom to die is a kindness? Would that all would turn their For whom indeed Titus weapons against me, that they would transfix me with a sword! What I was not able to do living, dead at least I will cover the body of my son with my clothing. The robe of one is sufficient for the burial of two, and perhaps someone of the enemy will feel pity, that with the mantle of the son he may cover the eyes of the mother, and may join eyes to eyes hands to hands face to faces." And so rushing herself to the walls she filled the sky itself with pitiable laments. Her own people mocked her, the Romans wept, among her compatriots there was cruelty, among the enemy there was compassion. "Pierce me," she said, " if there is any pity: I gave birth to him on whom you think vengeance must be taken. I gave an unlucky breast to him, kill me, if you demand vengeance for that."

24 While she is lamenting, Josephus went forward to the voice of his mother and began to mourn bitterly that he had escaped death, to whom it had been sweet to die before his country and for his country, while he is urging salvation to it, to sink down, himself no longer to strive for the safety of his parents, who given up to old age, while they are finishing their last days of life in prison, would be liberated if they should die, feared for the altar for the temple for the thus far half-destroyed fortifications of the city. He had offered himself to wounding, so that he should not see the country being destroyed. Aroused by which lament many thought they must go over to the Romans by whatever route they were able to take themselves away from the ambushes of those engaged in brigandage and pretending to be guards. For whom in fact Titus reserved the promised mercy, but a worse misfortune befell them. For when a supply of food was given, food which previously had been an advantage began to be a burden, and work was taking a vacation from the unfamiliar tasks of eating. There was no strength of teeth that they could eat food, no strength of the gullet, they were not able to chew bread by any manner. Truly if they absorbed anything of a softer food, the movements of the gullet having been cut off they were strangled. The interior of the entrails had grown stiff, the paths of the food had been blocked up, the veins of the liver had dried up which draw the food. The use had ceased, the desire had increased, the ability had failed, the appetite remained. The pitiful people fell upon the food and practiced weak bites in the manner of infants. Many the food having been seen with joy itself died, and among the food they had longed for they were dying having lightened their wretchedness because they had fulfilled their wish. But there was a mournful procession, since many arose from the food to danger rather than to salvation, since the nourishment caused harm. For bodies were puffed up by the unaccustomed food rather that refreshed, and distended as if by the disease of dropsy they paid the penalty. And if there was still for anyone a value in eating, his greed knowing no bound he forced in beyond measure what they were not able to bear, stuffed by the hasty food they burst. Which indeed was not serious to those to whom the emotion only was important, that he should devour what he wished? It overwhelmed through long hunger even those incapable of emotions even the sense of nature and itself aggravated the emotion of joy. It is therefore no wonder if food is a danger to those exhausted. Finally if hungry after a two day fast you have taken anything, it immediately becomes hard. From whence it is the custom for many that they pour into weak stomachs a drink of milk, and with that mixed with honey they make mild the intemperance roughened by hunger of liquids, and they nourish with soft food the weakness of the body as if were an infant. Thus therefore some of the Jews, who had fled to the Romans, compensating by a certain wile were able to avoid the effects of the food, until their bodies unaccustomed to eating should revert to their uses. But this however did not profit the wretches, but was the cause of death for a great many. For when many of these food having been received voided their bellies, some discharged gold coins which they had swallowed when they were preparing for flight, lest to them seized, since the ambushers were searching everything carefully, they would be not only a loss but even a danger. For it was considered a crime for anybody to have gold except the thieves. This gold the Jews pitiable in appearance afterwards collected among the filth of the stomach. A certain one of the Syrians discovered this and from one the idea flowed to all. Because the human race is headstrong for avarice an prepared for cunning there is nothing so atrocious that it is fled from, nothing so indecent that it blushes for shame from the desire for money. The report spread out from the Syrians to the Arabs, to whom there is no less avarice and a savagery nearer to barbaric brutality: therefore because the Jews were stuffed with gold they ripped apart whomever coming they hit upon, against heaven's law, against the rules of surrender, against the promise of Caesar. Those whom it was not allowed to kill, they nevertheless cut open still living and with bloody hands disemboweled for the secret contents of their stomachs. They search the belly and among its flowing filth they seek gold no less repulsively than those whom hunger drove, furthermore with savage cruelty. Many outrages were committed in that fight, none more outrageous than this one. In fact in one night almost two thousand men were cut up in such shameful acts, the bodies having been shared Syria counted its gain, Arabia reckoned the benefit of the business, which without the dangers of the sea having been crossed over by a new scheme of cruelty they turned into a means of profit, and thought a merchandise. Which even now you may find in a race of men of this type and in some of the Egyptians, that they do business in taking care of corpses and they sell the services of civilisation for the profit of commerce. The miserable hunger for gold thinks that nothing should be followed except what is immediately profitable, that nothing is worthwhile which is empty of money. The oppressive long ago oppressive greed of acquiring grew in human emotions and trade became the life of man. He lives by selling and buying, vice has crawled into everyone, and already the exchange of commodities is more tolerated than of morals and intellects. The greed of the Syrians infected even the Roman army. For nothing crosses more easily into another than the love of money and the longing to have especially the wealth of neighbours, by which the neighbour is burned. Nor is there any passion which more weakens the virtue of the mind than the lust for riches. In the end cunning is awarded praise, poverty is held a disgrace. This hampered the strictness of punishment, that very many were found guilty of this great madness. And so Titus who had proposed to surround the Syrians and Arabs with the army placed around them, from his contemplation of the great number called back the decision, that he should make an occasion of this last offense, and so that it would not be committed afterwards he announced a punishment, and by the harshness of his words he charged his men most seriously, that girdled with gold and silver and glittering with expensive weapons they should not blush for shame of their weapons, that they dishonoured themselves with such disgraceful behaviour. But he truly rebuked the Syrians and the Arabs because forgetful of the Roman name and also command, they had contrived horrible things. They had as allies in war, not for the committing of outrages. In the Roman army there was required not only manliness of body but even of mind, not only was bravery against the enemy to be considered but even the standard of discipline, so that a soldier should be not cruel, not irreverent, not haughty, not intent on booty rather than on victory. These crimes of the military would be regarded as very serious and would be punished very severely. Between arms also principles had validity, it was better for wars to be waged with good faith which is kept even by enemies. If therefore it is owed to armed foes, how much more so to those beseeching. Hence they should beware of offenses of this nature, lest they should be made without share in victory and prosperity. Nor would he any longer endure that their infamous crimes be attributed to the Romans, for whom they were a burden rather a help. And so he checked them to some extent, he did not eliminate the greed of the Syrians, so that they would shun his authority, so that they would not obey his orders. Finally it having been explored first if by chance the presence of a Roman soldier had been lacking, the detestable profit from the entrails of the wretched unfortunates was discovered. Not however did the outcome of booty follow for everyone but for a few, in whom the savagery was crueler, because many were killed not only on account of their money but on account of the hope of money, although the robbers themselves and the cruel pirates restrained the robbers from villainy, when they did not perceive booty. For it is only barbaric brutality to do hurt for nothing. For indeed wild beasts follow prey so that they may kill it. Outside there was harsh suffering, inside there was the brutal Johannes.

25 Finally although such things were being done by the Syrians, even if some the evidence having been discovered were called back, others however did not cease to to go over to the enemy. Among whom was Manneus the son of Lazarus, who stated that through the one gate entrusted to him one hundred fifteen thousand corpses had been brought out, eight hundred eighty burials having been added to this point, from which he had received the task of disposition in this fashion, this having been collected from a single enumeration of those, who had been buried at public expense, beyond those whom their relatives had buried -- which burial however was nothing except that the bodies were thrown down from the wall? -- after him many men not of low birth fleeing to Titus related that there had been six hundred thousand of the dead who had been counted carried through the gates. In truth the number of their bodies, which because of the infinite multitude of the poor had not been able to be carried out and had been piled up in the biggest buildings and the rooms of various works, was uncountable. And still there a progression of misfortunes, which outlasted the end of all the above, still the savage siege, the cruel war, already however the courage of the Jews were greater than than their strength. Above everything truly hunger was the worst which lay in wait for beasts of burden purging their stomachs and rummaged through the excrement of cattle, as if, which was horrible to see, this might become food for the starving. There were miserable heaps of unburied bodies and the land itself covered with bodies for long stretches, all places before the walls were filled, the appearance was frightful, the horror great, the odor unwholesome, which distinguished between neither conquerors nor conquered, noxious at the same time to both and a greater impediment to the Romans, for whom it was necessary to crush underfoot with bespattered feet the remains lying there, the disfigurement of the land itself, everything having been cut down which was collected for the use of the soldiery and needed for the siege machines. For nearly thirteen miles about the city the land far and wide had been ravaged and the soil stripped of growing things. All that open space, in which previously green forests, gardens fragrant with flowers, diverse orchards, farms near the city gave their pleasing appearance, if anyone afterwards saw, the visitor groaned in sorrow, the dweller did not recognise it, and having returned to his place of birth, when he was at hand in person, searched for his native city.

26 The platforms having been repaired and the moveable shelters and the siege machines the madness of the war was renewed and as if it had been agreed with eagerness by both sides for the last phase of the conflict. For it was judged the critical point of the entire contest, for indeed if the siege were loosened by the Romans, if the platforms or the battering rams were to be burned, for which for reason of the lack of forests the means of repairs were not available, and for the Jews the destruction of their homeland loomed, if they fell back from the contest, when the battering of the walls by the renewed blows of the battering ram was being broken up. And so the Jews advanced with torches bold to such a degree, that, as if the Roman army were about to yield to them, they might scatter fire upon the machines, they might lift the siege. But their strength already exhausted by starvation and earlier broken things denied them success. Their resources had run out, their courage remained. On the other hand it would be a great shame for the Romans, if victory should be snatched from their hands by those who were drawing their last breaths from hunger. And so the battle having been joined the leaders of the rebellion having been driven back ran back inferior in the battle to the protection of the walls. But when from doubt of the walls about to fall from the repeated blows Iohannes by no means negligent searched for a last means of relief, he commanded an interior wall in the shape of the letter C. And so on the following day part of the wall having been shattered the noise of the falling structure and the shouting of the Roman army broke out at the same time, as if the overthrow had been accomplished by the collapse of the wall. But when the sound of the celebrated city reverberated, by a turned turn of things the unexpected appearance of a new wall quenched the joy of the Romans, the daring of the Jews increased because the danger was put off. Then Caesar began to urge on the army, that they should think that that new wall must be attacked without any delay, which the recent construction revealed to be weak and easily scattered. They should dare to proceed now with courage, the wall fragments would give the means of climbing it, so that the battling Romans would be equal to the Jews fighting from a higher position. And because he saw them hesitating because of the difficulty of the thing, collecting those who were the strongest next to himself he climbed up into the battle with a speech of this nature.

27 "That the ends of all endeavors requires more effort than the beginnings is known to everyone, my brave comrades, that the completion of a task undertaken demands great effort. Accordingly an unimpeded ship speeds over the entire sea, although the blasts of the winds do not always blow from the stern, the helmsman turns aside the surfaces of the sails, and without hindrance the sea is split: but when the port is arrived at, a suitable mixture of breezes is essential and the entry of ships is confined by a narrow path. And so there is greater concern of the danger, when the expectation is near. And so the beginnings of the foundations are easy for the builders but the tasks of the high roofs are arduous. And generally in the very end of finishing a task the unfortunate workman is cheated of the reward of his pay, or buried by the falling of the roof or deceived by the shaky step, he falls to the bottom. What shall I say about the farmer, for whom the girding up for the harvesting is more laborious than for the sowing, for the grape gathering more laborious than for the pruning, and for the mature crops great dangers must always be feared? There is nothing therefore new if danger still remains for you on the very verge of finishing the course, because it must be climbed up through the difficulties of the paths to Antonia, from which our enemies having been ejected we occupying the high ground and stationed above the heads of the enemy cut

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off in a certain fashion their very breaths. But this seems difficult to you, my fellow soldiers. But truly we have come together as if for a game, not for war, in which men must either win or die! Then therefore you ought to have made excuse, when you were coming to the battle, that you would avenge the defeat of the Roman army and wash off the disgrace of the dishonoured military. If in the time of Nero you considered that the injury to the Roman name must be avenged, what does it become you to want when Vespasian is emperor? Let us wash away the the stain of the last rule, lest it adhere to us, which indeed Nero thought about to be removed by Vespasian, Vespasian transferred to himself through Titus if he should not conquer. Father left the accomplishment only of the victory to be performed by us. On which so much labor having been poured out in vain is a disgrace and unavenged we give back the position abandoning victory, as if it were not a lighter offense to withdraw from military duties than to abandon victory? The first is a question of bravery the latter of betrayal. But you think it dangerous to descend upon the enemy and to surround the wall with the noise of arms, as if truly nature itself demands womanly and not manly services from us, which so poured vital spirit into us, that we willingly for fame pour it back. For what therefore unless for maximum effort is the warrior exhorted by his leader? For the exhortation of the usual effort is not only appropriate but even brings shame to those agreeing, that you exact what is owed voluntarily. This indeed it behooves a soldier to exhibit from himself. And what immoderate thing am I asking from you? A Jew frequently runs out into the middle of the battle lines of the Romans and fearlessly throws himself upon the enemy troops not in hope of victory but as proof of his bravery and an exhibition of his fame. You, to whom no one on earth or sea has as yet resisted with impunity, for whom to conquer and not be overwhelmed by crime is not new, since you have such tremendous help from heaven in conquering, not once even are you shamed that a position was snatched from you to the enemy, but armed men rub away tranquility and placed in readiness for battle with minds keeping holiday do you expect, that hunger may fight for you, and routed by their starvation rather than our swords they may turn an embarrassing triumph into a source of reproach for you? It does not shame, I say, my vigorous fellow soldiers, victors over all the races, to hope for nothing from your weapons, nothing from your strength but from the blockade alone, to await, when the enemy shall become feeble from disease and shall die in his bed? And what can the victory be without a battle? All places are filled with bodies, loathsome remnants lie bloodless the remains of the dead, except those among them whom they themselves slaughtered. Why should we fear them whom already starvation fire brigandage and riot is killing? Why would we give up divine aid? By whose unless by god's command have they in their arms been crushed, deprived also of the help of food, nor any end of the domestic madness? I fear lest already we may seem rebels against sanctity, who have sparing so long those faithless to our and their religion. It shall be true, let the war be savage and terrible. For why should I soothe you with the easiness of war? Let the victory be uncertain, the danger certain: is not the talk for me among them, who know with human wisdom that courage in all creatures is more manifest in dangers than in mild contentions? As wild beasts when they see themselves surrounded by armed men, they rush against them with a greater impetus so that they open a path to themselves with the effort. And a serpent struck in its den pours out a more virulent poison. And also there are those things that by nature are harmless but in danger however are vigorous in doing harm. Deer have their weapons, if anyone brings himself in their way, they fend off death with their horns, little injured bees have their stings. But what may I say about the fighting men among the Romans, when that Leonides born of the Lacedaemonians, about to fight against the innumerable army of the Persians said: "let us who are about to dine with the dead have dinner on earth" and so greatly among the Greeks was that speech valued, that not only did no one take himself from those three hundred Lacedaemonian men which he was at the head of except one however, whom surviving none afterwards received, but no one even from the rest who had come for fighting at the same time, except those of weaker stock whom Leonides had rejected for such a great battle. What may I say of the untouched legions of the Romans? Those things that Cato the champion of Roman eloquence and a sincere interpreter of truth asserted when they went forth to war with exultation, from which they did not think they would return, and all were beaten down gladly lest they should change that feeling. Happy are those no one of whom in flight announced to his people the victory of the enemy. Of the three hundred Lacedaemonians but one fled, and they fought in a narrow pass so that they should not be surrounded: from the Roman legions no one chose life but all the inheritance of death, whose descendents you are, if in contempt of the dangers as a glorious inborn quality of courage you do not reject your lineage. Who indeed of brave men does not know himself to be mortal, and an end of living to be in place for all? How much better therefore to expend for your country what you owe to nature and to exchange what is inevitable with glory, and not spend a timid life with the sighs of a breathless old age nor fear the calamity of a burning disease, when the daily trials are shed to age, of those however who have become weak with feebleness, senses and strength equally failing, as the opinion of most holds, souls are adjudged to the grave at the same time with the body! And truly the souls freed by steel from the chains of this body, of soldiers and vigorous men, who devoted themselves to death in behalf of their country, children, religion, it is a doubt to none that that pure ethereal element, shining by the light of the stars, takes up in celestial dwelling places in a lodging of heavenly peace. On earth also something significant of advantage or injury remains, that may either hide in oblivion those weakened by feebleness, or contrariwise pursue with renown those taking their breasts against the enemy, if death should come. I invite you to these rewards, my fellow soldiers, that we advance against the enemy, whom we hold shut in, that we scale the wall up the ruin of the strong wall, which serves for us like a rampart and reaches as high as the lesser wall. Whoever carrying forward the banner of valor will have been first to scale the wall or second or third or comrade to many, he will go away with a rich gift not at all granted by me, for there is no greater recompense than the renown of bravery which is commonly the most secure. For when he who most confident of courage and strength shall have mounted the wall, they will flee who resisting and will take themselves down and will conceal themselves in hiding places. That which we now located in an inferior position are seeking with danger, will follow without great effort, that the enemy having been thrown down the war will be ended."

28 Scarcely had Titus finished this speech when Sabinus an excellent fighter from the men of Syria presented himself and standing before Caesar said that he was prepared for the climb and would obey the commands. The outcome for him would be that he would please Caesar. If he should lack followers, nothing beyond expectation would happen to him, who by his own judgement had chosen to die for Caesar. With these words extending his left hand he raised his shield above his head and with his right hand waving his sword he rose up so much in arms, that no one would recognise him, who just a little before from the appearance of his small body had thought him to be worthy of disdain, when he suddenly saw him to advance against the enemy and to extend himself threatening equally the enemy and the walls, as if already higher he was fighting against those lower down and shaking the wall with his hand. Eleven men followed him anxious to imitate him but unequal in achievement. The Jews fought back from the wall with darts and arrows, and that weapon the hand of each had found was thrown against Sabinus. But he the charge having been aroused leaped upon the heap of fragments and stationed on the top routed the enemy, while the nearest fear the danger. But while he lifts and throws himself against the wall and secure in victory exerts himself against the enemy, having slipped he fell on his face with a great noise. Called back by which the Jews began to attack him lying there with missiles. He leaning upon one knee and protecting himself with his shield defended himself from wounds as long as he was able nor did he leave unharmed those whom he found nearest. Finally however engaged hand to hand with wounds he gave up life before he gave up fighting, nor was he thrown from his position or dislodged from the wall until he was dead, three others having been killed also. Eight although half dead were taken away from destruction by the rest.

29 The death of Sabinus however was not a cause of fear for the rest but an incentive. For the Roman forces, who carried out the duties of night watchmen, desiring to offset the effect of this work, because they had been outstripped by the zeal of Sabinus, twenty in number formed a great and remarkable plan, that the standard bearer of the fifth legion having been summoned and two men of the equestrian forces, whom they thought more eager and one trumpeter during the fifth hour of the night they would raise themselves in silence upon the heaps of wall fragments to the top and the guards having been killed they would seize the wall of Antonia. Which having been done the sound of the trumpet more frightful than usual burst forth, so that the Jews weary from their labours and suddenly awakened from sleep were thrown into confusion, because they believed that everywhere was filled by the enemy. And so they began to flee before the truth of the matter was known. For indeed the condition of danger and the murkiness of a dark night did not permit that how many they were could be ascertained. And Caesar the sound of the trumpet having been heard orders the army to take up arms, he himself with chosen soldiers was first to climb upon the wall an aid to his men an impediment to the enemy. Day dawned and already Caesar in full view encouraged his men from the wall, some were raised up onto the wall by their hands, others through the tunnel, which Iohannes had dug for undermining the rampart of the Romans, took themselves into the city. Their treachery was turned into ruin for the treacherous. Shut off on all sides they took themselves into the temple. There also the Romans wishing to force their way in are hindered by the narrow places, they are pushed back by arms. A major battle takes place in the entrance, but the thing is not fought with darts and arrows but hand to hand with swords, hands to wounds, sword to sword, blow to blow. The one striking was bathed in the blood of those cut to pieces, so that he himself rather was judged the one struck. In the temple itself warlike fury dominated. The floors swam with blood. The groans of the dying, the shouts of those winning resounded without order or limit. The hope of finishing the struggle had inflamed the Romans, the final ruin of their fatherland took fear of death from the Jews. The former fed their valor for the reward of fame, the latter poured out everything from despair of safety and reserved nothing.

30 An illustrious deed also was attempted by the centurion Julianus a man very powerful in arms, enlisted from the province of Bythinia but trained in Roman methods and practiced in the wars and famous for the rewards of honourable service. Who when he was standing near to Caesar, when he saw the Romans to have been routed, because the Jews were greater in numbers, and as yet fewer Romans were at hand, suddenly he burst forth from Antonia and turned back those attacking. Nor did they dare to resist the very appearance of such an excellent man and the certain proud authority beyond the human norm of his courage, so that Caesar himself marveled. O variable and uncertain as if a dice-play of combat, which often mocks with unexpected outcomes like by a throw thus by chance rather than by valor accomplishing new outcomes. For there are here throws not indeed of dice but of many javelins and arrows, of stones also, by which often a victor is laid low by a hostile wound, and while he is seizing spoil from another is himself plundered. Like this Julianus, who was threatening the back of the enemy, while he was killing others and checking them with a barrier, too incautious in his haste itself, wearing shoes put together with nails according to the practice of military men, did not consider the grown strewn with polished stones, which should have been avoided, was fighting as if on a level surface, untroubled he slipped and gave out a great crash with his fall and spread out on the slippery soil was not able to stand up. Sustaining himself on one knee he fended off the the enemy who had returned, so that he killed those approaching near, he avoided those throwing javelins as much as he could. But fatigued by that and overwhelmed by the multitude since alone, because no one dared to put himself in such great danger, he did not however die quickly disdained and unavenged. Not at all for my part, as I think, was he deserving of such a death, that such great valor in a man should be cheated. But prudence in war is worth most, which always sharp and observant provides for the possibility of uncertain things. He took himself from Antonia alone, alone he rushed against hostile forces, alone he embroiled himself in combat, alone he forced the Jews to retire into the temple. I fear that that hurt most, that those unfaithful to god had been driven from the temple. And so the fall did not find a remedy. Titus watched him winning with joy, fighting with great concern, he wished to come to his aid but was far away. He was recalled by his men, because in the case of a soldier it is the fate of just one, in the case of an emperor it is the fate of everyone. The danger pointed out the example, which ought to be avoided rather than followed by Caesar. To sum up, his associates were so shocked, his adversaries so elated, that indeed the body of Julianus came into the possession of the enemy, as if they still feared him even dead, if he should be restored to the Romans. The rest Julianus having been killed fell back from the easy task. For a large force had not yet climbed up and the occurrence of his death had increased bravery for the Jews, Alexa and Gyptheus conspirators with Iohannes who were supporters of his faction, also Melchius and Jacobus the leader of the Idumaeans excellent fighters from the party of Simon, Aris Simonis also and Iudis men of the third faction equally supporting, who in a joined band shut the driven back Romans inside Antonia.

31 On the other side Titus having judged the narrow passages of Antonia to be not a fortification for himself but an impediment orders the fort to be razed to its foundations, that a path to the enemy might be opened for those who would be coming up. It having been learned that the solemn observance of feast days for the Jews had approached, he ordered Josephus to translate into the Hebrew language what he himself would be saying. What, an evil, plan was persuading Iohannes that he should provoke the Romans to the destruction of the temple? If he had the confidence of courage, let him choose another place for battle, let him proceed there, if only he would spare the city, he would not contaminate the temple, he would not hinder the sacrifices of the feast days. Let him leave those whom he had considered suitable for the services of the sacrifices, let him give out where he wished except the city and the temple a document of his courage, the soldiers of Caesar would not be wanting for the encounter. He was unwilling to be forced to the destruction of the entire city, whose remains he wished to save, if Iohannes would allow it. Torches were overhanging the temple, not that the Romans were hastening to burn the temple but to lead out from the temple the inciters of the war. If they believed themselves

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conquered, they should surrender their troops, but if they expected themselves about to be the victors, they should not take themselves into an enclosure, but they should fight in the open, by which the temple would be rescued from the flames already licking it, it would be freed from the ritual purifications. This having been heard with silence Joseph interpreting for the Jews the silent common people approved but feared to express their opinion. To which Iohannes responded, no sacrifice to be more acceptable to god than for men dedicated to god to offer their soul in behalf of the altars before the altars for the temple, and thus, if it should be necessary, to die willingly for liberty, however to hope that the city of god could not suffer destruction. Titus to this: "rightly therefore you would save the city unsoiled for god and the holy place unstained by killing the citizens, by killing the innocent, by killing the priests. By such shameful acts the divine spirits are not placated but are offended. You have rejected your god from the observance of their sacrifices. If he denied food to you in same way, Iohannes, you sought him; his victims are not sacrificed to your god, his offerings are not returned, men are being killed, and you still think god is giving assistance? The things done teach the truth, the pile of dead so demonstrates and the heaps of your misfortunes. Who seeing these things would not groan? I would not blame that you were fighting for your country, if I were unwilling to spare you, if I were unwilling to spare your country or your temple. Nor indeed was Carthage worthy of this --- not at all was the Hebrew Hannibal to be feared, who had conquered the middle part of the Roman world --- and however Carthage itself was renewed, which had taken the rebellious minds of its citizens all the way to its destruction. I promise by my faith that all these things will be saved for you, I promise the pardon of safety for you not as the reward of wickedness but for the deliverance of the city, that I will make good the condition of the summit which is about to be destroyed. You should cease, I warn you, to disturb with your villainy the proposition of Roman goodness. It will not be feared by Jerusalem that it may be destroyed, when rather Antioch was spared for its resources. Certainly your Iechonias both trusted the Persians and went out from the city and committed himself with his relatives to savage rage lest the city should be destroyed because of him. His memory is celebrated by you, as they protect yours, Josephus is present his protector and a witness to his renown, by which you honor the man who offered himself to captivity for his country. The uncivilized Persian spared him, I moreover promise you safety. For Josephus certainly bore arms against the Romans: whose example we have exhibited. We give you Iosephus as an example of our promise, indeed we have already given him, whom we have spared. He speaks in his native tongue, he binds himself by that rite which you practice, it does not shame me to seek this example, to give a guarantor, that I who wish to pardon do not present one who destroys." Iosephus wept at this, he beseeched Iohannes, he lamented the condition of the country, he entreated with tearful speech, he called upon him as a fellow citizen although more stubborn than the rest, he bore witness that by the grace of omnipotent god he would be safe with his men, if only he would cease to arouse the Roman military to the overthrow of the city. When he was unable to prevail upon him: "It is not a wonder," he said, "Iohannes, if you persist all the way to the destruction of the city, since divine aid has already abandoned it. But it is a wonder that you do not believe it is about to be destroyed, since you may read the prophetic books, in which the destruction of our country has been announced to you and and the restored greatness again destroyed by the Roman army. For what else does Daniel shout? He prophesized not indeed what had already been done but what would happen. What is the abomination of devastation which he proclaimed would be by the coming Romans, unless it is that which now threatens? What is that prophecy, which has been often recalled by us announced by god on high, that the city would be utterly destroyed at that time, when its fellow tribesmen will have been killed by the hands of the citizens, unless that which we see now being fulfilled? And perhaps, because it no longer pleases for the temple polluted with forbidden blood to be defended, it pleases that it be cleansed by fire."

32 Iosephus finished his speech but Iohannes is moved by no laments and not persuaded by promises. God had long been pressing the faithless minds, from which crucifying Jesus Christ they defiled themselves by that wicked murder. He is the one whose death is the ruin of the Jews, born from Maria. Who came to his people and his people did not receive him. When indeed have the Jews not killed their own people? Did they not kill the son of their own Saul? Nabutha the prophet was indeed stoned by his own people. Iezabel was a Jewish woman, who commanded the Jewish elders who carried out the command, Achab was a Jew, who became the cause of his death. How many other citizens killed by the citizens! And however the city long remained whole, although destroyed by the Babylonians after many years, but afterwards restored. This is the final destruction after which the the temple is not restorable, because they have alienated with wickedness the protector of the temple, the overseer of restoration.

33 The opinion of some was changed by such a desire of Caesar and the repeated speech, who were able to take themselves away so that they could come to the Romans. Fear of the danger called back the rest, which was exerted by the brigands, and perhaps there was a certain inclination of the minds, that so many would not be savced from the destruction about to take place. Whom fleeing to him Caesar, because there were among them both men of the priesthood with their sons and other men of outstanding families, received with good favor, promising the security of safety, the preservation of their possessions, and directed to the city, which has the name Gofna, lest any offense should arise from the unlike rite and the difference of their form of worship. Whether by those, who located in the city were resisting, or because a suspicion of this nature had arisen or some one had arranged by a trick that many should not slip away, it came into an argument of death, that they were being killed and cast aside. Having learned this Titus ordered them called back and to approach nearer the walls with Iosephus, that they might be recognized by their people. They with tears and great lamentation wept not because of their own , but because of the destruction of their country and the temple, they beseeched the citizens that they should follow the faith of Caesar, that they should rescue the temple from the burning that had been prepared, nothing had been ordered of them against the law, nothing of freedom had been diminished. That they should acquiesce, and they would experience the mercy of the Romans, whose insuperable valor they had put to the test.

34 With such they wretchedly lamented, they are pushed away by their own people and the war is inflamed. The Jews spring up and blindly burst into the inner shrine itself: every recess, they occupy every place inaccessible to men not chosen for the sacred rites. The Romans also prepared themselves for battle. They violated the prohibitions of the fathers from the necessity pf war, with greater reverence by the Romans however than by their own. The gentiles looked at the temple with awe, The Jews approached with rage and rashness and bearing hands wet with human blood laid hands upon the high altars themselves. Titus however still abiding by his resolution addressed Iohannes and called to witness that he was unwilling to be led to the destruction of the city and the temple saying to him: "what do they want for themselves, Iohannes, squeezed before he doors of the temple the summit of the elements? Do they not signify that no one not consecrated ought to approach the temple? What (was) the purpose of that fence before the temple? Is it not that its appearance should ward off the children of everyone, and and knowledge of the secret places should be open to the initiated alone, and that to these there should be a free view, to whom there is lawful entrance? You shut off the view of foreigners and you restrict their approach. You write that no foreigner may enter, no stranger may go inside, and you are scattering foreign blood inside the temple and you are polluting your altars at the same time with the blood of foreigners and citizens. I testify to be a witness not of our attack but of your violation of duty because have violated those things that are yours. I a foreigner do not exact, on the contrary I implore, if you are willing to depart, the temple will be safe, no one of the Romans will introduce hostile hands, nothing of your sacrifices will be violated, I will preserve your temple for you, even if you are unwilling. For the observance of religious rites may be different but the practice is a common experience. What was the observance has departed from you, what is the practice has remained to the victors."

35 When even by these things put forth by Iosephus Caesar noticed the leaders of the faction not to be called back --- for they thought such a frequent calling for stopping to be from lack of confidence rather than from goodness --- he returned unwillingly to the inevitability of battle. He ordered the Romans to come up, but because the narrow passages were an impediment to such a great multitude, he prunes every thousand fighters to thirty picked men. For indeed such a dense obstruction of buildings would not receive the entire army. He himself wishing to climb down also was called back by his men, lest in the narrow places, even generally in nighttime hours, for which it was unavoidable to run against the trickery of ambushers, he might arouse something of danger against himself, when it would profit more, if he were present as an observer of the fight, since each one would think it had to be fought more unhesitatingly by him about to be fighting beneath the eyes of Caesar. For all things, which were being done around the temple, as if in a theater, from the position of Antonia were visible from above. Persuaded to that opinion Caesar entrusts the task to Cerealis, that he should come upon the Jews spread around the temple at the ninth hour of the night, he encourages the rest to come violently into the fight, that he would not fail the reward of those fighting, since from above he would watch the fight a witness either of any faintheartedness or a judge of valor. Cerealis energetically arrives at the prescribed time, but he found the watchmen vigilant. The battle is joined, since those positioned inside the temple were not sleeping, and those keeping watch went to meet those approaching, the rest easily prepared themselves for battle. The Roman approached in a crowded column. The Jews, since they are depending upon the enclosure and the narrow passages, so they would not be surrounded, rushed about in different directions, so that frequently there was danger to them from their own forces, since they were not recognised in the darkness, and very many were transfixed by their associates, since they were thought the enemy. For who indeed at night can distinguish whether he has run upon an ally or an enemy, when it is too late to ask, to take precautions usefully, to anticipate deliberation? And an outcome of blame to err in the wound of another is more tolerable than to disregard personal danger, when an enemy if feared. And so the Jews worked through the night in a two-headed danger, either because an enemy was attacking or in which an ally made a mistake, nor were they afflicted by a lesser mischief during the day: at night there was more danger from their own forces, during the day the Roman pressed vigorously whom Titus an observer of the entire contest even if silent was urging on. It was fought fiercely to the fifth hour the Jews also fighting strenuously, so that neither side retired from the place.

36 While they waged these battles between themselves for the space of seven days everything having pulled down, all the way to the foundations of the earth, which Herod had strengthened with a fortress, which had the name Antonia, the road was made wider, which led to the temple, so that not only would there be the opportunity of rushing in for the soldiers but the place was open even for establishing fortifications and piling up ramparts so much as was necessary, from which the tops of the roofs even of the temple were pounded. Through which the Romans attentively delaying, while the Jews were being pressed by intolerable hunger, they began to lie in ambush for the pack animals of the Romans. If anyone had loosened a war horse for grazing, or a pack mule by lightening the burden, they stole them for plunder, not only was it produced as food for them at the expense of the Romans but it was even a disgrace for the military. Caesar immediately removed the disgrace of this carelessness in the beginning by the punishment of death ordered. It did not however hold in check the trickery of obstinacy. For shut off from this type of plunder and the food necessary for the starving, grasping the help of grasses, the wall being destroyed, which Titus had led around the empty space outside the city, they wandering and searching for the roots of trees and forage thought sallies would be more unimpeded, whom the circuit of the wall the equivalent of a prison had shut in nor was there now anything with which they might lessen hunger. And so they creep up in a sudden sally, they rush upon those extended before the Mount of Olives. Nor did these fail the task assigned and the call of the trumpet summons others to the society of the battle from the rest of the camps and the fortifications of the towers. A fierce fight is joined in the beginning, when a sense of honor urges on the last, hunger the first, by a savage necessity and rule. But the Jews are driven by the Romans gathering together and turned back to the walls of their city. Then one from a squadron of horsemen --- Pedanius his name --- spurs his horse stretches out his right arm and bending down a little seizes one of Jews fleeing, carrying him captive to Caesar. And the conqueror of this glorious booty like an eagle with a rabbit or a hawk with a duck throws him living to the feet of Caesar. Exceedingly pleased by this Titus dismissed him praised and honored.

37 Now distributed around the temple they burn the colonnade. Everywhere there was grief everywhere death, outside there was war, inside above there was war and fire. But the Jews were not broken in spirit, they thought everything of vengeance to perish they acted without trickery or insolence. When they were now unable to do otherwise, they provoked the Romans to quickness of destruction. A certain Ionathes small of body, worthier in appearance, very near the tomb of Iohannes challenged the Romans, that he who wished could fight with him hand to hand. Some despising the smallness of the man, others disdaining to fight with him, whom they were about to hold captive soon, others considering the thing to be a perilous contest with men, who in the extremes of safety were seeking vengeance not with bravery but with recklessness alone, there would be nothing of praise if bordering upon destruction the man should be defeated, and much of disgrace, if any one by some lapse should mar the common victory, he was boasting arrogantly and throwing fear into the victors scattering loud abuse, that the Romans were relying not on their own forces but upon foreign assistance, and that the Jews were afflicted not by the war of their enemies but by domestic strife. There was in the number of Roman soldiers Pudens by name, who moved by the inane insults, thoughtlessly took counsel of his sense of honor, neglected his safety and incautious from that indignation stood open to injury and thrown prostrate onto the ground he instilled shame in his associates, he left at the same time also a cause of mockery by, and death for, Ionathes. For he elated by the success of the contest and raising the pomp of victory, while he celebrates and exults and gestures with his sword and by striking his shield, he arouses to his wounding the centurion Priscus, who did not tolerate him boasting with arrogance and pride and pierced him incautious

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in victory with the blow of an arrow. Struck down by which Ionathes points out that in a battle no one ought to mock irrationally, since the situation is uncertain for the conquerors and the conquered, until the war is concluded.

38 But inside the city when they saw the enemy inside the walls projecting over the highest structures and overhanging all the walls and like a wound in the body they dreaded the danger to extend inward, they cut down the northern colonnade in that part, which was next to Antonia, lest the enemy go up through it to the higher parts of the temple or higher up press upon those located in the lower parts, and each cut off the closest parts, lest neighbouring to the temple with raging fires fire even might destroy the temple itself, and cut through the fires burn out. That which they feared from the enemy they first began. They prepared the colonnade of Solomon also for trickery, so that they filled the interiors of the roofs with tar and pitch, which escaped notice inside the vault of the highest roof, and it having been pretended that they wished to defend it and they incite the enemy to attack and so arouse the Romans against themselves. They ladders having been moved up seek the high parts of the colonnade, the Jews gradually withdraw from the place to which many Romans ascend. These steal in eagerly, however the more prudent having suspected a trick take precautions, but the crowd intent upon victory hurries. When the thing of the trick was seen to flare up, many were placed as if in a net, the fire is moved up to the interior of the vault aand full grown from the tar and pitch and the other nourishments of the fire is spread out into the entire colonnade. The fires surround the victorious Romans, so that no opportunity of withstanding it is at hand or any possibility of fleeing. They did not discover what they should do. Titus regarded his endangered men with indignation because they had climbed up without orders, but with pity because victorious they were perishing. Many gave themselves to a fall, but, when they had escaped the fire, crushed in body with broken limbs they died, it was more unfortunate if disabled they survived. Caesar wished to come to their aid but was unable, he encouraged the nearest however, he shouted that there would be assistance for his men. These words, this grief of Caesar they considered as a final consolation. This was a parting provision for those about to die, as if exalted solacing themselves with this tomb they hastened to death, because they were ensconced in the innermost heart of Caesar and their life would not perish, whose renown survived, who were dying for Caesar leaving behind their triumphant inheritance. And so some were encircled by the flames, others avoided them, and not far away was the enemy who were striking those fleeing the flames.

39 Longus however a man of excellent character although he was called upon by the Jews, that he should entrust himself to them, with the security of safety promised, preferred to transfix himself with his sword rather than stain with a disgrace the bravery of the innate Roman character. On the other hand Artorius quite cunningly in a loud voice called Lucius saying: "you will be my heir, if you will catch me falling." And he felling pity runs to catch him falling and transferred to himself the death of the one about to die. Truly he sent ahead his heir as his military testament, written not in ink but in blood, and not on paper but on the blade of a sword; a great [p. 381] trick clearly, so that he might find a volunteer substitute for his death. And so the colonnade is burned all the way to the tower, which Iohannes when he was waging war against Simon, had constructed above the entrance of the royal house, which Ezechias as king had built for himself as a residence. The remaining paart of this the Jews themselves destroyed. Also on the following day all the northern colonnade all the way to the eastern colonnade was burned by the Romans. For when they themselves put hands on their own buildings, they taught the Romans not to spare the foreigners. The face of the temple was already bare and there was savage hunger of the men. They ambushed themselves by turns, each snatched food for himself. Where there was the suspicion of food, there was a battle fought between the natives for food. The dearest were killed, the dead were shaken violently lest any food should lie hidden in their clothing. Some were considered to pretend to be dead, lest living they should be suspected to have some food. But not even the living were able either to perform the function of life or to pretend death, truly with open mouth like mad dogs capturing a breath of air they moved around hither and thither with want as their guide. Often even as if drunk they returned to the same dwellings, that they should search again what they had left empty. And when they did not find other relief for hunger, they would pull away the leather from their shields that it should be food for them which was not a protection. They ate their shoes, nor was it a shame to take them up loosened from their feet with their mouth and to lick them with their tongue. Ancient husks also, which had once been thrown aside, were searched out with great eagerness, and if any were discovered, they were exchanged for a great price.

40 What shall I say against the deed of Maria, which will horrify the mind of any whatsoever barbarous and impious person? She was from the wealthy women of the region of Perea, which lies across the Jordan. The fear of the war having arisen she had taken herself with the rest into city of Jerusalem, where it was safer. She had conveyed her wealth there also, which the leaders of the factions in competition took possession of. If anything even of food had been obtained for a price, it was taken from her hands. Disturbed continually by her losses, she called down horrible curses, she wished to die but did not find a killer. She wished to mock longer, to humble more, rather than to destroy quickly. She thought how long she might live to be preyed upon. All things had already run short and accustomed to self-indulgence she was not softening the harsh roughness of husks and hides. Fierce hunger poured itself into her innermost being, irritated her humors, stirred up her mind. The woman had a small infant which she had given birth to. Aroused by its crying which she saw to weaken herself and the child terribly, overcome by such great barbarity unequal to such a cruel misfortune she lost her mind and the practice of motherly tenderness forgotten she submerged her grief, took up madness. And so turned toward the little one having forgotten she was its mother and raging in mind she spoke thusly: "What can I do for you, little one, what can I do for you? Savage circumstances surround you, war, starvation, burnings, thieves, destruction. To whom shall I about to die entrust you, to whom shall I leave you so small? I had hoped that, if you reached manhood, you would feed me your mother or would bury me dead, certainly, if you preceded me in death, I would enclose you in a precious burial mound with my own hands. What shall I a miserable woman do? I see no help for you and me living. All things have been taken from us, for whom shall I save you? And in what tomb shall I place you so that you are not prey for dogs birds or wild beasts? All things, I say, have been taken from us, you can however, my sweet one, thus feed your mother, your hands are fit food. O agreeable to me is your flesh, your congenial limbs, before hunger completely consumes you, restore to your mother what you have received, return to that hidden place of nature. In which place you take your spirit, in it a grave is prepared for you dead. I myself embrace whom I gave birth to, I myself fondly kiss, and what the want of endurance of love has, let it have the force of necessity, that I myself may devour my own not with simulated but with imprinted bites. Therefore be food for me, rage for thieves and a tale of life, which alone is lacking for our misfortunes. What would you do, my son, if you too should have a son? We have done what is of goodness, we are doing what hunger urges. Your reason however is better and has a certain appearance of rightness, because it is more tolerable that you will have given your mother food from your parts than that your mother is able to kill or devour you." Saying this with face turned aside she plunged in the sword and cutting her son in pieces she placed him on the fire, she ate part, part she concealed lest anyone should come upon it. But the strong smell of the burned flesh came to the leaders of the rebellion and immediately following the odor they entered the lodging of the woman threatening death because she had dared to feed her own starving and to make them non-sharers of the food which she had discovered. But she: "your part," she said, "I have saved for you, I was not greedy nor discourteous. Do not be resentful, hold this and you may eat. I have prepared food for you from my flesh. Be seated quickly, I will arrange the table, you have my service to wonder at, to judge that you have found such a disposition of no woman who has not defrauded you of the favor of her sweet son." Saying which she at the same time uncovered the scorched limbs and presented them for eating with an exhortation of this type of speech: "This is my lunch, this is your portion, look carefully that I have not cheated you. Behold one hand of my boy, behold his foot, behold half of the rest of his body, and lest you think otherwise, he is my son, you should not think it the work of another, I did it, I carefully divided it, I ate what was mine, I saved what was yours. You have never been sweeter to me, my son. I owe you that I am still alive. Your sweetness has held my mind. It has put off for your pitiable mother the day of death. You came to the rescue in a time of starvation, you are the gift of the greatest old age, you are the restrainer of the killers. They came about to kill, they became table companions. And they themselves will hold what they owe to you, since they have consumed my banquet. But why do you give back a step, why are you horrified in mind? Why do you not feast upon what I his mother have made? They can indeed please you which have glutted the mother. I do not hunger now, after my son has fed me, I am abundantly satisfied, I know not hunger. Taste and see how sweet is my son. Do not become more effeminate that the mother, weaker than a woman. But if you are tenderhearted in the midst of a hurt and do not take up my offering and turn away from my burnt offering, I will consume my sacrifice, I will devour what is left. See that it is not a reproach to you that a woman is discovered more brave than you, who will take up the banquet of men. I indeed have prepared such banquets, but you have made a mother to feast so. And suffering held me but necessity conquered."

41 The impious act of such great wickedness immediately filled the entire city and each was filled with horror as if attendance of such a parricidal dinner party was placed before his eyes. Indeed they began themselves the inciters of the rebellion to examine those things which they seized for food, lest they should find similar food and incautiously consume it. Everybody began to be afraid, that they would live too long, and to wish to die. The brutality of this fact came even to the Romans. For many terrified by this horror fled to the enemy. Which having been found out, Caesar detesting the contagion of the unhappy land, raising his hands to heaven, testified publicly in this fashion: "Indeed we come for war but we are not contending with men.

Against every madness of monsters and wild animals, what sensible thing can I say? Wild animals love their offspring, which they feed even in their own hunger, which they feed on foreign bodies, they abstain from the bodies of very similar wild animals. This is beyond every hardship that a mother has devoured a member to which she gave birth. I clean absolve myself to you from this contagion, whatever power you are in heaven. You know, you know surely that with inmost feeling I frequently offered peace and I asked what it does not shame a victor to say, that I wished to pardon even the originators themselves of such great prodigies, to spare the people, to preserve the city. But what am I to do against those fighting back, what am I to do against those who rage against their own people? Arms for the most part having been set aside, because they did not desist from their own slaughtering, I returned to the war that I should set free those besieged, not that I should destroy them. They often encouraged us from the walls to fight so they would not be gravely harmed by their own people. Of what type are the citizens, to whom their enemy is a remedy? I had heard truly the fierceness of this people to be unendurable, who arouse themselves against every arrogance with extraordinary beliefs, their birth to lead them from heaven, there they first put on the form of body, themselves to have been inhabitants of the sky, to have descended for the cultivation of the earth, to return from the earth to the sky, to have crossed through the seas with dry feet, the waves of the sea to have fled before them, the stream of the Jordan turned backward to have returned to its source, the sun to have stood still that they might conquer their enemies and night not impede them, their men snatched into the sky in fiery chariots, the powers of the sky to have fought in their behalf, and themselves absent all the forces of their enemies to have been routed, victory brought forth to them sleeping. These things I had learned, but I thought that they boasted of the divine benefits surrounding them, that they did not altogether enlarge their daring, that they thought themselves unable to be conquered by the Romans. And so I admit it would be a battle for us with them, who believe themselves unconquerable, who boast themselves to be survivors of the flood, inheritors of the rivers, hosts of the lands, travelers of the seas, riders of the skies, for whom a wave is a wall, the air is a road, the sky a place of habitation, to whom flames yield and chains do not hold. For whom thirsting stones open up and pour themselves into water sources, for whom hungry the sky opens, food is sent, their camps are filled with the flesh of birds and man eats the bread of angels. Waters are stripped away, brackish water is sweetened, the sun stands still, darkness is illuminated. Finally what can be the greatest, when can courage be lacking to those, who, as they say, having died live and having been buried are roused again? There is the frequent opinion that these men also plotted against divine things and their punishment is the proof. The lands burn today because of the impiety of their inhabitants, many of these indeed an opening in the ground has swallowed. How long then can we stay in these places, where there is the ruin of the lands? We see even the sea to be dead, we see even things growing from the land to be dead, the earth to be shriveled, the shadows of green plants to be empty, loveliness outside but ashes within. Who can doubt that we move about in the lower worlds where even the very elements expire? In fact even, what is accustomed to live after death, in these places the goodness of nature is dead and respect for the dead a bystander. For who loves his parents not even dead? Who even now does not love his lost sons and hold in a place of pledges? The love remains, although the child has died, the name continues, the kindness of nature does not cease. In these places truly a mother does recognize a living son, does not hear him calling, does not pity him wailing, and because of the detestable things of one hour throws in a parricidal food the hand of her child. But why do I argue this as if new, since they consider the beginnings of this type from a fraternal murder, since of Abraham himself, whom they call father and the originator of the teaching and the first man of this form of worship, in him especially they proclaim faith, because he thought his son should not be spared and brought him to the altars as a victim and did not hesitate to offer him as a sacrifice? I do not condemn his devotion but I question his piety. Another also of his they say he as victor wished to dedicate, that whosoever should first run up to him returning home, he should sacrifice to his god, and, when he returned, his daughter ran up and so he placed his hands upon his daughter, and many other examples of this type. Of what kind is that people, who assign the killing of a human being to

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reverence and think that murder is a sacrifice? What god can exact this or what sort is the priest, who is able to do this? Finally they say this ancient man as more sensible did not do this but wished to do it, he as an imprudent man persevered. Let them have their rituals: stern men, among whom the teaching is to kill their sons, unhappy the state, in which there is such an office, such a service. May its destruction cover it over and conceal it, May the sun not see the contagion of that world, may the sphere of stars not look upon it; lest the puffs of air be tainted, may the cleansing fire rise up. We thought the feast of Thyestes a fable (Thyestes offered the flesh of his son as food.), we see a scandal, we see a truth more atrocious than the tragedies. For there the stronger sex and a stranger to the region, here a woman, for whom her own offspring was food. There the trickery of a stranger, here her own will. He grieved, she mocked. The food was deserved by such men, who by fighting obstinately had led their women to such a [p. 388] banquet. Indeed I think them afflicted with such great harshness of evils and minds made demented who did not feel these things. Wherefore let us finish the war quickly. Because these things are not able to be corrected, let us break in violently, that we may flee the dying waters of these regions, the lands being destroyed."

42 The things having been said he orders the battering rams to be moved to the temple, but strong blows accomplished nothing. However terrified many of the leaders themselves of the rebellion fled to Caesar, whom driven more by necessity not as if following a promise Titus hesitated to receive, but good faith tempered his anger. However he did not hold them in that state in which held the previous deserters, he began to urge his men on more intently, so that all of the enemy demoralised by fear might withdraw. But when they saw the walls unharmed by the blow of the battering ram with its massive structure, they maintained their boldness, Caesar however coming with a clever idea ordered the doors covered over with silver to be set on fire. From which the fire having been moved up the silver began to flow, then gradually even the wood to burn, thus an approach opened up into the interior of the colonnade. But Caesar taking pity, that the temple should not be burned the neighbouring interiors of the colonnades having been seized, called the leaders of the army to a council saying, for him the fight was not with insensible objects nor was the war with buildings, which would profit the victors, if they were saved unburned. The leaders however asserted the strength of the walls and the fortification of the temple would be an incentive in the future for the Jews, from which there would be grateful haughtiness; the roots of the rebellion should be destroyed to the foundations, lest this rashness should break out again. Caesar however put off the discussion of the council to the following day. In truth the Jews thought themselves pouring forward, but the Romans with interlocked shields although fewer withstood the first attack. The battle wavered however from the charge of the innumerable multitude. Whence Caesar was at hand with cavalry easily crushing those whom he had discovered and he turned back the enemy column. Relying on the fact that a portion of the entrance court already stood open, he arranged to rush in upon the enemy with most of his forces the following day, to enter into the temple. Which act would have saved the city from burning, if the unpropitious attitude of the people had not provoked the flames of the enemy against themselves. Indeed Caesar orders the dense mass of fires to be extinguished, so they would not be a hindrance to the troops about to break in. Seeing which the Jews, while they are ambushing those wishing to put out the fires of the temple, some having been killed stirred up the enemy. And so one of the Romans having found half-burned lumber, which had fallen from the roof, moved with the full grown fire to the door, which was named the golden door, because it had an entrance clothed with gold. The stiffness of the gold having been immediately melted by the flames laid bare the wood, which like an uncovered flank was open to the fire. And so the doors having been burned the fire inserted itself into the innermost parts of the temple. Already the doors lighted up its entrance. All who themselves the defender of the temple were trying to protect it were thrown into confusion, they were immediately afraid, and there was a certain inclination of their minds, this would be the day of destruction, because on this very day the temple had once been burned by the Babylonians breaking in, which was the tenth day of the month of Loos, which already for a long time they counted among the unlucky days. The fire lifting itself up from the puffs of air also into the higher parts poured joy into the victors, grief fitting for such a great disaster into the defeated. The outcry of everyone having sprung up, not much afterwards a messenger gave Titus the news of the enemy's destruction, who rushing forth in as loud a voice as he was able ordered the fires to be extinguished. But through the uproar there was not an opportunity of hearing or the wish to spare it, since the Roman soldiers burned with the zeal for vengeance and the well known goodness of Caesar took away the fear of disobedience. There would be no trickery for his men, since he was forgiven even by the enemy. With his nod and hand however Titus called back whose whom he was able, he ordered some that they should restrain the attack of the soldiers. But with anger the leader they increased the burning, they pressed the enemy already wasteful of their safety from despair and exposing themselves totally to dangers. The common people of low birth were chiefly killed, whenever any was opposed, because they were protected by no armor suitable for fending off or turning aside a wound.

43 Wearied by the shouting Caesar gave back a step, since the flame was still consuming the enclosed spaces of the temple, which having been burned down he in a rage took himself into the shrine itself. By which appearance most were greatly disturbed, some immersed themselves in the fires themselves, whose eyes were not able to bear that outliving the temple they were spared. Titus ran up again desiring to look about of what manner the shrine was. Moved by its grace he confessed it to have been more distinguished than the works of their own temples. He marveled at the size of the stones, the brilliance of the metal, the attractiveness of the work, the charm of its beauty. He proclaimed that not without cause had the fame of the place been so great, that there out of all the places it was agreed, so great not unless it was believed to be the dwelling place of the greatest god. The esteem added to the faith of the religion, with which the nations even of the barbarians venerated that temple and brought gifts. Robbers of their own religion who however were then plundering and utterly destroying, thieves breaking into everything, which had been the deposits of widows and orphans, as if [p. 391] they were claiming these things from the victors, if anything was diminished from the booty to the Romans. Seeing the temple also to be on fire they burned the rest, lest any building should survive the destruction of the temple, thinking whether all of the religion might perish with the temple. Not yet however had the Jews put aside their faithlessness, which was the cause of their great ruin. For since the minds of many were bent, that a column having been formed they should surrender themselves to the Romans, a certain pseudoprophet began to throw in the departure of his mind that the assistance of the divine god would not be lacking to his temple, to call the people to himself like as to a certain oracle, they should still remain in his temple, they were about immediately to drive back the battalions of the enemy, the conflagration of the flames. Thus the wretched people, since they faithfully believed the untrue fraud, discredited and helpless they were slaughtered. Who if they had wished to believe, had visible indications of the imminent destruction, by which as if by clear voices they were warned the end to be at hand for them.

44 For through a year almost above the temple itself a comet burned, extending a certain likeness of fire and a sword announcing with iron and fire the coming destruction of the people and the kingdom and the city itself. What indeed did the likeness of a sword announce if not war, what the fire if not the burning? Moreover it was seen before the people dissociated themselves from the Romans. During the very days of the Passover on the eighth day of the month of Xanthicus and through every night around the ninth hour the temple and its altar so shone with light as if it were day, remaining daily through half an hour almost, which the crowd explained to be seen as an indication of the people heaping up and having been driven there as if the time were at hand for recovering their freedom. The wiser thought the contrary, because that type of star is accustomed to announce war. Nor was there anyone who thought our people to have spoken something foreign from our religion and teaching, first because we added not what seems good to us, but what happened, or what were the opinions at that time, what the wise people felt, what the foolish. Nor was anything said from the doctrines of the Jews, thus it might seem to have been written by us, as if in truth not as if in obscurity and figures of speech we were contriving their religion to have been sent in advance, so that more perfect things might follow. For about the signs of the stars even in the Gospels we are taught that there were signs in the sun and the moon and the stars. (This last bit is surely a later interpolation into the text by some Christian copier.) They assert also that in the birth of a calf, when the victim stood before the altar, in the middle of the temple a sheep was born in the very celebration of the religious rites we mentioned above, also the heavy eastern interior door, which was accustomed to be closed at evening with the great effort of twenty men, fastened with iron bars, through several nights was spontaneously unbarred, and scarcely afterwards was shut by the guards. That also many thought a sign of future benefits, to which about to enter the door was opening. The more learned however said the protection of the temple having been loosened to be seen, that whatever was inside would be plundered by enemies, the worship would go out, devastation would enter, fame would be emptied, the offering would be destroyed. Which even before, when they crucified Christ Iesus, the narrative teaches the meaning clearly. Also after many days a certain figure appeared of tremendous size, which many saw, just as the books of the Jews have disclosed, and before the setting of the sun there were suddenly seen in the clouds chariots and armed battle arrays, by which the cities of all Iudaea and its territories were invaded. Moreover in the celebration itself of the Pentecost the priests entering the interior of the temple at night time, that they might celebrate the usual sacrifices, asserted themselves at first to have felt a certain movement and a sound given forth, afterwards even to have heard shouted in a sudden voice: "we cross over from here." Iesus also, the son of Ananias, a country-dweller, four years before the people of the Jews undertook the war, in great peace and abundance of the city, when the Jewish Feast of the Tabernacles was being celebrated with joyful sacrifices, ascending the temple began to shout: "a voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and against the temple, a voice against bridegrooms and against brides, a voice against all people." This was shouted during the nights and during the days. Alarmed by which the men of rank in the place seized him, trembling at the frightful information of his voice, and afflicted him with many punishments, that at least afflicted with this pain he would cease to pronounce these frightful statements full of portents. But he neither from any fear nor blows or terrified by severe threats did not change his practice or words. With that same perseverance of denunciation and joining of words, with no interpolation of supplication, heedless of injury he remained in the same behavior, unmoved by this treatment. Considering him not heedless but to be squeezed out of his mind, as he was, they took him to the judge of the place, who at that time from the Romans handled the public business through these places. He for the sake of searching out the truth ulcerated him with the most severe punishments, the more he continued stubborn the more vigorously ordering the man to be beaten with whips, so that he should reveal if he had discovered any secret indications of a future uprising. But he neither cried not asked, but at each blow dolefully lamented not his own but his country's destruction saying: "woe to Jerusalem." Nor when asked who he was or where he was from or why he kept saying the same thing did he give a response, but only pursued that lamentation with the miserable complaint for his country. And so wearied Albinus, for that was the name of the man, dismissed him as from madness of mind not understanding what he was saying. But he neither had any conversation with anyone nor spoke anything else during the remaining time he was heard, but singing this mournful and funereal song day and night he resounded constantly: "woe to Jerusalem." Nor did he reproach anyone beating him, nor did he thank anyone giving him food. There was one and the same response full of wild yells to all and especially at the celebrations of the sacrifices. And so through seven years and five months the same train of words, the same sound off voice remained. And so unwearied for such a long time, when the siege began, he ceased to shout out the same things, as though it were proper to stop the announcing, when those things were present which had been announced. But when fire began to envelope the city and the temple equally, going around the wall he began again to shout: "woe to the city and the people and the temple." And last of all he added: "woe even to me" and struck by a catapult with these words he gave out his life. And it was written also in the ancient literature that the city itself too with the temple was then about to perish, when the temple had been made quadrangular. And so whether forgetful or dazed by the inevitability of the threatening evils, when Antonia was seized, they made the circuit of the temple quadrangular. Among which that was most outstanding, which equally in the ancient literature, which they called sacred, remained impressed, that following that time there would be a man, who from their region would take up rule over the whole world. Which thing put them in a great frenzy, that not only freedom but even a kingdom was being promised to them. That some thought had to make reference to Vespasian, the wiser thought it made reference to the lord Jesus, who in the flesh born of Maria in their lands spread his kingdom over all the space of the world. And so with such great things foretelling this they were not able to avoid what was decreed from heaven.

45 And so the originators of the rebellion fleeing when the temple was being burned, the Romans placed their standards inside the walls of the temple itself and against the eastern gate they celebrated Titus as imperator (Here not "emperor" but "imperator" as this title was granted by the troops to a successful general.) proclaiming this with their loudest voices. In the meantime a certain boy in that place, where the priests still were, whom both the lack of water and the heat of the neighbouring fire tortured with thirst, asked one of the Roman guards to give him his right hand, to offer a drink. Having pitied his age and necessity equally he extended it immediately. The small boy drank and because he had been carefully judged of harmless age, he seized the container of water and took himself away in a rush, that he might furnish a supply for drinking to the priests. The soldier wished to pursue him but was not able to catch him. He at his own peril relieved the thirst of the priests. This good trick which harmed no one, came to the aid of need. Finally the soldier himself marveled more at the attitude of the boy than he detested his trickery, because at that age and with the

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destruction of the entire city and the common danger he did not leave unexpressed by the service he was able to render that respect which was owed to the priests. Not much later the priests finally defeated by hunger and thirst asked for their life, whom Titus ordered to be killed, responding them to be of unworthy mind, who wished to outlive the temple and their office.

46 Furthermore Iohannes and Simonis and the other leaders of the rebellions asking, that he order the the throwing of javelins and the noise to leave off for a short time and that he give them the opportunity of speaking, he did not shrink from the concession, silence having been made he gave his response thusly: "the time is too late, you depraved ones, for mercy, when already nothing is left which should be saved. It was offered to you and you despised it, you thought it lack of confidence, not a concession. But I groaned that harmless buildings would perish from your wickedness, I grieved the common people to be forced to death, I wished to be lenient: you did not allow it; I held up the fighting: you rushed in; I offered peace: you did not accept it; I called on you frequently, I went to meet you repeatedly: it does not shame to say, I made you more arrogant by asking. What were you thinking? That the Roman troops would yield to you and you would surround an army victorious over all lands with your multitude? What portion fought you, since your region was not able to withstand the entirety, nor did difficult straits allow it? A greater care for us was protecting our world rather than extending it. Where we may go nothing is new; nothing foreign, to whom all the world is a possession. We thought this brigandage as a mole long concealed in the body, finally provoked we believed it must be removed, lest your disobedience and a certain murkiness should mar the splendor of the Roman empire. You have experienced Roman might not by fighting but by dying. For we see your troops not on the field but on the wall, since for you not even an enclosure was advantageous for a means of protection of your safety. For what wall stops those whom the ocean does not stop? Or what city hemmed in by a guard of walls would be impregnable to our siege when the arms of the Romans have also penetrated the Britains walled around by a raging element? Spread out beneath us is that steep mountain of water. The wave of the Red sea, as the stories of Iudaea report, walled around with the appearance of a wall your fathers crossing it, Roman bravery broke down the wall of the ocean. I do not envy you the favours of another. The sea saw you and fled, so that shut off from the enemy you might flee, since you were not able to break through the enemy nor to hold it back. For us the flight of the ocean would have been an injury if it had fled. Before the war we fought with the waves, we overcame the raging sea before we arrived at the enemy. Brittania received us already the victors over the elements. Whom they trusted we subdued, so that the ocean itself acceded to the consummation of the triumph. But perhaps you rely upon the strength of the body. Now are you stronger than the Germans, whom fenced in by the wall of the Alps Roman courage led into servitude? Nor those similar to the mountains of the slope of Mount Taurus or the effeminate armies of the Egyptians with which it is your practice to fight. We climbed above the clouds and descending from the clouds we conquered the people, we opened the airy route to all: we do not envy you the watery regions, provided that the former of those celebrating a triumph, the latter of those fleeing. And so the mountains sink down to Roman valour, rivers dried up their course lost, which nature had directed, and turned aside to where the victors ordered. Turned around is your Jordan, as you say, and it returns to its source, that it may offer a route to you, Cloelia the Roman maiden did not lack it, who with broken chains escaped the enemy and racing with the river took herself into the Roman camp. Nor are we amazed at your fires, from which Hebrew boys to have escaped you are accustomed to put out great songs. Our Mucius with no one forcing him put his hand in the fire, and did not remove it, until victor over the fire the miracle of his bravery, which did not feel the flames, confounded the enemy. Finally they asked for peace who were hoping for triumph. And truly did those celestial beings bring out food to you and meat of the rivers against Roman valour? But it behooved you to consider the nourisher itself of the world Africa to have been subjected by Roman courage. It is a slave to us which feeds everyone, in our power if the hunger of everyone and the nourishment of the whole world. What nature gave to all, Roman valour has made its property. It defeated Hannibal himself and forced him into exile, whom of the whole world it did not capture, for whom Africa was too narrow, Spain was seen not suitable for lingering, Gallia confined for traveling, Italy unworthy of a treaty of friendship and the partnership of an alliance. Although you throw away what the lightning fought for for you, the celestial powers have fought for, we conquered Hannibal riding the lightning and thundering with the storms of the world itself: the world shook and he beat our walls with arms. Nor truly was it necessary, that our enemies like your Assyrians be killed while sleeping, but fighting. For not in sleep is victory sought, but in battle, it is not a prize of valor when by fortuitous favour. Our enemies not deceived by the redness of waters shining back at the rising of the sun rashly fell upon our troops, from the appearance of scattered blood they thought us killed, but understanding and prepared for battle they covered the fields with their bodies and refilled them with their own blood. What bravery placed you in such great arrogance? Did you not see them to serve you who governed you --- Egypt, which was accustomed to humble you, pays you an annual tribute and provides a path to the regions of India --- to go beyond the world and to seek another world, to join to our empire the secrets of the sea of the sun and the farthest stretches of the ocean and the inhabitants of another world? what? The kingdom of Antiochus, who afflicted you with severe suffering, took away the very right of religion, have we not given that back to you, thinking it more glorious to to rule over kings than to raise up a kingdom? Did not Antioch itself, the seat of your masters, zealously reject its own and choose us as masters? Have not you yourselves fled to us, that you might avoid them as masters? Did we not receive you and defend you against them? We protected you that you might live by your laws, we gave you the freedom to be devoted to your religion. We wished to understand your religious rites but we respected them, afterwards you believed you must rebel. Pompeius captured the temple but he did not destroy it, he seized the city but he preserved it, he saved all the sanctuaries untouched, for which things, o grateful associates, you returned this payment to us, that you waged war for third time. Nero had to be despised, but Roman power was not paid out in one man, but had the soldier Vespasian, who had already recalled the Gauls to peace, who was so strong in battle, that through him even Nero succeeded, through him Nero was formidable to his enemies, he was faithful to his lord, so that alone he did not seek the rule which alone he merited. But Cestius offended. It behooved that the quarrel be put off, not that arms be introduced. My father Vespasian was sent who unexpected was able to pour himself against those unready, he went through Galilaea, he destroyed over a wide area, that you would put aside arrogance, that you would ask for pardon. He exhibited valor and, when he held all men closed in, he went to Egypt, that he might grant an armistice to those becoming reasonable. Our absence made you more arrogant, because you thought us occupied; but we were never so occupied, that we were absent from the world. For even absent we were in attendance and positioned at a distance we took a position nearer. For as the soul in the body makes live all its members, thus Roman foresight is present in all parts of its empire and governs the entire Roman world as if present. But if to every soul that divine force gives the power of managing the body, how much more so to the Roman vigor by which as if one the body of our entire empire is animated, it furnished a certain resource of protecting its vitals. And so you renewed the war which had been suspended. And so my father about to set out for the city Rome that would be taken back from the tyrants separated me from his society lest an executor of his responsibility should be lacking to you. I came to a war with appearance of wasting away, the impression of asking. How many times from your walls have I called back the army? How often have I withdrawn from the inner shrine of your temple? How often have I put out fires? How often have I warned you? But you have never listened. Now finally you are asking, as if now anything might remain such as what has already been consumed? Nevertheless I rouse the soldiers from slaughter burning plundering. What do you want, why do you stand still armed, as if about to give out conditions, not about to receive them? --- if you seek surrender, put down your arms no longer fearing the victors, but proud in defeat and full of arrogance ---so that you ask armed as if you doubt our good faith or threatening war are you yet provoking force? The people have been destroyed. The temple is burning, we hold the city. Surviving what do you hope for unless that life be granted to you? So then put down your arms as if conquered, I will grant you to live, although you do merit it, for you refused to save what are your things with yourselves." Then they began to seek, that to them bound by oath, they at no time would surrender themselves to the Romans, that he would grant them permission of going out through the wall, they would proceed with their families into the desert, yielding the city to the Romans. More enraged by this Titus: "even now," he said, "you impose conditions on us? But defend rather your country, be in attendance at the temple, rise up with all your valor, observe the sacrament of death, because you have rejected life." And at the same time he ordered the Romans to rise up to kill the enemy. Many began to waver to the great indignation of the victors. However the sons of king Iaza surrendered themselves with his brothers and many of the people with them. Nor did Titus, although aroused to anger, revoke his offer in contemplation of the royal summit, but received those fleeing. He made the profit of his sense of duty only however, which is the greatest. For the originators of the rebellion snatched away all the booty of the royal home, so that nothing from it should reach the Romans.

47 At the same time however an attack having been made that they broke into the royal court, rushing two of the Roman soldiers, they killed one man of the foot soldiers, a horseman demanded that he be taken to Simon alleging himself to have, what he insinuated would be remembered to the leader of the rebellion. But led to him when he wove certain untrustworthy things, he was ordered to be killed, while the executioner is delaying, his eyes already bound with a bandage, he tore himself away to the Romans. Who fighting hand to hand received him fleeing. And led to himself Titus as unworthy of the death of a man, who was able to be captured alive by the enemy, stripped of his weapons ordered to be discharged reserving to him what through the idleness of the enemy he had not lost, taking away the oath of military service, because a captive he surrendered, a deserter he was dishonored. That for him was the greatest punishment, among men there are even worse disgraces of military service than wounds of death. The Jews however immediately driven back took themselves to the high part of the city the defense of the temple and the city having been abandoned. A great massacre was enforced against those who had remained, the ways were filled with bodies and the half-dead. Now too Caesar ordered the war machines to be moved to the high places, which seeing the Idumaeans chose men whom they would send to Titus, who would ask him for surrender. That having been learned Simon prevented and intercepted the men chosen for seeking surrender, but the Idumaeans not much later, although disappointed in the assistance of their leaders, when they were unable to hold back the attack longer, surrendered themselves to the Roman army. Thus first starvation and finally despair of resisting accomplished the surrender. Nor did the Romans already weary from the great slaughter deny the concession of life and with eagerness for selling the captive slaves were quick to save their lives. There were many on sale but few buyers, because Romans refused to hold Jews as slaves, nor were Jews left who could buy back their own, since each congratulated himself to have escaped although destitute. And so everywhere they surrendered themselves fear having been removed, inasmuch as robbers were absent, the Romans pardoned them.

48 Finally Jesus, one of the priests the son of Thebutus, surrendered himself and vessels of the priestly services, two lamps, tables, basins and plates and all the gold vessels, and both the curtains and the clothing of the leaders of the priesthood with jewels, a pledge of safety having been accepted, he surrendered willingly. And Fineas was seized also, the keeper of the treasury, he pointed out much purple and scarlet dyed cloth and many other things of the priests, which were being saved for use. With which he handed over also cinnamon, cassia, and many spices and incense, many vessels also of the sacraments and the sacred garments, but forced by fear, from which among his own people it was a crime meriting sale as a slave. However although the wish was lacking, the power ought not to have been lacking. Although generally we judge more sternly, than we are able to guard against, if we dwell in such need, made a minister and proof of betrayal we ought to run away.

49 Already the ramparts had risen up and the battering rams had began to strik the higher wall: on the seventh day of the month, which they call Gorpieum, it came to the end, disordered and terrified the leaders themselves of the factions also, who in extreme dangers behaved insultingly, they each fell on their knees praying for help. It was discerned how pitiable the change was from that terrible and haughty summit into this humble and plebeian degradation, into tears of weeping from fear. Not yet had the wall of the upper city yielded, already they rushed about individually, bewailing that no garrison remained, they thought that the enemy had made entry, many seemed to themselves to see the Romans fighting as if already from the higher locations, what the mind feared the eyes fashioned and the fear in the mind became the appearance of what was seen. Finally believing it certain that the enemy was already pressing upon their necks, to whom the three towers Mariamne et Fasaelus and Equestris much stronger than the rest still remained, they deserted the heights fleeing to underground cellars or hidden caves. Iohannes however not much later emaciated from hunger and weak from fasting surrendered himself to Caesar, who spared for the triumph but tied up in perpetual chains carrying them till death having tested more the spirit of life than a wish to live escaped the executioner's axe. Simon on the other hand as yet hid inside the ruins of the burned out city hiding himself with a few faithful supporters in underground chambers. Caesar had already departed from the burned city considering that Simon had likely been burned up by fire or crushed by a collapse or killed by some soldier. But truly he, as long as food was available, in a dug out pit was digging further, but when both food came to an end and no solution of escaping revealed itself, suddenly he crept out above ground covered with a white and purple garment over his clothing, that he might strike fear into those seeing him, who first orders the astounded Roman soldiers that they should take him to their leader. In that place was Rufus Terentius, whom Titus had left in place as prefect of the soldiers. Who arriving asked who he was first other things, afterwards he confessed himself to be Simon. Whence he was sent to Caesar and was himself saved

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for the triumph. But because he had exercised savage behavior against the citizens and had not surrendered himself to Caesar, he was sentenced to death after the celebration of the triumph. On the eighth day of he month Gorpieium the city was completely burned. Innumerable thousands were killed through all he time of the seige --- most assert ninety myriads --- all Jews however, but not all of the same region and place, for they came together there from all sides at the time of the celebration of Passover. Captives were led away to the number ninety seven thousand, almost all the brigands were immediately killed, those who were the strongest were led through the triumph afterwards thrown to the beasts, given to other punishments through almost all the cities, on the route Titus traveled, that by the punishment of the rebellions he might scatter fear into everyone.

50 At the same time the Alani, a wild people and long unknown, because of the difficulty of their interior location and the barrier of the iron gate, which Alexander the Great established at the summit of the steep mountain, with other wild and fierce tribes were held back within, they resided in Scythicum Tanain and its neighbour and the Meotis marshes as if shut inside a prison and are remembered for the talent of their king, so that they might cultivate their own lands, they did not make raids upon others. But whether because of the barrenness of the place, because the fruitfulness did not answer the wishes of a greedy farmer with the hoped for returns, or because they stirred up the king of the Hyrcanians, who was in charge of the place, with the desire for pillaging, unsure of the tribes because of the reward and the dissension between them, that an unbarred gate would give him the opportunity of a sally. Which having been achieved they poured themselves upon the people of the Medes unprepared in a short time with swift horses and others equally tied to their right hands, upon whom they leaped in turn when it pleased them, they overran almost the entire region, so that at first they threw everything into confusion and gave the appearance of a great multitude, against which no opportunity of escape was open, then all having been beset, then as much slaughter having been put forth as they wished, they took away their booty. For this was a region crowded with people and abounding in cattle, which with no one resisting was easily opened to plundering. Indeed Pacorus himself, the king of the Medes, took himself into hidden places for safety rather than looking out for the kingdom, with the result that his wife and children and concubines taken captive by the Alanians were afterwards ransomed for one hundred talents. Nor was Tiridates, the king of Armenia, exempt from danger, but more on guard against foreign mischief, he foresaw the raid and strongly even wished to go to meet it, that he might turn the enemy from his territories. While he was fighting however caught in a lariat he would have submitted alive into the power of he enemy, if he had not quickly cut through the shapeless knot with a sharpened sword. For with a certain arrogance of their own bravery and a proud disdain for others, at the same time they pretend with great trickery a familiar custom of fighting at a distance to themselves and taking the opportunity of fleeing, the skill of the Alanians and their method of fighting is to hurl nooses and bind up their enemy.

51 And so Tiridates fled, to whom it was sufficient to have escaped. He left his kingdom however to be plundered. For as it were the injury having been received, because he had dared to meet them, they laid waste Armenia more violently than the kingdom of the Medes. And so with the spoils of each rich kingdom they made a retreat to their own country. Whose incursion having been learned Titus traveled to Antioch, slowly however as became one celebrating a triumph, and concealing the reason he celebrated the pomp of victory through each city. Jews were killed in the arena, wherever he went, torn to pieces by beasts they paid out the due reward of rebellion. The gentile people of Antioch also from ancient hatreds inveighed against them, for the reason that the kings of the Persians, had conveyed to the Antiochian synagogues what donations they had claimed from the city of Jerusalem by right of victory having bestowed other things of their own also. And so the piled up wealth easily aroused envy. For as we now omit those things, which rival priests carried on against the Machabaeans and that there was a desire for a great slaughter of the citizens, as we mentioned previously, Antiochus afterwards having arisen not from the common people but lost to custom a crime having been committed, that the Jews had conspired to destroy the city of Antioch by fire, forced to death his own father, who was in the first rank of the Jews, and many others accused by this attack of the gentile multitude. Nor sated with that murder and the slaughter of many he did not rest, but afterwards also having found an excuse, because afterwards it happened that by a chance fire a covered walkway of the same city and a public square and a great part of the buildings were burned, he began to blame the Jews again by the deceit of the aforementioned conspiracy and to attack them. And he would have accomplished the slaughter of almost all, if not that the knowledge kept back from Titus arriving was a fear, that Caesar would be provoked by the punishment unlawfully undertaken of so many. That thing was the saving factor for the Jews.

52 At Masada also many of the Jews relying on the fortification of the place assembled themselves, whose task of assaulting Titus considering beneath him, because he possessed the general-ship, he committed to Silva, to whom he had entrusted the greater task of of the Roman military in these places of taking precautions lest something again of rebellion should arise. He himself hastened to Alexandria and from there he crossed by ship to Rome. Silva diligently pursuing the task imposed upon him destroyed the wall of Masada with the battering ram. They had constructed the interior with wood for the reason that the wall material would not readily yield to the blows of siege machines of this type. But the Romans the manner of fighting having been changed threw fire, which both easily stuck fast to the wood and grew strong without any delay. And so a great roar was produced by the full grown conflagration of the blaze, which at first was driven back from parts of the fortification by the breath of the north wind and instead burned the shelters of the Romans, then the breath of the south wind having arisen turned itself back against the fortress, so that the material having been consumed all that wooden wall opposed burned up. The Romans since night had intervened, secure of victory took themselves into camp, so that on the following day they might vanquish those unprotected and stripped of all help. But so that no one might escape they surrounded the fortress with stationed guards.

53 And so things having been despaired of Eleazarus the originator of the disturbance seeing nothing of a help to be left delivered this speech, which we as a mournful conclusion for finishing the work have not let pass in a rhetorical manner: "What are we to do, men descended from Abraham, a royal race, unconquerable by virtue of priestly favor? For not from the outcome of victory, which is frequently uncertain, but from the steadfastness of a way of life is character seen. From which it is permitted to conclude, because for the enemy to make us subject is fate, not to change your attitude of mind is the act of courage. Rightly therefore I have designated you unconquerable, if no fear of death has as yet conquered you. But not thus did father Abraham instruct you, who in his one son taught, his was not to be death but immortality, if he was sacrificed for his religion. What may I say about Iosias, than whom no one was a better interpreter of religion, a scorner of death, a champion of liberty? For he stationed on that royal dais to whom it was permitted to put off death, however because he saw on account of grave sins there would be captivity of the people of Israel, embroiled himself in another's war, he fled from life. Nechao proclaimed: I am not sent against you, but against the king of Israel. He however did not retreat before he underwent the lethal blow of an arrow. Routed by which wound he is an indication to us, whether in war merit or chance is more important. Iosias the restorer of the holy rites was conquered, Nechao the most wicked of all won, but he the conquered is now with the angels, he the winner is in torment. For who does not know, that the reward for men is not stored in this life, but after the finishing of this struggle? For we run to this, that we may arrive there at the palm, here the struggle, there the reward. Therefore there is not here any favour in a long lifetime. Abel quickly died, Cain survived. Thus there was death for innocence and hardship for life. From that we have come to the same fate, that to live would be a misery, to die would be blessed. For what is life except a prison for the soul which is confined within this prison and adheres to a carnal partner? By whose infirmities it is shaken, by whose labor it is afflicted, by whose wrath it is made weary, by whose lusts it is set on fire, it is vexed by madness, nor bound to the ground can it easily raise itself, mingled with dust, bound with chains, entangled in fetters. Not mediocre however is the power that makes live the body and pours into material incapable of sensation the vigor of feeling, and its soul confers this invisibly to every one, and rules the entire man and carries beyond human frailty, so that it seizes knowledge of the heavenly secrets, as it strains the mind to the future. And so it is not seen in the image and resemblance of its leader, since it is located in the body, not is it discerned with eyes belonging to the body, not is its entrance and exit detected by any act of looking. Representing the image of a divine gift, when it enters it pours in life, when it withdraws from the body it effects death. Where there is the soul there is life, where it is lacking there is death. Whatever it has visited is awakened, whatever it has left behind is immediately loosened and forthwith shrivels up. The dead rises with the infusion of the soul, the living is deprived of life by its departure. Who therefore doubts, that there seems to be in it the result of immortality, whose virtue is to turn aside death? That however is a burden to it, although it redounds to the advantage of another, and what it gives to a body, it takes from itself. For it is made heavy and as it were bends toward the earth with that mortal body. And so the life of the body is the death of the soul, and again the death of the body seems the freedom of the soul. For while we are in the body, our soul serves a wretched servitude which is exiled from paradise and wanders from its leader. When however it has been freed of these fleshly chains, it flies back to that pure and splendid higher place and is in attendance to its lord god and enjoys the dwelling places of the saints and the company of the blessed, it rejoices because it now has no communion with the dead, and has left behind the companionship of the dead body, heavenly grace has breathed upon it, nor does any irritation of human cares disturb it. Quiet is the proof to us, how much grace the soul recovers after the death of the body. With the body put to sleep and its desires and all its commotions as if dead we keep company with the saints more often, we recover what we have lost, and the absent are present with us and the dead live and every grief is at rest, and we approach and talk with god, we become acquainted with the future, there is respite from afflictions, there is freedom for slaves. Therefore because sleeping we dream, dead we gain this, and what in sleep is a phantom, this in death is the possession of truth and the favor of liberty. Whence in some peoples the custom is, that the birth of men is celebrated with wailing, their death with gladness, because they grieve those born to troubles, they rejoice for those who have returned to blessedness, they are in sorrow for the souls of those who have come into servitude, they rejoice for the souls of those who have returned to liberty. The wise men of the inhabitants of India are said, when they have put on the affliction of dying, to testify that they wish to depart and want none to interfere. Then when the state of death has approached, they leap happy upon the burning funeral pile and say farewell to those standing near, the wives grieve as if abandoned, and small children because they are being left behind, others neither bless nor envy because they are hastening to better dwellers, more splendid places, a purer fellowship. What therefore can I think otherwise about you, when even uncivilized peoples have the custom of pursuing liberty? And so you have long been well known to me and prepared to follow the customs of your fathers, which you think must be served neither to the Romans nor to any people but to god alone, who alone is the just and true lord of all, the day has come, who exacts to prove the will with actions and not dishonor the brilliance of ancient innate character, that born in liberty you place yourselves under the despotism of men, especially when it was permitted to you previously to be a slave without peril, now however it is necessary to accept dire punishments with slavery, if we should offer ourselves to be slaves to the empire of the Romans, whom we first of all provoked to war and last still are holding with arms. We did not give the emperor offering peace our hand, we gave it to Silva threatening harshness? O unhappy people, to what hope of this life will we reserve ourselves? So be it, let the enemy forgive. What will it profit, since the displeasure of god is evident? The fires have been turned round from the enemy against us, the breezes of the winds have been changed, the flames turned back, so that our reinforcements were burned down. Who will be able to live with god opposing? There is no place for pardon, but the power of a voluntary death is evident. Why indeed has night intervened, if not that the enemy should not prevent us, that he the wall defence having been burned down should not immediately break in, but that time of exercising a mutual death should be saved to us and it would be permitted to die with our children and relatives, that we not see breathless old people to be dragged off by the Romans, our dear wives to be dragged off for the pleasure of the victor? Let us die together for our country lest surviving we be a reproach of great shame. Whee then shall we flee from the face of god, or where shall we go with the lord of heaven hostile to us? If the mountains fall upon us and hide us with empty caves, how nevertheless will we be able to avoid the anger of such great power? Where indeed shall we go, where god is not, since he is everywhere? Or are they mediocre precedents, by which we are taught, that already for a long time he has been angered against our people on account of our sins, whom he was guarding? Who doubts this, when he considers, that our hands are turned against ourselves, domestic strife has killed more than war? I will not grant to the Romans that they have conquered, nor do they claim this for themselves, who know, that we have almost all been destroyed by our own rather than by another's arms. What Roman arms indeed did the Jews inhabiting Caesarea see, on whose leisure day of the sabbath during the customary celebration of religious rites a multitude of the gentile Caesarea inhabitants by a sudden attack and madness sent from above destroyed twenty thousands burned up, it put all to flight, so that it emptied the entire city? Did not a certain madness fill all Syria, so that Jews and gentiles situated in these same cities and resident aliens connected previously by favor to themselves afterwards clashed between themselves in arms, by which a channel of future victory to the Romans was set up? For what shall I say of Scythopolis? Where the Jews were first straining, that they should forestall the gentile populace, lest something should be plotted against our people according to the example of the other cities. And so the Jews for whom it was suitable the men joined together to fight in battle against the foreigners, on the contrary fought against themselves, so that part of them fought against their kinsmen and neighbours with the gentiles, then they as the reward for

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their labor and blood expended were destroyed by the gentiles, because they prohibited to become gentiles. The inhabitants of Damascus with no reason existing killed eight thousand of the Jews, the Ascalonitans two thousand five hundred. In the city also, which has the name Ptolomais, two thousand were killed. In truth at Alexandria the hatred between the Jews and the the people of the tribes was long standing, for which reason Alexander the Great made use of the zeal of the Jews for making subject the Egyptians, from which the city having been founded privileges were allotted equally to the Jews and Egyptians and [p. 413] different places of residence, so that their religious observances would not be mixed together, who wished to preserve their own purifications without any contagion. From this cause there were frequent conflicts between them. Quarrels arose, judgement was sought; nothing however by means of the great king was proven to have been violated. But afterwards a disturbance having been begun by the gentiles, when some of the Jews were killed, some were held for punishment, the people of the Jews aroused by the injury rose up against the originators of the injury, and when they wished stubbornly to go avenge themselves on the citizens, the Roman army was brought in, which routed the fifty thousand Jews within the city. Truly why do I linger over slight matters, when the destruction of an entire city in the ruin of a single state should be lamented by us? Where is the great city of Jerusalem, where the splendid Zion, where the wonderful temple, where that second tabernacle, the shrine of sanctity, where alone once in the year the chief of the priests was wont to enter not without blood, which he offered for himself and for the transgression of the people? It has been profaned by the people, they who destroyed it live in the remains of the city. Where, I say, are you, a city crowded with people, with august kings, acceptable to god, the seat of grace? Your pavements of marble, your walls shining with marble, your roofs were bright with precious marble, your gates glistening with gold, other places shining with silver. All have been killed, both who inhabited you continuously and who came to you from the parts of the earth of the entire world, so that there is no doubt the entire world to have perished in you. Laid bare laid bare is everything, burnt to ashes from the roofs, overthrown from the foundations, your residence has been made a wilderness nor is there anyone who lives in the tabernacles. And is there anyone whom it pleases to live and whom it does not grieve to have lived? Unfeeling eyes, which are able [p. 414] to see these things, cruel minds, who are able to wish, what remains from such griefs, not that the slaughters have ended, but that still there is no rest. For on what may we cast our eyes or what does it delight to see? The entire city if a tomb of the dead, only ashes meet those looking, the streets are empty of the living filled with bodies. The wretched old people in ash covered old age and torn clothing sit above the remains of the dead covering the bare bones, by which they defend them from the birds and the beasts. A few women at the entrance whom the wicked soldier has saved for indecency, not for life. Who seeing this and thinking on the following days of living would dare to raise his eyes to heaven? Who is so forgetful of his country, of their enemy, averse to pity, free from sweetness, whose soft spirit of the half-man, who is so fearful, whom it does not shame to have been saved for this? Oh would that we had first died, or if life had survived, that the light of our eyes had perished, before we looked upon our sacred city destroyed by the hands of the enemy, and this temple dedicated to god by our ancestors so irreverently burned by flames, or we should see the priests lying dead in the temple. Let us emend therefore that we have outlived these evils, that we appear to have put off death not from the desire for life but from the purpose of manliness. The enemy have walled in every fortification, nothing survives except we and our wives. Already for themselves they put our sons up for public sale, and fight among themselves, who shall lead away whose wife, whether they should be distributed according to the services of the rank of the persons or whether the wretched persons should be forced to undergo a lottery. For us also they are preparing prodigies of punishments, the most exquisite torments, not only burning flames and different deaths by the blow of the avenging axe, a harsh punishment even after the chains, after the prison, after the yoke, but more tolerable to men because it is free from mockery, but even limbs wrenched from the living and especially hands cut off. And not unjustly, because they are wanting their service, who could come to their aid. Undergoing also the jaws of wild animals as a spectacle for the victors, which already celebrated in different arenas of the cities ought to be causing shame to us as a warning or as a wretched practice, that we are saving ourselves either for the beasts or about to fight with our brothers. Why therefore should we delay? There is not a free choice for us which we fear to avoid. If we are unwilling to kill our children because of pity or ourselves because of valor, it will be necessary that we kill our brothers or our neighbours through disgrace. Love persuades this, the victors exact this. If we are unwilling to perform the service of duty, we will be forced to undergo the mockery of a parricidal procession. Let us therefore undertake what will benefit our children and wives. If they are weak, let us remove them from future cruelties, if they are strong let us conquer with the compassion of parents, of the affection of relatives, and in this we defeat the enemy, from whom we remove booty. This manliness exacts, this decency persuades. Not to fear death is bravery. And indeed we ae all born for death and we beget children for death, whose death is attributed to nature, whose captivity is attributed to shame. Therefore those whom we are not able to rescue from danger, let us rescue from mockery. Let you fathers have compassion for your children, husbands for your wives, let us all have compassion for little children, what is especial, for our own, while there is the possibility of offering compassion, that we feel compassion for our own, that we do not seem born and saved for dishonor. Who indeed is able to endure that fathers be killed in the presence of their sons, sons in the sight of their parents, men weary with old age to be dragged to their deaths or what is worse to slavery women with disheveled hair to be led away in view of their husbands and be dragged violently to shame, to hear the voice of a wailing small child calling his father, that he should help him seeking aid, when already [p. 416] hands bound you may hear in vain and captive necks placed under the yoke? Therefore while our hands are still free, while we unsheath our swords, let us approach the task, which the triumphant enemy may marvel at. Let our wives receive the last gift of our conjugal love as a dotal inheritance. We pour back these keys to them as a new testament of family, that they are our heiresses of liberty. They themselves urge this, certainly they deserve what they wish, being forced by what they escape. Nor will the small children fear the sword, which they because of their age do not know, which they ought to receive from their dutiful parents, so that they truly become free. To us also what will be outstanding, if we first burn up the stronghold, let us however spare the grain, lest they think we forced by hunger rather than encouraged by the zeal of valor to have seized the service of mutual slaughter? Let us give them food replete with blood, and if the flames shall burn it, the fumes themselves of the burned crops will be proof that what abounded to the besieged was destroyed by those being besieged. After that each one should offer himself to the wound and about to die defend his country and solicit in rotation with a last embrace. May our country be for us the tomb of freedom, which was the home of self-respect. This mound is fitting for our burials, that we may be protected by the folds of valour." Aroused by such an oration the rest held their swords drawn, they gave kisses to their wives, they took their children in an embrace, shedding tears at the same time and hastening, that they should forestall the enemy, "this to you," he said, "a pledge of love, we give as the solace of a last obligation." And with emotion manfully suppressed they shut out suffering, they finished the slaughter. The fearless wives offered themselves to the wound for the preservation of their chastity. They put on also the courage of their husbands. And so their relatives killed, their children also, they chose the strongest, who would follow up the completion of the killing. And so all were killed, nine hundred sixty with small children and wives. One woman alone survived, who hid five sons in the aqueduct, while the rest stretched out for the last necessity. She awoken to calling at dawn by the arriving Romans was the informer of the activity. Their wealth having been put aside by them earlier fire consumed it.

PSEUDO-HEGESIPPUS ENDS HERE.

THE CHRONOGRAPHY OF SEXTUS JULIUS AFRICANUS

From Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 6.
Compiler and Editor: Philip Schaff
Translation: William Adler, 1869
Edited by Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, 1886
Estimated Range of Dating: 190 - 240 A.D.

(Sextus Julius Africanus (c. 160–240) was a Christian traveler and historian of the late second and early third centuries. He is important chiefly because of his influence on Eusebius, on all the later writers of Church history among the Church Fathers, and on the whole Greek school of chroniclers. The Suidas claims Africanus was a "Libyan philosopher", while Julius called himself a native of Jerusalem. (* The Suidas, Suda or Souda is a large 10th-century Eastern Roman encyclopedia written in Greek, with 30,000 entries, of the ancient Mediterranean world, formerly attributed to an author called Soudas or Souidas.) He lived at the neighbouring Emmaus. Little of Africanus's life is known and all dates are uncertain. He appears to have known Abgar VIII.(176–213). Africanus may have served under the Roman Emperor Septimius Severus. Africanus traveled to Greece and Rome and went to Alexandria to study. He was at one time a soldier and had been a pagan who became a Christian.*

Africanus wrote Chronographiai, a history of the world in five volumes. The entire work is lost with the exception of some copious extracts from it are to be found in the Chronicon of Eusebius, who used it extensively in compiling the early episcopal lists. There are also fragments in George Syncellus, Cedrenus and the Chronicon Paschale. Eusebius gives some extracts from his letter to one Aristides, reconciling the apparent discrepancy between Matthew and Luke in the genealogy of Christ by a reference to the Jewish law of Levirate marriage, which compelled a man to marry the widow of his deceased brother, if the latter died without issue. Africanus also probably wrote an encyclopaedic work entitled Kestoi. A fragment of the Kestoi was found in the Oxyrhynchus papyri.)

THE EPISTLE TO ARISTIDES

(Marcianus Aristides, or Aristides the Athenian, was a 2nd-century Christian Greek author who is primarily known as the author of the Apology of Aristides.)

CHRONOGRAPHY CHAPTER 1

. . . Some indeed incorrectly allege that this discrepant enumeration and mixing of the names both of priestly men, as they think, and royal, was made properly, in order that Christ might be shown rightfully to be both Priest and King; as if any one disbelieved this, or had any other hope than this, that Christ is the High Priest of His Father, who presents our prayers to Him, and a supramundane King, who rules by the Spirit those whom He has delivered, a cooperator in the government of all things. And this is announced to us not by the catalogue of the tribes, nor by the mixing of the registered generations, but by the patriarchs and prophets. Let us not therefore descend to such religious trifling as to establish the kingship and priesthood of Christ by the interchanges of the names. For the priestly tribe of Levi, too, was allied with the kingly tribe of Juda, through the circumstance that Aaron married Elizabeth the l sister of Naasson, and that Eleazar again married the daughter of Phatiel, and begot children. The evangelists, therefore, would thus have spoken falsely, affirming what was not truth, but a fictitious commendation. And for this reason the one traced the pedigree of Jacob the father of Joseph from David through Solomon; the other traced that of Heli also, though in a different way, the father of Joseph, from Nathan the son of David. And they ought not indeed to have been ignorant that both orders of the ancestors enumerated are the generation of David, the royal tribe of Juda. For if Nathan was a prophet, so also was Solomon, and so too the father of both of them; and there were prophets belonging to many of the tribes, but priests belonging to none of the tribes, save the Levites only. To no purpose, then, is this fabrication of theirs. Nor shall an assertion of this kind prevail in the Church of Christ against the exact truth, so as that a lie should be contrived for the praise and glory of Christ. For who does not know that most holy word of the apostle also, who, when he was preaching and proclaiming the resurrection of our Saviour, and confidently affirming the truth, said with great fear, If any say that Christ is not risen, and we assert and have believed this, and both hope for and preach that very thing, we are false witnesses of God, in alleging that He raised up Christ, whom He raised not up? And if he who glorifies God the Father is thus afraid lest he should seem a false witness in narrating a marvellous fact, how should not he be justly afraid, who tries to establish the truth by a false statement, preparing an untrue opinion? For if the generations are different, and trace down no genuine seed to Joseph, and if all has been stated only with the view of establishing the position of Him who was to be born—to confirm the truth, namely, that He who was to be would be king and priest, there being at the same tune no proof given, but the dignity of the words being brought down to a feeble hymn,—it is evident that no praise accrues to God from that, since it is a falsehood, but rather judgement returns on him who asserts it, because he vaunts an unreality as though it were reality. Therefore, that we may expose the ignorance also of him who speaks thus, and prevent any one from stumbling at this folly, I shall set forth the true history of these matters.]

CHRONOGRAPHY CHAPTER 2

For whereas in Israel the names of their generations were enumerated either according to nature or according to law,—according to nature, indeed, by the succession of legitimate offspring, and according to law whenever another raised up children to the name of a brother dying childless; for because no clear hope of resurrection was yet given them, they had a representation of the future promise in a kind of mortal resurrection, with the view of perpetuating the name of one deceased;—whereas, then, of those entered in this genealogy, some succeeded by legitimate descent as son to father, while others begotten in one family were introduced to another in name, mention is therefore made of both—of those who were progenitors in fact, and of those who were so only in name. Thus neither of the evangelists is in error, as the one reckons by nature and the other by law. For the several generations, viz., those descending from Solomon and those from Nathan, were so intermingled by the raising up of children to the childless, and by second marriages, and the raising up of seed, that the same persons are quite justly reckoned to belong at one time to the one, and at another to the other, i.e., to their reputed or to their actual fathers. And hence it is that both

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these accounts are true, and come down to Joseph, with considerable intricacy indeed, but yet quite accurately.

CHRONOGRAPHY CHAPTER 3

But in order that what I have said may be made evident, I shall explain the interchange of the generations. If we reckon the generations from David through Solomon, Matthan is found to be the third from the end, who begot Jacob the father of Joseph. But if, with Luke, we reckon them from Nathan the son of David, in like manner the third from the end is Melchi, whose son was Heli the father of Joseph. For Joseph was the son of Hell, the son of Melchi. As Joseph, therefore, is the object proposed to us, we have to show how it is that each is represented as his father, both Jacob as descending from Solomon, and Heli as descending from Nathan: first, how these two, Jacob and Heli, were brothers; and then also how the fathers of these, Matthan and Melchi, being of different families, are shown to be the grandfathers of Joseph. Well, then, Matthan and Melchi, having taken the same woman to wife in succession, begot children who were uterine brothers, as the law did not prevent a widow, whether such by divorce or by the death of her husband, from marrying another. By Estha, then—for such is her name according to tradition—Matthan first, the descendant of Solomon, begets Jacob; and on Matthan's death, Melchi, who traces his descent back to Nathan, being of the same tribe but of another family, having married her, as has been already said, had a son Hell. Thus, then, we shall find Jacob and Hell uterine brothers, though of different families. And of these, the one Jacob having taken the wife of his brother Heli, who died childless, begot by her the third, Joseph—his son by nature and by account. Whence also it is written, And Jacob begot Joseph. But according to law he was the son of Heli, for Jacob his brother raised up seed to him. Wherefore also the genealogy deduced through him will not be made void, which the Evangelist Matthew in his enumeration gives thus: And Jacob begot Joseph. But Luke, on the other hand, says, Who was the son, as was supposed (for this, too, he adds), of Joseph, the son of Heli, the son of Metchi. For it was not possible more distinctly to state the generation according to law; and thus in this mode of generation he has entirely omitted the word begot to the very end, carrying back the genealogy by way of conclusion to Adam and to God.

CHRONOGRAPHY CHAPTER 4

Nor indeed is this incapable of proof, neither is it a rash conjecture. For the kinsmen of the Saviour after the flesh, whether to magnify their own origin or simply to state the fact, but at all events speaking truth, have also handed down the following account: Some Idumean robbers attacking Ascalon, a city of Palestine, besides other spoils which they took from a temple of Apollo, which was built near the walls, carried off captive one Antipater, son of a certain Herod, a servant of the temple. And as the priest was not able to pay the ransom for his son, Antipater was brought up in the customs of the Idumeans, and afterwards enjoyed the friendship of Hyrcanus, the high priest of Judea. And being sent on an embassy to Pompey on behalf of Hyrcanus. and having restored to him the kingdom which was being wasted by Aristobulus his brother, he was so fortunate as to obtain the title of procurator of Palestine. And when Antipater was treacherously slain through envy of his great good fortune, his son Herod succeeded him, who was afterwards appointed king of Judea under Antony and Augustus by a decree of the senate. His sons were Herod and the other tetrarchs. These accounts are given also in the histories of the Greeks.

CHRONOGRAPHY CHAPTER 5

But as up to that time the genealogies of the Hebrews had been registered in the public archives, and those, too, which were traced back to the proselytes —as, for example, to Achior the Ammanite, and Ruth the Moabitess, and those who left Egypt along with the Israelites, and intermarried with them—Herod, knowing that the lineage of the Israelites contributed nothing to him, and goaded by the consciousness of his ignoble birth, burned the registers of their families. This he did, thinking that he would appear to be of noble birth, if no one else could trace back his descent by the public register to the patriarchs or proselytes, and to that mixed race called georae. A few, however, of the studious, having private records of their own, either by remembering the names or by getting at them in some other way from the archives, pride themselves in preserving the memory of their noble descent; and among these happen to be those already mentioned, called desposyni, on account of their connection with the family of the Saviour. And these coming from Nazara and Cochaba, Judean villages, to other parts of the country, set forth the above-named genealogy as accurately as possible from the Book of Days. Whether, then, the case stand thus or not, no one could discover a more obvious explanation, according to my own opinion and that of any sound judge. And let this suffice us for the matter, although it is not supported by testimony, because we have nothing more satisfactory or true to allege upon it. The Gospel, however, in any case states the truth.

CHRONOGRAPHY CHAPTER 6

Matthan, descended from Solomon, begot Jacob. Matthan dying, Melchi, descended from Nathan, begot Hell by the same wife. Therefore Hell and Jacob are uterine brothers. Hell dying childless, Jacob raised up seed to him and begot Joseph, his own son by nature, but the son of Hell by law. Thus Joseph was the son of both.

NARRATIVE OF EVENTS HAPPENING IN PERSIA ON THE BIRTH OF CHRIST

(The best introduction to this production will be the following preface, as given in Migne:—Many men of learning thus far have been of opinion that the narrative by Africanus of events happening in Persia on Christ's birth, is a fragment of that famous work which Sextus Julius Africanus, a Christian author of the third century after Christ, composed on the history of the world in the chronological order of events up to the reign of Macrinus, and presented in five books to Alexander, son of Mammaea, with the view of obtaining the restoration of his native town Emmaus. With the same expectation which I see incited Lambecius and his compendiator Nesselius, I, too, set myself with the greatest eagerness to go over the codices of our Electoral Library.… But, as the common proverb goes, I found coals instead of treasure. This narrative, so far from its being to be ascribed to a writer well reputed by the common voice of antiquity, does not contain anything worthy of the genius of the chronographer Africanus. Wherefore, since by the unanimous testimony of the ancients he was a man of consummate learning and sharpest judgement, while the author of the Cesti, which also puts forward the name of Africanus, has been long marked by critics with the character either of anile credulity, or of a marvellous propensity to superstitious fancies, I can readily fall in with the opinion of those who think that he is a different person from the chronographer, and would ascribe this wretched production also to him. But, dear reader, on perusing these pages, if your indignation is not stirred against the man's rashness, you will at least join with me in laughing at his prodigious follies, and will learn, at the same time, that the testimonies of men most distinguished for learning are not to be rated so highly as to supersede personal examination when opportunity permits.)

Events in Persia: on the Incarnation of Our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ

Christ first of all became known from Persia. For nothing escapes the learned jurists of that country, who investigate all things with the utmost care. The facts, therefore, which are inscribed upon the golden plates, and laid up in the royal temples, I shall record; for it is from the temples there, and the priests connected with them, that the name of Christ has been heard of. Now there is a temple there to Juno, surpassing even the royal palace, which temple Cyrus, that prince instructed in all piety, built, and in which he dedicated in honour of the gods golden and silver statues, and adorned them with precious stones,—that I may not waste words in a profuse description of that ornamentation. Now about that time (as the records on the plates testify), the king having entered the temple, with the view of getting an interpretation of certain dreams, was addressed by the priest Prupupius thus: I congratulate you, master: Juno has conceived. And the king, smiling, said to him, Has she who is dead conceived? And he said, Yes, she who was dead has come to life again, and besets life. And the king said, What is this? Explain it to me. And he replied, In truth, master, the time for these things is at hand. For during the whole night the images, both of gods and goddesses, continued heating the-ground, saying to each other, Come, let us congratulate Juno. And they say to me, Prophet, come forward; congratulate Juno, for she has been embraced. And I said, How can she be embraced who no longer exists? To which they reply, She has come to life again, and is no longer called Juno, but Urania. For the mighty Sol has embraced her. Then the goddesses say to the gods, making the matter plainer, Pege is she who is embraced; for did not Juno espouse an artificer? And the gods say, That she is rightly called Pege, we admit. Her name, moreover, is Myria; for she bears in her womb, as in the deep, a vessel of a myriad talents' burden. And as to this title Pege, let it be understood thus: This stream of water sends forth the perennial stream of spirit,—a stream containing but a single fish, taken with the hook of Divinity, and sustaining the whole world with its flesh as though it were in the sea. You have well said, She has an artificer [in espousal]; but by that espousal she does not bear an artificer on an equality with herself. For this artificer who is born, the son of the chief artificer, framed by his excellent skill the roof of the third heavens, and established by his word this lower world, with its threefold sphere of habitation.

Thus, then, the statues disputed with each other concerning Juno and Pege, and [at length] with one voice they said: When the day is finished. we all, gods and goddesses, shall know the matter clearly. Now, therefore, master, tarry for the rest of the day. For the matter shall certainly come to pass. For that which emerges is no common affair.

And when the king abode there and watched the statues, the harpers of their own accord began to strike their harps, and the misses to sing; and whatsoever creatures were within, whether quadruped or fowl, in silver and gold, uttered their several voices. And as the king shuddered, and was filled with great fear, he was about to retire. For he could not endure the spontaneous tumult. The priest therefore said to him, Remain, O king, for the full revelation is at hand which the God of gods has chosen to declare to us.

And when these things were said, the roof was opened, and a bright star descended and stood above the pillar of Pege, and a voice was heard to this effect: Sovereign Pege, the mighty Son has sent me to make the announcement to you, and at the same time to do you service in parturition, designing blameless nuptials with you, O mother of the chief of all ranks of being, bride of the triune Deity. And the child begotten by extraordinary generation is called the Beginning and the End,—the beginning of salvation, and the end of perdition.

And when this word was spoken, all the statues fell upon their faces, that of Pege alone standing, on which also a royal diadem was found placed, having on its upper side a star set in a carbuncle and an emerald. And on its lower side the star rested.

And the king immediately gave orders to bring in all the interpreters of prodigies, and the sages who were under his dominion. And when all the heralds sped with their proclamations, all these assembled in the temple. And when they saw the star above Pege, and the diadem with the star and the stone, and the statues lying on the floor, they said: O king, a root (offspring) divine and princely has risen, bearing the image of the King of heaven and earth. For Pege-Myria is the daughter of the Bethlehemite Pege. And the diadem is the mark of a king, and the star is a celestial announcement of portents to fall on the earth. Out of Judah has arisen a kingdom which shall subvert all the memorials of the Jews. And the prostration of the gods upon the floor prefigured the end of their honour. For he who comes, being of more ancient dignity, shall displace all the recent. Now therefore, O king, send to Jerusalem. For you will find the Christ of the Omnipotent God borne in bodily form in the bodily arms of a woman. And the star remained above the statue of Pege, called the Celestial, until the wise men came forth, and then it went with them.

And then, in the depth of evening, Dionysus appeared in the temple, unaccompanied by the Satyrs, and said to the images: Pege is not one of us, but stands far above us, in that she gives birth to a man whose conception is in divine fashion. O priest Prupupius! What are you doing tarrying here? An action, indicated in writings of old, has come upon us, and we shall be convicted as false by a person of power and energy. Wherein we have been deceivers, we have been deceivers; and wherein we have ruled, we have ruled. No longer give we oracular responses. Gone from us is our honour. Without glory and reward are we become. There is One, and One only, who receives again at the hands of all His proper honour. For the rest, be not disturbed. No longer shall the Persians exact tribute of earth and sky. For He who established these things is at hand, to bring practical tribute to Him who sent Him, to renew the ancient image, and to put image with image, and bring the dissimilar to similarity. Heaven rejoices with earth, and earth itself exults at receiving matter of exultation from heaven. Things which have not happened above, have happened on earth beneath. He whom the order of the blessed has not seen, is seen by the order of the miserable. Flame threatens those; dew attends these. To Myria is given the blessed lot of bearing Pege in Bethlehem, and of conceiving grace of grace. Judaea has seen its bloom, and this country is fading. To Gentiles and aliens, salvation has come; to the wretched, relief is ministered abundantly. With right do women dance, and say, Lady Pege, Spring-bearer, you mother of the heavenly constellation. You cloud that brings us dew after heat, remember your dependents, O mistress.

The king then, without delay, sent some of the Magi under his dominion with gifts, the star showing them the way. And when they returned, they narrated to the men of that time those same things which were also written on the plates of gold, and which were to the following effect:—

When we came to Jerusalem, the sign, together with our arrival, roused all the people. How is this, say they, that wise men of the Persians are here, and that along with them there is this strange stellar phenomenon? And the chief of the Jews interrogated us in this way: What is this that attends you, and with what purpose are you here? And we said: He whom you call Messias is born. And they were confounded, and dared not withstand us. But they said to us, By the justice of Heaven, tell us what you know of this matter. And we made answer to them: You labour under unbelief; and neither without an oath nor with an oath do you believe us, but you follow your own heedless counsel. For the Christ, the Son of the Most High, is born, and He is the subverter of your law and synagogues.

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And therefore is it that, struck with this most excellent response as with a dart, you hear in bitterness this name which has come upon you suddenly.And they then, taking counsel together, urged us to accept their gifts, and tell to none that such an event had taken place in that land of theirs, lest, as they say, a revolt rise against us. But we replied: We have brought gifts in His honour, with the view of proclaiming those mighty things which we know to have happened in our country on occasion of His birth; and do you bid us take your bribes, and conceal the things which have been communicated to us by the Divinity who is above the heavens, and neglect the commandments of our proper King? And after urging many considerations on us, they gave the matter up. And when the king of Judaea sent for us and had some converse with us, and put to us certain questions as to the statements we made to him, we acted in the same manner, until he was thoroughly enraged at our replies. We left him accordingly, without giving any greater heed to him than to any common person.

And we came to that place then to which we were sent, and saw the mother and the child, the star indicating to us the royal babe. And we said to the mother: What are you named, O renowned mother? And she says: Mary, masters. And we said to her: From where are you sprung? And she replies: From this district of the Bethlehemites. Then said we: Have you not had a husband? And she answers: I was only betrothed with a view to the marriage covenant, my thoughts being far removed from this. For I had no mind to come to this. And while I was giving very little concern to it, when a certain Sabbath dawned, and straightway at the rising of the sun, an angel appeared to me bringing me suddenly the glad tidings of a son. And in trouble I cried out, Be it not so to me, Lord, for I have not a husband. And he persuaded me to believe, that by the will of God I should have this son.

Then said we to her: Mother, mother, all the gods of the Persians have called you blessed. Your glory is great; for you are exalted above all women of renown, and you are shown to be more queenly than all queens.

The child, moreover, was seated on the ground, being, as she said, in His second year, and having in part the likeness of His mother. And she had long hands, and a body somewhat delicate; and her color was like that of ripe wheat; and she was of a round face, and had her hair bound up. And as we had along with us a servant skilled in painting from the life, we brought with us to our country a likeness of them both; and it was placed by our hand in the sacred temple, with this inscription on it: To Jove the Sun, the mighty God, the King of Jesus, the power of Persia dedicated this.

And taking the child up, each of us in turn, and bearing Him in our arms, we saluted Him and worshipped Him, and presented to Him gold, and myrrh, and frankincense, addressing Him thus: We gift You with Your own, O Jesus, Ruler of heaven. Ill would things unordered be ordered, were You not at hand. In no other way could things heavenly be brought into conjunction with things earthly, but by Your descent. Such service cannot be discharged, if only the servant is sent us, as when the Master Himself is present; neither can so much be achieved when the king sends only his satraps to war, as when the king is there himself. It became the wisdom of Your system, that You should deal in this manner with men.

And the child leaped and laughed at our caresses and words. And when we had bidden the mother farewell, and when she had shown us honour, and we had testified to her the reverence which became us, we came again to the place in which we lodged. And at eventide there appeared to us one of a terrible and fearful countenance, saying: Get out quickly, lest you be taken in a snare. And we in terror said: And who is he, O divine leader, that plots against so august an embassage? And he replied: Herod; but get up straightway and depart in safety and peace.

And we made speed to depart thence in all earnestness; and we reported in Jerusalem all that we had seen. Behold, then, the great things that we have told you regarding Christ; and we saw Christ our Saviour, who was made known as both God and man. To Him be the glory and the power unto the ages of the ages. Amen.

THE PASSION OF ST. SYMPHOROSA AND HER SEVEN SONS

(The text is given from the edition of Ruinart. His preface, which Migne also cites, is as follows: The narrative of the martyrdom of St. Symphorosa and her seven sons, which we here publish, is ascribed in the mss. to Julius Africanus, a writer of the highest repute. And it may perhaps have been inserted in his books on Chronography,—a work which Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. vi. 31) testifies to have been written with the greatest care, since in these he detailed the chief events in history from the foundation of the world to the times of the Emperor Heliogabalus. As that work, however, is lost, that this narrative is really to be ascribed to Africanus, I would not venture positively to assert, although at the same time there seems no ground for doubting its genuineness. We print it, moreover, from the editions of Mombritius, Surius, and Cardulus, collated with two Colbert mss. and one in the library of the Sorbonne. The occasion for the death of these saints was found in the vicinity of that most famous palace which was built by Adrian at his country seat at Tiber, according to Spartianus. For when the emperor gave orders that this palace, which he had built for his pleasure, should be purified by some piacular ceremonies, the priests seized this opportunity for accusing Symphorosa, alleging that the gods would not be satisfied until Symphorosa should either sacrifice to them or be herself sacrificed; which last thing was done by Hadrian, whom, from many others of his deeds, we know to have been exceedingly superstitious, about the year of Christ 120, that is, about the beginning of his reign, at which period indeed, as Dio Cassius observes, that emperor put a great number to death. The memory of these martyrs, moreover, is celebrated in all the most ancient martyrologies, although they assign different days for it. The Roman, along with Notker, fixes their festival for the 18th July, Rabanus for the 21st of the same month, Usuardus and Ado for the 21st June. In the Tiburtine road there still exists the rubbish of an old church, as Aringhi states (Rom. Subter., iv. 17), which was consecrated to God under their name, and which still retains the title, To the Seven Brothers. I have no doubt that it was built in that place to which the pontiffs in the Acta, sec. iv., gave the name, To the Seven Biothanati, i.e., those cut off by a violent death, as Baronius remarks, at the year 138. So far Ruinart: see also Tillemont, Mem. Eccles., ii. pp. 241 and 595; and the Bollandists, Act. S.S. Funii, vol. iv. p. 350.)

1. When Adrian had built a palace, and wished to dedicate it by that wicked ceremonial, and began to seek responses by sacrifices to idols, and to the demons that dwell in idols, they replied, and said: The widow Symphorosa, with her seven sons, wounds us day by day in invoking her God. If she therefore, together with her sons, shall offer sacrifice, we promise to make good all that you ask. Then Adrian ordered her to be seized, along with her sons, and advised them in courteous terms to consent to consent to offer sacrifice to the idols. To him, however, the blessed Symphorosa answered: My husband Getulius, together with his brother Amantius, when they were tribunes in your service, suffered different punishments for the name of Christ, rather than consent to sacrifice to idols. and, like good athletes, they overcame your demons in death. For, rather than be prevailed on, they chose to be beheaded, and suffered death: which death, being endured for the name of Christ, gained them temporal ignominy indeed among men of this earth, but everlasting honour and glory among the angels; and moving now among them, and exhibiting trophies of their sufferings, they enjoy eternal life with the King eternal in the heavens.

2. The Emperor Adrian said to the holy Symphorosa: Either sacrifice along with your sons to the omnipotent gods, or else I shall cause you to be sacrificed yourself, together with your sons. The blessed Symphorosa answered: And whence is this great good to me, that I should be deemed worthy along with my sons to be offered as an oblation to God? The Emperor Adrian said: I shall cause you to be sacrificed to my gods. The blessed Symphorosa replied: Your gods cannot take me in sacrifice; but if I am burned for the name of Christ, my God, I shall rather consume those demons of yours. The Emperor Adrian said: Choose one of these alternatives: either sacrifice to my gods, or perish by an evil death. The blessed Symphorosa replied: You think that my mind can be altered by some kind of terror; whereas I long to rest with my husband Getulius, [Some versions give his name as "Zoticus"] whom you put to death for Christ's name. Then the Emperor Adrian ordered her to be taken to the temple of Hercules, and there first to be beaten with blows on the cheek, and afterwards to be suspended by the hair. But when by no argument and by no terror could he divert her from her good resolution, he ordered her to be thrown into the river with a large stone fastened to her neck. And her brother Eugenius, principal of the district of Tiber, picked up her body, and buried it in a suburb of the same city.

3. Then, on another day, the Emperor Adrian ordered all her seven sons to be brought before him in company; and when he had challenged them to sacrifice to idols, and perceived that they yielded by no means to his threats and terrors, he ordered seven stakes to be fixed around the temple of Hercules, and commanded them to be stretched on the blocks there. And he ordered Crescens, the first, to be transfixed in the throat; and Julian, the second, to be stabbed in the breast; and Nemesius, the third, to be struck through the heart; and Primitivus, the fourth, to be wounded in the navel; and Justin, the fifth, to be struck through in the back with a sword; and Stracteus, the sixth, to be wounded in the side; and Eugenius, the seventh, to be split in two from the head downwards.

4. The next day again the Emperor Adrian came to the temple of Hercules, and ordered their bodies to be carried off together, and cast into a deep pit; and the pontiffs gave to that place the name, To the Seven Biothanati. After these things the persecution ceased for a year and a half, in which period the holy bodies of all the martyrs were honoured, and consigned with all care to tumuli erected for that purpose, and their names are written in the book of life. The natal day, moreover, of the holy martyrs of Christ, the blessed Symphorosa and her seven sons, Crescens, Julian, Nemesius, Primitivus, Justin, Stracteus, and Eugenius, is held on the 18th July. Their bodies rest on the Tiburtine road, at the eighth mile-stone from the city, under the kingship of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom is honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

THE FRAGMENTS OF THE CHRONOGRAPHY:

CHRONOGRAPHY FRAGMENT 1

(In Georgius Syncellus, Chronography, p. 17, ed. Paris, 14 Venet.)

On the Mythical Chronology of the Egyptians and Chaldeans.

The Egyptians, indeed, with their boastful notions of their own antiquity, have put forth a sort of account of it by the hand of their astrologers in cycles and myriads of years; which some of those who have had the repute of studying such subjects profoundly have in a summary way called lunar years; and inclining no less than others to the mythical, they think they fall in with the eight or nine thousands of years which the Egyptian priests in Plato falsely reckon up to Solon.

(And after some other matter:)

For why should I speak of the three myriad years of the Phœnicians, or of the follies of the Chaldeans, their forty-eight myriads? For the Jews, deriving their origin from them as descendants of Abraham, having been taught a modest mind, and one such as becomes men, together with the truth by the spirit of Moses, have handed down to us, by their extant Hebrew histories, the number of 5500 years as the period up to the advent of the Word of salvation, that was announced to the world in the time of the sway of the Caesars.

CHRONOGRAPHY FRAGEMENT 2

(In Georgius Syncellus, Chronography, p. 19, al. 15.)

When men multiplied on the earth, the angels of heaven came together with the daughters of men. In some copies I found “the sons of God.” What is meant by the Spirit, in my opinion, is that the descendants of Seth are called the sons of God on account of the righteous men and patriarchs who have sprung from him, even down to the Saviour Himself; but that the descendants of Cain are named the seed of men, as having nothing divine in them, on account of the wickedness of their race and the inequality of their nature, being a mixed people, and having stirred the indignation of God. But if it is thought that these refer to angels, we must take them to be those who deal with magic and jugglery, who taught the women the motions of the stars and the knowledge of things celestial, by whose power they conceived the giants as their children, by whom wickedness came to its height on the earth, until God decreed that the whole race of the living should perish in their impiety by the deluge.

CHRONOGRAPHY FRAGMENT 3

(In Georgius Syncellus, Chronography, p. 81, al. 65.)

Adam, when 230 years old, begets Seth; and after living other 700 years he died, that is, a second death.

Seth, when 205 years old, begot Enos; from Adam therefore to the birth of Enos there are 435 years in all.

Enos, when 190 years old, begets Cainan.

Cainan again, when 170 years old, begets Malaleel;

And Malaleel, when 165 years old; begets Jared;

And Jared, when 162 years old, begets Enoch;

And Enoch, when 165 years old, begets Mathusala; and having pleased God, after a life of other 200 years, he was not found.

Mathusala, when 187 years old, begot Lamech.

Lamech, when 188 years old, begets Noe.

CHRONOGRAPHY FRAGMENT 4

(In Georgius Syncellus, Chronography, p. 21, al. 17.)

On the Deluge.

God decreed to destroy the whole race of the living by a flood, having threatened that men should not survive beyond 120 years. Nor let it be deemed a matter of difficulty, because some lived afterwards a longer period than that. For the space of time meant was 100 years up to the flood in the case of the sinners of that time; for they were 20 years old. God instructed Noe, who pleased him on account of his righteousness, to prepare an ark; and when it was finished, there entered it Noe himself and his sons, his wife and his daughters-in-law, and firstlings of every living creature, with a view to the duration of the race. And Noe was 600 years old when the flood came on. And when the water abated, the ark settled on the mountains of Ararat, which we know to be in Parthia [today in Armenia]; but some say that they are at Celaenae [today called Mount Ararat] of Phrygia, and I have seen both places. And the flood prevailed for a year, and then the earth became dry. And they came out of the ark in pairs, as may be found, and not in the manner in which they had entered, viz., distinguished according to their species, and

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were blessed by God. And each of these things indicates something useful to us.

CHRONOGRAPHY FRAGMENT 5
(In Georgius Syncellus, Chronography, p. 83, al. 67.)

Noe was 600 years old when the flood came on. From Adam, therefore, to Noe and the flood, are 2262 years.

CHRONOGRAPHY FRAGMENT 6
(In Georgius Syncellus, Chronography, p. 86, al. 68.)
And after the flood, Sem begot Arphaxad.
Arphaxad, when 135 years old, begets Sala in the year 2397.
Sala, when 130 years old, begets Heber in the year 2527.
Heber, when 134 years old, begets Phalec in the year 2661, so called because the earth was divided in his days.
Phalec, when 130 years old, begot Ragan, and after living other 209 years died.

CHRONOGRAPHY FRAGMENT 7
(In Georgius Syncellus, Chronography, p. 93, al. 74.)
In the year of the world 3277, Abraham entered the promised land of Canaan.

CHRONOGRAPHY FRAGMENT 8
(In Georgius Syncellus, Chronography, p. 99, al. 79.)
Of Abraham.
From this rises the appellation of the Hebrews. For the word Hebrews is interpreted to mean those who migrate across, viz., who crossed the Euphrates with Abraham; and it is not derived, as some think, from the fore-mentioned Heber. From the flood and Noe, therefore, to Abraham's entrance into the promised land, there are in all 1015 years; and from Adam, in 20 generations 3277 years.

CHRONOGRAPHY FRAGMENT 9
(In Georgius Syncellus, Chronography, p. 100, al. 80.)
Of Abraham and Lot.
When a famine pressed the land of Canaan, Abraham came down to Egypt; and fearing lest he should be put out of the way on account of the beauty of his wife, he pretended that he was her brother. But Pharaoh took her to himself when she was commended to him; for this is the name the Egyptians give their kings. And he was punished by God; and Abraham, along with all pertaining to him, was dismissed enriched. In Canaan, Abraham's shepherds and Lot's contended with each other; and with mutual consent they separated, Lot choosing to dwell in Sodom on account of the fertility and beauty of the land, which had five cities, Sodom, Gomorrah, Adama, Seboim, Segor, and as many kings. On these their neighbours the four Syrian kings made war, whose leader was Chodollogomor king of AElam. And they met by the Salt Sea, which is now called the Dead Sea. In it I have seen very many wonderful things. For that water sustains no living thing, and dead bodies are carried beneath its depths, while the living do not readily even dip under it. Lighted torches are borne upon it, but when extinguished they sink. And there are the springs of bitumen; and it yields alum and salt a little different from the common kinds, for they are pungent and transparent. And wherever fruit is found about it, it is found full of a thick, foul smoke. And the water acts as a cure to those who use it, and it is drained in a manner contrary to any other water. And if it had not the river Jordan feeding it like a shell, and to a great extent withstanding its tendency, it would have failed more rapidly than appears. There is also by it a great quantity of the balsam plant; but it is supposed to have been destroyed by God on account of the impiety of the neighbouring people.

CHRONOGRAPHY FRAGMENT 10
(In Georgius Syncellus, Chronography, p. 107, al. 86.)
Of the Patriarch Jacob.
1 The shepherd's tent belonging to Jacob, which was preserved at Edessa to the time of Antonine Emperor of the Romans, was destroyed by a thunderbolt.
2 Jacob, being displeased at what had been done by Symeon and Levi at Shecem against the people of the country, on account of the violation of their sister, buried at Shecem the gods which he had with him near a rock under the wonderful terebinth, which up to this day is reverenced by the neighbouring people in honour of the patriarchs, and removed thence to Bethel. By the trunk of this terebinth there was an altar on which the inhabitants of the country offered ectenae in their general assemblies; and though it seemed to be burned, it was not consumed. Near it is the tomb of Abraham and Isaac. And some say that the staff of one of the angels who were entertained by Abraham was planted there.

CHRONOGRAPHY FRAGMENT 11
(In Georgius Syncellus, Chronography, p. 106, al 85.)
From Adam, therefore, to the death of Joseph, according to this book, are 23 generations, and 3563 years.

CHRONOGRAPHY FRAGMENT 12
(In Georgius Syncellus, Chronography, p. 148, al. 118, from the Third Book of the Chronography of Africanus.)
From this record, therefore, we affirm that Ogygus, from whom the first flood (in Attica) derived its name, and who was saved when many perished, lived at the time of the exodus of the people from Egypt along with Moses. [. . .]: And after Ogygus, on account of the vast destruction caused by the flood, the present land of Attica remained without a king till the time of Cecrops, 189 years. Philochorus, however, affirms that Ogygus, Actaeus, or whatever other fictitious name is adduced, never existed. [. . .]: From Ogygus to Cyrus, as from Moses to his time, are 1235 years.

CHRONOGRAPHY FRAGMENT 13
(From Georgius Syncellus, Chronography, Third Book. In Euseb., Praepar., x. 40.)
1 Up to the time of the Olympiads there is no certain history among the Greeks, all things before that date being confused, and in no way consistent with each other. But these Olympiads were thoroughly investigated by many, as the Greeks made up the records of their history not according to long spaces, but in periods of four years. For which reason I shall select the most remarkable of the mythical narratives before the time of the first Olympiad, and rapidly run over them. But those after that period, at least those that are notable, I shall take together, Hebrew events in connection with Greek, according to their dates, examining carefully the affairs of the Hebrews, and touching more cursorily on those of the Greeks; and my plan will be as follows: Taking up some single event in Hebrew history synchronous with another in Greek history, and keeping by it as the main subject, subtracting or adding as may seem needful in the narrative, I shall note what Greek or Persian of note, or remarkable personage of any other nationality, flourished at the date of that event in Hebrew history; and thus I may perhaps attain the object which I propose to myself.
2 The most famous exile that befell the Hebrews, then—to wit, when they were led captive by Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon—lasted 70 years, as Jeremias had prophesied. Berosus the Babylonian, moreover, makes mention of Nabuchodonosor. And after the 70 years of captivity, Cyrus became king of the Persians at the time of the 55th Olympiad, as may be ascertained from the Bibliothecae of Diodorus and the histories of Thallus and Castor, and also from Polybius and Phlegon, and others besides these, who have made the Olympiads a subject of study. For the date is a matter of agreement among them all. And Cyrus then, in the first year of his reign, which was the first year of the 55th Olympiad, effected the first partial restoration of the people by the hand of Zorobabel, with whom also was Jesus the son of Josedec, since the period of 70 years was now fulfilled, as is narrated in Esdra the Hebrew historian. The narratives of the beginning of the sovereignty of Cyrus and the end of the captivity accordingly coincide. And thus, according to the reckoning of the Olympiads, there will be found a like harmony of events even to our time. And by following this, we shall also make the other narratives fit in with each other in the same manner.
3 But if the Attic time-reckoning is taken as the standard for affairs prior to these, then from Ogygus, who was believed by them to be an autochthon, in whose time also the first great flood took place in Attica, while Phoroneus reigned over the Argives, as Acusilaus relates, up to the date of the first Olympiad, from which period the Greeks thought they could fix dates accurately, there are altogether 1020 years; which number both coincides with the above-mentioned, and will be established by what follows. For these things are also recorded by the [Athenian] historians Hellanicus and Philochorus, who record Attic affairs; and by Castor and Thallus, who record Syrian affairs; and by Diodorus, who writes a universal history in his Bibliothecae; and by Alexander Polyhistor, and by some of our own time, yet more carefully, and by all the Attic writers. Whatever narrative of note, therefore, meets us in these 1020 years, shall be given in its proper place.
4 In accordance with this writing, therefore, we affirm that Ogygus, who gave his name to the first flood, and was saved when many perished, lived at the time of the exodus of the people from Egypt along with Moses. And this we make out in the following manner. From Ogygus up to the first Olympiad already mentioned, it will be shown that there are 1020 years; and from the first Olympiad to the first year of the 55th, that is the first year of King Cyrus, which was also the end of the captivity, are 217 years. From Ogygus, therefore, to Cyrus are 1237. And if one carries the calculation backwards from the end of the captivity, there are 1237 years. Thus, by analysis, the same period is found to the first year of the exodus of Israel under Moses from Egypt, as from the 55th Olympiad to Ogygus, who founded Eleusis. And from this point we get a more notable beginning for Attic chronography.
5 So much, then, for the period prior to Ogygus. And at his time Moses left Egypt. And we demonstrate in the following manner how reliable is the statement that this happened at that date. From the exodus of Moses up to Cyrus, who reigned after the captivity, are 1237 years. For the remaining years of Moses are 40. The years of Jesus, who led the people after him, are 25; those of the elders, who were judges after Jesus, are 30; those of the judges, whose history is given in the book of Judges, are 490; those of the priests Eli and Samuel are 90; those of the successive kings of the Hebrews are 490. Then come the 70 years of the captivity, the last year of which was the first year of the reign of Cyrus, as we have already said.
6 And from Moses, then, to the first Olympiad there are 1020 years, as to the first year of the 55th Olympiad from the same are 1237, in which enumeration the reckoning of the Greeks coincides with us. And after Ogygus, by reason of the vast destruction caused by the flood, the present land of Attica remained without a king up to Cecrops, a period of 189 years. For Philochorus asserts that the Actaeus who is said to have succeeded Ogygus, or whatever other fictitious names are adduced, never existed. And again: From Ogygus, therefore, to Cyrus, says he, the same period is reckoned as from Moses to the same date, viz., 1237 years; and some of the Greeks also record that Moses lived at that same time. Polemo, for instance, in the first book of his Greek History, says: In the time of Apis, son of Phoroneus, a division of the army of the Egyptians left Egypt, and settled in the Palestine called Syrian, not far from Arabia: these are evidently those who were with Moses. And Apion the son of Poseidonius, the most laborious of grammarians, in his book Against the Jews, and in the fourth book of his History, says that in the time of Inachus king of Argos, when Amosis reigned over Egypt, the Jews revolted under the leadership of Moses. And Herodotus also makes mention of this revolt, and of Amosis, in his second book, and in a certain way also of the Jews themselves, reckoning them among the circumcised, and calling them the Assyrians of Palestine, perhaps through Abraham. And Ptolemy the Mendesian, who narrates the history of the Egyptians from the earliest times, gives the same account of all these things; so that among them in general there is no difference worth notice in the chronology.
7 It should be observed, further, that all the legendary accounts which are deemed specially remarkable by the Greeks by reason of their antiquity, are found to belong to a period posterior to Moses; such as their floods and conflagrations, Prometheus, Io, Europa, the Sparti, the abduction of Proserpine, their mysteries, their legislations, the deeds of Dionysus, Perseus, the Argonauts, the Centaurs, the Minotaur, the affairs of Troy, the labours of Hercules, the return of the Heraclidae, the Ionian migration and the Olympiads. And it seemed good to me to give an account especially of the before-noted period of the Attic sovereignty, as I intend to narrate the history of the Greeks side by side with that of the Hebrews. For any one will be able, if he only start from my position, to make out the reckoning equally well with me. Now, in the first year of that period of 1020 years, stretching from Moses and Ogygus to the first Olympiad, the passover and the exodus of the Hebrews from Egypt took place, and also in Attica the flood of Ogygus. And that is according to reason. For when the Egyptians were being smitten in the anger of God with hail and storms, it was only to be expected that certain parts of the earth should suffer with them; and, in especial, it was but to be expected that the Athenians should participate in such calamity with the Egyptians, since they were supposed to be a colony from them, as Theopompus alleges in his Tricarenus, and others besides him. The intervening period has been passed by, as no remarkable event is recorded during it among the Greeks. But after 94 years Prometheus arose, according to some, who was fabulously reported to have formed men; for being a wise man, he transformed them from the state of extreme rudeness to culture.

CHRONOGRAPHY FRAGMENT 14
(In Georgius Syncellus, Chronography, Book 3, Paschal., p. 104, ed. Paris, 84 Venet.)
Aeschylus, the son of Agamestor, ruled the Athenians twenty-three years, in whose time Joatham reigned in Jerusalem.
And our canon brings Joatham king of Juda within the first Olympiad.

CHRONOGRAPHY FRAGMENT 15
(In Georgius Syncellus, Chronography, Book 3, and from Book 4, p. 197, al. 158.)
And Africanus, in the third book of his History, writes: Now the first Olympiad recorded—which, however, was really the fourteenth—was the period when Corœbus was victor; at that time Ahaz was in the first year of his reign in Jerusalem. Then in the fourth book he says: It is therefore with the first year of the reign of Ahaz that we have shown the first Olympiad to fall in.

CHRONOGRAPHY FRAGMENT 16
(From Book v. In Eusebius, Demonst. Evang., Book VIII. ch. ii. p. 389, etc. The Latin version of this section is by Bernardinus Donatus of Verona. There is also a version by Jerome given in his commentary on Dan. ix. 24.)

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On the Seventy Weeks of Daniel.

1 This passage, therefore, as it stands thus, touches on many marvellous things. At present, however, I shall speak only of those things in it which bear upon chronology, and matters connected therewith. That the passage speaks then of the advent of Christ, who was to manifest Himself after seventy weeks, is evident. For in the Saviour's time, or from Him, are transgressions abrogated, and sins brought to an end. And through remission, moreover, are iniquities, along with offences, blotted out by expiation; and an everlasting righteousness is preached, different from that which is by the law, and visions and prophecies (are) until John, and the Most Holy is anointed. For before the advent of the Saviour these things were not yet, and were therefore only looked for. And the beginning of the numbers, that is, of the seventy weeks which make up 490 years, the angel instructs us to take from the going forth of the commandment to answer and to build Jerusalem. And this happened in the twentieth year of the reign of Artaxerxes king of Persia. For Nehemiah his cup-bearer besought him, and received the answer that Jerusalem should be built. And the word went forth commanding these things; for up to that time the city was desolate. For when Cyrus, after the seventy years' captivity, gave free permission to all to return who desired it, some of them under the leadership of Jesus the high priest and Zorobabel, and others after these under the leadership of Esdra, returned, but were prevented at first from building the temple, and from surrounding the city with a wall, on the plea that that had not been commanded.

2 It remained in this position, accordingly, until Nehemiah and the reign of Artaxerxes, and the 115th year of the sovereignty of the Persians. And from the capture of Jerusalem that makes 185 years. And at that time King Artaxerxes gave order that the city should be built; and Nehemiah being despatched, superintended the work, and the street and the surrounding wall were built, as had been prophesied. And reckoning from that point, we make up seventy weeks to the time of Christ. For if we begin to reckon from any other point, and not from this, the periods will not correspond, and very many odd results will meet us. For if we begin the calculation of the seventy weeks from Cyrus and the first restoration, there will be upwards of one hundred years too many, and there will be a larger number if we begin from the day on which the angel gave the prophecy to Daniel, and a much larger number still if we begin from the commencement of the captivity. For we find the sovereignty of the Persians comprising a period of 230 years, and that of the Macedonians extending over 370 years, and from that to the 16th year of Tiberius Caesar is a period of about 60 years.

3 It is by calculating from Artaxerxes, therefore, up to the time of Christ that the seventy weeks are made up, according to the numeration of the Jews. For from Nehemiah, who was despatched by Artaxerxes to build Jerusalem in the 115th year of the Persian empire, and the 4th year of the 83d Olympiad, and the 20th year of the reign of Artaxerxes himself, up to this date, which was the second year of the 202d Olympiad, and the 16th year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, there are reckoned 475 years, which make 490 according to the Hebrew numeration, as they measure the years by the course of the moon; so that, as is easy to show, their year consists of 354 days, while the solar year has 365¼ days. For the latter exceeds the period of twelve months, according to the moon's course, by 11¼ days. Hence the Greeks and the Jews insert three intercalary months every 8 years. For 8 times 11¼ days makes up 3 months. Therefore 475 years make 59 periods of 8 years each, and 3 months besides. But since thus there are 3 intercalary months every 8 years, we get thus 15 years minus a few days; and these being added to the 475 years, make up in all the 70 weeks.

CHRONOGRAPHY FRAGMENT 17

(In Georgius Syncellus, Chronography, p. 307, al. 244.)

On the Fortunes of Hyrcanus and Antigonus, and on Herod, Augustus, Antony, and Cleopatra, in Abstract.

1 Octavius Sebastus, or, as the Romans call him, Augustus, the adopted son of Caius, on returning to Rome from Apollonias in Epirus, where he was educated, possessed himself of the first place in the government. And Antony afterwards obtained the rule of Asia and the districts beyond. In his time the Jews accused Herod; but he put the deputies to death, and restored Herod to his government. Afterwards, however, along with Hyrcanus and Phasaelus his brother, he was driven out, and betook himself in flight to Antony. And as the Jews would not receive him, an obstinate battle took place; and in a short time after, as he had conquered in battle, he also drove out Antigonus, who had returned. And Antigonus fled to Herod the Parthian king, and was restored by the help of his son Pacorus, which help was given on his promising to pay 1000 talents of gold. And Herod then in his turn had to flee, while Phasaelus was slain in battle, and Hyrcanus was surrendered alive to Antigonus. And after cutting off his ears, that he might be disqualified for the priesthood, he gave him to the Parthians to lead into captivity; for he scrupled to put him to death, as he was a relation of his own. And Herod, on his expulsion, betook himself first to Malichus king of the Arabians; and when he did not receive him, through fear of the Parthians, he went away to Alexandria to Cleopatra. That was the 185th Olympiad. Cleopatra having put to death her brother, who was her consort in the government, and being then summoned by Antony to Cilicia to make her defence, committed the care of the sovereignty to Herod; and as he requested that he should not be entrusted with anything until he was restored to his own government, she took him with her and went to Antony. And as he was smitten with love for the princess, they despatched Herod to Rome to Octavius Augustus, who, on behalf of Antipater, Herod's father, and on behalf of Herod himself, and also because Antigonus was established as king by the help of the Parthians, gave a commission to the generals in Palestine and Syria to restore him to his government. And in concert with Sosius he waged war against Antigonus for a long time, and in manifold engagements. At that time also, Josephus, Herod's brother, died in his command. And Herod coming to Antony [. . .]

2 For three years they besieged Antigonus, and then brought him alive to Antony. And Antony himself also proclaimed Herod as king, and gave him, in addition, the cities Hippus, Gadara, Gaza, Joppa, Anthedon, and a part of Arabia, Trachonitis, and Auranitis, and Sacia, and Gaulanitis; and besides these, also the procuratorship of Syria. Herod was declared king of the Jews by the senate and Octavius Augustus, and reigned 34 years. Antony, when about to go on an expedition against the Parthians, slew Antigonus the king of the Jews, and gave Arabia to Cleopatra; and passing over into the territory of the Parthians, sustained a severe defeat, losing the greater part of his army. That was in the 186th Olympiad. Octavius Augustus led the forces of Italy and all the West against Antony, who refused to return to Rome through fear, on account of his failure in Parthia, and through his love for Cleopatra. And Antony met him with the forces of Asia. Herod, however, like a shrewd fellow, and one who waits upon the powerful, sent a double set of letters, and despatched his army to sea, charging his generals to watch the issue of events. And when the victory was decided, and when Antony, after sustaining two naval defeats, had fled to Egypt along with Cleopatra, they who bore the letters delivered to Augustus those which they had been keeping secretly for Antony. And on Herod falls [. . .]

3 Cleopatra shut herself up in a mausoleum, and made away with herself, employing the wild asp as the instrument of death. At that time Augustus captured Cleopatra's sons, Helios [Greek for "Sol", the Sun] and Selene [Greek for "Luna", the Moon], on their flight to the Thebaid. Nicopolis was founded opposite Actium, and the games called Actia were instituted. On the capture of Alexandria, Cornelius Gallus was sent as first governor of Egypt, and he destroyed the cities of the Egyptians that refused obedience. Up to this time the Lagidae ruled; and the whole duration of the Macedonian empire after the subversion of the Persian power was 298 years. Thus is made up the whole period from the foundation of the Macedonian empire to its subversion in the time of the Ptolemies, and under Cleopatra, the last of these, the date of which event is the 11th year of the monarchy and empire of the Romans, and the 4th year of the 187th Olympiad. Altogether, from Adam 5472 years are reckoned.

4 After the taking of Alexandria the 188th Olympiad [28 BC.] began. Herod founded anew the city of the Gabinii, [named after Gabinius, a Roman government official who traversed Judea, and gave orders for the rebuilding of such towns as he found destroyed; and that in this way Samaria, Azotus, Scythopolis, Antedon, Raphia, Dora, Marissa, and not a few others, were restored.] the ancient Samaria, and called it Sebaste; and having erected its seaport, the tower of Strato, into a city, he named it Caesarea after the same, and raised in each a temple in honour of Octavius. And afterwards he founded Antipatris in the Lydian plain, so naming it after his father, and settled in it the people about Sebaste, whom he had dispossessed of their land. He founded also other cities; and to the Jews he was severe, but to other nations most urbane.

It was now the 189th Olympiad, which (Olympiad) in the year that had the bissextile day, the 6th day before the Calends of March,—i.e., the 24th of February,—corresponded with the 24th year of the era of Antioch, whereby the year was determined in its proper limits.

CHRONOGRAPHY FRAGMENT 18

(In Georgius Syncellus, Chronography, p. 322 or 256.)

On the Circumstances Connected with Our Saviour's Passion and His Life-Giving Resurrection.

1 As to His works severally, and His cures effected upon body and soul, and the mysteries of His doctrine, and the resurrection from the dead, these have been most authoritatively set forth by His disciples and apostles before us. On the whole world there pressed a most fearful darkness; and the rocks were rent by an earthquake, and many places in Judea and other districts were thrown down. This darkness Thallus, in the third book of his History, calls, as appears to me without reason, an eclipse of the sun. For the Hebrews celebrate the passover on the 14th day according to the moon, and the passion of our Saviour falls on the day before the passover; but an eclipse of the sun takes place only when the moon comes under the sun. And it cannot happen at any other time but in the interval between the first day of the new moon and the last of the old, that is, at their junction: how then should an eclipse be supposed to happen when the moon is almost diametrically opposite the sun? Let that opinion pass however; let it carry the majority with it; and let this portent of the world be deemed an eclipse of the sun, like others a portent only to the eye. Phlegon records that, in the time of Tiberius Caesar, at full moon, there was a full eclipse of the sun from the sixth hour to the ninth—manifestly that one of which we speak. But what has an eclipse in common with an earthquake, the rending rocks, and the resurrection of the dead, and so great a perturbation throughout the universe? Surely no such event as this is recorded for a long period. But it was a darkness induced by God, because the Lord happened then to suffer. And calculation makes out that the period of 70 weeks, as noted in Daniel, is completed at this time.

2 From Artaxerxes, moreover, 70 weeks are reckoned up to the time of Christ, according to the numeration of the Jews. For from Nehemiah, who was sent by Artaxerxes to people Jerusalem, about the 120th year of the Persian empire, and in the 20th year of Artaxerxes himself, and the 4th year of the 83rd Olympiad, up to this time, which was the 2nd year of the 102nd Olympiad, and the 16th year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, there are given 475 years, which make 490 Hebrew years, since they measure the years by the lunar month of 29½ days, as may easily be explained, the annual period according to the sun consisting of 365¼ days, while the lunar period of 12 months has 11¼ days less. For which reason the Greeks and the Jews insert three intercalary months every eight years. For 8 times 11¼ days make 3 months. The 475 years, therefore, contain 59 periods of 8 years and three months over: thus, the three intercalary months for every 8 years being added, we get 15 years, and these together with the 475 years make 70 weeks. Let no one now think us unskilled in the calculations of astronomy, when we fix without further ado the number of days at 365¼. For it is not in ignorance of the truth, but rather by reason of exact study, that we have stated our opinion so shortly. But let what follows also be presented as in outline to those who endeavour to inquire minutely into all things.

3 Each year in the general consists of 365 days; and the space of a day and night being divided into nineteen parts, we have also five of these. And in saying that the year consists of 365¼ days, and there being the five nineteenth parts…to the 475 there are 6¼ days. Furthermore, we find, according to exact computation, that the lunar month has 29½ days […] And these come to a little time. Now it happens that from the 20th year of the reign of Artaxerxes (as it is given in Ezra among the Hebrews), which, according to the Greeks, was the 4th year of the 80th Olympiad, to the 16th year of Tiberius Caesar, which was the second year of the 102nd Olympiad, there are in all the 475 years already noted, which in the Hebrew system make 490 years, as has been previously stated, that is, 70 weeks, by which period the time of Christ's advent was measured in the announcement made to Daniel by Gabriel. And if any one thinks that the 15 Hebrew years added to the others involve us in an error of 10, nothing at least which cannot be accounted for has been introduced. And the 1½ week which we suppose must be added to make the whole number, meets the question about the 15 years, and removes the difficulty about the time; and that the prophecies are usually put forth in a somewhat symbolic form, is quite evident.

4 As far, then, as is in our power, we have taken the Scripture, I think, correctly; especially seeing that the preceding section about the vision seems to state the whole matter shortly, its first words being, "In the third year of the reign of Belshazzar," where he prophesies of the subversion of the Persian power by the Greeks, which empires are symbolised in the prophecy under the figures of the ram and the goat respectively. "The sacrifice," he says, "shall be abolished, and the holy places shall be made desolate, so as to be trodden under foot; which things shall be determined within 2300 days." For if we take the day as a month, just as elsewhere in prophecy days are taken as years, and in different places are used in different ways, reducing the period in the same way as has been done above to Hebrew months, we shall find the period fully made out to the 20th year of the reign of Artaxerxes, from the capture of Jerusalem. For there are given thus 185 years, and one year falls to be added to these—the year in which Nehemiah built the wall of the city. In 186 years, therefore, we find 2300 Hebrew months, as 8 years have in addition 3 intercalary months. From Artaxerxes, again, in whose time the command went forth that Jerusalem should be built, there are 70 weeks. These matters, however, we have discussed by themselves, and with greater exactness, in our book On the Weeks and this Prophecy. But I am amazed that the Jews deny that the Lord has yet come, and that the followers of Marcion refuse to admit that His coming was

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predicted in the prophecies when the Scriptures display the matter so openly to our view. And after something else: The period, then, to the advent of the Lord from Adam and the creation is 5531 years, from which epoch to the 250th Olympiad there are 192 years, as has been shown above.

CHRONOGRAPHY FRAGMENT 19

(In Basil, De Spiritu Sancto, ch. xxix. § 73; Works, vol. iii. p. 61, edit. Paris. [Elucidation II.])

For we who both know the measure of those words, and are not ignorant of the grace of faith, give thanks to the Father, who has bestowed on us His creatures Jesus Christ the Saviour of all, and our Lord; to whom be glory and majesty, with the Holy Spirit, for ever.

DOCUMENTS ON ZOROASTRIAN HISTORY

THE BEHISTUN INSCRIPTION OF KING DARIUS OF PERSIA

Behistun Rock Inscription, Mount Behistun
Kermanshah Province, western Iran
Translation: L.W. King and R.C. Thompson, 1907
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 500 B.C.

(The Behistun Inscription is part of a large rock relief on a cliff at Mount Behistun in the Kermanshah Province of Iran, near the city of Kermanshah in western Iran. Behistun means "The Place of God". The rock insription is remarkable for four reasons: Firstly, it tells the story of King Darius' activities; secondly, Darius attributes his success is to the "Ahura Mazda", the sole God of Zarathustra's religion; thirdly, this inscription is the oldest document that reliably bears witness to the long existence of Zoroastrianism; and fouthly, it is written in three different cuneiform script languages: Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian. Like the Rosetta Stone, this inscription gave linguists the chance to decipher and understand older languages. The Behistun inscription is the longest ever left by the Achaemenid Dynasty. King Darius is noteworthy as in 519 BC he authorised the Jews to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem, in accordance with the earlier decree of Cyrus. In the opinion of some authorities, the religious beliefs of Darius himself, as reflected in his inscriptions, show the influence of the teachings of Zoroaster, and the introduction of Zoroastrianism as the state religion of Persia is probably to be attributed to him.

Despite its high position on a huge cliff that made it inaccessible to human damage, natural erosion has obscured several of its passages. In some parts, cuneiform signs are partially visible at best, while in others they have been completely lost. Moreover, this situation has made close observation and copying of the inscription difficult for Assyriologysts. Aside from Henry C. Rawlinson, who for the first time accessed the inscription from 1835 to 1846 and copied its cuneiform texts, only on a few occasions have scholars closely copied and examined the inscription. In 1903, Abraham V. W. Jackson visited the inscription, and thereatfer Leonard W. King and Reginald. C. Thompson (1904) and George G. Cameron (1948 & 1957) copied and studied its cuneiform texts in some detail. They provided copies of the inscriptions, employing methods that are today dated, such as drawing of signs, paper or latex impressions, or photography with old cameras. Although their attempts resulted in improved editions of prior copies, a re-examination of the inscription appears essential to provide an optimised edition of all its cuneiform texts.)

DARIUS CHAPTER 1

Prologue as Introduction: Darius's Titles And The Extent Of His Empire

1 I am Darius [Daryavus], the great king, king of kings, the king of Persia [Parsa], the king of countries, the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames, the Achaemenid.

2 King Darius says: My father is Hystaspes [Vistaspa]; the father of Hystaspes was Arsames [Arsama]; the father of Arsames was Ariaramnes [Ariyaramna]; the father of Ariaramnes was Teispes [Cispis]; the father of Teispes was Achaemenes [Haxamanis].

3 King Darius says: That is why we are called Achaemenids; from antiquity we have been noble; from antiquity has our dynasty been royal.

4 King Darius says: Eight of my dynasty were kings before me; I am the ninth. Nine in succession we have been kings.

5 King Darius says: By the grace of Ahura Mazda am I king; Ahura Mazda has granted me the kingdom.

6 King Darius says: These are the countries which are subject unto me, and by the grace of Ahura Mazda I became king of them: Persia [Parsa], Elam [Uvja], Babylonia [Babirus], Assyria [Athura], Arabia [Arabaya], Egypt [Mudraya], the countries by the Sea, Lydia [Sparda], the Greeks [Yauna (Ionia)], Media [Mada], Armenia [Armina], Cappadocia [Katpatuka], Parthia [Parthava], Drangiana [Zraka], Aria [Haraiva], Chorasmia [Uvarazmiy], Bactria [Baxtris], Sogdia [Suguda], Gandhara [Gadara], Scythia [Saka], Sattagydia [Thatagus], Arachosia [Harauvatis] and Maka [Maka]; twenty-three lands in all.

7 King Darius says: These are the countries which are subject to me; by the grace of Ahura Mazda they became subject to me; they brought tribute unto me. Whatsoever commands have been laid on them by me, by night or by day, have been performed by them.

8 King Darius says: Within these lands, whosoever was a friend, him have I surely protected; whosoever was hostile, him have I utterly destroyed. By the grace of Ahura Mazda these lands have conformed to my decrees; as it was commanded unto them by me, so was it done.

9 King Darius says: Ahura Mazda has granted unto me this empire. Ahura Mazda brought me help, until I gained this empire; by the grace of Ahura Mazda do I hold this empire.

DARIUS CHAPTER 2

Murder Of Smerdis And Coup Of Gaumata The Magian

10 King Darius says: The following is what was done by me after I became king. A son of Cyrus [Kurus], named Cambyses [Kabujiya], one of our dynasty, was king here before me. That Cambyses had a brother, Smerdis [Bardiya] by name, of the same mother and the same father as Cambyses. Afterwards, Cambyses slew this Smerdis. When Cambyses slew Smerdis, it was not known unto the people that Smerdis was slain. Thereupon Cambyses went to Egypt. When Cambyses had departed into Egypt, the people became hostile, and the lie multiplied in the land, even in Persia and Media, and in the other provinces.

11 King Darius says: Afterwards, there was a certain man, a Magian [magus], Gaumata by name, who raised a rebellion in Paishiyauvada, in a mountain called Arakadris. On the fourteenth day of the month Viyaxana (11 March 522 BC) did he rebel. He lied to the people, saying: 'I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, the brother of Cambyses.' Then were all the people in revolt, and from Cambyses they went over unto him, both Persia and Media, and the other provinces. He seized the kingdom; on the ninth day of the month Garmapada (1 July 522 BC) he seized the kingdom. Afterwards, Cambyses died of natural causes.

12 King Darius says: The kingdom of which Gaumata, the Magian, dispossessed Cambyses, had always belonged to our dynasty. After that Gaumata, the Magian, had dispossessed Cambyses of Persia and Media, and of the other provinces, he did according to his will. He became king.

DARIUS CHAPTER 3

Darius Kills Gaumata And Restores The Kingdom

13 King Darius says: There was no man, either Persian or Mede or of our own dynasty, who took the kingdom from Gaumata, the Magian. The people feared him exceedingly, for he slew many who had known the real Smerdis. For this reason did he slay them, 'that they may not know that I am not Smerdis, the son of Cyrus.' There was none who dared to act against Gaumata, the Magian, until I came. Then I prayed to Ahura Mazda; Ahura Mazda brought me help. On the tenth day of the month Bagayadis (29 September 522 BC) I, with a few men, slew that Gaumata, the Magian, and the chief men who were his followers. At the stronghold called Sikayauvatis, in the district called Nisaia in Media, I slew him; I dispossessed him of the kingdom. By the grace of Ahura Mazda I became king; Ahura Mazda granted me the kingdom.

14 King Darius says: The kingdom that had been wrested from our line I brought back and I reestablished it on its foundation. The temples which Gaumata, the Magian, had destroyed, I restored to the people, and the pasture lands, and the herds and the dwelling places, and the houses which Gaumata, the Magian, had taken away. I settled the people in their place, the people of Persia, and Media, and the other provinces. I restored that which had been taken away, as it was in the days of old. This did I by the grace of Ahura Mazda, I labored until I had established our dynasty in its place, as in the days of old; I labored, by the grace of Ahura Mazda, so that Gaumata, the Magian, did not dispossess our house.

15 King Darius says: This was what I did after I became king.

DARIUS CHAPTER 4

Rebellions Of Assina Of Elam And Nidintu-Bel Of Babylon

16 King Darius says: After I had slain Gaumata, the Magian, a certain man named Assina, the son of Upadarma, raised a rebellion in Elam, and he spoke thus unto the people of Elam: 'I am king in Elam.' Thereupon the people of Elam became rebellious, and they went over unto that Assina: he became king in Elam. And a certain Babylonian named Nidintu-Bel, the son of Kin-Zer, raised a rebellion in Babylon: he lied to the people, saying: 'I am Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabonidus.' Then did all the province of Babylonia go over to Nidintu-Bel, and Babylonia rose in rebellion. He seized on the kingdom of Babylonia (3 October 522 BC).

17 King Darius says: Then I sent (an envoy?) to Elam. That Assina was brought unto me in fetters, and I killed him.

18 King Darius says: Then I marched against that Nidintu-Bel, who called himself Nebuchadnezzar. The army of Nidintu-Bel held the Tigris; there it took its stand, and on account of the waters (the river) was unfordable. Thereupon I supported my army on (inflated) skins, others I made dromedary-borne, for the rest I brought horses. Ahura Mazda brought me help; by the grace of Ahura Mazda we crossed the Tigris. Then did I utterly overthrow that host of Nidintu-Bel. On the twenty-sixth day of the month Açiyadiya (13 December 522 BC) we joined battle.

19 King Darius says: After that I marched against Babylon. But before I reached Babylon, that Nidintu-Bel, who called himself Nebuchadnezzar, came with a host and offered battle at a city called Zazana, on the Euphrates. Then we joined

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battle. Ahura Mazda brought me help; by the grace of Ahura Mazda did I utterly overthrow the host of Nidintu-Bel. The enemy fled into the water; the water carried them away. On the second day of the month Anamaka (18 December 522 BC) we joined battle.

20 King Darius says: Then did Nidintu-Bel flee with a few horsemen into Babylon. Thereupon I marched to Babylon. By the grace of Ahura Mazda I took Babylon, and captured Nidintu-Bel. Then I slew that Nidintu-Bel in Babylon.

21 King Darius says: While I was in Babylon, these provinces revolted from me: Persia, Elam, Media, Assyria, Egypt, Parthia, Margiana [Margus], Sattagydia [Thatagus], and Scythia [Saka].

DARIUS CHAPTER 5

Revolt Of Martiya Of Elam

22 King Darius says: A certain man named Martiya, the son of Zinzakris, dwelt in a city in Persia called Kuganaka. This man revolted in Elam, and he said to the people: 'I am Ummanis, king in Elam.'

23 King Darius says: At that time, I was friendly with Elam. Then there were Elamites afraid of me, and that Martiya, who was their leader, they seized and slew.

DARIUS CHAPTER 6

Revolt Of Phraortes Of Media

24 King Darius says: A certain Mede named Phraortes [Fravartis] revolted in Media, and he said to the people: 'I am Khshathrita, of the family of Cyaxares.' Then did the Medes who were in the palace revolt from me and go over to Phraortes. He became king in Media.

25 King Darius says: The Persian and Median army, which was with me, was small. Yet I sent forth an(other) army. A Persian named Hydarnes, my servant, I made their leader, and I said unto him: 'Go, smite that Median host which does not acknowledge me.' Then Hydarnes marched forth with the army. When he had come to Media, at a city in Media called Marus, he gave battle to the Medes. He who was chief among the Medes was not there at that time. Ahura Mazda brought me help: by the grace of Ahura Mazda my army utterly defeated that rebel host. On the twenty-seventh day of the month Anamaka (12 January 521 BC) the battle was fought by them. Then did my army await me in a district in Media called Kampanda, until I came into Media.

DARIUS CHAPTER 7

Revolt Of The Armenians

26 King Darius says: An Armenian named Dadarsi, my servant, I sent into Armenia, and I said unto him: 'Go, smite that host which is in revolt and does not acknowledge me.' Then Dadarsi went forth. When he came into Armenia, the rebels assembled and advanced against Dadarsi to give him battle. At a place in Armenia called Zuzza they fought the battle. Ahura Mazda brought me help; by the grace of Ahura Mazda did my army utterly overthrow that rebel host. On the eighth day of the month Thuravahara (20 May 521 BC) the battle was fought by them.

27 King Darius says: The rebels assembled for the second time, and they advanced against Dadarsi to give him battle. At a stronghold in Armenia called Tigra they joined battle. Ahura Mazda brought me help; by the grace of Ahura Mazda did my army utterly overthrow that rebel host. On the eighteenth day of the month Thuravahara (30 May 521 BC) the battle was fought by them.

28 King Darius says: The rebels assembled for the third time and advanced against Dadarsi to give him battle. At a stronghold in Armenia called Uyama they joined battle. Ahura Mazda brought me help; by the grace of Ahura Mazda did my army utterly overthrow that rebel host. On the ninth day of the month Thaigacis (20 June 521 BC) the battle was fought by them. Then Dadarsi waited for me in Armenia, until I came into Armenia.

29 King Darius says: A Persian named Vaumisa, my servant, I sent into Armenia, and I said unto him: 'Go, smite that host which is in revolt, and does not acknowledge me.' Then Vaumisa went forth. When he had come to Armenia, the rebels assembled and advanced against Vaumisa to give him battle. At a place in Assyria called Izala they joined battle. Ahura Mazda brought me help; by the grace of Ahura Mazda did my army utterly overthrow that rebel host. On the fifteenth day of the month Anamaka (31 December 522 BC) the battle was fought by them.

30 King Darius says: The rebels assembled a second time and advanced against Vaumisa to give him battle. At a place in Armenia called Autiyara they joined battle. Ahura Mazda brought me help; by the grace of Ahura Mazda did my army utterly overthrow that rebel host. At the end of the month Thuravahara (11 June 521 BC) the battle was fought by them. Then Vaumisa waited for me in Armenia, until I came into Armenia.

DARIUS CHAPTER 8

End Of The Revolt Of The Medes

31 King Darius says: Then I went forth from Babylon and came into Media. When I had come to Media, that Phraortes [Fravartis], who called himself king in Media, came against me unto a city in Media called Kundurus (Kangavar?) to offer battle. Then we joined battle. Ahura Mazda brought me help; by the grace of Ahura Mazda did my army utterly overthrow that rebel host. On the twenty-fifth day of the month Adukanaisa(8 May 521 BC) we fought the battle.

32 King Darius says: Thereupon that Phraortes fled thence with a few horseman to a district in Media called Rhagae [Raga]. Then I sent an army in pursuit. Phraortes was taken and brought unto me. I cut off his nose, his ears, and his tongue, and I put out one eye, and he was kept in fetters at my palace entrance, and all the people beheld him. Then did I crucify him in Ecbatana [Hagmatana]; and the men who were his foremost followers, those at Ecbatana within the fortress, I flayed and hung out their hides, stuffed with straw.

33 King Darius says: A man named Tritantaechmes [Çiçataxma], a Sagartian, revolted from me, saying to his people: 'I am king in Sagartia [Asagarta], of the family of Cyaxares.' Then I sent forth a Persian and a Median army. A Mede named Takhmaspada, my servant, I made their leader, and I said unto him: 'Go, smite that host which is in revolt, and does not acknowledge me.' Thereupon Takhmaspada went forth with the army, and he fought a battle with Tritantaechmes. Ahura Mazda brought me help; by the grace of Ahura Mazda my army utterly defeated that rebel host, and they seized Tritantaechmes and brought him unto me. Afterwards I cut off both his nose and ears, and put out one eye, he was kept bound at my palace entrance, all the people saw him. Afterwards I crucified him in Arbela.

34 King Darius says: This is what was done by me in Media.

DARIUS CHAPTER 9

Revolt Of The Parthians

35 King Darius says: The Parthians [Parthava] and Hyrcanians [Varkana] revolted from me, and they declared themselves on the side of Phraortes [Fravarta]. My father Hystaspes was in Parthia; and the people forsook him; they became rebellious. Then Hystaspes [Vistaspa] marched forth with the troops which had remained faithful. At a city in Parthia called Vispauzatis he fought a battle with the Parthians. Ahura Mazda brought me help; by the grace of Ahura Mazda my army utterly defeated that rebel host. On the second day of the month Viyaxana (8 March 521 BC) the battle was fought by them.

36 King Darius says: Then did I send a Persian army unto Hystaspes [Vistaspa] from Rhagae [Raga]. When that army reached Hystaspes, he marched forth with the host. At a city in Parthia called Patigrabana he gave battle to the rebels. Ahura Mazda brought me help; by the grace of Ahura Mazda Hystaspes utterly defeated that rebel host. On the first day of the month Garmapada (11 July 521 BC) the battle was fought by them.

37 King Darius says: Then was the province mine. This is what was done by me in Parthia.

DARIUS CHAPTER 10

Revolt Of Frada Of Margiana

38 King Darius says: The province called Margiana [Margus] revolted against me. A certain Margian named Frada they made their leader. Then sent I against him a Persian named Dadarsi, my servant, who was satrap of Bactria [Baxtriya], and I said unto him: 'Go, smite that host which does not acknowledge me.' Then Dadarsi went forth with the army, and gave battle to the Margians. Ahura Mazda brought me help; by the grace of Ahura Mazda my army utterly overthrew that rebel host. Of the twenty-third day of the month Açiyadiya (28 December 521 BC) was the battle fought by them.

39 King Darius says: Then was the province mine. This is what was done by me in Bactria.

DARIUS CHAPTER 11

Revolt Of Vahyazdata Of Persia

40 King Darius [Daryavus] says: A certain man named Vahyazdata dwelt in a city called Tarava in a district in Persia called Vautiya. This man rebelled for the second time in Persia, and thus he spoke unto the people: 'I am Smerdis [Bardiya], the son of Cyrus [Kurus].' Then the Persian people who were in the palace fell away from allegiance. They revolted from me and went over to that Vahyazdata. He became king in Persia.

41 King Darius says: Then did I send out the Persian and the Median army which was with me. A Persian named Artavardiya, my servant, I made their leader. The rest of the Persian army came unto me in Media. Then went Artavardiya with the army unto Persia. When he came to Persia, at a city in Persia called Rakha, that Vahyazdata, who called himself Smerdis, advanced with the army against Artavardiya to give him battle. They then fought the battle. Ahura Mazda brought me help; by the grace of Ahura Mazda my host utterly overthrew the army of Vahyazdata. On the twelfth day of the month Thuravahara (24 May 521 BC) was the battle fought by them.

42 King Darius says: Then that Vahyazdata fled thence with a few horsemen unto Pishiyauvada. From that place he went forth with an army a second time against Artavardiya to give him battle. At a mountain called Parga they fought the battle. Ahura Mazda brought me help; by the grace of Ahura Mazda my host utterly overthrew the army of Vahyazdata. On the fifth day of the month Garmapada (15 July 521 BC) was the battle fought by them. And they seized that Vahyazdata, and the men who were his chief followers were also seized.

43 King Darius says: Then did I crucify that Vahyazdata and the men who were his chief followers in a city in Persia called Uvadaicaya.

44 King Darius says: This is what was done by me in Persia.

45 King Darius says: That Vahyazdata, who called himself Smerdis, sent men to Arachosia [Harauvati] against a Persian named Vivana, my servant, the satrap of Arachosia. He appointed a certain man to be their leader, and thus he spoke to him, saying: 'Go smite Vivana and the host which acknowledges king Darius!' Then that army that Vahyazdata had sent marched against Vivana to give him battle. At a fortress called Kapisa-kanis [= Kandahar] they fought the battle. Ahura Mazda brought me help; by the grace of Ahura Mazda my army utterly overthrew that rebel host. On the thirteenth day of the month Anamaka (29 December 522 BC) was the battle fought by them.

46 King Darius says: The rebels assembled a second time and went out against Vivana to give him battle. At a place called Gandutava they fought a battle. Ahura Mazda brought me help; by the grace of Ahura Mazda my army utterly overthrew that rebel host. On the seventh day of the month Viyaxana (21 February 521 BC) the battle was fought by them.

47 King Darius says: The man who was commander of that army that Vahyazdata had sent forth against Vivana fled thence with a few horsemen. They went to a fortress in Arachosia called Arsada. Then Vivana with the army marched after them on foot. There he seized him, and he slew the men who were his chief followers.

48 King Darius says: Then was the province mine. This is what was done by me in Arachosia.

DARIUS CHAPTER 12

Arakha Second Babylonian Revolt

49 King Darius says: While I was in Persia and in Media, the Babylonians revolted from me a second time. A certain man named Arakha, an Armenian, son of Haldita, rebelled in Babylon. At a place called Dubala, he lied unto the people, saying: 'I am Nabu-kudurrī-Aṣur (Nebuchadnezzar III, died 522; or Nebuchadnezzar IV, disappeared 521), the son of King Nabonidus (reigning from 556–539 BC).' Then did the Babylonian people revolt from me and they went over to that Arakha. He seized Babylon, he became king in Babylon.

50 King Darius says: Then did I send an army unto Babylon. A Persian named Intaphrenes [Vidafarna], my servant, I appointed as their leader, and thus I spoke unto them: 'Go, smite that Babylonian host which does not acknowledge me.' Then Intaphrenes marched with the army unto Babylon. Ahura Mazda brought me help; by the grace of Ahura Mazda Intaphrenes overthrew the Babylonians and brought over the people unto me. On the twenty-second day of the month Markasanas (27 November) they seized that Arakha who called himself Nebuchadnezzar, and the men who were his chief followers. Then I made a decree, saying: 'Let that Arakha and the men who were his chief followers be crucified in Babylon!'

51 King Darius says: This is what was done by me in Babylon.

DARIUS CHAPTER 13

Epilogue As Summary

52) King Darius says: This is what I have done. By the grace of Ahura Mazda have I always acted. After I became king, I fought nineteen battles in a single year and by the grace of Ahura Mazda I overthrew nine kings and I made them captive.

One was named Gaumata, the Magian; he lied, saying 'I am Smerdis [Bardiya], the son of Cyrus [Kurus].' He made Persia to revolt.

Another was named Assina, the Elamite [Uvjiya]; he lied, saying: 'I am king the king of Elam.' He made Elam to revolt.

Another was named Nidintu-Bêl [Naditabaira], the Babylonian [Babiruviya]; he lied, saying: 'I am Nebuchadnezzar [Nabukudracara], the son of Nabonidus [Nabunaita].' He made Babylon to revolt.

Another was named Martiya, the Persian; he lied, saying: 'I am Ummannis, the king of Elam.' He made Elam to revolt.

Another was Phraortes [Fravartis], the Mede [Mada]; he lied, saying: 'I am Khshathrita, of the dynasty of Cyaxares [Uvaxstra].' He made Media to revolt.

Another was Tritantaechmes [Çiçataxma], the Sagartian [Asagartiya]; he lied, saying: 'I am king in Sagartia, of the dynasty of Cyaxares [Uvaxstra].' He made Sagartia to revolt.

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Another was named Frada, of Margiana; he lied, saying: 'I am king of Margiana [Margus].' He made Margiana to revolt.

Another was Vahyazdata, a Persian; he lied, saying: 'I am Smerdis [Bardiya], the son of Cyrus [Kurus].' He made Persia to revolt.

Another was Arakha, an Armenian [Arminiya]; he lied, saying: 'I am Nebuchadnezzar, [Nabu-kudra-asura], son of Nabonidus.' He made Babylon to revolt.

53 King Darius says: These nine kings did I capture in these wars.

54 King Darius says: As to these provinces which revolted, lies made them revolt, so that they deceived the people. Then Ahura Mazda delivered them into my hand; and I did unto them according to my will.

55 King Darius says: You who shall be king hereafter, protect yourself vigorously from lies; punish the liars well, if thus you shall think, 'May my country be secure!'

DARIUS CHAPTER 14

Affirmation Of The Truth Of The Record

56 King Darius says: This is what I have done, by the grace of Ahura Mazda have I always acted. Whosoever shall read this inscription hereafter, let that which I have done be believed. You must not hold it to be lies.

57 King Darius says: I call Ahura Mazda to witness that is true and not lies; all of it have I done in a single year.

58 King Darius says: By the grace of Ahura Mazda I did much more, which is not graven in this inscription. On this account it has not been inscribed lest he who shall read this inscription hereafter should then hold that which has been done by me to be excessive and not believe it and takes it to be lies.

DARIUS CHAPTER 15

Affirmation That It Is Pious To Make Known The Record

59 King Darius says: Those who were the former kings, as long as they lived, by them was not done thus as by the favor of Ahura Mazda was done by me in one and the same year.

60 King Darius says: Now let what has been done by me convince you. For the sake of the people, do not conceal it. If you do not conceal this edict but if you publish it to the world, then may Ahura Mazda be your friend, may your family be numerous, and may you live long.

61 King Darius says: If you conceal this edict and do not publish it to the world, may Ahura Mazda slay you and may your house cease.

62 King Darius says: This is what I have done in one single year; by the grace of Ahura Mazda have I always acted. Ahura Mazda brought me help, and the other gods, all that there are.

DARIUS CHAPTER 16

The Importance Of Righteousness

63 King Darius says: On this account Ahura Mazda brought me help, and all the other gods, all that there are, because I was not wicked, nor was I a liar, nor was I a despot, neither I nor any of my family. I have ruled according to righteousness. Neither to the weak nor to the powerful did I do wrong. Whosoever helped my house, him I favored; he who was hostile, him I destroyed.

64 King Darius says: You who may be king hereafter, whosoever shall be a liar or a rebel, or shall not be friendly, punish him!

DARIUS CHAPTER 17

Blessings And Curses

65 King Darius says: You who shall hereafter see this tablet, which I have written, or these sculptures, do not destroy them, but preserve them so long as you live!

66 King Darius says: If you shall behold this inscription or these sculptures, and shall not destroy them, but shall preserve them as long as your line endures, then may Ahura Mazda be your friend, and may your family be numerous. Live long, and may Ahura Mazda make fortunate whatsoever you do.

67 King Darius says: If you shall behold this inscription or these sculptures, and shall destroy them and shall not preserve them so long as your line endures, may Ahura Mazda slay you, may your family come to nought, and may Ahura Mazda destroy whatever you do!

68 King Darius says: These are the men who were with me when I slew Gaumata the Magian [magus], who was called Smerdis [Bardiya]; then these men helped me as my followers:

Intaphrenes [Vidafarna], son of Vayaspara, a Persian;

Otanes [Utana], son of Thukhra [Thuxra], a Persian;

Gobryas [Gaubaruva], son of Mardonius [Marduniya], a Persian;

Hydarnes [Vidarna], son of Bagabigna, a Persian;

Megabyzus [Bagabuxsa], son of Datuvahya, a Persian;

Ardumanis, son of Vakauka, a Persian.

69 King Darius says: You who may be king hereafter, protect the family of these men.

70 King Darius says: By the grace of Ahura Mazda this is the inscription which I have made. Besides, it was in Aryan script, and it was composed on clay tablets and on parchment. Besides, a sculptured figure of myself I made. Besides, I made my lineage. And it was inscribed and was read off before me. Afterwards this inscription I sent off everywhere among the provinces. The people unitedly worked upon it.

DARIUS CHAPTER 18

A New Rebellion On Elam (Autumn 521 BC)

71 King Darius says: The following is what I did in the second and third year of my rule. The province called Elam [Uvja] revolted from me. An Elamite named Atamaita they made their leader. Then I sent an army unto Elam. A Persian named Gobryas [Gaubaruva], my servant, I made their leader. Then Gobryas set forth with the army; he delivered battle against the Elamites. Then Gobryas destroyed many of the host and that Atamaita, their leader, he captured, and he brought him unto me, and I killed him. Then the province became mine.

72 King Darius says: Those Elamites were faithless and Ahura Mazda was not worshipped by them. I worshipped Ahura Mazda; by the grace of Ahura Mazda I did unto them according to my will.

73 King Darius says: Whoso shall worship Ahura Mazda, divine blessing will be upon him, both while living and when dead.

DARIUS CHAPTER 19

War Against The Scythians (520/519 BC)

74 King Darius says: Afterwards with an army I went off to Scythia, after the Scythians who wear the pointed cap. These Scythians went from me. When I arrived at the river, I crossed beyond it then with all my army. Afterwards, I smote the Scythians exceedingly; [one of their leaders] I took captive; he was led bound to me, and I killed him. [Another] chief of them, by name Skunkha, they seized and led to me. Then I made another their chief, as was my desire. Then the province became mine.

75 King Darius says: Those Scythians [Saka] were faithless and Ahura Mazda was not worshipped by them. I worshipped Ahura Mazda; by the grace of Ahura Mazda I did unto them according to my will.

76 King Darius says: Whoso shall worship Ahura Mazda, divine blessing will be upon him, both while living and when dead.

THE BOOK OF ZARATHUSHTRA

Zardosht-Nameh or Zartusht Nama
by the Parsi (Persian) Zartushi-Behram
Royal 16 B VIII 17th century (L)
and Add. 27268 (M). British Museum
Translation: E. B. Eastwick, 1843
Estimated Range of Dating: 1277 A.D.

(The Life of Zarathushtra [Zoroaster], also known as Zardosht Nameh, Zarthusht-Nama, or Zarthusht-Nameh is an account written in Persian by a Parsi named Zartushi-Behram in about 1277 A.D. The account was written in a time of change and disaster, famine, war and any type of death waiting at every corner. Several volano explosions led to a colder climate lasting for decades. Muslim rulers had destroyed Zoroastrian writings systematically, the worst of them was called Timur lang or Tamerlane who left in his 40 years career of total violence a death toll of between 15 and 20 million people slaughtered. All non-Muslim texts he could find were destroyed. Perhaps 50% of the holy Zoroastrian writings had survived, mostly outside Persia. The Book of Zarathustra is one of them. Just like other such accounts of that time, the book is a mix of stories, glossed over with all sorts of miracles, precepts, mentionings of laws and empty promises of ones resurection after death. As several parts of that book originates from earlier times, this document is an important text giving us an insight as to what Zoroastrians might have believed.

This translation is by E. B. Eastwick, Esq., from Wilson, John, The Parsi Religion, Bombay: American Mission Press, 1843, pp. 477 ff. A later translation into French was done by Rosenberg, regarding which Modi wrote: M. Frederic Rosenberg, at St. Petersburg in 1904, under the title of Le Livre de Zoroastre (Zaratusht Nama) de Zartusht-i-Bahram Ben Pajdu. It is a very excellent book. It gives the Persian text of the Persian Zarthusht-nameh, and then the Persian text of a part of the Dabistan which treats of Zoroaster. It gives a translation into French with copious notes. The preface is interesting. It gives a list of technical Persian or Zoroastrian words. [Modi, J.J., A glimpse into the work of the B. B. R. A. Society during the last 100 years, from a Parsee point of view, 1905.]

While the composer of this poem does not identify his sources, it is generally thought to draw on two ninth century Pahlavi texts Denkard (Books 5 and 7) and the writings of Zadspram (chapters 12-24). [Rosenberg 30] Those in turn drew on portions of the ancient Avesta which are no longer extant, namely the Chihrdad and Spand Nasks. Rosenberg lists the following manuscripts of Zartusht-Nameh:

• Imperial Public Library of St Petersburg (which he designates "P"),

• three at the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris,

• two in the British Museum: Royal 16 B VIII 17th century (L) and Add. 27268 (M).

• Bodleian Library Oxford: 1947, 1948, 1949 (prose paraphrase) [Defective copy of 1947, "badly copied by a European hand."]

• one in Staatsbibliothek de Munich: Cod. Zend. 72 (H). To this can be added the following (there are probably many more):

• Scotland, University of Glasgow, Library of the Hunterian Museum, T.5.5. R. 6.21; R. 6.80. Dated 1677.

• Harvard University, Houghton Library, Massachusetts, USA, MS Pers 16 ZARTUSHT-i-BAHRAM ben PAZHDU. Zartusht-Namah.

• India, K.R.Cama Oriental Institute... Neither A. H. Anquetil-Deperron's 1760 (Latin) translation, nor Eastwick's are free from errors; Rosenberg however used a crtical approach to correct many of these errors.)

Text:

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 1. [Invocation.]

[The first 4 chapters are written in poetic verse until the translator changed his mind and continued (beginning with chapter 5) in plain prose which is certainly easier to understand.]

In all thy actions secret or displayed,
Be it first thy care to seek thy Maker's aid.
Through Him alone each work attains its end,
And things opposed in just concordance blend.
Omniscient Maker and Support of all,
Creator, Ruler of this earthly ball!
Lord of the seven skies and earths, for thee,
Are spread the highest heavens, thy canopy,
O God of wisdom, Lord of life, thy hand,
Lit up the starry hosts, heaven's glittering band.
Bright sun and moon, and Nahid [Planet Venus] queen of night,
Tir [Mercury] and Kaiwan [Saturn], Bahram [Mars], and Ohrmazd's [Jupiter] light.
All giving Lord! Creator, wise and just,
How great thy bounties on the sons of dust!
Reason and knowledge are thy gifts — to know
The evil from the good and weal from woe.
Let reason be his guide, and man shall gain,
In each estate, a sure escape from pain.
For those who strive to learn the faith of heaven,
Be first their thoughts to God's existence given.
And let them know this truth, — that God is one,
Exists nought like Him, He is God alone.
From man his Maker asks humility,
Of prayer the accents and the suppliant's knee.
Seek ye the truth? from me the truth receive,
And thus instructed listen and believe.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 2.

[Beginning Of The Book.]

I saw a book in Khosraw's royal hall,
Writ in the Pahlavi, for so they call
That ancient tongue — the great arch-priest of fire,
Had placed it there — chief of the learned choir.
Within the book in varied tale were told
The deeds of ancient kings and heroes old.
There too the Zand [Zend]-Avesta's sacred line,
Was traced, holy Zartusht's book divine;
And there the story of his wondrous birth,
And all that marked the sage's stay on earth.
Time-worn the volume and the mystic page,
Was veiled in doubt, and dim with mists of age.

Said, then, the Mobad [priest], "This sacred volume see!
By this in heaven's pure faith instructed be."
Then to my listening ear a part he read,
And strong emotion through his bosom spread.
"Learning," he cried, "herein would much avail,
For mark this long-forgotten lore — this tale
Of whom none knows the source — this ancient creed
May perish, since but few this page can read.
It is best that you this tale in verse should dress,
And in fair Persia's tongue its words express,
With wisdom ornament this faith divine,
Renew its canvas in your living line.
If thus the faith you celebrate, of thee
A fair memorial shall established be.
And thus renewed from thee, all men shall learn,
The faith of old — to it for guidance turn.
All will acknowledge that to us is given,
The purest faith and truest road to Heaven.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 3.

[Notice Of The Poet Himself.]

List to my words, for I too, — late have come,
Among my fellowmen—not here my home.

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Bound on my waist the sacred belt [= kusti], behold.
I too the sacred volumes can unfold.
Then hearken, for on thee no loved one smiles,
Nor wife, or child, from wisdom's path beguiles."
He said, and as his counsel sage I heard,
My heart was guided by the old man's word.

"My name," I said, "will live to future years,
And hope of Heaven's reward the labour cheers.
May God for this, the All-wise, Almighty Sire,
Release my soul from dread of penal fire."
Home I returned, and pleasing visions steep
My eyes in soft forgetfulness and sleep.
I dreamed Srosh [a Derwish] stood beside my bed;
And, "sleepest thou idly?" thus the phantom said.
"Awake, bethink thee of thy vow, nor pause,
Till Zartusht sees renewed his sacred laws:
It is thine to gladden thus the prophet's soul.
And reach thyself intact the heavenly gaol.
Hid intercession shall avail thee best,
Before thy God — on him securely rest."
Scared by the vision, sleep my eyelids flies,
I wake and bursting tear-drops fill my eyes.
All night, revolving in my anxious mind
These thoughts, I lay, nor rest nor slumber find.
Soon as the sun from out his turret high,
Cast the first links of gold adown the sky,
To Kai-Khosraw my sire's most honoured ear,
The strange relation of my dream I bear.
Know ye who would my place of birth inquire,
It was Kujapur* the city of my sire.
[* Literally, "Where-town"! The writer seems to have been unwilling to mention the real place of his abode.]
The house of Kuja is an ancient name,
The children now, not first, approved to fame).
"Beware," he said, "no vain resistance raise,
He pleases Heaven who at once obeys.
No worldly cares disturb thy tranquil mind,
In this behest thy only labour find."
Thus when I heard his answer, I prepared
To execute my task and back repaired
To the old priest who first aroused my zeal.
"Begin," I cried, "the work, for now I feel
My heart with ardor filled." — Thus then began
The history of the past that ancient man.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 4.
[The Appearance Of Zartusht In The World.]
TALE OF THE OLD PRIEST.
When earth beneath the weight of evil groaned,
No teacher, guide, or chief her children owned.
Reckless of God, they felt no righteous awe,
And cast aside the dictates of his law.
The fiend accursed his banner wide unfurl'd,
And shook his pinions joyous o'er the world.
Exulting laughed haughty Ahriman,
And marked creation struggling in his chain.
Twas in that dark despairing hour, that God,
To helpless man his saving mercy shewed.
To save that rebel race his prophet rose,
Salvation's portal opened to his foes.
From the unconquered race of Faridoon,
From royal sires arose the inspired son.
As shoots the tender offspring of the vine,
So sprung Zartusht from the prophet line.
(Save God alone none knows or good or ill,
Learn this ye wise — ye children of his will.)
From Faridoon descended Petarasp.
The wise and good, his son was named Pourushasp.
Born of his loins the great Zartusht came,
To free the imprisoned world from sin and shame.
A sapling he of that same noble race,
Lords of bright lineage, dignity and (trace.
They called him Zartusht, and his mother's name
Was the chaste Dughdov, fair, unspotted dame.
Said then the priest, "now hear the legend true,
When Dughdov pregnant of her Zartusht grew,
Five slow revolving moons hail passed; again
The sixth pale moon was hastening to her wane.

DREAM OF THE MOTHER OF ZARTUSHT.
She dreamed she wondering marked in heaven's clear skies
A cloud like to an eagle's pinion rue.
So thick a gloom its gathering shadow spread,
The sun is veiled, the day grows dark and dread.
And from that cloud no rain, but, strange to tell,
Lions and tigers, wolves and dragons fell,
The crocodile and panther of the waste,
All that is horrible, misshapen, vast,

The writhing serpent and the bird obscene,
All things detested that the eye has seen,
Or fancy feigned, and still with gathering storm,
Fast falls each savage shape, and grisly form.
Sudden from forth that phantom train appears,
One who than all a ghastlier semblance wears.
On Dughdov rushing, in her tender side
The direful monster tore an opening wide,
And thence the infant Zartusht in his grasp
Dragged forth to light — death seemed in every gasp,
But on their prey ere yet those jaws could close,
Loud threatening shouts as those of men arose.
And in that hour of seeming misery
While hapless Dughdov strove for aid to cry,
"Wail not," her infant said, "for not from these
Shall harm approach me or destruction seize.
God is my guardian and protection. He
From every evil thing shall keep me free;
Then dread not, though you view assembled here,
These monsters grim and loathsome forms of fears."
Cheered with these words, the mother calms her care,
When lo! a hill descends from upper air,
And from its aide, beams forth refulgent light,
Dispels the clouds and breaks the gloom of night.
Then comes a hurrying blast, before whose breadth
Fast fly those grim aspects and shapes of death.
When nearer came that holy light, was seen
An angel form, a youth of heavenly mien.
Fair as the morn, a shepherd youth he seems,
And Jamshed's lustrous glory round him beams.
In his right hand he holds a dazzling wand,
Hell shrinks aghast before the vengeful brand.
His left supports the oracles of heaven,
The written word for man's instruction given,
These when they see, back quail the demon crew,
And hid in air, are lost to human view.
Three shapes alone of all the monster train,
A wolf, a lion, and a pard remain.
The youth advancing in their savage gaze,
Rears his bright wand and darts its dazzling blaze.
Vainly before his steps the fiends retire,
And wrapped in fierce consuming flames expire.
The infant Zartusht, rescued from the tomb,

AGAIN IS SHELTERED IN HIS MOTHER'S WOMB.
Her wound is healed, by mercy from above,
And Hell's fierce rage is foiled by heavenly love
To Dughdov, then, the heavenly stripling said; —
"Arise, nor let thy heart grow faint with dread,
Comfort thee, for from thee a child shall spring,
On whom shall rest the favour of heaven's king.
The world beholds the glad event with joy,
And future ages hail the promised boy.
A prophet of the truth his pen shall trace
To a lost world the mysteries of grace.
Glad earth rejoices at his coming feet,
The wolf and lamb in peace and union meet.
Then let no anxious cares thy breast alarm;
Whom God protects is safe from every harm."
Thus spake the youth, and vanished from her sight,
And with him fled the vision of the night.
Dughdov is left alone, and busy thought
Recalls the dreams with strange forebodings fraught
A neighbouring sage there was, well skilled to read
The circling stars and tell the fates decreed.
Nor of less worth, to him fair Dughdov speaks
Her fears, and pity and instruction seeks.
And asks what destiny prepares? and how
The sure event of future years to know?

Said then the man of age, — "but few I ween
Such dream, such marvels of the night have seen.
First be thy infant born, ere I relate
To thy glad ear the oracles of fate.
All that thy heart desires thy child shall give;
Through him to distant lands thy name shall live.
His glory shall o'ershadow earth — his foes
Shall quail before him and in vain oppose.
Go, then, and when three days are past, return,
And the bright tidings of the future learn."
He said and Dughdov seeks her home — her breast
Is filled with care, nor food nor needful rest
She takes, till fail three suns and the fourth day
Casts o'er the earth its joy-inspiring ray.
Again the seer she seeks; glad smiled the sage,
And rising thoughts his labouring mind engage.

With quadrant viewing, then, he marks with care
What signs and changes in the sun appear,
And next the stars observing he discerns
The horoscope, and slow surveys by turns
Bahram and Nahid, Tir, and Kaiwan old,
Each planet circling in its path of geld.
He sees the moment of conjunction bright
With fortunes fair and joy's unfading light,
And thus he speaks; "I view a destiny
Of hope sublime and wondrous augury,
Know, that thy son, great, virtuous and wise,
High over his sires in glory's path shall rise."
(The translator had intended to render the whole text in verse, but abandoned that in favour of plain prose at this point.)

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 5.
[Interpretation Of The Dream.]
"This night that thou hast seen this dream, and beheld this suffering and woe, thou wert five months gone with child and twenty days and three. When thou art delivered of that holy thing, he shall grow up in righteousness and mercy; his name shall be the glorious Zartusht; all his actions shall be fulfilled in goodness. Every faith and sect opposed to him shall be brought low, through the excellence of his fortune. At the first they shall struggle with him for the mastery, and shall endeavour much against him. Thou shalt experience much evil from the tyranny of the wicked, as thou didst dream of sustaining from the wild beasts. At the end thou slink be prosperous and happy, and shalt rejoice in this child which is yet unborn. And what thou sawest in the latter part or thy dream, for that let thy spirit be raised above the sixth heaven: the bright branch thou saw est which brought the gladness, is the glory of God manifested against the oppressors, which shall keep back from thy child every evil thing. And that writing which the youth held in his hand, with that he shall sow tho seed of righteousness. That is the token of the prophethood, with which the wicked and the fiends shall be blinded. His name shall be perpetual in the world, and all his desire shall be accomplished. The three beasts which remained and were destroyed by that flaming brand, are three foes, the deadliest and worst. They shall endeavour but shall not succeed; and at the last they shall be overthrown. He shall separate the truth and the right way from vanity. The bright sun is not hid by particles of dust, and those only shall doubt of thy son who are void of faith and understanding. In those days shall arise a king who shall make known the true faith; he shall aid in celebrating the faith of Zartusht, and shall establish it in the sight of all. Blessed is the tree that God shall cause to bear such fruit; you shall be blessed in this unblemished pearl, and by this holy child shall rise above the stars.

Paradise shall reward those who obey him; the souls of his enemies shall descend to Hell; would that I might live to behold his day — my life and all I possess should be his sacrifice." When Dughdov heard these precious words, she said, "O Prophet of wisdom! How knowest thou that this was my fifth month?" The seer replied, "let the days be reckoned, thou shall know that I have spoken right; thy computation is by the stars' ordination, and thus it is written with dates of the past. Behold what God will bring to thee by thy son; the world shall be filled with his praise, and the righteous shall rejoice in him." When Dughdov heard the interpretation of her dream, she prepared to return to her home. She told the prediction to Pourushasp, the son of Petarasp. When the ninth month arrived the chaste matron prepared all things for the event.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 6.
[The Miracles Which Attended The Birth Of Zartusht.]
When the time of his birth drew near, his relations were filled with lamentation. His mother called for the wise women and also for those who were dear to her, in order that they might minister to her, and might support her in her travail. The women who were her neighbours, and men evilenchanters, surrounded the door of her house, and were, you would say, her watchers. When the moon breathed light on the world, the holy Zartusht was born. As he left the womb he laughed; the house was enlightened by that laughter; his father was astonished at him, at his laughter and beauty and loveliness. He said in his heart, "This is the glory of God." Save this child, every infant born into the world has wept. They named the child Zartusht; great and small heard thereof; the word of the seer was fulfilled, as he had foretold the birth of the child. The women were envious of his laughter, and of the brightness of his destiny; they remained covetous of him, since the like of him had not been seen; they said, "We know not how this will be, or what will be the event." Child like this, saw they never; in beauty the world could shew no equal to him: the city was filled with the news of the beauty and laughter of the infant; all who were unclean and evil were stung to the heart at that laughter. In those days were many magicians who filled every place with their art; among them was spread anxiety; their souls were consumed as a torch; they said, "This is a calamity to us, we must remove this child from the world."

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 7. [Second Miracle. Escape Of Zartusht From Duransarun [Durasrun.]
There was a king in those days; his name was Duransarun; he was the chief of the magicians, and an alien from God. He discovered the birth of Zartusht; he knew that when Zartusht appeared, the art of magic would be lost and forgotten, and that he would establish a pure faith, and would bring to disgrace all magicians. The pure would receive their faith from him, his glory would reach the sun; the evil he would

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utterly destroy, and would reveal the pure faith. When the Shah heard of his birth, his face became pale as hay. Instantly he mounted his steed, and departed to the house of Pourushasp. He came to the bed of the child, and behold a face like the early spring, beaming with the glory of God. The Shah discerned the mystery revealed in him; at sight of him the Shah grew pale. He said, "Take him from the cradle." They raised the child, and the wicked king drew forth a dagger of brightness; he thought to dissever the child, that his heart might be relieved from fear and bodings. In that moment he was struck with anguish; you would say it was the agony of death. The hands of the Shah were dried up by the command of God the merciful. When the Shah was disappointed of his hopes, that instant he withdrew from the bed of the child, since God, he saw, protected the infant and defended his life from every evil thing. All the magicians were sad and faint of heart; they were troubled and became like grass. They obeyed the order of the Shah and departed. They were cut to the soul for the anguish of the king; when dismay fell among them, they bore off the infant Zartusht from his father.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 8.

[Third Miracle. Escape Of Zartusht From The Fire.]

They conveyed the child to the desert, and raised a vast heap of timber; they made it like Lajaward, with while naphtha nnd yellow brimstone. They quickly kindled one immense fire and cast Zartusht therein. By the command of God the cherisher, no evil reached Zartusht. That blazing fire became as water. In it Zartusht fell asleep. When that thing was done in the desert by those evil men, they departed. They carried the glad tidings to Duransarun, and told him their enemy had perished. "We kindled a fierce flame, we burned Zartusht therein." When his mother heard thereof, she wandered forth for grief for her loss, like a maniac; she reached the desert und the place where the fire of the magicians was kindled; she saw in the flames the figure of her child, and her breast rejoiced at the sight of her offspring. Pearls were scattered by him in his prophethood, like the starry light of Nahid and Mushtari. Instantly she snatched him to her bosom, and kissed his eyebrows and his forehead two hundred times, thence she bore him secretly to her house. Such was this event in the world. Thus says the Priest of priests; "The world was never free from evil doers, but God the Protector gives victory to the pure and good; the Author of righteousness will protect the right; it is therefore best that you follow the right way."

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 9. [Fourth Miracle. Escape Of Zartusht From The Feet Of The Oxen.]

Short time elapsed when the miracles of Zartusht became known. The fire had had no effect upon him, and hid mother bore him borne free of pain and hurt. Again the magicians, fiends and Paris displayed their fierceness and bad intention; again they consulted and devised, in order to contrive a way to put him to death. They secretly carried forth Zartusht by order of that Shah the leader of the aliens. They placed him in the narrow way, where the oxen were accustomed to pass; they threw down that unweaned babe in that narrow way, hopeless and forlorn, that when the oxen came by that way they might trample on him and destroy him. When the herd began to move, one advanced before the rest, mightier than the rest in strength and size, like him who presides among an assembly of men. It came forward to the beautiful child, like a mother seeking her offspring; it protected the child between its forefeet with care in the name of God. It was not possible for the rest of the herd to pass on it, or to trample the child under their feet. When one endeavoured to pass that way it stooped down its ears and shielded the child; until they all had passed, it moved not from the place. Then it resought the herd as the hawk its prey. The mother of Zartusht was filled with frenzy; every where she thought to behold her child. When she heard the story of the oxen, she hasted till she reached the spot. Thence she raised up the beloved babe, and returned with thanks to her home: she called down a little curse with wailing and tears on that evil people of wrong doers. — "May the great God do even so to them as they would have done to the child had he not saved it; may they not find a hearing before God, and may their hopes fail in this world and the next."

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 10. [Fifth Miracle. Escape Of Zartusht From The Feet Of Horses.]

And when that news reached the wicked Duransarun, that Zartusht had escaped the feet of the bulls and not a hair of his body bad been injured, this news stung him to the heart, and he prepared another device. He sought for a narrow way, where wild horses used to pass. He ordered them to carry forth Zartusht, and cast him without food in that perilous way, that when the horses passed that way they might trample on his body. When the Shah gave this order they obeyed, but were disappointed in their hopes. They threw him where the herd used to pass; they left him there friendless and destitute. In that terrible place, the heart of the mighty, through the burning heat, waxed afraid. When the wild horses began to enter the defile, a single mare advanced before the rest. By the command of God the cherisher, it came and stood by the pillow of the babe; it stood forward in defence of the noble child. The horses were unable to bite it. You would say that was the queen of mares, which both sheltered the child and befriended it. Again when the mother of Zartusht heard the news, she wandered everywhere as one distracted. She at length drew near her child, and her heart was afflicted at his danger. Many thanksgivings gave she to God, that her infant had met no harm from the horses. Again she bore him to her house; day and night her heart trembled on account of him; but while God was his Protector, what could Dews or Paris do to harm him? If n hundred thousand accursed Dews came to work you ill, if they hear from you the name of God, they will one and all take to flight. Such is the name of the holy God; from it destruction shall reach the wicked.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 11.

[Sixth Miracle. Escapes Of Zartusht From The Wolves.]

When the wicked king Duransarun saw no success from the wild bulls and horses, he perceived that God protected the child and was unable to discover any expedient. Again he set about contriving, and hardened his heart like steel. Then he ordered that search should be made for a place the abode of wolves, a place where the wolves harboured, that there they might seize and destroy their young, and then place there the infant Zartusht, and see if their cause of anxiety would thus be removed, that when the savage wolves descended from the mountains, they would find their young ones slain and be seized with fury; then certainly, they would tear Zartusht in pieces, and when hungry would devour his body. They carried out Zartusht as the evil Shah directed. They slew the young wolves, and cast them there, and hastened back from the place. See now the providence of God, and always select the path of righteousness. When the old wolves came to the spot, they saw a painful sight — all their young slain. They beheld a single infant weeping there; and at once they rushed upon him, they prepared to tear him in pieces, and satiate their fury for the loss of their young. The holy Zartusht by the will of God, in that danger moved nor head nor foot. He placed not his hand on the foremost wolf, yet in that instant its mouth was closed. And the life of Zartusht was uninjured. The other wolves became tame, the fury of the savage wolves was calmed. Behold when the leader's heart waxes faint, the army trembles with fear. It was the will of God that the pack of wolves should become friendly, and injure not the child; they sat down besides his pillow, and forgot their resentment for the loss of their young. Such is the power of God, that he makes the savage wolf feel pity; therefore it is right that at all times, you should cause your lips to utter his name. When the jaws of the wolf were closed, and it had taken its watch near the child's pillow, two cows descended from the mountain and come to that wonder of the age; they placed their teats filled with milk without deceit or evil purpose in his mouth. Who till that moment had seen the cow and the wolf together, and the jaws of the wolf closed from doing harm? The breath of the wolf will be with that of the cow, if it be the merciful will of God. God was merciful to that holy child; his body sustained no hurt from the wolves.

By turns the cows gave him milk, until eventide was passed. When the bright sun lit up its crown of light, and the tree of ivory rose up from the wave, the mother of Zartusht was weeping for her child, and was hastening through the deserts and mountains; she was crying out and making search, and endeavouring to find the road to her child; [We must confess our inability to follow the poet through these heights and depths. The words in the original are — "when the splendent sun lifted up his crown, and there appeared the ivory from the fountain of ebony." Query. Does not Zartusht Behram here improve upon the Mohammedan idea of the sun rising from a fountain of black mud?] she knew not herself where her beloved one was, nor did any one shew her the right path. When she saw that wolf on the summit of the mountain, fearless she hastened towards it. She imagined the wolf had torn her child and had rent his limbs. When she found her child, that chaste mother threw herself before God on her knees. She said, "O God, giver of mercies, thou gavest me this dear son, thou savedst him from the wild beasts and evil men. I testify that thou art one; neither in this world, nor in the next, is any like thee; it behoveth all things to praise thee, both the visible and invisible world.

She then took up her child. She wondered at the circumstance of the cow and wolf which she had seen near her child. The news became known to the magicians, that the lamb had escaped from the wolves, that Zartusht was brought back in safety and gladness from that peril. Again they assembled together and prepared every art and contrivance. They said, "This our danger is lengthened out, we see no remedy for this; it is better for us to look into this matter, and obtain some fruit of our labour." There was a chief of the magicians [magi = well-educated Zoroastrian priests], whose name was Bartarush; he was a powerful wizard, and he said to the magicians, "Why raise you this outcry? I know respecting Zartusht, since I have examined regarding him with diligence, that he will not be destroyed by our counsels, since God protects him from every evil. The glory of God has been revealed in him; we shall not find a key to this closed door. Bahman took him before God, and acquainted him with the secrets of the two worlds, of the prophets of the God of the world. He alone is the guide of the world: — the world shall receive its laws from him; his faith shall be established among men; there shall be a righteous king who shall render him good assistance; — he shall break every enchantment, and shall destroy every work of the Dews." Then the father of Zartusht asked him to tell him that which he knew. "What good, or ill, see you in his destiny? What have his stars in store for him? What meant that laughter at his birth? Tell it, whether betokening evil or good." Bartarush gave him this answer:— "Be thou wary of heart and discerning; your child shall be the leader of the world, since his equal has never appeared. All the propitious powers of heaven watch over him; all goodness is present with him; he shall guide all people in righteousness according to the will of God the cherisher. He shall make known the Zand-Avesta; he shall spread his name through the wide world; he shall drive out the wicked from the world; enchantment shall not remain, nor the doers thereof. The Shah Gushtasp shall receive the faith from him, ho shall bless him in the joy of his heart." When the father heard these things of him he rejoiced thereat in his heart. There was an old man in those days, wise, pure, and intelligent; his name was Barzinkarus. He came in the early morn to the house of Pourushasp, and said to him, "O holy man, I must bring up Zartusht with affection, like the sun in heaven. I shall esteem him as a beloved son, I shall keep him from evil as a flower. Take me to that dear son, and entrust his valued person to me." The father accordingly gave him to his care, and rested for a while from conversing with him. Zartusht attained his seventh year; the glorious God protected him; no hot wind breathed on him from the devices of the Dews, working magic.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 12.

[Seventh Miracle. In The Seventh Year Of Zartusht.]

When his seventh year was fulfilled, God arranged all his affairs. Bartarush and Duransarun at that time went to him together, to work magic arts upon him and afflict and disgrace his soul. They made many magic rites there, but none of them succeeded. They increased fear and caused dread; the hearts of people were rent in twain, the heart of Zartusht quailed not, and he was not moved thereat; from that house men fled away, and became like dead men from fear. His clear soul in his body knew that he was protected from that magic. The great God was his protection, from the terrible devices of the magicians. When the evil enchanters saw, that their arts availed them not, they left the house disappointed, and their hearts were filled with blood from that woe.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 13.

[Eighth Miracle. During The Sickness Of Zartusht.]

After this Zartusht became sick; the hearts of his friends were filled with grief; the filthy magicians heard thereof that sickness had fallen upon him. Bartarush, the chief of enchanters, secretly contrived a device:— He collected drugs from all quarters, and mixed therewith the vilest abomination. He brought thereof to the Shah and desired to kill Zartusht therewith; he told him to take that medicine, that he might be freed from pain and sickness. By the command of the glorious God the holy Zartusht knew the fraud — that it was a drug destructive of life, which should not be given to God's creatures. He took the medicine from that infidel wizard, and poured it instantly on the pound. He said to him, — "Vile demon! [sorcerer] thy drugs are not efficacious with me; this medicine thou hast brought, thou hast mixed with filthy water. Practise all thy magic arts, they are of no force with me. If you should put on other apparel, what will it avail before one who knows the heart? And should you clothe yourself differently, I should know thee, O thou full of deceit! God has shewn me how to recognize thee — that God who rules the universe, who gives subsistence and life and takes them back at his will." Again, when the evil magicians were grieved on account of Zartusht, although they contrived many things they returned disappointed in all.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 14.

[Dispute Of Zartusht With The Magicians.]

Every thing was magic in those days, and nothing was done without the magic art. The fiends impure consorted with the magicians. They walked and sat with them on the earth. They gained all their magic from the fiends, and knew not God, the King of kings. They worshipped the unclean devil, as the pure God is now worshipped. Even Pourushasp, in those days, walked in the way that was known to all. One day several of those magicians who were the chief in that assembly, — Burantarush and Duransarun, — whoever was chief in stratagem and deceit, all he took to his own house and made a splendid banquet. He had collected stores of dainties, and expended much labour on that feast. After they had finished eating, Pourushasp made an assembly at that entertainment.

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He then said to Burantarush, "You are of all most skilled in magic; make you a good and becoming device, that we may be delighted and exalted. You know magic best this day, since you are chief of the sorcerers of the world." When Zartusht heard what his father said, he said, "Speak not improperly, have you nothing to do with magic or sorcery! How long will you wander in the evil way? If you follow any way but that of righteousness, in the end you will convey yourself to hell; and if your heart is turned to any but God, certainly your place shall be in hell. Follow in that way which God your creator has made manifest to all people. From the deceits of magic you remain in ignorance, and are neglectful of your duty to the God of the world. The end of magic is hell, and all that is gained by it is lamentation."

Then Bartarush said to Zartusht,— "Why speak you vain words, and why are you not silent? What are you before me, or your father, that you always speak in this manner? And know you not my power, that you thus reveal my secrets to all the mighty on the face of the earth. No one should venture to speak thus in my presence. This is what you require, that in this city I should bring your name to disgrace, and make you abased before all people, and spread falsehoods regarding you among all. You have taken away all the lustre of my power and have brought ruin into my affairs. May your name be forgotten among all people, and may your end be disappointed of every hope."

Zartusht said to him,— "You vile one! your falsehoods will not injure me; if you speak falsely of me, your estimation among men will be lessened, but in every thing I say to you, I will use nothing but truth. By my arguments, I will break your head and hands, and will overthrow you with this hand of mine. I will place you on the ass of impotency, and, however much you contend, you shall be compelled to fly by the order of God, the giver of all things. I will overthrow your power by my arguments, I will cause your destruction, I will break and humble your body." All the magicians were awestruck at him, at his manner, and his words. When Burantarush heard his words, you would say his reason and senses had left him. He went to his own house. That night through grief he was sick with fever, he lay afflicted with that illness, and also his children and wife; when the holy Zartusht was fifteen years old, he rested not a moment from fear and dread.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 15.

[The Doings Of Zartusht In His Youth.]

Day and night before the giver of justice, he bowed down his head to the ground; his heart was not in this world; his body from fear of God was in pain and affliction; he did much good in the world, both in the sight of all and secretly. Every where that there was any poor man who obtruded not his wants, till he was called for, he sent for him and treated him kindly and gave him every thing. Whenever there was any person afflicted, he sympathised with that affliction; he gave him clothes, and cared for him and arranged all his affairs. He held the world in no estimation, neither regarded silver or gold, except in the worship and mention of God. His body was not employed at any time; he spread a good name through the world among both great and small. He whose habits and customs are such as these, be assured that he is pure and truly religious. Every one whose heart is in the fear of God, will be saved from hell. When Zartusht attained his thirtieth year, he was relieved from danger and his works bare fruit.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 16.

[Departure Of Zartusht To Iran.]

His heart was directed to Iran. He left his place in company with some others. Of those, some who were his relations, accompanied him in this journey. When with his companions he reached the sea, no ship was to be found. Then Zartusht, desirous of a vessel, remained there like one in grief. He wished to return back from thence. He could not take the women by that road, for he was jealous of the men. Inasmuch as it behoved not to take women into the water, it was not right for women to be naked especially in sight of a strange company. He wept to the Almighty God, and prayed for a passage across that sea. Since he prayed with truth and devotion, he was accepted by the holy God.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 17.

[Passage Of Zartusht Across The Sea.]

Zartusht arose and entered the water, and ordered the people to make haste. They all hastened to enter that sea, and removed not their clothes from their limbs. As a vessel moves with the stream, so moved they in the water of the sea; you would say a bridge had been formed there and that Zartusht crossed quickly thereon. The whole month of Spandarmad, they went on till the day which is called Aniran.11 On that day the holy Zartusht reached the confines of Iran. There was a feast there in those days; the mighty of that clime in countless numbers, had come to that festal place, and were met together in joy and mirth. Zartusht desired to join that feast. Night came and extinguished the lights of the world; he slept alone that dark night by the way side, but understanding was the companion of his soul.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 18.

[What Zartusht Saw In A Dream.]

He dreamed he saw, that from the east a countless army was collected; and they enme upon him in the way he was going, and drew near him with hostile purpose. They encompassed him on every side, and stopped his passage in all directions. When Zartusht looked that way another army became visible. They came up from the direction of the south, all warlike and fierce men; they joined swords together, the eastern army fled. Since God shewed him this dream, attend to the interpretation thereof.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 19.

[Interpretation Of The Dream Of Zartusht.]

The exposition of the dream is on this wise, — for so the interpreter expounded it, — that Zartusht should go before God, and should hear all secrets from him. His heart should be informed of the faith, and should learn the mysteries of the true religion; and on his return from God, from that bright place to this dark world, he should make manifest the true faith and clear the rose-tree of truth from thorns. When the Dews and magicians should hear thereof, they would gird up their loins to do him battle, and would draw near him, preparing light, seeking the battle like lions, and Mediomah having heard thereof would be converted to the true faith, (though grief be ordained in this world) with willing soul and cheerfulness, and would receive from him the true faith, and learn the ordinances of religion. And after that he would read the Zand-Avesta with a loud voice to those fiends and magicians. The fierce fiends would fly and all the accursed magicians. When he had heard the exposition of his dream and had come to that banquet, his heart was glad at that festivity, and joy returned as to its source. After some time, pleased and joyous, he departed from that feast which resembled paradise.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 20.

[The Passage Of Zartusht By The Water Of Daeti.]

When he had returned from that feast, he came near waters, when half the month of Ardebehisht had passed,and the earth become like paradise. On the day you call Day-pa-Mihr, when the sun showed his face, on that day he reached the waters, a deep sea without bottom. The name of it in the Avesta is Daeti, and never has its depth been fathomed. It in a tradition among men, that the waters of this sea are divided in four. The holy Zartusht entered the waters, and his heart was not afraid. The first stream reached the middle of his leg, the second flowed above his knee, the third reached his waist, and the fourth came up to his neck. Be not astonished at whatever I tell you as having been done by God the cherisher.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 21.

[Explanation Of The Above.]

There are nine thousand proofs of the above, that the true faith will be four times renewed. First Zartusht Asfantaman without doubt introduced the true faith; next Hushidar accepts the faith; and then the prophet Mah Hushidar; the fourth the good Sasanish, I shall purify the earth, like paradise. The glorious God shewed him a passage over the waters, as I have said. His body was cleansed by that water, and was not afflicted or fatigued by it. Like gold cleansed by the fire, so value is increased by purifying. His head and his body he washed, and his head was clean, for his loins were girded to obey the will of God.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 22.

[The Coming To Zartusht Of The Amshaspand Bahman, Who Conveys Him To God.]

Then came to the holy Zartusht on that same day Bahman, by the order of God. Refulgent from afar, like the sun and clothed in raiment of light, he said to Zartusht; "Name the thing which you desire in this world? What is your wish?" Zartusht said to him, "O good spirit, I seek nothing but God's pleasure; all wishes are directed to his will, since both worlds are his. My heart seeks nought but truth; my soul follows not after vanity. If I fulfil the commands of God, I accomplish all the desires of my heart. But I think, O holy spirit, that you are my guide in the right way." When the angel Bahman heard his words, he spoke to him suitably, and ssid, "Arise and appear before God, and hear from him all you desire." Immediately Zartusht stood on his feet. When Bahman shewed him the pith, he said to Zartusht, "Close thine eyes an instant, and proceed swiftly." You would say a bird bore him from that place, and took him before God. When Zartusht opened his eyes, he found himself in heaven. First he looked on an assembly, so bright that he saw his shadow in their light. Between him and that assembly was a space of twenty-four steps. Hear and attend! There was another body of pure light and heavenly spirits attended it. Many angels in that instant came to him and one by one were joyed to see him. Each asked of Zartusht, and pointed with his fingers. He went into the presence of the holy God, with glad heart, but trembling body. When he came into the divine presence, he performed the fitting worship. And after he had glorified God, he began to inquire certain things.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 23.

[Zartusht Inquires Of God.]

He asked first; — "Who of God's creatures on earth is best?" God gave him this answer; — that God who was and is, — "He of all men is best who is true of heart, also he who is really generous — by whose charity the hearts of all are made glad — who inclines not save to the way of truth, and turns not his eyes upon vanity; also he who is merciful on all things in the world, on fire, water [Here, it will be observed, the elements are represented as sentient.], and animals, whether sheep, cows, or asses. Whose heart obtains a portion of their gratitude, he shall escape from hell forever. Whatever thing is useful to you, if you afflict it, you displease God. And every one who in the world inflicts pain and vexes God's creatures, such a one has transgressed his statutes. Tell these words to that people. Hell shall be his perpetual abode who steps aside from this law."

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 24.

[The Second Question Asked Of God.]

Again, Zartusht inquired of God, the supporter of the just. "Of the angels, who is most devout and most approved by God?" He asked to know their names and appearance, and that he might hear their discourses — also to know of the wicked Ahriman [Here Ahriman is represented as the active Principle of evil.], who would never consent to goodness, also regarding the good and bad deeds done in the world, what is ordained regarding them at the end, and other things of a fleeting nature that always appear under a new shape, and other secret things he had stored up:— All these he laid before God.

GOD'S ANSWER TO ZARTUSHT.

Thus he found answer from his God, the answer of the questions he had put; — "My desire is to exhibit goodness, the seeking of evil is the act of Ahriman; I am not pleased with any worker of evil; I have no foreknowledge of evil acts; I desire not grief, nor trouble, nor pain, nor injury, that it should happen to the inhabitants of earth. Think not that evil arises except from Ahriman and from the accursed and impure fiends. The same evil beings are the tribe of Ahriman, their recompense is hell. Behold the fully of those who speak falsely of me and testify that I work evil; I will give up their souls and bodies to hell who ascribe evil unto me." Then in all the sublime sciences, both from the beginning and from the end, in all these severally, God made Zartusht wise, from Gayomard [The Zoroastrian proto-human, analogous to Adam. Translator reads Adam.] to the last resurrection, from the first creation of the world to the destruction of all things at the end. He acquainted him with the revolution of the heavens, and with the good and bad influence of the stars, with the Hauris also of paradise whose spirits are formed of pure light, also with the forms and stature of the Angels, adorned like lofty cypress trees, also with the Hauris of light, created by God, of whom he has given us hope. All of them are exactly alike, for so God the Creator made them, walking gracefully like cypress trees in the beautiful paradise of the Jins. He shewed him also the face of Ahriman the evil one, revealed to him in the dark and narrow pit of hell, and also the recompense awarded to each person according to their deeds. When Ahriman beheld him from his abode he raised it cry from the pit of hell and said to Zartusht, "from this pure faith be separated, and cast it away from thee — that in this world you may gain your desire; therefore consider in this your own interest."

ZARATHUSHTRA 25. [The Signs Shown To Zartusht.]

When Zartusht the wise and pure in faith was made thus informed of the things which pertain to God, returning from thence, as he cast down his eyes, he saw a mountain burning with fire. The order was given that the wise Zartusht should pass through that flaming fire. Through that heap of fire, lofty as a mountain, he passed and his body felt no harm, and after that, by the order of God, behold what happened to him and give ear. Again they melted down vast quantities of brass, and with the lava made his breast like silver. A hair of his body was not lost, nor was his delicate body injured. Again they opened his belly, and dragged forth the inside. Again they returned it to its place and it became as before, by the order of God. Whoso is protected by God, iron in his hand is like wax. Why should he fear fire or water, if his guardian is the holy God?

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 26.

[Explanation Of The Preceding.]

Then God said to Zartusht, — "With regard to that mountain of fire you passed, and the belly you saw torn, from which flowed a stream of blood, with reference to that, tell all men, that you are their shepherd and they are your flock. Say, that whoever comes not to the true faith, but seeks the way of

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error, by the order of the evil Ahriman, his blood shall be thus poured forth. His body shall burn, and shall not enter paradise, his soul shall not rejoice therein. When his heart is turned from the pure faith, his body shall be destroyed. And that brass which was three times melted and which poured on thy breast became like ice, no injury came on thee therefrom, not a hair was lost on thy body. One tribe shall turn from the faith, by the order of the deceitful Ahriman. Afterwards when the true faith throughout the world shall be diffused and the Dews dispersed, then to fight against them, a high priest shall gird up his loins. Men's hearts shall be in doubt, then this molten brass shall be a miracle to point out their leader. Azarbad Marasfand shall come, and shall overthrow all their devices; he shall pour over himself that molten brass, yet no harm shall reach his body. When men shall behold his deeds, doubt and hesitation shall be removed from their hearts. They shall draw back from crooked paths, and all shall learn the right way.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 27. [Another Interrogation Regarding The Praise Of God = Niyayesh.]

Again Zartusht inquired from the Creator, the knower of mysteries, regarding those who worship and priests and Mobeds of wakeful hearts. "Whoever worships before thee, what shall he say, and wherewithal shall he praise thee? When any desire to celebrate thy praise what form of worship shall they observe? To what Kiblah is it right to turn? Answer once more thus thy servant."

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 28.

[Answer Of God To Zartusht.]

God, the giver of subsistence who alone is without wants, thus answered Zartusht:— "Inform the people of the world, that so they may see things, both hidden and revealed. Whatever is bright and full of light, let them know that that is the brightness of my glory. They will not err in their worship of me, if they turn their faces to that which is bright. If they observe my commandments, Ahriman shall fly from them; nothing in the world is better than light, both among small and great. Of light we created angels and paradise, afterwards hell was formed from darkness. Wherever you may be in the two worlds you will find no place void of my light. Then God taught the Zand-Avesta to Zartusht — a sublime work. Wherever pure light is produced there it is not proper to bring darkness. God said to Zartusht, "Go and before Shah Gushtasp read this book, that he may come into the faith. Exhort him to goodness, that he may know me, and that none may impute injustice to me. Day and night, I am bountiful and gracious. From God is whatever you behold in creation. Keep all my counsel and repeat it word by word to Shah Gushtasp. Inform all the Mobeds regarding me, that they may cast aside the way of Ahriman. Inform also, all the people of the world, that Dews and magicians may fly from them." When all this converge with God was ended, the good Zartusht remained astonished. He multiplied the praises of God, and magnified his bounties.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 29. [Return Of Zartusht From Yazdan And The Coming Of The Amshaspand To Him, And The Trust Committed To Zartusht, And The Words Spoken To Him By The Amshaspand Bahman.]

When Zartusht had returned from before Yazdan the God, with the wish of his heart accomplished, the Angel Bahman came to his dwelling, that angel namely who presides over sheep. He said to him,— "Behold all these sheep I commit to your care, wherever the flocks may be. Tell all the Mobeds and learned priests (Rads) to acquaint every man of understanding to take great care of sheep, that they may be useful in the world. Let no one kill a calf, or a sheep which is a lamb, nor any sheep that is young; for it will be useful in the world. He will not be acceptable to God who shall thus kill any animal, nor is it right to kill them idly. Tell this commandment, which is a strict one, aright. You must take good care of animals, and thence reap benefit. You have heard from me these words of advice, for I am the guardian of sheep. All the sheep that are in the world, I have received from God the merciful. As I have spoken, do you receive, and tell these words to old and young. Take care you give them not over to the evil, and think not this commandment a small matter. I have told you all my desire, now do you know therest." Then Zartusht received these words from the angel who exerts himself in favour of sheep.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 30. [Coming Of The Angel Ardebihisht And His Discourse Regarding Fire-Temples.]

The noble angel Ardebihisht came forward, as the former angel withdrew. He said to Zartusht;— "O holy one, accepted of God the beneficent! take my message to the Shah Gushtasp; say, 'O king of earth and majesty, I have committed to thy care every fire-temple, that you may gain renown on earth. Command that they be carefully preserved, and proper support be granted for them, that none venture to extinguish their fires with light water or heavy earth. Command that the Mobeds and priests and the Herbeds, pure and clean of heart, gird up their loins and be diligent and worship at every fire-temple. That they build fire-temples in every city, and increase the rites of the Sadah. [This is a festival in honour of the killing of a Dragon by king Hoshang. It is celebrated by the kindling of many fires.] When they have erected the abodes of fire-worship, let them bequeath vast possessions for their support. And until their acts bear fruit abundantly, let them not consider this my injunction fulfilled, since that light is from the light of God, which makes it so resplendent in your view. What see you in the world better than this, which is ready to fulfil the desires of all. Whoever has uncontrolable want, is in want of its aid — both old and young.

All it asks of men is wood, it asks neither more nor less. Its body is powerful like wood. Every moment it becomes younger. Its body fears neither death nor old age, if you place wood around it. If you pour perfumes on it which are really sweet, it will instantly give forth a pleasing odour. If you give it bad smelling things, it gives forth a bad smell; you will at once discover the difference. It removes from you the pain of cold. It lights up your darkness.

Therefore, since its merits are so great, it is right that you should know its value. As God has committed it to my care, so I commit it to you, O chief of men! Whoever despises in his heart this my counsel, his body shall be seized in hell. Whoever fulfils my ordinance, shall find acceptance with God. When the holy Zartusht received from Ardebihisht these words, the angel departed from him.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 31. [Coming Of The Angel Shahriwar And What He Says Regarding The Weapons Of War.]

He saw the Angel Shahriwar come forward with his mind full of counsel. He said, "O wise and holy one! you who spend day and night in praising, since you have descended to earth from high heaven, bear a message from me to men. Tell every one who possesses arms, swords, javelin, mace, or spear, to keep its edge keen and always free from stain, that when his enemy is before him be may tear his flesh therewith, causing pain. His object will be attained by his weapons, and in battle they will resemble the sun. Let him keep them at his own abode, let him not entrust them to his enemy, nor give them to his foe, for they will effect many things. Tell the people of earth this message — the whole of it from beginning to end."

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 32. [Coming Of The Angel Asfandarmad And Her Instruction Regarding The Earth.]

When the former angel had finished hit discourse, Asfandarmad came forward. When she had surveyed Zartusht well, she blessed him and his family. She said to him;— "O holy man; hear a message from me. Such is the command of God,— that the face of the earth be kept clean from blood and filth and carrion. It is not right that the earth be defiled with these. Wherever there is no cultivation, do not direct flowing water thereon. Let filth and that which is impure, be conveyed to a place by which men do not pass. When the earth is brought under cultivation, men derive countless benefits therefrom. He is the best of kings who encourages the cultivation of the soil." When he heard this advice of good meaning, he found it wholesome and advantageous.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 33. [Coming Of The Angel Khurdad And His Directions Regarding The Care Of Water.]

When Zartusht had turned his face, the Angel Khurdad advanced before him. He said to Zartusht, "O holy one; I commit to your care streams of water, both the water of canals and that of rivers, which descend from above and spring from below, and the rivulet which flows in the plain; also the canals and waters, which irrigate fields and gardens. Say to the people of earth that their bodies are strengthened and nourished by water. Animal life exists thereby, and earth and fruits are freshened therefrom. Keep carrion apart therefrom. Do not trifle in this business; pollute not water with blood or filthiness, that God may be pleased with thee. If your reason is willingly polluted by yourself, your pain in both worlds shall be increased. Every eatable thing which is defiled, pleasure and wholesomeness is removed therefrom, every one cooks his food with water, and when thirsty, drinks thereof. When the way thereof is clean, there is no danger in the passage. Keep pure auch an incomparable blessing above all, since such is the command of God."

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 34. [Coming Of The Angel Amardad And His Direction Regarding Vegetation.]

When Khordad had finished his discourse, instantly Amardad advanced. He* [*she; This Amshapand is a female.] spoke regarding vegetable existence to Zartusht. "The holy and undefiled, it is not right to destroy it uselessly, or to remove it without a purpose, for men and animals are gladdened thereby. God is its protector." He then gave every sort of advice to Zartusht, regarding religion and justice. "Order," he said, "the Mobeds, that they travel in the world. They will thus diffuse the faith among men, in doing which they will reveal truth. Let them exert subtlety in every way that they may be able to give an answer to all men. When religion and justice become known, no injustice will be left in the world. Let them know the Avesta and praise God and extol the God of creation. Let them keep fast their girdle [= kusti] in holiness, that your good name may remain on earth. Let every one bind his waist with the sacred girdle, since the Kusti is the sign of the pure faith. Let them be diligent, that the four elements be kept pure and free from blemish, the light air and flowing water, bright fire, and heavy earth, the animal body of these four elements was composed by the will of God. It is good that they be kept pure and be considered as the blessings of God." When Zartusht had heard all the mysteries of God he returned back, glad of heart.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 35. [Return Of Zartusht To This Earth And His Battle With The Dews.]

Having obtained his desire from the bounty of God, he returned to earth rejoicing. All the magicians heard thereof, they hastened to fight with Zartusht With them were all the impure fiends — an army dreadful and without number. When they beheld the wise Zartusht, they bit the finger of astonishment. Then the leaders of the accursed magicians and the princes of the impure fiends said to Zartusht,— "O noble Sir, keep concealed the Zand-Avesta, for we approve not of your device, nor the dazzling show of your contrivance. If you know and are acquainted with us, you will not strive to practise magic on magicians." When from those wicked ones, the holy Zartusht heard these words, his heart was filled with laughter. Then he recited one passage of the Zand-Avesta and raised his voice aloud. When the Dews heard his words they all fled from the battle; they all hid themselves under the earth; all the magicians were afraid and dispirited. A part of them died on that very spot, and a part were dejected and cast down by the power of God the Protector. He vanquished those Dews nnd magicians. He whom Yazdan protects and aids will be fortunate all his days. In every thing put your trust in God, for you will find no better guide than Him. If you place your reliance on God you may break your own neck without harm.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 36. [Zartusht Visits Balkh And Tht Court Of The Shah Gushtasp.]

When the holy and pure Zartusht had won the victory over the army of Ahriman — had overthrown all the magicians and cast down the impure fiends, he took his way towards Balkh to the court of Shah Gushtasp. He arrived there in a fortunate moment, and reposed for a while at his own dwelling. First, however, he praised God exceedingly and then took his way to the Shah. He came with stately step to the palace, and cast his eyes on the king of earth. First he beheld two rows of Princes, standing on their feet, with girded loins, the great men of Iran and of every clime — every where that there was a chief or leader. You would say, that in that palace appeared the splendour of Venus and the moon and sun; and that from their brightness, two ranks were formed; all the wise men dignified with honour and rank. There were two ranks of men in that palace surrounding the throne of Shah Gushtasp. The rank of each was marked according to the degree of his wisdom. All were humbled before him — the king of kings — of noble attributes — but those who excelled in wisdom, were ranked nearest the Shah. The Shah was seated on a throne of ivory. On his bead was a brilliant crown. The holy Zartusht came forward and called down a blessing on the Shah. When Gushtasp heard his words, be was in some degree aware of his dignity; he asked him of his health and received him honourably, and desired to place him with the wise men. They first brought forward a chair and placed it before him between the two ranks, and said to Zartusht,— "Sit thereon, and bring forth the minute wisdom, you possess." When Zartusht took his seat before those two ranks, he brought forth the rich pearl from its shell. Successfully none could argue with him. Each was cast down when he questioned him. They began to contend with each other, but Zartusht won the victory and succeeded.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 37. [The Contest Of Zartusht With The Wise Men Of Shah Gushtasp. — The First Day.]

One man from the right band of the Shah contended with Zartusht and sought to vanquish him. He and the one who first contended threw away their shield, and were compelled to yield the victory to Zartusht. Then another succeeded them, and unfolded the secrets of ancient learning. He said much, but found not success. At last he was defeated. Zartusht followed the order of their sitting, and called on each for a display of their learning. Every one who exalted his neck was disappointed and cast away his shield. Three others and a fourth retired. From the fifth he carried off, as you might say, his senses. When all the assembly were reduced to silence, they gave precedence to Zartusht. Gushtasp cast his eyes upon him and was astonished at his discourse. In this manner, from thirty persons who sat on the right, he carried off the palm, and succeeded. In the same way from thirty on the left he bore off the palm and left them silent All the wise men were astonished and their hearts were secretly cast down. Each

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devoured his own grief. When they were ashamed in the contest, the king of kings called forward Zartusht and seated him beside him. He asked him many questions relative to ancient learning and former history. He found alt his answers right. The king of kings was mightily delighted. The monarch gave him a house of strength near his own palace. All the philosophers were cut to the heart and were ashamed before the king of kings. They went away until the morning, when they would return to the king of kings. They said to each other,— "If thou art a faithful man, thou will contend and disgrace Zartusht. They knew not regarding him, that God supported him in all things. They went home and slept not at all that night but were each engaged in preparation. Zartusht the pure of heart and holy, went to his house from the assembly. Much thanksgiving he made to God that he had enabled him to vanquish his foes.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 38. [The Contest Of Zartusht With The Wise Men Of Shah Gushtasp. — The Second Day.]

The next day, when the azure vault drew forth its sharp sword from the scabbard, the wise men came to the throne of the Shah and formed their ranks according to custom. The holy Zartusht came forth, sent from God as a guide. They contended with one another, but at the last Zartusht was victorious. When the contest of the wise was over, they were cut to the heart. Through grief and tegret every one said;— "What voice is this!" Each was certain that this was the power of God. Zartusht was like a lion of the forest that leaps from ambush on the herd. The wise men, like the herd, were filled with fear. Zartusht was like the male lion, he drew forth his tongue like a sharp sword, and raised commotion in that assembly; and to the wisdom which that man of God expounded, he brought forward a hundred proofs. The king of kings exalted the rank of Zartusht and brought him near himself. He asked him regarding his name and race — of his city, and famiiy, and descent. Zartusht told him his name and family — the city of his birth, and his family, and parentage. He told the Shah, that, "on the morrow, which was the day of Hormazd, as soon as the lamp of day was kindled, — he should order the captains of his host to assemble together at his palace; also, that the wise men should be collected and should learn to abandon their hopes of exaltation. In the same way as the others contended with me, and strove with me for the mastery in learning, in like manner will I answer them all in every kind of wisdom. I will reply to them aright. After that I will speak of my own pretensions, and will convey to you the message entrusted to me." When Gushtasp Shah heard these words, he surveyed Zartusht well. He ordered that at the dawn of morning, every one should be present at the palace. On that condition the holy Zartusht departed, and came forth to his own dwelling. Much thanksgiving he made to God before whom mysteries are revealed. All night he placed not his head on his pillow, but remained stedfastly praising God. And in another direction, the wise men of Shah Gushtasp went away dispirited and downcast. Their tongues were full of murmuring and strife. Their souls full of fire and contention, that a strange man had come among them and had in such-wise overthrown them. Their honour before the Shah was lost, and such a reproach was cast upon them. It was not right that Zartusht should thus impair their credit and cast their reputation in the dust. Two divisions of them were refuted and confused, and had at once fallen from their dignity. "Tomorrow," they said, " when Zartusht arrives, his place will be near our own. Therefore it behoves us, with one tongue and one mind, to seat ourselves before the Shah of the world. We will refute all his words and will break down his prosperity." With this agreement, each sought his home, and from anxiety remained sleepless.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 39. [Contest Of Zartusht With The Wise Men Of Gushtasp Shah. — The Third Day.]

The third day, as soon as the sun appeared, that king of the lights of heaven, Gushtasp Shah came forth from his palace; and every one who possessed place or learning, the wise men, came to the palace, all of one mind and full of envy. The captains of the host drew nigh and formed their ranks before the Shah. The blessed Zartusht came forward in the palace of the king of kings. He gave an answer to the wise men of the Shah. In the hour of contest he gave them full measure. Though for a short time they struggled, at last, disappointed they yielded their position. Again, they buckled on their armour; again Zartusht broke it in pieces, and its fastenings. Again, they framed various devices; but they were compelled to abandon their post.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 40.

[Zartusht Claims The Office Of Prophet.]

What avails injustice, for when right is not on one's side, he, who possesses right, will overcome his enemies. When not one of the wise men remained who could utter a word before Zartusht, he look his seat next the Shah, above all the rest in dignity and rank. He said to Gushtasp, "O master of the world! I am a prophet sent from God to thee — that God before whom the seven skies and earth are held in perfect obedience. He crested the heavenly bodies in the manner you see, and as men behold. The God who gave life and gives our daily support and who confers benefits on his creatures. The God who has given thee the lands — the throne and crown of the whole world. Who brought thee forth from non-existence and by whose command you have reached this dignity, that your sway is over all people, and the princes of the earth obey thee."

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 41.

[Zartusht Recites The Zand-Avesta Before Shah Gushtasp.]

Thus he spoke and drew forth from his robe the Zand-Avesta in the presence of the noble king, and said to him,— "God has given me this and has sent me to his creatures. Know that according to this should be your acts, for it is the commandment of God the cherisher. Its name is the Avesta and Zand. Learn its statutes and walk therein. If your desire is towards its laws, your abode shall be in the paradise of heaven. But if you turn away from its commandments, you shall bring down your crowned head to the dust. Your God will be displeased with you, and will overthrow your prosperous condition. At the last you shall descend into hell, if you hear not the counsel of the Almighty. Act in nothing by the instigation of the Dews, but hereafter lend attention to my words." To him replied Gushtasp, king of the world, "What proof have you of this? At once produce it. If your proof appears conclusive, it will be right for me to act accordingly. We will acquaint the world with your ordinances, and will keep back the hand of oppression from you." Zartusht replied, "My proof is sufficient, it is the commandment I have brought. God said to me, O free from necessity! This shall be thy warrant to the proud king. After the manifestation of this book, you shall not see one accursed fiend on the face of the earth. By means of this book which I have brought all fiends and magicians shall be banished from the earth. If you learn well the Zand-Avesta, you will require no argument and advice from me. This book is sufficient argument and advice, which I have brought thee thus openly. By this learn the secrets of the two worlds. Behold in it the revolution of the stars. Discover by it the door of truth and turn not your head to wrong. You know that, like this, in the world no one has spoken things concealed and known." That holy Shah said to Zartusht,— "Read some of this Zand-Avesta to me." Zartusht read to him one entire chapter, and explained to him its meaning. When Gushtasp heard the Zand-Avesta he was not at first pleased therewith. He approved it not, and he was excusable therein, since he was far from that holiness. See ye not the child without understanding? Jewels are valueless before him. When he grows up and becomes wise he learns that which before he despised. In the same way, the ignorant man values not the wisdom which is delivered by learned men. One day when the Shah had become acquainted with that knowledge, and was desirous of those words, the affair of Zartusht was then esteemed by the Shah, that he did not value him in his court, the Shah praised him — the Shah of the world and of majesty! He said to Zartusht, "The claim you have advanced is right; but it cannot be decided hastily nor until I examine it well, and revolve every thing connected with it. I will read the Zand for some days. I will know of its contents whether they be good. First of all, I will read what you advance, and see whether it agrees with reason. I will not take up this affair inconsiderately. I will accept it when I have seen well into it. You, according to your custom, each morning attend my palace and be content of heart. You are at liberty to come, whenever you please. Whatever you desire make it known." Zartusht said, "The king is right, let him do what his heart desires. If you wish to consider the proof for a while, I consent until you accept my message." He spoke and rose from his place and retired to the house appointed by the Shah. The wise men of Gushtasp went forth. Their hearts were filled with grief and dismay. They remained astonished at the success of Zartusht; they bit their lips and fingers with their teeth; they yielded not to his endeavours or to those of the Shah presiding over the world. When they saw the proof of his prophethood, they gave up in despair the arts of magic.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 42.

[The Devices Of The Wise Men Against Zartusht.]

When they heard the words of Zartusht, they hastened to plot his death. They formed every sort of contrivance and consulted variously thereon. When they had agreed with each other in the stratagem to be employed, and had fixed on n contrivance, they resolved to convey secretly to his house things which should involve his life in danger. And by which they might disgrace him, and that would give them a reason for clamour. The holy Zartusht was ignorant of the arts of that wicked and impure tribe. When he loft his house and came to Shah Gushtasp, he gave the key of his apartment to the porter of the Shah. The wise men learnt thereof and went to the porter of the Shah; they pave a bribe to that traitor, who delivered the key to them secretly. The wise men made secret search for all that is most impure in the world, such as blood and filth and things impure, and the divided heads of a cat and a dog, also the bones of carrion, and much they were, at that moment, able to find. They carried these things to the house of Zartusht. When they had thus arranged a plot against him, they placed them on his pillow and in his robes, and executed this fraud against him. Again they made fast the door, and gave back the key to the porter. They returned it and charged him straitly never to reveal this matter.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 43. [The Clamour Raised By The Wise Men Against Zartusht, Who Is Cast Into Prison.]

Thence they went to the Shah; they drew near to his throne. Zartusht was sitting with the Shah Gushtasp, and they were examining the Zand-Avesta. The Shah was amazed at the writing thereof; in reality he approved not thereof. The wise men said, "O prince, vex not thy delicate body, for this Zand-Avesta is nought but magic. You know not, O king, who this man is. This magician intends in any way he can, to bring thee under his power. He has softened you by his magic art, and has inflamed your soul with his words. All night he practises sorcery, and endeavours to destroy your fame. When he shall succeed in bringing you under his power, he will spread wickedness in the earth. You are the Shah, and we are your servants, we are the foremost of your subjects. Be not proud of the words of this man, and display not the power of magic through the world. Be not, as far as you are able, his supporter, for you are not acquainted with his secret, tomorrow you will repent thereof. Pain and grief will increase in your heart. The world is governed by your justice, and from thy endeavours has received peace. At the word of this impure person, cost not the world into trouble and disorder. We have said what we know to be true; as to the rest, you are the Shah and it is thine to command." When Gushtasp heard their words, he bethought him of the affair. He ordered that search should be made in the house of Zartusht for whatever might be discovered there, — that they should bring it before the Shah and that it should be well examined. Zartusht knew not of his danger, and therefore felt no anxiety. He said his key was with the porter. They went and brought that which they found in his apartment, whatever there was found of food, or whatever apparel, or carpet, there was. The robes and books and apparel, they brought before the king of the world.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 44. [The False Speaking Of The Wise Men Before The Shah And The Casting Of Zartusht Into Prison.]

When they had turned those things over, the heads of the cat and dog were found. The nails, and the hair, and the bones, which had dropped from the bodies of the dead. They placed them together before the Shah, and Gushtasp examined them. The king of kings was wroth thereat, he called forward his wise men. He shewed them those things, and his regard for them was mightily increased. He bit his finger with his teeth, and he uttered abuse against Zartusht. He said, "O sorcerer! O wicked magician, evil in act and thought, and vile in purpose! what is this vile carrion of thine? This thy action is not void of magic. These are clearly the instruments of sorcery. Thou hast not the pure fear of God." Zartusht was amazed at the circumstance; his two eyes were blinded at the carrion. He said to Gushtasp, "O great king! I know nothing of this affair. I brought it not, nor ordered it, and I have not engaged in it at all." He sent for the porter of the king, that perhaps he might inform the Shah of the matter. Gushtasp sent and inquired of him saying,— "Tell me truly of this matter. Who has gone into his house?" The keeper of the gate gave him this answer,— "Who could go into the house of Zartusht? The wind could not pass by that way!" When the keeper of the gate spoke thus, the anger of the Shah increased mightily. He said to Zartusht, "Vile dog! You are worthy of the javelin and of impalement. Do you behold the doom which is before you? You are now among the disgraced. No one will have brought such things from heaven, and concealed them in his bed and garments." That instant he cast from him the Zand-Avesta and ordered Zartusht into confinement. He commanded that they should bear him to prison and should no more listen to his words, since he was none but a chief of sorcerers, who desired to overturn the world. At once, at the order of the Shah, they carried forth Zartusht to prison. They gave order that the keeper of the prison should carry him his daily pittance. A keeper was appointed over him, lest he should suddenly escape. Three days and nights, that holy man abode there and the keeper brought him his food. One loaf and one vessel of water the keeper brought him for his ablutions. Zartusht remained seven days in that doleful state in prison, but he abode in holiness.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 45.

[History Of The Black Horse.]

I have heard of the relater of traditions, that Gushtasp, the just Shah, possessed among his steeds one that was called the Black Horse. He prized that steed above all. When he sat thereon, his heart was lifted up. In the plain, that used was like a moving mountain. In speed, it equalled the breeze. The elephant-like body beneath the saddle resembled a bride in its graceful motion. It raised its crest like a lion when it rushes

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forward on its prey. When it leaped forth to the race, you would have thought it moved like the wind.

When Shah Gushtasp went out to battle, he always mounted his black steed. Moon and sun, when they beheld that steed, shed good fortune on the Shah. Whoever went forth to battle on its back, returned back prosperous. It happened that one day in the morning, when the bright sun breathed forth light, when the master of the horse surveyed the steeds, he examined the feet of the black horse. At last he became full of grief and became motionless with sorrow, for the four feet of the horse entered his belly. The master of the horse was filled with fear; he came running to the throne of the Shah and told him what had befallen the black steed. The king of earth was displeased thereat, he said this is a wondrous thing!

THE MIRACLE SHEWN BY ZARTUSHT.

The Shah sent for his wise men, and seated them beside him, in order that they might seek a remedy tor the horse, and examine into the mystery, and say whence arose this matter, and what would be the result of these wonders. All of them assembled together and discussed the good end had appearance of the case,— "This thing has never befallen any one, that we should derive counsel in it from experience. Each of them argued differently, and repealed many magic spells. They devised every kind of counsel, but could not discover a remedy. When the Shah saw they were impotent in this matter, although they were wise and crafty from affliction, he ate nothing that day, but continually bethought him of his steed. All his host, from the grief of their prince, remained lamenting on the ground. From the crowds of men that pressed to the palace, you could not have inserted there the point of a needle. The city was in commotion the whole day. At last, night come, and the sun veiled his face. In the prison, the innocent Zartusht remained the entire day, until evening, he ate nothing and knew not the calamity which had befallen Shah Gushtasp; he knew not, that, from the grief of the king, every one was bereft of his senses. In the evening, the keeper came to him, and brought his food. Zartusht said, "What has happened that you have this day forgotten me?" He told him the tale of the black horse and the manner in which it was lying in the stable. All its limbs had entered its belly, and the Shah remained grieving thereat. The whole day we have been afflicted, nor has any drank water, or eaten bread. When Zartusht heard his story, he was pleased at heart and glad of countenance. He said "O keeper! if you are desirous of honour, tomorrow approach the Shah and say, that if Zartusht is brought out of his dungeon, he will bring out the limbs of the steed. He will remove this grief from your mind, and will restore to its former state the steed. When you leave this (said Zartusht to the keeper) at early morn, repeat all I have told you to the Shah." The next day when the glittering sun put on his crown of twisted rubies, and adorned with light the face of earth, so that door and terrace was

clad in gold, the noble keeper came in haste, and told what he had heard, to the king, that "Zartusht speaks in this wise and will wash the Shah's heart from grief. He says, let me behold the horse, I will bring forth its limbs." The Shah instantly ordered the keeper to bring him from his place of confinement. The keeper returned to Zartusht with the tidings that the king of the world had removed his bonds. Zartusht went from the prison to a bath, and washed his head, and beard and body and feet; and thence he came to the king. They were two roses in a garden of cucumbers. He knew not what reception he should meet with from the king, and marvelled much thereat in his heart. You would have said, his reception was honourable; for the Shah called a blessing on him with an affable countenance. Then Zartusht, in favor of the king, invoked countless blessings. The king of kings seated him there, and told him the story of the steed. He asked him his opinion thereof. "How will the limbs of the horse be freed? Before me you have raised a high claim, but have not established the truth of it. If you are in truth a prophet, bring back the steed to health. Zartusht said, "O fortunate Shah! I think not this a contemptible thing. Whenever you shall perform four things according to compact with successful endeavour, — having made the compact without subterfuge and having fulfilled it without duplicity, — then shall be displayed to you the steed's two fore-feet and two hind-feet, all four of them." The Shah said to Zartusht, "Tell me what are the four things? For I will make a compact with you and n promise which I will never break." Zartusht said, — "I will tell the Shah each of the four things beside the horse." They went to the stable and all the army followed them.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 46. [The Reception Of The Four Promises And The Confirmation Of What Zartusht Had Said.]

When Zartusht saw the horse, he was astonished, and bit his lip with his teeth. He said to Gushtasp, "O wise king! hear one of the four conditions." At the command of the Shah he spake, "Believe really in your heart the truth, that I certainly am a prophet sent from our Creator, — that God who formed your body and placed your soul therein. The moment that your heart is right, instantly your desire will be accomplished. And if your tongue and heart are at variance, all my labour will be unprofitable." The king of kings accepted the word, and promised that he would never draw back from religion and justice. "I am content to accept this condition from thee. As you direct, so will I obey."

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 47.

[The First Prayer And Miracle Of The Prophet Zarhusht.]

Then Zartusht prayed unto God, and wept before him mightily, when he heard the words of the Shah and saw the whole world spectators of the scene. After lamentation to God, he praised him and placed his hand on the horse. The right fore-leg of the horse came out, since the word of the Shah was true. The king of kings rejoiced thereat, and his heart was filled with gratitude. All the host of the Shah were glad, and that grief was at once removed from them. They heaped praises on the man of God. And every one joined in extolling him. The situation of Zartusht became prosperous. Such was the commotion, that you would have said it was the day of the resurrection.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 48. [The Second Condition And Coming Down Of The Second Leg.]

When one of the four conditions was fulfilled, Zartusht said, "O famous king, give the injunction to Asfandiar, the glorious hero and patron of the age, that ho conclude an agreement with me in your presence, to the effect that he will support the true religion. That be will gird up his loins for the faith of heaven, and will not turn back therefrom. Whoever shews himself the enemy of God, he will destroy his life and body." The hero Asfandiar came before his sire, and accepted from Zartusht the labour imposed on him. He gave him his hand in assurance and swore to him on oath, — to be the friend and support of Zartusht with heart and hand, with sword and speech. Whoever should disobey him, he would remove his soul from his body. When in the presence of the Shah, the hero Asfandiar and Zartusht had thus concluded a compact, Zartusht prayed again and besought God. The right hind-leg of the steed came out by the commandment of God. All the religious men who feared God, repeated the praises of Zartusht. When one fore-leg and one hind-leg had come out, they congratulated the Shah much.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 49.

[The Third Condition And Descent Of The Third Leg.]

Again Zartusht said, "O incomparable Shah, worthy of dominion and the throne! It is necessary that you direct some one to accompany me to your palace, — that your royal consort may hear my words and become acquainted with the faith." The king of kings commanded an attendant who conveyed him into the retired apartments, and thence conveyed him to the women's room which were opened to him in the name of God. Zartusht said to the mother of Asfandiar, "O ornament of the crown and throne! God has preferred you before all women, and has given you every blessing since you were found deserving. He gave you a husband such as is the king, and such a son as Asfandiar. In this world all thy wishes have been fulfilled, and thy condition in the next world will be blessed. God the Creator has sent me to the Shah, and has pointed out every path to me. Know that I will purify the world of wickedness by the command cf God. I will make manifest the true faith; I will display the statutes of holiness. Now that the king of kings and Asfandiar have embraced the faith with their whole hearts, they have accepted fully my arguments, my commandments have been received. It now behooves you, O queen of women! to believe implicitly on me. Let your clear heart accept the true faith, since good morals follow the faith." The chaste queen returned him answer, "Your word I have accepted. I will not turn back from the command of God. And I will hereafter walk only in the way of righteousness. I have heard of all your actions, and have not received your words lightly." When Zartusht heard this answer, he praised the princess exceedingly. He then rose and left the apartment and returned to the black horse. Again he prayed, and lamented vehemently, before the Almighty Creator of the world. Out came the left leg; and the king of kings was turned from his trouble and sorrow.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 50. [The Fourth Condition And Descent Of The Fourth Leg, And Disgrace Of The Wise Men.]

Again the holy Zartusht said to Gushtasp, "O sovereign Shah! It is now necessary that the keeper of your gate should come before me. By your order, you must inflict punishment on him, that he disclose who entered my apartment, and who conveyed this calumny to your ear, by which I fell into disgrace. If he will speak the truth, all will be well; but, if he lies, your steed is remediless." Then came forward the keeper of the gate of the Shah in that assembly, by order of the Shah. He said, "Tell me the truth, and what was that deceitful fraud? Who went into the apartment of the man of God? Who was it who brought this affliction on him? Who has ventured to do such things? Who conveyed the carrion into his chamber? If you speak the truth you escape pain, if you adhere scrupulously to what is true. Otherwise this instant thy head from its trunk I will strike off, before this assembly." The Shah gave him such a fright that he trembled like a willow trembling in the wind. When the keeper of the gate heard the words of the Shah, he saw no remedy but to speak the truth. He fell on his face, and cried for mercy. When it was granted, he stood up. He said, "The affair was on this wise. The thing was done by the pitiless wise men. They corrupted me and gave me a bribe, and engaged me in their undertaking. I have not extenuated their case, although they were high in your confidence. For now that I have received a pardon from the Shah, what should I fear, even if I am in bad repute with them." When the king of kings heard his words, he believed in the faith of Zartusht. He ordered that the wise men should be carried forth and impaled alive. Zartusht returned thanks to God publicly and in his own heart.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 51.

[Appearance Of The Fourth Leg Of The Black Horse.]

Again he repeated another prayer which he had learned from God. The horse drew forth its fourth leg, and leaped up like a lion! When the four legs of the horse were restored, and the Shah was freed from that grief, the wise king stood on his feet, near Zartusht the high priest. He kissed often his eyebrows and head. So did also the hero of the age, Asfandiar. All praised Zartusht thereat, and offered him congratulation. After this the Shah exalted Zartusht. He led him to his throne and seated him by himself. He begged pardon for the pain he had caused. He accepted Zartusht, whose fortunes thus prospered. He restored to him his property. The heart of Zartusht rejoiced thereat; he knew that God had done this, — who was his guide of infinite power. Truth alone is pleasing to him; falsehood is not acceptable to him. He does as he will, for He is king. No one can ask him the reason of his actions. He raises one from below the ground to the starry host of heaven. Him who possesses an infinite army and lias reached the seventh heaven — him he casts down from thence; his head and neck and back he casts down. Then no one is able to deliver him, since he is King and we are his slaves. Whatever he does is just and right; you ought to rejoice therein.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 52. [King Gushtasp Accepts The Law From Zartusht. [Calling For Additional Proof.]

When Zartusht had thus gained the Shah, his dignity and rank were exalted. The Shah received all his statutes and transgressed not the promise he had made; he gave ear to the counsel of Zartusht; he heard with attention all his words. One day when the sun arose and heaven and earth were bright therewith, Zartusht went forth in the morning, and the countenances of the envious grew pale. He asked the Shah after various matters and considered divers expedients. When one hour of the day was passed he engaged in various consultations. The king of the earth, Gushtasp, said to him "O Prophet of the world, observer of truth! I have four wishes to prefer to God, and the demonstration of your power lies therein. Ask thou of God the bountiful, that he may give me herein the victory by your intercession; the difficult will become easy and there will be seen a proof of the true faith." Zartusht said, "Tell them all four that I may know them openly. These four desires of thine are easy. I will ask them of God." The Shah said to him, "O man of power, listen to my words. Of these four requests which I make to you, and of these four wishes which I seek, one is that I should know what will be my final doom; the second, that my body should become such that I shall not have cause to fear my enemies, and no weapon shall be able to injure it in the hour of battle, since when I make known the faith, I shall be compelled to many battles; the third is, that I should know every thing good and evil, concealed and manifest, that I should be informed of all that will happen, every thing that will befall in the world; the fourth, that to the day of resurrection my soul shall not leave my body." When Zartusht heard the word of the Shah, he said, "O sovereign king, I will make these four requests from Him to whom all is easy. Out it is necessary that, of those four requests you should seek one for yourself, and leave the other three for other people, that I may ask them of God. He will however grant them all, since He alone is God." The king of kings said, "I consent hereto and desire to see paradise that I may know my place therein, and what shall be my condition." Zartusht accepted this request, and consented to ask of God to shew him paradise. When the sun was relieved by the stars and the earth changed its colour, Zartusht went thence to his house and commenced the praise of God. He desired of God the giver of wishes, the petition which the Shah had made. He praised God and retired to sleep, when God showed him all his desire.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 53. [Story Of The Coming Of Azar Khurdad And Azar Kashasp, And The Amshaspands Bahman And Ardebihisht, To The Shah Gushtasp.]

When the lamp which lights up the world was kindled, and the face of day was disclosed from the east, the king of kings

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took his seat on a throne of gold, a crown being on his head of gold and jewels. Zartusht came before the Shah; he offered praise and went into the court. When the tribunal of the Shah had eat a short time, the keeper of the gate came in with haste. He said, "At the door, are four horsemen, armed as from the battle. Each resembles a moving mountain clothed in mail, and their horses buckled with steel. Horsemen like these, saw I never — with the glory of God and the weapons of war. Through fear of them, I fled; with difficulty I escaped into the palace." The king of kings said, "What may this be!" He said to Zartusht, "What means this! He had scarcely finished the word, when four horsemen came in, clothed in green, and in full armour, raising their spears before the king. Terrible and dreadful were they in pomp and majesty — like four mountains they advanced to the throne. One was Bahman and another Ardebihisht, sent by God from paradise. And with them Azar Khurdad and Azar Kashasp, each of them mounted on a steed. They said to Gushtasp, "O Prince, we four are messengers to you. God says, 'Have you care of Zartusht; support and do not desert him. Since you have received from him the true faith and, from his commandment, the law of the statutes. Remember all his words, and keep your soul from the breath of hell. Never afflict Zartusht, and cast not your own body in peril. Since you have received from Zartusht the wish of your heart, turn not the rein from his government. Since it is I who I have sent Zartusht, and have given the world to be subject to him." When the Shah observed their words, from dread he fell down from his throne. His understanding left his body, and his senses deserted his heart. He became dumb, and his eyes and ears became void. When his senses returned to him a little, he cried, "Have mercy, O God of mercies! I am the least of all thy servants; my loins are girded to observe thy commandments." When they heard his answer, in one moment the horsemen departed like an arrow from a bow. All the host of the Shah collected, and formed ranks round his bed; his body shook with fear like a willow; he wondered at that matter and remained astonished. When Gushtasp rose from his seat, he went before Zartusht to beg his intercession. He said, "Your commandment is on my life; thy life is to me like the command of God. My body, life, and possessions are thy sacrifice, by the command of God, the Lord of Majesty." Zartusht said, "Fear not, since your affairs are prosperous. I have asked your desire of God, you shall see presently how I have managed it."

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 54. [Zartusht Performs The Darun And Shews Four More Miracles, And The Shah Gushtasp Sees His Place In Paradise.]

Zartusht prepared to perform the Darun. Since he was about to prove the faith by miracles, they placed four things within — wine, and perfumes, and milk, and a pomegranate. Then he read prayers to them from the Zand-Avesta, — the noble Prophet Zartusht. After that prayer he told the Shah to drink wine. After drinking, the Shah suddenly slept. In the sleep, he saw the heaven of God; his soul saw all these blessings obviously. He saw his own place in paradise; he saw the mansions of the good and blessed; he saw therein tho rank of every one. Moreover, he saw many wonders. He gave Bashutan the milk for his share; he ate and forgot death. He gave the perfumes of that feast to Jamasp; immediately he knew nil knowledge. He knew every thing that was in the future — all that would happen till the day of the resurrection. After that he gave to Aafandiar of that feast one grain of a pomegranate. He ate and his body waxed like stone; no wound could be inflicted upon him. From this learn the meaning of the saying that Asfandiar was brazen-bodied. After that the king of kings awoke and recovered his senses from that dream of forgetfulness; he rubbed his face on the earth and paid thanksgivings to God. He said, "O God, guide of my path, hear those my prayers in this world and the next; thou art worthy to be king, since thou art without equal, and thy sovereignty never declines." The king of kings called Zartusht forward, and told him all that he had seen. He told all people to receive from him the true faith, and the statutes of righteousness.

When Zartusht was seated on a lofty throne, the Shah desired of him the Zand-Avesta. He said to him, "Repeat to me the whole of it, since it is free of doubt or of error." Zartusht was pleased thereat, and he instantly opened the volume; after he had commenced in the name of God, he read the beginning of the Zand. To Gushtasp, the noble Zartusht read some chapters of that volume. When the Dews beheld his actions, they remained astonished thereat. They fled from the rehearsal of the Zand; they all concealed themselves under the earth. He then ordered that the Mobads and the Herbads, pure of heart, should advance. He spoke regarding the fire-temples in the presence of the Shah of the mighty;— that they should see that their works brought fourth fruit every where without hinderance; that they should erect towers in all places, and that to each a Herbad should be appointed;— that they should kindle a fire in each tower and erect a lofty seat therein. He gave them much silver and gold that they should bequeath much property for its support, and should regard the fire-temples with reverence. The man who worships God will rejoice at the escape from dangers from the Dews.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 55.

[Zartusht Admonishes The Shah Regarding All Holiness.]

First regarding the name of the great God and the chief guide, he commenced to speak. That God who created the world and makes the end of the wicked destruction, the creator of the lofty heavens, the kindler of the stars which give light, — his eternal reign finds no decay, since he is king and the giver of benefits. Thus spoke Zartusht from the volume to Gushtasp the king of the earth, "If you believe truly in the existence of God, your abode will be in the paradise of heaven." He told him that "the wicked Ahriman is the enemy of God the Creator. He turns back the hearts of men from the right way, and thus continually seduces them aside, that he may convey them down to hell, whereat he rejoices greatly. When he beholds the bodies of men in torment, he openly rejoices in hell. He scoffs at them and says,— O void of understanding, why did you foolishly commit evil actions. Now that you have turned from the holy God you have bought for yourself the terrors of hell. God had compassion on his creatures and said to me,— 'Zartusht hear thou my message, and since thou goest to them as a prophet, take care that thou dost not treat this office lightly. Tell the people of the world strictly, that they turn back from the way of crookedness. Whoever turns his heart from evil, his place will always be in Paradise.' Every one who is iniquitous, in spite of his wickedness, desires thee O God! He approves not his own iniquity; he guides others to the right way. The Lord of the world sent me to thee, O lionlike Shah! He said to me, 'Go and tell my servants, let them not turn away their faces from my commandments. Let them receive my faith and the right way, then the paradise of heaven will be their reward. Whoever disobeys my statutes shall be a companion of Ahriman in hell. And to the orders also of Zartusht the holy, give ear and listen submissively. He alone has not valued, or esteemed, the world, since he knew that the world passes away. He has neither son nor relation, but has embraced the way of salvation. What is the Shah or servant before him? He regards not their circumstances in any wise.

Thirdly, he never declared to men that in the resurrection he would intercede for them. I do not desire your crimes but I lessen your grief and pain. He said, — "Your hopes must rest on your actions; reap the harvest you have sown. Whoever has sown righteousness in this world, his reward also shall be paradise.

And if you have acted iniquitously, Ahriman shall receive you in hell." Zartusht told every one near him the same, saying neither more nor less — that whosoever commits crime, his rewards shall be in hell.

In the fifth place, he said to the wise and to the Mobeds of enlightened hearts,— "Who in the world has spoken words like these, both regarding things concealed and known? You would say he resembled pure water truly, for in him was neither excess nor defect. If you can bring any parallel to this, then my words are entirely vain. But if no parallel to this can be brought, then let them look on these words with humility; let them know certainly that this is the word of God and not the word of impure Dews, since the Dews would not speak thus or themselves, nor would they utter the praises of God.

Sixthly, Whoever has come as a prophet to bring mankind to the faith, has never told what was within the earth or what will occur hereafter. Zartusht alone has acquired this glory, since, in the Zand-Avesta, he has narrated these things; he has told whatever will take place in the world, good or evil, concealed or known, from the time that God created the world till the day of the resurrection. Zartusht has declared all things; he has told every thing in the Zand-Avesta, and the time and manner of its occurrence — of the king's remarkable propriety or justice he has recited the history, as you could wish — all their names have been mentioned by him — their words and actions, just or unjust, he has marked the signs of them good or bad, so that on understanding man will recognise them.

Seventhly, Be assured that the prophet never flattered the powerful or warlike; whoever was, in his heart and faith, truly with him, his end never failed in affection for him. Such was the holy Zartusht who was permitted to offer his praise near God. He was wont to say to pious men — O ye faithful, whoever acts righteously shall reaps good reward.

Eighthly, thus said Zartusht,— O people of earth, ye who commit sin shall abide perpetually in Hell. The soul of each shall be recompensed in the proportion of the sin he has committed; they shall confess that they are sinners and acknowledge themselves to be the creatures of God. Zartusht also said, "Whatever ye desire not yourselves, do it not to another. Whoever has committed sin in the world, is subject to the retribution thereof." Since I consider his words a proof of the truth of his mission, I have recited them to you from the beginning: I have repeated one chapter, attend well thereto and consider carefully what has been said.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 56. [A Recital Of The Praise Of God.]

In the name of the God of the seven heavens, the powerful and the merciful towards his creatures, the God of beneficence and truth, who will not be pleaded with my iniquity. Who always was and is! To him alone the hearts of the wise are turned; to him belong empire and sovereignty; to him alone is it right to pay homage. Why gird up your loins to obey him, who in weakness resembles thyself? Fix your heart on God in both worlds and ask pardon of him, O ye wise! Whatsoever ye may say contrary to this, be assured that your words are without foundation; he is our God and we are his creatures, abject, weak, and helpless. How shall a God such as he is, be praised by the words of such creatures as we are; know this in what ye undertake, and call on the name of God for help. Begin with the name of God, and then commence your history; see what manner of belief Zartusht obtained when he inquired of his Creator. Compare the manner of his relation with that of other narrators. If I obtain any strength at all, I shall obtain my desire from the composition of this story. My hope from the God of mercy is this, that he will have compassion on this weak body, that he will grant me my life by his grace, and will save my soul from Hell. [It is difficult to see the connexion of this paragraph with the story. It seems like the preface to some other book.]

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 57.

[Zartusht Asks Immortality Of God.]

Hear attentively this noble story, from the relation of God the cherisher. I have written the story in the Persian language, that it might be easy for your perusal. Thus said Zartusht, the pure in heart, at the time of inquiring of God, at the season when with the angel Bahman he ascended towards high heaven, — "Close the door of death to me, and let the hearts of the wicked be bound, that the faithful may rejoice and may not remember the crooked path." To him said God the cherisher, "O thou who hast embraced the faith, the skilful, I will close the door of death for thee, but you will a second time ask death of me." Zartusht was silent in his request. Then he prayed to his God; God the Creator gave him something which resembled honey. He said to Zartusht, "Drink one drop of this, and tell me what you behold. When the man of holiness drank thereof he saw the world, and every thing in it. As one who slumbers and beholds in sleep, he saw good and evil without concealment; he saw the blood and brains of the bodies of men, and the good and evil thoughts of every one. The words and actions of all were beheld by that good and virtuous person. He saw the number of flocks of sheep — their fleece and every circumstance regarding them. The leaves and roots of trees and of grass were beheld by that undaunted and fortunate person. He saw them exactly as they were by the order of God, neither more nor less. Again he beheld paradise and also hell, dark and frightful. He who believed thus, thought that he beheld these things in a dream. When he recovered his senses by the order of the God of the two worlds, God said to him, "O faithful servant, tell me what you have beheld." That man of holiness replied, "O thou who hast spread out the heavens and the earth. I have beheld many rich men their souls being in hell and torment, since thy were not thankful for the blessings of God, and were supplicants of Ahriman. I beheld many persons rich in silver and gold, who were day and night in the service of God, and were pleased with all they received and never rested from the praises of God. Their souls were in the paradise of heaven. I saw them in the place of the blest. I saw many rich persons who were afflicted, as being childless. When I beheld their abode in hell, my heart was sorry for them. I saw many persons of the common people who were happy in their children; when I behold their souls in paradise, my heart was glad at their happiness. I saw a tree on which were seven branches whose shades extended every where. One branch was of gold and one of silver, the third was of costly pearl; the fourth was entirely of brass; the fifth of lead, the sixth branch was of hard steel, and the seventh was of mixed iron." God said to Zartusht, "O man of wisdom and understanding! The tree which you saw with seven branches and which overshadowed the world is this, there shall be seven times a stir in the world by the good and bad revolution of the heavens. That golden branch which you beheld is yourself my messenger. My faith and message you have received, which you will deliver to the people of the world.

That branch of silver is the Shah of the earth, who will receive from you the right faith. The skin of the impure Dews will be broken, and they will be compelled to hide under the earth. When they behold their own bodies destitute of strength, they will conceal their evil actions. When Ahriman beholds the condition of his army, he shall utter cries of fury. According to the faith, men shall give due sanctity to (or take due care of) water, fire, earth and air.

The copper branch you saw is the king of the Ashkanians. Whoever at that time owns not the faith, that holy tribe will abhor him. They will not remain long after this, but will be dispersed in wretchedness throughout the world.

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The branch which had the appearance of brass, represents the prosperous reign of that king whose name is Ardesher, the son of Sasan. Listen to my relation. He shall adorn the world and shall free the righteous from pain. He shall renovate the true faith, and shall renew its statutes. Everyone shall accept from him the right faith. Since by him the proof of the faith shall be established, all people shall behold his wonders. They shall pour on his breast melted brass, but no injury shall reach his body, since he shall derive strength from me.

The fifth branch you beheld of lead is the king named Bahram. His name shall be known as Bahram, and his people shall rejoice at his reign. He shall he prosperous and happy. The world shall be well governed by him. When the people of the earth shall rejoice, Ahriman shall be grieved thereat; he shall remain in hell in grief and pain, and shall weep in deep tones of sorrow.

The sixth branch of steel, O man of wisdom, which you saw ornamenting the tree, that is the time of Nosherwan, by whose justice youth will be restored to the earth. In his reign the wicked Mazdak shall appear, but there shall be no danger from him. He shall be a heretic from tho true faith, and shall be acquainted with every kind of deceit. But when he begins to oppress the faithful, while they fly from him fate shall seize him. Leave the wicked to his evil doing,since the evil be does shall return upon him.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 58. [The Era Of Iron Alloy.]

The seventh branch you saw is of mixed iron. During that time, fly from the world. Many shall be converted to you during the season, but the aspect of the world shall be changed. That man of malice will be a monarch, who shall cast down tho true faith to the earth. The Darwishes shall wear black garments; the honour of the world shall be lost. Whoever lives in the time of that king, his end shall be evil. One virtue shall not be possessed by that generation, nought but malice and sedition and strife and evil. They shall be dealers in deceit and hypocrisy; and fraud and bitterness shall be in their hearts, but honey on their tongues. They shall not respect the bread and salt they have eaten, nor shall they honour their old men. And those whose hearts shall have accepted the faith, shall be afflicted by their enemies. Neither wisdom nor prudence shall be seen among them, nor shall reliance be placed on their words. Those who are faithful shall have no power or strength, nor shall the good be reverenced or respected. Whoever is pure in principle and faith, they shall cast down his name to the ground. Whoever is certainly wickedly disposed, whose tongue is filled with lying and deceit, all his affairs shall succeed and he shall prosper and the world shall be thrown into commotion. The face of the world shall be covered with impunity, nor shall they keep their food separate from it. All kinds of food shall they eat in common, and no one shall be aware of any distinction. They shall have no statutes or Herbads or instructors, nor shall these have any authority with them. Wherever they go, they shall fail of their object. You shall find nothing on earth, save covetousness and impotence and anger and strife; they shall choose the path to hell, and none shall answer according to the faith. Whoever is well affected to the faith, his affairs shall fall into indigence. They shall be shameless and without modesty, and day and night confusion shall prevail. Thus shall the faith become weak, and true believers wax few in number. The prayers of evil men shall be listened to since their condition shall be of indigence. The worship of the fire-temples shall be neglected. A hundred fires shall be reduced to one. Neither wood nor perfumes shall be supplied to them, and the enemies of the faith shall oppose. None shall sympathize or care for them, nor shall any leader for those dispersed persons be found. That sect of impure persons shall bring much riches from out of the earth. The high priests who dwell in Iran shall acknowledge their sway. This sect shall take in marriage many well-born daughters of the true faith. All the sons of the freemen and priests shall remain afflicted in the service of the wicked, day and night. They shall toil in their service — in the service of those unjust and evil persons.

Since they will be faithless and void of mercy — they will not fear to break their promises. In the country of Iran a king shall fall from the hands of the mighty into the power of the wicked. They shall at once work out iniquity and shall know nought save oppression. Whoever is guiltless and true of heart, they shall believe his words to be deceitful; then, whoever is worse than his fellows , his affairs shall prosper more and more. They shall bear witness falsely; that from that falsehood, advantage may accrue to them. They shall have no shame for such crimes, nor shall they have any honesty or faith. When the Hazarahs shall appear [This word hazarah is of doubtful meaning. The passage is very obscure. The word may allude to the thousands of believers.], the appearance of the world shall be changed. Many clouds shall appear in the sky but rain shall not descend. From the intense heat and bitter cold many a tree shall lose leaves and branches. The waters of the rivulets shall fail; all things shall become difficult; from the scarcity of rain on the earth, the channels of the rives shall be disclosed, flocks and herds shall decrease in number, and the stature of mankind shall dwindle; the strength of men shall wax weak and inferior, the speed of the horse and the strength of his rider shall grow less, the cow shall lose its valuable qualities. Whoever has bound on the Kusti shall be in fear and shall flee away. The pain and hardships which he will undergo, will make him desire death. They shall forget their prayers to God and their habits shall become opposed thereto. They shall neither recognise the Nawruz [Literally the "new day," the first day of the year, which, with the five which follow, is observed as a festival, now most regarded at its close.] nor the Mihragan [A festival in honour of Meher (Mithra) which commences on Mihr the 15th day of the month Mihr, and is observed for six days, the last as, in the former case, being the greatest.] nor feast nor entertainment, nor the Frawardigan. [The five last days of the year, to be observed as holidays.] Whoever asks a question of the High Priest shall find no wisdom in the answer. Of what has been ordained for the departed soul, every one will be ashamed, and withdraw disappointed. Many a man of the true faith, and of holy mind, shall then go over to the opposite religion — many noble men and many honourable men shall wander destitute through the world! From poverty, and pain, and dishonour, the hearts of men shall be afflicted and their hands shortened.

From the men of that evil generation, you shall not see one in a hundred possessed of understanding. Spandarmad (the angel of the earth) shall open his [*her] mouth and shall cast forth secret treasures. The Turks of Baykand [Name of a city, built by Jamshid.], and of Khattan [Name of a district in Chinese Tartary. A Mohammedan pilgrim lately created a great sensation among the Parsis of Bombay by asserting that a colony of Gabars exists in this region.] and of Chin shall lead their armies into Persia. When the princes shall lose throne and fortune, their slaves shall possess the crown and empire. They shall collect much wealth and riches, but they shall scatter it on the ground. They shall be guilty of evil actions, but they shall feel no shame for what they do. From hardships, and difficulty, and pain, and weakness, men shall be ready to meet death and pain. Then thus spake God to Zartusht the prophet of the age,— "Tell these things to Mobeds and Rads, and desire them to repeat the same to the wise. Let each know his own advantage and let them not take up iniquity. When they behold misery on the earth, then will be rejoicing and happiness in heaven. If your body is afflicted with pain, your soul from that pain shall find a rich reward. If you indulge your body in luxury, your soul shsll therefrom fall into fire. In truth, know this mystery, that according to thy stale of mind to will thou suffer or enjoy. From good, thou wilt find a good result, and none ever reaped honour from evil actions."

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 59.

[Zartusht Asks About The End Of The Millennium.]

Again Zartusht inquired of God the holy and free from infirmity. "In that evil time — that season of danger — what calamity will befall the faith from evil men? Whoever has the Wasta [Avesta] in his mind, or the Kusti bound on his waist, how shall such a one mingle with the people of that generation, his soul being in misery and his body in torment? How shall they pray, privately as directed, or how shall they read the Zand-Avesta?" — Thus the Creator of the world gave answer to Zartusht the good and holy, — "Great affliction shall befall true believers in that evil and disturbed season. He who shall pray then aright, may be accounted twelve phoenixes. A man who prays shall then be as rare as one who observes the whole law at another time; for one word of the Avesta and Zand in that time, shall bo equal to the Vendidad and Hadokht [The Vendidad and Hadokht: two of the Nasks of the Avesta.]. Again, when the Hazarahs make head, pain and grief shall be multiplied without end. From the hardships which the bodies of the faithful shall endure they shall resemble iron. Such affliction and pain has never been experienced, not even in the days of Zohak and Afrasiab, for even in those days the believers of the Zand were more numerous, and more abundant in wealth and blessings. Then, when the Hazarahs shall grow powerful, none of the faithful shall remain. From every side they shall press towards Iran and shall desolate it beneath the feet of their camels. And when they shall turn back to the mountains, they shall carry off both religion and empire. The affairs of those evil people shall grow desperate, and they shall wander, destitute of house and food. Thus will it be a mingled scene of good and bad, of prosperity and the reverse. The state of the world shall not remain one, like the wind which is now good and now injurious."

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 60. [Zartusht Inquires The Third Time Of God, Respecting The Latter Times.]

Zartusht asked three things farther of Hormazd, the Creator and Lord. "After these troublous times, will there be any believers in the true faith? Shall these statutes and laws be restored? Will any one support the true faith? When will the wearers of dark garments be discomfited? And how will the impure fiend be cast down? When life is thus shortened, and toil increased, how will their affairs be conducted? How will their object be accomplished? And how will virtue succeed? O Creator and merciful God! inform thy creatures of this, for my soul is disquieted on account (of the people of those times), my heart is burnt up from pain and affliction." God the cherisher said to him, "O faithful man, be not sorrowful! For no one remains perpetually in woe, nor does any one suffer in both worlds; whoever has been afflicted in this world shall likewise be pardoned in paradise. And as to what you have inquired respecting those times, whether any one will seek the true faith, — When the mark of blackness comes upon the world, the restoration of the faith shall be prepared in another way. All the desire of the angry Dews shall be fulfilled by the merciless Turk of narrow sight. At that time an army shall come from Rum (Roman Empire), of evil thoughts, and acts impure and ill-omened, with red garments and their horse trappings of red, their actions resembling those of impure Dews. When the season for their appearance in the world shall arrive, various signs shall be manifested. The land of Khurasan, from wet and heat, ahnll become dark and gloomy as the gloom of might. The world ahall grow dark with tempests, and the brightness of water shall be obscured. Many earthquakes shall happen, and ill-omened birds be seen. Every city and land shall be made desolate; desire and want shall wax strong upon people; trouble and pain and woe shall increase in that time. Hormazd gathers strength and casts down Nahid; the Turk and the men of Rum shall meet and shall join battle, like the wind Samum.

At the same time shall come the tribe of Arabs, raising strife and battle and violence. From each tribe men shall be slain in every land; the slain shall be in heaps. From the mingling tints of the blood shed, the world shall be red, yellow, and violet. The whole land of Iran shall be desolate from the armies of Turks, and Arabs, and Hindus. All the fire-temples shall be removed thence to the mountains in those troublous times. They shall remove them with difficulty from their places; but they shall bring them into the hill country. They shall bring Adar Gushnasp with care to the faithful, in the land of Karman. The spoiler shall fall on the land of Iran. Flight and dispersion to another country! They shall hide in caves and hollows uf mountains, and no outlet to the mountains shall remain. The father shall have no thought for his son, from the pain and affliction which shall befall himself."

Then said Zartusht of enlightened heart, after he had wept before God,—"Since the life of this people is shortened, let them not finally fall into misery and torment — let them not, in the end, choose evil, nor fill up the catalogue of their crimes." "From the shortness of their lives there is no fear, since death and life are but the same." [This appears to be the answer of God to the first question put by Zartusht.]

Again Zartusht said,— "O holy God! how will their destruction ensue? When their period has elapsed, what sign of evil will they first discover? What will be the termination of their history and how will their prosperity be destroyed."[This second question of Zartusht seems to refer to the enemies of the faith, as the former did to the remnant of believers.—]

God returned the following answer to Zartusht, the prophet of the age, "A black sign shall come forth from Khurasan when the period of empire shall arrive; when Hoshedar [Aushedar] is born, this is the period. I have told you when he is thirty years old and has wisdom, he shall choose the faith and way of the faithful. There shall be a Shah in Hindustan and Chin, of the seed of the Kayanian [The second Persian dynasty.] in that evil time. He shall have a son of becoming worth; the name of that son shall be Bahram. His title shall be Hamawand, by parentage and race of the kings of the world. They shall call his tribe Shahpur; he shall win much honour and delight in the world.

The sign of the period of his coming shall be the falling of stars from heaven. His father shall die of old age in the month of Aban and the day of Bad. And when twenty-one years shall have expired, he shall assemble a vast army. He shall invade every quarter of the globe, and shall win his desire of his enemies. He shall lead his armies to Balkh and Bokhara, and shall survey the world on every side. He shall lead a countless host from Hindustan and Chin, that noble king shall lead them against Iran. He shall lead them forth in glittering array. The faithful shall rejoice at the sight of him. And then, when Hormazd is in the ascendant and has brought beneath him Nahid, then you shall see a man of the true faith gird up his loins from the hill country. From the countries of Khurasan and Seistan, he shall lead a wondrous and countless army. It shall gleam with triple colour;, and shall go forth to the succour of Iran. The army of the impure leader shall many of them be cast down and slain in the battle from the ships of Dawal [I know not if this word be a proper name or merely the name signifying rich.] and from Rum [Roman Empire] and Farang*, from the dark-clothed devils, the bicolour wolves. Then shall be three fierce battles in Iran, and many famous men shall be killed. All Fars of Shiraz shall be filled with woe. Grief and mourning shall take the place of joy. Then shall the noble Shah come thither and shall join battle with the foes of Iran; he shall read the heavens and shall draw out his enemy

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from the lowest depth. By the will of God the cherisher, he shall destroy those evil people.

Such shall be the events of those times, and thousands of women shall wander forth; they shall wander through the bazaars and streets. From the want of husbands, they shall seek men; wherever they behold a man, they shall remain gazing on him with wonder. From desire they shall approach him, and shall seek a remedy of their pain. When their period shall truly arrive it shall resemble a tree full of leaves, and fruit on which at night a cold wind blows. Its leaves and fruit shall fall down. I will send tidings to Kangadas. I will send a good angel to Bashutan [The brother of Asfandiar, who, as before mentioned, was gifted with immortality.]. He shall gird up his loins for the Shah, and the faith, and he shall come to the land of Iran. Bashutan shall come at my bidding and shall cleanse the world from those who speak against me. With him shall come thrice fifty heroes, and they shall perform the whole Yasht to God. Ahriman shall desire battle, and the strife-loving Dews. From Ahriman a countless host shall approach Bashutan, breathing fury. When they heard the Hadokht from the Zand-Avesta, from those Mobeds and Rads— the Dews shall fly from Iran, they shall be dispersed and afflicted.

Then shall come that Shah of fortunate name, called by all people, Bahram. He shall take the throne, and the imperial crown, and shall free the world from those aliens from God. The Mobed of Mobeds shall sit with him in presence of the wise, and the learned priests. He shall quickly restore the fire-temples and shall gather those which were long dispersed. They shall place him like a Shah on his throne, and the savage wolf shall resemble a cow. He shall remove the wicked from the earth, and shall ait down with the wise according to his desire. Bashutan shall heap countless praises on that country, people, and king. He shall go to his own principality and palace when he finds all things obedient to him. Such, O my son, is the history of the world; that, in the world no one has cause to fear. Neither good nor evil endure perpetually, nor remain fixed unchangeably."

* * *

I have made this good relation according to the words of Mobeds, the chief of true believers. Who can relate good tales like milk and wine to you except Kaus Kai? When you see this writing, my story, give me the applause due to me. When you rend the whole history of Zartusht in vour heart repeat perfect praise. Every heart in which dwells love for him, the face of that man shall be bright as the sun. Praise be to God the cherisher, that I am acquainted with Zartusht and the faith. I am not a heretic or a demon, nor are my principles or habits such as these. What could I have done, O man of wisdom! had I been born of a wicked father, if I had been brought into the world as a heretic and had prostrated myself before I'blis; if I had abode in hell till the resurrection, and the juggling fiends had accomplished their wish through me. I am unable to utter the praises of God who made me acquainted with wisdom and the faith.

ZARATHUSHTRA CHAPTER 61.

[Praise God. End Of The Book.]

Thanks to God the cherisher, that I was able to complete this memorial; he gave me aid and brought me success. I have written this history; from me be hundreds of blessings on that noble child of heaven, and may his holiness be perfected from the Creator, God the Almighty. Praise and prayer to Zartusht the prophet of the faithful — more numerous than the sands, or leaves of trees. May my blessings rest on that auspicious person.

I have written this admirable history, by the advice of the wise and prudent person, the excellent and faithful Kaus Kai, whose father was Kai-Khosrau and whose city is Rai. A thousand blessings on Zartusht from me, and on Anoshervan!

By the will and command of God, I have written this history of His people, in order that when the faithful read it they may pronounce blessings on me. Whoever blesses Anoshervan, (Zoroaster) may his fortune always prosper. A thousand blessings upon him whoever blesses our Anoshervan. Praise be upon that noble person who desires to intercede for me with God.

It was the six hundred, and forty-seventh year of Yazdegird, the month of Aban, when the world cools, the day of Adar, 34 I commenced the work on the day of A'zar. On the feast of Aban I was intoxicated; I finished it on the night of Khur, on this day I completed it. I ask praise and prayer from the reader, I also ask pardon of God. Heaven be the abode of the soul of Anoshervan, which Hoshah Rawan sends from his heart. If you should not know my name, if you will hear or read this story, you will find that my name is Zartosht Bahram bin Pazdawam, a history of both of them, since I have related this history of them. I have interpreted it aright. I have repeated many blessings and praise, so that no one will compose similar.

The end of the Zartusht-namah, [the copying of] which was completed on the day of Arshasang, in the month of A'zar, in the year of Izad, 1005 of the prince Yazdegird.

The writer of this history and I that am of God, and of the faith of Zartusht the Mazdayasnan, the son of a Herbad — the Herbad Barzu Bin Kawam-ud-Din, bin Kaikobad, bin Hormazdiar, bearing the title of Sanjanan, worshipper of fire and of Bahram. Whoever reads let him applaud!

THE BOOK OF THE DEEDS OF ARDASHIR SON OF BABAG

The Karnamag i Ardashir i Babagan
The Karname i Artakhshir i Papakan
Book of the Deeds of Ardeshir, Son of Papak
Codex MK by Mihraban i Kay-Husraw, Gujarat
being the oldest surviving records of the Zoroastrian Emperor.
Education Society's Steam Press, Byculla, Bombay, India
Translation: Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana, 1896.
Estimated Range of Dating: 1322 A.D

(Ardashir, son of Babag, founded the Sassanid dynasty in Iran, which lasted from 226 A.C to 652 A.C. "This is a short prose work, simple in style, probably written in Pars towards the end of the Sassanid period. It too was the work of priests, and a comparison of it with Firdausi's rendering shows how effectively Zoroastrian elements were obliterated in the Muslim redaction. The Karnamag contains some historical details; but its generally romantic character has been explained as due to contamination with legends of Cyrus the Great, still current then in Pars." Mary Boyce, 'Middle Persian Literature' (in Handbuch Der Orientalistik --I. Abt., IV. Band 2., p. 60.)

The Kar-Namag i Ardašir i Papakan ("Book of the Deeds of Ardeshir, Son of Papak"), is a short Middle Persian prose tale written in the Sassanid period (226-651). The story narrates the story of Ardashir I, the founder of the Sassanid dynasty. His own life story—his rise to the throne, battle against the Parthian king Ardawan (or Artabanus), and conquest of the empire by the scion of the House of Sasan, as well as episodes concerning his heir Šabuhr and the latter's son, Ohrmazd.

When Ardashir was born he spent his childhood in the court of Artabanus IV of Parthia and then ran away with a servant of the King. After several wars with Artabanus, Ardashir I defeated and killed the king, and thus could found the new empire. The Karnamag is permeated with Zoroastrian doctrine.

Manuscripts

The sole independent manuscript of this text to have been identified so far is codex MK, which was copied in 1322 in Gujarat by Mihraban i Kay-Husraw, a gifted copyist belonging to a well known family of scribes. The book narrates the epic adventures of Ardashir I, the founder of the Sassanid Empire. The story relates how Ardashir's father Papak, dreamed that his father Sassan would be reborn as Ardashir. According to the story, Ardashir I was the natural son of Sassan. A rescension of the same story is found in the Shahnama. However, the contents of the text draw from more ancient Iranian lore, since some traits of Ardashir's life as narrated in this work reflect themes known from the legend of Cyrus the Great.

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Plot

The story starts with the favorite maid of the Parthian king Ardavan, who fell in love with Ardashir and informed him of a prophecy that had been announced to the sovereign by the chief astrologer. The maid escaped Ardavand's domain and together with Ardashir, they escape on two horses stolen from the stables of Ardavan. Ardavan and his troops follow on the trail of the maiden and Ardashir. During this pursuit, Ardavan questions passers-by, who tell them that had seen the couple on the run followed by a large ram. The king interrogates his Dastur about the meaning of this scene, and the sage answers that the ram represents the royal xwarrah, which had not yet joined with Ardashir. In the Persian mythology, once a king possesses the divine xwarrah, he is invincible. During the second day of pursuit, Ardavan is told that the ram sat on the back of Ardashir I's horse. He is then advised by the Dastur to stop his pursuit since Ardashir I now possesses the divine xwarrah. The story follows with the description of Ardashir's triumph over Ardavan in the battle of Hormuzagan. Then follows his campaign against a group of nomads and then his victory against Haftobad (a giant worm) through a stratagem suggested by the pious brothers Burzag and Burz-Adur. He defeats Haftobad by pouring molten copper down the creature's throat.

The last part of the story relates to the son of Ardashir, Shapur I, and the life of the son of the latter, Ohrmazd. Ardashir's wife, the daughter of Ardawan, instigated by her brothers, makes an attempt on the king's life. The plot fails and Ardashir sentences her to death, notwithstanding her but the wise and compassionate Zoroastrian priest, without the knowledge of Ardashir, spares her life so that she may give birth to Shapur. Shapur is raised in the house of the Mowbed. Ardashir had no knowledge of the priest sparing the life of his son. According to the Shahnama, the holy man castrates himself in order to be beyond all suspicion. Years later the Mowbed tells Ardashir that he saved Shapur I and consequently is rewarded by Ardashir I. An Indian astrologer foretells that Iran will only be strong if Ardashir's family is united with that of his mortal enemy Mihrag. Ardashir, however had fought the family of Mihrag and exterminated them. However, a girl from the family of Mihrag survives and marries Shapur. Thus the son of Shapur, Ohrmazd, is born and he unites the entire Eranshahr under his command and receives tribute and homage from the other kings of the time.

Translations

The story has been translated to numerous languages. The oldest English translation was translated by Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana, B.A., 1896.)

ARDASHIR CHAPTER 1.

In the name of the Creator Ohrmazd, who is majestic and glorious.

The records of Ardashir, son of Babag, it is written as follows: That after the death of Alexander, inhabitant of Arum, there were in the territory of Iran two hundred and forty princes. Spahan (i.e. modern Isfahan), Pars and the borderlands that were nearest to them, were in the hands of Arvadan, the chief (king). Babag was the frontier governor of Pars, and was one of the commissioners appointed by Ardavan. The seat of Ardavan was in Stakhra (i.e. Persepolis). And Babag had no son to preserve his name. And Sasan was a shepherd employed by Babag, who always remained with the horses and cattle belonging to the latter, and he was descended from the line of king Darab, son of Darae. During the evil reign of Alexander, the descendants of Darab privately lived in distant lands, wandering with Kurdish shepherds.

Babag did not know that Sasan was descended from the family of Darab, son of Darae. One night Babag saw in a dream as though the sun was shining from the head of Sasan and giving light to the whole world. Another night he dreamt that Sasan was seated on a richly adorned white elephant, and that all those that stood around him in the kingdom made obeisance to him, praised and blessed him. The next third night he, accordingly, saw as if the sacred fires, Adar Farnbag, Adar Gushnasp and Adar Burzin Mihr, were burning in the house of Sasan and giving light to the whole world. He wondered at it, and directly invited to his presence the sages and interpreters of dreams, and narrated to them the visions he had seen in his dreams during those three nights.

The interpreters of dreams spoke thus: "The person that was seen in that dream, he or somebody from among the sons of that man, will succeed to the sovereignty of this world, because the sun and the richly adorned white elephant that you observed represented vigor and the triumph of opulence; the sacred fire Adar Farnbag the religious intelligence of the great men among the mobeds; the sacred fire Adar Gushnasp warriors and military chieftains; and the sacred fire Adar Burzin Mihr the farmers and agriculturists of the world and thus this sovereignty will fall to that man or the descendants of that man."

On hearing these words, Babag dispatched somebody to cal1 Sasan to his presence, and questioned him as follows: "From what race and family are you? Out of your forefathers and ancestors was there anybody who had exercised sovereignty or chieftainship before?"

Sasan solicited from Babag his support and protection in these words: "Do me no hurt or harm." Babag accepted the request, and Sasan declared before Babag his own secret as it stood.

On hearing his reply Babag was delighted, and so he ordered Sasan thus: "Elevate your body by taking a bath."

Meanwhile Babag directed his servants that a suit of clothes fit to be worn by a king should be brought and given to Sasan, and Sasan wore the royal garments accordingly. Babag further directed [in the case of Sasan] that he should be nourished with invigorating, fresh and proper food for several days Later on he gave him his daughter in marriage, and according to the law of nature she, in a short time, was pregnant by Sasan, and from her Ardashir was born.

When Babag observed the youthful body and cleverness of Ardashir, he interpreted it thus: "The dream which I beheld was true." He regarded Ardashir as his own son, and brought him up as a dear child. When Ardashir reached the age which was the time for higher instruction, he became so proficient in literary knowledge, riding, and other arts that he was renowned throughout Pars.

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When Ardashir attained the age of fifteen years, information reached Ardavan that Babag had a son proficient and accomplished in learning and riding (i.e., in heroic horsemanship). He wrote a letter to Babag to this effect: "We have heard that you have a son, who is accomplished and very proficient in learning and riding; our desire has been that you should send him to our court, and he shall be near us, so that he will associate with our sons and princes, and we might order for him position and reward according to the learning which he possesses."

As Ardavan was powerful and very absolute, it was improper on the part of Babag to do anything contrary to or to evade his command. Immediately (therefore) he sent Ardashir well-equipped with ten servants and a superb present of many marvelous, magnificent, and suitable things for the acceptance of Ardavan.

When Ardavan saw Ardashir he was glad, expressed to him his affectionate regard, and ordered that he should every day accompany his sons and princes to the chase and the polo-round. Ardashir acted accordingly. By the help of Providence he became more victorious and warlike than them all, on the polo and the riding ground, at Chatrang chess and Vine-Ardashir, and in several other arts.

One day Ardavan went a hunting with his chevaliers and Ardashir. An elk which happened to be running in the desert was then pursued by Ardashir and the eldest son of Ardavan. And Ardashir, on reaching close to the elk, struck him with an arrow in such a manner that the arrow pierced through the belly as far as its feathers, passed through the other side, and the animal died instantly.

When Ardavan and the chevaliers approached them;, they expressed wonder at such a dart and asked: -- "Who struck that arrow?" -- Ardashir replied: "I did it." The son of Ardavan said: -- "No, because I did it."

Ardashir became angry and spoke thus to the son of Ardavan: "It is not possible to appropriate the art and heroism (of another) through tyranny, unpleasantness, falsehood, and injustice. " This is an excellent forest, and the wild asses here are many. Let us try here a second time, and bring into display (our) goodness or evil nature and dexterity.

Ardavan thereby felt offended and thereafter did not allow Ardashir to ride on horseback. He sent the latter [Ardashir] to his stables of horses and cattle, and ordered him as follows: "Take care (of those animals so) that you do not go in the day or night from before those horses and cattle a hunting, to the playground or the college of learning."

Ardashir understood that Ardavan spoke (in this manner) from envy and grudge, and directly wrote a letter to Babag, stating the facts as they stood.

When Babag saw the letter he became melancholy. He wrote in reply to Ardashir as follows: "You did not act wisely in disputing with great men on a matter from which no harm could have reached you, and in addressing them with coarse words in public. Now speak out excuses for your relief and feel humble repentance, for the sages have said: It is not possible for an enemy to do that for an enemy, which, is brought on himself by an ignorant man from his own actions.

"This too, is said: Do not be grieved narrow-mindedly from a person at the time when you cannot pass your life happily without him. And you yourself know that Ardavan is a king more powerful than I, you, or many people in this world with reference to our bodies, lives, riches, and estates. And now, too, such is my strictest advice to you that you should act in unison with and obediently towards them, and not deliver up your own glory to annihilation (lit. disappearance)."

ARDASHIR CHAPTER 2.

Ardavan had (in his service) an accomplished maiden, whom he regarded, with greater respect and affection than the other maidens (under him) and [10] this maiden took part in every service that was meant to do honor to Ardavan.

One day, while Ardashir was seated by the horse-stalls, playing a tune on a drum [or guitar], singing, and making other kinds of merriment, she beheld Ardashir she became enamored of him, [and afterwards] frequently visited him, and formed friendship and love. Always regularly at every night, when the unfortunate Ardavan went to sleep, the maiden would clandestinely approach Ardashir, stay with him till the dawn, and then return to Ardavan (i.e., to her palace).

One day, Ardavan invited to his presence. the sages and astrologers, who belonged to his court, and put them the following question: "What do you observe regarding the seven planets and the twelve signs of the zodiac, the position and the motion of the stars, the condition of the contemporary sovereigns of different kingdoms, the condition of the peoples of the world, and regarding myself, children and our family?"

The chief of the astrologers said in reply as follows: "The Nahazig [constellation of Capricorn] is sunk below; the star Jupiter [Pers. Ohrmazd] has returned to its culminating point and stands away from Mars [Pers. Warharan] and Venus [Pers. Nahid, Av. Anahita], while Haptoring [the Great Bear] and the constellation of Leo descend to the verge and give help to Jupiter; whereupon it seems clear that a new lord or king will appear, who will kill many potentates, and bring the world again under the sway of one sovereign."

A second leader of the astrologers, too, came in the presence of the king and spoke to the following effect: "It is so manifest that any one of the male servants who flies away from his king within three days from today, will attain to greatness and kingship, obtain his wish, and be victorious, over his king."

The maiden, when she returned to Ardashir at night, recounted to Ardashir the words as they were told by the astrologers to Ardavan. Ardashir, when he heard those words, resolved upon departing from that place. He spoke to the maiden thus: "First of all, if you are sincere and unanimous with me; and, secondly, if anyone who runs away from his king within the three fixed days which the sages and astrologers have spoken of, attains to greatness and kingship, we should run away from here as far as this world (goes), and escape. If by the grace of God, the glory of the kingdom of Iran falls to our help, and we be delivered and (both) attain to virtue and goodness, I shall treat you so that no one in the world will be (regarded) more fortunate than you." The maiden consented and said: "I regard you as a nobleman, and shall obey you in every matter."

As it was nearly dawn, the maiden returned to her own room (lit. place) near Ardavan's chamber.

At night when Ardavan was asleep, she took (clandestinely) from the treasury of Ardavan an Indian sword, golden tackles, belts of fine leather, golden crowns, golden goblets full of jewels, dirams and dinars silver and gold coins, coats-of-mail, highly engraved weapons of war, and many other precious things; and she brought them to Ardashir.

Meanwhile Ardashir saddled two of Ardavan's horses that ran 70 frasangs miles a day. He seated himself on one and the maiden on the other, took the road to Pars, and rode on with speed.

Thus they narrate that, at night, when they approached to a country [or village], Ardashir feared lest the countrymen might behold, recognise, and capture them; so he did not enter the country, but passed by one of its precincts. His approach was seen by two women seated together, who on seeing them exclaimed: "Do not fear Ardashir the Kai [Kayanian], son of Babag, you who are of the blood of Sasan, and who has risen from King Darab; it is not possible for any evil person to take possession of you, as you are destined to rule over the kingdom of Iran for many years. Make haste until you reach the sea; and when you see the ocean before your eyes, do not guard yourself, because when your eyes fall on the ocean, then you will be quite free from the fear of your enemies." Ardashir became glad on hearing these words, and rode onward with speed from that place.

ARDASHIR CHAPTER 3.

When the day commenced, Ardavan called for the maiden, but she was not to be found. The horse keeper came and spoke to Ardavan as follows: "Ardashir and two of your steeds are not (to be found) in their places." Ardavan thereby became aware that one of his maidens, too, had run away and gone with Ardashir. And when he heard the information regarding his treasures, his heart burst with grief. He invited the chief of the astrologers, and said: "Make the best of your time, and observe carefully as to the place where that offender (Ardashir) has gone with that dissolute harlot, and as to the time when we shall be able to get hold of them." The chief of the astrologers observed the positions of the planets, and replied to Ardavan as follows: "As the Aris [Pahl. Varak in the Bund.] is dismissed by Saturn [Pers. Kivan] and Mars, and approached by Jupiter and Mercury [Pers. Tir], and as the lord of the center of the sky [i.e. the Pole Star] stands far below the brightest place of the Sun, it is clear that Ardashir has fled away and gone, and is now on the road towards the frontiers of Pars; and if he is not overtaken within three days, it will not be possible to capture him thereafter."

Immediately Ardavan prepared an army of 4,000 men, and took the road leading to Pars in pursuit of Ardashir. At midday he reached the spot where the direct road crossed to Pars. And he inquired of the inhabitants thus: "At what time did those two riders who came towards this side depart?"

The people said: "At the dawn of day, when the sun brought on its sharp rays, they, passed like a violent wind, and a very powerful eagle was running after them [than which no more handsome eagle could be found]; and we believe that by this time they must have gone to a distance of many frasangs, and you will not, therefore, be able to overtake them."

Accordingly Ardavan did not hesitate, but hastened onward. When he reached another place, he asked the inhabitants: "At what time did those two riders pass this place?" They replied: "At midday they rode on from here as swiftly as a violent wind, and an eagle followed them as their companion."

Ardavan seemed astonished at this, and said: "Consider that we know the pair of riders, but what is the propriety of the eagle following them?"

So he questioned the high-priest his minister, and the latter answered as follows: "It is the Majesty [Pahl. Gadman, i.e. Khwarrah] of the Kayanian sovereignty, which has not reached him up to now, so it is necessary that we should ride on quickly that we night catch him before that glory is attained by him."

Ardavan impetuously hastened onward with his cavalcade, and the next day they passed over seventy frasangs. On the road be met a body of people belonging to a caravan, of whom Ardavan inquired: "At what place have those two riders met you?"

They said: "Between you and them there is still a distance of twenty frasangs; and we have noticed an eagle that was very large and swift, and seated on the horse with one of the riders."

Ardavan asked the high-priest: "What does that eagle which accompanied them on the horse indicate?"

The high-priest replied as follows: "May you be immortal! It is the Majesty of the Kayanians which reaches Ardashir; it is not possible to get hold of him by any such means, so hereafter you and your horsemen should not take any more pains, nor fatigue the horses any further and kill them; but you should seek means of a different kind against Ardashir."

When Ardavan heard such advice, he turned back and came to his capital. Afterwards he got his forces and heroes equipped, and dispatched them with one of his sons to Pars, in order to catch Ardashir.

ARDASHIR CHAPTER 4.

Ardashir had now taken the road to the sea-shore, and so resumed his journey. Several of the inhabitants of Pars, who had been distressed by Ardavan, placed their wealth, property, and themselves at his disposal, and expressed to him their unanimity and submission. When he reached the place, which they call Ramishne Ardashir [The Delight of Ardashir], a magnanimous hero of the name of Banak, an inhabitant of Spahan, who had escaped from the hands of Ardavan and settled himself there, came personally to Ardashir with his six sons, many soldiers and heroes. Ardashir was at first afraid of Banak, lest the latter, having captured him, would deliver him up to Ardavan.

Afterwards Banak approached Ardashir, took an oath, and gave (him) confidence in these words: "As long is I live, I myself with my sons will remain submissive to you."

Ardashir became glad, and on that site he ordered a town to be built, which was called Ramishne i Ardashir. He left Banak there with a detachment of cavalry, and himself marched towards the sea-coast. When in his march onward he saw the ocean before his eyes, he offered thanksgiving to God, called that place the city of Bokht Ardashir, and ordered an Atash-i Warharan to be enthroned on that sea-coast.

From that place Ardashir returned to Banak and his cavalry; and prepared an army. Thence he went to the threshold of the (sacred) fire Adar Farnbag, which is meritorious, and solicited spiritual gifts from it. Then he came to battle with Ardavan [rather Bahman, the son of Ardavan], killed the entire army of the latter, seized their wealth, property, horses; and portable lodges, and settled himself in Stakhar the metropolis. He collected soldiers in large numbers from Kerman, Mokristan, Spahan, and different districts of Pars, and came to fight with Ardavan himself. There was fighting and slaughter of many every day for four months. So Ardavan sent for soldiers and provisions from different frontiers, such as Rai, Damawand, Delman [= modern Gilan], and Patashkhvargar. But as the Glory [Khwarrah] of the Kayanians was with Ardashir, the latter gained success. He killed Ardavan, whose entire wealth and property fell into the hands of Ardashir, who married Ardavan's daughter, and went back to Pars.

He built a city which was named Ardashir Gadman [= Piruzabad], wherein a large tank was dug, from which water was conveyed by means of four canals; and near that tank an Atash-i Adaran was established. (Further,) Ardashir excavated a. high mountain, and turned the course of a river (into the city) through subterranean canals. He bestowed his patronage on many cities, made them very prosperous, and ordered that several Atash-i Warharans should also be enthroned.

ARDASHIR CHAPTER 5.

Afterwards he (viz., Ardashir), having collected many soldiers and heroes of Zavul, proceeded to battle against Madig, the King of the Kurds. There was much fighting and bloodshed in which the army of Ardashir finally sustained a defeat. Ardashir became anxious on account of his own army. On his way back, he came at night through a desert which contained neither water nor food, so he himself with all his troops and horses came to hunger and thirst. Marching onward, he saw, from a distance, a fire belonging to some shepherds, and there Ardashir went and beheld an old man living with his cattle on a mountain-steppe. Ardashir passed the night there, and the next day he asked them (viz., the shepherds) about the road. They said: "Three frasangs hence there is a very fertile village which has many inhabitants and plenty of food." Ardashir went to that village, and dispatched a person to send to his capital his entire cavalry.

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The army of Madig boasted thus: "Now there should be no fear of Ardashir, as on account of his defeat he has returned to Pars.

(Meanwhile) Ardashir, having prepared an army of four thousand men, rushed upon them (viz., the Kurds), and surprised them with a night attack. He killed one thousand of the Kurds, (while) others were wounded and taken prisoners; and out of the Kurds (that were imprisoned) he sent to Pars their king with his sons, brothers, children, his abundant wealth and property.

ARDASHIR CHAPTER 6.

On the road the army of Haftan-bokht, the lord of the Worm, struck against them, seized the entire wealth, property, and portable lodges from those cavalry soldiers of Ardashir, and carried them into Guzaran, one of the boroughs of Gular, where the Worm had its abode. Ardashir then entertained this idea: "I shall go to Armenia and Ataropatgan [Greek: Atropatene], because Yazdan-kard of Shaharzur has, with many soldiers and heroes, passed beyond the frontiers or Shaharzur, concluded a treaty with the ruler of Kerman, and become his ally." But as soon as Ardashir heard of the tyranny and wickedness of the sons of Haftan-bokht towards his army, he thought: "I must, first of all, put in order the affairs at Pars and become fearless of the enemies, and after that begin to meddle with other cities." [The Dragon that was worshipped by Haftan-bokht and his subjects. Compare the mythical stories relating to the battle of Apollo against Python, of Heracles against Hydra, and of Indra against Vritra.]

Now as regards the (Worm) idolatry, it (grew) so powerful and tyrannical in Guzaran that an army of 5,000 men, that composed its forces in the different frontiers of the land of Sind and the coast towns, now came together (to its help.)" (Consequently), the troops and heroes of Ardashir reassembled around him from different quarters. Haftan-bokht, too, summoned his own entire army back to his capital.

Then Ardashir dispatched an innumerable army with chieftains to the battle of the Worm. (Now)the friends of the Worm deposited their entire wealth, riches, property, and portable lodges in the citadel and fortress of Guzaran, and privately took refuge [themselves] in mountain cavities. And the cavalry of Ardashir had no knowledge thereof, so they, on reaching the foot of the fortress of Gular, blockaded the citadel. When night fell, the army of the Worm attacked them, committed bloodshed, killed many of Ardashir's troops, and seized from them horses, saddles, saddle-tackles, property, and portable lodges. With lamentation and dishonor, the troops returned to Ardashir in a disgraceful condition and unarmed.

When the latter beheld them in such a plight, he became much distressed, and (consequently), invited to his capital all his troops from different cities and territories, and engaged himself with a large army to battle against the Worm.

When he arrived at the fortress of Guzaran, the whole army of the Worm had encamped itself inside the fortress, so he, too, encamped his army round (the outer walls of) the fortress.

The lord of the Worm, Haftan-bokht, had seven sons, and each of them was appointed (by him) governor of a city with one thousand men (under him). At this juncture, one of the sons, who was in Arvastan, came by the passage of a sea, with a, large army composed of soldiers from Arabia and Mazenderan, and stood against Ardashir in battle.

The army of the Worm, which had been inside the fortress, completely marched out, and zealously and vehemently struggled and fought with Ardashir's troops, many being killed on both sides. When the army of the Worm came out (of the fortress), it took such a by-road that it became impossible for any of Ardashir's troops to go out (of the camp) or to bring in any food for himself or fodder for his horses, and, (consequently), the satiety of all men and animals was changed into want of food and helplessness.

When Mitrok, son of Anoshepat, an inhabitant of Zarham in Pars, heard that Ardashir was without provision near the capital of the Worm, and obtained no victory over its army; he accoutered his troops and heroes, marched towards the residence of Ardashir, and carried away all the wealth and riches of Ardashir's treasure.

Ardashir, hearing of such violation on the part of Mitrok and other men of Pars, reflected upon it for a while thus: "I ought to postpone the battle with the Worm, and [then] go to fight out a battle with Mitrok." He, (therefore), summoned all his forces back to his quarters, deliberated with their commanders, (first) sought the means of delivering himself and his army, and then sat himself down to eat breakfast.

That very moment a long arrow, dispatched from the fortress, came down and pierced, as far as its feathers, through the (roasted) lamb that was on the table.

On the arrow it was written as follows: "This arrow is darted by the troops of the lord of the glorious Worm; we ought not to kill a great man like you, so we have struck that (roasted) lamb," Ardashir, having observed the state of things, disencamped his army and withdrew from the place.

The army of the Worm hastened after Ardashir, and hemmed in his men again in such a manner that Ardashir's army could not proceed further. So Ardashir [himself] passed [lit. dashed] away singly by the sea-coast.

ARDASHIR CHAPTER 7.

They say that the "Glory of the Kayanians," which had been (previously) far from Ardashir, now stood near him, and gradually approached nearer, until Ardashir was led away unmolested from that dangerous place, from the hands of the enemies, and he reached the town which they call Mavad. At night, he went to the house belonging to two brothers, one of whom was named Bûrjak, the other Bûrj-atarô, and spoke to them thus: "I am one of Ardashir's troops, who has come encountering defeat from the battle against the Worm; today you will please allow me to repose here for a short time, so that information may reach me as to the land where the army of Ardashir is now encamped."

Very sympathetically they replied to Ardashir as follows: "Accursed be Ahriman, the wicked (spirit), who has made that idolatry so victorious and stubborn that all the inhabitants of the frontier districts are rendered apostate from the religion of Ohrmazd and the Ameshaspands, and who has finally turned into defeat even a great lord like Ardashir and the whole army that accompanied him, at the lands of those enemies, the wicked idolaters."

(So saying) they held (the bridle of) Ardashir's steed, carried him into the courtyard, tied him in a stable, and recreated (the animal) with barley, straw, and lucern; while Ardashir was led in a decent manner to a sitting place or room where he reposed himself. Ardashir was (at the time) very melancholy and thoughtful.

(Meanwhile) they (viz. those brothers) performed the dron (or baj) ceremony, and requested Ardashir in these words: "Kindly recite the vaz [lit. 'hold the vaz'] and take (your) meal, and do not entertain melancholy and sorrow; because Ohrmazd and the Ameshaspands would find out a means of (delivery from) these circumstances, and not let this adversity continue in this manner; for with the tyranny of Zohak, Frasiyav of Tur, and Alexander of Arum, God was at last displeased; and they were thereby rendered, in spite of their grandeur and glory, so obscure and unknown as if the world had never known them."

On (hearing) these words, Ardashir became pleased in mind, recited the vaz, and took his meal. As those brothers had no wine, they brought to him a pomegranate, performed the myazd or offering ceremony, and recited blessings (i.e. the Afrin prayers).

As Ardashir became unsuspicious regarding their piety, religiousness, unanimity and submissiveness, he divulged his own secrets to Bûrjak and Bûrj-atarô, saying: "I am Ardashir myself. Now you contemplate as to how it is possible to discover the means of destroying this Worm and its troops. They said in reply as follows: "If it be necessary, while seeking on your behalf the kingdom of Iran, to deliver up ourselves in person, (our) lives, wealth, riches, women, and children, we will deliver them up. But we understand [it thus] that a means can be sought against this deceitful creature if you should dress yourself after the fashion of an inhabitant of some distant city, on thy way to the fortress, and devote yourself personally in its service and worship (viz. of the Worm), [and] take there with you two men who are religious pupils and persons conversant with Revelation, and perform loudly with them the yazishne [Yasna] (adoration) and azbaishne (extollings) of God and the Ameshaspands (archangels); and when the time of the Worm comes for taking food, so arrange that you should have some molten brass for pouring into the mouth of that wicked creature, so that it dies, and the spirit of that druj, too, can be removed by the sacred adoration and extollings of the Deity."

Ardashir approved of the advice, meditated upon it well, and then spoke to Burjak and Burj-ataro thus: "I can achieve this exploit by your assistance." They (viz. the brothers) replied: "We devote ourselves up, body and life, to do whatever you command."

ARDASHIR CHAPTER 8.

Thence Ardashir marched again towards Ardashir-Gadman, undertook the battle with Mitrôk, son of Anoshepat, killed Mitrok, and took possession of his territory, land, wealth and property.

For the purpose of bringing to an end the battle with the Worm, he dispatched a person to Burjak and Burj ataro, invited them to his presence, and deliberated with them. He took with himself many dirams, dinars, and garments, dressed himself like an inhabitant of Khurasan, and arriving at the foot of the castle of Gular, with Burjak and Burj-ataro, spoke (to its inmates) thus: "I am an inhabitant of Khurasan. I crave indulgence from that glorious lord, that I may approach (him) for the worship of his threshold (baba)."

The idolaters admitted Ardashir with those two male companions, and made room (for them) in the house of the Worm. For three days Ardashir showed himself engaged in that sort of worship and unanimity towards the Worm, gave the dirams, dinars, and clothes (which he had brought with him) to the idol worshippers, and acted in such a manner that everyone of the inmates of the fortress was astonished and commended him. Afterwards Ardashir spoke thus: "Be pleased to [so] permit that I may give food to the Worm for three days with my own hands." The idolaters who were superintendents acceded (to it).

Ardashir (now) dispatched a person with an order that 400 skillful and zealous men of noble blood should hide themselves among mountain cliffs; and he further commanded: "On the day of Asman if you observe smoke (issuing) from the fortress of the Worm, you should perform feats of bravery and show (your) military skill, advancing towards the foot of the fortress." That very day Ardashir had some brass melted [himself], while Burjak and Burj-ataro performed the sacred yazishne ceremony, and recited the azbaishne praises to God.

When it was its time for taking food the Worm cried aloud according to its daily habit. Some time before that, Ardashir had made the commanding idolaters drunk and unconscious at breakfast, and he himself, with his own companions, went afterwards near the Worm, and carried to it the blood of large and small cattle, according as it was given it every day; and no sooner did the Worm turn up its mouth to drink the blood, than Ardashir poured the molten brass into the mouth of the Worm. As the brass permeated through the whole body, the Worm burst asunder into two pieces, and such a noise arose from it. that all the men in the fortress came on the spot, and confusion prevailed throughout the stronghold.

Ardashir laid his hands on the shield and the sword, and committed grievous wounding and massacre in the fortress, while he ordered that they should make a fire, so that its smoke would become visible to his troops (outside). His companions did so. As soon as the troops that were on the (neighboring) mountain saw this smoke issuing from the fortress, they, in order to help Ardashir, came running to its foot, rushed into its gate, and exclaimed: "Victorious, victorious may Ardashir be, king of kings, son of Babag! "Instantly the sword was held for use; and in such a :manner the lord of the castle was killed, and everything destroyed, that the soldiers of Haftan-bokht, in the hurry and conflict of the battle, escaped by falling from the rampart, while those that remained solicited for protection, and went into bondage and submission.

Ardashir commanded that the fortress should be razed to the ground and demolished, while on its site he ordered the city which they call Guzaran to be erected. In that quarter he caused an Atash-i Warharan to be enthroned. He loaded on the backs of one thousand camels the wealth, property, gold, and silver contained in the fortress, and dispatched them to Gobar. He granted to Burjak and Burj-ataro the share of such a superb reward as zealous adherents deserve, and entrusted them the chieftaincy and governorship of the city (of Guzaran) and its environs.

ARDASHIR CHAPTER 9.

After the Worm was killed, Ardashir returned to Gobar. His forces and treasures came to the frontiers of Kerman, and to the battle against Barjan. Now he (viz., Ardashir) had with himself two of Ardavan's sons, the other two having been fugitives at the court of the king of Kabul. The latter dispatched a message, a written letter, to their sister, as she was wife of Ardashir, to the following effect: "It is quite fair that people do not divulge secrets to such women, since you have forgotten the deaths of your near relations, of your illustrious kinsmen, whom that sinner (viz. Ardashir), the enemy of God, unbecomingly; killed. Consequently, you have abandoned every trace of love and affection for those (two) miserable brothers, who are subject to distress, difficulties, fear, terror, and indignity in exile and in the district of battles; as well as for those two other unlucky brothers of yours, upon whom that perfidious (mitro-druj) man inflicts punishment with the fetters of imprisonments, and who (viz., those brothers) always wish for death as a gift. Your mind has been sincere with that faithless one, so you have no sympathy or regard for us. That person will pass away distressed who will henceforward boast of, or trust, any woman in this world. Now this is, likewise, our mutual vow through you, that you should choose some means for our sake, and do not fail to avenge the deaths of your father and your near relations, who were illustrious; that you should accept from this man the fatal poison which is forwarded to you with one of our trustworthy male relatives, and, whenever you can, administer it to that sinner and faithless wretch before he takes his meal so that he directly dies, and both of your imprisoned brothers be set at liberty; and we, too, shall return to our native town, country and land; thereby your soul will be made worthy of paradise, and an eternal fame established for thyself; while other women in this world will regard your good acts as most worthy of (their) respect and esteem."

When the daughter of Ardavan observed the letter sent to her in that form, along with poison, she contemplated upon the matter thus: "I ought to act accordingly, and relieve these two brothers from their fetters."

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One day as Ardashir was very hungry and thirsty, he went back (from the chase) to his residence to take dinner, and when he had finished saying of the Zoroastrian prayer of Grace, his consort handed to him the poison mixed with flour and milk with these words: "First of all pray drink this liquid, because you will thereby refresh yourself from heat and fatigue."

Ardashir, having held it in his hand, was going to drink it -- when people relate that the glorious fire Adar Farnbag, which is victorious, flew into the room the shape of a red hawk, struck the goblet containing the flour with its wing, and the goblet, with the entire flour fell from the hand of Ardashir on the ground.. Both Ardashir, and his wife got confused when they beheld this. A cat and a dog that were in the house licked up the contents and perished instantaneously.

Ardashir understood that: "That was (some) poison prepared for killing me. He instantly sent for the chief of the Mobeds (Pahl. 'the Mobed of the Mobeds'), and questioned him thus: "O Aerpat! what do you think of one who attempts [against] the life of her lord, and what should be done to her?"

The Mobed replied: "May you be immortal! May you attain to your object! She who attempts the life of her lord is worthy of death (margarzan), and should be killed."

Ardashir (then) ordered the Mobed: "Take this dissolute woman jah i zihanak, who is a sorceress [Av. yatu], who is the offspring of wicked parents, to the executioner, and order him to kill her."

The high-priest, holding the hand of the woman, left the court. The latter addressed the priest in these words: "Inform Ardashir that this day I have completed seven months of pregnancy; because if I am worthy of death, this offspring that I have in my womb should not also be regarded as worthy of death."

On hearing these words, the high-priest turned about and went back to Ardashir, and addressed (him) as follows: "May you be immortal! This woman is pregnant, (so) she must not be executed, for a time, until she is delivered of the child; for if she is fit to be killed, the offspring that is in her womb from your Majesty should not also be considered as worthy of death, and executed."

As Ardashir entertained wrath, he said: Don't stay a moment; kill her."

The high-priest knew that Ardashir was full of wrath, and would have to repent it; so he did not allow the woman to be killed; (but) he conveyed her to his house, and kept her in concealment. He then said to his wife: "Keep this woman respectfully, and say nothing about her to anybody."

When the time of delivery approached, she (i.e. the queen) gave birth to a very worthy son. He was named Shahpuhr; and he was reared there till he reached the age of seven years.

ARDASHIR CHAPTER 10.

One day Ardashir went a hunting; and, on entering the forest, he gave his horse loose rein in pursuit of a female elk, when the male elk coming straight up against Ardashir, rescued the hind, and gave himself up to death. Ardashir laid low the male animal, and galloped his horse against the fawn. The mother, on seeing the rider turn his horse in pursuit of her fawn, came and relieved her young one by delivering herself up to death.

Ardashir, having observed this incident, stepped pondering, and became sympathetic; and when he turned back his horse he mused upon the scene, as follows: "Woe be unto man, who ought to follow, (but does not follow), these dumb quadrupeds that are irrational and speechless, but so faithful towards one another that one lays down his life for the sake of his mate or his young one." He was then fully reminded of the child which she (i.e. his wife) had in her womb, and he, on horseback as he was, loudly uttered a mournful cry.

When the military chieftains, grandees, nobles, and princes beheld such a state of things, they stood perplexed (for a time), and went all together towards the head of the Mobeds (and questioned him thus): "How could such a thing happen that Ardashir should remain in such a lonely mood, and be visited by, wailing, grief, and sorrow, and should cry aloud in that manner?"

The chief of the Mobeds, the commander-in-chief of Iran, the commander of the guards, the chief secretaries, and the moral preceptor of the princes went near Ardashir, fell prostrate on their faces, made obeisance, and addressed him as follows: "May you be immortal! I Pray do not render yourself melancholy in this manner, and fill your heart with grief and lamentation. If it be possible to contrive means, through human activity, to undo an act that has been done, make us also cognizant of it, so that we may lay before you our bodies, lives, riches, wealth, wives, and children; but if it be such a calamity that no remedy can be found, pray do not render yourself and ourselves, the subjects of the region, full of grief and lamentation."

Ardashir said in reply: "Nothing adverse has now happened unto me; but today on my personally beholding the dumb, speechless, and stupid quadrupeds in a certain condition in the forest, I was reminded of the wife and the innocent child that was in the mothers womb of whose execution I was the devisor and judge; wherefore a grievous sin should be on my soul."

When the head Mobed observed that Ardashir repented of the act, he fell prostrate on his face, and addressed him thus: "May you be immortal! Order that the punishment of margarzan sinners, or of those that disobey the kings command, should be inflicted upon me."

Ardashir said surprisingly: "Why do you speak so? What crime have you committed?"

The chief of the Mobeds answered: "That woman and the child, whom you had ordered to kill, have not been killed by us, and a son has been born, who is more handsome and accomplished than all the newly-born children and princes.

Ardashir said with amazement: "What do you say?"

The high-priest said: "May you be immortal! It is so as I have said."

Ardashir ordered that a superb present consisting of red rubies, kingly pearls, and jewels, should be made to the Mobed. Directly somebody entered, bringing in Shahpuhr.

On beholding his [own] son, Shahpuhr, Ardashir fell prostrate on his face, and offered much thanksgiving unto Ohrmazd, the Ameshaspands, the Glory [Khwarrah] of the Kayanians, and the victorious "King of the Sacred Fires," (viz., the Atash i Warharan), and he spoke as follows: "What has come to me has never been the lot of any lord or king. Who was there that came back to life from amongst the dead, like such a beautiful offspring of mine, before the millennium, the Resurrection, and the Final Renovation, of Saoshyant?"

On that very site he ordered the erection of a city which they call Raye i Shahpuhr. He also established there an Atash-i Warharan, transferred much riches and wealth to the building of the "King of the Sacred Fires" (viz., Warharan), and ordered the continuation therein of many religious duties and acts.

ARDASHIR CHAPTER 11.

Afterwards Ardashir marched towards different frontiers, and fought many bloody battles with the principal rulers of the territory of Iran. But always when one of the frontiers was restored to order, another rose in perfidy and unsubmission.

Ardashir largely gave away his riches for this very purpose; and he communed with himself as follows: "Is it not perhaps destined for me by Providence that the kingdom of Iran should be restored by me to an absolute monarchy?" He, therefore, determined thus: "We ought to consult several learned and sagacious Indian princes, who are soothsayers, as to whether it is so that it is not appointed by our destiny to conduct the sovereignty of the kingdom of Iran, and we ought to remain content with our lot, to invoke blessings, to abandon these bloody battles, and to rest quietly ourselves from such drudgery of the time (i.e., of life)."

(Consequently), Ardashir dispatched one of his confidential men to the (head) Kait of India [or, 'of the Hindus'] to put him the question concerning the restoration of the kingdom of Iran to an empire.

When Ardashir's man reached the presence of the Kait of India, the latter, observing the messenger, spoke to him, before he could express himself, (the purport of his message) to the following effect: "Are you sent by the king of the Parsis to put me the question: 'Will the sovereignty of the kingdom of Iran reach unto me as its emperor?' Now return and give him this reply from me said the Kait: 'Such a monarchy cannot be restored by any one except by a person who will be a descendant of two different families, one is yours, another that of Mitrok, son of Anoshepat'."

The messenger returned to the presence of Ardashir, and communicated the opinion of the Kait of India, so that Ardashir became informed of it. When Ardashir heard his words, he said: "May the day never come, when from the line of Mitrok; whose soul is perverted, anybody should become dominant in the kingdom of Iran; because as regards myself Mitrok, who was of a grievous and mischievous race, was personally my enemy, while his descendants, who are alive, are all enemies of myself and my children; so if they become powerful and seek their fathers vengeance, they will prove harmful to my children."

In consequence of wrath and malice, Ardashir went to the dwelling of Mitrok; and ordered that all his children should be belabored and killed. There was a daughter of Mitrok's, three years old, whom the village authorities privately carried away from the house, and gave in charge of a farmer, (directing him) that he should bring her up, and attend to her wants. The farmer acted accordingly and reared her in an excellent manner. And when several years elapsed the maiden reached the age of womanhood, and the beauty and gait of (her) body, (her) dexterity, and her, physical strength and power developed so welt that she was (regarded as) the best and most prominent of all women.

ARDASHIR CHAPTER 12.

According to the appointment of nature and time, one day Shahpuhr, son of Ardashir, happened to pass by that town on his way to the hunting ground; and at the close of the chase he himself with nine horsemen returned to the country-farm wherein the maiden lived. The farmer's daughter was sitting on the top of the well, drawing water from it, and supplying it to the quadrupeds. The farmer was away on some business.

As soon as the maiden beheld Shahpuhr and his chevaliers, she got up, made obeisance, and addressed him as follows: "You are welcome in health, goodness, and blessings. Pray take rest, because (this) place, is delightful, and the shade of trees pleasant; and as the time is hot I will draw out some water, which you yourself and the horses may drink."

Shahpuhr was vexed owing to fatigue, hunger, and thirst, so he answered the maiden (peevishly) thus: "We will have water for ourselves, you need not trouble thyself about it."

The maiden went away dejected and sat aside.

(Then) Shahpuhr spoke to the chevaliers as follows: "Throw that bucket into the well and draw out water, so that we may drink it, and you may give it to the quadrupeds (to drink)." They acted accordingly and cast the bucket into the well; but owing to the largeness of the bucket it was impossible for them to draw it up full of water.

The maiden was observing this from a distance.

Shahpuhr, on seeing that his chevaliers could not draw the bucket up from the well, grew angry, went himself to the top of the well, and abusing those horsemen said: "Shame and disgrace to you who are less hardy and less qualified than a woman." (So saying) he seized the rope from the hands of the chevaliers, and applying his own force to the rope he drew up the bucket from the well.

The maiden felt surprised at the strength, skill, and vigor of Shahpuhr. No sooner did she see this than she, with the strength, skill, and vigor that were purely established (in her), drew up the bucket full of water from the well, and went running to Shahpuhr, bowed down to him, blessed him, and exclaimed: "May you be immortal, Shahpuhr, son of Ardashir, the best of heroes!"

Shahpuhr laughed and asked the maiden: "How do you come to know that I am Shahpuhr?"

The maiden replied: "I have heard from many people that there is not a single chevalier in the kingdom of Iran who can emulate Shahpuhr, son of Ardashir, in physical strength, vigor, the beauty, and gait of body, and dexterity."

Shahpuhr said to the maiden: "Tell me, truly, whose offspring you are."

The maiden answered: "I am the daughter of the farmer who stays in this village."

Shahpuhr said: "You do not say the truth, since the daughter of a peasant has no such skill, vigor, gait, and decency as you possess. Now we will not believe you until you speak the truth."

The maiden replied: "If you should give me protection, I would sincerely tell you the truth."

Shahpuhr exclaimed: "Protection! Do not be afraid."

The maiden said: "I am daughter of Mitrok, son of Anoshepat, and brought to this place on account of the fear of Ardashir; and of the seven children of Mitrok none has survived up to now except myself."

Shahpuhr summoned the farmer before him, solemnly accepted the maiden as his wife, and remained with her for the night.

According to the law of generation, that is, according to the law of nature, the very night the maiden became pregnant with Hormizd, son of Shahpuhr.

Shahpuhr kept his wife in (royal) pomp and respect, and Hormizd, son of Shahpuhr, was born from her.

ARDASHIR CHAPTER 13.

Shahpuhr kept Hormizd in secrecy from his father, until he reached the age of seven years. One day Hormizd went to the racecourse with the youth and princes (of the family) of Ardashir, and while) he was playing polo (with them) Ardashir happened to be sitting there in his camp with the high-priest, the commander of warriors, several noblemen, and grandees, and attentively beholding them.

Hormizd as well as the youth were victorious and warlike at riding. And naturally one of them struck his polo-club to the ball which fell on the side of Ardashir, and the latter connived at it [lit. 'showed nothing']. The youth stood dumbfounded, and none would ride on or proceed further owing to the grandeur of Ardashir. But Hormizd intrepidly went (towards him), took up the ball, and, striking it back courageously, he raised a cry of joy.

Ardashir asked of those (present): "Whose boy is this?"

They said: "May you be immortal! We do not know this boy."

Ardashir sent a person, called the boy in his presence, and asked him: "Whose son are you?"

ormizd answered: "I am son of Shahpuhr."

Instantly he (viz., Ardashir) dispatched a person and summoned Shahpuhr and questioned him thus: "Whose son is this?"

Shahpuhr solicited protection (saying): "Grant (it), O Ardashir! And protection was granted by him to Shahpuhr.

Shahpuhr (then) said: "May you be immortal! This son is mine. I kept him in secrecy from you for several years."

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Ardashir replied: "What is the cause of this impropriety of [your] withdrawing such a worthy son from my sight for seven years?" (So saying) he embraced Hormizd, gave him many a gift and garment, and offered thanksgiving unto God.

He (then) expressed himself thus: "This confirms what the Kait of India has predicted."

Afterwards, when Hormizd attained to sovereignty, he was able to bring back the whole kingdom of Iran under an absolute monarchy ; and he (actually) brought the head rulers of different frontiers under his submission. And he demanded contribution and tribute from Arûm and India, and made the kingdom of Iran more embellished, more efficient, and more famous (than before). And the Emperor of the Arumians, the Tab of Kavul, the Raja of the Hindus, the Khakan of the Turks, and other chief rulers of different countries, had come to his court with sweet salutations.

COLOPHON.

Completed with gratification, pleasure and joy.

May Ardashir, the king of kings, son of Babag, and Shahpuhr, the king of kings, son of Ardashir, and Hormizd, the king of kings, son of Shahpuhr, be immortal-souled! May the immortal-souled Rustam, son of Mitro-avan, who has written this copy, be so, and more so! Amen.

THE TRILINGUAL INSCRIPTION OF SHABUHR AT KAABA I ZARDUSHT

Res Gestae divi Saporis
Translation: Anonymus
Estimated Range of Dating: 240–270 A.D.

(Shapur I's Ka'ba-ye Zartosht inscription, also referred to as The Great Inscription of Shapur I, and Res Gestae Divi Saporis, is a trilingual inscription made during the reign of the Sassanid king Shapur I (r. 240–270 AD) after his victories over the Romans. The inscription is carved on the Ka'ba-ye Zartosht, a stone quadrangular and stepped structure located in Naqsh-e Rustam, an ancient necropolis located northwest of Persepolis, in today's Fars Province, Iran. The inscription dates to c. 262 AD.

In the inscription, Shapur I mentions his victories over Gordian III, Philip the Arab and Valeria] He relates that Gordian departed from Antioch and was killed in a decisive battle at Misiche in 242 / 244 on the border of Sassanid-ruled Mesopotamia. Shapur mentions that Misiche was subsequently renamed Misiche-Peroz-Shapur, which translates as "Misiche (where) Shapur is victorious". In relation to Philip the Arab; Shapur mentions that negotiations in 244 resulted in Philip being forced to pay 500,000 denarii to the Sasanians. In addition, the Romans promised that they would surrender Armenia to Shapur. However, Shapur relates that the Philip the Arab didn't keep his promise and tried to reinvade Armenia. As a result, another battle was fought in 252-256 at Barbalissos, against a 60,000-strong Roman army. Shapur was victorious, and he mentions that he captured 36 Roman cities. Shapur also mentions his major victory at the Battle of Edessa, which resulted in Valerian being captured by the Sasanian ruler, "along with the Praefectus Praetorio, senators, and chiefs of the army". He furthermore relates that Roman captives were settled in the province of Pars (i.e. Persis). The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity notes that this particular part of the inscription, where Shapur mentions the capture of Valerian and his deeds in general, is reminiscent of the "Persian epic tradition".

In the following part of the inscription, Shapur mentions the Zoroastrian sacred fires he established under his rule to honor each member of the royal family. He also mentions detail of "sacrifices and ceremonies". The final part of the inscription contains valuable content about the Sasanian administration as well as the courtiers and nobles during the lifetimes of Papak, Ardashir I in addition to Shapur I himself.

The inscription is written in Middle Persian, Parthian, and Greek, containing 35, 30, and 70 lines, respectively. The Middle Persian variant is partially damaged, while the Greek and Parthian versions are better survived, although they are not exactly the same as the Middle Persian text. In this inscription, Shapur introduces himself, mentions his genealogy, enumerates the provinces of his empire, describes his campaigns against the Roman Empire and talks about the fire temples he built. The inscription is considered the most important inscription from the Sassanid era:)

Shabuhr (Shapur)

I, the Mazdayasnian Majesty Shabuhr, king of kings of Aryans and non-Aryans, who is of the cithra of the Yazata, son of the Mazdayasnian Majesty Ardasher, king of kings of the Aryans, who is of the cithra of the Yazata, grandson of His Majesty Pabag, king, am lord of Eranshahr.)

Description of the Kingdom (Eranshahr)

And I hold (under my protection these) lands: Persis, Parthia, Khuzestan, Meshan, Asurestan (Assyria), Nodsheragan (Adiabenen), Arabia, Adurbayagan, Armenia, Viruzan (Georgia, Iberia), Segan (Mingrelia), Arran, Balasagan until forward to the Kap mountains and the Alans' gate, and all the Parishkhvar mountain chain (Alburz), Mah (Media), Gurgan (Urkania), Marv, Harev (Areia, Herat), and all the upper lands (Abarshahr), Kirman (Karmana), Sagestan, Turan, Makuran (Mukran), Paradan (Paradene), Hindustan (India), and the Kushan-land (Pakistan) until forward to Pashakbur (Purusapura, Peshawar), and up to Kash (Kasia Khora, Kashgar), Sugd (Sogdiana), and Cacestan (Tashkent), and on the other side of the sea the Mazun-land (Oman). And we have given [to a city] the name Peroz-shabuhr (Anbar), and we have given the name Ohrmazd-ardasher (to another city). And these many lands, land rulers and district governors, all have become tributary and subject to us.

The account of the war between the Persians and the Roman empire

First Campaign

And, when at first we were established over the kingdom, Gordian Caesar assembled from all of the Roman, Goth and German lands a military force [Gr. 'from all of the Roman Empire assembled a force from the Goths and Germans'] and marched on Asurestan against Eranshahr and against us. And on the border of Asurestan at Meshik (Mesikhe), a great frontal battle took place. Gordian Caesar was killed. We destroyed the Roman military force. And the Romans made Philip Caesar. And Philip Caesar came to terms to us, and, as ransom for the life, he gave us 500 000 denars, and became tributary to us. And for this reason we gave the name Peroz-Shabuhr ('victorious Shabuhr') to Meshik.

Second Campaign

And (Philip the Arab) Caesar lied again, and did wrong to Armenia. Then we set out for the Roman Empire, and at Bebalish (Barbalisson, Balis) we annihilated a Roman army of 60,000. And the Asurya-land (Syria, Assyria) the environs of the Asurya-land we all burned with fire, ruined and plundered. And on this one occasion we took of the Roman Empire forts and towns:

The town of Anat (Anathan, Ana) with surroundings; Birt-Arupan [Birt = Aramaic for castle, fortress; palace]. with surroundings; Birt-Asporagan (Birthan Asporakou) with surroundings; the town of Shura (Souran) with surroundings; the town of Bebalish with surroundings; the town of Mambog (Ierapolin, Manbij) with surroundings; the town of Halab (Chaleb) with surroundings; the town of Kenneshra (Qinnasrin) with surroundings; the town of Apamiya (Apamian) with surroundings; the town of Refaniyos (Rafaniyya) with surroundings; the town of Zuma (Zeugma) with surroundings; the town of Urna (Ourima) with surroundings; the town of Gindaros (Gindaron) with surroundings; the town of Armenaz with surroundings; the town of Selokiya (Seleukia) with surroundings; the town of Andiyok (Antiochian, Antakiya) with surroundings; the town of Kirros (Kyrron) with surroundings; another town of Selokiya with surroundings; the town of Aleksandriya (Alexandrian) with surroundings; the town of Nekpolis (Neikopolin, Islahiye) with surroundings; the town of Sinzar (Sinzara, Larissa, Shaijar) with surroundings; the town of Hamat (Chamath, Hama) with surroundings; the town of Ariston (Aristin, Rastan) with surroundings; the town of Dikor (Dihor) with surroundings; the town of Dura (Douran, Shalihiye) with surroundings; the town of Dolox (Dolixin, Dülük) with surroundings; the town of Korkusya (Korkousiuva) with surroundings; the town of Germaniyos (Germaneikian, Kahramanmaras) with surroundings; the town of Batnan with surroundings; the town of Xanar with surroundings; and in Cappadocia: the town of Satal (Satala) with surroundings; the town of Doman with surroundings; the town of Artangilya (Artangilan) with surroundings; the town of Sus (Souvisan) with surroundings; the town of Suvid with surroundings; the town of Frat (Phreata) with surroundings –a total of 37 towns with surroundings.

Third Campaign

And on the third occasion, when we set out for Carrhae (Xarran, Karrai, Harran) and Edessa (Urha, Urfa), and were besieging Xarran and Urha, Valerian Caesar marched against us, and he had had with him, from Germany (German), Raetia (Reshya), Noricum (Nirkos), Dacia (Dakya), Moesia (Musya), Istria (Estriya), Spain (Espaniya), Africa (Afrikiya), Thracia (Trakya), Bihynia (Butniya), Asia, Pamphylia (Pamfaliya), Isauria (Esuriya), Lycaonia (Lūkunya), Galatia (Galatenya-land), Cilicia (Kilikiya), Cappadocia (Kappadukiya), Phrygia (Frugiya), Syria (Suriya), Phoenicia (Funikiya), Judaea (Jehudiya), Arabia (Arabiya), Mauretania (Mur), Germania (Germanya-shahr), Rhodos (Rodas-shahr), Osrhoene (Asenyos-shahr), and Mesopotamia (Meyanroda) an army of 70 000 men.

And on that side of Carrhae and Edessa with Valerian Caesar a great battle took place. And we made captive Valerian Caesar with our hands. And the others, the praetorian prefect, and senators and commanders who were chiefs of that army, all were captured and deported to Persis.

And Syria and Cilicia and Cappadocia were burned with fire, ruined and plundered.

This time we seized from the Roman Empire: The town of Alexandria on the Issus (Alexandrian Tin Kat Ison) with surroundings; the town of Samosata (Shamoshad) with surroundings, the town of Katabolos with surroundings; the town of Aegaea (Ayga, Aigean, Ayas) with surroundings; the town of Mopsuestia (Mamsestiya, Momsuestian, Mamistra) with surroundings; the town of Mallos with surroundings; the town of Adana with surroundings; the town of Tarsus (Tarson) with surroundings; the town of Augusta (Agustina,

Augustopolis) with surroundings; the town of … with surroundings; the town of Zephyrion (Zefiron, Zefypion, Mersin) with surroundings; the town of Sebaste (Sebastiya, Sebastin) with surroundings; the town of Korykos (Korykon, Kız Kalesi) with surroundings; the town of Anazarbus (Agrippiada, Anavarza) with surroundings; the town of Castabala with surroundings; the town of Neronias (Neroniada) with surroundings; the town of Flavias (Flaviada) with surroundings; the town of Nikopolis (Neikopolin) with surroundings; the town of Epiphania with surroundings; the town of Kelenderis (Kelenderin, Aydıncık) with surroundings; the town of Anemuri(o)n (Anemourion, Anamur) with surroundings; the town of Selinus (Selinoun) with surroundings; the town of Miyonpolis (Myon; Myoniaα) with surroundings; the town of Antioch (Andiyokiya, Antiochian) with surroundings; the town of Seleucia (Parth. srtyʾp) with surroundings; the town of Dometiu-polis (Dometiou Polin, Parthian Mustynprus) with surroundings; the town of Tuyana (Tuana) with surroundings; the town of Caesarea (Kesariya, Myiakariri) with surroundings; the town of Comana (Komana, Shar) with surroundings; the town of Kybistra with surroundings; the town of Sebasteia (Sebastian, Sivas) with surroundings; the town of Birtha (Birthan) with surroundings; the town of Rhakundia (Rakundian) with surroundings; the town of Laranda (Karaman) with surroundings; the town of Iconium (Ikonin, Konya) with surroundings–altogether all these towns with their surroundings.

And people who are of the Roman Empire, of non-Aryans, captive we deported. In Eranshahr in Persis, Parthia, Khuzestan (Susiane), Asurestan, and in any other land where our own and our fathers' and our grandfathers' and our ancestors' estates were, there we settled them.

We searched out many other lands, and we did many fame(-worthy) and heroic deeds, which we have not written here, these many things (we have written before). We commanded to be written for this reason that whosoever will be after us may know this fame, heroism and kingship of us.

The deed of settlement

Victorious Fires

Then, for this reason, that the Yazata have thus made us their "protégé", and with the help of the Yazata we search out and take these so many lands, therefore we too in every land have founded many Victorious Fires, and have conferred benefices upon many

Magi-men, and (as for the cult of) the great Yazata we established it well.

And here also, by the inscription we have founded: One Fire, Husrō-Šabuhr ('fair-famed is Šabuhr') by name for our soul and to preserve our name; one Fire, Husrō-Aduranahid by name, for the soul of our daughter Aduranahid, queen of queens, and to preserve her name; one Fire, Husro-Ohrmazd-ardasher by name, for the soul of our son Ohrmazd-ardasher, great king of Armenia, and to preserve his name; another one Fire, Husro-Shabuhr by name, for the soul of our son Shabuhr, king of Mesene, and to preserve his name; one Fire, Husro-Narse by name, for the soul of our son the Aryan, the Mazdayasnian Narse, king of India, Sakestan and Turan to the seashore, and to preserve his name.

Funds for the maintenance of the Fires

And that which we have donated to these Fires, and which we have established as a custom, thus also all we have written upon a deed of settlement. Of those 1 000 lambs, of which custom reserves for us the surplus, and which we have donated to these Fires, we have ordered to be done as follows: For our soul each day one lamb, one griv (= 1 modius) and five handfuls (= ½ modius) of bread, and four pas of wine.

Sasan the lord; and Pabag the king; and Shabuhr the king, son of Pabag; and Ardasher, king of kings; and Khuarranzem, queen of the kingdom; and Aduranahid, queen of queens; and Denag, the queen; and Vahram, king of Gelan; and Shabuhr, king of Mesene; and Ohrmazdardasher, great king of Armenia; and Narse, king of Sakestan; and Shabuhrduxtag, queen of Sakestan; and Narseduxt, queen of Sakestan; and Cašmag, the (royal) lady; and Peroz, the (royal) prince; and Mirrod, the lady, mother of king of kings Shabuhr; and Narse, the prince;

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and Rōdduxt, the princess, daughter of Anoshag; and Varazduxt, daughter of Khuarranze; and Staxriyad, the queen; and Hormazdag, son of the king of Armenia, Hormazd; and Odabaxt, and Vahram, and Shabuhr, and Peroz, sons of the king of Mesene; and Shabuhrdukhtag, daughter of the king of Mesene; Ohrmazddukhtag, daughter of the king of Sakestan – for their soul (each day) one lamb, one griv and five handfuls of bread, and four pas of wine.

And the other lambs which remain, as long as there is enough left, for the souls of those persons whose souls we (king of kings) have ordered to perform the Yasna-ritual, and in particular it is mentioned by name in writing (and listed) in the inscription on the monument, day by day, one lamb, one griv and five handfuls of bread, and four pas of wine.

Those who lived under the rule of Pabag the king: Sasan son of Arnēk; Farrag son of Farrag; Vahrampad son of Horag; Aspūrag son of Aspūrag; Puhrag son of Mardēnag; Zig, master of ceremonies; Šabuhr son of Vēzan(ag); Šabuhr son of Mihrbūzanag.

Those who lived under the rule of Ardasher the king of kings: Sadarub, king of Abarenag; Ardasher, king of Marv; Ardasher, king of Kirman; Ardasher, king of Sakestan; Dēnag, mother of Pabag the king; Rodag, mother of Ardašēr the king of kings; Denag, queen of queens, daughter of Pabag; Ardasher the bidakhs ('second after the king', viceroy); Pabag the hazaruft ('chief of a thousand men', chiliarch); Dehen of the family Varaz; Sasan of the family Suren; Sasan, lord of Andegan; Peroz of the family Karin; Gok of the family Karin; Abursam of the family Ardasherfarr; Gelman from Dumbavand; Rakhsh, the army chief; Mard, chief of scribes; Pabag, master of ceremonies; Pakcihr, son of Visfarr(ag); Vefarr son of Farrag; Mihrxvast son of Baresag; Homfrad, the mayaganbed ('chief of the royal guard'?); Diram, chief of the armory; Cirig, the (chief) judge; Vardan, chief of (royal) stables; Mihrag son of Tosar; Zig son of Zabr(ag); Sagbus, in charge of hunt; Hudog, the chief steward; Jahēn, the (chief) wine-keeper.

Those who live under the rule of Shabuhr, king of kings: Ardasher, king of Nodsheragan (Adiabene); Ardasher, king of Kirman; Denag, queen of Mesene, "protégée" of Shabuhr; Hamazasp, king of Viruz (Georgia); Valash, royal prince, son of Pabag; Sasan, royal prince, who was maintained by the Kadog family; Narse, royal prince, son of Peroz; Narse, royal prince, son of Shabuhr; Shabuhr, the bidakhsh; Pabag, the hazaruft; Peroz, chief of cavalry; Ardasher of the family Varaz; Ardasher of the family Suren; Narse, lord of Andēgan; Ardasher of the family Karin; Vehnam, the framadar ('governor'); Frig, Satrap of Gundišabuhr; Srido shahmust; Ardasher ardashershnom; Pakcihr tahm-shabuhr; Ardasher, satrap of Goman; Cashmag nevshabuhr; Vehnam šabuhršnōm; Tirmihr, chief of fortress of Shahrgird; Zig, master of ceremonies; Ardavan, of Dumbavand; Gundfarr avgan razmjoy ('who seeks combat', combatant) and Pabag perozshabuhr son of Shambid; Varzan, satrap of Gay; Kirdesro, the bidakhsh; Pabag, son of Visfarr; Valash, son of Seleucus; Yazdbad, counselor of ladies (queens); Pabag, the swordbearer; Narsē, satrap of Rind; Tiyanag, satrap of Ahmadan; Gulbed (Vardbed), the peristagbed ('chief of services', majordomo); Jōymard son of Rastag; Ardašēr son of Vēfarr; Abursam of the family Šabuhr, chief of court-personnel; Narsē son of Barrag; Šabuhr son of Narsē; Narsē, the chief steward; Hormazd, the chief scribe, (son of Hormazd, the chief scribe); Nadug, the zendanig ('prison governor, jailer'); Pabag, the darbed ('master of the gate'); Pasfal son of Pasfal; Abdakhsh son of Dizbed; Kider, the teaching priest (Magus); Rastag, satrap of Vehardasher; Ardasher son of Bidakhsh; Mihrkhvast, the treasurer; Shabuhr, the governor; Aštad of the family Mihran, the secretary (scribe of epistles), from Ray; Sasan, the šabestan ('harem-ward,eunuch'), son of Sasan; Viroy, the vazarbed ('supervisor of markets', market inspectorate); Ardasher, satrap of Nerez; Bagdad son of Vardbed; Kirdēr ardavan; Zurvandad son of Bandag; Gunnar son of Sasan; (Manzag the eunuch); Sasan, the judge; Vardan, son of Našpad; Gulag, the varazbed ('chief of boars') – altogether, one lamb, one griv and five handfuls of bread, and four pas of wine.

Conclusion

Now, as we are diligent in the matters and services of the Yazata, as we are the dastgird ("protégé") of the Yazata, and we sought out and took these many lands with the haelp of the Yazata, and we did name(-worthy) and heroic deeds, in order that whoever after us shall beome lord (fortunate), may he become more reverent and more benevolent to the Yazata (Parth. “may he also be diligent in the matters and services of the Yazata”), so that to him also in this same manner the Yazata may be a help (Parth. adds “and make him his dastgird”), as he was to us.

This is my handwriting, Ohrmazd, the scribe, son of Sherag, the scribe.

THE INSCRIPTION OF SHAPUR I
AT NAQSH-E RUSTAM IN FARS
Translation: Warren Soward
Estimated Range of Dating: 240–270 A.D.

(Naqsh-e Rostam is an ancient necropolis located about 12 km northwest of Persepolis, in Fars Province, Iran, with a group of ancient Iranian rock reliefs cut into the cliff, from both the Achaemenid and Sassanid periods. It lies a few hundred meters from Naqsh-e Rajab, with a further four Sassanid rock reliefs, three celebrating kings and one a high priest. Naqsh-e Rostam is the necropolis of the Achaemenid dynasty (c. 550–330 BC), with four large tombs cut high into the cliff face.

The first edition of the text in three languages (Parthian, Middle Persian and Greek) was by M. Sprengling, "Shahpuhr I, the Great on the Kaabah of Zoroaster (KZ)," AJSI, 57 (1940), 341-420, followed by his Third Century Iran, Sapor and Kartir (Chicago, 1953), with photographs. The Greek text formed the basis of the translation by A. Maricq, "Res Gestae Divi Saporis," Syria, 35 (1958), 295-360, with his detailed study together with E. Honigmann, Recherches sur les Res Gestae Divi Saporis (Brussels, 1953). Other references may be found in these publications as well as in the popular work by J. Gagé, La montée des Sassanides (Paris, 1964). The translation here is based mainly on the MP and Parthian versions with additions in parentheses and with Greek additions or differences in brackets. The line division follows the Parthian (the most legible) text but names are in modern or Classical forms.)

I, the Mazda worshipping lord Shapur, king of kings of Iran and non-Iran, whose lineage is from the Gods, son of the Mazda worshipping divinity Ardashir, king of kings of Iran, whose lineage is from the Gods, grandson of king Papak, am ruler of Iranshahr, and I hold the following lands:

Persis, Parthia, Khuzistan, Mesene, Assyria, Adiabene, Arabia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Segan [Makhelonia = Mingrelia], Arran [Albania], Balasakan, up to the Caucasus mountains and the Gates of Albania, and all of the mountain chain of Pareshwar, Media, Gurgan, Merv, Herat and all of Aparshahr [Balasakan = Derbend area; Pareshwar = Elburz mountains; Aparshahr = Islamic Khurasan.], Kerman, Seistan, Turan, Makuran, Paradene, Hindustan [northwest India = Sindh], the Kushanshahr up to Peshawar, and up to Kashgar, Sogdiana and to the mountains of Tashkent, and on the other side of the sea, Oman. And we have given to a village district the name Peroz-Shapur and we made

Hormizd-Ardashir by name Shapur [Perhaps the sentence is to be read: we, Shapur, have made the town of Hormizd-Ardashihr in Khuzistan.]. And these many lands, and rulers and governors, all have become tributary and subject to us.

When at first we had become established in the empire, Gordian Caesar raised in all of the Roman Empire a force from the Goth and German realms and marched on Babylonia [Assyria] (Asuristan) against the Empire of Iran and against us. On the border of Babylonia at Misikhe, a great 'frontal'battle occurred. Gordian Caesar was killed and the Roman force was destroyed. And the Romans made Philip Caesar. Then Philip Caesar came to us for terms, and to ransom their lives, gave us 500,000 denars, and became tributary to us. And for this reason we have renamed Misikhe Peroz-Shapur.

And Caesar lied again and did wrong to Armenia. Then we attacked the Roman Empire and annihilated at Barbalissos a Roman force of 60,000 and Syria and the environs of Syria we burned, ruined and pillaged all. In this one campaign we conquered of the Roman Empire fortresses and towns: the town of Anatha with surroundings, (Birtha of Arupan ?) with surroundings [The phrase 'with surroundings' is found after each place name and has been omitted here.], Birtha of Asporakan, the town of Sura, Barbalissos, Manbuk,[Hierapolis], Aleppo [Berroia ?], Qennisrin [Khalkida], Apamea, Rhephania, Zeugma, Urima, Gindaros, Armenaza, Seleucia, Antioch, Cyrrhe, another town of Seleucia, Alexandretta, Nicopolis, Sinzara, Hama, Rastan, Dikhor, Dolikhe, Dura, Circusium , Germanicia, Batna, Khanar, and in Cappadocia the towns of Satala, Domana, Artangil, Suisa, Sinda, Phreata, a total of 37 towns with surroundings.

In the third campaign, when we attacked Carrhae and Urhai [Edessa] and were besieging Carrhae and Edessa Valerian Caesar marched against us. He had with him a force of 70,000 from Germany, Raetia, Noricum, Dacia, Pannonia, Moesia, Istria, Spain, Africa (Libya), Thrace, Bithynia, Asia, Pamphylia, Isauria, Lycaonia, Galatia, Lycia, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Phrygia, Syria, Phoenicia, Judaea, Arabia, Mauritania, Germania, Rhodes [Lydia], Osrhoene, Mesopotamia.

And beyond Carrhae and Edessa we had a great battle with Valerian Caesar. We made prisoner ourselves with our own hands Valerian Caesar and the others, chiefs of that army, the praetorian prefect, senators; we made all prisoners and deported them to Persis.

And Syria, Cilicia and Cappadocia we burned , ruined and pillaged. In that campaign we conquered of the Roman Empire the town of Samosata, Alexandria on the Issus, Katabolos, Aegaea, Mopsuestia, Mallos, Adana, Tarsus, Augustinia, Zephyrion, Sebaste, Korykos, Anazarba (Agrippas), Kastabala, Neronias, Flavias, Nicopolis, Epiphaneia, Kelenderis, Anemurion, Selinus, Mzdu-[Myonpolis], Antioch, Seleucia, Dometiopolis, Tyana, Caesarea [Meiakariri], Komana Kybistra, Sebasteia, Birtha, Rakundia, Laranda, Iconium, altogether all these cities with their surroundings.

And men of the Roman Empire, of non-Iranians, we deported. We settled them in the Empire of Iran in Persis, Parthia, Khuzistan, in Babylonia and in other lands where there were domains of our father, grandfathers and of our ancestors.

We searched out for conquest many other lands, and we acquired fame for heroism, which we have not engraved here, except for the preceding. We ordered it written so that whoever comes after us may know this fame, heroism and power of us.

Thus, for this reason, that the gods have made us their ward, and with the aid of the gods we have searched out and taken so many lands, so that in every land we have founded many Bahram fires and have conferred benefices upon many magi-men, and we have magnified the cult of the gods.

And here by this inscription, we founded a fire Khosro-Shapur ['fame of Shapur'] by name for our soul and to perpetuate our name, a fire called Khosro-Aduranahid by name for the soul of our daughter Aduranahid, queen of queens, to perpetuate her name, a fire called Khosro-Hormizd-Ardashir by name for the soul of our son, Hormizd-Ardashir, great king of Armenia, to perpetuate his name, another fire call Khosro-Shapur by name, for the soul of our son Shapur king of Mesene, to perpetuate his name, and a fire called Khosro-Narseh by name, for the sould of our son, the noble, Mazda worshipping Narseh, king of Sind, Seistan and Turan to the edge of the sea, to perpetuate his name.

And that which we have donated to these fires, and which we have established as a custom, all of that we have written upon the document [of guaranty]. Of those 1000 lambs, of which custom gives us the excess, and which we have donated to these fires, we have ordered as follows: for our soul each day a lamb, one and a half measures of bread and four quantities of wine.

For that of Sasan the lord, King Papak, King Shapur son of Papak, King of Kings Ardashir, the Empire's Queen Khoranzim, Queen of Queens Aduranahid, Queen Dinak, King of Gilan Bahram, King of Mesene Shapur, Great King of Armenia Hormizd-Ardashir, King of the Sakas Narseh, Queen of the Sakas Shapurdukhtak, Lady of the Sakas Narsehdukht, Lady Chashmak, Prinz Peroz, Lady Mirdut [Myrrod], mother of King of Kings Shapur, Prince Narseh, Princess Rud-dukhtak, daughter of Anoshak, Varazdukht [Gorazdukht], daughter of Khoranzim, Queen Stahyrad, Hormizdak, son of the king of Armenia, Hormizd, Hormizdak, Odabakht, Bahram, Shapur Peroz, son of the king of Mesene, Shapurdukhtak, daughter of the king of Mesene, and Hormizddukhtak, daughter of the king of Sakas for their souls a lamb, a measure and a half of bread and four quantities of wine.

And the lambs which remain, as much as remain to be completely used, are for the souls of those for whose souls we have ordered rites, who by name are found in writing, every day a lamb, one and a half measures of bread and four quantities of wine.

Among those who lived under the rule of King Papak: Sasan Ornekan, Farrak son of Farrak, Vartragnipat son of Khur, Asporik son of Asporik, Pohrik son of Mardin, Zik the master of ceremonies, Shapur son of Wezan, Shapur son of Mihrozan.

Among those who lived under the rule of King of Kings Ardashir: Satarp king of Abrenak [This probably means the Aparni or Khurasan.], Ardashir king of Merv, Ardashir king of Kerman, Ardashir king of the Sakas, Dinak mother of king Papak, Rodak mother of King of Kings Ardashir, Dinak daughter of Papak queen of queens, Ardashir bidakhsh, Papak chiliarch, Dehin Varaz, Sasan Suren, Sasan lord of Andegan, Peroz Karen Gok Karen, Abursam 'glory of Ardashir,' Geliman of Demavend, Rakhsh the army chief, Mard head of scribes, Papak master of ceremonies, Pazihr Vaspurigan, Vifard son of Farrak, Mihr-khwast Baresigan, Khumafrat chief of the elite guard, Diran chief of the armory, Chihrak the judge, Vardan chief of stables, Mihrak son of Tosar, Zik Zabrigan, Sagbus master of the hunt, Khudik chief steward, Zayen chief of wine.

Among those who live under the rule of King of Kings Shapur: Ardashir king of Adiabene, Ardashir king of Kerman, Dinak queen of Mesene ward of Shapur, Hamazasp king of Georgia, Prince Valash son of Papak, Prince Sasan who is adopted by the Farrak family, Prince Sasan who is adopted by the Kiduk family, Prince Narseh son

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of Peroz, Prince Narseh son of Shapur, Shapur bidakhsh, Papak chiliarch, Peroz chief of cavalry, Ardashir Varaz, Ardashir Suren, Narseh lord of Andegan, Ardashir Karen, Vahunam framadar [chief], Frik satrap of Gundeshapur, Sritoy son of Shahimust, Ardashir 'joy of Ardashir,' Pazihr 'valiant of Shapur,' Ardashir satrap of Qom, Chashmak 'brave of Shapur,' Vahunam 'joy of Shapur,' Tir-mihr chief of fortress of Shahrkart, Zik master of ceremonies, Artaban of Demavend, Gondofarr Abgan 'who seeks combat,' Pabish 'Perozshapur' son of Shanbit Varzin satrap of Isfahan, Kirdisro bidakhsh, Papak Vaspurigan, Valash son of Seleucus, Yazdbad counselor of queens, Papak swordbearer, Narseh satrap of Rund [Unknown, but in western Iran, possibly modern Kashan.], Tiyanik satrap of Hamadan, Vardbad [Gulbad] chief of services, Yoymard son of Rastak, Ardashir son of Vifar, Abursam-Shapur head of the harem, Narseh son of Barrak, Shapur son of Narseh, Narseh chief steward, Hormizd chief scribe son of Hormizd chief scribe, Naduk chief of the prison, Papak gate keeper, Pasfard son of Pasfard, Abdagash son of the castle lord, Kerdir magus, Rastak satrap of Weh Ardashir, Ardashir son of the bidakhsh, Mihrkhwast treasurer, Shapur commander, Arshtat Mihran of Rayy secretary, Sasan the eunuch son of Sasan, Virod chief of markets, Ardashir satrap of Neriz, Bagdad son of Vardapad [Gulbad], Kerdir Ardavan, Zurvandad son of Bandak, Vinnar son of Sasan, Manzik the eunuch, Sasan the judge, Vardan son of Nashbad, Gurik (Vardik) chief of boars, altogether one lamb, one and a half portions of bread, four measures of wine every day.

Now as we serve and worship the gods with zeal, since we are the wards of the gods and with the aid of the gods we have searched out these peoples, have dominated them and have acquired fame for bravery, also whoever comes after us and rules, may he also serve and worship the gods with zeal, so the gods may aid him and make him their ward.

(The Parthian version alone is signed: "This is the writing by my hand, Hormizd, the scribe, son of Shirak, the scribe.")

THE INSCRIPTIONS OR EDICTS OF KING ASHOKA

including: Kandahar Bilingual Rock Inscription
in the Greek and Aramaic languages
Translation: S. Dhammika, 1994
Estimated Range of Dating: 260-232 BC

(When in 1837 James Prinsep succeeded in deciphering an ancient inscription on a large stone pillar in Delhi, the inscription proved to be a series of edicts issued by a king calling himself "Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi." In the following decades, more and more edicts by this same king were discovered and with increasingly accurate decipherment of their language, a more complete picture of this man and his deeds began to emerge. Gradually, it dawned on scholars that the King Piyadasi of the edicts might be the King Ashoka so often praised in Buddhist legends. However, it was not until 1915, when another edict actually mentioning the name Ashoka was discovered, that the identification was confirmed.

Ashoka's edicts are mainly concerned with the reforms he instituted and the moral principles he recommended in his attempt to create a just and humane society. In other words: Ashoka published his Buddhist ethic law for everyone to read for he was the first who made Buddhism a state religion as a unifying factor in politics. As such, the inscriptions give us little information about his life, the details of which have to be culled from other sources. Although the exact dates of Ashoka's life are a matter of dispute among scholars, he was born in about 304 BC and became the third king [or better: emperor] of the Mauryan dynasty after the death of his father, Bindusara. His given name was Ashoka but he assumed the title Devanampiya Piyadasi which means "Beloved-of-the-Gods, He Who Looks On With Affection." There seems to have been a two-year war of succession during which at least one of Ashoka's brothers was killed. In 262 BC, eight years after his coronation, Ashoka's armies attacked and conquered Kalinga, a country that roughly corresponds to the modern state of Orissa. The loss of life caused by battle, reprisals, deportations and the turmoil that always exists in the aftermath of war horrified Ashoka so much that it brought about a complete change in his personality. It seems that Ashoka had been calling himself a Buddhist for at least two years prior to the Kalinga war, but his commitment to Buddhism was only lukewarm and perhaps had a political motive behind it. But after the war Ashoka dedicated the rest of his life trying to apply Buddhist principles to the administration of his vast empire. He had a crucial part to play in helping Buddhism to spread both throughout India and abroad, and probably built the first major Buddhist monuments. Ashoka died in 232 BC in the thirty-eighth year of his reign.

Ashoka's edicts are to be found scattered in more than thirty places throughout India, Nepal, Pakistan and Afghanistan. Most of them are written in Brahmi script from which all Indian scripts and many of those used in Southeast Asia later developed. The language used in the edicts found in the eastern part of the sub-continent is a type of Magadhi, probably the official language of Ashoka's court. The language used in the edicts found in the western part of India is closer to Sanskrit although the Kandahar Bilingual Edict in Afghanistan is written in Aramaic and Greek. Ashoka's edicts, which comprise the earliest decipherable corpus of written documents from India, have survived throughout the centuries because they are written on rocks and stone pillars. These pillars in particular are testimony to the technological and artistic genius of ancient Indian civilisation. Originally, there must have been many of them, although only ten with inscriptions still survive. Averaging between forty and fifty feet in height, and weighing up to fifty tons each, all the pillars were quarried at Chunar, just south of Varanasi and dragged, sometimes hundreds of miles, to where they were erected. Each pillar was originally capped by a capital, sometimes a roaring lion, a noble bull or a spirited horse, and the few capitals that survive are widely recognised as masterpieces of Indian art. Both the pillars and the capitals exhibit a remarkable mirror-like polish that has survived despite centuries of exposure to the elements. The location of the rock edicts is governed by the availability of suitable rocks, but the edicts on pillars are all to be found in very specific places. Some, like the Lumbini pillar, mark the Buddha's birthplace, while its inscriptions commemorate Ashoka's pilgrimage to that place. Others are to be found in or near important population centres so that their edicts could be read by as many people as possible.

There is little doubt that Ashoka's edicts were written in his own words rather than in the stylistic language in which royal edicts or proclamations in the ancient world were usually written in. Their distinctly personal tone gives us a unique glimpse into the personality of this complex and remarkable man. Ashoka's style tends to be somewhat repetitious and plodding as if explaining something to one who has difficulty in understanding. Ashoka frequently refers to the good works he has done, although not in a boastful way, but more, it seems, to convince the reader of his sincerity. In fact, an anxiousness to be thought of as a sincere person and a good administrator is present in nearly every edict. Ashoka tells his subjects that he looked upon them as his children, that their welfare is his main concern; he apologises for the Kalinga war and reassures the people beyond the borders of his empire that he has no expansionist intentions towards them. Mixed with this sincerity, there is a definite puritanical streak in Ashoka's character suggested by his disapproval of festivals and of religious rituals many of which while being of little value were nonetheless harmless.

It is also very clear that Buddhism was the most influential force in Ashoka's life and that he hoped his subjects likewise would adopt his religion. He went on pilgrimages to Lumbini and Bodh Gaya, sent teaching monks to various regions in India and beyond its borders to East and West, and he was familiar enough with the sacred texts to recommend some of them to the monastic community. It is also very clear that Ashoka saw the reforms he instituted as being a part of his duties as a Buddhist. But, while he was an enthusiastic Buddhist, he was not partisan towards his own religion or intolerant of other religions. He seems to have genuinely hoped to be able to encourage everyone to practice his or her own religion with the same conviction that he practiced his.

Scholars have suggested that because the edicts say nothing about the philosophical aspects of Buddhism, Ashoka had a simplistic and naive understanding of the Dharma. This view does not take into account the fact that the purpose of the edicts was not to expound the truths of Buddhism, but to inform the people of Ashoka's reforms and to encourage them to be more generous, kind and moral. This being the case, there was no reason for Ashoka to discuss Buddhist philosophy. Ashoka emerges from his edicts as an able administrator, an intelligent human being and as a devoted Buddhist, and we could expect him to take as keen an interest in Buddhist philosophy as he did in Buddhist practice.

The contents of Ashoka's edicts make it clear that all the legends about his wise and humane rule are more than justified and qualify him to be ranked as one of the greatest rulers. In his edicts, he spoke of what might be called state morality, and private or individual morality. The first was what he based his administration upon and what he hoped would lead to a more just, more spiritually inclined society, while the second was what he recommended and encouraged individuals to practice. Both these types of morality were imbued with the Buddhist values of compassion, moderation, tolerance and respect for all life. The Ashokan state gave up the predatory foreign policy that had characterised the Mauryan empire up till then and replaced it with a policy of peaceful co-existence. The judicial system was reformed in order to make it more fair, less harsh and less open to abuse, while those sentenced to death were given a stay of execution to prepare appeals and regular amnesties were given to prisoners. State resources were used for useful public works like the importation and cultivation of medical herbs, the building of rest houses, the digging of wells at regular intervals along main roads and the planting of fruit and shade trees. To ensue that these reforms and projects were carried out, Ashoka made himself more accessible to his subjects by going on frequent inspection tours and he expected his district officers to follow his example. To the same end, he gave orders that important state business or petitions were never to be kept from him no matter what he was doing at the time. The state had a responsibility not just to protect and promote the welfare of its people but also its wildlife. Hunting certain species of wild animals was banned, forest and wildlife reserves were established and cruelty to domestic and wild animals was prohibited. The protection of all religions, their promotion and the fostering of harmony between them, was also seen as one of the duties of the state. It even seems that something like a Department of Religious Affairs was established with officers called Dharma Mahamatras whose job it was to look after the affairs of various religious bodies and to encourage the practice of religion.

The individual morality that Ashoka hoped to foster included respect (susrusa) towards parents, elders, teachers, friends, servants, ascetics and brahmans — behaviour that accords with the advice given to Sigala by the Buddha (Digha Nikaya, Discourse No. 31). He encouraged generosity (dana) to the poor (kapana valaka), to ascetics and brahmans, and to friends and relatives. Not surprisingly, Ashoka encouraged harmlessness towards all life (avihisa bhutanam). In conformity with the Buddha's advice in the Anguttara Nikaya, 2:282, he also considered moderation in spending and moderation in saving to be good (apa vyayata apa bhadata). Treating people properly (samya pratipati), he suggested, was much more important than performing ceremonies that were supposed to bring good luck. Because it helped promote tolerance and mutual respect, Ashoka desired that people should be well-learned (bahu sruta) in the good doctrines (kalanagama) of other people's religions. The qualities of heart that are recommended by Ashoka in the edicts indicate his deep spirituality. They include kindness (daya), self-

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examination (palikhaya), truthfulness (sace), gratitude (katamnata), purity of heart (bhava sudhi), enthusiasm (usahena), strong loyalty (dadha bhatita), self-control (sayame) and love of the Dharma (Dhamma kamata).

We have no way of knowing how effective Ashoka's reforms were or how long they lasted but we do know that monarchs throughout the ancient Buddhist world were encouraged to look to his style of government as an ideal to be followed. King Ashoka has to be credited with the first attempt to develop a Buddhist polity. Today, with widespread disillusionment in prevailing ideologies and the search for a political philosophy that goes beyond greed (capitalism), hatred (Islam, communism) and delusion (dictatorships led by "infallible" leaders), Ashoka's edicts may make a meaningful contribution to the development of a more spiritually based political system.

Ashoka Kandahar Bilingual Rock Inscription

The Kandahar Bilingual Rock Inscription [also known as Kandahar Edict of Ashoka or Chehel Zina Edict] is a famous bilingual edict in Greek and Aramaic, proclaimed and carved in stone by the Indian Maurya Empire ruler Ashoka (r.269-233 BC) around 260 BC. It is the very first known inscription of Ashoka, written in year 10 of his reign (260 BC), preceding all other inscriptions. The inscription is about 55cm high and 50cm wide. This first inscription was written in Classical Greek and Aramaic exclusively. It was discovered in 1958. It is sometimes considered as one of the several "Minor Rock Edicts" of Ashoka (and then called "Minor Rock Edict No.4), by opposition to his "Major Rock Edicts" which contain portions or the totality of his Edicts from 1 to 14. Two edicts in Afghanistan have been found with Greek inscriptions, one of these being this bilingual edict in Greek language and Aramaic, the other being the Kandahar Greek Inscription in Greek only. This bilingual edict was found on a rock on the mountainside of Chehel Zina (also Chilzina, or Chil Zena, "Forty Steps"), in the vicinity of Kandahar, which forms the western natural bastion of Old Kandahar, or Alexandria Arachosia, Kandahar's Old City.

Greek communities lived in the northwest of the Mauryan empire, currently in Pakistan, notably ancient Gandhara near the current Pakistani capital of Islamabad, and in the region of Gedrosia, nowadays in Southern Afghanistan, following the conquest and the colonisation efforts of Alexander the Great around 323 BC. These communities therefore seem to have been still significant in the area of Afghanistan during the reign of Ashoka, about 70 years after Alexander.

This inscription is actually rather short and general in content, compared to most Major Rock Edicts of Ashoka, including the other inscription in Greek of Ashoka in Kandahar, the Kandahar Greek Edict of Ashoka, which contains long portions of the 12th and 13th edicts, and probably contained much more since it was cut off at the beginning and at the end. The Edict also shows the presence of a sizable Greek population in the area, but it also shows the lingering importance of Aramaic, several decades after the fall of the Persian Achaemenid Empire. At the same epoch, the Greeks were firmly established in the newly created Greco-Bactrian kingdom under the reign of Diodotus I. According to Sircar, the usage of Greek in the Edict indeed means that the message was intended for the Greeks living in Kandahar, while the usage of Aramaic was intended for the Jewish and Iranian populations around Gandhara. The Greek and Aramaic versions vary somewhat, and seem to be rather free interpretations of an original text in Prakrit. The Aramaic text clearly recognises the authority of Ashoka with expressions such as "our Lord, king Priyadasin", "our lord, the king", suggesting that the readers were indeed the subjects of Ashoka, whereas the Greek version remains more neutral with the simple expression "King Ashoka".)

THE KANDAHAR EDICT OF ASHOKA

1. [Greek Inscription issued in 260 BC:]

Ten years (of reign) having been completed, King Piodasses (Ashoka) made known (the doctrine of) Piety (Eusebeia) to men; and from this moment he has made men more pious, and everything thrives throughout the whole world. And the king abstains from (killing) living beings, and other men and those who (are) huntsmen and fishermen of the king have desisted from hunting. And if some (were) intemperate, they have ceased from their intemperance as was in their power; and bedient to their father and mother and to the elders, in opposition to the past also in the future, by so acting on every occasion, they will live better and more happily."

2. [Aramaic Inscription issued in 260 BC:]

Ten years having passed. It so happened that our lord, king Priyadasin, became the institutor of Truth, Since then, evil diminished among all men and all misfortunes lie caused to disappear; and [there is] peace as well as joy in the whole earth. And, moreover, [there is] this in regard to food: for our lord, the king, [only] a few [animals] are killed; having seen this, all men have given up [the slaughter of animals]; even those men (i.e. the fishermen) who catch fish are subject to prohibition. Similarly, those who were without restraint have ceased to be without restraint. And obedience to mother and to father and to old men [reigns] in conformity with the obligations imposed by fate on each [person]. And there is no Judgement for all the pious men, This [i.e. the practice of Law] has been profitable to all men and will be more profitable [in future].

THE FOURTEEN ROCK EDICTS

1. [Girnar version issued in 257 BC These fourteen edicts, with minor differences, are found in five different places throughout India. In two other places, they are found minus numbers 11, 12 and 13.]

Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, has caused this Dhamma edict to be written. Here (in my domain) no living beings are to be slaughtered or offered in sacrifice. Nor should festivals be held, for Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, sees much to object to in such festivals, although there are some festivals that Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, does approve of.

Formerly, in the kitchen of Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, hundreds of thousands of animals were killed every day to make curry. But now with the writing of this Dhamma edict only three creatures, two peacocks and a deer are killed, and the deer not always. And in time, not even these three creatures will be killed.

2. [Girnar version, issued in 257 BC]

Everywhere within Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi's domain, and among the people beyond the borders, the Cholas, the Pandyas, the Satiyaputras, the Keralaputras, as far as Tamraparni and where the Greek king Antiochos rules, and among the kings who are neighbours of Antiochos, [The Cholas and Pandyas were south Indian peoples living outside Ashoka's empire. The Satiyaputras and Keralaputras lived on the southwest seaboard of India. Tamraparni is one of the ancient names for Sri Lanka. On Antiochos see Note 28.] everywhere has Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, made provision for two types of medical treatment: medical treatment for humans and medical treatment for animals. Wherever medical herbs suitable for humans or animals are not available, I have had them imported and grown. Wherever medical roots or fruits are not available I have had them imported and grown. Along roads I have had wells dug and trees planted for the benefit of humans and animals. [By so doing, Ashoka was following the advice given by the Buddha at Samyutta Nikaya, I:33.]

3. [Girnar version, issued in 257 BC]

Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, speaks thus: Twelve years after my coronation this has been ordered — Everywhere in my domain the Yuktas, the Rajjukas and the Pradesikas shall go on inspection tours every five years for the purpose of Dhamma [Dharma] instruction and also to conduct other business. [The exact duties of these royal officers are not known. However, we can guess that they had to do with tax collecting and attend to building projects.]

Respect for mother and father is good, generosity to friends, acquaintances, relatives, Brahmans and ascetics is good, not killing living beings is good, moderation in spending and moderation in saving is good. The Council shall notify the Yuktas about the observance of these instructions in these very words.

4. [Girnar version, issued in 257 BC]

In the past, for many hundreds of years, killing or harming living beings and improper behaviour towards relatives, and improper behaviour towards Brahmans and ascetics has increased. But now due to Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi's Dhamma practice, the sound of the drum has been replaced by the sound of the Dhamma. [This probably refers to the drum that was beaten to announce the punishment of lawbreakers. See Samyutta Nikaya, 4:244.] The sighting of heavenly cars, auspicious elephants, bodies of fire and other divine sightings has not happened for many hundreds of years. But now because Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi promotes restraint in the killing and harming of living beings, proper behavior towards relatives, Brahmans and ascetics, and respect for mother, father and elders, such sightings have increased. [Like many people in the ancient world, Ashoka believed that when a just king ruled, there would be many auspicious portents.]

These and many other kinds of Dhamma practice have been encouraged by Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, and he will continue to promote Dhamma practice. And the sons, grandsons and great-grandsons of Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, too will continue to promote Dhamma practice until the end of time; living by Dhamma and virtue, they will instruct in Dhamma. Truly, this is the highest work, to instruct in Dhamma. But practicing the Dhamma cannot be done by one who is devoid of virtue and therefore its promotion and growth is commendable.

This edict has been written so that it may please my successors to devote themselves to promoting these things and not allow them to decline. Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, has had this written twelve years after his coronation.

5. [Kalsi version, issued in 256 BC]

Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, speaks thus: To do good is difficult. One who does good first does something hard to do. I have done many good deeds, and, if my sons, grandsons and their descendants up to the end of the world act in like manner, they too will do much good. But whoever amongst them neglects this, they will do evil. Truly, it is easy to do evil. [This seems to be a paraphrase of Dhammapada 163.]

In the past there were no Dhamma Mahamatras but such officers were appointed by me thirteen years after my coronation. Now they work among all religions for the establishment of Dhamma, for the promotion of Dhamma, and for the welfare and happiness of all who are devoted to Dhamma. They work among the Greeks, the Kambojas, the Gandharas, the Rastrikas, the Pitinikas and other peoples on the western borders. [The Greeks (Yona) settled in large numbers in what is now Afghanistan and Pakistan during and after the conquests of Alexander the Great, although small communities lived already there prior to this. This applies also to Aramaic speaking Jews.] They work among soldiers, chiefs, Brahmans, householders, the poor, the aged and those devoted to Dhamma — for their welfare and happiness — so that they may be free from harassment. They (Dhamma Mahamatras) work for the proper treatment of prisoners, towards their unfettering, and if the Mahamatras think, "This one has a family to support," "That one has been bewitched," "This one is old," then they work for the release of such prisoners. They work here, in outlying towns, in the women's quarters belonging to my brothers and sisters, and among my other relatives. They are occupied everywhere. These Dhamma Mahamatras are occupied in my domain among people devoted to Dhamma to determine who is devoted to Dhamma, who is established in Dhamma, and who is generous.

This Dhamma edict has been written on stone so that it might endure long and that my descendants might act in conformity with it.

6. [Girnar version, issued in 256 BC]

Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, speaks thus: In the past, state business was not transacted nor were reports delivered to the king at all hours. But now I have given this order, that at any time, whether I am eating, in the women's quarters, the bed chamber, the chariot, the palanquin, in the park or wherever, reporters are to be posted with instructions to report to me the affairs of the people so that I might attend to these affairs wherever I am. And whatever I orally order in connection with donations or proclamations, or when urgent business presses itself on the Mahamatras, if disagreement or debate arises in the Council, then it must be reported to me immediately. This is what I have ordered. I am never content with exerting myself or with despatching business. Truly, I consider the welfare of all to be my duty, and the root of this is exertion and the prompt despatch of business. There is no better work than promoting the welfare of all the people and whatever efforts I am making is to repay the debt I owe to all beings to assure their happiness in this life, and attain heaven in the next.

Therefore this Dhamma edict has been written to last long and that my sons, grandsons and great-grandsons might act in conformity with it for the welfare of the world. However, this is difficult to do without great exertion.

7. [Girnar version, issued in 256 BC]

Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, desires that all religions should reside everywhere, for all of them desire self-control and purity of heart. But people have various desires and various passions, and they may practice all of what they should or only a part of it. But one who receives great gifts yet is lacking in self-control, purity of heart, gratitude and firm devotion, such a person is mean.

8. [Girnar version, issued in 256 BC]

In the past kings used to go out on pleasure tours during which there was hunting and other entertainment. But ten years after Beloved-of-the-Gods had been coronated, he went on a tour to Sambodhi and thus instituted Dhamma tours. [Bodh Gaya, the site of the Buddha's enlightenment, was known in ancient times as either Sambodhi or Vajirasana.] During these tours, the following things took place: visits and gifts to Brahmans and ascetics, visits and gifts of gold to the aged, visits to people in the countryside, instructing them in Dhamma, and discussing Dhamma with them as is suitable. It is this that delights Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, and is, as it were, another type of revenue.

9. [Kalsi version, issued in 256 BC Ashoka obviously had the Mangala Sutta (Sutta Nipata 258-269) in mind when he issued this edict. The word here translated as ceremony is mangala.]

Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, speaks thus: In times of sickness, for the marriage of sons and daughters, at the birth of children, before embarking on a journey, on these and other occasions, people perform various ceremonies. Women in particular perform many vulgar and worthless ceremonies. These types of ceremonies can be performed by all means, but they bear little fruit. What does bear great fruit, however, is the ceremony of the Dhamma. This involves proper behavior towards servants and employees, respect for

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teachers, restraint towards living beings, and generosity towards ascetics and Brahmans. These and other things constitute the ceremony of the Dhamma. Therefore a father, a son, a brother, a master, a friend, a companion, and even a neighbour should say: "This is good, this is the ceremony that should be performed until its purpose is fulfilled, this I shall do." [Other versions substitute the following up to the end of the edict. It has also been said: "Generosity is good." But there is no gift or benefit like the gift of the Dhamma or benefit like the benefit of the Dhamma. There a friend, a well-wisher, a relative or a companion should encourage others thus on appropriate occasions: "This should be done, this is good, by doing this, one can attain heaven." And what greater achievement is there than this, to attain heaven?] Other ceremonies are of doubtful fruit, for they may achieve their purpose, or they may not, and even if they do, it is only in this world. But the ceremony of the Dhamma is timeless. Even if it does not achieve its purpose in this world, it produces great merit in the next, whereas if it does achieve its purpose in this world, one gets great merit both here and there through the ceremony of the Dhamma.

10. [Girnar version, issued in 256 BC]

Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, does not consider glory and fame to be of great account unless they are achieved through having my subjects respect Dhamma and practice Dhamma, both now and in the future. For this alone does Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, desire glory and fame. And whatever efforts Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, is making, all of that is only for the welfare of the people in the next world, and that they will have little evil. And being without merit is evil. This is difficult for either a humble person or a great person to do except with great effort, and by giving up other interests. In fact, it may be even more difficult for a great person to do.

11. [Girnar version, issued in 256 BC]

Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, speaks thus: There is no gift like the gift of the Dhamma, [Similar to Dhammapada 354.] (no acquaintance like) acquaintance with Dhamma, (no distribution like) distribution of Dhamma, and (no kinship like) kinship through Dhamma. And it consists of this: proper behavior towards servants and employees, respect for mother and father, generosity to friends, companions, relations, Brahmans and ascetics, and not killing living beings. Therefore a father, a son, a brother, a master, a friend, a companion or a neighbour should say: "This is good, this should be done." One benefits in this world and gains great merit in the next by giving the gift of the Dhamma.

12. [Girnar version, issued in 256 BC]

Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, honours both ascetics and the householders of all religions, and he honours them with gifts and honours of various kinds. But Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, does not value gifts and honours as much as he values this — that there should be growth in the essentials of all religions. [Ashoka probably believed that the essentials (saravadi) of all religions were their ethical principles.] Growth in essentials can be done in different ways, but all of them have as their root restraint in speech, that is, not praising one's own religion, or condemning the religion of others without good cause. And if there is cause for criticism, it should be done in a mild way. But it is better to honour other religions for this reason. By so doing, one's own religion benefits, and so do other religions, while doing otherwise harms one's own religion and the religions of others. Whoever praises his own religion, due to excessive devotion, and condemns others with the thought "Let me glorify my own religion," only harms his own religion. Therefore contact (between religions) is good.["Ta samavayo eva sadhu". This sentence is usually translated "Therefore concord is commendable." Samavayo however comes from sam + ava + i, "to come together."] One should listen to and respect the doctrines professed by others. Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, desires that all should be well-learned in the good doctrines of other religions.

Those who are content with their own religion should be told this: Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, does not value gifts and honours as much as he values that there should be growth in the essentials of all religions. And to this end many are working — Dhamma Mahamatras, Mahamatras in charge of the women's quarters, officers in charge of outlying areas, and other such officers. And the fruit of this is that one's own religion grows and the Dhamma is illuminated also.

13. [Kalsi version, issued in 256 BC Kalinga corresponds roughly to the modern state of Orissa.]

Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, conquered the Kalingas eight years after his coronation. One hundred and fifty thousand were deported, one hundred thousand were killed and many more died (from other causes). After the Kalingas had been conquered, Beloved-of-the-Gods came to feel a strong inclination towards the Dhamma, a love for the Dhamma and for instruction in Dhamma. Now Beloved-of-the-Gods feels deep remorse for having conquered the Kalingas.

Indeed, Beloved-of-the-Gods is deeply pained by the killing, dying and deportation that take place when an unconquered country is conquered. But Beloved-of-the-Gods is pained even more by this — that Brahmans, ascetics, and householders of different religions who live in those countries, and who are respectful to superiors, to mother and father, to elders, and who behave properly and have strong loyalty towards friends, acquaintances, companions, relatives, servants and employees — that they are injured, killed or separated from their loved ones. Even those who are not affected (by all this) suffer when they see friends, acquaintances, companions and relatives affected. These misfortunes befall all (as a result of war), and this pains Beloved-of-the-Gods.

There is no country, except among the Greeks, where these two groups, Brahmans and ascetics, are not found, and there is no country where people are not devoted to one or another religion. [The Buddha pointed out that the four castes of Indian society likewise were not found among the Greeks; see Majjhima Nikaya, II:149.] Therefore the killing, death or deportation of a hundredth, or even a thousandth part of those who died during the conquest of Kalinga now pains Beloved-of-the-Gods. Now Beloved-of-the-Gods thinks that even those who do wrong should be forgiven where forgiveness is possible.

Even the forest people, who live in Beloved-of-the-Gods' domain, are entreated and reasoned with to act properly. They are told that despite his remorse Beloved-of-the-Gods has the power to punish them if necessary, so that they should be ashamed of their wrong and not be killed. Truly, Beloved-of-the-Gods desires non-injury, restraint and impartiality to all beings, even where wrong has been done.

Now it is conquest by Dhamma that Beloved-of-the-Gods considers to be the best conquest. [Perhaps Ashoka had in mind Dhammapada 103-104.] And it (conquest by Dhamma) has been won here, on the borders, even six hundred yojanas away, where the Greek king Antiochos rules, beyond there where the four kings named Ptolemy, Antigonos, Magas and Alexander rule, likewise in the south among the Cholas, the Pandyas, and as far as Tamraparni. [Antiochos II Theos of Syria (261-246 BC), Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt (285-247 BC), Antigonos Gonatos of Macedonia (278-239 BC), Magas of Cyrene (300-258 BC) and Alexander of Epirus (272-258 BC).] Here in the king's domain among the Greeks, the Kambojas, the Nabhakas, the Nabhapamkits, the Bhojas, the Pitinikas, the Andhras and the Palidas, everywhere people are following Beloved-of-the-Gods' instructions in Dhamma. Even where Beloved-of-the-Gods' envoys have not been, these people too, having heard of the practice of Dhamma and the ordinances and instructions in Dhamma given by Beloved-of-the-Gods, are following it and will continue to do so. This conquest has been won everywhere, and it gives great joy — the joy which only conquest by Dhamma can give. But even this joy is of little consequence. Beloved-of-the-Gods considers the great fruit to be experienced in the next world to be more important.

I have had this Dhamma edict written so that my sons and great-grandsons may not consider making new conquests, or that if military conquests are made, that they be done with forbearance and light punishment, or better still, that they consider making conquest by Dhamma only, for that bears fruit in this world and the next. May all their intense devotion be given to this which has a result in this world and the next.

14. [Girnar version, issued in 256 BC]

Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, has had these Dhamma edicts written in brief, in medium length, and in extended form. Not all of them occur everywhere, for my domain is vast, but much has been written, and I will have still more written. And also there are some subjects here that have been spoken of again and again because of their sweetness, and so that the people may act in accordance with them. If some things written are incomplete, this is because of the locality, or in consideration of the object, or due to the fault of the scribe.

THE KALINGA ROCK EDICTS

1. [Dhauli version, issued in 256 BC These two edicts are found in two different places.]

Beloved-of-the-Gods says that the Mahamatras of Tosali who are judicial officers in the city are to be told this: I wish to see that everything I consider to be proper is carried out in the right way. And I consider instructing you to be the best way of accomplishing this. I have placed you over many thousands of people that you may win the people's affection.

All men are my children. What I desire for my own children, and I desire their welfare and happiness both in this world and the next, that I desire for all men. You do not understand to what extent I desire this, and if some of you do understand, you do not understand the full extent of my desire.

You must attend to this matter. While being completely law-abiding, some people are imprisoned, treated harshly and even killed without cause so that many people suffer. Therefore your aim should be to act with impartiality. It is because of these things — envy, anger, cruelty, hate, indifference, laziness or tiredness — that such a thing does not happen. Therefore your aim should be: "May these things not be in me." And the root of this is non-anger and patience. Those who are bored with the administration of justice will not be promoted; (those who are not) will move upwards and be promoted. Whoever among you understands this should say to his colleagues: "See that you do your duty properly. Such and such are Beloved-of-the-Gods' instructions." Great fruit will result from doing your duty, while failing in it will result in gaining neither heaven nor the king's pleasure. Failure in duty on your part will not please me. But done properly, it will win you heaven and you will be discharging your debts to me.

This edict is to be listened to on Tisa day, between Tisa days, and on other suitable occasions, it should be listened to even by a single person. Acting thus, you will be doing your duty.

This edict has been written for the following purpose: that the judicial officers of the city may strive to do their duty and that the people under them might not suffer unjust imprisonment or harsh treatment. To achieve this, I will send out Mahamatras every five years who are not harsh or cruel, but who are merciful and who can ascertain if the judicial officers have understood my purpose and are acting according to my instructions. Similarly, from Ujjayini, the prince will send similar persons with the same purpose without allowing three years to elapse. Likewise from Takhasila also. When these Mahamatras go on tours of inspection each year, then without neglecting their normal duties, they will ascertain if judicial officers are acting according to the king's instructions.

2. [Dhauli version, issued in 256 BC]

Beloved-of-the-Gods speaks thus: This royal order is to be addressed to the Mahamatras at Samapa. I wish to see that everything I consider to be proper is carried out in the right way. And I consider instructing you to be the best way of accomplishing this. All men are my children. What I desire for my own children, and I desire their welfare and happiness both in this world and the next, that I desire for all men. [This is reminiscent of the Buddha's words: "Just as a mother would protect her only child even at the risk of her own life, even so, let one cultivate a boundless heart towards all beings." Sutta / Sutra Nipata 149.]

The people of the unconquered territories beyond the borders might think: "What is the king's intentions towards us?" My only intention is that they live without fear of me, that they may trust me and that I may give them happiness, not sorrow. Furthermore, they should understand that the king will forgive those who can be forgiven, and that he wishes to encourage them to practise Dhamma so that they may attain happiness in this world and the next. I am telling you this so that I may discharge the debts I owe, and that in instructing you, that you may know that my vow and my promise will not be broken. Therefore acting in this way, you should perform your duties and assure them (the people beyond the borders) that: "The king is like a father. He feels towards us as he feels towards himself. We are to him like his own children."

By instructing you and informing you of my vow and my promise I shall be applying myself in complete fullness to achieving this object. You are able indeed to inspire them with confidence and to secure their welfare and happiness in this world and the next, and by acting thus, you will attain heaven as well as discharge the debts you owe to me. And so that the Mahamatras can devote themselves at all times to inspiring the border areas with confidence and encouraging them to practice Dhamma, this edict has been written here.

This edict is to be listened to every four months on Tisa day, between Tisa days, and on other suitable occasions, it should be listened to even by a single person. Acting thus, you will be doing your duty.

MINOR ROCK EDICTS

1. [Gavimath version, issued in 257 BC This edict is found in twelve different places.]

Beloved-of-the-Gods speaks thus: It is now more than two and a half years since I became a lay-disciple, but until now I have not been very zealous.[34 First Ashoka was a lay-disciple (upasaka) and then he visited or literally "went to the Sangha" (yam me samghe upeti). Some scholars think this means that Ashoka became a monk. However it probably means that he started visiting Buddhist monks more often and listening to their instructions more carefully.] But now that I have visited the Sangha for more than a year, I have become very zealous. Now the people in India who have not associated with the gods do so. This is the result of zeal and it is not just the great who can do this. Even the humble, if they are zealous, can attain heaven. And this proclamation has been made with this aim. Let both humble and great be zealous, let even those on the borders know and let zeal last long. Then this zeal will increase, it will greatly increase, it will increase up to one-and-a-half times. This message has been proclaimed two hundred and fifty-six times by the king while on tour.

2. Beloved-of-the-Gods speaks thus: [Brahmagiri version.] Father and mother should be respected and so should elders, kindness to living beings should be made strong and the truth should be spoken. In these ways, the Dhamma should be promoted. Likewise, a teacher should be honored by his pupil and proper manners should be shown towards relations. This

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is an ancient rule that conduces to long life. Thus should one act. Written by the scribe Chapala.

3. [This edict was found inscribed on a small rock near the town of Bairat and is now housed at the Asiatic Society in Calcutta. Its date is not known.]

Piyadasi, King of Magadha, saluting the Sangha and wishing them good health and happiness, speaks thus: You know, reverend sirs, how great my faith in the Buddha, the Dhamma and Sangha is. Whatever, reverend sirs, has been spoken by Lord Buddha, all that is well-spoken. [This sentence is the converse of a similar one in the Tipitaka: "...that which is well-spoken is the words of the Lord." Anguttara Nikaya, 4:164.] I consider it proper, reverend sirs, to advise on how the good Dhamma should last long.

These Dhamma texts — Extracts from the Discipline, the Noble Way of Life, the Fears to Come, the Poem on the Silent Sage, the Discourse on the Pure Life, Upatisa's Questions, and the Advice to Rahula which was spoken by the Buddha concerning false speech — these Dhamma texts, reverend sirs, I desire that all the monks and nuns may constantly listen to and remember*. Likewise the laymen and laywomen. I have had this written that you may know my intentions. [* There is disagreement amongst scholars concerning which Pali suttas correspond to some of the text. Vinaya samukose: probably the Atthavasa Vagga, Anguttara Nikaya, 1:98-100. Aliya vasani: either the Ariyavasa Sutta, Anguttara Nikaya, 5:29, or the Ariyavamsa Sutta, Anguttara Nikaya, 2: 27-28. Anagata bhayani: probably the Anagata Sutta, Anguttara Nikaya, 3:100. Muni gatha: Muni Sutta, Sutta Nipata 207-221. Upatisa pasine: Sariputta Sutta, Sutta Nipata 955-975. Laghulavade: Rahulavada Sutta, Majjhima Nikaya, 1:421.]

THE SEVEN PILLAR EDICTS

[The following seven edicts are from the Delhi Topra version, the first six being issued in 243 BC and the seventh in 242 BC. The first six edicts also appear on five other pillars.]

1. Beloved-of-the-Gods speaks thus: This Dhamma edict was written twenty-six years after my coronation. Happiness in this world and the next is difficult to obtain without much love for the Dhamma, much self-examination, much respect, much fear (of evil), and much enthusiasm. But through my instruction this regard for Dhamma and love of Dhamma has grown day by day, and will continue to grow. And my officers of high, low and middle rank are practicing and conforming to Dhamma, and are capable of inspiring others to do the same. Mahamatras in border areas are doing the same. And these are my instructions: to protect with Dhamma, to make happiness through Dhamma and to guard with Dhamma.

2. Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, speaks thus: Dhamma is good, but what constitutes Dhamma? (It includes) little evil, much good, kindness, generosity, truthfulness and purity. I have given the gift of sight in various ways.[40 Cakhu dane. The meaning is unclear. It may mean that Ashoka has given "the eye of wisdom," but taking into account the context, it more likely means he has stopped blinding as a form of punishment.] To two-footed and four-footed beings, to birds and aquatic animals, I have given various things including the gift of life. And many other good deeds have been done by me.

This Dhamma edict has been written that people might follow it and it might endure for a long time. And the one who follows it properly will do something good.

3. Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, speaks thus: People see only their good deeds saying, "I have done this good deed." But they do not see their evil deeds saying, "I have done this evil deed" or "This is called evil." But this (tendency) is difficult to see.[41 Similar to the ideas expressed by the Buddha in Dhammapada 50 and 252.] One should think like this: "It is these things that lead to evil, to violence, to cruelty, anger, pride and jealousy. Let me not ruin myself with these things." And further, one should think: "This leads to happiness in this world and the next."

4. Beloved-of-the-Gods speaks thus: This Dhamma edict was written twenty-six years after my coronation. My Rajjukas are working among the people, among many hundreds of thousands of people. The hearing of petitions and the administration of justice has been left to them so that they can do their duties confidently and fearlessly and so that they can work for the welfare, happiness and benefit of the people in the country. But they should remember what causes happiness and sorrow, and being themselves devoted to Dhamma, they should encourage the people in the country (to do the same), that they may attain happiness in this world and the next. These Rajjukas are eager to serve me. They also obey other officers who know my desires, who instruct the Rajjukas so that they can please me. Just as a person feels confident having entrusted his child to an expert nurse thinking: "The nurse will keep my child well," even so, the Rajjukas have been appointed by me for the welfare and happiness of the people in the country.

The hearing of petitions and the administration of justice have been left to the Rajjukas so that they can do their duties unperturbed, fearlessly and confidently. It is my desire that there should be uniformity in law and uniformity in sentencing. I even go this far, to grant a three-day stay for those in prison who have been tried and sentenced to death. During this time their relatives can make appeals to have the prisoners' lives spared. If there is none to appeal on their behalf, the prisoners can give gifts in order to make merit for the next world, or observe fasts. Indeed, it is my wish that in this way, even if a prisoner's time is limited, he can prepare for the next world, and that people's Dhamma practice, self-control and generosity may grow.

5. Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, speaks thus: Twenty-six years after my coronation various animals were declared to be protected — parrots, mainas, aruna, ruddy geese, wild ducks, nandimukhas, gelatas, bats, queen ants, terrapins, boneless fish, vedareyaka, gangapuputaka, sankiya fish, tortoises, porcupines, squirrels, deer, bulls, okapinda, wild asses, wild pigeons, domestic pigeons and all four-footed creatures that are neither useful nor edible. [The identification of many of these animals is conjectural.] Those nanny goats, ewes and sows which are with young or giving milk to their young are protected, and so are young ones less than six months old. Cocks are not to be caponized, husks hiding living beings are not to be burnt and forests are not to be burnt either without reason or to kill creatures. One animal is not to be fed to another. On the three Caturmasis, the three days of Tisa and during the fourteenth and fifteenth of the Uposatha, fish are protected and not to be sold. During these days animals are not to be killed in the elephant reserves or the fish reserves either. On the eighth of every fortnight, on the fourteenth and fifteenth, on Tisa, Punarvasu, the three Caturmasis and other auspicious days, bulls are not to be castrated, billy goats, rams, boars and other animals that are usually castrated are not to be. On Tisa, Punarvasu, Caturmasis and the fortnight of Caturmasis, horses and bullocks are not be branded.

In the twenty-six years since my coronation prisoners have been given amnesty on twenty-five occasions.

6. Beloved-of-the-Gods speaks thus: Twelve years after my coronation I started to have Dhamma edicts written for the welfare and happiness of the people, and so that not transgressing them they might grow in the Dhamma. Thinking: "How can the welfare and happiness of the people be secured?" I give attention to my relatives, to those dwelling near and those dwelling far, so I can lead them to happiness and then I act accordingly. I do the same for all groups. I have honoured all religions with various honours. But I consider it best to meet with people personally.

This Dhamma edict was written twenty-six years after my coronation.

7. Beloved-of-the-Gods speaks thus: In the past kings desired that the people might grow through the promotion of the Dhamma. But despite this, people did not grow through the promotion of the Dhamma. Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, said concerning this: "It occurs to me that in the past kings desired that the people might grow through the promotion of the Dhamma. But despite this, people did not grow through the promotion of the Dhamma. Now how can the people be encouraged to follow it? How can the people be encouraged to grow through the promotion of the Dhamma? How can I elevate them by promoting the Dhamma?" Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, further said concerning this: "It occurs to me that I shall have proclamations on Dhamma announced and instruction on Dhamma given. When people hear these, they will follow them, elevate themselves and grow considerably through the promotion of the Dhamma." It is for this purpose that proclamations on Dhamma have been announced and various instructions on Dhamma have been given and that officers who work among many promote and explain them in detail. The Rajjukas who work among hundreds of thousands of people have likewise been ordered: "In this way and that encourage those who are devoted to Dhamma." Beloved-of-the-Gods speaks thus: "Having this object in view, I have set up Dhamma pillars, appointed Dhamma Mahamatras, and announced Dhamma proclamations."

Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, says: Along roads I have had banyan trees planted so that they can give shade to animals and men, and I have had mango groves planted. At intervals of eight krosas, I have had wells dug, rest-houses built, and in various places, I have had watering-places made for the use of animals and men. But these are but minor achievements. Such things to make the people happy have been done by former kings. I have done these things for this purpose, that the people might practice the Dhamma.

Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, speaks thus: My Dhamma Mahamatras too are occupied with various good works among the ascetics and householders of all religions. I have ordered that they should be occupied with the affairs of the Sangha. I have also ordered that they should be occupied with the affairs of the Brahmans and the Ajivikas. I have ordered that they be occupied with the Niganthas. [The Ajivikas were a sect of ascetics in ancient India established by Makkhali Gosala, a contemporary of the Buddha. The Niganthas are the Jains.] In fact, I have ordered that different Mahamatras be occupied with the particular affairs of all different religions. And my Dhamma Mahamatras likewise are occupied with these and other religions.

Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, speaks thus: These and other principal officers are occupied with the distribution of gifts, mine as well as those of the queens. In my women's quarters, they organise various charitable activities here and in the provinces. I have also ordered my sons and the sons of other queens to distribute gifts so that noble deeds of Dhamma and the practice of Dhamma may be promoted. And noble deeds of Dhamma and the practice of Dhamma consist of having kindness, generosity, truthfulness, purity, gentleness and goodness increase among the people.

Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, speaks thus: Whatever good deeds have been done by me, those the people accept and those they follow. Therefore they have progressed and will continue to progress by being respectful to mother and father, respectful to elders, by courtesy to the aged and proper behavior towards Brahmans and ascetics, towards the poor and distressed, and even towards servants and employees.

Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, speaks thus: This progress among the people through Dhamma has been done by two means, by Dhamma regulations and by persuasion. Of these, Dhamma regulation is of little effect, while persuasion has much more effect. The Dhamma regulations I have given are that various animals must be protected. And I have given many other Dhamma regulations also. But it is by persuasion that progress among the people through Dhamma has had a greater effect in respect of harmlessness to living beings and non-killing of living beings.

Concerning this, Beloved-of-the-Gods says: Wherever there are stone pillars or stone slabs, there this Dhamma edict is to be engraved so that it may long endure. It has been engraved so that it may endure as long as my sons and great-grandsons live and as long as the sun and the moon shine, and so that people may practice it as instructed. For by practicing it happiness will be attained in this world and the next.

This Dhamma edict has been written by me twenty-seven years after my coronation.

THE MINOR PILLAR EDICTS

1. Twenty years after his coronation, Beloved-of-the-Gods, King Piyadasi, visited this place and worshipped because here the Buddha, the sage of the Sakyans, was born. [This inscription is found on a pillar in Lumbini where the Buddha was born. It was issued in 249 BC, probably at the time of Ashoka's visit to the place.] He had a stone figure and a pillar set up and because the Lord was born here, the village of Lumbini was exempted from tax and required to pay only one eighth of the produce.

2. [Allahabad version, date of issue not known. The words in brackets are missing due to damage on the pillar, but they can be reconstructed from the three other versions of this edict.] Beloved-of-the-Gods commands: The Mahamatras at Kosambi (are to be told: Whoever splits the Sangha) which is now united, is not to be admitted into the Sangha. Whoever, whether monk or nun, splits the Sangha is to be made to wear white clothes and to reside somewhere other than in a monastery. [The white clothes of the lay followers rather than the yellow robe of a monk or nun.]

THE QUESTIONS OF KING MILINDA

The Milinda Panha
The Debate of King Milinda
The Dialogues between Menander and the Sage Nagasena
From: Sacred Books of the East, Volume 35 & 36, 1890
Translated from the Pali language
Translation: Thomas William Rhys Davids, 1889
Translation (additional): Bhikkhu Pesala, 2000
Estimated Range of Dating: 100 B.C. and 200 A.D.

(This is a translation of a series of dialogues between King Milinda and Nagasena, a Buddhist scholar. The Questions of King Milinda deals with some of the thorniest questions of Buddhism, religion and existence. The book represents Southern Buddhism at an advanced stage of development. While difficult questions are addressed here, Milinda makes fascinating reading, as many of the issues are common to all religions. The style of the Milinda Panha is very much like a Platonic dialogue, Nagasena playing the part of Socrates and winning over King Milinda to the Buddhist view point by his sound reasoning and his fitting similes.

The author is not known but it is almost certain that he lived in the northwest of India, since he mentions no place in the interior of India south of the Ganges. This is supported by what is definitely known about King Menander, a Bactrian king identified with Milinda.

Much more is known about King Menander. Bhikkhu Pesala points rightfully out that any of his coins have been found over a wide area of northern India, as far west as Kabul, as far east as Mathura and as far north as Kashmir. The portrait is sometimes of a young man and other times that of a very old man. Plutarch says, "Menander was a king noted for justice who enjoyed such popularity with his subjects that

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upon his death, which took place in camp, diverse cities contended for the possession of his ashes. The dispute was settled by the representatives of the different cities agreeing to divide the relics, and then erecting separate monuments to his memory."

The Greek or Roman writers told us very little about any of the Greek kings of Baktria. Strabo, in his Geography, mentions Menander as one of the two Baktrian kings who were instrumental in spreading the Greek dominion furthest to the East into India. He crossed the Hypanis (that is the Sutlej) and penetrated as far as the Isamos (probably the Jumna). Then in the title of the lost forty-first book of Justin's work, Menander and Apollodotus are mentioned as 'Indian kings.' Finally, Plutarch tells us an anecdote of Menander. He was, he says, as a ruler noted for justice, and enjoyed such popularity with his subjects, that upon his death, which took place in camp, diverse cities contended for the possession of his ashes.

Menander-Milinda was one of those Greek kings who carried on in Baktria the Greek dominion founded by Alexander the Great. He was certainly one of the most important, probably the most important, of those kings. He carried the Greek arms further into India than any of his predecessors had done. He must have reigned for a considerable time in the latter part of the second century B.C., probably from about 140 to about 115, or even 110 B.C. His fame extended, as did that of no other Baktrian king, to the West, and he is the only Baktrian Greek king who has been remembered in India.

Milinda appears in the list of the Greek kings of Baktria, since he is described in the book as being a king of the Yonakas reigning at Sagala (the Euthydemia of the Greeks), and there is no other name in the list which comes so near to. The identification of Milinda as Menander is certainly correct. For whether it was our unknown author who deliberately made the change in adapting the Greek name to his Indian dialect, or whether the change is due to a natural phonetic decay, is unknown. We know that a Greek n can in Pali take the place of an l, in some circumstances.

Menander was one of the most important of those Greek kings who continued in Bactria the dominion founded by Alexander the Great. He probably reigned from about 150 to 110 B.C. (thus dating his conversations not much more than 400 years after the Parinibbana of the Buddha). Strabo, draws attention in passing to the remarkable way in which the kingdom of Bactria expanded beyond its original limits, and he mentions incidentally that the kings chiefly responsible were Demetrius and Menander ... But Menander left a far deeper mark on the tradition of India than did Demetrius.

Menander annexed the Indus delta, the peninsula of Surastra (Kathiavar), occupied Mathura on the Jumna, besieged Madyamika (Nagari near Chitor) and Saketam in southern Oudh, and threatened the capital, Paṭaliputta. But the invasion was repulsed and Menander was forced to return to his own country.

The Rise of the Magadha Kingdom

In the Mahaparinibbana Sutta the Buddha predicted that the city of Paṭaliputta, which was founded shortly before his death, would become a great city, "Ananda, among the towns and cities that are centres of congregation and commerce of people of the Aryan race, this new town will become the greatest city called Paṭaliputta, a place where goods are unpacked, sold and distributed, but it will be in danger from flood, fire and internal dissension." The Magadha Kingdom, of which Paṭaliputta (modern Patna) was the capital, gradually became the most powerful in all India.

In the mid 4th century B.C. a Sudra named Mahapadma Nanda usurped the throne of the kingdom of Magadha and became the ruler of a kingdom stretching from the Brahmaputra river in the east to the Beas in the west. But beyond the Beas were several small kingdoms.

During this period, Alexander the Great conquered Persia and crossed the Hindu Kush into Bactria (Northern Afghanistan). It took him two years to subdue these inhospitable regions, but in so doing he founded several cities penetrating as far north as Samarkand and Leninabad (in the USSR).

Another city has been identified at Charikar (north of Kabul). Hearing about the river Indus he recrossed the Hindu Kush in 327 B.C. and pushed eastwards to Taxila (Takkasīla), but when he reached the Jhelum river he encountered the Paurava rajah who had war elephants. Even the veterans of Macadonia were unable to continue against such opposition so Alexander was forced to retreat down the Indus river and thence back through Persia, where he died at Babylon in 323 B.C. Nevertheless, he had left behind him the foundations of the Bactrian kingdom and had surveyed the Jhelum and Indus rivers.

After Alexander's death, Chandragupta, the founder of the Mauryan dynasty, was able to drive away the Greek garrisons from the Indus valley. In 321 B.C. he defeated Nanda and became the ruler of the Magadha kingdom from the capital at Paṭaliputta. Alexander's successor, Seleukos I Nikator, led an expedition against the Indians in 311 B.C. hoping to regain the Punjab.

However, he was up against the might of Chandragupta. So, by 304 B.C., Seleukos was glad to conclude a treaty with him, giving his daughter in marriage and ceding large areas of what is now Baluchistan and Afghanistan in exchange for 500 war elephants. Seleukos sent his ambassador, Magasthenes, to Paṭaliputta and from what remains of his writings we know something about the size of the army and the strength of the fortifications there. Chandragupta ruled for 24 years and his son Bindusara, about whom we know very little, ruled for 28 years until his death in 269 B.C.

At the time of Bindusara's death his eldest son was the viceroy at Takkasīla and his younger son, Asoka, was the viceroy at Ujjeni in the south. Asoka fought with his brother for the right to ascend to the throne, and when his brother was killed in battle, Asoka became the ruler of a vast empire from Bengal to Afghanistan. However, he was still not satisfied and it was only in the ninth year of his reign, after the bloody conquest of the Kaliṅga kingdom (Orissa) that he gave up warfare and became a devoted follower of Buddhism.

Emperor Asoka sent missions of monks to the border areas of his great empire.

Asokan inscriptions have been found in the Kabul valley written in Greek and Aramaic, and elsewhere his inscriptions say that he had made Dhamma conquests in Egypt, Syria, Macedonia, Greece, Cyprus, Bactria, Kashmir, Gandhara, etc. The Mahavaṃsa says that missionaries were sent to Kashmir, Gandhara, Bactria, the Himalayas, Sindh (Gujarat), and inscriptions on relic caskets found in stupas at Sanchi record the success of those missions to the Himalayas. Unfortunately, the other stupa records have been vandalised, but we can be sure that the missions to Kashmir and Gandhara were successful since even in the Buddha's time Takkasīla was a renowned centre of learning.

The Mahavaṃsa also records that at the consecration of the Great Stupa in 157 B.C. monks came from Alasanda (Charika) in Yona (Bactria).

The Rise of the Bactrian Kingdom

After the death of Asoka in 227 B.C. the Mauryan empire began to disintegrate. The empire founded by Seleukos had already revolted in 250 B.C. under its governor, Diodotus I and it continued to grow under his successors, Diodotus II and Euthydemus. At the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. the Greek rulers of the new kingdom of Bactria crossed the Hindu Kush and began to invade India from the northwest. Of the Greek kings who ruled to the south of the Kush, Apollodotus would seem to be the first. He is twice mentioned in association with Menander. Their rule extended on the south west to Ariana (southern Afghanistan) and in the south to the Indus valley.

As mentioned above, Menander must have ruled over the Kabul and Swat valleys and at some time he annexed the Indus valley too. Sagala, the city mentioned in the Milinda Panha as the place where the dialogues took place, was the ancient city of the Madras who came to the region in about the 6th century B.C. It is now Sialkot between the Chenab and Ravi rivers, near the border of Kashmir. At Miln. p.83 (see Question 5, on page 26) it is mentioned that Kashmir is 12 yojanas (84 miles) distant and that Milinda's birth place on the island of Alasanda is 200 yojanas away. There are many cities founded by Alexander during his conquests, several of which might have been the birth place of Menander. The city founded at Charikar has been suggested by A.K. Narain but it is rather less than 200 yojanas (1400 miles) at the usual reckoning. Could it perhaps be the Alexandra located at Leninabad or one of the Alexandras further West?

However, from the available evidence we can postulate that Menander was born in Bactria, but brought up in Ariana (the Kabul valley) and in the early years of his rule expanded his father's kingdom to the Indus valley and beyond, perhaps later establishing his capital at Sagala. Unlike Bactria, which was predominantly influenced by Greek culture, these new areas were already Buddhist. Menander, then, would have been educated in the Greek traditions but would have had direct contact with Buddhism and no doubt often met monks living in his kingdom. Nevertheless, it does seem rather improbable that his knowledge of doctrine would have been sufficient to engage in the dialogues as recorded in the Milinda Panha since Milinda is shown to have a substantial knowledge of the texts. My opinion is that the author had at most a brief acquaintance with Menander, most probably basing his work on an oral tradition of the dialogues and using his own deep knowledge of the texts to extend the dialogues into the longer work that we have now. He might have used the dialogues as a device to add interest to his treatise and to please the Greek king by making him one of the central characters.

This hypothesis gains some support from the existence of Chinese translations of the Milinda Panha that consist of only the first three divisions. They are almost identical with the Pali as to the questions asked but differ in the introductory story, which in neither case looks very authentic.

What is true, and what is not?

The composition and historicity is debated. We shall show some interesting facts mentioned by the translator Bhikkhu Pesala in his introduction. The introductory story in the Milinda Panha concerning Nagasena's upbringing is almost identical to the story of the young Moggaliputta Tissa, which is told in the Mahavaṃsa, the Ceylon Chronicles. Moggaliputta Tissa (c. 327–247 BC) lived about a hundred years before Menander and is mentioned twice in our text, so it is probably his story that is the older of the two. However, the Mahavaṃsa was written much later, by Mahanama at the beginning of the 6th century A.D., so the story could have been borrowed by Mahanama from the Milinda Panha, which was by then a venerable book edited by Buddhaghosa. [In the Milinda Tika, a commentary on the Milinda Panha, it is stated that several verses of prologue and epilogue in the Milinda Panha were composed by Buddhaghosa who was a 5th-century Indian Theravada Buddhist commentator, translator and philosopher.].

From the supposed conversation that Milinda has with Purana Kassapa, Makkhali Gosala and other ascetics it is obvious that this introductory story was fabricated by the author since these ascetics were contemporaries of the Buddha.

The story is based on the Samannaphala Sutta of the Dīghanikaya. One point of difference is noteworthy: in the Samannaphala Sutta [Sutra], Prince Ajatasattu goes to see the Buddha but is unable to recognise him; whereas in the introduction to the Milinda Panha, King Milinda says of Nagasena, "There is no need to point him out to me," thus showing his great superiority to Prince Ajatasattu.

Comparison with the Chinese Text

As V. Trenchner pointed out when he transliterated the Pali text in the 1860's, we can be sure that the original Milinda Panha was in Sanskrit because it begins with the words "Taṃ yatha nusuyata" [thus has it been handed down] rather than the Pali formula "Evaṃ me sutaṃ" [thus have I heard]. This is confirmed by the presence of Chinese translations of the text which, although they obviously come from the same root source, show a number of notable differences.

1. The Chinese versions correspond to the first three divisions of the Pali version, suggesting that the other four divisions [Paradoxes, A Question solved by Inference, Ascetic Practices, and the Similes] were later accretions.

2. The Chinese work, the Nagasena-bhikshusutra takes the name of the monk. The Pali work, the Milinda Panha, the name of the king.

3. The Pali work has twelve extra questions.

4. The stories of the former lives of Nagasena and Milinda are different.

5. There is no mention of the Abhidhamma in the Chinese. It is frequently mentioned in the Pali.

6. On the very well known classification of the Bodhipakkhiya Dhammas the Chinese translator goes astray on several terms, indicating that he was not familiar with the Pali texts.

7. The Pali says that animals have wise attention, but not wisdom; the Chinese says they have wisdom but their hearts are different.

Although there are many minor differences between the two texts, the close correlation between the similes used to illustrate the terms defined and the order of the questions, leaves us with no doubt that they are both translations of an older work [probably in Sanskrit]. However, we should be cautious when drawing conclusions as to which is the more authentic. Bhikkhu Thich Mihn Chau, in his efforts to prove the greater antiquity of the original on which the Chinese translation is based, dates it soon after the demise of the Buddha citing the absence of classification of the texts into Vinaya, Sutta, Abhidhamma, and Nikayas, which were only well defined at the Third Council. Yet, Menander was not even born until 100 years after this council. Clearly, the 'original' is not earlier than the 1st century B.C. and the long gap before the translations appeared, in about 400 A.D., was ample time for numerous accretions and amendments, or omissions and lacunas to occur.

For the reasons already stated above and because the conversations in the Milinda Panha were said to have taken place about 500 years after the Buddha's death, whereas Menander lived at least a hundred years earlier than that it seems most likely that the Milinda Panha was composed some time after Menander's death, perhaps being based on an oral tradition of actual conversations that did take place between Menander and a monk or several monks.

Menander's successors, Queen Agathocleia and Strato I Soter, continued to reign for at least 40 years after his death but their lives saw the emergence of a new dynasty in western India, that of the Sakas [Scythians] and Yueh-Chih from central Asia, and the Greek Bactrian era came to an end.

Conclusion

The Milinda Panha is, as Thomas William Rys Davids stated, ". . . undoubtedly the masterpiece of Indian prose; and

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indeed the best book of its class, from a literary point of view, that had been produced in any country." The Questions of Milinda is a piece of literature, not history. Since the Bactrians later became Buddhists there can be little doubt that King Menander is indeed the King Milinda referred to in the book. However, the conversations may be just a literary device the author used to add interest. His primary aim is to clarify Buddhist doctrine and to refute the wrong views promulgated by various opponents of Buddhism.

In the composition of the New Testament, we have a similar case. A handful of letters of Paul, the first letter of Peter, the letters of James and Jude, as well as the Acts reflect some authenticity and historicity. The gospels on the other hand are entirely a literary creation in which only the names of the persons are historic, some events that might have a real background, as well as all those sayings of Jesus which we also can find in non-canonical works. It may well be the same with the Milinda Panha: Particularly the Books 2 and 3 might contain some of Menender's words that he once had with a Buddhist teacher. There can be no doubt that we, West and East, have learned from one another--already thousands of years ago. What this book really shows, is the amazing fact that Buddhists interacted much more with western culture as we ever could have imagined.)

GLOSSARY OF BUDDHIST TERMS AND TEACHINGS

(Most in Pali, some in Sanskrit; Both languages are closely related. Pali is actually a dialect of the much older Sanskrit. So a reader can guess what the Pali word means when he already knows it in Sanskrit.)

• The Five Precepts

The Five Precepts is a set of basic laws such as follows: 1. Abstention from killing, 2. Abstention from theft, 3. Abstention from sexual misconduct, 4. Abstention from falsehood, 5. Abstention from intoxication. If that sounds familiar, take a look at the second half of the Ten Commandments of the Bible: 1. Thou shalt not kill, 2. Thou shalt not steal, 3. Thou shalt not commit adultery, 4. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour. Both, the 5 Precepts as well as the 10 Commandments can be traced back to a much older source, The (100) Instructions of Shuruppak written by King Shuruppak, a wise man who lived in Mesopotamia around 2600 BC. From there, this law set went straight into the Code of Hammurabi and 2500 km (1500 mi) eastwards to the sister civilisation of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa in the northwest of ancient India. Traders managed that distance in 4 to 7 days by boat.

• The Four Noble Truths

In Buddhism, the Four Noble Truths (Sanskrit: catvari aryasatyani; Pali: cattari ariyasaccani, "The four Arya satyas") are traditionally identified as the first teaching given by the Buddha, and considered one of the most important teachings in Buddhism. Basically, they are dealing with a psychlogical analysis on the misery and sufferings that all humans come across in their lifetime. Later followers of Buddha have deified the Buddha and at the same time elevated his teachings to that what western people call "religion". Buddha himself perhaps had no intention to found a new religion as he hardly ever mentioned gods or which gods he would favour.

• Buddha's Psychoanalysis of human misery

2500 years before Sigmund Freud, the Awakened One, the Buddha Siddharta Gautama formulated his analysis in four points and called them The Four Noble Truths. Buddhists refer to them as "the truths of the Noble Ones". A "Noble One is an "Arhat" and is one who has gained insight into the true nature of human existence. The four points are:

1. dukkha (suffering, incapable of satisfying, painful) is an innate characteristic of existence in the realm of samsara;

2. samudaya (origin, arising) of this dukkha, which arises or "comes together" with tanha ("craving, desire or attachment");

3. nirodha (cessation, ending) of this dukkha can be attained by the renouncement or letting go of this tanha;

4. magga (path, Noble Eightfold Path) is the path leading to renouncement of tanha and cessation of dukkha.

• Buddha's Psychotherapy to cure human misery

In a time when over 90% of the population experienced poverty, brutality, and misery on an unpreakable scale, the Buddha recognised that we all live under the curse of full consciousness and ignorance at the same time. We all suffer and heading towards the same fate which is illness and death. And often we make things worse by our very own behaviour, by our desires and aversions, causing more unnecessary sufferings. After his analysis on individual misery, he saw that he had to do something about everyones lack of education. He embarked on a teaching system that was so simple that anyone could write the analysis down on four fingers of their hand and the eight points of his solution in the palm of the very same hand. Every person could learn about the four analyses, and their subsequent eight remedies, in half an hour. Soon his teachings attracted attention from everyone, poor or rich. The eight remedies (or "practices of the Noble Eightfold Path", as the Buddhists call them) are:

1. The Right Speech
2. The Right Action
3. The Right Livelihood
4. The Right Effort
5. The Right Mindfulness
6. The Right Concentration
7. The Right View
8. The Right Resolve

These eight points, the Noble Eight Paths, can best be explained by showing them in three groups.

A.) Moral virtue (Sanskrit: sila, Pali: sila); The first 3 paths are based on the Five Precepts of Buddhism and Daoism and look like this:

1. The Right Speech: no lying, no rude speech, no telling one person what another says about him to cause discord or harm their relationship.

2. The Right Conduct or Action: refraining from killing, stealing, sexual misconduct

3. The Right Livelihood: Gaining one's livelihood by benefiting others also not selling weapons, poisons or intoxicants

B.) Meditation (Sanskrit and Pali: samadhi)

4. The Right Effort: preventing the arising of unwholesome states, and generating wholesome states, the bojjhaga (seven factors of awakening). This includes indriya-samvara, "guarding the sense-doors," restraint of the sense faculties.

5. The Right Mindfulness (sati; Satipatthana; Sampajanna): "retention," being mindful of the dhammas ("teachings," "elements") that are beneficial to the Buddhist path. In the vipassana movement, sati is interpreted as "bare attention": never be absent minded, being conscious of what one is doing; this encourages the awareness of the impermanence of body, feeling and mind, as well as to experience the five aggregates (skandhas), the five hindrances, the four True Realities and seven factors of awakening.

6. The Right samadhi (Passaddhi; Ekaggata; sampasadana): practicing four stages of dhyana ("meditation"), which includes samadhi proper in the second stage, and reinforces the development of the bojjhaga, culminating into upekkha (equanimity) and mindfulness. In the Theravada tradition and the Vipassana movement, this is interpreted as ekaggata, concentration or one-pointedness of the mind, and supplemented with Vipassana-meditation, which aims at insight.

C.) Insight, wisdom (Sanskrit: prajna, Pali: panna)

7. The Right View: our actions have consequences, death is not the end, and our actions and beliefs have consequences after death. The Buddha followed and taught a successful path out of this world and the other world (heaven and underworld/hell). Later on, right view came to explicitly include karma and rebirth, and the importance of the Four Noble Truths, when "insight" became central to Buddhist soteriology.

8. The Right Resolve or Intention: the giving up of home and adopting the life of a religious mendicant in order to follow the path; this concept aims at peaceful renunciation, into an environment of non-sensuality, non-ill-will (to loving kindness), away from cruelty (to compassion). Such an environment aids contemplation of impermanence, suffering, and non-Self.

• 4 Fruits of the Path

1. The Stream-winner (sotapanna). On realising nibbana for the first time the Stream-winner destroys the three fetters of personality-belief, belief in rites and rituals, and doubts. He is incapable of committing any of the heinous crimes and if he does any other evil he is incapable of concealing it. He is assured of attaining Arahantship within seven lives at the most.

2. The Once-returner (sakadagami) greatly reduces the strength of the fetters of desire and ill-will and will, at most, be reborn only once more on earth before attaining Arahantship.

3. The Non-returner (anagami) eradicates totally the fetters of desire and ill-will and will not be reborn again on earth but will gain Arahantship in the higher planes of devas or Brahmas.

4. The Arahant (arahatta) removes the remaining five fetters, destroys all ignorance and craving and puts an end to all forms of rebirth, thus gaining the final goal of the holy life.

• The 4 Modes of Fearlessness (vesarajja)

The Blessed One said, "I do not see any grounds on which anyone might reprove me as to: 1) being fully awakened, 2) the floods being fully destroyed, 3) knowledge of what is an obstacle to progress, 4) knowledge of Dhamma (Dharma) that leads to the destruction of the floods.

• The 5 Aggregates of Being (khandha)

When we say 'living being' it is just a conventional way of speaking.

Underlying this convention are the wrong views of personality-belief,

permanence and substantiality. However, if we consider more carefully what a living being or a person really is we will find only a stream of ever changing phenomena. These can be arranged in five groups: the body or material phenomena; feelings, perceptions, mental formations and consciousness. It should not be understood that these groups are something stable; they are only categories.

• The 5 Hindrances (nīvarana)

Sensual desire, ill-will, sloth and torpor, restlessness and remorse, doubt. These defilements are called hindrances because they obstruct the development of concentration.

• The 8 Causes of Earthquakes

1. This earth is supported by water, the water by air, the air by space. At times great winds blow strongly and the water is shaken. When the water is shaken, the earth is shaken. (N.B. Water is the element of cohesion or fluidity, air is the element of motion. These elements are present even in molten rock).

2. A recluse or deity of great power causes the earth to shake by the power of concentration.

3. When the Bodhisatta (Bodhisatva) passes away from the Tusita heaven, mindfully and deliberately, and is conceived in his mother's womb the great earth shakes.

4. When the Bodhisatta (Bodhisatva) issues forth from his mother's womb, mindfully and deliberately, the great earth shakes.

5. When the Tathagata attains the supreme and perfect enlightenment the great earth shakes.

6. When the Tathagata sets in motion the wheel of the Dhamma the great earth shakes.

7. When the Tathagata, mindfully and deliberately, gives up the lifesustaining mental process the great earth shakes. (He could prolong his life by supernormal power but not being asked, he gives up the possibility and announces the time of his death.)

8. When a Buddha passes away and attains parinibbana the great earth

shakes.

• The 10 Fetters (saṃyojana)

Sensual desire (kamachanda), ill-will (byapada), pride (mana), personality-belief (sakkayadiṭṭhi), doubt (vicikiccha), adherence to rites and ceremonies (sīlabattaṃ), desire for existence (ruparaga), jealousy (issa), avarice (macchariya), ignorance (avijja).

• The 10 Perfections (paramī)

Generosity (dana), virtue (sīla), renunciation (nekkhamma), wisdom (panna), energy (viriya), patience (khanti), truthfulness (sacca), determination (adhiṭṭhana), loving-kindness (metta) and equanimity (upekkha).

• The 18 Characteristics of a Buddha (Buddhadhamma)

1-3) Seeing all things; past, present and future. 4-6) Propriety of action,

speech and thought. 7-12) Establishment of the following so that they cannot be frustrated by others: intentions, doctrines, that which proceeds from concentration, energy, liberation and wisdom. 13) Avoiding: pleasures or anything that could invite ridicule; 14) Avoiding strife and contention. 15) Omniscience. 16) Doing all things fully conscious. 17) Doing all things with some purpose. 18) Not doing anything from unwise partiality.

• The 32 Parts of the Body (for contemplation)

Head hairs, body hairs, nails, teeth, skin; flesh, sinews, bones, bonemarrow, kidneys; heart, liver, membranes, spleen, lungs; large intestine, small intestine, mesentery, gorge, faeces; bile, phlegm, pus, blood, sweat; solid fat, liquid fat, saliva, nasal mucus, synovic fluid, urine, brain.

• Abhidhamma — the higher teaching. It uses the analytical method. Whereas the discourses use the conventional language of man or being the Abhidhamma uses terms like 'five aggregates of being,' mind and matter, visible object and sensitive eye-base etc.

• Absorptions (jhana) — Stages of mental concentration gained by inhibiting the five hindrances. The result of these states is rebirth in the Brahma realm.

• Austerities (dukkarakarika) — These are practices of self mortification, which were practised by the Bodhisatta. They should be distinguished from ascetic practices (dhutaṅga), which, although difficult, are neither ignoble nor unprofitable.

• Arahant — See 4 Fruits of the Path.

• Bactrian Aramaic and Hebrew — Like in the Mediterranean, where Aramaic speaking Jews spread to Egypt and Carthage in the West with the Phoenicians (from 8th to the 5th centuries BC). At that time, they also spread to the East with the Assyrian and Persian Empires along the trading routes between Mesopotamia and India. We can find their rock insriptions and coins all over these places. With them, they took their language, script, and their ideas of righteousness formulated in the Instructions of Shuruppak and the Decalogue.

• Bactrian Greek — (Yonaka). There are several references to Yonaka other than in the Milinda Panha. In the 4th century BC they arrived Bactria, the outposts of China in Sogdiana, and India. They also left rock inscriptions and their Greek kings succeeding Alexander the Great mint coins which on the obverse side bear Greek script but on the reverse Aramaic script, better known as Karoshti. An inscription in

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caves at Nasik, near Bombay refers to nine Yonaka who were donors, and the Mahavaṃsa has references to monks from Yona, one Yonadhammarakkhita who must have been a Bactrian Greek bhikkhu.

• Bhikkhu — A Buddhist monk who has received the higher ordination. The literal meaning is 'beggar' though a bhikkhu is not allowed to beg, but may only stand and wait for alms to be offered.

• Bodhisatta — A being totally dedicated to the attainment of the perfect enlightenment of a Buddha, for which one has to develop the perfections for many aeons.

• Bodhi Tree — The tree under which the Bodhisatta became Buddha. The Ananda Bodhi Tree was a sapling of the original tree that Ananda brought to Savatthi to remind people of the Buddha when he was away. Another sapling was sent to Sri Lanka by Asoka and is still worshipped.

• Brahma — A god or divine being who is in a plane of existence detached from sensuality.

• Brahmacarin — One who leads a life of chastity.

• Brahman — A priest, a wise or learned person.

• Brahmin — A person of the brahmin caste. Cara (good conduct) is the fulfilment of duties. Its counterpart, sīla, is refraining from wrong-doing.

• Merit (punna) — Good actions that are the basis for happiness and prosperity in the round of rebirths.

• Minor and Lesser Precepts — The Paṭimokkha rules are arranged in seven groups in order of severity. Offences of Defeat (Parajika), Formal Meeting (Saṅghadisesa), Indeterminate (Aniyata), Forfeiture (Nissaggiya Pacittiya), Expiation (Pacittiya), Confession (Patidesaniya) and Wrong-doing (Dukkaṭa). Wrong speech (Dubhasita) is not included in the Patimokkha itself but is found elsewhere in the Vinaya. The author's decision on this matter is very reasonable, since the Pacittiya rules include killing animals, drinking intoxicants, telling lies, hitting or abusing monks. These could not be called 'minor' training rules that the Buddha might have considered optional after his passing away.

• Non-returner — See 4 Fruits of the Path.

• Once-returner — See 4 Fruits of the Path.

• Paradoxes — Formerly translated as 'Dilemmas' (Meṇḍakapanho). A question intended to trap someone. A ram (meṇḍa) has two sharp horns!

• Parinibbana — The death of a Buddha, Pacceka Buddha, or Arahant.

• Patimokkha — The 227 training rules that the monks recite in the Uposatha day ceremony every full-moon and new-moon.

• Puthujjana (Ordinary Person) — A distinction should be made between a blind worldling (andho puthujjana) and a well-informed person (kalyana puthujjana). Neither is free from personality belief, but the well-informed person who has faith in the Buddha's enlightenment and believes in kamma will cultivate the path to enlightenment. The blind worldling, who holds wrong views, will rarely do wholesome deeds like charity, let alone take up the arduous practice of meditation for concentration or insight.

• Rains (vassa) — The three months from August to October during which the monks remain in one place. A monk's seniority is measured in rains or the number of years he has been a monk.

• Samana — A recluse or ascetic, not necessarily Buddhist.

• Solitary Buddha — A Pacceka Buddha or one who attains enlightenment without the help of an Omniscient Buddha. Unlike an Omniscient Buddha, the Solitary Buddha has not fully developed the ability to teach others.

• Stream-winner — See 4 Fruits of the Path.

• Sutra [Pali: Sutta], is a collection of discourses containing the majority of the Buddha's teaching to both monastics and laity. In Indian literary traditions the Sanskrit word Sutra refers to an aphorism or a collection of aphorisms in the form of a manual. An aphorism [from Greek aphorismos, denoting 'delimitation', 'distinction', and 'definition'] is a string or thread that describes a general truth or principle.

• Tipiṭaka — The threefold collection of Sutta, Vinaya, and Abhidhamma; i.e. discourses, disciplinary rules and philosophy.

• Vedagu — is used in the Milinda Panha in the sense of a soul or experiencer who sees, hears, smells, tastes, feels or knows. It is also an epithet of the Buddha meaning 'The one who has attained to knowledge'.

• Vinaya — The six books of the Tipiṭaka that deal with the monks' discipline and other regulatory matters.

• Visuddhimagga — A much respected manual, written in Pali in the 3rd century A.D. by Venerable Buddhaghosa, that elucidates the three-fold training of virtue, concentration and wisdom.

• Wise Attention (yoniso manasikara) — Often translated as 'Systematic attention.' It means paying attention to the characteristics that reduce defilements rather than to those that increase them.

THE QUESTIONS OF KING MILINDA

Reverence Be To The Blessed One,
The Arahat, The Samma-Sambuddha.

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THE SECULAR NARRATIVE. (Book 1.)

1. King Milinda, at Sagala the famous town of yore,
To Nagasena, the world famous sage, repaired.
(So the deep Ganges to the deeper ocean flows.)
To him, the eloquent, the bearer of the torch
Of Truth, dispeller of the darkness of men's minds,
Subtle and knotty questions did he put, many,
Turning on many points. Then were solutions given
Profound in meaning, gaining access to the heart,
Sweet to the ear, and passing wonderful and strange.
For Nagasena's talk plunged to the hidden depths
Of Vinaya and of Abhidhamma (Law and Thought)
Unravelling all the meshes of the Suttas' net,
Glittering the while with metaphors and reasoning high.
Come then! Apply your minds, and let your hearts rejoice,
And hearken to these subtle questionings, all grounds
Of doubt well fitted to resolve.

2. Thus hath it been handed down by tradition--There is in the country of the Yonakas a great centre of trade, a city that is called Sagala, situate in a delightful country well watered and hilly, abounding in parks and gardens and groves and lakes and tanks, a paradise of rivers and mountains and woods. Wise architects have laid it out, and its people know of no oppression, since all their enemies and adversaries have been put down. Brave is its defence, with many and various strong towers and ramparts, with superb gates and entrance archways; and with the royal citadel in its midst, white walled and deeply moated. Well laid out are its streets, squares, cross roads, and market places. Well displayed are the innumerable sorts of costly merchandise with which its shops are filled. It is richly adorned with hundreds of alms-halls of various kinds; and splendid with hundreds of thousands of magnificent mansions, which rise aloft like the mountain peaks of the Himalayas. Its streets are filled with elephants, horses, carriages, and foot-passengers, frequented by groups of handsome men and beautiful women, and crowded by men of all sorts and conditions, Brahmans, nobles, artificers, and servants. They resound with cries of welcome to the teachers of every creed, and the city is the resort of the leading men of each of the differing sects. Shops are there for the sale of Benares muslin, of Kotumbara stuffs, and of other cloths of various kinds; and sweet odours are exhaled from the bazaars, where all sorts of flowers and perfumes are tastefully set out. jewels are there in plenty, such as men's hearts desire, and guilds of traders in all sorts of finery display their goods in the bazaars that face all quarters of the sky. So full is the city of money, and of gold and silver ware, of copper and stone ware, that it is a very mine of dazzling treasures. And there is laid up there much store of property and corn and things of value in warehouses-foods and drinks of every sort, syrups and sweetmeats of every kind. In wealth it rivals Uttara-kuru, and in glory it is as Alakamanda, the city of the gods.

3. Having said thus much we must now relate the previous birth history of these two persons (Milinda and Nagasena) and the various sorts of puzzles. This we shall do under six heads:--

1. Their previous history (Pubba-yoga).
2. The Milinda problems.
3. Questions as to distinguishing characteristics.
4. Puzzles arising out of contradictory statements.
5. Puzzles arising out of ambiguity.
6. Discussions turning on metaphor.

And of these the Milinda problems are in two divisions-questions as to distinctive characteristics, and questions aiming at the dispelling of doubt; and the puzzles arising out of contradictory statements are in two divisions--the long chapter, and the problems in the life of the recluse.

THEIR PREVIOUS HISTORY (PUBBA-YOGA).

4. By Pubba-yoga is meant their past Karma (their doings in this or previous lives). Long ago, they say, when Kassapa the Buddha was promulgating the faith, there dwelt in one community near the Ganges a great company of members of the Order. There the brethren, true to established rules and duties, rose early in the morning, and taking the long-handled brooms, would sweep out the courtyard and collect the rubbish into a heap, meditating the while on the virtues of the Buddha.

5. One day a brother told a novice to remove the heap of dust. But he, as if he heard not, went about his business; and on being called a second time, and a third, still went his way as if he had not heard. Then the brother, angry with so intractable a novice, dealt him a blow with the broom stick.

This time, not daring to refuse, he set about the task crying; and as he did so he muttered to himself this first aspiration: 'May I, by reason of this meritorious act of throwing out the rubbish, in each successive condition in which I may be born up to the time when I attain Nirvana, be powerful and glorious as the midday sun!'

6. When he had finished his work he went to the river side to bathe, and on beholding the mighty billows of the Ganges seething and surging, he uttered this second aspiration: 'May I, in each successive condition in which I may be born till I attain Nirvana, possess the power of saying the right thing, and saying it instantly, under any circumstance that may arise, carrying all before me like this mighty surge!'

7. Now that brother, after he had put the broom away in the broom closet, had likewise wandered down to the river side to bathe, and as he walked he happened to overhear what the novice had said. Then thinking: 'If this fellow, on the ground of such an act of merit, which after all was instigated by me, can harbour hopes like this, what may not I attain to?' he too made his wish, and it was thus: 'In each successive condition in which I may be born till I attain Nirvana, may I too be ready in saying the right thing at once, and more especially may 1 have the power of unravelling and of solving each problem and each puzzling question this young man may put-carrying all before me like this mighty surge!'

8. Then for the whole period between one Buddha and the next these two people wandered from existence to existence among gods and men. And our Buddha saw them too, and just as he did to the son of Moggali and to Tissa the Elder, so to them also did he foretell their future fate, saying: 'Five hundred years after I have passed away will these two reappear, and the subtle Law and Doctrine taught by me will they two explain, unravelling and disentangling its difficulties by questions put and metaphors adduced.'

9. Of the two the novice became the king of the city of Sagala in India, Milinda by name, learned, eloquent, wise, and able; and a faithful observer, and that at the right time, of all the various acts of devotion and ceremony enjoined by his own sacred hymns concerning things past, present, and to come. Many were the arts and sciences he knew--holy tradition and secular law; the Sankhya, Yoga, Nyaya, and Vaiseshika systems of philosophy; arithmetic; music; medicine; the four Vedas, the Puranas, and the Itihasas; astronomy, magic, causation, and spells; the art of war; poetry; conveyancing--in a word, the whole nineteen.

As a disputant he was hard to equal, harder still to overcome; the acknowledged superior of all the founders of the various schools of thought. And as in wisdom so in strength of body, swiftness, and valour there was found none equal to Milinda in all India. He was rich too, mighty in wealth and prosperity, and the number of his armed hosts knew no end.

10. Now one day Milinda the king proceeded forth out of the city to pass in review the innumerable host of his mighty army in its fourfold array (of elephants, cavalry, bowmen, and soldiers on foot). And when the numbering of the forces was over, the king, who was fond of wordy disputation, and eager for discussion with casuists, sophists, and gentry of that sort, looked at the sun (to ascertain the time), and then said to his ministers: 'The day is yet young. What would be the use of getting back to town so early? Is there no learned person, whether wandering teacher or Brahman, the head of some school or order, or the master of some band of pupils (even though he profess faith in the Arahat, the Supreme Buddha), who would be able to talk with me, and resolve my doubts?'

11. Thereupon the five hundred Yonakas said to Milinda the king: 'There are the six Masters, O king!--Pûrana Kassapa, Makkhali of the cowshed, the Nigantha of the Nata clan, Sangaya the son of the Belattha woman, Agita of the garment of hair, and Pakudha Kakkayana. These are well known as famous founders of schools, followed by bands of disciples and hearers, and highly honoured by the people. Go, great king! put to them your problems, and have your doubts resolved.'

12. So king Milinda, attended by the five hundred Yonakas, mounted the royal car with its splendid equipage, and went out to the dwelling-place of Pûrana Kassapa, exchanged with him the compliments of friendly greeting, and took his seat courteously apart. And thus sitting he said to him: 'Who is it, venerable Kassapa, who rules the world?'

'The Earth, great king, rules the world!'

'But, venerable Kassapa, if it be the Earth that rules the world, how comes it that some men go to the Aviki hell, thus getting outside the sphere of the Earth?'

When he had thus spoken, neither could Pûrana Kassapa swallow the puzzle, nor could he bring it up; crestfallen, driven to silence, and moody, there he sat.

13. Then Milinda the king said to Makkhali of the cowshed: 'Are there, venerable Gosala, good and evil acts? Is there such a thing as fruit, ultimate result, of good and evil acts?'

'There are no such acts, O king; and no such fruit, or ultimate result. Those who here in the world are nobles, they, O king, when they go to the other world, will become nobles

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once more. And those who are Brahmans, or of the middle class, or workpeople, or outcasts here, will in the next world become the same. What then is the use of good or evil acts? '

'If, venerable Gosala, it be as you say then, by parity of reasoning, those who, here in this world, have a hand cut off, must in the next world become persons with a hand cut off, and in like manner those who have had a foot cut off or an ear or their nose!'

And at this saying Makkhali was silenced.

14. Then thought Milinda the king within himself: 'All India is an empty thing, it is verily like chaff! There is no one, either recluse or Brahman, capable of discussing things with me, and dispelling my doubts.' And he said to his ministers: 'Beautiful is the night and pleasant! Who is the recluse or Brahman we can visit to-night to question him, who will be able to converse with us and dispel our doubts?' And at that saying the counsellors remained silent, and stood there gazing upon the face of the king.

15. Now at that time the city of Sagala had for twelve years been devoid of learned men, whether Brahmans, Samanas, or laymen. But wherever the king heard that such persons dwelt, thither he would go and put his questions to them. But they all alike, being unable to satisfy the king by their solution of his problems, departed hither and thither, or if they did not leave for some other place, were at all events reduced to silence. And the brethren of the Order went, for the most part, to the Himalaya mountains.

16. Now at that time there dwelt, in the mountain region of the Himalayas, on the Guarded Slope, an innumerable company of Arahats (brethren who, while yet alive, had attained Nirvana). And the venerable Assagutta, by means of his divine power of hearing, heard those words of king Milinda. And he convened an assembly of the Order on the summit of the Yugandhara mountain, and asked the brethren: 'Is there any member of the Order able to hold converse with Milinda the king, and resolve his doubts?'

Then were they all silent. And a second and a third time he put the same question to them, and still none of all the number spake. Then he said to the assembled Order: 'There is, reverend Sirs, in the heaven of the Thirty-three, and east of the Vegayanta palace, a mansion called Ketumati, wherein dwells the god Mahasena. He is able to hold converse with Milinda the king, and to resolve his doubts.' And the innumerable company of Arahats vanished from the summit of the Yugandhara mountain, and appeared in the heaven of the Thirty-three.

17. And Sakka, the king of the gods, beheld those brethren of the Order as they were coming from afar. And at the sight of them he went up to the venerable Assagutta, and bowed down before him, and stood reverently aside. And so standing he said to him: 'Great, reverend Sir, is the company of the brethren that has come. What is it that they want? I am at the service of the Order. What can I do for you?'

And the venerable Assagutta replied: 'There is, O king, in India, in the city of Sagala, a king named Milinda. As a disputant he is hard to equal, harder still to overcome, he is the acknowledged superior of all the founders of the various schools of thought. He is in the habit of visiting the members of the Order and harassing them by questions of speculative import.'

Then said Sakka, the king of the gods, to him: 'That same king Milinda, venerable one, left this condition to be born as a man. And there dwells in the mansion Ketumati a god, Mahasena by name, who is able to hold converse with him and to resolve his doubts. That god we will beseech to suffer himself to be reborn into the world of men.'

18. So Sakka, the king of the gods, preceded by the Order, entered the Ketumati mansion; and when he had embraced Mahasena the god, he said to him: 'The Order of the brethren, Lord, makes this request of you-to be reborn into the world of men.'

'I have no desire, Sir, for the world of men, so overladen with action (Karma). Hard is life as avman. It is here, Sir, in the world of the gods that, being reborn in ever higher and higher spheres, I hope to pass away!'

And a second and a third time did Sakka, the king of the gods, make the same request, and the reply was still the same. Then the venerable Assagutta addressed Mahasena the god, and said: 'On passing in review, Lord, the worlds of gods and men, there is none but thee that we find able to succour the faith by refuting the heretical views of Milinda the king. The whole Order beseeches thee, Lord, saying: "Condescend, O worthy one, to be reborn among men, in order to lend to the religion of the Blessed One thy powerful aid."'

Then was Mahasena the god overjoyed and delighted in heart at the thought that he would be able to help the faith by refuting the heresy of Milinda; and he gave them his word, and said: 'Very well then, venerable ones, I consent to be reborn in the world of men,'

19. Then the brethren, having thus accomplished the task they had taken in hand, vanished from the heaven of the Thirty-three, and reappeared on the Guarded Slope in the Himalaya mountains. And the venerable Assagutta addressed the Order, and said: 'Is there, venerable ones, any brother belonging to this company of the Order, who has not appeared in the assembly?'

Thereupon a certain brother said there was, that Rohana had a week previously gone into the mountains, and become buried in meditation, and suggested that a messenger should be sent to him. And at that very moment the venerable Rohana aroused himself from his meditation, and was aware that the Order was expecting him. And vanishing from the mountain top, he appeared in the presence of the innumerable company of the brethren.

And the venerable Assagutta said to him: 'How now, venerable Rohana! When the religion of the Buddha is in danger of crumbling away, have you no eyes for the work of the Order?'

'It was through inadvertence, Sir,' said he.

'Then, venerable Rohana, atone for it.'

'What, Sir, should I do?'

'There is a Brahman village, venerable Rohana, called Kagangala, at the foot of the Himalaya mountains, and there dwells there a Brahman called Sonuttara. He will have a son called Nagasena. Go to that house for alms during seven years and ten months. After the lapse of that time thou shalt draw away the boy from a worldly life, and cause him to enter the Order. When he shall have abandoned the world, then shalt thou be free of the atonement for thy fault.'

'Let it be even as thou sayest,' said the venerable Rohana in assent.

20. Now Mahasena the god passed away from the world of the gods, and was reborn in the womb of the wife of the Brahman Sonuttara. And at the moment of his conception three strange, wonderful things took place:--arms and weapons became all ablaze, the tender grain became ripe in a moment, and there was a great rain (in the time of drought). And the venerable Rohana went to that house for alms for seven years and ten months from the day of Mahasena's re-incarnation, but never once did he receive so much as a spoonful of boiled rice, or a ladleful of sour gruel, or a greeting, or a stretching forth of the joined hands, or any sort of salutation. Nay rather it was insults and taunts that fell to his share: and there was no one who so much as said, Be so good, 'Sir, as to go on to the next house.'

But when all that period had gone by he one day happened to have those very words addressed to him. And on that day the Brahman, on his way back from his work in the fields, [9] saw the Elder as he met him on his return, and said: 'Well, hermit, have you been to our place

'Yes, Brahman, I have.'

'But did you get anything there?'

'Yes, Brahman, I did.'

And he was displeased at this, and went on home, and asked them: 'Did you give anything to that hermit?'

'We gave him nothing,' was the reply.

21. Thereupon the Brahman, the next day, seated himself right in the doorway, thinking to himself: 'To-day I shall put that hermit to shame for having told a lie.' And the moment that the Elder in due course came up to the house again, he said: 'Yesterday you said you had got something at my house, having all the while got nothing! Is lying allowed to you fellows?'

And the Elder replied: 'Brahman, for seven years and ten months no one even went so far as to suggest politely that I should pass on. Yesterday this courtesy was extended to me. It was to that that I referred.'

The Brahman thought to himself: 'If these men, at the mere experience of a little courtesy, acknowledge in a public place, and with thanks, that they have received an alms, what will they not do if they really receive a gift!' And he was much struck by this, and had an alms bestowed upon the Elder from the rice and curry prepared for his own use, and added furthermore: 'Every day you shall receive here food of the same kind.' And having watched the Elder as he visited the place from that day onwards, and noticed how subdued was his demeanour, he became more and more pleased with him, and invited him to take there regularly his midday meal. And the Elder gave, by silence, his consent; and daily from that time forth, when he had finished his meal, and was about to depart, he would pronounce some short passage or other from the words of the Buddh.

22. Now the Brahman's wife had, after her ten months, brought forth her son; and they called his name Nagasena. He grew up in due course till he became seven years old, and his father said to the child: 'Do you want, dear Nagasena, to study the learning traditional in this Brahmanical house of ours?'

'What is it called, father?' said he.

'The three Vedas are called learning (Sikkha), other kinds of knowledge are only arts, my dear.'

'Yes, I should like to learn them, father,' said the boy.

Then Sonuttara the Brahman gave to a Brahman teacher a thousand pieces as his teaching fee, and had a divan spread for him aside in an inner chamber, and said to him: 'Do thou, Brahman, teach this boy the sacred hymns by heart.'

So the teacher made the boy repeat the hymns, urging him to get them by heart. And young Nagasena, after one repetition of them, had learnt the three Vedas by heart, could intone them correctly, had understood their meaning, could fix the right place of each particular verse, and had grasped the mysteries they contained. All at once there arose in him an intuitive insight into the Vedas, with a knowledge of their lexicography, of their prosody, of their grammar, and of the legends attaching to the characters in them. He became a philologist and grammarian, and skilled alike in casuistry and in the knowledge of the bodily marks that foreshadow the greatness of a man.

23. Then young Nagasena said to his father: 'Is there anything more to be learned in this Brahmanical family of ours, or is this all?'

'There is no more, Nagasena, my dear. This is all,' was the reply.

And young Nagasena repeated his lesson to his teacher for the last time, and went out of the house, and in obedience to an impulse arising in his heart as the result of previous Karma, sought a place of solitude, where he gave himself up to meditation. And he reviewed what he had learnt throughout from beginning to end, and found no value in it anywhere at all. And he exclaimed in bitterness of soul: 'Empty forsooth are these Vedas, and as chaff. There is in them neither reality, nor worth, nor essential truth!'

That moment the venerable Rohana, seated at his hermitage at Vattaniya, felt in his mind what was passing in the heart of Nagasena. And he robed himself, and taking his alms-bowl in his hand, he vanished from Vattaniya and appeared near the Brahman village Kagangala. And young Nagasena, as he stood again in the doorway, saw him coming in the distance. At the sight of him he became happy and glad, and a sweet hope sprang up in his heart that from him he might learn the essential truth. And he went to him, and said: 'Who art thou, Sir, that thou art thus bald-headed, and wearest yellow robes?'

'They call me a recluse, my child' (Pabbagita: literally, 'one who has abandoned;' that is, the worldly life).

'And why do they call thee "one who has abandoned?"'

'Because a recluse is one who has receded from the world in order to make the stain of sinful things recede. It is for that reason, my child, that they call me a recluse.'

'Why, Sir, dost thou not wear hair as others do?'

'A recluse shaves off his hair and beard on the recognition of the sixteen impediments therein to the higher life. And what are those sixteen? The impediments of ornamenting it, and decking it out, of putting oil upon it, of shampooing it, of placing garlands round it, of using scents and unguents, and myrobalan seeds, and dyes, and ribbons, and combs, of calling in the barber, of unravelling curls, and of the possibility of vermin. When their hair falls off they are grieved and harassed; yea, they lament sometimes, and cry, and beat their breasts, or fall headlong in a swoon--and entangled by these and such impediments men may forget those parts of wisdom or learning which are delicate and subtle.'

'And why, Sir, are not thy garments, too, as those of other men?'

'Beautiful clothes, my boy, such as are worn by worldly men, are inseparable from the five cravings. But whatsoever dangers lurk in dress he who wears the yellow robes knows nothing of. It is for that reason that my dress is not as other men's.'

'Dost thou know, Lord, what is real knowledge?'

'Yes, lad, the real knowledge I know; and what is the best hymn (mantra) in the world, that too I know.'

'Couldst thou teach it, Lord, to me too?'

'Yes, I could.'

'Teach me, then.'

'Just now is not the right time for that; we, have come down to the village for alms.'

24. Then young Nagasena took the alms-bowl the venerable Rohana was carrying, and led him into the house, and with his own hand supplied him with food, hard and soft, as much as he required. And when he saw that he had finished his meal, and withdrawn his hand from the bowl, he said to him: 'Now, Sir, will you teach me that hymn?'

'When thou hast become free from impediments, my lad, by taking upon thee, and with thy parents' consent, the hermit's dress I wear, then I can teach it thee.'

25. So young Nagasena went to his father and mother, and said: 'This recluse says he knows the best hymn in the world, but that he cannot teach it to any one who has not entered the Order as his pupil. I should like to enter the Order and learn that hymn.'

And his parents gave their consent; for they wished him to learn the hymn, even at the cost of retiring from the world; and they thought that when he had learned it he would come back again.

Then the venerable Rohana took Nagasena to the Vattaniya hermitage, to the Vigamba Vatthu, and having spent the night there, took him on to the Guarded Slope, and there, in the midst of the innumerable company of the Arahats, young Nagasena was admitted, as a novice, into the Order.

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26. And then, when he had been admitted to the Order, the venerable Nagasena said to the venerable Rohana: 'I have adopted your dress; now teach me that hymn.'

Then the venerable Rohana thought thus to himself: 'In what ought I first to instruct him, in the Discourses (Suttanta) or in the deeper things of the faith (Abhidhamma)?' and inasmuch as he saw that Nagasena was intelligent, and could master the Abhidhamma with ease, he gave him his first lesson in that.

And the venerable Nagasena, after hearing it repeated but once, knew by heart the whole of the Abhidhamma--that is to say, the Dhamma Sangani, with its great divisions into good, bad, and indifferent qualities, and its subdivisions into couples and triplets--the Vibhanga, with its eighteen chapters, beginning with the book on the constituent elements of beings--the Dhatu Katha, with its fourteen books, beginning with that on compensation and non-compensation--the Puggala. Pannatti, with its six divisions into discrimination of the various constituent elements, discrimination of the various senses and of the properties they apprehend, and so on--the Katha Vatthu, with its thousand sections, five hundred on as many points of our own views, and five hundred on as many points of our opponents' views--the Yamaka, with its ten divisions into complementary propositions as to origins, as to constituent elements, and so on--and the Patthana, with its twenty-four chapters on the reason of causes, the reason of ideas, and the rest. And he said: 'That will do, Sir. You need not propound it again. That will suffice for my being able to rehearse it.'

27. Then Nagasena went to the innumerable company of the Arahats, and said: 'I should like to propound the whole of the Abhidhamma Pitaka, without abridgement, arranging it under the three heads of good, bad, and indifferent qualities.' And they gave him leave. And in seven months the venerable Nagasena recited the seven books of the Abhidhamma in full. And the earth thundered, the gods shouted their applause, the Brahma gods clapped their hands, and there came down a shower from heaven of sweet-scented sandal-wood dust, and of Mandarava flowers! And the innumerable company of the Arahats, then and there at the Guarded Slope, admitted the venerable Nagasena, then twenty years of age, to full membership in the higher grade of the Order.

28. Now the next day after he had thus been admitted into full membership in the Order, the venerable Nagasena robed himself at dawn, and taking his bowl, accompanied his teacher on his round for alms to the village below. And as he went this thought arose within him: 'It was, after all, empty-headed and foolish of my teacher to leave the rest of the Buddha's word aside, and teach me the Abhidhamma first!'

And the venerable Rohana became aware in his own mind of what was passing in the mind of Nagasena, and he said to him: 'That is an unworthy reflection that thou art making, Nagasena; it is not worthy of thee so to think.'

'How strange and wonderful,' thought Nagasena, 'that my teacher should be able to tell in his own mind what I am thinking of! I must ask his pardon.' And he said: 'Forgive me, Sir; I will never make such a reflection again.'

'I cannot forgive you, Nagasena, simply on that promise,' was the reply. 'But there is a city called Sagala, where a king rules whose name is Milinda, and he harasses the brethren by putting puzzles to them of heretical tendency. You will have earned your pardon, Nagasena, when you shall have gone there, and overcome that king in argument, and brought him to take delight in the truth.'

'Not only let king Milinda, holy one, but let all the kings of India come and propound questions to me, and I will break all those puzzles up and solve them, if only you will pardon me!' exclaimed Nagasena. But when he found it was of no avail, he said: 'Where, Sir, do you advise me to spend the three months of the rains now coming on 1?'

29. 'There is a brother named Assagutta dwelling at the Vattaniya hermitage. Go, Nagasena, to him; and in my name bow down to his feet, and say: "My teacher, holy one, salutes you reverently, and asks whether you are in health and ease, in full vigour and comfort. He has sent me here to pass the three months of the rains under your charge." When he asks you your teacher's name, tell it him. But when he asks you his own name, say: "My teacher, Sir, knows your name."'

And Nagasena bowed down before the venerable Rohana, and passing him on his right hand as he left him, took his bowl and robe, and went on from place to place till he came to the Vattaniya hermitage, begging for his food on the way. And on his arrival he saluted the venerable Assagutta, and said exactly what he had been told to say, and to the last reply Assagutta said: 'Very well then, Nagasena, put by your bowl and robe.' And the next day Nagasena swept out the teacher's cell, and put the drinking water and tooth-cleansers ready for him to use. The Elder swept out the cell again, threw away the water and the tooth-cleansers, and fetched others, and said not a word of any kind. So it went on for seven days. On the seventh the Elder again asked him the same questions as before. And on Nagasena again making the same replies, he gave him leave to pass the rainy season there.

30. Now a certain woman, a distinguished follower of the faith, had for thirty years and more administered to the wants of the venerable Assagutta. And at the end of that rainy season she came one day to him, and asked whether there was any other brother staying with him. And when she was told that there was one, named Nagasena, she invited the Elder, and Nagasena, with him, to take their midday meal the next day at her house. And the Elder signified, by silence, his consent. The next forenoon the Elder robed himself, and taking his bowl in his hand, went down, accompanied by Nagasena as his attendant, to the dwelling-place of that disciple, and there they sat down on the seats prepared for them. And she gave to both of them food, hard and soft, as much as they required, waiting upon them with her own hands. When Assagutta had finished his meal, and the hand was withdrawn from the bowl, he said to Nagasena: 'Do thou, Nagasena, give the thanks to this distinguished lady.' And, so saying, he rose from his seat, and went away.

31. And the lady said to Nagasena: 'I am old, friend Nagasena. Let the thanksgiving be from the deeper things of the faith.'

And Nagasena, in pronouncing the thanksgiving discourse, dwelt on the profounder side of the Abhidhamma, not on matters of mere ordinary morality, but on those relating to Arahatship. And as the lady sat there listening, there arose in her heart the Insight into the Truth, clear and stainless, which perceives that whatsoever has beginning, that has the inherent quality of passing away. And Nagasena also, when he had concluded that thanksgiving discourse, felt the force of the truths he himself had preached, and he too arrived at insight--he too entered, as he sat there, upon the stream (that is to say, upon the first stage of the Excellent Way to Arahatship).

32. Then the venerable Assagutta, as he was sitting in his arbour, was aware that they both had attained to insight, and he exclaimed: 'Well done! well done, Nagasena! by one arrow shot you have hit two noble quarries!' And at the same time thousands of the gods shouted their approval.

Now the venerable Nagasena arose and returned to Assagutta, and saluting him, took a seat reverently apart. And Assagutta said to him: 'Do thou now go, Nagasena, to Pataliputta. There, in the Asoka Park, dwells the venerable Dhamma-rakkhita. Under him you should learn the words of the Buddha.'

'How far is it, Sir, from here to Pataliputta.'

'A hundred leagues, Nagasena.'

'Great, Sir, is the distance. It will be difficult to get food on the way. How shall I get there?'

'Only go straight on, Nagasena. You shall get food on the way, rice from which the black grains have been picked out, with curries and gravies of various sorts.'

'Very well, Sir!' said Nagasena, and bowing down before his teacher, and passing him on the right side as he went, he took his bowl and his robe and departed for Pataliputta.

33. At that time a merchant of Pataliputta, was on his way back to that city with five hundred waggons. And when he saw the venerable Nagasena coming in the distance, he stopped the waggons, and saluted Nagasena, and asked him: 'Whither art thou going, father?'

'To Pataliputta, householder.'

'That is well, father. We too are going thither. It will be more convenient for thee to go with us.'

And the merchant, pleased with Nagasena's manners, provided him with food, hard and soft, as much as he required, waiting upon him with his own hands. And when the meal was over, he took a low seat, and sat down reverently apart. So seated, he said to the venerable Nagasena: 'What, father, is your name?'

'I am called Nagasena, householder.'

'Dost thou know, father, what are the words of Buddha?'

'I know the Abhidhamma.'

'We are most fortunate, father; this is indeed an advantage. I am a student of the Abhidhamma, and so art thou. Repeat to me, father, some passages from it.'

Then the venerable Nagasena preached to him from the Abhidhamma, and by degrees as he did so there arose in Nagasena's heart the Insight into the Truth, clear and stainless, which perceives that whatsoever has in itself the necessity of beginning, that too has also the inherent quality of passing away.

34. And the Pataliputta merchant sent on his waggons in advance, and followed himself after them. And at a place where the road divided, not far from Pataliputta, he stopped, and said to Nagasena: 'This is the turning to the Asoka Park. Now I have here a rare piece of woollen stuff, sixteen cubits by eight. Do me the favour of accepting it.' And Nagasena did so. And the merchant, pleased and glad, with joyful heart, and full of content and happiness, saluted the venerable Nagasena, and keeping him on his right hand as he passed round him, went on his way.

35. But Nagasena went on to the Asoka Park to Dhamma-rakkhita. And after saluting him, and telling him on what errand he had come, he learnt by heart, from the mouth of the venerable Dhamma-rakkhita, the whole of the three baskets of the Buddha's word in three months, and after a single recital, so far as the letter (that is, knowing the words by heart) was concerned.. And in three months more he mastered the spirit (that is, the deeper meaning of the sense of the words).

But at the end of that time the venerable Dhamma-rakkhita addressed him, and said: 'Nagasena, as a herdsman tends the cows, but others enjoy their produce, so thou too carriest in thy head the whole three baskets of the Buddha's word, and still art not yet a partaker of the fruit of Samanaship.'

'Though that be so, holy one, say no more,' was the reply. And on that very day, at night, he attained to Arahatship and with it to the fourfold power of that Wisdom possessed by all Arahats (that is to say: the realisation of the sense, and the appreciation of the deep religious teaching contained in the word, the power of intuitive judgement, and the power of correct and ready exposition). And at the moment of his penetrating the truth all the gods shouted their approval, and the earth thundered, and the Brahma gods clapped their hands, and there fell from heaven a shower of sweet-scented sandal dust and of Mandarava flowers.

36. Now at that time the innumerable company of the Arahats at the Guarded Slope in the Himalaya mountains sent a message to him to come, for they were anxious to see him. And when he heard the message the venerable Nagasena vanished from the Asoka Park and appeared before them. And they said: 'Nagasena, that king Milinda is in the habit of harassing the brethren by knotty questions and by argumentations this way and that. Do thou, Nagasena, go and master him.'

'Not only let king Milinda, holy ones, but let all the kings of India, come and propound questions to me. I will break all those puzzles up and solve them. You may go fearlessly to Sagala.'

Then all the Elders went to the city of Sagala, lighting it up with their yellow robes like lamps, and bringing down upon it the breezes from the heights where the sages dwell.

37. At that time the venerable Ayupala was living at the Sankheyya hermitage. And king Milinda said to his counsellors: 'Beautiful is the night and pleasant! Who is the wandering teacher or Brahman we can visit to night to question him who will be able to converse with us and to resolve our doubts?'

And the five hundred Yonakas replied: 'There is the Elder, Lord, named Ayupala, versed in the three baskets, and in all the traditional lore. He is living now at the Sankheyya hermitage. To him you might go, O king, and put your questions to him.'

'Very well, then. Let the venerable one be informed that we are coming.'

Then the royal astrologer sent a message to Ayupala to the effect that king Milinda desired to call upon him. And the venerable one said: 'Let him come.'

So Milinda the king, attended by the five hundred Yonakas, mounted his royal chariot and proceeded to the Sankheyya hermitage, to the place where Ayupala dwelt, and exchanged with him the greetings and compliments of friendship and courtesy, and took his seat respectfully apart. And then he said to him:

38. 'Of what use, venerable Ayupala, is the renunciation of the world carried out by the members of your Order, and in what do you place the summum bonum?'

'Our renunciation, O king,' replied the Elder, 'is for the sake of being able to live in righteousness, and in spiritual calm.'

'Is there, Sir, any layman who lives so?'

'Yes, great king, there are such laymen. At the time when the Blessed One set rolling the royal chariot wheel of the kingdom of righteousness at Benares, at the Deer Park, eighteen kotis of the Brahma gods, and an innumerable company of other gods, attained to comprehension of the truth. And not one of those beings, all of whom were laymen, had renounced the world. And again when the Blessed One delivered the Maha Samaya discourse, and the discourse on the 'Greatest Blessing,' and the Exposition of Quietism, and the Exhortation to Rahula, the multitude of gods who attained to comprehension of the truth cannot be numbered. And not one of those beings, all of whom were laymen, had renounced the world.'

'Then, most venerable Ayupala, your renunciation is of no use. It must be in consequence of sins committed in some former birth, that the Buddhist Samanas renounce the world, and even subject themselves to the restraints of one or other of the thirteen aids to purity! Those who remain on one seat till they have finished their repast were, forsooth, in some former birth, thieves who robbed other men of their food. It is in consequence of the Karma of having so deprived others of food that they have now only such food as they can get at one sitting; and are not allowed to eat from time to time as they want. It is no virtue on their part, no meritorious abstinence, no righteousness of life. And they who live in the open air were, forsooth, in some former birth, dacoits who plundered whole villages. It is in consequence of the Karma of having destroyed other people's homes, that they live now without a home, and are not allowed the use of huts. It is no virtue on their part, no meritorious abstinence, no righteousness of life.

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And those who never lie down, they, forsooth, in some former birth, were highwaymen who seized travellers, and bound them, and left them sitting there. It is in consequence of the Karma of that habit that they have become Nesaggika in this life (men who always sit) and get no beds to lie on. It is no virtue on their part, no meritorious abstinence, no righteousness of life!'

39. And when he had thus spoken the venerable Ayupala was silenced, and had not a word to say in reply. Then the five hundred Yonakas said to the king: 'The Elder, O king, is learned, but is also diffident. It is for that reason that he makes no rejoinder. But the king on seeing how silent Ayupala had become, clapped his hands and cried out: 'All India is an empty thing, it is verily like chaff! There is no one, either Samana or Brahman, capable of discussing things with me and dispelling my doubts!'

As he looked, however, at the assembly and saw how fearless and self-possessed the Yonakas appeared, he thought within himself: 'For a certainty there must be, methinks, some other learned brother capable of disputing with me, or those Yonakas would not be thus confident.' And he said to them: 'Is there, my good men, any other learned brother to discuss things with me and dispel my doubts?'

40. Now at that time the venerable Nagasena, after making his alms-tour through the villages, towns, and cities, had in due course arrived at Sagala, attended by a band of Samanas, as the leader of a company of the Order; the head of a body of disciples; the teacher of a school; famous and renowned, and highly esteemed by the people. And he was learned, clever, wise, sagacious, and able; a skilful expounder, of subdued manners, but full of courage; well versed in tradition, master of the three Baskets (Pitakas), and erudite in Vedic lore. He was in possession of the highest (Buddhist) insight, a master of all that had been handed down in the schools, and of the various discriminations by which the most abstruse points can be explained. He knew by heart the ninefold divisions of the doctrine of the Buddha to perfection, and was equally skilled in discerning both the spirit and the letter of the Word. Endowed with instantaneous and varied power of repartee, and wealth of language, and beauty of eloquence, he was difficult to equal, and still more difficult to excel, difficult to answer, to repel, or to refute. He was imperturbable as the depths of the sea, immovable as the king of mountains; victorious in the struggle with evil, a dispeller of darkness and diffuser of light; mighty in eloquence, a confounder of the followers of other masters, and a crusher-out of the adherents of rival doctrines (malleus hereticorum). Honoured and revered by the brethren and sisters of the Order, and its lay adherents of either sex, and by kings and their high officials, he was in the abundant receipt of all the requisites of a member of the Order--robes and bowl and lodging, and whatever is needful for the sick--receiving the highest veneration no less than material gifts. To the wise and discerning who came to him with listening ear he displayed the ninefold jewel of the Conqueror's word, he pointed out to them the path of righteousness, bore aloft for them the torch of truth, set up for them the sacred pillar of the truth, and celebrated for their benefit the sacrifice of the truth. For them he waved the banner, raised the standard, blew the trumpet, and beat the drum of truth. And with his mighty lion's voice, like Indra's thunder but sweet the while, he poured out upon them a plenteous shower, heavy with drops of mercy, and brilliant with the coruscations of the lightning flashes of his knowledge, of the nectar waters of the teaching of the Nirvana of the truth--thus satisfying to the full a thirsty world.

41. There then, at the Sankheyya hermitage, did the venerable Nagasena, with a numerous company of the brethren, dwell. Therefore is it said:

'Learned, with varied eloquence, sagacious, bold,
Master of views, in exposition sound,
The brethren--wise themselves in holy writ,
Repeaters of the fivefold sacred word--
Put Nagasena as their leader and their chief.
Him, Nagasena of clear mind and wisdom deep,
Who knew which was the right Path, which the false,
And had himself attained Nirvana's placid heights!
Attended by the wise, by holders to the Truth,
He had gone from town to town, and come to Sagala;
And now he dwelt there in Sankheyya's grove,
Appearing, among men, like the lion of the hills.'

42. And Devamantiya said to king Milinda: 'Wait a little, great king, wait a little! There is an Elder named Nagasena, learned, able, and wise, of subdued manners, yet full of courage, versed in the traditions, a master of language, and ready in reply, one who understands alike the spirit and the letter of the law, and can expound its difficulties and refute objections to perfection. He is staying at present at the Sankheyya hermitage. You should go, great king, and put your questions to him. He is able to discuss things with you, and dispel your doubts.'

Then when Milinda the king heard the name Nagasena, thus suddenly introduced, he was seized with fear, and with anxiety, and the hairs of his body stood on end 2. But he asked Devamantiya: 'Is that really so?'

And Devamantiya replied: 'He is capable, Sire, of discussing things with the guardians of the world--with Indra, Yama, Varuna, Kuvera, Pragapati, Suyama, [23] and Santushita--and even with the great Brahma himself, the progenitor of mankind, how much more then with a mere human being!'

'Do you then, Devamantiya,' said the king, 'send a messenger to say I am coming.'

And he did so. And Nagasena sent word back that he might come. And the king, attended by the five hundred Yonakas, mounted his royal chariot, and proceeded with a great retinue to the Sankheyya hermitage, and to the place where Nagasena dwelt.

43. At that time the venerable Nagasena was seated with the innumerable company of the brethren of the Order, in the open hall in front of the hermitage 1. So king Milinda saw the assembly from afar, and he said to Devamantiya: 'Whose, Devamantiya, is this so mighty retinue?'

'These are they who follow the venerable Nagasena,' was the reply.

Then at the sight there came over king Milinda a feeling of fear and of anxiety, and the hairs of his body stood on end. But nevertheless, though he felt like an elephant hemmed in by rhinoceroses, like a serpent surrounded by the Garudas (the snake-eating mythical birds), like a jackal surrounded by boa-constrictors, or a bear by buffaloes, like a frog pursued by a serpent, or a deer by a panther, like a snake in the hands of a snake charmer, or a rat played with by a cat, or a devil charmed by an exorcist, like the moon when it is seized by Rahu, like a snake caught in a basket, or a bird in a cage, or a fish in a net, like a man who has lost his way in a dense forest haunted by wild beasts, like a Yakkha (ogre) who has sinned against Vessavana (the king of ogres and fairies), or like a god whose term of life as a god has reached its end--though confused and terrified, anxious, and beside himself in an agony of fear like that--yet at the thought that he must at least avoid humiliation in the sight of the people, he took courage, and said to Devamantiya: 'You need not trouble to point out to me which is Nagasena. I shall pick him out unaided.'

'Certainly, Sire, recognise him yourself,' said he.

44. Now Nagasena was junior in seniority (reckoned from the date of his full membership in the Order) to the half of that great company seated in front of him, and senior to the half seated behind him. And as he looked over the whole of the assembly, in front, and down the centre, and behind, king Milinda detected Nagasena seated in the middle, and, like a shaggy lion who knows no fear or frenzy, entirely devoid of nervous agitation, and free from shyness and trepidation. And as soon as he saw him, he knew by his mien that that was Nagasena, and he pointed him out to Devamantiya.

'Yes, great king,' said he, 'that is Nagasena. Well hast thou, Sire, recognised the sage.'

'Whereupon the king rejoiced that he had recognised Nagasena without having had him pointed out to him. But nevertheless, at the sight of him, the king was seized with nervous excitement and trepidation and fear. Therefore is it said:

'At the sight of Nagasena, wise and pure,
Subdued in all that is the best subjection,
Milinda uttered this foreboding word--
"Many the talkers I have visited,
Many the conversations I have had,
But never yet, till now, to-day, has fear,
So strange, so terrible, o'erpowered my heart.
Verily now defeat must be my lot,
And victory his, so troubled is my mind."'

ETHICAL QUALITIES,
The Distinguishing Characteristics
LAKKHANA PANHA. (Book 2)

CHAPTER 1.

1. Now Milinda the king went up to where the venerable Nagasena was, and addressed him with the greetings and compliments of friendship and courtesy, and took his seat respectfully apart. And Nagasena reciprocated his courtesy, so that the heart of the king was propitiated.

And Milinda began by asking, 'How is your Reverence known, and what, Sir, is your name?'

'I am known as Nagasena, O king, and it is by that name that my brethren in the faith address me. But although parents, O king, give such a name as Nagasena, or Sûrasena, or Virasena, or Sihasena, yet this, Sire,--Nagasena and so on--is only a generally understood term, a designation in common use. For there is no permanent individuality (no soul) involved in the matter.'

Then Milinda called upon the Yonakas and the brethren to witness: 'This Nagasena says there is no permanent individuality (no soul) implied in his name. Is it now even possible to approve him in that?' And turning to Nagasena, he said: 'If, most reverend Nagasena, there be no permanent individuality (no soul) involved in the matter, who is it, pray, who gives to you members of the Order your robes and food and lodging and necessaries for the sick? Who is it who enjoys such things when given? Who is it who lives a life of righteousness? Who is it who devotes himself to meditation? Who is it who attains to the goal of the Excellent Way, to the Nirvana of Arahatship? And who is it who destroys living creatures? who is it who takes what is not his own? who is it who lives an evil life of worldly lusts, who speaks lies, who drinks strong drink, who (in a word) commits any one of the five sins which work out their bitter fruit even in this life? If that be so there is neither merit nor demerit; there is neither doer nor causer of good or evil deeds; there is neither fruit nor result of good or evil Karma.--If, most reverend Nagasena, we are to think that were a man to kill you there would be no murder, then it follows that there are no real masters or teachers in your Order, and that your ordinations are void.--You tell me that your brethren in the Order are in the habit of addressing you as Nagasena. Now what is that Nagasena? Do you mean to say that the hair is Nagasena?'

'I don't say that, great king.'

'Or the hairs on the body, perhaps?'

'Certainly not.'

'Or is it the nails, the teeth, the skin, the flesh, the nerves, the bones, the marrow, the kidneys, the heart, the liver, the abdomen, the spleen, the lungs, the larger intestines, the lower intestines, the stomach, the fæces, the bile, the phlegm, the pus, the blood, the sweat, the fat, the tears, the serum, the saliva, the mucus, the oil that lubricates the joints, the urine, or the brain, or any or all of these, that is Nagasena?'

And to each of these he answered no.

'Is it the outward form then (Rûpa) that is Nagasena, or the sensations (Vedana), or the ideas (Sanna), or the confections (the constituent elements of character, Samkhara), or the consciousness (Vignnana), that is Nagasena?'

And to each of these also he answered no.

'Then is it all these Skandhas combined that are Nagasena?'

'No! great king.'

'But is there anything outside the five Skandhas that is Nagasena?'

And still he answered no.

'Then thus, ask as I may, I can discover no Nagasena. Nagasena is a mere empty sound. Who then is the Nagasena that we see before us? It is a falsehood that your reverence has spoken, an untruth!'

And the venerable Nagasena said to Milinda the king: 'You, Sire, have been brought up in great luxury, as beseems your noble birth. If you were to walk this dry weather on the hot and sandy ground, trampling under foot the gritty, gravelly grains of the hard sand, your feet would hurt you. And as your body would be in pain, your mind would be disturbed, and you would experience a sense of bodily suffering. How then did you come, on foot, or in a chariot?'

'I did not come, Sir, on foot. I came in a carriage.'

'Then if you came, Sire, in a carriage, explain to me what that is. Is it the pole that is the chariot?'

'I did not say that.'

'Is it the axle that is the chariot?'

'Certainly not.'

'Is it the wheels, or the framework, or the ropes, or the yoke, or the spokes of the wheels, or the goad, that are the chariot?'

And to all these he still answered no.

'Then is it all these parts of it that are the chariot?'

'No, Sir.'

'But is there anything outside them that is the chariot?'

And still he answered no.

'Then thus, ask as I may, I can discover no chariot. Chariot is a mere empty sound. What then is the chariot you say you came in? It is a falsehood that your Majesty has spoken, an untruth! There is no such thing as a chariot! You are king over all India, a mighty monarch. Of whom then are you afraid that you speak untruth? And he called upon the Yonakas and the brethren to witness, saying: 'Milinda the king here has said that he came by carriage. But when asked in that case to explain what the carriage was, he is unable to establish what he averred. Is it, forsooth, possible to approve him in that?'

When he had thus spoken the five hundred Yonakas shouted their applause, and said to the king: Now let your Majesty get out of that if you can?'

And Milinda the king replied to Nagasena, and said: 'I have spoken no untruth, reverend Sir. It is on account of its having all these things--the pole, and the axle, the wheels, and the framework, the ropes, the yoke, the spokes, and the goad--that it comes under the generally understood term, the designation in common use, of "chariot."'

'Very good! Your Majesty has rightly grasped the meaning of "chariot." And just even so it is on account of all those things you questioned me about--the thirty-two kinds of organic matter in a human body, and the five constituent elements of being--that I come under the generally understood term, the designation in common use, of "Nagasena."

For it was said, Sire, by our Sister Vagira in the presence of the Blessed One:

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' "Just as it is by the condition precedent of the co-existence of its various parts that the word 'chariot' is used, just so is it that when the Skandhas are there we talk of a 'being'." '

'Most wonderful, Nagasena, and most strange. Well has the puzzle put to you, most difficult though it was, been solved. Were the Buddha himself here he would approve your answer. Well done, well done, Nagasena!'

2. 'How many years seniority have you, Nagasena?'

'Seven, your Majesty.'

'But how can you say it is your "seven?" Is it you who are "seven," or the number that is "seven?"'

Now that moment the figure of the king, decked in all the finery of his royal ornaments, cast its shadow on the ground, and was reflected in a vessel of water. And Nagasena asked him: 'Your figure, O king, is now shadowed upon the ground, and reflected in the water, how now, are you the king, or is the reflection the king?'

'I am the king, Nagasena, but the shadow comes into existence because of me.'

'Just even so, O king, the number of the years is seven, I am not seven. But it is because of me, O king, that the number seven has come into existence; and it is mine in the same sense as the shadow is yours.'

'Most wonderful again, and strange, Nagasena. Well has the question put to you, most difficult though it was, been solved!'

3. The king said: 'Reverend Sir, will you discuss with me again?'

'If your Majesty will discuss as a scholar (pandit), well; but if you will discuss as a king, no.'

'How is it then that scholars discuss?'

'When scholars talk a matter over one with another then is there a winding up, an unravelling; one or other is convicted of error, and he then acknowledges his mistake; distinctions are drawn, and contra-distinctions; and yet thereby they are not angered. Thus do scholars, O king, discuss.'

'And how do kings discuss?'

'When a king, your Majesty, discusses a matter, and he advances a point, if any one differ from him on that point, he is apt to fine him, saying: "Inflict such and such a punishment upon that fellow!" Thus, your Majesty, do kings discuss.'

'Very well. It is as a scholar, not as a king, that I will discuss. Let your reverence talk unrestrainedly, as you would with a brother, or a novice, or a lay disciple, or even with a servant. Be not afraid!'

'Very good, your Majesty,' said Nagasena, with thankfulness.

'Nagasena, I have a question to ask you;' said the king.

'Pray ask it, Sire.'

'I have asked it, your Reverence.'

'That is answered already.'

'What have you answered?'

'To what, then, does your Majesty refer?'

But Milinda the king thought: 'This Bhikkhu is a great scholar. He is quite capable of discussing things with me. And I shall have a number of points on which to question him, and before I can ask them all, the sun will set. It would be better to carry on the discussion at home to-morrow.' And he said to Devamantiya: 'You may let his reverence know that the discussion with the king shall be resumed to-morrow at the palace.' And so saying, he took leave of Nagasena, and mounted his horse, and went away, muttering as he went, 'Nagasena, Nagasena!'

And Devamantiya delivered his message to Nagasena, who accepted the proposal with gladness. And early the next morning Devamantiya and Anantakaya and Mankura and Sabbadinna. went to the king, and said: 'Is his reverence, Nagasena, to come, Sire, to-day?'

'Yes, he is to come.'

'With how many of the brethren is he to come?'

'With as many as he likes.'

And Sabbadinna said: 'Let him come with ten.' But the king repeated what he had said.. And on Sabbadinna reiterating his suggestion, the 'king rejoined: 'All this preparation has been made, and I say:

"Let him come with as many as he likes," yet Sabbadinna says: "Let him come with ten." Does he suppose we are not capable of feeding so many?'

Then Sabbadinna was ashamed.

4. And Devamantiya and Anantakaya and Mankura went to Nagasena and told him what the king had said. And the venerable Nagasena robed himself in the forenoon, and taking his bowl in his hand, went to Sagala with the whole company of the brethren. And Anantakaya, as he walked beside Nagasena, said:

'When, your reverence, I say, "Nagasena," what is that Nagasena?'

The Elder replied: 'What do you think Nagasena is?'

'The soul, the inner breath which comes and goes, that I suppose to be Nagasena.'

'But if that breath having gone forth should not return, or having returned should not go forth, would the man be alive?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'But those trumpeters, when they blow their trumpets, does their breath return again to them?'

'No, Sir, it does not.'

'Or those pipers, when they blow their pipes or horns, does their breath return again to them?'

'No, Sir.'

'Then why don't they die?'

'I am not capable of arguing with such a reasoner. Pray tell me, Sir, how the matter stands.'

'There is no soul in the breath. These inhalations and exhalations are merely constituent powers of the bodily frame,' said the Elder. And he talked to him from the Abhidhamma to such effect that Anantakaya confessed himself as a supporter of the Order.

5. And the venerable Nagasena went to the king, and sat down on the seat prepared for him. And the king provided Nagasena and his following with food, both hard and soft, as much as they required: and presented each brother with a suit of garments, and Nagasena himself with a set of three robes. And then he said to him: 'Be pleased to keep your seat here, and with you ten of the brethren. Let the rest depart.'

And when he saw that Nagasena had finished his meal, he took a lower seat, and sat beside him, and said: 'What shall we discuss?'

'We want to arrive at truth. Let our discussion be about the truth.'

And the king said: 'What is the object, Sir, of your renunciation, and what the summum bonum at which you aim?'

'Why do you ask? Our renunciation is to the end that this sorrow may perish away, and that no further sorrow may arise; the complete passing away, without cleaving to the world, is our highest aim.'

'How now, Sir! Is it for such high reasons that all members of it have joined the Order?,'

'Certainly not, Sire. Some for those reasons but some have left the world in terror at the tyranny of kings. Some have joined us to be safe from being robbed, some harassed by debt, and some perhaps to gain a livelihood.'

'But for what object, Sir, did you yourself join.'

'I was received into the Order when I was a mere boy, I knew not then the ultimate aim. But I thought: "They are wise scholars, these Buddhist Samanas, they will be able to teach me." And by them I have been taught; and now do I both know and understand what is at once the reason for, and the advantage of renunciation.'

'Well put, Nagasena!'

6. The king said: 'Nagasena, is there any one who after death is not reindividualised?'

'Some are so, and some not.'

'Who are they?'

'A sinful being is reindividualised, a sinless one is not.'

'Will you be reindividualised?'

'If when I die, I die with craving for existence in my heart, yes; but if not, no.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

7. The king said: 'Nagasena, he who escapes reindividualisation is it by reasoning that he escapes it?'

'Both by reasoning, your Majesty, and by wisdom, and by other good qualities.'

'But are not reasoning and wisdom surely much the same?'

'Certainly not. Reasoning is one thing, wisdom another. Sheep and goats, oxen and buffaloes, camels and asses have reasoning, but wisdom they have not.'

'Well put, Nagasena!'

8. The king said: 'What is the characteristic mark of reasoning, and what of wisdom?'

'Reasoning has always comprehension as its mark; but wisdom has cutting off.'

'But how is comprehension the characteristic of reasoning, and cutting off of wisdom? Give me an illustration.'

'You remember the barley reapers?'

'Yes, certainly.'

'How do they reap the barley?'

'With the left hand they grasp the barley into a bunch, and taking the sickle into the right hand, they cut it off with that.'

'Just even, so, O king, does the recluse by his thinking grasp his mind, and by his wisdom cut off his failings. In this way is it that comprehension is the characteristic of reasoning, but cutting off of wisdom.'

'Well put, Nagasena!'

9. The king said: 'When you said just now, "And by other good qualities," to which did you refer?'

'Good conduct, great king, and faith, and perseverance, and mindfulness, and meditation.

'And what is the characteristic mark of good conduct?'

'It has as its characteristic that it is the basis of all good qualities. The five moral powers--faith, perseverance, mindfulness, meditation, and wisdom-; the seven conditions of Arahatship--self-possession, investigation of the Dhamma, perseverance, joy, calm, meditation, and equanimity--; the Path; readiness of memory (unbroken self-possession); the four kinds of right exertion; the four constituent bases of extraordinary powers;the four stages of ecstasy; the eight forms of spiritual emancipation; the four modes of self-concentration; and the eight states of intense contemplation have each and all of them good conduct (the observance of outward morality) as their basis. And to him who builds upon that foundation, O king, all these good conditions will not decrease.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'Just, O king, as all those forms of animal and vegetable life which grow, develope, and mature, do so with the earth as their basis; just so does the recluse, who is devoted in effort, develope in himself the five moral powers, and so on, by means of virtue, on the basis of virtue.'

'Give me a further illustration.'

'Just, O king, as all the occupations which involve bodily exertion are carried on in ultimate dependence upon the earth, just so does the recluse develope in himself the five moral powers, and so on, by means of virtue, on the basis of virtue.'

'Give me a still better illustration.'

'Just, O king, as the architect of a city, when he wants to build one, first clears the site of the town, and then proceeds to get rid of all the stumps and thorny brakes, and thus makes it level, and only then does he lay out the streets and squares, and crossroads and market places, and so build the city; just so does the recluse develope in himself the five moral powers, and so on, by means of virtue, on the basis of virtue.'

'Can you give me one more simile?'

'Just, O king, as an acrobat, when he wants to exhibit his skill, first digs over the ground, and proceeds to get rid of all the stones and fragments of broken pottery, and thus to make it smooth, and only then, on soft earth, shows his tricks; just even so does the recluse develope in himself the five moral powers, and so on, by means of virtue, on the basis of virtue. For it has been said, Sire, by the Blessed One:

"Virtue's the base on which the man who's wise
Can train his heart, and make his wisdom grow.
Thus shall the strenuous Bhikkhu, undeceived,
Unravel all the tangled skein of life.
"This is the base--like the great earth to men--
And this the root of all increase in goodness,
The starting-point of all the Buddhas' teaching,
Virtue, to wit, on which true bliss depends."

'Well said, Nagasena!'

10. The king said, 'Venerable Nagasena, what is the characteristic mark of faith?'

'Tranquillisation, O king, and aspiration.'

'And how is tranquillisation the mark of faith?'

As faith, O king, springs up in the heart it breaks through the five hindrances--lust, malice, mental sloth, spiritual pride, and doubt--and the heart, free from these hindrances, becomes clear, serene, untroubled.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'Just, O king, as a suzerain king, when on the march with his fourfold army, might cross over a small stream, and the water, disturbed by the elephants and cavalry, the chariots and the bowmen, might become fouled, turbid, and muddy. And when he was on the other side the monarch might give command to his attendants, saying: "Bring some water, my good men. I would fain drink." Now suppose the monarch had a water-clearing gem, and those men, in obedience to the order, were to throw the jewel into the water; then at once all the mud would precipitate itself, and the sandy atoms of shell and bits of water-plants would disappear, and the water would become clear, transparent, and serene, and they would then bring some of it to the monarch to drink. The water is the heart; the royal servants are the recluse; the mud, the sandy atoms, and the bits of water-plants are evil dispositions; and the water-cleansing gem is faith.'

'And how is aspiration the mark of faith?'

'In as much as the recluse, on perceiving how the hearts of others have been set free, aspires to enter as it were by a leap upon the fruit of the first stage, or of the second, or of the third in the Excellent Way, or to gain Arahatship itself, and thus applies himself to the attainment of what he has not reached, to the experience of what he has not yet felt, to the realisation of what he has not yet realised,--therefore is it that aspiration is the mark of faith.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'Just, O king, as if a mighty storm were to break upon a mountain top and pour out rain, the water would flow down according to the levels, and after filling up the crevices and chasms and gullies of the hill, would empty itself into the brook below, so that the stream would rush along, overflowing both its banks. Now suppose a crowd of people, one after the other, were to come up, and being ignorant of the real breadth or depth of the water, were to stand fearful and hesitating on the brink. And suppose a certain man should arrive, who knowing exactly his own strength and power should gird himself firmly and, with a spring, land himself on the other side. Then the rest of the people, seeing him safe on the other side, would likewise cross. That is the kind of way in which the recluse, by faith, aspires to leap, as it were by a bound, into higher things. For this has been said, O king, by the Blessed One in the Samyutta Nikaya:

"By faith he crosses over the stream,

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By earnestness the sea of life;
By steadfastness all grief he stills,
By wisdom is he purified."
'Well put, Nagasena!'

11. The king said: 'What, Nagasena, is the characteristic mark of perseverance?'

'The rendering of support, O king, is the mark of perseverance. All those good qualities which it supports do not fall away.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'Just as a man, if a house were falling, would make a prop for it of another post, and the house so supported would not fall; just so, O king, is the rendering of support the mark of perseverance, and all those good qualities which it supports do not fall away.'

'Give me a further illustration.'

'Just as when a large army has broken up a small one, then the king of the latter would call to mind every possible ally and reinforce his small army, and by that means the small army might in its turn break up the large one; just so, O king, is the rendering of support the mark of perseverance, and all those good qualities which it supports do not fall away. For it has been said by the Blessed One: "The persevering hearer of the noble truth, O Bhikkhus, puts away evil and cultivates goodness, puts away that which is wrong and developes in himself that which is right, and thus does he keep himself pure."'

'Well put, Nagasena!'

12. The king said: 'What, Nagasena, is the characteristic mark of mindfulness?'

'Repetition, O king, and keeping up.'

'And how is repetition the mark of mindfulness?'

'As mindfulness, O king, springs up in his heart he repeats over the good and evil, right and wrong, slight and important, dark and light qualities, and those that resemble them, saying to himself: "These are the four modes of keeping oneself ready and mindful, these the four modes of spiritual effort, these the four bases of extraordinary powers, these the five organs of the moral sense, these the five mental powers, these the seven bases of Arahatship, these the eight divisions of the Excellent Way, this is serenity and this insight, this is wisdom and this emancipation." Thus does the recluse follow after those qualities that are desirable, and not after those that are not; thus does he cultivate those which ought to be practised, and not those which ought not. That is how repetition is the mark of mindfulness.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'It is like the treasurer of the imperial sovran, who reminds his royal master early and late of his glory, saying: "So many are thy war elephants, O king, and so many thy cavalry, thy war chariots and thy bowmen, so much the quantity of thy money, and gold, and wealth, may your Majesty keep yourself in mind thereof.'

'And how, Sir, is keeping up a mark of mindfulness?'

'As mindfulness springs up in his heart, O king, he searches out the categories of good qualities and their opposites, saying to himself: "Such and such qualities are good, and such bad; such and such qualities helpful, and such the reverse." Thus does the recluse make what is evil in himself to disappear, and keeps up what is good. That is how keeping up is the mark of mindfulness.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'It is like the confidential adviser of that imperial sovran who instructs him in good and evil, saying: "These things are bad for the king and these good, these helpful and these the reverse." And thus the king makes the evil in himself die out, and keeps up the good.'

'Well put, Nagasena!'

13. The king said: 'What, Nagasena, is the characteristic mark of meditation?

'Being the leader, O king. All good qualities have meditation as their chief, they incline to it, lead up towards it, are as so many slopes up the side of the mountain of meditation.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'As all the rafters of the roof of a house, O king, go up to the apex, slope towards it, are joined on together at it, and the apex is acknowledged to be the top of all; so is the habit of meditation in its relation to other good qualities.'

'Give me a further illustration.'

'It is like a king, your Majesty, when he goes down to battle with his army in its fourfold array. The whole army--elephants, cavalry, war chariots, and bowmen--would have him as their chief, their lines would incline towards him, lead up to him, they would be so many mountain slopes, one above another, with him as their summit, round him they would all be ranged. And it has been said, O king, by the Blessed One: "Cultivate in yourself, O Bhikkhus, the habit of meditation. He who is established therein knows things as they really are."'

'Well put, Nagasena!'

14. The king said: 'What, Nagasena, is the characteristic mark of wisdom?'

'I have already told you, O king, how cutting off, severance, is its mark, but enlightenment is also its mark.'

'And how is enlightenment its mark?'

'When wisdom springs up in the heart, O king, it dispels the darkness of ignorance, it causes the radiance of knowledge to arise, it makes the light of intelligence to shine forth, and it makes the Noble Truths plain. Thus does the recluse who is devoted to effort perceive with the clearest wisdom the impermanency (of all beings and things), the suffering (that is inherent in individuality), and the absence of any soul.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'It is like a lamp, O king, which a man might introduce into a house in darkness. When the lamp had been brought in it would dispel the darkness, cause radiance to arise, and light to shine forth, and make the objects there plainly visible. Just so would wisdom in a man have such effects as were just now set forth.'

'Well put, Nagasena!'

15. The king said: 'These qualities which are so different, Nagasena, do they bring about one and the same result?'

'They do. The putting an end to evil dispositions.'

'How is that? Give me an illustration.'

'They are like the various parts of an army--elephants, cavalry, war chariots, and archers--who all work to one end, to wit: the conquest in battle of the opposing army.'

'Well put, Nagasena!'

Here ends the First Chapter.

CHAPTER 2

1. The king said: 'He who is born, Nagasena, does he remain the same or become another?'

'Neither the same nor another.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'Now what do you think, O king? You were once a baby, a tender thing, and small in size, lying flat on your back. Was that the same as you who are now grown up?'

'No. That child was one, I am another.'

'If you are not that child, it will follow that you have had neither mother nor father, no! nor teacher. You cannot have been taught either learning, or behaviour, or wisdom. What, great king! is the mother of the embryo in the first stage different from the mother of the embryo in the second stage, or the third, or the fourth? Is the mother of the baby a different person from the mother of the grown-up man? Is the person who goes to school one, and the same when he has finished his schooling another? Is it one who commits a crime, another who is punished by having his hands or feet cut off?'

'Certainly not. But what would you, Sir, say to that? '

The Elder replied: 'I should say that I am the same person, now I am grown up, as I was when I was a tender tiny baby, flat on my back. For all these states are included in one by means of this body.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'Suppose a man, O king, were to light a lamp, would it burn the night through?'

'Yes, it might do so.'

'Now, is it the same flame that burns in the first watch of the night, Sir, and in the second?'

'No.'

'Or the same that burns in the second watch and in the third?'

'No.'

'Then is there one lamp in the first watch, and another in the second, and another in the third?'

'No. The light comes from the same lamp all the night through.'

'Just so, O king, is the continuity of a person or thing maintained. One comes into being, another passes away; and the rebirth is, as it were, simultaneous. Thus neither as the same nor as another does a man go on to the last phase of his self-consciousness.'

'Give me a further illustration.'

'It is like milk, which when once taken from the cow, turns, after a lapse of time, first to curds, and then from curds to butter, and then from butter to ghee. Now would it be right to say that the milk was the same thing as the curds, or the butter, or the ghee?'

'Certainly not; but they are produced out of it.'

'Just so, O king, is the continuity of a person or thing maintained. One comes into being, another passes away; and the rebirth is, as it were, simultaneous. Thus neither as the same nor as another does a man go on to the last phase of his self-consciousness.'

'Well put, Nagasena!'

2. The king said: 'Is a man, Nagasena, who will not be reborn, aware of the fact?'

'Yes, O king.'

'And how does he know it

'By the cessation of all that is cause, proximate or remote, of rebirth.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'Suppose a farmer, great king, had ploughed and sown and filled his granary; and then for a period should neither plough nor sow, but live on the stored-up grain, or dispose of it in barter, or deal with it as he had need. Would the farmer be aware, great king, that his granary was not getting filled?'

'Yes, he ought to know it.'

'But how?'

'He would know that the cause, proximate and remote, of the filling of the granary had ceased.'

'Just so with the man you spoke of. By the cessation of all that leads to rebirth, he would be conscious of having escaped his liability to it.'

'Well explained, Nagasena!'

3. The king said: 'He who has intelligence, Nagasena, has he also wisdom?'

'Yes, great king.'

'What; are they both the same?'

'Yes.'

'Then would he, with his intelligence--which, you say, is the same as wisdom--be still in bewilderment or not?'

'In regard to some things, yes; in regard to others, no.'

'What would he be in bewilderment about?'

'He would still be in bewilderment as to those parts of learning he had not learnt, as to those countries he had not seen, and as to those names or terms he had not heard.'

'And wherein would he not be in bewilderment?'

'As regards that which has been accomplished by insight--(the perception, that is,) of the impermanence of all beings, of the suffering inherent in individuality, and of the non-existence of any soul.'

'Then what would have become of his delusions on those points.'

'When intelligence has once arisen, that moment delusion has died away.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'It is like the lamp, which when a man has brought into a darkened room, then the darkness would vanish away, and light would appear.'

'And what, Nagasena, on the other hand, has then become of his wisdom?'

'When the reasoning wisdom has effected that which it has to do, then the reasoning ceases to go on. But that which has been acquired by means of it remains--the knowledge, to wit, of the impermanence of every being, of the suffering inherent in individuality, and of the absence of any soul.'

'Give me an illustration, reverend Sir, of what you have last said.'

'It is as when a man wants, during the night, to send a letter, and after having his clerk called, has a lamp lit, and gets the letter written. Then, when that has been done, he extinguishes the lamp. But though the lamp had been put out the writing would still be there. Thus does reasoning cease, and knowledge remain.'

'Give me a further illustration.'

'In Eastern districts the peasants have a custom of arranging five pots full of water behind each hut with the object of putting out at once any spark of fire that may be kindled. Suppose now the house had caught fire, and they had thrown those five potfulls of water over the hut, and the fire had gone out, would those peasants then think of still going on using the water-pots?'

'No, Sir, the water-pots would be done with. What would be the use of them (on that occasion) any more?'

'The five water-pots are the five organs of moral sense--faith, to wit, and perseverance in effort, and mindfulness, and meditation, and the reasoning wisdom. The peasantry are the recluse, who is devoted in effort 1; the fire is sinfulness. As the fire is put out by the water in the five pots, so is sinfulness extinguished by the five organs of moral sense, and when once extinguished it does not again arise.'

'Give me a further illustration.'

'It is like a physician who goes to the sick man with the five kinds of drugs made from medicinal roots, and grinding them up, gives him to drink, and thereby his sickness passes away. Would the physician in that case think of making any further use of the medicine?'

'Certainly not, the medicine has done its work. What would be the use of any more?'

'Just so, O king, when sinfulness is destroyed by the five moral powers, then reasoning ceases, but knowledge remains.'

'Give me a further illustration.'

'It is like a warrior, at home in war, who takes five javelins and goes down to 'battle to conquer the foe. And when he has cast them the enemy is broken. There is no need for him to go on casting javelins any more.'

'Well put, Nagasena!'

4. The king said: 'He who will not be reborn, Nagasena, does he still feel any painful sensation?'

The Elder replied: 'Some he feels and some not.'

'Which are they?'

'He may feel bodily pain, O king; but mental pain he would not.'

'How would that be so?'

'Because the causes, proximate or remote, of bodily pain still continue, he would be liable to it. But the causes, proximate or remote, of mental agony having ceased, he could

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not feel it. For it has been said by the Blessed One: "One kind of pain he suffers, bodily pain: but not mental."'

'Then why, Sir, does he not die?'

'The Arahat, O king, has need neither to curry favour nor to bear malice. He shakes not down the unripe fruit, but awaits the full time of its maturity. For it has been said, O king, by the Elder, Sariputta, the Commander of the faith:

"It is not death, it is not life I welcome;
As the hireling his wage, so do I bide my time.
It is not death, it is not life I want;
Mindful and thoughtful do I bide my time."'

'Well put, Nagasena!'

5. The king said: 'Is a pleasant sensation, Nagasena, good or evil or indifferent?'

'It may be any one of the three.'

'But surely, Sir, if good conditions are not painful, and painful ones not good, then there can arise no good condition that is at the same time painful.'

'Now, what do you think, great king? Suppose a man were to hold in one hand a red-hot ball of iron, and in the other a lump of icy snow, would they both hurt him?'

'Yes; they both would.'

'But are they both hot?'

'Certainly not.'

'But are they both cold?'

'No.'

'Then acknowledge yourself put in the wrong! If the heat hurts, and they are not both hot, the pain cannot come from the heat. If the cold hurts, and they are not both cold, the pain cannot come from the cold. How then, O king, can they both hurt you, since they are not both hot, nor both cold, and (as one is hot and the other cold) the pain comes neither from the hot nor from the cold?'

'I am not equal to argument with you. Be so good, Sir, as to explain how the matter stands.'

Then the Elder reasoned with king Milinda, persuading him by talk on the subject drawn from the Abhidhamma, such as: 'There are these six pleasures, O king, connected with life in the world, and these other six with renunciation. There are six griefs connected with life in the world, and six with renunciation. There are six kinds of indifference to pleasure and to grief connected with life in the world, and six with renunciation. Altogether there are thus six series of six, that is to say, thirty-six kinds of sensations in the present, and the like number in the past, and the like in the future. And adding all these up in one total we arrive at one hundred and eight kinds of sensation.'

'Well put, Nagasena!'

6. The king said: 'What is it, Nagasena, that is reborn?'

'Name-and-form is reborn.'

'What, is it this same name-and-form that is reborn?'

'No: but by this name-and-form deeds are done, good or evil, and by these deeds (this Karma) another name-and-form is reborn.'

'If that be so, Sir, would not the new being be released from its evil Karma?'

The Elder replied: 'Yes, if it were not reborn. But just because it is reborn, O king, it is therefore not released from its evil Karma.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'Suppose, O king, some man were to steal a mango from another man, and the owner of the mango were to seize him and bring him before the king, and charge him with the crime. And the thief were to say: "Your Majesty! I have not taken away this man's mangoes. Those that he put in the ground are different from the ones I took. I do not deserve to be punished." How then? would he be guilty?'

'Certainly, Sir. He would deserve to be punished.'

'But on what ground?'

'Because, in spite of whatever he may say, he would be guilty in respect of the last mango which resulted from the first one (the owner set in the ground).'

'Just so, great king, deeds good or evil are done by this name-and-form and another is reborn. But that other is not thereby released from its deeds (its Karma).'

'Give me a further illustration.'

'It is like rice or sugar so stolen, of which the same might be said as of the mango. Or it is like the fire which a man, in the cold season, might kindle, and when he had warmed himself, leave still burning, and go away. Then if that fire were to set another man's field on fire, and the owner of the field were to seize him, and bring him before the king, and charge him with the injury, and he were to say: "Your Majesty! It was not I who set this man's field on fire. The fire I left burning was a different one from that which burnt his field. I am not guilty." Now would the man, O king, be guilty?'

'Certainly, Sir.'

'But why?'

'Because, in spite of whatever he might say, he would be guilty in respect of the subsequent fire that resulted from the previous one.'

'Just so, great king, deeds good or evil are done by this name-and-form and another is reborn. But that other is not thereby released from its deeds (its Karma).'

'Give me a further illustration.'

'Suppose, O king, a man were to take a lamp and go up into the top storey of his house, and there eat his meal. And the lamp blazing up were to set the thatch on fire, and from that the house should catch fire, and that house having caught fire the whole village should be burnt. And they should seize him and ask: "What, you fellow, did you set our village on fire for?" And he should reply: "I've not set your village on fire! The flame of the lamp, by the light of which I was eating, was one thing; the fire which burnt your village was another thing." Now if they, thus disputing, should go to law before you, O king, in whose favour would you decide the case?'

'In the villagers' favour.'

'But why?'

'Because, Sir, in spite of whatever the man might say, the one fire was produced from the other.'

'Just so, great king, it is one name-and-form which has its end in death, and another name-and-form, which is reborn. But the second is the result of the first, and is therefore not set free from its evil deeds.'

'Give me a further illustration.'

'Suppose, O king, a man were to choose a young girl in marriage, and give a price for her and go away. And she in due course should grow up to full age, and then another man were to pay a price for her and marry her. And when the first one had come back he should say: "Why, you fellow, have you carried off my wife?" And the other were to reply: "It's not your wife I have carried off! The little girl, the mere child, whom you chose in marriage and paid a price for is one; the girl grown up to full age whom I chose in marriage and paid a price for, is another." Now if they, thus disputing, were to go to law about it before you, O king, in whose favour would you decide the case?'

'In favour of the first.'

'But why?'

'Because, in spite of whatever the second might say, the grown-up girl would have been derived from the other girl.'

'Just so, great king, it is one name-and-form which has its end in death, and another name-and-form which is reborn. But the second is the result of the first, and is therefore not set free from its evil deeds.'

'Give me a further illustration.'

'Suppose a man, O king, were to buy of a herdsman a vessel of milk, and go away leaving it in his charge, saying: "I will come for it to-morrow;" and the next day it were to become curds. And when the man should come and ask for it, then suppose the other were to offer him the curds, and he should say: "It was not curds I bought of you; give me my vessel of milk." And the other were to reply: "Without any fault of mine your milk has turned to curds." Now if they, thus disputing, were to go to law about it before you, O king, in whose favour would you decide the case?'

'In favour of the herdsman.'

'But why?'

'Because, in spite of whatever the other might say, the curds were derived from the milk.'

'Just so, great king, it is one name-and-form that finds its end in death, and another that is reborn. But that other is the result of the first, and is therefore not thereby released from its evil deeds (its bad Karma).'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

7. The king said: 'Will you, Nagasena, be reborn?'

Nay, great king, what is the use of asking that question again? Have I not already told you that if, when I die, I die with craving in my heart, I shall; but if not, not?'

'Give me an illustration.'

'Suppose, O king, a man were to render service to the king: and the king, pleased with him, were to bestow an office upon him. And then that he, while living through that appointment, in the full possession and enjoyment of all the pleasures of sense, should publicly declare that the king had repaid him naught. Now would that man, O king, be acting rightly?'

'Most certainly not.'

'Just so, great king, what is the use of asking that question again? Have I not already told you that if, when I die, I die with craving in my heart, I shall; and if not, not?'

'You are ready, Nagasena, in reply.'

8. The king said: 'You were talking just now of name-and-form. What does "name" mean in that expression, and what "form"?'

'Whatever is gross therein, that is "form": whatever is subtle, mental, that is "name."'

'Why is it, Nagasena, that name is not reborn separately, or form separately?'

'These conditions, great king, are connected one with the other; and spring into being together.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'As a hen, great king, would not get a yoke or an egg-shell separately, but both would arise in one, they two being intimately dependent one on the other; just so, if there were no name there would be no form. What is meant by name in that expression being intimately dependent on what is meant by form, they spring up together. And this is, through time immemorial, their nature.'

'You are ready, Nagasena, in reply.'

9. The king said: 'You speak, Nagasena, of time immemorial. What does this word "time" mean?'

'Past time, O king, and present, and future.'

'But what? is there such a thing as time?'

'There is time which exists, and time which does not.'

'Which then exists, and which not?'

[50] 'There are Confections (constituent potentialities of being), O king, which are past in the sense of having passed away, and ceased to be, or of having been dissolved, or altogether changed. To them time is not. But there are conditions of heart which are now producing their effect, or still have in them the inherent possibility of producing effect, or which will otherwise lead to reindividualisation. To them time is. Where there are beings who, when dead, will be reborn, there time is. Where there are beings who, when dead, will not be reborn, there time is not; and where there are beings who are altogether set free (who, having attained Nirvana in their present life, have come to the end of that life), there time is not--because of their having been quite set free.'

'You are ready, Nagasena, in reply.'

Here ends the Second Chapter.

CHAPTER 3.

1. The king said: 'What is the root, Nagasena, of past time, and what of present, and what of future time?'

'Ignorance. By reason of Ignorance came the Confections, by reason of the Confections consciousness, by reason of consciousness name-and-form, by reason of name-and-form the six organs of sense, by reason of them contact, by reason of contact sensation, by reason of sensation thirst, by reason of thirst craving, by reason of craving becoming, by reason of becoming birth, by reason of birth old age and death, grief, lamentation, sorrow, pain, and despair. Thus is it that the ultimate point in the past of all this time is not apparent.'

'You are ready, Nagasena, in reply!

2. The king said: 'You say that the ultimate point of time is not apparent. Give me an illustration of that.'

'Suppose, O king, a man were to plant in the ground a tiny seed, and that it were to come up as a shoot, and in due course grow, develope, and mature until it produced a fruit. And then the man, taking a seed from that fruit, were again to plant it in the ground, and all should happen as before. Now would there be any end to this series?'

Certainly not, Sir.'

'Just so, O king, the ultimate point in the past of the whole of this time is not apparent.'

'Give me a further illustration.'

'The hen lays an egg. From the egg comes a hen. From the hen an egg. Is there any end to this series?'

'No.'

'Just so, O king, the ultimate point in the past of the whole of this time is not apparent.'

'Give me a further illustration.'

Then the Elder drew a circle on the ground and asked the king: 'Is there any end to this circle?'

'No, it has no end.'

4 Well, that is like those circles spoken of by the Blessed One. "By reason of the eye and of forms there arises sight, when these three come together there is touch, by reason of touch sensation, by reason of sensation a longing (Tanha, thirst), by reason of the longing action (Karma), and from action eye is once more produced." Now is there any end to this series

'No.'

Then setting out a precisely corresponding circle of each of the other organs of sense (of the ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind), he in each case put the same question. And the reply being always the same, he concluded:

'Just so, O king, the ultimate point of time in the past is not apparent.'

'You are ready, Nagasena, in reply.'

3. The king said: 'When you say that the ultimate point is not apparent, what do you mean by "ultimate point"?'

'Of whatsoever time is past. It is the ultimate point of that, O king, that I speak of.'

'But, if so, when you say that it is not apparent, do you mean to say that of everything? Is the ultimate point of everything unknown?'

'Partly so, and partly not.'

'Then which is so, and which not?'

'Formerly, O king, everything in every form, everything in every mode, was ignorance. It is to us as if it were not. In reference to that the ultimate beginning is unknown. But that, which has not been, becomes; as soon as it has begun to become it dissolves away again. In reference to that the ultimate beginning is known.'

'But, reverend Sir, if that which was not, becomes, and as soon as it has begun to become passes again away, then surely, being thus cut off at both ends, it must be entirely destroyed?'

'Nay, surely, O king, if it be thus cut off at both ends, can it not at both ends be made to grow again?'

'Yes, it might. But that is not my question. Could it grow again from the point at which it was cut off?'

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'Certainly.'

'Give me an illustration.'

Then the Elder repeated the simile of the tree and the seed, and said that the Skandhas (the constituent elements of all life, organic and inorganic) were so many seeds, and the king confessed himself satisfied.

4. The king said: 'Are there any Confections which are produced?'

'Certainly.'

'Which are they?'

'Where there is an eye, and also forms, there is sight, where there is sight there is a contact through the eye, where there is contact through the eye there is a sensation, where there is sensation there is a longing, where there is longing there is a grasping, where there is grasping there is a becoming, where there is becoming there is birth, and at birth old age and death, grief, lamentation, pain, sorrow, and despair begin to be. Thus is the rise of the whole of this class of pain.--Where there is neither eye nor form there is no sight, where there is not sight there is no contact through the eye, where there is not contact there is no sensation, where there is not sensation there is no longing, where there is not longing there is no grasping, where there is not grasping there is no becoming, where there is not becoming there is no birth, and where there is not birth there is neither old age nor death nor grief, lamentation, pain, sorrow, and despair. Thus is the ending of all this class of pain.

'Very good, Nagasena!'

5. The king said: 'Are there any Confections (qualities) which spring into being without a gradual becoming?'

'No. They all have a gradual becoming.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'Now what do you think, great king? Did this house in which you are sitting spring suddenly into being?'

'Certainly not, Sir. There is nothing here which arose in that way. Each portion of it has had its gradual becoming--these beams had their becoming in the forest, and this clay in the earth, and by the moil and toil of women and of men 1 was this house produced.'

'Just so, great king, there is no Confection. which has sprung into being without a gradual becoming. It is by a process of evolution that Confections come to be!'

'Give me a further illustration.'

'They are like all kinds of trees and plants which, when set in the ground, grow, develope, and mature, and then yield their fruits and flowers. The trees do not spring into being without a becoming. It is by a process of evolution that they become what they are. just so, great king, there is no Confection which has sprung into being without a gradual becoming. It is by a process of evolution that Confections come to be!'

'Give me a further illustration.'

'They are like the pots of various kinds which a potter might form when he has dug up the clay out of the earth. The pots do not spring into being without a becoming. It is by a process of evolution that they become what they are. just so, great king, there is no Confection which has sprung into being without a gradual becoming. It is by a process of evolution that Confections come to be!'

'Give me a further illustration.'

'Suppose, O king, there were no bridge of metal on a mandolin, no leather, no hollow space, no frame, no neck, no strings, no bow, and no human effort or exertion, would there be music?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'But if all these things were there, would not there be a sound?'

'Of course there would.'

'Just so, great king, there is no Confection which has sprung into being without a gradual becoming. It is by a process of evolution that Confections come to be!'

'Give me a further illustration.'

'Suppose, O king, there were no fire-stick apparatus, no twirling-stick, and no cord for the twirling-stick, and no matrix, and no burnt rag for tinder, and no human effort and exertion, could there be fire by attrition?'

'Certainly not.'

'But if all these conditions were present, then might not fire appear?'

'Yes, certainly.'

'Just so, great king, there is no Confection which has sprung into being without a gradual becoming. It is by a process of evolution that Confections come to be!'

'Give me one more illustration.'

'Suppose, O king, there were no burning glass, and no heat of the sun, and no dried cow-dung for tinder, could there be fire?'

'Certainly not.'

'But where these things are present there fire might be struck, might it not?'

'Yes.'

'Just so, great king, there is no Confection which has sprung into being without a gradual becoming. It is by a process of evolution that Confections come to be!'

'Give me another illustration.'

'Suppose, O king, there were no looking-glass, and no light, and no face in front of it, would there appear an image?'

'No.'

'But given these things, there might be a reflection?'

'Yes, Sir, there might.'

'Just so, great king, there is no Confection which has sprung into being without a gradual becoming. It is by a process of evolution that Confections come to be!'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

6. The king said: 'Is there, Nagasena, such a thing as the soul?'

'What is this, O king, the soul (Vedagu)?'

'The living principle within which sees forms through the eye, hears sounds through the ear, experiences tastes through the tongue, smells odours through the nose, feels touch through the body, and discerns things (conditions, "dhamma") through the mind--just as we, sitting here in the palace, can look out of any window out of which we wish to look, the east window or the west, or the north or the south.'

The Elder replied: 'I will tell you about the five

doors, great king. Listen, and give heed attentively. If the living principle within sees forms through the eye in the manner that you mention, choosing its window as it likes, can it not then see forms not only through the eye, but also through each of the other five organs of sense? And in like manner can it not then as well hear sounds, and experience taste, and smell odours, and feel touch, and discern conditions through each of the other five organs of sense, besides the one you have in each case specified?'

'No, Sir.'

'Then these powers are not united one to another indiscriminately, the latter sense to the former organ, and so on. Now we, as we are seated here in the palace, with these windows all thrown open, and in full daylight, if we only stretch forth our heads, see all kinds of objects plainly. Can the living principle do the same when the doors of the eyes are thrown open? When the doors of the ear are thrown open, can it do so? Can it then not only hear sounds, but see sights, experience tastes, smell odours, feel touch, and discern conditions? And so with each of its windows?'

'No, Sir.'

'Then these powers are not united one to another indiscriminately. Now again, great king, if Dinna here were to go outside and stand in the gateway, would you be aware that he had done so?'

'Yes, I should know it.'

'And if the same Dinna were to come back again, and stand before you, would you be aware of his having done so?'

'Yes, I should know it.'

'Well, great king, would the living principle within discern, in like manner, if anything possessing flavour were laid upon the tongue, its sourness, or its saltness, or its acidity, or its pungency, or its astringency, or its sweetness?'

'Yes, it would know it.'

'But when the flavour had passed into the stomach would it still discern these things?'

'Certainly not.'

'Then these powers are not united one to the other indiscriminately. Now suppose, O king, a man were to have a hundred vessels of honey brought and poured into one trough, and then, having had another man's mouth closed over and tied up, were to have him cast into the trough full of honey. Would he know whether that into which he had been thrown was sweet or whether it was not?'

'No, Sir.'

'But why not?'

'Because the honey could not get into his mouth.'

'Then, great king, these powers are not united one to another indiscriminately.'

'I am not capable of discussing with such a reasoner. Be pleased, Sir, to explain to me how the matter stands.'

Then the Elder convinced Milinda the king with discourse drawn from the Abhidhamma, saying: 'It is by reason, O king, of the eye and of forms that sight arises, and those other conditions--contact, sensation, idea, thought, abstraction, sense of vitality, and attention--arise each simultaneously with its predecessor. And a similar succession of cause and effect arises when each of the other five organs of sense is brought into play. And so herein there is no such thing as soul (Vedagu).'

7. The king said: 'Does thought-perception arise wherever sight arises?'

'Yes, O king, where the one is there is the other.' And which of the two arises first?'

'First sight, then thought.'

'Then does the sight issue, as it were, a command to thought, saying: "Do you spring up there where I have? or does thought issue command to sight, saying: Where you spring up there will I."'

'It is not so, great king. There is no intercourse between the one and the other.'

'Then how is it, Sir, that thought arises wherever sight does?'

'Because of there being a sloping down, and because of there being a door, and because of there being a habit, and because of there being an association.'

'How is that? Give me an illustration of mind arising where sight arises because of there being a sloping down.'

'Now what do you think, great king? When it rains, where will the water go to?'

'It will follow the slope of the ground.'

'And if it were to rain again, where would the water go to?'

'It would go the same way as the first water had gone.'

'What then? Does the first water issue, as it were, command to the second, saying: "Do you go where I have?" Or does the second issue command to the first, saying: "Whithersoever you go, thither will I"?'

'It is not so, Sir. There is no intercourse between the two. Each goes its way because of the slope of the ground.'

'Just so, great king, is it by reason of the natural slope that where sight has arisen there also does thought arise. And neither does the sight-perception issue command to the mind-perception, saying: "Where I have arisen, there do thou also spring up;" nor does the mind-perception inform the sight-perception, saying: "Where thou hast arisen, there will I also spring up." There is no conversation, as it were, between them. All that happens, happens through natural slope.'

'Now give me an illustration of there being a door.'

'What do you think, great king? Suppose a king had a frontier city, and it was strongly defended with towers and bulwarks, and had only one gateway. If a man wanted to leave the city, how would he go out?'

'By the gate, certainly.'

'And if another man wanted to leave it, how would he go out?'

'The same way as the first.'

'What then? Would the first man tell the second:

"Mind you go out the same way as I do"? Or would the second tell the first: "The way you go out, I shall go out too"?'

'Certainly not, Sir. There would be no communication between them. They would go that way because that was the gate.'

'Just so, great king, with thought and sight.'

'Now give me an illustration of thought arising where sight is because of habit.'

'What do you think, great king? If one cart went ahead, which way would a second cart go?'

'The same as the first.'

'But would the first tell the second to go where it went, or the second tell the first that it would go where it (the first) had gone?'

'No, Sir. There would be no communication between the two. The second would follow the first out of habit.'

'Just so, great king, with sight and thought.'

'Now give me an illustration of how thought arises, where sight has arisen, through association.'

'In the art of calculating by using the joints of the fingers as signs or marks, in the art of arithmetic pure and simple, in the art of estimating the probable yield of growing crops, and in the art of writing, O king, the beginner is clumsy. But after a certain time with attention and practice he becomes expert. just so is it that, where sight has arisen, thought too by association springs up.'

And in response to similar questions, the Elder declared that in the same way thought sprang up wherever there was hearing, or taste, or smell, or touch: that in each case it was subsequent to the other, but arose without communication from [60] the natural causes above set out.

8. The king said: 'Where thought (mental perception) is, Nagasena, is there always sensation?'

'Yes, where thought arises there is contact, and there is sensation, and there is idea, and there is conceived intention, and there is reflection; and there is investigation.'

9. 'Reverend Sir, what is the distinguishing characteristic of contact (Phassa)?'

'Touch, O king.'

'But give me an illustration.'

'It is as when two rams are butting together, O king. The eye should be regarded as one of those two, the form (object) as the other, and the contact as the union of the two.'

'Give me a further illustration.'

'It is as when two cymbals are clashed together. The one is as the eye, the other as the object, and the junction of the two is like contact.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

10. 'Reverend Sir, what is the characteristic mark of sensation (Vedana)?'

'The being experienced, great king, and enjoyed.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'It is like the case of the man on whom the king, pleased with a service he has rendered him, should bestow an office. He while living, through that appointment, in the full possession and enjoyment of all the pleasures of sense, would think: "Formerly I did the king a service. For that the king, pleased with me, gave me this office. It is on that account that I now experience such sensations."--And it is like the case of

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the man who having done good deeds is re-born, on the dissolution of the body after death, into some happy conditions of bliss in heaven. He, while living there in the full possession and enjoyment of all the pleasures of sense, would think: "Formerly I must have done good deeds. It is on that account that I now experience such sensations." Thus is it, great king, that the being experienced and enjoyed is the characteristic mark of sensation.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

11. 'What is the distinguishing characteristic, Nagasena, of idea (Sanna)?'

'Recognition, O king. And what does he recognise?--blueness and yellowness and redness and whiteness and brownness.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'It is like the king's treasurer. O king, who when he sees, on entering the treasure, objects the property of the king, of all those colours, recognises (that they have such). Thus it is, great king, that recognition is the mark of idea.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

'What is the distinguishing characteristic, Nagasena, of the conceived purpose (Ketana)?'

'The being conceived, O king, and the being prepared.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'It is like the case of a man, O king, who should prepare poison, and both drink of it himself, and give of it to others to drink. He himself would suffer pain, and so would they. In the same way some individual, having thought out with intention some evil deed, on the dissolution of the body after death, would be reborn into some unhappy state of woe in purgatory, and so also would those who followed his advice.--And it is like the case of a man, O king, who should prepare a mixture of ghee, butter, oil, honey and molasses, and should both drink thereof himself and give of it to others to drink. He himself would have pleasure, and so would they. In the same way some individual, having thought out with intention some good deed, will be reborn, on the dissolution of the body after death, into some happy state of bliss in heaven, and so also would those who follow his advice. Thus is it, great king, that the being conceived, and the being prepared, are marks of the conceived purpose.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

12. 'What, Nagasena, is the distinguishing characteristic of perception (Vinnana)?'

'Recognition, great king.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'It is like the case of the guardian of a city who, when seated at the cross roads in the middle of the city, could see a man coming from the East, or the South, or the West, or the North. In the same way, O king, he knows an object which he sees with his eye, or a sound which he hears with his ear, or an odour which he smells by his nose, or a taste which he experiences with his tongue, or a touchable thing which he touches with his body, or a quality that he recognises by his mind. Thus is it, great king, that knowing is the mark of perception.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

13. 'What is the distinguishing characteristic, Nagasena, of reflection (Vitakka).

'The effecting of an aim.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'It is like the case of a carpenter, great king, who fixes in a joint a well-fashioned piece of wood. Thus is it that the effecting of an aim is the mark of reflection.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

14. 'What is the distinguishing characteristic, Nagasena, of investigation (Vikara)?'

'Threshing out again and again.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'It is like the case of the copper vessel, which, when it is being beaten into shape [63], makes a sound again and again as it gradually gathers shape. The beating into shape is to be regarded as reflection, and the sounding again and again as investigation. Thus is it, great king, that threshing out again and again is the mark of investigation.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

Here ends the Third Chapter.

15. The king said: 'When those conditions (whose marks you have just specified) have run together, is it possible, by bending them apart one to one side and one to the other, to make the distinction between them clear, so that one can say:,' This is contact, and this sensation, and this idea, and this intention, and this perception, and this reflection, and this investigation"?'

'No: that cannot be done.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'Suppose, O king, the cook in the royal household were to make a syrup or a sauce, and were to put into it curds, and salt, and ginger, and cummin seed, and pepper, and other ingredients. And suppose the king were to say to him: "Pick out for me the flavour of the curds, and of the salt, and of the ginger, and of the cummin seed, and of the pepper, and of all the things you have put into it." Now would it be possible, great king, separating off one from another those flavours that had thus run together, to pick out each one, so that one could say: "Here is the sourness, and here the saltness, and here the pungency, and here the acidity, and here the astringency, and here the sweetness"?'

'No, that would not be possible. But each flavour would nevertheless be distinctly present by its characteristic sign.'

'And just so, great king, with respect to those conditions we were discussing.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

16. The Elder said: 'Is salt, O king, recognisable by the eye?'

'Yes, Sir, it is.'

'But be careful, O king.'

'Well then, Sir, is it perceptible by the tongue?'

'Yes, that is right.'

'But, Sir, is it only by the tongue that every kind of salt is distinguished?'

'Yes, every kind.'

'If that be so, Sir, why do bullocks bring whole cart-loads of it? Is it not salt and nothing else that ought to be so brought?'

'It is impossible to bring salt by itself. But all these conditions have run together into one, and produced the distinctive thing called salt. (For instance): salt is heavy, too. But is it possible, O king, to weigh salt?'

'Certainly, Sir.'

Nay, great king, it is not the salt you weigh, it is the weight.'

'You are ready, Nagasena, in argument.'

Here ends the questioning of Nagasena by Milinda.

CHAPTER 4.

THE REMOVAL OF DIFFICULTIES.

VIMATI-KKHEDANA-PANHO.

1. The king said: 'Are the five Ayatanas, Nagasena, (eye, ear, nose, tongue, and body,) produced by various actions, or by one action?' (that is, the result of various Karmas, or of one Karma.)

'By various actions, not by one.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'Now, what do you think, O king? If I were to sow in one field five kinds of seed, would the produce of those various seeds be of different kinds?'

'Yes, certainly.'

'Well, just so with respect to the production of Ayatanas.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

2. The king said: 'Why is it, Nagasena, that all men are not alike, but some are short-lived and some long-lived, some sickly and some healthy, some ugly and some beautiful, some without influence and some of great power, some poor and some wealthy, some low born and some high born, some stupid and somewise?'

The Elder replied: 'Why is it that all vegetables are not alike, but some sour, and some salt, and some pungent, and some acid, and some astringent, and some sweet?'

'I fancy, Sir, it is because they come from different kinds of seeds.'

'And just so, great king, are the differences you have mentioned among men to be explained. For it has been said by the Blessed One: "Beings, O brahmin, have each their own Karma, are inheritors of Karma, belong to the tribe of their Karma, are relatives by Karma, have each their Karma as their protecting overlord. It is Karma that divides them up into low and high and the like divisions."'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

3. The king said: 'You told me, Nagasena, that your renunciation was to the end that this sorrow might perish away, and no further sorrow might spring up.'

'Yes, that is so.'

'But is that renunciation brought about by previous effort, or to be striven after now, in this present time?'

The Elder replied: 'Effort is now concerned with what still remains to be done, former effort has accomplished what it had to do.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'Now what do you think, O king? Is it when you feel thirst that you would set to work to have a well or an artificial lake dug out, with the intention of getting some water to drink?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'Just so, great king, is effort concerned now with what still remains to be done, former effort has accomplished what it had to do.'

'Give me a further illustration.'

'Now what do you think, O king? Is it when you feel hungry that you set to work to have fields ploughed and seed planted and crops reaped with the intention of getting some food to eat?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'Just so, great king, is effort concerned now with what still remains to be done, former effort has accomplished what it had to do.'

'Give me a further illustration.'

'Now what do you think, O king? Is it when the battle is set in array against you that you set to work to have a moat dug, and a rampart put up, and a watch tower built, and a stronghold formed, and stores of food collected? Is it then that you would have yourself taught the management of elephants, or horsemanship, or the use of the chariot and the bow, or the art of fencing?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'Just so, great king, is effort concerned now with what still remains to be done, former effort has accomplished what it had to do. For it has been thus said, O king, by the Blessed One:

"Betimes let each wise man work out
That which he sees to be his weal!
Not with the carter's mode of thought, but firm p. 103
Let him, with resolution, step right out.
As a carter who has left the smooth high road,
And turned to byways rough, broods ill at ease--
(Like him who hazards all at dice, and fails)--
So the weak mind who still neglects the good,
And follows after evil, grieves at heart,
When fallen into the power of death, as he,
The ruined gamester, in his hour of need."

'Very good, Nagasena.

4. The king said: 'You (Buddhists) say thus: "The fire of purgatory is very much more fierce than an ordinary fire. A small stone cast into an ordinary fire may smoke for a day without being destroyed; but a rock as big as an upper chamber cast into the furnace of purgatory would be that moment destroyed." That is a statement I cannot believe. Now, on the other hand you say thus: "Whatsoever beings are there reborn, though they burn for hundreds of thousands of years in purgatory, yet are they not destroyed." That too is a statement 1 don't believe.'

The Elder said: 'Now what do you think, O king? Do not the females of sharks and crocodiles and tortoises and peacocks and pigeons eat hard bits of stone and gravel?'

'Yes, Sir. They do.'

'What then? Are these hard things, when they have got into the stomach, into the interior of the abdomen, destroyed?'

'Yes, they are destroyed.'

'And the embryo that may be inside the same animals,--is that too destroyed?'

'Certainly not.'

'But why not.'

'I suppose, Sir, it escapes destruction by the influence of Karma.'

'Just so, great king, it is through the influence of Karma that beings, though they have been for thousands of years in purgatory, are not destroyed. If they are reborn there, there do they grow up, and there do they die. For this, O king, has been declared by the Blessed One: "He does not die until that evil Karma is exhausted."

'Give me a further illustration.'

'Now what do you think, O king? Do not the females of lions and tigers and panthers and dogs eat hard bits of bone and flesh?'

'Yes, they eat such things.'

'What then? are such hard things, when they have got into the stomach, into the interior of the abdomen, destroyed?'

'Yes, they are destroyed?'

'And the embryo that may be inside the same animals,--is that too destroyed?'

'Certainly not.'

'But why not?'

'I suppose, Sir, it escapes destruction by the influence of Karma.'

'Just so, great king, it is by the influence of Karma that beings in purgatory, though they burn for thousands of years, are not destroyed.'

'Give me a further illustration.'

'Now what do you think, O king? Do not the tender women--wives of the Yonakas, and nobles, and brahmins, and householders--eat hard cakes and meat.

'Yes, they eat such hard things.'

'And when those hard things have got into the stomach, into the interior of the abdomen, are not they destroyed?'

'Yes, they are.'

'But the children in their womb,--are they destroyed?'

'Certainly not.'

'And why not?'

'I suppose, Sir, they escape destruction by the influence of Karma?'

'Just so, great king, it is through the influence of Karma that beings in purgatory, though they burn for thousands of years, yet are they not destroyed, If they are reborn there, there do they grow up, and there do they die. For this, O king, has been declared by the Blessed One: "He does not die until that evil Karma is exhausted."'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

5. The king said: 'Venerable Nagasena, your people say that the world rests on water, the water on air, the air on space. This saying also I cannot believe.'

Then the Elder brought water in a regulation water-pot, and convinced king Milinda, saying: 'As this water is supported by the atmosphere, so is that water supported by air.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

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6. The king said: 'Is cessation Nirvana?

'Yes, your Majesty'.

'How is, that, Nagasena?'

'All foolish individuals, O king, take pleasure in the senses and in the objects of sense, find delight in them, continue to cleave to them. Hence are they carried down by that flood (of human passions), they are not set free from birth, old age, and death, from grief, lamentation, pain, sorrow, and despair,--they are not set free, I say, from suffering. But the wise, O king, the disciple of the noble ones, neither takes pleasure in those things, nor finds delight in them, nor continues cleaving to them. And inasmuch as he does not, in him craving ceases, and by the cessation of craving grasping ceases, and by the cessation of grasping becoming ceases, and when becoming has ceased birth ceases, and with its cessation birth, old age, and death, grief, lamentation, pain, sorrow, and despair cease to exist. Thus is the cessation brought about the end of all that aggregation of pain. Thus is it that cessation is Nirvana.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

7. The king said: 'Venerable Nagasena, do all men receive Nirvana?'

'Not all, O king. But he who walks righteously, who admits those conditions which ought to be admitted, perceives clearly those conditions which ought to be clearly perceived, abandons those conditions which ought to be abandoned, practises himself in those conditions which ought to be practised, realises those conditions which ought to be realised--he receives Nirvana.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

8. The king said: 'Venerable Nagasena, does he who does not receive Nirvana know how happy a state Nirvana is?'

'Yes, he knows it.'

'But how can he know that without his receiving Nirvana?'

'Now what do you think, O king? Do those whose hands and feet have not been cut off know how sad a thing it is to have them cut off?'

'Yes, Sir, that they know.'

'But how do they know it?'

'Well, by hearing the sound of the lamentation of those whose hands and feet have been cut off, they know it.'

'Just so, great king, it is by hearing the glad words of those who have seen Nirvana, that they who have not received it know how happy a state it is.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

CHAPTER 5.

1. The king said: 'Have you, Nagasena, seen the Buddha?'

'No, Sire.'

'Then have your teachers seen the Buddha?'

'No, Sire.'

'Then, venerable Nagasena, there is no Buddha!'

'But, great king, have you seen the river Ûha in the Himalaya mountains?'

'No, Sir.'

'Or has your father seen it?'

'No, Sir.'

'Then, your Majesty, is there therefore no such river?'

'It is there. Though neither I nor my father has seen it, it is nevertheless there.'

'Just so, great king, though neither I nor my teachers have seen the Blessed One, nevertheless there was such a person.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

2. The king said: 'Is the Buddha, Nagasena, pre-eminent?'

'Yes, he is incomparable.'

'But how do you know of one you have never seen that he is pre-eminent.'

'Now what do you think, O king? They who have never seen the ocean would they know concerning it: "Deep, unmeasurable, unfathomable is the mighty ocean. Into it do the five great rivers flow--the Ganges, the Jumna, the Akiravati, the Sarabhû, and the Mahi--and yet is there in it no appearance of being more empty or more full!"?'

'Yes, they would know that.'

'Just so, great king, when I think of the mighty disciples who have passed away then do I know that the Buddha is incomparable.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

3. The king said: 'Is it possible, Nagasena, for others to know how incomparable the Buddha is?'

'Yes, they may know it.'

'But how can they?'

'Long, long ago, O king, there was a master of writing, by name Tissa the Elder, and many are the years gone by since he has died. How can people know of him?'

'By his writing, Sir.'

'Just so, great king, whosoever sees what the Truth is, he sees what the Blessed One was, for the Truth was preached by the Blessed One.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

4. The king said: 'Have you, Nagasena, seen what the Truth is?'

'Have not we disciples, O king, to conduct ourselves our lives long as under the eye of the Buddha, and under his command?'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

5. The king said: 'Where there is no transmigration, Nagasena, can there be rebirth?'

'Yes, there can.'

'But how can that be? Give me an illustration.'

'Suppose a man, O king, were to light a lamp from another lamp, can it be said that the one transmigrates from, or to, the other?'

'Certainly not.'

'Just so, great king, is rebirth without transmigration.'

'Give me a further illustration.'

'Do you recollect, great king, having learnt, when you were a boy, some verse or other from your teacher?'

'Yes, I recollect that.'

'Well then, did that verse transmigrate from your teacher?'

'Certainly not.'

'Just so, great king, is rebirth without transmigration.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

6. The king said: 'Is there such a thing, Nagasena, as the soul?'

'In the highest sense, O king, there is no such thing.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

7. The king said: 'Is there any being, Nagasena, who transmigrates from this body to another?'

'No, there is not.'

'But if so, would it not get free from its evil deeds.'

'Yes, if it were not reborn; but if it were, no.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'Suppose, O king, a man were to steal another man's mangoes, would the thief deserve punishment?'

'Yes.'

'But he would not have stolen the mangoes the other set in the ground. Why would he deserve punishment?'

'Because those he stole were the result of those that were planted.'

'Just so, great king, this name-and-form commits deeds, either pure or impure, and by that Karma another name-and-form. is reborn. And therefore is it not set free from its evil deeds?'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

8. The king said: 'When deeds are committed, Nagasena, by one name-and-form, what becomes of those deeds?'

'The deeds would follow it, O king, like a shadow that never leaves it.'

'Can any one point out those deeds, saying: "Here are those deeds, or there"?'

'No.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'Now what do you think, O king? Can any one point out the fruits which a tree has not yet produced, saying: "Here they are, or there"?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'Just so, great king, so long as the continuity of life is not cut off, it is impossible to point out the deeds that are done.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

9. The king said: 'Does he, Nagasena, who is about to be reborn know that he will be born?'

'Yes, he knows it, O king.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'Suppose a farmer, O king, a householder, were to put seed in the ground, and it were to rain well, would he know that a crop would be produced.'

'Yes, he would know that.'

'Just so, great king, does he who is about to be reborn know that he will be born.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

10. The king said: 'Is there such a person as the Buddha, Nagasena?'

'Yes.'

'Can he then, Nagasena, be pointed out as being here or there?'

'The Blessed One, O king, has passed away by that kind of passing away in which nothing remains which could tend to the formation of another individual. It is not possible to point out the Blessed One as being here or there.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'Now what do you think, O king? When there is a great body of fire blazing, is it possible to point out any one flame that has gone out, that it is here or there?'

'No, Sir. That flame has ceased, it has vanished.'

'Just so, great king, has the Blessed One passed away by that kind of passing away in which no root remains for the formation of another individual. The Blessed One has come to an end, and it cannot be pointed out of him, that he is here or there. But in the body of his doctrine he can, O king, be pointed out. For the doctrine was preached by the Blessed One?'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

CHAPTER 6.

1. The king said: 'Is the body, Nagasena, dear to you recluses?'

'No, they love not the body.'

'Then why do you nourish it and lavish attention upon it?'

'In all the times and places, O king, that you have gone down to battle, did you never get wounded by an arrow?'

'Yes, that has happened to me.'

'In such cases, O king, is not the wound anointed with salve, and smeared with oil, and bound up in a bandage.'

'Yes, such things are done to it.'

'What then? Is the wound dear to you that you treat it so tenderly, and lavish such attention upon it?'

'No, it is not dear to me in spite of all that, which is only done that the flesh may grow again.'

'Just so, great king, with the recluses and the body. Without cleaving to it do they bear about the body for the sake of righteousness of life. The body, O king, has been declared by the Blessed One to be like a wound. And therefore merely as a sore, and without cleaving to it, do the recluses bear about the, body. For it has been said by the Blessed One:

"Covered with clammy skin, an impure thing and foul,
Nine-apertured, it oozes, like a sore.'"

'Well answered, Nagasena!'

2. The king said: 'Did the Buddha, Nagasena, the omniscient one, foresee all things?'

'Yes. The Blessed One was not only omniscient. He foresaw all things.'

'Then why was it that he was in the habit only from time to time, and as occasion arose, of laying down rules for the members of the Order?'

'Is there any physician, O king, who knows all the medicinal drugs to be found on the earth?'

'Yes, there may be such a man.'

'Well, O king, does he give his decoctions to the patient to drink at a time when illness has already set in, or before that?'

'When the malady has arisen.'

'Just so, great king, the Blessed One, though he was omniscient and foresaw all things, laid down no rule at an unseasonable time, but only when need arose did he establish a regulation which his disciples were not to transgress as long as they lived.'

'Well answered, Nagasena!'

3. The king said: 'Is it true, Nagasena, that the Buddha was endowed with the thirty-two bodily marks of a great man, and graced with the eighty subsidiary characteristics; that he was golden in colour with a skin like gold, and that there spread around him a glorious halo of a fathom's length?'

'Such, O king, was the Blessed One.'

'But were his parents like that?'

'No, they were not.'

'In that case you must say that he was born so. But surely a son is either like his mother, or those on the mother's side, or he is like his father, or those on the father's side!'

The Elder replied: 'Is there such a thing, O king, as a lotus flower with a hundred petals?'

'Yes, there is.'

'Where does it grow up?'

'It is produced in mud, and in water it comes to perfection.'

'But does the lotus resemble the mud of the lake, whence it springs up, either in colour, or in smell, or in taste?'

'Certainly not.'

'Then does it resemble the water?'

'Nor that either.'

'Just so, great king, is it that the Blessed One had the bodily signs and marks you have mentioned, though his parents had them not.'

'Well answered, Nagasena!'

4. The king said: 'Was the Buddha, Nagasena, pure in conduct (was he a Brahma-karin)?'

'Yes, the Blessed One was pure.'

'Then, Nagasena, it follows that he was a follower of Brahma.'

'Have you a state elephant, O king?'

'Certainly.'

'Well now, does that elephant ever trumpet (literally "cry the heron's cry")?'

'Oh, yes.'

'But is he, then, on that account a follower of the herons?'

'Of course not.'

'Now tell me, great king, has Brahma wisdom (Buddhi), or has he not?'

'He is a being with wisdom.'

'Then (on your argument) he is surely a follower of Buddha.'

'Well answered, Nagasena!'

5. The king said: 'Is ordination a good thing?'

'Yes, a good thing and a beautiful.'

'But did the Buddha obtain it, or not?'

'Great king, when the Blessed One attained omniscience at the foot of the tree of Knowledge, that was to him an ordination. There was no conferring of ordination upon him at the hands of others--in the way that the Blessed One laid down regulations for his disciples, never to be transgressed by them their lives long!'

'Very true, Nagasena!'

6. The king said: 'To which of these two, Nagasena,--the man who weeps at the death of his mother, and the man who

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weeps out of love for the Truth (Dhamma),--are his tears a cure?'

'The tears of the one, O king, are stained and hot with the three fires of passion. The tears of the other are stainless and cool. Now there is cure in coolness and calm, but in heat and passion there can be no cure.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

7. The king said: 'What is the distinction, Nagasena, between him who is full of passion, and him who is void of passion?'

'The one is overpowered by craving, O king, and the other not.'

'But what does that mean?'

'The one is in want, O king, and the other not.'

'I look at it, Sir, in this way. He who has passion and he who has not--both of them alike--desire what is good to eat, either hard or soft. And neither of them desires what is wrong.'

'The lustful man, O king, in eating his food enjoys both the taste and the lust that arises from taste, but the man free from lusts experiences the taste only, and not the lust arising therefrom.'

'Well answered, Nagasena!'

8. The king said: 'Venerable Nagasena, where does wisdom dwell?'

'Nowhere, O king.'

'Then, Sir, there is no such thing as wisdom.'

'Where does the wind dwell, O king?'

'Not anywhere, Sir.'

'So there is no such thing as wind.'

'Well answered, Nagasena!'

9. The king said: 'When you speak of transmigration, Nagasena, what does that mean?'

'A being born here, O king, dies here. Having died here, it springs up elsewhere. Having been born there, there it dies. Having died there, it springs up elsewhere. That is what is meant by transmigration.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'It is like the case of a man who, after eating a mango, should set the seed in the ground. From that a great tree would be produced and give fruit. And there would be no end to the succession, in that way, of mango trees.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

10. The king said: 'By what, Nagasena, does one recollect what is past and done long ago?'

'By memory.'

'But is it not by the mind, not by the memory, that we recollect?'

'Do you recollect any business, O king, that you have done and then forgotten?'

'Yes.'

'What then? Were you then without a mind?'

'No. But my memory failed me.'

'Then why do you say that it is by the mind, not by the memory, that we recollect?'

'Very good, Nagasena'

11. The king said: 'Does memory, Nagasena, always arise subjectively, or is it stirred up by suggestion from outside?'

'Both the one and the other.'

'But does not that amount to all memory being subjective in origin, and never artificial?'

'If, O king, there were no artificial (imparted) memory, then artisans would have no need of practice, or art, or schooling, and teachers would be useless. But the contrary is the case.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

CHAPTER 7.

1. The king said: 'In how many ways, Nagasena, does memory spring up?'

'In sixteen ways, O king. That is to say: by personal experience, as when the venerable Ananda, or the devoted woman Khugguttara, or any others who had that power, called to mind their previous births--or by outward aid, as when others continue to remind one who is by nature forgetful--or by the impression made by the greatness of some occasion, as kings remember their coronation day, or as we remember the day of our conversion-by the impression made by joy, as when one remembers that which gave him pleasure--or by the impression made by sorrow, as when one remembers that which pained him--or from similarity of appearance, as on seeing one like them we call to mind the mother or father or sister or brother, or on seeing a camel or an ox or an ass we call to mind others like them--or by difference of appearance, as when we remember that such and such a colour, sound, smell, taste, or touch belong to such and such a thing--or by the knowledge of speech, as when one who is by nature forgetful is reminded by others and then himself remembers--or by a sign, as when we recognise a draught bullock by a brand mark or some other sign-or from effort to recollect as when one by nature forgetful is made to recollect by being urged again and again: "try and think of it"--or by calculation, as when one knows by the training he has received in writing that such and such a letter ought to follow after such and such a one--or by arithmetic, as when accountants do big sums by their knowledge of figures--or by learning by heart, as the repeaters of the scriptures by their skill in learning by heart recollect so much--or by meditation, as when a Bhikkhu calls to mind his temporary states in days gone by--by reference to a book, as when kings calling to mind a previous regulation, say: "Bring the book here," and remind themselves out of that--or by a pledge, as when at the sight of goods deposited a man recollects (the circumstances under which they were pledged)--or by association, as when one remembers a thing because one has seen it, or a sound because one has heard it, or an odour because one has smelt it, or a touch because one has felt it, or a concept because one has perceived it.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

2. The king said: 'Your people say, Nagasena, that though a man should have lived a hundred years an evil life, yet if, at the moment of death, thoughts of the Buddha should enter his mind, he will be reborn among the gods. This I don't believe. And thus do they also say: "By one case of destruction of life a man may be reborn in purgatory." That, too, I cannot believe.'

'But tell me, O king. Would even a tiny stone float on the water without a boat?'

'Certainly not.'

'Very well; but would not a hundred cart-loads of stones float on the water if they were loaded in a boat?'

'Yes, they would float right enough.'

'Well, good deeds are like the boat.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

3. The king said: 'Do you (recluses), Nagasena, strive after the removal of past sorrow?'

'No.'

'What then? Is it future sorrow you strive to remove?'

'No.'

'Present sorrow, then?'

'Not that either.'

'Then if it be neither past, nor future, nor present sorrow that you strive to remove, whereunto, is it that you strive?'

'What are you asking, O king? That this sorrow should cease and no other sorrow should arise--that is what we strive after.'

'But, Nagasena, is there (now) such a thing as future sorrow?'

'No. I grant that.'

'Then you are mighty clever people to strive after the removal of that which does not exist!'

'Has it ever happened to you, O king, that rival kings rose up against you as enemies and opponents?'

'Yes, certainly.'

'Then you set to work, I suppose, to have moats dug, and ramparts thrown up, and watch towers erected, and strongholds built, and stores of food collected?'

'Not at all. All that had been prepared beforehand.'

'Or you had yourself trained in the management of war elephants, and in horsemanship, and in the use of the war chariot, and in archery and fencing?'

'Not at all. I had learnt all that before.'

'But why?'

'With the object of warding off future danger.'

'How so? Is there such a thing (now) as future danger?'

'No. I must grant that.'

'Then you kings are mighty clever people to trouble yourselves about the warding off of that which does not exist!'

'Give me a further illustration.'

'Tell me, O king. Is it when you are athirst that you set to work to have wells dug, or ponds hollowed out, or reservoirs formed, with the object of getting something to drink?'

'Certainly not. All that has been prepared beforehand.'

'But to what end?'

'With the object of preventing future thirst.'

'How so? Is there such a thing as future thirst?'

'No, Sir.'

'So you are mighty clever people, O king, to take all that trouble to prevent the future thirst which all the time does not exist!'

'Give me a further illustration.'

[Then the Elder referred, as before, to the means people always took of warding against future hunger, and the king expressed his pleasure at the way in which the puzzle had been solved.]

4. The king said: 'How far is it, Nagasena, from here to the Brahma world?'

'Very far is it, O king. If a rock, the size of an upper chamber, were to fall from there, it would take four months to reach the earth, though it came down eight-and-forty thousand leagues each day and night.'

'Good, Nagasena! Now do not your people say that a Bhikkhu, who has the power of Iddhi and the mastery over his mind, can vanish from Gambu-dipa, and appear in the Brahma world, as quickly as a strong man could stretch forth his bent up arm, or bend it in again if it were stretched out? That is a saying I cannot believe. How is it possible that he could traverse so quickly so many hundreds of leagues?'

The Elder replied: 'In what district, O king, were you born?'

'There is an island called Alasanda. It was there I was born.'

'And how far is Alasanda from here?'

'About two hundred leagues.'

'Do you know for certain of any business you once did there and now recollect?'

'Oh, yes.'

'So quickly, great king, have you gone about two hundred leagues.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

5. The king said: 'If one man, Nagasena, were to die here and be reborn in the Brahma world, and another were to die here and be reborn in Kashmir, which of the two would arrive first?'

'Both together, O king.'

Give me an illustration.'

'In what town, O king, were you born?'

'There is a village called Kalasi. It was there I was born.'

'And how far is Kalasi from here?'

'About two hundred leagues.'

'How far is Kashmir from here?'

'Twelve leagues.'

'Now, great king, think of Kalasi.'

'I have done so.'

'And now, think of Kashmir.'

'I have done so.'

'Well, which did you think of quickest?'

'Of each in the same time.'

'Just so, great king, would it take no longer to be reborn in the Brahma world than to be reborn in Kashmir. And tell me, O king. Suppose two birds were flying, and one were to alight on a tall tree, and the other on a small shrub. If they settled both at the same moment, whose shadow would first fall to the ground?'

'The two shadows would fall together.'

'Just so, great king, in the case you put.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

6. The king said: 'Venerable Nagasena, how many kinds of wisdom are there?'

'Seven, O king.'

'And by how many kinds of Wisdom does one become wise?'

'By one: that is to say by the kind of wisdom called "the investigation of the Truth."'

'Then why is it said there are seven?'

'Tell me, O king. Suppose a sword were lying in its sheath and not taken in the hand, could it cut off anything you wanted to cut off with it?'

'Certainly not.'

'Just so, great king, by the other kinds of wisdom can nothing be understood without investigation of the Truth.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

7. The king said: 'Which, Nagasena, is there more of, merit or demerit?'

'Merit.'

'But why?'

'He who does wrong, O king, comes to feel remorse, and acknowledges his evil-doing. So demerit does not increase. But he who does well feels no remorse, and feeling no remorse gladness will spring up within him, and joy will arise to him thus gladdened, and so rejoicing all his frame will be at peace, and being thus at peace he will experience a blissful feeling of content, and in that bliss his heart will be at rest, and he whose heart is thus at rest knows things as they really are. For that reason merit increases. A man, for example, though his hands and feet are cut off, if he gave to the Blessed One merely a handful of lotuses, would not enter purgatory for ninety-one Kalpas. That is why I said, O king, that there is more merit than demerit.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

8. The king said: 'Whose, Nagasena, is the greater demerit--his who sins consciously, or his who sins inadvertently?'

'He who sins inadvertently, O king, has the greater demerit.'

'In that case, reverend Sir, we shall punish doubly any of our family or our court who do wrong unintentionally.'

'But what do you think, O king? If one man were to seize hold intentionally of a fiery mass of metal glowing with heat, and another were to seize hold of it unintentionally, which would be more burnt?'

'The one who did not know what he was doing.'

'Well, it is just the same with the man who does wrong.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

9. The king said: 'Is there any one, Nagasena, who can go with this bodily frame to Uttara-kuru or to the Brahma world, or to any other of the four great continents (into which the world is divided)?'

'Yes, there are such people.'

'But how can they?'

'Do you recollect, O king, having ever jumped a foot or two feet across the ground?'

'Yes, Nagasena, I can jump twelve feet.'

'But how?'

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'I fix my mind on the idea of alighting there, and at the moment of my determination my body comes to seem light to me.'

'Just so, O king, can the Bhikkhu, who has the power of Iddhi, and has the mastery over his mind, when he has made his mind rise up to the occasion, travel through the sky by means of his mind.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

10. The king said: 'Your people say there are bones even a hundred leagues long. Now there is no tree even one hundred leagues in length, how then can there be bones so long?'

'But tell me, O king. Have you not heard of fishes in the sea five hundred leagues in length?'

'Yes. I have heard of such.'

'If so, could they not have bones a hundred leagues long?'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

11. The king said: 'Your people, Nagasena, say that it is possible to suppress the inhaling and exhaling (of one's breath).'

'Yes, that can be done.'

'But how?'

'Tell me, O king. Have you ever heard of a man snoring?'

'Yes.'

'Well, would not that sound stop if he bent his body?'

'Yes.'

'Then surely if that sound would stop at the mere bending of the body of one who is untrained alike in body, in conduct, in mind, and in wisdom--why should it not be possible for the breathing of one trained in all these respects, and who has besides reached up to the fourth stage of the ecstatic contemplation, to be suppressed?'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

12. The king said: 'There is the expression ocean, Nagasena. Why is the water called ocean?'

The Elder replied: 'Because there is just as much salt as water, O king, and just as much water as salt, therefore is it called ocean.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

13. The king said: 'Why, Nagasena, is the ocean all of one taste, the taste of salt?'

'Because the water in it has stood so long, therefore it is all of one taste, the taste of salt.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

14. The king said: 'Can even the most minute thing, Nagasena, be divided?'

'Yes, it can.'

'And what, Sir, is the most minute of all things.'

'Truth (Dhamma), O king, is the most minute and subtle. But this is not true of all qualities (Dhamma). Subtleness or the reverse are epithets of qualities. But whatever can be divided that can wisdom (Panna) divide, and there is no other quality which can divide wisdom.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

15. The king said: 'These three, Nagasena,--perception, and reason, and the soul in a being,--are they all different both in letter and in essence, or the same in essence differing only in the letter?'

'Recognition, O king, is the mark of perception, and discrimination of reason, and there is no such thing as a soul in beings.'

'But if there be no such thing as a soul, what is it then which sees forms with the eye, and hears sounds with the ear, and smells odours with the nose, and tastes tastes with the tongue, and feels touch with the body, or perceives qualities with the mind?'

The Elder replied: 'If there be a soul (distinct from the body) which does all this, then if the door of the eye were thrown down (if the eye were plucked out) could it stretch out its head, as it were, through the larger aperture and (with greater range) see forms much more clearly than before? Could one hear sounds better if the cars were torn away, or smell better if the nose were cut off, or taste better if the tongue were pulled out, or feel touch better if the body were destroyed?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'Then there can be no soul inside the body.'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

16. The Elder said: 'A hard thing there is, O king, which the Blessed One has done.'

'And what is that?'

'The fixing of all those mental conditions which depend on one organ of sense, telling us that such is contact, and such sensation, and such idea, and such intention, and such thought.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'Suppose, O king, a man were to wade down into the sea, and taking some water in the palm of his hand, were to taste it with his tongue. Would he distinguish whether it were water from the Ganges, or from the Jumna, or from the Akiravati, or from the Sarabhû, or from the Mahi?'

'Impossible, Sir.'

'More difficult than that, great king, is it to have distinguished between the mental conditions which follow on the exercise of any one of the organs of sense!'

'Very good, Nagasena!'

CHAPTER 8.

17. The Elder said: 'Do you know, O king, what time it is now?'

'Yes, Sir, I know. The first watch of the night is now passed. The middle watch is now going on. The torches are lit. The four banners are ordered to be raised, and appropriate gifts to be issued to you from the treasury.'

The Yonakas said: 'Very good, great king. Most able is the Bhikkhu.'

'Yes, my men. Most able is the Bhikkhu. Were the master like him and the pupil like me, a clever scholar would not take long in getting at the truth.'

Then the king, pleased with the explanations given of the questions he had put, had Nagasena robed in an embroidered cloak worth a hundred thousand, and said to him: 'Venerable Nagasena, I hereby order that you shall be provided with your daily meal for eight hundred days; and give you the choice of anything in the palace that it is lawful for you to take.' And when the Elder refused, saying he had enough to live on, the king rejoined: 'I know, Sir, you have enough to live on. But you should both protect me and protect yourself--yourself from the possibility of a public rumour to the effect that you convinced me but received nothing from me, and me from the possibility of a public rumour that though I was convinced I would give nothing in acknowledgement.'

'Let it be as you wish, great king,' was the reply.

Then the king said: 'As the lion, the king of beasts, when put into a cage, though it were of gold, would turn his face longingly to the outside; even so do I, though I dwell in the world, turn my thoughts longingly to the higher life of you recluses. But, Sir, if I were to give up the household life and renounce the world it would not be long I should have to live, so many are my foes.'

Then the venerable Nagasena, having thus solved the questions put by Milinda the king, arose from his seat and departed to the hermitage.

18. Not long after Nagasena had gone, Milinda the king thought over to himself whether he had propounded his questions rightly, and whether the replies had been properly made. And he came to the conclusion that to questions well put replies had been well given. And Nagasena likewise, when he reached the hermitage, thought the matter over to himself, and concluded that to questions well put right replies had been given.

Now Nagasena robed himself early in the morning, and went with his bowl in his hand to the palace, and sat down on the seat prepared for him. And Milinda saluted the venerable Nagasena, and sat down respectfully at his side, and said to him: 'Pray do not think, Sir, that I was kept awake all the rest of the night exulting in the thought of having questioned you. I was debating with myself as to whether I had asked aright, and had been rightly answered. And I concluded that I had.'

And the Elder on his part said: 'Pray do not suppose, great king, that I passed the rest of the night rejoicing at having answered all you asked. I too was thinking over what had been said by us both. And I came to the result that you had questioned well, and that I had rightly answered.'

Thus did these two great men congratulate each the other on what he had spoken well.

THE SOLVING OF DILEMMAS AND PROBLEMS. MENDAKA-PANHO (Book 4)

CHAPTER 1. PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION

1. Master of words and sophistry, clever and wise
Milinda tried to test great Nagasena's skill.
Leaving him not, again and yet again,
He questioned and cross-questioned him, until
His own skill was proved foolishness.
Then he became a student of the Holy Writ.
All night, in secrecy, he pondered o'er
The ninefold Scriptures, and therein he found
Dilemmas hard to solve, and full of snares.
And thus he thought: 'The conquering Buddha's words
Are many-sided, some explanatory,
Some spoken as occasion rose to speak,
Some dealing fully with essential points.
Through ignorance of what, each time, was meant
There will be strife hereafter as to what
The King of Righteousness has thus laid down
In these diverse and subtle utterances.
Let me now gain great Nagasena's ear,
And putting to him that which seems so strange
And hard--yea contradictory--get him
To solve it. So in future times, when men
Begin to doubt, the light of his solutions
Shall guide them, too, along the path of Truth.'

2. Now Milinda the king, when the night was turning into day, and the sun had risen, bathed, and with hands clasped and raised to his forehead, called to mind the Buddhas of the past, the present, and the future, and solemnly undertook the observance of the eightfold vow, saying to himself: 'For seven days from now will I do penance by taking upon myself the observance of the eight rules, and when my vow is accomplished will I go to the teacher and put to him, as questions, these dilemmas.' So Milinda, the king laid aside his usual dress, and put off his ornaments; and clad in yellow robes, with only a recluse's turban on his head, in appearance like a hermit, did he carry out the eightfold abstinence, keeping in mind the vow--'For this seven days I am to decide no case at law. I am to harbour no lustful thought, no thought of ill-will, no thought tending to delusion. Towards all slaves, servants, and dependents I am to show a meek and lowly disposition. I am to watch carefully over every bodily act, and over my six organs, of sense. And I am to fill my heart with thoughts of love towards all beings.' Keeping this eightfold vow, establishing his heart in this eightfold moral law, for seven days he went not forth. But as the night was passing into day, at sunrise of the eighth day, he took his breakfast early, and then with downcast eyes and measured words, gentle in manner, collected in thought, glad and pleased and rejoicing in heart, did he go to Nagasena. And bowing down at his feet, he stood respectfully on one side, and said:

3. 'There is a certain matter, venerable Nagasena, that I desire to talk over with you alone. I wish no third person to be present. In some deserted spot, some secluded place in the forest, fit in all the eight respects for a recluse, there should this point of mine be put. And therein let there be nothing hid from me, nothing kept secret. I am now in a fit state to hear secret things when we are deep in consultation. And the meaning of what I say can be made clear by illustration. As it is to the broad earth, O Nagasena, that it is right to entrust treasure when occasion arises for laying treasure by, so is it to me that it is right to entrust secret things when we are deep in consultation.'

4. Then having gone with the master to a secluded spot he further said: 'There are eight kinds of places, Nagasena, which ought to be altogether avoided by a man who wants to consult. No wise man will talk a matter over in such places, or the matter falls to the ground and is brought to no conclusion. And what are the eight? Uneven ground, spots unsafe by fear of men, windy places, hiding spots, sacred places, high roads, light bambû bridges, and public bathing places.'

The Elder asked: 'What is the objection to each of these?'

The king replied: 'On uneven ground, Nagasena, the matter discussed becomes jerky, verbose, and diffuse, and comes to nothing. In unsafe places the mind is disturbed, and being disturbed does not follow the point clearly. In windy spots the voice is indistinct. In hiding places there are eavesdroppers. In sacred places the question discussed is apt to be diverted to the serious surroundings. On a high road it is apt to become frivolous, on a bridge unsteady and wavering, at a public bathing place the discussion would be matter of common talk. Therefore is it said:

"Uneven ground, unsafe and windy spots,
And hiding places, and god-haunted shrines,
High roads, and bridges, and all bathing ghats--
These eight avoid when talking of high things."'

5. 'There are eight kinds of people, Nagasena, who when talking a matter over, spoil the discussion. And who are the eight? He who walks in lust, he who walks in ill-will, he who walks in delusion, he who walks in pride, the greedy man, the sluggard, the man of one idea, and the fool.'

'What is the objection to each of these?' asked the Elder.

'The first spoils the discussion by his lust, the next by his ill-will, the third by his delusions, the fourth by his pride, the fifth by his greed, the sixth by his sloth, the seventh by his narrowness, and the last by his folly. Therefore is it said:

"The lustful, angry, or bewildered man,
The proud, the greedy, or the slothful man,
The man of one idea, and the poor fool--
These eight are spoilers of high argument."'

6. 'There are nine kinds of people, Nagasena, who let out a secret that has been talked over with them, and treasure it not up in their hearts. And who are the nine? The lustful man reveals it in obedience to some lust, the ill-tempered man in consequence of some ill-will, the deluded man under some mistake. [93] The timid man reveals it through fear, and the man greedy for gain to get something out of it. A woman reveals it through infirmity, a drunkard in his eagerness for drink, a eunuch because of his imperfection, and a child through fickleness. Therefore is it said:

"The lustful, angry, or bewildered man,
The timid man, and he who seeks for gain,
A woman, drunkard, eunuch, or a child--
These nine are fickle, wavering, and mean.
When secret things are talked over to them
They straightway become public property."'

7. 'There are eight causes, Nagasena, of the advance, the ripening of insight. And what are the eight? The advance of years, the growth of reputation, frequent questioning, association with teachers, one's own reflection, converse with the wise, cultivation of the loveable, and dwelling in a pleasant land. Therefore is it said:

"By growth in reputation, and in years,
By questioning, and by the master's aid,
By thoughtfulness, and converse with the wise,

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By intercourse with men worthy of love,
By residence within a pleasant spot--
By these nine is one's insight purified.
They who have these, their wisdom grows.'"

8. 'This spot, Nagasena, is free from the objections to talking matters over. And I am a model companion for any one desiring to do so. I can keep a secret, and will keep yours as long as I live. In all the eight ways just described my insight has grown ripe. It would be hard to find such a pupil as you may have in me.

'Now towards a pupil who conducts himself thus aright the teacher ought to conduct himself in accordance with the twenty-five virtues of a teacher. And what are the twenty-five? He must always and without fail keep guard over his pupil. He must let him know what to cultivate, and what to avoid; about what he should be earnest, and what he may neglect. He must instruct him as to sleep, and as to keeping himself in health, and as to what food he may take, and what reject. He should teach him discrimination (in food), and share with him all that is put, as alms, into his own bowl. He should encourage him, saying: "Be not afraid. You will gain advantage (from what is here taught you)." He should advise him as to the people whose company he should keep, and as to the villages and Viharas he should frequent. He should never indulge in (foolish) talk with him. When he sees any defect in him he should easily pardon it. He should be zealous, he should teach nothing partially, keep nothing secret, and hold nothing back. He should look upon him in his heart as a son, saying to himself: "I have begotten him in learning." He should strive to bring him forward, saying to himself: "How can I keep him from going back? "He should determine in himself to make him strong in knowledge, saying to himself: "I will make him mighty." He should love him, never desert him in necessity, never neglect him in anything he ought to do for him, always befriend him--so far as he can rightly do so--when he does wrong. These, Sir, are the twenty-five good qualities in a teacher. Treat me altogether in accordance therewith. Doubt, Lord, has overcome me. There are apparent contradictions in the word of the Conqueror. About them strife will hereafter arise, and in future times it will be hard to find a teacher with insight such as yours. Throw light for me on these dilemmas, to the downfall of the adversaries.'

9. Then the Elder agreed to what he had said, and in his turn set out the ten good qualities which ought to be found in a lay disciple: 'These ten, O king, are the virtues of a lay disciple. He suffers like pain and feels like joy as the Order does. He takes the Doctrine (Dhamma) as his master. He delights in giving so far as he is able to give. On seeing the religion (Dhamma) of the Conqueror decay, he does his best to revive it. He holds right views. Having no passion for excitement, he runs not after any other teacher his life long. He keeps guard over himself in thought and deed. He delights in peace, is a lover of peace. He feels no jealousy, and walks not in religion in a quarrelsome spirit. He takes his refuge in the Buddha, he takes his refuge in the Doctrine, he takes his refuge in the Order. These, great king, are the ten good qualities of a lay disciple. They exist all of them in you. Hence is it fit, and right, and becoming in you that, seeing the decay of the religion of the Conqueror, you desire its prosperity. I give you leave. Ask of me whatever you will.'

[Here ends the introduction to the solving of dilemmas.]

THE DILEMMAS.

[DILEMMA 1. ON HONOURS PAID TO THE BUDDHA.]

10. Then Milinda the king, having thus been granted leave, fell at the feet of the teacher, and raising his clasped hands to his forehead, said: 'Venerable Nagasena, these leaders of other sects say thus: "If the Buddha accepts gifts he cannot have passed entirely away. He must be still in union with the world, having his being somewhere in it, in the world, a shareholder in the things of the world; and therefore any honour paid to him becomes empty and vain. On the other hand if he be entirely passed away (from life), unattached to the world, escaped from all existence, then honours would not be offered to him. For he who is entirely set free accepts no honour, and any act done to him who accepts it not becomes empty and vain." This is a dilemma which has two horns. It is not a matter within the scope of those who have no mind, it is a question fit for the great. Tear asunder this net of heresy, put it on one side. To you has this puzzle been put. Give to the future sons of the Conqueror eyes wherewith to see the riddle to the confusion of their adversaries.'

'The Blessed One, O king,' replied the Elder, 'is entirely set free. And the Blessed One accepts no gift. Even at the foot of the Tree of Wisdom he abandoned all accepting of gifts, how much more then now when he has passed entirely away by that kind of passing away which leaves no root over (for the formation of a new existence). For this, O king, has been said by Sariputta, the commander of the faith:

"Though worshipped, these Unequalled Ones, alike
By gods and men, unlike them all they heed
Neither a gift nor worship. They accept
It not, neither refuse it. Through the ages
All Buddhas were so, so will ever be!'"

11. The king said: 'Venerable Nagasena, a father may speak in praise of his son, or a son of his father. But that is no ground for putting the adversaries to shame. It is only an expression of their own belief, Come now! Explain this matter to me fully to the establishing of your own doctrine, and to the unravelling of the net of the heretics.'

The Elder replied: 'The Blessed One, O king, is entirely set free (from life). And the Blessed One accepts no gift. If gods or men put up a building to contain the jewel treasure of the relics of a Tathagata who does not accept their gift, still by that homage paid to the attainment of the supreme good under the form of the jewel treasure of his wisdom do they themselves attain to one or other of the three glorious states. Suppose, O king, that though a great and glorious fire had been kindled, it should die out, would it then again accept any supply of dried grass or sticks?'

'Even as it burned, Sir, it could not be said to accept fuel, how much less when it had died away, and ceased to burn, could it, an unconscious thing, accept it?'

'And when that one mighty fire had ceased, and gone out, would the world be bereft of fire?'

'Certainly not. Dry wood is the seat, the basis of fire, and any men who want fire can, by the exertion of their own strength and power, such as resides in individual men, once more, by twirling the firestick, produce fire, and with that fire do any work for which fire is required.'

'Then that saying of the sectarians that "an act done to him who accepts it not is empty and vain" turns out to be false. As that great and glorious fire was set alight, even so, great king, was the Blessed One set alight in the glory of his Buddhahood over the ten thousand world systems. As it went out, so has he passed away into that kind of passing away in which no root remains. As the fire, when gone out, accepted no supply of fuel, just so, and for the good of the world, has his accepting of gifts ceased and determined. As men, when the fire is out, and has no further means of burning, then by their own strength and effort, such as resides in individual men, twirl the fire-stick and produce fire, and do any work for which fire is required--so do gods and men, though a Tathagata has passed away and no longer accepts their gifts, yet put up a house for the jewel treasure of his relics, and doing homage to the attainment of supreme good under the form of the jewel treasure of his wisdom, they attain to one or other of the three glorious states. Therefore is it, great king, that acts done to the Tathagata, notwithstanding his having passed away and not accepting them, are nevertheless of value and bear fruit.'

12. 'Now hear, too, another reason for the same thing. Suppose, O king, there were to arise a great and mighty wind, and that then it were to die away. Would that wind acquiesce in being produced again?'

'A wind that has died away can have no thought or idea of being reproduced. And why? Because the element wind is an unconscious thing.'

'Or even, O king, would the word "wind" be still applicable to that wind, when it had so died away?'

'Certainly not, Sir. But fans and punkahs are means for the production of wind. Any men who are oppressed by heat, or tormented by fever, can by means of fans and punkahs, and by the exertion of their own strength and power, such as resides in individual men, produce a breeze, and by that wind allay their heat, or assuage their fever.'

'Then that saying of the sectarians that "an act done to him who accepts it not is empty and vain" turns out to be false. As the great and mighty wind which blew, even so, great king, has the Blessed One blown over the ten thousand world systems with the wind of his love, so cool, so sweet, so calm, so delicate. As it first blew, and then died away, so has the Blessed One, who once blew with the wind so cool, so sweet, so calm, so delicate, of his love, now passed away with that kind of passing away in which no root remains. As those men were oppressed by heat and tormented with fever, even so are gods and men tormented and oppressed with threefold fire and heat. As fans and punkahs are means of producing wind, so the relics and the jewel treasure of the wisdom of a Tathagata are means of producing the threefold attainment. And as men oppressed by heat and tormented by fever can by fans and punkahs produce a breeze, and thus allay the heat and assuage the fever, so can gods and men by offering reverence to the relics, and the jewel treasure of the wisdom of a Tathagata, though he has died away and accepts it not, cause goodness to arise within them, and by that goodness can assuage and can allay the fever and the torment of the threefold fire. Therefore is it, great king, that acts done to the Tathagata, notwithstanding his having passed away and not accepting them, are nevertheless of value and bear fruit.'

13. 'Now hear another reason. for the same thing. Suppose, O king, a man were to make a drum sound, and then that sound were to die away. Would that sound acquiesce in being produced again?'

'Certainly not, Sir. The sound has vanished. It can have no thought or idea of being reproduced. The sound of a drum when it has once been produced and died away, is altogether cut off. But, Sir, a drum is a means of producing sound. And any man, as need arises, can by the effort of power residing in himself, beat on that drum, and so produce a sound.'

'Just so, great king, has the Blessed One--except the teacher and the instruction he has left in his doctrine and discipline, and the jewel treasure of his relics whose value is derived from his righteousness, and contemplation, and wisdom, and emancipation, and insight given by the knowledge of emancipation--just so has he passed away by that kind of passing away in which no root remains. But the possibility of receiving the three attainments is not cut off because the Blessed One has passed away. Beings oppressed by the sorrow of becoming can, when they desire the attainments, still receive them by means of the jewel treasure of his relics and of his doctrine and discipline and teaching. Therefore is it, great king, that all acts done to the Tathagata, notwithstanding his having passed away and not accepting, are nevertheless of value and bear fruit. And this future possibility, great king, has been foreseen by the Blessed One, and spoken of, and declared, and made known, when he said: "It may be, Ananda, that in some of you the thought may arise: 'The word of the Master is ended. We have no Teacher more!' But it is not thus, Ananda, that you should regard it. The Truth which I have preached to you, the Rules which I have laid down for the Order, let them, when I am gone, be the Teacher to you." So that because the Tathagata has passed away and consents not thereto, that therefore any act done to him is empty and vain--this saying of the enemy is proved false. It is untrue, unjust, not according to fact, wrong, and perverse. It is the cause of sorrow, has sorrow as its fruit, and leads down the road to perdition!'

14. 'Now hear another reason for the same thing. Does the broad earth acquiesce, O king, in all kinds of seeds being planted all over it?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'Then how is it those seeds, planted without the earth's consent, do yet stand fast and firmly rooted, and expand into trees with great trunks and sap and branches, and bearing fruits and flowers?'

'Though the earth, Sir, gives no consent, yet it acts as a site for those seeds, as a means of their development. Planted on that site they grow, by its means, into such great trees with branches, flowers, and fruit.'

'Then, great king, the sectaries are destroyed, defeated, proved wrong by their own words when they say that "an act done to him who accepts it not is empty and vain." As the broad earth, O king, is the Tathagata, the Arahat, the Buddha supreme. Like it he accepts nothing. Like the seeds which through it attain to such developments are the gods and men who, through the jewel treasures of the relics and the wisdom of the Tathagata--though he have passed away and consent not to it--being firmly rooted by the roots of merit, become like unto trees casting a goodly shade by means of the trunk of contemplation, the sap of true doctrine, and the branches of righteousness, and bearing the flowers of emancipation, and the fruits of Samanaship. Therefore is it, great king, that acts done to the Tathagata, notwithstanding his having passed away and not accepting them, are still of value and bear fruit.'

15. 'Now hear another and further reason for the same thing. Do camels, buffaloes, asses, goats, oxen, or men acquiesce in the birth of worms inside them?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'Then how is it then, that without their consent worms are so born, and spread by rapid reproduction of sons and grandsons?'

'By the power of evil Karma, Sir.'

'Just so, great king, is it by the power of the relics and the wisdom of the Tathagata, who has passed away and acquiesces in nothing, that an act done to him is of value and bears fruit.'

16. 'Now hear another and further reason for the same thing. Do men consent, O king, that the ninety-eight diseases should be produced in their bodies?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'Then how is it the diseases come?'

'By evil deeds done in former births.'

'But, great king, if evil deeds done in a former birth have to be suffered here and now, then both good and evil done here or done before has weight and bears fruit. Therefore is it that acts done to the Tathagata, notwithstanding his having passed away and not consenting, are nevertheless of value and bear fruit.'

17. 'Now hear another and further reason for the same thing. Did you ever hear, O king, of the ogre named Nandaka, who, having laid hands upon the Elder Sariputta, was swallowed up by the earth?'

'Yes, Sir, that is matter of common talk among men.'

'Well, did Sariputta acquiesce in that?'

'Though the world of gods and men, Sir, were to be destroyed, though the sun and moon were to fall upon the earth, though Sineru the king of mountains were to be dissolved, yet would not Sariputta the Elder have consented to any pain being inflicted on a fellow creature. And why not? Because every condition of heart which could cause him to be angry or offended has been in him destroyed and rooted out.

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And as all cause thereof had thus been removed, Sir, therefore could not Sariputta be angered even with those who sought to deprive him of his life.'

'But if Sariputta, O king, did not consent to it, how was it that Nandaka was so swallowed up?'

'By the power of his evil deeds.'

'Then if so, great king, an act done to him who consents not is still of power and bears fruit. And if this is so of an evil deed, how much more of a good one? Therefore is it, O king, that acts done to the Tathagata, notwithstanding his having passed away and not accepting them, are nevertheless of value and bear fruit.'

18. 'Now how many, O king, are those men who, in this life, have been swallowed up by the earth? Have you heard anything on that point?'

'Yes, Sir, I have heard how many there are.'

'Then tell me.'

'Kinka the Brahmin woman, and Suppabuddha the Sakyan, and Devadatta the Elder, and Nandaka the ogre, and Nanda the Brahman--these are the five people who were swallowed up by the earth.'

'And whom, O king, had they wronged?'

'The Blessed One and his disciples.'

'Then did the Blessed One or his disciples consent to their being so swallowed up?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'Therefore is it, O king, that an act done to the Tathagata, notwithstanding his having passed away and not consenting thereto, is nevertheless of value and bears fruit.'

'Well has this deep question been explained by you, venerable Nagasena, and made clear. You have made the secret thing plain, you have loosed the knot, you have made in the jungle an open space, the adversaries are overthrown, the wrong opinion has been proved false, the sectaries have been covered with darkness when they met you, O best of all the leaders of schools!'

[DILEMMA 2. THE OMNISCIENCE OF THE BUDDHA.]

19. 'Venerable Nagasena, was the Buddha omniscient?'

'Yes, O king, he was. But the insight of knowledge was not always and continually (consciously) present with him. The omniscience of the Blessed One was dependent on reflection.' But if he did reflect he knew whatever he wanted to know.

'Then, Sir, the Buddha cannot have been omniscient, if his all-embracing knowledge was reached through investigation.'

'[If so, great king, our Buddha's knowledge must have been less in degree of fineness than that of the other Buddhas. And that is a conclusion hard to draw. But let me explain a little further.] Suppose, O king, you had a hundred cart-loads of rice in the husk, and each cart-load was of seven ammanas and a half. Would a man without consideration be able to tell you in a moment how many laks of grains there were in the whole?'

20. 'Now there are these, seven classes of minds. Those, great king, who are full of lust, ill-will, delusion, or wrong doing, who are untrained in the management of their body, or in conduct, or in thought, or in wisdom,--their thinking powers are brought into play with difficulty, and act slowly. And why is it so? Because of the untrained condition of their minds. It is like the slow and heavy movements of a giant bambû--when it is being dragged along with its wide-spreading, extensive, overgrown, and interlaced vegetation, and with its branches intricately entangled one with the other. So slow and heavy are the movements of the minds of those men, O king. And why? Because of the intricate entanglements of wrong dispositions. This is the first class of minds.'

21. 'From it the second class is to be distinguished. Those, O king, who have been converted, for whom the gates of purgatory are closed, who have attained to right views, who have grasped the doctrine of the Master--their thinking powers, so far as the three lower stages are concerned, are brought quickly into play, and act with ease. But as regards the higher regions they are brought into play with difficulty, and act slowly. And why is this so? Because of their minds having been made clear as regards those three stages, and because of the failings (to be vanquished in the higher stages) still existing within them. It is like the movement of a giant bambû which has a clean trunk as far as the third knot, but above that has its branches intricately, entangled. So far as regards the smooth trunk it would travel easily when dragged along, but it would stick obstinately as regards its upper branches. This is the second class of minds.'

22. 'From these the third class is to be distinguished. Those, O king, who are Sakad Agamins, in whom lust, ill-will, and delusion are reduced to a minimum,--their thinking powers, so far as the five lower stages are concerned, are brought quickly into play, and act with ease. But as regards the higher regions they are brought into play with difficulty, and act slowly. And why is this so? Because of their minds having been made clear as regards those five stages, and because of the failings (to be vanquished in the higher stages) still existing within them. It is like the movement of a giant bambû which has a clean trunk as far as the fifth knot, but above that has its branches intricately entangled. So far as regards the smooth trunk it would travel easily when dragged along, but it would be moved with difficulty as far as its upper branches are concerned. This is the third class of minds.'

23. 'From these the fourth class is to be distinguished. Those, O king, who are Anagamins, who have completely got rid of the five lower fetters,--their thinking powers, so far as the ten stages are concerned, are brought quickly into play, and act with ease. But as regards the higher regions they are brought into play with difficulty, and act slowly. And why is this so? Because of their minds having been made clear as regards those ten stages, and because of the failings (to be vanquished in the higher stages) still existing within them. It is like the movement of a giant bambû which has a smooth trunk as far as the tenth knot, but above that has its branches intricately entangled. This is the fourth class of minds.'

24. 'From these the fifth class is to be distinguished. Those, O king, who are Arahats, in whom the four Great Evils have ceased, whose stains have been washed away, whose predispositions to evil have been put aside, who have lived the life, and accomplished the task, and laid aside every burden, and reached up to that which is good, for whom the Fetter of the craving after any kind of future life has been broken to pieces, who have reached the higher insight, who are purified as regards all those conditions of heart in which a hearer can be pure,--their thinking powers, as regards all that a disciple can be or do, are brought quickly into play, and act with ease. But as to those things which are within the reach of the Pakkeka-Buddhas (of those who are Buddhas, but for themselves alone) they are brought into play with difficulty, and act slowly. And why is this so? Because of their having been made pure as regards all within the province of a hearer, but not as regards that within the reach of those who are Buddhas (though for themselves alone). It is like the movement of a giant bambû which has been pruned of the branches arising out of all its knots--and which, therefore, when dragged along moves quickly and with ease, because of its smoothness all along, and because of its being unencumbered with the jungly growth of vegetation. This is the fifth class of minds.'

25. 'From these the sixth class is to be distinguished. Those, O king, who are Pakkeka-Buddhas, dependent on themselves alone, wanting no teacher, dwellers alone like the solitary horn of the rhinoceros, who so far as their own higher life is concerned, have pure hearts free from stain,--their thinking powers, so far as their own province is concerned, are brought quickly into play, and act with ease. But as regards all that is specially within the province of a perfect Buddha (one who is not only Buddha, that is enlightened, himself, but can lead others to the light) they are brought with difficulty into play, and move slowly. And why is this so? Because of their purity as regards all within their own province, and because of the immensity of the province of the omniscient Buddhas. It is like a man, O king, who would fearlessly cross, and at will, by day or night, a shallow brook on his own property. But when he comes in sight of the mighty ocean, deep and wide and ever-moving, and sees no further shore to it, then would he stand hesitating and afraid, and make no effort even to get over it. And why? Because of his familiarity with his own, and because of the immensity of the sea. This is the sixth class of minds.'

26. 'From these the seventh class is to be distinguished. Those, O king, who are complete Buddhas, having all knowledge, bearing about in themselves the tenfold power (of the ten kinds of insight), confident in the four modes of just self-confidence, endowed with the eighteen characteristics of a Buddha, whose mastery knows no limit, from whose grasp nothing is hid,--their thinking powers are on every point brought quickly into play, and act with ease. Suppose, O king, a dart well burnished, free from rust, perfectly smooth, with a fine edge, straight, without a crook or a flaw in it, were to be set on a powerful crossbow. Would there be any clumsiness in its action, any retarding in its movement, if it were discharged by a powerful man against a piece of fine linen, or cotton stuff, or delicate woolwork?'

'Certainly not, Sir. And why? Because the stuff is so fine, and the dart so highly tempered, and the discharge so powerful.'

'And just in the same way, great king, are the thinking powers of the Buddhas I have described brought quickly into play, and act with ease.

And why? Because of their being purified in every respect. This is the seventh class of minds.'

27. 'Now of these, O king, the last--the thinking powers of the omniscient Buddhas--altogether outclasses the other six, and is clear and active in its high quality that is beyond our ken. It is because the mind of the Blessed One is so clear and active that the Blessed One, great king, displays the double miracle. From that we may get to know, O king, how clear and active His mental powers are. And for those wonders there is no further reason that can be alleged. (Yet) those wonders, O king, [caused by means of the mind (alone) of the omniscient Buddhas] cannot be counted, or calculated, or divided, or separated, (For) the knowledge of the Blessed One, O king, is dependent upon reflection, and it is on reflection that he knows whatever he wishes to know. (But) it is as when a man passes something he already has in one hand to the other, or utters a sound when his mouth is open, or swallows some food that he has already in his mouth, or opens his eyes when they are shut, or shuts them when open, or stretches forth his arm when it is bent in, or bends it in when stretched out--more rapid than that, great king, and more easy in its action, is the all-embracing knowledge of the Blessed One, more rapid than that his reflection. And although it is by reflection that they know whatever they want to know, yet even when they are not reflecting the Blessed Buddhas are not, even then, anything other than omniscient.'

'But, venerable Nagasena, reflection is carried on for the purpose of seeking (that which is not clear when the reflection begins). Come now. Convince me in this matter by some reason.'

'Suppose, O king, there were a rich man, great in wealth and property--one who had stores of gold and silver and valuables, and stores of all kinds of wheat, one who had rice, and paddy, and barley, and dry grain, and oilseed, and beans, and peas, and every other edible seed, who had ghee, and oil, and butter, and milk, and curds, and honey, and sugar, and molasses, all put away in store-rooms in jars, and pots, and pans, and every sort of vessel. Now if a traveller were to arrive, one worthy of hospitality, and expecting to be entertained; and all the prepared food in the house had been finished, and they were to get out of the jar some rice ready for cooking, and prepare a meal for him. Would that wealthy man merely by reason of the deficiency in eatable stuff at that unusual time be rightly called poor or needy?'

'Certainly not, Sir. Even in the palace of a mighty king of kings there might be no food ready out of time, how much less in the house of an ordinary man.'

'Just so, great king, with the all-embracing knowledge of a Tathagata when reflection only is wanting; but which on reflection grasps whatever he wants. Now suppose, O king, there were a tree in full fruit, with its branches bending this way and that by the weight of the burden of the bunches of its fruit, but no single fruit had fallen from it.

Could that tree rightly, under the circumstances of the case, be called barren, merely because of the want of a fallen fruit?'

'No, Sir. For though the falling of the fruit is a condition precedent to its enjoyment, yet when it has fallen one can take as much as one likes.'

'Just so, great king, though reflection is a necessary condition of the knowledge of the Tathagata, yet on reflection it perceives whatever he wants to know.'

'Does that happen always, Nagasena, at the moment of reflection?'

'Yes, O king. just as when the mighty king of kings (the Kakkavatti) calling to mind his glorious wheel of victory wishes it to appear, and no sooner is it thought of than it appears--so does the knowledge of the Tathagata follow continually on reflection.'

'Strong is the reason you give, Nagasena, for the omniscience of the Buddha. I am convinced that that is so.'

[DILEMMA 3. WHY DEVADATTA WAS ADMITTED TO THE ORDER / DEVADATTA'S ORDINATION.]

28. 'Venerable Nagasena, who was it that admitted Devadatta to the Order?'

'Those six young nobles, O king, Bhaddiya and Anuruddha and Ananda and Bhagu and Kimbila and Devadatta, together with Upali the barber as a seventh--they all, when the Master had attained to Buddhahood, left the Sakya home out of the delight they felt in him, and following the Blessed One renounced the world. So the Blessed One admitted them all to the Order.'

'But was it not Devadatta who, after he had entered the Order, raised up a schism within it?'

'Yes. No layman can create a schism, nor a sister of the Order, nor one under preparatory instruction, nor a novice of either sex. It must be a Bhikkhu, under no disability, who is in full communion, and a co-resident.'

'And what Karma does a schismatical person gain?'

'A Karma that continues to act for a Kalpa (a very long period of time).'

'What then, Nagasena! Was the Buddha aware that Devadatta after being admitted to the Order would raise up a schism, and having done so would suffer torment in purgatory for a Kalpa?'

'Yes, the Tathagata, knew that.'

'But, Nagasena, if that be so, then the statement that the Buddha was kind and pitiful, that he sought after the good of others, that he was the remover of that which works harm, the provider of that which works well to all beings--that statement must be wrong. If it be not so--if he knew not that Devadatta after he had been admitted to the Order would stir up a schism--then he cannot have been omniscient. This other double-pointed dilemma is put to you. Unravel this tough skein, break up the argument of the adversaries. In future times it will be hard to find Bhikkhus like to you in wisdom. Herein then show your skill!'

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29. 'The Blessed One, O king, was both full of mercy and had all knowledge. It was when the Blessed One in his mercy and wisdom considered the life history of Devadatta that he perceived how, having heaped up Karma on Karma, he would pass for an endless series of Kalpas from torment to torment, and from perdition to perdition. And the Blessed One knew also that the infinite Karma of that man would, because he had entered the Order, become finite, and the sorrow caused by the previous Karma would also therefore become limited. But that if that foolish person were not to enter the Order then he would continue to heap up Karma which would endure for a Kalpa. And it was because he knew that that, in his mercy, he admitted him to the Order.'

'Then, Nagasena, the Buddha first wounds a man and then pours oil on the wound, first throws a man down a precipice and then reaches out to him an assisting hand, first kills him and then seeks to give him life, first gives pain and then adds a subsequent joy to the pain he gave.'

'The Tathagata, O king, wounds people but to their good, he casts people down but to their profit, he kills people but to their advantage. just as mothers and fathers, O king, hurt their children and even knock them down, thinking the while of their good; so by whatsoever method an increase in the virtue of living things can be brought about, by that method does he contribute to their good. If Devadatta, O king, had not entered the Order, then as a layman he would have laid up much Karma leading to states of woe, and so passing for hundreds of thousands of Kalpas from torment to misery, and from one state of perdition to another, he would have suffered constant pain. It was knowing that, that in his mercy, the Blessed One admitted Devadatta to the Order. It was at the thought that by renouncing the world according to His doctrine Devadatta's sorrow would become finite that, in his mercy, he adopted that means of making his heavy sorrow light.

30. 'As a man of influence, O king, by the power of his wealth or reputation or prosperity or birth, when a grievous penalty has been imposed by, the king on some friend or relative of his, would get it made light by the ability arising from the trust reposed in him; just so did the Blessed One, by admitting him to the Order, and by the efficacy of the influence of righteousness and meditation and wisdom and emancipation of heart, make light the heavy sorrow of Devadatta, who would have had to suffer many hundreds of thousands of Kalpas. As a clever physician and surgeon, O king, would make a grievous sickness light by the aid of a powerful medicinal drug, just so did the Blessed One, in his knowledge of the right means to an end, admit Devadatta to the Order and thus make his grievous pain light by the aid of the medicine of the Dhamma, strong by the power of mercy. Was then, O king, the Blessed One guilty of any wrong in that he turned Devadatta from being a man of much sorrow into being a man of less sorrow?'

'No indeed, Sir. He committed no wrong, not even in the smallest degree.'

'Then accept this, great king, to the full as the reason for which the Blessed One admitted Devadatta to the Order.'

31. 'Hear another and further reason, O king, for the Blessed One's having admitted Devadatta. Suppose men were to seize and hurry before the king some wicked robber, saying: "This is the wicked robber, your Majesty. Inflict upon him such punishment as you think fit!" And thereupon the king were to say to them: "Take this robber then, my men, outside the town, and there on the place of execution cut off his head." And they in obedience to his orders were to take that man accordingly towards the place of execution. And some man who was high in office near the king, and of great reputation and wealth and property, whose word was held of weight, and whose influence was great, should see him. And he were to have pity on him, and were to say to those men: "Stay, good fellows. What good will cutting off his head do to you? Save him alive, and cut off only a hand or a foot. I will speak on his behalf to the king." And they at the word of that influential person were to do so. Now would the officer who had acted so towards him have been a benefactor to that robber?'

'He would have saved his life, Sir. And having done that, what would he not have done?'

'But would he have done no wrong on account of the pain the man suffered when his hand or foot was cut off?'

'The pain the thief suffered, Sir, was his own fault. But the man who saved his life did him no harm.'

'Just so, great king, was it in his mercy that the Blessed One admitted Devadatta, with the knowledge that by that his sorrow would be mitigated.'

32. 'And Devadatta's sorrow, O king, was mitigated. For Devadatta at the moment of his death took refuge in Him for the rest of his existences when he said:

"In him, who of the best is far the best,
The god of gods, the guide of gods and men,
Who see'th all, and bears the hundred marks
Of goodness,--'tis in him I refuge take
Through all the lives that I may have to live."

'If you divide this Kalpa, O king, into six parts, it was at the end of the first part that Devadatta created schism in the Order. After he has suffered the other five in purgatory he will be released, and will become a Pakkeka-Buddha 3 under the name of Atthissara.'

'Great is the gift bestowed, Nagasena, by the Blessed One on Devadatta. In that the Tathagata has caused him to attain to the state of a Pakkeka-Buddha, what has he not done for him?'

'But inasmuch as Devadatta, O king, having made a schism in the Order, suffers pain in purgatory, has not therefore the Blessed One done him wrong?'

'No, Sir. That is Devadatta's own fault; and the Blessed One who mitigated his suffering has done him no harm.'

'Then accept this, O king, to the full as the reason for the Blessed One admitting Devadatta to the Order.

33. 'Hear another and further reason, O king, for his having done so. Suppose in treating a wound full of matter and blood, in whose grievous hollow the weapon which caused it remained, which stank of putrid flesh, and was made worse by the pain that varied with constantly changing symptoms, by variations in temperature, and by the union of the three humours,--windy, bilious, and phlegmatic,--an able physician and surgeon were to anoint it with a rough, sharp, bitter, stinging ointment, to the end that the inflammation should be allayed. And when the inflammation had gone down, and the wound had become sweet, suppose he were then to cut into it with a lancet, and burn it with caustic. And when he had cauterised it, suppose he were to prescribe an alkaline wash, and anoint it with some drug to the end that the wound might heal up, and the sick man recover his health--now tell me, O king, would it be out of cruelty that the surgeon thus smeared with ointment, and cut with the lancet, and cauterised with the stick of caustic, and administered a salty wash?'

'Certainly not, Sir; it would be with kindness in his heart, and intent on the man's weal, that he would do all those things.'

'And the feelings of pain produced by his efforts to heal--would not the surgeon be guilty of any wrong in respect of them?'

'How so? Acting with kind intent and for the man's weal, how could he therein incur a wrong? It is of heavenly bliss rather that that kindly surgeon would be worthy.'

'Just so, great king, was it in his mercy that the Blessed One admitted Devadatta, to the end to release him from pain.'

34. 'Hear another and further reason, O king, why the Blessed One did so. Suppose a man had been pierced by a thorn. And another man with kindly intent and for his good were to cut round the place with another sharp thorn or with a lancet, and the blood flowing the while, were to extract that thorn. Now would it be out of cruelty that he acted so?'

'Certainly not, Sir. For he acted with kindly intent, and for the man's good. And if he had not done so the man might have died, or might have suffered such pain that he would have been nigh to death.'

'Just even so, great king, was it of his mercy that the Tathagata admitted Devadatta, to the end to release him of his pain. If he had not done so Devadatta would have suffered torment in purgatory through a succession of existences, through hundreds of thousands of Kalpas.'

'Yes, Nagasena, the Tathagata turned Devadatta, who was being carried down with the flood, with his head against the stream; he again pointed out the road to Devadatta when he was lost in the jungle; he gave a firm foothold to Devadatta when he was falling down the precipice: he restored Devadatta to peace when he was swallowed up of desolation. But the reason and the meaning of these things could no one have pointed out, Nagasena, unless he were wise as you!'

[DILEMMA 4. ON THE EARTHQUAKE AT VESSANTARA'S GIFT.]

35. 'Venerable Nagasena, the Blessed One said thus: "There are these eight causes, O Bhikkhus, proximate or remote, for a mighty earthquake." This is an inclusive statement, a statement which leaves no room for anything to be, supplemented, a statement to which no gloss can be added. There can be no ninth reason for an earthquake. If there were, the Blessed One would have mentioned it. It, is because there is no other, that he left it unnoticed. But we find another, and a ninth reason, when we are told that on Vessantara's giving his mighty largesse the earth shook seven times. If, Nagasena, there are eight causes for an earthquake, then what we hear of the earthquake at Vessantara's largesse is false. And if that is true, then the statement as to the eight causes of earthquakes is false. This double-headed question, too, is subtle, hard to unravel, dark, and profound. It is now put to you. No one of less knowledge can solve it, only one wise as you.'

36. 'The Blessed One made the statement you refer to, O king, and yet the earth shook seven times at Vessantara's largesse. But that was out of season, it was an isolated occurrence, it was not included in the eight usual causes, and was not therefore reckoned as one of them. just, O king, as there are three kinds of well-known rains reckoned in the world-that of the rainy season, that of the winter months, and that of the two months Asalha and Savana. If, besides these, any other rain falls, that is not reckoned among the usual rains, but is called "a rain out of season." And again, O king, just as there are five hundred rivers which flow down from the Himalayas, but of these ten only are reckoned in enumerations of rivers--the Ganges, the Jumna, the Akiravati, the Sarabhû, the Mahi, the Indus, the Sarasvati, the Vetravati, the Vitamsa, and the Kandabhaga--the others not being included in the catalogue because of their intermittent flow of water. And again, O king, just as there are a hundred or two of officers under the king, but only six of them are reckoned as officers of state--the commander-in-chief, the prime minister, and the chief judge, and the high treasurer, and the bearer of the sunshade of state, and the state sword-bearer. And why? Because of their royal prerogatives. The rest are not reckoned, they are all called simply officers. Just as in all these cases, great king, the seven times repeated earthquake at the largesse of Vessantara was, as an isolated and extraordinary occurrence, and distinct from the eight usual ones, not reckoned among those eight causes.'

37. 'Now have you heard, O king, in the history of our faith of any act of devotion being done so as to receive its recompense even in this present life, the fame of which has reached up to the gods?'

'Yes, Lord, I have heard of such. There are seven cases of such actions.'

'Who were the people who did those things?'

'Sumana the garland maker, and Eka-sataka the brahman, and Punna the hired servant, and Mallika the queen, and the queen known as the mother of Gopala, and Suppiya the devoted woman, and Punna the slave-girl. It was these seven who did acts of devotion which bare fruit even in this life, and the fame of which reached even to the gods.'

'And have you heard of others, O king, who, even in their human body, mounted up to the blessed abode of the great Thirty-three?'

'Yes, I have heard, too, of them.'

'And who were they?'

'Guttila the musician, and Sadhina the king, and king Nimi, and king Mandhata--these four. Long ago was it done, this glorious deed and difficult.'

'But have you ever heard, O king, of the earth shaking, either now or in the past, and either once or twice or thrice, when a gift had been given?'

'No, Sir, that I have not heard of.'

'And I too, O king--though I have received the traditions, and been devoted to study, and to hearing the law, and to learning by heart, and to the acquirements of discipleship, and though I have been ready to learn, and to ask and to answer questions, and to sit at the feet of teachers--I too have never heard of such a thing, except only in the case of the splendid gift of Vessantara the glorious king. And between the times of Kassapa the Blessed One, and of the Blessed One the Sakya sage, there have rolled by hundreds of thousands of years, but in all that period I have heard of no such case. It is at no common effort, O king, at no ordinary struggle, that the great earth is moved. It is when overborne by the weight of righteousness, overpowered by the burden of the goodness of acts which testify of absolute purity, that, unable to support it, the broad earth quakes and trembles and is moved. Then it is as when a wagon is overladen with a too heavy weight, and the nave and the spokes are split, and the axletree is broken in twain. Then it is as when the heavens, overspread with the waters of the tempest driven by the wind, and overweighted with the burden of the heaped-up rain-clouds, roar and creak and rage at the onset of the whirlwind. Thus was it, great king, that the broad earth, unable to support the unwonted burden of the heaped-up and wide-reaching force of king Vessantara's largesse, quaked and trembled and was moved. For the heart of king Vessantara was not turned in the way of lust, nor of ill-will, nor of dullness, nor of pride, nor of delusion, nor of sin, nor of disputation, nor of discontent, but it was turned mightily to generosity. And thinking: "Let all those who want, and who have not yet come, now arrive! Let all who come receive whate'er they want, and be filled with satisfaction!" it was on giving, ever and without end, that his mind was set. And on these ten conditions of heart, O king, was his mind too fixed--on self-control, and on inward calm, and on long-suffering, and on self-restraint, and on temperance, and on voluntary subjugation to meritorious vows, and on freedom from all forms of wrath and cruelty, and on truthfulness, and on purity of heart. He had abandoned, O king, all seeking after the satisfaction of his animal lusts, he had overcome all craving after a future life, his strenuous effort was set only towards the higher life. He had given up, O king, the caring for himself, and devoted himself thenceforth to caring for others alone. His mind was fixed immovably on the thought: "How can I make all beings to be at peace, healthy, and wealthy, and long lived?" And when, O king, he was giving things away, he gave not for the sake of rebirth in any glorious state, he gave not for the sake of wealth, nor of receiving gifts in return, nor of flattery, nor of long life for himself, nor of high birth, nor of happiness, nor of power, nor of fame, nor of offspring either of

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daughters or of sons--but it was for the sake of supreme wisdom and of the treasure thereof that he gave gifts so immense, so immeasurable, so unsurpassed. It was when he had attained to that supreme wisdom that he uttered the verse:

"Gali, my son, and the Black Antelope,
My daughter, and my queen, my wife, Maddi,
I gave them all away without a thought--
And 'twas for Buddhahood I did this thing.'"

38. 'The angry man, O king, did the great king Vessantara conquer by mildness, and the wicked man by goodness, and the covetous by generosity, and the speaker of falsehood by truth, and all evil did he overcome by righteousness. When he was thus giving away--he who was seeking after righteousness, who had made righteousness his aim--then were the great winds, on which the earth rests below, agitated by the full force of the power of the influence that resulted from his generosity, and little by little, one by one, the great winds began to blow confusedly, and up and down and towards each side the earth swayed, and the mighty trees rooted in the soil began to totter, and masses of cloud were heaped together in the sky, and terrible winds arose laden with dust, and the heavens rushed together, and hurricanes blew with violent blasts, and a great and terrible mighty noise was given forth. And at the raging of those winds, the waters little by little began to move, and at the movement of the waters the great fish and the scaly creatures were disturbed, and the waves began to roll in double breakers, and the beings that dwell in the waters were seized with fear and as the breakers rushed together in pairs the roar of the ocean grew loud, and the spray was lashed into fury, and garlands of foam arose, and the great ocean opened to its depths, and the waters rushed hither and thither, the furious crests of their waves meeting this way and that; and the Asuras, and Garulas, and Yakkhas, and Nagas shook with fear, and thought in their alarm: "What now! How now! is the great ocean being turned upside down? " and sought, with terrified hearts, for a way of escape. And as the water on which it rests was troubled and agitated, then the broad earth began to shake, and with it the mountain ranges and the ocean depths, and Sineru began to revolve, and its rocky mountain crest became twisted. And at the trembling of the earth, the serpents, and mungooses, and cats, and jackals, and boars, and deer, and birds became greatly distressed, and the Yakkhas of inferior power wept, while those of greater power were merry.

39. 'Just, O king, as when a huge and mighty cauldron is placed in an oven full of water, and crowded with grains of rice, then the fire burning beneath heats first of all the cauldron, and when that has become hot the water begins to boil, and as the water boils the grains of rice are heated and dive hither and thither in the water, and a mass of bubbles arises, and a garland of foam is formed--just so, O king, king Vessantara gave away whatsoever is in the world considered most difficult to bestow, and by reason of the nature of his generosity the great winds beneath were unable to refrain from being agitated throughout, and on the great winds being thrown into confusion the waters were shaken, and on the waters being disturbed the broad earth trembled, and so then the winds and the waters and the earth became all three, as it were, of one accord by the immense and powerful influence that resulted from that mighty giving. And there was never another giving, O king, which had such power as that generosity of the great king Vessantara.

40. 'And just, O king, as there are many gems of value found in the earth--the sapphire, and the great sapphire, and the wish-conferring gem, and the cat's eye, and the flax gem, and the Acacia gem, and the entrancing gem, and the favourite of the sun, and the favourite of the moon, and the crystal, and the kaggopakkamaka, and the topaz, and the ruby, and the Masara stone--but the glorious gem of the king of kings is acknowledged to be the chief of all these and surpassing all, for the sheen of that jewel, O king, spreads round about for a league on every side--just so, O king, of all the gifts that have ever been given upon earth, even the greatest and the most unsurpassed, that giving of the good king Vessantara is acknowledged to surpass them all. And it was on the giving of that gift, O king, that the broad earth shook seven times.'

41. 'A marvellous thing is it, Nagasena, of the Buddhas, and a most wonderful, that the Tathagata even when a Bodisat (in the course of becoming a Buddha) was so unequalled in the world, so mild, so kind, and held before him aims so high, and endeavours so grand. You have made evident, Nagasena, the might of the Bodisats, a most clear light have you cast upon the perfection of the Conquerors, you have shown how, in the whole world of gods and men, a Tathagata, as he continues the practice of his noble life, is the highest and the best. Well spoken, venerable Nagasena. The doctrine of the Conqueror has been exalted, the perfection of the Conqueror has been glorified, the knot of the arguments of the adversaries has been unravelled, the jar of the theories of the opponents has been broken in pieces, the dilemma so profound has been made clear, the jungle has been turned into open country, the children of the Conqueror have received the desire of their hearts 2. It is so, as you say, O best of the leaders of schools, and I accept that which you have said!'

[DILEMMA 5. KING SIVI'S ACT OF TRUTH / ASSEVERATION OF TRUTH.]

42. 'Venerable Nagasena, your people say thus: "King Sivi gave his eyes to the man who begged them of him, and when he had thus become blind, new eyes were given to him from heaven." This statement is unpalatable, it lays its speaker open to rebuke, it is faulty. For it is said in the Sutta: "When the cause has been utterly destroyed, when there is no longer any cause, any basis left, then the divine eye cannot arise." So if he gave his eyes away, the statement that he received new (divine) ones must be false: and if divine eyes arose to him; then the statement that he gave his eyes away must be false. This dilemma too is a double-pointed one, more knotty than a knot, more piercing than an arrow, more confusing than a jungle. It is now put to you. Rouse up in yourself the desire to, accomplish the task that is set to you, to the refutation of the adversaries!'

'King Sivi gave his eyes away, O king. Harbour no doubt on that point. And in stead thereof divine eyes were produced for him. Neither on that point should you harbour doubt.'

'But then, Nagasena, can the divine eye arise when the cause of it has been utterly destroyed, when no cause for it, no basis, remains?'

'Certainly not, O king.'

'What then is the reason by which in this case it arose, notwithstanding that its cause had been utterly destroyed, and no cause for it, no basis, remained. Come now. Convince me of the reason of this thing.'

43. 'What then, O king? Is there in the world such a thing as Truth, by the asseveration of which true believers can perform the Act of Truth?'

'Yes, Lord, there is. And by it true believers make the rain to fall, and fire to go out, and ward off the effects of poison, and accomplish many other things they want to do.'

'Then, great king, that fits the case, that meets it on all fours. It was by the power of Truth that those divine eyes were produced for Sivi the king. By the power of the Truth the divine eye arose when no other cause was present, for the Truth itself was, in that case, the cause of its production. Suppose,

O king, any Siddha (accomplished one) on intoning a charm, and saying: "Let a mighty rain now fall!" were to bring about a heavy rainfall by the intoning of his charm--would there in that case be any cause for rain accumulated in the sky by which the rain could be brought about?'

'No, Sir. The charm itself would be the cause.'

'Just so, great king, in the case put. There would be no ordinary cause. The Truth itself would be sufficient reason for the growth of the divine eye!'

44. 'Now suppose, O king, a Siddha were to intone a charm, and say: "Now let the mighty blazing, raging mass of fire go back!" and the moment the charm were repeated it were to retreat--would there be any cause laid by which would work that result?'

'No, Sir. The charm itself would be the cause.'

'Just so, great king, would there in our case be no ordinary cause. The power of the Truth would be sufficient cause in itself!'

45. 'Now suppose, O king, one of those Siddhas were to intone a charm, and were then to say: "Let this malignant poison become as a healing drug!" and the moment the charm were repeated that would be so--would there be any cause in reserve for that effect to be produced?'

'Certainly not, Sir. The charm itself would cause the warding off of that malignant poison.'

'Just so, great king, without any ordinary cause the Truth itself was, in king Sivi's case, a sufficient reason for the reproduction of his eyes.'

46. 'Now there is no other cause, O king, for the attainment of the four Noble Truths. It is only by means of an Act of Truth that they are attained. In the land of China, O king, there is a king of China, who when he wants to charm the great ocean, performs at intervals of four months a solemn Act of Truth, and then on his royal chariot drawn by lions, he enters a league's distance into the great ocean. Then in front of the head of his chariot the mighty waves roll back, and when he returns they flow once more over the spot. But could the ocean be so drawn back by the ordinary bodily power of all gods and men combined?'

'Sir, even the water in a small tank could not be so made to retire, how much less the waters of the great ocean!'

'By this know then the force of Truth. There is no place to which it does not reach.'

47. 'When Asoka the righteous ruler, O king, as he stood one day at the city of Pataliputta in the midst of the townsfolk and the country people, of his officers and his servants, and his ministers of state, beheld the Ganges river as it rolled along filled up by freshets from the hills, full to the brim and overflowing--that mighty stream five hundred leagues in length, and a league in breadth--he said to his officers: "Is there any one, my good friends, who is able to make this great Ganges flow backwards and up stream?"

'"Nay, Sire, impossible," said they.

'Now a certain courtesan, Bindumati by name, was in the crowd there at the river side, and she heard people repeat the question that the king had asked. Then she said to herself: "Here am I, a harlot, in this city of Pataliputta, by the sale of my body do I gain my livelihood, I follow the meanest of vocations. Let the king behold the power of an Act of Truth performed even by such as I." And she performed an Act of Truth. And that moment the mighty Ganges, roaring and raging, rolled back, up stream, in the sight of all the people!

'Then when the king heard the din and the noise of the movement of the waves of the whirlpools of the mighty Ganges, amazed, and struck with awe and wonder, he said to his officers: "How is this, that the great Ganges is flowing backwards?"

'And they told him what had happened. Then filled with emotion the king went himself in haste and asked the courtesan: "Is it true what they say, that it is by your Act of Truth that this Ganges has been forced to flow backwards?"

'"Yes, Sire," said she.

'And the king asked: "How have you such power in the matter? Or who is it who takes your words to heart (and carries them out)? By what authority is it that you, insignificant as you are, have been able to make this mighty river flow backwards?"

'And she replied: "It is by the power of Truth, great king."

'But the king said: "How can that power be in you--you, a woman of wicked and loose life, devoid of virtue, under no restraint, sinful, who have overstepped all limits, and are full of transgression, and live on the plunder of fools? "

'"It is true, O king, what you say. That is just the kind of creature I am. But even in such a one as I so great is the power of the Act of Truth that I could turn the whole world of gods and men upside down by it."

'Then the king said: "What is this Act of Truth? Come now, let me hear about it."

'"Whosoever, O king, gives me gold--be he a noble or a brahman or a tradesman or a servant--I regard them all alike. When I see he is a noble I make no distinction in his favour. If I know him to be a slave I despise him not. Free alike from fawning and from dislike do I do service to him who has bought me. This, your Majesty, is the basis of the Act of Truth by the force of which I turned the Ganges back."'

48. 'Thus, O king, is it that there is nothing which those who are stedfast to the truth may not enjoy. And so king Sivi gave his eyes away to him who begged them of him, and he received eyes from heaven, and that happened by his Act of Truth. But what is said in the Sutta that when the eye of flesh is destroyed, and the cause of it, the basis of it, is removed, then can no divine eye arise, that is only said of the eye, the insight, that arises out of contemplation. And thus, O king, should you take it.'

'Well said, Nagasena! You have admirably solved the dilemma I put to you; you have rightly explained the point in which I tried to prove you wrong; you have thoroughly overcome the adversary. The thing is so, and I accept it thus.'

[DILEMMA 6. THE PARADOX OF CONCEPTION / THE DILEMMA AS TO CONCEPTION.

49. [This dilemma goes into details which can be best consulted in the Pali (says Thomas William Rys Davids and left this paragraph empty. Therefore we turn to the translation by Bhikkhu Pesala.]

"The Blessed One said, Nagasena, that there is conception in a womb with the coincidence of three causes; coitus of the parents, the mother's season and a being to be born. However, he also said that when the recluse Dukala touched the navel of the female recluse Parika with his thumb the boy Sama was conceived. If the first statement is true then the latter must be false."

"Both statements are true, O king, but you should not think that there was any transgression in the latter case. Sakka, the king of the gods, having seen that those virtuous ascetics would become blind, entreated them to have a son. However, they would not consent to intercourse even to save their lives, so Sakka intervened by instructing Dukala, and thus Sama was conceived."

[DILEMMA 7. THE DURATION OF THE TEACHING.]

55. 'Venerable Nagasena, it has been said by the Blessed One: "But now the good law, Ananda, will only stand fast for five hundred years." But on the other hand the Blessed One declared, just before his death, in response to the question put by Subhadda the recluse: "But if in this system the brethren live the perfect life, then the world would not be bereft of Arahats." This last phrase is absolute, inclusive; it cannot be explained away. If the first of these statements be correct, the second is misleading, if the second be right the first must be false. This too is a double-pointed question, more confused than the jungle, more powerful than a strong man, more knotty than a knot. It is now put to you. Show the extent of the power of your knowledge, like a leviathan in the midst of the sea.'

56. 'The Blessed One, O king, did make both those statements you have quoted. But they are different one from

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the other both in the spirit and in the letter. The one deals with the limit of the duration of the doctrine, the other with the practice of a religious life--two things widely distinct, as far removed one from the other as the zenith is from the surface of the earth, as heaven is from purgatory, as good is from evil, and as pleasure is from pain. But though that be so, yet lest your enquiry should be vain, I will expound the matter further in its essential connection.'

57. 'When the Blessed One said that the good law would only endure for five hundred years, he said so declaring the time of its destruction, limiting the remainder of its existence. For he said: "The good law, Ananda, would endure for a thousand years if no women had been admitted to the

Order. But now, Ananda, it will only last five hundred years." But in so saying, O king, did the Blessed One either foretell the disappearance of the good law, or throw blame on the clear understanding thereof?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'Just so. It was a declaration of injury done, an announcement of the limit of what remained. As when a man whose income had been diminished might announce publicly, making sure of what remained: "So much property have I lost; so much is still left"--so did the Blessed One make known to gods and men what remained when he announced what had been lost by saying: "The good law will now, Ananda, endure for five hundred years." In so saying he was fixing a limit to religion. But when in speaking to Subhadda, and by way of proclaiming who were the true Samanas, he said: "But if, in this system, the brethren live the perfect life, then the world would not be bereft of Arahats"--in so saying he was declaring in what religion consisted. You have confounded the limitation of a thing with the statement of what it is. But if you like I will tell you what the real connection between the two is. Listen carefully, and attend trustfully to what I say.'

58. 'Suppose, O king, there were a reservoir quite full of fresh cool water, overflowing at the brim, but limited in size and with an embankment running all round it. Now if, when the water had not abated in that tank, a mighty cloud were to rain down rain continually, and in addition, on to the water already in it, would the amount of water in the tank decrease or come to an end?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'But why not, O king?'

'Because of the Continual downpour of the rain.'

'Just so, O king, is the glorious reservoir of the good law of the teaching of the Conqueror ever full of the clear fresh cool water of the practice of duty and virtue and morality and purity of life, and continues overflowing all limits even to the very highest heaven of heavens. And if the children of the Buddha rain down into it continuously, and in addition, the rainfall of still further practice of duty and virtue and morality and purity of life, then will it endure for long, and the world will not be bereft of Arahats. This was the meaning of the Master's words when he said: "But if, Subhadda, in this system the brethren continue in perfectness of life, then will the world not be bereft of Arahats."'

59. 'Now suppose again, O king, that people were to continually supply a mighty fiery furnace with dried cow-dung, and dry sticks, and dry leaves--would that fire go out?'

'No indeed, Sir. Rather would it blaze more fiercely, and burn more brightly.'

'Just so, O king, does the glorious teaching of the Conqueror blaze and shine over the ten thousand world systems by the practice of duty and virtue and morality and purity of life. And if, O king, in addition to that, the children of the Buddha, devoting themselves to the five 1 kinds of spiritual exertion, continue zealous in effort--if cultivating a longing for the threefold discipline, they train themselves therein--if without ceasing they carry out to the full the conduct that is right, and absolutely avoid all that is wrong, and practise righteousness of life--then will this glorious doctrine of the Conqueror stand more and more stedfast as the years roll on, and the world will not be bereft of Arahats. It was in reference to this, O king, that the Master spake when he said: "But if, Subhadda, in this system the brethren continue in perfectness of life, then will the world not be bereft of Arahats."'

60. 'Again, O king, suppose people were to continually polish with fine soft red powder a stainless mirror that was already bright and shining, well polished, smooth, and glossy, would dirt and dust and mud arise on its surface?'

'No indeed,--Sir. Rather would it become to a certainty even more stainless than before.'

'Just so, O king, is the glorious doctrine of the Conqueror stainless by nature, and altogether free from the dust and dirt of evil. And if the children of the Buddha cleanse it by the virtue arising from the shaking off, the eradication of evil, from the practice of duty and virtue and morality and purity of life, then will this glorious doctrine endure for long, and the world will not be bereft of Arahats. It was in reference to this that the Blessed One spake when he said: "But if, Subhadda, in this system the brethren continue in righteousness of life, then will not the world be bereft of Arahats." For the teaching of the Master, O king, has its root in conduct, has conduct as its essence, and stands fast so long as conduct does not decline.'

61. 'Venerable Nagasena, when you speak of the disappearance of the good law, what do you mean by its disappearance?'

'There are three modes of the disappearance, O king, of a system of doctrine. And what are the three? The decline of attainment to an intellectual grasp of it, the decline of conduct in accordance with it, and the decline of its outward form. When the attainment of it ceases, then even the man who conducts himself aright in it has no clear understanding of it. By the decline of conduct the promulgation of the rules of discipline ceases, only the outward form of the religion remains. When the outward form has ceased, the succession of the tradition is cut off. These are the three forms of the disappearance of a system of doctrine.'

'You have well explained, venerable Nagasena, this dilemma so profound, and have made it plain. You have loosed the knot; you have destroyed the arguments of the adversary, broken them in pieces, proved them wrong--you, O best of the leaders of schools!'

[DILEMMA 8. THE BUDDHA'S SINLESSNESS / PURITY OF THE BUDDHA.]

62. 'Venerable Nagasena, had the Blessed One, when he became a Buddha, burnt out all evil in himself, or was there still some evil remaining in him?'

'He had burnt out all evil. There was none left.'

'But how, Sir? Did not the Tathagata get hurt in his body?'

'Yes, O king. At Ragagaha a splinter of rock pierced his foot, and once he suffered from dysentery, and once when the humours of his body were disturbed a purge was administered to him, and once when he was troubled with wind the Elder who waited on him (that is Ananda) gave him hot water.'

'Then, Sir, if the Tathagata, on his becoming a Buddha, has destroyed all evil in himself--this other statement that his foot was pierced by a splinter, that he had dysentery, and so on, must be false. But if they are true, then he cannot have been free from evil, for there is no pain without Karma. All pain has its root in Karma, it is on account of Karma that suffering arises. This double-headed dilemma is put to you, and you have to solve it.'

63. 'No, O king. It is not all suffering that has its root in Karma. There are eight causes by which sufferings arise, by which many beings suffer pain. And what are the eight? Superabundance of wind, and of bile, and of phlegm, the union of these humours, variations in temperature, the avoiding of dissimilarities, external agency, and Karma. From each of these there are some sufferings that arise, and these are the eight causes by which many beings suffer pain. And therein whosoever maintains that it is Karma that injures beings, and besides it there is no other reason for pain, his proposition is false.'

'But, Sir, all the other seven kinds of pain have each of them also Karma as its origin, for they are all produced by Karma.'

'If, O king, all diseases were really derived from Karma then there would be no characteristic marks by which they could be distinguished one from the other. When the wind is disturbed, it is so in one or other of ten ways--by cold, or by heat, or by hunger, or by thirst, or by over eating, or by standing too long, or by over exertion, or by walking too fast, or by medical treatment, or as the result of Karma. Of these ten, nine do not act in a past life or in a future life, but in one's present existence. Therefore it is not right to say that all pain is due to Karma. When the bile, O king, is deranged it is so in one or other of three ways--by cold, or by heat, or by improper food. When the phlegm is disturbed it is so by cold, or by heat, or by food and drink. When either of these three humours are disturbed or mixed, it brings about its own special, distinctive pain. Then there are the special pains arising from variations in temperature, avoidance of dissimilarities, and external agency. And there is the act that has Karma as its fruit, and the pain so brought about arising from the act done. So what arises as the fruit of Karma is much less than that which arises from other causes. And the ignorant go too far when they say that every pain is produced as the fruit of Karma. No one without a Buddha's insight can fix the extent of the action of Karma.'

64. 'Now when the Blessed One's foot was torn by a splinter of rock, the pain that followed was not produced by any other of the eight causes I have mentioned, but only by external agency. For Devadatta, O king, had harboured hatred against the Tathagata during a succession of hundreds of thousands of births. It was in his hatred that he seized hold of a mighty mass of rock, and pushed it over with the hope that it would fall upon his head. But two other rocks came together, and intercepted it before it had reached the Tathagata; and by the force of their impact a splinter was torn off, and fell upon the Blessed One's foot, and made it bleed. Now this pain must have been produced in the Blessed One either as the result of his own Karma, or of some one else's act. For beyond these two there can be no other kind of pain. It is as when a seed does not germinate--that must be due either to the badness of the soil, or to a defect in the seed. Or it is as when food is not digested--that must be due either to a defect in the stomach, or to the badness of the food.'

65. 'But although the Blessed One never suffered pain which was the result of his own Karma, or brought about the avoidance of dissimilarity, yet he suffered pain from each of the other six causes. And by the pain he could suffer it was not possible to deprive him of life. There come to this body of ours, O king, compounded of the four elements, sensations desirable and the reverse, pleasant and unpleasant. Suppose, O king, a clod of earth were to be thrown into the air, and to fall again on to the ground. Would it be in consequence of any act it had previously done that it would so fall?'

'No, Sir. There is no reason in the broad earth by which it could experience the result of an act either good or evil. It would be by reason of a present cause independent of Karma that the clod would fall to earth again.'

'Well, O king, the Tathagata should be regarded as the broad earth. And as the clod would fall on it irrespective of any act done by it, so also was it irrespective of any act done by him that that splinter of rock fell upon his foot.'

66. 'Again, O king, men tear up and plough the earth. But is that a result of any act previously done?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'Just so with the falling of that splinter. And the dysentery which attacked him was in the same way the result of no previous act, it arose from the union of the three humours. And whatsoever bodily disease fell upon him, that had its origin, not in Karma, but in one or other of the six causes referred to. For it has been said, O king, by the Blessed One, by him who is above all gods, in the glorious collection called the Samyutta Nikaya in the prose Sutta, called after Moliya Sivaka: "There are certain pains which arise in the world, Sivaka, from bilious humour. And you ought to know for a certainty which those are, for it is a matter of common knowledge in the world which they are. But those Samanas and Brahmans, Sivaka, who are of the opinion and proclaim the view that whatsoever pleasure, or pain, or indifferent sensation, any man experiences, is always due to a previous act--they go beyond certainty, they go beyond knowledge, and therein do I say they are wrong. And so also of those pains which arise from the phlegmatic humour, or from the windy humour, or from the union of the three, or from variation in temperature, or from avoidance of dissimilarity, or from external action, or as the result of Karma. In each case you should know for a certainty which those are, for it is a matter of common knowledge which they are. But those Samanas or Brahmans who are of the opinion or the view that whatsoever pleasure, or pain, or indifferent sensation, any man may experience, that is always due to a previous act--they go beyond certainty, they go beyond common knowledge. And therein do I say they are wrong." So, O king, it is not all pain that is the result of Karma. And you should accept as a fact that when the Blessed One became a Buddha he had burnt out all evil from within him.'

'Very good, Nagasena! It is so; and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 9. ON THE ADVANTAGES OF MEDITATION.]

67. 'Venerable Nagasena, your people say that everything which a Tathagata has to accomplish that had the Blessed One already carried out when he sat at the foot of the Tree of Wisdom. There was then nothing that he had yet to do, nothing that he had to add to what he had already done. But then there is also talk of his having immediately afterwards remained plunged for three months in ecstatic contemplation. If the first statement be correct, then the second must be false. And if the second be right, then the first must be wrong. There is no need of any contemplation to him who has already accomplished his task. It is the man who still has something left to do, who has to think about it. It is the sick man who has need of medicine, not the healthy; the hungry man who has need of food, not the man whose hunger is quenched. This too is a double-headed dilemma, and you have to solve it!'

68. 'Both statements, O king, are true. Contemplation has many virtues. All the Tathagatas attained, in contemplation, to Buddhahood, and practised it in the recollection of its good qualities. And they did so in the same way as a man who had received high office from a king would, in the recollection of its advantages, of the prosperity he enjoyed by means of it, remain constantly in attendance on that king--in the same way as a man who, having been afflicted and pained with a dire disease, and having recovered his health by the use of medicine, would use the same medicine again and again, calling to mind its virtue.'

69. 'And there are, O king, these twenty and eight good qualities of meditation in the perception of which the Tathagatas devoted themselves to it. And which are they? Meditation preserves him who meditates, it gives him long life, and endows him with power, it cleanses him from faults, it removes from him any bad reputation giving him a good name, it destroys discontent in him filling him with content, it releases him from all fear endowing him with confidence, it removes sloth far from him filling him with zeal, it takes away lust and ill-will and dullness, it puts an end to pride, it breaks

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down all doubt, it makes his heart to be at peace, it softens his mind, it makes him glad, it makes him grave, it gains him much advantage, it makes him worthy of reverence, it fills him with joy, it fills him with delight, it shows him the transitory nature of all compounded things, it puts an end to rebirth, it obtains for him all the benefits of renunciation. These, O king, are the twenty and eight virtues of meditation on the perception of which the Tathagatas devote themselves to it. But it is because the Tathagatas, O king, long for the enjoyment of the bliss of attainment, of the joy of the tranquil state of Nirvana, that they devote themselves to meditation, with their minds fixed on the end they aim at.

70. 'And there are four, reasons for which the Tathagatas, O king, devote themselves to meditation. And what are the four? That they may dwell at ease, O king--and on account of the abundance of the advantages of meditation, advantages without drawback--and on account of its being the road to all noble things without exception-and because it has been praised and lauded and exalted and magnified by all the Buddhas. These are the reasons for which the Tathagatas devote themselves to it. So it is not, great king, because they have anything left to do, or anything to add to what they have already accomplished, but because they have perceived how diversified are the advantages it possesses, that they devote themselves to meditation.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 10. THE LIMIT OF THREE MONTHS / COMPOSURE OF THE BUDDHA.]

71. 'Venerable Nagasena, it has been said by the Blessed One: "The Tathagata, Ananda, has thought out and thoroughly practised, developed, accumulated, and ascended to the very height of the four paths to saintship, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a means of mental advancement, and as a basis for edification--and he therefore, Ananda, should he desire it, might remain alive for a Kalpa, or for that portion of a Kalpa which has yet to run." And again he said: "At the end of three months from this time the Tathagata will die." If the first of these statements were true, then the limit of three months must have been false. If the second were true, then the first must have been false. For the Tathagatas boast not without an occasion, the Blessed Buddhas speak no misleading words, but they utter truth, and speak sincerely. This too is a double-headed dilemma, profound, subtle, hard to expound. It is now put to you. Tear in sunder this net of heresy, put it on one side, break in pieces the arguments of the adversary!'

72. 'Both these statements, O king, were made by the Blessed One. But Kalpa in that connection means the duration of a man's life. And the Blessed One, O king, was not exalting his own power when he said so, but he was exalting the power of Saintship. It was as if a king were possessed of a horse most swift of foot, who could run like the wind. And in order to exalt the power of his speed the king were to say in the presence of all his court-townsfolk and country folk, hired servants and men of war, brahmins, nobles, and officers: "If he wished it this noble steed of mine could cross the earth to its ocean boundary, and be back here again, in a moment!"

Now though he did not try to test the horse's speed in the presence of the court, yet it had that speed, and was, really able to go along over the earth to its ocean boundary in a moment. Just so, O king, the Blessed One spake as he did in praise of the power of saintship, and so spake seated in the midst of gods and men, and of the men of the threefold wisdom and the sixfold insight--the Arahats pure and free from stain--when he said: "The Tathagata, Ananda, has thought out and practised, developed, accumulated, and ascended to the very height of the four powers of saintship, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a means of mental advancement, as a basis for edification. And he therefore, Ananda, should he desire it, might remain alive for a Kalpa, or the part of a Kalpa that has yet to run." And there was that power, O king, in the Tathagata, he could have remained alive for that time: and yet he did not show that power in the midst of that assembly. The Blessed One, O king, is free from desire as respects all conditions of future life, and has condemned them all. For it has been said, O king, by the Blessed One: "Just, O Bhikkhus, as a very small quantity of excrement is of evil smell, so do I find no beauty in the very smallest degree of future life, not even in such for the time of the snapping of the fingers." Now would the Blessed One, O king, who thus looked upon all sorts and conditions of future life as dung have nevertheless, simply because of his power of Iddhi, harboured a craving desire for future life?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'Then it must have been to exalt the power of Iddhi that he gave utterance to such a boast.'

'Very good, Nagasena! It is so, and I accept it as you say.

CHAPTER 2. THE SCHISM CHAPTER (Book 4)

[DILEMMA 11. THE ABOLITION OF REGULATIONS / ON REVOCATION OF RULES.]

1. 'Venerable Nagasena, it has been said by the Blessed One: "It is by insight, O Bhikkhus, that I preach the law, not without insight." On the other hand he said of the regulations of the Vinaya: "When I am gone, Ananda, let the Order, if it should so wish, abolish all the lesser and minor precepts." Were then these lesser and minor precepts wrongly laid down, or established in ignorance and without due cause, that the Blessed One allowed them to be revoked after his death? If the first statement had been true, the second would have been wrong. If the second statement were really made, then the first was false. This too is a double-headed problem, fine, subtle, abstruse, deep, profound, and hard to expound. It is now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

2. 'In both cases, O king, the Blessed One said as you have declared. But in the second case it was to test the Bhikkhus that he said it, to try whether, if leave were granted them, they would, after his death, revoke the lesser and minor regulations, or still adhere to them. It runs as if a king of kings were to say to his sons: "This great country, my children, reaches to the sea on every side. It is a hard thing to maintain it with the forces we have at our disposal. So when I am gone you had better, my children, abandon the outlying districts along the border." Now would the princes, O king, on the death of their father, give up those outlying districts, provinces already in their power?'

'No indeed, Sir. Kings are grasping. The princes might, in the lust of power, subjugate an extent of country twice or thrice the size of what they had, but they would never give up what they already possessed.'

'Just so was it, O king, that the Tathagata to test the Bhikkhus said: "When I am gone, Ananda, let the Order, if it should so wish, abolish all the lesser and minor precepts." But the sons of the Buddha, O king, in their lust after the law, and for emancipation from sorrow, might keep two hundred and fifty regulations, but would never give up any one that had been laid down in ordinary course.'

3. 'Venerable Nagasena, when the Blessed One referred to "lesser and minor precepts," this people might therein be bewildered, and fall into doubt, and find matter for discussion, and be lost in hesitation, as to which were the lesser, and which the minor precepts.'

'The lesser errors in conduct, O king, are the lesser precepts, and the lesser errors in speech are the minor precepts: and these two together make up therefore "the lesser and minor precepts." The leading Elders too of old, O king, were in doubt about this matter, and they were not unanimous on the point at the Council held for the fixing of the text of the Scriptures. And the Blessed One foresaw that this problem would arise.'

'Then this dark saying of the Conquerors, Nagasena, which has lain hid so long, has been now to-day uncovered in the face of the world, and made clear to all.'

[DILEMMA 12. ESOTERIC TEACHING / ON KEEPING SOME THINGS BACK.]

4. 'Venerable Nagasena, it was said by the Blessed One: "In respect of the truths, Ananda, the Tathagata has no such thing as the closed fist of a teacher who keeps something back." But on the other hand he made no reply to the question put by the son of the Malunkya woman. This problem, Nagasena, will be one of two ends, on one of which it must rest, for he must have refrained from answering either out of ignorance, or out of wish to conceal something. If the first statement be true it must have been out of ignorance. But if he knew, and still did not reply, then the first statement must be false. This too is a double-pointed dilemma. It is now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

5. 'The Blessed One, O king, made that first statement to Ananda, and he did not reply to Malunkya-putta's question. But that was neither out of ignorance, nor for the sake of concealing anything. There are four kinds of ways in which a problem may be explained. And which are the four? There is the problem to which an explanation can be given that shall be direct and final. There is the problem which can be answered by going into details. There is the problem which can be answered by asking another. And there is the problem which can be put on one side.

'And which, O king, is the problem to which a direct and final solution can be given? It is such as this--"Is form impermanent?" "Is sensation impermanent?" "Is idea impermanent?" "Are the Confections impermanent?" "Is consciousness impermanent?"

'And which is the problem which can be answered by going into details? It is such as this--"Is form thus impermanent?" and so on.

'And which is the problem which can be answered by asking another? It is such as this--"What then? Can the eye perceive all things?"

'And which is the problem which can be put on one side? It is such as this--"Is the universe everlasting?" "Is it not everlasting?" "Has it an end?" "Has it no end?" "Is it both endless and unending?" "Is it neither the one nor the other?" "Are the soul and the body the same thing?" "Is the soul distinct from the body?" "Does a Tathagata exist after death?" "Does he not exist after death?" "Does he both exist and not exist after death?" "Does he neither exist nor not exist after death?"

'Now it was to such a question, one that ought to be put on one side, that the Blessed One gave no reply to Malunkya-putta. And why ought such a question to be put on one side? Because there is no reason or object for answering it. That is why it should be put aside. For the Blessed Buddhas lift not up their voice without a reason and without an object.'

'Very good, Nagasena! Thus it is, and I accept it as you say?'

[DILEMMA 13. ON THE FEAR OF DEATH.]

6. 'Venerable Nagasena, this too was said by the Blessed One: "All men tremble at punishment, all are afraid of death." But again he said: "The Arahat has passed beyond all fear." How then, Nagasena? does the Arahat tremble with the fear of punishment? Or are the beings in purgatory, when they are being burnt and boiled and scorched and tormented, afraid of that death which would release them from the burning fiery pit of that awful place of woe? If the Blessed One, Nagasena, really said that all men tremble at punishment, and all are afraid of death, then the statement that the Arahat has passed beyond fear must be false. But if that last statement is really by him, then the other must be false. This double-headed problem is now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

7. 'It was not with regard to Arahats, O king, that the Blessed One spake when he said: "All men tremble at punishment, all are afraid of death." The Arahat is an exception to that statement, for all cause for fear has been removed from the Arahat. He spoke of those beings in whom evil still existed, who are still infatuated with the delusion of self, who are still lifted up and cast down by pleasures and pains. To the Arahat, O king, rebirth in every state has been cut off, all the four kinds of future existence have been destroyed, every re-incarnation has been put an end to, the rafters of the house of life have broken, and the whole house completely pulled down, the Confections have altogether lost their roots, good and evil have ceased, ignorance has been demolished, consciousness has no longer any seed (from which it could be renewed), all sin has been burnt away, and all worldly conditions have been overcome. Therefore is it that the Arahat is not made to tremble by any fear.'

8. 'Suppose, O king, a king had four chief ministers, faithful, famous, trustworthy, placed in high positions of authority. And the king, on some emergency arising, were to issue to them an order touching all the people in his realm, saying: "Let all now pay up a tax, and do you, as my four officers, carry out what is necessary in this emergency." Now tell me, O king, would the tremor which comes from fear of taxation arise in the hearts of those ministers?'

'No, Sir, it would not.'

'But why not?'

'They have been appointed by the king to high office. Taxation does not affect them, they are beyond taxation. It was the rest that the king referred to when he gave the order: "Let all pay tax."'

'Just so, O king, is it with the statement that all men tremble at punishment, all are afraid of death. In that way is it that the Arahat is removed from every fear.'

9. 'But, Nagasena, the word "all" is inclusive, none are left out when it is used. Give me a further reason to establish the point.'

'Suppose, O king, that in some village the lord of the village were to order the crier, saying: "Go, crier, bring all the villagers quickly together before me." And he in obedience to that order were to stand in the midst of the village and were thrice to call out: "Let all the villagers assemble at once in the presence of the lord!" And they should assemble in haste, and have an announcement made to the lord, saying: "All the villagers, Sire, have assembled. Do now whatsoever you require." Now when the lord, O king, is thus summoning all the heads of houses, he issues his order to all the villagers, but it is not they who assemble in obedience to the order; it is the heads of houses. And the lord is satisfied therewith, knowing that such is the number of his villagers. There are many others who do not come--women and men, slave girls and slaves, hired workmen, servants, peasantry, sick people, oxen, buffaloes, sheep, and goats, and dogs--but all those do not count. It was with reference to the heads of houses that the order was issued in the words: "Let all assemble." just so, O king, it is not of Arahats that it was said that all are afraid of death. The Arahat is not included in that statement, for the Arahat is one in whom there is no longer any cause that could give rise to fear.'

10. 'There is the non-inclusive expression, O king, whose meaning is non-inclusive, and the non-inclusive expression whose meaning is inclusive; there is the inclusive expression whose meaning is non-inclusive, and the inclusive expression whose meaning is inclusive. And the meaning, in each case, should be accepted accordingly. And there are five ways in which the meaning should be ascertained-by the connection,

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and by taste, and by the tradition of the teachers, and by the meaning, and by abundance of reasons. And herein "connection" means the meaning as seen in the Sutta itself, "taste" means that it is in accordance with other Suttas, "the tradition of the teachers" means what they hold, "the meaning" means what they think, and "abundance of reasons" means all these four combined.'

11. 'Very well, Nagasena! I accept it as you say. The Arahat is an exception in this phrase, and it is the rest of beings who are full of fear. But those beings in purgatory, of whom I spoke, who are suffering painful, sharp, and severe agonies, who are tormented with burnings all over their bodies and limbs, whose mouths are full of lamentation, and cries for pity, and cries of weeping and wailing and woe, who are overcome with pains too sharp to be borne, who find no refuge nor protection nor help, who are afflicted beyond measure, who in the worst and lowest of conditions are still destined to a certainty to further pain, who are being burnt with hot, sharp, fierce, and cruel flames, who are giving utterance to mighty shouts and groans born of horror and fear, who are embraced by the garlands of flame which intertwine around them from all the six directions, and flash in fiery speed through a hundred leagues on every side--can those poor burning wretches be afraid of death?'

'Yes, they can.'

'But, venerable Nagasena, is not purgatory a place of certain pain? And, if so, why should the beings in it be afraid of death, which would release them from that certain pain? What! Are they fond of purgatory?'

'No, indeed. They like it not. They long to be released from it. It is the power of death of which they are afraid.'

'Now this, Nagasena, I cannot believe, that they, who want to be released, should be afraid of rebirth.

They must surely, Nagasena, rejoice at the prospect of the very condition that they long for. Convince me by some further reason.'

12. 'Death, great king, is a condition which those who have not seen the truth are afraid of. About it this people is anxious and full of dread. Whosoever is afraid of a black snake, or an elephant or lion or tiger or leopard or bear or hyena or wild buffalo or gayal, or of fire or water, or of thorns or spikes or arrows, it is in each case of death that he is really in dread, and therefore afraid of them. This, O king, is the majesty of the essential nature of death. And all being not free from sin are in dread and quake before its majesty. In this sense it is that even the beings in purgatory, who long to be released from it, are afraid of death.'

13. 'Suppose, O king, a boil were to arise, full of matter, on a man's body, and he, in pain from that disease, and wanting to escape from the danger of it, were to call in a physician and surgeon. And the surgeon, accepting the call, were to make ready some means or other for the removal of his disease--were to have a lancet sharpened, or to have sticks put into the fire to be used as cauterisers, or to have something ground on a grindstone to be mixed in a salt lotion. Now would the patient begin to be in dread of the cutting of the sharp lancet, or of the burning of the pair of caustic sticks, or of the application of the stinging lotion?'

'Yes, he would.'

'But if the sick man, who wants to be free from his ailment, can fall into dread by the fear of pain, just so can the beings in purgatory, though they long to be released from it, fall into dread by the fear of death.'

14. 'And suppose, O king, a man who had committed an offence against the crown, when bound with a chain, and cast into a dungeon, were to long for release. And the ruler, wishing to release him, were to send for him. Now would not that man, who had thus offended, and knew it, be in dread of the interview with the king?'

'Yes, Sir.'

'But if so, then can also the beings in purgatory, though they long to be released from it, yet be afraid of death.'

'Give me another illustration by which I may be able to harmonise 1 (this apparent discrepancy).'

'Suppose, O king, a man bitten by a poisonous snake should be afraid, and by the action of the poison should fall and struggle, and roll this way and that. And then that another man, by the repetition of a powerful charm, should compel that poisonous snake to approach to suck the poison back again. Now when the bitten man saw the poisonous snake coming to him, though for the object of curing him, would he not still be in dread of it?'

'Yes, Sir.'

'Well, it is just so with the beings in purgatory.

Death is a thing disliked by all beings. And therefore are they in dread of it though they want to be released from purgatory.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 14. PIRIT / PROTECTION FROM DEATH.]

15. 'Venerable Nagasena, it was said by the Blessed One:

Not in the sky, not in the ocean's midst,
Not in the most secluded mountain cleft,
Not in the whole wide world is found the spot
Where standing one could 'scape the snare of death."

But on the other hand the Pirit service was promulgated by the Blessed One--that is to say, the Ratana Sutta and the Khanda-paritta and the Mora-paritta and the Dhagagga-paritta and the Atanatiya-paritta and the Anguli-mala-paritta. If, Nagasena, a man can escape death's snare neither by going to heaven, nor by going into the midst of the sea, nor by going to the summits of lofty palaces, nor to the caves or grottoes or declivities or clefts or holes in the mountains, then is the Pirit ceremony useless. But if by it there is a way of escape from death, then the statement in the verse I quoted is false. This too is a double-headed problem, more knotty than a knot. It is now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

16. 'The Blessed One, O king, said the verse you have quoted, and he sanctioned Pirit. But that is only meant for those who have some portion of their life yet to run, who are of full age, and restrain themselves from the evils of Karma. And there is no ceremony or artificial means for prolonging the life of one whose allotted span of existence has come to an end. just, O king, as with a dry and dead log of wood, dull, and sapless, out of which all life has departed, which has reached the end of its allotted period of life,--you might have thousands of pots of water poured over it, but it would never become fresh again or put forth sprouts or leaves. Just so there is no ceremony or artificial means, no medicine and no Pirit, which can prolong the life of one whose allotted period has come to an end. All the medicines in the world are useless, O king, to such a one, but Pirit is a protection and assistance to those who have a period yet to live, who are full of life, and restrain themselves from the evil of Karma. And it is for that use that Pirit was appointed by the

Blessed One. just, O king, as a husbandman guards the grain when it is ripe and dead and ready for harvesting from the influx of water, but makes it grow by giving it water when it is young, and dark in colour like a cloud, and full of life--just so, O king, should the Pirit ceremony be put aside and neglected in the case of one who has reached his allotted term of life, but for those who have a period yet to run and are full of vigour, for them the medicine of Pirit may be repeated, and they will profit by its use.'

17. 'But, Nagasena, if he who has a term of life yet to run will live, and he who has none will die, then medicine and Pirit are alike useless.'

'Have you ever seen, O king, a case of a disease being turned back by medicine?'

'Yes, several hundred times.'

'Then, O king, your statement as to the inefficiency of Pirit and medicine must be wrong.'

'I have seen, Nagasena, doctors administer medicines by way of draughts or outward applications, and by that means the disease has been assuaged.'

'And when, O king, the voice of those who are repeating Pirit is heard, the tongue may be dried up, and the heart beat but faintly, and the throat be hoarse, but by that repetition all diseases are allayed, all calamities depart. Again, have you ever seen, O king, a man who has been bitten by a snake having the poison resorbed under a spell (by the snake who gave the bite) or destroyed (by an antidote) or having a lotion applied above or below the spot?'

'Yes, that is common custom to this day in the world.'

'Then what you said that Pirit and medicine are alike useless is wrong.. And when Pirit has been said over a man, a snake, ready to bite, will not bite him, but close his jaws--the club which robbers hold aloft to strike him with will never strike; they will let it drop, and treat him kindly--the enraged elephant rushing at him will suddenly stop--the burning fiery conflagration surging towards him will die out--the malignant poison he has eaten will become harmless, and turn to food--assassins who have come to slay him will become as the slaves who wait upon him--and the trap into which he has trodden will hold him not.

18. 'Again, have you never heard, O king, of that hunter who during seven hundred years failed to throw his net over the peacock who had taken Pirit, but snared him the very day he omitted to do so?'

'Yes, I have heard of it. The fame of it has gone through all the world.'

'Then what you said about Pirit and medicine being alike useless must be wrong. And have you never heard of the Danava who, to guard his wife, put her into a box, and swallowing it, carried her about in his stomach. And how a Vidyadhara 1 entered his mouth, and played games with his wife. And how the Danava when he became aware of it, vomited up the box, and opened it, and the moment he did so the Vidyadhara escaped whither he would?

'Yes, I have heard that. The fame of it too has gone throughout the world.'

'Well, did not the Vidyadhara escape capture by the power of Pirit?'

'Yes, that was so.'

'Then there must be power in Pirit. And have you heard of that other Vidyadhara who got into the harem of the king of Benares, and committed adultery with the chief queen, and was caught, and then became invisible, and got away?'

'Yes, I heard that story.'

'Well, did not he too escape capture by the power of Pirit.'

'Yes, Sir.'

'Then, O king, there must be power in Pirit.'

19. 'Venerable Nagasena, is Pirit a protection to everybody?'

'To some, not to others.'

'Then it is not always of use?'

'Does food keep all people alive?'

'Only some, not others.'

'But why not?'

'Inasmuch as some, eating too much of that same food, die of cholera.'

'So it does not keep all men alive?'

'There are two reasons which make it destroy life--over-indulgence in it, and weakness of digestion. And even life-giving food may be made poisonous by an evil spell.'

'Just so, O king, is Pirit a protection to some and not to others. And there are three reasons for its failure--the obstruction of Karma, and of sin, and of unbelief. That Pirit which is a protection to beings loses its protecting power by acts done by those beings themselves. just, O king, as a mother lovingly nourishes the son who has entered her womb, and brings him forth with care. And after his birth she keeps him clean from dirt and stains and mucus, and anoints him with the best and most costly perfumes, and when others abuse or strike him she seizes them and, full of excitement, drags them before the lord of the place. But when her son is naughty, or comes in late, she strikes him with rods or clubs on her knee or with her hands. Now, that being so, would she get seized and dragged along, and have to appear before the lord?'

'No, Sir.'

'But why not?'

'Because the boy was in fault.'

'Just in the same way, O king, will Pirit which is a protection to beings, yet, by their own fault, turn against them.'

'Very good, Nagasena! The problem has been solved, the jungle made clear, the darkness made light, the net of heresy unravelled--and by you, O best of the leaders of schools!'

[DILEMMA 15. MARA, THE EVIL ONE / THE POWER OF EVIL.]

20. 'Venerable Nagasena, your people say thus: "The Tathagata was in the constant receipt of the things necessary for a recluse-robes, food, lodging, and the requisites for the sick." And again they say: "When the Tathagata entered the Brahman village called the Five Sala trees he received nothing, and had to return with his bowl as clean as before." If the first passage is true the second is false, and if the second passage is true the first is false. This too is a double-headed problem, a mighty crux hard to unravel. It is now put to you. It is for you to solve it.'

21. 'Both statements are true, but when he received nothing that day, that was the work of Mara, the evil one.'

'Then, Nagasena, how was it that the merit laid up by the Blessed One through countless æons of time came to end that day? How was it that Mara, who had only just been produced, could overcome the strength and influence of that merit? In that case, Nagasena, the blame must fall in one of two ways--either demerit must be more powerful than merit, or the power of Mara be greater than that of the Buddha. The root of the tree must be heavier than the top of it, or the sinner stronger than he who has heaped up virtue.'

22. 'Great king, that is not enough to prove either the one or the other of your alternatives. Still a reason is certainly desirable in this matter.

Suppose, O king, a man were to bring a complimentary present to a king of kings--honey or honeycomb or something of that kind. And the king's doorkeeper were to say to him: "This is the wrong time for visiting the king. So, my good fellow, take your present as quickly as ever you can, and go back before the king inflicts a fine upon you." And then that man, in dread and awe, should pick up his present, and return in great haste. Now would the king of kings, merely from the fact that the man brought his gift at the wrong time, be less powerful than the doorkeeper, or never receive a complimentary present any more?'

'No, Sir. The doorkeeper turned back the giver of that present out of the surliness of his nature, and one a hundred thousand times as valuable might be brought in by some other device.'

'Just so, O king, it was out of the jealousy of his nature that Mara, the evil one, possessed the Brahmans and householders at the Five Sala trees. And hundreds of thousands of other deities came up to offer the Buddha the strength-giving ambrosia from heaven, and stood reverencing him with clasped hands and thinking to themselves that they would thus imbue him with vigour.'

23. 'That may be so, Nagasena. The Blessed

One found it easy to get the four requisites of a recluse--he, the best in the world--and at the request of gods and men he enjoyed all the requisites. But still Mara's intention to stop the supply of food to the Blessed One was so far carried out. Herein, Sir, my doubt is not removed. I am still in perplexity

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and hesitation about this. My mind is not clear how the Tathagata, the Arahat, the supreme Buddha, the best of all the best in the world of gods and men, he who had so glorious a treasure of the merit of virtue, the unequalled one, unrivalled and peerless,--how so vile, mean, insignificant, sinful, and ignoble a being as Mara could put any obstacle in the way of gifts to Him.'

24. 'There are four kinds, O king, of obstacles--the obstacle to a gift not intended for any particular person, to a gift set apart for some one, to the gift got ready, and to the enjoyment of a gift. And the first is when any one puts an obstacle in the way of the actual gift of a thing put ready to be given away, but not with a view to or having seen any particular donee,--an obstacle raised, for instance, by saying: "What is the good of giving it away to any one else?" The second is when any one puts an obstacle in the way of the actual gift of food intended to be prepared to be given to a person specified. The third is when any one puts an obstacle in the way when such a gift has been got ready, but not yet accepted. And the fourth is when any one puts an obstacle in the way of the enjoyment of a gift already given (and so the property of the donee).'

25. 'Now when Mara, the evil one, possessed the

Brahmans and householders at the Five Sala trees, the food in that case was neither the property of, nor got ready for, nor intended to be prepared specially for the Blessed One. The obstacle was put in the way of some one who was yet to come, who had not arrived, and for whom no gift was intended. That was not against the Blessed One alone. But all who had gone out that day, and were coming to the village, failed to receive an alms. I know no one, O king, in the world of men and gods, no one among Maras or Brahmas, no one of the class of Brahmans or recluses, who could put any obstacle in the way of an alms intended for, or got ready for, or already given to the Blessed One. And if any one, out of jealousy, were to raise up any obstacle in that case, then would his head split into a hundred or into a thousand pieces.'

26. 'There are four things, O king, connected with the Tathagatas, to which no one can do any harm. And what are the four? To the alms intended for, and got ready for the Blessed One--to the halo of a fathom's length when it has once spread out from him-to the treasure of the knowledge of his omniscience--and to his life. All these things, O king, are one in essence--they are free from defect, immovable, unassailable by other beings, unchangeable by other circumstances . And Mara, the evil one, lay in ambush, out of sight, when he possessed the Brahmans and householders at the Five Sala trees. It was as when robbers, O king, hiding out of sight in the inaccessible country over the border, beset the highways. But if the king caught sight of them, do you think those robbers would be safe?'

'No, Sir, he might have them cut into a hundred or a thousand pieces with an axe.'

'Well, just so it was, hiding out of sight, that Mara possessed them. It was as when a married woman, in ambush, and out of sight, frequents the company of her paramour. But if, O king, she were to carry on her intrigues in her husband's presence, do you think she would be safe?'

'No, Sir, he might slay her, or wound her, or put her in bonds, or reduce her to slavery.'

'Well. It was like that, hiding out of sight, that Mara possessed them. But if, O king, he had raised any obstacle in the case of an alms intended for, got ready for, or in possession of the Blessed One, then his head would have split into a hundred or a thousand pieces.'

'That is so, Nagasena. Mara, the evil one, acted after the manner of robbers, he lay in ambush, possessing the Brahmans and householders of the Five Sala trees. But if the same Mara, the evil one, had interfered with any alms intended for, or made ready for the Blessed One, or with his partaking thereof, then would his head have been split into a hundred or a thousand pieces, or his bodily frame have been dissipated like a handful of chaff.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 16. UNCONSCIOUS CRIME / KNOWLEDGE OF WRONG DOING.]

27. 'Venerable Nagasena, your people say: "Whosoever deprives a living being of life, without knowing that he does so, he accumulates very serious demerit." But on the other hand it was laid down by the Blessed One in the Vinaya: "There is no offence to him who acts in ignorance." If the first passage is correct, the other must be false; and if the second is right, the first must be wrong. This too is a double-pointed problem, hard to master, hard to overcome. It is now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

28. 'Both the passages you quote, O king, were spoken by the Blessed One. But there is a difference between the sense of the two. And what is that difference? There is a kind of offence which is committed without the co-operation of the mind, and there is another kind which has that co-operation. It was with respect to the first of the two that the Blessed One said: "'There is no offence to him who acts in ignorance.'"

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[17. THE BUDDHA AND HIS FOLLOWERS / THE BUDDHA IS NOT POSSESSIVE.]

29. 'Venerable Nagasena, it was said by the Blessed One: "Now the Tathagata thinks not, Ananda, that is he who should lead the brotherhood, or that the Order is dependent upon him." But on the other hand when describing the virtues and the nature of Metteyya, the Blessed One, he said thus: "He will be the leader of a brotherhood several thousands in number, as I am now the leader of a brotherhood several hundreds in number." If the first statement be right, then the second is wrong. If the second passage is right, the first must be false. This too is a double-pointed problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

30. 'You quote both passages correctly, O king. But in the dilemma that you put the sense in the one passage is inclusive, in the other it is not. It is not the Tathagata, O king, who seeks after a following, but the followers who seek after him.

It is a mere commonly received opinion, O king, that "This is I," or "This is mine," it is not a transcendental truth. Attachment is a frame of mind put away by the Tathagata, he has put away clinging, he is free from the delusion that "This is mine," he lives only to be a help to others. Just as the earth, O king, is a support to the beings in the world, and an asylum to them, and they depend upon it, but the broad earth has no longing after them in the idea that "These belong to me"--just so is the Tathagata a support and an asylum to all beings, but has no longing after them in the idea that "These belong to me." And just as a mighty rain cloud, O king, pours out its rain, and gives nourishment to grass and trees, to cattle and to men, and maintains the lineage thereof, and all these creatures depend for their livelihood upon its rain, but the cloud has no feelings of longing in the idea that "These are mine"--just so does the Tathagata give all beings to know what are good qualities and maintains them in goodness, and all beings have their life in him, but the Tathagata has no feelings of longing in the idea that "These are mine." And why is it so? Because of his having abandoned all self-regard.'

'Very good, Nagasena! The problem has been well solved by variety of examples. The jungle has been made open, the darkness has been turned to light, the arguments of the adversaries have been broken down, insight has been awakened in the sons of the Conqueror.

[18. ON SCHISM / THE UNITY OF THE ORDER.]

31. 'Venerable Nagasena, your people say: "The Tathagata (as a spiritual or religious order) is a person whose following can never be broken up." And again they say: "At one stroke Devadatta seduced five hundred of the brethren." If the first be true the second is false, but if the second be correct then the first is wrong. This too is a double-pointed problem, profound, hard to unravel, more knotty than a knot. By it these people are veiled, obstructed, hindered, shut in, and enveloped. Herein show your skill as against the arguments of the adversaries.'

32. 'Both statements, O king, are correct. But the latter is owing to the power of the breach maker. Where there is one to make the breach, a mother will be separated from her son, and the son will break with the mother, or the father with the son and the son with the father, or the brother from the sister and the sister from the brother, or friend from friend. A ship pieced together with timber of all sorts is broken up by the force of the violence of the waves, and a tree in full bearing and full of sap is broken down by the force of the violence of the wind, and gold of the finest sort is divided by bronze. But it is not the intention of the wise, it is not the will of the Buddhas, it is not the desire of those who are learned that the following of the Tathagata should be broken up. And there is a special sense in which it is said that that cannot be. It is an unheard-of thing, so far as I know, that his following could be broken up by anything done or taken, any unkindly word, any wrong action, any injustice, in all the conduct, wheresoever or whatsoever, of the Tathagata himself. In that sense his following is invulnerable. And you yourself, do you know of any instance in all the ninefold word of the Buddha of anything done by a Bodisat which broke up the following of the Tathagata?'

'No, Sir. Such a thing has never been seen or heard in the world. It is very good, Nagasena, what you say: and I accept it so.'

CHAPTER 3.

[DILEMMA 19. PRECEDENCE OF THE DHARMA / DHAMMA IS BEST.]

1. 'Venerable Nagasena, it was said by the Blessed One: "For it is the Dhamma, O Vasettha, which is 'the best in the world,' as regards both what we now see, and what is yet to come." But again (according to your people) the devout layman who has entered the Excellent Way, for whom the possibility of rebirth in any place of woe has passed away, who has attained to insight, and to whom the doctrine is known, even such a one ought to salute and to rise from his seat in token of respect for, and to revere, any member of the Order, though a novice, and though he be unconverted. Now if the Dhamma be the best that rule of conduct is wrong, but if that be right then the first statement must be wrong.

This too is a double-pointed problem. It is now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

2. 'The Blessed One said what you have quoted, and you have rightly described the rule of conduct. But there is a reason for that rule, and that is this. There are these twenty personal qualities, making up the Samanaship of a Samana, and these two outward signs, by reason of which the Samana is worthy of salutation, and of respect, and of reverence. And what are they? The best form of self-restraint, the highest kind of self-control, right conduct, calm manners, mastery over (his deeds and words), subjugation (of his senses), long-suffering, sympathy, the practice of solitude, love of solitude, meditation, modesty and fear of doing wrong, zeal, earnestness, the taking upon himself of the precepts, recitation (of the Scriptures), asking questions (of those wise in the Dhamma and Vinaya), rejoicing in the Silas and other (rules of morality), freedom from attachment (to the things of the world), fulfilment of the precepts--and the wearing of the yellow robe, and the being shaven. In the practice of all these things does the member of the Order live. By being deficient in none of them, by being perfect in all, accomplished in all, endowed with all of them does he reach forward to the condition of Arahatship, to the condition of those who have nothing left to learn; he is marching towards the highest of all lands. Thus it is because he sees him to be in the company of the Worthy Ones (the Arahats) that the layman who has already entered on the Excellent Way thinks it worthy in him to reverence and to show respect to the Bhikkhu, though he may be, as yet, unconverted. It is because he sees him to be in the company of those in whom all evil has been destroyed, because he feels that he is not in such society, that the converted layman thinks it worthy of him to do reverence and to show respect to the unconverted Bhikkhu. It is because he knows that he has joined the noblest brotherhood, and that he himself has reached no such state, that the converted layman holds it right to do reverence and to show respect to the unconverted Bhikkhu--because he knows that he listens to the recitation of the Patimokkha, while he himself can not--because he knows that he receives men into the Order, and thus extends the teaching of the Conqueror, which he himself is incapable of doing--because he knows that he carries out innumerable precepts, which he himself cannot observe--because he knows that he wears the outward signs of Samanaship, and carries out the intention of the Buddha, while he himself is gone away far from that--because he knows that he, though he has given up his hair and beard, and is unanointed and wears no ornaments, yet is anointed with the perfume of righteousness, while he is himself addicted to jewelry and fine apparel--that the converted layman thinks it right to do reverence, and to show respect to the unconverted Bhikkhu.'

3. 'And moreover, O king, it is because he knows that not only are all these twenty personal qualities which go to make a Samana, and the two outward signs, found in the Bhikkhu, but that he carries them on, and trains others in them, that the converted layman, realising that he has no part in that tradition, in that maintenance of the faith, thinks it right to reverence and to show respect to the converted Bhikkhu. Just, O king, as a royal prince who learns his knowledge, and is taught the duties of a Khattiya, at the feet of the Brahman who acts as family chaplain, when after a time he is anointed king, pays, reverence and respect to his master in the thought of his being the teacher, and the carrier on of the traditions of the family, so is it right for the converted Bhikkhu to do reverence and to pay respect to the unconverted Bhikkhu.'

4. 'And moreover, O king, you may know by this fact the greatness and the peerless glory of the condition of the Bhikkhus--that if a layman, a disciple of the faith, who has entered upon the Excellent Way, should attain to the realisation of Arahatship, one of two results must happen to him, and there is no other--he must either die away on that very day, or take upon himself the condition of a Bhikkhu. For immovable, O king, is that state of renunciation, glorious, and most exalted--I mean the condition of being a member of the Order!'

'Venerable Nagasena, this subtle problem has been thoroughly unravelled by your powerful and great wisdom. No one else could solve it so unless he were wise as you.'

[DILEMMA 20. THE HARM OF PREACHING / THE COMPASSION OF THE BUDDHA.]

5. 'Venerable Nagasena, you Bhikkhus say that the Tathagata averts harm from all beings, and does them good. And again you say that when he was preaching the discourse based on the simile of the burning fire hot blood was ejected from the mouths of about sixty Bhikkhus. By his delivery of that discourse he did those Bhikkhus harm and not good. So if the first statement is correct, the second is false; and if the second is correct, the first is false. This too is a double-pointed problem put to you, which you have to solve.'

6. 'Both are true. What happened to them was not the Tathagata's doing, but their own.'

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'But, Nagasena, if the Tathagata had not delivered that discourse, then would they have vomited up hot blood?'

'No. When they took wrongly what he said, then was there a burning kindled within them, and hot blood was ejected from their mouths.'

'Then that must have happened, Nagasena, through the act of the Tathagata, it must have been the Tathagata who was the chief cause to destroy them. Suppose a serpent, Nagasena, had crept into an anthill, and a man in want of earth were to break into the anthill, and take the earth of it away. And by his doing so the entrance-hole to the anthill were closed up, and the snake were to die in consequence from want of air. Would not the serpent have been killed by that man's action?'

'Yes, O king.'

'Just so, Nagasena, was the Tathagata the prime cause of their destruction.'

7. 'When the Tathagata delivered a discourse, O king, he never did so either in flattery or in malice. In freedom both from the one and from the other did he speak. And they who received it aright were made wise, but they who received it wrongly, fell. Just, O king, as when a man shakes a mango tree or a jambu tree or a mee tree, such of the fruits on it as are full of sap and strongly fastened to it remain undisturbed, but such as have rotten stalks, and are loosely attached, fall to the ground--so was it with his preaching. It was, O king, as when a husbandman, wanting to grow a crop of wheat, ploughs the field, but by that ploughing many hundreds and thousands of blades of grass are killed--or it was as when men, for the sake of sweetness, crush sugarcane in a mill, and by their doing so such small creatures as pass into the mouth of the mill are crushed also--so was it that the Tathagata making wise those whose minds were prepared, preached the Dhamma without flattery and without malice. And they who received it aright were made wise, but they who received it wrongly, fell.'

8. Then did not those Bhikkhus fall, Nagasena, just because of that discourse?'

'How, then, could a carpenter by doing nothing to a piece of timber, and simply laying it by, make it straight and fit for use?'

'No, Sir. He would have to get rid of the bends out of it, if he wanted it straight and ready for use.'

'Just so, O king, the Tathagata could not, by merely watching over his disciples, have opened the eyes of those who were ready to see. But by getting rid of those who took the word wrongly he saved those prepared to be saved. And it was by their own act and deed, O king, that the evil-minded fell; just as a plantain tree, or a bambû, or a she-mule are destroyed by that to which they themselves give birth. And just, O king, as it is by their own acts that robbers come to have their eyes plucked out, or to impalement, or to the scaffold, just so were the evil-minded destroyed by their own act, and fell from the teaching of the Conqueror.'

9. 'And so with those sixty Bhikkhus, they fell neither by the act of the Tathagata nor of any one else, but solely by their own deed. Suppose, O king, a man were to give ambrosia to all the people, and they, eating of it, were to become healthy and long-lived and free from every bodily ill. But one man, on eating it, were by his own bad digestion, to die. Would then, O king, the man who gave away the ambrosia be guilty therein of any offence?'

'No, Sir.'

'Just so, O king, does the Tathagata present the gift of his ambrosia to the men and gods in the ten thousand world systems; and those beings who are capable of doing so are made wise by the nectar of his law, while they who are not are destroyed and fall. Food, O king, preserves the lives of all beings. But some who eat of it die of cholera. Is the man who feeds the hungry guilty therein of any offence?'

'No, Sir.'

'Just so, O king, does the Tathagata present the gift of his ambrosia to the men and gods in the ten thousand world systems; and those beings who are capable of doing so are made wise by the nectar of his law, while they who are not are destroyed and fall.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 21. THE MODESTY OF THE BUDDHA / THE SECRETS OF A TATHAGATA.]

11. [This dilemma treats of one of the thirty bodily signs of a 'great man' (Mahapurusha) supposed to be possessed by every Tathagata, but as it deals with matters not usually spoken of in this century, it is best read in the original (says Thomas Rys here and left this paragraph empty. Therefore we turn here to the excellent translation by Bhikkhu Pesala.]

This too was said by the Blessed One:

"Control of the body is good,
Good is control of speech,
Control of the mind is good,
Good is control in everything."

"Yet when the Tathagata was seated in the midst of the four congregations [monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen] he showed to Brahman Sela what should not be shown in public — the male organ concealed in a sheath. If he did so then the first statement is false."

"The Blessed One did show to Sela the Brahman what should not be shown in public, but it was by means of supernormal power that he created an image of it and only Sela saw that image. To him, in whom doubts had arisen about the Tathagata, the Master showed the male organ concealed in a sheath by means of supernormal power for the sake of awakening him to the truth. Skilled in means, O king, was the Tathagata. For the sake of scorning physical beauty the Master took Venerable Nanda to the celestial realm to see the lovely maidens there1 and by means of a piece of clean white cloth did he awaken Venerable Culapanthaka to the impurity of the body."

[DILEMMA 22. THE BUDDHA'S HARSH WORDS TO SUDINNA / THE FOOLISH FELLOW.]

15. 'Venerable Nagasena, it was said by the Elder Sariputta, the commander of the faith: "The

Tathagata, brethren, is perfect in courtesy of speech. There is no fault of speech in the Tathagata concerning which he should have to take care that no one else should know it." And on the other hand the Tathagata, when promulgating the first Paragika on the occasion of the offence of Sudinna the Kalanda, addressed him with harsh words, calling him a useless fellow. And that Elder, on being so called, terrified with the fear of his teacher, and overcome with remorse, was unable to comprehend the Excellent Way. Now if the first statement be correct, the allegation that the Tathagata called Sudinna the Kalanda a useless fellow must be false. But if that be true, then the first statement must be false. This too is a double-pointed problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

16. 'What Sariputta the Elder said is true, O king. And the Blessed One called Sudinna a useless fellow on that occasion. But that was not out of rudeness of disposition, it was merely pointing out the real nature (of his conduct) in a way that would do him no harm. And what herein is meant by "pointing out the real nature." If any man, O king, in this birth does not attain to the perception of the Four Truths, then is his manhood (his being born as a man) in vain, but if he acts differently he will become different. Therefore is it that he is called a useless fellow. And so the Blessed One addressed Sudinna the Kalanda with words of truth, and not with words apart from the facts.'

17. 'But, Nagasena, though a man in abusing another speaks the truth, still we should inflict a small fine upon him. For he is guilty of an offence, inasmuch as he, although for something real, abused him by the use of words that might lead to a breach (of the peace).'

'Have you ever heard, O king, of a people bowing down before, or rising up from their seats in respect for, or showing honour to, or bringing the complimentary presents (usually given to officials) to a criminal?'

'No, if a man have committed a crime of whatever sort or kind, if he be really worthy of reproof and punishment, they would rather behead him, or torture him, or bind him with bonds, or put him to death, or deprive him of his goods.'

'Did then the Blessed One, O king, act with justice or not?'

'With justice, Sir, and in a most fit and proper way. And when, Nagasena, they hear of it the world of men and gods will be made tender of conscience, and afraid of falling into sin, struck with awe at the sight of it, and still more so when they themselves associate with wrong-doers, or do wrong.'

18. 'Now would a physician, O king, administer pleasant things as a medicine in a case where all the humours of the body were affected, and the whole frame was disorganised and full of disease?'

'No. Wishing to put an end to the disease he would give sharp and scarifying drugs.'

'In the same way, O king, the Tathagata bestows admonition for the sake of suppressing all the diseases of sin. And the words of the Tathagata, even when stern, soften men and make them tender. Just as hot water, O king, softens and makes tender anything capable of being softened, so are the words of the Tathagata, even when stern, yet as full of benefit, and as full of pity as the words of a father would be to his children. Just, O king, as the drinking of evil-smelling decoctions, the swallowing of nasty drugs, destroys the weaknesses of men's bodies, so are the words of the Tathagata even when stern, bringers of advantage and laden with pity. And just, O king, as a ball of cotton falling on a man raises no bruise, so do the words of the Tathagata, even when stern, do no harm.'

'Well have you made this problem clear by many a simile, Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 23. THE TALKING TREE.]

19. 'Venerable Nagasena, the Tathagata said:

"Brahman! why do you ask an unconscious thing,
Which cannot hear you, how it does to-day?
Active, intelligent, and full of life,
How can you speak to this so senseless thing-
This wild Palasa tree?"

And on the other hand he said:

"And thus the Aspen tree then made reply:
'I, Bharadvaga, can speak too. Listen to me.'"

'Now if, Nagasena, a tree is an unconscious thing, it must be false that the Aspen tree spoke to Bharadvaga. But if that is true, it must be false to say that a tree is unconscious. This too is a double-edged problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

20. The Master said, Nagasena, that a tree is unconscious. And the Aspen tree conversed with Bharadvaga. But that last is said, O king, by a common form of speech. For though a tree being unconscious cannot talk, yet the word "tree" is used as a designation of the dryad who dwells therein, and in that sense that "the tree talks" is a well-known expression. just, O king, as a waggon laden with corn is called a corn-waggon. But it is not made of corn, it is made of wood, yet because of the corn being heaped up in it the people use the expression "corn-waggon." Or just, O king, as when a man is churning sour milk the common expression is that he is churning butter. But it is not butter that he is churning, but milk. Or just, O king, as when a man is making something that does not exist the common expression is that he is making that thing which all the while as yet is not, but people talk of the work as accomplished before it is done. And the Tathagata, when expounding the Dhamma, does so by means of the phraseology which is in common use among the people.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 24. ON THE BUDDHA'S LAST ILLNESS.]

21. 'Venerable Nagasena, it was said by the Elders who held the Recitation:

"When he had eaten Kunda's alms,
The coppersmith's,--thus have I heard,--
The Buddha felt that sickness dire,
That sharp pain even unto death."

And afterwards the Blessed One said: "These two offerings of food, Ananda, equal, of equal fruit, and of equal result, are of much greater fruit and much greater result than any others." Now if sharp sickness fell upon the Blessed One, Nagasena, after he had partaken of Kunda's alms, and sharp pains arose within him even unto death, then that other statement must be wrong. But if that is right then the first must be wrong. How could that alms, Nagasena, be of great fruit when it turned to poison, gave rise to disease, put an end to the period of his then existence, took away his life? Explain this to me to the refutation of the adversaries. The people are in bewilderment about this, thinking that the dysentery must have been caused by his eating too much, out of greediness.'

22. 1 The Blessed One said, O king, that there were two almsgivings equal, of equal fruit, and equal result, and of much greater fruit, and much greater result than any others,--that which, when a Tathagata has partaken of it, he attains to supreme and perfect Buddhahood (Enlightenment), and that when he has partaken of which, he passes away by that utter passing away in which nothing whatever remains behind. For that alms is full of virtue, full of advantage. The gods, O king, shouted in joy and gladness at the thought: "This is the last meal the Tathagata will take," and communicated a divine power of nourishment to that tender pork. And that was itself in good condition, light, pleasant, full of flavour, and good for digestion. It was not because of it that any sickness fell upon the Blessed One, but it was because of the extreme weakness of his body, and because of the period of life he had to live having been exhausted, that the disease arose, and grew worse and worse--just as when, O king, an ordinary fire is burning, if fresh fuel be supplied, it will burn up still more--or as when a stream is flowing along as usual, if a heavy rain falls, it will become a mighty river with a great rush of water--or as when the body is of its ordinary girth, if more food be eaten, it becomes broader than before. So this was not, O king, the fault of the food that was presented, and you can not impute any harm to it.'

23. 'But, venerable Nagasena, why is it that those two gifts of food are so specially meritorious?'

'Because of the attainment of the exalted conditions which resulted from them.'

'Of what conditions, Nagasena, are you speaking?'

'Of the attainment of the nine successive states which were passed through at first in one order, and then in the reverse order.'

'It was on two days, was it not, Nagasena, that the Tathagata attained to those conditions in the highest degree?'

'Yes, O king.'

'It is a most wonderful thing, Nagasena, and a most strange, that of all the great and glorious gifts which were bestowed upon our Blessed One not one can be compared with these two almsgivings. Most marvellous is it, that even as those nine successive conditions are glorious, even so are those gifts made, by their glory, of greater fruit, and of greater advantage than any others. Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.

[DILEMMA 25. ON ADORATION OF RELICS.]

24. 'Venerable Nagasena, the Tathagata said: "Hinder not yourselves, Ananda, by honouring the remains of the Tathagata." And on the other hand he said:

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"Honour that relic of him who is worthy of honour,
Acting in that way you go from this world to heaven."

'Now if the first injunction was right the second must be wrong, and if the second is right the first must be wrong. This too is a double-edged problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

25. 'Both the passages you quote were spoken by the Blessed One. But it was not to all men, it was to the sons of the Conqueror that it was said: "Hinder not yourselves, Ananda, by honouring the remains of the Tathagata". Paying reverence is not the work of the sons of the Conqueror, but rather the grasping of the true nature of all compounded things, the practice of thought, contemplation in accordance with the rules of Satipatthana, the seizing of the real essence of all objects of thought, the struggle against evil, and devotion to their own (spiritual) good. These are things which the sons of the Conqueror ought to do, leaving to others, whether gods or men, the paying of reverence.'

26. 'And that is so, O king, just as it is the business of the princes of the earth to learn all about elephants, and horses, and chariots, and bows, and rapiers, and documents, and the law of property, to carry on the traditions of the Khattiya clans, and to fight themselves and to lead others in war, while husbandry, merchandise, and the care of cattle are the business of other folk, ordinary Vessas and Suddas.--Or just as the business of Brahmins and their sons is concerned with the Rig-veda, the Yagur-veda, the Sama-veda, the Atharva-veda, with the knowledge of lucky marks (on the body), of legends, Puranas, lexicography, prosody, phonology, verses. grammar, etymology, astrology, interpretation of omens, and of dreams, and of signs, study of the six Vedangas, of eclipses of the sun and moon, of the prognostications to be drawn from the flight of comets, the thunderings of the gods, the junctions of planets, the fall of meteors, earthquakes, conflagrations, and signs in the heavens and on the earth, the study of arithmetic, of casuistry, of the interpretation of the omens to be drawn from dogs, and deer, and rats, and mixtures of liquids, and the sounds and cries of birds-while husbandry, merchandise, and the care of cattle are the business of other folk, ordinary Vessas and Suddas. So it was, O king, in the sense of "Devote not yourselves to such things as are not your business, but to such things as are so" that the Tathagata was speaking when he said: "Hinder not yourselves, Ananda, by honouring the remains of the Tathagata." And if, O king, he had not said so, then would the Bhikkhus have taken his bowl and his robe, and occupied themselves with paying reverence to the Buddha through them!'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 26. ON THE SPLINTER OF ROCK GRAZING THE BUDDHA'S FOOT.]

27. 'Venerable Nagasena, you Bhikkhus say that: "When the Blessed One walked along, the earth, unconscious though it is, filled up its deep places, and made its steep places plain." And on the other hand you say that a splinter of rock grazed his foot. When that splinter was falling on his foot why did it not, then, turn aside? If it be true that the unconscious earth makes its deep places full and its steep places plain for him, then it must be untrue that the splinter of rock hurt his foot. But if the latter statement be true, then the first must be false. This too is a double-edged problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

28. 'Both statements, O king, are true. But that splinter of rock did not fall of itself, it was cast down through the act of Devadatta. Through hundreds of thousands of existences, O king, had Devadatta borne a grudge against the Blessed One. It was through that hatred that he seized hold of a mighty mass of rock, and pushed it over with the hope that it would fall upon the Buddha's head. But two other rocks came together, and intercepted it before it reached the Tathagata, and by the force of their impact a splinter was torn off, and fell in such a direction that it struck the Blessed One's foot.'

29. 'But, Nagasena, just as two rocks intercepted that mighty mass, so could the splinter have been intercepted.'

'But a thing intercepted, O king, can escape, slip through, or be lost--as water does, through the fingers, when it is taken into the hand--or milk, or buttermilk, or honey, or ghee, or oil, or fish curry, or gravy--or as fine, subtle, minute, dusty grains of sand do, through the fingers, if you close your fist on them--or as rice will escape sometimes when you have taken it into your fingers, and are putting it into your mouth.'

30. 'Well, let that be so, Nagasena. I admit that the rock was intercepted. But the splinter ought at least to have paid as much respect to the Buddha as the earth did.'

'There are these twelve kinds of persons, O king, who pay no respect--the lustful man in his lust, and the angry man in his malice, and the dull man in his stupidity, and the puffed-up man in his pride, and the bad man in his want of discrimination, and the obstinate man in his want of docility, and the mean man in his littleness, and the talkative man in his vanity, and the wicked man in his cruelty, and the wretched man in his misery, and the gambler because he is overpowered by greed, and the busy man in his search after gain. But that splinter, just as it was broken off by the impact of the rocks, fell by chance in such a direction that it struck against the foot of the Blessed One--just as fine, subtle, and minute grains of sand, when carried away by the force of the wind, are sprinkled down by chance in any direction they may happen to take. If the splinter, O king, had not been separated from the rock of which it formed a part, it too would have been intercepted by their meeting together. But, as it was, it was neither fixed on the earth, nor did it remain stationary in the air, but fell whithersoever chance directed it, and happened to strike against the Blessed One's foot--just as dried leaves might fall if caught up in a whirlwind. And the real cause of its so striking against his foot was the sorrow-working deed of that ungrateful, wicked, Devadatta.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 27. ON WHAT CONSTITUTES THE SAMANA.]

31. 'Venerable Nagasena, the Blessed One said: "A man becomes a Samana by the destruction of the Asavas." But on the other hand he said:

"The man who has these dispositions four
Is he whom the world knows as Samana."

And in that passage these are the four dispositions referred to--long-suffering, temperance in food, renunciation, and the being without the attachments (arising from lust, ill-will, and dulness). Now these four dispositions are equally found in those who are still defective, in whom the Asavas have not yet been completely destroyed. So that if the first statement be correct, the second is wrong, and if the second be right the first must be wrong. This too is a double-edged problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

32. 'Both statements, O king, were made by the Blessed One. But the second was said of the characteristics of such and such men; the first is an inclusive statement--that all in whom the Asavas are destroyed are Samanas. And moreover, of all those who are made perfect by the suppression of evil, if you take them in regular order one after the other, then the Samana in whom the Asavas are destroyed is acknowledged to be the chief--just, O king, as of all flowers produced in the water or on the land, the double jasmine is acknowledged to be the chief, all other kinds of flowers of whatever sort are merely flowers, and taking them in order it is the double jasmine that people most desire and like. Or just, O king, as of all kinds of grain, rice is acknowledged to be the chief, all other kinds of grain, of whatever sort, [183] are useful for food and for the support of the body, but if you take them in order, rice is acknowledged as the best.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 28. ON THE BUDDHA'S EXULTATION.]

33. 'Venerable Nagasena, the Blessed One said: "If, O Bhikkhus, any one should speak in praise of me, or of our religion (Dhamma), or of the Order, you should not thereupon indulge in joy, or delight, or exultation of mind ". And on the other hand the Tathagata was so delighted, and pleased, and exultant at the deserved praise bestowed on him by Sela the Brahman, that he still further magnified his own goodness in that he said:

"A king am I, Sela, the king supreme
Of righteousness. The royal chariot wheel
In righteousness do I set rolling on--
That wheel that no one can turn back again!"

Now if the passage first quoted be right then must the second be wrong, but if that be right then must the first be wrong. This too is a double-edged problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

34. 'Both your quotations, O king, are correct. But the first passage was spoken by the Blessed One with the intention of setting forth truthfully, exactly, in accordance with reality, and fact, and sense, the real nature, and essence, and characteristic marks of the Dhamma. And the second passage was not spoken for the sake of gain or fame, nor out of party spirit, nor in the lust of winning over men to become his followers. But it was in mercy and love, and with the welfare of others in view, conscious that thereby three hundred young Brahmans would attain to the knowledge of the truth, that he said: "A king am I, Sela, the king supreme of righteousness."'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 29. ON KINDNESS AND PUNISHMENT.]

35. 'Venerable Nagasena, the Blessed One said:

"Doing no injury to any one
Dwell full of love and kindness in the world."

And on the other hand he said: "Punish him who deserves punishment, favour him who is worthy of favour." Now punishment, Nagasena, means the cutting off of hands or feet, flogging, casting into bonds, torture, execution, degradation in rank.

Such a saying is therefore not worthy of the Blessed One, and he ought not to have made use of it. For if the first injunction be right then this must be wrong, and if this be right then the injunction to do no injury to any one, but to dwell full of love and kindness in the world, must be wrong. This too is a double-edged problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

36. 'The Blessed One, great king, gave both the commands you quote. As to the first, to do no injury to any one, but to live full of love and kindness in the world--that is a doctrine approved by all the Buddhas. And that verse is an injunction, an unfolding of the Dhamma, for the Dhamma has as its characteristic that it works no ill. And the saying is thus in thorough accord with it. But as to the second command you quote that is a special use of terms [which you have misunderstood. The real meaning of them is: "Subdue that which ought to be subdued, strive after, cultivate, favour what is worthy of effort, cultivation, and approval"]. The proud heart, great king, is to be subdued, and the lowly heart cultivated--the wicked heart to be subdued, and the good heart to be cultivated--carelessness of thought is to. be subdued, and exactness of thought to be cultivated--he who is given over to wrong views is to be subdued, and he who has attained to right views is to be cultivated--he who is not noble is to be subdued, and the noble one is to be cultivated--the robber is to be subdued, and the honest brother is to be cultivated.'

37. 'Let that be so, Nagasena. But now, in that last word of yours, you have put yourself into my power, you have come round to the sense in which I put my question. For how, venerable Nagasena, is the robber to be subdued by him who sets to work to subdue him?'

'Thus, great king--if deserving of rebuke let him be rebuked, if of a fine let him be fined, if of banishment let him be banished, if of death let him be put to death.'

'Is then, Nagasena, the execution of robbers part of the doctrine laid down by the Tathagatas?'

'Certainly not, O king.'

'Then why have the Tathagatas laid down that the robber is to be taught better?'

'Whosoever, great king, may be put to death, he does not suffer execution by reason of the opinion put forth by the Tathagatas. He suffers by reason of what he himself has done. But notwithstanding that the doctrine of the Dhamma has been taught (by the Buddhas), would it be possible, great king, for a man who had done nothing wrong, and was walking innocently along the streets, to be seized and put to death by any wise person?'

'Certainly not.'

'But why?'

'Because of his innocence.'

'Just so, great king, since the thief is not put to death through the word of the Tathagata, but only through his own act, how can any fault be rightly found on that account with the Teacher?'

'It could not be, Sir.'

'So you see the teaching of the Tathagatas is a righteous teaching.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 30. ON THE DISMISSAL OF THE ELDERS.]

38. 'Venerable Nagasena, it was said by the Blessed One:

"Anger I harbour not, nor sulkiness."

But on the other hand the Tathagata dismissed the Elders Sariputta and Moggallana, together with the brethren who formed their company of disciples.

How now, Nagasena, was it in anger that the Tathagata sent away the disciples, or was it in pleasure? Be so good as to explain to me how this was. For if, Nagasena, he dismissed them in anger, then had the Tathagata not subdued all liability to anger in himself. But if it was in pleasure, then he did so ignorantly, and without due cause. This too is a double-edged problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

39. 'The Blessed One did say, O king:

"Anger I harbour not, nor sulkiness."

And he did dismiss the Elders with their disciples. But that was not in anger. Suppose, O king, that a man were to stumble against some root, or stake, or stone, or potsherd, or on uneven ground, and fall upon the broad earth. Would it be that the broad earth, angry with him, had made him fall?'

'No, indeed, Sir. The broad earth feels neither anger against any man nor delight. It is altogether free from ill-will, neither needs it to fawn on any one. It would be by reason of his own carelessness that that man stumbled and fell.'

'Just so, great king, do the Tathagatas experience neither anger against, nor pride in any man. Altogether free are the Tathagatas, the Arahat-Buddhas, alike from ill-will, and from the need to fawn on any one. And those disciples were sent away by reason of what they themselves had done. So also the great ocean endures not association with any corpse. Any dead body there may be in it that does it promptly cast up, and leave high and dry on the shore. But is it in anger that it casts it up?'

'Certainly not, Sir. The broad ocean feels neither anger against any, nor does it take delight in any. It seeks not in the least to please any, and is altogether free from the desire to harm.'

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'Just so, great king, do the Tathagatas feel neither anger against any man, nor do they place their faith in any man. The Tathagatas, the Arahat-Buddhas, are quite set free from the desire either to gain the goodwill of any man, or to do him harm, And it was by reason of what they themselves had done that those disciples were sent away. Just as a man, great king, who stumbles against the ground is made to fall, so is he who stumbles in the excellent teaching of the Conqueror made to go away. just as a corpse in the great ocean is cast up, so is he who stumbles in the excellent teaching of the Conqueror sent away. And when the Tathagata sent those disciples away it was for their good, and their gain, their happiness, and their purification, and in order that in that way they should be delivered from birth, old age, disease, and death.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

CHAPTER 4.

[DILEMMA 31. On THE MURDER OF MOGGALLANA.]

1. 'Venerable Nagasena, it has been said by the Blessed One: "This is the chief, O Bhikkhus, of those of my disciples in the Order who are possessed of the power of Iddhi, I mean Moggallana." But on the other hand they say his death took place by his being beaten to death with clubs, so that his skull was broken, and his bones ground to powder, and all his flesh and nerves bruised and pounded together. Now, Nagasena, if the Elder, the great Moggallana, had really attained to supremacy in the magical power of Iddhi, then it cannot be true that he was beaten to death with clubs. But if his death was on that wise, then the saying that he was chief of those possessed of Iddhi must be wrong. How could he who was not even able, by his power of Iddhi, to prevent his own murder, be worthy nevertheless to stand as succour to the world of gods and men? This too is a double-edged problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

2. 'The Blessed One did declare, O king, that Moggallana was chief among the disciples in power of Iddhi. And he was nevertheless beaten to death by clubs. But that was through his being then possessed by the still greater power of Karma.'

3. 'But, venerable Nagasena, are not both of these things appurtenant to him who has the power of Iddhi--that is the extent of his power, and the result of his Karma--both alike unthinkable? And cannot the unthinkable be held back by the unthinkable? Just, Sir, as those who want the fruits will knock a wood apple down with a wood apple, or a mango with a mango, so ought not the unthinkable in like manner to be subject to restraint by the unthinkable?'

'Even among things beyond the reach of the imagination, great king, still one is in excess above the other, one more powerful than the other. Just, O king, as the monarchs of the world are alike in kind, but among them, so alike in kind, one may overcome the rest, and bring them under his command--just so among things beyond the grasp of the imagination is the productive effect of Karma by far the most powerful. It is precisely the effect of Karma which overcomes all the rest, and has them under its rule; and no other influence is of any avail to the man in whom Karma is working out its inevitable end. It is as when, O king, any man has committed an offence against the law.

Neither his mother nor his father, neither his sisters nor his brother, neither his friends nor his intimate associates can protect him then. He has fallen therein under the power of the king who will issue his command respecting him. And why is that so? Because of the wrong that he has done. So is it precisely the effect of Karma which overcomes all other influences, and has them under its command, and no other influence can avail the man in whom Karma is working out its inevitable end. It is as when a jungle fire has arisen on the earth, then can not even a thousand pots of water avail to put it out, but the conflagration overpowers all, and brings it under its control. And why is that so? Because of the fierceness of its heat. So is it precisely the effect of Karma which overcomes all other influences, and has them under its command; and no other influence can avail the man in whom Karma is working out its inevitable end. That is why the venerable one, great king, the great Moggallana, when, at a time when he was possessed by Karma, he was being beaten to death with clubs, was yet unable to make use of his power of Iddhi.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 32. ON THE SECRECY IN WHICH THE VINAYA IS KEPT.]

4. 'Venerable Nagasena, it was said by the Blessed One: "The Dhamma and the Vinaya (Doctrine and Canon Law) proclaimed by the Tathagata shine forth when they are displayed, and not when they are concealed." But on the other hand the recitation of the Patimokkha and the whole of the Vinaya Pitaka are closed and kept secret. So that if, Nagasena, you (members of the Order) carried out what is just, and right, and held of faith in the teaching of the Conqueror then would the Vinaya shine forth as an open thing. And why would that be so? Because all the instruction therein, the discipline, the self-control, the regulations as to moral and virtuous conduct, are in their essence full of truth and righteousness, and redounding to emancipation of heart. But if the Blessed One really said that the Dhamma and Vinaya proclaimed by the Tathagata shine forth when displayed and not when kept secret, then the saying that the recitation of the Patimokkha and the whole of the Vinaya must be kept secret must be wrong. And if that be right, then the saying of the Blessed One must be wrong. This too is a double-edged problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

5. 'It was said, O king, by the Blessed One that the Dhamma and Vinaya proclaimed by the Tathagata shine forth when displayed, and not when kept secret. And on the other hand the recitation of the Patimokkha and the whole of the Vinaya Pitaka are kept close and secret. But this last is not the case as regards all men. They are only kept secret up to a certain limit. And the recitation of the Patimokkha is kept secret up to that certain limit on three grounds--firstly because that is the traditional custom of previous Tathagatas, secondly out of respect for the Truth (Dhamma), and thirdly out of respect for the position of a member of the Order.'

6. 'And as to the first it was the universal custom, O king, of previous Tathagatas for the recitation of the Patimokkha to take place in the midst of the members of the Order only, to the exclusion of all others. Just, O king, as the Kshatriya secret formulas (of the nobles) are handed down among the nobles alone, and that this or that is so is common tradition among the nobles of the world and kept secret from all others--so was this the universal custom of previous Tathagatas, that the recitation of the Patimokkha should take place among the members of the Order only, and be kept secret from all others. And again, just as there are several classes of people, O king, known as distinct in the world---such as wrestlers, tumblers, jugglers, actors, ballet-dancers, and followers of the mystic cult of the sun and moon, of the goddess of fortune and other gods. And the secrets of each of these sects are handed on in the sect itself, and kept hidden from all others. just so with the universal custom of all the Tathagatas that the recitation of the Patimokkha should take place before the members of the Order only, and be kept secret from all others. This is why the recitation of the Patimokkha is, up to that extent, kept secret in accordance with the habit of previous Tathagatas.'

7. 'And how is it that the Patimokkha is kept secret, up to that extent, out of reverence for the Dhamma? The Dhamma, great king, is venerable and weighty. He who has attained to proficiency in it may exhort another in this wise: "Let not this Dhamma so full of truth, so excellent, fall into the hands of those unversed in it, where it would be despised and contemned, treated shamefully, made a game of, and found fault with. Nor let it fall into the hands of the wicked who would deal with it in all respects as badly as they." It is thus, O king, that the recitation of the Patimokkha is, up to that extent, kept secret out of reverence for the Dhamma. For if not, then it would be like the best, most costly, and most rare red sandal wood of the finest kind, which when brought to Savara (that city of the outcast Kandalas) is despised and contemned, treated shamefully, made game of, and found fault with.'

8. 'And how is it that the Patimokkha is kept secret, up to that extent, out of reverence for the position of a member of the Order? The condition of a Bhikkhu, great king, is in glory beyond the reach of calculation by weight, or measure, or price. None can value it, weigh it, measure it. And the recitation of the Patimokkha, is carried on before the Bhikkhus alone, lest any one who has occupied that position should be brought down to a level with the men of the world. just, O king, as if there be any priceless thing, in vesture or floor covering, in elephants, chargers, or chariots, in gold or silver or jewels or pearls or women, or in unsurpassable strong drink, all such things are the appanage of kings--just so, O king, whatever is most priceless in the way of training, of the traditions of the Blessed One, of learning, of conduct, and of the virtues of righteousness and self-control--all these are the appanages of the Order of Bhikkhus. This is why the recitation of the Patimokkha is, to that extent, kept secret.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.)

[DILEMMA 33. THE TWO KINDS OF FALSEHOOD.]

9. 'Venerable Nagasena, it has been said by the Blessed One that a deliberate lie is an offence of the greatest kind (involving exclusion from the Order).

And again he said: "By a deliberate lie a Bhikkhu commits a minor offence, one that ought to be the subject of confession made before another (member of the Order)." Now, venerable Nagasena, what is herein the distinction, what the reason, that by one lie a Bhikkhu is cast out of the Order, and by another he is guilty only of an offence that can be atoned for. If the first decision be right, then the second must be wrong; but if the second be right, then the first must be wrong. This too is a double-edged problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

10. 'Both your quotations, O king, are correct. But a falsehood is a light or heavy offence according to the subject matter. For what do you think, great king? Suppose a man were to give another a slap with his hand, what punishment would you inflict upon him?'

'If the other refused to overlook the matter, then neither should we be able to pardon his assailant, but should mulct him in a penny or so.'

'But on the other hand, suppose it had been you yourself that he had given the blow to, what would then be the punishment?'

'We should condemn him to have his hands cut off, and his feet cut off, and to be skinned alive, and we should confiscate all the goods in his house, and put to death all his family to the seventh generation on both sides.'

'But, great king, what is the distinction? Why is it that for one slap of the hand there should be a gentle fine of a penny, while for a slap given to you there should be so fearful a retribution?'

'Because of the difference in the person (assaulted).'

'Well! just so, great king, is a falsehood a light or a heavy offence according to the attendant circumstances.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 34. THE BODISAT'S CONSIDERATION.]

11. 'Venerable Nagasena, it has been said by the Blessed One in the discourse on the essential conditions: "Long ago have his parents been destined for each Bodisat, and the kind of tree he is to select for his Bo tree, and the

Bhikkhus who are to be his two chief disciples, and the lad who is to be his son, and the member of the Order who is to be his special attendant." But on the other hand he said: "When yet in the condition of a god in the Tusita heaven the Bodisat makes the eight Great Investigations--he investigates the time (whether the right moment had come at which he ought to be re-born as a man), and the continent (in which his birth is to take place), and the country (where he is to be re-born), and the family (to which he is to belong), and the mother (who is to bear him), and the period (during which he was to remain in the womb), and the month (in which his birthday shall come), and his renunciation (when it shall be). Now, Nagasena, before knowledge is ripe there is no understanding, but when it has reached its summit there is no longer any need to wait for thinking a matter over, for there is nothing outside the ken of the omniscient mind. Why then should the Bodisat investigate the time, thinking to himself: "In what moment shall I be born?" And for the same reason why should he investigate the family, thinking to himself:

"In what family shall I be born?" And if, Nagasena, it is a settled matter who shall be the parents of the Bodisat, then it must be false that he "investigated the family." But if that be true, then must the other saying be wrong. This too is a double-edged problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

12. 'It was both a settled matter, O king, who should be the parents of the Bodisat, and he did investigate into the question as to which family he was to be born into. But how did he do so? He thought over the matter as to whether his parents should be nobles or Brahmans. With respect to eight things, O king, should the future be investigated before it comes to pass. A merchant, O king, should investigate goods before he buys them--an elephant should try with its trunk a path it has not yet trod--a cartman should try a ford he has not yet crossed over--a pilot should test a shore he has not yet arrived at, and so guide the ship--a physician should find out the period of life which his patient has lasted before he treats his disease--a traveller should test the stability of a bambû bridge before he mounts on to it--a Bhikkhu should find out how much time has yet to run before sun turn before he begins to eat his meal--and Bodisats, before they are born, should investigate the question whether it would be right for them to be born in the family of a noble or of a Brahman.

These are the eight occasions on which investigation ought to precede action.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 35. THE PROBLEM AS TO SUICIDE.]

13. 'Venerable Nagasena, it has been said by the Blessed One: "A brother is not, O Bhikkhus, to commit suicide. Whosoever does so shall be dealt with according to the law." And on the other hand you (members of the Order) say: "On whatsoever subject the Blessed One was addressing the disciples, he always, and with various similes, preached to them in order to bring about the destruction of birth, of old age, of disease, and of death. And whosoever overcame birth, old age, disease, and death, him did he honour with the highest praise." Now if the Blessed One forbade suicide that saying of yours must be wrong, but if not then the prohibition of suicide must be wrong. This too is a double-edged problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

14. 'The regulation you quote, O king, was laid down by the Blessed One, and yet is our saying you refer to true. And there is a reason for this, a reason for which the Blessed One both prohibited (the destruction of life), and also (in another sense) instigated us to it.'

'What, Nagasena, may that reason be?'

'The good man, O king, perfect in uprightness, is like a medicine to men in being an antidote to the poison of evil, he is like water to men in laying the dust and the impurities of

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evil dispositions, he is like a jewel treasure to men in bestowing upon them all attainments in righteousness, he is like a boat to men inasmuch as he conveys them to the further shore of the four flooded streams (of lust, individuality, delusion, and ignorance), he is like a caravan owner to men in that he brings them beyond the sandy desert of rebirths, he is like a mighty rain cloud to men in that he fills their hearts with satisfaction, he is like a teacher to men in that he trains them in all good, he is like a good guide to men in that he points out to them the path of peace. It was in order that so good a man as that, one whose good qualities are so many, so various, so immeasurable, in order that so great a treasure mine of good things, so full of benefit to all beings, might not be done away with, that the Blessed One, O king, out of his mercy towards all beings, laid down that injunction, when he said: "A brother is not, O Bhikkhus, to commit suicide. Whosoever does so shall be dealt with according to the law." This is the reason for which the Blessed One prohibited (self-slaughter). And it was said, O king, by the Elder Kumara Kassapa, the eloquent, when he was describing to Payasi the Raganya the other world: "So long as Samanas and Brahmans of uprightness of life, and beauty of character, continue to exist--however long that time may be--just so long do they conduct themselves to the advantage and happiness of the great masses of the people, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men!'"

15. 'And what is the reason for which the Blessed One instigated us (to put an end to life)? Birth, O king, is full of pain, and so is old age, and disease, and death. Sorrow is painful, and so is lamentation, and pain, and grief, and despair. Association with the unpleasant is painful, and separation from the pleasant. The death of a mother is painful, or of a father, or a brother, or a sister, or a son, or a wife, or of any relative. Painful is the ruin of one's family, and the suffering of disease, and the loss of wealth, and decline in goodness, and the loss of insight.

Painful is the fear produced by despots, or by robbers, or by enemies, or by famine, or by fire, or by flood, or by the tidal wave, or by earthquake, or by crocodiles or alligators. Painful is the fear of possible blame attaching to oneself, or to others, the fear of punishment, the fear of misfortune. Painful is the fear arising from shyness in the presence of assemblies of one's fellows, painful is anxiety as to one's means of livelihood, painful the foreboding of death. Painful are (the punishments inflicted on criminals), such as being flogged with whips, or with sticks, or with split rods, having one's hands cut off, or one's feet, or one's hands and feet, or one's ears, or one's nose, or one's ears and nose. Painful are (the tortures inflicted on traitors)--being subjected to the Gruel Pot (that is, having boiling gruel poured into one's head from the top of which the skull bone has been removed)--or to the Chank Crown (that is, having the scalp rubbed with gravel till it becomes smooth like a polished shell)--or to the Rahu's Mouth (that is, having one's mouth held open by iron pins, and oil put in it, and a wick lighted therein)--or to the Fire Garland or to the Hand Torch, (that is, being made a living torch, the whole body, or the arms only, being wrapped up in oily cloths, and set on fire)--or to the Snake Strips (that is, being skinned in strips from the neck to the hips, so that the skin falls in strips round the legs)or to the Bark Dress (that is, being skinned alive from the neck downwards, and having each strip of skin as soon as removed tied to the hair, so that these strips form a veil around one)--or to the Spotted Antelope (that is, having one's knees and elbows tied together, and being made to squat on a plate of iron under which a fire is lit)--or to the Flesh-hooks (that is, being hung up on a row of iron hooks)--or to the Pennies (that is, having bits cut out of the flesh, all over the body, of the size of pennies)--or to the Brine Slits (that is, having cuts made all over one's body by means of knives or sharp points, and then having salt and caustic liquids poured over the wounds)--or to the Bar Turn (that is, being transfixed to the ground by a bar of iron passing through the root of the ear, and then being dragged round and round by the leg)--or to the Straw Seat (that is, being so beaten with clubs that the bones are broken, and the body becomes like a heap of straw)--or to be anointed with boiling oil, or to be eaten by dogs, or to be impaled alive, or to be beheaded. Such and such, O king, are the manifold and various pains which a being caught in the whirlpool of births and rebirths has to endure. just, O king, as the water rained down upon the Himalaya mountain flows, in its course along the Ganges, through and over rocks and pebbles and gravel, whirlpools and eddies and rapids, and the stumps and branches of trees which obstruct and oppose its passage,--just so has each being caught in the succession of births and rebirths to endure such and such manifold and various pains. Full of pain, then, is the continual succession of rebirths, a joy is it when that succession ends. And it was in pointing out the advantage of that end, the disaster involved in that succession, that the Blessed One, great king, instigated us to get beyond birth, and old age, and disease, and death by the realisation of the final end of that succession of rebirths. This is the sense, O king, which led the Blessed One to instigate us (to put an end to life).'

'Very good, Nagasena! Well solved is the puzzle (I put), well set forth are the reasons (you alleged). That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA36. A LOVING DISPOSITION OR THE PROBLEM AS TO THE POWER OF LOVE.]

16. 'Venerable Nagasena, it has been said by the Blessed One: "Eleven advantages, O brethren, may be anticipated from practising, making a habit of, enlarging within one, using as a means of advancement, and as a basis of conduct, pursuing after, accumulating, and rising well up to the very heights of the emancipation of heart, arising from a feeling of love (towards all beings). And what are these eleven? He who does so sleeps in peace, and in peace does he awake. He dreams no sinful dreams. He becomes dear to men, and to the beings who are not men. The gods watch over him. Neither fire, nor poison, nor sword works any harm to him. Quickly and easily does he become tranquillised. The aspect of his countenance is calm. Undismayed does he meet death, and should he not press through to the Supreme Condition (of Arahatship), then is he sure of rebirth in the Brahma world." But on the other hand you (members of the Order) say that "Sama the Prince, while dwelling in the cultivation of a loving disposition toward all beings, and when he was (in consequence thereof) wandering in the forest followed by a herd of deer, was hit by a poisoned arrow shot by Piliyakkha the king, and there, on the spot, fainted and fell." Now, venerable Nagasena, if the passage I have quoted from the words of the Blessed One be right, then this statement of yours must be wrong. But if the story of Prince Sama be right, then it cannot be true that neither fire, nor poison, nor sword can work harm to him who cultivates the habit of love to all beings. This too is a double-edged problem, so subtle, so abstruse, so delicate, and so profound, that the thought of having to solve it might well bring out sweat over the body even of the most subtle-minded of mortals. This problem is now put to you. Unravel this mighty knot. Throw light upon this matter to the accomplishment of the desire of those sons of the Conqueror who shall arise hereafter.'

'The Blessed One spake, O king, as you have quoted. And Prince Sama dwelling in the cultivation of love, and thus followed by a herd of deer when he was wandering in the forest, was hit by the poisoned arrow shot by king Piliyakkha, and then and there fainted and fell. But there is a reason for that. And what is the reason? Simply that those virtues (said in the passage you quoted to be in the habit of love) are virtues not attached to the personality of the one who loves, but to the actual presence of the love that he has called up in his heart. And when Prince Sama was upsetting the water-pot, that moment he lapsed from the actual feeling of love. At the moment, O king, in which an individual has realised the sense of love, that moment neither fire, nor poison, nor sword can do him harm. If any men bent on doing him an injury come up, they will not see him, neither will they have a chance of hurting him. But these virtues, O king, are not inherent in the individual, they are in the actual felt presence of the love that he is calling up in his heart.'

'Suppose, O king, a man were to take into his hand a Vanishing Root of supernatural power; and that, so long as it was actually in his hand, no other ordinary person would be able to see him. The virtue, then, would not be in the man. It would be in the root that such virtue would reside that an object in the very line of sight of ordinary mortals could, nevertheless, not be seen. just so, O king, is it with the virtue inherent in the felt presence of love that a man has called up in his heart.'

'Or it is like the case of a man who has entered into a well-formed mighty cave. No storm of rain, however mightily it might pour down, would be able to wet him. But that would be by no virtue inherent in the man. It would be a virtue inherent in the cave that so mighty a downpour of rain could not wet the man. And just so, O king, is it with the virtue inherent in the felt presence of love that a man has called up in his heart.'

'Most wonderful is it, Nagasena, and most strange how the felt presence of love has the power of warding off all evil states of mind.'

'Yes! The practice of love is productive of all virtuous conditions of mind both in good (beings) and in evil ones. To all beings whatsoever, who are in the bonds of conscious existence, is this practice of love of great advantage, and therefore ought it to be sedulously cultivated.'

[DILEMMA 37. DILEMMA AS TO DEVADATTA'S SUPERIORITY TO THE BODISAT IN PREVIOUS BIRTHS.]

17. 'Venerable Nagasena, is the consequence the same to him who does good and to him who does evil, or is there any difference in the two cases?'

'There is a difference, O king, between good and evil. Good works have a happy result, and lead to Sagga, and evil works have an unhappy result, and lead to Niraya.'

'But, venerable Nagasena, your people say that Devadatta was altogether wicked, full of wicked dispositions, and that the Bodisat was altogether pure, full of pure dispositions. And yet Devadatta, through successive existences, was not only quite equal to the Bodisat, but even sometimes superior to him, both in reputation and in the number of his adherents.

18. 'Thus, Nagasena, when Devadatta became the Purohita (family Brahman, royal chaplain) of Brahmadatta, the king, in the city of Benares, then the Bodisat was a wretched Kandala (outcast) who knew by heart a magic spell. And by repeating his spell he produced mango fruits out of season. This is one case in which the Bodisat was inferior to Devadatta in birth, inferior to him in reputation.'

19. 'And again, when Devadatta became a king, a mighty monarch of the earth, living in the enjoyment of all the pleasures of sense, then the Bodisat was an elephant, decked with all manner of ornaments that the king might make use of them. And the king, being put out of temper at the sight of his graceful and pleasant style of pace and motion, said to the elephant trainer with the hope of bringing about the death of the elephant: "Trainer, this elephant has not been properly trained, make him perform the trick called 'Sky walking.'" In that case too the Bodisat was inferior to Devadatta,--was a mere foolish animal.'

20. 'And again, when Devadatta became a man who gained his living by winnowing grain, then the Bodisat was a monkey called "the broad earth." Here again we have the difference between an animal and a man, and the Bodisat was inferior in birth to Devadatta.'

21. 'And again, when Devadatta became a man, by name Sonuttara, a Nesada (one of an outcast tribe of aborigines, who lived by hunting), and was of great strength and bodily power, like an elephant, then the Bodisat was the king of elephants under the name of the "Six-tusked." And in that birth, the hunter slew the elephant. In that case too Devadatta was the superior.'

22. 'And again, when Devadatta became a man, a wanderer in the woods, without a home, then the Bodisat was a bird, a partridge who knew the Vedic hymns. And in that birth too the woodman killed the bird. So in that case also Devadatta was the superior by birth.'

23. 'And again, when Devadatta became the king of Benares, by name Kalabu, then the Bodisat was an ascetic who preached kindness to animals. And the king (who was fond of sport), enraged with the ascetic, had his hands and feet cut off like so many bambû sprouts. In that birth, too, Devadatta was the superior, both in birth and in reputation among men.'

24. 'And again, when Devadatta became a man, a woodman, then the Bodisat was Nandiya the monkey king. And in that birth too the man killed the monkey, and his mother besides, and his younger brother. So in that case also it was Devadatta who was the superior in birth.'

25. 'And again, when Devadatta became a man, a naked ascetic, by name Karambhiya, then the Bodisat was a snake king called "the Yellow one." So in that case too it was Devadatta who was the superior in birth.'

26. 'And again, when Devadatta became a man, a crafty ascetic with long matted hair, then the Bodisat was a famous pig, by name "the Carpenter." So in that case too it was Devadatta who was the superior in birth.'

27. 'And again, when Devadatta became a king among the Ketas, by name Sura Parikara, who had the power of travelling through the air at a level above men's heads, then the Bodisat was a Brahman named Kapila. So in that case too it was Devadatta who was the superior in birth and in reputation.'

28. 'And again, when Devadatta became a man, by name Sama, then the Bodisat was a king among the deer, by name Ruru. So in that case too it was Devadatta who was the superior in birth.'

29. 'And again, when Devadatta became a man, a hunter wandering in the woods, then the Bodisat was a male elephant, and that hunter seven times broke off and took away the teeth of the elephant. So in that case too it was Devadatta who was the superior in respect of the class of beings into which he was born.'

30. 'And again, when Devadatta became a jackal who wanted to conquer the world, and brought the kings of all the countries in India under his control, then the Bodisat was a wise man, by name Vidhura. So in that case too it was Devadatta who was the superior in glory.'

31. 'And again, when Devadatta became the elephant who destroyed the young of the Chinese partridge, then the Bodisat was also an elephant, the leader of his herd. So in that case they were both on a par.'

32. 'And again, when Devadatta became a, yakkha, by name Unrighteous, then the Bodisat too was a yakkha, by name Righteous. So in that case too they were both on a par.'

33. 'And again, when Devadatta became a sailor, the chief of five hundred families, then the Bodisat too was a sailor, the chief of five hundred families. So in that case too they were both on a par.'

34. 'And again, when Devadatta became a caravan leader, the lord of five hundred waggons, then the Bodisat too was a caravan leader, the lord of five hundred waggons. So in that case too they were both on a par.'

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35. 'And again, when Devadatta became a king of deer, by name Sakha, then the Bodisat was a king of deer, by name Nigrodha. So in that case too they were both on a par.'

36. 'And again, when Devadatta became a commander-in-chief by name Sakha, then the Bodisat was a king, by name Nigrodha. So in that case too they were both on a par.'

37. 'And again, when Devadatta became a brahman, by name Khandahala, then the Bodisat was a prince, by name Kanda. So in that case that Khandahala was the superior.'

38. 'And again, when Devadatta became a king, by name Brahmadatta, then the Bodisat was his son, the prince called Maha Paduma. In that case the king had his son cast down seven times, from the precipice from which robbers were thrown down. And inasmuch as fathers are superior to and above their sons, in that case too it was Devadatta was the superior.'

39. 'And again, when Devadatta became a king, by name Maha Patapa, then the Bodisat was his son, Prince Dhamma-pala; and that king had the hands and feet and head of his son cut off. So in that case too Devadatta was the superior.'

40. 'And now again, in this life, they were in the Sakya clan, and the Bodisat became a Buddha, all wise, the leader of the world, and Devadatta having left the world to join the Order founded by Him who is above the god of gods, and having attained to the powers of Iddhi, was filled with lust to become himself the Buddha. Come now, most venerable Nagasena! Is not all that I have said true, and just, and accurate?'

41. 'All the many things which you, great king, have now propounded, are so, and not otherwise.'

'Then, Nagasena, unless black and white are the same in kind, it follows that good and evil bear equal fruit.'

'Nay, not so, great king! Good and evil have not the same result. Devadatta was opposed by everybody. No one was hostile to the Bodisat. And the hostility which Devadatta felt towards the Bodisat, that came to maturity and bore fruit in each successive birth. And so also as Devadatta, when he was established in lordship over the world, was a protection to the poor, put up bridges and courts of justice and rest-houses for the people, and gave gifts according to his bent to Samanas and Brahmans, to the poor and needy and the wayfarers, it was by the result of that conduct that, from existence to existence, he came into the enjoyment of so much prosperity. For of whom, O king, can it be said that without generosity and self-restraint, without self-control and the observance of the Upasatha, he can reach prosperity?

'And when, O king, you say that Devadatta and the Bodisat accompanied one another in the passage from birth to birth, that meeting together of theirs took place not, only at the end of a hundred, or a thousand, or a hundred thousand births, but was in fact constantly and frequently taking place through an immeasurable period of time. For you should regard that matter in the light of the comparison drawn by the Blessed One between the case of the purblind tortoise and the attainment of the condition of a human being. And it was not only with Devadatta that such union took place. Sariputta the Elder also, O king, was through thousands of births the father, or the grandfather, or the uncle, or the brother, or the son, or the nephew, or the friend of the Bodisat; and the Bodisat was the father, or the grandfather, or the uncle, or the brother, or the son, or the nephew, or the friend of Sariputta the Elder.

'All beings in fact, O king, who, in various forms as creatures, are carried down the stream of transmigration, meet, as they are whirled along in it, both with pleasant companions and with disagreeable ones-just as water whirled along in a stream meets with pure and impure substances, with the beautiful and with the ugly.

'And when, O king, Devadatta as the god, had been himself Unrighteous, and had led others into unrighteousness of life, he was burnt in purgatory for an immeasurable period of time. But the Bodisat, who, as the god, had been himself Righteous, and had led others into righteousness of life, lived in all the bliss of heaven for a like immeasurable period of time. And whilst in this life, Devadatta, who had plotted injury against the Buddha, and had created a schism in the Order, was swallowed up by the earth, the Tathagata, knowing all that can be known, arrived at the insight of Buddhahood, and was completely set free (from the necessity of becoming) by the destruction of all that leads to re-existence.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 38. WOMEN'S WHILES OR THE WEAKNESS OF WOMEN.]

42. 'Venerable Nagasena, it has been said by the Blessed One:

With opportunity, and secrecy,
And the right woo'r, all women will go wrong--
Aye, failing others, with a cripple even."

But on the other hand it is said: "Mahosadha's wife, Amara, when left behind in the village while her husband was away on a journey, remained alone and in privacy, and regarding her husband as a man would regard his sovran lord, she refused to do wrong, even when tempted with a thousand pieces." Now if the first of these passages be correct, the second must be wrong; and if the second be right, the first must be wrong. This too is a double-edged problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

43. 'It is so said, O king, as you have quoted, touching the conduct of Amaradevi, Mahosadha's wife. But the question is would she have done wrong, on receipt of those thousand pieces, with the right man: or would she not have done so, if she had had the opportunity, and the certainty of secrecy, and a suitable wooer? Now, on considering the matter, that lady Amara was not certain of any of these things. Through her fear of censure in this world the opportunity seemed to her not fit, and through her fear of the sufferings of purgatory in the next world. And because she knew how bitter is the fruit of wrong-doing, and because she did not wish to lose her loved one, and because of the high esteem in which she held her husband, and because she honoured goodness, and despised ignobleness of life, and because she did not want to break with her customary mode of life--for all these reasons the opportunity seemed to her not fit.

'And, further, she refused to do wrong because, on consideration, she was not sure of keeping the thing secret from the world. For even could she have kept it secret from men, yet she could not have concealed it from spirits--even could she have kept it secret from spirits, yet she could not have concealed it from those recluses who have the power of knowing the thoughts of others-even could she have kept it secret from them, yet she could not have concealed it from those of the gods who can read the hearts of men--even could she have kept it secret from the gods, yet she could not have escaped, herself, from the knowledge of her sin--even could she have remained ignorant of it herself, yet she could not have kept it secret from (the law of the result which follows on) unrighteousness. Such were the various reasons which led her to abstain from doing wrong because she could not be sure of secrecy.

'And, further, she refused to do wrong because, on consideration, she found no right wooer. Mahosadha the wise, O king, was endowed with the eight and twenty qualities. And which are those twenty-eight? He was brave, O king, and full of modesty, and ashamed to do wrong, he had many adherents, and many friends, he was forgiving, he was upright in life, he was truthful, he was pure in word, and deed and heart, he was free from malice, he was not puffed up, he felt no jealousy, he was full of energy, he strove after all good things, he was popular with all men, he was generous, he was friendly, he was humble in disposition, he was free from guile, he was free from deceit, he was full of insight, he was of high reputation, he had much knowledge, he sought after the good of those dependent on him, his praise was in all men's mouths, great was his wealth, and great his fame. Such were the twenty-eight qualities, O king, with which 'Mahosadha, the wise, was endowed. And it was because she found no wooer like unto him that she did no wrong.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 39. ON THE FEARLESSNESS OF THE ARAHATS.]

44. 'Venerable Nagasena, it was said by the Blessed One: "The Arahats have laid aside all fear and trembling." But on the other hand when, in the city of Ragagaha, they saw Dhana-palaka, the man-slaying elephant, bearing down upon the Blessed

One, all the five hundred Arahats forsook the Conqueror and fled, one only excepted, Ananda the Elder. Now how was it, Nagasena? Did those Arahats run away from fear--or did they run away willing to let the Blessed One be destroyed, and thinking: "(Our conduct) will be clear (to him) from the way in which he himself will act," or did they run away with the hope of watching the immense and unequalled mighty power which the Tathagata would exhibit? If, Nagasena, what the Blessed One said as to the Arahats being devoid of fear be true, then this story must be false. But if the story be true, then the statement that the Arahats have put away fear and trembling must be false. This too is a double-edged problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

45. 'The Blessed One did say, O king, that Arahats have put away all fear and trembling, and five hundred Arahats, save only Ananda, did, as you say, run away when the elephant Dhana-palaka bore down upon the Tathagata that day in Ragagaha. But that was neither out of fear, nor from willingness to let the Blessed One be destroyed. For the cause by which Arahats could be made to fear or tremble has been destroyed in them, and therefore are they free from fear or trembling. Is the broad earth, O king, afraid at people digging into it, or breaking it up, or at having to bear the weight of the mighty oceans and the peaked mountain ranges?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'But why not?'

'Because there is no cause in the broad earth which could produce fear or trembling.'

'Just so, O king. And neither is there any such cause in Arahats. And would a mountain peak be afraid of being split up, or broken down, or made to fall, or burnt with fire?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'But why not?'

'The cause of fear or trembling does not exist within it.'

'And just so, O king, with Arahats. If all the creatures of various outward form in the whole universe were, together, to attack one Arahat in order to put him to fear, yet would they bring about no variation in his heart. And why? Because there is neither condition nor cause for fear (in him, whence fear could arise). Rather, O king, was it these considerations that arose in the minds of those Arahats: "To-day when the best of the best of men, the hero among conquerors, has entered into the famous city, Dhana-palaka the elephant will rush down the street. But to a certainty the brother who is his special attendant will not forsake him who is above the god of gods. But if we should not go away, then neither will the goodness of Ananda be made manifest, nor will the elephant actually approach the Tathagata. Let us then withdraw. Thus will great masses of the people attain to emancipation from the bonds of evil, and the goodness of Ananda be made manifest." It was on the realisation of the fact that those advantages would arise from their doing so, that the Arahats withdrew to every side.'

'Well, Nagasena, have you solved the puzzle. That is so. The Arahats feared not, nor did they tremble. But for the advantages that they foresaw they withdrew on every side.'

[DILEMMA 40. ON THE BUDDHA'S CHANGE OF MIND.]

46. 'Venerable Nagasena, your people say that the Tathagata is all wise. And on the other hand they say: "When the company of the members of the Order presided over by Sariputta and Moggallana had been dismissed by the Blessed One, then the Sakyas of Katuma and Brahma Sabanipati, by means of the parables of the seed and of the calf, gained the Buddha over, and obtained his forgiveness, and made him see the thing in the right light." Now how was that, Nagasena? Were those two parables unknown to him that he should be appeased and gained over to their side, and brought to see the matter in a new light? But if he did not already know them, then, Nagasena, he was not all-wise. If he did know them, then he must have dismissed those brethren rudely and violently in order to try them; and therein is his unkindness made manifest. This too is a double-edged problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

47. 'The Tathagata, O king, was all-wise, and yet, pleased at those parables, he was gained over by them, he granted pardon to the brethren he had sent away, and he saw the matter in the light (in which the intercessors on their behalf wished him to see it). For the Tathagata, O king, is lord of the Scriptures. It was with parables that had been first preached by the Tathagata himself that they conciliated him, pleased him, gained him over, and it was on being thus gained over that he signified his approval (of what they had said). It was, O king, as when a wife conciliates, and pleases, and gains over her husband by means of things that belong to the husband himself; and the husband signifies his approval thereof. Or it was, O king, as when the royal barber conciliates and pleases and gains over the king when he dresses the king's head with the golden comb which belongs to the king himself, and the king then signifies his approval thereof, Or it was, O king, as when an attendant novice, when he serves his teacher with the food given in alms which his teacher has himself brought home, conciliates him and pleases him and gains him over, and the teacher then signifies his approval thereof.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

CHAPTER 5. (THE DWELLING PLACE CHAPTER.)

[DILEMMA 41. ON DWELLING-PLACES.]

1. 'Venerable Nagasena, the Blessed One said:

In friendship of the world anxiety is born,
In household life distraction's dust springs up,
The state set free from home and friendship's ties,
That, and that only, is the recluse's aim."

'But on the other hand he said:

"Let therefore the wise man,
Regarding his own weal,
Have pleasant dwelling-places built,
And lodge there learned men."

Now, venerable Nagasena, if the former of these two passages was really spoken by the Tathagata, then the second must be wrong. But if the Tathagata really said: "Have pleasant dwelling-places built," then the former statement must be wrong. This too is a double-edged problem, now put to you, which you have to solve.'

2. 'Both the passages you have quoted, O king, were spoken by the Tathagata. And the former is a statement as to the nature of things, an inclusive statement, a statement which leaves no room for anything to be supplemented to it, or to be added to it in the way of gloss, as to what is seemly and appropriate and proper for a recluse, and as to the mode of life which a recluse should adopt, the path he should walk along, and the practice he should follow. For just, O king, as a deer in the forest, wandering in the woods, sleeps wherever

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he desires, having no home and no dwelling-place, so also should the recluse be of opinion that

"In friendship of the world anxiety is born,
In household life distraction's dust springs up."

3. 'But when the Blessed One said:

"Have pleasant dwelling-places built,
And lodge there learned men,"

that was said with respect to two matters only. And what are those two? The gift of a dwelling-place (Wihara) has been praised and approved, esteemed and highly spoken of, by all the Buddhas. And those who have made such a gift shall be delivered from rebirth, old age, and death. This is the first of the advantages in the gift of a dwelling-place. And again, if there be a common dwelling place (a Wihara) the sisters of the Order will have a clearly ascertained place of rendezvous, and those who wish to visit (the brethren of the Order) will find it an easy matter to do so. Whereas if there were no homes for the members of the Order it would be difficult to visit them. This is the second of the advantages in the gift of a dwelling-place (a Wihara). It was with reference to these two matters only that it was said by the Blessed One:

"Have pleasant dwelling-places built,
And lodge there learned men."

'And it does not follow from that that the sons of the Buddha should harbour longings after the household life.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 42. MODERATION IN FOOD.]

4. 'Venerable Nagasena, the Blessed One said:

"Be not remiss as to (the rules to be observed) when standing up (to beg for food). Be restrained in (matters relating to) the stomach."

But on the other hand he said:

Now there were several days, Udayin, on which I ate out of this bowl when it was full to the brim, and ate even more."

'Now if the first rule be true, then the second statement must be false. But if the statement be true, then the rule first quoted must be wrong.

This too is a double-edged problem, now put to you, which you have to solve.'

5. 'Both the passages you have quoted, O king, were spoken by the Blessed One. But the former passage is a statement as to the nature of things, an inclusive statement, a statement which leaves no room for anything to be supplemented to it, or added to it in the way of gloss, a statement of what is true and real and in accordance with the facts, and that cannot be proved wrong, a declaration made by the prophets, and sages, and teachers, and Arahats, and by the Buddhas who are wise for themselves alone (Pakkeka-Buddhas), a declaration made by the Conquerors, and by the All-wise Ones, a declaration made too by the Tathagata, the Arahat, the Supreme Buddha himself. He who has no self-control as regards the stomach, O king, will destroy living creatures, will take possession of what has not been given to him, will be unchaste, will speak lies, will drink strong drink, will put his mother or his father to death, will slay an Arahat, will create a schism in the Order, will even with malice aforethought wound a Tathagata. Was it not, O king, when without restraint as to his stomach, that Devadatta by breaking up the Order, heaped up for himself karma that would endure for a kalpa? It was on calling to mind this, O king, and many other things of the same kind, that the Blessed One declared:

Be not remiss as to (the rules to be observed) when standing up (to beg for food). Be restrained in (matters relating to) the stomach."

6. 'And he who has self-control as regards the stomach gains a clear insight into the Four Truths, realises the Four Fruits of the life of renunciation, and attains to mastery over the Four Discriminations, the Eight Attainments, and the Six Modes of Higher Knowledge, and fulfils all that goes to constitute the life of the recluse. Did not the parrot fledgling, O king, by self-restraint as to his stomach, cause the very heaven of the great Thirty-Three to shake, and bring down Sakka, the king of the gods, to wait upon him? It was on calling to mind this, O king, and many other things of a similar kind, that the Blessed One declared:

"Be not remiss as to (the rules to be observed) when standing up (to beg for food). Be restrained in (matters relating to) the stomach."

7. 'But when, O king, the Blessed One said: "Now there were several days, Udayi, on which I ate out of this bowl when it was full to the brim, and ate even more," that was said by him who had completed his task, who had finished all that he had to do, who had accomplished the end he set before him, who had overcome every obstruction, by the self-dependent Tathagata himself about himself.

Just, O king, as it is desirable that a sick man to whom an emetic, or a purge, or a clyster has been administered, should be treated with a tonic; just so, O king, should the man who is full of evil, and who has not perceived the Four Truths, adopt the practice of restraint in the matter of eating. But just, O king, as there is no necessity of polishing, and rubbing down, and purifying a diamond gem of great brilliancy, of the finest water, and of natural purity; just so, O king, is there no restraint as to what actions he should perform, on the Tathagata, on him who hath attained to perfection in all that lies within the scope of a Buddha.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 43. BAKKULA'S SUPERIORITY TO THE BUDDHA / THE BEST OF MEN.]

8. 'Venerable Nagasena, it was said by the Blessed One:

"A Brahman am I, O brethren, devoted to self-sacrifice, pure-handed at every time; this body that I bear with me is my last, I am the supreme Healer and Physician."

'But on the other hand the Blessed One said:

"The chief, O brethren, among those who are disciples of mine, in the matter of bodily health, is Bakkula."

'Now it is well known that diseases arose several times in the body of the Blessed One. So that if, Nagasena, the Tathagata was supreme, then the statement he made about Bakkula's bodily health must be wrong. But if the Elder named Bakkula was really chief among those who were healthy, then that statement which I first quoted must be wrong. This too is a double-edged problem, now put to you, which you have to solve.'

9. 'Both the quotations you have made, O king, are correct. But what the Blessed One said about Bakkula was said of those disciples who had learnt by heart the sacred words, and studied them, and handed down the tradition, which in reference to the characteristics (each of them in some one point) had in addition to those which were found in him himself. For there were certain of the disciples of the Blessed One, O king, who were "meditators on foot," spending a whole day and night in walking up and down in meditation. But the Blessed One was in the habit of spending the day and night in meditation, not only walking up and down but also sitting and lying down. So such, O king, of the disciples as were "meditators on foot" surpassed him in that particular. And there were certain of the disciples of the Blessed One, O king, who were "eaters at one sitting," who would not, even to save their lives, take more than one meal a day. But the

Blessed One was in the habit of taking a second, or even a third. So such, O king, of the disciples as were "eaters at one sitting" surpassed him in that particular. And in a similar way, O king, a number of different things have been told, each one of one or other of the disciples. But the Blessed One, O king, surpassed them all in respect of uprightness, and of power of meditation, and of wisdom, and of emancipation, and of that insight which arises out of the knowledge of emancipation, and in all that lies within the scope of a Buddha. It was with reference to that, O king, that he said:

"A Brahman am I, O brethren, devoted to self-sacrifice, pure-handed at every time; this body that I bear with me is my last, I am the supreme Healer and Physician."

10. 'Now one man, O king, may be of good birth, and another may be wealthy, and another full of wisdom, and another well educated, and another brave, and another adroit; but a king, surpassing all these, is reckoned supreme. just in that way, O king, is the Blessed One the highest, the most worthy of respect, the best of all beings. And in so far as the venerable Bakkula was healthy in body, that was by reason of an aspiration (he had formed in a previous birth). For, O king, when Anoma-dassi, the Blessed One, was afflicted with a disease, with wind in his stomach, and again when Vipassi, the Blessed One, and sixty-eight thousand of his disciples, were afflicted with a disease, with greenness of blood, he, being at those times an ascetic, had cured that disease with various medicines, and attained (thereby) to such healthiness of body (in this life) that it was said of him:

"The chief, O brethren, among those who are disciples of mine, in the matter of bodily health, is Bakkula."

11. 'But the Blessed One, O king, whether he be suffering, or not suffering from disease; whether he have taken, or not taken, upon himself the observance of special vows,--there is no being like unto the Blessed One. For this, O king, has been said by the Blessed One, the god of gods, in the most excellent Samyutta Nikaya:

"Whatsoever beings, O brethren, there may be whether without feet, or bipeds, or four-footed things, whether with a body, or without a body, whether conscious or unconscious, or neither conscious nor not--the Tathagata is acknowledged to be the chief of all, the Arahat, the Buddha Supreme.'"

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 44. THE ORIGINALITY OF THE BUDDHA'S TEACHING / THE ANCIENT PATH.]

12. 'Venerable Nagasena, it has been said by the Blessed One:

"The Tathagata, O brethren, the Arahat, the Buddha supreme, is the discoverer of a way that was unknown."

'But on the other hand he said:

"Now I perceived, O brethren, the ancient way, the ancient path, along which the previous Buddhas walked."

'If, Nagasena, the Tathagata be the discoverer of a way not previously found out, then it must be wrong that it was an ancient way that he perceived, an ancient path along which previous Buddhas walked. But if the way he perceived were an ancient way, then the statement that it was unknown must be wrong. This too is a double-edged problem, now put to you, which you have to solve.'

13. 'Both the quotations you make, O king, are accurate. And both the statements so made are correct. When the previous Tathagatas, O king, had disappeared, then, there being no teacher left, their way too disappeared. And it was that way--though then broken up, crumbled away, gone to ruin, closed in, no longer passable, quite lost to view--that the Tathagata, having gained a thorough knowledge of it, saw by the eye of his wisdom, (and knew it) as the way that previous Buddhas trod. And therefore is it that he said:

"Now I perceived, O brethren, the ancient way, the ancient path along which previous Buddhas walked."

'And it was a way which--there being, through the disappearance of previous Tathagatas, no teacher left--was a way then broken up, crumbled away, gone to ruin, closed in, and lost to view, that the Tathagata made now passable again. And therefore is it that he said:

"The Tathagata, O brethren, the Arahat, the Buddha supreme, is the discoverer of a way that was unknown."

14. 'Suppose, O king, that on the disappearance of a sovran overlord, the mystic Gem of Sovranty lay concealed in a cleft on the mountain peak, and that on another sovran overlord arriving at his supreme dignity, it should appear to him. Would you then say, O king, that the Gem was produced by him?'

'Certainly not, Sir! The Gem would be in its original condition. But it has received, as it were, a new birth through him.'

'Just so, O king, is it that the Blessed One, gaining a thorough knowledge of it by the eye of' his wisdom, brought back to life and made passable again the most excellent eightfold way in its original condition as when it was walked along by the previous Tathagatas,--though that way, when there was no teacher more, had become broken up, had crumbled away, had gone to ruin, was closed in, and lost to view. And therefore is it that he said:

"The Tathagata, O brethren, the Arahat, the Buddha supreme, is the discoverer of a way that was unknown."

15. 'It is, O king, as when a mother brings forth from her womb the child that is already there, and the saying is that the mother has given birth to the child. Just so, O king, did the Tathagata, having gained a thorough knowledge of it by the eye of his wisdom, bring into life, and make passable again, a way that was already there, though then broken up, crumbled away, gone to ruin, closed in, and lost to view.

'It is as when some man or other finds a thing that has been lost, and the people use the phrase: "He has brought it back to life." And it is as when a man clears away the jungle, and sets free a piece of land, and the people use the phrase: "That is his land." But that land is not made by him. It is because he has brought the land into use that he is called the owner of the land. Just so, O king, did the Tathagata, having gained a thorough knowledge of it by the eye of his wisdom, bring back to life, and make passable again, a way that was already there, though then broken up, crumbled away, gone to ruin, closed in, no longer passable, and lost to view. And therefore is it that he said:

"The Tathagata, O brethren, the Arahat, the Buddha supreme, is the discoverer of a way that was unknown.'"

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 45 THE BUDDHA'S KINDNESS / THE BODHISATVA'S WEAKNESS.]

16. 'Venerable Nagasena, it was said by the Blessed One:

"Already in former births when I was a man had I acquired the habit of inflicting no hurt on living beings."

But on the other hand it is said:

When he was Lomasa Kassapa, the Rishi, he had hundreds of living creatures slain and offered the great sacrifice, the 'Drink of Triumph.'"

'Now, Nagasena, if it is true what the Buddha said, that, in his former births as a man, he inflicted no hurt on living beings, then the saying that, as Lomasa Kassapa, he had hundreds of living creatures slain must be false. But if he had, then the saying that he inflicted no hurt on living beings must be false. This too is a double-edged problem, now put to you, which you have to solve.'

17. 'The Blessed One did say, O king, that already in former births, when he was a man, he had acquired the habit of inflicting no hurt on living beings. And Lomasa Kassapa, the Rishi, did have hundreds of living creatures slain, and offered the great sacrifice, the "Drink of Triumph." But that was done when he was out of his mind through lust, and not when he was conscious of what he was doing.'

'There are these eight classes of men, Nagasena, who kill living beings--the lustful man through his lust, and the cruel man through his anger, and the dull man through his stupidity, and the proud man through his pride, and the avaricious man through his greed, and the needy man for the sake of a livelihood, and the fool in joke, and the king in the way of punishment. These, Nagasena, are the eight classes of men who, kill living beings. The Bodisat, venerable Nagasena,

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must have been acting in accordance with his natural disposition when he did so.'

'No, it was not, O king, an act natural to him that the Bodisat did then. If the Bodisat had been led, by natural inclination, to offer the great sacrifice, he would not have uttered the verse:

"Not the whole world, Sayha, the ocean girt,
With all the seas and hills that girdle it,
Would I desire to have, along with shame."

'But though, O king, the Bodisat had said that, yet at the very sight of Kandavati (Moon-face), the princess, he went out of his mind and lost command of himself through love. And it was when thus out of his mind, confused and agitated, that he, with his thoughts all perplexed, scattered and wandering, thus offered the great sacrifice, the "Drink of Triumph,"--and mighty was the outpour of blood from the necks of the slaughtered beasts!

'Just, O king, as a madman, when out of his senses, will step into a fiery furnace, and take hold of an infuriated venomous snake, and go up to a rogue elephant, and plunge forwards into great waters, the further shore of which he cannot see, and trample through dirty pools and muddy places, and rush into thorny brakes, and fall down precipices, and feed himself on filth, and go naked through the streets, and do many other things improper to be done--just so was it, O king, that at the very sight of Kandavati, the princess, the Bodisat went out of his mind, and then only acted as I have said.

18. 'Now an evil act done, O king, by one out of his mind, is even in this present world not considered as a grievous offence, nor is it so in respect of the fruit that it brings about in a future life. Suppose, O king, that a madman had been guilty of a capital offence, what punishment would you inflict upon him?'

'What punishment is due to a madman? We should order him to be beaten and set free. That is all the punishment he would have.'

'So then, O king, there is no punishment according to the offence of a madman. It follows that there is no sin in the act done by a madman, it is a pardonable act. And just so, O king, is it with respect to Lomasa Kassapa, the Rishi, who at the mere sight of Kandavati, the princess, went out of his mind, and lost command of himself through love. It was when thus out of his mind, confused and agitated, that he, with his thoughts all perplexed, scattered and wandering, thus offered the great sacrifice, the "Drink of Triumph,"--and mighty was the outpour of blood from the necks of the slaughtered beasts! But when he returned again to his natural state, and recovered his presence of mind, then did he again renounce the world, and having regained the five powers of insight, became assured of rebirth in the Brahma world.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 46. THE MOCKING OF THE BUDDHA / RESPECT FOR THE ROBE.]

19. 'Venerable Nagasena, it was said by the Blessed One of Six-tusks, the elephant king,

"When he sought to slay him, and had reached him with his trunk,
He perceived the yellow robe, the badge of a recluse,
Then, though smarting with the pain, the thought possessed his heart,--
'He who wears the outward garb the Arahats wear
Must be scatheless held, and sacred, by the good.'"

'But on the other hand it is said:

"When he was Gotipala, the young Brahman, he reviled and abused Kassapa the Blessed One, the Arahat, the Buddha supreme, with vile and bitter words, calling him a shaveling and a good-for-nothing monk."

'Now if, Nagasena, the Bodisat, even when he was an animal, respected the yellow robe, then the statement that as Gotipala, a Brahman, he reviled and abused the Blessed One of that time, must be false. But if as a Brahman, he reviled and abused the Blessed One, the statement that when he was Six-tusks, the elephant king, he respected the yellow robe, must be false. If when the Bodisat was an animal, though he was suffering severe and cruel and bitter pain, he respected the yellow robe which the hunter had put on, how was it that when he was a man, a man arrived at discretion, with all his knowledge mature, he did not pay reverence, on seeing him, to Kassapa the Blessed One, the Arahat, the Buddha supreme, one endowed with the ten powers, the leader of the world, the highest of the high, round whom effulgence spread a fathom on every side, and who was clad in most excellent and precious and delicate Benares cloth made into yellow robes? This too is a double-edged problem, now put to you, which you have to solve.'

20. 'The verse you have quoted, O king, was spoken by the Blessed One. And Kassapa the Blessed One, the Arahat, the Buddha supreme, was abused and reviled by Gotipala the young Brahman with vile and bitter words, with the epithets of shaveling and good-for-nothing monk. But that was owing to his birth and family surroundings. For Gotipala, O king, was descended from a family of unbelievers, men void of faith. His mother and father, his sisters and brothers, the bondswomen and bondsmen, the hired servants and dependents in the house, were worshippers of Brahma, reverers of Brahma; and harbouring the idea that Brahmans were the highest and most honourable among men, they reviled and loathed those others who had renounced the world. It was through hearing what they said that Gotipala, when invited by Ghatikara the potter to visit the teacher, replied: "What's the good to you of visiting that shaveling, that good-for-nothing monk?"

21. 'Just, O king, as even nectar when mixed with poison will turn sour, just as the coolest water in contact with fire will become warm, so was it that Gotipala, the young Brahman, having been born and brought up in a family of unbelievers, men void of faith, thus reviled and abused the Tathagata after the manner of his kind. And just, O king, as a flaming and burning mighty fire, if, even when at the height of its glory, it should come into contact with water, would cool down, with its splendour and glory spoilt, and turn to cinders, black as rotten blighted fruits-just so, O king, Gotipala, full as he was of merit and faith, mighty as was the glory of his knowledge, yet when reborn into a family of unbelievers, of men void of faith, he became, as it were, blind, and reviled and abused the Tathagata. But when he had gone to him, and had come to know the virtues of the Buddhas which he had, then did he become as his hired servant; and having renounced the world and entered the Order under the system of the Conqueror, he gained the fivefold power of insight, and the eightfold power of ecstatic meditation, and became assured of rebirth into the Brahma heaven.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 47. THE HELPLESSNESS OF A BUDDHA / THE MERIT OF THE POTTER.]

22. 'Venerable Nagasena, this too has been said by the Blessed One:

"Ghatikara the potter's dwelling-place remained, the whole of it, for three months open to the sky, and no rain fell upon it."

'But on the other hand it is said:

"Rain fell on the hut of Kassapa the Tathagata."

'How was it, venerable Nagasena, that the hut of a Tathagata, the roots of whose merits were so widely spread, got wet? One would think that a Tathagata should have the power to prevent that. If, Nagasena, Ghatikara the potter's dwelling was kept dry when it was open to the sky, it cannot be true that a Tathagata's hut got wet. But if it did, then it must be false that the potter's dwelling was kept dry. This too is a double-edged problem, now put to you, which you have to solve.'

23. 'Both the quotations you have made, O king, are correct. Ghatikara the potter was a good man, beautiful in character, deeply rooted in merit, who supported his old and blind mother and father. And when he was absent, the people, without so much as asking his leave, took away the thatch from his dwelling to roof in with it the hut of the Tathagata. Then, unmoved and unshaken at his thatch being thus removed, but filled rather with a well-grounded and great joy the like of which cannot be found, an immeasurable bliss sprang up in his heart at the thought: "May the Blessed One, the chief of the world, have full confidence in me." And thereby did he obtain merit which brought forth its good result even in this present life.

24. 'And the Tathagata, O king, was not disturbed by that temporary inconvenience (of the falling rain). Just, O king, as Sineru, the king of the mountains, moves not, neither is shaken, by the onslaught of innumerable gales 1--just as the mighty ocean, the home of the great waters, is not filled up, neither is disturbed at all, by the inflow of innumerable great rivers--just so, O king, is a Tathagata unmoved at temporary inconvenience.

'And that the rain fell upon the Tathagata's hut happened out of consideration for the great masses of the people. For there are two circumstances, O king, which prevent the Tathagatas from themselves supplying (by creative power) any requisite of which they may be in need. And what are the two? Men and gods, by supplying the requisites of a Buddha on the ground that he is a teacher worthy of gifts, will thereby be set free from rebirth in states of woe. And lest others should find fault, saying: "They seek their livelihood by the working of miracles." If, O king, Sakka had kept that hut dry, or even Brahma himself, even then that action would have been faulty, wrong, and worthy of censure.

For people might then say: "These Buddhas by their dexterity befool and lord it over the world." That is the reason why such action would have been better left undone. The Tathagatas, O king, do not ask for any advantage; and it is because they ask for nothing that they are held blameless.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept as you say.'

[DILEMMA 48. WHY GOTAMA CLAIMED TO BE A BRAHMAN / KING OR BRAHMIN?]

25. 'Venerable Nagasena, this too was said by the Blessed One:

"A Brahman am I, O brethren, devoted to self-sacrifice."

'But on the other hand he declared:

"A king am I, Sela."

'If, Nagasena, the Blessed One were a Brahman, then he must have spoken falsely when he said he was a king. But if he were a king, then he must have spoken falsely when he said he was a Brahman. He must have been either a Khattiya or a Brahman. For he could not have belonged, in the same birth, to two castes. This too is a double-edged problem, now put to you, which you have to solve.'

26. 'Both the quotations you have made, O king, are correct. But there is good reason why the Tathagata, should have been both Brahman and also king.'

'Pray what, Nagasena, can be that reason?'

'Because all evil qualities, not productive of merit, are in the Tathagata suppressed, abandoned, put away, dispelled, rooted out, destroyed, come to an end, gone out, and ceased, therefore is it that the Tathagata is called a Brahman. A Brahman, O king, means one who has passed beyond hesitation, perplexity, and doubt. And it is because the Tathagata has done all this, that therefore also is he called a Brahman. A Brahman, O king, means one who has escaped from every sort and class of becoming, who is entirely set free from evil and from stain, who is dependent on himself, and it is because the Tathagata is all of these things, that therefore also is he called a Brahman. A Brahman, O king, means one who cultivates within himself the highest and best of the excellent and supreme conditions of heart. And it is because the Tathagata does this that therefore also is he called a Brahman. A Brahman, O king, means one who carries on the line of the tradition of the ancient instructions concerning the learning and the teaching of sacred writ, concerning the acceptance of gifts, concerning subjugation of the senses, self-control in conduct, and performance of duty. And it is because the Tathagata carries on the line of the tradition of the ancient rules enjoined by the Conquerors regarding all these things, that therefore also is he called a Brahman. A Brahman, O king, means one who enjoys the supreme bliss of the ecstatic meditation. And it is because the Tathagata does this, that therefore also is he called a Brahman. A Brahman, O king, means one who knows the course and revolution of births in all forms of existence. And it is because the Tathagata knows this, that therefore also is he called a Brahman. The appellation "Brahman," O king, was not given to the Blessed One by his mother, nor his father, not by his brother, nor his sister, not by his friends, nor his relations, not by spiritual teachers of any sort, no, not by the gods. It is by reason of their emancipation that this is the name of the Buddhas, the Blessed Ones. From the moment when, under the Tree of Wisdom, they had overthrown the armies of the Evil One, had suppressed in themselves all evil qualities not productive of merit, and had attained to the knowledge of the Omniscient

Ones, it was from the acquisition of this insight, the appearance in them of this enlightenment, that this true designation became applied to them,--the name of "Brahman." And that is the reason why the Tathagata is called a Brahman.'

27. 'Then what is the reason why the Tathagata is called a king?'

'A king means, O king, one who rules and guides the world, and the Blessed One rules in righteousness over the ten thousand world systems, he guides the whole world with its men and gods, its evil spirits and its good ones, and its teachers, whether Samanas or Brahmans. That is the reason why the Tathagata is called a king. A king means, O king, one who, exalted above all ordinary men, making those related to him rejoice, and those opposed to him mourn; raises aloft the Sunshade of Sovranty, of pure and stainless white, with its handle of firm hard wood, and its many hundred ribs,--the symbol of his mighty fame and glory. And the Blessed One, O king, making the army of the Evil One, those given over to false doctrine, mourn; filling the hearts of those, among gods or men, devoted to sound doctrine, with joy; raises aloft over the ten thousand world systems the Sunshade of his Sovranty, pure and stainless in the whiteness of emancipation, with its hundreds of ribs fashioned out of the highest wisdom, with its handle firm and strong through long suffering,--the symbol of his mighty fame and glory. That too is the reason why the Tathagata is called a king. A king is one who is held worthy of homage by the multitudes who approach him, who come into his presence. And the Blessed One, O king, is held worthy of homage by multitudes of beings, whether gods or men, who approach him, who come into his presence. That too is the reason why the Tathagata is called a king. A king is one who, when pleased with a strenuous servant, gladdens his heart by bestowing upon him, at his own good pleasure, any costly gift the officer may choose. And the Blessed One, O king, when pleased with any one who has been strenuous in word or deed or thought, gladdens his heart by bestowing upon him, as a selected gift, the supreme deliverance from all sorrow,--far beyond all material gifts. That too is the reason why the Tathagata is called a king. A king is one who censures, fines, or executes the man who transgresses the royal commands. And so, O king, the man who, in shamelessness or discontent,

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transgresses the command of the Blessed One, as laid down in the rules of his Order, that man, despised, disgraced and censured, is expelled from the religion of the Conqueror. That too is the reason why the Tathagata is called a king. A king is one who in his turn proclaiming laws and regulations according to the instructions laid down in succession by the righteous kings of ancient times, and thus carrying on his rule in righteousness, becomes beloved and dear to the people, desired in the world, and by the force of his righteousness establishes his dynasty long in the land. And the Blessed One, O king, proclaiming in his turn laws and regulations according to the instructions laid down in succession by the Buddhas of ancient times, and thus in righteousness being teacher of the world,--he too is beloved and dear to both gods and men, desired by them, and by the force of his righteousness he makes his religion last long in the land. That too is the reason why the Tathagata is called a king.

'Thus, O king, so many are the reasons why the Tathagata should be both Brahman and also king, that the ablest of the brethren could scarcely in an æon enumerate them all. Why then should I dilate any further? Accept what I have said only in brief.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 49. GIFTS TO THE BUDDHA / RIGHT LIVELIHOOD.]

28. 'Venerable Nagasena, it has been said by the Blessed One:

"Gifts chaunted for in sacred hymns
Are gifts I must not take.
All those who see into the Truth
Do this their practice make.
The Buddhas all refused to chaunt for wage;
This was their conduct still
Whene'er the Truth prevailed
Through every age."

'But on the other hand the Blessed One, when preaching the Truth, or talking of it, was in the habit of beginning with the so-called "preliminary discourse," in which giving has the first place, and goodness only the second. So that when gods and men heard this discourse of the Blessed One, the lord of the whole world, they prepared and gave gifts, and the disciples partook of the alms thus brought about. Now if, Nagasena, it be true what the Blessed One said, that he accepted no gifts earned by the chaunting of sacred words, then it was wrong that the Blessed One put giving thus into the foreground. But if he did rightly in so emphasizing the giving of gifts, then it is not true that he accepted no gifts earned by the utterance of sacred words. And why so? Because if any one worthy of offerings should praise to the laity the good results to them of the bestowal of alms, they, hearing that discourse, and pleased with it, will proceed to give alms again and again. And then, whosoever enjoy that gift, they are really enjoying that which has been earned by the utterance of sacred words. This too is a double-edged problem, now put to you, which you have to solve.'

29. 'The stanza you quote, O king, was spoken by the Blessed One. And yet he used to put the giving of alms into the forefront of his discourse. But this is the custom of all the Tathagatas--first by discourse on almsgiving to make the hearts of hearers inclined towards it, and then afterwards to urge them to righteousness. This is as when men, O king, give first of all to young children things to play with-- such as toy ploughs, tip-cat sticks, toy wind-mills, measures made of leaves, toy carts, and bows and arrows--and afterwards appoint to each his separate task. Or it is as when a physician first causes his patients to drink oil for four or five days in order to strengthen them, and to soften their bodies; and then afterwards administers a purge. The supporters of the faith, O king, the lordly givers, have their hearts thus softened, made tender, affected. Thereby do they cross over to the further shore of the ocean of transmigration by the aid of the boat of their gifts, by the support of the causeway of their gifts. And (the Buddha), by this (method in his teaching), is not guilty of "intimation."'

30. 'Venerable Nagasena, when you say "intimation" what are these intimations?'

'There are two sorts, O king, of intimation--bodily and verbal. And there is one bodily intimation which is wrong, and one that is not; and there is one verbal intimation which is wrong, and one that is not. Which is the bodily intimation which is wrong? Suppose any member of the Order, in going his rounds for alms, should, when choosing a spot to stand on, stand where there is no room, that is a bodily intimation which is wrong. The true members of the Order will not accept any alms so asked for, and the individual who thus acts is despised, looked down upon, not respected, held blameworthy, disregarded, not well thought of, in the religion of the Noble Ones; he is reckoned as one of those who have broken their (vows as to) means of livelihood. And again, O king, suppose any member of the Order, in going his round for alms, should stand where there is no room, and stretch out his neck like a peacock on the gaze, in the hope: "Thus will the folk see me"--that too is a bodily intimation which is wrong. True brethren will not accept an alms so asked for, and he who thus acts is regarded like the last. And again, O king, suppose any member of the Order should make a sign with his jaw, or with his eyebrow, or with his finger--that too is a bodily intimation which is wrong. True brethren will not accept an alms so asked for, and he who thus acts is regarded the same way.

31. 'And which is the bodily intimation which is not wrong? If a brother, on going his round for alms, be self-possessed, tranquil, conscious of his acts; if he stand, wherever he may go, in the kind of spot that is lawful; if he stand still where there are people desirous to give, and where they are not so desirous, if he pass on;--that is a bodily intimation which is not wrong. Of an alms so stood for the true members of the Order will partake; and the individual who thus asks is, in the religion of the Noble Ones, praised, thought highly of, esteemed, and reckoned among those whose behaviour is without guile, whose mode of livelihood is pure. For thus has it been said by the Blessed One, the god over all gods:

"The truly wise beg not, for Arahats scorn to beg.
The good stand for their alms, thus only do they beg."

32. 'Which is the verbal intimation which is wrong? In case, O king, a brother intimate his wish for a number of things, requisites of a member of the Order--robes and bowls and bedding and medicine for the sick--that is a verbal intimation which is wrong. Things so asked for the true members of the Order (Ariya) will not accept; and in the religion of the Noble Ones the individual who acts thus is despised, looked down upon, not respected, held blameworthy, disregarded, not well thought of--reckoned rather as one who has broken his (vows as to) means of livelihood. And again, O king, in case a brother should, in the hearing of others, speak thus: "I am in want of such and such a thing;" and in consequence of that saying being heard by the others he should then get that thing--that too is a verbal intimation which is wrong. True members of the Order will not use a thing so obtained, and he who acts thus is regarded like the last. And again, O king, in case a brother, dilating in his talk, give the people about him to understand: "Thus and thus should gifts be given to the Bhikkhus," and in case they, on hearing that saying, should bring forth from their store anything so referred to--that too is a verbal intimation which is wrong. True members of the Order will not use a thing so obtained, and he who acts thus is regarded like the last. For when Sariputta, the Elder, O king, being ill in the night-time, after the sun had set, and being questioned by Moggallana, the Elder, as to what medicine would do him good, broke silence; and through that breach of silence obtained the medicine--did not Sariputta then, saying to himself: "This medicine has come through breach of silence; let not my (adherence to the rules regarding) livelihood be broken," reject that medicine, and use it not? So that too is a verbal intimation which is wrong. True members of the Order will not use a thing so obtained, and he who acts thus is regarded like the last.

33. 'And what is the verbal intimation which is right? Suppose a brother, O king, when there is necessity for it, should intimate among families either related to him, or which had invited him to spend the season of Was with him, that he is in want of medicines--this is a verbal intimation which is not wrong. True members of the Order will partake of things so asked for; and the individual who acts thus is, in the religion of the Noble Ones, praised, thought highly of, esteemed, reckoned among those whose mode of livelihood is pure, approved of the Tathagatas, the Arahats, the Supreme Buddhas. And the alms that the Tathagata, O king, refused to accept of Kasi-Bharadvaga, the Brahman, that was presented for the sake of testing him with an intricate puzzle which he would have to unwind, for the sake of pulling him away, of convicting him of error, of making him acknowledge himself in the wrong. Therefore was it that the Tathagata refused that alms, and would not partake thereof.'

34. 'Nagasena, was it always, whenever the Tathagata was eating, that the gods infused the Sap of Life from heaven into the contents of his bowl, or was it only into those two dishes--the tender boar's flesh, and the rice porridge boiled in milk--that they infused it?

'Whenever he was eating, O king, and into each morsel of food as he picked it up--just as the royal cook takes the sauce and pours it over each morsel in the dish while the king is partaking of it. And so at Veranga, when the Tathagata was eating the cakes made of dried barley, the gods moistened each one with the Sap of Life, as they placed it near him. And thus was the body of the Tathagata fully refreshed.'

'Great indeed was the good fortune, Nagasena, of those gods that they were ever and always so zealous in their care for the body of the Tathagata! Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 50. ON THE BUDDHA'S AFTER-DOUBT / THE RELUCTANCE OF THE BUDDHA.]

35. 'Venerable Nagasena, your people say:

"The Tathagata gradually, through millions of years, through æon after æon, brought his omniscient wisdom to perfection for the sake of the salvation of the great masses of the people."

'But on the other hand (they say):

"Just after he had attained to omniscience his heart inclined, not to the proclamation of the Truth, but to rest in peace."

'So that, Nagasena, just as if an archer, or an archer's pupil, who had practised archery for many days with the object of fighting, should, when the day of the great battle had come, draw back--just so did the Tathagata, who through countless ages had gradually matured his omniscience for the sake of bringing safe to the shore (of salvation) the great masses of the people, turn back, on the day when that omniscience had been reached, from proclaiming the Truth. just as if a wrestler who through many days had practised wrestling should, when the day of the wrestling match had come, draw back--just so did the Tathagata, who through countless ages had gradually matured his omniscience for the sake of bringing safe to the shore (of salvation) the great masses of the people, turn back, on the day when that omniscience had been reached, from proclaiming the Truth.

'Now was it from fear, Nagasena, that the Tathagata drew back, or was it from inability to preach, or was it from weakness, or was it because he had not, after all, attained to omniscience? What was the reason of this? Tell me, I pray, the reason, that my doubts may be removed. For if for so long a time he had perfected his wisdom with the object of saving the people, then the statement that he hesitated to announce the Truth must be wrong. But if that be true, then the other statement must be false. This too is a double-edged problem, now put to you,--a problem profound, a knot hard to unravel,--which you have to solve.'

36. 'The statements in both the passages you quote, O king, are correct. But that his heart inclined, not to the preaching of the truth, but to inaction, was because he saw, on the one hand, how profound and abstruse was the Doctrine, how hard to grasp and understand, how subtle, how difficult to penetrate into; and, on the other, how devoted beings are to the satisfaction of their lusts, how firmly possessed by false notions of Individualism. And so (he wavered) at the thought: "Whom shall I teach? And how can I teach him?"--his mind being directed to the idea of the powers of penetration which beings possessed.

'Just, O king, as an able physician, when called in to a patient suffering from a complication of diseases, might reflect: "What can be the treatment, what the drug, by which this man's sickness can be allayed?"--just so, O king, when the Tathagata called to mind how afflicted were the people by all the kinds of malady which arise from sin, and how profound and abstruse was the Doctrine, how subtle, and how difficult to grasp, then at the thought: "Whom can I teach? And how shall I teach him?" did his heart incline rather to inaction than to preaching--his mind being directed to the powers of penetration which beings possessed.

'And just, O king, as a king, of royal blood, an anointed monarch, when he calls to mind the many people who gain their livelihood in dependence on the king--the sentries and the body-guard, the retinue of courtiers, the trading folk, the soldiers and the royal messengers, the ministers and the nobles--might be exercised at the thought: "How now, in what way, shall I be able to conciliate them all?"--just so when the Tathagata called to mind how profound and abstruse was the Doctrine, how subtle, and how difficult to grasp, and how devoted beings were to the satisfaction of their lusts, how firmly possessed by false notions of Individualism, then at the thought: "Whom shall I teach? And how shall I teach him?" did his heart incline rather to inaction than to preaching--his mind being directed to the powers of penetration which beings possessed.

37. 'And this, too, is an inherent necessity in all Tathagatas that it should be on the request of Brahma that they should proclaim the Dhamma. And what is the reason for that? All men in those times, with the ascetics and the monks, the wandering teachers and the Brahmans, were worshippers of Brahma, reverers of Brahma, placed their reliance on Brahma. And therefore, at the thought: "When so powerful and glorious, so famous and renowned, so high and mighty a one has shown himself inclined (to the Dhamma), then will the whole world of gods and men become inclined to it, hold it fitting, have faith in it"--on this ground, O king, the Tathagatas preached the Dhamma when requested to do so by Brahma. For just, O king, as what a sovran or a minister of state shows homage to, or offers worship to, that will the rest of mankind, on the ground of the homage of so powerful a personage, show homage to and worship--just so, O king, when Brahma had paid homage to the Tathagatas, so would the whole world of gods and men. For the world, O king, is a reverer of what is revered. And that is why Brahma asks of all Tathagatas that they should make known the Doctrine, and why, on so being asked, they make it known.'

'Very good, Nagasena! The puzzle has been well unravelled, most able has been your exposition. That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

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CHAPTER 6. QUESTIONS SOLVED BY INFERENCE (DEDUCTION)

[DILEMMA 51. CONTRADICTORY STATEMENTS AS TO THE BUDDHA'S TEACHER.]

1. 'Venerable Nagasena, this too has been said by the Blessed One:

"I have no teacher, and the man
Equal to me does not exist.
No rival to me can be found
In the whole world of gods and men."

'But on the other hand he said:

"Thus then, O brethren, Alara Kalama, when he was my teacher and I was his pupil, placed me on an equality with himself, and honoured me with exceeding great honour."

'Now if the former of these statements be right, then the second must be wrong. But if the second be right, then the first must be wrong. This too is a double-edged problem, now put to you, which you have to solve.'

2. 'Both the quotations you have made, O king, are accurate. But when he spoke of Alara Kalama as his teacher, that was a statement made with reference to the fact of his having been his teacher while he (Gotama) was still a Bodisat and before he had attained to insight and to Buddhahood; and there were five such teachers, O king, under whose tuition the Bodisat spent his time in various places--his teachers when he was still a Bodisat, before he had attained to insight and to Buddhahood. And who were these five?

3. 'Those eight Brahmans who, just after the birth of the Bodisat, took note of the marks on his body--[236] Rama, and Dhaga, and Lakkhana, and Manti, and Yanna, and Suyama, and Subhoga, and Sudatta--they who then made known his future glory, and marked him out as one to be carefully guarded-these were first his teachers.

'And again, O king, the Brahman Sabbamitta of distinguished descent, who was of high lineage in the land of Udikka, a philologist and grammarian, well read in the six Vedangas, whom Suddhodana the king, the Bodisat's father, sent for, and having poured out the water of dedication from a golden vase, handed over the boy to his charge, to be taught--this was his second teacher.

'And again, O king, the god who raised the agitation in the Bodisat's heart, at the sound of whose speech the Bodisat, moved and anxious, that very moment went out from the world in his Great Renunciation--this was his third teacher.

'And again, O king, Alara Kalama--he was his fourth teacher.

'And again, O king, Uddaka the son of Rama--he was his fifth teacher.

'These, O king, are the five who were his teachers when he was still a Bodisat, before he had attained to insight and to Buddhahood. But they were teachers in worldly wisdom. And in this Doctrine that is transcendental, in the penetrating into the wisdom of the omniscient ones--in that there is no one who is above the Tathagata to teach him. Self-dependent for his knowledge is the Tathagata, without a master, and that is why it was said by the Tathagata:

"I have no teacher, and the man
Equal to me does not exist.
No rival to me can be found
In the whole world of gods and men."'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 52. WHY MUST THERE BE ONLY ONE BUDDHA AT A TIME?]

4. 'Venerable Nagasena, this too was said by the Blessed One:

"This is an impossibility, an occurrence for which there can be no cause, that in one world two Arahat Buddhas supreme should arise at one and the same time--such a thing can in no wise be."

'But, Nagasena, when they are preaching, all the Tathagatas preach (the Doctrine as to) the thirty-seven constituent elements of insight; when they are talking, it is of the Four Noble Truths that they talk; when they are instructing, it is in the three Trainings that they instruct; when they are teaching, it is the practice of zeal that they teach. If, Nagasena, the preaching of all the Tathagatas is one, and their talk of the same thing, and their training the same, and their teaching one, why then should not two Tathagatas arise at the same time? Already by the appearance of one Buddha has this world become flooded with light. If there should be a second Buddha the world would be still more illuminated by the glory of them both. When they were exhorting two Tathagatas would exhort at ease; when they were instructing two Tathagatas would instruct at ease. Tell me the reason of this, that I may put away my doubt.'

5. 'This world system, O king, is a one-Buddha-supporting world; that is, it can bear the virtue of only a single Tathagata. If a second Tathagata were to arise the world could not bear him, it would shake and tremble, it would bend, this way and that, it would disperse, scatter into pieces, dissolve, be utterly destroyed. just as a boat, O king, might be able to carry one passenger across. Then, when one man had got on board, it would be well trimmed and able to bear his weight. But if a second man were to come like to the first in age and caste and strength and size and stoutness of body and build of frame, and he too should get on board the boat--would that boat be able, O king, to carry them both?

'Certainly not, Sir! it would shake and tremble; it would bend, this way and that; it would break into pieces, be shattered, dissolved, and utterly destroyed; it would sink into the waves.'

'Just so, O king, with this world, if a second Tathagata were to appear. Or suppose, O king, that a man had eaten as much food as he wanted, even so that he had filled himself with nourishment up to the throat, and he--thus satiated, regaled, filled with good cheer, with no room left for more, drowsy and stiff as a stick one cannot bend--were again to eat as much food as he had eaten before--would such a man, O king, then be at ease?'

'Certainly not, Sir! If he were to eat again, but once more, he would die.'

'Well, no more could this world bear a second Tathagata, than that man could bear a second meal.'

6. 'But how is that, Nagasena? Would the earth tremble at a too great weight of goodness?'

'Suppose, O king, there were two carts quite filled with precious things up to the top, and people were to take the things from the one cart and pile them up on the other, would that one be able to carry the weight of both?'

'Certainly not, Sir! The nave of its wheels would split, and the spokes would break, and the circumference would fall to pieces, and the axle-tree would break in twain.'

'But how is that, O king? Would the cart come to pieces owing to the too great weight of goods?'

'Yes, it would.'

7. 'Well, just so, O king, would the earth tremble owing to the too great weight of goodness. But that argument has been adduced to make the power of the Buddhas known. Hear another fitting reason why two Buddhas could not appear at the same time. If, O king, two Buddhas were to arise together, then would disputes arise between their followers, and at the words: "Your Buddha, our Buddha," they would divide off into two parties--just as would the followers of two rival powerful ministers of state. This is the other reason, O king, why two Buddhas could not appear at the same time.

8. 'Hear a further reason, O king, why two Buddhas could not appear at the same time. If that were so, then the passage (of Scripture) that the Buddha is the chief would become false, and the passage that the Buddha takes precedence of all would become false, and the passage that the Buddha is the best of all would become false. And so all those passages where the Buddha is said to be the most excellent, the most exalted, the highest of all, the peerless one, without an equal, the matchless one, who hath neither counterpart nor rival--all would be proved false. Accept this reason too as in truth a reason why two Buddhas cannot arise at once.

9. 'But besides that, O king, this is a natural characteristic of the Buddhas, the Blessed Ones, that one Buddha only should arise in the world. And why? By reason of the greatness of the virtue of the all-knowing Buddhas. Of other things also, whatever is mighty in the world is singular. The broad earth is great, O king, and it is only one. The ocean is mighty, and it is only one. Sineru, the king of the mountains, is great; and it is only one. Space is mighty, and it is only one. Sakka (the king of the gods) is great, and he is only one. Mara (the Evil One, Death) is great, and he is only one. Maha-Brahma is mighty, and he is only one.

A Tathagata, an Arahat Buddha supreme, is great, and he is alone in the world. Wherever any one of these spring up, then there is no room for a second. And therefore, O king, is it that only one Tathagata, an Arahat Buddha supreme, can appear at one time in the world.'

'Well has the puzzle, Nagasena, been discussed by simile adduced and reason given. Even an unintelligent man on hearing this would be satisfied; how much rather one great in wisdom as myself. Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.

[DILEMMA 53. WHY SHOULD GIFTS BE GIVEN TO THE ORDER RATHER THAN TO THE BUDDHA?]

10. 'Venerable Nagasena, the Blessed One said to his mother's sister, Maha-Pagapati the Gotami, when she was about to give him a cloth wrapper for use in the rainy season:

"Give it, O Gotama, to the Order. If the Order is presented by you with it, then will you have paid homage: thereby alike to the Order and to me."

'But what, Nagasena? Is not the Tathagata of greater weight and importance, and more worthy of gifts than even the jewel treasure of the Order, that the Tathagata should have told his aunt, when about to present him with a wrapper for the rainy season which she herself had carded and pressed and beaten and cut and woven, to give it to the Order! If, Nagasena, the Tathagata were really higher and greater and more excellent than the Order, then he would have known that a gift given to him would be most meritorious, and therefore would not have told her to give it to the Order. But inasmuch as the Tathagata, Nagasena, puts himself not in the way of gifts to himself, gives no occasion for such gifts, you see that he then told his aunt to give that wrapper rather to the Order.'

11. 'The quotation you make, O king, is correct, and the Blessed One did so direct his aunt's gifts. But that was not because an act of reverence paid to himself would bear no fruit, or because he was unworthy to receive gifts, but it was out of kindness and mercy that he, thinking: "Thus will the Order in times to come, when I am gone, be highly thought of;" magnified the excellence which the Order really had, in that he said: "Give it, O Gotami, to the Order. If you present the Order with it, thus will you have paid homage alike to the Order and to me." Just as a father, O king, while he is yet alive, exalts in the midst of the assembly of ministers, soldiers, and royal messengers, of sentries, body guards, and courtiers--yea, in the presence of the king himself--the virtues which his son really possesses, thinking: "If established here he will be honoured of the people in times to come;" so was it out of mercy and kindness that the Tathagata, thinking: "Thus will the Order, in times to come, when I am gone, be highly thought of;" magnified the excellence which the Order really had, in that he said: "Give it, O Gotami, to the Order. If you present the Order with it, thus will you have paid homage alike to the Order and to me."

12. 'And by the mere gift of a wrapper for the rainy season, the Order, O king, did not become greater than, or superior to, the Tathagata. just, O king, as when parents anoint their children with perfumes, rub them, bathe them, or shampoo them, does the son by that mere service of theirs become greater than, or superior to, his parents?'

'Certainly not, sir! Parents deal with their children as they will, whether the children like it or not. And therefore do they anoint them with perfumes, shampoo, or bathe them.'

'And just so, O king, the Order did not become greater than, or superior to, the Tathagata merely by the fact of that gift; and although the Tathagata, whether the Order liked it or not, told his aunt to give the wrapper to the Order.

13. 'Or suppose, O king, some man should bring a complimentary present to a king, and the king should present that gift to some one else--to a soldier or a messenger, to a general or a chaplain,--would that man become greater than, or superior to, the king, merely by the fact that it was he who got the present 1?'

'Certainly not, Sir! That man receives his wage from the king, from the king he gains his livelihood; it was the king who, having placed him in that office, gave him the present.'

'And just so, O king, the Order did not become greater than, or superior to, the Tathagata merely by the fact of that gift. The Order is, as it were, the hired servant of the Tathagata, and gains its livelihood through the Tathagata. And it was the Tathagata who, having placed it in that position, caused the gift to be given it.

14. 'And further the Tathagata, O king, thought thus: "The Order is by its very nature worthy of gifts. I will therefore have this thing, my property though it be, presented to it," and so he had the wrapper given to the Order. For the Tathagata, O king, magnifies not the offering of gifts to himself, but rather to whomsoever in the world is worthy of having gifts presented to him. For this was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the most excellent Magghima Nikaya, in the religious discourse entitled Dhamma-dayada, when he was exalting the attainment of being content with little:

"He would become the first of my Bhikkhus, the most worthy of presents and of praise."

15. 'And there is not, O king, in the three worlds any being whatever more worthy of gifts, greater or more exalted or better, than the Tathagata. It is the Tathagata who was greatest and highest and best. As it was said, O king, by Manava-gamika the god, in the most excellent Samyutta Nikaya, as he stood before the Blessed One in the midst of the assembly of gods and men:

Of all the Ragagaha hills Mount Vipula's acknowledged chief,
Of the Himalayas Mount White, of planetary orbs the sun,
The ocean of all waters, of constellations bright the moon--
In all the world of gods and men the Buddha's the acknowledged Lord!"

And those verses of Manava the god, O king, were well sung, not wrongly sung, well spoken, not wrongly spoken, and approved by the Blessed One. And was it not said by Sariputta, the Commander of the faith:

"There is but one Confession, one true Faith,
One Adoration of clasped hands stretched forth
--That paid to Him who routs the Evil One,
And helps us cross the ocean of our ills!"

'And it was said by the Blessed One himself, the god over all gods:

"There is one being, O brethren, who is born into the world for the good and for the weal of the great multitudes, out of mercy to the world, for the advantage and the good and the weal of gods and men. And what is that being? A Tathagata, an Arahat Buddha supreme."'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

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[DILEMMA 54. IS IT MORE ADVANTAGEOUS TO BE A LAYMAN, OR TO ENTER THE ORDER? / THE ADVANTAGES OF A RECLUSE'S LIFE]

16. 'Venerable Nagasena, it was said by the Blessed One:

"I would magnify, O brethren, the Supreme Attainment either in a layman or in a recluse. Whether he be a layman., O brethren, or a recluse, the man who has reached the Supreme Attainment shall overcome all the difficulties inherent therein, shall win his way even to the excellent condition of Arahatship."

'Now, Nagasena, if a layman, clad in white robes, enjoying the pleasures of sense, dwelling in a habitation encumbered with wife and children, making constant use of the sandal wood of Benares, of garlands and perfumes and unguents, accepting gold and silver, wearing a turban inlaid with jewels and gold, can, having reached the Supreme Attainment, win his way to the excellent condition of Arahatship--and if a recluse, with his shaven head and yellow robes, dependent for his livelihood on the alms of other men, perfectly fulfilling the fourfold code of morality, taking upon himself and carrying out the hundred and fifty precepts, conducting himself according to the thirteen extra vows without omitting any one of them, can also, having reached the Supreme Attainment, win his way to the excellent condition of Arahatship--then, Sir, what is the distinction between the layman and the recluse? Your austerity is without effect, your renunciation is useless, your observance of the precepts is barren, your taking of the extra vows is vain. What is the good of your therein heaping up woes to yourselves, if thus in comfort the condition of bliss can be reached?'

17. 'The words you ascribe to the Blessed One, O king, are rightly quoted. And that is even so. It is the man who has reached to the Supreme Attainment who bears the palm. If the recluse, O king, because he knows that he is a recluse, should neglect the Attainments, then is he far from the fruits of renunciation, far from Arahatship--how much more if a layman, still wearing the habit of the world, should do so! But whether he be a layman, O king, or a recluse, he who attains to the supreme insight, to the supreme conduct of life, he too will win his way to the excellent condition of Arahatship.

18. 'But nevertheless, O king, it is the recluse who is the lord and master of the fruit of renunciation. And renunciation of the world, O king, is full of gain, many and immeasurable are its advantages, its profit can no man calculate. just, O king, as no man can put a measure, in wealth, on the value of a wish-conferring gem, Saying: "Such and such is the price of the gem"--just so, O king, is the renunciation of the world full of gain, many and immeasurable are its advantages, its profit can no man calculate--no more, O king, than he could count the number of the waves in the great ocean, and say: "So and so many are the waves in the sea!"

19. 'Whatsoever the recluse, O king, may have yet to do, all that doth he accomplish straightway, without delay. And why is that? The recluse, O king, is content with little, joyful in heart, detached from the world, apart from society, earnest in zeal, without a home, without a dwelling-place, righteous in conduct, in action without guile, skilled in duty and in the attainments--that is why whatsoever may lie before him yet to do, that can he accomplish straightway, without delay--just as, the flight of your javelin, O king, is rapid because it is of pure metal, smooth, and burnished, and straight, and without a stain.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 55. ASCETICISM / THE PRACTICE OF AUSTERITIES.]

20. 'Venerable Nagasena, when the Bodisat was practising austerity, then there was found no other exertion the like of his, no such power, no such battling against evil, no such putting to rout of the armies of the Evil One, no such abstinence in food, no such austerity of life. But finding no satisfaction in strife like that, he abandoned that idea, saying:

"Not even by this cruel asceticism am I reaching the peculiar faculty, beyond the power of man, arising from insight into the knowledge of that which is fit and noble. May there not be now some other way to wisdom?"

'But then, when weary of that path he had by another way attained to omniscience, he, on the other hand, thus again exhorted and instructed his disciple in that path (he had left, saying):

"Exert yourselves, be strong, and to the faith
The Buddhas taught devote yourselves with zeal.
As a strong elephant a house of reeds,
Shake down the armies of the Evil One.

'Now what, Nagasena, is the reason that the Tathagata exhorted and led his disciples to that path which he had himself abandoned, which he loathed?'

21. 'Both then also, O king, and now too, that is still the only path. And it is along that path that the Bodisat attained to Buddhahood. Although the Bodisat, O king, exerting himself strenuously, reduced the food he took till he had decreased it to nothing at all, and by that disuse of food he became weak in mind, yet when he returned little by little to the use of solid food, it was by that path that before long he attained to Buddhahood. And that only has been the path along which all the Tathagatas reached to the attainment of the insight of omniscience. Just as food is the support of all beings, as it is in dependence on food that all beings live at ease, just so is that the path of all the Tathagatas to the attainment of the insight of omniscience. The fault was not, O king, in the exertion, was not in the power, not in the battle waged against evil, that the Tathagata did not then, at once, attain to Buddhahood. But the fault was in the disuse of food, and the path itself (of austerity) was always ready for use.

22. 'Suppose, O king, that a man should follow a path in great haste, and by that haste his sides should give way, or he should fall a cripple on the ground, unable to move, would there then be any fault, O king, in the broad earth that that man's sides had given way?'

'Certainly not, Sir! The great earth is always ready. How should it be in fault? The fault was in the man's own zeal which made him fail.'

'And just even so, O king, the fault was not in the exertion, not in the power, not in the battle waged against evil, that the Tathagata did not then, at once, attain to Buddhahood. But the fault was in the disuse of food, and the path itself was always ready--just as if a man should wear a robe, and never have it washed, the fault would not be in the water, which would always be ready for use, but in the man himself. That is why the Tathagata exhorted and led his disciples along that very path. For that path, O king, is always ready, always right.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 56. THE BACKSLIDERS / THE PRACTICE OF AUSTERITIES.]

23. 'Venerable Nagasena, this doctrine of the Tathagatas is mighty, essentially true, precious, excellent, noble, peerless, pure and stainless, clear and faultless. It is not right to admit a layman who is merely a disciple into the Order. He should be instructed as a layman still, till he have attained to the Fruit of the First Path, and then be admitted. And why is this? When these men, still being evil, have been admitted into a religion so pure, they give it up, and return again to the lower state, and by their backsliding the people is led to think: "Vain must be this religion of the Samana Gotama, which these men have given up." This is the reason for what I say.'

24. 'Suppose, O king, there were a bathing tank, full of pure clear cold water. And some man, dirty, covered with stains and mud, should come there, and without bathing in it should turn back again, still dirty as before. Now in that matter whom would the people blame, the dirty man, or the bathing tank?'

'The dirty man, Sir, would the people blame, saying: "This fellow came to the bathing tank, and has gone back as dirty as before. How could the bathing tank, of itself, cleanse a man who did not care to bathe? What fault is there in the tank?"'

'Just so, O king, has the Tathagata constructed a bathing tank full of the excellent waters of emancipation,--the bath of the good law. Whosoever of conscious discerning beings are polluted with the stains of sin, they, bathing in it, can wash away all their sins. And if any one, having gone to that bathing tank of the good law, should not bathe in it, but turn back polluted as before, and return again to the lower state, it is him the people would blame, and say: "This man entered religion according to the doctrine of the Conquerors, and finding no resting-place within it, has returned again to the lower state. How could the religion of the Conquerors, of itself, cleanse him who would not regulate his life in accordance with it? What fault is there in the system?"

25. 'Or suppose, O king, that a man afflicted with dire disease should visit a physician skilled in diagnosis, knowing an efficacious and lasting method of cure, and that that man should then not let himself be treated, but go back again as ill as before. Now therein whom would the people blame, the sick man or the doctor?'

It is the sick man, Sir, they would blame, saying:

"How could the physician, of himself, cure this man, who would not let himself be treated? What fault is there in the doctor?"'

'Just so, O king, has the Tathagata deposited in the casket of his religion the ambrosial medicine (of Nirvana) which is able to entirely suppress all the sickness of sin, thinking: "May all those of conscious sentient beings who are afflicted with the sickness of sin drink of this ambrosia, and so allay all their disease." And if any one, without drinking the ambrosia, should turn back again with the evil still within him, and return once more to the lower state, it is he whom the people will blame, saying: "This man entered religion according to the doctrine of the Conquerors, and finding no resting-place within it, has returned again to the lower state. How could the religion of the Conquerors, of itself, cure him who would not regulate his life in accordance with it? What fault is there in the system?"

26. 'Or suppose, O king, a starving man were to attend at a place where a mighty largesse of food given for charity was being distributed, and then should go away again, still starving, without eating anything. Whom then would the people blame, the starving man, or the feast of piety?'

'It is the starving man, Sir, they would blame, saying: "This fellow, though tormented with hunger, still when the feast of piety was provided for him, partook of nothing, and went back as hungry as before. How could the meal, of which he would not eat, enter, of itself, into his mouth? What fault is there in the food? "'

'Just so, O king, has the Tathagata placed the most excellent, good, auspicious, delicate ambrosial food, surpassing sweet, of the realisation of the impermanency of all things, into the casket of his religion, thinking: "May all those of conscious sentient beings who feel within them the torment of sin, whose hearts are deadened by cravings, feeding upon this food, allay every longing that they have for future life in any form, in any world." And if any one, without enjoying this food, should turn back, still dominated by his cravings, and return once more to the lower state, it is he whom the people will blame, saying: "This man entered religion according to the doctrine of the Conquerors, and finding no resting-place within it, has returned again to the lower state. How could the religion of the Conquerors, of itself, purify him who would not regulate his life in accordance with it? What fault is there in the system?"'

27. 'If the Tathagata, O king, had let a householder be received into the Order only after he had been trained in the first stage of the Excellent Way, then would renunciation of the world no longer indeed be said to avail for the putting away of evil qualities, for purification of heart--then would there be no longer any use in renunciation. It would be as if a man were to have a bathing tank excavated by the labour of hundreds (of workpeople), and were then to have a public announcement made: "Let no one who is dirty go down into this tank! Let only those whose dust and dirt have been washed away, who are purified and stainless, go down into this tank!" Now would that bath, O king, be of any use to those thus purified and stainless?

'Certainly not, Sir! The advantage they would have sought in going into the bath they would have already gained elsewhere. Of what use would the bath be to them then?'

'Just so, O king, had the Tathagata ordained that only laymen who had already entered the first stage of the Excellent Way should be received into the Order, then would the advantage they seek in it have been already gained. Of what use would the renunciation be to them then?

28. 'Or suppose, O king, that a physician, a true follower of the sages of old, one who carries (in his memory) the ancient traditions and verses, a practical man, skilled in diagnosis, and master of an efficacious and lasting system of treatment, who had collected (from medicinal herbs) a medicine able to cure every disease, were to have it announced: "Let none, Sirs, who are ill come to visit me! Let the healthy and the strong visit me!" Now, would then, O king, those men free from illness and disease, healthy and jubilant, get what they wanted from that physician?'

'Certainly not, Sir! What men want from a physician, that would they have already obtained otherwise. What use would the physician be to them?'

'Just so, O king, had the Tathagata ordained that only those laymen who had already entered the first stage of the Excellent Way should be received into the Order, then would the advantages they seek in it have been already gained elsewhere. Of what use would the renunciation be to them then?

29. 'Or suppose, O king, that some had had many hundreds of dishes of boiled milk-rice prepared, and were to have it announced to those about him: 'Let not, Sirs, any hungry man approach to this feast of charity. Let those who have well fed, the satisfied, refreshed, and satiated, those who have regaled themselves, and are filled with good cheer,--let them come to the feast." Now would any advantage, O king, be derived from the feast by those men thus well fed, satisfied, refreshed, satiated, regaled, and filled with good cheer?'

'Certainly not, Sir! The very advantage they would seek in going to the feast, that would they have already attained elsewhere. What good would the feast be to them?'

'Just so, O king, had the Tathagata, ordained that only those laymen who had already entered the first stage of the Excellent Way should be received into the Order, thus would the advantages they seek in it have been already gained elsewhere. Of what use would the renunciation be to them?

30. 'But notwithstanding that, O king, they who return to the lower state manifest thereby five immeasurably good qualities in the religion of the Conquerors. And what are the five? They show how glorious is the state (which those have reached who have entered the Order), how purified it is from every stain, how impossible it is for the sinful to dwell within it together (with the good), how difficult it is to realise (its glory), how many are the restraints to be observed within it.

31. 'And how do they show the mighty glory of that state? just, O king, as if a man, poor, and of low birth, without distinction, deficient in wisdom, were to come into possession of a great and mighty kingdom, it would not be long before he would be overthrown, utterly destroyed, and deprived of

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his glory. For he would be unable to support his dignity. And why so? Because of the greatness thereof. just so is it, O king, that whosoever are without distinction, have acquired no merit, and are devoid of wisdom, when they renounce the world according to the religion of the Conquerors, then, unable to bear that most excellent renunciation, overthrown, fallen, and deprived of their glory, they return to the lower state. For they are unable to carry out the doctrine of the Conquerors. And why so? Because of the exalted nature of the condition which that doctrine brings about. Thus is it, O king, that they show forth the mighty glory of that state.

32. 'And how do they show how purified that state is from every stain? just, O king, as water, when it has fallen upon a lotus, flows away, disperses, scatters, disappears, adheres not to it. And why so? Because of the lotus being pure from any spot. Just so, O king, when whosoever are deceitful, tricky, crafty, treacherous, holders of lawless opinions, have been admitted into the religion of the Conquerors, it is not long before they disperse, and scatter, and fall from that pure and stainless, clear and faultless, most high and excellent religion, and finding no standing-place in it, adhering no longer to it, they return to the lower state. And why so? Because the religion of the Conquerors has been purified from every stain. Thus is it, O king, that they show forth the purity of that state from every stain.

33. 'And how do they show how impossible it is for the sinful to dwell within it together with the good? just, O king, as the great ocean does not tolerate the continuance in it of a dead corpse, but whatever corpse may be in the sea, that does it bring quickly to the shore, and cast it out on to the dry land. And why so? Because the ocean is the abode of mighty creatures. Just so, O king, when whosoever are sinful, foolish, with their zeal evaporated, distressed, impure, and bad, have been admitted into the religion of the Conquerors, it is not long before they abandon that religion, and dwelling no longer in it--the abode of the mighty, the Arahats, purified, and free from the Great Evils--they return to the lower state. And why so? Because it is impossible for the wicked to dwell in the religion of the Conquerors. Thus is it, O king, that they show forth the impossibility of the sinful to abide within it together with the good.

34. 'And how do they show how difficult a state it is to grasp? just, O king, as archers who are clumsy, untrained, ignorant, and bereft of skill, are incapable of high feats of archery, such as hairsplitting, but miss the object, and shoot beyond the mark. And why so? Because of the fineness and minuteness of the horse-hair. just so, O king, when foolish, stupid, imbecile, dull, slow-minded fellows renounce the world according to the doctrine of the Conquerors, then they, unable to grasp the exquisitely fine and subtle distinctions of the Four Truths, missing them, going beyond them, turn back before long to the lower state. And why so? Because it is so difficult to penetrate into the finenesses and subtleties of the Truths. This is how they show forth the difficulty of its realisation.

35. 'And how do they show how many are the restraints to be observed within it? just, O king, as a man who had gone to a place where a mighty battle was going on, when, surrounded on all sides by the forces of the enemy, he sees the armed hosts crowding in upon him, will give way, turn back, and take to flight. And why so? Out of fear lest he should not be saved in the midst of so hot a fight. Just so, O king, when whosoever are wicked, unrestrained, shameless, foolish, full of ill-will, fickle, unsteady, mean and stupid, renounce the world under the system of the Conquerors, then they, unable to carry out the manifold precepts, give way, turn back, and take to flight, and so before long return to the lower state. And why so? Because of the multiform nature of the restraints to be observed in the religion of the Conquerors. Thus is it, O king, that they show forth the manifoldness of the restraints to be observed.

36. 'As on that best of flowering shrubs, O king, the double jasmine, there may be flowers that have been pierced by insects, and their tender stalks being cut to pieces, they may occasionally fall down. But by their having fallen is not the jasmine bush disgraced. For the flowers that still remain upon it pervade every direction with their exquisite perfume. Just so, O king, whosoever having renounced the world under the system of the Conquerors, return again to the lower state, are, like jasmine flowers bitten by the insects and deprived of their colour and their smell, colourless as it were in their behaviour, and incapable of development. But by their backsliding is not the religion of the Conquerors put to shame. For the members of the Order who remain in the religion pervade the world of gods and men with the exquisite perfume of their right conduct.

37. 'Among rice plants that are healthy and ruddy there may spring up a kind of rice plant called Karumbhaka, and that may occasionally fade. But by its fading are not the red rice plants disgraced. For those that remain become the food of kings. Just so, O king, whosoever having renounced the world under the system of the Conquerors return again to the lower state, they, like Karumbhaka plants among the red rice, may grow not, nor attain development, and may even occasionally relapse into the lower state. But by their backsliding is not the religion of the Conquerors put to shame, for the brethren that remain stedfast become fitted even for Arahatship.

38. 'On one side, O king, of a wish conferring gem a roughness may arise. But by the appearance of that roughness is not the gem disgraced. For the purity that remains in the gem fills the people with gladness. And just so, O king, whosoever having renounced the world under the system of the Conquerors return again to the lower state, they may be rough ones and fallen ones in the religion. But by their backsliding is not the religion of the Conquerors put to shame, for the brethren who remain stedfast are the cause of joy springing up in the hearts of gods and men.

39. 'Even red sandal wood of the purest sort, O king, may become in some portion of it rotten and scentless. But thereby is not the sandal wood disgraced. For that portion which remains wholesome and sweet scatters and diffuses its perfume all around. And just so, O king, whosoever having renounced the world under the system of the Conquerors return again to the lower state, they, like the rotten part of the sandal wood, may be as it were thrown away in the religion. But by their backsliding is not the religion of the Conquerors put to shame. For the brethren who remain stedfast pervade, with the sandal wood perfume of their right conduct, the world of gods and men.'

'Very good, Nagasena! By one appropriate simile after another, by one correct analogy after another have you most excellently made clear the faultlessness of the system of the Conquerors, and shown it free from blame. And even those who have lapsed make evident how excellent that system is.'

[DILEMMA 57. WHY HAVE ARAHATS NO POWER OVER THEIR BODIES? / THE MASTERY OF THE ARAHANTS]

40. 'Venerable Nagasena, your (members of the Order) say:

"There is one kind of pain only which an Arahat suffers, bodily pain, that is, and not mental."

'How is this, Nagasena? The Arahat keeps his mind going by means of the body. Has the Arahat no lordship, no mastery, no power over the body?'

'No, he has not, O king.'

'That, Sir, is not right that over the body, by which he keeps his mind going, he should have neither lordship, nor mastery, nor power. Even a bird, Sir, is lord and master and ruler over the nest in which he dwells.'

41. 'There are these ten qualities, O king, inherent in the body, which run after it, as it were, and accompany it from existence to existence. And what are the ten? Cold and heat, hunger and thirst, the necessity of voiding excreta, fatigue and sleepiness, old age, disease, and death. And in respect thereof, the Arahat is without lordship, without mastery, without power.'

'Venerable Nagasena, what is the reason why the commands of the Arahat have no power over his body, neither has he any mastery over it? Tell me that.

'Just, O king, as whatever beings are dependent on the land, they all walk, and dwell, and carry on their business in dependence upon it. But do their commands have force, does their mastery extend over it?'

'Certainly not, Sir!'

'Just so, O king, the Arahat keeps his mind going through the body. And yet his commands have no authority over it, nor power.'

42. 'Venerable Nagasena, why is it that the ordinary man suffers both bodily and mental pain?'

'By reason, O king, of the untrained state of his mind. just, O king, as an ox when trembling with starvation might be tied up with a weak and fragile and tiny rope of grass or creeper. But if the ox were excited then would he escape, dragging the fastening with him. Just so, O king, when pain comes upon him whose mind is untrained, then is his mind excited, and the mind so excited bends his body this way and that and makes it grovel on the ground, and he, being thus untrained in mind, trembles and cries, and gives forth terrible groans. This is why the ordinary man, O king, suffers pain as well in body as in mind.'

43. 'Then why, Sir, does the Arahat only suffer one kind of pain--bodily, that is, and not mental?'

'The mind of the Arahat, O king, is trained, well practised, tamed, brought into subjection, and obedient, and it hearkens to his word. When affected with feelings of pain, he grasps firmly the idea of the impermanence of all things, so ties his mind as it were to the post of contemplation, and his mind, bound to the post of contemplation, remains unmoved, unshaken, becomes stedfast, wanders not--though his body the while may bend this way and that and roll in agony by the disturbing influence of the pain. This is why it is only one kind of pain that the Arahat suffers--bodily pain, that is, and not mental.'

44., Venerable Nagasena, that verily is a most marvellous thing that when the body is trembling the mind should not be shaken. Give me a reason for that.'

'Suppose, O king, there were a noble tree, mighty in trunk and branches and leaves. And when agitated by the force of the wind its branches should wave. Would the trunk also move

'Certainly not, Sir!'

'Well, O king, the mind of the Arahat is as the trunk of that noble tree.'

' Most wonderful, Nagasena, and most strange!

Never before have I seen a lamp of the law that burned thus brightly through all time.'

[Here ends the dilemma as to the Arahat's power over his body.]

[DILEMMA 58. THE LAYMAN'S SIN / THE UNVIRTUOUS.]

45. 'Venerable Nagasena, suppose a layman had been guilty of a Paragika offence, and some time after should enter the Order. And neither he himself should be aware that when still a layman he had so been guilty, nor should any one else inform him, saying: "When a layman you were guilty of such an offence." Now if he were to devote himself to the attainment of Arahatship, would he be able so to comprehend the Truth as to succeed in entering upon the Excellent Way?'

'No, O king, he would not.'

'But why not, Sir?'

'That, in him, which might have been the cause of his grasping the Truth has been, in him, destroyed. No comprehension can therefore take place.'

46. 'Venerable Nagasena, your people say:

"To him who is aware (of an offence) there comes remorse. When remorse has arisen there is an obstruction in the heart. To him whose heart is obstructed there is no comprehension of the Truth."

'Why should there then be no such comprehension to one not aware of his offence, feeling no remorse, remaining with a quiet heart. This dilemma touches on two irreconcilable statements. Think well before you solve it.'

47. 'Would selected seed, O king, successfully sown in a well-ploughed, well-watered, fertile soil, come to maturity?'

'Certainly, Sir!'

'But would the same seed grow on the surface of a thick slab of rock?'

'Of course not.'

'Why then should the same seed grow in the mud, and not on the rock?'

'Because on the rock the cause for its growth does not exist. Seeds cannot grow without a cause.'

'Just so, O king, the cause by reason of which his comprehension of the Truth (his conversion) might have been brought about, has been rooted out in him. Conversion cannot take place without a cause.'

48. '[Give me, Sir, another simile.']

'Well, O king, will sticks and clods and cudgels and clubs find a resting-place in the air, in the same way as they do on the ground?'

'No, Sir.'

'But what is the reason why they come to rest on the earth, when they will not stand in the air?'

'There is no cause in the air for their stability, and without a cause they will not stand.'

'Just so, O king, by that fault of his the cause for his conversion has been removed. And without a cause there can be no conversion. Now will fire, O king, burn in water in the same way as it will on land?'

'No, Sir.'

'But why not?'

'Because in water the conditions precedent for burning do not exist. And there can be no burning without them.'

'Just so, O king, are the conditions precedent to conversion destroyed in him by that offence of his. And when the conditions which would bring it about are destroyed there can be no conversion.'

49. 'Venerable Nagasena, think over this matter once more. I am not yet convinced about it. Persuade me by some reason how such obstruction can occur in the case of one not aware of his offence, and feeling therefore no remorse.'

'Would the Halahala poison, O king, if eaten by a man who did not know he had eaten it, take away his life?'

'Yes, Sir.'

'Just so, O king, is there an obstruction to his comprehension of the Truth, who, without being aware of it, has committed a sin. And would fire, O king, burn a man who walked into it unawares?'

'Yes, Sir.'

'Well, just so in the case you put. Or would a venomous snake, if it bit a man without his knowing it, kill him?'

'Yes, Sir.'

'Well, just so in the case you put. And is it not true that Samana Kolanna, the king of Kalinga,--when surrounded by the seven treasures of a sovereign overlord he went mounted on his state elephant to pay a visit to his relatives,--was not able to pass the Tree of Wisdom, though he was not aware that it was there? Well, of the same kind is the reason why one who has committed an offence, even though he know it not, is

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nevertheless incapable of rising to the knowledge of the Truth.'

'Verily, Nagasena, this must be the word of the Conqueror. To find any fault with it were vain. And this (explanation of yours) must be the meaning of it. I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 59. THE GUILTY RECLUSE / THE UNVIRTUOUS.]

50. 'Venerable Nagasena, what is the distinction, what the difference, between a layman who has done wrong, and a Samana (member of the Order) who has done wrong? Will they both be reborn in like condition? Will the like retribution happen to both? Or is there any difference?'

'There are, O king, ten qualities which abound in the guilty Samana, distinguishing him from the guilty layman. And besides that, in ten ways does the Samana purify the gifts that may be given him.

51. 'And what are the ten qualities which abound in the guilty Samana, distinguishing him from the guilty layman? The guilty Samana, O king, is full of reverence for the Buddha, for the Law, for the Order, and for his fellow-disciples; he exerts himself in putting questions about, and in recitation of (the sacred texts); he is devoted to learning, though he has done wrong. Then, O king, the guilty one entering the assembly, enters it decently clad, he guards himself alike in body and mind through fear of rebuke, his mind is set upon exerting himself (towards the attainment of Arahatship), he is of the companionship of the brethren. And even, O king, if he does wrong he lives discreetly. just, O king, as a married woman sins only in secret and in privacy, so does the guilty Samana walk discreetly in his wrongdoing. These are the ten qualities, O king, found in the guilty Samana, distinguishing him from the guilty layman.

52. 'And what are the ten ways in which, besides, he purifies a gift given to him? He purifies it in that he wears an invulnerable coat of mail; in that he is shorn in the fashion of the characteristic mark of renunciation used by the seers of old; in that he is one who is included in the multitude of the brethren; in that he has taken his refuge in the Buddha, the Law, and the Order; in that he dwells in a lonely spot suitable for the exertion (after Arahatship); in that he seeks after the treasure of the teaching of the Conquerors; in that he preaches the most excellent law (Dhamma); in that his final destiny is to be reborn in the island of truth; in that he is possessed of an honest belief that the Buddha is the chief of all beings; in that he has taken upon himself the keeping of the Uposatha day. These, O king, are the ten ways in which, besides, he purifies a gift given to him.

53. 'Even, O king, when thoroughly fallen, a guilty Samana yet sanctifies the gifts of the supporters of the faith--just as water, however thick, will wash away slush and mud and dirt and stains--just as hot, and even boiling water will put a mighty blazing fire out--just as food, however nasty, will allay the faintness of hunger. For thus, O king, hath it been said by the god over all gods in the most excellent Magghima Nikaya in the chapter "On gifts:"

"Whene'er a good man, with believing heart,
Presents what he hath earned in righteousness
To th' unrighteous,--in full confidence
On the great fruit to follow the good act--
Such gift is, by the giver, sanctified.'"

'Most wonderful, Nagasena, and most strange! We asked you a mere ordinary question, and you, expounding it with reasons and with similes, have filled, as it were, the hearer with the sweet taste of the nectar (of Nirvana). just as a cook, or a cook's apprentice, taking a piece of ordinary nutmeg, will, treating it with various ingredients, prepare a dish for a king--so, Nagasena, when we asked you an ordinary question, have you, expounding it with reasons and similes, filled the hearer with the sweet taste of the nectar of Nirvana.'

[DILEMMA 60. THE SOUL IN WATER. / IS WATER ALIVE?]

54. 'Venerable Nagasena, this water when boiling over the fire gives forth many a sound, hissing and simmering. Is then, Nagasena, the water alive? Is it shouting at play? or is it crying out at the torment inflicted on it?'

'It is not alive, O king, there is no soul or being in water. It is by reason of the greatness of the shock of the heat of the fire that it gives forth sounds, hissing and simmering.'

'Now, venerable Nagasena, there are false teachers who on the ground that the water is alive reject the use of cold water, and warming the water feed themselves on tepid foods of various kinds.

'These men find fault with you and revile you, saying: "The Sakyaputtiya Samanas do injury to the souls of one function." Dispel, remove, get rid of this their censure and blame.'

55. 'The water is not alive, O king. Neither is there therein either soul or being. And it is the great shock of the heat of the fire that makes it sound, hissing and simmering. It is like the water in holes in the ground, in ponds and pools and lakes, in reservoirs, in crevices and chasms, in wells, in low-lying places, and in lotus-tanks, which before the mighty onset of the hot winds is so deeply affected that it vanishes away. But does the water in that case, O king, give forth many a sound, hissing and simmering?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'But, if it were alive, the water would then also make some sound. Know therefore, O king, that there is no soul, neither being, in water; and that it is the greatness of the shock of the heat of the water that makes it give forth sounds.

56. 'And hear another reason, O king, for the same thing. If water, O king, with grains of rice in it, is put in a vessel and covered up, but not placed over the fireplace, would it then give forth sound?'

'No, Sir. It would remain quiet and unmoved.'

'But if you were to put the same water, just as it is in the vessel, over a fireplace, and then light up the fire, would the water remain quiet and motionless?'

'Certainly not, Sir. It would move and be agitated, become perturbed and all in commotion, waves would arise in it, it would rush up and down and in every direction, it would roll up and boil over, and a garland of foam would be formed above it.'

'But why so, O king, when water in its ordinary state remains quiet and motionless?'

'It is because of the powerful impulse of the heat of the fire that the water, usually so still, gives forth many a sound, bubbling and hissing.'

'Then thereby know, O king, that there is no soul in water, neither being; and that it is the strong heat of the fire that causes it to make sounds.

57. 'And hear another reason, O king, for the same thing. Is there not water to be found in every house put into water-pots with their mouths closed up?'

'Yes, Sir.'

'Well, does that water move, is it agitated, perturbed, in commotion, does it form into waves, does it rush up and down and in every direction, does it roll up and roll over, is it covered with foam?'

'No! That water is in its ordinary state. It remains still and quiet.'

'But have you ever heard that all this is true of the water in the great ocean? and that rearing up it breaks against the strand with a mighty roar?'

'Yes, I have both heard of it, and have seen it myself--how the water in the great ocean lifts itself up a hundred, two hundred, cubits high, towards the sky.'

'But why, whereas water in its ordinary state remains motionless and still, does the water in the ocean both move and roar?'

'That is by reason of the mighty force of the onset of the wind, whereas the water in the water-jars neither moves nor makes any noise, because nothing shakes it.'

'Well, the sounds given forth by boiling water are the result, in a similar way, of the great heat of the fire.'

58. 'Do not people cover over the dried-up mouth of a drum with dried cow-leather?'

'Yes, they do.'

'Well, is there any soul or being, O king, in a drum?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'Then how is it that a drum makes sounds?'

'By the action or effort of a woman or a man.'

'Well, just as that is why the drum sounds, so is it by the effect of the heat of the fire that the water sounds. And for this reason also you might know, O king, that there is no soul, neither being, in water; and that it is the heat of the fire which causes it to make sounds.

59. 'And I, too, O king, have something yet further to ask of you--thus shall this puzzle be thoroughly threshed out. How is it? Is it true of every kind of vessel that water heated in it makes noises, or only of some kinds of vessels?'

'Not of all, Sir. Only of some.'

'But then you have yourself, O king, abandoned the position you took up. You have come over to my side-that there is no soul, neither being, in water. For only if it made noises in whatever vessel it were heated could it be right to say that it had a soul. There cannot be two kinds of water--that which speaks, as it were, which is alive, and that which does not speak, and does not live. If all water were alive, then that which the great elephants, when they are in rut, suck up in their trunks, and pour out over their towering frames, or putting into their mouths take right into their stomachs--that water, too, when crushed flat between their teeth, would make a sound. And great ships, a hundred cubits long, heavily laden, full of hundreds of packages of goods, pass over the sea--the water crushed by them, too, would make sounds. And mighty fish, leviathans with bodies hundreds of leagues long, since they dwell in the great ocean, immersed in the depths of it, must, so living in it, be constantly taking into their mouths and spouting out the ocean--and that water, too, crushed between their gills or in their stomach, would make sounds. But as, even when tormented with the grinding and crushing of all such mighty things, the water gives no sound, therefore, O king, you may take it that there is no soul, neither being, in water.'

'Very good, Nagasena! With fitting discrimination has the puzzle put to you been solved. just, Nagasena, as a gem of inestimable value which had come into the hands of an able master goldsmith, clever and well trained, would meet with due appreciation, estimation, and praise-just as a rare pearl at the hands of a dealer in pearls, a fine piece of woven stuff at the hands of a cloth merchant, or red sandal wood at the hands of a perfumer--just so in that way has this puzzle put to you been solved with the discrimination it deserved.'

CHAPTER 7. BE WITHOUT IMPEDIMENTS

[DILEMMA 61. THE OBSTACLES / BE WITHOUT IMPEDIMENTS.]

1. 'Venerable Nagasena, the Blessed One said:

"Live, O brethren, devoted to and taking delight in that which has no Papankas (none of those states of mind which delay or obstruct a man in his spiritual growth)."

'What is that which has no Papankas?'

'The fruit of Conversion has no Papankas, O king, the fruit of that stage of the Path in which those live who will be only once, or not all reborn, the fruit of Arahatship has no Papankas.'

'But if that be so, Nagasena, then why do the brethren concern themselves with recitation of, with asking questions about the discourses, and the pieces in mixed prose and verse, and the expositions, and the poems, and the outbursts of emotion, and the passages beginning "Thus he said," and the birth-stories, and the tales of wonder, and the extended treatises? Why do they trouble themselves about new buildings about gifts and offerings to the order?'

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2. 'They who do all these things, O king, are working towards attainment of freedom from the Papankas, (that is of Arahatship). For whereas, O king, all those of the brethren who are pure by nature, those upon whose hearts an impression has been left by good deeds done in a former birth, can (get rid of the Papankas, can) become Arahats, in a moment--those on the other hand whose minds are much darkened by evil can only become Arahats by such means as these.

3. 'Just, O king, as while one man who has sown a field and got the seed to grow can, by the exertion of his own power, and without any rampart or fence, reap the crop--whereas another man when he has got the seed to grow must go into the woods, and cut down sticks and branches and make a fence of them, and thus only reap the crop--in the same way those who are pure by nature, upon whose hearts an impression has been left by good deeds done in a former birth, can, in a moment, become Arahats, like the man who gathers the crop without a fence. But those, on the other hand, whose minds are darkened by the evil they have done can only become Arahats by such means as these--like the man who can only reap his crop if he builds the fence.

4. 'Or just, O king, as there might be a bunch of fruits on the summit of a lofty mango tree. Then whoever possesses the power of Iddhi could take those fruits, but whoever had not, he would have first to cut sticks and creepers and construct a ladder, and by its means climb up the tree and so get at the fruit. In the same way those who are by nature pure, and upon whose hearts an impression has been left by good deeds done in a former birth, may attain, in a moment, to Arahatship, like the man getting the fruit by the power of Iddhi. But those, on the other hand, whose minds are darkened by the evil they have done can only become Arahats by such means as these, like the man who only gets the fruit by means of the ladder he has made.

5. 'Or just, O king, as while one man who is clever in business will go alone to his lord and conclude any business he has to do, another man, rich though he may be, must by his riches bring others to his service, and by their help get the business done--and it is for the business' sake that he has to seek after them. In the same way those who are by nature pure, upon whose hearts an impression has been left by good deeds done in a former birth, may reach, in a moment, to the attainment of the Six Transcendent Qualities, like the man who does the business alone by himself Whereas those brethren whose minds are darkened by the evil they have done can only by such means as these realise the gains of renunciation, like the man who through others' help brings his business to the desired end.

6. 'For recitation is of great good, O king, and asking questions, and superintending building work, and seeing to gifts and offerings is of great good--each of them to one or other of the spiritual objects which the brethren seek to obtain. just, O king, as there might be some one of the ministers or soldiers or messengers or sentries or body-guards or attendants who was especially serviceable and useful to the king, but when he had any business given him to do they would all help him--just so are all these things of assistance when those objects have to be attained. When all men, O king, shall have become by nature pure, then will there be nothing left for a teacher to accomplish. But so long as there is still need of discipleship, so long will even such a man, O king, as the Elder Sariputta himself (though he had attained to the summit of wisdom by reason of his having been, through countless ages, deeply rooted in merit), yet find it impossible,

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without discipleship, to attain to Arahatship. Therefore is it, O king, that hearing (the Scriptures) is of use, and recitation of them, and asking questions about them. And therefore is it that those also who are addicted to these things, becoming free from the obstacles thereto, attain to Arahatship.'

'Right well have you made me understand this puzzle, Nagasena. That is so, and I accept it as you say.

[DILEMMA 62. THE LAY ARAHAT.]

7. 'Venerable Nagasena, your people say:

"Whosoever has attained, as a layman, to Arahatship, one of two conditions are possible to him, and no other--either that very day he enters the Order, or he dies away, for beyond that day he cannot last."

'Now if, Nagasena, he could not, on that day, procure a teacher or preceptor, or a bowl and set of robes, would he then, being an Arahat, admit himself, or would he live over the day, or would some other Arahat suddenly appear by the power of Iddhi and admit him, or would he die away?'

'He could not, O king, because he is an Arahat, admit himself. For any one admitting himself to the Order is guilty of theft. And he could not last beyond that day. Whether another Arahat should happen, or not, to arrive, on that very day would he die away.'

'Then, Nagasena, by whatever means attained, the holy condition of Arahatship is thereby also lost, for destruction of life is involved in it.'

8. 'It is the condition of laymanship which is at fault, O king. In that faulty condition, and by reason of the weakness of the condition itself, the layman who, as such, has attained to Arahatship must either, that very day, enter the Order or die away. That is not the fault of Arahatship, O king. It is laymanship that is at fault, through not being strong enough.

'Just, O king, as food, that guards the growth and protects the life of all beings, will, through indigestion, take away the life of one whose stomach is unequal to it, whose internal fire is low and weak--just so if a layman attains Arahatship when in that condition unequal to it, then by reason of the weakness of the condition he must, that very day, either enter the Order or die away.

'Or just, O king, as a tiny blade of grass when a heavy rock is placed upon it will, through its weakness, break off and give way--just so when a layman attains Arahatship, then, unable to support Arahatship in that condition, he must, that very day, either enter the Order or die away.

'Or just, O king, as a poor weak fellow of low birth and little ability, if he came into possession of a great and mighty kingdom, would be unable to support the dignity of it--just so if a layman attains to Arahatship, then is he unable, in that condition, to support it. And that is the reason why he must, on that very day, either enter the Order or die away.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 63. THE FAULTS OF THE ARAHAT / THE OFFENCES OF ARAHANTS.]

9. 'Venerable Nagasena, can an Arahat be thoughtless?'

'The Arahats, O king, have put thoughtlessness far from them. They are never inadvertent.'

'But can an Arahat be guilty of an offence?'

'Yes, O king.'

'In what respect?'

'In the construction of his cell, or in his intercourse (with the other sex), or in imagining the wrong time (for the midday meal) to be the right time, or when he has been invited (to a meal) forgetting the invitation, or in taking to be "left over" food which has not been left over.'

'But, venerable Nagasena, your people say:

"Those who commit offences do so from one of two reasons, either out of carelessness or out of ignorance."

'Now, is the Arahat careless that he commits offences?'

'No, O king.'

'Then if the Arahat commits offences, and yet is not careless, he must be capable of thoughtlessness.'

'He is not capable of thoughtlessness, and yet the Arahat may be guilty of offences.'

'Convince me then by a reason. What is the reason of this?'

10. 'There are two kinds of sins, O king--those which are a breach of the ordinary moral law, and those which are a breach of the Rules (of the Order). And what is a breach of the ordinary moral law? The ten modes of evil action (killing, theft, unchastity, lying, slander, harsh language, frivolous talk, covetousness, malice, and false doctrine). These things are against the moral law. And what is a breach of the Rules? Whatever is held in the world as unfitting and improper for Samanas, but is not wrong for laymen--things concerning which the Blessed One laid down rules for his disciples, not to be transgressed by them their lives long. Eating after sunturn, O king, is not wrong to those in the world, but is wrong to those in the religion (the Order) of the Conquerors. Doing injury to trees and shrubs is no offence in the eyes of the world, but it is wrong in the religion. The habit of sporting in the water is no offence to a layman, but it is wrong in the religion. And many other things of a similar kind, O king, are right in the world, but wrong in the religion of the Conquerors. This is what I mean by a breach of the Rules. Now the Arahat (he in whom the Great Evils are destroyed) is incapable of sinning against whatever is moral law, but he may unawares be guilty of an offence against the rules of the Order. It is not within the province of every Arahat to know everything, nor indeed in his power. He may be ignorant of the personal or family name of some woman or some man. He may be ignorant of some road over the earth. But every Arahat would know about emancipation, and the Arahat gifted with the six modes of transcendental knowledge would know what lies within their scope, and an omniscient Tathagata, O king, would know all things.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 64. WHAT IS NOT FOUND IN THE WORLD.

11. 'Venerable Nagasena, there are to be seen in the world Buddhas, and Pakkeka-Buddhas, and disciples of the Tathagatas, and sovran overlords, and kings over one country, and gods and men;--we find rich and poor, happy and miserable;--we find men who have become women, and women who have become men--there are good deeds and evil, and beings experiencing the result of their virtue or their vice;--we find creatures born from eggs, and in the water, and in sediment, or springing into life by the mere apparitional birth; creatures without feet, bipeds and quadrupeds, and creatures with many feet;--we find Yakkhas and Rakkhasas, and Kumbhandas, and Asuras, and Danavas, and Gandhabbas, and Petas and Pisakas, and Kinnaras, and Mahoragas, and Nagas and Supannas, and magicians and sorcerers;--there are elephants, and horses, and cattle, and buffaloes, and camels, and asses, and goats, and sheep, and deer, and swine, and lions, and tigers, and leopards, and bears, and wolves, and hyenas, and dogs, and jackals, and many kinds of birds;--there is gold and silver, and the pearl, and the diamond, and the chauk, and rock, and coral, and the ruby, and the Masara stone, and the cat's-eye, and crystal, and quartz, and iron ore, and copper, and brass, and bronze;--there is flax, and silk, and cotton, and hemp, and wool;--there is rice, and paddy, and barley, and millet, and kudrûsa grain, and beans, and wheat, and oilseed, and vetches;--there are perfumes prepared from roots, and sap, and pith, and bark, and leaves, and flowers, and fruit, and of all other sorts;--we find grass, and creepers, and shrubs, and trees, and medicinal herbs, and forests, and rivers, and mountains, and seas, and fish, and tortoises,--all is in the world. Tell me, Sir, what there is, then, which is not in the world.'

12. 'There are three things, O king, which you cannot find in the world. And what are the three? That which, whether conscious or unconscious, is not subject to decay and death--that you will not find. That quality of anything, (organic or inorganic), which is not impermanent--that you will not find. And in the highest sense there is no such thing as being possessed of being.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 65. THINGS WITHOUT A CAUSE.]

13. 'Venerable Nagasena, there are found beings in the world who have come into existence through Karma, and others who are the result of a cause, and others produced by the seasons. Tell me--is there any thing that does not fall under any one of these three heads?'

' There are two such things, O king. And what are the two? Space, O king, and Nirvana.'

'Now do not spoil the word of the Conquerors, Nagasena, nor answer a question without knowing what you say!'

'What, pray, is it I have said, O king, that you should address me thus?'

'Venerable Nagasena, that is right what you said in respect of space. But with hundreds of reasons did the Blessed One proclaim to his disciples the way to the realisation of Nirvana. And yet you say that Nirvana is not the result of any cause!'

'No doubt, O king, the Blessed One gave hundreds of reasons for our entering on the way to the realisation of Nirvana. But he never told us of a cause out of which Nirvana could be said to be produced.'

14. 'Now in this, Nagasena, we have passed from darkness into greater darkness, from a jungle into a denser jungle, from a thicket into a deeper thicket--inasmuch as you say there is a cause for the realisation of Nirvana, but no cause from which it can arise. If, Nagasena, there be a cause of the realisation of Nirvana, then we must expect to find a cause of the origin of Nirvana. just, Nagasena, as because the son has a father, therefore we ought to expect that that father had a father--or because the pupil has a teacher, therefore we ought to expect that the teacher had a teacher--or because the plant came from a seed, therefore we ought to expect that the seed too had come from a seed--just so, Nagasena, if there be a reason for the realisation of Nirvana, we ought to expect that there is a reason too for its origin,--just as if we saw the top of a tree, or of a creeper, we should conclude that it had a middle part, and a root.'

'Nirvana, O king, is unproduceable, and no cause for its origin has been declared.'

'Come now, Nagasena, give me a reason for this. Convince me by argument, so that I may know how it is that while there is a cause that will bring about the realisation of Nirvana, there is no cause that will bring about Nirvana itself.'

15. 'Then, O king, give ear attentively, and listen well, and I will tell you what the reason is. Could a man, O king, by his ordinary power, go up from hence to the Himalaya, the king of mountains?'

'Yes, Sir, he could.'

'But could a man, by his ordinary power, bring the Himalaya mountains here?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'Well! therefore is it that while a cause for the realisation of Nirvana can be declared, the cause of its origin can not. And could a man, O king, by his ordinary power cross over the great ocean in a ship, and so go to the further shore of it?'

'Yes, Sir, he could.'

'But could a man by his ordinary power bring the further shore of the ocean here?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'Well! so is it that while a cause for the realisation of Nirvana can be declared, the cause of its origin can not. And why not? Because Nirvana is not put together of any qualities.'

16. 'What, Sir! is it not put together?'

'No, O king. It is uncompounded, not made of anything. Of Nirvana, O king, it cannot be said that it has been produced, or not been produced, or that it can be produced, that it is past or future or present, that it is perceptible by the eye or the ear or the nose or the tongue, or by the sense of touch.'

'But if so, Nagasena, then you are only showing us how Nirvana is a condition that does not exist. There can be no such thing as Nirvana.'

'Nirvana exists, O king. And it is perceptible to the mind. By means of his pure heart, refined and straight, free from the obstacles, free from low cravings, that disciple of the Noble Ones who has fully attained can see Nirvana.'

17. 'Then what, Sir, is Nirvana? Such a Nirvana (I mean) as can be explained by similes. Convince me by argument how far the fact of its existence can be explained by similes.'

'Is there such a thing, O king, as wind?'

'Yes, of course.'

'Show it me then, I pray you, O king--whether by its colour, or its form, whether as thin or thick, or short or long!'

'But wind, Nagasena, cannot be pointed out in that way. It is not of such a nature that it can be taken into the hand or squeezed. But it exists all the same.'

'If you can't show me the wind, then there can't be such a thing.'

'But I know there is, Nagasena. That wind exists I am convinced, though I cannot show it you.'

'Well! just so, O king, does Nirvana exist, though it cannot be shown to you in colour or in form.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 66. MODES OF PRODUCTION.]

18. 'Venerable Nagasena, what are they who are said, in this connection, to be "Karma-born," and "cause-born," and "season-born"? And what is it that is none of these?'

'All beings, O king, who are conscious, are Karma-born (spring into existence as the result of Karma). Fire, and all things growing out of seeds, are cause-born (the result of a pre-existing material cause). The earth, and the hills, water, and wind--all these are season-born (depend for their existence on reasons connected with weather). Space and Nirvana exist independently alike of Karma, and cause, and seasons. Of Nirvana, O king, it cannot be said that it is Karma-born or cause-born or season-born; that it has been, or has not been, or can be produced, that it is past or future or present, that it is perceptible by the eye or the nose or the ear or the tongue or by the sense of touch. But it is perceptible, O king, by the mind. By means of his pure heart, refined and straight, free from the obstacles, free from low cravings, that disciple of the Noble Ones who has fully attained can see Nirvana.'

'Well has this delightful puzzle, venerable Nagasena, been examined into, cleared of doubt, brought into certitude. My perplexity has been put an end to as soon as I consulted you, O best of the best of the leaders of schools!'

[DILEMMA 67. DEAD DEMONS.]

19. 'Venerable Nagasena, are there such things as demons (Yakkha) in the world?'

'Yes, O king.'

'Do they ever leave that condition' (fall out of that phase of existence)?

'Yes, they do.'

'But, if so, why is it that the remains of those dead Yakkhas are never found, nor any odour of their corpses smelt? '

'Their remains are found, O king, and an odour does arise from their dead bodies. The remains of bad Yakkhas can be seen in the form of worms and beetles and ants and moths and snakes and scorpions and centipedes, and birds and wild beasts.'

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'Who else, O Nagasena, could have solved this puzzle except one as wise as you!'

[DILEMMA 68. THE METHOD OF PROMULGATING THE RULES / LAYING DOWN OF RULES FOR MONKS.]

20. 'Venerable Nagasena, those who were teachers of the doctors in times gone by--Narada, and Dhammantari, and Angirasa, and Kapila, and Kandaraggisama, and Atula, and Pubba Kakkayana--all these teachers knowing thoroughly, and of themselves, and without any omission, the rise of disease and its cause and nature and progress and cure and treatment and management--each of them composed his treatise en bloc, taking time by the forelock, and pointing out that in such and such a body such and such a disease would arise. Now no one of these was omniscient. Why then did not the Tathagata, who was omniscient, and who knew by his insight of a Buddha what would happen in the future, determining in advance that for such and such an occasion such and such a rule would be required, lay down the whole code of rules at once; instead of laying them down to his disciples from time to time as each occasion arose, when the disgrace (of the wrong act) had been already noised abroad, when the evil was already wide spread and grown great, when the people were already filled with indignation?'

21. 'The Tathagata, O king, knew very well that in fulness of time the whole of the hundred and fifty Rules would have to be laid down to those men. But the Tathagata, O king, thought thus: "If I were to lay down the whole of the hundred and fifty Rules at once the people would be filled with fear, those of them who were willing to enter the Order would refrain from doing so, saying, 'How much is there here to be observed! how difficult a thing is it to enter religion according to the system of the Samana Gotama'--they would not trust my words, and through their want of faith they would be liable to rebirth in states of woe. As occasion arises therefore, illustrating it with a religious discourse, will I lay down, when the evil has become manifest, each Rule."'

'A wonderful thing is it in the Buddhas, Nagasena, and a most marvellous that the omniscience of the Tathagata should be so great. That is just so, venerable Nagasena. This matter was well understood by the Tathagata--how that hearing that so much was to be observed, men would have been so filled with fear that not a single one would have entered religion according to the system of the Conquerors. That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 69. THE HEAT OF THE SUN]

22. 'Venerable Nagasena, does this sun always burn fiercely, or are there times when it shines with diminished heat?'

'It always burns fiercely, O king, never gently.'

'But if that be so, how is it that the heat of the sun is sometimes fierce, and sometimes not?'

23. 'There are four derangements, O king, which happen to the sun, and affected by one or other of these its heat is allayed. And what are the four? The clouds, O king, and fog, and smoke, and eclipses--these are the four derangements which happen to the sun, and it is when affected by one or other of these that its heat is allayed.'

'Most wonderful, Nagasena, and most strange that even the sun, so transcendent in glory, should suffer from derangement-how much more then other, lesser, creatures. No one else could have made this explanation except one wise like you!'

[DILEMMA 70. THE SEASONS / THE WINTER SUN.]

24. 'Venerable Nagasena, why is it that the heat of the sun is more fierce in winter than in summer?'

'In the hot season, O king, dust is blown up into clouds, and pollen agitated by the winds rises up into the sky, and clouds multiply in the heavens, and gales blow with exceeding force. All these crowded and heaped together shut off the rays of the sun, and so in the hot season the heat of the sun is diminished. But in the cold season, O king, the earth below is at rest, the rains above are in reserve, the dust is quiet, the pollen wanders gently through the air, the sky is free from clouds, and very gently do the breezes blow. Since all these have ceased to act the rays of the sun become clear, and freed from every obstruction the sun's heat glows and burns. This, O king, is the reason why the heat of the sun is more fierce in winter than in summer.

'So it is when set free from the obstacles besetting it that the sun burns fiercely, which it cannot do when the rains and so on are present with it.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

CHAPTER 8. THE VESSANTARA CHAPTER

[DILEMMA 71. THE GIFT OF KING VESSANTARA.]

1. 'Venerable Nagasena, do all the Bodisats give away their wives and children, or was it only Vessantara* the king who did so?'

[* King Vessantara Jataka of the Indian kingdom of Sivi.]

'All of them do so, not Vessantara only.'

'Do they then give them away with their own consent?'

'The wife, O king, was a consenting party. But the children, by reason of their tender age, lamented. Had they thoroughly understood, they too would have approved.'

'A hard thing, Nagasena, was it that the Bodisat carried out, in that he gave away his own children, his only ones, dearly beloved, into slavery to the Brahman. And this second action was harder still, that he bound his own children, his only ones, and dearly beloved, young and tender though they were, with the jungle rope, and then, when he saw them being dragged along by the Brahman,--their hands bruised by the creeper,--yet could look on at the sight. And this third action was even harder still, that when his boy ran back to him, after loosing the bonds by his own exertion, then he bound him again with the jungle rope and again gave him away. And this fourth action was even harder still, that when the children, weeping, cried: "Father dear, this ogre is leading us away to eat us!" he should have appeased them by saying: "Don't be afraid." And this fifth action was even harder still, that when the prince, Gali, fell weeping at his feet, and besought him, saying: "Be satisfied, father dear, only keep Kanhagina (his little sister). I will go away with the ogre. Let him eat me!"--that even then he would not yield. And this sixth action was even harder still, that when the boy Gali, lamenting, exclaimed: "Have you a heart of stone then, father, that you can look upon us, miserable, being led away by the ogre into the dense and haunted jungle, and not call us back?"--that he still had no pity. And this seventh action was even harder still, that when his children were thus led away to nameless horrors until they passed gradually to their bitter fate 1, out of sight--that then his heart did not break, utterly break! What, pray, has the man who seeks to gain merit to do with bringing sorrow on others! Should he not rather give himself away?'

2. 'It is because what he did, O king, was so difficult, that the sound of the fame of the Bodisat was spread abroad among gods and men through the ten thousand world systems--that the gods exalt him in heaven; and the Titans in the Titan-world, and the Garudas in their abodes, and the Nagas in the Naga-world, and the Yakshas where they dwell--that through the ages the reputation of this his glory has been handed down by successive tradition--till now, to-day, it has reached to this meeting of ours, at which we sitting are, forsooth, disparaging and casting a slur on that gift, debating whether it were well given or ill! But that high praise, O king, shows forth the ten great qualities of the intelligent, and wise, and able, and subtle-minded Bodisats. And what are the ten? Freedom from greed, the not clinging (to any worldly aim), self-sacrifice, renunciation, the never turning back again (to the lower state), the equal delicacy and greatness, the incomprehensibility, the rarity, and the peerlessness of Buddhahood. In all these respects is it that the fame of that giving shows forth the great qualities of the Bodisats.'

3. 'What, venerable Nagasena? he who gives gifts in such a way as to bring sorrow upon others--does that giving of his bring forth fruit in happiness, does it lead to rebirth in states of bliss?'

'Yes, O king. What can be said (to the contrary)?'

'I pray you, Nagasena, give me a reason for this.'

'Suppose, O king, there were some virtuous Samana or Brahman, of high character, and he were paralysed, or a cripple, or suffering from some disease or other, and some man desirous of merit were to have him put into a carriage, and taken to the place he wished to go to. Would happiness accrue to that man by reason thereof, would that be an act leading to rebirth in states of bliss?'

'Yes, Sir. What can be said (to the contrary)? That man would thereby acquire a trained elephant, or a riding-horse, or a bullock-carriage, on land a land-vehicle and on water a water-vehicle, in heaven a vehicle of the gods and on earth one that men could use,--from birth to birth there would accrue to him that which in each would be appropriate and fit,--and joys appropriate would come to him, and he would pass from state to state of bliss, and by the efficacy of that act mounting on the vehicle of Iddhi he would arrive at the longed-for goal, the city of Nirvana itself.'

'But then, O king, a gift given in such a way as to bring sorrow upon others does bring forth fruit in happiness, does lead to rebirth in states of bliss,--inasmuch as that man by putting the cart-bullocks to pain would attain such bliss.

4. 'And hear another reason, O king, for the same thing. Suppose some monarch were to raise from his subjects a righteous tax, and then by the issue of a command were to bestow thereout a gift, would that monarch, O king, enjoy any happiness on that account, would that be a gift leading to rebirth in states of bliss 'Certainly, Sir. What can be said against it? On that account the monarch would receive a hundred thousandfold, he might become a king of kings, a god above the gods, or Brahma lord of the Brahma gods, or a chief among the Samanas, or a leader of the Brahmans, or the most excellent among the Arahats.'

'Then, O king, a gift given in such a way as to bring sorrow upon others does bring forth fruit in happiness, does lead to rebirth in states of bliss--inasmuch as that monarch by giving as a gift what was gained by harassing his people with taxation would enjoy such exceeding fame and glory.'

5. 'But, venerable Nagasena, what was given by Vessantara the king was an excessive gift; in that he gave his own wife as wife to another man, and his own children, his only ones, into slavery to a Brahman. And excessive giving is by the wise in the world held worthy of censure and of blame. Just, Nagasena, as under too much weight the axle-tree of a cart would break, or a ship would sink, as his food would disagree with him who ate too much, or the crops would be ruined by too heavy rain, or bankruptcy would follow too lavish generosity, or fever would come from too much heat, or a man would go mad from excessive lust, or become guilty of an offence through excessive anger, or fall into sin through excessive stupidity, or into the power of robbers through too much avarice, or be ruined by needless fear, or as a river would overflow through excessive inflow, or a thunderbolt fall through too much wind, or porridge boil over through too hot a fire, or a man who wandered about too much would not live long-just, so, Nagasena, is excessive giving held by the wise in the world as worthy of censure and of blame. And as king Vessantara's gift was excessive no good result could be expected from it.'

6. 'Giving exceedingly, O king, is praised, applauded, and approved by the wise in the world; and they who give away anything as a gift just as it may occur to them, acquire fame in the world as very generous givers. Just, O king, as when a man has taken hold of a wild root which by its extraordinary virtues is divine, that moment he becomes invisible even to those standing within arm's length--just as a medicinal herb by the exceeding power of its nature will utterly kill pain, and put an end to disease--just as fire burns by its exceeding heat, and water puts that fire out by its exceeding cold--just as by its exceeding purity a lotus remains undefiled by water or by mud--just as a (magic) gem by the extraordinary virtue inherent in it procures the granting of every wish--just as lightning by its marvellous quick sharpness cleaves asunder even the diamonds, pearls, and crystals--just as the earth by its exceeding size can support men, and snakes, and wild beasts, and birds, and the waters, and rocks, and hills, and trees--just as the ocean by its exceeding greatness can never be quite filled--just as Sineru by its mighty weight remains immoveable, and space by the greatness of its wide extent is infinite, and the sun by its mighty glory dissipates the darkness--just as the lion in the greatness of its lineage is free from fear--just as a wrestler in the greatness of his might easily lifts up his foe-just as a king by the excellence of his justice becomes overlord, and a Bhikkhu by reason of his very righteousness becomes an object of reverence to Nagas, and Yakshas, and men, and Maras--just as a Buddha by the excellence of his supremacy is peerless--just so, O king, is exceeding generosity praised, applauded, and approved by the wise in the world; and they who give away anything as a gift, just as it may occur to them, acquire in the world the fame of being nobly generous. And by his mighty giving Vessantara the king, O king, was praised, and lauded, and exalted, and magnified, and famous throughout the ten thousand world systems, and by reason, too, of that mighty giving is it that he, the king Vessantara, has, now in our days, become the Buddha, the chief of gods and men.

7. 'And now, O king, tell me--is there anything in the world which should be withheld as a gift, and not bestowed, when one worthy of a gift, one to whom it is one's duty to give, is there?'

'There are ten sorts of gifts, Nagasena, in the world that are commonly disapproved of as gifts. And what are the ten? Strong drink, Nagasena, and festivals in high places, and women, and buffaloes, and suggestive paintings, and weapons, and poison, and chains, and fowls, and swine, and false weights and measures. All these, Nagasena, are disapproved of in the world as gifts, and those who give such presents become liable to rebirth in states of woe.'

'I did not ask you, O king, what kinds of gifts are not approved of. But this, O king, I asked: "Is there anything in the world which ought to be withheld, and not bestowed as a gift, if one worthy of a gift were present?"'

'No, Sir. When faith arises in their hearts some give food to those worthy of gifts, and some give clothes, and some give bedding, and some give dwellings, and some give mats or robes, and some give slave girls or slaves, and some give fields or premises, and some give bipeds or quadrupeds, and some give a hundred or a thousand or a hundred thousand, and some give the kingdom itself, and some give away even their own life.'

'But then, O king, if some give away even their own lives, why do you so violently attack Vessantara, that king of givers, for the virtuous bestowal of his child and wife? Is there not a general practice in the world, an acknowledged custom, according to which it is allowable for a father who has fallen into debt, or lost his livelihood, to deposit his son in pledge, or sell him?'

'Yes, that is so.'

'Well, in accordance therewith was it that Vessantara, O king, in suffering and distress at not having obtained the insight of the Omniscient Ones, pledged and sold his wife and children for that spiritual treasure. So that he gave away what

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other people had given away, he did what other people had done. Why then do you, O king, so violently attack him, the king of givers?'

8. 'Venerable Nagasena, I don't blame him for giving, but for not having made a barter with the beggar, and given away himself rather, instead of his wife and children.'

'That, O king, would be an act of a wrong doer, to give himself when he was asked for his wife and children. For the thing asked for, whatever it is, is that which ought to be given. And such is the practice of the good. Suppose, O king, a man were to ask that water should be brought, would any one who then brought him food have done what he wanted?'

'No, Sir. The man who should have given what he first asked to be brought would have done what he wanted.'

'Just so, O king, when the Brahman asked Vessantara the king for his wife and children, it was his wife and children that he gave. If the Brahman, O king, had asked for Vessantara's body, then would Vessantara have not saved his body, he would neither have trembled nor been stained (by the love of self), but would have given away and abandoned his own body. If, O king, any one had come up to Vessantara the king, and asked of him, saying: "Become my slave," then would he have given away and abandoned his own self, and in so giving would he have felt no pain.

9. 'Now the life of king Vessantara, O king, was a good thing shared in by many--just as meats when cooked are shared in by many, or as a tree covered with fruit is shared in by many flocks of birds. And why so? Because he had said to himself: "Thus acting may I attain to Buddhahood." As a man in need, O king, who is wandering about in his search after wealth, will have to pass along goat-tracks, and through jungles full of stakes and sticks, and doing merchandise by sea and land, will devote his actions, words, and thoughts to the attainment of wealth--just so, O king, did Vessantara, the king of givers, who was longing for the treasure of Buddhahood, for the attainment of the insight of the Omniscient Ones, by offering up to anyone who begged of him his property and his corn, his slave girls and his slaves, his riding animals and carriages, all that he possessed, his wife and children and himself, seek after the Supreme Enlightenment. Just, O king, as an official who is anxious for the seal, and for the office of the custody thereof, will exert himself to the attainment of the seal by sacrificing everything in his house--property and corn, gold and silver, everything--just so, O king, did Vessantara, the king of givers, by giving away all that he had, inside his house and out, by giving even his life for others, seek after the Supreme Enlightenment.

10. 'And further, O king, Vessantara, the king of givers, thought thus: "It is by giving to him precisely what he asks for, that I shall be of service to the Brahman:" and therefore did he bestow upon him his wife and children. It was not, O king, out of dislike to them that he gave them away, not because he did not care to see them more, not because he considered them an encumbrance or thought he could no longer support them, not (in annoyance) with the wish of being relieved of what was not pleasant to him--but because the jewel treasure of omniscience was dear to him, for the sake of the insight of the Omniscient Ones, did he bestow that glorious gift,--immeasurable, magnificent, unsurpassed--of what was near and dear to him, greatly beloved, cherished as his own life, his own children and his wife! For it has been said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god of gods, in the Kariya Pitaka:

"'Twas not through hatred of my children sweet,
'Twas not through hatred of my queen, Maddi,
Thraller of hearts--not that I loved them less--
But Buddhahood more, that I renounced them all."

'Now at that time, O king, Vessantara, when he had given away his wife and children, entered the leaf hut, and sat down there. And heavy grief fell upon him distressed by his exceeding love for them, and his very heart became hot, and hot breath, too much to find its way through the nose, came and went through his mouth, and tears rolled in drops of blood from his eyes. Such was the grief, O king, with which Vessantara gave to the Brahman his wife and children in the thought that his practice of giving should not be broken in upon. But there were two reasons, O king, why he thus gave them away. What are those two? That his practice of giving should not be interrupted was one; the other was that as a result of his so doing his children, distressed by living with him only on wild roots and fruits, should eventually be set free by their new master. For Vessantara knew, O king: "No one is capable of keeping my children as slaves. Their grandfather will ransom the children, and so they will come back to me." These are the two reasons why he gave his children away to the Brahman.

12. 'And further, O king, Vessantara knew:

"This Brahman is worn out, aged, well stricken in years, weak and broken, leaning on a stick, he has drawn near the end of his days, his merit is small, he will not be capable of keeping my children as slaves." Would a man be able, O king, by his ordinary power, to seize the moon and the sun, mighty and powerful as they are, keeping them in a basket or a box, to use them, deprived of their light, as plates?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'Neither, O king, could any one whatever keep in use, as his slaves, the children of Vessantara, who were to the world like the moon and the sun in glory.

13. 'And hear another reason, O king, for the same thing. That wondrous gem, O king of a sovran overlord, bright and beautiful, with its eight facets so well cut, four cubits in thickness, and in circumference as the nave of a cart-wheel, could no man, wrapping it up in a cloth and putting it into a basket, keep and use as a hone to grind his scissors upon. And neither, O king, could any one soever keep in use, as his slaves, the children of Vessantara, like to the jewels of the lord of the world in glory.

14. 'And hear, O king, another reason. just as the elephant king Uposatha, gentle and handsome, eight cubits in height and nine in girth and length, showing the signs of rut in three places on his body, all white, sevenfold firm, could never by any one be covered up with a saucer or a winnowing fan, could never be put into a cowpen like a calf, or made use of as one; just so could no one whatever keep in use, as his slaves, the children of Vessantara, who were, in the world, like Uposatha the elephant king.

15. 'And hear, O king, another reason. Just, O king, as the mighty ocean is great in length and breadth, and deep, not to be measured, and hard to cross, impossible to fathom or to cover up, and no one could close it in and make use of it as a single ferry, just so could no one whatever keep in use, as his slaves, the children of Vessantara, as esteemed in the world as the mighty ocean.

16. 'And hear another reason, O king. Just as the Himalaya, the king of the mountains, five leagues high, and three thousand leagues in extent at the circumference, with its ranges of eight and forty thousand peaks, the source of five hundred rivers, the dwelling-place of multitudes of mighty--creatures, the producer of manifold perfumes, enriched with hundreds of magical drugs, is seen to rise aloft, like a cloud, in the centre (of the earth); like it, O king, could no one whatever keep in use, as his slaves, the children of Vessantara, as esteemed in the world as Himalaya, the mountain king.

'And hear another reason, O king. Just as a mighty bonfire burning on a mountain top would be visible afar off in the darkness and the gloom of night, so was Vessantara the king well known among men, and therefore could no one whatever keep in use, as his slaves, the children of so distinguished a man--for just as at the time of the flowering of the Naga trees in the Himalaya mountains, when the soft winds (of spring) are blowing, the perfume of the flowers is wafted for ten leagues, or for twelve, so was the sound of the fame of king Vessantara noised abroad, and the sweet perfume of his righteousness wafted along for thousands of leagues, even up to the abodes of the Akanittha, (the highest of all) gods, passing on its way the dwelling places of the gods and Asuras, of the Garudas and Gandhabbas, of the Yakshas and Rakshasas, of the Mahoragas and Kinnaras, and of Indra the monarch of the gods! Therefore is it that no one could keep his children as slaves.

17. 'And the young prince Gali, O king, was instructed by his father, Vessantara, in these words: "When your grandfather, my child, shall ransom you with wealth that he gives to the Brahman, let him buy you back for a thousand ounces of gold 1, and when he ransoms your sister Kanhagina let him buy her back for a hundred slaves and a hundred slave girls and a hundred elephants and a hundred horses and a hundred cows and a hundred buffaloes and a hundred ounces of gold. And if, my child, your grandfather should take you out of the hands of the Brahman by word of command, or by force, paying nothing, then obey not the words of your grandfather, but remain still in subjection 2 to the Brahman." Such was his instruction as he sent him away. And young Gali went accordingly, and when asked by his grandfather, said:

As worth a thousand ounces, Sir,
My father gave me to this man;
As worth a hundred elephants,
He gave the girl Kanhagina."'

'Well has this puzzle, Nagasena, been unravelled, well has the net of heresy been torn to pieces, well has the argument of the adversaries been overcome and your own doctrine been made evident, well has the letter (of the Scriptures) been maintained while you have thus explained its spirit! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 72. PENANCE / AUSTERITIES.]

18. 'Venerable Nagasena, did all the Bodisats go through a period of penance, or only Gotama?'

'Not all, O king, but Gotama did.'

'Venerable Nagasena, if that be so, it is not right that there should be a difference between Bodisat and Bodisat.'

'There are four matters, O king, in which there is such difference. And what are the four? There is a difference as to the kind of family (in which they are born 1), there is a difference as to their place in the period (which has elapsed since the succession of Buddhas began), there is a difference as to the length of their individual lives, there is a difference as to their individual size. In these four respects, O king, there is a difference between Bodisat and Bodisat. But there is no difference between any of the Buddhas, who are alike in bodily beauty, in goodness of character, in power of contemplation and of reasoning, in emancipation, in the insight arising from the knowledge of emancipation, in the four bases of confidence, in the ten powers of a Tathagata, in the sixfold special knowledge, in the fourteenfold knowledge of Buddha, in the eighteen characteristics of a Buddha--in a word, in all the qualities of a Buddha. For all the Buddhas are exactly alike in all the Buddha-qualities.'

'But if, Nagasena, that be so, what is the reason that it was only the Gotama Bodisat who carried out the penance?'

'Gotama the Bodisat had gone forth from the world, O king, when his knowledge was immature, and his wisdom was immature. And it was when he was bringing that immature knowledge to maturity that he carried out the penance.'

19. 'Why then, Nagasena, was it that he thus went forth with knowledge and with wisdom immatured? Why did he not first mature his knowledge, and then, with his knowledge matured, renounce the world?'

'When the Bodisat, O king, saw the women of his harem all in disorder, then did he become disgusted, and in him thus disgusted discontent sprang up. And on perceiving that his heart was filled with discontent, a certain god of those that wait on Death (Mara) thought: "This now is the time to dispel that discontent of his heart," and standing in the air he gave utterance to these words: "O honourable one! O fortunate one! Be not thou distressed. On the seventh day from this the heavenly treasure of the Wheel shall appear to thee, with its thousand spokes, its tire, and its nave, complete and perfect; and the other treasures, those that walk on earth and those that travel through the sky, shall come to thee of their own accord; and the words of command of thy mouth shall bear sway over the four great continents and the two thousand dependent isles; and thou shalt have above a thousand sons, heroes mighty in strength to the crushing out of the armies of the foe; and with those sons surrounding thee thou, master of the Seven Treasures, shalt rule the world!" But even as if a bar of iron, heated the livelong day and glowing throughout, had entered the orifice of his ear, so was it that those words, O king, entered the ear of the Bodisat. And to the natural distress he already felt there was added, by that utterance of the god, a further emotion, anxiety, and fear. just as a mighty fiery furnace, were fresh fuel thrown on it, would the more furiously burn--just as the broad earth, by nature moist, and already swampy through the water dripping on it from the vegetation and the grass that have arisen on it, would become more muddy still when a great rain cloud had poured out rain upon it--so to the distress that he already felt there was added, by that utterance of the god, a further emotion, anxiety, and fear.'

20. 'But tell me, Nagasena, if the heavenly Wheel-treasure had, on the seventh day, appeared to the Bodisat, would he, the Wheel having appeared, have been turned back from his purpose?'

'No Wheel-treasure appeared, O king, on the seventh day to the Bodisat. For rather that was a lie that was told by that god with the object of tempting him. And even had it appeared, yet would not the Bodisat have turned aside. And why not? Because the Bodisat, O king, had firmly grasped (the facts of) the impermanence (of all things, of) the suffering (inherent in existence as an individual, of) the absence of a soul (in any being made up of the five Skandhas), and had thus arrived at the destruction of the attachment (to individuality which arises from lust, or from heresy, or from dependence upon outward acts, or from delusions as to the possession of a permanent soul). The water, O king, which flows into the river Ganges from the Anottata lake, and from the Ganges river into the great ocean, and from the great ocean into the openings into the regions under the earth--would that water, after it had once entered that opening, turn back and flow again into the great ocean, and from the great ocean into the Ganges river, and from the Ganges river into the Anottata lake?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'In the same way, O king, it was for the sake of that last existence of his that the Bodisat had matured merit through the immeasurable aeons of the past. He had now reached that last birth, the knowledge of the Buddhas had grown mature in him, in six years he would become a Buddha, all-knowing, the highest being in the world. Would then the Bodisat, for the sake of the Wheel-treasure, turn back?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'No! Though the great earth, O king, with all its peaks and mountain ranges, should turn back, yet the Bodisat would not before he had attained to Buddhahood. Though the water of the Ganges should flow backwards up the stream, yet the Bodisat would not turn back before he had attained to Buddhahood. Though the mighty ocean with its immeasurable waters should dry up like the water in the footprint of a cow, yet would not the Bodisat turn back before he had attained to Buddhahood. Though Sineru, the king of the mountains, should split up into a hundred or a thousand fragments, yet would not the Bodisat turn back

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before he had attained to Buddhahood. Though the sun and moon with all the stars should fall, like a clod, upon the ground, yet would not the Bodisat turn back before he had attained to Buddhahood. Though the expanse of heaven should be rolled up like a mat, yet would not the Bodisat turn back before he had attained to Buddhahood! And why not? Because he had torn asunder every bond.'

21. 'Venerable Nagasena, how many bonds are there in the world?'

'There are these ten bonds in the world, O king, bound by which men renounce not the world, or turn back again to it. And what are the ten? A mother, O king, is often a bond, and a father, and a wife, and children, and relations, and friends, and wealth, and easy income, and sovranty, and the five pleasures of sense. These are the ten bonds common in the world, bonds bound by which men renounce not the world or turn back to it. And all these bonds had the Bodisat, O king, burst through. And therefore could he not, O king, turn back.'

22. 'Venerable Nagasena, if the Bodisat, on discontent arising in his heart at the words of the god, though his knowledge (of the four Truths) was yet imperfect, and his insight of a Buddha not mature, did nevertheless go forth into renunciation of the world, of what advantage was penance to him then? Ought he not rather, awaiting the maturity of his knowledge, to have lived in the enjoyment of all (suitable) foods?'

'There are, O king, these ten sorts of individuals who are despised and contemned in the world, thought shameful, looked down upon, held blameworthy, treated with contumely, not loved. And what are the ten? A woman without a husband, O king, and a weak creature, and one without friends or relatives, and a glutton, and one dwelling in a disreputable family, and the friend of sinners, and he whose wealth has been dissipated, and he who has no character, and he who has no occupation, and he who has no means. These are the ten despised and contemned in the world, thought shameful, looked down upon, held blameworthy, treated with contumely, not loved. It was on calling these conditions to mind, O king, that this idea occurred to the Bodisat: "Let me not incur blame among gods and men as being without occupation or without means! Let me as a master in action, held in respect by reason of action, one having the supremacy which arises from action, one whose conduct is based upon action, one who carries action (into every concern of life), one who has his dwelling in action, be constant in earnestness." That was the spirit, O king, in which the Bodisat, when he was bringing his knowledge to maturity, undertook the practice of penance.'

23. 'Venerable Nagasena, the Bodisat, when he was undergoing penance, said thus to himself:

"But it is not by this penance severe that I shall reach the peculiar faculty of the insight arising from the knowledge of that which is fit and noble--that insight beyond the powers of ordinary men, May there not be now some other way to the wisdom (of Buddhahood)?"

'Was then the Bodisat, at that time, confused in his mind about the way?'

'There are twenty-five qualities, O king, which are causes of weakness of mind, weakened by which the mind cannot successfully be devoted to the destruction of the Asavas (the Great Evils--lust, becoming, delusion, and ignorance). And what are the twenty-five? Anger, O king, and enmity, and hypocrisy, and conceit, and envy, and avarice, and deceit, and treachery, and obstinacy, and perverseness, and pride, and vainglory, and the intoxication (of exalted ideas about birth or health or wealth), and negligence in (well-doing), and intellectual inertness or bodily sloth, and drowsiness, and idleness, and friendship with sinners, and forms, and sounds, and odours, and tastes, and sensations of touch, and hunger, and thirst, and discontent. These are the twenty-five qualities, O king, which are causes of weakness of mind, weakened by which the mind cannot successfully be devoted to the destruction of the Asavas. (And of these it was) hunger and thirst, O king, which had then seized hold of the body of the Bodisat. And his body being thus, as it were, "possessed," his mind was not rightly devoted to the destruction of the Asavas. Now the Bodisat, O king, through the immeasurable æons of the past, had followed after the perception of the Four Noble Truths through all of his successive births. Is it then possible that in his last existence, in the birth in which that perception was to arise, there should be any confusion in his mind as to the way? But nevertheless there arose, O king, in the Bodisat's mind the thought: "May there not now be some other way to the wisdom (of a Buddha)?" And already before that, O king, when he was only one month old, when his father the Sakya was at work (ploughing), the Bodisat, placed in his sacred cot for coolness under the shade of the Gambu tree, sat up crosslegged, and putting away passion, free from all evil conditions of heart, he entered into and remained in the first Ghana--a state of joy and ease, born of seclusion, full of reflection, full of investigation, and so into the second, and so into the third, and so into the fourth Ghana.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say. It was whilst he was bringing his knowledge to maturity that the Bodisat underwent the penance.'

[DILEMMA 73. VIRTUE STRONGER THAN VICE / THE POWER OF EVIL.]

24. 'Venerable Nagasena, which is the more powerful, virtue or vice?'

'Virtue, O king.'

'That is a saying, Nagasena, which I cannot believe-that virtue is more powerful than vice. For there are to be seen here (in the world) men who destroy living creatures, who take to themselves what has not been given, who walk in evil in their lusts, who speak lies, who commit gang robberies on whole villages, who are highwaymen, sharpers, and swindlers, and these all according to their crime suffer the cutting off of their hands, or their feet, or their hands and feet, or their ears, or their nose, or their ears and nose, or the Gruel Pot, or the Chank Crown, or the Rahu's Mouth, or the Fire Garland, or the Hand Torch, or the Snake Strips, or the Bark Dress, or the Spotted Antelope, or the Flesh Hooks, or the Penny Cuts, or the Brine Slits, or the Bar Turn, or the Straw Seat, or they are anointed with boiling oil, or eaten by dogs, or are impaled alive, or are beheaded with a sword. Some of them sin one night and that night experience the fruit of their sin, some sinning by night experience the next day, some sinning one day experience that day, some sinning by day experience that night, some experience when two days or three have elapsed. But all experience in this present visible world the result of their iniquity. And is there any one, Nagasena, who from having provided a meal with all its accessories for one, or two, or three, or four, or five, or ten, or a hundred, or a thousand (members of the Order), has enjoyed in this present visible world wealth or fame or happiness--(is there any one who) from righteousness of life, or from observance of the Uposatha, (has received bliss even in this life)?'

25. 'There are, O king, four men who by giving gifts, and by the practice of uprightness, and by the keeping of Uposatha, even in their earthly bodies attained to glory in Tidasapura (the city of the gods).'

'And who, Sir, were they?'

'Mandhata the king, and Nimi the king, and Sadhina the king, and Guttila the musician.'

'Venerable Nagasena, this happened thousands of births ago, and is beyond the ken of either of us two. Give me, if you can, some examples from that period (of the world) which is now elapsing in which the Blessed One has been alive.'

'In this present period, O king, the slave Punnaka, on giving a meal to Sariputta the Elder, attained that day to the dignity of a treasurer (Setthi), and he is now generally known as Punnaka the Setthi. The queen, the mother of Gopala, who (being the daughter of poor peasant folk) sold her hair for eight pennies, and therewith gave a meal to Maha Kakkayana the Elder and his seven companions, became that very day the chief queen of king Udena. Suppiya, the believing woman, cut flesh from her own thigh to provide broth for a sick Bhikkhu, and on the very next day the wound closed up, and the place became cured, with skin grown over it. Mallika, the queen who (when a poor flower girl) gave the last night's gruel (she had reserved for her own dinner) to the Blessed One, became that very day the chief queen of the king of Kosala. Sumana, the garland maker, when he had presented to the Blessed One eight bunches of jessamine flowers, came that very day into great prosperity. Eka-sataka the Brahman, who gave to the Blessed One his only garment, received that very day the office of Sabbatthaka (Minister in general). All these, O king, came into the enjoyment of wealth and glory in their then existing lives.'

'So then, Nagasena, with all your searching and enquiry you have only found six cases?'

'That is so, O king.'

26. 'Then it is vice, Nagasena, and not virtue which is the more powerful. For on one day alone I have seen ten men expiating their crimes by being impaled alive, and thirty even, and forty, and fifty, and a hundred, and a thousand. And further, there was Bhaddasala, the soldier in the service of the royal family of Nanda, and he waged war against king Kandagutta. Now in that war, Nagasena, there were eighty Corpse Dances. For they say that when one great Head Holocaust has taken place (by which is meant the slaughter of ten thousand elephants, and a lac of horses, and five thousand charioteers, and a hundred kotis of soldiers on foot), then the headless corpses arise and dance in frenzy over the battle-field. And all the men thus slain came to destruction through the fruit of the Karma of their evil deeds. And therefore, too, do I say, Nagasena, that vice is more powerful than virtue. And have you heard, Nagasena, that in all this dispensation (since the time of Gotama the Buddha) the giving by the Kosala king has been unequalled?'

'Yes, I have heard so, O king.'

'But did he, Nagasena, on account of his having given gifts so unequalled, receive in this present life wealth, or glory, or happiness?'

'No, O king, he did not.'

'Then, in that case, surely, Nagasena, vice is more powerful than virtue?'

27. 'Vice, O king, by reason of its meanness, dies quickly away. But virtue, by reason of its grandeur, takes a long time to die. And this can be further examined into by a metaphor. just, O king, as in the West Country the kind of corn called Kumuda-bhandika, ripening quickly and being garnered in a month, is called Masalu (got in a month), but the rices only come to perfection in six months or five. What then is the difference, what the distinction herein between Kumuda-bhandika and rice?

'The one is a mean plant, O king, the other a grand one. The rices are worthy of kings, meet for the king's table; the other is the food of servants and of slaves.

'Just so, O king, it is by reason of its meanness that vice dies quickly away. But virtue, by its grandeur, takes a long time to die.'

28. 'But, Nagasena, it is just those things which come most quickly to their end which are in the world considered the most powerful. And so still vice must be the more powerful, not virtue. just, Nagasena, as the strong man who, when he enters into a terrible battle, is able the most quickly to get hold of his enemies' heads under his armpit, and dragging them along to bring them prisoners to his lord, that is the champion who is regarded, in the world, as the ablest hero--just as that surgeon who is able the most quickly to extract the dart, and allay the disease, is considered the most clever--just as the accountant who is able with the greatest speed to make his calculations, and with most rapidity to show the result, is considered the cleverest counter--just as the wrestler who is able the most quickly to lift his opponent up, and make him fall flat on his back, is considered the ablest hero--just so, Nagasena, it is that one of these two things--virtue and vice--which most quickly reaches its end that is, in the world, the more powerful of the two.'

'The Karma of both the two, O king, will be made evident in future births; but vice besides that will by reason of its guilt be made evident at once, and in this present life. The rulers (Kshatriyas) of old, O king, established this decree: "Whosoever takes life shall be subject to a fine, and whosoever takes to himself what has not been given, and whosoever commits adultery,, and whosoever speaks lies, and whosoever is a dacoit, and whosoever is a highwayman, and whosoever cheats and swindles. Such men shall be liable to be fined or beaten or mutilated or broken or executed." And in pursuance thereof they held repeated enquiry, and then adjudged one or other punishment accordingly. But, O king, has there ever been by any one a decree promulgated: "Whosoever gives gifts, or observes a virtuous life, or keeps Uposatha, to him shall wealth be given, or honours?" And do they make continued enquiry, and bestow wealth or honours accordingly, as they do stripes or bonds upon a thief?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'Well, if they did so then would virtue too be made evident even in this life. But as they neither make such enquiry concerning givers, nor bestow wealth and honours upon them, therefore is virtue not manifested now. And this is the reason, O king, why vice is made known in this life, whereas he (the giver) receives the more abundantly in the lives to come. And therefore it is virtue which, through the destructions brought about by Karma, is by far the more powerful of the two.'

'Very good, Nagasena! Only by one wise as you could this puzzle have been so well solved.

The problem put by me in worldly sense have you in transcendental sense made clear.'

[DILEMMA 74. OFFERINGS TO THE DEAD / SHARING OF MERIT.]

29. 'Venerable Nagasena, these givers when they bestow their offerings, devote them specifically to former (relatives) now departed, saying: "May this gift benefit such and such." Now do they (the dead) derive any benefit therefrom?'

'Some do, O king, and some do not.'

'Which then are they that do, and which do not?'

'Those who have been reborn in purgatory, O king, do not; nor those reborn in heaven; nor those reborn as animals. And of those reborn as Pretas three kinds do not-the Vantasika (who feed on vomit), the Khuppipasino (who hunger and thirst.), the Nigghama-tanhika (who are consumed by thirst). But the Paradattûpagivino (who live on the gifts of others) they do derive profit, and those who bear them in remembrance do so too.'

'Then, Nagasena, offerings given by the givers have run to waste, and are fruitless, since those for whose benefit they are given derive no profit therefrom.'

'No, O king. They run not to waste, neither are fruitless. The givers themselves derive profit from them.'

'Then convince me of this by a simile.'

'Suppose, O king, people were to get ready fish and meat and strong drinks and rice and cakes, and make a visit on a family related to them. If their relatives should not accept their complimentary present, would that present be wasted or fruitless?'

No, Sir, it would go to the owners of it.'

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'Well, just so the givers themselves derive the profit. Or just, O king, as if a man were to enter an inner chamber, and there were no exit in front of him, how would he get out?'

'By the way he entered.'

'Well, just so the givers themselves derive the profit.'

30. 'Let that pass, Nagasena. That is so, and I accept it as you say. We will not dispute your argument. But, venerable Nagasena, if the offerings made by such givers do advantage certain of the departed, and they do reap the result of the gifts, then if a man who destroys living creatures and drinks blood and is of cruel heart, were after committing murder or any other dreadful act, to dedicate it to the departed, saying: "May the result of this act of mine accrue to the departed"--would it then be transferred to them?'

'No, O king.'

'But what is the reason, what is the cause, that a good deed can accrue to them, and not an evil one?'

'This is really not a question you should ask, O king. Ask me no foolish question, O king, in the idea that an answer will be forthcoming. You will be asking me next why space is boundless, why the Ganges does not flow up stream, why men and birds are bipeds, and the animals quadrupeds!'

'It is not to annoy you that I ask this question, Nagasena, but for the sake of resolving a doubt. There are many people in the world who are left-handed or squint. I put that question to you, thinking: "Why should not also these unlucky ones have a chance of bettering themselves?"'

'An evil deed, O king, cannot be shared with one who has not done it, and has not consented to it. People convey water long distances by an aqueduct. But could they in the same way remove a great mountain of solid rock?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'Well, just in that way can a good deed be shared, but a bad one cannot. And one can light a lamp with oil, but could one in the same way, O king, light it with water?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'Well, so is it that a good deed can be shared, but not an evil one. And husbandmen take water from a reservoir to bring their crops to maturity, but could they for the same purpose, O king, take water from the sea?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'So again is it that though a good deed can be shared, an evil one cannot.'

31. 'But, venerable Nagasena, why is that? Convince me of this by a reason. I am not blind, or unobservant. I shall understand when I have heard.'

'Vice, O king, is a mean thing, virtue is great and grand. By its meanness vice affects only the doer, but virtue by its grandeur overspreads the whole world of gods and men.'

'Show me this by a metaphor.'

'Were a tiny drop of water to fall on the ground, O king, would it flow on over ten leagues or twelve?'

'Certainly not. It would only have effect on that very spot of ground on which it fell.'

'But why so?'

'Because o its minuteness.'

'Just so, O king, is vice minute. And by reason of its littleness it affects the doer only, and cannot possibly be shared. But if a mighty rain cloud were to pour out rain satisfying the surface of the earth, would that water spread round about?'

'Certainly, Sir. That thunderstorm would fill up the depressions in the ground and the pools and ponds, and the gullies and crevices and chasms, and the lakes and reservoirs and wells and lotus-tanks, and the water would spread abroad for ten leagues or for twelve.'

'But why so, O king?'

'Because of the greatness of the storm.'

'Just so, O king, is virtue great. And by reason of its abundance it can be shared by gods and men.

'Venerable Nagasena, why is it that vice is so limited, and virtue so much more wide-reaching?'

'Whosoever, O king, in this world gives gifts, and lives in righteousness, and keeps Uposatha, he, glad, right glad, joyful, cheerful, happy, becomes filled with a sweet sense of trust and bliss, and bliss ruling in his heart his goodness grows still more and more abundantly. Like a deep pool of clear water, O king, and into which on one side the spring pours, while on the other the water flows away; so as it flows away it comes again, and there can be no failure there--so, O king, does his goodness grow more and more abundantly. If even through a hundred years, O king, a man were to keep on transferring to others (the merit of) any good he had done, the more he gave it away the more would his goodness grow, and he would still be able to share it with whomsoever he would. This, O king, is the reason why virtue is so much the greater of the two.

32. 'But on doing evil, O king, a man becomes filled with remorse, and the heart of him who feels remorse cannot get away (from the thought of the evil he has done), it is forcibly bent back on it, thrown back on it, obtains no peace; miserable, burning, abandoned of hope, he wastes away, and gaining no relief from depression, he is, as it were, possessed with his woe! just, O king, as a drop of water, falling on a dry river bed with its mighty sandbanks rising and falling in undulations along its crooked and shifty course, gains not in volume, but is swallowed up on the very spot where it fell, just so, O king, is a man, when he has done wrong, overcome with remorse, and the heart of him who feels remorse cannot get away from the thought of the evil he has done, it is forcibly bent back on it, thrown back on it, obtains no peace; miserable, burning, abandoned of hope, he wastes away, and gaining no release from his depression, he is, as it were, swallowed up of his woe. This is the reason, O king, why vice is so mean.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 75. DREAMS.]

33. 'Venerable Nagasena, men and women in this world see dreams pleasant and evil, things they have seen before and things they have not, things they have done before and things they have not, dreams peaceful and terrible, dreams of matters near to them and distant from them, full of many shapes and innumerable colours. What is this that men call a dream, and who is it who dreams it?'

'It is a suggestion, O king, coming across the path of the mind which is what is called a dream. And there are six kinds of people who see dreams--the man who is of a windy humour, or of a bilious one, or of a phlegmatic one, the man who dreams dreams by the influence of a god, the man who does so by the influence of his own habits, and the man who does so in the way of prognostication. And of these, O king, only the last kind of dreams is true; all the rest are false.'

34. 'Venerable Nagasena, when a man dreams a dream that is a prognostication, how is it? Does his own mind set out itself to seek the omen, or does the prognostication come of its own accord into the path of his mind, or does some one else come and tell him of it?'

'His own mind does not itself seek the omen, neither does any one else come and tell him of it. The prognostication comes of its own accord into his mind. It is like the case of a looking-glass, which does not go anywhere to seek for the reflection; neither does any one else come and put the reflection on to the looking-glass. But the object reflected comes from somewhere or other across the sphere over which the reflecting power of the looking-glass extends.'

35. 'Venerable Nagasena, does the same mind which sees the dream also know: "Such and such a result, auspicious or terrible, will follow?"'

'No, that is not so, O king. After the omen has occurred he tells others, and then they explain the meaning of it.'

'Come, now, Nagasena, give me a simile to explain this.'

'It is like the marks, O king, and pimples, and cutaneous eruptions which arise on a man's body to his profit or loss, to his fame or dishonour, to his praise or blame, to his happiness or woe. Do in that case the pimples come because they know: "Such and such is the event which we shall bring about?"'

'Certainly not, Sir. But according to the place on which the pimples have arisen, the fortune-tellers, making their observations, give decision, saying: Such and such will be the result."'

'Well, in the same way, O king, it is not the same mind which dreams the dream which also knows: "Such and such a result, conspicuous or terrible, will follow." But after the omen has occurred he tells others, and they then explain the meaning of it.'

36. 'Venerable Nagasena, when a man dreams a dream, is he awake or asleep?'

'Neither the one, O king; nor yet the other. But when his sleep has become light, and he is not yet fully conscious, in that interval it is that dreams are dreamt. When a man is in deep sleep, O king, his mind has returned home (has entered again into the Bhavanga), and a mind thus shut in does not act, and a mind hindered in its action knows not the evil and the good, and he who knows not has no dreams. It is when the mind is active that dreams are dreamt. just, O king, as in the darkness and gloom, where no light is, no shadow will fall even on the most burnished mirror, so when a man is in deep sleep his mind has returned into itself, and a mind shut in does not act, and a mind inactive knows not the evil and the good, and he who knows not does not dream. For it is when the mind is active that dreams are dreamt. As the mirror, O king, are you to regard the body, as the darkness sleep, as the light the mind. Or again, O king, just as the glory of a sun veiled in fog is imperceptible, as its rays, though they do exist, are unable to pierce through, and as when its rays act not there is no light, so when a man is in deep sleep his mind has returned into itself, and a mind shut in does not act, and a mind inactive knows not the evil and the good, and he who knows not does not dream. For it is when the mind is active that dreams are dreamt. As the sun, O king, are you to regard the body, as the veil of fog sleep, as the rays the mind.

37. 'Under two conditions, O king, is the mind inactive though the body is there--when a man being in deep sleep the mind has returned into itself, and when the man has fallen into a trance. The mind of a man who is awake, O king, is excited, open, clear, untrammelled, and no prognostication occurs to one whose mind is so. Just, O king, as men seeking concealment avoid the man who is open, candid, unoccupied, and unreserved,--just so is it that the divine intention is not manifested to the wakeful man, and the man who is awake therefore sees no dream. Or again, O king, just as the qualities which lead to wisdom are found not in that brother whose mode of livelihood and conduct are wrong, who is the friend of sinners, wicked, insolent, devoid of zeal,--just so is it that the divine intention is not manifested to the wakeful man, and the man who is awake, therefore, sees no dream.'

38. 'Venerable Nagasena, is there a beginning, a middle, and an end in sleep?'

'Yes, O king, there is.'

'Which then is the beginning, which the middle, and which the end?'

'The feeling of oppression and inability in the body, O king, of weakness, slackness, inertness--that is the beginning of sleep. The light "monkey's sleep" in which a man still guards his scattered thoughts--that is the middle of sleep. When the mind has entered into itself--that is the end of sleep. And it is in the middle stage, O king, in the "monkey's sleep" that dreams are dreamt. Just, O king, as when a man self-restrained with collected thoughts, stedfast in the faith, unshaken in wisdom, plunges deep into the woods far from the sound of strife, and thinks over some subtle matter, he there, tranquil and at peace, will master the meaning of it--just so a man still watchful, not fallen into sleep, but dozing in a "monkey's sleep," will dream a dream. As the sound of strife, so, O king, are you to regard wakefulness, and as the lonely wood the "monkey's sleep." And as that man avoiding the sound of strife, keeping out of sleep, remaining in the middle stage, will master the meaning of that subtle matter, so the still watchful man, not fallen into sleep, but dozing in a "monkey's sleep," will dream a dream.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 76. PREMATURE DEATH.]

39. 'Venerable Nagasena, when beings die, do they all die in fullness of time, or do some die out of due season?'

'There is such a thing, O king, as death at the due time, and such a thing as premature death.'

'Then who are they whose decease is at the due time, and who are they whose decease is premature?'

'Have you ever noticed, O king, in the case of mango trees or Gambu trees or other fruit-bearing trees, that their fruits fall both when they are ripe and when they are not ripe?'

'Yes, I have.'

'Well, those fallen fruits, do they all fall at the due time, or do some fall prematurely?'

'Such of those fruits, Nagasena, as are ripe and mature when they fall, fall in fullness of time. But of the rest some fall because they are bored into by worms, some because they are knocked down by a long stick, some because they are blown down by the wind, some because they have become rotten--and all these fall out of due season.'

'Just so, O king, those men who die of the effect of old age, they die in fullness of time. But of the rest some die of the dire effect of the Karma (of evil deeds), some of excessive journeying, some of excessive activity.'

40. 'Venerable Nagasena, those who die of Karma, or of journeying, or of activity, or of old age, they all die in fullness of time: and even he who dies in the womb, that is his appointed time, so that he too dies in fullness of time; and so of him who dies in the birth chamber, or when he is a month old, or at any age up to a hundred years. It is always his appointed time, and it is in the fullness of time that he dies. So, Nagasena, there is no such thing as death out of due season. For all who die, die at the appointed time.'

'There are seven kinds of persons, O king, who, there being still a portion of their appointed age to run, die out of time. And which are the seven? The starving man, O king, who can get no food, whose inwards are consumed--and the thirsty man who can get no water, whose heart is dried up--and the man bitten by a snake, who, when consumed by the fierce energy of poison, can find no cure and he who has taken poison, and when all his limbs are burning, is unable to procure medicine--and one fallen into fire, who when he is aflame, can find no means of putting out the fire--and he who having fallen into water can find no firm ground to stand on--and the man wounded by a dart, who in his illness can find no surgeon--all these seven, there being still a portion of their appointed time to run, die out of due season. And herein (in all these seven cases) I declare that they are all of one nature. In eight ways, O king, does the death of mortals take place--through excess of windy humour, or of bilious humour, or of phlegmatic humour, through the adverse union of these three, through variations in temperature, through inequality in protection, through (medical) treatment, and through the working of Karma. And of these, O king, it is only death by the working of Karma that is death at the due season, all the rest are cases of death out of due season. For it is said:

"By hunger, thirst, by poison, and by bites,
Burnt, drowned, or slain, men out of time do die;
By the three humours, and by three combined,
By heats, by inequalities, by aids,

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By all these seven men die out of time."

41. 'But there are some men, O king, who die through the working of some evil deed or other they have committed in a former birth. And of these, O king, whosoever has starved others to death, after having been himself through many hundreds of thousands of years tormented by hunger, famished, exhausted, emaciated, and withered of heart, dried up, wasted away, heated, and all on fire within, will, either as youth or man or old man, die of hunger too. And that death will be to him a death at the appointed time. Whosoever has put others to death by thirst, after having through many hundreds of thousands of years become a Preta consumed by thirst, thin and miserable, will himself too, either as youth or man or old man, die of thirst. And that death will be to him a death at the appointed time. Whosoever has put others to death by having them bitten by snakes, will, after wandering through many hundreds of thousands of years from existence to existence, in which he is constantly bitten by boa constrictors and black snakes, himself too, either as youth or man or old man, die of snake bite. And that will be to him a death at the appointed time. Whosoever has put others to death by poison will, after existing for many hundreds of thousands of years with burning limbs and broken body, and exhaling the odour of a corpse, himself too, either as youth or man or old man, die of poison. And that will be to him a death at the appointed time. Whosoever has put others to death by fire, he having wandered from purgatory to purgatory, from one mass of burning charcoal to another, with burning and tortured limbs, for many hundreds of thousands of years, will himself too, either as youth or man or old man, be burnt to death. And that will be to him a death at the appointed time. Whosoever has put others to death by drowning, he having suffered many hundreds of thousands of years as a being disabled, ruined, broken, weak in limb, and anxious in heart, will himself too, either as youth or man or old man, die by drowning. And that will be to him a death at the appointed time. Whosoever has put others to death by the sword, he having suffered for many hundreds of thousands of years (in repeated births as an animal) from cuts and wounds and blows and bruises, or (when born as a man) ever destroyed by weapons, will himself too, either as youth or man or old man, perish by the sword. And that will be to him a death at the appointed time.'

42. 'Venerable Nagasena, the death out of due time that you also speak of--come now, tell me the reason for that.'

'As a great and mighty fire, O king, on to which dry grass and sticks and branches and leaves have been heaped, will nevertheless, when this its food has been consumed, die out by the exhaustion of the fuel. Yet such a fire is said to have gone out in fullness of time, without any calamity or accident (having happened to it). Just so, O king, the man who, when he has lived many thousands of days, when he is old and stricken in years, dies at last of old age, without any calamity or accident having happened to him, is said to have reached death in the fullness of time. But if there were a great and mighty fire, O king, on to which dry grass and sticks and branches and leaves had been heaped, then if a mighty rain cloud were to pour out rain upon it, and it were thus to be put out, even before the fuel was consumed, could it be said, O king, that that great fire had gone out in fullness of time?'

'No, Sir, it could not.'

'But wherein would the second fire differ, in its nature, from the first?'

'The second one, Sir, which suffered from the onset of the rain--that fire would have gone out before its time.'

'Just so, O king, whosoever dies before his time does so in consequence of suffering from the attack of some disease,--from excess of windy humour, or of bilious humour, or of phlegmatic humour, or from the union of the three, or from variations in temperature, or from inequality in protection, or from treatment, or from hunger, or from thirst, or from fire, or from water, or from the sword. This, O king, is the reason why there is such a thing as dying before one's time.

43. 'Or again, O king, it is like a mighty storm cloud which, rising up into the heavens, should pour out rain, filling the valleys and the plains. That cloud would be said to have rained without calamity or accident. Just so, O king, the man who after having lived long, dies at last, when he is old and well stricken in years, without any calamity or accident having happened to him, of old age, is said to have reached death in the fullness of time. But if, O king, a mighty storm cloud were to rise up into the heavens, and as it did so were to be dissipated by a mighty wind, could it be said, O king, that that cloud had perished in due time?'

'No, Sir, it could not.'

'But wherein would the second cloud differ, in its nature, from the first?'

'The second one, Sir, which suffered from the onset of the whirlwind, would have been dissipated before its time.'

'Just so, O king, whosoever dies before his time does so in consequence of suffering from the attack of some disease,--from excess of windy humour, or of bilious humour, or of phlegmatic humour, or from the union of the three, or from variations in temperature, or from inequality in protection, or from treatment, or from hunger, or from thirst, or from fire, or from water, or from the sword. This, O king, is the reason why there is such a thing as dying before one's time.

44. 'Or again, O king, it is like a powerful and deadly snake, which being angered should bite a man, and to him that poison, no impediment and no accident happening to it, should bring death. That poison would be said, without impediment or accident, to have reached its aim. Just so, O king, the man who, having lived long, dies at last, when he is old and well stricken in years, without any calamity or accident having happened to him, of old age, he is said to have reached, unimpeded and uninterrupted, to the goal of his life, to have died in the fullness of time. But if a snake charmer were to give a drug to the man while he was suffering from the bite, and thus get rid of the poison, could it be said that the poison was removed in the fullness of time?'

'No, Sir, it could not.'

'But wherein, O king, would the second poison differ, in its nature, from the first?'

'The second one, Sir, which was acted upon by the introduction of the drug, would have been removed before its end was attained.'

'Just so, O king, whosoever dies before his time does so in consequence of suffering from the attack of some disease,--from excess of windy humour, or of bilious humour, or of phlegmatic humour, or from the union of the three, or from variations in temperature, or from inequality in protection, or from treatment, or from hunger, or from thirst, or from fire, or from water, or from the sword. This, O king, is the reason why there is such a thing as dying before one's time.

45. 'Or again, O king, it is like the arrow discharged by an archer. If that arrow should go to the very end of the line of the path along which it was natural for it to go, then it would be said to have reached that aim, without let or hindrance. Just so, O king, the man who, having lived long, dies at last, when he is old and well stricken in years, without any calamity or accident having happened to him, of old age, is said to have reached death, unimpeded and uninterrupted, in the fullness of time. But if, at the moment when the archer was discharging the arrow, some one should catch hold of it, could that arrow be said to have reached the end of the line of the path along which it was shot?'

'No, Sir, it could not.'

'But wherein, O king, would the second arrow differ, in its nature, from the first?'

'By the seizure which intervened, Sir, the course of the second arrow was arrested.'

'Just so, O king, whosoever dies before his time does so in consequence of suffering from the attack of some disease,--from excess of windy humour, or of bilious humour, or of phlegmatic humour, or from the union of the three, or from variations in temperature, or from inequality in protection, or from treatment, or from hunger, or from thirst, or from fire, or from water, or from the sword. This, O king, is the reason why there is such a thing as dying before one's time.

46. 'Or again, O king, it is like the brazen vessel which a man should strike. And by his striking thereof a note should be produced, and sound to the very end of the line of the path along which it was its nature to sound. It would then be said to have reached that aim without let or hindrance. Just so, O king, the man who, having lived long, dies at last, when he is old and well stricken in years, without any calamity or accident having happened to him, of old age, is said to have reached death, without let or hindrance, in the fullness of time. But if a man were to strike a brazen vessel, and by his striking thereof a note should be produced, but some one, before it had reached any distance, were to touch the vessel, and at his touching thereof the sound should cease, could then that sound be said to have reached the end of the line of the path along which it was its nature to sound

'No, Sir, it could not.'

'But wherein, O king, would the second sound differ, in its nature, from the first?'

'By the touching which intervened, Sir, that sound was suppressed.'

'Just so, O king, whosoever dies before his time does so in consequence of suffering from the attack of some disease,--from excess of windy humour, or of bilious humour, or of phlegmatic humour, or from the union of the three, or from variations in temperature, or from inequality in protection, or from treatment, or from hunger, or from thirst, or from fire, or from water, or from the sword. This, O king, is the reason why there is such a thing as dying before one's time.

47. 'Or again, O king, it is like the corn seed which had sprung up well in the field, and by means of a plentiful downpour of rain had become well laden far and wide with many seeds, and had survived in safety to the time of standing crops, that corn would be said to have reached, without let or hindrance, to its due season. Just so, O king, the man who, having lived long, dies at last, when he is old and well stricken in years, without any calamity or accident having happened to him, of old age, is said to have reached death, without let or hindrance, in the fullness of time. But if that corn, after it had sprung up well in the field, should, deprived of water, die, could it be said to have reached its due season?'

'No, Sir, it could not.'

'But wherein, O king, would the second crop differ, in its nature, from the first?'

'Oppressed by the heat which intervened, that crop, Sir, perished.'

'Just so, O king, whosoever dies before his time does so in consequence of suffering from the attack of some disease,--from excess of windy humour, or of bilious humour, or of phlegmatic humour, or from the union of the three, or from variations in temperature, or from inequality in protection, or from treatment, or from hunger, or from thirst, or from fire, or from water, or from the sword. This, O king, is the reason why there is such a thing as dying before one's time.

48. 'And have you ever heard, O king, of a young crop that, after it had come to ear, worms sprung up and destroyed down to the roots?'

'We have both heard of such a thing, Sir, and have seen it, too.'

'Well, O king, was that crop destroyed in season, or out of season?'

'Out of season, Sir. For surely if worms had not destroyed the crop it would have survived to harvest time.'

'What then, O king! on a disaster intervening the crop is lost, but if no injury is done it, it survives to the harvest?'

'That is so, Sir.'

'Just so, O king, whosoever dies before his time does so in consequence of suffering from the attack of some disease,--from excess of windy humour, or of bilious humour, or of phlegmatic humour, or from the union of the three, or from variations in temperature, or from inequality in protection, or from treatment, or from hunger, or from thirst, or from fire, or from water, or from the sword. This, O king, is the reason why there is such a thing as dying before one's time.

49. 'And have you ever heard, O king, of a crop that had grown, and was bent down by the weight of the grains of corn, the ears having duly formed, when a so-called Karaka rain (hail-storm) falling on it, destroyed it?'

'We have both heard of such a thing, Sir, and have seen it, too.'

'Well, O king! would you say the crop was destroyed in season or out of season?'

'Out of season, Sir. For if the hail-storm had not come the crop would have lasted to harvest time.'

'What then, O king! on a disaster intervening the crop is lost, but if no injury is done it, it survives to the harvest?'

'That is so, Sir.'

'Just so, O king, whosoever dies before his time does so in consequence of suffering from the attack of some disease,--from excess of windy humour, or of bilious humour, or of phlegmatic humour, or from the union of the three, or from variations in temperature, or from inequality in protection, or from treatment, or from hunger, or from thirst, or from fire, or from water, or from the sword. This, O king, is the reason why there is such a thing as dying before one's time.'

50. 'Most wonderful, Nagasena, most strange! Right well have you explained, by reason and by simile, how it is that people die before their time. That there is such a thing as premature death have you made clear and plain and evident. A thoughtless man even, Nagasena, a puzzle-headed fellow, could by any one of your comparisons have come to the conclusion that premature deaths do occur;--how much more an able man! I was convinced already, Sir, by the first of your similes, that such deaths happen, but nevertheless, out of the wish to hear still further and further solutions, I would not give in.'

[DILEMMA 77. WONDERS AT THE GRAVE / MIRACLES AT SHRINES OF ARAHANTS.]

51. 'Venerable Nagasena, are there wonders at the Ketiyas (the mounds raised over the ashes) of all who have passed entirely away (of all the Arahats deceased)?

'Of some, O king, but not of others.'

'But of which, Sir, is this the case, and of which not?'

'It is by the stedfast resolve, O king, of three kinds of people, that wonders take place at the Ketiya of some person deceased who has been entirely set free. And who are the three? In the first place, O king, an Arahat, when still alive, may, out of pity for gods and men, make the resolve: "Let there be such and such wonders at my Ketiya." Then, by reason of his resolve, wonders happen there. Thus is it that wonders occur by the resolve of an Arahat at the Ketiya of one entirely set free.

'And again, O king, the gods, out of pity for men, show wonders at the Ketiya of one who has been entirely set free, thinking: "By this wonder may the true faith remain always established on the earth, and may mankind, believing, grow in grace!" Thus is it that wonders occur by the resolve of a god at the Ketiya of one entirely set free.

'And again, O king, some woman or some man of believing heart, able, intelligent, wise, endowed with insight, may deliberately take perfumes, or a garland, or a cloth, and place it on the Ketiya, making the resolve: "May such and such a

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wonder take place!" Thus is it that wonders occur by the resolve of human beings at the Ketiya of one entirely set free.

52. 'These, O king, are the three kinds of people by whose stedfast resolve wonders take place at the Ketiyas of Arahats deceased. And if there has been no such resolve, O king, by one of these, then is there no wonder at the Ketiya even of one whose Asavas had been destroyed, who had attained to the sixfold insight, who was master of himself. And if there be no such wonder, then, O king, one should call to mind the purity of conduct one has seen, and draw in trusting faith the conclusion: "Verily, this child of the Buddhas has been entirely set free!"'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 78. CONVERSION AND CONDUCT / CAN EVERYONE UNDERSTAND THE DHARMA?.]

53. 'Venerable Nagasena, those who regulate their lives aright--do they all attain to insight into the Truth, or are there some of them who do not?'

'Some do, O king, and some do not.'

'Then which do, Sir, and which do not?'

'He who is born as an animal, O king, even though he regulate his life aright, will not attain to insight into the Truth, nor he who is born in the Preta world, nor he who holds wrong views, nor the deceitful man, nor he who has slain his mother, or his father, or an Arahat, nor he who has raised up a schism in the Order, nor he who has shed a Buddha's blood, nor he who has furtively attached himself to the Order, nor he who has become a pervert, nor he who has violated a sister of the Order, nor he who, having been guilty of one or other of the thirteen grievous offences, has not been rehabilitated, nor a eunuch, nor an hermaphrodite--and whosoever is a human child under seven years of age, even though he regulate his life aright, will not attain to insight into the Truth. To these sixteen individuals there is no attainment of insight, O king, even though they regulate their life aright.'

54. 'Venerable Nagasena, there may or may not be a possibility of insight to the fifteen you have first singled out for opposition. But what is the reason why an infant, one under seven years of age, should not, even though he regulate his life aright, attain to insight? Therein there is still a puzzle left. For is it not admitted that in a child there is not passion, neither malice, nor dullness, nor pride, nor heresy, nor discontent, nor lustful thoughts? Being undefiled by sin, that which we call an infant is fit and ready (to the attainment even of Arahatship--how much more) is he worthy to penetrate at a glance into the four truths!'

'The following is the reason, O king, for my saying that an infant, even though he regulate his life aright, cannot attain to insight. If, O king, one under seven years of age could feel passion about things exciting to passion, could go wrong in things leading to iniquity, could be befooled in matters that mislead, could be maddened as to things that infatuate, could understand a heresy, could distinguish between content and discontent, could think out virtue and vice, then might insight be possible to him. But the mind of one under seven years of age, O king, is powerless and weak, mean, small, slight, obscure, and dull, whereas the essential principle of Nirvana is transcendental, important, weighty, wide-reaching, and extensive. Therefore is it, O king, that the infant, with so imperfect a mind, is unable to grasp an idea so great. It is like the case of Sineru, O king, the king of the mountains, heavy and ponderous, wide-reaching and mighty as it is,--could now a man, by his ordinary strength and power and energy, root that mountain up?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'But why not?'

'Because of the weakness of the man, and because of the mightiness of Sineru, the mountain king.'

'Just so, O king, is the relation of the infant's mind to Nirvana.'

55. 'And again, it is like the broad earth, O king, long and wide, great in expanse and extension, large and mighty--would now a tiny drop of water be able to wet and turn to mud that broad earth?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'But why not, O king?'

'Because of the minuteness of the drop of water, and because of the greatness of the broad earth.'

'Just so, O king, is the relation of the infant's mind to Nirvana.

56. 'Or again, O king, suppose there were weak and powerless, minute, tiny, limited, and dull fire--would it be possible, with so insignificant a fire, to overcome darkness and make light appear over the whole world of gods and men?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'But why not, O king?'

'Because of the dullness of the fire, and because of the greatness of the world.'

'Just so, O king, the mind of one under seven years of age is powerless and weak, limited, insignificant, obscure, and dull; it is veiled, moreover, with the thick darkness of ignorance. Hard would it be, therefore, for it to shine forth with the light of knowledge. And that is the reason, O king, why to an infant, to one under seven years of age, even though he order his conduct aright, there can be no attainment of insight into the Truth.

57. 'Or again, O king, suppose there were a Salaka, minute in the measure of its body, and rendered lean by disease, and it on seeing an elephant king, which showed the signs of rut in three places, and was nine cubits in length, and three in breadth, and ten in girth, and seven in height, coming to its lair, were to begin to drag the elephant towards it with the view of swallowing it--now would the Salaka, O king, be able to do?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'But why not, O king?'

'Because of the minuteness of the Salaka's body, and because of the magnitude of the elephant king.'

'Just so, O king, the mind of one under seven years of age is powerless and weak, limited, insignificant, obscure, and dull. Grand and transcendental is the ambrosial essence of Nirvana. With that mind so powerless and weak, so limited, insignificant, obscure, and dull, he cannot penetrate into the grand and transcendental essence of Nirvana. And that is the reason, O king, why to an infant, one under seven years of age, even though he order his conduct aright, there can be no attainment to insight of the Truth.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 79. THE PAIN OF NIRVANA / THE BLISS OF NIRVANA.]

58. 'Venerable Nagasena, how is it? Is Nirvana all bliss, or is it partly pain.?

'Nirvana is all bliss, O king. There is no intermingling of pain in it.'

'That, Sir, is a saying we cannot believe--that Nirvana is all bliss. On this point, Nagasena, we maintain that Nirvana must be alloyed with pain. And there is a reason for our adopting that view. What is that reason? Those, Nagasena, who seek after Nirvana are seen to practise exertion and application both of body and of mind, restraint in standing, walking, sitting, lying, and eating, suppression of sleep, subjugation of the organs of sense, renunciation of wealth and corn, of dear relatives and friends. But all those who are joyful and happy in the world take delight in, are devoted to, the five pleasures of sense--they practise and delight their eyes in many kinds of pleasurable forms, such as at any time they like the best--they practise and delight their ears in many kinds of pleasurable sounds of revelry and song, such as at any time they like the best--they practise and delight their sense of smell with many kinds of perfumes of flowers, and fruits, and leaves, and bark, and roots, and sap, such as at any time they like the best--they practise and delight their tongue with many kinds of pleasurable tastes of hard foods and of soft, of syrups, drinks, and beverages, such as at any time they like the best--they practise and delight their sense of touch with many kinds of pleasurable feelings, tender and delicate, exquisite and soft, such as at any time they like the best--they practise and delight their minds with many sorts of conceptions and ideas, pure and impure, good and bad, such as at any time they like the best. You, on the other hand, put a stop to and destroy, maim and mangle, put a drag on and restrain the development of your eye, and ear, and nose, and tongue, and body, and mind. Therefore is your body afflicted and your mind afflicted too, and your body being afflicted you feel bodily discomfort and pain, and your minds being afflicted you feel mental discomfort too and pain. Did not even Magandiya, the ascetic, find fault with the Blessed One, and say: "The Samana Gotama is a destroyer of increase?"'

59. 'Nirvana, O king, has no pain in it. It is bliss unalloyed. When you, O king, maintain that Nirvana is painful, that which you call "painful" is not Nirvana. It is the preliminary stage to the realisation of Nirvana, it is the process of seeking after Nirvana. Nirvana itself is bliss pure and simple, there is no pain mixed with it. And I will give you an explanation of this. Is there such a thing, O king, as the bliss of sovranty which kings enjoy?'

'Most certainly.'

'And is there no pain, O king, mingled with that bliss?'

'No, Sir.'

'But surely then, O king, why is it that when their frontier provinces have broken out in revolt, the kings, to the end that they may bring the inhabitants of those provinces into subjection again, leave their homes, attended by their ministers and chiefs, their soldiers and their guards, and marching over ground even and uneven, tormented the while by gnats and mosquitoes and hot winds, engage in fierce fights, and suffer the presentiment of death?'

'That, venerable Nagasena, is not what is called the bliss of sovranty. It is only the preliminary stage in the pursuit of that bliss. It is after they have thus, in pain, sought after sovranty, that they enjoy the bliss thereof. And thus that bliss, Nagasena, is itself unmixed with pain, for the bliss of sovranty is one thing, and the pain another.'

'Just so, O king, is Nirvana all bliss, and there is no pain mingled with it. Those who are in quest of Nirvana afflict their minds and bodies it is true, restrain themselves in standing, walking, sitting, lying, and in food, suppress their sleep, keep their senses in subjection, abandon their very body and their life. But it is after they have thus, in pain, sought after Nirvana, that they enjoy the Nirvana which is bliss unalloyed--as kings do the bliss of sovranty after their foes have been put down. Thus is it, O king, that Nirvana is all bliss, and there is no pain mingled with it. For Nirvana is one thing, and the pain another.

60. 'And hear another explanation, O king, of the same thing. Is there such a thing, O king, as the bliss of knowledge which those teachers have who have passed through their course?'

'Yes, Sir, there is.'

'Well, is that bliss of knowledge alloyed with pain?'

'No.'

'What then, O king, is the good of their afflicting themselves by bowing down before and standing up in the presence of their teachers; by drawing water, and sweeping out the cell, and placing tooth-sticks and washing-water ready; by living upon scraps left over; by doing service in shampooing, and bathing, and washing of the feet; by suppressing their own will, and acting according to the will of others; by sleeping in discomfort, and feeding on distasteful food?'

'That, Nagasena, is not the bliss of knowledge, it is a preliminary stage in the pursuit thereof. It is after the teachers have, in pain, sought after knowledge, that they enjoy its bliss. Thus is it, Nagasena, that the bliss of knowledge is unalloyed with pain. For that bliss of knowledge is one thing, and the pain another.'

'Just so, O king, is Nirvana all bliss, and there is no pain mingled with it. Those who are in quest of Nirvana afflict their minds and bodies it is true, restrain themselves in standing, walking, sitting, lying, and in food, suppress their sleep, keep their senses in subjection, abandon their very body and their life. But it is after they have thus, in pain, sought after Nirvana, that they enjoy the Nirvana which is bliss unalloyed--as teachers do the bliss of knowledge. Thus is it, O king, that Nirvana is all bliss, and there is no pain mingled with it. For Nirvana is one thing, and the pain another.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 80. THE OUTWARD FORM OF NIRVANA / DESCRIPTION OF NIRVANA.]

61. 'Venerable Nagasena, this Nirvana that you are always talking of--can you make clear by metaphor, or explanation, or reason, or argument, the form, or figure, or duration, or measure of it?'

'Nirvana, O king, has nothing similar to it. By no metaphor, or explanation, or reason, or argument can its form, or figure, or duration, or measure be made clear.'

'That I cannot believe, Nagasena,--that of Nirvana, which really after all is a condition that exists, it should be so impossible in any way to make us understand either the form, or figure, or duration, or measure! Give me some explanation of this.'

62. 'Very well, O king, I will do so. Is there such a thing, O king, as the great ocean?'

'Yes, the ocean exists.'

'Well, suppose some one were to ask you, saying: "How much water is there, your majesty, in the sea, and how many are the creatures that dwell therein?" When that question had been put, how would you answer him?'

'I should reply thus to such a question: "My good fellow! this is an unaskable thing that you ask me. No one ought to ask such a question. It is a point that should be left alone. The physicists have never examined into the ocean in that way. And no one can measure the water there, or count the creatures who dwell therein." Thus, Sir, should I make reply.'

63. 'But why, O king, would you make such a reply about the ocean which, after all, is really an existing condition of things. Ought you not rather to count and tell him, saying: "So and so much is the water in the sea, and so and so many are the creatures that dwell therein?"'

'That would be impossible, Sir. The question is beyond one's power.'

'As impossible as it is, O king, to tell the measure of the water in the sea, or the number of the creatures dwelling therein, though after all the sea exists, so impossible is it in any of the ways you suggest to tell the form, or figure, or duration, or measure of Nirvana, though after all it is a condition that does exist. And even, O king, if one of magical powers, master over mind, were to be able to count the water and the creatures in the sea, even he could not tell the form or the figure, the duration or the measure of Nirvana.

64. 'And hear another explanation of the same thing, O king. Are there, O king, among the gods certain of them called "The Formless Ones?

'Yes, Sir. I have heard there are such.'

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'Well, O king, can you make clear by metaphor, or explanation, or reason, or argument the form, or figure, or duration, or size of these gods, the "Formless Ones?"'

'No, I cannot.'

'Then, O king, there are none.'

'The Formless Ones, Sir, do exist; and yet it is impossible in any of the ways you suggest to explain either their form or figure, either their duration or their size.'

'As impossible as it is, O king, to tell the form or figure, the duration or the size of the gods called "Formless Ones," though they after all are beings that exist, so impossible is it in any of the ways you suggest to explain the form or the figure, the duration or the measure of Nirvana, though after all it is a condition that does exist.'

65. 'Venerable Nagasena, I will grant you that Nirvana is bliss unalloyed, and yet that is impossible to make clear, either by simile or explanation, by reason or by argument, either its form or its figure, either its duration or its size. But is there no quality of Nirvana which is inherent also in other things, and is such that it can be made evident by metaphor?'

'Though there is nothing as to its form which can be so explained, there is something, O king, as to its qualities which can.'

'O happy word, Nagasena! Speak then, quickly, that I may have an explanation of even one point in the characteristics of Nirvana. Appease the fever of my heart. Allay it by the cool sweet breezes of your words!'

'There is one quality of the lotus, O king, inherent in Nirvana, and two qualities of water, and three of medicine, and four of the ocean, and five of food, and ten of space, and three of the wish-conferring gem, and three of red sandal wood, and three of the froth of ghee, and five of a mountain peak.'

66. 'Venerable Nagasena, that one quality of the lotus which you said was inherent in Nirvana,--which is that?'

'As the lotus, O king, is untarnished by the water, so is Nirvana untarnished by any evil dispositions. This is the one quality of the lotus inherent in Nirvana.'

67. 'Venerable Nagasena, those two qualities of water which you said were inherent in Nirvana,--which are they?'

'As water, O king, is cool and assuages heat, so also is Nirvana cool, and assuages the fever arising from all evil dispositions. This is the first quality of water inherent in Nirvana. And again, O king, as water allays the thirst of men and beasts when they are exhausted and anxious, craving for drink, and tormented by thirst, so does Nirvana allay the thirst of the craving after lusts, the craving after future life, and the craving after worldly prosperity. This is the second quality of water inherent in Nirvana.'

68. 'Venerable Nagasena, those three qualities of medicine, which you said were inherent in Nirvana,--which are they?'

'As medicine, O king, is the refuge of beings tormented by poison, so is Nirvana the refuge of beings tormented with the poison of evil dispositions. This is the first quality of medicine inherent in Nirvana. And again, O king, as medicine puts an end to diseases, so does Nirvana put an end to griefs. This is the second quality of medicine inherent in Nirvana. And again, O king, as medicine is ambrosia, so also is Nirvana ambrosia. This is the third quality of medicine inherent in Nirvana.'

69. 'Venerable Nagasena, those four qualities of the ocean which you said were inherent in Nirvana,--which are they?'

'As the ocean, O king, is free from (empty of) corpses, so also is Nirvana free from (empty of) the dead bodies of all evil dispositions. This, O king, is the first quality of the ocean inherent in Nirvana. And again, O king, as the ocean is mighty and boundless, and fills not with all the rivers that flow in to it; so is Nirvana mighty and boundless, and fills not with all beings (who enter in to it). This is the second quality of the ocean inherent in Nirvana. And again, O king, as the ocean is the abode of mighty creatures, so is Nirvana the abode of great men--Arahats, in whom the Great Evils and all stains have been destroyed, endowed with power, masters of themselves. This is the third quality of the ocean inherent in Nirvana. And again, O king, as the ocean is all in blossom, as it were, with the innumerable and various and fine flowers of the ripple of its waves, so is Nirvana all in blossom, as it were, with the innumerable and various and fine flowers of purity, of knowledge, and of emancipation. This is the fourth quality of the ocean inherent in Nirvana.'

70. 'Venerable Nagasena, those five qualities of food which you said were inherent in Nirvana,--which are they?'

'As food, O king, is the support of the life of all beings, so is Nirvana, when it has been realised, the support of life, for it puts an end to old age and death. This is the first quality of food inherent in Nirvana. And again, O king, as food increases the strength of all beings, so does Nirvana, when it has been realised, increase the power of Iddhi of all beings. This is the second quality of food inherent in Nirvana. And again, O king, as food is the source of the beauty of all beings, so is Nirvana, when it has been realised, the source to all beings of the beauty of holiness. This is the third quality of food inherent in Nirvana. And again, O king, as food puts a stop to suffering in all beings, so does Nirvana, when it has been realised, put a stop in all beings to the suffering arising from every evil disposition. This is the fourth quality of food inherent in Nirvana. And again, O king, as food overcomes in all beings the weakness of hunger, so does Nirvana, when it has been realised, overcome in all beings the weakness which arises from hunger and every sort of pain. This is the fifth quality of food inherent in Nirvana.'

71. 'Venerable Nagasena, those ten qualities of space which you said were inherent in Nirvana,--which are they?'

'As space, O king, neither is born nor grows old, neither dies nor passes away nor is reborn (has a future life to spring up into), as it is incompressible, cannot be carried off by thieves, rests on nothing, is the sphere in which birds fly, is unobstructed, and is infinite; so, O king, Nirvana is not born, neither does it grow old, it dies not, it passes not away, it has no rebirth (no future life to spring up into), it is unconquerable, thieves carry it not off, it is not attached to anything, it is the sphere in which Arahats move, nothing can obstruct it, and it is infinite. These are the ten qualities of space inherent in Nirvana.'

72. 'Venerable Nagasena, those three qualities of the wish-conferring gem which you said were inherent in Nirvana,--which are they?'

'As the wishing-gem, O king, satisfies every desire, so also does Nirvana. This is the first quality of the wishing-gem inherent in Nirvana. And again, O king, as the wishing-gem causes delight, so also does Nirvana. This is the second quality of the wishing-gem inherent in Nirvana. And again, O king, as the wishing-gem is full of lustre, so also is Nirvana. This is the third quality of the wishing-gem inherent in Nirvana.'

73. 'Venerable Nagasena, those three qualities of red sandal wood which you said were inherent in Nirvana,--which are they?'

'As red sandal wood, O king, is hard to get, so is Nirvana hard to attain to. This is the first quality of red sandal wood inherent in Nirvana. And again, O king, as red sandal wood is unequalled in the beauty of its perfume, so is Nirvana. This is the second quality of red sandal wood inherent in Nirvana. And again, O king, as red sandal wood is praised by all the good, so is Nirvana praised by all the Noble Ones. This is the third quality of red sandal wood inherent in Nirvana.'

74. 'Venerable Nagasena, those three qualities of the skimmings of ghee which you said were inherent in Nirvana,--which are they?'

'As ghee is beautiful in colour, O king, so also is Nirvana beautiful in righteousness. This is the first quality of the ghee inherent in Nirvana. And again, O king, as ghee has a pleasant perfume, so also has Nirvana the pleasant perfume of righteousness. This is the second quality of ghee inherent in Nirvana. And again, O king, as ghee has a pleasant taste, so also has Nirvana. This is the third quality of ghee inherent in Nirvana.'

75. 'Venerable Nagasena, those five qualities of a mountain peak which you said were inherent in Nirvana,--which are they?'

'As a mountain peak is very lofty, so also is Nirvana very exalted. This is the first quality of a mountain peak inherent in Nirvana. And again, O king, as a mountain peak is immoveable, so also is Nirvana. This is the second quality of a mountain peak inherent in Nirvana. And again, O king, as a mountain peak is inaccessible, so also is Nirvana inaccessible to all evil dispositions. This is the third quality of a mountain peak inherent in Nirvana. And again, O king, as a mountain peak is a place where no plants can grow, so also is Nirvana a condition in which no evil dispositions can grow. This is the fourth quality of a mountain peak inherent in Nirvana. And again, O king, as a mountain peak is free alike from desire to please and from resentment, so also is Nirvana. This is the fifth quality of a mountain peak inherent in Nirvana.'

[323] 'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 81. THE TIME OF NIRVANA / THE REALISATION OF NIRVANA.]

76. 'Venerable Nagasena, your people say:

"Nirvana is not past, nor future, nor present, nor produced, nor not produced, nor producible."

'In that case, Nagasena, does the man who, having ordered his life aright, realises Nirvana, realise something already produced, or does he himself produce it first, and then realise it?'

'Neither the one, O king, nor the other. And nevertheless, O king, that principle of Nirvana (nibbana-dhatu) which he, so ordering his life aright, realises--that exists.'

'Do not, venerable Nagasena, clear up this puzzle by making it dark! Make it open and plain as you elucidate it. With a will, strenuous in endeavour, pour out upon it all that has been taught you. It is a point on which this people is bewildered, plunged into perplexity, lost in doubt. Dissipate this guilty uncertainty; it pierces like a dart!'

77. 'That principle of Nirvana, O king, so peaceful, so blissful, so delicate, exists. And it is that which he who orders his life aright, grasping the idea of all things (of the Confections, Samkharas) according to the teachings of the Conquerors, realises by his wisdom--even as a pupil, by his knowledge, makes himself, according to the instruction of his teacher, master of an art.

'And if you ask: "How is Nirvana to be known?" it is by freedom from distress and danger, by confidence, by peace, by calm, by bliss, by happiness, by delicacy, by purity, by freshness.

78. 'Just, O king, as a man being burnt in a blazing fiery furnace heaped up with many faggots of dry sticks, when he has freed himself from it by a violent effort, and escaped into a cool place, would experience supreme bliss--just so whosoever orders his life aright, he by his careful thinking will realise the supreme bliss of Nirvana, in which the burning heat of the threefold fire (of lust, malice, and delusion) has all gone out. As the furnace, O king, so should you regard this threefold fire, as the man fallen into the fire the man who is ordering his life aright, as the cool place Nirvana.

79. 'Or again, O king, as a man fallen into a pit full of the dead bodies of snakes and dogs and men, of ordure, and of refuse, when, finding himself in the midst of it entangled in the hair of the corpses, he had by a violent effort escaped into a place where no dead bodies were, would experience supreme bliss--just so whosoever orders his life aright, he by his careful thinking will realise the supreme bliss of Nirvana, from which the corpses of all evil dispositions have been removed. As a corpse, O king, so should you regard the four pleasures of sense, as the man fallen among corpses the man who is ordering his life aright, as the place free from corpses Nirvana.

80. 'Or again, O king, as a man (fallen among enemies with drawn swords in their hands), quaking with fear and terror, agitated and upset in mind, when with a violent effort he has freed himself from them, and escaped into a strong refuge, a firm place of security, experiences supreme bliss--just so whosoever orders his life aright, he by his careful thinking will realise the supreme bliss of Nirvana, in which fear and terror have been put away. As the terror, O king, so should you regard the anxiety which arises again and again on account of birth, old age, disease, and death, as the terrified man the man who is ordering his life aright, as the place of refuge Nirvana.

81. 'Or again, O king, as a man fallen on a spot filthy with dirt, and slime, and mud, when with a violent effort he has got rid of the mud, and escaped to a clean and spotless place, would experience supreme bliss-just so whosoever orders his life aright, he by his careful thinking will realise the supreme bliss of Nirvana, from which the stains and mud of evil dispositions have been removed. As the mud, O king, so should you regard income, and honour, and praise, as the man fallen into the mud the man who is ordering his life aright, as the clean and spotless place Nirvana.

82. 'And if again you should ask: "How does he who orders his life aright realise that Nirvana?" (I should reply), He, O king, who orders his life aright grasps the truth as to the development of all things, and when he is doing so he perceives therein birth, he perceives old age, he perceives disease, he perceives death. But he perceives not therein either happiness or bliss, he perceives not therein, whether in the beginning, or the middle, or the end, anything worthy of being laid hold of (as lasting satisfaction). As a man, O king, if a mass of iron had been heated the livelong day, and were all glowing, scorching, and red hot, would find no spot on it, whether at one end or in the middle or at the other end, fit to be taken hold of--just so, O king, he who orders his life aright grasps the truth of the development of things, and in doing so he perceives therein birth, he perceives old age, he perceives disease, he perceives death. But he perceives not therein either happiness or bliss, he perceives not therein, whether in the beginning, or in the middle, or in the end, anything fit to be taken hold of (as a lasting satisfaction).

83. 'And discontent arises in his mind when he thus finds nothing fit to be relied on as a lasting satisfaction, and a fever takes possession of his body, and without a refuge or protection, hopeless, he becomes weary of repeated lives. As if a man had fallen into a burning and blazing mighty fiery furnace, and saw no refuge from it, no way of escape, he would, hopeless, be weary of the fire--just so, O king, discontent arises in his mind when he thus finds nothing fit to be relied on as a lasting satisfaction, and a fever takes possession of his body, and without a refuge or protection, hopeless, he becomes weary of repeated births.

84. 'And in the mind of him who thus perceives the insecurity of transitory life, (of starting afresh ha innumerable births) the thought arises: "All on fire is this endless becoming, burning, and blazing! Full of pain is it, of despair! If only one could reach a state in which there were no becoming, there would there be calm, that would be sweet-the cessation of all these conditions, the getting rid of all these defects (of lusts, of evil, and of Karma), the end of cravings, the absence of passion, peace, Nirvana!" And therewith does his mind leap forward into that state in which there is no becoming, and then has he found peace, then does he exult and rejoice at the thought: "A refuge have I gained at last!" Just, O king, as a man who, venturing into a strange land, has lost his way, on becoming aware of a path, free from jungle, that will lead him home, bounds forward along it, contented in

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mind, exulting and rejoicing at the thought: "I have found the way at last!"--just so in him who thus perceives the insecurity of transitory births there arises the thought: "All on fire is this endless becoming, burning, and blazing! Full of pain is it, and despair! If only one could reach a state in which there were no becoming, there would there be calm, that would be sweet-the cessation of all these conditions, the getting rid of all these defects, the end of cravings, the absence of passion, peace, Nirvana!" And therewith does his mind leap forward into that state in which there is no becoming, and then has he found peace, then does he exult and rejoice at the thought: "A refuge have I found at last!" And he strives with might and main along that path, searches it out, accustoms himself thoroughly to it, to that end does he make firm his self-possession, to that end does he hold fast in effort, to that end does he remain stedfast in love (toward all beings in all the worlds), and still to that does he direct his mind again and again, until gone far beyond the transitory, he gains the Real, the highest fruit (of Arahatship). And when he has gained that, O king, the man who has ordered his life aright has realised, (seen face to face,) Nirvana!'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[DILEMMA 82. THE PLACE OF NIRVANA / WHERE IS NIRVANA?.]

85. 'Venerable Nagasena, does there exist the spot--either in the direction of the East, or of the South, or of the West, or of the North, either above, or below, or on the horizon-where Nirvana is stored up?'

'There is no spot, O king,--either in the East, or the South, or in the West, or the North, either above, or below, or on the horizon--where Nirvana is.'

'But if so, Nagasena, then neither can Nirvana exist, and those who realise it, their realisation is vain. And I will give you an explanation of this. Just, Sir, as there are on the earth fields in which crops can be grown, flowers from which perfumes come, bushes on which flowers can grow, trees on which fruits can ripen, mines from which gems can be dug, so that whosoever desires any of these things can go there and get it--just so, Nagasena, if Nirvana exists one must expect there to be some place, where it is produced. But since there is not, therefore I declare that there can be no Nirvana, and those who realise it, their realisation is vain.'

86. 'There is no spot, O king, where Nirvana is situate, and yet Nirvana is, and he who orders his life right will, by careful attention, realise Nirvana. Just as fire exists, and yet there is no place where fire (by itself) is stored up. But if a man rubs two sticks together the fire comes;--just so, O king, Nirvana exists, though there is no spot where it is stored up. And he who orders his life aright will, by careful attention, realise Nirvana.

87. 'Or again, O king, just as there are the seven treasures of the king of kings--the treasure of the wheel, and the treasure of the elephant, and the treasure of the horse, and the treasure of the gem, and the treasure of the woman, and the treasure of the finance minister, and the treasure of the adviser. But there is no spot where these treasures are laid up. When a sovran conducts himself aright they appear to him of their own accord--just so, O king, Nirvana, exists, though there is no place where it is stored up. And he who orders his life aright will, by careful attention, realise Nirvana.'

88. 'Venerable Nagasena, let it be granted that there is no place where Nirvana, is stored up. But is there any place on which a man may stand and, ordering his life aright, realise Nirvana?'

'Yes, O king, there is such a place.'

'Which then, Nagasena, is that place

'Virtue, O king, is the place. For if grounded in virtue, and careful in attention--whether in the land of the Scythians [north of Iran] or the Greeks, whether in China or Tartary [southern Russia] , whether in Alexandria [in Sogdiana, northern Bactria] or in Nikumba [probably around Jaipur], whether in Benares or in Kosala [ancient Kingdom, northwestern India], whether in Kashmir or in Gandhara, whether on a mountain top or in the highest heavens--wheresoever he may be, the man who orders his life aright will realise Nirvana. Just, O king, as the man who has eyes wherever he may be--in the land of the Scythians or the Greeks, in China or in Tartary, in Alexandria, Nikumba, Benares, or Kosala, in Kashmir or in Gandhara, on a mountain top or in the highest heavens--will be able to behold the expanse of heaven and to see the horizon facing him--just so, O king, will he who orders his conduct aright and is careful in attention--whether in the land of the Scythians or the Greeks, whether in China or Tartary, whether in Alexandria, or Benares, or Kosala, or Nikumba, whether in Kashmir or in Gandhara, whether on a mountain top or in the highest heavens--wheresoever he may be, attain to the realisation of Nirvana.'

'Very good, Nagasena! You have preached to me of Nirvana, and of the realisation thereof, you have set forth the advantages of virtue, you have explained the supreme attainment, you have raised aloft the standard of the Truth, you have established the eye of Truth, you have shown how right means adopted by those of high aims will be neither barren nor unfruitful. That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

THE CHAPTER ON DEDUCTION (Book 5)

THE PROBLEM OF INFERENCE (DEDUCTION).

1. Now Milinda the king went up to the place where Nagasena was, and bowed down before him, and took his seat on one side. And when so seated he, longing to know, to hear, and to remember, and longing to make the light of knowledge arise and to break in pieces his ignorance, roused up in himself courage and zeal, and, full of self-possession and thoughtfulness, spake thus to Nagasena:

2. 'Venerable Nagasena, tell me, have you ever seen the Buddha?'

'No, O king.'

'Then have your teachers ever seen the Buddha?'

'No, Sire.'

'So you say, venerable Nagasena, that you have never seen the Buddha, and that your teachers have never seen the Buddha. Therefore, Nagasena, the Buddha did not exist. There is no clear evidence, in that case, of a Buddha.'

'But did those Kshatriyas of old exist, who were the founders of the line of kings from which you come?'

'Certainly, Sir. How can there be any doubt about that?'

'Well, O king. Have you ever seen them?'

'No, Sir.'

'And those who instructed you--the family chaplains, and officers of the staff, and those who lay down the law, and ministers of state--have they ever seen those Kshatriyas of old?'

'No, Sir.'

'If then neither have you seen them, nor your teachers, where are they? There is no clear evidence, in that case, of those Kshatriyas of old!'

3. 'But, Nagasena, the royal insignia they used are still to be seen--the white sunshade of state, and the crown, and the slippers, and the fan with the yak's tail, and the sword of state, and the priceless throne--and by these can we know and believe that the Kshatriyas of old lived once.'

'Just so, O king, can we know that Blessed One and believe in him. For there is a reason for our knowledge and belief that the Blessed One was. And what is that reason?--The royal insignia used by that Blessed One, by him of knowledge and insight, the Arahat, the Buddha Supreme, are still to be seen-the four Means of keeping oneself ready and mindful, and the fourfold Great Struggle, and the four steps to Iddhi, and the five Organs of the moral sense, and the five moral Powers, and the seven forms of the wisdom of the Arahats, and the Noble Eightfold Path--and by these can the whole world of gods and men know and believe that that Blessed One existed once. By this reason, on this ground, by this argument, through this inference, can it be known that the Blessed One lived.

He who, himself set free in that bless'd state
In which the Upadhis have ceased to be,
--Lusts, sin, and Karma,--has brought safe ashore,
Saved from the sea of woe, great multitudes--
Only by inference can it be known
That he, the best of men, existed once."'

4. 'Venerable Nagasena, give me an illustration.'

'Just, O king, as the architect of a City, when he wants to build one, would first search out a pleasant spot of ground, with which no fault can be found, even, with no hills or gullies in it, free from rough ground and rocks, not open to the danger of attack. And then, when he has made plain any rough places there may still be on it, he would clear it thoroughly of all stumps and stakes, and would proceed to build there a city fine and regular, measured out into suitable quarters, with trenches and ramparts thrown up around it, with strong gateways, watch-towers, and battlements, with wide squares and open places and junctions (where two roads meet) and cross-ways (where four roads meet), with cleanly and even high roads, with regular lines of open shops (bazaars), well provided with parks, and gardens, and lakes, and lotus-ponds, and wells, adorned with many kinds of temples to the gods, free from every fault. And then when the city stood there in all its glory, he would go away to some other land. And in course of time that city might become mighty and prosperous, filled with stores of food, peaceful, glorious, happy, free from distress and calamity, the meeting-place of all sorts and conditions of men. Then nobles and brahmans, merchants and work-people; soldiers mounted on elephants, and on horses, and on chariots; infantry, and bowmen, and swordsmen; standard-bearers, officers, and camp-followers; highborn warriors whose delight is in war, fighting champions, men mighty as elephants, heroes, men who fight in buckskin, devoted fighting-men born of slaves in great houses or of the privates in the royal army; troops of professional wrestlers; cooks and curry makers, barbers and bathing attendants, smiths and florists, workers in gold and silver and lead and tin and copper and brass and iron, and jewellers; messengers; potters, salt gatherers, tanners, carriage builders, carvers in ivory, rope makers, comb makers, cotton-thread spinners, basket makers, bow manufacturers, bowstring makers, arrow fletchers, painters, dye manufacturers, dyers, weavers, tailors, assayers of gold, cloth merchants, dealers in perfumes, grass cutters ` hewers of wood, hired servants, people who live by gathering flowers and fruits and roots in the woods, hawkers of boiled rice, sellers of cakes, fishmongers, butchers, dealers in strong drinks, play actors, dancers, acrobats, conjurors, professional bards, wrestlers (boxers), corpse burners, casters out of rotten flowers, savages, wild men of the woods, prostitutes, swingers and jumpers, and the slave girls of bullies--people of many countries, people from Scythia, Bactria, China, and Vilata; people of Uggeni, of Bharukakkha, of Benares, of Kosala, and of the border lands; people from Magadha, and Saketa, and Surattha, and the West; from Kotumbara and Madhura, from Alexandria, Kashmir, and Gandhara,--all these coming to take up their residence there, and finding the new city to be regular, faultless, perfect, and pleasant, would know: "Able indeed must that architect have been by whom this city was built!"

5. 'Just so, O king that Blessed One, peerless, unequalled, unapproached, incomparable, admirable beyond all measure by weight or calculation, of infinite virtue, full of virtue and perfection, boundless in wisdom and glory and zeal and power, who, when he had attained to the summit of all the perfections of the Buddhas, overthrew Mara and all his hosts,--he, bursting asunder the net of heresy, and casting aside ignorance, and causing wisdom to arise, and bearing aloft the torch of Truth, reached forward to Buddhahood itself, and so, unconquered and unconquerable in the fight, built this city of Righteousness. And the Blessed One's City of Righteousness, O king, has righteousness for its rampart, and fear of sin for its moat, and knowledge for the battlement over its city gate, and zeal for the watch-tower above that, and faith for the pillars at its base, and mindfulness for the watchman at the gate, and wisdom for the terrace above, and the Suttantas for its market-place, and the Abhidhamma for its cross-ways, and the Vinaya (the Canon Law) for its judgement hall, and constant self-possession for its chief street. And in that street, O king, these bazaars are open--a flower bazaar, and a fruit bazaar, and an antidote bazaar, and a medicine bazaar, and an ambrosia bazaar, and a bazaar for precious stones, and a bazaar for all manner of merchandise.'

6. 'But what, venerable Nagasena, is the flower bazaar of the Blessed One, the Buddha?'

'There are certain subjects for meditation, O king, that have been made known by the Blessed One, by him of knowledge and insight, by the Arahat, the Buddha Supreme. And they are these. The idea of the impermanence (of every thing and of every being), the idea of the absence of any abiding principle (any soul in any thing or any being), the idea of the impurity and the idea of the danger connected with the body, the idea of getting rid of evil dispositions, the idea of freedom from passion, the idea of peace, the idea of dissatisfaction with the things of the world, the idea of the transitory nature of all conditions, the idea of ecstatic trance, the ideas of a corpse in the various stages of decay, the ideas of a place of execution in all its various horrors, the idea of love to all beings, the idea of pity for all beings, the idea of sympathy with all beings, the idea of equanimity in all the changing circumstances of life, the idea of death, and the idea of the body. These, O king, are the subjects for meditation prescribed by the Blessed One. And of these, whoever, longing to be delivered from old age and death, takes any one as the subject of his meditation, by that meditation does he become set free from passion, set free from malice, set free from dullness, set free from pride, set free from wrong views, by that does he cross the ocean of Samsara, and stem the torrent of cravings, and cleanse himself of the threefold stain, and destroy within himself all evil; and so, entering that glorious city, spotless and stainless, pure and white, ageless and deathless, where all is security and calm and bliss--the city of Nirvana--he emancipates his mind in Arahatship! And this, O king, is what is called "The Blessed One's bazaar of flowers."

"Take with you Karma as the price,
And go ye up to that bazaar,
Buy there an object for your thought,
Emancipate yourselves. Be free!"'

7. 'And what, venerable Nagasena, is the perfume bazaar of the Blessed One, the Buddha?'

'There are certain categories of virtue, O king, that have been made known by the Blessed One, and anointed by the perfume of that righteousness the children of the Blessed One fill with the fumes of the fragrant incense of the perfume of goodness the whole world of gods and men, in every direction, and to windward and to leeward, continuing to pervade it again and yet again. And which are those categories? The virtue of taking refuge, the virtue that is fivefold and eightfold and tenfold, and the virtue of self-restraint tabulated in the five recitations that compose the Patimokkha. And this, O king, is what is called "The Blessed One's bazaar of perfumes." For it has been said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods:

"No flower's scent can go against the wind,
Not sandal wood's, nor musk's, nor jasmine flower's:
But the sweet perfume of the good doth go
Against the wind, and the good man pervades,

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On every side, the sweetness of his life."

"Red sandal wood, musk, and the lotus, and jasmine--
The perfume of goodness surpasseth them all.
Abundant the sweet scent of musk and of sandal wood--
Still stronger, the scent of the good mounts to heaven!"'

8. 'And what, venerable Nagasena, is the fruit bazaar of the Blessed One, the Buddha?'

'Certain fruits have been made known, O king, by the Blessed One. And they are these:--The fruit of the first stage of the Excellent Way (conversion), and of the second stage, and of the third stage, and of the fourth (Arahatship),--the fruit of the attainment of emptiness--the fruit of the attainment of the absence of the three signs (of an unconverted life, lust, malice, and dullness)--and the truth of the attainment of that state in which no low aspirations survive. And whosoever desires any one of these, he gives his Karma as the price, and buys the fruit he longs for--either conversion or any other.

9. 'Just, O king, as any man who has a mango-tree bearing fruit all the year round, he does not knock down the fruits until buyers come. But when a buyer has come, and the fruit-grower has taken the price, then he says: "Come, my good man, this tree is always in bearing (it has therefore fruits in all stages of growth), take from it the kind of fruit you prefer, whether unripe, or decayed, or hairy, or sour, or ripe." And the buyer, for the price paid, takes the kind he likes the best-if that be unripe fruit then he takes that, if it be decayed fruit then that, if it be hairy fruit then that, if it be sour fruit then that, if it be ripe fruit then he takes a ripe one. Just so, O king, whosoever desires any one of those other fruits, he gives his Karma as the price, and buys the fruit he longs for--either conversion or any other. And this, O king, is what is called "The Blessed One's bazaar of fruits."

"Men give their Karma as the price,
And buy the fruit ambrosia;
And happiness is theirs, and peace,
Who've bought the fruit ambrosia."

10. 'And what, venerable Nagasena, is the antidote bazaar of the Blessed One, the Buddha?'

'Certain drugs, O king, have been made known by the Blessed One; drugs by which the Blessed One delivers the whole world of gods and men from the poison of evil dispositions. And what are these drugs? The four Noble Truths made known by the Blessed One, that is to say, the truth as to sorrow, and the truth as to the origin of sorrow, and the truth as to the cessation of sorrow, and the truth as to that path which leads to the cessation of sorrow. And whosoever, longing for the highest insight (the insight of Arahatship), hear this doctrine of the four truths, they are set quite free from rebirth, they are set quite free from old age, they are set quite free from death, they are set quite free from grief, lamentation, pain, sorrow, and despair. And this, O king, is what is called "The Blessed One's bazaar of antidotes."

"Of all the drugs, in all the world,
The antidotes of poison dire,
Not one equals that Doctrine sweet.
Drink that, O brethren. Drink and live!"'

11. 'And what, venerable Nagasena, is the medicine bazaar of the Blessed One, the Buddha?'

'Certain medicines, O king, have been made known by the Blessed One, medicines by which he cures the whole world of gods and men. And they are these:--"The four Means of keeping oneself ready and mindful, and the fourfold Great Struggle, and the four Steps to Iddhi, and the five Organs of the moral sense, and the five moral Powers, and the seven Forms of the Wisdom of the Arahats, and the Noble Eightfold Path." By these medicines the Blessed One purges men of wrong views, purges them of low aspirations, purges them of evil speaking, purges them of evil deeds, purges them of evil modes of livelihood, purges them of wrong endeavours, purges them of evil thoughts, purges them of erroneous meditation; and he gives emetics to the vomiting up of lusts, and of malice, and of dullness, and of doubt, and of self-righteousness, and of sloth of body and inertness of mind, and of shamelessness and hardness of heart, and of all evil. And this, O king, is what is called "The Blessed One's bazaar of medicine."

Of all the medicines found in all the world,
Many in number, various in their powers,
Not one equals this medicine of the Truth.
Drink that, O brethren. Drink, and drinking, live!
For having drunk that medicine of the Truth,
Ye shall have past beyond old age and death,
And--evil, lusts, and Karma rooted out--
Thoughtful and seeing, ye shall be at rest!"'

12. 'And what, venerable Nagasena, is the ambrosia bazaar of the Blessed One, the Buddha?'

'An ambrosia, O king, has been made known by the Blessed One, that ambrosia with which he besprinkles the whole world of gods and men--as men anoint a king on his coronation day--and men and gods, when sprinkled with that ambrosia, are set free from rebirths, old age, disease, and death, from grief, and lamentation, and pain, and sorrow, and despair. And what is that ambrosia? That meditation which consists in active attention to, and leads to a true grasp of, the real conditions of corporeal things. For it has been said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods:

"They, O brethren, feed on ambrosia who feed on active attention directed to corporeal things." This, O king, is what is called "The Blessed One's ambrosia bazaar."

"He saw mankind afflicted with disease,
He opened freely his ambrosia shop;
Go, then, O brethren, give your Karma for it,
And buy, and feed on, that ambrosial food."'

13. 'And what, venerable Nagasena, is the jewel bazaar of the Blessed One, the Buddha?'

'Certain jewels, O king, have been made known by the Blessed One, and adorned with those jewels the children of the Blessed One shine forth in splendour, illuminating the whole world of gods and men, brightening it in its heights, in its depths, from horizon to horizon, with a brilliant glory. And those jewels are these--the jewel of right conduct, and the jewel of meditation, and the jewel of knowledge, and the jewel of emancipation, and the jewel of the insight which arises from the assurance of emancipation, and the jewel of discrimination, and the jewel of the sevenfold wisdom of the Arahats.

14. 'And what, O king, is the Blessed One's jewel of right conduct? The right conduct which follows on self-restraint according to the rules of the Patimokkha, the right conduct which follows on restraint of the bodily organs and the mind, the right conduct which results from a pure means of livelihood, the right conduct in relation to the four requisites of a recluse, the right conduct presented in the Short, and Middle, and Long Summonses, the right conduct of those who are walking in the Path, and the right conduct of those who have attained each of the various fruits thereof (beginning at conversion and ending at Arahatship). And all the beings in the world, O king, gods and men, and the Maras too (the spirits of evil), and the Brahmas (the very highest of the gods), and Samanas and Brahmans are filled with longing and desire for a man who wears, as his ornament, this jewel of right conduct. And the Bhikkhu, O king, who puts it on shines forth in glory all around, upwards and downwards, and from side to side, surpassing in lustre all the jewels to be found from the Waveless Deep, below to the highest heavens above, excelling them all, overwhelming them all. Such, O king, are the jewels of right conduct set out for sale in the Blessed One's bazaar of gems. And this is what is called "The Blessed One's jewel of righteousness."

"Such are the virtues sold in that bazaar,
The shop of the Enlightened One,
the Blest; Pay Karma as the price, O ye ill-clad!
Buy, and put on, these lustrous Buddha-gems!"

15. 'And what, O king, is the Blessed One's jewel of meditation? The meditation that consists of specific conceptions, and of investigation regarding them;--the meditation that consists of reflection only, specific conceptions being lost sight of;--the meditation that continues after specific conceptions and reflection on them have both ceased;--the meditation that is void (of lusts, evil dispositions, and Karma);--the meditation from which three signs (of an unconverted life-lust, malice, and dullness) are absent;--the meditation in which no low aspirations remain. And when a Bhikkhu, O king, has put on this jewel of meditation (Samadhi), then ideas of lust, and ideas of anger, and ideas of cruelty, and all the various bad thoughts that have their basis in the evil dispositions of pride, self-righteousness, adhesion to wrong views, and doubt--all these, since they come into contact with meditation, flow off from him, disperse, and are dispelled, they stay not with him, adhere not to him. just, O king, as when water has fallen on a lotus leaf it flows off from it, is dispersed and scattered away, stays not on it, adheres not to it--so when a Bhikkhu has put on this jewel of meditation, then ideas of lust, and ideas of anger, and ideas of cruelty, and all the various bad thoughts that have their basis in the evil dispositions of pride, self-righteousness, obstinacy in wrong views, and doubt--these all, as soon as they come in contact with meditation, flow off, disperse, and are dispelled, stay not with him, adhere not to him. And why not? Because of the exceeding purity of the habit of meditation. This, O king, is what is called "The Blessed One's jewel of meditation," and such are the jewels of meditation set out for sale in the Blessed One's bazaar of gems.

"Bad thoughts can ne'er arise beneath the brow
Encircled by this coronet of gems.
It charms away perplexed and wandering thought.
Make it your own, buy it, put on the crown!"

16. 'And what, O king, is the Blessed One's jewel of knowledge? That knowledge by which the disciple of the noble ones knows thoroughly what is virtue, and what is not; what is blameworthy, and what is not; what should be made a habit of, and what should not; what is mean, and what is exalted; what is dark, and what is light, and what is both dark and light;--the knowledge by which he truly knows what sorrow is, and what the origin of sorrow is, and what the cessation of sorrow is, and what is the path that leads thereto. This, O king, is what is called "The Blessed One's jewel of knowledge."

"He who has knowledge as his jewelled wreath,
Will not continue long in outward form.
Soon will he reach Nirvana, in rebirth
In any world no longer take delight!

17. 'And what, O king, is the Blessed One's jewel of emancipation? Arahatship is called the jewel of emancipation, and the Bhikkhu who has reached Arahatship is said to have decked himself with the jewel of emancipation. And just as a man, O king, who is decorated with ornaments made of strings of pearls, of diamonds and gold and corals; whose limbs are anointed with akalu, and with frankincense, and with Talis, and with red sandal wood; who is adorned with a garland of Ironwood blossoms, and Rottleria flowers, and flowers from the Sal tree, and the Salala, and the champak, and yellow jasmines, and Atimuttaka flowers, and trumpet flowers, and lotuses, and white and Arabian jasmines--just as, with all this finery of garlands and perfumes and jewelry, he would outshine all other men, overwhelming them with brilliant glory and splendour--just so, O king, does he who has attained to Arahatship, he in whom the Great Evils (lusts, and becoming, delusion, and ignorance) are rooted out, he who has put on the diadem of emancipation of heart, just so does he outshine all other Bhikkhus from the lowest in attainment up to those even who are themselves emancipated, overwhelming them in brilliant glory and splendour. And why is that so? Because, O king, there is one diadem that is the chief of all, and that is this diadem of emancipation of heart! And this, O king, is what is called "The Blessed One's jewel of emancipation."

"All the people that dwell in a house look up
To their Lord when he wears his crown of gems--
The wide world of the gods and of men looks up
To the wearer of Freedom's diadem!"

18. 'And what, O king, is the Blessed One's jewel of the insight that follows on the assurance of emancipation? The knowledge arising out of looking back over the course--that knowledge by which the disciple who is walking along the Excellent Way passes, from time to time, both the Way itself and the Fruits thereof up to Nirvana, in review, and is aware what evil dispositions he has got rid of, and what evil dispositions remain to be conquered--that is what [339] is called "The jewel of the assurance that follows on the knowledge of emancipation."

"The knowledge by which the Noble Ones know
The stages they've passed, and the road yet untrod;--
Strive, O ye sons of the Conqueror, strive
That jewel--'Assurance'--yourselves to obtain!"

19. 'And what, O king, is the Blessed One's jewel of discrimination? The discrimination of the sense of, and the discrimination of the deeper truths underlying the sense of the sacred writ, and the discrimination of philological peculiarities, and the discrimination of correct and ready exposition. And the Bhikkhu, O king, who is adorned with these four jewels of discrimination, whatsoever company he enters into, whether of nobles, or brahmans, or merchants, or workpeople, enters it in confidence, neither put out nor shy; undaunted and undismayed, he enters the assembly without excitement or fear. just, O king, as a warrior, a hero in the fight, when accoutred in all his harness of war, goes down undismayed to the battle, in the confident thought: "If the enemy should remain afar off I can knock them down with my arrows, should they come thence towards me I can hit them with my javelins, should they come yet nearer I can reach them with my spear, should they come right up I can cleave them in two with my sabre, should they come to close quarters I can pierce them through and through with my dagger"--just so, O king, does the Bhikkhu, when he wears the fourfold jewel of discernment, enter any assembly undismayed, in the confident thought: "Should any one put to me a puzzle turning on the discrimination of the sense, I shall be able to explain it, comparing sense with sense, explanation with explanation, reason with reason, argument with argument--and thus shall I resolve his doubts, dispel his perplexity, and delight him by my exposition of the problem raised. Should any one put to me a puzzle turning on discrimination of the deeper truths, I shall be able to explain it by comparing truth with truth, and the various aspects and phases of Arahatship each with each, and thus his doubts too shall I be able to resolve, and, dispelling his perplexity, to delight him with my exposition of the problem raised. Should any one put to me a puzzle turning on the discrimination of philological peculiarities, I shall be able to explain it by comparing derivation with derivation, and word with word, and particle with particle, and letter with letter, and one modification of a letter by contact (sandhi) with another, and consonant with consonant, and vowel with vowel, and accent (intonation) with accent, and quantity with quantity, and rule with rule, and idiom with idiom;--and thus his doubts too shall I be able to resolve, and, dispelling his perplexity, to delight him with my exposition of the problem raised. Should anyone put to me a puzzle turning on the discrimination of expositions, I shall be able to explain it by comparing metaphor with metaphor, and

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characteristic with characteristic, and sentiment with sentiment--and thus his doubts too shall I be able to resolve, and, dispelling his perplexity, to delight him with my exposition of the problem raised. And this, O king, is what is called "The Blessed One's jewel of discrimination."

First buy the jewel of discrimination,
Then cut it with your knowledge and your skill;
So, free from all anxiety and fear,
Shall you illuminate both earth and heaven!

20. 'And what, O king, is the Blessed One's jewel of the sevenfold wisdom of the Arahats? It is self-possession, and investigation of the system of doctrine, and zeal, and joy, and tranquillity, and contemplation, and equanimity. And the Bhikkhu, O king, who is adorned with this sevenfold jewel of the divisions of the higher wisdom shines forth over the whole world of gods and men, brightens it, illuminates it, and dispersing the darkness makes the light arise. This, O king, is what is called "The Blessed One's jewel of the sevenfold wisdom."

"The gods and men in reverence stand up
To him who wears this wisdom-diadem.
Show your good actions then,--that is the price,--
And buy, and wear, this wisdom-diadem!"'

21. 'And what, venerable Nagasena, is the bazaar for all manner of merchandise set up by the Blessed One, the Buddha?'

'The Blessed One's bazaar for all manner of merchandise, O king, is the ninefold word of the Buddha; and the relics remaining of his body, and of the things he used; and the sacred mounds (Ketiyani, Dagabas) erected over them; and the jewel of his Order. And in that bazaar there are set out by the Blessed One the attainment (in a future birth) of high lineage, and of wealth, and of long life, and of good health, and of beauty, and of wisdom, and of worldly glory, and of heavenly glory, and of Nirvana. And of these all they who desire either the one or the other, give Karma as the price, and so buy whichever glory they desire. And some buy with it a vow of right conduct, and some by observance of the Uposatha day, and so on down to the smallest Karma-price they buy the various glories from the greatest to the least. just, O king, as in a trader's shop, oil, seed, and peas and beans can be either taken in barter for a small quantity of rice or peas or beans, or bought for a small price decreasing in order according to requirement--just so, O king, in the Blessed One's bazaar for all manner of merchandise advantages are to be bought for Karma according to requirement. And this, O king, is what is called "The Blessed One's bazaar of all manner of merchandise."

"Long life, good health, beauty, rebirth in heaven,
High birth, Nirvana-all are found for sale--
There to be bought for Karma, great or small--
In the great Conqueror's world-famed bazaar.
Come; show your faith, O brethren, as the price,
Buy and enjoy such goods as you prefer!"

22. 'And the inhabitants that dwell in the Blessed One's City of Righteousness, O king, are such as these: Masters in the Suttantas, and masters in the Vinaya, and masters in the Abhidhamma; preachers of the faith; repeaters of the Gatakas, and repeaters of the Digha, and repeaters of the Magghima, and repeaters of the Samyutta, and repeaters of the Anguttara, and repeaters of the Khuddaka Nikaya;--men endowed with right conduct, men accomplished in meditation, men full of knowledge, men taking delight in contemplation of the sevenfold wisdom of the Arahats, men of insight;--men who frequent the woods for meditation, or sit at the roots of trees, or dwell in the open air, or sleep on heaps of straw, or live near cemeteries, or lie not down to sleep,--men who have entered the Excellent Way, men who have attained one or more of the four fruits thereof, men who are still learners (have not yet reached Arahatship, but are close upon it), men enjoying the Fruits, that is, either Sotapannas, or Sakadagamins, or Anagamins, or Arahats;--men of the threefold wisdom, men of the sixfold transcendental wisdom, men of the power of Iddhi, men who have reached perfection in knowledge, men skilled in the maintenance of constant self-possession, in the Great Struggle, in the Steps to Iddhi, in the Organs of their moral sense, in the sevenfold wisdom, in the Excellent Way, in Ghana, in Vimokkha, and in the attainment of the exalted and tranquil bliss that is independent of form or the absence of form--yea! like a forest full of bamboos, full of reeds, that City of Righteousness has been ever crowded and frequented by such Arahats as these! For it is said:

(1) "Men devoid of passion, and of malice, and of dullness, men in whom the Great Evils (lust, becoming, delusion, and ignorance) are not, men who have neither craving thirst, nor grasping desires,--these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness.

(2) "Men whose home is the forest, men who have taken on themselves the extra vows, men full of joy, men who are wearing rough garments, men rejoicing in solitude, heroes--these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness.

(3) "Men who sleep sitting, or on any sleeping-place that comes, or spend their time standing or walking up and down in meditation, men who clad themselves in cast-off raiment--all these dwell in the City of Righteousness.

(4) "Men wearing the full set of three robes, tranquil, with a skin for the fourth, who rejoice in taking but one meal each day, the wise-these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness.

(5) "The earnest and prudent, heroes who feed on little and know no greed, content whether they receive an alms or receive it not-these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness.

(6) "The meditative, delighting in Ghana, heroes of tranquil minds, and stedfast, looking forward to Nirvana--these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness.

(7) "Men walking in the path, and standing in the fruits thereof, those who have attained some fruits thereof but are yet learners as to the last, whose hope is directed to the utmost goal--these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness.

(8) "Those who have entered the stream, and those who, free from stains, will only be reborn once more on earth, those who will never return again, and Arahats--these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness.

(9) "Those skilled in the means of attaining undisturbed self-possession, and rejoicing in contemplation on the sevenfold wisdom, those who are full of insight, and bear the words of the Dharma in their hearts--these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness.

(10) "Those skilled in the Steps to Iddhi, and rejoicing in the meditations of Samadhi, those who are devoted to the Great Struggle--these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness.

(11) "Those perfect in the sixfold wisdom of the Abhinnas, delighting in the sphere that is theirs by rightful inheritance, those having the power of flying through the air--these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness.

(12) "Those of downcast eyes, and measured speech, the doors of whose senses are guarded, who are self-restrained, who are well trained according to the supreme Dhamma--these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness.

(13) "Those of the threefold wisdom, and of the sixfold wisdom, those who have become perfect in Iddhi and perfect in knowledge--these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness."

23. 'And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus who carry in their hearts the words of the excellent knowledge that is immeasurable, who are free from bonds, whose goodness and fame and power and glory no man can weigh, who (in imitation of their Master) keep the royal chariot-wheel of the kingdom of righteousness rolling on, who have reached perfection in knowledge-such Bhikkhus are called, O king, "The Commanders of the Faith in the Blessed One's City of Righteousness."

'And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus, who have the power of Iddhi, who have learned the discriminations, who are full of confidence, who travel through the air, who are hard to oppose, hard to overcome, who can move without support, who can shake the broad earth and the waters on which it rests, who can touch the sun and the moon, who are skilful in transforming themselves and in making stedfast resolutions and high aspirations, who are perfect in Iddhi--such Bhikkhus are called, O king, "The royal chaplains in the Blessed One's City of Righteousness."

'And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus who have taken upon themselves the extra vows, who desire little and are content, who would loathe any breach of the regulations as to the manner of seeking an alms, and beg straight on from hut to hut, as a bee smells flower after flower, and then go away into the loneliness of the woods, those who are indifferent as to their body and as to life, those who have attained to Arahatship, those who place the highest value on the virtues of the practice of the extra vows--such Bhikkhus are called, O king, "The judges in the Blessed One's City of Righteousness."

'And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus who are pure and stainless, in whom no evil dispositions are left, who, skilful in the knowledge of the fall and rise of beings, have perfected themselves in the Divine Eye--such Bhikkhus are called, O king, "The givers of light in the Blessed One's City of Righteousness."

'And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus who are learned in the traditions, who hand on what has been handed down, the repeaters of the Discourses, and of the Canon Law, and of the tables of contents, those who are skilled in the exact determination of letters into surds and sonants, into longs and short, as to lightness and heaviness, those who know by heart the ninefold word--such Bhikkhus are called, O king, "The peace officers in the Blessed One's City of Righteousness."

'And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus who are learned in the Vinaya (Rules of the Order, Canon Law), wise in the Vinaya, skilled in detecting the source of offences, skilled in deciding whether any act is an offence or not, whether an offence is grievous or slight, whether it can be atoned for or not, skilled in deciding questions as to the rise, the acknowledgment, the absolution, or the confession of an offence; as to the suspension, or the restoration, or the defence of an offender, who are perfect Masters in the Vinaya--such Bhikkhus are called, O king, "The Rûpa-dakshas in the Blessed One's City of Righteousness."

'And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus who wear on their brows the lotus garland of that noble Emancipation, who have attained to that highest and best and most exceeding excellent of all conditions, who are loved and longed for by the great multitudes--such Bhikkhus are called, O king, "Flower-sellers in the Blessed One's City of Righteousness."

'And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus who have penetrated to the comprehension of the four Truths, and have seen them with their eyes, who are wise in the teaching, who have passed beyond doubt as to the four fruits of Samanaship, who having attained to the bliss thereof, share those fruits with others who have entered the paths--such Bhikkhus are called, O king, "Fruit-dealers in the Blessed One's City of Righteousness."

'And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus who, being anointed with that most excellent perfume of right conduct, are gifted with many and various virtues, and are able to dispel the bad odour of sin and evil dispositions--such Bhikkhus are called, O king, "Perfume dealers in the Blessed One's City of Righteousness."

'And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus whose delight is in the Dhamma, and whose converse is pleasant, who find exceeding joy in the higher subtleties of the Dharma and the Vinaya, who either in the forest, or at the foot of trees, or in empty places, drink the sweet sap of the Dharma, who plunging themselves, as it were, in body, speech, and mind into the sweet juice of the Dharma, excel in expounding it, in seeking and in detecting the deeper truths in the various doctrines, who--wheresoever and whensoever the discourse is of wishing for little, of contentment, of solitude, of retirement, of the exertion in zeal, of right conduct, of meditation, of knowledge, of emancipation, of the insight arising from the assurance of emancipation thither do they repair, and drink in the sweet savour of that discourse-such Bhikkhus are called, O king, "Thirsty and drunkards in the Blessed One's City of Righteousness."

'And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus who are addicted to the habit of wakefulness from the first watch of the night to the last, who spend day and night in sitting, standing, or walking up and down in meditation, who, addicted to the habit of contemplation, are devoted to their own advancement by the suppressing of evil dispositions--such Bhikkhus are called, O king, "Watchmen in the Blessed One's City of Righteousness."

'And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus who in the spirit and in the letter, in its arguments and explanations, in its reasons and examples, teach and repeat, utter forth and recapitulate the ninefold word of the Buddha-such Bhikkhus are called, O king, "Lawyers (dealers in Dharma) in the Blessed One's City of Righteousness."

'And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus who are wealthy and rich in the wealth of the treasures of the Doctrine, in the wealth of the traditions, and the text, and the learning thereof, who comprehend the signs, and vowels, and consonants thereof, in all their details, pervading all directions with their knowledge--such Bhikkhus are called, O king, "Bankers of the Dhamma in the Blessed One's City of Righteousness."

'And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus who have penetrated to the sublimer teaching, who understand exposition and the divisions of objects of meditation to be practised, who are perfect in all the subtler points of training--Such Bhikkhus are called, O king, "Distinguished masters of law in the Blessed One's City of Righteousness."

24. 'Thus well planned out, O king, is the Blessed One's City of Righteousness, thus well built, thus well appointed, thus well provisioned, thus well established, thus well guarded, thus well protected, thus impregnable by enemies or foes. And by this explanation, O king, by this argument, by this reason, you may by inference know that the Blessed One did once exist.

(I) "As when they see a pleasant city, well planned out,
Men know, by inference, how great the founder was;
So when they see our Lord's 'City of Righteousness'
They know, by inference, that he did once exist.

(2) "As men, seeing its waves, can judge, by inference,
The great extent and power of the world-embracing sea;
So may they judge the Buddha when they see the waves
That he set rolling through the world of gods and men--
He who, unconquered in the fight, allays all griefs,
Who rooted out, in his own heart, Craving's dread power,
And set his followers free from the whirlpool of rebirths--
'Far as the waves of the Good-Law extend and roll,
So great, so mighty, must our Lord, the Buddha, be.'

(3) "As men, seeing its mighty peaks that tower aloft,
Can judge, by inference, Himalaya's wondrous height;
So when they see the Buddha's Mount-of-Righteousness--
Stedfast, unshaken by fierce passion's stormy blasts,
Towering aloft in wondrous heights of calm and peace,
Where lusts, evil, and Karma cannot breathe or live,--

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They draw the inference: 'Great as this mountain high
That mighty Hero's power upon whose word it stands.'
(4) "As men, seeing the footprint of an elephant king,
Can judge, by inference: 'How great his size must be!'
So when they see the footprint of the elephant of men,
Buddha, the wise, upon the path that men have trod,
They know, by inference: 'How glorious Buddha was!'
(5) As when they see all living things crouching in fear,
Men know: "Tis the roar of the king of the beasts that frightens them.'
So, seeing other teachers break and fly in fear,
They know: "Tis a king of the truth hath uttered words sublime!'
(6) Seeing the earth smiling, well watered, green with grass,
Men say: 'A great and pleasant rain hath fallen fast.'
So when they see this multitude rejoicing, peaceful, blest,
Men may infer: 'How sweet the rain that stilled their hearts!'
(7) Seeing the wide earth soaked, boggy, a marsh of mud,
Men say: 'Mighty the mass of waters broken loose.
So, when they see this mighty host, that once were dazed
With the mud of sin, swept down in Dhamma's stream, and left
In the wide sea of the Good-Law, some here, some there,
All, gods and men alike, plunged in ambrosial waves,
They may infer, and say: 'How great that Dhamma is!'
(8) "As when men, travelling, feel a glorious perfume sweet
Pervading all the country side, and gladdening them, infer at once,
'Surely, 'tis giant forest trees are flowering now!'
So, conscious of this perfume sweet of righteousness
That now pervades the earth and heavens, they may infer:
'A Buddha, infinitely great, must once have lived!'"

25. 'And it would be possible, O king, to show forth the Buddha's greatness, by a hundred or a thousand such examples, such reasons, such arguments, such metaphors. just, O king, as a clever garland maker will, from one heap of all kinds of flowers, both following the instruction of his teacher, and also using his own individuality as a man, make many variegated and beautiful bouquets,--just so, O king, that Blessed One is, as it were, an infinite, immeasurable, heap of variegated flowers of virtue. And I now, a garland maker, as it were in the church of the Conqueror, stringing those flowers together,--both following the path of our teachers of old, and also using such power of wisdom as in me is,--could show forth by inference the power of the Buddha in innumerable similes. But you, on the other hand, must show a desire to hear them.'

'Hard would it be, Nagasena, for any other men thus to have shown by inference, drawn from such examples, the power of the Buddha. I am filled with satisfaction, venerable Nagasena, at your so perfectly varied exposition of this problem.'

Here ends the problem of Inference.

THE DHUTANGAS / RENUNCIATION. (Book 6)

[Dhutanga is a group of 13 Austerities or ascetic practices most commonly observed by the practitioners of the Thai Forest Tradition of Theravada Buddhism. While the Buddha did not require these practices, they were recommended for those wanting to practice greater asceticism.]

1. The king saw Bhikkhus in the forest, lone
And far away from men, keeping hard vows.
And then he saw too householders, at home,
Eating the sweet fruits of the Noble Path.
Considering both of these, deep doubts he felt.
'If laymen also realise the Truth
Then surely vowing vows must be in vain.
Come! let me ask that best of teachers, wise
In the threefold basket of the Buddha's words,
Skilled to o'erthrow the arguments of the foe.
He will be able to resolve my doubts!'

2. Now Milinda the king went up to the place where Nagasena was, and bowed down before him, and took his seat on one side. And when so seated, he said to Nagasena: 'Venerable Nagasena, is there any layman living at home, enjoying the pleasures of sense, occupying a dwelling encumbered with wife and children, enjoying the use of sandal wood from Benares, and of garlands, perfumes, and ointments, accepting gold and silver, with an embroidered head-dress on, set with diamonds and pearls and gold-is there any such who has seen face to face the calm, the supreme good, Nirvana

'Not one hundred only, O king, nor two nor three nor five nor six hundred, not a thousand only, nor a hundred thousand, nor ten millions, nor ten thousand millions, not even only a billion laymen (have seen Nirvana)--not to speak of twenty or thirty or a hundred or a thousand who have attained to clear understanding (of the four Truths). By what kind of exposition shall I lay before you evidence showing that I know this?'

'Do you yourself tell me.'

3. 'Then, O king, I will explain it. All those passages in the ninefold word of the Buddha that deal with holiness of life, and attainment of the path, and the divisions of the excellent habit of living under vows, shall be brought to bear in this connection. Just, O king, as water which has rained down upon a country district, with both low-lying and high places, level land and undulations, dry ground and wet, will-all of it-flow off thence and meet together in the ocean of great waters; so will all those passages meet together, and be brought into connection, here. And a manifestation of reasons out of my experience and knowledge shall be also brought to bear. Thus will this matter be thoroughly analysed, its beauty will be brought out, it will be exhausted, brought home to rest. It will be, O king, as when an able writing-master, on exhibiting, by request, his skill in writing, will supplement the written signs by an explanation of reasons out of his experience and knowledge, and thus that writing of his becomes finished, perfect, without defect. So will I also bring to bear a manifestation of reasons out of my experience and knowledge; and thus shall this matter be thoroughly analysed, its beauty shall be brought out, it shall be exhausted, set at rest.

4. 'In the city of Savatthi, O king, about fifty millions of the disciples of the Blessed One, devout men and devout women, were walking in the paths, and out of those three hundred and fifty-seven thousand were established in the fruit of the third path. And all of them were laity, not members of the Order. And there too, at the foot of the Gandamba tree, when the double miracle took place, two hundred millions of living beings penetrated to an understanding (of the four Truths). And again on the delivery of the Rahulovada discourse, and of the Maha Mangala discourse, and of the Samakitta exposition, and of the Parabhava discourse, and of the Purabheda discourse, and of the Kalaha-vivada discourse, and of the Kûla-vyûha discourse, and of the Maha-vyûha discourse, and of the Tuwataka discourse, and of the Sariputta discourse, an innumerable number of celestial beings penetrated to knowledge (of the four Truths). In the city of Ragagaha three hundred and fifty thousand devout laymen and devout laywomen, disciples of the Blessed One, were walking in the Paths. And there again at the taming of Dhanapala the great elephant nine hundred million living beings, and again at the meeting at the Pasanika Ketiya on the occasion of the Parayana discourse one hundred and forty million living beings, and again at the Indasala cave eight hundred millions of gods, and again at Benares in the deer park Isipatana at the first preaching of the Dhamma one hundred and eighty million Brahma gods and innumerable others, and again in the heaven of the Thirty-Three at the preaching of the Abhidhamma on the Pandu Kambala Rock eight hundred millions of the gods, and on the descent from the world of the gods at the gate of the city of Sankassa, at the miracle of the manifestation to the world, three hundred millions of believing men and deities penetrated to a knowledge (of the four Truths). And again at Kapila-vatthu among the Sakyas, at the preaching of the Buddhavamsa in the Nigrodha Arama, and again at the preaching of the Maha Samaya Suttanta, gods in numbers that cannot be counted penetrated to a knowledge of the Dhamma. And again at the assemblies on the occasions of Sumana the garland maker, and of Garahadinna, and of Ananda the rich man, and of Gambuka the naked ascetic, and of Mandûka the god, and of Matta-kundali the god, and of Sulasa the courtesan, and of Sirima the courtesan, and of the weaver's daughter, and of Subhadda, and of the spectacle of the cremation of the Brahman of Saketa, and of the Sûnaparantas, and of the problem put by Sakka, and of the Tirokudda Sutta, and of the Ratana Sutta--at each of these eighty-four thousand penetrated to a knowledge of the Dhamma. So long, O king, as the Blessed One remained in the world, so long wheresoever in the three great divisions (of India) or in the sixteen principal countries (in them) he stayed, there, as a usual thing, two, three, four, or five hundred, or a thousand, or a hundred thousand, both gods and men, saw face to face the calm, the supreme good, Nirvana. And all of those who were gods, O king, were laymen. They had not entered the Order. So these and many other billions of gods, O king,--even while they were yet laymen, living at home, enjoying the pleasures of sense,--saw face to face (realised in themselves) the condition of Peace, the Supreme Good, Nirvana.'

5. 'If so, venerable Nagasena,--if laymen, living at home and enjoying the pleasures of sense, can see Nirvana,--what purpose then do these extra vows serve? That being so, rather must the vows be workers of mischief. For, Nagasena, if diseases would abate without medicine, what would be the advantage of weakening the body by emetics, by purges, and other like remedies?--if one's enemies could be subdued with one's fists only, where would be the need of swords and spears, of javelins and bows and cross-bows, of maces and of clubs?--if trees could be climbed by clambering up them with the aid of the knots and of the crooked and hollow places in them, of the thorny excrescences and creepers and branches growing on them, what would be the need of going in quest of ladders long and strong?--if sleeping on the bare ground gave ease to the limbs, why should one seek after fine large beds, soft to the touch?--if one could cross the desert alone, inaccessible though it be, and full of danger and fear, why need one wait for a grand caravan, well armed and well equipped?--if a man were able by his own arms to cross a flowing river, what need he care for firm dykes or boats?--if he could provide board and lodging for himself out of his own property, why should he trouble to do service to others, to flatter with sweet words, to run to and fro?--when he can get water from a natural pool, why should he dig wells and tanks and artificial ponds? And just so, venerable Nagasena, if laymen, living at home and enjoying the pleasures of sense, can realise in themselves the condition of Peace, the Supreme Good, Nirvana, what is the need of taking upon oneself these vows?'

6. 'There are, O king, these twenty-eight good qualities in the vows, virtues really inherent in them; and on account of these all the Buddhas alike have longed for them and held them dear. And what are the twenty-eight? The keeping of the vows, O king, implies a mode of livelihood without evil, it has a blissful calm as its fruit, it avoids blame, it works no harm to others, it is free from danger, it brings no trouble on others, it is certain to bring with it growth in goodness, it wastes not away, it deludes not, it is in itself a protection, it works the satisfaction of desires and the taming of all beings, it is good for self-control, it is appropriate, (he who keeps the vows) is self-dependent, is emancipated, the keeping of them is the destruction of lust; and of malice, and of dullness; it is the pulling away of pride, the cutting off of evil thoughts, the removal of doubts, the suppression of sloth, the putting away of discontent; it is long-suffering, its merit is beyond weight, and its virtue beyond measure, and it is the path that leads to the end of every grief. These, O king, are the twenty-eight good qualities in the vows; and it is on account of these that all the Buddhas alike have longed for them and held them dear.

7. 'And whosoever, O king, thoroughly carry out the vows, they become completely endowed with eighteen good qualities. What are these eighteen? Their walk is pure, their path is accomplished, well guarded are they in deed and word, altogether pure are they in manners and in mind, their zeal flags not, all their fears are allayed, all delusions (as to the permanence and as to the degree) of their individuality have been put away, anger has died away while love (to all beings) has arisen in their hearts, in taking nourishment they eat it with the three right views regarding food, they are honoured of all men, they are temperate in eating, they are full of watchfulness, they need no home, wheresoever is a pleasant spot there do they dwell, they loathe to do ill, they take delight in solitude, they are in earnest always. These, O king, are the good qualities with which they who carry out the vows are completely endowed.

8. 'And these ten, O king, are the individuals worthy of those advantages inherent in the vows--the man full of faith, ashamed to do wrong, full of courage, void of hypocrisy, master of himself, not unstable, desirous to learn, glad to undertake the task that is hard, not easy to take offence, of a loving heart. These, O king, are the ten individuals worthy of those advantages inherent in the vows.

9. 'And all they, O king, who as laymen, living at home and in the enjoyment of the pleasures of sense, realise in themselves the condition of Peace, the Supreme Good, Nirvana,--all they had in former births accomplished their training, laid the foundation, in the practice of the thirteen vows, had purified their walk and conduct by means of them; and so now, even as laymen, living at home and in the enjoyment of the pleasures of sense, do they realise in themselves the condition of Peace, the Supreme Good, Nirvana. Just, O king, as a clever archer first in regular succession teaches his pupils at the training ground the different kinds of bows, the manner of holding the bow up, and of keeping it in a firm grasp, and of bending the fingers, and of planting the feet, and of taking up the arrow, and of placing it on the string, and of drawing it back, and of restraining it, and of aiming at the mark, and thus of hitting a man of straw, or targets made of the Khanaka plant, or of grass, or of straw, or of masses of clay, or of shields--and after that, introducing them to the service of the king, he gains the reward of high-bred chargers and chariots and elephants and horses and money and corn and red gold and slave girls and slaves and wives and lands. Just so, O king, all they who as laymen, living at home in the enjoyment of the pleasures of sense, realise in themselves the condition of Peace, the Supreme Good, Nirvana,--all they had in former births accomplished their training, laid the foundation, in the practice of the thirteen vows, had purified their walk and conduct by means of them; and so now, even as laymen, and living at home in the enjoyment of the pleasures of sense, do they realise in themselves the condition of Peace, the Supreme Good, Nirvana.

10. 'And there is no realisation of Arahatship, O king, in one single life, without a previous keeping of the vows. Only on the utmost zeal and the most devoted practice of righteousness, and with the aid of a suitable teacher, is the realisation of Arahatship attained. just, O king, as a doctor or surgeon first procures for himself a teacher, either by the payment of a fee or by the performance of service, and then thoroughly trains himself in holding the lancet, in cutting, marking, or piercing with it, in extracting darts, in cleansing wounds, in causing them to dry up, in the application of

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ointments, in the administration of emetics and purges and oily enemas, and only when he has thus gone through training, served his apprenticeship, made himself skilful, does he visit the sick to heal them. Just so, O king, all they who as laymen, living at home in the enjoyment of the pleasures of sense, realise in themselves the condition of Peace, the Supreme Good, Nirvana,--all they had in former births accomplished their training, laid the foundation, in the practice of the thirteen vows, had purified their walk and conduct by means of them; and so now, even as laymen, and living at home in the enjoyment of the pleasures of sense, do they realise in themselves the condition of Peace, the Supreme Good, Nirvana.

11. 'And there is no perception of the truth to those who are not purified by the virtues that depend on the keeping of the vows. just as without water no seed will grow, so can there be no perception of the truth to those not purified by the practice of the vows. just as there is no rebirth in bliss to those who have done no meritorious actions, no beautiful deeds, so is there no perception of the truth for those not purified by the practice of the vows.

12. 'Like the broad earth, O king, is the character resulting from the keeping of the vows, to serve as a basis to those who desire to be pure. Like water is it, O king, to wash away the stain of all things evil in those who desire to be pure. Like the fire is it, O king, to burn out the lust of all evil in those who desire to be pure. Like the wind is it, O king, to carry away the dust of all evil in those desiring to be pure. Like medicine is it, O king, to allay the disease of evil in those desiring to be pure. Like ambrosia is it, O king, to act as an antidote to the poison of evil in those desiring to be pure. Like arable land is it, O king, on which to grow the crop of 'all the virtues of renunciation to those desiring to be pure. Like a wishing-gem is it, O king; for conferring all the high attainments they long and crave for upon those who desire to be pure. Like a boat is it, O king, for carrying to the further shore of the mighty ocean of transmigration all those who desire to be pure. Like a place of refuge is it, O king, where those who desire to be pure can be safe from the fear of old age and death. Like a mother is it, O king, to comfort those who desire to be pure when afflicted with the sorrows of sin. Like a father is it, O king, to raise up in those who desire to be pure and to increase in goodness all the good qualities of those who have renounced the world. Like a friend is it, O king, in not disappointing those who desire to be pure in their search after the good qualities of those who have renounced the world. Like a lotus flower, O king, is it, in not being tarnished by the stain of evil. Like costly perfume (of saffron and of jasmine and the Turkish incense and the Greek) is it, O king, for counteracting the bad odour of evil for those who desire to be pure. Like a lofty mountain range is it, O king, for protecting those who desire to be pure from the onslaught of the winds of the eight conditions to which men are subject in this world (gain and loss, and fame and dishonour, and praise and blame, and happiness and woe). Like the space of heaven is it, O king, in the freedom from all obstruction, in the magnitude, in the great expanse and breadth it gives to those who desire to be pure. Like a stream is it, O king, in washing away for those who desire to be pure the stain of all evil. Like a guide is it, O king, in bringing safe out of the desert of rebirths, out of the jungle of lusts and sins, those who desire to be pure. Like a mighty caravan is it, O king, for bringing those who desire to be pure safe into that most blessed city of Nirvana, peaceful and calm, where no fear dwells, Like a well-polished spotless mirror is it, O king, for showing to those who desire to be pure the true nature of the constituent elements of all beings. Like a shield is it, O king, for warding off from those who desire to be pure the clubs and the arrows and the swords of evil dispositions. Like a sunshade is it, O king, for warding off from those who desire to be pure the scorching heat of the threefold fire. Like the moon is it, O king, as being longed and hoped for by those who desire to be pure. Like the sun is it, O king, as dispelling the blackness of the darkness of ignorance for those who desire to be pure. Like the ocean is it, O king, as causing to arise in those desiring to be pure the costly treasures of the virtues of those who have renounced the world, and by reason too of its immensity, of its being beyond measure and beyond count.

13. 'Thus is it, O king, of great service to those desiring to be pure, a remover of all sorrow and lamentation, an antidote to discontent; it puts an end to fear, and individuality, and imperviousness of mind; to evil, and to grief, and to pain, and to lust, and to malice, and to dullness, and to pride, and to heresy, and to all wrong dispositions; it brings with it honour and advantage and bliss; it fills them with ease and with love and with peace of mind; it is free from blame; it has happiness here as its fruit; it is a mine and treasure of goodness that is beyond measure and beyond count, costly above all things, and precious.

14. 'Just, O king, as men for nourishment seek after food, for health medicine, for assistance a friend, for crossing water a boat, for pleasant odours a perfume, for security a place of refuge, for support the earth, for instruction a teacher, for honours a king, and for whatever they desire a wishing-gem--just so, O king, do the Arahats seek after the virtues of the keeping of the vows for the attainment of all the advantages of renunciation of the world.

15. 'And what water is for the growth of seeds, what fire is for burning, what food is for giving strength, what a creeper is for tying things up, what a sword is for cutting, what water is for allaying thirst, what a treasure is for giving confidence, what a boat is for crossing to the further shore, what medicine is for allaying disease, what a carriage is for journeying at ease, what a place of refuge is for appeasing fear, what a king is for protection, what a shield is for warding off the blows of sticks and stakes, of clubs, of arrows, and of darts, what a teacher is for instruction, what a mother is for nourishing, what a mirror is for seeing, what a jewel is for ornament, what a dress is for clothing, what a ladder is for mounting up, what a pair of scales is for comparison, what a charm is for repetition, what a weapon is for warding off scorn, what a lamp is for dissipating darkness, what a breeze is for allaying fever, what knowledge of an art is for the accomplishment of business, what medicinal drugs are for the preservation of life, what a mine is for the production of jewels, what a gem is for ornament, what a command is for preventing transgression, what sovranty is for dominion--all that, O king, is the character-that-comes-of-keeping-the-vows for the good growth of the seed of renunciation, for the burning out of the stains of evil, for giving the strength of Iddhi, for tying up one's self in self-control and presence of mind, for the complete cutting off of doubt and mistrust, for allaying the thirst of craving, for giving confidence as to perception of the truth, for crossing to the further shore of the fourfold stream (of sensuality, individuality, delusion, and ignorance), for allaying the disease of evil dispositions, for attaining to the bliss of Nirvana, for appeasing the fears that arise from birth, old age, decay and death, grief, pain, lamentation, woe, and despair, for being protected in the possession of the advantages of renunciation, for warding off discontent and evil thoughts, for instruction in all the good involved in the life of those who have renounced the world, for nourishment therein, for explaining to men quietude and insight, and the path and the fruits thereof and Nirvana, for bestowing upon men a costly ornament high in the praise and admiration of the world, for closing the doors of all evil states, for mounting up to the peaks of the mountain heights of renunciation, for distinguishing crooked and cunning and evil intentions in others, for the proper recitation of those qualities which ought to be practised and those which ought not, for warding off as one's enemies all evil dispositions, for dissipating the darkness of ignorance, for allaying the fever arising from the scorching of the threefold fire, for the accomplishment of the attainment of the Condition of Peace--so gentle and so subtle,--for the protection of the virtues of the life of a recluse, for the production of the precious jewels of the sevenfold wisdom--self-possession, investigation of the truth, energy, joy, calm contemplation, and serenity,--for the adornment of the recluses, for the prevention of any transgression against that blameless, abstruse, delicate bliss that comes of peace, for dominion over all the qualities that recluses and Arahats affect. Thus, O king, is it that keeping the vows is one and the same thing as attaining to all these qualities. And the advantage thereof, O king, cannot be weighed, neither measured; it has no equal, no rival, no superior, great is it and glorious, extensive and abundant, deep and broad, and large and wide, full of weight and worth and might.

16. 'And whosoever, O king, having evil cravings in his heart, being hypocritical, greedy, a slave to his stomach, seeking after material gain or worldly fame and glory, unfit (for the outward signs of Arahatship), not having reached the attainments, whose conduct is inconsistent (with membership in the Order), unworthy of it, inappropriate to it--whosoever being such shall take upon himself the vows, he shall incur a twofold punishment, suffering the loss of the good that may be in him. For in this world he shall receive disgrace, and scorn, and blame, and ridicule, and suspension, and excommunication, and expulsion, and he shall be outcast, rejected, dismissed; and in his next life he shall suffer torment in the great Aviki purgatory that is a hundred leagues in depth, and covered, as with a garland, with hot and scorching, fierce and fiery blazing flames; therein shall he rise and fall for myriads of years, upwards and downwards and across,--a foam-bubble, as it were, cast up and thrown from side to side in a boiling sea. And, when released from thence, then as a mighty Preta (ghost), in the outward form of a monk, but with body and limbs lean and rugged and dark, with head swollen, bloated, and full of holes, hungry and thirsty, odd and dreadful in colour and form, his ears all torn, and his eyes ever winking, his limbs a mass of mortifying sores, his whole body the prey of maggots, his stomach all scorching and hot like a fiery furnace blazing in the breeze, yet with a mouth no larger than a needle so that his thirst can never cease, with no place of refuge to fly to, no protector to help him, groaning and weeping and crying out for mercy, shall he wander wailing o'er the earth!

17. 'Just, O king, as whosoever, being unfit for royalty, without having properly attained to it, being inappropriate to it, unworthy of it, unsuitable for it, a low-born man and base in lineage, should receive the consecration of a king, he would suffer mutilation, having his hands or his feet, or his hands and feet cut off, or his ears or his nose, or his ears and nose cut off, or he would be tortured, being subjected to the Gruel Pot, or to the Chank Crown, or to the Rahu's Mouth, or to the Fire Garland, or to the Hand Torch, or to the Snake Strips, or to the Bark Dress, or to the Spotted Antelope, or to the Flesh Hooks, or to the Pennies, or to the Brine Slits, or to the Bar Turn, or to the Straw Seat, or he would be anointed with boiling oil, or be eaten by dogs, or be impaled alive, or be beheaded, or be subjected to punishments of various kinds. And why? Because he being unfit for it, without having properly attained to it, being inappropriate to it, unworthy of it, unsuitable for it, a low-born man and base in lineage, he had placed himself in the seat of sovranty, and thus transgressed beyond his right limits. Just so, O king, whosoever having evil cravings in his heart, being hypocritical, greedy, a slave to his stomach, seeking after material gain or worldly fame and glory, unfit (for the outward signs of Arahatship), not having reached the attainments, whose conduct is inconsistent (with membership in the Order), unworthy of it, inappropriate to it--whosoever being such shall take upon himself the vows, he shall incur a twofold punishment, suffering the loss of the good that may be in him. For in this world he shall receive disgrace, and scorn, and blame, and ridicule, and suspension, and excommunication, and expulsion, and he shall be outcast, rejected, dismissed; and in his next life he shall suffer torment in the great Aviki purgatory that is a hundred leagues in depth, and covered, as with a garland, with hot and scorching, fierce and fiery blazing flames; therein shall he rise and fall for myriads of years, upwards and downwards and across,--a foam-bubble, as it were, cast up and thrown from side to side in a boiling sea. And, when released from thence, then as a mighty Preta (ghost), in the outward form of a monk, but with body and limbs lean and rugged and dark, with head swollen, bloated, and full of holes, hungry and thirsty, odd and dreadful in colour and form, his cars all torn, and his eyes ever winking, his limbs a mass of mortifying sores, his whole body the prey of maggots, his stomach all scorching and hot like a fiery furnace blazing in the breeze, yet with a mouth no larger than a needle so that his thirst can never cease, with no place of refuge to fly to, no protector to help him, groaning and weeping and crying out for mercy, shall he wander wailing o'er the earth!

18. 'But whosoever, O king, is fit, who has reached the attainments, whose conduct is consistent with membership in the Order, who is worthy of it, appropriate to it, who desires little and is content, given to seclusion, not fond of society, alert in zeal, resolute of heart, without guile, without deceit, not a slave to his stomach, seeking neither material gain nor worldly fame or glory, full of faith, who has entered the Order from belief (in the doctrine, and not from worldly motives), and is full of desire for release from old age and death--whosoever being such shall take upon himself the vows with the idea of upholding the faith, he is deserving of twofold honour. For he is near and dear to, loved and longed for by both gods and men, dear as rare jasmine flowers to the man bathed and anointed, as sweet food to the hungry, as cool, clear, fragrant water to the thirsty, as a healing drug to a poisoned man, as a costly chariot drawn by high-bred steeds to the hurrying traveller, as a wishing-gem to the greedy for gain, as the pure white sunshade of sovranty to one ambitious for a throne, as the blessed attainment of the fruits of Arahatship to the seeker after holiness. It is he who attains to the fullest mastery over the four Earnest Meditations, the fourfold Great Struggle, the four Roads to Saintship, the five Organs of the moral sense, the five moral Powers, the seven forms of Wisdom, and the Noble Eightfold Path, quietude and insight reign in his heart, attainment through study becomes easy to him, and the four fruits of the life of a recluse, the four kinds of Discrimination, the threefold Knowledge, the sixfold higher Wisdom, in a word, the whole religion of the recluses becomes his very own, an anointed king is he, and over him is borne the pure white sunshade of emancipation!

19. 'Just, O king, as all the citizens and country folk in the land, the soldiers and the peons (royal messengers), wait in service upon a Kshatriya king, born to the purple, and on both sides of lineage high, when he has been consecrated with the inauguration ceremonies of the Kshatriyas; the thirty-eight divisions of the royal retinue, and the dancing men, and acrobats, and the soothsayers, and the heralds, and Samanas and Brahmans, and the followers of every sect, frequent his court, and he becomes the lord of every seaport, and treasure-mine, and town, and custom-house--giving instructions as to the fate of every foreigner and criminal--just so, O king, whoever is fit, who has reached the attainments, whose conduct is consistent with membership in the Order, who is worthy of it, appropriate to it, who desires little and is content, given to seclusion, not fond of society, alert in zeal, resolute of heart, without guile, without deceit, not a slave to

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his stomach, seeking neither material gain nor worldly fame or glory, full of faith, who has entered the Order from belief (in the doctrine, and not from worldly motives), and is full of desire for release from old age and death--whosoever being such shall take upon himself the vows with the idea of upholding the faith, he is deserving of twofold honour. For he is near and dear to, loved and longed for by both gods and men, dear as rare jasmine flowers to the man bathed and anointed, as sweet food to the hungry, as cool, clear, fragrant water to the thirsty, as a healing drug to a poisoned man, as a costly chariot drawn by high-bred steeds to the hurrying traveller, as a wishing-gem to the greedy for gain, as the pure white sunshade of sovranty to one ambitious for a throne, as the blessed attainment of the fruits of Arahatship to the seeker after holiness. It is he who attains to the fullest mastery over the four Earnest Meditations, the fourfold Great Struggle, the four Roads to Saintship, the five Organs of the moral sense, the five moral Powers, the seven forms of Wisdom, and the Noble Eightfold Path, quietude and insight reign in his heart, attainment through study becomes easy to him, and the four fruits of the life of a recluse, the four kinds of Discrimination, the threefold Knowledge, the sixfold higher Wisdom, in a word, the whole religion of the recluses becomes his very own, an anointed king is he, and over him is borne the pure white sunshade of emancipation!

20. 'Such, O king, are the thirteen vows purified by which a man shall bathe in the mighty waters of Nirvana, and there indulge himself, as one sporting in the waves, with the manifold delights of religion, he shall addict himself to the eight modes of transcendental ecstacy, he shall acquire the powers of Iddhi, distant sounds, human and divine, shall greet his ear, he shall divine the thoughts of others, he shall be able to call to mind his own previous births, and to watch the rise and fall from birth to birth of others, and he shall perceive the real nature and the origin of, he shall perceive the means of escape from sorrow, and from lust, individuality, delusion, and ignorance, the stains of life!

'And what are these thirteen? Wearing raiment made up of pieces taken from a dust-heap--Wearing three robes, and three robes only--Living on food received by begging--Begging straight on from house to house--Eating only once a day, at one sitting--Eating from one vessel only--Refusing food in excess of the regulations--Dwelling in the woods--Dwelling at the root of a tree-Dwelling in the open air--Dwelling in or near a cemetery--Not altering the mat or bed when it has once been spread out to sleep on--and sleeping in a sitting posture. It is he, O king, who, in former births, has undertaken and practised, followed and carried out, observed, framed his conduct according to, and fulfilled these thirteen vows, who acquires all the results of the life of a recluse, and all its ecstacy of peace and bliss becomes his very own.

21. 'Just, O king, as a shipowner who has become wealthy by constantly levying freight in some seaport town, will be able to traverse the high seas, and go to Vanga, or Takkola, or China, or Sovira, or Surat, or Alexandria, or the Koromandel coast, or Further India, or any other place where ships do congregate--just so, O king, it is he who in former births has undertaken and practised, followed and carried out, observed, framed his conduct according to, and fulfilled these thirteen vows, who acquires all the results of the life of a recluse, and all its ecstacy of peace and bliss becomes his very own.

22. 'And just, O king, as a husbandman will first remove the defects in the soil-weeds, and thorns, and stones-arid then by ploughing, and sowing, and irrigating, and fencing, and watching, and reaping, and grinding, will become the owner of much flour, and so the lord of whosoever are poor and needy, reduced to beggary and misery--just so, O king, it is he who in former births has undertaken and practised, followed and carried out, observed, framed his conduct according to, and fulfilled these thirteen vows, who acquires all the results of the life of a recluse, and all its ecstacy of peace and bliss becomes his very own.

23. 'And again, O king, just as an anointed monarch is master over the treatment of outlaws, is an independent ruler and lord, and does whatsoever he desires, and all the broad earth is subject to him--just so, O king, is he who has undertaken, practised, and fulfilled in former births these vows, master, ruler, and lord in the religion of the Conquerors, and all the virtues of the Samanas are his.

24. 'And was not Upasena, the Elder, he of the sons of the Vangantas, from his having thoroughly practised all the purifying merits of the vows, able to neglect the agreement arrived at by the members of the Order resident at Savatthi, and to visit with his attendant brethren the Subduer of men, then retired into solitude, and when he had bowed down before him, to take his scat respectfully aside? And when the Blessed One saw how well trained his retinue was, then, delighted and glad and exalted in heart, he greeted them with courteous words, and said in his unbroken beautiful voice:

Most pleasant, Upasena, is the deportment of these brethren waiting upon you. How have you managed thus to train your followers?"

'And he, when so questioned by the omniscient Buddha, the god over all gods, spake thus to the Blessed One as to the real reason for the goodness of their nature: "Whosoever, Lord, may come to me to ask for admission to the Order or to become my disciple, to him do I say: 'I, Sir, am a frequenter of the woods, who gain my food by begging, and wear but this robe pieced together from cast-off rags. If you will be the same, I can admit you to the Order and make you my disciple.' Then, if he agree thereto with joy, and abase himself, I thereupon admit him to the Order and to the company of my pupils. But if not, then neither do I admit him to the one nor to the other. Thus is it, Lord, that I train them." And thus is it, O king, that he who has taken upon himself the vows becomes master, ruler, and lord in the religion of the Conquerors; and all its ecstacy of peace and bliss becomes his very own.

25. 'Just, O king, as a lotus flower of glorious, pure, and high descent and origin is glossy, soft, desirable, sweet-smelling, longed for, loved, and praised, untarnished by the water or the mud, graced with tiny petals and filaments and pericarps, the resort of many bees, a child of the clear cold stream--just so is that disciple of the Noble Ones who in former births has undertaken and practised, followed and carried out, observed and framed his conduct according to, and fulfilled these thirteen vows, endowed with the thirty graces. And what are the thirty? His heart is full of affectionate, soft, and tender love, evil is killed, destroyed, cast out from within him, pride and self-righteousness are put an end to and cast down, stable and strong and established and undeviating is his faith, he enters into the enjoyment of the heart's refreshment, the highly praised and desirable peace and bliss of the ecstacies of contemplation fully felt, he exhales the most excellent and unequalled sweet savour of righteousness of life, near is he and dear to gods and men alike, exalted by the best of beings the Arahat Noble Ones themselves, gods and men delight to honour him, the enlightened, wise, and learned approve, esteem, appreciate, and praise him, untarnished is he by the love either of this world or the next, he sees the danger in the smallest tiniest offence, rich is he in the best of wealth--the wealth that is the fruit of the Path, the wealth of those who are seeking the highest of the attainments,--he is partaker of the best of the four requisites of a recluse that may be obtained by asking, he lives without a home addicted to that best austerity that is dependent on the meditation of the Ghanas, he has unravelled the whole net of evil, he has broken and burst through, doubled up and utterly destroyed both the possibility of rebirth in any of the five future states, and the five obstacles to the higher life in this one (lust, malice, sloth, pride, and doubt), unalterable in character, excellent in conduct, transgressing none of the rules as to the four requisites of a recluse, he is set free from rebirths, he has passed beyond all perplexity, his mind is set upon complete emancipation, he has seen the truth, the sure and stedfast place of refuge from all fear has he gained, the seven evil inclinations (to lust, and malice, and heresy, and doubt, and pride, and desire for future life, and ignorance) are rooted out in him, he has reached the end of the Great Evils (lust, individuality, delusion, and ignorance), he abounds in the peace and the bliss of the ecstacies of contemplation, he is endowed with all the virtues a recluse should have. These, O king, are the thirty graces he is adorned withal.

26. 'And was not Sariputta, the Elder, O king, the best man in the whole ten thousand world systems, the Teacher of the world himself alone excepted? And he who through endless ages had heaped up merit, and had been reborn in a Brahman family, relinquished all the delights of the pleasures of sense, and gave up boundless wealth, to enter the Order according to the teaching of the Conqueror, and having restrained his actions, words, and thoughts by these thirteen vows, became in this life of such exalted virtue that he was the one who, after the Master, set rolling on the royal chariot-wheel of the kingdom of righteousness in the religion of Gotama, the Blessed One. So that this was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in that most excellent collection, the Anguttara Nikaya:

"I know, O brethren, of no other man who in succession to me sets rolling on the glorious chariot-wheel of the kingdom of righteousness so well as Sariputta. Sariputta, O brethren, sets rolling that wheel the best of all."'

'Most excellent, Nagasena! The whole ninefold word of the Buddha, the most exalted conduct, the highest and best of the attainments to be gained in the world,--all these are wrapped up together in the virtues that result from the keeping of the vows.'

THE SIMILES or
THE BOOK OF THE PUZZLES AND THE SOLUTIONS
OPAMMA-KATHA-PANHO. (Book 7)

[A simile is a figure of speech that directly compares two things. Similes differ from metaphors by highlighting the similarities between two things using words such as "like", "as", or "than", while metaphors create an implicit comparison (i.e. saying something "is" something else). This distinction is evident in the etymology of the words: simile derives from the Latin word simile ("similar, like"), while metaphor derives from the Greek word metaphor in ("to transfer"). Here in this work it is an important tool to train critical thought.]

CHAPTER 1.

1. THE ASS / THE DONKEY.

2. 'Venerable Nagasena, that one quality of the harsh-voiced ass which you say he ought to take, which is that?'

'Just, O king, as the ass, wheresoever he may lie down--whether on a dust heap, or in the open space where four roads meet, or three, or at the entrance to a village, or on a heap of straw--nowhere is he given to resting long; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, wheresoever he may spread out his mat for repose--whether on strewed grass, or leaves, or on a bed of thorns, or on the bare earth--nowhere should he be given to sloth. This is the one quality of the ass he ought to have. For this has been said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods:

Sleeping on pillows of chaff, my disciples, O brethren,
Keep themselves earnest and ardent in strenuous fight."

'And this too, O king, was said by Sariputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith:

"If it but raineth not knee-deep on him
When sitting in high meditations plunged--
What cares the man on Arahatship intent for ease!"

2. THE COCK / THE COCKEREL.

3. 'Venerable Nagasena, those five qualities of the cock which you say he ought to take, what are they?'

'Just, O king, as a cock goes early and betimes to roost; so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, early and betimes sweep out the open space around the Dagaba, and having got ready the drinking-water for the day's use, and dressed himself, and taken his bath, he should bow down in reverence before the Dagaba, and then pay visits to the senior Bhikshus, and, on his return, enter in due time into the chamber of solitude. This, O king, is the first of the qualities of the cock he ought to have.

4. 'And again, O king, as a cock rises early and betimes; so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, rise early and betimes to sweep out the open space around the Dagaba, and get ready the drinking-water for the day's use, and dress himself, and pay his daily reverence to the Dagaba, and enter into the chamber of solitude. This, O king, is the second of the qualities of the cock he ought to have.

5. 'And again, O king, as the cock is unremitting in scratching the earth to pick up what he can find to eat; so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, practise continual self-examination and circumspection in taking any nourishment he may find to eat, reminding himself: "I eat this, seeking not after pleasure, nor after excitement, nor after beauty of body, nor after elegance of form, but merely for the preservation of my body, to keep myself alive, as a means of appeasing the pain of hunger, and of assisting me in the practice of the higher life. Thus shall I put an end to all former sorrow, and give no cause for future sorrow to arise; therein shall I be free from blame, and dwell at ease." This, O king, is the third of the qualities of the cock he ought to have. For it has been said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods:

"Like child's flesh in the desert wild,
Or smearing grease upon the wheel,
Solely to keep himself alive,
Does he, when feeling faint, take food."

6. 'And again, O king, as the cock, though it has eyes, is blind by night; so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, though he is not blind, be as one blind. Whether in the woods, or on his daily walk for alms in search of food, blind should he be and deaf and dumb to all delights of form, or sound, or taste, or smell, or touch, should not make them the objects of his thought, should pay no special, detailed, attention to them. This, O king, is the fourth of the qualities of the cock he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Maha Kakkayana, the Elder:

"Let him with eyes be as one blind,
And he who hears be as the deaf,
He who can speak be as the dumb,
The man of strength as were he weak.
As each new object rises to his ken,
On the sweet couch of blest Nirvana's peace
Let him lie down and rest."

7. 'And again, O king, as the cock, even though persecuted with clods and sticks and clubs and cudgels, will not desert his home; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort,--whether he be engaged in robemaking or in building-work, or in any of his daily duties, or in teaching, or in receiving instruction--never give up his presence of mind. For that, O king--his presence of mind--is the home in which he dwells. This, O king, is the fifth of the qualities of the cock he ought to have. And this, O king, has been said by the Blessed One, the god over all gods:

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"And which, O Bhikshus, is the Bhikshu's resort, the realm which is his own by right?--it is this, the four modes of being mindful and thoughtful."

'And this too, O king, has been said by Sariputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith:

"The elephant distinguishes good food
From bad, he knows what gives him sustenance,
And even when asleep he guards his trunk--
So let each Buddha's son, earnest in zeal,
Never do violence to the Conqueror's word,
Nor injury to his self-possession, best of gifts.'"

3. THE SQUIRREL.

8. 'Venerable Nagasena, that one quality of the squirrel which you say he ought to take, which is that?'

'Just as the squirrel, O king, when an enemy falls upon him, beats his tail on the ground till it swells, and then with his own tail as a cudgel drives off the foe; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, when his enemy, sin, falls upon him, beat the cudgel of his self-possession till it swells, and then by the cudgel of self-possession drive all evil inclinations off. This, O king, is the one quality of the squirrel which he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Kulla Panthaka, the Elder:

"When sins, those fell destroyers of the gains
Gained by the life of recluse, fall on us,
They should be slain, again and yet again,
By resolute self-possession as a club.'"

4. THE PANTHER (FEMALE).

9. 'Venerable Nagasena, that one quality of the female of the panther which you say he ought to take, which is that?'

'Just, O king, as the female of the panther conceives only once, and does not resort again and again to the male; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort,--seeing how future conceptions and births involve a period of gestation and a fall from each state as it is reached, and dissolution and death and destruction, seeing the horrors of transmigration and of rebirths in evil states, the annoyance of them, the torment of them,--he should stedfastly resolve never to enter upon any future life. This, O king, is the one quality of the female panther which he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the Sutta Nipata, in the Sutta of Dhaniya the cowherd:

"Like a strong bull who's burst the bonds that bound him,
Or elephant who's forced his way through jungle,
Thus shall I never more enter the womb--
And now, if it so please you, god, rain on!'"

5. THE PANTHER (MALE).

10. 'Venerable Nagasena, those two qualities of the panther which you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the panther, lying in ambush in wild places, behind a thicket of long grass or brushwood, or among the rocks, catches the deer; so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, resort to solitary places in the woods, at the foot of a tree, on mountain heights, in caves and grottoes, in cemeteries, in forests, under the open sky, on beds of straw, in quiet, noiseless spots, free from strong winds, and hid from the haunts of men. For the strenuous Bhikshu, O king, earnest in effort, who frequents such solitudes, will soon become master of the six forms of transcendent insight. This, O king, is the first of the qualities of the panther he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Elders who collected the scriptures:

"As the panther by lying in ambush catches the deer,
So the sons of the Buddha, with insight and earnestness armed,
By resorting to solitudes gain that Fruit which is best."

11. 'And again, O king, as the panther, whatever may be the beast he has killed, will never eat it if it has fallen on the left side; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, not partake of any food that has been procured by gifts of bamboos, or palms' leaves, or flowers, or fruits, or baths, or chunam, or tooth-sticks, or water for washing; or by flattery, or by gaining the laity over by sugared words (literally by pea-soup-talk), suppressing the truth and suggesting the false, or by petting their children, or by taking messages as he walks from house to house, or by doctoring them, or by acting as a go-between, or as a messenger on matters of business or ceremony, or by exchanging with them things he has received as alms, or by giving back again to them as bribes robes or food once given to him, or by giving them hints as to lucky sites, or lucky days, or lucky signs (on their children's bodies at birth), or by any other of those wrong modes of obtaining a livelihood that have been condemned by the Buddha--no food so procured should he eat, as the panther will not eat any prey that has fallen on its left side. This is the second of the qualities of the panther he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Sariputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith:

"This food, so sweet, has been procured
Through intimation given by speech.
Were I, then, to partake thereof,
My mode of livelihood would be blamed.
Now though by hunger dire oppressed
My stomach seem to rise, to go,
Ne'er will I break my rule of life,
Not though my life I sacrifice.'"

6. THE TORTOISE.

12. 'Venerable Nagasena, those five qualities of the tortoise which you say he ought to take, what are they? '

'Just, O king, as the tortoise, which is a water animal, keeps to the water; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, let his heart go out over the whole wide world with pity and with love--mighty, abounding, beyond measure, free from every feeling of hatred or of malice--towards all creatures that have life. This, O king, is the first of the qualities of the tortoise he ought to have.

13. 'And again, O king, just as the tortoise, when, as he swims on the water and raises his head, he catches sight of any one, that moment sinks, and dives into the depths, lest they should see him again; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, when evil inclinations fall upon him, sink into the waters of meditation, dive down into the deeps thereof, lest those evil inclinations should catch sight of him again. This, O king, is the second of the qualities of the tortoise he ought to have.

14. 'And again, O king, just as the tortoise gets up out of the water, and suns himself; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, when he rouses himself (withdraws his mind) out of meditation,--whether taken sitting, or lying down, or standing, or walking up and down,--sun his mind in the Great Struggle against evil dispositions. This, O king, is the third of the qualities of the tortoise he ought to have.

15. 'And again, O king, just as the tortoise, digging a hole in the ground, dwells alone; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, giving up worldly gain and honour and praise, take up his abode alone, plunging into the solitudes of empty lonely places in the groves and woods and hills, in caves and grottoes, noiseless and quiet. This, O king, is the fourth of the qualities of the tortoise he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Upasena, the Elder, of the sons of the Vangantas:

"Lonely and quiet places, haunts
Of the deer, and of wild beasts,
Should the Bhikshu seek as his abode,
For solitude's sweet sake."

16. 'And again, O king, as the tortoise, when on his rounds he sees any one, draws in at once all his head and limbs into his shell, and hiding them there, keeps still in silence to save himself; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, wheresoever forms, or sounds, or odours, or tastes, or feelings strike upon him, shut to the gate of self-restraint at the six doors of his senses, cover up his mind in self-control, and continue constant in mindfulness and thoughtfulness to save his Samanaship. This, O king, is the fifth of the qualities of the tortoise he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the most excellent Samyutta Nikaya, in the Sutta of the parable of the tortoise:

"As the tortoise withdraws his limbs in his shell,
Let the Bhikshu bury the thoughts of his mind,
Himself Independent, injuring none,
Set free himself, speaking evil of none."'

7. THE BAMBOO.

17. 'Venerable Nagasena, that one quality of the bamboo which you say he ought to take, which is it?,

'Just, O king, as the bamboo, whithersoever the gale blows, to that quarter does it bend accordingly, pursuing no other way of its own; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, conduct himself in accordance with the ninefold teaching of the Master, the word of the Buddha, the Blessed One, and stedfastly keeping to all things lawful and blameless, he should seek after the qualities of the Samanaship itself. This, O king, is the one quality of the bamboo he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Rahula, the Elder:

"In accord alway with Buddha's ninefold word
And stedfast in all lawful, blameless acts,
I have passed beyond rebirth in evil states."'

8. THE BOW.

18. 'Venerable Nagasena, that one quality of the bow which you say he ought to have, which is it?'

'Just, O king, as a well-made and balanced bow bends equally from end to end, and does not resist stiffly, like a post; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, bend easily in accord with all his brethren--whether elders, juniors, of medium seniority, or of like standing with himself--and not repel them. This, O king, is the one quality of the bow he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the Vidhura Punnaka Gataka:

"Let the wise bend as the bow, yield as the reed,
Not be contrary. He shall dwell in the home of kings."'

9. THE CROW.

19. 'Venerable Nagasena, those two qualities of the crow that you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the crow goes about full of apprehension and suspicion, always on watch and guard; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, go about full of apprehension and suspicion, always on watch and guard, in full self-possession, with his senses under control. This, O king, is the first of the qualities of the crow he ought to have.

20. 'And again, O king, as the crow, whatever food he catches sight of, eats it, sharing with his kind; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, never omit to share with virtuous co-religionists, and that without distinction of person or deliberation as to quantity, whatever lawful gifts he may have lawfully received, down even to the contents of his begging-bowl. This, O king, is the second of the qualities of the crow he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Sariputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith:

"Whate'er they may present to me, austere in life,
All that, just as it comes, do I divide
With all, and I myself then take my food."'

10. THE MONKEY.

21. 'Venerable Nagasena, those two qualities of the monkey which you say he ought to have, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the monkey, when about to take up his abode does so in some such place as a mighty tree, in a lonely place covered all over with branches, a sure place of refuge; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, choose as the teacher under whom to live a man modest, amiable, righteous, of beauty of character, learned in tradition and in the scriptures, lovable, venerable, worthy of reverence, a speaker of profitable things, meek, clever in admonition, in instruction, and in education, able to arouse, to incite, to gladden--such a friend should he choose as teacher. This, O king, is the first of the qualities of the monkey he ought to have.

22. 'And again, O king, as the monkey wanders about, and stands and sits, always on trees, and, if he goes to sleep, spends the night on them; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, stand and walk up and down thinking, and lie down, and sleep, in the forest, and there enjoy the sense of self-possession. This, O king, is the second of the qualities of the monkey he ought to have. For it has been said, O king, by Sariputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith:

"Walking, or standing, sitting, lying down,
'Tis in the forest that the Bhikshu shines.
To dwell in wildernesses far remote
Has been exalted by the Buddhas all."'

CHAPTER 2.

11. THE GOURD.

1. 'Venerable Nagasena, that one quality of the gourd which you say he ought to take, which is it?'

'Just, O king, as the gourd, climbing up with its tendrils on to some other plant--whether a grass, or a thorn, or a creeper--grows all over it; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, who desires to grow up into Arahatship, do so by climbing up with his mind over the ideas that present themselves (as subjects for the Kammatthana meditations). This, O king, is the one quality of the gourd which he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Sariputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith:

"As the gourd, clambering up with its tendrils, grows
O'er the grass, or the thorn-bush, or creeper widespread,
So the son of the Buddha on Ar'hatship bent,
Climbs up o'er ideas, to perfection and peace."'

12. THE LOTUS.

2. 'Venerable Nagasena, those three qualities of the lotus which you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the lotus, though it is born in the water, and grows up in the water, yet remains undefiled by the water (for no water adheres to it); just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, remain undefiled by the support that he receives, or by the following of disciples that he obtains, or by fame, or by honour, or by veneration, or by the abundance of the requisites that he enjoys. This, O king, is the first of the qualities of the lotus that he ought to have.

3. 'And again, O king, as the lotus remains lifted up far above the water; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, remain far above all worldly things. This, O king, is the second of the qualities of the lotus that he ought to have.

4. 'And again, O king, as the lotus trembles when blown upon by the slightest breeze; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, exercise self-control in respect of the least of the evil dispositions, perceiving the danger (in the least offence). This, O king, is the third of the qualities of the lotus he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods:

"Seeing danger in the least offence, he takes upon himself,
trains himself in, the precepts."'

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13. THE SEED.

5. 'Venerable Nagasena, those two qualities of seed which you say he ought to have, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as seed, tiny though it be, yet if sown in good soil, and if the god rains aright, will give abundant fruit; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, so conduct himself aright that the righteousness of his life may give abundantly of the fruits of Samanaship. This, O king, is the first quality of seed which he ought to have.

6. 'And again, O king, as seed planted in well-weeded soil comes quickly to maturity; just so, O king, will his mind, when well-mastered, and well-purified in solitude, if it be cast by the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, into the excellent field of self-possession, come quickly to maturity. This, O king, is the second quality of seed which he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Anuruddha, the Elder:

"If seed be sown on a well-weeded field,
Its fruit, abounding, will rejoice the sower.
So the recluse's heart, in solitude made pure,
Matures full fast in self-possession's field."'

14. THE SAL-TREE.

7. 'Venerable Nagasena, that one quality of the Sal-tree which you say he ought to take, which is it?'

'Just, O king, as the Sal-tree grows within the ground to the depth of a hundred cubits or more; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, perfect in solitude the four Fruits of Samanaship, the four Discriminations, the six forms of transcendental Insight, and all the qualities befitting a recluse. This, O king, is the one quality of the Sal-tree he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Rahula, the Elder:

"The tree that's called the Sal-tree grows above the earth,
And shoots beneath, a hundred cubits deep.
As in the fullness of time, and at its highest growth
That tree shoots in one day a hundred cubits high,
Just so do I, O Buddha, like the Sal,
Increase, in solitude, in inward good."'

15. THE SHIP.

8. 'Venerable Nagasena, those three qualities of the ship that you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as a ship, by the combination of the quantity of the different kinds of timber of which it is composed, conveys many folk across; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, cross the whole world of existence, whether in heaven, or on earth, by the combination of a number of qualities arising out of good conduct, righteousness, virtue, and the performance of duty. This, O king, is the first of the qualities of a ship he ought to have.

9. 'And again, O king, just as a ship can bear the onslaught of various thundering waves and of far-reaching whirlpools; so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be able to bear the onslaught of the waves of various evil inclinations, and the onslaught of the waves of varied evils--veneration and contempt, support and honour, praise and exaltation, offerings and homage, blame and commendation in families not his own. This, O king, is the second of the qualities of the ship he ought to have.

10. 'And again, O king, as the ship journeys over the great ocean, immeasurable and infinite though it be, without a further shore, unshaken in its depths, roaring with a mighty noise, and filled with crowds of fish and monsters and dragons of all sorts; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, make his mind journey through to penetration into the four Truths in their triple order, in their twelvefold form. This, O king, is the third of the qualities of the ship he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the most excellent Samyutta Nikaya, in the Samyutta on the Truths:

"Whenever you are thinking, O Bhikkhus, you should think: 'Such is sorrow,'--you should think 'Such is the origin of sorrow,'--you should think: 'Such is the end of sorrow,'--you should think: 'Such is the path that leads to the end of sorrow.'"'

16. THE ANCHOR.

11. 'Venerable Nagasena, those two qualities of the anchor which you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the anchor, even in the mighty sea, in the expanse of waters agitated by the crowding of ever-varying waves, will fasten the ship, and keep it still, not letting the sea take it in one direction or another; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, keep his mind stedfast in the mighty struggle of thoughts, in the waters of the waves of lust and malice and dullness, not letting them divert it in one direction or another. This, O king, is the first quality of the anchor he ought to have.

12. 'And again, O king, as the anchor floats not, but sinks down, and even in water a hundred cubits deep holds the ship fast, brings it to rest; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, when he receives support, and fame, and honour, and veneration, and reverence, and offerings, and praise, be not lifted up on the summit of the support or the fame, but keep his mind fixed on the idea of merely keeping his body alive. This, O king, is the second quality of the anchor he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Sariputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith:

"As the anchor floats not, but sinks down beneath the waves,
So be abased, not lifted up, by praise or gifts."'

17. THE MAST.

13. 'Venerable Nagasena, that one quality of the mast which you say he ought to take, which is it?'

'Just, O king, as the mast carries ropes and braces and sails; just so should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, always have mindfulness and self-possession--when going out or coming back, when looking ahead or looking round, when stretching forth his arm or bending it back, when wearing clothes or carrying his bowl, when eating or drinking or swallowing or tasting, when easing himself or walking or standing or sitting, when asleep or awake, when talking and when silent, never should he lose his mindfulness and self-possession. This, O king, is the one quality of the mast he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods:

"Mindful, my brethren, should the Bhikshu remain, and self-possessed. This is my instruction to you."'

18. THE PILOT.

14. 'Venerable Nagasena, those three qualities of the pilot which you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the pilot, day and night, with continuous and unceasing zeal and effort, navigates his ship; just so, O king, does the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, when regulating his mind, continue night and day unceasingly zealous and earnest in regulating his mind by careful thought. This, O king, is the one quality of the pilot he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the Dhammapada (the Collection of scripture verses):

"Be full of zeal, watch over your own thoughts;
Raise yourselves up out of the slough of endless births,
As the strong elephant engulphed in depths of mud."

15. 'And again, O king, as the pilot knows all that is in the sea, whether good or bad; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, know good from evil, and what is an offence from what is not, and what is mean from what is exalted, and what is dark from what is light. This, O king, is the second quality of the pilot he ought to have.

16. 'And again, O king, as the pilot puts a seal on the steering apparatus lest any one should touch it; so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, put the seal of self-control on his heart, lest any evil or wrong thoughts should arise within it. This is the third quality of the pilot he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the most excellent Samyutta Nikaya:

"Think, O Bhikshus, no evil or wrong thoughts, such as thoughts of lust, or of malice, or of delusion."'

19. THE SAILOR.

17. 'Venerable Nagasena, that one quality of the sailor which you say he ought to take, which is it?'

'Just as the sailor on board ship, O king, thinks thus: "I am a hireling, and am working for my wage on board this ship. By means of this ship is it that I get food and clothing. I must not be lazy, but zealously navigate the ship;" just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, think thus: "Gaining a thorough knowledge of this body of mine, put together of the four elements, continuously and unceasingly will I be self-possessed in mindfulness and thoughtfulness, and tranquil and peaceful will exert myself to be set free from births, old age, disease, and death, grief, lamentation, sorrow, suffering, and despair." This, O king, is the one quality of the sailor he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Sariputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith:

"Understand what the body is, realise that again and again,
Seeing the nature of the body, put an end to grief."'

20. THE SEA.

18. 'Venerable Nagasena, those five qualities of the sea you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the sea brooks no contact with a corpse; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, brook no association with the stains of evil--lust and malice and dullness and pride and delusion, concealing the faults one has and claiming virtues one has not, envy and avarice, deceit and treachery and trickiness, wickedness and sinfulness of life. This, O king, is the first quality of the sea he ought to have.

19. 'And again, O king, just as the sea carries within it stores of all kinds of gems--pearls and diamonds and cat's-eyes, and chank shells, and quartz, and coral, and crystal, but conceals them all; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, though he have attained to the various gems of character--the Path, and the Fruits thereof, and the four Ghanas, and the eight Vimokkhas, and Samadhi, and the five Attainments (forms of ecstatic contemplation and Insight), and the six forms of Transcendental Knowledge--conceal them and not bring them to the light. This, O king, is the second quality of the sea he ought to have.

20. 'And again, O king, just as the sea associates with mighty creatures; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, associate himself with a fellow-disciple who desires little and is contented, who is pure in speech, whose conduct is directed to the eradication of evil, who is given to righteousness, modest, amiable, dignified, venerable, a speaker of profitable words, meek, one who will point out his associate's faults, and blame him when he does wrong, clever in admonition, in instruction, and in education, able to arouse, to incite, and to gladden--with such a man as a friend, in righteousness should he dwell. This, O king, is the third quality of the sea he ought to have.

21. 'And again, O king, as the sea, though filled with the fresh water brought down by the Ganges, and the Jumna, and the Akiravati, and the Sarabhû, and the Mahi, and by other rivers a hundred thousand in number, and by the rains of heaven, yet never overflows its shore; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, never consciously transgress the precepts for the sake of support, or fame, or praise, or salutations, or reverence, or honour--no! not even for his life. This, O king, is the fourth of the qualities of the sea he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods:

"Just, O king, as the great ocean has fixity as its characteristic, and never overflows its shores; just so, O king, should my disciples never overstep the regulations I have laid down for them--no! not even to save themselves alive."

22. 'And again, O king, as the sea is not filled even by all the rivers--the Ganges, and the Jumna, and the Akiravati, and the Sarabhû, and the Mahi--nor by the rains from heaven; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, never be satisfied with receiving instruction, with asking and answering questions, with listening to the word, and learning it by heart, and examining into it, with hearing the Abhidhamma and the Vinaya, and the deep sayings of the Suttas, with analysis of forms, with learning the rules of right composition, conjunction, and grammatical construction, with listening to the ninefold teaching of the Conqueror. This, O king, is the fifth quality of the sea he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the Sutasoma Gataka:

"Just as the fire, in burning grass and sticks,
Is never satisfied, nor the great sea
Filled with the waters of all streams that flow--
So are these students wise, O king of kings,
Listening, ne'er sated with the words of truth."'

CHAPTER 3.

21. THE EARTH.

1. 'Venerable Nagasena, those five qualities of the earth which you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the earth remains just the same whether one scatter upon it desirable things or the reverse--whether camphor and aloes and jasmine and sandal-wood and saffron, or whether bile and phlegm and pus and blood and sweat and fat and saliva and mucus and the fluid which lubricates the joints and urine and faeces--still it is the same; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, remain the same, unmoved at support or neglect, at fame or dishonour, at blame or praise, in happiness or in woe. This, O king, is the first of the qualities of the earth he ought to have.

2. 'And again, O king, as the earth has no adornment, no garlands, but is suffused with the odour of itself; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, wear no finery, but rather be set round with the sweet savour of his own righteousness of life. This, O king, is the second quality of the earth he ought to have.

3. 'And again, O king, as the earth is solid, without holes or interstices, thick, dense, and spreads itself out on every side; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be endowed with an unbroken righteousness of life with no gaps or cracks in it, thick, dense, and spreading itself out on every side. This, O king, is the third quality of the earth he ought to have.

4. 'And again, O king, as the earth is never weary, though it bears up the villages and towns and cities and countries, the trees and hills and rivers and ponds and lakes, the wild creatures and birds and men, multitudes of men and women; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be never weary in giving exhortation and admonition and instruction and education, in rousing and inciting and gladdening, and at the expositions of the faith. This, O king, is the fourth quality of the earth he ought to have.

5. 'And again, O king, as the earth is free alike from fawning and from ill-will; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, continue in spirit, like the earth, free alike from fawning upon any man, from ill-will to any man. This is the fifth quality of the earth he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the devoted woman, Kulla Subhadda, when she was exalting the recluses of her own sect:

Were one, enraged, to cut their one arm with an axe,
Another, pleased, to anoint the other with sweet scent,

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No ill-will would they bear the one, nor love the other.
Their hearts are like the earth, unmoved are my recluses."'

22. WATER.

6. 'Venerable Nagasena, the five qualities of water which you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as water is firmly fixed (in pools, wells, &c.), shakes not, and (in its ordinary state) is not disturbed, and is pure by nature; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, putting away hypocrisy, and whining, and intimating their wants, and improper influences of all sorts, be fixed, unshaken, undisturbed, and pure in nature. This, O king, is the first quality of water he ought to have.

7. 'And again, O king, as water is always of a refreshing nature; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be full of pity, and love, and kindness to all beings, seeking the good of all, in mercy to all. This, O king, is the second quality of water he ought to have.

8. 'And again, O king, as water makes the dirty clean; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be in all places, whether in the village or in the forest, free from disputes with, free from offence against his teachers, his masters, or those standing towards him like a teacher. This, O king, is the third quality of water he ought to have.

9. 'And again, O king, as water is desired of all men; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, wishing for little, content, given to solitude and retirement, be always an object of desire to all the world. This, O king, is the fourth quality of water he ought to have.

10. 'And again, O king, as water works no harm to any man; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, never do any wrong, whether in deed or word or thought, which would produce in others either strife, or quarrel, or contention, or dispute, or a feeling of emptiness, or anger, or discontent. This, O king, is the fifth quality of water he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the Kanha Gataka:

"If you would grant a boon to me,
O Sakka, lord of every creature,--
Let none, Sakka, on my account,
Be harmed, whether in mind or body,
At any time or place. This, Sakka,
This would I choose as boon of boons."'

23. FIRE.

11. 'Venerable Nagasena, those five qualities of fire which you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'just, O king, as fire burns grass, and sticks, and branches, and leaves; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, burn out in the fire of wisdom all evil dispositions which feed on objects of thought, whether subjective or objective, whether desirable or the reverse. This, O king, is the first quality of fire he ought to have.

12. 'And again, O king, as fire has no pity, neither mercy; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, show no pity, neither mercy, to any evil dispositions. This, O king, is the second quality of fire he ought to have.

13. 'And again, O king, as fire destroys cold; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, lighting up in his heart the burning fire of zeal, destroy all evil dispositions therein. This, O king, is the third quality of fire he ought to have.

14. 'And again, O king, as fire, seeking no favour of any man, bearing no ill-will to any man, makes heat for all; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, dwell in spirit like the fire, fawning on none, bearing ill-will to none. This, O king, is the fourth quality of fire he ought to have.

15. 'And again, O king, as fire dispels darkness, and makes the light appear; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, dispel the darkness of ignorance, and make the light of knowledge to appear. This is the fifth quality of fire he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in his exhortation to Rahula, his son:

"Practise thyself, Rahula, in that meditation which acts like fire. Thereby shall no wrong dispositions, which have not yet arisen, arise within thee, nor shall they that have arisen bear sway over thy heart."'

24. WIND.

16. 'Venerable Nagasena, those five qualities of wind which you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as wind pervades the spaces in the woods and groves in flowering time; so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, rejoice in the groves of meditation that are all in blossom with the sweet flowers of emancipation. This, O king, is the first quality of wind he ought to have.

17. 'And again, O king, as wind sets all the trees that grow upon the earth in agitation, bends them down; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, retiring into the midst of the woods, there examining into the true nature of all existing things (all phenomena, Samkharas), beat down all evil dispositions. This, O king, is the second quality of wind he ought to have.

18. 'And again, O king, as the wind wanders through the sky; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, accustom his mind to wander among transcendental things. This is the third quality of wind he ought to have.

19. 'And again, O king, as wind carries perfume along; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, carry along with him alway the fragrant perfume of his own righteousness of life. This, O king, is the fourth quality of wind he ought to have.

20. 'And again, O king, as wind has no house, no home to dwell in; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, remain alway without a house, without a home to dwell in, not addicted to society, set free in mind. This, O king, is the fifth quality of wind he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the Sutta Nipata:

"In friendship of the world anxiety is born,
In household life distraction's dust lies thick;
The state set free from home and friendship's ties--
That, and that only, is the recluse's aim."'

25. THE ROCK.

21. 'Venerable Nagasena, the five qualities of the rock that you say he ought to have, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as rock is firm, unshaken, immoveable; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, never be excited by alluring things--forms, or sounds, or scents, or tastes, or touch--by veneration or contempt, by support or by neglect, by reverence or its absence, by honour or dishonour, by praise or blame, nor should he be offended by things that give offence, nor bewildered on occasions of bewilderment, neither should he quake nor tremble, but like a rock should he be firm. This, O king, is the first quality of the rock he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods:

"The solid rock's not shaken by the wind,
Just so the wise man falters not, nor shakes,
At praise or blame."

22. 'And again, O king, as a rock is firm, unmixed with extraneous things; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be firm and independent, given to association with none. This, O king, is the second quality of the rock he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods:

The man who mixes not with householders,
Nor with the homeless, but who wanders lone,
Without a home, and touched by few desires,--
That is the man I call a Brahmana."

23. 'And again, O king, as on the rock no seed will take root; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, never permit evil dispositions to take root in his mind. This, O king, is the third quality of rock that he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Subhûti, the Elder:

"When lustful thoughts arise within my heart,
Examining myself, alone I beat them down.
Thou who'rt by lust excited, who by things
That give offence, allowest of offence,
Feeling bewildered when strange things occur,
Thou shouldst retire far from the lonely woods.
For they're the dwelling-place of men made pure,
Austere in life, free from the stains of sin.
Defile not that pure place. Leave thou the woods."

24. 'And again, just as the rock rises aloft, just so should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, rise aloft through knowledge. This is the fourth quality of the rock he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods:

When the wise man by earnestness has driven
Vanity far away, the terraced heights
Of wisdom doth he climb, and, free from care,
Looks over the vain world, the careworn crowd--
As he who standing on the mountain top
Can watch his fellow-men still toiling on the plain."

25. 'And again, O king, just as the rock cannot be lifted up nor bent down; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be neither lifted up nor depressed. This, O king, is the fifth quality of the rock he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the devout woman, Kulla Subhadda, when she was exalting the recluses of her own sect:

"The world is lifted up by gain, depressed by loss.
My Samanas remain alike in gain or loss."'

26. SPACE.

26. 'Venerable Nagasena, those five qualities of space which you say he ought to have, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as space is everywhere impossible to grasp; just so, O king, should it be impossible for the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, to be anywhere taken hold of by evil dispositions. This, O king, is the first quality of space he ought to have.

27. 'And again, O king, as space is the familiar resort of Rishis, and ascetics, and gods, and flocks of birds; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, make his mind wander easily over all things with the knowledge that each individual (Samkhara) is impermanent, born to sorrow, and without any abiding principle (any soul). This, O king, is the second quality of space he ought to have.

28. 'And again, O king, as space inspires terror; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, train his mind to be in terror of rebirths in any kind of existence. To seek no happiness therein. This, O king, is the third quality of space he ought to have.

29. 'And again, O king, as space is infinite, boundless, immeasurable; just so, O king, should the righteousness of the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, know no limit, and his knowledge be beyond measure. This, O king, is the fourth quality of space he ought to have.

30. 'And again, O king, as space does not hang on to anything, does not cling to anything, does not rest on anything, is not stopped by anything; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, neither in any way depend on, nor cling to, nor rest on, nor be hindered by either the families that minister to him, or the pupils who resort to him, or the support he receives, or the dwelling he occupies, or any obstacles to the religious life, or any requisites that he may want, or any kind of evil inclination. This, O king, is the fifth quality of space he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in his exhortation to Rahula, his son:

"Just, Rahula, as space rests nowhere on anything, so shouldst thou practise thyself in that meditation which is like space. Thereby shall neither pleasant nor unpleasant sensations, as they severally arise, bear sway over thy heart."'

27. THE MOON.

31. 'Venerable Nagasena, those five qualities of the moon which you say he ought to have, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the moon, rising in the bright fortnight, waxes more and more; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, grow more and more in good conduct and righteousness and virtue and the constant performance of duty, and in knowledge of the scriptures and study, and in the habit of retirement, and in self-possession, and in keeping the doors of his senses guarded, and in moderation in food, and in the practice of vigils. This, O king, is the first quality of the moon he ought to have.

32. 'And again, O king, as the moon is a mighty lord; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be a mighty lord over his own will.

A well, or a mountain precipice, or a river in flood, would be abashed alike in body and in mind; so be ye, O brethren, as the moon in your visits to the laity. Holding alike in your outward demeanour and your inward spirit, be ye alway, as strangers on their first visit, retiring in the presence of the laity]."'

28. THE SUN.

36. 'Venerable Nagasena, the seven qualities of the sun you say he ought to have, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the sun evaporates all water; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, cause all evil inclinations, without any exception, to dry up within him. This, O king, is the first quality of the sun he ought to have.

37. 'And again, O king, as the sun dispels the darkness; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, dispel all the darkness of lust, and of anger, and of dullness, and of pride, and of heresy, and of evil, and of all unrighteousness. This, O king, is the second quality of the sun he ought to have.

38. 'And again, O king, as the sun is always in motion; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be ever thoughtful. This,

O king, is the third quality of the sun he ought to have.

39. 'And again, O king, as the sun has a halo of rays; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, have a halo of meditation. This, O king, is the fourth quality of the sun he ought to have.

40. 'And again, O king, as the sun continually warms multitudes of people; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, rejoice the whole world of gods and men with good conduct, and righteousness, and virtue, and the performance of duty, and with the Ghanas, and the Vimokkhas, and Samadhi, and the Samapattis (various modes of transcendental meditation or ecstacy), and with the five moral powers, and the seven kinds of wisdom, and the four modes of being mindful and self-possessed, and the fourfold great struggle against evil, and the pursuit of the four roads to saintship. This, O king, is the fifth quality of the sun he ought to have.

41. 'And again, O king, as the sun is terrified with the fear of Rahu (the demon of eclipses); just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, seeing how beings are entangled in the waste wildernesses of evil life and rebirth in states of woe, caught in the net of the mournful results here of evil done in former births, or of punishment in purgatory, or of evil inclinations, terrify his mind with a great anxiety and

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fear. This, O king, is the sixth quality of the sun he ought to have.

42. 'And again, O king, as the sun makes manifest the evil and the good; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, make manifest the moral powers, and the kinds of wisdom, and the modes of being mindful and self-possessed, and the struggle against evil, and the paths to saintship, and all qualities temporal and spiritual. This, O king, is the seventh quality of the sun he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Vangisa, the Elder:

"As the rising sun makes plain to all that live
Forms pure and impure, forms both good and bad,
So should the Bhikshu, like the rising orb,
Bearing the scriptures ever in his mind,
Make manifest to men, in ignorance blind,
The many-sided Noble Path of bliss."'

29. SAKKA.

43. 'Venerable Nagasena, the three qualities of Sakka (the king of the gods) which you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as Sakka enjoys perfect bliss; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, rejoice in the perfect bliss of retirement. This, O king, is the first quality of Sakka he ought to have.

44. 'And again, O king, as when Sakka when he sees his gods around him keeps them in his favour, fills them with joy; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, keep his mind detached, alert, and tranquil, should make joy spring up within him, should rouse himself, exert himself, be full of zeal. This, O king is the second quality of Sakka he ought to have.

45. 'And again, O king, as Sakka feels no discontent; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, never allow himself to become discontented with solitude. This, O king, is the third quality of Sakka he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Subhûti, the Elder:

"Since I, great hero, have renounced the world,
According to the doctrine that you teach,
I will not grant that any thought of lust
Or craving care has risen in my breast."'

30. THE SOVRAN OVERLORD.

46. 'Venerable Nagasena, the four qualities of the sovran overlord which you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the sovran overlord gains the favour of the people by the four elements of popularity (liberality, affability, justice, and impartiality); just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, find favour with, please, and gladden the hearts of the brethren and rulers of the Order and the laity of either sex. This, O king, is the quality of the sovran overlord he ought to have.

47. 'And again, O king, as the sovran overlord allows no robber bands to form in his realm; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, never allow lustful or angry or cruel ideas to arise within him. This, O king, is the second quality of the sovran overlord he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods:

"The man who takes delight in the suppression
Of evil thoughts, and alway self-possessed,
Reflects on the impurity of things
The world thinks beautiful, he will remove--
Nay, cleave in twain, the bonds of the Evil One."

48. 'And again, O king, as the sovran overlord travels through the whole world even to its ocean boundary, examining into the evil and the good; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, examine himself day by day as to his acts and words and thoughts, saying to himself: "How may I pass the day blameless in these three directions?" This, O king, is the third quality of the sovran overlord he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the most excellent Ekuttara Nikaya:

"With constant care should the recluse
Himself examine day by day--
'As days and nights pass quickly by
How have they found me? and how left?"'

49. 'And again, O king, as the sovran overlord is completely provided with protection, both within and without; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, keep self-possession as his door-keeper for a protection against all evil, subjective and objective. This, O king, is the fourth quality of the sovran overlord he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods:

"With self-possession as his door-keeper, O brethren, the disciple of the noble ones puts away evil and devotes himself to goodness, puts away what is matter of offence and devotes himself to blamelessness, preserves himself in purity of life ."'

CHAPTER 4

31. THE WHITE ANT.

1. 'Venerable Nagasena, that quality of the white ant which you say he ought to have, which is it?'

'Just, O king, as the white ant goes on with his work only when he has made a roof over himself, and covered himself up; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, on his round for alms, cover up his mind with righteousness and self-restraint as a roof. For in so doing, O king, will he have passed beyond all fear. This, O king, is the one quality of the white ant he ought to have. [393] For it was said, O king, by Upasena Vangantaputta, the Elder:

"The devotee who covers up his mind,
Under the sheltering roof of righteousness
And self-control, untarnished by the world
Remains, and is set free from every fear."'

32. THE CAT.

2. 'Venerable Nagasena, those two qualities of the cat you say he ought to have, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the cat, in frequenting caves and holes and the interiors of storied dwellings, does so only in the search after rats; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, whether he have gone to the village or to the woods or to the foot of trees or into an empty house, be continually and always zealous in the search after that which is his food, namely self-possession. This is the first quality of the cat he ought to have.

3. 'And again, O king, as the cat in pursuing its prey always crouches down; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, continue conscious of the origin and end of those five groups of the characteristic marks of individuality which arise out of clinging to existence, thinking to himself: "Such is form, such is its origin, such its end. Such is sensation, such is its origin, such its end. Such are ideas, such is their origin, such their end. Such are the mental potentialities (the Confections, Samkhara), such is their origin, such their end. Such is self-consciousness, such is its origin, such its end." This, O king, is the second quality of the cat he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods:

"Seek not rebirths afar in future states.
Pray, what could heaven itself advantage you!
Now, in this present world, and in the state
In which you find yourselves, be conquerors!"'

33. THE RAT.

4. 'Venerable Nagasena, that one quality of the rat you say he ought to take, which is it?'

'Just, O king, as the rat, wandering about backwards and forwards, is always smelling after food; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be ever in his wanderings to and fro, bent upon thought. This is the quality of the rat he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Upasena Vanganta-putta, the Elder:

"Ever alert and calm, the man of insight,
Esteeming wisdom as the best of all things,
Keeps himself independent of all wants and cares."'

34. THE SCORPION.

5. 'Venerable Nagasena, that one quality of the scorpion you say he ought to take, which is it?'

'Just, O king, as the scorpion, whose tail is its weapon, keeps its tail erect as it wanders about; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, have knowledge as his weapon, and dwell with his weapon, knowledge, always drawn. This, O king, is the quality of the scorpion he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Upasena Vanganta-putta, the Elder:

"With his sword of knowledge drawn, the man of insight
Should ever be unconquerable in the fight,
Set free from every fear."'

35. THE MUNGOOSE.

6. 'Venerable Nagasena, that one quality of the mungoose you say he ought to take, which is it?'

'Just, O king, as the mungoose, when attacking a snake, only does so when he has covered his body with an antidote; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, when going into the world where anger and hatred are rife, which is under the sway of quarrels, strife, disputes, and enmities, ever keep his mind anointed with the antidote of love. This, O king, is the quality of the mungoose he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Sariputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith:

"Therefore should love be felt for one's own kin,
And so for strangers too, and the whole wide world
Should be pervaded with a heart of love--
This is the doctrine of the Buddhas all."'

36. THE OLD MALE JACKAL.

7. 'Venerable Nagasena, the two qualities of the old male jackal you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the old male jackal, whatever kind of food he finds, feels no disgust, but eats of it as much as he requires; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, eat without disgust such food as he receives with the sole object of keeping himself alive. This, O king, is the first quality of the old male jackal he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Maha Kassapa, the Elder:

Leaving my dwelling-place, I entered once
Upon my round for alms, the village street.
A leper there I saw eating his meal,
And, as was meet, deliberately, in turn,
I stood beside him too that he might give a gift.
He, with his hand all leprous and diseased,
Put in my bowl--'twas all he had to give--
A ball of rice; and as he placed it there
A finger, mortifying, broke and fell.
Seated behind a wall, that ball of food
I ate, and neither when I ate it, nay,
Nor afterwards, did any loathing thought
Arise within my breast."

8. 'And again, O king, as the old male jackal, when he gets any food, does not stop to examine it; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, never stop to find out whether food given to him is bitter or sweet, well-flavoured or ill--just as it is should he be satisfied with it. This, O king, is the second quality of the old male jackal he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Upasena Vanganta-putta, the Elder:

"Bitter food too should he enjoy,
Nor long for what is sweet to taste.
The mind disturbed by lust of taste
Can ne'er enjoy the ecstacies
Of meditations high. The man content
With anything that's given--in him alone
Is Samanaship made perfect ."'

37. THE DEER.

9. 'Venerable Nagasena, those three qualities of the deer you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the deer frequents the forest by day, and spends the night in the open air; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, pass the day in the forest, and the night under the open sky. This, O king, is the first quality of the deer he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the exposition called the Lomahamsana Pariyaya:

"And I, Sariputta, when the nights are cold and wintry, at the time of the eights (the Ashtaka festivals), when the snow is falling, at such times did I pass the night under the open sky, and the day in the woods. And in the last month of the hot season I spent the day under the open sky, and the night in the woods."

10. 'And again, O king, as the deer, when a javelin or an arrow is falling upon him, dodges it and escapes, not allowing his body to remain in its way; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, when evil inclinations fall upon him, dodge them, and escape, placing not his mind in their way. This, O king, is the second quality of the deer he ought to have.

11. 'And again, O king, as the deer on catching sight of men escapes this way or that, that they may not see him; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, when he sees men of quarrelsome habits, given to contentions and strife and disputes, wicked men and inert, fond of society--then should he escape hither or thither that neither should they see him, nor he them. This, O king, is the third quality of the deer he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Sariputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith:

"Let not the man with evil in his heart,
Inert, bereft of zeal, of wicked life,
Knowing but little of the sacred words--
Let not that man, at any time or place,
Be my companion, or associate with me."

38. THE BULL.

12. 'Venerable Nagasena, those four qualities of the bull you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the bull never forsakes its own stall; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, never abandon his own body on the ground that its nature is only the decomposition, the wearing away, the dissolution, the destruction of that which is impermanent. This, O king, is the first quality of the bull he ought to have.

13. 'And again, O king, as the bull, when he has once taken the yoke upon him, bears that yoke through all conditions of case or of pain; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, when he has once taken upon himself the life of a recluse, keep to it, in happiness or in woe, to the end of his life, to his latest breath. This, O king, is the second quality of the bull he ought to have.

14. 'And again, O king, as the bull drinks water with never satiated desire; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, receive the instruction of his teachers and masters with a desire, love, and pleasure that is never satiated. This, O king, is the third quality of the bull he ought to have.

15. 'And again, O king, as the bull equally bears the yoke whoever puts it on him; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, accept with bowed head the admonitions and exhortations of the elders, of the brethren of

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junior or of middle standing, and of the believing laity alike. This, O king, is the fourth quality of the bull he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Sariputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith:

"A novice, seven years of age, a boy
Only to-day received into our ranks,
He too may teach me, and with bended head,
His admonitions will I gladly bear.
Time after time, where'er I meet him, still
My strong approval, and my love, will I
Lavish upon him--if he be but good,--
And yield the honoured place of teacher to him."'

39. THE BOAR.

16. 'Venerable Nagasena, those two qualities of the boar you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the boar, in the sultry and scorching weather of the hot season, resorts to the water; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, when his heart is distracted and ready to fall, all in a whirl, inflamed by anger, resort to the cool, ambrosial, sweet water of the meditation on love. This, O king, is the first quality of the boar he ought to have.

17. 'And again, O king, as the boar, resorting to muddy water, digs into the swamp with his snout, and making a trough for himself, lies down therein; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, put his body away in his mind, and lie down in the midst of contemplation. This, O king, is the second quality of the boar he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Pindola Bharadvaga, the Elder:

"Alone, with no one near, the man of insight,
Searching into and finding out the nature
Of this body, can lay him down to rest
On the sweet bed of contemplations deep."'

40. THE ELEPHANT.

18. 'Venerable Nagasena, the five qualities of the elephant he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the elephant, as he walks about, crushes the earth; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, mastering the nature of the body, crush out all evil. This, O king, is the first quality of the elephant he ought to have.

19. 'And again, O king, as the elephant turns his whole body when he looks, always looking straight before him, not glancing round this way and that; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, turn his whole body when he looks, always looking straight before, not glancing round this way and that, not looking aloft, not looking at his feet, but keeping his eyes fixed about a yoke's length in front of him. This, O king, is the second quality of the elephant he ought to have.

20. 'And again, O king, as the elephant has no permanent lair, even in seeking his food does not always frequent the same spot, has no fixed place of abode; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, have no permanent resting-place, but without a home should go his rounds for alms. Full of insight, wherever he sees a pleasant suitable agreeable place, whether in a hut or at the foot of a tree, or in a cave, or on a mountain side, there should he dwell, not taking up a fixed abode. This, O king, is the third quality of the elephant he ought to have.

21. 'And again, O king, as the elephant revels in the water, plunging into glorious lotus ponds full of clear pure cool water, and covered-over with lotuses yellow, and blue, and red, and white, sporting there in the games in which the mighty beast delights; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, plunge into the glorious pond of self-possession, covered with the flowers of emancipation, filled with the delicious waters of the pure and stainless clear and limpid Truth; there should he by knowledge shake off and drive away the Samkharas, there should he revel in the sport that is the delight of the recluse. This, O king, is the fourth quality of the elephant he ought to have.

22. 'And again, O king, as the elephant lifts up his foot with care, and puts it down with care; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be mindful and self-possessed in lifting up his feet and in putting them down, in going or returning, in stretching his arm or drawing it back,--wherever he is he should be mindful and self-possessed. This, O king, is the fifth quality of the elephant he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the most excellent Samyutta Nikaya:

"Good is restraint in action,
And good restraint in speech,
Good is restraint in mind,
Restraint throughout is good.
Well guarded is he said to be
Who is ashamed of sin, in all things self-controlled."'

CHAPTER 5

41. THE LION.

1. 'Venerable Nagasena, those seven qualities of the lion you say he ought to have, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the lion is of a clear, stainless, and pure light yellow colour; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be clear, stainless, and pure light in mind, free from anger and moroseness. This, O king, is the first quality of the lion he ought to have.

2. 'And again, O king, as the lion has four paws as his means of travelling, and is rapid in his gait; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, move along the four paths of saintship. This, O king, is the second quality of the lion he ought to have.

3. 'And again, O king, as the lion has a beautiful coat of hair, pleasant to behold; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, have a beautiful coat of righteousness, pleasant to behold. This, O king, is the third quality of the lion he ought to have.

4. 'And again, O king, as the lion, even were his life to cease, bows down before no man; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, even though he should cease to obtain all the requisites of a recluse--food and clothing and lodging and medicine for the sick--never bow down to any man. This is the fourth quality of the lion he ought to have.

5. 'And again, O king, as the lion eats regularly on, wheresoever his prey falls there does he eat whatever he requires, and seeks not out the best morsels of flesh; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, stand for alms at each hut in regular order, not seeking out the families where he would be given better food, not missing out any house upon his rounds, he should not pick and choose in eating, wheresoever he may have received a mouthful of rice there should he eat it, seeking not for the best morsels. This, O king, is the fifth quality of the lion he ought to have.

6. 'And again, O king, as the lion is not a storer up of what he eats, and when he has once eaten of his prey returns not again to it; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, never be a storer up of food. This is the sixth quality of the lion he ought to have.

7. 'And again, O king, as the lion, even if he gets no food, is not alarmed, and if he does, then he eats it without craving, without faintness, without sinking; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be not alarmed even if he gets no food, and if he does then should he eat it without craving, without faintness, without sinking, conscious of the danger in the lust of taste, in full knowledge of the right outcome of eating (the maintenance of life for the pursuit of holiness). This, O king, is the seventh quality of the lion he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the most excellent Samyutta Nikaya, when he was exalting Maha Kassapa, the Elder:

"This Kassapa, O Bhikshus, is content with such food as he receives, he magnifies the being content with whatever food one gets, he is not guilty of anything improper or unbecoming for the sake of an alms, if he receive none, yet is he not alarmed, and if he does then does he eat it without craving, without faintness, without sinking, conscious of danger, with full knowledge of the right object in taking food."'

42. THE KAKRAVAKA BIRD.

8. 'Venerable Nagasena, those three qualities of the Kakravaka bird you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the Kakravaka bird never forsakes his mate even to the close of his life; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, never, even to the close of his life, give up the habit of thought. This, O king, is the first quality of the Kakravaka bird he ought to have.

9. 'And again, O king, as the Kakravaka bird feeds on the Sevala and Panaka (water-plants so called), and derives satisfaction therefrom, and being so satisfied, neither his strength nor his beauty grows less; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, find satisfaction in whatever he receives. And if he does so find satisfaction, O king, then does he decrease neither in power of meditation, nor in wisdom, nor in emancipation, nor in the insight that arises from the consciousness of emancipation, nor in any kind of goodness. This, O king, is the second quality of the Kakravaka bird he ought to have.

10. 'And again, O king, as the Kakravaka bird does no harm to living things; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, laying aside the cudgel, laying aside the sword, be full of modesty and pity, compassionate and kind to all creatures that have life. This, O king, is the third quality of the Kakravaka bird he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the Kakravaka Gataka:

"The man who kills not, nor destroys,
Oppresses not, nor causes other men
To take from men that which is rightly theirs--
And this from kindness to all things that live--
No wrath with any man disturbs his peace."'

43. THE PENAHIKA BIRD.

11. 'Venerable Nagasena, those two qualities of the Penahika bird you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the Penahika bird, through jealousy of her mate, refuses to nourish her young; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be jealous of any evil dispositions which arise within him, and putting them by his mindfulness into the excellent crevice of self-control, should dwell at the door of his mind in the constant practice of self-possession in all things relating to his body. This, O king, is the first quality of the Penahika bird he ought to have.

12. 'And again, O king, as the Penahika bird spends the day in the forest in search of food, but at night time resorts for protection to the flock of birds to which she belongs; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, who has for a time resorted to solitary places for the purpose of emancipation from the ten Fetters, and found no satisfaction therein, repair back to the Order for protection against the danger of blame, and dwell under the shelter of the Order. This, O king, is the second quality of the Penahika bird he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Brahma Sahampati in the presence of the Blessed One:

"Seek lodgings distant from the haunts of men,
Live there in freedom from the bonds of sin;
But he who finds no peace in solitude
May with the Order dwell, guarded in heart,
Mindful and self-possessed."'

44. THE HOUSE-PIGEON.

13. 'Venerable Nagasena, that one quality of the house-pigeon you say he ought to take, which is it?'

'Just, O king, as the house-pigeon, while dwelling in the abode of others, of men, does not become enamoured of anything that belongs to them, but remains neutral, taking notice only of things pertaining to birds; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, while resorting to other people's houses, never become enamoured of women or of men, of beds, or chairs, or garments, or jewelry, or things for use or enjoyment, or various forms of food that are there, but remain neutral always, addicted only to such ideas as become a recluse. This, O king, is the quality of the house-pigeon he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the Kulla Nanada Gataka:

"Frequenting people's homes for food or drink,
In food and drink alike be temperate,
And let not beauty's form attract thy thoughts " '

45. THE OWL.

14. 'Venerable Nagasena, those two qualities of the owl you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the owl, being at enmity with the crows, goes at night where the flocks of crows are, and kills numbers of them; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be at enmity with ignorance; seated alone and in secret, he should crush it out of existence, cut it off at the root. This, O king, is the first quality of the owl he ought to have.

15. 'And again, O king, as the owl is a solitary bird; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be devoted to solitude, take delight in solitude. This, O king, is the second quality of the owl he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the most excellent Samyutta Nikaya:

"Let the Bhikshu, my brethren, be devoted to solitude, take delight in solitude, to the end that he may realise what sorrow really is, and what the origin of sorrow really is, and what the cessation of sorrow really is, and what the path that leads to the cessation of sorrow really is."'

46. THE INDIAN CRANE.

16. 'Venerable Nagasena, that one quality of the Indian crane you say he ought to take, which is it?'

'Just, O king, as the Indian crane by its cry makes known to other folk the good fortune or disaster that is about to happen to them; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, make known to others by his preaching of the Dhamma how dreadful a state is purgatory, and how blissful is Nirvana. This, O king, is the quality of the Indian crane he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Pindola Bhara-dvaga, the elder:

"Two matters there are that the earnest recluse
Should ever to others be making clear--
How fearful, how terrible, purgatory is;
How great and how deep is Nirvana's bliss."'

47. THE BAT.

17. 'Venerable Nagasena, those two qualities of the bat you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the bat, though it enters into men's dwelling-places, and flies about in them, soon goes out from them, delays not therein; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, when he has entered the village for alms, and gone on his rounds in regular order, depart quickly with the alms he has received, and delay not therein. This, O king, is the first quality of the bat he ought to have.

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18. 'And again, O king, as the bat, while frequenting other folk's houses, does them no harm; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, when visiting the houses of the laity, never give them cause for vexation by persistent requests, or by pointing out what he wants, or by wrong demeanour, or by chattering, or by being indifferent to their prosperity or adversity; he should never take them away from their chief business occupations, but desire their success in all things. This, O king, is the second quality of the bat he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the Lakkhana Suttanta:

"'Oh! How may others never suffer loss
Or diminution, whether in their faith,p. 347
Or righteousness, or knowledge of the word,
Or understanding, or self-sacrifice,
Or in religion, or in all good things,
Or in their stores of wealth, or corn, or lands,
Or tenements, or in their sons, or wives,
Or in their flocks and herds, or in their friends,
And relatives, and kinsmen, or in strength,
In beauty, and in joy'--'tis thus he thinks--
Longing for other men's advantage and success!'"

48. THE LEECH.

19. 'Venerable Nagasena, that one quality of the leech which you say he ought to take, which is it?'

'Just, O king, as the leech, wheresoever it is put on, there does it adhere firmly, drinking the blood; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, on whatsoever subject for meditation he may fix his mind, call that subject firmly up before him in respect of its colour, and shape, and position, and extension, and boundaries, and nature, and characteristic marks, drinking the delicious draught of the ambrosia of emancipation. This, O king, is the quality of the leech he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Anuruddha, the Elder:

"With heart made pure, in meditation firm,
Drink deep of freedom's never-failing draught.'"

49. THE SERPENT.

20. 'Venerable Nagasena, those three qualities of the serpent you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the serpent progresses by means of its belly; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, progress by means of his knowledge. For the heart of the recluse, O king, who progresses by knowledge, continues in perception (of the four Truths), that which is inconsistent with the characteristics of a recluse does he put away, that which is consistent with them does he develop in himself. This, O king, is the first quality of the serpent he ought to have.

21. 'And again, O king, just as the serpent as it moves avoids drugs; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, go on his way avoiding unrighteousness. This, O king, is the second quality of the serpent he ought to have.

22. 'And again, O king, as the serpent on catching sight of men is anxious, and pained, and seeks a way of escape; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, when he finds himself thinking wrong thoughts, or discontent arising within him, be anxious and pained, and seek a way of escape, saying to himself: "This day must I have spent in carelessness, and never shall I be able to recover it." This, O king, is the third quality of the serpent he ought to have. For it is a saying, O king, of the two fairy birds in the Bhallatiya Gataka:

"'Tis one night only, hunter, that we've spent
Away from home, and that against our will,
And thinking all night through of one another,
Yet that one night is it that we bemoan,
And grieve; for nevermore can it return!'"

50. THE ROCK-SNAKE.

23. 'Venerable Nagasena, that one quality of the rock-snake that you say he ought to take, which is it?'

'Just, O king, as the rock-snake, immense as is its length of body, will go many days with empty belly, and, wretched get no food to fill its stomach, yet in spite of that it will just manage to keep itself alive; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, though he be addicted to obtaining his food by alms, dependent on the gifts that others may give, awaiting offers, abstaining from taking anything himself, and find it difficult to get his belly's-full, yet should he, if he seek after the highest good, even though he receive not so much as four or five mouthfuls to eat, fill up the void by water. This, O king, is the quality of the rock-snake he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Sariputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith:

"Whether it be dry food or wet he eats,
Let him to full repletion never eat.
The good recluse goes forth in emptiness,
And keeps to moderation in his food.
If but four mouthfuls or but five he get,
Let him drink water. For what cares the man
With mind on Arahatship fixed for ease!'"

CHAPTER 6

51. THE ROAD SPIDER.

1. 'Venerable Nagasena, that one quality of the road spider you say he ought to have, which is it?'

'Just, O king, as the road spider weaves the curtain of its net on the road, and whatsoever is caught therein, whether worm, or fly, or beetle, that does he catch and eat; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, spread the curtain of the net of self-possession over the six doors (of his six senses), and if any of the flies of evil are caught therein, there should he seize them. This, O king, is the quality of the road spider he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Anuruddha, the Elder:

"His heart should he shut in, at its six doors,
By self-possession, best and chief of gifts,
Should any evil thoughts be caught within,
Them by the sword of insight should he slay.'"

52. THE CHILD AT THE BREAST.

2. 'Venerable Nagasena, that one quality of the child at the breast you say he ought to take, which is it?'

'Just, O king, as the child at the breast sticks to its own advantage, and if it wants milk, cries for it; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, adhere to his own good, and in everything--in teaching, in asking and answering questions, in the conduct of life, in the habit of solitude, in association with his teachers, in the cultivation of the friendship of the good--should he act with knowledge of the Truth. This, O king, is the quality of the child at the breast he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the Digha Nikaya, in the Suttanta of the Great Decease:

"Be zealous, rather, I beseech you, Ananda, in your own behalf. Devote yourselves to your own good. Be earnest, all aglow, intent on your own good!'"

53. THE LAND TORTOISE.

3. 'Venerable Nagasena, that one quality of the land tortoise which you say he ought to take, which is it?'

'Just, O king, as the land tortoise, being afraid of the water, frequents places far from it, and by that habit of avoiding water its length of life is kept undiminished; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, seeing the danger in the want of earnestness, be mindful of the advantages that distinguish earnestness. For by that perception of danger in carelessness, his Samanaship fades not away, but rather does he go forward to Nirvana itself. This, O king, is the quality of the land tortoise he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the Dhammapada:

"The Bhikshu who in earnestness delights,
Who sees the danger of indifference,
Shall fall not from his high estate away,
But in the presence of Nirvana dwell.'"

54. THE MOUNTAIN HEIGHT.

4. 'Venerable Nagasena, those five qualities of the mountain height you say he ought to have, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the mountain height is a hiding-place for the wicked; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, keep secret the offences and failings of others, revealing them not. This, O king, is the first of the qualities of the mountain height he ought to have.

5. 'And again, O king, just as the mountain height is void of many people; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be void of lust, angers, follies, and pride, of the net of (wrong) views, and of all evil dispositions. This, O king, is the second quality of the mountain height he ought to have.

6. 'And again, O king, just as the mountain height is a lonely spot, free from crowding of men; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be given to solitude, and free from evil, unworthy qualities, from those that are not noble. This, O king, is the third quality of the mountain height he ought to have.

7. 'And again, O king, just as the mountain height is clean and pure; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be good and pure, happy, and without self-righteousness. This, O king, is the fourth quality of the mountain height he ought to have.

8. 'And again, O king, just as the mountain height is the resort of the noble ones; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be sought after by the noble ones. This, O king, is the fifth quality of the mountain height he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the most excellent Samyutta Nikaya:

"With solitary men, those noble ones,
Whose minds, on Arahatship strictly bent,
Rise easily to contemplation's heights,
Stedfast in zeal and wise in holy writ--
With such should he resort, with such commune.'"

55. THE TREE.

9. 'Venerable Nagasena, those three qualities of the tree you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the tree bears fruits and flowers; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, bear the flowers of emancipation and the fruits of Samanaship. This, O king, is the first quality of the tree he ought to have.

10. 'And again, O king, as the tree casts its shadow over the men who come to it, and stay beneath it; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, receive with kindness, both as regards their bodily wants and their religious necessities, those that wait upon him, and remain near by him. This, O king, is the second quality of the tree he ought to have.

11. 'And again, O king, just as the tree makes no kind of distinction in the shadow it affords; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, make no distinctions between all men, but nourish an equal love to those who rob, or hurt, or bear enmity to him, and to those who are like unto himself, This, O king, is the third quality of the tree he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Sariputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith:

"Devadatta, who tried to murder him;
Angulimala, highway robber chief;
The elephant set loose to take his life;
And Rahula, the good, his only son--
The sage is equal-minded to them all.'"

56. THE RAIN.

12. 'Venerable Nagasena, those five qualities of the rain you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the rain lays any dust that arises; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, lay the dust and dirt of any evil dispositions that may arise within him. This, O king, is the first quality of the rain he ought to have.

13. 'And again, O king, just as the rain allays the heat of the ground; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, soothe the whole world of gods and men, with the feeling of his love. This, O king, is the second quality of the rain he ought to have.

14. 'And again, O king, as the rain makes all kinds of vegetation to grow; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, cause faith to spring up in all beings, and make that seed of faith grow up into the three Attainments, not only the lesser attainments of glorious rebirths in heaven or on earth, but also the attainment of the highest good, the bliss of Arahatship 1. This, O king, is the third quality of the rain he ought to have.

15. 'And again, O king, just as the rain-cloud, rising up in the hot season, affords protection to the grass, and trees, and creepers, and shrubs, and medicinal herbs, and to the monarchs of the woods that grow on the surface of the earth; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, cultivating the habit of thoughtfulness, afford protection by his thoughtfulness to his condition of Samanaship, for in thoughtfulness is it that all good qualities have their root. This, O king, is the fourth quality of the rain he ought to have.

16. 'And again, O king, as the rain when it pours down fills the rivers, and reservoirs, and artificial lakes, the caves, and chasms, and ponds, and holes, and wells, with water; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, pour down the rain of the Dhamma--according to the texts handed down by tradition, and so fill to satisfaction the mind of those who are longing for instruction. This, O king, is the fifth quality of the rain he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Sariputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith:

"When the Great Sage perceives a man afar,
Were it a hundred or a thousand leagues,
Ripe for enlightenment, straightway he goes
And guides him gently to the path of Truth.'"

57. THE DIAMOND.

17. 'Venerable Nagasena, those three qualities of the diamond you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the diamond is pure throughout; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be perfectly pure in his means of livelihood. This, O king, is the first quality of the diamond he ought to have.

18. 'And again, O king, as the diamond cannot be alloyed with any other substance; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, never mix with wicked men as friends. This, O king, is the second quality of the diamond he ought to have.

19. 'And again, O king, just as the diamond is set together with the most costly gems; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, associate with those of the higher excellence, with men who have entered the first or the second or the third stage of the Noble Path, with the jewel treasures of the Arahats, of the recluses, of the threefold Wisdom, or of the sixfold Insight. This, O king, is the third quality of the diamond he ought to have. For it was said, O

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king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the Sutta Nipata:

"Let the pure associate with the pure,
Ever in recollection firm;
Dwelling harmoniously wise
Thus shall ye put an end to griefs.'"

58. THE HUNTER.

20. 'Venerable Nagasena, those four qualities of the hunter you say he ought to have, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the hunter is indefatigable, so also, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be indefatigable. This, O king, is the first quality of the hunter he ought to have.

21. 'And again, O king, just as the hunter keeps his attention fixed on the deer; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, keep his attention fixed on the particular object which is the subject of his thought. This, O king, is the second quality of the hunter he ought to have.

22. 'And again, O king, just as the hunter knows the right time for his work; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, know the right time for retirement, saying to himself: "Now is the right time to retire. Now is the right time to come out of retirement." This, O king, is the third quality of the hunter he ought to have.

23. 'And again, O king, just as the hunter on catching sight of a deer experiences joy at the thought: "Him shall I get!" just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, rejoice at the sight of an object for contemplation, and experience joy at the thought: "Thereby shall I grasp the specific idea of which I am in search." This, O king, is the fourth quality of the hunter he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Mogharaga, the Elder:

"The recluse who, with mind on Nirvana bent,
Has acquired an object his thoughts to guide,
Should be filled with exceeding joy at the hope:
'By this my uttermost aim shall I gain.'"'

59. THE FISHERMAN.

24. 'Venerable Nagasena, those two qualities of the fisherman you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the fisherman draws up the fish on his hook; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, draw up by his knowledge, and that to the uttermost, the fruits of Samanaship. This, O king, is the first quality of the fisherman he ought to have.

25. 'And again, O king, just as the fisherman by the sacrifice of a very little comes to great gain; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, renounce the mean baits of worldly things; then by that renunciation will he gain the mighty fruits of Samanaship. This, O king, is the second quality of the fisherman he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Rahula, the Elder:

"Renouncing the baits of the world he shall gain
The state that is void of lust, anger, and sin,--
Those conditions of sentient life--and be free,
Free from the cravings that mortals feel,
And the fruits of the stages of th' Excellent Way
And the six modes of Insight shall all be his."'

60. THE CARPENTER.

26. 'Venerable Nagasena, those two qualities of the carpenter he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the carpenter saws off the wood along the line of the blackened string (he has put round it to guide him); just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, standing on righteousness as a basis, and holding in the hand of faith the saw of knowledge, cut off his evil dispositions according to the doctrine laid down by the Conquerors. This, O king, is the first quality of the carpenter he ought to have.

27. 'And again, O king, just as the carpenter, discarding the soft parts of the wood, takes the hard parts; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, forsaking the path of the discussion of useless theses, to wit:--the everlasting life theory--the let-us-eat-and-drink-for-tomorrow-we-die theory--the theory that the soul and the body are one and the same--that the soul is one thing, the body another--that all teachings are alike excellent--that what is not done is of no avail--that men's actions are of no importance--that holiness of life does not matter--that on the destruction of beings nine new sorts of beings appear--that the constituent elements of being are eternal--that he who commits an act experiences the result thereof--that one acts and another experiences the result of this action--and other such theories of Karma or wrong views on the result of actions--forsaking, I say, all such theses, paths which lead to heresy, he should learn what is the real nature of those constituent elements of which each individuality is, for the short term of its individuality, put together, and so reach forward to that state which is void of lusts, of malice, and of dullness, in which the excitements of individuality are known no more, and which is therefore designated the Void Supreme.

This, O king, is the second quality of the carpenter he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the Sutta Nipata:

"Get rid of filth! Put aside rubbish from you!
Winnow away the chaff, the men who hold
Those who are not so, as true Samanas!
Get rid of those who harbour evil thoughts,
Who follow after evil modes of life!
Thoughtful yourselves, and pure, with those resort,
With those associate, who are pure themselves!"'

CHAPTER 7

61. THE WATERPOT.

1. 'Venerable Nagasena, that one quality of the waterpot you say he ought to take, which is it?'

'Just, O king, as the waterpot when it is full gives forth no sound; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, even when he has reached the summit of Samanaship, and knows all tradition and learning and interpretation, yet should give forth no sound, not pride himself thereon, not show himself puffed up, but putting away pride and self-righteousness, should be straightforward, not garrulous of himself, neither deprecating others. This, O king, is the quality of the waterpot he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the Sutta Nipata:

"What is not full, that is the thing that sounds,
That which is full is noiseless and at rest;
The fool is like an empty waterpot,
The wise man like a deep pool, clear and full.'"

62. BLACK IRON.

2. 'Venerable Nagasena, those two qualities of black iron you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as black iron even when beaten out carries weight; just so, O king, should the mind of the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be able, by his habit of thoughtfulness, to carry heavy burdens. This, O king, is the first quality of black iron he ought to have.

3. 'And again, O king, as black iron does not vomit up the water it has once soaked in; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, never give up the faith he has once felt in the greatness of the Blessed One, the Supreme Buddha, in the perfection of his Doctrine, in the excellence of the Order--never give up the knowledge he has once acquired of the impermanence of forms, or of sensations, or of ideas, or of qualities, or of modes of consciousness. This, O king, is the second quality of black iron he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods:

"That man who is in insight purified,
Trained in the doctrine of the Noble Ones,
Grasping distinctions as they really are,
What need hath he to tremble? Not in part
Only, but in its full extent, shall he
To the clear heights of Arahatship attain."'

63. THE SUNSHADE.

4. 'Venerable Nagasena, those three qualities of the sunshade you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the sunshade goes along over one's head; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be of a character above all evil dispositions. This, O king, is the first quality of the sunshade he ought to have.

5. 'And again, O king, just as the sunshade is held over the head by a handle; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, have thoughtfulness as his handle. This, O king, is the second quality of the sunshade he ought to have.

6. 'And again, O king, as the sunshade wards off winds and heat and storms of rain; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, ward off the empty winds of the opinions of the numerous Samanas and Brahmans who hold forth their various and divergent nostrums, ward off the heat of the threefold fire (of lust, malice, and dullness), and ward off the rains of evil dispositions. This, O king, is the third quality of the sunshade he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Sariputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith:

"As a broad sunshade spreading far and firm,
Without a hole from rim to rim, wards off
The burning heat, and the god's mighty rain;
So doth the Buddha's son, all pure within,
Bearing the sunshade brave of righteousness,
Ward off the rain of evil tendencies,
And the dread heat of all the threefold fire."'

64. THE RICE FIELD.

7. 'Venerable Nagasena, those three qualities of the rice field you say he ought to have, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the rice field is provided with canals for irrigation; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be provided with the lists of the various duties incumbent on the righteous man--the canals that bring the water to the rice fields of the Buddha's doctrine. This, O king, is the first of the qualities of the rice field he ought to have.

8. 'And again, O king, just as the rice field is provided with embankments whereby men keep the water in, and so bring the crop to maturity; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be provided with the embankments of righteousness of life, and shame at sin, and thereby keep his Samanaship intact, and gain the fruits thereof. This, O king, is the second quality of the rice field he ought to have.

9. 'And again, O king, just as the rice field is fruitful, filling the heart of the farmer with joy, so that if the seed be little the crop is great, and if the seed be much the crop is greater still; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be fruitful to the bearing of much good fruit, making the hearts of those who support him to rejoice, so that where little is given the result is great, and where much is given the result is greater still.

This, O king, is the third quality of the rice field he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Upali, the Elder, he who carried the rules of the Order in his head:

"Be fruitful as a rice field, yea, be rich
In all good works! For that is the best field
Which yieldeth to the sower the goodliest crop."'

65. MEDICINE.

10. 'Venerable Nagasena, those two qualities of medicine you say he ought. to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as vermin are not produced in medicine; just so, O king, should no evil dispositions be allowed to arise in the mind of the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort. This, O king, is the first of the qualities of medicine he ought to have.

11. 'And again, O king, just as medicine is an antidote to whatever poison may have been imparted by bites or contact, by eating or by drinking in any way; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, counteract in himself the poison of lusts, and malice, and dullness, and pride, and wrong belief, This, O king, is the second of the qualities of medicine he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all the gods:

"The strenuous recluse who longs to see
Into the nature, and the meaning true,
Of the constituent elements of things,
Must as it were an antidote become,
To the destruction of all evil thoughts."'

66. FOOD.

12. 'Venerable Nagasena, those three qualities of food you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as food is the support of all beings, just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be a handle, as it were, by which all beings may open the door of the noble eightfold path. This, O king, is the first of the qualities of food he ought to have.

13. 'And again, O king, just as food increases people's strength; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, grow in increase of virtue. This, O king, is the second of the qualities of food he ought to have.

14. 'And again, O king, just as food is a thing desired of all beings; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be desired of all the world. This, O king, is the third of the qualities of food he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Maha Moggallana, the Elder:

"By self-restraint, training, and righteousness,
By duty done, and by attainments reached,
The strenuous recluse should make himself
To all men in the world a thing desired" '

67. THE ARCHER.

15. 'Venerable Nagasena, those four qualities of the archer you say he ought to take, which are they?'

Just, O king, as the archer, when discharging his arrows, plants both his feet firmly on the ground, keeps his knees straight, hangs his quiver against the narrow part of his waist, keeps his whole body steady, places both his hands firmly on the point of junction (of the arrow on the bow), closes his fists, leaves no openings between his fingers, stretches out his neck, shuts his mouth and one eye, and takes aim in joy at the thought: "I shall hit it;" just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, plant firmly the feet of his zeal on the basis of righteousness, keep intact his kindness and tenderness of heart, fix his mind on subjugation of the senses, keep himself steady by self-restraint and performance of duty, suppress excitement and sense of faintness, by continual thoughtfulness let no openings remain in his mind, reach forward in zeal, shut the six doors (of the five senses and the mind), and continue mindful and thoughtful in joy at the thought: "By the javelin of my knowledge will I slay all my evil dispositions." This, O king, is the first of the qualities of the archer he ought to have.

16 . 'And again, O king, as the archer carries a vice for straightening out bent and crooked and uneven arrows; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, carry about with him, so long as he is in the body, the vice of mindfulness and thoughtfulness, wherewith he may straighten

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out any crooked and bent and shifty ideas. This, O king, is the second of the qualities of the archer he ought to have.

17. 'And again, O king, as the archer practises at a target; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, practise, so long as he is in the body. And how, O king, should he practise? He should practise himself in the idea of the impermanence of all things, of the sorrow inherent in individuality, in the absence in any thing or creature of any abiding principle (any soul); in the ideas of the diseases, sores, pains, aches, and ailments of the body that follow in the train of the necessary conditions of individuality; in the ideas of its dependence on others, and of its certain disintegration; in the ideas of the calamities, dangers, fears, and misfortunes to which it is subject; of its instability under the changing conditions of life; of its liability to dissolution, its want of firmness, its being no true place of refuge, no cave of security, no home of protection, no right object of trust; of its vanity, emptiness, danger, and insubstantiality; of its being the source of pains and subject to punishments and full of impurity, a mongrel compound of conditions and qualities that have no coherence; of its being the food alike of evil and of the Evil One; of its inherent liability to rebirths, old age, disease, and death, to griefs, lamentations, despair; and of the corruption of the cravings and delusions that are never absent from it. This, O king, is the third of the qualities of the archer he ought to have.

18. 'And again, O king, just as the archer practises early and late; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, practise meditation early and late. For it was said, O king, by Sariputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith:

"Early and late the true archer will practise,
'Tis only by never neglecting his art,
That he earns the reward and the wage of his skill.
So the sons of the Buddha, too, practise their art.
It is just by never neglecting in thought
The conditions of life in this bodily frame
That they gain the rich fruits which the Arahats love."'

Here end the two hundred and sixty-two questions of Milinda, as handed down in the book in its six parts, adorned with twenty-two chapters. Now those which have not been handed down are forty-two. Taking together all those that have been, and those that have not been, handed down, there are three hundred plus four, all of which are reckoned as 'Questions of Milinda.'

19. On the conclusion of this putting of puzzles and giving of solutions between the king and the Elder, this great earth, eighty-four thousand leagues in extent, shook six times even to its ocean boundary, the lightnings flashed, the gods poured down a rainfall of flowers from heaven, Maha Brahma himself signified his applause, and there was a mighty roar like the crashing and thundering of a storm in the mighty deep. And on beholding that wonder, the five hundred high ministers of the king, and all the inhabitants of the city of Sagala who were there, and the women of the king's palace, bowed down before Nagasena, the great teacher, raising their clasped hands to their foreheads, and departed thence.

20. But Milinda the king was filled with joy of heart, and all pride was suppressed within him. And he became aware of the virtue that lay in the religion of the Buddhas, he ceased to have any doubt at all in the Three Gems, he tarried no longer in the jungle of heresy, he renounced all obstinacy; and pleased beyond measure at the high qualities of the Elder, at the excellence of his manners befitting a recluse, he become filled with confidence, and free from cravings, and all his pride and self-righteousness left his heart; and like a cobra deprived of its fangs he said: 'Most excellent, most excellent, venerable Nagasena! The puzzles, worthy of a Buddha to solve, have you made clear. There is none like you, amongst all the followers of the Buddha, in the solution of problems, save only Sariputta, the Elder, himself, the Commander of the Faith. Pardon me, venerable Nagasena, my faults. May the venerable Nagasena accept me as a supporter of the faith, as a true convert from to-day onwards as long as life shall last!'

21. Thenceforward the king and his mighty men continued in paying honour to Nagasena. And the king had a Wihara built called 'The Milinda Wihara,' and handed it over to Nagasena, the Elder, and waited upon him and all the multitude of the Arahat Bhikshus of whom he was the chief with the four requisites of the Bhikshu's life. And afterwards, taking delight in the wisdom of the Elder, he handed over his kingdom to his son, and abandoning the household life for the houseless state, grew great in insight, and himself attained to Arahatship! Therefore is it said:

'Wisdom is magnified o'er all the world,
And preaching for the endurance of the Faith.
When they, by wisdom, have put doubt aside
The wise reach upward to that Tranquil State.
That man in whom wisdom is firmly set,
And mindful self-possession never fails,
He is the best of those who gifts receive,
The chief of men to whom distinction's given.
Let therefore able men, in due regard
To their own welfare, honour those who're wise,--
Worthy of honour like the sacred pile
Beneath whose solid dome the bones of the great dead lie.'

[Here ends the book of the puzzles and the solutions of Milinda and Nagasena.]

BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT

English Lives of Buddha
An analysis on the original parts of the tale
Translation: Joseph Jacobs, 1896
Estimated Range of Dating: 200 B.C. - 300 AD

(Barlaam and Josaphat is a piece of literture, among Christians known as a story of martyrs and saints. It seem to tell how an Indian king persecuted the Christian Church in his realm. The identity of the Christian saints Barlaam and Josaphat was recognised by the historian of Portuguese India, Diogo do Couto (1542-1616), as may be seen in his history (Vol. 5. book 6. chap. 2).

The story is based on the life of the Siddharta Gautama Buddha. The reason that Christians have not identified Josaphat as Buddha lies in the fact that the name is wrongly transcribed. The very word Joasaph or Josaphat (Arabic, Yudasatf) is a corruption of Bodisat due to a confusion in which the Arabic letters "B" ب was changed into "Y" ي by adding a little dot. Bodisatva is a common title for the Buddha in the many birth-stories that clustered round the life of the sage.

Barlaam and Josaphat, one of the most popular and widely disseminated of medieval religious romances, which owes its importance and interest to the fact that it is a Christianised version of the story of Gautama Siddharta, the Buddha, with which it agrees not only in broad outline but in essential details.

The Christian story first appears in Greek among the works of John (q.v.) of Damascus, who flourished in the early part of the 8th century, and who, before he adopted the monastic life, had held high office at the court of the caliph Abu Ja'far al-Mansur, as his father Sergius is said to have done before him.

The outline of the Greek story is as follows:—St Thomas had converted the people of India, and after the eremitic life originated in Egypt, many Indians adopted it. But a powerful pagan king arose who hated and persecuted the Christians, especially the ascetics. After this king, Abenner by name, had long been childless, a boy greatly desired and matchless in beauty, was born to him and received the name of Josaphat. The king, in his joy, summons astrologers to predict the child's destiny. They foretell glory and prosperity beyond those of all his predecessors. One sage, most learned of all, assents, but intimates that the scene of this glory will be, not the paternal kingdom, but another infinitely more exalted, and that the child will adopt the faith which his father persecutes.

The boy shows a thoughtful and devout turn. King Abenner, troubled by this and by the remembrance of the prediction, selects a secluded city, in which he causes a splendid palace to be built, where his son should abide, attended only by tutors and servants in the flower of youth and health. No stranger was to have access, and the boy was to be cognizant of none of the sorrows of humanity, such as poverty, disease, old age or death, but only of what was pleasant, so that he should have no inducement to think of the future life; nor was he ever to hear a word of Christ and His religion.

Prince Josaphat grows up in this seclusion, acquires all kinds of knowledge and exhibits singular endowments. At length, on his urgent prayer, the king reluctantly permits him to pass the limits of the palace, after having taken all precautions to keep painful objects out of sight. But through some neglect of orders, the prince one day encounters a leper and a blind man, and asks of his attendants with pain and astonishment what such a spectacle should mean. These, they tell him, are ills to which man is liable. Shall all men have such ills? he asks. And in the end he returns home in deep depression. Another day he falls in with a decrepit old man, and stricken with dismay at the sight, renews his questions and hears for the first time of death. And in how many years, continues the prince, does this fate befall man? and must he expect death as inevitable? Is there no way of escape? No means of eschewing this wretched state of decay? The attendants reply as may be imagined; and Josaphat goes home more pensive than ever, dwelling on the certainty of death and on what shall be thereafter.

At this time Barlaam, an eremite of great sanctity and knowledge, dwelling in the wilderness of Sennaritis, divinely warned, travels to India in the disguise of a merchant, and gains access to Prince Josaphat, to whom he imparts the Christian doctrine and commends the monastic life. Suspicion arises and Barlaam departs. But all attempts to shake the prince's convictions fail. As a last resource the king sends for Theudas, a magician, who removes the prince's attendants and substitutes seductive girls; but all their blandishments are resisted through prayer. The king abandons these efforts and associates his son in the government. The prince uses his power to promote religion, and everything prospers in his hands. At last Abenner himself yields to the faith, and after some years of penitence dies. Josaphat surrenders the kingdom to a friend called Barachias and departs for the wilderness. After two years of painful search and much buffeting by demons he finds Barlaam. The latter dies, and Josaphat survives as a hermit many years. King Barachias afterwards arrives, and transfers the bodies of the two saints to India, where they are the source of many miracles.

Now this story is, there can be no doubt, the story of Buddha. It will suffice to recall the Buddha's education in a secluded palace, his encounter successively with a decrepit old man, with a man in mortal disease and poverty, with a dead body, and, lastly, with a religious recluse radiant with peace and dignity, and his consequent abandonment of his princely state for the ascetic life in the jungle. Some of the correspondences in the two stories are most minute, and even the phraseology, in which some of the details of Josaphat's history are described, almost literally renders the Sanskrit of the Lalita Vistara. More than that, the very word Joasaph or Josaphat (Arabic, Yudasatf) is a corruption of Bodisat due to a confusion between the Arabic letters for Y and B, and Bodisatva is a common title for the Buddha in the many birth-stories that clustered round the life of the sage. There are good reasons for thinking that the Christian story did not originate with John of Damascus, and a strong case has been made out by Zotenberg that it reflects the religious struggles and disputes of the early 7th century in Syria, and that the Greek text was edited by a monk of Saint Saba named John, his version being the source of all later texts and translations. How much older than this the Christian story is, we cannot tell, but it is interesting to remember that it embodies in the form of a speech the "Apology" of the 2nd-century philosopher Aristides. After its appearance among the writings of John of Damascus, it was incorporated with Simeon Metaphrastes' Lives of the Saints (c. 950), and thence gained great vogue, being translated into almost every European language. A famous Icelandic version was made for Prince Hakon early in the 13th century. In the East, too, it took on new life and Catholic missionaries freely used it in their propaganda. Thus a Tagala (Philippine) translation was brought out at Manila in 1712. Besides furnishing the early playwrights with material for miracle plays, it has supplied episodes and apologues to many a writer, including Boccaccio, John Gower and Shakespeare. Rudolph of Ems about 1220 expanded it into a long poem of 16,000 lines, celebrating the victory of Christian over heathen teaching. The heroes of the romance have even attained saintly rank. Their names were inserted by Petrus de Natalibus in his Catalogus Sanctorum (c. 1380), and Cardinal Baronius included them in the official Martyrologium authorized by Sixtus V. (1585-1590) under the date of the 27th of November. In the Orthodox Eastern Church "the holy Josaph, son of Abener, king of India" is allotted the 26th of August. Thus unwittingly, which sounds almost like a satire, Gautama the Buddha has come to official recognition as a saint in two great branches of the Catholic Church, and no one will say that he does not deserve the honour. A church dedicated "Divo Josaphat" [the devine Buddha] in Palermo is probably not the only one of its kind.

In modern times the honour belongs to Laboulaye (1859), Felix Liebrecht in 1860 putting it beyond dispute. Subsequent researches have been carried out by Zotenberg, Max Müller, Rhys Davids, Braunholtz and Joseph Jacobs, who published his Barlaam and Josaphat in 1896. [Encyclop. Brit. 1911]

A romantic tale under this title, giving extracts from the life of Buddha and some of his parables in Christian form, which has led to the adoption of the two titular heroes, as unofficial saints, into the calendar of the Catholic Church, thus making Buddha a saint of the Christian Church. The story is of a heathen king who was warned that a son would come to him and would change his faith in later years. In order to prevent this, the king keeps his son shut up from all knowledge of sin, disease, and death, until, going out one day from his palace, he sees a leper and a funeral, and so learns of the existence of evil. A sage comes to him and teaches him a new faith; he exchanges clothes with the sage and goes away. On his return there is a public disputation between the old and new faiths, in which the latter is victorious; thereupon the prince becomes an ascetic. [Jewish Encyclopedia, 1906]

Barlaam and Josaphat, Outline 1: The Story

[The following abstract gives the main results of the restoration of the original legend made from the various early versions which does not include the Greek version for it is overladen by Christian propagandistic interpolations. This abtract roughly outlines the contents of the story of Barlaam and Josaphat.]

Barlaam and Josaphat, Outline 2: The Parables

[The following series of abstracts give the parables contained in the early versions of the Barlaam, with bibliographical index of their occurrences elsewhere, as well

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as references with previous critical treatment of the separate parables.]

TEXTBODY 1. There lived once a king in India* mighty and powerful, who knew not the true faith, and persecuted grievously its adherents. Now he had no son to follow him, and this grieved him sorely. One night his chief wife dreamed that a huge white elephant came down to her from the air, but injured her not. The astrologers declared to the king that he would have a son. [The name of the country in Arab, is Shawilabatt, a reminiscence of Kapilavastu which encompassed areas north of the River Ganges and southern Nepal. The dream only in Arabic, but certainly in original, owing to Buddhistic parallels.]

TEXTBODY 2. The King learnt that one of his chief men had been converted to the true faith, and summoned him to him. The Sage told him of the vanity of the world, and besought him to humble his pride: but the King was incensed, and drove the Sage from his kingdom. PARABLE 1 - 2.a. Anger and Passion.

To embrace the true faith it is necessary to send away its enemies. And what are they? Anger and Desire. These may support the truly human being who directs his life according to the Spirit, but for carnal beings they are deadly enemies.

TEXTBODY 3. A son is born to the King, who is named Yudasaf*, and when his horoscope is cast the astrologers declare, that while he would surpass all his forebears in majesty, he would turn to the true faith. So the King built for him a beautiful palace far away from the haunts of men, so that he could never know the common lot of men or learn the nature of death. Meanwhile he continued the strictest persecution of the followers of the faith. [* The original name given in Arabic was Budasaf. The B was changed by faulty reading into Y, due to missing a dot that denoted a B. Budasaf stands for the Sanskrit word Bodhisatva with means in Buddhism "learned person" and is used in the early texts to refer to Gautama Buddha in his 'previous lives' and as a young man in his current life.]

TEXTBODY 4. Meanwhile the Prince grows up and begins to feel the loneliness of his position. He asks his teachers*, and learns the secret of his imprisonment. Thereupon he begs his father to grant him greater freedom: but when he goes out he meets a blind man, and a leper, and an old man, and a corpse, and learns from these the common fate of man. Who shall give him consolation for the fate that awaits him? he asks, and is told that only the hermits of the true faith can allay the fear of death. These have been driven from the country. [* The Teacher's name was not given in the Greek or Arabic manuscripts, but as "Zandani" in the Georgian manscript (Cf. Chandaka, Buddha's Charioteer.). The Arabic version alone adds a Buddhistic trait, as follows: '"An astrologer declares that the boy will forsake the world, unless he is made to shed blood. The lad is put to sacrifice a sheep, but instead, wounds himself in his left hand, and faints."]

TEXTBODY 5. Now the holy hermit Barlaam came at this time to the court of the Prince in the garb of a merchant, and came into his presence under the pretext that he had precious stones to show him. When asked what it is, he tells the tale of: The Holy King and the Hermit, which includes also the parables: The Trumpet of Death and The Four Caskets, The Sower.

PARABLE 2 & 3 - 5.a. The Trumpet of Death and the Four Gaskets.

A king once saw two hermits clad in scanty clothing passing by his state carriage. He leapt out, and bowed down before them and saluted them with every mark of respect and honour. His courtiers could not make anything of this, and asked the King's younger brother to remonstrate with him at his behaviour. This he did: but next day the King sent to him a herald with the Trumpet of Death, with which it was customary in that country to announce to high-born criminals that they were condemned to death. The Prince in great dismay went weeping to the King, and begged to know in what he had offended. The King replied, "In naught, my brother, but I will teach thee why I greeted the hermits so respectfully. If thou art so moved at seeing the herald of thy own brother, should I not be even more impressed at seeing the herald of my God?" And so saying he dismissed his brother.*

But he caused four caskets to be made: two covered with gold and precious stones, but containing naught but dry bones. The other two, however, he covered only with clay, but filled them with jewels and costly pearls. He then summoned the courtiers to him and asked them to give judgement as to the value of the caskets. They replied that those covered with gold must contain the royal jewels, while the clay could be of no particular value. Thereupon the King ordered the caskets to be opened, and pointing to the golden ones he said, "These represent the men who go about clothed in fine raiment but within are full of evil deeds. But these," he added, turning to the caskets of clay, "represent those holy men who, though ill clad, are full of jewels of the faith." **

[*There can be no doubt about the Buddhistic origin of the Parable of The Trumpet of Death. It is found separately told of Yityashoka, brother of the great Buddhistic King, Ashoka. The legend goes like this:

The great King's brother, who had not yet been converted to Buddhism, had expressed his wonder that the followers of that religion could overcome their passions without resorting to asceticism. The King, to try his brother, and to convert him to the New Religion—so runs the tale—ordered his courtiers to induce his brother and heir to try on the Royal Robes and sit upon the throne while he himself was at the Bath. The King, however, managed to catch his brother in his compromising attitude on the throne, and ordered him as a punishment to be treated as a King for a week, except that behind the throne was placed all the time the Royal Executioner with his Warning Bell [sounds a bit like the Story of Damocles]. After the week was over the King asked his brother how he had anaged so well to overcome his passions without resorting to asceticism. Vityasoka replied that he could think of nothing but the impending death with which the Executioner kept threatening him. "If you could be so influenced by the thought of one death," said the King, "how much more we Buddhists, who have to think of an innumerable series of deaths through all the phases of our existence." The brother was convinced, and joined the new Creed. (Bournouf, Introduction a l'Histoire de Buddhisme: Paris, 1876, p.370.) That this is the original of the Barlaam Parable, no one will deny.]

[**No Indian original has yet been discovered for the Story of the Four Caskets, which, in the Barlaam, is so closely connected with the Trumpet of Death. There is, it is true, a choice of four vessels occurring in the legend of the Buddha. However, there is a story not with Four but with Eight Caskets and it refers to the reburial of Buddhas ashes and bones under 8 new stupas by Emperor Ashoka. One, the original and first burial place of the Buddha has been found in Piprahwa, nearby his place of birth Lumbini in Nepal.]

[Occurring in the Arabic, Georgian, and Greek Barlaam, it must have been in Indian original, and was probably there also connected with "The Four Caskets." Nearly all the derivates of the Greek contain it. The experts first thought that the Indian Original story may somehow point to a Legend of Ashoka's brother, Vitashoka who was the only brother left alive by Ashoka. However, the story has a far more real background.

The second part of the story, The Four Caskets (coffins), had nothing to do with the first part. The 4 caskets symbolise actually 8 caskets that have been distributed to the underground of 8 large Stupas. Ashoka ordered Buddha's ashes to be taken from Buddha's original burial stupa and shared among those 8 stupas; one eighth of the share remained in the original stupa. In fact, either 4 or 8 could be correct as the 4 symbolises Buddha's 4 analyses called The 4 Noble Truths; the 8 symbolises the 8 remedies called The Noble Eightfold Path.

For centuries, the original site was unknown because after the fall of Ashoka's Buddhist Empire in the 2nd century, the opposing Hindus erased all memories of the Buddhist holy places. In January 1898 then, a massive stupa with a pyramid-like base was discovered by William Claxton Peppe, a British colonial engineer and landowner of an estate at Piprahwa. It lies in the heart of the historical Buddha's homeland and is 20 km / 12 miles from the world heritage site of Lumbini that is believed to be the place of Gautama Buddha's birth. Peppe led a team in excavating a large earthen mound on his land. Having cleared away scrub and jungle, they set to work building a deep trench through the mound. After digging through 18 feet of solid brickwork, they came to a large stone sarcophagus. After shifting the heavy lid aside, Peppe found five small vase-like urns containing bone fragments, ashes, and hundreds of jewels. On one of the urns was a Brahmi script going round its top which was translated by Georg Bühler, a leading European epigraphist of the time, to mean: "This relic-shrine of divine Buddha (is the donation) of the Sakya-Sukiti brothers, associated with their sisters, sons, and wives." The Brahmi script was first used by Emperor Ashoka to make all sorts of rock inscriptions, together with Greek and Aramaic texts. In the first place, experts thought the find a fake.

From 1971-1973, a team of the Archaeological Survey of India led by K. M. Srivastava resumed excavations at the Piprahwa stupa site. The team discovered a casket containing fragments of charred bone, at a location several feet deeper than the coffer that W. C. Peppe had previously excavated. Srivastava dated the deeper find to the fifth-fourth centuries BC, which would be consistent with the period in which the Buddha is believed to have lived. So in fact there were two burial chambers, with an older, deeper burial (which was the original burial place of Buddha's ashes), and one from the Ashoka-era found by Peppe.

When in about 250 BC Ashoka gaves the ashes of the Buddha eight stupas as new burial place, one eighth of the ashes stayed at Piprahwa with a new stupa built around the large sarcophagus. The other seven portions were sent by the King (Emperor Ashoka) to their new destinations across the empire, with a herald sounding the "Trumpet of Death" for the commemoration of the Lord of the Empire: Siddharta Gautama the Buddha.]

PARABLE 4 - 5.b. Bird and Fisherman.

A bird saw a fisherman drawing a fish to land, and pounced down upon it and swallowed it. But soon the fish-hook caught in its throat, and the fisherman began to pull it in. With difiiculty the bird freed itself; but henceforth it dared not swallow any fish, for fear of a similar danger, and thus died of hunger.

[Only in Hebrew Barlaam 9., but probably in original, since certainly Indian, (Cf. Hijpotad., 4. loi; Benfey, Pants, 1. 227,)]

PARABLE 5 - 5.c. The Sower.

When the sower sows his seed some falls on the highway, where the passengers tread it under foot. Others are blown away by the wind. Others picked up by the birds. Some seeds fall on rocky ground, and grow only till the roots reach the rock. Others fall among the thistles. Only a small portion falls in rich earth, where it grows and brings forth fruit. The sower is the Sage ; the seed is his wisdom. The seeds that fall by the wayside, etc., are pieces of wisdom that come into one ear only to go out of the other. Those falling on rocky ground are not taken to heart. Those among thorns meet with opposition from the senses. Only that which takes root in the heart brings forth fruit in the character.

[Found in the Arabic, Georgian, and Hebrew, and Greek Barlaam; the original form might have come from Indian Jews in Aramaic, but there are interpolations from the New Testament.]

TEXTBODY 6. Barlaam teaches the vanity of this world by means of the three parables: The Man in the Well, The Three Friends, The King of the Year. Particularly these chapters contain lots of Christian interpolations.

PARABLE 6 - 6.a. The Man in the Well.

A man saw a raging unicorn, and flying from him fell into a pit. But as he fell he caught hold of a branch which saved him from falling to the bottom, while he rested his feet upon a projecting stone. Looking about him he saw two mice, one white and one black, gnawing at the root of the branch which he was holding, while at the bottom

of the well he saw a fiery dragon, and near the stone on which his feet rested, a serpent, with four heads. But just at this moment he noticed on the branch he was holding a few drops of honey trickling down, and forgetting the unicorn, the dragon, the snakes, and the mice, he directed his whole thoughts how he might obtain the sweet

honey. Now the unicorn is death, the well is the world, full of manifold evil, the two mice are the night and the day which, eat away the branch of life, while the four serpents are the four elements of man's body, and the fiery dragon represents hell. The few drops of honey, the pleasures of this world. [Occurrences in the Arabic, Georgian, and Greek. Indian Original taken from the Mahabharata, 11. (Cf. Clouston, Athenceum, Feb. 7, 1891.) Jaina version, Chinese version, Avadanas, 1. 132 seq., 191 seq., Tibetan version.]

PARABLE 7 - 6.b. The Three Friends.

A man once had three friends, two of whom he loaded with gifts and friendly acts; the third he neglected. One day he was seized and brought before the King, who ordered him to find security for a great sum. He went to his first friend, who told him he could only give him a single garment. And the second said he would accompany him a little way to the King, but then had to return to his own house. As a last resort he went to the third friend, and begged him to forgive his negligence and help him in his strait. But the third

friend received him kindly, and said he would go before to the King and try and rescue him out of the hands of his enemies. The first friend is wealth; the second, wife and children; the third, good works.

[Occurrences in the Arabic, Georgian, and Greek Barlaam (Z. 9., 50. p. 95), therefore in the original. Indian Original which has not yet been discovered.]

PARABLE 8 - 6.c. The King of the Year.

It was the custom in a certain country to select a stranger to rule over them each year, who for that time had full power and enjoyed all the treasures of the kingdom, but at the end of the year he was stript of all his wealth and power and banished to a desolate island. But on one occasion the King of the year learnt his future fate, and in anticipation sent to the island a large amount of treasure, clothing, food, and all necessities and luxuries, so that he wanted for nothing when the time came for his banishment.

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[Occurrences in the Arabic, Georgian, Hebrew, and Greek Barlaam (Z. 10., 50. p, 98), therefore in original. Parallels are found in the Talmud, Babat Bathra, Dhammapada, 25, 235-8; and Matthew 6:19, 20]

PARABLE 9 - 6.d. Dogs and Carrion.

Dogs are quarrelling about some carrion, when a stranger passes by. They immediately turn upon him and attack him altogether, though he has no desire to interfere with their prey. The carrion is riches, the dogs worldly people, and the stranger the pious hermit.

[Occurrences only found in the Hebrew, 100. 23., and the Arab. Barlaam, in all three forms of it. [Cf. Rehatsek, p. 140.)]

PARABLE 10 - 6.e. The Cannibal King.

A king is forced to flee wdth wife and children before the enemy. One of the children dies, and they are forced to eat him. So the pious eat from necessity, while others eat with appetite.

[Occurrences in Barlaam.—In Heb. c. xii., and Arab. (cf. Reh., p. 149), not in Gr., which probably omitted it for aesthetic reasons. Indian Original.—Tibetan, Dsanglun, tr. Schmidt, xxviii. seq., ap. Benfey, Pants, i. 391. Literature.—Kuhn, 21 ; Cassel, 227 ; Weisslovits, 87 ; Benfey, I.e.]

PARABLE 11 - 6.f. The Sun of Wisdom.

Wisdom is like the sun, which shines everywhere and upon all. Yet we cannot always see it, because some have weak sight, and cannot bear its brilliance; others are blind, and cannot see at all.

[Occurrences in Barlaam.—In Heb., c. 15., and Arab.; only slight traces in Gr. Literature.—Kuhn, 21 ; Weisslovits, 94.]

PARABLE 12 - 6.g. The King and Shepherd.

A king hunting invites a shepherd to eat with him in the heat of the day.

Shepherd. "I cannot eat with thee, for I have already promised another greater than thee."

King. "Who is that?"

Shepherd. " God, who has invited me to fast."

King. " But why fast on such a hot day?"

Shepherd. "I fast for a day still hotter than this."

King. "Eat to-day, fast to-morrow."

Shepherd. "Yes, if you will guarantee that I shall see to-morrow."

[Occurrences in Barlaam.—Only in Heb., c. 16., probably from Mahomedan source. Literature.—Weisslovits, 97, loi.]

PARABLE 13 - 6.h. The Bird and the Prophet.

A bird, fearing for the safety of its eggs, placed them in the nests of other birds. When the storm arose and the waves approached, it went to the various nests and uttered its cry. Its young ones

recognised it and flew away with it, while the other fledglings remained to be destroyed.

So a prophet summons the faithful, who alone are saved from destruction by recognising his voice.

[Occurrences in Barlaam.—In Heb., c. xix., and Arab. Xifera^wre.—Weisslovits, 109.]

TEXTBODY 7. The Prince then inquires why his father should have persecuted the followers of the true faith if their doctrines were so sound. Barlaam tells the parables: The Heathen King and the Believing Vizier, The Swimmer and his Comrades, The Rich Young Man and the Beggar's Daughter, Education by Love, The Man and the Bird. The Prince asks Barlaam how old he is, and is told " twelve years old*," for only during the time of hermithood had he truly lived. [* These 12 years may rather refer to his lifetime he lived in reclusion.]

PARABLE 14 - 7. a. The Heathen King and the Believing Vizier.

There was once a king good in everything, except that he was wanting in faith. His vizier desired to cure him of his disbelief, and one night went out with him into the city. Seeing a light in a hut, they looked through and saw a poor couple, clothed in rags, but enjoying themselves with dancing and singing. Then the King asked, " How

is it that you and I, so rich in honour and wealth, have never enjoyed so much pleasure as these fools?"

"Why, what do you think of their life, King? " answered the vizier.

"More wretched, unhappy, and horrid than any I have ever seen," answered the King.

"Then," said the Vizier, " Know, King, this our life, even of us more fortunately placed of men, seems but as their life in the eyes of the Most High. Only those who seek imperishable wealth are truly happy. And that wealth is, belief in our Lord and Saviour."

[Occurrences in In Arab,, Georg., Heb., and Gr. (Z, xi., L. p. 113).

Indian Original.—Unknown, but the happy pair seem to belong to the caste of Mehter (cf. Kehatsek, p. 14s, I.e. ; Kuhn, 22 n.).

PARABLE 15 - 7.a.1. The Swimmer.

A swimmer and his friend went bathing together. The friend got out of his depth, and the swimmer feared that he would drown, but as he went to his assistance, he had the further fear that his friend

would seize him and cause them both to drown. But nevertheless he went near, and by inducing his friend to make the appropriate motions saved them both.

[In Arabic only, Reh. 147.]

PARABLE 16 - 7.b. The Rich Young Man and the Beggar's Daughter.

A rich merchant once desired to betroth his son to a wealthy, beautiful, and well-bom girl. He, however, refused the match, and fled from his father's house. During his journey he entered a poor man's hut to shelter himself from the heat. There he saw the daughter of the house working with her hands and praising God for His goodness. Asking her why she was so grateful, she replied—

"Because the good God has given me the chance of entering Paradise." Struck by this answer, the young man desires to marry her, but her father would not consent till the young man agreed to put aside his rich clothing and live their life. He does 80, and for a time assists in the work of the house, till at last the father is convinced of his sincerity and betroths him to his daughter, and then shows him a hidden treasure which he gives to him.

[Occurrences in Barlaam.—In Arab., Georg., Heb., and Gr. (Z. xii., L. p. 113), therefore in original.

PARABLE 17 - 7.b.2. Education by Love.

A king had a son who grew up coarse and thoughtless, ill-bred, and undignified. All the learned men of the kingdom tried in vain to improve him. One day his teacher appeared before the King and announced a new misfortune, the Prince had fallen in love. When the King heard this he gave his mantle to the teacher, and thanked him for the good news. Summoning the girl to him, he instructed her to refuse to have anything to do with the Prince till he behaved in a more dignified and well-bred manner. Accordingly the Prince set himself to improve his manners, and soon became a model of propriety.

[Occurrences in Barlaam.—Only in Heb., c. xviii., where it is inserted in VII. b.

PARABLE 18 - 7.c. Man and Bird.

A man caught a nightingale, which promised him three precious pieces of advice if he would let him free. He agreed; whereupon the nightingale said, "Do not attempt the impossible. Regret nothing that is past. Believe no improbable tale." The man then let the nightingale free. He, desiring to test him, cried, "Fool, you little know what treasure you have lost. I have within me a pearl as large as an eagle's ^gg." The man, full of greed, tried to entice the nightingale within his door again, promising to let her go free. The nightingale said, "Now I see what use you will make of my three pieces of advice. I told you never to regret what was past, and yet you are sorry that you let me go free. I advised you not to try the impossible, and yet you are attempting to get me again within your power. I told you never to trust the improbable tale, and yet you believed me when I said that I had within me a pearl greater than my whole body."

[Occurences in Barlaam.—In Arab., Georg., Heb., and Gr. , therefore in original. Indian Original.

PARABLE 19 - 7, c. ii. The Tyrannical King.

There was once a king who made every one tremble around him. One day a servant, when handing him the soup, from fear spilt a little.

Before the King could express his rage, the servant emptied the whole tureen. "Why did you do that?" said the King. "I knew, my Lord," said the servant, "that you would punish me severely for my first small fault, and thereby lose dignity in the eyes of your people, so I therefore arranged to do something worth the punishment I saw forthcoming."

Thereupon the King forgave him, and became less tyrannical in future.

[Occurrences in Barlaam.—Only in Heb. , c. 24.]

PARABLE 20 - 7.d. Desert and Garden.

There is a desert full of robbers and beasts of prey. In the midst is a garden with a wall too high to be scaled ; on the other side is a sea of poison, over which blows a fiery simoon.

The desert is the world, the garden represents the joys of the faithful, the sea the misery of the wicked.

[Occurrences in Barlaam.—In Arabic, Reh., 151.]

PARABLE 21 - 7.e. Language of Animals.

A man once learnt the language of animals, but on condition that if he betrayed the secret he would have to die. One night he heard an ass recommend an ox to feign illness so as to escape work, whereat he laughed aloud. His wife wished to know why he laughed, but he would not tell her. Next day, when the ox pretended to be ill he ordered the ass to do its work ; and at night, when the ass returned, he told the ox that he was to be slain on the morrow if he were not better. Whereat the man laughed again. His wife was eager to know why he laughed, even though he told her it would be his death to let her know.

"Either your death or mine," said the wife, "for I will not eat till I know ; " so the man agreed to let her know the next day, and prepared for his death. All was sadness in the house, even the dogs would not eat their food, but a cock and his wives pecked away merrily, till one of the dogs said, "Do you not know our master is to die to-day ?" "More fool he," said the cock; "I can rule ten wives." "What can you do?" said the dog. "Take a stick to her," said the cock, "and I'll warrant she won't want to know his secrets."

The man, who had heard this, followed the cock's advice, and saved his life.

[Occurrcnces in Barlaam.—Only in Heb., c. xxiv.,

where the language is taught by King Solomon, but certainly Indian in origin.

Indian Original.—Harivanso; Ramayana, II.,Tamel, Vedala Cadai

PARABLE 22 - 7. f. The Robbers' Nemesis.

Two swindlers plotted to rob a stranger merchant of his money. They brought him jewels to a feast, but intended to rob him of them; but each envying the other his share in the booty, secretly put poison in his food, so they both died, and the merchant was saved.

[Occurrences in Barlcuam.—Only in Heb. , c. 27, but certainly Indian. Indian Original.—Vedabhha Jataka, Kashmir version, tr. Knowles

TEXTBODY 8. The Prince's guardian, Zardan, overhears the conversation of Barlaam and Yudasaf, and threatens to tell the King, but is induced not to do so by the Prince. [Here the Georgian manuscript omits Christian dogmatics found in the Greek version.]

TEXTBODY 9. Barlaam tells the Prince that he must leave him, whereupon the Prince expresses his willingness to go with him. Then Barlaam tells the parable The Tame Gazelle: The Prince inquires after the mode of life and dress of the followers of the true faith, which Barlaam shows to him. Thereupon the Prince exchanges clothes with Barlaam, who goes his way.

PARABLE 23 - 9.a. The Tame Gazelle.

A rich man had once a young gazelle. As it grew up it began to long for the wilderness. So one day it went and joined a herd of wild gazelles, but came back at night. And henceforth it used to join the herd every day. This at last was noticed. And the servants of the rich man followed it on horseback, killed many of the wild gazelles, and drove back the tame one, which they ever afterwards kept chained up.

[Occurrences in Barlaam.—In Arab., Georg., and Gr. (Z. xiii, , L. p. 130, C. 446).

PARABLE 24 - 9.b. The Greedy Dog.

In two neighbouring cities a marriage was to be held on one and the same day. A greedy dog who knew of this determined to attend both wedding breakfasts. He set off early for one town, but arrived too late, and when he went to the other the feasting was over, and he only got blows.

[Occurrences in Barlaam.—Only in Heb., where it is substituted for "The Tame Gazelle." Parallels.—iEsop, Dog and Sliadow (Caxton, ed. Jacobs, Ro. i. 5).]

TEXTBODY 10. The King learns through Zardan about the conversion of his son, and consults with his astrologer, Araches. He recommends, either to seize Barlaam and put him to death, or if he cannot be found, to get a stranger, named Nachor, to personate him and be overcome in a public disputation upon the faith.

PARABLE 25 - 10.a. The Two Halves of a King's Life.

A prince being born during the conjunction of Jupiter and Venus, astrologers prophesy a change in his life. When he succeeds he lives in great splendour till middle age. At a great feast, surrounded by his most costly ornaments, he thinks of looking at himself in the glass, and sees his grey hairs, wliich cause liim to devote himself to a life of piety.

[Occurrences in Barlaam.—Only one of the Arab, versions. Indian Original.—Clearly a variant of the life of Buddha, wherefore Kuhn suggests derived from the Kitab-al-Budd.

PARABLE 26 - 10.b, King, Man, and Skull.

A wicked king was bringing his realm to ruin, when a sage came before him and kicked a skull in front of him. Then he took weights and scales and measured out as much dust as would weigh a dihrem, and placed this in the eyes of the skull. On being asked what was the meaning of this action, he said, "This skull was the skull of a king, and he used to pay royal honours to it; but finding it insensible, he then kicked it about to see if it could feel contumely. But as the King had seen, there was no sign of resentment in the skull; and he

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wanted to know if that could be a king's skull when a dihrem weight of dust could cover the eyes, which, when living, possessed all they saw." The King was struck by the worthlessness of all his possessions, and became converted to piety.

[Occurrences in Barlaam.—Only in one of Arab, versions and in its Persian translation. Probably derived from an Alexander Romance.

PARABLE 27 - 10,c. The Prince who left his Father's House.

A prince, tlie only son of a king, in tlie midst of play in his boyhood, took one step and said, "Your fate is to have trouble." Then a second step, and said, "And to become old and feeble."

Then a third step, saying, "And then you will die." Astrologers, thereupon, announced that he would become a great saint. And the King put him a guard so he could never be left alone. One day, however, he escapes them, and encounters a funeral, and learns that all men must die. He tells his guard that if this is true they are mad. The astrologers recommend the King to marry the Prince. On the wedding night, the Prince calls for wine for his bride, and when she sleeps rises and leaves her. He finds a companion, and they both take refuge in the castle of another king, where the Princess falls in love with the Prince; but he rejects her overtures and flees. The King has him pursued and brought back. He tells the following parables:—

The Drunken King's Son who fell into a Grave.

The Thieves who stole a Golden Vessel containing Serpents.

The Prince freed from Prison falling into a Pit with Dragons.

The Man who fell among the Ghouls.

By these parables he frees himself, and wanders about converting numbers to the true faith, till at last he comes back to his father, the old King.

[Occurrences in Barlaam.—Only in Bombay form of the Arab, version. Indian Original.—Clearly a variant of the Buddha legend.]

PARABLE 28 - 10.c.4. The Man among the Ghouls.

A ship was shipwrecked on an island inhabited by ghouls, who turned themselves into beautiful maidens to entice the shipwrecked sailors. They lived very happily for some time, till the captain came across an earlier victim of the ghouls, who told him what they were. He also told him that their only chance of escape was from a gigantic bird who visited the island once a year. But the captain is warned, that if he looks back when escaping, he will fall off and be drowned. On the appointed day the sailors intoxicate the ghouls, and perch upon the back of the bird. The ghouls, however, call to the sailors as they depart, and when the captain lands he finds that none of the sailors have survived the voyage.

[Occurrences in Barlaam.—Only in one form of Arab. Indian Original.—Valahassa Jataka, ed. Fausboll.

TEXTBODY 11. Before the disputation the King tries twice to turn his son from the New Way. At first with menaces, and then with persuasive mildness. [The Arabic manuscript tells us that the Prince enumerates his ancestors and declares they were all followers of al-Budd (Buddha). Both King and son agree as to the beauty of al-Budd's doctrines.]

TEXTBODY 12. The disputation is held, but beforehand the Prince threatens Nachor to tear him asunder if he does not conquer for the right faith. Nachor triumphs and flees into the wilderness.

PARABLE 29 - 12.a. The Amorous Wife.

A young man, having married a wife of a passionate temperament, told her whenever she could not restrain her feelings to let down her hair as a signal. It happened that a war broke out, and the young man was summoned to join the army. But just as he was leaving, his wife let down her hair, and the battle was won without him. When he was remonstrated with, he replied, "I had an enemy at home with whom I had to fight."

[Occurrences in Barlaam.—Only in Georg. version, in the conversation between Theudas and the King. Literature.—Hommel in Weisslovitz, 148.]

TEXTBODY 13. The magician, Theudas, recommends the King to lead the Prince away by the wiles of woman, and narrates the parable The Youth who had never seen a Woman. The Prince resists temptation and sees in a dream the fate of the saints and the damned. He reproaches the King, and remains firm to the true faith. He also interviews Theudas, and tells him the parable The Peacock and the Raven. Thendas is converted to the true faith, and the Prince goes forth into the wilderness to live a hermit's life with Barlaam.

[The 'magician' is called T'edam in Georgian, Tahdam in Arabic, but Theudas in Greek (Cf. Acts 5. 37.) It seems to be Persian or a Persian-Christian interpolation as a 'magus' (magician) is a "wise man", a Zoroastrian scholar.

In Arabic, the Prince is saved from temptation by a dream, and converts Tahdam by the parable of Peacock and Raven to the faith of al-Budd (Arabic for Buddha), and tells the Prince that forty years before he had met a wise Indian who bad told him that al-Budd had told that parable 300 years before, and prophesied that the true Peacock would come after 300 years. The temptation is Buddhistic. (Cf. Thomas William Rys Davids, Birth Stories, 1. 81, and Cams, Gospel of Buddha, § 11.) Theudas represents Buddha's schoolfellow, Udayin. (Beal, p. 349.) The parable is the Baveru Jataka.

In Greek and Georgian, the King becomes converted, and after his death Joasaph puts another on the throne, and joins Barlaam in the wilderness. Both saints die, and their relics are collected. In the Arabic manuscript, the Prince flees by night from his palace together with his vizier. He is stopped by a beautiful boy, who tries to induce him to remain.

But he continues his flight on horseback, and when he arrives at the edge of the wilderness sends the vizier back with his horse and valuables. He then sees a great tree by a brook. On the tree grow fruit that thanked him as he plucked them.

Four angels take him up to heaven, where he is taught of wisdom, and then returns to earth, and converts all he meets. He visits his native town and his father, and at last reaches Kashmir, where he puts his head to the west, and his feet to the east, and dies after giving his blessing to his favourite pupil Anand. Here we have clearly the Great Renunciation, and the enlightenment under the Bo-Tree. The vizier is Chandaka, the boy, Rahula (Buddha's son). Kashmir is a misreading for Kusinara (the realm of Buddha's father, and Anand, of Ananda. (Cf. Carus, §§ 7, 11, 96, 97)]

PARABLE 30 - 13.a. The Youth who had never seen a Woman.

A king had a son born to him in his old age, and wf s warned by his astrologers and physicians that his son would be blind if he ever saw the light before he was twelve years old. Accordingly the King built for him a subterranean chamber, where he was kept till he was past the fatal age. There upon he was taken out from his retreat and shown all the beauties of the world, gold and jewels, and arms, and carriages and horses, and beautiful dresses. But seeing some women pass he asked what they might be, and was told, " Demons, who lead men astray." Afterwards the King asked him which of all the beautiful things he had seen he desired most ; and the Prince answered, "The demons which lead men astray."

[Occurrences in Barlaam.—In Georg. and Gr. (Z. xiv., L. p. 220), but only in Bombay version of the Arab, text and not at all in Heb., yet clearly in original (see next section). Indian Original.—Story of Rshyasrnga in Mahabharata, iii. 9999 ; and Ramayana, I. ix. (cf. Schiefner in Mel. Asiat., viii. 112-6).

PARABLE 31 - 13.b. Peacock and Raven.

A king showed a foreign merchant his treasures, and asked him if there were anything wanting. The merchant said, "Only a peacock," which he described. So the King sent his vizier with a large amount of gold to buy a peacock. But he hid the gold, and dyed a raven, and brought it to the King. But shortly afterwards the merchant brought two real peacocks as a present to the King. The vizier maintained that his was the authentic bird. Whereupon the merchant poured hot water on the raven, which changed colour at once. The same test applied to the peacocks only made them more beautiful. So the King honoured the merchant and punished the vizier. The merchant is Buddha, the vizier an idolater, the peacock belief in God, the raven heresy.

[Occurences in Barlaxim.—Only in Bombay text of Arab., but certainly Indian (see next section). Indian Original. — Baveru Jataka, tr. Morris in Folklore Journal, iii. 124.

Parallel.—Esop, Daw in Peacock's Feathers (cf. Caxton, Ro. ii, 15, and note i. 77 n). Literature.—Kuhn, 31 ; Jacobs, I.e.

Buddha founded schools and monasteries. One principle was outstanding: the was to be made neither difference between men and women nor among members of the age-old Indian caste system that suppressed more than 90% of all Indians. This was a highly political action nothing short of a great social revolution.

Sakya, Sakyamuni (holy man of the Sakyaclan), Buddha (490-410 BC) died in Kushinagar, 60 mi from Lumbini, his place of birth. Buried at Piprahwa and again there a second time . . . and at 7 other places. Sanchi might be one of them

Ashoka completed the revolution Buddha had begun by turning almost the whole of India into a Buddhist empire. By doing so, it was Ashoka in the end who made Buddhism a world religion. He built hundreds of stupas over all of India, then he dug up the remains of the Buddha and redistributed them to 7 other places, leaving one eighth of the relics at Piprahwa.

It was in his time that Sanskrit was written in a new script called Brahmi. Brahmi was a amalgamation of Greek letters and Aramaic. We can find inscriptions in Brahmi on rock inscriptions speading from Afghanistan to Thailand. There are also on massive sandstone columns.

Ashokas Buddhist revolution had drastic consequences for the Buddhist themselves. The Hindu-priests, who saw Buddhism as herecy, where back in power by overthrowing the Maurya empire some decades later. Buddhism with its total peacefulness had revealed its flaw: its indoctrinated members were not willing to fight for their belief and were entirely wiped out in India. They were also wiped out by the merciless onslaught of Islam later.

The sarcaphagus found under the stupa of Piprahwa seem to be made of the same stone material as Ashokas huge sandstone pillars, like the pillar of Lumbini. According to all knowledge, the tomb of Piprahwa was made between 250 and 240 BC, so at around Ashoka's 20th regnal year.

BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT - THE BALAVARIANI

A Tale (of Balahvar And Bodasaph) from the Christian East in the Old Georgian language
Source: the Arabic "Kitab Bilawhar wa-Budsasaf"
Translation: David Marshall Lang, 1966
Estimated Range of Dating: 200 B.C. - 300 AD

THE BALAVARIANI (full text)

BOOK I

THE LIFE OF THE BLESSED BODASAPH, SON OF ABENES, KING OF INDIA, WHOM THE BLESSED FATHER AND TEACHER BALAHVAR CONVERTED [the original Arabic names Bilawhar and Budsasaf (Bodhisatva) are here rendered as Balahvar and Bodasaph.]

Grant us thy blessing, O Father!

1. There lived a certain king in the land of India, in the place which they call Sholait, and the name of that king was Ahenes. He was a man of strong pagan beliefs, possessing great dominions and armies countless in their numhers, fierce and terrible over all men, victorious over his foes. He was bold, haughty and handsome to the eye and profound in wisdom and judgement. He persecuted and hated the servants of Christ; and his name was Abenes. He was utterly immersed in the pursuit of the pleasures and delights of this world and enslaved by his own passions, and quite unable to exercise any restraint in respect of indulgences which are so pernicious to the soul. There was no desire of his in the world which was not granted to him, except for one thing that was lacking, namely that he had no son.

2. Now the believers in Christ and the holy monks multiplied within his land, many of them renouncing completely all the cares of this world. And they were greatly disturbed by the king's conduct, and the extent to which he surrendered himself to his desires and enslaved himself to the quest of earthly delights. And they began to detest the transitory world and all its affairs. They published abroad its secret vices and snares and the evil consequences which it produced, and declared that the fashion of this world must soon pass away.

And their words reached King Abenes and caused him deep concern, for he said in his heart: 'This hostile campaign of theirs may well produce some revolution in my kingdom and overturn all public order therein!' Therefore he rose in wrath against all the Christians and began to pronounce curses on the men of God and all those who listened to their words. Then by the instigation of the devil he decided to persecute them. And the king set about them with great violence, subjecting them to flogging and torture; and his demented minions brutally assaulted them. And he began to bring idolaters to his court and treat them with great honour, and he exalted their idols and made obeisance before them; and he offered up sacrifices to them and took part in their festive rites. And all the foolish and ignorant populace started serving the idols in company with their king.

Then did the error of idolatry increase in strength, and great woe and affliction fell upon all the churches and upon the faithful, and no one endured but those who sincerely believed Christ with their whole being.

3. After these events, the king happened to ask about a certain knight of his, who was a prominent grandee and distinguished in his sight because of his valour and wisdom. Now this man had left this transitory world behind and become utterly devoted to Christ, and had taken up his abode in the wilderness together with all the other saintly fathers. The king, however, was ignorant of this matter.

When they told the king the news about this grandee, he became very sorrowful and ordered him to be fetched. When they brought him in, Abenes beheld him in the guise of a hermit, dressed in shabby garments just like the men of God.

The monarch was filled with wrath and began to scold him angrily and said to him: 'O foolish man, you were honoured and distinguished in my sight! But now you have made yourself ridiculous in company with those fools, destroyed the honourable position which you enjoyed at my court, ruined your reputation, turned yourself into a mockery and made a shameful exhibition of yourself in the sight of the people. You have entered into the way of those lunatics and reprobates, bringing down misfortune upon your family and your sons!'

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The man of God answered and said to him: 'Although I have no need to justify myself before you, you should none the less look to your own honour and protect your reason from the assaults of its enemies.'

The king said to him: 'And who is the enemy of my reason?'

That man replied: 'The enemy of your reason is your bad temper, which excites and disturbs it and sets it against those things which are "good. Now listen to my word and after you have taken it in, then do whatsoever you desire.'

The king said to him: 'Behold now, I shall desist from my wrath against you. But you must tell me what justification you have to put forward for your own behaviour!'

Then that man said to him: Tell me, O king, what is this affair which has excited your wrath against me? Is it for some sin which I have committed against myself, or one against your royal person?'

The king said to him: 'Do you not realize that if you have committed a sin against yourself, then you have sinned against me? For it is my duty to correct those who have gone astray, by means of my justice, true judgement and exhortation, and to safeguard every virtuous quality of my people and punish anyone among them who commits wickedness. If you have perpetrated some evil thing against your own self, which only punishment by me can correct, then do you not realize that you force me to intervene therein? You have the same relationship towards me as any other citizen of my kingdom. If anyone does you a wrong, then it is my duty to award you damages against him; likewise if you commit a wrong against anyone else, then I must award him damages against you. So it is my duty to call you to account now, both on my own behalf and on that of your family and children, for all the havoc which you have wrought upon them.'

The holy man said to him: 'The principle of justice is based on mutual confrontation of witnesses, and nobody can accept the verdict of a tribunal unless public proceedings have duly taken place. Only a judge has the right to deliver a verdict in court. You, O king, have two judges close at hand, one of them being reliable in my eyes, while the other is quite untrustworthy.

If the judge who is reliable is going to preside over our case, then justice will be done; but if the one whom I deem untrustworthy presides, then my just cause has no chance of prevailing with him.'

The king said: 'And who are these two judges? Which of them is reliable, and which untrustworthy?'

The man replied and said: 'Reliable in my eyes are your wisdom and understanding, but untrustworthy in my opinion are your anger and your wilfulness.'

The king said to him: 'Behold, I hereby absolve you from the effects of my wrath and wilfulness, and bring into play between us my wisdom and justice, even though it is plain that you have lost your wits. Now tell me all about this affair of yours, and who it is that has led you astray.'

The lover of Christ replied: 'This is how my history began. In the days of my youth I heard a certain saying, and it took root in my consciousness like a seed. I retained a constant memory of this saying within my heart in all my doings, and it sprouted upwards from day to day like a young sapling sprouts up, until this sapling had grown to maturity as a tree and brought forth the fruit which you observe in my person. The saying which I heard was as follows: "The fool imagines the real thing to be unreal, and mistakes the unreal for the real.

Whoever fails to comprehend that real thing will be unable to cast out what is unreal."—Now that real thing is the world to come, and the unreal—this present world in which you yourself are ensnared.

'This saying took firm root in my mind and I used to meditate upon it from time to time. When I thought it over, it gave me warning and purified my understanding for the good of my soul.

Whenever I was seized by a yearning for earthly pleasures, I thrust them away from me now that I had detected them, before they could corrupt my spirit and my reason. Then the lure of human passions would vanish away, and I would see this world revealed as a furnace of fire blazing all around. That saying exposed to me every snare and pitfall which the world lays to trap all those who are enamoured of it.

'After this I bridled my will, rooted out the sources of lust, and devoted my mind to the study of good and evil. Then the veil of blindness was torn away from my sight, the intoxication of lust vanished away and I became aware of the shame of this transitory world. I surveyed the future, cast my eyes upon the fleeting present and sought experience of man's final destiny, until I had gained sufficient knowledge thereof. Although I made no enquiry, nor did I interrogate it, the world itself revealed and related to me the injuries which it inflicts, not upon its enemies, but upon those who love and cherish it. Then I saw that the purity of the world is nothing but murk; its joy nothing but sorrow; its wealth nothing but poverty; its exaltation nothing but debasement; and its enjoyment nothing but remorse.

Nowhere did I discover anyone possessing wealth without incurring worry at the same time, because this wealth could not be utilized without incurring resultant liabilities. Suppose, for instance, a poor man finds a horse. Surely you can see what troubles must beset him? For he needs fodder for it, as well as equipment, a stable, and all kinds of similar necessities. Is there ever any end to this series of human desires, which follow one another in succession? And how can this world avoid being full of sorrow and complaint? There is nobody on earth who can rejoice in his children or his treasures without constantly worrying about them as well. Sorrow and heartache are brought on by the anticipation of impending evils, the onset of sickness or accidental injuries, or else the coming of death itself upon a man's head. The sweetness of self-indulgence turns into bitterness.

Delights are rapidly succeeded by depression, from which there is no escape. It follows that it is wrong to involve oneself in the life of this world. This applies particularly to those who have learnt to recognize its snares and delusions. In fact the people who should be the first to detest and flee from the world are those whom the world itself has endowed generously with its gifts, for they are waiting from day to day and from moment to moment for their allotted time to run out; and they tremble for their possessions, or else fear to be hurried away by death when they least expect it. By then it is too late for a man to depart voluntarily from the world which holds him prisoner.

'So now I am denouncing this world to you, O king, and warning you away from it, because it takes away what it gives a man and grudges what it bestows upon him, and afterwards sends him away heavy-laden with sin. It strips a man of his apparel, until even his privy parts are exposed to scorn, and then dresses him up in shame and reproach. It degrades that man whom it has raised up, until his enemies trample him under foot.

It deceives those who submit to it, hates those that love it, tricks those that are loyal to it, overturns those that lean upon it, ruins the hope of those that put their trust in it, and turns into bitterness the joy of those that rejoice in it; and nobody can escape in peace once he has fallen in love with it.

'Whenever it makes its voice heard, fools flock to its summons.

They carry out its behest, but it turns them into dupes. Today it prepares the gourmet a sumptuous banquet, and tomorrow it turns him over as food for the worms ["enemies"; The Greek text renders this phrase as 'It maketh them nought but a gobbet for their enemies. The confusion between 'worms' and 'enemies' has to do with the Georgian language, in which 'worms' are matlt'a, and "enemies", mtert'a.]. Today it ministers to one man, tomorrow it will make him minister to others. Today it allows one faction to triumph over their adversaries, and tomorrow it will make their foes gloat over them. Today it makes a man king, tomorrow it will make him slave to another. Today it causes him to stretch out his hand to give, tomorrow it makes him stretch out his hand to beg. Today the world places upon his head a crown fashioned out of precious stones, tomorrow it lays his cheeks prostrate in the grave. Today it bedecks his throat with a necklace, tomorrow it will weigh it down with iron fetters. Today he is beloved by his friends, tomorrow hateful to them. Today the world assembles a chorus to sing his praises, tomorrow it gathers mourners to intone his funeral dirge. Today everyone wants him near, tomorrow the people clamour for his banishment to distant parts, after which he must take up his lodging in the outer gehenna and the flames.

The world mourns not those that have passed away, nor does it spare those who remain. It transfers its favours from one to another; when some get out of its clutches, it takes hold of those who remain. It seats evil men in the seats of the virtuous, sets cowards in the place of the valiant, and installs impious men in the abodes of the righteous. It marshals all men on the road to dissolution even before it robs them of their desires. For the people of this transitory world are at enmity with one another, and devour and bite each other like dogs, because they know how short and narrow is their life span, and how rapidly it must pass from them. For this reason they pursue one another, and friend persecutes friend, in order to snatch for himself as much as he can before he departs from this life. In this way they overflow with mutual hostility and envy.

'But a man who knows and values the world everlasting places his faith in eternity and in those good things which fall to the saints in time to come. He therefore feels no hostility or envy towards his fellow men, nor does it occur to him to do so. For many are those who desire to dwell in that abode which was promised to them by the only Son of God begotten by His Father, which is in Heaven. These are my brethren and my friends whom I cherish and uphold. But those whom I once deemed to be friends and brothers have turned into my bitterest enemies. This is why I have quitted their company and embarked on the quest for peace.

'Such then is the nature of the world of unreality! But if you wish me to describe to you the world eternal, I will convey its aspect to you just as I have received it. However, no man can appreciate those imperishable treasures of Christ unless he is able to control his own will and intellect.'

The king answered and said to him: 'Accursed man, you have failed to encompass or find anything except for your own downfall, for you have sharpened your tongue for the perversion of the people. If it were not for my pledge to grant you immunity for your utterances, I should forthwith deliver your body to be burned. Arise now and flee away from out of my kingdom!'

So that man departed immediately and withdrew to the wilderness outside to join the holy Fathers.

Then the king became incensed against all the Christian people, and especially against the monks who dwelt in the wilderness, for he said: These are pernicious people, who obstruct me in my craving for pleasures and delights!' And on this account he aggravated his persecution of all Christians, while treating the idols with enhanced respect and promoting their ministers to high office.

4. While the king was labouring under this delusion, there was born to him a son, more handsome than any child born in those times. The king was filled with great joy; and he called his name Bodasaph, and said: 'This is what my idols have done for me, because I have exalted them.' And he pressed on increasingly with wanton revelry along the road to ruin. Then he gathered together a multitude of astrologers, that they might determine the child's future career. And these all declared with a single voice; 'This child shall attain a reign of glory with regal majesty such as nobody has ever achieved in the land of India.'

But among them there was one man, more expert than the others in all branches of wisdom. He declared: 'My verdict is that the glory which this child shall attain is not the glory of this world; but I believe that he is to be a great guide upon the road of truth.'

When the king heard these words, he was filled with sorrow and his joyful mood left him entirely. He ordered a city to be built for his son in a place set apart, and the child lived inside it.

And the king detailed trustworthy servants to stay with his son and look after him and afford him every indulgence. When the boy grew up in body and intelligence, Abenes replaced these men by other retainers, warning them not to make any mention in the prince's presence of death, of disease, or of eternity; neither of righteousness nor of sin; neither of old age nor of youth; neither of poverty nor of wealth. If any one of the attendants should fall sick, he was to be speedily removed, so that the boy might not catch sight of him. All these measures the king took so as to prevent the prince from seeing anything which might give him cause for wonderment, and thus lead him to make enquiry about the faith of the Christians.

5. After this King Abenes ordered all Christians and priests, and every believer to be expelled from his dominions. And he sent forth a herald, who proclaimed with a loud voice: 'Thus speaks King Abenes: If after three days I find any of you remaining here, I shall deliver you over to be burned.' So no Christians were left in that land, their very memory being rooted out.

Now the king had in his service a certain counsellor, extremely faithful to him and exalted in honour. This man was virtuous and benevolent, and popular with everybody. However, certain of the king's friends became jealous of him and highly resentful of his superior position, and so they looked out for a suitable moment to encompass his ruin.

One day the king went outside the city for a ride in company with his counsellor, and they arrived at a certain place. The counsellor caught sight of a man lying underneath a tree with his feet grievously wounded and unable to stand up. The nobleman asked him what had befallen him. The man answered: 'I have been mauled by a wild beast. But if you will take me with you, you will find that I shall bring you some profit, if it please God!'

The courtier said to him: 'I shall do this, even if I do not find any advantage in aiding you. But tell me, what precisely is this profit which you say that you will bring me?'

The wounded man answered: 'I am a patcher of words.'

The nobleman enquired: 'How do you patch words?'

The crippled man said: 'If in speech there be any wounds, I can sew them up, so that no damage results from them.'

However, the nobleman paid no heed to this saying, but ordered him to be carried off to his own home and taken care of.

Then the king's intimates hatched a plot against that nobleman, and they said to the king: 'Does Your Majesty not realise that this favourite of yours desires to seize your realm and establish himself upon your royal throne, for which purpose he incessantly stirs up the people? Now if you really want to find out the truth, speak to him in the following terms: "Behold, I am preparing to abandon this world, for it is vain! My aim is to be united with those servants of God whom I have cast forth."—In this way you can test out our allegation, and you will have the chance to see through his hypocrisy.' For those men knew how responsive that nobleman was to any words relating to the life eternal. In their hostility, they were bent on encompassing his doom by this ruse.

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The king said to them in reply: 'Unless I find evidence to confirm what you allege, I shall certainly not punish him in any way.'

Then the king summoned his favourite and tested him, saying: 'You know the extent to which my mind has been wrapped up in this world, and the way in which I have spent my days. I see now that I have been toiling away in vain. I am afraid that death may come upon me, and I shall be found completely destitute.

Now I wish to strive mightily towards the life eternal, to the same degree that I have striven in the affairs of this world. I see no other alternative but to unite myself to Christ's servants, whom I have subjected to such great persecution. Now what do you say, O faithful adviser of mine?'

When that man had listened to the king's speech, these words inspired him with yearning for Christ, and he burst into tears.

And he said to Abenes: 'Live, O king, live for ever! Although eternity is hard to grasp, none the less it is well worth searching for; whereas the transitory world, sweet though it is, is nevertheless to be shunned. It exists, but it is as if it existed not; to those who enjoy it, it brings no joy; to those it pleases, it gives no pleasure. To those on whom it inflicts tribulation, such affliction is of no consequence, for it is but a brief and transitory moment in eternity. Any affliction suffered in the transitory world for God's sake is of brief duration, but its reward in the life eternal lasts for ever. So carry this plan of yours into execution, for it is good that by renouncing this transitory world, you should win in return the world everlasting.'

These words made a painful impression on the king, who was greatly vexed by what this man had said, though he did not declare it to him.

But the counsellor realized that a snare had been laid for him, because he could observe the altered colour of the king's face. So he returned home sunk in deep grief, unable either to fathom the source of the trap into which he had fallen, or to think of anyone who might cure the king's disposition towards him. He passed a sleepless night, and then bethought himself of that man who was a patcher of speech. He summoned him and said to him: 'Once you said to me that you can cure people who have been wounded by words.'

The man replied: 'This is indeed the case! But I trust that you have not been visited by any such affliction?'

The courtier answered: 'All this time I have been serving the king, and never once have I seen him angry towards me, for I have walked before him in faithfulness. But today I have seen him incensed against me, and realized that I am no longer in favour with him.'

The man who was maimed enquired: "'What has transpired between him and yourself?'

The counsellor said to him: 'All I know is that he made a certain declaration to me, and I exhorted him to better things.

But my belief is that he was merely tempting me by this conversation.'— And he went on to relate the whole discussion which had taken place between them.

Then the maimed man said to him: 'Following this incident, your speech is sorely wounded indeed! But I will cure it by the grace of God on high. Know this, that the king suspects you of evil designs, and imagines that you are plotting to seize his realm. Certain people advised him to arrange this conversation as a snare for you. Now you must arise tomorrow, shave your head, remove those garments of yours, put on a hair shirt, and enter the king's presence. If the king asks you what this signifies, then tell him: "Behold I have prepared myself for that enterprise to which you called me. For a pampered man like myself, it is easier to die than to endure such a way of life as this, but none the less I do not wish to exist apart from you. Since I have shared in the good things of your reign, it is now my duty to share with you the hardships of this world as well. Just as I have been cossetted by you in the past, so let me now be tormented in company with you, so that we may together become worthy of paradise. Arise now, O king, for your heart has inspired you with an excellent intent."'

The counsellor did just as the maimed one taught him, and all suspicion against him vanished from the king's heart. But Abenes raged violently against the servants of God, and was filled with anger and spite towards them.

6. One day the king went out on a trip round about his city, and caught sight of two men from among the Christians departing from the town. He called them to him and said: 'How comes it that you have made so bold as not to leave my country? Or did you fail to hear the proclamation which my crier addressed to you?'

They answered him: 'Behold, we are on the point of departure from your land.'

The king said to them: 'What is it that has delayed you until now?'

They said: 'The lack of provisions for the journey, for the road that lies before us is long.'

The king retorted: "He who stands in fear of death does not dally for the sake of provisions.'

The holy men replied: 'Had we been afraid of you, we should indeed have made haste to go. But to us, death is not something to be dreaded, but to be desired, for thereby we expect to find rest from the troubles of this world. As for the fear felt by those who are in love with this world and prefer it to the life eternal—their fear is not fearful to us, nor can their gladness make us glad.'

The king answered them, saying: 'How can you speak thus? You admit that you are leaving my country at my command. Are you not doing this for fear of death?'

The witnesses of Christ said to him: 'We are fleeing not from fear of death, but to avoid giving you any pretext for venting your evil impulses upon us and providing you with an excuse for committing the godless outrages which you intend to inflict upon us. As for terror of you, this has never entered into our minds.'

At this the king was filled with great wrath and ordered them to be burnt with fire. Thus was their martyrdom accomplished for the sake of Christ, the true God. And a decree was published among all the people that whoever encountered any of the Christians should slay them.

After this all the idolaters arose in turmoil and were encouraged in their evil deeds. They began to vie with the king himself in their murderous and vicious behaviour, intensifying the persecution of all Christians in that country; and they burnt with fire many priests and monks dwelling in the wilderness.

Thenceforth the burning of dead bodies became a custom among the pagans in the land of India [In this passage, the Georgian translator has abridged his text, and the Arabic version shows why: 'And thence self-incineration and the burning of corpses became a custom in the land of the Indians, because of the bliss which the adherents of this creed claimed to be attained through such incineration. And volunteers from among them started burning themselves voluntarily, in order, so they asserted, to attain the same merit as those persons (i.e. the martyrs).' It is clear that the Georgian Christian redactor found the idea of ritual suicide repugnant, and watered it down so that it lost its original point.]. There remained beneath the sway of King Abenes not a single believer known to be a practising Christian, apart from those who dedicated themselves to the creed of the Holy Trinity and the faith which they placed in the true Gospel, to the point of winning the grace of martyrdom for Christ's sake, whereas some others took refuge underground in the catacombs. Many there were also who retained their belief in Jesus Christ in secret, and had not strength to profess it publicly like the others who were martyrs and confessors of the Trinity. And so those pagans subjected the faithful servants of Our Saviour Jesus Christ to much violent abuse and severe tortures.

7. Meanwhile the king's son grew up in the splendour of youth and perfection of body. He was fair to look upon and possessed a firm will and a fertile intelligence. His father took care that he should lack none of that instruction in wisdom and learning which is needful for a king. The only restriction was that nothing should be said to him about the vanity of this transitory world, about the onset of death, or of the inevitable end to which men's life is subject. The reason for this was that the king feared lest such themes might lead the lad to seek out the road of eternity or to investigate the problems of religious faith.

Now the child was most receptive of knowledge, a cherisher of learning, and a seeker out of all words of wisdom, excelling all previous members of that royal house. The king for his part was amazed at the boy's prowess. He did not know whether to feel joy at his intelligence and perfection, or grief and sorrow at the words uttered by the astrologers at the time of his birth.

At length the boy began to remark on his enforced detention within the city, realizing that his father would not allow anyone to visit him, nor permit him to go outside anywhere. And he became filled with resentment on this account. Then he reflected further, and said to himself: 'My father is senior to me and knows all my needs. I have no right to repine, because he is acting in my own best interests.'

So things continued until the prince attained to maturity of wisdom, and said within his heart: 'Even though he is my father, surely I have the right to judge for myself what suits me best. I am grown up now, and I cannot see in what respect I am inferior to my own retainers. Why should I leave them to arrange my affairs for me, and make no effort to find out for myself what is right, as does every normal person?'

Bodasaph's father carried out all his requests, and came to see him at frequent intervals [The text says here that his father 'did not multiply his visits to him . . . , but the "not" is surely an interpolation. The shorter Wisdom of Kalahvar, trans. D. M. Lang, 1957- has: 'But he (i.e. King Abenes) himself used to come frequently, for he loved him.'(p.74).]. And the boy determined to take the first opportunity of asking his father about this matter. Then he reflected: 'It is my father who is solely responsible for my confinement.

If I consult him, he will not tell me the truth, and I shall only disturb his mind by my curiosity. So I had better try to fathom this question by other means.'

Among the prince's retainers there was one man whom the boy loved more than the others because of his exceptional kindness, Bodasaph thought that this man's help would enable him to discover the true facts about himself. So he began to multiply tokens of affection and respect towards him, singled him out for bestowal of all favours, and promised him still more for the future. The tutor trusted Bodasaph and knew that his word was his bond. When the boy knew that he had gained the man's trust, he approached him confidentially and said to him: T have a question to ask you- If you will answer it truthfully, then I assure you that you shall be my friend and beloved above all other men, and you shall always find a haven with me. But if you conceal the facts from me, you will put an end to my affection and cut short your expectations both for the present and for those future times when I expect to inherit my father's kingdom.'

The tutor had complete faith in the prince's integrity and was confident that he would keep secret whatever he told him. So he replied: 'Ask me whatever you like, for my soul has nothing to hide from you.'

The boy said to him: Tell me why it is that my father shuts me up here like this and keeps me apart from other people, and other people away from me!'

The tutor answered and said: T will relate the story to you and give you the true explanation of this. Now it was those astrologers who persuaded your father to act thus, at the time when your sire was exterminating the servants of God and scattering them abroad from out of his country. The seers declared to the king that you yourself would reach the supreme goal on the road of God's service. Your father was therefore afraid that you might incline to do their will and be influenced by their words, and so he cut you off from mankind, in order that you might not cause our nation to adopt an alien creed.'

The lad answered and said to him: 'And what kind of men are those servants of God, to whom my father meted out such harsh treatment?'

Then the tutor told him the whole story of the Christians, and gave him a full account of all their virtues. When the lad had learnt all this, he made him no further answer.

8. When his father next came, Bodasaph said to him: 'I should like you to give me an explanation of a certain problem, which has plunged me into great sorrow and despondency.'

At this his father said to him: 'Ask me whatever question you like, my son!'

The boy said: 'Tell me then, my father and lord, why you have ordained that I should be shut up in this place, and why do you prevent people from visiting me?'

His father replied: 'It is my wish, my son, that you should see nothing to trouble your heart, and I have averted from you all pernicious evils which might mar your pleasure.'

The lad said to him: 'Know, O king, that by the conduct which you have adopted towards me, you have turned all my joys into bitterness, to such an extent that my food is without taste to my palate. You have brought great anguish upon me, because my soul yearns with a great desire for all things that are outside these gates of mine. Now I pray you, father, and beseech you in the name of your regal majesty, to let me out to go abroad and look upon the land; and never will I transgress your command.'

When the king heard these words, he was much grieved; his heart sank as he realized that if he obstructed Bodasaph's will and increased his depression, his son's entire pleasure in life would be soured. So he said to him: 'Son, if you desire to mount your steed and sally forth among men one day, let it be according to your will.' And the king commanded the lad's escorts to take him to beautiful places only, and to ward off everything unpleasant to the human eye; they were to station singers and minstrels along his route, so that his mind should be diverted by such distractions from curiosity about the affairs of the world.

And Bodasaph's retainers acted as the king commanded. So it came about that the king's son made frequent trips outside the town as often as he liked, and wherever he felt inclined.

One day, however, as the lad was going along, he caught sight of two men, one horribly deformed, the other a blind man who was bearing his crippled partner along. His attendants had become careless and omitted to clear these cripples away from his path, as they normally did. When the boy saw them, he was filled with abhorrence at the sight of them, and made enquiry from his retainers concerning them. They said to him: These are men who are stricken with infirmity, just as other men also are stricken. That first man's deformity springs from some internal ailment, whereas the other's blindness is also the result of disease.'

The boy said to them: 'Is this fate common to all men?'

They answered: 'Not to all, only to certain ones.'

Again the youth asked them: 'Can one foretell on whom this calamity shall fall, as well as knowing who will be spared from it?'

They answered him: 'Some it attacks, and others escape it; but this cannot be determined by human volition.'

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The lad said to them: 'So there is nobody who can be really assured that it will not befall himself?'

They replied: 'There is no one.'

Then he began to brood and to meditate; he was disturbed in mind and his complexion changed colour, and he returned home weighed down with melancholy.

On another occasion, Bodasaph took a ride in the open air and saw an old man stricken with years, bent double to the ground.

The colour of his face was black, his hair white, his flesh shrivelled; not a single tooth was left in his mouth, his speech was incoherent, and he crawled upon his hands and knees. The sight of this old man revived the prince's terror and he began to interrogate his associates about him.

They told him: This is a man who is ancient of days, on whom increasing age has brought decreasing strength, until he has reached the condition in which you see him. Henceforth he will decline still further every day.'

The lad asked: 'And does this fate befall every human being?'

They answered: Tes, it does, unless death forestalls it.'

The youth asked: 'What is the next stage after this?'

They replied: 'After this, death will carry him off.'

The lad enquired: 'And when does a man arrive at this state ?'

They told him: 'After eighty years, or sometimes a hundred.'

'What is a year?' the lad asked them.

'Twelve months,' they said.

'And what is a month?' the youth enquired.

They told him: Thirty days.'

'After all this/ the lad asked, 'is there no reprieve from death, nor any means of avoiding this senile state, followed by death ?'

They answered him: There is no escape from it!'

The boy said: 'As for those afflictions of which I have seen examples, namely deformity and blindness, is it a fact that nobody is guaranteed immunity from their attack, however brave he may be?'

They answered him: The truth is as you state it.'

'Does this apply equally all over the world?' asked the boy.

They replied: 'Yes, that is indeed so.' ["These three examples of human decay seen by Bodasaph correspond to three of the Four Omens of Buddhist tradition, where they take the form of a man worn out by age, a sick man, and a dead body. The Fourth Omen leading directly to the Buddha's Great Renunciation is Gautama's encounter with a mendicant monk. This monk appears later on in our Christian story in the shape of the Christian hermit Balahvar (Barlaam), who converts Bodasaph to the way of truth.]

Then the lad said: 'No longer is there any sweetness in this transitory life now that I have seen these things; and no one has any respite from sudden or gradual death. Gradual and sudden death are close in league together. Day follows hard on day inside the month, the year follows hard upon the heels of the month. Soon the years themselves must pass away, to drain a man's life from him, even if he succeeds in living out the full span of human existence.'

Then the prince departed, fretting over these matters and ceaselessly dwelling on these topics in conversation and within his heart. Thenceforth he began to repine and mope, and set no value on the delights of this world. His depression grew more acute every day. None the less, Bodasaph took trouble to humour his father. Whenever he met him, he put on a cheerful and carefree manner, lest his father should learn the reason for his melancholy and prevent him henceforth from leaving the city.

Whenever he met anyone capable of intelligent conversation, he would listen attentively to what he said, hoping to hear from somebody a message of truth which would lift the gloom from his heart.

One day he summoned his tutor and said to him: 'Do you not know of any person here who follows a faith different from ours?'

The tutor replied: 'There used to be some men living here, about whom I told you previously, and who were called Christians and servants of God—men who hated this world and its delights and sought, or so they claimed, for the eternal kingdom.

Their faith does not resemble our faith, nor does their conduct resemble our conduct. But the king was hostile towards them and expelled them from our country: many of them he exterminated by various forms of torture and by fire, as I have already explained to you. At present I know of none of them remaining in our land.'

When the tutor had described their deeds to him, the young prince's interest was aroused and he longed to see these men for himself. He was like a man who has lost some treasure and is desperately hunting for it. He made a parade of his detestation and hate for the transitory world, exclaiming: 'Abominable in my sight are the pleasures of this earth!' And he spurned all the ways of the world and its devotees, until his reputation was spread in all places; and all those who heard about Bodasaph praised God, who is made manifest in the Trinity and glorified in Unity, whose majesty belongs to the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, now and for ever and to all eternity, Amen. [Here follows a note by the scribe: 'O Christ, have mercy on David, Amen.']

BOOK 2

CONCERNING THE ARRIVAL OF OUR HOLY AND BLESSED FATHER BALAHVAR, WHO CONVERTED THE KING'S SON TO THE RELIGION OF CHRIST

9. Now this report reached a certain man who loved God and was graced by the habit of the monastic order, and filled with the Holy Spirit and all manner of wisdom; his name was Balahvar and he dwelt in the land of Sarnadib [A corruption of the Arabic 'Sarandib', i.e. Ceylon. The transposition of the vowel 'a' and consonant 'n' is particularly characteristic of a misreading of Arabic script.]. He heard about the prince, and learnt that he thirsted and yearned for the faith of Jesus Christ Our God. So he embarked on a ship and arrived in that kingdom, where he discarded his monastic attire and donned the garb of a merchant. He began to cultivate local society and frequently visited the king's court, as was the general custom, until he had got to know the people there and their several relationships with the king and his son.

He also found out about the special status of the prince's tutor. One day he gained a confidential interview with him and said: 'I am a foreigner come from a far country. In my possession is a treasure of great price which I have kept hidden from men.

I have resolved to reveal it to no one but yourself, because I have confidence in your virtue and intelligence, that you will do me the favour of keeping this business a complete secret.'

The tutor answered: 'You can trust me to do your bidding with complete honesty. I will reveal this matter to nobody but the person whom you yourself name.'

Balahvar said to him: 'The treasure I possess is finer than red brimstone, since it restores sight to blind men's eyes and hearing to the deaf, makes the dumb speak, cleanses the lepers, causes the lame to arise and walk, strengthens the ailing, enriches those that are in want, and cures all ailments; it grants victory over the foe, drives out devils from the possessed, and furnishes a man with all his heart's desire.'

The tutor said to him: 'You do not look a fool to me, O stranger, though your words sound like the prattle of some loquacious babbler. What you tell me is unlike anything I have heard before. Still, I find it hard to regard you as a liar when I contemplate the gravity of your outward demeanour. So tell me now: What is this treasure of which you speak? Show it to me, let me have a look at it! If it is of regal quality, I shall inform the king's son about it. It would be unwise for me to praise a thing to him beyond measure, so that when he came to examine it, he would not find it a match for my account of it.'

Balahvar the wise said to him: 'You ask me to show it to you—but no one has the power to see it unless he possesses two qualities: soundness of eyesight and a body pure of sin. If any man who is dim of vision and steeped in sin should catch sight of it, the light of his eyes will be extinguished and he will lose his wits as well. Now I am a physician, and I can see that your eyesight is dim. I am afraid that the brilliance of this thing will quench the light of your eyes. But I have heard of the prince's exemplary conduct and holy way of life, kept pure from all evil ways; and he is still a lad and sharp of eye. And so I place my trust in God, that the prince may be given power to look upon this treasure of mine.'

The tutor replied: 'I have taken note of all that you have said. I am a man polluted by sins, and can no longer aspire to set eyes upon that treasure. Furthermore, my eyesight, as you observe, is no longer sharp, so I have no wish in this transitory existence to look at it at all. However, I believe that you are speaking the truth and not lies.'

Balahvar declared to him: 'Indeed I am telling you the truth.

Have faith in me, and do not be afraid to make these things known to the king's son, for he is worthy of them. One who holds an official position such as yours should certainly not hide so fine a treasure from him; and if you do tell him about it, then you will win for yourself increased favour and honour in his sight, greater than that enjoyed by any of your colleagues.'

After this the tutor went in before the prince and told him everything he had heard from Balahvar the wise. Now the boy longed for human company, hoping that he might hear from someone's lips words profitable to the soul. "When Bodasaph had listened to the tutor's story with its miraculous account of the treasure, his mind sensed that in the person of Balahvar he would find what he desired. So he ordered him to be brought in privately, together with his treasure.

10. So Balahvar was escorted in, holding a small casket in which he pretended that a jewel was contained. When he made his appearance before the king's son, he offered Bodasaph greetings and began to utter prayers for his prosperity, as it is fitting to do before kings. The prince likewise received him with honour and enquired cordially after his health. Then Bodasaph told the tutor to give up his seat to Balahvar and leave the room. When he had gone out, he told Balahvar to sit down and said to him: 'Show me this treasure which you have brought with you.'

Balahvar answered and said to him: 'It would be terrible if any accident befell you through negligence on my part, for my treasure does really possess those properties which your tutor described to you. No one is capable of setting eyes on it except a man of pure and innocent character, with a fully-developed intelligence. If anyone feeble of wit should see it, he would lose what brains he has and the sight of his eyes to boot. So now I propose to test you in conversation and to hold speech with you, and if I find you qualified to look upon it, I shall show it to you, for I have brought it especially for you and for no one else. I place ray hopes in God, that you have attained the ability to look upon it; you shall certainly succeed in this if it be God's will.

For during this audience, O prince, you have received and welcomed me, an unknown stranger, with the same exemplary courtesy which you accord to the grandees of your palace!'

Bodasaph answered and said: 'This is because I am most confident that your visit will prove worthwhile, and that I shall receive from you that which my heart desires.'

FABLE THE FIRST

The Trumpet of Death: The Four Caskets

11. [Unconciously, the composer of this fable mingled two stories together: the violent begining of Emperor Ashoka's reign, and the story about the caskets that refer to the reinternment of Buddha's ashes.] Balahvar said to him: 'Exceptional though your kindness is, there is nothing amazing about it. For once upon a time there lived a certain pious king, who was virtuous and sought after righteousness. When he was passing along the road one day with a throng of followers, he caught sight of two men clad in tattered garments made up from rags salvaged from rubbish heaps; and their sallow complexions testified to their poverty and need. But the king recognised them: at their sight, he swiftly dismounted from his horse before them, embraced their necks and accorded them great honour and respect. "When his companions saw this, they strongly resented the king's conduct and considered his behaviour most ridiculous, for their monarchs were quite unaccustomed to behave in this fashion. Not daring to reproach the king themselves, they went to see his brother, who habitually spoke his mind frankly to him. The courtiers told him what the monarch had done, and urged him to admonish the king not to do such a thing again. So the king's brother went to him and repeated what those people had told him. When he had finished speaking, the king answered him in noncommittal terms which left him in doubt whether His Majesty had paid any heed to his representations, or whether he was merely vexed by them.

[The following sentences refer almost certainly to Emperor Ashoka and his brutal rule before he became a Buddhist. In this violent time, he killed all his brothers to make his throne safe, except one: Vanashoka, also called Tissa.] 'Now it was the custom in that kingdom when the king was angry with anyone and intended to put him to death, that he would send a herald, known as the herald of death, who would make a loud noise before the gates of the victim's house, and blow upon a trumpet. When the master of the house heard this, he would know for certain that he was soon to die, and all the people would know it too. So after a few days, the king ordered the herald of death to go and sound a fanfare at his brother's gates. The herald went forth and made a great noise and blew the trumpet of death before his door. When the king's brother heard its blast, he despaired of his life and made his last will and testament; and his household began to weep and tear their hair.

Then he donned his own burial garment and went with his wife and children to the royal palace, all shedding tears of despair and uttering loud laments; and they sprinkled ashes upon their heads.

The king ordered them to be brought into his presence. His brother wept and implored mercy. Then the king said to him: "O fool and slow of understanding, how comes it that you were so prostrated with terror at your brother's herald when he sounded the signal of death before your gates? Surely you know that your brother and his herald are but mortal men created by Almighty God, incapable either of hastening the fulfilment of His will towards them, or of averting their own destiny? You know that you have not committed any crime against your brother to render you liable to the death penalty. Why then were you astonished at my dismounting and falling down before those who are heralds of Our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, who remind me that I shall meet Him face to face, and expound to me the words of His gospel? I am well aware of my many sins. Lo then, it was to reprove your folly that I played you this trick, even as I shall shortly convict of vanity those that prompted your reproof of me." And the king forgave his brother, after giving him this salutory lesson.

12. [The following sentences refer to the caskets, the 8 sarcophagusses Ashoka let made for the reinternment of the Buddha's ashes under 8 massive stupas dispersed throughout the empire. The first stupa has been found in Pitrahwa near

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Nepal in 1898, just as here described with a heavy sarcophagus and 5 urns that contained hundreds of jewels and the ashes of the Buddha in them.] 'Then the king ordered four caskets to be made. Two of them he had inset with gold and silver and carbuncles and precious stones. He had these ones stuffed with dead men's bones and all manner of unclean refuse, which is loathsome to men's senses. Then he secured them with golden clasps. After this, he had the two other caskets smeared with tar and pitch. And he filled their interior with carbuncles and precious stones and all manner of sweet perfumes which delight men's senses. These he fastened with bits of old rope. Then the king called for those

courtiers of his who had been scandalized by the respect shown by him to the saintly mendicants. When they had taken their seats before him, he had the two sets of caskets brought in, both the gilded ones and the others as well, and invited them to appraise them. Concerning the two gilded ones they said: "Our minds cannot fathom their true value, for they deserve to be receptacles of all manner of precious treasure; as for those two pitch-smeared ones, we feel that these unsightly objects can have no value worth mentioning."

'At this the king said: "Of course! Such is bound to be your verdict and assessment, for you look at nothing but people's outward appearance!" Then he ordered the two caskets inlaid with gold to be opened. And the assembled company shrank from the loathsome trash which they contained, and the stench from it filled their nostrils.

'The king remarked: "This is the image of all those people who deck themselves out with fine raiment and gold, but within are full of stupidity, boredom, falsehood, filth and all manner of unclean elements, more nauseating even than any refuse which this world produces."

'Next he had the two pitch-smeared caskets opened up, and the mansion was lit up with the radiance of the jewels, and the company was delighted with the savour of perfume.

The king said: "This is the image of those holy men, my veneration for whom scandalized you so intensely when you surveyed their shabby raiment with your outward eye. For my part, I was surveying their inward nature through the eyes of my mind."

Then the courtiers declared that they had profited greatly by this parable, and knew now that the king had acted rightly.'

And Balahvar concluded: This is a semblance of you, O king's son, for you have granted me honour in return for the joyous tidings which you expect to hear from me.'

13. Then the prince arose from his throne and said in his heart: 'It appears that here indeed is my heart's desire, for which I was seeking.' Turning to Balahvar, he exclaimed: 'Exceeding good is your discourse and manifest is the truth of it.

I take it that this in fact is that very treasure which you keep hidden, for it strengthens my heart, lightens my eyes and fortifies my understanding. If the matter stands as I believe, pray give me confirmation of this. If you have something else to tell me besides what I have heard, I shall be very satisfied to receive it instead of the jewel. For you have greatly enlightened my mind by your discourse and torn away the veil of melancholy from my heart. So now tell me an allegory abcut goodness.'

FABLE THE SECOND

The Sower

Balahvar said: 'A certain sower went forth, gathered up good seed and began to sow. And some seed fell by the roadside, and straightway the birds pecked it up; some fell upon the rock, on which there was just a little soil and moisture, and sprouted up, but when its roots reached the arid surface of the rock, they withered away; and some fell among thorns, and when it sprouted up the thorns choked and killed it; but some fell upon good ground free from tares, and although there was but little of it, it sprouted up and brought forth much fruit.

'Now the sower is the giver of wisdom, Christ Our God, and the good seeds are the words of truth uttered by His sacred mouth. The ones which fell by the roadside, so that the birds pecked them up, are those which are heard by the ear, but pass the heart by; and the ones which fell on the moist spot and sprouted up, and then withered away because of the aridity of the rock, are those which a man hears and finds congenial, and acknowledges as true for a brief moment, but then fails to grasp with his mind. But those which sprouted up and were about to bring forth fruit, only to be choked by the thorns, are those words which a man cherishes, but when it comes to putting the ideas which he has accepted into effect, his ambitions stifle and choke them. But the seed which sprouted up and brought forth much fruit is that which the eye will harvest, the heart gather in, and the mind bring to perfection; and it will conquer lusts and cleanse the heart from sins.'

The king's son said to him: I place my hope in Christ, that whatever seed you implant in me may sprout up and bring forth much fruit. Now convey to me the likeness of the transitory world, and how it deludes those who cherish it.'

FABLE THE THIRD

The Man and the Elephant

14. Balahvar said to him: 'This transitory life and all that cherish it resemble a man pursued by a raging elephant, which cornered him inside a fearsome abyss. As he fell down inside it he found two branches growing out over the precipice, so he hung on to them, and then managed to establish some sort of foothold. When he looked around him, he descried two mice, one white and the other black, which never ceased to gnaw at the roots of those trees on which he hung. Then he looked down into the chasm and noticed a dragon, which had parted its jaws and was intent on swallowing him up. And on the ledge on which his feet rested he discerned four heads of asps projecting from the cliff. Then he lifted up his eyes and saw that a little honey was dripping from the branches of the tree, and he began to eat it. And its flavour and sweetness so entranced him that he no longer worried about the perils which beset him and the fact that he might be bitten to death at any moment. As for the branches on which he was suspended, he saw the tree's roots being gnawed away by the mice and—most dangerous of all—the dragon lying in wait to swallow him up, but all this failed to trouble him in the slightest.

'Now that elephant is the harbinger of death, which pursues the sons of Adam, and the abyss is the world, full of all manner of evil and pernicious snares. The two branches are a man's life span and the two mice—one white and the other black—are the days and nights that fret away at it incessantly, and suddenly sever the thread of a man's life. The four asps signify the four elements from which a man's body is constructed, and when a single one of them is destroyed, life comes to an end. The dragon which opened its jaws and longed to swallow him up, is the image of hell, into which the lovers of this world enter after their death. And those few drops of honey are the brief delights of this world, by which it deceives those who are led astray by the sweetness of corruption.'

15. The king's son said: 'This comparison is just and the parable truly remarkable! Behold, you have revived my spirits by this discourse of yours. Now tell me an allegory about this vain world and its devotees—those people who are infatuated by its charms and contemptuous towards the better life.'

FABLE THE FOURTH

The Man and his Three Friends

Balahvar said: 'This world and those who love it resemble people delighting in thorns smeared with honey, and spurning the blossoms which fill the garden with fragrance, which is the rejection of the world.—Now this is like the case of a certain man who had three friends. One of these he loved more than anybody else*; [At this point one leaf (fol. 35) is missing from the Jerusalem manuscript. However, this fable is present in the shorter Georgian Wisdom of Balahvar (trans. Lang, 1957, pp. 82-3), as well as the Greek, Arabic and other main recensions, from which the missing passage has been reconstructed for the purpose of this translation.]

[and he thought about him day and night and exposed himself to risk and hazard for his sake, not wavering in his devotion towards him nor hesitating to sacrifice for his friend both his life and his possessions. Now the second friend occupied a lower place than the first in his affections, but was none the less his intimate friend and boon companion, so that he esteemed and cherished him, rendered him services, gave him presents, and ceased not to exert himself on his behalf. But the third friend he slighted and neglected and found tedious, so that he devoted to him only an infinitesimal share of his efforts, love and property, scarcely ever paying him a visit and then only on rare occasions.

'All at once there befell that man one of those misfortunes when a man has need of friends and trustworthy allies. The king's sheriffs arrived to hale him off before the royal presence, and the man ran in terror to his first friend and said to him: "You know how much I love you, what sacrifices I have made for your sake, and what risks I have incurred on your behalf. Now today I have desperate need of your help, seeing that they are dragging me away for trial. What are you prepared to do to help me?'

'The other replied: "I am no friend of yours, but have companions of my own with whom I must needs make merry. All I can do is to supply you with a couple of garments, though these will not be of much use to you."

Then he ran panic-stricken to his second friend whom he loved and cherished and said to him: "What can you do for me, for I have not ceased from exerting myself on your behalf?

Behold, today is the moment when I have most need of you, for they are hauling me off for trial!"

That friend replied: "I have no time for you today, because I have enough troubles of my own to attend to. Go your way, and know that I am no longer any friend of yours. However, I will accompany you a few steps, and then return to look after my own affairs."

'Finally that man had recourse to the third friend, whom he had despised in the days of his prosperity, and said to him]* [At this point we resume our translation from the Jerusalem manuscript.] with a shamefaced expression: "I scarcely dare open my lips to plead for your help, but I am driven to have recourse to you in my grievous misfortune, in the hope that you will afford me solace in my hour of need."

Then this man answered him joyfully and said: "I am your friend, and I have stored up the memory of your little kindnesses to me. And now I will repay you with interest. Have no fear, for I will accompany and intercede for you in your trouble, and not deliver you into the hands of your enemies nor betray you.

Cheer up now, for there will surely follow a happy issue from your misfortune."

Then that man exclaimed: "I do not know which I should repent of more deeply—my excessive coldness towards my true friend, or my exaggerated fondness for those two false ones!" '

The king's son said to him: This excellent parable appeals to me greatly. Pray explain its true meaning to me.'

Balahvar said to him: That first friend is the love of money, which men hoard up. For the sake of their cherished possessions, they pay no heed to death, nor do they hesitate to incur all manner of trouble and effort for their sake. But when death is at hand, a man's riches avail him nothing, apart from providing a couple of shrouds to serve as his winding sheets. This is all the return they render him, after which they find another friend with whom to make merry. Now the second friend is wife and children, to whom men are passionately attached, making all manner of effort and exhausting both mind and body for their sake; but on the day of his death, they can avail a man nothing, except that they will undertake a short journey as far as his tomb and then turn back to look after their own affairs and bury his memory in oblivion. But the third friend, the one that was completely neglected, is the company of good deeds: love, mercy, faith, trust, holiness and similar virtues which can accompany us and deliver us on the day of judgement, returning with interest whatever little kindnesses we have rendered. This then is the image of this world and those that love it.'

16. The king's son said to him: 'I realise that you are making the whole truth known to me, and it is perfectly clear to my mind. Tell me now how the world exercises its deceit, and how a person can elude it.'

FABLE THE FIFTH

The King for One Year

Balahvar said to him: 'I will tell you, O prince, how to elude worldly temptation.—This calls to mind the citizens of a certain town, whose annual custom it was to bring in a foreigner who knew nothing of their traditions, and set him up as king within their city. And the benighted man would imagine that his reign over them was permanent for all time. So he would begin to eat and drink and be merry with never a care, for the citizens let him follow his own will and pleasure throughout his year of office, without giving him any inkling of their peculiar ways.

But when one year had expired, the citizens would invade his mansion, strip him bare and drive him out naked and ashamed into exile in a foreign country. There the king would be left without food, drink or clothing or any form of solace. And thus his previous luxury and merrymaking would turn into repentance and woe.—Such then was their regular custom.

'Now on one occasion they elected a certain man to be king over them, according to their custom. But this man was a person of intelligence. When they set him up as their ruler, he realised that he was but an alien in their midst and placed no trust in them. So he looked for some man who could counsel him how to act towards his subjects. When he had found a reliable man who knew the custom of those citizens, the king confided his problem to him, mentioning his alien status among them and his lack of confidence towards them. Then that man gave him the following advice: "I will tell you how you should proceed. Start by removing as much as you can from the treasure houses under your control—gold, precious stones and choice carbuncles, and all manner of valuables—and send them off for safe custody to that foreign land whither they relegate their kings after stripping and banishing them. When they drive you out, as their custom is, you will find everything which you have sent on in advance, and be able to enjoy it all the more in complete security, without suffering the regret and sorrow which have afflicted your royal predecessors."

'So the king did as that sensible and wise man advised him.

When his year had expired, the citizens rose against him, stripped him, and banished him to that foreign land according to their custom. There he recovered everything which he had sent on ahead. From now on he passed his time in merrymaking and luxury without stint, and had no more fear or concern for those fickle citizens; nor did he have to rue the prospect of a lifetime of destitution.

'Now that city is this vain world, and the citizens are the devils who control this world of darkness. [Ct Ephesians, 6:12] These entice us with manifold allurements, and mankind in its

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folly imagines its enjoyment to be everlasting. Now I pray to Christ to make me resemble that good counsellor, and you to be like that wise and sensible king who placed no trust in those foreign citizens and was not duped by the regal status which they conferred upon him. Henceforth you too must strive to escape such terrible snares as these, for I have shown you the way and you have no excuse for further negligence.'

17. Bodasaph said: 1 place my trust in Christ, the Son of God, and in your holy prayers, that I may be the sort of man you have in mind. Justly have you exposed to me the shortcomings of this world. Now I know that the semblance of this world is transient. My own personal experience has already inspired me with contempt for it, but your discourse has strongly increased my detestation of it. Tell me now, does every man of your country understand the affairs of this world as you do, and speak of them in the same terms as you yourself?'

Balahvar answered: 'No; but I belong to that company of persons who are devoted to Christ, the God of all men. We have abandoned this world to those who are fond of it, and have withdrawn to remote desert places and mountains to practise the exercises and customs of the monks, which is the similitude and image of the angels. Originally we were subjects of your father.

But when he learnt of our feats and assemblies, he was horrified and took fright, for he imagined that we were plotting to seize his temporal authority. His opinion about us was derived from his courtiers, who shared in his luxury and regal majesty. It was they who incited him to banish us, kill us and burn us with fire.

And your father did so, because we despise him and have selected for ourselves a greater king, namely Jesus Christ.

Bodasaph enquired: 'Why then did the whole nation turn hostile towards you, and ready to slander your companions?'

Balahvar replied: 'Their hostility was indeed quite as great as you have heard say. But how could their slander affect a class of men who speak and lie not; who pray and sleep not; who fast and feed not; who suffer privation and falter not; and who give thanks for what is good and feel no jealousy for those things on account of which mankind is jealous?'

Bodasaph said: 'In what respect are such men free of jealousy?'

Balahvar answered: 'The ascetics feel no jealousy either in regard to possessions or to wives and children, and nobody need entertain any fear that they harbour designs on either their wealth or their womenfolk. Human enmity has its sole hasis in men's struggle to amass treasure, each one more than his neighbour.'

FABLE THE SIXTH

Dogs and Carrion

18. Bodasaph said to him: 'How is it then that people have conspired together to treat you and your comrades so despitefully?

For it is clear that men are themselves at loggerheads regarding their own affairs!'

Balahvar answered him: 'It is because seekers after worldly bliss, however envious and hostile they may be to one another, yet confine their enmity to transitory matters. Towards the believers who serve Christ Our God, however, they behave like dogs of various hues, gathered together from divers places and crowding round some carrion and biting at each other. But as soon as they catch sight of a wayfarer passing by, they stop snapping at each other and all with one accord co-operate in attacking him, for they imagine this man to be coming along with designs on their carrion. This idea of theirs arises from their greed and gluttony. As soon as they notice that man's alien presence among them, they make common cause against him, although they were previously at enmity; and they fail to realise that this carrion of theirs is quite valueless to him.

'Such are the lovers of this world, who have chosen it in preference to paradise. They devour one another and shed their blood for its sake; and in this occupation they waste their days, engrossed in the quest after worldly honour and glory, and deathly envy dwells constantly within their hearts. But when they observe those people who are foes to this world and have no care other than to free themselves from it and have no share in their worldly ambitions, then they imagine those persons are setting a trap for them with ulterior motive; for they attribute to the believers in Christ their own treacherous mentality. This is why they conspire together to maintain enmity towards us; they have adopted this attitude because of their lack of understanding, and have persuaded your father that the sole aim of our company is to foment opposition to his regime. Your father has failed to grasp the true facts, namely that the majesty and glory of his royal estate are low and despicable in the eyes of true believers in Our Saviour }esus Christ, and most of all to genuine monks, who view his life of luxury as something detestable, and are perpetually scandalized to see how his mind has become dominated by the delights of this world.'

FABLE THE SEVENTH

Physician and Patient

19. Bodasaph said to Balahvar: 'Enough of mere words! Begin to proclaim the message of salvation!'

Balahvar replied: 'When a skilled physician sees a body deranged by grievous ailments and wishes to restore it to health, he does not attempt to build up the flesh by gorging it with food and drink. For he knows that if food and drink are mixed with the corrupt humours, they would disagree with the system and harm the body rather than doing it any good. But those through whom God in His providence operates the conquest of disease will rather impose a regime and administer medicine.

'As soon as the distemper and the corrupt humour have been expelled through God's grace, then it is that they will nourish the patient with food and drink; and straightway the palate will acquire a relish for good cheer, and he whose death God wishes to avert will be restored to health.'

20. Bodasaph said to him: Tell me, holy father Balahvar, how did you begin to attain this degree of austerity, and how did you embark on the monastic career?'

The holy Balahvar answered: '"When I was still absorbed in this worldly life, I observed the vicissitudes to which people were subject in their business and family affairs, appearing as if caught in a snare before the onset of disaster. When I noticed how short a time they spent in enjoyment and what a tremendous effort they made to obtain it, I repented of my previous folly and excess of error. Accordingly I set out to replace my blindness by righteousness and to cultivate my reason. Lifting up my eyes, I analysed my own nature, that I might restore my depraved character to its pristine purity and attain to the estate of the holy fathers. I trained my heart day by day, until it was converted to love Christ and yearn for virtue. Then I began to wean my desires and appetites away from their accustomed habits, and got them under my own control. I found it hard to submit to the laws of the faith and the delights of endurance until the murk of darkness was stripped away from my eyes and the intoxication of futility dissipated, and I could boldly resist all pleasurable allurements. Then I beheld the shamefulness of the way of life which I now eschewed. I realized clearly how superior was the way of life which I had now taken up, my yearning for which waxed all the greater. I treated myself like a shepherd tends his flock, meting out pasture to the obedient and the disobedient for them to graze on according to their deserts. Thus did I govern my own nature, sometimes rewarding it for its endurance, sometimes chastening it fpr its lack of perseverence, until I had fortified those qualities which I held dear and eliminated those which I deemed detestable.'

Bodasaph enquired 'This message which you and your associates proclaim and preach—is it something which you yourselves sought out by your own wisdom and knowledge, and on discovering it to be true, adopted it in preference to all other codes of conduct? Or did God Himself make His voice heard to you, eliciting this response from you?'

Balahvar declared: This matter is loftier and more exalted than the wisdom of this world. Had this beauteous vocation of monasticism been established by worldly wisdom, its path would have been easy and broad. Had it been created by human ingenuity, it would have invited people to love this world too, with all its allurements and delights. But in fact this is something alien to the world, being proclaimed publicly by the true Godhead, and able to overcome all forces hostile to God and crush temptations which lead to self-indulgence; it is a creed which is hostile to pleasure and numbs the enjoyment of it, and summons men to obey the will of fesus Christ Our Lord. It is manifest that this is an ordinance of the King of heaven and earth, who reigns jointly with the Father and the Holy Ghost, for it is more sublime than any utterance of men and loftier than human nature and vision. God revealed this holy creed by the mouth of the holy apostles and prophets to certain men, and to these were granted faith and salvation; verily were they confirmed through the holy apostles in a life wondrous and like unto that of the angels.'

FABLE THE EIGHTH

The Sun of Wisdom

21. Bodasaph said: 'What is that wisdom which is praised for its excellence and perfection and filled with every honourable power? And how is it that not everyone benefits from it?

The holy Balahvar said: The image of that wisdom resembles the sun, which shines upon all mankind, great and small alike; no one is debarred from deriving benefit from it, nor is anyone who so wishes hindered from enjoying its warmth or stretching out his hand towards its beams. But if someone chooses not to enjoy it, the sun is not to blame. The same applies to wisdom among men until the day of the resurrection, for its light shines upon all men like the light of the sun, and is readily accessible to all.

'However, men surpass one another in this, just as one pearl is worth many hundred shillings and another only two shillings [The Arabic refers to the coin in question as a "dirhem", the Georgian as a "dangi."].

But whoever shall seek after wisdom and find it and shall cherish that spiritual wisdom, fulfilling it not with lip-service only but in deed, that man shall be like a pearl of great price; and if someone shall fail to discover that great pearl, then even a little one, however insignificant, is not without value.'

Bodasaph said: 'Is there any form of wisdom which its seekers fail for a long time to attain, but then light upon by some happy chance?'

Balahvar replied: 'This is the case with most men engaged in the pursuit of wisdom, for wisdom falls into a number of categories. Some of these are close at hand and straightforward, others are remote and hard of access; some are evident, and others concealed; some are conspicuous and others profound.

Wisdom is like springs of water, some trickling gently from the depths of the earth and others gushing into the air like fountains to the height of a man or the length of a lance; some flow out of profound chasms, and others from waterless deserts in the depths of which no moisture can be descried. Then again, springs of water are of many different qualities. Some are shallow, sweet and agreeable; some suffer from being remote, turgid and in scant supply; others combine the virtues of being pleasant, near at hand and abundant in their flow.'

22. Bodasaph said: 'Do you know of anyone besides yourselves who has been urging people to quit this transitory world and spurn its pleasures?'

Balahvar replied: 'In this country we are alone in this ministry, and apart from us there is no one. In other lands there are righteous men who profess to propagate the true faith in their own language and to preach the message of truth. But many of their projects have ended in ruin. Some of them fulfil the divine word in their conduct, but others behave in a way quite incompatible with their professed beliefs. Most of them are in fact deluded* both in conduct and in doctrine, and their doings have nothing in common with ours.' [* In the Jerusalem manuscript, the scribe has added a marginal note here: 'By "deluded persons", the blessed Balahvar is referring to heretics.']

Bodasaph said: 'How can one be assured that the gospel you preach is truer than theirs? How did you and they gain knowledge of the truth?'

Balahvar answered him: 'Every true doctrine is vouchsafed to man by Jesus Christ, for He called on all men to follow Him.

Some heard His voice and responded to it, adopting in its entirety the doctrine and creed which He preached. And when it was ripe, they offered the fruit thereof as a sacrifice to God, as was fitting. But some there were whose characters lacked fortitude and perseverance, so that they faltered, languished and perished. Now what common ground can there be between a preserver and a destroyer, a builder and a wrecker, between one who stands fast and one who abandons the struggle? Nobody must proclaim the gospel message unless it be based on the preaching of truth! Their new-fangled heresies have set up a barrier between them and ourselves, and they have chosen these in preference to the life eternal.

'Originally men received the gospel message directly from the prophets and the first apostles, who preserved it true and inviolate and preached the faith in unity of belief. While the prophet is still alive, proclaiming his message and denouncing the sins of mankind in God's name, no man can plead ignorance as an excuse when he is called before God's judgement seat. The prophet makes atonement to God, and the people abide in righteousness and cleave for many years to His creed, law and authority. But later on, men rose up in revolt. They committed crimes, spurned prayer and gave free Tein to their desires. Science was extinguished and scholars robbed of their learning. Hardly any of the sages survived, and the few who remained were treated with contempt by the untutored rabble. Wisdom was quenched and folly shone forth brightly.

'During these events, that generation passed away and another arose, which had no conception of the cause of true learning. So ignorance began to radiate and be diffused abroad, and knowledge to wane and be extinguished. The words of Holy Writ were falsified and their power perverted, and men abandoned the path of righteousness. People professed and interpreted the words of the sacred books in whatever sense they pleased.

While clinging to the letter of the law, they abandoned its correct application. None the less, the word of truth endured, which even our adversaries received from the fountain head, and which the apostles preached. At the present time, we too accept those writings, but we oppose the fraud of the heretics, who only profess to accept the substance of Holy Writ, but are not worthy to establish the truth of it*.'

[This rather cryptic passage provides undeniable evidence of the Manichaean origins of much of the Barlaam and Josaphat romance. As Professor W. B. Henning has pointed out, the 'prophetology* in the corresponding passage of the Arabic version 'compellingly recalls authentic Manichaean writings'. ('Persian poetical manuscripts from the time of Rudaki, in A Locust's Leg. Studies in honour of S. H.*

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Taqizadeh, London, 1961, p. 93.) Dr E. M. Boyce kindly drew my attention to an ancient Manichaean text from Central Asia, in which the idea of the inevitable corruption of earlier, inferior religions after the death of their founder is explicitly stated. In this passage, Mani[chaeus] himself writes:

"The religion which I have devised is in tea respects superior and better compared with the other, earlier religions [e.g. Buddhism, Zoroastrianism and Christianity].

'Firstly: The earlier religions existed only in a single country and in a single language. My religion on the other hand is such that it will make its appearance in every country and in every tongue, and be taught in the furthest lands.

'Secondly: The earlier creeds continued in force only so long as their actual founders were there to direct them in person. But when theit founders passed away, then their religious communities fell into confusion and became remiss in their precepts and works . . .

'But my religion, thanks to its good organisation through the living scriptures, as well as through the agency of teachers, bishops, Elect and Hearers, and through wisdom and works, will last until the end of the world . . ."

(See F. C. Andreas and Walter Henning, 'Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan, 3, in "Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademic der Wissenschaften", Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Berlin, 1933, 7, pp. 4-5; also al-Biruni, "The Chronology of Ancient Nations", trans. C. E. Sachau, London, 1879, p. 190.) The general question of the Manichaean origins of the Barlaam romance is also discussed in D. M, Lang, "The Wisdom of Balahvar", London, 1957, pp.24-29.)]

23. Balahvar concluded by saying: 'I imagine that nobody has ever told all this to your father in his life, nor has anyone acted towards him with sincerity or made any real effort to make him understand these matters.'

Bodasaph answered: '"Why have the wise men taken no steps to approach him all this time ?'

Balahvar replied: 'Because they knew they must wait for the right time and place before speaking their minds. Sometimes wise men have shrunk from reproaching people who were more amiable and receptive of justice and argument than your father is. It can happen that one man may be intimately associated with another for a very long time, and they may be on the most friendly terms "with one another, and differ only on some questions of religion and philosophy. But even though the wise man may be very sorry for his deluded friend, yet he may never get round to revealing to him the secret of the wisdom which he holds.'

Bodasaph exclaimed: 'How can such a thing occur?'

FABLE THE NINTH

The King and the Happy Poor Couple

Balahvar said: 'Here is a parable concerning a certain king who governed his realm with wisdom and sagacity, made great efforts to secure public tranquillity, and administered the temporal affairs of his kingdom as befits those monarchs who are inspired by love for their people. Now that king had a counsellor, a virtuous and upright man who eschewed all evil-doing, and constantly encouraged the king to adopt righteous and beneficent measures towards his subjects. Now this man was initiated into the rites of the true faith and had frequent meetings with wise people who had abandoned the life of this world. He was moreover a man of careful and sound judgement, and used to speak to the king with the utmost candour, though without revealing his personal secret to him. And so he remained a secret adherent of God's righteous cause.

'Now when this minister saw the king bowing down in front of idols and celebrating their solemn festivals, he was deeply grieved, like a man who grieves for his own son when the devil holds him in his clutches. Often he desired to discuss religion with him, and he consulted his friends about the problem. But they said: "You are the person most familiar with his intimate thoughts, and if you find an opportunity, then you might have a word with him. But be on your guard, for the devil is unsleeping in the cause of evil, and it would be a bad thing if Satan were to alienate the king's affections from you and incite him to persecute your associates."

'As the minister sorrowed greatly for the king's sake, he watched for a good moment to utter a word of warning to him.

A long time went by like this, until one night the king said to his counsellor: "Come, let us go for a walk in the town, so that we may see how the people are faring!" In the course of their walk through the city, they came upon a large garbage mound*.

[This parable has its roots in the popular traditions of Baghdad in the time of the Caliph Harun al-Rashid (r. 786-809 AD), who was renowned for his habit of walking incognito round the city at night and observing the behaviour of his subjects, The episode of feasting, dancing and love-making in a giant rubbish heap has its parallel in the Arabian Nights, where the wife of an ensorcelled prince makes love to a loathsome negro in a cave dug out of a giant refuse mound. (See The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Niglit, trans. Sir Richard F. Burton, 1, pp.71-73.) Sir Richard Burton adds a note to his translation of this passage, pointing out that some of the rubbish heaps which outlie Eastern cities, particularly those around Cairo, are over a hundred feet high.]*

And the king saw a ray of light, as of a fire, issuing forth. So the king and his counsellor turned aside to look at this. When they drew near, they discovered a man who had hollowed out a kind of cave inside the mound of refuse and was sitting within it together with his spouse. They were wearing ragged clothes, like those of beggars. As they gazed upon this sight, the sound of singing was heard coming forth. When they examined the interior of the cavern, they saw that the man was at table seated on a pile of manure, while the woman poured out wine for him, danced before him and flattered him with praises such as befit kings. She called him "My Lord", and he addressed her as "My Queen", and they both sang each other's praises and were gay and merry in their mutual affection.

'The monarch and his minister looked on for a long time and observed their behaviour attentively, watching how they passed their time in good cheer amid such squalid conditions. When the king and his counsellor left those people, they went away filled with amazement. And the king said to his companion: "Never have we found our life so desirable, nor have we enjoyed it with such relish as that poor wretch whom we have seen in the rubbish heap along with his wife. And I suppose that all their days are passed in the same fashion."

The minister now took his chance to have a talk with the king, and said to him: "Do you not appreciate, O king, that the glory and dominion in which we ourselves revel are just as valueless and contemptible in the eyes of those who know the eternal glory and dominion which God will prepare for those who love Him? The gold-sculpted mansions which we build, the beauty of paintings and the splendour of our raiment—all these things are despised by those who see the temples of the life hereafter not made by hand, and celestial raiment invisible to the eye; and they consider these luxuries of ours just as worthless as we find the squalor in which those poor folk lead their lives. And the complacency which we feel in our exalted station is no less ridiculous than the self-esteem of those paupers, which we viewed with critical and amazed eyes."

'The king said to him: "Are there then wise men who are versed in such matters?"

'The other replied: "There are indeed men who serve God and have abandoned this world and spurned every aspect of temporal life; and they dwell now in the wilderness, in the mountains and in catacombs for the love of Christ. They have caught a glimpse of the life eternal and have fallen in love with it, after testing out this world and finding all its glory to be transitory."

The king asked: "Now what is the nature of that eternal realm?"

The counsellor replied: "The eternal realm is bliss not followed by wretchedness; it is joy not followed by sorrow; it is health not followed by sickness; it is royalty which has no end. It is tranquillity not pursued by fear, and life not interrupted by death; and it is a land of things imperishable, whose inhabitants receive their desire without any toil or anxiety."

'The king said: "Can any man be worthy to live there? How can a person gain entry to this place?" [Here the copyist has added a note: 'Christ have mercy on David, Amen.'.]

The counsellor said to the king: "The gate of Christ is barred against no one who seeks to enter in thereby."

The king said: "What road leads there ?"

The counsellor answered: "The service of the Holy Trinity, which gave birth to all created things, and renunciation of every cult but this."

"The king said: "What has prevented you up till now from telling me about this road?"

The counsellor said: "It was not through any infidelity of my own that I deferred the matter until now, nor was I discouraged by any lack of perception on your part, because you are perfect in every respect. But the awe of your royal majesty held me back."

The king said: "If what you have told me be true, we must lose no time in following it up with all possible speed and effort.

If there be any doubt, then we must work hard until we discover what truth there is in it. But it was very wrong of you to keep this subject hidden from me, especially in view of the complete trust I place in you."

"The minister answered: "Is it now your command that I should regularly inform and remind you about this matter from time to time?"

'The king said: "Not from time to time, but incessantly! You and I must keep watch vigilantly day and night, for this is a matter of marvellous import. It would be shameful to allow such a treasure to perish through neglect; rather must it be tended with fervent zeal."'

And the holy Balahvar added: 'We have heard tell that after this, the king and his counsellor departed in peace from out of this earthly life.'

24. Bodasaph exclaimed: *No longer has my mind any love whatever for this world, nor will I occupy myself any more with its affairs. But I long for the life eternal, and intend to cleave to you and follow you wherever you go, and endure the austerity of your way of life.'

FABLE THE TENTH

The Rich Youth and the Poor Maiden

The holy Balahvar said: 'If you do this, you will be like that rich bridegroom who received a poor man as his father-in-law.—For we have heard that once there lived a certain youth, son of a wealthy man. And his father arranged for him to wed a beautiful and rich maiden from among his own kinsfolk. But the young man refused to marry her, and arose and fled away from his father's face. In the course of his wanderings, he caught sight of a poor man's daughter, dressed in humble garments, sitting on the threshold of her cottage. While busily engaged on her handwork, she was offering up thanks and praises to God.

'The youth asked her: "Who are you, O maiden, and for what blessings are you thanking God?"

'But she said to him: "Do not you know that a little medicine saves a person from many forms of illness? likewise, to be thankful for small mercies can win us greater blessings. As for me, I am the daughter of a poor old man."

'Then the youth called out to her old father. When he came out, the young man said to him: "Are you willing to give this daughter of yours to be my wife?"

"The old man replied: "A poor man's daughter is not fit to be your bride, for you are a rich man's son."

The young man said: "I have perceived the wisdom and intelligence of your daughter, and will be overjoyed to take her as my wife. Behold, a daughter born of rich parents was betrothed to me, but I refused her. Now pray fulfil my request, and you will find me an excellent son-in-law, if the Lord so will it."

'The old man said to him: "However much you long to wed my daughter, you will never be able to take her home to your father's mansion."

The youth answered him: "Then I shall settle down here among you, and adopt your manner of life."

"However, that old man possessed a great store of hidden wealth. And the youth entered the old man's house, stripped off his apparel, and put on poor men's raiment. Then the old man began to test him and weigh up his understanding. When he had found him to be wise and intelligent in every respect, the old man realised that it was no frivolous infatuation that had led the youth to embrace a life of poverty. So he took him by the hand and led him into his treasure house and showed him all his riches and the beauties of that place, which were such that the young man had never seen in his entire life. And he said to him: "Son, all this is yours!" And thenceforward that youth enjoyed himself there in gaiety and delight.'

25. Bodasaph said: 'I pray to Christ the Son of God that this parable may be applied to me. But I understand you to state that the old man tested that youth's understanding. How then do you propose to test my intelligence?'

Balahvar said: 'Fear God, and follow His command all the days of your life, and renounce all the sins of the world. God will not rob you of the reward of your efforts, neither will He assist any dubious enterprise. You must grow in strength, for God does not test a man beyond his capacity. Remember the Lord day by day, perfect your mind, and tackle all problems after careful reflection. Do not be content to adopt the first inspiration which comes your way simply because it is an agreeable one, nor shrink from the revelation of truth because it seems severe. Test out the fibre of your heart, that you may not succumb to doubt. Do not hasten to blurt out the first ideas which enter your head, until you have had time to test them out calmly and cautiously. Let not your mind incline towards wilfulness and passion, lest you lose faith in virtue and succumb to evil. Now I shall pray for your sake to the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Creator of the heavens and the earth, the Being who is firm and unshakeable and of the same substance as the Holy Ghost, having no end, terrible and gracious, mighty and merciful, invisible and inexpressible, benevolent in His royalty, omniscient and not oblivious, and powerful above all other beings. He is without fault, and whatever He promises He carries out without deceit.

He cherishes all and abandons none. Before Him tremble all created beings, who kneel with bended neck before the terrible presence of His divine majesty. I shall beseech God that He will cleanse you, to be a true mentor of righteousness, an exemplary model of reverence, a giver of sight to the blind, of hearing to the deaf, a reproach to the idle and a foe of the world, a lover of the saints and detester of sinful passions, until He causes you to attain with us to that abode which Christ has promised us with His truth-giving lips—to that unimaginable kingdom of His, of which no man has heard, invisible to our eyes; for great is the trust which we place in Christ's mercies, great our dread of the torments which He

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metes out to sinners. Our eyes are directed towards Him, and our necks bowed down before Him.'

The holy Balahvar's words affected Bodasaph deeply, and his heart welled over and he began to sob. Then he said to Balahvar:

'How old are you, holy Father?'

He answered: 'I am twelve years old!'

Bodasaph exclaimed: 'How can you tell me this? For I can see that you are an elderly man, and you must surely be about sixty years of age.'

Balahvar replied: 'Counting from the time I was born, I am sixty years old, but you are asking me about the span of my life. Now life denotes the condition of being alive, and there is no live existence outside the faith of Christ and His works. And in these I had no part until twelve years ago.'

Bodasaph said to him: 'How can you treat a person who eats and drinks and walks about as a dead man?'

Balahvar replied: 'It is because such a one partakes of the nature of the dead by his blindness, deafness and weakness, his inability to help himself or to appreciate the good things of God, such as health and the aspiration towards virtuous ways. If in his conduct a man chooses to belong to the dead, he must expect to share their name into the bargain.'

Bodasaph said: 'If you do not consider your previous life to be any life at all, it follows that you cannot consider the death which lies before us to be death either, nor regard it as an evil.'

Balahvar said: 'Does not the risk that I incur in visiting you provide evidence of this? For I am well aware of your father's hostility towards me. But I regard death in no sense as an evil, but rather as life eternal.'

26. Bodasaph said: Tell me a parable about this nation of ours, and its steadfast attachment to idols.'

FABLE THE ELEVENTH

The Fowler and the Nightingale

Balahvar answered: 'Those who believe in idols are like a certain man who caught a nightingale, as our fabulist relates, and wanted to kill her. But that nightingale was endowed with the power of speech, and she said: "Why do you wish to kill me?

For you cannot satisfy your appetite on me! But if you will release me, I will teach you three precepts, and these will be of greater value to you than all your possessions if only you will abide by them."

'So she persuaded the man to let her go, on condition that she told him those precepts. When he had released her, the nightingale said: "These are my precepts:

Do not seek for the unattainable;

Do not regret what is past;

Never believe what passes belief."

'After he had let her go, the nightingale wanted to test that man, to see whether he had profited by her precepts. So she said to him; "If only you had known what a treasure has slipped through your hands! For in my crop there is a pearl as big as an ostrich egg."

'When the man heard this statement, he wept with mortification at having released her, and wanted to catch her again. So he said to her: "Come into my home, and I will look after you well and send you on your way with honour."

'But the nightingale answered him: "O ignorant fellow, you caught me and could not hold me; I taught you, and you could not take in the lesson I gave you in exchange for my freedom.

What about those maxims I taught you? Here you are now, ruing having set me free, which is something that is past; you are seeking for the unattainable, namely to recapture me; and believing something which passes belief, namely that I have in my crop a pearl bigger than my own self. Fancy not realising that my entire body is not the size of an ostrich egg!"—From then onwards that man took to heart those words of hers and profited by them.

'Equally ridiculous is the faith which men place in idols: for these are things made by human hands, and yet men declare: "These are our creators!" They safeguard these gods of theirs from being stolen by thieves, yet they say: "These are our guardians from evil!" They squander their wealth on them, saying: "These are our foster-parents!" They seek to receive from them that which they can never find, and believe them to possess qualities which can never be theirs.'

Bodasaph said: 'This parable truly conveys the nature of idols, which are wholly loathsome to me. I have no faith in them, and your speech has aroused my hatred of them to greater intensity. But what is the faith to which you call me? What is this creed which you yourself have chosen to follow?'

Balahvar said to him: 'Here is the basis of this creed which I have chosen.—There exists one Father, Son and Holy Spirit, a Trinity of three persons and one divine essence, and not a multiplicity of godheads. God alone is King, and all things beside Him form His kingdom; He alone is the Creator, all others are created; He alone is timeless, all others are temporal; He alone is strong, all others are weak; He alone is high, all others are low. He is ever vigilant, omniscient and omnipotent to do and achieve all things which He wills. "All things were made by Him; and without Him was not any thing made that was made." [John, 1:3] Untouched by the passage of time and unchanging from one place to another, all space is filled with His presence, gracious and merciful as He is, and full of love and justice towards men. And He has prepared abodes of joy for those that obey Him, and abodes of torment for the disobedient. Now may He, made manifest in the Trinity and worshipped in one essence, make you a seeker out of His will, that you may live through the power of His undivided nature. If you observe His commands, then you shall attain as is fitting to knowledge of His truth.'

27. Bodasaph asked: 'What kind of deeds are pleasing to God?'

Balahvar said to him: 'It is God's will that whatever you would desire for yourself, you should do unto your neighbour; and whatever you would not desire, you should not do unto another. Observe Christ's teachings and abide in prayer

[Two folios are missing here from the Jerusalem manuscript of Balavariani. The gap has been filled by inserting the corresponding passage from the shorter recension of the Georgian text. (The Wisdom of Balahvar, trans. D. M. Lang, London, 1957. PP- 90-1-)]

[and supplication day and night, and you shall have His Cross for the vanquishing of your foes; for it is thereby that He has saved me from the pains of death,' Bodasaph said to Balahvar: 'By observing the commandments, shall a man fulfil God's will?'

Balahvar said: 'Yes, he shall fulfil it indeed.'

—'Seeing that there are such excellent things in the world, why then have you rejected them?'

Balahvar said: 'Two things impel us to do this.—First, the fact that the supreme blessings of God cannot be compared with the trifling joys of the realms here below. And whoever shall strive, he shall receive the greater honour. A friend may well come to feel no small jealousy towards his fellow; after all, people who pay merely what tax is due are not on the same footing as those who give free bounty.

'The second is this: Beware of indulging in proffered delights, whereby one is involved in unseemly doings and incurs condemnation.

But if you shun them, you will receive peace and comfort abounding. If someone leads his herds too near the cornfields, he cannot feel secure, for if he dozes off or becomes careless, the cattle will trample on the crops. It is only when he has driven them home away from the crops that he can sleep and rest with a quiet mind.'

Bodasaph said: 'What you are telling me is entirely true. Add however a further discourse to make me grow in hate and detestation of this world.'

Balahvar said: 'Let this be quite clear to you, that revulsion from the world reconciles man with God. Since this life is short, and the days and nights soon flow away, let us now make an effort to abandon the world voluntarily, for willy-nilly, we are fated to leave it sooner or later. Even if our life be long drawn out, death is yet in store for us. Then all a man's possessions shall be scattered abroad and his lofty buildings ruined; and his name shall become unknown and his memory wiped out; and his body shall shrink away; for they shall carry him forth naked from his dwelling-place and consign him to the dark cavern and lay him down by himself in a strange place, forsaken in his wretched state by those that hate him. And everyone shall abandon and revile him, even his wife, brethren and children.'

18. At this, Bodasaph wept and said: 'Your words have pierced my heart! Now speak to me about salvation.'

Balahvar continued: 'Even I, O king's son, was greatly fond of this world and absorbed in its delights. But when I had taken thought and seen the vicissitudes (At this point we resume our translation from the Jerusalem manuscript.)] which beset those that dwell in it, and how all men must leave it at last, I realized that no one can endure therein permanently, neither the great man by his greatness, nor the strong man by his strength, nor the clever man by his cleverness, nor the wise man by his wisdom. I perceived that I am a mere mortal just as they, and must pass away just as they passed away, and my place will be taken by others just as theirs were. Since I am no greater than the great nor stronger than the strong, whatever has befallen them must befall me also. I learnt that everything which has been amassed must be scattered and every treasure cast to the winds. Only the fear of God and the learning of His commands can deliver us from eternal condemnation, this is the only conduct which can relieve our penitence at death's approach. When I had realised all this, I sought out for myself some better way of life, and treated my own desires with utter contempt as being a source of sin, even though I found this very difficult. I renounced my ambitions and bridled them with the bridle of God's fear, that they might not lead me astray and plunge me into the distractions of this vain world.

'And then I heard the voice of our Lord God, who has taught us in divinely inspired books, saying: "I have created this world and all its semblance as something transitory. Take up now provisions for the way, for you shall depart into a strange land.

Since you shall certainly pass over into the world beyond, take heed that you carry nothing out of this world besides what you need on the road until you arrive there. I have prepared an eternal mansion, in which are two habitations. One of these abodes is supplied with everything unspeakably good and with all manner of delights; I have filled it with my bounty and benevolence, so that it may be a place of reward for those who have loved me and placed their faith in the voice of my prophets and observed my commandments, and therein they shall enjoy bliss imperishably and death shall have no hold over them, seeing that they are in a place where neither fear nor worldly care exists. But the second abode is full of tortures, suffering and hardship, with shame and envy, boiling over with wrath and anger, with which I shall mete out retribution on all those who hate me and have despitefully used my prophets, forgotten my commandments and turned their ears away from my words of warning."

'When I heard God's voice, I realised that His words are just and His commandments true. So I took up provisions for the way, so that I might attain to the abode of peace and bounty by good deeds and obeying the commandments. And now I flee from that fearsome abode by avoiding all acts of disobedience, although neither I nor any other of the great ones of the world are capable of attaining to that holy estate to bring about which Christ laid down His life upon the Cross, and in quest of which we must follow His example; for many are my sins and I live in great dread lest the Holy Virgin Mary and all God's saints withhold their intercession from me.'[Note by the copyist in the Manuscript: 'O Christ, have mercy on Chita, Amen.']

Bodasaph asked him: 'How is it possible to attain to those good things of which you speak?'

Balahvar replied: 'A man must quit the world and all preoccupation with it, taking with him only what is absolutely essential. Beware of the last judgement and stand fast in God's teaching. Affirm nothing before you have tried it out; for a little righteousness unmixed with sin is better than great virtues in which sin is also mingled. It is likewise better to speak only in moderation rather than over-eloquently, because in all wordiness there is an element of falsehood. It is a wise man's duty to instruct his own self, just as a good pastor instructs his people, diligently managing their affairs by his efforts, shielding them from harmful influences, and then showing his esteem for those that are obedient. It likewise behoves a wise man to examine himself in all his deeds and impulses, and then mete out justice to his own self, after judging whether he has acted so as to merit reward or retribution. If his deeds are good, he may be pleased and gratified with himself; if he finds his own conduct worthless, then he must chasten himself with repentance. Similarly, an intelligent man must keep watch on his own impulses and perfect his reason, and likewise use this reason of his to drive out evil. He must criticize himself and have enough sense to mistrust his own mental powers, lest his character become tainted with conceit. For God hates conceit and loves wisdom and humility, because it is through wisdom that man attains to virtue by God's ordinance, and through ignorance that many souls perish. The chief source of fortitude is the fear of the Lord and walking in His ways. Likewise the chief of all evils is the pursuit of lusts and subservience to desires. When you are beset by thoughts which your brain is incapable of fathoming, do not struggle vainly to find a solution to them, for this may only unsettle your wits and befuddle your intellect. Try to be more relaxed, thus enabling your intellect to grasp and your soul to distinguish the supreme good. When confronted with some knotty problem, do not react with resentment or declare that it cannot be solved.

Rather should you attempt to bring it to the most successful outcome. 'Know this too, that no single mortal can absorb all forms of knowledge. A wise man should not despise a mere smattering of knowledge, especially when he is unable to master the subject completely. Even the eyes of a sage cannot absorb the full brilliance of the sun. The few rays of the sun which he can stand are quite sufficient to guide him on his daily round. The excess radiance which he is unable to endure serves only to dazzle him and obstruct his vision. What man can eat every dish simultaneously, and swallow every drink which he may see and fancy? Nobody is capable of digesting more than a small part of them! But even without consuming vast quantities of every foodstuff, a person can appreciate delicate flavours and satisfy his appetite with meals of moderate size.

'Wisdom and virtue are of more importance and greater and more worthy than mere food, provided that a man's eye is capable of focusing on them, his heart of absorbing them and his mind of profiting by them. This kind of excellence is harder of attainment than that which we have expounded through the metaphors of the sun and of food, God has ordained that wise men shall possess differing degrees of wisdom. But there is nothing to prevent each man from making use of wisdom according to his individual capacity. His failure to grasp the things he knows not does not hinder him from utilizing what little he does know.'

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29. Bodasaph asked: 'How should a man like myself set about ferreting out the truth from the doctrines of heretical sects?'

Balahvar replied: 'By collecting together all the issues of doctrine on which the conflicting sects are agreed, in so far as they profess belief in our Lord Jesus, and preserving those articles of faith over which they are not at variance. A selection should then be made, according to the following principle: firstly, by studying books and comparing examples, verification by the intelligence and confirmation by practical experience; then by rejecting what is dubious and not relying on human opinions.

A man who persists in his purpose, wherever it may lead him, is in a better posture to cope with whatever situations he may encounter than one who arbitrarily adopts a position which conflicts with the dictates of his conviction and knowledge; for he who stands on firm ground rests on the basis of truth and steers clear of error. But one who persists in wrong-headed deeds which conflict with his knowledge and conviction will undoubtedly go astray. Such is the situation in this world, for the sum of human knowledge is greater than the sum of human ignorance. A man must do what good he knows how, and avoid what evils he can recognize as such. Let him be zealous and loyal to God by his behaviour both in secret and in public. When he shall do these things, God will open the gate of wisdom and reveal His will to him, and he shall easily undo the devil's most dangerous snares.'

Bodasaph asked: 'How is a man to strive with zeal and loyalty in the faith?'

Balahvar replied: 'His aim should be to put aside from his heart the summons of desire and the distractions of lust, and devote his prime faculties to the affairs of the faith and true endurance and religion. When he does this, he shall win the fruit of knowledge and God will wipe out his sorrow and doubt.'

Bodasaph asked: 'On such occasions must one be prepared for a long wait?'

Balahvar said to him: 'That is so. However, there is no need to mistrust the first principles which a man learns. Let him train his reason to receive them through the medium of authentic teaching, representation and interpretation.'

Bodasaph said: 'What would you say if someone were to analyze a number of similar, parallel cases with all the labour and mental effort at his disposal, and still failed to distinguish truth from delusion? Will his perseverance be deemed sufficient, so that he may desist from his enquiry, with the prospect that God will reward him as highly as his fellows?'

Balahvar answered him: 'Enquiry into every matter is a good thing. If a man cannot discover something which is past, he should carefully consider and persistently ferret out the present state of the business, until its nature is unveiled by true evidence, or revealed to him through long time spent in that enquiry. Let him not give up his trust in God, but wait rather for a revelation to come from God Himself. Meanwhile let him not be deterred from continuing his researches steadfastly, however much the mind may boggle at a problem at the first encounter. Provided that he applies himself with patience, pursues his enquiries steadfastly and with a good hope, and investigates the history of the business, his current doubts will be dissipated.

Then he will be free from all doubt and mystery, until he can perceive the gate through which to enter in, and stray no more from the way of truth. A sage should not lose heart at his failure to gain admission through one door of knowledge, but should then proceed to make trial of a second. Nor should ignorance of one single aspect of a matter cause a man to abandon the subject altogether. No man can attain knowledge of everything he seeks; nor is all knowledge necessarily profitable, nor all ignorance invariably harmful.'

'Now the devil's most reliable traps are the two following devices: the first is to inspire the mind of a wise man with the idea that wisdom and reason have abandoned him, that there is no more profit for him in learning—in fact, that ignorance is no handicap to a man at all. The devil shows him a man revelling in the delights of the world, and says to his victim: "Behold now the honourable estate and the glory to which that other man has attained without any scholarly learning at all! "Why do you torment yourself and undergo such pain? Drink, eat and be merry, for tomorrow you die! [Isaiah, 22:13] There is no point in going out to meet death of your own accord, before it first descends on you in its own good time."—With this and similar barbs the devil pierces his heart through, and deters him from the pursuit of learning. He causes the man to glimpse vistas of opulence, so that he may be pursued by the habits of self-indulgence and haunted by temptations.

'But if the devil cannot prevail by this method, and observes that his victim has developed powers of resistance, he despatches from his quiver a second arrow, tipped with red-hot steel. When he realizes that his wiles are detected on the left flank, he directs his assault to the right flank of his victim's armour and embarks on a plan of attack for which he is unprepared. And the evil one unleashes upon that man the spirit of disgust, until he makes him loathe every aspect of his life's work and regard himself as contemptible, despicable and foolish. The wise man curses his own learning and reviles and ridicules his friends and mentors.

Then the devil says to him: "You will never win success in this career of yours nor bring it to fulfilment, nor be strong enough to endure the weight of its discipline. So why are you tormenting yourself and toiling away after an ambition which you can never attain?" Then the evil one adds: "If you aspire to perfect your virtue and not betray God, you must fast for forty days and go about constantly in ashes, sackcloth and tears."—Such obstacles as these the devil places in people's way, to make them lose heart and despair, and then succumb. Or else he exalts them beyond measure, and then casts them down to earth again.

'By inflicting such misery he clouds a man's understanding, so that he can no longer judge accurately nor withstand the impact of temptation. Many mortals have been wounded and slaughtered by these two arrows, because the soul is quick to relish fruit which the reason cannot digest. For reason and desire are at enmity with one another, and are battling constantly for control of the soul. Desire is a kind friend to the soul, but reason is its severe mentor. For desire relieves all the soul's troubles, lulls it with tempting allurements, and renders it oblivious to worry and fear. But reason invokes hardship and bids one live in misery; it banishes passions and reproves sin, showing how indulgence in the delights of this life opens the broad way to eternal torment in the future. It makes a man rue his past sloth, and condemns his future idleness. The soul is greatly inclined to follow the dictates of desire, but there are two methods of resisting these temptations which desire assembles. Firstly, abstain from all vanities, secondly, strive steadfastly to attain what little virtue you are capable of grasping, as well as aspiring continually for the good qualities which transcend your reach.

Observe this lesson, learn it well, and arm yourself with it; and may Our Lord God the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ be your help in all your doings, for there exists no strength nor power except that which proceeds from Jesus Christ, to whom belongs glory together with the Father and the Holy Spirit now and always and for ever and ever, Amen.'

30. Bodasaph said: 'I have listened to your discourse and glorification of God. Add now an even clearer description, so that I may see God's image as if with my own eyes.'

Balahvar said: 'Inexpressible is the likeness of the Godhead, and the mind cannot fathom its nature. Neither are any tongues capable of worthily praising Him. Knowledge of Him is inaccessible to created beings, apart from what He has revealed by the mouth of the prophets. No one has the right to speak of Him to mankind, except for Him who was born of the Godhead prior to eternity, namely Our Lord Jesus Christ, who proceeded from God the Father. It was Our Lord who proclaimed Him to us, for His likeness is invisible to the eyes; and the prophets testified concerning Him and convinced mankind of His authority by means of signs and miracles, which He gave them to perform by power such as was vouchsafed to no one else. For He exercises His power universally in the heavens and on earth, in the seas and in all the depths.'

Bodasaph said: 'What is the evidence for the knowledge of God?'

Balahvar replied: 'The sky and the earth and all that dwell therein, things spiritual and creatures endowed with flesh. If you see some vessel which has been fashioned, even though you may not have seen its maker, you believe all the same that it had someone to make it. Similarly, in the case of a building, even if you cannot see the man who built it, your reason still tells you that it has a builder. As for me, when I looked attentively at my own anatomy, I was amazed; and although I could not see my Maker, I know that He gave me birth according to His will and shaped me in accordance with His design, quite apart from my own choice. If I had been my own creator, I should have made myself superior in physical beauty and bodily perfection to all other created beings; but He who created me according to His own design made me greater than many of His creatures and less than others. Later I also realised that He will bear me away out of this life without asking my consent. And I see that events will befall me from unknown quarters, without my having knowledge of the length of my life-span, nor what evil may overtake me in its course. And I perceive that all men are in like case to myself: for no man can either add to or take away from his stature,1 or replace a worn-out body, nor can he fasten on afresh any limb which may have fallen away. Kinfis have not been able to perform this by their sovereignty nor wise men by their wisdom; neither have clever men succeeded in this by their cleverness, nor strong men by the strength.

'Then again, we observe the drawing in of evening following the day, the dawning of day following the night, and the revolution of the spheres. Thereby we know that all those created beings have a Creator, being of a different nature from them. If He did resemble them, He would be just like one of them, and would be governed by the same forces which govern each one of them. Everything which we see has been created, and the creation of those things bears witness to this fact; some of them have come into existence by conjunction, and others by reproduction; some are formed by separation and others by definition, abbreviation and extension within the time scale, as well as by stirring into motion or else by inducing stability. He created them from nothing and fashioned them without any previous model. He said: "Be!" And they were. Whenever He so desires, all will pass away. And again, He can restore them to being, just as they were previously. His command is sharper than a double-edged sword* and swifter than a lightning flash. [* Hebrews, 4:12] He summons them and they draw near; He scatters them and they are dispersed; and again He brings them into order and they resume their shape. And blessed and glorious and exalted exceedingly is the name of the Holy Trinity for evermore.'

31. Bodasaph exclaimed: 'All that you have told me about the origin of created things, namely that apart from God nothing came into being, this I have taken in; for you have convinced me by means of true testimony and lucid instances. Yet how do you know whether there is any resurrection after death, and any repayment for good works and for evil?'

Balahvar answered: 'There are two things which make this manifest. Firstly, there is a great difference between the way in which the devout and the unbelievers live in this world, since we see many unbelievers quitting this earth in luxury, honour and tranquillity, whereas many of the devout pass into the world beyond in poor, despised and straitened circumstances.

Thereby one knows that the just Judge has forborne from glorifying His devout ones in this world in terms of luxury and honours, simply in order to prepare for them eternal honour in the world hereafter, although the disobedience of mortals can in no way harm God, nor their obedience further His designs.

'In the second place, this is made evident through the preaching of the apostles, for they uttered glad tidings to mankind of eternal reward for the faithful, and gave warning of eternal torments for the disobedient. I accept their testimony on these secret mysteries, because they displayed signs and miracles with powers which no human being could command without the agency of the one and only Godhead.

32. Bodasaph said: Teh* me now, since the apostles were men of ordinary human stuff and of like character to other men, how can you distinguish them from their fellow beings, and how do you know whether they are telling the truth?'

Balahvar told him: 'I know the truth of their words from the fact that they have renounced this world and those that dwell therein, and have resisted its demands and exhorted men to conform to righteous ideals on all occasions—in wrath and in tranquillity, in poverty and in wealth, in lowliness and in exaltation, and in seeking asylum from the path of tyrants. They urge us to distinguish between the honourable and the dishonourable, to endure spiteful treatment patiently, to abandon self-will and submit to privation, to abide by the commandments and submit to the tribunal of justice whenever a man is called upon to face it. These burdens of theirs are exceedingly heavy to bear, and their yoke is tight and irksome. Now if they had been false prophets of God and liars, they would not have led men along such narrow and difficult paths. They would sooner have offered them vistas to delight human nature, and shown them a broad path and a spacious gate such as would please the eyes and captivate the heart. They would have pandered to their enjoyments and lusts and encouraged them in gracious living and won over men's hearts by this kind of approach. They would not have alarmed people by their prayers, fasting and endurance in travail, and by treating both rich and poor on a footing of equality. That is how we know that they speak true, and their deeds also testify to this, for no ordinary mortals could manifest such marvels and signs as they!'

Bodasaph asked: 'If any man were to arise and falsely declare himself an apostle of God and set himself up as a preacher, how can one detect whether he is telling the truth or a pack of lies?'

Balahvar replied: 'His works will declare his hidden secrets and his preaching will be discredited by his behaviour. For such impostors preach long-suffering and are themselves incapable of endurance; they teach virtue and practise vice; nor are they capable of performing any miracle which surpasses the powers of man. If however any true prophet departs this life, among his papers will be found a message specifying the successor who is coming to continue his ministry.'

Bodasaph enquired: 'Now supposing there happened to be a certain man versed in ancient writings and records of events gone by, and that he had learnt from these that such a man was expected to come; supposing furthermore that he discovered the names of the dead prophet and the one who was to come, and himself posed as the appointed successor — how is such an impostor to be found out, and his trickery exposed?'

The holy Balahvar said: 'The word of God is invincible, His light unquenchable, His truth inextinguishable. For God sends no prophet among a given generation other than one who is prominent among the people. Even prior to his mission,

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that man must be outstanding for his holiness, truth, calmness, physical purity and love of peace. He will not be wrathful, avaricious nor haughtv; nor will he embark irresponsibly on any unrighteous course. When God sends such a man out to preach, He imparts to him strength in deed and in word. If previously he was halting in speech, God grants him the gift of eloquence, enabling him to utter glad tidings, to reprove, and to gain knowledge of things not revealed to ordinary men. Everything he does he performs with grace and even his hidden doings testify about him. No man can prevail against truth through falsehood, even if his false character has not been previously detected by the people, or some deed of his served to unmask his imposture.

Again, justice cannot be established by lies, nor can falsehood produce and bring about any good thing.'

33. Balahvar's visits to the king's son became frequent. He kept on instructing and admonishing Bodasaph, until his retainers became astonished and amazed at Balahvar's untimely visitations.

Now the king had appointed as his son's servant and governor a certain loyal man in whom he had every confidence, whose name was Zadan. When Zadan got to know about Balahvar, he had a private word with the prince and said to him: 'You are aware of the position I hold in the king's service and my responsibility for you. Your father would not have appointed me to serve you, had he not trusted me completely. I am extremely surprised at the conduct of this individual who comes to see you all the time. I am afraid that he may belong to the sect which your father detests and has banned from the kingdom. Now if he purposes to do some good thing for you and you have no objection to your father's knowing, I had better inform the king, because we are very worried and disturbed about this matter.

But if he is discussing some mystery with you, which you are unwilling for the king to learn of, then do one of three things for my sake: either having nothing further to do with him, and I will conceal what has occurred up to now; alternatively, you could refrain from anger and absolve us from blame, while letting us approach the king ourselves, meanwhile preparing a suitable explanation regarding this man and getting ready to present your own excuses; or finally, you can vent your wrath upon us by public disgrace and dismissal, and arrange for your father to give you other servants instead of us.'

The king's son answered Zadan and said: 'The first step I propose to take regarding you, Zadan, is to conceal you in this room, so that you can listen to our conversation. Afterwards I will tell you what I have decided to do.'

So the prince seated Zadan behind the curtain when Balahvar was due to visit him. They began to converse with one another, and Bodasaph made enquiry concerning the passing world. Then Balahvar according to his wont began to discourse on the vanity of the world and the glory of eternity and said: "Those who seek after pleasure ought to choose eternal bliss in preference to this life which so swiftly passes by ! "Why is it that people addicted to this world's delights fail to realise that unless a thing is durable, it is not worth having at all? How can they fail to appreciate the superiority of those eternal blessings, compared with all this trifling, contemptible and swiftly perishing enjoyment?

No one but a fool will immerse himself in love for this world, and no one but a deluded wretch will stray from the path towards life eternal. How can the business of amassing wealth make people other than wretched? For they are engaged in a contest for transitory riches which they know beyond any doubt must soon slip out of their hands. They know that every momentary pleasure changes after an instant from novelty to tedium!

And yet they fail to deposit their treasures in the world eternal, where they are stored free from corruption! What worldly affair is worthy of praise, and what treasures of this earth can last without rotting away? What mortals are more pitiful than those who seek after wealth and are drunk with greed for riches, seeing that the more valuables they accumulate here below, the more misery will be added to their lot in heaven. The more honour they win here below, the more they will be put to shame and kept apart from God there above.'—And much similar converse and discussion they held together.

34. When Balahvar had left, Bodasaph wanted to test Zadan, to see whether he had been edified by Balahvar's words. So he said to him: 'Do you not hear what this liar and charlatan is telling me ? He is trying to pervert me and spoil my enjoyment of this life, and inciting me to oppose the king!'

Zadan said to him: 'You have no need to resort to a ruse with me, 0 king's son, nor have you anything to be ashamed of, for this discourse is singular and luminous. In earlier times we too have listened to this doctrine and recognized its sweetness and the excellence of those who put it into practice. But since the time when the king persecuted and banned the Christian faith, we have no more been allowed to hear such tidings, for fear that our hearts might receive and cherish this doctrine. We realise that it was ignorance which made us turn our back on it, and give our preference to this life which passes away in an instant.

As for you, O king's son, if you find the Christian faith pleasing and have chosen it for yourself, and are prepared to submit to its rigour, combined with the king's wrath, the people's hostility, and the austerities of its adepts—then be joyful through Christ in celestial glory and life eternal! I, however, am inhibited by my love for the passing world and awe before your father, although I do not deny the merits of this cause, nor would I oppose anyone who embraced it. But now please counsel me how to avoid incurring your father's anger, seeing that I have so far concealed this affair from him!'

Bodasaph said to Zadan: 'Was it not for your own benefit that I let you listen to this conversation of ours, in order that you might receive the message of salvation, which is life for the spirit? I could think of no greater reward for your loyalty and affection than to make you realize to what end you have been created, and help you to appreciate your own best interests.

However, your response has not measured up to the hope I placed in you! As for the concealment of this matter, be this as you wish. It is not for my own sake that I fear the king's wrath, but for that of the king himself, for he takes this business greatly to heart. By telling him, you would only cause him worry and incite him to persecute the true believers. By keeping this matter secret, you will be performing an act of loyalty towards His Majesty, for you will spare his mind from grief and not be a harbinger of gloom, robbing him of hope in his son. For my part, I absolve you of all blame.'

35. Now Balahvar wanted to depart to his own abode, and came to take leave of the king's son. But Bodasaph was very sad and could not bear to be separated from him, and said to him: 'I cannot endure to exist without you, nor can I suffer you to depart. Rather let me go away with you, and we will dwell together in company with your comrades!'

FABLE THE TWELFTH

The Tame Gazelle

Balahvar said to him: 'Listen now, O king's son, to a parable which I propose to tell you. For I have heard that once there lived a certain man of rich and noble family, who had a little son. And for that child he reared the fawn of a gazelle. Now the boy became greatly attached to the fawn, to such an extent that he could not bear to be parted from it for a moment. But when the fawn grew up, her native instincts asserted themselves and she longed to run wild in the country. So one day she went out and caught sight of a herd of gazelles and joined their company.

At first they shunned her because of her tameness, then they sniffed and smelt at one another. After this, she would sally forth from time to time, whenever her keepers relaxed their vigilance. The wild gazelles grew accustomed to her, and she would often tarry with them out in the open. "When her guardians realized that she was reverting to the wild state, they felt that she might be overpowered by her original savage nature and return to them no more. The gazelles themselves then migrated to a more remote place, and the fawn too used to follow after them and return home even more tardily than at first. Then her keepers sent a man after her to spy out her doings and the place to which she was resorting. The man returned and reported that she was consorting with wild gazelles. Then the guardians mounted their steeds and set off on her trail. When they caught sight of her afar off, they gave chase to the wild gazelles, hunted them down and exterminated them; and they caught the tame fawn, carried her off and locked her up at home, and she was never allowed to venture forth again.

'I am afraid, O prince, that if you sally forth to join us, a like fate may befall me and my companions. We could not enjoy your company, nor could our hopes for the revival of the faith be fulfilled. Your own intimates might come to harm, and you would be prevented from achieving your own desire, which you might otherwise attain through striving in secret until you find the moment of real opportunity, if this be God's will. Your perseverance in this course of action will be more pleasing to God than for the king's wrath to be excited against those remaining brethren who would be doomed to annihilation in the event of your departure. We are not fleeing to escape illtreatment and death at the king's hands, but because we do not want to give him a pretext to persecute my companions if we abduct you, nor do we wish to become a party to his godless deeds.'

36. Bodasaph asked: 'What kind of food do you subsist on in the wilderness?'

Balahvar replied: 'Herbs of the earth, watered by the dew, for the sake of which no one competes or quarrels with us. But if we are short of anything, some of our pious brethren dwelling in that region will supply us. And in our penurious state it seems to us only right and proper to accept their offerings.'

Bodasaph said: 'Then accept and take some articles of value, to save your companions from want!'

Balahvar retorted: 'How can you give any valuables to my companions, seeing that you are poorer even than they? For no poor man can give alms to a rich one, but only a rich one to a poor one, and the poorest of my companions is richer than you are! But I hope that if the Lord wills it, you too will become passing rich and that your fruits and your treasures may be multiplied. But then you will become miserly, and not so ready to distribute them to all and sundry!'

Bodasaph enquired: 'How comes it that the poorest of your companions is richer than I, after what you have been saying about their extreme poverty? How is it that I shall become miserly when my treasures are multiplied, whereas today I am lavish in giving?'

Balahvar replied: 'I do not speak of their poverty, but of the wealth which these brethren of yours confidently expect in the hereafter. They are perfectly content with their lot, and derive more delight and joy from renouncing pleasure than from all the wealth in the world. You also must aspire to such a way of life, for the rich man is he who has no truck with riches. But those who seek after treasure and wealth may be rich in material terms, but are poor in spirit. My comrades enjoy preeminence in happiness, for they are not men of this world, and have stored up treasures of good deeds in heaven, to which you yourself can as yet lay no claim. In this world they have comfort, joy and hope at the prospect of the good reward which will be meted out to those who depart this life after fulfilling the true doctrine of the orthodox faith. You also shall attain thither, if it be Christ's will, your fruit shall be multiplied, you shall set eyes on your brethren for whom you yearn, and you shall rejoice in one another. No longer will you squander those treasures which you will acquire there above. Then you will become really worthy to appreciate riches and store up precious things.

'As for the valuables which you have in mind to give to my companions—these would serve only to unsettle their minds.

The aim of my mission is not to administer to them again the poison of this world, which they have fought and overcome by their exertions and by faith in Our Lord Jesus Christ, nor to evive their foe whom they have slain and the lusts which they have trampled underfoot. It is not good to set among them an enemy who would confuse them and remind them of the vain pleasures of this world, lest they falter and be plunged into poverty and ruin. As for this gold and silver, these carbuncles and pearls—what are they but different species of those same stones which exist in our own wilderness?'

Bodasaph asked: 'Whence do you procure your clothing?'

The holy Balahvar answered: 'This is our most difficult task of all, though we content ourselves for raiment with old bits of doth gathered from refuse-heaps and sometimes garments woven from rushes and leaves, and we make do with one piece of clothing for a long period of time. "When we change our clothes, we consider that our sufferings in this world are drawing to a close.

If death comes upon our brother before his garment is worn out, the departed is laid to rest, now that the long-awaited day has arrived on which he placed his hope. But if the clothes wear out and the man remains alive, then they replace the garment in the way that I have just described to you. If we can find nothing more on the refuse-heaps and run out of raw materials for weaving together, in such dire necessity we accept gifts from the villages or from whatever source God sends them, whether it be from righteous men or from false.'

Bodasaph said: 'Accept from me some raiment for your companions, and share it out between them !'

Balahvar replied: 'This would constitute storing up goods for the future and is not lawful, as it is written in the Holy Gospel: "Do not be anxious about tomorrow, for tomorrow will be anxious about itself." [Matthew, 6:34] None of us changes his garment until it is completely worn out and does not cover up his flesh any longer. What is the point of making provision for some future day, when a man knows not whether he will reach that day or no?'

FABLE THE THIRTEENTH

The Costume of Enemies

37. Bodasaph asked: 'Then how did you come to dress yourself in your present fine raiment?'

Balahvar said: 'I have put on this apparel in order to gain access to your presence, so that no one in your father's realm would be shocked by my appearance. Now this instance is like that of a person who has a kinsman in captivity, and wishes to deliver him from his foes. He cannot enter the enemies' country except by disguising his appearance and his costume, and so he adopts this stratagem in order to rescue his kinsman from the foes. By this method, he is enabled the more successfully to attain his objective.

'When I heard about you and learnt that you longed for righteousness and sought after the true Saviour, Jesus Christ, and yearned to hear the message of the Holy Gospel, then I realized that this mission would be profitable to my soul, and that I had found a fruitful ground for sowing. This is the path which leads to all men like you, whether they be high or low.

But now I have delivered you from your foes by the power and intercession of Our Lord Jesus Christ and have rescued you from their clutches, for I have imparted to you the

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knowledge of God and the precepts of the apostles and Holy Fathers. And I have taught you the entire Christian creed and set you on your guard against this world and its snares, and the way in which it deludes men by its delights and lusts; and I have warned you against its wiles and exposed its shame to you, for it is a harlot and remains not constant in love for any man. So now I am departing to the scene of my tranquil existence, and there I shall strip off the guise of my enemies and don once more the likeness and garb of my brethren and companions. But if you had actually seen me dressed and attired like these companions of mine, I do not imagine that you would have been so eager to come away and join them!'

Then Bodasaph prayed him to show himself in the likeness of his companions. So Balahvar doffed his robes, exposing his entire skin drawn over his bones like the hide of a man dead through excessive fasting, stretched tightly over thin canes. He wore no clothes apart from a tattered hair apron hanging by a string from his navel and reaching down to his knees, as is the habit of ascetics. When Bodasaph saw this apron sewn from old rags hanging upon him, his heart welled up at the sight of this great symbol of godliness and armour of the sacred monastic habit which the holy Balahvar wore upon his person. Bodasaph began to weep and sob, and his bowels of compassion were moved for his sake. Like one who mourns at the prospect of his own death, so did Bodasaph weep bitterly at the prospect of Balahvar's departure.

38. And he said to him: 'If you will neither take me with you nor accept clothing or valuables for your companions, at least accept a garment for yourself!'

Balahvar replied: 'I have refused the gifts which you pressed on me for my companions, O prince, as they do not seek after such things. How then shall I take anything for my own use?

How can I deny them possessions, but not deny myself? If it were right, I should collect things for them sooner than for myself.'

Bodasaph said: 'At least accept a new hair garment, and leave me yours, for I want to keep something to remind me of you!'

Balahvar answered: 'In that case I will take a fresh garment in exchange for my old one. But the difference in value between the old and the new must not be treated as a reward for my pious endeavours, so let the one that you give me be part-worn, like my own.'

Then Bodasaph took a worn vestment and put it on Balahvar, and received his own in exchange. And he said to him: You must know that your departure causes me great distress and sorrow.'

39. Balahvar said: 'O prince, I am the servant of Christ our King and not a free agent; His blessings towards me are great, and great is the faith I place in Him. Likewise, my fear of Him cannot be dispelled. I received from Him orders concerning this business, which I must hasten to carry out; if after fulfilling these instructions I postpone the hour of my departure, however reluctant I am to go, I shall be unfaithful to Him. My mission to you is accomplished, now that you have adopted the true creed which I have taught you. All that I have imparted to you is directed towards loyalty to Christ; but now I must withdraw from this assignment of mine to you, and hand over to you responsibility for your own future course of life, for I have expounded to you all His laws. But now I must hasten to other men, and seek out a fertile field in which to sow the good seed.

'Being on the point of departure, I leave you these rules: Observe the creed which Christ our God has conveyed to you, and prepare yourself for action, that you may fathom His purposes and fulfil His laws. Do not count obedience to Him as any great merit. Do not flatter yourself, nor trust others except those who merit confidence. Distrust and analyze your own impulses, and cast out your lustful desires. Spend the days of your life in such a way that you may be found each day in perfect obedience to God and Our Saviour Jesus Christ, and be prepared to encounter death at any moment. Avoid any deed which may end by involving you in evil and set the seal of sorrow upon your doings. Profit by your youth and bodily vigour to devote yourself to toil and effort, so that lack of time or the onset of sickness may not rob you of the reward of your works by rendering you unfit for any kind of labour. Fulfil God's commands diligently and find humility therein; lay down your head in the place of the despised and sacrifice yourself for the weak. Shun addiction to evil lusts. Do not miss any chance of doing some small good deed by waiting for some greater enterprise to present itself. First thing in the morning, scrutinise critically your own moral qualities and repent of the faults which you have committed the day before. Do not desist from a good deed because the beneficiary is unworthy, but do not emulate wrongful conduct simply because the majority practise it. A wise man should imitate others solely in deeds of goodness. Shun self-satisfaction, and do not congratulate yourself on your own successes. There are, you know, two different ways of being pleased with your good works, one of which brings all manner of virtue in its train, while the other casts a man into all manner of evil. The kind which produces good occurs when a man rejoices at the increasing fruits of his good deeds and his great weariness is relieved by the zeal which he has already shown, which now spurs him on to further feats. What induces all manner of evil is the kind of self-satisfaction which ensues when a man's own works please him greatly, so that his mind is puffed up and gives way to complacency, so that he says: "What I have already done is quite sufficient", and he abandons all future effort. So have more concern for yourself, that you may devise how to escape the fearsome snares of the world, to win liberation and enter on that narrow road which leads to eternal rest!'

40. 'Such are my teachings which I leave you, in loyal fulfilment of my duty towards you and towards God for your sake.

I beseech God that He may bestow upon you the fullness of His grace and the excellent virtue of His obedient servants. May He set upon your life and deeds the imprint of all goodness, and grant you self-control so that you do not fall into evil. May He deliver your will from all temptation and protect you beneath the shield of His cross, an impregnable and secure refuge, whereby you will be guarded from phantoms both human and diabolical. May He implant in your heart loathing for this world, and grant you a life of piety in the world below and heavenly bliss in the life to come. May your days be filled with peace and tranquillity and may you be free from all cares for your own sake, until you reach in company with us the supreme abode of the just and the loftiest station of the elect believers. Amen.'

Bodasaph said in reply: 'You call me a king's son. Yet I am no king's son, but a slave and son of a slave of unrighteousness.

But God has magnified his benevolence towards me by your agency and has also given me the occasion to enhance your own merits, since you have brought me knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ, who was conceived without immission of seed and born of the Virgin Mary. You have taught me His holy creed, set me upon the path of truth, stripped off the veil of blindness, and rescued me from the snares of death. Great is the reward I owe you for your kindnesses towards me, and I cannot sufficiently render thanks to you as I ought; but God will recompense you on my behalf, for to Him belongs the fullness of reward. God will bestow His bounty upon you until you are fully satisfied!

If you will abide with me, you shall be the delight of my soul.

If you depart, may God not cut off your paths from the sphere of His purposes. But let Christ our God make up any deficiency in my gratitude towards you in that place where each man shall utter aloud his paean of praise, and may God the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ accompany you in all your ways.'

Then they arose to bid one another farewell and took leave of one another and embraced each other with tears. And Balahvar went his way, filled with spiritual joy because his desire was fulfilled. And he gave thanks to Our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom belong glory and honour, thanks and obeisance together with the Father and the most holy life-giving Spirit, now and always and for ever and ever, Amen. [Copyist's note in the manuscript: 'O Christ, have mercy on the soul of David and his parents and brethren, Amen. O Christ, glorify the soul of Prochorus, Theodore and Michael and my spiritual brethren, Michael and Saba, Amen.']

BOOK 3

THE LIFE AND MINISTRY OF THE BLESSED BODASAPH THE KING'S SON, WHOM THE HOLY FATHER BALAHVAR CONVERTED, AND WHO CONVERTED HIS FATHER KING ABENES AND THE LAND OF INDIA TO THE SERVICE OF CHRIST*.

[* Here the scribe has added another note: 'O Christ, have mercy on David, Amen.']

41. From thenceforward Bodasaph began to fast and pray and serve God in secret. At the hour when men fall asleep, he would begin to hold vigil until the dawn, and with tears and groans he would perform his seven acts of prayer the whole night through.

But Zadan his servant, whom the king had appointed to look after his son, went away to his own quarters greatly troubled about Bodasaph's affairs, and pretended to be ill. They informed the king about his health, and he was sorry to hear of Zadan's sickness. He appointed one of his trusty retainers to act in Zadan's place, and sent his own physician to Zadan to cure his ailment. But when the physician had examined him, he returned to the king and reported: I have been unable to diagnose any ailment in that man. I have examined him all over, and found no symptoms of illness. My opinion is that he must have suffered some grief serious enough to produce such exhaustion in his system, for his forces are at a low ebb.'

When the king heard these words, his face fell and he sensed the reason for Zadan's ailment. He imagined that his son was tired of Zadan's company and had treated him with disfavour and hostility, with the result that Zadan had resigned from his service. So the king sent word to Zadan, saying: 'I have learnt of your illness and am sorry to hear about it, so I propose to come and see you today. So be prepared for my visit!'

When Zadan received this message, he arose at once and put on his clothes, and went forth to the king. While on his way, he encountered the king, who said to him: 'Why did you not remain at home until my arrival, so that I might perform an act of courtesy towards you?'

Zadan answered and said to the king: 'My distemper, O king, arises not from any ailment, but from pain in my heart. That is why I was unwilling to put Your Majesty to any trouble, since this is not a case of genuine sickness and I have no wish to abuse Your Majesty's kindness.'

The king said: 'Now what is this pain of yours ?'

Zadan said: 'A great woe has seized upon me, and a fit of trembling due to a terrible and grievous event.'

The king said: 'Come into the palace, that I may learn the details of this affair from you at leisure.'

"When the king had entered into the palace with Zadan, he told Abenes what he had seen and heard of Balahvar the ascetic—how he had been continually instructing the king's son and denouncing the ways of the world, how the prince had cherished his words until he had learnt them by heart and attained to perfection of knowledge, and how Balahvar had catechized him and instructed him in wisdom, until he was fully initiated.

42. At this the king was filled with great anger and dismay. Afterwards he resolved to bide his time patiently, because he planned to resort to a ruse in order to make his son submit once more to his own will. Then he summoned a certain man who was his counsellor, and whose name was Rakhis. (Whenever the king was worried by some troublesome and grievous problem, this man served as the king's comforter.) So now King Abenes told Rakhis his son's story, and asked him insistently for advice regarding him.

Rakhis said to the king: 'Our first step is to make every possible effort to capture Balahvar. If Your Majesty succeeds in apprehending him, we will arrange a debate with Balahvar and show the prince how he is deluded. We will prove that it is wrong to reject those good things which our gods have given us to enjoy and show how this trickster cuts men off from pleasures without which this world is valueless. When we have proved all this and won our case, the prince will be cured of his delusion and this will constitute a victory for us.

'If we fail to track down Balahvar, Your Majesty, I will produce in his stead a certain man who is quite unknown in this land. He is 'of our creed and indistinguishable from Balahvar in physiognomy, complexion, stature, voice and speech. He dwells outside in the wilderness and his name is Nakhor; and he was my own teacher.'

The king said: 'How is this to be managed?'

Rakhis said: 'I shall sally forth secretly at night, acquaint him with this entire business of ours, and teach him our plan of action. Then he will come out on to the road disguised in monastic dress and appearance. When we engage him in conversation, he shall answer in the language of the monks, and declare his opposition to our creed. When we ask him his name, he shall say: "I am Balahvar 1" When we arrange a disputation in the prince's presence, he will imagine that this is really Balahvar, because there will be nothing to distinguish him from that impostor. Then Nakhor will begin by championing that creed of theirs, and reviling ours. But when we reach the conclusion, he will start faltering in his words, admit his error and concede victory for our side over himself. And so Nakhor shall himself prevail on the prince to abandon his course of behaviour and convince him that it is good to build up his city and countries and enjoy the delights thereof, and that quitting the world, voluntarily embracing death, and dooming a man to childless extinction, is a complete fallacy, After all, if all men chose to abandon the world entirely and embrace the monastic life, then in a short space of time the world would be entirely laid waste!—By this scheme, I have every hope of dispelling

Your Majesty's worries.'

When the king heard these words of Rakhis, he was greatly cheered, for he hoped to fulfil his desire through Rakhis' counsel.

Thereupon the king set out in quest of Balahvar.

43. Sending out his retainers over several different routes, Abenes set out in person on the particular road which Balahvar was most likely to follow. He travelled for many days and found no one, and became very weary and exasperated, and wanted to turn back. Then Rakhis resorted to divination to find out whether they were going to succeed in their search, and told the king: 'Behold, the omens tell us that we shall not turn back without achieving success! Already I see our quarry approaching us, and success is at hand. If Your Majesty will consent, pray remain here today and send me on in front.' And the king followed his advice and sent him out with a small force of troops.

It was evening. Rakhis caught sight of a group of hermits walking along. When they drew near, they turned out to be a party of the servants of God dwelling in the desert, who had completely abandoned this transitory life for the sake of Christ.

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The leader of the group carried some dead men's bones hanging from him by an old cord. But Balahvar, whom Rakhis knew by sight, was not among them.

Rakhis said to them: 'Where is that man who has perverted and ruined the king's son?'

The bearer of the relics said to him: 'He is not among us, nor could we tolerate his presence! But he is a much closer neighbour to yourselves !'—And the holy man added: 'In fact, I know that person in question, whose name is Rakhis, and a very devil is he. I imagine that he is of your company!'

Rakhis replied: 'I was asking about Balahvar.'

The holy man retorted: 'Why then did you allege that he has perverted and ruined anyone ? Rather should you have said in enquiring about him: "Where is he who has instructed and afforded salvation to such and such a person?" He is our brother and companion, though it is a long time since we last saw him.'

Rakhis said: 'Tell us at least where he is to be found!'

The saint answered him: 'If he had desired to meet you, he would himself have come out to look for you. But we shall not impose any encounter on him against his own wishes.'

Rakhis said: The king will put you to death.'

The lover of Christ answered him: 'What pleasure can you see in our way of life which might make us cling to existence in this world, and shrink from death for Christ's sake, with which you seek to terrify us?'

Then Rakhis drove the holy men along and brought them to the king. When the king set eyes on them, he was much perturbed, for he imagined that he had extirpated them from his realm altogether. So the king said to those saints: 'If you are carrying these relics about through love and compassion for those to whom they belong, this very day your own heads and bones can be joined to their number.'

That holy man upon whom the relics hung rejoined: 'We pity and lament our own selves more than those departed ones to whom these relics belong; for they lie at rest, while we languish in bondage in this transitory world. It is because we yearn to join them that we carry their relics about, for they remind us day by day of death.'

The king answered: 'Why should those dried up relics remind wise men of death more effectively than do those bones which you carry about within your own bodies ?'

The holy man replied: They give more potent warning because they are the relics of dead men, whereas our own bones are living things. If the bones of dead and living men be alike, as you allege, then why do you yourself take no heed of death, seeing that you have bones inside your own body? What crime have you to lay at our door? Again, tell me why you are harrying the saints who have cast aside this transitory world and no longer compete with you for a share in it, and do not rather persecute those who vie with you in partaking of the world's delights?'

The king answered: 'It is because those people are perverted, as well as perverting many others as well, preventing them from enjoying the good things and delights which were created for mankind's sake. This wrath of mine serves as a lesson both for them and for the nation, so that the land may not become waste, and also to punish these ascetics for having no love for the good things of the earth*.'

[This dialogue between Abenes and the ascetic vividly illustrates the root causes of state hostility to religious sects of Dualist character, such as the Manichaeans. Sir Steven Runciman writes: 'Manichaeanism failed because it was too anti-social. The authorities in that hard bellicose age, with civilisation on the defensive against the barbarian invader, could not approve of a faith wherein all killing, even of animals, was forbidden, and whereof a considerable number of believers wandered about, refusing to work, refusing to notice secular regulations, living on the charity of others and exercising a vast influence on the whole community.' And again: 'Thus all good Christians must necessarily fight against Dualism. And the State will usually support them. For the doctrine of Dualism leads inevitably to the doctrine that racesuicide is desirable; and that is a doctrine that no lay authority can regard with approval.' (Steven Runciman, The Medieval Manichee. A Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy, Cambridge, 1947, pp. 17, 175.) It seems increasingly apparent that the legend of Barlaam and Iosaphat did indeed originate as a Manichaean religious tract.]*

The holy man answered: 'If indeed you censure us because we have turned our backs on the pleasure of the world, and you desire all men to live in ease, why then do you not give everybody a share in the luxuries which you enjoy? "Why do you allow the people to enjoy only those pleasures for which you have no personal use?'

The king replied: 'Because there is no equality between king and slave, duke and commoner. Every man should receive luxury and honour according to his proper status.'

The saint answered: 'By this statement of yours, you flatly contradict yourself! It is evident that you are seeking your own advantage, and not that of people generally. Now if you so desire, I will teach you why you are aflame with the fire of envy and burning to persecute those who have ceased to wear laymen's clothing. You allege that your land will be depopulated through the multiplying of monks. But your real ambition is to bend mankind beneath the yoke of slavery, so that you may reign over them. You want them degraded for the sake of your exaltation, and them to be poor so that your own prosperity may grow according to your desire. You grant them freedom whenever you so please from motives of prestige, or restrict their movements according to your whim, and you set up your caprice as a barrier between yourself and your subjects. You exploit those who hunt after the pursuits of this world in the same way that a man will rear hawks or hounds, and tie them up and starve them so that they may fall with greater ferocity upon their prey. And when they succeed in catching the quarry, the hunter drags it from their mouth and ties them down with cord and chain. Then their success is turned into remorse and their joy to repining, and instead of their being fondled and praised, they are humiliated and driven outside. — In like fashion, you train men to love this world as much as it suits you, and then stop them at your whim from actually enjoying it. The only things you allow your subjects to enjoy are those which you can readily spare. It is clear that you seek your own advantage and not your neighbour's, and this is why you want us to revert to the world.'

The king rejoined: 'Tell me now, have you any superior among your companions?'

The holy man replied: "There is no one among them superior to me, nor any one inferior, for we are all one through Christ.

This kind of differentiation exists only among you and your associates. Among us, no one is superior to his neighbour in prestige and wealth and nobility, nor is anyone inferior to his neighbour by reason of poverty and privation and low esteem.'

At this point the king ordered their hands and feet to be lopped off and their eyes dug out, and had them cast on to the road in a state between life and death. And he told Rakhis to produce Nakhor, the man who resembled Balahvar.

44. So Rakhis went out alone by night and found Nakhor, and apprised him of the scheme which he and the king had devised.

Then he set him upon a horse, but when they were approaching the royal palace, Rakhis left Nakhor and went off to see the king. He told him all about the measures and arrangements which had been agreed on, and how Nakhor was to make his appearance on the road as the king went by.

When it grew light, the king sallied forth from the town for a ride, as was his custom. Nobody knew of the plot except for the king and Rakhis himself. During their ride, they saw a man walking towards them, a bowshot's distance away. This was Nakhor, disguised according to Rakhis's instructions. The king exclaimed: 'Who is that man coming along this way?'

When they brought him to the king, he turned out to be a man resembling those who dwell in the wilderness and follow the monastic order. The king said to him: 'What devil's minion* are you?' [* The Georgian pahraki, which I render as 'minion', is in reality an ancient Parthian word, pahrag, a sentry or watch-post.]

The man replied: 'I am no minion of the devil. But if you ask me what manner of person I am, then I will tell you.'

The king said: 'I believe you are Balahvar!'

The false Balahvar retorted: Tf indeed I am he, then I have rendered you no small service.'

The king asked: 'What service do you claim to have rendered me?'

The false Balahvar said: 'My claim is that you wanted your son taught how to attain perdition, whereas I have striven to teach your son the truth, until he has come to know Christ, the God and Saviour of all men, and his own Creator. And he has come to believe in what the prophets, apostles and holy fathers have told us, and what God has prepared for those that love Him as well as for His enemies. Your son himself was formerly an enemy of God, but I have reconciled him with God the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ. And he has accepted my teaching and preferred it to all your ungodliness.'

Then the king expressed to the assembled company his delight at finding Balahvar. And he said to the false Balahvar: 'I do not propose to kill you until I have held a debate with you. If you recant, then I will pardon your previous error; but if you persist in this same folly of yours, I will expose your delusion before men's eyes, and cause you to die a death of hideous shame and agony.' Then the king told his men to place the hermit on a horse, and they all set off. And the king entered his palace.

It was blazoned abroad that the king had captured Balahvar, and the news of it reached the king's son. The prince was exceedingly sad at heart and greatly afflicted. But a certain grandee, who was secretly a servant of Our Lord Jesus Christ, knew the truth of the matter; his name was Barakhia, and he was a kinsman of the prince. This man saw through their machinations, for he had himself once had an argument with Nakhor on controversial matters of religious belief. So Barakhia visited the prince by night and said to him: This man who has been caught is not Balahvar, but his double, indistinguishable from him in appearance and complexion, in voice and speech. His name is Nakhor, and he is a pagan and belongs to the same creed as the king.' And Barakhia went on to outline the king's entire plan, and explained how a trap had been laid for the prince by this method.

Then Bodasaph rejoiced with exceeding gladness and was relieved of the pain which he felt on the holy Balahvar's account. His strength revived sufficiently for him to surmount the pitfalls they had laid for him, and he told Barakhia to reveal the matter to no one.

45. Next morning the king arose and went out to see his son, and said to him: 'My child, no one ever experienced such joy as I felt on your account. No one's joy was ever turned into such bitterness and sorrow as you have brought upon me, for you have cut off the hope which I placed in you, sapped the strength of my sinews and dimmed the light of my eyes, and you have brought about that very thing I dreaded for your sake.

Once I held life of no account, and looked on death with bold eyes, for I counted on your succeeding me after my death. But from now on I shall cling lovingly to life and shun death, for you have falsified my hope and betrayed my trust. You have plunged me into consternation by listening to false preachings, for you have fallen into that very snare which I feared, and from which I used every effort to guard you and keep you away.

Instead of inheriting the kingdom, you have chosen in your ignorance, childishness and folly to bring upon yourself your own downfall. Am I not your father and parent ? But you have abandoned my faith, opposed my wishes through your wilfulness, cast doubt on the religion of your ancestors, and delivered your downy curls into the hands of false men and seducers, who will lead you into sorrow and hurl you into perdition. Are you not ashamed at having turned to bitterness the joy which I felt on your account? You have not shrunk from breaking my heart! You have scorned to give thanks to the gods for the many boons which they have vouchsafed us, and have not cultivated their favour. You have mortified your father by rejecting his precepts during his lifetime and refusing to succeed him after his death. Yet I suppose there is nothing surprising in this, seeing the times we live in and the prowess of the devil. Neither would it be out of the question even now for you to resume your obedience to your father's will.'

Bodasaph answered and said: 'You have brought to light this business of mine, O king, although I wanted to keep it from you, so that you could go on deriving pleasure from the plans which you made with such loving care. My desire is to conform outwardly in all respects to the pattern which you fondly cherished for me, so that when I die, your heart may not overflow with bitterness because of me. But if you depart this life before me, heaven forbid that you should die robbed of the expectation that I shall succeed you, lest I should send your soul to the grave in sorrow because of me. The sole thing which has deterred me from inviting you to enter God's service and making known to you the faith of Christ is your excessive addiction to sinful ways and your fixed principles of conduct, because of which I felt unable to convert you to the true faith which you find so very obnoxious. Therefore I decided to show my filial respect by concealing from you the fact that I have embraced the faith of Christ with unshakable belief. I wanted to avoid causing you grief and woe, at least until such time as I was forced to reveal the truth, which need then no longer be hidden but would rather help me to overcome all fear and shame before you and prepare me to withstand you. I considered that I was doing my utmost to fulfil your wishes in outward behaviour, conforming as I have done to your ordinances in regard to the steeds I rode, the clothes I wore and the food I ate, and this should be sufficient for you, without your making any demands on my inner self. Your Majesty must realize that though discovery of this secret of mine causes you grief at present, in future it will bring you abounding pleasure and joy for ever.

Now leave me in peace to pursue this matter upon which I have embarked, rather than visiting me with wrath and shame.

Accept this offer of mine to obey your will in outward forms, without advertising our differences in public. Do not expect me to adopt your religion, and abstain from enquiry into my private convictions, which can do you no harm during your lifetime or after your death.'

When the king heard his son's words, he uttered curses and began to revile and threaten him, saying: 'You proud and wilful young fellow! I shielded you from contact with common humanity and kept you apart from all suffering, so that you might enjoy honour and ease. I protected you from the snares and instigations of the devil. I have pampered your body with tenderness and your eyes and ears with delight, and have spared you all occasion for worry—all this for your personal benefit.

But you are puffed up with audacity, and find pleasure and ease irksome. In your ignorance, you chase after suffering and privation! The life you are seeking is such that if you actually

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taste the flavour of it and experience its sufferings and privations and the many vexations which it holds out for the soul, then you will come to your senses, and your impatience to escape from it will be greater than your present anxiety to flee from the pleasures and comforts of life. Those astrologers were right to prophesy at your birth that you would prove a knave and a wretch, a tiresome and fickle person, and one who refuses to appreciate the good things of the earth. But I gave you a first-class upbringing, that you might grow accustomed to the best things of life. I drove away from you all those deceivers and impostors, and utterly cleansed my land from them, and silenced men's tongues from making any mention of their fraud. When I had revealed to my subjects the evil and false nature of those anchorites, they banished them with ignominy and rooted them out once for all.

Then the devil armed himself against us. His only chance of prevailing over us lay in vanquishing you, because he found nobody among us more easily vulnerable than yourself, and that is why he put these evil ideas into your head. Can it be that through my guarding and cherishing of you, I have myself exposed you to that very danger which I so much feared for your sake? If only I had exposed you to temptation and forced you to eat the sour together with the sweet, you would not have remained ignorant of the bitterness of affliction and of the sweet savour of pleasures. But now you are oblivious of the sweetness of this life, because you have never yet experienced the bitterness of that existence after which you quest.'

Bodasaph answered and said: 'I cannot tell why Your Majesty is so indignant. Is it on account of the good thing which I have received, or because of my opposition to your will? If you are angry at my finding the good, then I shall have to flee away from you and free myself from your authority. If you are blaming me for opposing your will, and prefer me to be destroyed in conformity with your will rather than to live a life which does not conform to your outlook—then this attitude shows up your indifference towards me, and I myself, if this be truly so, must abandon all trust in you. The grief which Your Majesty feels for me over the good things which I have won is no greater than the grief which I feel on your account, because you are cut off from those eternal blessings.

I have more right to sorrow and grief over your lot than you over mine I You have said that I am a mere child. Would that this childish nature of mine might serve as my excuse at the day of judgement! As for the curses which you have poured out upon me, I am content to be reviled, so long as I am spared from all other forms of vileness. If you carry into action your threat towards me, I place my trust in God that I shall be united with that band of holy martyrs to whom your persecutions have brought life eternal.

'What profits it me for you to treat me like a child when I have already reached the age when I can no longer plead my childishness as an excuse? Why should I repine at the curses and foul language which you use towards me? The things for which you rail and storm at me are in fact my joy and pride.

What is the use of threatening me with torments? After all, I have voluntarily chosen to endure no little torment on this earth by means of self-mortification, and that is why you are so enraged against me. As for what you say about the boons you have bestowed upon me, Your Majesty should realize that it is those transitory favours of yours which have aroused my desire for the eternal boons of the immortal King. If you force me to abandon those other eternal and unspeakable delights for the sake of these perishable blessings which you give, you must know that there is no comparison between things perishable and things imperishable. As for these gifts of yours, you yourself might well take them away from me because of some trifling annoyance. In any case, the passage of time will sweep away both you and me. But concerning the joy everlasting, Our Lord Jesus Christ speaks thus: "And no one shall take your joy from you." [John 16:22]

The career and life which you chose for me would be fair and beautiful indeed, but for the fact that it passes speedily away. If you can be certain that it is permanent, it is exceedingly good and desirable. But since you cannot guarantee this, why should you not forgive me if I choose to renounce it, thereby to attain the life which is most to be desired? Why are you astonished, O king, at my yearning for eternal blessings, rather than being amazed at your own attachment to the transitory pleasures of this world?

'You state that you have driven away from me the impostors, deceivers and charlatans and silenced men's tongues from making any mention of them. This would certainly have been a very great favour to have done me, if only you had applied these epithets to those who deserve them. But the truth is that you drove away from me the holy priests of Christ and the blessed Fathers and mentors of my life, and set me down in a desert and waterless place without any spiritual teacher and intercessor, among the serpents and the scorpions, the wild beasts and the devils. Fearing for my sake, you rose in opposition to Christ the true God, and exterminated those righteous Saints of His and elect teachers of salvation who spurned this world. You left me alone to the mercies of the real impostors, deceivers and liars! But God the omnipotent, Father of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, gave me knowledge through His Holy Spirit to attain to understanding of His most holy essence.

'You went on to speak of my desperate, wretched and fickle character, and my boredom with the world and failure to appreciate its benefits. But why should I not be desperate, seeing that despair of this world induces peace, comfort and rest? And this wretchedness of mine here below is in fact an advantage, in that it ensures me life eternal and unending. How could I fail to tire of this world, seeing that the world itself wearies of those people who are in love with it? How could I avoid being fickle towards the world, seeing that the world itself is fickle in its treatment of mortal men, and even you yourself are bound to feel the manifold effects of its fickleness?

Or why should I rely on its benefits, seeing that these benefits are bad? Today it bestows them and tomorrow takes them away, and then extracts retribution for them.

'So now, O king, you should take good thought for yourself.

Great is God's mercy towards you and the patience with which He waits for your repentance. But you defy Him, oppose His faith and reject His blessings, while He desires mankind to turn unto true repentance. For this reason, He has refrained from punishing your arrogance, nor has He abandoned you to the fecklessness and evil to which you have surrendered yourself nor exacted retribution for your treatment of the Saints, His servants.'[Marginal note by the scribe: 'This is the way to denounce the godless, and those that love this world!']

Then the king realised that his own wrath was merely inflaming that of his son, and feared that Bodasaph's outburst would rob him of his self-control. So he arose abruptly and went off to his palace weighed down with sorrow, beset with woe and overwhelmed with consternation.

46. On the next day, the king came again to his son, clasped him to his bosom and embraced his neck and said: 'O my son, flesh of my flesh, it is unworthy of you to cast doubt on my integrity in all our discussions and accuse me of willingly abandoning the better course, choosing the path of perdition and preferring falsehood to truth. You know full well the firmness and resolute character of my mind. If you were to allege that the laws of truth were irksome to me, and that therefore I was lured into caprice and self-indulgence, the fact is that you and everyone else must admit how patiently I observe the dictates of my own religion. Many a time I have emptied my treasure houses to build temples for the idols and their ministers, and donated all my riches to them, and many a time I have treated with veneration a man of humble birth when I have known him to walk virtuously the path of my religion. I would even arise from mv throne and step forward to greet him, and remain standing before him like a slave—just as a slave might stand in front of his lord. Now if my only aim was to enjoy myself, as you profess to believe, why ever should I have exterminated men vowed to repentance, who have quitted worldly enjoyment and left it entirely in my hands, and who asked for no share of it nor vied with me for anything whatsoever?

For killing and torture occur only when men are wrathful and exasperated: in a state of exasperation, turmoil agitates the heart and passion the soul, and the mind is painfully excited.

'What foolish wretch could possibly fall into a delusion such as that which you attribute to your own father—namely to be so addicted to passions and lusts as to promulgate them as a body of religious dogma and then lavish his treasures on those who profess it, and sharpen his sword against those who oppose it? What is more, you know the rectitude of my judgement and the justice which I mete out to widows, comfort to orphans, alms to the poor and crippled, and how I myself bear their infirmities for them, and distribute my wealth amongst them.

You are aware that on my frequent encounters with the poor and maimed, or with widows and orphans, I can never pass by them without making full provision for their need. How then, my child, could you come to hate my faith and conceive such distrust towards me? How can you assert that I have erred from the path of righteousness, chosen an unworthy course of conduct, and taken up my stand upon the road of iniquity?

How is it that you question my tested percipience and known discernment, my sound judgement in recondite matters and my ability to solve dubious questions, while trusting blindly in your own perception? Yet it is clear that some precipitate impulse has suddenly altered your whole outlook, without your examining the matter, nor even referring it to some wise counsellor or learned teacher, or some loyal confidant or judicious man of experience! How can you be so certain that the devil has not seen through your stupidity and weakness and exalted you as if you had attained to divine knowledge, while in reality, he has been laying a snare for you through the tongue of his accomplice, Balahvar? How else can you account for this affair, into which Satan has lured you in your ignorance? How is it that without recourse to a just arbiter, to reliable witnesses or to any intelligible evidence, you venture to conclude that truth is on your side and falsehood on mine? In this, my son, you resemble one of those pious devotees whose ears have been assailed by falsehood, and they have gone astray because of the very novelty of it. Later on, they have had insight into the truth, but falsehood having once caught on has by now taken root within their heart, so that they persist in regarding errors as more true than truth itself. So now you too must beware, my son! I know that your heart inclines towards virtue, and this is the greatest blessing which the gods can vouchsafe to you and through you to us also, for the noble tradition of your fathers will have prevailed upon you!'—And the king went on to enumerate all his ancestors by name, and taught Bodasaph their pedigree and related their life stories to him. [In the Arabic Book of Bilauhar and Budasaf, from which our Georgian text is thought to derive, there follows here a long account by King Janaisar (Abenes) of the doings of his royal ancestors Baisam, Shabakhna, Talzin and Klantin, who are portrayed as faithful followers of al-Budd (the Buddha). See Povest' o Varlaame i Iosafe, trans. Rosen, Moscow, 1947, pp. 133-8. This fact strengthens one's conviction that the author of the Georgian Christian version had an ancient Arabic text before his eyes.]

When Bodasaph heard the king's words, he understood that the devil was laying a snare for him and that he must prepare to muster all his strength to combat the evil one. So he said to the king: There is nothing which I desire more, O king, than to reconcile my own welfare with your convictions. But if in spite of all my striving, I fail to conform to your beliefs, I must nevertheless have regard to my own salvation, however much this may displease you. I used to imagine that Your Majesty's command of language was lucid, vigorous and devoid of error, even though in practice, your deeds are false. But now it is obvious that the infirmity of your mind and outlook is even more grievous and severe than the sickness which affects your practical behaviour. My present duty, O king, is to make every effort to counteract your present trend of thought through the agency of wisdom, which is a quality by no means alien to it, for I am bound to feel concern for your mind's sake and must seek out a cure for it. I have no desire to transgress the bounds of courtesy by the candour with which I address Your Majesty, At the same time, anyone who speaks to you with base flattery is no loyal subject of yours.

'Now calm away your indignation and examine your own best interests! You must realize that you are fated soon to die and leave all your worldly glory to others, just like all other mortals who have already departed this life and left their belongings to others. Afterwards you will be raised up once more, and called upon to give an account of your words and deeds. Now there are none remaining in this world who have spoken and taught the right doctrine and put it into practice except for those men who are servants of Christ the Lord and abide in the wilderness, and who believe in the Holy Trinity and its sacred creed. Those hermits have knowledge of the retribution which is due to each individual person, be it bliss or be it torment. Now choose some learned exponent of your religion, and let us hold a formal disputation together concerning the true faith, until truth has been distinguished from falsehood.'

When the king had listened to these words of his son, he was dumbfounded. As soon as he recovered his wits, he started to ponder and reflect, and to struggle against his own impulses.

But he was sore beset by his desires, which fought him hard and reminded him of the pleasures and ease to which he was accustomed; and his inward voice spoke to him, saying: 'You cannot exist a single day without the things you are used to, and if you admit your error and change your convictions, you will incur bitterness and reproach.' So he abandoned all hope of departing from his existing habits, and could think of no other course than to serve and glorify the idols.

Then the king said to his son: 'My child, what you have said has intrigued me and converted me to your point of view. Now I must enquire into your words without delay, and investigate them calmly. If they turn out to be true, then they will shine forth the more brightly in the course of my examination. But if they be false, their error will be shown up. So I propose to gather the people together and hold a debate in a spirit of equity, not of violence. I will command the herald to proclaim an amnesty to all the Christians, who belong to your faith, so that they may come to my assembly for a just verdict to be reached there in the presence of the whole nation. Nobody must have grounds for imagining that I have used coercion or for declaring: "Had I attended that assembly myself, I should have uttered a triumphant oration by which the entire people would have been quite convinced and our cause completely vindicated!" '

47. Bodasaph was reassured by the king's speech, and they made arrangements for the assembly. On that day, there was a great concourse. The ministers of the idols came out to lend their support to Nakhor, who was feigning to be Balahvar, as we have mentioned earlier, and whom Rakhis had enlisted on his side. But no one from among the professing Christians attended the gathering, except for a certain man who followed the faith of Our Lord Jesus Christ in secret. His name was

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Barakhia—that same man of whom we have spoken earlier, who told Bodasaph about the conspiracy framed by Nakhor at the time when the latter was brought in from the wilderness disguised as Balahvar.

And Barakhia was ready to support Balahvar in case he wavered at any stage in the debate.

The king took his seat upon his throne, but Bodasaph sat upon the ground, for he had no wish to be seated on a throne. First the king began to address the idol-worshippers and said: 'Behold, you are the heads of this faith, which we have received from you, and wherein we have followed your precepts. Strive to vindicate this faith today! And if your victory be made manifest and decisive, good will be the reward which I shall bestow upon you, as a worthy recognition of your righteousness. But if your discourse is shown to be a pack of falsehood and lies, no one will be deemed so impudent as you and no one will have incurred such guilt as yourselves, both in regard to me personally and in regard to the entire nation, O ministers of the idols. I have made a vow to the gods that if today your doctrine is shown to be false, and you are justly declared to have been vanquished by your opponents, then I shall break my crown, overturn my throne, shave off the hair from my head and join the ranks of the monks. I shall burn those gods of yours with fire and exterminate you, their acolytes; and your houses shall be pillaged and your children given into bondage. And I shall hang your bodies from the gibbet. But if you can avoid being defeated, then your punishment too can be averted.'

Bodasaph said in response: 'O king, you have promulgated a just decree, and no one has the right to carry justice into execution but a monarch. However, I deem it my duty also to imitate Your Majesty's example, for you have decided rightly.' Then Bodasaph said to Nakhor, who was feigning to be Balahvar: 'Behold, you know, O Balahvar, amid what luxury and delights you found me, and how you called upon me to adopt your creed, assuring me of your sincere attachment to it. And I abandoned my humility towards the king and overcame my fear of him, and resigned myself to a life spent in austerity; and I followed you for the sake of my desire for the kingdom of heaven which you preached to me, guaranteeing it to be everlasting, and also for fear of the perpetual torments with which you threatened me. Behold now, the multitude of our foes is gathered together and there is no one among this crowd to lend me aid. You have heard the king's equitable declaration, and I too shall act with complete impartiality. If you have been laying some trap for me to deprive me of the worldly enjoyments which are given to men for their comfort, and have cast me by your wiles into damnation; if again you are defeated in this disputation by a true verdict or through the weakness of your cause, then I shall instantly vent my wrath on your heart and tongue, for I shall tear them out with my own hands and cast them to the dogs, which are readier to tolerate deceit and vilification than are royal princes. This oath I utter before God and His angels, and verily you shall not escape from my hands!'

"When Nakhor heard these words of Bodasaph's, he realised that he had fallen into the snare which he himself had dug, and perceived the evil fate and perdition which faced him, now that death threatened him from both sides. He saw that his only hope of avoiding doom lay in employing his whole heart and strength to support and advocate the creed of Balahvar, and thereby pacify the king's son. He was confident that the king would pardon him, in view of the plot they had framed together.

So Nakhor opened his lips and began to denounce the idols and their acolytes and then to praise the faith of the Christians and their sacred laws. Such a pitch of devastating eloquence did his speech attain, with such cogency of repartee, that even Balahvar himself could not have equalled it, nor could any of the devotees of the idols refute Nakhor on a single point in his oration*.

[* At this point, the Greek version inserts into the narrative the text of a very cogent defence of the Christian religion called the Apology of Aristides, attributed to a second century Athenian philosopher of that name. Thereby the author of the Greek version enhanced the effect of this episode and gave concrete evidence for Nakhor's prowess against the idol-worshippers.]

At this the blessed Bodasaph was joyful in spirit. His face became radiant through the grace of the Holy Spirit, and he thanked and glorified God, the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, who had fortified His religion through the mouth of His adversaries.

The debate between them continued for a long time. King Abenes was filled with indignation at Nakhor's success, but was ashamed to wreak vengeance upon him in the people's presence for fear that his own unjust behaviour should be exposed to public view. So the king reflected: 'I have brought this evil upon myself!' Thereupon the king began himself to speak and argue with Nakhor. Since he expressed himself with hottempered force and in angry tones, Nakhor took fright, thinking that the king resented the extent of his superiority in this debate, and this hampered him in formulating his arguments. This in turn encouraged the idolaters, for Nakhor began to give way of his own accord through fear of the king. And the king and all his subjects followed the debate with bated breath. Evening drew on while the debate was still in progress, and victory was not yet made manifest on either side. The prince for his part, fearing that Nakhor would fall victim to the king's cruelty, readily forgave him for flagging in his opposition to King Abenes.

At length Bodasaph said to King Abenes: 'Today, O king, you have started off this business on the basis of justice! So let it be completed on the same footing. Now grant me one of two alternatives: either hand over my teacher to me, so that he may abide with me, and we may labour together on the principles of our faith, and so that he may be free from intimidation, lest the voice of truth be silenced by fear. And do you take your own mentors with you, and do with them whatever you desire. Or else deliver your counsellors to me, and take my master to yourself.

But if you take both your advisers and mine away with you, then yours will be in tranquillity, but mine will be cut off from me and remain a prey to terror and tribulation. Such a proceeding would be tyrannical and unjust.'

The king was reluctant to leave his high priests with the prince his son, for fear that the latter might convert them from idolatry by means of his eloquence. Still hoping that Nakhor would secretly find means to carry into effect the stratagem they had plotted together, the king handed Nakhor over to his son.

The prince went off into his palace and took Nakhor along with him. And the entire people still imagined that Nakhor was really Balahvar.

Then Prince Bodasaph said to Nakhor secretly in the night: I know that you are really Nakhor and not Balahvar, but I have shielded you, Nakhor! Be glad rather, for today you have done much good work and greatly furthered the faith of our sacred Lord by your eloquence. Now I have taken you away to protect you from the king's vengeance. However, if your lips are unwilling, we have no desire to avail ourselves of their help on behalf of our religion. Rely rather on your own intelligence, give ear to the gospel message of God's Son, turn with sincerity to confess Christ and His religion and wait for the rewards and retribution which He metes out, for you must soon pass away just as earlier generations passed away. Beware of choosing perishable joys in preference to those imperishable delights which flow from Christ!'

Nakhor said: 'I am ready, O king's son, to accept what you urge upon me. I believe in God and recognize that all things owe their existence to Him, and that He metes out eternal retribution to mankind according to their deeds. I prostrate myself before God because of my sins, for He is the Prince of meicy. I know that you are sincere in exhorting me to follow this course. Even previously I have been aware of the truth, but I followed my own inclinations and was reluctant to depart from the faith and the evil customs of my ancestors. Rejoice, O prince, in God's favour and in His good rewards which you will receive if you perform His will. And I advise you to honour your father and live together with him in a conciliatory spirit, until God provides a way for you to follow. The nature and object of our plot is known to you, O prince. What words can I address to the king if I encounter him, in view of the shame which I must needs feel in his presence? I have failed completely to justify the hopes which he placed in me! So now I beg you to let me depart and abide in the wilderness with the servants of Christ. If the Lord wills it, I will come again to see you in a little while.'

The king's son gave his permission and bade him go in peace. After saying goodbye to Bodasaph, Nakhor departed full of faith in Christ, and inspired with deep repentance for his previous misguided conduct. And he dwelt among the hermits according to the true monastic rites and rules. All who heard of this offered up praise to Christ our God.

When the news about Nakhor reached King Abenes, he fell into despair, now that he had lost all hope of converting his son through Nakhor's agency. So the king deferred for a time the debate with his son, and began to despise the cult of idols and expressed contempt for them on numerous occasions, as well as lack of respect for their acolytes. However, he could not quite bring himself to adopt the way of God's service for himself, Bodasaph for his part treated the king with friendly kindness, as Nakhor had advised him, and never rebuked him for his behaviour.

48. A few days later, the grand festival of the idols fell due. The king used formerly to impart great pomp to this event. But now that the pagan priests saw how the king despised the idols and their acolytes, they feared that he might not attend their celebration nor offer any sacrifice to the idols, to their intense humiliation. Therefore they arose and went to a certain man who dwelt in the wilderness among the mountains and had renounced and rejected the life of the world and the flesh. His name was Thedma, and he was an adherent of their faith. The king and his whole people greatly relied on him, to the point of imagining that rain and sunshine were granted to their country according to his prayers. So they brought the hermit to the king to give him encouragement and banish doubt and despondency from his heart.

The king caught sight of Thedma as he entered his presence, wearing no clothes except for an old rag girding his loins, and leaning on a staff. It was a long time since the king had seen the hermit, so he jumped up quickly as soon as he set eyes on him, fell down before him and adored him, and embraced his legs.

Then he stood up before him as a slave stands before his master, until Thedma bade him be seated. The king sat down, and Thedma answered and said to the king: 'Your Majesty! May you live through the power of the idols. I have heard that you have striven doughtily in the campaign against the devils. I was delighted when I learnt that victory was granted to you.'

The king said: 'No victory was accorded us at all! Never did we stand in such need of warriors and knights as we do today. Now what help can we expect from you?'

Thedma answered: 'It is fitting first of all for us to celebrate the great festival which is at hand, rendering to the gods due tribute for all the victories and successes which they bestow.

Only after this should we engage the foe and struggle steadfastly against him, being equipped afresh with all the armoury needed to assure us victory.'

FABLE THE FOURTEENTH

The Amorous Wife

The king said to Thedma: 'Your situation and mine resemble that of a certain military commander who possessed a most attractive wife. Now that man was extremely jealous in regard to women and feared that his wife might become frustrated and be unfaithful to him. So he said to the lady: "I know the fickleness and weakness of womankind. I have an enemy after me, who is coming to seduce you. So watch out and be firm. And I will give you a signal.—Whenever you feel an urge for sexual intercourse, let your hair down. When I see this sign, I will give battle to the foe and satisfy your desire, and his rage shall not triumph over you!"

'The woman acted accordingly, and they lived together for a long time without any sin being committed. But one day foemen approached and there was an alarm, and the warriors sallied forth to repulse the enemy. So our hero too arose and donned his armour. When his wife saw him decked out in his panoply, she was filled with sexual desire, for that hero was a splendid knight. So the woman gave the signal which she had learnt from her husband. When the man saw this, he went back into his house and stayed there until he had quenched his wife's passion.

After this, he sallied forth to encounter the foe. By the time he emerged, the army was already returning from the fray. The soldiers started to rail at him and say: "You were too frightened to sally out, until you heard that we had put the enemy to flight!" But the champion said to them: "My private foe was battling with me! I could not leave him in order to fight outside enemies, for he was my most domestic and immediate foe. Now that I have conquered him, I can rejoin your company.'

'Thus it is with us, O Thedma! Today we are involved in an affair which affects both us and the idols. But first of all I have to exterminate my own personal enemies. If afterwards we establish that the idols are really gods, then we shall offer up sacrifices to them. But if they cannot be proved genuine deities, what can such imaginary beings profit us?'

Thedma retorted: There is no more reliable coat of mail or sharper sword to use against enemies than the celebration of festival rites. No measures can bring you nearer to victory than offering up sacrifices to the idols. Thereby you will be fortified against all and every foe.'

The king replied: 'I have been wondering and fearing that it is the true faith itself which we have been fighting. However, if you so wish, then you can go and celebrate the festival. But I shall remain sceptical until it is revealed to me what course is best. Otherwise, you are welcome to reveal the truth to me, if you have some firm evidence in your hands. If you can disperse the misgivings from my heart, then I too will join you in celebrating the holiday festivities.'

At this, Thedma was enraged. He threw down the staff which he held in his hand, tore off the rags which he had wound round his loins, entwined his fingers together, and stood naked in front of the king, and said to him: 'If you have no love for your kingdom, O king, and are turned into a slave; if you have abandoned splendour for poverty and luxury for hardship; if you are resolved not to spare that pampered and cosseted body of yours and propose to quit all this comfort for the sake of embracing misery to which you are not accustomed and will never be able to endure—then I am made of even sterner stuff. I can easily cast away this stick and these rags, but shall not yield to falsehood.

I am not afraid of the monastic path, because there is no existence more austere and harsh than my life, which I patiently endure. This world has nothing to demand from me, nor have I anything to demand from this world, apart from the earth on which I crawl along, and the grass on which I nourish myself.

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So let us set out together, Your Majesty, for your mind has hit upon a good idea!'

When the king heard these words of Thedma, he despaired of getting help from him and realized how impotent was their faith. And the brood of doubt multiplied within his heart. He resolved to confess the true God, and began to ponder and meditate within himself. But as he was considering the matter in his mind, there arose within him the spirit of love of this world, which recalled to him the varied flavours and enjoyments which are forbidden by the Christian faith. And he was overcome by his old habits, to which he had ever been in bondage. So he gave orders for preparations to be made for the festival, according to established custom.

49. When the festival was over, the king asked Thedma: 'How are we going to set about converting my son?'

FABLE THE FIFTEENTH

The Youth who had never seen a Woman

Thedma answered the king: 'You must get devils to operate on

him through the wiles of women, for these can wound the spirit more deeply than a two-edged sword. [Proverbs, 5:4] once heard of a certain king who had a son. And the physicians declared to that monarch: "If the child sees the sun before he is ten years old, the light of his eyes will be extinguished, for we observe that their pupils are weak of vision." So the king hollowed out a cave in the ground and ordered his son to be brought up there in company with his nurse. "When the boy was ten years old, he had him brought out. Since the lad had never set eyes on any other living being, his father ordered a specimen of every kind of creature to be set before him one by one, so that he might learn the identity of each one that he saw. In addition, finely arrayed girls were to be placed in his path. And they did so.

'The boy asked about every kind of being, and they gave him information about them. He also enquired about the girls. They told him: "Those are devils which agitate and ruin men!' The boy was filled with longing for those devils. His father asked the lad: "What was the most beautiful thing you saw during your walk?" The boy replied: "I have seen nothing fairer than those devils, and there is nothing I desire more than them!"—So now there is nothing which will avail Your Majesty better than ravishing maidens, whom you should introduce to his presence at all times of day, so that the devil may exercise his powers through their agency,'

Then the king ordered all his son's retainers to be removed from his palace, and replaced them with beautiful and comely girls chosen from every quarter of his domains to act as Bodasaph's servants. Then the prince's palace was filled with their allurements. The king's son suffered greatly from their efforts to beguile him, and his mind was disturbed in a way which he had never known before. The king told these girls to sing and entice him at all times of the day and night, so they decked themselves out and tantalized him with every kind of temptation with which they sought to arouse his appetites. They were very zealous in carrying out the king's instructions.

Sometimes they would exhibit themselves in male disguise, sometimes put on armour and parade in front of him, or else they would take on the guise of hunters or of musicians, with harps and trumpets and cymbals, and besiege his ears with all kinds of melodies. At other times they would invade his room stark naked and lure him on with lascivious talk, urging him to sally forth a-hunting or go for a walk in the gardens of delight.

Whenever the prince went out, the girls also mounted their steeds and scampered round about him. In all this, they were fulfilling the king's instructions, and they succeeded in shaking his convictions more than any eloquence of man could have done.

Now among these girls was a certain king's daughter, who had been brought as a captive to King Abenes. She was fairer than all the others and more intelligent than they; and the prince fell in love with her because of her beauty and wisdom, since she was extremely clever and resourceful. The prince would often discuss religious problems with her and talk of the transitory nature of this world, reminding her of God and condemning the error of the idolaters. When the king heard of this, he was delighted to hear of Bodasaph's love for this maiden, for he imagined that he would prevail over his son through her influence.

One day the girl said to Bodasaph: 'If you want me to pay heed to your exhortations, O prince, then grant me but one year's solace in youi arms. I promise you that I shall then confess your faith, and both of us will serve your God until our death.'

Bodasaph said to the maid: 'And whence shall come my recompense if death should overtake me before the year is up?'

The girl answered: 'If death should overtake you, you will be rewarded by the fact that I have been converted. You will not be held guilty for following my desire, for you yourself say: "Marriage is honourable in all."' [Hebrews, 13:4.—Note by the copyist: 'Christ, deliver us from the snares of the devil.']

Bodasaph said: 'That is so, but I should not win the grace of self-denial with those who have endured and quenched the furnace of the flesh. What is more, I fear that self-indulgence might entice me into some worse enterprise, or that sin might rule me and hurl me into damnation, or that I might turn out to be an enemy of God and a friend of the devil.'

The woman replied: 'Spend one month with me, or even one night, and I will fulfil all your command and desire. Surely so trifling an indulgence as this cannot affect the reward due to you for recovering an erring soul, reconciling it with God, and procuring for it salvation after death?'

Bodasaph was favourably disposed to carry out her request, because his natural instincts inclined him to do so. He made her swear that she would confess God's faith. His reason was taken captive by their mutual passion, which threw his mind entirely off balance. But Our Lord Jesus Christ came to his rescue and would not let him go to his damnation, according to the words of the Psalmist David: 'I inclined to fall violently, and the Lord caught me with his hand; and had the Lord not come to my help, my soul would straightway have found itself in Hell.' [Cf. Psalm 94:17]

Plunged in thought, Bodasaph spent the night in vigil, praying to God that He would assist him and open to him the door of righteousness, and then he dropped off to sleep. Blessed is God, who fulfils the desire of those that fear Him! As he slumbered, Bodasaph had a vision. He dreamt that he had arrived in the kingdom of Heaven and saw the many-coloured delights, the gilded temples and all the attendant luxury, far surpassing anything which is to be seen in this world upon earth. And then at the side he caught sight of those women his tempters, whose wiles had wounded his soul. In comparison with the joys of paradise, their faces seemed to him more hideous and unsightly than dogs' or pigs' snouts. The prince heard a voice saying: 'This is the abode of rest for the saints and the steadfast, and here they shall enjoy eternal ease.' Afterwards they took him into hell and he saw the terrible torments suffered by each sinner there, which nobody can enumerate except God who devised them. Again he heard a voice saying: 'This is the retribution of godless mortals and sinners, who had abandoned Christ our God and fallen in love with this world. Here they shall be tormented for ever and for all eternity.'

"When Bodasaph awoke and opened his eyes, he saw the girls standing round him weeping and lamenting, for they imagined that he had died in the course of that prolonged dream. Bodasaph arose and began to examine their attractions. And he was amazed how insignificant and ugly they appeared to his eyes compared with those joys which he had beheld in his vision.

The king came to visit his son, because he had heard about this incident; and he enquired what Bodasaph had seen, and what thoughts were in his mind. So Bodasaph told him everything which he had witnessed in paradise, its beauties and unparalleled delights. Afterwards he told him what he had seen in hell, and its unbearable and fearsome torments. Then he said to the king: 'My father, I wish to go away into the wilderness and live as a monk among the hermits and there to serve the life-giving God, because of my desire for that felicity and my fear of those torments which I have seen.'

50. When the king heard his son's words, he was cast down with grief and filled with mortification. Unable to bear this or to conceal his feelings, he cried aloud before all the people and said: 'Never has a greater or more terrible evil befallen me and yourselves than this tragedy of my son. If some monarch or potent enemy were to kidnap my son, we should not submit to this, nor would we spare our own lives in his defence. We should sacrifice ourselves unreservedly, as both I and yourselves are bound to do for my son's sake. You recall how I persecuted the enemies of our religion, and how I killed them and burnt them with fire. And now I fear that if the boy is going to run wild and start associating with the anchorites as a result of his ignorance and folly, then one of my enemies may slay him. If I exact vengeance for his blood, I shall then be condemned for injustice! Having once tried to exterminate the hermits, how can I now abandon my own son to their tender mercies? If I give in, then the reproach of weakness will remain upon me and yourselves for ever, and we shall be turned into a laughing stock for our foes. If only we could find a man capable of solving this problem with which I am burdened—one who could teach me how to treat the boy and afford me aid in these troubles of mine—then I would grant him respect and honour greater than what is accorded to myself. We must not neglect this matter nor relax our efforts until we succeed in finding out the truth about our son, and how we ought to deal with him.'

Thereupon the dignitaries and grandees said to Abenes: 'No effort must be spared to solve this problem in all its aspects; for there is none more eager to secure your happiness than we are, nor anyone more affected than we are by Your Majesty's troubles! But in our opinion it is not feasible to divide one single realm between two opposing religions, two creeds, and two legal systems. We shall never achieve success unless we light upon a solution whereby your son, your religion and your kingdom may all jointly be restored to health.' And they continued to enlarge on this theme.

Eventually the king and all his dukes decided to give half his kingdom to the prince for him to reign over. The king acted thus in order to lay a snare for Bodasaph, calculating that through transacting affairs of state, he would become wrapped up in worldly matters and fall a prey to earthly lusts.

However, Bodasaph saw through their wily ruses, but was delighted at the prospect of being enabled to revive the faith which his father had suppressed, openly to preach the gospel of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and to reunite all His faithful people and strive energetically to hold fast to all the precepts of Christianity, Bodasaph found this prospect highly encouraging.

The king said to Bodasaph: 'My son, this was not the kind of future which I mapped out for you! I fancied that you would be the light of my existence and my successor after my death.

But you have dashed ray hopes, openly resisted me and turned the sweetness of my joy in you into bitterness; and you have severed the paternal heart-strings which united my breast with yours. But I feel myself unable to resist your plea, for the bonds of parenthood incline me in your favour and obh'ge me to act according to your desires, and to avoid any deeds which are uncongenial to you. You refuse to pardon my faults as I pardon yours, nor will you grieve at parting from me, as I grieve for your sake. May you live and prosper wherever you may be! I am fully aware that by letting you go, I am humiliating and deceiving myself. I am fulfilling your desire because of the love of their offspring which reigns in the depths of their fathers' hearts, so that they submit to their children's behests even though they are in opposition to their own wishes.

'Thus it is also with a man who gives in to his own inclinations, even though he knows that they bring blame and harm upon himself; hut he conceals his faults from men while finding excuses for himself, forgetting his own shortcomings and priding himself on what little virtue he manages to retain. But I, my son, although I am a king, am also a man. My heart is tender towards you, as is the way with all men towards their children. I cannot go on opposing you, any more than I can oppose my own will. You have brought down great evil upon my head and your own. But my main wish is to bring this matter to the most successful conclusion possible, to do what you desire, and seek to cure you and myself in peace and tranquillity.

So now I appoint you king over half my realm. Administer it yourself as you will. Only let not our enemies mock nor the envious rejoice at your estrangement from me, nor let me be completely without posterity from you, lest your extinction make me suffer death before my time comes to pass away ! But if you make your kingdom prosper and manage your affairs skilfully, my soul will not be altogether desolate because of you. And may your doings be attended perpetually with peace, good health, and success.'

51. The youth answered the king and said: 'I have paid heed to your words, O king. May God strengthen you with the spirit of peace and vouchsafe the best of prosperity to your life and reign. However, I cannot accept that authority which you bestow upon me, being unaccustomed to such responsibility and quite devoid of any taste for transitory glory. I beseech Your Majesty to let me go. that I may depart and rejoin my brethren who abide in the wilderness. Do not place obstacles in my way, nor distress yourself unduly. Who knows—perhaps the conclusion of this affair will bring you joy greater than the sorrow which today you suffer on my account. As for the evil which, so you said, has befallen you—such is the nature of evil that it never befalls men when it happens to suit them. The greatest of ills is that for which there is no remedy after death. But when an evil is curable, then we should submit to it, provided that finally normal peace is restored.

'It seems to me that Your Majesty has understood nothing of the extent of my woes, while I am fully conversant with vour own. The chief of my miseries is that you do not know Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and have not listened to the voice of His prophets and apostles. Not one of His precepts have you taken in; you have no fear of God, nor have you submitted to His tribunal of riehteousness, nor shrunk from exposing me to condemnation.

I have no wish to make my own situation publicly known, for I see that your mind is firmly fixed in its refusal to acknowledge God, and I do not wish to cause you travail and grief. It was you who spied upon me, forced me to bandy words with you, and equipped me with boldness to oppose your paternal authority. You tell me that you have voluntarily incurred evil and humiliation for the sake of your love for me and on my behalf. But I fail to see what concessions Your Majesty has made in my favour, or in what way you have changed your previous convictions. You say that you feel tender towards your offspring, as other fathers do. But my impression is that birds, animals and wild beasts feel more tenderness towards their little ones than you do; for they love their young and sacrifice themselves for their sake not because they see in them heirs to themselves, or a support against their enemies, or a boost to their own prestige, but solely from the natural instinct of parenthood.

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'It is not for my own good, O king, that you desire me to remain in this worldly life, but for the sake of your own reputation.

You must realise this clearly, namely that your censure detracts from the generosity of your gift and diminishes it. The reproaches you heap on my head bring me no benefit; in placing this world at my disposal, you are robbing me of my personal integrity. I should be better pleased if you would acknowledge God, the Creator of all things, the Father invisible, His onlybegotten Son Jesus Christ and His most Holy Spirit which shares His dominion equally and has no beginning, indivisible and of essence unmixed, one Deity in three persons, in preference to this whole world, filled though it be with precious stones, but replete even more with sin and all unrighteousness.'

When the king had heard his son's speech, he was more amazed than ever, and loved him still more deeply. He said to Bodasaph: 'My boy! I levelled no reproach at you, nor did I try to coerce you, but only alluded to your opposition and refusal to obey me. Never did any king treat a son of his so generously, nor any man his brother, as I have treated you. For I have handed down my royal estate to you before my own death, permitted you to abandon my religion and permitted any who prefer your creed to join you therein. I merely reminded you of this, without reproaching you. So set off now in accordance with my command, for this will be to my advantage and to yours.'

Bodasaph answered and said to his father: 'It is not surprising that Your Majesty should have acted thus, seeing that you are universally known for your extreme magnanimity and noble conduct. I am not ignorant of your good deeds, nor do I withhold the thanks I owe you. My only wish is that you should crown the favours and goodness which you bestow upon me by excusing me from this undertaking which is uncongenial to my spirit and has no merit in my eyes. Let me rejoin my friends for whom my heart yearns. My soul longs to go out to them swiftly, so that I may not miss the joys which are prepared for their benefit. I have no desire for a transitory kingdom, administered by human adroitness and guile—a kingdom which may exist today, but tomorrow will have faded from our sight.'

Then King Abenes burst into tears and said to Bodasaph his son: 'My child, my child, do not pour scorn upon your parent!

Do not rebel against me and revile my royal estate, for I wish to secure your happiness and protect you from shame. Do not drive me beyond the limits of endurance or try to humiliate me for the sake of your own caprice. Do not place obstacles in my way, lest I lose my temper and cancel all the promises I have made you, unleashing upon you my wrath and malediction.'

When the boy Bodasaph heard the king's words, he was afraid that in his anger, his father would lose all self-control, change his mind, and refuse to do what he had promised, so that the concessions which Bodasaph had won would be lost. So from now on Bodasaph began to humour the king in his behaviour, and assumed responsibility for governing the half of his kingdom which had been entrusted to him. But that precious jewel of his—the pure faith of Christ our God—he kept safely and preserved immutably within his mind.

52. "When the king observed how his son had yielded, he rejoiced with great joy and ordered a herald to be despatched to summon together the dukes and all the dignitaries of the nation and the entire people. When they had all assembled in his presence, the king ordered a throne just like his own to be set up for his son, and seated him upon it. The king began to speak, saying: 'We all of us once belonged to a different creed and a different religion from that to which we now adhere. All our ancestors, monarchs renowned for their good qualities, and all the nation too used to live according to a different creed from our present one. But we have given our preference to a religion differing from their original creed, though we have no doubt that had our forebears been alive today, they could not have devised any better body of doctrine for us to adopt now that they are dead. [The author of the Greek recension took this as an allusion to the legendary mission of the Apostle Didymos Judas Thomas, who is supposed to have established Christianity in the west of India in the first century A.D. Abenes thus appears as a renegade from the Christian religion. Cf. Barlaam and loasaph, ed. and trans. Woodward and Mattingly, Loeb Classical Library, 1914, pp. 6-11.] Now all you grandees know about my son's behaviour, in fact news of it has spread throughout the entire people. We have no right to employ coercion against our son because of his opposition to us, seeing that we too rose up in rebellion against the faith of our fathers. So now we have given our consent to the course which he has chosen for himself.

Furthermore it is my desire to share with him the use and enjoyment of my kingdom, and to reveal to him the extent of the territory over which he is to reign himself. "Whoever wishes to follow him, let him proceed to the prince's domains, for I shall force nobody to remain under my own royal authority. Whoever so wills, let him go wherever he likes and follow whichever religion he prefers. I shall not hinder anyone who wishes to honour and exalt my son, for he is my own child and there is nobody more loyal to me than he is. And now I have given orders to hand over to him one half of everything which is in my store house, both in treasure and in armour, and whatever else is to be found there, so that his reign may be associated with riches, and he may be equipped to mete out fit reward for merit and retribution for deeds of evil.'

When the king had finished this speech, orators arose and glorified his kingly design; and they pledged their obedience to his royal authority and lauded his proposals. Then Bodasaph departed to his own palace, attended by a throng of people giving voice to praise and applause, and a number of them offering their congratulations. After a brief interval, he opened his doors and everybody entered in without fear to listen to his words of wisdom. Among them were certain survivors of the Christian community who had preserved their faith in secret but conformed outwardly to the king's religion from fear of death. When they heard of this event, they rejoiced greatly and ceased to feel any terror. So they came to visit Bodasaph now that the young prince was victorious, and felicitated him on the triumph which had been granted to him through the power of Christ Jesus. They told him of their own religious convictions and prepared to depart into lodasapVs kingdom.

When King Abenes had rendered royal honours to his son and equipped him for the journey into his own domains, Bodasaph arose and went to have a farewell audience with the king. He gave thanks to his father and recalled the blessings which he had bestowed upon him. Then Bodasaph begged him to release all those detained in jail, so that he himself might deal with them as he saw fit. The king gave his consent to his plea, and Bodasaph ordered them to bring out all the prisoners who were detained through failure to pay their taxes to the state. As for those who were imprisoned for debt, he ordered their liabilities to be discharged from his own coffers, and let them go. Concerning those detained for acts of wickedness and murder, the prince ordered that provision should be made for them out of his own resources, sufficient to provide for them amply in prison until God's will might be made known as to what their fate should be. After this he ordered great quantities of treasure to be distributed among the disabled, the poor and the feeble, and finally set off for his own kingdom. And many of the townspeople accompanied him on his journey.

53. "When he had arrived in his own realm, he began by thanking God and said: 'Glory to Thee, O God and Father of Our Lord and Liberator Jesus Christ, mighty and omnipotent Deity; I praise and glorify Thee, O Holy Trinity, who dost govern all things with consummate ease.'—And then he began to address the multitude and said: 'No one has a greater duty to walk in justice than a king; and no one is better entitled to address his subjects with words of mildness than a king who goes among his people administering justice with equity. Men should also employ mild words in their dealings with one another. But if there is one placed in authority over the people, a man merciless, bloodthirsty and rapacious, then he too will have recourse to honeyed words whereby to disguise the wickedness of his acts.

Again, if some ignorant novice should succeed to the throne, he will use them to conceal his incompetence until he shall have mastered the art of government. But he who diffuses justice among the people and administers their affairs well, not robbing the honourable of their honour nor the weak of their just deserts, a man who sharpens the sword of justice for the defence of the entire nation—such a one as this has no need to resort to the use of fair words. I for my part have come among you to excel not by my eloquence, but by executing righteous justice.'

After this Bodasaph selected a place of modest appearance, neither a royal palace nor a poor man's cabin, and ordered it to be made ready for his occupation; and he had it furnished in a style neither majestic nor mean, and stored there all the treasure which he had brought with them. Then he came and took up his abode in that place.

54. As for all the regalia which his father had given him—including steeds and garments, decorations for thrones, and many kinds of royal adornments—he ordered all these to be transported to places abroad and sold there, and the proceeds distributed among the poor and destitute and people devoid of resources who were ashamed to go out and beg. "Whereas other rulers habitually enjoy life and rejoice in their pomp and abundance of fine raiment and excite the envy of the poor by their pride and arrogance, Bodasaph applied the receipts from the sale of these to comfort the poor and needy. And all people who heard of this glorified Christ our God.

Accordingly Bodasaph ordered letters to be written to every district of his realm—to every province, every canton and every village—with instructions to compile a register of all the poor and needy, the feeble and disabled, and particularly those impoverished people whom shame prevented from begsing, and who suffered seven times more than other paupers; and they were all to be entered with their name, that of their village, and the extent of their individual needs. When the register was laid before him, Bodasaph ordered a great quantity of treasure to be distributed among them, to each according to his need, and also grants of land to be made. He helped them to build themselves farms and provided them with the necessary seed corn, until he succeeded in abolishing poverty and misery altogether.

Thenceforth everyone became prosperous, for which they glorified God with united voice; and there was not a single man to be found in Bodasaph's domains who needed to go begging for his daily bread or for alms.

Afterwards Bodasaph ordered an announcement to be published throughout his kingdom that each principality or duchy within it should elect for itself a man of upright and worthy character, a doer of righteousness and hater of falsehood. Those who were elected he appointed to be bishops, that they might lead the people to the knowledge of the truth of Christ our God in uprightness and virtue, and sustain and govern their flock with a right judgement.

Then he issued orders to the princes and dukes and officials, that they should judge the people equitably and administer their affairs with mercy and justice, instilling fear into evil doers and imparting peace and joy to the virtuous. All their vassals were to be instructed to cultivate the land and deliver the correct rate of tribute in accordance with their capacities. After this, Bodasaph fitted out his troops completely with everything they needed and nominated generals and dukes to command them—men of worthy, humble and God-fearing character who tried to avoid public office; as for such as sought and strove after authority, these he excluded completely from posts of command.

Again, he ordered all the goodly prelates and priests to be installed with great honours and built churches throughout his land, so that the people might put Christ's precepts into practice according to the words of their pastors. He ordered them to be provided with all necessary facilities and provisions, according to the position occupied by each one of them respectively. And unspeakable joy reigned throughout the land.

Bodasaph himself attended to the nation's affairs without a moment's relaxation. First of all he enquired into people's private lives and how they ordered their spiritual problems, and then into the facts of their material existence. He treated each one of his subjects according to his personal circumstances with both generosity and kindness. He relieved them from fear of royal despotism, and removed from their hearts all apprehension and dread of unfair treatment.

55. Good order, justice and gladness increased among the people, and everybody hastened from all parts to be baptised in the name of the Holy Trinity. Every day countless multitudes were enrolled into the Christian faith. The superiority of Bodasaph's excellent system became evident, and people began to revile their original religion to which they formerly adhered.

All men's hearts were filled with affection for him and with good wishes for the success of his reign. The works and renown of Christianity, of God's service, and of love and peace became manifest to the people, for Bodasaph himself set a shining example to all men of humility, love and devotion to duty.

There was nobody left in all his realm serving a different religion from that of God the ruler of all things, except for a few individuals who departed and settled in the kingdom of his father Abenes; these were idolaters who could not bring themselves to adopt the faith of Christ.

Throughout the world there spread the fame of that Godloving young man, of his modesty and patience and ineffable mercy, and how he combined with all these virtues both wisdom and ability. And so there flocked to him from all parts true believers who had been concealing their creed and faith through fear of King Abenes. They settled in security and great happiness within his domains and rejoiced in spirit and glorified the indivisible Holy Trinity, which manifested the unity of its triple essence and revealed the power of the religion of the Christians in face of all the godless. Many former devotees of his father's religion also came and abode with Bodasaph, making public confession of the faith of Christ. Like little children they received baptism in the name of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and glorified Christ the true God, incarnate without act of human conception of an immaculate virgin who knew no husband, born of His Father before all worlds, having no mother, and sitting upon the throne together with the Father and the Holy Ghost.

56. The renown of the king's son spread abroad. Great was the joy of all the people, and their relief at the cessation of persecution in his father's kingdom. Many were converted and professed the faith of Our Saviour Jesus Christ and the creed of Bodasaph. The preaching of God's word became so intense and ardent among them that the faithful were multiplied and fortified so as to outnumber the godless. Then the influence of Bodasaph's father began to wane and men's hearts were alienated from him, and people were emboldened to rise in opposition against him. They disregarded many of his ordinances, recalling to mind his immoral behaviour towards them and his tyrannical and cruel actions against them.

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Popular contempt for King Abenes became daily more apparent, and he realized that men's hearts had turned towards his son. He was afraid that they would rise in revolt against him, and that someone would kill him and seize his kingdom. On this account, he was seized with mighty fear and alarm, which affected not only the king but also all those who were his favourites and counsellors. Consequently they all fell into profound despondency and gloom.

So King Abenes wrote to his son Bodasaph about the situation and told him of all his worries, and asked him what he had better do. Bodasaph wrote back to him as follows: 'Let Your Majesty be informed that there is nothing which dispels fear and removes doubt from the heart of kings more than the exercise of true justice towards the people and sound and merciful administration of their affairs. But there is nothing which induces in a monarch such anxiety, ruins his life, and arouses in him so much distrust towards the people as does unjust treatment of his subjects by the king himself. However much you may multiply your acts of charity towards the people, it takes but the admixture of a little evil to spoil them utterly. Your Majesty provides so clear an example of this situation that there is no longer any need to consult anybody about the problem.

You can see for yourself whence come your fears and misgivings-, and from what quarter you may look for comfort and hope. My own opinion is that your sole grounds for fear and misgiving arise from the evil deeds which lie behind you, while your only source of comfort and hope is the seeds of good which you have sown. Renounce now all that induces fear and seek out those things which provide tranquillity. Hasten to come to a true decision, lest your enemies outstrip you in the quest for felicity!'

57. "When this letter from his son reached the king, he summoned his dignitaries together and read it to them. They began to discuss the problem. Then these men said to the monarch: 'O king, live for ever! We counsel you to get to grips with this crisis directly, before it has dire effects for you. By all means try to remedy those difficulties which will respond to your efforts, but it is no use resisting pressures "which are irresistible. The destiny of a monarchy depends on public opinion, and you are aware that you have treated the people badly. Now you observe how their hearts have turned away from you and their minds become alienated from you. The best counsel one can give a king is to take the right initiative, and the worst, to advise him to wait until events force his hand. Today you have the chance of choosing the most advantageous course to follow and not allowing yourself to be overtaken by the force of circumstances. To act voluntarily is the most honourable way for a king to behave. We would urge you to surrender your entire kingdom to your son, if he will consent to this and will declare his fidelity to you. But to start with, you must summon together all the princes, dukes and dignitaries of your people and concert together with them all necessary steps to achieve this aim. [Note by the copyist: 'O Christ, have mercy on Michael.'] For kings ought not to carry any measure into effect except in a dignified fashion.' Then the king ordered all the nobles to assemble without delay. When they had gathered in his presence, he began with great deliberation to explain to them the problem at issue.

First of all he offered up thanks to God for all His blessings. He went on to refer to his love for the people, and told of how he used to walk among them and watch over their daily wellbeing. Then the king reminded the assembly about how he had lacked a son and feared for the extinction of the royal lineage, and so had promised and made an irrevocable vow to the gods that if a male heir were bestowed upon him, and should he himself survive until the child grew up and was capable of taking over the government of the kingdom, then he, King Abenes, would hand over his entire realm to his son and voluntarily abdicate the kingship, thereby presenting the gods with the thankoffering which he had promised them, and being satisfied from then on to live a simple life as a private citizen. [No previous mention of any such vow by King Abenes is made in our narrative. This story of a vow is doubtless to be regarded simply as a facesaving stratagem, thought up to enable Abenes to abdicate and extricate himself gracefully from an untenable situation.]

Then he said to all the people: 'You know how a promise once made must be fulfilled, and a vow must not be broken.

When I handed over half my kingdom to my son, I imagined that I had carried out my promise. But now I see that its fulfilment is not complete. Since I have been exposed before the gods as a deceiver, I am frightened of the consequences of failing to carry out my promise. They will vent their wrath upon my head, for I have heard that the gods have the right to wreak vengeance on those who fail to fulfil their vows. [Deuteronomy, 23:21: "When them shalt vow a vow unto the Lord thy God, thou shalt not slack to pay it; for the Lord thy God will surely require it of thee; and it would be sin in thee."] So now I must make every effort to carry out my promise. I am accordingly consulting you to ask your advice as to what course it will be best for me and for you to follow, so please examine the matter carefully!'

So they replied: 'Who indeed is under a greater obligation to fulfil his vows than a king! And who has always been more punctilious in discharging justice, more steadfast in his discourse, and mightier in his designs than our sovereign*! [* the sentence is a typical Oriental flattery] However, this matter on which you are consulting us raises two different issues. The first relates to the dishonour which a king must incur if he evades or postpones carrying out his obligations.

If any man deceives his fellow, he is subject to perpetual condemnation. How much more hateful then is deceit and falsehood committed by a monarch in regard to the gods! "What is more, the gods are hardly likely to submit to being cheated by mortals like us. That which you are keen to retain and jealously cling to, they may well take from you in their wrath, without giving you any thanks or even consulting your wishes.

'The second point is that you are handing over your kingdom to your own son, who is the light of your eyes. Quite apart from any vow, all men leave their treasures to their children, thereby fulfilling the hopes they place in them. Had you made a promise in favour of a stranger, it would have been your duty to fulfil it. How much the more then, from both points of view, are you not bound to carry out your obligation towards your own son!

'However, Your Majesty knows that your son abides in the faith of the Christians, whose tenets provide that justice and equality must be conferred upon princes and beggars alike. You know what persecutions we have inflicted upon those men of repentance. We fear that if their creed gains ground and becomes our official religion, then we may be called to account before the tribunals for the blood which we have shed at your behest, and forced to pay compensation for their estates which we laid waste at your decree.'

58. Then the king wrote to his son in the following terms: 'Peace be to you, my son! You know the ease and luxury in which I brought you up from infancy, and how I then let you follow your own inclination. However grievous the division of my kingdom has been to me, and the convulsions which have taken place in my realm, none the less I have done this out of love for you. Now I want to complete my generosity towards you with favours such as no man has ever conferred on anyone before, and bestow upon you my entire domains. I propose to abdicate my royal estate and retire into private life until my days are accomplished, so that the hopes I placed in you may be fulfilled, and I may witness in my own lifetime the joyous era of your reign.'

King Abenes continued his letter by alluding to those men of repentance—namely the Christians—and the evil which he had done to their persons and their possessions, making the excuse that it is not unknown for kings to act with still greater savagery against their opponents, for the sake of public security.—'Now if you will undertake to mediate with the Christians on behalf of myself and my associates, then I will relinquish the entire kingdom to you, provided that you do not force me and my companions to abandon our own religion.'

Bodasaph wrote to his father the following answer: 'Illustrious crowned head and monarch! You know that no wellordered realm can tolerate two different systems of law and administration, and that two contrary tendencies cannot exist side by side. With your help, let us put matters on a just basis, such as will do honour to your discernment. I suggest that you send to me a delegation of your own leading men, such as are wise of mind and prudent in judgement so that we may hold discussions with them on this question. From this the truth will emerge, enabling us all to be reconciled on a just footing.'

When the king received his son's letter, he read it out to his associates. They were all pleased with the prince's answer, since they knew that he never did anything that was not strictly just.

59. Then the king selected from among his followers wise men well versed in their own doctrines, and sent them to Bodasaph.

When they arrived in the prince's presence, he ordered a like number of selected Christian monks to be summoned, expert in holy writ. And he said to them: 'Do not indulge in longwinded speeches nor place your trust in your own selves, but beseech Christ to grant you power from on high, as it is written in the Holy Gospel where it says: "Do not be anxious what you will speak." [Matthew, 10:19]

When the two sides met together, they undertook to conduct their discussion without any element of violence or deviation from the matter in hand, but that they would examine one another's viewpoint with impartiality. This would save the prince from having to use force to quell the rancour of the opposing factions.

When they had undertaken to follow this procedure, the idolaters began by declaring that those seeking to elicit information had the right to pose the first question.-—'Before making any enquiries from you,' they continued, 'we will inform you of our own principles. We serve idols of gold and silver and images of stone and wood. Now pray inform us who it is that you serve?'

To this the monks, those servants of Christ our God, replied: 'We serve the life-giving God who created us and also created gold and silver, stones and wood. You know His name, and cannot deny His might. He is chief and supreme over all, and no one can attain to His divine majesty, nor can anyone describe Him in words or see Him with their eyes. He gave us birth and vouchsafed to us knowledge of Himself. We do His will to the best of our ability, and what is distasteful to Him, that we avoid.

'That is our answer to your question. But what are these gods of yours, and what precepts do they teach you? If you are prepared to admit that they have neither created us, nor vouchsafed any body of doctrine to us, and are in fact incapable of creating anything whatever, because they see not, neither do they hear, nor utter any sound with their throats—then in that event you have no case to advance in reply to us, serving as you do useless, inanimate objects, which can perform no action, either beneficial or harmful.'

"When the idol-worshippers heard this, they were stricken dumb. They could find no words with which to answer the two propositions. For if they claimed that their idols had created them and taught them how they ought to act, then their fraud would be exposed and they would be justly put to shame by their adversaries' wise words. But if they admitted that their idols were powerless and unable to create anything or perform any action either beneficial or harmful, then they would be deservedly vanquished, and their opponents' cause would triumph. Since they could find no other solution to help them out, they conceded the superiority of the faith and creed of Christ our God over every other religion on earth. For they observed the great virtues of Bodasaph's exemplary conduct and his exceeding humility and mercy, as a result of which great peace and joy prevailed within his kingdom.

So the idolaters answered and said: 'O king's son, what will be your verdict concerning us in regard to those previous acts which we performed at the orders of your father our sovereign, and the blood which we spilt in our ignorance?'

The blessed Bodasaph said to them: 'As soon as you shed your religion, you may shed simultaneously any misgivings you entertain on that score. As soon as you enter into the religion of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ, you will enter immediately into the realm of peace and joy, for He is the God of peace and love, and not of spite and rancour.'

Afterwards those men returned into the presence of King Abenes and informed him of everything which they had heard and seen. Then the king and all his people decided to follow the faith of Bodasaph. And they accepted holy baptism in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. The only exception was that anchorite named Thedma whom we have mentioned previously—the man who advised the king to combat his son by the devil's agency; and this person still refused to adopt the Christian faith.

60. The king and all his people wrote a joint epistle to the prince, declaring that they confessed and believed in the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. When the envoys reached Bodasaph, and told him of the decision of the king and the entire people, he was filled with exceeding great joy; and he arose and lifted his arms aloft towards heaven and offered up thanks to Christ, who fulfils the desires of those that fear Him. And he treated the envoys with honour, presented them with generous gifts and let them go without delay.

And Bodasaph wrote a letter to his father in the following terms: 'To the great and pious king, fortunately entered into God's allegiance: I the slave and wretch Bodasaph greet you in the Lord's name ! First I thank Christ, the Son of God, who was made man for the salvation of mankind and saved us from servitude and the trickery of idols and redeemed us with His innocent and illustrious blood, which He shed upon the Cross.

I praise and glorify the grace of Him who looked down upon me with mercy and has not deprived me of my desire, and has made me worthy to look upon your veritable royalty: for now indeed you have become a king, whereas previously you were accounted lower than a slave. Great are your favours towards me, and I cannot sufficiently thank you for everything which you have done for me. But greatest of all is the joy which you have brought me at this time. For everything which you had previously bestowed upon me was as nothing before my eyes.

But now that you have attained knowledge of the truth, the Holy Trinity will be exalted and the religion thereof will shine forth more brightly, now that you have adopted it for your own.

'At present you must place your relations with me on an even loftier footing. You must know that no man can really give up one of his friends until he has overcome the long-standing habits of old acquaintance. A man's conversion must likewise be considered dubious until the basic cause of his deviation from the truth has been thoroughly rooted out. The veracity of your words and the purging of your heart in the sight of God, whereby you plan to join with us in serving God and in prayerful communion, can only be made manifest if you destroy the temples of the idols and burn the images with fire for God's sake, so that retribution may be meted out to them for the harm they have done to countless nations. By burning

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them you will reconcile yourself with God, just as previously you alienated the Deity against you by burning His saints. "When you have done this, you will have torn down the barrier wall of enmity and can receive true and immutable comfort from God the giver of life, and from us, His slaves.'

When King Abenes received this letter and it was read out to him, he arose immediately and all his people with him, and they began to destroy and burn the idols and the shrines of the images, until the very site they had occupied was no longer to be seen. After this the king went forth with all his people to the kingdom of Bodasaph his son and surrendered to him his entire realm, all except Thedma the hermit, who was tormented with redoubled anguish, but still refused to be converted.

When Bodasaph learnt that the king and all his subjects were approaching, he arose and went out to meet them with great joy; and he fell down before Abenes together with all the multitude of Christian believers who had come out with Bodasaph to greet the king. Abenes embraced Bodasaph's neck with great affection and kissed him with tears in his eyes. And Bodasaph escorted his father with exceeding great honour and entertained him with all that pomp and circumstance which he himself had renounced.

61. One day when Bodasaph was sitting in his father's presence, Thedma made his way into their company, bursting with rage and intent on provoking Bodasaph into a dispute about religion. So he said to him: Tell me, O prince, why you have done this thing? What harm have the idols done to you that you should treat them with such spite? Did they not once upon a time exalt your forefathers to be kings? Did they not elevate your father, King Abenes, in regal glory and raise him up higher than any other monarch on this earth, as well as driving from his heart the pang of childlessness? All the thanks you gave them for this was to abandon your faith and betray your father!

Why have you cut yourself off from serving your gods by this apostasy of yours, as well as alienating your father from them, and falsifying the hopes and insulting the memory of all the god-fearing monarchs your ancestors?'

King Bodasaph answered and said: 'Listen to me, O utterer of falsehood and foe of truth, who have embraced the wisdom of this world in all its lunacy, but spurned the supreme wisdom, which is the fear of the Lord! You imagine yourself to be wise but are besotted, because those idols which you serve are objects of gold and silver and brass, or carved from stone and wood, and they can bring no benefit to us or anybody else, nor any harm either. How could they be capable of anything, seeing that they are themselves dead? They hear not neither do they see, nor do they possess any knowledge. Rouse yourself up from your dream, if there be any vestige of life left in you! This world is transitory, as are we men and all the animals and birds, and the trees and the various kinds of fruit they bring forth, which ripen at different seasons for men's enjoyment. All this is from Almighty God, with whom no other deity can compare, nor is there any other creed like His; and He created us by His almighty power, that we might glorify Him.

'God gave us all beautiful things for our delight, so that whenever we behold these good and pleasant things we may believe also in that bliss eternal which the eye has not seen, the ear has not heard of, nor has the heart any glimmer of perception thereof, but which He has prepared for His faithful servants.

We are assured of this by the prophets, His elected servants, and by the glorious apostles. God did not create these delights for our mere amusement, or to distract us from obeying His commandments, but for us to derive benefit from them in moderation.

Thus they should help us to be more diligent in serving Him and not captivate our hearts to such an extent that we neglect His precepts. If on the other hand this world's gifts are spread out before mankind solely for them to eat, drink and enjoy themselves with, while hoping to prolong their sojourn therein, then I must say that your idols have given you a pretty small share in the world's goods—in fact nothing but those tatters which you have wound round your middle and the staff which is in your hand. You are satisfied with this transitory world which you praise and put your trust in, but you have nothing satisfactory to show for it. If it is good to set one's hopes on this material world, then why do you make no effort to improve your own lot? But if these delights were created in order to arouse desire in us for that eternal bliss, to confirm our faith and provide us with provisions for the way to Heaven, so that we may arrive safely in the abode of our Creator and our God, then it is clear that your belief is misguided. For you do not even know why you are tormenting yourself, whither you are bound, or from whom you can expect to receive recompense for your labours, seeing that you neither place your hope in the hereafter, nor derive any enjoyment from life in this world below!'

When Thedma had heard these words of Bodasaph's, he was silent for a long time as he meditated over what King Bodasaph had said, but he could find no answer to give. At length he replied and said to him: 'You have pierced my heart with these words of yours, for they have stabbed my soul like a sword. Now I should like you to incline your ears to listen to me and discuss this question more explicitly.'

King Bodasaph said: 'Behold, I am ready to listen to you and apply my mind to debate the question with you. So ask now whatever you like.'

Thedma answered and said: 'If those idols we serve are not gods, then who is this god of yours?'

Bodasaph said to him: 'My God is the Father of My Lord Jesus Christ, the Creator of heaven and earth and of all things that exist therein, both spiritual and corporeal.'

Thedma said: 'How do you know that heaven and earth have ever been created?'

Bodasaph said to him: 'I know this because there are signs and symbols of their origin which witness to the fact of their creation, and this is intelligible to the human reason. They must logically be either combined or separate, either mobile or stationary, and we observe that all created things tend towards unity or isolation, motion or tranquillity. Hence I know that heaven and earth are of the same nature as created beings; nor can they add anything to the glory of the rest of creation.'

Thedma said: 'How can you confirm the testimony of the apostles and the prophets, seeing that you have never set eyes on them?'

Bodasaph said to him: 'I can confirm it by the fact that everywhere, in lands far separated from one another, their testimony has been accepted, even by kings of differing creeds who were at enmity with one another, and between whom no agreement existed. Although I have not set eyes on the apostles and the prophets, I know of them from incessant reports which cannot be discounted and wherein there can be no conspiracy to deceive; for they emanate from remote places, and in the east and the west, the south and the north, glory is offered up to the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit and their sacred law which God's holy and elect apostles preached. How could there have been any prearranged collusion between all these witnesses?'

Thedma answered and said: 'How do you know that the prophets speak the truth, and that they are really sent by God?'

King Bodasaph declared: I know that they speak the truth because they have shown the world signs and miracles such as no mortal man could possibly effect. These miracles were performed by divine power, so that the world might believe, and all, men might know that their faith is true, and that the prophets are the chosen of God among all nations.'

Thedma continued to enquire and ask questions of Bodasaph in his father's presence. Finally Thedma himself was brought to acknowledge and believe in Our Lord Jesus Christ, an inner voice prompting him and saying: Bodasaph speaks the truth, and you are performing a vain task in worshipping the idols.'

Then Thedma made his confession aloud, saying: 'There is no god on earth apart from the Father supreme and his onlybegotten Son and the most holy Spirit, being conjoint in essence, God in three persons and of one substance, Creator of heaven and earth.' And he accepted the entire Christian creed and believed, and he accepted holy baptism, and from then onwards began to observe the commandments of Christ and steadfastly offered up prayers to God and glorified His name.

62. King Abenes persevered mightily in the righteous conduct which he had adopted from his son, and made fitting public atonement for his previous crimes. But when his death drew near, he became very frightened and quaked with dread, and great alarm overcame him.

Then Bodasaph said to him: 'My father ! Why are you terrified on account of this worldly life? If you were hoping to remain on this earth for ever, then surely you realise that no man can achieve this. Is it that you wish to attain to the extreme limit of old age, when you would be afflicted with many hideous infirmities, your head and hands would tremble, and you would have lost all the appetites that make life worth living? Or do you imagine that you can be restored afresh to youthful vigour with your life ahead of you, in addition to the lifespan which you have already enjoyed? This also is beyond men's powers to achieve. Or are you wavering in your trust in the Lord's mercies, and reluctant to respond to His summons? Thereby you will draw divine wrath down upon your head! It is your duty now to accept with gratitude the call which you have received from God, since you have known from the very first that you are but a mortal creature within this world, just as all your ancestors before you were mortal.'

King Abenes answered and said to Bodasaph: 'No, my son, it is not for this reason that my spirit is downcast, as you allege; but it is inherent by nature in every soul to feel grief at quitting the flesh, leaving the air and the light, and departing to a strange and narrow place. I know not what ordeals my soul will encounter there, because I have greatly angered God my Maker, and have despatched many of my adversaries before me into the world beyond, and these will now urge God to wreak vengeance upon me. All the days of my life I have cursed God and praised idols, I have neither propitiated my Judge nor disarmed my accuser. From where shall I receive support when I stand in Christ's presence? Even the time of my repentance has been cut short, so that I have not succeeded in making fit atonement to God.'

The blessed Bodasaph answered and said to his father: 'Have no care, O king, but be glad, because you are going before a gracious and much forgiving Sovereign, who grants even those of the eleventh hour the same reward as those of the first.[Cf. Matthew, 20:1-16] He will accept this gesture of reconciliation which you offer at the very end of your life, for God's mercies are deficient in nothing; neither does the Lord judge according to the way of men, for his compassion outweighs all the wickedness of this sinful world.

Do not belittle God's mercy; for the Lord's purposes are not as those of men. What is more, the light of this world and its air so highly desired by men cannot compare with the light of His face and the air of His glory, of which the faithful shall be made worthy after they have drunk this draught which you are terrified to taste. No one may put on the imperishable raiment until he has endured the perishing of the flesh. A righteous man considers this mortal life to be just as cramped in comparison with the life hereafter as might a babe emerging from the confinement of the womb and catching sight of the broad expanse and brightness of the world. Fret not, nor say that your repentance is but slight compared with the grievous sins you have committed in God's sight. For in God's eyes, a little repentance wipes out a multitude of great sins, because He lavishes His mercies and multiplies their fruit, and the soul shall rejoice therein mightily.'

At this, King Abenes regained his courage and rejoiced at his son's words, and was relieved of his anxiety. And he said to Bodasaph: 'May God of His bounty grant you the supreme reward, my son, even exceeding the bounds of your hopes. For I was lost and you found me, doomed and you saved me, an enemy of God and you reconciled me with Him, a corpse and you revived me. Now I exhort you, my son, to walk virtuously before God and complete your days in fear of Him; let not the pomp of kingship turn you away from the love of Christ, for all visible creation is but shadowy and transitory, but you should always seek out what is invisible. Behold now—where is the terror of my own majesty, the multitude of my hosts, the courage of my valiant knights, or my countless treasures which I heaped up for myself? How shall they come and deliver me today from death as it is about to bear me off? Now it is my turn to exhort you, my son, just as you have previously exhorted me; and I admonish you, just as you have admonished me, to despise the world and all its glory, and seek only after God. For He is superior to this world with all its abundance.

But cause me to be remembered in your prayers, O my son!' [Note by the scribe: Pray for the very sinful David!']—And when King Abenes had pronounced these words, he cried out with a loud voice and delivered up his spirit.

63. Bodasaph bore away his body and laid it to rest in company with the remains of other pious believers, not with regal pomp, but in the simple grave of a common man. Then Bodasaph raised his hands aloft and directed his gaze towards Heaven and said: I praise and thank Thee, O God and Father of My Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, O King of Glory, great and mighty, unattainable and unknowable, invisible and indescribable and infinite, Creator of all things, who didst not make my soul desolate but didst convert this errant slave of Thine, who came to know you at the last moment as God supreme, and confessed Thy Son, born before all ages, and Thy most Holy Ghost; and Thou didst cause him to believe in Thy Holy Trinity. Make him worthy to behold the light of Thy face and enter the abode of peace in Thy kingdom in company with all Thy saints who have carried out Thy will! Remember not his earlier crimes, but by Thy mercy and manifold grace forgive him his sins and relieve him of the weight of guilt which oppresses him as a result of his previous godlessness; deliver him from the wrath of the saints and chosen servants of Thine whom he despatched with fire and the sword! For Thou art omnipotent and all things are possible to Thee, except that Thou art incapable of lacking mercy towards those who offer prayers of remorse to Thee with tears and sighs.'

These and many such supplications on his father's behalf did Bodasaph offer up to God with tears in his eyes. Then he fell on his face and laid his hands on his father's grave and said: 'O Christ my God, who didst create my father before me and didst grant me to be born of his loins and didst vouchsafe to me the pleasure of living with him for as long as it was Thy will, and then didst afflict me by parting me from him when Thou didst decree it! Abide by him as his comforter, O Lord, in the strange world of eternity and be my Protector and Saviour too when my own turn comes! Show me the way to salvation according to Thy will, for Thou art gracious and beneficent!'—He remained there at the tomb until the seventh day, praying for his father. And then he laid unsparing hands upon his treasures and distributed them to the poor, the feeble and the sick.

64. On the eighth day Bodasaph appeared and took his seat before the people according to his custom, and all his grandees with him; and he said: 'Behold, King Abenes my

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father has found rest, just like any ordinary mortal from among the poorer classes, and no one could help him and save him, neither I myself nor any of you; and this day of reckoning must come upon each one of us also. You know what was my personal desire from the very first: however I was powerless to resist my father.

But now I no longer have any excuse before God for not fulfilling my promise to join the number of the monks and adhere strictly to their way of life. So do you choose for yourselves a king to guide you in the will of God. Today by God's grace no adversary of truth remains, and this you all know full well.'

But when the people heard this, they all arose and cried out with a loud voice: 'Let this not be, O king, and let our ears never hear such words again. Rather let us perish than that this should come to pass !' "Whereupon their voices grew louder and louder, until their shouts produced a regular tumult within the city.

Seeing that they refused to consent, Bodasaph determined to get away secretly by means of a ruse. So he summoned that man who, as we mentioned earlier, was prepared to support Balahvar on the occasion of the debate arranged by the king with Nakhor, Balahvar's double. This person was a kinsman of their royal house, and his name Barakhia.

Bodasaph said to Barakhia: 'Every man has need of the help of another in the day of trouble. You are my kinsman, and I will confide my secret in you and also entrust you with a great undertaking, if it be the Lord's will. Accept now this charter addressed by me to the people and to my princes concerning your accession to the throne, and I shall depart and join my brethren and serve Christ my God in their company. If you refuse to perform this service for me, then you will cease to be any kinsman of mine.'

Barakhia answered and said to him: 'You have not made a fair decision, O king, for it is written: "Love thy neighbour as thyself." [Matthew 19:19] But you have chosen for yourself the better thing, and intend to ruin me. If regal estate be a blessing, then why do you not go on reigning? For just as a child weeps for its absent mother, so all your subjects are crying out for you to stay by them. But if it is preferable to quit the transitory world and seek after the eternal, why are you choosing this course for yourself and casting me into perdition ? Do you wish to encompass your own salvation through my damnation? Rather let us both arise and depart together!'

65. When Bodasaph had listened to Barakhia's words, he realised the justice of his objections and made no answer to him. But one night he arose and left the palace, leaving behind on his couch a charter addressed to the people, declaring: 'Barakhia deserves to be king—set him upon the throne!' This he did in order to avoid any popular upheaval over the succession to the crown.

Barakhia had already suspected what Bodasaph intended to do, seeing that the king returned no answer to his words. So he went forth and gathered together the princes and counsellors and told them what Bodasaph had said, warning them that the king had been planning to go away secretly. At this they arose in haste and pursued him by various routes. They found the blessed Bodasaph in a valley, holding up his arms aloft in the form of a cross and praying to God. When he saw them approaching, he said to them: 'Why are you making all this

commotion? From now on I am no longer your king!'

By their weeping, those men obliged Bodasaph to return against his will; and they inundated his feet with tears. When they brought him to their city, the entire nation assembled, fiom the highest to the lowest, including women and children; and they surrounded him and besought him, weeping and crying out: 'God will hold you to account for our blood. If you do not remain with us, then we shall raise up the idols once more, and you will be responsible in God's eyes.'

But Bodasaph said to them: 'Christ, who delivered you from the blindness of ignorance and showed you the true light of the knowledge of God, will Himself fortify your belief. I have already shown you what you must do, and you have received my teaching and eaten of the fruit of my labours. Henceforth I have no further obligation towards you for, according to the words of Saint Paul the Apostle, 'I have finished the course' [2 Timothy, 4:7], and now I must look to my own salvation. And the discussion continued until the seventh day. Then Bodasaph uttered a vow that he would not remain there any longer, but would depart into the wilderness.

When the people heard him utter this vow, they realised that they could not shake his resolve; for they knew his strength of will once he had decided on a course of action. Then they all came to Bodasaph with tears in their eyes and fell at his feet and embraced them and asked him about the future of the monarchy. And he said to them: 'Barakhia deserves to be your king.'

But Barakhia began to weep and refused to consent. However he was powerless to prevail against the people and most of all, against Bodasaph himself. Then Bodasaph took the royal signet ring and placed it upon Barakhia's hand; and he raised his eyes towards heaven in the presence of all the people, and said: 'O Lord Jesus Christ, who didst come down from the bosom of the Father without being parted from Him, and wast made man for us men, and didst take on mankind's servile state from a maiden not yet wed, and deliver mankind from servitude to the devil—I praise and glorify Thee, O Lord and lover of men, because Thou hast saved me, Thine unworthy slave, and granted me the faculty of knowing Thee; and Thou hast filled my soul with joy through the conversion of my father and given me strength to glorify Thy holy name. Now make manifest again Thy benevolence, and help Barakhia, this brother of mine, that he may walk before Thee in a worthy and virtuous manner, and conduct himself before the face of the entire nation in accordance with his love for Thee.'

He addressed many such supplications to God, with his hands laid upon Barakhia's shoulders. Then he turned to Barakhia and said: 'Behold, I give you this exhortation and testament, O Barakhia, in the presence of God and of the entire nation. Let me not be exposed to blame through any conduct of yours. Just as you knew God before I did and served Him with a quiet spirit, strive now more zealously than I myself to make your perfect virtue manifest to God. Harbour no malice against anyone.

Direct your speech solely towards the furtherance of God's purposes. Follow not the vicissitudes of the times, nor promote schism within the faith of Christ; do not let your intellect be put out of joint by the pomp of your throne. Set not your hopes upon any other helper but God alone. Do not be puffed up if God satisfies your ambitions; do not stretch out your hand with intent to snatch some delight which does not belong to you.

Faint not in furthering God's purpose, nor deliver any verdict not in accordance with equity. Accept no corrupt gifts in return for false testimony. Deliver even the unrighteous if any appeal to you because of the heavy weight of their yoke. Do not subject your reason to the dictates of your flesh, nor leave your tongue without a curb. Do not rejoice at a foe's discomfiture, however evil he may be. Let not your mind be inflamed in moments of anger nor look upon anyone with guileful eyes, nor harbour dislike of anyone without just cause. Do not inflict vengeance on anyone of your own account, but only for the sake of vindicating God's cause. Turn the poor not away empty from your gate, nor abandon anyone whose mind thirsts for the divine message.—These precepts I give you in the sight of God, and if you observe them, you shall live; if you reject them, God will hold you to account for breaking your vow. However, you may trust God, that He will not demand from you anything which exceeds your powers,'

And then Bodasaph added: 'May Our Lord God Jesus Christ be the beginning and the end of all your deeds.—Test out everything and choose what is best. Poverty which is not endured with patience is a bad thing, but still worse is wealth allied to arrogance. Seek goodness from God, for He is the mainspring of every virtue. Put a curb on your flesh and tremble with fear before God. Bridle your lust, so that you may not lose your mental balance. Let your wisdom be tempered by reason, that you succumb not to conceit; may your learning serve you as a lantern throughout life, and do not imagine yourself to be other than you are. Examine every alternative, and do what is correct.

Look upon yourself as a wanderer, and cherish all those that wander. Draw nigh to the abode of those that fear God and shun the abode of the unrighteous. Do not gloat over a friend's discomfiture, lest you turn him into a rival who will one day laugh you to scorn. Be prepared to sacrifice yourself even unto death for God's sake. If you observe these rules, you shall bring salvation to yourself and your people. Offer your observance of them as a spiritual sacrifice to God, and Christ himself will watch over and direct your doings.

'If you are certain that you are without sin in God's eyes, then you need not forgive other men their sins; if however you know that you must yourself be judged, then you yourself should extend forgiveness to others. Like some merchant generous in his dealings, send on your oblations in advance, for God will repay charity with charity. To nobody will more be given than he has the capacity to appreciate. What treasure can you lay up for yourself more precious than charity! Therefore give to the poor their fair share.

'Let this world be your stock in trade; and if you dispose thereof, you yourself will be the gainer. For you will be giving away little and winning far more; you will lose what is transitory and acquire what is eternal. If you fail to exert yourself here below, your stock in trade will vanish away. Better a glut of goodness than a famine of it!

'Be exalted in intelligence and not in lust, for the former lifts a man up towards God, and the latter hurls him down into the abyss. One who deems himself perfect is none the less far below the level of Christ's precepts. It is better to listen to improper language than to utter it oneself. Do not count on the peaceful completion of your ship's voyage until you reach port; for many a sailor's craft has foundered in a calm sea, while many others have fortunately escaped the pounding of heavy waves and the terror of the hurricanes. Do not display excess of either fortitude or despair.

'Sell all your worldly belongings, and purchase for yourself Jesus Christ free of charge. For your possessions belong to you but a short time. If you find it hard to give away everything, then part with a portion of them. Rob the moth and the thief of their booty and thereby place God in your debt, for He will repay you with interest. In rags and tatters you will win God's approval. Nobody is more sincere than a beggar, for he has no possessions other than his God; therefore purchase his favour by giving him alms. Be not ashamed if anyone calls you "Son of a rascal", but only if someone calls you a rascal yourself. It is more important for a man to be virtuous himself than for him to be the son of a virtuous man, but himself a rascal. That is a curse indeed!

'Act towards every man and every nation as you would wish them to act towards you. Beware of false friends; for a true friend is one whom not the wine-cup but the test of time attaches to you, and who will not speak merely to please you, but rather to benefit both your soul and your subjects. Such a friend is of inestimable worth, so that the love you bear him in your heart should never be exhausted, for it has been stated: "Render therefore to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honour to whom honour." [Romans, 13:7] Love has no boundary. One eye has need of the other, for it can see everything, but itself it cannot see; likewise one hand needs the help of the other, and one foot that of the other.

'In the same way, a king has need of a reliable counsellor. Subject every problem to careful trial, just as I was tried out by Balahvar. He gave me no guidance on earthly matters, but through the medium of spiritual guidance enabled me to manage even earthly affairs through God's grace, as you can see for yourself. Likewise I give you first of all my spiritual testament, and only then hand over my earthly burden. If the devil tempts you to commit sin, say within your mind: "Everyone will get to know this!" Then you should feel shame at your own self.

For nobody can waver from the path of righteousness except one who is spiritually sick through forgetfulness of God. So long as the sins a man commits are curable, he can be restored to health by the art of the physicians and cured by divine grace. When the disease has become more powerful than the remedy, the offending limb must be cut off and thrown away, lest it infect the whole body and do mortal injury to the soul.

'Every feeble and afflicted spirit, if it have little faith in God, is liable to fall into despondency and succumb to sinful impulses. Likewise a worm cannot gnaw through a strong tree, but only a soft and tender sapling. Everyone who yearns for the bliss to come despises this fleshly existence, as confinement within a narrow prison cell. We cannot aspire to receive God's gifts if we do not first purify ourselves; for no one pours fragrant essences and precious myrrh into a filthy pot. True fasting consists in abstinence from all evil, in keeping control over the tongue, restraining one's temper, moderating the lusts, refraining from tale-bearing, lies and taking God's name in vain, and avoiding all forms of sin, bearing in mind that to overcome the desires of the flesh only in extreme old age is no longer counted as a virtue. Nor is it praiseworthy to counteract evil, not by selfcontrol, but solely through a plethora of good works. A righteous judge should resemble an archer who does not bend his bow too far, lest the arrow overshoot the mark, nor too little, lest it fail to reach the target; nor does he shoot his arrow askew, lest it miss the mark altogether. On the contrary, he acts with just moderation and aims straight, so as to hit the centre of the target.

'We know from books that this world has been termed a sea, because the vicissitudes of life in it resemble the ocean billows. Treasures and wealth are insecure, as is even poverty itself. Both of them are eternally within a hair's breadth of shipwreck; just as the sea changes in an instant from tranquil calm to stormy waves, and then reverts to calm again, so it is with the affairs of this world. Therefore you should be like a prudent sailor who does not trust the calm of the ocean, nor loses his grip and his self-confidence when the tempest bursts upon him.

This is my parting message to you. And I pray to God for your sake and commend you to His mercy. May the God of peace, the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, grant you to follow His will, and may the Holy Spirit be your guide and teacher, for to the Holy Trinity belongs glory for ever and ever, Amen.'

66. When the thrice blessed Bodasaph had completed this discourse, he went out in haste and girt himself with the old garment which he had received from Balahvar. And the people followed after him until nightfall, like sheep bereft of their shepherd, and sobbed bitterly with a loud voice, like children mourning for their father.

And the blessed Bodasaph departed into the land of Sarandib in search of the holy Balahvar. After a two years' search, he found him dwelling in the mountains, still wearing the hair apron which Bodasaph had presented to him. When

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Balahvar caught sight of him, he came forth to meet him and they embraced each other and kissed one another with tears in their eyes and glorified God with great joy. And Balahvar enquired about what had befallen Bodasaph in the meantime. So the blessed Bodasaph told him everything which had happened right up to the last. And they gave thanks to God the three in one, glorified in one substance, who had granted to them both so great a victory, whereby they had won salvation for themselves and for countless other souls.[Note by the copyist: 'Christ have mercy on the souls of Michael and David, Amen.']

67. After a few days had passed, the blessed Balahvar's end drew nigh. When Bodasaph saw that Balahvar's death was at hand, he began to wail and bemoan and despair took hold of him. And he said to his mentor: 'O father Balahvar, you have not given full effect to your love towards me! For you are departing to enjoy repose from the woes of this world, and leaving me all alone in great grief in a strange land. I know not how I am to live after you are gone, for although you have told me how to order my life, I have not had time to gain practical experience from you. Nor have I any desire to carry on living after you are dead.'

The most blessed Saint Balahvar answered and said: 'Fear not, Bodasaph, for Christ our God is your helper! Sorrow not at my parting but be glad, for I have been delivered from future sins.

'Be glad, Bodasaph, for you have disposed of the earth and acquired the heavens!

'Be glad, Bodasaph, for you have become worthy of apostolic grace!

'Be glad, Bodasaph, for you have won many crowns of witness and of travail through your labours and feats of endurance!

'Do not be downcast at this moment when you are harvesting and eating the crop which you have planted. Place your trust in God who will comfort you and not prevent you from seeing me again soon.' (By this last remark Balahvar was giving Bodasaph to understand that his own death was also nigh.) Then the holy father Balahvar passed away and entered into the presence of Christ. Bodasaph laid his corpse, emaciated by monastic austerities undergone for Christ's sake, in the grotto carved out in the rock wherein he used to dwell. And he sank into deep sorrow. From the excess of his grief he fell asleep, and

saw in a dream certain men radiant with light coming towards him, and having a great quantity of crowns adorned with garnet stones and precious gems without number. But one of them had two crowns glittering more brightly than the others, being more brilliant even than the sun's orb. And they said: "These are for you, Bodasaph, because of the many souls which you have turned towards God.'

Now the man who bore the two crowns said: 'One of these is for you, Bodasaph, because of the great feats which you have accomplished, and the other is for your father, seeing that he has been converted and turned to repentance.'

Bodasaph was offended at this and retorted: 'What comparison can there be between one who has merely repented, and one who has striven hard?'

Then Balahvar appeared to him and said: 'Remember, O king's son, what I once told you.—For now that you have verily become rich, you are miserly with this treasure of yours, and grudge it even to your own father!' [This refers to Balahvar's remarks in Chapter 36, above: ' . . . But I hope that if the Lord wills it, you too will become passing rich and that your fruits and your treasures may be multiplied. But then you too will become miserly, and not so ready to distribute them to all and sundry!'] When Bodasaph awoke from his slumber, he was fortified in spirit.

68. After some little time Bodasaph too passed away, and entered before Christ's presence borne on the wings of the spirit. And a certain holy man dwelling nearby came and laid Bodasaph's corpse by the body of Balahvar. Then he went to the land of Sholait and told King Barakhia everything which he had seen.

The king arose with a great multitude and came to that place together with his princes and bore away the bodies of both the saints, and enclosed them within urns adorned with gold. And Barakhia laid these relics within a hallowed church dedicated to the worship of the Holy Trinity, and exalted them with every mark of honour. Many who were rendered infirm by grievous ailments were delivered from them by these relics, which constantly wrought miracles. And the king and all the people saw this and glorified Christ our God, who readily grants success in all things to those who love Him; for to Him belong glory and honour, grace and adoration together with the Father who has no beginning and the Holy Spirit, giver of life, now and always and for all eternity, Amen. [Here follows in the manuscript a concluding note by the scribe: 'O lovers of Christ, whichever of you light upon this sacred book, pray for the greatly sinful David, that God may forgive him his sins, Amen.']

NANEGHAT CAVE AND INSCRIPTIONS
Found by William Sykes, summer 1828
Translation: Georg Bühler, 1883
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd to 1st centuries B.C

(Naneghat, also referred to as Nanaghat or Nana Ghat (IAST: Nānāghat), is a mountain pass in the Western Ghats range between the Konkan coast and the ancient town of Junnar in the Deccan plateau. The pass is about 120 kilometres (75 mi) north of Pune and about 165 kilometres (103 mi) east from Mumbai, Maharashtra, India. It was a part of an ancient trading route, and is famous for a major cave with Middle Indic inscriptions in Brahmi script. These inscriptions have been dated between the 2nd and the 1st century BC, and attributed to the Satavahana dynasty era. The inscriptions are notable for linking the Vedic and Vaishnavism deities, mentioning some Vedic srauta rituals and of names that provide historical information about the ancient Satavahanas. The inscriptions present the world's oldest numeration symbols for "2, 4, 6, 7, and 9" that resemble modern era numerals, more closely those found in modern Nagari and Hindu-Arabic script.

Location: Nanaghat pass stretches over the Western Ghats, through an ancient stone laid hiking trail to the Nanaghat plateau. The pass was the fastest key passage that linked the Indian west coast seaports of Sopara, Kalyan and Thana with economic centers and human settlements in Nasik, Paithan, Ter and others, according to Archaeological Survey of India. Near the top is large, ancient manmade cave. On the cave's back wall are a series of inscriptions, some long and others short. The high point and cave is reachable by road via Highways 60 or 61. The cave archaeological site is about 120 kilometres (75 mi) north of Pune and about 165 kilometres (103 mi) east from Mumbai. The Naneghat Cave is near other important ancient sites. It is, for example, about 35 kilometres (22 mi) from the Lenyadri Group of Theravada Buddhist Caves and some 200 mounds that have been excavated near Junnar, mostly from the 3rd-century BC and 3rd-century AD period.

History: During the reign of the Satavahana (c. 200 BC – 190 AD), the Naneghat pass was one of the trade routes. It connected the Konkan coast communities with Deccan high plateau through Junnar. Literally, the name nane means "coin" and ghat means "pass". The name is given because this path was used as a tollbooth to collect toll from traders crossing the hills. According to Charles Allen, there is a carved stone that from distance looks like a stupa, but is actually a two-piece carved stone container by the roadside to collect tolls.

The scholarship on the Naneghat Cave inscription began after William Sykes found them while hiking during the summer of 1828. Neither an archaeologist nor epigraphist, his training was as a statistician and he presumed that it was a Buddhist cave temple. He visited the site several times and made eye-copy (hand drawings) of the script panel he saw on the left and the right side of the wall. He then read a paper to the Bombay Literary Society in 1833 under the title, Inscriptions of the Boodh caves near Joonur, later co-published with John Malcolm in 1837. Sykes believed that the cave's "Boodh" (Buddhist) inscription showed signs of damage both from the weather elements as well as someone crudely incising to desecrate it. He also thought that the inscription was not created by a skilled artisan, but someone who was in a hurry or not careful. Sykes also noted that he saw stone seats carved along the walls all around the cave, likely because the cave was meant as a rest stop or shelter for those traveling across the Western Ghats through the Naneghat pass.

Sykes proposed that the inscription were ancient Sanskrit because the statistical prevalence rate of some characters in it was close to the prevalence rate of same characters in then known ancient Sanskrit inscriptions. This suggestion reached the attention of James Prinsep, whose breakthrough in deciphering Brahmi script led ultimately to the inscription's translation. Much that Sykes guessed was right, the Naneghat inscription he had found was indeed one of the oldest Sanskrit inscriptions. He was incorrect in his presumption that it was a Buddhist inscription because its translation suggested it was a Hindu inscription. The Naneghat inscription were a prototype of the refined Devanagari to emerge later.

Georg Bühler published the first version of a complete interpolations and translation in 1883. He was preceded by Bhagvanlal Indraji, who in a paper on numismatics (coins) partially translated it and remarked that the Naneghat and coin inscriptions provide insights into ancient numerals.

Date: The inscriptions are attributed to a queen of the Satavahana dynasty. Her name was either Nayanika or Naganika, likely the wife of king Satakarni. The details suggest that she was likely the queen mother, who sponsored this cave after the death of her husband, as the inscription narrates many details about their life together and her son being the new king.

The Naneghat cave inscriptions have been dated by scholars to the last centuries of the 1st millennium BC. Most scholars date it to the early 1st-century BC, some to 2nd-century BC, a few to even earlier. Sircar dated it to the second half of the 1st-century BC. Upinder Singh and Charles Higham date 1st century BC.

The Naneghat records have proved very important in establishing the history of the region. Vedic Gods like Dharma Indra, Chandra and Surya are mentioned here. The mention of Samkarsana (Balarama) and Vasudeva (Krishna) indicate the prevalence of Bhagavata tradition of Hinduism in the Satavahana dynasty.

Back wall relief and names: The back wall of the cave has a niche with eight life-size relief sculptures. These sculptures are gone, but they had Brahmi script inscriptions above them that help identify them.

1. Raya Simuka - Satavahano sirimato
2. Devi-Nayanikaya rano cha
3. Siri-Satakanino
4. Kumaro Bhaya .....
5. (unclear)
6. Maharathi Tranakayiro.
7. Kumaro Hakusiri
8. Kumaro Satavahano

In particular, King Simuka of the Satavahana Empire seems to be mentioned as the father of king Satakarni in the inscription. This is the only known epigraphical source for Simuka. This also helps to date early Satavahana Empire rulers, as the Naneghat inscriptions are dated to 70-60 BC, and considered on palaeographical grounds to be posterior to the Nasik Caves inscription of Kanha (probably Simuka's brother) in Cave 19, dated to 100-70 BC.

Little Sanskrit Glossary / Nomenclature

'Bhagavata Purana' can be translated as 'the history of the devotees of Vishnu'. 'Srimad Bhagavatam' can be translated as 'the glorious devotees of Vishnu'.

• 'Bhagavata' (or 'Bhagavatam' or 'Bhagavat', 'follower or worshipper of Vishnu'.

• 'Bhagavan' (Blessed One', 'God', or 'Lord'. Krishna - the transcendental, primeval Personality of Godhead, avatar of Vishnu - is directly referred to as 'Bhagavan' throughout this scripture. It is stated in canto 1, chapter 3, verse 28, "kṛṣṇas tu bhagavān svayam" which A.C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada translates as, "Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa is the original Personality of Godhead."

• 'Purana' ('ancient' or 'old' (or 'old traditional history'). It also means 'complete' and 'completing' in the sense that a Purana 'completes the Vedas'

• 'Maha' ('great', 'large', or 'vast'.

• 'Srimad' ('radiant', 'holy', 'splendid', or 'glorious', and is an honorific religious title.

• 'Sri' (or 'Shri' or 'Shree', means 'wealth'. Lakshmi - Goddess of Wealth and Vishnu/Krishna's wife - is also referred to as 'Sri'.

• 'Mad' (or 'Mat', 'religion', faith or 'believed'.

• Those with a wealth ('Sri') of religion ('mad') may be honoured with the title of 'radiant', 'holy', 'splendid', or 'glorious' ('Srimad').

Significance: The Nanaghat inscription has been a major finding. According to Georg Bühler, it "belongs to the oldest historical documents of Western India, are in some respects more interesting and important than all other cave inscriptions taken together".

The inscription mentions both Balarama (Samkarshana) and Vasudeva-Krishna, along with the Vedic deities of Indra, Surya, Chandra, Yama, Varuna and Kubera. This provided the link between Vedic tradition and the Vaishnava-Hinduism tradition. Given it is inscribed in stone and dated to 1st-century BC, it also linked the religious thought in the post-Vedic centuries in late 1st millennium BC with those found in the unreliable highly variant texts such as the Puranas dated to later half of the 1st millennium AD. The inscription is a reliable historical record, providing a name and floruit to the Satavahana dynasty.

The Nanghat inscriptions have been important to the study of history of numerals. Though damaged, the inscriptions mention numerals in at least 30 places. They present the world's oldest known numeration symbols for "2, 4, 6, 7, and 9" that resemble modern era numerals, particularly the modern Nagari script. The numeral values used in the Naneghat cave confirm that the point value had not developed in India by the 1st century BC.

The inscription is also evidence and floruit that Vedic ideas were revered in at least the northern parts of the Deccan region before the 1st-century BC. They confirm that Vedic srauta sacrifices remained in vogue among the royal families through at least the 1st-century BC. The Naneghat cave is also evidence that Hindu dynasties had sponsored sculptures by the 1st-century BC, and secular life-size murti (pratima) tradition was already in vogue by then.)

Nanaghat Inscriptions

(Two long Nanaghat inscriptions are found on the left and right wall, while the back wall has small inscriptions on top

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above where the eight life-sized missing statues would have been before somebody hacked them off and removed them.)

Left wall Inscription

Left wall translation without interpolation

1. Praise [Sidham = Variously translated to "Success" or "Om adoration".] to Dharma, adoration to Indra, adoration to Samkarshana and Vāsudeva,[Samkarshana and Vasudeva are synonyms for Balarama and Krishna.] the descendants of the Moon ("Chandra") endowed with majesty, and to the four guardians of the world ("Lokapalas"), Yama, Varuna, Kubera and Vāsava; praise to Vedisri, the best of the Kumaravarasa (the royal princes; also: "Kartikeya")! Of the king.

2. .... of the brave hero, whose rule is unopposed, the Dekhan.....

3. By ..... the daughter of the Maharathi, the increaser of the Amgiya race, the first hero of the earth that is girdled by the ocean and the best of mountains....

4. wife of . . . Sri, the lord who gives sons, boons, desires and wealth, mother of Yedisri and the mother of the illustrious Sakti.....

5. Who gave a . . . most excellent nagavaradayiniya [Bühler states that its translation is uncertain, can be either "who gave a most excellent image of a snake deity" or "who gave a most excellent image of an elephant deity" or "who gave a boon of a snake or elephant deity".], who fasted during a whole month, who in her house an ascetic, who remained chaste, who is well acquainted with initiatory ceremonies, vows and offerings, sacrifices, odoriferous with incense, were offered.....

6. O the king ..... sacrifices were offered. Description - An Agnyadheya sacrifice, a dakshina [variously translated as "sacrificial fee" or "donation".] was offered twelve, 12, cows and 1 horse; - an Anvarambhaniya sacrifice, the dakshina, milch-cows.....

7. ..... dakshina were given consisting of 1700 cows, 10 elephants,

8. .... 289.....17 silver waterpots.....

9. ..... a rika-sacrifice, dakshina were given 11,000 cows, 1000 horses

10. .....12 . . 1 excellent village, a dakshina 24,400 Karshapanas, the spectators and menials 6,001 Karshapanas; a Raja ..... the cart

Left wall translation with interpolation

1. [Om adoration] to Dharma [the Lord of created beings], adoration to Indra, adoration to Samkarshana and Vāsudeva, the descendants of the Moon (who are) endowed with majesty, and to the four guardians of the world, Yama, Varuna, Kubera and Vasava; praise to Vedisri, the best of royal princes! Of the king.

2. ... of the brave hero, whose rule is unopposed, (of the lord of) the Dekhan.....

3. By ..... the daughter of the Maharathi, the increaser of the Amgiya race, the first hero of the earth that is girdled by the ocean and the best of mountains....

4. (who is the) wife of . . . Sri, the lord who gives sons, boons, (the fulfillment of) desires and wealth, (who is the) mother of Yedisri and the mother of the illustrious Sakti.....

5. ho gave a . . . most excellent (image of) a snake (deity), who fasted during a whole month, who (even) in her house (lived like) an ascetic, who remained chaste, who is well acquainted with initiatory ceremonies, vows and offerings, sacrifices, odoriferous with incense, were offered.....

6. O the king ..... sacrifices were offered. Description - An Agnyadheya sacrifice (was offered), a dakshina was offered (consisting of) twelve, 12, cows and 1 horse; - an Anvarambhaniya sacrifice (was offered), the dakshina (consisted of) , milch-cows.....

7. ..... dakshina were given consisting of 1700 cows, 10 elephants,

8. .... (289?).....17 silver waterpots.....

9. ..... a rika-sacrifice, dakshina were given (consisting of) 11,000 cows, 1000 horses

10. .....12 . . 1 excellent village, a dakshina (consisted of) 24,400 Karshapanas, (the gifts to) the spectators and menials (consisted of) 6,001 Karshapanas; a Raja [suya-sacrifice]..... the cart

Right wall Inscription

Right wall translation without interpolation

1. ...used for conveying a mountain of grain, 1 excellent dress, 1 horse, 1 horse-chariot, 100 kine. A second horse-sacrifice was offered; dakshina were given 1 horse with silver trappings, 12 golden..... an(other) dakshina was given 14,000 (?) Karshapanas, 1 village . . elephant, a dakshina was given

2. ....cows, the cart used for conveying a mountain of grain..... an..... Ovaya sacrifice..... 17 milch cows (?)....

3. ..... 17 ..... presents to the spectators were given.... a dakshina was given 12..... 1 silver ornaments for them, a dakshina was given consisting of 10,000 Karshapanas.....

4. ..... 20,000(?) cows ; a Bhagala-Dasharatha sacrifice was offered, a dakshina was given 10,001 cows; a Gargatriratra sacrifice was offered ..... the presents to the spectators and menials 301 dresses; a Gavamayana was offered, a dakshina was given 1,101 cows, a .... sacrifice, the dakshina 1,100 (?) cows, the presents to the spectators and menials . . Karshapanas, 100 dresses; an Aptoryama sacrifice .....

5. ..... ;a Gavamayana sacrifice was offered, a dakshina was given 1,101 cows; an Angirasamayana sacrifice was offered, a dakshina was given 1,101 cows; was given 1,101 cows; a Satatirata sacrifice ..... 100 ..... ; .....sacrifice was offered, the dakshina 1,100 cows; an Angirasatriratra sacrifice was offered; the dakshina .... cows ....

6. ..... 1,002 cows; a Chhandomapavamanatriratra sacrifice was offered, the dakshina .... ; a ..... ratra sacrifice was offered, a dakshina was given; a ..... tra sacrifice was offered, a dakshina ... ; a ..... sacrifice was offered, a dakshina was given 1,001 cows

7. ..... ; a dakshina was given ..... cows .....; an Angirasamayana, of six years ..... , a dakshina was given, 1,000 cows ..... was given 1,001 cows, thirteen .....

8. ..... a Trayoclasaratra ..... a dakshina was given, ... cows ..... a Dasaratra .... a ..... sacrifice, a dakshina was given 1,001 cows....

9. . . . . .

Right wall translation with interpolation

1. Used for conveying a mountain of grain, 1 excellent dress, 1 horse, 1 horse-chariot, 100 kine. A second horse-sacrifice was offered; dakshina were given (consisting of) 1 horse with silver trappings, 12 golden..... an(other) dakshina was given (consisting of) 14,000 (?) Karshapanas, 1 village . . elephant, a dakshina was given

2. ....cows, the cart used for conveying a mountain of grain..... an..... Ovaya sacrifice..... 17 milch cows (?)....

3. ..... 17 ..... presents to the spectators were given.... a dakshina was given (consisting of) 12..... 1 (set of) silver ornaments for them, an(other) dakshina was given consisting of 10,000 Karshapanas.....

4. ..... 20,000(?) cows ; a Bhagala-Dasharatha sacrifice was offered, a dakshina was given (consisting of) 10,001 cows; a Gargatriratra sacrifice was offered ..... the presents to the spectators and menials (consisted of) 301 dresses; a Gavamayana was offered, a dakshina was given (consisting of) 1,101 cows, a .... sacrifice, the dakshina (consisted of) 1,100 (?) cows, the presents to the spectators and menials (consisted of) . . Karshapanas, 100 dresses; an Aptoryama sacrifice (was offered).....

5. ..... ; a Gavamayana sacrifice was offered, a dakshina was given (consisting of) 1,101 cows; an Angirasamayana sacrifice was offered, a dakshina was given (of) 1,101 cows; (a dakshina) was given (consisting of) 1,101 cows; a Satatirata sacrifice ..... 100 ..... ; .....sacrifice was offered, the dakshina (consisted of) 1,100 cows; an Angirasatriratra sacrifice was offered; the dakshina (consisted of) .... cows ....

6. ..... 1,002 cows; a Chhandomapavamanatriratra sacrifice was offered, the dakshina .... ; a ..... ratra sacrifice was offered, a dakshina was given; a ..... tra sacrifice was offered, a dakshina ... ; a ..... sacrifice was offered, a dakshina was given (consisting of) 1,001 cows

7. ..... ; a dakshina was given (consisting of) ..... cows .....; an Angirasamayana, of six years (duration) ..... , a dakshina was given, (consisting of) 1,000 cows ..... (a sacrificial fee) was given (consisting of) 1,001 cows, thirteen .....

8. ..... a Trayoclasaratra ..... a dakshina was given, (consisting of) .... cows ..... a Dasaratra .... a ..... sacrifice, a dakshina was given (consisting of) 1,001 cows....

9. . . . . .

THE HATHIBADA GHOSUNDI INSCRIPTIONS

Epigraphia Indica Vol. XXII,
Archaeological Survey of India, pp 198-205
Translation: Devadatta Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, 1933
and Benjamín Preciado-Solís, 1984
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd to 1st century B.C.

(The Hathibada Ghosundi Inscriptions, also known as the Ghosundi Inscription or the Hathibada Inscription, are the oldest Hinduist documents in writing. Their Sanskrit language is written in Ashoka's Brahmi script, and dated to the 2nd-1st-century BC. Before the Brahmi Script was used, everything in India was conveyed to posterity by oral tradition only.

The Hathibada inscription were found near Nagari village, about 8 miles (13 km) north of Chittorgarh, Rajasthan, in the northwest of India, while the Ghosundi inscription was found in the village of Ghosundi, about 3 miles (4.8 km) southwest of Chittorgarh. They are linked to Vaishnavism tradition of Hinduism and are generally dated to the 1st-century BC. Some scholars have dated them to the 2nd century BC.

Description: The Hathibada Ghosundi Inscriptions were found in the same area, but not exactly the same spot. One part was discovered inside an ancient water well in Ghosundi, another at the boundary wall between Ghosundi and Bassi, and the third on a stone slab in the inner wall of Hathibada. The three fragments are each incomplete, but studied together. They are believed to have been displaced because the Mughal emperor Akbar during his seize of Chittorgarh camped at Nagari, built some facilities by breaking and reusing old structures, a legacy that gave the location its name "Hathi-bada" or "elephant stable". The part discovered in the Hathibada wall has the same style, same Brahmi script, and partly same text as the Ghosundi well text, thereby suggesting a link.

[It is a parallelogram (93.6 x 45.90m) of huge cut blocks of stone, popularly known as Hathi-ka-Bara after the legend that Akbar used it as his elephant stable, during his expedition against Chittaurgarh. A Brahmi inscription engraved on a stone block fixed in the north- northeast corner of the wall, assignable to the second century B.C. speaks of the erection of a pujasila-prakara by Sarvatata Gajayana, son of a lady of the Parasara gotra for the gods Samkarshana and Vasudeva. Pujasila-prakara referred to in the inscription may mean a stone enclosure around an object of worship.]

Religious significance: The inscription is significant not only for its antiquity but as a source of information about ancient Indian scripts, the society, its history and its religious beliefs. It confirms the ancient reverence of Hindu deities Samkarshana and Vāsudeva (also known as Balarama and Krishna), an existence of stone temple dedicated to them in 1st-century BC, the puja tradition, and a king who had completed the Vedic Asvamedha sacrifice. The inscription also confirms the association of the two deities Samkarshana and Vāsudeva with Narayana (Vishnu), possibly a step in their full incorporation into the Vaishnaite pantheon as avatars of Vishnu.

Taken together with independent evidence such as the Besnagar inscription found with Heliodorus pillar, the Hathibada Ghosundi Inscriptions suggest that one of the roots of Vaishnavism in the form of Bhagavatism was thriving in ancient India between the 2nd and 1st century BC. They are not the oldest known Hindu inscription, however. Others such as the Ayodhya Inscription and Nanaghat Cave Inscription are generally accepted older or as old.)

Inscription

The discovered inscription is incomplete, and has been interpolated based on Sanskrit prosody rules. The translation by the Indian archaeologist and epigraphist D. R. Bhandarkar reads:

"(This) enclosing wall round the stone (object) of worship, called Narayana-vatika (Compound) for the divinities Samkarshana-Vāsudeva who are unconquered and are lords of all (has been caused to be made) by (the king) Sarvatata, a Gajayana and son of (a lady) of the Parasaragotra, who is a devotee of Bhagavat (Vishnu or Samkarshana/Vāsudeva) and has performed an Asvamedha sacrifice." – [Ghosundi Hathibada Inscriptions, 1st-century BC]

The German Indologist Harry Falk states that the king does not mention his father by name, only his mother, and in his dedicatory verse does not call himself raja (king). The king belonged to a Hindu Brahmin dynasty of Kanvas, that followed the Hindu Sungas dynasty. He translates one of the fragments as:

" . . . adherent of the Lord (bhagavat), belonging to the gotra of the Gajayanas, son of a mother from the Parasara gotra, performer of an Asvamedha.

And the Indologist Benjamín Preciado-Solís translates it as:

"[This] stone enclosure, called the Narayana Vatika, for the worship of Bhagavan Samkarsana and Bhagavan Vāsudeva, the invincible lords of all, [was erected] by [the Bhaga]vata king of the line of Gaja, Sarvatata, the victorious, who has performed an asvamedha, son of a Parasari."

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BOOKS ON PLATONISM AND STOICSM, THE PHILOSOPHIC PRECURSORS OF CHRISTIANITY

(The following three documents would belong to "wisdom literature" if they were Jewish or Christian. This is probably the reason why Christians left them intact, while thousands of non-Christian books went up in flames ingnited by Christian fanatics, although in the New Testament, we hardly can find any traces that prescribes intolerance to Christians.

In fact, most Christian texts of the Roman Pauline Church embrace Stoicism to a surprising degree. From antique records, such as the Historian [Shiji] by Sima Qian, we know that Indian Buddhist philosophers did not only travel east or north but also west to Greece. It is therefore likely that they too left their mark on Stoicism, the main philosophical school in the Roman sphere of influence during the first two centuries BC as well as the first centuries AD. This might be the reason that Stoicism was more practised as a Training [like in Buddhism] than as a pure "school of philosophy" or "school of thought." Any time we see the word "philosopher" in a Stoic text, it actually meant Teacher, or more precisely "Trainer." And when we see the word "pupil" then it actually means "disciple" or "trainee." Stoicism was a way of life, in many ways a precursor of Christianity, which made it easy to accept its teachings in Roman Christian texts.

Only three Stoic books out of many hundred have survived: The 124 Moral Epistles from Seneca the Younger [published between 60 and 65 AD], Flavius Arrianus' Discourses Of Epictetus [published at around 130 AD], and The Meditations by the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus [published in perhaps the 3rd or 4th century].)

PLUTARCH'S MORALS

Plutarch's Ethika or Ethical Essays
Author: Lucius Mestrius Plutarchus
Selection: 26 books (out of 78 books)
Source: George Bell And Sons, London
Translation: Arthur Richard Shilleto, 1888
Estimated Range of Dating: 70-100 A.D.

(Lucius Mestrius Plutarchus (c. 46–120 AD), also known as Plutarch of Chaeronea or simply Plutarch, was a Greek politician and author of philosophy, history, essays and biographies, as well as a priest at the Temple of Apollo in Delphi, Greece. He named himself Lucius Mestrius Plutarchus when he obtained Roman citizenship. Roman citizenship was granted only upon merit, usually by the emperor, the Senate or the senior governor of the province. Plutarch, who was born at Chaeronea in Boeotia [35 km / 20 mi east of Delphi in southern Greece], and was a contemporary of Titus Flavius Josephus, Titus Flavius Clemens, Marcus Valerius Martialis, Marcus Fabius Quintilianus, Gaius Plinius Secundus (Plinius Maior), Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus (Plinius Minor), Publius Cornelius Tacitus, who all, together with others, probably belonged to a kind of "Literary Circle of the Flavian Dynasty," meaning, he knew some of those people personally.

Like all the other writers, he held numerous official government positions. Plutarch was the magistrate at Chaeronea and he represented his home town as ambassador on various missions to foreign countries during his early adult years. Plutarch held the office of archon [ruler] in his native municipality, probably only an annual one which he likely served more than once. The Suda, a medieval Greek encyclopedia, states that Emperor Trajan made Plutarch procurator [governor] of Illyria. According to the 8th/9th-century historian George Syncellus, late in Plutarch's life, Emperor Hadrian appointed him nominal procurator of Achaea [southern Greece] which entitled him to wear the vestments and ornaments of a consul. Plutarch was a Platonist, but was open to some aspects of Stoicism and perhaps Roman Christianity. He is known primarily for his famous Parallel Lives, a series of biographies of illustrious Greeks and Romans, and the less-known Moralia, a collection of essays and speeches.

Early Manuscripts and General Structure

The Moralia (Ancient Greek: Ethika; loosely translated as "Morals" or "Matters relating to customs and ethics") is a group of miscellaneous manuscripts dating from the 10th-13th centuries. The entire collection contains 78 essays and transcribed speeches which Plutarch may well have have composed in the era of the Flavian Dynasty, 69-96 AD. Only a group of Moralia manuscripts have survived, the oldest of which is the Parisinus gr. 1678 (very damaged in the folia containing the list), a copy from the 10th century, on which a second hand of the 12th century intervened to add the list." The only surviving manuscript containing all 78 of the extant treatises included in Plutarch's Moralia dates to sometime shortly after 1302 AD.

As is well known, the text of the Moralia is very corrupt, and the reading very doubtful, in many places. They provide, nevertheless, insights into Roman and Greek life, but often are also timeless observations in their own right, like a book of wisdom. The Moralia were composed first during the time of the Flavian Dynasty, while writing the Parallel Lives occupied much of the last two decades of Plutarch's own life. Some editions of the Moralia include several works now known to be pseudepigrapha. Among these are the Lives of the Ten Orators (biographies of the Attic orators based on Caecilius of Calacte), On the Opinions of the Philosophers, On Fate, and On Music. One "Pseudo-Plutarch" is held responsible for all of these works, though their authorship is unknown. Though the thoughts and opinions recorded are not Plutarch's and come from a slightly later era, they are all classical in origin and have value to the historian.

CONTENTS

The Parallel Lives have often been translated, and have always been a popular work. Great indeed was their power at the period of the French Revolution. The Moralia, on the other hand, consisting of various Essays on various subjects are practically almost unknown to most persons. Only 26 of these essays are directly ethical, they are most likely to be written by Lucius Mestrius Plutarchus himself, and it is their moral contents that gave the whole collection the name Moralia. The present edition consists precisely of these 26 "Ethical Essays:

1. On Education.
2. On Love To One's Offspring.
3. On Love.
4. Conjugal Precepts.
5. Consolatory Letter To His Wife.
6. That Virtue May Be Taught.
7. On Virtue And Vice.
8. On Moral Virtue.
9. How One May Be Aware Of One's Progress In Virtue.
10. Whether Vice Is Sufficient To Cause Unhappiness.
11. Whether The Disorders Of Mind Or Body Are Worse.
12. On Abundance Of Friends.
13. How One May Discern a Flatterer From a Friend.
14. How a Man May Be Benefited By His Enemies.
15. On Talkativeness.
16. On Curiosity.
17. On Shyness.
18. On Restraining Anger.
19. On Contentedness Of Mind.
20. On Envy And Hatred.
21. How One Can Praise Oneself Without Exciting Envy.
22. On Those Who Are Punished By The Deity Late.
23. Against Borrowing Money.
24. Whether "Live Unknown" Be a Wise Precept.
25. On Exile.
26. On Fortune.

In Shilleto's opinion, "they are the cream of the Moralia, and constitute a highly interesting series of treatises on what might be called "The Ethics of the Hearth and Home." He has grouped these Essays in such a manner as to enable the reader to read together such as touch on the same or on kindred subjects. I many ways, they reflect an attitude that can also be found in the gospels.

There is in fact the possibility that Lucius Mestrius Plutarchus authored the Gospel of Luke (Lucius, meaning: the enlightened one) as his answer to the Gospels of Matthew (Matityahu, Matthias) and Mark (Marcus). It is the habit of philosophers to answer the work of a colleague with his own work. This might be one of the reasons why there are 4 canonical gospels included into the New Testament; they all contain more or less the same kind of narrative, but from a different point of view [beside them, there are 33 non-canonical gospels known today.].)

PLUTARCH'S MORALS CHAPTER 1
ON EDUCATION.

1. Come let us consider what one might say on the education of free children, and by what training they would become good citizens.

2. It is perhaps best to begin with birth: I would therefore warn those who desire to be fathers of notable sons, not to form connections with any kind of women, such as courtesans or mistresses: for those who either on the father or mother's side are ill-born have the disgrace of their origin all their life long irretrievably present with them, and offer a ready handle to abuse and vituperation. So that the poet was wise, who said, "Unless the foundation of a house be well laid, the descendants must of necessity be unfortunate." Good birth indeed brings with it a store of assurance, which ought to be greatly valued by all who desire legitimate offspring. For the spirit of those who are a spurious and bastard breed is apt to be mean and abject: for as the poet truly says, "It makes a man even of noble spirit servile, when he is conscious of the ill fame of either his father or mother." On the other hand the sons of illustrious parents are full of pride and arrogance. As an instance of this it is recorded of Diophantus, the son of Themistocles, that he often used to say to various people "that he could do what he pleased with the Athenian people, for what he wished his mother wished, and what she wished Themistocles wished, and what Themistocles 2wished all the Athenians wished." All praise also ought we to bestow on the Lacedaemonians for their loftiness of soul in fining their king Archidamus for venturing to marry a small woman, for they charged him with intending to furnish them not with kings but kinglets. 3. Next must we mention, what was not overlooked even by those who handled this subject before us, that those who approach their wives for procreation must do so either without having drunk any wine or at least very little. For those children, that their parents begot in drink, are wont to be fond of wine and apt to turn out drunkards. And so Diogenes, seeing a youth out of his mind and crazy, said, "Young man, your father was drunk when he begot you." Let this hint serve as to procreation: now let us discuss education.

4. To speak generally, what we are wont to say about the arts and sciences is also true of moral excellence, for to its perfect development three things must meet together, natural ability, theory, and practice. By theory I mean training, and by practice working at one's craft. Now the foundation must be laid in training, and practice gives facility, but perfection is attained only by the junction of all three. For if any one of these elements be wanting, excellence must be so far deficient. For natural ability without training is blind: and training without natural ability is defective, and practice without both natural ability and training is imperfect. For just as in farming the first requisite is good soil, next a good farmer, next good seed, so also here: the soil corresponds to natural ability, the training to the farmer, the seed to precepts and instruction. I should therefore maintain stoutly that these three elements were found combined in the souls of such universally famous men as Pythagoras, and Socrates, and Plato, and of all who have won undying fame. Happy at any rate and dear to the gods is he to whom any deity has vouchsafed all these elements! But if anyone thinks that those who have not good natural ability cannot to some extent make up for the deficiencies of nature by right training and practice, let such a one know that he is very wide of the mark, if not out of it altogether. For good natural parts are impaired by sloth; while inferior ability is mended by training: and while simple things escape the eyes of the careless, difficult things are reached by painstaking. The wonderful efficacy and power of long and continuous labour you may see indeed every day in the world around you. Thus water continually dropping wears away rocks: and iron and steel are moulded by the hands of the artificer: and chariot wheels bent by some strain can never recover their original symmetry: and the crooked staves of actors can never be made straight. But by toil what is contrary to nature becomes stronger than even nature itself. And are these the only things that teach the power of diligence? Not so: ten thousand things teach the same truth. A soil naturally good becomes by neglect barren, and the better its original condition, the worse its ultimate state if uncared for. On the other hand a soil exceedingly rough and sterile by being farmed well produces excellent crops. And what trees do not by neglect become gnarled and unfruitful, whereas by pruning they become fruitful and productive? And what constitution so good but it is marred and impaired by sloth, luxury, and too full habit? And what weak constitution has not derived benefit from exercise and athletics? And what horses broken in young are not docile to their riders? while if they are not broken in till late they become hard-mouthed and unmanageable. And why should we be surprised at similar cases, seeing that we find many of the savagest animals docile and tame by training? Rightly answered the Thessalian, who was asked who the mildest Thessalians were, "Those who have done with fighting." But why pursue the line of argument further? For the Greek name for moral virtue is only habit: and if anyone defines moral virtues as habitual virtues, he will not be beside the mark. But I will employ only one more illustration, and dwell no longer on this topic. Lycurgus, the Lacedaemonian legislator, took two puppies of the same parents, and brought them up in an entirely different way: the one he pampered and cosseted up, while he taught the other to hunt and be a retriever. Then on one occasion, when the 4Lacedaemonians were convened in assembly, he said, "Mighty, O Lacedaemonians, is the influence on moral excellence of habit, and education, and training, and modes of life, as I will prove to you at once." So saying he produced the two puppies, and set before them a platter and a hare: the one darted on the hare, while the other made for the platter. And when the Lacedaemonians could not guess what his meaning was, or with what intent he had produced the puppies, he said, "These puppies are of the same parents, but by virtue of a different bringing up the one is pampered, and the other a good hound." Let so much suffice for habit and modes of life.

5. The next point to discuss will be nutrition. In my opinion mothers ought to nurse and suckle their own children. For they will bring them up with more sympathy and care, if they love them so intimately and, as the proverb puts it, "from their first growing their nails." Whereas the affection of wet or dry nurses is spurious and counterfeit, being merely for pay.

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And nature itself teaches that mothers ought themselves to suckle and rear those they have given birth to. And for that purpose she has supplied every female parent with milk. And providence has wisely provided women with two breasts, so that if they should bear twins, they would have a breast for each. And besides this, as is natural enough, they would feel more affection and love for their children by suckling them. For this supplying them with food is as it were a tightener of love, for even the brute creation, if taken away from their young, pine away, as we constantly see. Mothers must therefore, as I said, certainly try to suckle their own children: but if they are unable to do so either through physical weakness (for this contingency sometimes occurs), or in haste to have other children, they must select wet and dry nurses with the greatest care, and not introduce into their houses any kind of women. First and foremost they must be Greeks in their habits. For just as it is necessary immediately after birth to shapen the limbs of children, so that they may grow straight and not crooked, so from the beginning must their habits be carefully 5attended to. For infancy is supple and easily moulded, and what children learn sinks deeply into their souls while they are young and tender, whereas everything hard is softened only with great difficulty. For just as seals are impressed on soft wax, so instruction leaves its permanent mark on the minds of those still young. And divine Plato seems to me to give excellent advice to nurses not to tell their children any kind of fables, that their souls may not in the very dawn of existence be full of folly or corruption. Phocylides the poet also seems to give admirable advice when he says, "We must teach good habits while the pupil is still a boy."

6. Attention also must he given to this point, that the lads that are to wait upon and be with young people must be first and foremost of good morals, and able to speak Greek distinctly and idiomatically, that they may not by contact with foreigners of loose morals contract any of their viciousness. For as those who are fond of quoting proverbs say not amiss, "If you live with a lame man, you will learn to halt."

7. Next, when our boys are old enough to be put into the hands of tutors, great care must be taken that we do not hand them over to slaves, or foreigners, or flighty persons. For what happens nowadays in many cases is highly ridiculous: good slaves are made farmers, or sailors, or merchants, or stewards, or money-lenders; but if they find a winebibbing, greedy, and utterly useless slave, to him parents commit the charge of their sons, whereas the good tutor ought to be such a one as was Phoenix, the tutor of Achilles. The point also which I am now going to speak about is of the utmost importance. The schoolmasters we ought to select for our boys should be of blameless life, of pure character, and of great experience. For a good training is the source and root of gentlemanly behaviour. And just as farmers prop up their trees, so good schoolmasters prop up the young by good advice and suggestions, 6that they may become upright. How one must despise, therefore, some fathers, who, whether from ignorance or inexperience, before putting the intended teachers to the test, commit their sons to the charge of untried and untested men. If they act so through inexperience it is not so ridiculous; but it is to the remotest degree absurd when, though perfectly aware of both the inexperience and worthlessness of some schoolmasters, they yet entrust their sons to them; some overcome by flattery, others to gratify friends who solicit their favours; acting just as if anybody ill in body, passing over the experienced physician, should, to gratify his friend, call him in, and so throw away his life; or as if to gratify one's friend one should reject the best pilot and choose him instead. Zeus and all the gods! can anyone bearing the sacred name of father put obliging a petitioner before obtaining the best education for his sons? Were they not then wise words that the time-honoured Socrates used to utter, and say that he would proclaim, if he could, climbing up to the highest part of the city, "Men, what can you be thinking of, who move heaven and earth to make money, while you bestow next to no attention on the sons you are going to leave that money to?" I would add to this that such fathers act very similarly to a person who should be very careful about his shoe but care nothing about his foot. Many persons also are so niggardly about their children, and indifferent to their interests, that for the sake of a paltry saving, they prefer worthless teachers for their children, practising a vile economy at the expense of their children's ignorance. Apropos of this, Aristippus on one occasion rebuked an empty-headed parent neatly and wittily. For being asked how much money a parent ought to pay for his son's education, he answered, "A thousand drachmae." And he replying, "Hercules, what a price! I could buy a slave for as much;" Aristippus answered, "You shall have two slaves then, your son and the slave you buy." And is it not altogether strange that you accustom your son to take his food in his right hand, and chide him if he 7offers his left, whereas you care very little about his hearing good and sound discourses? I will tell you what happens to such admirable fathers, when they have educated and brought up their sons so badly: when the sons grow to man's estate, they disregard a sober and well-ordered life, and rush headlong into disorderly and low vices; then at the last the parents are sorry they have neglected their education, bemoaning bitterly when it is too late their sons' debasement. For some of them keep flatterers and parasites in their retinue—an accursed set of wretches, the defilers and pest of youth; others keep mistresses and common prostitutes, wanton and costly; others waste their money in eating; others come to grief through dice and revelling; some even go in for bolder profligacy, being whoremongers and defilers of the marriage bed, who would madly pursue their darling vice if it cost them their lives. Had they associated with some philosopher, they would not have lowered themselves by such practices, but would have remembered the precept of Diogenes, whose advice sounds rather low, but is really of excellent moral intent, "Go into a brothel, my lad, that you may see the little difference between vice and virtue."

8. I say, then, to speak comprehensively (and I might be justly considered in so saying to speak as an oracle, not to be delivering a mere precept), that a good education and sound bringing-up is of the first and middle and last importance; and I declare it to be most instrumental and conducive to virtue and happiness. For all other human blessings compared to this are petty and insignificant. For noble birth is a great honour, but it is an advantage from our forefathers. And wealth is valuable, but it is the acquisition of fortune, who has often taken it away from those who had it, and brought it to those who little expected it; and much wealth is a sort of mark for villanous slaves and informers to shoot at to fill their own 8purses; and, what is a most important point, even the greatest villains have money sometimes. And glory is noble, but insecure. And beauty is highly desirable, but shortlived. And health is highly valuable, but soon impaired. And strength is desirable, but illness or age soon made sad inroads into it. And generally speaking, if anyone prides himself on his bodily strength, let him know that he is deficient in judgment. For how much inferior is the strength of a man to that of animals, as elephants, bulls, and lions! But education is of all our advantages the only one immortal and divine. And two of the most powerful agencies in man's nature are mind and reason. And mind governs reason, and reason obeys mind; and mind is irremovable by fortune, cannot be taken away by informers, cannot be destroyed by disease, cannot have inroads made into it by old age. For the mind alone flourishes in age; and while time takes away everything else, it adds wisdom to old age. Even war, that sweeps away everything else like a winter torrent, cannot take away education. And Stilpo, the Megarian, seems to me to have made a memorable answer when Demetrius enslaved Megara and rased it to the ground. On his asking whether Stilpo had lost anything, he replied, "Certainly not, for war can make no havoc of virtue." Corresponding and consonant to this is the answer of Socrates, who when asked, I think by Gorgias, if he had any conception as to the happiness of the King of Persia, replied, "I do not know his position in regard to virtue and education: for happiness lies in these, and not in adventitious advantages."

9. And as I advise parents to think nothing more important than the education of their children, so I maintain that it must be a sound and healthy education, and that our sons must be kept as far as possible from vulgar twaddle. For what pleases the vulgar displeases the wise. I am borne out by the lines of Euripides, "Unskilled am I in the oratory that pleases the mob; but amongst the few that are my equals I am reckoned rather wise. For those who are little thought of by the wise, seem to hit the taste 9of the vulgar." And I have myself noticed that those who practise to speak acceptably and to the gratification of the masses promiscuously, for the most part become also profligate and lovers of pleasure in their lives. Naturally enough. For if in giving pleasure to others they neglect the noble, they would be hardly likely to put the lofty and sound above a life of luxury and pleasure, and to prefer moderation to delights. Yet what better advice could we give our sons than to follow this? or to what could we better exhort them to accustom themselves? For perfection is only attained by neither speaking nor acting at random—as the proverb says, Perfection is only attained by practice. Whereas extempore oratory is easy and facile, mere windbag, having neither beginning nor end. And besides their other shortcomings extempore speakers fall into great disproportion and repetition, whereas a well considered speech preserves its due proportions. It is recorded by tradition that Pericles, when called on by the people for a speech, frequently refused on the plea that he was unprepared. Similarly Demosthenes, his state-rival, when the Athenians called upon him for his advice, refused to give it, saying, "I am not prepared." But this you will say, perhaps, is mere tradition without authority. But in his speech against Midias he plainly sets forth the utility of preparation, for he says, "I do not deny, men of Athens, that I have prepared this speech to the best of my ability: for I should have been a poor creature if, after suffering so much at his hands, and even still suffering, I had neglected how to plead my case." Not that I would altogether reject extempore oratory, or its use in critical cases, but it should be used only as one would take medicine. Up, indeed, to man's estate I would have no extempore speaking, but when anyone's powers of speech are rooted and grounded, then, as emergencies call for it, I would allow his words to flow freely. For as those who have been for a long time in fetters stumble if unloosed, not being able 10to walk from being long used to their fetters, so those who for a long time have used compression in their words, if they are suddenly called upon to speak off-hand, retain the same character of expression. But to let mere lads speak extempore is to give rise to the acme of foolish talk. A wretched painter once showed Apelles, they say, a picture, and said, "I have just done it." Apelles replied, "Without your telling me, I should know it was painted quickly; I only wonder you haven't painted more such in the time." As then (for I now return from my digression), I advise to avoid stilted and bombastic language, so again do I urge to avoid a finical and petty style of speech; for tall talk is unpopular, and petty language makes no impression. And as the body ought to be not only sound but in good condition, so speech ought to be not only not feeble but vigorous. For a safe mediocrity is indeed praised, but a bold venturesomeness is also admired. I am also of the same opinion with regard to the disposition of the soul, which ought to be neither audacious nor timid and easily dejected: for the one ends in impudence and the other in servility; but to keep in all things the mean between extremes is artistic and proper. And, while I am still on this topic, I wish to give my opinion, that I regard a monotonous speech first as no small proof of want of taste, next as likely to generate disdain, and certain not to please long. For to harp on one string is always tiresome and brings satiety; whereas variety is pleasant always whether to the ear or eye.

10. Next our freeborn lad ought to go in for a course of what is called general knowledge, but a smattering of this will be sufficient, a taste as it were (for perfect knowledge of all subjects would be impossible); but he must seriously cultivate philosophy. I borrow an illustration to show my meaning: it is well to sail round many cities, but advantageous to live in the best. It was a witty remark of the philosopher Bion, that, as those suitors who could not seduce Penelope took up with her maids as a pis aller, so those who cannot attain philosophy wear themselves out in useless pursuits. Philosophy, therefore, ought to be regarded as the most important branch of study. For as regards the cure of the body, men have found two branches, medicine and exercise: the former of which gives health, and the latter good condition of body; but philosophy is the only cure for the maladies and disorders of the soul. For with her as ruler and guide we can know what is honourable, what is disgraceful; what is just, what unjust; generally speaking, what is to be sought after, what to be avoided; how we ought to behave to the gods, to parents, to elders, to the laws, to foreigners, to rulers, to friends, to women, to children, to slaves: viz., that we ought to worship the gods, honour parents, reverence elders, obey the laws, submit ourselves to rulers, love our friends, be chaste in our relations with women, kind to our children, and not to treat our slaves badly; and, what is of the greatest importance, to be neither over elated in prosperity nor over depressed in adversity, nor to be dissolute in pleasures, nor fierce and brutish in anger. These I regard as the principal blessings that philosophy teaches. For to enjoy prosperity nobly shows a man; and to enjoy it without exciting envy shows a moderate man; and to conquer the passions by reason argues a wise man; and it is not everybody who can keep his temper in control. And those who can unite political ability with philosophy I regard as perfect men, for I take them to attain two of the greatest blessings, serving the state in a public capacity, and living the calm and tranquil life of philosophy. For, as there are three kinds of life, the practical, the contemplative, and the life of enjoyment, and of these three the one devoted to enjoyment is a paltry and animal life, and the practical without philosophy an unlovely and harsh life, and the contemplative without the practical a useless life, so we must endeavour with all our power to combine public life with philosophy as far as circumstances will permit. Such was the life led by Pericles, by Archytas of Tarentum, by Dion of Syracuse, by Epaminondas the Theban, one of whom was a disciple of Plato (viz., Dion). And as to education, I do not know that I need dwell any more on it. But in addition to what I have said, it is useful, if not necessary, not to neglect to procure old books, and to make a collection of them, as is usual in agriculture. For the use of books is an instrument in education, and it is profitable in learning to go to the fountain head.

11. Exercise also ought not to be neglected, but we ought to send our boys to the master of the gymnasium to train them duly, partly with a view to carrying the body well, partly with a view to strength. For good habit of body in boys is the foundation of a good old age. For as in fine weather we ought to lay up for winter, so in youth one ought to form good habits and live soberly so as to have a reserve stock of strength for old age. Yet ought we to husband the exertions of the body, so as not to be wearied out by them and rendered unfit for study. For, as Plato says, excessive sleep and fatigue are enemies to learning. But why dwell on this? For I am in a

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hurry to pass to the most important point. Our lads must be trained for warlike encounters, making themselves efficient in hurling the javelin and darts, and in the chase. For the possessions of those who are defeated in battle belong to the conquerors as booty of war; and war is not the place for delicately brought up bodies: it is the spare warrior that makes the best combatant, who as an athlete cuts his way through the ranks of the enemies. Supposing anyone objects: "How so? As you undertook to give advice on the education of freeborn children, do you now neglect the poor and plebeian ones, and give instructions only suitable to the rich?" It is easy enough to meet such critics. I should prefer to make my teaching general and suitable to all; but if any, through their poverty, shall be unable to follow up my precepts, let them blame fortune, and not the author of these hints. We must try with all our might to procure the best education for the poor as well as the rich, but if that is impossible, then we must put up with the practicable. I inserted those matters into my discourse here, that I might hereafter confine myself to all that appertains to the right education of the young.

12. And this I say that we ought to try to draw our boys to good pursuits by entreaties and exhortation, but certainly not by blows or abusive language. For that seems to be more fitting for slaves than the freeborn. For slaves try to shirk and avoid their work, partly because of the pain of blows, partly on account of being reviled. But praise or censure are far more useful than abuse to the freeborn, praise pricking them on to virtue, censure deterring them from vice. But one must censure and praise alternately: when they are too saucy we must censure them and make them ashamed of themselves, and again encourage them by praise, and imitate those nurses who, when their children sob, give them the breast to comfort them. But we must not puff them up and make them conceited with excessive praise, for that will make them vain and give themselves airs.

13. And I have ere now seen some fathers, whose excessive love for their children has turned into hatred. My meaning I will endeavour to make clearer by illustration. While they are in too great a hurry to make their sons take the lead in everything, they lay too much work upon them, so that they faint under their tasks, and, being overburdened, are disinclined for learning. For just as plants grow with moderate rain, but are done for by too much rain, so the mind enlarges by a proper amount of work, but by too much is unhinged. We must therefore give our boys remission from continuous labour, bearing in mind that all our life is divided into labour and rest; thus we find not only wakefulness but sleep, not only war but peace, not only foul weather but fine also, not only working days but also festivals. And, to speak concisely, rest is the sauce of labour. And we can see this not only in the case of animate, but even inanimate things, for we make bows and lyres slack that we may be able to stretch them. And generally the body is preserved by repletion and evacuation, and the soul by rest and work. We ought also to censure some fathers who, after entrusting their sons to tutors and preceptors, neither see nor hear how the teaching is done. This is a great mistake. For they ought after a few days to test the progress of their sons, and not to base their hopes on the behaviour of a hireling; and the preceptors will take all the more pains with the boys, if they have from time to time to give an account of their progress. Hence the propriety of that remark of the groom, that nothing fats the horse so much as the king's eye. And especial attention, in my opinion, must be paid to cultivating and exercising the memory of boys, for memory is, as it were, the storehouse of learning; and that was why they fabled Mnemosyne to be the mother of the Muses, hinting and insinuating that nothing so generates and contributes to the growth of learning as memory. And therefore the memory must be cultivated, whether boys have a good one by nature, or a bad one. For we shall so add to natural good parts, and make up somewhat for natural deficiencies, so that the deficient will be better than others, and the clever will outstrip themselves. For good is that remark of Hesiod, "If to a little you keep adding a little, and do so frequently, it will soon be a lot." And let not fathers forget, that thus cultivating the memory is not only good for education, but is also a great aid in the business of life. For the remembrance of past actions gives a good model how to deal wisely in future ones.

14. We must also keep our sons from filthy language. For, as Democritus says, Language is the shadow of action. They must also be taught to be affable and courteous. For as want of affability is justly hateful, so boys will not be disagreeable to those they associate with, if they yield occasionally in disputes. For it is not only excellent to know how to conquer, but also to know how to be defeated, when victory would be injurious, for there is such a thing as a Cadmean victory. I can cite wise Euripides as a witness of the truth of what I say, who says, "When two are talking, and one of them is in a passion, he is the wiser who first gives way."

I will next state something quite as important, indeed, if anything, even more important. That is, that life must be spent without luxury, the tongue must be 15under control, so must the temper and the hands. All this is of extreme importance, as I will show by examples. To begin with the last case, some who have put their hands to unjust gains, have lost all the fruits of their former life, as the Lacedaemonian Gylippus, who was exiled from Sparta for embezzling the public money. To be able to govern the temper also argues a wise man. For Socrates, when a very impudent and disgusting young fellow kicked him on one occasion, seeing all the rest of his class vexed and impatient, even to the point of wanting to prosecute the young man, said, "What! If a young ass kicked me would you have me kick it back?" Not that the young fellow committed this outrage on Socrates with impunity, for as all reviled him and nicknamed him the kicker, he hung himself. And when Aristophanes brought his "Clouds" on the stage, and bespattered Socrates with his gibes and flouts, and one of the spectators said, "Aren't you vexed, Socrates, at his exhibiting you on the stage in this comic light?" he answered, "Not I, by Zeus, for I look upon the theatre as only a large supper party." Very similar to this was the behaviour of Archytas of Tarentum and Plato. The former, on his return from war, where he had been general, finding his land neglected, called his bailiff, and said to him, "You would have caught it, had I not been very angry." And Plato, very angry with a gluttonous and shameless slave, called his sister's son Speusippus, and said, "Go and beat him, for I am too angry." But someone will say, these examples are difficult and hard to follow. I know it. But we must try, as far as possible, following these examples, to avoid ungovernable and mad rage. For we cannot in other respects equal those distinguished men in their ability and virtue, nevertheless we must, like initiating priests of the gods and torchbearers of wisdom, attempt as far as possible to imitate and nibble at their practice. Then, again, if anyone thinks it a small and unimportant matter to govern the tongue, another point I promised to touch on, he is very far from the reality. For silence at the proper season is wisdom, and better than any speech. And that is, I 16think, the reason why the ancients instituted the mysteries that we, learning therein to be silent, might transfer our secrecy to the gods to human affairs. And no one ever yet repented of his silence, while multitudes have repented of their speaking. And what has not been said is easy to say, while what has been once said can never be recalled. I have heard of myriads who have fallen into the greatest misfortunes through inability to govern their tongues. Passing over the rest, I will mention one or two cases in point. When Ptolemy Philadelphus married his sister Arsinoe, Sotades said, "You are contracting an unholy marriage." For this speech he long lingered in prison, and paid the righteous penalty for his unseasonable babbling, and had to weep a long time for making others laugh. Theocritus the Sophist similarly cracked his jokes, and had to pay even a greater penalty. For when Alexander ordered the Greeks to furnish him with purple robes to wear at the sacrifices on his triumphal return from war against the barbarians, and his subjects contributed so much per head, Theocritus said, "Before I doubted, but now I am sure, that this is the purple death Homer speaks of." By this speech he made Alexander his enemy. The same Theocritus put Antigonus, the King of the Macedonians, a one-eyed man, into a thundering rage by alluding to his misfortune. For the King sent his chief cook, Eutropio, an important person at his court, to go and fetch Theocritus before him to confer with him, and when he had frequently requested him to come without avail, Theocritus at last said, "I know well you wish to serve me up raw to the Cyclops;" flouting the King as one-eyed and the cook with his profession. Eutropio replied, "You shall lose your head, and pay the penalty for this babbling and mad insolence;" and reported his words to the King, who sent and had his head taken off. Our boys must also be taught to speak the truth as a most sacred duty; for to lie is servile, and most hateful in all men, hardly to be pardoned even in poor slaves.

15. Thus much have I said about the good conduct 17and self-control of boys without any doubt or hesitation: but as to what I am now going to say I am doubtful and undecided, and like a person weighed in the scales against exactly his weight, and feel great hesitation as to whether I should recommend or dissuade the practice. But I must speak out. The question is this—whether we ought to let the lovers of our boys associate and be with them, or on the contrary, debar them from their company and scare them off. For when I look at fathers self-opinionated sour and austere, who think their sons having lovers a disgrace not to be borne, I am rather afraid of recommending the practice. But when, on the other hand, I think of Socrates, Xenophon, AEschines, Cebes, and all the company of those men who have approved of male loves, and who have introduced their minions to learning, to high positions in the State, and to good morals, I change my opinion, and am moved to emulate those men. And Euripides seems to favour these views in the passage, "But there is among mortals another love, that of the righteous temperate and pure soul." Nor must we omit the remark of Plato, which seems to mix seriousness with mirth, that "those who have distinguished themselves ought to be permitted to kiss any handsome boy they like." Those then that seek only carnal enjoyment must be kept off, but those that love the soul must be encouraged. And while the loves common at Thebes and Elis, and the so-called rape at Crete, must be avoided, the loves of Athens and Lacedaemon should be emulated.

16. As to this matter, therefore, let every parent follow his inclination. And now, as I have spoken about the good and decent behaviour of boys, I shall change my subject and speak a little about youths. For I have often censured the introducers of bad habits, who have set over boys tutors and preceptors, but have given to youths full liberty, when they ought, on the contrary, to have watched and guarded them more than boys. For who does not know that the offences of boys are petty and easily cured, and proceed from the carelessness of tutors or want of 18obedience to preceptors; but the faults of young men are often grave and serious, as gluttony, and robbing their fathers, and dice, and revellings, and drinking-bouts, and deflowering of maidens, and seducing of married women. Such outbreaks ought to be carefully checked and curbed. For that prime of life is prodigal in pleasure, and frisky, and needs a bridle, so that those parents who do not strongly check that period, are foolishly, if unawares, giving their youths license for vice. Sensible parents, therefore, ought during all that period to guard and watch and restrain their youths, by precepts, by threats, by entreaties, by advice, by promises, by citing examples, on the one hand, of those who have come to ruin by being too fond of pleasure, on the other hand, of those who by their self-control have attained to praise and good report. For these are, as it were, the two elements of virtue, hope of honour, and fear of punishment; the former inciting to good practices, the latter deterring from bad.

17. We ought, at all hazards, to keep our boys also from association with bad men, for they will catch some of their villany. This was the meaning of Pythagoras' enigmatical precepts, which I shall quote and explain, as they give no slight momentum towards the acquisition of virtue: as, Do not touch black tails: that is, do not associate with bad men. Do not go beyond the balance: that is, we must pay the greatest attention to justice and not go beyond it. Do not sit on a measure: that is, do not be lazy, but earn tomorrow's bread as well as to-day's. Do not give everyone your right hand: that is, do not be too ready to strike up a friendship. Do not wear a tight ring: that is, let your life be free, do not bind yourself by a chain. Do not poke the fire with a sword: that is, do not provoke an angry person, but yield to such. Do not eat the heart: do not wear away the heart by anxiety. Abstain from beans: that is, do not meddle in state affairs, for the voting for offices was formerly taken by beans. Do not put your food in the chamber-pot: that is, do not throw your pearls before swine, for words are the food of the mind, and the villany of men twist them to a corrupt meaning. When you have come to the end of a journey do not look back: that is, when people are going to die and see that their end is near, they ought to take it easily and not be dejected. But I will return from my digression. We must keep our boys, as I said, from association with all bad men, but especially from flatterers. For, as I have often said to parents, and still say, and will constantly affirm, there is no race more pestilential, nor more sure to ruin youths swiftly, than the race of flatterers, who destroy both parents and sons root and branch, making the old age of the one and the youth of the others miserable, holding out pleasure as a sure bait. The sons of the rich are by their fathers urged to be sober, but by them to be drunk; by their fathers to be chaste, by them to wax wanton; by their fathers to save, by them to spend; by their fathers to be industrious, by them to be lazy. For they say, "'Our life's but a span;' we can only live once; why should you heed your father's threats? he's an old twaddler, he has one foot in the grave; we shall soon hoist him up and carry him off to burial." Some even pimp for them and supply them with prostitutes or even married women, and cut huge slices off the father's savings for old age, if they don't run off with them altogether. An accursed tribe, feigning friendship, knowing nothing of real freedom, flatterers of the rich, despisers of the poor, drawn to young men by a sort of natural logic, showing their teeth and grinning all over when their patrons laugh, misbegotten brats of fortune and bastard elements in life, living according to the nod of the rich, free in their circumstances, but slaves by inclination, when they are not insulted thinking themselves insulted, because they are parasites to no purpose. So, if any father cares for the good bringing-up of his sons, he must banish from his house this abominable race. He must also be on his guard against the viciousness of his sons' schoolfellows, for they are quite sufficient to corrupt the best morals.

18. What I have said hitherto is apropos to my subject: I will now speak a word to the men. Parents must not be over harsh and rough in their natures, but must often forgive their sons' offences, remembering that they themselves were once young. And just as doctors by infusing a sweet flavour into their bitter potions find delight a passage to benefit, so fathers must temper the severity of their censure by mildness; and sometimes relax and slacken the reins of their sons' desires, and again tighten them; and must be especially easy in respect to their faults, or if they are angry must soon cool down. For

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it is better for a father to be hot-tempered than sullen, for to continue hostile and irreconcilable looks like hating one's son. And it is good to seem not to notice some faults, but to extend to them the weak sight and deafness of old age, so as seeing not to see, and hearing not to hear, their doings. We tolerate the faults of our friends; why should we not that of our sons? often even our slaves' drunken debauches we do not expose. Have you been rather near? spend more freely. Have you been vexed? let the matter pass. Has your son deceived you by the help of a slave? do not be angry. Did he take a yoke of oxen from the field, did he come home smelling of yesterday's debauch? wink at it. Is he scented like a perfume shop? say nothing. Thus frisky youth gets broken in.

19. Those of our sons who are given to pleasure and pay little heed to rebuke, we must endeavour to marry, for marriage is the surest restraint upon youth. And we must marry our sons to wives not much richer or better born, for the proverb is a sound one, "Marry in your own walk of life." For those who marry wives superior to themselves in rank are not so much the husbands of their wives as unawares slaves to their dowries.

20. I shall add a few remarks, and then bring my subject to a close. Before all things fathers must, by a good behaviour, set a good example to their sons, that, looking at their lives as a mirror, they may turn away from bad deeds and words. For those fathers who censure their sons' faults while they themselves commit the same, are really their own accusers, if they know it not, under their sons' name; and those who live a depraved life have no right to censure their slaves, far less their sons. And besides this they will become counsellors and teachers of their sons in wrongdoing; for where old men are shameless youths will of a certainty have no modesty. We must therefore take all pains to teach our sons self-control, emulating the conduct of Eurydice, who, though an Illyrian and more than a barbarian, to teach her sons educated herself though late in life, and her love to them is well depicted in the inscription which she offered to the Muses: "Eurydice of Hierapolis made this offering to the Muses, having conceived a vast love for knowledge. For when a mother with sons full-grown she learnt letters, the preservers of knowledge." To carry out all these precepts would be perhaps a visionary scheme; but to attain to many, though it would need a happy disposition and much care, is a thing possible to human nature.

PLUTARCH'S MORALS CHAPTER 2
ON LOVE TO ONE'S OFFSPRING.

1. Appeals to foreign law-courts were first devised among the Greeks through mistrust of one another's justice, for they looked on justice as a necessity not indigenous among them. Is it not on much the same principle that the philosophers, in regard to some of their questions, owing to their variety of opinion, have appealed to the brute creation as to a strange state, and submitted the decision to their instincts and habits as not to be talked over and impartial? Or is it a general charge against human infirmity that, having different opinions on the most necessary and important things, we seek in horses and dogs and birds how to marry and beget and rear children, as though we had no means of making our own nature known, and appeal to the habits and instincts of the brute creation, and call them in to bear witness against the many deviations from nature in our lives, which from the first are confused and disorderly. For among the brutes nature remains ever the same, pure and simple, but in men, owing to reason and habit, like oil in the hands of the perfumers, being mixed up with many added opinions, it becomes various and loses its original simplicity. And let us not wonder that the brutes follow nature more closely than human beings, for in that respect even they are outstripped by inanimate things, which, being dowered neither with imagination nor any appetite or inclination contrary to nature, ever continue in the one path which nature has prescribed for them, as if they were tied and bound. But in brutes the gentleness of mood inspired by reason, the subtlety, the love of freedom, are not qualities found in excess, but they have unreasonable appetites and desires, and act in a roundabout way within certain limits, riding, as it were, at the anchor of nature, and only going straight under bit and bridle. But in man reason, which is absolute master, inventing different modes and fashions of life, has left no plain or evident trace of nature.

2. Consider in their marriages how much the animals follow nature. For they do not wait for any legislation about bachelor or late-married, like the citizens of Lycurgus and Solon, nor do they fear penalties for childlessness, nor are they anxious for the jus trium liberorum, like many of the Romans, who only marry and have children for the privileges it bestows, not to have heirs, but to be qualified for succeeding themselves to inheritances. Then, again, the male animal does not go with the female at all times; for its aim is not pleasure but procreation: so in the season of spring, the most appropriate time for such pairings, the female being submissive and tender attracts the male by her beautiful condition of body, coming as she does from the dew and fresh pastures, and when pregnant modestly retires and takes thought for the birth and safety of her offspring. We cannot adequately describe all this, but every animal exhibits for its young affection and forethought and endurance and unselfishness. We call the bee wise, and celebrate its "making the yellow honey," flattering it for its tickling sweetness; but we neglect the wisdom and ingenuity of other creatures, both as regards the birth and bringing up of their young. For example, the kingfisher after conception weaves its nest with the thorns of the marine needle, making it round and oblong in shape like a fisherman's basket, and after deftly and closely weaving it together, subjects it to the action of the sea waves, that its surface may be rendered waterproof by this plash and cement, and it is hard for even iron or stone to break it. And what is more wonderful still, so symmetrically is the entrance of the nest adjusted to the kingfisher's shape and size, that no beast either greater or smaller can enter it, they even say that it does not admit the sea, or even the very smallest things. And cats, when they breed, very often let their kittens go out and feed, and take them back into their entrails again. And the bear, a most savage and ugly beast, gives birth to its young without shape or joints, and with its tongue as with an instrument moulds its features, so that it seems to give form as well as life to its progeny. And the lion in Homer, "whom the hunters meet in the wood with its whelps, exulting in its strength, which so frowns that it hides its eyes," does it not intend to bargain with the hunters for its whelps? For universally the love of animals for their offspring makes timid ones bold, and lazy ones energetic, and greedy ones unselfish. And so the bird in Homer, feeding its young "with its beak, with whatever it has captured, even though it goes ill with itself," nourishes its young at the cost of its own hunger, and when the food is near its maw abstains from it, and holds it tightly in its mouth, that it may not gulp it down unawares. "And so a bitch bestriding her tender pups, barks at a strange man, and yearns for the fray," making her fear for them a sort of second anger. And partridges when they are pursued with their young let them fly on, and, contriving their safety, themselves fly so near the sportsmen as to be almost caught, and then wheel round, and again fly back and make the sportsmen hope to catch them, till at last, having thus provided for the safety of their young, they lead the sportsmen on a long way. As to hens, we see every day how they watch over their chicks, dropping their wings over some, and letting others climb on their backs, or anywhere about them, and clucking for joy all the time: and though they fly from dogs and dragons when only afraid for themselves, if they are afraid for their chicks they stand their ground and fight valiantly. Are we to suppose then that nature has only implanted these instincts in fowls and dogs and bears, anxious only about their offspring, to put us mortals out of countenance and to give us a bad name? considering these examples for us to follow, while disgrace justly attaches to our inhumanity, for mankind only is accused of having no disinterested affection, and of not knowing how to love except in regard to advantage. For that line is greatly admired in the theatres, "Man loves man only for reward," and is the view of Epicurus, who thinks that the father so loves his son, the mother her child, children their parents. Whereas, if the brutes could understand conversation, and if anyone were to introduce horses and cows and dogs and birds into a common theatre, and were to change the sentiment into "neither do dogs love their pups, nor horses their foals, nor birds their young, out 25of interest, but gratuitously and by nature," it would be recognized by the affections of all of them to be a true sentiment. Why it would be disgraceful, great God, that birth and travail and procreation should be gratis and mere nature among the beasts, while among mankind they should be merely mercenary transactions!

3. But such a statement is not true or worthy of credit. For as nature, in wild growths, such as wild vines, wild figs, or wild olives, makes the fruit imperfect and inferior to the fruit of cultivated trees, so has she given to the brutes an imperfect affection for their kind, one neither marked by justice nor going beyond commodity: whereas to man, a logical and social animal, she has taught justice and law, and honour to the gods, and building of cities, and philanthropy, and has contributed the noble and goodly and fruitful seeds of all these in love to one's offspring, thereby following the very first elements that are found in the construction of the body. For nature is everywhere perfect and artistic and complete, and, to borrow the expression of Erasistratus, has nothing tawdry about her: but one cannot adequately describe all the processes appertaining to birth, nor would it be perhaps decent to pry too closely into such hidden matters, and to particularize too minutely all their wondrous ingenuity. But her contrivance and dispensation of milk alone is sufficient to prove nature's wonderful care and forethought. For all the superfluous blood in women, that owing to their languor and thinness of spirit floats about on the surface and oppresses them, has a safety-valve provided by nature in the menses, which relieve and cleanse the rest of the body, and fit the womb for conception in due season. But after conception nature stops the menses, and arrests the flow of the blood, using it as aliment for the babe in the womb, until the time arrives for its birth, and it requires a different kind of food. At this stage the blood is most ingeniously changed into a supply of milk, not diffused all over the body, but externally in the breasts, so that the babe can with its mouth imbibe the gentle and soothing nutriment. [All that is said here about the milk, the menses, and the blood, I have been obliged somewhat to condense and paraphrase. The ancients sometimes speak more plainly than we can. Ever and anon one must pare down a phrase or word in translating an ancient author. It is inevitable.] But all these various processes of nature, all this economy, all this forethought, would be useless, had not nature also implanted in mothers love to their offspring and anxiety for their welfare. "For of all things, that on the earth do breatheOr creep, man is by far the wretchedest."

And the poet's words are especially applicable to a newborn babe. For there is nothing so imperfect, so helpless, so naked, so shapeless, so foul as a newborn babe: to whom almost alone nature has given an impure outlet to the light of day: being kneaded with blood, and full of defilement, and like one killed rather than born: which no one would touch, or lift up, or kiss, or embrace, but from natural affection. And that is why all the animals have their udders under the belly, women alone have their breasts high on their bodies, that they can lift up their babes to kiss, to dandle, and to fondle: seeing that their bearing and rearing children comes not from necessity but love.

4. Refer the question to the ancient inhabitants of the earth, to the first mothers and fathers. There was no law ordering them to have families, no expectation of advantage or return to be got out of them. I should rather say that mothers would be likely to be hostile and bear malice to their babes, owing to the great danger and pains of travail. And women say the lines, "When the sharp pangs of travail seize on the pregnant woman, then come to her aid the Ilithyiae, who help women in hard childbirth, those daughters of Hera, goddesses of travail," were not written by Homer, but by some Homerid who had been a mother, or was even then in the throes of travail, and who vividly felt the sharp pain in her womb. But the love to one's offspring implanted by nature, moves and influences the mother even then: in the very height of her throes, she neglects not nor flees from her babe, but turns to it and smiles at it, and takes it up and caresses it, though she derives no pleasure or utility from it, but with pain and sorrow receives it, "warming it and fostering it in swaddling clothes, with unintermittent assiduity both night and day." What hope of gain or advantage had they in those days? nay, or even now? for the hopes of parents are uncertain, and have to be long waited for. He who plants a vine in the spring equinox, gleans its vintage in the autumnal equinox; he who sows corn when the Pleiads set, reaps it when they rise; cattle and horses and birds have produce at once fit for use; whereas man's bringing up is toilsome, his growth slow; and as excellence flowers late, most fathers die before their sons attain to fame. Neocles lived not to see Themistocles' victory at Salamis, nor Miltiades Cimon's at the Eurymedon, nor did Xanthippus hear Pericles haranguing, nor did Aristo hear Plato philosophizing, nor did their fathers know of the triumphs of Euripides and Sophocles. They heard them faltering in speech and lisping in syllables, the poor parents saw their errors in revelling and drinking and love-affairs, so that of all Evenus' lines, that one alone is most remembered and quoted, "to a father a son is always a cause of fear or pain." Nevertheless, parents do not cease to bring up sons, even when they can least need them. For it is ridiculous to suppose that the rich, when they have sons, sacrifice and rejoice that they will have people to take care of them and to bury them; unless indeed they bring up sons from want of heirs; as if one could not find or fall in with anyone who would be willing to have another's property! Why, the sand on the sea shore, and the dust, and the wings of birds of varied note, are less numerous than the number of would-be heirs. For had Danaus, the father of fifty daughters, been childless, he would have had more heirs, and of a different spirit. For sons have no gratitude, nor regard, nor veneration for inheritance; but take it as a debt; whereas the voices of strangers which you hear round the childless man, are like those lines in the play, "O People, first bathe, after one decision in the courts, then eat, drink, gobble, take the three-obol-piece." And what Euripides has said, "Money finds friends for men, and has the greatest power among mankind," is not merely a general truth, but is especially true in the case of the childless. For those the rich entertain to dinner, those great men pay court to, to those alone orators give their services gratis. "A mighty personage is a rich man, whose heir is unknown." It has at any rate made many much loved and honoured, whom the possession of one child would have made unloved and insignificant. Whence we see that there is no power or advantage to be got from children, but that the love of them, alike in mankind as among the animals, proceeds entirely from nature.

5. What if this natural affection, like many other virtues, is obscured by badness, as a wilderness chokes a garden? Are we to say that man does not love himself by nature, because many

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cut their throats or throw themselves down precipices? Did not Oedipus put out his eyes? And did not Hegesias by his speeches make, many of his hearers to commit suicide? "Fatality has many different aspects." But all these are diseases and maladies of the soul driving a man contrary to nature out of his wits: as men themselves testify even against themselves. For if a sow destroys one of its litter, or a bitch one of its pups, men are dejected and troubled, and think it an evil omen, and sacrifice to the gods to avert any bad results, on the score that it is natural to all to love and cherish their offspring, unnatural to destroy it. For just as in mines the gold is conspicuous even though mixed up with earth, so nature manifests plainly love to offspring even in instances of faulty habits and affections. For when the poor do not rear their children, it is from fear that if reared to man's estate they would be more than ought to be the case servile, and have little culture, and be debarred of all advantages: so, thinking poverty the worst of all evils, they cannot bear to give it their children, any more than they would some bad disease.

PLUTARCH'S MORALS CHAPTER 3
ON LOVE.

FLAVIANUS AND AUTOBULUS, THE OPENERS OF THE DIALOGUE, ARE BROTHERS. THE OTHER SPEAKERS ARE THEIR FATHER, DAPHNAEUS, PROTOGENES, PISIAS, AND OTHERS.

1. Flavianus.—You say that it was on Mount Helicon, Autobulus, that those conversations took place about Love, which you are now about to narrate to us at our request, as you either wrote them down, or at least remember them from frequently asking our father about them.

Autobulus.—It was on Mount Helicon among the Muses, Flavianus, when the people of Thespiae were celebrating their Festival to the God of Love, which they celebrate very magnificently and splendidly every five years to that God, as also to the Muses.

Flavianus.—Do you know what all of us who have come to this audience intend to ask of you?

Autobulus.—No, but I shall know if you tell me.

Flavianus.—Remove from your discourse for this once the poet's meadows and shades, and talk about ivy and yews, and all other commonplaces of that kind that writers love to introduce, with more zeal than discretion, in imitation of Plato's Ilissus and the famous willow and the gentle slope of grass.

Autobulus.—My dear Flavianus, my narrative needs not any such exordium. The occasion that caused the conversation simply demands a chorus for the action and a stage, nothing else is wanting to the drama, let us only pray to the Mother of the Muses to be propitious, and give me memory for my narrative.

2. Long ago our father, before we were born, having lately married our mother, had gone to sacrifice to the God of Love, in consequence of a dispute and variance that broke out among their parents, and took our mother to the Festival, for she also had her part in the vow and sacrifice. Some of their intimate friends journeyed with them from the town where they lived, and when they got to Thespiae they found there Daphnaeus the son of Archidamus, a lover of Lysandra the daughter of Simo, and of all her suitors the one who stood highest in her favour, and Soclarus the son of Aristio, who had come from Tithorea. And there were there also Protogenes of Tarsus, and Zeuxippus from Sparta, strangers, and my father said most of the most notable Boeotians were there also. For two or three days they went about the town in one another's company, as it was likely they would do, quietly carrying on philosophical discussions in the wrestling-schools and theatres: after that, to avoid a wearisome contest of harpers, decided beforehand by canvassing and cabal, most broke up their camp as if they had been in a hostile country, and removed to Mount Helicon, and bivouacked there with the Muses. In the morning they were visited by Anthemion and Pisias, both men of good repute, and very great friends of Baccho, who was surnamed the Handsome, and also rivals of one another somewhat through their affection for him. Now you must know that there was at Thespiae a lady called Ismenodora, famous for her wealth and good family, and of uncommon good repute for her virtuous life: for she had been a widow some time without a breath of slander lighting upon her, though she was young and good-looking. As Baccho was the son of a friend and crony of hers, she had tried to bring about a marriage between him and a maiden who was her own relation, but by frequently being in his company and talking to him she had got rather smitten with him herself. And hearing much in his favour, and often talking about him, and seeing that many noble young men were in love with him, she fell violently in love with him, and, being resolved to do nothing unbecoming to her fair fame, determined to marry and live openly with him. And the matter seeming in itself rather odd, Baccho's mother looked rather askance at the proposed matrimonial alliance as being too high and splendid for her son, while some of his companions who used to go out hunting with him, frightening him and flouting him with Ismenodora's being rather too old for him, really did more to break off the match than those who seriously opposed it. And Baccho, being only a youth, somehow felt a little ashamed at the idea of marrying a widow, but, neglecting the opinions of everybody else, he submitted the decision as to the expediency of the marriage to Pisias and Anthemion, the latter being his cousin, though older than him, and the former the gravest of his lovers. Pisias objected to the marriage, and upbraided Anthemion with throwing the youth away on Ismenodora. Anthemion replied that it was not well in Pisias, being a good fellow in other respects, to imitate depraved lovers by shutting out his friend from house and marriage and wealth, merely that he might enjoy the sight of him as long as possible naked and in all his virgin bloom at the wrestling-schools.

3. To avoid getting estranged by provoking one another on the question, they came and chose our father and his companions as umpires on the matter. And of the other friends, as if by concerted arrangement, Daphnaeus espoused the view of Anthemion, and Protogenes the view of Pisias. And Protogenes inveighing somewhat too freely against Ismenodora, Daphnaeus took him up and said, "Hercules, what are we not to expect, if Protogenes is going to be hostile to love? he whose whole life, whether in work or at play, has been devoted to love, in forgetfulness of letters, in forgetfulness of his country, not like Laius, away from his country only five days, his was only a torpid and land love: whereas your love 'unfolding its swift wings,' flew over the sea from Cilicia to Athens, merely to gaze at and saunter about with handsome boys. For that was the original reason, doubtless, of Protogenes' journey abroad."

4. And some laughter ensuing, Protogenes replied, "Do I really seem to you now to be hostile to love, and not to be fighting for love against ungovernable lust, which with most disgraceful acts and emotions assumes the most honourable of titles?" Whereupon Daphnaeus, "Do you call the marriage and union of man and woman most disgraceful, than which no holier tie exists nor ever did?" Protogenes replied, "Why, as all this is necessary for the human race to continue, our legislators do not act amiss in crying up marriage and eulogizing it to the masses, but of genuine love there is not a particle in the woman's side of a house; and I also say that you who are sweet on women and girls only love them as flies love milk, and bees the honey-comb, and butchers and cooks calves and birds, fattening them up in darkness. But as nature leads one to eat and drink moderately and sufficiently, and excess in this is called gluttony and gormandizing, so the mutual desires between men and women are natural; but that headlong, violent, and uncontrollable passion for the sex is not rightly called love. For love, when it seizes a noble and young soul, ends in virtue through friendship; but these violent passions for women, at the best, aim only at carnal enjoyment and reaping the harvest of a beauteous prime, as Aristippus showed in his answer to one who told him Lais loved him not, 'No more,' he said, 'do meat and wine love me, but I gladly enjoy both.' For the end of passion is pleasure and fruition: but love, when it has once lost the promise of friendship, will not remain and continue to cherish merely for beauty that which gives it pain, where it gives no return of friendship and virtue. You remember the husband in the play saying to his wife, 'Do you hate me? I can bear that hatred very easily, since of my dishonour I make money.' Not a whit more really in love than this husband is the one, who, not for gain but merely for the sexual appetite, puts up with a peevish and unsympathetic wife, as Philippides, the comic poet, ridiculed the orator, Stratocles, 'You scarce can kiss her if she turns her back on you.' If, however, we ought to give the name of love to this passion, then is it an effeminate and bastard love, and like at Cynosarges, taking us to the woman's side of the house: or rather as they say there is a genuine mountain eagle, which Homer called 'black, and a bird of prey,' and there are other kinds of spurious eagles, which catch fish and lazy birds in marshes, and often in want of food emit an hungry wail: so the genuine love is the love of boys, a love not 'flashing with desire,' as Anacreon said the love of maidens was, nor 'redolent of ointment and sprightly,' but you will see it plain and without airs in the schools of the philosophers, or perhaps in the gymnasiums and wrestling-schools, keenly and nobly pursuing youths, and urging on to virtue those who are well worthy of attention: but that soft and stay-at-home love, spending all its time in women's bosoms and beds, always pursuing effeminate delights, and enervated by unmanly, unfriendly, and unimpassioned pleasures, we ought to condemn as Solon condemned it: for he forbade slaves to love boys or to anoint them with oil, while he allowed them to associate with women. For friendship is noble and refined, whereas pleasure is vulgar and illiberal. Therefore, for a slave to love boys is neither liberal or refined: for it is merely the love of copulation, as the love of women."

5. Protogenes was intending to go on at greater length, when Daphnaeus stopped him and said, "You do well, by Zeus, to mention Solon, and we too may use him as the test of an amorous man. Does he not define such a one in the lines, 'As long as you love boys in the glorious flower of their youth for their kisses and embraces.' And add to Solon the lines of Aeschylus, 'You did not disdain the honour of the thighs, O thankless one after all my frequent kisses.' For some laugh at them if they bid lovers, like sacrificing priests and seers, to inspect thighs and loins; but I think this a mighty argument in behalf of the love of women. For if the unnatural commerce with males does not take away or mar the amorous propensity, much more likely is it that the natural love of women will end in friendship after the favour. For, Protogenes, the yielding of the female to the male was called by the ancients the favour. Thus Pindar says Hephaestus was the son of Hera 34'without any favours': and Sappho, addressing a girl not yet ripe for marriage, says to her, 'You seemed to me a little girl, too young for the favour.' And someone asks Hercules, 'Did you obtain the girl's favour by force or by persuasion?' But the love of males for males, whether rape or voluntary—pathicks effeminately submitting, to use Plato's words, 'to be treated bestially'—is altogether a foul and unlovely favour. And so I think Solon wrote the lines quoted above 'in his hot youth,' as Plato puts it; but when he became older wrote these other lines, 'Now I delight in Cyprus-born Aphrodite, and in Dionysus, and in the Muses: all these give joys to men': as if, after the heat and tempest of his boyish loves, he had got into a quiet haven of marriage and philosophy. But indeed, Protogenes, if we look at the real facts of the case, the love for boys and women is really one and the same passion: but if you wish in a disputatious spirit to make any distinction, you will find that this boy-love goes beyond all bounds, and, like some late-born and ill-begotten bastard brat, seeks to expel its legitimate brother the older love, the love of women. For indeed, friend, it is only yesterday or the day before, since the strippings and exposures of the youths in the gymnasiums, that this boy-love crept in, and gently insinuated itself and got a footing, and at last in a little time got fully-fledged in the wrestling-schools, and has now got fairly unbearable, and insults and tramples on conjugal love, that love that gives immortality to our mortal race, when our nature has been extinguished by death, kindling it again by new births. And this boy-love denies that pleasure is its aim: for it is ashamed and afraid to confess the truth: but it needs some specious excuse for the liberties it takes with handsome boys in their prime: the pretext is friendship and virtue. So your boy-lover wallows in the dust, bathes in cold water, raises his eyebrows, gives himself out for a philosopher, and lives chaste abroad because of the law: but in the stillness of night 'Sweet is the ripe fruit when the guard's withdrawn.'

But if, as Protogenes says, there is no carnal intercourse in these boy-familiarities, how is it Love, if Aphrodite is not present, whom it is the destiny of Love to cherish and pay court to, and to partake of just as much honour and power as she assigns to him? But if there is any Love without Aphrodite, as there is drunkenness without wine in drinks made from figs and barley, the disturbing it will be fruitless and without effect, and surfeiting and disgusting."

6. At the conclusion of this speech, it was clear that Pisias was vexed and indignant with Daphnaeus; and after a moment's silence he began: "O Hercules! what levity and audacity for men to state that they are tied to women as dogs to bitches, and to banish the god of Love from the gymnasiums and public walks, and light of day and open intercourse, and to restrict him to brothels and philtres and incantations of wanton women: for to chaste women, I am sure, it belongs not either to love or be loved." At this point our father told me he interposed, and took Protogenes by the hand, and said to him: "'This word of yours rouses the Argive host,' and of a verity Pisias makes us to side with Daphnaeus by his extravagant language, charging marriage with being a loveless intercourse, and one that has no participation in divine friendship, although we can see that it is an intercourse, if erotic persuasion and favour fail, that cannot be restrained by shame and fear as by bit and bridle." Thereupon Pisias said, "I care little about his arguments; but I see that Daphnaeus is in the same condition as brass: for, just as it is not worked upon so much by the agency of fire as by the molten and liquid brass fused with it, so is he not so much captivated by the beauty of Lysandra as by his association with one who is the victim of the gentle passion; and it is plain that, if he doesn't take refuge with 36us, he will soon melt away in the flame altogether. But I see, what Anthemion would very much like, that I am offending the Court, so I stop." "You amuse us," said Anthemion: "but you ought from the first to have spoken to the point."

7. "I say then," continued Pisias, "and give it out boldly, as far as I am concerned, let every woman have a lover; but we ought to guard against giving the wealth of Ismenodora to Baccho, lest, if we involve him in so much grandeur and magnificence, we unwittingly lose him in it, as tin is lost in brass. For if the lad were to marry quite a plain and insignificant woman, it would be great odds whether he would keep the upper hand, as wine mixed with water; and Ismenodora seems already marked out for sway and command; for otherwise she would not have rejected such illustrious and wealthy suitors to woo a lad hardly yet arrived at man's estate, and almost requiring a tutor still. And therefore men of sense prune the excessive wealth of their wives, as if it had wings

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that required clipping; for this same wealth implants in them luxury, caprice, and vanity, by which they are often elated and fly away altogether: but if they remain, it would be better to be bound by golden fetters, as in Ethiopia, than to a woman's wealth."

8. Here Protogenes put in, "You say nothing about the risk we run of unseasonably and ridiculously reversing the well-known advice of Hesiod: 'If seasonable marriage you would make,Let about thirty be the bridegroom's age,The bride be in the fifth year of her womanhood:' if we thus marry a lad hardly old enough for marriage to a woman so many years older, than himself, as dates and figs are forced. You will say she loves him passionately: who prevents her, then, from serenading at his doors, singing her amorous ditty, putting garlands on his statues, and wrestling and boxing with her rivals in his affections? For all these are what people in love do. And let her lower her eyebrows, and give up the airs of a coquette, and assume the appearance of those that are deeply smitten. But if she is modest and chaste, let her decorously stay at home and await there her lovers and sweethearts; for any sensible man would be disgusted and flee from a woman who took the initiative in love, far less would he be likely to marry her after such a barefaced wooing."

9. When Protogenes had done speaking, my father said, "Do you see, Anthemion, that they force us to intervene again, who have no objection to dance in the retinue of conjugal Love?" "I do," said Anthernion, "but pray defend Love at some length, as you are on his side, and moreover come to the rescue of wealth, with which Pisias seeks to scare us." Thereupon my father began, "What on earth will not be brought as a charge against a woman, if we are to reject Ismenodora because she is in love and has money? Granted she loves sway and is rich? What then, if she is young and handsome? And what if she plumes herself somewhat on the lustre of her race? Have not chaste women often something of the morose and peevish in their character almost past bearing? Do they not sometimes get called waspish and shrewish by virtue of their very chastity? Would it be best then to marry off the street some Thracian Abrotonus, or some Milesian Bacchis, and seal the bargain by the present of a handful of nuts? But we have known even such turn out intolerable tyrants, Syrian flute-girls and ballet-dancers, as Aristonica, and OEnanthe with her tambourine, and Agathoclea, who have lorded it over kings' diadems. Why Syrian Semiramis was only the servant and concubine of one of king Ninus's slaves, till Ninus the great king seeing and falling in love with her, she got such power over him that she thought so cheap of him, that she asked to be allowed one day to sit on the royal throne, with the royal diadem on her head, and to transact state affairs. And 38Ninus having granted her permission, and having ordered all his subjects to obey her as himself, she first gave several very moderate orders to make trial of the guards; but when she saw that they obeyed her without the slightest hesitation, she ordered them to seize Ninus and put him in fetters, and at last put him to death; and all her commands being obeyed, she ruled over Asia for a long time with great lustre. And was not Belestiche a foreign woman off the streets, although at Alexandria she has shrines and temples, with an inscription as Aphrodite Belestiche, which she owes to the king's love? And she who has in this very town a temple and rites in common with Eros, and at Delphi stands in gold among kings and queens, by what dowry got she her lovers? But just as the lovers of Semiramis, Belestiche, and Phryne, became their prey unconsciously through their weakness and effeminacy, so on the other hand poor and obscure men, having contracted alliances with rich women of rank, have not been thereby spoilt nor merged their personality, but have lived with their wives on a footing of kindness, yet still kept their position as heads of the house. But he that abases his wife and makes her small, like one who tightens the ring on a finger too small for it fearing it will come off, is like those who cut their mares' tails off and then take them to a river or pond to drink, when they say that sorrowfully discerning their loss of beauty these mares lose their self-respect and allow themselves to be covered by asses. To select a wife for wealth rather than for her excellence or family is dishonourable and illiberal; but it is silly to reject wealth when it is accompanied by excellence and family. Antigonus indeed wrote to his officer who had garrisoned Munychia to make not only the collar strong but the dog lean, that he might undermine the strength of the Athenians; but it becomes not the husband of a rich or handsome woman to make his wife poor or ugly, but by his self-control39 and good sense, and by not too extravagantly showing his admiration for her, to exhibit himself as her equal not her slave, and (to borrow an illustration from the scales) to add just so much weight to his character as shall over-balance her, yet only just. Moreover, both Ismenodora and Baccho are of a suitable age for marriage and procreation of children; Ismenodora, I hear, is still in her prime, and" (here my father smiled slily at Pisias) "she is certainly not a bit older than her rivals, and has no grey hairs, as some of those who consort with Baccho have. And if their union is seasonable, who knows but that she may be a better partner for him than any young woman? For young couples do not blend and mix well together, and it takes a long time and is not an easy process for them to divest themselves of their pride and spirit, and at first there's a good deal of dirty weather and they don't pull well together, and this is oftenest the case when there's love on both sides, and, just as a storm wrecks the ship if no pilot is on board, so their marriage is trouble and confusion, neither party knowing how either to rule or to give way properly. And if the baby is under the nurse, and the boy under the master, and the lad under the master of the gymnasium, and the youth under his lover, and the full-grown man under the law and magistrate, and no one is his own master and exempt from obedience to someone, what wonder would it be if a sensible woman rather older than her husband would direct well the life of a young man, being useful to him by reason of her superior wisdom, and acceptable to him for her sweetness and gentleness? And to sum up the whole matter," said he, "we Boeotians ought to revere Hercules, and so find no fault in any inequality of age in marriages, seeing that he gave his own wife Megara in marriage to Iolaus, though he was only sixteen and she three-and-thirty."

10. As the conversation was going on, our father said that a friend of Pisias came galloping up from the town to report an act of marvellous audacity. Ismenodora, it appears, thinking Baccho had no personal dislike to the 40match, but only stood in awe of his friends who tried to dissuade him from it, determined that she would not let the young fellow slip through her fingers. Accordingly, she sent for the most active and intimate of her male friends, and for some of her female cronies, and instructed them as to what part they should play, and waited for the hour when Baccho was accustomed regularly to pass by her house on his way to the wrestling-school. And as he passed by on this occasion with two or three of his companions, anointed for the exercise, Ismenodora met him at the door and just touched his cloak, and her friends rushed out all together and prettily seized the pretty fellow as he was in his cloak and jersey, and hurried him into the house and at once locked the doors. And the women inside at once divested him of his cloak and put on him a bridal robe; and the servants ran about the town and put olive wreaths and laurel garlands at the doors of Baccho's house as well as Ismenodora's, and a flute-girl went up and down the street playing and singing the wedding-song. And some of the inhabitants of Thespiae and the strangers laughed, others were indignant and tried to make the superintendents of the gymnasium move in the matter, for they have great power in Thespiae over the youths, and pay great attention to their actions. And now there was no more talk about the sports, but everyone left the theatre for the neighbourhood of Ismenodora's house, and there stood in groups talking and disputing about what had happened.

11. Now when Pisias' friend had come up like an aide-de-camp in war, "bloody with spurring, fiery red with haste," to report this news that Ismenodora had seized Baccho, my father said that Zeuxippus smiled, and being a great lover of Euripides repeated the line, "Lady, though rich, thou hast thy sex's feelings."

But Pisias jumped up and cried out, "Ye gods, what will be the end of license like this which will overthrow our town? Already we are fast tending to lawlessness through our independence. And yet it is perhaps ridicu41lous to be indignant about law and justice, when nature itself is trampled upon by being thus subjected to women? Saw even Lemnos ever the like of this? [The women of Lemnos were very masterful. On one memorable occasion they killed all their husbands in one night.] Let us go," he continued, "let us go and hand over to the women the gymnasium and council-hall, if the townsmen have lost all their nerve." Pisias then left the company, and Protogenes went with him, partly sympathizing with his indignation, but still endeavouring to cool him. And Anthemion said, "'Twas a bold deed and certainly does savour somewhat of Lemnos—I own it now we are alone—this Ismenodora must be most violently in love." Hereupon Soclarus said, with a sly smile, "You don't think then that this rape and detention was an excuse and stratagem on the part of a wily young man to escape from the clutches of his lovers, and fly of his own volition to the arms of a rich and handsome widow?" "Pray don't say so, Soclarus," said Anthemion, "pray don't entertain any such suspicions of Baccho, for even if he were not by nature most simple and naïve, he would not have concealed the matter from me to whom he divulges all his secrets, especially as he knows that I have always been very anxious he should marry Ismenodora. But as Heraclitus says truly, It is more difficult to control love than anger; for whatever love has a fancy to, it will buy even at the cost of life, money, and reputation. Who lives a more quiet life in our town than Ismenodora? When did ever any ugly rumour attach itself to her? When did ever any breath of suspicion sully her house? Some divine inspiration, beyond human calculation, seems now to have possessed her."

12. Then Pemptides laughed and said, "Of course you know that there is a certain disease of the body called the sacred disease. It is no wonder, therefore, if some call the greatest and most insane passion of the soul sacred and divine. However, as in Egypt I once saw two neighbours 42disputing when a serpent passed by them on the road, both calling it a good omen, but each claiming the blessing as his alone; so seeing lately that some of you drag Love to the men's apartments, while others confine it to the women's side of the house, while all of you regard it as a divine and superlative blessing, I do not wonder, since it is a passion that has such power and honour, that those who ought to banish it from every quarter and clip its wings do themselves add to its influence and power. And hitherto I held my peace, for I saw that the discussion turned rather on private than public interests, but now that we have got rid of Pisias, I would gladly hear from you to what they had an eye who first called Love a god."

13. Just as Pemptides had left off, and our father was about to answer his question, another messenger came from the town, sent by Ismenodora to summon Anthemion, for the tumult had increased, and there was a difference of opinion between the superintendents of the gymnasium, one thinking they ought to demand the liberation of Baccho, the other thinking they ought not to interfere. Anthemion got up at once and went off. And our father, addressing Pemptides especially, said, "You seem to me, my dear Pemptides, to be handling a great and bold matter, or rather to be discussing things that ought not to be discussed, in asking for a reason in each case for our opinion about the gods. Our ancient and hereditary faith is sufficient, a better argument than which we cannot either utter or find, 'Not e'en if wisdom in our brains resides;' but if this common foundation and basis of all piety be disturbed, and its stability and time-honoured ideas be unsettled, it becomes undermined and is suspected by everybody. You have heard, of course, what hot water Euripides got into, when he wrote at the beginning of his 'Melanippe,' 'Zeus, whosoe'er he is, I do not knowExcept by hearsay,' but if he changed the opening line, he had confidence, it seems, that his play would go down with the public uncommonly well, so he altered it into 'Zeus the divine, as he is truly called.'

And what difference is there between calling in question the received opinion about Zeus or Athene, and that about Love? For it is not now for the first time that Love asks for an altar and sacrifices, nor is he a strange god introduced by foreign superstition, as some Attis or Adonis, furtively smuggled in by hermaphrodites and women, and secretly receiving honours not his own, to avoid an indictment among the gods for coming among them under false pretences. And when, my friend, you hear the words of Empedocles,

'Friendship is there too, of same length and breadth,But with the mind's eye only can you see it,Till with the sight your very soul is thralled,' you must suppose that they refer to Love. For this god is invisible, but to be extolled by us as one of the very oldest gods. And if you demand proofs about every one of the gods, laying a profane hand on every temple, and bringing a learned doubt to every altar, you will scrutinize and pry into everything. But we need not go far to find Love's pedigree. 'See you how great a goddess Aphrodite is? She 'tis that gave us and engendered Love,Whereof come all that on the earth do live.'

And so Empedocles calls Aphrodite Life-giving, and Sophocles calls her Fruitful, both very appropriate epithets. And though the wonderful act of generation belongs to Aphrodite only, and Love is only present in it as a subordinate, yet if he be absent the whole affair becomes undesirable, and low, and tame. For a loveless coition brings only satiety, as the satisfaction of hunger and thirst, and has nothing noble resulting from it, whereas by Love Aphrodite removes the cloying element in pleasure, and produces harmonious friendship. And so Parmenides declares Love to be the oldest of the creations of Aphrodite, writing in his Cosmogony, 'Of all the gods first Love she did contrive.'

But Hesiod, more naturally in my opinion, makes Love the most ancient of all, so that all things derive their existence from him. If we then deprive Love of his ancient honours, those of Aphrodite will be lost also. For we cannot argue that, while some revile Love, all spare Aphrodite, for on the same stage we hear of Love, 'Love is an idle thing and for the idle:' and again of Aphrodite, 'Cypris, my boys, is not her only name, For many names has she. She is a hell, A power remorseless, nay a raging madness.'

Just as in the case of the other gods there is hardly one that has not been reviled, or escaped the scurrility of ignorance. Look, for example, at Ares, who may be considered as it were the counterpart of Love, what honours he has received from men, and again what abuse, as 'Ares is blind, ye women, has no eyes,And with his pig's snout roots up all good things.'

And Homer calls him 'blood-stained' and 'fickle.' And Chrysippus brings a grievous charge against him, in defining his name to mean destroyer, thereby giving a handle to those who think that Ares is only the fighting, wrangling, and quarrelsome instinct among mankind. Others again will tell us that Aphrodite is simply desire, and Hermes eloquence, and the Muses the arts and sciences, and Athene wisdom. You see what an abyss of impiety opens up before us, if we describe each of the gods, as only a passion, a power, or a virtue!"

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14. "I see it," said Pemptides, "and it is impious either to make the gods passions, or to do just the contrary, and make the passions gods." "What then?" said my father, "do you consider Ares a god, or only a human passion?" And Pemptides, answering that he looked on Ares as god of the passionate and manly element in mankind, "What," cried my father, "shall the passionate and warlike and antagonistic instincts in man have a god, but the affectionate and social and clubable have none? Shall Ares, under his names of Enyalius and Stratius, preside over arms and war and sieges and sacks of cities, and shall there be no god to witness and preside over, to direct and guide, conjugal affection, that friendship of closest union and communion? Why even those who hunt gazelles and hares and deer have a silvan deity who harks and halloos them on, for to Aristaeus they pay their vows when in pitfalls and snares they trap wolves and bears, 'For Aristaeus first set traps for animals.' And Hercules invoked another god, when he was about to shoot at the bird, as the line of Aeschylus shows, 'Hunter Apollo, make my bolt go straight!'

And shall no god or good genius assist and prosper the man who hunts in the best chase of all, the chase of friendship? For I cannot for my part, my dear Daphnaeus, consider man a less beautiful or important plant than the oak, or sacred olive, or the vine which Homer glorifies, seeing that man too has his growth and glorious prime alike of soul and body."

15. Then said Daphnaeus, "In the name of the gods, who thinks differently?" "All those certainly must," answered my father, "who think that the gods care only about ploughing and planting and sowing. Have they not Nymphs attending upon them, called Dryads, 'whose age is coeval with the trees they live in: and Dionysus the mirth-giving does he not increase the yield of the trees, the sacred splendour of Autumn,' as Pindar says? And if they care about all this, is there no god or genius who is interested in the nurture and growth of boys and youths in all their glorious flower? is there no one that cares that the growing man may be upright and virtuous, and that the nobility of his nature may not be warped and corrupted, either through want of a guardian or by the depravity of those he associates with? Is it not monstrous and thankless to say so, seeing that we enjoy the divine bounty, which is dealt out to us richly, and never abandons us in our straits? And yet some of these same straits have more necessity than beauty. For example, our birth, in spite of the unpleasant circumstances attending it, is witnessed by the divine Ilithyia and Artemis: and it would be better not to be born at all than to become bad through want of a good guardian and guide. Moreover in sickness the god who is over that province does not desert us, nor even in death: for even then there is a conductor and guide for the departed, to lay them to sleep, and convey their souls to Hades, as the poet says, 'Night bore me not to be lord of the lyre, Nor to be seer, or healer of diseases, But to conduct the souls of the departed.'

And yet these duties involve much unpleasantness, whereas we cannot mention a holier work, nor any struggle or contest more fitting for a god to attend and play the umpire in, than the guidance of the young and beautiful in the prosecution of their love-affairs. For there is here nothing of an unpleasant nature, no compulsion of any kind, but persuasion and grace, truly making toil sweet and labour delightful, lead the way to virtue and friendship, and do not arrive at that desired goal without the deity, for they have as their leader and lord no other god than Love, the companion of the Muses and Graces and Aphrodite. For Love 'sowing in the heart of man the sweet harvest of desire,' to borrow the language of Melanippides, mixes the sweetest and most beautiful things together. But perhaps you are of a different opinion, Zeuxippus."

16. "Not I, by Zeus," replied Zeuxippus. "To have a different opinion would be ridiculous." "Then," continued my father, "is it not also ridiculous, if there are four kinds of friendship, for so the ancients distinguished, the natural first, the second that to one's kindred, the third that to one's companions, the fourth the friendship of love, and each of the first three have a god as patron, either a god of friendship, or a god of hospitality, or a god of the family, or a god of the race, whereas the friendship of love only, as something altogether unholy, is left without any patron god, and that, too, when it needs most of all attentive direction?" "It is," said Zeuxippus, "highly ridiculous." My father continued, "The language of Plato is very suggestive here, to make a slight digression. One kind of madness (he says) is conveyed to the soul from the body through certain bad temperaments or mixtures, or through the prevalence of some noxious spirit, and is harsh, difficult to cure, and baneful. Another kind of madness is not uninspired or from within, but an afflatus from without, a deviation from sober reason, originated and set in motion by some higher power, the ordinary characteristic of which is called enthusiasm. For, as one full of breath is called ΕΜΤΝΟΟΣ, and as one full of sense is called ΕΜΦΡΩΝ, so the name enthusiasm is given to the commotion of the soul caused by some Divine agency. Thus there is the prophetic enthusiasm which proceeds from Apollo, and the Bacchic enthusiasm which comes from Dionysus, to which Sophocles alludes where he says, 'Dance with the Corybantes;' for the rites of Cybele and Pan have great affinities to the orgies of Bacchus. And the third madness proceeds from the Muses, and possesses an impressionable and pure soul, and stirs up the poetry and music in a man. As to the martial and warlike madness, it is well known from what god it proceeds, namely, Ares, 'kindling tearful war, that puts an end to the dance and the song, and exciting civic strife.' There remains, Daphnaeus, one more kind of madness in man, neither obscure nor tranquil, as to which I should like to ask Pemptides here, 'What god it is that shakes the fruitful thyrsus?'

I refer to that love-fury for modest boys and chaste women, which is far the keenest and fiercest passion of all. For have you not observed how the soldier, when he lays aside his arms, ceases from his warlike fury, as the poet says, 'Then from himRight gladly did his squires remove the armour,' and sits down a peaceful spectator of others? The Bacchic and Corybantic dances one can also modulate and quell, by changing the metre from the trochaic and the measure from the Phrygian. Similarly, too, the Pythian priestess, when she descends from her tripod, possesses her soul in peace. Whereas the love-fury, when once it has really seized on a man and inflamed him, can be laid by no Muse, no charm or incantation, no change of place; but present they burn, absent they desire, by day they follow their loves about, by night they serenade them, sober call for them, and drunken sing about them. And he who said that poetic fancies, owing to their vividness, were dreams of people awake, would have more truly spoken so of the fancies of lovers, who, as if their loves were present, converse with them, greet them, chide them. For sight seems to paint all other fancies on a wet ground, so soon do they fade and recede from the memory, but the images of lovers, painted by the fancy as it were on encaustic tiles, leave impressions on the memory, that move, and live, and speak, and are permanent for all time. The Roman Cato, indeed, said that the soul of the lover resided in the soul of the loved one, and I should extend the remark to the appearance, the character, the life, and the actions, conducted by which he travels a long journey in a short time, as the Cynics say they have found a short cut and, as it were, forced march to virtue, for there is also a short cut to friendship and love when the god is propitious. To sum up, the enthusiasm of lovers is not a thing uninspired, and the god that guides and governs it is none other than the god whose festival we are now keeping, and to whom we are now sacrificing. Nevertheless, as we judge of a god mainly from his power and usefulness (as among human advantages we reckon and call these two the most divine, dominion and virtue), it is high time to consider, before we proceed any further, whether Love yields to any of the gods in power. Certainly, as Sophocles says, 'Wonderful is the power which the Cyprian Queen exerts so as always to win the victory:' great also is the might of Ares; and in some sort we see the power of all the other gods divided among these two; for Aphrodite has most intimate connection with the beautiful, and Ares is in our souls from the first to combat against the sordid, to borrow the idea of Plato. Let us consider, then, to begin with, that the venereal delight can be purchased for six obols, and that no one ever yet put himself into any trouble or danger about it, unless he was in love. And not to mention here such famous courtesans as Phryne or Lais, Gnathaenium, 'kindling her lamp at evening time,' on the look-out for lovers and inviting them, is often passed by; 'yet, if some sudden whiff arise' of mighty love and desire, it makes this very delight seem equal to the fabled wealth of Tantalus and his domains. So feeble and cloying is the venereal indulgence, if Love inspires it not. And you will see this more plainly still from the following consideration. Many have allowed others to share in their venereal enjoyments, prostituting not only their mistresses but their wives, like that Roman Galba, who used to ask Maecenas to dinner, and when he saw from his nods and winks that he had a mind to do with his wife, turned his head gently aside as if asleep; but when one of his slaves came up to the table and stole some wine, his eyes were wide open enough, and he said, 'Villain, don't you know that I am asleep only for Maecenas?' But this is not perhaps so strange, considering Galba was a buffoon. But at Argos Nicostratus and Phayllus were great political rivals: so when King Philip visited that city, Phayllus thought if he prostituted his wife, who was very handsome, to the King, he would get from him some important office or place. And Nicostratus getting wind of this, and walking about the doors of Phayllus' house with some of his servants on the qui vive, Phayllus made his wife put on men's boots, and a military cloak, and a Macedonian broad-brimmed hat, and so smuggled her into the King, without being detected, as one of the King's young men. But, of all the multitude of lovers, did you ever hear of one that prostituted his boy-love even for the honours of Zeus? I think not. Why, though no one will generally either speak or act against tyrants, many will who find them their rivals and are jealous about their handsome minions. You must have heard how Aristogiton of Athens, and Antileon of Metapontum, and Melanippus of Agrigentum, rose not against tyrants, although they saw how badly they managed affairs, and what drunken tricks they played, yet, when they attempted the chastity of their boy-loves, they retaliated on them, jeoparding their lives, as if they were defending the inviolability of temples and sanctuaries. It is also recorded that Alexander wrote to Theodoras, the brother of Proteas, 'Send me your singing-girl, unless you love her yourself, and I will give you ten talents;' and when Antipatridas, one of his companions, came to revel with him, bringing with him a female harper, he fancied the girl not a little, and asked Antipatridas if he cared very much about her. And when he replied that he did immensely, Alexander said, 'Plague take you,' but nevertheless abstained from touching the girl.

17. "Consider also how Love excels in warlike feats, and is by no means idle, as Euripides called him, nor a carpet-knight, nor 'sleeping on a maiden's soft cheeks.' For a man inspired by Love needs not Ares to help him when he goes out as a warrior against the enemy, but at the bidding of his own god is 'ready' for his friend 'to go through fire and water and whirlwinds.' And in Sophocles' play, when the sons of Niobe are being shot at and dying, one of them calls out for no helper or assister but his lover. And you know of course how it was that Cleomachus the Pharsalian fell in battle?" "We certainly don't," said Pemptides and those near him, "but we should very much like to." "Well," said my father, "the tale's worth hearing. When the war between the Eretrians and Chalcidians was at its height, Cleomachus had come to aid the latter with a Thessalian force; and the Chalcidian infantry seemed strong enough, but they had great difficulty in repelling the enemy's cavalry. So they begged that high-souled hero Cleomachus to charge the Eretrian cavalry first. And he asked his boy-love, who was by, if he would be a spectator of the fight, and he saying he would, and affectionately kissing him and putting his helmet on his head, Cleomachus with a proud joy put himself at the head of the bravest of the Thessalians, and charged the enemy's cavalry with such impetuosity that he threw them into disorder and routed them; and the Eretrian infantry also fleeing in consequence, the Chalcidians won a splendid victory. However, Cleomachus got killed, and they show his tomb in the market-place at Chalcis, over which a huge pillar stands to this day, and whereas before that the people of Chalcis had censured boy-loves, from that time forward they preferred that kind of love to the normal love. Aristotle gives a slightly different account, namely, that this Cleomachus came not from Thessaly, but from Chalcis in Thrace, to the help of the Chalcidians in Euboea; and that that was the origin of the song in vogue among the Chalcidians, 'Ye boys, who come of noble sires and beauteous are in face,Grudge not to give to valiant men the joy of your embrace:For Love that does the limbs relax combined with braveryIn the Chalcidian cities has fame that ne'er shall die.'

But according to the account of the poet Dionysius, in his 'Causes,' the name of the lover was Anton, and that of the boy-love was Philistus. And among you Thebans, Pemptides, is it not usual for the lover to give his boy-love a complete suit of armour when he is enrolled among the men? And did not the erotic Pammenes change the disposition of the heavy-armed infantry, censuring Homer as knowing nothing about love, because he drew up the Achaeans in 52order of battle in tribes and clans, and did not put lover and love together, that so 'Spear should be next to spear, helmet to helmet,'

seeing that Love is the only invincible general. For men in battle will leave in the lurch clansmen and friends, aye, and parents and sons, but what warrior ever broke through or charged through lover and love, seeing that even when there is no necessity lovers frequently display their bravery and contempt of life. As Thero the Thessalian, who put his left hand on a wall, and drew his sword, and chopped off his thumb, and challenged his rival to do the same. And another in battle falling on his face, as his enemy was about to give him the coup-de-grace, begged him to wait a little till he could turn round, that his love should not see him with a wound in his back. And not only are the most warlike nations most amorous, as the Boeotians the Lacedaemonians and the Cretans, but also of the old heroes, who were more amorous than Meleager, Achilles, Aristomenes, Cimon, and Epaminondas. Why, Epaminondas had as his boy-loves Asopichus and Cephisodorus, the latter of whom fell with him at Mantinea, and is buried near him. As to . . . , who was most formidable and a source of terror to the enemy, Eucnamus of Amphissa, who first stood up against him and smote him, received hero honours from the Phocians for his exploit. And as to all the loves of Hercules, it would take up too much time to enumerate them, but those who think that Iolaus was one of them do up to this day worship and honour him, and make their loves swear fidelity at his tomb. Hercules is also said, having understood the art of healing, to have preserved the life of Alcestis, when she was given up by the doctors, to gratify Admetus, who passionately loved his wife, and was Hercules' minion. They say also in legend that Apollo was enamoured of Admetus, 'And was his hired slave for one long year.'

It was a happy thought our remembering Alcestis, for 53though women have not much of Ares in them, yet when possessed by Love they are bold even to the death, beyond

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what one would expect from their nature. For if we may credit legendary lore, the stories about Alcestis, and Protesilaus, and Eurydice the wife of Orpheus, show that the only one of the gods that Hades pays attention to is Love; although to everybody else, as Sophocles says, "he knows of no forbearance or favour, or anything but strict justice; "yet before lovers his genius stands rebuked, and they alone find him neither implacable nor relentless. Wherefore although, my friend, it is an excellent thing to be initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries, yet I see that the votaries and initiated of Love have a better time of it in Hades than they have, though in regard to legendary lore I stand in the position of one who neither altogether believes nor altogether disbelieves. For legendary lore speaks well, and by a certain wonderful good fortune lights upon the truth, in saying that lovers have a return from Hades to the light of day, but it knows not by what way or how, having as it were got benighted on the road which Plato first discovered by philosophy. There are, indeed, some slender and obscure particles of truth scattered about in the mythology of the Egyptians, but they require a clever man to hunt them out, a man capable of getting great results from small data. Wherefore let that matter pass. And now next to the mighty power of Love let us consider its good will and favour to mankind, I do not mean as to whether it bestows many gifts on its votaries—that is palpable to all—but whether they derive any further advantage from it. For Euripides, though very amorous, admired a very small matter, when he wrote the line—'Love teaches letters to a man unlearned.'

For it makes one previously sluggish quick and intelligent, and, as has been said before, it makes the coward brave, as people harden wood in the fire and make it strong from being weak. And every lover becomes liberal and genuine 54and generous, even if he was mean before, his littleness and miserliness melting away like iron in the fire, so that they rejoice to give to their loves more than they do to receive themselves from others. You know of course that Anytus, the son of Anthemion, was in love with Alcibiades, and was on one occasion sumptuously entertaining several of his friends, when Alcibiades broke in and took from the table half the cups and went away again; and when some of the guests were indignant and said, 'The stripling has used you most insolently and contemptuously,' Anytus replied, 'Nay, rather, he has dealt kindly with me, for when he might have taken all he has left me half.'"

18. Zeuxippus was pleased with this story, and said, "O Hercules, you have been within an ace of making me forget my hereditary hatred to Anytus for his behaviour to Socrates and philosophy, since he was so mild and noble to his love." "Be it so," said my father, "Love also makes peevish and gloomy persons kind and agreeable to those they live with; for as 'when the fire blazes the house looks brighter,' so man, it seems, becomes more cheerful through the heat of love. But most people are affected rather curiously; if they see by night a light in a house, they look on it with admiration and wonder; but if they see a little, mean, and ignoble soul suddenly filled with noble-mindedness, freedom, dignity, grace, and liberality, they do not feel constrained to say with Telemachus, 'Surely, some god is there within.' And is it not wonderful, Daphnaeus," continued my father, "in the name of the Graces, that the lover who cares about hardly anything, either his companions and friends, or even the laws and magistrates and kings, who fears nothing, admires nothing, courts nothing, but can even endure to gaze on 'the forked lightning,' yet directly he looks on his love 'he crouches like a cock with drooping feathers,' and his boldness is broken and his pride is cowed. And among the Muses it would not be amiss to mention Sappho; for as the Romans say Cacus the son of Hephaestus vomited out of his mouth fire and flames, so she really speaks words that burn like fire, and in her songs shows the warmth of her heart, as Philoxenus puts it, 'by euphonious songs assuaging the pains of love.' And if you have not in your love for Lysandra forgot all your old love-songs, do repeat to us, Daphnaeus, the lines in which beautiful Sappho says that 'when her love appeared her voice failed and her body burned, and she was seized with paleness and trembling and vertigo.'" And when Daphnaeus had repeated the lines, my father resumed, "In the name of Zeus, is not this plainly a divine seizure? Is not this a wonderful commotion of soul? Why, the Pythian priestess on the tripod is not moved so much as this! Who of those inspired by Cybele are made beside themselves to this extent by the flute and the kettledrum? Moreover, while many see the same body and the same beauty, only the lover is taken by it. Why is this the case? We get no light on it from Menander's words, 'Love is opportunity; and he that is smitten is the only one wounded.' But the god is the cause of it, striking one and letting another go scot-free. But I will not pass over now, 'since it has come into my mouth,' as AEschylus says, what perhaps would have been better spoken before, for it is a very important point. Perhaps, my friend, of all other things which we do not perceive through the senses, some got believed through legend, some through the law, some through reason; whereas we owe our conception of the gods altogether to the poets and legislators and philosophers: all alike teaching the existence of gods, but greatly differing as to their number and order, nature and power. For the gods of the philosophers 'know nothing of disease or old age or pain, and have not to cross the resounding Acheron;' nor do the philosophers accept as gods Strifes, or Prayers, which are found in poetry; nor will they admit Terror and Fear as gods or as the sons of Ares. And on many points also they are at variance with the legislators, as Xenophanes bade the Egyptians, if they regarded Osiris as mortal, not to honour him as a god; but if they thought him a god not to mourn for him. And, again, the poets and legislators will not listen to, nor can they understand, the philosophers who make gods of ideas and numbers and units and spirits. And their views generally are very different. As there were formerly three parties at Athens, the Parali, the Epacrii, and the Pediei, all at variance with one another, yet all agreed to vote for Solon, and chose him with one accord as their mediator and ruler and lawgiver, as he seemed indisputably to hold the first place in merit; so the three parties that entertain different views about the gods are all unanimous on one point, for poets legislators and philosophers all alike register Love as one of the gods, 'loudly singing his praises with one voice,' as Alcaeus says the people of Mitylene chose Pittacus as their monarch. But our king and ruler and governor, Love, is brought down crowned from Helicon to the Academy by Hesiod and Plato and Solon, and in royal apparel rides in a chariot drawn by friendship and intimacy (not such as Euripides speaks of in the line, 'he has been bound in fetters not of brass,' shamefully throwing round him cold and heavy necessity), and soars aloft to the most beautiful and divine things, about which others have spoken better than I can."

19. When my father had spoken thus much, Soclarus began, "Do you see that a second time you have committed the same fault, not cancelling your debts as you ought to do—for I must speak my mind—but evading them on purpose, and not delivering to us your promised ideas on a sacred subject? For as some little time back you only just touched on Plato and the Egyptians as if unwilling to enter on the subject more fully, so now you are doing again. However, as to what has been 'eloquently told' by Plato, or rather by the Muses through Plato's mouth, do not tell us that, my good friend, even if we ask for it; but as to your hint that the Egyptian legend about Love corresponded with Plato's views, you need not discuss it fully and minutely, we shall be satisfied if we hear a little of 57such mighty matters." And as the rest of the company made the same request, my father said, "The Egyptians, (like the Greeks) recognize two Loves, the Pandemian and the Celestial, to which they add the Sun, they also highly venerate Aphrodite. We also see much similarity between Love and the Sun, for neither is a fire, as some think, but a sweet and productive radiance and warmth, the Sun bringing to the body nourishment and light and growth, and Love doing the same to the soul. And as the heat of the Sun is more powerful when it emerges from clouds and after mist, so Love is sweeter and hotter after a jealous tiff with the loved one, and moreover, as some think the Sun is kindled and extinguished, so also do people conceive of Love as mortal and uncertain. Moreover, just as without training the body cannot easily bear the heat of the Sun, so neither can the untrained soul easily bear the yoke of Love, but both are equally out of tune and suffer, for which they blame the deity and not their own weakness. But in this respect they seem to differ, in that the Sun exhibits to the eye things beautiful and ugly alike, whereas Love throws its light only on beautiful things, and persuades lovers to concentrate their attention on these, and to neglect all other things. As to those that call Aphrodite the Moon, they, too, find some points in common between them; for the Moon is divine and heavenly and a sort of halfway-house between mortal and immortal, but inactive in itself and dark without the presence of the Sun, as is the case with Aphrodite in the absence of Love. So we may say that Aphrodite resembles the Moon, and Love the Sun, more than any other deities, yet are not Love and the Sun altogether the same, for just as body and soul are not the same, but something different, so is it with the Sun and Love, the former can be seen, the latter only felt. And if it should not seem too harsh a saying, one might argue that the Sun acts entirely opposite to Love, for it turns the mind away from the world of fancy to the world of reality, beguiling us by its grace and splendid appearance, and persuading us to seek for truth and everything else in and round it and nowhere else. For as Euripides says, 'Too passionately do we love the Sun,Because it always shines upon the earth,From inexperience of another life,' or rather from forgetfulness of those things which Love brings to our remembrance. For as when we are woke by a great and bright light, everything that the soul has seen in dreams is vanished and fled, so the Sun is wont to banish the remembrance of past changes and chances, and to bewitch the intelligence, pleasure and admiration causing this forgetfulness. And though reality is really there, yet the soul cleaves to dreams and is dazzled by what is most beautiful and divine. 'For round the soul are poured sweet yet deceiving dreams,' so that the soul thinks everything here good and valuable, unless it obtain divine and chaste Love as its physician and preserver. For Love brings the soul through the body to truth and the region of truth, where pure and guileless beauty is to be found, kindly befriending its votaries like an initiator at the mysteries. And it associates with the soul only through the body. And as geometricians, in the case of boys who cannot yet be initiated into the perception of incorporeal and impassive substance, convey their ideas through the medium of spheres, cubes, and dodecahedrons, so celestial Love has contrived beautiful mirrors of beautiful things, and exhibits them to us glittering in the shapes colours and appearances of youths in all their flower, and calmly stirs the memory which is inflamed first by these. Consequently some, through the stupidity of their friends and intimates, who have endeavoured by force and against reason to extinguish the flame, have got no advantage from it, but filled themselves with smoke and confusion, or have rushed into secret and lawless pleasures and ingloriously wasted their prime. But as many as by sober reason and modesty have abated the extravagance of the passion, and left in the soul only a bright glow—not exciting a tornado of passion, but a wonderful and productive diffusion, as in a growing plant, opening the pores of complaisance and friendliness—these in no long time cease to regard the personal charms of those they love, and study their inward characters, and gaze at one another with unveiled eyes, and associate with one another in words and actions, if they find in their minds any fragment or image of the beautiful; and if not they bid them farewell and turn to others, like bees that only go to those flowers from which they can get honey. But wherever they find any trace or emanation or pleasing resemblance of the divine, in an ecstasy of pleasure and delight they indulge their memory, and revive to whatever is truly lovely and felicitous and admired by everybody."

20. "The poets indeed seem for the most part to have written and sung about Love in a playful and merry manner, but have sometimes spoken seriously about him, whether out of their own mind, or the god helping them to truth. Among these are the lines about his birth, 'Well-sandalled Iris bare the most powerful of the gods to golden-haired Zephyr.' But perhaps the learned have persuaded you that these lines are only a fanciful illustration of the variety and beauty of love." "Certainly," said Daphnaeus, "what else could they mean?" "Hear me," said my father, "for the heavenly phenomenon compels us so to speak. The rainbow is, I suppose, a reflection caused by the sun's rays falling on a moist cloud, making us think the appearance is in the cloud. Similarly erotic fancy in the case of noble souls causes a reflection of the memory, from things which here appear and are called beautiful, to what is really divine and lovely and felicitous and wonderful. But most lovers pursuing and groping after the semblance of beauty in boys and women, as in mirrors, can derive nothing more certain than pleasure mixed with pain. And this seems the love-delirium of Ixion, who instead of the joy he desired embraced only a cloud, as children who desire to take the rainbow into their hands, clutching at whatever they see. But different is the be60haviour of the noble and chaste lover: for he reflects on the divine beauty that can only be felt, while he uses the beauty of the visible body only as an organ of the memory, though he embraces it and loves it, and associating with it is still more inflamed in mind. And so neither in the body do they sit ever gazing at and desiring this light, nor after death do they return to this world again, and skulk and loiter about the doors and bedchambers of newly-married people, disagreeable ghosts of pleasure-loving and sensual men and women, who do not rightly deserve the name of lovers. For the true lover, when he has got into the other world and associated with beauties as much as is lawful, has wings and is initiated and passes his time above in the presence of his Deity, dancing and waiting upon him, until he goes back to the meadows of the Moon and Aphrodite, and sleeping there commences a new existence. But this is a subject too high for the present occasion. However, it is with Love as with the other gods, to borrow the words of Euripides, 'he rejoices in being honoured by mankind,' and vice versa, for he is most propitious to those that receive him properly, but visits his displeasure on those that affront him. For neither does Zeus as god of Hospitality punish and avenge any outrages on strangers or suppliants, nor as god of the family fulfil the curses of parents, as quickly as Love hearkens to lovers unfairly treated, being the chastiser of boorish and haughty persons. Why need I mention the story of Euxynthetus and Leucomantis, the latter of whom is called The Peeping Girl to this day in Cyprus? But perhaps you have not heard of the punishment of the Cretan Gorgo, a somewhat similar case to that of Leucomantis, except that she was turned into stone as she peeped out of window to see her lover carried out to burial. For this Gorgo had a lover called Asander, a proper young man and of a good family, but reduced in fortune, though he thought himself worthy to mate with anybody. So he wooed Gorgo, being a relation of hers, and though he had many rivals, as she was much run after for her wealth belike, yet he had won the esteem of all the guardians and relations of the young girl. . . . .

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21. . . . . Now the origins and causes of Love are not peculiar to either sex, but common to both. For those attractions that make men amorous may as well proceed from women as from boys. And as to those beautiful and holy reminiscences and invitations to the divine and genuine and Olympian beauty, by which the soul soars aloft, what hinders but that they may come either from boys or lads, maidens or grown women, whenever a chaste and orderly nature and beauteous prime are associated together (just as a neat shoe exhibits the shapeliness of the foot, to borrow the illustration of Aristo), whenever connoisseurs of beauty descry in beautiful forms and pure bodies clear traces of an upright and unenervated soul. For if the man of pleasure, who was asked whether "he was most given to the love of women or boys," and answered, "I care not which so beauty be but there," is considered to have given an appropriate answer as to his erotic desires, shall the noble lover of beauty neglect beauty and nobility of nature, and make love only with an eye to the sexual parts? Why, the lover of horses will take just as much pleasure in the good points of Podargus, as in those of AEthe, Agamemnon's mare, and the sportsman rejoices not only in dogs, but also rears Cretan and Spartan bitches, and shall the lover of the beautiful and of humanity be unfair and deal unequally with either sex, and think that the difference between the loves of boys and women is only their different dress? And yet they say that beauty is a flower of virtue; and it is ridiculous to assert that the female sex never blossoms nor make a goodly show of virtue, for as AEschylus truly says, 'I never can mistake the burning eyeOf the young woman that has once known man.'

Shall the indications then of a forward wanton and corrupt character be found in the faces of women, and shall there be no gleam of chastity and modesty in their appearance? Nay, there are many such, and shall they not move and provoke love? To doubt it would be neither sensible nor in accordance with the facts, for generally speaking, as has been pointed out, all these attractions are the same in both sexes.... But, Daphnaeus, let us combat those views which Zeuxippus lately advanced, making Love to be only irregular desire carrying the soul away to licentiousness, not that this was so much his own view as what he had often heard from morose men who knew nothing of love: some of whom marry unfortunate women for their dowries, and force on them economy and illiberal saving, and quarrel with them every day of their lives: while others, more desirous of children than wives, when they have made those women they come across mothers, bid farewell to marriage, or regard it not at all, and neither care to love nor be loved. Now the fact that the word for conjugal love differs only by one letter from the word for endurance, the one being ΣΤΕΡΓΕΙΝ the other ΣΤΕΓΕΙΝ, seems to emphasise the conjugal kindness mixed by time and intimacy with necessity. But that marriage which Love has inspired will in the first place, as in Plato's Republic, know nothing of Meum and Tuum, for the proverb, 'whatever belongs to a friend is common property,' is especially true of married persons who, though disunited in body, are perforce one in soul, neither wishing to be two, nor thinking themselves so. In the second place there will be mutual respect, which is a vital necessity in marriage. For as to that external respect which has in it more of compulsion than choice, being forced by the law and shame and fear, "Those needful bits and curbs to headstrong weeds," that will always exist in wedlock. But in Love there is such self-control and decorum and constancy, that if the god but once enter the soul of a licentious man, he makes him give up all his amours, abates his pride, and breaks down his haughtiness and dissoluteness, putting in their place modesty and silence and tranquillity and decorum, and makes him constant to one. You have heard of course of the famous courtesan Lais, how she set all Greece on fire with her charms, or rather was contended for by two seas, and how, when she fell in love with Hippolochus the Thessalian, 'she left Acro-Corinthus washed by the green sea,' and deserted all her other lovers, that great army, and went off to Thessaly and lived faithful to Hippolochus. But the women there, envious and jealous of her for her surpassing beauty, dragged her into the temple of Aphrodite, and there stoned her to death, for which reason probably it is called to this day the temple of Aphrodite the Murderess. We have also heard of servant girls who have refused the embraces of their masters, and of private individuals who have scorned an amour with queens, when Love has had dominion in their hearts. For as in Rome, when a dictator is proclaimed, all other magistrates lay down their offices, so those over whom Love is lord are free henceforward from all other lords and masters, and pass the rest of their lives dedicate to the god and slaves in his temple. For a noble woman united by Love to her lawful husband would prefer the embraces of bears and dragons to those of any other man."

22. "Although there are plenty of examples of this virtue of constancy, yet to you, that are the festive votaries of the god, it will not be amiss to relate the story of the Galatian Camma. She was a woman of most remarkable beauty, and the wife of the tetrarch Sinatus, whom Sinorix, one of the most influential men in Galatia, and desperately in love with Camma, murdered, as he could neither get her by force or persuasion in the lifetime of her husband. And Camma found a refuge and comfort in her grief in discharging the functions of hereditary priestess to Artemis, and most of her time she spent in her temple, and, though many kings and potentates wooed her, she refused them all. But when Sinorix boldly proposed marriage to her, she declined not his offer, nor blamed him for what he had done, as though she thought he had only murdered Sinatus out of excessive love for her, and not in sheer villany. He came, therefore, with confidence, and asked her hand, and she met him and greeted him and led him to the altar of the goddess, and pledged him in a cup of poisoned mead, drinking half of it herself and giving him the rest. And when she saw that he had drunk it up, she shouted aloud for joy, and calling upon the name of her dead husband, said, 'Till this day, dearest husband, I have lived, deprived of you, a life of sorrow: but now take me to yourself with joy, for I have avenged you on the worst of men, as glad to share death with him as life with you.' Then Sinorix was removed out of the temple on a litter, and soon after gave up the ghost, and Camma lived the rest of that day and following night, and is said to have died with a good courage and even with gaiety."

23. "As many similar examples might be adduced, both among ourselves and foreigners, who can feel any patience with those that reproach Aphrodite with hindering friendship when she associates herself with Love as a partner? Whereas any reflecting person would call the love of boys wanton and gross lasciviousness, and say with the poet: 'This is an outrage, not an act of love.' All willing pathics, therefore, we consider the vilest of mankind, and credit them with neither fidelity, nor modesty, nor friendship, for as Sophocles says: 'Those who shall lose such friends may well be glad,And those who have such pray that they may lose them,' But as for those who, not being by nature vicious, have been seduced or forced, they are apt all their life to despise and hate their seducers, and when an opportunity has presented itself to take fierce vengeance. As Crateus, who murdered Archelaus, and Pytholaus, who murdered Alexander of Pherae. And Periander, the tyrant of the Ambraciotes, having asked a most insulting question of his minion, was murdered by him, so exasperated was he. But with women and wives all this is the beginning of friendship, and as it were an initiation into the sacred mysteries. And pleasure plays a very small part in this, but the esteem and favour and mutual love and constancy that result from it, proves that the Delphians did not talk nonsense in giving the name of Arma to Aphrodite, nor Homer in giving the name of friendship to sexual love, and testifies to the fact that Solon was a most experienced legislator in conjugal matters, seeing that he ordered husbands not less than thrice a month to associate with their wives, not for pleasure, but as states at certain intervals renew their treaties with one another, so he wished that by such friendliness marriage should, as it were, be renewed after any intervening tiffs and differences. But you will tell me there is much folly and even madness in the love of women. Is there not more extravagance in the love of boys?

'Seeing my many rivals I grow faint. The lad is beardless, smooth and soft and handsome, O that I might in his embraces die,And have the fact recorded on my tomb.' Such extravagant language as this is madness not love. And it is absurd to detract from woman's various excellence. Look at their self-restraint and intelligence, their fidelity and uprightness, and that bravery courage and magnanimity so conspicuous in many! And to say that they have a natural aptitude for all other virtues, but are deficient as regards friendship alone, is monstrous. For they are fond of their children and husbands, and generally speaking the natural affection in them is not only, like a fruitful soil, capable of friendship, but is also accompanied by persuasion and other graces. And as poetry gives to words a kind of relish by melody and metre and rhythm, making instruction thereby more interesting, but what is injurious more insidious, so nature, investing woman with beautiful appearance and attractive voice and bewitching figure, does much for a licentious woman in making her wiles more formidable, but makes a modest one more apt thereby to win the goodwill and friendship of her husband. And as Plato advised Xenocrates, a great and noble man in all other respects, but too austere in his temperament, to sacrifice to the Graces, so one might recommend a good and modest woman to sacrifice to Love, that her husband might be a mild and agreeable partner, and not run after any other woman, so as to be compelled to say like the fellow in the comedy, 'What a wretch I am to ill-treat such a woman!' For to love in marriage is far better than to be loved, for it prevents many, nay all, of those offences which spoil and mar marriage.

24. As to the passionate affection in the early days of marriage, my dear Zeuxippus, do not fear that it will leave any sore or irritation, though it is not wonderful that there should be some friction at the commencement of union with a virtuous woman, just as at the grafting of trees, as there is also pain at the beginning of conception, for there can be no complete union without some suffering. Learning puts boys out somewhat when they first go to school, as philosophy does young men at a later day, but the ill effects are not lasting, either in their cases or in the case of lovers. As in the fusion of two liquors, love does indeed at first cause a simmering and commotion, but eventually cools down and settles and becomes tranquil. For the union of lovers is indeed a complete union, whereas the union of those that live together without love resembles only the friction and concussion of Epicurus' atoms in collision and recoil, forming no such union as Love makes, when he presides over the conjugal state. For nothing else produces so much pleasure, or such lasting advantages, or such beautiful remarkable and desirable friendship, 'As when husband and wife live in one house, Two souls beating as one.'

And the law gives its countenance, and nature shows that even the gods themselves require love for the production of everything. Thus the poets tell us that 'the earth loves a shower, and heaven loves the earth,' and the natural philosophers tell us that the sun is in love with the moon, and that they are husband and wife, and that the earth is the mother of man and beast and the producer of all plants. Would not the world itself then of necessity come to an end, if the great god Love and the desires implanted by the god should leave matter, and matter should cease to yearn for and pursue its lead? But not to seem to wander too far away and altogether to trifle, you know that many censure boy-loves for their instability, and jeeringly say that that intimacy like an egg is destroyed by a hair, for that boy-lovers like Nomads, spending the summer in a blooming and flowery country, at once decamp then as from an enemy's territory. And still more vulgarly Bion the Sophist called the sprouting beards of beautiful boys Harmodiuses and Aristogitons, inasmuch as lovers were delivered by them from a pleasant tyranny. But this charge cannot justly be brought against genuine lovers, and it was prettily said by Euripides, as he embraced and kissed handsome Agatho whose beard was just sprouting, that the Autumn of beautiful youths was lovely as well as the Spring. And I maintain that the love of beautiful and chaste wives flourishes not only in old age amid grey hairs and wrinkles, but even in the grave and monument. And while there are few such long unions in the case of boy-loves, one might enumerate ten thousand such instances of the love of women, who have kept their fidelity to the end of their lives. One such case I will relate, which happened in my time in the reign of the Emperor Vespasian.

25. Julius, who stirred up a revolt in Galatia, among several other confederates had one Sabinus, a young man of good family, and for wealth and renown the most conspicuous of all the men in those parts. But having attempted what was too much for them they were foiled, and expecting to pay the penalty, some committed suicide, others fled and were captured. Now Sabinus himself could easily have got out of the way and made his escape to the barbarians, but he had married a most excellent wife, whose name in that part of the world was Empone, but in Greek would be Herois, and he could neither leave her behind nor take her with him. As he had in the country some underground caves, known only to two of his freedmen, where he used to stow away things, he dismissed all the rest of his slaves, as if he intended to poison himself, and taking with him these two trusty freedmen he descended with them into those underground caves, and sent one of them, Martialis, to tell his wife that he had poisoned himself, and that his body was burnt in the flames of his country-house, for he wanted his wife's genuine sorrow to lend credit to the report of his death. And so it happened. For she, throwing herself on to the ground, groaned and wailed for three days and nights, and took no food. And Sabinus, being informed of this, and fearing that she would die of grief, told Martialis to inform her secretly that he was alive and well and in hiding, and to beg her not to relax her show of grief, but to keep up the farce. And she did so with the genius of a professional actress, but yearning to see her husband she visited him by night, and returned without being noticed, and for six or seven months she lived with him this underground life. And she disguised him by changing his dress, and cutting off his beard, and re-arranging his hair, so that he should not be known, and took him to Rome, having some hopes of obtaining his pardon. But being unsuccessful in this she returned to her own country, and spent most of her time with her husband underground, but from time to time visited the town, and showed herself to some ladies who were her friends and relations. But what is most astonishing of all is that, though she bathed with them, she concealed her pregnancy from them. For the dye which women use to make their hair a golden auburn, has a tendency to produce corpulence and flesh and a full habit, and she rubbed this abundantly over all parts of her body, and so concealed her pregnancy. And she bare the pangs of travail by herself, as a lioness bears her whelps, having hid herself in the cave with her husband, and there she gave birth to two boys, one of whom died in Egypt, the other, whose name was Sabinus, was among us only the other day at Delphi. Vespasian eventually put her to death, but paid the penalty for it, his whole progeny in a short time being wiped off the face of the earth. For during the whole of his reign he did no more savage act, nor could gods or demons have turned away their eyes from a crueller sight. And yet her courage and bold language abated the pity of the spectators, though it exasperated Vespasian, for, despairing of her safety,

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she bade them go and tell the Emperor, 'that it was sweeter to live in darkness and underground than to wear his crown.'" [Vespasian certainly was not cruel generally.]

26. Here my father said that the conversation about Love which took place at Thespiae ended. And at this moment Diogenes, one of Pisias' companions, was noticed coming up at a faster pace than walking. And while he was yet a little way off, Soclarus hailed him with, "You don't announce war, Diogenes," and he replied, "Hush! it is a marriage; come with me quickly, for the sacrifice only waits for you." All were delighted, and Zeuxippus asked if Pisias was still against the marriage. "As he was first to oppose it," said Diogenes, "so he was first to yield the victory to Ismenodora, and he has now put on a crown and robed himself in white, so as to take his place at the head of the procession to the god through the market-place." "Come," said my father, "in Heaven's name, let us go and laugh at him, and worship the god; for it is clear that the god has taken delight in what has happened, and been propitious."

PLUTARCH'S MORALS CHAPTER 4

CONJUGAL PRECEPTS.

PLUTARCH SENDS GREETING TO POLLIANUS AND EURYDICE.

After the customary marriage rites, by which, the Priestess of Demeter has united you together, I think that to make an appropriate discourse, and one that will chime in with the occasion, will be useful to you and agreeable to the law. For in music one of the tunes played on the flute is called Hippothorus, which is a tune that excites fierce desire in stallions to cover mares; and though in philosophy there are many goodly subjects, yet is there none more worthy of attention than that of marriage, on which subject philosophy spreads a charm over those who are to pass life together, and makes them gentle and mild to one another. I send therefore as a gift to both of you a summary of what you have often heard, as you are both well versed in philosophy, arranging my matter in a series of short observations that it may be the more easily remembered, and I pray that the Muses will assist and co-operate with Aphrodite, so that no lyre or lute could be more harmonious or in tune than your married life, as the result of philosophy and concord. And thus the ancients set up near Aphrodite statues of Hermes, to show that conversation was one of the great charms of marriage, and also statues of Peitho and the Graces, to teach married people to gain their way with one another by persuasion, and not by wrangling or contention.

1. Solon bade the bride eat a quince the first night of marriage, intimating thereby, it seems, that the bridegroom, was to expect his first pleasure from the bride's mouth and conversation.

2. In Boeotia they dress up the bride with a chaplet 71of asparagus, for as the asparagus gives most excellent fruit from a thorny stalk, so the bride, by not being too reluctant and coy in the first approaches, will make the married state more agreeable and pleasant. But those husbands who cannot put up with the early peevishness of their brides, are not a whit wiser than those persons who pluck unripe grapes and leave the ripe grapes for others. On the other hand, many brides, being at first disgusted with their husbands, are like those that stand the bee's sting but neglect the honey.

3. Married people should especially at the outset beware of the first quarrel and collision, observing that vessels when first fabricated are easily broken up into their component parts, but in process of time, getting compact and firmly welded together, are proof against either fire or steel.

4. As fire gets kindled easily in chaff or in a wick or in the fur of hares, but is easily extinguished again, if it find no material to keep it in and feed it, so we must not consider that the love of newly-married people, that blazes out so fiercely in consequence of the attractions of youth and beauty, will be durable and lasting, unless it be fixed in the character, and occupy the mind, and make a living impression.

5. As catching fish by drugged bait is easy, but makes the fish poor to eat and insipid, so those wives that lay traps for their husbands by philtres and charms, and become their masters by pleasure, have stupid senseless and spoiled husbands to live with. For those that were bewitched by Circe did her no good, nor could she make any use of them when they were turned into swine and asses, but she was greatly in love with the prudent Odysseus who dwelt with her sensibly.

6. Those women who would rather lord it over fools than obey sensible men, resemble those people who would rather lead the blind on a road, and not people who have eyesight and know how to follow.

7. Women disbelieve that Pasiphäe, a king's wife, 72was enamoured of a bull, although they see some of their sex despising grave and sober men, and preferring to associate with men who are the slaves of intemperance and pleasure, and like dogs and he-goats.

8. Men who through weakness or effeminacy cannot vault upon their horses' backs, teach them to kneel and so receive their riders. Similarly, some men that marry noble or rich wives, instead of making themselves better humble their wives, thinking to rule them easier by lowering them. But one ought to govern with an eye to the merit of a woman, as much as to the size of a horse.

9. We see that the moon when it is far from the sun is bright and glorious, but pales and hides its light when it is near. A modest wife on the contrary ought to be seen chiefly with her husband, and to stay at home and in retirement in his absence.

10. It is not a true observation of Herodotus, that a woman puts off her modesty with her shift. On the contrary, the modest woman puts on her modesty instead, and great modesty is a sign of great conjugal love.

11. As where two voices are in unison the loudest prevails; so in a well-managed household everything is done by mutual consent, but the husband's supremacy is exhibited, and his wishes are consulted.

12. The Sun beat the North Wind. For when it blew a strong and terrible blast, and tried to make the man remove his cloak, he only drew it round him more closely, but when the Sun came out with its warm rays, at first warmed and afterwards scorched, he stripped himself of coat as well as cloak. Most woman act similarly: if their husbands try to curtail by force their luxury and extravagance, they are vexed and fight for their rights, but if they are convinced by reason, they quietly drop their expensive habits, and keep within bounds.

13. Cato turned out of the Senate a man who kissed his own wife in the presence of his daughter. This was perhaps too strong a step, but if it is unseemly, as indeed it is, for husband and wife in the presence of others to fondle 73and kiss and embrace one another, is it not far more unseemly in the presence of others to quarrel and jangle? Just as conjugal caresses and endearments ought to be private, so ought admonition and scolding and plain speaking.

14. Just as there is little use in a mirror adorned with gold or precious stones, unless it conveys a true likeness, so there is no advantage in a rich wife, unless she conforms her life and habits to her husband's position. For if when a man is joyful the mirror makes him look sad, and when he is put out and sad it makes him look gay and smiling from ear to ear, the mirror is plainly faulty. So the wife is faulty and devoid of tact, who frowns when her husband is in the vein for mirth and jollity, and who jokes and laughs when he is serious: the former conduct is disagreeable, the latter contemptuous. And, just as geometricians say lines and surfaces do not move of themselves, but only in connection with bodies, so the wife ought to have no private emotions of her own, but share in her husband's gravity or mirth, anxiety or gaiety.

15. As those husbands who do not like to see their wives eating and drinking in their company only teach them to take their food on the sly, so those husbands who are not gay and jolly with their wives, and never joke or smile with them, only teach them to seek their pleasures out of their company.

16. The kings of Persia have their wedded wives at their side at banquets and entertainments; but when they have a mind for a drunken debauch they send them away, and call for singing-girls and concubines, rightly so doing, for so they do not mix up their wives with licentiousness and drunkenness. Similarly, if a private individual, lustful and dissolute, goes astray with a courtesan or maid-servant, the wife should not be vexed or impatient, but consider that it is out of respect to her that he bestows upon another all his wanton depravity.

17. As kings make if fond of music many musicians, if lovers of learning many men of letters, and many athletes if fond of gymnastics, so the man who has an eye for female charms teaches his wife to dress well, the man of pleasure teaches his meretricious tricks and wantonness, while the true gentleman makes his virtuous and decorous.

18. A Lacedaemonian maiden, when someone asked her if she had yet had dealings with a man, replied, "No, but he has with me." This methinks is the line of conduct a matron should pursue, neither to decline the embraces of a husband when he takes the initiative, nor to provoke them herself, for the one is forward and savours of the courtesan, the other is haughty and unnatural.

19. The wife ought not to have her own private friends, but cultivate only those of the husband. Now the gods are our first and greatest friends, so the wife ought only to worship and recognize her husband's gods, and the door ought to be shut on all superfluous worship and strange superstitions, for none of the gods are pleased with stealthy and secret sacrifices on the part of a wife.

20. Plato says that is a happy and fortunate state, where the words Meum and Tuum are least heard, because the citizens regard the common interest in all matters of importance. Far more essential is it in marriage that the words should have no place. For, as the doctors say, that blows on the left shoulders are also felt on the right, so is it good for husband and wife to mutually sympathize with one another, that, just as the strength of ropes comes from the twining and interlacing of fibres together, so the marriage knot may be confirmed and strengthened by the interchange of mutual affection and kindness. Nature itself teaches this by the birth of children, which are so much a joint result, that neither husband nor wife can discriminate or discern which part of the child is theirs. So, too, it is well for married persons to have one purse, and to throw all their property into one common stock, that here also there may be no Meum and Tuum. And just as we call the mixture of water and wine by the name of wine, even though the water should preponderate, so we say that the house and property belongs to the man, even though the wife contribute most of the money.

21. Helen was fond of wealth, Paris of pleasure, whereas Odysseus was prudent, Penelope chaste. So the marriage of the last two was happy and enviable, while that of the former two brought an Iliad of woe on Greeks and barbarians alike.

22. The Roman who was taken to task by his friends for repudiating a chaste wealthy and handsome wife, showed them his shoe and said, "Although this is new and handsome, none of you know where it pinches me." A wife ought not therefore to put her trust in her dowry, or family, or beauty, but in matters that more vitally concern her husband, namely, in her disposition and companionableness and complaisance with him, not to make every-day life vexatious or annoying, but harmonious and cheerful and agreeable. For as doctors are more afraid of fevers that are generated from uncertain causes, and from a complication of ailments, than of those that have a clear and adequate cause, so the small and continual and daily matters of offence between husband and wife, that the world knows nothing about, set the household most at variance, and do it the greatest injury.

23. King Philip was desperately enamoured of a Thessalian woman, who was accused of bewitching him; his wife Olympias therefore wished to get this woman into her power. But when she came before her, and was evidently very handsome, and talked to her in a noble and sensible manner, Olympias said, "Farewell to calumny! Your charms lie in yourself." So invincible are the charms of a lawful wife to win her husband's affection by her virtuous character, bringing to him in herself dowry, and family, and philtres, and even Aphrodite's cestus.

24. Olympias, on another occasion, when a young courtier had married a wife who was very handsome, but whose reputation was not very good, remarked, "This fellow has no sense, or he would not have married with his eyes." We ought neither to marry with our eyes, nor with our fingers, as some do, who reckon up on their fingers what dowry the wife will bring, not what sort of partner she will make.

25. It was advice of Socrates, that when young men looked at themselves in the mirror, those who were not handsome should become so through virtue, and those who were so should not by vice deform their beauty. Good also is it for the matron, when she has the mirror in her hands, if not handsome to say to herself, "What should I be, if I were not virtuous?" and if handsome to say to herself, "How good it were to add virtue to beauty!" for it is a feather in the cap of a woman not handsome to be loved for herself and not for good looks.

26. Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, sent some costly dresses and necklaces to the daughters of Lysander, but he would not receive them, and said, "These presents will bring my daughters more shame than adornment." And Sophocles said still earlier than Lysander, "Your madness of mind will not appear handsome, wretch, but most unhandsome." For, as Crates says, "that is adornment which adorns," and that adorns a woman that makes her more comely; and it is not gold or diamonds or scarlet robes that make her so, but her dignity, her correct conduct, and her modesty.

27. Those who sacrifice to Hera as goddess of marriage, do not burn the gall with the other parts of the victim, but when they have drawn it throw it away beside the altar: the lawgiver thus hinting that gall and rage have no place in marriage. For the austerity of a matron should be, like that of wine, wholesome and pleasant, not bitter as aloes, or like a drug.

28. Plato advised Xenocrates, a man rather austere but in all other respects a fine fellow, to sacrifice to the Graces. I think also that a chaste wife needs the graces with her husband that, as Metrodorus said, "she may live agreeably with him, and not be bad-tempered because she is chaste." For neither should the frugal wife neglect neatness, nor the virtuous one neglect to make herself attractive, for peevishness makes a wife's good conduct disagreeable, as untidiness makes one disgusted with simplicity.

29. The wife who is afraid to laugh and jest with her husband, lest she should appear bold and wanton, resembles one that will not anoint herself with oil lest she should be thought to use cosmetics, and will not wash her face lest she should be thought to paint. We see also in the case of those poets and orators, that avoid a popular illiberal and affected style, that they artificially endeavour to move and sway their audience by the facts, and by a skilful arrangement of them, and by their gestures. Consequently a matron will do well to avoid and repudiate over-preciseness meretriciousness and pomposity, and to use tact in her dealings with her husband in every-day life, accustoming him to a combination of pleasure and decorum. But if a wife be by nature austere and apathetic, and no lover of pleasure, the husband must make the best of it, for, as Phocion said, when Antipater enjoined on him an

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action neither honourable nor becoming, "You cannot have me as a friend and flatterer both," so he must say to himself about his strict and austere wife, "I cannot have in the same woman wife and mistress."

30. It was a custom among the Egyptian ladies not to wear shoes, that they might stay at home all day and not go abroad. But most of our women will only stay at home if you strip them of their golden shoes, and bracelets, and shoe-buckles, and purple robes, and pearls.

31. Theano, as she was putting on her shawl, displayed her arm, and somebody observing, "What a handsome arm!" she replied, "But not common." So ought not even the speech, any more than the arm, of a chaste woman, to be common, for speech must be considered as it were the exposing of the mind, especially in the presence of strangers. For in words are seen the state of mind and character and disposition of the speaker.

32. Phidias made a statue of Aphrodite at Elis, with one foot on a tortoise, as a symbol that women should stay at home and be silent. For the wife ought only to speak either to her husband, or by her husband, not being vexed if, like a flute-player, she speaks more decorously by another mouth-piece.

33. When rich men and kings honour philosophers, they really pay homage to themselves as well; but when philosophers pay court to the rich, they lower themselves without advancing their patrons. The same is the case with women. If they submit themselves to their husbands they receive praise, but if they desire to rule, they get less credit even than the husbands who submit to their rule. But the husband ought to rule his wife, not as a master does a chattel, but as the soul governs the body, by sympathy and goodwill. As he ought to govern the body by not being a slave to its pleasures and desires, so he ought to rule his wife by cheerfulness and complaisance.

34. The philosophers tell us that some bodies are composed of distinct parts, as a fleet or army; others of connected parts, as a house or ship; others united and growing together, as every animal is. The marriage of lovers is like this last class, that of those who marry for dowry or children is like the second class, and that of those who only sleep together is like the first class, who may be said to live in the same house, but in no other sense to live together. But, just as doctors tell us that liquids are the only things that thoroughly mix, so in married people there must be a complete union of bodies, wealth, friends, and relations. And thus the Roman legislator forbade married people to exchange presents with one another, not that they should not go shares with one another, but that they should consider everything as common property.

35. At Leptis, a town in Libya, it is the custom for the bride the day after marriage to send to her mother-in-law's house for a pipkin, who does not lend her one, but says she has not got one, that from the first the daughter-in-law may know her mother-in-law's stepmotherly mind, that if afterwards she should be harsher still, she should be prepared for it and not take it ill. Knowing this the wife ought to guard against any cause of offence, for the bridegroom's mother is jealous of his affection to his wife. But there is one cure for this condition of mind, to conciliate privately the husband's affection, and not to divert or diminish his love for his mother.

36. Mothers seem to love their sons best as able to help them, and fathers their daughters as needing their help; perhaps also it is in compliment to one another, that each prefers the other sex in their children, and openly favours it. This, however, is a matter perhaps of little importance. But it looks very nice in the wife to show greater respect to her husband's parents than to her own, and if anything unpleasant has happened to confide it to them rather than to her own people. For trust begets trust, and love love.

37. The generals of the Greeks in Cyrus's army ordered their men to receive the enemy silently if they came up shouting, but if they came up silently to rush out to meet them with a shout. So sensible wives, in their husband's tantrums, are quiet when they storm, but if they are silent and sullen talk them round and appease them.

38. Rightly does Euripides censure those who introduce the lyre at wine-parties, for music ought to be 80called in to assuage anger and grief, rather than to enervate the voluptuous still more than before. Think, therefore, those in error who sleep together for pleasure, but when they have any little difference with one another sleep apart, and do not then more than at any other time invoke Aphrodite, who is the best physician in such cases, as the poet, I ween, teaches us, where he introduces Hera, saying: "Their long-continued strife I now will end,For to the bed of love I will them send."

39. Everywhere and at all times should husband and wife avoid giving one another cause of offence, but most especially when they are in bed together. The woman who was in labour and had a bad time said to those that urged her to go to bed, "How shall the bed cure me, which was the very cause of this trouble?" And those differences and quarrels which the bed generates will not easily be put an end to at any other time or place.

40. Hermione seems to speak the truth where she says: "The visits of bad women ruined me." But this case does not happen naturally, but only when dissension and jealousy has made wives open not only their doors but their ears to such women. But that is the very time when a sensible wife will shut her ears more than at any other time, and be especially on her guard against whisperers, that fire may not be added to fire, and remember the remark of Philip, who, when his friends tried to excite him against the Greeks, on the ground that they were treated well and yet reviled him, answered, "What will they do then, if I treat them ill?" Whenever, then, calumniating women come and say to a wife, "How badly your husband treats you, though a chaste and loving wife!" let her answer, "How would he act then, if I were to begin to hate him and injure him?"

41. The master who saw his runaway slave a long 81time after he had run away, and chased him, and came up with him just as he had got to the mill, said to him, "In what more appropriate place could I have wished to find you?" So let the wife, who is jealous of her husband, and on the point of writing a bill of divorce in her anger, say to herself, "In what state would my rival be better pleased to see me in than this, vexed and at variance with my husband, and on the point of abandoning his house and bed?"

42. The Athenians have three sacred seedtimes: the first at Scirus, as a remembrance of the original sowing of corn, the second at Rharia, the third under Pelis, which is called Buzygium. But a more sacred seedtime than all these is the procreation of children, and therefore Sophocles did well to call Aphrodite "fruitful Cytherea." Wherefore it behoves both husband and wife to be most careful over this business, and to abstain from lawless and unholy breaches of the marriage vow, and from sowing in quarters where they desire no produce, or where, if any produce should come, they would be ashamed of it and desire to conceal it.

43. When Gorgias the Rhetorician recited his speech at Olympia recommending harmony to the Greeks, Melanthius cried out, "He recommend harmony to us! Why, he can't persuade his wife and maid to live in harmony, though there are only three of them in the house!" Gorgias belike had an intrigue with the maid, and his wife was jealous. He then must have his own house in good order who undertakes to order the affairs of his friends and the public, for any ill-doings on the part of husbands to their wives is far more likely to come out and be known to the public than the ill-doings of wives to their husbands.

44. They say the cat is driven mad by the smell of perfumes. If it happens that wives are equally affected by perfumes, it is monstrous that their husbands should not abstain from using perfumes, rather than for so small a pleasure to incommode so grievously their wives. And since they suffer quite as much when their husbands go with other women, it is unjust for a small pleasure to pain and grieve wives, and not to abstain from connection with other women, when even bee-keepers will do as much, because bees are supposed to dislike and sting those that have had dealings with women.

45. Those that approach elephants do not dress in white, nor those that approach bulls in red, for these colours render those animals savage; and tigers they say at the beating of drums go quite wild, and tear themselves in their rage. Similarly, as some men cannot bear to see scarlet and purple dresses, and others are put out by cymbals and drums, what harm would it do wives to abstain from these things, and not to vex or provoke husbands, but to live with them quietly and meekly?

46. A woman said to Philip, who against her will was pulling her about, "Let me go, all women are alike when the lamp is put out." A good remark to adulterers and debauchees. But the married woman ought to show when the light is put out that she is not like all other women, for then, when her body is not visible, she ought to exhibit her chastity and modesty as well as her personal affection to her husband.

47. Plato recommended old men to act with decorum especially before young men, that they too might show respect to them; for where the old behave shamelessly, no modesty or reverence will be exhibited by the young. The husband ought to remember this, and show no one more respect than his wife, knowing that the bridal chamber will be to her either a school of virtue or of vice. And he who enjoys pleasures that he forbids his wife, is like a man that orders his wife to go on fighting against an enemy to whom he has himself surrendered.

48. As to love of show, Eurydice, read and try to remember what was written by Timoxena to Aristylla: and do you, Pollianus, not suppose that your wife will abstain from extravagance and expense, if she sees that you do not despise such vanities in others, but delight in gilt cups, and pictures in houses, and trappings for mules, and ornaments for horses. For it is not possible to banish extravagance from the women's side of the house if it is always to be seen in the men's apartments. Moreover, Pollianus, as you are already old enough for the study of philosophy, adorn your character by its teaching, whether it consists of demonstration or constructive reasoning, by associating and conversing with those that can profit you. And for your wife gather honey from every quarter, as the bees do, and whatever knowledge you have yourself acquired impart to her, and converse with her, making the best arguments well known and familiar to her. For now "Father thou art to her, and mother dear,And brother too."

And no less decorous is it to hear the wife say, "Husband, you are my teacher and philosopher and guide in the most beautiful and divine subjects." For such teaching in the first place detaches women from absurdities: for the woman who has learnt geometry will be ashamed to dance, nor will she believe in incantations and spells, if she has been charmed by the discourses of Plato and Xenophon; and if anyone should undertake to draw the moon down from the sky, she will laugh at the ignorance and stupidity of women that credit such nonsense, well understanding geometry, and having heard how Aglaonice, the daughter of the Thessalian Hegetor, having a thorough knowledge of the eclipses of the moon, and being aware beforehand of the exact time when the moon would be in eclipse, cheated the women, and persuaded them that she herself had drawn it down from the sky. For no woman was ever yet credited with having had a child without intercourse with a man, for those shapeless embryos and gobbets of flesh that take form from corruption are called moles. We must guard against such false conceptions as these arising in the minds of women, for if they are not well informed by good precepts, and share in the teaching that men get, they generate among themselves many foolish and absurd ideas and states of mind. But do you, Eurydice, study to make yourself acquainted with the sayings of wise and good women, and ever have on your tongue those sentiments which as a girl you learnt with us, that so you may make your husband's heart glad, and be admired by all other women, being in yourself so wonderfully and splendidly adorned. For one cannot take or put on, except at great expense, the jewels of this or that rich woman, or the silk dresses of this or that foreign woman, but the virtues that adorned Theano, and Cleobuline, and Gorgo the wife of Leonidas, and Timoclea the sister of Theagenes, and the ancient Claudia, and Cornelia the sister of Scipio, and all other such noble and famous women, these one may array oneself in without money and without price, and so adorned lead a happy and famous life. For if Sappho plumed herself so much on the beauty of her lyrical poetry as to write to a certain rich woman, "You shall lie down in your tomb, nor shall there be any remembrance of you, for you have no part in the roses of Pieria," how shall you not have a greater right to plume yourself on having a part not in the roses but in the fruits which the Muses bring, and which they freely bestow on those that admire learning and philosophy?

PLUTARCH'S MORALS CHAPTER 5

CONSOLATORY LETTER TO HIS WIFE.

1. Plutarch to his wife sends greeting. The messenger that you sent to me to announce the death of our little girl seems to have missed his way en route for Athens; but when I got to Tanagra I heard the news from my niece. I suppose the funeral has already taken place, and I hope everything went off so as to give you least sorrow both now and hereafter. But if you left undone anything you wished to do, waiting for my opinion, and thinking your grief would then be lighter, be it without ceremoniousness or superstition, both which things are indeed foreign to your character.

2. Only, my dear wife, let us both be patient at this calamity. I know and can see very clearly how great it is, but should I find your grief too excessive, it would trouble me even more than the event itself. And yet I have not a heart hard as heart of oak or flintstone, as you yourself know very well, who have shared with me in the bringing up of so many children, as they have all been educated at home by ourselves. And this one I know was more especially beloved by you, as she was the first daughter after four sons, when you longed for a daughter, and so I gave her your name. And as you are very fond of children your grief must have a peculiar bitterness when you call to mind her pure and simple gaiety, which was without a tincture of passion or querulousness. For she had from nature a wonderful contentedness of mind and meekness, and her affectionateness and winning ways not only pleased one but also afforded a means of observing her kindliness of heart, for she used to bid her nurse give the teat not only to other children but even to her favourite playthings, and so invited them as it were to her table in kindliness of heart, and gave them a share of her good things, and provided the best entertainment for those that pleased her.

3. But I see no reason, my dear wife, why these and similar traits in her character, that gave us delight in her lifetime, should now, when recalled to the memory, grieve and trouble us. Though, on the other hand, I fear that if we cease to grieve we may also cease to remember her, like Clymene, who says in the Play—"I hate the supple bow of cornel-wood,And would put down athletics," because she ever avoided and trembled at anything that reminded her of her son, for it brought grief with it, and it is natural to avoid everything that gives us pain. But as she gave us the greatest pleasure in embracing her and even in seeing and hearing her, so ought her memory living and dwelling with us to give us more, aye, many times more,

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joy than grief, since those arguments that we have often used to others ought to be profitable to us in the present conjuncture, nor should we sit down and rail against fortune, opposing to those joys many more griefs.

4. Those who were present at the funeral tell me with evident surprise that you put on no mourning, and that you bedizened up neither yourself nor your maids with the trappings of woe, and that there was no ostentatious expenditure of money at the funeral, but that everything was done orderly and silently in the presence of our relations. I am not myself surprised that you, who never made a display either at the theatre or on any other public occasion, and thought extravagance useless even in the case of pleasure, should have been frugal in your grief. For not only ought the chaste woman to remain uncorrupt in Bacchanalian revels, but she ought to consider her self-control not a whit less necessary in the surges of sorrow and emotion of grief, contending not (as most people think) against natural affection, but against the extravagant wishes of the soul. For we are indulgent to natural affection in the regret, and honour, and memory that it pays to the dead: but the insatiable desire for a passionate display of funeral grief, coming to the climax in coronachs and beatings of the breast, is not less unseemly than intemperance in pleasure and is unreasonably forgiven only because pain and grief instead of delight are elements in the unseemly exhibition. For what is more unreasonable than to curtail excessive laughter or any other demonstration of joy, and to allow a free vent to copious lamentation and wailing that come from the same source? And how unreasonable is it, as some husbands do, to quarrel with their wives about perfume and purple robes, while they allow them to shear their heads in mourning, and to dress in black, and to sit in idle grief, and to lie down in weariness! And what is worst of all, how unreasonable is it for husbands to interfere if their wives chastise the domestics and maids immoderately or without sufficient cause, yet allow them to ill-treat themselves cruelly in cases and conjunctures that require repose and kindness!

5. But between us, my dear wife, there never was any occasion for such a contest, nor do I think there ever will be. For as to your economy in dress and simple way of living, there is no philosopher with whom you are acquainted whom you did not amaze, nor is there any citizen who has not observed how plainly you dressed at sacred rites, and sacrifices, and theatres. You have also already on similar painful occasions exhibited great fortitude, as when you lost your eldest son, and again when our handsome Chaeron died. For when I was informed of his death, I well remember some guests from the sea were coming home with me to my house as well as some others, but when they saw the great quiet and tranquillity of the household, they thought, as they afterwards told some other people, that no such disaster had really happened, but that the news was untrue. So well had you ordered everything in the house, at a time when there would have been great excuse for disorder. And yet you had suckled that son, though your breast had had to be lanced owing to a contusion. This was noble conduct and showed your great natural affection.

6. But most mothers we see, when their children are brought to them clean and tidy, take them into their hands as playthings, and when they die burst out into idle and unthankful grief, not so much out of affection—for affection is thoughtful and noble—but a great yearning for vain glory mixed with a little natural affection makes their grief fierce and vehement and hard to appease. And this does not seem to have escaped AEsop's notice, for he says that when Zeus assigned their honours to various gods, Grief also claimed his. And Zeus granted his wish, with this limitation that only those who chose and wished need pay him honour. It is thus with grief at the outset, everyone welcomes it at first, but after it has got by process of time settled, and become an inmate of the house, it is with difficulty dislodged again, however much people may wish to dislodge it. Wherefore we ought to keep it out of doors, and not let it approach the garrison by wearing mourning or shearing the hair, or by any similar outward sign of sorrow. For these things occurring daily and being importunate make the mind little, and narrow, and unsocial, and harsh, and timid, so that, being besieged and taken in hand by grief, it can no longer laugh, and shuns daylight, and avoids society. This evil will be followed by neglect of the body, and dislike to anointing and the bath and the other usual modes of life: whereas the very opposite ought to be the case, for the mind ill at ease especially requires that the body should be in a sound and healthy condition. For much of grief is blunted and relaxed when the body is permeated by calm, like the sea in fine weather. But if the body get into a dry and parched condition from a low diet, and gives no proper nutriment to the soul, but only feeds it with sorrow and grief, as it were with bitter and injurious exhalations, it cannot easily recover its tone however people may wish it should. Such is the state of the soul that has been so ill-treated.

7. Moreover, I should not hesitate to assert that the most formidable peril in connection with this is "the visits of bad women," and their chatter, and joint lamentation, all which things fan the fire of sorrow and aggravate it, and suffer it not to be extinguished either by others or by itself. I am not ignorant what a time of it you had lately, when you went to the aid of Theon's sister, and fought against the women who came on a visit of condolence and rushed up with lamentation and wailing, adding fuel as it were to her fire of grief in their simplicity. For when people see their friends' houses on fire they put it out as quickly and energetically as they can, but when their souls are on fire they themselves bring fuel. And if anybody has anything the matter with his eyes they will not let him put his hands to them, however much he wish, nor do they themselves touch the inflamed part; but a person in grief sits down and gives himself up to every chance comer, like a river [that all make use of], to stir up and aggravate the sore, so that from a little tickling and discomfort it grows into a great and terrible disease. However, as to all this I know you will be on your guard.

8. Try also often to carry yourself back in memory to that time when, this little girl not having been then born, we had nothing to charge Fortune with, and to compare that time and this together, as if our circumstances had gone back to what they were then. Otherwise, my dear wife, we shall seem discontented at the birth of our little daughter, if we consider our position before her birth as more perfect. But we ought not to erase from our memory the two years of her life, but to consider them as a time of pleasure giving us gratification and enjoyment, and not to deem the shortness of the blessing as a great evil, nor to be unthankful for what was given us, because Fortune did not give us a longer tenure as we wished. For ever to be careful what we say about the gods, and to be cheerful and not rail against Fortune, brings a sweet and goodly profit; and he who in such conjunctures as ours mostly tries to remember his blessings, and turns and diverts his mind from the dark and disturbing things in life to the 90bright and radiant, either altogether extinguishes his grief or makes it small and dim from a comparison with his comforts. For as perfume gives pleasure to the nose, and is a remedy against disagreeable smells, so the remembrance of past happiness in present trouble gives all the relief they require to those who do not shut out of their memory the blessings of the past, or always and everywhere rail against Fortune. And this certainly ought not to be our case, that we should slander all our past life because, like a book, it has one erasure in it, when all the other pages have been bright and clean.

9. You have often heard that happiness consists in right calculations resulting in a healthy state of mind, and that the changes which Fortune brings about need not upset it, and introduce confusion into our life. But if we too must, like most people, be governed by external events, and make an inventory of the dealings of Fortune, and constitute other people the judges of our felicity, do not now regard the tears and lamentations of those who visit you, which by a faulty custom are lavished on everybody, but consider rather how happy you are still esteemed by them for your family, your house, and life. For it would be monstrous, if others would gladly prefer your destiny to theirs, even taking into account our present sorrow, that you should rail against and be impatient at our present lot, and in consequence of our bitter grief not reflect how much comfort is still left to us. But like those who quote imperfect verses of Homer and neglect the finest passages of his writings, to enumerate and complain of the trials of life, while you pay no attention to its blessings, is to resemble those stingy misers, who heap up riches and make no use of them when they have them, but lament and are impatient if they are lost. And if you grieve over her dying unmarried and childless, you can comfort yourself with the thought that you have had both those advantages. For they should not be reckoned as great blessings in the case of those who do not enjoy them, and small blessings in the case of those who do. And that she has gone to a 91place where she is out of pain ought not to pain us, for what evil can we mourn for on her account if her pains are over? For even the loss of important things does not grieve us when we have no need of them. But it was only little things that your Timoxena was deprived of, little things only she knew, and in little things only did she rejoice; and how can one be said to be deprived of things of which one had no conception, nor experience, nor even desire for?

10. As to what you hear from some people, who get many to credit their notion, that the dead suffer no evil or pain, I know that you are prevented from believing that by the tradition of our fathers and by the mystic symbols of the mysteries of Dionysus, for we are both initiated. Consider then that the soul, being incorruptible, is in the same condition after death as birds that have been caught. For if it has been a long time in the body, and during this mortal life has become tame by many affairs and long habit, it swoops down again and a second time enters the body, and does not cease to be involved in the changes and chances of this life that result from birth. For do not suppose that old age is abused and ill-spoken of only for its wrinkles and white hair and weakness of body, but this is the worst feature about it, that it makes the soul feeble in its remembrance of things in the other world, and strong in its attachment to things in this world, and bends and presses it, if it retain the form which it had in the body from its experience. But that soul, which does indeed enter the body, but remains only a short time in it, being liberated from it by the higher powers, rears as it were at a damp and soft turning post in the race of life, and hastens on to its destined goal. For just as if anyone put out a fire, and light it again at once, it is soon rekindled, and burns up again quickly, but if it has been out a long time, to light it again will be a far more difficult and irksome task, so the soul that has sojourned only a short time in this dark and mortal life, quickly recovers the light and blaze of its former bright life, whereas for those who have not had the good fortune very early, to use the language of the poet, "to pass the gates of Hades," nothing remains but a great 92passion for the things of this life, and a softening of the soul through contact with the body, and a melting away of it as if by the agency of drugs.

11. And the truth of this is rendered more apparent in our hereditary and time-honoured customs and laws. For when infants die no libations are poured out for them, nor are any other rites performed for them, such as are always performed for adults. For they have no share in the earth or in things of the earth, nor do parents haunt their tombs or monuments, or sit by their bodies when they are laid out. For the laws do not allow us to mourn for such, seeing that it is an impious thing to do so in the case of persons who have departed into a better and more divine place and sphere. I know that doubts are entertained about this, but since to doubt is harder for them than to believe, let us do externally as the laws enjoin, and internally let us be more holy and pure and chaste.

PLUTARCH'S MORALS CHAPTER 6
THAT VIRTUE MAY BE TAUGHT.

1. As to virtue we deliberate and dispute whether good sense, and justice, and rectitude can be taught: and then we are not surprised that, while the works of orators, and pilots, and musicians, and house-builders, and farmers, are innumerable, good men are only a name and expression, like Centaurs and Giants and Cyclopes, and that it is impossible to find any virtuous action without alloy of base motives, or any character free from vice: but if nature produces spontaneously anything good, it is marred by much that is alien to it, as fruit choked by weeds. Men learn to play on the harp, and to dance, and to read, and to farm, and to ride on horseback: they learn how to put on their shoes and clothes generally: people teach how to pour out wine, how to cook; and all these things cannot be properly performed, without being learned. The art of good living alone, though all those things I have mentioned only exist on its account, is untaught, unmethodical, inartistic, and supposed to come by the light of nature!

2. O sirs, by asserting that virtue is not a thing to be taught, why are we making it unreal? For if teaching produces it, the deprivation of teaching prevents it. And yet, as Plato says, a discord and false note on the lyre makes not brother go to war with brother, nor sets friends at variance, nor makes states hostile to one another, so as to do and suffer at one another's hands the most dreadful things: nor can anyone say that there was ever a dissension in any city as to the pronunciation of Telchines: nor in a private house any difference between man and wife as to woof and warp. And yet no one without learning would undertake to ply the loom, or write a book, or play on the lyre, though he would thereby do no great harm, but he fears making himself ridiculous, for as Heraclitus says, "It is better to hide one's ignorance," yet everyone thinks himself competent to manage a house and wife and the state and hold any magisterial office. On one occasion, when a boy was eating rather greedily, Diogenes gave the lad's tutor a blow with his fist, ascribing the fault not to the boy, who had not learnt how to eat properly, but to the tutor who had not taught him. And can one not properly handle a dish or a cup, unless one has learnt from a boy, as Aristophanes bids us, "not to giggle, nor eat too fast, nor cross our legs," and yet be perfectly fit to manage a family and city, and wife, and live well, and hold office, when one has not learnt how one should behave in the conduct of life? When Aristippus was asked by someone, "Are you everywhere then?" he smiled and said, "If I am everywhere, I lose my passage money." Why should not you also say, "If men are not better for learning, the money paid to tutors is also lost?" For just as nurses mould with their hands 94the child's body, so tutors, receiving it immediately it is weaned, mould its soul, teaching it by habit the first vestiges of virtue. And the Lacedaemonian, who was asked, what good he did as a tutor, replied, "I make what is good pleasant to boys." Moreover tutors teach boys to walk in the streets with their heads down, to touch salt fish with one finger only, other fish bread and meat with two, to scratch themselves in such a way, and in such a way to put on their cloak.

3. What then? He that says that the doctor's skill is wanted in the case of a slight skin-eruption or whitlow, but is not needed in the case of pleurisy, fever, or lunacy, in what respect does he differ from the man that says that schools and teaching and precepts are only for small and boyish duties, while great and important matters are to be left to mere

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routine and accident? For, as the man is ridiculous who says we ought to learn to row but not to steer, so he who allows all other arts to be learnt, but not virtue, seems to act altogether contrary to the Scythians. For they, as Herodotus tells us, blind their slaves that they may remain with them, but such an one puts the eye of reason into slavish and servile arts, and takes it away from virtue. And the general Iphicrates well answered Callias, the son of Chabrias, who asked him, "What are you? an archer? a targeteer? cavalry, or infantry?" "None of these," said he, "but the commander of them all." Ridiculous therefore is he who says that the use of the bow and other arms and the sling and riding are to be taught, but that strategy and how to command an army comes by the light of nature. Still more ridiculous is he who asserts that good sense alone need not be taught, without which all other arts are useless and profitless, seeing that she is the mistress and orderer and arranger of all of them, and puts each of them to their proper use. For example, what grace would there be in a banquet, though the servants had been well-trained, and had learnt how to dress and cook the meat and pour out the wine, unless there was good order and method among the waiters?

PLUTARCH'S MORALS CHAPTER 7
ON VIRTUE AND VICE.

1. Clothes seem to warm a man, not by throwing out heat themselves (for in itself every garment is cold, whence in great heat or in fevers people frequently change and shift them), but the heat which a man throws out from his own body is retained and wrapped in by a dress fitting close to the body, which does not admit of the heat being dissipated when once it has got firm hold. A somewhat similar case is the idea that deceives the mass of mankind, that if they could live in big houses, and get together a quantity of slaves and money, they would have a happy life. But a happy and cheerful life is not from without, on the contrary, a man adds the pleasure and gratification to the things that surround him, his temperament being as it were the source of his feelings. [Happiness comes from within, not from without. The true seat of happiness is the mind.] "But when the fire blazes the house is brighter to look at." So, too, wealth is pleasanter, and fame and power more splendid, when a man has joy in his heart, seeing that men can bear easily and quietly poverty and exile and old age if their character is a contented and mild one.

2. For as perfumes make threadbare coats and rags to smell sweet, while the body of Anchises sent forth a fetid 96 discharge, "distilling from his back on to his linen robe," so every kind of life with virtue is painless and pleasurable, whereas vice if infused into it makes splendour and wealth and magnificence painful, and sickening, and unwelcome to its possessors. "He is deemed happy in the market-place,But when he gets him home, thrice miserable,His wife rules all, quarrels, and domineers."

And yet there would be no great difficulty in getting rid of a bad wife, if one was a man and not a slave. But a man cannot by writing a bill of divorce to his vice get rid of all trouble at once, and enjoy tranquillity by living apart: for it is ever present in his vitals, and sticks to him night and day, "and burns without a torch, and consigns him to gloomy old age," being a disagreeable fellow-traveller owing to its arrogance, and a costly companion at table owing to its daintiness, and an unpleasant bed-fellow, disturbing and marring sleep by anxiety and care and envy. For during such a one's sleep the body indeed gets rest, but the mind has terrors, and dreams, and perturbations, owing to superstition, "For when my trouble catches me asleep,I am undone by the most fearful dreams," as one says. For thus envy, and fear, and anger, and lust affect one. During the daytime, indeed, vice looks abroad and imitates the behaviour of others, is shy and conceals its evil desires, and does not altogether give way to its propensities, but often even resists and fights stoutly against them; but in sleep it escapes the observation of people and the law, and, being as far as possible removed from fear or modesty, gives every passion play, and excites its depravity and licentiousness, for, to borrow Plato's expression, "it attempts incest with its mother, and procures for itself unlawful meats, and abstains from no action whatever," and enjoys lawlessness as far as is practicable in visions and phantasies, that end in no complete pleasure or satisfaction, but can only stir up and inflame the passions and morbid emotions.

3. Where then is the pleasure of vice, if there is nowhere in it freedom from anxiety and pain, or independence, or tranquillity, or rest? A healthy and sound constitution does indeed augment the pleasures of the body, but for the soul there can be no lasting joy or gratification, unless cheerfulness and fearlessness and courage supply a calm serenity free from storms; for otherwise, even if hope or delight smile on the soul, it is soon confused and disturbed by care lifting up its head again, so that it is but the calm of a sunken rock.

4. Pile up gold, heap up silver, build covered walks, fill your house with slaves and the town with debtors, unless you lay to rest the passions of the soul, and put a curb on your insatiable desires, and rid yourself of fear and anxiety, you are but pouring out wine for a man in a fever, and giving honey to a man who is bilious, and laying out a sumptuous banquet for people who are suffering from dysentery, and can neither retain their food nor get any benefit from it, but are made even worse by it. Have you never observed how sick persons turn against and spit out and refuse the daintiest and most costly viands, though people offer them and almost force them down their throats, but on another occasion, when their condition is different, their respiration good, their blood in a healthy state, and their natural warmth restored, they get up, and enjoy and make a good meal of simple bread and cheese and cress? Such, also, is the effect of reason on the mind. You will be contented, if you have learned what is good and honourable. You will live daintily and be a king in poverty, and enjoy a quiet and private life as much as the public life of general or statesman. By the aid of philosophy you will live not unpleasantly, for you will learn to extract pleasure from all places 98and things: wealth will make you happy, because it will enable you to benefit many; and poverty, as you will not then have many anxieties; and glory, for it will make you honoured; and obscurity, for you will then be safe from envy.

PLUTARCH'S MORALS CHAPTER 8
ON MORAL VIRTUE.

1. I propose to discuss what is called and appears to be moral virtue (which differs mainly from contemplative virtue in that it has emotion for its matter, and reason for its form), what its nature is, and how it subsists, and whether that part of the soul which takes it in is furnished with reason of its own, or participates in something foreign, and if the latter, whether as things that are mixed with something better than themselves, or rather as that which is subject to superintendence and command, and may be said to share in the power of that which commands. For I think it is clear that virtue can exist and continue altogether free from matter and mixture. My best course will be to run briefly over the views of others, not so much to display my research as because, when their ideas have been set forth, mine will become more clear and be on a firmer basis.

2. Menedemus of Eretria took away the number and differences of virtues, on the ground that virtue was one though it had many names; for that just as mortal is synonymous with man, so temperance and bravery and justice were the same thing. And Aristo of Chios also made virtue one in substance, and called it soundness of mind: its diversities and varieties only existing in certain relations, as if one called our sight when it took in white objects white-sight, and when it took in black objects black-sight, and so on. For virtue, when it considers what it ought to do and what it ought not to do, is called prudence; and when it curbs passion, and sets a fit and proper limit to pleasure, it is called self-control; and when it is associated with our dealings and covenants with one another, it is called justice; just as a knife is one article, though at different times it cuts different things in half: and so, too, fire acts on different matter though it has but one property. And Zeno of Cittium seems to incline somewhat to the same view, as he defines prudence in distribution as justice, in choice as self-control, in endurance as fortitude: and those who defend these views maintain that by the term prudence Zeno means knowledge. But Chrysippus, thinking each particular virtue should be arranged under its particular quality, unwittingly stirred up, to use Plato's language, "a whole swarm of virtues," unusual and unknown. For as from brave we get bravery, and from mild mildness, and from just justice, so from acceptable he got acceptableness, and from good goodness, and from great greatness, and from the honourable honourableness, and he made virtues of many other such clevernesses, affabilities, and versatilities, and filled philosophy, which did not at all require it, with many strange names.

3. Now all these agree in supposing virtue to be a disposition and faculty of the governing part of the soul set in motion by reason, or rather to be reason itself conformable and firm and immutable. They think further that the emotional and unreasoning part of the soul is not by any natural difference distinct from the reasoning part, but that that same part of the soul, which they call intellect and the leading principle of action, being altogether diverted and changed by the passions, and by the alterations which habit or disposition have brought about, becomes either vice or virtue, without having in itself any unreasoning element, but that it is called unreasoning when, by the strong and overpowering force of appetite, it launches out into excesses contrary to the direction of reason. For passion, according to them, is only vicious and intemperate reason, getting its strength and power from bad and faulty judgement. But all of those philosophers seem to have been ignorant that we are all in reality two-fold and composite, though they did not recognize it, and only saw the more evident mixture of soul and body. And yet that there is in the soul itself something composite and two-fold and dissimilar (the unreasoning part of it, as if another body, being by necessity and nature mixed up with and united to reason), seems not to have escaped the notice even of Pythagoras, as we infer from his zeal for music, which he introduced to calm and soothe the soul, as knowing that it was not altogether amenable to precept and instruction, or redeemable from vice only by reason, but that it needed some other persuasion and moulding and softening influence to co-operate with reason, unless it were to be altogether intractable and refractory to philosophy. And Plato saw very plainly and confidently and decidedly that the soul of this universe is not simple or uncomposite or uniform, but is made up of forces that work uniformly and differently, in the one case it is ever marshalled in the same order and moves about in one fixed orbit, in the other case it is divided into motions and orbits contrary to each other and changing about, and thus generates differences in things. So, too, the soul of man, being a part or portion of the soul of the universe, and compounded upon similar principles and proportions, is not simple or entirely uniform, but has one part intelligent and reasoning, which is intended by nature to rule and dominate in man, and another part unreasoning, and subject to passion and caprice, and disorderly, and in need of direction. And this last again is divided into two parts, one of which, being most closely connected with the body, is called desire, and the other, sometimes taking part with the body, sometimes with reason, lending its influence against the body, is called anger. And the difference between reason and sense on the one hand, and anger and desire on the other, is shown by their antipathy to one another, so that they are often at variance with one another as to what is best. These were at first the views of Aristotle, as is clear from his writings, though afterwards he joined anger to desire, as if anger were nothing but a desire and passion for revenge. However, he always considered the emotional and unreasoning part of the soul as distinct from the reasoning, not that it is altogether unreasoning as the perceptive, or nutritive, or vegetative portions of the soul, for these are always deaf and disobedient to reason, and in a certain sense are off-shoots from the flesh, and altogether attached to the body; but the emotional, though it is destitute of any reason of its own, yet is naturally inclined to listen to reason and sense, and turn and submit and mould itself accordingly, unless it be entirely corrupted by brute pleasure and a life of indulgence.

4. As for those who wonder that what is unreasoning should obey reason, they do not seem to me to recognize the power of reason, how great it is, and how far-reaching its dominion is—a power not gained by harsh and repelling methods, but by attractive ones, as mild persuasion which always accomplishes more than compulsion or violence. For even the spirit and nerves and bones, and other parts of the body, though devoid of reason, yet at any instigation of reason, when she shakes as it were the reins, are all on the alert and compliant and obedient, the feet to run, and the hands to throw or lift, at her bidding. Right excellently has the poet set forth in the following lines the sympathy and accordance between the unreasoning and reason:—"Thus were her beauteous cheeks diffused with tears,Weeping her husband really present then.But though Odysseus pitied her in heart, His eyes like horn or steel impassive stood Within their lids, and craft his tears repressed."

So completely under the control of judgement did he keep his spirit and blood and tears. The same is shown by the subsidence of our passions, which are laid to rest in the presence of handsome women or boys, whom reason and the law forbid us to touch; a case which most frequently happens to lovers, when they hear that they have unwittingly fallen in love with a sister or daughter. For at once passion is laid at the voice of reason, and the body exhibits its members as subservient to decorum. And frequently in the case of dainty food, people very much attracted by it, if they find out at the time or learn afterwards that they have eaten what is unclean or unlawful, not only suffer distress and grief in their imagination, but even their very body is upset by the notion, and violent retchings and vomitings follow. I fear I should seem to be introducing merely novel and enticing arguments, if I were to enumerate stringed instruments and lyres, and harps and flutes, and other harmonious musical instruments, which, although inanimate, yet speak to man's passions, rejoicing with him, and mourning with him, and chiming in with him, and rioting with him,—in a word, falling in with the vein and emotions and characters of those that play on them. And they say that Zeno on one occasion, going into the theatre when Amoebeus was playing on the harp, said to the pupils, "Let us go and learn what music can be produced by guts and nerves and wood and bones, when they preserve proportion and time and order." But passing these things over, I would gladly learn from them, if, when they see dogs and horses and birds domesticated, and by habit and training uttering sounds that can be understood, and making obedient movements and gestures, and acting quietly and usefully to us, and when they notice that Achilles in Homer cheers on horses as well as men to the fight, they still wonder and doubt, whether the passionate and emotional and painful and pleasurable elements in us are by nature obedient to the voice of reason, and influenced and affected by it, seeing that those elements are not apart from us or detached from us, or formed from outside, or hammered into us by force, but are innate in

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us, and ever associate with us, and are nourished within us, and abound in us through habit. Accordingly moral character is well called by the Greeks ἦθος, for it is, to speak generally, a quality of the unreasoning element in man, and is called ΗΘΟΣ because the unreasoning element moulded by reason receives this quality and difference by habit, which is called ΕΘΟΣ. Not that reason wishes to expel passion altogether (that is neither possible, nor advisable), but only to keep it within bounds and order, and to engender the moral virtues, which are not apathetic, but hold the due proportion and mean in regard to passion. And this she does by reducing the power of passion to a good habit. For there are said to be three things existing in the soul, power, passion, and habit. Power is the principle or matter of passion, as power to be angry, ashamed, or confident: and passion is the actual setting in motion of that power, being itself anger, confidence, or shame; and habit is the strong formation of power in the unreasoning element engendered by use, being vice if the passions are badly tutored by reason, virtue if they are well tutored.

5. But since they do not regard every virtue as a mean, nor call it moral, we must discuss this difference by approaching the matter more from first principles. Some things in the world exist absolutely, as the earth, the sky, the stars, and the sea; others have relation to us, as good and evil, as what is desirable or to be avoided, as pleasant and painful: and since reason has an eye to both of these classes, when it considers the former it is scientific and contemplative, when it considers the latter it is deliberative and practical. And prudence is the virtue in the latter case, as knowledge in the former. And there is this difference between prudence and knowledge, prudence consists in applying the contemplative to the practical and emotional so as to make reason paramount. On which account it often needs the help of fortune; whereas knowledge needs neither the help of fortune nor deliberation to gain its ends: for it considers only things which are always the same. And as the geometrician does not deliberate about the triangle, as to whether its interior angles are together equal to two right angles, for he knows it as a fact—and deliberation only takes place in the case of things which differ at different times, not in the case of things which are certain and unchangeable—so the contemplative mind having its scope in first principles, and things that are fixed, and that ever have one nature which does not admit of change, has no need for deliberation. But prudence, which has to enter into matters full of obscurity and confusion, frequently has to take its chance, and to deliberate about things which are uncertain, and, in carrying the deliberation into practice, has to co-operate with the unreasoning element, which comes to its help, and is involved in its decisions, for they need an impetus. Now this impetus is given to passion by the moral character, an impetus requiring reason to regulate it, that it may render moderate and not excessive help, and at the seasonable time. For the emotional and unreasoning elements are subject to motions sometimes too quick and vehement, at other times too remiss and slow. And so everything we do may be a success from one point of view, but a failure from many points of view; as to hit the mark one thing only is requisite, but one may miss it in various ways, as one may shoot beyond or too short. This then is the function of practical reason following nature, to prevent our passions going either too far or too short. For where from weakness and want of strength, or from fear and hesitation, the impetus gives in and abandons what is good, there reason is by to stir it up and rekindle it; and where on the other hand it goes ahead too fast and in disorder, there it represses and checks its zeal. And thus setting bounds to the emotional motions, it engenders in the unreasoning part of the soul moral virtues, which are the mean between excess and deficiency. Not that we can say that all virtue exists in the mean, but knowledge and prudence being in no need of the unreasoning element, and being situated in the pure and unemotional part of the soul, is a complete perfection and power of reason, whereby we get the most divine and happy fruit of understanding. But that virtue which is necessary because of the body, and needs the help of the passions as an instrument towards the practical, not destroying or doing away with but ordering and regulating the unreasoning part of the soul, is perfection as regards its power and quality, but in quantity it is a mean correcting both excess and deficiency.

6. But since the word mean has a variety of meanings—for there is one kind of mean compounded of two simple extremes, as grey is the mean between white and black; and there is another kind of mean, where that which contains and is contained is the mean between the containing and contained, as eight is the mean between twelve and four; and there is a third kind of mean which has part in neither extreme, as the indifferent is the mean between good and bad,—virtue cannot be a mean in any of these ways. For neither is it a mixture of vices, nor containing that which is defective is it contained by that which is excessive, nor is it again altogether free from, emotional storms of passion, wherein are excess and deficiency. But it is, and is commonly so called, a mean like that in music and harmony. For as in music there is a middle note between the highest and lowest in the scale, which being perfectly in tune avoids the sharpness of the one and the flatness of the other; so virtue, being a motion and power in the unreasoning part of the soul, takes away the remissness and strain, and generally speaking the excess and defect of the appetite, by reducing each of the passions to a state of mean and rectitude. For example, they tell us that bravery is the mean between cowardice and foolhardiness, whereof the former is a defect, the latter an excess of anger: and that liberality is the mean between stinginess and prodigality: and that meekness is the mean between insensibility and savageness: and so of temperance and justice, that the latter, being concerned with contracts, is to assign neither too much nor too little to litigants, and that the former ever reduces the passions to the proper mean between apathy (or insensibility) and gross intemperance. This last illustration serves excellently to show us the radical difference between the unreasoning and reasoning parts of the soul, and to prove to us that passion and reason are wide as the poles asunder. For the difference would not be discernible between temperance and continence, nor between intemperance and incontinence, in pleasure and desires, if the appetite and judgement were in the same portion of the soul. Now temperance is a state, wherein reason holds the reins, and manages the passions as a quiet and well-broken-in animal, finding them obedient and submissive to the reins and masters over their desires. Continence on the other hand is not driven by reason without some trouble, not being docile but jibbing and kicking, like an animal compelled by bit and bridle and whip and backing, being in itself full of struggles and commotion. Plato explains this by his simile of the chariot-horses of the soul, the worse one of which ever kicking against the other and disturbing the charioteer, he is obliged ever to hold them in with all his might, and to tighten the reins, lest, to borrow the language of Simonides, "he should drop from his hands the purple reins." And so they do not consider continence to be an absolute virtue, but something less than a virtue; for no mean arises from the concord of the worse with the better, nor is the excess of the passion curtailed, nor does the appetite obey or act in unison with reason, but it both gives and suffers trouble, and is constrained by force, and is as it were an enemy in a town given up to faction. "The town is full of incense, and at onceResounds with triumph-songs and bitter wailing."

Such is the state of soul of the continent person owing to his conflicting condition. On the same grounds they consider incontinence to be something less than vice, but intemperance to be a complete vice. For it, having both its appetite and reason depraved, is by the one carried away to desire disgraceful things, by the other, through bad judgement consenting to desire, loses even the perception of wrongdoing. But incontinence keeps its judgement sound through reason, but is carried away against its judgement by passion which is too strong for reason, whence it differs from intemperance. For in the one case reason is mastered by passion, in the other it does not even make a fight against it, in the one case it opposes its desires even when it follows them, in the other it is their advocate and even leader, in the one case it gladly participates in what is wrong, in the other sorrowfully, in the one case it willingly rushes into what is disgraceful, in the other it abandons the honourable unwillingly. And as there is a difference in their deeds, so no less manifest is the difference in their language. For these are the expressions of the intemperate. "What grace or pleasure in life is there without golden Aphrodite? May I die, when I care no longer for these things!" And another says, "To eat, to drink, to enjoy the gifts of Aphrodite is everything, for all other things I look upon as supplementary," as if from the bottom of his soul he gave himself up to pleasures, and was completely subverted by them. And not less so he who said, "Let me be ruined, it is best for me," had his judgement diseased through his passion. But the sayings of incontinence are quite different, as

"My nature forces me against my judgement," and "Alas! it is poor mortals' plague and bane,To know the good, yet not the good pursue." And again—"My anger draws me on, has no control,'Tis but a sandy hook against a tempest."

Here he compares not badly to a sandy hook, a sorry kind of anchor, the soul that is unsettled and has no steady reason, but surrenders judgment through flabbiness and feebleness. And not unlike this image are the lines, "As some ship moored and fastened to the shore,If the wind blows, the cables cannot hold it."

By cables he means the judgement which resists what is disgraceful, though sometimes it gives way under a tremendous storm of passion. For indeed it is with full sail that the intemperate man is borne on to pleasure by his desires, and surrenders himself to them, and even plays the part of pilot to the vessel; whereas the incontinent man is dragged sidelong into the disgraceful, and is its victim, as it were, while he desires eagerly to resist and overcome his passion, as Timon bantered Anaxarchus: "The recklessness and frantic energy of Anaxarchus to rush anywhere seemed like a dog's courage, but he being aware of it was miserable, so people said, but his voluptuous nature ever plunged him into excesses again, nature which even 108most sophists are afraid of." For neither is the wise man continent but temperate, nor the fool incontinent but intemperate; for the one delights in what is good, and the other is not vexed at what is bad. Incontinence, therefore, is a mark of a sophistical soul, endued with reason which cannot abide by what it knows to be right.

7. Such, then, are the differences between incontinence and intemperance, and continence and temperance have their counterpart and analogous differences; for remorse and trouble and annoyance are companions of continence, whereas in the soul of the temperate person there is everywhere such equability and calm and soundness, by which the unreasoning is adjusted and harmonized to reason, being adorned with obedience and wonderful mildness, that looking at it you would say with the poet, "At once the wind was laid, and a wondrous calm ensued, for the god allayed the fury of the waves," reason having extinguished the vehement and furious and frantic motions of the desires, and making those which nature necessarily requires sympathetic and obedient and friendly and co-operative in carrying purposes out in action, so that they do not outrun or come short of reason, or behave disorderly and disobediently, but that every appetite is tractable, "as sucking foal runs by the side of its dam." And this confirms the saying of Xenocrates about true philosophers, that they alone do willingly what all others do unwillingly at the compulsion of the law, as dogs are turned away from their pleasures by a blow, or cats by a noise, looking at nothing but their danger. It is clear then that there is in the soul a perception of such a generic and specific difference in relation to the desires, as of something fighting against and opposing them. But some say that there is no radical distinction difference or variance between reason and passion, but that there is a shifting of one and the same reason from one to the other, which escapes our notice owing to the sharpness and quickness of the change, so that we do not see at a glance that desire and repentance, anger and fear, giving way to what is disgraceful through passion, and recovery from the same, are the same natural property of the soul. For desire and fear and anger and the like they consider only depraved opinions and judgements, not in one portion of the soul only but in all its leading principles, inclinations and yieldings, and assents and impulses, and generally speaking in its energies soon changed, like the sallies of children, whose fury and excessive violence is unstable by reason of their weakness. But these views are, in the first place, contrary to evidence and observation; for no one observes in himself a change from passion to judgement, and from judgement back to passion; nor does anyone cease from loving when he reflects that it would be well to break the affair off and strive with all his might against it; nor again, does he put on one side reflection and judgement, when he gives way and is overcome by desire. Moreover, when he resists passion by reason, he does not escape passion altogether; nor again, when he is mastered by passion does he fail to discern his fault through reason: so that neither by passion does he abolish reason, nor does he by reason get rid of passion, but is tossed about to and fro alternately between passion and reason. And those who suppose that the leading principle in the soul is at one time desire, and at another time reason in opposition to desire, are not unlike people who would make the hunter and the animal he hunts one and the same person, but alternately changing from hunter to animal, from animal to hunter. As their eyesight is plainly deficient, so these are faulty in regard to their perceptions, seeing that they must perceive in themselves not a change of one and the same thing, but a difference and struggle between two opposing elements. "What then," say they, "does not the deliberative element in a man often hold different views, and is it not swayed to different opinions as to expediency, and yet it is one and the same thing?" Certainly, I reply; but the case is not similar. For the rational part of the soul does not fight against itself, but though it has only one faculty, it makes use of different reasonings; or rather the reasoning is one, but employs itself in different subjects as on different matter. And so there is neither pain in reasonings without passion, nor are men compelled, as it were, to choose something contrary to their judgement, unless indeed some passion, as in a balance, secretly predominates in the scale. For this often happens, reason not opposing reason, but ambition, or contention, or favour, or jealousy, or fear opposing reason, that we do but think there is a difference between two reasons, as in the line, "They were ashamed to refuse, and feared to accept," or, "To die in battle is dreadful but glorious; but not to die, though cowardly, is more pleasant." Moreover, in judgements about contracts passions come in and cause the greatest delay; and in the councils of kings those who speak to ingratiate themselves do not favour either of the two cases, but give themselves up to passion without regard to what is expedient; and so those that rule in aristocracies do not allow orators to be pathetic in their pleadings. For reasoning without passion has a direct tendency to justice, while if passion is infused, a contest and difference is excited between pleasure and pain on the one hand, and judgement and justice on the other. For otherwise how is it that in philosophical speculations people are with little pain frequently induced by others to change their opinions, and even Aristotle himself and Democritus and

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Chrysippus have rejected without trouble or pain, and even with pleasure, some of the opinions which they formerly advocated? For no passion stands in the way in the theoretic and scientific part of the soul, and the unreasoning element is quiet and gives no trouble therein. And so reason gladly inclines to the truth, when it is evident, and abandons error; for in it, and not in passion, lies a willingness to listen to conviction and to change one's opinions on conviction. But the deliberations and judgements and arbitrations of most people as to matters of fact being mixed up with passion, give reason no easy or pleasant access, as she is held fast and incommoded by the unreasonable, which assails her through pleasure, or fear, or pain, or desire. And the decision in these cases lies with sense which has dealings with both passion and reason, for if one gets the better of the other the other is not destroyed, but only dragged along by force in spite of its resistance. For he who is dissatisfied with himself for falling in love calls in reason to his aid to overcome his passion, for both reason and passion are in his soul, and he perceives they are contrary one to the other, and violently represses the inflammatory one of the two. On the other hand, in deliberations and speculations without passion (such as the contemplative part of the soul is most conversant with), if they are evenly balanced no decision takes place, but the matter is left in doubt, which is a sort of stationary position of the mind in conflicting arguments. But should there be any inclination to one of the two sides, the most powerful opinion carries the day, yet without giving pain or creating hostility. And, generally speaking, when reason seems opposed to reason, there is no perception of two distinct things, but only of one under different phases, whereas when the unreasoning has a controversy with reason, since there can be no victory or defeat without pain, forthwith they tear the soul in two, and make the difference between them apparent.

8. And not only from their contest, but quite as much from their agreement, can we see that the source of the passions is something quite distinct from that of reason. For since one may love either a good and excellent child or a bad and vicious one, and be unreasonably angry with one's children or parents, yet in behalf of them show a just anger against enemies or tyrants; as in the one case there is the perception of a difference and struggle between passion and reason, so in the other there is a perception of persuasion and agreement inclining, as it were, the scale, and giving their help. Moreover a good man marrying a wife according to the laws is minded to associate and live with her justly and soberly, but as time goes on, his intercourse with her having engendered a strong passion for her, he perceives that his love and affection are increased by reason. Just so, again, young fellows falling in with kindly teachers at first submit themselves to them out of necessity and emulation for learning, but end by loving them, and instead of being their pupils and scholars become and get the title of their lovers. The same is the case in cities in respect to good 112magistrates, and neighbours, and connections by marriage; for beginning at first to associate with one another from necessity and propriety, they afterwards go on to love almost insensibly, reason drawing over and persuading the emotional element. And he who said—"There are two kinds of shame, the one not bad,The other a sad burden to a family," is it not clear that he felt this emotion in himself often contrary to reason and detrimental by hesitation and delay to opportunities and actions?

9. In a certain sense yielding to the force of these arguments, they call shame modesty, pleasure joy, and timidity caution; nor would anyone blame them for this euphemism, if they only gave those specious names to the emotions that are consistent with reason, while they gave other kinds of names to those emotions that resist and do violence to reason. But whenever, though convicted by their tears and tremblings and changes of colour, they avoid the terms pain and fear, and speak of bitings and states of excitement, and gloss over the passions by calling them inclinations, they seem to contrive evasions and flights from facts by names sophistical, and not philosophical. And yet again they seem to use words rightly when they call those joys and wishes and cautions not apathies but good conditions of the mind. For it is a happy disposition of the soul when reason does not annihilate passion, but orders and arranges it in the case of temperate persons. But what is the condition of worthless and incontinent persons, who, when they judge they ought to love their father and mother better than some boy or girl they are enamoured of, yet cannot, and yet at once love their mistress or flatterer, when they judge they ought to hate them? For if passion and judgement were the same thing, love and hate would immediately follow the judging it right to love and hate, whereas the contrary happens, passion following some judgements, but declining to follow others. Wherefore they acknowledge, the facts compelling them to do so, that every judgement is not passion, but only that judgement that is provocative of violent and excessive impulse: admitting that judgement and passion in us are something different, as what moves is different from what is moved. Even Chrysippus himself, by his defining in many places endurance and continence to be habits that follow the lead of reason, proves that he is compelled by the facts to admit, that that element in us which follows absolutely is something different from that which follows when persuaded, but resists when not persuaded.

10. Now as to those who make all sins and offences equal, it is not now the occasion to discuss if in other respects they deviate from truth: but as regards the passions they seem to go clean contrary to reason and evidence. For according to them every passion is a sin, and everyone who grieves, or fears, or desires, commits sin. But in good truth it is evident that there are great differences between passions, according as one is more or less affected by them. For who would say that the craven fear of Dolon was not something very different from the fear of Ajax, "who retreated with his face to the enemy and at a foot's pace, drawing back slowly knee after knee"? Or who would say that the grief of Plato at the death of Socrates was identical with the grief of Alexander at the death of Clitus, when he attempted to lay violent hands on himself? For grief is beyond measure intensified by falling out against expectation: and the calamity that comes unlooked for is more painful than that we may reasonably fear: as if when expecting to see one's friend basking in prosperity and admiration, one should hear that he had been put to the torture, as Parmenio heard about Philotas. And who would say that the anger of Magas against Philemon was equal to that of Nicocreon against Anaxarchus? Both Magas and Nicocreon had been insulted, but whereas Nicocreon brayed Anaxarchus to death with iron pestles and made mincemeat of him, Magas contented himself with bidding the executioner lay his naked sword on Philemon's neck, and then let him go. And so Plato called anger the nerves of the mind, since it can be both intensified by bitterness, and slackened by mildness. To evade these and similar arguments, they deny that intensity and excess of passion are according to judgement, wherein is the propensity to fault, but maintain that they are bites and contractions and diffusings capable of increase or diminution through the unreasoning element. And yet it is evident that there are differences as regards judgements; for some judge poverty to be no evil, while others judge it to be a great evil, and others again the very greatest evil, insomuch that they even throw themselves headlong down rocks and into the sea on account of it. Again as to death, some think it an evil only in depriving us of good things, whereas others think it so in regard to eternal punishments and awful torments in the world below. Health again is valued by some as natural and advantageous, while to others it seems the greatest blessing of life, in comparison with which they reckon little either of wealth or children or "royal power that makes one equal to the gods," and at last come to think even virtue useless and unprofitable, if health be absent. Thus it is clear that even with regard to judgements themselves some err more, some less. But I shall bring no further proof of this now, but this one may assume therefrom, that they themselves concede that the unreasoning element is something different from judgement, in that they allow that by it passion becomes greater and more violent, and while they quarrel about the name and word they give up the thing itself to those who maintain that the emotional and unreasoning part of the soul is distinct from the reasoning and judging element. And in his treatise on Anomaly, Chrysippus, after telling us that anger is blind, and frequently does not let one see what is obvious, frequently also obscures what we do get a sight of, goes on to say, "The encroachment of the passions blots out reason, and makes things look different to what they should look, violently forcing people on unreasonable acts." And he quotes as witness Menander, who says, "Alas! poor me, wherever were my brains in my body at the time when I chose that line of conduct, and not this?" And Chrysippus proceeds, "Though every living creature endowed with reason is naturally inclined to use reason and to be governed by it on every occasion, yet often do we reject it, being borne away by a more violent impulse;" thus admitting what results from the difference between passion and reason. For otherwise it is ridiculous, as Plato says, to argue that a man is sometimes better than himself, sometimes worse, sometimes master of himself, sometimes not master of himself.

11. For how is it possible that the same person can be both better and worse than himself, both master of himself and not master, unless everyone is in some way twofold, having in himself both a better and worse self? For so he that makes the baser element subject to the better has self-control and is a superior man, whereas he who allows the nobler element of the soul to follow and be subservient to the incorrigible and unreasoning element, is inferior to what he might be, and is called incontinent, and is in an unnatural condition. For by nature it appertains to reason, which is divine, to rule and govern the unreasoning element, which has its origin from the body, which it also naturally resembles and participates in its passions, being placed in it and mixed up with it, as is proved by the impulses to bodily delights, which are always fierce or languid according to the changes of the body. And so it is that young men are keen and vehement in their desires, being red hot and raging from their fulness of blood and animal heat, whereas with old men the liver, which is the seat of desire, is dried up and weak and feeble, and reason has more power with them than passion which decays with the body. This principle also no doubt characterizes the nature of animals as regards the sexual appetite. For it is not of course from any fitness or unfitness of opinions, that some animals are so bold and resolute in the presence of danger, while others are helpless and full of fear and trembling; but this difference of emotion is produced by the workings of the blood and spirit and body, the emotional part growing out of the flesh, as from a root, and carrying along with it its quality and temperament. And that the body of man sympathizes with and is affected by the emotional impulses is proved by pallors, and blushings, and tremblings, and palpitations of the heart, as on the other hand by an all-pervading joy in the hope and expectation of pleasures. But whenever the mind is by itself and unmoved by passion, the body is in repose and at rest, having no participation or share in the working of the intellect, unless it involve the emotional, or the unreasoning element call it in. So that it is clear that there are two distinct parts of the soul differing from one another in their faculties.

12. And generally speaking of all existing things, as they themselves admit and is clear, some are governed by nature, some by habit, some by an unreasoning soul, some by a soul that has reason and intelligence. Man too participates in all this, and is subject to all those differences here mentioned, for he is affected by habit, and nourished by nature, and uses reason and intelligence. He has also a share of the unreasoning element, and has the principle of passion innate in him, not as a mere episode in his life but as a necessity, which ought not therefore to be entirely rooted out, but requires care and attention. For the function of reason is no Thracian or Lycurgean one to root up and destroy all the good elements in passion indiscriminately with the bad, but, as some genial and mild god, to prune what is wild, and to correct disproportion, and after that to train and cultivate the useful part. For as those who are afraid to get drunk do not pour on the ground their wine, but mix it with water, so those who are afraid of the disturbing element in passion do not eradicate passion altogether but temper it. Similarly with oxen and horses people try to restrain their mad bounds and restiveness, not their movements and powers of work, and so reason makes use of the passions when they have become tame and docile, not by cutting out the sinews or altogether mutilating the serviceable part of the soul. For as Pindar says, "The horse to the chariot, and the ox to the plough, while he that meditates destruction for the boar must find a staunch hound." But much more useful than these are the whole tribe of passions when they wait on reason and run parallel to virtue. Thus moderate anger is useful to courage, and hatred of evil to uprightness, and righteous indignation against those who are fortunate beyond their deserts, when they are inflamed in their souls with folly and insolence and need a check. And no one if they wished could pluck away or sever natural affection from friendship, or pity from philanthropy, or sympathy both in joy and grief from genuine goodwill. And if those err who wish to banish love because of erotic madness, neither are they right who blame all desire because of love of money, but they act like people who refuse to run because they might stumble, or to throw because they might throw wide of the mark, or object to sing altogether because they might make a false note. For as in sounds music does not create melody by the banishment of sharps and flats, and as in bodies the art of the physician procures health not by the doing away of cold and heat but by their being blended in due proportions and quantities, so is victory won in the soul by the powers and motions of the passions being reduced by reason to moderation and due proportion. For excessive grief or fear or joy in the soul (I speak not of mere joy grief or fear), resembles a body swollen or inflamed. And Homer when he says excellently, "The brave man's colour never changes, norIs he much frightened," does not take away all fear but only excessive fear, that bravery may not become recklessness, nor confidence foolhardiness. So also in regard to pleasure we must do away with excessive desire, and in regard to vengeance with excessive hatred of evil. For so in the former case one will not be apathetic but temperate, and in the latter one will not be savage or cruel but just. But if the passions were entirely removed, supposing that to be possible, reason would become in many duller and blunter, like the pilot in the absence of a storm. And no doubt it is from having noticed this that legislators try to excite in states ambition and emulation among their townsmen, and stir up and increase their courage and pugnacity against enemies by the sound of trumpets and flutes. For it is not only in poems, as Plato says, that he that is inspired by the Muses, and as it were possessed by them, will laugh to shame the plodding artist, but also in fighting battles passion and enthusiasm will be irresistible and invincible, such as Homer makes the gods inspire men with, as in the line, "Thus speaking he infused great might in Hector,The shepherd of the people."

and, "He is not mad like this without the god," as if the god had added passion to reason as an incitement and spur. And you may see those very persons, whose opinions I am combating, frequently urging on the young by praises, and frequently checking them by rebukes, though pleasure follows

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the one, pain the other. For rebukes and censure produce repentance and shame, the one bringing grief, the other fear, and these they mostly make use of for purposes of correction. And so Diogenes, when Plato was being praised, said, "What has he to vaunt of, who has been a philosopher so long, and yet never gave pain to anyone?" For one could not say, to use the words of Xenocrates, that the mathematics are such handles to philosophy as are the emotions of young men, such as shame, desire, repentance, pleasure, pain, ambition, whereon reason and the law laying a suitable grip succeed in putting the young man on the right road. So that it was no bad remark of the Lacedaemonian tutor, that he would make the boy entrusted to his charge pleased with what was good and displeased with what was bad, for a higher or nobler aim cannot be proposed in the education fit for a freeborn lad.

PLUTARCH'S MORALS CHAPTER 9

HOW ONE MAY BE AWARE OF ONE'S PROGRESS IN VIRTUE.

1. What amount of argument, Sossius Senecio, will make a man know that he is improving in respect to virtue, if his advances in it do not bring about some diminution in folly, but vice, weighing equally with all his good intentions, "acts like the lead that makes the net go down?" For neither in music nor grammatical knowledge could anyone recognize any improvement, if he remained as unskilful in them as before, and had not lost some of his old ignorance. Nor in the case of anyone ill would medical treatment, if it brought no relief or ease, by the disease somewhat yielding and abating, give any perception of improvement of health, till the opposite condition was completely brought about by the body recovering its full strength. But just as in these cases there is no improvement unless, by the abatement of what weighs them down till they rise in the opposite scale, they recognize a change, so in the case of those who profess philosophy no improvement or sign of improvement can be supposed, unless the soul lay aside and purge itself of some of its imperfection, and if it continue altogether bad until it become absolutely good and perfect. For indeed a wise man cannot in a moment of time change from absolute badness to perfect goodness, and suddenly abandon for ever all that vice, of which he could not during a long period of time divest himself of any portion. And yet you know, of course, that those who maintain these views frequently give themselves much trouble and bewilderment about the difficulty, that a wise man does not perceive that he has become wise, but is ignorant and doubtful that in a long period of time by little and little, by removing some things and adding others, there will be a secret and quiet improvement, and as it were passage to virtue. But if the change were so great and sudden that the worst man in the morning could become the best man at night, or should the change so happen that he went to bed vicious and woke up in the morning wise, and, having dismissed from his mind all yesterday's follies and errors, should say, "False dreams, away, you had no meaning then!" who on earth could be ignorant of so great a change happening to himself, of virtue blazing forth so completely all at once? I myself am of opinion that anyone, like Caeneus, who, according, to his prayer, got changed from a woman into a man, would sooner be ignorant of the transformation, than that a man should become at once, from a cowardly and senseless person with no powers of self-control, brave and sensible and perfect master of himself, and should in a moment change from a brutish life to a divine without being aware of it.

2. That was an excellent observation, Measure the stone by the mason's rule, not the rule by the stone. But the Stoics, not applying dogmas to facts but facts to their own preconceived opinions, and forcing things to agree that do not by nature, have filled philosophy with many difficulties, the greatest of which is that all men but the perfect man are equally vicious, which has produced the enigma called progress, one little short of extreme folly, since it makes those who have not at once under its guidance given up all passions and disorders equally unfortunate as those who have not got rid of a single vile propensity. However they are their own confuters, for while they lay down in the schools that Aristides was as unjust as Phalaris, and Brasidas as great a craven as Dolon, and Plato actually as senseless as Meletus, in life and its affairs they turn away from and avoid one class as implacable, while they make use of the others and trust them in most important matters as most worthy people.

3. But we who see that in every kind of evil, but especially in a disordered and unsettled state of mind, there are degrees of more and less (so that the progress made differs in different cases, badness abating, as a shadow flees away, under the influence of reason, which calmly illuminates and cleanses the soul), cannot consider it unreasonable to think that the change will be perceived, as people who come up out of some ravine can take note of the progress they make upwards. Look at the case from the following point of view first. Just as mariners sailing with full sail over the gaping ocean measure the course they have made by the time they have taken and the force of the wind, and compute their progress accordingly, so anyone can compute his progress in philosophy by his continuous and unceasing course, by his not making many halts on the road, and then again advancing by leaps and bounds, but by his quiet and even and steady march forward guided by reason. For the words of the poet, "If to a little you keep adding a little, and do so frequently, it will soon be a lot," are not only true of the increase of money, but are universally applicable, and especially to increase in virtue, since reason invokes to her aid the enormous force of habit. On the other hand the inconsistencies and dulnesses of some philosophers not only check advance, as it were, on the road, but even break up the journey altogether, since vice always attacks at its leisure and forces back whatever yields to it. The mathematicians tell us that planets, after completing their course, become stationary; but in philosophy there is no such intermission or stationary position from the cessation of progress, for its nature is ever to be moving and, as it were, to be weighed in the scales, sometimes being overweighted by the good preponderating, sometimes by the bad. If, therefore, imitating the oracle given to the Amphictyones by the god, "to fight against the people of Cirrha every day and every night," you are conscious that night and day you ever maintain a fierce fight against vice, not often relaxing your vigilance, or long off your guard, or receiving as heralds to treat of peace the pleasures, or idleness, or stress of business, you may reasonably go forward to the future courageously and confidently.

4. Moreover, if there be any intermissions in philosophy, and yet your later studies are firmer and more continuous than your former ones, it is no bad indication that your sloth has been expelled by labour and exercise; for the contrary is a bad sign, when after a short time your lapses from zeal become many and continuous, as if your zeal were dying away. For as in the growth of a reed, which shoots up from the ground finely and beautifully to an even and continuous height, though at first from its great intervals it is hindered and baffled in its growth, and afterwards through its weakness is discouraged by any breath of air, and though strengthened by many and frequent joints, yet a violent wind gives it commotion and trembling, so those who at first make great launches out into philosophy, and afterwards find that they are continually hindered and baffled, and cannot perceive that they make any progress, finally get tired of it and cry off. "But he who is as it were winged," is by his simplicity borne along to his end, and by his zeal and energy cuts through impediments to his progress, as merely obstacles on the road. As it is a sign of the growth of violent love, not so much to rejoice in the presence of the loved one, for everyone does that, as to be distressed and grieved at his absence, so many feel a liking for philosophy and seem to take a wonderful interest in the study, but if they are diverted by other matters and business their passion evaporates and they take it very easily. "But whoever is strongly smitten with love for his darling" will show his mildness and agreeableness in the presence of and joint pursuit of wisdom with the loved one, but if he is drawn away from him and is not in his company you will see him in a stew and ill at ease and peevish whether at work or leisure, and unreasonably forgetful of his friends, and wholly impelled by his passion for philosophy. For we ought not to rejoice at discourses only when we hear them, as people like perfumes only when they smell them, and not to seek or care about them in their absence, but in the same condition as people who are hungry and thirsty are in if torn away from food and drink, we ought to follow after true proficiency in philosophy, whether marriage, or wealth, or friendship, or military service, strike in and produce a separation. For just as more is to be got from philosophy, so much the more does what we fail to obtain trouble us.

5. Either precisely the same as this or very similar is Hesiod's very ancient definition of progress in virtue, namely, that the road is no longer very steep or arduous, but easy and smooth and level, its roughness being toned down by exercise, and casting the bright light of philosophy on doubt and error and regrets, such as trouble those who give themselves to philosophy at the outset, like people who leave a land they know, and do not yet descry the land they are sailing to. For by abandoning the common and familiar, before they know and apprehend what is better, they frequently flounder about in the middle and are fain to return. As they say the Roman Sextius, giving up for philosophy all his honours and offices in Rome, being afterwards discontented with philosophy from the difficulties he met with in it at first, very nearly threw himself out of window. Similarly they relate of Diogenes of Sinope, when he began to be a philosopher, that the Athenians were celebrating a festival, and there were public banquets and shows and mutual festivities, and drinking and revelling all night, and he, coiled up in a corner of the market-place intending to sleep, fell into a train of thought likely seriously to turn him from his purpose and shake his resolution, for he reflected that he had adopted without any necessity a toilsome and unusual kind of life, and by his own fault sat there debarred of all the good things. At that moment, however, they say a mouse stole up and began to munch some of the crumbs of his barley-cake, and he plucked up his courage and said to himself, in a railing and chiding fashion, "What say you, Diogenes? Do your leavings give this mouse a sumptuous meal, while you, the gentleman, wail and lament because you are not getting drunk yonder and reclining on soft and luxurious couches?" Whenever such depressions of mind are not frequent, and the mind when they take place quickly recovers from them, after having put them to flight as it were, and when such annoyance and distraction is easily got rid of, then one may consider one's progress in virtue as a certainty.

6. And since not only the things that in themselves shake and turn them in the opposite direction are more powerful in the case of weak philosophers, but also the serious advice of friends, and the playful and jeering objections of adversaries bend and soften people, and have ere now shaken some out of philosophy altogether, it will be no slight indication of one's progress in virtue if one takes all this very calmly, and is neither disturbed nor aggravated by people who tell us and mention to us that some of our former comrades are flourishing in kings' courts, or have married wives with dowries, or are attended by a crowd of friends when they come down to the forum to solicit some office or advocateship. He that is not moved or affected by all this is already plainly one upon whom philosophy has got a right hold; for it is impossible that we should cease to be envious of what most people admire, unless the admiration of virtue was strongly implanted in us. For over-confidence may be generated in some by anger and folly, but to despise what men admire is not possible without a true and steady elevation of mind. And so people in such a condition of mind, comparing it with that of others, pride themselves on it, and say with Solon, "We would not change virtue for wealth, for while virtue abides, wealth changes hands, and now one man, now another, has it." And Diogenes compared his shifting about from Corinth to Athens, and again from Thebes to Corinth, to the different residences of the King of Persia, as his spring residence at Susa, his winter residence at Babylon, and his summer residence in Media. And Agesilaus said of the great king, "How is he better than me, if he is not more upright?" And Aristotle, writing to Antipater about Alexander, said, "that he ought not to think highly of himself because he had many subjects, for anyone who had right notions about the gods was entitled to think quite as highly of himself." And Zeno, observing that Theophrastus was admired for the number of his pupils, said, "His choir is, I admit, larger than mine, but mine is more harmonious."

7. Whenever then, by thus comparing the advantages of virtue with external things, you get rid of envies and jealousies and those things which fret and depress the minds of many who are novices in philosophy, this also is a great indication of your progress in virtue. Another and no slight indication is a change in the style of your discourses. For generally speaking all novices in philosophy adopt most such as tend to their own glorification; some, like birds, in their levity and ambition soaring to the height and brightness of physical things; others like young puppies, as Plato says, rejoicing in tearing and biting, betake themselves to strifes and questions and sophisms; but most plunging themselves into dialectics immediately store themselves for sophistry; and some collect sentences and histories and go about (as Anacharsis said he saw the Greeks used money for no other purpose but to count it up), merely piling up and comparing them, but making no practical use of them. Applicable here is that saying of Antiphanes, which someone applied to Plato's pupils. Antiphanes said playfully that in a certain city words were frozen directly they were spoken, owing to the great cold, and were thawed again in the summer, so that one could then hear what had been said in the winter. So he said of the words which were spoken by Plato to young men, that most of them only understood them late in life when they were become old men. And this is the condition people are in in respect to all philosophy, until the judgement gets into a sound and healthy state, and begins to adapt itself to those things which can produce character and greatness of mind, and to seek discourses whose footsteps turn inwards rather than outwards, to borrow the language of AEsop. For as Sophocles said he had first toned down the pompous style of AEschylus, then his harsh and over-artificial method, and had in the third place changed his manner of diction, a most important point and one that is most intimately connected with the character, so those who go in for philosophy, when they have passed from flattering and artificial discourses to such as deal with character and emotion, are beginning to make genuine and modest progress in virtue.

8. Furthermore, take care, in reading the writings of philosophers or hearing their speeches, that you do not attend to words more than things, nor get attracted more by what is difficult and curious than by what is serviceable and solid and useful. And also, in studying poems or history, let nothing escape you of what is said to the point, which is likely either to correct the character or to calm the passions. For as Simonides says the bee hovers among the flowers "making the yellow honey," while others value and pluck flowers only for their beauty and fragrance, so of all that read poems for pleasure and amusement he alone that finds and gathers what

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is valuable seems capable of knowledge from his acquaintance with and friendship for what is noble and good. For those who study Plato and Xenophon only for their style, and cull out only what is pure and Attic, and as it were the dew and the bloom, do they not resemble people who love drugs for their smell and colour, but care not for them as anodynes or purges, and are not aware of those properties? Whereas those who have more proficiency can derive benefit not from discourses only, but from sights and actions, and cull what is good and useful, as is recorded of Aeschylus and other similar kind of men. As to AEschylus, when he was watching a contest in boxing at the Isthmus, and the whole theatre cried out upon one of the boxers being beaten, he nudged with his elbow Ion of Chios, and said, "Do you observe the power of training? The beaten man holds his peace, while the spectators cry out." And Brasidas having caught hold of a mouse among some figs, being bitten by it let it go, and said to himself, "Hercules, there is no creature so small or weak that it will not fight for its life!" And Diogenes, seeing a lad drinking water out of the palm of his hand, threw away the cup which he kept in his wallet. So much does attention and assiduous practice make people perceptive and receptive of what contributes to virtue from any source. And this is the case still more with those who mix discourses with actions, who not only, to use the language of Thucydides, "exercise themselves in the presence of danger," but also in regard to pleasures and strifes, and judgements, and advocateships, and magistrateships make a display of their opinions, or rather form their opinions by their practice. For we can no more think those philosophers who are ever learning and busy and investigating what they have got from philosophy, and then straightway publish it in the market-place or in the haunt of young men, or at a royal supper-party, any more than we give the name of physicians to those who sell drugs and mixtures. Nay rather such a sophist differs very little at all from the bird described in Homer, offering his scholars like it whatever he has got, and as it feeds its callow young from its own mouth, "though it goes ill with itself," so he gets no advantage or food from what he has got for himself.

9. We must therefore see to it that our discourse be serviceable to ourselves, and that it may not appear to others to be vain-glorious or ambitious, and we must show that we are as willing to listen as to teach, and especially must we lay aside all disputatiousness and love of strife in controversy, and cease bandying fierce words with one another as if we were contending with one another at boxing, and leave off rejoicing more in smiting and knocking down one another than in learning and teaching. For in such cases moderation and mildness, and to commence arguing without quarrelsomeness and to finish without getting into a rage, and neither to be insolent if you come off best in the argument, nor dejected if you come off worst, is a sufficient sign of progress in virtue. Aristippus was an excellent example of this, when overcome in argument by the sophistry of a man, who had plenty of assurance, but was generally speaking mad or half-witted. Observing that he was in great joy and very puffed up at his victory, he said, "I who have been vanquished in the argument shall have a better night's rest than my victor." We can also test ourselves in regard to public speaking, if we are not timid and do not shrink from speaking when a large audience has unexpectedly been got together, nor dejected when we have only a small one to harangue to, and if we do not, when we have to speak to the people or before some magistrate, miss the opportunity through want of proper preparation; for these things are recorded both of Demosthenes and Alcibiades. As for Alcibiades, though he possessed a most excellent understanding, yet from want of confidence in speaking he often broke down, and in trying to recall a word or thought that slipped his memory had to stop short. And Homer did not deny that his first line was unmetrical, though he had sufficient confidence to follow it up by so many other lines, so great was his genius. Much more then ought those who aim at virtue and what is noble to lose no opportunity of public speaking, paying very little attention to either uproar or applause at their speeches.

10. And not only ought each to see to his discourses but also to his actions whether he regards utility more than show, and truth more than display. For if a genuine love for youth or maiden seeks no witnesses, but is content to enjoy its delights privately, far more does it become the philosopher and lover of the beautiful, who is conversant with virtue through his actions, to pride himself on his silence, and not to need people to praise or listen to him. As that man who called his maid in the house, and cried out to her, "See, Dionysia, I am angry no longer," so he that does anything agreeable and polite, and then goes and spreads it about the town, plainly shows that he looks for public applause and has a strong propensity to vain-glory, and as yet has no acquaintance with virtue as a reality but only as a dream, restlessly roving about amid phantoms and shadows, and making a display of whatever he does as painters display a picture. It is therefore a sign of progress in virtue not merely to have given to a friend or done a good turn to an acquaintance without mentioning it to other people, but also to have given an honest vote among many unjust ones, and to have withstood the dishonourable request of some rich man or of some man in office, and to have been above taking bribes, and, by Zeus, to have been thirsty all night and not to have drunk, or, like Agesilaus, to have resisted, though strongly tempted, the kiss of a handsome youth or maiden, and to have kept the fact to oneself and been silent about it. For one's being satisfied with one's own good opinion and not despising it, but rejoicing in it and acquiescing in it as competent to see and decide on what is honourable, proves that reason is rooted and grounded within one, and that, to borrow the language of Democritus, one is accustomed to draw one's delights from oneself. And just as farmers behold with greater pleasure those ears of corn which bend and bow down to the ground, while they look upon those that from their lightness stand straight upright as empty pretenders, so also among those young men who wish to be philosophers those that are most empty and without any solidity show the greatest amount of assurance in their appearance and walk, and a face full of haughtiness and contempt that looks down on everybody, but when they begin to grow full and get some fruit from study they lay aside their proud and vain bearing. And just as in vessels that contain water the air is excluded, so with men that are full of solid merit their pride abates, and their estimate of themselves becomes a lower one, and they cease to plume themselves on a long beard and threadbare cloak, and transfer their training to the mind, and are most severe and austere to themselves, while they are milder in their intercourse with everybody else; and they do not as before eagerly snatch at the name and reputation of philosopher, nor do they write themselves down as such, but even if he were addressed by that title by anyone else, an ingenuous young man would say, smiling and blushing, "I am not a god: why do you liken me to the immortals? For as Aeschylus says,

"I never can mistake the burning eye Of the young woman that has once known man," so to the young man who has tasted of true progress in philosophy the following lines of Sappho are applicable, "My tongue cleaves to the roof of my month, and a fire courses all over my lean body," and his eye will be gentle and mild, and you would desire to hear him speak. For as those who are initiated come together at first with confusion and noise and jostle one another, but when the mysteries are being performed and exhibited, they give their attention with awe and silence, so also at the commencement of philosophy you will see round its doors much confusion and assurance and prating, some rudely and violently jostling their way to reputation, but he who once enters in, and sees the great light, as when shrines are open to view, assumes another air and is silent and awe-struck, and in humility and decorum follows reason as if she were a god. And the playful remark of Menedemus seems to suit these very well. He said that the majority of those who went to school at Athens became first wise, and then philosophers, after that orators, and as time went on became ordinary kind of people, the more they had to do with learning, so much the more laying aside their pride and high estimate of themselves.

11. Of people that need the help of the physician some, if their tooth ache or even finger smart, run at once to the doctor, others if they are feverish send for one and implore his assistance at their own home, others who are melancholy or crazy or delirious will not sometimes even see the doctor if he comes to their house, but drive him away, or avoid him, ignorant through their grievous disease that they are diseased at all. Similarly of those who have done what is wrong some are incorrigible, being hostile and indignant and furious at those who reprove and admonish them, while others are meeker and bear and allow reproof. Now, when one has done what is wrong, to offer oneself for reproof, to expose the case and reveal one's wrongdoing, and not to rejoice if it lies hid, or be satisfied if it is not known, but to make confession of it and ask for interference and admonishment, is no small indication of progress in virtue. And so Diogenes said that one who wished to do what was right ought to seek either a good friend or red-hot enemy, that either by rebuke or mild entreaty he might flee from vice. But as long as anyone, making a display of dirt or stains on his clothes, or a torn shoe, prides himself to outsiders on his freedom from arrogance, and, by Zeus, thinks himself doing something very smart if he jeers at himself as a dwarf or hunchback, but wraps up and conceals as if they were ulcers the inner vileness of his soul and the deformities of his life, as his envy, his malignity, his littleness, his love of pleasure, and will not let anyone touch or look at them from fear of disgrace, such a one has made little progress in virtue, yea rather none. But he that joins issue with his vices, and shows that he himself is even more pained and grieved about them than anyone else, or, what is next best, is able and willing to listen patiently to the reproof of another and to correct his life accordingly, he seems truly to be disgusted at his depravity and resolute to divest himself of it. We ought certainly to be ashamed of and shun every appearance of vice, but he who is more put about by his vice itself than by the bad reputation that ensues upon it, will not mind either hearing it spoken against or even speaking against it himself if it make him a better man. That was a witty remark of Diogenes to a young man, who when seen in a tavern retired into the kitchen: "The more," said he, "you retire, the more are you in the tavern." Even so the more a vicious man denies his vice, the more does it 132insinuate itself and master him: as those people really poor who pretend to be rich get still more poor from their false display. But he who is really making progress in virtue imitates Hippocrates, who confessed publicly and put into black and white that he had made a mistake about the sutures of the skull, for he will think it monstrous, if that great man declared his mistake, that others might not fall into the same error, and yet he himself for his own deliverance from vice cannot bear to be shown he is in the wrong, and to confess his stupidity and ignorance. Moreover the sayings of Bion and Pyrrho will test not so much one's progress as a greater and more perfect habit of virtue. Bion maintained that his friends might think they had made progress, when they could listen as patiently to abuse as to such language as the following, "Stranger, you look not like a bad or foolish person," "Health and joy go with you, may the gods give you happiness!" While as to Pyrrho they say, when he was at sea and in peril from a storm, that he pointed out a little pig that was quietly enjoying some grain that had been scattered about, and said to his companions that the man who did not wish to be disturbed by the changes and chances of life should attain a similar composedness of mind through reason and philosophy.

12. Look also at the opinion of Zeno, who thought that everybody might gauge his progress in virtue by his dreams, if he saw himself in his dreams pleasing himself with nothing disgraceful, and neither doing nor wishing to do anything dreadful or unjust, but that, as in the clear depths of a calm and tranquil sea, his fancy and passions were plainly shown to be under the control of reason. And this had not escaped the notice of Plato, it seems, who had earlier expressed in form and outline the part that fancy and unreason played in sleep in the soul that was by nature tyrannical, "for it attempts incest," he says, "with its mother, and procures for itself unlawful meats, and gives itself up to the most abandoned desires, such as in daytime the law through shame and fear debars people from." As then beasts of burden that have been well-trained do not, even if their driver let go the reins, attempt to turn aside and leave the proper road, but go forward orderly as usual, pursuing their way without stumbling, so those whose unreason has become obedient and mild and tempered by reason, will not easily wish, either in dreams or in illnesses, to deal insolently or lawlessly through their desires, but will keep to their usual habits, which acquire their power and force by attention. For if the body can by training make itself and its members so subject to control, that the eyes in sorrow can refrain from tears, and the heart from palpitating in fear, and the passions can be calm in the presence of beautiful youths and maidens, is it not far more likely that the training of the passions and emotions of the soul will allay, tame down, and mould their propensities even in dreams? A story is told about the philosopher Stilpo, that he thought he saw in a dream Poseidon angry with him because he had not sacrificed an ox to him, as was usual among the Megarians: and that he, not a bit frightened, said, "What are you talking about, Poseidon? Do you come here as a peevish boy, because I have not with borrowed money filled the town with the smell of sacrifice, and have only sacrificed to you out of what I had at home on a modest scale?" Then he thought that Poseidon smiled at him, and held out his right hand, and said that for his sake he would give the Megarians a large shoal of anchovies. Those, then, that have such pleasant, clear, and painless dreams, and no frightful, or harsh, or malignant, or untoward apparition, may be said to have reflections of their progress in virtue; whereas agitation and panics and ignoble flights, and boyish delights, and lamentations in the case of sad and strange dreams, are like the waves that break on the coast, the soul not having yet got its proper composure, but being still in course of being moulded by opinions and laws, from which it escapes in dreams as far as possible, so that it is once again set free and open to the passions. Do you investigate all these points too, as to whether they are signs of progress in virtue, or of some habit which has already a settled constancy and strength through reason.

13. Now since entire freedom from the passions is a great and divine thing, and progress in virtue seems, as we say, to consist in a certain remissness and mildness of the passions, we must observe the passions both in themselves and in reference to one another to gauge the difference: in themselves as to whether desire, and fear, and rage are less strong in us now than formerly, through our quickly extinguishing their violence and heat by reason; and in reference to one another as to whether we are animated now by modesty more than by fear, and by emulation more than by envy, and by love of glory rather than by love of riches, and generally speaking whether—to use the language of musicians—it is in the Dorian more than in the Lydian measures that we err either by excess or deficiency, whether we are plainer in our manner of living or more luxurious, whether we are slower in action or quicker, whether we admire men and their discourses more

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than we should or despise them. For as it is a good sign in diseases if they turn aside from vital parts of the body, so in the case of people who are making progress in virtue, when vice seems to shift to milder passions, it is a sign it will soon die out. When Phrynis added to the seven chords two chords more, the Ephors asked him which he preferred to let them cut off, the upper or lower ones; so we must cut off both above and below, if we mean to attain, to the mean and to due proportion: for progress in virtue first diminishes the excess and sharpness of the passions, "That sharpness for which madmen are so vehement," as Sophocles says.

14. I have already said that it is a very great indication of progress in virtue to transfer our judgement to action, and not to let our words remain merely words, but to make deeds of them. A manifestation of this is in the first place emulation as regards what we praise, and a zeal to do what we admire, and an unwillingness either to do or allow what we censure. To illustrate my meaning by an example, it is probable that all Athenians praised the daring and bravery of Miltiades; but Themistocles alone said that the trophy of Miltiades would not let him sleep, but woke him up of a night, and not only praised and admired him, but manifestly emulated and imitated his glorious actions. Small, therefore, can we think the progress we have made, as long as our admiration for those who have done noble things is barren, and does not of itself incite us to imitate them. For as there is no strong love without jealousy, so there is no ardent and energetic praise of virtue, which does not prick and goad one on, and make one not envious but emulous of what is noble, and desirous to do something similar. For not only at the discourses of a philosopher ought we, as Alcibiades said, to be moved in heart and shed tears, but the true proficient in virtue, comparing his own deeds and actions with those of the good and perfect man, and grieved at the same time at the knowledge of his own deficiency, yet rejoicing in hope and desire, and full of impulses that will not let him rest, is, as Simonides says, "Like sucking foal running by side of dam," being desirous all but to coalesce with the good man. For it is a special sign of true progress in virtue to love and admire the disposition of those whose deeds we emulate, and to resemble them with a goodwill that ever assigns due honour and praise to them. But whoever is steeped in contentiousness and envy against his betters, let him know that he may be pricked on by a jealous desire for glory or power, but that he neither honours nor admires virtue.

15. Whenever, then, we begin so much to love good men that we deem happy, "not only," as Plato says, "the temperate man himself, but also the man who hears the words that flow from his wise lips," and even admire and are pleased with his figure and walk and look and smile, and desire to adapt ourselves to his model and to stick closely to him, then may we think that we are making genuine progress. Still more will this be the case, if we admire the good not only in prosperity, but like lovers who admire even the lispings and paleness of those in their flower, as the tears and dejection of Panthea in her grief and affliction won the affections of Araspes, so we fear neither the exile of Aristides, nor the prison of Anaxagoras, nor the poverty of Socrates, nor the condemnation of Phocion, but think virtue worthy our love even under such trials, and join her, ever chanting that line of Euripides, "Unto the noble everything is good."

For the enthusiasm that can go so far as not to be discouraged at the sure prospect of trouble, but admires and emulates what is good even so, could never be turned away from what is noble by anybody. Such men ever, whether they have some business to transact, or have taken upon them some office, or are in some critical conjuncture, put before their eyes the example of noble men, and consider what Plato would have done on the occasion, what Epaminondas would have said, how Lycurgus or Agesilaus would have dealt; that so, adjusting and re-modelling themselves, as it were, at their mirrors, they may correct any ignoble expression, and repress any ignoble passion. For as those that have learnt the names of the Idaean Dactyli make use of them to banish their fear by quietly repeating them over, so the bearing in mind and remembering good men, which soon suggests itself forcibly to those who have made some progress in virtue in all their emotions and difficulties, keeps them upright and not liable to fall. Let this also then be a sign to you of progress in virtue.

16. In addition to this, not to be too much disturbed, 137nor to blush, nor to try and conceal oneself, or make any change in one's dress, on the sudden appearance of a man of distinction and virtue, but to feel confident and go and meet such a one, is the confirmation of a good conscience. It is reported that Alexander, seeing a messenger running up to him full of joy and holding out his right hand, said, "My good friend, what are you going to tell me? Has Homer come to life again?" For he thought that his own exploits required nothing but posthumous fame. And a young man improving in character instinctively loves nothing better than to take pride and pleasure in the company of good and noble men, and to display his house, his table, his wife, his amusements, his serious pursuits, his spoken or written discourses; insomuch that he is grieved when he remembers that his father or guardian died without seeing him in that condition in life, and would pray for nothing from the gods so much, as that they could come to life again, and be spectators of his life and actions; as, on the contrary, those that have neglected their affairs, and come to ruin, cannot look upon their relatives even in dreams without fear and trembling.

17. Add, if you please, to what I have already said, as no small indication of progress in virtue, the thinking no wrong-doing small, but being on your guard and heed against all. For as people who despair of ever being rich make no account of small expenses, thinking they will never make much by adding little to little, but when hope is nearer fruition, then with wealth increases the love of it, so in things that have respect to virtue, not he that generally assents to such sayings as "Why trouble about hereafter?" "If things are bad now, they will some day be better," but the man who pays heed to everything, and is vexed and concerned if vice gets pardon, when it lapses into even the most trifling wrongdoing, plainly shows that he has already attained to some degree of purity, and deigns not to contract defilement from anything whatever. For the idea that we have nothing of any importance to bring disgrace upon, makes people inclined to what is little and careless. To those who are building a stone wall or coping it matters not if they lay on any chance wood or common stone, or some tombstone that has fallen down, as bad workmen do, heaping and piling up pell-mell every kind of material; but those who have made some progress in virtue, whose life "has been wrought on a golden base," like the foundation of some holy or royal building, undertake nothing carelessly, but lay and adjust everything by the line and level of reason, thinking the remark of Polycletus superlatively good, that that work is most excellent, where the model stands the test of the nail.

PLUTARCH'S MORALS CHAPTER 10

WHETHER VICE IS SUFFICIENT TO CAUSE UNHAPPINESS.

1. ... He who gets a dowry with his wife sells himself for it, as Euripides says, but his gains are few and uncertain; but he who does not go all on fire through many a funeral pile, but through a regal pyre, full of panting and fear and sweat got from travelling over the sea as a merchant, has the wealth of Tantalus, but cannot enjoy it owing to his want of leisure. For that Sicyonian horse-breeder was wise, who gave Agamemnon as a present a swift mare, "that he should not follow him to wind-swept Ilium, but delight himself at home," in the quiet enjoyment of his abundant riches and painless leisure. But nowadays courtiers, and people who think they have a turn for affairs, thrust themselves forward of their own accord uninvited into courts and toilsome escorts and bivouacs, that they may get a horse, or brooch, or some such piece of good luck. "But his wife is left behind in Phylace, and tears her cheeks in her sorrow, and his house is only half complete without him," while he is dragged about, and wanders about, and wastes his time in idle hopes, and has to put up with much insult. And even if he gets any of those things he desires, giddy and dizzy at Fortune's rope-dance, he seeks retirement, and deems those happy who live obscure and in security, while they again look up admiringly at him who soars so high above their heads.

2. Vice has universally an ill effect on everybody, being in itself a sufficient producer of infelicity, needing no instruments nor ministers. For tyrants, anxious to make those whom they punish wretched, keep executioners and torturers, and contrive branding-irons and other instruments of torture to inspire fear in the brute soul, whereas vice attacks the soul without any such apparatus, and crushes and dejects it, and fills a man with sorrow, and lamentation, and melancholy, and remorse. Here is a proof of what I say. Many are silent under mutilation, and endure scourging or torture at the hand of despots or tyrants without uttering a word, whenever their soul, abating the pain by reason, forcibly as it were checks and represses them: but you can never quiet anger or smother grief, or persuade a timid person not to run away, or one suffering from remorse not to cry out, nor tear his hair, nor smite his thigh. Thus vice is stronger than fire and sword.

3. You know of course that cities, when they desire to publicly contract for the building of temples or colossuses, listen to the estimates of the contractors who compete for the job, and bring their plans and charges, and finally select the contractor who will do the work at least 140expense, and best, and quickest. Let us suppose then that we publicly contract to make the life of man miserable, and take the estimates of Fortune and Vice for this object. Fortune shall come forward, provided with all sorts of instruments and costly apparatus to make life miserable and wretched. She shall come with robberies and wars, and the blood-guiltiness of tyrants, and storms at sea, and lightning drawn down from the sky, she shall compound hemlock, she shall bring swords, she shall levy an army of informers, she shall cause fevers to break out, she shall rattle fetters and build prisons. It is true that most of these things are owing to Vice rather than Fortune, but let us suppose them all to come from Fortune. And let Vice stand by naked, without any external things against man, and let her ask Fortune how she will make man unhappy and dejected. Fortune, dost thou threaten poverty? Metrocles laughs at thee, who sleeps during winter among the sheep, in summer in the vestibules of temples, and challenges the king of the Persians, who winters at Babylon, and summers in Media, to vie with him in happiness. Dost thou bring slavery, and bondage, and sale? Diogenes despises thee, who cried out, as he was being sold by some robbers, "Who will buy a master?" Dost thou mix a cup of poison? Didst not thou offer such a one to Socrates? And cheerfully, and mildly, without fear, without changing colour or countenance, he calmly drank it up: and when he was dead, all who survived deemed him happy, as sure to have a divine lot in Hades. And as to thy fire, did not Decius, the general of the Romans, anticipate it for himself, having piled up a funeral pyre between the two armies, and sacrificed himself to Cronos, dedicating himself for the supremacy of his country? And the chaste and loving wives of the Indians strive and contend with one another for the fire, and she that wins the day and gets burnt with the body of her husband, is pronounced happy by the rest, and her praises sung. And of the wise men in that part of the world no one is esteemed or pronounced happy, who does not in his 141lifetime, in good health and in full possession of all his faculties, separate soul from body by fire, and emerge pure from flesh, having purged away his mortal part. Or wilt thou reduce a man from a splendid property, and house, and table, and sumptuous living, to a threadbare coat and wallet, and begging of daily bread? Such was the beginning of happiness to Diogenes, of freedom and glory to Crates. Or wilt thou nail a man on a cross, or impale him on a stake? What cares Theodorus whether he rots above ground or below? Such was the happy mode of burial amongst the Scythians, and among the Hyrcanians dogs, among the Bactrians birds, devour according to the laws the dead bodies of those who have made a happy end.

4. Who then are made unhappy by these things? Those who have no manliness or reason, the enervated and untrained, who retain the opinions they had as children. Fortune therefore does not produce perfect infelicity, unless Vice co-operate. For as a thread saws through a bone that has been soaked in ashes and vinegar, and as people bend and fashion ivory only when it has been made soft and supple by beer, and cannot under any other circumstances, so Fortune, lighting upon what is in itself faulty and soft through Vice, hollows it out and wounds it. And as the Parthian juice, though hurtful to no one else nor injurious to those who touch it or carry it about, yet if it be communicated to a wounded man straightway kills him through his previous susceptibility to receive its essence, so he who will be upset in soul by Fortune must have some secret internal ulcer or sore to make external things so piteous and lamentable.

5. Does then Vice need Fortune to bring about infelicity? By no means. She lashes not up the rough and stormy sea, she girds not lonely mountain passes with robbers lying in wait by the way, she makes not clouds of hail to burst on the fruitful plains, she suborns not Meletus or Anytus or Callixenus as accusers, she takes not away wealth, excludes not people from the praetorship to make them wretched; but she scares the rich, the well-to-do, and great heirs; by land and sea she insinuates herself and 142sticks to people, infusing lust, inflaming with anger, afflicting them with superstitious fears, tearing them in pieces with envy.

PLUTARCH'S MORALS CHAPTER 11

WHETHER THE DISORDERS OF MIND OR BODY ARE WORSE.

1. Homer, looking at the mortality of all living creatures, and comparing them with one another in their lives and habits, gave vent to his thoughts in the words, "Of all the things that on the earth do breathe, Or creep, man is by far the wretchedest;" assigning to man an unhappy pre-eminence in extreme misfortune. But let us, assuming that man is, as thus publicly declared, supreme in infelicity and the most wretched of all living creatures, compare him with himself, in the estimate of his misery dividing body and soul, not idly but in a very necessary way, that we may learn whether our life is more wretched owing to Fortune or through our own fault. For disease is engendered in the body by nature, but vice and depravity in the soul is first its own doing, then its settled condition. And it is no slight aid to tranquillity of mind if what is bad be capable of cure, and lighter and less violent.

2. The fox in Aesop disputing with the leopard as to their respective claims to variety, the latter showed its body and appearance all bright and spotted, while the tawny skin of the former was dirty and not pleasant to look at. Then the fox said, "Look inside me, sir judge, and you will see that I am more full of variety than my opponent," referring to his trickiness and versatility in shifts. Let us similarly say to ourselves, Many diseases and disorders, good sir, thy body naturally produces of itself, many also it receives from without; but if thou lookest at thyself within thou wilt find, to borrow the language of Democritus, a varied and susceptible storehouse and treasury of what is bad, not flowing in from without, but having as it were innate and native springs, which vice, being exceedingly rich and

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abundant in passion, produces. And if diseases are detected in the body by the pulse and by pallors and flushes, and are indicated by heats and sudden pains, while the diseases of the mind, bad as they are, escape the notice of most people, the latter are worse because they deprive the sufferer of the perception of them. For reason if it be sound perceives the diseases of the body, but he that is diseased in his mind cannot judge of his sufferings, for he suffers in the very seat of judgement. We ought to account therefore the first and greatest of the diseases of the mind that ignorance, whereby vice is incurable for most people, dwelling with them and living and dying with them. For the beginning of getting rid of disease is the perception of it, which leads the sufferer to the necessary relief, but he who through not believing he is ill knows not what he requires refuses the remedy even when it is close at hand. For amongst the diseases of the body those are the worst which are accompanied by stupor, as lethargies, headaches, epilepsies, apoplexies, and those fevers which raise inflammation to the pitch of madness, and disturb the brain as in the case of a musical instrument,

"And move the mind's strings hitherto untouched."

3. And so doctors wish a man not to be ill, or if he is ill to be ignorant of it, as is the case with all diseases of the soul. For neither those who are out of their minds, nor the licentious, nor the unjust think themselves faulty—some even think themselves perfect. For no one ever yet called a fever health, or consumption a good condition of body, or gout swift-footedness, or paleness a good colour; but many call anger manliness, and love friendship, and envy competition, and cowardice prudence. Then again those that are ill in body send for doctors, for they are conscious of what they need to counteract their ailments; but those who are ill in mind avoid philosophers, for they think themselves excellent in the very matters in which they come short. And it is on this account that we maintain that ophthalmia is a lesser evil than madness, and gout than frenzy. For the person ill in body is aware of it and calls loudly for the doctor, and when he comes allows him to anoint his eye, to open a vein, or to plaster up his head; but you hear mad Agave in her frenzy not knowing her dearest ones, but crying out, "We bring from the mountain to the halls a young stag recently torn limb from limb, a fortunate capture." Again he who is ill in body straightway gives up and goes to bed and remains there quietly till he is well, and if he toss and tumble about a little when the fit is on him, any of the people who are by saying to him, "Gently,Stay in the bed, poor wretch, and take your ease," restrain him and check him. But those who suffer from a diseased brain are then most active and least at rest, for impulses bring about action, and the passions are vehement impulses. And so they do not let the mind rest, but when the man most requires quiet and silence and retirement, then is he dragged into the open air, and becomes the victim of anger, contentiousness, lust, and grief, and is compelled to do and say many lawless things unsuitable to the occasion.

4. As therefore the storm which prevents one's putting into harbour is more dangerous than the storm which will not let one sail, so those storms of the soul are more formidable which do not allow a man to take in sail, or to calm his reason when it is disturbed, but without a pilot and without ballast, in perplexity and uncertainty through contrary and confusing courses, he rushes headlong and falls into woeful shipwreck, and shatters his life. So that from these points of view it is worse to be diseased in mind than body, for the latter only suffer, but the former do ill as well as suffer ill. But why need I speak of our various passions? The very times bring them to our mind. Do you see yon great and promiscuous crowd jostling against one another and surging round the rostrum and forum? They have not assembled here to sacrifice to their country's gods, nor to share in one another's rites; they are not bringing to Ascraean Zeus the firstfruits of Lydian produce, nor are they celebrating in honour of Dionysus the Bacchic orgies on festival nights with common revellings; but a mighty plague stirring up Asia in annual cycles drives them here for litigation and suits at law at stated times: and the mass of business, like the confluence of mighty rivers, has inundated one forum, and festers and teems with ruiners and ruined. What fevers, what agues, do not these things cause? What obstructions, what irruptions of blood into the air-vessels, what distemperature of heat, what overflow of humours, do not result? If you examine every suit at law, as if it were a person, as to where it originated, where it came from, you will find that one was produced by obstinate temper, another by frantic love of strife, a third by some sordid desire.

PLUTARCH'S MORALS CHAPTER 12

ON ABUNDANCE OF FRIENDS.

1. Menon the Thessalian, who thought he was a perfect adept in discourse, and, to borrow the language of Empedocles, "had attained the heights of wisdom," was asked by Socrates, what virtue was, and upon his answering quickly and glibly, that virtue was a different thing in boy and old man, and in man and woman, and in magistrate and private person, and in master and servant, "Capital," said Socrates, "you were asked about one virtue, but you 146have raised up a whole swarm of them," conjecturing not amiss that the man named many because he knew not one. Might not someone jeer at us in the same way, as being afraid, when we have not yet one firm friendship, that we shall without knowing it fall upon an abundance of friends? It is very much the same as if a man maimed and blind should be afraid of becoming hundred-handed like Briareus or all eyes like Argus. And yet we wonderfully praise the young man in Menander, who said that he thought anyone wonderfully good, if he had even the shadow of a friend.

2. But among many other things what stands chiefly in the way of getting a friend is the desire for many friends, like a licentious woman who, through giving her favours indiscriminately, cannot retain her old lovers, who are neglected and drop off; or rather like the foster-child of Hypsipyle, "sitting in the meadow and plucking flower after flower, snatching at each prize with gladsome heart, insatiable in its childish delight," so in the case of each of us, owing to our love of novelty and fickleness, the recent flower ever attracts, and makes us inconstant, frequently laying the foundations of many friendships and intimacies that come to nothing, neglecting in love of what we eagerly pursue what we have already possession of. To begin therefore with the domestic hearth, as the saying is, with the traditions of life that time has handed down to us about constant friends, let us take the witness and counsel of antiquity, according to which friendships go in pairs, as in the cases of Theseus and Pirithous, Achilles and Patroclus, Orestes and Pylades, Phintias and Damon, Epaminondas and Pelopidas. For friendship is a creature that goes in pairs, and is not gregarious, or crow-like, and to think a friend a second self, and to call him companion as it were second one, shows that friendship is a dual relation. For we can get neither many slaves nor many friends at small expense. What then is the purchase-money of friendship? Benevolence and complaisance conjoined with virtue, and yet nature has nothing more rare than these. And so to love or be loved very much cannot find place with many persons; for as rivers that have many channels and cuttings have a weak and thin stream, so excessive love in the soul if divided out among many is weakened. Thus love for their young is most strongly implanted in those that bear only one, as Homer calls a beloved son "the only one, the child of old age," that is, when the parents neither have nor are likely to have another child.

3. Not that we insist on only one friend, but among the rest there should be one eminently so, like a child of old age, who according to that well-known proverb has eaten a bushel of salt with one, not as nowadays many so-called friends contract friendship from drinking together once, or playing at ball together, or playing together with dice, or passing the night together at some inn, or meeting at the wrestling-school or in the market. And in the houses of rich and leading men people congratulate them on their many friends, when they see the large and bustling crowd of visitors and handshakers and retainers: and yet they see more flies in their kitchens, and as the flies only come for the dainties, so they only dance attendance for what they can get. And since true friendship has three main requirements, virtue, as a thing good; and familiarity, as a thing pleasant; and use, as a thing serviceable; for we ought to choose a friend with judgement, and rejoice in his company, and make use of him in need; and all these things are prejudicial to abundance of friends, especially judgement, which is the most important point; we must first consider, if it is impossible in a short time to test dancers who are to form a chorus, or rowers who are to pull together, or slaves who are to act as stewards of estates, or as tutors of one's sons, far more difficult is it to meet with many friends who will take off their coats to aid you in every fortune, each of whom "offers his services to you in prosperity, and does not object to share your adversity." For neither does a ship encounter so many storms at sea, nor do they fortify places with walls, or harbours with defences and earthworks, in the expectation of so many and great dangers, as friendship tested well and soundly promises defence and refuge from. But if friends slip in without being tested, like money proved to be bad,

"Those who shall lose such friends may well be glad,And those who have such pray that they may lose them."

Yet is it difficult and by no means easy to avoid and bring to a close an unpleasant friendship: as in the case of food which is injurious and harmful, we cannot retain it on the stomach without damage and hurt, nor can we expel it as it was taken into the mouth, but only in a putrid mixed up and changed form, so a bad friend is troublesome both to others and himself if retained, and if he be got rid of forcibly it is with hostility and hatred, and like the voiding of bile.

4. We ought not, therefore, lightly to welcome or strike up an intimate friendship with any chance comers, or love those who attach themselves to us, but attach ourselves to those who are worthy of our friendship. For what is easily got is not always desirable: and we pass over and trample upon heather and brambles that stick to us on our road to the olive and vine: so also is it good not always to make a friend of the person who is expert in twining himself around us, but after testing them to attach ourselves to those who are worthy of our affection and likely to be serviceable to us.

5. As therefore Zeuxis, when some people accused him of painting slowly, replied, "I admit that I do, but then I paint to last," so ought we to test for a long time the friendship and intimacy that we take up and mean to keep. Is it not easy then to put to the test many friends, and to associate with many friends at the same time, or is this impossible? For intimacy is the full enjoyment of friendship, and most pleasant is companying with and spending the day with a friend. "Never again shall we alive, apart from dear friends, sit and take counsel alone together." And Menelaus said about Odysseus, "Nor did anything ever divide or separate us, who loved and delighted in one another, till death's black cloud overshadowed us." The contrary effect seems to be produced by abundance of friends. For the friendship of a pair of friends draws them together and puts them together and holds them together, and is heightened by intercourse and kindliness, "as when the juice of the fig curdles and binds the white milk," as Empedocles says, such unity and complete union will such a friendship produce. Whereas having many friends puts people apart and severs and disunites them, by transferring and shifting the tie of friendship too frequently, and does not admit of a mixture and welding of goodwill by the diffusing and compacting of intimacy. And this causes at once an inequality and difficulty in respect of acts of kindness, for the uses of friendship become inoperative by being dispersed over too wide an area. "One man is acted upon by his character, another by his reflection." For neither do our natures and impulses always incline in the same directions, nor are our fortunes in life identical, for opportunities of action are, like the winds, favourable to some, unfavourable to others.

6. Moreover, if all our friends want to do the same things at the same time, it will be difficult to satisfy them all, whether they desire to deliberate, or to act in state affairs, or wish for office, or are going to entertain guests. If again at the same time they chance to be engaged in different occupations and interests and ask you all together, one who is going on a voyage that you will sail with him, another who is going to law that you will be his advocate, another who is going to try a case that you will try it with him, another who is selling or buying that you will go into 150partnership with him, another who is going to marry that you will join him in the sacrifice, another who is going to bury a relation that you will be one of the mourners, "The town is full of incense, and at onceResounds with triumph-songs and bitter wailing," that is the fruit of many friends; to oblige all is impossible, to oblige none is absurd, and to help one and offend many is grievous. "No lover ever yet fancied neglect."

And yet people bear patiently and without anger the carelessness and neglect of friends, if they get from them such excuses as "I forgot," "I did it unwittingly." But he who says, "I did not assist you in your lawsuit, for I was assisting another friend," or "I did not visit you when you had your fever, for I was helping so-and-so who was entertaining his friends," excusing himself for his inattention to one by his attention to another, so far from making the offence less, even adds jealousy to his neglect. But most people in friendship regard only, it seems, what can be got out of it, overlooking what will be asked in return, and not remembering that he, who has had many of his own requests granted, must oblige others in turn by granting their requests. And as Briareus with his hundred hands had to feed fifty stomachs, and was therefore no better provided than we are, who with two hands have to supply the necessities of only one belly, so in having many friends one has to do many services for them, one has to share in their anxiety, and to toil and moil with them. For we must not listen to Euripides when he says, "mortals ought to join in moderate friendships for one another, and not love with all their heart, that the spell may be soon broken, and the friendship may either be ended or become closer at will," that so it may be adjusted to our requirements, like the sail of a ship that we can either slacken or haul tight. But let us transfer, Euripides, these lines of yours to enmities, and bid people make their animosities moderate, and not hate with all their heart, that their hatred, and wrath, and querulousness, and suspicions, may be easily broken. Recommend rather for our consideration that saying of Pythagoras, "Do not give many your right hand," that is, do not make many friends, do not go in for a common and vulgar friendship, which is sure to cause anyone much trouble; for its sharing in others' anxieties and griefs and labours and dangers is quite intolerable to free and noble natures. And that was a true saying of the wise Chilo [Chilo was one of the Seven Wise Men.] to one who told him he had no enemy, "Neither," said he, "do you seem to me to have a friend." For enmities inevitably accompany and are involved in friendships.

7. It is impossible I say not to share with a friend in his injuries and disgraces and enmities, for enemies at once suspect and hate the friend of their enemies, and even friends are often envious and jealous and carp at him. As then the oracle given to Timesias about his colony foretold him, "that his swarm of bees would soon be followed by a swarm of wasps," so those that seek a swarm of friends have sometimes

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lighted unawares on a wasp's-nest of enemies. And the remembrance of wrongs done by an enemy and the kindness of a friend do not weigh in the same balance. See how Alexander treated the friends and intimates of Philotas and Parmenio, how Dionysius treated those of Dion, Nero those of Plautus, Tiberius those of Sejanus, torturing and putting them to death. For as neither the gold nor rich robes of Creon's daughter availed her or her sire, but the flame that burst out suddenly involved him in the same fate as herself, as he ran up to embrace her and rescue her, so some friends, though they have had no enjoyment out of their friends' prosperity, are involved in their misfortunes. And this is especially the case with philosophers and kind people, as Theseus, when his friend Pirithous was punished and im152prisoned, "was also bound in fetters not of brass." And Thucydides tells us that during the plague at Athens those that most displayed their virtue perished with their friends that were ill, for they neglected their own lives in going to visit them.

§ viii. We ought not therefore to be too lavish with our virtue, binding it together and implicating it in various people's fortunes, but we ought to preserve our friendship for those who are worthy of it, and are capable of reciprocating it. For this is indeed the greatest argument against many friends that friendship is originated by similarity. For seeing that even the brutes can hardly be forced to mix with those that are unlike themselves, but crouch down, and show their dislike, and run away, while they mix freely with those that are akin to them and have a similar nature, and gently and gladly make friends with one another then, how is it possible that there should be friendship between people differing in characters and temperaments and ideas of life? For harmony on the harp or lyre is attained by notes in unison and not in unison, sharp and flat somehow or other producing concord, but in the harmony of friendship there must be no unlike, or uneven, or unequal element, but from all alike must come agreement in opinions and wishes and feeling, as if one soul were put into several bodies.

9. What man then is so industrious, so changeable, and so versatile, as to be able to make himself like and adapt himself to many different persons, and not to laugh at the advice of Theognis, "Imitate the ingenuity of the polypus, that takes the colour of whatever stone it sticks to." And yet the changes in the polypus do not go deep but are only on the surface, which, from its thickness or thinness takes the impression of everything that approaches it, whereas friends endeavour to be like one another in character, and feeling, and language, and pursuits, and disposition. It requires a not very fortunate or very good Proteus, able by jugglery to assume various forms, to be frequently at the same time a student with the learned, and ready to try a fall with wrestlers, or to go a hunting with people fond of the chase, or to get drunk with tipplers, or to go a canvassing with politicians, having no fixed character of his own. And as the natural philosophers say of unformed and colourless matter when subjected to external change, that it is now fire, now water, now air, now solid earth, so the soul suitable for many friendships must be impressionable, and versatile, and pliant, and changeable. But friendship requires a steady constant and unchangeable character, a person that is uniform in his intimacy. And so a constant friend is a thing rare and hard to find.

PLUTARCH'S MORALS CHAPTER 13

HOW ONE MAY DISCERN A FLATTERER FROM A FRIEND.

1. Plato says, Antiochus Philopappus, that all men pardon the man who acknowledges that he is excessively fond of himself, but that there is among many other defects this very grave one in self-love, that by it a man becomes incapable of being a just and impartial judge about himself, for love is blind in regard to the loved object, unless a person has learnt and accustomed himself to honour and pursue what is noble rather than his own selfish interests. This gives a great field for the flatterer in friendship, who finds a wonderful base of operations in our self-love, which makes each person his own first and greatest flatterer, and easily admits a flatterer from without, who will be, so he thinks and hopes, both a witness and confirmer of his good opinion of himself. For he that lies open to the reproach of being fond of flatterers is very fond of himself, and owing to his 154goodwill to himself wishes to possess all good qualities, and thinks he actually does; the wish is not ridiculous, but the thought is misleading and requires a good deal of caution. And if truth is a divine thing, and, according to Plato, the beginning of all good things both to the gods and men, the flatterer is likely to be an enemy to the gods, and especially to Apollo, for he always sets himself against that famous saying, "Know thyself," implanting in everybody's mind self-deceit and ignorance of his own good or bad qualities, thus making his good points defective and imperfect, and his bad points altogether incorrigible.

2. If however, as is the case with most other bad things, the flatterer attacked only or chiefly ignoble or worthless persons, the evil would not be so mischievous or so difficult to guard against. But since, as wood-worms breed most in soft and sweet wood, those whose characters are honourable and good and equitable encourage and support the flatterer most,—and moreover, as Simonides says, "rearing of horses does not go with the oil-flask, but with fruitful fields," so we see that flattery does not join itself to the poor, the obscure, or those without means, but is the snare and bane of great houses and estates, and often overturns kingdoms and principalities,—it is a matter of no small importance, needing much foresight, to examine the question, that so flattery may be easily detected, and neither injure nor discredit friendship. For just as lice leave dying persons, and abandon bodies when the blood on which they feed is drying up, so one never yet saw flatterers dancing attendance on dry and cold poverty, but they fasten on wealth and position and there get fat, but speedily decamp if reverses come. But we ought not to wait to experience that, which would be unprofitable, or rather injurious and dangerous. For not to find friends at a time when you want them is hard, as also not to be able to exchange an inconstant and bad friend for a constant and good one. For a friend should be like money tried before being required, not found faulty in our need. For we ought not to have our wits about us only when the mischief is done, but we ought to try and prevent the flatterer doing any harm to us: for otherwise we shall be in the same plight as people who test deadly poisons by first tasting them, and kill or nearly kill themselves in the experiment. We do not praise such, nor again all those who, looking at their friend simply from the point of view of decorum and utility, think that they can detect all agreeable and pleasant companions as flatterers in the very act. For a friend ought not to be disagreeable or unpleasant, nor ought friendship to be a thing high and mighty with sourness and austerity, but even its decorous deportment ought to be attractive and winning, for by it "The Graces and Desire have pitched their tents," and not only to a person in misfortune "is it sweet to look into the eyes of a friendly person," as Euripides says, but no less does it bring pleasure and charm in good fortune, than when it relieves the sorrows and difficulties of adversity. And as Evenus said "fire was the best sauce," so the deity, mixing up friendship with life, has made everything bright and sweet and acceptable by its presence and the enjoyment it brings. How else indeed could the flatterer insinuate himself by the pleasure he gives, unless he knew that friendship admitted the pleasurable element? It would be impossible to say. But just as spurious and mock gold only imitates the brightness and glitter of real gold, so the flatterer seems to imitate the pleasantness and agreeableness of the real friend, and to exhibit himself ever merry and bright, contradicting and opposing nothing. We must not however on that account suspect all who praise as simple flatterers. For friendship requires praise as much as censure on the proper occasion. Indeed peevishness and querulousness are altogether alien to friendship and social life: but when goodwill bestows praise ungrudgingly and readily upon good actions, people endure also easily and without pain admonition and plainspeaking, believing and continuing to love the person who took such pleasure in praising, as if now he only blamed out of necessity.

3. It is difficult then, someone may say, to distinguish between the flatterer and the friend, if they differ neither in the pleasure they give nor in the praise they bestow; for as to services and attentions you may often see friendship outstripped by flattery. Certainly it is so, I should reply, if we are trying to find the genuine flatterer who handles his craft with cleverness and art, but not if, like most people, we consider those persons flatterers who are called their own oil-flask-carriers and table-men, men who begin to talk, as one said, the moment their hands have been washed for dinner, whose servility, ribaldry, and want of all decency, is apparent at the first dish and glass. It did not of course require very much discrimination to detect Melanthius the parasite of Alexander of Pherae of flattery, who, to those who asked how Alexander was murdered, answered, "Through his side into my belly": or those who formed a circle round a wealthy table, "whom neither fire, nor sword, nor steel, would keep from running to a feast": or those female flatterers in Cyprus, who after they crossed over into Syria were nicknamed "step-ladders," because they lay down and let the kings' wives use their bodies as steps to mount their carriages.

4. What kind of flatterer then must we be on our guard against? The one who neither seems to be nor acknowledges himself to be one: whom you will not always find in the vicinity of your kitchen, who is not to be caught watching the dial to see how near it is to dinner-time, nor gets so drunk as to throw himself down anyhow, but one who is generally sober, and a busybody, and thinks he ought to have a hand in your affairs, and wishes to share in your secrets, and as to friendship plays rather a tragic than a satyric or comic part. For as Plato says, "it is the height of injustice to appear to be just when you are not really so," so we must deem the most dangerous kind of flattery not the open but the secret, not the playful but the serious. For it throws suspicion even upon a genuine friendship, which we may often confound with it, if we are not careful. When Gobryas pursued one of the Magi into a dark room, and was on the ground wrestling with him, and Darius came up and was doubtful how he could kill one without killing both, Gobryas bade him thrust his sword boldly through both of them; but we, since we give no assent to that saying, "Let friend perish so the enemy perish with him," in our endeavour to distinguish the flatterer from the friend, seeing that their resemblances are so many, ought to take great care that we do not reject the good with the bad, nor in sparing what is beneficial fall in with what is injurious. For as wild grains mixed up with wheat, if very similar in size and appearance, are not easily kept apart, for if the sieve have small holes they don't pass through, and if large holes they pass with the corn, so flattery is not easily distinguished from friendship, being mixed up with it in feeling and emotion, habit and custom.

5. Because however friendship is the most pleasant of all things, and nothing more glads the heart of man, therefore the flatterer attracts by the pleasure he gives, pleasure being in fact his field. And because favours and good services accompany friendship, as the proverb says "a friend is more necessary than fire or water," therefore the flatterer volunteers all sorts of services, and strives to show himself on all occasions zealous and obliging and ready. And since friendship is mainly produced by a similarity of tastes and habits, and to have the same likes and dislikes first brings people together and unites them through sympathy, the flatterer observing this moulds himself like material and demeans himself accordingly, seeking completely to imitate and resemble those whom he desires to ingratiate himself with, being supple in change, and plausible in his imitations, so that one would say, "Achilles' son, O no, it is himself."

But his cleverest trick is that, observing that freedom of speech, is both spoken of and reckoned as the peculiar and natural voice of friendship, while not speaking freely is considered unfriendly and disingenuous, he has not failed to imitate this trait of friendship also. But just as clever cooks infuse bitter sauces and sharp seasoning to prevent sweet things from cloying, so these flatterers do not use a genuine or serviceable freedom of speech, but merely a winking and tickling innuendo. He is therefore difficult to detect, like those creatures which naturally change their colour and take that of the material or place near them. But since he deceives and conceals his true character by his imitations, it is our duty to unmask him and detect him by the differences between him and the true friend, and to show that he is, as Plato says, "tricked out in other people's colours and forms, from lack of any of his own."

6. Let us examine the matter then from the beginning. I said that friendship originated in most cases from a similar disposition and nature, generally inclined to the same habits and morals, and rejoicing in the same pursuits, studies, and amusements, as the following lines testify: "To old man the voice of old man is sweetest, to boy that of boy, to woman is most acceptable that of woman, to the sick person that of sick person, while he that is overtaken by misfortune is a comforter to one in trouble." The flatterer knowing then that it is innate in us to delight in, and enjoy the company of, and to love, those who are like ourselves, attempts first to approach and get near a person in this direction, (as one tries to catch an animal in the pastures,) by the same pursuits and amusements and studies and modes of life quietly throwing out his bait, and disguising himself in false colours, till his victim give him an opportunity to catch him, and become tame and tractable at his touch. Then too he censures the things and modes of life and persons that he knows his victim dislikes, while he praises those he fancies immoderately, overdoing it indeed with his show of surprise and excessive admiration, making him more and more convinced that his likes and dislikes are the fruits of judgement and not of caprice.

7. How then is the flatterer convicted, and by what differences is he detected, of being only a counterfeit, and not really like his victim? We must first then look at the even tenor and consistency of his principles, if he always delights in the same things, and always praises the same things, and directs and governs his life after one pattern, as becomes the noble lover of consistent friendship and familiarity. Such a person is a friend. But the flatterer having no fixed character of his own, and not seeking to lead the life suitable for him, but shaping and modelling himself after another's pattern, is neither simple nor uniform, but complex and unstable, assuming different appearances, like water poured from vessel to vessel, ever in a state of flux and accommodating himself entirely to the fashion of those who entertain him. The ape indeed, as it seems, attempting to imitate man, is caught imitating his movements and dancing like him, but the flatterer himself attracts and decoys other men, imitating not all alike, for with one he sings and dances, with another he wrestles and gets covered with the dust of the palaestra, while he follows a third fond of hunting and the chase all but shouting out the words of Phaedra, "How I desire to halloo on the dogs,Chasing the dappled deer," and yet he has really no interest in the chase, it is the hunter himself he sets the toils and snares for. And if the object of his pursuit is some young scholar and lover of learning, he is all for books then, his

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beard flows down to his feet, he's quite a sight with his threadbare cloak, has all the indifference of the Stoic, and speaks of nothing but the rectangles and triangles of Plato. But if any rich and careless fellow fond of drink come in his way, "Then wise Odysseus stript him of his rags," his threadbare cloak is thrown aside, his beard is shorn off like a fruitless crop, he goes in for wine-coolers and tankards, and laughs loudly in the streets, and jeers at philosophers. As they say happened at Syracuse, when Plato went there, and Dionysius was seized with a furious passion for philosophy, and so great was the concourse of geometricians that they raised up quite a cloud of dust in the palace, but when Plato fell out of favour, and Dionysius gave up philosophy, and went back again headlong to wine and women and trifles and debauchery, then all the court was metamorphosed, as if they all had drunk of Circe's cup, for ignorance and oblivion and silliness reigned rampant. I am borne out in what I say by the behaviour of great flatterers and demagogues, the greatest of whom Alcibiades, a jeerer and horse-rearer at Athens, and living a gay and merry life, wore his hair closely shaven at Lacedaemon, and washed in cold water, and attired himself in a threadbare cloak; while in Thrace he fought and drank; and at Tissaphernes' court lived delicately and luxuriously and in a pretentious style; and thus curried favour and was popular with everybody by imitating their habits and ways. Such was not the way however in which Epaminondas or Agesilaus acted, for though they associated with very many men and states and different modes of life, they maintained everywhere their usual demeanour, both in dress and diet and language and behaviour. So Plato at Syracuse was exactly the same man as in the Academy, the same with Dionysius as with Dion.

8. As to the changes of the flatterer, which resemble those of the polypus, a man may most easily detect them by himself pretending to change about frequently, and by censuring the kind of life he used formerly to praise, and anon approving of the words actions and modes of life that he used to be displeased with. He will then see that the flatterer is never consistent or himself, never loving hating rejoicing grieving at his own initiative, but like a mirror, merely reflecting the image of other people's emotions and manners and feelings. Such a one will say, if you censure one of your friends to him, "You are slow in finding the fellow out, he never pleased me from the first." But if on the other hand you change your language and praise him, he will swear by Zeus that he rejoices at it, and is himself under obligations to the man, and believes in him. And if you talk of the necessity of changing your mode of life, of retiring from public life to a life of privacy and ease, he says, "We ought long ago to have got rid of uproar and envy." But if you think of returning again to public life, he chimes in, "Your sentiments do you honour: retirement from business is pleasant, but inglorious and mean." One ought to say at once to such a one, "'Stranger, quite different now you look to what you did before.' I do not need a friend to change his opinions with me and to assent to me in everything, my shadow will do that better, but I need one that will speak the truth and help me with his judgement." This is one way of detecting the flatterer.

9. We must also observe another difference in the resemblance between the friend and flatterer. The true friend does not imitate you in everything, nor is he too keen to praise, but praises only what is excellent, for as Sophocles says, "He is not born to share in hate but love," yes, by Zeus, and he is born to share in doing what is right and in loving what is noble, and not to share in wrong-doing or misbehaviour, unless it be that, as a running of the eyes is catching, so through companionship and intimacy he may against his will contract by infection some vice or ill habit, as they say Plato's intimates imitated his stoop, Aristotle's his lisp, and king Alexander's his holding his head a little on one side, and rapidity of utterance in conversation, for people mostly pick up unawares such traits of character. But the flatterer is exactly like the chameleon, which takes every colour but white, and so he, though unable to imitate what is worth his while, leaves nothing that is bad unimitated. And just as poor painters unable to make a fine portrait from inefficiency in their craft, bring out the likeness by painting all the wrinkles, moles and scars, so the flatterer imitates his friend's intemperance, superstition, hot temper, sourness to domestics, suspicion of his friends and relations. For he is by nature inclined to what is worst, and thinks that imitation of what is bad is as far as possible removed from censure. For those are suspected who have noble aims in life, and seem to be vexed and disgusted at their friends' faults, for that injured and even ruined Dion with Dionysius, Samius with Philip, and Cleomenes with Ptolemy. But he that wishes to be and appear at the same time both agreeable and trustworthy pretends 163to rejoice more in what is bad, as being through excessive love for his friend not even offended at his vices, but as one with him in feeling and nature in all matters. And so they claim to share in involuntary and chance ailments, and pretend to have the same complaints, in flattery to those who suffer from any, as that their eyesight and sense of hearing are deficient, if their friends are somewhat blind or deaf, as the flatterers of Dionysius, who was rather short-sighted, jostled one another at a dinner party, and knocked the dishes off the table, as if from defect of vision. And some to make their cases more similar wind themselves in closer, and dive even into family secrets for parallels. For seeing that their friends are unfortunate in marriage, or suspicious about the behaviour of their sons or relations, they do not spare themselves, but make quite a Jeremiad about their own sons, or wife, or kinsfolk, or relations, proclaiming loudly their own family secrets. For similarity in situation makes people more sympathetic, and their friends having received as it were hostages by their confessions, entrust them in return with their secrets, and having once made confidants of them, dare not take back their confidence. I actually know of a man who turned his wife out of doors because his friend had put away his; but as he secretly visited her and sent messages to her, he was detected by his friend's wife noticing his conduct. So little did he know the nature of a flatterer that thought the following lines more applicable to a crab than a flatterer, "His whole body is belly, his eye is on everything, he is a creature creeping on his teeth," for such is a true picture of the parasite, "friends of the frying-pan, hunting for a dinner," to borrow the language of Eupolis.

10. However let us put off all this to its proper place in the discourse. But let us not fail to notice the wiliness of the flatterer's imitation, in that, even if he imitates any good points in the person he flatters, he always takes care to give him the palm. Whereas among real friends there is no rivalry or jealousy of one another, but they are satisfied and contented alike whether they are equal or one of them is superior. But the flatterer, ever remembering that he is to play second fiddle, makes his copy always fall a little short of the original, for he admits that he is everywhere outstripped and left behind, except in vice. For in that alone he claims pre-eminence, for if his friend is peevish, he says he is atrabilious; if his friend is superstitious, he says he is a fanatic; if his friend is in love, he says he is madly in love; if his friend laughs, he will say, "You laughed a little unseasonably, but I almost died of laughter." But in regard to any good points his action is quite the opposite. He says he can run quickly, but his friend flies; he says he can ride pretty well, but his friend is a Centaur on horseback. He says "I am not a bad poet, and don't write very bad lines," "'But your sonorous verse is like Jove's thunder.'" Thus he shows at once that his friend's aims in life are good, and that his friend has reached a height he cannot soar to. Such then are the differences in the resemblances between the flatterer and the friend.

11. But since, as has been said before, to give pleasure is common to both, for the good man delights in his friends as much as the bad man in his flatterers, let us consider the difference between them here too. The difference lies in the different aim of each in giving pleasure. Look at it this way. There is no doubt a sweet smell in perfume. So there is also in medicine. But the difference is that while in perfume pleasure and nothing else is designed, in medicine either purging, or warming, or adding flesh to the system, is the primary object, and the sweet smell is only a secondary consideration. Again painters mix gay colours and dyes: there are also some drugs which are gay in appearance and not unpleasing in colour. What then is the difference between these? Manifestly we distinguish by the end each aims at. So too the social life of friends employs mirth to add a charm to some good and useful end, and sometimes makes joking and a good table and wine, aye, and even chaff and banter, the seasoning to noble and serious matters, as in the line, "Much they enjoyed talking to one another," and again, "Never did ought elseDisturb our love or joy in one another."

But the flatterer's whole aim and end is to cook up and season his joke or word or action, so as to produce pleasure. And to speak concisely, the flatterer's object is to please in everything he does, whereas the true friend always does what is right, and so often gives pleasure, often pain, not wishing the latter, but not shunning it either, if he deems it best. For as the physician, if it be expedient, infuses saffron or spikenard, aye, or uses some soothing fomentation or feeds his patient up liberally, and sometimes orders castor, "Or poley, that so strong and foully smells," or pounds hellebore and compels him to drink it,—neither in the one case making unpleasantness, nor in the other pleasantness, his end and aim, but in both studying only the interest of his patient,—so the friend sometimes by praise and kindness, extolling him and gladdening his heart, leads him to what is noble, as Agamemnon, "Teucer, dear head, thou son of Telamon,Go on thus shooting, captain of thy men;" or Diomede, "How could I e'er forget divine Odysseus?"

But where on the other hand there is need of correction, then he rebukes with biting words and with the freedom worthy of a friend, "Zeus-cherished Menelaus, art thou mad,And in thy folly tak'st no heed of safety?"

Sometimes also he joins action to word, as Menedemus sobered the profligate and disorderly son of his friend Asclepiades, by shutting him out of his house, and not speaking to him. And Arcesilaus forbade Bato his school, when he wrote a line in one of his plays against Cleanthes, and only got reconciled with him after he repented and made his peace with Cleanthes. For we ought to give our friend pain if it will benefit him, but not to the extent of breaking off our friendship; but just as we make use of some biting medicine, that will save and preserve the life of the patient. And so the friend, like a musician, in bringing about an improvement to what is good and expedient, sometimes slackens the chords, sometimes tightens them, and is often pleasant, but always useful. But the flatterer, always harping on one note, and accustomed to play his accompaniment only with a view to please and to ingratiate himself, knows not how either to oppose in deed, or give pain in word, but complies only with every wish, ever chiming in with and echoing the sentiments of his patron. As then Xenophon says Agesilaus took pleasure in being praised by those who would also censure him, so ought we to think that to please and gratify us is friendly in the person who can also give us pain and oppose us, but to feel suspicion at an intercourse which is merely for pleasure and gratification, and never pungent, aye and by Zeus to have ready that saying of the Lacedaemonian, who, on hearing king Charillus praised, said, "How can he be a good man, who is not severe even to the bad?"

12. They say the gadfly attacks bulls, and the tick dogs, in the ear: so the flatterer besieges with praise the ears of those who are fond of praise, and sticks there and is hard to dislodge. We ought therefore here to make a wide-awake and careful discrimination, whether the praise is bestowed on the action or the man. It is bestowed on the action, if people praise the absent rather than the present, if also those that have the same aims and aspirations praise not only us but all that are similarly disposed, and do not evidently say and do one thing at one time, and the direct contrary at another; and the greatest test is if we are conscious, in the matters for which we get the praise, that we have not regretted them, and are not ashamed at them, and would not rather have said and done differently. For 167our own inward judgement, testifying the contrary and not admitting the praise, is above passion, and impregnable and proof against the flatterer. But I know not how it is that most people in misfortune cannot bear exhortation, but are captivated more by condolence and sympathy, and when they have done something wrong and acted amiss, he that by censure and blame implants in them the stings of repentance is looked upon by them as hostile and an accuser, while they welcome and regard as friendly and well-disposed to them the person who bestows praise and panegyric on what they have done. Those then that readily praise and join in applauding some word or action on the part of someone whether in jest or earnest, only do temporary harm for the moment, but those who injure the character by their praise, aye, and by their flattery undermine the morals, act like those slaves who do not steal from the bin, but from the seed corn. For they pervert the disposition, which is the seed of actions, and the character, which is the principle and fountain of life, by attaching to vice names that belong properly only to virtue. For as Thucydides says, in times of faction and war "people change the accustomed meaning of words as applied to acts at their will and pleasure, for reckless daring is then considered bravery to one's comrades, and prudent delay specious cowardice, and sober-mindedness the cloak of the coward, and taking everything into account before action a real desire to do nothing." So too in the case of flattery we must observe and be on our guard against wastefulness being called liberality, and cowardliness prudence, and madness quick-wittedness, and meanness frugality, and the amorous man called social and affectionate, and the term manly applied to the passionate and vain man, and the term civil applied to the paltry and mean man. As I remember Plato says the lover is a flatterer of the beloved one, and calls the snub nose graceful, and the aquiline nose royal, and swarthy people manly, and fair people the children of the gods, and the olive complexion is merely the lover's phrase to gloss over and palliate excessive pallor. And yet the ugly man persuaded he is handsome, or the short man persuaded he is tall, cannot long remain in the error, and receives only slight injury from it, and not irreparable mischief: but praise applied to vices as if they were virtues, so that one is not vexed but delighted with a vicious life, removes all shame from wrong-doing, and was the ruin of the Sicilians, by calling the savage cruelty of Dionysius and Phalaris detestation of wickedness and uprightness. It was the ruin of Egypt, by styling Ptolemy's effeminacy, and superstition, and howlings, and beating of drums, religion and service to the gods. It was nearly the overthrow and destruction of the ancient manners of the Romans, palliating the luxury and intemperance and display of Antony as exhibitions of jollity and kindliness, when his power and fortune were at their zenith. What else invested Ptolemy with his pipe and fiddle? What else brought Nero on the tragic stage, and invested him with the mask and buskins? Was it not the praise of flatterers? And are not many kings called Apollos if they can just sing a song, and Dionysuses if they get drunk, and Herculeses if they can wrestle, and do they not joy in such titles, and are they not dragged into every kind of disgrace by flattery?

§ xiii. Wherefore we must be especially on our guard against the flatterer in regard to praise; as indeed he is very well

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aware himself, and clever to avoid suspicion. If he light upon some dandy, or rustic in a thick leather garment, he treats him with nothing but jeers and mocks, as Struthias insulted Bias, ironically praising him for his stupidity, saying, "You have drunk more than king Alexander," and, "that he was ready to die of laughing at his tale about the Cyprian." But when he sees people more refined very much on their guard, and observing both time and place, he does not praise them directly, but draws off a little and wheels round and approaches them noiselessly, as one tries to catch a wild animal. For sometimes he reports to a man the panegyric of other persons upon him, (as orators do, introducing some third person,) saying that he had a very pleasant conversation in the market with some strangers and men of worth, who mentioned how they admired his many good points. On another occasion he concocts and fabricates some false and trifling charges against him, pretending he has heard them from other people, and runs up with a serious face and inquires, where he said or did such and such a thing. And upon his denying he ever did, he pounces on him at once and compliments his man with, "I thought it strange that you should have spoken ill of your friends, seeing that you don't even treat your enemies so: and that you should have tried to rob other people, seeing that you are so lavish with your own money."

14. Other flatterers again, just as painters heighten the effect of their pictures by the combination of light and shade, so by censure abuse detraction and ridicule of the opposite virtues secretly praise and foment the actual vices of those they flatter. Thus they censure modesty as merely rustic behaviour in the company of profligates, and greedy people, and villains, and such as have got rich by evil and dishonourable courses; and contentment and uprightness they call having no spirit or energy in action; and when they associate with lazy and idle persons who avoid all public duties, they are not ashamed to call the life of a citizen wearisome meddling in other people's affairs, and the desire to hold office fruitless vain-glory. And some ere now to flatter an orator have depreciated a philosopher, and others won favour with wanton women by traducing those wives who are faithful to their husbands as constitutionally cold and countrybred. And by an acme of villainy flatterers do not always spare even themselves. For as wrestlers stoop that they may the easier give their adversaries a fall, so by censuring themselves they glide into praising others. "I am a cowardly slave," says such a one, "at sea, I shirk labour, I am madly in rage if a word is said against me; but this man fears nothing, has no vices, is a rare good fellow, patient and easy in all circumstances." But if a person has an excellent idea of his own good sense, and desires to be austere and self-opinionated, and in his moral rectitude is ever spouting that line of Homer, "Tydides, neither praise nor blame me much," the artistic flatterer does not attack him as he attacked others, but employs against such a one a new device. For he comes to him about his own private affairs, as if desirous to have the advice of one wiser than himself; he has, he says, more intimate friends, but he is obliged to trouble him; "for whither shall we that are deficient in judgement go? whom shall we trust?" And having listened to his utterance he departs, saying he has received an oracle not an opinion. And if he notices that somebody lays claim to experience in oratory, he gives him some of his writings, and begs him to read and correct them. So, when king Mithridates took a fancy to play the surgeon, several of his friends offered themselves for operating upon, as for cutting or cauterizing, flattering in deed and not in word, for his being credited by them would seem to prove his skill. "For Providence has many different aspects."

But we can test this kind of negative praise, that needs more wary caution, by purposely giving strange advice and suggestions, and by adopting absurd corrections. For if he raises no objection but nods assent to everything, and approves of everything, and is always crying out, "Good! How admirable!" he is evidently "Asking advice, but seeking something else," wishing by praise to puff you up.

15. Moreover, as some have defined painting to be silent poetry, so is there praise in silent flattery. For as hunters are more likely to catch the objects of their chase unawares, if they do not openly appear to be so engaged, but seem to be walking, or tending their sheep, or looking after the farm, so flatterers obtain most success in their praise, when they do not seem to be praising but to be doing something else. For he who gives up his place or seat to the great man when he comes in, and while making a speech to the people or senate breaks off even in the middle, if he observes any rich man wants to speak, and gives up to him alike speech and platform, shows by his silence even more than he would by any amount of vociferation that he thinks the other the better man, and superior to him in judgement. And consequently you may always see them occupying the best places at theatres and public assembly rooms, not that they think themselves worthy of them, but that they may flatter the rich by giving up their places to them; and at public meetings they begin speaking first, and then make way as for better men, and most readily take back their own view, if any influential or rich or famous person espouse the contrary view. And so one can see plainly that all such servility and drawing back on their part is a lowering their sails, not to experience or virtue or age, but to wealth and fame. Not so Apelles the famous painter, who, when Megabyzus sat with him, and wished to talk about lines and shades, said to him, "Do you see my lads yonder grinding colours, they admired just now your purple and gold, but now they are laughing at you for beginning to talk about what you don't understand." And Solon, when Croesus asked him about happiness, replied that Tellus, an obscure Athenian, and Bito and Cleobis were happier than he was. But flatterers proclaim kings and rich men and rulers not only happy and fortunate, but also pre-eminent for wisdom, and art, and every virtue.

16. Now some cannot bear to hear the assertion of the Stoics that the wise man is at once rich, and handsome, and noble, and a king; but flatterers declare that the rich man is at once orator and poet, and (if he likes) painter, and flute-player, and swift-footed, and strong, falling down if he wrestles with them, and if contending with him in running letting him win the race, as Crisso of Himera purposely allowed Alexander to outrun him, which vexed the king very much when he heard of it. And Carneades said that the sons of rich men and kings learnt nothing really well and properly except how to ride, for their master praised and flattered them in their studies, and the person who taught them wrestling always let them throw him, whereas the horse, not knowing or caring whether his rider were a private person or ruler, rich or poor, soon threw him over his head if he could not ride well. Simple therefore and fatuous was that remark of Bion, "If you could by encomiums make your field to yield well and be fruitful, you could not be thought wrong in tilling it so rather than digging it and labouring in it: nor would it be strange in you to praise human beings if by so doing you could be useful and serviceable to them." For a field does not become worse by being praised, but those who praise a man falsely and against his deserts puff him up and ruin him.

17. Enough has been said on this matter: let us now examine outspokenness. For just as Patroclus put on the armour of Achilles, and drove his horses to the battle, only durst not touch his spear from Mount Pelion, but let that alone, so ought the flatterer, tricked out and modelled in the distinctive marks and tokens of the friend, to leave untouched and uncopied only his outspokenness, as the special burden of friendship, "heavy, huge, strong." But since flatterers, to avoid the blame they incur by their buffoonery, and drinking, and gibes, and jokes, sometimes work their ends by frowns and gravity, and intermix cen173sure and reproof, let us not pass this over either without examination. And I think, as in Menander's Play the sham Hercules comes on the stage not with a club stout and strong, but with a light and hollow cane, so the outspokenness of the flatterer is to those who experience it mild and soft, and the very reverse of vigorous, and like those cushions for women's heads, which seem able to stand their ground, but in reality yield and give way under their pressure; so this sham outspokenness is puffed up and inflated with an empty and spurious and hollow bombast, that when it contracts and collapses draws in the person who relies on it. For true and friendly outspokenness attacks wrong-doers, bringing pain that is salutary and likely to make them more careful, like honey biting but cleansing ulcerated parts of the body, but in other respects serviceable and sweet. But we will speak of this anon. But the flatterer first exhibits himself as disagreeable and passionate and unforgiving in his dealings with others. For he is harsh to his servants, and a terrible fellow to attack and ferret out the faults of his kinsmen and friends, and to look up to and respect nobody who is a stranger, but to look down upon them, and is relentless and mischief-making in making people provoked with others, hunting after the reputation of hating vice, as one not likely knowingly to mince matters with the vicious, or ingratiate himself with them either in word or deed. Next he pretends to know nothing of real and great crimes, but he is a terrible fellow to inveigh against trifling and external shortcomings, and to fasten on them with intensity and vehemence, as if he sees any pot or pipkin out of its place, or anyone badly housed, or neglecting his beard or attire, or not adequately attending to a horse or dog. But contempt of parents, and neglect of children, and bad treatment of wife, and haughtiness to friends, and throwing away money, all this he cares nothing about, but is silent and does not dare to make any allusion to it: just as if the trainer in a gymnasium were to allow the athlete to get drunk and live in debauchery, and yet be vexed at the condition of his oil-flask or strigil if out of order; or as if the schoolmaster scolded a boy about his tablet and pen, but paid no attention to a solecism or barbarism. The flatterer is like a man who should make no comment on the speech of a silly and ridiculous orator, but should find fault with his voice, and chide him for injuring his throat by drinking cold water; or like a person bidden to read some wretched composition, who should merely find fault with the thickness of the paper, and call the copyist a dirty and careless fellow. So too when Ptolemy seemed to desire to become learned, his flatterers used to spin out the time till midnight, disputing about some word or line or history, but not one of them all objected to his cruelty and outrages, his torturing and beating people to death. Just as if, when a man has tumours and fistulas, one were to cut his hair and nails with a surgeon's knife, so flatterers use outspokenness only in cases where it gives no pain or distress.

18. Moreover some of them are cleverer still and make their outspokenness and censure a means of imparting pleasure. As Agis the Argive, when Alexander bestowed great gifts on a buffoon, cried out in envy and displeasure, "What a piece of absurdity!" and on the king turning angrily to him and saying, "What are you talking about?" he replied, "I admit that I am vexed and put out, when I see that all you descendants of Zeus alike take delight in flatterers and jesters, for Hercules had his Cercopes, and Dionysus his Sileni, and with you too I see that such are held in good repute." And on one occasion, when the Emperor Tiberius entered the senate, one of his flatterers got up and said, that being free men they ought to be outspoken, and not suppress or conceal anything that might be important, and having by this exordium engaged everybody's attention, a dead silence prevailing, and even Tiberius being all attention, he said, "Listen, Caesar, to what we all charge you with, although no one ventures to tell you openly of it; you neglect yourself, and are careless about your health, and wear yourself out with anxiety and labour on our behalf, taking no rest either by night or day." And on his stringing much more together in the same strain, they say the orator Cassius Severus said, "This outspokenness will ruin the man."

19. These are indeed trifling matters: but the following are more important and do mischief to foolish people, when flatterers accuse them of the very contrary vices and passions to those to which they are really addicted; as Himerius the flatterer twitted a very rich, very mean, and very covetous Athenian with being a careless spendthrift, and likely one day to want bread as well as his children; or on the other hand if they rail at extravagant spendthrifts for meanness and sordidness, as Titus Petronius railed at Nero; or exhort rulers who make savage and cruel attacks on their subjects to lay aside their excessive clemency, and unseasonable and inexpedient mercy. Similar to these is the person who pretends to be on his guard against and afraid of a silly stupid fellow as if he were clever and cunning; and the one who, if any person fond of detraction, rejoicing in defamation and censure, should be induced on any occasion to praise some man of note, fastens on him and alleges against him that he has an itch for praising people. "You are always extolling people of no merit: for who is this fellow, or what has he said or done out of the common?" But it is in regard to the objects of their love that they mostly attack those they flatter, and additionally inflame them. For if they see people at variance with their brothers, or despising their parents, or treating their wives contemptuously, they neither take them to task nor scold them, but fan the flame of their anger still more. "You don't sufficiently appreciate yourself," they say, "you are yourself the cause of your being put upon in this way, through your constant submissiveness and humility." And if there is any tiff or fit of jealousy in regard to some courtesan or adulteress, the flatterer is at hand with remarkable outspokenness, adding fuel to flame, and taking the lady's part, and accusing her lover of acting in a very unkind harsh and shameful manner to her, "O ingrate, after all those frequent kisses!"

Thus Antony's friends, when he was passionately in love with the Egyptian woman, persuaded him that he was loved by her, and twitted him with being cold and haughty to her. "She," they said, "has left her mighty kingdom and happy mode of life, and is wasting her beauty, taking the field with you like some camp-follower, "The while your heart is proof 'gainst all her charms," as you neglect her love-lorn as she is." But he that is pleased at being reproached with his wrong-doing, and delights in those that censure him, as he never did in those that praised him, is unconscious that he is really perverted also by what seems to be rebuke. For such outspokenness is like the bites of wanton women, that while seeming to hurt really tickle and excite pleasure. And just as if people mix pure wine, which is by itself an antidote against hemlock, with it and so offer it, they make the poison quite deadly, being rapidly carried to the heart by the warmth, so ill-disposed men, knowing that outspokenness is a great antidote to flattery, make it a means of flattering. And so it was rather a bad answer Bias made, to the person who inquired what was the most formidable animal, "Of wild animals the tyrant, and of tame the flatterer." For it would have been truer to observe that tame flatterers are those that are found round the baths and table, but the one that intrudes into the interior of the house and into the women's apartments with his curiosity and calumny and malignity, like the legs and arms of the polypus, is wild and savage and unmanageable.

20. Now one kind of caution against his snares is to know and ever remember that, whereas the soul contains true and noble and reasoning elements, as also unreasoning and false and emotional ones, the friend is always a counsellor and adviser to the better instincts of the soul, as the physician

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improves and maintains health, whereas the flatterer works upon the emotional and unreasoning ones, and tickles and titillates them and seduces them from reason, employing sensuality as his bait. As then there are some kinds of food which neither benefit the blood or spirit, nor brace up the nerves and marrow, but stir the passions, excite the lower nature, and make the flesh unsound and rotten, so the language of the flatterer adds nothing to soberness and reason, but encourages some love passion, or stirs up foolish rage, or incites to envy, or produces the empty and burdensome vanity of pride, or joins in bewailing woes, or ever by his calumnies and hints makes malignity and illiberality and suspicion sharp and timid and jealous, and cannot fail to be detected by those that closely observe him. For he is ever anchoring himself upon some passion, and fattening it, and, like a bubo, fastens himself on some unsound and inflamed parts of the soul. Are you angry? Have your revenge, says he. Do you desire anything? Get it. Are you afraid? Let us flee. Do you suspect? Entertain no doubts about it. But if he is difficult to detect in thus playing upon our passions, since they often overthrow reason by their intensity and strength, he will give a handle to find him out in smaller matters, being consistent in them too. For if anyone feels a little uneasy after a surfeit or excess in drink, and so is a little particular about his food and doubts the advisability of taking a bath, a friend will try and check him from excess, and bid him be careful and not indulge, whereas the flatterer will drag him to the bath, bid him serve up some fresh food, and not starve himself and so injure his constitution. And if he see him reluctant about a journey or voyage or some business or other, he will say that there is no hurry, that it's all one whether the business be put off, or somebody else despatched to look after it. And if you have promised to lend or give some money to a friend, but have repented of your offer, and yet feel ashamed not to keep your promise, the flatterer will throw his influence into the worse scale, he will confirm your desire to save your purse, he will destroy your reluctance, and will bid you be careful as having many expenses, and others to think about besides that person. And so, unless we are entirely ignorant of our desires, our shamelessness, and our timidity, the flatterer cannot easily escape our detection. For he is ever the advocate of those passions, and outspoken when we desire to repress them. But so much for this matter.

21. Now let us pass on to useful and kind services, for in them too the flatterer makes it very difficult and confusing to detect him from the friend, seeming to be zealous and ready on all occasions and never crying off. For, as Euripides says, a friend's behaviour is, "like the utterance of truth, simple," and plain and inartificial, while that of the flatterer "is in itself unsound, and needs wise remedies," aye, by Zeus, and many such, and not ordinary ones. As for example in chance meetings the friend often neither speaks nor is spoken to, but merely looks and smiles, and then passes on, showing his inner affection and goodwill only by his countenance, which his friend also reciprocates, but the flatterer runs up, follows, holds out his hand at a distance, and if he is seen and addressed first, frequently protests with oaths, and calls witnesses to prove, that he did not see you. So in business friends neglect many unimportant points, are not too punctilious and officious, and do not thrust themselves upon every service, but the flatterer is persevering and unceasing and indefatigable in it, giving nobody else either room or place to help, but putting himself wholly at your disposal, and if you will not find him something to do for you, he is troubled, nay rather altogether dejected and lamenting loudly.

22. To all sensible people all this is an indication, not of true or sober friendship, but of a meretricious one, that embraces you more warmly than there is any occasion for. Nevertheless let us first look at the difference between the friend and flatterer in their promises. For it has been well said by those who have handled this subject before us, that the friend's promise is, "If I can do it, and 'tis to be done," but the flatterer's is, "Speak out your mind, whate'er it is, to me." And the comic dramatists put such fellows on the stage, "Nicomachus, pit me against that soldier,See if I beat him not into a jelly,And make his face e'en softer than a sponge."

In the next place no friend participates in any matter, unless he has first been asked his advice, and put the matter to the test, and set it on a suitable and expedient basis. But the flatterer, if anyone allows him to examine a matter and give his opinion on it, not only wishes to gratify him by compliance, but also fearing to be looked upon with suspicion as unwilling and reluctant to engage in the business, gives in to and even urges on his friend's desire. For there is hardly any king or rich man who would say, "O that a beggar I could find, or worseThan beggar, if, with good intent to me,He would lay bare his heart boldly and honestly;" but, like the tragedians, they require a chorus of sympathizing friends, or the applause of a theatre. And so Merope gives the following advice in the tragedy, "Choose you for friends those who will speak their mind,For those bad men that only speak to pleaseSee that you bolt and bar out of your house."

But they act just the contrary, for they turn away with horror from those who speak their mind, and hold different views as to what is expedient, while they welcome those bad and illiberal impostors (that only speak to please them) not only within their houses, but also to their affections and secrets. Now the simpler of these do not think right or claim to advise you in important matters, but only to assist in the carrying out of them: but the more cunning one stands by during the discussion, and knits his brows, and nods assent with his head, but says nothing, but if his friend express an opinion, he then says, "Hercules, you only just anticipated me, I was about to make that very remark." For as the mathematicians tell us that surfaces and lines neither bend nor extend nor move of themselves, being without body and only perceived by the mind, but only bend and extend and change their position with the bodies whose extremities they are: so you will catch the flatterer ever assenting with, and agreeing with, aye, and feeling with, and being angry with, another, so easy of detection in all these points of view is the difference between the friend and the flatterer. Moreover as regards the kind of good service. For the favour done by a friend, as the principal strength of an animal is within, is not for display or ostentation, but frequently as a doctor cures his patient imperceptibly, so a friend benefits by his intervention, or by paying off creditors, or by managing his friend's affairs, even though the person who receives the benefit may not be aware of it. Such was the behaviour of Arcesilaus on various occasions, and when Apelles of Chios was ill, knowing his poverty, he took with him twenty drachmae when he visited him, and sitting down beside him he said, "There is nothing here but those elements of Empedocles, 'fire and water and earth and balmy expanse of air,' but you do not lie very comfortably," and with that he moved his pillow, and privately put the money under it. And when his old housekeeper found it, and wonderingly told Apelles of it, he laughed and said, "This is some trick of Arcesilaus." And the saying is also true in philosophy that "children are like their parents." For when Cephisocrates had to stand his trial on a bill of indictment, Lacydes (who was an intimate friend of Arcesilaus) stood by him with several other friends, and when the prosecutor asked for his ring, which was the principal evidence against him, Cephisocrates quietly dropped it on the ground, and Lacydes noticing this put his foot on it and so hid it. And after sentence was pronounced in his favour, Cephisocrates going up to thank the jury, one of them who had seen the artifice told him to thank Lacydes, and related to him all the matter, though Lacydes had not said a word about it to anybody. So also I think the gods do often perform benefits secretly, taking a natural delight in bestowing their favours and bounties. But the good service of the flatterer has no justice, or genuineness, or simplicity, or liberality about it; but is accompanied with sweat, and running about, and noise, and knitting of the brow, creating an impression and appearance of toilsome and bustling service, like a painting over-curiously wrought in bold colours, and with bent folds wrinkles and angles, to make the closer resemblance to life. Moreover he tires one by relating what journeys and anxieties he has had over the matter, how many enemies he has made over it, the thousand bothers and annoyances he has gone through, so that you say, "The affair was not worth all this trouble." For being reminded of any favour done to one is always unpleasant and disagreeable and insufferable: but the flatterer not only reminds us of his services afterwards, but even during the very moment of doing them upbraids us with them and is importunate. But the friend, if he is obliged to mention the matter, relates it modestly, and says not a word about himself. And so, when the Lacedaemonians sent corn to the people of Smyrna that needed it, and the people of Smyrna wondered at their kindness, the Lacedaemonians said, "It was no great matter, we only voted that we and our beasts of burden should go without our dinner one day, and sent what was so saved to you." Not only is it handsome to do a favour in that way, but it is more pleasant to the receivers of it, because they think those who have done them the service have done it at no great loss to themselves.

23. But it is not so much by the importunity of the flatterer in regard to services, nor by his facility in making promises, that one can recognize his nature, as by the honourable or dishonourable kind of service, and by the regard to please or to be of real use. For the friend is not as Gorgias defined him, one who will ask his friend to help him in what is right, while he will himself do many services for his friend that are not right. "For friend should share in good not in bad action."

He will therefore rather try and turn him away from what is not becoming, and if he cannot persuade him, good is that answer of Phocion to Antipater, "You cannot have me both as friend and flatterer," that is, as friend and no friend. For one must indeed assist one's friend but not do anything wrong for him, one must advise with him but not plot with him, one must bear witness for him but not join him in fraud, one must certainly share adversity with him but not crime. For since we should not wish even to know of our friends' dishonourable acts, much less should we desire to share their dishonour by acting with them. As then the Lacedaemonians, when conquered in battle by Antipater, on settling the terms of peace, begged that he would lay upon them what burdens he pleased, provided he enjoined nothing dishonourable, so the friend, if any necessity arise involving expense or danger or trouble, is the first to desire to be applied to and share in it with alacrity and without crying off, but if there be anything disgraceful in connection with it he begs to have nothing to do with it. The flatterer on the contrary cries off from toilsome and dangerous employments, and if you put him to the test by ringing him, he returns a hollow and spurious sound, and finds some excuse; whereas use him in disgraceful and low and disreputable service, and trample upon him, he will think no treatment too bad or ignominious. Have you observed the ape? He cannot guard the house like the dog, nor bear burdens like the horse, nor plough like the ox, so he has to bear insult and ribaldry, and put up with being made sport of, exhibiting himself as an instrument to produce laughter. So too the flatterer, who can neither advocate your cause, nor give you useful counsel, nor share in your contention with anybody, but shirks all labour and toil, never makes any excuses in underhand transactions, is sure to lend a helping hand in any love affair, is energetic in setting free some harlot, and not careless in clearing off the account of a drinking score, nor remiss in making preparations for banquets, and obsequious to concubines, but if ordered to be uncivil to your relations, or to help in turning your wife out of doors, he is relentless and not to be put out of countenance. So that he is not hard to detect here too. For if ordered to do anything you please disreputable or dishonourable, he is ready to take any pains to oblige you.

24. One might detect again how greatly the flatterer differs from the friend by his behaviour to other friends. For the friend is best pleased with loving and being beloved by many, and also always tries to contrive for his friend that he too may be much loved and honoured, for he believes in the proverb "the goods of friends are common property," and thinks it ought to apply to nothing more than to friends; but the false and spurious and counterfeit friend, knowing how much he debases friendship, like debased and spurious coin, is not only by nature envious, but shows his envy even of those who are like himself, striving to outdo them in scurrility and gossip, while he quakes and trembles at any of his betters, not by Zeus "merely walking on foot by their Lydian chariot," but, to use the language of Simonides, "not even, having pure lead by 184 comparison with their refined gold." Whenever then, being light and counterfeit and false, he is put to the test at close quarters with a true and solid and cast-iron friendship, he cannot stand the test but is detected at once, and imitates the conduct of the painter that painted some wretched cocks, for he ordered his lad to scare away all live cocks as far from his picture as possible. So he too scares away real friends and will not let them come near if he can help it, but if he cannot prevent that, he openly fawns upon them, and courts them, and admires them as his betters, but privately runs them down and spreads calumnies about them. And when secret detraction has produced a sore feeling, if he has not effected his end completely, he remembers and observes the teaching of Medius, who was the chief of Alexander's flatterers, and a leading sophist in conspiracy against the best men. He bade people confidently sow their calumny broadcast and bite with it, teaching them that even if the person injured should heal his sore, the scar of the calumny would remain. Consumed by these scars, or rather gangrenes and cancers, Alexander put to death Callisthenes, and Parmenio, and Philotas; while he himself submitted to be completely outwitted by such as Agnon, and Bagoas, and Agesias, and Demetrius, who worshipped him and tricked him up and feigned him to be a barbaric god. So great is the power of flattery, and nowhere greater, as it seems, than among the greatest people. For their thinking and wishing the best about themselves makes them credit the flatterer, and gives him courage. For lofty heights are difficult of approach and hard to reach for those who endeavour to scale them, but the highmindedness and conceit of a person thrown off his balance by good fortune or good natural parts is easily reached by mean and petty people.

25. And so we advised at the beginning of this discourse, and now advise again, to cut off self-love and too high an opinion of ourselves; for that flatters us first, and makes us more impressionable and prepared for external flatterers. But if we hearken to the god, and recognize the immense importance to everyone of that saying, "Know thyself," and at the same time carefully observe our nature and education and training, with its thousand shortcomings in respect to good, and the large proportion of vice and vanity mixed up with our words and deeds and feelings, we shall not make ourselves so easy a mark for flatterers. Alexander said that he disbelieved those who called him a god chiefly in regard to sleep and the sexual delight, for in both those things he was more ignoble and emotional than in other respects. So we, if we observe the blots, blemishes, shortcomings, and imperfections of our private selves, shall perceive clearly that we do not need a friend who shall bestow upon us praise and panegyric, but one that will reprove us, and speak plainly to us, aye, by Zeus, and censure us if we have done amiss. For it is only a few out of many that venture to speak plainly to their friends rather than gratify them, and even among those few you will not easily

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find any who know how to do so properly, for they think they are outspoken when they abuse and scold. And yet, just as in the case of any other medicine, to employ freedom of speech unseasonably is only to give needless pain and trouble, and in a manner to do so as to produce vexation the very thing the flatterer does so as to produce pleasure. For it does people harm not only to praise them unseasonably but also to blame them unseasonably, and especially exposes them to the successful attack of flatterers, for, like water, they abandon the rugged hills for the soft grassy valleys. And so outspokenness ought to be tempered with kindness, and reason ought to be called in to correct its excessive tartness, (as we tone down the too powerful glare of a lamp), that people may not, by being troubled and grieved at continual blame and rebuke, fly for refuge to the shade of the flatterer, and turn aside to him to free themselves from annoyance. For we ought, Philopappus, to banish all vice by virtue, not by the opposite vice, as some hold, by exchanging modesty for impudence, and countrified ways for town ribaldry, and by removing their character as far as possible from cowardice and effeminacy, even if that should make people get very near to audacity and foolhardiness. And some even make superstition a plea for atheism, and stupidity a plea for knavery, perverting their nature, like a stick bent double, from inability to set it straight. But the basest disowning of flattery is to be disagreeable without any purpose in view, and it shows an altogether inelegant and clumsy unfitness for social intercourse to shun by unpleasing moroseness the suspicion of being mean and servile in friendship; like the freedman in the comedy who thought railing only enjoying freedom of speech. Seeing then, that it is equally disgraceful to become a flatterer through trying only to please, as in avoiding flattery to destroy all friendship and intimacy by excessive freedom of speech, we must avoid both these extremes, and, as in any other case, make our freedom of speech agreeable by its moderation. So the subject itself seems next to demand that I should conclude it by discussing that point.

26. As then we see that much trouble arises from excessive freedom of speech, let us first of all detach from it any element of self-love, being carefully on our guard that we may not appear to upbraid on account of any private hurt or injury. For people do not regard a speech on the speaker's own behalf as arising from goodwill, but from anger, and reproach rather than admonition. For freedom in speech is friendly and has weight, but reproach is selfish and little. And so people respect and admire those that speak their mind freely, but accuse back and despise those that reproach them: as Agamemnon would not stand the moderate freedom of speech of Achilles, but submitted to and endured the bitter attack and speech of Odysseus, "Pernicious chief, would that thou didst commandSome sorry host, and not such men as these!" for he was restrained by the carefulness and sobriety of his speech, and also Odysseus had no private motive of anger but only spoke out on behalf of Greece, whereas Achilles seemed rather vexed on his own account. And Achilles himself, though not sweet-tempered or mild of mood, but "a terrible man, and one that would perchance blame an innocent person," yet silently listened to Patroclus bringing against him many such charges as the following, "Pitiless one, thy sire never wasKnight Peleus, nor thy mother gentle Thetis,But the blue sea and steep and rocky cragsThy parents were, so flinty is thy heart."

For as Hyperides the orator bade the Athenians consider not only whether he spoke bitterly, but whether he spoke so from interested motives, so the rebuke of a friend void of all private feeling is solemn and grave and what one dare not lightly face. And if anyone shows plainly in his freedom of speech, that he altogether passes over and dismisses any offences his friend has done to himself, and only blames him for other shortcomings, and does not spare him but gives him pain for the interests of others, the tone of his outspokenness is invincible, and the sweetness of his manner even intensifies the bitterness and austerity of his rebuke. And so it has well been said, that in anger and differences with our friends we ought more especially to act with a view to their interest or honour. And no less friendly is it, when it appears that we have been passed over and neglected, to boldly put in a word for others that are neglected too, and to remind people of them, as Plato, when he was out of favour with Dionysius, begged for an audience, and Dionysius granted it, thinking that Plato had some personal grievance and was going to enter into it, but Plato opened the conversation as follows, "If, Dionysius, you knew that some enemy had sailed to Sicily with a view to do you some harm, but found no opportunity, would you allow him to sail back again, and go off scot-free?" "Certainly not, Plato," replied Dionysius, "for we must not only hate and punish the deeds of our enemies, but also their intentions." "If then," said Plato, "anyone has come here for your benefit, and wishes to do you good, and you do not find him an opportunity, is it right to let him go away with neglect and without thanks?" And on Dionysius asking, who he meant, he replied, "I mean AEschines, a man of as good a character as any of Socrates' pupils whatever, and able to improve by his conversation any with whom he might associate: and he is neglected, though he has made a long voyage here to discuss philosophy with you." This speech so affected Dionysius, that he at once threw his arms round Plato and embraced him, admiring his benevolence and loftiness of mind, and treated AEschines well and handsomely.

27. In the next place, let us clear away as it were and remove all insolence, and jeering, and mocking, and ribaldry, which are the evil seasonings of freedom of speech. For as, when the surgeon performs an operation, a certain neatness and delicacy of touch ought to accompany his use of the knife, but all pantomimic and venturesome and fashionable suppleness and over-finicalness ought to be far away from his hand, so freedom of speech admits of dexterity and politeness, provided that a pleasant way of putting it does not destroy the power of the rebuke, for impudence and coarseness and insolence, if added to freedom of speech, entirely mar and ruin the effect. And so the harper plausibly and elegantly silenced Philip, who ventured to dispute with him about proper playing on the harp, by answering him, "God forbid that you should be so unfortunate, O king, as to understand harping better than me." But that was not a right answer of Epicharmus, when Hiero a few days after putting to death some of his friends invited him to supper, "You did not invite me," he said, "the other day, when you sacrificed your friends." Bad also was that answer of Antiphon, who, when Dionysius asked him "which was the best kind of bronze," answered, "That of which the Athenians made statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton." For this unpleasant and bitter kind of language profits not those that use it, nor does scurrility and puerile jesting please, but such kind of speeches are indications of an incontinent tongue inspired by hate, and full of malignity and insolence, and those who use such language do but ruin themselves, recklessly dancing on the verge of a well. For Antiphon was put to death by Dionysius, and Timagenes lost the friendship of Augustus, not by using on any occasion too free a tongue, but at supper-parties and walks always declining to talk seriously, "only saying what he knew would make the Argives laugh," and thus virtually charging friendship with being only a cloak for abuse. For even the comic poets have introduced on the stage many grave sentiments well adapted to public life, but joking and ribaldry being mixed with them, like insipid sauces with food, destroy their effect and make them lose their nourishing power, so that the comic poets only get a reputation for malignity and coarseness, and the audience get no benefit from what is said. We may on other occasions jest and laugh with our friends, but let our outspokenness be coupled with seriousness and gravity, and if it be on important matters, let our speech be trustworthy and moving from its pathos, and animation, and tone of voice. And on all occasions to let an opportunity slip by is very injurious, but especially does it destroy the usefulness of freedom of speech. It is plain therefore that we must abstain from freedom of speech when men are in their cups. For he disturbs the harmony of a social gathering who, in the midst of mirth and jollity, introduces a topic that shall knit the brows and contract the face, and shall act as a damper to the Lysian god, who, as Pindar says, "looses the rope of all our cares and anxieties." There is also great danger in such ill-timed freedom of speech. For wine makes people easily slip into rage, and oftentimes freedom of speech in liquor makes enemies. And generally speaking it is not noble or brave but cowardly to conceal your ideas when people are sober and to give free vent to them at table, snarling like cowardly dogs. We need say no more therefore on this head.

28. But since many people do not think fit or even dare to find fault with their friends when in prosperity, but think that condition altogether out of the reach and range of rebuke, but inveigh against them if they have made a slip or stumble, and trample upon them if they are in dejection and in their power, and, like a stream swollen above its banks, pour upon them then the torrent of all their eloquence, and enjoy and are glad at their reverse of fortune, owing to their former contempt of them when they were poor themselves, it is not amiss to discuss this somewhat, and to answer those words of Euripides, "What need of friends, when things go well with us?" for those in prosperity stand in especial need of friends who shall be outspoken to them, and abate their excessive pride. For there are few who are sensible in prosperity, most need to borrow wisdom from others, and such considerations as shall keep them lowly when puffed up and giving themselves airs owing to their good fortune. But when the deity has abased them and stripped them of their conceit, there is something in their very circumstances to reprove them and bring about a change of mind. And so there is no need then of a friendly outspokenness, nor of weighty or caustic words, but truly in such reverses "it is sweet to look into the eyes of a friendly person," consoling and cheering one up: as Xenophon tells us that the sight of Clearchus in battle and dangers, and his calm benevolent face, inspired courage in his men when in peril. But he who uses to a man in adversity too great freedom and severity of speech, like a man applying too pungent a remedy to an inflamed and angry eye, neither cures him nor abates his pain, but adds anger to his grief, and exasperates his mental distress. For example anyone well is not at all angry or fierce with a friend, who blames him for his excesses with women and wine, his laziness and taking no exercise, his frequent baths, and his unseasonable surfeiting: but to a person ill all this is unsufferable, and even worse than his illness to hear, "All this has happened to you through your intemperance, and luxury, your dainty food, and love for women." The patient answers, "How unseasonable is all this, good sir! I am making my will, the doctors are preparing me a dose of castor and scammony, and you are scolding me and plying me with philosophy." And thus the affairs of the unfortunate do not admit of outspokenness and a string of Polonius-like saws, but they require kindness and help. For when children fall down their nurses do not run up to them and scold, but pick them up, and clean them, and tidy their dress, and afterwards find fault and correct them. The story is told of Demetrius of Phalerum, when an exile from his native country, and living a humble and obscure life at Thebes, that he was not pleased to see Crates approaching, for he expected to receive from him cynical outspokenness and harsh language. But as Crates talked kindly to him, and discussed his exile, and pointed out that there was no evil in it, or anything that ought to put him about, for he had only got rid of the uncertainties and dangers of public life, and at the same time bade him trust in himself and his condition of mind, Demetrius cheered up and became happier, and said to his friends, "Out upon all my former business and employments, that left me no leisure to know such a man as this!"

"For friendly speech is good to one in grief,While bitter language only suits the fool." This is the way with generous friends. But the ignoble and low flatterers of those in prosperity, as Demosthenes says fractures and sprains always give us pain again when the body is not well, adhere to them in reverses, as if they were pleased at and enjoyed them. But indeed if there be any need of reminding a man of the blunders he committed through unadvisedly following his own counsel, it is enough to say, "This was not to my mind, indeed I often tried to dissuade you from it."

29. In what cases then ought a friend to be vehement, and when ought he to use emphatic freedom of language? When circumstances call upon him to check some headlong pleasure or rage or insolence, or to curtail avarice, or to correct some foolish negligence. Thus Solon spoke out to Croesus, who was corrupted and enervated by insecure good fortune, bidding him look to the end. Thus Socrates restrained Alcibiades, and wrung from him genuine tears by his reproof, and changed his heart. Such also was the plain dealing of Cyrus with Cyaxares, and of Plato with Dion, for when Dion was most famous and attracted to himself the notice of all men, by the splendour and greatness of his exploits, Plato warned him to fear and be on his guard against "pleasing only himself, for so he would lose all his friends." Speusippus also wrote to him not to plume himself on being a great person only with lads and women, but to see to it that by adorning Sicily with piety and justice and good laws he might make the Academy glorious. On the other hand Euctus and Eulaeus, companions of Perseus, in the days of his prosperity ingratiated themselves with him, and assented to him in all things, and danced attendance upon him, like all the other courtiers, but when he fled after his defeat by the Romans at Pydna, they attacked him and censured him bitterly, reminding him and upbraiding him in regard to everything he had done amiss or neglected to do, till he was so greatly 193exasperated both from grief and rage that he whipped out his sword and killed both of them.

30. Let so much suffice for general occasions of freedom of speech. There are also particular occasions, which our friends themselves furnish, that one who really cares for his friends will not neglect, but make use of. In some cases a question, or narrative, or the censure or praise of similar things in other people, gives as it were the cue for freedom of speech. Thus it is related that Demaratus came to Macedonia from Corinth at the time when Philip was at variance with his wife and son, and when the king asked if the Greeks were at harmony with one another, Demaratus, being his well-wisher and friend, answered, "It is certainly very rich of you, Philip, inquiring as to concord between the Athenians and Peloponnesians, when you don't observe that your own house is full of strife and variance." Good also was the answer of Diogenes, who, when Philip was marching to fight against the Greeks, stole into his camp, and was arrested and brought before him, and the king not recognizing him asked if he was a spy, "Certainly," replied he, "Philip, I have come to spy out your inconsiderate folly, which makes you, under no compulsion, come here and hazard your kingdom and life on a moment's cast of the die." This was perhaps rather too strong a remark.

31. Another suitable time for reproof is when people have been abused by others for their faults, and have consequently become humble, and abated their pride. The man of tact will ingeniously seize the occasion, checking and baffling those that used the abuse, but privately speaking seriously to his friend, and reminding him, that he ought to be more careful if for no other reason than to take off the edge of his enemies' satire. He will say, "How can they open their mouths against you, or what can they urge, if you give up and abandon what

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you get this bad name about?" Thus pain comes only from abuse, but profit from reproof. And some correct their friends more daintily by blaming others; censuring others for what they know are their friends' faults. Thus my master Ammonius in afternoon school, noticing that some of his pupils had not dined sufficiently simply, bade one of his freedmen scourge his own son, charging him with being unable to get through his dinner without vinegar, but in acting thus he had an eye to us, so that this indirect rebuke touched the guilty persons.

32. We must also beware of speaking too freely to a friend in the company of many people, remembering the well-known remark of Plato. For when Socrates reproved one of his friends too vehemently in a discussion at table, Plato said, "Would it not have been better to have said this privately?" Whereupon Socrates replied, "And you too, sir, would it not have become you to make this remark also privately?" And Pythagoras having rebuked one of his pupils somewhat harshly before many people, they say the young fellow went off and hung himself, and from that moment Pythagoras never again rebuked anyone in another's presence. For, as in the case of some foul disease, so also in the case of wrong-doing we ought to make the detection and exposure private, and not ostentatiously public by bringing witnesses and spectators. For it is not the part of a friend but a sophist to seek glory by the ill-fame of another, and to show off in company, like the doctors that perform wonderful cures in the theatres as an advertisement. And independently of the insult, which ought not to be an element in any cure, we must remember that vice is contentious and obstinate. For it is not merely "love," as Euripides says, that "if checked becomes more vehement," but an unsparing rebuke before many people makes every infirmity and vice more impudent. As then Plato urges old men who want to teach the young reverence to act reverently to them first themselves, so among friends a gentle rebuke is gently taken, and a cautious and careful approach and mild censure of the wrong-doer undermines and destroys vice, and makes its own modesty catching. So that line is most excellent, "holding his head near, that the others might not hear." And most especially indecorous is it to expose a husband in the hearing of his wife, or a father before his children, or a lover in the presence of the loved one, or a master before his scholars. For people are beside themselves with pain and rage if reproached before those with whom they desire to be held in good repute. And I think it was not so much wine that exasperated Alexander with Clitus, as his seeming to put him down in the presence of many people. And Aristomenes, the tutor of Ptolemy, because he went up to the king and woke him as he was asleep in an audience of some ambassadors, gave a handle to the king's flatterers who professed to be indignant on his behalf, and said, "If after your immense state-labours and many vigils you have been overpowered by sleep, he ought to have rebuked you privately, and not put his hands upon you before so many people." And Ptolemy sent for a cup of poison and ordered the poor man to drink it up. And Aristophanes said Cleon blamed him for "railing against the state when strangers were present," and so irritating the Athenians. We ought therefore to be very much on our guard in relation to this point too as well as others, if we wish not to make a display and catch the public ear, but to use our freedom of speech for beneficial purposes and to cure vice. Moreover, what Thucydides has represented the Corinthians saying of themselves, that "they had a right to blame their neighbours," is not a bad precept for those to remember who intend to use freedom of speech. Lysander, it seems, on one occasion said to a Megarian, who was speaking somewhat boldly on behalf of Greece among the allies, "Your words require a state to back them": similarly every man's freedom of speech requires character behind it, and especially true is this in regard to those who censure and correct others. Thus Plato said that his life was a tacit rebuke to Speusippus: and doubtless Xenocrates by his mere presence in the schools, and by his earnest look at Polemo, made a changed man of him. Whereas a man of levity and bad character, if he ventures to rebuke anybody, is likely to hear the line, "He doctors others, all diseased himself."

33. Yet since circumstances frequently call on people who are bad themselves in association with other such to reprove them, the most convenient mode of reproof will be that which contrives to include the reprover in the same indictment as the reproved, as in the case of the line, "Tydides, how on earth have we forgotOur old impetuous courage?" and, "Now are we all not worth one single Hector."

In this mild way did Socrates rebuke young men, as not himself without ignorance, but one that needed in common with them to prosecute virtue, and seek truth. For they gain goodwill and influence, who seem to have the same faults as their friends, and desire to correct themselves as well as them. But he who is high and mighty in setting down another, as if he were himself perfect and without any imperfections, unless he be of a very advanced age, or has an acknowledged reputation for virtue and worth, does no good, but is only regarded as a tiresome bore. And so it was wisely done of Phoenix to relate his own mishaps, how he had meant killing his father, but quickly repented at the thought "that he would be called by the Achaeans parricide," that he might not seem to be rebuking Achilles, as one that had himself never suffered from excess of rage. For kindness of this sort has great influence, and people yield more to those who seem to be sympathetic and not supercilious. And since we ought not to expose an inflamed eye to a strong light, and a soul a prey to the passions cannot bear unmixed reproof and rebuke, one of the most useful remedies will be found to be a slight mixture of praise, as in the following lines, "Ye will not sure give up your valiant courage,The best men in the host! I should not careIf any coward left the fight, not I; But you to do so cuts me to the heart." And, "Where is thy bow, where thy wing'd arrows, Pandarus,Where thy great fame, which no one here can match?"

Such language again plainly cheers very much those that are down as, "Where now is OEdipus, and his famous riddles?" and, "Does much-enduring Hercules say this?" For not only does it soften the harsh imperiousness of censure, but also, by reminding a man of former noble deeds, implants a desire to emulate his former self in the person who is ashamed of what is low, and makes himself his own exemplar for better things. But if we make a comparison between him and other men, as his contemporaries, his fellow-citizens, or his relations, then the contentious spirit inherent in vice is vexed and exasperated, and is often apt to chime in angrily, "Why don't you go off to my betters then, and leave off bothering me?" We must therefore be on our guard against praising others, when we are rebuking a man, unless indeed it be their parents, as Agamemnon says in Homer, "Little like Tydeus is his father's son!" or as Odysseus in the play called "The Scyrians," "Dost thou card wool, and thus the lustre smirchOf thy illustrious sire, thy noble race?"

34. But it is by no means fitting when rebuked to rebuke back, and when spoken to plainly to answer back, for that soon kindles a flame and causes dissension; and generally speaking such altercation will not look so much like a retort as an inability to bear freedom of speech. It is better therefore to listen patiently to a friend's rebuke, for if he should afterwards do wrong himself and so need rebuke, he has set you the example of freedom of speech. For being reminded without any malice, that he himself has not been accustomed to spare his friends when they have done wrong, but to convince them and show them their fault, he will be the more inclined to yield and give himself up to correction, as it will seem a return of goodwill and kindness rather than scolding or rage.

35. Moreover, as Thucydides says "he is well advised who [only] incurs envy in the most important matters," so the friend ought only to take upon himself the unpleasant duty of reproof in grave and momentous cases. For if he is always in a fret and a fume, and rates his acquaintances more like a tutor than a friend, his rebuke will be blunt and ineffective in cases of the highest importance, and he will resemble a doctor who dispenses some sharp and bitter, but important and costly, drug in trifling cases of common occurrence, where it was not at all needed, and so will lose all the advantages that might come from a judicious use of freedom of speech. He will therefore be very much on his guard against continual fault-finding, and if his friend is always pettifogging about minute matters, and is needlessly querulous, it will give him a handle against him in more important shortcomings. Philotimus the doctor, when a patient who had abscesses on his liver showed him his sore finger, said to him, "My friend, it is not the whitlow that matters." So an opportunity sometimes offers itself to a friend to say to a man, who is always finding fault on small and trivial points, "Why are we always discussing mere child's play, tippling, and trifles? Let such a one, my dear sir, send away his mistress, or give up playing at dice, he will then be in my opinion in all respects an excellent fellow." For he who receives pardon on small matters is content that his friend should rebuke him on matters of more moment: but the man who is ever on the scold, everywhere sour and glum, knowing and prying into everything, is scarcely tolerable to his children or brothers, and insufferable to his slaves.

36. But since "neither," to use the words of Euripides, "do all troubles proceed only from old age," nor from the stupidity of our friends, we ought to observe not only the shortcomings but also the good points of our friends, aye, by Zeus, and to be ready to praise them first, and only censure them afterwards. For as iron receives its consistency and temper by first being submitted to fire and so made soft and then dipped into cold water, so when friends have been first warmed and melted with praises we can afterwards use gentle remonstrance, which has a similar effect to that of dipping in the case of the metal. For an opportunity will offer itself to say, "Are those actions worthy to be compared with these? Do you see what fruits virtue yields? These are the things we your friends ask of you, these become you, for these you are designed by nature; but all that other kind of conduct we must reject with abhorrence, 'cast it away on a mountain, or throw it into the roaring sea.'" For as a clever doctor would prefer to cure the illness of his patient by sleep and diet rather than by castor or scammony, so a kind friend and good father or teacher delight to use praise rather than blame to correct the character. For nothing makes rebuke less painful or more beneficial than to refrain from anger, and to inveigh against wrong-doing mildly and kindly. And so we ought not sharply to drive home the guilt of those who deny it, or prevent their making their defence, but even contrive to furnish them with specious excuses, and if they seem reluctant to give a bad motive for their action we ought ourselves to find for them a better, as Hector did for his brother Paris, "Unhappy man, thy anger was not good," suggesting that his absconding from the battle was not running away or cowardice, but only anger. And Nestor says to Agamemnon, "You only yielded to your lofty passion."

For it has, I think, a better moral tendency to say "You forgot," or "You did it inadvertently," than to say "You acted unfairly," or "You behaved shamefully:" as also "Don't contend with your brother," than "Don't envy your brother;" and "Avoid the woman who is your ruin," than "Stop ruining the woman." Such is the language employed in rebuke that desires to reform and not to wound; that rebuke which looks merely at the effect to be produced acts on another principle. For when it is necessary to stop people on the verge of wrong-doing, or to check some violent and irregular impulse, or if we wish to rouse and infuse vigour in those who prosecute virtue only feebly and languidly, we may then assign strange and unbecoming motives for their behaviour. As Odysseus in Sophocles' play, striving to rouse Achilles, says he is not angry about his supper, but "that he is afraid now that he looks upon the walls of Troy," and when Achilles was vexed at this, and talked of sailing home again, he said, "I know what 'tis you shun: 'tis not ill fame:But Hector's near, it is not safe to beard him."

Thus by frightening the high-spirited and courageous man by the imputation of cowardice, and the sober and orderly man by that of licentiousness, and the liberal and munificent man by that of meanness and avarice, people urge them on to what is good, and deter them from what is bad, showing moderation in cases past remedy, and exhibiting in their freedom of speech more sorrow and sympathy than fault-finding; but in the prevention of wrong-doing and in earnest fighting against the passions they are vehement and inexorable and assiduous: for that is the time for downright plainness and truth. Besides we see that enemies censure one another for what they have done amiss, as Diogenes said, he who wished to lead a good life ought to have good friends or red-hot enemies, for the former told you what was right, and the latter blamed you if you did what was wrong. But it is better to be on our guard against wrong actions, through listening to the persuasion of those that advise us well, than to repent, after we have done wrong, in consequence of the reproaches of our enemies. And so we ought to employ tact in our freedom of speech, as it is the greatest and most powerful remedy in friendship, and always needs a well-chosen occasion, and moderation in applying it.

37. Since then, as I have said before, freedom of speech is often painful to the person who is to receive benefit from it, we must imitate the surgeons, who, when they have performed an operation, do not leave the suffering part to pain and smart, but bathe and foment it; so those who do their rebuking daintily run off after paining and smarting, and by different dealing and kind words soothe and mollify them, as statuaries smooth and polish images which have been broken or chipped. But he that is broken and wounded by rebuke, if he is left sullen and swelling with rage and off his equilibrium, is henceforth hard to win back or talk over. And so people who reprove ought to be especially careful on this point, and not to leave them too soon, nor break off their conversation and intercourse with their acquaintances at the exasperating and painful stage.

PLUTARCH'S MORALS CHAPTER 14

HOW A MAN MAY BE BENEFITED BY HIS ENEMIES.

1. I am well aware, Cornelius Pulcher, that you prefer the mildest manners in public life, by which you can be at once most useful to the community, and most agreeable in private life to those who have any dealings with you. But since it is difficult to find any region without wild beasts, though it is related of Crete; and hitherto there has been no state that has not suffered from envy, rivalry, and strife, the most fruitful seeds of hostility; (for, even if nothing else does, our friendships involve us in enmities, as Chilo the wise man perceived, who asked the man who told him he had no enemy, whether he had a friend either), it seems to me that a public man ought not only to examine the whole question of enemies in its various ramifications, but also to listen to the serious remark of Xenophon, that a sensible man will receive profit even from his enemies. The ideas therefore that lately occurred to me to deliver, I have now put together nearly in the identical words and send them to you, with the exception of some matter also in "Political Precepts," a treatise which I have often noticed in your hands.

2. People in old times were well satisfied if they were not injured by strange and wild beasts, and that was the only motive of their fights with them, but those of later days have by now learnt to make use of them, for they feed on their flesh,

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and clothe themselves with their wool, and make medical use of their gall and beestings, and turn their hides into shields, so that we might reasonably fear, if beasts failed man, that his life would become brutish, and wild, and void of resources. Similarly since all others are satisfied with not being injured by their enemies, but the sensible will also (as Xenophon says) get profit out of them, we must not be incredulous, but seek a method and plan how to obtain this advantage, seeing that life without an enemy is impossible. The husbandman cannot cultivate every tree, nor can the hunter tame every kind of animal, so both seek means to derive profit according to their several necessities, the one from his barren trees, the other from his wild animals. Sea-water also is undrinkable and brackish, but it feeds fish, and is a sort of vehicle to convey and transport travellers anywhere. The Satyr, when he saw fire for the first time, wished to kiss it and embrace it, but Prometheus warned him, "Goat, thou wilt surely mourn thy loss of beard." For fire burns whoever touches it, but it also gives light and warmth, and is an instrument of art to all those who know how to use it. Consider also in the case of the enemy, if he is in other respects injurious and intractable, he somehow or other gives us a handle to make use of him by, and so is serviceable. And many things are unpleasant and detestable and antagonistic to those to whom they happen, but you must have noticed that some use even illnesses as a period of rest for the body, and others by excessive toil have strengthened and trained their bodily vigour, and some have made exile and the loss of money a passage to leisure and philosophy, as did Diogenes and Crates. And Zeno, when he heard of the wreck of the ship which contained all his property, said, "Thou hast done well, Fortune, to confine me to my threadbare cloak."

For as those animals that have the strongest and healthiest stomachs eat and digest serpents and scorpions, and some even feed on stones and shells, which they convert into nourishment by the strength and heat of their stomachs, while fastidious people out of health almost vomit if offered bread and wine, so foolish people spoil even their friendships, while the wise know how to turn to account even their enmities.

3. In the first place then it seems to me that what is most injurious in enmity may become most useful to those that pay attention to it? To what do I refer? Why, to the way in which your enemy ever wide awake pries into all your affairs, and analyzes your whole life, trying to get a handle against you somewhere, able not only to look through a tree, like Lynceus, or through stones and shells, but through your friend and domestic and every intimate acquaintance, as far as possible detecting your doings, and digging and ferreting into your designs. For our friends are ill and often die without our knowing anything about it through our delay and carelessness, but we almost pry into even the dreams of our enemies; and our enemy knows even more than we do ourselves of our diseases and debts and differences with our wives. But they pay most attention to our faults and hunt them out: and as vultures follow the scent of putrid carcases, and cannot perceive sound and wholesome ones, so the diseases and vices and crimes of life attract the enemy, and on these those that hate us pounce, these they attack and tear to pieces. Is not this an advantage to us? Certainly it is. For it teaches us to live warily and be on our guard, and neither to do or say anything carelessly or without circumspection, but ever to be vigilant by careful mode of living that we give no handle to an enemy. For the cautiousness that thus represses the passions and follows reason implants a care and determination to live well and without reproach. For as those states that have been sobered by wars with their neighbours and continual campaigns love the blessings of order and peace, so those people who are compelled to lead a sober life owing to their enemies, and to be on their guard against carelessness and negligence, and to do everything with an eye to utility, imperceptibly glide into a faultless mode of life, and tone down their character, even without requiring much assistance from precepts. For those who always remember the line, "Ah! how would Priam and his sons rejoice," are by it diverted from and learn to shun all such things as their enemies would rejoice and laugh at. Again we see actors and singers on the stage oftentimes slack and remiss, and not taking sufficient pains about their performances in the theatres when they have it all to themselves; but when there is a competition and contest with others, they not only wake up but tune their instruments, and adjust their chords, and play on the flute with more care. Similarly whoever knows that his enemy is antagonistic to his life and character, pays more attention to himself, and watches his behaviour more carefully, and regulates his life. For it is peculiar to vice to be more afraid of enemies than friends in regard to our faults. And so Nasica, when some expressed their opinion that the Roman Republic was now secure, since Carthage was rased to the ground and Achaia reduced to slavery, said, "Nay rather we are now in a critical position, since we have none left to fear or respect."

4. Consider also that very philosophical and witty answer of Diogenes to the man who asked, "How shall I avenge myself on my enemy?" "By becoming a good and honest man." Some people are terribly put about if they see their enemies' horses in a good condition, or hear their dogs praised; if they see their farm well-tilled, their garden well-kept, they groan aloud. What a state think you then they would be in, if you were to exhibit yourself as a just man, sensible and good, in words excellent, in deeds pure, in manner of life decorous, "reaping fruit from the deep soil of the soul, where good counsels grow." Pindar says "those that are conquered are reduced to complete silence:" but not absolutely, not all men, only those that see they are outdone by their enemies in industry, in goodness, in magnanimity, in humanity, in kindnesses; these, as Demosthenes says, "stop the tongue, block up the mouth, choke people, and make them silent."

"Be better than the bad: 'tis in your power." If you wish to vex the man who hates you, do not abuse him by calling him a pathick, or effeminate, or intemperate, or a low fellow, or illiberal; but be yourself a man, and temperate, and truthful, and kind and just in all your 206dealings with those you come across. But if you are tempted to use abuse, mind that you yourself are very far from what you abuse him for, dive down into your own soul, look for any rottenness in yourself, lest someone suggest to you the line of the tragedian, "You doctor others, all diseased yourself."

If you say your enemy is uneducated, increase your own love of learning and industry; if you call him coward, stir up the more your own spirit and manliness; and if you say he is wanton and licentious, erase from your own soul any secret trace of the love of pleasure. For nothing is more disgraceful or more unpleasant than slander that recoils on the person who sets it in motion; for as the reflection of light seems most to injure weak eyes, so does censure when it recoils on the censurer, and is borne out by the facts. For as the north-east wind attracts clouds, so does a bad life draw upon itself rebukes.

5. Whenever Plato was in company with people who behaved in an unseemly manner, he used to say to himself, "Am I such a person as this?" So he that censures another man's life, if he straightway examines and mends his own, directing and turning it into the contrary direction, will get some advantage from his censure, which will be otherwise idle and unprofitable. Most people laugh if a bald-pate or hump-back jeer and mock at others who are so too: it is quite as ridiculous to jeer and mock if one lies open to retort oneself, as Leo of Byzantium showed in his answer to the hump-back who jeered at him for weakness of eyes, "You twit me with an infirmity natural to man, while you yourself carry your Nemesis on your back." And so do not abuse another as an adulterer, if you yourself are mad after boys: nor as a spendthrift, if you yourself are niggardly. Alcmaeon said to Adrastus, "You are near kinsman to a woman that slew her husband." What was his reply? He retaliated on him with the appropriate retort, "But you killed with your own hand the mother that bare you." And Domitius said to Crassus, "Did you not weep for the lamprey that was bred in your fishpond, and died?" To which Crassus replied, "Did you weep, when you buried your three wives?" He therefore that intends to abuse others must not be witty and noisy and impudent, but a man that does not lie open to counter-abuse and retort, for the god seems to have enjoined upon no one the precept "Know thyself" so much as on the person who is censorious, to prevent people saying just what they please, and hearing what don't please them. For such a one is wont, as Sophocles says, "idly letting his tongue flow, to hear against his will, what he willingly says ill of others."

6. This use and advantage then there is in abusing one's enemy, and no less arises from being abused and ill-spoken of oneself by one's enemies. And so Antisthenes said well that those who wish to lead a good life ought to have genuine friends or red-hot enemies; for the former deterred you from what was wrong by reproof, the latter by abuse. But since friendship has nowadays become very mealy-mouthed in freedom of speech, voluble in flattery and silent in rebuke, we can only hear the truth from our enemies. For as Telephus having no surgeon of his own, submitted his wound to be cured by his enemy's spear, so those who cannot procure friendly rebuke must content themselves with the censure of an enemy that hates them, reprehending and castigating their vices, and regard not the animus of the person, but only his matter. For as he who intended to kill the Thessalian Prometheus only stabbed a tumour, and so lanced it that the man's life was saved, and he was rid of the tumour by its bursting, so oftentimes abuse, suddenly thrust on a man in anger or hatred, has cured some disease in his soul which he was ignorant of or neglected. But most people when they are abused do not consider whether the abuse really belongs to them properly, but look round to see what abuse they can heap on the abuser, and, as wrestlers get smothered with the dust of the arena, do not wipe off the abuse hurled at themselves, but bespatter others, and at last get on both sides grimy and discoloured. But if anyone gets a bad name from an enemy, he ought to clear himself of the imputation even more than he would remove any stain on his clothes that was pointed out to him; and if it be wholly untrue, yet he ought to investigate what originated the charge, and to be on his guard and be afraid lest he had unawares done something very near akin to what was imputed to him. As Lacydes, the king of the Argives, by the way he wore his hair and by his mincing walk got charged with effeminacy: and Pompey's scratching his head with one finger was construed in the same way, though both these men were very far from effeminacy or wantonness. And Crassus was accused of an intrigue with one of the Vestal Virgins, because he wished to purchase from her a pleasant estate, and therefore frequently visited her and waited upon her. And Postumia, from her readiness to laugh and talk somewhat freely with men, got accused and even had to stand her trial for incest, but was, however, acquitted of that charge: but Spurius Minucius the Pontif ex Maximus, when he pronounced her innocent, urged her not to be freer in her words than she was in her life. And though Themistocles was guiltless of treason, his intimacy with Pausanias, and the letters and messages that frequently passed between them, laid him under suspicion.

7. Whenever therefore any false charge is made against us, we ought not merely to despise and neglect it as false, but to see what word or action, either in jest or earnest, has made the charge seem probable, and this we must for the future be earnestly on our guard against and shun. For if others falling into unforeseen trouble and difficulties teach us what is expedient, as Merope says, "Fortune has made me wise, though she has ta'enMy dearest ones as wages," why should we not take an enemy, and pay him no wages, to teach us, and give us profit and instruction, in matters which had escaped our notice? For an enemy has keener perception than a friend, for, as Plato says, "the lover is blind as respects the loved one," and hatred is both curious and talkative. Hiero was twitted by one of his enemies for his foul breath, so he went home and said to his wife, "How is this? You never told me of it." But she being chaste and innocent replied, "I thought all men's breath was like that." Thus perceptible and material things, and things that are plain to everybody, are sooner learnt from enemies than from friends and intimates.

8. Moreover to keep the tongue well under control, no small factor in moral excellence, and to make it always obedient and submissive to reason, is not possible, unless by practice and attention and painstaking a man has subdued his worst passions, as for example anger. For such expressions as "a word uttered involuntarily," and "escaping the barrier of the teeth," and "words darting forth spontaneously," well illustrate what happens in the case of ill-disciplined souls, ever wavering and in an unsettled condition through infirmity of temper, through unbridled fancy, or through faulty education. But, according to divine Plato, though a word seems a very trivial matter, the heaviest penalty follows upon it both from gods and men. But silence can never be called to account, is not only not thirsty, to borrow the language of Hippocrates, but when abused is dignified and Socratic, or rather Herculean, if indeed it was Hercules who said, "Sharp words he heeded not so much as flies."

Not more dignified and noble than this is it to keep silent when an enemy reviles you, "as one swims by a smooth and mocking cliff," but in practice it is better. If you accustom yourself to bear silently the abuse of an enemy, you will very easily bear the attack of a scolding wife, and will remain undisturbed when you hear the sharp language of a friend or brother, and will be calm and placid when you are beaten or have something thrown at your head by your father or mother. For Socrates put up with Xanthippe, a passionate and forward woman, which made him a more easy companion with others, as being accustomed to submit to her caprices; and it is far better to train and accustom the temper to bear quietly the insults and rages and jeers and taunts of enemies and estranged persons, and not to be distressed at it.

9. Thus then must we exhibit in our enmities meekness and forbearance, and in our friendships still more simplicity and magnanimity and kindness. For it is not so graceful to do a friend a service, as disgraceful to refuse to do so at his request; and not to revenge oneself on an enemy when opportunity offers is generous. But the man who sympathizes with his enemy in affliction, and assists him in distress, and readily holds out a helping hand to his children and family and their fortunes when in a low condition, whoever does not admire such a man for his humanity, and praise his benevolence, "He has a black heart made of adamantOr iron or bronze."

When Caesar ordered the statues of Pompey that had been thrown down to be put up again, Cicero said, "You have set up again Pompey's statues, and in so doing have erected statues to yourself." We ought not therefore to be niggardly in our praise and honour of an enemy that deserves a good name. For he who praises another receives on that account greater praise himself, and is the more credited on another occasion when he finds fault, as not having any personal ill-feeling against the man, but only disapproving of his act; and what is most noble and advantageous, the man who is accustomed to praise his enemies, and not to be vexed or malignant at their prosperity, is as far as possible from envying the good fortune of his friends, and the success of his intimates. And yet what practice will be more beneficial to our minds, or bring about a happier disposition, than that which banishes from us all jealousy and envy? For as in war

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many necessary things, otherwise bad, are customary and have as it were the sanction of law, so that they cannot be abolished in spite of the injury they do, so enmity drags along in its train hatred, and envy, and jealousy, and malignity, and revenge, and stamps them on the character. Moreover knavery, and deceit, and villainy, that seem neither bad nor unfair if employed against an enemy, if they once get planted in the mind are difficult to dislodge; and eventually from force of habit get used also against friends, unless they are forewarned and forearmed through their previous acquaintance with the tricks of enemies. If then Pythagoras, accustoming his disciples to abstain from all cruelty and inhumanity to the brute creation, did right to discountenance bird-fowling, and to buy up draughts of fishes and bid them be thrown into the water again, and to forbid killing any but wild animals, much more noble is it, in dissensions and differences with human beings, to be a generous, just and true enemy, and to check and tame all bad and low and knavish propensities, that in all intercourse with friends a man may keep the peace and abstain from doing an injury. Scaurus was an enemy and accuser of Domitius, but when one of Domitius' slaves came to him to reveal some important matters which were unknown to Scaurus, he would not hear him, but seized him and sent him back to his master. And when Cato was prosecuting Murena for canvassing, and was getting together his evidence, he was accompanied as was usual by people who watched what he was doing, and would often ask him if he intended that day to get together his witnesses and open the case, and if he said "No," they believed him and went their way. All this is the greatest proof of the credit which was reposed in Cato, but it is better and more important, that we should accustom ourselves to deal justly even with our enemies, and then there will be no fear that we should ever act unjustly and treacherously to our friends and intimates.

10. But since, as Simonides says, "all larks must have their crests," and every man's nature contains in it pugnacity and jealousy and envy, which last is, as Pindar says, "the companion of empty-headed men," one might get considerable advantage by purging oneself of those passions against enemies, and by diverting them, like sewers, as far as possible from companions and friends. And this it seems the statesmanlike Onomademus had remarked, for being on the victorious side in a disturbance at Chios, he urged his party not to expel all of the different faction, but to leave some, "in order," he said, "that we may not begin to quarrel with our friends, when we have got entirely rid of our enemies." So too our expending these passions entirely on our enemies will give less trouble to our friends. For it ought not to be, as Hesiod says, that "potter envies potter, and singer envies singer, and neighbour neighbour," and cousin cousin, and brother brother, "if hastening to get rich" and enjoying prosperity. But if there is no other way to get rid of strife and envy and quarrels, accustom yourself to be vexed at your enemies' good fortune, and sharpen and accentuate on them your acerbity. For as judicious gardeners think they produce finer roses and violets by planting alongside of them garlic and onions, that any bitter or strong elements may be transferred to them, so your enemy's getting and attracting your envy and malignity will render you kinder and more agreeable to your prosperous friends. And so let us be rivals of our enemies for glory or office or righteous gain, not only being vexed if they get ahead of us, but also carefully observing all the steps by which they get ahead, and trying to outdo them in industry, and hard work, and soberness, and prudence; as Themistocles said Miltiades' victory at Marathon would not let him sleep. For he who thinks his enemy gets before him in offices, or advocacies, or state affairs, or in favour with his friends or great men, if from action and emulation he sinks into envy and despondency, makes his life become idle and inoperative. But he who is not blinded by hate, but a discerning spectator of life and character and words and deeds, will perceive that most of what he envies comes to those who have them from diligence and prudence and good actions, and exerting himself in the same direction he will increase his love of what is honourable and noble, and will eradicate his vanity and sloth.

11. But if our enemies seem to us to have got either by flattery, or fraud, or bribery, or venal services, ill-got and discreditable power at court or in state, it ought not to trouble us but rather inspire pleasure in us, when we compare our own liberty and purity and independence of life. For, as Plato says, "all the gold above or below the earth is not of equal value with virtue." And we ought ever to remember the precept of Solon, "We will not exchange our virtue for others' wealth." Nor will we give up our virtue for the applause of banqueting theatres, nor for honours and chief seats among eunuchs and harlots, nor to be monarchs' satraps; for nothing is to be desired or noble that comes from what is bad. But since, as Plato says, "the lover is blind as respects the loved one," and we notice more what our enemies do amiss, we ought not to let either our joy at their faults or our grief at their success be idle, but in either case we ought to reflect, how we may become better than them by avoiding their errors, and by imitating their virtues not come short of them.

PLUTARCH'S MORALS CHAPTER 15

ON TALKATIVENESS.

1. Philosophy finds talkativeness a disease very difficult and hard to cure. For its remedy, conversation, requires hearers: but talkative people hear nobody, for they are ever prating. And the first evil this inability to keep silence produces is an inability to listen. It is a self-chosen deafness of people who, I take it, blame nature for giving us one tongue and two ears. If then the following advice of Euripides to a foolish hearer was good, "I cannot fill one that can nought retain,Pumping up wise words for an unwise man;" one might more justly say to a talkative man, or rather about a talkative man, "I cannot fill one that will nothing take,Pumping up wise words for an unwise man;" or rather deluging with words one that talks to those who don't listen, and listens not to those who talk. Even if he does listen for a short time, talkativeness hurries off what is said like the retiring sea, and anon brings it up again multiplied with the approaching tide. The portico at Olympia that returns many echoes to one utterance is called seven-voiced, and if the slightest utterance catches the ear of talkativeness, it at once echoes it all round, "Moving the mind's chords all unmoved before."

For their ears can certainly have no passages leading to the brain but only to the tongue. And so while other people retain what they hear, talkative people lose it altogether, and, being empty-headed, they resemble empty vessels, and go about making much noise.

2. If however it seems that no attempt at cure has been left untried, let us say to the talkative person, "Be silent, boy; silence has great advantages;" two of the first and foremost of which are hearing and being heard, neither of which can happen to talkative people, for however they desire either so unhappy are they that they must desist from it. For in all other diseases of the soul, as love of money, love of glory, or love of pleasure, people at any rate attain the desired object: but it is the cruel fate of talkative people to desire hearers but not to get them, for everyone flees from them with headlong speed; and if people are sitting or walking about in any public place, and see one coming they quickly pass the word to one another to shift quarters. And as when there is dead silence in any assembly they say Hermes has joined the company, so when any prater joins some drinking party or social gathering of friends, all are silent, not wishing to give him a chance to break in, and if he uninvited begin to open his mouth, they all, "like before a storm at sea, when Boreas is blowing a gale round some headland," foreseeing tossing about and nausea, disperse. And so it is their destiny to find neither willing table-companions, nor messmates when they are travelling by land or by sea, but only such as cannot help themselves; for such a fellow is always at you, plucking hold of your clothes or chin, or giving you a dig in the ribs with his elbow. "Most valuable are the feet in such a conjuncture," according to Archilochus, nay according to the wise Aristotle himself. For he being bothered with a talkative fellow, and wearied out with his absurd tales, and his frequent question, "Is not this wonderful, Aristotle?" "Not at all," said he, "but it is wonderful that anyone with a pair of legs stops here to listen to you." And to another such fellow, who said after a long rigmarole, "Did I weary you, philosopher, by my chatter?" "Not you, by Zeus," said he, "for I paid no attention to you." For even if talkative people force you to listen, the mind can give them only its outward ears to deluge, while it unfolds and pursues some other thoughts within; so they find neither hearers to attend to them, nor credit them. They say those that are prone to Venus are commonly barren: so the prating of talkative people is ineffectual and fruitless.

3. And yet nature has fenced and barricaded in us nothing so much as the tongue, having put the teeth before it as a barrier, so that if, when reason holds tight her "glossy reins," it hearken not, nor keep within bounds, we may check its intemperance, biting it till the blood comes. For Euripides tells us that, not from unbolted houses or store-rooms, but "from unbridled mouths the end is misfortune." But those persons who think that houses without doors and open purses are no good to their possessors, and yet keep their mouths open and unshut, and allow their speech to flow continually like the waves of the Euxine, seem to regard speech as of less value than anything. And so they never get believed, though credit is the aim of every speech; for to inspire belief in one's hearers is the proper end of speech, but praters are disbelieved even when they tell the truth. For as corn stowed away in a granary is found to be larger in quantity but inferior in quality, so the speech of a talkative man is increased by a large addition of falsehood, which destroys his credit.

4. Then again every man of modesty and propriety would avoid drunkenness, for anger is next door neighbour to madness as some think, but drunkenness lives in the same house: or rather drunkenness is madness, more short-lived indeed, but more potent also through volition, for it is self-chosen. Nor is drunkenness censured for anything so much as its intemperate and endless talk. "Wine makes a prudent man begin to sing,And gently laugh, and even makes him dance." And yet there is no harm in all this, in singing and laughing and dancing. But the poet adds—"And it compels to say what's best unsaid."

This is indeed dreadful and dangerous. And perhaps the poet in this passage has solved that problem of the philosophers, and stated the difference between being under the influence of wine and being drunk, mirth being the condition of the former, foolish talk of the latter. For as the proverb tells us, "What is in the heart of the sober is on the tongue of the drunken." And so Bias, being silent at a drinking bout, and jeered at by some young man in the company as stupid, replied, "What fool could hold his tongue in liquor?" And at Athens a certain person gave an entertainment to the king's ambassadors, and at their desire contrived to get the philosophers there too, and as they were all talking together and comparing ideas, and Zeno alone was silent, the strangers greeted him and pledged him, and said, "What are we to tell the king about you, Zeno?" And he replied, "Nothing, but that there is an old man at Athens that can hold his tongue at a drinking bout." So profound and mysterious and sober is silence, while drunkenness is talkative: for it is void of sense and understanding, and so is loquacious. And so the philosophers define drunkenness to be silly talk in wine. Drinking therefore is not censured, if silence go with it, but foolish prating turns being under the influence of wine into drunkenness. And the drunken man prates only in his cups; but the talkative man prates everywhere, in the market-place, in the theatre, out walking, by night and by day. If he is your doctor, he is more trouble to you than your disease: if he is on board ship with you, he disgusts you more than sea-sickness; if he praises you, he is more fulsome than blame. It is more pleasure associating with bad men who have tact than with good men who prate. Nestor indeed in Sophocles' Play, trying by his words to soothe exasperated Ajax, said to him mildly, "I blame you not, for though your words are bad,Your acts are good:" but we cannot feel so to the talkative man, for his want of tact in words destroys and undoes all the grace of his actions.

5. Lysias wrote a defence for some accused person, and gave it him, and he read it several times, and came to Lysias in great dejection and said, "When I first perused this defence, it seemed to me wonderful, but when I read it a second and third time, it seemed altogether dull and ineffective. Then Lysias laughed, and said, "What then? Are you going to read it more than once to the jury?" And yet do but consider the persuasiveness and grace of Lysias' style; for he "I say was a great favourite with the dark-haired Muses." And of the things which have been said of Homer the truest is that he alone of all poets has survived the fastidiousness of mankind, as being ever new and still at his acme as regards giving pleasure, and yet saying and proclaiming about himself, "I hate to spin out a plain tale over and over again," he avoids and fears that satiety which lies in ambush for every narrative, and takes the hearer from one subject to another, and relieves by novelty the possibility of being surfeited. But the talkative worry one's ears to death with their tautologies, as people scribble the same things over and over again on palimpsests.

6. Let us remind them then first of this, that just as in the case of wine, which was intended for pleasure and mirth, those who compel people to drink it neat and in large quantities bring some into a disgusting condition of drunkenness, so with speech, which is the pleasantest social tie amongst mankind, those who make a bad and ill-advised use of it render it unpleasing and unfit for company, paining those whom they think to gratify, and become a laughing-stock to those who they think admire them, and objectionable to those who they think love them. As then he cannot be a favourite of the goddess who with Aphrodite's charmed girdle repels and drives away those who associate with him, so he who with his speech bores and disgusts one is without either taste or refinement.

7. Of all other passions and disorders some are dangerous, some hateful, some ridiculous, but in talkativeness all these elements are combined. For praters are jeered at for their commonplaces, and hated when they bring bad news, and run into danger when they reveal secrets. And so Anacharsis, when he was feasted by Solon and lay down to sleep, and was observed with his left hand on his private parts, and his right hand on his mouth, for he thought his tongue needed the stronger restraint, was right in his opinion. For it would be difficult to find as many men who have been ruined by venereal excesses as cities and leading states that have been undone by the utterance of a secret. When Sulla was besieging Athens, and had no time to waste there, "for he had other fish to fry," as Mithridates was ravaging Asia, and the party of Marius was again in power at Rome, some old men in a barber's shop happened to observe to one another that the Heptachalcon was not well guarded, and that their city ran a great risk of being captured at that point, and some spies who overheard this conversation reported it to Sulla. And he at once marched up his forces, and about midnight entered the city with his army, and all but rased it to the ground, and filled it with slaughter and dead bodies, insomuch that the Ceramicus ran with blood: and he was thus savage against the Athenians for their words rather than their deeds, for they

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had spoken ill of him and his wife Metella, jumping on to the walls and calling out in a jeering way, "Sulla is a mulberry bestrewn with barley meal," and much similar banter. Thus they drew down upon themselves for words, which, as Plato says, are a very small matter, a very heavy punishment. The prating of one man also prevented Rome from becoming free by the removal of Nero. For it was only the night before the tyrant was to be murdered, and all preparations had been made, when he that was to do the deed going to the theatre, and seeing someone in chains near the doors who was about to be taken before Nero, and was bewailing his sad fortune, went up close to him and whispered, "Pray only, good sir, that to-day may pass by, to-morrow you will owe me many thanks." He guessing the meaning of the riddle, and thinking, I take it, "he is a fool who gives up what is in his hand for a remote contingency," preferred certain to honourable safety. For he informed Nero of what the man had said, and he was immediately arrested, and torture, and fire, and scourging were applied to him, who denied now in his necessity what before he had divulged without necessity.

8. Zeno the philosopher (of Stoicism), that he might not against his will divulge any secrets when put to the torture, bit off his tongue, and spit it at the tyrant. Famous also was the reward which Leaena had for her taciturnity. She was the mistress of Harmodius and Aristogiton, and, although a woman, participated in their hopes of success in the conspiracy against the tyrants: for she had revelled in the glorious cup of love, and had been initiated in their secrets through the god. When then they had failed in their attempt and been put to death, and she was examined and bidden to reveal the names of the other conspirators, she refused to do so, and held out to the end, showing that those famous men in loving such a one as her had done nothing unworthy of them. And the Athenians erected to her memory a bronze lioness without a tongue, and placed it near the entrance to the Acropolis, signifying her dauntless courage by the nobleness of that animal, and by its being without a tongue her silence and fidelity. For no spoken word has done as much good as many unspoken ones. For at some future day we can give utterance if we like to what has been not said, but a word once spoken cannot be recalled, but flies about and runs all round the world. And this is the reason, I take it, why men teach us to speak, but the gods teach us to be silent, silence being enjoined on us in the mysteries and in all religious rites. Thus Homer has described the most eloquent Odysseus, and Telemachus, and Penelope, and the nurse, as all remarkable for their taciturnity. You remember the nurse saying, "I'll keep it close as heart of oak or steel." And Odysseus sitting by Penelope, "Though in his heart he pitied her sad grief,His eyes like horn or steel impassive stoodWithin their lids, and craft his tears repressed."

So great control had he over all his body, and so much were all his members under the sway and rule of reason, that he commanded his eyes not to weep, his tongue not to speak, and his heart not to tremble or quake.

"So calm and passive did his heart remain," reason penetrating even to the irrational instincts, and making spirit and blood obedient and docile to it. Such also were most of his companions, for though they were dashed to the ground and dragged along by the Cyclops, they said not a word about Odysseus, nor did they show the stake of wood that had been put into the fire and prepared to put out Polyphemus' eye, but they would rather have been eaten alive than divulge secrets, such wonderful self-control and fidelity had they. And so it was not amiss of Pittacus, when the king of Egypt sent him a victim, and bade him take from it the best and worst piece of it, to pull out the tongue and send that to the king, as being the instrument of the greatest blessings and withal the greatest mischiefs.

9. So Ino in Euripides, speaking plainly about herself, says she knows "how to be silent when she should, and to speak when speech is safe." For those who have enjoyed a truly noble and royal education learn first to be silent and then to speak. So the famous king Antigonus, when his son asked him, "When are we going to shift our quarters?" answered, "Are you afraid that you only will not hear the trumpet?" Was he afraid then to entrust a secret to him, to whom he intended one day to leave his kingdom? Nay rather, it was to teach him to be close and guarded on such matters. Metellus also, the well-known veteran, when questioned somewhat similarly about an expedition, said, "If I thought my coat knew the secret, I would strip it off and throw it into the fire." And Eumenes, when he heard that Craterus was marching against him, told none of his friends, but pretended that it was Neoptolemus; for his soldiers despised Neoptolemus, but they admired the glory and loved the virtue of Craterus; and no one but Eumenes knew the truth, and they engaged and were victorious, and unwittingly killed Craterus, and only recognized his dead body. So great a part did silence play in the battle, concealing the name of the enemy's general: so that Eumenes' friends marvelled more than found fault at his not having told them the truth. And if anyone should receive blame in such a case, it is better to be censured when one has done well by keeping one's counsel, rather than to have to accuse others through having come to grief by trusting them.

10. But, generally speaking, who has the right to blame the person who has not kept his secret? For if it was not to be known, it was not well to tell another person of it at all, and if you divulged your secret yourself and expected another person to keep it, you had more faith in another than in yourself. And so should he be such another as yourself you are deservedly undone, and should he be a better man than yourself, your safety is more than you could have reckoned on, as it involved finding a man more to be trusted than yourself. But you will say, He is my friend. Yes, but he has another friend, whom he reposes confidence in as much as you do in your friend, and that other friend has one of his own, and so on, so that the secret spreads in many quarters from inability to keep it close in one. For as the unit never deviates from its orbit, but (as its name signifies) always remains one, but the number two contains within it the seeds of infinity, for when it departs from itself it becomes plurality at once by doubling, so speech confined in one person's breast is truly secret, but if it be communicated to another it soon gets noised abroad. And so Homer calls words "winged," for as he that lets a bird go from his hands cannot easily get it back again, so he that lets a word go from his mouth cannot catch or stop it, but it is borne along "whirling on swift wings," and dispersed from one person to another. When a ship scuds before the gale the mariners can stop it, or at least check its course with cables and anchors, but when the spoken word once sails out of harbour, so to speak, there is no roadstead or anchorage for it, but borne along with much noise and echo it dashes its utterer on the rocks, and brings him into imminent danger of shipwreck, "As one might set on fire Ida's woodsWith a small torch, so what one tells one personIs soon the property of all the citizens."

11. The Roman Senate had been discussing for several days a secret matter, and there was much doubt and suspicion about it. And one of the senator's wives, discreet in other matters but a very woman in curiosity, pressed her husband close, and entreated him to tell her what the secret was; she vowed and swore she would not divulge it, and did not refrain from shedding tears at her not being trusted. And he, nothing loth to convince her of her folly, said, "Your importunity, wife, has prevailed, listen to a dreadful and portentous matter. It has been told us by the priests that a lark has been seen flying in the air with a golden helmet and spear: it is this portent that we are considering and discussing with the augurs, as to whether it be a good or bad omen. But say nothing about it." Having said these words he went into the Forum. But his wife seized on the very first of her maids that entered the room, and smote her breast, and tore her hair, and said, "Alas! for my husband and country! What will become of us?" wishing and teaching her maid to say, "Whatever's up?" So when she inquired she told her all about it, adding that refrain common to all praters, "Tell no one a word about it." The maid however had scarce left her mistress when she told one of her fellow-servants who was doing little or nothing, and she told her lover who happened to call at that moment. So the news spread to the Forum so quickly that it got the start of its original author, and one of his friends meeting him said, "Have you only just left your house?" "Only just," he replied. "Didn't you hear the news?" said his friend. "What news?" said he. "Why, that a lark has been seen flying in the air with a golden helmet and spear, and the Senate are met to discuss the portent." And he smiled and said to himself, "You are quick, wife, for the tale to get before me to the Forum!" Then meeting some of the Senators he disabused them of their panic. But to punish his wife, he said when he got home, "You have undone me, wife: for the secret has got abroad from my house, so that I must be an exile from my country for your inability to keep a secret." And on her trying to deny it, and saying, "Were there not three hundred Senators that heard of it as well as you? Might not one of them have divulged it?" he replied, "Stuff o' your three hundred! It was at your importunity that I invented the story, to put you to the test!" This fellow tested his wife warily and cunningly, as one pours water, and not wine or oil, into a leaky vessel. And Fabius, the friend of Augustus, hearing the Emperor in his old age mourning over the extinction of his family, how two of his daughter Julia's sons were dead, and how Posthumus Agrippa, the only remaining one, was in exile through false accusation, and how he was compelled to put his wife's son [Tiberius Nero, who actually did succeed Augustus.] into the succession to the Empire, though he pitied Agrippa and had half a mind to recall him from banishment, repeated the Emperor's words to his wife, and she to Livia [The Emperor's wife.]. And Livia bitterly upbraided Augustus, if he meant recalling his grandson, for not having done so long ago, instead of bringing her into hatred and hostility with the heir to the Empire. When Fabius came in the morning as usual into the Emperor's presence, and said, "Hail, Caesar!" the Emperor replied, "Farewell, Fabius." And he understanding the meaning of this straightway went home, and sent for his wife, and said, "The Emperor knows that I have not kept his secret, so I shall kill myself." And his wife replied, "You have deserved your fate, since having been married to me so long you did not remember and guard against my incontinence of speech, but suffer me to kill myself first." So saying she took his sword, and slew herself first.

12. That was a good answer therefore that the comic poet Philippides made to king Lysimachus, who greeted him kindly, and said to him, "What shall I give you of all my possessions?" "Whatever you like, O king, except your secrets." And talkativeness has another plague attached to it, even curiosity: for praters wish to hear much that they may have much to say, and most of all do they gad about to investigate and pry into secrets and hidden things, providing as it were an antiquated stock of rubbish for their twaddle, in fine like children who cannot hold ice in their hands, and yet are unwilling to let it go, or rather taking secrets to their bosoms and embracing them as if they were so many serpents, that they cannot control, but are sure to be gnawed to death by. They say that garfish and vipers burst in giving life to their young, so secrets by coming out ruin and destroy those who cannot keep them. Seleucus Callinicus having lost his army and all his forces in a battle against the Galati, threw off his diadem, and fled on a swift horse with an escort of three or four of his men a long day's journey by bypaths and out-of-the-way tracks, till faint and famishing for want of food he drew rein at a small farmhouse, where by chance he found the master at home, and asked for some bread and water. And he supplied him liberally and courteously not only with what he asked for but with whatever else was on the farm, and recognized the king, and being very joyful at this opportunity of ministering to the king's necessities, he could not contain himself, nor dissemble like the king who wished to be incognito, but he accompanied him to the road, and on parting from him, said, "Farewell, king Seleucus." And he stretching out his right hand, and drawing the man to him as if he was going to kiss him, gave a sign to one of his escort to draw his sword and cut the man's head off; "And at his word the head roll'd in the dust."

Whereas if he had been silent then, and kept his counsel for a time, as the king afterwards became prosperous and great, he would have received, I take it, greater favour for his silence than for his hospitality. And yet he had I admit some excuse for his want of reticence, namely hope and joy.

13. But most talkative people have no excuse for ruining themselves. As for example in a barber's shop one day there was some conversation about the tyranny of Dionysius, that it was as hard as adamant and invincible, and the barber laughed and said, "Fancy your saying this to me, who have my razor at his throat most days!" And Dionysius hearing this had him crucified. Barbers indeed are generally a talkative race, for people fond of prating flock to them and sit in their shops, so that they pick up the habit from their customers. It was a witty answer therefore of king Archelaus, when a talkative barber put the towel round his neck, and asked him, "How shall I shave you, O king?" "Silently," said the monarch. It was a barber that first spread the news of the great reverse of the Athenians in Sicily, having heard of it at the Piraeus from a slave that had escaped from the island. He at once left his shop, and ran into the city at full speed, "that no one else should reap the fame, and he come in the second," of carrying the news into the town. And an uproar arising, as was only to be expected, the people assembled in the ecclesia, and began to investigate the origin of the rumour. So the barber was dragged up and questioned, but knew not the person's name who had told him, so was obliged to refer its origin to an anonymous and unknown person. Then anger filled the theatre, and the multitude cried out, "Torture the cursed fellow, put him to the rack: he has fabricated and concocted this news: who else heard it? who credits it?" The wheel was brought, the poor fellow stretched on it. Meantime those came up who had brought the news, who had escaped from the carnage in Sicily. Then all the multitude dispersed to weep over their private sorrows, and abandoned the poor barber, who remained fastened to the wheel. And when released late in the evening he actually asked the executioner, if they had heard how Nicias the General was slain. So invincible and incorrigible a vice does habit make talkativeness to be.

14. And yet, as those that drink bitter and strong-smelling physic are disgusted even with the cups they drink it out of, so those that bring evil tidings are disliked and hated by their hearers. Wittily therefore has Sophocles described the conversation between Creon and the guard.

"G. Is't in your ears or in your mind you're grieved? C. Why do you thus define the seat of grief? G. The doer pains your mind, but I your ears."

However those that tell the tale grieve us as well as those that did the deed: and yet there is no means of checking or controlling the running tongue. At Lacedaemon the temple of Athene Chalcioecus was broken into, and an empty flagon was observed lying on the ground inside, and a great concourse of people came up and discussed the matter. And one of the company said, "If you will allow me, I will tell you what I think about this flagon. I cannot help being of opinion that these sacrilegious wretches drank hemlock, and brought wine with them, before commencing their nefarious and dangerous

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work: that so, if they should fail to be detected, they might depart in safety, drinking the wine neat as an antidote to the hemlock: whereas should they be caught in the act, before they were put to the torture they would die of the poison easily and painlessly." When he had uttered these words, the idea seemed so ingenious and farfetched that it looked as if it could not emanate from fancy, but only from knowledge of the real facts. So the crowd surrounded this man, and asked him one after the other, "Who are you? Who knows you? How come you to know all this?" And at last he was convicted in this way, and confessed that he was one of those that had committed the sacrilege. And were not the murderers of Ibycus similarly captured? They were sitting in the theatre, and some cranes flew over their heads, and they laughed and whispered to one another, "Behold the avengers of Ibycus." And this being overheard by some who sat near, as Ibycus had now been some time missing and inquired after, they laid hold of this remark, and reported it to the magistrates. And so they were convicted and dragged off to punishment, being brought to justice not by the cranes but by their own inability to hold their tongues, being compelled by some Fury or Vengeance as it were to divulge the murder. For as in the body there is an attraction to sore and suffering parts from neighbouring parts, so the tongue of talkative persons, ever suffering from inflammation and a throbbing pulse, attracts and draws to it secret and hidden things. And so the tongue ought to be fenced in, and have reason ever before it, as a bulwark, to prevent its tripping: that we may not seem to be more silly than geese, of whom it is said that, when they fly from Cilicia over Mount Taurus which swarms with eagles, they carry in their mouths a large stone, which they employ as a gag or bridle for their scream, and so they cross over by night unobserved.

15. Now if anyone were to ask who is the worst and most abandoned man, no one would pass over the traitor, or mention anyone else. It was as the reward of treason that Euthycrates roofed his house with Macedonian wood, as Demosthenes tells us; and that Philocrates got a large sum of money, and spent it on women and fish; and it was for betraying Eretria that Euphorbus and Philagrus got an estate from king Philip. But the talkative man is an unhired and officious traitor, not of horses or walls, but of secrets which he divulges in the law courts, in factions, in party-strife, no one thanking him for his pains; but should anyone listen to him he thinks he is the obliged party. So that what was said to a man who rashly and indiscriminately squandered away all his means and bestowed them on others, "It is not kindness in you but disease,This itch for giving," is appropriate also to the prater, "You don't communicate to us all this out of friendship or goodwill, but it is a disease in you, this itch for talking and prating."

16. But all this must not be looked upon merely as an indictment against talkativeness, but an attempt to cure it: for we overcome the passions by judgement and practice, but judgement is the first step. For no one is wont to shun, and eradicate from his soul, what he does not dislike. And we dislike the passions only when we discern by reason the harm and shame that results to us by indulging them. As we see every day in the case of talkative people: if they wish to be loved, they are hated; if they desire to please, they bore; when they think they are admired, they are really laughed at; they spend, and get no gain from so doing; they injure their friends, benefit their enemies, and ruin themselves. So that the first cure and remedy of this disorder will be to reckon up the shame and trouble that results from it.

17. In the next place we must consider the opposite virtue to talkativeness, always listening to and having on our lips the encomiums passed upon reserve, and remembering the decorum sanctity and mysterious power of silence, and ever bearing in mind that terse and brief speakers, who put the maximum of matter into the minimum of words, are more admired and esteemed and thought wiser than unbridled windbags. And so Plato praises, and compares to clever javelin-men, such as speak tersely, compressedly, and concisely. And Lycurgus by using his citizens from boyhood to silence taught them to perfection their brevity and terseness. For as the Celtiberians make steel of iron only after digging down deep in the soil, and carefully separating the iron ore, so Laconian oratory has no rind, but by the removal of all superfluous matter goes home straight to the point like steel. For its sententiousness, and pointed suppleness in repartee, comes from the habit of silence. And we ought to quote such pointed sayings especially to talkative people, such neatness and vigour have they, as, for example, what the Lacedaemonians said to Philip, "[Remember] Dionysius at Corinth." And again, when Philip wrote to them, "If I invade Laconia, I will drive you all out of house and home," they only wrote back, "If." And when king Demetrius was indignant and cried out, "The Lacedaemonians have only sent me one ambassador," the ambassador was not frightened but said, "Yes, one to one man." Certainly among the ancients men of few words were admired. So the Amphictyones did not write extracts from the Iliad or Odyssey, or the Paeans of Pindar, in the temple of Pythian Apollo at Delphi, but "Know thyself," "Not too much of anything," and "Be a surety, trouble is near;" so much did they admire compactness and simplicity of speech, combining brevity with shrewdness of mind. And is not the god himself short and concise in his oracles? Is he not called Loxias, because he prefers ambiguity to longwindedness? And are not those who express their meaning by signs without words wonderfully praised and admired? As Heraclitus, when some of the citizens asked him to give them his opinion about concord, got on the platform, and took a cup of cold water, and put some barley-meal in it, and stirred it up with penny-royal, thus showing them that it is being content with anything, and not needing costly dainties, that keeps cities in peace and concord. Scilurus, the king of the Scythians, left eighty sons, and on his death-bed asked for a bundle of sticks, and bade his sons break it when it was tied together, and when they could not, he took the sticks one by one and easily broke them all up: thus showing them that their harmony and concord would make them strong and hard to overthrow, while dissension would make them feeble and insecure.

18. If then anyone were continually to recollect and repeat these or similar terse sayings, he would probably cease to be pleased with idle talk. As for myself, when I consider of what importance it is to attend to reason, and to keep to one's purpose, I confess I am quite put out of countenance by the example of the slave of Pupius Piso the orator. He, not wishing to be annoyed by their prating, ordered his slaves merely to answer his questions, and not say a word more. On one occasion wishing to pay honour to Clodius who was then in power, he ordered him to be invited to his house, and provided for him no doubt a sumptuous entertainment. At the time fixed all the guests were present except Clodius, for whom they waited, and the host frequently sent the slave who used to invite guests to see if he was coming, but when evening came, and he was now quite despaired of, he said to his slave, "Did you not invite him?" "Certainly," said the slave. "Why then has he not come?" said the master. "Because he declined," said the slave. "Why then did you not tell me of it at once?" said the master. "Because you never asked me," said the slave. This was a Roman slave. But an Athenian slave "while digging will tell his master on what terms peace was made." So great is the force of habit in all matters. And of it we will now speak.

18. For it is not by applying bit or bridle that we can restrain the talkative person, we must master the disease by habit. In the first place then, when you are in company and questions are going round, accustom yourself not to speak till all the rest have declined giving an answer. For as Sophocles says, "counsel is not like a race;" no more are question and answer. For in a race the victory belongs to him who gets in first, but in company, if anyone has given a satisfactory answer, it is sufficient by assenting and agreeing to his view to get the reputation of being a pleasant fellow; and if no satisfactory answer is given, then to enlighten ignorance and supply the necessary information is well-timed and does not excite envy. But let us be especially on our guard that, if anyone else is asked a question, we do not ourselves anticipate and intercept him in giving an answer. It is indeed perhaps nowhere good form, if another is asked a favour, to push him aside and undertake to grant it ourselves; for we shall seem so to upbraid two people at once, the one who was asked as not able to grant the favour, and the other as not knowing how to ask in the right quarter. But especially insulting is such forwardness and impetuosity in answering questions. For he that anticipates by his own answer the person that was asked the question seems to say, "What is the good of asking him? What does he know about it? In my presence nobody else ought to be asked about these matters." And yet we often put questions to people, not so much because we want an answer, as to elicit from them conversation and friendly feeling, and from a wish to fit them for company, as Socrates drew out Theaetetus and Charmides. For it is all one to run up and kiss one who wishes to be kissed by another, or to divert to oneself the attention that he was bestowing on another, as to intercept another person's answers, and to transfer people's ears, and force their attention, and fix them on oneself; when, even if he that was asked declines to give an answer, it will be well to hold oneself in reserve, and only to meet the question modestly when one's turn comes, so framing one's answer as to seem to oblige the person who asked the question, and as if one had been appealed to for an answer by the other. For if people are asked questions and cannot give a satisfactory answer they are with justice excused; but he who without being asked undertakes to answer a question, and anticipates another, is disagreeable even if he succeeds, while, if his answer is unsatisfactory, he is ridiculed by all the company, and his failure is a source of the liveliest satisfaction to them.

20. The next thing to practise oneself to in answering the questions put to one,—a point to which the talkative person ought to pay the greatest attention,—is not through inadvertence to give serious answers to people who only challenge you to talk in fun and sport. For some people concoct questions not for real information, but simply for amusement and to pass the time away, and propound them to talkative people, just to have them on. Against this we must be on our guard, and not rush into conversation too hastily, or as if we were obliged for the chance, but we must consider the character of the inquirer and his purpose. When it seems that he really desires information, we should accustom ourselves to pause, and interpose some interval between the question and answer; during which time the questioner can add anything if he chooses, and the other can reflect on his answer, and not be in too great a hurry about it, nor bury it in obscurity, nor, as is frequently the case in too great haste, answer some other question than that which was asked. The Pythian Priestess indeed was accustomed to utter some of her oracles at the very moment before the question was put: for the god whom she serves "understands the dumb, and hears the mute." But he that wishes to give an appropriate answer must carefully consider both the question and the mind of the questioner, lest it be as the proverb expresses it, "I asked for shovels, they denied me pails."

Besides we ought to check this greediness and hunger for words, that it may not seem as if we had a flood on our tongue which was dammed up, but which we were only too glad to discharge on a question being put. Socrates indeed so repressed his thirst, that he would not allow himself to drink after exercise in the gymnasium, till he had first drawn from the well one bucket of water and poured it on to the ground, that he might accustom his irrational part to wait upon reason.

21. There are moreover three kinds of answers to questions, the necessary, the polite, and the superfluous. For instance, if anyone asked, "Is Socrates at home?" one, as if backward and disinclined to answer, might say, "Not at home;" or, if he wished to speak with Laconic brevity, might cut off "at home," and simply say "No;" as, when Philip wrote to the Lacedaemonians to ask if they would receive him in their city, they sent him back merely a large "No." But another would answer more politely, "He is not at home, but with the bankers," and if he wished to add a little more, "he expects to see some strangers there." But the superfluous prater, if he has read Antimachus of Colophon, says, "He is not at home, but with the bankers, waiting for some Ionian strangers, about whom he has had a letter from Alcibiades who is in the neighbourhood of Miletus, staying with Tissaphernes the satrap of the great king, who used long ago to favour the Lacedaemonian party, but now attaches himself to the Athenians for Alcibiades' sake, for Alcibiades desires to return to his country, and so has succeeded in changing the views of Tissaphernes." And then he will go over the whole of the Eighth Book of Thucydides, and deluge the man, till before he is aware Miletus is captured, and Alcibiades is in exile the second time. In such a case most of all ought we to curtail talkativeness, by following the track of a question closely, and tracing out our answer according to the need of the questioner with the same accuracy as we describe a circle. When Carneades was disputing in the gymnasium before the days of his great fame, the superintendent of the gymnasium sent to him a message to bid him modulate his voice (for it was of the loudest), and when he asked him to fix a standard, the superintendent replied not amiss, "The standard of the person talking with you." So the meaning of the questioner ought to be the standard for the answer.

22. Moreover as Socrates urged his disciples to abstain from such food as tempted them to eat when they were not hungry, and from such drinks as tempted them to drink when they were not thirsty, so the talkative person ought to be afraid most of such subjects of conversation as he most delights in and repeats ad nauseam, and to try and resist their influence. For example, soldiers are fond of descriptions about war, and thus Homer introduces Nestor frequently narrating his prowess and glorious deeds. And generally speaking those who have been successful in the law courts, or beyond their hopes been favourites of kings and princes, are possessed, as it were by some disease, with the itch for frequently recalling and narrating, how they got on and were advanced, what struggles they underwent, how they argued on some famous occasion, how they won the day either as plaintiffs or defendants, what panegyrics were showered upon them. For joy is much more inclined to prate than the well-known sleeplessness represented in comedies, frequently rousing itself, and finding something fresh to relate. And so at any excuse they slip into such narratives. For not only, "Where anyone does itch, there goes his hand," but also delight has a voice of its own, and leads about the tongue in its train, ever wishing to fortify it with memory. Thus lovers spend most of their time in conversations that revive the memory of their loves; and if they cannot talk to human beings about them, they talk about them to inanimate objects, as, "O dearest bed," and, "O happy lamp, Bacchis deems you a god, And if she thinks so, then you are indeed The greatest of the gods."

The talkative person therefore is merely as regards words a white line, but he that is especially inclined to certain subjects should be especially on his guard against talking about them, and should avoid such topics, since from the pleasure they give him they may entice him to be very prolix and tedious. The same is the case with people in regard to such subjects as they

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think they are more experienced in and acquainted with than others. For such a one, being self-appreciative and fond of fame, "spends most of the day in that particular branch of study in which he chances to be proficient." Thus he that is fond of reading will give his time to research; the grammarian his to syntax; and the traveller, who has wandered over many countries, his to geography. We must therefore be on our guard against our favourite topics, for they are an enticement to talkativeness, as its wonted haunts are to an animal. Admirable therefore was the behaviour of Cyrus in challenging his companions, not to those contests in which he was superior to them, but to those in which he was inferior, partly that he might not give them pain through his superiority, partly for his own benefit by learning from them. But the talkative person acts just contrary, for if any subject is introduced from which he might learn something he did not know, this he rejects and refuses, not being able to earn a good deal by a short silence, but he rambles round the subject and babbles out stale and commonplace rhapsodies. As one amongst us, who by chance had read two or three of the books of Ephorus, bored everybody, and dispersed every social party, by always narrating the particulars of the battle of Leuctra and its consequences, so that he got nicknamed Epaminondas.

23. Nevertheless this is one of the least of the evils of talkativeness, and we ought even to try and divert it into such channels as these, for prating is less of a nuisance when it is on some literary subject. We ought also to try and get some persons to write on some topic, and so discuss it by themselves. For Antipater the Stoic philosopher, not being able or willing it seems to dispute with Carneades, who inveighed vehemently against the Stoic philosophy, writing and filling many books of controversy against him, got the nickname of Noisy-with-the-pen; and perhaps the exercise and excitement of writing, keeping him very much apart from the community, might make the talkative man by degrees better company to those he associated with; as dogs, bestowing their rage on sticks and stones, are less savage to men. It will also be very advantageous for such to mix with people better and older than themselves, for they will accustom themselves to be silent by standing in awe of their reputation. And withal it will be well, when we are going to say something, and the words are on our lips, to reflect and consider, "What is this word that is so eager for utterance? To what is this tongue marching? What good will come of speaking now, or what harm of silence?" For we ought not to drop words as we should a burden that pressed upon us, for the word remains still after it has been spoken just the same; but men speak either on their own behalf if they want something, or to benefit those that hear them, or, to gratify one another, they season everyday life with speech, as one seasons food with salt. But if words are neither useful to the speaker, nor necessary for the hearer, nor contain any pleasure or charm, why are they spoken? For words may be idle and useless as well as deeds. And besides all this we must ever remember as most important the dictum of Simonides, that he had often repented he had spoken, but never that he had been silent: while as to the power and strength of practice consider how men by much toil and painstaking will get rid even of a cough or hiccough. And silence is not only never thirsty, as Hippocrates says, but also never brings pain or sorrow.

PLUTARCH'S MORALS CHAPTER 16
ON CURIOSITY.

1. If a house is dark, or has little air, is in an exposed position, or unhealthy, the best thing will probably be to leave it; but if one is attached to it from long residence in it, one can improve it and make it more light and airy and healthy by altering the position of the windows and stairs, and by throwing open new doors and shutting up old ones. So some towns have been altered for the better, as my native place, which did lie to the west and received the rays of the setting sun from Parnassus, was they say turned to the east by Chaeron. And Empedocles the naturalist is supposed to have driven away the pestilence from that district, by having closed up a mountain gorge that was prejudicial to health by admitting the south wind to the plains. Similarly, as there are certain diseases of the soul that are injurious and harmful and bring storm and darkness to it, the best thing will be to eject them and lay them low by giving them open sky, pure air and light, or, if that cannot be, to change and improve them some way or other. One such mental disease, that immediately suggests itself to one, is curiosity, the desire to know other people's troubles, a disease that seems neither free from envy nor malignity. "Malignant wretch, why art so keen to markThy neighbour's fault, and seest not thine own?"

Shift your view, and turn your curiosity so as to look inwards: if you delight to study the history of evils, you have copious material at home, "as much as there is water in the Alizon, or leaves on the oak," such a quantity of faults will you find in your own life, and passions in your soul, 239and shortcomings in your duty. For as Xenophon says good managers have one place for the vessels they use in sacrificing, and another for those they use at meals, one place for their farm instruments, and another for their weapons of war, so your faults arise from different causes, some from envy, some from jealousy, some from cowardice, some from meanness. Review these, consider these; bar up the curiosity that pries into your neighbours' windows and passages, and open it on the men's apartments, and women's apartments, and servant's attics, in your own house. There this inquisitiveness and curiosity will find full vent, in inquiries that will not be useless or malicious, but advantageous and serviceable, each one saying to himself, "What have I done amiss? What have I done?What that I ought to have done left undone?"

2. And now, as they say of Lamia that she is blind when she sleeps at home, for she puts her eyes on her dressing-table, but when she goes out she puts her eyes on again, and has good sight, so each of us turns, like an eye, our malicious curiosity out of doors and on others, while we are frequently blind and ignorant about our own faults and vices, not applying to them our eyes and light. So that the curious man is more use to his enemies than to himself, for he finds fault with and exposes their shortcomings, and shows them what they ought to avoid and correct, while he neglects most of his affairs at home, owing to his excitement about things abroad. Odysseus indeed would not converse with his mother till he had learnt from the seer Tiresias what he went to Hades to learn; and after receiving that information, then he turned to her, and asked questions about the other women, who Tyro was, and who the fair Chloris, and why Epicaste had died, "having fastened a noose with a long drop to the lofty beam." But we, while very remiss and ignorant and careless about ourselves, know all about the pedigrees of other people, that our neighbour's grandfather was a Syrian, and his grandmother a Thracian woman, and that such a one owes three talents, and has not paid the interest. We even inquire into such trifling matters as where somebody's wife has been, and what those two are talking in the corner about. But Socrates used to busy himself in examining the secret of Pythagoras' persuasive oratory, and Aristippus, meeting Ischomachus at the Olympian games, asked him how Socrates conversed so as to have so much influence over the young men, and having received from him a few scraps and samples of his style, was so enthusiastic about it that he wasted away, and became quite pale and lean, thirsty and parched, till he sailed to Athens and drew from the fountain-head, and knew the wonderful man himself and his speeches and philosophy, the object of which was that men should recognize their faults and so get rid of them.

3. But some men cannot bear to look upon their own life, so unlovely a spectacle is it, nor to throw and flash on themselves, like a lantern, the reflection of reason; but their soul being burdened with all manner of vices, and dreading and shuddering at its own interior, sallies forth and wanders abroad, feeding and fattening its malignity there. For as a hen, when its food stands near its coop, will frequently slip off into a corner and scratch up, "Where I ween some poor little grain appears on the dunghill," so curious people neglecting conversation or inquiry about common matters, such as no one would try and prevent or be indignant at their prying into, pick out the secret and hidden troubles of every family. And yet that was a witty answer of the Egyptian, to the person who asked him, "What he was carrying wrapped up;" "It was wrapped up on purpose that you should not know." And you too, Sir, I would say to a curious person, why do you pry into what is hidden? If it were not something bad it would not be hidden. Indeed it is not usual to go into a strange house without knocking at the door, and nowadays there are porters, but in old times there were knockers on doors to let the people inside know when anyone called, that a stranger might not find the mistress or daughter of the house en déshabille, or one of the slaves being corrected, or the maids bawling out. But the curious person intrudes on all such occasions as these, although he would be unwilling to be a spectator, even if invited, of a well-ordered family: but the things for which bars and bolts and doors are required, these he reveals and divulges openly to others. Those are the most troublesome winds, as Aristo says, that blow up our clothes: but the curious person not only strips off the garments and clothes of his neighbours, but breaks through their walls, opens their doors, and like the wanton wind, that insinuates itself into maidenly reserve, he pries into and calumniates dances and routs and revels.

4. And as Cleon is satirized in the play as having "his hands among the AEtolians, but his soul in Peculation-town," so the soul of the curious man is at once in the mansions of the rich, and the cottages of the poor, and the courts of kings, and the bridal chambers of the newly married; he pries into everything, the affairs of foreigners, the affairs of princes, and sometimes not without danger. For just as if one were to taste aconite to investigate its properties, and kill oneself before one had discovered them, so those that pry into the troubles of great people ruin themselves before they get the knowledge they desire; even as those become blind who, neglecting the wide and general diffusion all over the earth of the sun's rays, impudently attempt to gaze at its orb and penetrate to its light. And so that was a wise answer of Philippides the Comic Poet, when King Lysimachus asked him on one occasion, "What would you like to have of mine?" "Anything, O king, but your secrets." For the pleasantest and finest things to be got from kings are public, as banquets, and riches, and festivities, and favours: but come not near any secret of theirs, pry not into it. There is no concealment of the joy of a prosperous monarch, or of his laugh when he is in a playful mood, or of any tokens of his goodwill and favour; but dreadful is what he conceals, his gloominess, his sternness, his reserve, his store of latent wrath, his 242meditation on stern revenge, his jealousy of his wife, or suspicion of his son, or doubt about the fidelity of a friend. Flee from this cloud that is so black and threatening, for when its hidden fury bursts forth, you will not fail to hear its thunder and see its lightning.

5. How shall you flee from it? Why, by dissipating and distracting your curiosity, by turning your soul to better and pleasanter objects: examine the phenomena of sky, and earth, and air, and sea. Are you by nature fond of gazing at little or great things? If at great, turn your attention to the sun, consider its rising and setting: view the changes of the moon, like the changes of our mortal life, see how it waxes and wanes, "How at the first it peers out small and dim Till it unfolds its full and glorious Orb, And when its zenith it has once attained, Again it wanes, grows small, and disappears."

These are indeed Nature's secrets, but they bring no trouble on those that study them. But if you decline the study of great things, inspect with curiosity smaller matters, see how some plants flourish, are green and gay, and exhibit their beauty, all the year round, while others are sometimes gay like them, at other times, like some unthrift, run through their resources entirely, and are left bare and naked. Consider again their various shapes, how some produce oblong fruits, others angular, others smooth and round. But perhaps you will not care to pry into all this, since you will find nothing bad. If you must then ever bestow your time and attention on what is bad, as the serpent lives but in deadly matter, go to history, and turn your eye on the sum total of human misery. For there you will find "the falls of men, and murders of their lives," rapes of women, attacks of slaves, treachery of friends, mixing of poisons, envyings, jealousies, "shipwrecks of families," and dethroning of princes. Sate and cloy yourself on these, you will by so doing vex and enrage none of your associates.

6. But it seems curiosity does not rejoice in stale evils, but only in fresh and recent ones, gladly viewing the spectacle of tragedies of yesterday, but backward in taking part in comic and festive scenes. And so the curious person is a languid and listless hearer to the narrator of a marriage, or sacrifice, or solemn procession, he says he has heard most of all that before, bids the narrator cut it short and come to the point; but if his visitor tell him of the violation of some girl, or the adultery of some married woman, or the disputes and intended litigation of brothers, he doesn't go to sleep then, nor pretend want of leisure, "But he pricks up his ears, and asks for more."

And indeed those lines, "Alas! how quicker far to mortals' earsDo ill news travel than the news of good!" are truly said of curious people. For as cupping-glasses take away the worst blood, so the ears of curious people attract only the worst reports; or rather, as cities have certain ominous and gloomy gates, through which they conduct only condemned criminals, or convey filth and night soil, for nothing pure or holy has either ingress into or egress from them, so into the ears of curious people goes nothing good or elegant, but tales of murders travel and lodge there, wafting a whiff of unholy and obscene narrations.

"And ever in my house is heard aloneThe sound of wailing;" this is to the curious their one Muse and Siren, this the sweetest note they can hear. For curiosity desires to know what is hidden and secret; but no one conceals his good fortune, nay sometimes people even pretend to have such advantages as they do not really possess. So the curious man, eager to hear a history of what is bad, is possessed by the passion of malignity, which is brother to envy and jealousy. For envy is pain at another's blessings, and malignity is joy at another's misfortunes: and both proceed from the same savage and brutish vice, ill-nature.

7. But so unpleasant is it to everybody to have his private ills brought to light, that many have died rather than acquaint the doctors with their secret ailments. For suppose Herophilus, or Erasistratus, or even AEsculapius himself during his sojourn on earth, had gone with their drugs and surgical instruments from house to house, to inquire what man had a fistula in ano, or what woman had a cancer in her womb;—and yet their curiosity would have been professional—who would not have driven them away from their house, for not waiting till they were sent for, and for coming without being asked to spy out their neighbours' ailments? But curious people pry into these and even worse matters, not from a desire to heal them, but only to expose them to others, which makes them deservedly hated. For we are not vexed and mortified with custom-house officers when they levy toll on goods bona fide imported, but only when they seek for contraband articles, and rip up bags and packages: and yet the law allows them to do even this, and

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sometimes it is injurious to them not to do so. But curious people abandon and neglect their own affairs, and are busy about their neighbours' concerns. Seldom do they go into the country, for they do not care for its quiet and stillness and solitude, but if once in a way they do go there, they look more at their neighbours' vines than their own, and inquire how many cows of their neighbour have died, or how much of his wine has turned sour, and when they are satisfied on these points they soon return to town again. But the genuine countryman does not willingly listen to any rumour that chances to come from the town, for he quotes the following lines, "Even with spade in hand he will tell the terms On which peace was concluded: all these thingsThe cursèd fellow walks about and pries into."

8. But curious people shun the country as stale and dull and too quiet, and push into warehouses and markets and harbours, asking, "Any news? Were you not in the market in the forenoon?" and sometimes receiving for answer, "What then? Do you think things in the town change every three hours?" Notwithstanding if any245one brings any news, he'll get off his horse, and embrace him, and kiss him, and stand to listen. If however the person who meets him says he has no news, he will say somewhat peevishly, "No news, Sir? Have you not been in the market? Did you not pass by the officers' quarters? Did you exchange no words with those that have just arrived from Italy?" To stop such people the Locrian authorities had an excellent rule; they fined everyone coming from abroad who asked what the news was. For as cooks pray for plenty of meat, and fishmongers for shoals of fish, so curious people pray for shoals of trouble, and plenty of business, and innovations and changes, that they may have something to hunt after and tittle-tattle about. Well also was it in Charondas, the legislator of the people of Thurii, to forbid any of the citizens but adulterers and curious persons to be ridiculed on the stage. Adultery itself indeed seems to be only the fruit of curiosity about another man's pleasures, and an inquiring and prying into things kept close and hidden from the world; while curiosity is a tampering with and seduction of and revealing the nakedness of secrets. [Plutarch wants to show that curiosity and adultery are really the same vice in principle. Hence his imagery here. Jeremy Taylor has very beautifully dealt with this passage, "Holy Living," 5:2. I cannot pretend to his felicity of language. Thus Plutarch makes adultery mere curiosity, and curiosity a sort of adultery in regard to secrets. A profoundly ethical and moral view.]

9. As it is likely that much learning will produce wordiness, and so Pythagoras enjoined five years' silence on his scholars, calling it a truce from words, so defamation of character is sure to go with curiosity. For what people are glad to hear they are glad to talk about, and what they eagerly pick up from others they joyfully retail to others. And so, amongst the other mischiefs of curiosity, the disease runs counter to their desires; for all people fight shy of them, and conceal their affairs from them, and neither care to do or say anything in their presence, but defer consultations, and put off investigations, till such people are out of the way; and if, when some secret is just about to be uttered, or some important business is just about to be arranged, some curious man happen to pop in, they are mum at once and reserved, as one puts away fish if the cat is about; and so frequently things seen and talked about by all the rest of the world are unknown only to them. For the same reason the curious person never gets the confidence of anybody. For we would rather entrust our letters and papers and seals to slaves and strangers than to curious friends and intimates. The famous Bellerophon, though he carried letters against his life, opened them not, but abstained from reading the letter to the king, as he had refused to sell his honour to Proetus' wife, so great was his continence [Or self-control.]. For curiosity and adultery both come from incontinence, and to the latter is added monstrous folly and insanity. For to pass by so many common and public women, and to intrude oneself on some married woman [Literally, some woman shut up, or enclosed.], who is sure to be more costly, and possibly less pretty to boot, is the acme of madness. Yet such is the conduct of curious people. They neglect many gay sights, fail to hear much that would be well worth hearing, lose much fine sport and pastime, to break open private letters, to put their ears to their neighbour's walls, and to whisper to their slaves and women-servants, practices always low, and frequently dangerous.

10. It will be exceedingly useful, therefore, to deter the curious from these propensities, for them to remember their past experience. Simonides used to say that he occasionally opened two chests for rewards and thanks that he had by him, and found the one full for rewards, but the one for thanks always empty. So if anyone were to open occasionally the stores that curiosity had amassed, and observe what a cargo there was of useless and idle and unlovely things, perhaps the sight of all this poor stuff would inspire him with disgust. Suppose someone, in studying the writings of the ancients, were to pick out only their worst passages, and compile them into a volume, as Homer's imperfect lines, and the solecisms of the tragedians, and Archilochus' indecent and bitter railings against women, by which he so exposed himself, would he not be worthy of the curse of the tragedian, Perish, compiler of thy neighbours' ills?"

And independently of such a curse, the piling up of other people's misdoings is indecent and useless, and like the town which Philip founded and filled with the vilest and most dissolute wretches, and called Rogue Town. Curious persons, indeed, making a collection of the faults and errors and solecisms, not of lines or poems but of people's lives, render their memory a most inelegant and unlovely register of dark deeds. Just as there are in Rome some people who care nothing for pictures and statues, or even handsome boys or women exposed for sale, but haunt the monster-market, and make eager inquiries about people who have no calves, or three eyes, or arms like weasels, or heads like ostriches, and look about for some "Unnatural monster like the Minotaur," and for a time are greatly captivated with them, but if anyone continually gazes at such sights, they will soon give him satiety and disgust; so let those who curiously inquire into the errors and faults of life, and disgraces of families, and disorders in other people's houses, first remember what little favour or advantage such prying has brought them on previous occasions.

11. Habit will be of the utmost importance in stopping this propensity, if we begin early to practise self-control in respect to it, for as the disease increases by habit and degrees, so will its cure, as we shall see when we discuss the necessary discipline. In the first place, let us begin with the most trifling and unimportant matters. What hardship will it be when we walk abroad not to read the epitaphs on graves, or what detriment shall we suffer by not glancing at the inscriptions on walls in the public walks? Let us reflect that there is nothing useful or pleasant for us in these notices, which only record that so-and-so remembered so-and-so out of gratitude, and, "Here lies the best of friends," and much poor stuff of that kind; which indeed do not seem to do much harm, except indirectly, to those that read them, by engendering the practice of curiosity about things immaterial. And as huntsmen do not allow the hounds to follow any scent and run where they please, but check and restrain them in leashes, keeping their sense of smell pure and fresh for the object of their chase, that they may the keener dart on their tracks, "following up the traces of the unfortunate beasts by their scent," so we must check and repress the sallies and excursions of the curious man to every object of interest, whether of sight or hearing, and confine him to what is useful. For as eagles and lions on the prowl keep their claws sheathed that they may not lose their edge and sharpness, so, when we remember that curiosity for learning has also its edge and keenness, let us not entirely expend or blunt it on inferior objects.

12. Next let us accustom ourselves when we pass a strange house not to look inside at the door, or curiously inspect the interior, as if we were going to pilfer something, remembering always that saying of Xenocrates, that it is all one whether one puts one's feet or eyes in another person's house. For such prying is neither honourable, nor comely, nor even agreeable. "Stranger, thou'lt see within untoward sights."

For such is generally the condition inside houses, utensils kicking about, maids lolling about, no work going on, nothing to please the eye; and moreover such side glances, and stray shots as it were, distort the soul, and are unhandsome, and the practice is a pernicious one. When Diogenes saw Dioxippus, a victor at Olympia, driving up in his chariot and unable to take his eyes off a handsome woman who was watching the procession, but still turning round and casting sheep's eyes at her, he said, "See you yon athlete straining his neck to look at a girl?" And similarly you may see curious people twisting and straining their necks at every spectacle alike, from the habit and practice of turning their eyes in all directions. And I think the senses ought not to rove about, like an ill-trained maid, when sent on an errand by the soul, but to do their business, and then return quickly with the answer, and afterwards to keep within the bounds of reason, and obey her behests. But it is like those lines of Sophocles, "Then did the AEnianian's horses bolt,Unmanageable quite;" for so the senses not having, as we said, right training and practice, often run away, and drag reason along with them, and plunge her into unlawful excesses. And so, though that story about Democritus is false, that he purposely destroyed his eyesight by the reflection from burning-glasses (as people sometimes shut up windows that look into the street), that they might not disturb him by frequently calling off his attention to external things, but allow him to confine himself to purely intellectual matters, yet it is very true in every case that those who use the mind most are least acted upon by the senses. And so the philosophers erected their places for study as far as possible from towns, and called Night the time propitious to thought, thinking quiet and withdrawal from worldly distractions a great help towards meditating upon and solving the problems of life.

13. Moreover, when men are abusing and reviling one another in the market-place, it is not very difficult or tiresome not to go near them; or if a tumultuous concourse of people crowd together, to remain seated; or to get up and go away, if you are not master of yourself. For you will gain no advantage by mixing yourself up with curious people: but you will derive the greatest benefit from putting a force upon your inclinations, and bridling your curiosity, and accustoming it to obey reason. Afterwards it will be well to extend the practice still further, and not to go to the theatre when some fine piece is performing, and if your friends invite you to see some dancer or actor to decline, and, if there is some shouting in the stadium and hippodrome, not even to turn your head to look what is up. For as Socrates advised people to abstain from food that made them eat when they were not hungry, and from drinks that made them drink when they were not thirsty, so ought we also to shun and flee from those objects of interest, whether to eye or ear, that master us and attract us when we stand in no need of them. Thus Cyrus would not look at Panthea, but when Araspes told him that her beauty was well worth inspection, he replied, "For that very reason must I the more abstain from seeing her, for if at your persuasion I were to pay her a visit, perhaps she would persuade me to visit her again when I could ill spare the time, so that I might neglect important business to sit with her and gaze on her charms." Similarly Alexander would not see the wife of Darius, who was reputed to be very beautiful, but visited her mother who was old, and would not venture to look upon the young and handsome queen. We on the contrary peep into women's litters, and hang about their windows, and think we do no harm, though we thus make our curiosity a loop-hole for all manner of vice.

14. Moreover, as it is of great help to fair dealing sometimes not to seize some honest gain, that you may accustom yourself as far as possible to flee from unjust gains, and as it makes greatly for virtue to abstain sometimes from your own wife, that you may not ever be tempted by another woman, so, applying the habit to curiosity, try not to see and hear at times all that goes on in your own house even, and if anyone wishes to tell you anything about it give him the go-by, and decline to hear him. For it was nothing but his curiosity that involved Oedipus in his extreme calamities: for it was to try and find out his extraction that he left Corinth and met Laius, and killed him, and got his kingdom, and married his own mother, and when he then seemed at the acme of felicity, he must needs make further inquiries about himself; and though his wife tried to prevent him, he none the less compelled the old man that had been an eye-witness of the deed to tell him all the circumstances of it, and though he long suspected how the story would end, yet when the old man cried out, "Alas! the dreadful tale I must then tell," so inflamed was he with curiosity and trembling with impatience, that he replied, "I too must hear, for hear it now I will."

So bitter-sweet and uncontrollable is the itch of curiosity, like a sore, shedding its blood when lanced. But he that is free from this disease, and calm by nature, being ignorant of many unpleasant things, may say, "Holy oblivion of all human ills,What wisdom dost thou bring!"

15. We ought therefore also to accustom ourselves, when we receive a letter, not to be in a tremendous hurry about breaking the seal, as most people are, even tearing it open with their teeth if their hands are slow; nor to rise from our seat and run up to meet him, if a messenger comes; and if a friend says, "I have some news to tell you," we ought to say, "I had rather you had something useful or advantageous to tell me." When I was on one occasion lecturing at Rome, one of my audience was the well-known Rusticus, whom the Emperor Domitian afterwards had put to death through envy of his glory, and a soldier came in in the middle and brought him a letter from the Emperor, and silence ensuing, and I stopping that he might have time to read his letter, he would not, and did not open it till I had finished my lecture, and the audience had dispersed; so that everybody marvelled at his self-control. But whenever anyone who has power feeds his curiosity till it is strong and vehement, he can no longer easily control it, when it hurries him on to illicit acts, from force of habit; and such people open their friends' letters, thrust themselves in at private meetings, become spectators of rites they ought not to witness, enter holy grounds they ought not to, and pry into the lives and conversations of kings.

16. Indeed tyrants themselves, who must know all things, are made unpopular by no class more than by their spies and talebearers. Darius in his youth, when he mistrusted his own powers, and suspected and feared everybody, was the first who employed spies; and the Dionysiuses introduced them at Syracuse: but in a revolution they were the first that the Syracusans took and tortured to death. Indeed informers are of the same tribe and family as curious people. However informers only investigate wicked acts or plots, but curious people pry into and publish abroad the involuntary misfortunes of their neighbours. And it is said that impious people first got their name from curiosity, for it seems there was a mighty famine at Athens, and those people that had wheat not producing it, but grinding it stealthily by night in their houses, some of their neighbours went about and noticed the noise of the mills grinding, and so they got their name. This also is the origin of the well-known Greek word for informer, (Sycophant, quasi Fig-informer), for when the

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people were forbidden to export figs, those who informed against those who did were called Fig-informers. It is well worth the while of curious people to give their attention to this, that they may be ashamed of having any similarity or connection in habit with a class of people so universally hated and disliked as informers.

PLUTARCH'S MORALS CHAPTER 17
ON SHYNESS.

1. Some of the things that grow on the earth are in their nature wild and barren and injurious to the growth of seeds and plants, yet those who till the ground consider them indications not of a bad soil but of a rich and fat one; so also there are passions of the soul that are not good, yet are as it were offshoots of a good disposition, and one likely to improve with good advice. Among these I class shyness, no bad sign in itself, though it affords occasion to vice. For the modest oftentimes plunge into the same excesses as the shameless, but then they are pained and grieved at them, and not pleased like the others. For the shameless person is quite apathetic at what is disgraceful, while the modest person is easily affected even at the very appearance of it. Shyness is in fact an excess of modesty. And thus it is called shamefacedness, because the face exhibits the changes of the mind. For as dejection is defined to be the grief that makes people look on the ground, so shamefacedness is that shyness that cannot look people in the face. And so the orator said the shameless person had not pupils in his eyes but harlots. The bashful person on the other hand shows his delicacy and effeminacy of soul in his countenance, and palliates his weakness, which exposes him to defeat at the hands of the impudent, by the name of modesty. Cato used to say he was better pleased with those lads that blushed than with those that turned pale, rightly teaching us to fear censure more than labour, and suspicion than danger. However we must avoid too much timidity and fear of censure, since many have played the coward, and abandoned noble ventures, more from fear of a bad name than of the dangers to be undergone, not being able to bear a bad reputation.

2. As we must not disregard their weakness, so neither again must we praise that rigid and stubborn insensibility, "that recklessness and frantic energy to rush anywhere, that seemed like a dog's courage in Anaxarchus." But we must contrive a harmonious blending of the two, that shall remove the shamelessness of pertinacity, and the weakness of excessive modesty; seeing its cure is difficult, and the correction of such excesses not without danger. For as the husbandman, in rooting up some wild and useless weed, at once plunges his spade vigorously into the ground, and digs it up by the root, or burns it with fire, but if he has to do with a vine that needs pruning, or some apple-tree, or olive, he puts his hand to it very carefully, being afraid of injuring any sound part; so the philosopher, eradicating from the soul of the young man that ignoble and untractable weed, envy, or unseasonable avarice, or amputating the excessive love of pleasure, may bandage and draw blood, make deep incision, and leave scars: but if he has to apply reason as a corrective to a tender and delicate part of the soul, such as shyness and bashfulness, he is careful that he may not inadvertently root up modesty as well. For nurses who are often rubbing the dirt off their infants sometimes tear their flesh and put them to torture. We ought not therefore, by rubbing off the shyness of youths too much, to make them too careless and contemptuous; but as those that pull down houses close to temples prop up the adjacent parts, so in trying to get rid of shyness we must not eradicate with it the virtues akin to it, as modesty and meekness and mildness, by which it insinuates itself and becomes part of a man's character, flattering the bashful man that he has a nature courteous and civil and affable, and not hard as flint or self-willed. And so the Stoics from the outset verbally distinguished shame and shyness from modesty, that they might not by identity of name give the vice opportunity to inflict harm. But let it be granted to us to use the words indiscriminately, following indeed the example of Homer. For he said, "Modesty does both harm and good to men;" and he did well to mention the harm it does first. For it becomes advantageous only through reason's curtailing its excess, and reducing it to moderate proportions.

3. In the first place, then, the person who is afflicted with shyness ought to be persuaded that he suffers from an injurious disease, and that nothing injurious can be good: nor must he be wheedled and tickled with the praise of being called a nice and jolly fellow rather than being styled lofty and dignified and just; nor, like Pegasus in Euripides, "who stooped and crouched lower than he wished" to take up his rider Bellerophon, must he humble himself and grant whatever favours are asked him, fearing to be called hard and ungentle. They say that the Egyptian Bocchoris, who was by nature very severe, had an asp sent him by Isis, which coiled round his head, and shaded him from above, that he might judge righteously. Bashfulness on the contrary, like a dead weight on languid and effeminate persons, not daring to refuse or contradict anybody, makes jurors deliver unjust verdicts, and shuts the mouth of counsellors, and makes people say and do many things against their wish; and so the most headstrong person is always master and lord of such, through his own impudence prevailing against their modesty. So bashfulness, like soft and sloping ground, being unable to repel or avert any attack, lies open to the most shameful acts and passions. It is a bad guardian of youth, as Brutus said he didn't think that person had spent his youth well who had not learnt how to say No. It is a bad duenna of the bridal bed and of women's apartments, as the penitent adultress in Sophocles said to her seducer, "You did persuade, and coax me into sin."

Thus shyness, being first seduced by vice, leaves its citadel unbarred, unfortified, and open to attack. By gifts people ensnare the worse natures, but by persuasion and playing upon their bashfulness people often seduce even good women. I pass over the injury done to worldly affairs by bashfulness causing people to lend to those whose credit is doubtful, and to go security against their wish, for though they commend that saying, "Be a surety, trouble is at hand," they cannot apply it when business is on hand.

4. It would not be easy to enumerate how many this vice has ruined. When Creon said to Medea, "Lady, 'tis better now to earn your hate,Than through my softness afterwards to groan," he uttered a pregnant maxim for others; for he himself was overcome by his bashfulness, and granted her one day more, and so was the undoing of his family. And some, when they suspected murder or poison, have failed through it to take precautions for their safety. Thus perished Dion, not ignorant that Callippus was plotting against him, but ashamed to be on his guard against a friend and host. So Antipater, the son of Cassander, having invited Demetrius to supper, and being invited back by him for the next day, was ashamed to doubt another as he had been trusted himself, and went, and got his throat cut after supper. And Polysperchon promised Cassander for a hundred talents to murder Hercules, the son of Alexander by Barsine, and invited him to supper, and, as the stripling suspected and feared the invitation, and pleaded as an excuse that he was not very well, Polysperchon called on him, and addressed him as follows, "Imitate, my lad, your father's good-nature and kindness to his friends, unless indeed you fear us as plotting against you." The young man was ashamed to refuse any longer, so he went with him, and some of those at the supper-party strangled him. And so that line of Hesiod, "Invite your friend to supper, not your enemy," is not ridiculous, as some say, or stupid advice, but wise. Show no bashfulness in regard to an enemy, and do not suppose him trustworthy, though he may seem so. For if you invite you will be invited back, and if you entertain others you will be entertained back to your hurt, if you let the temper as it were of your caution be weakened by shame.

5. As then this disease is the cause of much mischief, we must try and exterminate it by assiduous effort, beginning first, as people are wont to do in other matters, with small and easy things. For example, if anyone pledge you to drink with him at a dinner when you have had enough, do not be bashful, or do violence to nature, but put the cup down without drinking. Again, if somebody else challenge you to play at dice with him in your cups, be not bashful or afraid of ridicule, but imitate Xenophanes, who, when Lasus of Hermione called him coward because he would not play at dice with him, admitted that he was a great coward and had no courage for what was ignoble. Again, if you meet with some prating fellow who attacks you and sticks to you, do not be bashful, but get rid of him, and hasten on and pursue your undertaking. For such flights and repulses, keeping you in practice in trying to overcome your bashfulness in small matters, will prepare you for greater occasions. And here it is well to record a remark of Demosthenes. When the Athenians were going to help Harpalus, and to war against Alexander, all of a sudden Philoxenus, who was Alexander's admiral, was sighted in the offing. And the populace being greatly alarmed, and speechless for fear, Demosthenes said, "What will they do when they see the sun, if they cannot lift their eyes to face a lamp?" And what will you do in important matters, if the king desires anything, or the people importune you, if you cannot decline to drink when your friend asks you, or evade the onset of some prating fellow, but allow the trifler to waste all your time, from not having nerve to say, "I will see you some other time, I have no leisure now."

6. Moreover, the use and practice of restraining one's bashfulness in small and unimportant matters is advantageous also in regard to praise. For example, if a friend's harper sings badly at a drinking party, or an actor hired at great cost murders Menander, and most of the party clap and applaud, I find it by no means hard, or bad manners, to listen silently, and not to be so illiberal as to praise contrary to one's convictions. For if in such matters you are not master of yourself, what will you do if your friend reads a poor poem, or parades a speech stupidly and ridiculously written? You will praise it of course, and join the flatterers in loud applause. But how then will you find fault with your friend if he makes mistakes in business? How will you be able to correct him, if he acts improperly in reference to some office, or marriage, or the state? For I cannot indeed assent to the remark of Pericles to his friend, who asked him to bear false witness in his favour even to the extent of perjury, "I am your friend as far as the altar." He went too far. But he that has long accustomed himself never to go against his convictions in praising a speaker, or clapping a singer, or laughing at a dull buffoon, will never go to this length, nor say to some impudent fellow in such matters, "Swear on my behalf, bear false witness, pronounce an unjust verdict."

7. So also we ought to refuse people that want to borrow money of us, from being accustomed to say No in small and easily refused matters. Thus Archelaus, king of the Macedonians, being asked at supper for a gold cup by a man who thought Receive the finest word in the language, bade a boy give it to Euripides, and gazing intently on the man said to him, "You are fit to ask, and not to receive, and he is fit to receive without asking." Thus did he make judgement and not bashfulness the arbiter of his gifts and favours. Yet we oftentimes pass over our friends who are both deserving and in need, and give to others who continually and impudently importune us, not from the wish to give but from the inability to say No. So the older Antigonus, being frequently annoyed by Bion, said, "Give a talent to Bion and necessity." Yet he was of all the kings most clever and ingenious at getting rid of such importunity. For on one occasion, when a Cynic asked him for a drachma, he replied, "That would be too little for a king to give;" and when the Cynic rejoined, "Give me then a talent," he met him with, "That would be too much for a Cynic to receive." Diogenes indeed used to go round begging to the statues in the Ceramicus, and when people expressed their astonishment said he was practising how to bear refusals. And we must practise ourselves in small matters, and exercise ourselves in little things, with a view to refusing people who importune us, or would receive from us when inconvenient, that we may be able to avoid great miscarriages. For no one, as Demosthenes says, if he expends his resources on unnecessary things, will have means for necessary ones. And our disgrace is greatly increased, if we are deficient in what is noble, and abound in what is trivial.

8. But bashfulness is not only a bad and inconsiderate manager of money, but also in more important matters makes us reject expediency and reason. For when we are ill we do not call in the experienced doctor, because we stand in awe of the family one; and instead of the best teachers for our boys we select those that importune us; and in our suits at law we frequently refuse the aid of some skilled advocate, to oblige the son of some friend or relative, and give him a chance to make a forensic display; and lastly, you will find many so-called philosophers Epicureans or Stoics, not from deliberate choice or conviction, but simply from bashfulness, to have the same views as their friends and acquaintances. Since this is the case, let us accustom ourselves betimes in small and everyday matters to employ no barber or fuller merely from bashfulness, nor to put up at a sorry inn, when a better is at hand, merely because the innkeeper has on several occasions been extra civil to us, but for the benefit of the habit to select the best even in a small matter; as the Pythagoreans were careful never to put their left leg across the right, nor to take an even number instead of an odd, all other matters being indifferent. We must accustom ourselves also, at a sacrifice or marriage or any entertainment of that kind, not to invite the person who greets us and runs up to meet us, but the friend who is serviceable to us. For he that has thus practised and trained himself will be difficult to catch tripping, nay even unassailable, in greater matters.

9. Let so much suffice for practice. And of useful considerations the first is that which teaches and reminds us, that all passions and maladies of the soul are accompanied by the very things which we think we avoid through them. Thus infamy comes through too great love of fame, and pain comes from love of pleasure, and plenty of work to the idle, and to the contentious defeats and losses of lawsuits. And so too it is the fate of bashfulness, in fleeing from the smoke of ill-repute, to throw itself into the fire of it [Our "Out of the frying-pan into the fire."]. For the bashful, not venturing to say No to those that press them hard, afterwards feel shame at just rebuke, and, through standing in awe of slight blame, frequently in the end incur open disgrace. For if a friend asks some money of them, and through bashfulness they cannot refuse, a little time after they are disgraced by the facts becoming known [By their having to borrow themselves.]; or if they have promised to help friends in a lawsuit, they turn round and hide their diminished heads, and run away from fear of the other side. Many also, who have accepted on behalf of a daughter or sister an unprofitable offer of marriage at the bidding of bashfulness, have afterwards been compelled to break their word, and break off the match.

10. He that said all the dwellers in Asia were slaves to one man because they could not say the one syllable No, spoke in jest and not in earnest; but bashful persons, even if they say nothing, can by raising or dropping their eyebrows decline many disagreeable and unpleasant acts of compliance. For Euripides says, "Silence is an answer to wise men," but we stand more in need of it to inconsiderate persons, for we can talk over the sensible. And indeed it is well to have at hand and frequently on our lips the sayings of good and famous men to quote to those who importune us, as that of Phocion

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to Antipater, "You cannot have me both as a friend and flatterer;" or his remark to the Athenians, when they applauded him and bade him contribute to the expenses of a festival, "I am ashamed to contribute anything to you, till I have paid yonder person my debts to him," pointing out his creditor Callicles. For, as Thucydides says, "It is not disgraceful to admit one's poverty, but it is very much so not to try to mend it." But he who through stupidity or softness is too bashful to say to anyone that importunes him, "Stranger, no silver white is in my caves," but goes bail for him as it were through his promises, "Is bound by fetters not of brass but shame."

But Persaeus, when he lent a sum of money to one of his friends, had the fact duly attested by a banker in the market-place, remembering belike that line in Hesiod, "Even to a brother, smiling, bring you witness."

And he wondering and saying, "Why all these legal forms, Persaeus?" he replied, "Ay, verily, that my money may be paid back in a friendly way, and that I may not have to use legal forms to get it back." For many, at first too bashful to see to security, have afterwards had to go to law, and lost their friend.

11. Plato again, giving Helicon of Cyzicus a letter for Dionysius, praised the bearer as a man of goodness and moderation, but added at the end of the letter, "I write you this about a man, an animal by nature apt to change." But Xenocrates, though a man of austere character, was prevailed upon through his bashfulness to recommend to Polysperchon by letter, one who was no good man as the event showed; for when the Macedonian welcomed him, and inquired if he wanted any money, he asked for a talent, and Polysperchon gave it him, but wrote to Xenocrates advising him for the future to be more careful in the choice of people he recommended. But Xenocrates knew not the fellow's true character; we on the other hand very often when we know that such and such men are bad, yet give them testimonials and money, doing ourselves injury, and not getting any pleasure for it, as people do get in the company of whores and flatterers, but being vexed and disgusted at the importunity that has upset and forced our reason. For the line "I know that what I'm going to do is bad," is especially applicable to people that importune us, when one is going to perjure oneself, or deliver an unjust verdict, or vote for a measure that is inexpedient, or borrow money for someone who will never pay it back.

12. And so repentance follows more closely upon bashfulness than upon any emotion, and that not afterwards, but in the very act. For we are vexed with ourselves when we give, and ashamed when we perjure ourselves, and get ill-fame from our advocacies, and are put to the blush, when we cannot fulfil our promises. For frequently, from inability to say No, we promise impossibilities to persevering applicants, as introductions at court, and audiences with princes, from reluctance or want of nerve to say, "The king does not know us, others have his regard far more." But Lysander, when he was out of favour with Agesilaus, though he was thought to have very great influence with him owing to his great reputation, was not ashamed to dismiss suitors, and bid them go and pay their court to others who had more influence with the king. For not to be able to do everything carries no disgrace with it, but to undertake and try and force your way to what you are unable to do, or unqualified by nature for, is in addition to the disgrace incurred a task full of trouble.

13. To take another element into consideration, all seemly and modest requests we ought readily to comply with, not bashfully but heartily, whereas in injurious or unreasonable requests we ought ever to remember the conduct of Zeno, who, meeting a young man he knew walking very quietly near a wall, and learning from him that he was trying to get out of the way of a friend who wanted him to perjure himself on his behalf, said to him, "O stupid fellow, what do you tell me? Is he not afraid or ashamed to press you to what is not right? And dare not you stand up boldly against him for what is right?" For he that said "villainy is no bad weapon against villainy" [Our "Set a thief to catch a thief."] taught people the bad practice of standing on one's defence against vice by imitating it; but to get rid of those who shamelessly and unblushingly importune us by their own effrontery, and not to gratify the immodest in their disgraceful desires through false modesty, is the right and proper conduct of sensible people.

14. Moreover it is no great task to resist disreputable and low and worthless fellows who importune you, but some send such off with a laugh or a jest, as Theocritus did, who, when two fellows in the public baths, one a stranger, the other a well-known thief, wanted to borrow his scraper, put them both off with a playful answer, "You, sir, I do not know, and you I know too well." And Lysimache, the priestess of Athene Polias at Athens, when some muleteers that bore the sacred vessels asked her to give them a drink, answered, "I hesitate to do so from fear that you would make a practice of it." And when a certain young man, the son of a distinguished officer, but himself effeminate and far from bold, asked Antigonus for promotion, he replied, "With me, young man, honours are given for personal prowess, not for the prowess of ancestors."

15. But if the person that importunes us be famous or a man of power, for such persons are very hard to move by entreaty or to get rid of when they come to sue for your vote and interest, it will not perhaps be easy or even necessary to behave as Cato, when quite a young man, did to Catulus. Catulus was in the highest repute at Rome, and at that time held the office of censor, and went to Cato, who then held the office of quaestor, and tried to beg off someone whom he had fined, and was urgent and even violent in his petitions, till Cato at last lost all patience, and said, "To have you, the censor, removed by my officers against your will, Catulus, would not be a seemly thing for you." So Catulus felt ashamed, and went off in a rage. But see whether the answers of Agesilaus and Themistocles are not more modest and in better form. Agesilaus, when he was asked by his father to pronounce sentence contrary to the law, said, "Father, I was taught by you even from my earliest years to obey the laws, so now I shall obey you and do nothing contrary to law." And Themistocles, when Simonides asked him to do something unjust, replied, "Neither would you be a good poet if your lines violated the laws of metre, nor should I be a good magistrate if I gave decisions contrary to law."

16. And yet it is not on account of want of metrical harmony in respect to the lyre, to borrow the words of Plato, that cities quarrel with cities and friends with friends, and do and suffer the worst woes, but on account of deviations from law and justice. And yet some, who themselves pay great attention to melody and letters and measures, do not think it wrong for others to neglect what is right in magistracies and judicial sentences and business generally. One must therefore deal with them in the following manner. Does an orator ask a favour of you when you are acting as juryman, or a demagogue when you are sitting in council? Say you will grant his request if he first utter a solecism, or introduce a barbarism into his speech; he will refuse because of the shame that would attach itself to him; at any rate we see some that will not in a speech let two vowels come together. If again some illustrious and distinguished person importune you to something bad, bid him come into the market-place dancing or making wry faces, and if he refuse you will have an opportunity to speak, and ask him which is more disgraceful, to utter a solecism and make wry faces, or to violate the law and one's oath, and contrary to justice to do more for a bad than for a good man. Nicostratus the Argive, when Archidamus offered him a large sum of money and any Lacedaemonian bride he chose if he would deliver up Cromnum, said Archidamus could not be a descendant of Hercules, for he travelled about and killed evil-doers, whereas Archidamus tried to make evil-doers of the good. In like manner, if a man of good repute tries to force and importune us to something bad, let us tell him that he is acting in an ignoble way, and not as his birth and virtue would warrant.

17. But in the case of people of no repute you must see whether you can persuade the miser by your importunity to lend you money without a bond, or the proud man to yield you the better place, or the ambitious man to surrender some office to you when he might take it himself. For truly it would seem monstrous that, while such remain firm and inflexible and unmoveable in their vicious propensities, we who wish to be, and profess to be, men of honour and justice should be so little masters of ourselves as to abandon and betray virtue. For indeed, if those who importune us do it for glory and power, it is absurd that we should adorn and aggrandize others only to get infamy and a bad name ourselves; like unfair umpires in the public games, or like people voting only to ingratiate themselves, and so bestowing improperly offices and prizes and glory on others, while they rob themselves of respect and fair fame. And if we see that the person who importunes us only does so for money, does it not occur to one that it is monstrous to be prodigal of one's own fame and reputation merely to make somebody else's purse heavier? Why the idea must occur to most people, they sin with their eyes open; like people who are urged hard to toss off big bumpers, and grunt and groan and make wry faces, but at last do as they are told.

18. Such weakness of mind is like a temperament of body equally susceptible to heat and cold; for if such people are praised by those that importune them they are overcome and yield at once, whereas they are mortally afraid of the blame and suspicions of those whose desires they do not comply with. But we ought to be stout and resolute in either case, neither yielding to bullying nor cajolery. Thucydides indeed tells us, since envy necessarily follows ability, that "he is well advised who incurs envy in matters of the highest importance." But we, thinking it difficult to escape envy, and seeing that it is altogether impossible not to incur blame or give offence to those we live with, shall be well advised if we prefer the hatred of the perverse to that of those who might justly find fault with us for having iniquitously served their turn. And indeed we ought to be on our guard against praise from those who importune us, which is sure to be altogether insincere, and not to resemble swine, readily allowing anyone that presses to make use of us from our pleasure at itching and tickling, and submitting ourselves to their will. For those that give their ears to flatterers differ not a whit from such as let themselves be tripped up at wrestling, only their overthrow and fall is more disgraceful; some forbearing hostility and reproof in the case of bad men, that they may be called merciful and humane and compassionate; and others on the contrary persuaded to take up unnecessary and dangerous animosities and charges by those who praise them as the only men, the only people that never flatter, and go so far as to entitle them their mouthpieces and voices. Accordingly Bio compared such people to jars, that you could easily take by the ears and turn about at your will. Thus it is recorded that the sophist Alexinus in one of his lectures said a good many bad things about Stilpo the Megarian, but when one of those that were present said, "Why, he was speaking in your praise only the other day," he replied, "I don't doubt it; for he is the best and noblest of men." Menedemus on the contrary, having heard that Alexinus frequently praised him, replied, "But I always censure him, for that man is bad who either praises a bad man or is blamed by a good." So inflexible and proof was he against such flattery, and master of that advice which Hercules in Antisthenes gave, when he ordered his sons to be grateful to no one that praised them; which meant nothing else than that they should not be dumbfoundered at it, nor flatter again those who praised them. Very apt, I take it, was the remark of Pindar to one who told him that he praised him everywhere and to all persons, "I am greatly obliged to you, and will make your account true by my actions."

19. A useful precept in reference to all passions is especially valuable in the case of the bashful. When they have been overcome by this infirmity, and against their judgement have erred and been confounded, let them fix it in their memories, and, remembering the pain and grief it gave them, let them recall it to their mind and be on their guard for a very long time. For as travellers that have stumbled against a stone, or pilots that have been wrecked off a headland, if they remember these occurrences, not only dread and are on their guard continually on those spots, but also on all similar ones; so those that frequently remember the disgrace and injury that bashfulness brought them, and its sorrow and anguish, will in similar cases be on their guard against their weakness, and will not readily allow themselves to be subjugated by it again.

PLUTARCH'S MORALS CHAPTER 18

ON RESTRAINING ANGER.

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN SYLLA AND FUNDANUS.

1. Sylla. Those painters, Fundanus, seem to me to do well who, before giving the finishing touches to their paintings, lay them by for a time and then revise them; because by taking their eyes off them for a time they gain by frequent inspection a new insight, and are more apt to detect minute differences, that continuous familiarity would have hidden. Now since a human being cannot so separate himself from himself for a time, and make a break in his continuity, and then approach himself again—and that is perhaps the chief reason why a man is a worse judge of himself than of others—the next best thing will be for a man to inspect his friends after an interval, and likewise offer himself to their scrutiny, not to see whether he has aged quickly, or whether his bodily condition is better or268 worse, but to examine his moral character, and see whether time has added any good quality, or removed any bad one. On my return then to Rome after an absence of two years, and having been with you now five months, I am not at all surprised that there has been a great increase and growth in those good points which you formerly had owing to your admirable nature; but when I see how gentle and obedient to reason your former excessive impetuosity and hot temper has become, it cannot but occur to me to quote the line, "Ye gods, how much more mild is he become!"

And this mildness has not wrought in you sloth or weakness, but like cultivation of the soil it has produced a smoothness and depth fit for action, instead of the former impetuosity and vehemence. And so it is clear that your propensity to anger has not been effaced by any declining vigour or through some chance, but has been cured by good precepts. And indeed, for I will tell you the truth, when our friend Eros reported this change in you to me, I suspected that owing to goodwill he bare witness not of the actual state of the case, but of what was becoming to all good and virtuous men, although, as you know, he can never be persuaded to depart from his real opinion to ingratiate himself with anyone. But now he is acquitted of false witness, and do you, as your journey gives you leisure, narrate to me the mode of cure you employed to make your temper so under control, so natural, gentle and obedient to reason.

Fundanus. Most friendly Sylla, take care that you do not in your goodwill and affection to me rest under any misconception of my real condition. For it is possible that Eros, not being able always himself to keep his temper in its place in the obedience that Homer speaks of, but sometimes carried away by his hatred of what is bad, may think me grown milder than I really am, as in changes of the scale in music the lowest notes become the highest.

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Sylla. Neither of these is the case, Fundanus, but oblige me by doing as I ask.

2. Fundanus. One of the excellent precepts then of Musonius that I remember, Sylla, is this, that those who wish to be well should diet themselves all their life long. For I do not think we must employ reason as a cure, as we do hellebore, by purging it out with the disease, but we must retain it in the soul, to restrain and govern the judgement. For the power of reason is not like physic, but wholesome food, which co-operates with good health in producing a good habit of body in those by whom it is taken. But admonition and reproof, when passion is at its height and swelling, does little or no good, but resembles very closely those strong-smelling substances, that are able to set on their legs again those that have fallen in epileptic fits, but cannot rid them of their disease. For although all other passions, even at the moment of their acme, do in some sort listen to reason and admit it into the soul, yet anger does not, for, as Melanthius says, "Fell things it does when it the mind unsettles," for it absolutely turns reason out of doors, and bolts it out, and, like those persons who burn themselves and houses together, it makes all the interior full of confusion and smoke and noise, so that what would be advantageous can neither be seen nor heard. And so an empty ship in a storm at open sea would sooner admit on board a pilot from without, than a man in a tempest of rage and anger would listen to another's advice, unless his own reason was first prepared to hearken. But as those who expect a siege get together and store up supplies, when they despair of relief from without, so ought we by all means to scour the country far and wide to derive aids against anger from philosophy, and store them up in the soul: for, when the time of need comes, we shall find it no easy task to import them. For either the soul doesn't hear what is said without because of the uproar, if it have not within its own reason (like a boatswain as it were) to receive at once and understand every exhortation; or if it does hear, it despises what is uttered mildly and gently, while it is exasperated by harsh censure. For anger being haughty and self-willed and hard to be worked upon by another, like a fortified tyranny, must have someone born and bred within it to overthrow it.

3. Now long-continued anger, and frequent giving way to it, produces an evil disposition of soul, which people call irascibility, and which ends in passionateness, bitterness, and peevishness, whenever the mind becomes sore and vexed at trifles and querulous at everyday occurrences, like iron thin and beaten out too fine. But when the judgement checks and suppresses at once the rising anger, it not only cures the soul for the moment, but restores its tone and balance for the future. It has happened to myself indeed twice or thrice, when I strongly fought against anger, that I was in the same plight as the Thebans, who after they had once defeated the Lacedaemonians, whom they had hitherto thought invincible, never lost a battle against them again. I then felt confident that reason can win the victory. I saw also that anger is not only appeased by the sprinkling of cold water, as Aristotle attested, but is also extinguished by the action of fear; aye, and, as Homer tells us, anger has been cured and has melted away in the case of many by some sudden joy. So that I came to the conclusion that this passion is not incurable for those who wish to be cured. For it does not arise from great and important causes, but banter and joking, a laugh or a nod, and similar trifles make many angry, as Helen by addressing her niece, "Electra, maiden now for no short time," provoked her to reply, "Your wisdom blossoms late, since formerlyYou left your house in shame;" and Callisthenes incensed Alexander, by saying, when a huge cup was brought to him, "I will not drink to Alexander till I shall require the help of AEsculapius."

4. As then it is easy to put out a flame kindled in the hair of hares and in wicks and rubbish, but if it once gets hold of things solid and thick, it quickly destroys and consumes them, "raging amidst the lofty work of the carpenters," as AEschylus says; so he that observes anger in its rise, and sees it gradually smoking and bursting forth into fire from some chatter or rubbishy scurrility, need have no great trouble with it, but can frequently smother it merely by silence and contempt. For as a person puts out a fire by bringing no fuel to it, so with respect to anger, he that does not in the beginning fan it, and stir up its rage in himself, keeps it off and destroys it. And so, though Hieronymus has given us many useful sayings and precepts, I am not pleased with his remark that there is no perception of anger in its birth, but only in its actual developement, so quick is it. For none of the passions when stirred up and set in motion has so palpable a birth and growth as anger. As indeed Homer skilfully shows us, where he represents Achilles as seized at once with grief, when word was brought him of Patroclus' death, in the line, "Thus spake he, and grief's dark cloud covered him;" whereas he represents him as waxing angry with Agamemnon slowly, and as inflamed by his many words, which if either of them had abstained from, their quarrel would not have attained such growth and magnitude. And so Socrates, as often as he perceived any anger rising in him against any of his friends, "setting himself like some ocean promontory to break the violence of the waves," would lower his voice, and put on a smiling countenance, and give his eye a gentler expression, by inclining in the other direction and running counter to his passion, thus keeping himself from fall and defeat.

5. For the first way, my friend, to overcome anger, like the putting down of some tyrant, is not to obey or listen to it when it bids you speak loud, and look fierce, and beat yourself, but to remain quiet, and not to make the passion more intense, as one would a disease, by tossing about and crying out. In love affairs indeed, such things as revellings, and serenadings, and crowning the loved one's door with garlands, may indeed bring some pleasant and elegant relief. "I went, but asked not who or whose she was,I merely kissed her door-post. If that beA crime, I do plead guilty to the same."

In the case of mourners also giving up to weeping and wailing takes away with the tears much of the grief. But anger on the contrary is much more fanned by what angry persons do and say. It is best therefore to be calm, or to flee and hide ourselves and go to a haven of quiet, when we feel the fit of temper coming upon us as an epileptic fit, that we fall not, or rather fall not on others, for it is our friends that we fall upon most and most frequently. For we do not love all, nor envy all, nor fear all men; but nothing is untouched or unassailed by anger; for we are angry with friends and enemies, parents and children, aye, and with the gods, and beasts, and even things inanimate, as was Thamyris, "Breaking his gold-bound horn, breaking the musicOf well-compacted lyre;" and Pandarus, who called down a curse upon himself, if he did not burn his bow "after breaking it with his hands." And Xerxes inflicted stripes and blows on the sea, and sent letters to Mount Athos, "Divine Athos, whose top reaches heaven, put not in the way of my works stones large and difficult to deal with, or else I will hew thee down, and throw thee into the sea." For anger has many formidable aspects, and many ridiculous ones, so that of all the passions it is the most hated and despised. It will be well to consider both aspects.

6. To begin then, whether my process was wrong or right I know not, but I began my cure of anger by noticing its effects in others, as the Lacedaemonians study the nature of drunkenness in the Helots. And in the first place, as Hippocrates tells us that disease is most dangerous in which the face of the patient is most unlike himself, so observing that people beside themselves with anger change their face, colour, walk, and voice, I formed an impression as it were of that aspect of passion, and was very disgusted with myself if ever I should appear so frightful and like one out of his mind to my friends and wife and daughters, not only wild and unlike oneself in appearance, but also with a voice savage and harsh, as I had noticed in some of my acquaintance, who could neither preserve for anger their ordinary behaviour, or demeanour, or grace of language, or persuasiveness and gentleness in conversation. Caius Gracchus, indeed, the orator, whose character was harsh and style of oratory impassioned, had a pitch-pipe made for him, such as musicians use to heighten or lower their voices by degrees, and this, when he was making a speech, a slave stood behind him and held, and used to give him a mild and gentle note on it, whereby he lowered his key, and removed from his voice the harsh and passionate element, charming and laying the heat of the orator, "As shepherds' wax-joined reed sounds musically With sleep provoking strain."

For myself if I had some elegant and sprightly companion, I should not be vexed at his showing me a looking-glass in my fits of anger, as they offer one to some after a bath to little useful end. For to behold oneself unnaturally distorted in countenance will condemn anger in no small degree. The poets playfully tell us that Athene when playing on the pipe was rebuked thus by a Satyr, "That look no way becomes you, take your armour,Lay down your pipes, and do compose your cheeks," and though she paid no attention to him, yet afterwards when she saw her face in a river, she felt vexed and threw her pipes away, although art had made melody a compensation for her unsightliness. And Marsyas, it seems, by a sort of mouthpiece forcibly repressed the violence of his breath, and tricked up and hid the contortion of his face, "Around his shaggy temples put bright gold,And o'er his open mouth thongs tied behind."

Now anger, that puffs up and distends the face so as to look ugly, utters a voice still more harsh and unpleasant, "Moving the mind's chords undisturbed before." They say that the sea is cleansed when agitated by the winds it throws up tangle and seaweed; but the intemperate and bitter and vain words, which the mind throws up when the soul is agitated, defile the speakers of them first of all and fill them with infamy, as always having those thoughts within their bosom and being defiled with them, but only giving vent to them in anger. And so for a word which is, as Plato styles it, "a very small matter," they incur a most heavy punishment, for they get reputed to be enemies, and evil speakers, and malignant in disposition.

7. Seeing and observing all this, it occurs to me to take it as a matter of fact, and record it for my own general use, that if it is good to keep the tongue soft and smooth in a fever, it is better to keep it so in anger. For if the tongue of people in a fever be unnatural, it is a bad sign, but not the cause of their malady; but the tongue of angry people, being rough and foul, and breaking out into unseemly speeches, produces insults that work irremediable mischief, and argue deep-rooted malevolence within. For wine drunk neat does not exhibit the soul in so ungovernable and hateful a condition as temper does: for the outbreaks of the one smack of laughter and fun, while those of the other are compounded with gall: and at a drinking-bout he that is silent is burdensome to the company and tiresome, whereas in anger nothing is more highly thought of than silence, as Sappho advises, "When anger's busy in the brain Thy idly-barking tongue restrain."

8. And not only does the consideration of all this naturally arise from observing ourselves in the moments of anger, but we cannot help seeing also the other properties of rage, how ignoble it is, how unmanly, how devoid of dignity and greatness of mind! And yet to most people its noise seems vigour, its threatening confidence, and its obstinacy force of character; some even not wisely entitle its savageness magnanimity, and its implacability firmness, and its morosity hatred of what is bad. For their actions and motions and whole demeanour argue great littleness and meanness, not only when they are fierce with little boys, and peevish with women, and think it right to treat dogs and horses and mules with harshness, as Ctesiphon the pancratiast thought fit to kick back a mule that had kicked him, but even in the butcheries that tyrants commit their littleness of soul is apparent in their savageness, and their suffering in their action, so that they are like the bites of serpents, that, when they are burnt and smart with pain, violently thrust their venom on those that have hurt them. For as a swelling is produced in the flesh by a heavy blow, so in softest souls the inclination to hurt others gets its greater strength from greater weakness. Thus women are more prone to anger than men, and people ill than people well, and old men than men in their prime, and the unfortunate than the prosperous; the miser is most prone to anger with his steward, the glutton with his cook, the jealous man with his wife, the vain man when he is spoken ill of; and worst of all are those "men who are too eager in states for office, or to head a faction, a manifest sorrow," to borrow Pindar's words. So from the very great pain and suffering of the soul there arises mainly from weakness anger, which is not like the nerves of the soul, as some one defined it, but like its strainings and convulsions when it is excessively vehement in its thirst for revenge.

9. Such bad examples as these were not pleasant to look at but necessary, but I shall now proceed to describe people who have been mild and easy in dealing with anger, conduct gratifying either to see or hear about, being utterly disgusted with people who use such language as, "You have a man wronged: shall a man stand this?" and, "Put your heel upon his neck, and dash his head against the ground," and other provoking expressions such as these, by which some not well have transferred anger from the woman's side of the house to the man's. For manliness in all other respects seems to resemble justice, and to differ from it only in respect to gentleness, with which it has more affinities. For it sometimes happens to worse men to govern better ones, but to erect a trophy in the soul against anger (which Heraclitus says it is difficult to contend against, for whatever it wishes is bought at the price of the soul), is a proof of power so great and victorious as to be able to apply the judgement as if it were nerves and sinews to the passions. So I always try to collect and peruse the remarks on this subject not only of the philosophers, who foolish people say had no gall in their composition, but still more of kings and tyrants. Such was the remark of Antigonus to his soldiers, when they were abusing him near his tent as if he were not listening, so he put his staff out, and said, "What's to do? can you not go rather farther off to run me down?" And when Arcadio the Achaean, who was always railing against Philip, and advising people to flee "Unto a country where they knew not Philip," visited Macedonia afterwards on some chance or other, the king's friends thought he ought to be punished and the matter not looked over; but Philip treated him kindly, and sent him presents and gifts, and afterwards bade inquiry to be made as to what sort of account of him Arcadio now gave to the Greeks; and when all testified that the fellow had become a wonderful praiser of the king, Philip said, "You see I knew how to cure him better than all of you." And at the Olympian games when there was defamation of Philip, and some of his suite said to him, that the Greeks ought to smart for it, because they railed against him when they were treated well by him, he replied, "What will they do then if they are treated badly by me?" Excellent also was the behaviour of Pisistratus to Thrasybulus, and of Porsena to Mucius, and of Magas to Philemon. As to Magas, after he had been publicly jeered at by Philemon in one of his comedies at the theatre in the following words, "Magas, the king hath written thee a letter, Unhappy Magas, since thou can'st not read," after having taken Philemon, who had been cast on shore by a storm at Paraetonium, he commanded one of his soldiers only to touch his neck with the naked sword and then to go away quietly, and dismissed him, after sending him a ball and some dice as if

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he were a silly boy. And Ptolemy on one occasion, flouting a grammarian for his ignorance, asked him who was the father of Peleus, and he answered, "I will tell you, if you tell me first who was the father of Lagus." This was a jeer at the obscure birth of the king, and all his courtiers were indignant at it as an unpardonable liberty; but Ptolemy said, "If it is not kingly to take a flout, neither is it kingly to give one." And Alexander was more savage than usual in his behaviour to Callisthenes and Clitus. So Porus, when he was taken captive, begged Alexander to use him as a king. And on his inquiring, "What, nothing more?" he replied "No. For everything is included in being used as a king." So they call the king of the gods Milichius, while they call Ares Maimactes; and punishment and torture they assign to the Erinnyes and to demons, not to the gods or Olympus.

10. As then a certain person passed the following remark on Philip when he had razed Olynthus to the ground, "He certainly could not build such another city," so we may say to anger, "You can root up, and destroy, and throw down, but to raise up and save and spare and tolerate is the work of mildness and moderation, the work of a Camillus, a Metellus, an Aristides, a Socrates; but to sting and bite is to resemble the ant and horse-fly. For, indeed, when I consider revenge, I find its angry method to be for the most part ineffectual, since it spends itself in biting the lips and gnashing the teeth, and in vain attacks, and in railings coupled with foolish threats, and eventually resembles children running races, who from feebleness ridiculously tumble down before they reach the goal they are hastening to. So that speech of the Rhodian to a lictor of the Roman praetor who was shouting and talking insolently was not inapt, "It is no matter to me what you say, but what your master thinks." And Sophocles, when he had introduced Neoptolemus and Eurypylus as armed for the battle, gives them this high commendation, "They rushed into the midst of armed warriors."

Some barbarians indeed poison their steel, but bravery has no need of gall, being dipped in reason, but rage and fury are not invincible but rotten. And so the Lacedaemonians by their pipes turn away the anger of their warriors, and sacrifice to the Muses before commencing battle, that reason may abide with them, and when they have routed a foe do not follow up the victory, but relax their rage, which like small daggers they can easily take back. But anger kills myriads before it is glutted with revenge, as happened in the case of Cyrus and Pelopidas the Theban. But Agathocles bore mildly the revilings of those he was besieging, and when one of them cried out, "Potter, how are you going to get money to pay your mercenaries?" he replied laughingly, "Out of your town if I take it." And when some of those on the wall threw his ugliness into the teeth of Antigonus, he said to them, "I thought I was rather a handsome fellow." But after he had taken the town, he sold for slaves those that had flouted him, protesting that, if they insulted him again, he would bring the matter before their masters. I have noticed also that hunters and orators are very unsuccessful when they give way to anger. And Aristotle tells us that the friends of Satyrus stopped up his ears with wax when he was to plead a cause, that he might not make any confusion in the case through rage at the abuse of his enemies. And does it not frequently happen with ourselves that a slave who has offended escapes punishment, because they abscond in fear of our threats and harsh words? What nurses then say to children, "Give up crying, and you shall have it," may usefully be applied to anger, thus, "Do not be in a hurry, or bawl out, or be vehement, and you will sooner and better get what you want." For a father, seeing his boy trying to cut or cleave something with a knife, takes the knife from him and does it himself: and similarly a person, taking revenge out of the hand of passion, does himself safely and usefully and without harm punish the person who deserves punishment, and not himself instead, as anger often does.

11. Now though all the passions need such discipline as by exercise shall tame and subdue their unreasoning and disobedient elements, yet there is none which we ought to keep under by such discipline so much as the exhibition of anger to our servants. For neither envy, nor fear, nor rivalry come into play between them and us; but our frequent displays of anger to them, creating many offences and faults, make us to slip as if on slippery ground owing to our autocracy with our servants, which no one resists or prevents. For it is impossible to check irresponsible power so as never to break out under the influence of passion, unless one wields power with much meekness, and refuses to listen to the frequent complaints of one's wife and friends charging one with being too easy and lax with one's servants. And by nothing have I been more exasperated against them, as if they were being ruined for want of correction. At last, though late, I got to see that in the first place it is better to make them worse by forbearance, than by bitterness and anger to distort oneself for the correction of others. In the next place I observed that many for the very reason that they were not corrected were frequently ashamed to be bad, and made pardon rather than punishment the commencement of their reformation, aye, and made better slaves to some merely at their nod silently and cheerfully than to others with all their beatings and brandings, and so I came to the conclusion that reason gets better obeyed than temper, for it is not as the poet said, "Where there is fear, there too is self-respect," but it is just the other way about, for self-respect begets that kind of fear that corrects the behaviour. But perpetual and pitiless beating produces not so much repentance for wrong-doing as contrivances to continue in it without detection. In the third place, ever remembering and reflecting within myself that, just as he that teaches us the use of the bow does not forbid us to shoot but only to miss the mark, so it will not prevent punishment altogether to teach people to do it in season, and with moderation, utility, and decorum, I strive to remove anger most especially by not forbidding those who are to be corrected to speak in their defence, but by listening to them. For the interval of time gives a pause to passion, and a delay that mitigates it, and so judgement finds out both the fit manner and adequate amount of punishment. Moreover he that is punished has nothing to allege against his correction, if he is punished not in anger but only after his guilt is brought home to him. And the greatest disgrace will not be incurred, which is when the servant seems to speak more justly than the master. As then Phocion, after the death of Alexander, to stop the Athenians from revolting and believing the news too soon, said to them, "Men of Athens, if he is dead to-day, he will certainly also be dead to-morrow and the next day," so I think the man who is in a hurry to punish anyone in his rage ought to consider with himself, "If this person has wronged you to-day, he will also have wronged you to-morrow and the next day; and there will be no harm done if he shall be punished somewhat late; whereas if he shall be punished at once, he will always seem to you to have been innocent, as has often happened before now." For which of us is so savage as to chastise and scourge a slave because five or ten days before he over-roasted the meat, or upset the table, or was somewhat tardy on some errand? And yet these are the very things for which we put ourselves out and are harsh and implacable, immediately after they have happened and are recent. For as bodies seem greater in a mist, so do little matters in a rage. We ought therefore to consider such arguments as these at once, and if, when there is no trace of passion left, the matter appear bad to calm and clear reason, then it ought to be taken in hand, and the punishment ought not to be neglected or abandoned, as we leave food when we have lost our appetites. For nothing causes people to punish so much when their anger is fierce, as that when it is appeased they do not punish at all, but forget the matter entirely, and resemble lazy rowers, who lie in harbour when the sea is calm, and then sail out to their peril when the wind gets up. So we, condemning reason for slackness and mildness in punishing, are in a hurry to punish, borne along by passion as by a dangerous gale. He that is hungry takes his food as nature dictates, but he that punishes should have no hunger or thirst for it, nor require anger as a sauce to stimulate him to it, but should punish when he is as far as possible from having any desire for it, and has to compel his reason to it. For we ought not, as Aristotle tells us slaves in his time were scourged in Etruria to the music of the flute, to go headlong into punishing with a desire and zest for it, and to delight in punishing, and then afterwards to be sorry at it—for the first is savage, and the last womanish—but we should without either sorrow or pleasure chastise at the dictates of reason, giving anger no opportunity to interfere.

12. But this perhaps will not appear a cure of anger so much as a putting away and avoiding such faults as men commit in anger. And yet, though the swelling of the spleen is only a symptom of fever, the fever is assuaged by its abating, as Hieronymus tells us. Now when I contemplated the origin of anger itself, I observed that, though different persons fell into it for different reasons, yet in nearly all of them was the idea of their being despised and neglected to be found. So we ought to help those who try to get rid of anger, by removing as far as possible from them any action savouring of contempt or contumely, and by looking upon their anger as folly or necessity, or emotion, or mischance, as Sophocles says, "In those that are unfortunate, O king,No mind stays firm, but all their balance lose."

And so Agamemnon, ascribing to Ate his carrying off Briseis, yet says to Achilles, "I wish to please you in return, and giveCompletest satisfaction."

For suing is not the action of one who shews his contempt, and when he that has done an injury is humble he removes all idea of slighting one. But the angry person must not expect this, but rather take to himself the answer of Diogenes, who, when it was said to him, "These people laugh at you," replied, "But I am not one to be laughed at," and not think himself despised, but rather despise the person who gave the offence, as acting from weakness, or error, or rashness, or heedlessness, or illiberality, or old age, or youth. Nor must we entertain such notions with regard to our servants and friends. For they do not despise us as void of ability or energy, but owing to our evenness and good-nature, some because we are mild, and others presuming on our affection for them. But as it is we not only fly into rages with wife and slaves and friends, as if we were slighted by them, but we also frequently, from forming the same idea of being slighted, fall foul of innkeepers and sailors and muleteers, and are vexed at dogs that bark and asses that are in our way: like the man who was going to beat an ass-driver, but when he cried out he was an Athenian, he said to the ass, "You are not an Athenian anyway," and beat it with many stripes.

13. Moreover those continuous and frequent fits of anger that gather together in the soul by degrees, like a swarm of bees or wasps, are generated within us by selfishness and peevishness, luxury and softness. And so nothing causes us to be mild to our servants and wife and friends so much as easiness and simplicity, and the learning to be content with what we have, and not to require a quantity of superfluities.

"He who likes not his meat if over-roastOr over-boiled, or under-roast or under-boiled,And never praises it however dressed," but will not drink unless he have snow to cool his drink, nor eat bread purchased in the market, nor touch food served on cheap or earthenware plates, nor sleep upon any but a feather bed that rises and falls like the sea stirred up from its depths, and with rods and blows hastens his servants at table, so that they run about and cry out and sweat as if they were bringing poultices to sores, he is slave to a weak querulous and discontented mode of life, and, like one who has a continual cough or various ailments, whether he is aware of it or not, he is in an283 ulcerous and catarrh-like condition as regards his proneness to anger. We must therefore train the body to contentment by plain living, that it may be easily satisfied: for they that require little do not miss much; and it is no great hardship to begin with our food, and take it silently whatever it is, and not by being choleric and peevish to thrust upon ourselves and friends the worst sauce to meat, anger.

"No more unpleasant supper could there be" than that wherein the servants are beaten, and the wife scolded, because something is burnt or smoked or not salt enough, or because the bread is too cold. Arcesilaus was once entertaining some friends and strangers, and when dinner was served, there was no bread, through the servants having neglected to buy any. In such a case as this which of us would not have broken the walls with vociferation? But he only smiled and said, "How unfit a sage is to give an entertainment!" And when Socrates once took Euthydemus home with him from the wrestling-school, Xanthippe was in a towering rage, and scolded, and at last upset the table, and Euthydemus rose and went away full of sorrow. But Socrates said to him, "Did not a hen at your house the other day fly in and act in the very same way? And we did not put ourselves out about it." We ought to receive our friends with gaiety and smiles and welcome, not knitting our brows, or inspiring fear and trembling in the attendants. We ought also to accustom ourselves to the use of any kind of ware at table, and not to stint ourselves to one kind rather than another, as some pick out a particular tankard or horn, as they say Marius did, out of many, and will not drink out of anything else; and some act in the same way with regard to oil-flasks and scrapers, being content with only one out of all, and so, if such an article is broken or lost, they are very much put out about it, and punish with severity. He then that is prone to anger should not use rare and dainty things, such as choice cups and seals and precious stones: for if they are lost they put a man beside 284himself much more than the loss of ordinary and easily got things would do. And so when Nero had got an eight-cornered tent constructed, a wonderful object both for its beauty and costliness, Seneca said to him, "You have now shown yourself to be poor, for if you should lose this, you will not be able to procure such another." And indeed it did so happen that the tent was lost by shipwreck, but Nero bore its loss patiently, remembering what Seneca had said. Now this easiness about things generally makes a man also easy and gentle to his servants, and if to them, then it is clear he will be so to his friends also, and to all that serve under him in any capacity. So we observe that newly-purchased slaves do not inquire about the master who has bought them, whether he is superstitious or envious, but only whether he is a bad-tempered man: and generally speaking we see that neither can men put up with chaste wives, nor wives with loving husbands, nor friends with one another, if they be ill-tempered to boot. So neither marriage nor friendship is bearable with anger, though without anger even drunkenness is a small matter. For the wand of Dionysus punishes sufficiently the drunken man, but if anger be added it turns wine from being the dispeller of care and inspirer of the dance into a savage and fury. And simple madness can be cured by Anticyra, but madness mixed with anger is the producer of tragedies and dreadful narratives.

14. So we ought to give anger no vent, either in jest, for that draws hatred to friendliness; or in discussion, for that turns love of learning into strife; or on the judgement-seat, for that adds insolence to power; or in teaching, for that produces dejection and hatred of learning: or in prosperity, for that increases envy; or in adversity, for that deprives people of compassion, when they are peevish and run counter to those who condole with them, like Priam, "A murrain on

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you, worthless wretches all,Have you no griefs at home, that here you comeTo sympathize with me?"

Good temper on the other hand is useful in some circumstances, adorns and sweetens others, and gets the better of all peevishness and anger by its gentleness. Thus Euclides, when his brother said to him in a dispute between them, "May I perish, if I don't have my revenge on you!" replied, "May I perish, if I don't persuade you!" and so at once turned and changed him. And Polemo, when a man reviled him who was fond of precious stones and quite crazy for costly seal-rings, made no answer, but bestowed all his attention on one of his seal-rings, and eyed it closely; and he being delighted said, "Do not look at it so, Polemo, but in the light of the sun, and it will appear to you more beautiful." And Aristippus, when there was anger between him and AEschines, and somebody said, "O Aristippus, where is now your friendship?" replied, "It is asleep, but I will wake it up," and went to AEschines, and said to him, "Do I seem to you so utterly unfortunate and incurable as to be unworthy of any consideration?" And AEschines replied, "It is not at all wonderful that you, being naturally superior to me in all things, should have been first to detect in this matter too what was needful."

"For not a woman only, but young childTickling the bristly boar with tender hand,Will lay him prostrate sooner than an athlete."

But we that tame wild beasts and make them gentle, and carry in our arms young wolves and lions' whelps, inconsistently repel our children and friends and acquaintances in our rage, and let loose our temper like some wild beast on our servants and fellow-citizens, speciously trying to disguise it not rightly under the name of hatred of evil, but it is, I suppose, as with the other passions and diseases of the soul, we cannot get rid of any of them by calling one prudence, and another liberality, and another piety.

15. And yet, as Zeno said the seed was a mixture and compound drawn from all the faculties of the soul, so anger seems a universal seed from all the passions. For it is drawn from pain and pleasure and haughtiness, and from envy it gets its property of malignity—and it is even worse than envy, for it does not mind its own suffering if it can only implicate another in misery—and the most unlovely kind of desire is innate in it, namely the appetite for injuring another. So when we go to the houses of spendthrifts we hear a flute-playing girl early in the morning, and see "the dregs of wine," as one said, and fragments of garlands, and the servants at the doors reeking of yesterday's debauch; but for tokens of savage and peevish masters these you will see by the faces, and marks, and manacles of their servants: for in the house of an angry man "The only music ever heard is wailing," stewards being beaten within, and maids tortured, so that the spectators even in their jollity and pleasure pity these victims of passion.

16. Moreover those to whom it happens through their genuine hatred of what is bad to be frequently overtaken by anger, can abate its excess and acerbity by giving up their excessive confidence in their intimates. For nothing swells the anger more, than when a good man is detected of villainy, or one who we thought loved us falls out and jangles with us. As for my own disposition, you know of course how mightily it inclines to goodwill and belief in mankind. As then people walking on empty space, the more confidently I believe in anybody's affection, the more sorrow and distress do I feel if my estimate is a mistaken one. And indeed I could never divest myself of my ardour and zeal in affection, but as to trusting people I could perhaps use Plato's caution as a curb. For he said he so praised Helicon the mathematician, because he was by nature a changeable animal, but that he was afraid of those that were well educated in the city, lest, being human beings and the seed of human beings, they should reveal by some trait or other the weakness of human nature. But Sophocles' line, "Trace out most human acts, you'll find them base," seems to trample on human nature and lower its merits too much. Still such a peevish and condemnatory verdict as this has a tendency to make people milder in their rage, for it is the sudden and unexpected that makes people go distracted. And we ought, as Panaetius somewhere said, to imitate Anaxagoras, and as he said at the death of his son, "I knew that I had begotten a mortal," so ought every one of us to use the following kind of language in those contretemps that stir up our anger, "I knew that the slave I bought was not a philosopher," "I knew that the friend I had was not perfect," "I knew that my wife was but a woman." And if anyone would also constantly put to himself that question of Plato, "Am I myself all I should be?" and look at home instead of abroad, and curb his propensity to censoriousness, he would not be so keen to detect evil in others, for he would see that he stood in need of much allowance himself. But now each of us, when angry and punishing, quote the words of Aristides and Cato, "Do not steal, Do not tell lies," and "Why are you lazy?" And, what is most disgraceful of all, we blame angry people when we are angry ourselves, and chastise in temper faults that were committed in temper, unlike the doctors who "With bitter physic purge the bitter bile," for we rather increase and aggravate the disease. Whenever then I busy myself with such considerations as these, I try also to curtail my curiosity. For to scrutinise and pry into everything too minutely, and to overhaul every business of a servant, or action of a friend, or pastime of a son, or whisper of a wife, produces frequent, indeed daily, fits of anger, caused entirely by peevishness and harshness of character. Euripides says that the Deity "In great things intervenes, but small things leavesTo fortune;" but I am of opinion that a prudent man should commit nothing to fortune, nor neglect anything, but should put some things in his wife's hands to manage, others in the hands of his servants, others in the hands of his friends, (as a governor has his stewards, and financiers, and controllers), while he himself superintends the most important and weighty matters. For as small writing strains the eyes, so small matters even more strain and bother people, and stir up their anger, which carries this evil habit to greater matters. Above all I thought that saying of Empedocles, "Fast from evil," a great and divine one, and I approved of those promises and vows as not ungraceful or unphilosophical, to abstain for a year from wine and Venus, honouring the deity by continence, or for a stated time to give up lying, taking great heed to ourselves to be truthful always whether in play or earnest. With these I compared my own vow, as no less pleasing to the gods and holy, first to abstain from anger for a few days, like spending days without drunkenness or even without wine at all, offering as it were wineless offerings of honey. Then I tried for a month or two, and so in time made some progress in forbearance by earnest resolve, and by keeping myself courteous and without anger and using fair language, purifying myself from evil words and absurd actions, and from passion which for a little unlovely pleasure pays us with great mental disturbance and the bitterest repentance. In consequence of all this my experience, and the assistance of the deity, has made me form the view, that courtesy and gentleness and kindliness are not so agreeable, and pleasant, and delightful, to any of those we live with as to ourselves, that have those qualities.

PLUTARCH'S MORALS CHAPTER 19
ON CONTENTEDNESS OF MIND.
PLUTARCH SENDS GREETING TO PACCIUS.

1. It was late when I received your letter, asking me to write to you something on contentedness of mind, and on those things in the Timaeus that require an accurate explanation. And it so fell out that at that very time our friend Eros was obliged to set sail at once for Rome, having received a letter from the excellent Fundanus, urging haste according to his wont. And not having as much time as I could have wished to meet your request, and yet not thinking for one moment of letting my messenger go to you entirely empty-handed, I copied out the notes that I had chanced to make on contentedness of mind. For I thought that you did not desire this discourse merely to be treated to a subject handled in fine style, but for the real business of life. And I congratulate you that, though you have friendships with princes, and have as much forensic reputation as anybody, yet you are not in the same plight as the tragic Merops, nor have you like him by the felicitations of the multitude been induced to forget the sufferings of humanity; but you remember, what you have often heard, that a patrician's slipper is no cure for the gout, nor a costly ring for a whitlow, nor a diadem for the headache. For how can riches, or fame, or power at court help us to ease of mind or a calm life, unless we enjoy them when present, but are not for ever pining after them when absent? And what else causes this but the long exercise and practice of reason, which, when the unreasoning and emotional part of the soul breaks out of bounds, curbs it quickly, and does not allow it to be carried away headlong from its actual position? And as Xenophon advised that we should remember and honour the gods most especially in prosperity, that so, when we should be in any strait, we might confidently call upon them as already our well-wishers and friends; so sensible men would do well before trouble comes to meditate on remedies how to bear it, that they may be the more efficacious from being ready for use long before. For as savage dogs are excited at every sound, and are only soothed by a familiar voice, so also it is not easy to quiet the wild passions of the soul, unless familiar and well-known arguments be at hand to check its excitement.

2. He then that said, that the man that wished to have an easy mind ought to have little to do either public or private, first of all makes ease of mind a very costly article for us, if it is to be bought at the price of doing nothing, as if he should advise every sick person, "Lie still, poor wretch, in bed."

And indeed stupor is a bad remedy for the body against despair, nor is he any better physician of the soul who removes its trouble and anxiety by recommending a lazy and soft life and a leaving our friends and relations and country in the lurch. In the next place, it is false that those that have little to do are easy in mind. For then women would be easier in mind than men, since they mostly stay at home in inactivity, and even now-a-days it is as Hesiod says, "The North Wind comes not near a soft-skinned maiden;" yet griefs and troubles and unrest, proceeding from jealousy or superstition or ambition or vanity, inundate the women's part of the house with unceasing flow. And Laertes, though he lived for twenty years a solitary life in the country, "With an old woman to attend on him,Who duly set on board his meat and drink," and fled from his country and house and kingdom, yet had sorrow and dejection as a perpetual companion with leisure. And some have been often thrown into sad unrest merely from inaction, as the following, "But fleet Achilles, Zeus-sprung, son of Peleus,Sat by the swiftly-sailing ships and fumed, Nor ever did frequent th' ennobling council,Nor ever join the war, but pined in heart,Though in his tent abiding, for the fray." And full of emotion and distress at this state of things he himself says, "A useless burden to the earth I sitBeside the ships."

So even Epicurus thinks that those who are desirous of honour and glory should not rust in inglorious ease, but use their natural talents in public life for the benefit of the community at large, seeing that they are by nature so constituted that they would be more likely to be troubled and afflicted at inaction, if they did not get what they desired. But he is absurd in that he does not urge men of ability to take part in public life, but only the restless. But we ought not to estimate ease or unrest of mind by our many or few actions, but by their fairness or foulness. For the omission of fair actions troubles and distresses us, as I have said before, quite as much as the actual doing of foul actions.

3. As for those who think that one kind of life is especially free from trouble, as some think that of farmers, others that of bachelors, others that of kings, Menander sufficiently exposes their error in the following lines: "Phania, I thought those rich who need not borrow, Nor groan at nights, nor cry out 'Woe is me,'Kicked up and down in this untoward world,But sweet and gentle sleep they may enjoy." He then goes on to remark that he saw the rich suffering the same as the poor, "Trouble and life are truly near akin.With the luxurious or the glorious lifeTrouble consorts, and in the life of povertyLasts with it to the end."

But just as people on the sea, timid and prone to sea-sickness, think they will suffer from it less on board a merchantman than on a boat, and for the same reason shift their quarters to a trireme, but do not attain anything by these changes, for they take with them their timidity and qualmishness, so changes of life do not remove the sorrows and troubles of the soul; which proceed from want of experience and reflection, and from inability or ignorance rightly to enjoy the present. These afflict the rich as well as the poor; these trouble the married as well as the unmarried; these make people shun the forum, but find no happiness in retirement; these make people eagerly desire introductions at court, though when got they straightway care no more about them. "The sick are peevish in their straits and needs."

For the wife bothers them, and they grumble at the doctor, and they find the bed uneasy, and, as Ion says, "The friend that visits them tires their patience,And yet they do not like him to depart." But afterwards, when the illness is over, and a sounder condition supervenes, health returns and makes all things pleasant and acceptable. He that yesterday loathed eggs and cakes of finest meal and purest bread will to-day eat eagerly and with appetite coarsest bread with a few olives and cress.

4. Such contentedness and change of view in regard to every kind of life does the infusion of reason bring about. When Alexander heard from Anaxarchus of the infinite number of worlds, he wept, and when his friends asked him what was the matter, he replied, "Is it not a matter for tears that, when the number of worlds is infinite, I have not conquered one?" But Crates, who had only a wallet and threadbare cloak, passed all his life jesting and laughing as if at a festival. Agamemnon was troubled with his rule over so many subjects, "You look on Agamemnon, Atreus' son, Whom Zeus has plunged for ever in a mass Of never-ending cares."

But Diogenes when he was being sold sat down and kept jeering at the auctioneer, and would not stand up when he bade him, but said joking and laughing, "Would you tell a fish you were selling to stand up?" And Socrates in prison played the philosopher and discoursed with his 293friends. But Phäethon, when he got up to heaven, wept because nobody gave to him his father's horses and chariot. As therefore the shoe is shaped by the foot, and not the foot by the shoe, so does the disposition make the life similar to itself. For it is not, as one said, custom that makes the best life seem sweet to those that choose it, but it is sense that makes that very life at once the best and sweetest. Let us cleanse therefore the fountain of contentedness, which is within us, that so external things may turn out for our good, through our putting the best face on them. "Events will take their course, it is no goodOur being angry at them, he is happiest Who wisely turns them to the best account."

5. Plato compared human life to a game at dice, wherein we ought to throw according to our requirements, and, having thrown, to make the best use of whatever turns up. It is not in our power indeed to determine what the throw will be, but it is our part, if we are wise, to accept in a right spirit whatever fortune sends, and so to contrive matters that what we wish should do us most good, and what we do not wish should do us least harm. For those who live at random and without

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judgement, like those sickly people who can stand neither heat nor cold, are unduly elated by prosperity, and cast down by adversity; and in either case suffer from unrest, but 'tis their own fault, and perhaps they suffer most in what are called good circumstances. Theodorus, who was surnamed the Atheist, used to say that he held out arguments with his right hand, but his hearers received them with their left; so awkward people frequently take in a clumsy manner the favours of fortune; but men of sense, as bees extract honey from thyme which is the strongest and driest of herbs, so from the least auspicious circumstances frequently derive advantage and profit.

6. We ought then to cultivate such a habit as this, like the man who threw a stone at his dog, and missed it, but hit his step-mother, and cried out, "Not so bad." Thus we may often turn the edge of fortune when things turn not out as we wish. Diogenes was driven into exile; "not so bad;" for his exile made him turn philosopher. And Zeno of Cittium [In Cyprus. Zeno was the founder of the Stoics.], when he heard that the only merchantman he had was wrecked, cargo and all, said, "Fortune, you treat me handsomely, since you reduce me to my threadbare cloak and piazza." What prevents our imitating such men as these? Have you failed to get some office? You will be able to live in the country henceforth, and manage your own affairs. Did you court the friendship of some great man, and meet with a rebuff? You will live free from danger and cares. Have you again had matters to deal with that required labour and thought? "Warm water will not so much make the limbs soft by soaking," to quote Pindar, as glory and honour and power make "labour sweet, and toil to be no toil." Or has any bad luck or contumely fallen on you in consequence of some calumny or from envy? The breeze is favourable that will waft you to the Muses and the Academy, as it did Plato when his friendship with Dionysius came to an end. It does indeed greatly conduce to contentedness of mind to see how famous men have borne the same troubles with an unruffled mind. For example, does childlessness trouble you? Consider those kings of the Romans, none of whom left his kingdom to a son. Are you distressed at the pinch of poverty? Who of the Boeotians would you rather prefer to be than Epaminondas, or of the Romans than Fabricius? Has your wife been seduced? Have you never read that inscription at Delphi, "Agis the king of land and sea erected me;" and have you not heard that his wife Timaea was seduced by Alcibiades, and in her whispers to her handmaidens called the child that was born Alcibiades? Yet this did not prevent Agis from being the most famous and greatest of the Greeks. Neither again did the licentiousness of his daughter prevent Stilpo from leading the merriest life of all the philosophers that were his contemporaries. And when Metrocles reproached him with her life, he said, "Is it my fault or hers?" And when Metrocles answered, "Her fault, but your misfortune," he rejoined, "How say you? Are not faults also slips?" "Certainly," said he. "And are not slips mischances in those matters wherein we slip?" Metrocles assented. "And are not mischances misfortunes in those matters wherein we mischance?" By this gentle and philosophical argument he demonstrated the Cynic's reproach to be an idle bark.

7. But most people are troubled and exasperated not only at the bad in their friends and intimates, but also in their enemies. For railing and anger and envy and malignity and jealousy and ill-will are the bane of those that suffer from those infirmities, and trouble and exasperate the foolish: as for example the quarrels of neighbours, and peevishness of acquaintances, and the want of ability in those that manage state affairs. By these things you yourself seem to me to be put out not a little, as the doctors in Sophocles, who "With bitter physic purge the bitter bile," so vexed and bitter are you at people's weaknesses and infirmities, which is not reasonable in you. Even your own private affairs are not always managed by simple and good and suitable instruments, so to speak, but very frequently by sharp and crooked ones. Do not think it then either your business, or an easy matter either, to set all these things to rights. But if you take people as they are, as the surgeon uses his bandages and instruments for drawing teeth, and with cheerfulness and serenity welcome all that happens, as you would look upon barking dogs as only following their nature, you will be happier in the disposition you will then have than you will be distressed at other people's disagreeableness and shortcomings. For you will forget to make a collection of disagreeable things, which now inundate, as some hollow and low-lying ground, your littleness of mind and weakness, which fills itself with other people's bad points. For seeing that some of the philosophers censure compassion to the unfortunate (on the ground that it is good to help our neighbours, and not to give way to sentimental sympathy in connection with them), and, what is of more importance, do not allow those that are conscious of their errors and bad moral disposition to be dejected and grieved at them, but bid them cure their defects without grief at once, is it not altogether unreasonable, look you, to allow ourselves to be peevish and vexed, because all those who have dealings with us and come near us are not good and clever? Let us see to it, dear Paccius, that we do not, whether we are aware of it or not, play a part, really looking not at the universal defects of those that approach us, but at our own interests through our selfishness, and not through our hatred of evil. For excessive excitement about things, and an undue appetite and desire for them, or on the other hand aversion and dislike to them, engender suspiciousness and peevishness against persons, who were, we think, the cause of our being deprived of some things, and of being troubled with others. But he that is accustomed to adapt himself to things easily and calmly is most cheerful and gentle in his dealings with people.

8. Wherefore let us resume our argument. As in a fever everything seems bitter and unpleasant to the taste, but when we see others not loathing but fancying the very same eatables and drinkables, we no longer find the fault to be in them but in ourselves and our disease, so we shall cease to blame and be discontented with the state of affairs, if we see others cheerfully and without grief enduring the same. It also makes for contentedness, when things happen against our wish, not to overlook our many advantages and comforts, but by looking at both good and bad to feel that the good preponderate. When our eyes are dazzled with things too bright we turn them away, and ease them by looking at flowers or grass, while we keep the eyes of our mind strained on disagreeable things, and force them to dwell on bitter ideas, well-nigh tearing them away by force from the consideration of pleasanter things. And yet one might apply here, not unaptly, what was said to the man of curiosity, "Malignant wretch, why art so keen to markThy neighbour's fault, and seest not thine own?"

Why on earth, my good sir, do you confine your view to your troubles, making them so vivid and acute, while you do not let your mind dwell at all on your present comforts? But as cupping-glasses draw the worst blood from the flesh, so you force upon your attention the worst things in your lot: acting not a whit more wisely than that Chian, who, selling much choice wine to others, asked for some sour wine for his own supper; and one of his slaves being asked by another, what he had left his master doing, replied, "Asking for bad when good was by." For most people overlook the advantages and pleasures of their individual lives, and run to their difficulties and grievances. Aristippus, however, was not such a one, for he cleverly knew as in a scale to make the better preponderate over the worse. So having lost a good farm, he asked one of those who made a great show of condolence and sympathy, "Have you not only one little piece of ground, while I have three fields left?" And when he admitted that it was so, he went on to say, "Ought I not then to condole with you rather than you with me?" For it is the act of a madman to distress oneself over what is lost, and not to rejoice at what is left; but like little children, if one of their many playthings be taken away by anyone, throw the rest away and weep and cry out, so we, if we are assailed by fortune in some one point, wail and mourn and make all other things seem unprofitable in our eyes.

9. Suppose someone should say, What blessings have we? I would reply, What have we not? One has reputation, another a house, another a wife, another a good friend. When Antipater of Tarsus was reckoning up on his death-bed his various pieces of good fortune, he did not even pass over his favourable voyage from Cilicia to Athens. So we should not overlook, but take account of everyday blessings, and rejoice that we live, and are well, and see the sun, and that no war or sedition plagues our country, but that the earth is open to cultivation, the sea secure to mariners, and that we can speak or be silent, lead a busy or an idle life, as we choose. We shall get more contentedness from the presence of all these blessings, if we fancy them as absent, and remember from time to time how people ill yearn for health, and people in war for peace, and strangers and unknown in a great city for reputation and friends, and how painful it is to be deprived of all these when one has once had them. For then each of these blessings will not appear to us only great and valuable when it is lost, and of no value while we have it. For not having it cannot add value to anything. Nor ought we to amass things we regard as valuable, and always be on the tremble and afraid of losing them as valuable things, and yet, when we have them, ignore them and think little of them; but we ought to use them for our pleasure and enjoyment, that we may bear their loss, if that should happen, with more equanimity. But most people, as Arcesilaus said, think it right to inspect minutely and in every detail, perusing them alike with the eyes of the body and mind, other people's poems and paintings and statues, while they neglect to study their own lives, which have often many not unpleasing subjects for contemplation, looking abroad and ever admiring other people's reputations and fortunes, as adulterers admire other men's wives, and think cheap of their own.

10. And yet it makes much for contentedness of mind to look for the most part at home and to our own condition, or if not, to look at the case of people worse off than ourselves, and not, as most people do, to compare ourselves with those who are better off. For example, those who are in chains think those happy who are freed from their chains, and they again freemen, and freemen citizens, and they again the rich, and the rich satraps, and satraps kings, and kings the gods, content with hardly anything short of hurling thunderbolts and lightning. And so they ever want something above them, and are never thankful for what they have. "I care not for the wealth of golden Gyges," and, "I never had or envy or desireTo be a god, or love for mighty empire,Far distant from my eyes are all such things."

But this, you will say, was the language of a Thasian. But you will find others, Chians or Galatians or Bithynians, not content with the share of glory or power they have among their fellow-citizens, but weeping because they do not wear senators' shoes; or, if they have them, that they cannot be praetors at Rome; or, if they get that office, that they are not consuls; or, if they are consuls, that they are only proclaimed second and not first. What is all this but seeking out excuses for being unthankful to fortune, only to torment and punish oneself? But he that has a mind in sound condition, does not sit down in sorrow and dejection if he is less renowned or rich than some of the countless myriads of mankind that the sun looks upon, "who feed on the produce of the wide world," but goes on his way rejoicing at his fortune and life, as far fairer and happier than that of myriads of others. In the Olympian games it is not possible to be the victor by choosing one's competitors. But in the race of life circumstances allow us to plume ourselves on surpassing many, and to be objects of envy rather than to have to envy others, unless we pit ourselves against a Briareus or a Hercules. Whenever then you admire anyone carried by in his litter as a greater man than yourself, lower your eyes and look at those that bear the litter. And when you think the famous Xerxes happy for his passage over the Hellespont, as a native of those parts did, look too at those who dug through Mount Athos under the lash, and at those whose ears and noses were cut off because the bridge was broken by the waves, consider their state of mind also, for they think your life and fortunes happy. Socrates, when he heard one of his friends saying, "How 300dear this city is! Chian wine costs one mina, a purple robe three, and half a pint of honey five drachmae," took him to the meal market, and showed him half a peck of meal for an obol, then took him to the olive market, and showed him a peck of olives for two coppers, and lastly showed him that a sleeveless vest was only ten drachmae. At each place Socrates' friend exclaimed, "How cheap this city is!" So also we, when we hear anyone saying that our affairs are bad and in a woful plight, because we are not consuls or governors, may reply, "Our affairs are in an admirable condition, and our life an enviable one, seeing that we do not beg, nor carry burdens, nor live by flattery."

11. But since through our folly we are accustomed to live more with an eye to others than ourselves, and since nature is so jealous and envious that it rejoices not so much in its own blessings as it is pained by those of others, do not look only at the much-cried-up splendour of those whom you envy and admire, but open and draw, as it were, the gaudy curtain of their pomp and show, and peep within, you will see that they have much to trouble them, and many things to annoy them. The well-known Pittacus [One of the Seven Wise Men.], whose fame was so great for fortitude and wisdom and uprightness, was once entertaining some guests, and his wife came in in a rage and upset the table, and as the guests were dismayed he said, Every one of you has some trouble, and he who has mine only is not so bad off.

"Happy is he accounted at the forum,But when he opens the door of his own houseThrice miserable; for his wife rules all,Still lords it over him, and is ever quarrelling.Many griefs has he that I wot not of." Many such cases are there, unknown to the public, for family pride casts a veil over them, to be found in wealth and glory and even in royalty.

"O happy son of Atreus, child of destiny,Blessed thy lot;" congratulation like this comes from an external view, from a halo of arms and horses and the pomp of war, but the inward voice of emotion testifies against all this vain glory; "A heavy fate is laid on me by ZeusThe son of Cronos." And, "Old man, I think your lot one to be envied,As that of any man who free from dangerPasses his life unknown and in obscurity." By such reflections as these one may wean oneself from that discontent with one's fortune, which makes one's own condition look low and mean from too much admiring one's neighbour's.

12. Another thing, which is a great hindrance to peace of mind, is not to proportion our desires to our means, but to carry too much sail, as it were, in our hopes of great things and then, if unsuccessful, to blame destiny and fortune, and not our own folly. For he is not unfortunate who wishes to shoot with a plough, or hunt the hare with an ox; nor has he an evil genius opposed to him, who does not catch deer with fishing nets, but merely is the dupe of his own stupidity and folly in attempting impossibilities. Self-love is mainly to blame, making people fond of being first and aspiring in all matters, and insatiably desirous to engage in everything. For people not only wish at one and the same time to be rich, and learned, and strong, and boon-companions, and agreeable, and friends of kings, and governors of cities, but they are also discontented if they have not dogs and horses and quails and cocks of the first quality. Dionysius the elder was not content

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with being the most powerful monarch of his times, but because he could not beat Philoxenus the poet in singing, or surpass Plato in dialectics, was so angry and exasperated that he put the one to work in his stone quarries, and sent the other to AEgina and sold him there. Alexander was of a different spirit, for when Crisso the famous runner ran a race with him, and seemed to let the king outrun him on purpose, he was greatly displeased. Good also was the spirit of Achilles in Homer, who, when he said, "None of the Achaean warriors is a matchFor me in war," added, "Yet in the council hallOthers there are who better are than me."

And when Megabyzus the Persian visited the studio of Apelles, and began to chatter about art, Apelles stopped him and said, "While you kept silence you seemed to be somebody from your gold and purple, but now these lads that are grinding colours are laughing at your nonsense." But some who think the Stoics only talk idly, in styling their wise man not only prudent and just and brave but also orator and general and poet and rich man and king, yet claim for themselves all those titles, and are indignant if they do not get them. And yet even among the gods different functions are assigned to different personages; thus one is called the god of war, another the god of oracles, another the god of gain, and Aphrodite, as she has nothing to do with warlike affairs, is despatched by Zeus to marriages and bridals.

13. And indeed there are some pursuits which cannot exist together, but are by their very nature opposed. For example oratory and the study of the mathematics require ease and leisure; whereas political ability and the friendship of kings cannot be attained without mixing in affairs and in public life. Moreover wine and indulgence in meat make the body indeed strong and vigorous, but blunt the intellect; and though unremitting attention to making and saving money will heap up wealth, yet despising and contemning riches is a great help to philosophy. So that all things are not within any one's power, and we must obey that saying inscribed in the temple of Apollo at Delphi, Know thyself, and adapt ourselves to our natural bent, and not drag and force nature to some other kind of life or pursuit. "The horse to the chariot, and the ox to the plough, and swiftly alongside the ship scuds the dolphin, while he that meditates destruction for the boar must find a staunch hound." But he that chafes and is grieved that he is not at one and the same time "a lion reared on the mountains, exulting in his strength," and a little Maltese lap-dog reared in the lap of a rich widow, is out of his senses. And not a whit wiser is he who wishes to be an Empedocles, or Plato, or Democritus, and write about the world and the real nature of things, and at the same time to be married like Euphorion to a rich wife, or to revel and drink with Alexander like Medius; and is grieved and vexed if he is not also admired for his wealth like Ismenias, and for his virtue like Epaminondas. But runners are not discontented because they do not carry off the crowns of wrestlers, but rejoice and delight in their own crowns. "You are a citizen of Sparta: see you make the most of her." So too said Solon: "We will not change our virtue for their wealth,For virtue never dies, but wealth has wings,And flies about from one man to another."

And Strato the natural philosopher, when he heard that Menedemus had many more pupils than he had, said, "Is it wonderful at all that more wish to wash than to be anointed?" And Aristotle, writing to Antipater, said, "Not only has Alexander a right to plume himself on his rule over many subjects, but no less legitimate is satisfaction at entertaining right opinions about the gods." For those that think so highly of their own walk in life will not be so envious about their neighbours'. We do not expect a vine to bear figs, nor an olive grapes, yet now-a-days, with regard to ourselves, if we have not at one and the same time the privilege of being accounted rich and learned, generals and philosophers, flatterers and outspoken, stingy and extravagant, we slander ourselves and are dissatisfied, and despise ourselves as living a maimed and imperfect life. Furthermore, we see that nature teaches us the same lesson. For as she provides different kinds of beasts with different kinds of food, and has not made all carnivorous, or seed-pickers, or root-diggers, so she has given to mankind various means of getting a livelihood, "one by keeping sheep, another by ploughing, another by fowling," and another by catching the fish of the sea. 304We ought each therefore to select the calling appropriate for ourselves and labour energetically in it, and leave other people to theirs, and not demonstrate Hesiod as coming short of the real state of things when he said, "Potter is wroth with potter, smith with smith."

For not only do people envy those of the same trade and manner of life, but the rich envy the learned, and the famous the rich, and advocates sophists, aye, and freemen and patricians admire and think happy comedians starring it at the theatres, and dancers, and the attendants at kings' courts, and by all this envy give themselves no small trouble and annoyance.

14 But that every man has in himself the magazines of content or discontent, and that the jars containing blessings and evils are not on the threshold of Zeus, but lie stored in the mind, is plain from the differences of men's passions. For the foolish overlook and neglect present blessings, through their thoughts being ever intent on the future; but the wise make the past clearly present to them through memory. For the present giving only a moment of time to the touch, and then evading our grasp, does not seem to the foolish to be ours or to belong to us at all. And like that person painted as rope-making in Hades and permitting an ass feeding by to eat up the rope as fast as he makes it, so the stupid and thankless forgetfulness of most people comes upon them and takes possession of them, and obliterates from their mind every past action, whether success, or pleasant leisure, or society, or enjoyment, and breaks the unity of life which arises from the past being blended with the present; for detaching to-day from both yesterday and to-morrow, it soon makes every event as if it had never happened from lack of memory. For as those in the schools, who deny the growth of our bodies by reason of the continual flux of substance, make each of us in theory different from himself and another man, so those who do not keep or recall to their memory former things, but let them drift, actually empty them305selves daily, and hang upon the morrow, as if what happened a year ago, or even yesterday and the day before yesterday, had nothing to do with them, and had hardly occurred at all.

15. This is one great hindrance to contentedness of mind, and another still greater is whenever, like flies that slide down smooth places in mirrors, but stick fast in rough places or where there are cracks, men let pleasant and agreeable things glide from their memory, and pin themselves down to the remembrance of unpleasant things; or rather, as at Olynthus they say beetles, when they get into a certain place called Destruction-to-beetles, cannot get out, but fly round and round till they die, so men will glide into the remembrance of their woes, and will not give themselves a respite from sorrow. But, as we use our brightest colours in a picture, so in the mind we ought to look at the cheerful and bright side of things, and hide and keep down the gloomy, for we cannot altogether obliterate or get rid of it. For, as the strings of the bow and lyre are alternately tightened and relaxed, so is it with the order of the world; in human affairs there is nothing pure and without alloy. But as in music there are high and low notes, and in grammar vowels and mutes, but neither the musician nor grammarian decline to use either kinds, but know how to blend and employ them both for their purpose, so in human affairs which are balanced one against another,—for, as Euripides says, "There is no good without ill in the world,But everything is mixed in due proportion,"—we ought not to be disheartened or despondent; but as musicians drown their worst music with the best, so should we take good and bad together, and make our chequered life one of convenience and harmony. For it is not, as Menander says, "Directly any man is born, a geniusBefriends him, a good guide to him for life," but it is rather, as Empedocles states, two fates or genii take hold of each of us when we are born and govern us. "There were Chthonia and far-seeing Heliope, and cruel Deris, and grave Harmonia, and Callisto, and AEschra, and Thoosa, and Denaea, and charming Nemertes, and Asaphea with the black fruit."

16. And as at our birth we received the mingled seeds of each of these passions, which is the cause of much irregularity, the sensible person hopes for better things, but expects worse, and makes the most of either, remembering that wise maxim, Not too much of anything. For not only will he who is least solicitous about to-morrow best enjoy it when it comes, as Epicurus says, but also wealth, and renown, and power and rule, gladden most of all the hearts of those who are least afraid of the contrary. For the immoderate desire for each, implanting a most immoderate fear of losing them, makes the enjoyment of them weak and wavering, like a flame under the influence of a wind. But he whom reason enables to say to fortune without fear or trembling, "If you bring any good I gladly welcome it, But if you fail me little does it trouble me," he can enjoy the present with most zest through his confidence, and absence of fear of the loss of what he has, which would be unbearable. For we may not only admire but also imitate the behaviour of Anaxagoras, which made him cry out at the death of his son, "I knew I had begot a mortal," and apply it to every contingency. For example, "I know that wealth is ephemeral and insecure; I know that those who gave power can take it away again; I know that my wife is good, but still a woman; and that my friend, since a human being, is by nature a changeable animal, to use Plato's expression." For such a prepared frame of mind, if anything happens unwished for but not unexpected, not admitting of such phrases as "I shouldn't have dreamed of it," or "I expected quite a different lot," or "I didn't look for this," abates the violent beatings and palpitations of the heart, and quickly causes wild unrest to subside. Carneades indeed reminds us that in great matters the unexpected makes the sum total of grief and dejection. Certainly the kingdom of Macedonia was many times smaller than the Roman Empire, but when Perseus lost Macedonia, he not only himself bewailed his wretched fate, but seemed to all men the most unfortunate and unlucky of mankind; yet AEmilius who conquered him, though he had to give up to another the command both by land and sea, yet was crowned, and offered sacrifice, and was justly esteemed happy. For he knew that he had taken a command which he would have to give up, but Perseus lost his kingdom without expecting it. Well also has the poet shown the power of anything that happens unexpectedly. For Odysseus wept bitterly at the death of his dog, but was not so moved when he sat by his wife who wept, for in the latter case he had come fully determined to keep his emotion under the control of reason, whereas in the former it was against his expectation, and therefore fell upon him as a sudden blow.

17. And since generally speaking some things which happen against our will pain and trouble us by their very nature, while in the case of most we accustom ourselves and learn to be disgusted with them from fancy, it is not unprofitable to counteract this to have ever ready that line of Menander, "You suffer no dread thing but in your fancy."

For what, if they touch you neither in soul nor body, are such things to you as the low birth of your father, or the adultery of your wife, or the loss of some prize or precedence, since even by their absence a man is not prevented from being in excellent condition both of body and soul. And with respect to the things that seem to pain us by their very nature, as sickness, and anxieties, and the deaths of friends and children, we should remember, that line of Euripides, "Alas! and why alas? we only sufferWhat mortals must expect."

For no argument has so much weight with emotion when it is borne down with grief, as that which reminds it of the common and natural necessity to which man is exposed owing to the body, the only handle which he gives to fortune, for in his most important and influential part he is secure against external things. When Demetrius captured Megara, he asked Stilpo if any of his things had been plundered, and Stilpo answered, "I saw nobody carrying off anything of mine." And so when fortune has plundered us and stripped us of everything else, we have that within ourselves "Which the Achaeans ne'er could rob us of."

So that we ought not altogether to abase and lower nature, as if she had no strength or stability against fortune; but on the contrary, knowing that the rotten and perishable part of man, wherein alone he lies open to fortune, is small, while we ourselves are masters of the better part, wherein are situated our greatest blessings, as good opinions and teaching and virtuous precepts, all which things cannot be abstracted from us or perish, we ought to look on the future with invincible courage, and say to fortune, as Socrates is supposed to have said to his accusers Anytus and Melitus before the jury, "Anytus and Melitus can kill me, but they cannot hurt me." For fortune can afflict us with disease, take away our money, calumniate us to the people or king, but cannot make a good and brave and high-souled man bad and cowardly and low and ignoble and envious, nor take away that disposition of mind, whose constant presence is of more use for the conduct of life than the presence of a pilot at sea. For the pilot cannot make calm the wild wave or wind, nor can he find a haven at his need wherever he wishes, nor can he await his fate with confidence and without trembling, but as long as he has not despaired, but uses his skill, he scuds before the gale, "lowering his big sail, till his lower mast is only just above the sea dark as Erebus," and sits at the helm trembling and quaking. But the disposition of a wise man gives calm even to the body, mostly cutting off the causes of diseases by temperance and plain living and moderate exercise; but if some beginning of trouble arise from without, as we avoid a sunken rock, so he passes by it with furled sail, as Asclepiades puts it; but if some unexpected and tremendous gale come upon him and prove too much for him, the harbour is at hand, and he can swim away from the body, as from a leaky boat.

18. For it is the fear of death, and not the desire of life, that makes the foolish person to hang to the body, clinging to it, as Odysseus did to the fig-tree from fear of Charybdis that lay below, "Where the wind neither let him stay, or sail," so that he was displeased at this, and afraid of that. But he who understands somehow or other the nature of the soul, and reflects that the change it will undergo at death will be either to something better or at least not worse, he has in his fearlessness of death no small help to ease of mind in life. For to one who can enjoy life when virtue and what is congenial to him have the upper hand, and that can fearlessly depart from life, when uncongenial and unnatural things are in the ascendant, with the words on his lips, "The deity shall free me, when I will," what can we imagine could befall such a man as this that would vex him and wear him and harass him? For he who said, "I have anticipated you, O fortune, and cut off all your loopholes to get at me," did not trust to bolts or keys or walls, but to determination and reason, which are within the power of all persons that choose. And we ought not to despair or disbelieve any of these sayings, but admiring them and emulating them and being enthusiastic about them, we ought to try and test ourselves in smaller matters with a view to greater, not avoiding or rejecting that self-examination, nor sheltering ourselves under the remark, "Perhaps nothing will be more difficult." For inertia and softness are generated by that self-indulgence which ever occupies itself only with the

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easiest tasks, and flees from the disagreeable to what is most pleasant. But the soul that accustoms itself to face steadily sickness and grief and exile, and calls in reason to its help in each case, will find in what appears so sore and dreadful much that is false, empty, and rotten, as reason will show in each case.

19. And yet many shudder at that line of Menander, "No one can say, I shall not suffer this or that," being ignorant how much it helps us to freedom from grief to practise to be able to look fortune in the face with our eyes open, and not to entertain fine and soft fancies, like one reared in the shade on many hopes that always yield and never resist. We can, however, answer Menander's line, "No one can say, I shall not suffer this or that," for a man can say, "I will not do this or that, I will not lie, I will not play the rogue, I will not cheat, I will not scheme." For this is in our power, and is no small but great help to ease of mind. As on the contrary "The consciousness of having done ill deeds," like a sore in the flesh, leaves in the mind a regret which ever wounds it and pricks it. For reason banishes all other griefs, but itself creates regret when the soul is vexed with shame and self-tormented. For as those who shudder in ague-fits or burn in fevers feel more trouble and distress than those who externally suffer the same from cold or heat, so the grief is lighter which comes externally from chance, but that lament, "None is to blame for this but I myself," coming from within on one's own misdeeds, intensifies one's bitterness by the shame felt. And so neither costly house, nor quantity of gold, nor pride of race, nor weighty office, nor grace of language, nor eloquence, impart so much calm and serenity to life, as a soul pure from evil acts and desires, having an imperturbable and undefiled character as the source of its life; whence good actions flow, producing an enthusiastic and cheerful energy accompanied by loftiness of thought, and a memory sweeter and more lasting than that hope which Pindar says is the support of old age. Censers do not, as Carneades said, after they are emptied, long retain their sweet smell; but in the mind of the wise man good actions always leave a fresh and fragrant memory, by which joy is watered and flourishes, and despises those who wail over life and abuse it as a region of ills, or as a place of exile for souls in this world.

20. I am very taken with Diogenes' remark to a stranger at Lacedaemon, who was dressing with much display for a feast, "Does not a good man consider every day a feast?" And a very great feast too, if we live soberly. For the world is a most holy and divine temple, into which man is introduced at his birth, not to behold motionless images made by hands, but those things (to use the language of Plato) which the divine mind has exhibited as the visible representations of invisible things, having innate in them the principle of life and motion, as the sun moon and stars, and rivers ever flowing with fresh water, and the earth affording maintenance to plants and animals. Seeing then that life is the most complete initiation into all these things, it ought to be full of ease of mind and joy; not as most people wait for the festivals of Cronos and Dionysus and the Panathenaea and other similar days, that they may joy and refresh themselves with bought laughter, paying actors and dancers for the same. On such occasions indeed we sit silently and decorously, for no one wails when he is initiated, or groans when he beholds the Pythian games, or when he is drinking at the festival of Cronos: but men shame the festivals which the deity supplies us with and initiates us in, passing most of their time in lamentation and heaviness of heart and distressing anxiety. And though men delight in the pleasing notes of musical instruments, and in the songs of birds, and behold with joy the animals playing and frisking, and on the contrary are distressed when they roar and howl and look savage; yet in regard to their own life, when they see it without smiles and dejected, and ever oppressed and afflicted by the most wretched sorrows and toils and unending cares, they do not think of trying to procure alleviation and ease. How is this? Nay, they will not even listen to others' exhortation, which would enable them to acquiesce in the present without repining, and to remember the past with thankfulness, and to meet the future hopefully and cheerfully without fear or suspicion.

PLUTARCH'S MORALS CHAPTER 20

ON ENVY AND HATRED.

1. Outwardly there seems no difference between hatred and envy, but they seem identical. For generally speaking, as vice has many hooks, and is swayed hither and thither by the passions that hang on it, there are many points of contact and entanglement between them, for as in the case of illnesses there is a sympathy between the various passions. Thus the prosperous man is equally a source of pain to hate and envy. And so we think benevolence the opposite of both these passions, being as it is a wish for our neighbour's good, and we think hate and envy identical, for the desire of both is the very opposite of benevolence. But since their similarities are not so great as their dissimilarities, let us investigate and trace out these two passions from their origin.

2. Hatred then is generated by the fancy that the person hated is either bad generally or bad to oneself. For those who think they are wronged naturally hate those who they think wrong them, and dislike and are on their guard against those who are injurious or bad to others; but people envy merely those they think prosperous. So envy seems illimitable, being, like ophthalmia, troubled at everything bright, whereas hatred is limited, since it settles only on what seems hostile.

3. In the second place people feel hatred even against the brutes; for some hate cats and beetles and toads and serpents. Thus Germanicus could not bear the crowing or sight of a cock, and the Persian magicians kill their mice, not only hating them themselves but thinking them hateful to their god, and the Arabians and Ethiopians abominate them as much. Whereas we envy only human beings.

4. Indeed among the brutes it is not likely that there should be any envy, for they have no conception of prosperity or adversity, nor have they any idea of reputation or want of reputation, which are the things that mainly excite envy; but they hate one another, and are hostile to one another, and fight with one another to the death, as eagles and dragons, crows and owls, titmice and finches, insomuch that they say that even the blood of these creatures will not mix, and if you try to mix it it will immediately separate again. It is likely also that there is strong hatred between the cock and the lion, and the pig and the elephant, owing to fear. For what people fear they naturally hate. We see also from this that envy differs from hatred, for the animals are capable of the one, but not of the other.

5. Moreover envy against anyone is never just, for no one wrongs another by his prosperity, though that is what he is envied for; but many are hated with justice, for we even think others worthy of hatred, if they do not flee from such, and are not disgusted and vexed at them. A great indication of this is that some people admit they hate many, but declare they envy nobody. Indeed hatred of evil is reckoned among praiseworthy things; and when some were praising Charillus, the nephew of Lycurgus and king of Sparta, for his mildness and gentleness, his colleague said, "How can Charillus be good, who is not even harsh to the bad?" And so the poet described the bodily defects of Thersites at much length, whereas he expressed his vile moral character most shortly and by one remark, "He was most hateful both to Achilles and Odysseus." For to be hated by the most excellent is the height of worthlessness. But people deny that they are envious, and, if they are charged with being so, they put forward ten thousand pleas, saying they are angry with the man or fear him or hate him, suggesting any other passion than envy, and concealing it as the only disorder of the soul which is abominable.

6. Of necessity then these two passions cannot, like plants, be fed and nourished and grow on the same roots; for they are by nature different. For we hate people more as they grow worse, but they are envied only the more the more they advance in virtue. And so Themistocles, when quite a lad, said he had done nothing remarkable, for he was not yet envied. For as insects attack most ripe corn and roses in their bloom, so envy fastens most on the good and on those who are growing in virtue and good repute for moral character. Again extreme badness intensifies hatred. So hated indeed and loathed were the accusers of Socrates, as guilty of extreme vileness, by their fellow-citizens, that they would neither supply them with fire, nor answer their questions, nor touch the water they had bathed in, but ordered the servants to pour it away as polluted, till they could bear this hatred no longer and hung themselves. But splendid and exceptional success often extinguishes envy. For it is not likely that anyone envied Alexander or Cyrus, after their conquests made them lords of the world. But as the sun, when it is high over our heads and sends down its rays, makes next to no shadow, so at those successes that attain such a height as to be over its head envy is humbled, and retires completely dazzled. So Alexander had none to envy him, but many to hate him, by whom he was plotted against till he died. So too misfortunes stop envy, but they do not remove hatred. For people hate their enemies even when they lie prostrate at their feet, but no one envies the unfortunate. But the remark of one of the sophists of our day is true, that the envious are very prone to pity; so here too there is a great difference between these two passions, for hatred abandons neither the fortunate nor unfortunate, whereas envy is mitigated in the extreme of either fortune.

7. Let as look at the same again from opposite points of view. Men put an end to their enmity and hatred, either if persuaded they have not been wronged, or if they come round to the view that those they hated are good men and not bad, or thirdly if they receive a kindness. For, as Thucydides says, the last favour conferred, even though a smaller one, if it be seasonable, outweighs a greater offence. Yet the persuasion that they have not been wronged does not put an end to envy, for people envy although absolutely persuaded that they have not been wronged; and the two 315other cases actually increase envy; for people look with an evil eye even more on those they think good, as having virtue, which is the greatest blessing; and if they are treated kindly by the prosperous it grieves them, for they envy both their will and power to do kindnesses, the former proceeding from their goodness, the latter from their prosperity, but both being blessings. Thus envy is a passion altogether different from hatred, seeing that what abates the one pains and exasperates the other.

8. Let us now look at the intent of each of these passions. The intent of the person who hates is to do as much harm as he can, so they define hatred to be a disposition and intent on the watch for an opportunity to do harm. But this is altogether foreign to envy. For those who envy their relations and friends would not wish them to come to ruin, or fall into calamity, but are only annoyed at their prosperity; and would hinder, if they could, their glory and renown, but they would not bring upon them irremediable misfortunes: they are content to remove, as in the case of a lofty house, what stands in their light.

PLUTARCH'S MORALS CHAPTER 21

HOW ONE CAN PRAISE ONESELF WITHOUT EXCITING ENVY.

1. To speak to other people about one's own importance or ability, Herculanus, is universally declared to be tiresome and illiberal, but in fact not many even of those who censure it avoid its unpleasantness. Thus Euripides, though he says, "If words had to be bought by human beings, No one would wish to trumpet his own praises.But since one can get words sans any paymentFrom lofty ether, everyone delightsIn speaking truth or falsehood of himself,For he can do it with impunity;" yet uses much tiresome boasting, intermixing with the passion and action of his plays irrelevant matter about himself. Similarly Pindar says, that "to boast unseasonably is to play an accompaniment to madness," yet he does not cease to talk big about his own merit, which indeed is well worthy of encomium, who would deny it? But those who are crowned in the games leave it to others to celebrate their victories, to avoid the unpleasantness of singing their own praises. So we are with justice disgusted at Timotheus for trumpeting his own glory inelegantly and contrary to custom in the inscription for his victory over Phrynis, "A proud day for you, Timotheus, was it when the herald cried out, 'The Milesian Timotheus is victorious over the son of Carbo and his Ionic notes.'" As Xenophon says, "Praise from others is the pleasantest thing a man can hear," but to others a man's self-praise is most nauseous. For first we think those impudent who praise themselves, since modesty would be becoming even if they were praised by others; secondly, we think them unjust in giving themselves what they ought to receive from others; thirdly, if we are silent we seem to be vexed and to envy them, and if we are afraid of this imputation, we are obliged to heap praise upon them contrary to our real opinion, and to bear them out, undertaking a task more befitting gross flattery than honour.

2. And yet, in spite of all this, there are occasions when a statesman may venture to speak in his own praise, not to cry up his own glory and merit, but when the time and matter demand that he should speak the truth about himself, as he would about another; especially when it is mentioned that another has done good and excellent things, there is no need for him to suppress the fact that he has done as well. For such self-praise bears excellent fruit, since much more and better praise springs from it as from seed. For the statesman does not ask for reputation as a reward or consolation, nor is he merely pleased at its attending upon his actions, but he values it because credit and character give him opportunities to do good on a larger scale. For it is both easy and pleasant to benefit those who believe in us and are friendly to us, but it is not easy to act virtuously against suspicion and calumny, and to force one's benefits on those that reject them. Let us now consider, if there are any other reasons warranting self-praise in a statesman, what they are, that, while we avoid vain glory and disgusting other people, we may not omit any useful kind of self-praise.

3. That is vain glory then when men seem to praise themselves that they may call forth the laudation of others; and it is especially despised because it seems to proceed from ambition and an unseasonable opinion of oneself. For as those who cannot obtain food are forced to feed on their own flesh against nature, and that is the end of famine, so those that hunger after praise, if they get no one else to praise them, disgrace themselves by their anxiety to feed their own vanity. But when, not merely content with praising themselves, they vie with the praise of others, and pit their own deeds and actions against theirs, with the intent of outshining them, they add envy and malignity to their vanity. The proverb teaches us that to put our foot into another's dance is meddlesome and ridiculous; we ought equally to be on our guard against intruding our own panegyric into others' praises out of envy and spite, nor should we allow others either to praise us then, but we should make way for those that are being honoured, if they are worthy of honour, and even if they seem to us undeserving of honour and worthless, we ought not to strip them of their praise by self-laudation, but by direct argument and proof that they are not worthy of all these encomiums. It is plain then that we ought to avoid all such conduct as this.

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4. But self-praise cannot be blamed, if it is an answer to some charge or calumny, as those words of Pericles, "And yet you are angry with such a man as me, a man I take it inferior to no one either in knowledge of what should be done, or in ability to point out the same, and a lover of my country to boot, and superior to bribes." For not only did he avoid all swagger and vain-glory and ambition in talking thus loftily about himself, but he also exhibited the spirit and greatness of his virtue, which could abase and crush envy because it could not be abased itself. For people will hardly condemn such men, for they are elevated and cheered and inspired by noble self-laudation such as this, if it have a true basis, as all history testifies. Thus the Thebans, when their generals were charged with not returning home, and laying down their office of Boeotarchs when their time had expired, but instead of that making inroads into Laconia, and helping Messene, hardly acquitted Pelopidas, who was submissive and suppliant, but for Epaminondas, who gloried in what he had done, and at last said that he was ready to die, if they would confess that he had ravaged Laconia, and restored Messene, and made Arcadia one state, against the will of the Thebans, they would not pass sentence upon him, but admired his heroism, and with rejoicing and smiles set him free. So too we must not altogether find fault with Sthenelus in Homer saying, "We boast ourselves far better than our fathers," when we remember the words of Agamemnon, "How now? thou son of brave horse-taming Tydeus, Why dost thou crouch for fear, and watch far off The lines of battle? How unlike thy father!"

For it was not because he was defamed himself, but he stood up for his friend that was abused, the occasion giving him a reasonable excuse for self-commendation. So too the Romans were far from pleased at Cicero's frequently passing encomiums upon himself in the affair of Catiline, yet when Scipio said they ought not to try him (Scipio), since he had given them the power to try anybody, they put on garlands, and accompanied him to the Capitol, and sacrificed with him. For Cicero was not compelled to praise himself, but only did so for glory, whereas the danger in which Scipio stood removed envy from him.

5. And not only on one's trial and in danger, but also in misfortune, is tall talk and boasting more suitable than in prosperity. For in prosperity people seem to clutch as it were at glory and enjoy it, and so gratify their ambition; but in adversity, being far from ambition owing to circumstances, such self-commendation seems to be a bearing up and fortifying the spirit against fortune, and an avoidance altogether of that desire for pity and condolence, and that humility, which we often find in adversity. As then we esteem those persons vain and without sense who in walking hold themselves very erect and with a stiff neck, yet in boxing or fighting we commend such as hold themselves up and alert, so the man struggling with adversity, who stands up straight against his fate, "in fighting posture like some boxer," and instead of being humble and abject becomes through his boasting lofty and dignified, seems to be not offensive and impudent, but great and invincible. This is why, I suppose, Homer has represented Patroclus modest and without reproach in prosperity, yet at the moment of death saying grandiloquently, "Had twenty warriors fought me such as thou, All had succumbed to my victorious spear." And Phocion, though in other respects he was gentle, yet after his sentence exhibited his greatness of soul to many others, and notably to one of those that were to die with him, who was weeping and wailing, to whom he said, "What! are you not content to die with Phocion?"

6. Not less, but still more, lawful is it for a public man who is wronged to speak on his own behalf to those who treat him with ingratitude. Thus Achilles generally conceded glory to the gods, and modestly used such language as, "If ever Zeus Shall grant to me to sack Troy's well-built town;" but when insulted and outraged contrary to his deserts, he utters in his rage boastful words, "Alighting from my ships twelve towns I sacked," and, "For they will never dare to face my helmet When it gleams near."

For frank outspokenness, when it is part of one's defence, admits of boasting. It was in this spirit no doubt that Themistocles, who neither in word nor deed had given any offence, when he saw the Athenians were tired of him and treating him with neglect, did not abstain from saying, "My good sirs, why do you tire of receiving benefits so frequently at the same hands?" and "When the storm is on you fly to me for shelter as to a tree, but when fine weather comes again, then you pass by and strip me of my leaves."

7. They then that are wronged generally mention what they have done well to those who are ungrateful. And the person who is blamed for what he has done well is altogether to be pardoned, and not censured, if he passes encomiums on his own actions: for he is in the position of one not scolding but making his defence. This it was that made Demosthenes' freedom of speech splendid, and prevented people being wearied out by the praise which in all his speech On the Crown he lavished on himself, pluming himself on those embassies and decrees in connection with the war with which fault had been found.

8. Not very unlike this is the grace of antithesis, when a person shows that the opposite of what he is charged with is base and low. Thus Lycurgus when he was charged at Athens with having bribed an informer to silence, replied, "What kind of a citizen do you think me, who, having had so long time the fingering of your public money, am detected in giving rather than taking unjustly?" And Cicero, when Metellus told him that he had destroyed more as a witness than he had got acquitted as an advocate, answered, "Who denies that my honesty is greater than my eloquence?" Compare such sayings of Demosthenes as, "Who would not have been justified in killing me, had I tried in word only to impair the ancient glory of our city?" And, "What think you these wretches would have said, if the states had departed, when I was curiously discussing these points?" And indeed the whole of that speech On the Crown most ingeniously introduces his own praises in his antitheses, and answers to the charges brought against him. 9. However it is worth while to notice in his speech that he most artistically inserts praise of his audience in the remarks about himself, and so makes his speech less egotistical and less likely to raise envy. Thus he shows how the Athenians behaved to the Euboeans and to the Thebans, and what benefits they conferred on the people of Byzantion (the City of Byzantium, the later Constantinople, today's Istanbul) and on the Chersonese, claiming for himself only a subordinate part in the matter. Thus he cunningly insinuates into the audience with his own praises what they will gladly hear, for they rejoice at the enumeration of their successes, and their joy is succeeded by admiration and esteem for the person to whom the success was due. So also Epaminondas, when Meneclidas once jeered at him as thinking more of himself than Agamemnon ever did, replied, "It is your fault then, men of Thebes, by whose help alone I put down the power of the Lacedaemonians in one day."

10. But since most people very much dislike and object to a man's praising himself, but if he praises some one else are on the contrary often glad and readily bear him out, some are in the habit of praising in season those that have the same pursuits business and characters as themselves, and so conciliate and move the audience in their own favour; for the audience know at the moment such a one is speaking that, though he is speaking about another, yet his own similar virtue is worthy of their praise. For as one who throws in another's teeth things of which he is guilty himself must know that he upbraids himself most, so the good in paying honour to the good remind those who know their character of themselves, so that their hearers cry out at once, "Are not you such a one yourself?" Thus Alexander honouring Hercules, and Androcottus again honouring Alexander, got themselves honoured on the same grounds. Dionysius on the contrary pulling Gelon to pieces, and calling him the Gelos of Sicily, was not aware that through his envy he was weakening the importance and dignity of his own authority.

11. These things then a public man must generally know and observe. But those that are compelled to praise themselves do so less offensively if they do not ascribe all the honour to themselves, but, being aware that their glory will be tiresome to others, set it down partly to fortune, partly to the deity. So Achilles said well, "Since the gods granted us to kill this hero."

Well also did Timoleon, who erected a temple at Syracuse to the goddess of Fortune after his success, and dedicated his house to the Good Genius. Excellently again did Pytho of AEnos, (when he came to Athens after killing Cotys, and when the demagogues vied with one another in praising him to the people, and he observed that some were jealous and displeased,) in coming forward and saying, "Men of Athens, this is the doing of one of the gods, I only put my hands to the work." Sulla also forestalled envy by ever praising fortune, and eventually he proclaimed himself as under the protection of Aphrodite. For men would rather ascribe their defeat to fortune than the enemy's valour, for in the former case they consider it an accident, whereas in the latter case they would have to blame themselves and set it down to their own shortcomings. So they say the legislation of Zaleucus pleased the Locrians not least, because he said that Athene visited him from time to time, and suggested to him and taught him his laws, and that none of those he promulgated were his own idea and plan.

12. Perhaps this kind of remedy by talking people over must be contrived for those who are altogether crabbed or envious; but for people of moderation it is not amiss to qualify excessive praise. Thus if anyone should praise you as learned, or rich, or influential, it would be well to bid him not talk about you in that strain, but say that you were good and harmless and useful. For the person that acts so does not introduce his own praise but transfers it, nor does he seem to rejoice in people passing encomiums upon him, but rather to be vexed at their praising him inappropriately and on wrong grounds, and he seems to hide bad traits by better ones, not wishing to be praised, but showing how he ought to be praised. Such seems the intent of such words as the following, "I have not fortified the city with stones or bricks, but if you wish to see how I have fortified it, you will find arms and horses and allies." Still more in point are the last words of Pericles. For as he was dying, and his friends very naturally were weeping and wailing, and reminded him of his military services and his power, and the trophies and victories and towns he had won for Athens, and was leaving as a legacy, he raised himself up a little and blamed them as praising him for things common to many, and some of them the results of fortune rather than merit, while they had passed over the best and greatest of his deeds and one peculiarly his own, that he had never been the cause of any Athenian's wearing mourning. This gives the orator an example, if he be a good man, when praised for his eloquence, to transfer the praise to his life and character, and the general who is admired for his skill and good fortune in war to speak with confidence about his gentleness and uprightness. And again, if any very extravagant praise is uttered, such as many people use in flattery which provokes envy, one can reply, "I am no god; why do you liken me To the immortals?"

If you really know me, praise my integrity, or my sobriety, or my kindheartedness, or my philanthropy. For even envy is not reluctant to give moderate praise to one that deprecates excessive praise, and true panegyric is not lost by people refusing to accept idle and false praise. So those kings who would not be called gods or the sons of gods, but only fond of their brothers or mother, or benefactors, or dear to the gods, did not excite the envy of those that honoured them by those titles, that were noble but still such as men might claim. Again, people dislike those writers or speakers who entitle themselves wise, but they welcome those who content themselves with saying that they are lovers of philosophy, and have made some progress, or use some such moderate language about themselves as that, which does not excite envy. But rhetorical sophists, who expect to hear "Divine, wonderful, grand," at their declamations, are not even welcomed with "Pretty fair, so so."

13. Moreover, as people anxious not to injure those who have weak eyes, draw a shade over too much light, so some people make their praise of themselves less glaring and absolute, by pointing out some of their small defects, or miscarriages, or errors, and so remove all risk of making people offended or envious. Thus Epeus, who boasts very much of his skill in boxing, and says very confidently, "I can your body crush, and break your bones," yet says, "Is it not enough that I am in fight deficient?"

But Epeus is perhaps a ridiculous instance, excusing his bragging as an athlete by his confession of timidity and want of manliness. But agreeable and graceful is that man who mentions his own forgetfulness, or ignorance, or ambition, or eager desire for knowledge and conversation. Thus Odysseus of the Sirens, "My heart to listen to them did incline,I bade my comrades by a nod to unloose me." And again of the Cyclops, "I did not hearken (it had been far better),I wished to see the Cyclops, and to tasteHis hospitality."

And generally speaking the admixture with praise of such faults as are not altogether base and ignoble stops envy. Thus many have blunted the point of envy by admitting and introducing, when they have been praised, their past poverty and straits, aye, and their low origin. So Agathocles pledging his young men in golden cups beautifully chased, ordered some earthenware pots to be brought in, and said, "See the fruits of perseverance, labour, and bravery! Once I produced pots like these, but now golden cups."For Agathocles it seems was so low-born and poor that he was brought up in a potter's shop, though afterwards he was king of almost all Sicily.

14. These are external remedies against self-praise. There are other internal ones as it were, such as Cato applied, when he said "he was envied, because he had to neglect his own affairs, and lie awake every night for the interests of his country." Compare also the following lines, "How should I boast? who could with ease have beenEnrolled among the many in the army,And had a fortune equal to the wisest;" and, "I shrink from squandering past labours' grace,Nor do I now reject all present toil."

For as it is with house and farm, so also is it with glory and reputation, people for the most part envy those who have got them easily or for nothing, not those who have bought them at the cost of much toil and danger.

15. Since then we can praise ourselves not only without causing pain or envy but even usefully and advantageously, let us consider, that we may not seem to have only that end in view but some other also, if we might praise ourselves to excite in our hearers emulation and ambition. For Nestor, by reciting his battles and acts of prowess, stirred up Patroclus and nine others to single combat with Hector. For the exhortation that adds deed to word and example and proper emulation is animating and moving and stimulating, and with its impulse and resolution inspires hope that the things we aim at are attainable and not impossible. That is why in the choruses at Lacedaemon the old men sing, "We once were young and vigorous and strong," and then the boys, "We shall be stronger far than now we are," and then the youths, "We now are strong, look at us if you like." In this wise and statesmanlike manner did the legislator exhibit to the young

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men the nearest and dearest examples of what they should do in the persons of those who had done so.

16. Moreover it is not amiss sometimes, to awe and repress and take down and tame the impudent and bold, to boast and talk a little big about oneself. As Nestor did, to mention him again, "For I have mixed ere now with better menThan both of you, and ne'er did they despise me."

So also Aristotle told Alexander that not only had they that were rulers over many subjects a right to think highly of themselves, but also those that had right views about the gods. Useful too against our enemies and foes is the following line, "Ill-starred are they whose sons encounter me."

Compare also the remark of Agesilaus about the king of the Persians, who was called great, "How is he greater than me, if he is not also more upright?" And that also of Epaminondas to the Lacedaemonians who were inveighing against the Thebans, "Anyhow we have made you talk at greater length than usual." But these kind of remarks are fitting for enemies and foes; but our boasting is also good on occasion for friends and fellow-citizens, not only to abate their pride and make them more humble, but also when they are in fear and dejection to raise them up again and give them confidence. Thus Cyrus talked big in perils and on battle-fields, though at other times he was no boaster. And the second Antigonus, though he was on all other occasions modest and far from vanity, yet in the sea-fight off Cos, when one of his friends said to him, "See you not how many more ships the enemy have got than we have?" answered, "How many do you make me equal to then?" This Homer also seems to have noticed. For he has represented Odysseus, when his comrades were dreadfully afraid of the noise and whirlpool of Charybdis, reminding them of his former cleverness and valour; "We are in no worse plight than when the Cyclops By force detained us in his hollow cave; But even then, thanks to my valour, judgement, And sense, we did escape."

For such is not the self-praise of a demagogue or sophist, or of one that asks for clapping or applause, but of one who makes his valour and experience a pledge of confidence to his friends. For in critical conjunctures the reputation and credit of one who has experience and capacity in command plays a great part in insuring safety.

17. As I have said before, to pit oneself against another's praise and reputation is by no means fitting for a public man: however, in important matters, where mistaken praise is injurious and detrimental, it is not amiss to confute it, or rather to divert the hearer to what is better by showing him the difference between true and false merit. Anyone would be glad, I suppose, when vice was abused and censured, to see most people voluntarily keep aloof from it; but if vice should be well thought of, and honour and reputation come to the person who promoted its pleasures or desires, no nature is so well constituted or strong that it would not be mastered by it. So the public man must oppose the praise not of men but of bad actions, for such praise is corrupting, and causes people to imitate and emulate what is base as if it were noble. But it is best refuted by putting it side by side with the truth: as Theodorus the tragic actor is reported to have said once to Satyrus the comic actor, "It is not so wonderful to make an audience laugh as to make them weep and cry." But what if some philosopher had answered him, "To make an audience weep and cry is not so noble a thing as to make them forget their sorrows." This kind of self-laudation benefits the hearer, and changes his opinion. Compare the remark of Zeno in reference to the number of Theophrastus' scholars, "His is a larger body, but mine are better taught." And Phocion, when Leosthenes was still in prosperity, being asked by the orators what benefit he had conferred on the city, replied, "Only this, that during my period of office there has been no funeral oration, but all 328the dead have been buried in their fathers' sepulchres." Wittily also did Crates parody the lines, "Eating and wantonness and love's delightsAre all I value," with "Learning and those grand things the Muses teach oneAre all I value." Such self-praise is good and useful and teaches people to admire and love what is valuable and expedient instead of what is vain and superfluous. Let so much suffice on the question proposed.

18. It remains to me now to point out, what our subject next demands and calls for, how everyone may avoid unseasonable self-praise. For there is a wonderful incentive to talking about oneself in self-love, which is frequently strongly implanted in those who seem to have only moderate aspirations for fame. For as it is one of the rules to preserve good health to avoid altogether places where sickness is, or to exercise the greatest precaution if one must go there, so talking about oneself has its slippery times and places that draw it on on any pretext. For first, when others are praised, as I said before, ambition makes people talk about themselves, and a certain desire and impulse for fame which is hard to check bites and tickles that ambition, especially if the other person is praised for the same things or less important things than the hearer thinks he is a proficient in. For as hungry people have their appetite more inflamed and sharpened by seeing others eat, so the praise of one's neighbours makes those who eagerly desire fame to blaze out into jealousy.

19. In the second place the narration of things done successfully and to people's mind entices many unawares to boasting and bragging in their joy; for falling into conversation about their victories, or success in state affairs, or their words or deeds commended by great men, they cannot keep themselves within bounds. With this kind of self-laudation you may see that soldiers and sailors are most taken. To be in this state of mind also frequently happens to those who have returned from important posts and responsible duties, for in their mention of illustrious men and men of royal rank they insert the encomiums they have passed on themselves, and do not so much think they are praising themselves as merely repeating the praises of others about themselves. Others think their hearers do not detect them at all of self-praise, when they recount the greeting and welcome and kindness they have received from kings and emperors, but only imagine them to be enumerating the courtesy and kindliness of those great personages. So we must be very much on our guard in praising others to free ourselves from all suspicion of self-love and self-recommendation, and not to seem to be really praising ourselves "under pretext of Patroclus."

20. Moreover that kind of conversation that mainly consists of censuring and running down others is dangerous as giving opportunity for self-laudation to those who pine for fame. A fault into which old men especially fall, when they are led to scold others and censure their bad ways and faulty actions, and so extol themselves as being remarkably the opposite. In old men we must allow all this, especially if to age they add reputation and merit, for such fault-finding is not without use, and inspires those who are rebuked with both emulation and love of honour. But all other persons must especially avoid and fear that roundabout kind of self-praise. For since generally speaking censuring one's neighbours is disagreeable and barely tolerable and requires great wariness, he that mixes up his own praise with blame of another, and hunts for fame by defaming another, is altogether tiresome and inspires disgust, for he seems to wish to get credit through trying to prove others unworthy of credit.

21. Furthermore, as those that are naturally prone and inclined to laughter must be especially on their guard against tickling and touching, such as excites that propensity by contact with the smoothest parts of the body, so those that have a great passion for reputation ought to be especially advised to abstain from praising themselves when they are praised by others. For a person ought to blush when praised, and not to be past blushing from impudence, and ought to check those who extol him too highly, and not to rebuke them for praising him too little; though very many people do so, themselves prompting and reminding their praisers of others of their own acts and virtues, till by their own praise they spoil the effect of the praise that others give them. For some tickle and puff themselves up by self-praise, while others, malignantly holding out the small bait of eulogy, provoke others to talk about themselves, while others again ask questions and put inquiries, as was done to the soldier in Menander, merely to poke fun at him; "'How did you get this wound?' 'Sir, by a javelin."How in the name of Heaven?' 'I was onA scaling ladder fastened to a wall.'I show my wound to them in serious earnest,But they for their part only mock at me."

22. As regards all these points then we must be on our guard as much as possible not to launch out into praise of ourselves, or yield to it in consequence of questions put to us to draw us. And the best caution and security against this is to pay attention to others who praise themselves, and to consider how disagreeable and objectionable the practice is to everybody, and that no other conversation is so offensive and tiring. For though we cannot say that we suffer any other evil at the hands of those who praise themselves, yet being naturally bored by the practice, and avoiding it, we are anxious to get rid of them and breathe again; insomuch that even the flatterer and parasite and needy person in his distress finds the rich man or satrap or king praising himself hard to bear and wellnigh intolerable; and they say that having to listen to all this is paying a very large shot to their entertainment, like the fellow in Menander; "To hear their foolish saws, and soldier talk,Such as this cursed braggart bellows forth,Kills me; I get lean even at their feasts."

For as we may use this language not only about soldiers or men who have newly become rich, who spin us a long yarn of their great and grand doings, being puffed up with pride and talking big about themselves; if we remember that the censure of others always follows our self-praise, and that the end of this vain-glory is a bad repute, and that, as Demosthenes says, the result will be that we shall only tire our hearers, and not be thought what we profess ourselves to be, we shall cease talking about ourselves, unless by so doing we can bestow great benefit on ourselves or our hearers.

PLUTARCH'S MORALS CHAPTER 22

ON THOSE WHO ARE PUNISHED BY THE DEITY LATE.

A discussion between Patrocleas, Plutarch, Timon, and Olympicus.

1. When Epicurus had made these remarks, Quintus, and before any of us who were at the end of the porch could reply, he went off abruptly. And we, marvelling somewhat at his rudeness, stood still silently but looked at one another, and then turned and pursued our walk as before. And Patrocleas was the first to speak. "Are we," said he, "to leave the question unanswered, or are we to reply to his argument in his absence as if he were present?" Then said Timon, "Because he went off the moment he had thrown his missile at us, it would not be good surely to leave it sticking in us; for we are told that Brasidas plucked the javelin that had been thrown at him out of his body, and with it killed the hurler of it; but there is of course no need for us to avenge ourselves so on those that have launched on us an absurd or false argument, it will be enough to dislodge the notion before it gets fixed in us." Then said I, "Which of his words has moved you most? For the fellow seemed to rampage about, in his anger and abusive language, with a long disconnected and rambling rhapsody drawn from all sources, and at the same time inveighed against Providence."

2. Then said Patrocleas, "The slowness and delay of the deity in punishing the wicked used to seem to me a very dreadful thing, but now in consequence of his speech I come as it were new and fresh to the notion. Yet long ago I was vexed when I heard that line of Euripides, "He does delay, such is the Deity In nature."

For indeed it is not fitting that the deity should be slow in anything, and least of all in the punishment of the wicked, seeing that they are not slow or sluggish in doing evil, but are hurried by their passions into crime at headlong speed. Moreover, as Thucydides says, when punishment follows as closely as possible upon wrong-doing, it blocks up the road at once for those who would follow up their villainy if it were successful. For no debt so much as that of justice paid behind time damps the hopes and dejects the mind of the wronged person, and aggravates the audacity and daring of the wrong-doer; whereas the punishment that follows crime immediately not only checks future outbreaks but is also the greatest possible comfort to the injured. And so I am often troubled when I consider that remark of Bias, who told, it seems, a bad man that he was not afraid that he would escape punishment, but that he would not live to see it. For how did the Messenians who were killed long before derive any benefit from the punishment of Aristocrates? For he had been guilty of treason at the battle of The Great Trench, but had reigned over the Arcadians for more than twenty years without being found out, but afterwards was detected and paid the penalty, but they were no longer alive. Or what consolation was brought to the people of Orchomenus, who lost their sons and friends and relatives in consequence of the treason of Lyciscus, by the disease which settled upon him long afterwards and spread all over his body? For he used to go and dip and soak his feet in the river, and uttered imprecations and prayed that they might rot off if he was guilty of treason or crime. Nor was it permitted to the children's children of those that were slain to see at Athens the tearing out of their graves the bodies of those atrocious criminals that had killed them, and the carrying them beyond their borders. And so it seems strange in Euripides using the following argument to deter people from vice: "Fear not, for vengeance will not strike at onceYour heart, or that of any guilty wretch,But silently and with slow foot it moves, And when their time's come will the wicked reach."

This is no doubt the very reason why the wicked incite and cheer themselves on to commit lawless acts, for crime shows them a fruit visible and ripe at once, but a punishment late, and long subsequent to the enjoyment."

3. When Patrocleas had said thus much, Olympicus interfered, "There is another consideration, Patrocleas, the great absurdity involved in these delays and long-suffering of the deity. For the slowness of punishment takes away belief in providence, and the wicked, observing that no evil follows each crime except long afterwards, attribute it when it comes to mischance, and look upon it in the light more of accident than punishment, and so receive no benefit from it, being grieved indeed when the misfortune comes, but feeling no remorse for what they have done amiss. For, as in the case of a horse, the whipping or spurring that immediately follows upon a stumble or some other fault is a corrective and brings him to his duty, but pulling and backing him with the bit and shouting at him long afterwards seems to come from some other motive than a desire to teach him, for he is put to pain without being shown his fault; so the vice which each time it stumbles or offends is at once punished and checked by correction is most likely to come to itself and be humble and stand in awe of the deity, as one that beholds men's acts and passions and does not punish behind time; whereas that justice that, according to Euripides, "steals on silently and with slow foot," and falls upon the wicked some time or other, seems to

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resemble more chance than providence by reason, of its uncertainty, delay, and irregularity. So that I do not see what benefit there is in those mills of the gods that are said to grind late, since they obscure the punishment, and obliterate the fear, of evil-doing."

4. When Olympicus had done speaking, and I was musing with myself on the matter, Timon said, "Am I to put the finishing touch of difficulty on our subject, or am I to let him first contend earnestly against these views?" Then said I, "Why should we bring up the third wave and drown the argument, if he is not able to refute or evade the charges already brought? To begin then with the domestic hearth, as the saying is, let us imitate that cautious manner of speaking about the deity in vogue among the Academic philosophers, and decline to speak about these things as if we thoroughly understood them. For it is worse in us mortals than for people ignorant of music to discuss music, or for people ignorant of military matters to discuss the art of war, to examine too closely into the nature of the gods and demons, like people with no knowledge of art trying to get at the intention of artists from opinion and fancy and probabilities.

For if it is no easy matter for anyone not a professional to conjecture why the surgeon performed an operation later rather than sooner, or why he ordered his patient to take a bath to-day rather than yesterday, how is it easy or safe for a mortal to say anything else about the deity than that he knows best the time to cure vice, and applies to each his punishment as the doctor administers a drug, and that a punishment not of the same magnitude, or applied at the same time, in all cases. For that the cure of the soul, which is called justice, is the greatest of all arts is testified by Pindar as well as by ten thousand others, for he calls God, the ruler and lord of all things, the greatest artificer as the creator of justice, whose function it is to determine when, and how, and how far, each bad man is to be punished. And Plato says that Minos, the son of Zeus, was his father's pupil in this art, not thinking it possible that any one could succeed in justice, or understand how to succeed in it, without he had learned or somehow got that science. For the laws which men make are not always merely reasonable, nor is their meaning always apparent, but some injunctions seem quite ridiculous, for example, the Ephors at Lacedaemon make proclamation, directly they take office, that no one is to let his moustache grow, but that all are to obey the laws, that they be not grievous to them. And the Romans lay a light rod on the bodies of those they make freemen, and when they make their wills, they nominate some as their heirs, while to others they sell the property, which, seems strange. But strangest of all is that ordinance of Solon, that the citizen who, when his city is in faction, will not side with either party is to lose his civic rights. And generally one might mention many absurdities in laws, if one did not know the mind of the legislator, or understand the reason for each particular piece of legislation. How is it wonderful then, if human affairs are so difficult to comprehend, that it is no easy task to say in connection with the gods, why they punish some offenders early, and others late?

5. This is not a pretext for evading the subject, but merely a request for lenient judgement, that our discourse, looking as it were for a haven and place of refuge, may rise to the difficulty with greater confidence basing itself on probability. Consider then first that, according to Plato, god, making himself openly a pattern of all things good, concedes human virtue, which is in some sort a resemblance to himself, to those who are able to follow him. For all nature, being in disorder, got the principle of change and became order by a resemblance to and participation in the nature and virtue of the deity. The same Plato also tells us that nature put eyesight into us, in order that the soul by beholding and admiring the heavenly bodies might accustom itself to welcome and love harmony and order, and might hate disorderly and roving propensities, and avoid aimless reliance on chance, as the parent of all vice and error. For man can enjoy no greater blessing from god than to attain to virtue by the earnest imitation of the noblest qualities of the divine nature. And so he punishes the wicked leisurely and long after, not being afraid of error or after repentance through punishing too hastily, but to take away from us that eager and brutish thirst for revenge, and to teach us that we are not to retaliate on those that have offended us in anger, and when the soul is most inflamed and distorted with passion and almost beside itself for rage, like people satisfying fierce thirst or hunger, but to imitate the mildness and long-suffering of the deity, and to avenge ourselves in an orderly and decent manner, only when we have taken counsel with time long enough to give us the least possible likelihood of after repentance.

For it is a smaller evil, as Socrates said, to drink dirty water when excessively thirsty, than, when one's mind is disturbed and full of rage and fury, before it is settled and becomes pure, to glut our revenge on the person of a relation and kinsman. For it is not the punishment that follows as closely as possible upon wrong-doing, as Thucydides said, but that which is more remote, that observes decorum. For as Melanthius says of anger, "Fell things it does when it the mind unsettles," so also reason acts with justice and moderation, when it banishes rage and passion. So also people are made milder by the example of other men, as when they hear that Plato, when he held his stick over his slave to correct him, waited some time, as he himself has told us, to compose his anger; and that Archytas, having learned of some wrong or disorderly action on the part of some of his farm labourers, knowing that at the time he was in a very great rage and highly incensed at them, did nothing to them, but merely departed, saying, "You may thank your stars that I am in a rage with you." If then the remembrance of the words and recorded acts of men abates the fierceness and intensity of our rage, much more likely is it that we (observing that the deity, though without either fear or repentance in any case, yet puts off his punishments and defers them for some time) shall be reserved in our views about such matters, and shall think that mildness and long-suffering which the god exhibits a divine part of virtue, reforming a few by speedy punishment, but benefiting and correcting many by a tardy one.

6. Let us consider in the second place that punishments inflicted by men for offences regard only retaliation, and, when the offender is punished, stop and go no further; so that they seem to follow offences yelping at them like a dog, and closely pursuing at their heels as it were. But it is likely that the deity would look at the state of any guilty soul that he intended to punish, if haply it might turn and repent, and would give time for reformation to all whose vice was not absolute and incurable. For knowing how great a share of virtue souls come into the world with, deriving it from him, and how strong and lasting is their nobility of nature, and how it breaks out into vice against its natural disposition through the corruption of bad habits and companions, and afterwards in some cases reforms itself, and recovers its proper position, he does not inflict punishment on all persons alike; but the incorrigible he at once removes from life and cuts off, since it is altogether injurious to others, but most of all to a man's own self, to live in perpetual vice, whereas to those who seem to have fallen into wrong-doing, rather from ignorance of what was good than from deliberate choice of what was bad, he gives time to repent. But if they persist in vice he punishes them too, for he has no fear that they will escape him. Consider also how many changes take place in the life and character of men, so that the Greeks give the names ΤΡΟΠΟΣ and ΗΘΟΣ to the character, the first word meaning change, and the latter the immense force and power of habit. I think also that the ancients called Cecrops half man and half dragon not because, as some say, he became from a good king wild and dragon-like, but contrariwise because he was originally perverse and terrible, and afterwards became a mild and humane king. And if this is uncertain, at any rate we know that Gelon and Hiero, both Sicilians, and Pisistratus the son of Hippocrates, though they got their supreme power by bad means, yet used it for virtuous ends, and though they mounted the throne in an irregular way, yet became good and useful princes.

For by good legislation and by encouraging agriculture they made the citizens earnest and industrious instead of scoffers and chatterers. As for Gelon, after fighting valiantly and defeating the Carthaginians in a great battle, he would not conclude with them the peace they asked for until they inserted an article promising to cease sacrificing their sons to Cronos. And Lydiades was tyrant in Megalopolis, yet in the very height of his power changing his ideas and being disgusted with injustice, he restored their old constitution to the citizens, and fell gloriously, fighting against the enemy in behalf of his country. And if any one had slain prematurely Miltiades the tyrant of the Chersonese, or had prosecuted and got a conviction against Cimon for incest with his sister, or had deprived Athens of Themistocles for his wantonness and revellings and outrages in the market, as in later days Athens lost Alcibiades, by an indictment, should we not have had to go without the glory of Marathon, and Eurymedon, and beautiful Artemisium, "where the Athenian youth laid the bright base of liberty?" For great natures produce nothing little, nor can their energy and activity rust owing to their keen intellect, but they toss to and fro as at sea till they come to a settled and durable character. As then one inexperienced in farming, seeing a spot full of thick bushes and rank growth, full of wild beasts and streams and mud, would not think much of it, while to one who has learnt how to discriminate and discern between different kind of soils all these are various tokens of the richness and goodness of the land, so great natures break out into many strange excesses, which exasperate us at first beyond bearing, so that we think it right to cut off such offenders and stop their career at once, whereas a better judge, seeing the good and noble even in these, waits for age and the season which nature appoints for gathering fruit to bring sense and virtue.

7. So much for this point. Do you not think also that some of the Greeks did well to adopt that Egyptian law which orders a pregnant woman condemned to death not to suffer the penalty till after she has given birth?" "Certainly," said all the company. I continued, "Put the case not of a woman pregnant, but of a man who can in process of time bring to light and reveal some secret act or plan, point out some unknown evil, or devise some scheme of safety, or invent something useful and necessary, would it not be better to defer his execution, and wait the result of his meditation? That is my opinion, at least." "So we all think," said Patrocleas. "Quite right," said I. "For do but consider, had Dionysius had vengeance taken on him at the beginning of his tyranny, none of the Greeks would have dwelt in Sicily, which was laid waste by the Carthaginians. Nor would the Greeks have dwelt in Apollonia, or Anactorium, or the peninsula of the Leucadians, had not Periander's chastisement been postponed for a long time. I think also that Cassander's punishment was deferred that Thebes might be repeopled. And of the mercenaries that plundered this very temple most crossed over into Sicily with Timoleon, and after they had conquered the Carthaginians and put down their authority, perished miserably, miserable wretches that they were. For no doubt the deity makes use of some wicked men, as executioners, to punish others, and so I think he crushes as it were most tyrants. For as the gall of the hyena and rennet of the seal, both nasty beasts in all other respects, are useful in certain diseases, so when some need sharp correction, the deity casts upon them the implacable fury of some tyrant, or the savage ferocity of some prince, and does not remove the bane and trouble till their fault be got rid of and purged. Such a potion was Phalaris to the Agrigentines, and Marius to the Romans. And to the people of Sicyon the god distinctly foretold that their city needed a scourge, when they took away from the Cleonaeans (as if he was a Sicyonian) the lad Teletias, who was crowned340 in the Pythian games, and tore him to pieces. As for the Sicyonians, Orthagoras became their tyrant, and subsequently Myro and Clisthenes, and these three checked their wanton outbreaks; but the Cleonaeans, not getting such a cure, went to ruin. You have of course heard Homer's lines, "'From a bad father sprang a son far better,Excelling in all virtue;' and yet that son of Copreus never performed any brilliant or notable action: but the descendants of Sisyphus and Autolycus and Phlegyas nourished in the glory and virtues of great kings. Pericles also sprang of a family under a curse, and Pompey the Great at Rome was the son of Pompeius Strabo, whose dead body the Roman people cast out and trampled upon, so great was their hatred of him. How is it strange then, since the farmer does not cut down the thorn till he has taken his asparagus, nor do the Libyans burn the twigs till they have gathered the ledanum, that god does not exterminate the wicked and rugged root of an illustrious and royal race till it has produced its fit fruit? For it would have been better for the Phocians to have lost ten thousand of the oxen and horses of Iphitus, and for more gold and silver to have gone from Delphi, than that Odysseus and AEsculapius should not have been born, nor those others who from bad and wicked men became good and useful."

8. "And do you not all think that it is better that punishment should take place at the fitting time and in the fitting manner rather than quickly and on the spur of the moment? Consider the case of Callippus, who with the very dagger with which he slew Dion, pretending to be his friend, was afterwards slain by his own friends. And when Mitius the Argive was killed in a tumult, a brazen statue in the market-place fell on his murderer and killed him during the public games. And of course, Patrocleas, you know all about Bessus the Paeonian, and about Aristo the Oetaean leader of mercenaries." "Not I, by Zeus," said Patrocleas, "but I should like to hear." "Aristo," I continued, "at the permission of the tyrants removed the necklace of Eriphyle which was hung up in this temple, and took it to his wife as a present; but his son being angry with his mother for some reason or other, set the house on fire, and burnt all that were in it. As for Bessus, it seems he had killed his father, though his crime was long undiscovered. But at last going to sup with some strangers, he knocked down a nest of swallows, pricking it with his lance, and killed all the young swallows. And when the company said, as it was likely they would, 'Whatever makes you act in such a strange manner?' 'Have they not,' he replied, 'been long bearing false witness against me, crying out that I had killed my father?' And the company, astonished at his answer, laid the matter before the king, and the affair was inquired into, and Bessus punished."

9. "These cases," I continued, "we cite supposing, as has been laid down, that there is a deferring of punishment to the wicked; and, for the rest, I think we ought to listen to Hesiod, who tells us—not like Plato, who asserts that punishment is a condition that follows crime—that it is contemporaneous with it, and grows with it from the same source and root. For Hesiod says, "Evil advice is worst to the adviser;" and, "He who plots mischief 'gainst another bringsIt first on his own pate."

The cantharis is said to have in itself the antidote to its own sting, but wickedness, creating its own pain and torment, pays the penalty of its misdeeds not afterwards but at the time of its ill-doing. And as every malefactor about to pay the penalty of his crime in his person bears his cross, so vice fabricates for itself each of its own torments, being the terrible author of its own misery in life, wherein in addition to shame it has frequent fears and fierce passions and endless remorse

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and anxiety. But some are just like children, who, seeing malefactors in the theatres in golden tunics and purple robes with crowns on and dancing, admire them and marvel at them, thinking them happy, till they see them goaded and lashed and issuing fire from their gaudy but cheap garments. For most wicked people, though they have great households and conspicuous offices and great power, are yet being secretly punished before they are seen to be murdered or hurled down rocks, which is rather the climax and end of their punishment than the punishment itself. For as Plato tells us that Herodicus the Selymbrian having fallen into consumption, an incurable disease, was the first of mankind to mix exercise with the art of healing, and so prolonged his own life and that of others suffering from the same disease, so those wicked persons who seem to avoid immediate punishment, receive a longer and not slower punishment, not later but extending over a wider period; for they are not punished in their old age, but rather grow old in perpetual punishment. I speak of course of long time as a human being, for to the gods all the period of man's life is as nothing, and so to them 'now and not thirty years ago' means no more than with us torturing or hanging a malefactor in the evening instead of the morning would mean; especially as man is shut up in life as in a prison from which there is no egress or escape, and though doubtless during his life he has much feasting and business and gifts and favours and amusement, yet, just like people playing at dice or draughts in a prison, the rope is all the time hanging over his head."

10. "And indeed what prevents our asserting that people in prison under sentence of death are not punished till their heads are cut off, or that the person who has taken hemlock, and walks about till he feels it is getting into his legs, suffers not at all till he is deprived of sensation by the freezing and curdling of his blood, if we consider the last moment of punishment all the punishment, and ignore all the intermediate sufferings and fears and anxiety and remorse, the destiny of every guilty wretch? That would be arguing that the fish that has swallowed the hook is not caught, till we see it boiled by the cook or sliced at table. For every wrong-doer is liable to punishment, and soon swallows the pleasantness of his wrong-doing like a bait, while his conscience still vexes and troubles him, "As through the sea the impetuous tunny darts."

For the recklessness and audacity of vice is strong and rampant till the crime is committed, but afterwards, when the passion subsides like a storm, it becomes timid and dejected and a prey to fears and superstitions. So that Stesichorus in his account of Clytaemnestra's dream may have represented the facts and real state of the case, where he says, "A dragon seemed to appear to her with its lofty head smeared all over with blood, and out of it seemed to come king Orestes the grandson of Plisthenes." For visions in dreams, and apparitions during the day, and oracles, and lightning, and whatever is thought to come from the deity, bring tempests of apprehension to the guilty. So they say that one time Apollodorus in a dream saw himself flayed by the Scythians, and then boiled, and that his heart out of the caldron spoke to him in a low voice and said, "I am the cause of this;" and at another time he dreamed that he saw his daughters running round him in a circle all on fire and in flames. And Hipparchus the son of Pisistratus, a little before his death, dreamt that Aphrodite threw some blood on his face out of a certain phial. And the friends of Ptolemy Ceraunus dreamed that he was summoned for trial by Seleucus, and that the judges were vultures and wolves, who tore his flesh and distributed it wholesale among his enemies. And Pausanias at Byzantium, having sent for Cleonice a free-born maiden, intending to outrage her and pass the night with her, being seized with some alarm or suspicion killed her, and frequently saw her in his dreams saying to him, "Come near for judgement, lust is most assuredly a grievous bane to men," and as this apparition did not cease, he sailed, it seems, to Heraclea to the place where the souls of the dead could be summoned, and by propitiations and sacrifices called up the soul of the maiden, and she appeared to him and told him that this trouble would end when he got to Lacedaemon, and directly he got there he died."

11. "And so, if nothing happens to the soul after death, but that event is the end of all enjoyment or punishment, one would be rather inclined to say that the deity was lax and indulgent in quickly punishing the wicked and depriving them of life. For even if we were to say that the wicked had no other trouble in a long life, yet, when their wrong-doing was proved to bring them no profit or enjoyment, no good or adequate return for their many and great anxieties, the consciousness of that would be quite enough to throw their mind off its balance. So they record of Lysimachus that he was so overcome by thirst that he surrendered himself and his forces to the Getae for some drink, but after he had drunk and bethought him that he was now a captive, he said, "Alas! How guilty am I for so brief a gratification to lose so great a kingdom!" And yet it is very difficult to resist a necessity of nature. But when a man, either for the love of money, or for political place or power, or carried away by some amorous propensity, does some lawless and dreadful deed, and, after his eager desire is satisfied, sees in process of time that only the base and terrible elements of his crime remain, while nothing useful, or necessary, or advantageous has flowed from it, is it not likely that the idea would often present itself to him that, moved by vain-glory, or for some illiberal and unlovely pleasure, he had violated the greatest and noblest rights of mankind, and had filled his life with shame and trouble? For as Simonides used to say playfully that he always found his money-chest full but his gratitude-chest empty, so the wicked contemplating their own vice soon find out that their gratification is joyless and hopeless, and ever attended by fears and griefs and gloomy memories, and suspicions about the future, and distrust about the present. Thus we hear Ino, repenting for what she had done, saying on the stage, "Dear women, would that I could now inhabitFor the first time the house of Athamas,Guiltless of any of my awful deeds!"

It is likely that the soul of every wicked person will meditate in this way, and consider how it can escape the memory of its ill-deeds, and lay its conscience to sleep, and become pure, and live another life over again from the beginning. For there is no confidence, or reality, or continuance, or security, in what wickedness proposes to itself, unless by Zeus we shall say that evil-doers are wise, but wherever the greedy love of wealth or pleasure or violent envy dwells with hatred and malignity, there will you also see and find stationed superstition, and remissness for labour, and cowardice in respect to death, and sudden caprice in the passions, and vain-glory and boasting. Those that censure them frighten them, and they even fear those that praise them as wronged by their deceit, and as most hostile to the bad because they readily praise those they think good. For as in the case of ill-tempered steel the hardness of vice is rotten, and its strength easily shattered. So that in course of time, understanding their real selves, they are vexed and disgusted with their past life and abhor it. For if a bad man who restores property entrusted to his care, or becomes surety for a friend, or contributes very generously and liberally to his country out of love of glory or honour, at once repents and is sorry for what he has done from the fickleness and changeableness of his mind; and if men applauded in the theatres directly afterwards groan, their love of glory subsiding into love of money; shall we suppose that those who sacrificed men to tyrannies and conspiracies as Apollodorus did, or that those who robbed their friends of money as Glaucus the son of Epicydes did, never repented, or loathed themselves, or regretted their past misdeeds? For my part, if it is lawful to say so, I do not think evil-doers need any god or man to punish them, for the marring and troubling of all their life by vice is in itself adequate punishment."

12. "But consider now whether I have not spoken too long." Then Timon said, "Perhaps you have, considering what remains and the time it will take. For now I am going to start the last question, as if it were a combatant in reserve, since the other two questions have been debated sufficiently. For as to the charge and bold accusation that Euripides brings against the gods, for visiting the sins of the parents upon the children, consider that even those of us who are silent agree with Euripides. For if the guilty were punished themselves there would be no further need to punish the innocent, for it is not fair to punish even the guilty twice for the same offence, whereas if the gods through easiness remit the punishment of the wicked, and exact it later on from the innocent, they do not well to compensate for their tardiness by injustice. Such conduct resembles the story told of AEsop's coming to this very spot, with money from Croesus, to offer a splendid sacrifice to the god, and to give four minae to each of the Delphians. And some quarrel or difference belike ensuing between him and the Delphians here, he offered the sacrifice, but sent the money back to Sardis, as though the Delphians were not worthy to receive that benefit, so they fabricated against him a charge of sacrilege, and put him to death by throwing him headlong down yonder rock called Hyampia. And in consequence the god is said to have been wroth with them, and to have brought dearth on their land, and all kinds of strange diseases, so that they went round at the public festivals of the Greeks, and invited by proclamation whoever wished to take satisfaction of them for Aesop's death. And three generations afterwards came Idmon a Samian, no relation of AEsop's, but a descendant of those who had purchased AEsop as a slave at Samos, and by giving him satisfaction the Delphians got rid of their trouble. And it was in consequence of this, they say, that the punishment of those guilty of sacrilege was transferred from Hyampia to Nauplia. And even great lovers of Alexander, as we are, do not praise his destroying the city of the Branchidae and putting everybody in it to death because their great-grandfathers betrayed the temple at Miletus. And Agathocles, the tyrant of Syracuse, laughing and jeering at the Corcyraeans for asking him why he wasted their island, replied, "Because, by Zeus, your forefathers welcomed Odysseus." And when the people of Ithaca likewise complained of his soldiers carrying off their sheep, he said, "Your king came to us, and actually put out the shepherd's eye to boot." And is it not stranger still in Apollo punishing the present inhabitants of Pheneus, by damming up the channel dug to carry off their water, and so flooding the whole of their district, because a thousand years ago, they say, Hercules carried off to Pheneus the oracular tripod? and in telling the Sybarites that the only end of their troubles would be propitiating by their ruin on three occasions the wrath of Leucadian Hera? And indeed it is no long time since the Locrians have ceased sending maidens to Troy, "Who without upper garments and barefooted, Like slave-girls, in the early morning sweptAround Athene's altar all unveiled, Till old age came upon them with its burdens," all because Ajax violated Cassandra. Where is the reason or justice in all this? Nor do we praise the Thracians who to this day, in honour of Orpheus, mark their wives; nor the barbarians on the banks of the Eridanus who, they say, wear mourning for Phäethon. And I think it would be still more ridiculous if the people living at the time Phäethon perished had neglected him, and those who lived five or ten generations after his tragic death had begun the practice of wearing mourning and grieving for him. And yet this would be only folly, there would be nothing dreadful or fatal about it, but what should make the anger of the gods subside at once and then afterwards, like some rivers, burst out against others till they completely ruin them?

13. Directly he left off, fearing that if he began again he would introduce more and greater absurdities, I asked him, "Well, do you believe all this to be true?" And he replied, "If not all, but only some, of it is true, do you not think that the subject presents the same difficulty?" "Perhaps," said I, "it is as with those in a raging fever, whether they have few or many clothes on the bed they are equally hot or nearly so, yet to ease them we shall do well to remove some of the clothes; but let us waive this point, if you don't like the line of argument, though a good deal of what you have said seems myth and fable, and let us recall to our minds the recent festival in honour of Apollo called Theoxenia, and the noble share in it which the heralds expressly reserve for the descendants of Pindar, and how grand and pleasant it seemed to you." "Who could help being pleased," said he, "with such a delightful honour, so Greek and breathing the simple spirit of antiquity, had he not, to use Pindar's own phrase, 'a black heart forged when the flame was cold?'" "I pass over then," said I, "the similar proclamation at Sparta, 'After the Lesbian singer,' in honour and memory of old Terpander, for it is a similar case. But you yourselves certainly lay claim to be better than other Boeotians as descended from Opheltes, and than other Phocians because of your ancestor Daiphantus, and you were the first to give me help and assistance in preserving for the Lycormae and Satilaei their hereditary privilege of wearing crowns as descendants of Hercules, when I contended that we ought to confirm the honours and favours of the descendants of Hercules more especially because, though he was such a benefactor to the Greeks, he had had himself no adequate favour or return." "You remind me," he said, "of a noble effort, and one well worthy of a philosopher." "Dismiss then," said I, "my dear fellow, your vehement accusation against the gods, and do not be so vexed that some of a bad or evil stock are punished by them, or else do not joy in and approve of the honour paid to descent from a good stock. For it is unreasonable, if we continue to show favour to a virtuous stock, to think punishment wrong in the case of a criminal stock, or that it should not correspond with the adequate reward of merit. And he that is glad to see the descendants of Cimon honoured at Athens, but is displeased and indignant that the descendants of Lachares or Aristo are in exile, is too soft and easy, or rather too fault-finding and peevish with the gods, accusing them if the descendants of a bad and wicked man are fortunate, and accusing them also if the progeny of the bad are wiped off the face of the earth; thus finding fault with the deity alike, whether the descendants of the good or bad father are unfortunate."

14. "Let these remarks," I continued, "be your bulwarks as it were against those excessively bitter and railing accusations. And taking up again as it were the initial clue to our subject, which as it is about the deity is dark and full of mazes and labyrinths, let us warily and calmly follow the track to what is probable and plausible, for certainty and truth are things very difficult to find even in every-day life. For example, why are the children of those that have died of consumption or dropsy bidden to sit with their feet in water till the dead body is burnt? For that is thought to prevent the disease transferring itself to them. Again, when a she-goat takes a bit of eringo into her mouth, why do the whole herd stand still, till the goatherd comes up and takes it out of her mouth? There are other properties that have connection and communication, and that transfer themselves from one thing to another with incredible quickness and over immense distances. But we marvel more at intervals of time than place. And yet is it more wonderful that Athens should have been smitten with a plague that started in Arabia, and of which Pericles died and Thucydides fell sick, than that, when the Delphians and Sybarites became wicked, vengeance should have fallen on their descendants. For properties have relations and connections between ends and beginnings, and although the

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reason of them may not be known by us, they silently perform their errand."

15. "Moreover the public punishments of cities by the gods admits of a just defence. For a city is one continuous entity, a sort of creature that never changes from age, or becomes different by time, but is ever sympathetic with and conformable to itself, and is answerable for whatever it does or has done for the public weal, as long as the community by its union and federal bonds preserves its unity. For he that would make several, or rather any quantity of, cities out of one by process of time would be like a person who made one human being several, by regarding him now as an old man, now as a young man, now as a stripling. Or rather this kind of reasoning resembles the arguments of Epicharmus, from whom the sophists borrowed the piled-up method of reasoning, for example, he incurred the debt long ago, so he does not owe it now, being a different person, or, he was invited to dinner yesterday, but he comes uninvited to-day, for he is another person. And yet age produces greater changes in any individual than it does commonly in cities. For any one would recognize Athens again if he had not seen it for thirty years, for the present habits and feelings of the people there, their business, amusements, likes and dislikes, are just what they were long ago; whereas a man's friend or acquaintance meeting him after some time would hardly recognize his appearance, for the change of character easily introduced by every thought and deed, feeling and custom, produce a wonderful strangeness and novelty in the same person. And yet a man is reckoned to be the same person from birth to death, and similarly we think it right for a city always remaining the same to be liable to reproach for the ill deeds of its former inhabitants, on the same principle as it enjoys its ancient glory and power; or shall we, without being aware of it, throw everything into Heraclitus' river, into which he says a person cannot step twice, since nature is ever changing and altering everything?"

16. "If then a city is one continuous entity, so of course is a race that starts from one beginning, that can trace back intimate union and similarity of faculties, for that which is begot is not, like some production of art, unlike the begetter, for it proceeds from him, and is not merely produced by him, so that it appropriately receives his share, whether that be honour or punishment. And if I should not seem to be trifling, I should say that the bronze statue of Cassander melted down by the Athenians, and the body of Dionysius thrown out of their territory by the Syracusans after his death, were treated more unjustly than punishing their posterity would have been. For there was none of the nature of Cassander in the statue, and the soul of Dionysius had left his dead body before this outrage, whereas Nysaeus and Apollocrates, Antipater and Philip, and similarly other sons of wicked parents had innate in them a good deal of their fathers, and that no listless or inactive element, but one by which they lived and were nourished, and by which their ideas were controlled. Nor is it at all strange or absurd that some should have their fathers' characteristics. And to speak generally, as in surgery whatever is useful is also just, and that person would be ridiculous who should say it was unjust to cauterize the thumb when the hip-joints were in pain, and to lance the stomach when the liver was inflamed, or when oxen were tender in their hoofs to anoint the tips of their horns, so he that looks for any other justice in punishment than curing vice, and is dissatisfied if surgery is employed to one part to benefit another, as surgeons open a vein to relieve ophthalmia, can see nothing beyond the evidence of the senses, and does not remember that even a schoolmaster by correcting one lad admonishes others, and that by decimation a general makes his whole army obey. And so not only by one part to another comes benefit, but also to the soul through the soul, even more often than to the body through the body, come certain dispositions, and vices or improvement of character. For just as it is likely in the case of the body that the same feelings and changes will take place, so the soul, being worked upon by fancies, naturally becomes better or worse according as it has more confidence or fear."

17. While I was thus speaking, Olympicus interposed, and said, "You seem in your argument to assume the important assumption of the permanence of the soul." I replied, "You too concede it, or rather did concede it. For that the deity deals with everyone according to his merit has been the assumption of our argument from the beginning." Then said he, "Do you think that it follows, because the gods notice our actions and deal with us accordingly, that souls are either altogether imperishable, or for some time survive dissolution?" Then said I, "Not exactly so, my good sir, but is the deity so little and so attached to trifles, if we have nothing divine in ourselves, nothing resembling him, nothing lasting or sure, but that we all do fade as a leaf, as Homer says, and die after a brief life, as to take the trouble—like women that tend and cultivate their gardens of Adonis in pots—to create souls to flourish in a delicate body having no stability only for a day, and then to be annihilated at once by any occasion? And if you please, leaving the other gods out of the question, consider the case of our god here. Does it seem likely to you that, if he knew that the souls of the dead perish immediately, and glide out of their bodies like mist or smoke, he would enjoin many propitiatory offerings for the departed and honours for the dead, merely cheating and beguiling those that believed in him? For my own part, I shall never abandon my belief in the permanence of the soul, unless some second Hercules shall come and take away the tripod of the Pythian Priestess, and abolish and destroy the oracle. For as long as many such oracles are still given, as was said to be given to Corax of Naxos formerly, it is impious to declare that the soul dies." Then said Patrocleas, "What oracle do you refer to? Who was this Corax? To me both the occurrence and name are quite strange." "That cannot be," said I, "but I am to blame for using the surname instead of the name. For he that killed Archilochus in battle was called Calondes, it seems, but his surname was Corax. He was first rejected by the Pythian Priestess, as having slain a man sacred to the Muses, but after using many entreaties and prayers, and urging pleas in defence of his act, he was ordered to go to the dwelling of Tettix, and appease the soul of Archilochus. Now this place was Taenarum, for there they say Tettix the Cretan had gone with a fleet and founded a city, and dwelt near the place where departed souls were conjured up. Similarly also, when the Spartans were bidden by the oracle to appease the soul of Pausanias, the necromancers were summoned from Italy, and, after they had offered sacrifice, they got the ghost out of the temple."

18. "It is one and the same argument," I continued, "that confirms the providence of the deity and the permanence of the soul of man, so that you cannot leave one if you take away the other. And if the soul survives after death, it makes the probability stronger that rewards or punishments will be assigned to it. For during life the soul struggles, like an athlete, and when the struggle is over, then it gets its deserts. But what rewards or punishments the soul gets when by itself in the unseen world for the deeds done in the body has nothing to do with us that are alive, and is perhaps not credited by us, and certainly unknown to us; whereas those punishments that come on descendants and on the race are evident to all that are alive, and deter and keep back many from wickedness. For there is no more disgraceful or bitter punishment than to see our children in misfortune through our faults, and if the soul of an impious or lawless man could see after death, not his statues or honours taken from him, but his children or friends or race in great adversity owing to him, and paying the penalty for his misdeeds, no one would ever persuade him, could he come to life again, to be unjust and licentious, even for the honours of Zeus. I could tell you a story on this head, which I recently heard, but I hesitate to do so, lest you should regard it only as a myth; I confine myself therefore to probability." "Pray don't," said Olympicus, "let us have your story." And as the others made the same request, I said, "Permit me first to finish my discourse according to probability, and then, if you like, I will set my myth a going, if it is a myth.

19. Bion says the deity in punishing the children of the wicked for their fathers' crimes is more ridiculous than a doctor administering a potion to a son or grandson for a father's or grandfather's disease. But the cases, though in some respects similar and like, are in others dissimilar. For to cure one person of a disease does not cure another, nor is one any better, when suffering from ophthalmia or fever, by seeing another anointed or poulticed. But the punishments of evil-doers are exhibited to everybody for this reason, that it is the function of justice, when it is carried out as reason dictates, to check some by the punishment of others. So that Bion did not see in what respect his comparison touched our subject. For sometimes, when a man falls into a grievous but not incurable malady, which afterwards by intemperance and negligence ruins his constitution and kills him, is not his son, who is not supposed to be suffering from the same malady but only to have a predisposition for it, enjoined to a careful manner of living by his medical man, or friend, or intelligent trainer in gymnastics, or honest guardian, and recommended to abstain from fish and pastry, wine and women, and to take medicine frequently, and to go in for training in the gymnasiums, and so to dissipate and get rid of the small seeds of what might be a serious malady, if he allowed it to come to a head? Do we not indeed give advice of this kind to the children of diseased fathers or mothers, bidding them take care and be cautious and not to neglect themselves, but at once to arrest the first germ, of the malady, nipping it in the bud while removable, and before it has got a firm footing in the constitution?" "Certainly we do," said all the company. "We are not then," I continued, "acting in a strange or ridiculous but in a necessary and useful way, in arranging their exercise and food and physic for the sons of epileptic or atrabilious or gouty people, not when they are ill, but to prevent their becoming so. For the offspring of a poor constitution does not require punishment, but it does require medical treatment and care, and if any one stigmatizes this, because it curtails pleasure and involves some self-denial and pain, as a punishment inflicted by cowardice and timidity, we care not for his opinion. Can it be right to tend and care for the body that has an hereditary predisposition to some malady, and are we to neglect the growth and spread in the young character of hereditary taint of vice, and to dally with it, and wait till it be plainly mixed up with the feelings, and, to use the language of Pindar, "produce malignant fruit in the heart?"

20. Or is the deity in this respect no wiser than Hesiod, who exhorts and advises, "not to beget children on our return from a sad funeral, but after a banquet with the gods," as though not vice or virtue only, but sorrow or joy and all other propensities, came from generation, to which the poet bids us come gay and agreeable and sprightly. But it is not Hesiod's function, or the work of human wisdom, but it belongs to the deity, to discern and accurately distinguish similarities and differences of character, before they become obvious by resulting in crime through the influence of the passions. For the young of bears and wolves and apes manifest from their birth the nature innate in them in all its naked simplicity; whereas mankind, under the influence of customs and opinions and laws, frequently conceal their bad qualities and imitate what is good, so as altogether to obliterate and escape from the innate taint of vice, or to be undetected for a long time, throwing the veil of craft round their real nature, so that we are scarce conscious of their villainy till we feel the blow or smart of some unjust action, so that we are in fact only aware that there is such a thing as injustice when men act unjustly, or as vice when men act viciously, or as cowardice when men run away, just as if one were to suppose that scorpions had a sting only when they stung us, or that vipers were venomous only when they bit us, which would be a very silly idea. For every bad man is not bad only when he breaks out into crime, but he has the seeds of vice in his nature, and is only vicious in act when he has opportunity and means, as opportunity makes the thief steal, and the tyrant violate the laws. But the deity is not ignorant of the nature and disposition of every man, inasmuch as by his very nature he can read the soul better than the body, and does not wait to punish violence in the act, or shamelessness in the tongue, or lasciviousness in the members. For he does not retaliate upon the wrong-doer as having been ill-treated by him, nor is he angry with the robber as having been plundered by him, nor does he hate the adulterer as having himself suffered from his licentiousness, but it is to cure him that he often punishes the adulterous or avaricious or unjust man in embryo, before he has had time to work out all his villainy, as we try to stop epileptic fits before they come on.

21. Just now we were dissatisfied that the wicked were punished late and tardily, whereas at present we find fault with the deity for correcting the character and disposition of same before they commit crime, from our ignoring that the future deed may be worse and more dreadful than the past, and the hidden intention than the overt act; for we are not able fully to understand the reasons why it is better to leave some alone in their ill deeds, and to arrest others in the intention; just as no doubt medicine is not appropriate in the case of some patients, which would be beneficial to others not ill, but yet perhaps in a more dangerous condition still. And so the gods do not visit all the offences of parents on their children, but if a good man is the son of a bad one, as the son of a sickly parent is sometimes of a good constitution, he is exempt from the punishment of his race, as not being a participator in its viciousness. But if a young man imitates his vicious race it is only right that he should inherit the punishment of their ill deeds, as he would their debts. For Antigonus was not punished for Demetrius, nor, of the old heroes, Phyleus for Augeas, or Nestor for Neleus, for though their sires were bad they were good, but those whose nature liked and approved the vices of their ancestors, these justice punished, taking vengeance on their similarity in viciousness. For as the warts and moles and freckles of parents often skip a generation, and reappear in the grandsons and granddaughters, and as a Greek woman, that had a black baby and so was accused of adultery, found out that she was the great granddaughter of an Ethiopian, and as the son of Pytho the Nisibian who recently died, and who was said to trace his descent to the Sparti, had the birthmark on his body of the print of a spear the token of his race, which though long dormant had come up again as out of the deep, so frequently earlier generations conceal and suppress the mental idiosyncrasies and passions of their race, which afterwards nature causes to break out in other members of the family, and so displays the family bent either to vice or virtue."

22. When I had said thus much I was silent, but Olympicus smiled and said, "We do not praise you, lest we should seem to forget your promised story, as though what you had advanced was adequate proof enough, but we will give our opinion when we have heard it." Then I began as follows. "Thespesius of Soli, an intimate friend of that Protogenes who lived in this city with us for some time, had been very profligate during the early part of his life, and had quickly run through his property, and for some time owing to his straits had given himself up to bad practices, when repenting of his old ways, and following the pursuit of riches, he resembled those profligate husbands that pay no attention to their wives while they live with them, but get rid of them, and then, after they have married other men, do all they can wickedly to seduce

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them. Abstaining then from nothing dishonourable that could bring either enjoyment or gain, in no long time he got together no great amount of property, but a very great reputation for villainy. But what most damaged his character was the answer he received from the oracle of Amphilochus. For he sent it seems a messenger to consult the god whether he would live the rest of his life better, and the answer was he would do better after his death. And indeed this happened in a sense not long after. For he fell headlong down from a great height, and though he had received no wound nor even a blow, the fall did for him, but three days after (just as he was about to be buried) he recovered. He soon picked up his strength again, and went home, and so changed his manner of life that people would hardly credit it. For the Cilicians say that they know nobody who was in those days more fairdealing in business, or more devout to the deity, or more disagreeable to his enemies, or more faithful to his friends; insomuch that all who had any dealings with him desired to hear the reason of this change, not thinking that so great a reformation of character could have proceeded from chance, and their idea was correct, as his narrative to Protogenes and others of his great friends showed. For he told them that, when his soul left the body, the change he first underwent was as if he were a pilot thrown violently into the sea out of a ship. Then raising himself up a little, he thought he recovered the power of breathing again altogether, and looked round him in every direction, as if one eye of the soul was open. But he saw none of the things he had ever seen before, but stars enormous in size and at immense distance from one another, sending forth a wonderful and intense brightness of colour, so that the soul was borne along and moved about everywhere quickly and easily, like a ship is fair weather. But omitting most of the sights he saw, he said that the souls of the dead mounted into the air, which yielded to them and formed fiery bubbles, and then, when each bubble quietly broke, they assumed human forms, light in weight but with different kinds of motion, for some leapt about with wonderful agility and darted straight upwards, while others like spindles flitted round all together in a circle, some in an upward direction, some in a downward, with mixed and confused motion, hardly stopping at all, or only after a very long time. As to most of these he was ignorant who they were, but he saw two or three that he knew, and tried to approach them and talk with them, but they would not listen to him, and did not seem to be in their right minds, but out of their senses and distraught, avoiding every sight and touch, and at first turned round and round alone, but afterwards meeting many other souls whirling round and in the same condition as themselves, they moved about promiscuously with no particular object in view, and uttered inarticulate sounds, like yells, mixed with wailing and terror. Other souls in the upper part of the air seemed joyful, and frequently approached one another in a friendly way, and avoided those troubled souls, and seemed to mark their displeasure by keeping themselves to themselves, and their joy and delight by extension and expansion. At last he said he saw the soul of a relation, that he thought he knew but was not quite sure, as he died when he was a boy, which came up to him and said to him, "Welcome, Thespesius." And he wondering, and saying that his name was not Thespesius but Aridaeus, the soul replied, "That was your old name, but henceforth it will be Thespesius. For assuredly you are not dead, but by the will of the gods are come here with your intellect, for the rest of your soul you have left in the body like an anchor; and as a proof of what I say both now and hereafter notice that the souls of the dead have no shadow and do not move their eyelids." Thespesius, on hearing these words, pulled himself somewhat more together again, and began to use his reason, and looking more closely he noticed that an indistinct and shadow-like line was suspended over him, while the others shone all round and were transparent, but were not all alike; for some were like the full-moon at its brightest, throwing out one smooth even and continuous colour, others had spots or light marks here and there, while others were quite variegated and strange to the sight, with black spots like snakes, while others again had dim scratches.

Then the kinsman of Thespesius (for there is nothing to prevent our calling the souls by the name of the persons), pointed out everything, and told him that Adrastea, the daughter of Necessity and Zeus, was placed in the highest position to punish all crimes, and no criminal was either so great or so small as to be able to escape her either by fraud or violence. But, as there were three kinds of punishment, each had its own officer and administering functionary. "For speedy Vengeance undertakes the punishment of those that are to be corrected at once in the body and through their bodies, and she mildly passes by many offences that only need expiation; but if the cure of vice demands further pains, then the deity hands over such criminals after death to Justice, and those whom Justice rejects as altogether incurable, Erinnys (the third and fiercest of Adrastea's officers), pursues as they are fleeing and wandering about in various directions, and with pitiless severity utterly undoes them all, and thrusts them down to a place not to be seen or spoken about. And, of all these punishments, that which is administered in this life by Vengeance is most like those in use among the barbarians. For as among the Persians they pluck off and scourge the garments and tiaras of those that are to be punished, while the offenders weep and beg them to cease, so most punishments by fine or bodily chastisement have no sharp touch, nor do they reach vice itself, but are only for show and sentiment. And whoever goes from this world to that incorrigible and impure, Justice takes him aside, naked as he is in soul, and unable to veil or hide or conceal his villainy, but descried all round and in all points by everybody, and shows him first to his good parents, if such they were, to let them see what a wretch he is and how unworthy of his ancestors; but if they were wicked too, seeing them punished and himself being seen by them, he is chastised for a long time till he is purged of each of his bad propensities by sufferings and pains, which as much exceed in magnitude and intensity all sufferings in the flesh, as what is real is more vivid than a dream. But the scars and marks of the stripes for each bad propensity are more visible in some than in others. Observe also, he continued, the different and various colours of the souls. That dark dirty-brown colour is the pigment of illiberality and covetousness, and the blood-red the sign of cruelty and savageness, and where the blue is there sensuality and love of pleasure are not easily eradicated, and that violet and livid colour marks malice and envy, like the dark liquid ejected by the cuttle fish. For as during life vice produces these colours by the soul being acted upon by passions and reacting upon the body, so here it is the end of purification and correction when they are toned down, and the soul becomes altogether bright and one colour. But as long as these colours remain, there are relapses of the passions accompanied by palpitation and throbbing of the heart, in some faint and soon suppressed, in others more violent and lasting. And some of these souls by being again and again corrected recover their proper disposition and condition, while others again by their violent ignorance and excessive love of pleasure are carried into the bodies of animals; for one by weakness of reasoning power, and slowness of contemplation, is impelled by the practical element in him to generation, while another, lacking an instrument to satisfy his licentiousness, desires to gratify his passions immediately, and to get that gratification through the medium of the body; for here there is no real fruition, but only an imperfect shadow and dream of incomplete pleasure."

After he had said this, Thespesius' kinsman hurried him at great speed through immense space, as it seemed to him, though he travelled as easily and straight as if he were carried on the wings of the sun's rays. At last he got to an extensive and bottomless abyss, where his strength left him, as he found was the case with the other souls there: for keeping together and making swoops, like birds, they flitted all round the abyss, but did not venture to pass over it. To internal view it resembled the caverns of Bacchus, being beautiful throughout with trees and green foliage and flowers of all kinds, and it breathed a soft and gentle air, laden with scents marvellously pleasant, and producing the effect that wine does on those who are topers; for the souls were elevated by its fragrance, and gay and blithe with one another: and the whole spot was full of mirth and laughter, and such songs as emanate from gaiety and enjoyment. And Thespesius' kinsman told him that this was the way Dionysus went up to heaven by, and by which he afterwards took up Semele, and it was called the place of Oblivion. But he would not let Thespesius stay there, much as he wished, but forcibly dragged him away, instructing and telling him that the intellect was melted and moistened by pleasure, and that the irrational and corporeal element being watered and made flesh stirs up the memory of the body, from which comes a yearning and strong desire for generation, so called from being an inclination to the earth, when the soul is weighed down with moisture.

Next Thespesius travelled as far in another direction, and seemed to see a great crater into which several rivers emptied themselves, one whiter than the foam of the sea or snow, another like the purple of the rainbow, and others of various hues whose brightness was apparent at some distance, but when he got nearer the air became thinner and the colours grew dim, and the crater lost all its gay colours but white. And he saw three genii sitting together in a triangular position, mixing the rivers together in certain proportions. Then the guide of Thespesius' soul told him, that Orpheus got as far as here, when he came in quest of the soul of his wife, and from not exactly remembering what he had seen spread a false report among mankind, that the oracle at Delphi was common to Apollo and Night, though Apollo had no communion with Night: but this, pursued the guide, is an oracle common to Night and the Moon, that utters forth its oracular knowledge in no particular part of the world, nor has it any particular seat, but wanders about everywhere in men's dreams and visions. Hence, as you see, dreams receive and disseminate a mixture of simple truth with deceit and error. But the oracle of Apollo you do not know, nor can you see it, for the earthiness of the soul does not suffer it to soar upwards, but keeps it down in dependence on the body. And taking him nearer his guide tried to show him the light from the tripod, which, as he said, shone as far as Parnassus through the bosom of Themis, but though he desired to see it he could not for its brightness, but as he passed by he heard the shrill voice of a woman speaking in verse several things, among others, he thought, telling the time of his death. That, said the genius, was the voice of the Sibyl, who sang about the future as she was being borne about in the Orb of the moon. Though desirous then to hear more, he was conveyed into another direction by the violent motion of the moon, as if he had been in the eddies of a whirlpool, so that he heard very little more, only a prophecy about Mount Vesuvius and that Dicaearchia [Latin: Puteoli.] would be destroyed by fire, and a short piece about the Emperor then reigning [Vespasian. See Suetonius, "Vespasian," Chapter 24, as to the particulars of his death.], that "though he was good he would lose his empire through sickness."

After this Thespesius and his guide turned to see those that were undergoing punishment. And at first they saw only distressing and pitiable sights, but after that, Thespesius, little expecting it, found himself among his friends and acquaintances and kinsfolk who were being punished, and undergoing dreadful sufferings and hideous and bitter tortures, and who wept and wailed to him. And at last he descried his father coming up out of a certain gulf covered with marks and scars, stretching out his hands, and not allowed to keep silence, but compelled by those that presided over his torture to confess that he had been an accursed wretch and poisoned some strangers that had gold, and during his lifetime had escaped the detection of everybody; but had been found out here, and his guilt brought home to him, for which he had already suffered much, and was being dragged on to suffer more. So great was his consternation and fear that he did not dare to intercede or beg for his father's release, but wishing to turn and flee he could no longer see his gentle and kind guide, but he was thrust forward by some persons horrible to look at, as if some dire necessity compelled him to go through with the business, and saw that the shades of those that had been notorious criminals and punished in their life-time were not so severely tortured here or like the others, but had an incomplete though toilsome punishment for their irrational passions. Whereas those who under the mask and show of virtue had lived all their lives in undetected vice were forced by their torturers with labour and pain to turn their souls inside out, unnaturally wriggling and writhing about, like the sea-scolopendras who, when they have swallowed the hook, turn themselves inside out; but some of them their torturers flayed and crimped so as to show their various inward vices which were only skinned over, which were deep in their soul the principal part of man. And he said he saw other souls, like snakes two or three or even more twined together, devouring one another in malignity and malevolence for what they had suffered or done in life. He said also that there were several lakes running parallel, one of boiling gold, another most cold of lead, another hard of iron, and several demons were standing by, like smiths, who lowered down and drew up by turns with instruments the souls of those whose criminality lay in insatiable cupidity. For when they were red-hot and transparent through their bath in the lake of gold, the demons thrust them into the lake of lead and dipped them in that; and when they got congealed in it and hard as hail, they dipped them into the lake of iron, and there they became wonderfully black, and broken and crushed by the hardness of the iron, and changed their appearance, and after that they were dipped again in the lake of gold, after suffering, he said, dreadful agony in all these changes of torment. But he said those souls suffered most piteously of all that, when they seemed to have escaped justice, were arrested again, and these were those whose crimes had been visited on their children or descendants. For whenever one of these latter happened to come up, he fell into a rage and cried out, and showed the marks of what he had suffered, and upbraided and pursued the soul of the parent, that wished to fly and hide himself but could not. For quickly did the ministers of torture pursue them, and hurry them back again to Justice, wailing all the while on account of their fore-knowledge of what their punishment would be. And to some of them he said many of their posterity clung at once, and just like bees or bats stuck to them, and squeaked and gibbered in their rage at the memory of what they had suffered owing to them. Last of all he saw the souls of those that were to come into the world a second time, forcibly moulded and transformed into various kinds of animals by artificers appointed for the very purpose with instruments and blows, who broke off all the limbs of some, and only wrenched off some of others, and polished others down or annihilated them altogether, to fit them for other habits and modes of life. Among them he saw the soul of Nero tortured in other ways, and pierced with red-hot nails. And the artificers having taken it in hand and converted it into the semblance of a Pindaric viper, which gets its way to life by gnawing through its mother's womb, a great light, he said, suddenly shone, and a voice came out of the light, ordering them to change it into something milder, so they devised of it the animal that croaks about lakes and marshes, for he had been punished sufficiently for his crimes, and now deserved some favour at the hands of the gods, for he had

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freed Greece, the noblest nation of his subjects and the best-beloved of the gods. So much did Thespesius behold, but as he intended to return a horrible dread came upon him. For a woman, marvellous in appearance and size, took hold of him and said to him, "Come here that you may the better remember everything you have seen." And she was about to strike him with a red-hot iron pin, such as the encaustic painters use, when another woman prevented her; and he was suddenly sucked up, as through a pipe, by a strong and violent wind, and lit upon his own body, and woke up and found that he was close to his tomb.

PLUTARCH'S MORALS CHAPTER 23

AGAINST BORROWING MONEY.

1. Plato in his Laws does not permit neighbours to use one another's water, unless they have first dug for themselves as far as the clay, and reached ground that is unsuitable for a well. For clay, having a rich and compact nature, absorbs the water it receives, and does not let it pass through. But he allows people that cannot make a well of their own to use their neighbour's water, for the law ought to relieve necessity. Ought there not also to be a law about money, that people should not borrow of others, nor go to other people's sources of income, until they have first examined their own resources at home, and collected, as by drops, what is necessary for their use? But nowadays from luxury and effeminacy and lavish expenditure people do not use their own resources, though they have them, but borrow from others at great interest without necessity. And what proves this very clearly is the fact that people do not lend money to the needy, but only to those who, wanting an immediate supply, bring a witness and adequate security for their credit, so that they can be in no actual necessity of borrowing.

2. Why pay court to the banker or trader? Borrow from your own table. You have cups, silver dishes, pots and pans. Use them in your need. Beautiful Aulis or Tenedos will furnish you with earthenware instead, purer than silver, for they will not smell strongly and unpleasantly of interest, a kind of rust that daily soils your sumptuousness, nor will they remind you of the calends and the new moon, which, though the most holy of days, the money-lenders make ill-omened and hateful. For those who instead of selling them put their goods out at pawn cannot be saved even by Zeus the Protector of Property: they are ashamed to sell, they are not ashamed to pay interest on their goods when out at pawn. And yet the famous Pericles made the ornament of Athene, which weighed forty talents of fine gold, removable at will, for "so," he said, "we can use the gold in war, and at some other time restore as costly a one." So should we too in our necessities, as in a siege, not receive a garrison imposed on us by a hostile money-lender, nor allow our goods to go into slavery; but stripping our table, our bed, our carriages, and our diet, of superfluities, we should keep ourselves free, intending to restore all those things again, if we have good luck.

3. So the Roman matrons offered their gold and ornaments as first-fruits to Pythian Apollo, out of which a golden cup was made and sent to Delphi; and the Carthaginian matrons had their heads shorn, and with the hair cut off made cords for the machines and engines to be used in defence of their country. But we being ashamed of independence enslave ourselves to covenants and conditions, when we ought to restrict and confine ourselves to what is useful, and dock or sell useless superfluities, to build a temple of liberty for ourselves, our wives, and children. The famous Artemis at Ephesus gives asylum and security from their creditors to debtors, when they take refuge in her temple; but the asylum and sanctuary of frugality is everywhere open to the sober-minded, affording them joyful and honourable and ample space for much ease. For as the Pythian Priestess told the Athenians at the time of the Median war that the god had given them wooden walls, and they left the region and city, their goods and houses, and took refuge in their ships for liberty, so the god gives us a wooden table, and earthenware plate, and coarse garments, if we wish to live free. Care not for fine horses or chariots with handsome harness, adorned with gold and silver, which swift interest will catch up and outrun, but mounted on any chance donkey or nag flee from the hostile and tyrannical money-lender, not demanding like the Mede land and water, but interfering with your liberty, and lowering your status. If you pay him not, he duns you; if you offer the money, he won't have it; if you are selling anything, he cheapens the price; if you don't want to sell, he forces you; if you sue him, he comes to terms with you; if you swear, he hectors; if you go to his house, he shuts the door in your face; whereas if you stay at home, he billets himself on you, and is ever rapping at your door.

4. How did Solon benefit the Athenians by ordaining that debtors should no longer have to pay in person? For they are slaves to all money-lenders, and not to them only, what would there be so monstrous in that? but to their slaves, who are insolent and savage barbarians, such as Plato represents the fiery torturers and executioners in Hades who preside over the punishment of the impious. For they make the forum a hell for wretched debtors, and like vultures devour and rend them limb from limb, "piercing into their bowels," and stand over others and prevent their tasting their own grapes or crops, as if they were so many Tantaluses. And as Darius sent Datis and Artaphernes to Athens with manacles and chains in their hands for their captives, so they bring into Greece boxes full of bonds and agreements, like fetters, and visit the towns and scour the country round, sowing not like Triptolemus harmless corn, but planting the toilsome and prolific and never-ending roots of debts, which grow and spread all round, and ruin and choke cities. They say that hares at once give birth and suckle and conceive again, but the debts of these knaves and barbarians give birth before they conceive; for at the very moment of giving they ask back, and take up what they laid down, and lend what they take for lending.

5. It is a saying among the Messenians, that "there is a Pylos before Pylos, and another Pylos too." So it may be said with respect to these money-lenders, "there is interest before interest, and other interest too." Then of course they laugh at those natural philosophers who say that nothing can come of nothing, for they get interest on what neither is nor was; and they think it disgraceful to farm out the taxes, though the law allows it, while they themselves against the law exact tribute for what they lend, or rather, if one is to say the truth, defraud as they lend, for he who receives less than he signs his name for is defrauded. The Persians indeed think lying a secondary crime, but debt a principal one, for lying frequently follows upon debt, but money-lenders tell more lies, for they make fraudulent entries in their account-books, writing down that they have given so-and-so so much, when they have really given less. And the only excuse for their lying is covetousness, not necessity, not utter poverty, but insatiable greediness, the outcome of which is without enjoyment and useless to themselves, and fatal to their victims. For neither do they farm the fields which they rob their debtors of, nor do they inhabit their houses when they have thrust them out, nor use their tables or apparel, but first one is ruined, and then a second is hunted down, for whom the first one serves as a decoy. For the bane spreads and grows like a fire, to the destruction and ruin of all who fall into their clutches, for it consumes one after another; and the money-lender, who fans and feeds this flame to ensnare many, gets no more advantage from it but that some time after he can take his account-book and read how many he has sold up, how many turned out of house and home, and track the sources of his wealth, which is ever growing into a larger pile.

6. And do not think I say this as an enemy proclaiming war against the money-lenders, "For never did they lift my cows or horses," but merely to prove to those who too readily borrow money what disgrace and servitude it brings with it, and what extreme folly and weakness it is. Have you anything? do not borrow, for you are not in a necessitous condition. Have you nothing? do not borrow, for you will never be able to pay back. Let us consider either case separately. Cato said to a certain old man who was a wicked fellow, "My good sir, why do you add the shame that comes from wickedness to old age, that has so many troubles of its own?" So too do you, since poverty has so many troubles of its own, not add the terrible distress that comes from borrowing money and from debt; and do not take away from poverty its only advantage over wealth, its freedom from corroding care. For the proverb that says, "I cannot carry a goat, put an ox on my shoulder," has a ridiculous ring. Unable to bear poverty, are you going to put on your back a money-lender, a weight hard to carry even for a rich man? How then, will you say, am I to maintain myself? Do you ask this, having two hands, two legs, and a tongue, in short, being a man, to love and be loved, to give and receive benefits? Can you not be a schoolmaster or tutor, or porter, or sailor, or make coasting voyages? Any of these ways of getting a livelihood is less disgraceful and difficult than to always have to hear, "Pay me that thou owest."

7. The well-known Rutilius went up to Musonius at Rome, and said to him, "Musonius, Zeus Soter, whom you imitate and emulate, does not borrow money." And Musonius smilingly answered, "Neither does he lend." For you must know Rutilius, himself a lender, was bantering Musonius for being a borrower. What Stoic inflatedness was all this! What need was there to bring in Zeus Soter? For all nature teaches the same lesson. Swallows do not borrow money, nor do ants, although nature has given them no hands, or reason, or profession. But men have intellect in excess, and so ingenious are they that they keep near them horses, and dogs, and partridges, and jackdaws. Why then do you despair, who are as impressible as a jackdaw, have as much voice as a partridge, and are as noble as a dog, of getting some person to befriend you, by looking after him, winning his affections, guarding him, fighting his battles? Do you not see how many opportunities there are both on land and sea? As Crates says, "Miccylus and his wife, to ward off famineIn these bad times, I saw both carding wool."

And King Antigonus asked Cleanthes, when he saw him at Athens after a long interval, "Do you still grind, Cleanthes?" And he replied, "I do, O king, but for my living, yet so as not to desert philosophy." Such was the admirable spirit of the man who, coming from the mill and kneading-trough, wrote with the hand that had baked and ground about the gods, and the moon, and stars, and the sun. But those kinds of labour are in our view servile! And so that we may appear free we borrow money, and flatter and dance attendance on slaves, and give them dinners and presents, and pay taxes as it were to them, not on account of our poverty (for no one lends money to a poor man), but from our love of lavish expenditure. For if we were content with things necessary for subsistence, the race of money-lenders would be as extinct as Centaurs and Gorgons are; it is luxury that has created them as much as goldsmiths, and silversmiths, and perfumers, and dyers in bright colours. For we do not owe money for bread and wine, but for estates, and slaves, and mules, and dining-rooms, and tables, and for our lavish public entertainments, in our unprofitable and thankless ambition. And he that is once involved in debt remains in it all his time, like a horse bitted and bridled that takes one rider after another, and there is no escape to green pastures and meadows, but they wander about like those demons who were driven out of heaven by the gods who are thus described by Empedocles:—"Into the sea the force of heaven thrusts them,The sea rejects them back upon the land; To the sun's rays th' unresting earth remits them; The sun anon whirls them to heaven again."

So one after another usurer or trader gets hold of the poor wretch, hailing either from Corinth, or Patrae, or Athens, till he gets set on to by them all, and torn to bits, and cut into mince-meat as it were for his interest. For as a person who is fallen into the mire must either get up out of it or remain in it, and if he turns about in it, and wallows in it, and bedabbles his body all over in it, he contracts only the greater defilement, so by borrowing from one person to pay another and changing their money-lenders they contract and incur fresh interest, and get into greater liabilities, and closely resemble sufferers from cholera, whose case does not admit of cure because they evacuate everything they are ordered to take, and so ever add to the disease. So these will not get cleansed from the disease of debt, but at regular times in the year pay their interest with pain and agony, and then immediately another creditor presents his little account, so again their heads swim and ache, when they ought to have got rid of their debts altogether, and regained their freedom.

8. I now turn my attention to those who are rich and luxurious, and use language like the following, "Am I then to go without slaves and hearth and home?" As if any dropsical person, whose body was greatly swollen and who was very weak, should say to his doctor, "Am I then to become lean and empty?" And why not, to get well? And do you too go without a slave, not to be a slave yourself; and without chattels, not to be another man's chattel. Listen to a story about two vultures; one was vomiting and saying it would bring its inside up, and the other who was by said, "What harm if you do? For it won't be your inside you bring up, but that dead body we devoured lately." And so any debtor does not sell his own estate, or his own house, but his creditor's, for he has made him by law master of them. Nay, but by Zeus, says one, my father left me this field. Yes, and your father also left you liberty and a status in the community, which you ought to value more than you do. And your father begot you with hand and foot, but should either of them mortify, you pay the surgeon to cut it off. Thus Calypso clad and "dressed" Odysseus "in raiment smelling sweet," like the body of an immortal, as a gift and token of her affection for him; but when his vessel was upset and he himself immersed, and owing to this wet and heavy raiment could hardly keep himself on the top of the waves, he threw it off and stripped himself, and covered his naked breast with Ino's veil, and "swam for it gazing on the distant shore," and so saved his life, and lacked neither food nor raiment. What then? have not poor debtors storms, when the money-lender stands over them and says, Pay? "Thus spoke Poseidon, and the clouds did gather,And lashed the sea to fury, and at once Eurus and Notus and the stormy Zephyr Blew all together."

Thus interest rolls on interest as wave upon wave, and he that is involved in debt struggles against the load that bears him down, but cannot swim away and escape, but sinks to the bottom, and carries with him to ruin his friends that have gone security for him. But Crates the Theban, though he had neither duns nor debts, and was only disgusted at the distracting cares of housekeeping, gave up a property worth eight talents, and assumed the philosopher's threadbare cloak and wallet, and took refuge in philosophy and poverty. And Anaxagoras left his sheep-farm. But why need I mention these? since the lyric poet Philoxenus, obtaining by lot in a Sicilian colony much substance and a house abounding in every kind of comfort, but finding that luxury and pleasure and absence of refinement was the fashion there, said, "By the gods these comforts shall not undo me, I will give them up," and he left his lot to others, and sailed home again. But debtors have to put up with being dunned, subjected to tribute, suffering slavery, passing debased coin, and like Phineus, feeding certain winged Harpies, who carry off and lay violent hands on their food, not at the proper season, for they get possession of their debtors' corn before it is sown, and they traffic for oil before the olives are ripe; and the money-lender says, "I have

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wine at such and such a price," and takes a bond for it, when the grapes are yet on the vine waiting for Arcturus to ripen them.

PLUTARCH'S MORALS CHAPTER 24

WHETHER "LIVE UNKNOWN" BE A WISE PRECEPT.

1. He who uttered this precept certainly did not wish to live unknown, for he uttered it to let all the world know he was a superior thinker, and to get to himself unjust glory by exhorting others to shun glory. "I hate the wise man for himself not wise." They say that Philoxenus the son of Eryxis and Gnatho the Sicilian, being exceedingly greedy where good fare was going, would blow their nose in the dishes, to disgust all others at the table, that they alone might take their fill of the choicest dishes. So those that are insatiable pursuers of glory calumniate glory to others who are their rivals, that they may get it without antagonists. In this they resemble rowers, who face the stern of the vessel but propel it ahead, that by the recoil from the stroke of their oars they may reach port, so those that give vent to precepts like this pursue glory with their face turned in the opposite direction. For otherwise what need was there to utter a precept like this, or to write and hand it down to posterity, if he wished to live unknown to his own generation, who did not wish to live unknown to posterity?

2. Look at the matter in the following way. Has not that "live unknown" a villainous ring, as though one had broken open graves? Is your life so disgraceful that we must all be ignorant of it? For my part I should say, Even if your life be bad do not live unknown, but be known, reform, repent; if you have virtue, be not utterly useless in life; if you are vicious, do not continue unreformed. Point out then and define to whom you recommend this precept. If to an ignorant or wicked or senseless person, you resemble one who should say to a person in a fever or delirium, "Be unknown. Don't let the doctor know your condition. Go and throw yourself into some dark place, that you and your ailments may be unknown." So you say to a vicious man, "Go off with your vice, and hide your deadly and irremediable disease from your friends, fearful to show your superstitious fears, palpitations as it were, to those who could admonish you and cure you." Our remote ancestors paid public attention to the sick, and if any one had either had or cured a similar complaint, he communicated his experience to the patient, and so they say medical art became great by these contributions from experience. We ought also in the same way to expose to everyone diseased lives and the passions of the soul, and to handle them, and to examine the condition of each, and say, Are you a passionate man? Be on your guard against anger. Are you of a jealous turn? Look to it. Are you in love? I myself was in love once, but I had to repent. But nowadays people deny and conceal and cloak their vices, and so fix them deeper in themselves.

3. Moreover if you advise men of worth to live unknown and in obscurity, you say to Epaminondas, Do not be a general; and to Lycurgus, Do not be a legislator; and to Thrasybulus, Do not be a tyrannicide; and to Pythagoras, Do not teach; and to Socrates, Do not discourse; and first and foremost you bid yourself, Epicurus, to refrain from writing letters to your friends in Asia, and from enrolling Egyptian strangers among your disciples, and from dancing attendance on the youths of Lampsacus, and sending books to all quarters to display your wisdom to all men and all women, and leaving directions in your will about your funeral. What is the meaning of those common tables of yours? what that crowd of friends and handsome youths? Why those many thousand lines written and composed so laboriously on Metrodorus, and Aristobulus, and Chaeredemus, that they may not be unknown even in death, if you ordain for virtue oblivion, for art inactivity, for philosophy silence, and for success that it should be speedily forgotten?

4. But if you exclude all knowledge about life, like putting the lights out at a supper party, that you may go from pleasure to pleasure undetected, then "live unknown." Certainly if I am going to pass my life with the harlot Hedeia, or my days with Leontium, and spurn at virtue, and put my summum bonum in sensual gratifications, these are ends that require darkness and night, on these oblivion and ignorance are rightly cast. But if any one in nature sings the praises of the deity and justice and providence, and in morals upholds the law and society and the constitution, and in the constitution what is honourable and not expedient, why should he "live unknown"? Is it that he should instruct nobody, inspire in nobody an emulation for virtue, and be to nobody a pattern in good? Had Themistocles been unknown at Athens, Greece would not have repelled Xerxes; had Camillus been unknown at Rome, Rome would not have remained a state; had Plato been unknown to Dion, Sicily would not have won its freedom. And as light, I take it, makes us not only visible but useful to one another, so knowledge gives not only glory but impetus to virtue. Epaminondas in obscurity up to his fortieth year was no use to the Thebans, but when his merits became known and he was put into power, he saved his state from ruin, and liberated Greece from slavery, making his abilities efficacious in emergency through his reputation like the bright shining of a light. For Sophocles' words, "Brightly shines brass in use, but when unusedIt groweth dull in time, and mars the house," are also appropriate to the character of a man, which gets rusty and senile by not mixing in affairs but living in obscurity. For mute inglorious ease, and a sedentary life devoted to leisure, not only injure the body but also the soul: and as hidden waters overshadowed and stagnant get foul because they have no outlet, so the innate powers of unruffled lives, that neither imbibe nor pass on anything, even if they had any useful element in them once, seem to be effete and wasted.

5. Have you never noticed how when night comes on a tired languor seizes the body, and inactive torpor overpowers the soul, and reason shrinks within itself like a fire going out, and feeling quite worn out is gently agitated by disordered fancies, only just indicating that the man is alive? But when the sun rises and scares away deceitful dreams, and brings on as it were the everyday world and with its light rouses and stimulates the thoughts and actions of everybody, then, as Democritus says, "men form new ideas for the day," and betake themselves to their various pursuits with mutual impetuosity, as if drawn by a strong impulse.

6. And I think that life itself, and the way we come into the world, is so ordained by the deity that we should know one another. For everyone comes into this great universe obscure and unknown casually and by degrees, but when he mixes with his fellows and grows to maturity he shines forth, and becomes well-known instead of obscure, and conspicuous instead of unknown. For knowledge is not the road to being, as some say, but being to knowledge, for being does not create but only exhibits things, as death is not the reducing of existence to non-existence, but rather the result of dissolution is obscurity. So people considering the Sun as Apollo according to hereditary and ancient institutions, call him Delius and Pythius; whereas the lord of the world of darkness, whether god or demon, they call Hades (for when we die we go into an unseen and invisible place), and the lord of dark night and idle sleep. And I think our ancestors called man himself by a word meaning light, because by their relationship to light all have implanted in them a strong and vehement desire to know and to be known. And some philosophers think that the soul itself is light in its essence, inferring so on other grounds and because it can least endure ignorance about facts, and hates everything obscure, and is disturbed at everything dark, which inspires fear and suspicion in it, whereas light is so dear and welcome to it that it thinks nothing otherwise delightful bearable without it, as indeed light makes every pleasure pastime and enjoyment gay and cheerful, like the application of some sweet and general flavour. But the man who thrusts himself into obscurity, and wraps himself up in darkness and buries himself alive, is like one who is dissatisfied with his birth, and renounces his being.

7. And yet Pindar tells us that the abode of the blest is a glorious existence, where the sun shines bright through the entire night in meadows red with roses, an extensive plain full of shady trees ever in bloom never in fruit, watered by gentle purling streams, and there the blest ones pass their time away in thinking and talking about the past and present in social converse . . . . But the third road is of those who have lived unholy and lawless lives, that thrusts their souls to Erebus and the bottomless pit, where sluggish streams of murky night belch forth endless darkness, which receive those that are to be punished and conceal them in forgetfulness and oblivion. For vultures do not always prey on the liver of wicked persons lying on the ground, for it is destroyed by fire or has rolled away; nor does the carrying of heavy burdens press upon and tire out the bodies of those that undergo punishment, "For their strength has no longer flesh and bones," nor have the dead any vestige of body that can receive the infliction of punishment that can make impression; but in reality the only punishment of those who have lived ill is infamy and obscurity and utter annihilation, which hurries them off to the dark river of oblivion, and plunges them into the abyss of a fathomless sea, involving them in uselessness and idleness, ignorance and obscurity.

PLUTARCH'S MORALS CHAPTER 25

ON EXILE

1. They say those discourses, like friends, are best and surest that come to our refuge and aid in adversity, and are useful. For many who come forward do more harm than good in the remarks they make to the unfortunate, as people unable to swim trying to rescue the drowning get entangled with them and sink to the bottom together. Now the discourse that ought to come from friends and people disposed to be helpful should be consolation, and not mere assent with a man's sad feelings. For we do not in adverse circumstances need people to weep and wail with us like choruses in a tragedy, but people to speak plainly to us and instruct us, that grief and dejection of mind are in all cases useless and idle and senseless; and that where the circumstances themselves, when examined by the light of reason, enable a man to say to himself that his trouble is greater in fancy than in reality, it is quite ridiculous not to inquire of the body what it has suffered, nor of the mind if it is any the worse for what has happened, but to employ external sympathizers to teach us what our grief is.

2. Therefore let us examine alone by ourselves the weight of our misfortunes, as if they were burdens. For the body is weighed down by the burden of what presses on it, but the soul often adds to the real load a burden of its own. A stone is naturally hard, and ice naturally cold, but they do not receive these properties and impressions from without; whereas with regard to exile and loss of reputation or honours, as also with regard to their opposites, as crowns and office and position, it is not their own intrinsic nature but our opinion of them that is the gauge of their real joy or sorrow, so that each person makes them for himself light or heavy, easy to bear or hard to bear. When Polynices was asked "What is it to be an exile? Is it grievous?" he replied to the question, "Most grievous, and in deed worse than in word."

Compare with this the language of Alcman, as the poet has represented him in the following lines. "Sardis, my father's ancient home, had I had the fortune to be reared in thee, I should have been dressed in gold as a priest of Cybele, and beaten the fine drums; but as it is my name is Alcman, and I am a citizen of Sparta, and I have learned to write Greek poetry, which makes me greater than the tyrants Dascyles or Gyges." Thus the very same thing one man's opinion makes good, like current coin, and another's bad and injurious.

3. But let it be granted that exile is, as many say and sing, a grievous thing. So some food is bitter, and sharp, and biting to the taste, yet by an admixture with it of sweet and agreeable food we take away its unpleasantness. There are also some colours unpleasant to look at, that quite confuse and dazzle us by their intensity and excessive force. If then we can relieve this by a mixture of shadow, or by diverting the eye to green or some agreeable colour, so too can we deal with misfortunes, mixing up with them the advantages and pleasant things we still enjoy, as wealth, or friends, or leisure, and no deficiency in what is necessary for our subsistence. For I do not think that there are many natives of Sardis who would not choose your fortune even with exile, and be content to live as you do in a strange land, rather than, like snails who have no other home than their shells, enjoy no other blessing but staying at home in ease.

4. As then he in the comedy that was exhorting an unfortunate friend to take courage and bear up against fortune, when he asked him "how," answered "as a philosopher," so may we also play the philosopher's part and bear up against fortune manfully. How do we do when it rains, or when the North Wind doth blow? We go to the fire, or the baths, or the house, or put on another coat: we don't sit down in the rain and cry. So too can you more than most revive and cheer yourself for the chill of adversity, not standing in need of outward aid, but sensibly using your actual advantages. The surgeon's cupping-glasses extract the worst humours from the body to relieve and preserve the rest of it, whereas the melancholy and querulous by ever dwelling on their worst circumstances, and thinking only of them, and being engrossed by their troubles, make even useful things useless to them, at the very time when the need is most urgent. For as to those two jars, my friend, that Homer says are stored in Heaven, one full of good fortunes, one of bad, it is not Zeus that presides as the dispenser of them, giving to some a gentle and even portion, and to others unmixed streams of evils, but ourselves. For the sensible make their life pleasanter and more endurable by mitigating their sorrows with the consideration of their blessings, while most people, like sieves, let the worst things stick to them while the best pass through.

5. And so, if we fall into any real trouble or evil, we ought to get cheerfulness and ease of mind from the consideration of the actual blessings that are still left to us, mitigating outward trouble by private happiness. And as to those things which are not really evil in their nature, but only so from imagination and empty fancy, we must act as we do with children who are afraid of masks: by bringing them near, and putting them in their hands, and turning them about, we accustom them never to heed them at all: and so we by bringing reason to bear on it may discover the rottenness and emptiness and exaggeration of our fancy. As a case in point let us take your present exile from what you deem your country. For in nature no country, or house, or field, or smithy, as Aristo said, or surgery, is peculiarly ours, but all such things exist or rather take their name in connection with the person who dwells in them or possesses them. For man, as Plato says, is not an earthly and immovable but heavenly plant, the head making the body erect as from a root, and turned up to heaven. And so Hercules said well, "Argive or Theban am I, I vaunt notTo be of one town only, every towerThat does to Greece belong, that is my country." But better still said Socrates, that he was not an Athenian or Greek, but a citizen of the world (as a man might say he was a Rhodian or Corinthian), for he did not confine himself to Sunium, or Taenarum, or the Ceraunian mountains.

"See you the boundless reach of sky above,And how it holds the earth in its soft arms?" These are the boundaries of our country, nor is there either exile or stranger or foreigner in

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these, where there is the same fire, water and air, the same rulers controllers and presidents, the sun the moon and the morning star, the same laws to all, under one appointment and ordinance the summer and winter solstices, the equinoxes, Pleias and Arcturus, the seasons of sowing and planting; where there is one king and ruler, God, who has under his jurisdiction the beginning and middle and end of everything, and travels round and does everything in a regular way in accordance with nature; and in his wake to punish all transgressions of the divine law follows Justice, whom 382all men naturally invoke in dealing with one another as fellow citizens.

6. As to your not dwelling at Sardis, that is nothing. Neither do all the Athenians dwell at Colyttus, nor all the Corinthians at Craneum, nor all the Lacedaemonians at Pitane. Do you consider all those Athenians strangers and exiles who removed from Melita to Diomea, where they call the month Metageitnion, and keep the festival Metageitnia to commemorate their migration, and gladly and gaily accept and are content with their neighbourhood with other people? Surely you would not. What part of the inhabited world or of the whole earth is very far distant from another part, seeing that mathematicians teach us that the whole earth is a mere point compared to heaven? But we, like ants or bees, if we get banished from one ant-hill or hive are in sore distress and feel lost, not knowing or having learnt to make and consider all things our own, as indeed they are. And yet we laugh at the stupidity of one who asserts that the moon shines brighter at Athens than at Corinth, though in a sort we are in the same case ourselves, when in a strange land we look on the earth, the sea, the air, the sky, as if we doubted whether or not they were different from those we had been accustomed to. For nature makes us free and unrestrained, but we bind and confine immure and force ourselves into small and scanty space. Then too we laugh at the Persian kings, who, if the story be true, drink only of the water of the Choaspes, thus making the rest of the world waterless as far as they are concerned, but when we migrate to other places, we desire the water of the Cephisus, or we yearn for the Eurotas, or Taygetus, or Parnassus, and so make the whole world for ourselves houseless and homeless.

7. Some Egyptians, who migrated to Ethiopia because of the anger and wrath of their king, to those who begged them to return to their wives and children very immodestly exposed their persons, saying that they would never be in want of wives or children while so provided. It is far more becoming and less low to say that whoever has the good fortune to be provided with the few necessaries of life is nowhere a stranger, nowhere without home and hearth, only he must have besides these prudence and sense, as an anchor and helm, that he may be able to moor himself in any harbour. For a person indeed who has lost his wealth it is not easy quickly to get another fortune, but every city is at once his country to the man who knows how to make it such, and has the roots by which he can live and thrive and get acclimatized in every place, as was the case with Themistocles and Demetrius of Phalerum. The latter after his banishment became a great friend of Ptolemy at Alexandria, and not only passed his days in abundance, but also sent gifts to the Athenians. And Themistocles, who was publicly entertained at the king's expense, is stated to have said to his wife and children, "We should have been ruined, if we had not been ruined." And so Diogenes the Cynic to the person who said to him, "The people of Sinope have condemned you to banishment from Pontus," replied, "And I have condemned them to stay in Pontus, 'by the high cliffs of the inhospitable sea.'" And Stratonicus asked his host at Seriphus, for what offence exile was the appointed punishment, and being told that they punished rogues by exile, said, "Why then are not you a rogue, to escape from this hole of a place?" For the comic poet says they get their crop of figs down there with slings, and that the island is very barely supplied with the necessaries of life.

8. For if you look at the real facts and shun idle fancy, he that has one city is a stranger and foreigner in all others. For it does not seem to such a one fair and just to leave his own city and dwell in another. "It has been your lot to be a citizen of Sparta, see that you adorn your native city," whether it be inglorious, or unhealthy, or disturbed with factions, or has its affairs in disorder. But the person whom fortune has deprived of his own city, she allows to make his home in any he fancies. That was an excellent precept of Pythagoras, "Choose the best kind of life, custom will make it easy." So too it is wise and profitable to say here, "Choose the best and pleasantest 384city, time will make it your country, and a country that will not always distract you and trouble you and give you various orders such as, 'Contribute so much money, Go on an embassy to Rome, Entertain the prefect, Perform public duties.'" If a person in his senses and not altogether silly were to think of these things, he would prefer to live in exile in some island, like Gryarus or Cinarus, "Savage, and fruitless, ill repaying tillage," and that not in dejection and wailing, or using the language of those women in Simonides,

"I am shut in by the dark roaring seaThat foams all round,"

but he will rather be of the mind of Philip, who when he was thrown in wrestling, and turned round, and noticed the mark his body made in the dust, said, "O Hercules, what a little part of the earth I have by nature, though I desire all the world!"

9. I think also you have seen Naxos, or at any rate Hyria, which is close here. But the former was the home of Ephialtes and Otus, and the latter was the dwelling-place of Orion. And Alcmaeon, when fleeing from the Furies, so the poets tell us, dwelt in a place recently formed by the silting of the Achelous; but I think he chose that little spot to dwell in ease and quiet, merely to avoid political disturbances and factions, and those furies informers. And the Emperor Tiberius lived the last seven years of his life in the island of Capreae, and the sacred governing power of the world enclosed in his breast during all that time never changed its abode. But the incessant and constant cares of empire, coming from all sides, made not that island repose of his pure and complete. But he who can disembark on a small island, and get rid of great troubles, is a miserable man, if he cannot often say and sing to himself those lines of Pindar, "To love the slender cypress, and to leave the Cretan pastures lying near Ida. I have but little land, where I grow strong, and have nothing to do with sorrow or faction," or the ordinances of princes, or public duties in political emergencies, or state functions hard to get off.

10. For if that seems a good saying of Callimachus, "Do not measure wisdom by a Persian rope," much less should we measure happiness by ropes and parasangs, and if we inhabit an island containing 200 furlongs only, and not (like Sicily) four days' sail round, ought we to wail and lament as if we were very unfortunate? For how does plenty of room bring about an easy life? Have you not heard Tantalus saying in the play, "I sow a field that takes twelve days to travel round, The Berecyntian region," but shortly after he says, "My fortunes, that were once as high as heaven, Now to the ground are fallen, and do say to me,'Learn not to make too much of earthly things.'"

And Nausithous leaving the spacious Hyperia because of the proximity of the Cyclopes, and migrating to an island "far from all enterprising men," and living an unsocial life, "Apart from men beside the stormy sea," yet contrived to make the life of his citizens very pleasant. And the Cyclades were first inhabited by the sons of Minos, and afterwards by the sons of Codrus and Neleus, though foolish people now think they are punished if they are exiled to them. And yet what island used as a place of exile is not of larger extent than Scillus, where Xenophon after his military service saw a comfortable old age? And the Academy, a small place bought for only 3,000 drachmae, was the domicile of Plato and Xenocrates and Polemo, who taught and lived there all their lives, except one day every year, when Xenocrates went to Athens to grace the festival of Dionysus, so they said, and to see the new plays exhibited. And Theocritus of Chios twitted Aristotle with loving to live at the courts of Philip and Alexander, and preferring to dwell at the mouth of the Borborus to dwelling in the Academy. For there is a river near Pella that the Macedonians call Borborus. As to islands Homer seems to sing their praise, and recommend them to us as if on purpose, as "She came to Lemnos, town of sacred Thoas;" and, "What Lesbos has, the seat of the immortals;" and, "He captured lofty Scyros, citadel Of Enyeus;" and, "And those who from Dulichium came, and from The sacred islands called the Echinades, That lie across the sea opposite Elis;" and of the illustrious men that dwelt in islands he mentions Aeolus the favourite of the gods, and Odysseus most wise, and Ajax most brave, and Alcinous most kind to strangers.

11. When Zeno learned that the only ship he had left was with all its freight lost at sea, he said, "Fortune, you deal kindly with me, confining me to my threadbare cloak and the life of a philosopher." And a man not altogether silly, or madly in love with crowds, might, I think, not blame fortune for confining him in an island, but might even praise her for relieving him from weariness and anxiety, and wanderings in foreign countries, and perils by sea, and the uproar of the forum, and for giving him truly a secure, quiet, undistracted and private life, putting him as it were inside a circle in which everything necessary for him was contained. For what island has not a house, a promenade, a bath, and fish and hares for those who love fishing and field-sports? And the greatest blessing, quiet, which others frequently pant for, you can freely enjoy. And whereas in the world, when men are playing at dice or otherwise enjoying the privacy of their homes, informers and busybodies hunt them up and pursue them from their houses and gardens in the suburbs, and drag them by force to the forum and court, in an island no one comes to bother one or dun one or to borrow money, or to beg one to be surety for him or canvass for him: only one's best friends and intimates come to visit one out of good will and affection, and the rest of one's life is a sort of holy retirement to whoever wishes or has learnt to live the life of leisure. But he who thinks those happy who are always scouring the country, and pass most of their lives in inns and ferryboats, is like a person who thinks the planets happier than fixed stars. And yet every planet keeps its order, rolling in one sphere, as in an island. For, as Heraclitus says, the sun will never deviate from its bounds, for if it did, the Furies, who are the ministers of Justice, would find it out.

12. Let us use such and similar language, my friend, and harp upon it, to those who are banished to an island, and are debarred all access with others "By the sea waves, which many keep apart." But you who are not tied down to one spot, but only forbidden to live in one, have by that prohibition liberty to go to all others. Moreover to the considerations, I am not in office, or a member of the senate, or an umpire in the games, you may oppose these, I do not belong to any faction, I have no large sums to spend, I have not to dance attendance at the doors of the prefect, it is no odds to me who has got by lot the province, whether he is hot-tempered or an objectionable person. But just as Archilochus overlooked the fruitful fields and vineyards of Thasos, and abused that island as rocky and uneven, and said of it,

"It stands like donkey's chine crowned with wild forest," so we, fixing our eyes only on one aspect of exile, its inglorious state, overlook its freedom from cares, its leisure, its liberty. And yet people thought the kings of Persia happy, because they passed their winter in Babylon, their summer in Media, and the pleasant season of spring at Susa. So can the exile be present at the Eleusinian mysteries, at the festival of Dionysus at Athens, at the Nemean games at Argos, at the Pythian games at Delphi, and can pass on and be a spectator of the Isthmian and Corinthian games, if he is fond of sight-seeing; and if not, he has leisure, can walk about, read, sleep without being disturbed, and can say like Diogenes, "Aristotle has to dine when Philip thinks fit, Diogenes can dine at any time he himself chooses," having no business, or magistrate, or prefect, to put him out of his general habits of living.

13. And so it is that you will find few of the wisest and most intelligent men buried in their own countries, but most (even without any compulsion) have themselves weighed anchor, and transferred their course, and removed, some to Athens, some from it. For who ever bestowed such encomium upon his country as Euripides did in the following lines?

"First we are not a race brought in from other parts, But are indigenous, when all other citiesAre, draughts-men like, transferred from place to place,And are imported from elsewhere. And, lady,If it is not beside the mark to boast,We have above us a well-tempered sky,A climate not too hot, nor yet too cold.And all the finest things in Greece or AsiaWe do procure as an attraction here."

And yet the author of these lines went to Macedonia, and lived all the latter part of his life at the court of Archelaus. And of course you have heard the following epitaph; "Here lies Euphorion's son, Athenian AEschylus,To whom death came in corn-producing Gela."

For he, like Simonides before him, went to Sicily. And many have changed the commencing words of Herodotus, "This is the setting forth of the history of Herodotus of Halicarnassus" into "Herodotus of Thurii." For he migrated to Thurii, and participated in that colony. As to the divine and sacred spirit of the Muses, the poet of the Trojan war, Homer, did not many cities claim him as theirs, because he did not cry up one city only? And Hospitable Zeus has many great honours.

14. And if anyone shall say that these pursued glory and honour, go to the philosophers, and their schools and lectures, consider those at the Lyceum, the Academy, the Porch, the Palladium, the Odeum. If you admire and prefer the Peripatetic school, Aristotle was a native of Stagira, Theophrastus of Eresus, Strato of Lampsacus, Glyco of Troas, Aristo of Ceos, Critolaus of Phaselis. If you prefer the Stoic school, Zeno was a native of Cittium, Cleanthes of Assus, Chrysippus of Soli, Diogenes of Babylon, Antipater of Tarsus; and the Athenian Archidemus migrated to the country of the Parthians, and left at Babylon a succession of the Stoic school. Who exiled these men? Nobody; it was their own pursuit of quiet, of which no one who is famous or powerful can get much at home, that made them teach us this by their practice, while they taught us other things by their precepts. And even nowadays most excellent and renowned persons live in strange lands, not in consequence of being expelled or banished, but at their own option, to avoid business and distracting cares, and the want of leisure which their own country would bring them. For it seems to me that the Muses aided our old writers to complete their finest and most esteemed works by calling in exile as a fellow-worker. Thus Thucydides the Athenian wrote the history of the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians in Thrace near the forest of Scapte, Xenophon wrote at Scillus in Elis, Philistus in Epirus, Timaeus of Tauromenium at Athens, Androtion of Athens at Megara, and Bacchylides the poet in Peloponnesus. All these and many more, though exiled from their country, did not despair or give themselves up to dejection, but so happy was their disposition that they considered exile a resource given them by fortune, whereby they obtained universal fame after their deaths, whereas no memorial is left of those who were factious against them and banished them.

15. He therefore is ridiculous who thinks that any ignominy attaches itself to exile. What say you? Was Diogenes without glory, whom Alexander saw basking in the sun, and stopped

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to ask if he wanted anything, and when he answered, "Nothing, but that you would get a little out of my light," Alexander, astonished at his spirit, said to his friends, "If I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes." Was Camillus without glory when banished from Rome, of which he is now accounted the second founder? And indeed Themistocles did not lose by his exile the glory he had obtained among the Greeks, but he added to it among the barbarians, and there is no one so without honour, so ignoble, who would prefer to be Leobates who indicted him rather than Themistocles the exile, or Clodius who banished Cicero rather than the banished one, or Aristophon the accuser rather than Timotheus who got driven by him from his country.

16. But since a good many are moved by the lines of Euripides, who seems to bring a strong indictment against exile, let us see what it is he says in each question and answer about it.

Jocasta. What is't to be an exile? Is it grievous? Polynices. Most grievous, and in deed worse than in word.Jocasta. What is its aspect? What is hard for exiles?Polynices. This is the greatest, that they have no freedom.Jocasta. This is a slave's life not to speak one's thoughts!Polynices. Then one must put up with one's masters' follies. But this is not a right or true estimate. For first of all, not to say out all one thinks is not the action of a slave but of a sensible man, in times and matters that require reticence and silence, as Euripides himself has said elsewhere better, "Be silent where 'tis meet, speak where 'tis safe."

Then as for the follies of one's masters, one has to put up with them just as much in one's own country as in exile. Indeed, more frequently have the former reason to fear that the powerful in cities will act unjustly to them either through calumny or violence. But his greatest and absurdest error is that he takes away from exiles freedom of speech. It is wonderful, if Theodorus had no freedom of speech, that when Lysimachus the king said to him, "Did not your country cast you out because of your character?" replied, "Yes, as Semele cast out Dionysus, when unable to bear him any longer." And when he showed him Telesphorus in a cage, with his eyes scooped out, and his nose and ears and tongue cut off, and said to him, "This is how I treat those that act ill to me." And had not Diogenes freedom of speech, who, when he visited Philip's camp just as he was on the eve of offering battle to the Greeks, and was taken before the king as a spy, told him he had come to see his insatiable folly, who was going shortly to stake his dominions and life on a mere die. And did not Hannibal the Carthaginian use freedom of speech to Antiochus, though he was an exile, and Antiochus a king? For as a favourable occasion presented itself he urged the king to attack the enemy, and when after sacrifice he reported that the entrails forbade it, Hannibal chided him and said, "You listen rather to what flesh tells you than to the instruction of a man of experience." Nor does exile deprive geometricians or grammarians of their freedom of speech, or prevent their discussing what they know and have learnt. Why should it then good and worthy men? It is meanness everywhere that stops a man's speech, ties and gags his tongue, and forces him to be silent. But what are the next lines of Euripides?

Jocasta. Hopes feed the hearts of exiles, so they say. Polynices. Hopes have a flattering smile, but still delay. But this is an accusation against folly rather than exile. For it is not those who have learnt and know how to enjoy the present, but those who ever hang on the future, and hope after what they have not, that float as it were on hope as on a raft, though they never get beyond the walls.

Jocasta. But did your father's friends do nothing for you? Polynices. Be fortunate! Friends are no use in trouble.Jocasta. Did not your good birth better your condition? Polynices. 'Tis bad to want. Birth brought no bread to me.

But it was ungrateful in Polynices thus to rail against exile as discrediting his good birth and robbing him of friends, for it was on account of his good birth that he was deemed worthy of a royal bride though an exile, and he came to fight supported by a band of friends and allies, a great force, as he himself admits a little later, "Many of the princes of the DanaiAnd from Mycenae are with me, bestowingA sad but necessary kindness on me."

Nor was there any more justice in the lament of his mother:—"I never lit for you the nuptial torchIn marriage customary, nor did IsmenusFurnish you with the usual solemn bath."

She ought to have been pleased and content to hear that her son dwelt in such a palace as that at Argos, and in lamenting that the nuptial torch was not lit, and that he had not had the usual bath in the river Ismenus, as though there was no water or fire at Argos for wedded people, she lays on exile the evils really caused by pride and stupidity.

17. But exile, you will say, is a matter of reproach. It may be among fools, who also jeer at the beggar, the bald man, the dwarf, aye, and even the stranger and resident alien. But those who are not carried away in that manner admire good men, whether they are poor, or strangers or exiles. Do we not see that all men adore the temple of Theseus as well as the Parthenon and Eleusinium? And yet Theseus was an exile from Athens, though it was owing to him that Athens is now inhabited, and he was banished from a city which he did not merely dwell in, but had himself built. And what glory is left to Eleusis, if we are ashamed of Eumolpus, who migrated from Thrace, and taught the Greeks (as he still teaches them) the mysteries? And who was the father of Codrus that reigned at Athens? Was it not Melanthus, an exile from Messene? And do you not praise the answer of Antisthenes to the person who told him that his mother was a Phrygian, "So also is the mother of the gods." If you are twitted then with exile, why do you not answer, "The father of the glorious victor Hercules was an exile." And Cadmus, the grandfather of Dionysus, when he was sent from home to find Europa, and never came back, "though a Phoenician born he changed his country," and migrated to Thebes, and became [Through his daughter Semele.] the grandfather of "Dionysus, who rejoices in the cry of Evoe, the exciter of women, who delights in frantic honours." As for what AEschylus obscurely hints at in the line, "Apollo the chaste god, exile from heaven," let me keep a religious silence, as Herodotus says. And Empedocles commences his system of philosophy as follows, "It is an ordinance of necessity, an ancient decree of the gods, when anyone stains his hands with crime and murder, the long-lived demons get hold of him, so that he wanders away from the gods for thirty thousand years. Such is my condition now, that of an exile and wanderer from the gods." In these words he not only speaks of himself, but points out that all of us men similarly are strangers and foreigners and exiles in this world. For he says, "O men, it is not blood or a compounded spirit that made the being or beginning of the soul, but it is your earth-born and mortal body that is made up of these." He calls speciously by the mildest of names the birth of the soul that has come from elsewhere a living in a strange country. But the truth is the soul is an exile and wanderer, being driven about by the divine decrees and laws, and then, as in some sea-girt island, gets joined to the body like an oyster to its shell, as Plato says, because it cannot call to mind or remember from what honour and greatness of happiness it migrated, not from Sardis to Athens, nor from Corinth to Lemnos or Scyros, but exchanging heaven and the moon for earth and life upon earth, if it shifts from place to place for ever so short a time it is put out and feels strange, and fades away like a dying plant. But although one soil is more suitable to a plant than another, and it thrives and grows better on such a soil, yet no situation can rob a man of his happiness or virtue or sense. It was in prison that Anaxagoras wrote his squaring of the circle, and that Socrates, even after drinking the hemlock, talked philosophically, and begged his friends to be philosophers, and was esteemed happy by them. On the other hand, Phaëthon and Tantalus, though they got up to heaven, fell into the greatest misfortunes through their folly, as the poets tell us.

PLUTARCH'S MORALS CHAPTER 26

ON FORTUNE.

1. "Fortune, not wisdom, rules the affairs of mortals." And does not justice, and fairness, and sobriety, and decorum rule the affairs of mortals? Was it of fortune or owing to fortune that Aristides persevered in his poverty, when he might have been lord of much wealth? And that Scipio after taking Carthage neither saw nor received any of the spoil? Was it of fortune or owing to fortune that Philocrates spent on harlots and fish the money he had received from Philip? And that Lasthenes and Euthycrates lost Olynthus, measuring happiness by their belly and lusts? Was it of fortune that Alexander the son of Philip not only himself abstained from the captive women, but punished others that outraged them? Was it under the influence of an evil genius and fortune that Alexander, the son of Priam, intrigued with the wife of his host and ran away with her, and filled two continents with war and evils? For if all these things are due to fortune, what hinders our saying that cats and goats and apes are under the influence of fortune in respect of greediness, and lust, and ribaldry?

2. And if there are such things as sobriety and justice and fortitude, with what reason can we deny the existence of prudence, and if prudence exists, how can we deny the existence of wisdom? For sobriety is a kind of prudence, as people say, and justice also needs the presence of prudence. Nay more, we call the wisdom and prudence that makes people good in regard to pleasure self-control and sobriety, and in dangers and hardships endurance and fortitude, and in dealings between man and man and in public life equity and justice. And so, if we are to ascribe to fortune the acts of wisdom, let us ascribe justice and sobriety to fortune also, aye, and let us put down to fortune stealing, and picking pockets, and lewdness, and let us bid farewell to argument, and throw ourselves entirely on fortune, as if we were, like dust or refuse, borne along and hurried away by a violent wind. For if there be no wisdom, it is not likely that there is any deliberation or investigation of matters, or search for expediency, but Sophocles only talked nonsense when he said, "Whate'er is sought is found, what is neglected Escapes our notice;" and again in dividing human affairs, "What can be taught I learn, what can be found outDuly investigate, and of the godsI ask for what is to be got by prayer."

For what can be found out or learnt by men, if everything is due to fortune? And what deliberative assembly of a state is not annulled, what council of a king is not abrogated, if all things are subject to fortune? whom we abuse as blind because we ourselves are blind in our dealings with her. Indeed, how can it be otherwise, seeing that we repudiate wisdom, which is like plucking out our eyes, and take a blind guide of our lives?

3. Supposing any of us were to assert that seeing is a matter of fortune, not of eyesight, nor of the eyes that give light, as Plato says, and that hearing is a matter of fortune, and not the imbibing of a current of air through the ear and brain, it would be well for us then to be on our guard against the evidence of our senses. But indeed nature has given us sight and hearing and taste and smell, and all other parts of the body and their functions, as ministers of wisdom and prudence. For "it is the mind that sees, and the mind that hears, everything else is deaf and blind." And just as, if there were no sun, we should have perpetual night for all the stars, as Heraclitus says, so man for all his senses, if he had no mind or reason, would be little better than the beasts. But as it is, it is not by fortune or chance that we are superior to them and masters of them, but Prometheus, that is reason, is the cause of this, "Presenting us with bulls, horses, and asses,To ease us of our toil, and serve instead," as Aeschylus says. For as to fortune and natural condition, most of the beasts are better off than we are. For some are armed with horns and tusks and stings, and as for the hedgehog, as Empedocles says, it has its back all rough with sharp bristles, and some are shod and protected by scales and fur and talons and hoofs worn smooth by use, whereas man alone, as Plato says, is left by nature naked, unarmed, unshod, and uncovered. But by one gift, that of reason and painstaking and forethought, nature compensates for all these deficiencies. "Small indeed is the strength of man, but by the versatility of his intellect he can tame the inhabitants of the sea, earth, and air." Nothing is more agile and swift than horses, yet they run for man; the dog is a courageous and high-spirited creature, yet it guards man; fish is most pleasant to the taste, the pig the fattest of all animals, yet both are food and delicacies for man. What is huger or more formidable in appearance than the elephant? Yet it is man's plaything, and a spectacle at public shows, and learns to dance and kneel. And all these things are not idly introduced, but to the end that they may teach us to what heights reason raises man, and what things it sets him above, and how it makes him master of everything.

"For we are not good boxers, nor good wrestlers, Nor yet swift runners," for in all these points we are less fortunate than the beasts. But by our experience and memory and wisdom and cunning, as Anaxagoras says, we make use of them, and get their honey and milk, and catch them, and drive and lead them about at our will. And there is nothing of fortune in this, it is all the result of wisdom and forethought.

4. Moreover the labours of carpenters and coppersmiths and house-builders and statue-makers are affairs of mortals, and we see that no success in such trades is got by fortune or chance. For that fortune plays a very small part in the life of a wise man, whether coppersmith or house-builder, and that the greatest works are wrought by art alone, is shown by the poet in the following lines:—"All handicraftsmen go into the street,Ye that with fan-shaped baskets worship Ergane,Zeus' fierce-eyed daughter;" for Ergane and Athene, and not Fortune, do the trades regard as their patrons. They do indeed say that Nealces, on one occasion painting a horse, was quite satisfied with his painting in all other respects, but that some foam on the bridle from the horse's breath did not please him, so that he frequently tried to rub it out; at last in his anger he threw his sponge (just as it was, full of colours) at the picture, and this very wonderfully produced exactly the effect he desired. This is the only fortunate accident in art that history records. Artificers everywhere use rules and weights and measures, that none of their work may be done at random and anyhow. And indeed the arts may be considered as wisdom on a small scale, or rather as emanations from and fragments of wisdom scattered about among the necessities of life; as the fire of Prometheus is riddled to have been divided and scattered about in all quarters of the world. For thus small particles and fragments of wisdom, breaking up as it were and getting divided into pieces, have formed into order.

5. It is strange then that the arts do not require fortune to attain to their ends, and yet that the most important and complete of all the arts, the sum total of man's glory and merit, should be so completely powerless. Why, there is a kind of wisdom even in the tightening or slackening of chords, which people call music, and in the dressing of food, which we call the art of cooking, and in cleaning clothes, which we call the art of the fuller, and we teach boys how to put on their shoes and clothes generally, and to take their meat in the right hand and their bread in the left, since none of these things come by fortune, but require attention and care. And are we to suppose that the most important things which make so much for happiness do not call for wisdom, and have nothing to do with reason and forethought? Why, no one ever yet wetted

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earth with water and then left it, thinking it would become bricks by fortune and spontaneously, or procured wool and leather, and sat down and prayed Fortune that it might become clothes and shoes; nor does anyone getting together much gold and silver and a quantity of slaves, and living in a spacious hall with many doors, and making a display of costly couches and tables, believe that these things will constitute his happiness, and give him a painless happy life secure from changes, unless he be wise also. A certain person asked the general Iphicrates in a scolding way who he was, as he seemed neither a heavy-armed soldier, nor a bowman, nor a targeteer, and he replied, "I am the person who rule and make use of all these."

6. So wisdom is neither gold, nor silver, nor fame, nor wealth, nor health, nor strength, nor beauty. What is it then? It is what can use all these well, and that by means of which each of these things becomes pleasant and esteemed and useful, and without which they are useless; and unprofitable and injurious, and a burden and disgrace to their possessor. So Hesiod's Prometheus gives very good advice to Epimetheus, "not to receive gifts from Olympian Zeus but to send them back," meaning external things and things of fortune. For as if he urged one who knew nothing of music not to play on the pipe, or one who knew nothing of letters not to read, or one who was not used to horses not to ride, so he advised him not to take office if he were foolish, nor to grow rich if he were illiberal, nor to marry if likely to be ruled by his wife. For success beyond their merit is to foolish persons a cause of folly, as Demosthenes said, and good fortune beyond their merit is to those who are not sensible a cause of misfortune.

THE END

SENECA'S MORAL LETTERS TO LUCILIUS

Epistulae Morales ad Lucilium
Moral Letters to Lucilius
Translation: Richard Mott Gummere, 1916
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 60-65 AD

(The "Moral Letters to Lucilius", or "Seneca's Moral Letters to Lucilius", also known as the Moral Epistles and Letters from a Stoic, is a collection of 124 letters that Seneca the Younger wrote at the end of his life.

The real name of Seneca the Younger was Lucius Annaeus Seneca (c. 4 BC – 65 AD). He was a Roman Stoic philosopher, statesman, dramatist, and the teacher of Emperor Nero. Seneca was born in Corduba in Hispania, and raised in Rome, where he was trained in rhetoric and philosophy. His father was Seneca the Elder, his elder brother was Lucius Junius Gallio Annaeanus, and his nephew was the poet Lucan. In AD 41, Seneca was exiled to the island of Corsica under emperor Claudius, but was allowed to return in 49 to become a teacher to Nero. When Nero became emperor in 54, Seneca became his advisor and, together with the praetorian prefect Sextus Afranius Burrus, provided competent government for the first five years of Nero's reign. Seneca's influence over Nero declined with time until he finally retired.

In 65 Seneca was forced to take his own life for alleged complicity in the Pisonian conspiracy to assassinate Nero, in which he was likely to have been innocent. The conspiracy of Gaius Calpurnius Piso in 65 AD was a major turning point in the reign of the Roman emperor Nero (reign 54–68). The plot reflected the growing discontent among the ruling class of the Roman state with Nero's increasingly despotic leadership, and as a result is a significant event on the road toward his eventual suicide, the chaos of the Year of the Four Emperors, and the total victory of Titus Flavius Vespasianus' army who declared him Emperor in 69 AD.

The letters are addressed to Lucilius, the then procurator of Sicily, who is known only through Seneca's writings. Regardless of how Seneca and Lucilius really corresponded, it is clear that Seneca crafted the letters with a broad readership in mind.

The letters are very interesting because they often begin with an observation on daily life, and then proceed to an issue or principle abstracted from that observation. The result is like a diary, or handbook of philosophical advice that applies to most situations in life that a human can experience.

The letters focus on many traditional themes of Stoic philosophy such as the contempt of death, the stout-heartedness of the sage, and virtue as the supreme good. Seneca's letters are focused on the inner-life, and the joy that comes from wisdom. He emphasises the Stoic theme that virtue is the only true good and vice the only true evil. He repeatedly refers to the brevity of life and the fleeting nature of time.

Many of these situations, and their handling described by the sayings of Jesus, appear also in New testament texts, cononical as well as non-canonical. This is not a surprise when we know that Stoicism had a profound influence on the Jewish civilisation. At the time of Jesus, Greeks and Romans have been in the Holy Land for more than 300 years [since the time of Alexander the Great, 333 BC]. At the time of Jesus, his brother James, Saul of Tarsos [Paul the Apostle], and the Flavian Dynasty, Stoicism was also the most influential teaching in the Roman Empire.

The early letters of Seneca often conclude with a maxim to meditate on, although this strategy is over by the thirtieth letter. Such maxims are typically drawn from Epicurus, but Seneca regards this as a beginner's technique. In letter 33 he stresses that the student must begin to make well-reasoned judgements independently. A large number of the letters are concerned with death on the one hand (a central topic of Stoic philosophy, and one embodied in Seneca's observation that we are "dying every day") and suicide on the other, a key consideration given Seneca's deteriorating political position and the common use of forced suicide as a method of elimination of figures deemed oppositional to the Emperor's power and rule.

The Letters were probably written in the last three years of Seneca's life. Scholars generally agree that the letters are arranged in the order in which Seneca wrote them. In letter 8, Seneca alludes to his retirement from public life, which is thought (by reference to Tacitus Annals xiv. 52–6) to have been around spring of the year 62. Letter 18 was written in December, in the run-up to the Saturnalia. Letter 23 refers to a cold spring, presumably in 63. Letter 67 refers to the end of a cold spring and is thought (to allow forty-three intervening letters) to have been written the following year. Letter 91 refers to the great fire of Lugdunum (Lyon) that took place in the late summer of 64. Letter 122 refers to the shrinking daylight hours of autumn. Other chronologies are possible—in particular if letters 23 and 67 refer to the same spring, that can reduce the timescale by a full year.

The 124 letters are arranged in twenty manuscript volumes, but the collection is not complete. Aulus Gellius (mid-2nd-century) quotes an extract from the "twenty-second book", so some letters are missing. However since the fire of Lyon mentioned in letter 91 took place less than a year before Seneca's death (in spring 65) the number of missing letters is not thought to be very many.

The oldest manuscripts of the letters date from the ninth-century. For a long time the letters did not circulate together, letters 89–124 in particular appear in their own manuscripts. They began to be widely circulated together from the twelfth-century onwards. Due to Johannes Gutenberg's invention of the printing system, the first printed edition appeared in 1475. Erasmus produced a much superior edition in 1529.)

SENECA LETTER 1. On Saving Time

Greetings from Seneca to his friend Lucilius.

1. Continue to act thus, my dear Lucilius – set yourself free for your own sake; gather and save your time, which till lately has been forced from you, or filched away, or has merely slipped from your hands. Make yourself believe the truth of my words, – that certain moments are torn from us, that some are gently removed, and that others glide beyond our reach. The most disgraceful kind of loss, however, is that due to carelessness. Furthermore, if you will pay close heed to the problem, you will find that the largest portion of our life passes while we are doing ill, a goodly share while we are doing nothing, and the whole while we are doing that which is not to the purpose.

2. What man can you show me who places any value on his time, who reckons the worth of each day, who understands that he is dying daily? For we are mistaken when we look forward to death; the major portion of death has already passed. Whatever years lie behind us are in death's hands. Therefore, Lucilius, do as you write me that you are doing: hold every hour in your grasp. Lay hold of to-day's task, and you will not need to depend so much upon to-morrow's. While we are postponing, life speeds by.

3. Nothing, Lucilius, is ours, except time. We were entrusted by nature with the ownership of this single thing, so fleeting and slippery that anyone who will can oust us from possession. What fools these mortals be! They allow the cheapest and most useless things, which can easily be replaced, to be charged in the reckoning, after they have acquired them; but they never regard themselves as in debt when they have received some of that precious commodity, – time! And yet time is the one loan which even a grateful recipient cannot repay.

4. You may desire to know how I, who preach to you so freely, am practising. I confess frankly: my expense account balances, as you would expect from one who is free-handed but careful. I cannot boast that I waste nothing, but I can at least tell you what I am wasting, and the cause and manner of the loss; I can give you the reasons why I am a poor man. My situation, however, is the same as that of many who are reduced to slender means through no fault of their own: every one forgives them, but no one comes to their rescue.

5. What is the state of things, then? It is this: I do not regard a man as poor, if the little which remains is enough for him. I advise you, however, to keep what is really yours; and you cannot begin too early. For, as our ancestors believed, it is too late to spare when you reach the dregs of the cask. Of that which remains at the bottom, the amount is slight, and the quality is vile. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 2. On Discursiveness in Reading

1. Judging by what you write me, and by what I hear, I am forming a good opinion regarding your future. You do not run hither and thither and distract yourself by changing your abode; for such restlessness is the sign of a disordered spirit. The primary indication, to my thinking, of a well-ordered mind is a man's ability to remain in one place and linger in his own company.

2. Be careful, however, lest this reading of many authors and books of every sort may tend to make you discursive and unsteady. You must linger among a limited number of master-thinkers, and digest their works, if you would derive ideas which shall win firm hold in your mind. Everywhere means nowhere. When a person spends all his time in foreign travel, he ends by having many acquaintances, but no friends. And the same thing must hold true of men who seek intimate acquaintance with no single author, but visit them all in a hasty and hurried manner.

3. Food does no good and is not assimilated into the body if it leaves the stomach as soon as it is eaten; nothing hinders a cure so much as frequent change of medicine; no wound will heal when one salve is tried after another; a plant which is often moved can never grow strong. There is nothing so efficacious that it can be helpful while it is being shifted about. And in reading of many books is distraction. Accordingly, since you cannot read all the books which you may possess, it is enough to possess only as many books as you can read.

4. "But," you reply, "I wish to dip first into one book and then into another." I tell you that it is the sign of an overnice appetite to toy with many dishes; for when they are manifold and varied, they cloy but do not nourish. So you should always read standard authors; and when you crave a change, fall back upon those whom you read before. Each day acquire something that will fortify you against poverty, against death, indeed against other misfortunes as well; and after you have run over many thoughts, select one to be thoroughly digested that day.

5. This is my own custom; from the many things which I have read, I claim some one part for myself. The thought for to-day is one which I discovered in Epicurus; for I am wont to cross over even into the enemy's camp, – not as a deserter, but as a scout.

6. He says: "Contented poverty is an honourable estate." Indeed, if it be contented, it is not poverty at all. It is not the man who has too little, but the man who craves more, that is poor. What does it matter how much a man has laid up in his safe, or in his warehouse, how large are his flocks and how fat his dividends, if he covets his neighbour's property, and reckons, not his past gains, but his hopes of gains to come? Do you ask what is the proper limit to wealth? It is, first, to have what is necessary, and, second, to have what is enough. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 3. On True and False Friendship

1. You have sent a letter to me through the hand of a "friend" of yours, as you call him. And in your very next sentence you warn me not to discuss with him all the matters that concern you, saying that even you yourself are not accustomed to do this; in other words, you have in the same letter affirmed and denied that he is your friend.

2. Now if you used this word of ours in the popular sense, and called him "friend" in the same way in which we speak of all candidates for election as "honourable gentlemen," and as we greet all men whom we meet casually, if their names slip us for the moment, with the salutation "my dear sir," – so be it. But if you consider any man a friend whom you do not trust as you trust yourself, you are mightily mistaken and you do not sufficiently understand what true friendship means. Indeed, I would have you discuss everything with a friend; but first of all discuss the man himself. When friendship is settled, you must trust; before friendship is formed, you must pass judgement. Those persons indeed put last first and confound their duties, who, violating the rules of Theophrastus, judge a man after they have made him their friend, instead of making him their friend after they have judged him. Ponder for a long time whether you shall admit a given person to your friendship; but when you have decided to admit him, welcome him with all your heart and soul. Speak as boldly with him as with yourself.

3. As to yourself, although you should live in such a way that you trust your own self with nothing which you could not entrust even to your enemy, yet, since certain matters occur which convention keeps secret, you should share with a friend at least all your worries and reflections. Regard him as loyal, and you will make him loyal. Some, for example, fearing to be deceived, have taught men to deceive; by their suspicions they have given their friend the right to do wrong. Why need I keep back any words in the presence of my friend? Why should I not regard myself as alone when in his company?

4. There is a class of men who communicate, to anyone whom they meet, matters which should be revealed to friends

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alone, and unload upon the chance listener whatever irks them. Others, again, fear to confide in their closest intimates; and if it were possible, they would not trust even themselves, burying their secrets deep in their hearts. But we should do neither. It is equally faulty to trust everyone and to trust no one. Yet the former fault is, I should say, the more ingenuous, the latter the more safe.

5. In like manner you should rebuke these two kinds of men, – both those who always lack repose, and those who are always in repose. For love of bustle is not industry, – it is only the restlessness of a hunted mind. And true repose does not consist in condemning all motion as merely vexation; that kind of repose is slackness and inertia.

6. Therefore, you should note the following saying, taken from my reading in Pomponius: "Some men shrink into dark corners, to such a degree that they see darkly by day." No, men should combine these tendencies, and he who reposes should act and he who acts should take repose. Discuss the problem with Nature; she will tell you that she has created both day and night. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 4. On the Terrors of Death

1. Keep on as you have begun, and make all possible haste, so that you may have longer enjoyment of an improved mind, one that is at peace with itself. Doubtless you will derive enjoyment during the time when you are improving your mind and setting it at peace with itself; but quite different is the pleasure which comes from contemplation when one's mind is so cleansed from every stain that it shines.

2. You remember, of course, what joy you felt when you laid aside the garments of boyhood and donned the man's toga, and were escorted to the forum; nevertheless, you may look for a still greater joy when you have laid aside the mind of boyhood and when wisdom has enrolled you among men. For it is not boyhood that still stays with us, but something worse, – boyishness. And this condition is all the more serious because we possess the authority of old age, together with the follies of boyhood, yea, even the follies of infancy. Boys fear trifles, children fear shadows, we fear both.

3. All you need to do is to advance; you will thus understand that some things are less to be dreaded, precisely because they inspire us with great fear. No evil is great which is the last evil of all. Death arrives; it would be a thing to dread, if it could remain with you. But death must either not come at all, or else must come and pass away.

4. "It is difficult, however," you say, "to bring the mind to a point where it can scorn life." But do you not see what trifling reasons impel men to scorn life? One hangs himself before the door of his mistress; another hurls himself from the house-top that he may no longer be compelled to bear the taunts of a bad-tempered master; a third, to be saved from arrest after running away, drives a sword into his vitals. Do you not suppose that virtue will be as efficacious as excessive fear? No man can have a peaceful life who thinks too much about lengthening it, or believes that living through many consulships is a great blessing.

5. Rehearse this thought every day, that you may be able to depart from life contentedly; for many men clutch and cling to life, even as those who are carried down a rushing stream clutch and cling to briars and sharp rocks. Most men ebb and flow in wretchedness between the fear of death and the hardships of life; they are unwilling to live, and yet they do not know how to die.

6. For this reason, make life as a whole agreeable to yourself by banishing all worry about it. No good thing renders its possessor happy, unless his mind is reconciled to the possibility of loss; nothing, however, is lost with less discomfort than that which, when lost, cannot be missed. Therefore, encourage and toughen your spirit against the mishaps that afflict even the most powerful.

7. For example, the fate of Pompey was settled by a boy and a eunuch, that of Crassus by a cruel and insolent Parthian. Gaius Caesar ordered Lepidus to bare his neck for the axe of the tribune Dexter; and he himself offered his own throat to Chaerea. [A reference to the murder of Caligula, on the Palatine, 41 AD.] No man has ever been so far advanced by Fortune that she did not threaten him as greatly as she had previously indulged him. Do not trust her seeming calm; in a moment the sea is moved to its depths. The very day the ships have made a brave show in the games, they are engulfed.

8. Reflect that a highwayman or an enemy may cut your throat; and, though he is not your master, every slave wields the power of life and death over you. Therefore I declare to you: he is lord of your life that scorns his own. Think of those who have perished through plots in their own homes, slain either openly or by guile; you will then understand that just as many have been killed by angry slaves as by angry kings. What matter, therefore, how powerful he be whom you fear, when every one possesses the power which inspires your fear?

9. "But," you will say, "if you should chance to fall into the hands of the enemy, the conqueror will command that you be led away," – yes, whither you are already being led. Why do you voluntarily deceive yourself and require to be told now for the first time what fate it is that you have long been labouring under? Take my word for it: since the day you were born you are being led thither. We must ponder this thought, and thoughts of the like nature, if we desire to be calm as we await that last hour, the fear of which makes all previous hours uneasy.

10. But I must end my letter. Let me share with you the saying which pleased me to-day. It, too, is culled from another man's Garden: "Poverty brought into conformity with the law of nature, is great wealth." Do you know what limits that law of nature ordains for us? Merely to avert hunger, thirst, and cold. In order to banish hunger and thirst, it is not necessary for you to pay court at the doors of the purse-proud, or to submit to the stern frown, or to the kindness that humiliates; nor is it necessary for you to scour the seas, or go campaigning; nature's needs are easily provided and ready to hand.

11. It is the superfluous things for which men sweat, – the superfluous things that wear our togas threadbare, that force us to grow old in camp, that dash us upon foreign shores. That which is enough is ready to our hands. He who has made a fair compact with poverty is rich. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 5. On the Philosopher's Mean

1. I commend you and rejoice in the fact that you are persistent in your studies, and that, putting all else aside, you make it each day your endeavour to become a better man. I do not merely exhort you to keep at it; I actually beg you to do so. I warn you, however, not to act after the fashion of those who desire to be conspicuous rather than to improve, by doing things which will rouse comment as regards your dress or general way of living.

2. Repellent attire, unkempt hair, slovenly beard, open scorn of silver dishes, a couch on the bare earth, and any other perverted forms of self-display, are to be avoided. The mere name of philosophy, however quietly pursued, is an object of sufficient scorn; and what would happen if we should begin to separate ourselves from the customs of our fellow-men? Inwardly, we ought to be different in all respects, but our exterior should conform to society.

3. Do not wear too fine, nor yet too frowzy, a toga. One needs no silver plate, encrusted and embossed in solid gold; but we should not believe the lack of silver and gold to be proof of the simple life. Let us try to maintain a higher standard of life than that of the multitude, but not a contrary standard; otherwise, we shall frighten away and repel the very persons whom we are trying to improve. We also bring it about that they are unwilling to imitate us in anything, because they are afraid lest they might be compelled to imitate us in everything.

4. The first thing which philosophy undertakes to give is fellow-feeling with all men; in other words, sympathy and sociability. We part company with our promise if we are unlike other men. We must see to it that the means by which we wish to draw admiration be not absurd and odious. Our [Stoic] motto, as you know, is "Live according to Nature"; but it is quite contrary to nature to torture the body, to hate unlaboured elegance, to be dirty on purpose, to eat food that is not only plain, but disgusting and forbidding.

5. Just as it is a sign of luxury to seek out dainties, so it is madness to avoid that which is customary and can be purchased at no great price. Philosophy calls for plain living, but not for penance; and we may perfectly well be plain and neat at the same time. This is the mean of which I approve; our life should observe a happy medium between the ways of a sage and the ways of the world at large; all men should admire it, but they should understand it also.

6. "Well then, shall we act like other men? Shall there be no distinction between ourselves and the world?" Yes, a very great one; let men find that we are unlike the common herd, if they look closely. If they visit us at home, they should admire us, rather than our household appointments. He is a great man who uses earthenware dishes as if they were silver; but he is equally great who uses silver as if it were earthenware. It is the sign of an unstable mind not to be able to endure riches.

7. But I wish to share with you to-day's profit also. I find in the writings of our Hecato that the limiting of desires helps also to cure fears: "Cease to hope," he says, "and you will cease to fear." "But how," you will reply, "can things so different go side by side?" In this way, my dear Lucilius: though they do seem at variance, yet they are really united. Just as the same chain fastens the prisoner and the soldier who guards him, so hope and fear, dissimilar as they are, keep step together; fear follows hope.

8. I am not surprised that they proceed in this way; each alike belongs to a mind that is in suspense, a mind that is fretted by looking forward to the future. But the chief cause of both these ills is that we do not adapt ourselves to the present, but send our thoughts a long way ahead. And so foresight, the noblest blessing of the human race, becomes perverted.

9. Beasts avoid the dangers which they see, and when they have escaped them are free from care; but we men torment ourselves over that which is to come as well as over that which is past. Many of our blessings bring bane to us; for memory recalls the tortures of fear, while foresight anticipates them. The present alone can make no man wretched. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 6. On Sharing Knowledge

1. I feel, my dear Lucilius, that I am being not only reformed, but transformed. I do not yet, however, assure myself, or indulge the hope, that there are no elements left in me which need to be changed. Of course there are many that should be made more compact, or made thinner, or be brought into greater prominence. And indeed this very fact is proof that my spirit is altered into something better, – that it can see its own faults, of which it was previously ignorant. In certain cases sick men are congratulated because they themselves have perceived that they are sick.

2. I therefore wish to impart to you this sudden change in myself; I should then begin to place a surer trust in our friendship, – the true friendship which hope and fear and self-interest cannot sever, the friendship in which and for the sake of which men meet death.

3. I can show you many who have lacked, not a friend, but a friendship; this, however, cannot possibly happen when souls are drawn together by identical inclinations into an alliance of honourable desires. And why can it not happen? Because in such cases men know that they have all things in common, especially their troubles. You cannot conceive what distinct progress I notice that each day brings to me.

4. And when you say: "Give me also a share in these gifts which you have found so helpful," I reply that I am anxious to heap all these privileges upon you, and that I am glad to learn in order that I may teach. Nothing will ever please me, no matter how excellent or beneficial, if I must retain the knowledge of it to myself. And if wisdom were given me under the express condition that it must be kept hidden and not uttered, I should refuse it. No good thing is pleasant to possess, without friends to share it.

5. I shall therefore send to you the actual books; and in order that you may not waste time in searching here and there for profitable topics, I shall mark certain passages, so that you can turn at once to those which I approve and admire. Of course, however, the living voice and the intimacy of a common life will help you more than the written word. You must go to the scene of action, first, because men put more faith in their eyes than in their ears, and second, because the way is long if one follows precepts, but short and helpful, if one follows patterns.

6. Cleanthes could not have been the express image of Zeno, if he had merely heard his lectures; he shared in his life, saw into his hidden purposes, and watched him to see whether he lived according to his own rules. Plato, Aristotle, and the whole throng of sages who were destined to go each his different way, derived more benefit from the character than from the words of Socrates. It was not the class-room of Epicurus, but living together under the same roof, that made great men of Metrodorus, Hermarchus, and Polyaenus. Therefore I summon you, not merely that you may derive benefit, but that you may confer benefit; for we can assist each other greatly.

7. Meanwhile, I owe you my little daily contribution; you shall be told what pleased me to-day in the writings of Hecato; it is these words: "What progress, you ask, have I made? I have begun to be a friend to myself." That was indeed a great benefit; such a person can never be alone. You may be sure that such a man is a friend to all mankind. Farewell.

LETTER 7. On Crowds

1. Do you ask me what you should regard as especially to be avoided? I say, crowds; for as yet you cannot trust yourself to them with safety. I shall admit my own weakness, at any rate; for I never bring back home the same character that I took abroad with me. Something of that which I have forced to be calm within me is disturbed; some of the foes that I have routed return again. Just as the sick man, who has been weak for a long time, is in such a condition that he cannot be taken out of the house without suffering a relapse, so we ourselves are affected when our souls are recovering from a lingering disease.

2. To consort with the crowd is harmful; there is no person who does not make some vice attractive to us, or stamp it upon us, or taint us unconsciously therewith. Certainly, the greater the mob with which we mingle, the greater the danger. But nothing is so damaging to good character as the habit of lounging at the games; for then it is that vice steals subtly upon one through the avenue of pleasure.

3. What do you think I mean? I mean that I come home more greedy, more ambitious, more voluptuous, and even more cruel and inhuman, – because I have been among human beings. By chance I attended a mid-day exhibition, expecting some fun, wit, and relaxation, – an exhibition at which men's eyes have respite from the slaughter of their fellow-men. But it was quite the reverse. The previous combats were the essence of compassion; but now all the trifling is put aside and it is pure murder. The men have no defensive armour. They are exposed to blows at all points, and no one ever strikes in vain.

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4. Many persons prefer this programme to the usual pairs and to the bouts "by request." Of course they do; there is no helmet or shield to deflect the weapon. What is the need of defensive armour, or of skill? All these mean delaying death. In the morning they throw men to the lions and the bears; at noon, they throw them to the spectators. The spectators demand that the slayer shall face the man who is to slay him in his turn; and they always reserve the latest conqueror for another butchering. The outcome of every fight is death, and the means are fire and sword. This sort of thing goes on while the arena is empty.

5. You may retort: "But he was a highway robber; he killed a man!" And what of it? Granted that, as a murderer, he deserved this punishment, what crime have you committed, poor fellow, that you should deserve to sit and see this show? In the morning they cried "Kill him! Lash him! Burn him! Why does he meet the sword in so cowardly a way? Why does he strike so feebly? Why doesn't he die game? Whip him to meet his wounds! Let them receive blow for blow, with chests bare and exposed to the stroke!" And when the games stop for the intermission, they announce: "A little throat-cutting in the meantime, so that there may still be something going on!" Come now; do you not understand even this truth, that a bad example reacts on the agent? Thank the immortal gods that you are teaching cruelty to a person who cannot learn to be cruel.

6. The young character, which cannot hold fast to righteousness, must be rescued from the mob; it is too easy to side with the majority. Even Socrates, Cato, and Laelius might have been shaken in their moral strength by a crowd that was unlike them; so true it is that none of us, no matter how much he cultivates his abilities, can withstand the shock of faults that approach, as it were, with so great a retinue.

7. Much harm is done by a single case of indulgence or greed; the familiar friend, if he be luxurious, weakens and softens us imperceptibly; the neighbour, if he be rich, rouses our covetousness; the companion, if he be slanderous, rubs off some of his rust upon us, even though we be spotless and sincere. What then do you think the effect will be on character, when the world at large assaults it! You must either imitate or loathe the world.

8. But both courses are to be avoided; you should not copy the bad simply because they are many, nor should you hate the many because they are unlike you. Withdraw into yourself, as far as you can. Associate with those who will make a better man of you. Welcome those whom you yourself can improve. The process is mutual; for men learn while they teach.

9. There is no reason why pride in advertising your abilities should lure you into publicity, so that you should desire to recite or harangue before the general public. Of course I should be willing for you to do so if you had a stock-in-trade that suited such a mob; as it is, there is not a man of them who can understand you. One or two individuals will perhaps come in your way, but even these will have to be moulded and trained by you so that they will understand you. You may say: "For what purpose did I learn all these things?" But you need not fear that you have wasted your efforts; it was for yourself that you learned them.

10. In order, however, that I may not to-day have learned exclusively for myself, I shall share with you three excellent sayings, of the same general purport, which have come to my attention. This letter will give you one of them as payment of my debt; the other two you may accept as a contribution in advance. Democritus says: "One man means as much to me as a multitude, and a multitude only as much as one man."

11. The following also was nobly spoken by someone or other, for it is doubtful who the author was; they asked him what was the object of all this study applied to an art that would reach but very few. He replied: "I am content with few, content with one, content with none at all." The third saying – and a noteworthy one, too – is by Epicurus, written to one of the partners of his studies: "I write this not for the many, but for you; each of us is enough of an audience for the other."

12. Lay these words to heart, Lucilius, that you may scorn the pleasure which comes from the applause of the majority. Many men praise you; but have you any reason for being pleased with yourself, if you are a person whom the many can understand? Your good qualities should face inwards. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 8. On the Philosopher's Seclusion

1. "Do you bid me," you say, "shun the throng, and withdraw from men, and be content with my own conscience? Where are the counsels of your school, which order a man to die in the midst of active work?" As to the course* which I seem to you to be urging on you now and then, my object in shutting myself up and locking the door is to be able to help a greater number. [* As contrasted with the general Stoic doctrine of taking part in the world's work.] I never spend a day in idleness; I appropriate even a part of the night for study. I do not allow time for sleep but yield to it when I must, and when my eyes are wearied with waking and ready to fall shut, I keep them at their task.

2. I have withdrawn not only from men, but from affairs, especially from my own affairs; I am working for later generations, writing down some ideas that may be of assistance to them. There are certain wholesome counsels, which may be compared to prescriptions of useful drugs; these I am putting into writing; for I have found them helpful in ministering to my own sores, which, if not wholly cured, have at any rate ceased to spread.

3. I point other men to the right path, which I have found late in life, when wearied with wandering. I cry out to them: "Avoid whatever pleases the throng: avoid the gifts of Chance! Halt before every good which Chance brings to you, in a spirit of doubt and fear; for it is the dumb animals and fish that are deceived by tempting hopes. Do you call these things the 'gifts' of Fortune? They are snares. And any man among you who wishes to live a life of safety will avoid, to the utmost of his power, these limed twigs of her favour, by which we mortals, most wretched in this respect also, are deceived; for we think that we hold them in our grasp, but they hold us in theirs.

4. Such a career leads us into precipitous ways, and life on such heights ends in a fall. Moreover, we cannot even stand up against prosperity when she begins to drive us to leeward; nor can we go down, either, 'with the ship at least on her course,' or once for all; Fortune does not capsize us, – she plunges our bows under and dashes us on the rocks.

5. "Hold fast, then, to this sound and wholesome rule of life; that you indulge the body only so far as is needful for good health. The body should be treated more rigorously, that it may not be disobedient to the mind. Eat merely to relieve your hunger; drink merely to quench your thirst; dress merely to keep out the cold; house yourself merely as a protection against personal discomfort. It matters little whether the house be built of turf, or of variously coloured imported marble; understand that a man is sheltered just as well by a thatch as by a roof of gold. Despise everything that useless toil creates as an ornament and an object of beauty. And reflect that nothing except the soul is worthy of wonder; for to the soul, if it be great, naught is great."

6. When I commune in such terms with myself and with future generations, do you not think that I am doing more good than when I appear as counsel in court, or stamp my seal upon a will, or lend my assistance in the senate, by word or action, to a candidate? Believe me, those who seem to be busied with nothing are busied with the greater tasks; they are dealing at the same time with things mortal and things immortal.

7. But I must stop, and pay my customary contribution, to balance this letter. The payment shall not be made from my own property; for I am still conning Epicurus. I read to-day, in his works, the following sentence: "If you would enjoy real freedom, you must be the slave of Philosophy." The man who submits and surrenders himself to her is not kept waiting; he is emancipated on the spot. For the very service of Philosophy is freedom.

8. It is likely that you will ask me why I quote so many of Epicurus's noble words instead of words taken from our own school. But is there any reason why you should regard them as sayings of Epicurus and not common property? How many poets give forth ideas that have been uttered, or may be uttered, by philosophers! I need not touch upon the tragedians and our writers of national drama; for these last are also somewhat serious, and stand half-way between comedy and tragedy. What a quantity of sagacious verses lie buried in the mime! How many of Publilius's lines are worthy of being spoken by buskin-clad actors, as well as by wearers of the slipper!

9. I shall quote one verse of his, which concerns philosophy, and particularly that phase of it which we were discussing a moment ago, wherein he says that the gifts of Chance are not to be regarded as part of our possessions:

Still alien is whatever you have gained
By coveting.

10. I recall that you yourself expressed this idea much more happily and concisely:

What Chance has made yours is not really yours.

And a third, spoken by you still more happily, shall not be omitted:

The good that could be given, can be removed.

I shall not charge this up to the expense account, because I have given it to you from your own stock. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 9. On Philosophy and Friendship

1. You desire to know whether Epicurus is right when, in one of his letters, he rebukes those who hold that the wise man is self-sufficient and for that reason does not stand in need of friendships. This is the objection raised by Epicurus against Stilbo and those who believe [i.e. the "Cynics" who were founded by Antisthenes in the 5th century BC and preceded the Stoics] that the Supreme Good is a soul which is insensible to feeling.

2. We are bound to meet with a double meaning if we try to express the Greek term "lack of feeling" summarily, in a single word, rendering it by the Latin word impatientia. For it may be understood in the meaning the opposite to that which we wish it to have. What we mean to express is, a soul which rejects any sensation of evil; but people will interpret the idea as that of a soul which can endure no evil. Consider, therefore, whether it is not better to say "a soul that cannot be harmed," or "a soul entirely beyond the realm of suffering."

3. There is this difference between ourselves and the other school [i.e. the Cynics]: our ideal wise man feels his troubles, but overcomes them; their wise man does not even feel them. But we and they alike hold this idea, – that the wise man is self-sufficient. Nevertheless, he desires friends, neighbours, and associates, no matter how much he is sufficient unto himself.

4. And mark how self-sufficient he is; for on occasion he can be content with a part of himself. If he lose a hand through disease or war, or if some accident puts out one or both of his eyes, he will be satisfied with what is left, taking as much pleasure in his impaired and maimed body as he took when it was sound. But while he does not pine for these parts if they are missing, he prefers not to lose them.

5. In this sense the wise man is self-sufficient, that he can do without friends, not that he desires to do without them. When I say "can," I mean this: he endures the loss of a friend with equanimity. But he need never lack friends, for it lies in his own control how soon he shall make good a loss. Just as Phidias, if he lose a statue, can straightway carve another, even so our master in the art of making friendships can fill the place of a friend he has lost.

6. If you ask how one can make oneself a friend quickly, I will tell you, provided we are agreed that I may pay my debt at once and square the account, so far as this letter is concerned. Hecato, says: "I can show you a philtre, compounded without drugs, herbs, or any witch's incantation: 'If you would be loved, love.'" Now there is great pleasure, not only in maintaining old and established friendships, but also in beginning and acquiring new ones.

7. There is the same difference between winning a new friend and having already won him, as there is between the farmer who sows and the farmer who reaps. The philosopher Attalus used to say: "It is more pleasant to make than to keep a friend, as it is more pleasant to the artist to paint than to have finished painting." When one is busy and absorbed in one's work, the very absorption affords great delight; but when one has withdrawn one's hand from the completed masterpiece, the pleasure is not so keen. Henceforth it is the fruits of his art that he enjoys; it was the art itself that he enjoyed while he was painting. In the case of our children, their young manhood yields the more abundant fruits, but their infancy was sweeter.

8. Let us now return to the question. The wise man, I say, self-sufficient though he be, nevertheless desires friends if only for the purpose of practising friendship, in order that his noble qualities may not lie dormant. Not, however, for the purpose mentioned by Epicurus in the letter quoted above: "That there may be someone to sit by him when he is ill, to help him when he is in prison or in want;" but that he may have someone by whose sick-bed he himself may sit, someone a prisoner in hostile hands whom he himself may set free. He who regards himself only, and enters upon friendships for this reason, reckons wrongly. The end will be like the beginning: he has made friends with one who might assist him out of bondage; at the first rattle of the chain such a friend will desert him.

9. These are the so-called "fair-weather" friendships; one who is chosen for the sake of utility will be satisfactory only so long as he is useful. Hence prosperous men are blockaded by troops of friends; but those who have failed stand amid vast loneliness, their friends fleeing from the very crisis which is to test their worth. Hence, also, we notice those many shameful cases of persons who, through fear, desert or betray. The beginning and the end cannot but harmonize. He who begins to be your friend because it pays will also cease because it pays. A man will be attracted by some reward offered in exchange for his friendship, if he be attracted by aught in friendship other than friendship itself.

10. For what purpose, then, do I make a man my friend? In order to have someone for whom I may die, whom I may follow into exile, against whose death I may stake my own life, and pay the pledge, too. The friendship which you portray is a bargain and not a friendship; it regards convenience only, and looks to the results.

11. Beyond question the feeling of a lover has in it something akin to friendship; one might call it friendship run mad. But, though this is true, does anyone love for the sake of gain, or promotion, or renown? Pure love, careless of all other things, kindles the soul with desire for the beautiful object, not without the hope of a return of the affection. What then? Can a cause which is more honourable produce a passion that is base?

12. You may retort: "We are not now discussing the question whether friendship is to be cultivated for its own sake." On the contrary, nothing more urgently requires demonstration; for if friendship is to be sought for its own sake, he may seek it who is self-sufficient. "How, then," you

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ask, "does he seek it?" Precisely as he seeks an object of great beauty, not attracted to it by desire for gain, nor yet frightened by the instability of Fortune. One who seeks friendship for favourable occasions, strips it of all its nobility.

13. "The wise man is self-sufficient." This phrase, my dear Lucilius, is incorrectly explained by many; for they withdraw the wise man from the world, and force him to dwell within his own skin. But we must mark with care what this sentence signifies and how far it applies; the wise man is sufficient unto himself for a happy existence, but not for mere existence. For he needs many helps towards mere existence; but for a happy existence he needs only a sound and upright soul, one that despises Fortune.

14. I should like also to state to you one of the distinctions of Chrysippus, who declares that the wise man is in want of nothing, and yet needs many things. "On the other hand," he says, "nothing is needed by the fool, for he does not understand how to use anything, but he is in want of everything." The wise man needs hands, eyes, and many things that are necessary for his daily use; but he is in want of nothing. For want implies a necessity, and nothing is necessary to the wise man.

15. Therefore, although he is self-sufficient, yet he has need of friends. He craves as many friends as possible, not, however, that he may live happily; for he will live happily even without friends. The Supreme Good calls for no practical aids from outside; it is developed at home, and arises entirely within itself. If the good seeks any portion of itself from without, it begins to be subject to the play of Fortune.

16. People may say: "But what sort of existence will the wise man have, if he be left friendless when thrown into prison, or when stranded in some foreign nation, or when delayed on a long voyage, or when cast upon a lonely shore?" His life will be like that of Jupiter, who, amid the dissolution of the world, when the gods are confounded together and Nature rests for a space from her work, can retire into himself and give himself over to his own thoughts. In some such way as this the sage will act; he will retreat into himself, and live with himself.

17. As long as he is allowed to order his affairs according to his judgement, he is self-sufficient – and marries a wife; he is self-sufficient – and brings up children; he is self-sufficient – and yet could not live if he had to live without the society of man. Natural promptings, and not his own selfish needs, draw him into friendships. For just as other things have for us an inherent attractiveness, so has friendship. As we hate solitude and crave society, as nature draws men to each other, so in this matter also there is an attraction which makes us desirous of friendship.

18. Nevertheless, though the sage may love his friends dearly, often comparing them with himself, and putting them ahead of himself, yet all the good will be limited to his own being, and he will speak the words which were spoken by the very Stilbo whom Epicurus criticizes in his letter. For Stilbo, after his country was captured and his children and his wife lost, as he emerged from the general desolation alone and yet happy, spoke as follows to Demetrius, called Sacker of Cities because of the destruction he brought upon them, in answer to the question whether he had lost anything: "I have all my goods with me!"

19. There is a brave and stout-hearted man for you! The enemy conquered, but Stilbo conquered his conqueror. "I have lost nothing!" Aye, he forced Demetrius to wonder whether he himself had conquered after all. "My goods are all with me!" In other words, he deemed nothing that might be taken from him to be a good. We marvel at certain animals because they can pass through fire and suffer no bodily harm; but how much more marvellous is a man who has marched forth unhurt and unscathed through fire and sword and devastation! Do you understand now how much easier it is to conquer a whole tribe than to conquer one man? This saying of Stilbo makes common ground with Stoicism; the Stoic also can carry his goods unimpaired through cities that have been burned to ashes; for he is self-sufficient. Such are the bounds which he sets to his own happiness.

20. But you must not think that our school alone can utter noble words; Epicurus himself, the reviler of Stilbo, spoke similar language; put it down to my credit, though I have already wiped out my debt for the present day. He says: "Whoever does not regard what he has as most ample wealth, is unhappy, though he be master of the whole world." Or, if the following seems to you a more suitable phrase, – for we must try to render the meaning and not the mere words: "A man may rule the world and still be unhappy, if he does not feel that he is supremely happy."

21. In order, however, that you may know that these sentiments are universal, suggested, of course, by Nature, you will find in one of the comic poets this verse:

Unblest is he who thinks himself unblest.

For what does your condition matter, if it is bad in your own eyes?

22. You may say: "What then? If yonder man, rich by base means, and yonder man, lord of many but slave of more, shall call themselves happy, will their own opinion make them happy?" It matters not what one says, but what one feels; also, not how one feels on one particular day, but how one feels at all times. There is no reason, however, why you should fear that this great privilege will fall into unworthy hands; only the wise man is pleased with his own. Folly is ever troubled with weariness of itself. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 10. On Living to Oneself

1. Yes, I do not change my opinion: avoid the many, avoid the few, avoid even the individual. I know of no one with whom I should be willing to have you shared. And see what an opinion of you I have; for I dare to trust you with your own self. Crates, they say, the disciple of the very Stilpo whom I mentioned in a former letter, noticed a young man walking by himself, and asked him what he was doing all alone. "I am communing with myself," replied the youth. "Pray be careful, then," said Crates, "and take good heed; you are communing with a bad man!"

2. When persons are in mourning, or fearful about something, we are accustomed to watch them that we may prevent them from making a wrong use of their loneliness. No thoughtless person ought to be left alone; in such cases he only plans folly, and heaps up future dangers for himself or for others; he brings into play his base desires; the mind displays what fear or shame used to repress; it whets his boldness, stirs his passions, and goads his anger. And finally, the only benefit that solitude confers, – the habit of trusting no man, and of fearing no witnesses, – is lost to the fool; for he betrays himself. Mark therefore what my hopes are for you, – nay, rather, what I am promising myself, inasmuch as hope is merely the title of an uncertain blessing: I do not know any person with whom I should prefer you to associate rather than yourself.

3. I remember in what a great-souled way you hurled forth certain phrases, and how full of strength they were! I immediately congratulated myself and said: "These words did not come from the edge of the lips; these utterances have a solid foundation. This man is not one of the many; he has regard for his real welfare."

4. Speak, and live, in this way; see to it that nothing keeps you down. As for your former prayers, you may dispense the gods from answering them; offer new prayers; pray for a sound mind and for good health, first of soul and then of body. And of course you should offer those prayers frequently. Call boldly upon God; you will not be asking him for that which belongs to another.

5. But I must, as is my custom, send a little gift along with this letter. It is a true saying which I have found in Athenodorus: "Know that thou art freed from all desires when thou hast reached such a point that thou prayest to God for nothing except what thou canst pray for openly." But how foolish men are now! They whisper the basest of prayers to heaven; but if anyone listens, they are silent at once. That which they are unwilling for men to know, they communicate to God. Do you not think, then, that some such wholesome advice as this could be given you: "Live among men as if God beheld you; speak with God as if men were listening"? Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 11. On the Blush of Modesty

1. Your friend and I have had a conversation. He is a man of ability; his very first words showed what spirit and understanding he possesses, and what progress he has already made. He gave me a foretaste, and he will not fail to answer thereto. For he spoke not from forethought, but was suddenly caught off his guard. When he tried to collect himself, he could scarcely banish that hue of modesty, which is a good sign in a young man; the blush that spread over his face seemed so to rise from the depths. And I feel sure that his habit of blushing will stay with him after he has strengthened his character, stripped off all his faults, and become wise. For by no wisdom can natural weaknesses of the body be removed. That which is implanted and inborn can be toned down by training, but not overcome.

2. The steadiest speaker, when before the public, often breaks into a perspiration, as if he had wearied or over-heated himself; some tremble in the knees when they rise to speak; I know of some whose teeth chatter, whose tongues falter, whose lips quiver. Training and experience can never shake off this habit; nature exerts her own power and through such a weakness makes her presence known even to the strongest.

3. I know that the blush, too, is a habit of this sort, spreading suddenly over the faces of the most dignified men. It is, indeed more prevalent in youth, because of the warmer blood and the sensitive countenance; nevertheless, both seasoned men and aged men are affected by it. Some are most dangerous when they redden, as if they were letting all their sense of shame escape.

4. Sulla [Lucius Cornelius Sulla Felix, 138–78 BC], when the blood mantled his cheeks, was in his fiercest mood. Pompey [Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, 106–48 BC] had the most sensitive cast of countenance; he always blushed in the presence of a gathering, and especially at a public assembly. Fabianus also, I remember, reddened when he appeared as a witness before the senate; and his embarrassment became him to a remarkable degree.

5. Such a habit is not due to mental weakness, but to the novelty of a situation; an inexperienced person is not necessarily confused, but is usually affected, because he slips into this habit by natural tendency of the body. Just as certain men are full-blooded, so others are of a quick and mobile blood, that rushes to the face at once.

6. As I remarked, Wisdom can never remove this habit; for if she could rub out all our faults, she would be mistress of the universe. Whatever is assigned to us by the terms of our birth and the blend in our constitutions, will stick with us, no matter how hard or how long the soul may have tried to master itself. And we cannot forbid these feelings any more than we can summon them.

7. Actors in the theatre, who imitate the emotions, who portray fear and nervousness, who depict sorrow, imitate bashfulness by hanging their heads, lowering their voices, and keeping their eyes fixed and rooted upon the ground. They cannot, however, muster a blush; for the blush cannot be prevented or acquired. Wisdom will not assure us of a remedy, or give us help against it; it comes or goes unbidden, and is a law unto itself.

8. But my letter calls for its closing sentence. Hear and take to heart this useful and wholesome motto: "Cherish some man of high character, and keep him ever before your eyes, living as if he were watching you, and ordering all your actions as if he beheld them."

9. Such, my dear Lucilius, is the counsel of Epicurus; he has quite properly given us a guardian and an attendant. We can get rid of most sins, if we have a witness who stands near us when we are likely to go wrong. The soul should have someone whom it can respect, – one by whose authority it may make even its inner shrine more hallowed [The figure is taken from the "Holy of Holies" in a temple.]. Happy is the man who can make others better, not merely when he is in their company, but even when he is in their thoughts! And happy also is he who can so revere a man as to calm and regulate himself by calling him to mind! One who can so revere another, will soon be himself worthy of reverence.

10. Choose therefore a Cato; or, if Cato seems too severe a model, choose some Laelius, a gentler spirit. Choose a master whose life, conversation, and soul-expressing face have satisfied you; picture him always to yourself as your protector or your pattern. For we must indeed have someone according to whom we may regulate our characters; you can never straighten that which is crooked unless you use a ruler. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 12. On Old Age

1. Wherever I turn, I see evidences of my advancing years. I visited lately my country-place, and protested against the money which was spent on the tumble-down building. My bailiff maintained that the flaws were not due to his own carelessness; "he was doing everything possible, but the house was old." And this was the house which grew under my own hands! What has the future in store for me, if stones of my own age are already crumbling?

2. I was angry, and I embraced the first opportunity to vent my spleen in the bailiff's presence. "It is clear," I cried, "that these plane-trees are neglected; they have no leaves. Their branches are so gnarled and shrivelled; the boles are so rough and unkempt! This would not happen, if someone loosened the earth at their feet, and watered them." The bailiff swore by my protecting deity that "he was doing everything possible, and never relaxed his efforts, but those trees were old." Between you and me, I had planted those trees myself, I had seen them in their first leaf.

3. Then I turned to the door and asked: "Who is that broken-down dotard? You have done well to place him at the entrance; for he is outward bound. Where did you get him? What pleasure did it give you to take up for burial some other man's dead?" [His former owner should have kept him and buried him.] But the slave said: "Don't you know me, sir? I am Felicio; you used to bring me little images [Small figurines, generally of terra-cotta, were frequently given to children as presents at the Saturnalia.]. My father was Philositus the steward, and I am your pet slave." "The man is clean crazy," I remarked. "Has my pet slave become a little boy again? But it is quite possible; his teeth are just dropping out." [i.e., the old slave resembles a child in that he is losing his teeth (but for the second time).]

4. I owe it to my country-place that my old age became apparent whithersoever I turned. Let us cherish and love old age; for it is full of pleasure if one knows how to use it. Fruits are most welcome when almost over; youth is most charming at its close; the last drink delights the toper, – the glass which souses him and puts the finishing touch on his drunkenness.

5. Each pleasure reserves to the end the greatest delights which it contains. Life is most delightful when it is on the downward slope, but has not yet reached the abrupt decline. And I myself believe that the period which stands, so to speak, on the edge of the roof, possesses pleasures of its own. Or else the very fact of our not wanting pleasures has taken the place

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of the pleasures themselves. How comforting it is to have tired out one's appetites, and to have done with them!

6. "But," you say, "it is a nuisance to be looking death in the face!" Death, however, should be looked in the face by young and old alike. We are not summoned according to our rating on the censor's list. Moreover, no one is so old that it would be improper for him to hope for another day of existence. And one day, mind you, is a stage on life's journey. Our span of life is divided into parts; it consists of large circles enclosing smaller. One circle embraces and bounds the rest; it reaches from birth to the last day of existence. The next circle limits the period of our young manhood. The third confines all of childhood in its circumference. Again, there is, in a class by itself, the year; it contains within itself all the divisions of time by the multiplication of which we get the total of life. The month is bounded by a narrower ring. The smallest circle of all is the day; but even a day has its beginning and its ending, its sunrise and its sunset.

7. Hence Heraclitus, whose obscure style gave him his surname, remarked: "One day is equal to every day." Different persons have interpreted the saying in different ways. Some hold that days are equal in number of hours, and this is true; for if by "day" we mean twenty-four hours' time, all days must be equal, inasmuch as the night acquires what the day loses. But others maintain that one day is equal to all days through resemblance, because the very longest space of time possesses no element which cannot be found in a single day, – namely, light and darkness, – and even to eternity day makes these alternations more numerous, not different when it is shorter and different again when it is longer.

8. Hence, every day ought to be regulated as if it closed the series, as if it rounded out and completed our existence. Pacuvius, who by long occupancy made Syria his own*, used to hold a regular burial sacrifice in his own honour, with wine and the usual funeral feasting, and then would have himself carried from the dining-room to his chamber, while eunuchs applauded and sang in Greek to a musical accompaniment: "He has lived his life, he has lived his life!" [* Usus was the mere enjoyment of a piece of property; dominium was the exclusive right to its control. Possession for one, or two, years conferred ownership.]

9. Thus Pacuvius had himself carried out to burial every day. Let us, however, do from a good motive what he used to do from a debased motive; let us go to our sleep with joy and gladness; let us say:

I have lived; the course which Fortune set for me
Is finished.

And if God is pleased to add another day, we should welcome it with glad hearts. That man is happiest, and is secure in his own possession of himself, who can await the morrow without apprehension. When a man has said: "I have lived!", every morning he arises he receives a bonus.

10. But now I ought to close my letter. "What?" you say; "shall it come to me without any little offering?" Be not afraid; it brings something, – nay, more than something, a great deal. For what is more noble than the following saying of which I make this letter the bearer: "It is wrong to live under constraint; but no man is constrained to live under constraint." Of course not. On all sides lie many short and simple paths to freedom; and let us thank God that no man can be kept in life. We may spurn the very constraints that hold us.

11. "Epicurus*," you reply, "uttered these words; what are you doing with another's property?" Any truth, I maintain, is my own property. And I shall continue to heap quotations from Epicurus upon you, so that all persons who swear by the words of another, and put a value upon the speaker and not upon the thing spoken, may understand that the best ideas are common property. Farewell. [Epicurus, Greek philosopher: Epikouros; 341–270 BC]

SENECA LETTER 13. On Groundless Fears

1. I know that you have plenty of spirit; for even before you began to equip yourself with maxims which were wholesome and potent to overcome obstacles, you were taking pride in your contest with Fortune; and this is all the more true, now that you have grappled with Fortune and tested your powers. For our powers can never inspire in us implicit faith in ourselves except when many difficulties have confronted us on this side and on that, and have occasionally even come to close quarters with us. It is only in this way that the true spirit can be tested, – the spirit that will never consent to come under the jurisdiction of things external to ourselves.

2. This is the touchstone of such a spirit; no prizefighter can go with high spirits into the strife if he has never been beaten black and blue; the only contestant who can confidently enter the lists is the man who has seen his own blood, who has felt his teeth rattle beneath his opponent's fist, who has been tripped and felt the full force of his adversary's charge, who has been downed in body but not in spirit, one who, as often as he falls, rises again with greater defiance than ever.

3. So then, to keep up my figure, Fortune has often in the past got the upper hand of you, and yet you have not surrendered, but have leaped up and stood your ground still more eagerly. For manliness gains much strength by being challenged; nevertheless, if you approve, allow me to offer some additional safeguards by which you may fortify yourself.

4. There are more things, Lucilius, likely to frighten us than there are to crush us; we suffer more often in imagination than in reality. I am not speaking with you in the Stoic strain but in my milder style. For it is our Stoic fashion to speak of all those things, which provoke cries and groans, as unimportant and beneath notice; but you and I must drop such great-sounding words, although, Heaven knows, they are true enough. What I advise you to do is, not to be unhappy before the crisis comes; since it may be that the dangers before which you paled as if they were threatening you, will never come upon you; they certainly have not yet come.

5. Accordingly, some things torment us more than they ought; some torment us before they ought; and some torment us when they ought not to torment us at all. We are in the habit of exaggerating, or imagining, or anticipating, sorrow. The first of these three faults* may be postponed for the present, because the subject is under discussion and the case is still in court, so to speak. [*Seneca dismisses the topic of "exaggerated ills," because judgements will differ concerning present troubles; the Stoics, for example, would not admit that torture was an evil at all.] That which I should call trifling, you will maintain to be most serious; for of course I know that some men laugh while being flogged, and that others wince at a box on the ear. We shall consider later whether these evils derive their power from their own strength, or from our own weakness.

6. Do me the favour, when men surround you and try to talk you into believing that you are unhappy, to consider not what you hear but what you yourself feel, and to take counsel with your feelings and question yourself independently, because you know your own affairs better than anyone else does. Ask: "Is there any reason why these persons should condole with me? Why should they be worried or even fear some infection from me, as if troubles could be transmitted? Is there any evil involved, or is it a matter merely of ill report, rather than an evil?" Put the question voluntarily to yourself: "Am I tormented without sufficient reason, am I morose, and do I convert what is not an evil into what is an evil?"

7. You may retort with the question: "How am I to know whether my sufferings are real or imaginary?" Here is the rule for such matters: We are tormented either by things present, or by things to come, or by both. As to things present, the decision is easy. Suppose that your person enjoys freedom and health, and that you do not suffer from any external injury. As to what may happen to it in the future, we shall see later on. To-day there is nothing wrong with it.

8. "But," you say, "something will happen to it." First of all, consider whether your proofs of future trouble are sure. For it is more often the case that we are troubled by our apprehensions, and that we are mocked by that mocker, rumour, which is wont to settle wars, but much more often settles individuals. Yes, my dear Lucilius; we agree too quickly with what people say. We do not put to the test those things which cause our fear; we do not examine into them; we blench and retreat just like soldiers who are forced to abandon their camp because of a dust-cloud raised by stampeding cattle, or are thrown into a panic by the spreading of some unauthenticated rumour.

9. And somehow or other it is the idle report that disturbs us most. For truth has its own definite boundaries, but that which arises from uncertainty is delivered over to guesswork and the irresponsible license of a frightened mind. That is why no fear is so ruinous and so uncontrollable as panic fear. For other fears are groundless, but this fear is witless.

10. Let us, then, look carefully into the matter. It is likely that some troubles will befall us; but it is not a present fact. How often has the unexpected happened! How often has the expected never come to pass! And even though it is ordained to be, what does it avail to run out to meet your suffering? You will suffer soon enough, when it arrives; so look forward meanwhile to better things.

11. What shall you gain by doing this? Time. There will be many happenings meanwhile which will serve to postpone, or end, or pass on to another person, the trials which are near or even in your very presence. A fire has opened the way to flight. Men have been let down softly by a catastrophe. Sometimes the sword has been checked even at the victim's throat. Men have survived their own executioners. Even bad fortune is fickle. Perhaps it will come, perhaps not; in the meantime it is not. So look forward to better things.

12. The mind at times fashions for itself false shapes of evil when there are no signs that point to any evil; it twists into the worst construction some word of doubtful meaning; or it fancies some personal grudge to be more serious than it really is, considering not how angry the enemy is, but to what lengths he may go if he is angry. But life is not worth living, and there is no limit to our sorrows, if we indulge our fears to the greatest possible extent; in this matter, let prudence help you, and contemn with a resolute spirit even when it is in plain sight. If you cannot do this, counter one weakness with another, and temper your fear with hope. There is nothing so certain among these objects of fear that it is not more certain still that things we dread sink into nothing and that things we hope for mock us.

13. Accordingly, weigh carefully your hopes as well as your fears, and whenever all the elements are in doubt, decide in your own favour; believe what you prefer. And if fear wins a majority of the votes, incline in the other direction anyhow, and cease to harass your soul, reflecting continually that most mortals, even when no troubles are actually at hand or are certainly to be expected in the future, become excited and disquieted. No one calls a halt on himself, when he begins to be urged ahead; nor does he regulate his alarm according to the truth. No one says; "The author of the story is a fool, and he who has believed it is a fool, as well as he who fabricated it." We let ourselves drift with every breeze; we are frightened at uncertainties, just as if they were certain. We observe no moderation. The slightest thing turns the scales and throws us forthwith into a panic.

14. But I am ashamed either to admonish you sternly or to try to beguile you with such mild remedies. Let another say: "Perhaps the worst will not happen." You yourself must say: "Well, what if it does happen? Let us see who wins! Perhaps it happens for my best interests; it may be that such a death will shed credit upon my life." Socrates was ennobled by the hemlock draught. Wrench from Cato's hand his sword, the vindicator of liberty, and you deprive him of the greatest share of his glory.

15. I am exhorting you far too long, since you need reminding rather than exhortation. The path on which I am leading you is not different from that on which your nature leads you; you were born to such conduct as I describe. Hence there is all the more reason why you should increase and beautify the good that is in you.

16. But now, to close my letter, I have only to stamp the usual seal upon it, in other words, to commit thereto some noble message to be delivered to you: "The fool, with all his other faults, has this also, – he is always getting ready to live." Reflect, my esteemed Lucilius, what this saying means, and you will see how revolting is the fickleness of men who lay down every day new foundations of life, and begin to build up fresh hopes even at the brink of the grave.

17. Look within your own mind for individual instances; you will think of old men who are preparing themselves at that very hour for a political career, or for travel, or for business. And what is baser than getting ready to live when you are already old? I should not name the author of this motto, except that it is somewhat unknown to fame and is not one of those popular sayings of Epicurus which I have allowed myself to praise and to appropriate. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 14. On the Reasons for Withdrawing from the World

1. I confess that we all have an inborn affection for our body; I confess that we are entrusted with its guardianship. I do not maintain that the body is not to be indulged at all; but I maintain that we must not be slaves to it. He will have many masters who makes his body his master, who is over-fearful in its behalf, who judges everything according to the body.

2. We should conduct ourselves not as if we ought to live for the body, but as if we could not live without it. Our too great love for it makes us restless with fears, burdens us with cares, and exposes us to insults. Virtue is held too cheap by the man who counts his body too dear. We should cherish the body with the greatest care; but we should also be prepared, when reason, self-respect, and duty demand the sacrifice, to deliver it even to the flames.

3. Let us, however, in so far as we can, avoid discomforts as well as dangers, and withdraw to safe ground, by thinking continually how we may repel all objects of fear. If I am not mistaken, there are three main classes of these: we fear want, we fear sickness, and we fear the troubles which result from the violence of the stronger.

4. And of all these, that which shakes us most is the dread which hangs over us from our neighbour's ascendancy; for it is accompanied by great outcry and uproar. But the natural evils which I have mentioned, – want and sickness, – steal upon us silently with no shock of terror to the eye or to the ear. The other kind of evil comes, so to speak, in the form of a huge parade. Surrounding it is a retinue of swords and fire and chains and a mob of beasts to be let loose upon the disembowelled entrails of men.

5. Picture to yourself under this head the prison, the cross, the rack, the hook, and the stake which they drive straight through a man until it protrudes from his throat. Think of human limbs torn apart by chariots driven in opposite directions, of the terrible shirt smeared and interwoven with inflammable materials, and of all the other contrivances devised by cruelty, in addition to those which I have mentioned! [He is describing here the typical range of Roman torture methods]

6. It is not surprising, then, if our greatest terror is of such a fate; for it comes in many shapes and its paraphernalia are terrifying. For just as the torturer accomplishes more in

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proportion to the number of instruments which he displays, – indeed, the spectacle overcomes those who would have patiently withstood the suffering, – similarly, of all the agencies which coerce and master our minds, the most effective are those which can make a display. Those other troubles are of course not less serious; I mean hunger, thirst, ulcers of the stomach, and fever that parches our very bowels. They are, however, secret; they have no bluster and no heralding; but these, like huge arrays of war, prevail by virtue of their display and their equipment.

7. Let us, therefore, see to it that we abstain from giving offence. It is sometimes the people that we ought to fear; or sometimes a body of influential oligarchs in the Senate, if the method of governing the State is such that most of the business is done by that body; and sometimes individuals equipped with power by the people and against the people. It is burdensome to keep the friendship of all such persons; it is enough not to make enemies of them. So the wise man will never provoke the anger of those in power; nay, he will even turn his course, precisely as he would turn from a storm if he were steering a ship.

8. When you travelled to Sicily, you crossed the Straits. The reckless pilot scorned the blustering South Wind, – the wind which roughens the Sicilian Sea and forces it into choppy currents; he sought not the shore on the left, but the strand hard by the place where Charybdis throws the seas into confusion. Your more careful pilot, however, questions those who know the locality as to the tides and the meaning of the clouds; he holds his course far from that region notorious for its swirling waters. Our wise man does the same; he shuns a strong man who may be injurious to him, making a point of not seeming to avoid him, because an important part of one's safety lies in not seeking safety openly; for what one avoids, one condemns.

9. We should therefore look about us, and see how we may protect ourselves from the mob. And first of all, we should have no cravings like theirs; for rivalry results in strife. Again, let us possess nothing that can be snatched from us to the great profit of a plotting foe. Let there be as little booty as possible on your person. No one sets out to shed the blood of his fellow-men for the sake of bloodshed, – at any rate very few. More murderers speculate on their profits than give vent to hatred. If you are empty-handed, the highwayman passes you by; even along an infested road, the poor may travel in peace.

10. Next, we must follow the old adage and avoid three things with special care: hatred, jealousy, and scorn. And wisdom alone can show you how this may be done. It is hard to observe a mean; we must be chary of letting the fear of jealousy lead us into becoming objects of scorn, lest, when we choose not to stamp others down, we let them think that they can stamp us down. The power to inspire fear has caused many men to be in fear. Let us withdraw ourselves in every way; for it is as harmful to be scorned as to be admired.

11. One must therefore take refuge in philosophy; this pursuit, not only in the eyes of good men, but also in the eyes of those who are even moderately bad, is a sort of protecting emblem. For speechmaking at the bar, or any other pursuit that claims the people's attention, wins enemies for a man; but philosophy is peaceful and minds her own business. Men cannot scorn her; she is honoured by every profession, even the vilest among them. Evil can never grow so strong, and nobility of character can never be so plotted against, that the name of philosophy shall cease to be worshipful and sacred. Philosophy itself, however, should be practised with calmness and moderation.

12. "Very well, then," you retort, "do you regard the philosophy of Marcus Cato as moderate? Cato's voice strove to check a civil war. Cato parted the swords of maddened chieftains. When some fell foul of Pompey and others fell foul of Caesar, Cato defied both parties at once!"

13. Nevertheless, one may well question whether, in those days, a wise man ought to have taken any part in public affairs, and ask: "What do you mean, Marcus Cato? It is not now a question of freedom; long since has freedom gone to rack and ruin. The question is, whether it is Caesar or Pompey who controls the State. Why, Cato, should you take sides in that dispute? It is no business of yours; a tyrant is being selected. What does it concern you who conquers? The better man may win; but the winner is bound to be the worse man." I have referred to Cato's final rôle. But even in previous years the wise man was not permitted to intervene in such plundering of the state; for what could Cato do but raise his voice and utter unavailing words? At one time he was "hustled" by the mob and spat upon and forcibly removed from the forum and marked for exile; at another, he was taken straight to prison from the senate-chamber.

14. However, we shall consider later whether the wise man ought to give his attention to politics; meanwhile, I beg you to consider those Stoics who, shut out from public life, have withdrawn into privacy for the purpose of improving men's existence and framing laws for the human race without incurring the displeasure of those in power. The wise man will not upset the customs of the people, nor will he invite the attention of the populace by any novel ways of living.

15. "What then? Can one who follows out this plan be safe in any case?" I cannot guarantee you this any more than I can guarantee good health in the case of a man who observes moderation; although, as a matter of fact, good health results from such moderation. Sometimes a vessel perishes in harbour; but what do you think happens on the open sea? And how much more beset with danger that man would be, who even in his leisure is not secure, if he were busily working at many things! Innocent persons sometimes perish; who would deny that? But the guilty perish more frequently. A soldier's skill is not at fault if he receives the death-blow through his armour.

16. And finally, the wise man regards the reason for all his actions, but not the results. The beginning is in our own power; fortune decides the issue, but I do not allow her to pass sentence upon myself. You may say: "But she can inflict a measure of suffering and of trouble." The highwayman does not pass sentence when he slays.

17. Now you are stretching forth your hand for the daily gift. Golden indeed will be the gift with which I shall load you; and, inasmuch as we have mentioned gold, let me tell you how its use and enjoyment may bring you greater pleasure. "He who needs riches least, enjoys riches most." "Author's name, please!" you say. Now, to show you how generous I am, it is my intent to praise the dicta of other schools. The phrase belongs to Epicurus, or Metrodorus, or some one of that particular thinking-shop.

18. But what difference does it make who spoke the words? They were uttered for the world. He who craves riches feels fear on their account. No man, however, enjoys a blessing that brings anxiety; he is always trying to add a little more. While he puzzles over increasing his wealth, he forgets how to use it. He collects his accounts, he wears out the pavement in the forum, he turns over his ledger, – in short, he ceases to be master and becomes a steward. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 15. On Brawn and Brains

1. The old Romans had a custom which survived even into my lifetime. They would add to the opening words of a letter: "If you are well, it is well; I also am well." Persons like ourselves would do well to say: "If you are studying philosophy, it is well." For this is just what "being well" means. Without philosophy the mind is sickly, and the body, too, though it may be very powerful, is strong only as that of a madman or a lunatic is strong.

2. This, then, is the sort of health you should primarily cultivate; the other kind of health comes second, and will involve little effort, if you wish to be well physically. It is indeed foolish, my dear Lucilius, and very unsuitable for a cultivated man, to work hard over developing the muscles and broadening the shoulders and strengthening the lungs. For although your heavy feeding produce good results and your sinews grow solid, you can never be a match, either in strength or in weight, for a first-class bull. Besides, by overloading the body with food you strangle the soul and render it less active. Accordingly, limit the flesh as much as possible, and allow free play to the spirit.

3. Many inconveniences beset those who devote themselves to such pursuits. In the first place, they have their exercises, at which they must work and waste their life-force and render it less fit to bear a strain or the severer studies. Second, their keen edge is dulled by heavy eating. Besides, they must take orders from slaves of the vilest stamp, – men who alternate between the oil-flask and the flagon, whose day passes satisfactorily if they have got up a good perspiration and quaffed, to make good what they have lost in sweat, huge draughts of liquor which will sink deeper because of their fasting. Drinking and sweating, – it's the life of a dyspeptic!

4. Now there are short and simple exercises which tire the body rapidly, and so save our time; and time is something of which we ought to keep strict account. These exercises are running, brandishing weights, and jumping, – high-jumping or broad-jumping, or the kind which I may call, "the Priest's dance," or, in slighting terms, "the clothes-cleaner's jump." Select for practice any one of these, and you will find it plain and easy.

5. But whatever you do, come back soon from body to mind. The mind must be exercised both day and night, for it is nourished by moderate labour; and this form of exercise need not be hampered by cold or hot weather, or even by old age. Cultivate that good which improves with the years.

6. Of course I do not command you to be always bending over your books and your writing materials; the mind must have a change, – but a change of such a kind that it is not unnerved, but merely unbent. Riding in a litter shakes up the body, and does not interfere with study; one may read, dictate, converse, or listen to another; nor does walking prevent any of these things.

7. You need not scorn voice-culture; but I forbid you to practise raising and lowering your voice by scales and specific intonations. What if you should next propose to take lessons in walking! If you consult the sort of person whom starvation has taught new tricks, you will have someone to regulate your steps, watch every mouthful as you eat, and go to such lengths as you yourself, by enduring him and believing in him, have encouraged his effrontery to go. "What, then?" you will ask; "is my voice to begin at the outset with shouting and straining the lungs to the utmost?" No; the natural thing is that it be aroused to such a pitch by easy stages, just as persons who are wrangling begin with ordinary conversational tones and then pass to shouting at the top of their lungs. No speaker cries "Help me, citizens!" at the outset of his speech.

8. Therefore, whenever your spirit's impulse prompts you, raise a hubbub, now in louder now in milder tones, according as your voice, as well as your spirit, shall suggest to you, when you are moved to such a performance. Then let your voice, when you rein it in and call it back to earth, come down gently, not collapse; it should trail off in tones half way between high and low, and should not abruptly drop from its raving in the uncouth manner of countrymen. For our purpose is, not to give the voice exercise, but to make it give us exercise.

9. You see, I have relieved you of no slight bother; and I shall throw in a little complementary present, – it is Greek, too. Here is the proverb; it is an excellent one: "The fool's life is empty of gratitude and full of fears; its course lies wholly toward the future." "Who uttered these words?" you say. The same writer whom I mentioned before. And what sort of life do you think is meant by the fool's life? That of Baba and Isio? No; he means our own, for we are plunged by our blind desires into ventures which will harm us, but certainly will never satisfy us; for if we could be satisfied with anything, we should have been satisfied long ago; nor do we reflect how pleasant it is to demand nothing, how noble it is to be contented and not to be dependent upon Fortune.

10. Therefore continually remind yourself, Lucilius, how many ambitions you have attained. When you see many ahead of you, think how many are behind! If you would thank the gods, and be grateful for your past life, you should contemplate how many men you have outstripped. But what have you to do with the others? You have outstripped yourself.

11. Fix a limit which you will not even desire to pass, should you have the power. At last, then, away with all these treacherous goods! They look better to those who hope for them than to those who have attained them. If there were anything substantial in them, they would sooner or later satisfy you; as it is, they merely rouse the drinkers' thirst. Away with fripperies which only serve for show! As to what the future's uncertain lot has in store, why should I demand of Fortune that she give, rather than demand of myself that I should not crave? And why should I crave? Shall I heap up my winnings, and forget that man's lot is unsubstantial? For what end should I toil? Lo, to-day is the last; if not, it is near the last. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 16. On Philosophy, the Guide of Life

1. It is clear to you, I am sure, Lucilius, that no man can live a happy life, or even a supportable life, without the study of wisdom; you know also that a happy life is reached when our wisdom is brought to completion, but that life is at least endurable even when our wisdom is only begun. This idea, however, clear though it is, must be strengthened and implanted more deeply by daily reflection; it is more important for you to keep the resolutions you have already made than to go on and make noble ones. You must persevere, must develop new strength by continuous study, until that which is only a good inclination becomes a good settled purpose.

2. Hence you no longer need to come to me with much talk and protestations; I know that you have made great progress. I understand the feelings which prompt your words; they are not feigned or specious words. Nevertheless I shall tell you what I think, – that at present I have hopes for you, but not yet perfect trust. And I wish that you would adopt the same attitude towards yourself; there is no reason why you should put confidence in yourself too quickly and readily. Examine yourself; scrutinise and observe yourself in divers ways; but mark, before all else, whether it is in philosophy or merely in life itself that you have made progress.

3. Philosophy is no trick to catch the public; it is not devised for show. It is a matter, not of words, but of facts. It is not pursued in order that the day may yield some amusement before it is spent, or that our leisure may be relieved of a tedium that irks us. It moulds and constructs the soul; it orders our life, guides our conduct, shows us what we should do and what we should leave undone; it sits at the helm and directs our course as we waver amid uncertainties. Without it, no one can live fearlessly or in peace of mind. Countless things that happen every hour call for advice; and such advice is to be sought in philosophy.

4. Perhaps someone will say: "How can philosophy help me, if Fate exists? Of what avail is philosophy, if God rules the universe? Of what avail is it, if Chance governs everything? For not only is it impossible to change things that are determined, but it is also impossible to plan beforehand against what is undetermined; either God has forestalled my

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plans, and decided what I am to do, or else Fortune gives no free play to my plans."

5. Whether the truth, Lucilius, lies in one or in all of these views, we must be philosophers; whether Fate binds us down by an inexorable law, or whether God as arbiter of the universe has arranged everything, or whether Chance drives and tosses human affairs without method, philosophy ought to be our defence. She will encourage us to obey God cheerfully, but Fortune defiantly; she will teach us to follow God and endure Chance.

6. But it is not my purpose now to be led into a discussion as to what is within our own control, – if foreknowledge is supreme, or if a chain of fated events drags us along in its clutches, or if the sudden and the unexpected play the tyrant over us; I return now to my warning and my exhortation, that you should not allow the impulse of your spirit to weaken and grow cold. Hold fast to it and establish it firmly, in order that what is now impulse may become a habit of the mind.

7. If I know you well, you have already been trying to find out, from the very beginning of my letter, what little contribution it brings to you. Sift the letter, and you will find it. You need not wonder at any genius of mine; for as yet I am lavish only with other men's property. – But why did I say "other men"? Whatever is well said by anyone is mine. – This also is a saying of Epicurus: "If you live according to nature, you will never be poor; if you live according to opinion, you will never be rich."

8. Nature's wants are slight; the demands of opinion are boundless. Suppose that the property of many millionaires is heaped up in your possession. Assume that fortune carries you far beyond the limits of a private income, decks you with gold, clothes you in purple, and brings you to such a degree of luxury and wealth that you can bury the earth under your marble floors; that you may not only possess, but tread upon, riches. Add statues, paintings, and whatever any art has devised for the satisfaction of luxury; you will only learn from such things to crave still greater.

9. Natural desires are limited; but those which spring from false opinion can have no stopping-point. The false has no limits. When you are travelling on a road, there must be an end; but when astray, your wanderings are limitless. Recall your steps, therefore, from idle things, and when you would know whether that which you seek is based upon a natural or upon a misleading desire, consider whether it can stop at any definite point. If you find, after having travelled far, that there is a more distant goal always in view, you may be sure that this condition is contrary to nature. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 17. On Philosophy and Riches

1. Cast away everything of that sort, if you are wise; nay, rather that you may be wise; strive toward a sound mind at top speed and with your whole strength. If any bond holds you back, untie it, or sever it. "But," you say, "my estate delays me; I wish to make such disposition of it that it may suffice for me when I have nothing to do, lest either poverty be a burden to me, or I myself a burden to others."

2. You do not seem, when you say this, to know the strength and power of that good which you are considering. You do indeed grasp the all-important thing, the great benefit which philosophy confers, but you do not yet discern accurately its various functions, nor do you yet know how great is the help we receive from philosophy in everything, everywhere, – how, (to use Cicero's language,) it not only succours us in the greatest matters but also descends to the smallest. Take my advice; call wisdom into consultation; she will advise you not to sit for ever at your ledger.

3. Doubtless, your object, what you wish to attain by such postponement of your studies, is that poverty may not have to be feared by you. But what if it is something to be desired? Riches have shut off many a man from the attainment of wisdom; poverty is unburdened and free from care. When the trumpet sounds, the poor man knows that he is not being attacked; when there is a cry of "Fire," he only seeks a way of escape, and does not ask what he can save; if the poor man must go to sea, the harbour does not resound, nor do the wharves bustle with the retinue of one individual. No throng of slaves surrounds the poor man, – slaves for whose mouths the master must covet the fertile crops of regions beyond the sea.

4. It is easy to fill a few stomachs, when they are well trained and crave nothing else but to be filled. Hunger costs but little; squeamishness costs much. Poverty is contented with fulfilling pressing needs. Why, then, should you reject Philosophy as a comrade?

5. Even the rich man copies her ways when he is in his senses. If you wish to have leisure for your mind, either be a poor man, or resemble a poor man. Study cannot be helpful unless you take pains to live simply; and living simply is voluntary poverty. Away, then, with all excuses like: "I have not yet enough; when I have gained the desired amount, then I shall devote myself wholly to philosophy." And yet this ideal, which you are putting off and placing second to other interests, should be secured first of all; you should begin with it. You retort: "I wish to acquire something to live on." Yes, but learn while you are acquiring it; for if anything forbids you to live nobly, nothing forbids you to die nobly.

6. There is no reason why poverty should call us away from philosophy, – no, nor even actual want. For when hastening after wisdom, we must endure even hunger. Men have endured hunger when their towns were besieged, and what other reward for their endurance did they obtain than that they did not fall under the conqueror's power? How much greater is the promise of the prize of everlasting liberty, and the assurance that we need fear neither God nor man! Even though we starve, we must reach that goal.

7. Armies have endured all manner of want, have lived on roots, and have resisted hunger by means of food too revolting to mention. All this they have suffered to gain a kingdom, and, – what is more marvellous, – to gain a kingdom that will be another's. Will any man hesitate to endure poverty, in order that he may free his mind from madness? Therefore one should not seek to lay up riches first; one may attain to philosophy, however, even without money for the journey.

8. It is indeed so. After you have come to possess all other things, shall you then wish to possess wisdom also? Is philosophy to be the last requisite in life, – a sort of supplement? Nay, your plan should be this: be a philosopher now, whether you have anything or not, – for if you have anything, how do you know that you have not too much already? – but if you have nothing, seek understanding first, before anything else.

9. "But," you say, "I shall lack the necessities of life." In the first place, you cannot lack them; because nature demands but little, and the wise man suits his needs to nature. But if the utmost pinch of need arrives, he will quickly take leave of life and cease being a trouble to himself. If, however, his means of existence are meagre and scanty, he will make the best of them, without being anxious or worried about anything more than the bare necessities; he will do justice to his belly and his shoulders; with free and happy spirit he will laugh at the bustling of rich men, and the flurried ways of those who are hastening after wealth,

10. and say: "Why of your own accord postpone your real life to the distant future? Shall you wait for some interest to fall due, or for some income on your merchandise, or for a place in the will of some wealthy old man, when you can be rich here and now. Wisdom offers wealth in ready money, and pays it over to those in whose eyes she has made wealth superfluous." These remarks refer to other men; you are nearer the rich class. Change the age in which you live, and you have too much. But in every age, what is enough remains the same.

11. I might close my letter at this point, if I had not got you into bad habits. One cannot greet Parthian royalty without bringing a gift; and in your case I cannot say farewell without paying a price. But what of it? I shall borrow from Epicurus: "The acquisition of riches has been for many men, not an end, but a change, of troubles."

12. I do not wonder. For the fault is not in the wealth, but in the mind itself. That which had made poverty a burden to us, has made riches also a burden. Just as it matters little whether you lay a sick man on a wooden or on a golden bed, for whithersoever he be moved he will carry his malady with him; so one need not care whether the diseased mind is bestowed upon riches or upon poverty. His malady goes with the man. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 18. On Festivals and Fasting

1. It is the month of December, and yet the city is at this very moment in a sweat. Licence is given to the general merrymaking. Everything resounds with mighty preparations, – as if the Saturnalia differed at all from the usual business day! So true it is that the difference is nil, that I regard as correct the remark of the man who said: "Once December was a month; now it is a year." [i.e., the whole year is a Saturnalia.]

2. If I had you with me, I should be glad to consult you and find out what you think should be done, – whether we ought to make no change in our daily routine, or whether, in order not to be out of sympathy with the ways of the public, we should dine in gayer fashion and doff the toga. As it is now, we Romans have changed our dress for the sake of pleasure and holiday-making, though in former times that was only customary when the State was disturbed and had fallen on evil days.

3. I am sure that, if I know you aright, playing the part of an umpire you would have wished that we should be neither like the liberty-capped* throng in all ways, nor in all ways unlike them; unless, perhaps, this is just the season when we ought to lay down the law to the soul, and bid it be alone in refraining from pleasures just when the whole mob has let itself go in pleasures; for this is the surest proof which a man can get of his own constancy, if he neither seeks the things which are seductive and allure him to luxury, nor is led into them. [*The pilleus was worn by newly freed slaves and by the Roman populace on festal occasions.]

4. It shows much more courage to remain dry and sober when the mob is drunk and vomiting; but it shows greater self-control to refuse to withdraw oneself and to do what the crowd does, but in a different way, – thus neither making oneself conspicuous nor becoming one of the crowd. For one may keep holiday without extravagance.

5. I am so firmly determined, however, to test the constancy of your mind that, drawing from the teachings of great men, I shall give you also a lesson: Set aside a certain number of days, during which you shall be content with the scantiest and cheapest fare, with coarse and rough dress, saying to yourself the while: "Is this the condition that I feared?"

6. It is precisely in times of immunity from care that the soul should toughen itself beforehand for occasions of greater stress, and it is while Fortune is kind that it should fortify itself against her violence. In days of peace the soldier performs manœuvres, throws up earthworks with no enemy in sight, and wearies himself by gratuitous toil, in order that he may be equal to unavoidable toil. If you would not have a man flinch when the crisis comes, train him before it comes. Such is the course which those men have followed who, in their imitation of poverty, have every month come almost to want, that they might never recoil from what they had so often rehearsed.

7. You need not suppose that I mean meals like Timon's, or "paupers' huts," or any other device which luxurious millionaires use to beguile the tedium of their lives. Let the pallet be a real one, and the coarse cloak; let the bread be hard and grimy. Endure all this for three or four days at a time, sometimes for more, so that it may be a test of yourself instead of a mere hobby. Then, I assure you, my dear Lucilius, you will leap for joy when filled with a pennyworth of food, and you will understand that a man's peace of mind does not depend upon Fortune; for, even when angry she grants enough for our needs.

8. There is no reason, however, why you should think that you are doing anything great; for you will merely be doing what many thousands of slaves and many thousands of poor men are doing every day. But you may credit yourself with this item, – that you will not be doing it under compulsion, and that it will be as easy for you to endure it permanently as to make the experiment from time to time. Let us practise our strokes on the "dummy"*; let us become intimate with poverty, so that Fortune may not catch us off our guard. We shall be rich with all the more comfort, if we once learn how far poverty is from being a burden. [*The post which gladiators used when preparing themselves for combats in the arena.]

9. Even Epicurus, the teacher of pleasure, used to observe stated intervals, during which he satisfied his hunger in niggardly fashion; he wished to see whether he thereby fell short of full and complete happiness, and, if so, by what amount he fell short, and whether this amount was worth purchasing at the price of great effort. At any rate, he makes such a statement in the well known letter written to Polyaenus in the archonship of Charinus. Indeed, he boasts that he himself lived on less than a penny, but that Metrodorus, whose progress was not yet so great, needed a whole penny.

10. Do you think that there can be fulness on such fare? Yes, and there is pleasure also, – not that shifty and fleeting pleasure which needs a fillip now and then, but a pleasure that is steadfast and sure. For though water, barley-meal, and crusts of barley-bread, are not a cheerful diet, yet it is the highest kind of pleasure to be able to derive pleasure from this sort of food, and to have reduced one's needs to that modicum which no unfairness of Fortune can snatch away.

11. Even prison fare is more generous; and those who have been set apart for capital punishment are not so meanly fed by the man who is to execute them. Therefore, what a noble soul must one have, to descend of one's own free will to a diet which even those who have been sentenced to death have not to fear! This is indeed forestalling the spear-thrusts of Fortune.

12. So begin, my dear Lucilius, to follow the custom of these men, and set apart certain days on which you shall withdraw from your business and make yourself at home with the scantiest fare. Establish business relations with poverty.

Dare, O my friend, to scorn the sight of wealth,
And mould thyself to kinship with thy God.

13. For he alone is in kinship with God who has scorned wealth. Of course I do not forbid you to possess it, but I would have you reach the point at which you possess it dauntlessly; this can be accomplished only by persuading yourself that you can live happily without it as well as with it, and by regarding riches always as likely to elude you.

14. But now I must begin to fold up my letter. "Settle your debts first," you cry. Here is a draft on Epicurus; he will pay down the sum: "Ungoverned anger begets madness." You cannot help knowing the truth of these words, since you have had not only slaves, but also enemies.

15. But indeed this emotion blazes out against all sorts of persons; it springs from love as much as from hate, and shows itself not less in serious matters than in jest and sport. And it makes no difference how important the provocation may be,

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but into what kind of soul it penetrates. Similarly with fire; it does not matter how great is the flame, but what it falls upon. For solid timbers have repelled a very great fire; conversely, dry and easily inflammable stuff nourishes the slightest spark into a conflagration. So it is with anger, my dear Lucilius; the outcome of a mighty anger is madness, and hence anger should be avoided, not merely that we may escape excess, but that we may have a healthy mind. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 19. On Worldliness and Retirement

1. I leap for joy whenever I receive letters from you. For they fill me with hope; they are now not mere assurances concerning you, but guarantees. And I beg and pray you to proceed in this course; for what better request could I make of a friend than one which is to be made for his own sake? If possible, withdraw yourself from all the business of which you speak; and if you cannot do this, tear yourself away. We have dissipated enough of our time already; let us in old age begin to pack up our baggage.

2. Surely there is nothing in this that men can begrudge us. We have spent our lives on the high seas; let us die in harbour. Not that I would advise you to try to win fame by your retirement; one's retirement should neither be paraded nor concealed. Not concealed, I say, for I shall not go so far in urging you as to expect you to condemn all men as mad and then seek out for yourself a hiding-place and oblivion; rather make this your business, that your retirement be not conspicuous, though it should be obvious.

3. In the second place, while those whose choice is unhampered from the start will deliberate on that other question, whether they wish to pass their lives in obscurity, in your case there is not a free choice. Your ability and energy have thrust you into the work of the world; so have the charm of your writings and the friendships you have made with famous and notable men. Renown has already taken you by storm. You may sink yourself into the depths of obscurity and utterly hide yourself; yet your earlier acts will reveal you.

4. You cannot keep lurking in the dark; much of the old gleam will follow you wherever you fly. Peace you can claim for yourself without being disliked by anyone, without any sense of loss, and without any pangs of spirit. For what will you leave behind you that you can imagine yourself reluctant to leave? Your clients? But none of these men courts you for yourself; they merely court something from you. People used to hunt friends, but now they hunt pelf; if a lonely old man changes his will, the morning-caller transfers himself to another door. Great things cannot be bought for small sums; so reckon up whether it is preferable to leave your own true self, or merely some of your belongings.

5. Would that you had had the privilege of growing old amid the limited circumstances of your origin, and that fortune had not raised you to such heights! You were removed far from the sight of wholesome living by your swift rise to prosperity, by your province, by your position as procurator, and by all that such things promise; you will next acquire more important duties and after them still more. And what will be the result?

6. Why wait until there is nothing left for you to crave? That time will never come. We hold that there is a succession of causes, from which fate is woven; similarly, you may be sure, there is a succession in our desires; for one begins where its predecessor ends. You have been thrust into an existence which will never of itself put an end to your wretchedness and your slavery. Withdraw your chafed neck from the yoke; it is better that it should be cut off once for all, than galled for ever.

7. If you retreat to privacy, everything will be on a smaller scale, but you will be satisfied abundantly; in your present condition, however, there is no satisfaction in the plenty which is heaped upon you on all sides. Would you rather be poor and sated, or rich and hungry? Prosperity is not only greedy, but it also lies exposed to the greed of others. And as long as nothing satisfies you, you yourself cannot satisfy others.

8. "But," you say, "how can I take my leave?" Any way you please. Reflect how many hazards you have ventured for the sake of money, and how much toil you have undertaken for a title! You must dare something to gain leisure, also, – or else grow old amid the worries of procuratorships* abroad and subsequently of civil duties at home, living in turmoil and in ever fresh floods of responsibilities, which no man has ever succeeded in avoiding by unobtrusiveness or by seclusion of life. [*The procurator did the work of a quaestor in an imperial province.] For what bearing on the case has your personal desire for a secluded life? Your position in the world desires the opposite! What if, even now, you allow that position to grow greater? But all that is added to your successes will be added to your fears.

9. At this point I should like to quote a saying of Maecenas, who spoke the truth when he stood on the very summit [And therefore could speak with authority on this point.]: "There's thunder even on the loftiest peaks." If you ask me in what book these words are found, they occur in the volume entitled Prometheus [Perhaps a tragedy, although Seneca uses the word liber to describe it. Maecenas wrote a Symposium, a work De cultu suo, Octavia, some stray verse, and perhaps some history.]. He simply meant to say that these lofty peaks have their tops surrounded with thunder-storms. But is any power worth so high a price that a man like you would ever, in order to obtain it, adopt a style so debauched as that? Maecenas was indeed a man of parts, who would have left a great pattern for Roman oratory to follow, had his good fortune not made him effeminate, – nay, had it not emasculated him! An end like his awaits you also, unless you forthwith shorten sail and, – as Maecenas was not willing to do until it was too late, – hug the shore!

10. This saying of Maecenas's might have squared my account with you; but I feel sure, knowing you, that you will get out an injunction against me, and that you will be unwilling to accept payment of my debt in such crude and debased currency. However that may be, I shall draw on the account of Epicurus. He says: "You must reflect carefully beforehand with whom you are to eat and drink, rather than what you are to eat and drink. For a dinner of meats without the company of a friend is like the life of a lion or a wolf."

11. This privilege will not be yours unless you withdraw from the world; otherwise, you will have as guests only those whom your slave-secretary* sorts out from the throng of callers. [*A slave kept by every prominant Roman to identify the master's friends and dependants.] It is, however, a mistake to select your friend in the reception-hall or to test him at the dinner-table. The most serious misfortune for a busy man who is overwhelmed by his possessions is, that he believes men to be his friends when he himself is not a friend to them, and that he deems his favours to be effective in winning friends, although, in the case of certain men, the more they owe, the more they hate. A trifling debt makes a man your debtor; a large one makes him an enemy.

12. "What," you say, "do not kindnesses establish friendships?" They do, if one has had the privilege of choosing those who are to receive them, and if they are placed judiciously, instead of being scattered broadcast. Therefore, while you are beginning to call your mind your own, meantime apply this maxim of the wise: consider that it is more important who receives a thing, than what it is he receives. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 20. On Practising what you Preach

1. If you are in good health and if you think yourself worthy of becoming at last your own master, I am glad. For the credit will be mine, if I can drag you from the floods in which you are being buffeted without hope of emerging. This, however, my dear Lucilius, I ask and beg of you, on your part, that you let wisdom sink into your soul, and test your progress, not by mere speech or writings, but by stoutness of heart and decrease of desire. Prove your words by your deeds.

2. Far different is the purpose of those who are speech-making and trying to win the approbation of a throng of hearers, far different that of those who allure the ears of young men and idlers by many-sided or fluent argumentation; philosophy teaches us to act, not to speak; it exacts of every man that he should live according to his own standards, that his life should not be out of harmony with his words, and that, further, his inner life should be of one hue and not out of harmony with all his activities. This, I say, is the highest duty and the highest proof of wisdom, – that deed and word should be in accord, that a man should be equal to himself under all conditions, and always the same. "But," you reply, "who can maintain this standard?" Very few, to be sure; but there are some. It is indeed a hard undertaking, and I do not say that the philosopher can always keep the same pace. But he can always travel the same path.

3. Observe yourself, then, and see whether your dress and your house are inconsistent, whether you treat yourself lavishly and your family meanly, whether you eat frugal dinners and yet build luxurious houses. You should lay hold, once for all, upon a single norm to live by, and should regulate your whole life according to this norm. Some men restrict themselves at home, but strut with swelling port before the public; such discordance is a fault, and it indicates a wavering mind which cannot yet keep its balance.

4. And I can tell you, further, whence arise this unsteadiness and disagreement of action and purpose; it is because no man resolves upon what he wishes, and, even if he has done so, he does not persist in it, but jumps the track; not only does he change, but he returns and slips back to the conduct which he has abandoned and abjured.

5. Therefore, to omit the ancient definitions of wisdom and to include the whole manner of human life, I can be satisfied with the following: "What is wisdom? Always desiring the same things, and always refusing the same things." [Seneca applies to wisdom the definition of friendship.] You may be excused from adding the little proviso, – that what you wish, should be right; since no man can always be satisfied with the same thing, unless it is right.

6. For this reason men do not know what they wish, except at the actual moment of wishing; no man ever decided once and for all to desire or to refuse. Judgement varies from day to day, and changes to the opposite, making many a man pass his life in a kind of game. Press on, therefore, as you have begun; perhaps you will be led to perfection, or to a point which you alone understand is still short of perfection.

7. "But what," you say, "will become of my crowded household without a household income?" If you stop supporting that crowd, it will support itself; or perhaps you will learn by the bounty of poverty what you cannot learn by your own bounty. Poverty will keep for you your true and tried friends; you will be rid of the men who were not seeking you for yourself, but for something which you have. Is it not true, however, that you should love poverty, if only for this single reason, – that it will show you those by whom you are loved? O when will that time come, when no one shall tell lies to compliment you!

8. Accordingly, let your thoughts, your efforts, your desires, help to make you content with your own self and with the goods that spring from yourself; and commit all your other prayers to God's keeping! What happiness could come closer home to you? Bring yourself down to humble conditions, from which you cannot be ejected; and in order that you may do so with greater alacrity, the contribution contained in this letter shall refer to that subject; I shall bestow it upon you forthwith.

9. Although you may look askance, Epicurus will once again be glad to settle my indebtedness: "Believe me, your words will be more imposing if you sleep on a cot and wear rags. For in that case you will not be merely saying them; you will be demonstrating their truth." I, at any rate, listen in a different spirit to the utterances of our friend Demetrius, after I have seen him reclining without even a cloak to cover him, and, more than this, without rugs to lie upon. He is not only a teacher of the truth, but a witness to the truth.

10. "May not a man, however, despise wealth when it lies in his very pocket?" Of course; he also is great-souled, who sees riches heaped up round him and, after wondering long and deeply because they have come into his possession, smiles, and hears rather than feels that they are his. It means much not to be spoiled by intimacy with riches; and he is truly great who is poor amidst riches.

11. "Yes, but I do not know," you say, "how the man you speak of will endure poverty, if he falls into it suddenly." Nor do I, Epicurus, know whether the poor man you speak of will despise riches, should he suddenly fall into them; accordingly, in the case of both, it is the mind that must be appraised, and we must investigate whether your man is pleased with his poverty, and whether my man is displeased with his riches. Otherwise, the cot-bed and the rags are slight proof of his good intentions, if it has not been made clear that the person concerned endures these trials not from necessity but from preference.

12. It is the mark, however, of a noble spirit not to precipitate oneself into such things* on the ground that they are better, but to practise for them on the ground that they are thus easy to endure. [*.e., the life of voluntary poverty.] And they are easy to endure, Lucilius; when, however, you come to them after long rehearsal, they are even pleasant; for they contain a sense of freedom from care, – and without this nothing is pleasant.

13. I hold it essential, therefore, to do as I have told you in a letter that great men have often done: to reserve a few days in which we may prepare ourselves for real poverty by means of fancied poverty. There is all the more reason for doing this, because we have been steeped in luxury and regard all duties as hard and onerous. Rather let the soul be roused from its sleep and be prodded, and let it be reminded that nature has prescribed very little for us. No man is born rich. Every man, when he first sees light, is commanded to be content with milk and rags. Such is our beginning, and yet kingdoms are all too small for us*! [* Adapted from the epigram on Alexander the Great.] Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 21. On the Renown which my Writings will Bring you

1. Do you conclude that you are having difficulties with those men about whom you wrote to me? Your greatest difficulty is with yourself; for you are your own stumbling-block. You do not know what you want. You are better at approving the right course than at following it out. You see where the true happiness lies, but you have not the courage to attain it. Let me tell you what it is that hinders you, inasmuch as you do not of yourself discern it.

2. You think that this condition, which you are to abandon, is one of importance, and after resolving upon that ideal state of calm into which you hope to pass, you are held back by the lustre of your present life, from which it is your intention to depart, just as if you were about to fall into a state of filth and darkness. This is a mistake, Lucilius; to go from your present life into the other is a promotion. There is the same difference between these two lives as there is between mere brightness and real light; the latter has a definite source within itself, the other borrows its radiance; the one is called forth by an illumination coming from the outside, and anyone who stands between the source and the object immediately turns the latter

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into a dense shadow; but the other has a glow that comes from within. It is your own studies that will make you shine and will render you eminent, Allow me to mention the case of Epicurus.

3. He was writing to Idomeneus and trying to recall him from a showy existence to sure and steadfast renown. Idomeneus was at that time a minister of state who exercised a rigorous authority and had important affairs in hand. "If," said Epicurus, "you are attracted by fame, my letters will make you more renowned than all the things which you cherish and which make you cherished."

4. Did Epicurus speak falsely? Who would have known of Idomeneus, had not the philosopher thus engraved his name in those letters of his? All the grandees and satraps, even the king himself, who was petitioned for the title which Idomeneus sought, are sunk in deep oblivion. Cicero's letters keep the name of Atticus from perishing. It would have profited Atticus nothing to have an Agrippa for a son-in-law, a Tiberius for the husband of his grand-daughter, and a Drusus Caesar for a great-grandson; amid these mighty names his name would never be spoken, had not Cicero bound him to himself.

5. The deep flood of time will roll over us; some few great men will raise their heads above it, and, though destined at the last to depart into the same realms of silence, will battle against oblivion and maintain their ground for long. That which Epicurus could promise his friend, this I promise you, Lucilius. I shall find favour among later generations; I can take with me names that will endure as long as mine. Our poet Vergil promised an eternal name to two heroes, and is keeping his promise:

Blest heroes twain! If power my song possess,
The record of your names shall never be
Erased from out the book of Time, while yet
Aeneas' tribe shall keep the Capitol,
That rock immovable, and Roman sire
Shall empire hold.

6. Whenever men have been thrust forward by fortune, whenever they have become part and parcel of another's influence, they have found abundant favour, their houses have been thronged, only so long as they themselves have kept their position; when they themselves have left it, they have slipped at once from the memory of men. But in the case of innate ability, the respect in which it is held increases, and not only does honour accrue to the man himself, but whatever has attached itself to his memory is passed on from one to another.

7. In order that Idomeneus may not be introduced free of charge into my letter, he shall make up the indebtedness from his own account. It was to him that Epicurus addressed the well-known saying urging him to make Pythocles rich, but not rich in the vulgar and equivocal way. "If you wish," said he, "to make Pythocles rich, do not add to his store of money, but subtract from his desires."

8. This idea is too clear to need explanation, and too clever to need reinforcement. There is, however, one point on which I would warn you, – not to consider that this statement applies only to riches; its value will be the same, no matter how you apply it. "If you wish to make Pythocles honourable, do not add to his honours, but subtract from his desires"; "if you wish Pythocles to have pleasure for ever, do not add to his pleasures, but subtract from his desires"; "if you wish to make Pythocles an old man, filling his life to the full, do not add to his years, but subtract from his desires."

9. There is no reason why you should hold that these words belong to Epicurus alone; they are public property. I think we ought to do in philosophy as they are wont to do in the Senate: when someone has made a motion, of which I approve to a certain extent, I ask him to make his motion in two parts, and I vote for the part which I approve. So I am all the more glad to repeat the distinguished words of Epicurus, in order that I may prove to those who have recourse to him through a bad motive, thinking that they will have in him a screen for their own vices, that they must live honourably, no matter what school they follow.

10. Go to his Garden and read the motto carved there: "Stranger, here you will do well to tarry; here our highest good is pleasure." The care-taker of that abode, a kindly host, will be ready for you; he will welcome you with barley-meal and serve you water also in abundance, with these words: "Have you not been well entertained?" "This garden," he says, "does not whet your appetite; it quenches it. Nor does it make you more thirsty with every drink; it slakes the thirst by a natural cure, – a cure that demands no fee. This is the 'pleasure' in which I have grown old."

11. In speaking with you, however, I refer to those desires which refuse alleviation, which must be bribed to cease. For in regard to the exceptional desires, which may be postponed, which may be chastened and checked, I have this one thought to share with you: a pleasure of that sort is according to our nature, but it is not according to our needs; one owes nothing to it; whatever is expended upon it is a free gift. The belly will not listen to advice; it makes demands, it importunes. And yet it is not a troublesome creditor; you can send it away at small cost, provided only that you give it what you owe, not merely all you are able to give. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 22. On the Futility of Half-Way Measures

1. You understand by this time that you must withdraw yourself from those showy and depraved pursuits; but you still wish to know how this may be accomplished. There are certain things which can be pointed out only by someone who is present. The physician cannot prescribe by letter the proper time for eating or bathing; he must feel the pulse. There is an old adage about gladiators, – that they plan their fight in the ring; as they intently watch, something in the adversary's glance, some movement of his hand, even some slight bending of his body, gives a warning.

2. We can formulate general rules and commit them to writing, as to what is usually done, or ought to be done; such advice may be given, not only to our absent friends, but also to succeeding generations. In regard, however, to that second* question, – when or how your plan is to be carried out, – no one will advise at long range; we must take counsel in the presence of the actual situation. [*The first question, "Shall I withdraw from the world?" has been answered, apparently by Lucilius himself. The second was, "How can I accomplish this?" Seneca pretends to answer it, although he feels that this should be done in personal conference rather than by writing.]

3. You must be not only present in the body, but watchful in mind, if you would avail yourself of the fleeting opportunity. Accordingly, look about you for the opportunity; if you see it, grasp it, and with all your energy and with all your strength devote yourself to this task, – to rid yourself of those business duties. Now listen carefully to the opinion which I shall offer; it is my opinion that you should withdraw either from that kind of existence, or else from existence altogether. But I likewise maintain that you should take a gentle path, that you may loosen rather than cut the knot which you have bungled so badly in tying, – provided that if there shall be no other way of loosening it, you may actually cut it. No man is so faint-hearted that he would rather hang in suspense for ever than drop once for all.

4. Meanwhile, – and this is of first importance, – do not hamper yourself; be content with the business into which you have lowered yourself, or, as you prefer to have people think, have tumbled. There is no reason why you should be struggling on to something further; if you do, you will lose all grounds of excuse, and men will see that it was not a tumble. The usual explanation which men offer is wrong: "I was compelled to do it. Suppose it was against my will; I had to do it." But no one is compelled to pursue prosperity at top speed; it means something to call a halt, – even if one does not offer resistance, – instead of pressing eagerly after favouring fortune.

5. Shall you then be put out with me, if I not only come to advise you, but also call in others to advise you, – wiser heads than my own, men before whom I am wont to lay any problem upon which I am pondering? Read the letter of Epicurus which bears on this matter; it is addressed to Idomeneus. The writer asks him to hasten as fast as he can, and beat a retreat before some stronger influence comes between and takes from him the liberty to withdraw.

6. But he also adds that one should attempt nothing except at the time when it can be attempted suitably and seasonably. Then, when the long-sought occasion comes, let him be up and doing. Epicurus forbids us to doze when we are meditating escape; he bids us hope for a safe release from even the hardest trials, provided that we are not in too great a hurry before the time, nor too dilatory when the time arrives.

7. Now, I suppose, you are looking for a Stoic motto also. There is really no reason why anyone should slander that school to you on the ground of its rashness; as a matter of fact, its caution is greater than its courage. You are perhaps expecting the sect to utter such words as these: "It is base to flinch under a burden. Wrestle with the duties which you have once undertaken. No man is brave and earnest if he avoids danger, if his spirit does not grow with the very difficulty of his task."

8. Words like these will indeed be spoken to you, if only your perseverance shall have an object that is worth while, if only you will not have to do or to suffer anything unworthy of a good man; besides, a good man will not waste himself upon mean and discreditable work or be busy merely for the sake of being busy. Neither will he, as you imagine, become so involved in ambitious schemes that he will have continually to endure their ebb and flow. Nay, when he sees the dangers, uncertainties, and hazards in which he was formerly tossed about, he will withdraw, – not turning his back to the foe, but falling back little by little to a safe position.

9. From business, however, my dear Lucilius, it is easy to escape, if only you will despise the rewards of business. We are held back and kept from escaping by thoughts like these: "What then? Shall I leave behind me these great prospects? Shall I depart at the very time of harvest? Shall I have no slaves at my side? no retinue for my litter? no crowd in my reception-room?" Hence men leave such advantages as these with reluctance; they love the reward of their hardships, but curse the hardships themselves.

10. Men complain about their ambitions as they complain about their mistresses; in other words, if you penetrate their real feelings, you will find, not hatred, but bickering. Search the minds of those who cry down what they have desired, who talk about escaping from things which they are unable to do without; you will comprehend that they are lingering of their own free will in a situation which they declare they find it hard and wretched to endure.

11. It is so, my dear Lucilius; there are a few men whom slavery holds fast, but there are many more who hold fast to slavery. If, however, you intend to be rid of this slavery; if freedom is genuinely pleasing in your eyes; and if you seek counsel for this one purpose, – that you may have the good fortune to accomplish this purpose without perpetual annoyance, – how can the whole company of Stoic thinkers fail to approve your course? Zeno, Chrysippus, and all their kind will give you advice that is temperate, honourable, and suitable.

12. But if you keep turning round and looking about, in order to see how much you may carry away with you, and how much money you may keep to equip yourself for the life of leisure, you will never find a way out. No man can swim ashore and take his baggage with him. Rise to a higher life, with the favour of the gods; but let it not be favour of such a kind as the gods give to men when with kind and genial faces they bestow magnificent ills, justified in so doing by the one fact that the things which irritate and torture have been bestowed in answer to prayer.

13. I was just putting the seal upon this letter; but it must be broken again, in order that it may go to you with its customary contribution, bearing with it some noble word. And lo, here is one that occurs to my mind; I do not know whether its truth or its nobility of utterance is the greater. "Spoken by whom?" you ask. By Epicurus; for I am still appropriating other men's belongings.

14. The words are: "Everyone goes out of life just as if he had but lately entered it." Take anyone off his guard, – young, old, or middle-aged; you will find that all are equally afraid of death, and equally ignorant of life. No one has anything finished, because we have kept putting off into the future all our undertakings [i.e., the old man is like the infant in this, also, – that he can look back upon nothing which he has finished, because he has always put off finishing things.]. No thought in the quotation given above pleases me more than that it taunts old men with being infants.

15. "No one," he says, "leaves this world in a different manner from one who has just been born." That is not true; for we are worse when we die than when we were born; but it is our fault, and not that of Nature. Nature should scold us, saying: "What does this mean? I brought you into the world without desires or fears, free from superstition, treachery and the other curses. Go forth as you were when you entered!"

16. A man has caught the message of wisdom, if he can die as free from care as he was at birth; but as it is, we are all a-flutter at the approach of the dreaded end. Our courage fails us, our cheeks blanch; our tears fall, though they are unavailing. But what is baser than to fret at the very threshold of peace?

17. The reason, however, is, that we are stripped of all our goods, we have jettisoned our cargo of life and are in distress; for no part of it has been packed in the hold; it has all been heaved overboard and has drifted away. Men do not care how nobly they live, but only how long, although it is within the reach of every man to live nobly, but within no man's power to live long. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 23. On the True Joy which Comes from Philosophy

1. Do you suppose that I shall write you how kindly the winter season has dealt with us, – a short season and a mild one, – or what a nasty spring we are having, – cold weather out of season, – and all the other trivialities which people write when they are at a loss for topics of conversation? No; I shall communicate something which may help both you and myself. And what shall this "something" be, if not an exhortation to soundness of mind? Do you ask what is the foundation of a sound mind? It is, not to find joy in useless things. I said that it was the foundation; it is really the pinnacle.

2. We have reached the heights if we know what it is that we find joy in and if we have not placed our happiness in the control of externals. The man who is goaded ahead by hope of anything, though it be within reach, though it be easy of access, and though his ambitions have never played him false, is troubled and unsure of himself. 3. Above all, my dear Lucilius, make this your business: learn how to feel joy.

Do you think that I am now robbing you of many pleasures when I try to do away with the gifts of chance, when I counsel the avoidance of hope, the sweetest thing that gladdens our hearts? Quite the contrary; I do not wish you ever to be deprived of gladness. I would have it born in your house; and

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it is born there, if only it be inside of you. Other objects of cheer do not fill a man's bosom; they merely smooth his brow and are inconstant, – unless perhaps you believe that he who laughs has joy. The very soul must be happy and confident, lifted above every circumstance.

4. Real joy, believe me, is a stern matter. Can one, do you think, despise death with a care-free countenance, or with a "blithe and gay" expression, as our young dandies are accustomed to say? Or can one thus open his door to poverty, or hold the curb on his pleasures, or contemplate the endurance of pain? He who ponders these things* in his heart is indeed full of joy; but it is not a cheerful joy. It is just this joy, however, of which I would have you become the owner; for it will never fail you when once you have found its source. [* death, poverty, temptation, and suffering; see Buddha's Four Noble Truths (suffering, cause, end, path) and the Noble Eightfold Path (right view, right resolve, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, right concentration).]

5. The yield of poor mines is on the surface; those are really rich whose veins lurk deep, and they will make more bountiful returns to him who delves unceasingly. So too those baubles which delight the common crowd afford but a thin pleasure, laid on as a coating, and every joy that is only plated lacks a real basis. But the joy of which I speak, that to which I am endeavouring to lead you, is something solid, disclosing itself the more fully as you penetrate into it.

6. Therefore I pray you, my dearest Lucilius, do the one thing that can render you really happy: cast aside and trample under foot all those things that glitter outwardly and are held out to you* by another or as obtainable from another [* By the various sects which professed to teach how happiness is to be obtained.]; look toward the true good, and rejoice only in that which comes from your own store. And what do I mean by "from your own store"? I mean from your very self, that which is the best part of you. The frail body, also, even though we can accomplish nothing without it, is to be regarded as necessary rather than as important; it involves us in vain pleasures, short-lived, and soon to be regretted, which, unless they are reined in by extreme self-control, will be transformed into the opposite. This is what I mean: pleasure, unless it has been kept within bounds, tends to rush headlong into the abyss of sorrow. But it is hard to keep within bounds in that which you believe to be good. The real good may be coveted with safety.

7. Do you ask me what this real good is, and whence it derives? I will tell you: it comes from a good conscience, from honourable purposes, from right actions, from contempt of the gifts of chance, from an even and calm way of living which treads but one path. For men who leap from one purpose to another, or do not even leap but are carried over by a sort of hazard, – how can such wavering and unstable persons possess any good that is fixed and lasting?

8. There are only a few who control themselves and their affairs by a guiding purpose; the rest do not proceed; they are merely swept along, like objects afloat in a river. And of these objects, some are held back by sluggish waters and are transported gently; others are torn along by a more violent current; some, which are nearest the bank, are left there as the current slackens; and others are carried out to sea by the onrush of the stream. Therefore, we should decide what we wish, and abide by the decision.

9. Now is the time for me to pay my debt. I can give you a saying of your friend Epicurus and thus clear this letter of its obligation: "It is bothersome always to be beginning life." Or another, which will perhaps express the meaning better: "They live ill who are always beginning to live." 10. You are right in asking why; the saying certainly stands in need of a commentary. It is because the life of such persons is always incomplete. But a man cannot stand prepared for the approach of death if he has just begun to live. We must make it our aim already to have lived long enough. No one deems that he has done so, if he is just on the point of planning his life. 11. You need not think that there are few of this kind; practically everyone is of such a stamp. Some men, indeed, only begin to live when it is time for them to leave off living. And if this seems surprising to you, I shall add that which will surprise you still more: Some men have left off living before they have begun. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 24. On Despising Death*

[*Seneca's theme is suggested by the fear which possesses Lucilius as to the issue of a lawsuit. This fear is taken as typical of all fears, and Seneca devotes most of his letter to the greatest fear of all, – fear of death.]

1. You write me that you are anxious about the result of a lawsuit, with which an angry opponent is threatening you; and you expect me to advise you to picture to yourself a happier issue, and to rest in the allurements of hope. Why, indeed, is it necessary to summon trouble, – which must be endured soon enough when it has once arrived, – or to anticipate trouble and ruin the present through fear of the future? It is indeed foolish to be unhappy now because you may be unhappy at some future time.

2. But I shall conduct you to peace of mind by another route: if you would put off all worry, assume that what you fear may happen will certainly happen in any event; whatever the trouble may be, measure it in your own mind, and estimate the amount of your fear. You will thus understand that what you fear is either insignificant or short-lived.

3. And you need not spend a long time in gathering illustrations which will strengthen you; every epoch has produced them. Let your thoughts travel into any era of Roman or foreign history, and there will throng before you notable examples of high achievement or of high endeavour. If you lose this case, can anything more severe happen to you than being sent into exile or led to prison? Is there a worse fate that any man may fear than being burned or being killed? Name such penalties one by one, and mention the men who have scorned them; one does not need to hunt for them, – it is simply a matter of selection.

4. Sentence of conviction was borne by Rutilius as if the injustice of the decision were the only thing which annoyed him. Exile was endured by Metellus with courage, by Rutilius even with gladness; for the former consented to come back only because his country called him; the latter refused to return when Sulla summoned him, – and nobody in those days said "No" to Sulla! Socrates in prison discoursed, and declined to flee when certain persons gave him the opportunity; he remained there, in order to free mankind from the fear of two most grievous things, death and imprisonment.

5. Mucius put his hand into the fire. It is painful to be burned; but how much more painful to inflict such suffering upon oneself! Here was a man of no learning, not primed to face death and pain by any words of wisdom, and equipped only with the courage of a soldier, who punished himself for his fruitless daring; he stood and watched his own right hand falling away piecemeal on the enemy's brazier, nor did he withdraw the dissolving limb, with its uncovered bones, until his foe removed the fire. He might have accomplished something more successful in that camp, but never anything more brave. See how much keener a brave man is to lay hold of danger than a cruel man is to inflict it: Porsenna was more ready to pardon Mucius for wishing to slay him than Mucius to pardon himself for failing to slay Porsenna!

6. "Oh," say you, "those stories have been droned to death in all the schools; pretty soon, when you reach the topic 'On Despising Death,' you will be telling me about Cato." But why should I not tell you about Cato, how he read Plato's book on that last glorious night, with a sword laid at his pillow? He had provided these two requisites for his last moments, – the first, that he might have the will to die, and the second, that he might have the means. So he put his affairs in order, – as well as one could put in order that which was ruined and near its end, – and thought that he ought to see to it that no one should have the power to slay or the good fortune to save Cato.

7. Drawing the sword, – which he had kept unstained from all bloodshed against the final day, – he cried: "Fortune, you have accomplished nothing by resisting all my endeavours. I have fought, till now, for my country's freedom, and not for my own, I did not strive so doggedly to be free, but only to live among the free. Now, since the affairs of mankind are beyond hope, let Cato be withdrawn to safety."

8. So saying, he inflicted a mortal wound upon his body. After the physicians had bound it up, Cato had less blood and less strength, but no less courage; angered now not only at Caesar but also at himself, he rallied his unarmed hands against his wound, and expelled, rather than dismissed, that noble soul which had been so defiant of all worldly power.

9. I am not now heaping up these illustrations for the purpose of exercising my wit, but for the purpose of encouraging you to face that which is thought to be most terrible. And I shall encourage you all the more easily by showing that not only resolute men have despised that moment when the soul breathes its last, but that certain persons, who were craven in other respects, have equalled in this regard the courage of the bravest. Take, for example, Scipio, the father-in-law of Gnaeus Pompeius: he was driven back upon the African coast by a head-wind and saw his ship in the power of the enemy. He therefore pierced his body with a sword; and when they asked where the commander was, he replied: "All is well with the commander."

10. These words brought him up to the level of his ancestors and suffered not the glory which fate gave to the Scipios in Africa* to lose its continuity. It was a great deed to conquer Carthage, but a greater deed to conquer death. [*Scipio Africanus defeated Hannibal at Zama in 202 B.C. Scipio Aemilianus, also surnamed Africanus, was by adoption the grandson of Hannibal's conqueror. He captured Carthage in the Third Punic War, 146 B.C. The Scipio mentioned by Seneca died in 46 B.C.] "All is well with the commander!" Ought a general to die otherwise, especially one of Cato's generals?

11. I shall not refer you to history, or collect examples of those men who throughout the ages have despised death; for they are very many. Consider these times of ours, whose enervation and over-refinement call forth our complaints; they nevertheless will include men of every rank, of every lot in life, and of every age, who have cut short their misfortunes by death. Believe me, Lucilius; death is so little to be feared that through its good offices nothing is to be feared.

12. Therefore, when your enemy threatens, listen unconcernedly. Although your conscience makes you confident, yet, since many things have weight which are outside your case, both hope for that which is utterly just, and prepare yourself against that which is utterly unjust. Remember, however, before all else, to strip things of all that disturbs and confuses, and to see what each is at bottom; you will then comprehend that they contain nothing fearful except the actual fear.

13. What you see happening to boys happens also to ourselves, who are only slightly bigger boys: when those whom they love, with whom they daily associate, with whom they play, appear with masks on, the boys are frightened out of their wits. We should strip the mask, not only from men, but from things, and restore to each object its own aspect.

14. "Why dost thou hold up before my eyes swords, fires, and a throng of executioners raging about thee? Take away all that vain show, behind which thou lurkest and scarest fools! Ah! thou art naught but Death, whom only yesterday a manservant of mine and a maid-servant did despise! Why dost thou again unfold and spread before me, with all that great display, the whip and the rack? Why are those engines of torture made ready, one for each several member of the body, and all the other innumerable machines for tearing a man apart piecemeal? Away with all such stuff, which makes us numb with terror! And thou, silence the groans, the cries, and the bitter shrieks ground out of the victim as he is torn on the rack! Forsooth thou are naught but Pain, scorned by yonder gout-ridden wretch, endured by yonder dyspeptic in the midst of his dainties, borne bravely by the girl in travail. Slight thou art, if I can bear thee; short thou art if I cannot bear thee!"

15. Ponder these words which you have often heard and often uttered. Moreover, prove by the result whether that which you have heard and uttered is true. For there is a very disgraceful charge often brought against our school, – that we deal with the words, and not with the deeds, of philosophy. What, have you only at this moment learned that death is hanging over your head, at this moment exile, at this moment grief? You were born to these perils. Let us think of everything that can happen as something which will happen.

16. I know that you have really done what I advise you to do; I now warn you not to drown your soul in these petty anxieties of yours; if you do, the soul will be dulled and will have too little vigour left when the time comes for it to arise. Remove the mind from this case of yours to the case of men in general. Say to yourself that our petty bodies are mortal and frail; pain can reach them from other sources than from wrong or the might of the stronger. Our pleasures themselves become torments; banquets bring indigestion, carousals paralysis of the muscles and palsy, sensual habits affect the feet, the hands, and every joint of the body.

17. I may become a poor man; I shall then be one among many. I may be exiled; I shall then regard myself as born in the place to which I shall be sent. They may put me in chains. What then? Am I free from bonds now? Behold this clogging burden of a body, to which nature has fettered me! "I shall die," you say; you mean to say "I shall cease to run the risk of sickness; I shall cease to run the risk of imprisonment; I shall cease to run the risk of death."

18. I am not so foolish as to go through at this juncture the arguments which Epicurus harps upon, and say that the terrors of the world below are idle, – that Ixion does not whirl round on his wheel, that Sisyphus does not shoulder his stone uphill, that a man's entrails cannot be restored and devoured every day; no one is so childish as to fear Cerberus, or the shadows, or the spectral garb of those who are held together by naught but their unfleshed bones. Death either annihilates us or strips us bare. If we are then released, there remains the better part, after the burden has been withdrawn; if we are annihilated, nothing remains; good and bad are alike removed.

19. Allow me at this point to quote a verse of yours, first suggesting that, when you wrote it, you meant it for yourself no less than for others. It is ignoble to say one thing and mean another; and how much more ignoble to write one thing and mean another! I remember one day you were handling the well-known commonplace, – that we do not suddenly fall on death, but advance towards it by slight degrees; we die every day.

20. For every day a little of our life is taken from us; even when we are growing, our life is on the wane. We lose our childhood, then our boyhood, and then our youth. Counting even yesterday, all past time is lost time; the very day which we are now spending is shared between ourselves and death. It is not the last drop that empties the water-clock, but all that which previously has flowed out; similarly, the final hour when we cease to exist does not of itself bring death; it merely

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of itself completes the death-process. We reach death at that moment, but we have been a long time on the way.

21. In describing this situation, you said in your customary, style (for you are always impressive, but never more pungent than when you are putting the truth in appropriate words):

Not single is the death which comes; the death
Which takes us off is but the last of all.

I prefer that you should read your own words rather than my letter; for then it will be clear to you that this death, of which we are afraid, is the last but not the only death.

22. I see what you are looking for; you are asking what I have packed into my letter, what inspiriting saying from some master-mind, what useful precept. So I shall send you something dealing with this very subject which has been under discussion. Epicurus upbraids those who crave, as much as those who shrink from, death: "It is absurd," he says, "to run towards death because you are tired of life, when it is your manner of life that has made you run towards death."

23. And in another passage: "What is so absurd as to seek death, when it is through fear of death that you have robbed your life of peace?" And you may add a third statement, of the same stamp: "Men are so thoughtless, nay, so mad, that some, through fear of death, force themselves to die."

24. Whichever of these ideas you ponder, you will strengthen your mind for the endurance alike of death and of life. For we need to be warned and strengthened in both directions, – not to love or to hate life overmuch; even when reason advises us to make an end of it, the impulse is not to be adopted without reflection or at headlong speed.

25. The brave and wise man should not beat a hasty retreat from life; he should make a becoming exit. And above all, he should avoid the weakness which has taken possession of so many, – the lust for death. For just as there is an unreflecting tendency of the mind towards other things, so, my dear Lucilius, there is an unreflecting tendency towards death; this often seizes upon the noblest and most spirited men, as well as upon the craven and the abject. The former despise life; the latter find it irksome.

26. Others also are moved by a satiety of doing and seeing the same things, and not so much by a hatred of life as because they are cloyed with it. We slip into this condition, while philosophy itself pushes us on, and we say: "How long must I endure the same things? Shall I continue to wake and sleep, be hungry and be cloyed, shiver and perspire? There is an end to nothing; all things are connected in a sort of circle; they flee and they are pursued. Night is close at the heels of day, day at the heels of night; summer ends in autumn, winter rushes after autumn, and winter softens into spring; all nature in this way passes, only to return. I do nothing new; I see nothing new; sooner or later one sickens of this, also." There are many who think that living is not painful, but superfluous. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 25. On Reformation

1. With regard to these two friends of ours, we must proceed along different lines; the faults of the one are to be corrected, the other's are to be crushed out. I shall take every liberty; for I do not love this one* if I am unwilling to hurt his feelings. "What," you say, "do you expect to keep a forty-year-old ward under your tutelage? Consider his age, how hardened it now is, and past handling! [*The second friend, whose faults are to be crushed out. He proves to be some forty years old; the other is a youth.]

2. Such a man cannot be re-shaped; only young minds are moulded." I do not know whether I shall make progress; but I should prefer to lack success rather than to lack faith. You need not despair of curing sick men even when the disease is chronic, if only you hold out against excess and force them to do and submit to many things against their will. As regards our other friend I am not sufficiently confident, either, except for the fact that he still has sense of shame enough to blush for his sins. This modesty should be fostered; so long as it endures in his soul, there is some room for hope. But as for this veteran of yours, I think we should deal more carefully with him, that he may not become desperate about himself.

3. There is no better time to approach him than now, when he has an interval of rest and seems like one who has corrected his faults. Others have been cheated by this interval of virtue on his part, but he does not cheat me. I feel sure that these faults will return, as it were, with compound interest, for just now, I am certain, they are in abeyance but not absent. I shall devote some time to the matter, and try to see whether or not something can be done.

4. But do you yourself, as indeed you are doing, show me that you are stout-hearted; lighten your baggage for the march. None of our possessions is essential. Let us return to the law of nature; for then riches are laid up for us. The things which we actually need are free for all, or else cheap; nature craves only bread and water. No one is poor according to this standard; when a man has limited his desires within these bounds, he can challenge the happiness of Jove himself, as Epicurus says. I must insert in this letter one or two more of his sayings:

5. "Do everything as if Epicurus were watching you." There is no real doubt that it is good for one to have appointed a guardian over oneself, and to have someone whom you may look up to, someone whom you may regard as a witness of your thoughts. It is, indeed, nobler by far to live as you would live under the eyes of some good man, always at your side; but nevertheless I am content if you only act, in whatever you do, as you would act if anyone at all were looking on; because solitude prompts us to all kinds of evil.

6. And when you have progressed so far that you have also respect for yourself, you may send away your attendant; but until then, set as a guard over yourself the authority of some man, whether your choice be the great Cato or Scipio, or Laelius, – or any man in whose presence even abandoned wretches would check their bad impulses. Meantime, you are engaged in making of yourself the sort of person in whose company you would not dare to sin. When this aim has been accomplished and you begin to hold yourself in some esteem, I shall gradually allow you to do what Epicurus, in another passage, suggests: "The time when you should most of all withdraw into yourself is when you are forced to be in a crowd."

7. You ought to make yourself of a different stamp from the multitude. Therefore, while it is not yet safe to withdraw into solitude, seek out certain individuals; for everyone is better off in the company of somebody or other, – no matter who, – than in his own company alone. "The time when you should most of all withdraw into yourself is when you are forced to be in a crowd." Yes, provided that you are a good, tranquil, and self-restrained man; otherwise, you had better withdraw into a crowd in order to get away from your self. Alone, you are too close to a rascal. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 26. On Old Age and Death

1. I was just lately telling you that I was within sight of old age. I am now afraid that I have left old age behind me. For some other word would now apply to my years, or at any rate to my body; since old age means a time of life that is weary rather than crushed. You may rate me in the worn-out class, – of those who are nearing the end.

2. Nevertheless, I offer thanks to myself, with you as witness; for I feel that age has done no damage to my mind, though I feel its effects on my constitution. Only my vices, and the outward aids to these vices, have reached senility; my mind is strong and rejoices that it has but slight connexion with the body. It has laid aside the greater part of its load. It is alert; it takes issue with me on the subject of old age; it declares that old age is its time of bloom.

3. Let me take it at its word, and let it make the most of the advantages it possesses. The mind bids me do some thinking and consider how much of this peace of spirit and moderation of character I owe to wisdom and how much to my time of life; it bids me distinguish carefully what I cannot do and what I do not want to do. . . . . [*This passage is hopelessly corrupt. The course of the argument requires something like this: For it is just as much to my advantage not to be able to do what I do not want to do, as it is to be able to do whatever gives me pleasure.] For why should one complain or regard it as a disadvantage, if powers which ought to come to an end have failed?

4. "But," you say, "it is the greatest possible disadvantage to be worn out and to die off, or rather, if I may speak literally, to melt away! For we are not suddenly smitten and laid low; we are worn away, and every day reduces our powers to a certain extent." But is there any better end to it all than to glide off to one's proper haven, when nature slips the cable? Not that there is anything painful in a shock and a sudden departure from existence; it is merely because this other way of departure is easy, – a gradual withdrawal. I, at any rate, as if the test were at hand and the day were come which is to pronounce its decision concerning all the years of my life, watch over myself and commune thus with myself:

5. "The showing which we have made up to the present time, in word or deed, counts for nothing. All this is but a trifling and deceitful pledge of our spirit, and is wrapped in much charlatanism. I shall leave it to Death to determine what progress I have made. Therefore with no faint heart I am making ready for the day when, putting aside all stage artifice and actor's rouge, I am to pass judgement upon myself, – whether I am merely declaiming brave sentiments, or whether I really feel them; whether all the bold threats I have uttered against fortune are a pretence and a farce.

6. Put aside the opinion of the world; it is always wavering and always takes both sides. Put aside the studies which you have pursued throughout your life; Death will deliver the final judgement in your case. This is what I mean: your debates and learned talks, your maxims gathered from the teachings of the wise, your cultured conversation, – all these afford no proof of the real strength of your soul. Even the most timid man can deliver a bold speech. What you have done in the past will be manifest only at the time when you draw your last breath. I accept the terms; I do not shrink from the decision."

7. This is what I say to myself, but I would have you think that I have said it to you also. You are younger; but what does that matter? There is no fixed count of our years. You do not know where death awaits you; so be ready for it everywhere.

8. I was just intending to stop, and my hand was making ready for the closing sentence; but the rites are still to be performed and the travelling money for the letter disbursed. And just assume that I am not telling where I intend to borrow the necessary sum; you know upon whose coffers I depend. Wait for me but a moment, and I will pay you from my own account; meanwhile, Epicurus will oblige me with these words: "Think on death," or rather, if you prefer the phrase, on "migration to heaven."

9. The meaning is clear, – that it is a wonderful thing to learn thoroughly how to die. You may deem it superfluous to learn a text that can be used only once; but that is just the reason why we ought to think on a thing. When we can never prove whether we really know a thing, we must always be learning it.

10. "Think on death." In saying this, he bids us think on freedom. He who has learned to die has unlearned slavery; he is above any external power, or, at any rate, he is beyond it. What terrors have prisons and bonds and bars for him? His way out is clear. There is only one chain which binds us to life, and that is the love of life. The chain may not be cast off, but it may be rubbed away, so that, when necessity shall demand, nothing may retard or hinder us from being ready to do at once that which at some time we are bound to do. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 27. On the Good which Abides

1. "What," say you, "are you giving me advice? Indeed, have you already advised yourself, already corrected your own faults? Is this the reason why you have leisure to reform other men?" No, I am not so shameless as to undertake to cure my fellow-men when I am ill myself. I am, however, discussing with you troubles which concern us both, and sharing the remedy with you, just as if we were lying ill in the same hospital. Listen to me, therefore, as you would if I were talking to myself. I am admitting you to my inmost thoughts, and am having it out with myself, merely making use of you as my pretext.

2. I keep crying out to myself: "Count your years, and you will be ashamed to desire and pursue the same things you desired in your boyhood days. Of this one thing make sure against your dying day, – let your faults die before you die. Away with those disordered pleasures, which must be dearly paid for; it is not only those which are to come that harm me, but also those which have come and gone. Just as crimes, even if they have not been detected when they were committed, do not allow anxiety to end with them; so with guilty pleasures, regret remains even after the pleasures are over. They are not substantial, they are not trustworthy; even if they do not harm us, they are fleeting.

3. Cast about rather for some good which will abide. But there can be no such good except as the soul discovers it for itself within itself. Virtue alone affords everlasting and peace-giving joy; even if some obstacle arise, it is but like an intervening cloud, which floats beneath the sun but never prevails against it."

4. When will it be your lot to attain this joy? Thus far, you have indeed not been sluggish, but you must quicken your pace. Much toil remains; to confront it, you must yourself lavish all your waking hours, and all your efforts, if you wish the result to be accomplished. This matter cannot be delegated to someone else.

5. The other kind of literary activity admits of outside assistance. Within our own time there was a certain rich man named Calvisius Sabinus; he had the bank-account and the brains of a freedman. [Compare with the following the vulgarities of Trimalchio in the Satire of Petronius, and the bad taste of Nasidienus in Horace (Sat. ii. 8).] I never saw a man whose good fortune was a greater offence against propriety. His memory was so faulty that he would sometimes forget the name of Ulysses, or Achilles, or Priam, – names which we know as well as we know those of our own attendants. No major-domo in his dotage, who cannot give men their right names, but is compelled to invent names for them, – no such man, I say, calls off the names of his master's tribesmen so atrociously as Sabinus used to call off the Trojan and Achaean heroes. But none the less did he desire to appear learned.

6. So he devised this short cut to learning: he paid fabulous prices for slaves, – one to know Homer by heart and another to know Hesiod; he also delegated a special slave to each of the nine lyric poets. You need not wonder that he paid high prices for these slaves; if he did not find them ready to hand he had them made to order. After collecting this retinue, he began to make life miserable for his guests; he would keep these fellows at the foot of his couch, and ask them from time to time for verses which he might repeat, and then frequently break down in the middle of a word.

7. Satellius Quadratus, a feeder, and consequently a fawner, upon addle-pated millionaires, and also (for this quality goes with the other two) a flouter of them, suggested to Sabinus* that he should have philologists to gather up the bits. [* i.e. all the ideas that dropped out of the head of Sabinus; meant

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here is Titus Flavius Sabinus, either the father or the brother of Emperor Titus Flavius Vespasianus. The slave who picked up the crumbs was called analecta.] Sabinus remarked that each slave cost him one hundred thousand sesterces; Satellius replied: "You might have bought as many book-cases for a smaller sum." But Sabinus held to the opinion that what any member of his household knew, he himself knew also.

8. This same Satellius began to advise Sabinus to take wrestling lessons, – sickly, pale, and thin as he was, Sabinus answered: "How can I? I can scarcely stay alive now." "Don't say that, I implore you," replied the other, "consider how many perfectly healthy slaves you have!" No man is able to borrow or buy a sound mind; in fact, as it seems to me, even though sound minds were for sale, they would not find buyers. Depraved minds, however, are bought and sold every day.

9. But let me pay off my debt and say farewell: "Real wealth is poverty adjusted to the law of Nature." Epicurus has this saying in various ways and contexts; but it can never be repeated too often, since it can never be learned too well. For some persons the remedy should be merely prescribed; in the case of others, it should be forced down their throats. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 28. On Travel as a Cure for Discontent

1. Do you suppose that you alone have had this experience? Are you surprised, as if it were a novelty, that after such long travel and so many changes of scene you have not been able to shake off the gloom and heaviness of your mind? You need a change of soul rather than a change of climate. Though you may cross vast spaces of sea, and though, as our Vergil remarks,

Lands and cities are left astern, your faults will follow you whithersoever you travel.

2. Socrates made the same remark to one who complained; he said: "Why do you wonder that globe-trotting does not help you, seeing that you always take yourself with you? The reason which set you wandering is ever at your heels." What pleasure is there in seeing new lands? Or in surveying cities and spots of interest? All your bustle is useless. Do you ask why such flight does not help you? It is because you flee along with yourself. You must lay aside the burdens of the mind; until you do this, no place will satisfy you.

3. Reflect that your present behaviour is like that of the prophetess whom Vergil describes: she is excited and goaded into fury, and contains within herself much inspiration that is not her own:

The priestess raves, if haply she may shake
The great god from her heart.

You wander hither and yon, to rid yourself of the burden that rests upon you, though it becomes more troublesome by reason of your very restlessness, just as in a ship the cargo when stationary makes no trouble, but when it shifts to this side or that, it causes the vessel to heel more quickly in the direction where it has settled. Anything you do tells against you, and you hurt yourself by your very unrest; for you are shaking up a sick man.

4. That trouble once removed, all change of scene will become pleasant; though you may be driven to the uttermost ends of the earth, in whatever corner of a savage land you may find yourself, that place, however forbidding, will be to you a hospitable abode. The person you are matters more than the place to which you go; for that reason we should not make the mind a bondsman to any one place. Live in this belief: "I am not born for any one corner of the universe; this whole world is my country."

5. If you saw this fact clearly, you would not be surprised at getting no benefit from the fresh scenes to which you roam each time through weariness of the old scenes. For the first would have pleased you in each case, had you believed it wholly yours. As it is, however, you are not journeying; you are drifting and being driven, only exchanging one place for another, although that which you seek, – to live well, – is found everywhere.

6. Can there be any spot so full of confusion as the Forum? Yet you can live quietly even there, if necessary. Of course, if one were allowed to make one's own arrangements, I should flee far from the very sight and neighbourhood of the Forum. For just as pestilential places assail even the strongest constitution, so there are some places which are also unwholesome for a healthy mind which is not yet quite sound, though recovering from its ailment.

7. I disagree with those who strike out into the midst of the billows and, welcoming a stormy existence, wrestle daily in hardihood of soul with life's problems. The wise man will endure all that, but will not choose it; he will prefer to be at peace rather than at war. It helps little to have cast out your own faults if you must quarrel with those of others.

8. Says one: "There were thirty tyrants surrounding Socrates, and yet they could not break his spirit"; but what does it matter how many masters a man has? "Slavery" has no plural; and he who has scorned it is free, – no matter amid how large a mob of over-lords he stands.

9. It is time to stop, but not before I have paid duty. "The knowledge of sin is the beginning of salvation." This saying of Epicurus seems to me to be a noble one. For he who does not know that he has sinned does not desire correction; you must discover yourself in the wrong before you can reform yourself.

10. Some boast of their faults. Do you think that the man has any thought of mending his ways who counts over his vices as if they were virtues? Therefore, as far as possible, prove yourself guilty, hunt up charges against yourself; play the part, first of accuser, then of judge, last of intercessor. At times be harsh with yourself. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 29. On the Critical Condition of Marcellinus

1. You have been inquiring about our friend Marcellinus and you desire to know how he is getting along. He seldom comes to see me, for no other reason than that he is afraid to hear the truth, and at present he is removed from any danger of hearing it; for one must not talk to a man unless he is willing to listen. That is why it is often doubted whether Diogenes and the other Cynics, who employed an undiscriminating freedom of speech and offered advice to any who came in their way, ought to have pursued such a plan.

2. For what if one should chide the deaf or those who are speechless from birth or by illness? But you answer: "Why should I spare words? They cost nothing. I cannot know whether I shall help the man to whom I give advice; but I know well that I shall help someone if I advise many. I must scatter this advice by the handful. It is impossible that one who tries often should not sometime succeed."

3. This very thing, my dear Lucilius, is, I believe, exactly what a great-souled man ought not to do; his influence is weakened; it has too little effect upon those whom it might have set right if it had not grown so stale. The archer ought not to hit the mark only sometimes; he ought to miss it only sometimes. That which takes effect by chance is not an art. Now wisdom is an art; it should have a definite aim, choosing only those who will make progress, but withdrawing from those whom it has come to regard as hopeless, – yet not abandoning them too soon, and just when the case is becoming hopeless trying drastic remedies.

4. As to our friend Marcellinus, I have not yet lost hope. He can still be saved, but the helping hand must be offered soon. There is indeed danger that he may pull his helper down; for there is in him a native character of great vigour, though it is already inclining to wickedness. Nevertheless I shall brave this danger and be bold enough to show him his faults. 5. He will act in his usual way; he will have recourse to his wit, – the wit that can call forth smiles even from mourners. He will turn the jest, first against himself, and then against me. He will forestall every word which I am about to utter. He will quiz our philosophic systems; he will accuse philosophers of accepting doles, keeping mistresses, and indulging their appetites. He will point out to me one philosopher who has been caught in adultery, another who haunts the cafes, and another who appears at court.

6. He will bring to my notice Aristo, the philosopher of Marcus Lepidus, who used to hold discussions in his carriage; for that was the time which he had taken for editing his researches, so that Scaurus said of him when asked to what school he belonged: "At any rate, he isn't one of the Walking Philosophers." Julius Graecinus, too, a man of distinction, when asked for an opinion on the same point, replied: "I cannot tell you; for I don't know what he does when dismounted," as if the query referred to a chariot-gladiator.

7. It is mountebanks of that sort, for whom it would be more creditable to have left philosophy alone than to traffic in her, whom Marcellinus will throw in my teeth. But I have decided to put up with taunts; he may stir my laughter, but I perchance shall stir him to tears; or, if he persist in his jokes, I shall rejoice, so to speak, in the midst of sorrow, because he is blessed with such a merry sort of lunacy. But that kind of merriment does not last long. Observe such men, and you will note that within a short space of time they laugh to excess and rage to excess.

8. It is my plan to approach him and to show him how much greater was his worth when many thought it less. Even though I shall not root out his faults, I shall put a check upon them; they will not cease, but they will stop for a time; and perhaps they will even cease, if they get the habit of stopping. This is a thing not to be despised, since to men who are seriously stricken the blessing of relief is a substitute for health.

9. So while I prepare myself to deal with Marcellinus, do you in the meantime, who are able, and who understand whence and whither you have made your way, and who for that reason have an inkling of the distance yet to go, regulate your character, rouse your courage, and stand firm in the face of things which have terrified you. Do not count the number of those who inspire fear in you. Would you not regard as foolish one who was afraid of a multitude in a place where only one at a time could pass? Just so, there are not many who have access to you to slay you, though there are many who threaten you with death. Nature has so ordered it that, as only one has given you life, so only one will take it away.

10. If you had any shame, you would have let me off from paying the last instalment. Still, I shall not be niggardly either, but shall discharge my debts to the last penny and force upon you what I still owe: "I have never wished to cater to the crowd; for what I know, they do not approve, and what they approve, I do not know."

11. "Who said this?" you ask, as if you were ignorant whom I am pressing into service; it is Epicurus. But this same watchword rings in your ears from every sect, – Peripatetic, Academic, Stoic, Cynic. For who that is pleased by virtue can please the crowd? It takes trickery to win popular approval; and you must needs make yourself like unto them; they will withhold their approval if they do not recognize you as one of themselves. However, what you think of yourself is much more to the point than what others think of you. The favour of ignoble men can be won only by ignoble means.

12. What benefit, then, will that vaunted philosophy confer, whose praises we sing, and which, we are told, is to be preferred to every art and every possession? Assuredly, it will make you prefer to please yourself rather than the populace, it will make you weigh, and not merely count, men's judgements, it will make you live without fear of gods or men, it will make you either overcome evils or end them. Otherwise, if I see you applauded by popular acclamation, if your entrance upon the scene is greeted by a roar of cheering and clapping, – marks of distinction meet only for actors, – if the whole state, even the women and children, sing your praises, how can I help pitying you? For I know what pathway leads to such popularity. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 30. On Conquering the Conqueror

1. I have beheld Aufidius Bassus, that noble man, shattered in health and wrestling with his years. But they already bear upon him so heavily that he cannot be raised up; old age has settled down upon him with great, – yes, with its entire, weight. You know that his body was always delicate and sapless. For a long time he has kept it in hand, or, to speak more correctly, has kept it together; of a sudden it has collapsed.

2. Just as in a ship that springs a leak, you can always stop the first or the second fissure, but when many holes begin to open and let in water, the gaping hull cannot be saved; similarly, in an old man's body, there is a certain limit up to which you can sustain and prop its weakness. But when it comes to resemble a decrepit building, – when every joint begins to spread and while one is being repaired another falls apart, – then it is time for a man to look about him and consider how he may get out.

3. But the mind of our friend Bassus is active. Philosophy bestows this boon upon us; it makes us joyful in the very sight of death, strong and brave no matter in what state the body may be, cheerful and never failing though the body fail us. A great pilot can sail even when his canvas is rent; if his ship be dismantled, he can yet put in trim what remains of her hull and hold her to her course. This is what our friend Bassus is doing; and he contemplates his own end with the courage and countenance which you would regard as undue indifference in a man who so contemplated another's.

4. This is a great accomplishment, Lucilius, and one which needs long practice to learn, – to depart calmly when the inevitable hour arrives. Other kinds of death contain an ingredient of hope: a disease comes to an end; a fire is quenched; falling houses have set down in safety those whom they seemed certain to crush; the sea has cast ashore unharmed those whom it had engulfed, by the same force through which it drew them down; the soldier has drawn back his sword from the very neck of his doomed foe. But those whom old age is leading away to death have nothing to hope for; old age alone grants no reprieve. No ending, to be sure, is more painless; but there is none more lingering.

5. Our friend Bassus seemed to me to be attending his own funeral, and laying out his own body for burial, and living almost as if he had survived his own death, and bearing with wise resignation his grief at his own departure. For he talks freely about death, trying hard to persuade us that if this process contains any element of discomfort or of fear, it is the fault of the dying person, and not of death itself; also, that there is no more inconvenience at the actual moment than there is after it is over.

6. "And it is just as insane," he adds, "for a man to fear what will not happen to him, as to fear what he will not feel if it does happen." Or does anyone imagine it to be possible that the agency by which feeling is removed can be itself felt? "Therefore," says Bassus, "death stands so far beyond all evil that it is beyond all fear of evils."

7. I know that all this has often been said and should be often repeated; but neither when I read them were such precepts so effective with me, nor when I heard them from the lips of those who were at a safe distance from the fear of the things which they declared were not to be feared. But this old man had the greatest weight with me when he discussed death and death was near.

8. For I must tell you what I myself think: I hold that one is braver at the very moment of death than when one is

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approaching death. For death, when it stands near us, gives even to inexperienced men the courage not to seek to avoid the inevitable. So the gladiator, who throughout the fight has been no matter how faint-hearted, offers his throat to his opponent and directs the wavering blade to the vital spot. [The defeated gladiator is supposed to be on his back, his opponent standing over him and about to deliver the final blow. As the blade wavers at the throat, searching for the jugular vein, the victim directs the point.] But an end that is near at hand, and is bound to come, calls for tenacious courage of soul; this is a rarer thing, and none but the wise man can manifest it.

9. Accordingly, I listened to Bassus with the deepest pleasure; he was casting his vote concerning death and pointing out what sort of a thing it is when it is observed, so to speak, nearer at hand. I suppose that a man would have your confidence in a larger degree, and would have more weight with you, if he had come back to life and should declare from experience that there is no evil in death; and so, regarding the approach of death, those will tell you best what disquiet it brings who have stood in its path, who have seen it coming and have welcomed it.

10. Bassus may be included among these men; and he had no wish to deceive us. He says that it is as foolish to fear death as to fear old age; for death follows old age precisely as old age follows youth. He who does not wish to die cannot have wished to live. For life is granted to us with the reservation that we shall die; to this end our path leads. Therefore, how foolish it is to fear it, since men simply await that which is sure, but fear only that which is uncertain!

11. Death has its fixed rule, – equitable and unavoidable. Who can complain when he is governed by terms which include everyone? The chief part of equity, however, is equality.

But it is superfluous at the present time to plead Nature's cause; for she wishes our laws to be identical with her own; she but resolves that which she has compounded, and compounds again that which she has resolved.

12. Moreover, if it falls to the lot of any man to be set gently adrift by old age, – not suddenly torn from life, but withdrawn bit by bit, – oh, verily he should thank the gods, one and all, because, after he has had his fill, he is removed to a rest which is ordained for mankind, a rest that is welcome to the weary. You may observe certain men who crave death even more earnestly than others are wont to beg for life. And I do not know which men give us greater courage, – those who call for death, or those who meet it cheerfully and tranquilly, – for the first attitude is sometimes inspired by madness and sudden anger, the second is the calm which results from fixed judgement. Before now men have gone to meet death in a fit of rage; but when death comes to meet him, no one welcomes it cheerfully, except the man who has long since composed himself for death.

13. I admit, therefore, that I have visited this dear friend of mine more frequently on many pretexts, but with the purpose of learning whether I should find him always the same, and whether his mental strength was perhaps waning in company with his bodily powers. But it was on the increase, just as the joy of the charioteer is wont to show itself more clearly when he is on the seventh round of the course, and nears the prize.

14. Indeed, he often said, in accord with the counsels of Epicurus: "I hope, first of all, that there is no pain at the moment when a man breathes his last; but if there is, one will find an element of comfort in its very shortness. For no great pain lasts long. And at all events, a man will find relief at the very time when soul and body are being torn asunder, even though the process be accompanied by excruciating pain, in the thought that after this pain is over he can feel no more pain. I am sure, however, that an old man's soul is on his very lips, and that only a little force is necessary to disengage it from the body. A fire which has seized upon a substance that sustains it needs water to quench it, or, sometimes, the destruction of the building itself; but the fire which lacks sustaining fuel dies away of its own accord."

15. I am glad to hear such words, my dear Lucilius, – not as new to me, but as leading me into the presence of an actual fact. And what then? Have I not seen many men break the thread of life? I have indeed seen such men; but those have more weight with me who approach death without any loathing for life, letting death in, so to speak, and not pulling it towards them.

16. Bassus kept saying: "It is due to our own fault that we feel this torture, because we shrink from dying only when we believe that our end is near at hand." But who is not near death? It is ready for us in all places and at all times. "Let us consider," he went on to say, "when some agency of death seems imminent, how much nearer are other varieties of dying which are not feared by us."

17. A man is threatened with death by an enemy, but this form of death is anticipated by an attack of indigestion. And if we are willing to examine critically the various causes of our fear, we shall find that some exist, and others only seem to be. We do not fear death; we fear the thought of death. For death itself is always the same distance from us; wherefore, if it is to be feared at all, it is to be feared always. For what season of our life is exempt from death?

18. But what I really ought to fear is that you will hate this long letter worse than death itself; so I shall stop. Do you, however, always think on death in order that you may never fear it. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 31. On Siren Songs

1. Now I recognise my Lucilius! He is beginning to reveal the character of which he gave promise. Follow up the impulse which prompted you to make for all that is best, treading under your feet that which is approved by the crowd. I would not have you greater or better than you planned; for in your case the mere foundations have covered a large extent of ground; only finish all that you have laid out, and take in hand the plans which you have had in mind.

2. In short, you will be a wise man, if you stop up your ears; nor is it enough to close them with wax; you need a denser stopple than that which they say Ulysses used for his comrades. The song which he feared was alluring, but came not from every side; the song, however, which you have to fear, echoes round you not from a single headland, but from every quarter of the world. Sail, therefore, not past one region which you mistrust because of its treacherous delights, but past every city. Be deaf to those who love you most of all; they pray for bad things with good intentions. And, if you would be happy, entreat the gods that none of their fond desires for you may be brought to pass.

3. What they wish to have heaped upon you are not really good things; there is only one good, the cause and the support of a happy life, – trust in oneself. But this cannot be attained, unless one has learned to despise toil and to reckon it among the things which are neither good nor bad. For it is not possible that a single thing should be bad at one time and good at another, at times light and to be endured, and at times a cause of dread.

4. Work is not a good. Then what is a good? I say, the scorning of work. That is why I should rebuke men who toil to no purpose. But when, on the other hand, a man is struggling towards honourable things, in proportion as he applies himself more and more, and allows himself less and less to be beaten or to halt, I shall recommend his conduct and shout my encouragement, saying: "By so much you are better! Rise, draw a fresh breath, and surmount that hill, if possible, at a single spurt!"

5. Work is the sustenance of noble minds. There is, then, no reason why, in accordance with that old vow of your parents, you should pick and choose what fortune you wish should fall to your lot, or what you should pray for; besides, it is base for a man who has already travelled the whole round of highest honours to be still importuning the gods. What need is there of vows? Make yourself happy through your own efforts; you can do this, if once you comprehend that whatever is blended with virtue is good, and that whatever is joined to vice is bad. Just as nothing gleams if it has no light blended with it, and nothing is black unless it contains darkness or draws to itself something of dimness, and as nothing is hot without the aid of fire, and nothing cold without air; so it is the association of virtue and vice that makes things honourable or base.

6. What then is good? The knowledge of things. What is evil? The lack of knowledge of things. Your wise man, who is also a craftsman, will reject or choose in each case as it suits the occasion; but he does not fear that which he rejects, nor does he admire that which he chooses, if only he has a stout and unconquerable soul. I forbid you to be cast down or depressed. It is not enough if you do not shrink from work; ask for it.

7. "But," you say, "is not trifling and superfluous work, and work that has been inspired by ignoble causes, a bad sort of work?" No; no more than that which is expended upon noble endeavours, since the very quality that endures toil and rouses itself to hard and uphill effort, is of the spirit, which says: "Why do you grow slack? It is not the part of a man to fear sweat."

8. And besides this, in order that virtue may be perfect, there should be an even temperament and a scheme of life that is consistent with itself throughout; and this result cannot be attained without knowledge of things, and without the art which enables us to understand things human and things divine. That is the greatest good. If you seize this good, you begin to be the associate of the gods, and not their suppliant.

9. "But how," you ask, "does one attain that goal?" You do not need to cross the Pennine or Graian hills [The Great St. Bernard and Little St. Bernard routes over the Alps.], or traverse the Candavian waste [A mountain in Illyria, over which the Via Egnatia ran.], or face the Syrtes, or Scylla, or Charybdis [Dangerous quick-sands along the north coast of Africa. The army of Cambyses II could have ended here in 534 BC], although you have travelled through all these places for the bribe of a petty governorship; the journey for which nature has equipped you is safe and pleasant. She has given you such gifts that you may, if you do not prove false to them, rise level with God.

10. Your money, however, will not place you on a level with God; for God has no property. Your bordered robe [The toga praetexta, badge of the official position of Lucilius.] will not do this; for God is not clad in raiment; nor will your reputation, nor a display of self, nor a knowledge of your name wide-spread throughout the world; for no one has knowledge of God; many even hold him in low esteem, and do not suffer for so doing. The throng of slaves which carries your litter along the city streets and in foreign places will not help you; for this God of whom I speak, though the highest and most powerful of beings, carries all things on his own shoulders. Neither can beauty or strength make you blessed, for none of these qualities can withstand old age.

11. What we have to seek for, then, is that which does not each day pass more and more under the control of some power which cannot be withstood. And what is this? It is the soul, – but the soul that is upright, good, and great. What else could you call such a soul than a god dwelling as a guest in a human body? A soul like this may descend into a Roman knight just as well as into a freedman's son or a slave. For what is a Roman knight, or a freedman's son, or a slave? They are mere titles, born of ambition or of wrong. One may leap to heaven from the very slums. Only rise

And mould thyself to kinship with thy God.

This moulding will not be done in gold or silver; an image that is to be in the likeness of God cannot be fashioned of such materials; remember that the gods, when they were kind unto men, were moulded in clay. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 32. On Progress

1. I have been asking about you, and inquiring of everyone who comes from your part of the country, what you are doing, and where you are spending your time, and with whom. You cannot deceive me; for I am with you. Live just as if I were sure to get news of your doings, nay, as if I were sure to behold them. And if you wonder what particularly pleases me that I hear concerning you, it is that I hear nothing, that most of those whom I ask do not know what you are doing.

2. This is sound practice, – to refrain from associating with men of different stamp and different aims. And I am indeed confident that you cannot be warped, that you will stick to your purpose, even though the crowd may surround and seek to distract you. What, then, is on my mind? I am not afraid lest they work a change in you; but I am afraid lest they may hinder your progress. And much harm is done even by one who holds you back, especially since life is so short; and we make it still shorter by our unsteadiness, by making ever fresh beginnings at life, now one and immediately another. We break up life into little bits, and fritter it away.

3. Hasten ahead, then, dearest Lucilius, and reflect how greatly you would quicken your speed if an enemy were at your back, or if you suspected the cavalry were approaching and pressing hard upon your steps as you fled. It is true; the enemy is indeed pressing upon you; you should therefore increase your speed and escape away and reach a safe position, remembering continually what a noble thing it is to round out your life before death comes, and then await in peace the remaining portion of your time, claiming* nothing for yourself, since you are in possession of the happy life; for such a life is not made happier for being longer. [*The text seems to be corrupt here.]

4. O when shall you see the time when you shall know that time means nothing to you, when you shall be peaceful and calm, careless of the morrow, because you are enjoying your life to the full? Would you know what makes men greedy for the future? It is because no one has yet found himself. Your parents, to be sure, asked other blessings for you; but I myself pray rather that you may despise all those things which your parents wished for you in abundance. Their prayers plunder many another person, simply that you may be enriched. Whatever they make over to you must be removed from someone else.

5. I pray that you may get such control over yourself that your mind, now shaken by wandering thoughts, may at last come to rest and be steadfast, that it may be content with itself and, having attained an understanding of what things are truly good, – and they are in our possession as soon as we have this knowledge, – that it may have no need of added years. He has at length passed beyond all necessities, – he has won his honourable discharge and is free, – who still lives after his life has been completed. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 33. On the Futility of Learning Maxims

1. You wish me to close these letters also, as I closed my former letters, with certain utterances taken from the chiefs of our school. But they did not interest themselves in choice extracts; the whole texture of their work is full of strength. There is unevenness, you know, when some objects rise conspicuous above others. A single tree is not remarkable if the whole forest rises to the same height.

2. Poetry is crammed with utterances of this sort, and so is history. For this reason I would not have you think that these utterances belong to Epicurus: they are common property and are emphatically our own. They are, however, more

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noteworthy in Epicurus, because they appear at infrequent intervals and when you do not expect them, and because it is surprising that brave words should be spoken at any time by a man who made a practice of being effeminate. For that is what most persons maintain. In my own opinion, however, Epicurus is really a brave man, even though he did wear long sleeves. Fortitude, energy, and readiness for battle are to be found among the Persians, just as much as among men who have girded themselves up high.

3. Therefore, you need not call upon me for extracts and quotations; such thoughts as one may extract here and there in the works of other philosophers run through the whole body of our writings. Hence we have no "show-window goods," nor do we deceive the purchaser in such a way that, if he enters our shop, he will find nothing except that which is displayed in the window. We allow the purchasers themselves to get their samples from anywhere they please.

4. Suppose we should desire to sort out each separate motto from the general stock; to whom shall we credit them? To Zeno, Cleanthes, Chrysippus, Panaetius, or Posidonius? We Stoics are not subjects of a despot: each of us lays claim to his own freedom. With them, on the other hand, whatever Hermarchus says, or Metrodorus, is ascribed to one source. In that brotherhood, everything that any man utters is spoken under the leadership and commanding authority of one alone. We cannot, I maintain, no matter how we try, pick out anything from so great a multitude of things equally good.

Only the poor man counts his flock.

Wherever you direct your gaze, you will meet with something that might stand out from the rest, if the context in which you read it were not equally notable.

5. For this reason, give over hoping that you can skim, by means of epitomes, the wisdom of distinguished men. Look into their wisdom as a whole; study it as a whole. They are working out a plan and weaving together, line upon line, a masterpiece, from which nothing can be taken away without injury to the whole. Examine the separate parts, if you like, provided you examine them as parts of the man himself. She is not a beautiful woman whose ankle or arm is praised, but she whose general appearance makes you forget to admire her single attributes.

6. If you insist, however, I shall not be niggardly with you, but lavish; for there is a huge multitude of these passages; they are scattered about in profusion, – they do not need to be gathered together, but merely to be picked up. They do not drip forth occasionally; they flow continuously. They are unbroken and are closely connected. Doubtless they would be of much benefit to those who are still novices and worshipping outside the shrine; for single maxims sink in more easily when they are marked off and bounded like a line of verse.

7. That is why we give to children a proverb, or that which the Greeks call Chria, to be learned by heart; that sort of thing can be comprehended by the young mind, which cannot as yet hold more. For a man, however, whose progress is definite, to chase after choice extracts and to prop his weakness by the best known and the briefest sayings and to depend upon his memory, is disgraceful; it is time for him to lean on himself. He should make such maxims and not memorize them. For it is disgraceful even for an old man, or one who has sighted old age, to have a note-book knowledge. "This is what Zeno said." But what have you yourself said? "This is the opinion of Cleanthes." But what is your own opinion? How long shall you march under another man's orders? Take command, and utter some word which posterity will remember. Put forth something from your own stock.

8. For this reason I hold that there is nothing of eminence in all such men as these, who never create anything themselves, but always lurk in the shadow of others, playing the rôle of interpreters, never daring to put once into practice what they have been so long in learning. They have exercised their memories on other men's material. But it is one thing to remember, another to know. Remembering is merely safeguarding something entrusted to the memory; knowing, however, means making everything your own; it means not depending upon the copy and not all the time glancing back at the master.

9. "Thus said Zeno, thus said Cleanthes, indeed!" Let there be a difference between yourself and your book! How long shall you be a learner? From now on be a teacher as well! "But why," one asks, "should I have to continue hearing lectures on what I can read?" "The living voice," one replies, "is a great help." Perhaps, but not the voice which merely makes itself the mouthpiece of another's words, and only performs the duty of a reporter.

10. Consider this fact also. Those who have never attained their mental independence begin, in the first place, by following the leader in cases where everyone has deserted the leader; then, in the second place, they follow him in matters where the truth is still being investigated. However, the truth will never be discovered if we rest contented with discoveries already made. Besides, he who follows another not only discovers nothing but is not even investigating.

11. What then? Shall I not follow in the footsteps of my predecessors? I shall indeed use the old road, but if I find one that makes a shorter cut and is smoother to travel, I shall open the new road. Men who have made these discoveries before us are not our masters, but our guides. Truth lies open for all; it has not yet been monopolized. And there is plenty of it left even for posterity to discover. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 34. On a Promising Pupil

1. I grow in spirit and leap for joy and shake off my years and my blood runs warm again, whenever I understand, from your actions and your letters, how far you have outdone yourself; for as to the ordinary man, you left him in the rear long ago. If the farmer is pleased when his tree develops so that it bears fruit, if the shepherd takes pleasure in the increase of his flocks, if every man regards his pupil as though he discerned in him his own early manhood, – what, then, do you think are the feelings of those who have trained a mind and moulded a young idea, when they see it suddenly grown to maturity?

2. I claim you for myself; you are my handiwork. When I saw your abilities, I laid my hand upon you*, I exhorted you, I applied the goad and did not permit you to march lazily, but roused you continually. And now I do the same; but by this time I am cheering on one who is in the race and so in turn cheers me on. [* A reference to the act (iniectio) by which a Roman took possession of a thing belonging to him, e.g., a runaway slave, – without a decision of the court. This phrase lives on in Islam and Islamic jurisprudence as 'ma malakat aymanukum' "what your right hands possess." In Surah Al-Muminun "The Believers" (23:6) and Surah Al-Maarij “The Ascending Stairways” (70:30) both, in identical wording, draw a distinction between spouses and "those whom one's right hands possess" (female slaves), saying "their spouses or what their right hands possess", while clarifying that sexual intercourse (rape) with either is permissible (Mohammed had such a sex slave, a Jewess called Rayhana; that is the way she became one of Muhammad's wives.).

3. "What else do you want of me, then?" you ask; "the will is still mine." Well, the will in this case is almost everything, and not merely the half, as in the proverb "A task once begun is half done." It is more than half, for the matter of which we speak is determined by the soul. [i.e., the proverb may apply to tasks which a man performs with his hands, but it is an understatement when applied to the tasks of the soul.] Hence it is that the larger part of goodness is the will to become good. You know what I mean by a good man? One who is complete, finished, – whom no constraint or need can render bad.

4. I see such a person in you, if only you go steadily on and bend to your task, and see to it that all your actions and words harmonize and correspond with each other and are stamped in the same mould. If a man's acts are out of harmony, his soul is crooked. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 35. On the Friendship of Kindred Minds

1. When I urge you so strongly to your studies, it is my own interest which I am consulting; I want your friendship, and it cannot fall to my lot unless you proceed, as you have begun, with the task of developing yourself. For now, although you love me, you are not yet my friend. "But," you reply, "are these words of different meaning?" Nay, more, they are totally unlike in meaning. [The question of Lucilius represents the popular view, which regards love as including friendship. But according to Seneca it is only the perfect love, from which all selfishness has been removed, that becomes identical with friendship.] A friend loves you, of course; but one who loves you is not in every case your friend. Friendship, accordingly, is always helpful, but love sometimes even does harm. Try to perfect yourself, if for no other reason, in order that you may learn how to love.

2. Hasten, therefore, in order that, while thus perfecting yourself for my benefit, you may not have learned perfection for the benefit of another. To be sure, I am already deriving some profit by imagining that we two shall be of one mind, and that whatever portion of my strength has yielded to age will return to me from your strength, although there is not so very much difference in our ages.

3. But yet I wish to rejoice in the accomplished fact. We feel a joy over those whom we love, even when separated from them, but such a joy is light and fleeting; the sight of a man, and his presence, and communion with him, afford something of living pleasure; this is true, at any rate, if one not only sees the man one desires, but the sort of man one desires. Give yourself to me, therefore, as a gift of great price, and, that you may strive the more, reflect that you yourself are mortal, and that I am old.

4. Hasten to find me, but hasten to find yourself first. Make progress, and, before all else, endeavour to be consistent with yourself. And when you would find out whether you have accomplished anything, consider whether you desire the same things to-day that you desired yesterday. A shifting of the will indicates that the mind is at sea, heading in various directions, according to the course of the wind. But that which is settled and solid does not wander from its place. This is the blessed lot of the completely wise man, and also, to a certain extent, of him who is progressing and has made some headway. Now what is the difference between these two classes of men? The one is in motion, to be sure, but does not change its position; it merely tosses up and down where it is; the other is not in motion at all. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 36. On the Value of Retirement

1. Encourage your friend to despise stout-heartedly those who upbraid him because he has sought the shade of retirement and has abdicated his career of honours, and, though he might have attained more, has preferred tranquillity to them all. Let him prove daily to these detractors how wisely he has looked out for his own interests. Those whom men envy will continue to march past him; some will be pushed out of the ranks, and others will fall. Prosperity is a turbulent thing; it torments itself. It stirs the brain in more ways than one, goading men on to various aims, – some to power, and others to high living. Some it puffs up; others it slackens and wholly enervates.

2. "But," the retort comes, "so-and-so carries his prosperity well." Yes; just as he carries his liquor. So you need not let this class of men persuade you that one who is besieged by the crowd is happy; they run to him as crowds rush for a pool of water, rendering it muddy while they drain it. But you say: "Men call our friend a trifler and a sluggard." There are men, you know, whose speech is awry, who use the contrary terms. They called him happy; what of it? Was he happy?

3. Even the fact that to certain persons he seems a man of a very rough and gloomy cast of mind, does not trouble me. Aristo used to say that he preferred a youth of stern disposition to one who was a jolly fellow and agreeable to the crowd. "For," he added, "wine which, when new, seemed harsh and sour, becomes good wine; but that which tasted well at the vintage cannot stand age." So let them call him stern and a foe to his own advancement. It is just this sternness that will go well when it is aged, provided only that he continues to cherish virtue and to absorb thoroughly the studies which make for culture, – not those with which it is sufficient for a man to sprinkle himself, but those in which the mind should be steeped.

4. Now is the time to learn. "What? Is there any time when a man should not learn?" By no means; but just as it is creditable for every age to study, so it is not creditable for every age to be instructed. An old man learning his A B C is a disgraceful and absurd object; the young man must store up, the old man must use. You will therefore be doing a thing most helpful to yourself if you make this friend of yours as good a man as possible; those kindnesses, they tell us, are to be both sought for and bestowed, which benefit the giver no less than the receiver; and they are unquestionably the best kind.

5. Finally, he has no longer any freedom in the matter; he has pledged his word. And it is less disgraceful to compound with a creditor than to compound with a promising future. To pay his debt of money, the business man must have a prosperous voyage, the farmer must have fruitful fields and kindly weather; but the debt which your friend owes can be completely paid by mere goodwill.

6. Fortune has no jurisdiction over character. Let him so regulate his character that in perfect peace he may bring to perfection that spirit within him which feels neither loss nor gain, but remains in the same attitude, no matter how things fall out. A spirit like this, if it is heaped with worldly goods, rises superior to its wealth; if, on the other hand, chance has stripped him of a part of his wealth, or even all, it is not impaired.

7. If your friend had been born in Parthia, he would have begun, when a child, to bend the bow; if in Germany, he would forthwith have been brandishing his slender spear; if he had been born in the days of our forefathers, he would have learned to ride a horse and smite his enemy hand to hand. These are the occupations which the system of each race recommends to the individual, – yes, prescribes for him.

8. To what, then, shall this friend* of yours devote his attention? [*As a Roman, living in an age when philosophy was recommended and prescribed.] I say, let him learn that which is helpful against all weapons, against every kind of foe, – contempt of death; because no one doubts that death has in it something that inspires terror, so that it shocks even our souls, which nature has so moulded that they love their own existence; for otherwise there would be no need to prepare ourselves, and to whet our courage, to face that towards which we should move with a sort of voluntary instinct, precisely as all men tend to preserve their existence.

9. No man learns a thing in order that, if necessity arises, he may lie down with composure upon a bed of roses; but he steels his courage to this end, – that he may not surrender his plighted faith to torture, and that, if need be, he may some day stay out his watch in the trenches, even though wounded, without even leaning on his spear; because sleep is likely to creep over men who support themselves by any prop

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whatsoever. In death there is nothing harmful*; for there must exist something to which it is harmful. [*And since after death we do not exist, death cannot be harmful to us. Seneca has in mind the argument of Epicurus (Diogenes Laertius, x. 124-5): "Therefore the most dread-inspiring of all evils, death, is nothing to us; for when we exist; death is not present in us, and when death is present, then we do not exist. Therefore it does not concern either the living or the dead; for to the living it has no existence, and the dead do not themselves exist."]

10. And yet, if you are possessed by so great a craving for a longer life, reflect that none of the objects which vanish from our gaze and are re-absorbed into the world of things, from which they have come forth and are soon to come forth again, is annihilated; they merely end their course and do not perish. And death, which we fear and shrink from, merely interrupts life, but does not steal it away; the time will return when we shall be restored to the light of day; and many men would object to this, were they not brought back in forgetfulness of the past.

11. But I mean to show you later, with more care, that everything which seems to perish merely changes. Since you are destined to return, you ought to depart with a tranquil mind. Mark how the round of the universe repeats its course; you will see that no star in our firmament is extinguished, but that they all set and rise in alternation. Summer has gone, but another year will bring it again; winter lies low, but will be restored by its own proper months; night has overwhelmed the sun, but day will soon rout the night again. The wandering stars retrace their former courses; a part of the sky is rising unceasingly, and a part is sinking.

12. One word more, and then I shall stop; infants, and boys, and those who have gone mad, have no fear of death, and it is most shameful if reason cannot afford us that peace of mind to which they have been brought by their folly. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 37. On Allegiance to Virtue

1. You have promised to be a good man; you have enlisted under oath; that is the strongest chain which will hold you to a sound understanding. Any man will be but mocking you, if he declares that this is an effeminate and easy kind of soldiering. I will not have you deceived. The words of this most honourable compact are the same as the words of that most disgraceful one, to wit*: "Through burning, imprisonment, or death by the sword." [*He refers to the famous oath which the gladiator took when he hired himself to the fighting-master.]

2. From the men who hire out their strength for the arena, who eat and drink what they must pay for with their blood, security is taken that they will endure such trials even though they be unwilling; from you, that you will endure them willingly and with alacrity. The gladiator may lower his weapon and test the pity of the people*; but you will neither lower your weapon nor beg for life. You must die erect and unyielding. Moreover, what profit is it to gain a few days or a few years? There is no discharge for us from the moment we are born. [* Awaiting the signal of "thumbs up" or "thumbs down." Cf. Juvenal, iii. 36 verso pollice, vulgus Quem iubet occidunt populariter.]

3. "Then how can I free myself?" you ask. You cannot escape necessities, but you can overcome them.

By force a way is made.

And this way will be afforded you by philosophy. Betake yourself therefore to philosophy if you would be safe, untroubled, happy, in fine, if you wish to be, – and that is most important, – free. There is no other way to attain this end.

4. Folly [the opposite of sophia "wisdom"] is low, abject, mean, slavish, and exposed to many of the cruellest passions. These passions, which are heavy taskmasters, sometimes ruling by turns, and sometimes together, can be banished from you by wisdom, which is the only real freedom. There is but one path leading thither, and it is a straight path; you will not go astray. Proceed with steady step, and if you would have all things under your control, put yourself under the control of reason; if reason becomes your ruler, you will become ruler over many. You will learn from her what you should undertake, and how it should be done; you will not blunder into things.

5. You can show me no man who knows how he began to crave that which he craves. He has not been led to that pass by forethought; he has been driven to it by impulse. Fortune attacks us as often as we attack Fortune. It is disgraceful, instead of proceeding ahead, to be carried along, and then suddenly, amid the whirlpool of events, to ask in a dazed way: "How did I get into this condition?" Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 38. On Quiet Conversation

1. You are right when you urge that we increase our mutual traffic in letters. But the greatest benefit is to be derived from conversation, because it creeps by degrees into the soul. Lectures prepared beforehand and spouted in the presence of a throng have in them more noise but less intimacy. Philosophy is good advice; and no one can give advice at the top of his lungs. Of course we must sometimes also make use of these harangues, if I may so call them, when a doubting member needs to be spurred on; but when the aim is to make a man learn, and not merely to make him wish to learn, we must have recourse to the low-toned words of conversation. They enter more easily, and stick in the memory; for we do not need many words, but, rather, effective words.

2. Words should be scattered like seed; no matter how small the seed may be, if it has once found favourable ground, it unfolds its strength and from an insignificant thing spreads to its greatest growth. Reason grows in the same way; it is not large to the outward view, but increases as it does its work. Few words are spoken; but if the mind has truly caught them, they come into their strength and spring up. Yes, precepts and seeds have the same quality; they produce much, and yet they are slight things. Only, as I said, let a favourable mind receive and assimilate them. Then of itself the mind also will produce bounteously in its turn, giving back more than it has received. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 39. On Noble Aspirations

1. I shall indeed arrange for you, in careful order and narrow compass, the notes which you request. But consider whether you may not get more help from the customary method* than from that which is now commonly called a "breviary," though in the good old days, when real Latin was spoken, it was called a "summary." [*The regular method of studying philosophy was, as we infer from this letter, a course of reading in the philosophers. Seneca deprecates the use of the "cram" which is only a memory-help, as a substitute for reading, on the ground that by its use one does not, in the first place, learn the subject, and, in the second place and chiefly, that one loses the inspiration to be derived by direct contact with great thinkers. The request of Lucilius for a cram thus suggests the main topic of the letter, which is taken up in the second paragraph.] The former is more necessary to one who is learning a subject, the latter to one who knows it. For the one teaches, the other stirs the memory. But I shall give you abundant opportunity for both. A man like you should not ask me for this authority or that; he who furnishes a voucher for his statements argues himself unknown.

2. I shall therefore write exactly what you wish, but I shall do it in my own way; until then, you have many authors whose works will presumably keep your ideas sufficiently in order. Pick up the list of the philosophers; that very act will compel you to wake up, when you see how many men have been working for your benefit. You will desire eagerly to be one of them yourself. For this is the most excellent quality that the noble soul has within itself, that it can be roused to honourable things. No man of exalted gifts is pleased with that which is low and mean; the vision of great achievement summons him and uplifts him.

3. Just as the flame springs straight into the air and cannot be cabined or kept down any more than it can repose in quiet, so our soul is always in motion, and the more ardent it is, the greater its motion and activity. But happy is the man who has given it this impulse toward better things! He will place himself beyond the jurisdiction of chance; he will wisely control prosperity; he will lessen adversity, and will despise what others hold in admiration.

4. It is the quality of a great soul to scorn great things and to prefer that which is ordinary rather than that which is too great. For the one condition is useful and life-giving; but the other does harm just because it is excessive. Similarly, too rich a soil makes the grain fall flat, branches break down under too heavy a load, excessive productiveness does not bring fruit to ripeness. This is the case with the soul also; for it is ruined by uncontrolled prosperity, which is used not only to the detriment of others, but also to the detriment of itself.

5. What enemy was ever so insolent to any opponent as are their pleasures to certain men? The only excuse that we can allow for the incontinence and mad lust of these men is the fact that they suffer the evils which they have inflicted upon others. And they are rightly harassed by this madness, because desire must have unbounded space for its excursions, if it transgresses nature's mean. For this has its bounds, but waywardness and the acts that spring from wilful lust are without boundaries.

6. Utility measures our needs; but by what standard can you check the superfluous? It is for this reason that men sink themselves in pleasures, and they cannot do without them when once they have become accustomed to them, and for this reason they are most wretched, because they have reached such a pass that what was once superfluous to them has become indispensable. And so they are the slaves of their pleasures instead of enjoying them; they even love their own ills, – and that is the worst ill of all! Then it is that the height of unhappiness is reached, when men are not only attracted, but even pleased, by shameful things, and when there is no longer any room for a cure, now that those things which once were vices have become habits. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 40. On the Proper Style for a Philosopher's Discourse

1. I thank you for writing to me so often; for you are revealing your real self to me in the only way you can. I never receive a letter from you without being in your company forthwith. If the pictures of our absent friends are pleasing to us, though they only refresh the memory and lighten our longing by a solace that is unreal and unsubstantial, how much more pleasant is a letter, which brings us real traces, real evidences, of an absent friend! For that which is sweetest when we meet face to face is afforded by the impress of a friend's hand upon his letter, – recognition.

2. You write me that you heard a lecture by the philosopher Serapio [this persin is unidentified.], when he landed at your present place of residence. "He is wont," you say, "to wrench up his words with a mighty rush, and he does not let them flow forth one by one, but makes them crowd and dash upon each other. For the words come in such quantity that a single voice is inadequate to utter them." I do not approve of this in a philosopher; his speech, like his life, should be composed; and nothing that rushes headlong and is hurried is well ordered. That is why, in Homer, the rapid style, which sweeps down without a break like a snow-squall, is assigned to the younger speaker; from the old man eloquence flows gently, sweeter than honey.

3. Therefore, mark my words; that forceful manner of speech, rapid and copious, is more suited to a mountebank than to a man who is discussing and teaching an important and serious subject. But I object just as strongly that he should drip out his words as that he should go at top speed; he should neither keep the ear on the stretch, nor deafen it. For that poverty-stricken and thin-spun style also makes the audience less attentive because they are weary of its stammering slowness; nevertheless, the word which has been long awaited sinks in more easily than the word which flits past us on the wing. Finally, people speak of "handing down" precepts to their pupils; but one is not "handing down" that which eludes the grasp.

4. Besides, speech that deals with the truth should be unadorned and plain. This popular style has nothing to do with the truth; its aim is to impress the common herd, to ravish heedless ears by its speed; it does not offer itself for discussion, but snatches itself away from discussion. But how can that speech govern others which cannot itself be governed? May I not also remark that all speech which is employed for the purpose of healing our minds, ought to sink into us? Remedies do not avail unless they remain in the system.

5. Besides, this sort of speech contains a great deal of sheer emptiness; it has more sound than power. My terrors should be quieted, my irritations soothed, my illusions shaken off, my indulgences checked, my greed rebuked. And which of these cures can be brought about in a hurry? What physician can heal his patient on a flying visit? May I add that such a jargon of confused and ill-chosen words cannot afford pleasure, either?

6. No; but just as you are well satisfied, in the majority of cases, to have seen through tricks which you did not think could possibly be done, so in the case of these word-gymnasts, – to have heard them once is amply sufficient. For what can a man desire to learn or to imitate in them? What is he to think of their souls, when their speech is sent into the charge in utter disorder, and cannot be kept in hand?

7. Just as, when you run down hill, you cannot stop at the point where you had decided to stop, but your steps are carried along by the momentum of your body and are borne beyond the place where you wished to halt; so this speed of speech has no control over itself, nor is it seemly for philosophy; since philosophy should carefully place her words, not fling them out, and should proceed step by step.

8. "What then?" you say; "should not philosophy sometimes take a loftier tone?" Of course she should; but dignity of character should be preserved, and this is stripped away by such violent and excessive force. Let philosophy possess great forces, but kept well under control; let her stream flow unceasingly, but never become a torrent. And I should hardly allow even to an orator a rapidity of speech like this, which cannot be called back, which goes lawlessly ahead; for how could it be followed by jurors, who are often inexperienced and untrained? Even when the orator is carried away by his desire to show off his powers, or by uncontrollable emotion, even then he should not quicken his pace and heap up words to an extent greater than the ear can endure.

9. You will be acting rightly, therefore, if you do not regard those men who seek how much they may say, rather than how they shall say it, and if for yourself you choose, provided a choice must be made, to speak as Publius Vinicius the stammerer does. When Asellius was asked how Vinicius spoke, he replied: "Gradually"! (It was a remark of Geminus Varius, by the way: "I don't see how you can call that man 'eloquent'; why, he can't get out three words together.") Why, then, should you not choose to speak as Vinicius does? 10. Though of course some wag may cross your path, like the person who said, when Vinicius was dragging out his words

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one by one, as if he were dictating and not speaking. "Say, haven't you anything to say?" And yet that were the better choice, for the rapidity of Quintus Haterius, the most famous orator of his age, is, in my opinion, to be avoided by a man of sense. Haterius never hesitated, never paused; he made only one start, and only one stop.

11. However, I suppose that certain styles of speech are more or less suitable to nations also; in a Greek you can put up with the unrestrained style, but we Romans, even when writing, have become accustomed to separate our words. [The Greek texts were still written without separation of the words, in contrast with the Roman.] And our compatriot Cicero, with whom Roman oratory sprang into prominence, was also a slow pacer. The Roman language is more inclined to take stock of itself, to weigh, and to offer something worth weighing.

12. Fabianus, a man noteworthy because of his life, his knowledge, and, less important than either of these, his eloquence also, used to discuss a subject with dispatch rather than with haste; hence you might call it ease rather than speed. I approve this quality in the wise man; but I do not demand it; only let his speech proceed unhampered, though I prefer that it should be deliberately uttered rather than spouted.

13. However, I have this further reason for frightening you away from the latter malady, namely, that you could only be successful in practising this style by losing your sense of modesty; you would have to rub all shame from your countenance, and refuse to hear yourself speak. For that heedless flow will carry with it many expressions which you would wish to criticize.

14. And, I repeat, you could not attain it and at the same time preserve your sense of shame. Moreover, you would need to practise every day, and transfer your attention from subject matter to words. But words, even if they came to you readily and flowed without any exertion on your part, yet would have to be kept under control. For just as a less ostentatious gait becomes a philosopher, so does a restrained style of speech, far removed from boldness. Therefore, the ultimate kernel of my remarks is this: I bid you be slow of speech. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 41. On the God within Us

1. You are doing an excellent thing, one which will be wholesome for you, if, as you write me, you are persisting in your effort to attain sound understanding; it is foolish to pray for this when you can acquire it from yourself. We do not need to uplift our hands towards heaven, or to beg the keeper of a temple to let us approach his idol's ear, as if in this way our prayers were more likely to be heard. God is near you, he is with you, he is within you.

2. This is what I mean, Lucilius: a holy spirit indwells within us, one who marks our good and bad deeds, and is our guardian. As we treat this spirit, so are we treated by it. Indeed, no man can be good without the help of God. Can one rise superior to fortune unless God helps him to rise? He it is that gives noble and upright counsel. In each good man

A god doth dwell, but what god know we not.

3. If ever you have come upon a grove that is full of ancient trees which have grown to an unusual height, shutting out a view of the sky by a veil of pleached and intertwining branches, then the loftiness of the forest, the seclusion of the spot, and your marvel at the thick unbroken shade in the midst of the open spaces, will prove to you the presence of deity. Or if a cave, made by the deep crumbling of the rocks, holds up a mountain on its arch, a place not built with hands but hollowed out into such spaciousness by natural causes, your soul will be deeply moved by a certain intimation of the existence of God. We worship the sources of mighty rivers; we erect altars at places where great streams burst suddenly from hidden sources; we adore springs of hot water as divine, and consecrate certain pools because of their dark waters or their immeasurable depth.

4. If you see a man who is unterrified in the midst of dangers, untouched by desires, happy in adversity, peaceful amid the storm, who looks down upon men from a higher plane, and views the gods on a footing of equality, will not a feeling of reverence for him steal over you? Will you not say: "This quality is too great and too lofty to be regarded as resembling this petty body in which it dwells? A divine power has descended upon that man."

5. When a soul rises superior to other souls, when it is under control, when it passes through every experience as if it were of small account, when it smiles at our fears and at our prayers, it is stirred by a force from heaven. A thing like this cannot stand upright unless it be propped by the divine. Therefore, a greater part of it abides in that place from whence it came down to earth. Just as the rays of the sun do indeed touch the earth, but still abide at the source from which they are sent; even so the great and hallowed soul, which has come down in order that we may have a nearer knowledge of divinity, does indeed associate with us, but still cleaves to its origin; on that source it depends, thither it turns its gaze and strives to go, and it concerns itself with our doings only as a being superior to ourselves.

6. What, then, is such a soul? One which is resplendent with no external good, but only with its own. For what is more foolish than to praise in a man the qualities which come from without? And what is more insane than to marvel at characteristics which may at the next instant be passed on to someone else? A golden bit does not make a better horse. The lion with gilded mane, in process of being trained and forced by weariness to endure the decoration, is sent into the arena in quite a different way from the wild lion whose spirit is unbroken; the latter, indeed, bold in his attack, as nature wished him to be, impressive because of his wild appearance, – and it is his glory that none can look upon him without fear, – is favoured* in preference to the other lion, that languid and gilded brute. [*The spectators of the fight, which is to take place between the two lions, applaud the wild lion and bet on him.]

7. No man ought to glory except in that which is his own. We praise a vine if it makes the shoots teem with increase, if by its weight it bends to the ground the very poles which hold its fruit; would any man prefer to this vine one from which golden grapes and golden leaves hang down? In a vine the virtue peculiarly its own is fertility; in man also we should praise that which is his own. Suppose that he has a retinue of comely slaves and a beautiful house, that his farm is large and large his income; none of these things is in the man himself; they are all on the outside.

8. Praise the quality in him which cannot be given or snatched away, that which is the peculiar property of the man. Do you ask what this is? It is soul, and reason brought to perfection in the soul. For man is a reasoning animal. Therefore, man's highest good is attained, if he has fulfilled the good for which nature designed him at birth.

9. And what is it which this reason demands of him? The easiest thing in the world, – to live in accordance with his own nature. But this is turned into a hard task by the general madness of mankind; we push one another into vice. And how can a man be recalled to salvation, when he has none to restrain him, and all mankind to urge him on? Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 42. On Values

1. Has that friend of yours already made you believe that he is a good man? And yet it is impossible in so short a time for one either to become good or be known as such. Do you know what kind of man I now mean when I speak of "a good man"? I mean one of the second grade, like your friend. For one of the first class perhaps springs into existence, like the phoenix, only once in five hundred years. And it is not surprising, either, that greatness develops only at long intervals; Fortune often brings into being commonplace powers, which are born to please the mob; but she holds up for our approval that which is extraordinary by the very fact that she makes it rare.

2. This man, however, of whom you spoke, is still far from the state which he professes to have reached. And if he knew what it meant to be "a good man," he would not yet believe himself such; perhaps he would even despair of his ability to become good. "But," you say, "he thinks ill of evil men." Well, so do evil men themselves; and there is no worse penalty for vice than the fact that it is dissatisfied with itself and all its fellows.

3. "But he hates those who make an ungoverned use of great power suddenly acquired." I retort that he will do the same thing as soon as he acquires the same powers. In the case of many men, their vices, being powerless, escape notice; although, as soon as the persons in question have become satisfied with their own strength, the vices will be no less daring than those which prosperity has already disclosed.

4. These men simply lack the means whereby they may unfold their wickedness. Similarly, one can handle even a poisonous snake while it is stiff with cold; the poison is not lacking; it is merely numbed into inaction. In the case of many men, their cruelty, ambition, and indulgence only lack the favour of Fortune to make them dare crimes that would match the worst. That their wishes are the same you will in a moment discover, in this way: give them the power equal to their wishes.

5. Do you remember how, when you declared that a certain person was under your influence, I pronounced him fickle and a bird of passage, and said that you held him not by the foot but merely by a wing? Was I mistaken? You grasped him only by a feather; he left it in your hands and escaped. You know what an exhibition he afterwards made of himself before you, how many of the things he attempted were to recoil upon his own head. He did not see that in endangering others he was tottering to his own downfall. He did not reflect how burdensome were the objects which he was bent upon attaining, even if they were not superfluous.

6. Therefore, with regard to the objects which we pursue, and for which we strive with great effort, we should note this truth; either there is nothing desirable in them, or the undesirable is preponderant. Some objects are superfluous; others are not worth the price we pay for them. But we do not see this clearly, and we regard things as free gifts when they really cost us very dear.

7. Our stupidity may be clearly proved by the fact that we hold that "buying" refers only to the objects for which we pay cash, and we regard as free gifts the things for which we spend our very selves. These we should refuse to buy, if we were compelled to give in payment for them our houses or some attractive and profitable estate; but we are eager to attain them at the cost of anxiety, of danger, and of lost honour, personal freedom, and time; so true it is that each man regards nothing as cheaper than himself.

8. Let us therefore act, in all our plans and conduct, just as we are accustomed to act whenever we approach a huckster who has certain wares for sale; let us see how much we must pay for that which we crave. Very often the things that cost nothing cost us the most heavily; I can show you many objects the quest and acquisition of which have wrested freedom from our hands. We should belong to ourselves, if only these things did not belong to us.

9. I would therefore have you reflect thus, not only when it is a question of gain, but also when it is a question of loss. "This object is bound to perish." Yes, it was a mere extra; you will live without it just as easily as you have lived before. If you have possessed it for a long time, you lose it after you have had your fill of it; if you have not possessed it long, then you lose it before you have become wedded to it. "You will have less money." Yes, and less trouble.

10. "Less influence." Yes, and less envy. Look about you and note the things that drive us mad, which we lose with a flood of tears; you will perceive that it is not the loss that troubles us with reference to these things, but a notion of loss. No one feels that they have been lost, but his mind tells him that it has been so. He that owns himself has lost nothing. But how few men are blessed with ownership of self! Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 43. On the Relativity of Fame

1. Do you ask how the news reached me, and who informed me, that you were entertaining this idea, of which you had said nothing to a single soul? It was that most knowing of persons, – gossip. "What," you say, "am I such a great personage that I can stir up gossip?" Now there is no reason why you should measure yourself according to this part of the world [i.e. Rome.]; have regard only to the place where you are dwelling.

2. Any point which rises above adjacent points is great, at the spot where it rises. For greatness is not absolute; comparison increases it or lessens it. A ship which looms large in the river seems tiny when on the ocean. A rudder which is large for one vessel, is small for another.

3. So you in your province [Lucilius was at this time the imperial procurator in Sicily.] are really of importance, though you scorn yourself. Men are asking what you do, how you dine, and how you sleep, and they find out, too; hence there is all the more reason for your living circumspectly. Do not, however, deem yourself truly happy until you find that you can live before men's eyes, until your walls protect but do not hide you; although we are apt to believe that these walls surround us, not to enable us to live more safely, but that we may sin more secretly.

4. I shall mention a fact by which you may weigh the worth of a man's character: you will scarcely find anyone who can live with his door wide open. It is our conscience, not our pride, that has put doorkeepers at our doors; we live in such a fashion that being suddenly disclosed to view is equivalent to being caught in the act. What profits it, however, to hide ourselves away, and to avoid the eyes and ears of men?

5. A good conscience welcomes the crowd, but a bad conscience, even in solitude, is disturbed and troubled. If your deeds are honourable, let everybody know them; if base, what matters it that no one knows them, as long as you yourself know them? How wretched you are if you despise such a witness! Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 44. On Philosophy and Pedigrees

1. You are again insisting to me that you are a nobody, and saying that nature in the first place, and fortune in the second, have treated you too scurvily, and this in spite of the fact that you have it in your power to separate yourself from the crowd and rise to the highest human happiness! If there is any good in philosophy, it is this, – that it never looks into pedigrees. All men, if traced back to their original source, spring from the gods.

2. You are a Roman knight, and your persistent work promoted you to this class; yet surely there are many to whom the fourteen rows are barred [Alluding to seats reserved for the knights at the theatre.]; the senate-chamber is not open to all; the army, too, is scrupulous in choosing those whom it admits to toil and danger. But a noble mind is free to all men; according to this test, we may all gain distinction. Philosophy neither rejects nor selects anyone; its light shines for all.

3. Socrates was no aristocrat. Cleanthes worked at a well and served as a hired man watering a garden. Philosophy did not find Plato already a nobleman; it made him one. Why then should you despair of becoming able to rank with men like these? They are all your ancestors, if you conduct yourself in a manner worthy of them; and you will do so if you

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convince yourself at the outset that no man outdoes you in real nobility.

4. We have all had the same number of forefathers; there is no man whose first beginning does not transcend memory. Plato says: "Every king springs from a race of slaves, and every slave has had kings among his ancestors." The flight of time, with its vicissitudes, has jumbled all such things together, and Fortune has turned them upside down.

5. Then who is well-born? He who is by nature well fitted for virtue. That is the one point to be considered; otherwise, if you hark back to antiquity, every one traces back to a date before which there is nothing. From the earliest beginnings of the universe to the present time, we have been led forward out of origins that were alternately illustrious and ignoble. A hall full of smoke-begrimed busts does not make the nobleman. No past life has been lived to lend us glory, and that which has existed before us is not ours; the soul alone renders us noble, and it may rise superior to Fortune out of any earlier condition, no matter what that condition has been.

6. Suppose, then, that you were not a Roman knight, but a freedman, you might nevertheless by your own efforts come to be the only free man amid a throng of gentlemen. "How?" you ask. Simply by distinguishing between good and bad things without patterning your opinion from the populace. You should look, not to the source from which these things come, but to the goal towards which they tend. If there is anything that can make life happy, it is good on its own merits; for it cannot degenerate into evil.

7. Where, then, lies the mistake, since all men crave the happy life? It is that they regard the means for producing happiness as happiness itself, and, while seeking happiness, they are really fleeing from it. For although the sum and substance of the happy life is unalloyed freedom from care, and though the secret of such freedom is unshaken confidence, yet men gather together that which causes worry, and, while travelling life's treacherous road, not only have burdens to bear, but even draw burdens to themselves; hence they recede farther and farther from the achievement of that which they seek, and the more effort they expend, the more they hinder themselves and are set back. This is what happens when you hurry through a maze; the faster you go, the worse you are entangled. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 45. On Sophistical Argumentation

1. You complain that in your part of the world there is a scant supply of books. But it is quality, rather than quantity, that matters; a limited list of reading benefits; a varied assortment serves only for delight. He who would arrive at the appointed end must follow a single road and not wander through many ways. What you suggest is not travelling; it is mere tramping.

2. "But," you say, "I should rather have you give me advice than books." Still, I am ready to send you all the books I have, to ransack the whole storehouse. If it were possible, I should join you there myself; and were it not for the hope that you will soon complete your term of office, I should have imposed upon myself this old man's journey; no Scylla or Charybdis or their storied straits could have frightened me away. I should not only have crossed over, but should have been willing to swim over those waters, provided that I could greet you and judge in your presence how much you had grown in spirit.

3. Your desire, however, that I should dispatch to you my own writings does not make me think myself learned, any more than a request for my picture would flatter my beauty. I know that it is due to your charity rather than to your judgement. And even if it is the result of judgement, it was charity that forced the judgement upon you.

4. But whatever the quality of my works may be, read them as if I were still seeking, and were not aware of, the truth, and were seeking it obstinately, too. For I have sold myself to no man; I bear the name of no master. I give much credit to the judgement of great men; but I claim something also for my own. For these men, too, have left to us, not positive discoveries, but problems whose solution is still to be sought. They might perhaps have discovered the essentials, had they not sought the superfluous also.

5. They lost much time in quibbling about words and in sophistical argumentation; all that sort of thing exercises the wit to no purpose. We tie knots and bind up words in double meanings, and then try to untie them. Have we leisure enough for this? Do we already know how to live, or die? We should rather proceed with our whole souls towards the point where it is our duty to take heed lest things, as well as words, deceive us.

6. Why, pray, do you discriminate between similar words, when nobody is ever deceived by them except during the discussion? It is things that lead us astray: it is between things that you must discriminate. We embrace evil instead of good; we pray for something opposite to that which we have prayed for in the past. Our prayers clash with our prayers, our plans with our plans.

7. How closely flattery resembles friendship! It not only apes friendship, but outdoes it, passing it in the race; with wide-open and indulgent ears it is welcomed and sinks to the depths of the heart, and it is pleasing precisely wherein it does harm. Show me how I may be able to see through this resemblance! An enemy comes to me full of compliments, in the guise of a friend. Vices creep into our hearts under the name of virtues, rashness lurks beneath the appellation of bravery, moderation is called sluggishness, and the coward is regarded as prudent; there is great danger if we go astray in these matters. So stamp them with special labels.

8. Then, too, the man who is asked whether he has horns on his head is not such a fool as to feel for them on his forehead, nor again so silly or dense that you can persuade him by means of argumentation, no matter how subtle, that he does not know the facts. Such quibbles are just as harmlessly deceptive as the juggler's cup and dice, in which it is the very trickery that pleases me. But show me how the trick is done, and I have lost my interest therein. And I hold the same opinion about these tricky word-plays; for by what other name can one call such sophistries? Not to know them does no harm, and mastering them does no good.

9. At any rate, if you wish to sift doubtful meanings of this kind, teach us that the happy man is not he whom the crowd deems happy, namely, he into whose coffers mighty sums have flowed, but he whose possessions are all in his soul, who is upright and exalted, who spurns inconstancy, who sees no man with whom he wishes to change places, who rates men only at their value as men, who takes Nature for his teacher, conforming to her laws and living as she commands, whom no violence can deprive of his possessions, who turns evil into good, is unerring in judgement, unshaken, unafraid, who may be moved by force but never moved to distraction, whom Fortune when she hurls at him with all her might the deadliest missile in her armoury, may graze, though rarely, but never wound. For Fortune's other missiles, with which she vanquishes mankind in general, rebound from such a one, like hail which rattles on the roof with no harm to the dweller therein, and then melts away.

10. Why do you bore me with that which you yourself call the "liar" fallacy, about which so many books have been written? Come now, suppose that my whole life is a lie; prove that to be wrong and, if you are sharp enough, bring that back to the truth. At present it holds things to be essential of which the greater part is superfluous. And even that which is not superfluous is of no significance in respect to its power of making one fortunate and blest. For if a thing be necessary, it does not follow that it is a good. Else we degrade the meaning of "good," if we apply that name to bread and barley-porridge and other commodities without which we cannot live.

11. The good must in every case be necessary; but that which is necessary is not in every case a good, since certain very paltry things are indeed necessary. No one is to such an extent ignorant of the noble meaning of the word "good," as to debase it to the level of these humdrum utilities.

12. What, then? Shall you not rather transfer your efforts to making it clear to all men that the search for the superfluous means a great outlay of time, and that many have gone through life merely accumulating the instruments of life? Consider individuals, survey men in general; there is none whose life does not look forward to the morrow.

13. "What harm is there in this," you ask? Infinite harm; for such persons do not live, but are preparing to live. They postpone everything. Even if we paid strict attention, life would soon get ahead of us; but as we are now, life finds us lingering and passes us by as if it belonged to another, and though it ends on the final day, it perishes every day.

But I must not exceed the bounds of a letter, which ought not to fill the reader's left hand. [A book was unrolled with the right hand; the reader gathered up the part already perused with the left hand. Nearly all books at this time were papyrus (sc)rolls, as were letters of any great length.] So I shall postpone to another day our case against the hair-splitters, those over-subtle fellows who make argumentation supreme instead of subordinate. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 46. On a New Book by Lucilius

1. I received the book of yours which you promised me. I opened it hastily with the idea of glancing over it at leisure; for I meant only to taste the volume. But by its own charm the book coaxed me into traversing it more at length. You may understand from this fact how eloquent it was; for it seemed to be written in the smooth style, and yet did not resemble your handiwork or mine, but at first sight might have been ascribed to Titus Livius or to Epicurus. Moreover, I was so impressed and carried along by its charm that I finished it without any postponement. The sunlight called to me, hunger warned, and clouds were lowering; but I absorbed the book from beginning to end.

2. I was not merely pleased; I rejoiced. So full of wit and spirit it was! I should have added "force," had the book contained moments of repose, or had it risen to energy only at intervals. But I found that there was no burst of force, but an even flow, a style that was vigorous and chaste. Nevertheless I noticed from time to time your sweetness, and here and there that mildness of yours. Your style is lofty and noble; I want you to keep to this manner and this direction. Your subject also contributed something; for this reason you should choose productive topics, which will lay hold of the mind and arouse it.

3. I shall discuss the book more fully after a second perusal; meantime, my judgement is somewhat unsettled, just as if I had heard it read aloud, and had not read it myself. You must allow me to examine it also. You need not be afraid; you shall hear the truth. Lucky fellow, to offer a man no opportunity to tell you lies at such long range! Unless perhaps, even now, when excuses for lying are taken away, custom serves as an excuse for our telling each other lies! Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 47. On Master and Slave

1. I am glad to learn, through those who come from you, that you live on friendly terms with your slaves. This befits a sensible and well-educated man like yourself. "They are slaves," people declare. Nay, rather they are men. "Slaves!" No, comrades. "Slaves!" No, they are unpretentious friends. "Slaves!" No, they are our fellow-slaves, if one reflects that Fortune has equal rights over slaves and free men alike.

2. That is why I smile at those who think it degrading for a man to dine with his slave. But why should they think it degrading? It is only because purse-proud etiquette surrounds a householder at his dinner with a mob of standing slaves. The master eats more than he can hold, and with monstrous greed loads his belly until it is stretched and at length ceases to do the work of a belly; so that he is at greater pains to discharge all the food than he was to stuff it down. 3. All this time the poor slaves may not move their lips, even to speak. The slightest murmur is repressed by the rod; even a chance sound, – a cough, a sneeze, or a hiccup, – is visited with the lash. There is a grievous penalty for the slightest breach of silence. All night long they must stand about, hungry and dumb.

4. The result of it all is that these slaves, who may not talk in their master's presence, talk about their master. But the slaves of former days, who were permitted to converse not only in their master's presence, but actually with him, whose mouths were not stitched up tight, were ready to bare their necks for their master, to bring upon their own heads any danger that threatened him; they spoke at the feast, but kept silence during torture.

5. Finally, the saying, in allusion to this same high-handed treatment, becomes current: "As many enemies as you have slaves." They are not enemies when we acquire them; we make them enemies. I shall pass over other cruel and inhuman conduct towards them; for we maltreat them, not as if they were men, but as if they were beasts of burden. When we recline at a banquet, one slave mops up the disgorged food, another crouches beneath the table and gathers up the left-overs of the tipsy guests.

6. Another carves the priceless game birds; with unerring strokes and skilled hand he cuts choice morsels along the breast or the rump. Hapless fellow, to live only for the purpose of cutting fat capons correctly, – unless, indeed, the other man is still more unhappy than he, who teaches this art for pleasure's sake, rather than he who learns it because he must.

7. Another, who serves the wine, must dress like a woman and wrestle with his advancing years; he cannot get away from his boyhood; he is dragged back to it; and though he has already acquired a soldier's figure, he is kept beardless by having his hair smoothed away or plucked out by the roots, and he must remain awake throughout the night, dividing his time between his master's drunkenness and his lust; in the chamber he must be a man, at the feast a boy.

8. Another, whose duty it is to put a valuation on the guests, must stick to his task, poor fellow, and watch to see whose flattery and whose immodesty, whether of appetite or of language, is to get them an invitation for to-morrow. Think also of the poor purveyors of food, who note their masters' tastes with delicate skill, who know what special flavours will sharpen their appetite, what will please their eyes, what new combinations will rouse their cloyed stomachs, what food will excite their loathing through sheer satiety, and what will stir them to hunger on that particular day. With slaves like these the master cannot bear to dine; he would think it beneath his dignity to associate with his slave at the same table! Heaven forfend! But how many masters is he creating in these very men!

9. I have seen standing in the line, before the door of Callistus, the former master [The master of Callistus, before he became the favourite of Caligula, is unknown.], of Callistus; I have seen the master himself shut out while others were welcomed, – the master who once fastened the "For Sale" ticket on Callistus and put him in the market along with the good-for-nothing slaves. But he has been paid off by that slave who was shuffled into the first lot of those on whom the crier practises his lungs; the slave, too, in his turn has cut his name from the list and in his turn has adjudged him unfit to enter his house. The master sold Callistus, but how much has Callistus made his master pay for!

10. Kindly remember that he whom you call your slave sprang from the same stock, is smiled upon by the same skies,

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and on equal terms with yourself breathes, lives, and dies. It is just as possible for you to see in him a free-born man as for him to see in you a slave. As a result of the massacres in Marius's day, many a man of distinguished birth, who was taking the first steps toward senatorial rank by service in the army, was humbled by fortune, one becoming a shepherd, another a caretaker of a country cottage. Despise, then, if you dare, those to whose estate you may at any time descend, even when you are despising them.

11. I do not wish to involve myself in too large a question, and to discuss the treatment of slaves, towards whom we Romans are excessively haughty, cruel, and insulting. But this is the kernel of my advice: Treat your inferiors as you would be treated by your betters. And as often as you reflect how much power you have over a slave, remember that your master has just as much power over you.

12. "But I have no master," you say. You are still young; perhaps you will have one. Do you not know at what age Hecuba entered captivity, or Croesus, or the mother of Darius, or Plato, or Diogenes?

13. Associate with your slave on kindly, even on affable, terms; let him talk with you, plan with you, live with you. I know that at this point all the exquisites will cry out against me in a body; they will say: "There is nothing more debasing, more disgraceful, than this." But these are the very persons whom I sometimes surprise kissing the hands of other men's slaves.

14. Do you not see even this, – how our ancestors removed from masters everything invidious, and from slaves everything insulting? They called the master "father of the household," and the slaves "members of the household," a custom which still holds in the mime. They established a holiday on which masters and slaves should eat together, – not as the only day for this custom, but as obligatory on that day in any case. They allowed the slaves to attain honours in the household and to pronounce judgement; they held that a household was a miniature commonwealth.

15. "Do you mean to say," comes the retort, "that I must seat all my slaves at my own table?" No, not any more than that you should invite all free men to it. You are mistaken if you think that I would bar from my table certain slaves whose duties are more humble, as, for example, yonder muleteer or yonder herdsman; I propose to value them according to their character, and not according to their duties. Each man acquires his character for himself, but accident assigns his duties. Invite some to your table because they deserve the honour, and others that they may come to deserve it. For if there is any slavish quality in them as the result of their low associations, it will be shaken off by intercourse with men of gentler breeding.

16. You need not, my dear Lucilius, hunt for friends only in the forum or in the Senate-house; if you are careful and attentive, you will find them at home also. Good material often stands idle for want of an artist; make the experiment, and you will find it so. As he is a fool who, when purchasing a horse, does not consider the animal's points, but merely his saddle and bridle; so he is doubly a fool who values a man from his clothes or from his rank, which indeed is only a robe that clothes us.

17. "He is a slave." His soul, however, may be that of a freeman. "He is a slave." But shall that stand in his way? Show me a man who is not a slave; one is a slave to lust, another to greed, another to ambition, and all men are slaves to fear. I will name you an ex-consul who is slave to an old hag, a millionaire who is slave to a serving-maid; I will show you youths of the noblest birth in serfdom to pantomime players! No servitude is more disgraceful than that which is self-imposed.

You should therefore not be deterred by these finicky persons from showing yourself to your slaves as an affable person and not proudly superior to them; they ought to respect you rather than fear you.

18. Some may maintain that I am now offering the liberty-cap to slaves in general and toppling down lords from their high estate, because I bid slaves respect their masters instead of fearing them. They say: "This is what he plainly means: slaves are to pay respect as if they were clients or early-morning callers!" Anyone who holds this opinion forgets that what is enough for a god cannot be too little for a master. Respect means love, and love and fear cannot be mingled.

19. So I hold that you are entirely right in not wishing to be feared by your slaves, and in lashing them merely with the tongue; only dumb animals need the thong. That which annoys us does not necessarily injure us; but we are driven into wild rage by our luxurious lives, so that whatever does not answer our whims arouses our anger.

20. We don the temper of kings. For they, too, forgetful alike of their own strength and of other men's weakness, grow white-hot with rage, as if they had received an injury, when they are entirely protected from danger of such injury by their exalted station. They are not unaware that this is true, but by finding fault they seize upon opportunities to do harm; they insist that they have received injuries, in order that they may inflict them.

21. I do not wish to delay you longer; for you need no exhortation. This, among other things, is a mark of good character: it forms its own judgements and abides by them; but badness is fickle and frequently changing, not for the better, but for something different. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 48. On Quibbling as Unworthy of the Philosopher

1. In answer to the letter which you wrote me while travelling, – a letter as long as the journey itself, – I shall reply later. I ought to go into retirement, and consider what sort of advice I should give you. For you yourself, who consult me, also reflected for a long time whether to do so; how much more, then, should I myself reflect, since more deliberation is necessary in settling than in propounding a problem! And this is particularly true when one thing is advantageous to you and another to me. Am I speaking again in the guise of an Epicurean?

2. But the fact is, the same thing is advantageous to me which is advantageous to you; for I am not your friend unless whatever is at issue concerning you is my concern also. Friendship produces between us a partnership in all our interests. There is no such thing as good or bad fortune for the individual; we live in common. And no one can live happily who has regard to himself alone and transforms everything into a question of his own utility; you must live for your neighbour, if you would live for yourself.

3. This fellowship, maintained with scrupulous care, which makes us mingle as men with our fellow-men and holds that the human race have certain rights in common, is also of great help in cherishing the more intimate fellowship which is based on friendship, concerning which I began to speak above. For he that has much in common with a fellow-man will have all things in common with a friend.

4. And on this point, my excellent Lucilius, I should like to have those subtle dialecticians of yours advise me how I ought to help a friend, or how a fellow-man, rather than tell me in how many ways the word "friend" is used, and how many meanings the word "man" possesses. Lo, Wisdom and Folly are taking opposite sides. Which shall I join? Which party would you have me follow? On that side, "man" is the equivalent of "friend"; on the other side, "friend" is not the equivalent of "man." The one wants a friend for his own advantage; the other wants to make himself an advantage to his friend*. What you have to offer me is nothing but distortion of words and splitting of syllables. [* The sides are given in the reverse order in the two clauses: to the Stoic the terms "friend" and "man" are co-extensive; he is the friend of everybody, and his motive in friendship is to be of service; the Epicurean, however, narrows the definition of "friend" and regards him merely as an instrument to his own happiness.]

5. It is clear that unless I can devise some very tricky premisses and by false deductions tack on to them a fallacy which springs from the truth, I shall not be able to distinguish between what is desirable and what is to be avoided! I am ashamed! Old men as we are, dealing with a problem so serious, we make play of it!

6. "'Mouse' is a syllable. [In this paragraph Seneca exposes the folly of trying to prove a truth by means of logical tricks, and offers a caricature of those which were current among the philosophers whom he derides.] Now a mouse eats cheese; therefore, a syllable eats cheese." Suppose now that I cannot solve this problem; see what peril hangs over my head as a result of such ignorance! What a scrape I shall be in! Without doubt I must beware, or some day I shall be catching syllables in a mousetrap, or, if I grow careless, a book may devour my cheese! Unless, perhaps, the following syllogism is shrewder still: "'Mouse' is a syllable. Now a syllable does not eat cheese. Therefore a mouse does not eat cheese." 7. What childish nonsense! Do we knit our brows over this sort of problem? Do we let our beards grow long for this reason? Is this the matter which we teach with sour and pale faces?

Would you really know what philosophy offers to humanity? Philosophy offers counsel. Death calls away one man, and poverty chafes another; a third is worried either by his neighbour's wealth or by his own. So-and-so is afraid of bad luck; another desires to get away from his own good fortune. Some are ill-treated by men, others by the gods.

8. Why, then, do you frame for me such games as these? It is no occasion for jest; you are retained as counsel for unhappy mankind. You have promised to help those in peril by sea, those in captivity, the sick and the needy, and those whose heads are under the poised axe. Whither are you straying? What are you doing? This friend, in whose company you are jesting, is in fear. Help him, and take the noose from about his neck. Men are stretching out imploring hands to you on all sides; lives ruined and in danger of ruin are begging for some assistance; men's hopes, men's resources, depend upon you. They ask that you deliver them from all their restlessness, that you reveal to them, scattered and wandering as they are, the clear light of truth.

9. Tell them what nature has made necessary, and what superfluous; tell them how simple are the laws that she has laid down, how pleasant and unimpeded life is for those who follow these laws, but how bitter and perplexed it is for those who have put their trust in opinion rather than in nature. I should deem your games of logic to be of some avail in relieving men's burdens, if you could first show me what part of these burdens they will relieve. What among these games of yours banishes lust? Or controls it? Would that I could say that they were merely of no profit! They are positively harmful. I can make it perfectly clear to you whenever you wish, that a noble spirit when involved in such subtleties is impaired and weakened.

10. I am ashamed to say what weapons they supply to men who are destined to go to war with fortune, and how poorly they equip them! Is this the path to the greatest good? Is philosophy to proceed by such claptrap [Literally, "or if or if not," words constantly employed by the logicians in legal instruments.] and by quibbles which would be a disgrace and a reproach even for expounders* of the law? [*Literally, "to those who sit studying the praetor's edicts." The album is the bulletin-board, on which the edicts of the praetor were posted, giving the formulae and stipulations for legal processes of various kinds.] For what else is it that you men are doing, when you deliberately ensnare the person to whom you are putting questions, than making it appear that the man has lost his case on a technical error? [In certain actions the praetor appointed a judge and established a formula, indicating the plaintiff's claim and the judge's duty. If the statement was false, or the claim excessive, the plaintiff lost his case; under certain conditions (see last sentence of Seneca § 11) the defendant could claim annulment of the formula and have the case tried again. Such cases were not lost on their merits, and for that reason the lawyer who purposely took such an advantage was doing a contemptible thing.] But just as the judge can reinstate those who have lost a suit in this way, so philosophy has reinstated these victims of quibbling to their former condition.

11. Why do you men abandon your mighty promises, and, after having assured me in high-sounding language that you will permit the glitter of gold to dazzle my eyesight no more than the gleam of the sword, and that I shall, with mighty steadfastness, spurn both that which all men crave and that which all men fear, why do you descend to the ABC's of scholastic pedants? What is your answer?

Is this the path to heaven?

For that is exactly what philosophy promises to me, that I shall be made equal to God. For this I have been summoned, for this purpose have I come. Philosophy, keep your promise!

12. Therefore, my dear Lucilius, withdraw yourself as far as possible from these exceptions and objections of so-called philosophers. Frankness, and simplicity beseem true goodness. Even if there were many years left to you, you would have had to spend them frugally in order to have enough for the necessary things; but as it is, when your time is so scant, what madness it is to learn superfluous things! Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 49. On the Shortness of Life

1. A man is indeed lazy and careless, my dear Lucilius, if he is reminded of a friend only by seeing some landscape which stirs the memory; and yet there are times when the old familiar haunts stir up a sense of loss that has been stored away in the soul, not bringing back dead memories, but rousing them from their dormant state, just as the sight of a lost friend's favourite slave, or his cloak, or his house, renews the mourner's grief, even though it has been softened by time. Now, lo and behold, Campania, and especially Naples and your beloved Pompeii, struck me, when I viewed them, with a wonderfully fresh sense of longing for you. You stand in full view before my eyes. I am on the point of parting from you. I see you choking down your tears and resisting without success the emotions that well up at the very moment when you try to check them. I seem to have lost you but a moment ago. For what is not "but a moment ago" when one begins to use the memory?

2. It was but a moment ago that I sat, as a lad, in the school of the philosopher Sotion, but a moment ago that I began to plead in the courts, but a moment ago that I lost the desire to plead, but a moment ago that I lost the ability. Infinitely swift is the flight of time, as those see more clearly who are looking backwards. For when we are intent on the present, we do not notice it, so gentle is the passage of time's headlong flight.

3. Do you ask the reason for this? All past time is in the same place; it all presents the same aspect to us, it lies together. Everything slips into the same abyss. Besides, an event which in its entirety is of brief compass cannot contain long intervals. The time which we spend in living is but a point, nay, even less than a point. But this point of time, infinitesimal as it is, nature has mocked by making it seem outwardly of longer duration; she has taken one portion thereof and made it infancy, another childhood, another youth, another the gradual slope, so to speak, from youth to old age, and old age itself is still another. How many steps for how short a climb!

4. It was but a moment ago that I saw you off on your journey; and yet this "moment ago" makes up a goodly share of our existence, which is so brief, we should reflect, that it will soon come to an end altogether. In other years time did

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not seem to me to go so swiftly; now, it seems fast beyond belief, perhaps, because I feel that the finish-line is moving closer to me, or it may be that I have begun to take heed and reckon up my losses.

5. For this reason I am all the more angry that some men claim the major portion of this time for superfluous things, – time which, no matter how carefully it is guarded, cannot suffice even for necessary things. Cicero declared that if the number of his days were doubled, he should not have time to read the lyric poets. And you may rate the dialecticians in the same class; but they are foolish in a more melancholy way. The lyric poets are avowedly frivolous; but the dialecticians believe that they are themselves engaged upon serious business.

6. I do not deny that one must cast a glance at dialectic; but it ought to be a mere glance, a sort of greeting from the threshold, merely that one may not be deceived, or judge these pursuits to contain any hidden matters of great worth. Why do you torment yourself and lose weight over some problem which it is more clever to have scorned than to solve? When a soldier is undisturbed and travelling at his ease, he can hunt for trifles along his way; but when the enemy is closing in on the rear, and a command is given to quicken the pace, necessity makes him throw away everything which he picked up in moments of peace and leisure.

7. I have no time to investigate disputed inflections of words, or to try my cunning upon them.

Behold the gathering clans, the fast-shut gates,
And weapons whetted ready for the war.

I need a stout heart to hear without flinching this din of battle which sounds round about.

8. And all would rightly think me mad if, when greybeards and women were heaping up rocks for the fortifications, when the armour-clad youths inside the gates were awaiting, or even demanding, the order for a sally, when the spears of the foemen were quivering in our gates and the very ground was rocking with mines and subterranean passages, – I say, they would rightly think me mad if I were to sit idle, putting such petty posers as this: "What you have not lost, you have. But you have not lost any horns. Therefore, you have horns," or other tricks constructed after the model of this piece of sheer silliness.

9. And yet I may well seem in your eyes no less mad, if I spend my energies on that sort of thing; for even now I am in a state of siege. And yet, in the former case it would be merely a peril from the outside that threatened me, and a wall that sundered me from the foe; as it is now, death-dealing perils are in my very presence. I have no time for such nonsense; a mighty undertaking is on my hands. What am I to do? Death is on my trail, and life is fleeting away;

10. teach me something with which to face these troubles. Bring it to pass that I shall cease trying to escape from death, and that life may cease to escape from me. Give me courage to meet hardships; make me calm in the face of the unavoidable. Relax the straitened limits of the time which is allotted me. Show me that the good in life does not depend upon life's length, but upon the use we make of it; also, that it is possible, or rather usual, for a man who has lived long to have lived too little. Say to me when I lie down to sleep: "You may not wake again!" And when I have waked: "You may not go to sleep again!" Say to me when I go forth from my house: "You may not return!" And when I return: "You may never go forth again!"

11. You are mistaken if you think that only on an ocean voyage there is a very slight space between life and death. No, the distance between is just as narrow everywhere. It is not everywhere that death shows himself so near at hand; yet everywhere he is as near at hand. Rid me of these shadowy terrors; then you will more easily deliver to me the instruction for which I have prepared myself. At our birth nature made us teachable, and gave us reason, not perfect, but capable of being perfected.

12. Discuss for me justice, duty, thrift, and that twofold purity, both the purity which abstains from another's person, and that which takes care of one's own self. If you will only refuse to lead me along by-paths, I shall more easily reach the goal at which I am aiming. For, as the tragic poet says:

The language of truth is simple.

We should not, therefore, make that language intricate; since there is nothing less fitting for a soul of great endeavour than such crafty cleverness. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 50. On our Blindness and its Cure

1. I received your letter many months after you had posted it; accordingly, I thought it useless to ask the carrier what you were busied with. He must have a particularly good memory if he can remember that! But I hope by this time you are living in such a way that I can be sure what it is you are busied with, no matter where you may be. For what else are you busied with except improving yourself every day, laying aside some error, and coming to understand that the faults which you attribute to circumstances are in yourself? We are indeed apt to ascribe certain faults to the place or to the time; but those faults will follow us, no matter how we change our place.

2. You know Harpasté, my wife's female clown; she has remained in my house, a burden incurred from a legacy. I particularly disapprove of these freaks; whenever I wish to enjoy the quips of a clown, I am not compelled to hunt far; I can laugh at myself. Now this clown suddenly became blind. The story sounds incredible, but I assure you that it is true: she does not know that she is blind. She keeps asking her attendant to change her quarters; she says that her apartments are too dark.

3. You can see clearly that that which makes us smile in the case of Harpasté happens to all the rest of us; nobody understands that he is himself greedy, or that he is covetous. Yet the blind ask for a guide, while we wander without one, saying: "I am not self-seeking; but one cannot live at Rome in any other way. I am not extravagant, but mere living in the city demands a great outlay. It is not my fault that I have a choleric disposition, or that I have not settled down to any definite scheme of life; it is due to my youth."

4. Why do we deceive ourselves? The evil that afflicts us is not external, it is within us, situated in our very vitals; for that reason we attain soundness with all the more difficulty, because we do not know that we are diseased. Suppose that we have begun the cure; when shall we throw off all these diseases, with all their virulence? At present, we do not even consult the physician, whose work would be easier if he were called in when the complaint was in its early stages. The tender and the inexperienced minds would follow his advice if he pointed out the right way.

5. No man finds it difficult to return to nature, except the man who has deserted nature. We blush to receive instruction in sound sense; but, by Heaven, if we think it base to seek a teacher of this art, we should also abandon any hope that so great a good could be instilled into us by mere chance. No, we must work. To tell the truth, even the work is not great, if only, as I said, we begin to mould and reconstruct our souls before they are hardened by sin. But I do not despair even of a hardened sinner.

6. There is nothing that will not surrender to persistent treatment, to concentrated and careful attention; however much the timber may be bent, you can make it straight again. Heat unbends curved beams, and wood that grew naturally in another shape is fashioned artificially according to our needs. How much more easily does the soul permit itself to be shaped, pliable as it is and more yielding than any liquid! For what else is the soul than air in a certain state? And you see that air is more adaptable than any other matter, in proportion as it is rarer than any other.

7. There is nothing, Lucilius, to hinder you from entertaining good hopes about us, just because we are even now in the grip of evil, or because we have long been possessed thereby. There is no man to whom a good mind comes before an evil one. It is the evil mind that gets first hold on all of us. Learning virtue means unlearning vice. 8. We should therefore proceed to the task of freeing ourselves from faults with all the more courage because, when once committed to us, the good is an everlasting possession; virtue is not unlearned. For opposites find difficulty in clinging where they do not belong, therefore they can be driven out and hustled away; but qualities that come to a place which is rightfully theirs abide faithfully. Virtue is according to nature; vice is opposed to it and hostile.

9. But although virtues, when admitted, cannot depart and are easy to guard, yet the first steps in the approach to them are toilsome, because it is characteristic of a weak and diseased mind to fear that which is unfamiliar. The mind must, therefore, be forced to make a beginning; from then on, the medicine is not bitter; for just as soon as it is curing us it begins to give pleasure. One enjoys other cures only after health is restored, but a draught of philosophy is at the same moment wholesome and pleasant. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 51. On Baiae and Morals

1. Every man does the best he can, my dear Lucilius! You over there have Etna [Etna was of especial interest to Lucilius. Besides being a Govenor in Sicily, he may have written the poem Aetna.], that lofty and most celebrated mountain of Sicily; (although I cannot make out why Messala, – or was it Valgius? for I have been reading in both, – has called it "unique," inasmuch as many regions belch forth fire, not merely the lofty ones where the phenomenon is more frequent, – presumably because fire rises to the greatest possible height, – but low-lying places also.) As for myself, I do the best I can; I have had to be satisfied with Baiae [Not far from Naples, and across the bay from Puteoli. It was a fashionable and dissolute watering place.]; and I left it the day after I reached it; for Baiae is a place to be avoided, because, though it has certain natural advantages, luxury has claimed it for her own exclusive resort.

2. "What then," you say, "should any place be singled out as an object of aversion?" Not at all. But just as, to the wise and upright man, one style of clothing is more suitable than another, without his having an aversion for any particular colour, but because he thinks that some colours do not befit one who has adopted the simple life; so there are places also, which the wise man or he who is on the way toward wisdom will avoid as foreign to good morals.

3. Therefore, if he is contemplating withdrawal from the world, he will not select Canopus* (although Canopus does not keep any man from living simply), nor Baiae either; for both places have begun to be resorts of vice. At Canopus luxury pampers itself to the utmost degree; at Baiae it is even more lax, as if the place itself demanded a certain amount of licence. [* Situated at the mouth of the westernmost branch of the Nile, and proverbial in Latin literature for the laxity of its morals.]

4. We ought to select abodes which are wholesome not only for the body but also for the character. Just as I do not care to live in a place of torture, neither do I care to live in a café. To witness persons wandering drunk along the beach, the riotous revelling of sailing parties, the lakes a-din with choral song, and all the other ways in which luxury, when it is, so to speak, released from the restraints of law not merely sins, but blazons its sins abroad, – why must I witness all this?

5. We ought to see to it that we flee to the greatest possible distance from provocations to vice. We should toughen our minds, and remove them far from the allurements of pleasure. A single winter relaxed Hannibal's fibre; his pampering in Campania took the vigour out of that hero who had triumphed over Alpine snows. He conquered with his weapons, but was conquered by his vices.

6. We too have a war to wage, a type of warfare in which there is allowed no rest or furlough. To be conquered, in the first place, are pleasures, which, as you see, have carried off even the sternest characters. If a man has once understood how great is the task which he has entered upon, he will see that there must be no dainty or effeminate conduct. What have I to do with those hot baths or with the sweating-room where they shut in the dry steam which is to drain your strength? Perspiration should flow only after toil.

7. Suppose we do what Hannibal did, – check the course of events, give up the war, and give over our bodies to be coddled. Every one would rightly blame us for our untimely sloth, a thing fraught with peril even for the victor, to say nothing of one who is only on the way to victory. And we have even less right to do this than those followers of the Carthaginian flag; for our danger is greater than theirs if we slacken, and our toil is greater than theirs even if we press ahead.

8. Fortune is fighting against me, and I shall not carry out her commands. I refuse to submit to the yoke; nay rather, I shake off the yoke that is upon me, – an act which demands even greater courage. The soul is not to be pampered; surrendering to pleasure means also surrendering to pain, surrendering to toil, surrendering to poverty. Both ambition and anger will wish to have the same rights over me as pleasure, and I shall be torn asunder, or rather pulled to pieces, amid all these conflicting passions.

9. I have set freedom before my eyes; and I am striving for that reward. And what is freedom, you ask? It means not being a slave to any circumstance, to any constraint, to any chance; it means compelling Fortune to enter the lists on equal terms. And on the day when I know that I have the upper hand, her power will be naught. When I have death in my own control, shall I take orders from her?

10. Therefore, a man occupied with such reflections should choose an austere and pure dwelling-place. The spirit is weakened by surroundings that are too pleasant, and without a doubt one's place of residence can contribute towards impairing its vigour. Animals whose hoofs are hardened on rough ground can travel any road; but when they are fattened on soft marshy meadows their hoofs are soon worn out. The bravest soldier comes from rock-ribbed regions; but the town-bred and the home-bred are sluggish in action. The hand which turns from the plough to the sword never objects to toil; but your sleek and well-dressed dandy quails at the first cloud of dust.

11. Being trained in a rugged country strengthens the character and fits it for great undertakings. It was more honourable in Scipio to spend his exile at Liternum than at Baiae; his downfall did not need a setting so effeminate. Those also into whose hands the rising fortunes of Rome first transferred the wealth of the state, Gaius Marius, Gnaeus Pompey, and Caesar, did indeed build villas near Baiae; but they set them on the very tops of the mountains. This seemed more soldier-like, to look down from a lofty height upon lands spread far and wide below. Note the situation, position, and type of building which they chose; you will see that they were not country-places, – they were camps.

12. Do you suppose that Cato would ever have dwelt in a pleasure-palace, that he might count the lewd women as they sailed past, the many kinds of barges painted in all sorts of colours, the roses which were wafted about the lake, or that he might listen to the nocturnal brawls of serenaders? Would he not have preferred to remain in the shelter of a trench thrown up by his own hands to serve for a single night? Would not anyone who is a man have his slumbers broken by a war-trumpet rather than by a chorus of serenaders?

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13. But I have been haranguing against Baiae long enough; although I never could harangue often enough against vice. Vice, Lucilius, is what I wish you to proceed against, without limit and without end. For it has neither limit nor end. If any vice rend your heart, cast it away from you; and if you cannot be rid of it in any other way, pluck out your heart also. Above all, drive pleasures from your sight. Hate them beyond all other things, for they are like the bandits whom the Egyptians call "lovers," who embrace us only to garrotte us. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 52. On Choosing our Teachers

1. What is this force, Lucilius, that drags us in one direction when we are aiming in another, urging us on to the exact place from which we long to withdraw? What is it that wrestles with our spirit, and does not allow us to desire anything once for all? We veer from plan to plan. None of our wishes is free, none is unqualified, none is lasting.

2. "But it is the fool," you say, "who is inconsistent; nothing suits him for long." But how or when can we tear ourselves away from this folly? No man by himself has sufficient strength to rise above it; he needs a helping hand, and some one to extricate him.

3. Epicurus remarks that certain men have worked their way to the truth without any one's assistance, carving out their own passage. And he gives special praise to these, for their impulse has come from within, and they have forged to the front by themselves. Again, he says, there are others who need outside help, who will not proceed unless someone leads the way, but who will follow faithfully. Of these, he says, Metrodorus was one; this type of man is also excellent, but belongs to the second grade. We ourselves are not of that first class, either; we shall be well treated if we are admitted into the second. Nor need you despise a man who can gain salvation only with the assistance of another; the will to be saved means a great deal, too.

4. You will find still another class of man, – and a class not to be despised, – who can be forced and driven into righteousness, who do not need a guide as much as they require someone to encourage and, as it were, to force them along. This is the third variety. If you ask me for a man of this pattern also, Epicurus tells us that Hermarchus was such. And of the two last-named classes, he is more ready to congratulate the one*, but he feels more respect for the other; for although both reached the same goal, it is a greater credit to have brought about the same result with the more difficult material upon which to work. [*i.e. that of Metrodorus, who had the happier nature.]

5. Suppose that two buildings have been erected, unlike as to their foundations, but equal in height and in grandeur. One is built on faultless ground, and the process of erection goes right ahead. In the other case, the foundations have exhausted the building materials, for they have been sunk into soft and shifting ground and much labour has been wasted in reaching the solid rock. As one looks at both of them, one sees clearly what progress the former has made, but the larger and more difficult part of the latter is hidden.

6. So with men's dispositions; some are pliable and easy to manage, but others have to be laboriously wrought out by hand, so to speak, and are wholly employed in the making of their own foundations. I should accordingly deem more fortunate the man who has never had any trouble with himself; but the other, I feel, has deserved better of himself, who has won a victory over the meanness of his own nature, and has not gently led himself, but has wrestled his way, to wisdom.

7. You may be sure that this refractory nature, which demands much toil, has been implanted in us. There are obstacles in our path; so let us fight, and call to our assistance some helpers. "Whom," you say, "shall I call upon? Shall it be this man or that?" There is another choice also open to you; you may go to the ancients; for they have the time to help you. We can get assistance not only from the living, but from those of the past.

8. Let us choose, however, from among the living, not men who pour forth their words with the greatest glibness, turning out commonplaces and holding. as it were, their own little private exhibitions*, – not these, I say, but men who teach us by their lives, men who tell us what we ought to do and then prove it by practice, who show us what we should avoid, and then are never caught doing that which they have ordered us to avoid. Choose as a guide one whom you will admire more when you see him act than when you hear him speak. [* Circulatores were travelling showmen who performed sword-swallowing and snake-charming feats, or cheap stump speakers who displayed their eloquence at the street-corners in the hope of a few pence. The word is also found in the sense of "pedlar".]

9. Of course I would not prevent you from listening also to those philosophers who are wont to hold public meetings and discussions, provided they appear before the people for the express purpose of improving themselves and others, and do not practise their profession for the sake of self-seeking. For what is baser than philosophy courting applause? Does the sick man praise the surgeon while he is operating?

10. In silence and with reverent awe submit to the cure. Even though you cry applause, I shall listen to your cries as if you were groaning when your sores were touched. Do you wish to bear witness that you are attentive, that you are stirred by the grandeur of the subject? You may do this at the proper time; I shall of course allow you to pass judgement and cast a vote as to the better course. Pythagoras made his pupils keep silence for five years; do you think that they had the right on that account to break out immediately into applause?

11. How mad is he who leaves the lecture-room in a happy frame of mind simply because of applause from the ignorant! Why do you take pleasure in being praised by men whom you yourself cannot praise? Fabianus used to give popular talks, but his audience listened with self-control. Occasionally a loud shout of praise would burst forth, but it was prompted by the greatness of his subject, and not by the sound of oratory that slipped forth pleasantly and softly.

12. There should be a difference between the applause of the theatre and the applause of the school; and there is a certain decency even in bestowing praise. If you mark them carefully, all acts are always significant, and you can gauge character by even the most trifling signs. The lecherous man is revealed by his gait, by a movement of the hand, sometimes by a single answer, by his touching his head with a finger, by the shifting of his eye. The scamp is shown up by his laugh; the madman by his face and general appearance. These qualities become known by certain marks; but you can tell the character of every man when you see how he gives and receives praise.

13. The philosopher's audience, from this corner and that, stretch forth admiring hands, and sometimes the adoring crowd almost hang over the lecturer's head. But, if you really understand, that is not praise; it is merely applause. These outcries should be left for the arts which aim to please the crowd; let philosophy be worshipped in silence.

14. Young men, indeed, must sometimes have free play to follow their impulses, but it should only be at times when they act from impulse, and when they cannot force themselves to be silent. Such praise as that gives a certain kind of encouragement to the hearers themselves, and acts as a spur to the youthful mind. But let them be roused to the matter, and not to the style; otherwise, eloquence does them harm, making them enamoured of itself, and not of the subject.

15. I shall postpone this topic for the present; it demands a long and special investigation, to show how the public should be addressed, what indulgences should be allowed to a speaker on a public occasion, and what should be allowed to the crowd itself in the presence of the speaker. There can be no doubt that philosophy has suffered a loss, now that she has exposed her charms for sale. But she can still be viewed in her sanctuary, if her exhibitor is a priest and not a pedlar. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 53. On the Faults of the Spirit

1. You can persuade me into almost anything now, for I was recently persuaded to travel by water. We cast off when the sea was lazily smooth; the sky, to be sure, was heavy with nasty clouds, such as usually break into rain or squalls. Still, I thought that the few miles between Puteoli and your dear Parthenope* might be run off in quick time, despite the uncertain and lowering sky. So, in order to get away more quickly, I made straight out to sea for Nesis**, with the purpose of cutting across all the inlets. [*The poetical name for Naples; perhaps it was once a town near by which gave a sort of romantic second title to the larger city.]; [**An islet near the mouth of the bay wherein Baiae was situated. Puteoli was on the opposite side of the bay from Baiae.]

2. But when we were so far out that it made little difference to me whether I returned or kept on, the calm weather, which had enticed me, came to naught. The storm had not yet begun, but the ground-swell was on, and the waves kept steadily coming faster. I began to ask the pilot to put me ashore somewhere; he replied that the coast was rough and a bad place to land, and that in a storm he feared a lee shore more than anything else.

3. But I was suffering too grievously to think of the danger, since a sluggish seasickness which brought no relief was racking me, the sort that upsets the liver without clearing it. Therefore I laid down the law to my pilot, forcing him to make for the shore, willy-nilly. When we drew near, I did not wait for things to be done in accordance with Vergil's orders, until

Prow faced seawards or
Anchor plunged from bow;

I remembered my profession as a veteran devotee of cold water, and, clad as I was in my cloak, let myself down into the sea, just as a cold-water bather should.

4. What do you think my feelings were, scrambling over the rocks, searching out the path, or making one for myself? I understood that sailors have good reason to fear the land. It is hard to believe what I endured when I could not endure myself; you may be sure that the reason why Ulysses was shipwrecked on every possible occasion was not so much because the sea-god was angry with him from his birth; he was simply subject to seasickness. And in the future I also, if I must go anywhere by sea, shall only reach my destination in the twentieth year.

5. When I finally calmed my stomach (for you know that one does not escape seasickness by escaping from the sea) and refreshed my body with a rubdown, I began to reflect how completely we forget or ignore our failings, even those that affect the body, which are continually reminding us of their existence, – not to mention those which are more serious in proportion as they are more hidden.

6. A slight ague deceives us; but when it has increased and a genuine fever has begun to burn, it forces even a hardy man, who can endure much suffering, to admit that he is ill. There is pain in the foot, and a tingling sensation in the joints; but we still hide the complaint and announce that we have sprained a joint, or else are tired from over-exercise. Then the ailment, uncertain at first, must be given a name; and when it begins to swell the ankles also, and has made both our feet "right" feet, we are bound to confess that we have the gout.

7. The opposite holds true of diseases of the soul; the worse one is, the less one perceives it. You need not be surprised, my beloved Lucilius. For he whose sleep is light pursues visions during slumber, and sometimes, though asleep, is conscious that he is asleep; but sound slumber annihilates our very dreams and sinks the spirit down so deep that it has no perception of self.

8. Why will no man confess his faults? Because he is still in their grasp; only he who is awake can recount his dream, and similarly a confession of sin is a proof of sound mind. Let us, therefore, rouse ourselves, that we may be able to correct our mistakes. Philosophy, however, is the only power that can stir us, the only power that can shake off our deep slumber. Devote yourself wholly to philosophy. You are worthy of her; she is worthy of you; greet one another with a loving embrace. Say farewell to all other interests with courage and frankness. Do not study philosophy merely during your spare time.

9. If you were ill, you would stop caring for your personal concerns, and forget your business duties; you would not think highly enough of any client to take active charge of his case during a slight abatement of your sufferings. You would try your hardest to be rid of the illness as soon as possible. What, then? Shall you not do the same thing now? Throw aside all hindrances and give up your time to getting a sound mind; for no man can attain it if he is engrossed in other matters. Philosophy wields her own authority; she appoints her own time and does not allow it to be appointed for her. She is not a thing to be followed at odd times, but a subject for daily practice; she is mistress, and she commands our attendance.

10. Alexander, when a certain state promised him a part of its territory and half its entire property, replied: "I invaded Asia with the intention, not of accepting what you might give, but of allowing you to keep what I might leave." Philosophy likewise keeps saying to all occupations: "I do not intend to accept the time which you have left over, but I shall allow you to keep what I myself shall leave."

11. Turn to her, therefore, with all your soul, sit at her feet, cherish her; a great distance will then begin to separate you from other men. You will be far ahead of all mortals, and even the gods will not be far ahead of you. Do you ask what will be the difference between yourself and the gods? They will live longer. But, by my faith, it is the sign of a great artist to have confined a full likeness to the limits of a miniature. The wise man's life spreads out to him over as large a surface as does all eternity to a god. There is one point in which the sage has an advantage over the god; for a god is freed from terrors by the bounty of nature, the wise man by his own bounty.

12. What a wonderful privilege, to have the weaknesses of a man and the serenity of a god! The power of philosophy to blunt the blows of chance is beyond belief. No missile can settle in her body; she is well-protected and impenetrable. She spoils the force of some missiles and wards them off with the loose folds of her gown, as if they had no power to harm; others she dashes aside, and hurls them back with such force that they recoil upon the sender. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 54. On Asthma and Death

1. My ill-health had allowed me a long furlough, when suddenly it resumed the attack. "What kind of ill-health?" you say. And you surely have a right to ask; for it is true that no kind is unknown to me. But I have been consigned, so to speak, to one special ailment. I do not know why I should call it by its Greek name [i.e., asthma. Seneca thinks that the Latin name is good enough.]; for it is well enough described as "shortness of breath." Its attack is of very brief duration, like that of a squall at sea; it usually ends within an hour. Who indeed could breathe his last for long?

2. I have passed through all the ills and dangers of the flesh; but nothing seems to me more troublesome than this. And naturally so; for anything else may be called illness; but this is a sort of continued "last gasp." Hence physicians call it "practising how to die." For some day the breath will succeed in doing what it has so often essayed.

3. Do you think I am writing this letter in a merry spirit, just because I have escaped? It would be absurd to take delight

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in such supposed restoration to health, as it would be for a defendant to imagine that he had won his case when he had succeeded in postponing his trial. Yet in the midst of my difficult breathing I never ceased to rest secure in cheerful and brave thoughts.

4. "What?" I say to myself; "does death so often test me? Let it do so; I myself have for a long time tested death." "When?" you ask. Before I was born. Death is non-existence, and I know already what that means. What was before me will happen again after me. If there is any suffering in this state, there must have been such suffering also in the past, before we entered the light of day. As a matter of fact, however, we felt no discomfort then.

5. And I ask you, would you not say that one was the greatest of fools who believed that a lamp was worse off when it was extinguished than before it was lighted? We mortals also are lighted and extinguished; the period of suffering comes in between, but on either side there is a deep peace. For, unless I am very much mistaken, my dear Lucilius, we go astray in thinking that death only follows, when in reality it has both preceded us and will in turn follow us. Whatever condition existed before our birth, is death. For what does it matter whether you do not begin at all, or whether you leave off, inasmuch as the result of both these states is non-existence?

6. I have never ceased to encourage myself with cheering counsels of this kind, silently, of course, since I had not the power to speak; then little by little this shortness of breath, already reduced to a sort of panting, came on at greater intervals, and then slowed down and finally stopped. Even by this time, although the gasping has ceased, the breath does not come and go normally; I still feel a sort of hesitation and delay in breathing. Let it be as it pleases, provided there be no sigh from the soul.

7. Accept this assurance from me: I shall never be frightened when the last hour comes; I am already prepared and do not plan a whole day ahead. But do you praise* and imitate the man whom it does not irk to die, though he takes pleasure in living. For what virtue is there in going away when you are thrust out? And yet there is virtue even in this: I am indeed thrust out, but it is as if I were going away willingly. For that reason the wise man can never be thrust out, because that would mean removal from a place which he was unwilling to leave; and the wise man does nothing unwillingly. He escapes necessity, because he wills to do what necessity is about to force upon him. Farewell. [*The argument is: I am ready to die, but do not praise me on that account; reserve your praise for him who is not loth to die, though (unlike me) he finds it a pleasure to live (because he is in good health). Yes, for there is no more virtue in accepting death when one hates life, than there is in leaving a place when one is ejected.]

SENECA LETTER 55. On Vatia's Villa

1. I have just returned from a ride in my litter; and I am as weary as if I had walked the distance, instead of being seated. Even to be carried for any length of time is hard work, perhaps all the more so because it is an unnatural exercise; for Nature gave us legs with which to do our own walking, and eyes with which to do our own seeing. Our luxuries have condemned us to weakness; we have ceased to be able to do that which we have long declined to do.

2. Nevertheless, I found it necessary to give my body a shaking up, in order that the bile which had gathered in my throat, if that was my trouble, might be shaken out, or, if the very breath within me had become, for some reason, too thick, that the jolting, which I have felt was a good thing for me, might make it thinner. So I insisted on being carried longer than usual, along an attractive beach, which bends between Cumae and Servilius Vatia's country-house*, shut in by the sea on one side and the lake on the other, just like a narrow path. It was packed firm under foot, because of a recent storm; since, as you know, the waves, when they beat upon the beach hard and fast, level it out; but a continuous period of fair weather loosens it, when the sand, which is kept firm by the water, loses its moisture. [*Cumae was on the coast about six miles north of Cape Misenum. Lake Acheron was a salt-water pool between those two points, separated from the sea by a sandbar; it lay near Lake Avernus and probably derived its name from that fact. The Vatia mentioned here is unknown; he must not be confused with Isauricus.]

3. As my habit is, I began to look about for something there that might be of service to me, when my eyes fell upon the villa which had once belonged to Vatia. So this was the place where that famous praetorian millionaire passed his old age! He was famed for nothing else than his life of leisure, and he was regarded as lucky only for that reason. For whenever men were ruined by their friendship with Asinius Gallus* whenever others were ruined by their hatred of Sejanus, and later [i.e. after his fall.] by their intimacy with him, – for it was no more dangerous to have offended him than to have loved him, – people used to cry out: "O Vatia, you alone know how to live!" [* Son of Asinius Pollio; his frankness got him into trouble and he died of starvation in a dungeon in A.D. 33. Tacitus, Ann. i. 32. 2, quotes Augustus, discussing his own successor, as saying of Gallus avidus et minor. Sejanus was overthrown and executed in A.D. 31.]

4. But what he knew was how to hide, not how to live; and it makes a great deal of difference whether your life be one of leisure or one of idleness. So I never drove past his country-place during Vatia's lifetime without saying to myself: "Here lies Vatia!" But, my dear Lucilius, philosophy is a thing of holiness, something to be worshipped, so much so that the very counterfeit pleases. For the mass of mankind consider that a person is at leisure who has withdrawn from society, is free from care, self-sufficient, and lives for himself; but these privileges can be the reward only of the wise man. Does he who is a victim of anxiety know how to live for himself? What? Does he even know (and that is of first importance) how to live at all?

5. For the man who has fled from affairs and from men, who has been banished to seclusion by the unhappiness which his own desires have brought upon him, who cannot see his neighbour more happy than himself, who through fear has taken to concealment, like a frightened and sluggish animal, – this person is not living for himself; he is living for his belly, his sleep, and his lust, – and that is the most shameful thing in the world. He who lives for no one does not necessarily live for himself. Nevertheless, there is so much in steadfastness and adherence to one's purpose that even sluggishness, if stubbornly maintained, assumes an air of authority [i.e. imposes on us.] with us.

6. I could not describe the villa accurately; for I am familiar only with the front of the house, and with the parts which are in public view and can be seen by the mere passer-by. There are two grottoes, which cost a great deal of labour, as big as the most spacious hall, made by hand. One of these does not admit the rays of the sun, while the other keeps them until the sun sets. There is also a stream running through a grove of plane-trees, which draws for its supply both on the sea and on Lake Acheron; it intersects the grove just like a race-way, and is large enough to support fish, although its waters are continually being drawn off. When the sea is calm, however, they do not use the stream, only touching the well-stocked waters when the storms give the fishermen a forced holiday.

7. But the most convenient thing about the villa is the fact that Baiae is next door, it is free from all the inconveniences of that resort, and yet enjoys its pleasures. I myself understand these attractions, and I believe that it is a villa suited to every season of the year. It fronts the west wind, which it intercepts in such a way that Baiae is denied it. So it seems that Vatia was no fool when he selected this place as the best in which to spend his leisure when it was already unfruitful and decrepit.

8. The place where one lives, however, can contribute little towards tranquillity; it is the mind which must make everything agreeable to itself. I have seen men despondent in a gay and lovely villa, and I have seen them to all appearance full of business in the midst of a solitude. For this reason you should not refuse to believe that your life is well-placed merely because you are not now in Campania. But why are you not there? Just let your thoughts travel, even to this place.

9. You may hold converse with your friends when they are absent, and indeed as often as you wish and for as long as you wish. For we enjoy this, the greatest of pleasures, all the more when we are absent from one another. For the presence of friends makes us fastidious; and because we can at any time talk or sit together, when once we have parted we give not a thought to those whom we have just beheld.

10. And we ought to bear the absence of friends cheerfully, just because everyone is bound to be often absent from his friends even when they are present. Include among such cases, in the first place, the nights spent apart, then the different engagements which each of two friends has, then the private studies of each and their excursions into the country, and you will see that foreign travel does not rob us of much.

11. A friend should be retained in the spirit; such a friend can never be absent. He can see every day whomsoever he desires to see. I would therefore have you share your studies with me, your meals, and your walks. We should be living within too narrow limits if anything were barred to our thoughts. I see you, my dear Lucilius, and at this very moment I hear you; I am with you to such an extent that I hesitate whether I should not begin to write you notes instead of letters. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 56. On Quiet and Study

1. Beshrew me if I think anything more requisite than silence for a man who secludes himself in order to study! Imagine what a variety of noises reverberates about my ears! I have lodgings right over a bathing establishment. So picture to yourself the assortment of sounds, which are strong enough to make me hate my very powers of hearing! When your strenuous gentleman, for example, is exercising himself by flourishing leaden weights; when he is working hard, or else pretends to be working hard, I can hear him grunt; and whenever he releases his imprisoned breath, I can hear him panting in wheezy and high-pitched tones. Or perhaps I notice some lazy fellow, content with a cheap rubdown, and hear the crack of the pummeling hand on his shoulder, varying in sound according as the hand is laid on flat or hollow. Then, perhaps, a professional comes along, shouting out the score; that is the finishing touch.

2. Add to this the arresting of an occasional roysterer or pickpocket, the racket of the man who always likes to hear his own voice in the bathroom, or the enthusiast who plunges into the swimming-tank with unconscionable noise and splashing. Besides all those whose voices, if nothing else, are good, imagine the hair-plucker with his penetrating, shrill voice, – for purposes of advertisement, – continually giving it vent and never holding his tongue except when he is plucking the armpits and making his victim yell instead. Then the cake-seller with his varied cries, the sausageman, the confectioner, and all the vendors of food hawking their wares, each with his own distinctive intonation.

3. So you say: "What iron nerves or deadened ears, you must have, if your mind can hold out amid so many noises, so various and so discordant, when our friend Chrysippus* is brought to his death by the continual good-morrows that greet him!" But I assure you that this racket means no more to me than the sound of waves or falling water; although you will remind me that a certain tribe once moved their city merely because they could not endure the din of a Nile cataract. [*It is nowhere else related of the famous Stoic philosopher Chrysippus that he objected to the salutations of his friends; and, besides, the morning salutation was a Roman, not a Greek, custom. Lipsius, therefore, was probably right when he proposed to read here, for Chrysippus, Crispus, one of Seneca's friends.]

4. Words seem to distract me more than noises; for words demand attention, but noises merely fill the ears and beat upon them. Among the sounds that din round me without distracting, I include passing carriages, a machinist in the same block, a saw-sharpener near by, or some fellow who is demonstrating with little pipes and flutes at the Trickling Fountain*, shouting rather than singing. [*A cone-shaped fountain, resembling a turning-post in the circus, from which the water spouted through many jets; hence the "sweating". Its remains may still be seen now not far from the Colosseum on the Velia.]

5. Furthermore, an intermittent noise upsets me more than a steady one. But by this time I have toughened my nerves against all that sort of thing, so that I can endure even a boatswain marking the time in high-pitched tones for his crew. For I force my mind to concentrate, and keep it from straying to things outside itself; all outdoors may be bedlam, provided that there is no disturbance within, provided that fear is not wrangling with desire in my breast, provided that meanness and lavishness are not at odds, one harassing the other. For of what benefit is a quiet neighbourhood, if our emotions are in an uproar?

6. 'Twas night, and all the world was lulled to rest. This is not true; for no real rest can be found when reason has not done the lulling. Night brings our troubles to the light, rather than banishes them; it merely changes the form of our worries. For even when we seek slumber, our sleepless moments are as harassing as the daytime. Real tranquillity is the state reached by an unperverted mind when it is relaxed.

7. Think of the unfortunate man who courts sleep by surrendering his spacious mansion to silence, who, that his ear may be disturbed by no sound, bids the whole retinue of his slaves be quiet and that whoever approaches him shall walk on tiptoe; he tosses from this side to that and seeks a fitful slumber amid his frettings!

8. He complains that he has heard sounds, when he has not heard them at all. The reason, you ask? His soul is in an uproar; it must be soothed, and its rebellious murmuring checked. You need not suppose that the soul is at peace when the body is still. Sometimes quiet means disquiet. We must therefore rouse ourselves to action and busy ourselves with interests that are good, as often as we are in the grasp of an uncontrollable sluggishness.

9. Great generals, when they see that their men are mutinous, check them by some sort of labour or keep them busy with small forays. The much occupied man has no time for wantonness, and it is an obvious commonplace that the evils of leisure can be shaken off by hard work. Although people may often have thought that I sought seclusion because I was disgusted with politics and regretted my hapless and thankless position, yet, in the retreat to which apprehension and weariness have driven me, my ambition sometimes develops afresh. For it is not because my ambition was rooted out that it has abated, but because it was wearied or perhaps even put out of temper by the failure of its plans.

10. And so with luxury, also, which sometimes seems to have departed, and then when we have made a profession of frugality, begins to fret us and, amid our economies, seeks the pleasures which we have merely left but not condemned. Indeed, the more stealthily it comes, the greater is its force. For all unconcealed vices are less serious; a disease also is farther on the road to being cured when it breaks forth from concealment and manifests its power. So with greed, ambition, and the other evils of the mind, – you may be sure that they do

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most harm when they are hidden behind a pretence of soundness.

11. Men think that we are in retirement, and yet we are not. For if we have sincerely retired, and have sounded the signal for retreat, and have scorned outward attractions, then, as I remarked above, no outward thing will distract us; no music of men or of birds* can interrupt good thoughts, when they have once become steadfast and sure. [* An allusion to the Sirens and Ulysses]

12. The mind which starts at words or at chance sounds is unstable and has not yet withdrawn into itself; it contains within itself an element of anxiety and rooted fear, and this makes one a prey to care, as our Vergil says:

I, whom of yore no dart could cause to flee,
Nor Greeks, with crowded lines of infantry.
Now shake at every sound, and fear the air,
Both for my child and for the load I bear*.
[*Aeneas is escaping from Troy, Aeneid, ii. 726 ff.]

13. This man in his first state is wise; he blenches neither at the brandished spear, nor at the clashing armour of the serried foe, nor at the din of the stricken city. This man in his second state lacks knowledge fearing for his own concerns, he pales at every sound; any cry is taken for the battle-shout and overthrows him; the slightest disturbance renders him breathless with fear. It is the load that makes him afraid [Aeneas carries Anchises; the rich man carries his burden of wealth.].

14. Select anyone you please from among your favourites of Fortune, trailing their many responsibilities, carrying their many burdens, and you will behold a picture of Vergil's hero, "fearing both for his child and for the load he bears."

You may therefore be sure that you are at peace with yourself, when no noise reaches you, when no word shakes you out of yourself, whether it be of flattery or of threat, or merely an empty sound buzzing about you with unmeaning din.

15. "What then?" you say, "is it not sometimes a simpler matter just to avoid the uproar?" I admit this. Accordingly, I shall change from my present quarters. I merely wished to test myself and to give myself practice. Why need I be tormented any longer, when Ulysses found so simple a cure for his comrades even against the songs of the Sirens? Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 57. On the Trials of Travel

1. When it was time for me to return to Naples from Baiae, I easily persuaded myself that a storm was raging, that I might avoid another trip by sea; and yet the road was so deep in mud, all the way, that I may be thought none the less to have made a voyage. On that day I had to endure the full fate of an athlete; the anointing with which we began was followed by the sand-sprinkle in the Naples tunnel.

2. No place could be longer than that prison; nothing could be dimmer than those torches, which enabled us, not to see amid the darkness, but to see the darkness. But, even supposing that there was light in the place, the dust, which is an oppressive and disagreeable thing even in the open air, would destroy the light; how much worse the dust is there, where it rolls back upon itself, and, being shut in without ventilation, blows back in the faces of those who set it going! So we endured two inconveniences at the same time, and they were diametrically different: we struggled both with mud and with dust on the same road and on the same day.

3. The gloom, however, furnished me with some food for thought; I felt a certain mental thrill, and a transformation unaccompanied by fear, due to the novelty and the unpleasantness of an unusual occurrence. Of course I am not speaking to you of myself at this point, because I am far from being a perfect person, or even a man of middling qualities; I refer to one over whom fortune has lost her control. Even such a man's mind will be smitten with a thrill and he will change colour.

4. For there are certain emotions, my dear Lucilius, which no courage can avoid; nature reminds courage how perishable a thing it is. And so he will contract his brow when the prospect is forbidding, will shudder at sudden apparitions, and will become dizzy when he stands at the edge of a high precipice and looks down. This is not fear; it is a natural feeling which reason cannot rout.

5. That is why certain brave men, most willing to shed their own blood, cannot bear to see the blood of others. Some persons collapse and faint at the sight of a freshly inflicted wound; others are affected similarly on handling or viewing an old wound which is festering. And others meet the sword-stroke more readily than they see it dealt.

6. Accordingly, as I said, I experienced a certain transformation, though it could not be called confusion. Then at the first glimpse of restored daylight my good spirits returned without forethought or command. And I began to muse and think how foolish we are to fear certain objects to a greater or less degree, since all of them end in the same way. For what difference does it make whether a watchtower or a mountain crashes down upon us? No difference at all, you will find. Nevertheless, there will be some men who fear the latter mishap to a greater degree, though both accidents are equally deadly; so true it is that fear looks not to the effect, but to the cause of the effect.

7. Do you suppose that I am now referring to the Stoics, who hold that the soul of a man crushed by a great weight cannot abide, and is scattered forthwith, because it has not had a free opportunity to depart? That is not what I am doing; those who think thus are, in my opinion, wrong.

8. Just as fire cannot be crushed out, since it will escape round the edges of the body which overwhelms it; just as the air cannot be damaged by lashes and blows, or even cut into, but flows back about the object to which it gives place; similarly the soul, which consists of the subtlest particles, cannot be arrested or destroyed inside the body, but, by virtue of its delicate substance, it will rather escape through the very object by which it is being crushed. Just as lightning, no matter how widely it strikes and flashes, makes its return through a narrow opening, so the soul, which is still subtler than fire, has a way of escape through any part of the body.

9. We therefore come to this question, – whether the soul can be immortal. But be sure of this: if the soul survives the body after the body is crushed, the soul can in no wise be crushed out, precisely because it does not perish; for the rule of immortality never admits of exceptions, and nothing can harm that which is everlasting. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 58. On Being

1. How scant of words our language is, nay, how poverty-stricken, I have not fully understood until to-day. We happened to be speaking of Plato, and a thousand subjects came up for discussion, which needed names and yet possessed none; and there were certain others which once possessed, but have since lost, their words because we were too nice about their use. But who can endure to be nice in the midst of poverty?

2. There is an insect, called by the Greeks oestrus, which drives cattle wild and scatters them all over their pasturing grounds; it used to be called asilus in our language, as you may believe on the authority of Vergil:—

Near Silarus groves, and eke Alburnus' shades
Of green-clad oak-trees flits an insect, named
Asilus by the Romans; in the Greek
The word is rendered oestrus. With a rough
And strident sound it buzzes and drives wild
The terror-stricken herds throughout the woods.

3. By which I infer that the word has gone out of use. And, not to keep you waiting too long, there were certain uncompounded words current, like cernere ferro inter se, as will be proved again by Vergil:—

Great heroes, born in various lands, had come
To settle matters mutually with the sword.

This "settling matters" we now express by decernere. The plain word has become obsolete.

4. The ancients used to say iusso, instead of iussero, in conditional clauses. You need not take my word, but you may turn again to Vergil:—

The other soldiers shall conduct the fight
With me, where I shall bid.

5. It is not in my purpose to show, by this array of examples, how much time I have wasted on the study of language; I merely wish you to understand how many words, that were current in the works of Ennius and Accius, have become mouldy with age; while even in the case of Vergil, whose works are explored daily, some of his words have been filched away from us.

6. You will say, I suppose: "What is the purpose and meaning of this preamble?" I shall not keep you in the dark; I desire, if possible, to say the word essentia to you and obtain a favourable hearing. If I cannot do this, I shall risk it even though it put you out of humour. I have Cicero, as authority for the use of this word, and I regard him as a powerful authority. If you desire testimony of a later date, I shall cite Fabianus, careful of speech, cultivated, and so polished in style that he will suit even our nice tastes. For what can we do, my dear Lucilius? How otherwise can we find a word for that which the Greeks call οὐσία, something that is indispensable, something that is the natural substratum of everything? I beg you accordingly to allow me to use this word essentia. I shall nevertheless take pains to exercise the privilege, which you have granted me, with as sparing a hand as possible; perhaps I shall be content with the mere right.

7. Yet what good will your indulgence do me, if, lo and behold, I can in no wise express in Latin the meaning of the word which gave me the opportunity to rail at the poverty of our language? And you will condemn our narrow Roman limits even more, when you find out that there is a word of one syllable which I cannot translate. "What is this?" you ask. It is the word ὄν. You think me lacking in facility; you believe that the word is ready to hand, that it might be translated by quod est. I notice, however, a great difference; you are forcing me to render a noun by a verb.

8. But if I must do so, I shall render it by quod est. There are six ways in which Plato expresses this idea, according to a friend of ours, a man of great learning, who mentioned the fact to-day. And I shall explain all of them to you, if I may first point out that there is something called genus and something called species. For the present, however, we are seeking the primary idea of genus, on which the others, the different species, depend, which is the source of all classification, the term under which universal ideas are embraced. And the idea of genus will be reached if we begin to reckon back from particulars; for in this way we shall be conducted back to the primary notion.

9. Now "man" is a species, as Aristotle says; so is "horse," or "dog." We must therefore discover some common bond for all these terms, one which embraces them and holds them subordinate to itself. And what is this? It is "animal." And so there begins to be a genus "animal," including all these terms, "man," "horse," and "dog."

10. But there are certain things which have life (anima) and yet are not "animals." For it is agreed that plants and trees possess life, and that is why we speak of them as living and dying. Therefore the term "living things" will occupy a still higher place, because both animals and plants are included in this category. Certain objects, however, lack life, – such as rocks. There will therefore be another term to take precedence over "living things," and that is "substance." I shall classify "substance" by saying that all substances are either animate or inanimate.

11. But there is still something superior to "substance"; for we speak of certain things as possessing substance, and certain things as lacking substance. What, then, will be the term from which these things are derived? It is that to which we lately gave an inappropriate name, "that which exists." For by using this term they will be divided into species, so that we can say: that which exists either possesses, or lacks, substance.

12. This, therefore, is what genus is, – the primary, original, and (to play upon the word) "general." Of course there are the other genera: but they are "special" genera: "man" being, for example, a genus. For "man" comprises species: by nations, – Greek, Roman, Parthian; by colours, – white, black, yellow. The term comprises individuals also: Cato, Cicero, Lucretius. So "man" falls into the category genus, in so far as it includes many kinds; but in so far as it is subordinate to another term, it falls into the category species. But the genus "that which exists" is general, and has no term superior to it. It is the first term in the classification of things, and all things are included under it.

13. The Stoics would set ahead of this still another genus, even more primary; concerning which I shall immediately speak, after proving that the genus which has been discussed above, has rightly been placed first, being, as it is, capable of including everything. 14. I therefore distribute "that which exists" into these two species, – things with, and things without, substance. There is no third class. And how do I distribute "substance"? By saying that it is either animate or inanimate. And how do I distribute the "animate"? By saying: "Certain things have mind, while others have only life." Or the idea may be expressed as follows: "Certain things have the power of movement, of progress, of change of position, while others are rooted in the ground; they are fed and they grow only through their roots." Again, into what species do I divide "animals"? They are either perishable or imperishable.

15. Certain of the Stoics regard the primary genus as the "something." I shall add the reasons they give for their belief; they say: "in the order of nature some things exist, and other things do not exist. And even the things that do not exist are really part of the order of nature. What these are will readily occur to the mind, for example centaurs, giants, and all other figments of unsound reasoning, which have begun to have a definite shape, although they have no bodily consistency."

16. But I now return to the subject which I promised to discuss for you, namely, how it is that Plato divides all existing things in six different ways. The first class of "that which exists" cannot be grasped by the sight or by the touch, or by any of the senses; but it can be grasped by the thought. Any generic conception, such as the generic idea "man," does not come within the range of the eyes; but "man" in particular does; as, for example, Cicero, Cato. The term "animal" is not seen; it is grasped by thought alone. A particular animal, however, is seen, for example, a horse, a dog.

17. The second class of "things which exist," according to Plato, is that which is prominent and stands out above everything else; this, he says, exists in a pre-eminent degree. The word "poet" is used indiscriminately, for this term is applied to all writers of verse; but among the Greeks it has come to be the distinguishing mark of a single individual. You know that Homer is meant when you hear men say "the poet." What, then, is this pre-eminent Being? God, surely, one who is greater and more powerful than anyone else.

18. The third class is made up of those things which exist in the proper sense of the term; they are countless in number, but are situated beyond our sight. "What are these?" you ask. They are Plato's own furniture, so to speak; he calls them "ideas," and from them all visible things are created, and according to their pattern all things are fashioned. They are immortal, unchangeable, inviolable.

19. And this "idea," or rather, Plato's conception of it, is as follows: "The 'idea' is the everlasting pattern of those things

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which are created by nature." I shall explain this definition, in order to set the subject before you in a clearer light: Suppose that I wish to make a likeness of you; I possess in your own person the pattern of this picture, wherefrom my mind receives a certain outline, which it is to embody in its own handiwork. That outward appearance, then, which gives me instruction and guidance, this pattern for me to imitate, is the "idea." Such patterns, therefore, nature possesses in infinite number, – of men, fish, trees, according to whose model everything that nature has to create is worked out.

20. In the fourth place we shall put "form." And if you would know what "form" means, you must pay close attention, calling Plato, and not me, to account for the difficulty of the subject. However, we cannot make fine distinctions without encountering difficulties. A moment ago I made use of the artist as an illustration. When the artist desired to reproduce Vergil in colours he would gaze upon Vergil himself. The "idea" was Vergil's outward appearance, and this was the pattern of the intended work. That which the artist draws from this "idea" and has embodied in his own work, is the "form."

21. Do you ask me where the difference lies? The former is the pattern; while the latter is the shape taken from the pattern and embodied in the work. Our artist follows the one, but the other he creates. A statue has a certain external appearance; this external appearance of the statue is the "form." And the pattern itself has a certain external appearance, by gazing upon which the sculptor has fashioned his statue; this is the "idea." If you desire a further distinction, I will say that the "form" is in the artist's work, the "idea" outside his work, and not only outside it, but prior to it.

22. The fifth class is made up of the things which exist in the usual sense of the term. These things are the first that have to do with us; here we have all such things as men, cattle, and things. In the sixth class goes all that which has a fictitious existence, like void, or time. Whatever is concrete to the sight or touch, Plato does not include among the things which he believes to be existent in the strict sense of the term. These things are the first that have to do with us: here we have all such things as men, cattle, and things. For they are in a state of flux, constantly diminishing or increasing. None of us is the same man in old age that he was in youth; nor the same on the morrow as on the day preceding. Our bodies are hurried along like flowing waters; every visible object accompanies time in its flight; of the things which we see, nothing is fixed. Even I myself, as I comment on this change, am changed myself.

23. This is just what Heraclitus says: "We go down twice into the same river, and yet into a different river." For the stream still keeps the same name, but the water has already flowed past. Of course this is much more evident in rivers than in human beings. Still, we mortals are also carried past in no less speedy a course; and this prompts me to marvel at our madness in cleaving with great affection to such a fleeting thing as the body, and in fearing lest some day we may die, when every instant means the death of our previous condition. Will you not stop fearing lest that may happen once which really happens every day?

24. So much for man, – a substance that flows away and falls, exposed to every influence; but the universe, too, immortal and enduring as it is, changes and never remains the same. For though it has within itself all that it has had, it has it in a different way from that in which it has had it; it keeps changing its arrangement.

25. "Very well," say you, "what good shall I get from all this fine reasoning?" None, if you wish me to answer your question. Nevertheless, just as an engraver rests his eyes when they have long been under a strain and are weary, and calls them from their work, and "feasts" them, as the saying is; so we at times should slacken our minds and refresh them with some sort of entertainment. But let even your entertainment be work; and even from these various forms of entertainment you will select, if you have been watchful, something that may prove wholesome.

26. That is my habit, Lucilius: I try to extract and render useful some element from every field of thought, no matter how far removed it may be from philosophy. Now what could be less likely to reform character than the subjects which we have been discussing? And how can I be made a better man by the "ideas" of Plato? What can I draw from them that will put a check on my appetites? Perhaps the very thought, that all these things which minister to our senses, which arouse and excite us, are by Plato denied a place among the things that really exist.

27. Such things are therefore imaginary, and though they for the moment present a certain external appearance, yet they are in no case permanent or substantial; none the less, we crave them as if they were always to exist, or as if we were always to possess them. We are weak, watery beings standing in the midst of unrealities; therefore let us turn our minds to the things that are everlasting. Let us look up to the ideal outlines of all things, that flit about on high, and to the God who moves among them and plans how he may defend from death that which he could not make imperishable because its substance forbade, and so by reason may overcome the defects of the body.

28. For all things abide, not because they are everlasting, but because they are protected by the care of him who governs all things; but that which was imperishable would need no guardian. The Master Builder keeps them safe, overcoming the weakness of their fabric by his own power. Let us despise everything that is so little an object of value that it makes us doubt whether it exists at all.

29. Let us at the same time reflect, seeing that Providence rescues from its perils the world itself, which is no less mortal than we ourselves, that to some extent our petty bodies can be made to tarry longer upon earth by our own providence, if only we acquire the ability to control and check those pleasures whereby the greater portion of mankind perishes.

30. Plato himself, by taking pains, advanced to old age. To be sure, he was the fortunate possessor of a strong and sound body (his very name was given him because of his broad chest); but his strength was much impaired by sea voyages and desperate adventures. Nevertheless, by frugal living, by setting a limit upon all that rouses the appetites, and by painstaking attention to himself, he reached that advanced age in spite of many hindrances.

31. You know, I am sure, that Plato had the good fortune, thanks to his careful living, to die on his birthday, after exactly completing his eighty-first year. For this reason wise men of the East, who happened to be in Athens at that time, sacrificed to him after his death, believing that his length of days was too full for a mortal man, since he had rounded out the perfect number of nine times nine. I do not doubt that he would have been quite willing to forgo a few days from this total, as well as the sacrifice.

32. Frugal living can bring one to old age; and to my mind old age is not to be refused any more than it is to be craved. There is a pleasure in being in one's own company as long as possible, when a man has made himself worth enjoying. The question, therefore, on which we have to record our judgement is, whether one should shrink from extreme old age and should hasten the end artificially, instead of waiting for it to come. A man who sluggishly awaits his fate is almost a coward, just as he is immoderately given to wine who drains the jar dry and sucks up even the dregs.

33. But we shall ask this question also: "Is the extremity of life the dregs, or is it the clearest and purest part of all, provided only that the mind is unimpaired, and the senses, still sound, give their support to the spirit, and the body is not worn out and dead before its time?" For it makes a great deal of difference whether a man is lengthening his life or his death.

34. But if the body is useless for service, why should one not free the struggling soul? Perhaps one ought to do this a little before the debt is due, lest, when it falls due, he may be unable to perform the act. And since the danger of living in wretchedness is greater than the danger of dying soon, he is a fool who refuses to stake a little time and win a hazard of great gain. Few have lasted through extreme old age to death without impairment, and many have lain inert, making no use of themselves. How much more cruel, then, do you suppose it really is to have lost a portion of your life, than to have lost your right to end that life?

35. Do not hear me with reluctance, as if my statement applied directly to you, but weigh what I have to say. It is this: that I shall not abandon old age, if old age preserves me intact for myself, and intact as regards the better part of myself; but if old age begins to shatter my mind, and to pull its various faculties to pieces, if it leaves me, not life, but only the breath of life, I shall rush out of a house that is crumbling and tottering.

36. I shall not avoid illness by seeking death, as long as the illness is curable and does not impede my soul. I shall not lay violent hands upon myself just because I am in pain; for death under such circumstances is defeat. But if I find out that the pain must always be endured, I shall depart, not because of the pain but because it will be a hindrance to me as regards all my reasons for living. He who dies just because he is in pain is a weakling, a coward; but he who lives merely to brave out this pain, is a fool.

37. But I am running on too long; and, besides, there is matter here to fill a day. And how can a man end his life, if he cannot end a letter? So farewell. This last word [vale, meaning "keep well" and "good bye."] you will read with greater pleasure than all my deadly talk about death. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 59. On Pleasure and Joy

1. I received great pleasure from your letter; kindly allow me to use these words in their everyday meaning, without insisting upon their Stoic import. For we Stoics hold that pleasure is a vice. Very likely it is a vice; but we are accustomed to use the word when we wish to indicate a happy state of mind.

2. I am aware that if we test words by our formula*, even pleasure is a thing of ill repute, and joy can be attained only by the wise. [*A figure taken from the praetor's edict, which was posted publicly on a white tablet, album.] For "joy" is an elation of spirit, – of a spirit which trusts in the goodness and truth of its own possessions. The common usage, however, is that we derive great "joy" from a friend's position as consul, or from his marriage, or from the birth of his child; but these events, so far from being matters of joy, are more often the beginnings of sorrow to come. No, it is a characteristic of real joy that it never ceases, and never changes into its opposite [i.e. grief.].

3. Accordingly, when our Vergil speaks of

The evil joys of the mind,

his words are eloquent, but not strictly appropriate. For no "joy" can be evil. He has given the name "joy" to pleasures, and has thus expressed his meaning. For he has conveyed the idea that men take delight in their own evil.

4. Nevertheless, I was not wrong in saying that I received great "pleasure" from your letter; for although an ignorant* man may derive "joy" if the cause be an honourable one, yet, since his emotion is wayward, and is likely soon to take another direction, I call it "pleasure"; for it is inspired by an opinion concerning a spurious good; it exceeds control and is carried to excess. [*The wise man, on the other hand, has his emotions under control, and is less likely to be swayed by "an opinion concerning a spurious good."] But, to return to the subject, let me tell you what delighted me in your letter. You have your words under control. You are not carried away by your language, or borne beyond the limits which you have determined upon.

5. Many writers are tempted by the charm of some alluring phrase to some topic other than that which they had set themselves to discuss. But this has not been so in your case; all your words are compact, and suited to the subject, You say all that you wish, and you mean still more than you say. This is a proof of the importance of your subject matter, showing that your mind, as well as your words, contains nothing superfluous or bombastic.

6. I do, however, find some metaphors, not, indeed, daring ones, but the kind which have stood the test of use. I find similes also; of course, if anyone forbids us to use them, maintaining that poets alone have that privilege, he has not, apparently, read any of our ancient prose writers, who had not yet learned to affect a style that should win applause. For those writers, whose eloquence was simple and directed only towards proving their case, are full of comparisons; and I think that these are necessary, not for the same reason which makes them necessary for the poets, but in order that they may serve as props to our feebleness, to bring both speaker and listener face to face with the subject under discussion.

7. For example, I am at this very moment reading Sextius [Q. Sextius was a Stoic with Pythagorean leanings, who lived in the days of Julius Caesar.]; he is a keen man, and a philosopher who, though he writes in Greek, has the Roman standard of ethics. One of his similes appealed especially to me, that of an army marching in hollow square, in a place where the enemy might be expected to appear from any quarter, ready for battle. "This," said he, "is just what the wise man ought to do; he should have all his fighting qualities deployed on every side, so that wherever the attack threatens, there his supports may be ready to hand and may obey the captain's command without confusion." This is what we notice in armies which serve under great leaders; we see how all the troops simultaneously understand their general's orders, since they are so arranged that a signal given by one man passes down the ranks of cavalry and infantry at the same moment.

8. This, he declares, is still more necessary for men like ourselves; for soldiers have often feared an enemy without reason, and the march which they thought most dangerous has in fact been most secure; but folly brings no repose, fear haunts it both in the van and in the rear of the column, and both flanks are in a panic. Folly is pursued, and confronted, by peril. It blenches at everything; it is unprepared; it is frightened even by auxiliary troops [i.e., by the troops of the second line, who in training and quality were inferior to the troops of the legion.]. But the wise man is fortified against all inroads; he is alert; he will not retreat before the attack of poverty, or of sorrow, or of disgrace, or of pain. He will walk undaunted both against them and among them.

9. We human beings are fettered and weakened by many vices; we have wallowed in them for a long time, and it is hard for us to be cleansed. We are not merely defiled; we are dyed by them. But, to refrain from passing from one figure to another, I will raise this question, which I often consider in my own heart: why is it that folly holds us with such an insistent grasp? It is, primarily, because we do not combat it strongly enough, because we do not struggle towards salvation with all our might; secondly, because we do not put sufficient trust in the discoveries of the wise, and do not drink in their words with open hearts; we approach this great problem in too trifling a spirit.

10. But how can a man learn, in the struggle against his vices, an amount that is enough, if the time which he gives to learning is only the amount left over from his vices? None of us goes deep below the surface. We skim the top only, and we regard the smattering of time spent in the search for wisdom as enough and to spare for a busy man.

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11. What hinders us most of all is that we are too readily satisfied with ourselves; if we meet with someone who calls us good men, or sensible men, or holy men, we see ourselves in his description. Not content with praise in moderation, we accept everything that shameless flattery heaps upon us, as if it were our due. We agree with those who declare us to be the best and wisest of men, although we know that they are given to much lying. And we are so self-complacent that we desire praise for certain actions when we are especially addicted to the very opposite. Yonder person hears himself called "most gentle" when he is inflicting tortures, or "most generous" when he is engaged in looting, or "most temperate" when he is in the midst of drunkenness and lust. Thus it follows that we are unwilling to be reformed, just because we believe ourselves to be the best of men.

12. Alexander was roaming as far as India, ravaging tribes that were but little known, even to their neighbours. During the blockade of a certain city, while he was reconnoitring the walls and hunting for the weakest spot in the fortifications, he was wounded by an arrow. Nevertheless, he long continued the siege, intent on finishing what he had begun. The pain of his wound, however, as the surface became dry and as the flow of blood was checked, increased; his leg gradually became numb as he sat his horse; and finally, when he was forced to withdraw, he exclaimed: "All men swear that I am the son of Jupiter, but this wound cries out that I am mortal."

13. Let us also act in the same way. Each man, according to his lot in life, is stultified by flattery. We should say to him who flatters us: "You call me a man of sense, but I understand how many of the things which I crave are useless, and how many of the things which I desire will do me harm. I have not even the knowledge, which satiety teaches to animals, of what should be the measure of my food or my drink. I do not yet know how much I can hold."

14. I shall now show you how you may know that you are not wise. The wise man is joyful, happy and calm, unshaken; he lives on a plane with the gods. Now go, question yourself; if you are never downcast, if your mind is not harassed by any apprehension, through anticipation of what is to come, if day and night your soul keeps on its even and unswerving course, upright and content with itself, then you have attained to the greatest good that mortals can possess. If, however, you seek pleasures of all kinds in all directions, you must know that you are as far short of wisdom as you are short of joy. Joy is the goal which you desire to reach, but you are wandering from the path, if you expect to reach your goal while you are in the midst of riches and official titles, – in other words, if you seek joy in the midst of cares. These objects for which you strive so eagerly, as if they would give you happiness and pleasure, are merely causes of grief.

15. All men of this stamp, I maintain, are pressing on in pursuit of joy, but they do not know where they may obtain a joy that is both great and enduring. One person seeks it in feasting and self-indulgence; another, in canvassing for honours and in being surrounded by a throng of clients; another, in his mistress; another, in idle display of culture and in literature that has no power to heal; all these men are led astray by delights which are deceptive and short-lived – like drunkenness for example, which pays for a single hour of hilarious madness by a sickness of many days, or like applause and the popularity of enthusiastic approval which are gained, and atoned for, at the cost of great mental disquietude.

16. Reflect, therefore, on this, that the effect of wisdom is a joy that is unbroken and continuous. The mind of the wise man is like the ultra-lunar firmament; eternal calm pervades that region. You have, then, a reason for wishing to be wise, if the wise man is never deprived of joy. This joy springs only from the knowledge that you possess the virtues. None but the brave, the just, the self-restrained, can rejoice.

17. And when you query: "What do you mean? Do not the foolish and the wicked also rejoice?" I reply, no more than lions who have caught their prey. When men have wearied themselves with wine and lust, when night fails them before their debauch is done, when the pleasures which they have heaped upon a body that is too small to hold them begin to fester, at such times they utter in their wretchedness those lines of Vergil:

Thou knowest how, amid false-glittering joys.
We spent that last of nights.

18. Pleasure-lovers spend every night amid false-glittering joys, and just as if it were their last. But the joy which comes to the gods, and to those who imitate the gods, is not broken off, nor does it cease; but it would surely cease were it borrowed from without. Just because it is not in the power of another to bestow, neither is it subject to another's whims. That which Fortune has not given, she cannot take away. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 60. On Harmful Prayers

1. I file a complaint, I enter a suit, I am angry. Do you still desire what your nurse, your guardian, or your mother, have prayed for in your behalf? Do you not yet understand what evil they prayed for? Alas, how hostile to us are the wishes of our own folk! And they are all the more hostile in proportion as they are more completely fulfilled. It is no surprise to me, at my age, that nothing but evil attends us from our early youth; for we have grown up amid the curses invoked by our parents. And may the gods give ear to our cry also, uttered in our own behalf, – one which asks no favours!

2. How long shall we go on making demands upon the gods, as if we were still unable to support ourselves? How long shall we continue to fill with grain the market-places of our great cities? How long must the people gather it in for us? How long shall many ships convey the requisites for a single meal, bringing them from no single sea? The bull is filled when he feeds over a few acres; and one forest is large enough for a herd of elephants. Man, however, draws sustenance both from the earth and from the sea.

3. What, then? Did nature give us bellies so insatiable, when she gave us these puny bodies, that we should outdo the hugest and most voracious animals in greed? Not at all. How small is the amount which will satisfy nature? A very little will send her away contented. It is not the natural hunger of our bellies that costs us dear, but our solicitous cravings.

4. Therefore those who, as Sallust puts it, "hearken to their bellies," should be numbered among the animals, and not among men; and certain men, indeed, should be numbered, not even among the animals, but among the dead. He really lives who is made use of by many; he really lives who makes use of himself. Those men, however, who creep into a hole and grow torpid are no better off in their homes than if they were in their tombs. Right there on the marble lintel of the house of such a man you may inscribe his name [i.e., you may put an epitaph upon his dwelling as if it were a tomb.], for he has died before he is dead. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 61. On Meeting Death Cheerfully

1. Let us cease to desire that which we have been desiring. I, at least, am doing this: in my old age I have ceased to desire what I desired when a boy. To this single end my days and my nights are passed; this is my task, this the object of my thoughts, – to put an end to my chronic ills. I am endeavouring to live every day as if it were a complete life. I do not indeed snatch it up as if it were my last; I do regard it, however, as if it might even be my last.

2. The present letter is written to you with this in mind, – as if death were about to call me away in the very act of writing. I am ready to depart, and I shall enjoy life just because I am not over-anxious as to the future date of my departure. Before I became old I tried to live well; now that I am old, I shall try to die well; but dying well means dying gladly. See to it that you never do anything unwillingly.

3. That which is bound to be a necessity if you rebel, is not a necessity if you desire it. This is what I mean: he who takes his orders gladly, escapes the bitterest part of slavery, – doing what one does not want to do. The man who does something under orders is not unhappy; he is unhappy who does something against his will. Let us therefore so set our minds in order that we may desire whatever is demanded of us by circumstances, and above all that we may reflect upon our end without sadness.

4. We must make ready for death before we make ready for life. Life is well enough furnished, but we are too greedy with regard to its furnishings; something always seems to us lacking, and will always seem lacking. To have lived long enough depends neither upon our years nor upon our days, but upon our minds. I have lived, my dear friend Lucilius, long enough. I have had my fill; I await death. Farewell.

LETTER 62. On Good Company

1. We are deceived by those who would have us believe that a multitude of affairs blocks their pursuit of liberal studies; they make a pretence of their engagements, and multiply them, when their engagements are merely with themselves. As for me, Lucilius, my time is free; it is indeed free, and wherever I am, I am master of myself. For I do not surrender myself to my affairs, but loan myself to them, and I do not hunt out excuses for wasting my time. And wherever I am situated, I carry on my own meditations and ponder in my mind some wholesome thought.

2. When I give myself to my friends, I do not withdraw from my own company, nor do I linger with those who are associated with me through some special occasion or some case which arises from my official position. But I spend my time in the company of all the best; no matter in what lands they may have lived, or in what age, I let my thoughts fly to them.

3. Demetrius*, for instance, the best of men, I take about with me, and, leaving the wearers of purple and fine linen, I talk with him, half-naked as he is, and hold him in high esteem. [*Demetrius of Sunium, the Cynic philosopher, who taught in Rome in the reign of Caligula and was banished by Nero.] Why should I not hold him in high esteem? I have found that he lacks nothing. It is in the power of any man to despise all things, but of no man to possess all things. The shortest cut to riches is to despise riches. Our friend Demetrius, however, lives not merely as if he has learned to despise all things, but as if he has handed them over for others to possess [i.e., he has achieved the Stoic ideal of independence of all external control; he is a king and has all things to bestow upon others, but needs nothing for himself.]. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 63. On Grief for Lost Friends

1. I am grieved to hear that your friend Flaccus is dead, but I would not have you sorrow more than is fitting. That you should not mourn at all I shall hardly dare to insist; and yet I know that it is the better way. But what man will ever be so blessed with that ideal steadfastness of soul, unless he has already risen far above the reach of Fortune? Even such a man will be stung by an event like this, but it will be only a sting. We, however, may be forgiven for bursting into tears, if only our tears have not flowed to excess, and if we have checked them by our own efforts. Let not the eyes be dry when we have lost a friend, nor let them overflow. We may weep, but we must not wail.

2. Do you think that the law which I lay down for you is harsh, when the greatest of Greek poets has extended the privilege of weeping to one day only, in the lines where he tells us that even Niobe took thought of food? Do you wish to know the reason for lamentations and excessive weeping? It is because we seek the proofs of our bereavement in our tears, and do not give way to sorrow, but merely parade it. No man goes into mourning for his own sake. Shame on our ill-timed folly! There is an element of self-seeking even in our sorrow.

3. "What," you say, "am I to forget my friend?" It is surely a short-lived memory that you vouchsafe to him, if it is to endure only as long as your grief; presently that brow of yours will be smoothed out in laughter by some circumstance, however casual. It is to a time no more distant than this that I put off the soothing of every regret, the quieting of even the bitterest grief. As soon as you cease to observe yourself, the picture of sorrow which you have contemplated will fade away; at present you are keeping watch over your own suffering. But even while you keep watch it slips away from you, and the sharper it is, the more speedily it comes to an end.

4. Let us see to it that the recollection of those whom we have lost becomes a pleasant memory to us. No man reverts with pleasure to any subject which he will not be able to reflect upon without pain. So too it cannot but be that the names of those whom we have loved and lost come back to us with a sort of sting; but there is a pleasure even in this sting. 5. For, as my friend Attalus* used to say: "The remembrance of lost friends is pleasant in the same way that certain fruits have an agreeably acid taste, or as in extremely old wines it is their very bitterness that pleases us. Indeed, after a certain lapse of time, every thought that gave pain is quenched, and the pleasure comes to us unalloyed." [*The teacher of Seneca, often mentioned by him.]

6. If we take the word of Attalus for it, "to think of friends who are alive and well is like enjoying a meal of cakes and honey; the recollection of friends who have passed away gives a pleasure that is not without a touch of bitterness. Yet who will deny that even these things, which are bitter and contain an element of sourness, do serve to arouse the stomach?"

7. For my part, I do not agree with him. To me, the thought of my dead friends is sweet and appealing. For I have had them as if I should one day lose them; I have lost them as if I have them still. Therefore, Lucilius, act as befits your own serenity of mind, and cease to put a wrong interpretation on the gifts of Fortune. Fortune has taken away, but Fortune has given.

8. Let us greedily enjoy our friends, because we do not know how long this privilege will be ours. Let us think how often we shall leave them when we go upon distant journeys, and how often we shall fail to see them when we tarry together in the same place; we shall thus understand that we have lost too much of their time while they were alive.

9. But will you tolerate men who are most careless of their friends, and then mourn them most abjectly, and do not love anyone unless they have lost him? The reason why they lament too unrestrainedly at such times is that they are afraid lest men doubt whether they really have loved; all too late they seek for proofs of their emotions.

10. If we have other friends, we surely deserve ill at their hands and think ill of them, if they are of so little account that they fail to console us for the loss of one. If, on the other hand, we have no other friends, we have injured ourselves more than Fortune has injured us; since Fortune has robbed us of one friend, but we have robbed ourselves of every friend whom we have failed to make.

11. Again, he who has been unable to love more than one, has had none too much love even for that one. [The reason is, as Lipsius observed, that friendship is essentially a social virtue, and is not confined to one object. The pretended friendship for one and only one is a form of self-love, and is not unselfish love.] If a man who has lost his one and only tunic through robbery chooses to bewail his plight rather than look about him for some way to escape the cold, or for something with which to cover his shoulders, would you not think him an utter fool? You have buried one whom you loved; look about for someone to love. It is better to replace your friend than to weep for him.

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12. What I am about to add is, I know, a very hackneyed remark, but I shall not omit it simply because it is a common phrase: A man ends his grief by the mere passing of time, even if he has not ended it of his own accord. But the most shameful cure for sorrow, in the case of a sensible man, is to grow weary of sorrowing. I should prefer you to abandon grief, rather than have grief abandon you; and you should stop grieving as soon as possible, since, even if you wish to do so, it is impossible to keep it up for a long time.

13. Our forefathers have enacted that, in the case of women, a year should be the limit for mourning; not that they needed to mourn for so long, but that they should mourn no longer. In the case of men, no rules are laid down, because to mourn at all is not regarded as honourable. For all that, what woman can you show me, of all the pathetic females that could scarcely be dragged away from the funeral-pile or torn from the corpse, whose tears have lasted a whole month? Nothing becomes offensive so quickly as grief; when fresh, it finds someone to console it and attracts one or another to itself; but after becoming chronic, it is ridiculed, and rightly. For it is either assumed or foolish.

14. He who writes these words to you is no other than I, who wept so excessively for my dear friend Annaeus Serenus* that, in spite of my wishes, I must be included among the examples of men who have been overcome by grief. [*An intimate friend of Seneca, probably a relative, who died in the year 63 from eating poisoned mushrooms (Pliny, N. H. 22. 96). Seneca dedicated to Serenus several of his philosophical essays.] To-day, however, I condemn this act of mine, and I understand that the reason why I lamented so greatly was chiefly that I had never imagined it possible for his death to precede mine. The only thought which occurred to my mind was that he was the younger, and much younger, too, – as if the Fates kept to the order of our ages!

15. Therefore let us continually think as much about our own mortality as about that of all those we love. In former days I ought to have said: "My friend Serenus is younger than I; but what does that matter? He would naturally die after me, but he may precede me." It was just because I did not do this that I was unprepared when Fortune dealt me the sudden blow. Now is the time for you to reflect, not only that all things are mortal, but also that their mortality is subject to no fixed law. Whatever can happen at any time can happen to-day.

16. Let us therefore reflect, my beloved Lucilius, that we shall soon come to the goal which this friend, to our own sorrow, has reached. And perhaps, if only the tale told by wise men is true and there is a bourne to welcome us, then he whom we think we have lost has only been sent on ahead. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 64. On the Philosopher's Task

1. Yesterday you were with us. You might complain if I said "yesterday" merely. This is why I have added "with us." For, so far as I am concerned, you are always with me. Certain friends had happened in, on whose account a somewhat brighter fire was laid, – not the kind that generally bursts from the kitchen chimneys of the rich and scares the watch, but the moderate blaze which means that guests have come.

2. Our talk ran on various themes, as is natural at a dinner; it pursued no chain of thought to the end, but jumped from one topic to another. We then had read to us a book by Quintus Sextius the Elder. He is a great man, if you have any confidence in my opinion, and a real Stoic, though he himself denies it.

3. Ye Gods, what strength and spirit one finds in him! This is not the case with all philosophers; there are some men of illustrious name whose writings are sapless. They lay down rules, they argue, and they quibble; they do not infuse spirit simply because they have no spirit. But when you come to read Sextius, you will say: "He is alive; he is strong; he is free; he is more than a man; he fills me with a mighty confidence before I close his book."

4. I shall acknowledge to you the state of mind I am in when I read his works: I want to challenge every hazard; I want to cry: "Why keep me waiting, Fortune? Enter the lists! Behold, I am ready for you!" I assume the spirit of a man who seeks where he may make trial of himself, where he may show his worth:

And fretting 'mid the unwarlike flocks he prays
Some foam-flecked boar may cross his path, or else
A tawny lion stalking down the hills.

5. I want something to overcome, something on which I may test my endurance. For this is another remarkable quality that Sextius possesses: he will show you the grandeur of the happy life and yet will not make you despair of attaining it; you will understand that it is on high, but that it is accessible to him who has the will to seek it.

6. And virtue herself will have the same effect upon you, of making you admire her and yet hope to attain her. In my own case, at any rate the very contemplation of wisdom takes much of my time; I gaze upon her with bewilderment, just as I sometimes gaze upon the firmament itself, which I often behold as if I saw it for the first time.

7. Hence I worship the discoveries of wisdom and their discoverers; to enter, as it were, into the inheritance of many predecessors is a delight. It was for me that they laid up this treasure; it was for me that they toiled. But we should play the part of a careful householder; we should increase what we have inherited. This inheritance shall pass from me to my descendants larger than before. Much still remains to do, and much will always remain, and he who shall be born a thousand ages hence will not be barred from his opportunity of adding something further.

8. But even if the old masters have discovered everything, one thing will be always new, – the application and the scientific study and classification of the discoveries made by others. Assume that prescriptions have been handed down to us for the healing of the eyes; there is no need of my searching for others in addition; but for all that, these prescriptions must be adapted to the particular disease and to the particular stage of the disease. Use this prescription to relieve granulation of the eyelids, that to reduce the swelling of the lids, this to prevent sudden pain or a rush of tears, that to sharpen the vision. Then compound these several prescriptions, watch for the right time of their application, and apply the proper treatment in each case. The cures for the spirit also have been discovered by the ancients; but it is our task to learn the method and the time of treatment.

9. Our predecessors have worked much improvement, but have not worked out the problem. They deserve respect, however, and should be worshipped with a divine ritual. Why should I not keep statues of great men to kindle my enthusiasm, and celebrate their birthdays? Why should I not continually greet them with respect and honour? The reverence which I owe to my own teachers I owe in like measure to those teachers of the human race, the source from which the beginnings of such great blessings have flowed.

10. If I meet a consul or a praetor, I shall pay him all the honour which his post of honour is wont to receive: I shall dismount, uncover, and yield the road. What, then? Shall I admit into my soul with less than the highest marks of respect Marcus Cato, the Elder and the Younger, Laelius the Wise, Socrates and Plato, Zeno and Cleanthes? I worship them in very truth, and always rise to do honour to such noble names. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 65. On the First Cause

1. I shared my time yesterday with ill health; it claimed for itself all the period before noon; in the afternoon, however, it yielded to me. And so I first tested my spirit by reading; then, when reading was found to be possible, I dared to make more demands upon the spirit, or perhaps I should say, to make more concessions to it. I wrote a little, and indeed with more concentration than usual, for I am struggling with a difficult subject and do not wish to be downed. In the midst of this, some friends visited me, with the purpose of employing force and of restraining me, as if I were a sick man indulging in some excess.

2. So conversation was substituted for writing; and from this conversation I shall communicate to you the topic which is still the subject of debate; for we have appointed you referee*. You have more of a task on your hands than you suppose, for the argument is threefold. [*The arbiter was a judge appointed to try a case according to bona fides (equity), as contrasted with the iudex proper, whose duty was defined by the magistrate.] Our Stoic philosophers, as you know, declare that there are two things in the universe which are the source of everything, – namely, cause and matter. Matter lies sluggish, a substance ready for any use, but sure to remain unemployed if no one sets it in motion. Cause, however, by which we mean reason, moulds matter and turns it in whatever direction it will, producing thereby various concrete results. Accordingly, there must be, in the case of each thing, that from which it is made, and, next, an agent by which it is made. The former is its material, the latter its cause.

3. All art is but imitation of nature; therefore, let me apply these statements of general principles to the things which have to be made by man. A statue, for example, has afforded matter which was to undergo treatment at the hands of the artist, and has had an artist who was to give form to the matter. Hence, in the case of the statue, the material was bronze, the cause was the workman. And so it goes with all things, – they consist of that which is made, and of the maker.

4. The Stoics believe in one cause only, – the maker; but Aristotle thinks that the word "cause" can be used in three ways: "The first cause," he says, "is the actual matter, without which nothing can be created. The second is the workman. The third is the form, which is impressed upon every work, – a statue, for example." This last is what Aristotle calls the idos. "There is, too," says he, "a fourth, – the purpose of the work as a whole."

5. Now I shall show you what this last means. Bronze is the "first cause" of the statue, for it could never have been made unless there had been something from which it could be cast and moulded. The "second cause" is the artist; for without the skilled hands of a workman that bronze could not have been shaped to the outlines of the statue. The "third cause" is the form, inasmuch as our statue could never be called The Lance-Bearer or The Boy Binding his Hair, had not this special shape been stamped upon it. The "fourth cause" is the purpose of the work. For if this purpose had not existed, the statue would not have been made.

6. Now what is this purpose? It is that which attracted the artist, which he followed when he made the statue. It may have been money, if he has made it for sale; or renown, if he has worked for reputation; or religion, if he has wrought it as a gift for a temple. Therefore this also is a cause contributing towards the making of the statue; or do you think that we should avoid including, among the causes of a thing which has been made, that element without which the thing in question would not have been made?

7. To these four Plato adds a fifth cause, – the pattern which he himself calls the "idea"; for it is this that the artist gazed upon when he created the work which he had decided to carry out. Now it makes no difference whether he has his pattern outside himself, that he may direct his glance to it, or within himself, conceived and placed there by himself. God has within himself these patterns of all things, and his mind comprehends the harmonies and the measures of the whole totality of things which are to be carried out; he is filled with these shapes which Plato calls the "ideas," – imperishable, unchangeable, not subject to decay. And therefore, though men die, humanity itself, or the idea of man, according to which man is moulded, lasts on, and though men toil and perish, it suffers no change.

8. Accordingly, there are five causes, as Plato says: the material, the agent, the make-up, the model, and the end in view. Last comes the result of all these. Just as in the case of the statue, – to go back to the figure with which we began, – the material is the bronze, the agent is the artist, the make-up is the form which is adapted to the material, the model is the pattern imitated by the agent, the end in view is the purpose in the maker's mind, and, finally, the result of all these is the statue itself.

9. The universe also, in Plato's opinion, possesses all these elements. The agent is God; the source, matter; the form, the shape and the arrangement of the visible world. The pattern is doubtless the model according to which God has made this great and most beautiful creation.

10. The purpose is his object in so doing. Do you ask what God's purpose is? It is goodness. Plato, at any rate, says: "What was God's reason for creating the world? God is good, and no good person is grudging of anything that is good. Therefore, God made it the best world possible." Hand down your opinion, then, O judge; state who seems to you to say what is truest, and not who says what is absolutely true. For to do that is as far beyond our ken as truth itself.

11. This throng of causes, defined by Aristotle and by Plato, embraces either too much or too little. For if they regard as "causes" of an object that is to be made everything without which the object cannot be made, they have named too few. Time must be included among the causes; for nothing can be made without time. They must also include place; for if there be no place where a thing can be made, it will not be made. And motion too; nothing is either made or destroyed without motion. There is no art without motion, no change of any kind.

12. Now, however, I am searching for the first, the general cause; this must be simple, inasmuch as matter, too, is simple. Do we ask what cause is? It is surely Creative Reason, – in other words, God. For those elements to which you referred are not a great series of independent causes; they all hinge on one alone, and that will be the creative cause.

13. Do you maintain that form is a cause? This is only what the artist stamps upon his work; it is part of a cause, but not the cause. Neither is the pattern a cause, but an indispensable tool of the cause. His pattern is as indispensable to the artist as the chisel or the file; without these, art can make no progress. But for all that, these things are neither parts of the art, nor causes of it.

14. "Then," perhaps you will say, "the purpose of the artist, that which leads him to undertake to create something, is the cause." It may be a cause; it is not, however, the efficient cause, but only an accessory cause. But there are countless accessory causes; what we are discussing is the general cause. Now the statement of Plato and Aristotle is not in accord with their usual penetration, when they maintain that the whole universe, the perfectly wrought work, is a cause. For there is a great difference between a work and the cause of a work.

15. Either give your opinion, or, as is easier in cases of this kind, declare that the matter is not clear and call for another hearing. But you will reply: "What pleasure do you get from wasting your time on these problems, which relieve you of none of your emotions, rout none of your desires?" So far as I am concerned, I treat and discuss them as matters which contribute greatly toward calming the spirit, and I search myself first, and then the world about me.

16. And not even now am I, as you think, wasting my time. For all these questions, provided that they be not chopped up and torn apart into such unprofitable refinements, elevate and lighten the soul, which is weighted down by a heavy burden

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and desires to be freed and to return to the elements of which it was once a part. For this body of ours is a weight upon the soul and its penance; as the load presses down the soul is crushed and is in bondage, unless philosophy has come to its assistance and has bid it take fresh courage by contemplating the universe, and has turned it from things earthly to things divine. There it has its liberty, there it can roam abroad*; meantime it escapes the custody in which it is bound, and renews its life in heaven. [*According to the Stoics the soul, which consisted of fire or breath and was a part of the divine essence, rose at death into the ether and became one with the stars. Seneca elsewhere states that the soul went through a sort of purifying process, – a view which may have had some influence on Christian thought. The souls of the good, the Stoics maintained, were destined to last until the end of the world, the souls of the bad to be extinguished before that time.]

17. Just as skilled workmen, who have been engaged upon some delicate piece of work which wearies their eyes with straining, if the light which they have is niggardly or uncertain, go forth into the open air and in some park devoted to the people's recreation delight their eyes in the generous light of day; so the soul, imprisoned as it has been in this gloomy and darkened house, seeks the open sky whenever it can, and in the contemplation of the universe finds rest.

18. The wise man, the seeker after wisdom, is bound closely, indeed, to his body, but he is an absentee so far as his better self is concerned, and he concentrates his thoughts upon lofty things. Bound, so to speak, to his oath of allegiance, he regards the period of life as his term of service. He is so trained that he neither loves nor hates life; he endures a mortal lot, although he knows that an ampler lot is in store for him.

19. Do you forbid me to contemplate the universe? Do you compel me to withdraw from the whole and restrict me to a part? May I not ask what are the beginnings of all things, who moulded the universe, who took the confused and conglomerate mass of sluggish matter, and separated it into its parts? May I not inquire who is the Master-Builder of this universe, how the mighty bulk was brought under the control of law and order, who gathered together the scattered atoms, who separated the disordered elements and assigned an outward form to elements that lay in one vast shapelessness? Or whence came all the expanse of light? And whether is it fire, or something even brighter than fire*? [*The sequence of elements from the earth outwards and upwards was earth, water, air, and fire.]

20. Am I not to ask these questions? Must I be ignorant of the heights whence I have descended? Whether I am to see this world but once, or to be born many times? What is my destination afterwards? What abode awaits my soul on its release from the laws of slavery among men? Do you forbid me to have a share in heaven? In other words, do you bid me live with my head bowed down?

21. No, I am above such an existence; I was born to a greater destiny than to be a mere chattel of my body, and I regard this body as nothing but a chain* which manacles my freedom. [*The "prison of the body" is a frequent figure in Stoic as in all philosophy.] Therefore, I offer it as a sort of buffer to fortune, and shall allow no wound to penetrate through to my soul. For my body is the only part of me which can suffer injury. In this dwelling, which is exposed to peril, my soul lives free.

22. Never shall this flesh drive me to feel fear, or to assume any pretence that is unworthy of a good man. Never shall I lie in order to honour this petty body. When it seems proper, I shall sever my connexion with it. And at present, while we are bound together, our alliance shall nevertheless not be one of equality; the soul shall bring all quarrels before its own tribunal. To despise our bodies is sure freedom.

23. To return to our subject; this freedom will be greatly helped by the contemplation of which we were just speaking. All things are made up of matter and of God; God controls matter, which encompasses him and follows him as its guide and leader. And that which creates, in other words, God, is more powerful and precious than matter, which is acted upon by God.

24. God's place in the universe corresponds to the soul's relation to man. World-matter corresponds to our mortal body; therefore let the lower serve the higher. Let us be brave in the face of hazards. Let us not fear wrongs, or wounds, or bonds, or poverty. And what is death? It is either the end, or a process of change. I have no fear of ceasing to exist; it is the same as not having begun. Nor do I shrink from changing into another state, because I shall, under no conditions, be as cramped as I am now. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 66. On Various Aspects of Virtue

1. I have just seen my former school-mate Claranus for the first time in many years. You need not wait for me to add that he is an old man; but I assure you that I found him hale in spirit and sturdy, although he is wrestling with a frail and feeble body. For Nature acted unfairly when she gave him a poor domicile for so rare a soul; or perhaps it was because she wished to prove to us that an absolutely strong and happy mind can lie hidden under any exterior. Be that as it may, Claranus overcomes all these hindrances, and by despising his own body has arrived at a stage where he can despise other things also.

2. The poet who sang

Worth shows more pleasing in a form that's fair,

is, in my opinion, mistaken. For virtue needs nothing to set it off; it is its own great glory, and it hallows the body in which it dwells. At any rate, I have begun to regard Claranus in a different light; he seems to me handsome, and as well-set-up in body as in mind.

3. A great man can spring from a hovel; so can a beautiful and great soul from an ugly and insignificant body. For this reason Nature seems to me to breed certain men of this stamp with the idea of proving that virtue springs into birth in any place whatever. Had it been possible for her to produce souls by themselves and naked, she would have done so; as it is, Nature does a still greater thing, for she produces certain men who, though hampered in their bodies, none the less break through the obstruction.

4. I think Claranus has been produced as a pattern, that we might be enabled to understand that the soul is not disfigured by the ugliness of the body, but rather the opposite, that the body is beautified by the comeliness of the soul.

Now, though Claranus and I have spent very few days together, we have nevertheless had many conversations, which I will at once pour forth and pass on to you.

5. The first day we investigated this problem: how can goods be equal if they are of three kinds? [Seneca is speaking of three sorts of circumstances under which the good can manifest itself.] For certain of them, according to our philosophical tenets, are primary, such as joy, peace, and the welfare of one's country. Others are of the second order, moulded in an unhappy material, such as the endurance of suffering, and self-control during severe illness. We shall pray outright for the goods of the first class; for the second class we shall pray only if the need shall arise. There is still a third variety, as, for example, a modest gait, a calm and honest countenance, and a bearing that suits the man of wisdom.

6. Now how can these things be equal when we compare them, if you grant that we ought to pray for the one and avoid the other? If we would make distinctions among them, we had better return to the First Good, and consider what its nature is: the soul that gazes upon truth, that is skilled in what should be sought and what should be avoided, establishing standards of value not according to opinion, but according to nature, – the soul that penetrates the whole world and directs its contemplating gaze upon all its phenomena, paying strict attention to thoughts and actions, equally great and forceful, superior alike to hardships and blandishments, yielding itself to neither extreme of fortune, rising above all blessings and tribulations, absolutely beautiful, perfectly equipped with grace as well as with strength, healthy and sinewy, unruffled, undismayed, one which no violence can shatter, one which acts of chance can neither exalt nor depress, – a soul like this is virtue itself.

7. There you have its outward appearance, if it should ever come under a single view and show itself once in all its completeness. But there are many aspects of it. They unfold themselves according as life varies and as actions differ; but virtue itself does not become less or greater. For the Supreme Good cannot diminish, nor may virtue retrograde; rather is it transformed, now into one quality and now into another, shaping itself according to the part which it is to play.

8. Whatever it has touched it brings into likeness with itself, and dyes with its own colour. It adorns our actions, our friendships, and sometimes entire households which it has entered and set in order. Whatever it has handled it forthwith makes lovable, notable, admirable.

Therefore the power and the greatness of virtue cannot rise to greater heights, because increase is denied to that which is superlatively great. You will find nothing straighter than the straight, nothing truer than the truth, and nothing more temperate than that which is temperate.

9. Every virtue is limitless; for limits depend upon definite measurements. Constancy cannot advance further, any more than fidelity, or truthfulness, or loyalty. What can be added to that which is perfect? Nothing otherwise that was not perfect to which something has been added. Nor can anything be added to virtue, either, for if anything can be added thereto, it must have contained a defect. Honour, also, permits of no addition; for it is honourable because of the very qualities which I have mentioned. What then? Do you think that propriety, justice, lawfulness, do not also belong to the same type, and that they are kept within fixed limits? The ability to increase is proof that a thing is still imperfect.

10. The good, in every instance, is subject to these same laws. The advantage of the state and that of the individual are yoked together; indeed it is as impossible to separate them as to separate the commendable from the desirable. Therefore, virtues are mutually equal; and so are the works of virtue, and all men who are so fortunate as to possess these virtues.

11. But, since the virtues of plants and of animals are perishable, they are also frail and fleeting and uncertain. They spring up, and they sink down again, and for this reason they are not rated at the same value; but to human virtues only one rule applies. For right reason is single and of but one kind. Nothing is more divine than the divine, or more heavenly than the heavenly.

12. Mortal things decay, fall, are worn out, grow up, are exhausted, and replenished. Hence, in their case, in view of the uncertainty of their lot, there is inequality; but of things divine the nature is one. Reason, however, is nothing else than a portion of the divine spirit set in a human body. If reason is divine, and the good in no case lacks reason, then the good in every case is divine. And furthermore, there is no distinction between things divine; hence there is none between goods, either. Therefore it follows that joy and a brave unyielding endurance of torture are equal goods; for in both there is the same greatness of soul relaxed and cheerful in the one case, in the other combative and braced for action.

13. What? Do you not think that the virtue of him who bravely storms the enemy's stronghold is equal to that of him who endures a siege with the utmost patience? Great is Scipio when he invests Numantia, and constrains and compels the hands of an enemy, whom he could not conquer, to resort to their own destruction. Great also are the souls of the defenders – men who know that, as long as the path to death lies open, the blockade is not complete, men who breathe their last in the arms of liberty. In like manner, the other virtues are also equal as compared with one another: tranquillity, simplicity, generosity, constancy, equanimity, endurance. For underlying them all is a single virtue – that which renders the soul straight and unswerving.

14. "What then," you say; "is there no difference between joy and unyielding endurance of pain?" None at all, as regards the virtues themselves; very great, however, in the circumstances in which either of these two virtues is displayed. In the one case, there is a natural relaxation and loosening of the soul; in the other there is an unnatural pain. Hence these circumstances, between which a great distinction can be drawn, belong to the category of indifferent things, but the virtue shown in each case is equal.

15. Virtue is not changed by the matter with which it deals; if the matter is hard and stubborn, it does not make the virtue worse; if pleasant and joyous, it does not make it better. Therefore, virtue necessarily remains equal. For, in each case, what is done is done with equal uprightness, with equal wisdom, and with equal honour. Hence the states of goodness involved are equal, and it is impossible for a man to transcend these states of goodness by conducting himself better, either the one man in his joy, or the other amid his suffering. And two goods, neither of which can possibly be better, are equal.

16. For if things which are extrinsic to virtue can either diminish or increase virtue, then that which is honourable ceases to be the only good. If you grant this, honour has wholly perished. And why? Let me tell you: it is because no act is honourable that is done by an unwilling agent, that is compulsory. Every honourable act is voluntary. Alloy it with reluctance, complaints, cowardice, or fear, and it loses its best characteristic – self-approval. That which is not free cannot be honourable; for fear means slavery.

17. The honourable is wholly free from anxiety and is calm; if it ever objects, laments, or regards anything as an evil, it becomes subject to disturbance and begins to flounder about amid great confusion. For on one side the semblance of right calls to it, on the other the suspicion of evil drags it back. Therefore, when a man is about to do something honourable, he should not regard any obstacles as evils, even though he regard them as inconvenient, but he should will to do the deed, and do it willingly. For every honourable act is done without commands or compulsion; it is unalloyed and contains no admixture of evil.

18. I know what you may reply to me at this point: "Are you trying to make us believe that it does not matter whether a man feels joy, or whether he lies upon the rack and tires out his torturer?" I might say in answer: "Epicurus also maintains that the wise man, though he is being burned in the bull of Phalaris, will cry out: 'Tis pleasant, and concerns me not at all.'" Why need you wonder, if I maintain that he who reclines at a banquet and the victim who stoutly withstands torture possess equal goods, when Epicurus maintains a thing that is harder to believe, namely, that it is pleasant to be roasted in this way?

19. But the reply which I do make, is that there is great difference between joy and pain; if I am asked to choose, I shall seek the former and avoid the latter. The former is according to nature, the latter contrary to it. So long as they are rated by this standard, there is a great gulf between; but when it comes to a question of the virtue involved, the virtue in each case is the same, whether it comes through joy or through sorrow.

20. Vexation and pain and other inconveniences are of no consequence, for they are overcome by virtue. Just as the brightness of the sun dims all lesser lights, so virtue, by its own greatness, shatters and overwhelms all pains, annoyances,

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and wrongs; and wherever its radiance reaches, all lights which shine without the help of virtue are extinguished; and inconveniences, when they come in contact with virtue, play no more important a part than does a storm-cloud at sea.

21. This can be proved to you by the fact that the good man will hasten unhesitatingly to any noble deed; even though he be confronted by the hangman, the torturer, and the stake, he will persist, regarding not what he must suffer, but what he must do; and he will entrust himself as readily to an honourable deed as he would to a good man; he will consider it advantageous to himself, safe, propitious. And he will hold the same view concerning an honourable deed, even though it be fraught with sorrow and hardship, as concerning a good man who is poor or wasting away in exile.

22. Come now, contrast a good man who is rolling in wealth with a man who has nothing, except that in himself he has all things; they will be equally good, though they experience unequal fortune. This same standard, as I have remarked, is to be applied to things as well as to men; virtue is just as praiseworthy if it dwells in a sound and free body, as in one which is sickly or in bondage.

23. Therefore, as regards your own virtue also, you will not praise it any more, if fortune has favoured it by granting you a sound body, than if fortune has endowed you with a body that is crippled in some member, since that would mean rating a master low because he is dressed like a slave. For all those things over which Chance holds sway are chattels, – money, person, position; they are weak, shifting, prone to perish, and of uncertain tenure. On the other hand, the works of virtue are free and unsubdued, neither more worthy to be sought when fortune treats them kindly, nor less worthy when any adversity weighs upon them.

24. Now friendship in the case of men corresponds to desirability in the case of things. You would not, I fancy, love a good man if he were rich any more than if he were poor, nor would you love a strong and muscular person more than one who was slender and of delicate constitution. Accordingly, neither will you seek or love a good thing that is mirthful and tranquil more than one that is full of perplexity and toil.

25. Or, if you do this, you will, in the case of two equally good men, care more for him who is neat and well-groomed than for him who is dirty and unkempt. You would next go so far as to care more for a good man who is sound in all his limbs and without blemish, than for one who is weak or purblind; and gradually your fastidiousness would reach such a point that, of two equally just and prudent men, you would choose him who has long curling hair! Whenever the virtue in each one is equal, the inequality in their other attributes is not apparent. For all other things are not parts, but merely accessories.

26. Would any man judge his children so unfairly as to care more for a healthy son than for one who was sickly, or for a tall child of unusual stature more than for one who was short or of middling height? Wild beasts show no favouritism among their offspring; they lie down in order to suckle all alike; birds make fair distribution of their food. Ulysses hastens back to the rocks of his Ithaca as eagerly as Agamemnon speeds to the kingly walls of Mycenae. For no man loves his native land because it is great; he loves it because it is his own.

27. And what is the purpose of all this? That you may know that virtue regards all her works in the same light, as if they were her children, showing equal kindness to all, and still deeper kindness to those which encounter hardships; for even parents lean with more affection towards those of their offspring for whom they feel pity. Virtue, too, does not necessarily love more deeply those of her works which she beholds in trouble and under heavy burdens, but, like good parents, she gives them more of her fostering care.

28. Why is no good greater than any other good? It is because nothing can be more fitting than that which is fitting, and nothing more level than that which is level. You cannot say that one thing is more equal to a given object than another thing; hence also nothing is more honourable than that which is honourable.

29. Accordingly, if all the virtues are by nature equal, the three varieties of goods are equal. This is what I mean: there is an equality between feeling joy with self-control and suffering pain with self-control. The joy in the one case does not surpass in the other the steadfastness of soul that gulps down the groan when the victim is in the clutches of the torturer; goods of the first kind are desirable, while those of the second are worthy of admiration; and in each case they are none the less equal, because whatever inconvenience attaches to the latter is compensated by the qualities of the good, which is so much greater.

30. Any man who believes them to be unequal is turning his gaze away from the virtues themselves and is surveying mere externals; true goods have the same weight and the same width. The spurious sort contain much emptiness; hence, when they are weighed in the balance, they are found wanting, although they look imposing and grand to the gaze.

31. Yes, my dear Lucilius, the good which true reason approves is solid and everlasting; it strengthens the spirit and exalts it, so that it will always be on the heights; but those things which are thoughtlessly praised, and are goods in the opinion of the mob merely puff us up with empty joy. And again, those things which are feared as if they were evils merely inspire trepidation in men's minds, for the mind is disturbed by the semblance of danger, just as animals are disturbed.

32. Hence it is without reason that both these things distract and sting the spirit; the one is not worthy of joy, nor the other of fear. It is reason alone that is unchangeable, that holds fast to its decisions. For reason is not a slave to the senses, but a ruler over them. Reason is equal to reason, as one straight line to another; therefore virtue also is equal to virtue. Virtue is nothing else than right reason. All virtues are reasons. Reasons are reasons, if they are right reasons. If they are right, they are also equal.

33. As reason is, so also are actions; therefore all actions are equal. For since they resemble reason, they also resemble each other. Moreover, I hold that actions are equal to each other in so far as they are honourable and right actions. There will be, of course, great differences according as the material varies, as it becomes now broader and now narrower, now glorious and now base, now manifold in scope and now limited. However, that which is best in all these cases is equal; they are all honourable.

34. In the same way, all good men, in so far as they are good, are equal. There are, indeed, differences of age, – one is older, another younger; of body, – one is comely, another is ugly; of fortune, – this man is rich, that man poor, this one is influential, powerful, and well-known to cities and peoples, that man is unknown to most, and is obscure. But all, in respect of that wherein they are good, are equal.

35. The senses* do not decide upon things good and evil; they do not know what is useful and what is not useful. [*Here Seneca is reminding Lucillius, as he so often does in the earlier letters, that the evidence of the senses is only a stepping-stone to higher ideas – an Epicurean tenet.]They cannot record their opinion unless they are brought face to face with a fact; they can neither see into the future nor recollect the past; and they do not know what results from what. But it is from such knowledge that a sequence and succession of actions is woven, and a unity of life is created, – a unity which will proceed in a straight course. Reason, therefore, is the judge of good and evil; that which is foreign and external she regards as dross, and that which is neither good nor evil she judges as merely accessory, insignificant and trivial. For all her good resides in the soul.

36. But there are certain goods which reason regards as primary, to which she addresses herself purposely; these are, for example, victory, good children, and the welfare of one's country. Certain others she regards as secondary; these become manifest only in adversity, – for example, equanimity in enduring severe illness or exile. Certain goods are indifferent; these are no more according to nature than contrary to nature, as, for example, a discreet gait and a sedate posture in a chair. For sitting is an act that is not less according to nature than standing or walking.

37. The two kinds of goods which are of a higher order are different; the primary are according to nature, – such as deriving joy from the dutiful behaviour of one's children and from the well-being of one's country. The secondary are contrary to nature, – such as fortitude in resisting torture or in enduring thirst when illness makes the vitals feverish.

38. "What then," you say; "can anything that is contrary to nature be a good?" Of course not; but that in which this good takes its rise is sometimes contrary to nature. For being wounded, wasting away over a fire, being afflicted with bad health, – such things are contrary to nature; but it is in accordance with nature for a man to preserve an indomitable soul amid such distresses.

39. To explain my thought briefly, the material with which a good is concerned is sometimes contrary to nature, but a good itself never is contrary, since no good is without reason, and reason is in accordance with nature. "What, then," you ask, "is reason?" It is copying nature. "And what," you say, "is the greatest good that man can possess?" It is to conduct oneself according to what nature wills.

40. "There is no doubt," says the objector, "that peace affords more happiness when it has not been assailed than when it has been recovered at the cost of great slaughter." "There is no doubt also," he continues, "that health which has not been impaired affords more happiness than health which has been restored to soundness by means of force, as it were, and by endurance of suffering, after serious illnesses that threaten life itself. And similarly there will be no doubt that joy is a greater good than a soul's struggle to endure to the bitter end the torments of wounds or burning at the stake."

41. By no means. For things that result from hazard admit of wide distinctions, since they are rated according to their usefulness in the eyes of those who experience them, but with regard to goods, the only point to be considered is that they are in agreement with nature; and this is equal in the case of all goods. When at a meeting of the Senate we vote in favour of someone's motion, it cannot be said, "A. is more in accord with the motion than B." All alike vote for the same motion. I make the same statement with regard to virtues, – they are all in accord with nature; and I make it with regard to goods also, – they are all in accord with nature.

42. One man dies young, another in old age, and still another in infancy, having enjoyed nothing more than a mere glimpse out into life. They have all been equally subject to death, even though death has permitted the one to proceed farther along the pathway of life, has cut off the life of the second in his flower, and has broken off the life of the third at its very beginning.

43. Some get their release at the dinner-table. Others extend their sleep into the sleep of death. Some are blotted out during dissipation. Now contrast with these persons individuals who have been pierced by the sword, or bitten to death by snakes, or crushed in ruins, or tortured piecemeal out of existence by the prolonged twisting of their sinews. Some of these departures may be regarded as better, some as worse; but the act of dying is equal in all. The methods of ending life are different; but the end is one and the same. Death has no degrees of greater or less; for it has the same limit in all instances, – the finishing of life.

44. The same thing holds true, I assure you, concerning goods; you will find one amid circumstances of pure pleasure, another amid sorrow and bitterness. The one controls the favours of fortune; the other overcomes her onslaughts. Each is equally a good, although the one travels a level and easy road, and the other a rough road. And the end of them all is the same: they are goods, they are worthy of praise, they accompany virtue and reason. Virtue makes all the things that it acknowledges equal to one another.

45. You need not wonder that this is one of our principles; we find mentioned in the works of Epicurus two goods, of which his Supreme Good, or blessedness, is composed, namely, a body free from pain and a soul free from disturbance. These goods, if they are complete, do not increase; for how can that which is complete increase? The body is, let us suppose, free from pain; what increase can there be to this absence of pain? The soul is composed and calm; what increase can there be to this tranquillity?

46. Just as fair weather, purified into the purest brilliancy, does not admit of a still greater degree of clearness; so, when a man takes care of his body and of his soul, weaving the texture of his good from both, his condition is perfect, and he has found the consummation of his prayers, if there is no commotion in his soul or pain in his body. Whatever delights fall to his lot over and above these two things do not increase his Supreme Good; they merely season it, so to speak, and add spice to it. For the absolute good of man's nature is satisfied with peace in the body and peace in the soul.

47. I can show you at this moment in the writings of Epicurus a graded list of goods just like that of our own school. For there are some things, he declares, which he prefers should fall to his lot, such as bodily rest free from all inconvenience, and relaxation of the soul as it takes delight in the contemplation of its own goods. And there are other things which, though he would prefer that they did not happen, he nevertheless praises and approves, – for example, the kind of resignation, in times of ill-health and serious suffering, to which I alluded a moment ago, and which Epicurus displayed on that last and most blessed day of his life. For he tells us that he had to endure excruciating agony from a diseased bladder and from an ulcerated stomach, – so acute that it permitted no increase of pain; "and yet," he says, "that day was none the less happy." And no man can spend such a day in happiness unless he possesses the Supreme Good.

48. We therefore find mentioned, even by Epicurus, those goods which one would prefer not to experience; which, however, because circumstances have decided thus, must be welcomed and approved and placed on a level with the highest goods. We cannot say that the good which has rounded out a happy life, the good for which Epicurus rendered thanks in the last words he uttered, is not equal to the greatest.

49. Allow me, excellent Lucilius, to utter a still bolder word: if any goods could be greater than others, I should prefer those which seem harsh to those which are mild and alluring, and should pronounce them greater. For it is more of an accomplishment to break one's way through difficulties than to keep joy within bounds.

50. It requires the same use of reason, I am fully aware, for a man to endure prosperity well and also to endure misfortune bravely. That man may be just as brave who sleeps in front of the ramparts without fear of danger when no enemy attacks the camp, as the man who, when the tendons of his legs have been severed, holds himself up on his knees and does not let fall his weapons; but it is to the blood-stained soldier returning from the front that men cry: "Well done, thou hero!" And therefore I should bestow greater praise upon those goods that have stood trial, and show courage, and have fought it out with fortune.

51. Should I hesitate whether to give greater praise to the maimed and shrivelled hand of Mucius than to the uninjured hand of the bravest man in the world? There stood Mucius, despising the enemy and despising the fire, and watched his

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hand as it dripped blood over the fire on his enemy's altar, until Porsenna, envying the fame of the hero whose punishment he was advocating, ordered the fire to be removed against the will of the victim.

52. Why should I not reckon this good among the primary goods, and deem it in so far greater than those other goods which are unattended by danger and have made no trial of fortune, as it is a rarer thing to have overcome a foe with a hand lost than with a hand armed? "What then?" you say; "shall you desire this good for yourself?" Of course I shall. For this is a thing that a man cannot achieve unless he can also desire it.

53. Should I desire, instead, to be allowed to stretch out my limbs for my slaves to massage, or to have a woman, or a man changed into the likeness of a woman, pull my finger-joints? I cannot help believing that Mucius was all the more lucky because he manipulated the flames as calmly as if he were holding out his hand to the manipulator. He had wiped out all his previous mistakes; he finished the war unarmed and maimed; and with that stump of a hand he conquered two kings. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 67. On Ill-Health and Endurance of Suffering

1. If I may begin with a commonplace remark, spring is gradually disclosing itself; but though it is rounding into summer, when you would expect hot weather, it has kept rather cool, and one cannot yet be sure of it. For it often slides back into winter weather. Do you wish to know how uncertain it still is? I do not yet trust myself to a bath which is absolutely cold; even at this time I break its chill. You may say that this is no way to show the endurance either of heat or of cold; very true, dear Lucilius, but at my time of life one is at length contented with the natural chill of the body. I can scarcely thaw out in the middle of summer. Accordingly, I spend most of the time bundled up;

2. and I thank old age for keeping me fastened to my bed [Seneca had a delicate constitution. In the letters he speaks of suffering from asthma (54), catarrh (78), and fever (104).]. Why should I not thank old age on this account? That which I ought not to wish to do, I lack the ability to do. Most of my converse is with books. Whenever your letters arrive, I imagine that I am with you, and I have the feeling that I am about to speak my answer, instead of writing it. Therefore let us together investigate the nature of this problem of yours, just as if we were conversing with one another.

3. You ask me whether every good is desirable. You say: "If it is a good to be brave under torture, to go to the stake with a stout heart, to endure illness with resignation, it follows that these things are desirable. But I do not see that any of them is worth praying for. At any rate I have as yet known of no man who has paid a vow by reason of having been cut to pieces by the rod, or twisted out of shape by the gout, or made taller by the rack."

4. My dear Lucilius, you must distinguish between these cases; you will then comprehend that there is something in them that is to be desired. I should prefer to be free from torture; but if the time comes when it must be endured, I shall desire that I may conduct myself therein with bravery, honour, and courage. Of course I prefer that war should not occur; but if war does occur, I shall desire that I may nobly endure the wounds, the starvation, and all that the exigency of war brings. Nor am I so mad as to crave illness; but if I must suffer illness, I shall desire that I may do nothing which shows lack of restraint, and nothing that is unmanly. The conclusion is, not that hardships are desirable, but that virtue is desirable, which enables us patiently to endure hardships.

5. Certain of our school, think that, of all such qualities, a stout endurance is not desirable, – though not to be deprecated either – because we ought to seek by prayer only the good which is unalloyed, peaceful, and beyond the reach of trouble. Personally, I do not agree with them. And why? First, because it is impossible for anything to be good without being also desirable. Because, again, if virtue is desirable, and if nothing that is good lacks virtue, then everything good is desirable. And, lastly, because a brave endurance even under torture is desirable.

6. At this point I ask you: Is not bravery desirable? And yet bravery despises and challenges danger. The most beautiful and most admirable part of bravery is that it does not shrink from the stake, advances to meet wounds, and sometimes does not even avoid the spear, but meets it with opposing breast. If bravery is desirable, so is patient endurance of torture; for this is a part of bravery. Only sift these things, as I have suggested; then there will be nothing which can lead you astray. For it is not mere endurance of torture, but brave endurance, that is desirable. I therefore desire that "brave" endurance; and this is virtue.

7. "But," you say, "who ever desired such a thing for himself?" Some prayers are open and outspoken, when the requests are offered specifically; other prayers are indirectly expressed, when they include many requests under one title. For example, I desire a life of honour. Now a life of honour includes various kinds of conduct; it may include the chest in which Regulus was confined, or the wound of Cato which was torn open by Cato's own hand, or the exile of Rutilius, or the cup of poison which removed Socrates from gaol to heaven. Accordingly, in praying for a life of honour, I have prayed also for those things without which, on some occasions, life cannot be honourable

8. O thrice and four times blest were they
Who underneath the lofty walls of Troy
Met happy death before their parents' eyes!

What does it matter whether you offer this prayer for some individual, or admit that it was desirable in the past?

9. Decius sacrificed himself for the State; he set spurs to his horse and rushed into the midst of the foe, seeking death. The second Decius, rivalling his father's valour, reproducing the words which had become sacred and already household words, dashed into the thickest of the fight, anxious only that his sacrifice might bring omen of success, and regarding a noble death as a thing to be desired. Do you doubt, then, whether it is best to die glorious and performing some deed of valour?

10. When one endures torture bravely, one is using all the virtues. Endurance may perhaps be the only virtue that is on view and most manifest; but bravery is there too, and endurance and resignation and long-suffering are its branches. There, too, is foresight; for without foresight no plan can be undertaken; it is foresight that advises one to bear as bravely as possible the things one cannot avoid. There also is steadfastness, which cannot be dislodged from its position, which the wrench of no force can cause to abandon its purpose. There is the whole inseparable company of virtues; every honourable act is the work of one single virtue, but it is in accordance with the judgement of the whole council. And that which is approved by all the virtues, even though it seems to be the work of one alone, is desirable.

11. What? Do you think that those things only are desirable which come to us amid pleasure and ease, and which we bedeck our doors to welcome? There are certain goods whose features are forbidding. There are certain prayers which are offered by a throng, not of men who rejoice, but of men who bow down reverently and worship.

12. Was it not in this fashion, think you, that Regulus prayed that he might reach Carthage? Clothe yourself with a hero's courage, and withdraw for a little space from the opinions of the common man. Form a proper conception of the image of virtue, a thing of exceeding beauty and grandeur; this image is not to be worshipped by us with incense or garlands, but with sweat and blood.

13. Behold Marcus Cato, laying upon that hallowed breast his unspotted hands, and tearing apart the wounds which had not gone deep enough to kill him! Which, pray, shall you say to him: "I hope all will be as you wish," and "I am grieved," or shall it be "Good fortune in your undertaking!"?

14. In this connexion I think of our friend Demetrius, who calls an easy existence, untroubled by the attacks of Fortune, a "Dead Sea." If you have nothing to stir you up and rouse you to action, nothing which will test your resolution by its threats and hostilities; if you recline in unshaken comfort, it is not tranquillity; it is merely a flat calm.

15. The Stoic Attalus was wont to say: "I should prefer that Fortune keep me in her camp rather than in the lap of luxury. If I am tortured, but bear it bravely, all is well; if I die, but die bravely, it is also well." Listen to Epicurus; he will tell you that it is actually pleasant. I myself shall never apply an effeminate word to an act so honourable and austere. If I go to the stake, I shall go unbeaten.

16. Why should I not regard this as desirable – not because the fire, burns me, but because it does not overcome me? Nothing is more excellent or more beautiful than virtue; whatever we do in obedience to her orders is both good and desirable. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 68. On Wisdom and Retirement

1. I fall in with your plan; retire and conceal yourself in repose. But at the same time conceal your retirement also. In doing this, you may be sure that you will be following the example of the Stoics, if not their precept. But you will be acting according to their precept also; you will thus satisfy both yourself and any Stoic you please.

2. We Stoics* do not urge men to take up public life in every case, or at all times, or without any qualification. [*Stoicism preached "world-citizenship," and this was interpreted in various ways at different periods. The Greek teachers saw in it an opportunity for wider culture; the Romans, a more practical mission.] Besides, when we have assigned to our wise man that field of public life which is worthy of him, – in other words, the universe, – he is then not apart from public life, even if he withdraws; nay, perhaps he has abandoned only one little corner thereof and has passed over into greater and wider regions; and when he has been set in the heavens, he understands how lowly was the place in which he sat when he mounted the curule chair or the judgement-seat. Lay this to heart, – that the wise man is never more active in affairs than when things divine as well as things human have come within his ken.

3. I now return to the advice which I set out to give you, – that you keep your retirement in the background. There is no need to fasten a placard upon yourself with the words: "Philosopher and Quietist." Give your purpose some other name; call it ill-health and bodily weakness, or mere laziness. To boast of our retirement is but idle self-seeking.

4. Certain animals hide themselves from discovery by confusing the marks of their foot-prints in the neighbourhood of their lairs. You should do the same. Otherwise, there will always be someone dogging your footsteps. Many men pass by that which is visible, and peer after things hidden and concealed; a locked room invites the thief. Things which lie in the open appear cheap; the house-breaker passes by that which is exposed to view. This is the way of the world, and the way of all ignorant men: they crave to burst in upon hidden things. It is therefore best not to vaunt one's retirement.

5. It is, however, a sort of vaunting to make too much of one's concealment and of one's withdrawal from the sight of men. So-and-so has gone into his retreat at Tarentum; that other man has shut himself up at Naples; this third person for many years has not crossed the threshold of his own house. To advertise one's retirement is to collect a crowd.

6. When you withdraw from the world your business is to talk with yourself, not to have men talk about you. But what shall you talk about? Do just what people are fond of doing when they talk about their neighbours, – speak ill of yourself when by yourself; then you will become accustomed both to speak and to hear the truth. Above all, however, ponder that which you come to feel is your greatest weakness.

7. Each man knows best the defects of his own body. And so one relieves his stomach by vomiting, another props it up by frequent eating, another drains and purges his body by periodic fasting. Those whose feet are visited by pain abstain either from wine or from the bath. In general, men who are careless in other respects go out of their way to relieve the disease which frequently afflicts them. So it is with our souls; there are in them certain parts which are, so to speak, on the sick-list, and to these parts the cure must be applied.

8. What, then, am I myself doing with my leisure? I am trying to cure my own sores. If I were to show you a swollen foot, or an inflamed hand, or some shrivelled sinews in a withered leg, you would permit me to lie quiet in one place and to apply lotions to the diseased member. But my trouble is greater than any of these, and I cannot show it to you. The abscess, or ulcer, is deep within my breast. Pray, pray, do not commend me, do not say: "What a great man! He has learned to despise all things; condemning the madnesses of man's life, he has made his escape!" I have condemned nothing except myself.

9. There is no reason why you should desire to come to me for the sake of making progress. You are mistaken if you think that you will get any assistance from this quarter; it is not a physician that dwells here, but a sick man. I would rather have you say, on leaving my presence: "I used to think him a happy man and a learned one, and I had pricked up my ears to hear him; but I have been defrauded. I have seen nothing, heard nothing which I craved and which I came back to hear." If you feel thus, and speak thus, some progress has been made. I prefer you to pardon rather than envy my retirement.

10. Then you say: "Is it retirement, Seneca, that you are recommending to me? You will soon be falling back upon the maxims of Epicurus!" I do recommend retirement to you, but only that you may use it for greater and more beautiful activities than those which you have resigned; to knock at the haughty doors of the influential, to make alphabetical lists of childless old men, to wield the highest authority in public life, – this kind of power exposes you to hatred, is short-lived, and, if you rate it at its true value, is tawdry.

11. One man shall be far ahead of me as regards his influence in public life, another in salary as an army officer and in the position which results from this, another in the throng of his clients; but it is worth while to be outdone by all these men, provided that I myself can outdo Fortune. And I am no match for her in the throng; she has the greater backing.

12. Would that in earlier days you had been minded to follow this purpose! Would that we were not discussing the happy life in plain view of death! But even now let us have no delay. For now we can take the word of experience, which tells us that there are many superfluous and hostile things; for this we should long since have taken the word of reason. 13. Let us do what men are wont to do when they are late in setting forth, and wish to make up for lost time by increasing their speed – let us ply the spur. Our time of life is the best possible for these pursuits; for the period of boiling and foaming is now past. The faults that were uncontrolled in the first fierce heat of youth are now weakened, and but little further effort is needed to extinguish them.

14. "And when," you ask, "will that profit you which you do not learn until your departure, and how will it profit you?" Precisely in this way, that I shall depart a better man. You need not think, however, that any time of life is more fitted to the attainment of a sound mind than that which has

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gained the victory over itself by many trials and by long and oft-repeated regret for past mistakes, and, its passions assuaged, has reached a state of health. This is indeed the time to have acquired this good; he who has attained wisdom in his old age, has attained it by his years. Farewell.

LETTER 69. On Rest and Restlessness

1. I do not like you to change your headquarters and scurry about from one place to another. My reasons are, – first, that such frequent flitting means an unsteady spirit. And the spirit cannot through retirement grow into unity unless it has ceased from its inquisitiveness and its wanderings. To be able to hold your spirit in check, you must first stop the runaway flight of the body.

2. My second reason is, that the remedies which are most helpful are those which are not interrupted. You should not allow your quiet, or the oblivion to which you have consigned your former life, to be broken into. Give your eyes time to unlearn what they have seen, and your ears to grow accustomed to more wholesome words. Whenever you stir abroad you will meet, even as you pass from one place to another, things that will bring back your old cravings.

3. Just as he who tries to be rid of an old love must avoid every reminder of the person once held dear (for nothing grows again so easily as love), similarly, he who would lay aside his desire for all the things which he used to crave so passionately, must turn away both eyes and ears from the objects which he has abandoned. The emotions soon return to the attack; 4. at every turn they will notice before their eyes an object worth their attention. There is no evil that does not offer inducements. Avarice promises money; luxury, a varied assortment of pleasures; ambition, a purple robe and applause, and the influence which results from applause, and all that influence can do.

5. Vices tempt you by the rewards which they offer; but in the life of which I speak, you must live without being paid. Scarcely will a whole life-time suffice to bring our vices into subjection and to make them accept the yoke, swollen as they are by long-continued indulgence; and still less, if we cut into our brief span by any interruptions. Even constant care and attention can scarcely bring any one undertaking to full completion.

6. If you will give ear to my advice, ponder and practise this, – how to welcome death, or even, if circumstances commend that course, to invite it. There is no difference whether death comes to us, or whether we go to death. Make yourself believe that all ignorant men are wrong when they say: "It is a beautiful thing to die one's own death." [Perhaps the converse idea of "living one's own life." It means "dying when the proper time comes," and is the common man's argument against suicide.] But there is no man who does not die his own death. What is more, you may reflect on this thought: No one dies except on his own day. You are throwing away none of your own time; for what you leave behind does not belong to you. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 70. On the Proper Time to Slip the Cable

1. After a long space of time I have seen your beloved Pompeii. I was thus brought again face to face with the days of my youth. And it seemed to me that I could still do, nay, had only done a short time ago, all the things which I did there when a young man.

2. We have sailed past life, Lucilius, as if we were on a voyage, and just as when at sea, to quote from our poet Vergil,

Lands and towns are left astern,

even so, on this journey where time flies with the greatest speed, we put below the horizon first our boyhood and then our youth, and then the space which lies between young manhood and middle age and borders on both, and next, the best years of old age itself. Last of all, we begin to sight the general bourne of the race of man.

3. Fools that we are, we believe this bourne to be a dangerous reef; but it is the harbour, where we must some day put in, which we may never refuse to enter; and if a man has reached this harbour in his early years, he has no more right to complain than a sailor who has made a quick voyage. For some sailors, as you know, are tricked and held back by sluggish winds, and grow weary and sick of the slow-moving calm; while others are carried quickly home by steady gales.

4. You may consider that the same thing happens to us: life has carried some men with the greatest rapidity to the harbour, the harbour they were bound to reach even if they tarried on the way, while others it has fretted and harassed. To such a life, as you are aware, one should not always cling. For mere living is not a good, but living well. Accordingly, the wise man will live as long as he ought, not as long as he can.

5. He will mark in what place, with whom, and how he is to conduct his existence, and what he is about to do. He always reflects concerning the quality, and not the quantity, of his life. As soon as there are many events in his life that give him trouble and disturb his peace of mind, he sets himself free. And this privilege is his, not only when the crisis is upon him, but as soon as Fortune seems to be playing him false; then he looks about carefully and sees whether he ought, or ought not, to end his life on that account. He holds that it makes no difference to him whether his taking-off be natural or self-inflicted, whether it comes later or earlier. He does not regard it with fear, as if it were a great loss; for no man can lose very much when but a driblet remains.

6. It is not a question of dying earlier or later, but of dying well or ill. And dying well means escape from the danger of living ill. That is why I regard the words of the well-known Rhodian as most unmanly. This person was thrown into a cage by his tyrant, and fed there like some wild animal. And when a certain man advised him to end his life by fasting, he replied: "A man may hope for anything while he has life."

7. This may be true; but life is not to be purchased at any price. No matter how great or how well-assured certain rewards may be I shall not strive to attain them at the price of a shameful confession of weakness. Shall I reflect that Fortune has all power over one who lives, rather than reflect that she has no power over one who knows how to die?

8. There are times, nevertheless, when a man, even though certain death impends and he knows that torture is in store for him, will refrain from lending a hand to his own punishment, to himself, however, he would lend a hand. [i.e., if he must choose between helping along his punishment by suicide, or helping himself stay alive under torture and practising the virtues thus brought into play, he will choose the latter] It is folly to die through fear of dying. The executioner is upon you; wait for him. Why anticipate him? Why assume the management of a cruel task that belongs to another? Do you grudge your executioner his privilege, or do you merely relieve him of his task?

9. Socrates might have ended his life by fasting; he might have died by starvation rather than by poison. But instead of this he spent thirty days in prison awaiting death, not with the idea "everything may happen," or "so long an interval has room for many a hope" but in order that he might show himself submissive to the laws and make the last moments of Socrates an edification to his friends. What would have been more foolish than to scorn death, and yet fear poison?

10. Scribonia, a woman of the stern old type, was an aunt of Drusus Libo. This young man was as stupid as he was well born, with higher ambitions than anyone could have been expected to entertain in that epoch, or a man like himself in any epoch at all. When Libo had been carried away ill from the senate-house in his litter, though certainly with a very scanty train of followers, – for all his kinsfolk undutifully deserted him, when he was no longer a criminal but a corpse, – he began to consider whether he should commit suicide, or await death. Scribonia said to him: "What pleasure do you find in doing another man's work?" But he did not follow her advice; he laid violent hands upon himself. And he was right, after all; for when a man is doomed to die in two or three days at his enemy's pleasure, he is really "doing another man's work" if he continues to live.

11. No general statement can be made, therefore, with regard to the question whether, when a power beyond our control threatens us with death, we should anticipate death, or await it. For there are many arguments to pull us in either direction. If one death is accompanied by torture, and the other is simple and easy, why not snatch the latter? Just as I shall select my ship when I am about to go on a voyage or my house when I propose to take a residence, so I shall choose my death when I am about to depart from life.

12. Moreover, just as a long-drawn out life does not necessarily mean a better one, so a long-drawn-out death necessarily means a worse one. There is no occasion when the soul should be humoured more than at the moment of death. Let the soul depart as it feels itself impelled to go*; whether it seeks the sword, or the halter, or some draught that attacks the veins, let it proceed and burst the bonds of its slavery. [*When the "natural advantages" of living are outweighed by the corresponding disadvantages, the honourable man may, according to the general Stoic view, take his departure. Socrates and Cato were right in so doing, according to Seneca; but he condemns (Ep. 24:25) those contemporaries who had recourse to suicide as a mere whim of fashion.] Every man ought to make his life acceptable to others besides himself, but his death to himself alone. The best form of death is the one we like.

13. Men are foolish who reflect thus: "One person will say that my conduct was not brave enough; another, that I was too headstrong; a third, that a particular kind of death would have betokened more spirit." What you should really reflect is: "I have under consideration a purpose with which the talk of men has no concern!" Your sole aim should be to escape from Fortune as speedily as possible; otherwise, there will be no lack of persons who will think ill of what you have done.

14. You can find men who have gone so far as to profess wisdom and yet maintain that one should not offer violence to one's own life, and hold it accursed for a man to be the means of his own destruction; we should wait, say they, for the end decreed by nature. But one who says this does not see that he is shutting off the path to freedom. The best thing which eternal law ever ordained was that it allowed to us one entrance into life, but many exits.

15. Must I await the cruelty either of disease or of man, when I can depart through the midst of torture, and shake off my troubles? This is the one reason why we cannot complain of life: it keeps no one against his will. Humanity is well situated, because no man is unhappy except by his own fault. Live, if you so desire; if not, you may return to the place whence you came.

16. You have often been cupped in order to relieve headaches. You have had veins cut for the purpose of reducing your weight. If you would pierce your heart, a gaping wound is not necessary; a lancet will open the way to that great freedom, and tranquillity can be purchased at the cost of a pin-prick.

What, then, is it which makes us lazy and sluggish? None of us reflects that some day he must depart from this house of life; just so old tenants are kept from moving by fondness for a particular place and by custom, even in spite of ill-treatment. 17. Would you be free from the restraint of your body? Live in it as if you were about to leave it. Keep thinking of the fact that some day you will be deprived of this tenure; then you will be more brave against the necessity of departing. But how will a man take thought of his own end, if he craves all things without end?

18. And yet there is nothing so essential for us to consider. For our training in other things is perhaps superfluous. Our souls have been made ready to meet poverty; but our riches have held out. We have armed ourselves to scorn pain; but we have had the good fortune to possess sound and healthy bodies, and so have never been forced to put this virtue to the test. We have taught ourselves to endure bravely the loss of those we love; but Fortune has preserved to us all whom we loved.

19. It is in this one matter only that the day will come which will require us to test our training. You need not think that none but great men have had the strength to burst the bonds of human servitude; you need not believe that this cannot be done except by a Cato, – Cato, who with his hand dragged forth the spirit which he had not succeeded in freeing by the sword. Nay, men of the meanest lot in life have by a mighty impulse escaped to safety, and when they were not allowed to die at their own convenience, or to suit themselves in their choice of the instruments of death, they have snatched up whatever was lying ready to hand, and by sheer strength have turned objects which were by nature harmless into weapons of their own.

20. For example, there was lately in a training-school for wild-beast gladiators a German, who was making ready for the morning exhibition; he withdrew in order to relieve himself, – the only thing which he was allowed to do in secret and without the presence of a guard. While so engaged, he seized the stick of wood, tipped with a sponge, which was devoted to the vilest uses, and stuffed it, just as it was, down his throat; thus he blocked up his windpipe, and choked the breath from his body. That was truly to insult death!

21. Yes, indeed; it was not a very elegant or becoming way to die; but what is more foolish than to be over-nice about dying? What a brave fellow! He surely deserved to be allowed to choose his fate! How bravely he would have wielded a sword! With what courage he would have hurled himself into the depths of the sea, or down a precipice! Cut off from resources on every hand, he yet found a way to furnish himself with death, and with a weapon for death. Hence you can understand that nothing but the will need postpone death. Let each man judge the deed of this most zealous fellow as he likes, provided we agree on this point, – that the foulest death is preferable to the fairest slavery.

22. Inasmuch as I began with an illustration taken from humble life, I shall keep on with that sort. For men will make greater demands upon themselves, if they see that death can be despised even by the most despised class of men. The Catos, the Scipios, and the others whose names we are wont to hear with admiration, we regard as beyond the sphere of imitation; but I shall now prove to you that the virtue of which I speak is found as frequently in the gladiators' training-school as among the leaders in a civil war.

23. Lately a gladiator, who had been sent forth to the morning exhibition, was being conveyed in a cart along with the other prisoners; nodding as if he were heavy with sleep, he let his head fall over so far that it was caught in the spokes; then he kept his body in position long enough to break his neck by the revolution of the wheel. So he made his escape by means of the very wagon which was carrying him to his punishment.

24. When a man desires to burst forth and take his departure, nothing stands in his way. It is an open space in which Nature guards us. When our plight is such as to permit it, we may look about us for an easy exit. If you have many opportunities ready to hand, by means of which you may liberate yourself, you may make a selection and think over the best way of gaining freedom; but if a chance is hard to find, instead of the best, snatch the next best, even though it be

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something unheard of, something new. If you do not lack the courage, you will not lack the cleverness, to die.

25. See how even the lowest class of slave, when suffering goads him on, is aroused and discovers a way to deceive even the most watchful guards! He is truly great who not only has given himself the order to die, but has also found the means. I have promised you, however, some more illustrations drawn from the same games.

26. During the second event in a sham sea-fight one of the barbarians sank deep into his own throat a spear which had been given him for use against his foe. "Why, oh why," he said, "have I not long ago escaped from all this torture and all this mockery? Why should I be armed and yet wait for death to come?" This exhibition was all the more striking because of the lesson men learn from it that dying is more honourable than killing.

27. What, then? If such a spirit is possessed by abandoned and dangerous men, shall it not be possessed also by those who have trained themselves to meet such contingencies by long meditation, and by reason, the mistress of all things? It is reason which teaches us that fate has various ways of approach, but the same end, and that it makes no difference at what point the inevitable event begins.

28. Reason, too, advises us to die, if we may, according to our taste; if this cannot be, she advises us to die according to our ability, and to seize upon whatever means shall offer itself for doing violence to ourselves. It is criminal to "live by robbery"; but, on the other hand, it is most noble to "die by robbery." Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 71. On the Supreme Good

1. You are continually referring special questions to me, forgetting that a vast stretch of sea sunders us. Since, however, the value of advice depends mostly on the time when it is given, it must necessarily result that by the time my opinion on certain matters reaches you, the opposite opinion is the better. For advice conforms to circumstances; and our circumstances are carried along, or rather whirled along. Accordingly, advice should be produced at short notice; and even this is too late; it should "grow while we work," as the saying is. And I propose to show you how you may discover the method.

2. As often as you wish to know what is to be avoided or what is to be sought, consider its relation to the Supreme Good, to the purpose of your whole life. For whatever we do ought to be in harmony with this; no man can set in order the details unless he has already set before himself the chief purpose of his life. The artist may have his colours all prepared, but he cannot produce a likeness unless he has already made up his mind what he wishes to paint. The reason we make mistakes is because we all consider the parts of life, but never life as a whole.

3. The archer must know what he is seeking to hit; then he must aim and control the weapon by his skill. Our plans miscarry because they have no aim. When a man does not know what harbour he is making for, no wind is the right wind. Chance must necessarily have great influence over our lives, because we live by chance.

4. It is the case with certain men, however, that they do not know that they know certain things. Just as we often go searching for those who stand beside us, so we are apt to forget that the goal of the Supreme Good lies near us. To infer the nature of this Supreme Good, one does not need many words or any round-about discussion; it should be pointed out with the forefinger, so to speak, and not be dissipated into many parts. For what good is there in breaking it up into tiny bits, when you can say: the Supreme Good is that which is honourable? Besides (and you may be still more surprised at this), that which is honourable is the only good; all other goods are alloyed and debased.

5. If you once convince yourself of this, and if you come to love virtue devotedly (for mere loving is not enough), anything that has been touched by virtue will be fraught with blessing and prosperity for you, no matter how it shall be regarded by others. Torture, if only, as you lie suffering, you are more calm in mind than your very torturer; illness, if only you curse not Fortune and yield not to the disease – in short, all those things which others regard as ills will become manageable and will end in good, if you succeed in rising above them. Let this once be clear, that there is nothing good except that which is honourable, and all hardships will have a just title to the name of "goods," when once virtue has made them honourable.

6. Many think that we Stoics are holding out expectations greater than our human lot admits of; and they have a right to think so. For they have regard to the body only. But let them turn back to the soul, and they will soon measure man by the standard of God. Rouse yourself, most excellent Lucilius, and leave off all this word-play of the philosophers, who reduce a most glorious subject to a matter of syllables, and lower and wear out the soul by teaching fragments; then you will become like the men who discovered these precepts, instead of those who by their teaching do their best to make philosophy seem difficult rather than great.

7. Socrates, who recalled the whole of philosophy to rules of conduct, and asserted that the highest wisdom consisted in distinguishing between good and evil, said: "Follow these rules, if my words carry weight with you, in order that you may be happy; and let some men think you even a fool. Allow any man who so desires to insult you and work you wrong; but if only virtue dwells with you, you will suffer nothing. If you wish to be happy, if you would be in good faith a good man, let one person or another despise you." No man can accomplish this unless he has come to regard all goods as equal, for the reason that no good exists without that which is honourable, and that which is honourable is in every case equal.

8. You may say: "What then? Is there no difference between Cato's being elected praetor and his failure at the polls? Or whether Cato is conquered or conqueror in the battle-line of Pharsalia? And when Cato could not be defeated, though his party met defeat, was not this goodness of his equal to that which would have been his if he had returned victorious to his native land and arranged a peace?" Of course it was; for it is by the same virtue that evil fortune is overcome and good fortune is controlled. Virtue, however, cannot be increased or decreased; its stature is uniform.

9. "But," you will object, "Gnaeus Pompey will lose his army; the patricians, those noblest patterns of the State's creation, and the front-rank men of Pompey's party, a senate under arms, will be routed in a single engagement; the ruins of that great oligarchy will be scattered all over the world; one division will fall in Egypt, another in Africa, and another in Spain! [Egypt – 47 B.C.; Africa (Thapsus) – 46 B.C.; Spain (Munda) – 45 B.C.] And the poor State will not be allowed even the privilege of being ruined once for all!"

10. Yes, all this may happen; Juba's familiarity with every position in his own kingdom may be of no avail to him, of no avail the resolute bravery of his people when fighting for their king; even the men of Utica, crushed by their troubles, may waver in their allegiance; and the good fortune which ever attended men of the name of Scipio may desert Scipio in Africa. But long ago destiny "saw to it that Cato should come to no harm."

11. "He was conquered in spite of it all!" Well, you may include this among Cato's "failures"; Cato will bear with an equally stout heart anything that thwarts him of his victory, as he bore that which thwarted him of his praetorship. The day whereon he failed of election, he spent in play; the night wherein he intended to die, he spent in reading. He regarded in the same light both the loss of his praetorship and the loss of his life; he had convinced himself that he ought to endure anything which might happen.

12. Why should he not suffer, bravely and calmly, a change in the government? For what is free from the risk of change? Neither earth, nor sky, nor the whole fabric of our universe, though it be controlled by the hand of God. It will not always preserve its present order; it will be thrown from its course in days to come.

13. All things move in accord with their appointed times; they are destined to be born, to grow, and to be destroyed. The stars which you see moving above us, and this seemingly immovable earth to which we cling and on which we are set, will be consumed and will cease to exist. There is nothing that does not have its old age; the intervals are merely unequal at which Nature sends forth all these things towards the same goal. Whatever is will cease to be, and yet it will not perish, but will be resolved into its elements.

14. To our minds, this process means perishing, for we behold only that which is nearest; our sluggish mind, under allegiance to the body, does not penetrate to bournes beyond. Were it not so, the mind would endure with greater courage its own ending and that of its possessions, if only it could hope that life and death, like the whole universe about us, go by turns, that whatever has been put together is broken up again, that whatever has been broken up is put together again, and that the eternal craftsmanship of God, who controls all things, is working at this task.

15. Therefore the wise man will say just what a Marcus Cato would say, after reviewing his past life: "The whole race of man, both that which is and that which is to be, is condemned to die. Of all the cities that at any time have held sway over the world, and of all that have been the splendid ornaments of empires not their own, men shall some day ask where they were, and they shall be swept away by destructions of various kinds; some shall be ruined by wars, others shall be wasted away by inactivity and by the kind of peace which ends in sloth, or by that vice which is fraught with destruction even for mighty dynasties, – luxury. All these fertile plains shall be buried out of sight by a sudden overflowing of the sea, or a slipping of the soil, as it settles to lower levels, shall draw them suddenly into a yawning chasm. Why then should I be angry or feel sorrow, if I precede the general destruction by a tiny interval of time?"

16. Let great souls comply with God's wishes, and suffer unhesitatingly whatever fate the law of the universe ordains; for the soul at death is either sent forth into a better life, destined to dwell with deity amid greater radiance and calm, or else, at least, without suffering any harm to itself, it will be mingled with nature again, and will return to the universe. Therefore Cato's honourable death was no less a good than his honourable life, since virtue admits of no stretching. Socrates used to say that verity and virtue were the same. Just as truth does not grow, so neither does virtue grow; for it has its due proportions and is complete.

17. You need not, therefore, wonder that goods are equal, both those which are to be deliberately chosen, and those which circumstances have imposed. For if you once adopt the view that they are unequal, deeming, for instance, a brave endurance of torture as among the lesser goods, you will be including it among the evils also; you will pronounce Socrates unhappy in his prison, Cato unhappy when he reopens his wounds with more courage than he showed in inflicting them, and Regulus the most ill-starred of all when he pays the penalty for keeping his word even with his enemies. And yet no man, even the most effeminate person in the world, has ever dared to maintain such an opinion. For though such persons deny that a man like Regulus is happy, yet for all that they also deny that he is wretched.

18. The earlier Academics do indeed admit that a man is happy even amid such tortures, but do not admit that he is completely or fully happy. With this view we cannot in any wise agree; for unless a man is happy, he has not attained the Supreme Good; and the good which is supreme admits of no higher degree, if only virtue exists within this man, and if adversity does not impair his virtue, and if, though the body be injured, the virtue abides unharmed. And it does abide. For I understand virtue to be high-spirited and exalted, so that it is aroused by anything that molests it.

19. This spirit, which young men of noble breeding often assume, when they are so deeply stirred by the beauty of some honourable object that they despise all the gifts of chance, is assuredly infused in us and communicated to us by wisdom. Wisdom will bring the conviction that there is but one good – that which is honourable; that this can neither be shortened nor extended, any more than a carpenter's rule, with which straight lines are tested, can be bent. Any change in the rule means spoiling the straight line.

20. Applying, therefore, this same figure to virtue, we shall say: Virtue also is straight, and admits of no bending. What can be made more tense than a thing which is already rigid? Such is virtue, which passes judgement on everything, but nothing passes judgement on virtue. And if this rule, virtue, cannot itself be made more straight, neither can the things created by virtue be in one case straighter and in another less straight. For they must necessarily correspond to virtue; hence they are equal.

21. "What," you say, "do you call reclining at a banquet and submitting to torture equally good?" Does this seem surprising to you? You may be still more surprised at the following, – that reclining at a banquet is an evil, while reclining on the rack is a good, if the former act is done in a shameful, and the latter in an honourable manner. It is not the material that makes these actions good or bad; it is the virtue. All acts in which virtue has disclosed itself are of the same measure and value.

22. At this moment the man who measures the souls of all men by his own is shaking his fist in my face because I hold that there is a parity between the goods involved in the case of one who passes sentence honourably, and of one who suffers sentence honourably; or because I hold that there is a parity between the goods of one who celebrates a triumph, and of one who, unconquered in spirit, is carried before the victor's chariot. For such critics think that whatever they themselves cannot do, is not done; they pass judgement on virtue in the light of their own weaknesses.

23. Why do you marvel if it helps a man, and on occasion even pleases him, to be burned, wounded, slain, or bound in prison? To a luxurious man, a simple life is a penalty; to a lazy man, work is punishment; the dandy pities the diligent man; to the slothful, studies are torture. Similarly, we regard those things with respect to which we are all infirm of disposition, as hard and beyond endurance, forgetting what a torment it is to many men to abstain from wine or to be routed from their beds at break of day. These actions are not essentially difficult; it is we ourselves that are soft and flabby.

24. We must pass judgement concerning great matters with greatness of soul; otherwise, that which is really our fault will seem to be their fault. So it is that certain objects which are perfectly straight, when sunk in water appear to the onlooker as bent or broken off. It matters not only what you see, but with what eyes you see it; our souls are too dull of vision to perceive the truth.

25. But give me an unspoiled and sturdy-minded young man; he will pronounce more fortunate one who sustains on unbending shoulders the whole weight of adversity, who stands out superior to Fortune. It is not a cause for wonder that one is not tossed about when the weather is calm; reserve your wonderment for cases where a man is lifted up when all others sink, and keeps his footing when all others are prostrate.

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26. What element of evil is there in torture and in the other things which we call hardships? It seems to me that there is this evil, – that the mind sags, and bends, and collapses. But none of these things can happen to the sage; he stands erect under any load. Nothing can subdue him; nothing that must be endured annoys him. For he does not complain that he has been struck by that which can strike any man. He knows his own strength; he knows that he was born to carry burdens.

27. I do not withdraw the wise man from the category of man, nor do I deny to him the sense of pain as though he were a rock that has no feelings at all. I remember that he is made up of two parts: the one part is irrational, – it is this that may be bitten, burned, or hurt; the other part is rational, – it is this which holds resolutely to opinions, is courageous, and unconquerable*. In the latter is situated man's Supreme Good. Before this is completely attained, the mind wavers in uncertainty; only when it is fully achieved is the mind fixed and steady. [*This dualism of soul and body goes back to earlier religions, and especially to the Persian. The rational part, though held by most Stoics to be corporeal, or part of the world-stuff, is closely related to the ἡγεμονικόν, or "principate."]

28. And so when one has just begun, or is on one's way to the heights and is cultivating virtue, or even if one is drawing near the perfect good but has not yet put the finishing touch upon it, one will retrograde at times and there will be a certain slackening of mental effort. For such a man has not yet traversed the doubtful ground; he is still standing in slippery places. But the happy man, whose virtue is complete, loves himself most of all when his bravery has been submitted to the severest test, and when he not only, endures but welcomes that which all other men regard with fear, if it is the price which he must pay for the performance of a duty which honour imposes, and he greatly prefers to have men say of him: "how much more noble!" rather than "how much more lucky!"

29. And now I have reached the point to which your patient waiting summons me. You must not think that our human virtue transcends nature; the wise man will tremble, will feel pain, will turn pale, For all these are sensations of the body. Where, then, is the abode of utter distress, of that which is truly an evil? In the other part of us, no doubt, if it is the mind that these trials drag down, force to a confession of its servitude, and cause to regret its existence.

30. The wise man, indeed, overcomes Fortune by his virtue, but many who profess wisdom are sometimes frightened by the most unsubstantial threats. And at this stage it is a mistake on our part to make the same demands upon the wise man and upon the learner. I still exhort myself to do that which I recommend; but my exhortations are not yet followed. And even if this were the case, I should not have these principles so ready for practice, or so well trained, that they would rush to my assistance in every crisis.

31. Just as wool takes up certain colours at once, while there are others which it will not absorb unless it is soaked and steeped in them many times; so other systems of doctrine can be immediately applied by men's minds after once being accepted, but this system of which I speak, unless it has gone deep and has sunk in for a long time, and has not merely coloured but thoroughly permeated the soul, does not fulfil any of its promises. 32. The matter can be imparted quickly and in very few words: "Virtue is the only good; at any rate there is no good without virtue; and virtue itself is situated in our nobler part, that is, the rational part." And what will this virtue be? A true and never-swerving judgement. For therefrom will spring all mental impulses, and by its agency every external appearance that stirs our impulses will be clarified.

33. It will be in keeping with this judgement to judge all things that have been coloured by virtue as goods, and as equal goods. Bodily goods are, to be sure, good for the body; but they are not absolutely good. There will indeed be some value in them; but they will possess no genuine merit, for they will differ greatly; some will be less, others greater.

34. And we are constrained to acknowledge that there are great differences among the very followers of wisdom. One man has already made so much progress that he dares to raise his eyes and look Fortune in the face, but not persistently, for his eyes soon drop, dazzled by her overwhelming splendour; another has made so much progress that he is able to match glances with her, – that is, unless he has already reached the summit and is full of confidence.

35. That which is short of perfection must necessarily be unsteady, at one time progressing, at another slipping or growing faint; and it will surely slip back unless it keeps struggling ahead; for if a man slackens at all in zeal and faithful application, he must retrograde. No one can resume his progress at the point where he left off.

36. Therefore let us press on and persevere. There remains much more of the road than we have put behind us; but the greater part of progress is the desire to progress. I fully understand what this task is. It is a thing which I desire, and I desire it with all my heart. I see that you also have been aroused and are hastening with great zeal towards infinite beauty. Let us, then, hasten; only on these terms will life be a boon to us; otherwise, there is delay, and indeed disgraceful delay, while we busy ourselves with revolting things. Let us see to it that all time belongs to us. This, however, cannot be unless first of all our own selves begin to belong to us.

37. And when will it be our privilege to despise both kinds of fortune? When will it be our privilege, after all the passions have been subdued and brought under our own control, to utter the words "I have conquered!"? Do you ask me whom I have conquered? Neither the Persians, nor the far-off Medes, nor any warlike race that lies beyond the Dahae; not these, but greed, ambition, and the fear of death that has conquered the conquerors of the world. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 72. On Business as the Enemy of Philosophy

1. The subject [The context furnishes no clue as to what the subject was.] concerning which you question me was once clear to my mind, and required no thought, so thoroughly had I mastered it. But I have not tested my memory of it for some time, and therefore it does not readily come back to me. I feel that I have suffered the fate of a book whose rolls have stuck together by disuse; my mind needs to be unrolled, and whatever has been stored away there ought to be examined from time to time, so that it may be ready for use when occasion demands. Let us therefore put this subject off for the present; for it demands much labour and much care. As soon as I can hope to stay for any length of time in the same place, I shall then take your question in hand.

2. For there are certain subjects about which you can write even while travelling in a gig, and there are also subjects which need a study-chair, and quiet, and seclusion. Nevertheless I ought to accomplish something even on days like these, – days which are fully employed, and indeed from morning till night. For there is never a moment when fresh employments will not come along; we sow them, and for this reason several spring up from one. Then, too, we keep adjourning our own cases, saying: "As soon as I am done with this, I shall settle down to hard work," or: "If I ever set this troublesome matter in order, I shall devote myself to study."

3. But the study of philosophy is not to be postponed until you have leisure; everything else is to be neglected in order that we may attend to philosophy, for no amount of time is long enough for it, even though our lives be prolonged from boyhood to the uttermost bounds of time allotted to man. It makes little difference whether you leave philosophy out altogether or study it intermittently; for it does not stay as it was when you dropped it, but, because its continuity has been broken, it goes back to the position in which it was at the beginning, like things which fly apart when they are stretched taut. We must resist the affairs which occupy our time; they must not be untangled, but rather put out of the way. Indeed, there is no time that is unsuitable for helpful studies; and yet many a man fails to study amid the very circumstances which make study necessary.

4. He says: "Something will happen to hinder me." No, not in the case of the man whose spirit, no matter what his business may be, is happy and alert. It is those who are still short of perfection whose happiness can be broken off; the joy of a wise man, on the other hand, is a woven fabric, rent by no chance happening and by no change of fortune; at all times and in all places he is at peace. For his joy depends on nothing external and looks for no boon from man or fortune. His happiness is something within himself; it would depart from his soul if it entered in from the outside; it is born there.

5. Sometimes an external happening reminds him of his mortality, but it is a light blow, and merely grazes the surface of his skin. Some trouble, I repeat, may touch him like a breath of wind, but that Supreme Good of his is unshaken. This is what I mean: there are external disadvantages, like pimples and boils that break out upon a body which is normally strong and sound; but there is no deep-seated malady.

6. The difference, I say, between a man of perfect wisdom and another who is progressing in wisdom is the same as the difference between a healthy man and one who is convalescing from a severe and lingering illness, for whom "health" means only a lighter attack of his disease. If the latter does not take heed, there is an immediate relapse and a return to the same old trouble; but the wise man cannot slip back, or slip into any more illness at all. For health of body is a temporary matter which the physician cannot guarantee, even though he has restored it; nay, he is often roused from his bed to visit the same patient who summoned him before. The mind, however, once healed, is healed for good and all.

7. I shall tell you what I mean by health: if the mind is content with its own self; if it has confidence in itself; if it understands that all those things for which men pray, all the benefits which are bestowed and sought for, are of no importance in relation to a life of happiness; under such conditions it is sound. For anything that can be added to is imperfect; anything that can suffer loss is not lasting; but let the man whose happiness is to be lasting, rejoice in what is truly his own. Now all that which the crowd gapes after, ebbs and flows. Fortune gives us nothing which we can really own. But even these gifts of Fortune please us when reason has tempered and blended them to our taste; for it is reason which makes acceptable to us even external goods that are disagreeable to use if we absorb them too greedily.

8. Attalus used to employ the following simile: "Did you ever see a dog snapping with wide-open jaws at bits of bread or meat which his master tosses to him? Whatever he catches, he straightway swallows whole, and always opens his jaws in the hope of something more. So it is with ourselves; we stand expectant, and whatever Fortune has thrown to us we forthwith bolt, without any real pleasure, and then stand alert and frantic for something else to snatch." But it is not so with the wise man; he is satisfied. Even if something falls to him, he merely accepts it carelessly and lays it aside.

9. The happiness that he enjoys is supremely great, is lasting, is his own. Assume that a man has good intentions, and has made progress, but is still far from the heights; the result is a series of ups and downs; he is now raised to heaven, now brought down to earth. For those who lack experience and training, there is no limit to the downhill course; such a one falls into the Chaos of Epicurus, – empty and boundless.

10. There is still a third class of men, – those who toy with wisdom; they have not indeed touched it, but yet are in sight of it, and have it, so to speak, within striking distance. They are not dashed about, nor do they drift back either; they are not on dry land, but are already in port.

11. Therefore, considering the great difference between those on the heights and those in the depths, and seeing that even those in the middle are pursued by an ebb and flow peculiar to their state and pursued also by an enormous risk of returning to their degenerate ways, we should not give ourselves up to matters which occupy our time. They should be shut out; if they once gain an entrance, they will bring in still others to take their places. Let us resist them in their early stages. It is better that they shall never begin than that they shall be made to cease. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 73. On Philosophers and Kings*

[*This letter is especially interesting because of its autobiographical hints, and its relation to Seneca's own efforts to be rid of court life and seek the leisure of the sage.]

1. It seems to me erroneous to believe that those who have loyally dedicated themselves to philosophy are stubborn and rebellious, scorners of magistrates or kings or of those who control the administration of public affairs. For, on the contrary, no class of man is so popular with the philosopher as the ruler is; and rightly so, because rulers bestow upon no men a greater privilege than upon those who are allowed to enjoy peace and leisure.

2. Hence, those who are greatly profited, as regards their purpose of right living, by the security of the State, must needs cherish as a father the author of this good; much more so, at any rate, than those restless persons who are always in the public eye, who owe much to the ruler, but also expect much from him, and are never so generously loaded with favours that their cravings, which grow by being supplied, are thoroughly satisfied. And yet he whose thoughts are of benefits to come has forgotten the benefits received; and there is no greater evil in covetousness than its ingratitude.

3. Besides, no man in public life thinks of the many whom he has outstripped; he thinks rather of those by whom he is outstripped. And these men find it less pleasing to see many behind them than annoying to see anyone ahead of them. That is the trouble with every sort of ambition; it does not look back. Nor is it ambition alone that is fickle, but also every sort of craving, because it always begins where it ought to end.

4. But that other man, upright and pure, who has left the senate and the bar and all affairs of state, that he may retire to nobler affairs, cherishes those who have made it possible for him to do this in security; he is the only person who returns spontaneous thanks to them, the only person who owes them a great debt without their knowledge. Just as a man honours and reveres his teachers, by whose aid he has found release from his early wanderings, so the sage honours these men, also, under whose guardianship he can put his good theories into practice.

5. But you answer: "Other men too are protected by a king's personal power." Perfectly true. But just as, out of a number of persons who have profited by the same stretch of calm weather, a man deems that his debt to Neptune is greater if his cargo during that voyage has been more extensive and valuable, and just as the vow is paid with more of a will by the merchant than by the passenger, and just as, from among the merchants themselves, heartier thanks are uttered by the dealer in spices, purple fabrics, and objects worth their weight in gold, than by him who has gathered cheap merchandise that will be nothing but ballast for his ship; similarly, the benefits of this peace, which extends to all, are more deeply appreciated by those who make good use of it.

6. For there are many of our toga-clad citizens to whom peace brings more trouble than war. Or do those, think you, owe as much as we do for the peace they enjoy, who spend it in drunkenness, or in lust, or in other vices which it were worth even a war to interrupt? No, not unless you think that the

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wise man is so unfair as to believe that as an individual he owes nothing in return for the advantages which he enjoys with all the rest. I owe a great debt to the sun and to the moon; and yet they do not rise for me alone. I am personally beholden to the seasons and to the god who controls them, although in no respect have they been apportioned for my benefit.

7. The foolish greed of mortals makes a distinction between possession and ownership, and believes that it has ownership in nothing in which the general public has a share. But our philosopher considers nothing more truly his own than that which he shares in partnership with all mankind. For these things would not be common property, as indeed they are, unless every individual had his quota; even a joint interest based upon the slightest share makes one a partner.

8. Again, the great and true goods are not divided in such a manner that each has but a slight interest; they belong in their entirety to each individual. At a distribution of grain men receive only the amount that has been promised to each person; the banquet and the meat-dole*, or all else that a man can carry away with him, are divided into parts. [*During certain festivals, either cooked or raw meat was distributed among the people.] These goods, however, are indivisible, – I mean peace and liberty, – and they belong in their entirety to all men just as much as they belong to each individual.

9. Therefore the philosopher thinks of the person who makes it possible for him to use and enjoy these things, of the person who exempts him when the state's dire need summons to arms, to sentry duty, to the defence of the walls, and to the manifold exactions of war; and he gives thanks to the helmsman of his state. This is what philosophy teaches most of all, – honourably to avow the debt of benefits received, and honourably to pay them; sometimes, however, the acknowledgment itself constitutes payment.

10. Our philosopher will therefore acknowledge that he owes a large debt to the ruler who makes it possible, by his management and foresight, for him to enjoy rich leisure, control of his own time, and a tranquillity uninterrupted by public employments.

Shepherd! a god this leisure gave to me,
For he shall be my god eternally.

11. And if even such leisure as that of our poet owes a great debt to its author, though its greatest boon is this:

As thou canst see,
He let me turn my cattle out to feed,
And play what fancy pleased on rustic reed;

how highly are we to value this leisure of the philosopher, which is spent among the gods, and makes us gods?

12. Yes, that is what I mean, Lucilius; and I invite you to heaven by a short cut. Sextius used to say that Jupiter had no more power than the good man. Of course, Jupiter has more gifts which he can offer to mankind; but when you are choosing between two good men, the richer is not necessarily the better, any more than, in the case of two pilots of equal skill in managing the tiller, you would call him the better whose ship is larger and more imposing.

13. In what respect is Jupiter superior to our good man? His goodness lasts longer; but the wise man does not set a lower value upon himself, just because his virtues are limited by a briefer span. Or take two wise men; he who has died at a greater age is not happier than he whose virtue has been limited to fewer years: similarly, a god has no advantage over a wise man in point of happiness, even though he has such an advantage in point of years. That virtue is not greater which lasts longer.

14. Jupiter possesses all things, but he has surely given over the possession of them to others; the only use of them which belongs to him is this: he is the cause of their use to all men. The wise man surveys and scorns all the possessions of others as calmly as does Jupiter, and regards himself with the greater esteem because, while Jupiter cannot make use of them, he, the wise man, does not wish to do so.

15. Let us therefore believe Sextius when he shows us the path of perfect beauty, and cries: "This is 'the way to the stars'; this is the way, by observing thrift, self-restraint, and courage!" The gods are not disdainful or envious; they open the door to you; they lend a hand as you climb.

16. Do you marvel that man goes to the gods? God comes to men; nay, he comes nearer, – he comes into men. No mind that has not God, is good. Divine seeds are scattered throughout our mortal bodies; if a good husbandman receives them, they spring up in the likeness of their source and of a parity with those from which they came. If, however, the husbandman be bad, like a barren or marshy soil, he kills the seeds, and causes tares to grow up instead of wheat. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 74. On Virtue as a Refuge from Worldly Distractions

1. Your letter has given me pleasure, and has roused me from sluggishness. It has also prompted my memory, which has been for some time slack and nerveless. You are right, of course, my dear Lucilius, in deeming the chief means of attaining the happy life to consist in the belief that the only good lies in that which is honourable. For anyone who deems other things to be good, puts himself in the power of Fortune, and goes under the control of another; but he who has in every case defined the good by the honourable, is happy with an inward happiness.

2. One man is saddened when his children die; another is anxious when they become ill; a third is embittered when they do something disgraceful, or suffer a taint in their reputation. One man, you will observe, is tortured by passion for his neighbour's wife, another by passion for his own. You will find men who are completely upset by failure to win an election, and others who are actually plagued by the offices which they have won.

3. But the largest throng of unhappy men among the host of mortals are those whom the expectation of death, which threatens them on every hand, drives to despair. For there is no quarter from which death may not approach. Hence, like soldiers scouting in the enemy's country, they must look about in all directions, and turn their heads at every sound; unless the breast be rid of this fear, one lives with a palpitating heart.

4. You will readily recall those who have been driven into exile and dispossessed of their property. You will also recall (and this is the most serious kind of destitution) those who are poor in the midst of their riches. You will recall men who have suffered shipwreck, or those whose sufferings resemble shipwreck; for they were untroubled and at ease, when the anger or perhaps the envy of the populace, – a missile most deadly to those in high places, – dismantled them like a storm which is wont to rise when one is most confident of continued calm, or like a sudden stroke of lightning which even causes the region round about it to tremble. For just as anyone who stands near the bolt is stunned and resembles one who is struck, so in these sudden and violent mishaps, although but one person is overwhelmed by the disaster, the rest are overwhelmed by fear, and the possibility that they may suffer makes them as downcast as the actual sufferer.

5. Every man is troubled in spirit by evils that come suddenly upon his neighbour. Like birds, who cower even at the whirr of an empty sling, we are distracted by mere sounds as well as by blows. No man therefore can be happy if he yields himself up to such foolish fancies. For nothing brings happiness unless it also brings calm; it is a bad sort of existence that is spent in apprehension.

6. Whoever has largely surrendered himself to the power of Fortune has made for himself a huge web of disquietude, from which he cannot get free; if one would win a way to safety, there is but one road, – to despise externals and to be contented with that which is honourable. For those who regard anything as better than virtue, or believe that there is any good except virtue, are spreading their arms to gather in that which Fortune tosses abroad, and are anxiously awaiting her favours.

7. Picture now to yourself that Fortune is holding a festival, and is showering down honours, riches, and influence upon this mob of mortals; some of these gifts have already been torn to pieces in the hands of those who try to snatch them, others have been divided up by treacherous partnerships, and still others have been seized to the great detriment of those into whose possession they have come. Certain of these favours have fallen to men while they were absent-minded; others have been lost to their seekers because they were snatching too eagerly for them, and, just because they are greedily seized upon, have been knocked from their hands. There is not a man among them all, however, – even he who has been lucky in the booty which has fallen to him, – whose joy in his spoil has lasted until the morrow. The most sensible man, therefore, as soon as he sees the dole being brought in*, runs from the theatre; for he knows that one pays a high price for small favours. No one will grapple with him on the way out, or strike him as he departs; the quarrelling takes place where the prizes are. [*A distribution of coins, etc., at the public games. Food was also doled out to the populace on similar occasions.]

8. Similarly with the gifts which Fortune tosses down to us; wretches that we are, we become excited, we are torn asunder, we wish that we had many hands, we look back now in this direction and now in that. All too slowly, as it seems, are the gifts thrown in our direction; they merely excite our cravings, since they can reach but few and are awaited by all.

9. We are keen to intercept them as they fall down. We rejoice if we have laid hold of anything; and some have been mocked by the idle hope of laying hold; we have either paid a high price for worthless plunder with some disadvantage to ourselves, or else have been defrauded and are left in the lurch. Let us therefore withdraw from a game like this, and give way to the greedy rabble; let them gaze after such "goods," which hang suspended above them, and be themselves still more in suspense [This figure of the dole as applied to Fortune is sustained to an extent which is unusual in Seneca.].

10. Whoever makes up his mind to be happy should conclude that the good consists only in that which is honourable. For if he regards anything else as good, he is, in the first place, passing an unfavourable judgement upon Providence because of the fact that upright men often suffer misfortunes, and that the time which is allotted to us is but short and scanty, if you compare it with the eternity which is allotted to the universe.

11. It is a result of complaints like these that we are unappreciative in our comments upon the gifts of heaven; we complain because they are not always granted to us, because they are few and unsure and fleeting. Hence we have not the will either to live or to die; we are possessed by hatred of life, by fear of death. Our plans are all at sea, and no amount of prosperity can satisfy us. And the reason for all this is that we have not yet attained to that good which is immeasurable and unsurpassable, in which all wishing on our part must cease, because there is no place beyond the highest.

12. Do you ask why virtue needs nothing? Because it is pleased with what it has, and does not lust after that which it has not. Whatever is enough is abundant in the eyes of virtue. Dissent from this judgement, and duty and loyalty will not abide. For one who desires to exhibit these two qualities must endure much that the world calls evil; we must sacrifice many things to which we are addicted, thinking them to be goods.

13. Gone is courage, which should be continually testing itself; gone is greatness of soul, which cannot stand out clearly unless it has learned to scorn as trivial everything that the crowd covets as supremely important; and gone is kindness and the repaying of kindness, if we fear toil, if we have acknowledged anything to be more precious than loyalty, if our eyes are fixed upon anything except the best.

14. But to pass these questions by: either these so-called goods are not goods, or else man is more fortunate than God, because God has no enjoyment of the things which are given to us. For lust pertains not to God, nor do elegant banquets, nor wealth, nor any of the things that allure mankind and lead him on through the influence of degrading pleasure. Therefore, it is, either not incredible that there are goods which God does not possess, or else the very fact that God does not possess them is in itself a proof that these things are not goods.

15. Besides, many things which are wont to be regarded as goods are granted to animals in fuller measure than to men. Animals eat their food with better appetite, are not in the same degree weakened by sexual indulgence, and have a greater and more uniform constancy in their strength. Consequently, they are much more fortunate than man. For there is no wickedness, no injury to themselves, in their way of living. They enjoy their pleasures and they take them more often and more easily, without any of the fear that results from shame or regret.

16. This being so, you should consider whether one has a right to call anything good in which God is outdone by man. Let us limit the Supreme Good to the soul; it loses its meaning if it is taken from the best part of us and applied to the worst, that is, if it is transferred to the senses; for the senses are more active in dumb beasts. The sum total of our happiness must not be placed in the flesh; the true goods are those which reason bestows, substantial and eternal; they cannot fall away, neither can they grow less or be diminished.

17. Other things are goods according to opinion, and though they are called by the same name as the true goods, the essence of goodness is not in them. Let us therefore call them "advantages," and, to use our technical term, "preferred" things. Let us, however, recognize that they are our chattels, not parts of ourselves; and let us have them in our possession, but take heed to remember that they are outside ourselves. Even though they are in our possession, they are to be reckoned as things subordinate and poor, the possession of which gives no man a right to plume himself. For what is more foolish than being self-complacent about something which one has not accomplished by one's own efforts?

18. Let everything of this nature be added to us, and not stick fast to us, so that, if it is withdrawn, it may come away without tearing off any part of us. Let us use these things, but not boast of them, and let us use them sparingly, as if they were given for safe-keeping and will be withdrawn. Anyone who does not employ reason in his possession of them never keeps them long; for prosperity of itself, if uncontrolled by reason, overwhelms itself. If anyone has put his trust in goods that are most fleeting, he is soon bereft of them, and, to avoid being bereft, he suffers distress. Few men have been permitted to lay aside prosperity gently. The rest all fall, together with the things amid which they have come into eminence, and they are weighted down by the very things which had before exalted them.

19. For this reason foresight must be brought into play, to insist upon a limit or upon frugality in the use of these things, since licence overthrows and destroys its own abundance. That which has no limit has never endured, unless reason, which sets limits, has held it in check. The fate of many cities will prove the truth of this; their sway has ceased at the very prime because they were given to luxury, and excess has ruined all that had been won by virtue. We should fortify ourselves against such calamities. But no wall can be erected against Fortune which she cannot take by storm; let us strengthen our inner defences. If the inner part be safe, man can be attacked, but never captured. Do you wish to know what this weapon of defence is?

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20. It is the ability to refrain from chafing over whatever happens to one, of knowing that the very agencies which seem to bring harm are working for the preservation of the world, and are a part of the scheme for bringing to fulfilment the order of the universe and its functions. Let man be pleased with whatever has pleased God; let him marvel at himself and his own resources for this very reason, that he cannot be overcome, that he has the very powers of evil subject to his control, and that he brings into subjection chance and pain and wrong by means of that strongest of powers – reason.

21. Love reason! The love of reason will arm you against the greatest hardships. Wild beasts dash against the hunter's spear through love of their young, and it is their wildness and their unpremeditated onrush that keep them from being tamed; often a desire for glory has stirred the mind of youth to despise both sword and stake; the mere vision and semblance of virtue impel certain men to a self-imposed death. In proportion as reason is stouter and steadier than any of these emotions, so much the more forcefully will she make her way through the midst of utter terrors and dangers.

22. Men say to us: "You are mistaken if you maintain that nothing is a good except that which is honourable; a defence like this will not make you safe from Fortune and free from her assaults. For you maintain that dutiful children, and a well-governed country, and good parents, are to be reckoned as goods; but you cannot see these dear objects in danger and be yourself at ease. Your calm will be disturbed by a siege conducted against your country, by the death of your children, or by the enslaving of your parents."

23. I will first state what we Stoics usually reply to these objectors, and then will add what additional answer should, in my opinion, be given. The situation is entirely different in the case of goods whose loss entails some hardship substituted in their place; for example, when good health is impaired there is a change to ill-health; when the eye is put out, we are visited with blindness; we not only lose our speed when our leg-muscles are cut, but infirmity takes the place of speed. But no such danger is involved in the case of the goods to which we referred a moment ago. And why? If I have lost a good friend, I have no false friend whom I must endure in his place; nor if I have buried a dutiful son, must I face in exchange unfilial conduct.

24. In the second place, this does not mean to me the taking-off of a friend or of a child; it is the mere taking-off of their bodies. But a good can be lost in only one way, by changing into what is bad; and this is impossible according to the law of nature, because every virtue, and every work of virtue, abides uncorrupted. Again, even if friends have perished, or children of approved goodness who fulfil their father's prayers for them, there is something that can fill their place. Do you ask what this is? It is that which had made them good in the first place, namely, virtue.

25. Virtue suffers no space in us to be unoccupied; it takes possession of the whole soul and removes all sense of loss. It alone is sufficient; for the strength and beginnings of all goods exist in virtue herself. What does it matter if running water is cut off and flows away, as long as the fountain from which it has flowed is unharmed? You will not maintain that a man's life is more just if his children are unharmed than if they have passed away, nor yet better appointed, nor more intelligent, nor more honourable; therefore, no better, either. The addition of friends does not make one wiser, nor does their taking away make one more foolish; therefore, not happier or more wretched, either. As long as your virtue is unharmed, you will not feel the loss of anything that has been withdrawn from you.

26. You may say: "Come now; is not a man happier when girt about with a large company of friends and children?" Why should this be so? For the Supreme Good is neither impaired nor increased thereby; it abides within its own limits, no matter how Fortune has conducted herself. Whether a long old age falls to one's lot, or whether the end comes on this side of old age – the measure of the Supreme Good is unvaried, in spite of the difference in years.

27. Whether you draw a larger or a smaller circle, its size affects its area, not its shape. One circle may remain as it is for a long time while you may contract the other forthwith, or even merge it completely with the sand in which it was drawn; yet each circle has had the same shape. That which is straight is not judged by its size, or by its number, or by its duration; it can no more be made longer than it can be made shorter. Scale down the honourable life as much as you like from the full hundred years, and reduce it to a single day; it is equally honourable.

28. Sometimes virtue is widespread, governing kingdoms, cities, and provinces, creating laws, developing friendships, and regulating the duties that hold good between relatives and children; at other times it is limited by the narrow bounds of poverty, exile, or bereavement. But it is no smaller when it is reduced from prouder heights to a private station, from a royal palace to a humble dwelling, or when from a general and broad jurisdiction it is gathered into the narrow limits of a private house or a tiny corner.

29. Virtue is just as great, even when it has retreated within itself and is shut in on all sides. For its spirit is no less great and upright, its sagacity no less complete, its justice no less inflexible. It is, therefore, equally happy. For happiness has its abode in one place only, namely, in the mind itself, and is noble, steadfast, and calm; and this state cannot be attained without a knowledge of things divine and human.

30. The other answer, which I promised to make to your objection, follows from this reasoning. The wise man is not distressed by the loss of children or of friends. For he endures their death in the same spirit in which he awaits his own. And he fears the one as little as he grieves for the other. For the underlying principle of virtue is conformity; all the works of virtue are in harmony and agreement with virtue itself. But this harmony is lost if the soul, which ought to be uplifted, is cast down by grief or a sense of loss. It is ever a dishonour for a man to be troubled and fretted, to be numbed when there is any call for activity. For that which is honourable is free from care and untrammelled, is unafraid, and stands girt for action.

31. "What," you ask, "will the wise man experience no emotion like disturbance of spirit? Will not his features change colour, his countenance be agitated, and his limbs grow cold? And there are other things which we do, not under the influence of the will, but unconsciously and as the result of a sort of natural impulse." I admit that this is true; but the sage will retain the firm belief that none of these things is evil, or important enough to make a healthy mind break down.

32. Whatever shall remain to be done virtue can do with courage and readiness. For anyone would admit that it is a mark of folly to do in a slothful and rebellious spirit whatever one has to do, or to direct the body in one direction and the mind in another, and thus to be torn between utterly conflicting emotions. For folly is despised precisely because of the things for which she vaunts and admires herself, and she does not do gladly even those things in which she prides herself. But if folly fears some evil, she is burdened by it in the very moment of awaiting it, just as if it had actually come, – already suffering in apprehension whatever she fears she may suffer.

33. Just as in the body symptoms of latent ill-health precede the disease – there is, for example, a certain weak sluggishness, a lassitude which is not the result of any work, a trembling, and a shivering that pervades the limbs, – so the feeble spirit is shaken by its ills a long time before it is overcome by them. It anticipates them, and totters before its time. But what is greater madness than to be tortured by the future and not to save your strength for the actual suffering, but to invite and bring on wretchedness? If you cannot be rid of it, you ought at least to postpone it.

34. Will you not understand that no man should be tormented by the future? The man who has been told that he will have to endure torture fifty years from now is not disturbed thereby, unless he has leaped over the intervening years, and has projected himself into the trouble that is destined to arrive a generation later. In the same way, souls that enjoy being sick and that seize upon excuses for sorrow are saddened by events long past and effaced from the records. Past and future are both absent; we feel neither of them. But there can be no pain except as the result of what you feel. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 75. On the Diseases of the Soul

1. You have been complaining that my letters to you are rather carelessly written. Now who talks carefully unless he also desires to talk affectedly? I prefer that my letters should be just what my conversation would be if you and I were sitting in one another's company or taking walks together, – spontaneous and easy; for my letters have nothing strained or artificial about them.

2. If it were possible, I should prefer to show, rather than speak, my feelings. Even if I were arguing a point, I should not stamp my foot, or toss my arms about, or raise my voice; but I should leave that sort of thing to the orator, and should be content to have conveyed my feelings to you without having either embellished them or lowered their dignity.

3. I should like to convince you entirely of this one fact, – that I feel whatever I say, that I not only feel it, but am wedded to it. It is one sort of kiss which a man gives his mistress, and another which he gives his children; yet in the father's embrace also, holy and restrained as it is, plenty of affection is disclosed. I prefer, however, that our conversation on matters so important should not be meagre and dry; for even philosophy does not renounce the company of cleverness. One should not, however, bestow very much attention upon mere words.

4. Let this be the kernel of my idea: let us say what we feel, and feel what we say; let speech harmonize with life. That man has fulfilled his promise who is the same person both when you see him and when you hear him.

5. We shall not fail to see what sort of man he is and how large a man he is, if only he is one and the same. Our words should aim not to please, but to help. If, however, you can attain eloquence without painstaking, and if you either are naturally gifted or can gain eloquence at slight cost, make the most of it and apply it to the noblest uses. But let it be of such a kind that it displays facts rather than itself. It and the other arts are wholly concerned with cleverness; but our business here is the soul.

6. A sick man does not call in a physician who is eloquent; but if it so happens that the physician who can cure him likewise discourses elegantly about the treatment which is to be followed, the patient will take it in good part. For all that, he will not find any reason to congratulate himself on having discovered a physician who is eloquent. For the case is no different from that of a skilled pilot who is also handsome.

7. Why do you tickle my ears? Why do you entertain me? There is other business at hand; I am to be cauterized, operated upon, or put on a diet. That is why you were summoned to treat me! You are required to cure a disease that is chronic and serious, – one which affects the general weal. You have as serious a business on hand as a physician has during a plague. Are you concerned about words? Rejoice this instant if you can cope with things. When shall you learn all that there is to learn? When shall you so plant in your mind that which you have learned, that it cannot escape? When shall you put it all into practice? For it is not sufficient merely to commit these things to memory, like other matters; they must be practically tested. He is not happy who only knows them, but he who does them.

8. You reply: "What? Are there no degrees of happiness below your 'happy' man? Is there a sheer descent immediately below wisdom?" I think not. For though he who makes progress is still numbered with the fools, yet he is separated from them by a long interval. Among the very persons who are making progress there are also great spaces intervening. They fall into three classes, as certain philosophers believe.

9. First come those who have not yet attained wisdom but have already gained a place near by. Yet even that which is not far away is still outside. These, if you ask me, are men who have already laid aside all passions and vices, who have learned what things are to be embraced; but their assurance is not yet tested. They have not yet put their good into practice, yet from now on they cannot slip back into the faults which they have escaped. They have already arrived at a point from which there is no slipping back, but they are not yet aware of the fact; as I remember writing in another letter, "They are ignorant of their knowledge." It has now been vouchsafed to them to enjoy their good, but not yet to be sure of it.

10. Some define this class, of which I have been speaking, – a class of men who are making progress, – as having escaped the diseases of the mind, but not yet the passions, and as still standing upon slippery ground; because no one is beyond the dangers of evil except him who has cleared himself of it wholly. But no one has so cleared himself except the man who has adopted wisdom in its stead.

11. I have often before explained the difference between the diseases of the mind and its passions. And I shall remind you once more: the diseases are hardened and chronic vices, such as greed and ambition; they have enfolded the mind in too close a grip, and have begun to be permanent evils thereof. To give a brief definition: by "disease" we mean a persistent perversion of the judgement, so that things which are mildly desirable are thought to be highly desirable. Or, if you prefer, we may define it thus: to be too zealous in striving for things which are only mildly desirable or not desirable at all, or to value highly things which ought to be valued but slightly or valued not at all.

12. "Passions" are objectionable impulses of the spirit, sudden and vehement; they have come so often, and so little attention has been paid to them, that they have caused a state of disease; just as a catarrh [For Seneca's own struggles with this disease cf. Ep. 78:1.], when there has been but a single attack and the catarrh has not yet become habitual, produces a cough, but causes consumption when it has become regular and chronic. Therefore we may say that those who have made most progress are beyond the reach of the "diseases"; but they still feel the "passions" even when very near perfection.

13. The second class is composed of those who have laid aside both the greatest ills of the mind and its passions, but yet are not in assured possession of immunity. For they can still slip back into their former state.

14. The third class are beyond the reach of many of the vices and particularly of the great vices, but not beyond the reach of all. They have escaped avarice, for example, but still feel anger; they no longer are troubled by lust, but are still troubled by ambition; they no longer have desire, but they still have fear. And just because they fear, although they are strong enough to withstand certain things, there are certain things to which they yield; they scorn death, but are in terror of pain.

15. Let us reflect a moment on this topic. It will be well with us if we are admitted to this class. The second stage is gained by great good fortune with regard to our natural gifts and by great and unceasing application to study. But not even the third type is to be despised. Think of the host of evils which you see about you; behold how there is no crime that is not exemplified, how far wickedness advances every day, and how prevalent are sins in home and commonwealth. You will

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see, therefore, that we are making a considerable gain, if we are not numbered among the basest.

16. "But as for me," you say, "I hope that it is in me to rise to a higher rank than that!" I should pray, rather than promise, that we may attain this; we have been forestalled. We hasten towards virtue while hampered by vices. I am ashamed to say it; but we worship that which is honourable only in so far as we have time to spare. But what a rich reward awaits us if only we break off the affairs which forestall us and the evils that cling to us with utter tenacity!

17. Then neither desire nor fear shall rout us. Undisturbed by fears, unspoiled by pleasures, we shall be afraid neither of death nor of the gods; we shall know that death is no evil and that the gods are not powers of evil. That which harms has no greater power than that which receives harm, and things which are utterly good have no power at all to harm.

18. There await us, if ever we escape from these low dregs to that sublime and lofty height, peace of mind and, when all error has been driven out, perfect liberty. You ask what this freedom is? It means not fearing either men or gods; it means not craving wickedness or excess; it means possessing supreme power over oneself And it is a priceless good to be master of oneself. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 76. On Learning Wisdom in Old Age

1. You have been threatening me with your enmity, if I do not keep you informed about all my daily actions. But see, now, upon what frank terms you and I live: for I shall confide even the following fact to your ears. I have been hearing the lectures of a philosopher; four days have already passed since I have been attending his school and listening to the harangue, which begins at two o'clock. "A fine time of life for that!" you say. Yes, fine indeed! Now what is more foolish than refusing to learn, simply because one has not been learning for a long time?

2. "What do you mean? Must I follow the fashion set by the fops* and youngsters?" [* A mock-heroic nickname for the knights, derived from the town of Trossulum in Etruria, which they captured by a sensational charge.] But I am pretty well off if this is the only thing that discredits my declining years. Men of all ages are admitted to this class-room. You retort: "Do we grow old merely in order to tag after the youngsters?" But if I, an old man, go to the theatre, and am carried to the races, and allow no duel in the arena to be fought to a finish without my presence, shall I blush to attend a philosopher's lecture?

3. You should keep learning as long as you are ignorant, – even to the end of your life, if there is anything in the proverb. And the proverb suits the present case as well as any: "As long as you live, keep learning how to live." For all that, there is also something which I can teach in that school. You ask, do you, what I can teach? That even an old man should keep learning.

4. But I am ashamed of mankind, as often as I enter the lecture-hall. On my way to the house of Metronax I am compelled to go, as you know, right past the Neapolitan Theatre. The building is jammed; men are deciding, with tremendous zeal, who is entitled to be called a good flute-player; even the Greek piper and the herald draw their crowds. But in the other place, where the question discussed is: "What is a good man?" and the lesson which we learn is "How to be a good man," very few are in attendance, and the majority think that even these few are engaged in no good business; they have the name of being empty-headed idlers. I hope I may be blessed with that kind of mockery; for one should listen in an unruffled spirit to the railings of the ignorant; when one is marching toward the goal of honour, one should scorn scorn itself.

5. Proceed, then, Lucilius, and hasten, lest you yourself be compelled to learn in your old age, as is the case with me. Nay, you must hasten all the more, because for a long time you have not approached the subject, which is one that you can scarcely learn thoroughly when you are old. "How much progress shall I make?" you ask. Just as much as you try to make.

6. Why do you wait? Wisdom comes haphazard to no man. Money will come of its own accord; titles will be given to you; influence and authority will perhaps be thrust upon you; but virtue will not fall upon you by chance. Neither is knowledge thereof to be won by light effort or small toil; but toiling is worth while when one is about to win all goods at a single stroke.

7. For there is but a single good, – namely, that which is honourable; in all those other things of which the general opinion approves, you will find no truth or certainty. Why it is, however, that there is but one good, namely, that which is honourable, I shall now tell you, inasmuch as you judge that in my earlier letter I did not carry the discussion far enough, and think that this theory was commended to you rather than proved. I shall also compress the remarks of other authors into narrow compass.

8. Everything is estimated by the standard of its own good. The vine is valued for its productiveness and the flavour of its wine, the stag for his speed. We ask, with regard to beasts of burden, how sturdy of back they are; for their only use is to bear burdens. If a dog is to find the trail of a wild beast, keenness of scent is of first importance; if to catch his quarry, swiftness of foot; if to attack and harry it, courage. In each thing that quality should be best for which the thing is brought into being and by which it is judged.

9. And what quality is best in man? It is reason; by virtue of reason he surpasses the animals, and is surpassed only by the gods. Perfect reason is therefore the good peculiar to man; all other qualities he shares in some degree with animals and plants. Man is strong; so is the lion. Man is comely; so is the peacock. Man is swift; so is the horse. I do not say that man is surpassed in all these qualities. I am not seeking to find that which is greatest in him, but that which is peculiarly his own. Man has body; so also have trees. Man has the power to act and to move at will; so have beasts and worms. Man has a voice; but how much louder is the voice of the dog, how much shriller that of the eagle, how much deeper that of the bull, how much sweeter and more melodious that of the nightingale!

10. What then is peculiar to man? Reason. When this is right and has reached perfection, man's felicity is complete. Hence, if everything is praiseworthy and has arrived at the end intended by its nature, when it has brought its peculiar good to perfection, and if man's peculiar good is reason; then, if a man has brought his reason to perfection, he is praiseworthy and has reached the end suited to his nature. This perfect reason is called virtue, and is likewise that which is honourable.

11. Hence that in man is alone a good which alone belongs to man. For we are not now seeking to discover what is a good, but what good is man's. And if there is no other attribute which belongs peculiarly to man except reason, then reason will be his one peculiar good, but a good that is worth all the rest put together. If any man is bad, he will, I suppose, be regarded with disapproval; if good, I suppose he will be regarded with approval. Therefore, that attribute of man whereby he is approved or disapproved is his chief and only good.

12. You do not doubt whether this is a good; you merely doubt whether it is the sole good. If a man possess all other things, such as health, riches, pedigree, a crowded reception-hall, but is confessedly bad, you will disapprove of him. Likewise, if a man possess none of the things which I have mentioned, and lacks money, or an escort of clients, or rank and a line of grandfathers and great-grandfathers, but is confessedly good, you will approve of him. Hence, this is man's one peculiar good, and the possessor of it is to be praised even if he lacks other things; but he who does not possess it, though he possess everything else in abundance, is condemned and rejected.

13. The same thing holds good regarding men as regarding things. A ship is said to be good not when it is decorated with costly colours, nor when its prow is covered with silver or gold or its figure-head embossed in ivory, nor when it is laden with the imperial revenues or with the wealth of kings, but when it is steady and staunch and taut, with seams that keep out the water, stout enough to endure the buffeting of the waves' obedient to its helm, swift and caring naught for the winds.

14. You will speak of a sword as good, not when its sword-belt is of gold, or its scabbard studded with gems, but when its edge is fine for cutting and its point will pierce any armour. Take the carpenter's rule: we do not ask how beautiful it is, but how straight it is. Each thing is praised in regard to that attribute which is taken as its standard, in regard to that which is its peculiar quality.

15. Therefore in the case of man also, it is not pertinent to the question to know how many acres he ploughs, how much money he has out at interest, how many callers attend his receptions, how costly is the couch on which he lies, how transparent are the cups from which he drinks, but how good he is. He is good, however, if his reason is well-ordered and right and adapted to that which his nature has willed.

16. It is this that is called virtue; this is what we mean by "honourable"; it is man's unique good. For since reason alone brings man to perfection, reason alone, when perfected, makes man happy. This, moreover, is man's only good, the only means by which he is made happy. We do indeed say that those things also are goods which are furthered and brought together by virtue, – that is, all the works of virtue; but virtue itself is for this reason the only good, because there is no good without virtue.

17. If every good is in the soul, then whatever strengthens, uplifts, and enlarges the soul, is a good; virtue, however, does make the soul stronger, loftier, and larger. For all other things, which arouse our desires, depress the soul and weaken it, and when we think that they are uplifting the soul, they are merely puffing it up and cheating it with much emptiness. Therefore, that alone is good which will make the soul better.

18. All the actions of life, taken as a whole, are controlled by the consideration of what is honourable or base; it is with reference to these two things that our reason is governed in doing or not doing a particular thing. I shall explain what I mean: A good man will do what he thinks it will be honourable for him to do, even if it involves toil; he will do it even if it involves harm to him; he will do it even if it involves peril; again, he will not do that which will be base, even if it brings him money, or pleasure, or power. Nothing will deter him from that which is honourable, and nothing will tempt him into baseness.

19. Therefore, if he is determined invariably to follow that which is honourable, invariably to avoid baseness, and in every act of his life to have regard for these two things, deeming nothing else good except that which is honourable, and nothing else bad except that which is base; if virtue alone is unperverted in him and by itself keeps its even course, then virtue is that man's only good, and nothing can thenceforth happen to it which may make it anything else than good. It has escaped all risk of change; folly may creep upwards towards wisdom, but wisdom never slips back into folly.

20. You may perhaps remember my saying that the things which have been generally desired and feared have been trampled down by many a man in moments of sudden passion. There have been found men who would place their hands in the flames, men whose smiles could not be stopped by the torturer, men who would shed not a tear at the funeral of their children, men who would meet death unflinchingly. It is love, for example, anger, lust, which have challenged dangers. If a momentary stubbornness can accomplish all this when roused by some goad that pricks the spirit, how much more can be accomplished by virtue, which does not act impulsively or suddenly, but uniformly and with a strength that is lasting!

21. It follows that the things which are often scorned by the men who are moved with a sudden passion, and are always scorned by the wise, are neither goods nor evils. Virtue itself is therefore the only good; she marches proudly between the two extremes of fortune, with great scorn for both.

22. If, however, you accept the view that there is anything good besides that which is honourable, all the virtues will suffer. For it will never be possible for any virtue to be won and held, if there is anything outside itself which virtue must take into consideration. If there is any such thing, then it is at variance with reason, from which the virtues spring, and with truth also, which cannot exist without reason. Any opinion, however, which is at variance with truth, is wrong.

23. A good man, you will admit, must have the highest sense of duty toward the gods. Hence he will endure with an unruffled spirit whatever happens to him; for he will know that it has happened as a result of the divine law, by which the whole creation moves. This being so, there will be for him one good, and only one, namely, that which is honourable; for one of its dictates is that we shall obey the gods and not blaze forth in anger at sudden misfortunes or deplore our lot, but rather patiently accept fate and obey its commands.

24. If anything except the honourable is good, we shall be hounded by greed for life, and by greed for the things which provide life with its furnishings, – an intolerable state, subject to no limits, unstable. The only good, therefore, is that which is honourable, that which is subject to bounds.

25. I have declared that man's life would be more blest than that of the gods, if those things which the gods do not enjoy are goods, – such as money and offices of dignity. There is this further consideration: if only it is true that our souls, when released from the body, still abide, a happier condition is in store for them than is theirs while they dwell in the body. And yet, if those things are goods which we make use of for our bodies' sake, our souls will be worse off when set free; and that is contrary to our belief, to say that the soul is happier when it is cabined and confined than when it is free and has betaken itself to the universe.

26. I also said that if those things which dumb animals possess equally with man are goods, then dumb animals also will lead a happy life; which is of course impossible. One must endure all things in defence of that which is honourable; but this would not be necessary if there existed any other good besides that which is honourable.

Although this question was discussed by me pretty extensively in a previous letter, I have discussed it summarily and briefly run through the argument.

27. But an opinion of this kind will never seem true to you unless you exalt your mind and ask yourself whether, at the call of duty, you would be willing to die for your country, and buy the safety of all your fellow-citizens at the price of your own; whether you would offer your neck not only with patience, but also with gladness. If you would do this, there is no other good in your eyes. For you are giving up everything in order to acquire this good. Consider how great is the power of that which is honourable: you will die for your country, even at a moment's notice, when you know that you ought to do so.

28. Sometimes, as a result of noble conduct, one wins great joy even in a very short and fleeting space of time; and though none of the fruits of a deed that has been done will accrue to the doer after he is dead and removed from the sphere of human affairs, yet the mere contemplation of a deed that is to be done is a delight, and the brave and upright man, picturing to himself the guerdons of his death, – guerdons such as the freedom of his country and the deliverance of all those for

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whom he is paying out his life, – partakes of the greatest pleasure and enjoys the fruit of his own peril.

29. But that man also who is deprived of this joy, the joy which is afforded by the contemplation of some last noble effort, will leap to his death without a moment's hesitation, content to act rightly and dutifully. Moreover, you may confront him with many discouragements; you may say: "Your deed will speedily be forgotten," or "Your fellow-citizens will offer you scant thanks." He will answer: "All these matters lie outside my task. My thoughts are on the deed itself. I know that this is honourable. Therefore, whithersoever I am led and summoned by honour, I will go."

30. This, therefore, is the only good, and not only is every soul that has reached perfection aware of it, but also every soul that is by nature noble and of right instincts; all other goods are trivial and mutable. For this reason we are harassed if we possess them. Even though, by the kindness of Fortune, they have been heaped together, they weigh heavily upon their owners, always pressing them down and sometimes crushing them.

31. None of those whom you behold clad in purple is happy, any more than one of these actors upon whom the play bestows a sceptre and a cloak while on the stage; they strut their hour before a crowded house, with swelling port and buskined foot; but when once they make their exit the foot-gear is removed and they return to their proper stature. None of those who have been raised to a loftier height by riches and honours is really great. Why then does he seem great to you? It is because you are measuring the pedestal along with the man. A dwarf is not tall, though he stand upon a mountain-top; a colossal statue will still be tall, though you place it in a well.

32. This is the error under which we labour; this is the reason why we are imposed upon: we value no man at what he is, but add to the man himself the trappings in which he is clothed. But when you wish to inquire into a man's true worth, and to know what manner of man he is, look at him when he is naked; make him lay aside his inherited estate, his titles, and the other deceptions of fortune; let him even strip off his body. Consider his soul, its quality and its stature, and thus learn whether its greatness is borrowed, or its own.

33. If a man can behold with unflinching eyes the flash of a sword, if he knows that it makes no difference to him whether his soul takes flight through his mouth or through a wound in his throat, you may call him happy; you may also call him happy if, when he is threatened with bodily torture, whether it be the result of accident or of the might of the stronger, he can without concern hear talk of chains, or of exile, or of all the idle fears that stir men's minds, and can say:

"O maiden, no new sudden form of toil
Springs up before my eyes; within my soul
I have forestalled and surveyed everything.

To-day it is you who threaten me with these terrors; but I have always threatened myself with them, and have prepared myself as a man to meet man's destiny."

34. If an evil has been pondered beforehand, the blow is gentle when it comes. To the fool, however, and to him who trusts in fortune, each event as it arrives "comes in a new and sudden form," and a large part of evil, to the inexperienced, consists in its novelty. This is proved by the fact that men endure with greater courage, when they have once become accustomed to them, the things which they had at first regarded as hardships.

35. Hence, the wise man accustoms himself to coming trouble, lightening by long reflection the evils which others lighten by long endurance. We sometimes hear the inexperienced say: "I knew that this was in store for me." But the wise man knows that all things are in store for him. Whatever happens, he says: "I knew it." Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 77. On Taking One's Own Life

1. Suddenly there came into our view to-day the "Alexandrian" ships, – I mean those which are usually sent ahead to announce the coming of the fleet; they are called "mail-boats." The Campanians are glad to see them; all the rabble of Puteoli* stand on the docks, and can recognize the "Alexandrian" boats, no matter how great the crowd of vessels, by the very trim of their sails. For they alone may keep spread their topsails, which all ships use when out at sea, [*Puteoli, in the bay of Naples, was the head-quarters in Italy of the important grain-trade with Egypt, on which the Roman magistrates relied to feed the populace.]

2. because nothing sends a ship along so well as its upper canvas; that is where most of the speed is obtained. So when the breeze has stiffened and becomes stronger than is comfortable, they set their yards lower; for the wind has less force near the surface of the water. Accordingly, when they have made Capreae and the headland whence

Tall Pallas watches on the stormy peak,

all other vessels are bidden to be content with the mainsail, and the topsail stands out conspicuously on the "Alexandrian" mail-boats.

3. While everybody was bustling about and hurrying to the water-front, I felt great pleasure in my laziness, because, although I was soon to receive letters from my friends, I was in no hurry to know how my affairs were progressing abroad, or what news the letters were bringing; for some time now I have had no losses, nor gains either. Even if I were not an old man, I could not have helped feeling pleasure at this; but as it is, my pleasure was far greater. For, however small my possessions might be, I should still have left over more travelling-money than journey to travel, especially since this journey upon which we have set out is one which need not be followed to the end.

4. An expedition will be incomplete if one stops half-way, or anywhere on this side of one's destination; but life is not incomplete if it is honourable. At whatever point you leave off living, provided you leave off nobly, your life is a whole. Often, however, one must leave off bravely, and our reasons therefore need not be momentous; for neither are the reasons momentous which hold us here.

5. Tullius Marcellinus, a man whom you knew very well, who in youth was a quiet soul and became old prematurely, fell ill of a disease which was by no means hopeless; but it was protracted and troublesome, and it demanded much attention; hence he began to think about dying. He called many of his friends together. Each one of them gave Marcellinus advice, – the timid friend urging him to do what he had made up his mind to do; the flattering and wheedling friend giving counsel which he supposed would be more pleasing to Marcellinus when he came to think the matter over;

6. but our Stoic friend, a rare man, and, to praise him in language which he deserves, a man of courage and vigour admonished him best of all, as it seems to me. For he began as follows: "Do not torment yourself, my dear Marcellinus, as if the question which you are weighing were a matter of importance. It is not an important matter to live; all your slaves live, and so do all animals; but it is important to die honourably, sensibly, bravely. Reflect how long you have been doing the same thing: food, sleep, lust, – this is one's daily round. The desire to die may be felt, not only by the sensible man or the brave or unhappy man, but even by the man who is merely surfeited."

7. Marcellinus did not need someone to urge him, but rather someone to help him; his slaves refused to do his bidding. The Stoic therefore removed their fears, showing them that there was no risk involved for the household except when it was uncertain whether the master's death was self-sought or not; besides, it was as bad a practice to kill one's master as it was to prevent him forcibly from killing himself.

8. Then he suggested to Marcellinus himself that it would be a kindly act to distribute gifts to those who had attended him throughout his whole life, when that life was finished, just as, when a banquet is finished, the remaining portion is divided among the attendants who stand about the table. Marcellinus was of a compliant and generous disposition, even when it was a question of his own property; so he distributed little sums among his sorrowing slaves, and comforted them besides.

9. No need had he of sword or of bloodshed; for three days he fasted and had a tent put up in his very bedroom. Then a tub was brought in; he lay in it for a long time, and, as the hot water was continually poured over him, he gradually passed away, not without a feeling of pleasure, as he himself remarked, – such a feeling as a slow dissolution is wont to give. Those of us who have ever fainted know from experience what this feeling is.

10. This little anecdote into which I have digressed will not be displeasing to you. For you will see that your friend departed neither with difficulty nor with suffering. Though he committed suicide, yet he withdrew most gently, gliding out of life. The anecdote may also be of some use; for often a crisis demands just such examples. There are times when we ought to die and are unwilling; sometimes we die and are unwilling.

11. No one is so ignorant as not to know that we must at some time die; nevertheless, when one draws near death, one turns to flight, trembles, and laments. Would you not think him an utter fool who wept because he was not alive a thousand years ago? And is he not just as much of a fool who weeps because he will not be alive a thousand years from now? It is all the same; you will not be, and you were not. Neither of these periods of time belongs to you.

12. You have been cast upon this point of time; if you would make it longer, how much longer shall you make it? Why weep? Why pray? You are taking pains to no purpose.

Give over thinking that your prayers can bend
Divine decrees from their predestined end.

These decrees are unalterable and fixed; they are governed by a mighty and everlasting compulsion. Your goal will be the goal of all things. What is there strange in this to you? You were born to be subject to this law; this fate befell your father, your mother, your ancestors, all who came before you; and it will befall all who shall come after you. A sequence which cannot be broken or altered by any power binds all things together and draws all things in its course.

13. Think of the multitudes of men doomed to death who will come after you, of the multitudes who will go with you! You would die more bravely, I suppose, in the company of many thousands; and yet there are many thousands, both of men and of animals, who at this very moment, while you are irresolute about death, are breathing their last, in their several ways. But you, – did you believe that you would not some day reach the goal towards which you have always been travelling? No journey but has its end.

14. You think, I suppose, that it is now in order for me to cite some examples of great men. No, I shall cite rather the case of a boy. The story of the Spartan lad has been preserved: taken captive while still a stripling, he kept crying in his Doric dialect, "I will not be a slave!" and he made good his word; for the very first time he was ordered to perform a menial and degrading service, – and the command was to fetch a chamber-pot, – he dashed out his brains against the wall.

15. So near at hand is freedom, and is anyone still a slave? Would you not rather have your own son die thus than reach old age by weakly yielding? Why therefore are you distressed, when even a boy can die so bravely? Suppose that you refuse to follow him; you will be led. Take into your own control that which is now under the control of another. Will you not borrow that boy's courage, and say: "I am no slave!"? Unhappy fellow, you are a slave to men, you are a slave to your business, you are a slave to life. For life, if courage to die be lacking, is slavery.

16. Have you anything worth waiting for? Your very pleasures, which cause you to tarry and hold you back, have already been exhausted by you. None of them is a novelty to you, and there is none that has not already become hateful because you are cloyed with it. You know the taste of wine and cordials. It makes no difference whether a hundred or a thousand measures pass through your bladder; you are nothing but a wine-strainer. You are a connoisseur in the flavour of the oyster and of the mullet; your luxury has not left you anything untasted for the years that are to come; and yet these are the things from which you are torn away unwillingly.

17. What else is there which you would regret to have taken from you? Friends? But who can be a friend to you? Country? What? Do you think enough of your country to be late to dinner? The light of the sun? You would extinguish it, if you could; for what have you ever done that was fit to be seen in the light? Confess the truth; it is not because you long for the senate chamber or the forum, or even for the world of nature, that you would fain put off dying; it is because you are loth to leave the fish-market, though you have exhausted its stores.

18. You are afraid of death; but how can you scorn it in the midst of a mushroom supper? You wish to live; well, do you know how to live? You are afraid to die. But come now: is this life of yours anything but death? Gaius Caesar was passing along the Via Latina, when a man stepped out from the ranks of the prisoners, his grey beard hanging down even to his breast, and begged to be put to death. "What!" said Caesar, "are you alive now?" That is the answer which should be given to men to whom death would come as a relief. "You are afraid to die; what! are you alive now?"

19. "But," says one, "I wish to live, for I am engaged in many honourable pursuits. I am loth to leave life's duties, which I am fulfilling with loyalty and zeal." Surely you are aware that dying is also one of life's duties? You are deserting no duty; for there is no definite number established which you are bound to complete.

20. There is no life that is not short. Compared with the world of nature, even Nestor's life was a short one, or Sattia's, the woman who bade carve on her tombstone that she had lived ninety and nine years. Some persons, you see, boast of their long lives; but who could have endured the old lady if she had had the luck to complete her hundredth year? It is with life as it is with a play, – it matters not how long the action is spun out, but how good the acting is. It makes no difference at what point you stop. Stop whenever you choose; only see to it that the closing period is well turned*. Farewell. [*Compare the last words of the Emperor Augustus: "Have I played the part well? Then applaud as I exit."]

SENECA LETTER 78. On the Healing Power of the Mind

1. That you are frequently troubled by the snuffling of catarrh and by short attacks of fever which follow after long and chronic catarrhal seizures, I am sorry to hear; particularly because I have experienced this sort of illness myself, and scorned it in its early stages. For when I was still young, I could put up with hardships and show a bold front to illness. But I finally succumbed, and arrived at such a state that I could do nothing but snuffle, reduced as I was to the extremity of thinness [To such a degree that Seneca's enemy Caligula refrained from executing him, on the ground that he would soon die.].

2. I often entertained the impulse of ending my life then and there; but the thought of my kind old father kept me back. For I reflected, not how bravely I had the power to die, but how little power he had to bear bravely the loss of me. And so I commanded myself to live. For sometimes it is an act of bravery even to live.

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3. Now I shall tell you what consoled me during those days, stating at the outset that these very aids to my peace of mind were as efficacious as medicine. Honourable consolation results in a cure; and whatever has uplifted the soul helps the body also. My studies were my salvation. I place it to the credit of philosophy that I recovered and regained my strength. I owe my life to philosophy, and that is the least of my obligations!

4. My friends, too, helped me greatly toward good health; I used to be comforted by their cheering words, by the hours they spent at my bedside, and by their conversation. Nothing, my excellent Lucilius, refreshes and aids a sick man so much as the affection of his friends; nothing so steals away the expectation and the fear of death. In fact, I could not believe that, if they survived me, I should be dying at all. Yes, I repeat, it seemed to me that I should continue to live, not with them, but through them. I imagined myself not to be yielding up my soul, but to be making it over to them. All these things gave me the inclination to succour myself and to endure any torture; besides, it is a most miserable state to have lost one's zest for dying, and to have no zest in living.

5. These, then, are the remedies to which you should have recourse. The physician will prescribe your walks and your exercise; he will warn you not to become addicted to idleness, as is the tendency of the inactive invalid; he will order you to read in a louder voice and to exercise your lungs the passages and cavity of which are affected; or to sail and shake up your bowels by a little mild motion; he will recommend the proper food, and the suitable time for aiding your strength with wine or refraining from it in order to keep your cough from being irritated and hacking. But as for me, my counsel to you is this, – and it is a cure, not merely of this disease of yours, but of your whole life, – "Despise death." There is no sorrow in the world, when we have escaped from the fear of death.

6. There are these three serious elements in every disease: fear of death, bodily pain, and interruption of pleasures. Concerning death enough has been said, and I shall add only a word: this fear is not a fear of disease, but a fear of nature. Disease has often postponed death, and a vision of dying has been many a man's salvation. You will die, not because you are ill, but because you are alive; even when you have been cured, the same end awaits you; when you have recovered, it will be not death, but ill-health, that you have escaped.

7. Let us now return to the consideration of the characteristic disadvantage of disease: it is accompanied by great suffering. The suffering, however, is rendered endurable by interruptions; for the strain of extreme pain must come to an end. No man can suffer both severely and for a long time; Nature, who loves us most tenderly, has so constituted us as to make pain either endurable or short.

8. The severest pains have their seat in the most slender parts of our body; nerves, joints, and any other of the narrow passages, hurt most cruelly when they have developed trouble within their contracted spaces. But these parts soon become numb, and by reason of the pain itself lose the sensation of pain, whether because the life-force, when checked in its natural course and changed for the worse, loses the peculiar power through which it thrives and through which it warns us, or because the diseased humours of the body, when they cease to have a place into which they may flow, are thrown back upon themselves, and deprive of sensation the parts where they have caused congestion.

9. So gout, both in the feet and in the hands, and all pain in the vertebrae and in the nerves, have their intervals of rest at the times when they have dulled the parts which they before had tortured; the first twinges, in all such cases, are what cause the distress, and their onset is checked by lapse of time, so that there is an end of pain when numbness has set in. Pain in the teeth, eyes, and ears is most acute for the very reason that it begins among the narrow spaces of the body, – no less acute, indeed, than in the head itself. But if it is more violent than usual, it turns to delirium and stupor.

10. This is, accordingly, a consolation for excessive pain, – that you cannot help ceasing to feel it if you feel it to excess. The reason, however, why the inexperienced are impatient when their bodies suffer is, that they have not accustomed themselves to be contented in spirit. They have been closely associated with the body. Therefore a high-minded and sensible man divorces soul from body, and dwells much with the better or divine part, and only as far as he must with this complaining and frail portion.

11. "But it is a hardship," men say, "to do without our customary pleasures, – to fast, to feel thirst and hunger." These are indeed serious when one first abstains from them. Later the desire dies down, because the appetites themselves which lead to desire are wearied and forsake us; then the stomach becomes petulant, then the food which we craved before becomes hateful. Our very wants die away. But there is no bitterness in doing without that which you have ceased to desire.

12. Moreover, every pain sometimes stops, or at any rate slackens; moreover, one may take precautions against its return, and, when it threatens, may check it by means of remedies. Every variety of pain has its premonitory symptoms; this is true, at any rate, of pain that is habitual and recurrent. One can endure the suffering which disease entails, if one has come to regard its results with scorn.

13. But do not of your own accord make your troubles heavier to bear and burden yourself with complaining. Pain is slight if opinion has added nothing to it; but if, on the other hand, you begin to encourage yourself and say, "It is nothing, – a trifling matter at most; keep a stout heart and it will soon cease"; then in thinking it slight, you will make it slight. Everything depends on opinion; ambition, luxury, greed, hark back to opinion. It is according to opinion that we suffer.

14. A man is as wretched as he has convinced himself that he is. I hold that we should do away with complaint about past sufferings and with all language like this: "None has ever been worse off than I. What sufferings, what evils have I endured! No one has thought that I shall recover. How often have my family bewailed me, and the physicians given me over! Men who are placed on the rack are not torn asunder with such agony!" However, even if all this is true, it is over and gone. What benefit is there in reviewing past sufferings, and in being unhappy, just because once you were unhappy? Besides, every one adds much to his own ills, and tells lies to himself. And that which was bitter to bear is pleasant to have borne; it is natural to rejoice at the ending of one's ills. Two elements must therefore be rooted out once for all, – the fear of future suffering, and the recollection of past suffering; since the latter no longer concerns me, and the former concerns me not yet.

15. But when set in the very midst of troubles one should say:

Perchance some day the memory of this sorrow
Will even bring delight.

Let such a man fight against them with all his might: if he once gives way, he will be vanquished; but if he strives against his sufferings, he will conquer. As it is, however, what most men do is to drag down upon their own heads a falling ruin which they ought to try to support. If you begin to withdraw your support from that which thrusts toward you and totters and is ready to plunge, it will follow you and lean more heavily upon you; but if you hold your ground and make up your mind to push against it, it will be forced back.

16. What blows do athletes receive on their faces and all over their bodies! Nevertheless, through their desire for fame they endure every torture, and they undergo these things not only because they are fighting but in order to be able to fight. Their very training means torture. So let us also win the way to victory in all our struggles, – for the reward is not a garland or a palm or a trumpeter who calls for silence at the proclamation of our names, but rather virtue, steadfastness of soul, and a peace that is won for all time, if fortune has once been utterly vanquished in any combat. You say, "I feel severe pain."

17. What then; are you relieved from feeling it, if you endure it like a woman? Just as an enemy is more dangerous to a retreating army, so every trouble that fortune brings attacks us all the harder if we yield and turn our backs. "But the trouble is serious." What? Is it for this purpose that we are strong, – that we may have light burdens to bear? Would you have your illness long-drawn-out, or would you have it quick and short? If it is long, it means a respite, allows you a period for resting yourself, bestows upon you the boon of time in plenty; as it arises, so it must also subside. A short and rapid illness will do one of two things: it will quench or be quenched. And what difference does it make whether it is not or I am not? In either case there is an end of pain.

18. This, too, will help – to turn the mind aside to thoughts of other things and thus to depart from pain. Call to mind what honourable or brave deeds you have done; consider the good side of your own life. Run over in your memory those things which you have particularly admired. Then think of all the brave men who have conquered pain: of him who continued to read his book as he allowed the cutting out of varicose veins; of him who did not cease to smile, though that very smile so enraged his torturers that they tried upon him every instrument of their cruelty. If pain can be conquered by a smile, will it not be conquered by reason?

19. You may tell me now of whatever you like – of colds, hard coughing-spells that bring up parts of our entrails, fever that parches our very vitals, thirst, limbs so twisted that the joints protrude in different directions; yet worse than these are the stake, the rack, the red-hot plates, the instrument that reopens wounds while the wounds themselves are still swollen and that drives their imprint still deeper. Nevertheless there have been men who have not uttered a moan amid these tortures. "More yet!" says the torturer; but the victim has not begged for release. "More yet!" he says again; but no answer has come. "More yet!" the victim has smiled, and heartily, too. Can you not bring yourself, after an example like this, to make a mock at pain?

20. "But," you object, "my illness does not allow me to be doing anything; it has withdrawn me from all my duties." It is your body that is hampered by ill-health, and not your soul as well. It is for this reason that it clogs the feet of the runner and will hinder the handiwork of the cobbler or the artisan; but if your soul be habitually in practice, you will plead and teach, listen and learn, investigate and meditate. What more is necessary? Do you think that you are doing nothing if you possess self-control in your illness? You will be showing that a disease can be overcome, or at any rate endured.

21. There is, I assure you, a place for virtue even upon a bed of sickness. It is not only the sword and the battle-line that prove the soul alert and unconquered by fear; a man can display bravery even when wrapped in his bed-clothes. You have something to do: wrestle bravely with disease. If it shall compel you to nothing, beguile you to nothing, it is a notable example that you display. O what ample matter were there for renown, if we could have spectators of our sickness! Be your own spectator; seek your own applause.

22. Again, there are two kinds of pleasures. Disease checks the pleasures of the body, but does not do away with them. Nay, if the truth is to be considered, it serves to excite them; for the thirstier a man is, the more he enjoys a drink; the hungrier he is, the more pleasure he takes in food. Whatever falls to one's lot after a period of abstinence is welcomed with greater zest. The other kind, however, the pleasures of the mind, which are higher and less uncertain, no physician can refuse to the sick man. Whoever seeks these and knows well what they are, scorns all the blandishments of the senses.

23. Men say, "Poor sick fellow!" But why? Is it because he does not mix snow with his wine, or because he does not revive the chill of his drink – mixed as it is in a good-sized bowl – by chipping ice into it? Or because he does not have Lucrine oysters opened fresh at his table? Or because there is no din of cooks about his dining-hall, as they bring in their very cooking apparatus along with their viands? For luxury has already devised this fashion – of having the kitchen accompany the dinner, so that the food may not grow luke-warm, or fail to be hot enough for a palate which has already become hardened.

24. "Poor sick fellow!" – he will eat as much as he can digest. There will be no boar lying before his eyes, banished from the table as if it were a common meat; and on his sideboard there will be heaped together no breast-meat of birds, because it sickens him to see birds served whole. But what evil has been done to you? You will dine like a sick man, nay, sometimes like a sound man.

25. All these things, however, can be easily endured – gruel, warm water, and anything else that seems insupportable to a fastidious man, to one who is wallowing in luxury, sick in soul rather than in body – if only we cease to shudder at death. And we shall cease, if once we have gained a knowledge of the limits of good and evil; then, and then only, life will not weary us, neither will death make us afraid.

26. For surfeit of self can never seize upon a life that surveys all the things which are manifold, great, divine; only idle leisure is wont to make men hate their lives. To one who roams through the universe, the truth can never pall; it will be the untruths that will cloy.

27. And, on the other hand, if death comes near with its summons, even though it be untimely in its arrival, though it cut one off in one's prime, a man has had a taste of all that the longest life can give. Such a man has in great measure come to understand the universe. He knows that honourable things do not depend on time for their growth; but any life must seem short to those who measure its length by pleasures which are empty and for that reason unbounded.

28. Refresh yourself with such thoughts as these, and meanwhile reserve some hours for our letters. There will come a time when we shall be united again and brought together; however short this time may be, we shall make it long by knowing how to employ it. For, as Posidonius says: "A single day among the learned lasts longer than the longest life of the ignorant."

29. Meanwhile, hold fast to this thought, and grip it close: yield not to adversity; trust not to prosperity; keep before your eyes the full scope of Fortune's power, as if she would surely do whatever is in her power to do. That which has been long expected comes more gently. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 79. On the Rewards of Scientific Discovery

1. I have been awaiting a letter from you, that you might inform me what new matter was revealed to you during your trip round Sicily, and especially that you might give me further information regarding Charybdis itself. I know very well that Scylla is a rock – and indeed a rock not dreaded by mariners; but with regard to Charybdis I should like to have a full description, in order to see whether it agrees with the accounts in mythology; and, if you have by chance investigated it (for it is indeed worthy of your investigation), please enlighten me concerning the following: Is it lashed into a whirlpool by a wind from only one direction, or do all storms alike serve to disturb its depths? Is it true that objects snatched downwards by the whirlpool in that strait are carried for many miles under water, and then come to the surface on the beach near Tauromenium?

2. If you will write me a full account of these matters, I shall then have the boldness to ask you to perform another task, –

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also to climb Aetna at my special request. Certain naturalists have inferred that the mountain is wasting away and gradually settling, because sailors used to be able to see it from a greater distance. The reason for this may be, not that the height of the mountain is decreasing, but because the flames have become dim and the eruptions less strong and less copious, and because for the same reason the smoke also is less active by day. However, either of these two things is possible to believe: that on the one hand the mountain is growing smaller because it is consumed from day to day, and that, on the other hand, it remains the same in size because the mountain is not devouring itself, but instead of this the matter which seethes forth collects in some subterranean valley and is fed by other material, finding in the mountain itself not the food which it requires, but simply a passage-way out.

3. There is a well-known place in Lycia – called by the inhabitants "Hephaestion" – where the ground is full of holes in many places and is surrounded by a harmless fire, which does no injury to the plants that grow there. Hence the place is fertile and luxuriant with growth, because the flames do not scorch but merely shine with a force that is mild and feeble.

4. But let us postpone this discussion, and look into the matter when you have given me a description just how far distant the snow lies from the crater, – I mean the snow which does not melt even in summer, so safe is it from the adjacent fire. But there is no ground for your charging this work to my account; for you were about to gratify your own craze for fine writing, without a commission from anyone at all.

5. Nay, what am I to offer you not merely to describe Aetna in your poem, and not to touch lightly upon a topic which is a matter of ritual for all poets? Ovid could not be prevented from using this theme simply because Vergil had already fully covered it; nor could either of these writers frighten off Cornelius Severus. Besides, the topic has served them all with happy results, and those who have gone before seem to me not to have forestalled all that could be said, but merely to have opened the way.

6. It makes a great deal of difference whether you approach a subject that has been exhausted, or one where the ground has merely been broken; in the latter case, the topic grows day by day, and what is already discovered does not hinder new discoveries. Besides, he who writes last has the best of the bargain; he finds already at hand words which, when marshalled in a different way, show a new face. And he is not pilfering them, as if they belonged to someone else, when he uses them, for they are common property.

7. Now if Aetna does not make your mouth water, I am mistaken in you. You have for some time been desirous of writing something in the grand style and on the level of the older school. For your modesty does not allow you to set your hopes any higher; this quality of yours is so pronounced that, it seems to me, you are likely to curb the force of your natural ability, if there should be any danger of outdoing others; so greatly do you reverence the old masters.

8. Wisdom has this advantage, among others, – that no man can be outdone by another, except during the climb. But when you have arrived at the top, it is a draw; there is no room for further ascent, the game is over. Can the sun add to his size? Can the moon advance beyond her usual fulness? The seas do not increase in bulk. The universe keeps the same character, the same limits.

9. Things which have reached their full stature cannot grow higher. Men who have attained wisdom will therefore be equal and on the same footing. Each of them will possess his own peculiar gifts: one will be more affable, another more facile, another more ready of speech, a fourth more eloquent; but as regards the quality under discussion, – the element that produces happiness, – it is equal in them all.

10. I do not know whether this Aetna of yours can collapse and fall in ruins, whether this lofty summit, visible for many miles over the deep sea, is wasted by the incessant power of the flames; but I do know that virtue will not be brought down to a lower plane either by flames or by ruins. Hers is the only greatness that knows no lowering; there can be for her no further rising or sinking. Her stature, like that of the stars in the heavens, is fixed. Let us therefore strive to raise ourselves to this altitude.

11. Already much of the task is accomplished; nay, rather, if I can bring myself to confess the truth, not much. For goodness does not mean merely being better than the lowest. Who that could catch but a mere glimpse of the daylight would boast his powers of vision? One who sees the sun shining through a mist may be contented meanwhile that he has escaped darkness, but he does not yet enjoy the blessing of light.

12. Our souls will not have reason to rejoice in their lot until, freed from this darkness in which they grope, they have not merely glimpsed the brightness with feeble vision, but have absorbed the full light of day and have been restored to their place in the sky, – until, indeed, they have regained the place which they held at the allotment of their birth. The soul is summoned upward by its very origin. And it will reach that goal even before it is released from its prison below, as soon as it has cast off sin and, in purity and lightness, has leaped up into celestial realms of thought.

13. I am glad, beloved Lucilius, that we are occupied with this ideal, that we pursue it with all our might, even though few know it, or none. Fame is the shadow of virtue; it will attend virtue even against her will. But, as the shadow sometimes precedes and sometimes follows or even lags behind, so fame sometimes goes before us and shows herself in plain sight, and sometimes is in the rear, and is all the greater in proportion as she is late in coming, when once envy has beaten a retreat.

14. How long did men believe Democritus to be mad! Glory barely came to Socrates. And how long did our state remain in ignorance of Cato! They rejected him, and did not know his worth until they had lost him. If Rutilius had not resigned himself to wrong, his innocence and virtue would have escaped notice; the hour of his suffering was the hour of his triumph. Did he not give thanks for his lot, and welcome his exile with open arms? I have mentioned thus far those to whom Fortune has brought renown at the very moment of persecution; but how many there are whose progress toward virtue has come to light only after their death! And how many have been ruined, not rescued, by their reputation?

15. There is Epicurus, for example; mark how greatly he is admired, not only by the more cultured, but also by this ignorant rabble. This man, however, was unknown to Athens itself, near which he had hidden himself away. And so, when he had already survived by many years his friend Metrodorus, he added in a letter these last words, proclaiming with thankful appreciation the friendship that had existed between them: "So greatly blest were Metrodorus and I that it has been no harm to us to be unknown, and almost unheard of, in this well-known land of Greece."

16. Is it not true, therefore, that men did not discover him until after he had ceased to be? Has not his renown shone forth, for all that? Metrodorus also admits this fact in one of his letters: that Epicurus and he were not well known to the public; but he declares that after the lifetime of Epicurus and himself any man who might wish to follow in their footsteps would win great and ready-made renown.

17. Virtue is never lost to view; and yet to have been lost to view is no loss. There will come a day which will reveal her, though hidden away or suppressed by the spite of her contemporaries. That man is born merely for a few, who thinks only of the people of his own generation. Many thousands of years and many thousands of peoples will come after you; it is to these that you should have regard. Malice may have imposed silence upon the mouths of all who were alive in your day; but there will come men who will judge you without prejudice and without favour. If there is any reward that virtue receives at the hands of fame, not even this can pass away. We ourselves, indeed, shall not be affected by the talk of posterity; nevertheless, posterity will cherish and celebrate us even though we are not conscious thereof.

18. Virtue has never failed to reward a man, both during his life and after his death, provided he has followed her loyally, provided he has not decked himself out or painted himself up, but has been always the same, whether he appeared before men's eyes after being announced, or suddenly and without preparation. Pretence accomplishes nothing. Few are deceived by a mask that is easily drawn over the face. Truth is the same in every part. Things which deceive us have no real substance. Lies are thin stuff; they are transparent, if you examine them with care. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 80. On Worldly Deceptions

1. To-day I have some free time, thanks not so much to myself as to the games, which have attracted all the bores to the boxing-match. [Probably a contest in which the participants attached leaden weights to their hands in order to increase the force of the blows.] No one will interrupt me or disturb the train of my thoughts, which go ahead more boldly as the result of my very confidence. My door has not been continually creaking on its hinges nor will my curtain be pulled aside; my thoughts may march safely on, – and that is all the more necessary for one who goes independently and follows out his own path. Do I then follow no predecessors? Yes, but I allow myself to discover something new, to alter, to reject. I am not a slave to them, although I give them my approval.

2. And yet that was a very bold word which I spoke when I assured myself that I should have some quiet, and some uninterrupted retirement. For lo, a great cheer comes from the stadium, and while it does not drive me distracted, yet it shifts my thought to a contrast suggested by this very noise. How many men, I say to myself, train their bodies, and how few train their minds! What crowds flock to the games, – spurious as they are and arranged merely for pastime, – and what a solitude reigns where the good arts are taught! How feather-brained are the athletes whose muscles and shoulders we admire!

3. The question which I ponder most of all is this: if the body can be trained to such a degree of endurance that it will stand the blows and kicks of several opponents at once and to such a degree that a man can last out the day and resist the scorching sun in the midst of the burning dust, drenched all the while with his own blood, – if this can be done, how much more easily might the mind be toughened so that it could receive the blows of Fortune and not be conquered, so that it might struggle to its feet again after it has been laid low, after it has been trampled under foot? For although the body needs many things in order to be strong, yet the mind grows from within, giving to itself nourishment and exercise. Yonder athletes must have copious food, copious drink, copious quantities of oil, and long training besides; but you can acquire virtue without equipment and without expense. All that goes to make you a good man lies within yourself.

4. And what do you need in order to become good? To wish it. But what better thing could you wish for than to break away from this slavery, – a slavery that oppresses us all, a slavery which even chattels of the lowest estate, born amid such degradation, strive in every possible way to strip off? In exchange for freedom they pay out the savings which they have scraped together by cheating their own bellies; shall you not be eager to attain liberty at any price, seeing that you claim it as your birthright?

5. Why cast glances toward your strong-box? Liberty cannot be bought. It is therefore useless to enter in your ledger the item of "Freedom," for freedom is possessed neither by those who have bought it, nor by those who have sold it. You must give this good to yourself, and seek it from yourself. First of all, free yourself from the fear of death, for death puts the yoke about our necks; then free yourself from the fear of poverty.

6. If you would know how little evil there is in poverty, compare the faces of the poor with those of the rich; the poor man smiles more often and more genuinely; his troubles do not go deep down; even if any anxiety comes upon him, it passes like a fitful cloud. But the merriment of those whom men call happy is feigned, while their sadness is heavy and festering, and all the heavier because they may not meanwhile display their grief, but must act the part of happiness in the midst of sorrows that eat out their very hearts.

7. I often feel called upon to use the following illustration, and it seems to me that none expresses more effectively this drama of human life, wherein we are assigned the parts which we are to play so badly. Yonder is the man who stalks upon the stage with swelling port and head thrown back, and says:

Lo, I am he whom Argos hails as lord,
Whom Pelops left the heir of lands that spread
From Hellespont and from th' Ionian sea
E'en to the Isthmian straits.

And who is this fellow? He is but a slave; his wage is five measures of grain and five denarii.

8. Yon other who, proud and wayward and puffed up by confidence in his power, declaims:

Peace, Menelaus, or this hand shall slay thee!

receives a daily pittance and sleeps on rags. You may speak in the same way about all these dandies whom you see riding in litters above the heads of men and above the crowd; in every case their happiness is put on like the actor's mask. Tear it off, and you will scorn them.

9. When you buy a horse, you order its blanket to be removed; you pull off the garments from slaves that are advertised for sale, so that no bodily flaws may escape your notice; if you judge a man, do you judge him when he is wrapped in a disguise? Slave-dealers hide under some sort of finery any defect which may give offence, and for that reason the very trappings arouse the suspicion of the buyer. If you catch sight of a leg or an arm that is bound up in cloths, you demand that it be stripped and that the body itself be revealed to you.

10. Do you see yonder Scythian or Sarmatian king, his head adorned with the badge of his office? If you wish to see what he amounts to, and to know his full worth, take off his diadem; much evil lurks beneath it. But why do I speak of others? If you wish to set a value on yourself, put away your money, your estates, your honours, and look into your own soul. At present, you are taking the word of others for what you are. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 81. On Benefits

1. You complain that you have met with an ungrateful person. If this is your first experience of that sort, you should offer thanks either to your good luck or to your caution. In this case, however, caution can effect nothing but to make you ungenerous. For if you wish to avoid such a danger, you will not confer benefits; and so, that benefits may not be lost with another man, they will be lost to yourself. It is better, however, to get no return than to confer no benefits. Even after a poor crop one should sow again; for often losses due to continued barrenness of an unproductive soil have been made good by one year's fertility.

2. In order to discover one grateful person, it is worth while to make trial of many ungrateful ones. No man has so unerring a hand when he confers benefits that he is not frequently deceived; it is well for the traveller to wander, that he may again cleave to the path. After a shipwreck, sailors try

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the sea again. The banker is not frightened away from the forum by the swindler. If one were compelled to drop everything that caused trouble, life would soon grow dull amid sluggish idleness; but in your case this very condition may prompt you to become more charitable. For when the outcome of any undertaking is unsure, you must try again and again, in order to succeed ultimately.

3. I have, however, discussed the matter with sufficient fulness in the volumes which I have written, entitled "On Benefits." What I think should rather be investigated is this, – a question which I feel has not been made sufficiently clear: "Whether he who has helped us has squared the account and has freed us from our debt, if he has done us harm later." You may add this question also, if you like: "when the harm done later has been more than the help rendered previously."

4. If you are seeking for the formal and just decision of a strict judge, you will find that he checks off one act by the other, and declares: "Though the injuries outweigh the benefits, yet we should credit to the benefits anything that stands over even after the injury." The harm done was indeed greater, but the helpful act was done first. Hence the time also should be taken into account.

5. Other cases are so clear that I need not remind you that you should also look into such points as: How gladly was the help offered, and how reluctantly was the harm done, – since benefits, as well as injuries, depend on the spirit. "I did not wish to confer the benefit; but I was won over by my respect for the man, or by the importunity of his request, or by hope."

6. Our feeling about every obligation depends in each case upon the spirit in which the benefit is conferred; we weigh not the bulk of the gift, but the quality of the good-will which prompted it. So now let us do away with guess-work; the former deed was a benefit, and the latter, which transcended the earlier benefit, is an injury. The good man so arranges the two sides of his ledger* that he voluntarily cheats himself by adding to the benefit and subtracting from the injury. [* Calculi, that were counters, spread out on the abacus, or counting-board; they ran in columns, by millions, hundred thousands, etc.] The more indulgent magistrate, however (and I should rather be such a one), will order us to forget the injury and remember the accommodation.

7. "But surely," you say, "it is the part of justice to render to each that which is his due, – thanks in return for a benefit, and retribution*, or at any rate ill-will, in return for an injury!" [*Talio, from talis, "just so much", is the old Roman law of "eye for eye and tooth for tooth." As law became less crude, it gave way to fines.] This, I say, will be true when it is one man who has inflicted the injury, and a different man who has conferred the benefit; for if it is the same man, the force of the injury is nullified by the benefit conferred. Indeed, a man who ought to be pardoned, even though there were no good deeds credited to him in the past, should receive something more than mere leniency if he commits a wrong when he has a benefit to his credit.

8. I do not set an equal value on benefits and injuries. I reckon a benefit at a higher rate than an injury. Not all grateful persons know what it involves to be in debt for a benefit; even a thoughtless, crude fellow, one of the common herd, may know, especially soon after he has received the gift; but he does not know how deeply he stands in debt therefor. Only the wise man knows exactly what value should be put upon everything; for the fool whom I just mentioned, no matter how good his intentions may be, either pays less than he owes, or pays it at the wrong time or the wrong place. That for which he should make return he wastes and loses.

9. There is a marvellously accurate phraseology applied to certain subjects, a long-established terminology which indicates certain acts by means of symbols that are most efficient and that serve to outline men's duties. We are, as you know, wont to speak thus: "A. has made a return for the favour bestowed by B." Making a return means handing over of your own accord that which you owe. We do not say, "He has paid back the favour"; for "pay back" is used of a man upon whom a demand for payment is made, of those who pay against their will, of those who pay under any circumstances whatsoever, and of those who pay through a third party. We do not say, "He has 'restored' the benefit," or 'settled' it; we have never been satisfied with a word which applies properly to a debt of money.

10. Making a return means offering something to him from whom you have received something. The phrase implies a voluntary return; he who has made such a return has served the writ upon himself.

The wise man will inquire in his own mind into all the circumstances: how much he has received, from whom, when, where, how. And so we [i.e. the Stoics.] declare that none but the wise man knows how to make return for a favour; moreover, none but the wise man knows how to confer a benefit, – that man, I mean, who enjoys the giving more than the recipient enjoys the receiving.

11. Now some person will reckon this remark as one of the generally surprising statements such as we Stoics are wont to make and such as the Greeks call "paradoxes," and will say: "Do you maintain, then, that only the wise man knows how to return a favour? Do you maintain that no one else knows how to make restoration to a creditor for a debt? Or, on buying a commodity, to pay full value to the seller?" In order not to bring any odium upon myself, let me tell you that Epicurus says the same thing. At any rate, Metrodorus remarks that only the wise man knows how to return a favour.

12. Again, the objector mentioned above wonders at our saying: "The wise man alone knows how to love, the wise man alone is a real friend." And yet it is a part of love and of friendship to return favours; nay, further, it is an ordinary act, and happens more frequently than real friendship. Again, this same objector wonders at our saying, "There is no loyalty except in the wise man," just as if he himself does not say the same thing! Or do you think that there is any loyalty in him who does not know how to return a favour?

13. These men, accordingly, should cease to discredit us, just as if we were uttering an impossible boast; they should understand that the essence of honour resides in the wise man, while among the crowd we find only the ghost and the semblance of honour. None but the wise man knows how to return a favour. Even a fool can return it in proportion to his knowledge and his power; his fault would be a lack of knowledge rather than a lack of will or desire. To will does not come by teaching.

14. The wise man will compare all things with one another; for the very same object becomes greater or smaller, according to the time, the place, and the cause. Often the riches that are spent in profusion upon a palace cannot accomplish as much as a thousand denarii given at the right time. Now it makes a great deal of difference whether you give outright, or come to a man's assistance, whether your generosity saves him, or sets him up in life. Often the gift is small, but the consequences great. And what a distinction do you imagine there is between taking something which one lacks, – something which was offered, – and receiving a benefit in order to confer one in return?

15. But we should not slip back into the subject which we have already sufficiently investigated. In this balancing of benefits and injuries, the good man will, to be sure, judge with the highest degree of fairness, but he will incline towards the side of the benefit; he will turn more readily in this direction.

16. Moreover, in affairs of this kind the person concerned is wont to count for a great deal. Men say: "You conferred a benefit upon me in that matter of the slave, but you did me an injury in the case of my father" or, "You saved my son, but robbed me of a father." Similarly, he will follow up all other matters in which comparisons can be made, and if the difference be very slight, he will pretend not to notice it. Even though the difference be great, yet if the concession can be made without impairment of duty and loyalty, our good man will overlook it – that is, provided the injury exclusively affects the good man himself.

17. To sum up, the matter stands thus: the good man will be easy-going in striking a balance; he will allow too much to be set against his credit. He will be unwilling to pay a benefit by balancing the injury against it. The side towards which he will lean, the tendency which he will exhibit, is the desire to be under obligations for the favour, and the desire to make return therefor. For anyone who receives a benefit more gladly than he repays it is mistaken. By as much as he who pays is more light-hearted than he who borrows, by so much ought he to be more joyful who unburdens himself of the greatest debt – a benefit received – than he who incurs the greatest obligations.

18. For ungrateful men make mistakes in this respect also: they have to pay their creditors both capital and interest, but they think that benefits are currency which they can use without interest. So the debts grow through postponement, and the later the action is postponed the more remains to be paid. A man is an ingrate if he repays a favour without interest. Therefore, interest also should be allowed for, when you compare your receipts and your expenses.

19. We should try by all means to be as grateful as possible. For gratitude is a good thing for ourselves, in a sense in which justice, that is commonly supposed to concern other persons, is not; gratitude returns in large measure unto itself. There is not a man who, when he has benefited his neighbour, has not benefited himself, – I do not mean for the reason that he whom you have aided will desire to aid you, or that he whom you have defended will desire to protect you, or that an example of good conduct returns in a circle to benefit the doer, just as examples of bad conduct recoil upon their authors, and as men find no pity if they suffer wrongs which they themselves have demonstrated the possibility of committing; but that the reward for all the virtues lies in the virtues themselves. For they are not practised with a view to recompense; the wages of a good deed is to have done it.

20. I am grateful, not in order that my neighbour, provoked by the earlier act of kindness, may be more ready to benefit me, but simply in order that I may perform a most pleasant and beautiful act; I feel grateful, not because it profits me, but because it pleases me. And, to prove the truth of this to you, I declare that even if I may not be grateful without seeming ungrateful, even if I am able to return a benefit only by an act which resembles an injury; even so, I shall strive in the utmost calmness of spirit toward the purpose which honour demands, in the very midst of disgrace. No one, I think, rates virtue higher or is more consecrated to virtue than he who has lost his reputation for being a good man in order to keep from losing the approval of his conscience.

21. Thus, as I have said, your being grateful is more conducive to your own good than to your neighbour's good. For while your neighbour has had a common, everyday experience, – namely, receiving back the gift which he had bestowed, – you have had a great experience which is the outcome of an utterly happy condition of soul, – to have felt gratitude. For if wickedness makes men unhappy and virtue makes men blest, and if it is a virtue to be grateful, then the return which you have made is only the customary thing, but the thing to which you have attained is priceless, – the consciousness of gratitude, which comes only to the soul that is divine and blessed. The opposite feeling to this, however, is immediately attended by the greatest unhappiness; no man, if he be ungrateful, will be unhappy in the future. I allow him no day of grace; he is unhappy forthwith.

22. Let us therefore avoid being ungrateful, not for the sake of others but for our own sakes. When we do wrong, only the least and lightest portion of it flows back upon our neighbour; the worst and, if I may use the term, the densest portion of it stays at home and troubles the owner. My master Attalus used to say: "Evil herself drinks the largest portion of her own poison." The poison which serpents carry for the destruction of others, and secrete without harm to themselves, is not like this poison; for this sort is ruinous to the possessor.

23. The ungrateful man tortures and torments himself; he hates the gifts which he has accepted, because he must make a return for them, and he tries to belittle their value, but he really enlarges and exaggerates the injuries which he has received. And what is more wretched than a man who forgets his benefits and clings to his injuries? Wisdom, on the other hand, lends grace to every benefit, and of her own free will commends it to her own favour, and delights her soul by continued recollection thereof.

24. Evil men have but one pleasure in benefits, and a very short-lived pleasure at that; it lasts only while they are receiving them. But the wise man derives therefrom an abiding and eternal joy. For he takes delight not so much in receiving the gift as in having received it; and this joy never perishes; it abides with him always. He despises the wrongs done him; he forgets them, not accidentally, but voluntarily.

25. He does not put a wrong construction upon everything, or seek for someone whom he may hold responsible for each happening; he rather ascribes even the sins of men to chance. He will not misinterpret a word or a look; he makes light of all mishaps by interpreting them in a generous way. He does not remember an injury rather than a service. As far as possible, he lets his memory rest upon the earlier and the better deed, never changing his attitude towards those who have deserved well of him, except in cases where the bad deeds far outdistance the good, and the space between them is obvious even to one who closes his eyes to it; even then only to this extent, that he strives, after receiving the preponderant injury, to resume the attitude which he held before he received the benefit. For when the injury merely equals the benefit, a certain amount of kindly feeling is left over.

26. Just as a defendant is acquitted when the votes are equal, and just as the spirit of kindliness always tries to bend every doubtful case toward the better interpretation, so the mind of the wise man, when another's merits merely equal his bad deeds, will, to be sure, cease to feel an obligation, but does not cease to desire to feel it, and acts precisely like the man who pays his debts even after they have been legally cancelled.

27. But no man can be grateful unless he has learned to scorn the things which drive the common herd to distraction; if you wish to make return for a favour, you must be willing to go into exile, or to pour forth your blood, or to undergo poverty, or – and this will frequently happen, – even to let your very innocence be stained and exposed to shameful slanders. It is no slight price that a man must pay for being grateful.

28. We hold nothing dearer than a benefit, so long as we are seeking one; we hold nothing cheaper after we have received it. Do you ask what it is that makes us forget benefits received? It is our extreme greed for receiving others. We consider not what we have obtained, but what we are to seek. We are deflected from the right course by riches, titles, power, and everything which is valuable in our opinion but worthless when rated at its real value.

29. We do not know how to weigh matters; we should take counsel regarding them, not with their reputation but with their nature; those things possess no grandeur wherewith to enthral our minds, except the fact that we have become accustomed to marvel at them. For they are not praised because they ought to be desired, but they are desired because they have been praised; and when the error of individuals has

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once created error on the part of the public, then the public error goes on creating error on the part of individuals.

30. But just as we take on faith such estimates of values, so let us take on the faith of the people this truth, that nothing is more honourable than a grateful heart. This phrase will be echoed by all cities, and by all races, even those from savage countries. Upon this point good and bad will agree.

31. Some praise pleasure, some prefer toil; some say that pain is the greatest of evils, some say it is no evil at all; some will include riches in the Supreme Good, others will say that their discovery meant harm to the human race, and that none is richer than he to whom Fortune has found nothing to give. Amid all this diversity of opinion all men will yet with one voice, as the saying is, vote "aye" to the proposition that thanks should be returned to those who have deserved well of us. On this question the common herd, rebellious as they are, will all agree, but at present we keep paying back injuries instead of benefits, and the primary reason why a man is ungrateful is that he has found it impossible to be grateful enough.

32. Our madness has gone to such lengths that it is a very dangerous thing to confer great benefits upon a person; for just because he thinks it shameful not to repay, so he would have none left alive whom he should repay. "Keep for yourself what you have received; I do not ask it back; I do not demand it. Let it be safe to have conferred a favour." There is no worse hatred than that which springs from shame at the desecration of a benefit. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 82. On the Natural Fear of Death

1. I have already ceased to be anxious about you. "Whom then of the gods," you ask, "have you found as your voucher?" A god, let me tell you, who deceives no one, – a soul in love with that which is upright and good. The better part of yourself is on safe ground. Fortune can inflict injury upon you; what is more pertinent is that I have no fears lest you do injury to yourself. Proceed as you have begun, and settle yourself in this way of living, not luxuriously, but calmly.

2. I prefer to be in trouble rather than in luxury; and you had better interpret the term "in trouble" as popular usage is wont to interpret it: living a "hard," "rough," "toilsome" life. We are wont to hear the lives of certain men praised as follows, when they are objects of unpopularity: "So-and-So lives luxuriously"; but by this they mean: "He is softened by luxury." For the soul is made womanish by degrees, and is weakened until it matches the ease and laziness in which it lies. Lo, is it not better for one who is really a man even to become hardened? Next, these same dandies fear that which they have made their own lives resemble. Much difference is there between lying idle and lying buried!

3. "But," you say, "is it not better even to lie idle than to whirl round in these eddies of business distraction?" Both extremes are to be deprecated – both tension and sluggishness. I hold that he who lies on a perfumed couch is no less dead than he who is dragged along by the executioner's hook. Leisure without study is death; it is a tomb for the living man.

4. What then is the advantage of retirement? As if the real causes of our anxieties did not follow us across the seas! What hiding-place is there, where the fear of death does not enter? What peaceful haunts are there, so fortified and so far withdrawn that pain does not fill them with fear? Wherever you hide yourself, human ills will make an uproar all around. There are many external things which compass us about, to deceive us or to weigh upon us; there are many things within which, even amid solitude, fret and ferment.

5. Therefore, gird yourself about with philosophy, an impregnable wall. Though it be assaulted by many engines, Fortune can find no passage into it. The soul stands on unassailable ground, if it has abandoned external things; it is independent in its own fortress; and every weapon that is hurled falls short of the mark. Fortune has not the long reach with which we credit her; she can seize none except him that clings to her.

6. Let us then recoil from her as far as we are able. This will be possible for us only through knowledge of self and of the world of Nature. The soul should know whither it is going and whence it came, what is good for it and what is evil, what it seeks and what it avoids, and what is that Reason which distinguishes between the desirable and the undesirable, and thereby tames the madness of our desires and calms the violence of our fears.

7. Some men flatter themselves that they have checked these evils by themselves even without the aid of philosophy; but when some accident catches them off their guard, a tardy confession of error is wrung from them. Their boastful words perish from their lips when the torturer commands them to stretch forth their hands, and when death draws nearer! You might say to such a man: "It was easy for you to challenge evils that were not near-by; but here comes pain, which you declared you could endure; here comes death, against which you uttered many a courageous boast! The whip cracks, the sword flashes:

Ah now, Aeneas, thou must needs be stout
And strong of heart!"

8. This strength of heart, however, will come from constant study, provided that you practise, not with the tongue but with the soul, and provided that you prepare yourself to meet death. To enable yourself to meet death, you may expect no encouragement or cheer from those who try to make you believe, by means of their hair-splitting logic, that death is no evil. For I take pleasure, excellent Lucilius, in poking fun at the absurdities of the Greeks, of which, to my continual surprise, I have not yet succeeded in ridding myself.

9. Our master Zeno uses a syllogism like this: "No evil is glorious; but death is glorious; therefore death is no evil." A cure, Zeno! I have been freed from fear; henceforth I shall not hesitate to bare my neck on the scaffold. Will you not utter sterner words instead of rousing a dying man to laughter? Indeed, Lucilius, I could not easily tell you whether he who thought that he was quenching the fear of death by setting up this syllogism was the more foolish, or he who attempted to refute it, just as if it had anything to do with the matter!

10. For the refuter himself proposed a counter-syllogism, based upon the proposition that we regard death as "indifferent," – one of the things which the Greeks call ἀδιάφορα. "Nothing," he says, "that is indifferent can be glorious; death is glorious; therefore death is not indifferent." You comprehend the tricky fallacy which is contained in this syllogism: mere death is, in fact, not glorious; but a brave death is glorious. And when you say: "Nothing that is indifferent is glorious," I grant you this much, and declare that nothing is glorious except as it deals with indifferent things. I classify as "indifferent," – that is, neither good nor evil – sickness, pain, poverty, exile, death.

11. None of these things is intrinsically glorious; but nothing can be glorious apart from them. For it is not poverty that we praise, it is the man whom poverty cannot humble or bend. Nor is it exile that we praise, it is the man who withdraws into exile in the spirit in which he would have sent another into exile. It is not pain that we praise, it is the man whom pain has not coerced. One praises not death, but the man whose soul death takes away before it can confound it.

12. All these things are in themselves neither honourable nor glorious; but any one of them that virtue has visited and touched is made honourable and glorious by virtue; they merely lie in between, and the decisive question is only whether wickedness or virtue has laid hold upon them. For instance, the death which in Cato's case is glorious, is in the case of Brutus forthwith base and disgraceful. For this Brutus, condemned to death, was trying to obtain postponement; he withdrew a moment in order to ease himself; when summoned to die and ordered to bare his throat, he exclaimed: "I will bare my throat, if only I may live!" What madness it is to run away, when it is impossible to turn back! "I will bare my throat, if only I may live!" He came very near saying also: "even under Antony!" This fellow deserved indeed to be consigned to life!

13. But, as I was going on to remark, you see that death in itself is neither an evil nor a good; Cato experienced death most honourably, Brutus most basely. Everything, if you add virtue, assumes a glory which it did not possess before. We speak of a sunny room, even though the same room is pitch-dark at night.

14. It is the day which fills it with light, and the night which steals the light away; thus it is with the things which we call indifferent and "middle*," like riches, strength, beauty, titles, kingship, and their opposites, – death, exile, ill-health, pain, and all such evils, the fear of which upsets us to a greater or less extent; it is the wickedness or the virtue that bestows the name of good or evil. [*media: a technical word in Stoic philosophy, meaning neither good or bad.] An object is not by its own essence either hot or cold; it is heated when thrown into a furnace, and chilled when dropped into water. Death is honourable when related to that which is honourable; by this I mean virtue and a soul that despises the worst hardships.

15. Furthermore, there are vast distinctions among these qualities which we call "middle." For example, death is not so indifferent as the question whether your hair should be worn evenly or unevenly. Death belongs among those things which are not indeed evils, but still have in them a semblance of evil; for there are implanted in us love of self, a desire for existence and self-preservation, and also an abhorrence of dissolution, because death seems to rob us of many goods and to withdraw us from the abundance to which we have become accustomed. And there is another element which estranges us from death: we are already familiar with the present, but are ignorant of the future into which we shall transfer ourselves, and we shrink from the unknown. Moreover, it is natural to fear the world of shades, whither death is supposed to lead.

16. Therefore, although death is something indifferent, it is nevertheless not a thing which we can easily ignore. The soul must be hardened by long practice, so that it may learn to endure the sight and the approach of death.

Death ought to be despised more than it is wont to be despised. For we believe too many of the stories about death. Many thinkers have striven hard to increase its ill repute; they have portrayed the prison in the world below and the land overwhelmed by everlasting night, where

Within his blood-stained cave Hell's warder huge
Doth sprawl his ugly length on half-crunched bones,
And terrifies the disembodied ghosts
With never-ceasing bark.

Even if you can win your point and prove that these are mere stories and that nothing is left for the dead to fear, another fear steals upon you. For the fear of going to the underworld is equalled by the fear of going nowhere.

17. In the face of these notions, which long-standing opinion has dinned in our ears, how can brave endurance of death be anything else than glorious, and fit to rank among the greatest accomplishments of the human mind? For the mind will never rise to virtue if it believes that death is an evil; but it will so rise if it holds that death is a matter of indifference. It is not in the order of nature that a man shall proceed with a great heart to a destiny which he believes to be evil; he will go sluggishly and with reluctance. But nothing glorious can result from unwillingness and cowardice; virtue does nothing under compulsion.

18. Besides, no deed that a man does is honourable unless he has devoted himself thereto and attended to it with all his heart, rebelling against it with no portion of his being. When, however, a man goes to face an evil, either through fear of worse evils or in the hope of goods whose attainment is of sufficient moment to him that he can swallow the one evil which he must endure, – in that case the judgement of the agent is drawn in two directions. On the one side is the motive which bids him carry out his purpose; on the other, the motive which restrains him and makes him flee from something which has aroused his apprehension or leads to danger. Hence he is torn in different directions; and if this happens, the glory of his act is gone. For virtue accomplishes its plans only when the spirit is in harmony with itself. There is no element of fear in any of its actions.

Yield not to evils, but, still braver, go
Where'er thy fortune shall allow.

19. You cannot "still braver go," if you are persuaded that those things are the real evils. Root out this idea from your soul; otherwise your apprehensions will remain undecided and will thus check the impulse to action. You will be pushed into that towards which you ought to advance like a soldier.

Those of our school, it is true, would have men think that Zeno's syllogism is correct, but that the second I mentioned, which is set up against his, is deceptive and wrong. But I for my part decline to reduce such questions to a matter of dialectical rules or to the subtleties of an utterly worn-out system. Away, I say, with all that sort of thing, which makes a man feel, when a question is propounded to him, that he is hemmed in, and forces him to admit a premiss, and then makes him say one thing in his answer when his real opinion is another. When truth is at stake, we must act more frankly; and when fear is to be combated, we must act more bravely.

20. Such questions, which the dialecticians involve in subtleties, I prefer to solve and weigh rationally, with the purpose of winning conviction and not of forcing the judgement. When a general is about to lead into action an army prepared to meet death for their wives and children, how will he exhort them to battle? I remind you of the Fabii, who took upon a single clan a war which concerned the whole state. I point out to you the Lacedaemonians in position at the very pass of Thermopylae! They have no hope of victory, no hope of returning. The place where they stand is to be their tomb.

21. In what language do you encourage them to bar the way with their bodies and take upon themselves the ruin of their whole tribe, and to retreat from life rather than from their post? Shall you say: "That which is evil is not glorious; but death is glorious; therefore death is not an evil"? What a powerful discourse! After such words, who would hesitate to throw himself upon the serried spears of the foemen, and die in his tracks? But take Leonidas: how bravely did he address his men! He said: "Fellow-soldiers, let us to our breakfast, knowing that we shall sup in Hades!" The food of these men did not grow lumpy in their mouths, or stick in their throats, or slip from their fingers; eagerly did they accept the invitation to breakfast, and to supper also!

22. Think, too, of the famous Roman general; his soldiers had been dispatched to seize a position, and when they were about to make their way through a huge army of the enemy, he addressed them with the words: "You must go now, fellow-soldiers, to yonder place, whence there is no 'must' about your returning!" You see, then, how straightforward and peremptory virtue is; but what man on earth can your deceptive logic make more courageous or more upright? Rather does it break the spirit, which should never be less straitened or forced to deal with petty and thorny problems than when some great work is being planned.

23. It is not the Three Hundred, – it is all mankind that should be relieved of the fear of death. But how can you prove to all those men that death is no evil? How can you overcome the notions of all our past life, – notions with which we are tinged from our very infancy? What succour can you discover for man's helplessness? What can you say that will make men rush, burning with zeal, into the midst of danger? By what

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persuasive speech can you turn aside this universal feeling of fear, by what strength of wit can you turn aside the conviction of the human race which steadfastly opposes you? Do you propose to construct catchwords for me, or to string together petty syllogisms? It takes great weapons to strike down great monsters.

24. You recall the fierce serpent in Africa, more frightful to the Roman legions than the war itself, and assailed in vain by arrows and slings; it could not be wounded even by "Pythius," since its huge size, and the toughness which matched its bulk, made spears, or any weapon hurled by the hand of man, glance off. It was finally destroyed by rocks equal in size to millstones. Are you, then, hurling petty weapons like yours even against death? Can you stop a lion's charge by an awl? Your arguments are indeed sharp; but there is nothing sharper than a stalk of grain. And certain arguments are rendered useless and unavailing by their very subtlety. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 83. On Drunkenness

1. You bid me give you an account of each separate day, and of the whole day too; so you must have a good opinion of me if you think that in these days of mine there is nothing to hide. At any rate, it is thus that we should live, – as if we lived in plain sight of all men; and it is thus that we should think, – as if there were someone who could look into our inmost souls; and there is one who can so look. For what avails it that something is hidden from man? Nothing is shut off from the sight of God. He is witness of our souls, and he comes into the very midst of our thoughts – comes into them, I say, as one who may at any time depart.

2. I shall therefore do as you bid, and shall gladly inform you by letter what I am doing, and in what sequence. I shall keep watching myself continually, and – a most useful habit – shall review each day. For this is what makes us wicked: that no one of us looks back over his own life. Our thoughts are devoted only to what we are about to do. And yet our plans for the future always depend on the past.

3. To-day has been unbroken; no one has filched the slightest part of it from me. The whole time has been divided between rest and reading. A brief space has been given over to bodily exercise, and on this ground I can thank old age – my exercise costs very little effort; as soon as I stir, I am tired. And weariness is the aim and end of exercise, no matter how strong one is.

4. Do you ask who are my pacemakers? One is enough for me, – the slave Pharius, a pleasant fellow, as you know; but I shall exchange him for another. At my time of life I need one who is of still more tender years. Pharius, at any rate, says that he and I are at the same period of life; for we are both losing our teeth. Yet even now I can scarcely follow his pace as he runs, and within a very short time I shall not be able to follow him at all; so you see what profit we get from daily exercise. Very soon does a wide interval open between two persons who travel different ways. My slave is climbing up at the very moment when I am coming down, and you surely know how much quicker the latter is. Nay, I was wrong; for now my life is not coming down; it is falling outright.

5. Do you ask, for all that, how our race resulted to-day? We raced to a tie, – something which rarely happens in a running contest. After tiring myself out in this way (for I cannot call it exercise), I took a cold bath; this, at my house, means just short of hot. I, the former cold-water enthusiast, who used to celebrate the new year by taking a plunge into the canal, who, just as naturally as I would set out to do some reading or writing, or to compose a speech, used to inaugurate the first of the year with a plunge into the Virgo aqueduct [Constructed by Marcus Agrippa; now the fountain of Trevi.], have changed my allegiance, first to the Tiber, and then to my favourite tank, which is warmed only by the sun, at times when I am most robust and when there is not a flaw in my bodily processes. I have very little energy left for bathing.

6. After the bath, some stale bread and breakfast without a table; no need to wash the hands after such a meal. Then comes a very short nap. You know my habit; I avail myself of a scanty bit of sleep, – unharnessing, as it were. For I am satisfied if I can just stop staying awake. Sometimes I know that I have slept; at other times, I have a mere suspicion.

7. Lo, now the din of the Races sounds about me! My ears are smitten with sudden and general cheering. But this does not upset my thoughts or even break their continuity. I can endure an uproar with complete resignation. The medley of voices blended in one note sounds to me like the dashing of waves, or like the wind that lashes the tree-tops, or like any other sound which conveys no meaning.

8. What is it, then, you ask, to which I have been giving my attention? I will tell you. A thought sticks in my mind, left over from yesterday, – namely, what men of the greatest sagacity have meant when they have offered the most trifling and intricate proofs for problems of the greatest importance, – proofs which may be true, but none the less resemble fallacies.

9. Zeno [Zeno of Citium, 333–264 BC, founder of the Stoic school of philosophy], that greatest of men, the revered founder of our brave and holy school of philosophy, wishes to discourage us from drunkenness. Listen, then, to his arguments proving that the good man will not get drunk: "No one entrusts a secret to a drunken man; but one will entrust a secret to a good man; therefore, the good man will not get drunk." Mark how ridiculous Zeno is made when we set up a similar syllogism in contrast with his. There are many, but one will be enough: "No one entrusts a secret to a man when he is asleep; but one entrusts a secret to a good man; therefore, the good man does not go to sleep."

10. Posidonius pleads the cause of our master Zeno in the only possible way; but it cannot, I hold, be pleaded even in this way. For Posidonius maintains that the word "drunken" is used in two ways, – in the one case of a man who is loaded with wine and has no control over himself; in the other, of a man who is accustomed to get drunk, and is a slave to the habit. Zeno, he says, meant the latter, – the man who is accustomed to get drunk, not the man who is drunk; and no one would entrust to this person any secret, for it might be blabbed out when the man was in his cups.

11. This is a fallacy. For the first syllogism refers to him who is actually drunk and not to him who is about to get drunk. You will surely admit that there is a great difference between a man who is drunk and a drunkard. He who is actually drunk may be in this state for the first time and may not have the habit, while the drunkard is often free from drunkenness. I therefore interpret the word in its usual meaning, especially since the syllogism is set up by a man who makes a business of the careful use of words, and who weighs his language. Moreover, if this is what Zeno meant, and what he wished it to mean to us, he was trying to avail himself of an equivocal word in order to work in a fallacy; and no man ought to do this when truth is the object of inquiry.

12. But let us admit, indeed, that he meant what Posidonius says; even so, the conclusion is false, – that secrets are not entrusted to an habitual drunkard. Think how many soldiers who are not always sober have been entrusted by a general or a captain or a centurion with messages which might not be divulged! With regard to the notorious plot to murder Gaius Caesar, – I mean the Caesar who conquered Pompey and got control of the state, – Tillius Cimber was trusted with it no less than Gaius Cassius. Now Cassius throughout his life drank water; while Tillius Cimber was a sot as well as a brawler. Cimber himself alluded to this fact, saying: "I carry a master? I cannot carry my liquor!"

13. So let each one call to mind those who, to his knowledge, can be ill trusted with wine, but well trusted with the spoken word; and yet one case occurs to my mind, which I shall relate, lest it fall into oblivion. For life should be provided with conspicuous illustrations. Let us not always be harking back to the dim past.

14. Lucius Piso, the Director of Public Safety at Rome, was drunk from the very time of his appointment. He used to spend the greater part of the night at banquets, and would sleep until noon. That was the way he spent his morning hours. Nevertheless, he applied himself most diligently to his official duties, which included the guardianship of the city. Even the sainted Augustus trusted him with secret orders when he placed him in command of Thrace. Piso conquered that country. Tiberius, too, trusted him when he took his holiday in Campania, leaving behind him in the city many a critical matter that aroused both suspicion and hatred. 15. I fancy that it was because Piso's drunkenness turned out well for the Emperor that he appointed to the office of city prefect Cossus, a man of authority and balance, but so soaked and steeped in drink that once, at a meeting of the Senate, whither he had come after banqueting, he was overcome by a slumber from which he could not be roused, and had to be carried home. It was to this man that Tiberius sent many orders, written in his own hand, – orders which he believed he ought not to trust even to the officials of his household. Cossus never let a single secret slip out, whether personal or public.

16. So let us abolish all such harangues as this: "No man in the bonds of drunkenness has power over his soul. As the very vats are burst by new wine, and as the dregs at the bottom are raised to the surface by the strength of the fermentation; so, when the wine effervesces, whatever lies hidden below is brought up and made visible. As a man overcome by liquor cannot keep down his food when he has over-indulged in wine, so he cannot keep back a secret either. He pours forth impartially both his own secrets and those of other persons."

17. This, of course, is what commonly happens, but so does this, – that we take counsel on serious subjects with those whom we know to be in the habit of drinking freely. Therefore this proposition, which is laid down in the guise of a defence of Zeno's syllogism, is false, – that secrets are not entrusted to the habitual drunkard.

How much better it is to arraign drunkenness frankly and to expose its vices! For even the middling good man avoids them, not to mention the perfect sage, who is satisfied with slaking his thirst; the sage, even if now and then he is led on by good cheer which, for a friend's sake, is carried somewhat too far, yet always stops short of drunkenness.

18. We shall investigate later the question whether the mind of the sage is upset by too much wine and commits follies like those of the toper; but meanwhile, if you wish to prove that a good man ought not to get drunk, why work it out by logic? Show how base it is to pour down more liquor than one can carry, and not to know the capacity of one's own stomach; show how often the drunkard does things which make him blush when he is sober; state that drunkenness is nothing but a condition of insanity purposely assumed. Prolong the drunkard's condition to several days; will you have any doubt about his madness? Even as it is, the madness is no less; it merely lasts a shorter time.

19. Think of Alexander of Macedon, who stabbed Clitus, his dearest and most loyal friend, at a banquet; after Alexander understood what he had done, he wished to die, and assuredly he ought to have died. Drunkenness kindles and discloses every kind of vice, and removes the sense of shame that veils our evil undertakings. For more men abstain from forbidden actions because they are ashamed of sinning than because their inclinations are good.

20. When the strength of wine has become too great and has gained control over the mind, every lurking evil comes forth from its hiding-place. Drunkenness does not create vice, it merely brings it into view; at such times the lustful man does not wait even for the privacy of a bedroom, but without postponement gives free play to the demands of his passions; at such times the unchaste man proclaims and publishes his malady; at such times your cross-grained fellow does not restrain his tongue or his hand. The haughty man increases his arrogance, the ruthless man his cruelty, the slanderer his spitefulness. Every vice is given free play and comes to the front.

21. Besides, we forget who we are, we utter words that are halting and poorly enunciated, the glance is unsteady, the step falters, the head is dizzy, the very ceiling moves about as if a cyclone were whirling the whole house, and the stomach suffers torture when the wine generates gas and causes our very bowels to swell. However, at the time, these troubles can be endured, so long as the man retains his natural strength; but what can he do when sleep impairs his powers, and when that which was drunkenness becomes indigestion?

22. Think of the calamities caused by drunkenness in a nation! This evil has betrayed to their enemies the most spirited and warlike races; this evil has made breaches in walls defended by the stubborn warfare of many years; this evil has forced under alien sway peoples who were utterly unyielding and defiant of the yoke; this evil has conquered by the wine-cup those who in the field were invincible.

23. Alexander [Alexander III of Macedon; 356–323 BC, Alexander the Great], whom I have just mentioned, passed through his many marches, his many battles, his many winter campaigns (through which he worked his way by overcoming disadvantages of time or place), the many rivers which flowed from unknown sources, and the many seas, all in safety; it was intemperance in drinking that laid him low, and the famous death-dealing bowl of Hercules.

24. What glory is there in carrying much liquor? When you have won the prize, and the other banqueters, sprawling asleep or vomiting, have declined your challenge to still other toasts; when you are the last survivor of the revels; when you have vanquished every one by your magnificent show of prowess and there is no man who has proved himself of so great capacity as you, – you are vanquished by the cask.

25. Mark Antony was a great man, a man of distinguished ability; but what ruined him and drove him into foreign habits and un-Roman vices, if it was not drunkenness and – no less potent than wine – love of Cleopatra? This it was that made him an enemy of the state; this it was that rendered him no match for his enemies; this it was that made him cruel, when as he sat at table the heads of the leaders of the state were brought in; when amid the most elaborate feasts and royal luxury he would identify the faces and hands of men whom he had proscribed; when, though heavy with wine, he yet thirsted for blood. It was intolerable that he was getting drunk while he did such things; how much more intolerable that he did these things while actually drunk!

26. Cruelty usually follows wine-bibbing; for a man's soundness of mind is corrupted and made savage. Just as a lingering illness makes men querulous and irritable and drives them wild at the least crossing of their desires, so continued bouts of drunkenness bestialize the soul. For when people are often beside themselves, the habit of madness lasts on, and the vices which liquor generated retain their power even when the liquor is gone.

27. Therefore you should state why the wise man ought not to get drunk. Explain by facts, and not by mere words, the hideousness of the thing, and its haunting evils. Do that which is easiest of all – namely, demonstrate that what men call pleasures are punishments as soon as they have exceeded due bounds. For if you try to prove that the wise man can souse himself with much wine and yet keep his course straight, even though he be in his cups, you may go on to infer by syllogisms that he will not die if he swallows poison, that he will not sleep if he takes a sleeping-potion, that he will not

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vomit and reject the matter which clogs his stomach when you give him hellebore*. But, when a man's feet totter and his tongue is unsteady, what reason have you for believing that he is half sober and half drunk? Farewell. [*A plant which possessed cathartic properties and was widely used by the ancients. It was also applied in cases of mental derangement. The native Latin term is veratrum.]

SENECA LETTER 84. On Gathering Ideas

1. The journeys to which you refer – journeys that shake the laziness out of my system – I hold to be profitable both for my health and for my studies. You see why they benefit my health: since my passion for literature makes me lazy and careless about my body, I can take exercise by deputy; as for my studies, I shall show you why my journeys help them, for I have not stopped my reading in the slightest degree. And reading, I hold, is indispensable – primarily, to keep me from being satisfied with myself alone, and besides, after I have learned what others have found out by their studies, to enable me to pass judgement on their discoveries and reflect upon discoveries that remain to be made. Reading nourishes the mind and refreshes it when it is wearied with study; nevertheless, this refreshment is not obtained without study.

2. We ought not to confine ourselves either to writing or to reading; the one, continuous writing, will cast a gloom over our strength, and exhaust it; the other will make our strength flabby and watery. It is better to have recourse to them alternately, and to blend one with the other, so that the fruits of one's reading may be reduced to concrete form by the pen.

3. We should follow, men say, the example of the bees, who flit about and cull the flowers that are suitable for producing honey, and then arrange and assort in their cells all that they have brought in; these bees, as our Vergil says,

pack close the flowing honey,
And swell their cells with nectar sweet.

4. It is not certain whether the juice which they obtain from the flowers forms at once into honey, or whether they change that which they have gathered into this delicious object by blending something therewith and by a certain property of their breath. For some authorities believe that bees do not possess the art of making honey, but only of gathering it; and they say that in India honey has been found on the leaves of certain reeds, produced by a dew peculiar to that climate, or by the juice of the reed itself, which has an unusual sweetness, and richness. And in our own grasses too, they say, the same quality exists, although less clear and less evident; and a creature born to fulfil such a function could hunt it out and collect it. Certain others maintain that the materials which the bees have culled from the most delicate of blooming and flowering plants is transformed into this peculiar substance by a process of preserving and careful storing away, aided by what might be called fermentation, – whereby separate elements are united into one substance.

5. But I must not be led astray into another subject than that which we are discussing. We also, I say, ought to copy these bees, and sift whatever we have gathered from a varied course of reading, for such things are better preserved if they are kept separate; then, by applying the supervising care with which our nature has endowed us, – in other words, our natural gifts, – we should so blend those several flavours into one delicious compound that, even though it betrays its origin, yet it nevertheless is clearly a different thing from that whence it came. This is what we see nature doing in our own bodies without any labour on our part;

6. the food we have eaten, as long as it retains its original quality and floats in our stomachs as an undiluted mass, is a burden; but it passes into tissue and blood only when it has been changed from its original form. So it is with the food which nourishes our higher nature, – we should see to it that whatever we have absorbed should not be allowed to remain unchanged, or it will be no part of us.

7. We must digest it; otherwise it will merely enter the memory and not the reasoning power. Let us loyally welcome such foods and make them our own, so that something that is one may be formed out of many elements, just as one number is formed of several elements whenever, by our reckoning, lesser sums, each different from the others, are brought together. This is what our mind should do: it should hide away all the materials by which it has been aided, and bring to light only what it has made of them.

8. Even if there shall appear in you a likeness to him who, by reason of your admiration, has left a deep impress upon you, I would have you resemble him as a child resembles his father, and not as a picture resembles its original; for a picture is a lifeless thing.

"What," you say, "will it not be seen whose style you are imitating, whose method of reasoning, whose pungent sayings?" I think that sometimes it is impossible for it to be seen who is being imitated, if the copy is a true one; for a true copy stamps its own form upon all the features which it has drawn from what we may call the original, in such a way that they are combined into a unity.

9. Do you not see how many voices there are in a chorus? Yet out of the many only one voice results. In that chorus one voice takes the tenor, another the bass, another the baritone. There are women, too, as well as men, and the flute is mingled with them. In that chorus the voices of the individual singers are hidden; what we hear is the voices of all together.

10. To be sure, I am referring to the chorus which the old-time philosophers knew; in our present-day exhibitions we have a larger number of singers than there used to be spectators in the theatres of old. All the aisles are filled with rows of singers; brass instruments surround the auditorium; the stage resounds with flutes and instruments of every description; and yet from the discordant sounds a harmony is produced. I would have my mind of such a quality as this; it should be equipped with many arts, many precepts, and patterns of conduct taken from many epochs of history; but all should blend harmoniously into one.

11. "How," you ask, "can this be accomplished?" By constant effort, and by doing nothing without the approval of reason. And if you are willing to hear her voice, she will say to you: "Abandon those pursuits which heretofore have caused you to run hither and thither. Abandon riches, which are either a danger or a burden to the possessor. Abandon the pleasures of the body and of the mind; they only soften and weaken you. Abandon your quest for office; it is a swollen, idle, and empty thing, a thing that has no goal, as anxious to see no one outstrip it as to see no one at its heels. It is afflicted with envy, and in truth with a twofold envy; and you see how wretched a man's plight is if he who is the object of envy feels envy also."

12. Do you behold yonder homes of the great, yonder thresholds uproarious with the brawling of those who would pay their respects? They have many an insult for you as you enter the door, and still more after you have entered. Pass by the steps that mount to rich men's houses, and the porches rendered hazardous by the huge throng; for there you will be standing, not merely on the edge of a precipice but also on slippery ground. Instead of this, direct your course hither to wisdom, and seek her ways, which are ways of surpassing peace and plenty.

13. Whatever seems conspicuous in the affairs of men – however petty it may really be and prominent only by contrast with the lowest objects – is nevertheless approached by a difficult and toilsome pathway. It is a rough road that leads to the heights of greatness; but if you desire to scale this peak, which lies far above the range of Fortune, you will indeed look down from above upon all that men regard as most lofty, but none the less you can proceed to the top over level ground. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 85. On Some Vain Syllogisms

1. I had been inclined to spare you, and had omitted any knotty problems that still remained undiscussed; I was satisfied to give you a sort of taste of the views held by the men of our school, who desire to prove that virtue is of itself sufficiently capable of rounding out the happy life. But now you bid me include the entire bulk either of our own syllogisms or of those which have been devised by other schools for the purpose of belittling us. If I shall be willing to do this, the result will be a book, instead of a letter. And I declare again and again that I take no pleasure in such proofs. I am ashamed to enter the arena and undertake battle on behalf of gods and men armed only with an awl.

2. "He that possesses prudence is also self-restrained; he that possesses self-restraint is also unwavering; he that is unwavering is unperturbed; he that is unperturbed is free from sadness; he that is free from sadness is happy. Therefore, the prudent man is happy, and prudence is sufficient to constitute the happy life."

3. Certain of the Peripatetics reply to this syllogism by interpreting "unperturbed," "unwavering," and "free from sadness" in such a way as to make "unperturbed" mean one who is rarely perturbed and only to a moderate degree, and not one who is never perturbed. Likewise, they say that a person is called "free from sadness" who is not subject to sadness, one who falls into this objectionable state not often nor in too great a degree. It is not, they say, the way of human nature that a man's spirit should be exempt from sadness, or that the wise man is not overcome by grief but is merely touched by it, and other arguments of this sort, all in accordance with the teachings of their school.

4. They do not abolish the passions in this way; they only moderate them. But how petty is the superiority which we attribute to the wise man, if he is merely braver than the most craven, happier than the most dejected, more self-controlled than the most unbridled, and greater than the lowliest! Would Ladas boast his swiftness in running by comparing himself with the halt and the weak?

For she could skim the topmost blades of corn
And touch them not, nor bruise the tender ears;
Or travel over seas, well-poised above
The swollen floods, nor dip her flying feet
In ocean's waters.

This is speed estimated by its own standard, not the kind which wins praise by comparison with that which is slowest. Would you call a man well who has a light case of fever? No, for good health does not mean moderate illness.

5. They say, "The wise man is called unperturbed in the sense in which pomegranates are called mellow – not that there is no hardness at all in their seeds, but that the hardness is less than it was before." That view is wrong; for I am not referring to the gradual weeding out of evils in a good man, but to the complete absence of evils; there should be in him no evils at all, not even any small ones. For if there are any, they will grow, and as they grow will hamper him. Just as a large and complete cataract wholly blinds the eyes, so a medium-sized cataract dulls their vision.

6. If by your definition the wise man has any passions whatever, his reason will be no match for them and will be carried swiftly along, as it were, on a rushing stream, – particularly if you assign to him, not one passion with which he must wrestle, but all the passions. And a throng of such, even though they be moderate, can affect him more than the violence of one powerful passion.

7. He has a craving for money, although in a moderate degree. He has ambition, but it is not yet fully aroused. He has a hot temper, but it can be appeased. He has inconstancy, but not the kind that is very capricious or easily set in motion. He has lust, but not the violent kind. We could deal better with a person who possessed one full-fledged vice, than with one who possessed all the vices, but none of them in extreme form.

8. Again, it makes no difference how great the passion is; no matter what its size may be, it knows no obedience, and does not welcome advice. Just as no animal, whether wild or tamed and gentle, obeys reason, since nature made it deaf to advice; so the passions do not follow or listen, however slight they are. Tigers and lions never put off their wildness; they sometimes moderate it, and then, when you are least prepared, their softened fierceness is roused to madness. Vices are never genuinely tamed.

9. Again, if reason prevails, the passions will not even get a start; but if they get under way against the will of reason, they will maintain themselves against the will of reason. For it is easier to stop them in the beginning than to control them when they gather force. This half-way ground is accordingly misleading and useless; it is to be regarded just as the declaration that we ought to be "moderately" insane, or "moderately" ill.

10. Virtue alone possesses moderation; the evils that afflict the mind do not admit of moderation. You can more easily remove than control them. Can one doubt that the vices of the human mind, when they have become chronic and callous ("diseases" we call them), are beyond control, as, for example, greed, cruelty, and wantonness? Therefore the passions also are beyond control; for it is from the passions that we pass over to the vices.

11. Again, if you grant any privileges to sadness, fear, desire, and all the other wrong impulses, they will cease to lie within our jurisdiction. And why? Simply because the means of arousing them lie outside our own power. They will accordingly increase in proportion as the causes by which they are stirred up are greater or less. Fear will grow to greater proportions, if that which causes the terror is seen to be of greater magnitude or in closer proximity; and desire will grow keener in proportion as the hope of a greater gain has summoned it to action.

12. If the existence of the passions is not in our own control, neither is the extent of their power; for if you once permit them to get a start, they will increase along with their causes, and they will be of whatever extent they shall grow to be. Moreover, no matter how small these vices are, they grow greater. That which is harmful never keeps within bounds. No matter how trifling diseases are at the beginning, they creep on apace; and sometimes the slightest augmentation of disease lays low the enfeebled body!

13. But what folly it is, when the beginnings of certain things are situated outside our control, to believe that their endings are within our control! How have I the power to bring something to a close, when I have not had the power to check it at the beginning? For it is easier to keep a thing out than to keep it under after you have let it in.

14. Some men have made a distinction as follows, saying: "If a man has self-control and wisdom, he is indeed at peace as regards the attitude and habit of his mind, but not as regards the outcome. For, as far as his habit of mind is concerned, he is not perturbed, or saddened, or afraid; but there are many extraneous causes which strike him and bring perturbation upon him."

15. What they mean to say is this: "So-and-so is indeed not a man of an angry disposition, but still he sometimes gives way to anger," and "He is not, indeed, inclined to fear, but still he sometimes experiences fear"; in other words, he is free from the fault, but is not free from the passion of fear. If, however, fear is once given an entrance, it will by frequent use pass over into a vice; and anger, once admitted into the mind, will alter the earlier habit of a mind that was formerly free from anger.

16. Besides, if the wise man, instead of despising all causes that come from without, ever fears anything, when the time

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arrives for him to go bravely to meet the spear, or the flames, on behalf of his country, his laws, and his liberty, he will go forth reluctantly and with flagging spirit. Such inconsistency of mind, however, does not suit the character of a wise man.

17. Then, again, we should see to it that two principles which ought to be tested separately should not be confused. For the conclusion is reached independently that that alone is good which is honourable, and again independently the conclusion that virtue is sufficient for the happy life. If that alone is good which is honourable, everyone agrees that virtue is sufficient for the purpose of living happily; but, on the contrary, if virtue alone makes men happy, it will not be conceded that that alone is good which is honourable.

18. Xenocrates and Speusippus hold that a man can become happy even by virtue alone, not, however, that that which is honourable is the only good. Epicurus also decides that one who possesses virtue is happy, but that virtue of itself is not sufficient for the happy life, because the pleasure that results from virtue, and not virtue itself, makes one happy. This is a futile distinction. For the same philosopher declares that virtue never exists without pleasure; and therefore, if virtue is always connected with pleasure and always inseparable therefrom, virtue is of itself sufficient. For virtue keeps pleasure in its company, and does not exist without it, even when alone.

19. But it is absurd to say that a man will be happy by virtue alone, and yet not absolutely happy. I cannot discover how that may be, since the happy life contains in itself a good that is perfect and cannot be excelled, If a man has this good, life is completely happy. Now if the life of the gods contains nothing greater or better, and the happy life is divine, then there is no further height to which a man can be raised.

20. Also, if the happy life is in want of nothing, then every happy life is perfect; it is happy and at the same time most happy. Have you any doubt that the happy life is the Supreme Good? Accordingly, if it possesses the Supreme Good, it is supremely happy. Just as the Supreme Good does not admit of increase (for what will be superior to that which is supreme?), exactly so the happy life cannot be increased either; for it is not without the Supreme Good. If then you bring in one man who is "happier" than another, you will also bring in one who is "much happier"; you will then be making countless distinctions in the Supreme Good; although I understand the Supreme Good to be that good which admits of no degree above itself.

21. If one person is less happy than another, it follows that he eagerly desires the life of that other and happier man in preference to his own. But the happy man prefers no other man's life to his own. Either of these two things is incredible: that there should be anything left for a happy man to wish for in preference to what is, or that he should not prefer the thing which is better than what he already has. For certainly, the more prudent he is, the more he will strive after the best, and he will desire to attain it by every possible means. But how can one be happy who is still able, or rather who is still bound, to crave something else?

22. I will tell you what is the source of this error: men do not understand that the happy life is a unit; for it is its essence, and not its extent, that establishes such a life on the noblest plane. Hence there is complete equality between the life that is long and the life that is short, between that which is spread out and that which is confined, between that whose influence is felt in many places and in many directions, and that which is restricted to one interest. Those who reckon life by number, or by measure, or by parts, rob it of its distinctive quality. Now, in the happy life, what is the distinctive quality? It is its fulness.

23. Satiety, I think, is the limit to our eating or drinking. A eats more and B eats less; what difference does it make? Each is now sated. Or A drinks more and B drinks less; what difference does it make? Each is no longer thirsty. Again, A lives for many years and B for fewer; no matter, if only A's many years have brought as much happiness as B's few years. He whom you maintain to be "less happy" is not happy; the word admits of no diminution.

24. "He who is brave is fearless; he who is fearless is free from sadness; he who is free from sadness is happy." It is our own school which has framed this syllogism; they attempt to refute it by this answer, namely, that we Stoics are assuming as admitted a premiss which is false and distinctly controverted, – that the brave man is fearless. "What!" they say, "will the brave man have no fear of evils that threaten him? That would be the condition of a madman, a lunatic, rather than of a brave man. The brave man will, it is true, feel fear in only a very slight degree; but he is not absolutely free from fear."

25. Now those who assert this are doubling back to their old argument, in that they regard vices of less degree as equivalent to virtues. For indeed the man who does feel fear, though he feels it rather seldom and to a slight degree, is not free from wickedness, but is merely troubled by it in a milder form. "Not so," is the reply, "for I hold that a man is mad if he does not fear evils which hang over his head." What you say is perfectly true, if the things which threaten are really evils; but if he knows that they are not evils and believes that the only evil is baseness, he will be bound to face dangers without anxiety and to despise things which other men cannot help fearing. Or, if it is the characteristic of a fool and a madman not to fear evils, then the wiser a man is the more he will fear such things!

26. "It is the doctrine of you Stoics, then," they reply, "that a brave man will expose himself to dangers." By no means; he will merely not fear them, though he will avoid them. It is proper for him to be careful, but not to be fearful. "What then? Is he not to fear death, imprisonment, burning, and all the other missiles of Fortune?" Not at all; for he knows that they are not evils, but only seem to be. He reckons all these things as the bugbears of man's existence.

27. Paint him a picture of slavery, lashes, chains, want, mutilation by disease or by torture, – or anything else you may care to mention; he will count all such things as terrors caused by the derangement of the mind. These things are only to be feared by those who are fearful. Or do you regard as an evil that to which some day we may be compelled to resort of our own free will?

28. What then, you ask, is an evil? It is the yielding to those things which are called evils; it is the surrendering of one's liberty into their control, when really we ought to suffer all things in order to preserve this liberty. Liberty is lost unless we despise those things which put the yoke upon our necks. If men knew what bravery was, they would have no doubts as to what a brave man's conduct should be. For bravery is not thoughtless rashness, or love of danger, or the courting of fear-inspiring objects; it is the knowledge which enables us to distinguish between that which is evil and that which is not. Bravery takes the greatest care of itself, and likewise endures with the greatest patience all things which have a false appearance of being evils.

29. "What then?" is the query; "if the sword is brandished over your brave man's neck, if he is pierced in this place and in that continually, if he sees his entrails in his lap, if he is tortured again after being kept waiting in order that he may thus feel the torture more keenly, and if the blood flows afresh out of bowels where it has but lately ceased to flow, has he no fear? Shall you say that he has felt no pain either?" Yes, he has felt pain; for no human virtue can rid itself of feelings. But he has no fear; unconquered he looks down from a lofty height upon his sufferings. Do you ask me what spirit animates him in these circumstances? It is the spirit of one who is comforting a sick friend.

30. "That which is evil does harm; that which does harm makes a man worse. But pain and poverty do not make a man worse; therefore they are not evils." "Your proposition," says the objector, "is wrong; for what harms one does not necessarily make one worse. The storm and the squall work harm to the pilot, but they do not make a worse pilot of him for all that."

31. Certain of the Stoic school reply to this argument as follows: "The pilot becomes a worse pilot because of storms or squalls, inasmuch as he cannot carry out his purpose and hold to his course; as far as his art is concerned, he becomes no worse a pilot, but in his work he does become worse." To this the Peripatetics retort: "Therefore, poverty will make even the wise man worse, and so will pain, and so will anything else of that sort. For although those things will not rob him of his virtue, yet they will hinder the work of virtue."

32. This would be a correct statement, were it not for the fact that the pilot and the wise man are two different kinds of person. The wise man's purpose in conducting his life is not to accomplish at all hazards what he tries, but to do all things rightly; the pilot's purpose, however, is to bring his ship into port at all hazards. The arts are handmaids; they must accomplish what they promise to do. But wisdom is mistress and ruler. The arts render a slave's service to life; wisdom issues the commands.

33. For myself, I maintain that a different answer should be given: that the pilot's art is never made worse by the storm, nor the application of his art either. The pilot has promised you, not a prosperous voyage, but a serviceable performance of his task – that is, an expert knowledge of steering a ship. And the more he is hampered by the stress of fortune, so much the more does his knowledge become apparent. He who has been able to say, "Neptune, you shall never sink this ship except on an even keel," has fulfilled the requirements of his art; the storm does not interfere with the pilot's work, but only with his success.

34. "What then," you say, "is not a pilot harmed by any circumstance which does not permit him to make port, frustrates all his efforts, and either carries him out to sea, or holds the ship in irons, or strips her masts?" No, it does not harm him as a pilot, but only as a voyager; otherwise, he is no pilot. It is indeed so far from hindering the pilot's art that it even exhibits the art; for anyone, in the words of the proverb, is a pilot on a calm sea. These mishaps obstruct the voyage but not the steersman qua steersman.

35. A pilot has a double rôle: one he shares with all his fellow-passengers, for he also is a passenger; the other is peculiar to him, for he is the pilot. The storm harms him as a passenger, but not as a pilot.

36. Again, the pilot's art is another's good – it concerns his passengers just as a physician's art concerns his patients. But the wise man's good is a common good – it belongs both to those in whose company he lives, and to himself also. Hence our pilot may perhaps be harmed, since his services, which have been promised to others, are hindered by the storm;

37. but the wise man is not harmed by poverty, or by pain, or by any other of life's storms. For all his functions are not checked, but only those which pertain to others; he himself is always in action, and is greatest in performance at the very time when fortune has blocked his way. For then he is actually engaged in the business of wisdom; and this wisdom I have declared already to be, both the good of others, and also his own.

38. Besides, he is not prevented from helping others, even at the time when constraining circumstances press him down. Because of his poverty he is prevented from showing how the State should be handled; but he teaches, none the less, how poverty should be handled. His work goes on throughout his whole life.

Thus no fortune, no external circumstance, can shut off the wise man from action. For the very thing which engages his attention prevents him from attending to other things. He is ready for either outcome: if it brings goods, he controls them; if evils, he conquers them.

39. So thoroughly, I mean, has he schooled himself that he makes manifest his virtue in prosperity as well as in adversity, and keeps his eyes on virtue itself, not on the objects with which virtue deals. Hence neither poverty, nor pain, nor anything else that deflects the inexperienced and drives them headlong, restrains him from his course.

40. Do you suppose that he is weighed down by evils? He makes use of them. It was not of ivory only that Phidias knew how to make statues; he also made statues of bronze. If you had given him marble, or a still meaner material, he would have made of it the best statue that the material would permit. So the wise man will develop virtue, if he may, in the midst of wealth, or, if not, in poverty; if possible, in his own country – if not, in exile; if possible, as a commander – if not, as a common soldier; if possible, in sound health – if not, enfeebled. Whatever fortune he finds, he will accomplish therefrom something noteworthy.

41. Animal-tamers are unerring; they take the most savage animals, which may well terrify those who encounter them, and subdue them to the will of man; not content with having driven out their ferocity, they even tame them so that they dwell in the same abode. The trainer puts his hand into the lion's mouth; the tiger is kissed by his keeper. The tiny Aethiopian orders the elephant to sink down on its knees, or to walk the rope. Similarly, the wise man is a skilled hand at taming evils. Pain, want, disgrace, imprisonment, exile, – these are universally to be feared; but when they encounter the wise man, they are tamed. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 86. On Scipio's Villa

1. I am resting at the country-house which once belonged to Scipio Africanus himself; and I write to you after doing reverence to his spirit and to an altar which I am inclined to think is the tomb of that great warrior. That his soul has indeed returned to the skies, whence it came, I am convinced, not because he commanded mighty armies – for Cambyses also had mighty armies, and Cambyses was a madman who made successful use of his madness – but because he showed moderation and a sense of duty to a marvellous extent. I regard this trait in him as more admirable after his withdrawal from his native land than while he was defending her; for there was the alternative: Scipio should remain in Rome, or Rome should remain free.

2. "It is my wish," said he, "not to infringe in the least upon our laws, or upon our customs; let all Roman citizens have equal rights. O my country, make the most of the good that I have done, but without me. I have been the cause of your freedom, and I shall also be its proof; I go into exile, if it is true that I have grown beyond what is to your advantage!"

3. What can I do but admire this magnanimity, which led him to withdraw into voluntary exile and to relieve the state of its burden? Matters had gone so far that either liberty must work harm to Scipio, or Scipio to liberty. Either of these things was wrong in the sight of heaven. So he gave way to the laws and withdrew to Liternum, thinking to make the state a debtor for his own exile no less than for the exile of Hannibal.

4. I have inspected the house, which is constructed of hewn stone; the wall which encloses a forest; the towers also, buttressed out on both sides for the purpose of defending the house; the well, concealed among buildings and shrubbery, large enough to keep a whole army supplied; and the small bath, buried in darkness according to the old style, for our ancestors did not think that one could have a hot bath except in darkness. It was therefore a great pleasure to me to contrast Scipio's ways with our own.

5. Think, in this tiny recess the "terror of Carthage," to whom Rome should offer thanks because she was not captured

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more than once, used to bathe a body wearied with work in the fields! For he was accustomed to keep himself busy and to cultivate the soil with his own hands, as the good old Romans were wont to do. Beneath this dingy roof he stood; and this floor, mean as it is, bore his weight.

6. But who in these days could bear to bathe in such a fashion? We think ourselves poor and mean if our walls are not resplendent with large and costly mirrors; if our marbles from Alexandria are not set off by mosaics of Numidian stone, if their borders are not faced over on all sides with difficult patterns, arranged in many colours like paintings; if our vaulted ceilings are not buried in glass; if our swimming-pools are not lined with Thasian marble, once a rare and wonderful sight in any temple – pools into which we let down our bodies after they have been drained weak by abundant perspiration; and finally, if the water has not poured from silver spigots.

7. I have so far been speaking of the ordinary bathing-establishments; what shall I say when I come to those of the freedmen? What a vast number of statues, of columns that support nothing, but are built for decoration, merely in order to spend money! And what masses of water that fall crashing from level to level! We have become so luxurious that we will have nothing but precious stones to walk upon.

8. In this bath of Scipio's there are tiny chinks – you cannot call them windows – cut out of the stone wall in such a way as to admit light without weakening the fortifications; nowadays, however, people regard baths as fit only for moths if they have not been so arranged that they receive the sun all day long through the widest of windows, if men cannot bathe and get a coat of tan at the same time, and if they cannot look out from their bath-tubs over stretches of land and sea. So it goes; the establishments which had drawn crowds and had won admiration when they were first opened are avoided and put back in the category of venerable antiques as soon as luxury has worked out some new device, to her own ultimate undoing.

9. In the early days, however, there were few baths, and they were not fitted out with any display. For why should men elaborately fit out that which, costs a penny only, and was invented for use, not merely for delight? The bathers of those days did not have water poured over them, nor did it always run fresh as if from a hot spring; and they did not believe that it mattered at all how perfectly pure was the water into which they were to leave their dirt.

10. Ye gods, what a pleasure it is to enter that dark bath, covered with a common sort of roof, knowing that therein your hero Cato, as aedile, or Fabius Maximus, or one of the Cornelii, has warmed the water with his own hands! For this also used to be the duty of the noblest aediles – to enter these places to which the populace resorted, and to demand that they be cleaned and warmed to a heat required by considerations of use and health, not the heat that men have recently made fashionable, as great as a conflagration – so much so, indeed, that a slave condemned for some criminal offence now ought to be bathed alive! It seems to me that nowadays there is no difference between "the bath is on fire," and "the bath is warm."

11. How some persons nowadays condemn Scipio as a boor because he did not let daylight into his perspiring-room through wide windows, or because he did not roast in the strong sunlight and dawdle about until he could stew in the hot water! "Poor fool," they say, "he did not know how to live! He did not bathe in filtered water; it was often turbid, and after heavy rains almost muddy!" But it did not matter much to Scipio if he had to bathe in that way; he went there to wash off sweat, not ointment.

12. And how do you suppose certain persons will answer me? They will say: "I don't envy Scipio; that was truly an exile's life – to put up with baths like those!" Friend, if you were wiser, you would know that Scipio did not bathe every day. It is stated by those who have reported to us the old-time ways of Rome that the Romans washed only their arms and legs daily – because those were the members which gathered dirt in their daily toil – and bathed all over only once a week. Here someone will retort: "Yes; pretty dirty fellows they evidently were! How they must have smelled!" But they smelled of the camp, the farm, and heroism. Now that spick-and-span bathing establishments have been devised, men are really fouler than of yore.

13. What says Horatius Flaccus, when he wishes to describe a scoundrel, one who is notorious for his extreme luxury? He says: "Buccillus smells of perfume." Show me a Buccillus in these days; his smell would be the veritable goat-smell – he would take the place of the Gargonius with whom Horace in the same passage contrasted him. It is nowadays not enough to use ointment, unless you put on a fresh coat two or three times a day, to keep it from evaporating on the body. But why should a man boast of this perfume as if it were his own?

14. If what I am saying shall seem to you too pessimistic, charge it up against Scipio's country-house, where I have learned a lesson from Aegialus, a most careful householder and now the owner of this estate; he taught me that a tree can be transplanted, no matter how far gone in years. We old men must learn this precept; for there is none of us who is not planting an olive-yard for his successor. I have seen them bearing fruit in due season after three or four years of unproductiveness.

15. And you too shall be shaded by the tree which
Is slow to grow, but bringeth shade to cheer
Your grandsons in the far-off years,
as our poet Vergil says. Vergil sought, however, not what was nearest to the truth, but what was most appropriate, and aimed, not to teach the farmer, but to please the reader. 16. For example, omitting all other errors of his, I will quote the passage in which it was incumbent upon me to-day to detect a fault:

In spring sow beans then, too, O clover plant,
Thou'rt welcomed by the crumbling furrows; and
The millet calls for yearly care.

You may judge by the following incident whether those plants should be set out at the same time, or whether both should be sowed in the spring. It is June at the present writing, and we are well on towards July; and I have seen on this very day farmers harvesting beans and sowing millet.

17. But to return to our olive-yard again. I saw it planted in two ways. If the trees were large, Aegialus took their trunks and cut off the branches to the length of one foot each; he then transplanted along with the ball, after cutting off the roots, leaving only the thick part from which the roots hang. He smeared this with manure, and inserted it in the hole, not only heaping up the earth about it, but stamping and pressing it down.

18. There is nothing, he says, more effective than this packing process; in other words, it keeps out the cold and the wind. Besides, the trunk is not shaken so much, and for this reason the packing makes it possible for the young roots to come out and get a hold in the soil. These are of necessity still soft; they have but a slight hold, and a very little shaking uproots them. This ball, moreover, Aegialus lops clean before he covers it up. For he maintains that new roots spring from all the parts which have been shorn. Moreover, the trunk itself should not stand more than three or four feet out of the ground. For there will thus be at once a thick growth from the bottom, nor will there be a large stump, all dry and withered, as is the case with old olive-yards.

19. The second way of setting them out was the following: he set out in similar fashion branches that were strong and of soft bark, as those of young saplings are wont to be. These grow a little more slowly, but, since they spring from what is practically a cutting, there is no roughness or ugliness in them.

20. This too I have seen recently – an aged vine transplanted from its own plantation. In this case, the fibres also should be gathered together, if possible, and then you should cover up the vine-stem more generously, so that roots may spring up even from the stock. I have seen such plantings made not only in February, but at the very end of March; the plants take hold of and embrace alien elms.

21. But all trees, he declares, which are, so to speak, "thick-stemmed," should be assisted with tank-water; if we have this help, we are our own rain-makers. I do not intend to tell you any more of these precepts, lest, as Aegialus did with me, I may be training you up to be my competitor. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 87. Some Arguments in Favour of the Simple Life

1. "I was shipwrecked before I got aboard." I shall not add how that happened, lest you may reckon this also as another of the Stoic paradoxes; and yet I shall, whenever you are willing to listen, nay, even though you be unwilling, prove to you that these words are by no means untrue, nor so surprising as one at first sight would think. Meantime, the journey showed me this: how much we possess that is superfluous; and how easily we can make up our minds to do away with things whose loss, whenever it is necessary to part with them, we do not feel.

2. My friend Maximus and I have been spending a most happy period of two days, taking with us very few slaves – one carriage-load – and no paraphernalia except what we wore on our persons. The mattress lies on the ground, and I upon the mattress. There are two rugs – one to spread beneath us and one to cover us.

3. Nothing could have been subtracted from our luncheon; it took not more than an hour to prepare, and we were nowhere without dried figs, never without writing tablets. If I have bread, I use figs as a relish; if not, I regard figs as a substitute for bread. Hence they bring me a New Year feast every day, and I make the New Year happy and prosperous by good thoughts and greatness of soul; for the soul is never greater than when it has laid aside all extraneous things, and has secured peace for itself by fearing nothing, and riches by craving no riches.

4. The vehicle in which I have taken my seat is a farmer's cart. Only by walking do the mules show that they are alive. The driver is barefoot, and not because it is summer either. I can scarcely force myself to wish that others shall think this cart mine. My false embarrassment about the truth still holds out, you see; and whenever we meet a more sumptuous party I blush in spite of myself – proof that this conduct which I approve and applaud has not yet gained a firm and steadfast dwelling-place within me. He who blushes at riding in a rattle-trap will boast when he rides in style.

5. So my progress is still insufficient. I have not yet the courage openly to acknowledge my thriftiness. Even yet I am bothered by what other travellers think of me. But instead of this, I should really have uttered an opinion counter to that in which mankind believe, saying, "You are mad, you are misled, your admiration devotes itself to superfluous things! You estimate no man at his real worth. When property is concerned, you reckon up in this way with most scrupulous calculation those to whom you shall lend either money or benefits; for by now you enter benefits also as payments in your ledger.

6. You say: 'His estates are wide, but his debts are large.' 'He has a fine house, but he has built it on borrowed capital.' 'No man will display a more brilliant retinue on short notice, but he cannot meet his debts.' 'If he pays off his creditors, he will have nothing left.'" So you will feel bound to do in all other cases as well, – to find out by elimination the amount of every man's actual possessions.

7. I suppose you call a man rich just because his gold plate goes with him even on his travels, because he farms land in all the provinces, because he unrolls a large account-book, because he owns estates near the city so great that men would grudge his holding them in the waste lands of Apulia. But after you have mentioned all these facts, he is poor. And why? He is in debt. "To what extent?" you ask. For all that he has. Or perchance you think it matters whether one has borrowed from another man or from Fortune.

8. What good is there in mules caparisoned in uniform livery? Or in decorated chariots and
Steeds decked with purple and with tapestry,
With golden harness hanging from their necks,
Champing their yellow bits, all clothed in gold?
Neither master nor mule is improved by such trappings.

9. Marcus Cato the Censor, whose existence helped the state as much as did Scipio's, – for while Scipio fought against our enemies, Cato fought against our bad morals, – used to ride a donkey, and a donkey, at that, which carried saddle-bags containing the master's necessaries. O how I should love to see him meet to-day on the road one of our coxcombs, with his outriders and Numidians, and a great cloud of dust before him! Your dandy would no doubt seem refined and well-attended in comparison with Marcus Cato, – your dandy, who, in the midst of all his luxurious paraphernalia, is chiefly concerned whether to turn his hand to the sword or to the hunting-knife.

10. O what a glory to the times in which he lived, for a general who had celebrated a triumph, a censor, and what is most noteworthy of all, a Cato, to be content with a single nag, and with less than a whole nag at that! For part of the animal was preempted by the baggage that hung down on either flank. Would you not therefore prefer Cato's steed, that single steed, saddle-worn by Cato himself, to the coxcomb's whole retinue of plump ponies, Spanish cobs, and trotters?

11. I see that there will be no end in dealing with such a theme unless I make an end myself. So I shall now become silent, at least with reference to superfluous things like these; doubtless the man who first called them "hindrances" had a prophetic inkling that they would be the very sort of thing they now are. At present I should like to deliver to you the syllogisms, as yet very few, belonging to our school and bearing upon the question of virtue, which, in our opinion, is sufficient for the happy life.

12. "That which is good makes men good. For example, that which is good in the art of music makes the musician. But chance events do not make a good man; therefore, chance events are not goods." The Peripatetics reply to this by saying that the premiss is false; that men do not in every case become good by means of that which is good; that in music there is something good, like a flute, a harp, or an organ suited to accompany singing; but that none of these instruments makes the musician.

13. We shall then reply: "You do not understand in what sense we have used the phrase 'that which is good in music.' For we do not mean that which equips the musician, but that which makes the musician; you, however, are referring to the instruments of the art, and not to the art itself. If, however, anything in the art of music is good, that will in every case make the musician."

14. And I should like to put this idea still more clearly. We define the good in the art of music in two ways: first, that by which the performance of the musician is assisted, and second, that by which his art is assisted. Now the musical instruments have to do with his performance, – such as flutes and organs and harps; but they do not have to do with the musician's art itself. For he is an artist even without them; he may perhaps be lacking in the ability to practise his art. But the good in man is not in the same way twofold; for the good of man and the good of life are the same.

15. "That which can fall to the lot of any man, no matter how base or despised he may be, is not a good. But wealth

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falls to the lot of the pander and the trainer of gladiators; therefore wealth is not a good." "Another wrong premiss," they say, "for we notice that goods fall to the lot of the very lowest sort of men, not only in the scholar's art, but also in the art of healing or in the art of navigating."

16. These arts, however, make no profession of greatness of soul; they do not rise to any heights nor do they frown upon what fortune may bring. It is virtue that uplifts man and places him superior to what mortals hold dear; virtue neither craves overmuch nor fears to excess that which is called good or that which is called bad. Chelidon, one of Cleopatra's eunuchs, possessed great wealth; and recently Natalis – a man whose tongue was as shameless as it was dirty, a man whose mouth used to perform the vilest offices – was the heir of many, and also made many his heirs. What then? Was it his money that made him unclean, or did he himself besmirch his money? Money tumbles into the hands of certain men as a shilling tumbles down a sewer.

17. Virtue stands above all such things. It is appraised in coin of its own minting; and it deems none of these random windfalls to be good. But medicine and navigation do not forbid themselves and their followers to marvel at such things. One who is not a good man can nevertheless be a physician, or a pilot, or a scholar, – yes, just as well as he can be a cook! He to whose lot it falls to possess something which is not of a random sort, cannot be called a random sort of man; a person is of the same sort as that which he possesses.

18. A strong-box is worth just what it holds; or rather, it is a mere accessory of that which it holds. Who ever sets any price upon a full purse except the price established by the count of the money deposited therein? This also applies to the owners of great estates: they are only accessories and incidentals to their possessions.

Why, then, is the wise man great? Because he has a great soul. Accordingly, it is true that that which falls to the lot even of the most despicable person is not a good.

19. Thus, I should never regard inactivity as a good; for even the tree-frog and the flea possess this quality. Nor should I regard rest and freedom from trouble as a good; for what is more at leisure than a worm? Do you ask what it is that produces the wise man? That which produces a god. You must grant that the wise man has in an element of godliness, heavenliness, grandeur. The good does not come to every one, nor does it allow any random person to possess it.

20. Behold:

What fruits each country bears, or will not bear;
Here corn, and there the vine, grow richlier.
And elsewhere still the tender tree and grass
Unbidden clothe themselves in green. Seest thou
How Tmolus ships its saffron perfumes forth,
And ivory comes from Ind; soft Sheba sends
Its incense, and the unclad Chalybes
Their iron.

21. These products are apportioned to separate countries in order that human beings may be constrained to traffic among themselves, each seeking something from his neighbour in his turn. So the Supreme Good has also its own abode. It does not grow where ivory grows, or iron. Do you ask where the Supreme Good dwells? In the soul. And unless the soul be pure and holy, there is no room in it for God.

22. "Good does not result from evil. But riches result from greed; therefore, riches are not a good." "It is not true," they say, "that good does not result from evil. For money comes from sacrilege and theft. Accordingly, although sacrilege and theft are evil, yet they are evil only because they work more evil than good. For they bring gain; but the gain is accompanied by fear, anxiety, and torture of mind and body."

23. Whoever says this must perforce admit that sacrilege, though it be an evil because it works much evil, is yet partly good because it accomplishes a certain amount of good. What can be more monstrous than this? We have, to be sure, actually convinced the world that sacrilege, theft, and adultery are to be regarded as among the goods. How many men there are who do not blush at theft, how many who boast of having committed adultery! For petty sacrilege is punished, but sacrilege on a grand scale is honoured by a triumphal procession.

24. Besides, sacrilege, if it is wholly good in some respect, will also be honourable and will be called right conduct; for it is conduct which concerns ourselves. But no human being, on serious consideration, admits this idea.

Therefore, goods cannot spring from evil. For if, as you object, sacrilege is an evil for the single reason that it brings on much evil, if you but absolve sacrilege of its punishment and pledge it immunity, sacrilege will be wholly good. And yet the worst punishment for crime lies in the crime itself.

25. You are mistaken, I maintain, if you propose to reserve your punishments for the hangman or the prison; the crime is punished immediately after it is committed; nay, rather, at the moment when it is committed. Hence, good does not spring from evil, any more than figs grow from olive-trees. Things which grow correspond to their seed; and goods cannot depart from their class. As that which is honourable does not grow from that which is base, so neither does good grow from evil. For the honourable and the good are identical. [The good is absolute. The Stoics held that virtue and moral worth were identical, although those who followed the argument to its logical conclusion had to explain away many seeming inconsistencies.]

26. Certain of our school oppose this statement as follows: "Let us suppose that money taken from any source whatsoever is a good; even though it is taken by an act of sacrilege, the money does not on that account derive its origin from sacrilege. You may get my meaning through the following illustration: In the same jar there is a piece of gold and there is a serpent. If you take the gold from the jar, it is not just because the serpent is there too, I say, that the jar yields me the gold – because it contains the serpent as well, – but it yields the gold in spite of containing the serpent also. Similarly, gain results from sacrilege, not just because sacrilege is a base and accursed act, but because it contains gain also. As the serpent in the jar is an evil, and not the gold which lies there, beside the serpent; so in an act of sacrilege it is the crime, not the profit, that is evil."

27. But I differ from these men; for the conditions in each case are not at all the same. In the one instance I can take the gold without the serpent, in the other I cannot make the profit without committing the sacrilege. The gain in the latter case does not lie side by side with the crime; it is blended with the crime.

28. "That which, while we are desiring to attain it, involves us in many evils, is not a good. But while we are desiring to attain riches, we become involved in many evils; therefore, riches are not a good," [That riches are not a good, but merely an advantage, was one of the Stoic paradoxes.] "Your first premiss," they say, "contains two meanings; one is: we become involved in many evils while we are desiring to attain riches. But we also become involved in many evils while we are desiring to attain virtue. One man, while travelling in order to prosecute his studies, suffers shipwreck, and another is taken captive.

29. The second meaning is as follows: that through which we become involved in evils is not a good. And it will not logically follow from our proposition that we become involved in evils through riches or through pleasure; otherwise, if it is through riches that we become involved in many evils, riches are not only not a good, but they are positively an evil. You, however, maintain merely that they are not a good. Moreover," the objector says, "you grant that riches are of some use. You reckon them among the advantages; and yet on this basis they cannot even be an advantage, for it is through the pursuit of riches that we suffer much disadvantage."

30. Certain men answer this objection as follows: "You are mistaken if you ascribe disadvantages to riches. Riches injure no one; it is a man's own folly, or his neighbour's wickedness, that harms him in each case, just as a sword by itself does not slay; it is merely the weapon used by the slayer. Riches themselves do not harm you, just because it is on account of riches that you suffer harm."

31. I think that the reasoning of Posidonius is better: he holds that riches are a cause of evil, not because, of themselves, they do any evil, but because they goad men on so that they are ready to do evil. For the efficient cause, which necessarily produces harm at once, is one thing, and the antecedent cause is another. It is this antecedent cause which inheres in riches; they puff up the spirit and beget pride, they bring on unpopularity and unsettle the mind to such an extent that the mere reputation of having wealth, though it is bound to harm us, nevertheless affords delight.

32. All goods, however, ought properly to be free from blame; they are pure, they do not corrupt the spirit, and they do not tempt us. They do, indeed, uplift and broaden the spirit, but without puffing it up. Those things which are goods produce confidence, but riches produce shamelessness. The things which are goods give us greatness of soul, but riches give us arrogance. And arrogance is nothing else than a false show of greatness.

33. "According to that argument," the objector says, "riches are not only not a good, but are a positive evil." Now they would be an evil if they did harm of themselves, and if, as I remarked, it were the efficient cause which inheres in them; in fact, however, it is the antecedent cause which inheres in riches, and indeed it is that cause which, so far from merely arousing the spirit, actually drags it along by force. Yes, riches shower upon us a semblance of the good, which is like the reality and wins credence in the eyes of many men.

34. The antecedent cause inheres in virtue also; it is this which brings on envy – for many men become unpopular because of their wisdom, and many men because of their justice. But this cause, though it inheres in virtue, is not the result of virtue itself, nor is it a mere semblance of the reality; nay, on the contrary, far more like the reality is that vision which is flashed by virtue upon the spirits of men, summoning them to love it and marvel thereat.

35. Posidonius thinks that the syllogism should be framed as follows: "Things which bestow upon the soul no greatness or confidence or freedom from care are not goods. But riches and health and similar conditions do none of these things; therefore, riches and health are not goods." This syllogism he then goes on to extend still further in the following way: "Things which bestow upon the soul no greatness or confidence or freedom from care, but on the other hand create in it arrogance, vanity, and insolence, are evils. But things which are the gift of Fortune drive us into these evil ways. Therefore these things are not goods."

36. "But," says the objector, "by such reasoning, things which are the gift of Fortune will not even be advantages." No, advantages and goods stand each in a different situation. An advantage is that which contains more of usefulness than of annoyance. But a good ought to be unmixed and with no element in it of harmfulness. A thing is not good if it contains more benefit than injury, but only if it contains nothing but benefit.

37. Besides, advantages may be predicated of animals, of men who are less than perfect, and of fools. Hence the advantageous may have an element of disadvantage mingled with it, but the word "advantageous" is used of the compound because it is judged by its predominant element. The good, however, can be predicated of the wise man alone; it is bound to be without alloy,

38. Be of good cheer; there is only one knot left for you to untangle, though it is a knot for a Hercules: "Good does not result from evil. But riches result from numerous cases of poverty; therefore, riches are not a good." This syllogism is not recognized by our school, but the Peripatetics both concoct it and give its solution. Posidonius, however, remarks that this fallacy, which has been bandied about among all the schools of dialectic, is refuted by Antipater as follows:

39. "The word 'poverty' is used to denote, not the possession of something, but the non-possession or, as the ancients have put it, deprivation, (for the Greeks use the phrase 'by deprivation,' meaning 'negatively'). 'Poverty' states, not what a man has, but what he has not. Consequently there can be no fulness resulting from a multitude of voids; many positive things, and not many deficiencies, make up riches. You have," says he, "a wrong notion of the meaning of what poverty is. For poverty does not mean the possession of little, but the non-possession of much; it is used, therefore, not of what a man has, but of what he lacks."

40. I could express my meaning more easily if there were a Latin word which could translate the Greek word which means "not-possessing." Antipater assigns this quality to poverty, but for my part I cannot see what else poverty is than the possession of little. If ever we have plenty of leisure, we shall investigate the question: What is the essence of riches, and what the essence of poverty; but when the time comes, we shall also consider whether it is not better to try to mitigate poverty, and to relieve wealth of its arrogance, than to quibble about the words as if the question of the things were already decided.

41. Let us suppose that we have been summoned to an assembly; an act dealing with the abolition of riches has been brought before the meeting. Shall we be supporting it, or opposing it, if we use these syllogisms? Will these syllogisms help us to bring it about that the Roman people shall demand poverty and praise it – poverty, the foundation and cause of their empire, – and, on the other hand, shall shrink in fear from their present wealth, reflecting that they have found it among the victims of their conquests, that wealth is the source from which office-seeking and bribery and disorder* have burst into a city once characterized by the utmost scrupulousness and sobriety, and that because of wealth an exhibition all too lavish is made of the spoils of conquered nations; reflecting, finally, that whatever one people has snatched away from all the rest may still more easily be snatched by all away from one? Nay, it were better to support this law by our conduct and to subdue our desires by direct assault rather than to circumvent them by logic. If we can, let us speak more boldly; if not, let us speak more frankly. [*Seneca here bursts into a diatribe on the corruption of Rome, a habit which we find in many other of his writings.] (This letter does not end with 'Farewell'.)

SENECA LETTER 88. On Liberal and Vocational Studies

1. You have been wishing to know my views with regard to liberal studies. [The regular round of education, including grammar, music, geometry, arithmetic, astrology, and certain phases of rhetoric and dialectic, are in this letter contrasted with liberal studies – those which have for their object the pursuit of virtue. Seneca is thus interpreting studia liberalia in a higher sense than his contemporaries would expect.] My answer is this: I respect no study, and deem no study good, which results in money-making. Such studies are profit-bringing occupations, useful only in so far as they give the mind a preparation and do not engage it permanently. One should linger upon them only so long as the mind can occupy itself with nothing greater; they are our apprenticeship, not our real work.

2. Hence you see why "liberal studies" are so called; it is because they are studies worthy of a free-born gentleman. But there is only one really liberal study, – that which gives a man

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his liberty. It is the study of wisdom, and that is lofty, brave, and great-souled. All other studies are puny and puerile. You surely do not believe that there is good in any of the subjects whose teachers are, as you see, men of the most ignoble and base stamp? We ought not to be learning such things; we should have done with learning them. Certain persons have made up their minds that the point at issue with regard to the liberal studies is whether they make men good; but they do not even profess or aim at a knowledge of this particular subject.

3. The scholar* busies himself with investigations into language, and if it be his desire to go farther afield, he works on history, or, if he would extend his range to the farthest limits, on poetry. [*Grammaticus: in classical Greek means "one who is familiar with the alphabet"; in the Alexandrian age a "student of literature"; in the Roman age the equivalent of litteratus. Seneca means here a "specialist in linguistic science."] But which of these paves the way to virtue? Pronouncing syllables, investigating words, memorizing plays, or making rules for the scansion of poetry, – what is there in all this that rids one of fear, roots out desire, or bridles the passions?

4. The question is: do such men teach virtue, or not? If they do not teach it, then neither do they transmit it. If they do teach it, they are philosophers. Would you like to know how it happens that they have not taken the chair for the purpose of teaching virtue? See how unlike their subjects are; and yet their subjects would resemble each other if they taught the same thing.

5. It may be, perhaps, that they make you believe that Homer was a philosopher, although they disprove this by the very arguments through which they seek to prove it. For sometimes they make of him a Stoic, who approves nothing but virtue, avoids pleasures, and refuses to relinquish honour even at the price of immortality; sometimes they make him an Epicurean, praising the condition of a state in repose, which passes its days in feasting and song; sometimes a Peripatetic, classifying goodness in three ways; sometimes an Academic, holding that all things are uncertain. It is clear, however, that no one of these doctrines is to be fathered upon Homer, just because they are all there; for they are irreconcilable with one another. We may admit to these men, indeed, that Homer was a philosopher; yet surely he became a wise man before he had any knowledge of poetry. So let us learn the particular things that made Homer wise.

6. It is no more to the point, of course, for me to investigate whether Homer or Hesiod was the older poet, than to know why Hecuba, although younger than Helen, showed her years so lamentably. What, in your opinion, I say, would be the point in trying to determine the respective ages of Achilles and Patroclus?

7. Do you raise the question, "Through what regions did Ulysses stray?" instead of trying to prevent ourselves from going astray at all times? We have no leisure to hear lectures on the question whether he was sea-tost between Italy and Sicily, or outside our known world (indeed, so long a wandering could not possibly have taken place within its narrow bounds); we ourselves encounter storms of the spirit, which toss us daily, and our depravity drives us into all the ills which troubled Ulysses. For us there is never lacking the beauty to tempt our eyes, or the enemy to assail us; on this side are savage monsters that delight in human blood, on that side the treacherous allurements of the ear, and yonder is shipwreck and all the varied category of misfortunes. Show me rather, by the example of Ulysses, how I am to love my country, my wife, my father, and how, even after suffering shipwreck, I am to sail toward these ends, honourable as they are.

8. Why try to discover whether Penelope was a pattern of purity, or whether she had the laugh on her contemporaries? Or whether she suspected that the man in her presence was Ulysses, before she knew it was he? Teach me rather what purity is, and how great a good we have in it, and whether it is situated in the body or in the soul.

9. Now I will transfer my attention to the musician. You, sir, are teaching me how the treble and the bass are in accord with one another, and how, though the strings produce different notes, the result is a harmony; rather bring my soul into harmony with itself, and let not my purposes be out of tune. You are showing me what the doleful keys are; show me rather how, in the midst of adversity, I may keep from uttering a doleful note.

10. The mathematician teaches me how to lay out the dimensions of my estates; but I should rather be taught how to lay out what is enough for a man to own. He teaches me to count, and adapts my fingers to avarice; but I should prefer him to teach me that there is no point in such calculations, and that one is none the happier for tiring out the book-keepers with his possessions – or rather, how useless property is to any man who would find it the greatest misfortune if he should be required to reckon out, by his own wits, the amount of his holdings.

11. What good is there for me in knowing how to parcel out a piece of land, if I know not how to share it with my brother? What good is there in working out to a nicety the dimensions of an acre, and in detecting the error if a piece has so much as escaped my measuring-rod, if I am embittered when an ill-tempered neighbour merely scrapes off a bit of my land? The mathematician teaches me how I may lose none of my boundaries; I, however, seek to learn how to lose them all with a light heart.

12. "But," comes the reply, "I am being driven from the farm which my father and grandfather owned!" Well? Who owned the land before your grandfather? Can you explain what people (I will not say what person) held it originally? You did not enter upon it as a master, but merely as a tenant. And whose tenant are you? If your claim is successful, you are tenant of the heir. The lawyers say that public property cannot be acquired privately by possession; what you hold and call your own is public property – indeed, it belongs to mankind at large.

13. O what marvellous skill! You know how to measure the circle; you find the square of any shape which is set before you; you compute the distances between the stars; there is nothing which does not come within the scope of your calculations. But if you are a real master of your profession, measure me the mind of man! Tell me how great it is, or how puny! You know what a straight line is; but how does it benefit you if you do not know what is straight in this life of ours?

14. I come next to the person who boasts his knowledge of the heavenly bodies, who knows

Whither the chilling star of Saturn hides,
And through what orbit Mercury doth stray.

Of what benefit will it be to know this? That I shall be disturbed because Saturn and Mars are in opposition, or when Mercury sets at eventide in plain view of Saturn, rather than learn that those stars, wherever they are, are propitious, and that they are not subject to change? 15. They are driven along by an unending round of destiny, on a course from which they cannot swerve. They return at stated seasons; they either set in motion, or mark the intervals of the whole world's work. But if they are responsible for whatever happens, how will it help you to know the secrets of the immutable? Or if they merely give indications, what good is there in foreseeing what you cannot escape? Whether you know these things or not, they will take place.

16. Behold the fleeting sun,
The stars that follow in his train, and thou
Shalt never find the morrow play thee false,
Or be misled by nights without a cloud.

It has, however, been sufficiently and fully ordained that I shall be safe from anything that may mislead me.

17. "What," you say, "does the 'morrow never play me false'? Whatever happens without my knowledge plays me false." I, for my part, do not know what is to be, but I do know what may come to be. I shall have no misgivings in this matter; I await the future in its entirety; and if there is any abatement in its severity, I make the most of it. If the morrow treats me kindly, it is a sort of deception; but it does not deceive me even at that. For just as I know that all things can happen, so I know, too, that they will not happen in every case. I am ready for favourable events in every case, but I am prepared for evil.

18. In this discussion you must bear with me if I do not follow the regular course. For I do not consent to admit painting into the list of liberal arts, any more than sculpture, marble-working, and other helps toward luxury. I also debar from the liberal studies wrestling and all knowledge that is compounded of oil and mud; otherwise, I should be compelled to admit perfumers also, and cooks, and all others who lend their wits to the service of our pleasures.

19. For what "liberal" element is there in these ravenous takers of emetics, whose bodies are fed to fatness while their minds are thin and dull? Or do we really believe that the training which they give is "liberal" for the young men of Rome, who used to be taught by our ancestors to stand straight and hurl a spear, to wield a pike, to guide a horse, and to handle weapons? Our ancestors used to teach their children nothing that could be learned while lying down. But neither the new system nor the old teaches or nourishes virtue. For what good does it do us to guide a horse and control his speed with the curb, and then find that our own passions, utterly uncurbed, bolt with us? Or to beat many opponents in wrestling or boxing, and then to find that we ourselves are beaten by anger?

20. "What then," you say, "do the liberal studies contribute nothing to our welfare?" Very much in other respects, but nothing at all as regards virtue. For even these arts of which I have spoken, though admittedly of a low grade – depending as they do upon handiwork – contribute greatly toward the equipment of life, but nevertheless have nothing to do with virtue. And if you inquire, "Why, then, do we educate our children in the liberal studies?" it is not because they can bestow virtue, but because they prepare the soul for the reception of virtue. Just as that "primary course," as the ancients called it, in grammar, which gave boys their elementary training, does not teach them the liberal arts, but prepares the ground for their early acquisition of these arts, so the liberal arts do not conduct the soul all the way to virtue, but merely set it going in that direction.

21. Posidonius divides the arts into four classes: first we have those which are common and low, then those which serve for amusement, then those which refer to the education of boys, and, finally, the liberal arts. The common sort belong to workmen and are mere hand-work; they are concerned with equipping life; there is in them no pretence to beauty or honour.

22. The arts of amusement are those which aim to please the eye and the ear. To this class you may assign the stage-machinists, who invent scaffolding that goes aloft of its own accord, or floors that rise silently into the air, and many other surprising devices, as when objects that fit together then fall apart, or objects which are separate then join together automatically, or objects which stand erect then gradually collapse. The eye of the inexperienced is struck with amazement by these things; for such persons marvel at everything that takes place without warning, because they do not know the causes.

23. The arts which belong to the education of boys, and are somewhat similar to the liberal arts, are those which the Greeks call the "cycle of studies," but which we Romans call the "liberal." However, those alone are really liberal – or rather, to give them a truer name, "free" – whose concern is virtue.

24. "But," one will say, "just as there is a part of philosophy which has to do with nature, and a part which has to do with ethics, and a part which has to do with reasoning, so this group of liberal arts also claims for itself a place in philosophy. When one approaches questions that deal with nature, a decision is reached by means of a word from the mathematician. Therefore mathematics is a department of that branch which it aids."

25. But many things aid us and yet are not parts of ourselves. Nay, if they were, they would not aid us. Food is an aid to the body, but is not a part of it. We get some help from the service which mathematics renders; and mathematics is as indispensable to philosophy as the carpenter is to the mathematician. But carpentering is not a part of mathematics, nor is mathematics a part of philosophy.

26. Moreover, each has its own limits; for the wise man investigates and learns the causes of natural phenomena, while the mathematician follows up and computes their numbers and their measurements. The wise man knows the laws by which the heavenly bodies persist, what powers belong to them, and what attributes; the astronomer merely notes their comings and goings, the rules which govern their settings and their risings, and the occasional periods during which they seem to stand still, although as a matter of fact no heavenly body can stand still.

27. The wise man will know what causes the reflection in a mirror; but, the mathematician can merely tell you how far the body should be from the reflection, and what shape of mirror will produce a given reflection. The philosopher will demonstrate that the sun is a large body, while the astronomer will compute just how large, progressing in knowledge by his method of trial and experiment; but in order to progress, he must summon to his aid certain principles. No art, however, is sufficient unto itself, if the foundation upon which it rests depends upon mere favour.

28. Now philosophy asks no favours from any other source; it builds everything on its own soil; but the science of numbers is, so to speak, a structure built on another man's land – it builds on alien soil. It accepts first principles, and by their favour arrives at further conclusions. If it could march unassisted to the truth, if it were able to understand the nature of the universe, I should say that it would offer much assistance to our minds; for the mind grows by contact with things heavenly, and draws into itself something from on high. There is but one thing that brings the soul to perfection – the unalterable knowledge of good and evil. But there is no other art which investigates good and evil. I should like to pass in review the several virtues.

29. Bravery is a scorner of things which inspire fear; it looks down upon, challenges, and crushes the powers of terror and all that would drive our freedom under the yoke. But do "liberal studies" strengthen this virtue? Loyalty is the holiest good in the human heart; it is forced into betrayal by no constraint, and it is bribed by no rewards. Loyalty cries: "Burn me, slay me, kill me! I shall not betray my trust; and the more urgently torture shall seek to find my secret, the deeper in my heart will I bury it!" Can the "liberal arts" produce such a spirit within us? Temperance controls our desires; some it hates and routs, others it regulates and restores to a healthy measure, nor does it ever approach our desires for their own sake. Temperance knows that the best measure of the appetites is not what you want to take, but what you ought to take.

30. Kindliness forbids you to be over-bearing towards your associates, and it forbids you to be grasping. In words and in deeds and in feelings it shows itself gentle and courteous to all men. It counts no evil as another's solely. And the reason why it loves its own good is chiefly because it will some day be the

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good of another. Do "liberal studies" teach a man such character as this? No; no more than they teach simplicity, moderation and self-restraint, thrift and economy, and that kindliness which spares a neighbour's life as if it were one's own and knows that it is not for man to make wasteful use of his fellow-man.

31. "But," one says, "since you declare that virtue cannot be attained without the 'liberal studies,' how is it that you deny that they offer any assistance to virtue?" Because you cannot attain virtue without food, either; and yet food has nothing to do with virtue. Wood does not offer assistance to a ship, although a ship cannot be built except of wood. There is no reason, I say, why you should think that anything is made by the assistance of that without which it cannot be made.

32. We might even make the statement that it is possible to attain wisdom without the "liberal studies"; for although virtue is a thing that must be learned, yet it is not learned by means of these studies. What reason have I, however, for supposing that one who is ignorant of letters will never be a wise man, since wisdom is not to be found in letters? Wisdom communicates facts and not words; and it may be true that the memory is more to be depended upon when it has no support outside itself.

33. Wisdom is a large and spacious thing. It needs plenty of free room. One must learn about things divine and human, the past and the future, the ephemeral and the eternal; and one must learn about Time. [The ancient Stoics defined Time as "extension of the world's motion." The seasons were said to be "alive" because they depended on material conditions. But the Stoics really acknowledged Time to be immaterial. The same problem of corporeality was discussed with regard to the "good."] See how many questions arise concerning time alone: in the first place, whether it is anything in and by itself; in the second place, whether anything exists prior to time and without time; and again, did time begin along with the universe, or, because there was something even before the universe began, did time also exist then?

34. There are countless questions concerning the soul alone: whence it comes, what is its nature, when it begins to exist, and how long it exists; whether it passes from one place to another and changes its habitation, being transferred successively from one animal shape to another, or whether it is a slave but once, roaming the universe after it is set free; whether it is corporeal or not; what will become of it when it ceases to use us as its medium; how it will employ its freedom when it has escaped from this present prison; whether it will forget all its past, and at that moment begin to know itself when, released from the body, it has withdrawn to the skies.

35. Thus, whatever phase of things human and divine you have apprehended, you will be wearied by the vast number of things to be answered and things to be learned. And in order that these manifold and mighty subjects may have free entertainment in your soul, you must remove therefrom all superfluous things. Virtue will not surrender herself to these narrow bounds of ours; a great subject needs wide space in which to move. Let all other things be driven out, and let the breast be emptied to receive virtue.

36. "But it is a pleasure to be acquainted with many arts." Therefore let us keep only as much of them as is essential. Do you regard that man as blameworthy who puts superfluous things on the same footing with useful things, and in his house makes a lavish display of costly objects, but do not deem him blameworthy who has allowed himself to become engrossed with the useless furniture of learning? This desire to know more than is sufficient is a sort of intemperance.

37. Why? Because this unseemly pursuit of the liberal arts makes men troublesome, wordy, tactless, self-satisfied bores, who fail to learn the essentials just because they have learned the non-essentials. Didymus the scholar wrote four thousand books. I should feel pity for him if he had only read the same number of superfluous volumes. In these books he investigates Homer's birthplace, who was really the mother of Aeneas, whether Anacreon was more of a rake or more of a drunkard, whether Sappho was a bad lot, and other problems the answers to which, if found, were forthwith to be forgotten. Come now, do not tell me that life is long!

38. Nay, when you come to consider our own countrymen also, I can show you many works which ought to be cut down with the axe. It is at the cost of a vast outlay of time and of vast discomfort to the ears of others that we win such praise as this: "What a learned man you are!" Let us be content with this recommendation, less citified though it be: "What a good man you are!"

39. Do I mean this? Well, would you have me unroll the annals of the world's history and try to find out who first wrote poetry? Or, in the absence of written records, shall I make an estimate of the number of years which lie between Orpheus and Homer? Or shall I make a study of the absurd writings of Aristarchus, wherein he branded the text of other men's verses, and wear my life away upon syllables? Shall I then wallow in the geometrician's dust? [The geometricians drew their figures in the dust or sand.] Have I so far forgotten that useful saw "Save your time"? Must I know these things? And what may I choose not to know?

40. Apion, the scholar, who drew crowds to his lectures all over Greece in the days of Gaius Caesar and was acclaimed a Homerid by every state, used to maintain that Homer, when he had finished his two poems, the Iliad and the Odyssey, added a preliminary poem to his work, wherein he embraced the whole Trojan war. The argument which Apion adduced to prove this statement was that Homer had purposely inserted in the opening line two letters which contained a key to the number of his books.

41. A man who wishes to know many things must know such things as these, and must take no thought of all the time which one loses by ill-health, public duties, private duties, daily duties, and sleep. Apply the measure to the years of your life; they have no room for all these things.

42. I have been speaking so far of liberal studies; but think how much superfluous and unpractical matter the philosophers contain! Of their own accord they also have descended to establishing nice divisions of syllables, to determining the true meaning of conjunctions and prepositions; they have been envious of the scholars, envious of the mathematicians. They have taken over into their own art all the superfluities of these other arts; the result is that they know more about careful speaking than about careful living.

43. Let me tell you what evils are due to over-nice exactness, and what an enemy it is of truth! Protagoras declares that one can take either side on any question and debate it with equal success – even on this very question, whether every subject can be debated from either point of view. Nausiphanes holds that in things which seem to exist, there is no difference between existence and non-existence.

44. Parmenides maintains that nothing exists of all this which seems to exist, except the universe alone. [In other words, the unchangeable, perfect Being of the universe is contrasted with the mutable Non-Being of opinion and unreality.] Zeno of Elea removed all the difficulties by removing one; for he declares that nothing exists. The Pyrrhonean, Megarian, Eretrian, and Academic schools are all engaged in practically the same task; they have introduced a new knowledge, non-knowledge.

45. You may sweep all these theories in with the superfluous troops of "liberal" studies; the one class of men give me a knowledge that will be of no use to me, the other class do away with any hope of attaining knowledge. It is better, of course, to know useless things than to know nothing. One set of philosophers offers no light by which I may direct my gaze toward the truth; the other digs out my very eyes and leaves me blind. If I cleave to Protagoras, there is nothing in the scheme of nature that is not doubtful; if I hold with Nausiphanes, I am sure only of this – that everything is unsure; if with Parmenides, there is nothing except the One; if with Zeno, there is not even the One.

46. What are we, then? What becomes of all these things that surround us, support us, sustain us? The whole universe is then a vain or deceptive shadow. I cannot readily say whether I am more vexed at those who would have it that we know nothing, or with those who would not leave us even this privilege. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 89. On the Parts of Philosophy

1. It is a useful fact that you wish to know, one which is essential to him who hastens after wisdom – namely, the parts of philosophy and the division of its huge bulk into separate members. For by studying the parts we can be brought more easily to understand the whole. I only wish that philosophy might come before our eyes in all her unity, just as the whole expanse of the firmament is spread out for us to gaze upon! It would be a sight closely resembling that of the firmament. For then surely philosophy would ravish all mortals with love for her; we should abandon all those things which, in our ignorance of what is great, we believe to be great. Inasmuch, however, as this cannot fall to our lot, we must view philosophy just as men gaze upon the secrets of the firmament.

2. The wise man's mind, to be sure, embraces the whole framework of philosophy, surveying it with no less rapid glance than our mortal eyes survey the heavens; we, however, who must break through the gloom, we whose vision fails even for that which is near at hand, can be shown with greater ease each separate object even though we cannot yet comprehend the universe. I shall therefore comply with your demand, and shall divide philosophy into parts, but not into scraps. For it is useful that philosophy should be divided, but not chopped into bits. Just as it is hard to take in what is indefinitely large, so it is hard to take in what is indefinitely small.

3. The people are divided into tribes, the army into centuries. Whatever has grown to greater size is more easily identified if it is broken up into parts; but the parts, as I have remarked, must not be countless in number and diminutive in size. For over-analysis is faulty in precisely the same way as no analysis at all; whatever you cut so fine that it becomes dust is as good as blended into a mass again.

4. In the first place, therefore, if you approve, I shall draw the distinction between wisdom and philosophy. Wisdom is the perfect good of the human mind; philosophy is the love of wisdom, and the endeavour to attain it. The latter strives toward the goal which the former has already reached. And it is clear why philosophy was so called. For it acknowledges by its very name the object of its love.

5. Certain persons have defined wisdom as the knowledge of things divine and things human. Still others say: "Wisdom is knowing things divine and things human, and their causes also." This added phrase seems to me to be superfluous, since the causes of things divine and things human are a part of the divine system. Philosophy also has been defined in various ways; some have called it "the study of virtue," others have referred to it as "a study of the way to amend the mind," and some have named it "the search for right reason."

6. One thing is practically settled, that there is some difference between philosophy and wisdom. Nor indeed is it possible that that which is sought and that which seeks are identical. As there is a great difference between avarice and wealth, the one being the subject of the craving and the other its object, so between philosophy and wisdom. For the one is a result and a reward of the other. Philosophy does the going, and wisdom is the goal.

7. Wisdom is that which the Greeks call σοφία. The Romans also were wont to use this word in the sense in which they now use "philosophy" also. This will be proved to your satisfaction by our old national plays, as well as by the epitaph that is carved on the tomb of Dossennus:

Pause, stranger, and read the wisdom of Dossennus.

8. Certain of our school, however, although philosophy meant to them "the study of virtue," and though virtue was the object sought and philosophy the seeker, have maintained nevertheless that the two cannot be sundered. For philosophy cannot exist without virtue, nor virtue without philosophy. Philosophy is the study of virtue, by means, however, of virtue itself; but neither can virtue exist without the study of itself, nor can the study of virtue exist without virtue itself. For it is not like trying to hit a target at long range, where the shooter and the object to be shot at are in different places. Nor, as roads which lead into a city, are the approaches to virtue situated outside virtue herself; the path by which one reaches virtue leads by way of virtue herself; philosophy and virtue cling closely together.

9. The greatest authors, and the greatest number of authors, have maintained that there are three divisions of philosophy – moral, natural, and rational. The first keeps the soul in order; the second investigates the universe; the third works out the essential meanings of words, their combinations, and the proofs which keep falsehood from creeping in and displacing truth. But there have also been those who divided philosophy on the one hand into fewer divisions, on the other hand into more.

10. Certain of the Peripatetic school have added a fourth division, "civil philosophy," because it calls for a special sphere of activity and is interested in a different subject matter. Some have added a department for which they use the Greek term "economics," the science of managing one's own household. Still others have made a distinct heading for the various kinds of life. There is no one of these subdivisions, however, which will not be found under the branch called "moral" philosophy.

11. The Epicureans held that philosophy was twofold, natural and moral; they did away with the rational branch. Then, when they were compelled by the facts themselves to distinguish between equivocal ideas and to expose fallacies that lay hidden under the cloak of truth, they themselves also introduced a heading to which they give the name "forensic and regulative," which is merely "rational" under another name, although they hold that this section is accessory to the department of "natural" philosophy.

12. The Cyrenaic school abolished the natural as well as the rational department, and were content with the moral side alone; and yet these philosophers also include under another title that which they have rejected. For they divide moral philosophy into five parts: (1) What to avoid and what to seek, (2) The Passions, (3) Actions, (4) Causes, (5) Proofs. Now the causes of things really belong to the "natural" division, the proofs to the "rational."

13. Aristo of Chios remarked that the natural and the rational were not only superfluous, but were also contradictory. He even limited the "moral," which was all that was left to him; for he abolished that heading which embraced advice, maintaining that it was the business of the pedagogue, and not of the philosopher – as if the wise man were anything else than the pedagogue of the human race!

14. Since, therefore, philosophy is threefold, let us first begin to set in order the moral side. It has been agreed that this should be divided into three parts. First, we have the speculative part, which assigns to each thing its particular function and weighs the worth of each; it is highest in point of utility. For what is so indispensable as giving to everything its proper value? The second has to do with impulse, the third with actions. For the first duty is to determine severally what things are worth; the second, to conceive with regard to them a regulated and ordered impulse; the third, to make your

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impulse and your actions harmonize, so that under all these conditions you may be consistent with yourself.

15. If any of these three be defective, there is confusion in the rest also. For what benefit is there in having all things appraised, each in its proper relations, if you go to excess in your impulses? What benefit is there in having checked your impulses and in having your desires in your own control, if when you come to action you are unaware of the proper times and seasons, and if you do not know when, where, and how each action should be carried out? It is one thing to understand the merits and the values of facts, another thing to know the precise moment for action, and still another to curb impulses and to proceed, instead of rushing, toward what is to be done. Hence life is in harmony with itself only when action has not deserted impulse, and when impulse toward an object arises in each case from the worth of the object, being languid or more eager as the case may be, according as the objects which arouse it are worth seeking.

16. The natural side of philosophy is twofold: bodily and non-bodily. Each is divided into its own grades of importance, so to speak. The topic concerning bodies deals, first, with these two grades: the creative and the created; and the created things are the elements. Now this very topic of the elements, as some writers hold, is integral; as others hold, it is divided into matter, the cause which moves all things, and the elements.

17. It remains for me to divide rational philosophy into its parts. Now all speech is either continuous, or split up between questioner and answerer. It has been agreed upon that the former should be called rhetoric, and the latter dialectic. Rhetoric deals with words, and meanings, and arrangement. Dialectic is divided into two parts: words and their meanings, that is, into things which are said, and the words in which they are said. Then comes a subdivision of each – and it is of vast extent. Therefore I shall stop at this point, and

But treat the climax of the story;

for if I should take a fancy to give the subdivisions, my letter would become a debater's handbook!

18. I am not trying to discourage you, excellent Lucilius, from reading on this subject, provided only that you promptly relate to conduct all that you have read.

It is your conduct that you must hold in check; you must rouse what is languid in you, bind fast what has become relaxed, conquer what is obstinate, persecute your appetites, and the appetites of mankind, as much as you can; and to those who say: "How long will this unending talk go on?" answer with the words:

19. "I ought to be asking you 'How long will these unending sins of yours go on?'" Do you really desire my remedies to stop before your vices? But I shall speak of my remedies all the more, and just because you offer objections I shall keep on talking. Medicine begins to do good at the time when a touch makes the diseased body tingle with pain. I shall utter words that will help men even against their will. At times you should allow words other than compliments to reach your ears, and because as individuals you are unwilling to hear the truth, hear it collectively.

20. How far will you extend the boundaries of your estates? An estate which held a nation is too narrow for a single lord. How far will you push forward your ploughed fields – you who are not content to confine the measure of your farms even within the amplitude of provinces? You have noble rivers flowing down through your private grounds; you have mighty streams – boundaries of mighty nations – under your dominion from source to outlet. This also is too little for you unless you also surround whole seas with your estates, unless your steward holds sway on the other side of the Adriatic, the Ionian, and the Aegean seas, unless the islands, homes of famous chieftains, are reckoned by you as the most paltry of possessions! Spread them as widely as you will, if only you may have as a "farm" what was once called a kingdom; make whatever you can your own, provided only that it is more than your neighbour's!

21. And now for a word with you, whose luxury spreads itself out as widely as the greed of those to whom I have just referred. To you I say: "Will this custom continue until there is no lake over which the pinnacles of your country-houses do not tower? Until there is no river whose banks are not bordered by your lordly structures? Wherever hot waters shall gush forth in rills, there you will be causing new resorts of luxury to rise. Wherever the shore shall bend into a bay, there will you straightway be laying foundations, and, not content with any land that has not been made by art, you will bring the sea within your boundaries. On every side let your house-tops flash in the sun, now set on mountain peaks where they command an extensive outlook over sea and land, now lifted from the plain to the height of mountains; build your manifold structures, your huge piles, – you are nevertheless but individuals, and puny ones at that! What profit to you are your many bed-chambers? You sleep in one. No place is yours where you yourselves are not."

22. "Next I pass to you, you whose bottomless and insatiable maw explores on the one hand the seas, on the other the earth, with enormous toil hunting down your prey, now with hook, now with snare, now with nets of various kinds; no animal has peace except when you are cloyed with it. And how slight a portion of those banquets of yours, prepared for you by so many hands, do you taste with your pleasure-jaded palate! How slight a portion of all that game, whose taking was fraught with danger, does the master's sick and squeamish stomach relish? How slight a portion of all those shell-fish, imported from so far, slips down that insatiable gullet? Poor wretches, do you not know that your appetites are bigger than your bellies?"

23. Talk in this way to other men, – provided that while you talk you also listen; write in this way, – provided that while you write you read, remembering that everything you hear or read, is to be applied to conduct, and to the alleviation of passion's fury. Study, not in order to add anything to your knowledge, but to make your knowledge better. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 90. On the Part Played by Philosophy in the Progress of Man

1. Who can doubt, my dear Lucilius, that life is the gift of the immortal gods, but that living well is the gift of philosophy? Hence the idea that our debt to philosophy is greater than our debt to the gods, in proportion as a good life is more of a benefit than mere life, would be regarded as correct, were not philosophy itself a boon which the gods have bestowed upon us. They have given the knowledge thereof to none, but the faculty of acquiring it they have given to all.

2. For if they had made philosophy also a general good, and if we were gifted with understanding at our birth, wisdom would have lost her best attribute – that she is not one of the gifts of fortune. For as it is, the precious and noble characteristic of wisdom is that she does not advance to meet us, that each man is indebted to himself for her, and that we do not seek her at the hands of others. What would there be in philosophy worthy of your respect, if she were a thing that came by bounty?

3. Her sole function is to discover the truth about things divine and things human. From her side religion never departs, nor duty, nor justice, nor any of the whole company of virtues which cling together in close-united fellowship. Philosophy has taught us to worship that which is divine, to love that which is human; she has told us that with the gods lies dominion, and among men, fellowship. This fellowship remained unspoiled for a long time, until avarice tore the community asunder and became the cause of poverty, even in the case of those whom she herself had most enriched. For men cease to possess all things the moment they desire all things for their own.

4. But the first men and those who sprang from them, still unspoiled, followed nature, having one man as both their leader and their law, entrusting themselves to the control of one better than themselves. For nature has the habit of subjecting the weaker to the stronger. Even among the dumb animals those which are either biggest or fiercest hold sway. It is no weakling bull that leads the herd; it is one that has beaten the other males by his might and his muscle. In the case of elephants, the tallest goes first; among men, the best is regarded as the highest. That is why it was to the mind that a ruler was assigned; and for that reason the greatest happiness rested with those peoples among whom a man could not be the more powerful unless he were the better. For that man can safely accomplish what he will who thinks he can do nothing except what he ought to do.

5. Accordingly, in that age which is maintained to be the golden age, Posidonius holds that the government was under the jurisdiction of the wise. They kept their hands under control, and protected the weaker from the stronger. They gave advice, both to do and not to do; they showed what was useful and what was useless. Their forethought provided that their subjects should lack nothing; their bravery warded off dangers; their kindness enriched and adorned their subjects. For them ruling was a service, not an exercise of royalty. No ruler tried his power against those to whom he owed the beginnings of his power; and no one had the inclination, or the excuse, to do wrong, since the ruler ruled well and the subject obeyed well, and the king could utter no greater threat against disobedient subjects than that they should depart from the kingdom.

6. But when once vice stole in and kingdoms were transformed into tyrannies, a need arose for laws; and these very laws were in turn framed by the wise. Solon, who established Athens upon a firm basis by just laws, was one of the seven men renowned for their wisdom. Had Lycurgus lived in the same period, an eighth would have been added to that hallowed number seven. The laws of Zaleucus and Charondas are praised; it was not in the forum or in the offices of skilled counsellors, but in the silent and holy retreat of Pythagoras, that these two men learned the principles of justice which they were to establish in Sicily (which at that time was prosperous) and throughout Grecian Italy.

7. Up to this point I agree with Posidonius; but that philosophy discovered the arts of which life makes use in its daily round I refuse to admit, nor will I ascribe to it an artisan's glory. Posidonius says: "When men were scattered over the earth, protected by caves or by the dug-out shelter of a cliff or by the trunk of a hollow tree, it was philosophy that taught them to build houses." But I, for my part, do not hold that philosophy devised these shrewdly-contrived dwellings of ours which rise story upon story, where city crowds against city, any more than that she invented the fish-preserves, which are enclosed for the purpose of saving men's gluttony from having to run the risk of storms, and in order that, no matter how wildly the sea is raging, luxury may have its safe harbours in which to fatten fancy breeds of fish.

8. What! Was it philosophy that taught the use of keys and bolts? Nay, what was that except giving a hint to avarice? Was it philosophy that erected all these towering tenements, so dangerous to the persons who dwell in them? Was it not enough for man to provide himself a roof of any chance covering, and to contrive for himself some natural retreat without the help of art and without trouble? Believe me, that was a happy age, before the days of architects, before the days of builders!

9. All this sort of thing was born when luxury was being born, – this matter of cutting timbers square and cleaving a beam with unerring hand as the saw made its way over the marked-out line.

The primal man with wedges split his wood.

For they were not preparing a roof for a future banquet-ball; for no such use did they carry the pine-trees or the firs along the trembling streets with a long row of drays – merely to fasten thereon panelled ceilings heavy with gold.

10. Forked poles erected at either end propped up their houses. With close-packed branches and with leaves heaped up and laid sloping they contrived a drainage for even the heaviest rains. Beneath such dwellings, they lived, but they lived in peace. A thatched roof once covered free men; under marble and gold dwells slavery.

11. On another point also I differ from Posidonius, when he holds that mechanical tools were the invention of wise men. For on that basis one might maintain that those were wise who taught the arts

Of setting traps for game, and liming twigs

For birds, and girdling mighty woods with dogs.

It was man's ingenuity, not his wisdom, that discovered all these devices.

12. And I also differ from him when he says that wise men discovered our mines of iron and copper, "when the earth, scorched by forest fires, melted the veins of ore which lay near the surface and caused the metal to gush forth." Nay, the sort of men who discover such things are the sort of men who are busied with them.

13. Nor do I consider this question so subtle as Posidonius thinks, namely, whether the hammer or the tongs came first into use. They were both invented by some man whose mind was nimble and keen, but not great or exalted; and the same holds true of any other discovery which can only be made by means of a bent body and of a mind whose gaze is upon the ground.

The wise man was easy-going in his way of living. And why not? Even in our own times he would prefer to be as little cumbered as possible.

14. How, I ask, can you consistently admire both Diogenes and Daedalus? Which of these two seems to you a wise man – the one who devised the saw, or the one who, on seeing a boy drink water from the hollow of his hand, forthwith took his cup from his wallet and broke it, upbraiding himself with these words: "Fool that I am, to have been carrying superfluous baggage all this time!" and then curled himself up in his tub and lay down to sleep?

15. In these our own times, which man, pray, do you deem the wiser – the one who invents a process for spraying saffron perfumes to a tremendous height from hidden pipes, who fills or empties canals by a sudden rush of waters, who so cleverly constructs a dining-room with a ceiling of movable panels that it presents one pattern after another, the roof changing as often as the courses, – or the one who proves to others, as well as to himself, that nature has laid upon us no stern and difficult law when she tells us that we can live without the marble-cutter and the engineer, that we can clothe ourselves without traffic in silk fabrics, that we can have everything that is indispensable to our use, provided only that we are content with what the earth has placed on its surface? If mankind were willing to listen to this sage, they would know that the cook is as superfluous to them as the soldier.

16. Those were wise men, or at any rate like the wise, who found the care of the body a problem easy to solve. The things that are indispensable require no elaborate pains for their acquisition; it is only the luxuries that call for labour. Follow nature, and you will need no skilled craftsmen. Nature did not wish us to be harassed. For whatever she forced upon us, she equipped us. "But cold cannot be endured by the naked body." What then? Are there not the skins of wild beasts and other animals, which can protect us well enough, and more than enough, from the cold? Do not many tribes cover their bodies with the bark of trees? Are not the feathers of birds

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sewn together to serve for clothing? Even at the present day does not a large portion of the Scythian tribe garb itself in the skins of foxes and mice, soft to the touch and impervious to the winds?

17. "For all that, men must have some thicker protection than the skin, in order to keep off the heat of the sun in summer." What then? Has not antiquity produced many retreats which, hollowed out either by the damage wrought by time or by any other occurrence you will, have opened into caverns? What then? Did not the very first-comers take twigs and weave them by hand into wicker mats, smear them with common mud, and then with stubble and other wild grasses construct a roof, and thus pass their winters secure, the rains carried off by means of the sloping gables? What then? Do not the peoples on the edge of the Syrtes dwell in dug-out houses – and indeed all the tribes who, because of the too fierce blaze of the sun, possess no protection sufficient to keep off the heat except the parched soil itself?

18. Nature was not so hostile to man that, when she gave all the other animals an easy rôle in life, she made it impossible for him alone to live without all these artifices. None of these was imposed upon us by her; none of them had to be painfully sought out that our lives might be prolonged. All things were ready for us at our birth; it is we that have made everything difficult for ourselves, through our disdain for what is easy. Houses, shelter, creature comforts, food, and all that has now become the source of vast trouble, were ready at hand, free to all, and obtainable for trifling pains. For the limit everywhere corresponded to the need; it is we that have made all those things valuable, we that have made them admired, we that have caused them to be sought for by extensive and manifold devices.

19. Nature suffices for what she demands. Luxury has turned her back upon nature; each day she expands herself, in all the ages she has been gathering strength, and by her wit promoting the vices. At first, luxury began to lust for what nature regarded as superfluous, then for that which was contrary to nature; and finally she made the soul a bondsman to the body, and bade it be an utter slave to the body's lusts. All these crafts by which the city is patrolled – or shall I say kept in uproar – are but engaged in the body's business; time was when all things were offered to the body as to a slave, but now they are made ready for it as for a master. Accordingly, hence have come the workshops of the weavers and the carpenters; hence the savoury smells of the professional cooks; hence the wantonness of those who teach wanton postures, and wanton and affected singing. For that moderation which nature prescribes, which limits our desires by resources restricted to our needs, has abandoned the field; it has now come to this – that to want only what is enough is a sign both of boorishness and of utter destitution.

20. It is hard to believe, my dear Lucilius, how easily the charm of eloquence wins even great men away from the truth. Take, for example, Posidonius – who, in my estimation, is of the number of those who have contributed most to philosophy – when he wishes to describe the art of weaving. He tells how, first, some threads are twisted and some drawn out from the soft, loose mass of wool; next, how the upright warp keeps the threads stretched by means of hanging weights; then, how the inserted thread of the woof, which softens the hard texture of the web which holds it fast on either side, is forced by the batten to make a compact union with the warp. He maintains that even the weaver's art was discovered by wise men, forgetting that the more complicated art which he describes was invented in later days – the art wherein

The web is bound to frame; asunder now
The reed doth part the warp. Between the threads
Is shot the woof by pointed shuttles borne;
The broad comb's well-notched teeth then drive it home.

Suppose he had had the opportunity of seeing the weaving of our own day, which produces the clothing that will conceal nothing, the clothing which affords – I will not say no protection to the body, but none even to modesty!

21. Posidonius then passes on to the farmer. With no less eloquence he describes the ground which is broken up and crossed again by the plough, so that the earth, thus loosened, may allow freer play to the roots; then the seed is sown, and the weeds plucked out by hand, lest any chance growth or wild plant spring up and spoil the crop. This trade also, he declares, is the creation of the wise, – just as if cultivators of the soil were not even at the present day discovering countless new methods of increasing the soil's fertility!

22. Furthermore, not confining his attention to these arts, he even degrades the wise man by sending him to the mill. For he tells us how the sage, by imitating the processes of nature, began to make bread. "The grain," he says, "once taken into the mouth, is crushed by the flinty teeth, which meet in hostile encounter, and whatever grain slips out the tongue turns back to the selfsame teeth. Then it is blended into a mass, that it may the more easily pass down the slippery throat. When this has reached the stomach, it is digested by the stomach's equable heat; then, and not till then, it is assimilated with the body.

23. Following this pattern," he goes on, "someone placed two rough stones, the one above the other, in imitation of the teeth, one set of which is stationary and awaits the motion of the other set. Then, by the rubbing of the one stone against the other, the grain is crushed and brought back again and again, until by frequent rubbing it is reduced to powder. Then this man sprinkled the meal with water, and by continued manipulation subdued the mass and moulded the loaf. This loaf was, at first, baked by hot ashes or by an earthen vessel glowing hot; later on ovens were gradually discovered and the other devices whose heat will render obedience to the sage's will." Posidonius came very near declaring that even the cobbler's trade was the discovery of the wise man.

24. Reason did indeed devise all these things, but it was not right reason. It was man, but not the wise man, that discovered them; just as they invented ships, in which we cross rivers and seas – ships fitted with sails for the purpose of catching the force of the winds, ships with rudders added at the stern in order to turn the vessel's course in one direction or another. The model followed was the fish, which steers itself by its tail, and by its slightest motion on this side or on that bends its swift course.

25. "But," says Posidonius, "the wise man did indeed discover all these things; they were, however, too petty for him to deal with himself and so he entrusted them to his meaner assistants." Not so; these early inventions were thought out by no other class of men than those who have them in charge to-day. We know that certain devices have come to light only within our own memory – such as the use of windows which admit the clear light through transparent tiles [Besides lapis specularis (window-glass) the Romans used alabaster, mica, and shells for this purpose.], and such as the vaulted baths, with pipes let into their walls for the purpose of diffusing the heat which maintains an even temperature in their lowest as well as in their highest spaces. Why need I mention the marble with which our temples and our private houses are resplendent? Or the rounded and polished masses of stone by means of which we erect colonnades and buildings roomy enough for nations? Or our signs for whole words, which enable us to take down a speech, however rapidly uttered, matching speed of tongue by speed of hand? All this sort of thing has been devised by the lowest grade of slaves.

26. Wisdom's seat is higher; she trains not the hands, but is mistress of our minds. Would you know what wisdom has brought forth to light, what she has accomplished? It is not the graceful poses of the body, or the varied notes produced by horn and flute, whereby the breath is received and, as it passes out or through, is transformed into voice. It is not wisdom that contrives arms, or walls, or instruments useful in war; nay, her voice is for peace, and she summons all mankind to concord.

27. It is not she, I maintain, who is the artisan of our indispensable implements of daily use. Why do you assign to her such petty things? You see in her the skilled artisan of life. The other arts, it is true, wisdom has under her control; for he whom life serves is also served by the things which equip life. But wisdom's course is toward the state of happiness; thither she guides us, thither she opens the way for us.

28. She shows us what things are evil and what things are seemingly evil; she strips our minds of vain illusion. She bestows upon us a greatness which is substantial, but she represses the greatness which is inflated, and showy but filled with emptiness; and she does not permit us to be ignorant of the difference between what is great and what is but swollen; nay, she delivers to us the knowledge of the whole of nature and of her own nature. She discloses to us what the gods are and of what sort they are; what are the nether gods, the household deities, and the protecting spirits; what are the souls which have been endowed with lasting life and have been admitted to the second class of divinities, where is their abode and what their activities, powers, and will. Such are wisdom's rites of initiation, by means of which is unlocked, not a village shrine, but the vast temple of all the gods – the universe itself, whose true apparitions and true aspects she offers to the gaze of our minds. For the vision of our eyes is too dull for sights so great.

29. Then she goes back to the beginnings of things, to the eternal Reason which was imparted to the whole, and to the force which inheres in all the seeds of things, giving them the power to fashion each thing according to its kind. Then wisdom begins to inquire about the soul, whence it comes, where it dwells, how long it abides, into how many divisions it falls. Finally, she has turned her attention from the corporeal to the incorporeal, and has closely examined truth and the marks whereby truth is known, inquiring next how that which is equivocal can be distinguished from the truth, whether in life or in language; for in both are elements of the false mingled with the true.

30. It is my opinion that the wise man has not withdrawn himself, as Posidonius thinks, from those arts which we were discussing, but that he never took them up at all. [Seneca, himself one of the keenest scientific observers in history, is pushing his argument very far in this letter. His message is clear enough.] For he would have judged that nothing was worth discovering that he would not afterwards judge to be worth using always. He would not take up things which would have to be laid aside.

31. "But Anacharsis," says Posidonius, "invented the potter's wheel, whose whirling gives shape to vessels." Then because the potter's wheel is mentioned in Homer, people prefer to believe that Homer's verses are false rather than the story of Posidonius! But I maintain that Anacharsis was not the creator of this wheel; and even if he was, although he was a wise man when he invented it, yet he did not invent it qua "wise man" – just as there are a great many things which wise men do as men, not as wise men. Suppose, for example, that a wise man is exceedingly fleet of foot; he will outstrip all the runners in the race by virtue of being fleet, not by virtue of his wisdom. I should like to show Posidonius some glass-blower who by his breath moulds the glass into manifold shapes which could scarcely be fashioned by the most skilful hand. Nay, these discoveries have been made since we men have ceased to discover wisdom.

32. But Posidonius again remarks: "Democritus is said to have discovered the arch*, whose effect was that the curving line of stones, which gradually lean toward each other, is bound together by the keystone." [*Seneca (see next sentence) is right again. The arch was known in Chaldaea and in Egypt before 3000 B.C. Greek bee-hive tombs, Etruscan gateways, and early Roman remains, testify to its immemorial use.] I am inclined to pronounce this statement false. For there must have been, before Democritus, bridges and gateways in which the curvature did not begin until about the top.

33. It seems to have quite slipped your memory that this same Democritus discovered how ivory could be softened, how, by boiling, a pebble could be transformed into an emerald*, – the same process used even to-day for colouring stones which are found to be amenable to this treatment! [*The ancients judged precious stones merely by their colour; their smaragdus included also malachite, jade, and several kinds of quartz. Exposure to heat alters the colour of some stones; and the alchemists believed that the "angelic stone" changed common flints into diamonds, rubies, emeralds, etc.] It may have been a wise man who discovered all such things, but he did not discover them by virtue of being a wise man; for he does many things which we see done just as well, or even more skilfully and dexterously, by men who are utterly lacking in sagacity.

34. Do you ask what, then, the wise man has found out and what he has brought to light? First of all there is truth, and nature; and nature he has not followed as the other animals do, with eyes too dull to perceive the divine in it. In the second place, there is the law of life, and life he has made to conform to universal principles; and he has taught us, not merely to know the gods, but to follow them, and to welcome the gifts of chance precisely as if they were divine commands. He has forbidden us to give heed to false opinions, and has weighed the value of each thing by a true standard of appraisement. He has condemned those pleasures with which remorse is intermingled, and has praised those goods which will always satisfy; and he has published the truth abroad that he is most happy who has no need of happiness, and that he is most powerful who has power over himself.

35. I am not speaking of that philosophy which has placed the citizen outside his country and the gods outside the universe, and which has bestowed virtue upon pleasure, but rather of that philosophy which counts nothing good except what is honourable, – one which cannot be cajoled by the gifts either of man or of fortune, one whose value is that it cannot be bought for any value. That this philosophy existed in such a rude age, when the arts and crafts were still unknown and when useful things could only be learned by use, – this I refuse to believe.

36. Next there came the fortune-favoured period when the bounties of nature lay open to all, for men's indiscriminate use, before avarice and luxury had broken the bonds which held mortals together, and they, abandoning their communal existence, had separated and turned to plunder. The men of the second age were not wise men, even though they did what wise men should do.

37. Indeed, there is no other condition of the human race that anyone would regard more highly; and if God should commission a man to fashion earthly creatures and to bestow institutions upon peoples, this man would approve of no other system than that which obtained among the men of that age, when

No ploughman tilled the soil, nor was it right
To portion off or bound one's property.
Men shared their gains, and earth more freely gave
Her riches to her sons who sought them not.

38. What race of men was ever more blest than that race? They enjoyed all nature in partnership. Nature sufficed for them, now the guardian, as before she was the parent, of all; and this her gift consisted of the assured possession by each man of the common resources. Why should I not even call that race the richest among mortals, since you could not find a poor person among them?

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But avarice broke in upon a condition so happily ordained, and, by its eagerness to lay something away and to turn it to its own private use, made all things the property of others, and reduced itself from boundless wealth to straitened need. It was avarice that introduced poverty and, by craving much, lost all.

39. And so, although she now tries to make good her loss, although she adds one estate to another, evicting a neighbour either by buying him out or by wronging him, although she extends her country-seats to the size of provinces and defines ownership as meaning extensive travel through one's own property, – in spite of all these efforts of hers, no enlargement of our boundaries will bring us back to the condition from which we have departed.

When there is no more that we can do, we shall possess much; but we once possessed the whole world!

40. The very soil was more productive when untilled, and yielded more than enough for peoples who refrained from despoiling one another. Whatever gift nature had produced, men found as much pleasure in revealing it to another as in having discovered it. It was possible for no man either to surpass another or to fall short of him; what there was, was divided among unquarrelling friends. Not yet had the stronger begun to lay hands upon the weaker; not yet had the miser, by hiding away what lay before him, begun to shut off his neighbour from even the necessities of life; each cared as much for his neighbour as for himself.

41. Armour lay unused, and the hand, unstained by human blood, had turned all its hatred against wild beasts. The men of that day, who had found in some dense grove protection against the sun, and security against the severity of winter or of rain in their mean hiding-places, spent their lives under the branches of the trees and passed tranquil nights without a sigh. Care vexes us in our purple, and routs us from our beds with the sharpest of goads; but how soft was the sleep the hard earth bestowed upon the men of that day!

42. No fretted and panelled ceilings hung over them, but as they lay beneath the open sky the stars glided quietly above them, and the firmament, night's noble pageant, marched swiftly by, conducting its mighty task in silence. For them by day, as well as by night, the visions of this most glorious abode were free and open. It was their joy to watch the constellations as they sank from mid-heaven, and others, again, as they rose from their hidden abodes.

43. What else but joy could it be to wander among the marvels which dotted the heavens far and wide? But you of the present day shudder at every sound your houses make, and as you sit among your frescoes the slightest creak makes you shrink in terror. They had no houses as big as cities. The air, the breezes blowing free through the open spaces, the flitting shade of crag or tree, springs crystal-clear and streams not spoiled by man's work, whether by water-pipe or by any confinement of the channel, but running at will, and meadows beautiful without the use of art, – amid such scenes were their rude homes, adorned with rustic hand. Such a dwelling was in accordance with nature; therein it was a joy to live, fearing neither the dwelling itself nor for its safety. In these days, however, our houses constitute a large portion of our dread.

44. But no matter how excellent and guileless was the life of the men of that age, they were not wise men; for that title is reserved for the highest achievement. Still, I would not deny that they were men of lofty spirit and – I may use the phrase – fresh from the gods. For there is no doubt that the world produced a better progeny before it was yet worn out. However, not all were endowed with mental faculties of highest perfection, though in all cases their native powers were more sturdy than ours and more fitted for toil. For nature does not bestow virtue; it is an art to become good.

45. They, at least, searched not in the lowest dregs of the earth for gold, nor yet for silver or transparent stones; and they still were merciful even to the dumb animals – so far removed was that epoch from the custom of slaying man by man, not in anger or through fear, but just to make a show! They had as yet no embroidered garments nor did they weave cloth of gold; gold was not yet even mined.

46. What, then, is the conclusion of the matter? It was by reason of their ignorance of things that the men of those days were innocent; and it makes a great deal of difference whether one wills not to sin or has not the knowledge to sin. Justice was unknown to them, unknown prudence, unknown also self-control and bravery; but their rude life possessed certain qualities akin to all these virtues. Virtue is not vouchsafed to a soul unless that soul has been trained and taught, and by unremitting practice brought to perfection. For the attainment of this boon, but not in the possession of it, were we born; and even in the best of men, before you refine them by instruction, there is but the stuff of virtue, not virtue itself. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 91. On the Lesson to be Drawn from the Burning of Lyons

1. Our friend Liberalis is now downcast; for he has just heard of the fire which has wiped out the colony of Lyons. Such a calamity might upset anyone at all, not to speak of a man who dearly loves his country. But this incident has served to make him inquire about the strength of his own character, which he has trained, I suppose, just to meet situations that he thought might cause him fear. I do not wonder, however, that he was free from apprehension touching an evil so unexpected and practically unheard of as this, since it is without precedent. For fire has damaged many a city, but has annihilated none. Even when fire has been hurled against the walls by the hand of a foe, the flame dies out in many places, and although continually renewed, rarely devours so wholly as to leave nothing for the sword. Even an earthquake has scarcely ever been so violent and destructive as to overthrow whole cities. Finally, no conflagration has ever before blazed forth so savagely in any town that nothing was left for a second.

2. So many beautiful buildings, any single one of which would make a single town famous, were wrecked in one night. In time of such deep peace an event has taken place worse than men can possibly fear even in time of war. Who can believe it? When weapons are everywhere at rest, and when peace prevails throughout the world, Lyons, the pride of Gaul, is missing!

Fortune has usually allowed all men, when she has assailed them collectively, to have a foreboding of that which they were destined to suffer. Every great creation has had granted to it a period of reprieve before its fall; but in this case, only a single night elapsed between the city at its greatest and the city non-existent. In short, it takes me longer to tell you it has perished than it took for the city to perish.

3. All this has affected our friend Liberalis, bending his will, which is usually so steadfast and erect in the face of his own trials. And not without reason has he been shaken; for it is the unexpected that puts the heaviest load upon us. Strangeness adds to the weight of calamities, and every mortal feels the greater pain as a result of that which also brings surprise.

4. Therefore, nothing ought to be unexpected by us. Our minds should be sent forward in advance to meet all problems, and we should consider, not what is wont to happen, but what can happen. For what is there in existence that Fortune, when she has so willed, does not drag down from the very height of its prosperity? And what is there that she does not the more violently assail the more brilliantly it shines? What is laborious or difficult for her?

5. She does not always attack in one way, or even with her full strength; at one time she summons our own hands against us; at another time, content with her own powers, she makes use of no agent in devising perils for us. No time is exempt; in the midst of our very pleasures there spring up causes of suffering. War arises in the midst of peace, and that which we depended upon for protection is transformed into a cause of fear; friend becomes enemy, ally becomes foeman. The summer calm is stirred into sudden storms, wilder than the storms of winter. With no foe in sight we are victims of such fates as foes inflict, and if other causes of disaster fail, excessive good fortune finds them for itself. The most temperate are assailed by illness, the strongest by wasting disease, the most innocent by chastisement, the most secluded by the noisy mob. Chance chooses some new weapon by which to bring her strength to bear against us, thinking we have forgotten her.

6. Whatever structure has been reared by a long sequence of years, at the cost of great toil and through the great kindness of the gods, is scattered and dispersed by a single day. Nay, he who has said "a day" has granted too long a postponement to swift-coming misfortune; an hour, an instant of time, suffices for the overthrow of empires! It would be some consolation for the feebleness of our selves and our works, if all things should perish as slowly as they come into being; but as it is, increases are of sluggish growth, but the way to ruin is rapid.

7. Nothing, whether public or private, is stable; the destinies of men, no less than those of cities, are in a whirl. Amid the greatest calm terror arises, and though no external agencies stir up commotion, yet evils burst forth from sources whence they were least expected. Thrones which have stood the shock of civil and foreign wars crash to the ground though no one sets them tottering. How few the states which have carried their good fortune through to the end! We should therefore reflect upon all contingencies, and should fortify our minds against the evils which may possibly come.

8. Exile, the torture of disease, wars, shipwreck, – we must think on these. Chance may tear you from your country or your country from you, or may banish you to the desert; this very place, where throngs are stifling, may become a desert. Let us place before our eyes in its entirety the nature of man's lot, and if we would not be overwhelmed, or even dazed, by those unwonted evils, as if they were novel, let us summon to our minds beforehand, not as great an evil as oftentimes happens, but the very greatest evil that possibly can happen. We must reflect upon fortune fully and completely.

9. How often have cities in Asia, how often in Achaia, been laid low by a single shock of earthquake! How many towns in Syria, how many in Macedonia, have been swallowed up! How often has this kind of devastation laid Cyprus in ruins! How often has Paphos collapsed! Not infrequently are tidings brought to us of the utter destruction of entire cities; yet how small a part of the world are we, to whom such tidings often come! Let us rise, therefore, to confront the operations of Fortune, and whatever happens, let us have the assurance that it is not so great as rumour advertises it to be.

10. A rich city has been laid in ashes, the jewel of the provinces, counted as one of them and yet not included with them; rich though it was, nevertheless it was set upon a single hill, and that not very large in extent. But of all those cities, of whose magnificence and grandeur you hear today, the very traces will be blotted out by time. Do you not see how, in Achaia, the foundations of the most famous cities have already crumbled to nothing, so that no trace is left to show that they ever even existed?

11. Not only does that which has been made with hands totter to the ground, not only is that which has been set in place by man's art and man's efforts overthrown by the passing days; nay, the peaks of mountains dissolve, whole tracts have settled, and places which once stood far from the sight of the sea are now covered by the waves. The mighty power of fires has eaten away the hills through whose sides they used to glow, and has levelled to the ground peaks which were once most lofty – the sailor's solace and his beacon. The works of nature herself are harassed; hence we ought to bear with untroubled minds the destruction of cities.

12. They stand but to fall! This doom awaits them, one and all; it may be that some internal force, and blasts of violence which are tremendous because their way is blocked, will throw off the weight which holds then down; or that a whirlpool of raging currents, mightier because they are hidden in the bosom of the earth, will break through that which resists its power; or that the vehemence of flames will burst asunder the framework of the earth's crust; or that time, from which nothing is safe, will reduce them little by little; or that a pestilential climate will drive their inhabitants away and the mould will corrode their deserted walls. It would be tedious to recount all the ways by which fate may come; but this one thing I know: all the works of mortal man have been doomed to mortality, and in the midst of things which have been destined to die, we live!

13. Hence it is thoughts like these, and of this kind, which I am offering as consolation to our friend Liberalis, who burns with a love for his country that is beyond belief. Perhaps its destruction has been brought about only that it may be raised up again to a better destiny. Oftentimes a reverse has but made room for more prosperous fortune. Many structures have fallen only to rise to a greater height. Timagenes*, who had a grudge against Rome and her prosperity, used to say that the only reason he was grieved when conflagrations occurred in Rome was his knowledge that better buildings would arise than those which had gone down in the flames. [* Probably the writer, and intimate friend of Augustus, who began life in Rome as a captive from Egypt. Falling into disfavour with the Emperor, he took refuge with the malcontent Asinius Pollio at Tusculum, and subsequently died in the East.]

14. And probably in this city of Lyons, too, all its citizens will earnestly strive that everything shall be rebuilt better in size and security than what they have lost. May it be built to endure and, under happier auspices, for a longer existence! This is indeed but the hundredth year since this colony was founded – not the limit even of a man's lifetime. Led forth by Plancus, the natural advantages of its site have caused it to wax strong and reach the numbers which it contains to-day; and yet how many calamities of the greatest severity has it endured within the space of an old man's life!

15. Therefore let the mind be disciplined to understand and to endure its own lot, and let it have the knowledge that there is nothing which fortune does not dare – that she has the same jurisdiction over empires as over emperors, the same power over cities as over the citizens who dwell therein. We must not cry out at any of these calamities. Into such a world have we entered, and under such laws do we live. If you like it, obey; if not, depart whithersoever you wish. Cry out in anger if any unfair measures are taken with reference to you individually; but if this inevitable law is binding upon the highest and the lowest alike, be reconciled to fate, by which all things are dissolved.

16. You should not estimate our worth by our funeral mounds or by these monuments of unequal size which line the road; their ashes level all men! We are unequal at birth, but are equal in death. What I say about cities I say also about their inhabitants: Ardea was captured as well as Rome. The great founder of human law has not made distinctions between us on the basis of high lineage or of illustrious names, except while we live. When, however, we come to the end which awaits mortals, he says: "Depart, ambition! To all creatures that burden the earth let one and the same law apply!" For enduring all things, we are equal; no one is more frail than another, no one more certain of his own life on the morrow.

17. Alexander, king of Macedon, began to study geometry; unhappy man, because he would thereby learn how puny was that earth of which he had seized but a fraction! Unhappy man, I repeat, because he was bound to understand that he

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was bearing a false title. For who can be "great" in that which is puny? The lessons which were being taught him were intricate and could be learned only by assiduous application; they were not the kind to be comprehended by a madman, who let his thoughts range beyond the ocean. "Teach me something easy!" he cries; but his teacher answers: "These things are the same for all, as hard for one as for another."

18. Imagine that nature is saying to us: "Those things of which you complain are the same for all. I cannot give anything easier to any man, but whoever wishes will make things easier for himself." In what way? By equanimity. You must suffer pain, and thirst, and hunger, and old age too, if a longer stay among men shall be granted you; you must be sick, and you must suffer loss and death.

19. Nevertheless, you should not believe those whose noisy clamour surrounds you; none of these things is an evil, none is beyond your power to bear, or is burdensome. It is only by common opinion that there is anything formidable in them. Your fearing death is therefore like your fear of gossip. But what is more foolish than a man afraid of words? Our friend Demetrius is wont to put it cleverly when he says: "For me the talk of ignorant men is like the rumblings which issue from the belly. For," he adds, "what difference does it make to me whether such rumblings come from above or from below?"

20. What madness it is to be afraid of disrepute in the judgement of the disreputable! Just as you have had no cause for shrinking in terror from the talk of men, so you have no cause now to shrink from these things, which you would never fear had not their talk forced fear upon you. Does it do any harm to a good man to be besmirched by unjust gossip?

21. Then let not this sort of thing damage death, either, in our estimation; death also is in bad odour. But no one of those who malign death has made trial of it. Meanwhile it is foolhardy to condemn that of which you are ignorant. This one thing, however, you do know – that death is helpful to many, that it sets many free from tortures, want, ailments, sufferings, and weariness. We are in the power of nothing when once we have death in our own power! Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 92. On the Happy Life

1. You and I will agree, I think, that outward things are sought for the satisfaction of the body, that the body is cherished out of regard for the soul, and that in the soul there are certain parts which minister to us, enabling us to move and to sustain life, bestowed upon us just for the sake of the primary part of us. In this primary part there is something irrational, and something rational. The former obeys the latter, while the latter is the only thing that is not referred back to another, but rather refers all things to itself. For the divine reason also is set in supreme command over all things, and is itself subject to none; and even this reason which we possess is the same, because it is derived from the divine reason.

2. Now if we are agreed on this point, it is natural that we shall be agreed on the following also – namely, that the happy life depends upon this and this alone: our attainment of perfect reason. For it is naught but this that keeps the soul from being bowed down, that stands its ground against Fortune; whatever the condition of their affairs may be, it keeps men untroubled. And that alone is a good which is never subject to impairment. That man, I declare, is happy whom nothing makes less strong than he is; he keeps to the heights, leaning upon none but himself; for one who sustains himself by any prop may fall. If the case is otherwise, then things which do not pertain to us will begin to have great influence over us. But who desires Fortune to have the upper hand, or what sensible man prides himself upon that which is not his own?

3. What is the happy life? It is peace of mind, and lasting tranquillity. This will be yours if you possess greatness of soul; it will be yours if you possess the steadfastness that resolutely clings to a good judgement just reached. How does a man reach this condition? By gaining a complete view of truth, by maintaining, in all that he does, order, measure, fitness, and a will that is inoffensive and kindly, that is intent upon reason and never departs therefrom, that commands at the same time love and admiration. In short, to give you the principle in brief compass, the wise man's soul ought to be such as would be proper for a god.

4. What more can one desire who possesses all honourable things? For if dishonourable things can contribute to the best estate, then there will be the possibility of a happy life under conditions which do not include an honourable life. And what is more base or foolish than to connect the good of a rational soul with things irrational?

5. Yet there are certain philosophers who hold that the Supreme Good admits of increase because it is hardly complete when the gifts of fortune are adverse. Even Antipater, one of the great leaders of this school, admits that he ascribes some influence to externals, though only a very slight influence. You see, however, what absurdity lies in not being content with the daylight unless it is increased by a tiny fire. What importance can a spark have in the midst of this clear sunlight?

6. If you are not contented with only that which is honourable, it must follow that you desire in addition either the kind of quiet which the Greeks call "undisturbedness," or else pleasure. But the former may be attained in any case. For the mind is free from disturbance when it is fully free to contemplate the universe, and nothing distracts it from the contemplation of nature. The second, pleasure, is simply the good of cattle. We are but adding the irrational to the rational, the dishonourable to the honourable. A pleasant physical sensation affects this life of ours;

7. why, therefore, do you hesitate to say that all is well with a man just because all is well with his appetite? And do you rate, I will not say among heroes, but among men, the person whose Supreme Good is a matter of flavours and colours and sounds? Nay, let him withdraw from the ranks of this, the noblest class of living beings, second only to the gods; let him herd with the dumb brutes – an animal whose delight is in fodder!

8. The irrational part of the soul is twofold: the one part is spirited, ambitious, uncontrolled; its seat is in the passions; the other is lowly, sluggish, and devoted to pleasure. Philosophers have neglected the former, which, though unbridled, is yet better, and is certainly more courageous and more worthy of a man, and have regarded the latter, which is nerveless and ignoble, as indispensable to the happy life.

9. They have ordered reason to serve this latter; they have made the Supreme Good of the noblest living being an abject and mean affair, and a monstrous hybrid, too, composed of various members which harmonize but ill. For as our Vergil, describing Scylla, says

Above, a human face and maiden's breast, –
A beauteous breast, – below, a monster huge
Of bulk and shapeless, with a dolphin's tail
Joined to a wolf-like belly.

And yet to this Scylla are tacked on the forms of wild animals, dreadful and swift; but from what monstrous shapes have these wiseacres compounded wisdom!

10. Man's primary art is virtue itself; there is joined to this the useless and fleeting flesh, fitted only for the reception of food, as Posidonius remarks. This divine virtue ends in foulness, and to the higher parts, which are worshipful and heavenly, there is fastened a sluggish and flabby animal. As for the second desideratum, – quiet, – although it would indeed not of itself be of any benefit to the soul, yet it would relieve the soul of hindrances; pleasure, on the contrary, actually destroys the soul and softens all its vigour. What elements so inharmonious as these can be found united? To that which is most vigorous is joined that which is most sluggish, to that which is austere that which is far from serious, to that which is most holy that which is unrestrained even to the point of impurity.

11. "What, then," comes the retort, "if good health, rest, and freedom from pain are not likely to hinder virtue, shall you not seek all these?" Of course I shall seek them, but not because they are goods, – I shall seek them because they are according to nature and because they will be acquired through the exercise of good judgement on my part. What, then, will be good in them? This alone, – that it is a good thing to choose them. For when I don suitable attire, or walk as I should, or dine as I ought to dine, it is not my dinner, or my walk, or my dress that are goods, but the deliberate choice which I show in regard to them, as I observe, in each thing I do, a mean that conforms with reason.

12. Let me also add that the choice of neat clothing is a fitting object of a man's efforts; for man is by nature a neat and well-groomed animal. Hence the choice of neat attire, and not neat attire in itself, is a good; since the good is not in the thing selected, but in the quality of the selection. Our actions are honourable, but not the actual things which we do.

13. And you may assume that what I have said about dress applies also to the body. For nature has surrounded our soul with the body as with a sort of garment; the body is its cloak. But who has ever reckoned the value of clothes by the wardrobe which contained them? The scabbard does not make the sword good or bad. Therefore, with regard to the body I shall return the same answer to you, – that, if I have the choice, I shall choose health and strength, but that the good involved will be my judgement regarding these things, and not the things themselves.

14. Another retort is: "Granted that the wise man is happy; nevertheless, he does not attain the Supreme Good which we have defined, unless the means also which nature provides for its attainment are at his call. So, while one who possesses virtue cannot be unhappy, yet one cannot be perfectly happy if one lacks such natural gifts as health, or soundness of limb."

15. But in saying this, you grant the alternative which seems the more difficult to believe, – that the man who is in the midst of unremitting and extreme pain is not wretched, nay, is even happy; and you deny that which is much less serious, – that he is completely happy. And yet, if virtue can keep a man from being wretched, it will be an easier task for it to render him completely happy. For the difference between happiness and complete happiness is less than that between wretchedness and happiness. Can it be possible that a thing which is so powerful as to snatch a man from disaster, and place him among the happy, cannot also accomplish what remains, and render him supremely happy? Does its strength fail at the very top of the climb?

16. There are in life things which are advantageous and disadvantageous, – both beyond our control. If a good man, in spite of being weighed down by all kinds of disadvantages, is not wretched, how is he not supremely happy, no matter if he does lack certain advantages? For as he is not weighted down to wretchedness by his burden of disadvantages, so he is not withdrawn from supreme happiness through lack of any advantages; nay, he is just as supremely happy without the advantages as he is free from wretchedness though under the load of his disadvantages. Otherwise, if his good can be impaired, it can be snatched from him altogether.

17. A short space above, I remarked that a tiny fire does not add to the sun's light. For by reason of the sun's brightness any light that shines apart from the sunlight is blotted out. "But," one may say, "there are certain objects that stand in the way even of the sunlight." The sun, however, is unimpaired even in the midst of obstacles, and, though an object may intervene and cut off our view thereof, the sun sticks to his work and goes on his course. Whenever he shines forth from amid the clouds, he is no smaller, nor less punctual either, than when he is free from clouds; since it makes a great deal of difference whether there is merely something in the way of his light or something which interferes with his shining.

18. Similarly, obstacles take nothing away from virtue; it is no smaller, but merely shines with less brilliancy. In our eyes, it may perhaps be less visible and less luminous than before; but as regards itself it is the same and, like the sun when he is eclipsed, is still, though in secret, putting forth its strength. Disasters, therefore, and losses, and wrongs, have only the same power over virtue that a cloud has over the sun.

19. We meet with one person who maintains that a wise man who has met with bodily misfortune is neither wretched nor happy. But he also is in error, for he is putting the results of chance upon a parity with the virtues, and is attributing only the same influence to things that are honourable as to things that are devoid of honour. But what is more detestable and more unworthy than to put contemptible things in the same class with things worthy of reverence! For reverence is due to justice, duty, loyalty, bravery, and prudence; on the contrary, those attributes are worthless with which the most worthless men are often blessed in fuller measure, – such as a sturdy leg, strong shoulders, good teeth, and healthy and solid muscles.

20. Again, if the wise man whose body is a trial to him shall be regarded as neither wretched nor happy, but shall be left in a sort of half-way position, his life also will be neither desirable nor undesirable. But what is so foolish as to say that the wise man's life is not desirable? And what is so far beyond the bounds of credence as the opinion that any life is neither desirable nor undesirable? Again, if bodily ills do not make a man wretched, they consequently allow him to be happy. For things which have no power to change his condition for the worse, have not the power, either, to disturb that condition when it is at its best.

21. "But," someone will say, "we know what is cold and what is hot; a lukewarm temperature lies between. Similarly, A is happy, and B is wretched, and C is neither happy nor wretched." I wish to examine this figure, which is brought into play against us. If I add to your lukewarm water a larger quantity of cold water, the result will be cold water. But if I pour in a larger quantity of hot water, the water will finally become hot. In the case, however, of your man who is neither wretched nor happy, no matter how much I add to his troubles, he will not be unhappy, according to your argument; hence your figure offers no analogy.

22. Again, suppose that I set before you a man who is neither miserable nor happy. I add blindness to his misfortunes; he is not rendered unhappy. I cripple him; he is not rendered unhappy. I add afflictions which are unceasing and severe; he is not rendered unhappy. Therefore, one whose life is not changed to misery by all these ills is not dragged by them, either, from his life of happiness.

23. Then if, as you say, the wise man cannot fall from happiness to wretchedness, he cannot fall into non-happiness. For how, if one has begun to slip, can one stop at any particular place? That which prevents him from rolling to the bottom, keeps him at the summit. Why, you urge, may not a happy life possibly be destroyed? It cannot even be disjointed; and for that reason virtue is itself of itself sufficient for the happy life.

24. "But," it is said, "is not the wise man happier if he has lived longer and has been distracted by no pain, than one who has always been compelled to grapple with evil fortune?" Answer me now, – is he any better or more honourable? If he is not, then he is not happier either. In order to live more happily, he must live more rightly; if he cannot do that, then he cannot live more happily either. Virtue cannot be strained tighter, and therefore neither can the happy life, which depends on virtue. For virtue is so great a good that it is not

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affected by such insignificant assaults upon it as shortness of life, pain, and the various bodily vexations. For pleasure does not deserve that. virtue should even glance at it.

25. Now what is the chief thing in virtue? It is the quality of not needing a single day beyond the present, and of not reckoning up the days that are ours; in the slightest possible moment of time virtue completes an eternity of good. These goods seem to us incredible and transcending man's nature; for we measure its grandeur by the standard of our own weakness, and we call our vices by the name of virtue. Furthermore, does it not seem just as incredible that any man in the midst of extreme suffering should say, "I am happy"? And yet this utterance was heard in the very factory of pleasure, when Epicurus said: "To-day and one other day have been the happiest of all!" although in the one case he was tortured by strangury, and in the other by the incurable pain of an ulcerated stomach.

26. Why, then, should those goods which virtue bestows be incredible in the sight of us, who cultivate virtue, when they are found even in those who acknowledge pleasure as their mistress? These also, ignoble and base-minded as they are, declare that even in the midst of excessive pain and misfortune the wise man will be neither wretched nor happy. And yet this also is incredible, – nay, still more incredible than the other case. For I do not understand how, if virtue falls from her heights, she can help being hurled all the way to the bottom. She either must preserve one in happiness, or, if driven from this position, she will not prevent us from becoming unhappy. If virtue only stands her ground, she cannot be driven from the field; she must either conquer or be conquered.

27. But some say: "Only to the immortal gods is given virtue and the happy life; we can attain but the shadow, as it were, and semblance of such goods as theirs. We approach them, but we never reach them." Reason, however, is a common attribute of both gods and men; in the gods it is already perfected, in us it is capable of being perfected.

28. But it is our vices that bring us to despair; for the second class of rational being, man, is of an inferior order, – a guardian, as it were, who is too unstable to hold fast to what is best, his judgement still wavering and uncertain. He may require the faculties of sight and hearing, good health, a bodily exterior that is not loathsome, and, besides, greater length of days conjoined with an unimpaired constitution.

29. Though by means of reason he can lead a life which will not bring regrets, yet there resides in this imperfect creature, man, a certain power that makes for badness, because he possesses a mind which is easily moved to perversity. Suppose, however, the badness which is in full view, and has previously been stirred to activity, to be removed; the man is still not a good man, but he is being moulded to goodness. One, however, in whom there is lacking any quality that makes for goodness, is bad.

30. But

He in whose body virtue dwells, and spirit
E'er present

is equal to the gods; mindful of his origin, he strives to return thither. No man does wrong in attempting to regain the heights from which he once came down. And why should you not believe that something of divinity exists in one who is a part of God? All this universe which encompasses us is one, and it is God; we are associates of God; we are his members. Our soul has capabilities, and is carried thither, if vices do not hold it down. Just as it is the nature of our bodies to stand erect and look upward to the sky, so the soul, which may reach out as far as it will, was framed by nature to this end, that it should desire equality with the gods. And if it makes use of its powers and stretches upward into its proper region it is by no alien path that it struggles toward the heights.

31. It would be a great task to journey heavenwards; the soul but returns thither. When once it has found the road, it boldly marches on, scornful of all things. It casts, no backward glance at wealth; gold and silver – things which are fully worthy of the gloom in which they once lay – it values not by the sheen which smites the eyes of the ignorant, but by the mire of ancient days, whence our greed first detached and dug them out.

The soul, I affirm, knows that riches are stored elsewhere than in men's heaped-up treasure-houses; that it is the soul, and not the strong-box, which should be filled.

32. It is the soul that men may set in dominion over all things, and may install as owner of the universe, so that it may limit its riches only by the boundaries of East and West, and, like the gods, may possess all things; and that it may, with its own vast resources, look down from on high upon the wealthy, no one of whom rejoices as much in his own wealth as he resents the wealth of another.

33. When the soul has transported itself to this lofty height, it regards the body also, since it is a burden which must be borne, not as a thing to love, but as a thing to oversee; nor is it subservient to that over which it is set in mastery. For no man is free who is a slave to his body. Indeed, omitting all the other masters which are brought into being by excessive care for the body, the sway which the body itself exercises is captious and fastidious.

34. Forth from this body the soul issues, now with unruffled spirit, now with exultation, and, when once it has gone forth, asks not what shall be the end of the deserted clay. No; just as we do not take thought for the clippings of the hair and the beard, even so that divine soul, when it is about to issue forth from the mortal man, regards the destination of its earthly vessel – whether it be consumed by fire, or shut in by a stone, or buried in the earth, or torn by wild beasts – as being of no more concern to itself than is the afterbirth to a child just born. And whether this body shall be cast out and plucked to pieces by birds, or devoured when

thrown to the sea-dogs as prey,

how does that concern him who is nothing?

35. Nay even when it is among the living, the soul fears nothing that may happen to the body after death; for though such things may have been threats, they were not enough to terrify the soul previous to the moment of death. It says: "I am not frightened by the executioner's hook, nor by the revolting mutilation of the corpse which is exposed to the scorn of those who would witness the spectacle. I ask no man to perform the last rites for me; I entrust my remains to none. Nature has made provision that none shall go unburied. Time will lay away one whom cruelty has cast forth." Those were eloquent words which Maecenas uttered:

I want no tomb; for Nature doth provide
For outcast bodies burial.

You would imagine that this was the saying of a man of strict principles. He was indeed a man of noble and robust native gifts, but in prosperity he impaired these gifts by laxness. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 93. On the Quality, as Contrasted with the Length, of Life

1. While reading the letter in which you were lamenting the death of the philosopher Metronax [A philosopher of Naples,] as if he might have, and indeed ought to have, lived longer, I missed the spirit of fairness which abounds in all your discussions concerning men and things, but is lacking when you approach one single subject, – as is indeed the case with us all. In other words, I have noticed many who deal fairly with their fellow-men, but none who deals fairly with the gods. We rail every day at Fate, saying "Why has A. been carried off in the very middle of his career? Why is not B. carried off instead? Why should he prolong his old age, which is a burden to himself as well as to others?"

2. But tell me, pray, do you consider it fairer that you should obey Nature, or that Nature should obey you? And what difference does it make how soon you depart from a place which you must depart from sooner or later? We should strive, not to live long, but to live rightly; for to achieve long life you have need of Fate only, but for right living you need the soul. A life is really long if it is a full life; but fulness is not attained until the soul has rendered to itself its proper Good, that is, until it has assumed control over itself.

3. What benefit does this older man derive from the eighty years he has spent in idleness? A person like him has not lived; he has merely tarried awhile in life. Nor has he died late in life; he has simply been a long time dying. He has lived eighty years, has he? That depends upon the date from which you reckon his death! Your other friend, however, departed in the bloom of his manhood.

4. But he had fulfilled all the duties of a good citizen, a good friend, a good son; in no respect had he fallen short. His age may have been incomplete, but his life was complete. The other man has lived eighty years, has he? Nay, he has existed eighty years, unless perchance you mean by "he has lived" what we mean when we say that a tree "lives." Pray, let us see to it, my dear Lucilius, that our lives, like jewels of great price, be noteworthy not because of their width but because of their weight. Let us measure them by their performance, not by their duration. Would you know wherein lies the difference between this hardy man who, despising Fortune, has served through every campaign of life and has attained to life's Supreme Good, and that other person over whose head many years have passed? The former exists even after his death; the latter has died even before he was dead.

5. We should therefore praise, and number in the company of the blest, that man who has invested well the portion of time, however little, that has been allotted to him; for such a one has seen the true light. He has not been one of the common herd. He has not only lived, but flourished. Sometimes he enjoyed fair skies; sometimes, as often happens, it was only through the clouds that there flashed to him the radiance of the mighty star. Why do you ask: "How long did he live?" He still lives! At one bound he has passed over into posterity and has consigned himself to the guardianship of memory.

6. And yet I would not on that account decline for myself a few additional years; although, if my life's space be shortened, I shall not say that I have lacked aught that is essential to a happy life. For I have not planned to live up to the very last day that my greedy hopes had promised me; nay, I have looked upon every day as if it were my last. Why ask the date of my birth, or whether I am still enrolled on the register of the younger men? What I have is my own. 7. Just as one of small stature can be a perfect man, so a life of small compass can be a perfect life. Age ranks among the external things. How long I am to exist is not mine to decide, but how long I shall go on existing in my present way is in my own control. This is the only thing you have the right to require of me, – that I shall cease to measure out an inglorious age as it were in darkness, and devote myself to living instead of being carried along past life.

8. And what, you ask, is the fullest span of life? It is living until you possess wisdom. He who has attained wisdom has reached, not the furthermost, but the most important, goal. Such a one may indeed exult boldly and give thanks to the gods – aye, and to himself also – and he may count himself Nature's creditor for having lived. He will indeed have the right to do so, for he has paid her back a better life than he has received. He has set up the pattern of a good man, showing the quality and the greatness of a good man. Had another year been added, it would merely have been like the past.

9. And yet how long are we to keep living? We have had the joy of learning the truth about the universe. We know from what beginnings Nature arises; how she orders the course of the heavens; by what successive changes she summons back the year; how she has brought to an end all things that ever have been, and has established herself as the only end of her own being [i.e. Nature herself is eternal.]. We know that the stars move by their own motion, and that nothing except the earth stands still, while all the other bodies run on with uninterrupted swiftness. We know how the moon outstrips the sun; why it is that the slower leaves the swifter behind; in what manner she receives her light, or loses it again; what brings on the night, and what brings back the day. To that place you must go where you are to have a closer view of all these things.

10. "And yet," says the wise man, "I do not depart more valiantly because of this hope – because I judge the path lies clear before me to my own gods. I have indeed earned admission to their presence, and in fact have already been in their company; I have sent my soul to them as they had previously sent theirs to me. But suppose that I am utterly annihilated, and that after death nothing mortal remains; I have no less courage, even if, when I depart, my course leads – nowhere." "But," you say, "he has not lived as many years as he might have lived."

11. There are books which contain very few lines, admirable and useful in spite of their size; and there are also the Annals of Tanusius – you know how bulky the book is, and what men say of it. This is the case with the long life of certain persons, – a state which resembles the Annals of Tanusius!

12. Do you regard as more fortunate the fighter who is slain on the last day of the games than one who goes to his death in the middle of the festivities? Do you believe that anyone is so foolishly covetous of life that he would rather have his throat cut in the dressing-room than in the amphitheatre? It is by no longer an interval than this that we precede one another. Death visits each and all; the slayer soon follows the slain. It is an insignificant trifle, after all, that people discuss with so much concern. And anyhow, what does it matter for how long a time you avoid that which you cannot escape? Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 94. On the Value of Advice

1. That department of philosophy which supplies precepts appropriate to the individual case, instead of framing them for mankind at large – which, for instance, advises how a husband should conduct himself towards his wife, or how a father should bring up his children, or how a master should rule his slaves – this department of philosophy, I say, is accepted by some as the only significant part, while the other departments are rejected on the ground that they stray beyond the sphere of practical needs – as if any man could give advice concerning a portion of life without having first gained a knowledge of the sum of life as a whole!

2. But Aristo the Stoic, on the contrary, believes the above-mentioned department to be of slight import – he holds that it does not sink into the mind, having in it nothing but old wives' precepts, and that the greatest benefit is derived from the actual dogmas of philosophy and from the definition of the Supreme Good. When a man has gained a complete understanding of this definition and has thoroughly learned it, he can frame for himself a precept directing what is to be done in a given case.

3. Just as the student of javelin-throwing keeps aiming at a fixed target and thus trains the hand to give direction to the missile, and when, by instruction and practice, he has gained the desired ability he can then employ it against any target he wishes (having learned to strike not any random object, but precisely the object at which he has aimed), – he who has equipped himself for the whole of life does not need to be advised concerning each separate item, because he is now trained to meet his problem as a whole; for he knows not merely how he should live with his wife or his son, but how he

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should live aright. In this knowledge there is also included the proper way of living with wife and children.

4. Cleanthes holds that this department of wisdom is indeed useful, but that it is a feeble thing unless it is derived from general principles – that is, unless it is based upon a knowledge of the actual dogmas of philosophy and its main headings. This subject is therefore twofold, leading to two separate lines of inquiry: first, Is it useful or useless? and, second, Can it of itself produce a good man? – in other words, Is it superfluous, or does it render all other departments superfluous?

5. Those who urge the view that this department is superfluous argue as follows: "If an object that is held in front of the eyes interferes with the vision, it must be removed. For just as long as it is in the way, it is a waste of time to offer such precepts as these: 'Walk thus and so; extend your hand in that direction.' Similarly, when something blinds a man's soul and hinders it from seeing a line of duty clearly, there is no use in advising him: 'Live thus and so with your father, thus and so with your wife.' For precepts will be of no avail while the mind is clouded with error; only when the cloud is dispersed will it be clear what one's duty is in each case. Otherwise, you will merely be showing the sick man what he ought to do if he were well, instead of making him well.

6. Suppose you are trying to reveal to the poor man the art of 'acting rich'; how can the thing be accomplished as long as his poverty is unaltered? You are trying to make clear to a starveling in what manner he is to act the part of one with a well-filled stomach; the first requisite, however, is to relieve him of the hunger that grips his vitals. "The same thing, I assure you, holds good of all faults; the faults themselves must be removed, and precepts should not be given which cannot possibly be carried out while the faults remain. Unless you drive out the false opinions under which we suffer, the miser will never receive instruction as to the proper use of his money, nor the coward regarding the way to scorn danger.

7. You must make the miser know that money is neither a good nor an evil; show him men of wealth who are miserable to the last degree. You must make the coward know that the things which generally frighten us out of our wits are less to be feared than rumour advertises them to be, whether the object of fear be suffering or death; that when death comes – fixed by law for us all to suffer – it is often a great solace to reflect that it can never come again; that in the midst of suffering resoluteness of soul will be as good as a cure, for the soul renders lighter any burden that it endures with stubborn defiance. Remember that pain has this most excellent quality: if prolonged it cannot be severe, and if severe it cannot be prolonged; and that we should bravely accept whatever commands the inevitable laws of the universe lay upon us.

8. "When by means of such doctrines you have brought the erring man to a sense of his own condition, when he has learned that the happy life is not that which conforms to pleasure, but that which conforms to Nature, when he has fallen deeply in love with virtue as man's sole good and has avoided baseness as man's sole evil, and when he knows that all other things – riches, office, health, strength, dominion – fall in between and are not to be reckoned either among goods or among evils, then he will not need a monitor for every separate action, to say to him: 'Walk thus and so, eat thus and so. This is the conduct proper for a man and that for a woman; this for a married man and that for a bachelor.'

9. Indeed, the persons who take the greatest pains to proffer such advice are themselves unable to put it into practice. It is thus that the pedagogue advises the boy, and the grandmother her grandson; it is the hottest-tempered schoolmaster who contends that one should never lose one's temper. Go into any elementary school, and you will learn that just such pronouncements, emanating from high-browed philosophers, are to be found in the lesson-book for boys!

10. "Shall you then offer precepts that are clear, or precepts that are doubtful? Those which are clear need no counsellor, and doubtful precepts gain no credence; so the giving of precepts is superfluous. Indeed you should study the problem in this way: if you are counselling someone on a matter which is of doubtful clearness and doubtful meaning, you must supplement your precepts by proofs; and if you must resort to proofs, your means of proof are more effective and more satisfactory in themselves.

11. 'It is thus that you must treat your friend, thus your fellow citizen, thus your associate.' And why? 'Because it is just.' Yet I can find all that material included under the head of Justice. I find there that fair play is desirable in itself, that we are not forced into it by fear nor hired to that end for pay, and that no man is just who is attracted by anything in this virtue other than the virtue itself. After convincing myself of this view and thoroughly absorbing it, what good can I obtain from such precepts, which only teach one who is already trained? To one who knows, it is superfluous to give precepts; to one who does not know, it is insufficient. For he must be told, not only what he is being instructed to do, but also why.

12. I repeat, are such precepts useful to him who has correct ideas about good and evil, or to one who has them not? The latter will receive no benefit from you; for some idea that clashes with your counsel has already monopolized his attention. He who has made a careful decision as to what should be sought and what should be avoided knows what he ought to do, without a single word from you. Therefore, that whole department of philosophy may be abolished.

13. "There are two reasons why we go astray: either there is in the soul an evil quality which has been brought about by wrong opinions, or, even if not possessed by false ideas, the soul is prone to falsehood and rapidly corrupted by some outward appearance which attracts it in the wrong direction. For this reason it is our duty either to treat carefully the diseased mind and free it from faults, or to take possession of the mind when it is still unoccupied and yet inclined to what is evil. Both these results can be attained by the main doctrines of philosophy; therefore the giving of such precepts is of no use.

14. Besides, if we give forth precepts to each individual, the task is stupendous. For one class of advice should be given to the financier, another to the farmer, another to the business man, another to one who cultivates the good graces of royalty, another to him who will seek the friendship of his equals, another to him who will court those of lower rank.

15. In the case of marriage, you will advise one person how he should conduct himself with a wife who before her marriage was a maiden, and another how he should behave with a woman who had previously been wedded to another; how the husband of a rich woman should act, or another man with a dowerless spouse. Or do you not think that there is some difference between a barren woman and one who bears children, between one advanced in years and a mere girl, between a mother and a step-mother? We cannot include all the types, and yet each type requires separate treatment; but the laws of philosophy are concise and are binding in all cases.

16. Moreover, the precepts of wisdom should be definite and certain: when things cannot be defined, they are outside the sphere of wisdom; for wisdom knows the proper limits of things.

"We should therefore do away with this department of precepts, because it cannot afford to all what it promises only to a few; wisdom, however, embraces all.

17. Between the insanity of people in general and the insanity which is subject to medical treatment there is no difference, except that the latter is suffering from disease and the former from false opinions. In the one case, the symptoms of madness may be traced to ill-health; the other is the ill-health of the mind. If one should offer precepts to a madman – how he ought to speak, how he ought to walk, how he ought to conduct himself in public and in private, he would be more of a lunatic than the person whom he was advising. What is really necessary is to treat the black bile and remove the essential cause of the madness. And this is what should also be done in the other case – that of the mind diseased. The madness itself must be shaken off; otherwise, your words of advice will vanish into thin air."

18. This is what Aristo says; and I shall answer his arguments one by one. First, in opposition to what he says about one's obligation to remove that which blocks the eye and hinders the vision. I admit that such a person does not need precepts in order to see, but that he needs treatment for the curing of his eyesight and the getting rid of the hindrance that handicaps him. For it is Nature that gives us our eyesight; and he who removes obstacles restores to Nature her proper function. But Nature does not teach us our duty in every case.

19. Again, if a man's cataract is cured, he cannot, immediately after his recovery, give back their eyesight to other men also; but when we are freed from evil we can free others also. There is no need of encouragement, or even of counsel, for the eye to be able to distinguish different colours; black and white can be differentiated without prompting from another. The mind, on the other hand, needs many precepts in order to see what it should do in life; although in eye-treatment also the physician not only accomplishes the cure, but gives advice into the bargain.

20. He says: "There is no reason why you should at once expose your weak vision to a dangerous glare; begin with darkness, and then go into half-lights, and finally be more bold, accustoming yourself gradually to the bright light of day. There is no reason why you should study immediately after eating; there is no reason why you should impose hard tasks upon your eyes when they are swollen and inflamed; avoid winds and strong blasts of cold air that blow into your face," – and other suggestions of the same sort, which are just as valuable as drugs themselves. The physician's art supplements remedies by advice.

21. "But," comes the reply, "error is the source of sin; precepts do not remove error, nor do they rout our false opinions on the subject of Good and Evil." I admit that precepts alone are not effective in overthrowing the mind's mistaken beliefs; but they do not on that account fail to be of service when they accompany other measures also. In the first place, they refresh the memory; in the second place, when sorted into their proper classes, the matters which showed themselves in a jumbled mass when considered as a whole, can be considered in this with greater care. According to our opponents theory, you might even say that consolation, and exhortation were superfluous. Yet they are not superfluous; neither, therefore, is counsel.

22. "But it is folly," they retort, "to prescribe what a sick man ought to do, just as if he were well, when you should really restore his health; for without health precepts are not worth a jot." But have not sick men and sound men something in common, concerning which they need continual advice? For example, not to grasp greedily after food, and to avoid getting over-tired. Poor and rich have certain precepts which fit them both.

23. "Cure their greed, then," people say, "and you will not need to lecture either the poor or the rich, provided that in the case of each of them the craving has subsided." But is it not one thing to be free from lust for money, and another thing to know how to use this money? Misers do not know the proper limits in money matters, but even those who are not misers fail to comprehend its use. Then comes the reply: "Do away with error, and your precepts become unnecessary." That is wrong; for suppose that avarice is slackened, that luxury is confined, that rashness is reined in, and that laziness is pricked by the spur; even after vices are removed, we must continue to learn what we ought to do, and how we ought to do it.

24. "Nothing," it is said, "will be accomplished by applying advice to the more serious faults." No; and not even medicine can master incurable diseases; it is nevertheless used in some cases as a remedy, in others as a relief. Not even the power of universal philosophy, though it summon all its strength for the purpose, will remove from the soul what is now a stubborn and chronic disease. But Wisdom, merely because she cannot cure everything, is not incapable of making cures.

25. People say: "What good does it do to point out the obvious?" A great deal of good; for we sometimes know facts without paying attention to them. Advice is not teaching; it merely engages the attention and rouses us, and concentrates the memory, and keeps it from losing grip. We miss much that is set before our very eyes. Advice is, in fact, a sort of exhortation. The mind often tries not to notice even that which lies before our eyes; we must therefore force upon it the knowledge of things that are perfectly well known. One might repeat here the saying of Calvus about Vatinius*: "You all know that bribery has been going on, and everyone knows that you know it." [* Quoted also by Quintilian, vi. 1. 13. Between the years 58 and 54 B.C Calvus, a friend of the poet Catullus, in three famous speeches prosecuted Vatinius, one of the creatures of Caesar who had illegally obtained office.]

26. You know that friendship should be scrupulously honoured, and yet you do not hold it in honour. You know that a man does wrong in requiring chastity of his wife while he himself is intriguing with the wives of other men; you know that, as your wife should have no dealings with a lover, neither should you yourself with a mistress; and yet you do not act accordingly. Hence, you must be continually brought to remember these facts; for they should not be in storage, but ready for use. And whatever is wholesome should be often discussed and often brought before the mind, so that it may be not only familiar to us, but also ready to hand. And remember, too, that in this way what is clear often becomes clearer.

27. "But if," comes the answer, "your precepts are not obvious, you will be bound to add proofs; hence the proofs, and not the precepts, will be helpful." But cannot the influence of the monitor avail even without proofs? It is like the opinions of a legal expert, which hold good even though the reasons for them are not delivered. Moreover, the precepts which are given are of great weight in themselves, whether they be woven into the fabric of song, or condensed into prose proverbs, like the famous Wisdom of Cato "Buy not what you need, but what you must have. That which you do not need, is dear even at a farthing." Or those oracular or oracular-like replies, such as

28. "Be thrifty with time!" "Know thyself!" Shall you need to be told the meaning when someone repeats to you lines like these:

Forgetting trouble is the way to cure it.

Fortune favours the brave, but the coward is foiled by his faint heart.

Such maxims need no special pleader; they go straight to our emotions, and help us simply because Nature is exercising her proper function.

29. The soul carries within itself the seed of everything that is honourable, and this seed is stirred to growth by advice, as a spark that is fanned by a gentle breeze develops its natural fire. Virtue is aroused by a touch, a shock. Moreover, there are certain things which, though in the mind, yet are not ready to hand but begin to function easily as soon as they are put into words. Certain things lie scattered about in various places, and it is impossible for the unpractised mind to arrange them in order. Therefore, we should bring them into unity, and join them, so that they may be more powerful and more of an uplift to the soul.

30. Or, if precepts do not avail at all, then every method of instruction should be abolished, and we should be content

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with Nature alone. Those who maintain this view do not understand that one man is lively and alert of wit, another sluggish and dull, while certainly some men have more intelligence than others. The strength of the wit is nourished and kept growing by precepts; it adds new points of view to those which are inborn and corrects depraved ideas.

31. "But suppose," people retort, "that a man is not the possessor of sound dogmas, how can advice help him when he is chained down by vicious dogmas?" In this, assuredly, that he is freed therefrom; for his natural disposition has not been crushed, but over-shadowed and kept down. Even so it goes on endeavouring to rise again, struggling against the influences that make for evil; but when it wins support and receives the aid of precepts, it grows stronger, provided only that the chronic trouble has not corrupted or annihilated the natural man. For in such a case, not even the training that comes from philosophy, striving with all its might, will make restoration. What difference, indeed, – is there between the dogmas of philosophy and precepts, unless it be this – that the former are general and the latter special? Both deal with advice – the one through the universal, the other through the particular.

32. Some say: "If one is familiar with upright and honourable dogmas, it will be superfluous to advise him." By no means; for this person has indeed learned to do things which he ought to do; but he does not see with sufficient clearness what these things are. For we are hindered from accomplishing praiseworthy deeds not only by our emotions, but also by want of practice in discovering the demands of a particular situation. Our minds are often under good control, and yet at the same time are inactive and untrained in finding the path of duty, – and advice makes this clear.

33. Again, it is written: "Cast out all false opinions concerning Good and Evil, but replace them with true opinions; then advice will have no function to perform." Order in the soul can doubtless be established in this way; but these are not the only ways. For although we may infer by proofs just what Good and Evil are, nevertheless precepts have their proper rôle. Prudence and justice consist of certain duties; and duties are set in order by precepts.

34. Moreover, judgement as to Good and Evil is itself strengthened by following up our duties, and precepts conduct us to this end. For both are in accord with each other; nor can precepts take the lead unless the duties follow. They observe their natural order; hence precepts clearly come first.

35. "Precepts," it is said "are numberless." Wrong again! For they are not numberless so far as concerns important and essential things. Of course there are slight distinctions, due to the time, or the place, or the person; but even in these cases, precepts are given which have a general application.

36. "No one, however," it is said, "cures madness by precepts, and therefore not wickedness either." There is a distinction; for if you rid a man of insanity, he becomes sane again, but if we have removed false opinions, insight into practical conduct does not at once follow. Even though it follows, counsel will none the less confirm one's right opinion concerning Good and Evil. And it is also wrong to believe that precepts are of no use to madmen. For though, by themselves, they are of no avail, yet they are a help towards the cure. Both scolding and chastening rein in a lunatic. Note that I here refer to lunatics whose wits are disturbed but not hopelessly gone.

37. "Still," it is objected, "laws do not always make us do what we ought to do; and what else are laws than precepts mingled with threats?" Now first of all, the laws do not persuade just because they threaten; precepts, however, instead of coercing, correct men by pleading. Again, laws frighten one out of communicating crime, while precepts urge a man on to his duty. Besides, the laws also are of assistance towards good conduct, at any rate if they instruct as well as command.

38. On this point I disagree with Posidonius, who says: "I do not think that Plato's Laws should have the preambles added to them. For a law should be brief, in order that the uninitiated may grasp it all the more easily. It should be a voice, as it were, sent down from heaven; it should command, not discuss. Nothing seems to me more dull or more foolish than a law with a preamble. Warn me, tell me what you wish me to do; I am not learning but obeying." But laws framed in this way are helpful; hence you will notice that a state with defective laws will have defective morals.

39. "But," it is said, "they are not of avail in every case." Well neither is philosophy; and yet philosophy is not on that account ineffectual and useless in the training of the soul. Furthermore, is not philosophy the Law of Life? Grant, if we will, that the laws do not avail; it does not necessarily follow that advice also should not avail. On this ground, you ought to say that consolation does not avail, and warning, and exhortation, and scolding, and praising; since they are all varieties of advice. It is by such methods that we arrive at a perfect condition of mind.

40. Nothing is more successful in bringing honourable influences to bear upon the mind, or in straightening out the wavering spirit that is prone to evil, than association with good men. For the frequent seeing, the frequent hearing of them little by little sinks into the heart and acquires the force of precepts. We are indeed uplifted merely by meeting wise men; and one can be helped by a great man even when he is silent.

41. I could not easily tell you how it helps us, though I am certain of the fact that I have received help in that way. Phaedo says: "Certain tiny animals do not leave any pain when they sting us; so subtle is their power, so deceptive for purposes of harm. The bite is disclosed by a swelling, and even in the swelling there is no visible wound." That will also be your experience when dealing with wise men, you will not discover how or when the benefit comes to you, but you will discover that you have received it.

42. "What is the point of this remark?" you ask. It is, that good precepts, often welcomed within you, will benefit you just as much as good examples. Pythagoras declares that our souls experience a change when we enter a temple and behold the images of the gods face to face, and await the utterances of an oracle.

43. Moreover, who can deny that even the most inexperienced are effectively struck by the force of certain precepts? For example, by such brief but weighty saws as: "Nothing in excess," "The greedy mind is satisfied by no gains," "You must expect to be treated by others as you yourself have treated them." We receive a sort if shock when we hear such sayings; no one ever thinks of doubting them or of asking "Why?" So strongly, indeed, does mere truth, unaccompanied by reason, attract us.

44. If reverence reins in the soul and checks vice, why cannot counsel do the same? Also, if rebuke gives one a sense of shame, why has not counsel the same power, even though it does use bare precepts? The counsel which assists suggestion by reason – which adds the motive for doing a given thing and the reward which awaits one who carries out and obeys such precepts is – more effective and settles deeper in the heart. If commands are helpful, so is advice. But one is helped by commands; therefore one is helped also by advice.

45. Virtue is divided into two parts – into contemplation of truth, and conduct. Training teaches contemplation, and admonition teaches conduct. And right conduct both practises and reveals virtue. But if, when a man is about to act, he is helped by advice, he is also helped by admonition. Therefore, if right conduct is necessary to virtue, and if, moreover, admonition makes clear right conduct, then admonition also is an indispensable thing.

46. There are two strong supports to the soul – trust in the truth and confidence; both are the result of admonition. For men believe it, and when belief is established, the soul receives great inspiration and is filled with confidence. Therefore, admonition is not superfluous.

Marcus Agrippa, a great-souled man, the only person among those whom the civil wars raised to fame and power whose prosperity helped the state, used to say that he was greatly indebted to the proverb "Harmony makes small things grow; lack of harmony makes great things decay."

47. He held that he himself became the best of brothers and the best of friends by virtue of this saying. And if proverbs of such a kind, when welcomed intimately into the soul, can mould this very soul, why cannot the department of philosophy which consists of such proverbs possess equal influence? Virtue depends partly upon training and partly upon practice; you must learn first, and then strengthen your learning by action. If this be true, not only do the doctrines of wisdom help us but the precepts also, which check and banish our emotions by a sort of official decree.

48. It is said: "Philosophy is divided into knowledge and state of mind. For one who has learned and understood what he should do and avoid, is not a wise man until his mind is metamorphosed into the shape of that which he has learned. This third department – that of precept – is compounded from both the others, from dogmas of philosophy and state of mind. Hence it is superfluous as far as the perfecting of virtue is concerned; the other two parts are enough for the purpose."

49. On that basis, therefore, even consolation would be superfluous, since this also is a combination of the other two, as likewise are exhortation, persuasion, and even proof itself. [The last stage of knowledge – complete assent – according to the Stoic view, which went beyond the mere sensation-theory of Epicurus.] For proof also originates from a well-ordered and firm mental attitude. But, although these things result from a sound state of mind, yet the sound state of mind also results from them; it is both creative of them and resultant from them.

50. Furthermore, that which you mention is the mark of an already perfect man, of one who has attained the height of human happiness. But the approach to these qualities is slow, and in the meantime in practical matters, the path should be pointed out for the benefit of one who is still short of perfection, but is making progress. Wisdom by her own agency may perhaps show herself this path without the help of admonition; for she has brought the soul to a stage where it can be impelled only in the right direction. Weaker characters, however, need someone to precede them, to say: "Avoid this," or "Do that."

51. Moreover, if one awaits the time when one can know of oneself what the best line of action is, one will sometimes go astray and by going astray will be hindered from arriving at the point where it is possible to be content with oneself. The soul should accordingly be guided at the very moment when it is becoming able to guide itself. Boys study according to direction. Their fingers are held and guided by others so that they may follow the outlines of the letters; next, they are ordered to imitate a copy and base thereon a style of penmanship. Similarly, the mind is helped if it is taught according to direction.

52. Such facts as these prove that this department of philosophy is not superfluous. The question next arises whether this part alone is sufficient to make men wise. The problem shall be treated at the proper time; but at present, omitting all arguments, is it not clear that we need someone whom we may call upon as our preceptor in opposition to the precepts of men in general?

53. There is no word which reaches our ears without doing us harm; we are injured both by good wishes and by curses. The angry prayers of our enemies instil false fears in us; and the affection of our friends spoils us through their kindly wishes. For this affection sets us a-groping after goods that are far away, unsure, and wavering, when we really might open the store of happiness at home.

54. We are not allowed, I maintain, to travel a straight road. Our parents and our slaves draw us into wrong. Nobody confines his mistakes to himself; people sprinkle folly among their neighbours, and receive it from them in turn. For this reason, in an individual, you find the vices of nations, because the nation has given them to the individual. Each man, in corrupting others, corrupts himself; he imbibes, and then imparts, badness the result is a vast mass of wickedness, because the worst in every separate person is concentrated in one mass.

55. We should, therefore, have a guardian, as it were, to pluck us continually by the ear and dispel rumours and protest against popular enthusiasms. For you are mistaken if you suppose that our faults are inborn in us; they have come from without, have been heaped upon us. Hence, by receiving frequent admonitions, we can reject the opinions which din about our ears.

56. Nature does not ally us with any vice; she produced us in health and freedom. She put before our eyes no object which might stir in us the itch of greed. She placed gold and silver beneath our feet, and bade those feet stamp down and crush everything that causes us to be stamped down and crushed. Nature elevated our gaze towards the sky and willed that we should look upward to behold her glorious and wonderful works. She gave us the rising and the setting sun, the whirling course of the on-rushing world which discloses the things of earth by day and the heavenly bodies by night, the movements of the stars, which are slow if you compare them with the universe, but most rapid if you reflect on the size of the orbits which they describe with unslackened speed; she showed us the successive eclipses of sun and moon, and other phenomena, wonderful because they occur regularly or because, through sudden causes they leap into view – such as nightly trails of fire, or flashes in the open heavens unaccompanied by stroke or sound of thunder, or columns and beams and the various phenomena of flames.

57. She ordained that all these bodies should proceed above our heads; but gold and silver, with the iron which, because of the gold and silver, never brings peace, she has hidden away, as if they were dangerous things to trust to our keeping. It is we ourselves that have dragged them into the light of day to the end that we might fight over them; it is we ourselves who, tearing away the superincumbent earth, have dug out the causes and tools of our own destruction; it is we ourselves who have attributed our own misdeeds to Fortune, and do not blush to regard as the loftiest objects those which once lay in the depths of earth.

58. Do you wish to know how false is the gleam that has deceived your eyes? There is really nothing fouler or more involved in darkness than these things of earth, sunk and covered for so long a time in the mud where they belong. Of course they are foul; they have been hauled out through a long and murky mine-shaft. There is nothing uglier than these metals during the process of refinement and separation from the ore. Furthermore, watch the very workmen who must handle and sift the barren grade of dirt, the sort which comes from the bottom; see how soot-besmeared they are!

59. And yet the stuff they handle soils the soul more than the body, and there is more foulness in the owner than in the workman. It is therefore indispensable that we be admonished, that we have some advocate with upright mind, and, amid all the uproar and jangle of falsehood, hear one voice only. But what voice shall this be? Surely a voice which, amid all the tumult of self-seeking, shall whisper wholesome words into the deafened ear, saying:

60. "You need not be envious of those whom the people call great and fortunate; applause need not disturb your composed

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attitude and your sanity of mind; you need not become disgusted with your calm spirit because you see a great man, clothed in purple, protected by the well-known symbols of authority; you need not judge the magistrate for whom the road is cleared to be any happier than yourself, whom his officer pushes from the road. If you would wield a command that is profitable to yourself, and injurious to nobody, clear your own faults out of the way.

61. There are many who set fire to cities, who storm garrisons that have remained impregnable for generations and safe for numerous ages, who raise mounds as high as the walls they are besieging, who with battering-rams and engines shatter towers that have been reared to a wondrous height. There are many who can send their columns ahead and press destructively upon the rear of the foe, who can reach the Great Sea dripping with the blood of nations; but even these men, before they could conquer their foe, were conquered by their own greed. No one withstood their attack; but they themselves could not withstand desire for power and the impulse to cruelty; at the time when they seemed to be hounding others, they were themselves being hounded.

62. Alexander was hounded into misfortune and dispatched to unknown countries by a mad desire to lay waste other men's territory. Do you believe that the man was in his senses who could begin by devastating Greece, the land where he received his education? One who snatched away the dearest guerdon of each nation, bidding Spartans be slaves, and Athenians hold their tongues? Not content with the ruin of all the states which Philip had either conquered or bribed into bondage, he overthrew various commonwealths in various places and carried his weapons all over the world; his cruelty was tired, but it never ceased – like a wild beast that tears to pieces more than its hunger demands.

63. Already he has joined many kingdoms into one kingdom; already Greeks and Persians fear the same lord; already nations Darius had left free submit to the yoke: yet he passes beyond the Ocean and the Sun, deeming it shame that he should shift his course of victory from the paths which Hercules and Bacchus had trod; he threatens violence to Nature herself. He does not wish to go; but he cannot stay; he is like a weight that falls headlong, its course ending only when it lies motionless.

64. It was not virtue or reason which persuaded Gnaeus Pompeius to take part in foreign and civil warfare; it was his mad craving for unreal glory. Now he attacked Spain and the faction of Sertorius; now he fared forth to enchain the pirates and subdue the seas. These were merely excuses and pretexts for extending his power.

65. What drew him into Africa, into the North, against Mithridates, into Armenia and all the corners of Asia? Assuredly it was his boundless desire to grow bigger; for only in his own eyes was he not great enough. And what impelled Gaius Caesar to the combined ruin of himself and of the state? Renown, self-seeking, and the setting no limit to pre-eminence over all other men. He could not allow a single person to outrank him, although the state allowed two men to stand at its head.

66. Do you think that Gaius Marius, who was once consul (he received this office on one occasion, and stole it on all the others) courted all his perils by the inspiration of virtue when he was slaughtering the Teutons and the Cimbri, and pursuing Jugurtha through the wilds of Africa? Marius commanded armies, ambition Marius.

67. When such men as these were disturbing the world, they were themselves disturbed – like cyclones that whirl together what they have seized, but which are first whirled themselves and can for this reason rush on with all the greater force, having no control over themselves; hence, after causing such destruction to others, they feel in their own body the ruinous force which has enabled them to cause havoc to many. You need never believe that a man can become happy through the unhappiness of another.

68. We must unravel all such cases as are forced before our eyes and crammed into our ears; we must clear out our hearts, for they are full of evil talk. Virtue must be conducted into the place these have seized, – a kind of virtue which may root out falsehood and doctrines which contravene the truth, or may sunder us from the throng, in which we put too great trust, and may restore us to the possession of sound opinions. For this is wisdom – a return to Nature and a restoration to the condition from which man's errors have driven us.

69. It is a great part of health to have forsaken the counsellors of madness and to have fled far from a companionship that is mutually baneful. That you may know the truth of my remark, see how different is each individual's life before the public from that of his inner self. A quiet life does not of itself give lessons in upright conduct; the countryside does not of itself teach plain living; no, but when witnesses and onlookers are removed, faults which ripen in publicity and display sink into the background.

70. Who puts on the purple robe for the sake of flaunting it in no man's eyes? Who uses gold plate when he dines alone? Who, as he flings himself down beneath the shadow of some rustic tree, displays in solitude the splendour of his luxury? No one makes himself elegant only for his own beholding, or even for the admiration of a few friends or relatives. Rather does he spread out his well-appointed vices in proportion to the size of the admiring crowd.

71. It is so: claqueurs and witnesses are irritants of all our mad foibles. You can make us cease to crave, if you only make us cease to display. Ambition, luxury, and waywardness need a stage to act upon; you will cure all those ills if you seek retirement.

72. Therefore, if our dwelling is situated amid the din of a city, there should be an adviser standing near us. When men praise great incomes, he should praise the person who can be rich with a slender estate and measures his wealth by the use he makes of it. In the face of those who glorify influence and power, he should of his own volition recommend a leisure devoted to study, and a soul which has left the external and found itself. 73. He should point out persons, happy in the popular estimation, who totter on their envied heights of power, who are dismayed and hold a far different opinion of themselves from what others hold of them. That which others think elevated, is to them a sheer precipice. Hence they are frightened and in a flutter whenever they look down the abrupt steep of their greatness. For they reflect that there are various ways of falling and that the topmost point is the most slippery. 74. Then they fear that for which they strove, and the good fortune which made them weighty in the eyes of others weighs more heavily upon themselves. Then they praise easy leisure and independence; they hate the glamour and try to escape while their fortunes are still unimpaired. Then at last you may see them studying philosophy amid their fear, and hunting sound advice when their fortunes go awry. For these two things are, as it were, at opposite poles – good fortune and good sense; that is why we are wiser when in the midst of adversity. It is prosperity that takes away righteousness. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 95. On the Usefulness of Basic Principles

1. You keep asking me to explain without postponement a topic which I once remarked should be put off until the proper time, and to inform you by letter whether this department of philosophy which the Greeks call paraenetic, and we Romans call the "preceptorial," is enough to give us perfect wisdom. Now I know that you will take it in good part if I refuse to do so. But I accept your request all the more willingly, and refuse to let the common saying lose its point:

Do not ask for what you will wish you had not got.

2. For sometimes we seek with effort that which we should decline if offered voluntarily. Call that fickleness or call it pettishness, – we must punish the habit by ready compliance. There are many things that we would have men think that we wish, but that we really do not wish. A lecturer sometimes brings upon the platform a huge work of research, written in the tiniest hand and very closely folded; after reading off a large portion, he says: "I shall stop, if you wish;" and a shout arises: "Read on, read on!" from the lips of those who are anxious for the speaker to hold his peace then and there. We often want one thing and pray for another, not telling the truth even to the gods, while the gods either do not hearken, or else take pity on us.

3. But I shall without pity avenge myself and shall load a huge letter upon your shoulders; for your part, if you read it with reluctance, you may say: "I brought this burden upon myself," and may class yourself among those men whose too ambitious wives drive them frantic, or those whom riches harass, earned by extreme sweat of the brow, or those who are tortured with the titles which they have sought by every sort of device and toil, and all others who are responsible for their own misfortunes.

4. But I must stop this preamble and approach the problem under consideration. Men say: "The happy life consists in upright conduct; precepts guide one to upright conduct; therefore precepts are sufficient for attaining the happy life." But they do not always guide us to upright conduct; this occurs only when the will is receptive; and sometimes they are applied in vain, when wrong opinions obsess the soul.

5. Furthermore, a man may act rightly without knowing that he is acting rightly. For nobody, except he be trained from the start and equipped with complete reason, can develop to perfect proportions, understanding when he should do certain things, and to what extent, and in whose company, and how, and why. Without such training a man cannot strive with all his heart after that which is honourable, or even with steadiness or gladness, but will ever be looking back and wavering.

6. It is also said: "If honourable conduct results from precepts, then precepts are amply sufficient for the happy life; but the first of these statements is true; therefore the second is true also." We shall reply to these words that honourable conduct is, to be sure, brought about by precepts, but not by precepts alone.

7. "Then," comes the reply, "if the other arts are content with precepts, wisdom will also be content therewith; for wisdom itself is an art of living. And yet the pilot is made by precepts which tell him thus and so to turn the tiller, set his sails, make use of a fair wind, tack, make the best of shifting and variable breezes – all in the proper manner. Other craftsmen also are drilled by precepts; hence precepts will be able to accomplish the same result in the case of our craftsman in the art of living."

8. Now all these arts are concerned with the tools of life, but not with life as a whole. Hence there is much to clog these arts from without and to complicate them – such as hope, greed, fear. But that art which professes to teach the art of life cannot be forbidden by any circumstance from exercising its functions; for it shakes off complications and pierces through obstacles. Would you like to know how unlike its status is to the other arts? In the case of the latter, it is more pardonable to err voluntarily rather than by accident; but in the case of wisdom the worst fault is to commit sin wilfully.

9. I mean something like this: A scholar will blush for shame, not if he makes a grammatical blunder intentionally, but if he makes it unintentionally; if a physician does not recognize that his patient is failing, he is a much poorer practitioner than if he recognizes the fact and conceals his knowledge. But in this art of living a voluntary mistake is the more shameful.

Furthermore, many arts, aye and the most liberal of them all, have their special doctrines, and not mere precepts of advice – the medical profession, for example. There are the different schools of Hippocrates, of Asclepiades, of Themison.

10. And besides, no art that concerns itself with theories can exist without its own doctrines; the Greeks call them dogmas, while we Romans may use the term "doctrines," or "tenets," or "adopted principles," – such as you will find in geometry or astronomy. But philosophy is both theoretic and practical; it contemplates and at the same time acts. You are indeed mistaken if you think that philosophy offers you nothing but worldly assistance; her aspirations are loftier than that. She cries: "I investigate the whole universe, nor am I content, keeping myself within a mortal dwelling, to give you favourable or unfavourable advice. Great matters invite and such as are set far above you. In the words of Lucretius:

11. To thee shall I reveal the ways of heaven
And the gods, spreading before thine eyes
The atoms, – whence all things are brought to birth,
Increased, and fostered by creative power,
And eke their end when Nature casts them off.

Philosophy, therefore, being theoretic, must have her doctrines.

12. And why? Because no man can duly perform right actions except one who has been entrusted with reason, which will enable him, in all cases, to fulfil all the categories of duty. These categories he cannot observe unless he receives precepts for every occasion, and not for the present alone. Precepts by themselves are weak and, so to speak, rootless if they be assigned to the parts and not to the whole. It is the doctrines which will strengthen and support us in peace and calm, which will include simultaneously the whole of life and the universe in its completeness. There is the same difference between philosophical doctrines and precepts as there is between elements and members; the latter depend upon the former, while the former are the source both of the latter and of all things.

13. People say: "The old-style wisdom advised only what one should do and avoid; and yet the men of former days were better men by far. When savants have appeared, sages have become rare. For that frank, simple virtue has changed into hidden and crafty knowledge; we are taught how to debate, not how to live."

14. Of course, as you say, the old-fashioned wisdom, especially in its beginnings, was crude; but so were the other arts, in which dexterity developed with progress. Nor indeed in those days was there yet any need for carefully-planned cures. Wickedness had not yet reached such a high point, or scattered itself so broadcast. Plain vices could be treated by plain cures; now, however, we need defences erected with all the greater care, because of the stronger powers by which we are attacked.

15. Medicine once consisted of the knowledge of a few simples, to stop the flow of blood, or to heal wounds; then by degrees it reached its present stage of complicated variety. No wonder that in early days medicine had less to do! Men's bodies were still sound and strong; their food was light and not spoiled by art and luxury, whereas when they began to seek dishes not for the sake of removing, but of rousing, the appetite, and devised countless sauces to whet their gluttony, – then what before was nourishment to a hungry man became a burden to the full stomach.

16. Thence come paleness, and a trembling of wine-sodden muscles, and a repulsive thinness, due rather to indigestion than to hunger. Thence weak tottering steps, and a reeling gait just like that of drunkenness. Thence dropsy, spreading under the entire skin, and the belly growing to a paunch through an ill habit of taking more than it can hold. Thence yellow jaundice, discoloured countenances, and bodies that rot inwardly, and fingers that grow knotty when the joints stiffen, and muscles that are numbed and without power of

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feeling, and palpitation of the heart with its ceaseless pounding.

17. Why need I mention dizziness? Or speak of pain in the eye and in the ear, itching and aching in the fevered brain, and internal ulcers throughout the digestive system? Besides these, there are countless kinds of fever, some acute in their malignity, others creeping upon us with subtle damage, and still others which approach us with chills and severe ague.

18. Why should I mention the other innumerable diseases, the tortures that result from high living? Men used to be free from such ills, because they had not yet slackened their strength by indulgence, because they had control over themselves, and supplied their own needs. They toughened their bodies by work and real toil, tiring themselves out by running or hunting or tilling the earth. They were refreshed by food in which only a hungry man could take pleasure. Hence, there was no need for all our mighty medical paraphernalia, for so many instruments and pill-boxes. For plain reasons they enjoyed plain health; it took elaborate courses to produce elaborate diseases.

19. Mark the number of things – all to pass down a single throat – that luxury mixes together, after ravaging land and sea. So many different dishes must surely disagree; they are bolted with difficulty and are digested with difficulty, each jostling against the other. And no wonder, that diseases which result from ill-assorted food are variable and manifold; there must be an overflow when so many unnatural combinations are jumbled together. Hence there are as many ways of being ill as there are of living.

20. The illustrious founder of the guild and profession of medicine remarked that women never lost their hair or suffered from pain in the feet; and yet nowadays they run short of hair and are afflicted with gout. This does not mean that woman's physique has changed, but that it has been conquered; in rivalling male indulgences they have also rivalled the ills to which men are heirs.

21. They keep just as late hours, and drink just as much liquor; they challenge men in wrestling and carousing; they are no less given to vomiting from distended stomachs and to thus discharging all their wine again; nor are they behind the men in gnawing ice, as a relief to their fevered digestions. And they even match the men in their passions, although they were created to feel love passively (may the gods and goddesses confound them!). They devise the most impossible varieties of unchastity, and in the company of men they play the part of men. What wonder, then, that we can trip up the statement of the greatest and most skilled physician, when so many women are gouty and bald! Because of their vices, women have ceased to deserve the privileges of their sex; they have put off their womanly nature and are therefore condemned to suffer the diseases of men.

22. Physicians of old time knew nothing about prescribing frequent nourishment and propping the feeble pulse with wine; they did not understand the practice of blood-letting and of easing chronic complaints with sweat-baths; they did not understand how, by bandaging ankles and arms, to recall to the outward parts the hidden strength which had taken refuge in the centre. They were not compelled to seek many varieties of relief, because the varieties of suffering were very few in number.

23. Nowadays, however, to what a stage have the evils of ill-health advanced! This is the interest which we pay on pleasures which we have coveted beyond what is reasonable and right. You need not wonder that diseases are beyond counting: count the cooks! All intellectual interests are in abeyance; those who follow culture lecture to empty rooms, in out-of-the-way places. The halls of the professor and the philosopher are deserted; but what a crowd there is in the cafés! How many young fellows besiege the kitchens of their gluttonous friends!

24. I shall not mention the troops of luckless boys who must put up with other shameful treatment after the banquet is over. I shall not mention the troops of catamites, rated according to nation and colour, who must all have the same smooth skin, and the same amount of youthful down on their cheeks, and the same way of dressing their hair, so that no boy with straight locks may get among the curly-heads. Nor shall I mention the medley of bakers, and the numbers of waiters who at a given signal scurry to carry in the courses. Ye gods! How many men are kept busy to humour a single belly!

25. What? Do you imagine that those mushrooms, the epicure's poison, work no evil results in secret, even though they have had no immediate effect? What? Do you suppose that your summer snow does not harden the tissue of the liver? What? Do you suppose that those oysters, a sluggish food fattened on slime, do not weigh one down with mud-begotten heaviness? What? Do you not think that the so-called "Sauce from the Provinces," the costly extract of poisonous fish, burns up the stomach with its salted putrefaction? What? Do you judge that the corrupted dishes which a man swallows almost burning from the kitchen fire, are quenched in the digestive system without doing harm? How repulsive, then, and how unhealthy are their belchings, and how disgusted men are with themselves when they breathe forth the fumes of yesterday's debauch! You may be sure that their food is not being digested, but is rotting.

26. I remember once hearing gossip about a notorious dish into which everything over which epicures love to dally had been heaped together by a cookshop that was fast rushing into bankruptcy; there were two kinds of mussels, and oysters trimmed round at the line where they are edible, set off at intervals by sea-urchins; the whole was flanked by mullets cut up and served without the bones.

27. In these days we are ashamed of separate foods; people mix many flavours into one. The dinner table does work which the stomach ought to do. I look forward next to food being served masticated! And how little we are from it already when we pick out shells and bones and the cook performs the office of the teeth! They say: "It is too much trouble to take our luxuries one by one; let us have everything served at the same time and blended into the same flavour. Why should I help myself to a single dish? Let us have many coming to the table at once; the dainties of various courses should be combined and confounded.

28. Those who used to declare that this was done for display and notoriety should understand that it is not done for show, but that it is an oblation to our sense of duty! Let us have at one time, drenched in the same sauce, the dishes that are usually served separately. Let there be no difference: let oysters, sea-urchins, shell-fish, and mullets be mixed together and cooked in the same dish." No vomited food could be jumbled up more helter-skelter.

29. And as the food itself is complicated, so the resulting diseases are complex, unaccountable, manifold, variegated; medicine has begun to campaign against them in many ways and by many rules of treatment. Now I declare to you that the same statement applies to philosophy. It was once more simple because men's sins were on a smaller scale, and could be cured with but slight trouble; in the face, however, of all this moral topsy-turvy men must leave no remedy untried. And would that this pest might so at last be overcome!

30. We are mad, not only individually, but nationally. We check manslaughter and isolated murders; but what of war and the much-vaunted crime of slaughtering whole peoples? There are no limits to our greed, none to our cruelty. And as long as such crimes are committed by stealth and by individuals, they are less harmful and less portentous; but cruelties are practised in accordance with acts of senate and popular assembly, and the public is bidden to do that which is forbidden to the individual.

31. Deeds that would be punished by loss of life when committed in secret, are praised by us because uniformed generals have carried them out. Man, naturally the gentlest class of being, is not ashamed to revel in the blood of others, to wage war, and to entrust the waging of war to his sons, when even dumb beasts and wild beasts keep the peace with one another.

32. Against this overmastering and widespread madness philosophy has become a matter of greater effort, and has taken on strength in proportion to the strength which is gained by the opposition forces.

It used to be easy to scold men who were slaves to drink and who sought out more luxurious food; it did not require a mighty effort to bring the spirit back to the simplicity from which it had departed only slightly. But now

33. One needs the rapid hand, the master-craft. Men seek pleasure from every source. No vice remains within its limits; luxury is precipitated into greed. We are overwhelmed with forgetfulness of that which is honourable. Nothing that has an attractive value, is base. Man, an object of reverence in the eyes of man, is now slaughtered for jest and sport; and those whom it used to be unholy to train for the purpose of inflicting and enduring wounds, are thrust forth exposed and defenceless; and it is a satisfying spectacle to see a man made a corpse.

34. Amid this upset condition of morals, something stronger than usual is needed, – something which will shake off these chronic ills; in order to root out a deep-seated belief in wrong ideas, conduct must be regulated by doctrines. It is only when we add precepts, consolation, and encouragement to these, that they can prevail; by themselves they are ineffective.

35. If we would hold men firmly bound and tear them away from the ills which clutch them fast, they must learn what is evil and what is good. They must know that everything except virtue changes its name and becomes now good and now bad. Just as the soldier's primary bond of union is his oath of allegiance and his love for the flag, and a horror of desertion, and just as, after this stage, other duties can easily be demanded of him, and trusts given to him when once the oath has been administered; so it is with those whom you would bring to the happy life: the first foundations must be laid, and virtue worked into these men. Let them be held by a sort of superstitious worship of virtue; let them love her; let them desire to live with her, and refuse to live without her.

36. "But what, then," people say, "have not certain persons won their way to excellence without complicated training? Have they not made great progress by obeying bare precepts alone?" Very true; but their temperaments were propitious, and they snatched salvation as it were by the way. For just as the immortal gods did not learn virtue having been born with virtue complete, and containing in their nature the essence of goodness – even so certain men are fitted with unusual qualities and reach without a long apprenticeship that which is ordinarily a matter of teaching, welcoming honourable things as soon as they hear them. Hence come the choice minds which seize quickly upon virtue, or else produce it from within themselves. But your dull, sluggish fellow, who is hampered by his evil habits, must have this soul-rust incessantly rubbed off.

37. Now, as the former sort, who are inclined towards the good, can be raised to the heights more quickly: so the weaker spirits will be assisted and freed from their evil opinions if we entrust to them the accepted principles of philosophy; and you may understand how essential these principles are in the following way. Certain things sink into us, rendering us sluggish in some ways, and hasty in others. These two qualities, the one of recklessness and the other of sloth, cannot be respectively checked or roused unless we remove their causes, which are mistaken admiration and mistaken fear. As long as we are obsessed by such feelings, you may say to us: "You owe this duty to your father, this to your children, this to your friends, this to your guests"; but greed will always hold us back, no matter how we try. A man may know that he should fight for his country, but fear will dissuade him. A man may know that he should sweat forth his last drop of energy on behalf of his friends, but luxury will forbid. A man may know that keeping a mistress is the worst kind of insult to his wife, but lust will drive him in the opposite direction.

38. It will therefore be of no avail to give precepts unless you first remove the conditions that are likely to stand in the way of precepts; it will do no more good than to place weapons by your side and bring yourself near the foe without having your hands free to use those weapons. The soul, in order to deal with the precepts which we offer, must first be set free.

39. Suppose that a man is acting as he should; he cannot keep it up continuously or consistently, since he will not know the reason for so acting. Some of his conduct will result rightly because of luck or practice; but there will be in his hand no rule by which he may regulate his acts, and which he may trust to tell him whether that which he has done is right. One who is good through mere chance will not give promise of retaining such a character for ever.

40. Furthermore, precepts will perhaps help you to do what should be done; but they will not help you to do it in the proper way; and if they do not help you to this end, they do not conduct you to virtue. I grant you that, if warned, a man will do what he should; but that is not enough, since the credit lies, not in the actual deed, but in the way it is done.

41. What is more shameful than a costly meal which eats away the income even of a knight? Or what so worthy of the censor's condemnation as to be always indulging oneself and one's "inner man," if I may speak as the gluttons do? And yet often has an inaugural dinner cost the most careful man a cool million! The very sum that is called disgraceful if spent on the appetite, is beyond reproach if spent for official purposes! For it is not luxury but an expenditure sanctioned by custom.

42. A mullet of monstrous size was presented to the Emperor Tiberius. They say it weighed four and one half pounds (and why should I not tickle the palates of certain epicures by mentioning its weight?). Tiberius ordered it to be sent to the fish-market and put up for sale, remarking: "I shall be taken entirely by surprise, my friends, if either Apicius or P. Octavius does not buy that mullet." The guess came true beyond his expectation: the two men bid, and Octavius won, thereby acquiring a great reputation among his intimates because he had bought for five thousand sesterces a fish which the Emperor had sold, and which even Apicius did not succeed in buying. To pay such a price was disgraceful for Octavius, but not for the individual who purchased the fish in order to present it to Tiberius, – though I should be inclined to blame the latter as well; but at any rate he admired a gift of which he thought Caesar worthy. When people sit by the bedsides of their sick friends, we honour their motives.

43. But when people do this for the purpose of attaining a legacy [A frequent vice under the Empire, nicknamed captatio., they are like vultures waiting for carrion. The same act may be either shameful or honourable: the purpose and the manner make all the difference. Now each of our acts will be honourable if we declare allegiance to honour and judge honour and its results to be the only good that can fall to man's lot; for other things are only temporarily good.

44. I think, then, that there should be deeply implanted a firm belief which will apply to life as a whole: this is what I call a "doctrine." And as this belief is, so will be our acts and our thoughts. As our acts and our thoughts are, so will our lives be. It is not enough, when a man is arranging his existence as a whole, to give him advice about details.

45. Marcus Brutus, in the book which he has entitled Concerning Duty, gives many precepts to parents, children, and brothers; but no one will do his duty as he ought, unless

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he has some principle to which he may refer his conduct. We must set before our eyes the goal of the Supreme Good, towards which we may strive, and to which all our acts and words may have reference – just as sailors must guide their course according to a certain star.

46. Life without ideals is erratic: as soon as an ideal is to be set up, doctrines begin to be necessary. I am sure you will admit that there is nothing more shameful than uncertain and wavering conduct, than the habit of timorous retreat. This will be our experience in all cases unless we remove that which checks the spirit and clogs it, and keeps it from making an attempt and trying with all its might.

47. Precepts are commonly given as to how the gods should be worshipped. But let us forbid lamps to be lighted on the Sabbath, since the gods do not need light, neither do men take pleasure in soot. Let us forbid men to offer morning salutation and to throng the doors of temples; mortal ambitions are attracted by such ceremonies, but God is worshipped by those who truly know Him. Let us forbid bringing towels and flesh-scrapers to Jupiter, and proffering mirrors to Juno; for God seeks no servants. Of course not; he himself does service to mankind, everywhere and to all he is at hand to help.

48. Although a man hear what limit he should observe in sacrifice, and how far he should recoil from burdensome superstitions, he will never make sufficient progress until he has conceived a right idea of God, – regarding Him as one who possesses all things, and allots all things, and bestows them without price.

49. And what reason have the gods for doing deeds of kindness? It is their nature. One who thinks that they are unwilling to do harm, is wrong; they cannot do harm. They cannot receive or inflict injury; for doing harm is in the same category as suffering harm. The universal nature, all-glorious and all-beautiful, has rendered incapable of inflicting ill those whom it has removed from the danger of ill.

50. The first way to worship the gods is to believe in the gods; the next to acknowledge their majesty, to acknowledge their goodness without which there is no majesty. Also, to know that they are supreme commanders in the universe, controlling all things by their power and acting as guardians of the human race, even though they are sometimes unmindful of the individual. They neither give nor have evil but they do chasten and restrain certain persons and impose penalties, and sometimes punish by bestowing that which seems good outwardly. Would you win over the gods? Then be a good man. Whoever imitates them, is worshipping them sufficiently.

51. Then comes the second problem, – how to deal with men. What is our purpose? What precepts do we offer? Should we bid them refrain from bloodshed? What a little thing it is not to harm one whom you ought to help! It is indeed worthy of great praise, when man treats man with kindness! Shall we advise stretching forth the hand to the shipwrecked sailor, or pointing out the way to the wanderer, or sharing a crust with the starving? Yes, if I can only tell you first everything which ought to be afforded or withheld; meantime, I can lay down for mankind a rule, in short compass, for our duties in human relationships:

52. all that you behold, that which comprises both god and man, is one – we are the parts of one great body. Nature produced us related to one another, since she created us from the same source and to the same end. She engendered in us mutual affection, and made us prone to friendships. She established fairness and justice; according to her ruling, it is more wretched to commit than to suffer injury. Through her orders, let our hands be ready for all that needs to be helped.

53. Let this verse be in your heart and on your lips:

I am a man; and nothing in man's lot
Do I deem foreign to me.

Let us possess things in common; for birth is ours in common. Our relations with one another are like a stone arch, which would collapse if the stones did not mutually support each other, and which is upheld in this very way.

54. Next, after considering gods and men, let us see how we should make use of things. It is useless for us to have mouthed out precepts, unless we begin by reflecting what opinion we ought to hold concerning everything – concerning poverty, riches, renown, disgrace, citizenship, exile. Let us banish rumour and set a value upon each thing, asking what it is and not what it is called.

55. Now let us turn to a consideration of the virtues. Some persons will advise us to rate prudence very high, to cherish bravery, and to cleave more closely, if possible, to justice than to all other qualities. But this will do us no good if we do not know what virtue is, whether it is simple or compound, whether it is one or more than one, whether its parts are separate or interwoven with one another; whether he who has one virtue possesses the other virtues also; and just what are the distinctions between them.

56. The carpenter does not need to inquire about his art in the light of its origin or of its function, any more than a pantomime need inquire about the art of dancing; if these arts understand themselves, nothing is lacking, for they do not refer to life as a whole. But virtue means the knowledge of other things besides herself: if we would learn virtue we must learn all about virtue.

57. Conduct will not be right unless the will to act is right; for this is the source of conduct. Nor, again, can the will be right without a right attitude of mind; for this is the source of the will. Furthermore, such an attitude of mind will not be found even in the best of men unless he has learned the laws of life as a whole and has worked out a proper judgement about everything, and unless he has reduced facts to a standard of truth. Peace of mind is enjoyed only by those who have attained a fixed and unchanging standard of judgement; the rest of mankind continually ebb and flow in their decisions, floating in a condition where they alternately reject things and seek them.

58. And what is the reason for this tossing to and fro? It is because nothing is clear to them, because they make use of a most unsure criterion – rumour. If you would always desire the same things, you must desire the truth. But one cannot attain the truth without doctrines; for doctrines embrace the whole of life. Things good and evil, honourable and disgraceful, just and unjust, dutiful and undutiful, the virtues and their practice, the possession of comforts, worth and respect, health, strength, beauty, keenness of the senses – all these qualities call for one who is able to appraise them. One should be allowed to know at what value every object is to be rated on the list;

59. for sometimes you are deceived and believe that certain things are worth more than their real value; in fact, so badly are you deceived that you will find you should value at a mere pennyworth those things which we men regard as worth most of all – for example, riches, influence, and power. You will never understand this unless you have investigated the actual standard by which such conditions are relatively rated. As leaves cannot flourish by their own efforts, but need a branch to which they may cling and from which they may draw sap, so your precepts, when taken alone, wither away; they must be grafted upon a school of philosophy.

60. Moreover, those who do away with doctrines do not understand that these doctrines are proved by the very arguments through which they seem to disprove them. For what are these men saying? They are saying that precepts are sufficient to develop life, and that the doctrines of wisdom (in other words, dogmas) are superfluous. And yet this very utterance of theirs is a doctrine just as if I should now remark that one must dispense with precepts on the ground that they are superfluous, that one must make use of doctrines, and that our studies should be directed solely towards this end; thus, by my very statement that precepts should not be taken seriously, I should be uttering a precept.

61. There are certain matters in philosophy which need admonition; there are others which need proof, and a great deal of proof, too, because they are complicated and can scarcely be made clear with the greatest care and the greatest dialectic skill. If proofs are necessary, so are doctrines; for doctrines deduce the truth by reasoning. Some matters are clear, and others are vague: those which the senses and the memory can embrace are clear; those which are outside their scope are vague. But reason is not satisfied by obvious facts; its higher and nobler function is to deal with hidden things. Hidden things need proof; proof cannot come without doctrines; therefore, doctrines are necessary.

62. That which leads to a general agreement, and likewise to a perfect one, is an assured belief in certain facts; but if, lacking this assurance, all things are adrift in our minds, then doctrines are indispensable; for they give to our minds the means of unswerving decision.

63. Furthermore, when we advise a man to regard his friends as highly as himself, to reflect that an enemy may become a friend, to stimulate love in the friend, and to check hatred in the enemy, we add: "This is just and honourable." Now the just and honourable element in our doctrines is embraced by reason; hence reason is necessary; for without it the doctrines cannot exist, either.

64. But let us unite the two. For indeed branches are useless without their roots, and the roots themselves are strengthened by the growths which they have produced. Everyone can understand how useful the hands are; they obviously help us. But the heart, the source of the hands growth and power and motion, is hidden. And I can say the same thing about precepts: they are manifest, while the doctrines of wisdom are concealed. And as only the initiated know the more hallowed portion of the rites, so in philosophy the hidden truths are revealed only to those who are members and have been admitted to the sacred rites. But precepts and other such matters are familiar even to the uninitiated.

65. Posidonius holds that not only precept-giving (there is nothing to prevent my using this word), but even persuasion, consolation, and encouragement, are necessary. To these he adds the investigation of causes (but I fail to see why I should not dare to call it aetiology, since the scholars who mount guard over the Latin language thus use the term as having the right to do so). He remarks that it will also be useful to illustrate each particular virtue; this science Posidonius calls ethology, while others call it characterization. It gives the signs and marks which belong to each virtue and vice, so that by them distinction may be drawn between like things.

66. Its function is the same as that of precept. For he who utters precepts says: "If you would have self-control, act thus and so!" He who illustrates, says "The man who acts thus and so, and refrains from certain other things, possesses self-control." If you ask what the difference here is, I say that the one gives the precepts of virtue, the other its embodiment. These illustrations, or, to use a commercial term, these samples, have, I confess, a certain utility; just put them up for exhibition well recommended, and you will find men to copy them.

67. Would you, for instance, deem it a useful thing to have evidence given you by which you may recognize a thoroughbred horse, and not be cheated in your purchase or waste your time over a low-bred animal? But how much more useful it is to know the marks of a surpassingly fine soul – marks which one may appropriate from another for oneself!

68. Straightway the foal of the high-bred drove, nursed up in the pastures,

Marches with spirited step, and treads with a delicate motion;

First on the dangerous pathway and into the threatening river,

Trusting himself to the unknown bridge, without fear at its creakings,

Neck thrown high in the air, and clear-cut head, and a belly

Spare, back rounded, and breast abounding in courage and muscle.

He, when the clashing of weapons is heard to resound in the distance,

Leaps from his place, and pricks up his ears, and all in a tremble

Pours forth the pent-up fire that lay close-shut in his nostrils.

69. Vergil's description, though referring to something else, might perfectly well be the portrayal of a brave man; at any rate, I myself should select no other simile for a hero. If I had to describe Cato, who was unterrified amid the din of civil war, who was first to attack the armies that were already making for the Alps, who plunged face-forward into the civil conflict, this is exactly the sort of expression and attitude which I should give him.

70. Surely none could "march with more spirited step" than one who rose against Caesar and Pompey at the same time and, when some were supporting Caesar's party and others that of Pompey, issued a challenge to both leaders, thus showing that the republic also had some backers. For it is not enough to say of Cato "without fear at its creakings." Of course he is not afraid! He does not quail before real and imminent noises; in the face of ten legions, Gallic auxiliaries, and a motley host of citizens and foreigners, he utters words fraught with freedom, encouraging the Republic not to fail in the struggle for freedom, but to try all hazards; he declares that it is more honourable to fall into servitude than to fall in line with it.

71. What force and energy are his! What confidence he displays amid the general panic! He knows that he is the only one whose standing is not in question, and that men do not ask whether Cato is free, but whether he is still among the free. Hence his contempt for danger and the sword. What a pleasure it is to say, in admiration of the unflinching steadiness of a hero who did not totter when the whole state was in ruins:

A breast abounding in courage and muscle!

72. It will be helpful not only to state what is the usual quality of good men, and to outline their figures and features, but also to relate and set forth what men there have been of this kind. We might picture that last and bravest wound of Cato's, through which Freedom breathed her last; or the wise Laelius and his harmonious life with his friend Scipio; or the noble deeds of the Elder Cato at home and abroad; or the wooden couches of Tubero, spread at a public feast, goatskins instead of tapestry, and vessels of earthenware set out for the banquet before the very shrine of Jupiter! What else was this except consecrating poverty on the Capitol? Though I know no other deed of his for which to rank him with the Catos, is this one not enough? It was a censorship, not a banquet.

73. How lamentably do those who covet glory fail to understand what glory is, or in what way it should be sought! On that day the Roman populace viewed the furniture of many men; it marvelled only at that of one! The gold and silver of all the others has been broken up and melted down times without number; but Tubero's earthenware will endure throughout eternity. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 96. On Facing Hardships

1. Spite of all do you still chafe and complain, not understanding that, in all the evils to which you refer, there is really only one – the fact that you do chafe and complain? If you ask me, I think that for a man there is no misery unless there be something in the universe which he thinks miserable. I shall not endure myself on that day when I find anything unendurable. I am ill; but that is a part of my lot. My slaves have fallen sick, my income has gone off, my house is rickety, I

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have been assailed by losses, accidents, toil, and fear; this is a common thing. Nay, that was an understatement; it was an inevitable thing.

2. Such affairs come by order, and not by accident. If you will believe me, it is my inmost emotions that I am just now disclosing to you: when everything seems to go hard and uphill, I have trained myself not merely to obey God, but to agree with His decisions. I follow Him because my soul wills it, and not because I must. Nothing will ever happen to me that I shall receive with ill humour or with a wry face. I shall pay up all my taxes willingly. Now all the things which cause us to groan or recoil, are part of the tax of life – things, my dear Lucilius, which you should never hope and never seek to escape.

3. It was disease of the bladder that made you apprehensive; downcast letters came from you; you were continually getting worse; I will touch the truth more closely, and say that you feared for your life. But come, did you not know, when you prayed for long life, that this was what you were praying for? A long life includes all these troubles, just as a long journey includes dust and mud and rain.

4. "But," you cry, "I wished to live, and at the same time to be immune from all ills." Such a womanish cry does no credit to a man. Consider in what attitude you shall receive this prayer of mine (I offer it not only in a good, but in a noble spirit): "May gods and goddesses alike forbid that Fortune keep you in luxury!"

5. Ask yourself voluntarily which you would choose if some god gave you the choice – life in a café or life in a camp. And yet life, Lucilius, is really a battle. For this reason those who are tossed about at sea, who proceed uphill and downhill over toilsome crags and heights, who go on campaigns that bring the greatest danger, are heroes and front-rank fighters; but persons who live in rotten luxury and ease while others toil, are mere turtle-doves safe only because men despise them. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 97. On the Degeneracy of the Age

1. You are mistaken, my dear Lucilius, if you think that luxury, neglect of good manners, and other vices of which each man accuses the age in which he lives, are especially characteristic of our own epoch; no, they are the vices of mankind and not of the times. No era in history has ever been free from blame. Moreover, if you once begin to take account of the irregularities belonging to any particular era, you will find – to man's shame be it spoken – that sin never stalked abroad more openly than in Cato's very presence.

2. Would anyone believe that money changed hands in the trial when Clodius was defendant on the charge of secret adultery with Caesar's wife, when he violated the ritual of that sacrifice which is said to be offered on behalf of the people when all males are so rigorously removed outside the precinct, that even pictures of all male creatures are covered up? And yet, money was given to the jury, and, baser even than such a bargain, sexual crimes were demanded of married women and noble youths as a sort of additional contribution.

3. The charge involved less sin than the acquittal; for the defendant on a charge of adultery parcelled out the adulteries, and was not sure of his own safety until he had made the jury criminals like himself. All this was done at the trial in which Cato gave evidence, although that was his sole part therein.

I shall quote Cicero's actual words, because the facts are so bad as to pass belief:

4. "He made assignations, promises, pleas, and gifts. And more than this (merciful Heavens, what an abandoned state of affairs!) upon several of the jury, to round out their reward, he even bestowed the enjoyment of certain women and meetings with noble youths."

5. It is superfluous to be shocked at the bribe; the additions to the bribe were worse. "Will you have the wife of that prig, A.? Very good. Or of B., the millionaire? I will guarantee that you shall lie with her. If you fail to commit adultery, condemn Clodius. That beauty whom you desire shall visit you. I assure you a night in that woman's company without delay; my promise shall be carried out faithfully within the legal time of postponement." It means more to parcel out such crimes than to commit them; it means blackmailing dignified matrons.

6. These jurymen in the Clodius trial had asked the Senate for a guard – a favour which would have been necessary only for a jury about to convict the accused; and their request had been granted. Hence the witty remark of Catulus after the defendant had been acquitted: "Why did you ask us for the guard? Were you afraid of having your money stolen from you?" And yet, amid jests like these he got off unpunished who before the trial was an adulterer, during the trial a pander, and who escaped conviction more vilely than he deserved it.

7. Do you believe that anything could be more disgraceful than such moral standards – when lust could not keep its hands either from religious worship or from the courts of law, when, in the very inquiry which was held in special session by order of the Senate, more crime was committed than investigated? The question at issue was whether one could be safe after committing adultery; it was shown that one could not be safe without committing adultery!

8. All this bargaining took place in the presence of Pompey and Caesar, of Cicero and Cato, – yes, that very Cato whose presence, it is said, caused the people to refrain from demanding the usual quips and cranks of naked actresses at the Floralia*, – if you can believe that men were stricter in their conduct at a festival than in a court-room! Such things will be done in the future, as they have been done in the past; and the licentiousness of cities will sometimes abate through discipline and fear, never of itself. [* A plebeian festival, held April 28, in honour of Flora, an Italian divinity connected with Ceres and Venus.]

9. Therefore, you need not believe that it is we who have yielded most to lust and least to law. For the young men of to-day live far more simple lives than those of an epoch when a defendant would plead not guilty to an adultery charge before his judges, and his judges admit it before the defendant, when debauchery was practised to secure a verdict, and when Clodius, befriended by the very vices of which he was guilty, played the procurer during the actual hearing of the case. Could one believe this? He to whom one adultery brought condemnation was acquitted because of many.

10. All ages will produce men like Clodius, but not all ages men like Cato. We degenerate easily, because we lack neither guides nor associates in our wickedness, and the wickedness goes on of itself, even without guides or associates. The road to vice is not only downhill, but steep; and many men are rendered incorrigible by the fact that, while in all other crafts errors bring shame to good craftsmen and cause vexation to those who go astray, the errors of life are a positive source of pleasure.

11. The pilot is not glad when his ship is thrown on her beam-ends; the physician is not glad when he buries his patient; the orator is not glad when the defendant loses a case through the fault of his advocate; but on the other hand every man enjoys his own crimes. A. delights in an intrigue – for it was the very difficulty which attracted him thereto. B. delights in forgery and theft, and is only displeased with his sin when his sin has failed to hit the mark. And all this is the result of perverted habits.

12. Conversely, however, in order that you may know that there is an idea of good conduct present subconsciously in souls which have been led even into the most depraved ways, and that men are not ignorant of what evil is but indifferent – I say that all men hide their sins, and, even though the issue be successful, enjoy the results while concealing the sins themselves. A good conscience, however, wishes to come forth and be seen of men; wickedness fears the very shadows.

13. Hence I hold Epicurus's saying to be most apt: "That the guilty may haply remain hidden is possible, that he should be sure of remaining hidden is not possible," or, if you think that the meaning can be made more clear in this way: "The reason that it is no advantage to wrong-doers to remain hidden is that even though they have the good fortune they have not the assurance of remaining so." This is what I mean: crimes can be well guarded; free from anxiety they cannot be.

14. This view, I maintain, is not at variance with the principles of our school, if it be so explained. And why? Because the first and worst penalty for sin is to have committed sin; and crime, though Fortune deck it out with her favours, though she protect and take it in her charge, can never go unpunished; since the punishment of crime lies in the crime itself. But none the less do these second penalties press close upon the heels of the first – constant fear, constant terror, and distrust in one's own security. Why, then, should I set wickedness free from such a punishment? Why should I not always leave it trembling in the balance?

15. Let us disagree with Epicurus on the one point, when he declares that there is no natural justice, and that crime should be avoided because one cannot escape the fear which results therefrom; let us agree with him on the other – that bad deeds are lashed by the whip of conscience, and that conscience is tortured to the greatest degree because unending anxiety drives and whips it on, and it cannot rely upon the guarantors of its own peace of mind. For this, Epicurus, is the very proof that we are by nature reluctant to commit crime, because even in circumstances of safety there is no one who does not feel fear.

16. Good luck frees many men from punishment, but no man from fear. And why should this be if it were not that we have ingrained in us a loathing for that which Nature has condemned? Hence even men who hide their sins can never count upon remaining hidden; for their conscience convicts them and reveals them to themselves. But it is the property of guilt to be in fear. It had gone ill with us, owing to the many crimes which escape the vengeance of the law and the prescribed punishments, were it not that those grievous offences against nature must pay the penalty in ready money, and that in place of suffering the punishment comes fear. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 98. On the Fickleness of Fortune

1. You need never believe that anyone who depends upon happiness is happy! It is a fragile support – this delight in adventitious things; the joy which entered from without will some day depart. But that joy which springs wholly from oneself is leal and sound; it increases and attends us to the last; while all other things which provoke the admiration of the crowd are but temporary Goods. You may reply: "What do you mean? Cannot such things serve both for utility and for delight?" Of course. But only if they depend on us, and not we on them.

2. All things that Fortune looks upon become productive and pleasant, only if he who possesses them is in possession also of himself, and is not in the power of that which belongs to him. For men make a mistake, my dear Lucilius, if they hold that anything good, or evil either, is bestowed upon us by Fortune; it is simply the raw material of Goods and Ills that she gives to us – the sources of things which, in our keeping, will develop into good or ill. For the soul is more powerful than any sort of Fortune; by its own agency it guides its affairs in either direction, and of its own power it can produce a happy life, or a wretched one.

3. A bad man makes everything bad – even things which had come with the appearance of what is best; but the upright and honest man corrects the wrongs of Fortune, and softens hardship and bitterness because he knows how to endure them; he likewise accepts prosperity with appreciation and moderation, and stands up against trouble with steadiness and courage. Though a man be prudent, though he conduct all his interests with well-balanced judgement, though he attempt nothing beyond his strength, he will not attain the Good which is unalloyed and beyond the reach of threats, unless he is sure in dealing with that which is unsure.

4. For whether you prefer to observe other men (and it is easier to make up one's mind when judging the affairs of others), or whether you observe yourself, with all prejudice laid aside, you will perceive and acknowledge that there is no utility in all these desirable and beloved things, unless you equip yourself in opposition to the fickleness of chance and its consequences, and unless you repeat to yourself often and uncomplainingly, at every mishap, the words: "Heaven decreed it otherwise!"

5. Nay rather, to adopt a phrase which is braver and nearer the truth – one on which you may more safely prop your spirit – say to yourself, whenever things turn out contrary to your expectation: "Heaven decreed better!" If you are thus poised, nothing will affect you and a man will be thus poised if he reflects on the possible ups and downs in human affairs before he feels their force, and if he comes to regard children, or wife, or property, with the idea that he will not necessarily possess them always and that he will not be any more wretched just because he ceases to possess them.

6. It is tragic for the soul to be apprehensive of the future and wretched in anticipation of wretchedness, consumed with an anxious desire that the objects which give pleasure may remain in its possession to the very end. For such a soul will never be at rest; in waiting for the future it will lose the present blessings which it might enjoy. And there is no difference between grief for something lost and the fear of losing it.

7. But I do not for this reason advise you to be indifferent. Rather do you turn aside from you whatever may cause fear. Be sure to foresee whatever can be foreseen by planning. Observe and avoid, long before it happens, anything that is likely to do you harm. To effect this your best assistance will be a spirit of confidence and a mind strongly resolved to endure all things. He who can bear Fortune, can also beware of Fortune. At any rate, there is no dashing of billows when the sea is calm. And there is nothing more wretched or foolish than premature fear. What madness it is to anticipate one's troubles!

8. In fine, to express my thoughts in brief compass and portray to you those busybodies and self-tormentors – they are as uncontrolled in the midst of their troubles as they are before them. He suffers more than is necessary, who suffers before it is necessary; such men do not weigh the amount of their suffering, by reason of the same failing which prevents them from being ready for it; and with the same lack of restraint they fondly imagine that their luck will last for ever, and fondly imagine that their gains are bound to increase as well as merely continue. They forget this spring-board on which mortal things are tossed, and they guarantee for themselves exclusively a steady continuance of the gifts of chance.

9. For this very reason I regard as excellent the saying of Metrodorus, in a letter of consolation to his sister on the loss of her son, a lad of great promise: "All the Good of mortals is mortal." He is referring to those Goods towards which men rush in shoals. For the real Good does not perish; it is certain and lasting and it consists of wisdom and virtue; it is the only immortal thing that falls to mortal lot.

10. But men are so wayward, and so forgetful of their goal and of the point toward which every day jostles them, that they are surprised at losing anything, although some day they

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are bound to lose everything. Anything of which you are entitled the owner is in your possession but is not your own; for there is no strength in that which is weak, nor anything lasting and invincible in that which is frail. We must lose our lives as surely as we lose our property, and this, if we understand the truth, is itself a consolation. Lose it with equanimity; for you must lose your life also.

11. What resource do we find, then, in the face of these losses? Simply this – to keep in memory the things we have lost, and not to suffer the enjoyment which we have derived from them to pass away along with them. To have may be taken from us, to have had, never. A man is thankless in the highest degree if, after losing something, he feels no obligation for having received it. Chance robs us of the thing, but leaves us its use and its enjoyment – and we have lost this if we are so unfair as to regret.

12. Just say to yourself: "Of all these experiences that seem so frightful, none is insuperable. Separate trials have been overcome by many: fire by Mucius, crucifixion by Regulus, poison by Socrates, exile by Rutilius, and a sword-inflicted death by Cato; therefore, let us also overcome something."

13. Again, those objects which attract the crowd under the appearance of beauty and happiness, have been scorned by many men and on many occasions. Fabricius when he was general refused riches, and when he was censor branded them with disapproval. Tubero deemed poverty worthy both of himself and of the deity on the Capitol when, by the use of earthenware dishes at a public festival, he showed that man should be satisfied with that which the gods could still use. The elder Sextius rejected the honours of office; he was born with an obligation to take part in public affairs, and yet would not accept the broad stripe even when the deified Julius offered it to him. For he understood that what can be given can also be taken away. Let us also, therefore, carry out some courageous act of our own accord; let us be included among the ideal types of history.

14. Why have we been slack? Why do we lose heart? That which could be done, can be done, if only we purify our souls and follow Nature; for when one strays away from Nature one is compelled to crave, and fear, and be a slave to the things of chance. We may return to the true path; we may be restored to our proper state; let us therefore be so, in order that we may be able to endure pain, in whatever form it attacks our bodies, and say to Fortune: "You have to deal with a man; seek someone whom you can conquer!"

15. By these words, and words of a like kind, the malignity of the ulcer is quieted down; and I hope indeed that it can be reduced, and either cured or brought to a stop, and grow old along with the patient himself. I am, however, comfortable in my mind regarding him; what we are now discussing is our own loss – the taking-off of a most excellent old man. For he himself has lived a full life, and anything additional may be craved by him, not for his own sake, but for the sake of those who need his services.

16. In continuing to live, he deals generously. Some other person might have put an end to these sufferings; but our friend considers it no less base to flee from death than to flee towards death. "But," comes the answer, "if circumstances warrant, shall he not take his departure?" Of course, if he can no longer be of service to anyone, if all his business will be to deal with pain.

17. This, my dear Lucilius, is what we mean by studying philosophy while applying it, by practising it on truth – note what courage a prudent man possesses against death, or against pain, when the one approaches and the other weighs heavily. What ought to be done must be learned from one who does it.

18. Up to now we have dealt with arguments – whether any man can resist pain, or whether the approach of death can cast down even great souls. Why discuss it further? Here is an immediate fact for us to tackle – death does not make our friend braver to face pain, nor pain to face death. Rather does he trust himself in the face of both; he does not suffer with resignation because he hopes for death, nor does he die gladly because he is tired of suffering. Pain he endures, death he awaits. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 99. On Consolation to the Bereaved

1. I enclose a copy of the letter which I wrote to Marullus [Possibly Iunius Marullus, consul designatus in A.D. 62 (Tac. Ann. 14. 48).] at the time when he had lost his little son and was reported to be rather womanish in his grief – a letter in which I have not observed the usual form of condolence: for I did not believe that he should be handled gently, since in my opinion he deserved criticism rather than consolation. When a man is stricken and is finding it most difficult to endure a grievous wound, one must humour him for a while; let him satisfy his grief or at any rate work off the first shock;

2. but those who have assumed an indulgence in grief should be rebuked forthwith, and should learn that there are certain follies even in tears. "Is it solace that you look for? Let me give you a scolding instead! You are like a woman in the way you take your son's death; what would you do if you had lost an intimate friend? A son, a little child of unknown promise, is dead; a fragment of time has been lost.

3. We hunt out excuses for grief; we would even utter unfair complaints about Fortune, as if Fortune would never give us just reason for complaining! But I had really thought that you possessed spirit enough to deal with concrete troubles, to say nothing of the shadowy troubles over which men make moan through force of habit. Had you lost a friend (which is the greatest blow of all), you would have had to endeavour rather to rejoice because you had possessed him than to mourn because you had lost him.

4. "But many men fail to count up how manifold their gains have been, how great their rejoicings. Grief like yours has this among other evils: it is not only useless, but thankless. Has it then all been for nothing that you have had such a friend? During so many years, amid such close associations, after such intimate communion of personal interests, has nothing been accomplished? Do you bury friendship along with a friend? And why lament having lost him, if it be of no avail to have possessed him? Believe me, a great part of those we have loved, though chance has removed their persons, still abides with us. The past is ours, and there is nothing more secure for us than that which has been.

5. We are ungrateful for past gains, because we hope for the future, as if the future – if so be that any future is ours – will not be quickly blended with the past. People set a narrow limit to their enjoyments if they take pleasure only in the present; both the future and the past serve for our delight – the one with anticipation, and the other with memories but the one is contingent and may not come to pass, while the other must have been. "What madness it is, therefore, to lose our grip on that which is the surest thing of all? Let us rest content with the pleasures we have quaffed in past days, if only, while we quaffed them, the soul was not pierced like a sieve, only to lose again whatever it had received.

6. There are countless cases of men who have without tears buried sons in the prime of manhood – men who have returned from the funeral pyre to the Senate chamber, or to any other official duties, and have straightway busied themselves with something else. And rightly; for in the first place it is idle to grieve if you get no help from grief. In the second place, it is unfair to complain about what has happened to one man but is in store for all. Again, it is foolish to lament one's loss, when there is such a slight interval between the lost and the loser. Hence we should be more resigned in spirit, because we follow closely those whom we have lost.

7. "Note the rapidity of Time – that swiftest of things; consider the shortness of the course along which we hasten at top speed; mark this throng of humanity, all straining toward the same point with briefest intervals between them – even when they seem longest; he whom you count as passed away has simply posted on ahead. And what is more irrational than to bewail your predecessor, when you yourself must travel on the same journey?

8. Does a man bewail an event which he knew would take place? Or, if he did not think of death as man's lot, he has but cheated himself. Does a man bewail an event which he has been admitting to be unavoidable? Whoever complains about the death of anyone, is complaining that he was a man. Everyone is bound by the same terms: he who is privileged to be born, is destined to die.

9. Periods of time separate us, but death levels us. The period which lies between our first day and our last is shifting and uncertain: if you reckon it by its troubles, it is long even to a lad, if by its speed, it is scanty even to a greybeard. Everything is slippery, treacherous, and more shifting than any weather. All things are tossed about and shift into their opposites at the bidding of Fortune; amid such a turmoil of mortal affairs nothing but death is surely in store for anyone. And yet all men complain about the one thing wherein none of them is deceived.

10. 'But he died in boyhood.' I am not yet prepared to say that he who quickly comes to the end of his life has the better of the bargain; let us turn to consider the case of him who has grown to old age. How very little is he superior to the child! Place before your mind's eye the vast spread of time's abyss, and consider the universe; and then contrast our so-called human life with infinity: you will then see how scant is that for which we pray, and which we seek to lengthen.

11. How much of this time is taken up with weeping, how much with worry! How much with prayers for death before death arrives, how much with our health, how much with our fears! How much is occupied by our years of inexperience or of useless endeavour! And half of all this time is wasted in sleeping. Add, besides, our toils, our griefs, our dangers – and you will comprehend that even in the longest life real living is the least portion thereof.

12. Nevertheless, who will make such an admission as: 'A man is not better off who is allowed to return home quickly, whose journey is accomplished before he is wearied out'? Life is neither a Good nor an Evil; it is simply the place where good and evil exist. Hence this little boy has lost nothing except a hazard where loss was more assured than gain. He might have turned out temperate and prudent; he might, with your fostering care, have been moulded to a better standard; but (and this fear is more reasonable) he might have become just like the many.

13. Note the youths of the noblest lineage whose extravagance has flung them into the arena; note those men who cater to the passions of themselves and others in mutual lust, whose days never pass without drunkenness or some signal act of shame; it will thus be clear to you that there was more to fear than to hope for. "For this reason you ought not to invite excuses for grief or aggravate slight burdens by getting indignant.

14. I am not exhorting you to make an effort and rise to great heights; for my opinion of you is not so low as to make me think that it is necessary for you to summon every bit of your virtue to face this trouble. Yours is not pain; it is a mere sting – and it is you yourself who are turning it into pain. "Of a surety philosophy has done you much service if you can bear courageously the loss of a boy who was as yet better known to his nurse than to his father!

15. And what, then? Now, at this time, am I advising you to be hard-hearted, desiring you to keep your countenance unmoved at the very funeral ceremony, and not allowing your soul even to feel the pinch of pain? By no means. That would mean lack of feeling rather than virtue – to behold the burial ceremonies of those near and dear to you with the same expression as you beheld their living forms, and to show no emotion over the first bereavement in your family. But suppose that I forbade you to show emotion; there are certain feelings which claim their own rights. Tears fall, no matter how we try to check them, and by being shed they ease the soul.

16. What, then, shall we do? Let us allow them to fall, but let us not command them do so; let us weep according as emotion floods our eyes, but not as much as mere imitation shall demand. Let us, indeed, add nothing to natural grief, nor augment it by following the example of others. The display of grief makes more demands than grief itself: how few men are sad in their own company! They lament the louder for being heard; persons who are reserved and silent when alone are stirred to new paroxysms of tears when they behold others near them! At such times they lay violent hands upon their own persons, – though they might have done this more easily if no one were present to check them; at such times they pray for death; at such times they toss themselves from their couches. But their grief slackens with the departure of onlookers.

17. In this matter, as in others also, we are obsessed by this fault – conforming to the pattern of the many, and regarding convention rather than duty. We abandon nature and surrender to the mob – who are never good advisers in anything, and in this respect as in all others are most inconsistent. People see a man who bears his grief bravely: they call him undutiful and savage-hearted; they see a man who collapses and clings to his dead: they call him womanish and weak.

18. Everything, therefore, should be referred to reason. But nothing is more foolish than to court a reputation for sadness and to sanction tears; for I hold that with a wise man some tears fall by consent, others by their own force.

"I shall explain the difference as follows: When the first news of some bitter loss has shocked us, when we embrace the form that will soon pass from our arms to the funeral flames – then tears are wrung from us by the necessity of Nature, and the life-force, smitten by the stroke of grief, shakes both the whole body, and the eyes also, from which it presses out and causes to flow the moisture that lies within.

19. Tears like these fall by a forcing-out process, against our will; but different are the tears which we allow to escape when we muse in memory upon those whom we have lost. And there is in them a certain sweet sadness when we remember the sound of a pleasant voice, a genial conversation, and the busy duties of yore; at such a time the eyes are loosened, as it were, with joy. This sort of weeping we indulge; the former sort overcomes us.

20. "There is, then, no reason why, just because a group of persons is standing in your presence or sitting at your side, you should either check or pour forth your tears; whether restrained or outpoured, they are never so disgraceful as when feigned. Let them flow naturally. But it is possible for tears to flow from the eyes of those who are quiet and at peace. They often flow without impairing the influence of the wise man – with such restraint that they show no want either of feeling or of self-respect.

21. We may, I assure you, obey Nature and yet maintain our dignity. I have seen men worthy of reverence, during the burial of those near and dear, with countenances upon which love was written clear even after the whole apparatus of mourning was removed, and who showed no other conduct than that which was allowed to genuine emotion. There is a comeliness even in grief. This should be cultivated by the wise man; even in tears, just as in other matters also, there is a certain sufficiency; it is with the unwise that sorrows, like joys, gush over.

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22. "Accept in an unruffled spirit that which is inevitable. What can happen that is beyond belief? Or what that is new? How many men at this very moment are making arrangements for funerals! How many are purchasing grave-clothes! How many are mourning, when you yourself have finished mourning! As often as you reflect that your boy has ceased to be, reflect also upon man, who has no sure promise of anything, whom Fortune does not inevitably escort to the confines of old age, but lets him go at whatever point she sees fit.

23. You may, however, speak often concerning the departed, and cherish his memory to the extent of your power. This memory will return to you all the more often if you welcome its coming without bitterness; for no man enjoys converse with one who is sorrowful, much less with sorrow itself. And whatever words, whatever jests of his, no matter how much of a child he was, may have given you pleasure to hear – these I would have you recall again and again; assure yourself confidently that he might have fulfilled the hopes which you, his father, had entertained.

24. Indeed, to forget the beloved dead, to bury their memory along with their bodies, to bewail them bounteously and afterwards think of them but scantily – this is the mark of a soul below that of man. For that is the way in which birds and beasts love their young; their affection is quickly roused and almost reaches madness, but it cools away entirely when its object dies. This quality does not befit a man of sense; he should continue to remember, but should cease to mourn.

25. And in no wise do I approve of the remark of Metrodorus – that there is a certain pleasure akin to sadness, and that one should give chase thereto at such times as these. I am quoting the actual words of Metrodorus

26. I have no doubt what your feelings will be in these matters; for what is baser than to 'chase after' pleasure in the very midst of mourning – nay rather by means of mourning – and even amid one's tears to hunt out that which will give pleasure? These are the men who accuse us [i.e. the Stoics.] of too great strictness, slandering our precepts because of supposed harshness – because (say they) we declare that grief should either not be given place in the soul at all, or else should be driven out forthwith. But which is the more incredible or inhuman – to feel no grief at the loss of one's friend, or to go a-hawking after pleasure in the midst of grief?

27. That which we Stoics advise, is honourable; when emotion has prompted a moderate flow of tears, and has, so to speak, ceased to effervesce, the soul should not be surrendered to grief. But what do you mean, Metrodorus, by saying that with our very grief there should be a blending of pleasure? That is the sweetmeat method of pacifying children; that is the way we still the cries of infants, by pouring milk down their throats! "Even at the moment when your son's body is on the pyre, or your friend breathing his last, will you not suffer your pleasure to cease, rather than tickle your very grief with pleasure? Which is the more honourable – to remove grief from your soul, or to admit pleasure even into the company of grief? Did I say 'admit'? Nay, I mean 'chase after,' and from the hands, too, of grief itself.

28. Metrodorus says: 'There is a certain pleasure which is related to sadness.' We Stoics may say that, but you may not. The only Good which you recognize, is pleasure, and the only Evil, pain; and what relationship can there be between a Good and an Evil? But suppose that such a relationship does exist; now, of all times, is it to be rooted out? Shall we examine grief also, and see with what elements of delight and pleasure it is surrounded?

29. Certain remedies, which are beneficial for some parts of the body, cannot be applied to other parts because these are, in a way, revolting and unfit; and that which in certain cases would work to a good purpose without any loss to one's self-respect, may become unseemly because of the situation of the wound. Are you not, similarly, ashamed to cure sorrow by pleasure? No, this sore spot must be treated in a more drastic way. This is what you should preferably advise: that no sensation of evil can reach one who is dead; for if it can reach him, he is not dead.

30. And I say that nothing can hurt him who is as naught; for if a man can be hurt, he is alive. Do you think him to be badly off because he is no more, or because he still exists as somebody? And yet no torment can come to him from the fact that he is no more – for what feeling can belong to one who does not exist? – nor from the fact that he exists; for he has escaped the greatest disadvantage that death has in it – namely, non-existence.

31. "Let us say this also to him who mourns and misses the untimely dead: that all of us, whether young or old, live, in comparison with eternity, on the same level as regards our shortness of life. For out of all time there comes to us less than what any one could call least, since 'least' is at any rate some part; but this life of ours is next to nothing, and yet (fools that we are!), we marshal it in broad array!

32. "These words I have written to you, not with the idea that you should expect a cure from me at such a late date – for it is clear to me that you have told yourself everything that you will read in my letter – but with the idea that I should rebuke you even for the slight delay during which you lapsed from your true self, and should encourage you for the future, to rouse your spirit against Fortune and to be on the watch for all her missiles, not as if they might possibly come, but as if they were bound to come." Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 100. On the Writings of Fabianus

1. You write me that you have read with the greatest eagerness the work by Fabianus Papirius entitled The Duties of a Citizen, and that it did not come up to your expectations; then, forgetting that you are dealing with a philosopher, you proceed to criticize his style.

Suppose, now, that your statement is true – that he pours forth rather than places his words; let me, however, tell you at the start that this trait of which you speak has a peculiar charm, and that it is a grace appropriate to a smoothly-gliding style. For, I maintain, it matters a great deal whether it tumbles forth, or flows along. Moreover, there is a deal of difference in this regard also – as I shall make clear to you:

2. Fabianus seems to me to have not so much an "efflux" as a "flow" of words: so copious is it, without confusion, and yet not without speed. This is indeed what his style declares and announces – that he has not spent a long time in working his matter over and twisting it into shape. But even supposing the facts are as you would have them; the man was building up character rather than words, and was writing those words for the mind rather than for the ear.

3. Besides, had he been speaking them in his own person, you would not have had time to consider the details – the whole work would have so swept you along. For as a rule that which pleases by its swiftness is of less value when taken in hand for reading.

Nevertheless, this very quality, too, of attracting at first sight is a great advantage, no matter whether careful investigation may discover something to criticize.

4. If you ask me, I should say that he who has forced approval is greater than he who has earned it; and yet I know that the latter is safer, I know that he can give more confident guarantees for the future. A meticulous manner of writing does not suit the philosopher; if he is timid as to words, when will he ever be brave and steadfast, when will he ever really show his worth?

5. Fabianus's style was not careless, it was assured. That is why you will find nothing shoddy in his work: his words are well chosen and yet not hunted for; they are not unnaturally inserted and inverted, according to the present-day fashion; but they possess distinction, even though they are taken from ordinary speech. There you have honourable and splendid ideas, not fettered into aphorisms, but spoken with greater freedom. We shall of course notice passages that are not sufficiently pruned, not constructed with sufficient care, and lacking the polish which is in vogue nowadays; but after regarding the whole, you will see that there are no futile subtleties of argument.

6. There may, doubtless, be no variety of marbles, no water-supply which flows from one apartment to another, no "pauper-rooms," or any other device that luxury adds when ill content with simple charms; but, in the vulgar phrase, it is "a good house to live in." Furthermore, opinions vary with regard to the style. Some wish it to be polished down from all roughness; and some take so great a pleasure in the abrupt manner that they would intentionally break up any passage which may by chance spread itself out more smoothly, scattering the closing words in such a way that the sentences may result unexpectedly.

7. Read Cicero: his style has unity; it moves with a modulated pace, and is gentle without being degenerate. The style of Asinius Pollio, on the other hand, is "bumpy," jerky, leaving off when you least expect it. And finally, Cicero always stops gradually; while Pollio breaks off, except in the very few cases where he cleaves to a definite rhythm and a single pattern.

8. In addition to this, you say that everything in Fabianus seems to you commonplace and lacking in elevation; but I myself hold that he is free from such a fault. For that style of his is not commonplace, but simply calm and adjusted to his peaceful and well-ordered mind – not on a low level but on an even plane. There is lacking the verve and spur of the orator (for which you are looking), and a sudden shock of epigrams. But look, please, at the whole work, how well-ordered it is: there is a distinction in it. His style does not possess, but will suggest, dignity.

9. Mention someone whom you may rank ahead of Fabianus. Cicero, let us say, whose books on philosophy are almost as numerous as those of Fabianus. I will concede this point; but it is no slight thing to be less than the greatest. Or Asinius Pollio, let us say. I will yield again, and content myself by replying: "It is a distinction to be third in so great a field." You may also include Livy; for Livy wrote both dialogues (which should be ranked as history no less than as philosophy), and works which professedly deal with philosophy. I shall yield in the case of Livy also. But consider how many writers Fabianus outranks, if he is surpassed by three only – and those three the greatest masters of eloquence!

10. But, it may be said, he does not offer everything: though his style is elevated, it is not strong; though it flows forth copiously, it lacks force and sweep; it is not translucent, but it is lucid. "One would fail," you urge, "to find therein any rugged denunciation of vice, any courageous words in the face of danger, any proud defiance of Fortune, any scornful threats against self-seeking. I wish to see luxury rebuked, lust condemned, waywardness crushed out. Let him show us the keenness of oratory, the loftiness of tragedy, the subtlety of comedy." You wish him to rely on that pettiest of things, phraseology; but he has sworn allegiance to the greatness of his subject and draws eloquence after him as a sort of shadow, but not of set purpose.

11. Our author will doubtless not investigate every detail, nor subject it to analysis, nor inspect and emphasize each separate word. This I admit. Many phrases will fall short, or will fail to strike home, and at times the style will slip along indolently; but there will be plenty of light throughout the work; there will be long stretches which will not weary the reader. And, finally, he will offer this quality of making it clear to you that he meant what he wrote. You will understand that his aim was to have you know what pleased him, rather than that he should please you. All his work makes for progress and for sanity, without any search for applause.

12. I do not doubt that his writings are of the kind I have described, although I am harking back to him rather than retaining a sure memory of him, and although the general tone of his writings remains in my mind, not from a careful and recent perusal, but in outline, as is natural after an acquaintance of long ago. But certainly, whenever I heard him lecture, such did his work seem to me – not solid but full, the kind which would inspire young men of promise and rouse their ambition to become like him, without making them hopeless of surpassing him; and this method of encouragement seems to me the most helpful of all. For it is disheartening to inspire in a man the desire, and to take away from him the hope, of emulation. At any rate, his language was fluent, and though one might not approve every detail, the general effect was noble. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 101. On the Futility of Planning Ahead

1. Every day and every hour reveal to us what a nothing we are, and remind us with some fresh evidence that we have forgotten our weakness; then, as we plan for eternity, they compel us to look over our shoulders at Death. Do you ask me what this preamble means? It refers to Cornelius Senecio, a distinguished and capable Roman knight, whom you knew: from humble beginnings he had advanced himself to fortune, and the rest of the path already lay downhill before him. For it is easier to grow in dignity than to make a start;

2. and money is very slow to come where there is poverty; until it can creep out of that, it goes halting. Senecio was already bordering upon wealth, helped in that direction by two very powerful assets – knowing how to make money and how to keep it also; either one of these gifts might have made him a rich man.

3. Here was a person who lived most simply, careful of health and wealth alike. He had, as usual, called upon me early in the morning, and had then spent the whole day, even up to nightfall, at the bedside of a friend who was seriously and hopelessly ill. After a comfortable dinner, he was suddenly seized with an acute attack of quinsy, and, with the breath clogged tightly in his swollen throat, barely lived until daybreak. So within a very few hours after the time when he had been performing all the duties of a sound and healthy man, he passed away.

4. He who was venturing investments by land and sea, who had also entered public life and left no type of business untried, during the very realization of financial success and during the very onrush of the money that flowed into his coffers, was snatched from the world!

Graft now thy pears, Meliboeus, and set out thy vines in their order!

But how foolish it is to set out one's life, when one is not even owner of the morrow! O what madness it is to plot out far-reaching hopes! To say: "I will buy and build, loan and call in money, win titles of honour, and then, old and full of years, I will surrender myself to a life of ease."

5. Believe me when I say that everything is doubtful, even for those who are prosperous. No one has any right to draw for himself upon the future. The very thing that we grasp slips through our hands, and chance cuts into the actual hour which we are crowding so full. Time does indeed roll along by fixed law, but as in darkness; and what is it to me whether Nature's course is sure, when my own is unsure?

6. We plan distant voyages and long-postponed home-comings after roaming over foreign shores, we plan for military service and the slow rewards of hard campaigns, we canvass for governorships and the promotions of one office after another – and all the while death stands at our side; but since we never think of it except as it affects our neighbour, instances of mortality press upon us day by day, to remain in our minds only as long as they stir our wonder.

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7. Yet what is more foolish than to wonder that something which may happen every day has happened on any one day? There is indeed a limit fixed for us, just where the remorseless law of Fate has fixed it; but none of us knows how near he is to this limit. Therefore, let us so order our minds as if we had come to the very end. Let us postpone nothing. Let us balance life's account every day.

8. The greatest flaw in life is that it is always imperfect, and that a certain part of it is postponed. One who daily puts the finishing touches to his life is never in want of time. And yet, from this want arise fear and a craving for the future which eats away the mind. There is nothing more wretched than worry over the outcome of future events; as to the amount or the nature of that which remains, our troubled minds are set a-flutter with unaccountable fear.

9. How, then, shall we avoid this vacillation? In one way only, – if there be no reaching forward in our life, if it is withdrawn into itself. For he only is anxious about the future, to whom the present is unprofitable. But when I have paid my soul its due, when a soundly-balanced mind knows that a day differs not a whit from eternity – whatever days or problems the future may bring – then the soul looks forth from lofty heights and laughs heartily to itself when it thinks upon the ceaseless succession of the ages. For what disturbance can result from the changes and the instability of Chance, if you are sure in the face of that which is unsure?

10. Therefore, my dear Lucilius, begin at once to live, and count each separate day as a separate life. He who has thus prepared himself, he whose daily life has been a rounded whole, is easy in his mind; but those who live for hope alone find that the immediate future always slips from their grasp and that greed steals along in its place, and the fear of death, a curse which lays a curse upon everything else. Thence came that most debased of prayers, in which Maecenas does not refuse to suffer weakness, deformity, and as a climax the pain of crucifixion provided only that he may prolong the breath of life amid these sufferings:

11. Fashion me with a palsied hand,
Weak of foot, and a cripple;
Build upon me a crook-backed hump;
Shake my teeth till they rattle;
All is well, if my life remains.
Save, oh, save it, I pray you,
Though I sit on the piercing cross!

12. There he is, praying for that which, if it had befallen him, would be the most pitiable thing in the world! And seeking a postponement of suffering, as if he were asking for life! I should deem him most despicable had he wished to live up to the very time of crucifixion: "Nay," he cries, "you may weaken my body if you will only leave the breath of life in my battered and ineffective carcase! Maim me if you will, but allow me, misshapen and deformed as I may be, just a little more time in the world! You may nail me up and set my seat upon the piercing cross!" Is it worth while to weigh down upon one's own wound, and hang impaled upon a gibbet, that one may but postpone something which is the balm of troubles, the end of punishment? Is it worth all this to possess the breath of life only to give it up?

13. What would you ask for Maecenas but the indulgence of Heaven? What does he mean by such womanish and indecent verse? What does he mean by making terms with panic fear? What does he mean by begging so vilely for life? He cannot ever have heard Vergil read the words:

Tell me, is Death so wretched as that?

He asks for the climax of suffering, and – what is still harder to bear – prolongation and extension of suffering; and what does he gain thereby? Merely the boon of a longer existence. But what sort of life is a lingering death?

14. Can anyone be found who would prefer wasting away in pain, dying limb by limb, or letting out his life drop by drop, rather than expiring once for all? Can any man be found willing to be fastened to the accursed tree, long sickly, already deformed, swelling with ugly tumours on chest and shoulders, and draw the breath of life amid long-drawn-out agony? I think he would have many excuses for dying even before mounting the cross!

Deny, now, if you can, that Nature is very generous in making death inevitable.

15. Many men have been prepared to enter upon still more shameful bargains: to betray friends in order to live longer themselves, or voluntarily to debase their children and so enjoy the light of day which is witness of all their sins. We must get rid of this craving for life, and learn that it makes no difference when your suffering comes, because at some time you are bound to suffer. The point is, not how long you live, but how nobly you live. And often this living nobly means that you cannot live long. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 102. On the Intimations of Our Immortality

1. Just as a man is annoying when he rouses a dreamer of pleasant dreams (for he is spoiling a pleasure which may be unreal but nevertheless has the appearance of reality), even so your letter has done me an injury. For it brought me back abruptly, absorbed as I was in agreeable meditation and ready to proceed still further if it had been permitted me.

2. I was taking pleasure in investigating the immortality of souls, nay, in believing that doctrine. For I was lending a ready ear to the opinions of the great authors, who not only approve but promise this most pleasing condition. I was giving myself over to such a noble hope; for I was already weary of myself, beginning already to despise the fragments of my shattered existence*, and feeling that I was destined to pass over into that infinity of time and the heritage of eternity, when I was suddenly awakened by the receipt of your letter, and lost my lovely dream. But, if I can once dispose of you, I shall reseek and rescue it. [* Seneca, worn out by his political experiences, was at this time not less than sixty-seven years of age.]

3. There was a remark, at the beginning of your letter, that I had not explained the whole problem – wherein I was endeavouring to prove one of the beliefs of our school, that the renown which falls to one's lot after death is a good; for I had not solved the problem with which we are usually confronted: "No good can consist of things that are distinct and separate; yet renown consists of such things."

4. What you are asking about, my dear Lucilius, belongs to another topic of the same subject, and that is why I had postponed the arguments, not only on this one topic, but on other topics which also covered the same ground. For, as you know, certain logical questions are mingled with ethical ones. Accordingly, I handled the essential part of my subject which has to do with conduct – as to whether it is foolish and useless to be concerned with what lies beyond our last day, or whether our goods die with us and there is nothing left of him who is no more, or whether any profit can be attained or attempted beforehand out of that which, when it comes, we shall not be capable of feeling.

5. All these things have a view to conduct, and therefore they have been inserted under the proper topic. But the remarks of dialecticians in opposition to this idea had to be sifted out, and were accordingly laid aside. Now that you demand an answer to them all, I shall examine all their statements, and then refute them singly.

6. Unless, however, I make a preliminary remark, it will be impossible to understand my rebuttals. And what is that preliminary remark? Simply this: there are certain continuous bodies, such as a man; there are certain composite bodies, – as ships, houses, and everything which is the result of joining separate parts into one sum total: there are certain others made up of things that are distinct, each member remaining separate – like an army, a populace, or a senate. For the persons who go to make up such bodies are united by virtue of law or function; but by their nature they are distinct and individual. Well, what further prefatory remarks do I still wish to make?

7. Simply this: we believe that nothing is a good, if it be composed of things that are distinct. For a single good should be checked and controlled by a single soul; and the essential quality of each single good should be single. This can be proved of itself whenever you desire; in the meanwhile, however, it had to be laid aside, because our own weapons are being hurled at us.

8. Opponents speak thus: "You say, do you, that no good can be made up of things that are distinct? Yet this renown, of which you speak, is simply the favourable opinion of good men. For just as reputation does not consist of one person's remarks, and as ill repute does not consist of one person's disapproval, so renown does not mean that we have merely pleased one good person. In order to constitute renown, the agreement of many distinguished and praiseworthy men is necessary. But this results from the decision of a number – in other words, of persons who are distinct. Therefore, it is not a good.

9. You say, again, that renown is the praise rendered to a good man by good men. Praise means speech: now speech is utterance with a particular meaning; and utterance, even from the lips of good men, is not a good in itself. For any act of a good man is not necessarily a good; he shouts his applause and hisses his disapproval, but one does not call the shouting or the hissing good – although his entire conduct may be admired and praised – any more than one would applaud a sneeze or a cough. Therefore, renown is not a good.

10. Finally, tell us whether the good belongs to him who praises, or to him who is praised: if you say that the good belongs to him who is praised, you are on as foolish a quest as if you were to maintain that my neighbour's good health is my own. But to praise worthy men is an honourable action; thus the good is exclusively that of the man who does the praising, of the man who performs the action, and not of us, who are being praised. And yet this was the question under discussion."

11. I shall now answer the separate objections hurriedly. The first question still is, whether any good can consist of things that are distinct – and there are votes cast on both sides. Again, does renown need many votes? Renown can be satisfied with the decision of one good man: it is one good man who decides that we are good.

12. Then the retort is: "What! Would you define reputation as the esteem of one individual, and ill-repute as the rancorous chatter of one man? Glory, too, we take to be more widespread, for it demands the agreement of many men." But the position of the "many" is different from that of "the one." And why? Because, if the good man thinks well of me, it practically amounts to my being thought well of by all good men; for they will all think the same, if they know me. Their judgement is alike and identical; the effect of truth on it is equal. They cannot disagree, which means that they would all hold the same view, being unable to hold different views.

13. "One man's opinion," you say, "is not enough to create glory or reputation." In the former case, one judgement is a universal judgement, because all, if they were asked, would hold one opinion; in the other case, however, men of dissimilar character give divergent judgements. You will find perplexing emotions – everything doubtful, inconstant, untrustworthy. And can you suppose that all men are able to hold one opinion? Even an individual does not hold to a single opinion. With the good man it is truth that causes belief, and truth has but one function and one likeness; while among the second class of which I spoke, the ideas with which they agree are unsound. Moreover, those who are false are never steadfast: they are irregular and discordant.

14. "But praise," says the objector, "is nothing but an utterance, and an utterance is not a good." When they say that renown is praise bestowed on the good by the good, what they refer to is not an utterance but a judgement. For a good man may remain silent; but if he decides that a certain person is worthy, of praise, that person is the object of praise.

15. Besides, praise is one thing, and the giving of praise another; the latter demands utterance also. Hence no one speaks of "a funeral praise," but says "praise-giving" – for its function depends upon speech. And when we say that a man is worthy of praise, we assure human kindness to him, not in words, but in judgement. So the good opinion, even of one who in silence feels inward approval of a good man, is praise.

16. Again, as I have said, praise is a matter of the mind rather than of the speech; for speech brings out the praise that the mind has conceived, and publishes it forth to the attention of the many. To judge a man worthy of praise, is to praise him. And when our tragic poet sings to us that it is wonderful "to be praised by a well-praised hero," he means, "by one who is worthy of praise." Again, when an equally venerable bard says: "Praise nurtureth the arts," he does not mean the giving of praise, for that spoils the arts. Nothing has corrupted oratory and all other studies that depend on hearing so much as popular approval.

17. Reputation necessarily demands words, but renown can be content with men's judgements, and suffice without the spoken word. It is satisfied not only amid silent approval, but even in the face of open protest. There is, in my opinion, this difference between renown and glory – the latter depends upon the judgements of the many; but renown on the judgements of good men.

18. The retort comes: "But whose good is this renown, this praise rendered to a good man by good men? Is it of the one praised, or of the one who praises?" Of both, I say. It is my own good, in that I am praised, because I am naturally born to love all men, and I rejoice in having done good deeds and congratulate myself on having found men who express their ideas of my virtues with gratitude; that they are grateful, is a good to the many, but it is a good to me also. For my spirit is so ordered that I can regard the good of other men as my own – in any case those of whose good I am myself the cause.

19. This good is also the good of those who render the praise, for it is applied by means of virtue; and every act of virtue is a good. My friends could not have found this blessing if I had not been a man of the right stamp. It is therefore a good belonging to both sides – this being praised when one deserves it – just as truly as a good decision is the good of him who makes the decision and also of him in whose favour the decision was given. Do you doubt that justice is a blessing to its possessor, as well as to the man to whom the just due was paid? To praise the deserving is justice; therefore, the good belongs to both sides.

20. This will be a sufficient answer to such dealers in subtleties. But it should not be our purpose to discuss things cleverly and to drag Philosophy down from her majesty to such petty quibbles. How much better it is to follow the open and direct road, rather than to map out for yourself a circuitous route which you must retrace with infinite trouble! For such argumentation is nothing else than the sport of men who are skilfully juggling with each other.

21. Tell me rather how closely in accord with nature it is to let one's mind reach out into the boundless universe! The human soul is a great and noble thing; it permits of no limits except those which can be shared even by the gods. First of all, it does not consent to a lowly birthplace, like Ephesus or Alexandria, or any land that is even more thickly populated than these, and more richly spread with dwellings. The soul's homeland is the whole space that encircles the, height and breadth of the firmament, the whole rounded dome within which lie land and sea, within which the upper air that

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sunders the human from the divine also unites them, and where all the sentinel stars are taking their turn on duty.

22. Again, the soul will not put up with a narrow span of existence. "All the years," says the soul, "are mine; no epoch is closed to great minds; all Time is open for the progress of thought. When the day comes to separate the heavenly from its earthly blend, I shall leave the body here where I found it, and shall of my own volition betake myself to the gods. I am not apart from them now, but am merely detained in a heavy and earthly prison."

23. These delays of mortal existence are a prelude to the longer and better life. As the mother's womb holds us for ten months, making us ready, not for the womb itself, but for the existence into which we seem to be sent forth when at last we are fitted to draw breath and live in the open; just so, throughout the years extending between infancy and old age, we are making ourselves ready for another birth. A different beginning, a different condition, await us.

24. We cannot yet, except at rare intervals, endure the light of heaven; therefore, look forward without fearing to that appointed hour, – the last hour of the body but not of the soul. Survey everything that lies about you, as if it were luggage in a guest-chamber: you must travel on. Nature strips you as bare at your departure as at your entrance.

25. You may take away no more than you brought in; what is more, you must throw away the major portion of that which you brought with you into life: you will be stripped of the very skin which covers you – that which has been your last protection; you will be stripped of the flesh, and lose the blood which is suffused and circulated through your body; you will be stripped of bones and sinews, the framework of these transitory and feeble parts.

26. That day, which you fear as being the end of all things, is the birthday of your eternity. Lay aside your burden – why delay? – just as if you had not previously left the body which was your hiding-place! You cling to your burden, you struggle; at your birth also great effort was necessary on your mother's part to set you free. You weep and wail; and yet this very weeping happens at birth also; but then it was to be excused – for you came into the world wholly ignorant and inexperienced. When you left the warm and cherishing protection of your mother's womb, a freer air breathed into your face; then you winced at the touch of a rough hand, and you looked in amaze at unfamiliar objects, still delicate and ignorant of all things.

27. But now it is no new thing for you to be sundered from that of which you have previously been a part; let go your already useless limbs with resignation and dispense with that body in which you have dwelt for so long. It will be torn asunder, buried out of sight, and wasted away. Why be downcast? This is what ordinarily happens: when we are born, the afterbirth always perishes. Why love such a thing as if it were your own possession? It was merely your covering. The day will come which will tear you forth and lead you away from the company of the foul and noisome womb.

28. Withdraw from it now too* as much as you can, and withdraw from pleasure, except such as may be bound up with essential and important things; estrange yourself from it even now, and ponder on something nobler and loftier. Some day the secrets of nature shall be disclosed to you, the haze will be shaken from your eyes, and the bright light will stream in upon you from all sides. [*The departure from life is compared to the release from the womb. There is also possibly a double meaning implied in the word venter.] Picture to yourself how great is the glow when all the stars mingle their fires; no shadows will disturb the clear sky. The whole expanse of heaven will shine evenly; for day and night are interchanged only in the lowest atmosphere. Then you will say that you have lived in darkness, after you have seen, in your perfect state, the perfect light – that light which now you behold darkly with vision that is cramped to the last degree. And yet, far off as it is, you already look upon it in wonder; what do you think the heavenly light will be when you have seen it in its proper sphere?

29. Such thoughts permit nothing mean to settle in the soul, nothing low, nothing cruel. They maintain that the gods are witnesses of everything. They order us to meet the gods' approval, to prepare ourselves to join them at some future time, and to plan for immortality. He that has grasped this idea shrinks from no attacking army, is not terrified by the trumpet-blast, and is intimidated by no threats.

30. How should it not be that a man feels no fear, if he looks forward to death? He also who believes that the soul abides only as long as it is fettered in the body, scatters it abroad forthwith when dissolved, so that it may be useful even after death. For though he is taken from men's sight, still

Often our thoughts run back to the hero, and often the glory

Won by his race recurs to the mind.

Consider how much we are helped by good example; you will thus understand that the presence of a noble man is of no less service than his memory. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 103. On the Dangers of Association with our Fellow-Men

1. Why are you looking about for troubles which may perhaps come your way, but which may indeed not come your way at all? I mean fires, falling buildings, and other accidents of the sort that are mere events rather than plots against us. Rather beware and shun those troubles which dog our steps and reach out their hands against us. Accidents, though they may be serious, are few – such as being shipwrecked or thrown from one's carriage; but it is from his fellow-man that a man's everyday danger comes. Equip yourself against that; watch that with an attentive eye. There is no evil more frequent, no evil more persistent, no evil more insinuating.

2. Even the storm, before it gathers, gives a warning; houses crack before they crash; and smoke is the forerunner of fire. But damage from man is instantaneous, and the nearer it comes the more carefully it is concealed. You are wrong to trust the countenances of those you meet. They have the aspect of men, but the souls of brutes; the difference is that only beasts damage you at the first encounter; those whom they have passed by they do not pursue. For nothing ever goads them to do harm except when need compels them: it is hunger or fear that forces them into a fight. But man delights to ruin man.

3. You must, however, reflect thus what danger you run at the hands of man, in order that you may deduce what is the duty of man. Try, in your dealings with others, to harm not, in order that you be not harmed. You should rejoice with all in their joys and sympathize with them in their troubles, remembering what you should offer and what you should withhold. 4. And what may you attain by living such a life? Not necessarily freedom from harm at their hands, but at least freedom from deceit. In so far, however, as you are able, take refuge with philosophy: she will cherish you in her bosom, and in her sanctuary you shall be safe, or, at any rate, safer than before. People collide only when they are travelling the same path. 5. But this very philosophy must never be vaunted by you; for philosophy when employed with insolence and arrogance has been perilous to many. Let her strip off your faults, rather than assist you to decry the faults of others. Let her not hold aloof from the customs of mankind, nor make it her business to condemn whatever she herself does not do. A man may be wise without parade and without arousing enmity. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 104. On Care of Health and Peace of Mind

1. I have run off to my villa at Nomentum, for what purpose, do you suppose? To escape the city? No; to shake off a fever which was surely working its way into my system. It had already got a grip upon me. My physician kept insisting that when the circulation was upset and irregular, disturbing the natural poise, the disease was under way. I therefore ordered my carriage to be made ready at once, and insisted on departing, in spite of my wife Paulina's efforts to stop me [Pompeia Paulina, the second wife of Seneca; cf. Tac. Ann. xv. 60. Though much younger than her husband, she was a model of devotion, and remained loyal to him through all the Neronian persecution.]; for I remembered my master Gallio's* words, when he began to develop a fever in Achaia and took ship at once, insisting that the disease was not of the body but of the place. [*Elder brother of Seneca, whose name before his adoption by Lucius Iunius Gallio was Annaeus Novatus. He was governor of Achaia (Greece) from July 1, 51 to July 1, 52 AD.]

2. That is what I remarked to my dear Paulina, who always urges me to take care of my health. I know that her very life-breath comes and goes with my own, and I am beginning, in my solicitude for her, to be solicitous for myself. And although old age has made me braver to bear many things, I am gradually losing this boon that old age bestows. For it comes into my mind that in this old man there is a youth also, and youth needs tenderness. Therefore, since I cannot prevail upon her to love me any more heroically, she prevails upon me to cherish myself more carefully.

3. For one must indulge genuine emotions; sometimes, even in spite of weighty reasons, the breath of life must be called back and kept at our very lips even at the price of great suffering, for the sake of those whom we hold dear; because the good man should not live as long as it pleases him, but as long as he ought. He who does not value his wife, or his friend, highly enough to linger longer in life – he who obstinately persists in dying – is a voluptuary. The soul should also enforce this command upon itself whenever the needs of one's relatives require; it should pause and humour those near and dear, not only when it desires, but even when it has begun, to die.

4. It gives proof of a great heart to return to life for the sake of others; and noble men have often done this. But this procedure also, I believe, indicates the highest type of kindness: that although the greatest advantage of old age is the opportunity to be more negligent regarding self-preservation and to use life more adventurously, one should watch over one's old age with still greater care if one knows that such action is pleasing, useful, or desirable in the eyes of a person whom one holds dear.

5. This is also a source of no mean joy and profit; for what is sweeter than to be so valued by one's wife that one becomes more valuable to oneself for this reason? Hence my dear Paulina is able to make me responsible, not only for her fears, but also for my own.

6. So you are curious to know the outcome of this prescription of travel? As soon as I escaped from the oppressive atmosphere of the city, and from that awful odour of reeking kitchens which, when in use, pour forth a ruinous mess of steam and soot, I perceived at once that my health was mending. And how much stronger do you think I felt when I reached my vineyards! Being, so to speak, let out to pasture, I regularly walked into my meals! So I am my old self again, feeling now no wavering languor in my system, and no sluggishness in my brain. I am beginning to work with all my energy.

7. But the mere place avails little for this purpose, unless the mind is fully master of itself, and can, at its pleasure, find seclusion even in the midst of business; the man, however, who is always selecting resorts and hunting for leisure, will find something to distract his mind in every place. Socrates is reported to have replied, when a certain person complained of having received no benefit from his travels: "It serves you right! You travelled in your own company!"

8. O what a blessing it would be for some men to wander away from themselves! As it is, they cause themselves vexation, worry, demoralization, and fear! What profit is there in crossing the sea and in going from one city to another? If you would escape your troubles, you need not another place but another personality. Perhaps you have reached Athens, or perhaps Rhodes; choose any state you fancy, how does it matter what its character may be? You will be bringing to it your own.

9. Suppose that you hold wealth to be a good: poverty will then distress you, and, – which is most pitiable, – it will be an imaginary poverty. For you may be rich, and nevertheless, because your neighbour is richer, you suppose yourself to be poor exactly by the same amount in which you fall short of your neighbour. You may deem official position a good; you will be vexed at another's appointment or re-appointment to the consulship; you will be jealous whenever you see a name several times in the state records. Your ambition will be so frenzied that you will regard yourself last in the race if there is anyone in front of you.

10. Or you may rate death as the worst of evils, although there is really no evil therein except that which precedes death's coming – fear. You will be frightened out of your wits, not only by real, but by fancied dangers, and will be tossed for ever on the sea of illusion. What benefit will it be to

Have threaded all the towns of Argolis,

A fugitive through midmost press of foes?

For peace itself will furnish further apprehension. Even in the midst of safety you will have no confidence if your mind has once been given a shock; once it has acquired the habit of blind panic, it is incapable of providing even for its own safety. For it does not avoid danger, but runs away. Yet we are more exposed to danger when we turn our backs.

11. You may judge it the most grievous of ills to lose any of those you love; while all the same this would be no less foolish than weeping because the trees which charm your eye and adorn your home lose their foliage. Regard everything that pleases you as if it were a flourishing plant; make the most of it while it is in leaf, for different plants at different seasons must fall and die. But just as the loss of leaves is a light thing, because they are born afresh, so it is with the loss of those whom you love and regard as the delight of your life; for they can be replaced even though they cannot be born afresh. 12. "New friends, however, will not be the same." No, nor will you yourself remain the same; you change with every day and every hour. But in other men you more readily see what time plunders; in your own case the change is hidden, because it will not take place visibly. Others are snatched from sight; we ourselves are being stealthily filched away from ourselves. You will not think about any of these problems, nor will you apply remedies to these wounds. You will of your own volition be sowing a crop of trouble by alternate hoping and despairing. If you are wise, mingle these two elements: do not hope without despair, or despair without hope.

13. What benefit has travel of itself ever been able to give anyone? No restraint upon pleasure, no bridling of desire, no checking of bad temper, no crushing of the wild assaults of passion, no opportunity to rid the soul of evil. Travelling cannot give us judgement, or shake off our errors; it merely holds our attention for a moment by a certain novelty, as children pause to wonder at something unfamiliar.

14. Besides, it irritates us, through the wavering of a mind which is suffering from an acute attack of sickness; the very motion makes it more fitful and nervous. Hence the spots we had sought most eagerly we quit still more eagerly, like birds that flit and are off as soon as they have alighted.

15. What travel will give is familiarity with other nations: it will reveal to you mountains of strange shape, or unfamiliar

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tracts of plain, or valleys that are watered by ever-flowing springs, or the characteristics of some river that comes to our attention. We observe how the Nile rises and swells in summer, or how the Tigris disappears, runs underground through hidden spaces, and then appears with unabated sweep; or how the Maeander, that oft-rehearsed theme and plaything of the poets, turns in frequent bendings, and often in winding comes close to its own channel before resuming its course. But this sort of information will not make better or sounder men of us.

16. We ought rather to spend our time in study, and to cultivate those who are masters of wisdom, learning something which has been investigated, but not settled; by this means the mind can be relieved of a most wretched serfdom, and won over to freedom. Indeed, as long as you are ignorant of what you should avoid or seek, or of what is necessary or superfluous, or of what is right or wrong, you will not be travelling, but merely wandering.

17. There will be no benefit to you in this hurrying to and fro; for you are travelling with your emotions and are followed by your afflictions. Would that they were indeed following you! In that case, they would be farther away; as it is, you are carrying and not leading them. Hence they press about you on all sides, continually chafing and annoying you. It is medicine, not scenery, for which the sick man must go a-searching.

18. Suppose that someone has broken a leg or dislocated a joint: he does not take carriage or ship for other regions, but he calls in the physician to set the fractured limb, or to move it back to its proper place in the socket. What then? When the spirit is broken or wrenched in so many places, do you think that change of place can heal it? The complaint is too deep-seated to be cured by a journey.

19. Travel does not make a physician or an orator; no art is acquired by merely living in a certain place. Where lies the truth, then? Can wisdom, the greatest of all the arts, be picked up on a journey? I assure you, travel as far as you like, you can never establish yourself beyond the reach of desire, beyond the reach of bad temper, or beyond the reach of fear; had it been so, the human race would long ago have banded together and made a pilgrimage to the spot. Such ills, as long as you carry with you their causes, will load you down and worry you to skin and bone in your wanderings over land and sea.

20. Do you wonder that it is of no use to run away from them? That from which you are running, is within you. Accordingly, reform your own self, get the burden off your own shoulders, and keep within safe limits the cravings which ought to be removed. Wipe out from your soul all trace of sin. If you would enjoy your travels, make healthy the companion of your travels. As long as this companion is avaricious and mean, greed will stick to you; and while you consort with an overbearing man, your puffed-up ways will also stick close. Live with a hangman, and you will never be rid of your cruelty. If an adulterer be your club-mate, he will kindle the baser passions.

21. If you would be stripped of your faults leave far behind you the patterns of the faults. The miser, the swindler, the bully, the cheat, who will do you much harm merely by being near you, are within you. Change therefore to better associations: live with the Catos, with Laelius, with Tubero. Or, if you enjoy living with Greeks also, spend your time with Socrates and with Zeno: the former will show you how to die if it be necessary; the latter how to die before it is necessary.

22. Live with Chrysippus, with Posidonius: they will make you acquainted with things earthly and things heavenly; they will bid you work hard over something more than neat turns of language and phrases mouthed forth for the entertainment of listeners; they will bid you be stout of heart and rise superior to threats. The only harbour safe from the seething storms of this life is scorn of the future, a firm stand, a readiness to receive Fortune's missiles full in the breast, neither skulking nor turning the back.

23. Nature has brought us forth brave of spirit, and, as she has implanted in certain animals a spirit of ferocity, in others craft, in others terror, so she has gifted us with an aspiring and lofty spirit, which prompts us to seek a life of the greatest honour, and not of the greatest security, that most resembles the soul of the universe, which it follows and imitates as far as our mortal steps permit. This spirit thrusts itself forward, confident of commendation and esteem.

24. It is superior to all, monarch of all it surveys; hence it should be subservient to nothing, finding no task too heavy, and nothing strong enough to weigh down the shoulders of a man. Shapes dread to look upon, of toil or death are not in the least dreadful, if one is able to look upon them with unflinching gaze, and is able to pierce the shadows. Many a sight that is held a terror in the night-time, is turned to ridicule by day. "Shapes dread to look upon, of toil or death": our Vergil has excellently said that these shapes are dread, not in reality, but only "to look upon" – in other words, they seem terrible, but are not.

25. And in these visions what is there, I say, as fear-inspiring as rumour has proclaimed? Why, pray, my dear Lucilius, should a man fear toil, or a mortal death? Countless cases occur to my mind of men who think that what they themselves are unable to do is impossible, who maintain that we utter words which are too big for man's nature to carry out.

26. But how much more highly do I think of these men! They can do these things, but decline to do them. To whom that ever tried have these tasks proved false? To what man did they not seem easier in the doing? Our lack of confidence is not the result of difficulty; the difficulty comes from our lack of confidence.

27. If, however, you desire a pattern, take Socrates, a long-suffering old man, who was sea-tossed amid every hardship and yet was unconquered both by poverty (which his troubles at home made more burdensome) and by toil, including the drudgery of military service. He was much tried at home, whether we think of his wife, a woman of rough manners and shrewish tongue, or of the children whose intractability showed them to be more like their mother than their father. And if you consider the facts, he lived either in time of war, or under tyrants, or under a democracy, which is more cruel than wars and tyrants.

28. The war lasted for twenty-seven years; then the state became the victim of the Thirty Tyrants, of whom many were his personal enemies. At the last came that climax of condemnation under the gravest of charges: they accused him of disturbing the state religion and corrupting the youth, for they declared that he had influenced the youth to defy the gods, to defy the council, and to defy the state in general. Next came the prison, and the cup of poison. But all these measures changed the soul of Socrates so little that they did not even change his features. What wonderful and rare distinction! He maintained this attitude up to the very end, and no man ever saw Socrates too much elated or too much depressed. Amid all the disturbance of Fortune, he was undisturbed.

29. Do you desire another case? Take that of the younger Marcus Cato, with whom Fortune dealt in a more hostile and more persistent fashion. But he withstood her, on all occasions, and in his last moments, at the point of death, showed that a brave man can live in spite of Fortune, can die in spite of her. His whole life was passed either in civil warfare, or under a political regime which was soon to breed civil war. And you may say that he, just as much as Socrates, declared allegiance to liberty in the midst of slavery – unless perchance you think that Pompey, Caesar, and Crassus were the allies of liberty!

30. No one ever saw Cato change, no matter how often the state changed: he kept himself the same in all circumstances – in the praetorship, in defeat, under accusation, in his province, on the platform, in the army, in death. Furthermore, when the republic was in a crisis of terror, when Caesar was on one side with ten embattled legions at his call, aided by so many foreign nations, and when Pompey was on the other, satisfied to stand alone against all comers, and when the citizens were leaning towards either Caesar or Pompey, Cato alone established a definite party for the Republic.

31. If you would obtain a mental picture of that period, you may imagine on one side the people and the whole proletariat eager for revolution – on the other the senators and knights, the chosen and honoured men of the commonwealth; and there were left between them but these two – the Republic and Cato.

I tell you, you will marvel when you see
Atreus' son, and Priam, and Achilles, wroth at both.
Like Achilles, he scorns and disarms each faction.

32. And this is the vote which he casts concerning them both: "If Caesar wins, I slay myself; if Pompey, I go into exile." What was there for a man to fear who, whether in defeat or in victory, had assigned to himself a doom which might have been assigned to him by his enemies in their utmost rage? So he died by his own decision.

33. You see that man can endure toil: Cato, on foot, led an army through African deserts. You see that thirst can be endured: he marched over sun-baked hills, dragging the remains of a beaten army and with no train of supplies, undergoing lack of water and wearing a heavy suit of armour; always the last to drink of the few springs which they chanced to find. You see that honour, and dishonour too, can be despised: for they report that on the very day when Cato was defeated at the elections, he played a game of ball. You see also that man can be free from fear of those above him in rank: for Cato attacked Caesar and Pompey simultaneously, at a time when none dared fall foul of the one without endeavouring to oblige the other. You see that death can be scorned as well as exile: Cato inflicted exile upon himself and finally death, and war all the while.

34. And so, if only we are willing to withdraw our necks from the yoke, we can keep as stout a heart against such terrors as these. But first and foremost, we must reject pleasures; they render us weak and womanish; they make great demands upon us, and, moreover, cause us to make great demands upon Fortune. Second, we must spurn wealth: wealth is the diploma of slavery. Abandon gold and silver, and whatever else is a burden upon our richly-furnished homes; liberty cannot be gained for nothing. If you set a high value on liberty, you must set a low value on everything else. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 105. On Facing the World with Confidence

1. I shall now tell you certain things to which you should pay attention in order to live more safely. Do you however, – such is my judgement, – hearken to my precepts just as if I were counselling you to keep safe your health in your country-place at Ardea. Reflect on the things which goad man into destroying man: you will find that they are hope, envy, hatred, fear, and contempt.

2. Now, of all these, contempt is the least harmful, so much so that many have skulked behind it as a sort of cure. When a man despises you, he works you injury, to be sure, but he passes on; and no one persistently or of set purpose does hurt to a person whom he despises. Even in battle, prostrate soldiers are neglected: men fight with those who stand their ground.

3. And you can avoid the envious hopes of the wicked so long as you have nothing which can stir the evil desires of others, and so long as you possess nothing remarkable. For people crave even little things, if these catch the attention or are of rare occurrence. You will escape envy if you do not force yourself upon the public view, if you do not boast your possessions, if you understand how to enjoy things privately. Hatred comes either from running foul of others: and this can be avoided by never provoking anyone; or else it is uncalled for: and common-sense will keep you safe from it. Yet it has been dangerous to many; some people have been hated without having had an enemy.

4. As to not being feared, a moderate fortune and an easy disposition will guarantee you that; men should know that you are the sort of person who can be offended without danger; and your reconciliation should be easy and sure. Moreover, it is as troublesome to be feared at home as abroad; it is as bad to be feared by a slave as by a gentleman. For every one has strength enough to do you some harm. Besides, he who is feared, fears also; no one has been able to arouse terror and live in peace of mind.

5. Contempt remains to be discussed. He who has made this quality an adjunct of his own personality, who is despised because he wishes to be despised and not because he must be despised, has the measure of contempt under his control. Any inconveniences in this respect can be dispelled by honourable occupations and by friendships with men who have influence with an influential person; with these men it will profit you to engage but not to entangle yourself, lest the cure may cost you more than the risk.

6. Nothing, however, will help you so much as keeping still – talking very little with others, and as much as may be with yourself. For there is a sort of charm about conversation, something very subtle and coaxing, which, like intoxication or love, draws secrets from us. No man will keep to himself what he hears. No one will tell another only as much as he has heard. And he who tells tales will tell names, too. Everyone has someone to whom he entrusts exactly what has been entrusted to him. Though he checks his own garrulity, and is content with one hearer, he will bring about him a nation, if that which was a secret shortly before becomes common talk.

7. The most important contribution to peace of mind is never to do wrong. Those who lack self-control lead disturbed and tumultuous lives; their crimes are balanced by their fears, and they are never at ease. For they tremble after the deed, and they are embarrassed; their consciences do not allow them to busy themselves with other matters, and continually compel them to give an answer. Whoever expects punishment, receives it, but whoever deserves it, expects it.

8. Where there is an evil conscience something may bring safety, but nothing can bring ease; for a man imagines that, even if he is not under arrest, he may soon be arrested. His sleep is troubled; when he speaks of another man's crime, he reflects upon his own, which seems to him not sufficiently blotted out, not sufficiently hidden from view. A wrongdoer sometimes has the luck to escape notice but never the assurance thereof. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 106. On the Corporeality of Virtue

1. My tardiness in answering your letter was not due to press of business. Do not listen to that sort of excuse; I am at liberty, and so is anyone else who wishes to be at liberty. No man is at the mercy of affairs. He gets entangled in them of his own accord, and then flatters himself that being busy is a proof of happiness. Very well; you no doubt want to know why I did not answer the letter sooner? The matter about which you consulted me was being gathered into the fabric of my volume.

2. For you know that I am planning to cover the whole of moral philosophy and to settle all the problems which concern it. Therefore I hesitated whether to make you wait until the proper time came for this subject, or to pronounce judgement out of the logical order; but it seemed more kindly not to keep waiting one who comes from such a distance.

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3. So I propose both to pick this out of the proper sequence of correlated matter, and also to send you, without waiting to be asked, whatever has to do with questions of the same sort. Do you ask what these are? Questions regarding which knowledge pleases rather than profits; for instance, your question whether the good is corporeal.

4. Now the good is active: for it is beneficial; and what is active is corporeal. The good stimulates the mind and, in a way, moulds and embraces that which is essential to the body. The goods of the body are bodily; so therefore must be the goods of the soul. For the soul, too, is corporeal.

5. Ergo, man's good must be corporeal, since man himself is corporeal. I am sadly astray if the elements which support man and preserve or restore his health, are not bodily; therefore, his good is a body. You will have no doubt, I am sure, that emotions are bodily things (if I may be allowed to wedge in another subject not under immediate discussion), like wrath, love, sternness; unless you doubt whether they change our features, knot our foreheads, relax the countenance, spread blushes, or drive away the blood? What, then? Do you think that such evident marks of the body are stamped upon us by anything else than body? 6. And if emotions are corporeal, so are the diseases of the spirit – such as greed, cruelty, and all the faults which harden in our souls, to such an extent that they get into an incurable state. Therefore evil is also, and all its branches – spite, hatred, pride;

7. and so also are goods, first because they are opposite poles of the bad, and second because they will manifest to you the same symptoms. Do you not see how a spirit of bravery makes the eye flash? How prudence tends towards concentration? How reverence produces moderation and tranquillity? How joy produces calm? How sternness begets stiffness? How gentleness produces relaxation? These qualities are therefore bodily; for they change the tones and the shapes of substances, exercising their own power in their own kingdoms. Now all the virtues which I have mentioned are goods, and so are their results.

8. Have you any doubt that whatever can touch is corporeal? Nothing but body can touch or be touched, as Lucretius says. Moreover, such changes as I have mentioned could not affect the body without touching it. Therefore, they are bodily.

9. Furthermore, any object that has power to move, force, restrain, or control, is corporeal. Come now! Does not fear hold us back? Does not boldness drive us ahead? Bravery spur us on, and give us momentum? Restraint rein us in and call us back? Joy raise our spirits? Sadness cast us down?

10. In short, any act on our part is performed at the bidding of wickedness or virtue. Only a body can control or forcefully affect another body. The good of the body is corporeal; a man's good is related to his bodily good; therefore, it is bodily.

11. Now that I have humoured your wishes, I shall anticipate your remark, when you say: "What a game of pawns!" [The Romans had a ludus latrunculorum, with features resembling both draughts and chess. The pieces (calculi) were perhaps of different values.] We dull our fine edge by such superfluous pursuits; these things make men clever, but not good.

12. Wisdom is a plainer thing than that; nay, it is clearly better to use literature for the improvement of the mind, instead of wasting philosophy itself as we waste other efforts on superfluous things. Just as we suffer from excess in all things, so we suffer from excess in literature; thus we learn our lessons, not for life, but for the lecture-room. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 107. On Obedience to the Universal Will

1. Where is that common-sense of yours? Where that deftness in examining things? That greatness of soul? Have you come to be tormented by a trifle? Your slaves regarded your absorption in business as an opportunity for them to run away. Well, if your friends deceived you (for by all means let them have the name which we mistakenly bestowed upon them, and so call them, that they may incur more shame by not being such friends) – if your friends, I repeat, deceived you, all your affairs would lack something; as it is, you merely lack men who damaged your own endeavours and considered you burdensome to your neighbours.

2. None of these things is unusual or unexpected. It is as nonsensical to be put out by such events as to complain of being spattered in the street or at getting befouled in the mud. The programme of life is the same as that of a bathing establishment, a crowd, or a journey: sometimes things will be thrown at you, and sometimes they will strike you by accident. Life is not a dainty business. You have started on a long journey; you are bound to slip, collide, fall, become weary, and cry out: "O for Death!" – or in other words, tell lies. At one stage you will leave a comrade behind you, at another you will bury someone, at another you will be apprehensive. It is amid stumblings of this sort that you must travel out this rugged journey.

3. Does one wish to die? Let the mind be prepared to meet everything; let it know that it has reached the heights round which the thunder plays. Let it know that it has arrived where –

Grief and avenging Care have set their couch,
And pallid sickness dwells, and drear Old Age.

With such messmates must you spend your days. Avoid them you cannot, but despise them you can. And you will despise them, if you often take thought and anticipate the future. 4. Everyone approaches courageously a danger which he has prepared himself to meet long before, and withstands even hardships if he has previously practised how to meet them. But, contrariwise, the unprepared are panic-stricken even at the most trifling things. We must see to it that nothing shall come upon us unforeseen. And since things are all the more serious when they are unfamiliar, continual reflection will give you the power, no matter what the evil may be, not to play the unschooled boy.

5. "My slaves have run away from me!" Yes, other men have been robbed, blackmailed, slain, betrayed, stamped under foot, attacked by poison or by slander; no matter what trouble you mention, it has happened to many. Again, there are manifold kinds of missiles which are hurled at us. Some are planted in us, some are being brandished and at this very moment are on the way, some which were destined for other men graze us instead.

6. We should not manifest surprise at any sort of condition into which we are born, and which should be lamented by no one, simply because it is equally ordained for all. Yes, I say, equally ordained; for a man might have experienced even that which he has escaped. And an equal law consists, not of that which all have experienced, but of that which is laid down for all. Be sure to prescribe for your mind this sense of equity; we should pay without complaint the tax of our mortality.

7. Winter brings on cold weather; and we must shiver. Summer returns, with its heat; and we must sweat. Unseasonable weather upsets the health; and we must fall ill. In certain places we may meet with wild beasts, or with men who are more destructive than any beasts. Floods, or fires, will cause us loss. And we cannot change this order of things; but what we can do is to acquire stout hearts, worthy of good men, thereby courageously enduring chance and placing ourselves in harmony with Nature. 8. And Nature moderates this world-kingdom which you see, by her changing seasons: clear weather follows cloudy; after a calm, comes the storm; the winds blow by turns; day succeeds night; some of the heavenly bodies rise, and some set. Eternity consists of opposites.

9. It is to this law that our souls must adjust themselves, this they should follow, this they should obey. Whatever happens, assume that it was bound to happen, and do not be willing to rail at Nature. That which you cannot reform, it is best to endure, and to attend uncomplainingly upon the God under whose guidance everything progresses; for it is a bad soldier who grumbles when following his commander.

10. For this reason we should welcome our orders with energy and vigour, nor should we cease to follow the natural course of this most beautiful universe, into which all our future sufferings are woven. Let us address Jupiter, the pilot of this world-mass, as did our great Cleanthes in those most eloquent lines – lines which I shall allow myself to render in Latin, after the example of the eloquent Cicero. If you like them, make the most of them; if they displease you, you will understand that I have simply been following the practice of Cicero:

11. Lead me, O Master of the lofty heavens,
My Father, whithersoever thou shalt wish.
I shall not falter, but obey with speed.
And though I would not, I shall go, and suffer,
In sin and sorrow what I might have done
In noble virtue. Aye, the willing soul
Fate leads, but the unwilling drags along.

12. Let us live thus, and speak thus; let Fate find us ready and alert. Here is your great soul – the man who has given himself over to Fate; on the other hand, that man is a weakling and a degenerate who struggles and maligns the order of the universe and would rather reform the gods than reform himself. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 108. On the Approaches to Philosophy

1. The topic about which you ask me is one of those where our only concern with knowledge is to have the knowledge. Nevertheless, because it does so far concern us, you are in a hurry; you are not willing to wait for the books which I am at this moment arranging for you, and which embrace the whole department of moral philosophy. I shall send you the books at once; but I shall, before doing that, write and tell you how this eagerness to learn, with which I see you are aflame, should be regulated, so that it may not get in its own way.

2. Things are not to be gathered at random; nor should they be greedily attacked in the mass; one will arrive at a knowledge of the whole by studying the parts. The burden should be suited to your strength, nor should you tackle more than you can adequately handle. Absorb not all that you wish, but all that you can hold. Only be of a sound mind, and then you will be able to hold all that you wish. For the more the mind receives, the more does it expand.

3. This was the advice, I remember, which Attalus gave me in the days when I practically laid siege to his class-room, the first to arrive and the last to leave. Even as he paced up and down, I would challenge him to various discussions; for he not only kept himself accessible to his pupils, but met them half-way. His words were: "The same purpose should possess both master and scholar – an ambition in the one case to promote, and in the other to progress."

4. He who studies with a philosopher should take away with him some one good thing every day: he should daily return home a sounder man, or in the way to become sounder. And he will thus return; for it is one of the functions of philosophy to help not only those who study her, but those also who associate with her. He that walks in the sun, though he walk not for that purpose, must needs become sunburned. He who frequents the perfumer's shop and lingers even for a short time, will carry with him the scent of the place. And he who follows a philosopher is bound to derive some benefit therefrom, which will help him even though he be remiss. Mark what I say: "remiss," not "recalcitrant."

5. "What then?" you say, "do we not know certain men who have sat for many years at the feet of a philosopher and yet have not acquired the slightest tinge of wisdom?" Of course I know such men. There are indeed persevering gentlemen who stick at it; I do not call them pupils of the wise, but merely "squatters." [Literally "tenants," "lodgers," of a temporary sort.]

6. Certain of them come to hear and not to learn, just as we are attracted to the theatre to satisfy the pleasures of the ear, whether by a speech, or by a song, or by a play. This class, as you will see, constitutes a large part of the listeners, who regard the philosopher's lecture-room merely as a sort of lounging-place for their leisure. They do not set about to lay aside any faults there, or to receive a rule of life, by which they may test their characters; they merely wish to enjoy to the full the delights of the ear. And yet some arrive even with notebooks, not to take down the matter, but only the words, that they may presently repeat them to others with as little profit to these as they themselves received when they heard them.

7. A certain number are stirred by high-sounding phrases, and adapt themselves to the emotions of the speaker with lively change of face and mind – just like the emasculated Phrygian priests who are wont to be roused by the sound of the flute and go mad to order. But the true hearer is ravished and stirred by the beauty of the subject matter, not by the jingle of empty words. When a bold word has been uttered in defiance of death, or a saucy fling in defiance of Fortune, we take delight in acting straightway upon that which we have heard. Men are impressed by such words, and become what they are bidden to be, should but the impression abide in the mind, and should the populace, who discourage honourable things, not immediately lie in wait to rob them of this noble impulse; only a few can carry home the mental attitude with which they were inspired.

8. It is easy to rouse a listener so that he will crave righteousness; for Nature has laid the foundations and planted the seeds of virtue in us all. And we are all born to these general privileges; hence, when the stimulus is added, the good spirit is stirred as if it were freed from bonds. Have you not noticed how the theatre re-echoes whenever any words are spoken whose truth we appreciate generally and confirm unanimously?

9. The poor lack much; the greedy man lacks all.
A greedy man does good to none; he does
Most evil to himself.

At such verses as these, your meanest miser claps applause and rejoices to hear his own sins reviled. How much more do you think this holds true, when such things are uttered by a philosopher, when he introduces verses among his wholesome precepts, that he may thus make those verses sink more effectively into the mind of the neophyte! 10. Cleanthes used to say: "As our breath produces a louder sound when it passes through the long and narrow opening of the trumpet and escapes by a hole which widens at the end, even so the fettering rules of poetry clarify our meaning." The very same words are more carelessly received and make less impression upon us, when they are spoken in prose; but when metre is added and when regular prosody has compressed a noble idea, then the selfsame thought comes, as it were, hurtling with a fuller fling. 11. We talk much about despising money, and we give advice on this subject in the lengthiest of speeches, that mankind may believe true riches to exist in the mind and not in one's bank account, and that the man who adapts himself to his slender means and makes himself wealthy on a little sum, is the truly rich man; but our minds are struck more effectively when a verse like this is repeated:

He needs but little who desires but little.
or,
He hath his wish, whose wish includeth naught
Save that which is enough.

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12. When we hear such words as these, we are led towards a confession of the truth.

Even men in whose opinion nothing is enough, wonder and applaud when they hear such words, and swear eternal hatred against money. When you see them thus disposed, strike home, keep at them, and charge them with this duty, dropping all double meanings, syllogisms, hair-splitting, and the other side-shows of ineffective smartness. Preach against greed, preach against high living; and when you notice that you have made progress and impressed the minds of your hearers, lay on still harder. You cannot imagine how much progress can be brought about by an address of that nature, when you are bent on curing your hearers and are absolutely devoted to their best interests. For when the mind is young, it may most easily be won over to desire what is honourable and upright; truth, if she can obtain a suitable pleader, will lay strong hands upon those who can still be taught, those who have been but superficially spoiled.

13. At any rate, when I used to hear Attalus denouncing sin, error, and the evils of life, I often felt sorry for mankind and regarded Attalus as a noble and majestic being, – above our mortal heights. He called himself a king, but I thought him more than a king, because he was entitled to pass judgement on kings.

14. And in truth, when he began to uphold poverty, and to show what a useless and dangerous burden was everything that passed the measure of our need, I often desired to leave his lecture-room a poor man. Whenever he castigated our pleasure-seeking lives, and extolled personal purity, moderation in diet, and a mind free from unnecessary, not to speak of unlawful, pleasures, the desire came upon me to limit my food and drink.

15. And that is why some of these habits have stayed with me, Lucilius. For I had planned my whole life with great resolves. And later, when I returned to the duties of a citizen, I did indeed keep a few of these good resolutions. That is why I have forsaken oysters and mushrooms for ever: since they are not really food, but are relishes to bully the sated stomach into further eating, as is the fancy of gourmands and those who stuff themselves beyond their powers of digestion: down with it quickly, and up with it quickly!

16. That is why I have also throughout my life avoided perfumes; because the best scent for the person is no scent at all. That is why my stomach is unacquainted with wine. That is why throughout my life I have shunned the bath, and have believed that to emaciate the body and sweat it into thinness is at once unprofitable and effeminate. Other resolutions have been broken, but after all in such a way that, in cases where I ceased to practice abstinence, I have observed a limit which is indeed next door to abstinence; perhaps it is even a little more difficult, because it is easier for the will to cut off certain things utterly than to use them with restraint.

17. Inasmuch as I have begun to explain to you how much greater was my impulse to approach philosophy in my youth than to continue it in my old age, I shall not be ashamed to tell you what ardent zeal Pythagoras inspired in me. Sotion used to tell me why Pythagoras abstained from animal food, and why, in later times, Sextius did also. In each case, the reason was different, but it was in each case a noble reason.

18. Sextius believed that man had enough sustenance without resorting to blood, and that a habit of cruelty is formed whenever butchery is practised for pleasure. Moreover, he thought we should curtail the sources of our luxury; he argued that a varied diet was contrary to the laws of health, and was unsuited to our constitutions.

19. Pythagoras, on the other hand, held that all beings were inter-related, and that there was a system of exchange between souls which transmigrated from one bodily shape into another. If one may believe him, no soul perishes or ceases from its functions at all, except for a tiny interval – when it is being poured from one body into another. We may question at what time and after what seasons of change the soul returns to man, when it has wandered through many a dwelling-place; but meantime, he made men fearful of guilt and parricide, since they might be, without knowing it, attacking the soul of a parent and injuring it with knife or with teeth – if, as is possible, the related spirit be dwelling temporarily in this bit of flesh!

20. When Sotion had set forth this doctrine, supplementing it with his own proofs, he would say: "You do not believe that souls are assigned, first to one body and then to another, and that our so-called death is merely a change of abode? You do not believe that in cattle, or in wild beasts, or in creatures of the deep, the soul of him who was once a man may linger? You do not believe that nothing on this earth is annihilated, but only changes its haunts? And that animals also have cycles of progress and, so to speak, an orbit for their souls, no less than the heavenly bodies, which revolve in fixed circuits? Great men have put faith in this idea;

21. therefore, while holding to your own view, keep the whole question in abeyance in your mind. If the theory is true, it is a mark of purity to refrain from eating flesh; if it be false, it is economy. And what harm does it do to you to give such credence? I am merely depriving you of food which sustains lions and vultures."

22. I was imbued with this teaching, and began to abstain from animal food; at the end of a year the habit was as pleasant as it was easy. I was beginning to feel that my mind was more active; though I would not to-day positively state whether it really was or not. Do you ask how I came to abandon the practice? It was this way: The days of my youth coincided with the early part of the reign of Tiberius Caesar. Some foreign rites were at that time being inaugurated, and abstinence from certain kinds of animal food was set down as a proof of interest in the strange cult. So at the request of my father, who did not fear prosecution, but who detested philosophy, I returned to my previous habits; and it was no very hard matter to induce me to dine more comfortably.

23. Attalus used to recommend a pillow which did not give in to the body; and now, old as I am, I use one so hard that it leaves no trace after pressure. I have mentioned all this in order to show you how zealous neophytes are with regard to their first impulses towards the highest ideals, provided that some one does his part in exhorting them and in kindling their ardour. There are indeed mistakes made, through the fault of our advisers, who teach us how to debate and not how to live; there are also mistakes made by the pupils, who come to their teachers to develop, not their souls, but their wits. Thus the study of wisdom has become the study of words.

24. Now it makes a great deal of difference what you have in mind when you approach a given subject. If a man is to be a scholar, and is examining the works of Vergil, he does not interpret the noble passage

Time flies away, and cannot be restored

in the following sense: "We must wake up; unless we hasten, we shall be left behind. Time rolls swiftly ahead, and rolls us with it. We are hurried along ignorant of our destiny; we arrange all our plans for the future, and on the edge of a precipice are at our ease." Instead of this, he brings to our attention how often Vergil, in speaking of the rapidity of time, uses the word "flies" (fugit).

The choicest days of hapless human life
Fly first; disease and bitter eld succeed,
And toil, till harsh death rudely snatches all.

25. He who considers these lines in the spirit of a philosopher comments on the words in their proper sense: "Vergil never says, 'Time goes,' but 'Time flies,' because the latter is the quickest kind of movement, and in every case our best days are the first to be snatched away; why, then, do we hesitate to bestir ourselves so that we may be able to keep pace with this swiftest of all swift things?" The good flies past and the bad takes its place.

26. Just as the purest wine flows from the top of the jar and the thickest dregs settle at the bottom; so in our human life, that which is best comes first. Shall we allow other men to quaff the best, and keep the dregs for ourselves? Let this phrase cleave to your soul; you should be satisfied thereby as if it were uttered by an oracle:

Each choicest day of hapless human life
Flies first.

27. Why "choicest day"? Because what's to come is unsure. Why "choicest day"? Because in our youth we are able to learn; we can bend to nobler purposes minds that are ready and still pliable; because this is the time for work, the time for keeping our minds busied in study and in exercising our bodies with useful effort; for that which remains is more sluggish and lacking in spirit – nearer the end. Let us therefore strive with all courage, omitting attractions by the way; let us struggle with a single purpose, lest, when we are left behind, we comprehend too late the speed of quick-flying time, whose course we cannot stay. Let every day, as soon as it comes, be welcome as being the choicest, and let it be made our own possession.

28. We must catch that which flees. Now he who scans with a scholar's eye the lines I have just quoted, does not reflect that our first days are the best because disease is approaching and old age weighs upon us and hangs over our heads while we are still thinking about our youth. He thinks rather of Vergil's usual collocation of disease and eld; and indeed rightly. For old age is a disease which we cannot cure.

29. "Besides," he says to himself, "think of the epithet that accompanies eld; Vergil calls it bitter," –

Disease and bitter eld succeed.

And elsewhere Vergil says:

There dwelleth pale disease and bitter eld.

There is no reason why you should marvel that each man can collect from the same source suitable matter for his own studies; for in the same meadow the cow grazes, the dog hunts the hare, and the stork the lizard.

30. When Cicero's book On the State is opened by a philologist, a scholar, or a follower of philosophy, each man pursues his investigation in his own way. The philosopher wonders that so much could have been said therein against justice. The philologist takes up the same book and comments on the text as follows: There were two Roman kings – one without a father and one without a mother. For we cannot settle who was Servius's mother, and Ancus, the grandson of Numa, has no father on record.

31. The philologist also notes that the officer whom we call dictator, and about whom we read in our histories under that title, was named in old times the magister populi; such is the name existing to-day in the augural records, proved by the fact that he whom the dictator chose as second in command was called magister equitum. He will remark, too, that Romulus met his end during an eclipse; that there was an appeal to the people even from the kings (this is so stated in the pontiffs' register and is the opinion of others, including Fenestella).

32. When the scholar unrolls this same volume, he puts down in his notebook the forms of words, noting that reapse, equivalent to re ipsa, is used by Cicero, and sepse just as frequently, which means se ipse. Then he turns his attention to changes in current usage. Cicero, for example, says: "Inasmuch as we are summoned back from the very calx by his interruption." Now the line in the circus which we call the creta was called the calx by men of old time.

33. Again, he puts together some verses by Ennius, especially those which referred to Africanus:

A man to whom nor friend nor foe could give
Due meed for all his efforts and his deed.

From this passage the scholar declares that he infers the word opem to have meant formerly not merely assistance, but efforts. For Ennius must mean that neither friend nor foe could pay Scipio a reward worthy of his efforts.

34. Next, he congratulates himself on finding the source of Vergil's words:

Over whose head the mighty gate of Heaven
Thunders,

remarking that Ennius stole the idea from Homer, and Vergil from Ennius. For there is a couplet by Ennius, preserved in this same book of Cicero's, On the State:

If it be right for a mortal to scale the regions of Heaven,
Then the huge gate of the sky opens in glory to me.

35. But that I, too, while engaged upon another task, may not slip into the department of the philologist or the scholar, my advice is this – that all study of philosophy and all reading should be applied to the idea of living the happy life, that we should not hunt out archaic or far-fetched words and eccentric metaphors and figures of speech, but that we should seek precepts which will help us, utterances of courage and spirit which may at once be turned into facts. We should so learn them that words may become deeds.

36. And I hold that no man has treated mankind worse than he who has studied philosophy as if it were some marketable trade, who lives in a different manner from that which he advises. For those who are liable to every fault which they castigate advertise themselves as patterns of useless training.

37. A teacher like that can help me no more than a sea-sick pilot can be efficient in a storm. He must hold the tiller when the waves are tossing him; he must wrestle, as it were, with the sea; he must furl his sails when the storm rages; what good is a frightened and vomiting steersman to me? And how much greater, think you, is the storm of life than that which tosses any ship! One must steer, not talk.

All the words that these men utter and juggle before a listening crowd, belong to others.

38. They have been spoken by Plato, spoken by Zeno, spoken by Chrysippus or by Posidonius, and by a whole host of Stoics as numerous as excellent. I shall show you how men can prove their words to be their own: it is by doing what they have been talking about. Since therefore I have given you the message I wished to pass on to you, I shall now satisfy your craving and shall reserve for a new letter a complete answer to your summons; so that you may not approach in a condition of weariness a subject which is thorny and which should be followed with an attentive and painstaking ear. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 109. On the Fellowship of Wise Men

1. You expressed a wish to know whether a wise man can help a wise man. For we say that the wise man is completely endowed with every good, and has attained perfection; accordingly, the question arises how it is possible for anyone to help a person who possesses the Supreme Good.

Good men are mutually helpful; for each gives practice to the other's virtues and thus maintains wisdom at its proper level. Each needs someone with whom he may make comparisons and investigations.

2. Skilled wrestlers are kept up to the mark by practice; a musician is stirred to action by one of equal proficiency. The wise man also needs to have his virtues kept in action; and as he prompts himself to do things, so is he prompted by another wise man.

3. How can a wise man help another wise man? He can quicken his impulses, and point out to him opportunities for honourable action. Besides, he can develop some of his own ideas; he can impart what he has discovered. For even in the case of the wise man something will always remain to discover, something towards which his mind may make new ventures.

4. Evil men harm evil men; each debases the other by rousing his wrath, by approving his churlishness, and

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praising his pleasures; bad men are at their worst stage when their faults are most thoroughly intermingled, and their wickedness has been, so to speak, pooled in partnership. Conversely, therefore, a good man will help another good man. "How?" you ask.

5. Because he will bring joy to the other, he will strengthen his faith, and from the contemplation of their mutual tranquillity the delight of both will be increased. Moreover, they will communicate to each other a knowledge of certain facts; for the wise man is not all-knowing. And even if he were all-knowing, someone might be able to devise and point out short cuts, by which the whole matter is more readily disseminated.

6. The wise will help the wise, not, mark you, because of his own strength merely, but because of the strength of the man whom he assists. The latter, it is true, can by himself develop his own parts; nevertheless, even one who is running well is helped by one who cheers him on. "But the wise man does not really help the wise; he helps himself. Let me tell you this: strip the one of his special powers, and the other will accomplish nothing."

7. You might as well, on that basis, say that sweetness is not in the honey: for it is the person himself who is to eat it, that is so equipped, as to tongue and palate, for tasting this kind of food that the special flavour appeals to him, and anything else displeases. For there are certain men so affected by disease that they regard honey as bitter. Both men should be in good health, that the one may be helpful and the other a proper subject for help.

8. Again they say: "When the highest degree of heat has been attained, it is superfluous to apply more heat; and when the Supreme Good has been attained, it is superfluous to have a helper. Does a completely stocked farmer ask for further supplies from his neighbours? Does a soldier who is sufficiently armed for going well-equipped into action need any more weapons? Very well, neither does the wise man; for he is sufficiently equipped and sufficiently armed for life."

9. My answer to this is, that when one is heated to the highest degree, one must have continued heat to maintain the highest temperature. And if it be objected that heat is self-maintaining, I say that there are great distinctions among the things that you are comparing; for heat is a single thing, but helpfulness is of many kinds. Again, heat is not helped by the addition of further heat, in order to be hot; but the wise man cannot maintain his mental standard without intercourse with friends of his own kind – with whom he may share his goodness.

10. Moreover, there is a sort of mutual friendship among all the virtues [In other words, Wisdom, Justice, Courage, and Self-Restraint, together with the other qualities of simplicity, kindness, etc., being "avatars" of Virtue herself, are interrelated.]. Thus, he who loves the virtues of certain among his peers, and in turn exhibits his own to be loved, is helpful. Like things give pleasure, especially when they are honourable and when men know that there is mutual approval.

11. And besides, none but a wise man can prompt another wise man's soul in an intelligent way, just as man can be prompted in a rational way by man only. As, therefore, reason is necessary for the prompting of reason, so, in order to prompt perfect reason, there is need of perfect reason.

12. Some say that we are helped even by those who bestow on us the so-called "indifferent" benefits, such as money, influence, security, and all the other valued or essential aids to living. If we argue in this way, the veriest fool will be said to help a wise man. Helping, however, really means prompting the soul in accordance with Nature, both by the prompter's excellence and by the excellence of him who is thus prompted. And this cannot take place without advantage to the helper also. For in training the excellence of another, a man must necessarily train his own.

13. But, to omit from discussion supreme goods or the things which produce them, wise men can none the less be mutually helpful. For the mere discovery of a sage by a sage is in itself a desirable event; since everything good is naturally dear to the good man, and for this reason one feels congenial with a good man as one feels congenial with oneself.

14. It is necessary for me to pass from this topic to another, in order to prove my point. For the question is asked, whether the wise man will weigh his opinions, or whether he will apply to others for advice. Now he is compelled to do this when he approaches state and home duties – everything, so to speak, that is mortal. He needs outside advice on such matters, as does the physician, the pilot, the attorney, or the pleader of cases. Hence, the wise will sometimes help the wise; for they will persuade each other. But in these matters of great import also, – aye, of divine import, as I have termed them, – the wise man can also be useful by discussing honourable things in common, and by contributing his thoughts and ideas.

15. Moreover, it is in accordance with Nature to show affection for our friends, and to rejoice in their advancement as if it were absolutely our own. For if we have not done this, even virtue, which grows strong only through exercising our perceptions, will not abide with us. Now virtue advises us to arrange the present well, to take thought regarding the future, to deliberate and apply our minds; and one who takes a friend into council with him, can more easily apply his mind and think out his problem. Therefore he will seek either the perfect wise man or one who has progressed to a point bordering on perfection. The perfect wise man, moreover, will help us if he aids our counsels with ordinary good sense.

16. They say that men see farther in the affairs of others than in their own. A defect of character causes this in those who are blinded by self-love, and whose fear in the hour of peril takes away their clear view of that which is useful; it is when a man is more at ease and freed from fear that he will begin to be wise. Nevertheless, there are certain matters where even wise men see the facts more clearly in the case of others than in their own. Moreover, the wise man will, in company with his fellow sage, confirm the truth of that most sweet and honourable proverb – "always desiring and always refusing the same things": it will be a noble result when they draw the load "with equal yoke."

17. I have thus answered your demand, although it came under the head of subjects which I include in my volumes On Moral Philosophy. Reflect, as I am often wont to tell you, that there is nothing in such topics for us except mental gymnastics. For I return again and again to the thought: "What good does this do me? Make me more brave now, more just, more restrained! I have not yet the opportunity to make use of my training; for I still need the physician.

18. Why do you ask of me a useless knowledge? You have promised great things; test me, watch me! You assured me that I should be unterrified though swords were flashing round me, though the point of the blade were grazing my throat; you assured me that I should be at ease though fires were blazing round me, or though a sudden whirlwind should snatch up my ship and carry it over all the sea. Now make good for me such a course of treatment that I may despise pleasure and glory. Thereafter you shall teach me to work out complicated problems, to settle doubtful points, to see through that which is not clear; teach me now what it is necessary for me to know!" Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 110. On True and False Riches

1. From my villa at Nomentum I send you greeting and bid you keep a sound spirit within you – in other words, gain the blessing of all the gods, for he is assured of their grace and favour who has become a blessing to himself. Lay aside for the present the belief of certain persons – that a god is assigned to each one of us as a sort of attendant – not a god of regular rank, but one of a lower grade – one of those whom Ovid calls "plebeian gods." Yet, while laying aside this belief, I would have you remember that our ancestors, who followed such a creed, have become Stoics; for they have assigned a Genius or a Juno to every individual. [Every man had his Genius, and every woman her Juno. In the case of the Stoics, God dwelt in every soul.]

2. Later on we shall investigate whether the gods have enough time on their hands to care for the concerns of private individuals; in the meantime, you must know that whether we are allotted to special guardians, or whether we are neglected and consigned to Fortune, you can curse a man with no heavier curse than to pray that he may be at enmity with himself. There is no reason, however, why you should ask the gods to be hostile to anyone whom you regard as deserving of punishment; they are hostile to such a person, I maintain, even though he seems to be advanced by their favour.

3. Apply careful investigation, considering how our affairs actually stand, and not what men say of them; you will then understand that evils are more likely to help us than to harm us. For how often has so-called affliction been the source and the beginning of happiness! How often have privileges which we welcomed with deep thanksgiving built steps for themselves to the top of a precipice, still uplifting men who were already distinguished – just as if they had previously stood in a position whence they could fall in safety!

4. But this very fall has in it nothing evil, if you consider the end, after which nature lays no man lower. The universal limit is near; yes, there is near us the point where the prosperous man is upset, and the point where the unfortunate is set free. It is we ourselves that extend both these limits, lengthening them by our hopes and by our fears. If, however, you are wise, measure all things according to the state of man; restrict at the same time both your joys and your fears. Moreover, it is worth while not to rejoice at anything for long, so that you may not fear anything for long.

5. But why do I confine the scope of this evil? There is no reason why you should suppose that anything is to be feared. All these things which stir us and keep us a-flutter, are empty things. None of us has sifted out the truth; we have passed fear on to one another; none has dared to approach the object which caused his dread, and to understand the nature of his fear – aye, the good behind it. That is why falsehood and vanity still gain credit – because they are not refuted. 6. Let us account it worth while to look closely at the matter; then it will be clear how fleeting, how unsure, and how harmless are the things which we fear. The disturbance in our spirits is similar to that which Lucretius detected:

Like boys who cower frightened in the dark,
So grown-ups in the light of day feel fear.

What, then? Are we not more foolish than any child, we who "in the light of day feel fear"?

7. But you were wrong, Lucretius; we are not afraid in the daylight; we have turned everything into a state of darkness. We see neither what injures nor what profits us; all our lives through we blunder along, neither stopping nor treading more carefully on this account. But you see what madness it is to rush ahead in the dark. Indeed, we are bent on getting ourselves called back from a greater distance; and though we do not know our goal, yet we hasten with wild speed in the direction whither we are straining.

8. The light, however, may begin to shine, provided we are willing. But such a result can come about only in one way – if we acquire by knowledge this familiarity with things divine and human, if we not only flood ourselves but steep ourselves therein, if a man reviews the same principles even though he understands them and applies them again and again to himself, if he has investigated what is good, what is evil, and what has falsely been so entitled; and, finally, if he has investigated honour and baseness, and Providence.

9. The range of the human intelligence is not confined within these limits; it may also explore outside the universe – its destination and its source, and the ruin towards which all nature hastens so rapidly. We have withdrawn the soul from this divine contemplation and dragged it into mean and lowly tasks, so that it might be a slave to greed, so that it might forsake the universe and its confines, and, under the command of masters who try all possible schemes, pry beneath the earth and seek what evil it can dig up therefrom – discontented with that which was freely offered to it.

10. Now God, who is the Father of us all, has placed ready to our hands those things which he intended for our own good; he did not wait for any search on our part, and he gave them to us voluntarily. But that which would be injurious, he buried deep in the earth. We can complain of nothing but ourselves; for we have brought to light the materials for our destruction, against the will of Nature, who hid them from us. We have bound over our souls to pleasure, whose service is the source of all evil; we have surrendered ourselves to self-seeking and reputation, and to other aims which are equally idle and useless.

11. What, then, do I now encourage you to do? Nothing new – we are not trying to find cures for new evils – but this first of all: namely, to see clearly for yourself what is necessary and what is superfluous. What is necessary will meet you everywhere; what is superfluous has always to be hunted-out – and with great endeavour.

12. But there is no reason why you should flatter yourself over-much if you despise gilded couches and jewelled furniture. For what virtue lies in despising useless things? The time to admire your own conduct is when you have come to despise the necessities. You are doing no great thing if you can live without royal pomp, if you feel no craving for boars which weigh a thousand pounds, or for flamingo tongues, or for the other absurdities of a luxury that already wearies of game cooked whole, and chooses different bits from separate animals; I shall admire you only when you have learned to scorn even the common sort of bread, when you have made yourself believe that grass grows for the needs of men as well as of cattle, when you have found out that food from the treetop can fill the belly – into which we cram things of value as if it could keep what it has received. We should satisfy our stomachs without being over-nice. How does it matter what the stomach receives, since it must lose whatever it has received?

13. You enjoy the carefully arranged dainties which are caught on land and sea; some are more pleasing if they are brought fresh to the table, others, if after long feeding and forced fattening they almost melt and can hardly retain their own grease. You like the subtly devised flavour of these dishes. But I assure you that such carefully chosen and variously seasoned dishes, once they have entered the belly, will be overtaken alike by one and the same corruption. Would you despise the pleasures of eating? Then consider its result!

4. I remember some words of Attalus, which elicited general applause: "Riches long deceived me. I used to be dazed when I caught some gleam of them here and there. I used to think that their hidden influence matched their visible show. But once, at a certain elaborate entertainment, I saw embossed work in silver and gold equalling the wealth of a whole city, and colours and tapestry devised to match objects which surpassed the value of gold or of silver – brought not only from beyond our own borders, but from beyond the borders of our enemies; on one side were slave-boys notable for their training and beauty, on the other were throngs of slave-women, and all the other resources that a prosperous and mighty empire could offer after reviewing its possessions.

15. What else is this, I said to myself, than a stirring-up of man's cravings, which are in themselves provocative of lust? What is the meaning of all this display of money? Did we gather merely to learn what greed was? For my own part I left the place with less craving than I had when I entered. I came

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to despise riches, not because of their uselessness, but because of their pettiness.

16. Have you noticed how, inside a few hours, that programme, however slow-moving and carefully arranged, was over and done? Has a business filled up this whole life of ours, which could not fill up a whole day? "I had another thought also: the riches seemed to me to be as useless to the possessors as they were to the onlookers.

17. Accordingly, I say to myself, whenever a show of that sort dazzles my eyes, whenever I see a splendid palace with a well-groomed corps of attendants and beautiful bearers carrying a litter: Why wonder? Why gape in astonishment? It is all show; such things are displayed, not possessed; while they please they pass away.

18. Turn thyself rather to the true riches. Learn to be content with little, and cry out with courage and with greatness of soul: 'We have water, we have porridge; let us compete in happiness with Jupiter himself.' And why not, I pray thee, make this challenge even without porridge and water? For it is base to make the happy life depend upon silver and gold, and just as base to make it depend upon water and porridge. 'But,' some will say, 'what could I do without such things?'

19. Do you ask what is the cure for want? It is to make hunger satisfy hunger; for, all else being equal, what difference is there in the smallness or the largeness of the things that force you to be a slave? What matter how little it is that Fortune can refuse to you?

20. Your very porridge and water can fall under another's jurisdiction; and besides, freedom comes, not to him over whom Fortune has slight power, but to him over whom she has no power at all. This is what I mean: you must crave nothing, if you would vie with Jupiter; for Jupiter craves nothing." This is what Attalus told us. If you are willing to think often of these things, you will strive not to seem happy, but to be happy, and, in addition, to seem happy to yourself rather than to others. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 111. On the Vanity of Mental Gymnastics

1. You have asked me to give you a Latin word for the Greek sophismata. Many have tried to define the term, but no name has stuck. This is natural, inasmuch as the thing itself has not been admitted to general use by us; the name, too, has met with opposition. But the word which Cicero used seems to me most suitable: he calls them cavillationes.

2. If a man has surrendered himself to them, he weaves many a tricky subtlety, but makes no progress toward real living; he does not thereby become braver, or more restrained, or loftier of spirit. He, however, who has practised philosophy to effect his own cure, becomes high-souled, full of confidence, invincible, and greater as you draw near him.

3. This phenomenon is seen in the case of high mountains, which appear less lofty when beheld from afar, but which prove clearly how high the peaks are when you come near them; such, my dear Lucilius, is our true philosopher, true by his acts and not by his tricks. He stands in a high place, worthy of admiration, lofty, and really great. He does not stretch himself or walk on tiptoe like those who seek to improve their height by deceit, wishing to seem taller than they really are; he is content with his own greatness.

4. And why should he not be content with having grown to such a height that Fortune cannot reach her hands to it? He is therefore above earthly things, equal to himself under all conditions, – whether the current of life runs free, or whether he is tossed and travels on troubled and desperate seas; but this steadfastness cannot be gained through such hair-splittings as I have just mentioned. The mind plays with them, but profits not a whit; the mind in such cases is simply dragging philosophy down from her heights to the level ground.

5. I would not forbid you to practise such exercises occasionally; but let it be at a time when you wish to do nothing. The worst feature, however, that these indulgences present is that they acquire a sort of self-made charm, occupying and holding the soul by a show of subtlety; although such weighty matters claim our attention, and a whole life seems scarcely sufficient to learn the single principle of despising life. "What? Did you not mean 'control' instead of 'despise'"? No; "controlling" is the second task; for no one has controlled his life aright unless he has first learned to despise it. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 112. On Reforming Hardened Sinners

1. I am indeed anxious that your friend be moulded and trained, according to your desire. But he has been taken in a very hardened state, or rather (and this is a more difficult problem), in a very soft state, broken down by bad and inveterate habits. I should like to give you an illustration from my own handicraft. [Seneca was an extensive and prosperous vine-grower. Compare Ep. 104. 6 f. for his description of his hobby at the country-place near Nomentum. There are many figures which deal with the vine scattered through the Letters.]

2. It is not every vine that admits the grafting process; if it be old and decayed, or if it be weak and slender, the vine either will not receive the cutting, or will not nourish it and make it a part of itself, nor will it accommodate itself to the qualities and nature of the grafted part. Hence we usually cut off the vine above ground, so that if we do not get results at first, we may try a second venture, and on a second trial graft it below the ground.

3. Now this person, concerning whom you have sent me your message in writing, has no strength; for he has pampered his vices. He has at one and the same time become flabby and hardened. He cannot receive reason, nor can he nourish it. "But," you say, "he desires reason of his own free will." Don't believe him. Of course I do not mean that he is lying to you; for he really thinks that he desires it. Luxury has merely upset his stomach; he will soon become reconciled to it again.

4. "But he says that he is put out with his former way of living." Very likely. Who is not? Men love and hate their vices at the same time. It will be the proper season to pass judgement on him when he has given us a guarantee that he really hates luxury; as it is now, luxury and he are merely not on speaking terms. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 113. On the Vitality of the Soul and Its Attributes

1. You wish me to write to you my opinion concerning this question, which has been mooted by our school – whether justice, courage, foresight, and the other virtues, are living things. By such niceties as this, my beloved Lucilius, we have made people think that we sharpen our wits on useless objects, and waste our leisure time in discussions that will be unprofitable. I shall, however, do as you ask, and shall set forth the subject as viewed by our school. For myself, I confess to another belief: I hold that there are certain things which befit a wearer of white shoes and a Greek mantle. But what the beliefs are that have stirred the ancients, or those which the ancients have stirred up for discussion, I shall explain to you.

2. The soul, men are agreed, is a living thing, because of itself it can make us living things, and because "living things" have derived their name therefrom. But virtue is nothing else than a soul in a certain condition; therefore it is a living thing. Again, virtue is active, and no action can take place without impulse. And if a thing has impulse, it must be a living thing; for none except a living thing possesses impulse.

3. A reply to this is: "If virtue is a living thing, then virtue itself possesses virtue." Of course it possesses its own self! Just as the wise man does everything by reason of virtue, so virtue accomplishes everything by reason of itself. "In that case," say they, "all the arts also are living things, and all our thoughts and all that the mind comprehends. It therefore follows that many thousands of living things dwell in man's tiny heart, and that each individual among us consists of, or at least contains, many living beings."

Are you gravelled for an answer to this remark? Each of these will be a living thing; but they will not be many separate living things. And why? I shall explain, if you will apply your subtlety and your concentration to my words.

4. Each living thing must have a separate substance; but since all the things mentioned above have a single soul, consequently they can be separate living things but without plurality. I myself am a living thing, and a man; but you cannot say that there are two of me for that reason. And why? Because, if that were so, they would have to be two separate existences. This is what I mean: one would have to be sundered from the other so as to produce two. But whenever you have that which is manifold in one whole, it falls into the category of a single nature, and is therefore single.

5. My soul is a living thing, and so am I; but we are not two separate persons. And why? Because the soul is part of myself. It will only be reckoned as a definite thing in itself, when it shall exist by itself. But as long as it shall be part of another, it cannot be regarded as different. And why? I will tell you: it is because that which is different, must be personal and peculiar to itself, a whole, and complete within itself.

6. I myself have gone on record as being of a different opinion; for if one adopts this belief, not only the virtues will be living things, but so will their contrary vices, and the emotions, like wrath, fear, grief, and suspicion. Nay, the argument will carry us still further – all opinions and all thoughts will be living things. This is by no means admissible; since anything that man does is not necessarily the man himself.

7. "What is Justice?" people say. Justice is a soul that maintains itself in a certain attitude. "Then if the soul is a living being, so is Justice." By no means. For Justice is really a state, a kind of power, of the soul; and this same soul is transformed into various likenesses and does not become a different kind of living thing as often as it acts differently. Nor is the result of soul-action a living thing.

8. If Justice, Bravery, and the other virtues have actual life, do they cease to be living things and then begin life over again, or are they always living things? But the virtues cannot cease to be. Therefore, there are many, nay countless, living things, sojourning in this one soul.

9. "No," is the answer, "not many, because they are all attached to the one, being parts and members of a single whole." We are then portraying for ourselves an image of the soul like that of a many-headed hydra – each separate head fighting and destroying independently. And yet there is no separate living thing to each head; it is the head of a living thing, and the hydra itself is one single living thing. No one ever believed that the Chimaera contained a living lion or a living serpent; these were merely parts of the whole Chimaera; and parts are not living things.

10. Then how can you infer that Justice is a living thing? "Justice," people reply, "is active and helpful; that which acts and is helpful, possesses impulse; and that which possesses impulse is a living thing." True, if the impulse is its own; (but in the case of justice it is not its own;) the impulse comes from the soul.

11. Every living thing exists as it began, until death; a man, until he dies, is a man, a horse is a horse, a dog a dog. They cannot change into anything else. Now let us grant that Justice – which is defined as "a soul in a certain attitude," is a living thing. Let us suppose this to be so. Then Bravery also is alive, being "a soul in a certain attitude." But which soul? That which was but now defined as Justice? The soul is kept within the first-named being, and cannot cross over into another; it must last out its existence in the medium where it had its origin.

12. Besides, there cannot be one soul to two living things, much less to many living things. And if Justice, Bravery, Restraint, and all the other virtues, are living things, how will they have one soul? They must possess separate souls, or else they are not living things.

13. Several living things cannot have one body; this is admitted by our very opponents. Now what is the "body" of justice? "The soul," they admit. And of bravery? "The soul also." And yet there cannot be one body of two living things.

14. "The same soul, however," they answer, "assumes the guise of Justice, or Bravery, or Restraint." This would be possible if Bravery were absent when Justice was present, and if Restraint were absent when Bravery was present; as the case stands now, all the virtues exist at the same time. Hence, how can the separate virtues be living things, if you grant that there is one single soul, which cannot create more than one single living thing?

15. Again, no living thing is part of another living thing. But Justice is a part of the soul; therefore Justice is not a living thing. It looks as if I were wasting time over something that is an acknowledged fact; for one ought to decry such a topic rather than debate it. And no two living things are equal. Consider the bodies of all beings: every one has its particular colour, shape, and size.

16. And among the other reasons for marvelling at the genius of the Divine Creator is, I believe, this, – that amid all this abundance there is no repetition; even seemingly similar things are, on comparison, unlike. God has created all the great number of leaves that we behold: each, however, is stamped with its special pattern. All the many animals: none resembles another in size – always some difference! The Creator has set himself the task of making unlike and unequal things that are different; but all the virtues, as your argument states, are equal. Therefore, they are not living things.

17. Every living thing acts of itself; but virtue does nothing of itself; it must act in conjunction with man. All living things either are gifted with reason, like men and gods, or else are irrational, like beasts and cattle. Virtues, in any case, are rational; and yet they are neither men nor gods; therefore they are not living things.

18. Every living thing possessed of reason is inactive if it is not first stirred by some external impression; then the impulse comes, and finally assent confirms the impulse. Now what assent is, I shall explain. Suppose that I ought to take a walk: I do walk, but only after uttering the command to myself and approving this opinion of mine. Or suppose that I ought to seat myself; I do seat myself, but only after the same process. This assent is not a part of virtue.

19. For let us suppose that it is Prudence; how will Prudence assent to the opinion: "I must take a walk"? Nature does not allow this. For Prudence looks after the interests of its possessor, and not of its own self. Prudence cannot walk or be seated. Accordingly, it does not possess the power of assent, and it is not a living thing possessed of reason. But if virtue is a living thing, it is rational. But it is not rational; therefore it is not a living thing.

20. If virtue is a living thing, and virtue is a Good – is not, then, every Good a living thing? It is. Our school professes it. Now to save a father's life is a Good; it is also a Good to pronounce one's opinion judiciously in the senate, and it is a Good to hand down just opinions; therefore the act of saving a father's life is a living thing, also the act of pronouncing judicious opinions. We have carried this absurd argument so far that you cannot keep from laughing outright: wise silence is a Good, and so is a frugal dinner; therefore silence and dining are living things.

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21. Indeed I shall never cease to tickle my mind and to make sport for myself by means of this nice nonsense. Justice and Bravery, if they are living things, are certainly of the earth. Now every earthly living thing gets cold or hungry or thirsty; therefore, Justice goes a-cold, Bravery is hungry, and Kindness craves a drink!

22. And what next? Should I not ask our honourable opponents what shape these living beings have? Is it that of man, or horse, or wild beast? If they are given a round shape, like that of a god, I shall ask whether greed and luxury and madness are equally round. For these, too, are "living things." If I find that they give a rounded shape to these also, I shall go so far as to ask whether a modest gait is a living thing; they must admit it, according to their argument, and proceed to say that a gait is a living thing, and a rounded living thing, at that!

23. Now do not imagine that I am the first one of our school who does not speak from rules but has his own opinion: Cleanthes and his pupil Chrysippus could not agree in defining the act of walking. Cleanthes held that it was spirit transmitted to the feet from the primal essence, while Chrysippus maintained that it was the primal essence in itself. Why, then, following the example of Chrysippus himself, should not every man claim his own freedom, and laugh down all these "living things," – so numerous that the universe itself cannot contain them?

24. One might say: "The virtues are not many living things, and yet they are living things. For just as an individual may be both poet and orator in one, even so these virtues are living things, but they are not many. The soul is the same; it can be at the same time just and prudent and brave, maintaining itself in a certain attitude towards each virtue."

25. The dispute is settled, and we are therefore agreed. For I shall admit, meanwhile, that the soul is a living thing with the proviso that later on I may cast my final vote; but I deny that the acts of the soul are living beings. Otherwise, all words and all verses would be alive; for if prudent speech is a Good, and every Good a living thing, then speech is a living thing. A prudent line of poetry is a Good; everything alive is a Good; therefore, the line of poetry is a living thing. And so "Arms and the man I sing," is a living thing; but they cannot call it rounded, because it has six feet!

26. "This whole proposition," you say, "which we are at this moment discussing, is a puzzling fabric." I split with laughter whenever I reflect that solecisms and barbarisms and syllogisms are living things, and, like an artist, I give to each a fitting likeness. Is this what we discuss with contracted brow and wrinkled forehead? I cannot say now, after Caelius, "What melancholy trifling!" It is more than this; it is absurd. Why do we not rather discuss something which is useful and wholesome to ourselves, seeking how we may attain the virtues, and finding the path which will take us in that direction?

27. Teach me, not whether Bravery be a living thing, but prove that no living thing is happy without bravery, that is, unless it has grown strong to oppose hazards and has overcome all the strokes of chance by rehearsing and anticipating their attack. And what is Bravery? It is the impregnable fortress for our mortal weakness; when a man has surrounded himself therewith, he can hold out free from anxiety during life's siege; for he is using his own strength and his own weapons.

28. At this point I would quote you a saying of our philosopher Posidonius: "There are never any occasions when you need think yourself safe because you wield the weapons of Fortune; fight with your own! Fortune does not furnish arms against herself; hence men equipped against their foes are unarmed against Fortune herself."

29. Alexander, to be sure, harried and put to flight the Persians, the Hyrcanians, the Indians, and all the other races that the Orient spreads even to the Ocean; but he himself, as he slew one friend or lost another, would lie in the darkness lamenting sometimes his crime, and sometimes his loss; he, the conqueror of so many kings and nations, was laid low by anger and grief! For he had made it his aim to win control over everything except his emotions.

30. Oh with what great mistakes are men obsessed, who desire to push their limits of empire beyond the seas, who judge themselves most prosperous when they occupy many provinces with their soldiery and join new territory to the old! Little do they know of that kingdom which is on an equality with the heavens in greatness!

31. Self-Command is the greatest command of all. Let her teach me what a hallowed thing is the Justice which ever regards another's good and seeks nothing for itself except its own employment. It should have nothing to do with ambition and reputation; it should satisfy itself. Let each man convince himself of this before all else – "I must be just without reward." And that is not enough; let him convince himself also of this: "May I take pleasure in devoting myself of my own free will to uphold this noblest of virtues." Let all his thoughts be turned as far as possible from personal interests. You need not look about for the reward of a just deed; a just deed in itself offers a still greater return.

32. Fasten deep in your mind that which I remarked a short space above: that it makes no difference how many persons are acquainted with your uprightness. Those who wish their virtue to be advertised are not striving for virtue but for renown. Are you not willing to be just without being renowned? Nay, indeed you must often be just and be at the same time disgraced. And then, if you are wise, let ill repute, well won, be a delight. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 114. On Style as a Mirror of Character

1. You have been asking me why, during certain periods, a degenerate style of speech comes to the fore, and how it is that men's wits have gone downhill into certain vices – in such a way that exposition at one time has taken on a kind of puffed-up strength, and at another has become mincing and modulated like the music of a concert piece. You wonder why sometimes bold ideas – bolder than one could believe – have been held in favour, and why at other times one meets with phrases that are disconnected and full of innuendo, into which one must read more meaning than was intended to meet the ear. Or why there have been epochs which maintained the right to a shameless use of metaphor. For answer, here is a phrase which you are wont to notice in the popular speech – one which the Greeks have made into a proverb: "Man's speech is just like his life."

2. Exactly as each individual man's actions seem to speak, so people's style of speaking often reproduces the general character of the time, if the morale of the public has relaxed and has given itself over to effeminacy. Wantonness in speech is proof of public luxury, if it is popular and fashionable, and not confined to one or two individual instances.

3. A man's ability [i.e., that inborn quality which is compounded of character and intelligence.] cannot possibly be of one sort and his soul of another. If his soul be wholesome, well-ordered, serious, and restrained, his ability also is sound and sober. Conversely, when the one degenerates, the other is also contaminated. Do you not see that if a man's soul has become sluggish, his limbs drag and his feet move indolently? If it is womanish, that one can detect the effeminacy by his very gait? That a keen and confident soul quickens the step? That madness in the soul, or anger (which resembles madness), hastens our bodily movements from walking to rushing? And how much more do you think that this affects one's ability, which is entirely interwoven with the soul, – being moulded thereby, obeying its commands, and deriving therefrom its laws!

4. How Maecenas lived is too well-known for present comment. We know how he walked, how effeminate he was, and how he desired to display himself; also, how unwilling he was that his vices should escape notice. What, then? Does not the looseness of his speech match his ungirt attire? Are his habits, his attendants, his house, his wife, any less clearly marked than his words? He would have been a man of great powers, had he set himself to his task by a straight path, had he not shrunk from making himself understood, had he not been so loose in his style of speech also. You will therefore see that his eloquence was that of an intoxicated man – twisting, turning, unlimited in its slackness.

5. What is more unbecoming than the words: "A stream and a bank covered with long-tressed woods"? And see how "men plough the channel with boats and, turning up the shallows, leave gardens behind them." Or, "He curls his lady-locks, and bills and coos, and starts a-sighing, like a forest lord who offers prayers with down-bent neck." Or, "An unregenerate crew, they search out people at feasts, and assail households with the wine-cup, and, by hope, exact death." Or, "A Genius could hardly bear witness to his own festival"; or "threads of tiny tapers and crackling meal"; "mothers or wives clothing the hearth."

6. Can you not at once imagine, on reading through these words, that this was the man who always paraded through the city with a flowing tunic? For even if he was discharging the absent emperor's duties, he was always in undress when they asked him for the countersign. Or that this was the man who, as judge on the bench, or as an orator, or at any public function, appeared with his cloak wrapped about his head, leaving only the ears exposed, like the millionaire's runaway slaves in the farce? Or that this was the man who, at the very time when the state was embroiled in civil strife, when the city was in difficulties and under martial law, was attended in public by two eunuchs – both of them more men than himself? Or that this was the man who had but one wife, and yet was married countless times?

7. These words of his, put together so faultily, thrown off so carelessly, and arranged in such marked contrast to the usual practice, declare that the character of their writer was equally unusual, unsound, and eccentric. To be sure, we bestow upon him the highest praise for his humanity; he was sparing with the sword and refrained from bloodshed; and he made a show of his power only in the course of his loose living; but he spoiled, by such preposterous finickiness of style, this genuine praise, which was his due.

8. For it is evident that he was not really gentle, but effeminate, as is proved by his misleading word-order, his inverted expressions, and the surprising thoughts which frequently contain something great, but in finding expression have become nerveless. One would say that his head was turned by too great success.

This fault is due sometimes to the man, and sometimes to his epoch.

9. When prosperity has spread luxury far and wide, men begin by paying closer attention to their personal appearance. Then they go crazy over furniture. Next, they devote attention to their houses – how to take up more space with them, as if they were country-houses, how to make the walls glitter with marble that has been imported over seas, how to adorn a roof with gold, so that it may match the brightness of the inlaid floors. After that, they transfer their exquisite taste to the dinner-table, attempting to court approval by novelty and by departures from the customary order of dishes, so that the courses which we are accustomed to serve at the end of the meal may be served first, and so that the departing guests may partake of the kind of food which in former days was set before them on their arrival.

10. When the mind has acquired the habit of scorning the usual things of life, and regarding as mean that which was once customary, it begins to hunt for novelties in speech also; now it summons and displays obsolete and old-fashioned words; now it coins even unknown words or misshapes them; and now a bold and frequent metaphorical usage is made a special feature of style, according to the fashion which has just become prevalent.

11. Some cut the thoughts short, hoping to make a good impression by leaving the meaning in doubt and causing the hearer to suspect his own lack of wit. Some dwell upon them and lengthen them out. Others, too, approach just short of a fault – for a man must really do this if he hopes to attain an imposing effect – but actually love the fault for its own sake. In short, whenever you notice that a degenerate style pleases the critics, you may be sure that character also has deviated from the right standard. Just as luxurious banquets and elaborate dress are indications of disease in the state, similarly a lax style, if it be popular, shows that the mind (which is the source of the word) has lost its balance. Indeed you ought not to wonder that corrupt speech is welcomed not merely by the more squalid mob but also by our more cultured throng; for it is only in their dress and not in their judgements that they differ.

12. You may rather wonder that not only the effects of vices, but even vices themselves, meet with approval. For it has ever been thus: no man's ability has ever been approved without something being pardoned. Show me any man, however famous; I can tell you what it was that his age forgave in him, and what it was that his age purposely overlooked. I can show you many men whose vices have caused them no harm, and not a few who have been even helped by these vices. Yes, I will show you persons of the highest reputation, set up as models for our admiration; and yet if you seek to correct their errors, you destroy them; for vices are so intertwined with virtues that they drag the virtues along with them.

13. Moreover, style has no fixed laws; it is changed by the usage of the people, never the same for any length of time. Many orators hark back to earlier epochs for their vocabulary, speaking in the language of the Twelve Tables [Fifth century BC.]. Gracchus, Crassus, and Curio, in their eyes, are too refined and too modern; so back to Appius and Coruncanius! Conversely, certain men, in their endeavour to maintain nothing but well-worn and common usages, fall into a humdrum style.

14. These two classes, each in its own way, are degenerate; and it is no less degenerate to use no words except those which are conspicuous, high-sounding, and poetical, avoiding what is familiar and in ordinary usage. One is, I believe, as faulty as the other: the one class are unreasonably elaborate, the other are unreasonably negligent; the former depilate the leg, the latter not even the armpit.

15. Let us now turn to the arrangement of words. In this department, what countless varieties of fault I can show you! Some are all for abruptness and unevenness of style, purposely disarranging anything which seems to have a smooth flow of language. They would have jolts in all their transitions; they regard as strong and manly whatever makes an uneven impression on the ear. With some others it is not so much an "arrangement" of words as it is a setting to music; so wheedling and soft is their gliding style.

16. And what shall I say of that arrangement in which words are put off and, after being long waited for, just manage to come in at the end of a period? Or again of that softly-concluding style, Cicero-fashion, with a gradual and gently poised descent always the same and always with the customary arrangement of the rhythm! Nor is the fault only in the style of the sentences, if they are either petty and childish, or debasing, with more daring than modesty should allow, or if they are flowery and cloying, or if they end in emptiness, accomplishing mere sound and nothing more.

17. Some individual makes these vices fashionable – some person who controls the eloquence of the day; the rest follow his lead and communicate the habit to each other. Thus when

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Sallust was in his glory, phrases were lopped off, words came to a close unexpectedly, and obscure conciseness was equivalent to elegance. L. Arruntius, a man of rare simplicity, author of a historical work on the Punic War, was a member and a strong supporter of the Sallust school. There is a phrase in Sallust: exercitum argento fecit, meaning thereby that he recruited an army by means of money. Arruntius began to like this idea; he therefore inserted the verb facio all through his book. Hence, in one passage, fugam nostris fecere; in another, Hiero, rex Syracusanorum, bellum fecit; and in another, quae audita Panhormitanos dedere Romanis fecere.

18. I merely desired to give you a taste; his whole book is interwoven with such stuff as this. What Sallust reserved for occasional use, Arruntius makes into a frequent and almost continual habit – and there was a reason: for Sallust used the words as they occurred to his mind, while the other writer went afield in search of them. So you see the results of copying another man's vices.

19. Again, Sallust said: aquis hiemantibus. Arruntius, in his first book on the Punic War, uses the words: repente hiemavit tempestas. And elsewhere, wishing to describe an exceptionally cold year, he says: totus hiemavit annus. And in another passage: inde sexaginta onerarias leves praeter militem et necessarios nautarum hiemante aquilone misit; and he continues to bolster many passages with this metaphor. In a certain place, Sallust gives the words: inter arma civilia aequi bonique famas petit; and Arruntius cannot restrain himself from mentioning at once, in the first book, that there were extensive "reminders" concerning Regulus.

20. These and similar faults, which imitation stamps upon one's style, are not necessarily indications of loose standards or of debased mind; for they are bound to be personal and peculiar to the writer, enabling one to judge thereby of a particular author's temperament; just as an angry man will talk in an angry way, an excitable man in a flurried way, and an effeminate man in a style that is soft and unresisting.

21. You note this tendency in those who pluck out, or thin out, their beards, or who closely shear and shave the upper lip while preserving the rest of the hair and allowing it to grow, or in those who wear cloaks of outlandish colours, who wear transparent togas, and who never deign to do anything which will escape general notice; they endeavour to excite and attract men's attention, and they put up even with censure, provided that they can advertise themselves. That is the style of Maecenas and all the others who stray from the path, not by hazard, but consciously and voluntarily.

22. This is the result of great evil in the soul. As in the case of drink, the tongue does not trip until the mind is overcome beneath its load and gives way or betrays itself; so that intoxication of style – for what else than this can I call it? – never gives trouble to anyone unless the soul begins to totter. Therefore, I say, take care of the soul; for from the soul issue our thoughts, from the soul our words, from the soul our dispositions, our expressions, and our very gait. When the soul is sound and strong, the style too is vigorous, energetic, manly; but if the soul lose its balance, down comes all the rest in ruins.

23. If but the king be safe, your swarm will live
Harmonious; if he die, the bees revolt.

The soul is our king. If it be safe, the other functions remain on duty and serve with obedience; but the slightest lack of equilibrium in the soul causes them to waver along with it. And when the soul has yielded to pleasure, its functions and actions grow weak, and any undertaking comes from a nerveless and unsteady source.

24. To persist in my use of this simile – our soul is at one time a king, at another a tyrant. The king, in that he respects things honourable, watches over the welfare of the body which is entrusted to his charge, and gives that body no base, no ignoble commands. But an uncontrolled, passionate, and effeminate soul changes kingship into that most dread and detestable quality – tyranny; then it becomes a prey to the uncontrolled emotions, which dog its steps, elated at first, to be sure, like a populace idly sated with a largess which will ultimately be its undoing, and spoiling what it cannot consume.

25. But when the disease has gradually eaten away the strength, and luxurious habits have penetrated the marrow and the sinews, such a soul exults at the sight of limbs which, through its overindulgence, it has made useless; instead of its own pleasures, it views those of others; it becomes the go-between and witness of the passions which, as the result of self-gratification, it can no longer feel. Abundance of delights is not so pleasing a thing to that soul as it is bitter, because it cannot send all the dainties of yore down through the over-worked throat and stomach, because it can no longer whirl in the maze of eunuchs and mistresses, and it is melancholy because a great part of its happiness is shut off, through the limitations of the body.

26. Now is it not madness, Lucilius, for none of us to reflect that he is mortal? Or frail? Or again that he is but one individual? Look at our kitchens, and the cooks, who bustle about over so many fires; is it, think you, for a single belly that all this bustle and preparation of food takes place? Look at the old brands of wine and store-houses filled with the vintages of many ages; is it, think you, a single belly that is to receive the stored wine, sealed with the names of so many consuls, and gathered from so many vineyards? Look, and mark in how many regions men plough the earth, and how many thousands of farmers are tilling and digging; is it, think you, for a single belly that crops are planted in Sicily and Africa?

27. We should be sensible, and our wants more reasonable, if each of us were to take stock of himself, and to measure his bodily needs also, and understand how little he can consume, and for how short a time! But nothing will give you so much help toward moderation as the frequent thought that life is short and uncertain here below; whatever you are doing, have regard to death. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 115. On the Superficial Blessings

1. I wish, my dear Lucilius, that you would not be too particular with regard to words and their arrangement; I have greater matters than these to commend to your care. You should seek what to write, rather than how to write it – and even that not for the purpose of writing but of feeling it, that you may thus make what you have felt more your own and, as it were, set a seal on it.

2. Whenever you notice a style that is too careful and too polished, you may be sure that the mind also is no less absorbed in petty things. The really great man speaks informally and easily; whatever he says, he speaks with assurance rather than with pains. You are familiar with the young dandies, natty as to their beards and locks, fresh from the bandbox; you can never expect from them any strength or any soundness. Style is the garb of thought: if it be trimmed, or dyed, or treated, it shows that there are defects and a certain amount of flaws in the mind. Elaborate elegance is not a manly garb.

3. If we had the privilege of looking into a good man's soul, oh what a fair, holy, magnificent, gracious, and shining face should we behold – radiant on the one side with justice and temperance, on another with bravery and wisdom! And, besides these, thriftiness, moderation, endurance, refinement, affability, and – though hard to believe – love of one's fellow-men, that Good which is so rare in man, all these would be shedding their own glory over that soul. There, too, forethought combined with elegance and, resulting from these, a most excellent greatness of soul (the noblest of all these virtues) – indeed what charm, O ye heavens, what authority and dignity would they contribute! What a wonderful combination of sweetness and power! No one could call such a face lovable without also calling it worshipful.

4. If one might behold such a face, more exalted and more radiant than the mortal eye is wont to behold, would not one pause as if struck dumb by a visitation from above, and utter a silent prayer, saying: "May it be lawful to have looked upon it!"? And then, led on by the encouraging kindliness of his expression, should we not bow down and worship? Should we not, after much contemplation of a far superior countenance, surpassing those which we are wont to look upon, mild-eyed and yet flashing with life-giving fire – should we not then, I say, in reverence and awe, give utterance to those famous lines of our poet Vergil:

5. O maiden, words are weak! Thy face is more
Than mortal, and thy voice rings sweeter far
Than mortal man's; . . . . . .
Blest be thou; and, whoe'er thou art, relieve
Our heavy burdens.

And such a vision will indeed be a present help and relief to us, if we are willing to worship it. But this worship does not consist in slaughtering fattened bulls, or in hanging up offerings of gold or silver, or in pouring coins into a temple treasury; rather does it consist in a will that is reverent and upright.

6. There is none of us, I declare to you, who would not burn with love for this vision of virtue, if only he had the privilege of beholding it; for now there are many things that cut off our vision, piercing it with too strong a light, or clogging it with too much darkness. If, however, as certain drugs are wont to be used for sharpening and clearing the eyesight, we are likewise willing to free our mind's eye from hindrances, we shall then be able to perceive virtue, though it be buried in the body – even though poverty stand in the way, and even though lowliness and disgrace block the path. We shall then, I say, behold that true beauty, no matter if it be smothered by unloveliness.

7. Conversely, we shall get a view of evil and the deadening influences of a sorrow-laden soul – in spite of the hindrance that results from the widespread gleam of riches that flash round about, and in spite of the false light – of official position on the one side or great power on the other – which beats pitilessly upon the beholder.

8. Then it will be in our power to understand how contemptible are the things we admire – like children who regard every toy as a thing of value, who cherish necklaces bought at the price of a mere penny as more dear than their parents or than their brothers. And what, then, as Aristo says, is the difference between ourselves and these children, except that we elders go crazy over paintings and sculpture, and that our folly costs us dearer? Children are pleased by the smooth and variegated pebbles which they pick up on the beach, while we take delight in tall columns of veined marble brought either from Egyptian sands or from African deserts to hold up a colonnade or a dining-hall large enough to contain a city crowd;

9. we admire walls veneered with a thin layer of marble, although we know the while what defects the marble conceals. We cheat our own eyesight, and when we have overlaid our ceilings with gold, what else is it but a lie in which we take such delight? For we know that beneath all this gilding there lurks some ugly wood. Nor is such superficial decoration spread merely over walls and ceilings; nay, all the famous men whom you see strutting about with head in air, have nothing but a gold-leaf prosperity. Look beneath, and you will know how much evil lies under that thin coating of titles.

10. Note that very commodity which holds the attention of so many magistrates and so many judges, and which creates both magistrates and judges – that money, I say, which ever since it began to be regarded with respect, has caused the ruin of the true honour of things; we become alternately merchants and merchandise, and we ask, not what a thing truly is, but what it costs; we fulfil duties if it pays, or neglect them if it pays, and we follow an honourable course as long as it encourages our expectations, ready to veer across to the opposite course if crooked conduct shall promise more.

11. Our parents have instilled into us a respect for gold and silver; in our early years the craving has been implanted, settling deep within us and growing with our growth. Then too the whole nation, though at odds on every other subject, agrees upon this; this is what they regard, this is what they ask for their children, this is what they dedicate to the gods when they wish to show their gratitude – as if it were the greatest of all man's possessions! And finally, public opinion has come to such a pass that poverty is a hissing and a reproach, despised by the rich and loathed by the poor.

12. Verses of poets also are added to the account – verses which lend fuel to our passions, verses in which wealth is praised as if it were the only credit and glory of mortal man. People seem to think that the immortal gods cannot give any better gift than wealth – or even possess anything better:

13. The Sun-god's palace, set with pillars tall,
And flashing bright with gold.
Or they describe the chariot of the Sun:
Gold was the axle, golden eke the pole,
And gold the tires that bound the circling wheels,
And silver all the spokes within the wheels.

And finally, when they would praise an epoch as the best, they call it the "Golden Age."

14. Even among the Greek tragic poets there are some who regard pelf as better than purity, soundness, or good report:

Call me a scoundrel, only call me rich!
All ask how great my riches are, but none
Whether my soul is good.
None asks the means or source of your estate,
But merely how it totals.
All men are worth as much as what they own.
What is most shameful for us to possess?
Nothing!
If riches bless me, I should love to live;
Yet I would rather die, if poor.
A man dies nobly in pursuit of wealth.
Money, that blessing to the race of man,
Cannot be matched by mother's love, or lisp
Of children, or the honour due one's sire.
And if the sweetness of the lover's glance
Be half so charming, Love will rightly stir
The hearts of gods and men to adoration.

15. When these last-quoted lines were spoken at a performance of one of the tragedies of Euripides, the whole audience rose with one accord to hiss the actor and the play off the stage. But Euripides jumped to his feet, claimed a hearing, and asked them to wait for the conclusion and see the destiny that was in store for this man who gaped after gold. Bellerophon, in that particular drama, was to pay the penalty which is exacted of all men in the drama of life.

16. For one must pay the penalty for all greedy acts; although the greed is enough of a penalty in itself. What tears and toil does money wring from us! Greed is wretched in that which it craves and wretched in that which it wins! Think besides of the daily worry which afflicts every possessor in proportion to the measure of his gain! The possession of riches means even greater agony of spirit than the acquisition of riches. And how we sorrow over our losses – losses which fall heavily upon us, and yet seem still more heavy! And finally, though Fortune may leave our property intact, whatever we cannot gain in addition, is sheer loss!

17. "But," you will say to me, "people call yonder man happy and rich; they pray that some day they may equal him in possessions." Very true. What, then? Do you think that there is any more pitiable lot in life than to possess misery and hatred also? Would that those who are bound to crave wealth

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could compare notes with the rich man! Would that those who are bound to seek political office could confer with ambitious men who have reached the most sought-after honours! They would then surely alter their prayers, seeing that these grandees are always gaping after new gain, condemning what is already behind them. For there is no one in the world who is contented with his prosperity, even if it comes to him on the run. Men complain about their plans and the outcome of their plans; they always prefer what they have failed to win.

18. So philosophy can settle this problem for you, and afford you, to my mind, the greatest boon that exists – absence of regret for your own conduct. This is a sure happiness; no storm can ruffle it; but you cannot be steered safely through by any subtly woven words, or any gently flowing language. Let words proceed as they please, provided only your soul keeps its own sure order, provided your soul is great and holds unruffled to its ideals, pleased with itself on account of the very things which displease others, a soul that makes life the test of its progress, and believes that its knowledge is in exact proportion to its freedom from desire and its freedom from fear. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 116. On Self-Control

1. The question has often been raised whether it is better to have moderate emotions, or none at all. Philosophers of our school reject the emotions; the Peripatetics keep them in check. I, however, do not understand how any half-way disease can be either wholesome or helpful. Do not fear; I am not robbing you of any privileges which you are unwilling to lose! I shall be kindly and indulgent towards the objects for which you strive – those which you hold to be necessary to our existence, or useful, or pleasant; I shall simply strip away the vice. For after I have issued my prohibition against the desires, I shall still allow you to wish that you may do the same things fearlessly and with greater accuracy of judgement, and to feel even the pleasures more than before; and how can these pleasures help coming more readily to your call, if you are their lord rather than their slave!

2. "But," you object, "it is natural for me to suffer when I am bereaved of a friend; grant some privileges to tears which have the right to flow! It is also natural to be affected by men's opinions and to be cast down when they are unfavourable; so why should you not allow me such an honourable aversion to bad opinion?" There is no vice which lacks some plea; there is no vice that at the start is not modest and easily entreated; but afterwards the trouble spreads more widely. If you allow it to begin, you cannot make sure of its ceasing.

3. Every emotion at the start is weak. Afterwards, it rouses itself and gains strength by progress; it is more easy to forestall it than to forgo it. Who does not admit that all the emotions flow as it were from a certain natural source? We are endowed by Nature with an interest in our own well-being; but this very interest, when overindulged, becomes a vice. Nature has intermingled pleasure with necessary things – not in order that we should seek pleasure, but in order that the addition of pleasure may make the indispensable means of existence attractive to our eyes. Should it claim rights of its own, it is luxury. Let us therefore resist these faults when they are demanding entrance, because, as I have said, it is easier to deny them admittance than to make them depart.

4. And if you cry: "One should be allowed a certain amount of grieving, and a certain amount of fear," I reply that the "certain amount" can be too long-drawn-out, and that it will refuse to stop short when you so desire. The wise man can safely control himself without becoming over-anxious; he can halt his tears and his pleasures at will; but in our case, because it is not easy to retrace our steps, it is best not to push ahead at all.

5. I think that Panaetius gave a very neat answer to a certain youth who asked him whether the wise man should become a lover: "As to the wise man, we shall see later; but you and I, who are as yet far removed from wisdom, should not trust ourselves to fall into a state that is disordered, uncontrolled, enslaved to another, contemptible to itself. If our love be not spurned, we are excited by its kindness; if it be scorned, we are kindled by our pride. An easily-won love hurts us as much as one which is difficult to win; we are captured by that which is compliant, and we struggle with that which is hard. Therefore, knowing our weakness, let us remain quiet. Let us not expose this unstable spirit to the temptations of drink, or beauty, or flattery, or anything that coaxes and allures."

6. Now that which Panaetius replied to the question about love may be applied, I believe, to all the emotions. In so far as we are able, let us step back from slippery places; even on dry ground it is hard enough to take a sturdy stand.

7. At this point, I know, you will confront me with that common complaint against the Stoics: "Your promises are too great, and your counsels too hard. We are mere manikins, unable to deny ourselves everything. We shall sorrow, but not to any great extent; we shall feel desires, but in moderation; we shall give way to anger, but we shall be appeased."

8. And do you know why we have not the power to attain this Stoic ideal? It is because we refuse to believe in our power. Nay, of a surety, there is something else which plays a part: it is because we are in love with our vices; we uphold them and prefer to make excuses for them rather than shake them off. We mortals have been endowed with sufficient strength by nature, if only we use this strength, if only we concentrate our powers and rouse them all to help us or at least not to hinder us. The reason is unwillingness, the excuse, inability. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 117. On Real Ethics as Superior to Syllogistic Subtleties

1. You will be fabricating much trouble for me, and you will be unconsciously embroiling me in a great discussion, and in considerable bother, if you put such petty questions as these; for in settling them I cannot disagree with my fellow-Stoics without impairing my standing among them, nor can I subscribe to such ideas without impairing my conscience. Your query is, whether the Stoic belief is true: that wisdom is a Good, but that being wise is not a Good. I shall first set forth the Stoic view, and then I shall be bold enough to deliver my own opinion.

2. We of the Stoic school believe that the Good is corporeal, because the Good is active, and whatever is active is corporeal. That which is good, is helpful. But, in order to be helpful, it must be active; so, if it is active, it is corporeal. They (the Stoics) declare that wisdom is a Good; it therefore follows that one must also call wisdom corporeal.

3. But they do not think that being wise can be rated on the same basis. For it is incorporeal and accessory to something else, in other words, wisdom; hence it is in no respect active or helpful. "What, then?" is the reply; "Why do we not say that being wise is a Good?" We do say so; but only by referring it to that on which it depends – in other words, wisdom itself.

4. Let me tell you what answers other philosophers make to these objectors, before I myself begin to form my own creed and to take my place entirely on another side. "Judged in that light," they say, "not even living happily is a Good. Willy nilly, such persons ought to reply that the happy life is a Good, but that living happily is not a Good."

5. And this objection is also raised against our school: "You wish to be wise. Therefore, being wise is a thing to be desired. And if it be a thing to be desired it is a Good." So our philosophers are forced to twist their words and insert another syllable into the word "desired," – a syllable which our language does not normally allow to be inserted. But, with your permission, I shall add it. "That which is good," they say, "is a thing to be desired; the desirable thing is that which falls to our lot after we have attained the Good. For the desirable is not sought as a Good; it is an accessory to the Good after the Good has been attained."

6. I myself do not hold the same view, and I judge that our philosophers [i.e., the Stoics as mentioned above (with whom Seneca often disagrees on minor details).] have come down to this argument because they are already bound by the first link in the chain and for that reason may not alter their definition. People are wont to concede much to the things which all men take for granted; in our eyes the fact that all men agree upon something is a proof of its truth. For instance, we infer that the gods exist, for this reason, among others – that there is implanted in everyone an idea concerning deity, and there is no people so far beyond the reach of laws and customs that it does not believe at least in gods of some sort. And when we discuss the immortality of the soul, we are influenced in no small degree by the general opinion of mankind, who either fear or worship the spirits of the lower world. I make the most of this general belief: you can find no one who does not hold that wisdom is a Good, and being wise also.

7. I shall not appeal to the populace, like a conquered gladiator; let us come to close quarters, using our own weapons. When something affects a given object, is it outside the object which it affects, or is it inside the object it affects? If it is inside the object it affects, it is as corporeal as the object which it affects. For nothing can affect another object without touching it, and that which touches is corporeal. If it is outside, it withdraws after having affected the object. And withdrawal means motion. And that which possesses motion, is corporeal.

8. You expect me, I suppose, to deny that "race" differs from "running," that "heat" differs from "being hot," that "light" differs from "giving light." I grant that these pairs vary, but hold that they are not in separate classes. If good health is an indifferent quality, then so is being in good health; if beauty is an indifferent quality, then so is being beautiful. If justice is a Good, then so is being just. And if baseness is an evil, then it is an evil to be base – just as much as, if sore eyes are an evil, the state of having sore eyes is also an evil. Neither quality, you may be sure, can exist without the other. He who is wise is a man of wisdom; he who is a man of wisdom is wise. So true it is that we cannot doubt the quality of the one to equal the quality of the other, that they are both regarded by certain persons as one and the same.

9. Here is a question, however, which I should be glad to put: granted that all things are either good or bad or indifferent – in what class does being wise belong? People deny that it is a Good; and, as it obviously is not an evil, it must consequently be one of the "media." But we mean by the "medium," or the "indifferent" quality that which can fall to the lot of the bad no less than to the good – such things as money, beauty, or high social position. But the quality of being wise can fall to the lot of the good man alone; therefore being wise is not an indifferent quality. Nor is it an evil, either; because it cannot fall to the lot of the bad man; therefore, it is a Good. That which the good man alone can possess, is a Good; now being wise is the possession of the good man only; therefore it is a Good.

10. The objector replies: "It is only an accessory of wisdom." Very well, then, I say, this quality which you call being wise – does it actively produce wisdom, or is it a passive concomitant of wisdom? It is corporeal in either case. For that which is acted upon and that which acts, are alike corporeal; and, if corporeal, each is a Good. The only quality which could prevent it from being a Good, would be incorporeality.

11. The Peripatetics believe that there is no distinction between wisdom and being wise, since either of these implies the other also. Now do you suppose that any man can be wise except one who possesses wisdom? Or that anyone who is wise does not possess wisdom?

12. The old masters of dialectic, however, distinguish between these two conceptions; and from them the classification has come right down to the Stoics. What sort of a classification this is, I shall explain: A field is one thing, and the possession of the field another thing; of course, because "possessing the field" refers to the possessor rather than to the field itself. Similarly, wisdom is one thing and being wise another. You will grant, I suppose, that these two are separate ideas – the possessed and the possessor: wisdom being that which one possesses, and he who is wise its possessor. Now wisdom is Mind perfected and developed to the highest and best degree. For it is the art of life. And what is being wise? I cannot call it "Mind Perfected," but rather that which falls to the lot of him who possesses a "mind perfected"; thus a good mind is one thing, and the so-called possession of a good mind another.

13. "There are," it is said, "certain natural classes of bodies; we say: 'This is a man,' 'this is a horse.' Then there attend on the bodily natures certain movements of the mind which declare something about the body. And these have a certain essential quality which is sundered from body; for example: 'I see Cato walking.' The senses indicate this, and the mind believes it. What I see, is body, and upon this I concentrate my eyes and my mind. Again, I say: 'Cato walks.' What I say," they continue, "is not body; it is a certain declarative fact concerning body – called variously an 'utterance,' a 'declaration,' a 'statement.' Thus, when we say 'wisdom,' we mean something pertaining to body; when we say 'he is wise,' we are speaking concerning body. And it makes considerable difference whether you mention the person directly, or speak concerning the person."

14. Supposing for the present that these are two separate conceptions (for I am not yet prepared to give my own opinion); what prevents the existence of still a third – which is none the less a Good? I remarked a little while ago that a "field" was one thing, and the "possession of a field" another; of course, for possessor and possessed are of different natures; the latter is the land, and the former is the man who owns the land. But with regard to the point now under discussion, both are of the same nature – the possessor of wisdom, and wisdom itself.

15. Besides, in the one case that which is possessed is one thing, and he who possesses it is another; but in this case the possessed and the possessor come under the same category. The field is owned by virtue of law, wisdom by virtue of nature. The field can change hands and go into the ownership of another; but wisdom never departs from its owner. Accordingly, there is no reason why you should try to compare things that are so unlike one another. I had started to say that these can be two separate conceptions, and yet that both can be Goods – for instance, wisdom and the wise man being two separate things and yet granted by you to be equally good. And just as there is no objection to regarding both wisdom and the possessor of wisdom as Goods, so there is no objection to regarding as a good both wisdom and the possession of wisdom, – in other words, being wise.

16. For I only wish to be a wise man in order to be wise. And what then? Is not that thing a Good without the possession of which a certain other thing cannot be a Good? You surely admit that wisdom, if given without the right to be used, is not to be welcomed! And wherein consists the use of wisdom? In being wise; that is its most valuable attribute; if you withdraw this, wisdom becomes superfluous. If processes of torture are evil, then being tortured is an evil – with this reservation, indeed, that if you take away the consequences, the former are not evil. Wisdom is a condition of "mind perfected," and being wise is the employment of this "mind perfected." How can the employment of that thing not be a Good, which without employment is not a Good?

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17. If I ask you whether wisdom is to be desired, you admit that it is. If I ask you whether the employment of wisdom is to be desired, you also admit the fact; for you say that you will not receive wisdom if you are not allowed to employ it. Now that which is to be desired is a Good. Being wise is the employment of wisdom, just as it is of eloquence to make a speech, or of the eyes to see things. Therefore, being wise is the employment of wisdom, and the employment of wisdom is to be desired. Therefore being wise is a thing to be desired; and if it is a thing to be desired, it is a Good.

18. Lo, these many years I have been condemning myself for imitating these men at the very time when I am arraigning them, and of wasting words on a subject that is perfectly clear. For who can doubt that, if heat is an evil, it is also an evil to be hot? Or that, if cold is an evil, it is an evil to be cold? Or that, if life is a Good, so is being alive? All such matters are on the outskirts of wisdom, not in wisdom itself. But our abiding-place should be in wisdom itself.

19. Even though one takes a fancy to roam, wisdom has large and spacious retreats: we may investigate the nature of the gods, the fuel which feeds the constellations, or all the varied courses of the stars; we may speculate whether our affairs move in harmony with those of the stars, whether the impulse to motion comes from thence into the minds and bodies of all, and whether even these events which we call fortuitous are fettered by strict laws and nothing in this universe is unforeseen or unregulated in its revolutions. Such topics have nowadays been withdrawn from instruction in morals, but they uplift the mind and raise it to the dimensions of the subject which it discusses; the matters, however, of which I was speaking a while ago, wear away and wear down the mind, not (as you and yours maintain) whetting, but weakening it.

20. And I ask you, are we to fritter away that necessary study which we owe to greater and better themes, in discussing a matter which may perhaps be wrong and is certainly of no avail? How will it profit me to know whether wisdom is one thing, and being wise another? How will it profit me to know that the one is, and the other is not, a Good? Suppose I take a chance, and gamble on this prayer: "Wisdom for you, and being wise for me!" We shall come out even.

21. Try rather to show me the way by which I may attain those ends. Tell me what to avoid, what to seek, by what studies to strengthen my tottering mind, how I may rebuff the waves that strike me abeam and drive me from my course, by what means I may be able to cope with all my evils, and by what means I can be rid of the calamities that have plunged in upon me and those into which I myself have plunged. Teach me how to bear the burden of sorrow without a groan on my part, and how to bear prosperity without making others groan; also, how to avoid waiting for the ultimate and inevitable end, and to beat a retreat of my own free will, when it seems proper to me to do so.

22. I think nothing is baser than to pray for death. For if you wish to live, why do you pray for death? And if you do not wish to live, why do you ask the gods for that which they gave you at birth? For even as, against your will, it has been settled that you must die some day, so the time when you shall wish to die is in your own hands. The one fact is to you a necessity, the other a privilege.

23. I read lately a most disgraceful doctrine, uttered (more shame to him!) by a learned gentleman: "So may I die as soon as possible!" Fool, thou art praying for something that is already thine own! "So may I die as soon as possible!" Perhaps thou didst grow old while uttering these very words! At any rate, what is there to hinder? No one detains thee; escape by whatsoever way thou wilt! Select any portion of Nature, and bid it provide thee with a means of departure! These, namely, are the elements, by which the world's work is carried on – water, earth, air. All these are no more the causes of life than they are the ways of death. 24. "So may I die as soon as possible!" And what is thy wish with regard to this "as soon as possible"? What day dost thou set for the event? It may be sooner than thy prayer requests. Words like this come from a weak mind, from one that courts pity by such cursing; he who prays for death does not wish to die. Ask the gods for life and health; if thou art resolved to die, death's reward is to have done with prayers.

25. It is with such problems as these, my dear Lucilius, that we should deal, by such problems that we should mould our minds. This is wisdom, this is what being wise means – not to bandy empty subtleties in idle and petty discussions. Fortune has set before you so many problems – which you have not yet solved – and are you still splitting hairs? How foolish it is to practise strokes after you have heard the signal for the fight! Away with all these dummy-weapons; you need armour for a fight to the finish. Tell me by what means sadness and fear may be kept from disturbing my soul, by what means I may shift off this burden of hidden cravings. Do something!

26. "Wisdom is a Good, but being wise is not a Good;" such talk results for us in the judgement that we are not wise, and in making a laughing-stock of this whole field of study – on the ground that it wastes its effort on useless things. Suppose you knew that this question was also debated: whether future wisdom is a Good? For, I beseech you, how could one doubt whether barns do not feel the weight of the harvest that is to come, and that boyhood does not have premonitions of approaching young manhood by any brawn and power? The sick person, in the intervening period, is not helped by the health that is to come, any more than a runner or a wrestler is refreshed by the period of repose that will follow many months later.

27. Who does not know that what is yet to be is not a Good, for the very reason that it is yet to be? For that which is good is necessarily helpful. And unless things are in the present, they cannot be helpful; and if a thing is not helpful, it is not a Good; if helpful, it is already. I shall be a wise man some day; and this Good will be mine when I shall be a wise man, but in the meantime it is non-existent. A thing must exist first, then may be of a certain kind.

28. How, I ask you, can that which is still nothing be already a Good? And in what better way do you wish it to be proved to you that a certain thing is not, than to say: "It is yet to be"? For it is clear that something which is on the way has not yet arrived. "Spring will follow": I know that winter is here now. "Summer will follow:" I know that it is not summer. The best proof to my mind that a thing is not yet present is that it is yet to be.

29. I hope some day to be wise, but meanwhile I am not wise. For if I possessed that Good, I should now be free from this Evil. Some day I shall be wise; from this very fact you may understand that I am not yet wise. I cannot at the same time live in that state of Good and in this state of Evil; the two ideas do not harmonize, nor do Evil and Good exist together in the same person.

30. Let us rush past all this clever nonsense, and hurry on to that which will bring us real assistance. No man who is anxiously running after a midwife for his daughter in her birth-pangs will stop to read the praetor's edict or the order of events at the games. No one who is speeding to save his burning house will scan a checker-board to speculate how the imprisoned piece can be freed.

31. But good heavens! – in your case all sorts of news are announced on all sides – your house afire, your children in danger, your country in a state of siege, your property plundered. Add to this shipwreck, earthquakes, and all other objects of dread; harassed amid these troubles, are you taking time for matters which serve merely for mental entertainment? Do you ask what difference there is between wisdom and being wise? Do you tie and untie knots while such a ruin is hanging over your head?

32. Nature has not given us such a generous and free-handed space of time that we can have the leisure to waste any of it. Mark also how much is lost even when men are very careful: people are robbed of one thing by ill-health and of another thing by illness in the family; at one time private, at another public, business absorbs the attention; and all the while sleep shares our lives with us. Out of this time, so short and swift, that carries us away in its flight, of what avail is it to spend the greater part on useless things?

33. Besides, our minds are accustomed to entertain rather than to cure themselves, to make an aesthetic pleasure out of philosophy, when philosophy should really be a remedy. What the distinction is between wisdom and being wise I do not know; but I do know that it makes no difference to me whether I know such matters or am ignorant of them. Tell me: when I have found out the difference between wisdom and being wise, shall I be wise? Why then do you occupy me with the words rather than with the works of wisdom? Make me braver, make me calmer, make me the equal of Fortune, make me her superior. And I can be her superior, if I apply to this end everything that I learn. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 118. On the Vanity of Place-Seeking

1. You have been demanding more frequent letters from me. But if we compare the accounts, you will not be on the credit side. We had indeed made the agreement that your part came first, that you should write the first letters, and that I should answer. However, I shall not be disagreeable; I know that it is safe to trust you, so I shall pay in advance, and yet not do as the eloquent Cicero bids Atticus do: "Even if you have nothing to say, write whatever enters your head."

2. For there will always be something for me to write about, even omitting all the kinds of news with which Cicero fills his correspondence: what candidate is in difficulties, who is striving on borrowed resources and who on his own; who is a candidate for the consulship relying on Caesar, or on Pompey, or on his own strong-box; what a merciless usurer is Caecilius, out of whom his friends cannot screw a penny for less than one per cent each month. But it is preferable to deal with one's own ills, rather than with another's – to sift oneself and see for how many vain things one is a candidate, and cast a vote for none of them.

3. This, my dear Lucilius, is a noble thing, this brings peace and freedom – to canvass for nothing, and to pass by all the elections of Fortune. How can you call it enjoyable, when the tribes are called together and the candidates are making offerings in their favourite temples – some of them promising money gifts and others doing business by means of an agent, or wearing down their hands with the kisses of those to whom they will refuse the least finger-touch after being elected – when all are excitedly awaiting the announcement of the herald, do you call it enjoyable, I say, to stand idle and look on at this Vanity Fair without either buying or selling?

4. How much greater joy does one feel who looks without concern, not merely upon the election of a praetor or of a consul, but upon that great struggle in which some are seeking yearly honours, and others permanent power, and others the triumph and the prosperous outcome of war, and others riches, or marriage and offspring, or the welfare of themselves and their relatives! What a great-souled action it is to be the only person who is canvassing for nothing, offering prayers to no man, and saying: "Fortune, I have nothing to do with you. I am not at your service. I know that men like Cato are spurned by you, and men like Vatinius made by you. I ask no favours." This is the way to reduce Fortune to the ranks.

5. These, then, are the things about which we may write in turn, and this is the ever fresh material which we may dig out as we scan the restless multitudes of men, who, in order to attain something ruinous, struggle on through evil to evil, and seek that which they must presently shun or even find surfeiting.

6. For who was ever satisfied, after attainment, with that which loomed up large as he prayed for it? Happiness is not, as men think, a greedy thing; it is a lowly thing; for that reason it never gluts a man's desire. You deem lofty the objects you seek, because you are on a low level and hence far away from them; but they are mean in the sight of him who has reached them. And I am very much mistaken if he does not desire to climb still higher; that which you regard as the top is merely a rung on the ladder.

7. Now all men suffer from ignorance of the truth; deceived by common report, they make for these ends as if they were good, and then, after having won their wish, and suffered much, they find them evil, or empty, or less important than they had expected. Most men admire that which deceives them at a distance, and by the crowd good things are supposed to be big things.

8. Now, lest this happen also in our own case, let us ask what is the Good. It has been explained in various ways; different men have described it in different ways. Some define it in this way. "That which attracts and calls the spirit to itself is a Good." But the objection at once comes up – what if it does attract, but straight to ruin? You know how seductive many evils are. That which is true differs from that which looks like the truth; hence the Good is connected with the true, for it is not good unless it is also true. But that which attracts and allures, is only like the truth; it steals your attention, demands your interest, and draws you to itself.

9. Therefore, some have given this definition: "That is good which inspires desire for itself, or rouses towards itself the impulse of a struggling soul." There is the same objection to this idea; for many things rouse the soul's impulses, and yet the search for them is harmful to the seeker. The following definition is better: "That is good which rouses the soul's impulse towards itself in accordance with nature, and is worth seeking only when it begins to be thoroughly worth seeking." It is by this time an honourable thing; for that is a thing completely worth seeking.

10. The present topic suggests that I state the difference between the Good and the honourable. Now they have a certain quality which blends with both and is inseparable from either: nothing can be good unless it contains an element of the honourable, and the honourable is necessarily good. What, then, is the difference between these two qualities? The honourable is the perfect Good, and the happy life is fulfilled thereby; through its influence other things also are rendered good.

11. I mean something like this: there are certain things which are neither good nor bad – as military or diplomatic service, or the pronouncing of legal decisions. When such pursuits have been honourably conducted, they begin to be good, and they change over from the "indifferent" class into the Good. The Good results from partnership with the honourable, but the honourable is good in itself. The Good springs from the honourable, but the latter from itself. What is good might have been bad; what is honourable could never have been anything but good.

12. Some have defined as follows: "That is good which is according to nature." Now attend to my own statement: that which is good is according to nature, but that which is according to nature does not also become immediately good; for many things harmonize with nature, but are so petty that it is not suitable to call them good. For they are unimportant and deserve to be despised. But there is no such thing as a very small and despicable good, for, as long as it is scanty, it is not good, and when it begins to be good, it ceases to be scanty. How, then, can the Good be recognized? Only if it is completely according to nature.

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13. People say: "You admit that that which is good is according to nature; for this is its peculiar quality. You admit, too, that there are other things according to nature, which, however, are not good. How then can the former be good, and the latter not? How can there be an alteration in the peculiar quality of a thing, when each has, in common with the other, the special attribute of being in accord with nature?"

14. Surely because of its magnitude. It is no new idea that certain objects change as they grow. A person, once a child, becomes a youth; his peculiar quality is transformed; for the child could not reason, but the youth possesses reason. Certain things not only grow in size as they develop, but grow into something else.

15. Some reply: "But that which becomes greater does not necessarily become different. It matters not at all whether you pour wine into a flask or into a vat; the wine keeps its peculiar quality in both vessels. Small and large quantities of honey are not distinct in taste." But these are different cases which you mention; for wine and honey have a uniform quality; no matter how much the quantity is enlarged, the quality is the same.

16. For some things endure according to their kind and their peculiar qualities, even when they are enlarged. There are others, however, which, after many increments, are altered by the last addition; there is stamped upon them a new character, different from that of yore. One stone makes an archway – the stone which wedges the leaning sides and holds the arch together by its position in the middle. And why does the last addition, although very slight, make a great deal of difference? Because it does not increase; it fills up.

17. Some things, through development, put off their former shape and are altered into a new figure. [This argument (that complete virtue is a sort of transforming climax of life) is not to be confused with the theory of accessio (a term used also in Roman law), or "addition"; for virtue does not permit of accessio, or the addition of any external advantage.] When the mind has for a long time developed some idea, and in the attempt to grasp its magnitude has become weary, that thing begins to be called "infinite." And then this has become something far different from what it was when it seemed great but finite. In the same way we have thought of something as difficult to divide; at the very end, as the task grows more and more hard, the thing is found to be "indivisible." Similarly, from that which could scarcely or with difficulty be moved we have advanced on and on – until we reach the "immovable." By the same reasoning a certain thing was according to nature; its greatness has altered it into some other peculiar quality and has rendered it a Good. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 119. On Nature as our Best Provider

1. Whenever I have made a discovery, I do not wait for you to cry "Shares!" I say it to myself in your behalf. If you wish to know what it is that I have found, open your pocket; it is clear profit. What I shall teach you is the ability to become rich as speedily as possible. How keen you are to hear the news! And rightly; I shall lead you by a short cut to the greatest riches. It will be necessary, however, for you to find a loan; in order to be able to do business, you must contract a debt, although I do not wish you to arrange the loan through a middle-man, nor do I wish the brokers to be discussing your rating.

2. I shall furnish you with a ready creditor, Cato's famous one, who says: "Borrow from yourself!" No matter how small it is, it will be enough if we can only make up the deficit from our own resources. For, my dear Lucilius, it does not matter whether you crave nothing, or whether you possess something. The important principle in either case is the same – freedom from worry. But I do not counsel you to deny anything to nature – for nature is insistent and cannot be overcome; she demands her due – but you should know that anything in excess of nature's wants is a mere "extra" and is not necessary.

3. If I am hungry, I must eat. Nature does not care whether the bread is the coarse kind or the finest wheat; she does not desire the stomach to be entertained, but to be filled. And if I am thirsty, Nature does not care whether I drink water from the nearest reservoir, or whether I freeze it artificially by sinking it in large quantities of snow. Nature orders only that the thirst be quenched; and it does not matter whether it be a golden, or crystal, or murrine goblet, or a cup from Tibur, or the hollow hand.

4. Look to the end, in all matters, and then you will cast away superfluous things. Hunger calls me; let me stretch forth my hand to that which is nearest; my very hunger has made attractive in my eyes whatever I can grasp. A starving man despises nothing.

5. Do you ask, then, what it is that has pleased me? It is this noble saying which I have discovered: "The wise man is the keenest seeker for the riches of nature." "What," you ask, "will you present me with an empty plate? What do you mean? I had already arranged my coffers; I was already looking about to see some stretch of water on which I might embark for purposes of trade, some state revenues that I might handle, and some merchandise that I might acquire. That is deceit – showing me poverty after promising me riches." But, friend, do you regard a man as poor to whom nothing is wanting? "It is, however," you reply, "thanks to himself and his endurance, and not thanks to his fortune." Do you, then, hold that such a man is not rich, just because his wealth can never fail?

6. Would you rather have much, or enough? He who has much desires more – a proof that he has not yet acquired enough; but he who has enough has attained that which never fell to the rich man's lot – a stopping-point. Do you think that this condition to which I refer is not riches, just because no man has ever been proscribed as a result of possessing them? Or because sons and wives have never thrust poison down one's throat for that reason? Or because in war-time these riches are unmolested? Or because they bring leisure in time of peace? Or because it is not dangerous to possess them, or troublesome to invest them?

7. "But one possesses too little, if one is merely free from cold and hunger and thirst." Jupiter himself however, is no better off. Enough is never too little, and not-enough is never too much. Alexander was poor even after his conquest of Darius and the Indies. Am I wrong? He seeks something which he can really make his own, exploring unknown seas, sending new fleets over the Ocean, and, so to speak, breaking down the very bars of the universe. But that which is enough for nature, is not enough for man.

8. There have been found persons who crave something more after obtaining everything; so blind are their wits and so readily does each man forget his start after he has got under way. He who [Alexander the Great.] was but lately the disputed lord of an unknown corner of the world, is dejected when, after reaching the limits of the globe, he must march back through a world which he has made his own.

9. Money never made a man rich; on the contrary, it always smites men with a greater craving for itself. Do you ask the reason for this? He who possesses more begins to be able to possess still more. To sum up, you may hale forth for our inspection any of the millionaires whose names are told off when one speaks of Crassus and Licinus. Let him bring along his rating and his present property and his future expectations, and let him add them all together: such a man, according to my belief, is poor; according to yours, he may be poor some day.

10. He, however, who has arranged his affairs according to nature's demands, is free from the fear, as well as from the sensation, of poverty. And in order that you may know how hard it is to narrow one's interests down to the limits of nature – even this very person of whom we speak, and whom you call poor, possesses something actually superfluous.

11. Wealth, however, blinds and attracts the mob, when they see a large bulk of ready money brought out of a man's house, or even his walls crusted with abundance of gold, or a retinue that is chosen for beauty of physique, or for attractiveness of attire. The prosperity of all these men looks to public opinion; but the ideal man, whom we have snatched from the control of the people and of Fortune, is happy inwardly.

12. For as far as those persons are concerned, in whose minds bustling poverty has wrongly stolen the title of riches – these individuals have riches just as we say that we "have a fever," when really the fever has us. Conversely, we are accustomed to say: "A fever grips him." And in the same way we should say: "Riches grip him." There is therefore no advice – and of such advice no one can have too much – which I would rather give you than this: that you should measure all things by the demands of Nature; for these demands can be satisfied either without cost or else very cheaply. Only, do not mix any vices with these demands.

13. Why need you ask how your food should be served, on what sort of table, with what sort of silver, with what well-matched and smooth-faced young servants? Nature demands nothing except mere food.

Dost seek, when thirst inflames thy throat, a cup of gold?
Dost scorn all else but peacock's flesh or turbot
When the hunger comes upon thee?

14. Hunger is not ambitious; it is quite satisfied to come to an end; nor does it care very much what food brings it to an end. Those things are but the instruments of a luxury which is not "happiness"; a luxury which seeks how it may prolong hunger even after repletion, how to stuff the stomach, not to fill it, and how to rouse a thirst that has been satisfied with the first drink. Horace's words are therefore most excellent when he says that it makes no difference to one's thirst in what costly goblet, or with what elaborate state, the water is served. For if you believe it to be of importance how curly-haired your slave is, or how transparent is the cup which he offers you, you are not thirsty.

15. Among other things, Nature has bestowed upon us this special boon: she relieves sheer necessity of squeamishness. The superfluous things admit of choice; we say: "That is not suitable"; "this is not well recommended"; "that hurts my eyesight." The Builder of the universe, who laid down for us the laws of life, provided that we should exist in well-being, but not in luxury. Everything conducive to our well-being is prepared and ready to our hands; but what luxury requires can never be got together except with wretchedness and anxiety.

16. Let us therefore use this boon of Nature by reckoning it among the things of high importance; let us reflect that Nature's best title to our gratitude is that whatever we want because of sheer necessity we accept without squeamishness. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 120. More about Virtue

1. Your letter roamed over several little problems, but finally dwelt upon this alone, asking for explanation: "How do we acquire a knowledge of that which is good and that which is honourable?" In the opinion of other schools, these two qualities are distinct; among our followers, however, they are merely divided.

2. This is what I mean: Some believe the Good to be that which is useful; they accordingly bestow this title upon riches, horses, wine, and shoes; so cheaply do they view the Good, and to such base uses do they let it descend. They regard as honourable that which agrees with the principle of right conduct – such as taking dutiful care of an old father, relieving a friend's poverty, showing bravery on a campaign, and uttering prudent and well-balanced opinions.

3. We, however, do make the Good and the honourable two things, but we make them out of one: only the honourable can be good; also, the honourable is necessarily good. I hold it superfluous to add the distinction between these two qualities, inasmuch as I have mentioned it so many times. But I shall say this one thing – that we regard nothing as good which can be put to wrong use by any person. And you see for yourself to what wrong uses many men put their riches, their high position, or their physical powers. To return to the matter on which you desire information: "How we first acquire the knowledge of that which is good and that which is honourable."

4. Nature could not teach us this directly; she has given us the seeds of knowledge, but not knowledge itself. Some say that we merely happened upon this knowledge; but it is unbelievable that a vision of virtue could have presented itself to anyone by mere chance. We believe that it is inference due to observation, a comparison of events that have occurred frequently; our school of philosophy hold that the honourable and the good have been comprehended by analogy. Since the word "analogy" has been admitted to citizen rank by Latin scholars, I do not think that it ought to be condemned, but I do think it should be brought into the citizenship which it can justly claim. I shall, therefore, make use of the word, not merely as admitted, but as established. Now what this "analogy" is, I shall explain.

5. We understood what bodily health was: and from this basis we deduced the existence of a certain mental health also. We knew, too, bodily strength, and from this basis we inferred the existence of mental sturdiness. Kindly deeds, humane deeds, brave deeds, had at times amazed us; so we began to admire them as if they were perfect. Underneath, however, there were many faults, hidden by the appearance and the brilliancy of certain conspicuous acts; to these we shut our eyes. Nature bids us amplify praiseworthy things: everyone exalts renown beyond the truth. And thus from such deeds we deduced the conception of some great good.

6. Fabricius rejected King Pyrrhus's gold, deeming it greater than a king's crown to be able to scorn a king's money. Fabricius also, when the royal physician promised to give his master poison, warned Pyrrhus to beware of a plot. The selfsame man had the resolution to refuse either to be won over by gold or to win by poison. So we admired the hero, who could not be moved by the promises of the king or against the king, who held fast to a noble ideal, and who – is anything more difficult? – was in war sinless; for he believed that wrongs could be committed even against an enemy, and in that extreme poverty which he had made his glory, shrank from receiving riches as he shrank from using poison. "Live," he cried, "O Pyrrhus, thanks to me, and rejoice, instead of grieving as you have done till now, that Fabricius cannot be bribed!"

7. Horatius Cocles blocked the narrow bridge alone, and ordered his retreat to be cut off, that the enemy's path might be destroyed; then he long withstood his assailants until the crash of the beams, as they collapsed with a huge fall, rang in his ears. When he looked back and saw that his country, through his own danger, was free from danger, "Whoever," he cried, "wishes to pursue me this way, let him come!" He plunged headlong, taking as great care to come out armed from the midst of the dashing river-channel as he did to come out unhurt; he returned, preserving the glory of his conquering weapons, as safely as if he had come back over the bridge.

8. These deeds and others of the same sort have revealed to us a picture of virtue. I will add something which may perhaps astonish you: evil things have sometimes offered the appearance of what is honourable, and that which is best has been manifested through, its opposite. For there are, as you know, vices which are next-door to virtues; and even that which is lost and debased can resemble that which is upright.

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So the spendthrift falsely imitates the liberal man – although it matters a great deal whether a man knows how to give, or does not know how to save, his money. I assure you, my dear Lucilius, there are many who do not give, but simply throw away; and I do not call a man liberal who is out of temper with his money. Carelessness looks like ease, and rashness like bravery.

9. This resemblance has forced us to watch carefully and to distinguish between things which are by outward appearance closely connected, but which actually are very much at odds with one another; and in watching those who have become distinguished as a result of some noble effort, we have been forced to observe what persons have done some deed with noble spirit and lofty impulse, but have done it only once. We have marked one man who is brave in war and cowardly in civil affairs, enduring poverty courageously and disgrace shamefacedly; we have praised the deed but we have despised the man.

10. Again, we have marked another man who is kind to his friends and restrained towards his enemies, who carries on his political and his personal business with scrupulous devotion, not lacking in longsuffering where there is anything that must be endured, and not lacking in prudence when action is to be taken. We have marked him giving with lavish hand when it was his duty to make a payment, and, when he had to toil, striving resolutely and lightening his bodily weariness by his resolution. Besides, he has always been the same, consistent in all his actions, not only sound in his judgement but trained by habit to such an extent that he not only can act rightly, but cannot help acting rightly. We have formed the conception that in such a man perfect virtue exists.

11. We have separated this perfect virtue into its several parts. The desires had to be reined in, fear to be suppressed, proper actions to be arranged, debts to be paid; we therefore included self-restraint, bravery, prudence, and justice – assigning to each quality its special function. How then have we formed the conception of virtue? Virtue has been manifested to us by this man's order, propriety, steadfastness, absolute harmony of action, and a greatness of soul that rises superior to everything. Thence has been derived our conception of the happy life, which flows along with steady course, completely under its own control.

12. How then did we discover this fact? I will tell you: that perfect man, who has attained virtue, never cursed his luck, and never received the results of chance with dejection; he believed that he was citizen and soldier of the universe, accepting his tasks as if they were his orders. Whatever happened, he did not spurn it, as if it were evil and borne in upon him by hazard; he accepted it as if it were assigned to be his duty. "Whatever this may be," he says, "it is my lot; it is rough and it is hard, but I must work diligently at the task."

13. Necessarily, therefore, the man has shown himself great who has never grieved in evil days and never bewailed his destiny; he has given a clear conception of himself to many men; he has shone forth like a light in the darkness and has turned towards himself the thoughts of all men, because he was gentle and calm and equally compliant with the orders of man and of God.

14. He possessed perfection of soul, developed to its highest capabilities, inferior only to the mind of God – from whom a part flows down even into this heart of a mortal. But this heart is never more divine than when it reflects upon its mortality, and understands that man was born for the purpose of fulfilling his life, and that the body is not a permanent dwelling, but a sort of inn (with a brief sojourn at that) which is to be left behind when one perceives that one is a burden to the host.

15. The greatest proof, as I maintain, my dear Lucilius, that the soul proceeds from loftier heights, is if it judges its present situation lowly and narrow, and is not afraid to depart. For he who remembers whence he has come knows whither he is to depart. Do we not see how many discomforts drive us wild, and how ill-assorted is our fellowship with the flesh?

16. We complain at one time of our headaches, at another of our bad digestions, at another of our hearts and our throats. Sometimes the nerves trouble us, sometimes the feet; now it is diarrhoea, and again it is catarrh [A chronic disease of Seneca himself. See the autobiographic fragment in Ep. 78.1 f.]; we are at one time full-blooded, at another anaemic; now this thing troubles us, now that, and bids us move away: it is just what happens to those who dwell in the house of another.

17. But we, to whom such corruptible bodies have been allotted, nevertheless set eternity before our eyes, and in our hopes grasp at the utmost space of time to which the life of man can be extended, satisfied with no income and with no influence. What can be more shameless or foolish than this? Nothing is enough for us, though we must die some day, or rather, are already dying; for we stand daily nearer the brink, and every hour of time thrusts us on towards the precipice over which we must fall.

18. See how blind our minds are! What I speak of as in the future is happening at this minute, and a large portion of it has already happened; for it consists of our past lives. But we are mistaken in fearing the last day, seeing that each day, as it passes, counts just as much to the credit of death. The failing step does not produce, it merely announces, weariness. The last hour reaches, but every hour approaches, death. Death wears us away, but does not whirl us away. For this reason the noble soul, knowing its better nature, while taking care to conduct itself honourably and seriously at the post of duty where it is placed, counts none of these extraneous objects as its own, but uses them as if they were a loan, like a foreign visitor hastening on his way.

19. When we see a person of such steadfastness, how can we help being conscious of the image of a nature so unusual? Particularly if, as I remarked, it was shown to be true greatness by its consistency. It is indeed consistency that abides; false things do not last. Some men are like Vatinius or like Cato by turns; at times they do not think even Curius stern enough, or Fabricius poor enough, or Tubero sufficiently frugal and contented with simple things; while at other times they vie with Licinus in wealth, with Apicius in banqueting, or with Maecenas in daintiness.

20. The greatest proof of an evil mind is unsteadiness, and continued wavering between pretence of virtue and love of vice.

He'd have sometimes two hundred slaves at hand
And sometimes ten. He'd speak of kings and grand
Moguls and naught but greatness. Then he'd say:
"Give me a three-legged table and a tray
Of good clean salt, and just a coarse-wove gown
To keep the cold out." If you paid him down
(So sparing and content!) a million cool,
In five short days he'd be a penceless fool.

21. The men I speak of are of this stamp; they are like the man whom Horatius Flaccus describes – a man never the same, never even like himself; to such an extent does he wander off into opposites. Did I say many are so? It is the case with almost all. Everyone changes his plans and prayers day by day. Now he would have a wife, and now a mistress; now he would be king, and again he strives to conduct himself so that no slave is more cringing; now he puffs himself up until he becomes unpopular; again, he shrinks and contracts into greater humility than those who are really unassuming; at one time he scatters money, at another he steals it.

22. That is how a foolish mind is most clearly demonstrated: it shows first in this shape and then in that, and is never like itself – which is, in my opinion, the most shameful of qualities. Believe me, it is a great rôle – to play the rôle of one man. But nobody can be one person except the wise man; the rest of us often shift our masks. At times you will think us thrifty and serious, at other times wasteful and idle. We continually change our characters and play a part contrary to that which we have discarded. You should therefore force yourself to maintain to the very end of life's drama the character which you assumed at the beginning. See to it that men be able to praise you; if not, let them at least identify you. Indeed, with regard to the man whom you saw but yesterday, the question may properly be asked: "Who is he?" So great a change has there been! Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 121. On Instinct in Animals

1. You will bring suit against me, I feel sure, when I set forth for you to-day's little problem, with which we have already fumbled long enough. You will cry out again: "What has this to do with character?" Cry out if you like, but let me first of all match you with other opponents, against whom you may bring suit – such as Posidonius and Archidemus; these men will stand trial. I shall then go on to say that whatever deals with character does not necessarily produce good character.

2. Man needs one thing for his food, another for his exercise, another for his clothing, another for his instruction, and another for his pleasure. Everything, however, has reference to man's needs, although everything does not make him better. Character is affected by different things in different ways: some things serve to correct and regulate character, and others investigate its nature and origin.

3. And when I seek the reason why Nature brought forth man, and why she set him above other animals, do you suppose that I have left character-study in the rear? No; that is wrong. For how are you to know what character is desirable, unless you have discovered what is best suited to man? Or unless you have studied his nature? You can find out what you should do and what you should avoid, only when you have learned what you owe to your own nature.

4. "I desire," you say, "to learn how I may crave less, and fear less. Rid me of my unreasoning beliefs. Prove to me that so-called felicity is fickle and empty, and that the word easily admits of a syllable's increase." I shall fulfil your want, encouraging your virtues and lashing your vices. People may decide that I am too zealous and reckless in this particular; but I shall never cease to hound wickedness, to check the most unbridled emotions, to soften the force of pleasures which will result in pain, and to cry down men's prayers. Of course I shall do this; for it is the greatest evils that we have prayed for, and from that which has made us give thanks comes all that demands consolation.

5. Meanwhile, allow me to discuss thoroughly some points which may seem now to be rather remote from the present inquiry. We were once debating whether all animals had any feelings about their "constitution." That this is the case is proved particularly by their making motions of such fitness and nimbleness that they seem to be trained for the purpose. Every being is clever in its own line. The skilled workman handles his tools with an ease born of experience; the pilot knows how to steer his ship skilfully; the artist can quickly lay on the colours which he has prepared in great variety for the purpose of rendering the likeness, and passes with ready eye and hand from palette to canvas. In the same way an animal is agile in all that pertains to the use of its body.

6. We are apt to wonder at skilled dancers because their gestures are perfectly adapted to the meaning of the piece and its accompanying emotions, and their movements match the speed of the dialogue. But that which art gives to the craftsman, is given to the animal by nature. No animal handles its limbs with difficulty, no animal is at a loss how to use its body. This function they exercise immediately at birth. They come into the world with this knowledge; they are born full-trained.

7. But people reply: "The reason why animals are so dexterous in the use of their limbs is that if they move them unnaturally, they will feel pain. They are compelled to do thus, according to your school, and it is fear rather than will-power which moves them in the right direction." This idea is wrong. Bodies driven by a compelling force move slowly; but those which move of their own accord possess alertness. The proof that it is not fear of pain which prompts them thus, is, that even when pain checks them they struggle to carry out their natural motions.

8. Thus the child who is trying to stand and is becoming used to carry his own weight, on beginning to test his strength, falls and rises again and again with tears until through painful effort he has trained himself to the demands of nature. And certain animals with hard shells, when turned on their backs, twist and grope with their feet and make motions side-ways until they are restored to their proper position. The tortoise on his back feels no suffering; but he is restless because he misses his natural condition, and does not cease to shake himself about until he stands once more upon his feet.

9. So all these animals have a consciousness of their physical constitution, and for that reason can manage their limbs as readily as they do; nor have we any better proof that they come into being equipped with this knowledge than the fact that no animal is unskilled in the use of its body.

10. But some object as follows: "According to your account, one's constitution consists of a ruling power* in the soul which has a certain relation towards the body. [* i.e. the "soul of the world," of which each living soul is a part. The Stoics believed that it was situated in the heart. Zeno called it "ruling power"; while the Romans used the term principale or principatus. The principle described above is "impulse" or "tension".] But how can a child comprehend this intricate and subtle principle, which I can scarcely explain even to you? All living creatures should be born logicians, so as to understand a definition which is obscure to the majority of Roman citizens!"

11. Your objection would be true if I spoke of living creatures as understanding "a definition of constitution," and not "their actual constitution." Nature is easier to understand than to explain; hence, the child of whom we were speaking does not understand what "constitution" is, but understands its own constitution. He does not know what "a living creature" is, but he feels that he is an animal.

12. Moreover, that very constitution of his own he only understands confusedly, cursorily, and darkly. We also know that we possess souls, but we do not know the essence, the place, the quality, or the source, of the soul. Such as is the consciousness of our souls which we possess, ignorant as we are of their nature and position, even so all animals possess a consciousness of their own constitutions. For they must necessarily feel this, because it is the same agency by which they feel other things also; they must necessarily have a feeling of the principle which they obey and by which they are controlled.

13. Everyone of us understands that there is something which stirs his impulses, but he does not know what it is. He knows that he has a sense of striving, although he does not know what it is or its source. Thus even children and animals have a consciousness of their primary element, but it is not very clearly outlined or portrayed.

14. "You maintain, do you," says the objector, "that every living thing is at the start adapted to its constitution, but that man's constitution is a reasoning one, and hence man is adapted to himself not merely as a living, but as a reasoning, being? For man is dear to himself in respect of that wherein he is a man. How, then, can a child, being not yet gifted with reason, adapt himself to a reasoning constitution?"

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15. But each age has its own constitution, different in the case of the child, the boy, and the old man; they are all adapted to the constitution wherein they find themselves. The child is toothless, and he is fitted to this condition. Then his teeth grow, and he is fitted to that condition also. Vegetation also, which will develop into grain and fruits, has a special constitution when young and scarcely peeping over the tops of the furrows, another when it is strengthened and stands upon a stalk which is soft but strong enough to bear its weight, and still another when the colour changes to yellow, prophesies threshing-time, and hardens in the ear – no matter what may be the constitution into which the plant comes, it keeps it, and conforms thereto.

16. The periods of infancy, boyhood, youth, and old age, are different; but I, who have been infant, boy, and youth, am still the same. Thus, although each has at different times a different constitution, the adaptation of each to its constitution is the same. For nature does not consign boyhood or youth, or old age, to me; it consigns me to them. Therefore, the child is adapted to that constitution which is his at the present moment of childhood, not to that which will be his in youth. For even if there is in store for him any higher phase into which he must be changed, the state in which he is born is also according to nature.

17. First of all, the living being is adapted to itself, for there must be a pattern to which all other things may be referred. I seek pleasure; for whom? For myself. I am therefore looking out for myself. I shrink from pain; on behalf of whom? Myself. Therefore, I am looking out for myself. Since I gauge all my actions with reference to my own welfare, I am looking out for myself before all else. This quality exists in all living beings – not engrafted but inborn.

18. Nature brings up her own offspring and does not cast them away; and because the most assured security is that which is nearest, every man has been entrusted to his own self. Therefore, as I have remarked in the course of my previous correspondence, even young animals, on issuing from the mother's womb or from the egg, know at once of their own accord what is harmful for them, and avoid death-dealing things. [Seneca is both sound and modern in his account of animal "intelligence." It is instinct, due to sensory-motor reactions, and depending largely upon type heredity.] They even shrink when they notice the shadow of birds of prey which flit overhead. No animal, when it enters upon life, is free from the fear of death.

19. People may ask: "How can an animal at birth have an understanding of things wholesome or destructive?" The first question, however, is whether it can have such understanding, and not how it can understand. And it is clear that they have such understanding from the fact that, even if you add understanding, they will act no more adequately than they did in the first place. Why should the hen show no fear of the peacock or the goose, and yet run from the hawk, which is a so much smaller animal not even familiar to the hen? Why should young chickens fear a cat and not a dog? These fowls clearly have a presentiment of harm – one not based on actual experiments; for they avoid a thing before they can possibly have experience of it.

20. Furthermore, in order that you may not suppose this to be the result of chance, they do not shrink from certain other things which you would expect them to fear, nor do they ever forget vigilance and care in this regard; they all possess equally the faculty of avoiding what is destructive. Besides, their fear does not grow as their lives lengthen. Hence indeed it is evident that these animals have not reached such a condition through experience; it is because of an inborn desire for self-preservation. The teachings of experience are slow and irregular; but whatever Nature communicates belongs equally to everyone, and comes immediately.

21. If, however, you require an explanation, shall I tell you how it is that every living thing tries to understand that which is harmful? It feels that it is constructed of flesh; and so it perceives to what an extent flesh may be cut or burned or crushed, and what animals are equipped with the power of doing this damage; it is of animals of this sort that it derives an unfavourable and hostile idea. These tendencies are closely connected; for each animal at the same time consults its own safety, seeking that which helps it, and shrinks from that which will harm it. Impulses towards useful objects, and revulsion from the opposite, are according to nature; without any reflection to prompt the idea, and without any advice, whatever Nature has prescribed, is done.

22. Do you not see how skillful bees are in building their cells? How completely harmonious in sharing and enduring toil? Do you not see how the spider weaves a web so subtle that man's hand cannot imitate it; and what a task it is to arrange the threads, some directed straight towards the centre, for the sake of making the web solid, and others running in circles and lessening in thickness – for the purpose of tangling and catching in a sort of net the smaller insects for whose ruin the spider spreads the web?

23. This art is born, not taught; and for this reason no animal is more skilled than any other. You will notice that all spider-webs are equally fine, and that the openings in all honeycomb cells are identical in shape. Whatever art communicates is uncertain and uneven; but Nature's assignments are always uniform. Nature has communicated nothing except the duty of taking care of themselves and the skill to do so; that is why living and learning begin at the same time.

24. No wonder that living things are born with a gift whose absence would make birth useless. This is the first equipment that Nature granted them for the maintenance of their existence – the quality of adaptability and self-love. They could not survive except by desiring to do so. Nor would this desire alone have made them prosper, but without it nothing could have prospered. In no animal can you observe any low esteem, or even any carelessness, of self. Dumb beasts, sluggish in other respects, are clever at living. So you will see that creatures which are useless to others are alert for their own preservation. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 122. On Darkness as a Veil for Wickedness

1. The day has already begun to lessen. It has shrunk considerably, but yet will still allow a goodly space of time if one rises, so to speak, with the day itself. We are more industrious, and we are better men if we anticipate the day and welcome the dawn; but we are base churls if we lie dozing when the sun is high in the heavens, or if we wake up only when noon arrives; and even then to many it seems not yet dawn.

2. Some have reversed the functions of light and darkness; they open eyes sodden with yesterday's debauch only at the approach of night. It is just like the condition of those peoples whom, according to Vergil, Nature has hidden away and placed in an abode directly opposite to our own:

When in our face the Dawn with panting steeds
Breathes down, for them the ruddy evening kindles
Her late-lit fires.

It is not the country of these men, so much as it is their life, that is "directly opposite" to our own.

3. There may be Antipodes dwelling in this same city of ours who, in Cato's words, "have never seen the sun rise or set." Do you think that these men know how to live, if they do not know when to live? Do these men fear death, if they have buried themselves alive? They are as weird as the birds of night. Although they pass their hours of darkness amid wine and perfumes, although they spend the whole extent of their unnatural waking hours in eating dinners – and those too cooked separately to make up many courses – they are not really banqueting; they are conducting their own funeral services. And the dead at least have their banquets by daylight.

But indeed to one who is active no day is long. So let us lengthen our lives; for the duty and the proof of life consist in action. Cut short the night; use some of it for the day's business.

4. Birds that are being prepared for the banquet, that they may be easily fattened through lack of exercise, are kept in darkness; and similarly, if men vegetate without physical activity, their idle bodies are overwhelmed with flesh, and in their self-satisfied retirement the fat of indolence grows upon them. Moreover, the bodies of those who have sworn allegiance to the hours of darkness have a loathsome appearance. Their complexions are more alarming than those of anaemic invalids; they are lackadaisical and flabby with dropsy; though still alive, they are already carrion. But this, to my thinking, would be among the least of their evils. How much more darkness there is in their souls! Such a man is internally dazed; his vision is darkened; he envies the blind. And what man ever had eyes for the purpose of seeing in the dark?

5. You ask me how this depravity comes upon the soul – this habit of reversing the daylight and giving over one's whole existence to the night? All vices rebel against Nature; they all abandon the appointed order. It is the motto of luxury to enjoy what is unusual, and not only to depart from that which is right, but to leave it as far behind as possible, and finally even take a stand in opposition thereto.

6. Do you not believe that men live contrary to Nature who drink fasting [A vice which Seneca especially abhors], who take wine into empty veins, and pass to their food in a state of intoxication? And yet this is one of youth's popular vices – to perfect their strength in order to drink on the very threshold of the bath, amid the unclad bathers; nay even to soak in wine and then immediately to rub off the sweat which they have promoted by many a hot glass of liquor! To them, a glass after lunch or one after dinner is bourgeois; it is what the country squires do, who are not connoisseurs in pleasure. This unmixed wine delights them just because there is no food to float in it, because it readily makes its way into their muscles; this boozing pleases them just because the stomach is empty.

7. Do you not believe that men live contrary to Nature who exchange the fashion of their attire with women [By wearing silk gowns of transparent material.]? Do not men live contrary to Nature who endeavour to look fresh and boyish at an age unsuitable for such an attempt? What could be more cruel or more wretched? Cannot time and man's estate ever carry such a person beyond an artificial boyhood? [Not literally translated. It means roughly: "Will he never become a man, so that he can continue to be screwed by men? And though his sex ought to spare him this insult, will even not his age spare him?"]

8. Do not men live contrary to Nature who crave roses in winter, or seek to raise a spring flower like the lily by means of hot-water heaters and artificial changes of temperature? Do not men live contrary to Nature who grow fruit-trees on the top of a wall? Or raise waving forests upon the roofs and battlements of their houses – the roots starting at a point to which it would be outlandish for the tree-tops to reach? Do not men live contrary to Nature who lay the foundations of bathrooms in the sea and do not imagine that they can enjoy their swim unless the heated pool is lashed as with the waves of a storm?

9. When men have begun to desire all things in opposition to the ways of Nature, they end by entirely abandoning the ways of Nature. They cry: "It is daytime – let us go to sleep! It is the time when men rest: now for exercise, now for our drive, now for our lunch! Lo, the dawn approaches: it is dinner-time! We should not do as mankind do. It is low and mean to live in the usual and conventional way. Let us abandon the ordinary sort of day. Let us have a morning that is a special feature of ours, peculiar to ourselves!"

10. Such men are, in my opinion, as good as dead. Are they not all but present at a funeral – and before their time too – when they live amid torches and tapers? I remember that this sort of life was very fashionable at one time: among such men as Acilius Buta, a person of praetorian rank, who ran through a tremendous estate and on confessing his bankruptcy to Tiberius, received the answer: "You have waked up too late!"

11. Julius Montanus was once reading a poem aloud; he was a middling good poet, noted for his friendship with Tiberius, as well as his fall from favour. He always used to fill his poems with a generous sprinkling of sunrises and sunsets. Hence, when a certain person was complaining that Montanus had read all day long, and declared that no man should attend any of his readings, Natta Pinarius remarked: "I couldn't make a fairer bargain than this: I am ready to listen to him from sunrise to sunset!"

12. Montanus was reading, and had reached the words:

'Gins the bright morning to spread forth his flames clear-burning; the red dawn
Scatters its light; and the sad-eyed swallow returns to her nestlings,
Bringing the chatterers' food, and with sweet bill sharing and serving.

Then Varus, a Roman knight, the hanger-on of Marcus Vinicius, and a sponger at elegant dinners which he earned by his degenerate wit, shouted: "Bed-time for Buta!"

13. And later, when Montanus declaimed

Lo, now the shepherds have folded their flocks, and the slow-moving darkness
'Gins to spread silence o'er lands that are drowsily lulled into slumber,

this same Varus remarked: "What? Night already? I'll go and pay my morning call on Buta!" You see, nothing was more notorious than Buta's upside-down manner of life. But this life, as I said, was fashionable at one time.

14. And the reason why some men live thus is not because they think that night in itself offers any greater attractions, but because that which is normal gives them no particular pleasure; light being a bitter enemy of the evil conscience, and, when one craves or scorns all things in proportion as they have cost one much or little, illumination for which one does not pay is an object of contempt. Moreover, the luxurious person wishes to be an object of gossip his whole life; if people are silent about him, he thinks that he is wasting his time. Hence he is uncomfortable whenever any of his actions escape notoriety.

Many men eat up their property, and many men keep mistresses. If you would win a reputation among such persons, you must make your programme not only one of luxury but one of notoriety; for in such a busy community wickedness does not discover the ordinary sort of scandal.

15. I heard Pedo Albinovanus, that most attractive story-teller, speaking of his residence above the town-house of Sextus Papinius. Papinius belonged to the tribe of those who shun the light. "About nine o'clock at night I hear the sound of whips. I ask what is going on, and they tell me that Papinius is going over his accounts. About twelve there is a strenuous shouting; I ask what the matter is, and they say he is exercising his voice. About two A.M. I ask the significance of the sound of wheels; they tell me that he is off for a drive.

16. And at dawn there is a tremendous flurry-calling of slaves and butlers, and pandemonium among the cooks. I ask the meaning of this also, and they tell me that he has called for his cordial and his appetizer, after leaving the bath. His dinner," said Pedo, "never went beyond the day, for he lived very sparingly; he was lavish with nothing but the night. Accordingly, if you believe those who call him tight-fisted and mean, you will call him also a 'slave of the lamp.'"

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17. You should not be surprised at finding so many special manifestations of the vices; for vices vary, and there are countless phases of them, nor can all their various kinds be classified. The method of maintaining righteousness is simple; the method of maintaining wickedness is complicated, and has infinite opportunity to swerve. And the same holds true of character; if you follow nature, character is easy to manage, free, and with very slight shades of difference; but the sort of person I have mentioned possesses badly warped character, out of harmony with all things, including himself.

18. The chief cause, however, of this disease seems to me to be a squeamish revolt from the normal existence. Just as such persons mark themselves off from others in their dress, or in the elaborate arrangement of their dinners, or in the elegance of their carriages; even so they desire to make themselves peculiar by their way of dividing up the hours of their day. They are unwilling to be wicked in the conventional way, because notoriety is the reward of their sort of wickedness. Notoriety is what all such men seek – men who are, so to speak, living backwards.

19. For this reason, Lucilius, let us keep to the way which Nature has mapped out for us, and let us not swerve therefrom. If we follow Nature, all is easy and unobstructed; but if we combat Nature, our life differs not a whit from that of men who row against the current. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 123. On the Conflict between Pleasure and Virtue

1. Wearied with the discomfort rather than with the length of my journey, I have reached my Alban villa late at night, and I find nothing in readiness except myself. So I am getting rid of fatigue at my writing-table: I derive some good from this tardiness on the part of my cook and my baker. For I am communing with myself on this very topic – that nothing is heavy if one accepts it with a light heart, and that nothing need provoke one's anger if one does not add to one's pile of troubles by getting angry.

2. My baker is out of bread; but the overseer, or the house-steward, or one of my tenants can supply me therewith. "Bad bread!" you say. But just wait for it; it will become good. Hunger will make even such bread delicate and of the finest flavour. For that reason I must not eat until hunger bids me; so I shall wait and shall not eat until I can either get good bread or else cease to be squeamish about it.

3. It is necessary that one grow accustomed to slender fare: because there are many problems of time and place which will cross the path even of the rich man and one equipped for pleasure, and bring him up with a round turn. To have whatsoever he wishes is in no man's power; it is in his power not to wish for what he has not, but cheerfully to employ what comes to him. A great step towards independence is a good-humoured stomach, one that is willing to endure rough treatment.

4. You cannot imagine how much pleasure I derive from the fact that my weariness is becoming reconciled to itself; I am asking for no slaves to rub me down, no bath, and no other restorative except time. For that which toil has accumulated, rest can lighten. This repast, whatever it may be, will give me more pleasure than an inaugural banquet [i.e., a dinner given by an official when he entered upon his office.].

5. For I have made trial of my spirit on a sudden – a simpler and a truer test. Indeed, when a man has made preparations and given himself a formal summons to be patient, it is not equally clear just how much real strength of mind he possesses; the surest proofs are those which one exhibits off-hand, viewing one's own troubles not only fairly but calmly, not flying into fits of temper or wordy wranglings, supplying one's own needs by not craving something which was really due, and reflecting that our habits may be unsatisfied, but never our own real selves.

6. How many things are superfluous we fail to realize until they begin to be wanting; we merely used them not because we needed them but because we had them. And how much do we acquire simply because our neighbours have acquired such things, or because most men possess them! Many of our troubles may be explained from the fact that we live according to a pattern, and, instead of arranging our lives according to reason, are led astray by convention.

There are things which, if done by the few, we should refuse to imitate; yet when the majority have begun to do them, we follow along – just as if anything were more honourable because it is more frequent! Furthermore, wrong views, when they have become prevalent, reach, in our eyes, the standard of righteousness.

7. Everyone now travels with Numidian outriders preceding him, with a troop of slave-runners to clear the way; we deem it disgraceful to have no attendants who will elbow crowds from the road, or will prove, by a great cloud of dust, that a high dignitary is approaching! Everyone now possesses mules that are laden with crystal and myrrhine cups carved by skilled artists of great renown; it is disgraceful for all your baggage to be made up of that which can be rattled along without danger. Everyone has pages who ride along with ointment-covered faces, so that the heat or the cold will not harm their tender complexions; it is disgraceful that none of your attendant slave-boys should show a healthy cheek, not covered with cosmetics.

8. You should avoid conversation with all such persons: they are the sort that communicate and engraft their bad habits from one to another. We used to think that the very worst variety of these men were those who vaunted their words; but there are certain men who vaunt their wickedness. Their talk is very harmful; for even though it is not at once convincing, yet they leave the seeds of trouble in the soul, and the evil which is sure to spring into new strength follows us about even when we have parted from them.

9. Just as those who have attended a concert carry about in their heads the melodies and the charm of the songs they have heard – a proceeding which interferes with their thinking and does not allow them to concentrate upon serious subjects, – even so the speech of flatterers and enthusiasts over that which is depraved sticks in our minds long after we have heard them talk. It is not easy to rid the memory of a catching tune; it stays with us, lasts on, and comes back from time to time. Accordingly, you should close your ears against evil talk, and right at the outset, too; for when such talk has gained an entrance and the words are admitted and are in our minds, they become more shameless.

10. And then we begin to speak as follows: "Virtue, Philosophy, Justice – this is a jargon of empty words. The only way to be happy is to do yourself well. To eat, drink, and spend your money is the only real life, the only way to remind yourself that you are mortal. Our days flow on, and life – which we cannot restore – hastens away from us. Why hesitate to come to our senses? This life of ours will not always admit pleasures; meantime, while it can do so, while it clamours for them, what profit lies in imposing thereupon frugality? Therefore get ahead of death, and let anything that death will filch from you be squandered now upon yourself. You have no mistress, no favourite slave to make your mistress envious; you are sober when you make your daily appearance in public; you dine as if you had to show your account-book to 'Papa'; but that is not living, it is merely going shares in someone else's existence.

11. And what madness it is to be looking out for the interests of your heir, and to deny yourself everything, with the result that you turn friends into enemies by the vast amount of the fortune you intend to leave! For the more the heir is to get from you, the more he will rejoice in your taking-off! All those sour fellows who criticize other men's lives in a spirit of priggishness and are real enemies to their own lives, playing schoolmaster to the world – you should not consider them as worth a farthing, nor should you hesitate to prefer good living to a good reputation."

12. These are voices which you ought to shun just as Ulysses did; he would not sail past them until he was lashed to the mast. They are no less potent; they lure men from country, parents, friends, and virtuous ways; and by a hope that, if not base, is ill-starred, they wreck them upon a life of baseness. How much better to follow a straight course and attain a goal where the words "pleasant" and "honourable" have the same meaning!

13. This end will be possible for us if we understand that there are two classes of objects which either attract us or repel us. We are attracted by such things as riches, pleasures, beauty, ambition, and other such coaxing and pleasing objects; we are repelled by toil, death, pain, disgrace, or lives of greater frugality. We ought therefore to train ourselves so that we may avoid a fear of the one or a desire for the other. Let us fight in the opposite fashion: let us retreat from the objects that allure, and rouse ourselves to meet the objects that attack.

14. Do you not see how different is the method of descending a mountain from that employed in climbing upwards? Men coming down a slope bend backwards; men ascending a steep place lean forward. For, my dear Lucilius, to allow yourself to put your body's weight ahead when coming down, or, when climbing up, to throw it backward is to comply with vice. The pleasures take one down hill but one must work upwards toward that which is rough and hard to climb; in the one case let us throw our bodies forward, in the others let us put the check-rein on them.

15. Do you believe me to be stating now that only those men bring ruin to our ears, who praise pleasure, who inspire us with fear of pain – that element which is in itself provocative of fear? I believe that we are also in injured by those who masquerade under the disguise of the Stoic school and at the same time urge us on into vice. They boast that only the wise man and the learned is a lover [Meaning, in line with the Stoic paradoxes, that only the sage knows how to be rightly in love.]. "He alone has wisdom in this art; the wise man too is best skilled in drinking and feasting. Our study ought to be this alone: up to what age the bloom of love can endure!"

16. All this may be regarded as a concession to the ways of Greece; we ourselves should preferably turn our attention to words like these: "No man is good by chance. Virtue is something which must be learned. Pleasure is low, petty, to be deemed worthless, shared even by dumb animals – the tiniest and meanest of whom fly towards pleasure. Glory is an empty and fleeting thing, lighter than air. Poverty is an evil to no man unless he kick against the goads [Transcriber's note: The Latin is "Paupertas nulli malum est nisi repugnanti," i.e. "Poverty is an evil to noone unless they resist." Gummere's odd phrase "kick against the goads" is actually from the Bible (Acts 26:14). Death is not an evil; why need you ask? Death alone is the equal privilege of mankind. Superstition is the misguided idea of a lunatic; it fears those whom it ought to love; it is an outrage upon those whom it worships. For what difference is there between denying the gods and dishonouring them?"

17. You should learn such principles as these, nay rather you should learn them by heart; philosophy ought not to try to explain away vice. For a sick man, when his physician bids him live recklessly, is doomed beyond recall. Farewell.

SENECA LETTER 124. On the True Good as Attained by Reason

1. Full many an ancient precept could I give,
Didst thou not shrink, and feel it shame to learn
Such lowly duties.

But you do not shrink, nor are you deterred by any subtleties of study. For your cultivated mind is not wont to investigate such important subjects in a free-and-easy manner. I approve your method in that you make everything count towards a certain degree of progress, and in that you are disgruntled only when nothing can be accomplished by the greatest degree of subtlety. And I shall take pains to show that this is the case now also. Our question is, whether the Good is grasped by the senses or by the understanding; and the corollary thereto is that it does not exist in dumb animals or little children.

2. Those who rate pleasure as the supreme ideal hold that the Good is a matter of the senses; but we Stoics maintain that it is a matter of the understanding, and we assign it to the mind. If the senses were to pass judgement on what is good, we should never reject any pleasure; for there is no pleasure that does not attract, no pleasure that does not please. Conversely, we should undergo no pain voluntarily; for there is no pain that does not clash with the senses.

3. Besides, those who are too fond of pleasure and those who fear pain to the greatest degree would in that case not deserve reproof. But we condemn men who are slaves to their appetites and their lusts, and we scorn men who, through fear of pain, will dare no manly deed. But what wrong could such men be committing if they looked merely to the senses as arbiters of good and evil? For it is to the senses that you and yours have entrusted the test of things to be sought and things to be avoided!

4. Reason, however, is surely the governing element in such a matter as this; as reason has made the decision concerning the happy life, and concerning virtue and honour also, so she has made the decision with regard to good and evil. For with them the vilest part is allowed to give sentence about the better, so that the senses – dense as they are, and dull, and even more sluggish in man than in the other animals, – pass judgement on the Good.

5. Just suppose that one should desire to distinguish tiny objects by the touch rather than by the eyesight! There is no special faculty more subtle and acute than the eye, that would enable us to distinguish between good and evil. You see, therefore, in what ignorance of truth a man spends his days and how abjectly he has overthrown lofty and divine ideals, if he thinks that the sense of touch can pass judgement upon the nature of the Supreme Good and the Supreme Evil!

6. He says: "Just as every science and every art should possess an element that is palpable and capable of being grasped by the senses (their source of origin and growth), even so the happy life derives its foundation and its beginnings from things that are palpable, and from that which falls within the scope of the senses. Surely you admit that the happy life takes its beginnings from things palpable to the senses."

7. But we define as "happy" those things that are in accord with Nature. And that which is in accord with Nature is obvious and can be seen at once – just as easily as that which is complete. That which is according to Nature, that which is given us as a gift immediately at our birth, is, I maintain, not a Good, but the beginning of a Good. You, however, assign the Supreme Good, pleasure, to mere babies, so that the child at its birth begins at the point whither the perfected man arrives. You are placing the tree-top where the root ought to be.

8. If anyone should say that the child, hidden in its mother's womb, of unknown sex too, delicate, unformed, and shapeless – if one should say that this child is already in a state of goodness, he would clearly seem to be astray in his ideas. And yet how little difference is there between one who has just lately received the gift of life, and one who is still a hidden burden in the bowels of the mother! They are equally developed, as far as their understanding of good or evil is concerned; and a child is as yet no more capable of comprehending the Good than is a tree or any dumb beast.

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But why is the Good non-existent in a tree or in a dumb beast? Because there is no reason there, either. For the same cause, then, the Good is non-existent in a child, for the child also has no reason; the child will reach the Good only when he reaches reason. [According to the Stoics (and other schools also), the "innate notions," or groundwork of knowledge, begin to be subject to reason after the attainment of a child's seventh year.]

9. There are animals without reason, there are animals not yet endowed with reason, and there are animals who possess reason, but only incompletely; in none of these does the Good exist, for it is reason that brings the Good in its company. What, then, is the distinction between the classes which I have mentioned? In that which does not possess reason, the Good will never exist. In that which is not yet endowed with reason, the Good cannot be existent at the time. And in that which possesses reason but only incompletely, the Good is capable of existing, but does not yet exist.

10. This is what I mean, Lucilius: the Good cannot be discovered in any random person, or at any random age; and it is as far removed from infancy as last is from first, or as that which is complete from that which has just sprung into being. Therefore, it cannot exist in the delicate body, when the little frame has only just begun to knit together. Of course not – no more than in the seed.

11. Granting the truth of this, we understand that there is a certain kind of Good of a tree or in a plant; but this is not true of its first growth, when the plant has just begun to spring forth out of the ground. There is a certain Good of wheat: it is not yet existent, however, in the swelling stalk, nor when the soft ear is pushing itself out of the husk, but only when summer days and its appointed maturity have ripened the wheat. Just as Nature in general does not produce her Good until she is brought to perfection, even so man's Good does not exist in man until both reason and man are perfected.

12. And what is this Good? I shall tell you: it is a free mind, an upright mind, subjecting other things to itself and itself to nothing. So far is infancy from admitting this Good that boyhood has no hope of it, and even young manhood cherishes the hope without justification; even our old age is very fortunate if it has reached this Good after long and concentrated study. If this, then, is the Good, the good is a matter of the understanding.

13. "But," comes the retort, "you admitted that there is a certain Good of trees and of grass; then surely there can be a certain Good of a child also." But the true Good is not found in trees or in dumb animals the Good which exists in them is called "good" only by courtesy. "Then what is it?" you say. Simply that which is in accord with the nature of each. The real Good cannot find a place in dumb animals – not by any means; its nature is more blest and is of a higher class. And where there is no place for reason, the Good does not exist.

14. There are four natures which we should mention here: of the tree, animal, man, and God. The last two, having reasoning power, are of the same nature, distinct only by virtue of the immortality of the one and the mortality of the other. Of one of these, then – to wit God – it is Nature that perfects the Good; of the other – to wit man – pains and study do so. All other things are perfect only in their particular nature, and not truly perfect, since they lack reason. Indeed, to sum up, that alone is perfect which is perfect according to nature as a whole, and nature as a whole is possessed of reason. Other things can be perfect according to their kind.

15. That which cannot contain the happy life cannot contain that which produces the happy life; and the happy life is produced by Goods alone. In dumb animals there is not a trace of the happy life, nor of the means whereby the happy life is produced; in dumb animals the Good does not exist.

16. The dumb animal comprehends the present world about him through his senses alone. He remembers the past only by meeting with something which reminds his senses; a horse, for example, remembers the right road only when he is placed at the starting-point. In his stall, however, he has no memory of the road, no matter how often he may have stepped along it. The third state – the future – does not come within the ken of dumb beasts.

17. How, then, can we regard as perfect the nature of those who have no experience of time in its perfection? For time is three-fold, – past, present, and future. Animals perceive only the time which is of greatest moment to them within the limits of their coming and going – the present. Rarely do they recollect the past – and that only when they are confronted with present reminders.

18. Therefore the Good of a perfect nature cannot exist in an imperfect nature; for if the latter sort of nature should possess the Good, so also would mere vegetation. I do not indeed deny that dumb animals have strong and swift impulses toward actions which seem according to nature, but such impulses are confused and disordered. The Good however, is never confused or disordered.

19. "What!" you say, "do dumb animals move in disturbed and ill-ordered fashion?" I should say that they moved in disturbed and ill-ordered fashion, if their nature admitted of order; as it is, they move in accordance with their nature. For that is said to be "disturbed" which can also at some other time be "not disturbed"; so, too, that is said to be in a state of trouble which can be in a state of peace. No man is vicious except one who has the capacity of virtue; in the case of dumb animals their motion is such as results from their nature. 20. But, not to weary you, a certain sort of good will be found in a dumb animal, and a certain sort of virtue, and a certain sort of perfection – but neither the Good, nor virtue, nor perfection in the absolute sense. For this is the privilege of reasoning beings alone, who are permitted to know the cause, the degree, and the means. Therefore, good can exist only in that which possesses reason.

21. Do you ask now whither our argument is tending, and of what benefit it will be to your mind? I will tell you: it exercises and sharpens the mind, and ensures, by occupying it honourably, that it will accomplish some sort of good. And even that is beneficial which holds men back when they are hurrying into wickedness. However, I will say this also: I can be of no greater benefit to you than by revealing the Good that is rightly yours, by taking you out of the class of dumb animals, and by placing you on a level with God.

22. Why, pray, do you foster and practise your bodily strength? Nature has granted strength in greater degree to cattle and wild beasts. Why cultivate your beauty? After all your efforts, dumb animals surpass you in comeliness. Why dress your hair with such unending attention? Though you let it down in Parthian fashion, or tie it up in the German style, or, as the Scythians do, let it flow wild – yet you will see a mane of greater thickness tossing upon any horse you choose, and a mane of greater beauty bristling upon the neck of any lion. And even after training yourself for speed, you will be no match for the hare.

23. Are you not willing to abandon all these details – wherein you must acknowledge defeat, striving as you are for something that is not your own – and come back to the Good that is really yours? And what is this Good? It is a clear and flawless mind, which rivals that of God*, raised far above mortal concerns, and counting nothing of its own to be outside itself. You are a reasoning animal. [* One of the most conspicuous Stoic paradoxes maintained that "the wise man is a God." However a more logical explanation may focus on the viewpoint of people who are untrained in knowledge and skill, as for them, a man with knowledge and skill often represents a god, or obtains a godlike status, good and bad. Examples are many in history: Zarathustra, Krishna, Buddha, Confucius, Laozi, Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Saul of Tarsos (Paul the Apostle), Mani(chaeus), Constantine the Great, Mohammed, Richard the Lionheart, Tamerlane, Mozart, Napoleon, Nelson, Marx, Queen Victoria, Einstein, Roosevelt, as well as most of the cruel and genocidal dictators of the 20th century. And it is very hard to kill any of those Gods indeed. Therefore, for good reasons, Seneca asks you:] What Good, then, lies within you? Perfect reason. Are you willing to develop this to its farthest limits – to its greatest degree of increase?

24. Only consider yourself happy when all your joys are born of reason, and when – having marked all the objects which men clutch at, or pray for, or watch over – you find nothing which you will desire; mind, I do not say prefer. Here is a short rule by which to measure yourself, and by the test of which you may feel that you have reached perfection: "You will come to your own when you shall understand that those whom the world calls fortunate are really the most unfortunate of all." Farewell.

FLAVIUS ARRIANUS' DISCOURSES OF EPICTETUS

In Four Books (The other books are lost)
Or: Epictetus, the Discourses as reported by Arrian,
the Manual, and Fragments
By Epictetus of Hierapolis
Translation: William Abbott Oldfather, 1925
Estimated Range of Dating: 128 - 132 A.D.

(The Discourses of Epictetus (Greek: Epiktetou diatribai) are a series of informal lectures by the Stoic philosopher Epictetus written down by his disciple Arrian around 108 AD. Four books out of an original eight are still extant. The Stoic philosophy of Epictetus is intensely practical and reminds us of the equally practical teachings of Siddharta Gautama Buddha. It does not surprise much as with the arrival of Alexander in India motivated disciples of the Buddha began to travel to Greece.

Epictetus taught that philosophy is a way of life and not just a theoretical discipline. To Epictetus, all external events are beyond our control; we should accept calmly and dispassionately whatever happens. However, individuals are responsible for their own actions, which they can examine and control through rigorous self-discipline. He directs his students to focus attention on their opinions, anxieties, passions and desires, so that "they may never fail to get what they desire, nor fall into what they avoid." True education lies in learning to distinguish what is our own from what does not belong to us, and in learning to correctly assent or dissent to external impressions. The purpose of his teaching was to make people free and happy.

Epictetus of Hierapolis (Greek: Epiktetos; c. 50–135 AD) was born a slave at Hierapolis, Phrygia (present day Pamukkale, southwestern Turkey). He was a Greek philosopher, or better, a teacher. Epictetus obtained his freedom sometime during the reign of Titus Flavius Vespasianus in 69-79 AD when he lived in Rome. The Flavian family were also Stoics which was reflected in the gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke that were written at this time. He founded a philosophical school teaching Stoicism. Later, he was banished from Rome by Titus Flavius Domitianus like many other scholars, when he went to Nicopolis in northwestern Greece for the rest of his life.

His Stoic teachings were written down and published by his student Arrian in his Discourses and Enchiridion. Arrian of Nicomedia [whose name of Roman citizenship was Lucius Flavius Arrianus; c. 86–160 AD] was a Greek-speaking historian, public servant, military commander and philosopher of the Roman Empire. His name tells us that his father or Grandfather owed their Roman citizenship to the emperors of the Flavian Dynasty. Lucius Flavius Arrianus was elected Roman Consul in around 130, and since forty-two was the standard age for that position, he would have been at the correct age of around twenty in 108 AD. He wrote, besides The Anabasis of Alexander [the Expedition of Alexander], The Moral letters to Lucilius by Lucius Annaeus Seneca (also known as Seneca the Younger; c. 4 BC – 65 AD), and the Discourses and Enchiridion by the Greek Stoic philosopher Epictetus [c. 50–135 AD]. It is generally agreed that the Discourses were composed sometime in the years around 108 AD. Epictetus himself refers to the coins of Trajan [Discourses, 4.5.17], which shows he was teaching during that reign.

Based on teachings of Platon, Antisthenes, Socrates, Diogenes, Aristoteles, we have here before us a steady development of a range of teachings that led directly to the teachings of a man called Zeno of Citium (or Kition), in Greek called Zenon ho Kitieus. Zeno (c. 334-262 BC) was the founder of the Stoic school of philosophy, which he taught in Athens from about 300 BC.

Following the ideas of the Old Academy, Zeno divided philosophy into three parts: logic (a wide subject including rhetoric, grammar, and the theories of perception and thought); physics (not just science, but the divine nature of the universe as well); and ethics, the end goal of which was to achieve eudaimonia through the right way of living according to Nature. With logic, physics, and ethics, he tried to explain the world to his students as it really is, with all ramification that can occur to any individual.

Stoicism was originally known as "Zenonism", after the founder Zeno of Citium. But this name was soon dropped, probably because the Stoics did not consider their founders to be perfectly wise, and to avoid the risk of the philosophy becoming a cult of personality. The name "Stoicism" derives from the Stoa Poikile, Greek for "painted porch", a colonnade decorated with mythic and historical battle scenes, on the north side of the Agora in Athens, where Zeno and his followers gathered to discuss their ideas. Sometimes Stoicism is therefore referred to as "The Stoa", or the philosophy of "The Porch".

There are about 100 names of Stoic teachers on record. The most famous are: Zeno of Citium [Kition, southeast Cyprus]; the brothers Aratus and Athenodorus of Soli [Pompeiopolis, 11 km west of Mersin, southern Turkey, c. 315-245 BC) disciples of Zeno; Apollophanes of Antioch [Antakya, southern Turkey, fl. 250 BC]; Herillus of Carthage [north Africa, fl. 250 BC]; Eratosthenes of Cyrene [Kyrene, Libya, fl. 225 BC], Chief librarian at Alexandria; Cleanthes of Assos [331-232 BC], 2nd leader of the Stoic school; Zeno of Tarsus [Tarsos, southeast Turkey, fl. 200 BC], 4th leader of the Stoic school; Diogenes of Babylon [southern Iraq, c. 230-150 BC], 5th leader of the Stoic school; Antipater of Tarsus [Tarsos, southeast Turkey, c. 200-129 BC], 6th leader of the Stoic school; Panaetius of Rhodes [Rhodos, southwest Turkey, 185-109 BC], 7th leader of the Stoic school; Boethus of Sidon [Saida, Phoenicia, southern Lebanon, fl. 150 BC], disciple of Diogenes; Lucius Flavius Arrianus of Nicomedia [near Contantinople, c. 90-175 AD], disciple of Epictetus Marcus Aurelius Antoninus [Rome, 121–180 AD], final leader of the Stoic school, Roman emperor from 161 to 180 AD. There are about half a dozen Stoic philosophers from Tarsos [southeast Turkey] and Stoicism florished there for 500 years. One notable person comes exactly from this city: Saul of Tarsos, known as Paul the Apostle. Therefore it is not exactly surprising that Roman Christianity had a Stoic touch right from its beginning. It would be surprising if this were not the case. It is reported in Acts 17:16–18 that Paul met with Stoics during his stay in Athens. In his letters, Paul reflected heavily from his knowledge of Stoic philosophy, using Stoic terms and metaphors to assist his new Gentile converts in their understanding of his Roman-Stoic Christianity. Stoic influence can also be seen in the works of St. Ambrose, Marcus Minucius Felix, and Tertullian.

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The early Church Fathers regarded Stoicism as a "pagan philosophy"; nonetheless, they embraced many of the central philosophical concepts of Stoicism. Examples include the terms "logos", "virtue", "Spirit", and "conscience". But the parallels go well beyond the sharing and borrowing of terminology. Both Stoicism and Christianity assert an inner freedom in the face of the external world, a belief in human kinship with Nature or God, a sense of the innate depravity—or "persistent evil"—of humankind, and the futility and temporary nature of worldly possessions and attachments. Both encourage Ascesis with respect to the passions and inferior emotions, such as lust, and envy, so that the higher possibilities of one's humanity can be awakened and developed. Pauls mixture of Stoicism [as an ethic teaching that makes sence], and his concept of a divine Jesus who suffered death that brings consolation by redeeming the immortal soul [that attracted the spiritual believers], proved to be an irresistable teaching. This teaching probably made the Stoic schools fade away as Christianity made them superflous. And for those who do not care about spirituality or gods, the Stoic teachings of Epictetus of Hierapolis, Lucius Flavius Arrianus, and Marcus Aurelius brought them, throughout the centuries, the foundation on which our Western civilisation still stands.

The surviving Discourses contain Book 1 to Book 4 [the other four books are lost], the Fragments, and The Encheiridion or The Manual [which is summary].)

DISCOURSES OF EPICTETUS BOOK 1

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 1 - Of The Things Which Are Under Our Control And Not Under Our Control

Among the arts and faculties in general you will find none that is self-contemplative, and therefore none that is either self-approving or self-disapproving. How far does the art of grammar possess the power of contemplation? Only so far as to pass judgement upon what is written. How far the art of music? Only so far as to pass judgement upon the melody. Does either of them, then, contemplate itself? Not at all. But if you are writing to a friend and are at a loss as to what to write, the art of grammar will tell you; yet whether or no you are to write to your friend at all, the art of grammar will not tell. The same holds true of the art of music with regard to melodies; but whether you are at this moment to sing and play on the lyre, or neither sing nor play, it will not tell. What art or faculty, then, will tell? That one which contemplates both itself and everything else. And what is this? The reasoning faculty; for this is the only one we have inherited which will take knowledge both of itself—what it is, and of what it is capable, and how valuable a gift it is to us—and likewise of all the other faculties. For what else is it that tells us gold is beautiful? For the gold itself does not tell us. Clearly it is the faculty which makes use of external impressions. What else judges with discernment the art of music, the art of grammar, the other arts and faculties, passing judgement upon their uses and pointing out the seasonable occasions for their use? Nothing else does.

As was fitting, therefore, the gods have put under our control only the most excellent faculty of all and that which dominates the rest, namely, the power to make correct use of external impressions, but all the others they have not put under our control. Was it indeed because they would not? I for one think that had they been able they would have entrusted us with the others also; but they were quite unable to do that. For since we are upon earth and trammelled by an earthy body and by earthy associates, how was it possible that, in respect of them, we should not be hampered by external things?

But what says Zeus? "Epictetus, had it been possible I should have made both this paltry body and this small estate of thine free and unhampered. But as it is—let it not escape thee—this body is not thine own, but only clay cunningly compounded. Yet since I could not give thee this, we have given thee a certain portion of ourself, this faculty of choice and refusal, of desire and aversion, or, in a word, the faculty which makes use of external impressions; if thou care for this and place all that thou hast therein, thou shalt never be thwarted, never hampered, shalt not groan, shalt not blame, shalt not flatter any man. What then? Are these things small in thy sight?" "Far be it from me!" "Art thou, then, content with them?" "I pray the Gods I may be."

But now, although it is in our power to care for one thing only and devote ourselves to but one, we choose rather to care for many things, and to be tied fast to many, even to our body and our estate and brother and friend and child and slave. Wherefore, being tied fast to many things, we are burdened and dragged down by them. That is why, if the weather keeps us from sailing, we sit down and fidget and keep constantly peering about. "What wind is blowing?" we ask. Boreas. "What have we to do with it? When will Zephyrus blow?" When it pleases, good sir, or rather when Aeolus pleases. For God has not made you steward of the winds, but Aeolus. "What then?" We must make the best of what is under our control, and take the rest as its nature is. "How, then, is its nature?" As God wills.

"Must I, then, be the only one to be beheaded now?" Why, did you want everybody to be beheaded for your consolation? Are you not willing to stretch out your neck as did a certain Lateranus at Rome, when Nero ordered him to be beheaded? For he stretched out his neck and received the blow, but, as it was a feeble one, he shrank back for an instant, and then stretched out his neck again. Yes, and before that, when Epaphroditus, a freedman of Nero, approached a certain man and asked about the ground of his offence, he answered, "If I wish anything, I will speak to your master."

"What aid, then, must we have ready at hand in such circumstances?" Why, what else than the knowledge of what is mine, and what is not mine, and what is permitted me, and what is not permitted me? I must die: must I, then, die groaning too? I must be fettered: and wailing too? I must go into exile: does anyone, then, keep me from going with a smile and cheerful and serene? "Tell your secrets." I say not a word; for this is under my control. "But I will fetter you." What is that you say, man? fetter me? My leg you will fetter, but my moral purpose not even Zeus himself has power to overcome. "I will throw you into prison." My paltry body, rather! "I will behead you." Well, when did I ever tell you that mine was the only neck that could not be severed? These are the lessons that philosophers ought to rehearse, these they ought to write down daily, in these they ought to exercise themselves.

Thrasea used to say: "I would rather be killed to-day than banished to-morrow." What, then, did Rufus say to him? "If you choose death as the heavier of two misfortunes, what folly of choice! But if as the lighter, who has given you the choice? Are you not willing to practise contentment with what has been given you?"

Wherefore, what was it that Agrippinus used to remark? "I am not standing in my own way." Word was brought him, "Your case is being tried in the Senate."—"Good luck betide! But it is the fifth hour now" (he was in the habit of taking his exercise and then a cold bath at that hour); "let us be off and take our exercise." After he had finished his exercise someone came and told him, "You have been condemned."—"To exile," says he, "or to death?"—"To exile."—"What about my property?"—"It has not been confiscated."—"Well then, let us go to Aricia and take our lunch there." This is what it means to have rehearsed the lessons one ought to rehearse, to have set desire and aversion free from every hindrance and made them proof against chance. I must die. If forthwith, I die; and if a little later, I will take lunch now, since the hour for lunch has come, and afterwards I will die at the appointed time. How? As becomes the man who is giving back that which was another's.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 2 - How May A Man Preserve His Proper Character Upon Every Occasion?

To the rational being only the irrational is unendurable, but the rational is endurable. Blows are not by nature unendurable.—How so?—Observe how: Lacedaemonians take a scourging once they have learned that it is rational.—But is it not unendurable to be hanged?—Hardly; at all events whenever a man feels that it is rational he goes and hangs himself. In short, if we observe, we shall find mankind distressed by nothing so much as by the irrational, and again attracted to nothing so much as to the rational. Now it so happens that the rational and the irrational are different for different persons, precisely as good and evil, and the profitable and the unprofitable, are different for different persons. It is for this reason especially that we need education, so as to learn how, in conformity with nature, to adapt to specific instances our preconceived idea of what is rational and what is irrational. But for determining the rational and the irrational, we employ not only our estimates of the value of external things, but also the criterion of that which is in keeping with one's own character. For to one man it is reasonable to hold a chamber-pot for another, since he considers only that, if he does not hold it, he will get a beating and will not get food, whereas, if he does hold it, nothing harsh or painful will be done to him; but some other man feels that it is not merely unendurable to hold such a pot himself, but even to tolerate another's doing so. If you ask me, then, "Shall I hold the pot or not?" I will tell you that to get food is of greater value than not to get it, and to be flayed is of greater detriment than not to be; so that if you measure your interests by these standards, go and hold the pot. "Yes, but it would be unworthy of me." That is an additional consideration, which you, and not I, must introduce into the question. For you are the one that knows yourself, how much you are worth in your own eyes and at what price you sell yourself. For different men sell themselves at different prices.

Wherefore, when Florus was debating whether he should enter Nero's festival, so as to make some personal contribution to it, Agrippinus said to him, "Enter." And when Florus asked, "Why do you not enter yourself?" he replied, "I? why, I do not even raise the question." For when a man once stoops to the consideration of such questions, I mean to estimating the value of externals, and calculates them one by one, he comes very close to those who have forgotten their own proper character. Come, what is this you ask me? "Is death or life preferable?" I answer, life. "Pain or pleasure?" I answer, pleasure. "But unless I take a part in the tragedy I shall be beheaded." Go, then, and take a part, but I will not take a part. "Why not?" Because you regard yourself as but a single thread of all that go to make up the garment. What follows, then? This, that you ought to take thought how you may resemble all other men, precisely as even the single thread wants to have no point of superiority in comparison with the other threads. But I want to be the red, that small and brilliant portion which causes the rest to appear comely and beautiful. Why, then, do you say to me, "Be like the majority of people?" And if I do that, how shall I any longer be the red?

This is what Helvidius Priscus also saw, and, having seen, did. When Vespasian sent him word not to attend a meeting of the Senate, he answered, "It is in your power not to allow me to be a member of the Senate, but so long as I am one I must attend its meetings." "Very well then, but when you attend, hold your peace." "Do not ask for my opinion and I will hold my peace." "But I must ask for your opinion." "And I must answer what seems to me right." "But if you speak, I shall put you to death." "Well, when did I ever tell you that I was immortal? You will do your part and I mine. It is yours to put me to death, mine to die without a tremor; yours to banish, mine to leave without sorrow." What good, then, did Priscus do, who was but a single individual? And what good does the red do the mantle? What else than that it stands out conspicuous in it as red, and is displayed as a goodly example to the rest? But had Caesar [here generally meaning the 'Roman emperor'] told another man in such circumstances not to attend the meetings of the Senate, he would have said, "I thank you for excusing me." A man like that Caesar would not even have tried to keep from attending, but would have known that he would either sit like a jug, or, if he spoke, would say what he knew Caesar wanted said, and would pile up any amount more on the top of it. In like manner also a certain athlete acted, who was in danger of dying unless his private parts were amputated. His brother (and he was a philosopher) came to him and said, "Well, brother, what are you going to do? Are we going to cut off this member, and step forth once more into the gymnasium?" He would not submit, but hardened his heart and died. And as someone asked, "How did he do this? As an athlete, or as a philosopher?" As a man, replied Epictetus; and as a man who had been proclaimed at the Olympic games and had striven in them, who had been at home in such places, and had not merely been rubbed down with oil in Bato's wrestling school. But another would have had even his neck cut off, if he could have lived without his neck. This is what we mean by regard for one's proper character; and such is its strength with those who in their deliberations habitually make it a personal contribution. "Come then, Epictetus, shave off your beard." If I am a philosopher, I answer, "I will not shave it off" "But I will take off your neck." If that will do you any good, take it off.

Someone inquired, "How, then, shall each of us become aware of what is appropriate to his own proper character?" How comes it, replied he, that when the lion charges, the bull alone is aware of his own prowess and rushes forward to defend the whole herd? Or is it clear that with the possession of the prowess comes immediately the consciousness of it also? And so, among us too, whoever has such prowess will not be unaware of it. Yet a bull does not become a bull all at once, any more than a man becomes noble, but a man must undergo a winter training, he must prepare himself and must not plunge recklessly into what is inappropriate for him.

Only consider at what price you sell your freedom of will. If you must sell it, man, at least do not sell it cheap. But the great and pre-eminent deed, perhaps, befits others, Socrates and men of his stamp.—Why then, pray, if we are endowed by nature for such greatness, do not all men, or many, become like him? What, do all horses become swift, all dogs keen to follow the scent? What then? Because I have no natural gifts, shall I on that account give up my discipline? Far be it from me! Epictetus will not be better than Socrates; but if only I am not worse, that suffices me. For I shall not be a Milo, either, and yet I do not neglect my body; nor a Croesus, and yet I do not neglect my property; nor, in a word, is there any other field in which we give up the appropriate discipline merely from despair of attaining the highest.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 3 - From The Thesis That God Is The Father Of Mankind How May One Proceed To The Consequences?

IF a man could only subscribe heart and soul, as he ought, to this doctrine, that we are all primarily begotten of God, and that God is the father of men as well as of gods, I think that he will entertain no ignoble or mean thought about himself. Yet, if Caesar adopts you no one will be able to endure your conceit, but if you know that you are a son of Zeus, will you not be elated? As it is, however, we are not, but inasmuch as these two elements were comingled in our

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begetting, on the one hand the body, which we have in common with the brutes, and, on the other, reason and intelligence, which we have in common with the gods, some of us incline toward the former relationship, which is unblessed by fortune and is mortal, and only a few toward that which is divine and blessed. Since, then, it is inevitable that every man, whoever he be, should deal with each thing according to the opinion which he forms about it, these few, who think that by their birth they are called to fidelity, to self-respect, and to unerring judgement in the use of external impressions, cherish no mean or ignoble thoughts about themselves, whereas the multitude do quite the opposite. "For what am I? A miserable, paltry man," say they, and, "Lo, my wretched, paltry flesh!" Wretched indeed, but you have also something better than your paltry flesh. Why then abandon that and cleave to this?

It is because of this kinship with the flesh that those of us who incline toward it become like wolves, faithless and treacherous and hurtful, and others like lions, wild and savage and untamed; but most of us become foxes, that is to say, rascals of the animal kingdom. For what else is a slanderous and malicious man but a fox, or something even more rascally and degraded? Take heed, therefore, and beware that you become not one of these rascally creatures.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 4 - Of Progress

He who is making progress, having learned of the philosophers that desire is for things good and aversion is toward things evil, and having also learned that serenity and calm are not attained by a man save as he succeeds in securing the objects of desire and as he avoids encountering the objects of aversion—such a one has utterly excluded desire from himself, or else deferred it to another time, and feels aversion only toward the things which involve freedom of choice. For if he avoids anything that is not a matter of free choice, he knows that some time he will encounter something in spite of his aversion to it, and will come to grief. Now if it is virtue that holds out the promise thus to create happiness and calm and serenity, then assuredly progress toward virtue is progress toward each of these states of mind. For it is always true that whatsoever the goal toward which perfection in anything definitely leads, progress is an approach thereto.

How comes it, then, that we acknowledge virtue to be a thing of this sort, and yet seek progress and make a display of it in other things? What is the work of virtue? Serenity. Who, then, is making progress? The man who has read many treatises of Chrysippus? What, is virtue no more than this—to have gained a knowledge of Chrysippus? For if it is this, progress is confessedly nothing else than a knowledge of many of the works of Chrysippus. But now, while acknowledging that virtue produces one thing, we are declaring that the approach to virtue, which is progress, produces something else. "So-and-so," says someone, "is already able to read Chrysippus all by himself." It is fine headway, by the gods, that you are making, man! Great progress this! "Why do you mock him? And why do you try to divert him from the consciousness of his own shortcomings? Are you not willing to show him the work of virtue, that he may learn where to look for his progress?" Look for it there, wretch, where your work lies. And where is your work? In desire and aversion, that you may not miss what you desire and encounter what you would avoid; in choice and in refusal, that you may commit no fault therein; in giving and withholding assent of judgement, that you may not be deceived. But first come the first and most necessary points. Yet if you are in a state of fear and grief when you seek to be proof against encountering what you would avoid, how, pray, are you making progress?

Do you yourself show me, therefore, your own progress in matters like the following. Suppose, for example, that in talking to an athlete I said, "Show me your shoulders," and then he answered, "Look at my jumping-weights." Go to, you and your jumping-weights! What I want to see is the effect of the jumping-weights. "Take the treatise Upon Choice and see how I have mastered it." It is not that I am looking into, you slave, but how you act in your choices and refusals, your desires and aversions, how you go at things, and apply yourself to them, and prepare yourself, whether you are acting in harmony with nature therein, or out of harmony with it. For if you are acting in harmony, show me that, and I will tell you that you are making progress; but if out of harmony, begone, and do not confine yourself to expounding your books, but go and write some of the same kind yourself. And what will you gain thereby? Do you not know that the whole book costs only five denarii? Is the expounder of it, then, think you, worth more than five denarii? And so never look for your work in one place and your progress in another.

Where, then, is progress? If any man among you, withdrawing from external things, has turned his attention to the question of his own moral purpose, cultivating and perfecting it so as to make it finally harmonious with nature, elevated, free, unhindered, untrammelled, faithful, and honourable; and if he has learned that he who craves or shuns the things that are not under his control can be neither faithful nor free, but must himself of necessity be changed and tossed to and fro with them, and must end by subordinating himself to others, those, namely, who are able to procure or prevent these things that he craves or shuns; and if, finally, when he rises in the morning he proceeds to keep and observe all this that he has learned; if he bathes as a faithful man, eats as a self-respecting man,—similarly, whatever the subject matter may be with which he has to deal, putting into practice his guiding principles, as the runner does when he applies the principles of running, and the voice-trainer when he applies the principles of voice-training,—this is the man who in all truth is making progress, and the man who has not travelled at random is this one. But if he has striven merely to attain the state which he finds in his books and works only at that, and has made that the goal of his travels, I bid him go home at once and not neglect his concerns there, since the goal to which he has travelled is nothing; but not so that other goal—to study how a man may rid his life of sorrows and lamentations, and of such cries as "Woe is me!" and "Wretch that I am!" and of misfortune and failure, and to learn the meaning of death, exile, prison, hemlock; that he may be able to say in prison, "Dear Crito, if so it pleases the gods, so be it," rather than, "Alas, poor me, an old man, it is for this that I have kept my grey hairs!" Who says such things? Do you think that I will name you some man held in small esteem and of low degree? Does not Priam say it? Does not Oedipus? Nay more, all kings say it! For what are tragedies but the portrayal in tragic verse of the sufferings of men who have admired things external? If indeed one had to be deceived into learning that among things external and independent of our free choice none concerns us, I, for my part, should consent to a deception which would result in my living thereafter serenely and without turmoil; but as for you, you will yourselves see to your own preference.

What, then, does Chrysippus furnish us? "That you may know," he says, "that these things are not false from which serenity arises and tranquillity comes to us, take my books and you shall know how conformable and harmonious with nature are the things which render me tranquil." O the great good fortune! O the great benefactor who points the way! To Triptolemus, indeed, all men have established shrines and altars, because he gave us as food the fruits of cultivation, but to him who has discovered, and brought to light, and imparted to all men the truth which deals, not with mere life, but with a good life,—who among you has for that set up an altar in his honour, or dedicated a temple or a statue, or bows down to God in gratitude for him? But because the gods have given us the vine or wheat, for that do we make sacrifice, and yet because they have brought forth such a fruit in a human mind, whereby they purposed to show us the truth touching happiness, shall we fail to render thanks unto God for this?

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 5 - Against The Academics

If a man, says Epictetus, resists truths that are all too evident, in opposing him it is not easy to find an argument by which one may cause him to change his opinion. The reason for this is neither the man's ability nor the teacher's weakness; nay, when a man who has been trapped in an argument hardens to stone, how shall one any longer deal with him by argument?

Now there are two kinds of petrifaction: one is the petrifaction of the intellect, the other of the sense of shame, when a man stands in array, prepared neither to assent to manifest truths nor to leave the fighting line. Most of us dread the deadening of the body and would resort to all means so as to avoid falling into such a state, but about the deadening of the soul we care not at all. Indeed, by Zeus, even in the case of the soul itself, if a man be in such a state that he cannot follow an argument step by step, or even understand one, we regard him too as being in a bad way; but if a man's sense of shame and self-respect be deadened, this we go so far as to call strength of character!

Do your senses tell you that you are awake? "No," he answers, "any more than they do when in dreams I have the impression that I am awake." Is there, then, no difference between these two impressions? "None." Can I argue with this man any longer? And what cautery or lancet shall I apply to him, to make him realise that he is deadened? He does realise it, but pretends that he does not; he is even worse than a corpse. One man does not notice the contradiction—he is in a bad way; another man notices it, indeed, but is not moved and does not improve—he is in a still worse state. His self-respect and sense of shame have been lopped off, and his reasoning faculty has been—I will not say cut away, but brutalized. Am I to call this strength of character? Far from it, unless I am so to describe the strength that lewd fellows have, which enables them to say and do in public anything that comes into their heads.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 6 - Of Providence

From everything that happens in the universe it is easy for a man to find occasion to praise providence, if he has within himself these two qualities: the faculty of taking a comprehensive view of what has happened in each individual instance, and the sense of gratitude. Otherwise, one man will not see the usefulness of what has happened, and another, even if he does see it, will not be grateful therefor. If God had made colours, but had not made the faculty of seeing them, of what good had it been?—None at all.—But, conversely, if He had made the faculty, but in making objects, had made them incapable of falling under the faculty of vision, in that case also of what good had it been?—None at all.—What then, if He had even made both of these, but had not made light?—Even thus it would have been of no use.—Who is it, then, that has fitted this to that and that to this? And who is it that has fitted the sword to the scabbard, and the scabbard to the sword? No one? Assuredly from the very structure of all made objects we are accustomed to prove that the work is certainly the product of some artificer, and has not been constructed at random.

Does, then, every such work reveal its artificer, but do visible objects and vision and light not reveal him? And the male and the female, and the passion of each for intercourse with the other, and the faculty which makes use of the organs which have been constructed for this purpose, do these things not reveal their artificer either? Well, admit it for these things; but the marvellous constitution of the intellect whereby, when we meet with sensible objects, we do not merely have their forms impressed upon us, but also make a selection from among them, and subtract and add, and make these various combinations by using them, yes, and, by Zeus, pass from some things to certain others which are in a manner related to them—is not even all this sufficient to stir our friends and induce them not to leave the artificer out of account? Else let them explain to us what it is that produces each of these results, or how it is possible that objects so wonderful and so workmanlike should come into being at random and spontaneously.

What then? Is it in the case of man alone that these things occur? You will, indeed, find many things in man only, things of which the rational animal had a peculiar need, but you will also find many possessed by us in common with the irrational animals. Do they also, then, understand what happens? No! for use is one thing, and understanding another. God had need of the animals in that they make use of external impressions, and of us in that we understand the use of external impressions. And so for them it is sufficient to eat and drink and rest and procreate, and whatever else of the things within their own province the animals severally do; while for us, to whom He has made the additional gift of the faculty of understanding, these things are no longer sufficient, but unless we act appropriately, and methodically, and in conformity each with his own nature and constitution, we shall no longer achieve our own ends. For of beings whose constitutions are different, the works and the ends are likewise different. So for the being whose constitution is adapted to use only, mere use is sufficient, but where a being has also the faculty of understanding the use, unless the principle of propriety be added, he will never attain his end. What then? Each of the animals God constitutes, one to be eaten, another to serve in farming, another to produce cheese, and yet another for some other similar use; to perform these functions what need have they to understand external impressions and to be able to differentiate between them? But God has brought man into the world to be a spectator of Himself and of His works, and not merely a spectator, but also an interpreter. Wherefore, it is shameful for man to begin and end just where the irrational animals do; he should rather begin where they do, but end where nature has ended in dealing with us. Now she did not end until she reached contemplation and understanding and a manner of life harmonious with nature. Take heed, therefore, lest you die without ever having been spectators of these things.

But you travel to Olympia to behold the work of Pheidias, and each of you regards it as a misfortune to die without seeing such sights; yet when there is no need to travel at all, but where Zeus is already, and is present in his works, will you not yearn to behold these works and know them? Will you decline, therefore, to perceive either who you are, or for what you have been born, or what that purpose is for which you have received sight?—But some unpleasant and hard things happen in life.—And do they not happen at Olympia? Do you not swelter? Are you not cramped and crowded? Do you not bathe with discomfort? Are you not drenched whenever it rains? Do you not have your fill of tumult and shouting and other annoyances? But I fancy that you hear and endure all this by balancing it off against the memorable character of the spectacle. Come, have you not received faculties that enable you to bear whatever happens? Have you not received magnanimity? Have you not received courage? Have you not received endurance? And what care I longer for anything that may happen, if I be magnanimous? What shall perturb me, or trouble me, or seem grievous to me? Shall I fail to use my faculty to that end for which I have received it, but grieve and lament over events that occur?

"Yes, but my nose is running." What have you hands for, then, slave? Is it not that you may wipe your nose? "Is it reasonable, then, that there should be running noses in the world?"—And how much better it would be for you to wipe your nose than to find fault! Or what do you think Heracles

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would have amounted to, if there had not been a lion like the one which he encountered, and a hydra, and a stag, and a boar, and wicked and brutal men, whom he made it his business to drive out and clear away? And what would he have been doing had nothing of the sort existed? Is it not clear that he would have rolled himself up in a blanket and slept? In the first place, then, he would never have become Heracles by slumbering away his whole life in such luxury and ease; but even if he had, of what good would he have been? What would have been the use of those arms of his and of his prowess in general, and his steadfastness and nobility, had not such circumstances and occasions roused and exercised him? What then? Ought he to have prepared these for himself, and sought to bring a lion into his own country from somewhere or other, and a boar, and a hydra? This would have been folly and madness. But since they did exist and were found in the world, they were serviceable as a means of revealing and exercising our Heracles.

Come then, do you also, now that you are aware of these things, contemplate the faculties which you have, and, after contemplating, say: "Bring now, O Zeus, what difficulty Thou wilt; for I have an equipment given to me by Thee, and resources wherewith to distinguish myself by making use of the things that come to pass," But no, you sit trembling for fear something will happen, and lamenting, and grieving, and groaning about other things that are happening. And then you blame the gods! For what else can be the consequence of so ignoble a spirit but sheer impiety? And yet God has not merely given us these faculties, to enable us to bear all that happens without being degraded or crushed thereby, but—as became a good king and in very truth a father—He has given them to us free from all restraint, compulsion, hindrance; He has put the whole matter under our control without reserving even for Himself any power to prevent or hinder. Although you have these faculties free and entirely your own, you do not use them, nor do you realise what gifts you have received, and from whom, but you sit sorrowing and groaning, some of you blinded toward the giver himself and not even acknowledging your benefactor, and others,—such is their ignoble spirit—turning aside to fault-finding and complaints against God. And yet, though I can show you that you have resources and endowment for magnanimity and courage, do you, pray, show me what resources you have to justify faultfinding and complaining!

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 7 - Of The Use Of Equivocal Premisses, Hypothetical Arguments And The Like

Most men are unaware that the handling of arguments which involve equivocal and hypothetical premisses, and, further, of those which derive syllogisms by the process of interrogation, and, in general, the handling of all such arguments, has a bearing upon the duties of life. For our aim in every matter of inquiry is to learn how the good and excellent man may find the appropriate course through it and the appropriate way of conducting himself in it. Let them say, then, either that the good man will not enter the contest of question and answer, or that, once he has entered, he will be at no pains to avoid conducting himself carelessly and at haphazard in question and answer; or else, if they accept neither of these alternatives, they must admit that some investigation should be made of those topics with which question and answer are principally concerned.

For what is the professed object of reasoning? To state the true, to eliminate the false, to suspend judgement in doubtful cases. Is it enough, then, to learn this alone?—It is enough, says one.—Is it, then, also enough for the man who wants to make no mistake in the use of money to be told the reason why you accept genuine drachmas and reject the counterfeit?—It is not enough.—What, then, must be added to this? Why, what else but the faculty that tests the genuine drachmas and the counterfeit and distinguishes between them? Wherefore, in reasoning also the spoken word is not enough, is it? On the contrary, is it not necessary to develop the power of testing the true and the false and the uncertain and of distinguishing between them?—It is necessary.—What else besides this is proposed in reasoning? Pray accept the consequence of what you have properly granted. Come, is it enough, then, in this case also merely to know that this particular thing is true? It is not enough, but one must learn in what way a thing follows as a consequence upon certain other things, and how sometimes one thing follows upon one, and at other times upon several conjointly. Is it not, then, necessary that a man should also acquire this power, if he is to acquit himself intelligently in argument, and is himself not only to prove each point when he tries to prove it, but also to follow the argument of those who are conducting a proof, and is not to be misled by men who quibble as though they were proving something? There has consequently arisen among us, and shown itself to be necessary, a science which deals with inferential arguments and with logical figures and trains men therein.

But of course there are times when we have with sound reasoning granted the premisses, and the inference from them is so-and-so; and, in spite of its being false, it is none the less the inference. What, then, should I do? Accept the fallacy? And how is that possible? Well, should I say, "It was not sound reasoning for me to grant the premisses"? Nay, but this is not permissible either. Or, "This does not follow from what has been granted"? But that is not permissible, either. What, then, must be done in these circumstances? Is it not this, that the fact of having borrowed is not enough to prove that one is still in debt, but we must add the circumstance that one abides by the loan—that is, has not paid it—and just so our having once granted the premisses is not enough to compel us to accept the inference, but we must abide by our acceptance of the premisses? And what is more, if the premisses remain until the end what they were when they were granted, there is every necessity for us to abide by our acceptance of them, and to allow the conclusion that has been drawn from them; . . . for from our point of view and to our way of thinking this inference does not now result from the premisses, since we have withdrawn from our previous assent to the premisses. It is necessary, therefore, to enquire into premisses of this kind and into such change and equivocal modification of them, whereby, at the very moment the question is put, or the answer made, or the deduction drawn, or at some other similar stage in the argument, the premisses take on modified meanings and give occasion to the unthinking to be disconcerted, if they do not see what follows in consequence. Why is it necessary? In order that in this matter we may not behave unsuitably, nor at haphazard, nor confusedly.

And the same holds true of hypotheses and hypothetical arguments. For it is necessary at times to postulate some hypothesis as a sort of stepping-stone for the subsequent argument. Are we, therefore, to grant any and every hypothesis that is proposed, or not every one? And if not every one, what one? And when a man has granted an hypothesis, must he abide for ever by it and maintain it, or are there times when he should abandon it and accept only the consequences which follow from it without accepting those which are opposed to it?—Yes.—But someone says, "If you once admit an hypothesis that involves a possibility, I will compel you to be drawn on to an impossibility." Shall the prudent man refuse to engage with this person, and avoid enquiry and discussion with him? Yet who but the prudent is capable of using argument and skilful in question and answer, and, by Zeus, proof against deceit and sophistic fallacies? But shall he argue, indeed, and then not take pains to avoid conducting himself recklessly and at haphazard in argument? And if he does not, how will he any longer be the sort of man we think he is? But without some such exercise and preparation in formal reasoning, how will he be able to maintain the continuity of the argument? Let them show that he will be able, and all these speculations become mere superfluity; they were absurd and inconsistent with our preconception of the good man.

Why are we still indolent and easy-going and sluggish, seeking excuses whereby we may avoid toiling or even late hours, as we try to perfect our own reason?—If, then, I err in these matters, I have not murdered my own father, have I?—Slave, pray where was there in this case a father for you to murder? What, then, have you done, you ask? You have committed what was the only possible error in the matter. Indeed this is the very remark I made to Rufus when he censured me for not discovering the one omission in a certain syllogism. "Well," said I, "it is not as bad as if I had burned down the Capitol." But he answered, "Slave, the omission here is the Capitol." Or are there no other errors than setting fire to the Capitol and murdering one's father? But to make a reckless and foolish and haphazard use of the external impressions that come to one, to fail to follow an argument, or demonstration, or sophism—in a word, to fail to see in question and answer what is consistent with one's position or inconsistent—is none of these things an error?

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 8 - That The Reasoning Faculties, In The Case Of The Uneducated, Are Not Free From Error

In as many ways as it is possible to vary the meaning of equivalent terms, in so many ways may a man also vary the forms of his controversial arguments and of his enthymemes in reasoning. Take this syllogism, for instance: If you have borrowed and have not repaid, you owe me the money; now you have not borrowed and have not repaid; therefore you do not owe me the money. And no man is better fitted to employ such variations skilfully than the philosopher. For if, indeed, the enthymeme is an incomplete syllogism, it is clear that he who has been exercised in the perfect syllogism would be no less competent to deal with the imperfect also.

Why, then, do we neglect to exercise ourselves and one another in this way? Because, even now, without receiving exercise in these matters, or even being, by me at least, diverted from the study of morality, we nevertheless make no progress toward the beautiful and the good. What, therefore, must we expect, if we should take on this occupation also? And especially since it would not merely be an additional occupation to draw us away from those which are more necessary, but would also be an exceptional excuse for conceit and vanity. For great is the power of argumentation and persuasive reasoning, and especially if it should enjoy excessive exercise and receive likewise a certain additional ornament from language. The reason is that, in general, every faculty which is acquired by the uneducated and the weak is dangerous for them, as being apt to make them conceited and puffed up over it. For by what device might one any longer persuade a young man who excels in these faculties to make them an appendage to himself instead of his becoming an appendage to them? Does he not trample all these reasons under foot, and strut about in our presence, all conceited and puffed up, much less submitting if any one by way of reproof reminds him of what he lacks and wherein he has gone astray?

What then? Was not Plato a philosopher? Yes, and was not Hippocrates a physician? But you see how eloquently Hippocrates expresses himself. Does Hippocrates, then, express himself so eloquently by virtue of his being a physician? Why, then, do you confuse things that for no particular reason have been combined in the same man? Now if Plato was handsome and strong, ought I to sit down and strive to become handsome, or become strong, on the assumption that this is necessary for philosophy, because a certain philosopher was at the same time both handsome and a philosopher? Are you not willing to observe and distinguish just what that is by virtue of which men become philosophers, and what qualities pertain to them for no particular reason? Come now, if I were a philosopher, ought you to become lame like me? What then? Am I depriving you of these faculties? Far be it from me! No more than I am depriving you of the faculty of sight. Yet, if you enquire of me what is man's good, I can give you no other answer than that it is a kind of moral purpose.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 9 - How From The Thesis That We Are Akin To God May A Man Proceed To The Consequences?

If what is said by the philosophers regarding the kinship of God and men be true, what other course remains for men but that which Socrates took when asked to what country he belonged, never to say "I am an Athenian," or "I am a Corinthian," but "I am a citizen of the universe"? For why do you say that you are an Athenian, instead of mentioning merely that corner into which your paltry body was cast at birth? Or is it clear you take the place which has a higher degree of authority and comprehends not merely that corner of yours, but also your family and, in a word, the source from which your race has come, your ancestors down to yourself, and from some such entity call yourself "Athenian," or "Corinthian"? Well, then, anyone who has attentively studied the administration of the universe and has learned that "the greatest and most authoritative and most comprehensive of all governments is this one, which is composed of men and God, and that from Him have descended the seeds of being, not merely to my father or to my grandfather, but to all things that are begotten and that grow upon earth, and chiefly to rational beings, seeing that by nature it is theirs alone to have communion in the society of God, being intertwined with him through the reason,"—why should not such a man call himself a citizen of the universe? Why should he not call himself a son of God? And why shall he fear anything that, happens among men? What? Shall kinship with Caesar or any other of them that have great power at Rome be sufficient to enable men to live securely, proof against contempt, and in fear of nothing whatsoever, but to have God as our maker, and father, and guardian,—shall this not suffice to deliver us from griefs and fears?—And wherewithal shall I be fed, asks one, if I have nothing?—And how of slaves, how of runaways, on what do they rely when they leave their masters? On their lands, their slaves, or their vessels of silver? No, on nothing but themselves; and nevertheless food does not fail them. And shall it be necessary for our philosopher, forsooth, when he goes abroad, to depend upon others for his assurance and his refreshment, instead of taking care of himself, and to be more vile and craven than the irrational animals, every one of which is sufficient to himself, and lacks neither its own proper food nor that way of life which is appropriate to it and in harmony with nature?

As for me, I think that the elder man ought not to be sitting here devising how to keep you from thinking too meanly of yourselves or from taking in your debates a mean or ignoble position regarding yourselves; he should rather be striving to prevent there being among you any young men of such a sort that, when once they have realised their kinship to the gods and that we have these fetters as it were fastened upon us,—the body and its possessions, and whatever things on their account are necessary to us for the management of life, and our tarrying therein,—they may desire to throw aside all these things as burdensome and vexatious and unprofitable and depart to their kindred. And this is the struggle in which your teacher and trainer, if he really amounted to anything, ought to be engaged; you, for your part, would come to him saying: "Epictetus, we can no longer endure to be imprisoned with this paltry body, giving it food and drink, and resting and cleansing it, and, to crown all, being on its account brought into contact with these people and those. Are not these things indifferent—indeed, nothing—to us? And is not death no evil? And are we not in a manner akin to God, and

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have we not come from Him? Suffer us to go back whence we came; suffer us to be freed at last from these fetters that are fastened to us and weigh us down. Here are despoilers and thieves, and courts of law, and those who are called tyrants; they think that they have some power over us because of the paltry body and its possessions. Suffer us to show them that they have power over no one." And thereupon it were my part to say: "Men, wait upon God. When He shall give the signal and set you free from this service, then shall you depart to Him; but for the present endure to abide in this place, where He has stationed you. Short indeed is this time of your abiding here, and easy to bear for men of your convictions. For what tyrant, or what thief, or what courts of law are any longer formidable to those who have thus set at naught the body and its possessions? Stay, nor be so unrational as to depart."

Some such instruction should be given by the teacher to the youth of good natural parts. But what happens now? A corpse is your teacher and corpses are you. As soon as you have fed your fill to-day, you sit lamenting about the morrow, wherewithal you shall be fed. Slave, if you get it, you will have it; if you do not get it, you will depart; the door stands open. Why grieve? Where is there yet room for tears? What occasion longer for flattery? Why shall one man envy another? Why shall he admire those who have great possessions, or those who are stationed in places of power, especially if they be both strong and prone to anger? For what will they do to us? As for what they have power to do, we shall pay no heed thereto; as for the things we care about, over them they have no power. Who, then, will ever again be ruler over the man who is thus disposed?

How did Socrates feel with regard to these matters? Why, how else than as that man ought to feel who has been convinced that he is akin to the gods? "If you tell me now," says he, "'We will acquit you on these conditions, namely, that you will no longer engage in these discussions which you have conducted hitherto, nor trouble either the young or the old among us,' I will answer, 'You make yourselves ridiculous by thinking that, if your general had stationed me at any post, I ought to hold and maintain it and choose rather to die ten thousand times than to desert it, but if God has stationed us in some place and in some manner of life we ought to desert that.'" This is what it means for a man to be in very truth a kinsman of the gods. We, however, think of ourselves as though we were mere bellies, entrails, and genitals, just because we have fear, because we have appetite, and we flatter those who have power to help us in these matters, and these same men we fear.

A certain man asked me to write to Rome in his behalf. Now he had met with what most men account misfortune: though he had formerly been eminent and wealthy, he had afterwards lost everything and was living here. And I wrote in humble terms in his behalf. But when he had read the letter he handed it back to me, and said, "I wanted your help, not your pity; my plight is not an evil one." So likewise Rufus was wont to say, to test me, "Your master is going to do such-and-such a thing to you." And when I would say in answer. "'Tis but the lot of man," he would reply. "What then? Am I to go on and petition him, when I can get the same result from you?" For, in fact, it is foolish and superfluous to try to obtain from another that which one can get from oneself. Since, therefore, I am able to get greatness of soul and nobility of character from myself, am I to get a farm, and money, or some office, from you? Far from it! I will not be so unaware of what I myself possess. But when a man is cowardly and abject, what else can one possibly do but write letters in his behalf as we do in behalf of a corpse: "Please to grant us the carcase of so-and-so and a pint of paltry blood?" For really, such a person is but a carcase and a pint of paltry blood, and nothing more. But if he were anything more he would perceive that one man is not unfortunate because of another.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 10 - To Those Who Have Set Their Hearts On Preferment At Rome

If we philosophers had applied ourselves to our own work as zealously as the old men at Rome have applied themselves to the matters on which they have set their hearts, perhaps we too should be accomplishing something. I know a man older than myself who is now in charge of the grain supply at Rome. When he passed this place on his way back from exile, I recall what a tale he told as he inveighed against his former life and announced for the future that, when he had returned to Rome, he would devote himself solely to spending the remainder of his life in peace and quiet, "For how little is yet left to me!"—And I told him, "You will not do it, but when once you have caught no more than a whiff of Rome you will forget all this." And if also admission to court should be granted, I added that he would rejoice, thank God and push his way in.—"If you find me, Epictetus," said he, "putting so much as one foot inside the court, think of me what you will." Well, now, what did he do? Before he reached Rome, letters from Caesar met him; and as soon as he received them, he forgot all those resolutions of his, and ever since he has been piling up one property after another. I wish I could stand by his side now and remind him of the words that he uttered as he passed by here, and remark, "How much more clever a prophet I am than you!"

What then? Do I say that man is an animal made for inactivity? Far be it from me! But how can you say that we philosophers are not active in affairs? For example, to take myself first: as soon as day breaks I call to mind briefly what author I must read over. Then forthwith I say to myself: "And yet what difference does it really make to me how so-and-so reads? The first thing is that I get my sleep." Even so, in what are the occupations of those other men comparable to ours? If you observe what they do, you will see. For what else do they do but all day long cast up accounts, dispute, consult about a bit of grain, a bit of land, or similar matters of profit? Is it, then, much the same thing to receive a little petition from someone and read: "I beseech you to allow me to export a small quantity of grain," and this one: "I beseech you to learn from Chrysippus what is the administration of the universe, and what place therein the rational animal has; and consider also who you are, and what is the nature of your good and evil"? Is this like that? And does it demand the like kind of study? And is it in the same way shameful to neglect the one and the other? What then? Is it we philosophers alone who take things easily and drowse? No, it is you young men far sooner. For, look you, we old men, when we see young men playing, are eager to join in the play ourselves. And much more, if I saw them wide-awake and eager to share in our studies, should I be eager to join, myself, in their serious pursuits.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 11 - Of Family Affection

When an official came to see him, Epictetus, after making some special enquiries about other matters, asked him if he had children and a wife, and when the other replied that he had, Epictetus asked the further question, What, then, is your experience with marriage?—Wretched, he said.—To which Epictetus, How so? For men do not marry and beget children just for this surely, to be wretched, but rather to be happy.—And yet, as for me, the other replied, I feel so wretched about the little children, that recently when my little daughter was sick and was thought to be in danger, I could not bear even to stay by her sick bed, but I up and ran away, until someone brought me word that she was well again.—What then, do you feel that you were acting right in doing this?—I was acting naturally, he said.—But really, you must first convince me of this, that you were acting naturally, said he, and then I will convince you that whatever is done in accordance with nature is rightly done.—This is the way, said the man, all, or at least most, of us fathers feel.—And I do not contradict you either, answered Epictetus, and say that it is not done, but the point at issue between us is the other, whether it is rightly done. For by your style of reasoning we should have to say of tumours also that they are produced for the good of the body, just because they occur, and in brief, that to err is in accordance with nature, just because practically all of us, or at least most of us, do err. Do you show me, therefore, how your conduct is in accordance with nature.—I cannot, said the man; but do you rather show me how it is not in accordance with nature, and not rightly done. And Epictetus said: Well, if we were enquiring about white and black objects, what sort of criterion should we summon in order to distinguish between them?—The sight, said the man.—And if about hot and cold, and hard and soft objects, what criterion?—The touch.—Very well, then, since we are disputing about things which are in accordance with nature and things which are rightly or not rightly done, what criterion would you have us take?—I do not know, he said.—And yet, though it is, perhaps, no great harm for one not to know the criterion of colours and odours, and so, too, of flavours, still do you think that it is a slight harm for a man to be ignorant of the criterion of good and evil things, and of those in accordance with nature and those contrary to nature?—On the contrary, it is the very greatest harm. Come, tell me, are all the things that certain persons regard as good and fitting, rightly so regarded? And is it possible at this present time that all the opinions which Jews, and Syrians, and Egyptians and Romans hold on the subject of food are rightly held?—And how can it be possible?—But, I fancy, it is absolutely necessary, if the views of the Egyptians are right, that those of the others are not right; if those of the Jews are well founded, that those of the others are not.—Yes, certainly.—Now where there is ignorance, there is also lack of knowledge and the lack of instruction in matters which are indispensable.—He agreed.—You, then, said he, now that you perceive this, will henceforth study no other have learned the criterion of what is in accordance with nature, you shall apply that criterion and thus determine each special case.

But for the present I can give you the following assistance toward the attainment of what you desire. Does family affection seem to you to be in accordance with nature and good?—Of course.—What then? Is it possible that, while family affection is in accordance with nature and good, that which is reasonable is not good?—By no means.—That which is reasonable is not, therefore, incompatible with family affection?—It is not, I think.—Otherwise, when two things are incompatible and one of them is in accordance with nature, the other must be contrary to nature, must it not?—Even so, said he.—Whatever, therefore, we find to be at the same time both affectionate and reasonable, this we confidently assert to be both right and good?—Granted, said he.—What then? I suppose you will not deny that going away and leaving one's child when it is sick is at least not reasonable. But we have yet to consider whether it is affectionate.—Yes, let us consider that.—Were you, then, since you were affectionately disposed to your child, doing right when you ran away and left her? And has the mother no affection for her child?—On the contrary, she has affection.—Ought then the mother also to have left her child, or ought she not?—She ought not.—What of the nurse? Does she love her child?—She does, he said.—Ought, then, she also to have left her?—By no means.—What about the school attendant? Does not he love the child?—He does.—Ought, then, he as well to have gone away and left her, so that the child would thus have been left alone and helpless because of the great affection of you her parents and of those in charge of her, or, perhaps, have died in the arms of those who neither loved her nor cared for her?—Far from it!—And yet is it not unfair and unfeeling, when a man thinks certain conduct fitting for himself because of his affection, that he should not allow the same to others who have as much affection as he has?—That were absurd.—Come, if it had been you who were sick, would you have wanted all your relatives, your children and your wife included, to show their affection in such a way that you would be left all alone and deserted by them?—By no means.—And would you pray to be so loved by your own that, because of their excessive affection, you would always be left alone in sickness? Or would you, so far as this is concerned, have prayed to be loved by your enemies rather, if that were possible, so as to be left alone by them? And if this is what you would have prayed for, the only conclusion left us is that your conduct was, in the end, not an act of affection at all.

What, then; was the motive nothing at all which actuated you and induced you to leave your child? And how can that be? But it was a motive like that which impelled a certain man in Rome to cover his head when the horse which he backed was running,—and then, when it won unexpectedly, they had to apply sponges to him to revive him from his faint! What motive, then, is this? The scientific explanation, perhaps, is not in place now; but it is enough for us to be convinced that, if what the philosophers say is sound, we ought not to look for the motive anywhere outside of ourselves, but that in all cases it is one and the same thing that is the cause of our doing a thing or of our not doing it, of our saying things, or of our not saying them, of our being elated, or of our being cast down, of our avoiding things, or of our pursuing them—the very thing, indeed, which has even now become a cause of my action and of yours; yours in coming to me and sitting here now listening, mine in saying these things. And what is that? Is it, indeed, anything else than that we wanted to do this?—Nothing.—And supposing that we had wanted to do something else, what else would we be doing than that which we wanted to do? Surely, then, in the case of Achilles also, it was this that was the cause of his grief—not the death of Patroclus (for other men do not act this way when their comrades die), but that he wanted to grieve. And in your case the other day, the cause of your running away was just that you wanted to do so; and another time, if you stay with her, it will be because you wanted to stay. And now you are going back to Rome, because you want to do so, and if you change your mind and want something else, you will not go. And, in brief, it is neither death, nor exile, nor toil, nor any such thing that is the cause of our doing, or of our not doing, anything, but only our opinions and the decisions of our will.

Do I convince you of this, or not?—You convince me, said he.—Of such sort, then, as are the causes in each case, such likewise are the effects. Very well, then, whenever we do anything wrongly, from this day forth we shall ascribe to this action no other cause than the decision of our will which led us to do it, and we shall endeavour to destroy and excise that cause more earnestly than we try to destroy and excise from the body its tumours and abscesses. And in the same way we shall declare the same thing to be the cause of our good actions. And we shall no longer blame either slave, or neighbour, or wife, or children, as being the causes of any evils to us, since we are persuaded that, unless we decide that things are thus-and-so, we do not perform the corresponding actions; and of our decision, for or against something, we ourselves, and not things outside of ourselves, are the masters.—Even so, he said.—From this very day, therefore, the thing whose nature or condition we shall investigate and examine will be neither our farm, nor our slaves, nor our horses, nor our dogs, but only the decisions of our will.—I hope so, he said.—You see, then, that it is necessary for you to become a frequenter of the schools,—that animal at which all men laugh,—if you really desire to make an examination of the decisions of your own will. And that this is not the work of a single hour or day you know as well as I do.

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EPICTETUS CHAPTER 12 - Of Contentment

Concerning gods there are some who say that the divine does not so much as exist; and others, that it exists, indeed, but is inactive and indifferent, and takes forethought for nothing; and a third set, that it exists and takes forethought, though only for great and heavenly things and in no case for terrestrial things; and a fourth set, that it also takes forethought for things terrestrial and the affairs of men, but only in a general way, and not for the individual in particular; and a fifth set, to which Odysseus and Socrates belonged, who say Nor when I move am I concealed from thee.

We must, therefore, first of all enquire about each of these statements, to see whether it is sound or not sound. For if gods do not exist, how can it be an end to follow the gods? And if they exist, indeed, but care for nothing, how even thus will that conclusion be sound? But if, indeed, they both exist and exercise care, yet there is no communication from them to men,—yes, and, by Zeus, to me personally,—how even in this case can our conclusion still be sound? The good and excellent man must, therefore, inquire into all these things, before he subordinates his own will to him who administers the universe, precisely as good citizens submit to the law of the state. And he that is being instructed ought to come to his instruction with this aim, "How may I follow the gods in everything, and how may I be acceptable to the divine administration, and how may I become free?" Since he is free for whom all things happen according to his moral purpose, and whom none can restrain. What then? Is freedom insanity? Far from it; for madness and freedom are not consistent with one another. "But I would have that which seems best to me happen in every case, no matter how it comes to seem so." You are mad; you are beside yourself. Do you not know that freedom is a noble and precious thing? But for me to desire at haphazard that those things should happen which have at haphazard seemed best to me, is dangerously near being, not merely not noble, but even in the highest degree shameful. For how do we act in writing? Do I desire to write the name "Dio" as I choose? No, but I am taught to desire to write it as it ought to be written. What do we do in music? The same. And what in general, where there is any art or science? The same; otherwise knowledge of anything would be useless, if it were accommodated to every individual's whims. Is it, then, only in this matter of freedom, the greatest and indeed the highest of all, that I am permitted to desire at haphazard? By no means, but instruction consists precisely in learning to desire each thing exactly as it happens. And how do they happen? As he that ordains them has ordained. And he has ordained that there be summer and winter, and abundance and dearth, and virtue and vice, and all such opposites, for the harmony of the whole, and he has given each of us a body, and members of the body, and property and companions.

Mindful, therefore, of this ordaining we should go to receive instruction, not in order to change the constitution of things,—for this is neither vouchsafed us nor is it better that it should be,—but in order that, things about us being as they are and as their nature is, we may, for our own part, keep our wills in harmony with what happens. For, look you, can we escape from men? And how is it possible? But can we, if they associate with us, change them? And who vouchsafes us that power? What alternative remains, then, or what method can we find for living with them? Some such method as that, while they will act as seems best to them, we shall none the less be in a state comformable to nature. But you are impatient and peevish, and if you are alone, you call it a solitude, but if you are in the company of men, you call them schemers and brigands, and you find fault even with your own parents and children and brothers and neighbours. But you ought, when staying alone, to call that peace and freedom, and to look upon yourself as like the gods; and when you are in the company of many, you ought not call that a mob, nor a tumult, nor a disgusting thing, but a feast and a festival, and so accept all things contentedly.

What, then, is the punishment of those who do not accept? To be just as they are. Is one peevish because he is alone? Let him be in solitude! Is he peevish with his parents? Let him be an evil son and grieve! Is he peevish with his children? Let him be a bad father! "Throw him into prison." What sort of prison? Where he now is. For he is there against his will, and where a man is against his will, that for him is a prison. Just as Socrates was not in prison, for he was there willingly. "Alas, that I should be lame in my leg!" Slave, do you, then, because of one paltry leg blame the universe? Will you not make a free gift of it to the whole? Will you not relinquish it? Will you not gladly yield it to the giver? And will you be angry and peevish at the ordinances of Zeus, which he defined and ordained together with the Fates who spun in his presence the thread of your begetting? Do you not know how small a part you are compared with the whole? That is, as to the body; for as to the reason you are not inferior to the gods, nor less than they; for the greatness of the reason is not determined by length nor by height, but by the decisions of its will.

Will you not, therefore, set what is for you the good in that wherein you are equal to the gods? "Wretched man that I am; such a father and such a mother as I have!" Well, was it permitted you to step forward and make selection, saying, "Let such-and-such man have intercourse with such-and-such woman at this hour, that I may be born"? It was not permitted you; but your parents had to exist first, then you had to be born as you were born. Of what kind of parents? Of such as they were. What then? Since they are such, is no remedy given you? Again, supposing that you were ignorant of the purpose for which you possess the faculty of vision, you would be unfortunate and wretched if you closed your eyes when men brought some colour before them; but in that you have greatness of mind and nobility for use for everyone of the things may happen to you, and know it not, are you not yet more unfortunate and wretched? Things proportionate to the faculty which you possess are brought before you, but you turn that faculty away at the very moment when you ought to keep it wide open and discerning. Do you not rather render thanks to the gods that they have allowed you to be superior to all the things that they did not put under your control, and have rendered you accountable only for what is under your control? As for parents, the gods have released you from accountability; as for brothers, they have released you; as for body, they have released you; and for property, death, life. Well, for what have they made you accountable? For the only thing that is under your control—the proper use of impressions. Why, then, do you draw upon yourself that for which you are not responsible? This is to make trouble for yourself.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 13 - How May Each Several Thing Be Done Acceptably To The Gods?

Now when someone asked him how it is possible to eat acceptably to the gods, he said, If it is done justly and graciously and fairly and restrainedly and decently, is it not also done acceptably to the gods? And when you have asked for warm water and the slave does not heed you; or if he does heed you but brings in tepid water; or if he is not even to be found in the house, then to refrain from anger and not to explode, is not this acceptable to the gods?—How, then, can a man bear with such persons?—Slave, will you not bear with your own brother, who has Zeus as his progenitor and is, as it were, a son born of the same seed as yourself and of the same sowing from above; but if you have been stationed in a like position above others, will you forthwith set yourself up as a tyrant? Do you not remember what you are, and over whom you rule—that they are kinsmen, that they are brothers by nature, that they are the offspring of Zeus?—But I have a deed of sale for them, and they have none for me.—Do you see whither you bend your gaze, that it is to the earth, that it is to the pit, that it is to these wretched laws of ours, the laws of the dead, and that it is not to the laws of the gods that you look?

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 14 - That The Deity Oversees All Men

Now when someone asked him how a man could be convinced that each thing which he does is under the eye of God, Do you not think, he answered, that all things are united in one?—I do, said the other.—Very well, do you not think that what is on earth feels the influence of that which is in heaven?—I do, he replied.—For how else comes it that so regularly, as if from God's command, when He bids the plants flower, they flower, when He bids them put forth shoots, they put them forth, when He bids them bear their fruit, they bear it, when to ripen, they ripen; when again He bids them drop their fruit and let fall their leaves and gather themselves together and remain quiet and take their rest, they remain quiet and take their rest? And how else comes it that at the waxing and waning of the moon and at the approach and recession of the sun we see among the things that are on earth so great an alteration and change to the opposite? But are the plants and our own bodies so closely bound up with the universe, and do they so intimately share its affections, and is not the same much more true of our own souls? But if our souls are so bound up with God and joined together with Him, as being parts and portions of His being, does not God perceive their every motion as being a motion of that which is His own and of one body with Himself? And yet you have power to think about the divine dispensation and about each several item among things divine, and at the same time also about human affairs, and you have the faculty of being moved by myriads of matters at the same time both in your senses and in your intelligence, and at the same time you assent to some, while you dissent from others, or suspend judgement about them; and you guard in your own soul so many impressions derived from so many and various matters, and, on being moved by these impressions, your mind falls upon notions corresponding to the impressions first made, and so from myriads of matters you derive and retain arts, one after the other, and memories. All this you do, and is God not able to oversee all things and to be present with all and to have a certain communication from them all? Yet the sun is capable of illuminating so large a portion of the universe, and of leaving unilluminated only the small space which is no larger than can be covered by the shadow that the earth casts; and is He who has created the sun, which is but a small portion of Himself in comparison with the whole, and causes it to revolve, is He not able to perceive all things?

And yet, says one, I cannot follow all these things at one and the same time.—But does anyone go so far as to tell you this, namely, that you possess a faculty which is equal to that of Zeus? Yet none the less He has stationed by each man's side as guardian his particular genius,—and has committed the man to his care,—and that too a guardian who never sleeps and is not to be beguiled. For to what other guardian, better and more careful, could He have committed each one of us? Wherefore, when you close your doors and make darkness within, remember never to say that you are alone, for you are not alone; nay, God is within, and your own genius is within. And what need have they of light in order to see what you are doing? Yes, and to this God you also ought to swear allegiance, as the soldiers do to Caesar. They are but hirelings, yet they swear that they will put the safety of Caesar above everything; and shall you, indeed, who have been counted worthy of blessings so numerous and so great be unwilling to swear, or, when you have sworn, to abide by your oath? And what shall you swear? Never to disobey under any circumstances, never to prefer charges, never to find fault with anything that God has given, never to let your will rebel when you have either to do or to suffer something that is inevitable. Can the oath of the soldiers in any way be compared with this of ours? Out there men swear never to prefer another in honour above Caesar; but here we swear to prefer ourselves in honour above everything else.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 15 - What Does Philosophy Profess?

When someone consulted Epictetus as to how he could persuade his brother to cease being angry with him, he replied, Philosophy does not profess to secure for man any external possession. Otherwise it would be undertaking something that lies outside its proper subject-matter. For as wood is the material of the carpenter, bronze that of the statuary, just so each man's own life is the subject-matter of the art of living.—Well, what about my brother's life?—That again is the subject-matter of his own art of living, but with respect to your art of living it comes under the category of externals, like a farm, like health, like good repute. Philosophy promises none of these things, but rather, "In every circumstance I will keep the governing principle in a state of accord with nature."—Whose governing principle?—"His in whom I am."—How, then, shall I keep my brother from being angry at me?—Bring him to me and I will tell him, but I have nothing to say to you on the subject of his anger.

And when the man who was consulting him said. What I seek to know is this, how, even if my brother refuses to be reconciled with me, I may yet be in accord with nature, Epictetus replied: Nothing great comes into being all at once; why, not even does the bunch of grapes, or a fig. If you say to me now, "I want a fig," I shall answer, "That requires time." Let the tree blossom first, then put forth its fruit, and finally let the fruit ripen. Now although the fruit of even a fig-tree is not brought to perfection all at once and in a single hour, would you still seek to secure the fruit of a man's mind in so short a while and so easily? Do not expect it, not even if I should tell you so myself.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 16 - Of Providence

Marvel not that the animals other than man have furnished them, ready prepared by nature, what pertains to their bodily needs—not merely food and drink, but also a bed to lie on,—and that they have no need of shoes, or bedding, or clothing, while we are in need of all these things. For in the case of animals, born not for their own sake, but for service, to have created them in need of other things was not beneficial. Why, consider what it would be for us to have to take thought not for merely ourselves, but also for our sheep and our asses, how they are to be clothed and shod, how they are to find food and drink. But just as soldiers appear before their general, all ready for service, shod, clothed and armed, and it would be shocking if the colonel had to go around and equip his regiment with shoes or uniforms; so also nature has made animals, which are born for service, ready for use, equipped, and in need of no further attention. Consequently one small child with a rod can drive a flock of sheep.

But as it is, we first forbear to give thanks for these beasts, because we do not have to bestow upon them the same care as we require for ourselves, and then proceed to complain against God on our own account! Yet, by Zeus and the gods, one single gift of nature would suffice to make a man who is reverent and grateful perceive the providence of God. Do not talk to me now of great matters: take the mere fact that milk is produced from grass, and cheese from milk, and that wool grows from skin—who is it that has created or devised these things? "No one," somebody says. Oh, the depth of man's stupidity and shamelessness!

Come, let us leave the chief works of nature, and consider merely what she does in passing. Can anything be more useless than the hairs on a chin? Well, what then? Has not nature

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used even these in the most suitable way possible? Has she not by these means distinguished between the male and the female? Does not the nature of each one among us cry aloud forthwith from afar, "I am a man; on this understanding approach me, on this understanding talk with me; ask for nothing further; behold the signs"? Again, in the case of women, just as nature has mingled in their voice a certain softer note, so likewise she has taken the hair from their chins. Not so, you say; on the contrary the human animal ought to have been left without distinguishing features, and each of us ought to proclaim by word of mouth, "I am a man." Nay, but how fair and becoming and dignified the sign is! How much more fair than the cock's comb, how much more magnificent than the lion's mane! Wherefore, we ought to preserve the signs which God has given; we ought not to throw them away; we ought not, so far as in us lies, to confuse the sexes which have been distinguished in this fashion.

Are these the only works of Providence in us? Nay, what language is adequate to praise them all or bring them home to our minds as they deserve? Why, if we had sense, ought we to be doing anything else, publicly and privately, than hymning and praising the Deity, and rehearsing His benefits? Ought we not, as we dig and plough and eat, to sing the hymn of praise to God? "Great is God, that He hath furnished us these instruments wherewith we shall till the earth. Great is God, that He hath given us hands, and power to swallow, and a belly, and power to grow unconsciously, and to breathe while asleep." This is what we ought to sing on every occasion, and above all to sing the greatest and divinest hymn, that God has given us the faculty to comprehend these things and to follow the path of reason. What then? Since most of you have become blind, ought there not to be someone to fulfil this office for you, and in behalf of all sing the hymn of praise to God? Why, what else can I, a lame old man, do but sing hymns to God? If, indeed, I were a nightingale, I should be singing as a nightingale; if a swan, as a swan. But as it is, I am a rational being, therefore I must be singing hymns of praise to God. This is my task; I do it, and will not desert this post, as long as it may be given me to fill it; and I exhort you to join me in this same song.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 17 - That The Art Of Reasoning Is Indispensable

Since it is reason that analyzes and perfects all else, and reason itself ought not to remain unanalyzed, wherewithal shall it be analysed? Why, clearly, either by itself, or by something else. This latter is assuredly either reason, or it will prove to be something else superior to reason, which is impossible. If it be reason, who again will analyze that reason? For if it analyses its own self, the reason with which we started can do as much. If we are going to require something else at each step, our process will be endless and unceasing.

"Yes," says someone, "but the cure (of the decisions of our will) is a much more pressing need (than the study of logic)," and the like. Do you then wish to hear about this other matter? Very well, listen. But if you say to me, "I do not know whether your argument is true or false," and, if I use some ambiguous term, and you should then say, "Distinguish," I shall bear with you no longer, but shall tell you, "'Nay, but there is a much more pressing need.'" This is the reason, I suppose, why the Stoic philosophers put Logic first, just as in the measuring of grain we put first the examination of the measure. And if we do not define first what a modius is, and do not define first what a scale is, how shall we be able to proceed with measuring or weighing anything? So, in the field of our present enquiry, if we have neglected the thorough knowledge and intellectual mastery of our standard of judgement for all other things, whereby they come to be known thoroughly, shall we ever be able to attain intellectual mastery and thorough knowledge of the rest of the world? And how could we possibly? "Yes," we are told, "but the modius is made out of wood and bears no fruit." True, but it is something with which we can measure grain. "Logic also bears no fruit." Now as for this statement we shall see later; but if one should grant even this, it is enough to say in defence of Logic that it has the power to discriminate and examine everything else, and. as one might say, to measure and weigh them. Who says this? Only Chrysippus and Zeno and Cleanthes? Well, does not Antisthenes say it? And who is it that wrote, "The beginning of education is the examination of terms"? Does not Socrates, too, say the same thing? And of whom does Xenophon write, that he began with the examination of terms, asking about each, "What does it mean?"

Is this, then, your great and admirable achievement—the ability to understand and to interpret Chrysippus? And who says that? What, then, is your admirable achievement? To understand the will of nature. Very well; do you understand it all by yourself? And if that is the case, what more do you need? For if it is true that "all men err involuntarily," and you have learned the truth, it must needs be that you are doing right already. But, so help me Zeus, I do not comprehend the will of nature. Who, then, interprets it? Men say, Chrysippus. I go and try to find out what this interpreter of nature says. I begin not to understand what he says, and look for the man who can interpret him. "Look and consider what this passage means," says the interpreter, "just as if it were in Latin!" What place is there here, then, for pride on the part of the interpreter? Why, there is no just place for pride even on the part of Chrysippus, if he merely interprets the will of nature, but himself does not follow it; how much less place for pride, then, in the case of his interpreter! For we have no need of Chrysippus on his own account, but only to enable us to follow nature. No more have we need of him who divines through sacrifice, considered on his own account, but simply because we think that through his instrumentality we shall understand the future and the signs given by the gods; nor do we need the entrails on their own account, but only because through them the signs are given; nor do we admire the crow or the raven, but God, who gives His signs through them.

Wherefore, I go to this interpreter and diviner and say, "Examine for me the entrails, and tell me what signs they give." The fellow takes and spreads them out and then interprets: "Man, you have a moral purpose free by nature from hindrances and constraint. This stands written here in these entrails. I will prove you that first in the sphere of assent. Can anyone prevent you from assenting to truth? No one at all. Can anyone force you to accept the false? No one at all. Do you see that in this sphere you have a moral purpose free from hindrance, constraint, obstruction? Come, in the sphere of desire and choice is it otherwise? And what can overcome one impulse but another impulse? And what can overcome one desire or aversion but another desire or aversion?" "But," says someone, "if a person subjects me to the fear of death, he compels me." "No, it is not what you are subjected to that impels you, but the fact that you decide it is better for you to do something of the sort than to die. Once more, then, it is the decision of your own will which compelled you, that is, moral purpose compelled moral purpose. For if God had so constructed that part of His own being which He has taken from Himself and bestowed upon us, that it could be subjected to hindrance or constraint either from Himself or from some other. He were no longer God, nor would He be caring for us as He ought. This is what I find," says the diviner, "in the sacrifice. These are the signs vouchsafed you. If you will, you are free; if you will, you will not have to blame anyone, or complain against anyone; everything will be in accordance with what is not merely your own will, but at the same time the will of God." This is the prophecy for the sake of which I go to this diviner—in other words, the philosopher,—not admiring him because of his interpretation, but rather the interpretation which he gives.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 18 - That We Ought Not To Be Angry With The Erring

If what the philosophers say is true, that in all men thought and action start from a single source, namely feeling—as in the case of assent the feeling that a thing is so, and in the case of dissent the feeling that it is not so, yes, and, by Zeus, in the case of suspended judgement the feeling that it is uncertain, so also in the case of impulse towards a thing, the feeling that it is expedient for me and that it is impossible to judge one thing expedient and yet desire another, and again, to judge one thing fitting, and yet be impelled to another—if all this be true, why are we any longer angry with the multitude?—"They are thieves," says someone, "and robbers."—What do you mean by "thieves and robbers?" They have simply gone astray in questions of good and evil. Ought we, therefore, to be angry with them, or rather pity them? Only show them their error and you will see how quickly they will desist from their mistakes. But if their eyes are not opened, they have nothing superior to their mere opinion.

Ought not this brigand, then, and this adulterer to be put to death? you ask. Not at all, but you should ask rather, "Ought not this man to be put to death who is in a state of error and delusion about the greatest matters, and is in a state of blindness, not, indeed, in the vision which distinguishes between white and black, but in the judgement which distinguishes between the good and the evil?" And if you put it this way, you will realise how inhuman a sentiment it is that you are uttering, and that it is just as if you should say, "Ought not this blind man, then, or this deaf man to be put to death?" For if the loss of the greatest things is the greatest harm that can befall a man, while the greatest thing in each man is a right moral purpose, and if a man is deprived of this very thing, what ground is left for you to be angry at him? Why, man, if you must needs be affected in a way that is contrary to nature at the misfortunes of another, pity him rather, but do not hate him: drop this readiness to take offence and this spirit of hatred; do not introduce those words which the multitude of the censorious use: "Well, then, these accursed and abominable fools!" Very well; but how is it that you have so suddenly been converted to wisdom that you are angry at fools? Why, then, are we angry? Because we admire the goods of which these men rob us. For, mark you, stop admiring your clothes, and you are not angry at the man who steals them; stop admiring your wife's beauty, and you are not angry at her adulterer. Know that a thief or an adulterer has no place among the things that are your own, but only among the things that are another's and that are not under your control. If you give these things up and count them as nothing, at whom have you still ground to feel angry? But so long as you admire these things, be angry at yourself and not at the men that I have just mentioned. For consider; you have fine clothes and your neighbour does not; you have a window and wish to air them. He does not know wherein the true good of man consists, but fancies that it consists in having fine clothes, the very same fancy that you also entertain. Shall he not come, then, and carry them off? Why, when you show a cake to gluttonous men and then gulp it down all to yourself, are you not wanting them to snatch it? Stop provoking them, stop having a window, stop airing your clothes.

Something similar happened to me also the other day. I keep an iron lamp by the side of my household gods, and, on hearing a noise at the window, I ran down. I found that the lamp had been stolen. I reflected that the man who stole it was moved by no unreasonable motive. What then? To-morrow, I say, you will find one of earthenware. Indeed, a man loses only that which he already has. "I have lost my cloak." Yes, for you had a cloak. "I have a pain in my head." You do not have a pain in your horns, do you? Why, then, are you indignant? For our losses and our pains have to do only with the things which we possess.

"But the tyrant will chain————" What? Your leg. "But he will cut off————" What? Your neck. What, then, will he neither chain nor cut off? Your moral purpose. This is why the ancients gave us the injunction, "Know thyself." What follows, then? Why, by the Gods, that one ought to practise in small things, and beginning with them pass on to the greater. "I have a head-ache." Well, do not say "Alas!" "I have an ear-ache." Do not say "Alas!" And I am not saying that it is not permissible to groan, only do not groan in the centre of your being. And if your slave is slow in bringing your bandage, do not cry out and make a wry face and say, "Everybody hates me." Why, who would not hate such a person? For the future put your confidence in these doctrines and walk about erect, free, not putting your confidence in the size of your body, like an athlete; for you ought not to be invincible in the way an ass is invincible.

Who, then, is the invincible man? He whom nothing that is outside the sphere of his moral purpose can dismay. I then proceed to consider the circumstances one by one, as I would do in the case of the athlete. "This fellow has won the first round. What, then, will he do in the second? What if it be scorching hot? And what will he do at Olympia?" It is the same way with the case under consideration. If you put a bit of silver coin in a man's way, he will despise it. Yes, but if you put a bit of a wench in his way, what then? Or if it be in the dark, what then? Or if you throw a bit of reputation in his way, what then? Or abuse, what then? Or praise, what then? Or death, what then? All these things he can overcome. What, then, if it be scorching hot—that is, what if he be drunk? What if he be melancholy-mad? What if asleep? The man who passes all these tests is what I mean by the invincible athlete.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 19 - How Ought We To Bear Ourselves Toward Tyrants?

If a man possesses some superiority, or thinks at least that he does, even though he does not, it is quite unavoidable that this man, if he is uneducated, becomes puffed up on account of it. For example, the tyrant exclaims, "I am the mightiest in the world." Very well, what can you do for me? Can you secure for me desire that is free from any hindrance? How can you? Do you have it yourself? Can you secure for me aversion proof against encountering what it would avoid? Do you have it yourself? Or infallible choice? And where can you claim a share in that? Come, when you are on board ship, do you feel confidence in yourself, or in the skilled navigator? And when you are in a chariot, in whom do you feel confidence other than the skilled driver. And how is it in the other arts? The same way. What does your power amount to, then? "All men pay attention to me." Yes, and I pay attention to my little plate and wash it and wipe it out, and for the sake of my oil-flask I drive a peg in the wall. What follows, then? Are these things superior to me? No, but they render me some service, and therefore I pay attention to them. Again, do I not pay attention to my donkey? Do I not wash his feet? Do I not curry him? Do you not know that every man pays attention to himself, and to you just as he does to his donkey? For who pays attention to you as to a man? Point him out to me. Who wishes to become like you? Who becomes a zealous follower of yours as men did of Socrates? "But I can cut off your head." Well said! I had forgotten that I ought to pay attention to you, as to fever or cholera, and set up an altar to you, just as in Rome there is an altar to the God Fever.

What is it, then, that disturbs and bewilders the multitude? Is it the tyrant and his bodyguards? How is that possible? Nay, far from it! It is not possible that that which is by nature free should be disturbed or thwarted by anything but itself. But it is a man's own judgements that disturb him. For when the tyrant says to a man, "I will chain your leg," the man who has set a high value on his leg replies, "Nay, have mercy upon

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me," while the man who has set a high value on his moral purpose replies, "If it seems more profitable to you to do so, chain it." "Do you not care?" "No, I do not care." "I will show you that I am master." "How can you be my master? Zeus has set me free. Or do you really think that he was likely to let his own son be made a slave? You are, however, master of my dead body, take it." "You mean, then, that when you approach me you will not pay attention to me?" "No, I pay attention only to myself. But if you wish me to say that I pay attention to you too, I tell you that I do so, but only as I pay attention to my pot."

This is not mere self-love; such is the nature of the animal man; everything that he does is for himself. Why, even the sun does everything for its own sake, and, for that matter, so does Zeus himself. But when Zeus wishes to be "Rain-bringer," and "Fruit-giver," and "Father of men and of gods," you can see for yourself that he cannot achieve these works, or win these appellations, unless he proves himself useful to the common interest; and in general he has so constituted the nature of the rational animal man, that he can attain nothing of his own proper goods unless he contributes something to the common interest. Hence it follows that it can no longer be regarded as unsocial for a man to do everything for his own sake. For what do you expect? That a man should neglect himself and his own interest? And in that case how can there be room for one and the same principle of action for all, namely, that of appropriation to their own needs?

What then? When men entertain absurd opinions about what lies outside the province of the moral purpose, counting it good or bad, it is altogether unavoidable for them to pay attention to the tyrant. Aye, would that it were merely the tyrants and not their chamberlains too! And yet how can the man suddenly become wise when Caesar puts him in charge of his chamberpot? How can we forthwith say "Felicio has spoken wisely to me"? I would that he were deposed from the superintendency of the dunghill, that you may think him a fool again! Epaphroditus owned a certain cobbler whom he sold because he was useless; then by some chance the fellow was bought by a member of Caesar's household and became cobbler to Caesar. You should have seen how Epaphroditus honoured him! "How is my good Felicio, I pray you?" he used to say. And then if someone asked us, "What is your master doing?" he was told, "He is consulting Felicio about something or other." Why, had he not sold him as being useless? Who, then, had suddenly made a wise man out of him? This is what it means to honour something else than what lies within the province of the moral purpose.

"He has been honoured with a tribuneship," someone says. All who meet him offer their congratulations; one man kisses him on the eyes, another on the neck, his slaves kiss his hands. He goes home; he finds lamps being lighted. He climbs up the Capitol and offers sacrifice. Now who ever sacrificed as a thank-offering for having had right desire, or for having exercised choice in accordance with nature? For we give thanks to the gods for that wherein we set the good.

To-day a man was talking to me about a priesthood of Augustus. I say to him, "Man, drop the matter; you will be spending a great deal to no purpose." "But," says he, "those who draw up deeds of sale will inscribe my name." "Do you really expect, then, to be present when the deeds are read and say, 'That is my name they have written'? And even supposing you are now able to be present whenever anyone reads them, what will you do if you die?" "My name will remain after me." "Inscribe it on a stone and it will remain after you. Come now, who will remember you outside of Nicopolis?" "But I shall wear a crown of gold." "If you desire a crown at all, take a crown of roses and put it on; you will look much more elegant in that."

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 20 - How The Reasoning Faculty Contemplates Itself

Every art and faculty makes certain things the special object of its contemplation. Now when the art or faculty itself is of like kind with what it contemplates, it becomes inevitably self-contemplative; but when it is of unlike kind, it cannot contemplate itself. For example, the art of leather-working has to do with hides, but the art itself is altogether different from the material of hides, wherefore it is not self-contemplative. Again, the art of grammar has to do with written speech; it is not, therefore, also itself written speech, is it? Not at all. For this reason it cannot contemplate itself. Well then, for what purpose have we received reason from nature? For the proper use of external impressions. What, then, is reason itself? Something composed out of a certain kind of external impressions. Thus it comes naturally to be also self-contemplative. Once more, what are the things that wisdom has been given us to contemplate? Things good, bad, and neither good nor bad. What, then, is wisdom itself? A good. And what is folly? An evil. Do you see, then, that wisdom inevitably comes to contemplate both itself and its opposite? Therefore, the first and greatest task of the philosopher is to test the impressions and discriminate between them, and to apply none that has not been tested. You all see in the matter of coinage, in which it is felt that we have some interest, how we have even invented an art, and how many means the tester employs to test the coinage—sight, touch, smell, finally hearing; he throws the denarius down and then listens to the sound, and is not satisfied with the sound it makes on a single test, but, as a result of his constant attention to the matter, he catches the tune, like a musician. Thus, where we feel that it makes a good deal of difference to us whether we go wrong or do not go wrong, there we apply any amount of attention to discriminating between things that are capable of making us go wrong, but in the case of our governing principle, poor thing, we yawn and sleep and erroneously accept any and every external impression; for here the loss that we suffer does not attract our attention.

When, therefore, you wish to realise how careless you are about the good and the evil, and how zealous you are about that which is indifferent, observe how you feel about physical blindness on the one hand, and mental delusion on the other, and you will find out that you are far from feeling as you ought about things good and things evil. "Yes, but this requires much preparation, and much hard work, and learning many things." Well, what then? Do you expect it to be possible to acquire the greatest art with a slight effort? And yet the chief doctrine of the philosophers is extremely brief. If you would know, read what Zeno has to say and you will see. For what is there lengthy in his statement: "To follow the gods is man's end, and the essence of good is the proper use of external impressions"? Ask, "What, then, is God, and what is an external impression? And what is nature in the individual and nature in the universe?" You already have a lengthy statement. If Epicurus should come and say that the good ought to be in the flesh, again the explanation becomes lengthy, and you must be told what is the principal faculty within us, and what our substantial, and what our essential, nature is. Since it is not probable that the good of a snail lies in its shell, is it, then, probable that the good of man lies in his flesh? But take your own case, Epicurus; what more masterful faculty do you yourself possess? What is that thing within you which takes counsel, which examines into all things severally, which, after examining the flesh itself, decides that it is the principal matter? And why do you light a lamp and toil in our behalf, and write such quantities of books? Is it that we may not fail to know the truth? Who are we? And what are we to you? And so the argument becomes lengthy.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 21 - To Those Who Would Be Admired

When a man has his proper station in life, he is not all agape for things beyond it. Man, what is it you want to have happen to you? As for myself, I am content if I exercise desire and aversion in accordance with nature, if I employ choice and refusal as my nature is, and similarly employ purpose and design and assent. Why, then, do you walk around in our presence as though you had swallowed a spit? "It has always been my wish that those who meet me should admire me and as they follow me should exclaim, 'O the great philosopher!'" Who are those people by whom you wish to be admired? Are they not these about whom you are in the habit of saying that they are mad? What then? Do you wish to be admired by the mad?

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 22 - Of Our Preconceptions

Preconceptions are common to all men, and one preconception does not contradict another. For who among us does not assume that the good is profitable and something to be chosen, and that in every circumstance we ought to seek and pursue it? And who among us does not assume that righteousness is beautiful and becoming? When, then, does contradiction arise? It arises in the application of our preconceptions to the particular cases, when one person says, "He did nobly, he is brave"; another, "No, but he is out of his mind." Thence arises the conflict of men with one another. This is the conflict between Jews and Syrians and Egyptians and Romans, not over the question whether holiness should be put before everything else and should be pursued in all circumstances, but whether the particular act of eating swine's flesh is holy or unholy. This, you will find, was also the cause of conflict between Agamemnon and Achilles. Come, summon them before us. What do you say, Agamemnon? Ought not that to be done which is proper, and that which is noble? "Indeed it ought." And what do you say, Achilles? Do you not agree that what is noble ought to be done? "As for me, I agree most emphatically with that principle." Very well, then, apply your preconceptions to the particular cases. It is just there the conflict starts. The one says, "I ought not to be compelled to give back Chryseis to her father," while the other says, "Indeed you ought." Most certainly one of the two is making a bad application of the preconception "what one ought to do." Again, the one of them says, "Very well, if I ought to give back Chryseis, then I ought to take from some one of you the prize he has won," and the other replies, "Would you, then, take the woman I love?" "Yes, the woman you love," the first answers. "Shall I, then, be the only one—?" "But shall I be the only one to have nothing?" So a conflict arises.

What, then, does it mean to be getting an education? It means to be learning how to apply the natural preconceptions to particular cases, each to the other in conformity with nature, and, further, to make the distinction, that some things are under our control while others are not under our control. Under our control are moral purpose and all the acts of moral purpose; but not under our control are the body, the parts of the body, possessions, parents, brothers, children, country—in a word, all that with which we associate. Where, then, shall we place "the good"? To what class of things are we going to apply it? To the class of things that are under our control?—What, is not health, then, a good thing, and a sound body, and life? Nay, and not even children, or parents, or country?—And who will tolerate you if you deny that? Therefore, let us transfer the designation "good" to these things. But is it possible, then, for a man to be happy if he sustains injury and fails to get that which is good?—It is not possible.—And to maintain the proper relations with his associates? And how can it be possible? For it is my nature to look out for my own interest. If it is my interest to have a farm, it is my interest to take it away from my neighbour; if it is my interest to have a cloak, it is my interest also to steal it from a bath. This is the source of wars, seditions, tyrannies, plots. And again, how shall I any longer be able to perform my duty towards Zeus? For if I sustain injury and am unfortunate, he pays no heed to me. And then we hear men saying, "What have I to do with him, if he is unable to help us?" And again, "What have I to do with him, if he wills that I be in such a state as I am now?" The next step is that I begin to hate him. Why, then, do we build temples to the gods, and make statues of them, as for evil spirits—for Zeus as for a god of Fever? And how can he any longer be "Saviour," and "Rain-bringer," and "Fruit-giver?" And, in truth, if we set the nature of the good somewhere in this sphere, all these things follow.

What, then, shall we do?—This is a subject of enquiry for the man who truly philosophises and is in travail of thought. Says such a man to himself, "I do not now see what is the good and what is the evil; am I not mad?" Yes, but suppose I set the good somewhere here, among the things that the will controls, all men will laugh at me. Some white-haired old man with many a gold ring on his fingers will come along, and then he will shake his head and say, "Listen to me, my son; one ought of course to philosophise, but one ought also to keep one's head; this is all nonsense. You learn a syllogism from the philosophers, but you know better than the philosophers what you ought to do." Man, why, then, do you censure me, if I know? What shall I say to this slave? If I hold my peace, the fellow bursts with indignation. So I must say, "Forgive me as you would lovers; I am not my own master; I am mad."

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 23 - In Answer To Epicurus

Even Epicurus understands that we are by nature social beings, but having once set our good in the husk which we wear, he cannot go on and say anything inconsistent with this. For, he next insists emphatically upon the principle that we ought neither to admire nor to accept anything that is detached from the nature of the good; and he is right in so doing. But how, then, can we still be social beings, if affection for our own children is not a natural sentiment? Why do you dissuade the wise man from bringing up children? Why are you afraid that sorrow will come to him on their account? What, does sorrow come to him on account of his house-slave Mouse? Well, what does it matter to him if his little Mouse in his home begins to cry? Nay he knows, that if once a child is born, it is no longer in our power not to love it or to care for it. For the same reason Epicurus says that a man of sense does not engage in politics either; for he knows what the man who engages in politics has to do—since, of course, if you are going to live among men as though you were a fly among flies, what is to hinder you? Yet, despite the fact that he knows this, he still has the audacity to say, "Let us not bring up children." But a sheep does not abandon its own offspring, nor a wolf; and yet does a man abandon his? What do you wish us to do? Would you have us be foolish as sheep? But even they do not desert their offspring. Would you have us be fierce as wolves? But even they do not desert their offspring. Come now, who follows your advice when he sees his child fallen on the ground and crying? Why, in my opinion, your mother and your father, even if they had divined that you were going to say such things, would not have exposed you!

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 24 - How Should We Struggle Against Difficulties?

It is difficulties that show what men are. Consequently, when a difficulty befalls, remember that God, like a physical trainer, has matched you with a rugged young man. What for? some one says. So that you may become an Olympic victor; but that cannot be done without sweat. To my way of thinking no one has got a finer difficulty than the one which you have got, if only you are willing to make use of it as an athlete makes use of a young man to wrestle with. And now

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we are sending you to Rome as a scout, to spy out the land. But no one sends a coward as a scout, that, if he merely hears a noise and sees a shadow anywhere, he may come running back in terror and report "The enemy is already upon us." So now also, if you should come and tell us, "The state of things at Rome is fearful; terrible is death, terrible is exile, terrible is reviling, terrible is poverty; flee, sirs, the enemy is upon us!" we shall say to you, "Away, prophesy to yourself! Our one mistake was that we sent a man like you as a scout."

Diogenes, who before you was sent forth as a scout, has brought us back a different report. He says, "Death is not an evil, since it is not dishonourable"; he says, "Ill repute is a noise made by madmen." And what a report this scout has made us about toil and about pleasure and about poverty! He says, "To be naked is better than any scarlet robe; and to sleep on the bare ground," he says, "is the softest couch." And he offers as a proof of each statement his own courage, his tranquillity, his freedom, and finally his body, radiant with health and hardened. "There is no enemy near," says he; "all is full of peace." How so, Diogenes? "Why, look!" says he, "I have not been struck with any missile, have I, or received any wound? I have not fled from anyone, have I?" This is what it means to be a proper scout, but you return and tell us one thing after another. Will you not go away again and observe more accurately, without this cowardice?

What am I to do, then?—What do you do when you disembark from a ship? You do not pick up the rudder, do you, or the oars? What do you pick up, then? Your own luggage, your oil-flask, your wallet. So now, if you are mindful of what is your own property, you will never lay claim to that which is another's. He says to you, "Lay aside your broad scarlet hem" Behold, the narrow hem. "Lay aside this also." Behold, the plain toga. "Lay aside your toga." Behold, I am naked. "But you arouse my envy." Well, then, take the whole of my paltry body. Do I any longer fear the man to whom I can throw my body? But he will not leave me as his heir. What then? Did I forget that none of these things is my own? How, then, do we call them "my own"? Merely as we call the bed in the inn "my own." If, then, the inn-keeper dies and leaves you the beds, you will have them; but if he leaves them to someone else, he will have them, and you will look for another bed. If, then, you do not find one, you will have to sleep on the ground; only do so with good courage, snoring and remembering that tragedies find a place among the rich and among kings and tyrants, but no poor man fills a tragic role except as a member of the chorus. Now the kings commence in a state of prosperity:

"Hang the palace with garlands";

then, about the third or fourth act, comes—

"Alas, Cithaeron, why didst thou receive me?"

Slave, where are your crowns, where your diadem? Do your guards avail you not at all? When, therefore, you approach one of those great men, remember all this—that you are approaching a tragic character, not the actor, but Oedipus himself. "Nay, but so-and-so is blessed; for he has many companions to walk with." So have I; I fall in line with the multitude and have many companions to walk with. But, to sum it all up: remember that the door has been thrown open. Do not become a greater coward than the children, but just as they say, "I will not play any longer," when the thing does not please them, so do you also, when things seem to you to have reached that stage, merely say, "I will not play any longer," and take your departure; but if you stay, stop lamenting.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 25 - Upon The Same Theme

If all this is true and we are not silly nor merely playing a part when we say, "Man's good and man's evil lies in moral choice, and all other things are nothing to us," why are we still distressed and afraid? Over the things that we seriously care for no one has authority; and the things over which other men have authority do not concern us. What kind of thing have we left to discuss?—"Nay, give me directions."—What directions shall I give you? Has not Zeus given you directions? Has he not given you that which is your own, unhindered and unrestrained, while that which is not your own is subject to hindrance and restraint? What directions, then, did you bring with you when you came from him into this world, what kind of an order? Guard by every means that which is your own, but do not grasp at that which is another's. Your faithfulness is your own, your self-respect is your own; who, then, can take these things from you? Who but yourself will prevent you from using them? But you, how do you act? When you seek earnestly that which is not your own, you lose that which is your own. Since you have such promptings and directions from Zeus, what kind do you still want from me? Am I greater than he, or more trustworthy? But if you keep these commands of his, do you need any others besides? But has he not given you these directions? Produce your preconceptions, produce the demonstrations of the philosophers, produce what you have often heard, and produce what you have said yourself, produce what you have read, produce what you have practised.

How long, then, is it well to keep these precepts and not to break up the game? As long as it is played pleasantly. At the Saturnalia a king is chosen by lot; for it has been decided to play this game. The king gives his commands: "You drink, you mix wine, you sing, you go, you come." I obey, so as not to be the one to break up the game. "Come, suppose that you are in an evil plight." I do not so suppose; and who is there to compel me so to suppose? Again, we have agreed to play the story of Agamemnon and Achilles. The one who has been appointed to play the part of Agamemnon says to me, "Go to Achilles, and drag away Briseis." I go. He says, "Come," and I come. For as we behave in the matter of hypothetical proposals, so we ought to behave in life also. "Let it be night." So be it. "What then? Is it day?" No, for I have accepted the assumption that it is night. "Let us suppose that you assume it to be night" So be it. "But go on and assume that it is night," That is not consistent with the hypothesis. So also in the present case. "Let us suppose that you are unhappy." So be it, "Are you, then, unfortunate?" Yes. "What then? Are you troubled with ill-fortune?" Yes. "But go on and assume that you are in a wretched plight." That is not consistent with the hypothesis; moreover, there is Another who forbids me so to think.

How long, then, should we obey such commands? As long as it is beneficial, and that means, as long as I preserve what is becoming and consistent. Further, some men are unduly crabbed and have too sharp tongues and say, "I cannot dine at this fellow's house, where I have to put up with his telling every day how he fought in Moesia: 'I have told you, brother, how I climbed up to the crest of the hill; well now, I begin to be besieged again.'" But another says, "I would rather dine and hear him babble all he pleases." And it is for you to compare these estimates; only do nothing as one burdened, or afflicted, or thinking that he is in a wretched plight; for no one forces you to this. Has some one made a smoke in the house? If he has made a moderate amount of smoke I shall stay; if too much, I go outside. For one ought to remember and hold fast to this, that the door stands open. But some one says, "Do not dwell in Nicopolis." I agree not to dwell there. "Nor in Athens." I agree not to dwell in Athens, either. "Nor in Rome." I agree not to dwell in Rome, either. "Dwell in Gyara." I agree to dwell there. But to dwell in Gyara seems to me to be like a great quantity of smoke in the house. I leave for a place where no one will prevent me from dwelling; for that dwelling-place stands open to every man. And as for the last inner tunic, that is, my paltry body, beyond that no one has any authority over me. That is why Demetrius said to Nero, "You threaten me with death, but nature threatens you." If I admire my paltry body, I have given myself away as a slave; if I admire my paltry property, I have given myself away as a slave; for at once I show thereby to my own hurt what I can be caught with. Just as when the snake draws in his head, I say, "Strike that part of him which he is protecting"; so do you be assured that your master will attack you at that point which you particularly wish to protect. If you remember all this, whom will you flatter or fear any more?

But I wish to sit where the senators do.—Do you realise that you are making close quarters for yourself, that you are crowding yourself?—How else, then, shall I have a good view in the amphitheatre?—Man, do not become spectator and you will not be crowded. Why do you make trouble for yourself? Or else wait a little while, and when the show is over sit down among the seats of the senators and sun yourself. For in general remember this—that we crowd ourselves, we make close quarters for ourselves, that is to say, the decisions of our will crowd us and make us close quarters. Why, what is this matter of being reviled? Take your stand by a stone and revile it; and what effect will you produce? If, then, a man listens like a stone, what profit is there to the reviler? But if the reviler has the weakness of the reviled as a point of vantage, then he does accomplish something. "Strip him." Why do you say 'him'? Take his cloak and strip that off. "I have outraged you." Much good may it do you! This is what Socrates practised, and that is why he always wore the same expression on his face. But we prefer to practise and rehearse anything rather than how to be untrammelled and free. "The philosophers talk paradoxes," you say. But are there not paradoxes in the other arts? And what is more paradoxical than to lance a man in the eye in order that he may see? If anyone said this to a man who was inexperienced in the art of surgery, would he not laugh at the speaker? What is there to be surprised at, then, if in philosophy also many things which are true appear paradoxical to the inexperienced?

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 26 - What Is The Rule Of Life?

As some one was reading the hypothetical arguments, Epictetus said, This also is a law governing hypotheses—that we must accept what the hypothesis or premiss demands. But much more important is the following law of life—that we must do what nature demands. For if we wish in every matter and circumstance to observe what is in accordance with nature, it is manifest that in everything we should make it our aim neither to avoid that which nature demands, nor to accept that which is in conflict with nature. The philosophers, therefore, exercise us first in the theory where there is less difficulty, and then after that lead us to the more difficult matters; for in theory there is nothing which holds us back from following what we are taught, but in the affairs of life there are many things which draw us away. He is ridiculous, then, who says that he wishes to begin with the latter; for it is not easy to begin with the more difficult things. And this is the defence that we ought to present to such parents as are angry because their children study philosophy. "Very well then, father, I go astray, not knowing what is incumbent upon me or what my duty is. Now if this is a thing that can neither be taught nor learned, why do you reproach me? But if it can be taught, teach me; and if you cannot do this, allow me to learn from those who profess to know. Really, what is your idea? That I intentionally fall into evil and miss the good? Far from it! What, then, is the cause of my going astray? Ignorance. Very well, do you not want me to put away my ignorance? Whom did anger ever teach the art of steering, or music? Do you think, then, that your anger will make me learn the art of living?"

Only he can so speak who has applied himself to philosophy in such a spirit. But if a man reads upon the subject and resorts to the philosophers merely because he wants to make a display at a banquet of his knowledge of hypothetical arguments, what else is he doing but trying to win the admiration of some senator sitting by his side? For there in Rome are found in truth the great resources, while the riches of Nicopolis look to them like mere child's-play. Hence it is difficult there for a man to control his own external impressions, since the distracting influences at Rome are great. I know a certain man who clung in tears to the knees of Epaphroditus and said that he was in misery; for he had nothing left but a million and a half sesterces. What, then, did Epaphroditus do? Did he laugh at him as you are laughing? No; he only said, in a tone of amazement, "Poor man, how, then, did you manage to keep silence? How did you endure it?"

Once when he had disconcerted the student who was reading the hypothetical arguments, and the one who had set the other the passage to read laughed at him, Epictetus said to the latter, "You are laughing at yourself. You did not give the young man a preliminary training, nor discover whether he was able to follow these arguments, but you treat him merely as a reader. Why is it, then," he added, "that to a mind unable to follow a judgement upon a complex argument we entrust the assigning of praise or blame, or the passing of a judgement upon what is done well or ill? If such a person speaks ill of another, does the man in question pay any attention to him, or if he praises another, is the latter elated? when the one who is dispensing praise or blame is unable, in matters as trivial as these, to find the logical consequence? This, then, is a starting point in philosophy—a perception of the state of one's own governing principle; for when once a man realises that it is weak, he will no longer wish to employ it upon great matters. But as it is, some who are unable to swallow the morsel buy a whole treatise and set to work to eat that. Consequently they throw up, or have indigestion; after that come colics and fluxes and fevers. But they ought first to have considered whether they have the requisite capacity. However, in a matter of theory it is easy enough to confute the man who does not know, but in the affairs of life a man does not submit himself to confutation, and we hate the person who has confuted us. But Socrates used to tell us not to live a life unsubjected to examination.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 27 - In How Many Ways Do The External Impressions Arise, And What Aids Should We Have Ready At Hand To Deal With Them?

The external impressions come to us in four ways; for either things are, and seem so to be; or they are not, and do not seem to be, either; or they are, and do not seem to be; or they are not, and yet seem to be. Consequently, in all these cases it is the business of the educated man to hit the mark. But whatever be the thing that distresses us, against that we ought to bring up our reinforcements. If the things that distress us are sophisms of Pyrrho and the Academy, let us bring up our reinforcements against them; if they are the plausibilities of things, whereby we are led to think that certain things are good when they are not, let us seek reinforcements at that point; if the thing that distresses us is a habit, we should try to hunt up the reinforcements with which to oppose that. What reinforcements, then, is it possible to find with which to oppose habit? Why, the contrary habit. You hear the common folk saying, "That poor man! He is dead; his father perished, and his mother; he was cut off, yes, and before his time, and in a foreign land." Listen to the arguments on the other side, tear yourself away from these expressions, set over against one habit the contrary habit. To meet sophistic arguments we must have the processes of logic and the exercise and the familiarity with these; against the plausibilities of things we must have our preconceptions clear, polished like weapons, and ready at hand.

When death appears to be an evil, we must have ready at hand the argument that it is our duty to avoid evils, and that death is an inevitable thing. For what can I do? Where shall I go to escape it? Suppose that I am Sarpedon the son of Zeus,

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in order that I may nobly say, as he did: "Seeing that I have left my home for the war, I wish either to win the prize of valour myself, or else to give someone else the chance to win it; if I am unable to succeed in something myself, I shall not begrudge another the achievement of some noble deed." Granted that such an act as Sarpedon's is beyond us, does not the other alternative fall within the compass of our powers? And where can I go to escape death? Show me the country, show me the people to whom I may go, upon whom death does not come; show me a magic charm against it. If I have none, what do you wish me to do? I cannot avoid death. Instead of avoiding the fear of it, shall I die in lamentation and trembling? For the origin of sorrow is this—to wish for something that does not come to pass. Therefore, if I can change externals according to my own wish, I change them; but if I cannot, I am ready to tear out the eyes of the man who stands in my way. For it is man's nature not to endure to be deprived of the good, not to endure to fall into the evil. Then, finally, when I can neither change the circumstances, nor tear out the eyes of the man who stands in my way, I sit down and groan, and revile whom I can—Zeus and the rest of the gods; for if they do not care for me, what are they to me? "Yes," you say, "but that will be impious of you." What, then, shall I get that is worse than what I have now? In short, we must remember this—that unless piety and self-interest be conjoined, piety cannot be maintained in any man. Do not these considerations seem urgent?

Let the follower of Pyrrho or of the Academy come and oppose us. Indeed I, for my part, have no leisure for such matters, nor can I act as advocate to the commonly received opinion. If I had a petty suit about a mere bit of land, I should have called in some one else to be my advocate. With what evidence, then, am I satisfied? With that which belongs to the matter in hand. To the question how perception arises, whether through the whole body, or from some particular part, perhaps I do not know how to give a reasonable answer, and both views perplex me. But that you and I are not the same persons, I know very certainly. Whence do I get this knowledge? When I want to swallow something, I never take the morsel to that place but to this; when I wish to take bread I never take sweepings, but I always go after the bread as to a mark. And do you yourselves, who take away the evidence of the senses, do anything else? Who among you when he wishes to go to a bath goes to a mill instead?—What then? Ought we not to the best of our ability hold fast also to this—maintain, that is, the commonly received opinion, and be on our guard against the arguments that seek to overthrow it?—And who disputes that? But only the man who has the power and the leisure should devote himself to these studies; while the man who is trembling and perplexed and whose heart is broken within him, ought to devote his leisure to something else.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 28 - That We Ought Not To Be Angry With Men; And What Are The Little Things And The Great Among Men?

What is the reason that we assent to anything? The fact that it appears to us to be so. It is impossible, therefore, to assent to the thing that appears not to be so. Why? Because this is the nature of the intellect—to agree to what is true, to be dissatisfied with what is false, and to withhold judgement regarding what is uncertain. What is the proof of this? "Feel, if you can, that it is now night." That is impossible. "Put away the feeling that it is day." That is impossible. "Either feel or put away the feeling that the stars are even in number." That is impossible. When, therefore, a man assents to a falsehood, rest assured that it was not his wish to assent to it as false; "for every soul is unwillingly deprived of the truth," as Plato says; it only seemed to him that the false was true. Well now, in the sphere of actions what have we corresponding to the true and the false here in the sphere of perceptions? Duty and what is contrary to duty, the profitable and the unprofitable, that which is appropriate to me and that which is not appropriate to me, and whatever is similar to these. "Cannot a man, then, think that something is profitable to him, and yet not choose it?" He cannot. How of her who says.

Now, now, I learn what horrors I intend:

But passion overmastereth sober thought?

It is because the very gratification of her passion and the taking of vengeance on her husband she regards as more profitable than the saving of her children. "Yes, but she is deceived." Show her clearly that she is deceived, and she will not do it; but so long as you do not show it, what else has she to follow but that which appears to her to be true? Nothing. Why, then, are you angry with her, because the poor woman has gone astray in the greatest matters, and has been transformed from a human being into a viper? Why do you not, if anything, rather pity her? As we pity the blind and the halt, why do we not pity those who have been made blind and halt in their governing faculties?

Whoever, then, bears this clearly in mind, that the measure of man's every action is the impression of his senses (now this impression may be formed rightly or wrongly; if rightly, the man is blameless; if wrongly, the man himself pays the penalty; for it is impossible that the man who has gone astray, is one person, while the man who suffers is another),—whoever remembers this, I say, will not be enraged at anyone, will not be angry with anyone, will not revile anyone, will not blame, nor hate, nor take offence at anyone. So you conclude that such great and terrible things have their origin in this—the impression of one's senses? In this and nothing else. The Iliad is nothing but a sense-impression and a poet's use of sense-impressions. There came to Alexander an impression to carry off the wife of Menelaus, and an impression came to Helen to follow him. Now if an impression had led Menelaus to feel that it was a gain to be deprived of such a wife, what would have happened? We should have lost not merely the Iliad, but the Odyssey as well.—Then do matters of such great import depend upon one that is so small:—But what do you mean by "matters of such great import"? Wars and factions and deaths of many men and destructions of cities? And what is there great in all this?—What, nothing great in this?—Why, what is there great in the death of many oxen and many sheep and the burning and destruction of many nests of swallows or storks?—Is there any similarity between this and that?—A great similarity. Men's bodies perished in the one case, and bodies of oxen and sheep in the other. Petty dwellings of men were burned, and so were nests of storks. What is there great or dreadful about that? Or else show me in what respect a man's house and a stork's nest differ as a place of habitation.—Is there any similarity between a stork and a man?—What is that you say? As far as the body is concerned, a great similarity; except that the petty houses of men are made of beams and tiles and bricks, but the nest of a stork is made of sticks and clay.

Does a man, then, differ in no wise from a stork?—Far from it; but in these matters he does not differ.—In what wise, then, does he differ?—Seek and you will find that he differs in some other respect. See whether it be not in his understanding what he does, see whether it be not in his capacity for social action, in his faithfulness, his self-respect, his steadfastness, his security from error, his intelligence. Where, then, is the great evil and the great good among men? Just where the difference is; and if that element wherein the difference lies be preserved and stands firm and well fortified on every side, and neither his self-respect, nor his faithfulness, nor his intelligence be destroyed, then the man also is preserved; but if any of these qualities be destroyed or taken by storm, then the man also is destroyed. And it is in this sphere that the great things are. Did Alexander come to his great fall when the Hellenes assailed Troy with their ships, and when they were devastating the land, and when his brothers were dying? Not at all; for no one comes to his fall because of another's deed; but what went on then was merely the destruction of storks' nests. Nay, he came to his fall when he lost his self-respect, his faithfulness, his respect for the laws of hospitality, his decency of behaviour. When did Achilles come to his fall? When Patroclus died? Far from it; but when Achilles himself was enraged, when he was crying about a paltry damsel, when he forgot that he was there, not to get sweethearts, but to make war. These are the falls that come to mankind, this is the siege of their city, this is the razing of it—when their correct judgements are torn down, when these are destroyed.—Then when women are driven off into captivity, and children are enslaved, and when the men themselves are slaughtered, are not all these things evils?—Where do you get the justification for adding this opinion? Let me know also.—No, on the contrary, do you let me know where you get the justification for saying that they are not evils?—Let us turn to our standards, produce your preconceptions.

For this is why I cannot be sufficiently astonished at what men do. In a case where we wish to judge of weights, we do not judge at haphazard; where we wish to judge what is straight and what is crooked, we do not judge at haphazard; in short, where it makes any difference to us to know the truth in the case, no one of us will do anything at haphazard. Yet where there is involved the first and only cause of acting aright or erring, of prosperity or adversity, of failure or success, there alone are we haphazard and headlong. There I have nothing like a balance, there nothing like a standard, but some sense-impression comes and immediately I go and act upon it. What, am I any better than Agamemnon or Achilles—are they because of following the impressions of their senses to do and suffer such evils, while I am to be satisfied with the impression of my senses? And what tragedy has any other source than this? What is the Atreus of Euripides? His sense-impression. The Oedipus of Sophocles? His sense-impression. The Phoenix? His sense-impression. The Hippolytus? His sense-impression. What kind of a man, then, do you think he is who pays no attention to this matter? What are those men called who follow every impression of their senses?—Madmen.—Are we, then, acting differently?

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 29 - Of Steadfastness

The essence of the good is a certain kind of moral purpose, and that of the evil is a certain kind of moral purpose. What, then, are the external things? They are materials for the moral purpose, in dealing with which it will find its own proper good or evil. How will it find the good? If it does not admire the materials. For the judgements about the materials, if they be correct, make the moral purpose good, but if they be crooked and awry, they make it evil. This is the law which God has ordained, and He says, "If you wish any good thing, get it from yourself." You say, "No, but from someone else." Do not so, but get it from yourself. For the rest, when the tyrant threatens and summons me, I answer "Whom are you threatening?" If he says, "I will put you in chains," I reply, "He is threatening my hands and my feet." If he says, "I will behead you," I answer, "He is threatening my neck." If he says, "I will throw you into prison," I say, "He is threatening my whole paltry body"; and if he threatens me with exile, I give the same answer.—Does he, then, threaten you not at all?—If I feel that all this is nothing to me,—not at all; but if I am afraid of any of these threats, it is I whom he threatens. Who is there left, then, for me to fear? The man who is master of what? The things that are under my control? But there is no such man. The man who is master of the things that are not under my control? And what do I care for them?

Do you philosophers, then, teach us to despise our kings?—Far from it. Who among us teaches you to dispute their claim to the things over which they have authority? Take my paltry body, take my property, take my reputation, take those who are about me. If I persuade any to lay claim to these things, let some man truly accuse me. "Yes, but I wish to control your judgements also." And who has given you this authority? How can you have the power to overcome another's judgement? "By bringing fear to bear upon him," he says, "I shall overcome him." You fail to realise that the judgement overcame itself, it was not overcome by something else; and nothing else can overcome moral purpose, but it overcomes itself. For this reason too the law of God is most good and most just: "Let the better always prevail over the worse." "Ten are better than one," you say. For what? For putting in chains, for killing, for dragging away where they will, for taking away a man's property. Ten overcome one, therefore, in the point in which they are better. In what, then, are they worse? If the one has correct judgements, and the ten have not. What then? Can they overcome in this point? How can they? But if we are weighed in the balance, must not the heavier draw down the scales?

So that a Socrates may suffer what he did at the hands of the Athenians?—Slave, why do you say "Socrates"? Speak of the matter as it really is and say: That the paltry body of Socrates may be carried off and dragged to prison by those who were stronger than he, and that some one may give hemlock to the paltry body of Socrates, and that it may grow cold and die? Does this seem marvellous to you, does this seem unjust, for this do you blame God? Did Socrates, then, have no compensation for this? In what did the essence of the good consist for him? To whom shall we listen, to you or to Socrates himself? And what does he say? "Anytus and Meletus can kill me, but they cannot hurt me." And again, "If so it is pleasing to God, so let it be." But do you prove that one who holds inferior judgements prevails over the man who is superior in point of judgements. You will not be able to prove this; no, nor even come near proving it. For this is a law of nature and of God: "Let the better always prevail over the worse." Prevail in what? In that in which it is better. One body is stronger than another body; several persons are stronger than one; the thief is stronger than the man who is not a thief. That is why I lost my lamp, because in the matter of keeping awake the thief was better than I was. However, he bought a lamp for a very high price; for a lamp he became a thief, for a lamp he became faithless, for a lamp he became beast-like. This seemed to him to be profitable!

Very well; but now someone has taken hold of me by my cloak and pulls me into the market-place, and then others shout at me, "Philosopher, what good have your judgements done you? See, you are being dragged off to prison; see, you are going to have your head cut off." And what kind of Introduction to Philosophy could I have studied, which would prevent me from being dragged off, if a man who is stronger than I am should take hold of my cloak? Or would prevent me from being thrown into the prison, if ten men should hustle me and throw me unto it? Have I, then, learned nothing else? I have learned to see that everything which happens, if it be outside the realm of my moral purpose, is nothing to me.—Have you, then, derived no benefit from this principle for the present case? Why, then, do you seek your benefit in something other than that in which you have learned that it is?—Well, as I sit in the prison I say, "The fellow who shouts this at me neither understands what is meant, nor follows what is said, nor has he taken any pains at all to know what philosophers say, or what they do. Don't mind him." "But come out of the prison again." If you have no further need of me in the prison, I shall come out; if you ever need me there again, I shall go back in. For how long? For so long as reason chooses that I remain with my paltry body; but when reason does not so choose, take it and good health to you! Only let me not give up my life irrationally, only let me not give up my life faintheartedly, or from some casual pretext. For again, God does not so desire; for He has

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need of such a universe, and of such men who go to and fro upon earth. But if He gives the signal to retreat, as He did to Socrates, I must obey Him who gives the signal, as I would a general.

What then? Must I say these things to the multitude? For what purpose? Is it not sufficient for a man himself to believe them? For example, when the children come up to us and clap their hands and say, "To-day is the good Saturnalia," do we say to them, "All this is not good"? Not at all; but we too clap our hands to them. And do you too, therefore, when you are unable to make a man change his opinion, realise that he is a child and clap your hands to him; but if you do not want to do this, you have merely to hold your peace.

All this a man ought to remember, and when he is summoned to meet some such difficulty, he ought to know that the time has come to show whether we are educated. For a young man leaving school and facing a difficulty is like one who has practised the analysis of syllogisms, and if someone propounds him one that is easy to solve, he says, "Nay, rather propound me one that is cunningly involved, so that I may get exercise from it." Also the athletes are displeased with the youths of light weight: "He cannot lift me," says one. "Yonder is a sturdy young man." Oh no; but when the crisis calls, he has to weep and say, "I wanted to keep on learning." Learning what? If you do not learn these things so as to be able to manifest them in action, what did you learn them for? I fancy that someone among these who are sitting here is in travail within his own soul and is saying, "Alas, that such a difficulty does not come to me now as that which has come to this fellow! Alas, that now I must be worn out sitting in a corner, when I might be crowned at Olympia! When will someone bring me word of such a contest?" You ought all to be thus minded. But among the gladiators of Caesar there are some who complain because no one brings them out, or matches them with an antagonist, and they pray God and go to their managers, begging to fight in single combat; and yet will no one of you display a like spirit? I wanted to sail to Rome for this very purpose and to see what my athlete is doing, what practice he is following in his task. "I do not want," says he, "this kind of a task." What, is it in your power to take any task you want? You have been given such a body, such parents, such brothers, such a country, such a position in it; and then do you come to me and say, "Change the task for me"? What, do you not possess resources to enable you to utilize that which has been given? You ought to say, "It is yours to set the task, mine to practise it well." No, but you do say, "Do not propose to me such-and-such a hypothetical syllogism, but rather such-and-such a one; do not urge upon me such-and-such a conclusion, but rather such-and-such a one." A time will soon come when the tragic actors will think that their masks and buskins and the long robe are themselves. Man, all these things you have as a subject-matter and a task. Say something, so that we may know whether you are a tragic actor or a buffoon; for both of these have everything but their lines in common. Therefore, if one should take away from him both his buskins and his mask, and bring him on the stage as a mere shade of an actor, is the tragic actor lost, or does he abide? If he has a voice, he abides.

And so it is in actual life. "Take a governorship." I take it and having done so I show how an educated man comports himself. "Lay aside the laticlave, and having put on rags come forward in a character to correspond." What then? Has it not been given me to display a fine voice. "In what role, then, do you mount the stage now?" As a witness summoned by God. God says, "Go you and bear witness for Me; for you are worthy to be produced by me as a witness. Is any of those things which lie outside the range of the moral purpose either good or evil? Do I injure any man? Have I put each man's advantage under the control of any but himself?" What kind of witness do you bear for God?" I am in sore straits, O Lord, and in misfortune; no one regards me, no one gives me anything, all blame me and speak ill of me? Is this the witness that you are going to bear, and is this the way in which you are going to disgrace the summons which He gave you, in that He bestowed this honour upon you and deemed you worthy to be brought forward in order to bear testimony so important?

But the one who has authority over you declares, "I pronounce you impious and profane." What has happened to you? "I have been pronounced impious and profane." Nothing else? "Nothing." But if he had passed judgement upon some hypothetical syllogism and had made a declaration, "I judge the statement, 'If it is day, there is light,' to be false," what has happened to the hypothetical syllogism? Who is being judged in this case, who has been condemned? The hypothetical syllogism, or the man who has been deceived in his judgement about it? Who in the world, then, is this man who has authority to make any declaration about you? Does he know what piety or impiety is? Has he pondered the matter? Has he learned it? Where? Under whose instruction? And yet a musician pays no attention to him, if he declares that the lowest string is the highest, nor does a geometrician, if the man decides that the lines extending from the centre to the circumference of a circle are not equal; but shall the truly educated man pay attention to an uninstructed person when he passes judgement on what is holy and unholy, and on what is just and unjust?

How great is the injustice committed by the educated in so doing! Is this, then, what you have learned here? Will you not leave to others, mannikins incapable of taking pains, the petty quibbles about these things, so that they may sit in a corner and gather in their petty fees, or grumble because nobody gives them anything, and will you not yourself come forward and make use of what you have learned? For what is lacking now is not quibbles; nay, the books of the Stoics are full of quibbles. What, then, is the thing lacking now? The man to make use of them, the man to bear witness to the arguments by his acts. This is the character I would have you assume, that we may no longer use old examples in the school, but may have some example from our own time also. Whose part is it, then, to contemplate these matters? The part of him who devotes himself to learning; for man is a kind of animal that loves contemplation. But it is disgraceful to contemplate these things like runaway slaves; nay, sit rather free from distractions and listen, now to tragic actor and now to the citharoede, and not as those runaways do. For at the very moment when one of them is paying attention and praising the tragic actor, he takes a glance around, and then if someone mentions the word "master," they are instantly all in a flutter and upset. It is disgraceful for men who are philosophers to contemplate the works of nature in this spirit. For what is a "master"? One man is not master of another man, but death and life and pleasure and hardship are his masters. So bring Caesar to me, if he be without these things, and you shall see how steadfast I am. But when he comes with them, thundering and lightening, and I am afraid of them, what else have I done but recognised my master, like the runaway slave? But so long as I have, as it were, only a respite from these threats, I too am acting like a runaway slave who is a spectator in a theatre; I bathe, I drink, I sing, but I do it all in fear and misery. But if I emancipate myself from my masters, that is, from those things which render masters terrifying, what further trouble do I have, what master any more?

What then? Must I proclaim this to all men? No, but I must treat with consideration those who are not philosophers by profession, and say, "This man advises for me that which he thinks good in his own case; therefore I excuse him." For Socrates excused the jailor who wept for him when he was about to drink the poison, and said, "How generously he has wept for us!" Does he, then, say to the jailor, "This is why we sent the women away"? No, but he makes this latter remark to his intimate friends, to those who were fit to hear it; but the jailor he treats with consideration like a child.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 30 - What Aid Ought We To Have Ready At Hand In Difficulties?

When you come into the presence of some prominent man, remember that Another looks from above on what is taking place, and that you must please Him rather than this man. He, then, who is above asks of you, "In your school what did you call exile and imprisonment and bonds and death and disrepute?" "I called them 'things indifferent.'" "What, then, do you call them now? Have they changed at all?" "No." "Have you, then, changed?" "No." "Tell me, then, what things are 'indifferent.'" "Those that are independent of the moral purpose." "Tell me also what follows." "Things independent of the moral purpose are nothing to me." "Tell me also what you thought were 'the good things.'" "A proper moral purpose and a proper use of external impressions." "And what was the 'end'?" "To follow Thee." "Do you say all that even now?" "I say the same things even now." Then enter in, full of confidence and mindful of all this, and you shall see what it means to be a young man who has studied what he ought, when he is in the presence of men who have not studied. As for me, by the gods, I fancy that you will feel somewhat like this: "Why do we make such great and elaborate preparations to meet what amounts to nothing? Was this what authority amounted to? Was this what the vestibule, the chamberlains, the armed guards amounted to? Was it for all this that I listened to those long discourses? Why, all this never amounted to anything, but I was preparing for it as though it were something great."

DISCOURSES OF EPICTETUS BOOK 2

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 1 - That Confidence Does Not Conflict With Caution

Perhaps the following contention of the philosophers appears paradoxical to some, but nevertheless let us to the best of our ability consider whether it is true that "we ought to do everything both cautiously and confidently at the same time." For caution seems to be in a way contrary to confidence, and contraries are by no means consistent. But that which appears to many to be paradoxical in the matter under discussion seems to me to involve something of this sort: If we demanded that a man should employ both caution and confidence in regard to the same things, then we would be justly charged with uniting qualities that are not to be united. But, as a matter of fact, what is there strange about the saying? For if the statements which have often been made and often proved are sound, namely that "the nature of the good as well as of the evil lies in a use of the impressions of the senses, but the things which lie outside the province of the moral purpose admit neither the nature of the evil, nor the nature of the good"; what is there paradoxical about the contention of the philosophers, if they say, "Where the things that lie outside the province of the moral purpose are involved, there show confidence, but where the things that lie within the province of the moral purpose are involved, there show caution"? For if the evil lies in an evil exercise of the moral purpose, it is only in regard to matters of this kind that it is right to employ caution; but if the things which lie outside the province of the moral purpose and are not under our control are nothing to us, we ought to employ confidence in regard to them. And so we shall be at one and the same time both cautious and confident, yes, and, by Zeus, confident because of our caution. For because we are cautious about the things which are really evil, the result will be that we shall have confidence in regard to the things which are not of that nature.

However, we act like deer: when the hinds are frightened by the feathers and run away from them, where do they turn, and to what do they fly for refuge as a safe retreat? Why, to the nets; and so they perish because they have confused the objects of fear with the objects of confidence. So it is with us also; where do we show fear? About the things which lie outside the province of the moral purpose. Again, in what do we behave with confidence as if there were no danger? In the things which lie within the province of the moral purpose. To be deceived, or to act impetuously, or to do something shameless, or with base passion to desire something, makes no difference to us, if only in the matters which lie outside the province of the will we succeed in our aim. But where death, or exile, or hardship, or ignominy faces us, there we show the spirit of running away, there we show violent agitation. Therefore, as might be expected of those men who err in matters of the greatest concern, we transform our natural confidence into boldness, desperateness, recklessness, shamelessness, while our natural caution and self-respect we transform into cowardice and abjectness, full of fears and perturbations. For if a man should transfer his caution to the sphere of the moral purpose and the deeds of the moral purpose, then along with the desire to be cautious he will also at once have under his control the will to avoid; whereas, if he should transfer his caution to those matters which are not under our control and lie outside the province of the moral purpose, inasmuch as he is applying his will to avoid towards those things which are under the control of others, he will necessarily be subject to fear, instability, and perturbation. For it is not death or hardship that is a fearful thing, but the fear of hardship or death. That is why we praise the man who said

Not death is dreadful, but a shameful death.

Our confidence ought, therefore, to be turned toward death, and our caution toward the fear of death; whereas we do just the opposite—in the face of death we turn to flight, but about the formation of a judgement on death we show carelessness, disregard, and unconcern. But Socrates did well to call all such things "bugbears." For just as masks appear fearful and terrible to children because of inexperience, in some such manner we also are affected by events, and this for the same reason that children are affected by bugbears. For what is a child? Ignorance. What is a child? Want of instruction. For where a child has knowledge, he is no worse than we are. What is death? A bugbear. Turn it about and learn what it is; see, it does not bite. The paltry body must be separated from the bit of spirit, either now or later, just as it existed apart from it before. Why are you grieved, then, if it be separated now? For if it be not separated now, it will be later. Why? So that the revolution of the universe may be accomplished; for it has need of the things that are now coming into being, and the things that shall be, and the things that have been accomplished. What is hardship? A bugbear. Turn it about and learn what it is. The poor flesh is subjected to rough treatment, and then again to smooth. If you do not find this profitable, the door stands open; if you do find it profitable, bear it. For the door must be standing open for every emergency, and then we have no trouble.

What, then, is the fruit of these doctrines? Precisely that which must needs be both the fairest and the most becoming for those who are being truly educated—tranquillity, fearlessness, freedom. For on these matters we should not trust the multitude, who say, "Only the free can be educated," but rather the philosophers, who say, "Only the educated are free."—How is that?—Thus: At this time is freedom anything but the right to live as we wish? "Nothing else." Tell me, then, O men, do you wish to live in error? "We do not." Well, no one who lives in error is free. Do you wish to live in fear, in sorrow, in turmoil? "By no means." Well then, no man who is in fear, or sorrow, or turmoil, is free, but whoever is rid of sorrows and fears and turmoils, this man is by the self-same course rid also of slavery. How, then, shall we any longer trust you, O dearest lawgivers? Do we allow none but

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the free to get an education? For the philosophers say, "We do not allow any but the educated to be free"; that is, God does not allow it.—When, therefore, in the presence of the praetor a man turns his own slave about, has he done nothing?—He has done something.—What?—He has turned his slave about in the presence of the praetor,—Nothing more?—Yes, he is bound to pay a tax of five per cent, of the slave's value.—What then? Has not the man to whom this has been done become free?—He has no more become free than he has acquired peace of mind. You, for example, who are able to turn others about, have you no master? Have you not as your master money, or a mistress, or a boy favourite, or the tyrant, or some friend of the tyrant? If not, why do you tremble when you go to face some circumstance involving those things?

That is why I say over and over again, "Practise these things and have them ready at hand, that is, the knowledge of what you ought to face with confidence, and what you ought to face with caution—that you ought to face with confidence that which is outside the province of the moral purpose, with caution that which is within the province of the moral purpose."—But have I not read to you, and do you not know what I am doing?—What have you been engaged upon? Trifling phrases! Keep your trifling phrases! Show me rather how you stand in regard to desire and aversion, whether you do not fail to get what you wish, or do not fall into what you do not wish. As for those trifling periods of yours, if you are wise, you will take them away somewhere and blot them out.—What then? Did not Socrates write?—Yes, who wrote as much as he? But how? Since he could not have always at hand someone to test his judgements, or to be tested by him in turn, he was in the habit of testing and examining himself, and was always in a practical way trying out some particular primary conception. That is what a philosopher writes; but trifling phrases, and "said he," "said I" he leaves to others, to the stupid or the blessed, those who by virtue of their tranquillity live at leisure, or those who by virtue of their folly take no account of logical conclusions.

And now, when the crisis calls, will you go off and make an exhibition of your compositions, and give a reading from them, and boast, "See, how I write dialogues"? Do not so, man, but rather boast as follows: "See how in my desire I do not fail to get what I wish. See how in my aversions I do not fall into things that I would avoid. Bring on death and you shall know; bring on hardships, bring on imprisonment, bring on disrepute, bring on condemnation." This is the proper exhibition of a young man come from school. Leave other things to other people; neither let anyone ever hear a word from you about them, nor, if anyone praises you for them, do you tolerate it, but let yourself be accounted a nobody and a know-nothing. Show that you know this only—how you may never either fail to get what you desire or fall into what you avoid. Let others practise lawsuits, others problems, others syllogisms; do you practise how to die, how to be enchained, how to be racked, how to be exiled. Do all these things with confidence, with trust in Him who has called you to face them and deemed you worthy of this position, in which having once been placed you shall exhibit what can be achieved by a rational governing principle when arrayed against the forces that lie outside the province of the moral purpose. And thus the paradox of which we were speaking will no longer appear either impossible or paradoxical, namely, that at the same time we ought to be both cautious and confident, confident in regard to those things that lie outside the province of the moral purpose, and cautious in regard to those things that lie within the province of the moral purpose.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 2 - On Tranquillity

Consider, you who are going to court, what you wish to maintain and wherein you wish to succeed; for if you wish to maintain freedom of moral purpose in its natural condition, all security is yours, every facility yours, you have no trouble. For if you are willing to keep guard over those things which are under your direct authority and by nature free, and if you are satisfied with them, what else do you care about? For who is master of them, who can take them away from you? If you wish to be self-respecting and honourable, who is it that will not allow you? If you wish not to be hindered nor compelled, what man will compel you to desire what does not seem to you to be desirable, to avoid what you do not feel should be avoided? Well, what then? The judge will do some things to you which are thought to be terrifying; but how can he make you try to avoid what you suffer? When, therefore, desire and aversion are under your own control, what more do you care for? This is your introduction, this the setting forth of your case, this your proof, this your victory, this your peroration, this your approbation. That is why Socrates, in reply to the man who was reminding him to make preparation for his trial, said, "Do you not feel, then, that with my whole life I am making preparation for this?"—"What kind of preparation?"—"I have maintained," says he, "that which is under my control."—"How then?"—"I have never done anything that was wrong either in my private or in my public life." But if you wish to maintain also what is external, your paltry body and your petty estate and your small reputation, I have this to say to you: Begin this very moment to make all possible preparation, and furthermore study the character of your judge and your antagonist. If you must clasp men's knees, clasp them; if you must wail, then wail; if you must groan, then groan. For when you subject what is your own to externals, then from henceforth be a slave, and stop letting yourself be drawn this way and that, at one moment wishing to be a slave, at another not, but be either this or that simply and with all your mind, either a free man or a slave, either educated or uneducated, either a spirited fighting cock or a spiritless one, either endure to be beaten until you die, or give in at once. Far be it from you to receive many blows and yet at the last give in! But if that is disgraceful, begin this very moment to decide the question, "Where is the nature of good and evil to be found? Where truth also is. Where truth and where nature are, there is caution; where truth is, there is confidence, where nature is."

Why, do you think that if Socrates had wished to maintain his external possessions he would have come forward and said, "Anytus and Meletus are able indeed to kill me, but they cannot harm me"? Was he so foolish as not to see that this course does not lead to that goal, but elsewhere? Why is it unreasonable, then, to add also a word of provocation? Just as my friend Heracleitus, who had an unimportant lawsuit about a small piece of land in Rhodes; after he had pointed out the justice of his claim he went on to the peroration in which he said, "But neither will I entreat you, nor do I care what your decision is going to be, and it is you who are on trial rather than I." And so he ruined his case. What is the use of acting like that? Merely make no entreaties, but do not add the words "Yes, and I make no entreaties," unless the right time has come for you, as it did for Socrates, deliberately to provoke your judges. If you, for your part, are preparing a peroration of that sort, why do you mount the platform at all, why answer the summons? For if you wish to be crucified, wait and the cross will come; but if reason decides that you should answer the summons and do your best to have what you say carry conviction, you must act in accordance therewith, but always maintaining what is your own proper character.

Looked at in this way it is also absurd to say, "Advise me." What advice am I to give you? Nay, say rather, "Enable my mind to adapt itself to whatever comes." Since the other expression is just as if an illiterate should say, "Tell me what to write when some name is set me to write." For if I say, "Write Dio," and then his teacher comes along and sets him not the name "Dio," but "Theo," what will happen? What will he write? But if you have practised writing, you are able also to prepare yourself for everything that is dictated to you; if you have not practised, what advice can I now offer you? For if circumstances dictate something different, what will you say or what will you do? Bear in mind, therefore, this general principle and you will not be at a loss for a suggestion. But if you gape open-mouthed at externals, you must needs be tossed up and down according to the will of your master. And who is your master? He who has authority over any of the things upon which you set your heart or which you wish to avoid.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 3 - To Those Who Recommend Persons To The Philosophers

That is an excellent answer of Diogenes to the man who asked for a letter of recommendation from him: "That you are a man," he says, "he will know at a glance; but whether you are a good or a bad man he will discover if he has the skill to distinguish between good and bad, and if he is without that skill he will not discover the facts, even though I write him thousands of times." For it is just as though a drachma asked to be recommended to someone, in order to be tested. If the man in question is an assayer of silver, you will recommend yourself. We ought, therefore, to have also in everyday life the sort of thing that we have in the case of silver, so that I may be able to say, as the assayer of silver says, "Bring me any drachma you please, and I will appraise it." Now in the case of syllogisms I say, "Bring me any you please and I will distinguish for you between the one that is capable of analysis and the one that is not." How so? Because, I know how to analyze syllogisms myself; I have the faculty which the man must have who is going to appraise those who handle syllogisms properly. But in everyday life what do I do? Sometimes I call a thing good, and sometimes bad. What is the reason? The opposite of what was true in the case of syllogisms, namely, ignorance and inexperience.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 4 - To The Man Who Had Once Been Caught In Adultery

AS Epictetus was remarking that man is born to fidelity, and that the man who overthrows this is overthrowing the characteristic quality of man, there entered one who had the reputation of being a scholar, and who had once been caught in the city in the act of adultery. But, goes on Epictetus, if we abandon this fidelity to which we are by nature born, and make designs against our neighbour's wife, what are we doing? Why, what but ruining and destroying? Whom? The man of fidelity, of self-respect, of piety. Is that all? Are we not overthrowing also neighbourly feeling, friendship, the state? In what position are we placing ourselves? As what am I to treat you, fellow? As a neighbour, as a friend? Of what kind? As a citizen? What confidence am I to place in you? If you were a vessel so cracked that it was impossible to use you for anything, you would be cast forth upon the dunghills and even from there no one would pick you up; but if, although a man, you cannot fill a man's place, what are we going to do with you? For, assuming that you cannot hold the place of a friend, can you hold that of a slave? And who is going to trust you? Are you not willing, therefore, that you too should be cast forth upon some dunghill as a useless vessel, as a piece of dung? For all that will you say, "Nobody cares for me, a scholar!"? No, for you are an evil man, and useless. It is just as if the wasps complained that nobody cares for them, but all run away from them, and, if anyone can, he strikes them and knocks them down. You have such a sting that you involve in trouble and pain whomever you strike. What do you want us to do with you? There is no place where you can be put.

What then, you say; are not women by nature common property? I agree. And the little pig is the common property of the invited guests; but when portions have been assigned, if it so pleases you, approach and snatch up the portion of the guest who reclines at your side, steal it secretly, or slip in your hand and glut your greed, and if you cannot tear off a piece of the meat, get your fingers greasy and lick them. A fine companion you would make at a feast, and a dinner-guest worthy of Socrates! Come now, is not the theatre the common property of the citizens? When, therefore, they are seated there, go, if it so pleases you, and throw someone of them out of his seat. In the same way women also are by nature common property. But when the law-giver, like a host at a banquet, has apportioned them, are you not willing like the rest to look for your own portion instead of filching away and glutting your greed upon that which is another's? "But I am a scholar and understand Archedemus." Very well then, understand Archedemus and be an adulterer and faithless and a wolf or an ape instead of a man; for what is there to prevent you?

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 5 - How Are Magnanimity And Carefulness Compatible?

Materials are indifferent, but the use which we make of them is not a matter of indifference. How, therefore, shall a man maintain steadfastness and peace of mind, and at the same time the careful spirit and that which is neither reckless nor negligent? If he imitates those who play at dice. The counters are indifferent, the dice are indifferent; how am I to know what is going to fall? But to make a careful and skilful use of what has fallen, that is now my task. In like manner, therefore, the principal task in life is this: distinguish matters and weigh them one against another, and say to yourself, "Externals are not under my control; moral choice is under my control. Where am I to look for the good and the evil? Within me, in that which is my own." But in that which is another's never employ the words "good" or "evil," or "benefit" or "injury," or anything of the sort.

What then? Are these externals to be used carelessly? Not at all. For this again is to the moral purpose an evil and thus unnatural to it. They must be used carefully, because their use is not a matter of indifference, and at the same time with steadfastness and peace of mind, because the material is indifferent. For in whatever really concerns us, there no man can either hinder or compel me. The attainment of those things in which I can be hindered or compelled is not under my control and is neither good nor bad, but the use which I make of them is either good or bad, and that is under my control. It is, indeed, difficult to unite and combine these two things—the carefulness of the man who is devoted to material things and the steadfastness of the man who disregards them, but it is not impossible. Otherwise happiness were impossible. But we act very much as though we were on a voyage. What is possible for me? To select the helmsman, the sailors, the day, the moment. Then a storm comes down upon us. Very well, what further concern have I? For my part has been fulfilled. The business belongs to someone else, that is, the helmsman. But, more than that, the ship goes down. What, then, have I to do? What I can; that is the only thing I do; I drown without fear, neither shrieking nor crying out against God, but recognising that what is born must also perish. For I am not eternal, but a man; a part of the whole, as an hour is part of a day. I must come on as the hour and like an hour pass away. What difference, then, is it to me how I pass away, whether by drowning or by a fever? For by something of the sort I must needs pass away.

This is what you will see skilful ball players doing also. None of them is concerned about the ball as being something good or bad, but about throwing and catching it. Accordingly, form has to do with that, skill with that, and speed, and grace; where I cannot catch the ball even if I spread out my cloak, the expert catches it if I throw. Yet if we catch or throw the ball in a flurry or in fear, what fun is there left,

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and how can a man be steady, or see what comes next in the game? But one player will say "Throw!" another, "Do not throw!" and yet another, "Do not throw it up!" That, indeed, would be a strife and not a game.

In that sense, then, Socrates knew how to play ball. How so? He knew how to play in the law-court. "Tell me," says he, "Anytus, what do you mean when you say that I do not believe in God. In your opinion who are the daemones? Are they not either the offspring of the gods or a hybrid race, the offspring of men and gods?" And when Anytus had agreed to that statement Socrates went on, "Who, then, do you think, can believe that mules exist, but not asses?" In so speaking he was like a man playing ball. And at that place and time what was the ball that he was playing with? Imprisonment, exile, drinking poison, being deprived of wife, leaving children orphans. These were the things with which he was playing, but none the less he played and handled the ball in good form. So ought we also to act, exhibiting the ball-player's carefulness about the game, but the same indifference about the object played with, as being a mere ball. For a man ought by all means to strive to show his skill in regard to some of the external materials, yet without making the material a part of himself, but merely lavishing his skill in regard to it, whatever it may be. So also the weaver does not make wool, but he lavishes his skill on whatever wool he receives. Another gives you sustenance and property and can likewise take them away, yes, and your paltry body itself. Do you accordingly accept the material and work it up. Then if you come forth without having suffered any harm, the others who meet you will congratulate you on your escape, but the man who knows how to observe such matters, if he sees that you have exhibited good form in this affair, will praise you and rejoice with you; but if he sees that you owe your escape to some dishonourable action, he will do the opposite. For where a man may rejoice with good reason, there others may rejoice with him.

How, then, can it be said that some externals are natural, and others unnatural? It is just as if we were detached from them. For I will assert of the foot as such that it is natural for it to be clean, but if you take it as a foot, and not as a thing detached, it will be appropriate for it to step into mud and trample on thorns and sometimes to be cut off for the sake of the whole body; otherwise it will no longer be a foot. We ought to hold some such view also about ourselves. What are you? A man. Now if you regard yourself as a thing detached, it is natural for you to live to old age, to be rich, to enjoy health. But if you regard yourself as a man and as a part of some whole, on account of that whole it is fitting for you now to be sick, and now to make a voyage and run risks, and now to be in want, and on occasion to die before your time. Why, then, are you vexed? Do you not know that as the foot, if detached, will no longer be a foot, so you too, if detached, will no longer be a man? For what is a man? A part of a state; first of that state which is made up of gods and men, and then of that which is said to be very close to the other, the state that is a small copy of the universal state. "Must I, then, be put on trial now?" Well, would you have someone else be sick of a fever now, someone else go on a voyage, someone else die, someone else be condemned? For it is impossible in such a body as ours, in this universe that envelops us, among these fellow-creatures of ours, that such things should not happen, some to one man and some to another. It is your task, therefore, to step forward and say what you should, to arrange these matters as is fitting. Then the judge says, "I adjudge you guilty." I reply, "May it be well with you. I have done my part; and it is for you to see whether you have done yours." For the judge too runs a risk, do not forget that.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 6 - Of Indifference In Things

The hypothetical syllogism in itself is a matter of indifference; yet the judgement about it is not indifferent, but is either knowledge, or opinion, or delusion. In like manner, although life is a matter of indifference, the use which you make of it is not a matter of indifference. Therefore, when someone tells you, "These things also are indifferent," do not become careless, and when someone exhorts you to be careful, do not become abject and overawed by material things. It is good also to know one's own training and capacity, so that where you have had no training you may keep quiet and not be annoyed if some other persons outshine you in those matters. For you in your turn will expect to outshine them in syllogisms, and if they are annoyed at that, you will console them by saying, "I have learned this, and you have not." So also in a case where some acquired skill is needed, do not seek that which only practice can give, but leave that to those who have acquired the knack, and be content yourself to remain steadfast.

"Go and salute so-and-so." "I salute him." "How?" "In no abject spirit." "But the door was shut in your face." "Yes, for I have not learned how to crawl in at the window; but when I find the door closed, I must either go away or crawl in at the window." "But go and do speak to him." "I do so speak." "In what manner?" "In no abject spirit." "But you did not get what you wanted." Surely that was not your business, was it? Nay, it was his. Why, then, lay claim to that which is another's? If you always bear in mind what is your own and what is another's, you will never be disturbed. Therefore Chrysippus well says, "As long as the consequences are not clear to me, I cleave ever to what is better adapted to secure those things that are in accordance with nature; for God himself has created me with the faculty of choosing things. But if I really knew that it was ordained for me to be ill at this present moment, I would even seek illness: for the foot also, if it had a mind, would seek to be covered with mud."

For example, why do heads of grain grow? Is it not that they may also become dry? But when they become dry, is it not that they may also be harvested? Since they do not grow for themselves alone. If, therefore, they had feeling, ought they to pray that they should never at all be harvested? But never to be harvested at all is a curse for heads of grain. In like manner I would have you know that in the case of men as well it is a curse never to die; it is like never growing ripe, never being harvested. But, since we are ourselves those who must both be harvested and also be aware of the very fact that we are being harvested, we are angry on that account. For we neither know who we are, nor have we studied what belongs to man, as horsemen study what belongs to horses. But Chrysantas, when he was on the point of striking the foe, refrained because he heard the bugle sounding the recall; it seemed so much more profitable to him to do the bidding of his general than to follow his own inclination. Yet no one of us is willing, even when necessity calls, to obey her readily, but what we suffer we suffer with fears and groans, and call it "circumstances." What do you mean by "circumstances," man? If you call "circumstances" your surroundings, all things are "circumstances"; but if you use the word of hardships, what hardship is involved when that whicli has come into being is destroyed? The instrument of destruction is a sword, or a wheel, or the sea, or a tile, or a tyrant. What concern is it to you by what road you descend to the House of Hades? They are all equal. But if you care to hear the truth, the road by which the tyrant sends you is the shorter. No tyrant ever took six months to cut a man's throat, but a fever often takes more than a year. All these things are a mere noise and a vaunting of empty names.

"I run the risk of my life in Caesar's presence." But do I not run a risk by living in Nicopolis, where there are so many earthquakes? And what risk do you yourself take when you cross the Adriatic? Do you not risk your life? "But I also risk my opinion at court." Your own opinion? How so? Why, who can compel you to opine anything against your will? But do you mean some other man's opinion? And what kind of risk is it of yours that others should entertain false opinions? "But I run the risk of banishment." What is banishment? To be somewhere else than in Rome? "Yes." What then? "Suppose I am sent to Gyara." If it is to your good, you will go; if not, you have a place to which you may go instead of Gyara—where he too will go, whether he will or no, who is sending you to Gyara. Then why do you go up to Rome as though it were some great thing? It amounts to less than your preparation for it; so that a young man of parts may say, "It was not worth so much to have listened to so many lectures, and to have written so many exercises, and to have sat so long at the side of a little old man, who was not worth very much himself." Only remember that distinction which is drawn between what is yours and what is not yours. Never lay claim to anything that is not your own. A platform and a prison is each a place, the one high, and the other low; but your moral purpose can be kept the same, if you wish to keep it the same, in either place. And then we shall be emulating Socrates, when we are able to write paeans in prison. But considering what has been our state hitherto, I wonder if we should have endured it, had some one else said to us in prison, "Would you like to have me read you paeans?" "Why bother me? Do you not know the trouble that I am in? What, is it possible for me in this condition——?" In what condition, then? "I am about to die." But will other men be immortal?

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 7 - How Should One Employ Divination?

Because we employ divination when there is no occasion for it, many of us neglect many of the duties of life. For what can the diviner see that is of greater import than death, or danger, or illness, or in general such things as these? If, then, it becomes necessary for me to risk my life for my friend, and if it becomes my duty even to die for him, where do I find beyond that any occasion to employ divination? Have I not within me the diviner that has told me the true nature of good and of evil, that has set forth the signs characteristic of both of them? What further use have I, then, of entrails, or of birds? But when he says, "It is expedient for you," do I accept it? Why, does he know what is expedient? Does he know what is good? Has he learned the signs characteristic of things good and things evil, as he has the signs characteristic of entrails? For if he knows the signs characteristic of these, he knows also those of things honourable and base, and right and wrong. Man, it is for you to tell me what is indicated by signs—life or death, poverty or wealth; but whether these things are expedient or inexpedient, am I going to ask of you? Why don't you speak on points of grammar? Well then, on this matter, in which we mortals are all astray and in conflict with one another, you do speak? Wherefore, that was an admirable answer which the woman gave who wished to send a boatload of supplies to Gratilla after she had been exiled. To a man who said, "Domitian [Titus Flavius Domitianus] will confiscate them," she replies, "I should rather have him confiscate them than myself fail to send them."

What, then, induces us to employ divination so constantly? Cowardice, fear of the consequences. This is why we flatter the diviners, saying: "Master, shall I inherit my father's property?" "Let us see; let us offer a sacrifice about that matter." "Yes, master, as fortune wills." Then if the diviner says, "You will inherit the property," we thank him as though we had received the inheritance from him. That is why they in their turn go on making mock of us. Well, what then? We ought to go to them without either desire or aversion, just as the wayfarer asks the man who meets him which of two roads leads to his destination, without any desire to have the right-hand road lead there any more than the left-hand road; for he does not care to travel one particular road of the two, but merely the one that leads to his destination. So also we ought to go to God as a guide, making use of Him as we make use of our eyes; we do not call upon them to show us such-and-such things by preference, but we accept the impressions of precisely such things as they reveal to us. But as it is, we tremble before the bird-augur, lay hold upon him, and appealing to him as if he were a god, we beg of him, saying: "Master, have mercy; grant that I come off safe." You slave! What, do you want anything but what is best for you? Is anything else best for you than what pleases God? Why do you do all that in you lies to corrupt your judge, to mislead your counsellor?

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 8 - What Is The True Nature Of The Good?

God is helpful; but the good also is helpful. It would seem, therefore, that the true nature of the good will be found to be where we find that of God to be. What, then, is the true nature of God? Flesh? Far from it! Land? Far from it! Fame? Far from it! It is intelligence, knowledge, right reason. Here, therefore, and only here, shall you seek the true nature of the good. Surely you do not seek it at all in a plant, do you? No. Nor in an irrational creature? No. If, then, you seek it in that which is rational, why do you keep on seeking it somewhere else than in that which differentiates the rational from the irrational? Plants are incapable of dealing even with external impressions; for that reason you do not speak of the "good" in referring to them. The good requires, therefore, the faculty of using external impressions. Can that be all that it requires? For, if that be all, then you must assert that things good, and happiness and unhappiness, are to be found in the other animals as well as in man. But, as a matter of fact, you do not so assert, and you are right; for even if they have in the highest degree the faculty of using external impressions, still they do not have the faculty of understanding, at all events, their use of the external impressions. And with good reason; for they are born to serve others, and are not themselves of primary importance. The ass, for example, is not born to be of primary importance, is it? No; but because we had need of a back that was able to carry something. But, by Zeus, we had need that it should be able also to walk around; therefore it has further received the faculty of using external impressions; for otherwise it would not be able to walk around. And at about that stage there was an end. But if it, like man, had somehow received the faculty of understanding the use of its external impressions, it is also clear that consequently it would no longer be subject to us, nor would it be performing these services, but would be our equal and our peer. Will you not, therefore, seek the true nature of the good in that quality the lack of which in all creatures other than man prevents you from using the term "good" of any of these? "But what then? Are not those creatures also works of God?" They are, but they are not of primary importance, nor portions of Divinity. But you are a being of primary importance; you are a fragment of God; you have within you a part of Him. Why, then, are you ignorant of your own kinship? Why do you not know the source from which you have sprung? Will you not bear in mind, whenever you eat, who you are that eat, and whom you are nourishing? Whenever you indulge in intercourse with women, who you are that do this? Whenever you mix in society, whenever you take physical exercise, whenever you converse, do you not know that you are nourishing God, exercising God? You are bearing God about with you, you poor wretch, and know it not! Do you suppose I am speaking of some external God, made of silver or gold? It is within yourself that you bear Him, and do not perceive that you are defiling Him with impure thoughts and filthy actions. Yet in the presence of even an image of God you would not dare to do anything of the things you are now doing. But when God Himself is present within you, seeing and hearing everything, are you not ashamed to be thinking and doing such things as these, O insensible of your own nature, and object of God's wrath!

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15Again, when we send a young man forth from the school to sundry activities, why are we afraid that he will do something amiss—eat amiss, have intercourse with women amiss, be abased if dressed in rags or conceited if he has on fine clothes? This fellow does not know the God within him, this fellow does not know the companion with whom he is setting forth. Nay, can we allow him to say, "O God, would that I had Thee here"? Have you not God there, where you are? And when you have Him, do you seek for someone else? Or will He have other commands for you than these? Nay, if you were a statue of Pheidias, his Athena or his Zeus, you would have remembered both yourself and your artificer, and if you had any power of perception you would have tried to do nothing unworthy of him that had fashioned you, nor of yourself, and you would have tried not to appear in an unbecoming attitude before the eyes of men; but as it is, because Zeus has made you, do you on that account not care what manner of person you show yourself to be? And yet what comparison is there between the one artificer and the other, or between the one work of art and the other? And what work of an artificer has forthwith within itself the faculties which its workmanship discloses? Is it not mere stone, or bronze, or gold, or ivory? And the Athena of Pheidias, when once it had stretched out its hand and received the Nike upon it, stands in this attitude for all time to come; but the works of God are capable of movement, have the breath of life, can make use of external impressions, and pass judgement upon them. Do you dishonour the workmanship of this Craftsman, when you are yourself that workmanship? Nay more, do you go so far as to forget, not only that He fashioned you, but also that He entrusted and committed you to yourself alone, and moreover, by forgetting, do you dishonour your trust? Yet if God had committed some orphan to your care, would you so neglect Him? He has delivered your own self into your keeping, saying, "I had no one more faithful than you; keep this man for me unchanged from the character with which nature endowed him—reverent, faithful, high-minded, undismayed, unimpassioned, unperturbed." After that do you fail so to keep him?

"But men will say, 'Where do you suppose our friend here got his proud look and his solemn countenance?'" Ah, but my bearing is not yet what it should be! For I still lack confidence in what I have learned and agreed to; I am still afraid of my own weakness. Just let me gain confidence and then you will see the right look in my eye and the right bearing; then, when the statue is finished and polished, I will show it to you. What do you think of it? A lofty air, say you? Heaven forbid! For the Zeus at Olympia does not show a proud look, does he? No, but his gaze is steady, as befits one who is about to say.

No word of mine can be revoked or prove untrue.

Of such character will I show myself to you—faithful, reverent, noble, unperturbed. You do not mean, therefore, immortal, or ageless, or exempt from disease? No, but one who dies like a god, who bears disease like a god. This is what I have; this is what I can do; but all else I neither have nor can do. I will show you the sinews of a philosopher. What do you mean by sinews? A desire that fails not of achievement, an aversion proof against encountering what it would avoid, an appropriate choice, a thoughtful purpose, a well-considered assent. This is what you shall see.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 9 - That Although We Are Unable To Fulfil The Profession Of A Man, We Adopt That Of A Philosopher

It is no simple task, this of fulfilling merely the profession of a man. For what is a man? A rational, mortal animal, someone says. To begin with, from what are we distinguished by the rational element? From the wild beasts. And from what else? From sheep and the like. See to it, then, that you never act like a wild beast; if you do, you will have destroyed the man in you, you have not fulfilled your profession. See to it that you never act like a sheep; if you do, the man in you is destroyed in this way also. Well, when do we act like sheep? When we act for the sake of the belly, or of our sex-organs, or at random, or in a filthy fashion, or without due consideration, to what level have we degenerated? To the level of sheep. What have we destroyed? The reason. When we act pugnaciously, and injuriously, and angrily, and rudely, to what level have we degenerated? To the level of the wild beasts. Well, the fact is that some of us are wild beasts of a larger size, while others are little animals, malignant and petty, which give us occasion to say, "Let it be a lion that devours me!" By means of all these actions the profession of a man is destroyed. For when is a complex thing preserved? When it fulfils its profession; consequently, the salvation of a complex thing is to be composed of parts that are true. When is a discrete thing preserved? When it fulfils its profession. When are flutes, a lyre, a horse, a dog preserved? What is there to be surprised at, then, if a man also is preserved in the same way and in the same way destroyed? Now deeds that correspond to his true nature strengthen and preserve each particular man; carpentry does that for the carpenter, grammatical studies for the grammarian. But if a man acquires the habit of writing ungrammatically, his art must necessarily be destroyed and perish. So modest acts preserve the modest man, whereas immodest acts destroy him; and faithful acts preserve the faithful man while acts of the opposite character destroy him. And again, acts of the opposite character strengthen men of the opposite character; shamelessness strengthens the shameless man, faithlessness the faithless, abuse the abusive, wrath the wrathful, a disproportion between what he receives and what he pays out the miserly.

That is why the philosophers admonish us not to be satisfied with merely learning, but to add thereto practice also, and then training. For in the course of years we have acquired the habit of doing the opposite of what we learn and have in use opinions which are the opposite of the correct ones. If, therefore, we do not also put in use the correct opinions, we shall be nothing but the interpreters of other men's judgements. For who is there among us here and now that cannot give a philosophical discourse about good and evil? It will run like this: Of things that be, some are good, others evil, and others indifferent; now good things are virtues and everything that partakes in the virtues; evil are the opposite; while indifferent are wealth, health, reputation. Then, if we are interrupted in the midst of our speech by some unusually loud noise, or if someone in the audience laughs at us, we are upset. Where, you philosopher, are the things you are talking about? Where did you get what you were just saying? From your lips, and that is all. Why, then, do you pollute the helpful principles that are not your own? Why do you gamble about matters of the very utmost concern? For to store away bread and wine in a pantry is one thing, and to eat them is another. What is eaten is digested, distributed, becomes sinews, flesh, bones, blood, a good complexion, easy breathing. What is stored away you can readily take and show whenever you please, but you get no good from it except in so far as you are reputed to possess it. For how much better is it to set forth these principles than those of other schools of thought? Sit down now and give a philosophical discourse upon the principles of Epicurus, and perhaps you will discourse more effectively than Epicurus himself. Why, then, do you call yourself a Stoic, why do you deceive the multitude, why do you act the part of a Jew [It would appear (especially from the expression "counterfeit 'baptists'" below) that Epictetus is here speaking really of the Christians, who were in his time frequently confused with the Jews.], when you are a Greek? Do you not see in what sense men are severally called Jew, Syrian, or Egyptian? For example, whenever we see a man halting between two faiths, we are in the habit of saying, "He is not a Jew, he is only acting the part." But when he adopts the attitude of mind of the man who has been baptized and has made his choice, then he both is a Jew in fact and is also called one. So we also are counterfeit "baptists," ostensibly Jews [or Christians; contemporaries could not distinguish them because both were messianist movements at that time], but in reality something else, not in sympathy with our own reason, far from applying the principles which we profess, yet priding ourselves upon them as being men who know them. So, although we are unable even to fulfil the profession of man, we take on the additional profession of the philosopher—so huge a burden! It is as though a man who was unable to raise ten pounds wanted to lift the stone of Aias [The huge one with which he beat down Aeneas. Homer, Iliad, 7. 264].

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 10 - How Is It Possible To Discover A Man's Duties From The Designations Which He Bears?

Consider who you are. To begin with, a Man; that is, one who has no quality more sovereign than moral choice, but keeps everything else subordinate to it, and this moral choice itself free from slavery and subjection. Consider, therefore, what those things are from which you are separated by virtue of the faculty of reason. You are separated from wild beasts, you are separated from sheep. In addition to this you are a citizen of the world, and a part of it, not one of the parts destined for service, but one of primary importance; for you possess the faculty of understanding the divine administration of the world, and of reasoning upon the consequences thereof. What, then, is the profession of a citizen? To treat nothing as a matter of private profit, not to plan about anything as though he were a detached unit, but to act like the foot or the hand, which, if they had the faculty of reason and understood the constitution of nature, would never exercise choice or desire in any other way but by reference to the whole. Hence the philosophers well say that if the good and excellent man knew what was going to happen, he would help on the processes of disease and death and maiming, because he would realise that this allotment comes from the orderly arrangement of the whole, and the whole is more sovereign than the part, and the state more sovereign than the citizen. But as it is, seeing that we do not know beforehand what is going to happen, it is our duty to cleave to that which is naturally more fit to be chosen, since we are born for this purpose.

Next bear in mind that you are a Son. What is the profession of this character? To treat everything that is his own as belonging to his father, to be obedient to him in all things, never to speak ill of him to anyone else, nor to say or do anything that will harm him, to give way to him in everything and yield him precedence, helping him as far as is within his power.

Next know that you are also a Brother. Upon this character also there is incumbent deference, obedience, kindly speech, never to claim as against your brother any of the things that lie outside the realm of your free moral choice, but cheerfully to give them up, so that in the things that do lie within the realm of your free moral choice you may have the best of it. For see what it is, at the price of a head of lettuce, if it so chance, or of a seat, for you to acquire his goodwill—how greatly you get the best of it there!

Next, if you sit in the town council of some city, remember that you are a councillor; if you are young, remember that you are young; if old, that you are an elder; if a father, that you are a father. For each of these designations, when duly considered, always suggests the acts that are appropriate to it. But if you go off and speak ill of your brother, I say to you, "You have forgotten who you are and what your designation is." Why, if you were a smith and used your hammer amiss, you would have forgotten the smith you were; but if you forget the brother you are, and become an enemy instead of a brother, will you seem to yourself to have exchanged nothing for nothing? And if, instead of being a man, a gentle and social being, you have become a wild beast, a mischievous, treacherous, biting animal, have you lost nothing? What, must you lose a bit of pelf so as to suffer damage, and does the loss of nothing else damage a man? Yet, if you lost your skill in the use of language or in music, you would regard the loss of it as damage; but if you are going to lose self-respect and dignity and gentleness, do you think that does not matter? And yet those former qualities are lost from some external cause that is beyond the power of our will, but these latter are lost through our own fault; and it is neither noble to have nor disgraceful to lose these former qualities, but not to have these latter, or having had them to lose them, is a disgrace and a reproach and a calamity. What is lost by the victim of unnatural lust? His manhood. And by the agent? Beside a good many other things he also loses his manhood no less than the other. What does the adulterer lose? He loses the man of self-respect that was, the man of self-control, the gentleman, the citizen, the neighbour. What does the man lose who is given to anger? Something else. Who is given to fear? Something else. No one is evil without loss and damage. Furthermore, if you look for your loss in pelf, all those whom I have just mentioned suffer neither injury nor loss; nay, if it so chance, they even get gain and profit, when, through some of their deeds just mentioned, they also acquire pelf. But observe that if you make paltry pelf your standard for everything, not even the man who loses his nose will in your eyes have suffered an injury.—"Oh yes, he has," someone says, "for his body is mutilated."—Come now, and does the man who has lost his entire sense of smell lose nothing? Is there, then, no such thing as a faculty of the mind, the possession of which means gain to a man, and the loss, injury?—What faculty do you mean? Have we not a natural sense of self-respect?—We have.—Does not the man who destroys this suffer a loss, is he not deprived of something, does he not lose something that belonged to him? Do we not have a natural sense of fidelity, a natural sense of affection, a natural sense of helpfulness, a natural sense of keeping our hands off one another? Shall, therefore, the man who allows himself to suffer loss in such matters, be regarded as having suffered neither injury nor loss?

Well, what then? Am I not to injure the man who has injured me?—First consider what injury is, and call to mind what you have heard the philosophers say. For if the good lies in moral purpose, and the evil likewise in moral purpose, see if what you are saying does not come to something like this, "Well, what then? Since so-and-so has injured himself by doing me some wrong, shall I not injure myself by doing him some wrong?" Why, then, do we not represent the case to ourselves in some such light as that? Instead of that, where there is some loss affecting our body or our property, there we count it injury; but is there no injury where the loss affects our moral purpose? For the man who has been deceived or who has done some wrong has no pain in his head, or his eye, or his hip, neither does he lose his land. But these are the things we care for and nothing else; yet the question whether we are going to have a moral purpose characterized by self-respect and good faith, or by shamelessness and bad faith, does not so much as begin to disturb us, except only in so far as we make it a topic of trivial discussion in the classroom. Therefore, so far as our trivial discussions go, we do make some progress, but, apart from them, not even the very least.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 11 - What Is The Beginning Of Philosophy?

The beginning of philosophy with those who take it up as they should, and enter in, as it were, by the gate, is a consciousness of a man's own weakness and impotence with reference to the things of real consequence in life. For we

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come into being without any innate concept of a right-angled triangle, or of a half-tone musical interval, but by a certain systematic method of instruction we are taught the meaning of each of these things, and for that reason those who do not know them also do not fancy that they do. But, on the other hand, who has come into being without an innate concept of what is good and evil, honourable and base, appropriate and inappropriate, and happiness, and of what is proper and falls to our lot, and what we ought to do and what we ought not to do? Wherefore, we all use these terms and endeavour to adapt our preconceptions about them to the individual instances. "He has done well, as he ought, or as he ought not; he has been unfortunate, or fortunate; he is a wicked man, or he is a just man"—who of us refrains from expressions of this kind? Who of us waits before he uses them until he has learned what they mean, as those who have no knowledge of lines or sounds wait before they use the terms relating to them? The reason is that we come into the world with a certain amount of instruction upon this matter already given us, as it were, by nature, and that starting with this we have added thereto our opinion.—Yes, by Zeus, for do I in my own case not have by gift of nature knowledge of what is noble and base; do I not have a concept of the matter?—You do.—Do I not apply it to individual instances?—You do.—Do I not, then, apply it properly?—There lies the whole question, and there opinion comes in. For men start with these principles upon which they are agreed, but then, because they make an unsuitable application of them, get into disputes. Since if, in addition to having the principles themselves, they really possessed also the faculty of making suitable application of the same, what could keep them from being perfect? But now, since you think that you can also apply your preconceptions suitably to the individual cases, tell me, whence do you get this gift?—It is because I think so.—But on this precise point someone else does not think so, and yet he too fancies that he is applying the principles properly, does he not?—He does so fancy.—Can both of you, then, be making suitable applications of your preconceptions in the matters upon which your opinions are at variance?—We cannot.—Can you, then, show us anything higher than your own opinion which will make it possible for us to apply our preconceptions better? And does the madman do anything else but that which seems to him to be good? Is this criterion, then, sufficient in his case also?—It is not.—Go, therefore, to something higher than your own opinion, and tell us what that is.

Behold the beginning of philosophy!—a recognition of the conflict between the opinions of men, and a search for the origin of that conflict, and a condemnation of mere opinion, coupled with scepticism regarding it, and a kind of investigation to determine whether the opinion is rightly held, together with the invention of a kind of standard of judgement, as we have invented the balance for the determination of weights, or the carpenter's rule for the determination of things straight and crooked.—Is this the beginning of philosophy? Is everything right that every man thinks? Nay, how is it possible for conflicting opinions to be right? Consequently, not all opinions are right.—But are our opinions right? Why ours, rather than those of the Syrians; why ours, rather than those of the Egyptians; why ours, rather than my own, or those of so-and-so?—There is no reason why.—Therefore, the opinion which each man holds is not a sufficient criterion for determining the truth; for also in the case of weights and measures we are not satisfied with the mere appearance, but we have invented a certain standard to test each. In the present case, then, is there no standard higher than opinion? And yet how can it possibly be that matters of the utmost consequence among men should be undeterminable and undiscoverable.—Therefore, there is some standard.—Then why do we not look for it and find it, and when we have found it thenceforth use it unswervingly, not so much as stretching out our finger without it? For this is something, I think, the discovery of which frees from madness those who use only opinion as the measure of all things, so that thenceforward, starting with certain principles that are known and clearly discriminated, we may use in the judgement of specific cases an organically articulated system of preconceived ideas.

What subject has arisen that we wish to investigate?—Pleasure.—Subject it to the standard, put it into the balance. Should the good be the sort of thing that we can properly have confidence and trust in?—It should.—Can we properly have confidence, then, in something that is insecure?—No.—Pleasure contains no element of security, does it?—No.—Away with it, then, and throw it out of the balance, and drive it far away from the region of things good. But if you are not endowed with keen eyesight and if one balance is not enough for you, bring another. Can one properly feel elated over the good?—Yes.—Can one properly feel elated, then, over the moment's pleasure? See that you do not say that it is proper; if you do, I shall no longer regard you as a proper person even to have a balance!

And so are matters judged and weighed, if we have the standards ready with which to test them; and the task of philosophy is this—to examine and to establish the standards; but to go ahead and use them after they have become known is the task of the good and excellent man.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 12 - Upon The Art Of Argumentation

What a man ought to learn before he will know how to conduct an argument has been precisely defined by the philosophers of our school; but as to the proper use of what we have learned we are still utterly inexperienced. At all events, give to anyone of us you please some layman with whom to carry on an argument; he will find no way of dealing with him, but after moving the man a little, in case the latter thwarts him, our man gives up trying to handle him, and thereafter either reviles him, or laughs him to scorn, and remarks, "He is a mere layman; it is impossible to do anything with him." But the real guide, whenever he finds a person going astray, leads him back to the right road, instead of leaving him with a scornful laugh or an insult. So also do you show him the truth and you will see that he follows. But so long as you do not show him the truth, do not laugh him to scorn, but rather recognise your own incapacity.

How did Socrates act? He used to force the man who was arguing with him to be his witness, and never needed any other witness. That is why he could say, "I can dispense with all the others, and am always satisfied to have my fellow-disputant for a witness; and the votes of the rest I do not take, but only that of my fellow-disputant." [A free paraphrase of Plato, Gorgias, 474A; compare also 472C. A still freer paraphrase of the same general idea appears in 2. 26, 6.] For he used to make so clear the consequences which followed from the concepts, that absolutely everyone realised the contradiction involved and gave up the battle. "And so does the man who feels envy rejoice in it?"—"Not at all; but he experiences pain rather than joy." (By the contradiction in terms he has moved the other party to the argument.) "Very well, does envy seem to you to be feeling of pain at evils? And yet what envy is there of evils?" (Consequently, he has made his opponent say that envy is a feeling of pain at good things.) "Very well, would a man feel envy about matters that did not concern him in the least?"—"Not at all." And so he filled out and articulated the concept, and after that went his way; he did not start in by saying, "Define envy for me," and then, when the other had defined it, remark, "That is a bad definition you have made, for the definition term does not fit the subject defined." Those are technical terms, and for that reason wearisome to the layman and hard for him to follow, and yet we are unable to dispense with them. But as to terms which the layman could himself follow, and so, by the assistance of his own external impressions, be able to accept or reject some proposition—we are absolutely unable to move him by their use. The result is that, recognising this incapacity of ours, we naturally refrain from attempting the matter, those of us, I mean, who are at all cautious. But the rash multitude of men, when once they have let themselves in for something of this sort, get confused themselves and confuse others, and finally, after reviling their opponents and being themselves reviled, they walk away.

Now this was the first and most characteristic thing about Socrates, that he never got wrought up during an argument, never used any term of abuse or insolence, but endured the abuse of others, and put an end to strife. If you wish to know how great was the faculty he had in this field, read the Symposium of Xenophon, and you will see how many cases of strife he settled. Therefore, and with good reason, among the poets also very high praise has been accorded to the following sentiment:

"Soon doth he shrewdly make an end of a quarrel though weighty."

Well, what then? Nowadays this activity is not a very safe one, and especially so in Rome. For the man who engages in it will clearly be under obligation not to do it in a corner, but he must go up to some rich person of consular rank, if it so chance, and ask him, "You there, can you tell to whose care you have entrusted your horses?" "I can, indeed," answers the man. "Is it, then, some chance comer, a man who knows nothing about the care of horses?" "Not at all." "And what then? Can you tell me to whom you have entrusted your gold, or your silver, or your clothing?" "I have not entrusted these, either, to a chance comer," "And have you ever thought about entrusting your body to someone to look after it?" "Why, certainly." "And, of course, he too is a man of special skill in the art of physical training, or medicine, is he not?" "Yes, indeed." "Are these your most valuable possessions, or have you something else that is better than all of them?" "Just what do you mean?" "That, by Zeus, which utilizes these other things, and puts each of them to the test, and exercises deliberation?" "Ah so, you are talking about my soul, are you?" "You have understood me aright, for it is precisely this that I am talking about." "By Zeus, I regard this as far and away the most valuable of all my possessions." "Can you, then, tell in what way you have taken care of your soul? For it is not to be supposed that as wise a man as yourself and one so honoured in the city is recklessly and at random allowing the very best of his possessions to go to ruin through neglect." "Certainly not." "But have you yourself taken care of that possession? Did you learn how to take care of it from somebody else, or did you discover how yourself?" Then comes the danger that first he will say, "What is that to you, good sir? Are you my master?" and after that, if you persist in annoying him, that he will lift his fist and give you a blow. This was a pursuit that I too was very fond of once upon a time, before I fell to my present estate.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 13 - Of Anxiety

When I see a man in anxiety, I say to myself, What can it be that this fellow wants? For if he did not want something that was outside of his control, how could he still remain in anxiety? That is why the citharoede when singing all alone shows no anxiety, but does so when he enters the theatre, even though he has a very beautiful voice and plays the cithara admirably; for he does not wish merely to sing well, but also to win applause, and that is no longer under his control. Accordingly, where he has skill, there he shows confidence. Set before him any layman that you please, and the musician pays no attention to him; but in a matter of which he has no knowledge, and which he has never studied, there he is in anxiety. What is the meaning of this? Why, he simply does not know what a crowd is, or the applause of a crowd; to be sure, he has learned how to strike the lowest and the highest strings on the cithara, but what the praise of the multitude is, and what function it has in life, that he neither knows nor has studied. Hence he must needs tremble and turn pale.

Now then, I cannot say that the man is not a citharoede, when I see anyone in a state of fear, but I can say something else of him, and, indeed, not one thing only, but a number of things. And first of all, I call him a stranger and say: This man does not know where in the world he is, but though he has been living here so long a time, he is ignorant of the laws of the city and its customs, what he is allowed to do and what he is not allowed to do. Nay more, he has never even called in a lawyer to tell him and explain to him what are the usages conformable with law; yet he does not write a will without knowing how he ought to write it or else calling in an expert, nor does he just casually affix his seal to a bond or give a written guarantee; but without the services of a lawyer he exercises desire and aversion and choice and design and purpose. How do I mean "without the services of a lawyer"? Why, he does not know that he is wishing for things that are not vouchsafed him, and wishing to avoid the inevitable, and he does not know either what is his own or what is another's. Did he but know, he would never feel hindered, never constrained, would not be anxious. How could he? Is any man in fear about things that are not evil?—No.—What then? Is he in fear about things that are evil, indeed, but that are in his own power to prevent?—Not at all.—If, then, things indifferent are neither good nor bad, but all matters of moral purpose are under our control, and no man can either take them away from us, or bring upon us such of them as we do not wish, what room is there left for anxiety? Yet we are anxious about our wretched body, about our trifling estate, about what Caesar will think, but are anxious about none of the things that are within us. We are not anxious about not conceiving a false opinion, are we?—No, for that is under my control.—Or about making a choice contrary to nature?—No, not about this, either.—Then, whenever you see a man looking pale, just as the physician judging from the complexion says, "This mans spleen is affected, and this man's liver," so do you also say, "This man's desire and aversion are affected, he is not getting along well, he is feverish." For there is nothing else that changes a man's complexion, or makes him tremble, or his teeth to chatter, or to

"Shift from knee to knee and rest on either foot."

That is why Zeno was not anxious when he was about to meet Antigonus; for over none of the things that Zeno regarded highly did Antigonus have power, and what Antigonus did have power over Zeno cared nothing about. But Antigonus was anxious when he was about to meet Zeno, and very naturally so; for he wanted to please him, and that lay outside of his control; yet Zeno did not care about pleasing him, any more than any other artist cares about pleasing one who has no knowledge of his art.

Do I care to please you? What do I gain thereby? For do you know the standards according to which man is judged by man? Have you been concerned to know what a good man is, and what an evil man, and how each becomes what he is? Why, then, are you not a good man yourself?—How do you make out, he answers, that I am not a good man?—Why, because no good man grieves or groans, no good man laments, no good man turns pale and trembles, or asks, "How will he receive me? How will he listen to me?" You slave! He will receive you and listen to you as seems best to him. Why, then, are you concerned about things that are not your own? Now is it not his own fault if he gives a bad reception to what you have to say?—Of course.—Is it possible for one man to make the mistake and yet another suffer the harm?—No.—Why, then, are you anxious over what is not your own?—That is all very well, but I am anxious over how I shall speak to him.—What, are you not privileged to speak to him as you please?—

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Yes, but I am afraid that I shall be disconcerted.—You are not afraid of being disconcerted when you are about to write the name Dio, are you?—No, not at all.—What is the reason? Is it not that you have practised writing?—Yes, of course.—What then? If you were about to read something, would you not feel the same way about it?—Quite the same.—What is the reason? Why, because every art has an element of strength and confidence inside its own field. Have you, then, not practised speaking? And what else did you practise in your school?—Syllogisms and arguments involving equivocal premisses.—To what end? Was it not to enable you to conduct an argument skilfully? And does not "skilfully" mean seasonably and securely and intelligently, and, more than that, without making mistakes and without embarrassment, and, in addition to all this, with confidence?—Surely.—Well then, if you are on horseback and have ridden out upon the plain against a man who is on foot, are you in anxiety, assuming that you are in practice and the other is not?—Yes, that is all very well, but Caesar has authority to put me to death.—Then tell the truth, wretch, and do not brag, nor claim to be a philosopher, nor fail to recognise your masters; but as long as you let them have this hold on you through your body, follow everyone that is stronger than you are. But Socrates used to practise speaking to some purpose—Socrates, who discoursed as he did to the Tyrants, to his judges, and in the prison. Diogenes had practised speaking—Diogenes, who talked to Alexander as he did, to Philip, to the pirates, to the man who had bought him . . . [Leave such matters] to those who are seriously interested in them, to the brave; but do you walk away to your own concerns and never depart from them again; go into your corner and sit down, and spin syllogisms and propound them to others:

"In thee the State hath found no leader true."

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 14 - To Naso

Once when a certain Roman citizen accompanied by his son had come in and was listening to one of his readings, Epictetus said: This is the style of my teaching, and then lapsed into silence. But when the other requested to know what came next, he replied: Instruction in the technique of any art is boring to the layman who has had no experience in it. Now the products of the arts show immediately their use towards the purpose for which they are made, and most of them possess also a certain attractiveness and charm. For example, to stand by and watch the process by which a shoemaker learns his trade is, indeed, not pleasant, yet the shoe is useful and not an unpleasant thing to look at either. And the process of education in the case of a carpenter is especially tiresome to the layman who happens to be watching, but the work which the carpenter does shows the use of his art. You will find the same much more true in the case of music; for if you are standing by when someone is taking a lesson, the process of instruction will strike you as the most unpleasant of all, yet the results of music are sweet and pleasing to the ear of the layman.

So also in our own case, we picture the work of the philosopher to be something like this: He should bring his own will into harmony with what happens, so that neither anything that happens happens against our will, nor anything that fails to happen fails to happen when we wish it to happen. The result of this for those who have so ordered the work of philosophy is that in desire they are not disappointed, and in aversion they do not fall into what they would avoid; that each person passes his life to himself, free from pain, fear, and perturbation, at the same time maintaining with his associates both the natural and the acquired relationships, those namely of son, father, brother, citizen, wife, neighbour, fellow-traveller, ruler, and subject.

Something like this is our picture of the work of the philosopher. The next thing after this is that we seek the means of achieving it. We see, then, that the carpenter becomes a carpenter by first learning something, the helmsman becomes a helmsman by first learning something. May it not be, then, that in our case also it is not sufficient to wish to become noble and good, but that we are under the necessity of learning something first? We seek, then, what this is. Now the philosophers say that the first thing we must learn is this: That there is a God, and that He provides for the universe, and that it is impossible for a man to conceal from Him, not merely his actions, but even his purposes and his thoughts. Next we must learn what the gods are like; for whatever their character is discovered to be, the man who is going to please and obey them must endeavour as best he can to resemble them. If the deity is faithful, he also must be faithful; if free, he also must be free; if beneficent, he also must be beneficent; if high-minded, he also must be high-minded, and so forth; therefore, in everything he says and does, he must act as an imitator of God.

Where, then, ought I to start?—If you enter upon this task, I will say that in the first place you ought to understand the meaning of terms.—So you imply that I do not now understand the meaning of terms?—You do not.—How comes it, then, that I use them?—Why, you use them as the illiterate use written speech, as the cattle use external impressions; for use is one thing, and understanding another. But if you think you understand terms, propose any term you please, and let us put ourselves to the test, to see whether we understand it.—But it is unpleasant to be subjected to an examination when one is already somewhat advanced in years, and, if it so chance, has served his three campaigns.—I realise that myself. For now you have come to me like a man who stood in need of nothing. But what could anyone even imagine you to be in need of? You are rich, you have children, possibly also a wife, and many slaves; Caesar knows you, you have many friends in Rome, you perform the duties incumbent upon you, and when a man has done you either good or harm you know how to pay him back in kind. What do you still lack? If, therefore, I show you that what you lack are things most necessary and important for happiness, and that hitherto you have devoted your attention to everything but what was appropriate for you to do, and if I add the colophon, saying: You know neither what God is, nor what man is, nor what good, nor what evil is—20if I say that you are ignorant of these other matters you may possibly endure that; but if I say that you do not understand your own self, how can you possibly bear with me, and endure and abide my questioning? You cannot do so at all, but immediately you go away offended. And yet what harm have I done you? None at all, unless the mirror also does harm to the ugly man by showing him what he looks like; unless the physician insults the patient, when he says to him, "Man, you think there is nothing the matter with you; but you have a fever; fast to-day and drink only water"; and no one says, "What dreadful insolence!" Yet if you tell a man, "Your desires are feverish, your attempts to avoid things are humiliating, your purposes are inconsistent, your choices are out of harmony with your nature, your conceptions are hit-or-miss and false," why, immediately he walks out and says, "He insulted me."

Our position is like that of those who attend a fair. Cattle and oxen are brought there to be sold, and most men engage in buying and selling, while there are only a few who go merely to see the fair, how it is conducted, and why, and who are promoting it, and for what purpose. So it is also in this "fair" of the world in which we live; some persons, like cattle, are interested in nothing but their fodder; for to all of you that concern yourselves with property and lands and slaves and one office or another, all this is nothing but fodder! And few in number are the men who attend the fair because they are fond of the spectacle. "What, then, is the universe," they ask, "and who governs it? No one? Yet how can it be that, while it is impossible for a city or a household to remain even a very short time without someone to govern and care for it, nevertheless this great and beautiful structure should be kept in such orderly arrangement by sheer accident and chance? There must be, therefore, One who governs it. What kind of a being is He, and how does He govern it? And what are we, who have been created by Him, and for what purpose were we created? Do we, then, really have some contact and relation with Him or none at all?" That is the way these few are affected; and thenceforward they have leisure for this one thing only—to study well the "fair" of life before they leave it. With what result, then? They are laughed to scorn by the crowd, quite as in the real fair the mere spectators are laughed at by the traffickers; yes, and if the cattle themselves had any comprehension like ours of what was going on, they too would laugh at those who had wonder and admiration for anything but their fodder!

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 15 - To Those Who Cling Obstinately To The Judgements Which They Have Once Formed

Some men, when they hear the following precepts: That one ought to be steadfast, and that the moral purpose is naturally free and not subject to compulsion, while everything else is liable to interference and compulsion, subject to others and not our own—some men, I say, fancy that whenever they have formed a judgement they ought to stand by it immovably. And yet the first requirement is that the judgement formed be a sound one. For I want vigour in the body, but it must be the vigour of the body in a state of health and physical exercise; whereas, if you show me that you possess the vigour of a madman, and boast about it, I will say to you, "Man, look, for someone to cure you. This is not vigour, but feebleness."

The following is another way in which the minds of those are affected who hear these precepts amiss. For example, a friend of mine for no reason at all made up his mind to starve himself to death. I learned about it when he was already in the third day of his fasting, and went and asked what had happened.—I have decided, he answered.—Very well, but still what was it that induced you to make up your mind? For if your judgement was good, see, we are at your side and ready to help you to make your exit from this life; but if your judgement was irrational, change it.—I must abide by my decisions.—Why, man, what are you about? You mean not all your decisions, but only the right ones. For example, if you are convinced at this moment that it is night, do not change your opinion, if that seems best to you, but abide by it and say that you ought to abide by your decisions! Do you not wish to make your beginning and your foundation firm, that is, to consider whether your decision is sound or unsound, and only after you have done that proceed to rear thereon the structure of your determination and your firm resolve? But if you lay a rotten and crumbling foundation, you cannot rear thereon even a small building, but the bigger and the stronger your superstructure is the more quickly it will fall down. Without any reason you are taking out of this life, to our detriment, a human being who is a familiar friend, a citizen of the same state, both the large state and the small; and then, though in the act of murder, and while engaged in the destruction of a human being that has done no wrong, you say that you "must abide by your decisions"! But if the idea ever entered your head to kill me, would you have to abide by your decisions?

Well, it was hard work to persuade that man; but there are some men of to-day whom it is impossible to move. So that I feel that I now know what I formerly did not understand—the meaning of the proverb, "A fool you can neither persuade nor break." God forbid that I should ever have for a friend a wise fool! There is nothing harder to handle. "I have decided," he says! Why yes, and so have madmen; but the more firm their decision is about what is false, the more hellebore they need. Will you not act like a sick man, and summon a physician? "I am sick, sir; help me. Consider what I ought to do; it is my part to obey you." So also in the present instance. "I know not what I ought to be doing, but I have come to find out." Thus one should speak. No, but this is what one hears, "Talk to me about anything else, but on this point I have made my decision." "Anything else" indeed! Why, what is more important or more to your advantage than to be convinced that it is not sufficient for a man merely to have reached decisions, and to refuse to change? These are the sinews of madness, not health. "If you force me to this, I would gladly die." What for, man? What has happened? "I have decided!" It was fortunate for me that you did not decide to kill me! Or again, another says, "I take no money for my services." Why so? "Because I have decided." Rest assured that there is nothing to prevent you from some day turning irrationally to taking money for your services, and that with the same vehemence with which you now refuse to take it, and then saying again, "I have decided"; precisely as in a diseased body, suffering from a flux, the flux inclines now in this direction and now in that. Such is also the sick mind; it is uncertain which way it is inclined, but when vehemence also is added to this inclination and drift, then the evil gets past help and past cure.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 16 - That We Do Not Practise The Application Of Our Judgements About Things Good And Evil

Wherein lies the good?—In moral purpose.—Wherein lies evil?—In moral purpose.—Wherein lies that which is neither good nor evil?—In the things that lie outside the domain of moral purpose.—Well, what of it? Does any one of us remember these statements outside the classroom? Does any one of us when by himself practise answering facts in the way he answers these questions? "So it is day, is it?" "Yes." "What then? Is it night?" "No." "What then? Is the number of the stars even?" "I cannot say." When you are shown money, have you practised giving the proper answer, namely, that it is not a good thing? Have you trained yourself in answers of this kind, or merely to answer sophisms? Why, then, are you surprised to find that in the fields in which you have practised you surpass yourself, but in that in which you have not practised you remain the same? For why is it that the orator, although he knows that he has composed a good speech, has memorized what he has written and is bringing a pleasing voice to his task, is still anxious despite all that? Because he is not satisfied with the mere practice of oratory. What, then, does he want? He wants to be praised by his audience. Now he has trained himself with a view to being able to practise oratory, but he has not trained himself with reference to praise and blame. For when did he ever hear any one say what praise is, what blame is, and what is the nature of each? What kinds of praise are to be sought, and what kinds of blame are to be avoided? And when did he ever go through this course of training in accordance with these principles? Why, then, are you any longer surprised because he surpasses all others in the field in which he has studied, but in that in which he has not practised he is no better than the multitude? He is like a citharoede who knows how to play to the harp, sings well, has a beautiful flowing gown, and still trembles when he comes upon the stage; for all that has gone before he knows, but what a crowd is he does not know, nor what the shouting and the scornful laughter of a crowd are. Nay, he does not even know what this anxiety itself is, whether it is something that we can control, or beyond our powers, whether he can stop it or not. That is why, if he is praised, he goes off the stage all puffed up; but if he is laughed to scorn, that poor windbag of his conceit is pricked and flattens out.

We too experience something of the same kind. What do we admire? Externals. What are we in earnest about? About externals. Are we, then, at a loss to know how it comes about

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that we are subject to fear and anxiety? Why, what else can possibly happen, when we regard impending events as things evil? We cannot help but be in fear, we cannot help but be in anxiety. And then we say, "O Lord God, how may I escape anxiety?" Fool, have you not hands? Did not God make them for you? Sit down now and pray forsooth that the mucus in your nose may not run! Nay, rather wipe your nose and do not blame God! What then? Has he given you nothing that helps in the present case? Has he not given you endurance, has he not given you magnanimity, has he not given you courage? When you have such serviceable hands as these do you still look for someone to wipe your nose? But these virtues we neither practise nor concern ourselves withal. Why, show me one single man who cares how he does something, who is concerned, not with getting something, but with his own action. Who is there that is concerned with his own action while he is walking around? Who, when he is planning, is concerned with the plan itself, and not with getting what he is planning about? And then if he gets it, he is all set up and says, "Yes, indeed, what a fine plan we made! Did I not tell you, brother, that, if there was anything at all in my views, it was impossible for the plan to fall out otherwise?" But if the plan goes the other way, he is humble and wretched, and cannot even find any explanation of what has happened. Who of us ever called in a seer for a case of this kind? Who of us ever slept in a temple for enlightenment about our action? Who? Show me but one, that I may see him, the man that I have long been looking for, the truly noble and gifted man; be he young or old, only show him!

Why, then, do we wonder any longer that, although in material things we are thoroughly experienced, nevertheless in our actions we are dejected, unseemly, worthless, cowardly, unwilling to stand the strain, utter failures one and all? For we have not troubled ourselves about these matters in time past, nor do we even now practise them. Yet if we were afraid, not of death or exile, but of fear itself, then we should practise how not to encounter those things that appear evil to us. But as it is, we are fiery and fluent in the schoolroom, and if some trivial question about one of these points comes up, we are able to pursue the logical consequences; yet drag us into practical application, and you will find us miserable shipwrecked mariners. Let a disturbing thought come to us and you will find out what we have been practising and for what we have been training! As a result, because of our lack of practice, we are ever going out of our way to heap up terrors and to make them out greater than they actually are. For example, whenever I go to sea, on gazing down into the deep or looking around upon the expanse of waters and seeing no land, I am beside myself, fancying that if I am wrecked I shall have to swallow this whole expanse of waters; but it does not occur to me that three pints are enough. What is it, then, that disturbs me? The expanse of sea? No, but my judgement. Again, when there is an earthquake, I fancy that the whole city is going to fall upon me; what, is not a little stone enough to knock my brains out?

What, then, are the things that weigh upon us and drive us out of our senses? Why, what else but our judgements? For when a man goes hence abandoning the comrades, the places, and the social relations to which he is accustomed, what else is the burden that is weighing him down but a judgement? Children, indeed, when they cry a little because their nurse has left, forget their troubles as soon as they get a cookie. Would you, therefore, have us resemble children? No, by Zeus! For I claim that we should be influenced in this way, not by a cookie, but by true judgements. And what are these? The things which a man ought to practise all day long, without being devoted to what is not his own, either comrade, or place, or gymnasia, nay, not even to his own body; but he should remember the law and keep that before his eyes. And what is the law of God? To guard what is his own, not to lay claim to what is not his own, but to make use of what is given him, and not to yearn for what has not been given; when something is taken away, to give it up readily and without delay, being grateful for the time in which he had the use of it—all this if you do not wish to be crying for your nurse and your mammy! For what difference does it make what object a man has a weakness for and depends upon? In what respect are you superior to the man who weeps for a maid, if you grieve for a trivial gymnasium, a paltry colonnade, a group of youngsters, and that way of spending your time? Someone else comes and grieves because he is no longer going to drink the water of Dirce. What, is the water of the Marcian aqueduct inferior to that of Dirce? "Nay, but I was accustomed to that water." And you will get accustomed to this in turn. And then, if you become addicted to something of this kind, weep for this too in turn, and try to write a line after the pattern of that of Euripides:

To Nero's baths and Marcian founts once more.

Behold how tragedy arises, when everyday events befall fools!

"When, then, shall I see Athens once more and the Acropolis?" Poor man, are you not satisfied with what you are seeing every day? Have you anything finer or greater to look at than the sun, the moon, the stars, the whole earth, the sea? And if you really understand Him that governs the universe, and bear Him about within you, do you yet yearn for bits of stone and a pretty rock? When, therefore, you are about to leave the sun and the moon, what will you do? Will you sit and cry as little children cry? What was it you did at school? What was it you heard and learned? Why did you record yourself as a philosopher when you might have recorded the truth in these words: "I studied a few introductions, and did some reading in Chrysippus, but I did not even get past the door of a philosopher? Since what part have I in that business in which Socrates, who died so nobly, and so nobly lived, had a part? Or in that in which Diogenes had a part?" Can you imagine one of these men crying or fretting because he is not going to see such-and-such a man, or such-and-such a woman, or to live in Athens or in Corinth, but, if it so happen, in Susa or in Ecbatana? What, does he who is at liberty to leave the banquet when he will, and to play the game no longer, keep on annoying himself by staying? Does he not stay, like children, only as long as he is entertained? Such a man would be likely, forsooth, to endure going into exile for life or the exile of death, if this were his sentence.

Are you not willing, at this late date, like children, to be weaned and to partake of more solid food, and not to cry for mammies and nurses—old wives' lamentations? "But if I leave, I shall cause those women sorrow?" You cause them sorrow? Not at all, but it will be the same thing that causes sorrow to you yourself—bad judgement. What, then, can you do? Get rid of that judgement, and, if they do well, they will themselves get rid of their judgement; otherwise, they will come to grief and have only themselves to thank for it. Man, do something desperate, as the expression goes, now if never before, to achieve peace, freedom, and mindedness. Lift up your neck at last like a man escaped from bondage, be bold to look towards God and say, "Use me henceforward for whatever Thou wilt; I am of one mind with Thee; I am Thine; I crave exemption from nothing that seems good in Thy sight; where Thou wilt, lead me; in what raiment Thou wilt, clothe me. Wouldst Thou have me to hold office, or remain in private life; to remain here or go into exile; to be poor or be rich? I will defend all these Thy acts before men; I will show what the true nature of each thing is." Nay, you will not; sit rather in the house as girls do[† 2] and wait for your mammy until she feeds you! If Heracles had sat about at home, what would he have amounted to? He would have been Eurystheus and no Heracles. Come, how many acquaintances and friends did he have with him as he went up and down through the whole world? Nay, he had no dearer friend than God. That is why he was believed to be a son of God, and was. It was therefore in obedience to His will that he went about clearing away wickedness and lawlessness. But you are no Heracles, you say, and you cannot clear away the wickedness of other men, nay, nor are you even a Theseus, to clear away the ills of Attica merely. Very well, clear away your own then. From just here, from out your own mind, cast not Procrustes and Sciron, but grief, fear, desire, envy, joy at others' ills; cast out greed, effeminacy, incontinency. These things you cannot cast out in any other way than by looking to God alone, being specially devoted to Him only, and consecrated to His commands. But if you wish anything else, with lamentation and groaning you will follow that which is stronger than you are, ever seeking outside yourself for peace, and never able to be at peace. For you seek peace where it is not, and neglect to seek it where it is.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 17 - How Ought We Adjust Our Preconceptions To Individual Instances?

What is the first business of one who practises philosophy? To get rid of thinking that one knows; for it is impossible to get a man to begin to learn that which he thinks he knows. However, as we go to the philosophers we all babble hurly-burly about what ought to be done and what ought not, good and evil, fair and foul, and on these grounds assign praise and blame, censure and reprehension, passing judgement on fair and foul practices, and discriminating between them. But what do we go to the philosophers for? To learn what we do not think we know. And what is that? General principles. For some of us want to learn what the philosopliers are saying, thinking it will be witty and shrewd, others, because they wish to profit thereby. But it is absurd to think that when a man wishes to learn one thing he will actually learn something else, or, in short, that a man will make progress in anything without learning it. But the multitude are under the same misapprehension as was Theopompus, the orator, who actually censures Plato for wishing to define every term. Well, what does he say? "Did none of us before your time ever use the words 'good' or 'just'? Or, without understanding what each of these terms severally mean, did we merely utter them as vague and empty sounds?" Why, who tells you, Theopompus, that we did not have a natural conception of each term, that is, a preconceived idea of it? But it is impossible to adjust our preconceived ideas to the appropriate facts without having first systematized them and having raised precisely this question—what particular fact is to be classified under each preconception. Suppose, for example, that you make the same sort of remark to the physicians: "Why, who among us did not use terms 'healthy' and 'diseased' before Hippocrates was born? Or were we merely making an empty noise with these sounds?" For, of course, we have a certain preconception of the idea "healthy." But we are unable to apply it. That is why one person says, "Keep abstaining from food," and another, "Give nourishment"; again, one says, "Cut a vein," and another says, "Use the cupping-glass." What is the reason? Is it really anything but the fact that a person is unable properly to apply the preconceived idea of "healthy" to the specific instances?

So it stands here also, in the affairs of life. Who among us has not upon his lips the words "good" and "evil," "advantageous" and "disadvantageous"? For who among us does not have a preconceived idea of each of these terms? Very well, is it fitted into a system and complete? Prove that it is. "How shall I prove it?" Apply it properly to specific facts. To start with, Plato classifies definitions under the preconception "the useful," but you classify them under that of "the useless." Is it, then, possible for both of you to be right? How can that be? Does not one man apply his preconceived idea of "the good" to the fact of wealth, while another does not? And another to that of pleasure, and yet another to that of health? Indeed, to sum up the whole matter, if all of us who have these terms upon our lips possess no mere empty knowledge of each one severally, and do not need to devote any pains to the systematic arrangement of our preconceived ideas, why do we disagree, why fight, why blame one another?

And yet what need is there for me to bring forward now our strife with one another and make mention of that? Take your own case; if you apply properly your preconceived ideas, why are you troubled, why are you hampered? Let us pass by for the moment the second field of study—that which has to do with our choices and the discussion of what is our duty in regard to them. Let us pass by also the third—that which has to do with our assents. I make you a present of all this. Let us confine our attention to the first field, one which allows an almost palpable proof that you do not properly apply your preconceived ideas. Do you at this moment desire what is possible in general and what is possible for you in particular? If so, why are you hampered? Why are you troubled? Are you not at this moment trying to escape what is inevitable? If so, why do you fall into any trouble, why are you unfortunate? Why is it that when you want something it does not happen, and when you do not want it, it does happen? For this is the strongest proof of trouble and misfortune. I want something, and it does not happen; and what creature is more wretched than I? I do not want something, and it does happen; and what creature is more wretched than I?

Medea, for example, because she could not endure this, came to the point of killing her children. In this respect at least hers was the act of a great spirit. For she had the proper conception of what it means for anyone's wishes not to come true. "Very well, then," says she, "in these circumstances I shall take vengeance upon the man who has wronged and insulted me. Yet what good do I get out of his being in such an evil plight? How can that be accomplished? I kill my children. But I shall be punishing myself also. Yet what do I care?" This is the outbursting of a soul of great force. For she did not know where the power lies to do what we wish—that we cannot get this from outside ourselves, nor by disturbing and deranging things. Give up wanting to keep your husband, and nothing of what you want fails to happen. Give up wanting him to live with you at any cost. Give up wanting to remain in Corinth, and, in a word, give up wanting anything but what God wants. And who will prevent you, who will compel you? No one, any more than anyone prevents or compels Zeus.

When you have such a leader as Zeus and identify your wishes and your desires with His, why are you still afraid that you will fail? Give to poverty and to wealth your aversion and your desire: you will fail to get what you wish, and you will fall into what you would avoid. Give them to health; you will come to grief; so also if you give them to offices, honours, country, friends, children, in short to anything that lies outside the domain of moral purpose. But give them to Zeus and the other gods; entrust them to their keeping, let them exercise the control; let your desire and your aversion be ranged on their side—and how can you be troubled any longer? But if you show envy, wretched man, and pity, and jealousy, and timidity, and never let a day pass without bewailing yourself and the gods, how can you continue to say that you have been educated? What kind of education, man, do you mean? Because you have worked on syllogisms, and arguments with equivocal premisses? Will you not unlearn all this, if that be possible, and begin at the beginning, realising that hitherto you have not even touched the matter; and for the future, beginning at this point, add to your foundations that which comes next in order—provision that nothing shall be that you do not wish, and that nothing shall fail to be that you do wish?

Give me but one young man who has come to school with this purpose in view, who has become an athlete in this

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activity, saying, "As for me, let everything else go; I am satisfied if I shall be free to live untrammelled and untroubled, to hold up my neck in the face of facts like a free man, and to look up to heaven as a friend of God, without fear of what may possibly happen." Let one of you show me such a person, so that I can say to him: Enter, young man, into your own, for it is your destiny to adorn philosophy, yours are these possessions, yours these books, yours these discourses. Then, when he has worked his way through this first field of study and mastered it like an athlete, let him come to me again and say, "I want, it is true, to be tranquil and free from turmoil, but I want also, as a god-fearing man, a philosopher and a diligent student, to know what is my duty towards the gods, towards parents, towards brothers, towards my country, towards strangers." Advance now to the second field of study; this also is yours. "Yes, but I have already studied this second field. What I wanted was to be secure and unshaken, and that not merely in my waking hours, but also when asleep, and drunk, and melancholy-mad." Man, you are a god, great are the designs you cherish!

No, that is not the way it goes, but someone says, "I wish to know what Chrysippus means in his treatise on The Liar." If that is your design, go hang, you wretch! And what good will knowing that do you? With sorrow you will read the whole treatise, and with trembling you will talk about it to others. This is the way you also, my hearers, behave. You say: "Shall I read aloud to you, brother, and you to me?" "Man, you write wonderfully." And again, "You have a great gift for writing in the style of Xenophon," "You for that of Plato," "You for that of Antisthenes." And then, when you have told dreams to one another, you go back to the same things again; you have exactly the same desires as before, the same aversions, in the same way you make your choices, your designs, and your purposes, you pray for the same things and are interested in the same things. In the second place, you do not even look for anybody to give you advice, but you are annoyed if you are told what I am telling you. Again, you say: "He is an old man without the milk of human kindness in him; he did not weep when I left, nor say, 'I fear you are going into a very difficult situation, my son; if you come through safely, I will light lamps.'" Is this what a man with the milk of human kindness in him would say? It will be a great piece of good luck for a person like you to come through safely, a thing worth lighting lamps to celebrate! Surely you ought to be free from death and free from disease!

It is this conceit of fancying that we know something useful, that, as I have said, we ought to cast aside before we come to philosophy, as we do in the case of geometry and music. Otherwise we shall never even come near to making progress, even if we go through all the Introductions and the Treatises of Chrysippus, with those of Antipater and Archedemus thrown in!

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 18 - How Must We Struggle Against Our External Impressions?

Every habit and faculty is confirmed and strengthened by the corresponding actions, that of walking by walking, that of running by running. If you wish to be a good reader, read; if you wish to be a good writer, write. If you should give up reading for thirty days one after the other, and be engaged in something else, you will know what happens. So also if you lie in bed for ten days, get up and try to take a rather long walk, and you will see how wobbly your legs are. In general, therefore, if you want to do something, make a habit of it; if you want not to do something, refrain from doing it, and accustom yourself to something else instead. The same principle holds true in the affairs of the mind also; when you are angry, you may be sure, not merely that this evil has befallen you, but also that you have strengthened the habit, and have, as it were, added fuel to the flame. When you have yielded to someone in carnal intercourse, do not count merely this one defeat, but count also the fact that you have fed your incontinence, you have given it additional strength. For it is inevitable that some habits and faculties should, in consequence of the corresponding actions, spring up, though they did not exist before, and that others which were already there should be intensified and made strong.

In this way, without doubt, the infirmities of our mind and character spring up, as the philosophers say. For when once you conceive a desire for money, if reason be applied to bring you to a realisation of the evil, both the passion is stilled and our governing principle is restored to its original authority; but if you do not apply a remedy, your governing principle does not revert to its previous condition, but, on being aroused again by the corresponding external impression, it bursts into the flame of desire more quickly than it did before. And if this happens over and over again, the next stage is that a callousness results and the infirmity strengthens the avarice. For the man who has had a fever, and then recovered, is not the same as he was before the fever, unless he has experienced a complete cure. Something like this happens also with the affections of the mind. Certain imprints and weals are left behind on the mind, and unless a man erases them perfectly, the next time he is scourged upon the old scars, he has weals no longer but wounds. If, therefore, you wish not to be hot-tempered, do not feed your habit, set before it nothing on which it can grow. As the first step, keep quiet and count the days on which you have not been angry. "I used to be angry every day, after that every other day, then every third, and then every fourth day." If you go as much as thirty days without a fit of anger, sacrifice to God. For the habit is first weakened and then utterly destroyed. "To-day I was not grieved" (and so the next day, and thereafter for two or three months); "but I was on my guard when certain things happened that were capable of provoking grief." Know that things are going splendidly with you.

To-day when I saw a handsome lad or a handsome woman I did not say to myself, "Would that a man might sleep with her," and "Her husband is a happy man," for the man who uses the expression "happy" of the husband means "Happy is the adulterer" also; I do not even picture to myself the next scene—the woman herself in my presence, disrobing and lying down by my side. I pat myself on the head and say. Well done, Epictetus, you have solved a clever problem, one much more clever than the so-called "Master": But when the wench is not only willing, but nods to me and sends for me, yes, and when she even lays hold upon me and snuggles up to me, if I still hold aloof and conquer, this has become a solved problem greater than The Liar, and The Quiescent. On this score a man has a right to be proud indeed, but not about his proposing "The Master" problem.

How, then, may this be done? Make it your wish finally to satisfy your own self, make it your wish to appear beautiful in the sight of God. Set your desire upon becoming pure in the presence of your pure self and of God. "Then when an external impression of that sort comes suddenly upon you," says Plato, "go and offer an expiatory sacrifice, go and make offering as a suppliant to the sanctuaries of the gods who avert evil"; it is enough if you only withdraw "to the society of the good and excellent men," and set yourself to comparing your conduct with theirs, whether you take as your model one of the living, or one of the dead. Go to Socrates and mark him as he lies down beside Alcibiades and makes light of his youthful beauty. Bethink yourself how great a victory he once won and knew it himself, like an Olympic victory, and what his rank was, counting in order from Heracles; so that, by the gods, one might justly greet him with the salutation, "Hail, wondrous man!" for he was victor over something more than these rotten boxers and pancratiasts, and the gladiators who resemble them. If you confront your external impression with such thoughts, you will overcome it, and not be carried away by it. But, to begin with, be not swept off your feet, I beseech you, by the vividness of the impression, but say, "Wait for me a little, O impression; allow me to see who you are, and what you are an impression of; allow me to put you to the test." And after that, do not suffer it to lead you on by picturing to you what will follow. Otherwise, it will take possession of you and go off with you wherever it will. But do you rather introduce and set over against it some fair and noble impression, and throw out this filthy one. And if you form the habit of taking such exercises, you will see what mighty shoulders you develop, what sinews, what vigour; but as it is, you have merely your philosophic quibbles, and nothing more.

The man who exercises himself against such external impressions is the true athlete in training. Hold, unhappy man; be not swept along with your impressions! Great is the struggle, divine the task; the prize is a kingdom, freedom, serenity, peace. Remember God; call upon Him to help you and stand by your side, just as voyagers, in a storm, call upon the Dioscuri. For what storm is greater than that stirred up by powerful impressions which unseat the reason? As for the storm itself, what else is it but an external impression? To prove this, just take away the fear of death, and then bring on as much thunder and lightning as you please, and you will realise how great is the calm, how fair the weather, in your governing principle. But if you be once defeated and say that by and by you will overcome, and then a second time do the same thing, know that at last you will be in so wretched a state and so weak that by and by you will not so much as notice that you are doing wrong, but you will even begin to offer arguments in justification of your conduct; and then you will confirm the truth of the saying of Hesiod:

Forever with misfortunes dire must he who loiters cope.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 19 - To Those Who Take Up The Teachings Of The Philosophers Only To Talk About Them

The "Master argument" appears to have been propounded on the strength of some such principles as the following. Since there is a general contradiction with one another between these three propositions, to wit: (1st) Everything true as an event in the past is necessary, and (2nd) An impossible does not follow a possible, and (3rd) What is not true now and never will be, is nevertheless possible. Diodorus, realising this contradiction, used the plausibility of the first two propositions to establish the principle, Nothing is possible which is neither true now nor ever will be. But one man will maintain, among the possible combinations of two at a time, the following, namely, (3) Something is possible, which is not true now and never will be, and (2) An impossible does not follow a possible; yet he will not grant the third proposition (1), Everything true as an event in the past is necessary, which is what Cleanthes and his group, whom Antipater has stoutly supported, seem to think. But others will maintain the other two propositions, (3) A thing is possible which is not true now and never will be, and (1) Everything true as an event in the past is necessary, and then will assert that, An impossible does follow a possible. But there is no way by which one can maintain all three of these propositions, because of their mutual contradiction.

If, then, someone asks me, "But which pair of these do you yourself maintain?" I shall answer him that I do not know; but I have received the following account: Diodorus used to maintain one pair, Panthoides and his group, I believe, and Cleanthes another, and Chrysippus and his group the third. "What, then, is your opinion?" I do not know, and I was not made for this purpose—to test my own external impression upon the subject, to compare the statements of others, and to form a judgement of my own. For this reason I am no better than the grammarian. When asked, "Who was the father of Hector?" he replied, "Priam." "Who were his brothers?" "Alexander and Deïphobus." "And who was their mother?" "Hecuba. This is the account that I have received." "From whom?" "From Homer," he said. "And Hellanicus also, I believe, writes about these same matters, and possibly others like him." And so it is with me about the "Master Argument"; what further have I to say about it? But if I am a vain person, I can astonish the company, especially at a banquet, by enumerating those who have written on the subject. "Chrysippus also has written admirably on this topic in the first book of his treatise On Things Possible. And Cleanthes has written a special work on the subject, and Archedemus. Antipater also has written, not only in his book On Things Possible, but also a separate monograph in his discussion of The Master Argument. Have you not read the treatise?" "I have not read it." "Then read it." And what good will it do him? He will be more trifling and tiresome than he is already. You, for example, what have you gained by the reading of it? What judgement have you formed on the subject? Nay, you will tell us of Helen, and Priam, and the island of Calypso which never was and never will be!

And in the field of literary history, indeed, it is of no great consequence that you master the received account without having formed any judgement of your own. But in questions of conduct we suffer from this fault much more than we do in literary matters. "Tell me about things good and evil." "Listen:

The wind that blew me from the Trojan shore
Brought me to the Ciconians.

Of things some are good, others bad, and yet others indifferent. Now the virtues and everything that shares in them are good, while vices and everything that shares in vice are evil, and what falls in between these, namely, wealth, health, life, death, pleasures, pain, are indifferent." "Where do you get that knowledge?" "Hellanicus says so in his History of Egypt." For what difference does it make whether you say this, or that Diogenes says so in his Treatise on Ethics, or Chrysippus, or Cleanthes? Have you, then, tested any of these statements and have you formed your own judgement upon them? Show me how you are in the habit of conducting yourself in a storm on board ship. Do you bear in mind this logical distinction between good and evil when the sail crackles, and you have screamed and some fellow-passenger, untimely humorous, comes up and says, "Tell me, I beseech you by the gods, just what you were saying a little while ago. Is it a vice to suffer shipwreck? Is there any vice in that?" Will you not pick up a piece of wood and cudgel him? "What have we to do with you, fellow? We are perishing and you come and crack jokes!" And if Caesar sends for you to answer an accusation, do you bear in mind this distinction? Suppose someone approaches you when you are going in pale and trembling, and says, "Why are you trembling, fellow? What is the affair that concerns you? Does Caesar inside the palace bestow virtue and vice upon those who appear before him?" "Why do you also make mock of me and add to my other ills?" "But yet, philosopher, tell me, why are you trembling? Is not the danger death, or prison, or bodily pain, or exile, or disrepute? Why, what else can it be? Is it a vice at all, or anything that shares in vice? What was it, then, that you used to call these things?" "What have I to do with you, fellow? My own evils are enough for me" And in that you are right. For your own evils art enough for you—your baseness, your cowardice, the bragging that you indulged in when you were sitting in the lecture room. Why did you pride yourself upon things that were not your own? Why did you call yourself a Stoic?

Observe yourselves thus in your actions and you will find out to what sect of the philosophers you belong. You will find that most of you are Epicureans, some few Peripatetics, but these without any backbone; for wherein do you in fact show that you consider virtue equal to all things else, or even superior? But as for a Stoic, show me one if you can! Where, or how? Nay, but you can show me thousands who recite the

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petty arguments of the Stoics. Yes, but do these same men recite the petty arguments of the Epicureans any less well? Do they not handle with the same precision the petty arguments of the Peripatetics also? Who, then, is a Stoic? As we call a statue "Pheidian" that has been fashioned according to the art of Pheidias, in that sense show me a man fashioned according to the judgements which he utters. Show me a man who though sick is happy, though in danger is happy, though dying is happy, though condemned to exile is happy, though in disrepute is happy. Show him! By the gods, I would fain see a Stoic! But you cannot show me a man completely so fashioned; then show me at least one who is becoming so fashioned, one who has begun to tend in that direction; do me this favour; do not begrudge an old man the sight of that spectacle which to this very day I have never seen. Do you fancy that you are going to show me the Zeus or the Athena of Pheidias, a creation of ivory and gold? Let one of you show me the soul of a man who wishes to be of one mind with God, and never again to blame either God or man, to fail in nothing that he would achieve, to fall into nothing that he would avoid, to be free from anger, envy and jealousy—but why use circumlocutions?—a man who has set his heart upon changing from a man into a god, and although he is still in this paltry body of death, does none the less have his purpose set upon fellowship with Zeus. Show him to me! But you cannot. Why, then, do you mock your own selves and cheat everybody else? And why do you put on a guise that is not your own and walk about as veritable thieves and robbers who have stolen these designations and properties that in no sense belong to you?

And so now I am your teacher, and you are being taught in my school. And my purpose is this—to make of you a perfect work, secure against restraint, compulsion, and hindrance, free, prosperous, happy, looking to God in everything both small and great; and you are here with the purpose of learning and practising all this. Why, then, do you not complete the work, if it is true that you on your part have the right kind of purpose and I on my part, in addition to the purpose, have the right kind of preparation? What is it that is lacking? When I see a craftsman who has material lying ready at hand, I look for the finished product. Here also, then, is the craftsman, and here is the material; what do we yet lack? Can the matter not be taught? It can. Is it, then, not under our control? Nay, it is the only thing in the whole world that is under our control. Wealth is not under our control, nor health, nor fame, nor, in a word, anything else except the right use of external impressions. This alone is by nature secure against restraint and hindrance. Why, then, do you not finish the work? Tell me the reason. For it lies either in me, or in you, or in the nature of the thing. The thing itself is possible and is the only thing that is under our control. Consequently, then, the fault lies either in me, or in you, or, what is nearer the truth, in us both. What then? Would you like to have us at last begin to introduce here a purpose such as I have described? Let us let bygones be bygones. Only let us begin, and, take my word for it, you shall see.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 20 - Against Epicureans And Academics

The propositions which are true and evident must of necessity be employed even by those who contradict them; and one might consider as perhaps the strongest proof of a proposition being evident the fact that even the man who contradicts it finds himself obliged at the same time to employ it. For example, if a man should contradict the proposition that there is a universal statement which is true, it is clear that he must assert the contrary, and say: No universal statement is true. Slave, this is not true, either. For what else does this assertion amount to than: If a statement is universal, it is false? Again, if a man comes forward and says, "I would have you know that nothing is knowable, but that everything is uncertain"; or if someone else says, "Believe me, and it will be to your advantage, when I say: One ought not to believe a man at all"; or again, someone else, "Learn from me, man, that it is impossible to learn anything; it is I who tell you this and I will prove it to you, if you wish," what difference is there between these persons and—whom shall I say?—those who call themselves Academics? "O men," say the Academics, "give your assent to the statement that no man assents to any statement; believe us when we say that no man can believe anybody." So also Epicurus, when he wishes to do away with the natural fellowship of men with one another, at the same time makes use of the very principle that he is doing away with. For what does he say? "Be not deceived, men, nor led astray, nor mistaken; there is no natural fellowship with one another among rational beings; believe me. Those who say the contrary are deceiving you and leading you astray with false reasons." Why do you care, then? Allow us to be deceived. Will you fare any the worse, if all the rest of us are persuaded that we do have a natural fellowship with one another, and that we ought by all means to guard it? Nay, your position will be much better and safer. Man, why do you worry about us, why keep vigil on our account, why light your lamp, why rise betimes, why write such big books? Is it to keep one or another of us from being deceived into the belief that the gods care for men, or is it to keep one or another of us from supposing that the nature of the good is other than pleasure? For if this is so, off to your couch and sleep, and lead the life of a worm, of which you have judged yourself worthy; eat and drink and copulate and defecate and snore. What do you care how the rest of mankind will think about these matters, or whether their ideas be sound or not? For what have you to do with us? Come, do you interest yourself in sheep because they allow themselves to be shorn by us, and milked, and finally to be butchered and cut up? Would it not be desirable if men could be charmed and bewitched into slumber by the Stoics and allow themselves to be shorn and milked by you and your kind? Is not this something that you ought to have said to your fellow Epicureans only and to have concealed your views from outsiders, taking special pains to persuade them, of all people, that we are by nature born with a sense of fellowship, and that self-control is a good thing, so that everything may be kept for you? Or ought we to maintain this fellowship with some, but not with others? With whom, then, ought we to maintain it? With those who reciprocate by maintaining it with us, or with those who are transgressors of it? And who are greater transgressors of it than you Epicureans who have set up such doctrines?

What, then, was it that roused Epicurus from his slumbers and compelled him to write what he did? What else but that which is the strongest thing in men—nature, which draws a man to do her will though he groans and is reluctant? "For," says she, "since you hold these anti-social opinions, write them down and bequeathe them to others and give up your sleep because of them and become in fact yourself the advocate to denounce your own doctrines." Shall we speak of Orestes as being pursued by the Furies and roused from his slumbers? But are not the Furies and the Avengers that beset Epicurus more savage? They roused him from sleep and would not let him rest, but compelled him to herald his own miseries, just as madness and wine compel the Galli [Priests of Cybele who mutilated themselves in frenzy.]. Such a powerful and invincible thing is the nature of man. For how can a vine be moved to act, not like a vine, but like an olive, or again an olive to act, not like an olive, but like a vine? It is impossible, inconceivable. Neither, then, is it possible for a man absolutely to lose the affections of a man, and those who cut off their bodily organs are unable to cut off the really important thing—their sexual desires. So with Epicurus: he cut off everything that characterizes a man, the head of a household, a citizen, and a friend, but he did not succeed in cutting off the desires of human beings; for that he could not do, any more than the easy-going Academics are able to cast away or blind their own sense-perceptions, although they have made every effort to do so.

Ah, what a misfortune! A man has received from nature measures and standards for discovering the truth, and then does not go on and take the pains to add to these and to work out additional principles to supply the deficiencies, but does exactly the opposite, endeavouring to take away and destroy whatever faculty he does possess for discovering the truth. What do you say, philosopher? What is your opinion of piety and sanctity? "If you wish, I shall prove that it is good." By all means, prove it, that our citizens may be converted and may honour the Divine and at last cease to be indifferent about the things that are of supreme importance. "Do you, then, possess the proofs?" I do, thank heaven. "Since, then, you are quite satisfied with all this, hear the contrary: The gods do not exist, and even if they do, they pay no attention to men, nor have we any fellowship with them, and hence this piety and sanctity which the multitude talk about is a lie told by impostors and sophists, or, I swear, by legislators to frighten and restrain evildoers." Well done, philosopher! You have conferred a service upon our citizens, you have recovered our young men who were already inclining to despise things divine. "What then? Does not all this satisfy you? Learn now how righteousness is nothing, how reverence is folly, how a father is nothing, how a son is nothing." Well done, philosopher! Keep at it; persuade the young men, that we may have more who feel and speak as you do. It is from principles like these that our well-governed states have grown great! Principles like these have made Sparta what it was! These are the convictions which Lycurgus wrought into the Spartans by his laws and his system of education, namely that neither is slavery base rather than noble, nor freedom noble rather than base! Those who died at Thermopylae died because of these judgements regarding slavery and freedom! And for what principles but these did the men of Athens give up their city? And then those who talk thus marry and beget children and fulfil the duties of citizens and get themselves appointed priests and prophets! Priests and prophets of whom? Of gods that do not exist! And they themselves consult the Pythian priestess—in order to hear lies and to interpret the oracles to others! Oh what monstrous shamelessness and imposture!

Man, what are you doing? You are confuting your own self every day, and are you unwilling to give up these frigid attempts of yours? When you eat, where do you bring your hand? To your mouth, or to your eye? When you take a bath, into what do you step? When did you ever call the pot a plate, or the ladle a spit? If I were slave to one of these men, even if I had to be soundly flogged by him every day, I would torment him. "Boy, throw a little oil into the bath." I would have thrown a little fish sauce in, and as I left would pour it down on his head. "What does this mean?" "I had an external impression that could not be distinguished from olive oil; indeed, it was altogether like it. I swear by your fortune." "Here, give me the gruel." I would have filled a side dish with vinegar and fish sauce and brought it to him. "Did I not ask for the gruel?" "Yes, master; this is gruel." "Is not this vinegar and fish sauce?" "How so, any more than gruel." "Take and smell it, take and taste it." "Well, how do you know, if the senses deceive us?" If I had had three or four fellow-slaves who felt as I did, I would have made him burst with rage and hang himself, or else change his opinion. But as it is, such men are toying with us; they use all the gifts of nature, while in theory doing away with them.

Grateful men indeed and reverential: Why, if nothing else, at least they eat bread every day, and yet have the audacity to say, "We do not know if there is a Demeter, or a Kore, or a Pluto"; not to mention that, although they enjoy night and day, the changes of the year and the stars and the sea and the earth and the co-operation of men, they are not moved in the least by any one of these things, but look merely for a chance to belch out their trivial "problem," and after thus exercising their stomach to go off to the bath. But what they are going to say, or what they are going to talk about, or to whom, and what their hearers are going to get out of these things that they are saying, all this has never given them a moment's concern. I greatly fear that a noble-spirited young man may hear these statements and be influenced by them, or, having been influenced already, may lose all the germs of the nobility which he possessed; that we may be giving an adulterer grounds for brazening out his acts; that some embezzler of public funds may lay hold of a specious plea based upon these theories; that someone who neglects his own parents may gain additional affrontery from them.

What, then, in your opinion is good or bad, base or noble? This or that? What then? Is there any use in arguing further against any of these persons, or giving them a reason, or listening to one of theirs, or trying to convert them? By Zeus, one might much rather hope to convert a filthy degenerate than men who have become so deaf and blind!

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 21 - Of Inconsistency

Some of their faults men readily admit, but others not so readily. Now no one will admit that he is foolish or unintelligent, but, quite the contrary, you hear everyone say, "I wish I had as much luck as I have sense." But they readily admit that they are timid, and say, "I am a bit timid, I admit; but in general you will not find me to be a fool" A man will not readily admit that he is incontinent, not at all that he is unjust, and will never admit that he is envious or meddlesome; but most men will admit that they are moved by pity. What is the reason for this? The principal reason is confusion of thought and an unwilligness to admit a fault in matters which involve good and evil; but, apart from that, different people are affected by different motives, and, as a rule, they will never admit anything that they conceive to be disgraceful; timidity, for example, they conceive to be an indication of a prudent disposition, and the same is true of pity, but stupidity they conceive to be a slave's quality altogether; also they will never plead guilty to offences against society. Now in the case of most errors, the principal reason why men are inclined to admit them is because they conceive that there is an involuntary element in them, as, for instance, in timidity and pity. And if a man ever does, grudgingly, admit that he is incontinent, he adds that he is in love, expecting to be excused as for an involuntary act. But injustice they do not at all conceive of as involuntary. In jealousy there is also, as they fancy, an element of the involuntary, and therefore this too is a fault which men grudgingly admit.

When such are the men we live among—so confused, so ignorant both of what they mean by "evil" and what evil quality they have, or whether they have one, or, if so, how they come to have it, or how they will get rid of it—among such men I wonder whether it is not worth while for us also to watch ourselves, each one asking himself the questions: "Is it possible that I too am one of these people? What conceit am I cherishing regarding myself? How do I conduct myself? Do I for my part act like a wise man? Do I for my part act like a man of self-control? Do I for my part ever say that I have been educated to meet whatever comes? Have I the consciousness, proper to a man who knows nothing, that I do know nothing? Do I go to my teacher, like one who goes to consult an oracle, prepared to obey? Or do I, too, like a sniffling child, go to school to learn only the history of philosophy and to understand the books which I did not understand before, and, if chance offers, to explain them to others?" Man, at home you have fought a regular prize-fight with your slave, you have driven your household into the street, you have disturbed your neighbours' peace; and now do you come to me with a solemn air, like a philosopher, and sitting down pass

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judgement on the explanation I gave of the reading of the text and on the application, forsooth, of the comments I made as I babbled out whatever came into my head? You have come in a spirit of envy, in a spirit of humiliation because nothing is being sent you from home, and you sit there while the lecture is going on, thinking, on your part, of nothing in the world but how you stand with your father or your brother! You reflect: "What are my people at home saying about me? At this moment they are thinking that I am making progress in my studies, and they are saying 'He will know everything when he comes back home!' I did want, at one time, I suppose, to learn everything before going back home, but that requires a great deal of hard work, and nobody sends me anything, and at Nicopolis they have rotten accommodations at the baths, and my lodgings are bad, and the school here is bad."

And then people say: "Nobody gets any good from going to school." Well, who goes to school—who, I repeat—with the expectation of being cured? Who with the expectation of submitting his own judgements for purification? Who with the expectation of coming to a realisation of what judgements he needs? Why, then, are you surprised, if you carry back home from your school precisely the judgements you bring to it? For you do not come with the expectation of laying them aside, or of correcting them, or of getting others in exchange for them. Not at all, nor anything like it. Look rather to this at least—whether you are getting what you came for. You want to be able to speak fluently about philosophic principles. Well, are you not becoming more of an idle babbler? Do not these petty philosophic principles supply you with material for making exhibitions? Do you not resolve syllogisms, and arguments with equivocal premisses? Do you not examine the assumptions in The Liar syllogism, and in hypothetical syllogisms? Why, then, are you still vexed, if you are getting what you came for? "Yes, but if my child or my brother dies, or if I must die, or be tortured, what good will such things do me?" But was it really for this that you came? Is it really for this that you sit by my side? Did you ever really light your lamp, or work late at night, for this? Or when you went out into the covered walk did you ever set before yourself, instead of a syllogism, some external impression and examine this with your fellow-students? When did you ever do that? And then you say, "The principles are useless." To whom? To those who do not use them properly. For instance, eye-salves are not useless to those who rub them on when and as they ought, and poultices are not useless, jumping-weights are not useless; but they are useless to some people, and, on the other hand, useful to others. If you ask me now, "Are our syllogisms useful?" I will tell you that they are, and, if you wish, I will show how they are useful "Have they, then, helped me at all?" Man, you did not ask, did you? whether they are useful to you, but whether they are useful in general? Let the man who is suffering from dysentery ask me whether vinegar is useful; I will tell him that it is useful. "Is it useful, then, to me?" I will say, "No. Seek first to have your discharge stopped, the little ulcers healed." So do you also, men, first cure your ulcers, stop your discharges, be tranquil in mind, bring it free from distraction into the school; and then you will know what power reason has.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 22 - Of Friendship

Whatever a man is interested in he naturally loves. Now do men take an interest in things evil? Not at all. Well, and do they take an interest in things which in no respect concern them? No, not in these, either. It remains, therefore, that men take an interest in good things only; and if they take an interest in them, they love them. Whoever, then, has knowledge of good things, would know how to love them too; but when a man is unable to distinguish things good from things evil, and what is neither good nor evil from both the others, how could he take the next step and have the power to love? Accordingly, the power to love belongs to the wise man and to him alone.

How so? says someone; for I am foolish myself, but yet I love my child.—By the gods, I am surprised at you; at the very outset you have admitted that you are foolish. For something is lacking in you; what is it? Do you not use sense perception, do you not distinguish between external impressions, do you not supply the nourishment for your body that is suitable to it, and shelter, and a dwelling? How comes it, then, that you admit you are foolish? Because, by Zeus, you are frequently bewildered and disturbed by your external impressions, and overcome by their persuasive character; and at one moment you consider these things good, and then again you consider them, though the very same, evil, and later on as neither good nor evil; and, in a word, you are subject to pain, fear, envy, turmoil, and change; that is why you are foolish, as you admit you are. And in loving are you not changeable? But as for wealth, and pleasure, and, in a word, material things, do you not consider them at one moment good, at another bad? And do you not consider the same persons at one moment good, and at another bad, and do you not at one moment feel friendly towards them, and at another unfriendly, and at one moment praise them, while at another you blame them?—Yes, I am subject to exactly these emotions.—What then? Do you think that the man who has been deceived about someone can be his friend?—No, indeed.—And can the man whose choice of a friend is subject to change show good will to that friend?—No, neither can he.—And the man who now reviles someone, and later on admires him?—No, neither can he.—What then? Did you never see dogs fawning on one another and playing with one another, so that you say, "Nothing could be more friendly"? But to see what their friendship amounts to, throw a piece of meat between them and you will find out. Throw likewise between yourself and your son a small piece of land, and you will find out how much your son wants to bury you, the sooner the better, and how earnestly you pray for your son's death. Then you will change your mind again and say, "What a child I have brought up! All this time he has been ready to carry me to my grave." Throw between you a pretty wench, and the old man as well as the young one falls in love with her; or, again, a bit of glory. And if you have to risk your life you will say what the father of Admetus did:

"Thou joyest seeing daylight: dost suppose Thy father joys not too?"

Do you imagine that he did not love his own child when it was small, and that he was not in agony when it had the fever, and that he did not say over and over again, "If only I had the fever instead"? And then, when the test comes and is upon him, just see what words he utters! Were not Eteocles and Polyneices born of the same mother and the same father? Had they not been brought up together, lived together, played together, slept together, many a time kissed one another? So that I fancy if anyone had seen them, he would have laughed at the philosophers for their paradoxical views on friendship. But when the throne was cast between them, like a piece of meat between the dogs, see what they say:

Eteo. Where before the wall dost mean to stand?

Poly. Why asked thou this of me?

Eteo. I shall range myself against thee.

Poly. Mine is also that desire!

Such also are the prayers they utter.

It is a general rule—be not deceived—that every living thing is to nothing so devoted as to its own interest. Whatever, then, appears to it to stand in the way of this interest, be it a brother, or father, or child, or loved one, or lover, the being hates, accuses, and curses it. For its nature is to love nothing so much as its own interest; this to it is father and brother and kinsmen and country and God. When, for instance, we think that the gods stand in the way of our attainment of this, we revile even them, cast their statues to the ground, and burn their temples, as Alexander ordered the temples of Asclepius to be burned when his loved one died. For this reason, if a man puts together in one scale his interest and righteousness and what is honourable and country and parents and friends, they are all safe; but if he puts his interest in one scale, and in the other friends and country and kinsmen and justice itself, all these latter are lost because they are outweighed by his interest. For where one can say "I" and "mine," to that side must the creature perforce incline; if they* are in the flesh, there must the ruling power be; if they are in the moral purpose, there must it be; if they are in externals, there must it be. [*That is, the things with which a man identifies himself and his personal interest.] If, therefore, I am where my moral purpose is, then, and then only, will I be the friend and son and the father that I should be. For then this will be my interest—to keep my good faith, my self-respect, my forbearance, my abstinence, and my co-operation, and to maintain my relations with other men. But if I put what is mine in one scale, and what is honourable in the other, then the statement of Epicurus assumes strength, in which he declares that "the honourable is either nothing at all, or at best only what people hold in esteem."

It was through ignorance of this that the Athenians and Lacedaemonians quarrelled, and the Thebans with both of them, and the Great King with Greece, and the Macedonians with both of them, and in our days the Romans with the Getae, and yet earlier than any of these, what happened at Ilium was due to this. Alexander was a guest of Menelaus, and if anyone had seen their friendly treatment of one another, he would have disbelieved any man who said they were not friends. But there was thrown in between them a morsel, a pretty woman, and to win her war arose. So now, when you see friends, or brothers, who seem to be of one mind, do not instantly make pronouncement about their friendship, not even if they swear to it, nor even if they say that they cannot be separated from one another. The ruling principle of the bad man is not to be trusted; it is insecure, incapable of judgement, a prey now to one external impression and now to another. Nay, do not make the same enquiry that most men do, asking whether two men are of the same parents, or were brought up together, or had the same school attendant, but this, and this only: Where do they put their interest—outside themselves, or in their moral purpose? If outside, call them not friends, any more than you would call them faithful, steadfast, courageous, or free; nay, call them not even human beings, if you are wise. For it is no judgement of human sort which makes them bite (that is revile) one another, and take to the desert (that is, to the market-place) as wild beasts take to the mountains, and in courts of law act the part of brigands; nor is it a judgement of human sort which makes them profligates and adulterers and corrupters; nor is it any such thing which makes men guilty of any of the many other crimes which they commit against one another; it is because of one single judgement, and this alone—because they put themselves and what belongs to themselves in the category of things which lie outside the sphere of moral purpose. But if you hear these men assert that in all sincerity they believe the good to be where moral purpose lies, and where there is the right use of external impressions, then you need no longer trouble yourself as to whether they are son and father, or brothers, or have been schoolmates a long time and are comrades; but though this is the only knowledge you have concerning them, you may confidently declare them "friends," just as you may declare them "faithful" and "upright." For where else is friendship to be found than where there is fidelity, respect, a devotion to things honourable and to naught beside?

"But he has paid attention to me all these years; and did he not love me?" How do you know, slave, whether he has paid attention to you just as he sponges his shoes, or curries his horse? How do you know but that, when you have lost your utility, as that of some utensil, he will throw you away like a broken plate? "But she is my wife and we have lived together all these years." But how long did Eriphyle live with Amphiaraus, yes, and bore him children, and many of them? But a necklace came in between them. And what does a necklace signify? One's judgement about things like a necklace. That was the brutish element, that was what sundered the bond of love, what would not allow a woman to be a wife, a mother to remain a mother. So let every one of you who is eager to be a friend to somebody himself, or to get somebody else for a friend, eradicate these judgements, hate them, banish them from his own soul. When this is done, first of all, he will not be reviling himself, fighting with himself, repenting, tormenting himself: and, in the second place, in relation to his comrade, he will be always straightforward to one who is like him himself, while to one who is unlike he will be tolerant, gentle, kindly, forgiving, as to one who is ignorant or is making a mistake in things of the greatest importance; he will not be harsh with anybody, because he knows well the saying of Plato, that "every soul is unwillingly deprived of the truth." But if you fail to do this, you may do everything else that friends do—drink together, and share the same tent, and sail on the same ship—and you may be sons of the same parents; yes, and so may snakes! But they will never be friends and no more will you, as long as you retain these brutish and abominable judgements.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 23 - Of The Faculty Of Expression

Everyone would read with greater pleasure and ease the book that is written in the clearer characters. Therefore everyone would also listen with greater ease to those discourses that are expressed in appropriate and attractive language. We must not, therefore, say that there is no faculty of expression, for this is to speak both as an impious man and as a coward. As an impious man, because one is thereby disparaging the gifts received from God, as though one were denying the usefulness of the faculty of vision, or that of hearing, or that of speech itself. Did God give you eyes to no purpose, did He to no purpose put in them a spirit* so strong and so cunningly devised that it reaches out to a great distance and fashions the forms of whatever is seen? [*In Stoic physiology the spirit of vision connected the central mind with the pupil (Latin: pupilla) of the eye, and sight was produced by the action of this spirit upon external objects, not by the passive reception of rays.] And what messenger is so swift and so attentive as the eye? And did He to no purpose make also the intervening air so active and so intent that the vision passes through it as through some tense medium? And did He to no purpose create light, without the presence of which all else were useless?

Man, be neither ungrateful for these gifts, nor yet forgetful of the better things, but for sight and hearing, yes and, by Zeus, for life itself and for what is conducive to it, for dry fruits, for wine, for olive oil, give thanks unto God; and at the same time remember that He has given you something better than all these things—the faculty which can make use of them, pass judgement upon them, estimate the value of each. For what is that which, in the case of each of these faculties, shows what it is worth? Is it each faculty itself? Did you ever hear the faculty of sight say anything about itself? Or the faculty of vision? No, but they have been appointed as servants and slaves to minister to the faculty which makes use of external impressions. And if you ask, what each thing is worth, of whom do you ask? Who is to answer you? How, then, can any other faculty be superior to this which both uses the rest as its servants, and itself passes judgement upon each several thing and pronounces upon it? For which one of them knows what it is and what it is worth? Which one of them knows when one ought to use it, and when not? What is the faculty that opens and closes the eyes, and turns them away from the things from

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which it should turn them, but directs them toward other things? The faculty of sight? No, but the faculty of moral purpose. What is the faculty that closes and opens the ears? What is that faculty by virtue of which men are curious and inquisitive, or again, unmoved by what is said? The faculty of hearing? No, it is none other than the faculty of moral purpose. When, then, this faculty sees that all the other faculties which surround it are blind and deaf, and unable to see anything but the very acts for which they have been appointed to serve and minister unto it, while it alone sees clearly and surveys, not only all the rest, determining what each is worth, but itself also, is it likely to pronounce that anything else is supreme but itself? And what else can the open eye do but see? But whether it ought to see someone's wife and how, what faculty tells it? That of moral purpose. And what faculty tells a man whether he ought to believe what he has been told, or disbelieve, and, if he believes, whether he ought to be provoked by it or not? Is it not that of moral purpose? And this faculty of speech and of the adornment of language, if it really is a separate faculty, what else does it do, when discourse arises about some topic, but ornament and compose the words, as hairdressers do the hair? But whether it is better to speak than to keep silence, and to do so in this way, or in that, and whether this is appropriate or not appropriate, and the proper occasion and utility of each action—what else tells us all this but the faculty of moral purpose? Would you, then, have it come forward and condemn itself?

"What then," says an objector, "if the matter stands like this, and it is possible for that which serves to be superior to what it serves—the horse to the rider, or the dog to the hunter, or his instrument to the harper, or his servants to the king?" Well, what faculty is it that uses the services of the rest in this way? Moral purpose. What is it that attends to everything? Moral purpose. What is it that destroys the whole man, sometimes by hunger, sometimes by a noose, sometimes by hurling him over a cliff? Moral purpose. Is there, then, anything stronger than this among men? Yet how can the things that are subject to hindrance be stronger than that which is unhindered? What are by their very nature capable of hindering the faculty of vision? Both moral purpose and things that lie outside its sphere. The same hinder vision; and so it is also with speech. But what is by its very nature capable of hindering moral purpose? Nothing that lies outside its sphere, but only itself when perverted. For this reason moral purpose becomes the only vice, or the only virtue.

Therefore, since it is so great a faculty and has been set over everything else, let it come before us and say that the flesh is of all things the most excellent. Nay, even if the flesh itself called itself most excellent, one would not have tolerated such a statement. But now what is it, Epicurus, that makes such a declaration? that composed the treatise On the End, or The Physics, or On the Standard? that caused you to let your beard grow long? that wrote as it was dying: "We are spending what is our last and at the same time a happy day?" Was it the flesh or the moral purpose? Come, do you confess that you have something superior to the flesh, and you are not insane, either? Are you, in all truth, so blind and deaf?

Well, what then? Does a man despise his other faculties? Far from it! Does a man say there is no use or advancement save in the faculty of moral purpose? Far from it! That is unintelligent, impious, ungrateful towards God. Nay, he is but assigning its true value to each thing. For there is some use in an ass, but not as much as there is in an ox; there is use also in a dog, but not as much as there is in a slave; there is use also in a slave, but not as much as there is in your fellow-citizens; there is use also in these, but not as much as there is in the magistrates. Yet because some things are superior we ought not to despise the use which the others give. There is a certain value also in the faculty of eloquence, but it is not as great as that of the faculty of moral purpose. When, therefore, I say this, let no one suppose that I am bidding you neglect speech, any more than I bid you neglect eyes, or ears, or hands, or feet, or dress, or shoes. But if you ask me, "What, then, is the highest of all things?" what shall I say? The faculty of eloquence? I cannot; but rather that of moral purpose, when it becomes a right moral purpose. For it is this which uses not only that faculty of eloquence but also all the other faculties both small and great; when this has been set right a man becomes good, when it has failed a man becomes bad; it is through this that we are unfortunate, and are fortunate, blame one another, and are pleased with one another; in a word, it is this which, when ignored, produces wretchedness, but when attended to produces happiness.

30But to do away with the faculty of eloquence and to say that in all truth it is nothing is the act not merely of a man ungrateful to those who have given it, but also cowardly. For such a person seems to me to be afraid that, if there really is a faculty of this kind, we may not be able to despise it. Such also are those who assert that there is no difference between beauty and ugliness. What! could a man be affected in the same way by the sight of Thersites and that of Achilles? Or by the sight of Helen and that of some ordinary woman? But these are the notions of foolish and boorish persons who do not know the nature of each several thing, but are afraid that if a man notices the superiority of the faculty in question he will immediately be carried away by it and come off worsted. Nay, the great thing is this: to leave each in the possession of his own proper faculty, and, so leaving him, to observe the value of the faculty, and to learn what is the highest of all things, and in everything to pursue after this, to be zealous about this, treating all other things as of secondary value in comparison with it, though without neglecting these, as far as this is possible. For we must take care of our eyes too, yet not as the highest thing, but we must take care of them for the sake of the highest; because this latter will not have its natural perfection unless it uses the eyes with reason and chooses one thing instead of another.

What, then, generally takes place? Men act like a traveller on the way to his own country who stops at an excellent inn, and, since the inn pleases him, stays there. Man, you have forgotten your purpose; you were not travelling to this but through it. "But this is a fine inn." And how many other inns are fine, and how many meadows—yet simply for passing through. But your purpose is the other thing, to return to your country, to relieve the fear of your kinsmen, to do the duties of a citizen yourself, to marry, bring up children, hold the customary offices. For you did not come into the world to select unusually fine places, I ween, but to live and go about your business in the place where you were born and were enrolled as a citizen. Something like this takes place also in the matter which we are considering. Since a man must advance to perfection through the spoken word and such instruction as you receive here, and must purify his own moral purpose and correct the faculty which makes use of external impressions, and since the instruction must necessarily be given by means of certain principles, and in a particular style, and with a certain variety and impressiveness in the form of these principles, some persons are captivated by all these things and stay where they are; one is captivated by style, another by syllogisms, another by arguments with equivocal premisses, another by some other "inn" of that sort, and staying there they moulder away as though they were among the Sirens.

Man, your purpose was to make yourself competent to use conformably with nature the external impressions that came to you, in desire not to fail in what you would attain, and in avoidance not to fall into what you would avoid, never suffering misfortune, never ill fortune, free, unhindered, unconstrained, conforming to the governance of Zeus, obeying this, well satisfied with this, blaming no one, charging no one, able to say with your whole heart the verses, beginning:

"Lead thou me on, O Zeus, and Destiny."

And then, although you have this purpose, because some petty trick of style, or certain principles, catch your fancy, are you going to stay just where you are and choose to dwell there, forgetful of the things at home and saying "This is fine"? Well, who says that it is not fine? But only like a passageway, like an "inn." For what is to prevent a man having the eloquence of Demosthenes and yet being unhappy, and what is to prevent him from analysing syllogisms like Chrysippus, and yet being wretched, from sorrowing, envying, in a word, from being disturbed and miserable? Absolutely nothing. You see, then, that these were "inns" of no value, while your purpose was something else. When I speak thus to some people they think that I am disparaging the study of rhetoric or that of general principles. Yet I am not disparaging this, but only the habit of dwelling unceasingly on these matters and setting one's hopes in them. If a man does his hearers harm by presenting this view, set me down too as one of those who work harm. But when I see that one thing is highest and supreme, I cannot say the same of something else, in order to gratify you, my hearers.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 24 - To One Of Those Whom He Did Not Deem Worthy

Someone said to him: I have often come to you, wishing to hear you and you have never given me an answer; and now, if it be possible, I beg you to say something to me. He answered: Do you think that, just as in anything else there is an art, so there is also an art in speaking, and that he who has this art will speak with skill, while he who does not have it will speak without skill?—I do.—Then he who by speaking benefits himself and is able to benefit others would be speaking with skill, while he who confers injury rather than benefit would be without skill in this art of speaking? You would find that some are injured and others benefited. And are all those who hear benefited by what they hear, or would you find that of them too some are benefited but others injured?—Yes, that is true of them also, he said.—Then in this case too are all those that show skill in listening benefited, but all those that do not show such skill are injured?—He agreed.—Is there, therefore, also a certain skill in listening, just as there is in speaking?—So it seems.—But, if you please, look at the matter from this angle also: whose part do you think it is to handle an instrument musically?—The musician's.—Very well, and whose part does it appear to you to be to make a statue properly?—The sculptor's.—Does it appear to you to require no art to look at a statue with skill?—This also requires art.—If, then, to speak as one ought is the part of a skilled person, do you see that to hear with benefit to himself is also the part of the skilled person? Now as for perfection and benefit, if you please, let us drop the consideration of them for the present, since both of us are far removed from anything of that sort; but this I think everyone would admit, that the man who is going to listen to the philosophers needs at least a certain amount of practice in listening. Is it not so?

What, then, shall I talk to you about? Tell me. What are you capable of hearing about? About things good and evil? Good and evil for what? Do you mean for a horse?—No.—Well then, for an ox?—No.—What then? For a man?—Yes.—Do we know, then, what a man is, what his nature is, what the concept of man is? And have we ears that are to any degree open with regard to this? Nay, have you a conception of what nature is, or can you in any measure follow me when I speak? But shall I use a demonstration for you? How can I? For do you really understand what a proof is, or how anything is demonstrated, or by what means? Or what things resemble demonstration, but are not demonstration? Do you know, for instance, what is true, or what is false; what follows what, what contradicts, or is out of agreement, or out of harmony with what? But am I to interest you in philosophy? How shall I set before you the contradiction in the ideas of the multitude, which leads them to disagree about things good and evil, advantageous and disadvantageous, when you do not know what contradiction itself is? Show me, then, what I shall accomplish by a discussion with you. Arouse in me an eagerness for it. Just as suitable grass when shown to the sheep arouses in it an eagerness to eat, whereas if you set before it a stone or a loaf of bread, it will not be moved to eat, so we have certain moments of natural eagerness for speech also, when the suitable hearer appears, and when he himself stimulates us. But when the would-be hearer by our side is like a stone, or grass, how can he arouse desire in the breast of a man? Does the vine say to the husbandman, "Pay attention to me"? Nay, but the vine by its very appearance shows that it will profit him to pay attention to it, and so invites him to devote his attention. Who is not tempted by attractive and wide-awake children to join their sports, and crawl on all fours with them, and talk baby talk with them? But who is eager to play with an ass, or to join its braying? For however small it may be, it is still nothing but a little ass.

Why, then, have you nothing to say to me?—There is only one thing I can say to you—that the man who does not know who he is, and what he is born for, and what sort of a world this is that he exists in, and whom he shares it with; and does not know what the good things are and what are the evil, what the noble and what the base; and is unable to follow either reason or demonstration, or what is true and what is false, and cannot distinguish one from the other; and will manifest neither desire, nor aversion, nor choice, nor purpose in accordance with nature; will not assent, will not dissent, will not withhold judgement—such a man, to sum it all up, will go about deaf and blind, thinking that he is somebody, when he really is nobody. What I do you think that this is something new? Has it not been true from the time when the human race began to be, that every mistake and every misfortune has been due to this kind of ignorance? Why did Agamemnon and Achilles quarrel? Was it not because they did not know what things are expedient and what are inexpedient? Does not one of them say that it is expedient to give Chryseïs back to her father, while the other says that it is not expedient? Does not one of them say that he ought to get some other man's meed of honour, while the other says that he ought not? Is it not true that this made them forget who they were and what they had come for? Ho, there, man, what have you come for? To get sweethearts or to fight? "To fight" With whom? The Trojans or the Greeks? "The Trojans." Well, then, are you turning your back on Hector and drawing your sword against your own king? As for you, O best of men, are you turning your back on your duties as king,

Who has the charge of nations and sustains Such mighty cares, and for the sake of a paltry damsel engage in a fist-fight with the greatest warrior among your allies, a man whom you ought to honour and protect in every way? And do you sink below the level of an elegant high priest who treats the noble gladiators with all respect? Do you see the sort of thing that ignorance of what is expedient leads to?

"But I too am rich." You are not, then, richer than Agamemnon, are you? "But I am also handsome." You are not, then, handsomer than Achilles, are you? "But I have also a fine head of hair." And did not Achilles have a finer, and golden hair, too? And did he not comb it elegantly and dress it up? "But I am also strong." You are not, then, able to lift as large a stone as Hector or Aias lifted, are you? "But I am also noble born." Your mother is not a goddess, is she, or your father of the seed of Zeus? What good, then, does all this do him when he sits in tears about the damsel? "But I am an orator." And was not he? Do you not observe how he has dealt with Odysseus and Phoenix, the most skilful of the Greeks in eloquence, how he stopped their mouths?

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This is all I have to say to you, and even for this I have no heart.—Why so?—Because you have not stimulated me. For what is there in you that I may look at and be stimulated, as experts in horseflesh are stimulated when they see thoroughbred horses? At your paltry body? But you make it ugly by the shape which you give to it. At your clothes? There is something too luxurious about them, also. At your air, at your countenance? I have nothing to look at. When you wish to hear a philosopher, do not ask him, "Have you nothing to say to me?" but only show yourself capable of hearing him, and you will see how you will stimulate the speaker.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 25 - How Is Logic Necessary?

When someone in his audience said, Convince me that logic is necessary, he answered: Do you wish me to demonstrate this to you?—Yes.—Well, then, must I use a demonstrative argument?—And when the questioner had agreed to that, Epictetus asked him. How, then, will you know if I impose upon you?—As the man had no answer to give, Epictetus said: Do you see how you yourself admit that all this instruction is necessary, if, without it, you cannot so much as know whether it is necessary or not?

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 26 - What Is The Distinctive Characteristic Of Error?

Every error involves a contradiction. For since he who is in error does not wish to err, but to be right, it is clear that he is not doing what he wishes. For what does the thief wish to achieve? His own interest. Therefore, if thievery is against his interest, he is not doing what he wishes. Now every rational soul is by nature offended by contradiction; and so, as long as a man does not understand that he is involved in contradiction, there is nothing to prevent him from doing contradictory things, but when he has come to understand the contradiction, he must of necessity abandon and avoid it, just as a bitter necessity compels a man to renounce the false when he perceives that it is false; but as long as the falsehood does not appear, he assents to it as the truth.

He, then, who can show to each man the contradiction which causes him to err, and can clearly bring home to him how he is not doing what he wishes, and is doing what he does not wish, is strong in argument, and at the same time effective both in encouragement and refutation. For as soon as anyone shows a man this, he will of his own accord abandon what he is doing. But so long as you do not point this out, be not surprised if he persists in his error; for he does it because he has an impression that he is right. That is why Socrates, because he trusted in this faculty, used to say: "I am not in the habit of calling any other witness to what I say, but I am always satisfied with my fellow-disputant, and I call for his vote and summon him as a witness, and he, though but a single person, is sufficient for me in place of all men." For Socrates knew what moves a rational soul, and that like the beam of a balance it will incline, whether you wish or no. Point out to the rational governing faculty a contradiction and it will desist; but if you do not point it out, blame yourself rather than the man who will not be persuaded.

DISCOURSES OF EPICTETUS BOOK 3

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 1 - Of Personal Adornment

Once, when he was visited by a young student of rhetoric whose hair was somewhat too elaborately dressed, and whose attire in general was highly embellished, Epictetus said: Tell me if you do not think that some dogs are beautiful, and some horses, and so every other creature.—I do, said the young man.—Is not the same true also of men, some of them are handsome, and some ugly?—Of course.—Do we, then, on the same grounds, pronounce each of these creatures in its own kind beautiful, or do we pronounce each beautiful on special grounds? I shall show you what I mean. Since we see that a dog is born to do one thing, and a horse another, and, if you will, a nightingale for something else, in general it would not be unreasonable for one to declare that each of them was beautiful precisely when it achieved supreme excellence in terms of its own nature; and, since each has a different nature, each one of them, I think, is beautiful in a different fashion. Is that not so?—He agreed.—Does it not follow, then, that precisely what makes a dog beautiful, makes a horse ugly, and precisely what makes a horse beautiful, makes a dog ugly, if, that is, their natures are different?—So it appears.—Yes, for, to my way of thinking, what makes a pancratiast beautiful does not make a wrestler good, and, more than that, makes a runner quite absurd: and the same man who is beautiful for the pentathlon is very ugly for wrestling?—That is so, said he.—What, then, makes a man beautiful other than just that which makes a dog or a horse beautiful in its kind?—Just that, said he.—What is it, then, that makes a dog beautiful? The presence of a dog's excellence. What makes a horse beautiful? The presence of a horse's excellence. What, then, makes a man beautiful? Is it not the presence of a man's excellence? Very well, then, young man, do you too, if you wish to be beautiful, labour to achieve this, the excellence that characterizes a man.—And what is that?—Observe who they are whom you yourself praise, when you praise people dispassionately; is it the just, or the unjust?—The just;—is it the temperate, or the dissolute?—The temperate;—and is it the self-controlled, or the uncontrolled?—The self-controlled.—In making yourself that kind of person, therefore, rest assured that you will be making yourself beautiful; but so long as you neglect all this, you must needs be ugly, no matter if you employ every artifice to make yourself look beautiful.

Beyond that I know not what more I can say to you; for if I say what I have in mind, I shall hurt your feelings, and you will leave, perhaps never to return; but if I do not say it, consider the sort of thing I shall be doing. Here you are coming to me to get some benefit, and I shall be bestowing no benefit at all; and you are coming to me as to a philosopher, and I shall be saying nothing to you as a philosopher. Besides, is it anything but cruel for me to leave you unreformed? If some time in the future you come to your senses, you will have good reason to blame me: "What did Epictetus observe in me," you will say to yourself, "that, although he saw me in such a condition and coming to him in so disgraceful a state, he should let me be so and say never a word to me? Did he so completely despair of me? Was I not young? Was I not ready to listen to reason? And how many other young fellows make any number of mistakes of the same kind in their youth? I am told that once there was a certain Polemo who from being a very dissolute young man underwent such an astonishing transformation. Well, suppose he did not think that I should be another Polemo; he could at least have set my hair right, he could have stripped me of my ornaments, he could have made me stop plucking my hairs; but although he saw me looking like—what shall I say?—he held his peace." As for me, I do not say what it is you look like, but you will say it, when you come to yourself, and will realise what it is and the kind of people those are who act this way.

If you bring this charge against me some day, what shall I be able to say in my own defence? Yes; but suppose I speak and he not obey. And did Laius obey Apollo? Did he not go away and get drunk and say good-bye to the oracle? What then? Did that keep Apollo from telling him the truth? Whereas I do not know whether you will obey me or not. Apollo knew perfectly well that Laius would not obey, and yet he spoke.—But why did he speak?—And why is he Apollo? And why does he give out oracles? And why has he placed himself in this position, to be a prophet and a fountain of truth, and for the inhabitants of the civilized world to come to him? And why are the words "Know thyself" carved on the front of his temple, although no one pays attention to them?

Did Socrates succeed in prevailing upon all his visitors to keep watch over their own characters? No, not one in a thousand. Nevertheless, once he had been assigned this post, as he himself says, by the ordinance of the Deity, he never abandoned it. Nay, what does he say even to his judges? "If you acquit me," he says, "on these conditions, namely, that I no longer engage in my present practices, I will not accept your offer, neither will I give up my practices, but I will go up to young and old, and, in a word, to everyone that I meet, and put to him the same question that I put now, and beyond all others I will especially interrogate you," he says, "who are my fellow-citizens, inasmuch as you are nearer akin to me." Are you so inquisitive, O Socrates, and meddlesome? And why do you care what we are about? "Why, what is that you are saying? You are my partner and kinsman, and yet you neglect yourself and provide the State with a bad citizen, and your kin with a bad kinsman, and your neighbours with a bad neighbour." "Well, who are you?" Here it is a bold thing to say, "I am he who must needs take interest in men." For no ordinary ox dares to withstand the lion himself; but if the bull comes up and withstands him, say to the bull, if you think fit, "But who are you?" and "What do you care?" Man, in every species nature produces some superior individual, among cattle, dogs, bees, horses. Pray do not say to the superior individual, "Well, then, who are you?" Or if you do, it will get a voice from somewhere and reply to you, "I am the same sort of thing as red in a mantle; do not expect me to resemble the rest, and do not blame my nature because it has made me different from the rest."

What follows? Am I that kind of person? Impossible. Are you, indeed, the kind of person to listen to the truth? I would that you were! But nevertheless, since somehow or other I have been condemned to wear a grey beard and a rough cloak, and you are coming to me as to a philosopher, I shall not treat you cruelly, nor as though I despaired of you, but I shall say: Young man, whom do you wish to make beautiful? First learn who you are, and then, in the light of that knowledge, adorn yourself. You are a human being; that is, a mortal animal gifted with the ability to use impressions rationally. And what is "rationally"? In accordance with nature and perfectly. What element of superiority, then, do you possess? The animal in you? No. Your mortality? No. Your ability to use impressions? No. Your reason is the element of superiority which you possess; adorn and beautify that; but leave your hair to Him who fashioned it as He willed. Come, what other designations apply to you? Are you a man or a woman?—A man.—Very well then, adorn a man, not a woman. Woman is born smooth and dainty by nature, and if she is very hairy she is a prodigy, and is exhibited at Rome among the prodigies. But for a man not to be hairy is the same thing, and if by nature he has no hair he is a prodigy, but if he cuts it out and plucks it out of himself, what shall we make of him? Where shall we exhibit him and what notice shall we post? "I will show you," we say to the audience, "a man who wishes to be a woman rather than a man." What a dreadful spectacle! No one but will be amazed at the notice; by Zeus, I fancy that even the men who pluck out their own hairs do what they do without realising what it means. Man, what reason have you to complain against your nature? Because it brought you into the world as a man? What then? Ought it to have brought all persons into the world as women? And if that had been the case, what good would you be getting of your self-adornment? For whom would you be adorning yourself, if all were women? Your paltry body doesn't please you, eh? Make a clean sweep of the whole matter; eradicate your—what shall I call it?—the cause of your hairiness; make yourself a woman all over, so as not to deceive us, not half-man and half-woman. Whom do you wish to please? Frail womankind? Please them as a man. "Yes, but they like smooth men." Oh, go hang! And if they liked sexual perverts, would you have become such a pervert? Is this your business in life, is this what you were born for, that licentious women should take pleasure in you? Shall we make a man like you a citizen of Corinth, and perchance a warden of the city, or superintendent of ephebi, or general, or superintendent of the games? Well, and when you have married are you going to pluck out your hairs? For whom and to what end? And when you have begotten boys, are you going to introduce them into the body of citizens as plucked creatures too? A fine citizen and senator and orator! Is this the kind of young men we ought to pray to have born and brought up for us?

By the gods, young man, may such not be your fate! But once you have heard these words go away and say to yourself, "It was not Epictetus who said these things to me; why, how could they have occurred to him? but it was some kindly god or other speaking through him. For it would not have occurred to Epictetus to say these things, because he is not in the habit of speaking to anyone. Come then, let us obey God, that we rest not under His wrath." Nay, but if a raven gives you a sign by his croaking, it is not the raven that gives the sign, but God through the raven; whereas if He gives you a sign through a human voice, will you pretend that it is the man who is saying these things to you, so that you may remain ignorant of the power of the divinity, that He gives signs to some men in this way, and to others in that, but that in the greatest and most sovereign matters He gives His sign through His noblest messenger? What else does the poet mean when he says:

Since ourselves we did warn him,

Sending down Hermes, the messenger god, the slayer of Argus,

Neither to murder the husband himself, nor make love to his consort?

As Hermes descended to tell Aegisthus that, so now the gods tell you the same thing.

Sending down Hermes, the messenger god, the slayer of Argus,

not to distort utterly nor to take useless pains about that which is already right, but to leave the man a man, and the woman a woman, the beautiful person beautiful as a human being, the ugly ugly as a human being. Because you are not flesh, nor hair, but moral purpose; if you get that beautiful, then you will be beautiful. So far I do not have the courage to tell you that you are ugly, for it looks to me as though you would rather hear anything than that. But observe what Socrates says to Alcibiades, the most handsome and youthfully beautiful of men: "Try, then, to be beautiful." What does he tell him? "Dress your locks and pluck the hairs out of your legs?" God forbid! No, he says, "Make beautiful your moral purpose, eradicate your worthless opinions." How treat your paltry body, then? As its nature is. This is the concern of Another; leave it to Him.—What then? Does the body have to be left unclean?—God forbid! but the man that you are and were born to be, keep that man clean, a man to be clean as a man, a woman as a woman, a child as a child. No, but let's pluck out also the lion's mane, so that he may not fail to be "cleaned up," and the cock's comb, for he too ought to be "cleaned up"! Clean? Yes, but clean as a cock, and the other clean as a lion, and the hunting dog clean as a hunting dog!

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 2 - The Fields Of Study In Which The Man Who Expects To Make Progress Will Have To Go Into Training; And That We Neglect What Is Most Important

There are three fields of study in which the man who is going to be good and excellent must first have been trained. The first has to do with desires and aversions, that he may never fail to get what he desires, nor fall into what he avoids; the second with cases of choice and of refusal, and, in general, with duty, that he may act in an orderly fashion, upon good reasons, and not carelessly; the third with the avoidance of

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error and rashness in judgement, and, in general, about cases of assent. Among these the most important and especially pressing is that which has to do with the stronger emotions; for a strong emotion does not arise except a desire fails to attain its object, or an aversion falls into what it would avoid. This is the field of study which introduces to us confusions, tumults, misfortunes and calamities; and sorrows, lamentations, envies; and makes us envious and jealous—passions which make it impossible for us even to listen to reason. The second field of study deals with duty; for I ought not to be unfeeling like a statue, but should maintain my relations, both natural and acquired, as a religious man, as a son, a brother, a father, a citizen.

The third belongs only to those who are already making progress; it has to do with the element of certainty in the matters which have just been mentioned, so that even in dreams, or drunkenness, or a state of melancholy-madness, a man may not be taken unawares by the appearance of an untested sense-impression.—This, says someone, is beyond us.—But philosophers nowadays pass by the first and second fields of study, and concentrate upon the third, upon arguments which involve equivocal premisses, which derive syllogisms by the process of interrogation, which involve hypothetical premisses, and sophisms like The Liar.—Of course, he says, even when a man is engaged in subjects of this kind he has to preserve his freedom from deception.—But what kind of a man ought to engage in them?—Only the one who is already good and excellent.—Do you, then, fall short in this? Have you already attained perfection in the other subjects? Are you proof against deception in handling small change? If you see a pretty wench, do you resist the sense-impression? If your neighbour receives an inheritance, do you not feel a twinge of envy? And is security of judgement now the only thing in which you fall short? Wretch, even while you are studying these very topics you tremble and are worried for fear someone despises you, and you ask whether anybody is saying anything about you. And if someone should come and say, "A discussion arising as to who was the best of the philosophers, someone who was there said that So-and-so was the only real philosopher," immediately your poor little one-inch soul shoots up a yard high. But if another party to the discussion says, "Nonsense, it is a waste of time to listen to So-and-so. Why, what does he know? He has the rudiments, but nothing else," you are beside yourself, you grow pale, immediately you shout, "I shall show him who I am, that I am a great philosopher!" Yet we see what a man is by just such conduct. Why do you wish to show it by anything else? Do you not know that Diogenes showed one of the sophists thus, pointing out his middle finger at him, and then when the man was furious with rage, remarked, "That is So-and-so; I have pointed him out to you." For a man is not something like a stone or a stick of wood to be pointed out with a finger, but when one shows a man's judgements, then one shows him as a man.

Let us take a look at your judgements too. Is it not evident that you set no value on your own moral purpose, but look beyond to the things that lie outside the province of the moral purpose, namely, what So-and-so will say, and what impression you will make, whether men will think you a scholar, or that you have read Chrysippus or Antipater? Why, if you have read them and Archedemus too, you have everything! Why are you any longer worried for fear you will not show us who you are? Do you wish me to tell you what kind of a man you have shown us that you are? A person who comes into our presence mean, hypercritical, quick-tempered, cowardly, finding fault with everything, blaming everybody, never quiet, vain-glorious; these are the qualities which you have exhibited to us. Go away now and read Archedemus; then if a mouse falls down and makes a noise, you are dead with fright. For the same kind of death awaits you that carried off—what's his name?—oh, yes, Crinus. He, too, was proud of himself because he could understand Archedemus. Wretch, are you not willing to let alone those things that do not concern you? They are appropriate for those who can study them without disturbance of spirit, who have the right to say, "I do not yield to anger, or sorrow, or envy; I am not subject to restraint, or to compulsion. What do I yet lack? I enjoy leisure, I have peace of mind. Let us see how we ought to deal with equivocal premisses in arguments; let us see how a person may adopt an hypothesis and yet not be led to an absurd conclusion." These things belong to men of that type. When men are prospering it is appropriate to light a fire, to take luncheon, and, if you will, even to sing and dance; but when the ship is already sinking you come up to me and start to hoist the topsails!

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 3 - What Is The Subject-Matter With Which The Good Man Has To Deal; And What Should He The Chief Object Of Our Training?

The subject-matter with which the good and excellent man has to deal is his own governing principle, that of a physician and the masseur is the body, of a farmer is his farm; but the function of the good and excellent man is to deal with his impressions in accordance with nature. Now just as it is the nature of every soul to assent to the true, dissent from the false, and to withhold judgement in a matter of uncertainty, so it is its nature to be moved with desire toward the good, with aversion toward the evil, and feel neutral toward what is neither evil nor good. For just as neither the banker nor the greengrocer may legally refuse the coinage of Caesar, but if you present it, whether he will or no, he must turn over to you what you are purchasing with it, so it is also with the soul. The instant the good appears it attracts the soul to itself, while the evil repels the soul from itself. A soul will never refuse a clear sense-impression of good, any more than a man will refuse the coinage of Caesar, On this concept of the good hangs every impulse to act both of man and of God.

That is why the good is preferred above every form of kinship. My father is nothing to me, but only the good. "Are you so hard-hearted?" Yes, that is my nature. This is the coinage which God has given me. For that reason, if the good is something different from the noble and the just, then father and brother and country and all relationships simply disappear. But shall I neglect my good, so that you may have it, and shall I make way for you? What for? "I am your father." But not a good. "I am your brother." But not a good. If, however, we define the good as consisting in a right moral purpose, then the mere preservation of the relationships of life becomes a good; and furthermore, he who gives up some of the externals achieves the good. "My father is taking away my money," But he is doing you no harm, "My brother is going to get the larger part of the farm," Let him have all he wants. That does not help him at all to get a part of your modesty, does it, or of your fidelity, or of your brotherly love? Why, from a possession of this kind who can eject you? Not even Zeus. Nay, nor did He even wish to, but this matter He put under my control, and He gave it to me even as He had it Himself, free from hindrance, compulsion, restraint.

When, therefore, different persons have different pieces of coinage, a man offers the coin and gets what is bought by it. A thief has come to the province as Proconsul. What coinage does he use? Silver. Offer it and carry away what you wish. An adulterer has come. What coinage does he use? Frail wenches. "Take," says one, "the coin and sell me the little baggage." Give, and buy. Another is interested in boys. Give him the coin and take what you wish. Another is fond of hunting. Give him a fine horse or dog; with sighs and groans he will sell for it what you wish; for Another constrains him from within, the one who has established this currency.

It is chiefiy with this principle in mind that a man must exercise himself. Go out of the house at early dawn, and no matter whom you see or whom you hear, examine him and then answer as you would to a question. What did you see? A handsome man or a handsome woman? Apply your rule. Is it outside the province of the moral purpose, or inside? Outside. Away with it. What did you see? A man in grief over the death of his child? Apply your rule. Death lies outside the province of the moral purpose. Out of the way with it. Did a Consul meet you? Apply your rule. What sort of thing is a consulship? Outside the province of the moral purpose, or inside? Outside. Away with it, too, it does not meet the test; throw it away, it does not concern you. If we had kept doing this and had exercised ourselves from dawn till dark with this principle in mind,—by the gods, something would have been achieved! But as it is, we are caught gaping straightway at every external impression that comes along, and we wake up a little only during the lecture, if indeed we do so even then. After that is over we go out, and if we see a man in grief, we say, "It is all over with him"; if we see a Consul, we say, "Happy man"; if we see an exile, "Poor fellow"; or a poverty-stricken person, "Wretched man, he has nothing with which to get a bite to eat." These, then, are the vicious judgements which we ought to eradicate; this is the subject upon which we ought to concentrate our efforts. Why, what is weeping and sighing? A judgement. What is misfortune? A judgement. What are strife, disagreement, faultfinding, accusing, impiety, foolishness? They are all judgements, and that, too, judgements about things that lie outside the province of moral purpose, assumed to be good or evil. Let a man but transfer his judgements to matters that lie within the province of the moral purpose, and I guarantee that he will be steadfast, whatever be the state of things about him.

The soul is something like a bowl of water, and the external impressions something like the ray of light that falls upon the water. Now when the water is disturbed, it looks as though the ray of light is disturbed too, but it is not disturbed. And so, therefore, when a man has an attack of vertigo, it is not the arts and the virtues that are thrown into confusion, but the spirit in which they exist; and when this grows steady again, so do they too.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 4 - To The Man Who Look Sides, In An Undignified Manner, While In A Theatre

The Procurator of Epirus took the side of a comic actor in a somewhat undignified manner and was reviled by the people for doing so. Thereupon he brought word to Epictetus that he had been reviled, and gave expression to his indignation at the men who had so reviled him. Why, what wrong were they doing? said Epictetus. They too were taking sides, just as you yourself were. But when the other asked. Is that the way, then, in which a man takes sides? he replied, Yes, they saw you, their Governor, the friend and Procurator of Caesar, taking sides in this way, and weren't they likely to take sides themselves in the same way? Why, if people should not take sides in this way, you had better not do so yourself; but if they should, why are you angry if they imitated you? For whom have the people to imitate but you, their superior? Whom do they look to but you, when they go to the theatres? "See," says one of them, "how the Procurator of Caesar acts in the theatre; he shouts; very well, I'll shout too. He jumps up and down; I'll jump up and down too. His claque of slaves sit in different parts of the house and shout, whereas I haven't any slaves; very well, I'll shout as loud as I can to make up for all of them." You ought to know, then, that when you enter the theatre, you enter as a standard of behaviour and as an example to the rest, showing them how they ought to act in the theatre. Why, then, did they revile you? Because every man hates what stands in his way. They wanted So-and-so to get the crown, while you wanted the other man to get it. They were standing in your way, and you in theirs. You turned out to be the stronger; they did what they could, and reviled what was standing in their way. What, then, do you wish? That you should be able to do what you wish, but that they should not even say what they wish? And what is there surprising in all that? Don't the farmers revile Zeus, when he stands in their way? Don't the sailors revile Zeus? Do men ever stop reviling Caesar? What then? Doesn't Zeus know about it? Isn't Caesar informed of what is said? What, then, does he do? He knows that if he punishes all who revile him he will have no one left to rule over. What then? Ought you upon entering the theatre to say, "Come, let's see that Sophron gets the crown"? and not rather, "Come, let me in this subject-matter maintain my moral purpose in accord with nature"? No one is dearer to me than myself; it is absurd, therefore, for me to let myself be hurt in order that another man may win a victory as a comic actor.—Whom, then, do I wish to win the victory? The victor; and so the one whom I wish to win the victory will always win it.—But I wish Sophron to get the crown.—Stage as many contests as you will in your own house, and proclaim him victor in the Nemean, Pythian, Isthmian, and Olympic games; but out in public do not arrogate to yourself more than your due, and do not filch away a public privilege. Otherwise you must put up with being reviled; because, when you do the same things that the people do, you are putting yourself on their level.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 5 - To Those Who Leave School [Or Education] Because Of Illness

I am ill here, says one of the students, and want to go back home.—What, were you free from illness at home? Do you not raise the question whether you are doing here any of the things that have a bearing upon your moral purpose, so that it shall be improved? For if you are not accomplishing anything, it was no use for you to have come in the first place. Go back and tend to your affairs at home. For if your governing principle cannot be brought into conformity with nature, no doubt your paltry piece of land can be made to conform with it. You will increase the amount of your small change; you will care for your father in his old age, you will walk up and down in the market, you will hold office; a poor wretch yourself, you will do wretchedly whatever comes next. But if you understand yourself, namely, that you are putting away certain bad judgements and taking on others in their place, and that you have transferred your status from what lies outside the province of the moral purpose to what lies inside the same, and that if ever you say "Alas!" you are speaking, not for your father's sake, or your brother's sake, but "for my own sake," then why take account of illness any longer? Do you not know that disease and death needs must overtake us, no matter what we are doing? They overtake the farmer at his work in the fields, the sailor on the sea. What do you wish to be doing when it overtakes you? For no matter what you do you will have to be overtaken by death. If you have anything better to be doing when you are so overtaken, get to work on that.

As for me, I would fain that death overtook me occupied with nothing but my own moral purpose, trying to make it tranquil, unhampered, unconstrained, free. This is what I wish to be engaged in when death finds me, so that I may be able to say to God, "Have I in any respect transgressed Thy commands? Have I in any respect misused the resources which Thou gavest me, or used my senses to no purpose, or my preconceptions? Have I ever found any fault with Thee? Have I blamed Thy governance at all? I fell sick, when it was Thy will; so did other men, but I willingly. I became poor, it being Thy will, but with joy, I have held no office, because Thou didst not will it, and I never set my heart upon office. Hast Thou ever seen me for that reason greatly dejected? Have I not ever come before Thee with a radiant countenance, ready for any injunctions or orders Thou mightest give? And now it is Thy will that I leave this festival; I go, I am full of gratitude to Thee that Thou hast deemed me worthy to take part in this

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festival with Thee, and to see Thy works, and to understand Thy governance." Be this my thought, this my writing, this my reading, when death comes upon me.

But my mother will not hold my head in her arms when I am ill.—Very well, go back to your mother; you are just the sort of person that deserves to have his head held in somebody's arms when he is ill!—But at home I used to have a nice bed to lie on.—Go back to your bed; without doubt you deserve to lie on such a fine bed even when you are well! Pray, then, do not lose by staying here what you can do there.

But what does Socrates say? "As one man rejoices," remarks he, "in improving his own farm, and another his own horse, so I rejoice day by day in following the course of my own improvement." [The closest parallels from Xenophon (Mem. I. 6. 8 and 14) and Plato (Prot. 318 A) express the idea so differently that we have here probably (through Chrysippus) a fragment from one of the lost Socratic dialogues, of which there was a large body.] In what respect; in little philosophic phrases?—Man, hold your tongue.—In little philosophic theories, then?—What are you doing?—Well, I don't see anything else that the philosophers spend their time on.—Is it nothing in your eyes never to bring accusation against anyone, be it God or man? Never to blame anyone? Always to wear the same expression on one's face, whether one is coming out or going in? These are the things which Socrates knew, and yet he never said that he either knew or taught anything. But if someone called for little philosophic phrases or theories, he used to take him over to Protagoras or Hippias. It was just as though someone had come to him for fresh vegetables, and he would have taken him over to the market gardener. Who, then, among you makes this purpose of Socrates the purpose of his own life? Why, if you did, you would have been glad even to be ill, and to go hungry, and to die. If any one of you was ever in love with a pretty wench, he knows that what I say is true.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 6 - Some Scattered Sayings

When someone asked how it was that, despite the greater amount of work which was done nowadays in logic, there was more progress made in former times, Epictetus replied. On what has labour been expended in our time, and in what was the progress greater in those days? For in that upon which labour has been expended in our time, progress also will be found in our time. The fact is that in our time labour has been expended upon the solution of syllogisms, and there is progress along that line; but in the early days not only had labour been expended upon maintaining the governing principle in a state of accord with nature, but there was also progress along that line. Do not, therefore, substitute one thing for the other, and do not expect, when you devote labour to one thing, to be making progress in another. But see whether any one of us who is devoting himself to keeping in a state of conformity with nature, and to spending his life so, fails to make progress. For you will find that there is none of whom that is true.

The good man is invincible; naturally, for he enters no contest where he is not superior. "If you want my property in the country," says he, "take it; take my servants, take my office, take my paltry body. But you will not make my desire fail to get what I will, nor my aversion fall into what I would avoid." This is the only contest into which the good man enters, one, namely, that is concerned with the things which belong in the province of the moral purpose; how, then, can he help but be invincible?

When someone asked him what "general perception" was, he replied. Just as a sense of hearing which distinguishes merely between sounds would be called "general," but that which distinguishes between tones is no longer "general," but "technical," so there are certain things which those men who are not altogether perverted see by virtue of their general faculties. Such a mental constitution is called "general perception."

It is not an easy thing to prevail upon soft young men; no, and you can't catch soft cheese on a fishhook either—but the gifted young men, even if you try to turn them away, take hold of reason all the more firmly. And so also Rufus for the most part tried to dissuade men, using such efforts to dissuade as a means of discriminating between those who were gifted and those who were not. For he used to say, "Just as a stone, even if you throw it upwards, will fall downwards to earth by virtue of its very constitution, so is also the gifted man; the more one beats him back, the more he inclines toward his natural object."

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 7 - A Conversation With The Imperial Bailiff* Of The Free Cities, Who Was An Epicurean [* Called by the Romans Corrector, an extraordinary official, of senatorial rank, appointed by the Emperor, and charged with carrying out administrative reforms in matters which lay outside the general competence of the ordinary civil authorities.]

When the Imperial Bailiff, who was an Epicurean, came to visit him, Epictetus said: It is proper for us laymen to make inquiry of you philosophers what the best thing in the world is—just as those who have come to a strange town make inquiry of the citizens and people who are familiar with the place—so that, having learned what it is, we may go in quest of it ourselves and behold it, as do strangers with the sights in the cities. Now that three things belong to man, soul, and body, and things external, hardly anyone denies; all you have to do, then, is to answer the question, Which is the best? what are we going to tell men? The flesh? And was it for this that Maximus sailed all the way to Cassiope during the winter with his son, to see him on his way? Was it to have pleasure in the flesh? When the other had denied that and said "God forbid!" Epietetus continued: Is it not proper to have been very zealous for that which is best?—It is certainly most proper.—What have we better, then, than the flesh?—The soul, said he.—Are the goods of the best thing better, or those of the inferior?—Those of the best thing.—Do goods of the soul belong in the sphere of the moral purpose, or do they not?—To the sphere of the moral purpose.—Is the pleasure of the soul, therefore, something that belongs in this sphere?—He agreed.—At what is this produced? At itself? But that is inconceivable. For we must assume that there is already in existence a certain antecedent essence of the good, by partaking of which we shall feel pleasure of soul.—He agreed to this also.—At what, then, are we going to feel this pleasure of soul? If it is at the goods of the soul, the essence of the good has already been discovered. For it is impossible that one thing be good, and yet that it is justifiable for us to take delight in something else; nor again, that when the antecedent is not good the consequent be good; because, in order to justify the consequent, the antecedent must be good. But say not so, you Epicureans, if you are in your right mind; for you will be saying what is inconsistent both with Epicurus and with the rest of your doctrines. The only thing left for you to say is that pleasure of soul is pleasure in the things of the body, and then they become matters of prime importance, and the true nature of the good.

That is why Maximus acted foolishly if he made his voyage for the sake of anything but the flesh, that is, for the sake of anything but the best. And a man acts foolishly too, if, when he is judge and able to take the property of other men, he keeps his hands off it. But, if you please, let us consider this point only, that the stealing be done secretly, safely, without anybody's knowledge. For even Epicurus himself does not declare the act of theft evil, but only getting caught, and merely because it is impossible to feel certain that one will not be detected, he says, "Do not steal." But I tell you that if it is done adroitly and circumspectly, we shall escape detection; besides that, we have influential friends in Rome, both men and women; and the Greeks are a feeble folk, none of them will have the courage to go up to Rome for that purpose. Why refrain from your own good? This is foolish, it is silly. And again, I shall not believe you, even if you tell me that you do refrain. For just as it is impossible to assent to what is seen to be false, and to reject what is true, so it is impossible to reject what is seen to be good. Now wealth is a good, and when it comes to pleasures is, so to speak, the thing most productive of them. Why should you not acquire it? And why should we not seduce our neighbour's wife, if we can escape detection? And if her husband talks nonsense, why should we not break his neck to boot? That is, if you wish to be a proper sort of philosopher, a perfect one, consistent with your own doctrines. If not, you will be no better than we who bear the name of Stoics; for we too talk of one thing and do another. We talk of the noble and do the base; but you will be perverse in the opposite way, laying down base doctrines, and doing noble deeds.

In the name of God, I ask you, can you imagine an Epicurean State? One man says, "I do not marry." "Neither do I," says another, "for people ought not to marry." No, nor have children; no, nor perform the duties of a citizen. And what, do you suppose, will happen then? Where are the citizens to come from? Who will educate them? Who will be superintendent of the ephebi, or gymnasium director? Yes, and what will either of these teach them? What the young men of Lacedaemon or Athens were taught? Take me a young man; bring him up according to your doctrines. Your doctrines are bad, subversive of the State, destructive to the family, not even fit for women. Drop these doctrines, man. You live in an imperial State; it is your duty to hold office, to judge uprightly, to keep your hands off the property of other people; no woman but your wife ought to look handsome to you, no boy handsome, no silver plate handsome, no gold plate. Look for doctrines consistent with these principles of conduct, doctrines which will enable you to refrain gladly from matters so persuasive to attract and to overpower a man. If, however, in addition to the persuasive power of the things just mentioned, we shall have gone ahead and invented also some such doctrine as this of yours, which helps to push us on into them, and gives them additional strength, what is going to happen?

In a piece of plate what is the best thing, the silver or the art? The substance of the hand is mere flesh, but the important thing is the works of the hand. Now duties are of three kinds; first, those that have to do with mere existence, second, those that have to do with existence of a particular sort, and third, the principal duties themselves. So also in the case of man, it is not his material substance that we should honour, his bits of flesh, but the principal things. What are these? The duties of citizenship, marriage, begetting children, reverence to God, care of parents, in a word, desire, avoidance, choice, refusal, the proper performance of each one of these acts, and that is, in accordance with our nature. And what is our nature? To act as free men, as noble, as self-respecting. Why, what other living being blushes, what other comprehends the impression of shame? And it is our nature to subordinate pleasure to these duties as their servant, their minister, so as to arouse our interest and keep us acting in accordance with nature.

But I am rich and need nothing.—Why, then, do you still pretend to be a philosopher? Your gold and silver plate are enough to satisfy you; what do you need doctrines for?—Yes, but I sit too as judge over the Hellenes.—Do you know how to sit as judge? What has brought you to know that?—Caesar wrote credentials for me.—Let him write you credentials that will allow you to sit as a judge in music and literature; and what good will it do you? However this may be, there is another question, and that is, how did you come to be a judge? Whose hand did you kiss—that of Symphorus or that of Numenius? In front of whose bedroom door did you sleep? To whom did you send presents? After all, don't you recognise that the office of judge is worth exactly as much as Numenius is?—But I can throw whom I will into prison.—As you can a stone.—But I can have beaten to death with a club whom I will.—As you can an ass.—That is not governing men. Govern us as rational beings by pointing out to us what is profitable, and we will follow you; point out what is unprofitable, and we will turn away from it. Bring us to admire and emulate you, as Socrates brought men to admire and emulate him. He was the one person who governed people as men, in that he brought them to subject to him their desire, their aversion, their choice, their refusal. "Do this; do not do this; otherwise I will throw you into prison." Say that, and yours ceases to be a government as over rational beings. Nay, rather, say, "As Zeus has ordained, do this; if you do not do so, you will be punished, you will suffer injury." What kind of injury? No injury but that of not doing what you ought; you will destroy the man of fidelity in you, the man of honour, the man of decent behaviour. You need not look for greater injuries than these.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 8 - How Ought We To Exercise Ourselves To Deal With The Impressions Of Our Senses?

As we exercise ourselves to meet the sophistical interrogations, so we ought also to exercise ourselves daily to meet the impressions of our senses, because these too put interrogations to us. So-and-so's son is dead. Answer, "That lies outside the sphere of the moral purpose, it is not an evil." His father has disinherited So-and-so; what do you think of it? "That lies outside the sphere of the moral purpose, it is not an evil." Caesar has condemned him. "That lies outside the sphere of the moral purpose, it is not an evil." He was grieved at all this. "That lies within the sphere of the moral purpose, it is an evil." He has borne up under it manfully. "That lies within the sphere of the moral purpose, it is a good." Now if we acquire this habit, we shall make progress; for we shall never give our assent to anything but that of which we get a convincing sense-impression. His son is dead. What happened? His son is dead. Nothing else? Not a thing. His ship is lost. What happened? His ship is lost. He was carried off to prison. What happened? He was carried off to prison. But the observation: "He has fared ill," is an addition that each man makes on his own responsibility. "But," you say, "Zeus does not do right in all this." What makes you think so? Because He has made you capable of patient endurance, and high-minded, because He has taken from these things the quality of being evils, because you are permitted to suffer these things and still to be happy, because He has opened for you the door, whenever they are not to your good? Man, go out, and do not complain.

Hear how the Romans feel about philosophers, if you care to know. Italicus, who has a very great reputation among them as a philosopher, once, when I was present, got angry at his friends, as though he were suffering something intolerable, and said, "I cannot bear it: you are the death of me! you will make me just like him," and pointed at me!

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 9 - To A Certain Rhetorician Who Was Going To Rome For A Lawsuit

There came in to visit Epictetus one day a man who was on his way to Rome, where he was engaged in a lawsuit involving an honour to be bestowed on him. Epictetus asked what the reason was for the trip to the Capital, and the man proceeded to ask what opinion he had about the matter. If you ask me what you are going to do in Rome, says Epictetus, whether you will succeed or fail, I have no precept to offer. If, however, you ask how you are going to fare, I have this to say: If you have sound judgements, you will fare well; if unsound judgements, ill; since in every case the way a man fares is determined by his judgement. For what is it that made you

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eager to be elected patron of the people of Cnossos? Your judgement. What is it that impels you now to go up to Rome? Your judgement. And that in stormy weather, in danger, and at expense?—Yes, but I have to.—Who tells you that? Your judgement. Very well, then, if a man's judgements determine everything, and if a man has unsound judgements, whatever be the cause such also will be the consequence. Do we all, then, have sound judgements, both you and your opponent? If so, then how do you come to disagree? But do you have sound judgements rather than he? Why? You think so. So does he, and so do madmen. This is a poor criterion. But show me that you have made any study of your own judgements and have paid attention to them. And as now you are sailing to Rome so as to become patron of the men of Cnossos, and you are not satisfied to stay at home and keep the honours which you had, but you have set your heart upon something greater and more conspicuous, so did you ever make a voyage for the purpose of studying your own judgements, and of rejecting one, if it is unsound? Whom have you ever visited for this purpose? What time have you set yourself, what period of your life? Review the periods of your life, all to yourself, if you are ashamed to do so before me. When you were a boy were you in the habit of examining your judgements? Did you not habitually do what you then did just as you do everything now? And when you grew to be a youth and were attending the lectures of the rhetoricians, and were yourself practising, what did you fancy that you yet lacked? And when you were a young man and began to take part in politics, and to plead cases yourself, and to have a good reputation, who any longer seemed in your eyes to be your equal? Would you under any circumstances have submitted to be put through an examination on the charge that you had wretched judgements? Very well then, what do you wish me to say to you?—Help me in this affair.—I have no precepts to offer for this; and you too, if you came to me for this purpose, have not come to me as to a philosopher, but as to a vegetable-dealer, as to a cobbler.—To what end, then, do philosophers have precepts to offer?—To this end, that whatever happen, our governing principle shall be, and abide to the end, in accord with nature. Do you regard that as a trifle?—No; it is of the utmost moment.—What then? Does this require only a little time, and is it possible to acquire it on a passing visit? Acquire it, then, if you can!

Then you will say, "When I met Epictetus it was like meeting a stone, a statue." Yes, for you took a look at me, and nothing more. The person who meets a man as a man is one who learns to understand the other's judgements, and in his turn exhibits his own. Learn to know my judgements; show me your own, and then say you have met me. Let us put one another to the test; if I cherish any evil judgement, take it away; if you cherish one, bring it forward. That is what it means to meet a philosopher. Oh no; but your way is: "We are passing, and while we are hiring our ship, we have a chance to take a look at Epictetus; let's see what in the world he has to say." Then you leave with the remark: "Epictetus was nothing at all, his language was full of solecisms and barbarisms." What else were you capable of judging, when you came in like that?

"But," says someone, "if I devote myself to these things, I shall not own a farm any more than you do, I shall not have silver goblets any more than you, or fine cattle any more than you." To all this it is perhaps enough to answer: "I do not need them; but you, even if you acquire many possessions, need still others, and whether you will or not, are more poverty-stricken than I am."—What, then, do I need?—What you do not have; steadfastness, your mind in a state of conformity with nature, freedom from vexation of spirit. Patron or not patron, what do I care? But you care. I am richer than you are; I am not worried about what Caesar is going to think of me; I flatter no man for that purpose. All this is what I have as an offset to your silver plate, and your gold plate. You have furnishings of gold, but your reason, your judgements, your assent, your choice, your desire—of earthenware. But when I have these in a state of conformity with nature, why should I not take up logic also as a sort of hobby? For, I have plenty of leisure; my mind is not being dragged this way and that. What shall I do, seeing there is nothing that disturbs me? What have I which more becomes a man than this? You and your kind when you have nothing to do are restless, go to the theatre, or wander up and down aimlessly. Why should not the philosopher develop his own reason? You turn to vessels of crystal, I to the syllogism called "The Liar"; you to myrrhine ware, I to the syllogism called "The Denyer." [The exact nature of this argument is unknown, although Chrysippus wrote two works on the subject (Diogenes Laertius 7, 197), and it is casually mentioned also by Clement (Titus Flavius Clemens) of Alexandria, Stromata, 11.] Everything that you already have seems small in your sight, but everything that I have seems important to me. Your strong desire is insatiate, mine is already satisfied. The same thing happens to the children who put their hand down into a narrow-necked jar and try to take out figs and nuts: if they get their hand full, they can't get it out, and then they cry. Drop a few and you will get it out. And so do you too drop your desire; do not set your heart upon many things and you will obtain.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 10 - How Ought We To Bear Our Illnesses?

When the need arises for each separate judgement, we ought to have it ready; at lunch our judgements about lunch, at the bath our judgements about a bath, in bed our judgements about a bed.

"Also allow not sleep to draw nigh to your languorous eyelids,

Ere you have reckoned up each several deed of the daytime:

'Where went I wrong? Did what? And what to be done was left undone?'

Starting from this point review, then, your acts, and thereafter remember:

Censure yourself for the acts that are base, but rejoice in the goodly."

And keep these verses on hand to use, not by way of exclamations, as we cry, "Paean Apollo!" Again, in a fever have ready the judgements which apply to that. Let us not, if we fall into a fever, abandon and forget all our principles, saying: "If I ever study philosophy again, let anything happen that will! I'll have to go away somewhere and take care of my poor body." Yes indeed, if fever does not go there too! But what is philosophy? Does it not mean making preparation to meet the things that come upon us? Do you not understand, then, that what you are saying amounts to something like this: "If I ever again prepare to bear quietly the things that come upon me, let anything happen that will"? It is just as if a man should give up the pancratium because he has received blows. The only difference is that in the pancratium a man may stop, and so avoid a severe beating, but in life, if we stop the pursuit of philosophy, what good does it do? What, then, ought a man to say to himself at each hardship that befalls him? "It was for this that I kept training, it was to meet this that I used to practise." God says to you, "Give Me proof, whether you have striven lawfully*, eaten what is prescribed, taken exercise, heeded your trainer." [*The same phrase appears in 2 Timothy 2:5.] After that, do you flinch when the time for action arrives? Now it is time for your fever, let it come upon you in the right way; for thirst, bear your thirst in the right way; to go hungry, bear hunger in the right way. It is not in your power, you say? Who is there to prevent you? Nay, your physician will prevent you from drinking, but he cannot prevent you from thirsting in the right way; and he will prevent you from eating, but he cannot prevent you from bearing hunger in the right way.

But am I not a scholar?—And for what purpose do you devote yourself to scholarship? Slave, is it not that you may be happy? Is it not that you may be secure? Is it not that you may conform to nature and live your life in that way. What prevents you, when you have a fever, from having your governing principle conform with nature? Here is the proof of the matter, the test of the philosopher. For this too is a part of life; like a stroll, a voyage, a journey, such is also a fever. I presume you do not read while taking a stroll, do you?—No.—No more than when you have a fever. But if you stroll in the right way, you perform what is expected of a stroller; if you have fever in the right way, you perform the things expected of the man who has a fever. What does it mean to have fever in the right way? Not to blame God, or man, not to be overwhelmed by what happens to you, to await death bravely and in the right way, to do what is enjoined upon you; when your physician comes to see you, not to be afraid of what he will say, and at the same time not to be carried away with joy, if he says, "You are doing splendidly"; for what good to you lay in that remark? Why, when you were well, what good was it to you? It means not to be downhearted, too, if he says, "You are in a bad way." For what does it mean to be in a bad way? That you are close to a separation of the soul from the body. What, then, is terrifying about that? If you do not draw near now, will you not draw near later? And is the universe going to be upset when you die? Why, then, do you wheedle your physician? Why do you say, "If you wish, Master, I shall get well"? Why do you give him occasion to put on airs? Why not give him just what is his due? As I give the shoemaker his due about my foot, the builder his due about my house, so also the physician his due about my paltry body, something that is not mine, something that is by nature dead. These are the things that the moment demands for a man who is in a fever; if he meets these demands, he has what properly belongs to him. For it is not the business of the philosopher to guard these external matters—neither his paltry wine, nor his paltry oil, nor his paltry body—but what? His own governing principle. And how treat externals? Only so far as not to act thoughtlessly about them. What proper occasion is there, then, any longer for fear? What proper occasion, then, any longer for anger? Or for fear about things that are not his own concern, worthless things? For here are the two principles that you ought to have ready at hand: Outside the sphere of the moral purpose there is nothing either good or bad; and, We ought not to lead events, but to follow them. "My brother ought not to have treated me so." No; but it is for him to look to that. As for me, no matter how he behaves, I shall observe all my relations to him as I ought. For this is my part, the other does not belong to me; in this nobody can hinder me, the other is subject to hindrance.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 11 - Some Scattered Sayings

There are certain punishments, assigned as it were by law, for those who are disobedient to the divine dispensation. "Whoever shall regard as good anything but the things that fall within the scope of his moral purpose, let him envy, yearn, flatter, feel disturbed; whoever shall regard anything else as evil, let him sorrow, grieve, lament, be unhappy." Nevertheless, for all that we are so severely punished, we cannot desist.

Remember what the poet says about the stranger:

Stranger, I may not with right dishonour a stranger, not even

Worse man were he than art thou; for of God are all strangers and beggars.

This, then, is what one should have ready to use in the case of a father: "I may not rightfully dishonour a father, not even if a worse man than art thou should come; for of Zeus, the God of Fathers, are they all"; and so in the case of a brother: "For of Zeus, the God of Kindred, are they all." And similarly, in the other social relations, we shall find Zeus overseeing them all.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 12 - Of Training

We ought not to take our training in things that are unnatural or fantastic, since in that case we who profess to be philosophers will be no better than the mountebanks. For it is a hard thing also to walk a tight-rope, and not merely hard but dangerous too. Ought we also for this reason to practise walking a tight-rope, or setting up a palm, or throwing our arms about statues? Not a bit of it. Not every difficult and dangerous thing is suitable for training, but only that which is conducive to success in achieving the object of our effort. And what is the object of our effort? To act without hindrance in choice and in aversion. And what does this mean? Neither to fail to get what we desire, nor to fall into what we would avoid. Toward this end, therefore, our training also should tend. For since it is impossible without great and constant training to secure that our desire fail not to attain, and our aversion fall not into what it would avoid, be assured that, if you allow training to turn outwards, towards the things that are not in the realm of the moral purpose, you will have neither your desire successful in attaining what it would, nor your aversion successful in avoiding what it would. And since habit is a powerful influence, when we have accustomed ourselves to employ desire and aversion only upon these externals, we must set a contrary habit to counteract this habit, and where the very slippery nature of sense-impressions is in play, there we must set our training as a counteracting force.

I am inclined to pleasure; I will betake myself to the opposite side of the rolling ship, and that beyond measure, so as to train myself I am inclined to avoid hard work; I will strain and exercise my sense-impressions to this end, so that my aversion from everything of this kind shall cease. For who is the man in training? He is the man who practises not employing his desire, and practises employing his aversion only upon the things that are within the sphere of his moral purpose, yes, and practises particularly in the things that are difficult to master. And so different men will have to practise particularly to meet different things. To what purpose is it, then, under these conditions, to set up a palm tree, or to carry around a leather tent, or a mortar and pestle? Man, practise, if you are arrogant, to submit when you are reviled, not to be disturbed when you are insulted. then you will make such progress, that, even if someone strikes you, you will say to yourself, "Imagine that you have thrown your arms about a statue." Next train yourself to use wine with discretion, not with a view to heavy drinking (for there are some clumsy fools who practise with this in mind), but first for the purpose of achieving abstention from wine, and keeping your hands off a wench, or a sweet-cake. And then some day, if the occasion for a test really comes, you will enter the lists at a proper time for the sake of discovering whether your sense-impressions still overcome you just as they did before. But first of all flee far away from the things that are too strong for you. It is not a fair match that, between a pretty wench and a young beginner in philosophy. "A pot," as they say, "and a stone do not go together."

After your desire and your aversion the next topic has to do with your choice and refusal. Here the object is to be obedient to reason, not to choose or to refuse at the wrong time, or the wrong place, or contrary to some other similar propriety.

The third topic has to do with cases of assent; it is concerned with the things that are plausible and attractive. For, just as Socrates used to tell us not to live a life unsubjected to examination, so we ought not to accept a sense-impression unsubjected to examination, but should say, "Wait, allow me to see who you are and whence you come" (just as the night-watch say, "Show me your tokens"). "Do

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you have your token from nature, the one which every sense-impression which is to be accepted must have?" And, in conclusion, all the methods which are applied to the body by the persons who are giving it exercise, might also themselves be conducive to training, if in some such way as this they tend toward desire and aversion; but if they tend toward display, they are characteristic of a man who has turned toward the outside world, and is hunting for something other than the thing itself which he is doing, and is looking for spectators who will say, "Ah, what a great man!" It is this consideration which renders admirable the remark that Apollonius used to make: "When you wish to train for your own sake, then when you are thirsty some hot day take a mouthful of cold water, and spit it out— and don't tell anybody about it!"

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 13 - The Meaning Of A Forlorn State, And The Kind Of Person A Forlorn Man Is

A forlorn state is the condition of one who is without help. For a man is not forlorn merely because he is alone, any more than a man in the midst of a crowd is necessarily not forlorn. At all events, when we have lost a brother, or a son, or a friend with whom we have shared the same bed, we say that we have been left forlorn, though often we are in Rome, with such large crowds meeting us in the streets, and so many people living in the same house with us, and sometimes even though we have a multitude of slaves. For according to the nature of the concept the 'forlorn' means the person who is without help, and exposed to those who wish to injure him. That is why, when we go on a journey, we call ourselves forlorn most especially at the moment that we encounter robbers. For it is not the sight of a human being as such which puts an end to our forlorn condition, but the sight of a faithful, and unassuming, and helpful human being. Why, if being alone is enough to make one forlorn, you will have to say that even Zeus himself is forlorn at the World-Conflagration, and bewails himself: "Wretched me! I have neither Hera, nor Athena, nor Apollo, nor, in a word, brother, or son, or grandson, or kinsman." There are even those who say that this is what he does when left alone at the World-Conflagration; for they cannot conceive of the mode of life of one who is all alone, starting as they do from a natural principle, namely, the facts of natural community of interest among men, and mutual affection, and joy in intercourse. But one ought none the less to prepare oneself for this also, that is, to be able to be self-sufficient, to be able to commune with oneself; even as Zeus communes with himself, and is at peace with himself, and contemplates the character of his governance, and occupies himself with ideas appropriate to himself, so ought we also to be able to converse with ourselves, not to be in need of others, not to be at a loss for some way to spend our time; we ought to devote ourselves to the study of the divine governance, and of our own relation to all other things; to consider how we used to act toward the things that happen to us, and how we act now; what the things are that still distress us; how these too can be remedied, or how removed; if any of these matters that I have mentioned need to be brought to perfection, to perfect them in accordance with the principle of reason inherent in them.

Behold now, Caesar seems to provide us with profound peace, there are no wars any longer, nor battles, no brigandage on a large scale, nor piracy, but at any hour we may travel by land, or sail from the rising of the sun to its setting. Can he, then, at all provide us with peace from fever too, and from shipwreck too, and from fire, or earthquake, or lightning? Come, can he give us peace from love? He cannot. From sorrow? From envy? He cannot—from absolutely none of these things. But the doctrine of the philosophers promises to give us peace from these troubles too. And what does it say? "Men, if you heed me, wherever you may be, whatever you may be doing, you will feel no pain, no anger, no compulsion, no hindrance, but you will pass your lives in tranquillity and in freedom from every disturbance." When a man has this kind of peace proclaimed to him, not by Caesar—why, how could he possibly proclaim it?—but proclaimed by God through the reason, is he not satisfied, when he is alone? When he contemplates and reflects, "Now no evil can befall me, for me there is no such thing as a brigand, for me there is no such thing as an earthquake, everything is full of peace, everything full of tranquillity; every road, every city, every fellow-traveller, neighbour, companion, all are harmless. Another, whose care it is, supplies food; Another supplies raiment; Another has given senses; Another preconceptions. Now whenever He does not provide the necessities for existence, He sounds the recall; He has thrown open the door and says to you, "Go." Where? To nothing you need fear, but back to that from which you came, to what is friendly and akin to you, to the physical elements. What there was of fire in you shall pass into fire, what there was of earth into earth, what there was of spirit into spirit, what there was of water into water. There is no Hades, nor Acheron, nor Cocytus, nor Pyriphlegethon, but everything is filled with gods and divine powers." A man who has this to think upon, and who beholds the sun, and moon, and stars, and enjoys land and sea, is no more forlorn than he is without help. "Why, what then? What if someone should attack me when I am alone and murder me?" Fool, not murder you but your trivial body.

What kind of forlornness is left, then, to talk about? What kind of helplessness? Why make ourselves worse than little children? When they are left alone, what do they do? They gather up sherds and dust and build something or other, then tear it down and build something else again; and so they are never at a loss as to how to spend their time. Am I, then, if you set sail, to sit down and cry because I am left alone and forlorn in that fashion? Shall I not have sherds, shall I not have dust? But they act thus out of folly, and are we miserable out of wisdom?

Great power is always dangerous for the beginner. We ought, therefore, to bear such things according to our power—nay, in accordance with nature . . . but not for the consumptive. Practise at some one time a style of living like an invalid, that at some other time you may live like a healthy man. Take no food, drink only water; refrain at some one time altogether from desire, that at some other time you may exercise desire, and then with good reason. And if you do so with good reason, whenever you have some good in you, you will exercise your desire aright. No, that's not our way, but we wish to live like wise men from the very start, and to help mankind. Help indeed! What are you about? Why, have you helped yourself? But you wish to help them progress. Why, have you made progress yourself? Do you wish to help them? Then show them, by your own example, the kind of men philosophy produces, and stop talking nonsense. As you eat, help those who are eating with you; as you drink, those who are drinking with you; by yielding to everybody, giving place, submitting—help men in this way, and don't bespatter them with your own sputum.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 14 - Some Scattered Sayings

As the good chorus-singers in tragedy cannot render solos, but can sing perfectly well with a number of other voices, so some men cannot walk around by themselves. Man, if you are anybody, both walk around by yourself, and talk to yourself, and do not hide yourself in the chorus. Let yourself be laughed at sometimes, look about you, shake yourself up, so as to find out who you actually are.

Whenever a man drinks water only, or has some ascetic practice, he takes every opportunity to talk about it to everybody: "I drink water only." Why, do you drink water just for the sake of drinking water? Man, if it is good for you to drink water, drink it! Otherwise your conduct is absurd. But if it does you good and you drink water only, don't say a word about it to the people who are annoyed by such persons. Why, what's your object? Are these just the ones you wish to please?

Among actions some are performed primarily on their own account, others on occasion, or as a matter of good management, or as required by tact, or as part of a formal plan.

Here are two things of which one must rid men, conceit and diffidence. Now conceit is to fancy that one needs nothing further. And diffidence is to assume that one cannot enjoy a life of serenity under so many adverse circumstances. Now conceit is removed by cross-examination, and this is what Socrates starts with. . . . But that the matter is not impossible, consider and search—this kind of search will do you no harm; and, indeed, to philosophise practically amounts to this, that is, to search how it is possible to employ desire and aversion without hindrance.

"I am superior to you, for my father has consular rank." Another says, "I have been a tribune, and you have not." And if we were horses, you would be saying: "My sire was swifter than yours," or, "I have quantities of barley and fodder," or, "I have pretty neck-trappings." What then, if, when you were talking like this, I said, "Granted all that, let's run a race, then"? Come now, is there, then, nothing in man like running in the case of a horse, whereby the worse and the better will be recognised? Isn't there such a thing as reverence, faith, justice? Prove yourself superior in these points, in order to be superior as a human being. If you tell me, "I can deliver a mighty kick," I shall say to you in my turn, "You are proud over what is the act of an ass."

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 15 - That We Ought To Approach Each Separate Thing With Circumspection

In each separate thing that you do consider the matters which come first, and those which follow after, and only then approach the thing itself. Otherwise, at the start you will come to it enthusiastically because you have never reflected upon any of the subsequent steps, but later on, when some of them appear, you will give up disgracefully. "I wish to win an Olympic victory." But consider the matters which come before that and those which follow after; and only when you have done that, then, if it profits you, put your hand to the task. You have to submit to discipline, follow a strict diet, give up sweet-cakes, train under compulsion, at a fixed hour, in heat or in cold; you must not drink cold water, nor wine just whenever you feel like it; you must have turned yourself over to your trainer precisely as you would to a physician. Then when the contest comes on, you have to "dig in" beside your opponent, sometimes dislocate your wrist, sprain your ankle, swallow quantities of sand, take a scourging; yes, and then sometimes get beaten along with all that. After you have counted up these points, go on into the games, if you still wish to; otherwise, I would have you observe that you will be turning back like children. Sometimes they play athletes, again gladiators, again they blow trumpets, and then act a play about anything that they have seen and admired. So you too are now an athlete, now a gladiator, then a philosopher, after that a rhetorician, yet with your whole soul nothing, but like an ape you imitate whatever you see, and one thing after another is always striking your fancy, but what you are accustomed to bores you. For you have never gone out after anything with circumspection, nor after you have examined the whole matter all over and tested it, but you act at haphazard and half-heartedly.

In the same way, when some people have seen a philosopher and heard someone speaking like Euphrates (though, indeed, who can speak like him?), they wish to be philosophers themselves. Man, consider first what the business is, and then your own natural ability, what you can bear. If you wish to be a wrestler, look to your shoulders, your thighs, your loins. For one man has a natural talent for one thing, another for another. Do you suppose that you can do the things you do now, and yet be a philosopher? Do you suppose that you can eat in the same fashion, drink in the same fashion, give way to anger and to irritation, just as you do now? You must keep vigils, work hard, overcome certain desires, abandon your own people, be despised by a paltry slave, be laughed to scorn by those who meet you, in everything get the worst of it, in office, in honour, in court. Look these drawbacks over carefully, and then, if you think best, approach philosophy, that is, if you are willing at the price of these things to secure tranquillity, freedom, and calm. Otherwise, do not approach; don't act like a child—now a philosopher, later on a tax-gatherer, then a rhetorician, then a procurator of Caesar. These things do not go together. You must be one person, either good or bad; you must labour to improve either your own governing principle or externals; you must work hard either on the inner man, or on things outside; that is, play the rôle of a philosopher, or else that of a layman.

When Galba [one of the the Roman emperors who succeeded Nero in 69 AD]. was assassinated, someone said to Rufus, "Is the universe governed now by Providence?" But he replied, "Did I ever, even in passing, take the case of Galba as the basis for an argument that the universe is governed by Providence?"

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 16 - That One Should Enter Cautiously Into Social Intercourse

The man who consorts frequently with one person or another either for conversation, or for banquets, or for social purposes in general, is compelled either to become like them himself, or else to bring them over to his own style of living; for if you put by the side of a live coal one that has gone out, either the dead coal will put the live one out, or the latter will kindle the former. Since the risk, then, is so great, we ought to enter cautiously into such social intercourse with the laymen, remembering that it is impossible for the man who brushes up against the person who is covered with soot to keep from getting some soot on himself. For what are you going to do if he talks about gladiators, or horses, or athletes, or, worse still, about people: "So-and-so is bad, So-and-so is good; this was well done, this ill"; or again, if he scoffs, or jeers, or shows an ugly disposition? Has any of you the capacity of the expert lyre-player when he takes up his lyre, which enables him, the instant he touches the strings, to recognise the ones which are off pitch, and to tune the instrument? Or the power that Socrates had, which enabled him in every kind of social intercourse to bring over to his own side those who were in his company? How could you have? But you must necessarily be converted by the laymen.

Why, then, are they stronger than you are? Because their rotten talk is based on judgements, but your fine talk comes merely from your lips; that's why what you say is languid and dead, and why a man may well feel nausea when he hears your exhortations and your miserable "virtue," which you babble to and fro. And thus the laymen get the better of you; for everywhere judgement is strong, judgement is invincible. Therefore, until these fine ideas of yours are firmly fixed within you, and you have acquired some power which will guarantee you security, my advice to you is to be cautious about joining issue with the laymen; otherwise whatever you write down in the lecture-room will melt away by day like wax in the sun. Retire, then, to some spot or other far away from the sun, so long as the ideas which you have are waxen. It is for this reason that the philosophers advise us to leave even our own countries, because old habits distract us and do not allow a beginning to be made of another custom, and we cannot bear to have men meet us and say, "Look, So-and-so is philosophizing, although he is this sort of a person or that." Thus also physicians send away to a different region and a different climate those who are suffering from chronic

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disorders, and that is well. Do you also introduce different habits; fix your ideas, exercise yourselves in them. But no, you go from the class-room to a show, a gladiatorial combat, a gymnasium-colonnade, a circus; and then you come back here from these places, and you go back there again from here, and remain the same persons all the time. And so you acquire no fine habit; you pay no regard or attention to your own self; you do not observe: "How do I deal with the external impressions which befall me? In accordance with nature, or contrary to it? How shall I respond to these impressions? As I should, or as I should not? Do I declare to the things which lie outside the sphere of my moral purpose that they mean nothing to me?" Why, if you have not yet acquired this state of mind, flee from your former habits, flee from the laymen, if you would begin to be somebody some time.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 17 - Of Providence

Whenever you find fault with Providence, only consider and you will recognise that what happens is in accordance with reason. "Yes," you say, "but the wicked man is better off." In what respect? In money; for in respect to that he is superior to you, because he flatters, is shameless, lies awake nights. What is surprising in that? But look rather and see if he is better off than you are in being faithful, and considerate. For you will not find that to be the case; but where you are superior, there you will find that you are better off than he is. And so I once asked a man who was complaining about the prosperity of Philostorgus, "Would you have been willing to cohabit with Sura?" "May that day never come!" said he. Why, then, are you indignant if he gets something for what he sells? Or how can you deem him blessed who acquires what he has by means which you abhor? Or what harm does Providence do if it gives the better thing to the better men? Or is it not better to be considerate than to be rich? He agreed that it was. Why, then, are you indignant, man, when you have the better part? I would have the rest of you always remember, then, and be ready to apply the following truth: That this is a law of nature for the superior to have the better of the inferior, in the respect in which he is superior; and then you will never be indignant. "But my wife treats me badly." Very well; if someone asks you what this amounts to, say, "My wife treats me badly." "Nothing else, then?" Nothing. "My father does not give me anything" . . . . . [This lacuna is probably to be filled out thus: What does this amount to? Merely that your father does not give you anything.] But is it necessary in your own mind to add to the preceding statement, that to receive nothing from your father is an evil, and at that to add a lie too? For this reason we ought not to cast out poverty, but only our judgement about poverty, and so we shall be serene.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 18 - That We Ought Not To Allow Any News To Disturb Us

Whenever some disturbing news is reported to you, you ought to have ready at hand the following principle: News, on any subject, never falls within the sphere of the moral purpose. Can anyone bring you word that you have been wrong in an assumption or in a desire?—By no means.—But he can bring you word that someone is dead. Very well, what is that to you? That someone is speaking ill of you. Very well, what is that to you? That your father is making certain preparations. Against whom? Surely not against your moral purpose, is it? Why, how can he? But against your paltry body, against your paltry possessions; you are safe, it is not against you. But the judge condemns you on the charge of impiety. And did not the judges similarly condemn Socrates? Surely it is no concern of yours that the judge pronounced you guilty, is it?—No.—Why, then, are you any further concerned? Your father has a certain function, and if he does not perform it, he has destroyed the father in him, the man who loves his offspring, the man of gentleness within him. Do not seek to make him lose anything else on this account. For it never happens that a man goes wrong in one thing, but is injured in another. Again, it is your function to defend yourself firmly, respectfully, without passion. Otherwise, you have destroyed within you the son, the respectful man, the man of honour. What then? Is the judge secure? No; but he too runs just as great a risk. Why, then, are you afraid of what decision he is going to render? What have you to do with another man's evil? Your own evil is to make a bad defence; only guard against that, but just as being condemned or not being condemned is another's function, so it is another's evil. "So-and-so threatens you." Me? No. "He blames you." He himself will attend to how he is performing his own proper function. "He is on the point of condemning you unjustly." Poor devil!

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 19 - What Is The Position Of The Layman, And What That Of The Philosopher?

The first difference between a layman and a philosopher: The one says, "Woe is me because of my child, my brother, woe because of my father"; and the other, if he can ever be compelled to say, "Woe is me," adds, after a pause, "because of myself." For nothing outside the sphere of the moral purpose can hamper or injure the moral purpose; it alone can hamper or injure itself. If, then, we too tend in this latter direction so that, whenever we go amiss, we blame ourselves, and bear in mind that nothing but judgement is responsible for the disturbance of our peace of mind and our inconstancy, I swear to you by all the gods that we have been making progress. But as it is, we have taken a different course from the start. Even while we were still children, our nurse, if ever we bumped into something, when we were going along with our mouths open, did not scold us, but used to beat the stone. Why, what did the stone do? Ought it to have moved out of the road because of your childish folly? And again, if we when children don't find something to eat after our bath, our attendant never checks our appetite, but he cudgels the cook. Man, we did not make you the cook's attendant, did we? but our child's. Correct him, help him. So, even when we have grown up, we look like children. For it is being a child to be unmusical in things musical, to be unlettered in things literary, to be uneducated in life.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 20 - That It Is Possible To Derive Advantage From Everything External

In the case of our intellectual impressions practically all men have agreed that the good and the evil are in ourselves, and not in externals. Nobody calls the statement that it is day, good, or that it is night, bad, and the greatest of evils, the statement that three is four. But what? They call knowledge good, and error evil; so that even in regard to what is false there arises a good, that is, the knowledge that the false is false. So it ought to be, then, also with our life. Is health a good, and illness an evil? No, man. What then? To be well for a good end is good, to be well for an evil end is evil.—So that it is possible to derive advantage even from illness, you mean?—Why, I call God to witness, isn't it possible to derive advantage from death? Why, is it not possible from lameness? Do you think that Menoeceus [Who gave his life to save his native city, Thebes.] derived but little good when he died?—May the one who says anything like that derive the same sort of good that he did!—Ho, there, man, did he not maintain the patriot that he was, the high-minded man, the man of fidelity, the man of honour? And had he lived on, would he not have lost all these? Would he not have won the very opposite? Would he not have acquired the character of the coward, the ignoble man, the disloyal, the lover of his own life? Come now, do you think that Menoeceus derived but little good by his death? Oh, no! But the father of Admetus derived great good from living so ignobly and wretchedly, did he? Why, didn't he die later? Make an end, I adjure you by the gods, of admiring material things, make an end of turning yourselves into slaves, in the first place, of things, and then, in the second place, on their account, slaves also of the men who are able to secure or to take away these things.

Is it possible, then, to derive advantage from these things?—Yes, from everything.—Even from the man who reviles me?—And what good does his wrestling-companion do the athlete? The very greatest. So also my reviler becomes one who prepares me for my contest; he exercises my patience, my dispassionateness, my gentleness. You say: No. But the man who lays hold of my neck and gets my loins and my shoulders into proper shape helps me, and the rubber does well when he says, "Lift the pestle with both hands," and the heavier it is, the more good I get out of doing so; whereas, if a man trains me to be dispassionate, does he do me no good? Your attitude means that you do not know how to derive advantage from men. Is your neighbour bad? Yes, for himself; but for me he is good; he exercises my good disposition, my fair-mindedness. Is your father bad? Yes, for himself; but for me he is good. This is the magic wand of Hermes. "Touch what you will," the saying goes, "and it will turn into gold." Nay, but bring whatever you will and I will turn it into a good. Bring disease, bring death, bring poverty, reviling, peril of life in court; all these things will become helpful at a touch from the magic wand of Hermes. "What will you make of death?" Why, what else but make it your glory, or an opportunity for you to show in deed thereby what sort of person a man is who follows the will of nature. "What will you make of disease?" I will show its character, I will shine in it, I will be firm, I will be serene, I will not fawn upon my physician, I will not pray for death. What else do you still seek? Everything that you give I will turn into something blessed, productive of happiness, august, enviable.

Not so you; but, "Watch out that you don't get ill; it's bad." Just as if someone said, "Watch out that you never get the impression that three are four; it's bad." Man, how do you mean "bad"? If I get the right idea of it, how is it going to hurt me any more? Will it not rather even do me good? If, then, I get the right idea about poverty, or disease, or not holding office, am I not satisfied? Will they not be helpful to me? How, then, would you have me seek any longer amongst externals for things evil and things good?

But what? These things go thus far, but nobody takes them home with him; nay, as soon as we leave here, there is war on with our slave attendant, our neighbours, those that mock, and those that laugh at us. Blessed be Lesbius, because he convicts me every day of knowing nothing!

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 21 - To Those Who Enter Light-Heartedly Upon The Profession Of Lecturing

Those who have learned the principles and nothing else are eager to throw them up immediately, just as persons with a weak stomach throw up their food. First digest your principles, and then you will surely not throw them up this way. Otherwise they are mere vomit, foul stuff and unfit to eat. But after you have digested these principles, show us some change in your governing principle that is due to them; as the athletes show their shoulders as the results of their exercising and eating, and as those who have mastered the arts can show the results of their learning. The builder does not come forward and say, "Listen to me deliver a discourse about the art of building"; but he takes a contract for a house, builds it, and thereby proves that he possesses the art. Do something of the same sort yourself too; eat as a man, drink as a man, adorn yourself, marry, get children, be active as a citizen; endure revilings, bear with an unreasonable brother, father, son, neighbour, fellow-traveller. Show us that you can do these things, for us to see that in all truth you have learned something of the philosophers. No, but "Come and listen to me deliver my comments," you say. Go to! Look for people on whom to throw up! "Yes, but I will set forth to you the doctrines of Chrysippus as no one else can; his language I will analyse so as to make it perfectly clear; possibly I will throw in a bit of the vivacity of Antipater and Archedemus."

And then it's for this, is it, that the young men are to leave their fatherlands and their own parents,—to come and listen to you interpreting trifling phrases? Ought they not to be, when they return home, forbearing, ready to help one another, tranquil, with a mind at peace, possessed of some such provision for the journey of life, that, starting out with it, they will be able to bear well whatever happens, and to derive honour from it? And where did you get the ability to impart to them these things which you do not possess yourself? Why, from the first did you ever do anything but wear yourself out over the question how solutions can be found for syllogisms, for the arguments that involve equivocal premisses, and those which derive syllogisms by the process of interrogation? "But So-and-so lectures; why should I not too?" Slave, these things are not done recklessly, nor at random, but one ought to be of a certain age, and lead a certain kind of life, and have God as his guide. You say: No. But no man sails out of a harbour without first sacrificing to the gods and invoking their aid, nor do men sow hit-or-miss, but only after first calling upon Demeter; and yet will a man, if he has laid his hand to so great a task as this without the help of the gods, be secure in so doing, and will those who come to him be fortunate in so coming? What else are you doing, man, but vulgarizing the Mysteries, and saying, "There is a chapel at Eleusis; see, there is one here too. There is a hierophant there; I too will make a hierophant. There is a herald there; I too will appoint a herald. There is a torch-bearer there; I too will have a torch-bearer. There are torches there; and here too. The words said are the same; and what is the difference between what is done here and what is done there?"? Most impious man, is there no difference? Are the same acts helpful, if they are performed at the wrong place and at the wrong time? Nay, but a man ought to come also with a sacrifice, and with prayers, and after a preliminary purification, and with his mind predisposed to the idea that he will be approaching holy rites, and holy rites of great antiquity. Only thus do the Mysteries become helpful, only thus do we arrive at the impression that all these things were established by men of old time for the purpose of education and for the amendment of our life. But you are publishing the Mysteries abroad and vulgarizing them, out of time, out of place, without sacrifices, without purification; you do not have the dress which the hierophant ought to wear, you do not have the proper head of hair, nor head-band, nor voice, nor age; you have not kept yourself pure as he has, but you have picked up only the words which he utters, and recite them. Have the words a sacred force all by themselves?

One ought to approach these matters in a different fashion; the affair is momentous, it is full of mystery, not a chance gift, nor given to all comers. Nay, it may be that not even wisdom is all that is needed for the care of the young; one ought also to have a certain readiness and special fitness for this task, by Zeus, and a particular physique, and above all the counsel of God advising him to occupy this office, as God counselled Socrates to take the office of examining and confuting men, Diogenes the office of rebuking men in a kingly manner, and Zeno that of instructing men and laying down doctrines. But you are opening up a doctor's office although you possess no equipment other than drugs, but when or how these drugs are applied you neither know nor have ever taken the trouble to learn. "See," you say, "that man has these eye-salves, and so have I." Have you, then, at all the faculty of using them aright? Do you know at all when and how and for whom they will do good? Why, then, do you play at hazard in matters of the utmost moment, why do you take things lightly, why do you put your hand to a task that is altogether inappropriate for you? Leave it to those who are able to do it, and do it with distinction. Do not yourself by your own actions join the number of those who bring disgrace upon philosophy, and do

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not become one of those who disparage the profession. If, however, you find the principles of philosophy entertaining, sit down and turn them over in your mind all by yourself, but don't ever call yourself a philosopher, and don't allow anyone else to say it of you, but say, rather, "He is mistaken; for my desire is no different from what it used to be, nor my choice, nor my assent, nor, in a word, have I changed at all, in my use of external impressions, from my former state." Think this and say this about yourself, if you wish to think aright. If not, keep on playing at hazard and doing what you are doing now; for it becomes you.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 22 - On The Calling Of A Cynic* [*The Cynics were the intransigent and uncompromising moralists, resembling the holy men, ascetics, and dervishes of the Orient. Epictetus idealises them somewhat in this discourse, regarding them as a kind of perfected wise men, like some of the early Christian anchorites, but points out very clearly that their style of life was not practicable for every man, indeed not even for one so humble and frugal as he himself was.]

When one of his acquaintances, who seemed to have an inclination to take up the calling of a Cynic, asked him what sort of a man the Cynic ought to be, and what was the fundamental conception of his calling, Epictetus said: We will consider it at leisure; but I can tell you this much, that the man who lays his hand to so great a matter as this without God, is hateful to Him, and his wish means nothing else than disgracing himself in public. For in a well-ordered house no one comes along and says to himself, "I ought to be manager of this house"; or if he does, the lord of the mansion, when he turns around and sees the fellow giving orders in a high and mighty fashion, drags him out and gives him a dressing down. So it goes also in this great city, the world; for here also there is a Lord of the Mansion who assigns each and every thing its place. "You are the sun; you have the power, as you make the circuit of the heavens, to produce the year and the seasons, to give increase and nourishment to the fruits, to stir and to calm the winds, and to give warmth in moderation to the bodies of men; arise, make the circuit of the heavens, and so set in motion all things from the greatest to the least. You are a calf; when a lion appears, do what is expected of you; otherwise you will smart for it. You are a bull; come on and fight, for this is expected of you, it befits you, and you are able to do it. You are able to lead the host against Ilium; be Agamemnon. You are able to fight a duel with Hector; be Achilles." But if Thersites came along and claimed command, either he would not have got it, or if he had, he would have disgraced himself in the presence of a multitude of witnesses.

So do you also think about the matter carefully; it is not what you think it is. "I wear a rough cloak even as it is, and I shall have one then; I have a hard bed even now, and so I shall then; I shall take to myself a wallet and a staff, and I shall begin to walk around and beg from those I meet, and revile them; and if I see someone who is getting rid of superfluous hair by the aid of pitch-plasters, or has a fancy cut to his hair, or is strolling about in scarlet clothes, I will come down hard on him." If you fancy the affair to be something like this, give it a wide berth; do not come near it, it is nothing for you. But if your impression of it is correct, and you do not think too meanly of yourself, consider the magnitude of the enterprise that you are taking in hand.

First, in all that pertains to yourself directly you must change completely from your present practices, and must cease to blame God or man; you must utterly wipe out desire, and must turn your aversion toward the things which lie within the province of the moral purpose, and these only; you must feel no anger, no rage, no envy, no pity; no wench must look fine to you, no petty reputation, no boy-favourite, no little sweet-cake. For this you ought to know: Other men have the protection of their walls and their houses and darkness, when they do anything of that sort, and they have many things to hide them. A man closes his door, stations someone at the entrance to his bedroom: "If anyone comes, tell him 'He is not at home, he is not at leisure.'" But the Cynic, instead of all these defences, has to make his self-respect his protection; if he does not, he will be disgracing himself naked and out of doors. His self-respect is his house, his door, his guards at the entrance to his bedroom, his darkness. For neither ought he to wish to keep concealed anything that is his (otherwise he is lost, he has destroyed the Cynic within him, the man of outdoor life, the free man; he has begun to fear something external, he has begun to need something to conceal him), nor can he keep it concealed when he wishes to do so. For where will he conceal himself, or how? And if this instructor of us all, this "pedagogue," chance to get caught, what must he suffer! Can, then, a man who is afraid of all this continue with all his heart to supervise the conduct of other men? It cannot be done, it is impossible.

In the first place, then, you must make your governing principle pure, and you must make the following your plan of life: "From now on my mind is the material with which I have to work, as the carpenter has his timbers, the shoemaker his hides; my business is to make the right use of my impressions. My paltry body is nothing to me; the parts of it are nothing to me. Death? Let it come when it will, whether it be the death of the whole or some part. Exile? And to what place can anyone thrust me out? Outside the universe he cannot. But wherever I go, there are sun, moon, stars, dreams, omens, my converse with gods."

In the next place, the true Cynic, when he is thus prepared, cannot rest contented with this, but he must know that he has been sent by Zeus to men, partly as a messenger, in order to show them that in questions of good and evil they have gone astray, and are seeking the true nature of the good and the evil where it is not, but where it is they never think; and partly, in the words of Diogenes, when he was taken off to Philip, after the battle of Chaeroneia, as a scout. For the Cynic is truly a scout, to find out what things are friendly to men and what hostile; and he must first do his scouting accurately, and on returning must tell the truth, not driven by fear to designate as enemies those who are not such, nor in any other fashion be distraught or confused by his external impressions.

He must, accordingly, be able, if it so chance, to lift up his voice, and, mounting the tragic stage, to speak like Socrates: "Alas! men, where are you rushing? What are you doing, O wretched people? Like blind men you go tottering all around. You have left the true path and are going off upon another; you are looking for serenity and happiness in the wrong place, where it does not exist, and you do not believe when another points them out to you. Why do you look for it outside? It does not reside in the body. If you doubt that, look at Myron, or Ophellius. It is not in possessions. If you doubt that, look at Croesus, look at the rich nowadays, the amount of lamentation with which their life is filled. It is not in office. Why, if it were, then those who have been consul two or three times ought to be happy men, but they are not. Whom are we going to believe about this question? You who look upon their estate from the outside and are dazzled by the external appearance, or the men themselves? What do they say? Listen to them when they lament, when they groan, when they think that their condition is more wretched and dangerous because of these very consulships, and their own reputation, and their prominence. It is not in royalty. Otherwise Nero would have been a happy man, and Sardanapalus. Nay, even Agamemnon was not a happy man, though a much finer fellow than Sardanapalus or Nero; but while the rest are snoring what is he doing?

"Many a hair did he pluck, by the roots, from his forehead."

And what are his own words?

"Thus do I wander,"

he says, and

"To and fro am I tossed, and my heart is
Leaping forth from my bosom."

Poor man, what about you is in a bad state? Your possessions? No, it is not; rather you "are possessed of much gold and of much bronze." Your body? No, it is not. What, then, is wrong with you? Why, this: You have neglected and ruined whatever that is within you by which we desire, avoid, choose, and refuse. How neglected? It remains ignorant of the true nature of the good, to which it was born, and of the true nature of the evil, and of what is its own proper possession, and what is none of its own concern. And whenever some one of these things that are none of its own concern is in a bad way, it says, "Woe is me, for the Greeks are in danger." Ah, miserable governing principle, the only thing neglected and uncared for! "They are going to perish, slain by the Trojans." But if the Trojans do not kill them, will they not die anyway? "Yes, but not all at once." What difference does it make, then? For if death is an evil, whether they die all at once, or die one at a time, it is equally an evil. Nothing else is going to happen, is it, but the separation of the paltry body from the soul? "Nothing." And is the door closed for you, if the Greeks perish? Are you not permitted to die? "I am." Why, then, do you grieve? "Woe is me, a king, and holding the sceptre of Zeus!" A king does not become unfortunate any more than a god becomes unfortunate. What are you, then? Truly a shepherd! for you wail as the shepherds do when a wolf carries off one of their sheep; and these men over whom you rule are sheep. But why did you come here in the first place? Your desire was not in danger, was it, or your avoidance, your choice, or your refusal? "No," he answers, "but my brother's frail wife was carried off." Was it not, then, a great gain to lose a frail and adulterous wife? "Shall we, then, be despised by the Trojans?" Who are they? Wise men or foolish? If wise, why are you fighting with them? If foolish, why do you care?

"In what, then, is the good, since it is not in these things? Tell us. Sir messenger and scout." "It is where you do not expect it, and do not wish to look for it. For if you had wished, you would have found it within you, and you would not now be wandering outside, nor would you be seeking what does not concern you, as though it were your own possession. Turn your thoughts upon yourselves, find out the kind of preconceived ideas which you have. what sort of a thing do you imagine the good to be? Serenity, happiness, freedom from restraint. Come, do you not imagine it to be something naturally great? Something precious? Something not injurious? In what kind of subject-matter for life ought one to seek serenity, and freedom from restraint? In that which is slave, or in that which is free?" "In the free." "Is the paltry body which you have, then, free or is it a slave?" "We know not." "You do not know that it is a slave of fever, gout, ophthalmia, dysentery, a tyrant, fire, iron, everything that is stronger?" "Yes, it is their servant." "How, then, can anything that pertains to the body be unhampered? And how can that which is naturally lifeless, earth, or clay, be great or precious? What then? Have you nothing that is free?" "Perhaps nothing." "And who can compel you to assent to that which appears to you to be false?" "No one." "And who to refuse assent to that which appears to you to be true?" "No one." "Here, then, you see that there is something within you which is naturally free. But to desire, or to avoid, or to choose, or to refuse, or to prepare, or to set something before yourself—what man among you can do these things without first conceiving an impression of what is profitable, or what is not fitting?" "No one." "You have, therefore, here too, something unhindered and free. Poor wretches, develop this, pay attention to this, seek here your good."

And how is it possible for a man who has nothing, who is naked, without home or hearth, in squalor, without a slave, without a city, to live serenely? Behold, God has sent you the man who will show in practice that it is possible. "Look at me," he says, "I am without a home, without a city, without property, without a slave; I sleep on the ground; I have neither wife nor children, no miserable governor's mansion, but only earth, and sky, and one rough cloak. Yet what do I lack? Am I not free from pain and fear, am I not free? When has anyone among you seen me failing to get what I desire, or falling into what I would avoid? When have I ever found fault with either God or man? When have I ever blamed anyone? Has anyone among you seen me with a gloomy face? And how do I face those persons before whom you stand in fear and awe? Do I not face them as slaves? Who, when he lays eyes upon me, does not feel that he is seeing his king and his master?"

Lo, these are words that befit a Cynic, this is his character, and his plan of life. But no, you say, what makes a Cynic is a contemptible wallet, a staff, and big jaws; to devour everything you give him, or to stow it away, or to revile tactlessly the people he meets, or to show off his fine shoulder. Do you see the spirit in which you are intending to set your hand to so great an enterprise? First take a mirror, look at your shoulders, find out what kind of loins and thighs you have. Man, it's an Olympic contest in which you are intending to enter your name, not some cheap and miserable contest or other. In the Olympic games it is not possible for you merely to be beaten and then leave; but, in the first place, you needs must disgrace yourself in the sight of the whole civilized world, not merely before the men of Athens, or Lacedaemon, or Nicopolis; and, in the second place, the man who carelessly gets up and leaves must needs be flogged, and before he is flogged he has to suffer thirst, and scorching heat, and swallow quantities of wrestler's sand.

Think the matter over more carefully, know yourself, ask the Deity, do not attempt the task without God. For if God so advises you, be assured that He wishes you either to become great, or to receive many stripes. For this too is a very pleasant strand woven into the Cynic's pattern of life; he must needs be flogged like an ass, and while he is being flogged he must love the men who flog him, as though he were the father or brother of them all. But that is not your way. If someone flogs you, go stand in the midst and shout, "O Caesar, what do I have to suffer under your peaceful rule? let us go before the Proconsul." But what to a Cynic is Caesar, or a Proconsul, or anyone other than He who has sent him into the world, and whom he serves, that is, Zeus? Does he call upon anyone but Zeus? And is he not persuaded that whatever of these hardships he suffers, it is Zeus that is exercising him? Nay, but Heracles, when he was being exercised by Eurystheus, did not count himself wretched, but used to fulfil without hesitation everything that was enjoined upon him: and yet is this fellow, when he is being trained and exercised by Zeus, prepared to cry out and complain? Is he a man worthy to carry the staff of Diogenes? Hear his words to the passers-by as he lies ill of a fever: "Vile wretches," he said, "are you not going to stop? Nay, you are going to take that long, long journey to Olympia, to see the struggle of worthless athletes; but do you not care to see a struggle between fever and a man?"* [*An ancient scholiast, probably Arethas (cf. Schenkl, p. 80), remarks at this point, that Epictetus had probably read the Gospels and Jewish literature. But this particular passage does not furnish any very cogent argument, for the evidence adduced, namely the injunctions about "turning the other cheek" and "loving your enemies" (Matthew 5:39 and 44), has nothing in common with the somewhat vainglorious speech of Diogenes. Probably, however, the scholium actually belongs at § 4, where there is, indeed, a certain resemblance. Fairly apposite, also, is the citation of James 1:2: "My brethren, count it all joy when ye fall into divers temptations," in connexion with the next sentence. But even at the best, these words from the New Testament are only parallels, certainly not sources.] No doubt a man of that sort would have blamed

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God, who had sent him into the world, for mistreating him! Nay, he took pride in his distress, and demanded that those who passed by should gaze upon him. Why, what will he blame God for? Because he is living a decent life? What charge does he bring against Him? The charge that He is exhibiting his virtue in a more brilliant style? Come, what says Diogenes about poverty, death, hardship? How did he habitually compare his happiness with that of the Great King? Or rather, he thought there was no comparison between them. For where there are disturbances, and griefs, and fears, and ineffectual desires, and unsuccessful avoidances, and envies, and jealousies—where is there in the midst of all this a place for happiness to enter? But wherever worthless judgements are held, there all these passions must necessarily exist.

And when the young man asked whether he, as a Cynic, should consent, if, when he had fallen ill, a friend asked him to come to his house, so as to receive proper nursing, Epictetus replied: But where will you find me a Cynic's friend? For such a person must be another Cynic, in order to be worthy of being counted his friend. He must share with him his sceptre and kingdom, and be a worthy ministrant, if he is going to be deemed worthy of friendship, as Diogenes became the friend of Antisthenes, and Crates of Diogenes. Or do you think that if a man as he comes up greets the Cynic, he is the Cynic's friend, and the Cynic will think him worthy to receive him into his house? So if that is what you think and have in mind, you had much better look around for some nice dunghill, on which to have your fever, one that will give you shelter from the north wind, so that you won't get chilled. But you give me the impression of wanting to go into somebody's house for a while and to get filled up. Why, then, are you even laying your hand to so great an enterprise?

But, said the young man, will marriage and children be undertaken by the Cynic as a matter of prime importance?—If, replied Epictetus, you grant me a city of wise men, it might very well be that no one will lightly adopt the Cynic's profession. For in whose interest would he take on this style of life? If, nevertheless, we assume that he does so act, there will be nothing to prevent him from both marrying and having children; for his wife will be another person like himself, and so will his father-in-law, and his children will be brought up in the same fashion. But in such an order of things as the present, which is like that of a battle-field, it is a question, perhaps, if the Cynic ought not to be free from distraction, wholly devoted to the service of God, free to go about among men, not tied down by the private duties of men, nor involved in relationships which he cannot violate and still maintain his role as a good and excellent man, whereas, on the other hand, if he observes them, he will destroy the messenger, the scout, the herald of the gods, that he is. For see, he must show certain services to his father-in-law, to the rest of his wife's relatives, to his wife herself; finally, he is driven from his profession, to act as a nurse in his own family and to provide for them. To make a long story short, he must get a kettle to heat water for the baby, for washing it in a bath-tub; wool for his wife when she has had a child, oil, a cot, a cup (the vessels get more and more numerous); not to speak of the rest of his business, and his distraction. Where, I beseech you, is left now our king, the man who has leisure for the public interest,

Who hath charge of the folk and for many a thing must be watchful?

Where, pray, is this king, whose duty it is to oversee the rest of men; those who have married; those who have had children; who is treating his wife well, and who ill; who quarrels; what household is stable, and what not; making his rounds like a physician, and feeling pulses? "You have a fever, you have a headache, you have the gout. You must abstain from food, you must eat, you must give up the bath; you need the surgeon's knife, you the cautery." Where is the man who is tied down to the duties of everyday life going to find leisure for such matters? Come, does he not have to get little cloaks for the children? Doesn't he have to send them off to a school-teacher with their little tablets and writing implements, and little notebooks; and, besides, get the little cot ready for them? For they cannot be Cynics from the moment they leave the womb. And if he doesnot do all this, it would have been better to expose them at birth, rather than to kill them in this fashion. See to what straits we are reducing our Cynic, how we are taking away his kingdom from him.—Yes, but Crates married.—You are mentioning a particular instance which arose out of passionate love, and you are assuming a wife who is herself another Crates. But our inquiry is concerned with ordinary marriage apart from special circumstances, and from this point of view we do not find that marriage, under present conditions, is a matter of prime importance for the Cynic.

How, then, said the young man, will the Cynic still be able to keep society going?—In the name of God, sir, who do mankind the greater service? Those who bring into the world some two or three ugly-snouted children to take their place, or those who exercise oversight, to the best of their ability, over all mankind, observing what they are doing, how they are spending their lives, what they are careful about, and what they undutifully neglect? And were the Thebans helped more by all those who left them children than by Epaminondas who died without offspring? And did Priam, who begot fifty sons, all rascals, or Danaus, or Aeolus, contribute more to the common weal than did Homer? What? Shall high military command or writing a book prevent a man from marrying and having children, while such a person will not be regarded as having exchanged his childlessness for naught, and yet shall the Cynic's kingship not be thought a reasonable compensation? Can it be that we do not perceive the greatness of Diogenes, and have no adequate conception of his character, but have in mind the present-day representatives of the profession, these "dogs of the table, guards of the gate," who follow the masters not at all, except it be in breaking wind in public, forsooth, but in nothing else? Otherwise such points as these you have been raising would never have disturbed us, we should never have wondered why a Cynic will never marry or have children. Man, the Cynic has made all mankind his children; the men among them he has as sons, the women as daughters; in that spirit he approaches them all and cares for them all. Or do you fancy that it is in the spirit of idle impertinence he reviles those he meets? It is as a father he does it, as a brother, and as a servant of Zeus, who is Father of us all.

If you will, ask me also if he is to be active in politics. you ninny, are you looking for any nobler politics than that in which he is engaged? Or would you have someone in Athens step forward and discourse about incomes and revenues, when he is the person who ought to talk with all men, Athenians, Corinthians, and Romans alike, not about revenues, or income, or peace, or war, but about happiness and unhappiness, about success and failure, about slavery and freedom? When a man is engaging in such exalted politics, do you ask me if he is to engage in politics? Ask me also, if he will hold office. Again I will tell you: Fool, what nobler office will he hold than that which he now has?

And yet such a man needs also a certain kind of body, since if a consumptive comes forward, thin and pale, his testimony no longer carries the same weight. For he must not merely, by exhibiting the qualities of his soul, prove to the laymen that it is possible, without the help of the things which they admire, to be a good and excellent man, but he must also show, by the state of his body, that his plain and simple style of life in the open air does not injure even his body: "Look," he says, "both I and my body are witnesses to the truth of my contention." That was the way of Diogenes, for he used to go about with a radiant complexion, and would attract the attention of the common people by the very appearance of his body. But a Cynic who excites pity is regarded as a beggar; everybody turns away from him, everybody takes offence at him. No, and he ought not to look dirty either, so as not to scare men away in this respect also; but even his squalor ought to be cleanly and attractive.

Furthermore, the Cynic ought to possess great natural charm and readiness of wit—otherwise he becomes mere snivel, and nothing else—so as to be able to meet readily and aptly whatever befalls; as Diogenes answered the man who said: "Are you the Diogenes who does not believe in the existence of the gods?" by saying, "And how can that be? You I regard as hated by the gods!" Or again, when Alexander stood over him as he was sleeping and said,

Sleeping the whole night through beseems not the giver of counsel,

he replied, still half asleep,

Who hath charge of the folk, and for many a thing must be watchful.

But above all, the Cynic's governing principle should be purer than the sun; if not, he must needs be a gambler and a man of no principle, because he will be censuring the rest of mankind, while he himself is involved in some vice. For see what this means. To the kings and tyrants of this world their bodyguards and their arms used to afford the privilege of censuring certain persons, and the power also to punish those who do wrong, no matter how guilty they themselves were; whereas to the Cynic it is his conscience which affords him this power, and not his arms and his bodyguards. When he sees that he has watched over men, and toiled in their behalf; and that he has slept in purity, while his sleep leaves him even purer than he was before; and that every thought which he thinks is that of a friend and servant to the gods, of one who shares in the government of Zeus; and has always ready at hand the verse

Lead thou me on, O Zeus, and Destiny,

and "If so it pleases the gods, so be it," why should he not have courage to speak freely to his own brothers, to his children, in a word, to his kinsmen?

That is why the man who is in this frame of mind is neither a busybody nor a meddler; for he is not meddling in other people's affairs when he is overseeing the actions of men, but these are his proper concern. Otherwise, go call the general a meddler when he oversees and reviews and watches over his troops, and punishes those who are guilty of a breach of discipline. But if you censure other men while you are hiding a little sweet-cake under your arm, I shall say to you: Would you not rather go off into a corner and eat up what you have stolen? What have you to do with other people's business? Why who are you? Are you the bull in the herd, or the queen bee of the hive? Show me the tokens of your leadership, like those which nature gives the queen bee. But if you are a drone and lay claim to the sovereignty over the bees, don't you suppose your fellow-citizens will overthrow you, just as the bees so treat the drones?

Now the spirit of patient endurance the Cynic must have to such a degree that common people will think him insensate and a stone; nobody reviles him, nobody beats him, nobody insults him; but his body he has himself given for anyone to use as he sees fit. For he bears in mind that the inferior, in that respect in which it is inferior, must needs be overcome by the superior, and that his body is inferior to the crowd—the physically weaker, that is, inferior to the physically stronger. Therefore, he never enters this contest where he can be beaten, but immediately gives up what is not his own; he makes no claim to what is slavish. But in the realm of the moral purpose, and the use of his sense-impressions, there you will see he has so many eyes that you will say Argus was blind in comparison with him. Is there anywhere rash assent, reckless choice, futile desire, unsuccessful aversion, incompleted purpose, fault-finding, self-disparagement, or envy? Here is concentrated his earnest attention and energy; but, as far as other things go, he lies flat on his back and snores; he is in perfect peace. There rises up no thief of his moral purpose, nor any tyrant over it. But of his body? Certainly. And of his paltry possessions? Certainly; and of his offices and honours. Why, then, does he pay any attention to these? So when anyone tries to terrify him by means of these things, he says to him, "Go to, look for children; they are scared by masks; but I know that they are made of earthenware, and have nothing inside."

Such is the nature of the matter about which you are deliberating. Wherefore, in the name of God I adjure you, put off your decision, and look first at your endowment. For see what Hector says to Andromache. "Go," says he, "rather into the house and weave;

but for men shall war be the business.

Men one and all, and mostly for me."

So did he recognise not only his own special endowment, but also her incapacity.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 23 - To Those Who Read And Discuss For The Purpose Of Display

Tell yourself, first of all, what kind of man you want to be; and then go ahead with what you are doing. For in practically every other pursuit we see this done. The athletes first decide what kind of athletes they want to be, and then they act accordingly. If a man wants to be a distance-runner, he adopts a suitable diet, walking, rubbing, and exercise; if he wants to be a sprinter, all these details are different; if he wants to contend in the pentathlon, they are still more different. You will find the same thing in the arts. If you want to be a carpenter, you will have such and such exercises; if a blacksmith, such and such other. For in everything that we do, if we do not refer it to some standard, we shall be acting at random; but if we refer it to the wrong standard, we shall make an utter failure. Furthermore, there are two standards to go by, the one general, the other individual. First of all, I must act as a man. What is included in this? Not to act as a sheep, gently but without fixed purpose; nor destructively, like a wild beast. The individual standard applies to each man's occupation and moral purpose. The citharoede is to act as a citharoede, the carpenter as a carpenter, the philosopher as a philosopher, the rhetor as a rhetor. When, therefore, you say, "Come and listen to me as I read you a lecture," see to it first that you are not acting without fixed purpose. And then, if you find that you are using a standard of judgement, see if it is the right one. Do you wish to do good or to be praised? you ask. Immediately you get the answer, "What do I care for praise from the mob?" And that is an excellent answer. Neither does the musician, in so far as he is a musician, nor the geometrician. Do you wish to do good, then? To what end? men reply. Tell us, also, that we too may run to your lecture-room. Now can anybody do good to others unless he has received good himself? No more than the non-carpenter can help others in carpentry, or the non-cobbler in cobbling.

Do you wish, then, to know whether you have received any good? Produce your judgements, philosopher. What does desire promise? Not to fail in getting. What does aversion? Not to fall into what we are avoiding. Well, do we fulfil their promise? Tell me the truth; but if you lie, I will say to you: "The other day, when your audience gathered rather coolly, and did not shout applause, you walked out of the hall in low spirits. And again the other day, when you were received with applause, you walked around and asked everybody, 'What did you think of me?' 'It was marvellous, sir, I swear by my life.' 'How did I render that particular passage?' 'Which one?' 'Where I drew a picture of Pan and the Nymphs?' 'It was superb.'" And after all this you tell me that you follow nature in desire and aversion? Go to; try to get somebody else to believe you! Didn't you, just the other day, praise So-and-so contrary to your honest opinion? And did you not flatter So-and-so, the senator? Did you want your children to be like

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that?—Far from it!—Why then did you praise him and palaver over him?—He is a gifted young man and fond of listening to discourses.—How do you know that?—He is an admirer of mine.—There you gave your proof!

After all, what do you think? Don't these very same persons secretly despise you? When, therefore, a person who is conscious of never having either thought or done a good thing finds a philosopher who tells him, "You are a genius, straightforward and unspoiled," what else do you suppose the man says to himself but, "This man wants to use me for something or other"? Or else tell me; what work of genius has he displayed? Look, he has been with you all this time, he has listened to your discourse, he has heard you lecture. Has he settled down? Has he come to himself? Has he realised the evil plight in which he is? Has he cast aside his self-conceit? Is he looking for the man who will teach him?—He is looking, the man says.—The man who will teach him how he ought to live? No, fool, but only how he ought to deliver a speech; for that is why he admires even you. Listen to him, and hear what he says. "This fellow has a most artistic style; it is much finer than Dio's." That's altogether different. He doesn't say, does he, "The man is respectful, he is faithful and unperturbed"? And even if he had said this, I would have replied: "Since this man is faithful, what is your definition of the faithful man?" And if he had no answer to give, I would have added: "First find out what you are talking about, and then do your talking."

When you are in such a sorry state as this, then, gaping for men to praise you, and counting the number of your audience, is it your wish to do good to others? "To-day I had a much larger audience." "Yes, indeed, there were great numbers." "Five hundred, I fancy." "Nonsense, make it a thousand." "Dio never had so large an audience." "How could you expect him to?" "Yes, and they are clever at catching the points." "Beauty, sir, can move even a stone." There are the words of a philosopher for you! That is the feeling of one who is on his way to do good to men! There you have a man who has listened to reason, who has read the accounts of Socrates as coming from Socrates, not as though they were from Lysias, or Isocrates! "'I have often wondered by what arguments ever'—no, but 'by what argument ever'—this form is smoother than the other!" You have been reading this literature just as you would music-hall songs, haven't you? Because, if you had read them in the right way, you would not have lingered on these points, but this is the sort of thing rather that would have caught your eye: "Anytus and Meletus can kill me, but they cannot hurt me"; and: "I have always been the kind of man to pay attention to none of my own affairs, but only to the argument which strikes me as best upon reflection." And for that reason who ever heard Socrates saying, "I know something and teach it"? But he used to send one person here and another there. Therefore men used to go to him to have him introduce them to philosophers, and he used to take them around and introduce them. But no, your idea of him, no doubt, is that, as he was taking them along, he used to say, "Come around to-day and hear me deliver a discourse in the house of Quadratus"!

Why should I listen to you? Do you want to exhibit to me the clever way in which you put words together? You do compose them cleverly, man; and what good is it to you? "But praise me." What do you mean by "praise"? "Cry out to me, 'Bravo!' or 'Marvellous!'" All right, I shall say it. But if praise is some one of those things which the philosophers put in the category of the good, what praise can I give you? If it is a good thing to speak correctly, teach me and I will praise you. What then? Ought one to take no pleasure in listening to such efforts? Far from it. I do not fail to take pleasure in listening to a citharoede; surely I am not bound for that reason to stand and sing to my own accompaniment on the harp, am I? Listen, what does Socrates say? "Nor would it be seemly for me, O men of Athens, at my time of life to appear before you like some lad, and weave a cunning discourse." "Like some lad," he says. For it is indeed a dainty thing, this small art of selecting trivial phrases and putting them together, and of coming forward and reading or reciting them gracefully, and then in the midst of the delivery shouting out, "There are not many people who can follow this, by your lives, I swear it!"

Does a philosopher invite people to a lecture?—Is it not rather the case that, as the sun draws its own sustenance to itself, so he also draws to himself those to whom he is to do good? What physician ever invites a patient to come and be healed by him? Although I am told that in these days the physicians in Rome do advertise; however, in my time they were called in by their patients. "I invite you to come and hear that you are in a bad way, and that you are concerned with anything rather than what you should be concerned with, and that you are ignorant of the good and the evil, and are wretched and miserable." That's a fine invitation! And yet if the philosopher's discourse does not produce this effect, it is lifeless and so is the speaker himself Rufus used to say, "If you have nothing better to do than to praise me, then I am speaking to no purpose." Wherefore he spoke in such a way that each of us as we sat there fancied someone had gone to Rufus and told him of our faults; so effective was his grasp of what men actually do, so vividly did he set before each man's eyes his particular weaknesses.

Men, the lecture-room of the philosopher is a hospital; you ought not to walk out of it in pleasure, but in pain. For you are not well when you come; one man has a dislocated shoulder, another an abscess, another a fistula, another a headache. And then am I to sit down and recite to you dainty little notions and clever little mottoes, so that you will go out with words of praise on your lips, one man carrying away his shoulder just as it was when he came in, another his head in the same state, another his fistula, another his abscess? And so it is for this, is it, that young men are to travel from home, and leave their parents, their friends, their relatives, and their bit of property, merely to cry "Bravo!" as you recite your clever little mottoes? Was this what Socrates used to do, or Zeno, or Cleanthes?

Well! but is there not such a thing as the right style for exhortation?—Why yes, who denies that? Just as there is the style for refutation, and the style for instruction. Who, then, has ever mentioned a fourth style along with these, the style of display? Why, what is the style for exhortation? The ability to show to the individual, as well as to the crowd, the warring inconsistency in which they are floundering about, and how they are paying attention to anything rather than what they truly want. For they want the things that conduce to happiness, but they are looking for them in the wrong place. To achieve that must a thousand benches be placed, and the prospective audience be invited, and you put on a fancy cloak, or dainty mantle, and mount the speaker's stand, and paint a word-picture of—how Achilles died? By the gods, I beseech you, have done with discrediting, as far as it is in your power to discredit, words and actions that are noble! There is nothing more effective in the style for exhortation than when the speaker makes clear to his audience that he has need of them. Or tell me, who that ever heard you reading a lecture or conducting a discourse felt greatly disturbed about himself, or came to a realisation of the state he was in, or on going out said, "The philosopher brought it home to me in fine style; I must not act like this any longer"? But does he not say to a companion, if you make an unusually fine impression, "That was beautiful diction in the passage about Xerxes"; and does the other not answer, "No, I preferred the one about the battle of Thermopylae"? Is this what listening to a philosopher amounts to?

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 24 - That We Ought Not To Yearn For The Things Which Are Not Under Our Control

Let not that which in the case of another is contrary to nature become an evil for you; for you are born not to be humiliated along with others, nor to share in their misfortunes, but to share in their good fortune. If, however, someone is unfortunate, remember that his misfortune concerns himself. For God made all mankind to be happy, to be serene. To this end He gave them resources, giving each man some things for his own, and others not for his own. The things that are subject to hindrance, deprivation, and compulsion are not a man's own, but those which cannot be hindered are his own. The true nature of the good and the evil, as was fitting for Him who watches over and protects us like a father. He gave to man to be among his own possessions. "But I have parted from So-and-so, and he is stricken with grief." Yes, but why did he regard what was not his own as his own? Why, when he was glad to see you, did he not reflect that you are mortal, and likely to go on a journey? And therefore he is paying the penalty for his own folly. But why are you bewailing yourself, and to what end? Or did you also neglect to study this matter, but, like worthless women, did you enjoy everything in which you took delight as though you were to enjoy it for ever, your surroundings, human beings, your ways of life? And now you sit and wail because you no longer lay eyes upon the same persons, and do not spend your life in the same places. Yes, for that's what you deserve, to be more wretched than crows and ravens, which can fly away wherever they please, and change their nests, and cross the seas, without groaning or longing for their first home.—Yes, but they feel that way because they are irrational creatures.—Has, then, reason been given us by the gods for misfortune and misery, so that we may spend our lives in wretchedness and mourning? Or shall all men be immortal, and no one leave home, but shall we stay rooted in the ground like the plants? And if any one of our acquaintances leaves home, shall we sit down and wail, and then again, if he comes back, dance and clap our hands as the children do?

Shall we not wean ourselves at last, and call to mind what we have heard from the philosophers?—if, indeed, we did not listen to them as to enchanters—when they said that this universe is but a single state, and the substance out of which it has been fashioned is single, and it needs must be that there is a certain periodic change and a giving place of one thing to another, and that some things must be dissolved and others come into being, some things to remain in the same place and others to be moved. Further, that all things are full of friends, first gods, and then also men, who by nature have been made of one household with one another; and that some men must remain with each other, while others must depart, and that though we must rejoice in those who dwell with us, yet we must not grieve at those who depart. And man, in addition to being by nature high-minded and capable of despising all the things that are outside the sphere of his moral purpose, possesses also this further quality, that, namely, of not being rooted nor growing in the earth, but of moving now to one place and now to another, at one time under the pressure of certain needs, and at another merely for the sake of the spectacle.

Now it was something of this sort which fell to the lot of Odysseus:

Many the men whose towns he beheld, and he learned of their temper.

And even before his time it was the fortune of Heracles to traverse the entire inhabited world,

Seeing the wanton behaviour of men and the lawful,

casting forth the one and clearing the world of it, and introducing the other in its place. Yet how many friends do you suppose he had in Thebes, in Argos, in Athens, and how many new friends he made on his rounds, seeing that he was even in the habit of marrying when he saw fit, and begetting children, and deserting his children, without either groaning or yearning for them, or as though leaving them to be orphans? It was because he knew that no human being is an orphan, but all men have ever and constantly the Father, who cares for them. Why, to him it was no mere story which he had heard, that Zeus is father of men, for he always thought of Him as his own father, and called Him so, and in all that he did he looked to Him. Wherefore he had the power to live happily in every place. But it is impossible that happiness, and yearning for what is not present, should ever be united. For happiness must already possess everything that it wants; it must resemble a replete person: he cannot feel thirst or hunger.—Still, Odysseus felt a longing for his wife, and sat upon a rock and wept.—And do you take Homer and his tales as authority for everything? If Odysseus really wept, what else could he have been but miserable? But what good and excellent man is miserable? In all truth the universe is badly managed, if Zeus does not take care of His own citizens, that they be like Him, that is, happy. Nay, it is unlawful and unholy to think of such an alternative, but if Odysseus wept and wailed, he was not a good man. Why, what man could be good who does not know who he is? And who knows that, if he has forgotten that the things which come into being are corruptible, and that it is impossible for one human being always to live with another? What then? To reach out for the impossible is slavish and foolish; it is acting like a stranger in the universe, one who is fighting against God with the only weapons at his command, his own judgements.

But my mother mourns because she does not see me.—Yes, but why did she not learn the meaning of these words of the philosophers? And I am not saying that you ought to take no pains to keep her from lamenting, but only that a person ought not to want at all costs what is not his own. Now another's grief is no concern of mine, but my own grief is. Therefore, I will put an end at all costs to what is my own concern, for it is under my control: and that which is another's concern I will endeavour to check to the best of my ability, but my effort to do so will not be made at all costs. Otherwise I shall be fighting against God, I shall be setting myself in opposition to Zeus, I shall be arraying myself against Him in regard to His administration of the universe. And the wages of this fighting against God and this disobedience will not be paid by "children's children," but by me myself in my own person, by day and by night, as I start up out of dreams and am disturbed, trembling at every message, with my own peace of mind depending upon letters not my own. Someone has arrived from Rome. "If only there is no bad news!" But how can anything bad for you happen in a place, if you are not there? Someone arrives from Greece. "If only there is no bad news!" In this way for you every place can cause misfortune. Is it not enough for you to be miserable where you are? Must you needs be miserable even beyond the seas, and by letter? Is this the fashion in which all that concerns you is secure?—Yes, but what if my friends over there die?—Why, what else than that mortal men died? Or how can you wish to reach old age yourself, and at the same time not behold the death of any that you love? Do you not know that in the long course of time many different things must needs happen; fever must overcome one man, a brigand another, a tyrant a third? Because such is the character of the air about us, such that of our associates; cold and heat and unsuitable food, and journeys by land and by sea, and winds and all manner of perils; this man they destroy, that man they drive into exile, another they send on an embassy, and yet another on a campaign. Sit down, therefore, and get all wrought up at each one of these events, mourning, unfortunate, miserable, depend on something other than yourself, and that not one thing or two, but tens upon tens of thousands of things!

Is that what you used to hear when you sat at the feet of the philosophers? Is that what you learned? Do you not know that the business of life is a campaign? One man must mount guard, another go out on reconnaissance, and another out to

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fight. It is not possible for all to stay in the same place, nor is it better so. But you neglect to perform the duties assigned you by your commanding officer, and complain when some rather hard order is given you, and fail to understand to what a state you are bringing the army, as far as in you lies; because, if they all imitate you, no one will dig a trench, no one construct a palisade, or watch through the night, or risk his life in fighting, but they will seem useless soldiers. Again, if you take ship as a sailor, take up one place and stick to that! and if you have to climb the mast, be unwilling; if you have to run to the bow, be unwilling! And what ship's captain will put up with you? Will he not throw you overboard like a piece of junk, nothing but a nuisance, and a bad example to the other sailors? So also in this world; each man's life is a kind of campaign, and a long and complicated one at that. You have to maintain the character of a soldier, and do each separate act at the bidding of the General, if possible divining what He wishes. For there is no comparison between this General and an ordinary one, either in His power, or in the pre-eminence of His character. You have been given a post in an imperial city, and not in some mean place; not for a short time either, but you are a senator for life. Do you not know that a man in such a post has to give only a little attention to the affairs of his own household, but for most of the time has to be away, in command, or under command, or serving some official, or in the field, or on the judge's bench? And then you want to be attached to the same spot and rooted in it like a plant?—Yes, it is pleasant.—Why deny it? But soup is pleasant too, and a pretty woman is a pleasant thing. What else do those say who make pleasure their end?

Do you not realise the kind of men they are whose language you have just uttered? That they are Epicureans and blackguards? And yet, while doing their deeds and holding their opinions, you recite to us the words of Zeno and Socrates? Will you not cast away from you, as far as you can fling them, these alien trappings with which you adorn yourself, although they do not at all become you? Or what else do these fellows want but to sleep without hindrance or compulsion, and after they have arisen, to yawn at their ease, and wash their faces; then to write and read what they please, then to babble something or other, to the applause of their friends, no matter what they say; then to go out for a stroll, and after a short walk to take a bath; then to eat, then to seek their rest, and sleep in such a bed as you might expect such persons to enjoy—why should I say the word? For you can infer what it is like.

Come now, do you also tell me your style of life, the one on which you have set your heart, you eager follower of the truth, and of Socrates, and of Diogenes! What do you want to do in Athens? Just what I have described? Nothing at all different? Why, then, do you call yourself a Stoic? Well, but those who falsely claim Roman citizenship are severely punished, and ought those who falsely claim so great and so dignified a calling and title to get off scot-free? Or is that impossible? whereas the divine and mighty and inescapable law is the law which exacts the greatest penalties from those who are guilty of the greatest offences. Now what are its terms? "Let him who makes pretence to things which in no wise concern him be a braggart, let him be a vainglorious man; let him who disobeys the divine governance be abject, be a slave, suffer grief, envy, pity,—in a word, be miserable, and lament,"

Well, what then? Do you want me to pay court to So-and-so? go to his front-door?—If reason so decides, for the sake of your country, your kinsmen, mankind in general, why not go? Why, you are not ashamed to go to the door of the cobbler when you need shoes, nor to that of the market-gardener when you need lettuce; and are you ashamed to go to the door of the rich when you want something that rich men have?—Very true, for as to the cobbler, I do not have to admire him.—Do not admire the rich man, either.—And I shall not have to flatter the market-gardener.—Don't flatter the rich man either.—How, then, shall I get what I need?—Am I telling you, "Go like a man who is certain to get what he wants," and not simply, "Go in order to do what becomes you"?—Why, then, do I go at all?—So as to have gone, so as to have performed the function of the citizen that you are, of a brother, of a friend. And furthermore, remember that you have come to see a cobbler, a vegetable-dealer, a man who has authority over nothing great or important, even if he sell it for a high price. You are going, as it were, for heads of lettuce; they are worth an obol, not a talent. So it is in our life also. The matter in hand is worth going to a person's door about; very well, I will go. It is also worth an interview; very well, I will interview him about it. Yes, but I will have to kiss his hand also, and flatter him with words of praise. Go to! that is paying a talent for a head of lettuce! It is not profitable to me, nor to the State, nor to my friends, to ruin by so acting a good citizen and friend.

Yes, but if you fail, people will think that you didn't try hard. Have you gone and forgotten again why you went? Do you not know that a good and excellent man does nothing for the sake of appearances, but only for the sake of having acted right?—What good does he get, then, from acting right?—And what good does the person get for writing the name "Dio" as it ought to be written? The mere fact of writing it that way.—Is there, then, no further reward?—And are you looking for some further reward in the case of a good man, a reward which is greater than the doing of what is fine and right? At Olympia nobody wants anything else, but you feel content with having received an Olympic crown. Does it seem to you so small and worthless a thing to be good, and excellent, and happy? Therefore, when you have been introduced into this city-state by the gods, and find it now your duty to lay hand to the work of a man, do you yearn for nurses and the breast, and does the weeping of poor silly women move you and make you effeminate? And so will you never get over being an infant? Don't you know that, when a person acts like a child, the older he is the more ridiculous he is?

In Athens did you see nobody when you went to his house?—Yes, the man I wanted to see.—Here also make up your mind to see this man, and you will see the man you want; only do not go humbly, not with desire or aversion, and all will be well with you. But this result is not to be found by mere going, nor by standing at gates, but in one's judgements within. When you have contemned things external and outside the province of your moral purpose, and have come to regard none of them as your own, but only the being right in judgement, in thinking, in choosing, in desiring, in avoiding,—where is there any longer room for flattery, where for an abject spirit? Why any longer yearn for the quiet you enjoyed there, or your familiar haunts? Wait a little while and you will find the places here familiar in their turn. And then, if you are so ignoble in spirit, weep and wail again when you leave these too!

How, then, shall I become affectionate?—As a man of noble spirit, as one who is fortunate; for it is against all reason to be abject, or broken in spirit, or to depend on something other than yourself, or even to blame either God or man. I would have you become affectionate in such a way as to maintain at the same time all these rules; if, however, by virtue of this natural affection, whatever it is you call by that name, you are going to be a slave and miserable, it does not profit you to be affectionate. And what keeps you from loving a person as one subject to death, as one who may leave you? Did not Socrates love his own children? But in a free spirit, as one who remembers that it was his first duty to be a friend to the gods. That is why he succeeded in everything that becomes a good man, both in making his defence, and in assessing his own penalty, and before that time in his services as senator or soldier. But we abound in all manner of excuses for being ignoble; with some it is a child, with others a mother, and then again it is brothers. But it is not becoming for us to be unhappy on any person's account, but to be happy because of all, and above all others because of God, who has made us for this end. Come, was there anybody that Diogenes did not love, a man who was so gentle and kind-hearted that he gladly took upon himself all those troubles and physical hardships for the sake of the common weal? But what was the manner of his loving? As became a servant of Zeus, caring for men indeed, but at the same time subject unto God. That is why for him alone the whole world, and no special place, was his fatherland; and when he had been taken prisoner he did not hanker for Athens nor his acquaintances and friends there, but he got on good terms with the pirates and tried to reform them. And later, when he was sold into slavery at Corinth he kept on living there just as he had formerly lived at Athens; yes, and if he had gone off to the Perrhaebians he would have acted in quite the same way. That is how freedom is achieved. That is why he used to say, "From the time that Antisthenes set me free, I have ceased to be a slave." How did Antisthenes set him free? Listen to what Diogenes says. "He taught me what was mine, and what was not mine. Property is not mine; kinsmen, members of my household, friends, reputation, familiar places, converse with men—all these are not my own. 'What, then, is yours? Power to deal with external impressions.' He showed me that I possess this beyond all hindrance and constraint; no one can hamper me; no one can force me to deal with them otherwise than as I will. Who, then, has authority over me? Philip, or Alexander, or Perdiccas, or the Great King? Where can they get it? For the man who is destined to be overpowered by a man must long before that have been overpowered by things." Therefore, the man over whom pleasure has no power, nor evil, nor fame, nor wealth, and who, whenever it seems good to him, can spit his whole paltry body into some oppressor's face and depart from this life—whose slave can he any longer be, whose subject? But if he had gone on living pleasantly in Athens, and had been enamoured of his life there, his fortune would have been in every man's control, and the man who was stronger than he would have had power to cause him grief. How do you imagine he would have wheedled the pirates to sell him to some Athenian, so that he might some time see the beautiful Piraeus, and the Long Walls and the Acropolis! Who are you that you should see them, slave? A thrall and a person of abject spirit; and what good are they to you?—No, not a slave, but a free man.—Show me how you are free. See, some person or other has laid hands on you—the man who takes you away from your accustomed way of life, and says, "You are my slave; for it is in my power to prevent you from living as you will, it is in my power to lighten your servitude, or to humble you; whenever I wish, you can be happy again, and go off to Athens in high spirits." What do you say to this man who makes you his slave? Whom have you to offer him as your emancipator? Or do you not even look him in the face at all, but cutting all argument short do you implore him to set you free? Man, you ought to go gladly to prison, in haste, outstripping those who lead you away. And then, I do beseech you, are you loath to live in Rome, and do you yearn for Greece? And when you have to die, then also, I suppose, will you weep all over us, because you are never going to see Athens again or stroll in the Lyceum?

Was that what you went abroad for? Was it for this that you sought to meet someone—that he might do you good? Good indeed! That you might analyse syllogisms more readily, or run down hypothetical arguments? It was for this reason, was it, you left brother, country, friends, and those of your own household—so as to return with this kind of learning? And so you did not go abroad to acquire constancy of character, or peace of mind; not to become secure yourself and thenceforward blame and find fault with no man; not to make it impossible for another to do you wrong, and so maintain without hindrance your relations in society? A fine exchange of goods this which you have achieved, syllogisms, and arguments with equivocal and hypothetical premisses! Yes, and if you see fit, seat yourself in the marketplace, and hang out a sign, as the drug-peddlers do. Ought you not rather to deny that you know even all you have learned, so as not to bring your philosophical precepts into ill repute as being useless? What harm has philosophy done you? How has Chrysippus wronged you that you should prove by your own conduct his labours to be useless? Were not the ills at home enough for you, all that you had to cause you grief and sorrow, even if you had not gone abroad, but did you add yet others in addition to them? And if you get other intimates and friends again, you will have more reasons for lamentation, yes, and if you get attached to another land. Why, then, live? Is it to involve yourself in one grief after another that makes you miserable? And then, I ask you, do you call this natural affection? Natural affection forsooth, man! If it is good, it is the source of no evil; if it is evil, I have nothing to do with it. I am born for the things that are good and belong to me, not for things evil.

What, then, is the proper discipline for this? In the first place, the highest and principal discipline, and one that stands at the very gates of the subject, is this: Whenever you grow attached to something, do not act as though it were one of those things that cannot be taken away, but as though it were something like a jar or a crystal goblet, so that when it breaks you will remember what it was like, and not be troubled. So too in life; if you kiss your child, your brother, your friend, never allow your fancy free rein, nor your exuberant spirits to go as far as they like, but hold them back, stop them, just like those who stand behind generals when they ride in triumph, and keep reminding them that they are mortal. In such fashion do you too remind yourself that the object of your love is mortal; it is not one of your own possessions; it has been given you for the present, not inseparably nor for ever, but like a fig, or a cluster of grapes, at a fixed season of the year, and that if you hanker for it in the winter, you are a fool. If in this way you long for your son, or your friend, at a time when he is not given to you, rest assured that you are hankering for a fig in winter-time. For as winter-time is to a fig, so is every state of affairs, which arises out of the universe, in relation to the things which are destroyed in accordance with that same state of affairs.

Furthermore, at the very moment when you are taking delight in something, call to mind the opposite impressions. What harm is there if you whisper to yourself, at the very moment you are kissing your child, and say, "To-morrow you will die"? So likewise to your friend, "To-morrow you will go abroad, or I shall, and we shall never see each other again"?—Nay, but these are words of bad omen.—Yes, and so are certain incantations, but because they do good, I do not care about that, only let the incantation do us good. But do you call any things ill-omened except those which signify some evil for us? Cowardice is ill-omened, a mean spirit, grief, sorrow, shamelessness; these are words of ill-omen. And yet we ought not to hesitate to utter even these words, in order to guard against the things themselves. Do you tell me that any word is ill-omened which signifies some process of nature? Say that also the harvesting of ears of grain is ill-omened, for it signifies the destruction of the ears; but not of the universe. Say that also for leaves to fall is ill-omened, and for the fresh fig to turn into a dried fig, and a cluster of grapes to turn into raisins. For all these things are changes of a preliminary state into something else; it is not a case of destruction, but a certain ordered dispensation and management. This is what going abroad means, a slight change; this is the meaning of death, a greater change of that which now is, not into what is not, but into what is not now.—Shall I, then, be no more?—No, you will not be, but something else will be, something

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different from that of which the universe now has need. And this is but reasonable, for you came into being, not when you wanted, but when the universe had need of you.

95For this reason the good and excellent man, bearing in mind who he is, and whence he has come, and by whom he was created, centres his attention on this and this only, how he may fill his place in an orderly fashion, and with due obedience to God. "Is it Thy will that I should still remain? I will remain as a free man, as a noble man, as Thou didst wish it; for Thou hast made me free from hindrance in what was mine own. And now hast Thou no further need of me? Be it well with Thee. I have been waiting here until now because of Thee and of none other, and now I obey Thee and depart." "How do you depart?" "Again, as Thou didst wish it, as a free man, as Thy servant, as one who has perceived Thy commands and Thy prohibitions. But so long as I continue to live in Thy service, what manner of man wouldst Thou have me be? An official or a private citizen, a senator or one of the common people, a soldier or a general, a teacher or the head of a household? Whatsoever station and post Thou assign me, I will die ten thousand times, as Socrates says, or ever I abandon it. And where wouldst Thou have me be? In Rome, or in Athens, or in Thebes, or in Gyara? Only remember me there. If Thou sendest me to a place where men have no means of living in accordance with nature, I shall depart this life, not in disobedience to Thee, but as though Thou wert sounding for me the recall. I do not abandon Thee—far be that from me! but I perceive that Thou hast no need of me. Yet if there be vouchsafed a means of living in accordance with nature, I will seek no other place than that in which I am, or other men than those who are now my associates."

Have thoughts like these ready at hand by night and by day; write them, read them, make your conversation about them, communing with yourself, or saying to another, "Can you give me some help in this matter?" And again, go now to one man and now to another. Then, if some one of those things happens which are called undesirable, immediately the thought that it was not unexpected will be the first thing to lighten the burden. For in every case it is a great help to be able to say, "I knew that the son whom I had begotten was mortal." For that is what you will say, and again, "I knew that I was mortal," "I knew that I was likely to leave home," "I knew that I was liable to banishment," "I knew that I might be sent off" to prison." And in the next place, if you reflect with yourself and look for the quarter from which the happening comes, immediately you will be reminded of the principle: "It comes from the quarter of the things that are outside the sphere of the moral purpose, that are not mine own; what, then, is it to me?" Then comes the most decisive consideration: "Who was it that has sent the order?" Our Prince, or our General, the State, or the law of the State? "Give it to me, then, for I must always obey the law in every particular." Later on, when your imagination bites you (for this is something you cannot control), fight against it with your reason, beat it down, do not allow it to grow strong, or to take the next step and draw all the pictures it wants, in the way it wants to do. If you are at Gyara, don't picture the style of life at Rome, and all the relaxations a man had who was living there, as well as all that he might have upon his return; but since you have been stationed there, you ought to strive to live manfully at Gyara, as beseems the man whose life is spent in Gyara. And again, if you are in Rome, do not picture the style of life at Athens, but make your life in Rome the one object of your study and practice.

Then, in the place of all the other relaxations, introduce that which comes from the consciousness that you are obedient to God, and that you are playing the part of the good and excellent man, not ostensibly but in reality. For what a fine thing it is to be able to say to oneself, "Now I am actually performing what the rest talk solemnly about in their lectures, and are thought to be uttering paradoxes. Yes, they sit and expound my virtues, and study about me, and sing my praise. And of this Zeus wished me to get a demonstration in my own person, while at the same time He wished to know whether He has the right kind of soldier, the right kind of citizen, and to present me before all other men as a witness about the things which lie outside the sphere of the moral purpose. 'Behold,' says He, 'your fears are at haphazard, it is in vain that you desire what you desire. Do not look for your blessings outside, but look for them within yourselves; otherwise you will not find them.' These are the terms upon which now He. brings me here, and again He sends me there; to mankind exhibits me in poverty, without office, in sickness; sends me away to Gyara, brings me into prison. Not because He hates me—perish the thought! And who hates the best of his servants? Nor because He neglects me, for He does not neglect any of even the least of His creatures; but because He is training me, and making use of me as a witness to the rest of men. When I have been appointed to such a service, am I any longer to take thought as to where I am, or with whom, or what men say about me? Am I not wholly intent upon God, and His commands and ordinances?"

If you have these thoughts always at hand and go over them again and again in your own mind, and keep them in readiness, you will never need a person to console you, or strengthen you. For disgrace does not consist in not having anything to eat, but in not having reason sufficient to secure you against fear and against grief. But if once you win for yourself security against grief and fear, will there any longer exist for you a tyrant, or a guardsman, or members of Caesar's household; or will some appointment to office sting you with envy, or those who perform sacrifices on the Capitol in taking the auspices, you who have received so important an office from Zeus? Only make no display of your office, and do not boast about it; but prove it by your conduct; and if no one perceives that you have it, be content to live in health and happiness yourself.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 25 - To Those Who Fail To Achieve Their Purposes

Consider which of the things that you purposed at the start you have achieved, and which you have not; likewise, how it gives you pleasure to recall some of them, and pain to recall others, and, if possible, recover also those things which have slipped out of your grasp. For men who are engaged in the greatest of contests ought not to flinch, but to take also the blows; for the contest before us is not in wrestling or the pancratium, in which, whether a man succeeds or fails, he may be worth a great deal, or only a little,—yes, by Zeus, he may even be extremely happy or extremely miserable,—but it is a contest for good fortune and happiness itself. What follows? Why here, even if we give in for the time being, no one prevents us from struggling again, and we do not have to wait another four-year period for another Olympic festival to come around, but the moment a man has picked himself up, and recovered himself, and exhibits the same eagerness, he is allowed to contest; and if you give in again, you can enter again; and if once you win a victory, you are as though you had never given in at all. Only do not begin cheerfully to do the same thing over again out of sheer habit, and end up as a bad athlete, going the whole circuit of the games, and getting beaten all the time, like quails that have once run away. "I am overcome by the impression of a pretty maid. Well, what of it? Wasn't I overcome just the other day?" "I feel strongly inclined to censure somebody, for didn't I censure somebody just the other day?" You talk thus to us as though you had come off scot-free; just as if a man should say to his physician who was forbidding him to bathe, "Why, but did I not bathe just the other day?" If, then, the physician is able to say to him, "Very well, after you had bathed, then, how did you feel? Did not you have a fever? Did not your head ache?" So, too, when you censured somebody the other day, did you not act like an ugly-spirited man, like a silly babbler? Did you not feed this habit by citing the example of your own previous acts? And when you were overcome by the maid, did you escape scot-free? Why, then, do you talk about what you were doing just the other day? In my opinion, you ought to have remembered, as slaves remember their blows, and to have kept away from the same mistakes. But one case is not like the other; for with slaves it is the suffering which produces the memory, but in the case of your mistakes, what suffering is there, what penalty do you feel? Why, when did you ever acquire the habit of avoiding evil activities?

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 26 - To Those Who Fear Want

Are you not ashamed to be more cowardly and ignoble than a runaway slave? How do they, when they run off, leave their masters? in what estates or slaves do they put their confidence? Do they not steal just a little bit to last them for the first few days, and then afterwards drift along over land or sea, contriving one scheme after another to keep themselves fed? And what runaway slave ever died of hunger? But you tremble, and lie awake at night, for fear the necessities of life will fail you. Wretch, are you so blind, and do you so fail to see the road to which lack of the necessities of life leads? Where, indeed, does it lead? Where also fever, or a stone that drops on your head, lead,—to death. Have you not, then, often said this same thing yourself to your companions, read much of the same sort, and written much? How many times have you boasted that, as far as death at least was concerned, you are in a fairly good state?—Yes, but my family too will starve.—What then? Their starvation does not lead to some other end than yours, does it? Have they not also much the same descent thereto, and the same world below? Are you not willing, then, to look with courage sufficient to face every necessity and want, at that place to which the wealthiest needs must go, and those who have held the highest offices, and very kings and tyrants? Only you will descend hungry, if it so happen, and they bursting with indigestion and drunkenness. Did you ever easily find a beggar who was not an old man? Wasn't he extremely old? But though they are cold night and day, and lie forlorn on the ground, and have to eat only what is absolutely necessary, they approach a state where it is almost impossible for them to die; yet you who are physically perfect, and have hands and feet, are you so alarmed about starving? Can you not draw water, or write, or escort boys to and from school, or be another's doorkeeper?—But it is disgraceful to come to such a necessity.—Learn, therefore, first of all, what the disgraceful things are, and after you have done that, come into our presence and call yourself a philosopher. But as the case stands now, do not even allow anyone else to call you one!

Is anything disgraceful to you which is not your own doing, for which you are not responsible, which has befallen you accidentally, as a headache or a fever? If your parents were poor, or if they were rich but left others as their heirs, and if they give you no help though they are living, is all this disgraceful to you? Is that what you learned at the feet of the philosophers? Have you never heard that the disgraceful thing is censurable, and the censurable is that which deserves censure? And whom do you censure for what is not his own doing, which he didn't produce himself? Well, did you produce this situation? did you make your father what he is? Or is it in your power to reform him? Is that vouchsafed you? What follows? Ought you to wish for what is not given you, or to be ashamed when you fail to get it? And did you really, while studying philosophy, acquire the habit of looking to other persons, and of hoping for nothing yourself from yourself? Very well then, lament and groan, and eat in fear of not having food to-morrow; tremble about your paltry slaves, for fear they will steal something, or run away, or die! Live in this spirit and never cease to live so, you who in name only have approached philosophy, and, as far as in you lay, have discredited its principles by showing them to be useless and good for nothing to those who receive them! But you never desired stability, serenity, peace of mind; you never cultivated anybody's acquaintance for that purpose, but many persons' acquaintance for the sake of syllogisms; you never thoroughly tested for yourself any one of these external impressions, asking the questions: "Am I able to bear it, or am I not? What may I expect next?" but just as though everything about you were in an excellent and safe condition, you have been devoting your attention to the last of all topics, that which deals with immutability, in order that you may have immutable—what? your cowardice, your ignoble character, your admiration of the rich, your ineffectual desire, your aversion that fails of its mark! These are the things about whose security you have been anxious!

Ought you not, first, to have acquired something from reason, and then to have made that something secure? Why, did you ever see anyone building a cornice all around without first having a wall about which to build it? And what kind of doorkeeper is placed on guard where there isn't any door? But you practise to get the power to demonstrate; demonstrate what? You practise to avoid being shaken by sophisms; shaken from what? Show me first what you are maintaining, what you are measuring, or what you are weighing: and after that, and under those conditions, show me your scales or your bushel-measure. Or how long will you keep measuring ashes? Are not these what you ought to be demonstrating, the things, namely, that make men happy, that make their affairs prosper for them as they desire, that make it unnecessary for them to blame anybody, and to find fault with anybody, but to acquiesce in the government of the universe? Show me these. "See, I do show you," a man says; "I will analyse syllogisms for you." Slave, this is a mere measuring instrument, it is not the thing measured. That is why you are now being punished for what you neglected; you tremble, lie awake, take counsel with everyone, and, if your plans are not likely to win the approval of all men, you think that your deliberations have been faulty.

And then you fear hunger, as you fancy. Yet it is not hunger that you fear, but you are afraid that you will not have a professional cook, you will not have another servant to buy the delicacies, another to put on your shoes for you, another to dress you, others to give you your massage, others to follow at your heels, in order that when you have undressed in a bath, and stretched yourself out like men who have been crucified, you may be massaged on this side and on that; and that then the masseur may stand over you and say, "Move over, give me his side, you take his head, hand me his shoulder"; and then, when you have left the bath and gone home, that you may shout out, "Is no one bringing me something to eat?" and after that, "Clear away the tables; wipe them off with a sponge." What you are afraid of is this—that you may not be able to live the life of an invalid, since, I tell you, you have only to learn the life of healthy men—how the slaves live, the workmen, the genuine philosophers, how Socrates lived—he too with a wife and children—how Diogenes lived, how Cleanthes, who combined going to school and pumping water. If this is what you want, you will have it everywhere, and will live with full confidence. Confidence in what? In the only thing in which one can have confidence—in what is faithful, free from hindrance, cannot be taken away, that is, in your own moral purpose. And why have you made yourself so useless and unprofitable, that no one is willing to take you into his house, no one willing to take care of you? But when a whole and useful implement has been thrown out, anyone who finds it will pick it up and count it gain; yet not when he picks up you, but everyone will count you a loss. You are so unable to serve the purpose of even a dog or a cock. Why, then, do you care to keep on living, if that is the sort of person you are?

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Does a good man fear that food will fail him? It does not fail the blind, it does not fail the lame; will it fail a good man? A good soldier does not lack someone to give him pay, or a workman, or a cobbler; and shall a good man? Does God so neglect His own creatures, His servants, His witnesses, whom alone He uses as examples to the uninstructed, to prove that He both is, and governs the universe well, and does not neglect the affairs of men, and that no evil befalls a good man either in life or in death?—Yes, but what if He does not provide food?—Why, what else but that as a good general He has sounded the recall? I obey, I follow, lauding my commander, and singing hymns of praise about His deeds. For I came into the world when it so pleased Him, and I leave it again at His pleasure, and while I live this was my function—to sing hymns of praise unto God, to myself and to others, be it to one or to many. God does not give me much, no abundance. He does not want me to live luxuriously; He did not give much to Heracles, either, though he was His own son, but someone else was king over Argos and Mycenae, while he was subject, and suffered labours and discipline. And Eurystheus, such as he was, was not king over either Argos or Mycenae, for he was not king even over himself; but Heracles was ruler and leader of all the land and sea, purging them of injustice and lawlessness, and introducing justice and righteousness; and all this he did naked and by himself. And when Odysseus was shipwrecked and cast ashore, did his necessity make abject his spirit, or break it? Nay, but how did he advance upon the maidens to ask for food, which is regarded as being the most disgraceful thing for one person to ask of another?

As a lion reared in the mountains.

In what did he trust? Not in reputation, or money, or office, but in his own might, that means, his judgements about the things which are under our control, and those which are not under our control. For these are the only things that make men free, that make men unhampered, that lift up the neck of those who have become abject, that make them look with level eyes into the faces of the rich, and the faces of tyrants. And all this was what the philosopher had to give, yet will you not come forth bold, instead of trembling for your paltry clothes and silver plate? Miserable man, have you so wasted your time down to the present?

Yes, but what if I fall ill?—You will bear illness well.—Who will nurse me?—God and your friends.—I shall have a hard bed to lie on.—But like a man.—I shall not have a suitable house.—Then you will fall ill in an unsuitable house.—Who will prepare my food for me?—Those who prepare it for others also. You will be ill like Manes.—And what is also the end of the illness?—Anything but death? Will you, then, realise that this epitome of all the ills that befall man, of his ignoble spirit, and his cowardice, is not death, but it is rather the fear of death? Against this fear, then, I would have you discipline yourself, toward this let all your reasoning tend, your exercises, your reading; and then you will know that this is the only way in which men achieve freedom.

DISCOURSES OF EPICTETUS BOOK 4

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 1 - Of Freedom

He is free who lives as he wills, who is subject neither to compulsion, nor hindrance, nor force, whose choices are unhampered, whose desires attain their end, whose aversions do not fall into what they would avoid. Who, then, wishes to live in error?—No one.—Who wishes to live deceived, impetuous, unjust, unrestrained, peevish, abject?—No one.—Therefore, there is no bad man who lives as he wills, and accordingly no bad man is free. And who wishes to live in grief, fear, envy, pity, desiring things and failing to get them, avoiding things and falling into them?—No one at all.—Do we find, then, any bad man free from grief or fear, not falling into what he would avoid, nor failing to achieve what he desires?—No one.—Then we find no bad man free, either.

Now if some man who has been consul twice hear this, he will forgive you, if you add, "But you are a wise man; this does not apply to you." Yet if you tell him the truth, to wit: "In point of being a slave you are not a whit better than those who have been thrice sold," what else can you expect but a flogging? "Why, how am I a slave?" says he. "My father was free, my mother free; no one has a deed of sale for me. More than that, I am a member of the senate, and a friend of Caesar, and I have been consul, and I own many slaves." Now in the first place, most worthy senator, it is very likely that your father was the same kind of slave that you are, and your mother, and your grandfather, and all your ancestors from first to last. But even if they were free to the limit, what does that prove in your case? Why, what does it prove if they were noble, and you are mean-spirited? If they were brave, and you a coward? If they were self-controlled, and you unrestrained?

And what, says someone, has this to do with being a slave?—Does it not strike you as "having to do with being a slave" for a man to do something against his will, under compulsion?—Granted the point, he replies. But who can put me under compulsion, except Caesar, the lord of all?—There, you have yourself admitted that you have one master. And let it not comfort you that he is, as you say, the common master of all men, but realise that you are a slave in a great house. So also the men of Nicopolis are wont to shout: "Yea, by the fortune of Caesar, we are free men!"

However, let us leave Caesar out of account, if you please, for the present, but answer me this: Were you never in love with anyone, a pretty girl, or pretty boy, a slave, a freedman?—What, then, has that to do with being either slave or free?—Were you never commanded by your sweetheart to do something you did not wish to do? Did you never cozen your pet slave? Did you never kiss his feet? Yet if someone should compel you to kiss the feet of Caesar, you would regard that as insolence and most extravagant tyranny. What else, then, is slavery? Did you never go out at night where you did not want to go? Did you never spend more than you wanted to spend? Did you never utter words with groaning and lamentation, endure to be reviled, to have the door shut in your face? Well, if you are ashamed to admit such things about yourself, observe what Thrasonides says and does, a man who had served on so many campaigns—perhaps more even than you have. First, he went out at night when Geta has not the courage to go abroad, but, if the latter had been compelled by him to do so, he would have gone out crying aloud and bewailing his bitter slavery. And then what does Thrasonides say? Says he,

A cheap little wench has made of me a perfect slave.

Of me, though never a one among all my foemen might.

Sad wretch, to be the slave of a wench, and a cheap one at that! Why, then, do you call yourself free any longer? And why do you talk of your campaigns? Then he calls for a sword, and gets angry at the man who refuses out of good-will to give it to him, and sends presents to the girl who hates him, and begs, and weeps, and again, when he has had a little success, he is elated. And yet even then, so long as he had not learned to give up passionate desire or fear, could this man have been in possession of freedom?

Consider now, in the case of the animals, how we employ the concept of freedom. Men shut up tame lions in a cage, and bring them up, and feed them, and some take them around with them. And yet who will call such a lion free? Is it not true that the more softly the lion lives the more slavishly he lives? And what lion, were he to get sense and reason, would care to be one of these lions? Why, yes, and the birds yonder, when they are caught and brought up in cages, what do they suffer in their efforts to escape? And some of them starve to death rather than endure such a life, while even such as live, barely do so, and suffer and pine away, and if ever they find any opening, make their escape. Such is their desire for physical freedom, and a life of independence and freedom from restraint. And what is wrong with you here in your cage? "What a question! My nature is to fly where I please, to live in the open air, to sing when I please. You rob me of all this, and then ask, 'What is wrong with you?'"

That is why we shall call free only those animals which do not submit to captivity, but escape by dying as soon as they are captured. So also Diogenes says somewhere: "The one sure way to secure freedom is to die cheerfully"; and to the Persian king he writes: "You cannot enslave the Athenian State any more than you can enslave the fish." "How so? Shall I not lay hold of them?" "If you do," he replies, "they will forthwith leave you and escape, like the fish. And that is true, for if you lay hold of one of them, it dies; and if these Athenians die when you lay hold of them, what good will you get from your armament?" That is the word of a free man who has seriously examined the matter, and, as you might expect, had discovered truth about it. But if you look for it where it does not exist, why be surprised if you never find it?

It is the slave's prayer that he be set free immediately. Why? Do you think it is because he is eager to pay his money to the men who collect the five per cent tax? No, it is because he fancies that up till now he is hampered and uncomfortable, because he has not obtained his freedom from slavery. "If I am set free," he says, "immediately it is all happiness, I shall pay no attention to anybody, I talk to everybody as an equal and as one in the same station in life, I go where I please, I come whence I please, and where I please." Then he is emancipated, and forthwith, having no place to which to go and eat, he looks for someone to flatter, for someone at whose house to dine. Next he either earns a living by prostitution, and so endures the most dreadful things, and if he gets a manger at which to eat he has fallen into a slavery much more severe than the first; or even if he grows rich, being a vulgarian he has fallen in love with a chit of a girl, and is miserable, and laments, and yearns for his slavery again. "Why, what was wrong with me? Someone else kept me in clothes, and shoes, and supplied me with food, and nursed me when I was sick; I served him in only a few matters. But now, miserable man that I am, what suffering is mine, who am a slave to several instead of one! However, if I get rings on my fingers," he says, "then indeed I shall live most prosperously and happily." And so, first, in order to get them he submits to—what he deserves! Then when he has got them, you have the same thing over again. Next he says, "If I serve in a campaign, I am rid of all my troubles." He serves in a campaign, he submits to all that a jail-bird suffers, but none the less he demands a second campaign and a third. After that, when he adds the very colophon, and becomes a senator, then he becomes a slave as he enters the senate, then he serves in the handsomest and sleekest slavery.

Come, let him not be a fool, let him learn, as Socrates used to say, "What each several thing means," and not apply his preconceptions at random to the particular cases. For this is the cause to men of all their evils, namely, their inability to apply their general preconceptions to the particular instances. But some of us think one thing and some another. One man fancies he is ill. Not at all; the fact is that he is not applying his preconceptions. Another fancies he is a beggar; another that he has a hard-hearted father or mother; still another that Caesar is not gracious to him. But this means one thing and one thing only—ignorance of how to apply their preconceptions. Why, who does not have a preconception of evil, that it is harmful, that it is to be avoided, that it is something to get rid of in every way? One preconception does not conflict with another, but conflict arises when one proceeds to apply them. What, then, is this evil that is harmful and is to be avoided? One person says it is not to be Caesar's friend; he is off the course, he has missed the proper application, he is in a bad way, he is looking for what is not pertinent to the case in hand; because, when he has succeeded in being Caesar's friend, he has none the less failed to get what he was seeking. For what is it that every man is seeking? To live securely, to be happy, to do everything as he wishes to do, not to be hindered, not to be subject to compulsion. When, therefore, he becomes a friend of Caesar, has he been relieved of hindrance, reheved of compulsion, does he live securely, does he live serenely? From whom shall we inquire? What better witness have we than this very man who has become Caesar's friend? Come into the midst and tell us. When did you sleep more peacefully, now or before you became Caesar's friend? Immediately the answer comes: "Stop, I implore you by the gods, and do not jest at my lot; you don't know what I suffer, miserable man that I am; no sleep visits me, but first one person comes in and then another and reports that Caesar is already awake, and is already coming out; then troubles, then worries!" Come, when did you dine more pleasantly, now or formerly? Listen to him and to what he has to say on this topic. If he is not invited, he is hurt, and if he is invited, he dines like a slave at a master's table, all the time careful not to say or do something foolish. And what do you suppose he is afraid of? That he be scourged like a slave? How can he expect to get off as well as that? But as befits so great a man, a friend of Caesar, he is afraid he will lose his head. When did you take your bath in greater peace? And when did you take your exercise at greater leisure? In a word, which life would you rather live, your present life or the old one? I can take oath that no one is so insensate or so incurable as not to lament his misfortunes the more he is a friend of Caesar.

When, therefore, neither those who are styled kings live as they will, nor the friends of these kings, what free men are left?—Seek and you will find. For nature has given you resources to find the truth. But if you are unable of yourself, by employing these resources alone, to find the next step, listen to those who have already made the search. What do they say? Does freedom seem to you to be a good?—Yes, the greatest.—Is it possible, then, for a man who has this greatest good to be unhappy, or to fare ill?—No.—When, therefore, you see men unhappy, miserable, grieving, declare confidently that they are not free.—I do so declare.—Very well, then, we have now got away from buying and selling and arrangements of that kind in the acquisition of property. For if you are right in agreeing to these propositions, whether it be the Great King who is unhappy, or a little king, whether it be a man of consular rank, or one who has been a consul twice, he could not be free.—Granted.

Answer me, then, this further question: Does freedom seem to you to be a great and noble thing, and precious?—Of course.—Is it possible, then, for a man who achieves a thing so great and precious and noble, to be of abject spirit?—It is not.—When, therefore, you see one man cringing before another, or flattering him contrary to his own opinion, say confidently of this man also that he is not free; and that not merely if he be doing so for the sake of a paltry meal, but even if it be for a governorship or a consulship. Call rather those who do these things for certain small ends slaves on a small scale, and the others, as they deserve, slaves on a grand scale—This also I grant.—And does freedom seem to you to be something independent and self-governing?—Of course.—When, therefore, it is in another's power to put hindrances in a man's way and subject him to compulsion, say confidently that this man is not free. And please don't look at his grandfathers and great-grandfathers, or look for a deed of sale or purchase, but if you hear him say "Master," in the centre of his being and with deep emotion, call him a slave, even if twelve fasces precede him; and if you hear him say, "Alas! What I must suffer!" call him a slave; and, in short, if you see him wailing, complaining, in misery, call him a slave

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in a toga praetexta. However, if he does none of these things, do not call him free yet, but find out what his judgements are, whether they are in any respect subject to compulsion, to hindrance, to unhappiness; and if you find him to be that kind of a person, call him a slave on holiday at the Saturnalia; say that his master is out of town; later on he will return, and then you will learn what the fellow suffers.—Who will return?—Anyone who has control over the things which some man desires, to get these for him or to take them away.—Have we, then, so many masters?—Yes, so many. For even before these personal masters we have masters in the form of circumstances, and these are many. Hence, it needs must follow that those too who have authority over some one of these circumstances are our masters. Why, look you, no one is afraid of Caesar himself, but he is afraid of death, exile, loss of property, prison, disfranchisement. Nor does anyone love Caesar himself, unless in some way Caesar is a person of great merit; but we love wealth, a tribuneship, a praetorship, a consulship. When we love and hate and fear these things, it needs must be that those who control them are masters over us. That is why we even worship those persons as gods; for we consider that what has power to confer the greatest advantage is divine. And then we lay down the wrong minor premiss: "This man has power to confer the greatest advantage." It needs must be that the conclusion from these premisses is wrong too.

What, then, is it which makes a man free from hindrance and his own master? For wealth does not do it, nor a consulship, nor a province, nor a kingdom, but something else has to be found. What, therefore, is it which makes a man free from hindrance and restraint in writing?—The knowledge of how to write.—And what in playing on the harp?—The knowledge of how to play on the harp.—So also in living, it is the knowledge of how to live. Now you have already heard this, as a general principle, but consider it also in its particular applications. Is it possible for the man who is aiming at some one of these things which are under the control of others to be free from hindrance?—No.—Is it possible for him to be free from restraint?—No.—Therefore, it is not possible for him to be free, either. Consider then: Have we nothing which is under our own exclusive control, or is everything in that state; or are some things under our control and others under the control of others?—How do you mean?—When you want your body to be whole, is the matter under your control, or not?—It is not.—And when you want it to be well?—Nor that, either.—And to live or to die?—Nor that, either.—Therefore, your body is not your own possession, it is subject to everyone who is stronger than you are.—Granted.—And your farm, is it under your control to have it when you want, and as long as you want; and in the condition that you want?—No.—And your paltry slaves?—No.—And your clothes?—No.—And your paltry house?—No.—And your horses?—None of these things.—And if you wish by all means your children to live, or your wife, or your brother, or your friends, is the matter under your control?—No, nor that, either.

Have you, then, nothing subject to your authority, which is under your control and yours only, or do you have something of that sort?—I do not know.—Look, then, at the matter this way, and consider it. No one can make you assent to what is false, can he?—No one.—Well, then, in the region of assent you are free from hindrance and restraint.—Granted.—Come, can anyone force you to choose something that you do not want?—He can; for when he threatens me with death or bonds, he compels me to choose.—If, however, you despise death and bonds, do you pay any further heed to him?—No.—Is it, then, an act of your own to despise death, or is it not your own act?—It is mine.—So it is your own act to choose, or is it not?—Granted that it is mine.—And to refuse something? This also is yours.—Yes, but suppose I choose to go for a walk and the other person hinders me?—What part of you will he hinder? Surely not your assent?—No; but my poor body.—Yes, as he would a stone.—Granted that, but I do not proceed to take my walk.—But who told you, "It is your own act to take a walk unhindered"? As for me, I told you that the only unhindered thing was the desire; but where there is a use of the body and its co-operation, you have heard long ago that nothing is your own.—Granted that also.—Can anyone force you to desire what you do not want?—No one.—Or to purpose or plan, or, in a word, to deal with the impressions that come to you?—No, nor that, either; but he will hinder me, when I set my desire upon something, from achieving what I desire.—If you desire something which is your own and not subject to hindrance, how will he hinder you?—Not at all.—Who, then, tells you that the man who sets his desire upon what is not his own is free from hindrance?

Shall I not, then, set my desire on health?—No, not at all, nor on anything else which is not your own. For that which is not in your power to acquire or to keep is none of yours. Keep far away from it not merely your hands, but above all your desire; otherwise, you have delivered yourself into slavery, you have bowed your neck to the burden, if you admire anything that is not your own, if you conceive a violent passion for anything that is in subjection to another and mortal.—Is not my hand my own?—It is a part of you, but by nature it is clay, subject to hindrance and compulsion, a slave to everything that is stronger than you are. And why do I name you the hand? You ought to treat your whole body like a poor loaded-down donkey, as long as it is possible, as long as it is allowed; and if it be commandeered and a soldier lay hold of it, let it go, do not resist nor grumble. If you do, you will get a beating and lose your little donkey just the same. But when this is the way in which you should act as regards the body, consider what is left for you to do about all the other things that are provided for the sake of the body. Since the body is a little donkey, the other things become little bridles for a little donkey, little pack-saddles, little shoes, and barley, and fodder. Let them go too, get rid of them more quickly and cheerfully than of the little donkey itself.

Once prepared and trained in this fashion to distinguish what is not your own from what is your own possession, the things which are subject to hindrance from those which are free from it, to regard these latter as your concern, and the former as no concern of yours, diligently to keep your desire fixed on the latter, and your aversion directed toward the former, then have you any longer anyone to fear?—No one.—Of course; what is there to be fearful about? About the things that are your own, wherein is the true nature of good and evil for you? And who has authority over these? Who can take them away, who can hinder them, any more than one can hinder God? But shall you be fearful about your body and your property? About the things that are not your own? About the things that are nothing to you? And what else have you been studying, from the very outset, but how to discriminate between what is your own and what is not your own, what is under your control and what is not under your control, what is subject to hindrance and what is free from it? For what purpose did you go to the philosophers? That you might no less than before be unfortunate and miserable? You will not, then, in that case, be free from fear and perturbation. And what has pain to do with you? For fear of things anticipated becomes pain when these things are present. And what will you any longer passionately seek? For you possess a harmonious and regulated desire for the things that are within the sphere of the moral purpose, as being excellent, and as being within your reach; and you desire nothing outside the sphere of the moral purpose, so as to give place to that other element of unreason, which pushes you along and is impetuous beyond all measure.

Now when you face things in this fashion, what man can inspire fear in you any longer? For what has one human being about him that is calculated to inspire fear in another human being, in either his appearance, or conversation, or intercourse in general, any more than one horse, or dog, or bee inspires fear in another horse, or dog, or bee? Nay, it is things that inspire man with fear; and when one person is able to secure them for another, or to take them away, then he becomes capable of inspiring fear.

How, then, is a citadel destroyed? Not by iron, nor by fire, but by judgements. For if we capture the citadel in the city, have we captured the citadel of fever also, have we captured that of pretty wenches also, in a word, the acropolis within us, and have we cast out the tyrants within us, whom we have lording it over each of us every day, sometimes the same tyrants, and sometimes others? But here is where we must begin, and it is from this side that we must seize the acropolis and cast out the tyrants; we must yield up the paltry body, its members, the faculties, property, reputation, offices, honours, children, brothers, friends—count all these things as alien to us. And if the tyrants he thrown out of the spot, why should I any longer raze the fortifications of the citadel, on my own account, at least? For what harm does it do me by standing? Why should I go on and throw out the tyrant's bodyguard? For where do I feel them? Their rods, their spears, and their swords they are directing against others. But I have never been hindered in the exercise of my will, nor have I ever been subjected to compulsion against my will. And how is this possible? I have submitted my freedom of choice unto God. He wills that I shall have fever; it is my will too. He wills that I should choose something; it is my will too. He wills that I should desire something; it is my will too. He wills that I should get something; it is my wish too. He does not will it; I do not wish it. Therefore, it is my will to die; therefore, it is my will to be tortured on the rack. Who can hinder me any longer against my own views, or put compulsion upon me? That is no more possible in my case than it would be with Zeus.

This is the way also with the more cautious among travellers. A man has heard that the road which he is taking is infested with robbers; he does not venture to set forth alone, but he waits for a company, either that of an ambassador, or of a quaestor, or of a proconsul, and when he has attached himself to them he travels along the road in safety. So in this world the wise man acts. Says he to himself: "There are many robber-bands, tyrants, storms, difficulties, losses of what is most dear. Where shall a man flee for refuge? How shall he travel secure against robbery? What company shall he wait for that he may pass through in safety? To whom shall he attach himself? To So-and-so, the rich man, or the proconsul? And what is the good of that? He himself is stripped, groans, sorrows. Yes, and what if my fellow-traveller himself turn upon me and rob me? What shall I do? I will become a friend of Caesar; no one will wrong me if I am a companion of his. But, in the first place, the number of things I must suffer and endure in order to become his friend! and the number of times, and the number of persons by whom I must first be robbed! And then, even if I do become his friend, he too is mortal. And if some circumstance lead him to become my enemy, where indeed had I better retire? To a wilderness? What, does not fever go there? What, then, is to become of me? Is it impossible to find a fellow-traveller who is safe, faithful, strong, free from the suspicion of treachery?" Thus he reflects and comes to the thought that, if he attach himself to God, he will pass through the world in safety.

How do you mean "attach himself"?—Why, so that whatever God wills, he also wills, and whatever God does not will, this he also does not will.—How, then, can this be done?—Why, how else than by observing the choices of God and His governance? What has He given me for my own and subject to my authority, and what has He left for Himself? Everything within the sphere of the moral purpose He has given me, subjected them to my control, unhampered and unhindered. My body that is made of clay, how could He make that unhindered? Accordingly He has made it subject to the revolution of the universe—my property, my furniture, my house, my children, my wife. Why, then, shall I strive against God? Why shall I will what is not in the province of the will, to keep under all circumstances what has not been given me outright? But how should I keep them? In accordance with the terms upon which they have been given, and for as long as they can be given. But He who gave also takes away [As Job 1:21: "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away."]. Why, then, shall I resist? I do not say that I shall be a fool for trying to use force upon one who is stronger than I am, but before that I shall be wicked. For where did I get these things when I came into the world? My father gave them to me. And who gave them to him? Who has made the sun, who the fruits, who the seasons, who the union and fellowship of men one with another?

And so, when you have received everything, and your very self, from Another, do you yet complain and blame the Giver, if He take something away from you? Who are you, and for what purpose have you come? Did not He bring you into the world? Did not He show you the light? Did not He give you fellow-workers? Did not He give you senses also and reason? And as what did He bring you into the world? Was it not as a mortal being? Was it not as one destined to live upon earth with a little portion of paltry flesh, and for a little while to be a spectator of His governance, and to join with Him in His pageant and holiday? Are you not willing, then, for so long as has been given you, to be a spectator of His pageant and His festival, and then when He leads you forth, to go, after you have made obeisance and returned thanks for what you have heard and seen? "No," you say, "but I wanted to go on with the holiday." Yes, and so do the initiates in the mysteries want to go on with the initiation, and no doubt the spectators at Olympia want to see still other athletes; but the festival has come to an end; leave, depart as a grateful and reverent spectator departs; make room for others; yet others must be born, even as you were born, and once born they must have land, and houses, and provisions. But if the first-comers do not move along, what is left for those who follow after? Why are you insatiate? Why never satisfied? Why do you crowd the world?

Yes, but I want my little children and my wife to be with me.—Are they yours? Do they not belong to Him who gave them? To Him who made your Will you not, therefore, give up what is not your own? Will you not yield to your superior?—Why, then, did He bring me into the world on these conditions?—And if they do not suit you, leave; God has no need of a fault-finding spectator. He needs those who join in the holiday and the dance, that they may applaud rather, and glorify, and sing hymns of praise about the festival. But the peevish and the cowardly He will not be distressed to see left out of the festival; for when they were present they did not act as though they were on a holiday, nor did they fill the proper rôle; but they were distressed, found fault with the Deity, with fate, and with the company; insensible to what had been vouchsafed them, and to their own powers which they had received for the very opposite use—high-mindedness, nobility of character, courage, and the very freedom for which we are now seeking.—For what purpose, then, did I receive these gifts?—To use them.—How long?—For as long as He who lent them to you wills.—But what if they are necessary to me?—Do not set your heart upon them, and they will not be necessary to you. Do not say to yourself that they are necessary, and they will not be.

This is what you ought to practise from morning till evening. Begin with the most trifling things, the ones most exposed to injury, like a pot, or a cup, and then advance to a tunic, a paltry dog, a mere horse, a bit of land; thence to yourself, your body, and its members, your children, wife,

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brothers. Look about on every side and cast these things away from you. Purify your judgements, for fear lest something of what is not your own may be fastened to them, or grown together with them, and may give you pain when it is torn loose. And every day while you are training yourself, as you do in the gymnasium, do not say that you are "pursuing philosophy" (indeed an arrogant phrase!), but that you are a slave presenting your emancipator in court; for this is the true freedom. This is the way in which Diogenes was set free by Antisthenes, and afterwards said that he could never be enslaved again by any man. How, in consequence, did he behave when he was captured! How he treated the pirates! He called none of them master, did he? And I am not referring to the name! it is not the word that I fear, but the emotion, which produces the word. How he censures them because they gave bad food to their captives! How he behaved when he was sold! Did he look for a master? No, but for a slave. And how he behaved toward his master after he had been sold! He began immediately to argue with him, telling him that he ought not to dress that way, or have his hair cut that way, and about his sons, how they ought to live. And what is there strange about that? Why, if he had bought a gymnastic trainer, would he have employed him as a servant, or as a master, in the exercises of the palaestra? And if he had bought a physician, or a master-builder, the same would have been true. And thus in every subject-matter, it is quite unavoidable that the man of skill should be superior to the man without skill. In general, therefore, whoever possesses the science of how to live, how can he help but be the master? For who is master in a ship?—The helmsman.—Why? Because the man who disobeys him is punished.—But my master is able to give me a sound flogging.—He cannot do so with impunity, can he?—So I thought.—But because he cannot do so with impunity, therefore he has no authority to do it; no man can do wrong with impunity.—And what is the punishment that befalls the man who has put his own slave in chains, when he felt like it?—The putting of him in chains; this is something which you will admit yourself, if you wish to maintain the proposition that man is not a wild beast but a tame animal. For when is a vine faring badly? When it is acting contrary to its own nature. When is a cock faring badly? Under the same conditions. So also man. What, then, is his nature? To bite, and kick, and throw into prison, and behead? No, but to do good, to work together, and to pray for the success of others. Therefore, he is faring badly, whether you will or no, when he acts unfeelingly.

You imply, then, that Socrates did not fare badly?—He did not; it was his judges and accusers who fared badly.—Nor Helvidius at Rome?—No, but the man who put him to death.—How so?—Just as you too do not say that the cock which has won a victory, even though he be severely cut up, has fared badly, but rather the one who has been beaten without suffering a blow. Nor do you call a dog happy when he is neither in pursuit nor toiling hard, but when you see him sweating, suffering, bursting from the chase. What is there paradoxical in the statement, if we say that everything's evil is what is contrary to its own nature? Is that paradoxical? Do you not say it yourself in the case of everything else? Why, then, do you take a different course in the case of man alone? But our statement that the nature of man is gentle, and affectionate, and faithful, is this not paradoxical?—No, that is not paradoxical, either.—How, then, does it come about that he suffers no harm, even though he is soundly flogged, or imprisoned, or beheaded? Is it not thus—if he bears it all in a noble spirit, and comes off with increased profit and advantage, while the other man is the one who suffers harm, the man who is subjected to the most pitiful and disgraceful experience, who becomes a wolf, or a snake, or a wasp, instead of a human being?

Come, now, and let us review the points on which we have reached agreement. The unhampered man, who finds things ready to hand as he wants them, is free. But the man who can be hampered, or subjected to compulsion, or hindered, or thrown into something against his will, is a slave. And who is unhampered? The man who fixes his aim on nothing that is not his own. And what are the things which are not our own? All that are not under our control, either to have, or not to have, or to have of a certain quality, or under certain conditions. Therefore, the body is not our own, its members are not our own, property is not our own. If, then, you conceive a strong passion for some one of these things, as though it were your immediate possession, you will be punished as he should be who fixes his aim upon what is not his own. This is the road which leads to freedom, this is the only surcease of slavery, to be able to say at any time with your whole heart.

Lead thou me on, O Zeus, and Destiny,

To that goal long ago to me assigned.

But what say you, philosopher? The tyrant calls upon you to say something that is unworthy of you. Do you say it, or not say it? Tell me.—Let me think about it.—Think about it now? But what were you thinking about when you were attending lectures? Did you not study the questions, what things are good, and what bad, and what are neither good nor bad?—I did.—What conclusions were approved, then, by you and your fellows?—That things righteous and excellent were good, things unrighteous and disgraceful bad.—Life is not a good thing, is it?—No.—Nor death a bad thing? —No.—Nor imprisonment?—No.—But ignoble speech and faithless, and betrayal of a friend, and flattery of a tyrant, what did you and your fellows think of these?—We thought them evil.—What then? You are not thinking about the question now, nor have you thought about it and considered it hitherto. Why, what kind of inquiry is it, to raise the question whether it is fitting, when it is in my power to get for myself the greatest goods, not to get for myself the greatest evils! A fine and necessary question, forsooth, that requires a great deal of deliberation. Why are you making fun of us, man? Such an inquiry is never made. Besides, if you had honestly imagined that disgraceful things were bad, and all else indifferent, you would never have approached this inquiry, no, nor anything near it; but you would have been able to settle the question on the spot, by intuition, just as in a case involving sight. Why, when do you stop to "think about it," if the question is, Are black things white, or, Are heavy things light? Do you not follow the clear evidence of your senses? How comes it, then, that now you say you are thinking it over, whether things indifferent are more to be avoided than things bad? But you do not have these judgements; on the contrary, imprisonment and death do not appear to you to be indifferent, but rather the greatest evils, and dishonourable words and deeds are not bad in your sight, but rather things that do not concern us. For that is the habit which you developed from the start. "Where am I?" you say. "In school. And who are listening to me? I am talking in the company of philosophers. But now I have left the school; away with those sayings of pedants and fools!" That is how a friend is condemned on the testimony of a philosopher, that is how a philosopher turns parasite, that is how he hires himself out for money, that is how at a meeting of the senate a man does not say what he thinks, while within his breast his judgement shouts loudly, no cold and miserable remnant suspended from idle argumentations as by a hair, but a strong and serviceable judgement, and familiar with its business by having been trained in action. Watch yourself, and see how you take the word—I do not say the word that your child is dead; how could you possibly bear that?—but the word that your oil is spilled, or your wine drunk up. Well might someone stand over you, when you are in this excited condition, and say simply, "Philosopher, you talk differently in the school; why are you deceiving us? Why, when you are a worm, do you claim that you are a man?" I should like to stand over one of these philosophers when he is engaged in sexual intercourse, so as to see how he exerts himself, what manner of words he utters, whether he remembers his own name, or the arguments that he hears, or repeats, or reads!

And what has all this to do with freedom?—Nay, nothing but all this has to do with freedom, whether you rich people so wish or not.—And what is your witness to this?—Why, what else but you yourselves who have this mighty master, and live at his nod and gesture, who faint away if he but look at one of you with a scowl on his face, paying court to the old women and the old men, and saying, "I cannot do this; I am not allowed"? Why are you not allowed? Were you not just now arguing with me and claiming that you were free? "But Aprulla has prevented me." Tell the truth, then, slave, and do not run away from your masters, nor make denial, nor dare to present your emancipator, when you have so many proofs to convict you of slavery. And, indeed, when a man out of passionate love is under the compulsion to do something contrary to his opinion, all the time seeing the better thing but lacking the strength to follow, one might be all the more inclined to regard him as deserving pity, because he is in the grip of something violent, and, in a manner of speaking, divine. But who could endure you with your passion for old women and old men, wiping the noses and washing the faces of old women, corrupting them with presents, and all the while you are nursing them, like a slave, in some illness, praying for them to die, and asking the physicians if they are finally on their deathbed? Or again, when for the sake of these mighty and dignified offices and honours you kiss the hands of other men's slaves, so as to be the slave of men who are not even free? And then, God save the mark, you walk around in your dignity as a praetor or a consul! Do I not know how you came to be praetor, how you got your consulship, who gave it to you? As for me, I should not care even to live, if I had to owe my life to Felicio, putting up with his insolence and slavish arrogance; for I know what a slave is, who is prosperous as the world goes, and puffed up with pride.

Are you, then, free, says someone?—By the gods I wish to be, and pray to be, but I am not yet able to look into the face of my masters, I still honour my paltry body, I take great pains to keep it sound, although it is not sound in any case. But I can show you a free man, so that you will never again have to look for an example, Diogenes was free. How did that come? It was not because he was born of free parents, for he was not, but because he himself was free, because he had cast off all the handles of slavery, and there was no way in which a person could get close and lay hold of him to enslave him. Everything he had was easily loosed, everything was merely tied on. If you had laid hold of his property, he would have let it go rather than followed you for its sake; if you had laid hold of his leg, he would have let his leg go; if of his whole paltry body, his whole paltry body; and so also his kindred, friends, and country. He knew the source from which he had received them, and from whom, and upon what conditions. His true ancestors, indeed, the gods, and his real Country he would never have abandoned, nor would he have suffered another to yield them more obedience and submission, nor could any other man have died more cheerfully for his Country. For it was never his wont to seek to appear to do anything in behalf of the Universe, but he bore in mind that everything which has come into being has its source there, and is done on behalf of that Country, and is entrusted to us by Him who governs it. Therefore, see what he himself says and writes: "For this reason," he says, "you are permitted, O Diogenes, to converse as you please with the king of the Persians and with Archidamus, the king of the Lacedaemonians." Was it, indeed, because he was born of free parents? No doubt it was because they were all the children of slaves that the Athenians, and Lacedaemonians, and Corinthians were unable to converse with these monarchs as they pleased, but were afraid of them and paid court to them! Why, then, someone asks, are you permitted? "Because I do not regard my paltry body as my own; because I need nothing; because the law, and nothing else, is everything to me." This it was which allowed him to be a free man.

And that you may not think I am showing you an example of a man who was solitary, and had neither wife, nor children, nor country, nor friends, nor kinsmen, who might have bent him and diverted him from his purpose, take Socrates and observe a man who had a wife and little children, but regarded them as not his own, who had a country, as far as it was his duty, and in the way in which it was his duty, and friends, and kinsmen, one and all subject to the law and to obedience to the law. That is why, when it was his duty to serve as a soldier, he was the first to leave home, and ran the risks of battle most ungrudgingly; and when he was sent by the Tyrants to fetch Leon, because he regarded it as disgraceful, he never deliberated about the matter at all, although he knew that he would have to die, if it so chanced. And what difference did it make to him? For there was something else that he wished to preserve; not his paltry flesh, but the man of honour, the man of reverence, that he was. These are things which are not to be entrusted to another, not to be made subject. Later on, when he had to speak in defence of his life, he did not behave as one who had children, or a wife, did he? Nay, but as one who was alone in the world. Yes, and when he had to drink the poison, how does he act? When he might have saved his life, and when Crito said to him, "Leave the prison for the sake of your children," what is his reply? Did he think it a bit of good luck? Impossible! No, he regards what is fitting, and as for other considerations, he does not so much as look at or consider them. For he did not care, he says, to save his paltry body, but only that which is increased and preserved by right conduct, and is diminished and destroyed by evil conduct. Socrates does not save his life with dishonour, the man who refused to put the vote when the Athenians demanded it of him, the man who despised the Tyrants, the man who held such noble discourse about virtue and moral excellence; this man it is impossible to save by dishonour, but he is saved by death, and not by flight. Yes, and the good actor, too, is saved when he stops at the right time, rather than the one who acts out of season. What, then, will the children do? "If I had gone to Thessaly, you would have looked after them; but when I have gone down to the house of Hades, will there be no one to look after them?" See how he calls death soft names, and jests at it. But if it had been you or I, we should forthwith have fallen into the philosophic vein, and said, "One ought to repay evil-doers in kind," and added, "If I save my life I shall be useful to many persons, but if I die I shall be useful to no one"; yes, indeed, and if we had had to crawl out through a hole to escape, we should have done so! And how should we have been of use to anybody? For where could we have been of use, if the others still remained in Athens? Or if we were useful to men by living, should we not have done much more good to men by dying when we ought, and as we ought? And now that Socrates is dead the memory of him is no less useful to men, nay, is perhaps even more useful, than what he did or said while he still lived.

Study these things, these judgements, these arguments, look at these examples, if you wish to be free, if you desire the thing itself in proportion to its value. And what wonder is there if you buy something so great at the price of things so many and so great? For the sake of what is called freedom some men hang themselves, others leap over precipices, sometimes whole cities perish; for true freedom, which cannot be plotted against and is secure, will you not yield up to God, at His demand, what He has given? Will you not, as Plato says, study not merely to die, but even to be tortured on the rack, and to go into exile, and to be severely flogged, and, in a word, to give up everything that is not your own? If not, you will be a

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slave among slaves; even if you are consul ten thousand times, even if you go up to the Palace—a slave none the less; and you will perceive that, as Cleanthes used to say, "Possibly the philosophers say what is contrary to opinion, but assuredly not what is contrary to reason." For you will learn by experience that what they say is true, and that none of these things which are admired and sought after are of any good to those who attain them; while those who have not yet attained them get an impression that, if once these things come to them, they will be possessed of all things good, and then, when they do come, the burning heat is just as bad, there is the same tossing about on the sea, the same sense of surfeit, the same desire for what they do not have. For freedom is not acquired by satisfying yourself with what you desire, but by destroying your desire. And that you may learn the truth of all this, as you have toiled for those other things, so also transfer your toil to these; keep vigils for the sake of acquiring a judgement which will make you free, devote yourself to a philosopher instead of to a rich old man, be seen about his doors; it will be no disgrace to be so seen, you will not retire thence empty and without profit, if you approach him in the right fashion. Anyway, try it at least; there is no disgrace in making the attempt.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 2 - Of Social Intercourse

To this topic you ought to devote yourself before every other, how, namely, you may avoid ever being so intimately associated with some one of your acquaintances or friends as to descend to the same level with him; otherwise you will ruin yourself. But if there slips into your mind the thought, "He will think me unmannerly and will not be as friendly as he used to be," remember that nothing is done without paying for it, and that it is impossible for a man to remain the same person that he used to be, if he does not do the same things. Choose, therefore, which you prefer; either to be loved just as much as you used to be by the same persons, remaining like your former self, or else, by being superior to your former self, to lose the same affection. Because if this latter alternative is the better choice, turn forthwith in that direction, and let not the other considerations draw you away; for no man is able to make progress when he is facing both ways. But if you have preferred this course to every other, if you wish to devote yourself to this alone, and labour to perfect it, give up everything else. Otherwise this facing both ways will bring about a double result: You will neither make progress as you ought, nor will you get what you used to get before. For before, when you frankly aimed at nothing worth while, you made a pleasant companion. You cannot achieve distinction along both lines, but you must needs fall short in the one to the degree in which you take part in the other. If you do not drink with those you used to drink with, you cannot in their eyes be as pleasant a companion as you used to be; choose, therefore, whether you wish to be a hard drinker and pleasant to those persons, or a sober man and unpleasant. If you do not sing with those you used to sing with, you cannot be loved by them as you used to be; choose, therefore, here also, which you wish. For if it is better to be a man of respectful and modest behaviour than for someone to say of you, "He is a pleasant fellow," give up all other considerations, renounce them, turn your back upon them, have nothing to do with them. But if that does not please you, turn about, the whole of you, to the opposite; become one of the addicts to unnatural vice, one of the adulterers, and act in the corresponding fashion, and you will get what you wish. Yes, and jump up and shout your applause to the dancer. But different characters do not mix in this fashion; you cannot act the part of Thersites and that of Agamemnon too. If you wish to be a Thersites, you ought to be humpbacked and bald; if an Agamemnon, you ought to be tall and handsome, and to love those who have been made subject to you.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 3 - What Things Should Be Exchanged For What Things?

Here is a thought to keep ready at hand whenever you lose some external thing: What are you acquiring in its place? and if this be more valuable than the other, never say, "I have suffered a loss." You have lost nothing if you get a horse for an ass, an ox for a sheep, a noble action for a small piece of money, the proper kind of peace for futile discourse, and self-respect for smutty talk. If you bear this in mind you will everywhere maintain your character as it ought to be. If not, I would have you observe that your time is being spent to no purpose, and all the pains you are now taking with yourself you are sure to spill out utterly and upset. Little is needed to ruin and upset everything, only a slight aberration from reason. For the helmsman to upset his ship he does not need the same amount of preparation that he does to keep it safe; but if he heads it a little too much into the wind, he is lost; yes, even if he does nothing by his own deliberate choice, but merely falls to thinking about something else for a moment, he is lost. In life also it is very much the same; if you doze but for a moment, all that you have amassed hitherto is gone. Pay attention, therefore, to your sense-impressions, and watch over them sleeplessly. For it is no small matter that you are guarding, but self-respect, and fidelity, and constancy, a state of mind undisturbed by passion, pain, fear, or confusion—in a word, freedom. What are the things for which you are about to sell these things? Look, how valuable are they?—But, you say, I shall not get anything of that kind in return for what I am giving up.—Observe also, when you do get something in the exchange, just what it is you are getting for what you give up. "I have a modest behaviour, he has a tribuneship; he has a praetorship, I have self-respect. But I do not shout where it is unseemly; I shall not stand up where I ought not; for I am a free man and a friend of God, so as to obey Him of my own free will. No other thing ought I to claim, not body, or property, or office, or reputation—nothing, in short; nor does He wish me to claim them. Had He so desired He would have made them good for me. But as it is, He has not so made them; therefore I cannot transgress any of His commands." Guard your own good in everything you do; and for the rest be content to take simply what has been given you, in so far as you can make a rational use of it. If you do not, you will have bad luck and no good luck, you will be hampered and hindered. These are the laws that have been sent you from God, these are His ordinances; it is of these you ought to become an interpreter, to these you ought to subject yourself, not the laws of Masurius and Cassius [Two distinguished jurists of the first half of the first century AD.].

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 4 - To Those Who Have Set Their Hearts Upon Living In Peace

Remember that it is not merely desire for office and wealth which makes men abject and subservient to others, but desire also for peace, and leisure, and travel, and scholarship. For it makes no difference what the external object be, the value you set upon it makes you subservient to another. What difference, then, does it make for you to set your heart on the senate, or on not becoming a senator? What difference does it make to desire office or to desire not to hold office? What difference does it make to say, "I am in a bad way, I have nothing to do, but am tied to my books as though I were a corpse," or to say, "I am in a bad way, I have no leisure to read"? For just as salutations and office-holding are among things external and those which lie outside the province of the moral purpose, so also is a book. Or for what purpose do you wish to read? Tell me. If you turn to reading merely for entertainment, or in order to learn something, you are futile and lazy. But if you refer reading to the proper standard, what else is this but a life of serenity? However, if reading does not secure for you a life of serenity, of what good is it?—Nay, it does secure me serenity, one says, and that is why I am discontented because I am deprived of it.—And what kind of serenity is this which any chance comer can impede, not merely Caesar, or a friend of Caesar, but a crow, a flutist, fever, thirty thousand other things? But no feature of serenity is so characteristic as continuity and freedom from hindrance.

At this instant I am being called to do something; at this instant I shall go home with the purpose of observing the due measure which I ought to maintain, acting with self-respect, with security, apart from desire and avoidance of things external; and in the second place I observe men, what they say, how they move, and this in no malignant spirit, nor in order to have something to censure or ridicule, but I look at myself the while, to see if I too am making the same mistakes. "How, then, shall I cease to make mistakes?" There was a time when I too made mistakes, but now no longer, thanks be to God. . . .

Come, if you have acted like this and devoted yourself to these things, have you done anything worse than reading a thousand lines, or writing a thousand? For when you eat, are you annoyed because you are not reading? Are you not satisfied to be eating in accordance with the principles you learned by reading? And when you bathe and take exercise? Why, then, are you not consistent in everything, both when you approach Caesar, and when you approach So-and-so? If you are maintaining the character of a man of tranquillity, of imperturbability, of sedateness, if you are observing what happens rather than being yourself observed, if you are not envying those who are preferred in honour above you, if the mere subject-matter of actions does not dazzle you, what do you lack? Books? How, or for what end? What, is not the reading of books a kind of preparation for the act of living? But the full measure of the act of living is made up of things other than books. It is as though the athlete on entering the stadium were to fall a-wailing because he is not exercising outside. This was what you exercised for, this is the purpose of your jumping-weights, your wrestler's sand, your young training partners. And are you now asking for these things, when the time for action is come? It is as if, when in the sphere of assent we were surrounded with sense-impressions, some of them convincing, and others not convincing, we should not wish to distinguish between them, but to read a treatise On Comprehension!

What, then, is the reason for this? It is because we have never read for this purpose, we have never written for this purpose—in our actions, to treat in accordance with nature the sense-impressions which come to us; but we stop with having learned what is said, and with the ability to explain it to someone else, and with analysing the syllogism, and examining the hypothetical argument. That is why, where our heart is set, there also our impediment lies. Do you wish at any cost to have the things that are not under your control? Very well then, be hindered, be obstructed, fail. If we should read a treatise On Choice, not in order to know about the subject, but in order to make correct choices; a treatise On Desire and Aversion, in order that we may never fail in our desire nor fall into that which we are trying to avoid; a treatise On Duty, in order that we may remember our relations in society and do nothing irrationally or contrary to the principles of duty; we should not be vexed by being hindered in regard to what we have read, but we should find satisfaction in doing the deeds required by our mutual relations, and we should be reckoning, not the things which we have been accustomed hitherto to reckon: "To-day I have read so many lines, I have written so many," but, "To-day I made a choice in the way that the philosophers teach, I did not entertain desire, I avoided only those things that are in the sphere of the moral purpose, I was not overawed by So-and-so, I was not put out of countenance by So-and-so, I exercised my patience, my abstinence, my co-operation," and thus we should be giving thanks to God for those things for which we ought to give Him thanks. But as it is, we do not realise that we ourselves, though in a different fashion, grow like the multitude. Another man is afraid that he will not have an office; you are afraid that you will. Do not so, man! But just as you laugh at the man who is afraid he will not have an office, so also laugh at yourself. For it makes no difference whether a person is thirsty with fever, or is afraid of water like a man with the rabies. Or how can you any longer say with Socrates, "If so it please God, so be it"? Do you suppose that, if Socrates had yearned to spend his leisure in the Lyceum or the Academy, and to converse daily with the young men, he would have gone forth cheerfully on all the military expeditions in which he served? Would he not have wailed and groaned, "Wretched man that I am I here I am now in misery and misfortune, when I might be sunning myself in the Lyceum"? What, was this your function in life, to sun yourself? Was it not rather to be serene, to be unhampered, to be unhindered? And how would he have been Socrates any longer, if he had wailed like this? How would he have gone on to write paeans in prison?

In a word, then, remember this—that if you are going to honour anything at all outside the sphere of the moral purpose, you have destroyed your moral purpose. And outside the sphere of your moral purpose lie not merely office, but also freedom from office; not merely business, but also leisure. "Am I now, therefore, to pass my life in this turmoil?" What do you mean by "turmoil"? Among many people? And what is there hard about that? Imagine that you are in Olympia, regard the turmoil as a festival. There, too, one man shouts this and another that; one man does this and another that; one man jostles another; there is a crowd in the baths. And yet who of us does not take delight in the Olympic festival and leave it with sorrow? Do not become peevish or fastidious towards events. "The vinegar is rotten, for it is sour." "The honey is rotten, for it upsets my digestion." "I don't like vegetables." In the same fashion you say, "I do not like leisure, it is a solitude." "I do not like a crowd, it is turmoil." Say not so, but if circumstances bring you to spend your life alone or in the company of a few, call it peace, and utilize the condition for its proper end; converse with yourself, exercise your sense-impressions, develop your preconceptions. If, however, you fall in with a crowd, call it games, a festival, a holiday, try to keep holiday with the people. For what is pleasanter to a man who loves his fellow-men than the sight of large numbers of them? We are glad to see herds of horses or cattle; when we see many ships we are delighted; is a person annoyed at the sight of many human beings? "Yes, but they deafen me with their shouting." Oh, well, it is your hearing that is interfered with! What, then, is that to you? Your faculty of employing external impressions is not interfered with, is it? And who prevents you from making natural use of desire and aversion, of choice and refusal? What manner of turmoil avails to do that?

Do but keep in remembrance your general principles: "What is mine? What is not mine? What has been given me? What does God will that I do now, what does He not will?" A little while ago it was His will for you to be at leisure, to converse with yourself, to write about these things, to read, to listen, to prepare yourself; you had time sufficient for that. Now, God says to you, "Come at length to the contest, show us what you have learned, how you have trained yourself. How long will you exercise alone? Now the time has come for you to discover whether you are one of the athletes who deserve victory, or belong to the number of those who travel about the world and are everywhere defeated." Why, then, are you discontented? No contest is held without turmoil. There must be many training-partners, many to shout applause, many officials, many spectators.—But I wanted to live a life of peace.—Wail, then, and groan, as you deserve to do. For what greater penalty can befall the man who is uninstructed and disobedient to the divine injunctions than to grieve, to

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sorrow, to envy, in a word to have no good fortune but only misfortune? Do you not wish to free yourself from all this?

And how shall I free myself?—Have you not heard over and over again that you ought to eradicate desire utterly, direct your aversion towards the things that lie within the sphere of the moral purpose, and these things only, that you ought to give up everything, your body, your property, your reputation, your books, turmoil, office, freedom from office? For if once you swerve aside from this course, you are a slave, you are a subject, you have become liable to hindrance and to compulsion, you are entirely under the control of others. Nay, the word of Cleanthes is ready at hand,

Lead thou me on, O Zeus, and Destiny.

Will ye have me go to Rome? I go to Rome. To Gyara? I go to Gyara. To Athens? I go to Athens. To prison? I go to prison. If but once you say, "Oh, when may a man go to Athens?" you are lost. This wish, if unfulfilled, must necessarily make you unfortunate; if fulfilled, vain and puffed up over the wrong kind of thing; again, if you are hindered, you suffer a misfortune, falling into what you do not wish. Give up, then, all these things. "Athens is beautiful." But happiness is much more beautiful, tranquillity, freedom from turmoil, having your own affairs under no man's control. "There is turmoil in Rome, and salutations." But serenity is worth all the annoyances. If, then, the time for these things has come, why not get rid of your aversion for them: Why must you needs bear burdens like a belaboured donkey? Otherwise, I would have you see that you must be ever the slave of the man who is able to secure your release, to the man who is able to hinder you in everything, and you must serve him as an Evil Genius.

There is but one way to serenity (keep this thought ready for use at dawn, and by day, and at night), and that is to yield up all claim to the things that lie outside the sphere of the moral purpose, to regard nothing as your own possession; to surrender everything to the Deity, to Fortune; to yield everything to the supervision of those persons whom even Zeus has made supervisors; and to devote yourself to one thing only, that which is your own, that which is free from hindrance, and to read referring your reading to this end, and so to write and so to listen. That is why I cannot call a man industrious, if I hear merely that he reads or writes, and even if one adds that he sits up all night, I cannot yet say that the man is industrious, until I know for what end he does so. For neither do you call a man industrious who loses sleep for the sake of a wench; no more do I. But if he acts this way for the sake of reputation, I call him ambitious; if for the sake of money, I call him fond of money, not fond of toil. If, however, the end for which he toils is his own governing principle, to have it be, and live continually, in accordance with nature, then and then only I call him industrious. For I would not have you men ever either praise or blame a man for things that may be either good or bad, but only for judgements. Because these are each man's own possessions, which make his actions either base or noble. Bearing all this in mind, rejoice in what you have and be satisfied with what the moment brings. If you see any of the things that you have learned and studied thoroughly coming to fruition for you in action, rejoice in these things. If you have put away or reduced a malignant disposition, and reviling, or impertinence, or foul language, or recklessness, or negligence; if you are not moved by the things that once moved you, or at least not to the same degree, then you can keep festival day after day; to-day because you behaved well in this action, to-morrow because you behaved well in another. How much greater cause for thanksgiving is this than a consulship or a governorship! these things come to you from your own self and from the gods. Remember who the Giver is, and to whom He gives, and for what end. If you are brought up in reasonings such as these, can you any longer raise the questions where you are going to be happy, and where you will please God? Are not men everywhere equally distant from God? Do they not everywhere have the same view of what comes to pass?

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 5 - Against The Contentious And Brutal

The good and excellent man neither contends with anyone, nor, as far as he has the power, does he allow others to contend. We have an example before us of this also, as well as of everything else, in the life of Socrates, who did not merely himself avoid contention upon every occasion, but tried to prevent others as well from contending. See in Xenophon's Symposium how many contentions he has resolved, and again how patient he was with Thrasymachus, Polus, and Callicles, and habitually so with his wife, and also with his son when the latter tried to confute him with sophistical arguments. For Socrates bore very firmly in mind that no one is master over another's governing principle. He willed, accordingly, nothing but what was his own. And what is that? [Not to try to make other people act] in accordance with nature, for that does not belong to one; but, while they are attending to their own business as they think best, himself none the less to be and to remain in a state of harmony with nature, attending only to his own business, to the end that they also may be in harmony with nature. For this is the object which the good and excellent man has ever before him. To become praetor? No; but if this be given him, to maintain his own governing principle in these circumstances. To marry? No; but if marriage be given him, to maintain himself as one who in these circumstances is in harmony with nature. But if he wills that his son or his wife make no mistake, he wills that what is not his own should cease to be not his own. And to be getting an education means this: To be learning what is your own, and what is not your own.

Where, then, is there any longer room for contention, if a man is in such a state? Why, he is not filled with wonder at anything that happens, is he? Does anything seem strange to him? Does he not expect worse and harsher treatment from the wicked than actually befalls him? Does he not count it as gain whenever they fail to go to the limit? "So-and-so reviled you." I am greatly obliged to him for not striking me. "Yes, but he struck you too." I am greatly obliged to him for not wounding me. "Yes, but he wounded you too," I am greatly obliged to him for not killing me. For when, or from what teacher, did he learn that man is a tame animal, that he manifests mutual affection, that injustice in itself is a great injury to the unjust man? If, therefore, he has never learned this, or become persuaded of this, why shall he not follow what appears to him to be his advantage? "My neighbour has thrown stones." You have not made a mistake, have you? "No, but my crockery is broken." Are you a piece of crockery, then? No, but you are moral purpose. What, then, has been given you with which to meet this attack? If you seek to act like a wolf, you can bite back and throw more stones than your neighbour did; but if you seek to act like a man, examine your store, see what faculties you brought with you into the world. You brought no faculty of brutality, did you? No faculty of bearing grudges, did you? When, then, is a horse miserable? When he is deprived of his natural faculties. Not when he can't sing "cuckoo!" but when he can't run. And a dog? Is it when he cannot fly? No, but when he cannot keep the scent. Does it not follow, then, that on the same principles a man is wretched, not when he is unable to choke lions, or throw his arms about statues (for no man has brought with him from nature into this world faculties for this), but when he has lost his kindness, and his faithfulness? This is the kind of person for whom "men should come together and mourn, because of all the evils into which he has come"; not, by Zeus, "the one who is born," or "the one who has died," but the man whose misfortune it has been while he still lives to lose what is his own; not his patrimony, his paltry farm, and paltry dwelling, and his tavern, and his poor slaves (for none of these things is a man's own possession, but they all belong to others, are subservient and subject, given by their masters now to one person and now to another); but the qualities which make him a human being, the imprints which he brought with him in his mind, such as we look for also upon coins, and, if we find them, we accept the coins, but if we do not find them, we throw the coins away. "Whose imprint does this sestertius bear? Trajan's? Give it to me. Nero's? Throw it out, it will not pass, it is rotten." [This reference is most obscure, for the coins of Nero still preserved are numerous and excellent, and there was a great systematic reform of coinage in 64 AD, which became "the most complete monetary system of ancient times" (Mattingly and Sydenham, The Roman Imperial Coinage (1923), 1, 138). After the death of Caligula, indeed, the senate ordered all his bronze coinage to be melted down (Dio, 60. 22, 3), but nothing of the sort is recorded, so far as I know, for Nero.] So also in the moral life. What imprint do his judgements bear? "He is gentle, generous, patient, affectionate." Give him to me, I accept him, I make this man a citizen, I accept him as a neighbour and a fellow-voyager. Only see that he does not have the imprint of Nero. Is he choleric, furious, querulous? "If he feels like it, he punches the heads of the people he meets." Why, then, did you call him a human being? For surely everything is not judged by its outward appearance only, is it? Why, if that is so, you will have to call the lump of beeswax an apple. No, it must have the smell of an apple and the taste of an apple; its external outline is not enough. Therefore, neither are the nose and the eyes sufficient to prove that one is a human being, but you must see whether one has the judgements that belong to a human being. Here is a man who does not listen to reason, he does not understand when he is confuted; he is an ass. Here is one whose sense of self-respect has grown numb; he is useless, a sheep, anything but a human being. Here is a man who is looking for someone whom he can kick or bite when he meets him; so that he is not even a sheep or an ass, but some wild beast.

What then? Do you want me to be despised?—By whom? By men of understanding? And how will men of understanding despise the gentle and the self-respecting person? No, but by men without understanding? What difference is that to you? Neither you nor any other craftsman cares about those who are not skilled in his art.—Yes, but they will fasten themselves upon me all the more.—What do you mean by the word "me"? Can anyone hurt your moral purpose, or prevent you from employing in a natural way the sense-impressions which come to you?—No.—Why, then, are you any longer disturbed, and why do you want to show that you are a timid person? Why do you not come forth and make the announcement that you are at peace with all men, no matter what they do, and that you are especially amused at those who think that they are hurting you? "These slaves do not know either who I am, or where my good and my evil are; they cannot get at the things that are mine."

In this way also those who inhabit a strong city laugh at the besiegers: "Why are these men taking trouble now to no end? Our wall is safe, we have food for ever so long a time, and all other supplies." These are the things which make a city strong and secure against capture, and nothing but judgements make similarly secure the soul of man. For what manner of wall is so strong, or what manner of body so invincible, or what manner of possession so secure against theft, or what manner of reputation so unassailable? For all things everywhere are perishable, and easy to capture by assault, and the man who in any fashion sets his mind upon any of them must needs be troubled in mind, be discouraged, suffer fear and sorrow, have his desires fail, and his aversions fall into what they would avoid. If this be so, are we not willing to make secure the one means of safety which has been vouchsafed us? And are we not willing to give up these perishable and slavish things, and devote our labours to those which are imperishable and by nature free? And do we not remember that no man either hurts or helps another, but that it is his judgement about each of these things which is the thing that hurts him, that overturns him; this is contention, and civil strife, and war? That which made Eteocles and Polyneices what they were was nothing else but this—their judgement about a throne, and their judgement about exile, namely, that one was the greatest of evils, the other the greatest of goods. And this is the nature of every being, to pursue the good and to flee from the evil; and to consider the man who robs us of the one and invests us with the other as an enemy and an aggressor, even though he be a brother, even though he be a son, even though he be a father; for nothing is closer kin to us than our good. It follows, then, that if these externals are good or evil, neither is a father dear to his sons, nor a brother dear to a brother, but everything on all sides is full of enemies, aggressors, slanderers. But if the right kind of moral purpose and that alone is good, and if the wrong kind of moral purpose and that alone is bad, where is there any longer room for contention, where for reviling? About what? About the things that mean nothing to us? Against whom? Against the ignorant, against the unfortunate, against those who have been deceived in the most important values?

All this is what Socrates bore in mind as he managed his house, putting up with a shrewish wife and an unkindly son. For to what end was she shrewish? To the end that she might pour all the water she pleased over his head, and might trample underfoot the cake. Yet what is that to me, if I regard these things as meaning nothing to me? But this control over the moral purpose is my true business, and in it neither shall a tyrant hinder me against my will, nor the multitude the single individual, nor the stronger man the weaker; for this has been given by God to each man as something that cannot be hindered. These are the judgements which produce love in the household, concord in the State, peace among the nations, make a man thankful toward God, confident at all times, on the ground that he is dealing with things not his own, with worthless things. We, however, although we are capable of writing and reading these things, and praising them when read, are nowhere near capable of being persuaded of them. Wherefore, the proverb about the Lacedaemonians,

Lions at home, but at Ephesus foxes,
will fit us too: Lions in the school-room, foxes outside.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 6 - To Those Who Are Vexed At Being Pitied

I am annoyed, says one, at being pitied.—Is it, then, some doing of yours that you are pitied, or the doing of those who show the pity? Or again; is it in your power to stop it?—It is, if I can show them that I do not deserve their pity.—And do you now possess the power of not being deserving of pity, or do you not possess it?—It seems to me, indeed, that I possess it. Yet these people do not pity me for what would deserve pity, if anything does, that is, my mistakes; but for poverty, and for not holding office, and for things like disease, and death, and the like.—Are you, then, prepared to convince the multitude that none of these things is bad, but that it is possible for a poor man, and one who holds no office or position of honour, to be happy; or are you prepared to show yourself off to them as a rich man and an official? Of these alternatives the second is the part of a braggart, and a tasteless and worthless person. Besides, observe the means by which you must achieve your pretence: You will have to borrow some paltry slaves; and possess a few pieces of silver plate, and exhibit these same pieces conspicuously and frequently, if you can, and try not to let people know that they are the same; and possess contemptible bright clothes, and all other kinds of finery, and show yourself off as the one who is honoured by the most distinguished persons; and try to

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dine with them, or at least make people think that you dine with them; and resort to base arts in the treatment of your person, so as to appear more shapely and of gentler birth than you actually are. All these contrivances you must adopt, if you wish to take the way of the second alternative and avoid pity.

But the first way is ineffectual and tedious—to attempt the very thing which Zeus himself has been unable to accomplish, that is, to convince all men of what things are good, and what evil. Why, that has not been vouchsafed to you, has it? Nay, this only has been vouchsafed—to convince yourself. And you have not convinced yourself yet! And despite that, bless me! are you now trying to convince all other men? Yet who has been living with you so long as you have been living with yourself? And who is so gifted with powers of persuasion to convince you, as you are to convince yourself? Who is more kindly disposed and nearer to you than you are to yourself? How comes it, then, that you have not persuaded yourself to learn? Are not things now upside down? Is this what you have been in earnest about? Not to learn how to get rid of pain, and turmoil, and humiliation, and so become free? Have you not heard that there is but a single way which leads to this end, and that is to give up the things which lie outside the sphere of the moral purpose, and to abandon them, and to admit that they are not your own? To what class of things, then, does another's opinion about you belong?—To that which lies outside the sphere of the moral purpose.—And so it is nothing to you?—Nothing.—So long, then, as you are stung and disturbed by the opinions of others, do you still fancy that you have been persuaded as to things good and evil?

Will you not, then, let other men alone, and become your own disciple and your own teacher? "All other men shall see to it, whether it is profitable for them to be in a state out of accord with nature and so to live, but as for me no one is closer to myself than I am. What does it mean, then, that I have heard the words of the philosophers and assent to them, but that in actual fact my burdens have become no lighter? Can it be that I am so dull? And yet, indeed, in everything else that I have wanted I was not found to be unusually dull, but I learned my letters rapidly, and how to wrestle, and do my geometry, and analyse syllogisms. Can it be, then, that reason has not convinced me? Why, indeed, there is nothing to which I have so given my approval from the very first, or so preferred, and now I read about these matters, and hear them, and write about them. Down to this moment we have not found a stronger argument than this. What is it, then, that I yet lack? Can it be that the contrary judgements have not all been put away? Can it be that the thoughts themselves are unexercised and unaccustomed to face the facts, and, like old pieces of armour that have been stowed away, are covered with rust, and can no longer be fitted to me? Yet in wrestling, or in writing, or in reading, I am not satisfied with mere learning, but I turn over and over the arguments presented to me, and fashion new ones, and likewise syllogisms with equivocal premisses. However, the necessary principles, those which enable a man, if he sets forth from them, to get rid of grief, fear, passion, hindrance, and become free, these I do not exercise, nor do I take the practice that is appropriate for them. After all that, am I concerned with what everyone else will say about me, whether I shall appear important or happy in their eyes?"

O miserable man, will you not see what you are saying about yourself? What sort of a person are you in your own eyes? What sort of a person in thinking, in desiring, in avoiding; what sort of a person in choice, preparation, design, and the other activities of men? Yet you are concerned whether the rest of mankind pity you?—Yes, but I do not deserve to be pitied.—And so you are pained at that? And is the man who is pained worthy of pity?—Yes.—How, then, do you fail to deserve pity after all? By the very emotion which you feel concerning pity you make yourself worthy of pity. What, then, says Antisthenes? Have you never heard? "It is the lot of a king, O Cyrus, to do well, but to be ill spoken of." My head is perfectly sound and yet everybody thinks I have a headache. What do I care? I have no fever, and yet everybody sympathizes with me as though I had: "Poor fellow, you have had a fever for ever so long." I draw a long face too, and say, "Yes, it truly is a long time that I have been in a bad way." "What is going to happen, then?" As God will, I reply, and at the same time I smile quietly to myself at those who are pitying me.

What, then, prevents me from doing the same thing in my moral life also? I am poor, but I have a correct judgement about poverty. Why, then, am I concerned, if men pity me for my poverty? I do not hold office, while others do. But I have the right opinion about holding office and not holding it. Let those who pity me look to it, but as for myself, I am neither hungry, nor thirsty, nor cold, but from their own hunger and thirst they think I too am hungry and thirsty. What, then, am I to do for them? Shall I go about and make proclamation, and say, "Men, be not deceived, it is well with me. I take heed neither of poverty, nor lack of office, nor, in a word, anything else, but only correct judgements; these I possess free from hindrance, I have taken thought of nothing further"? And yet, what foolish talk is this? How do I any longer hold correct judgements when I am not satisfied with being the man that I am, but am excited about what other people think of me?

But others will get more than I do, and will be preferred in honour above me.—Well, and what is more reasonable than for those who have devoted themselves to something to have the advantage in that to which they have devoted themselves? They have devoted themselves to office, you to judgements; and they to wealth, you to dealing with your sense-impressions. See whether they have the advantage over you in what you have devoted yourself to, but they neglect; whether their assent is more in accord with natural standards, whether their desire is less likely to achieve its aim than is yours, whether their aversion is less likely to fall into what it would avoid, whether in design, purpose, and choice they hit the mark better, whether they observe what becomes them as men, as sons, as parents, and then, in order, through all the other terms for the social relations. But if they hold office, will you not tell yourself the truth, which is. that you do nothing in order to get office, while they do everything, and that it is most unreasonable for the man who pays attention to something to come off with less than the man who neglects it?

Nay, but because I greatly concern myself with correct judgements, it is more reasonable for me to rule.—Yes, in what you greatly concern yourself with, that is, judgements; but in that with which other men have concerned themselves more greatly than you have, give place to them. It is as though, because you have correct judgements, you insisted that you ought in archery to hit the mark better than the archers, or to surpass the smiths at their trade. Drop, therefore, your earnestness about judgements, and concern yourself with the things which you wish to acquire, and then lament if you do not succeed, for you have a right to do that. But as it is, you claim to be intent upon other things, to care for other things, and there is wisdom in what common people say, "One serious business has no partnership with another." One man gets up at early dawn and looks for someone of the household of Caesar to salute, someone to whom he may make a pleasant speech, to whom he may send a present, how he may please the dancer, how he may gratify one person by maliciously disparaging another. When he prays, he prays for these objects, when he sacrifices, he sacrifices for these objects. The word of Pythagoras,

Also allow not sleep to draw nigh to your languorous eyelids,

he has wrested to apply here. "'Where did I go wrong—' in matters of flattery? 'What did I do?' Can it be that I acted as a free man, or as a man of noble character?" And if he find an instance of the sort, he censures and accuses himself: "Why, what business did you have to say that? For wasn't it possible to lie? Even the philosophers say that there is nothing to hinder one's telling a lie." But if in all truth you have concerned yourself greatly with nothing but the proper use of sense-impressions, then as soon as you get up in the morning bethink you, "What do I yet lack in order to achieve tranquillity? What to achieve calm? What am I? I am not a paltry body, not property, not reputation, am I? None of these. Well, what am I? A rational creature." What, then, are the demands upon you? Rehearse your actions. "'Where did I go wrong?' in matters conducive to serenity? 'What did I do' that was unfriendly, or unsocial, or unfeeling? 'What to be done was left undone' in regard to these matters?"

Since, therefore, there is so great a difference between the things which men desire, their deeds, and their prayers, do you still wish to be on an equal footing with them in matters to which you have not devoted yourself, but they have? And after all that, are you surprised if they pity you, and are you indignant? But they are not indignant if you pity them. And why? Because they are convinced that they are getting good things, while you are not so convinced in your own case. That is why you are not satisfied with what you have, but reach out for what they have. Because, if you had been truly convinced that, in the case of the things which are good, you are the one who is attaining them, while they have gone astray, you would not even have taken account of what they say about you.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 7 - Of Freedom From Fear

What makes the tyrant an object of fear?—His guards, someone says, and their swords, and the chamberlain, and those who exclude persons who would enter.—Why, then, is it that, if you bring a child into the presence of the tyrant while he is with his guards, the child is not afraid? Is it because the child does not really feel the presence of the guards? If, then, a man really feels their presence, and that they have swords, but has come for that very purpose, for the reason that he wishes to die because of some misfortune, and he seeks to do so easily at the hand of another, he does not fear the guards, does he?—No, for what makes them terrible is just what he wants.—If, then, a man who has set his will neither upon dying nor upon living at any cost, but only as it is given him to live, comes into the presence of the tyrant, what is there to prevent such a man from coming into his presence without fear?—Nothing.—If, then, a man feel also about his property just as this other person feels about his body, and so about his children, and his wife, and if, in brief, he be in such a frame of mind, due to some madness or despair, that he cares not one whit about having, or not having, these things; but, as children playing with potsherds strive with one another about the game, but take no thought about the potsherds themselves, so this man also has reckoned the material things of life as nothing, but is glad to play with them and handle them—what kind of tyrant, or guards, or swords in the hands of guards can any more inspire fear in the breast of such a man?

Therefore, if madness can produce this attitude of mind toward the things which have just been mentioned, and also habit, as with the Galilaeans [Obviously referring to the Roman Pauline Christians, as the Scholiast saw. Cf. also 2. 9, 19-21 and note, and Introd. p. 26 f.], cannot reason and demonstration teach a man that God has made all things in the universe, and the whole universe itself, to be free from hindrance, and to contain its end in itself, and the parts of it to serve the needs of the whole? Now all other animals have been excluded from the capacity to understand the governance of God, but the rational animal, man, possesses faculties that enable him to consider all these things, both that he is a part of them, and what kind of part of them he is, and that it is well for the parts to yield to the whole. And furthermore, being by nature noble, and high-minded, and free, the rational animal, man, sees that he has some of the things which are about him free from hindrance and under his control, but that others are subject to hindrance and under the control of others. Free from hindrance are those things which lie in the sphere of the moral purpose, and subject to hindrance are those which lie outside the sphere of the moral purpose. And so, if he regards his own good and advantage as residing in these things alone, in those, namely, which are free from hindrance and under his control, he will be free, serene, happy, unharmed, high-minded, reverent, giving thanks for all things to God, under no circumstances finding fault with anything that has happened, nor blaming anything; if, however, he regards his good and advantage as residing in externals and things outside the sphere of his moral purpose, he must needs be hindered and restrained, be a slave to those who have control over these things which he has admired and fears; he must needs be irreverent, forasmuch as he thinks that God is injuring him, and be unfair, always trying to secure for himself more than his share, and must needs be of an abject and mean spirit.

When a man has once grasped all this, what is there to prevent him from living with a light heart and an obedient disposition; with a gentle spirit awaiting anything that may yet befall, and enduring that which has already befallen? "Would you have me bear poverty?" Bring it on and you shall see what poverty is when it finds a good actor to play the part. "Would you have me hold office?" Bring it on. "Would you have me suffer deprivation of office?" Bring it on. "Well, and would you have me bear troubles?" Bring them on too. "Well, and exile?" Wherever I go it will be well with me, for here where I am it was well with me, not because of my location, but because of my judgements, and these I shall carry away with me; nor, indeed, can any man take these away from me, but they are the only things that are mine, and they cannot be taken away, and with the possession of them I am content, wherever I be and whatever I do. "But it is now time to die." Why say "die"? Make no tragic parade of the matter, but speak of it as it is: "It is now time for the material of which you are constituted to be restored to those elements from which it came." And what is there terrible about that? What one of the things that make up the universe will be lost, what novel or unreasonable thing will have taken place? Is it for this that the tyrant inspires fear? Is it because of this that his guards seem to have long and sharp swords? Let others see to that; I have considered all this, no one has authority over me. I have been set free by God, I know His commands, no one has power any longer to make a slave of me, I have the right kind of emancipator, and the right kind of judges. "Am I not master of your body?" Very well, what is that to me? "Am I not master of your paltry property?" Very well, what is that to me? "Am I not master of exile or bonds?" Again I yield up to you all these things and my whole paltry body itself, whenever you will. Do make trial of your power, and you will find out how far it extends.

Who is there, then, that I can any longer be afraid of? Shall I be afraid of the chamberlains? For fear they do what? Lock the door in my face? If they find me wanting to enter, let them lock the door in my face!—Why, then, do you go to the gate of the palace?—Because I think it fitting for me to join in the game while the game lasts.—How, then, is it that you are not locked out?—Because, if anyone will not receive me, I do not care to go in, but always I wish rather the thing which takes place. For I regard God's will as better than my will. I shall attach myself to Him as a servant and follower, my choice is one with His, my desire one with His, in a word, my will is one with His will. No door is locked in my face, but rather in the face of those who would force themselves in. Why, then, do I not force myself in? Why, because I know that within nothing good is distributed among those who have entered.

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But when I hear someone called blessed, because he is being honoured by Caesar, I say, "What is his portion? Does he, then, get also a judgement such as he ought to have for governing a province? Does he, then, get also the ability to administer a procuratorship? Why should I any longer push my way in? Somebody is scattering dried figs and nuts; the children snatch them up and fight with one another, the men do not, for they count this a small matter. But if somebody throws potsherds around, not even the children snatch them up. Governorships are being passed around. The children shall see to that. Money. The children shall see to that. A praetorship, a consulship. Let the children snatch them up; let the children have the door locked in their faces, take a beating, kiss the hands of the giver, and the hands of his slaves. As for me, it's a mere scattering of dried figs and nuts." But what, then, if, when the man is throwing them about, a dried fig chances to fall into my lap? I take it up and eat it. For I may properly value even a dried fig as much as that. But neither a dried fig, nor any other of the things not good, which the philosophers have persuaded me not to think good, is of sufficient value to warrant my grovelling and upsetting someone else, or being upset by him, or flattering those who have flung the dried figs among us.

Show me the swords of the guards. "See how large and how sharp they are!" What, then, do these large and sharp swords do? "They kill." And what does fever do? "Nothing else." And what does a tile do? "Nothing else." Do you want me, then, to respect and do obeisance to all these things, and to go about as the slave of them all? Far from it! But if once I have learned that what is born must also perish, so that the world may not stand still, nor be hampered, it makes no difference to me whether a fever shall bring that consummation, or a tile, or a soldier; but, if I must make a comparison, I know that the soldier will bring it about with less trouble and more speed. Seeing, therefore, that I neither fear anything of all that the tyrant is able to do with me, nor greatly desire anything of all that he is able to provide, why do I any longer admire him, why any longer stand in awe of him? Why am I afraid of his guards? Why do I rejoice if he speaks kindly to me and welcomes me, and why do I tell others how he spoke to me? He is not Socrates, is he, or Diogenes, so that his praise should be a proof of what I am? I have not been ambitious to imitate his character, have I? Nay, but acting as one who keeps the game going, I come to him and serve him so long as he commands me to do nothing foolish or unseemly. If, however, he says, "Go and bring Leon of Salamis," I reply, "Try to get someone else, for I am not playing any longer." "Take him off to prison," says the tyrant about me. "I follow, because that is part of the game." "But your head will be taken off." And does the tyrant's head always stay in its place, and the heads of you who obey him? "But you will be thrown out unburied." If the corpse is I, then I shall be thrown out; but if I am something different from the corpse, speak with more discrimination, as the fact is, and do not try to terrify me. These things are terrifying to the children and the fools. But if a man who has once entered a philosopher's lecture does not know what he himself is, he deserves to be in a state of fear, and also to flatter those whom he used to flatter before; if he has not yet learned that he is not flesh, nor bones, nor sinews, but that which employs these, that which both governs the impressions of the senses and understands them.

Oh yes, but statements like these make men despise the laws.—Quite the contrary, what statements other than these make the men who follow them more ready to obey the laws? Law is not simply anything that is in the power of a fool. And yet see how these statements make us behave properly even toward these fools, because they teach us to claim against such persons nothing in which they can surpass us. They teach us to give way when it comes to our paltry body, to give way when it comes to our property, to our children, parents, brothers, to retire from everything, let everything go; they except only our judgements, and it was the will of Zeus also that these should be each man's special possession. What do you mean by speaking of lawlessness and stupidity here? Where you are superior and stronger, there I give way to you; and again, where I am superior, you retire in favour of me. For I have made these matters my concern, and you have not. It is your concern how to live in marble halls, and further, how slaves and freedmen are to serve you, how you are to wear conspicuous clothing, how to have many hunting dogs, citharoedes, and tragedians. I do not lay claim to any of these, do I? You, then, have never concerned yourself with judgements, have you? Or with your own reason, have you? You do not know, do you, what are its constituent parts, how it is composed, what its arrangement is, what faculties it has, and what their nature is? Why, then, are you disturbed if someone else, the man, namely, who has concerned himself with these matters, has the advantage of you therein?—But these are the most important things that there are.—And who is there to prevent you from concerning yourself with these matters, and devoting your attention to them? And who is better provided with books, leisure, and persons to help you? Only begin some time to turn your mind to these matters; devote a little time, if no more, to your own governing principle; consider what this thing is which you possess, and where it has come from, the thing which utilizes everything else, submits everything else to the test, selects, and rejects. But so long as you concern yourself with externals, you will possess them in a way that no one else can match, but you will have this governing faculty in the state in which you want to have it, that is, dirty and neglected.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 8 - To Those Who Hastily Assume The Guise Of The Philosophers

Never bestow either praise or blame upon a man for the things which may be either good or bad, nor credit him with either skill or want of skill; and by so doing you will escape from both rashness and malice. "This man is hasty about bathing." Does he, therefore, do wrong? Not at all. But what is he doing? He is hasty about bathing.—Is all well, then?—That by no means follows; but only the act which proceeds from correct judgements is well done, and that which proceeds from bad judgements is badly done. Yet until you learn the judgement from which a man performs each separate act, neither praise his action nor blame it. But a judgement is not readily determined by externals. "This man is a carpenter." Why? "He uses an adze." What, then, has that to do with the case? "This man is a musician, for he sings." And what has that to do with the case? "This man is a philosopher." Why? "Because he wears a rough cloak and long hair." And what do hedge-priests wear? That is why, when a man sees some one of them misbehaving, he immediately says, "See what the philosopher is doing." But he ought rather to have said, judging from the misbehaviour, that the person in question was not a philosopher. For if the prime conception and profession of the philosopher is to wear a rough cloak and long hair, their statement would be correct; but if it is rather this, to be free from error, why do they not take away from him the designation of philosopher, because he does not fulfil the profession of one? For that is the way men do in the case of the other arts. When someone sees a fellow hewing clumsily with an axe, he does not say, "What's the use of carpentry? See the bad work the carpenters do!" but quite the contrary, he says, "This fellow is no carpenter, for he hews clumsily with the axe." And, similarly, if a man hears somebody singing badly, he does not say, "See how the musicians sing!" but rather, "This fellow is no musician." But it is only in the case of philosophy that men behave like this; when they see somebody acting contrary to the profession of the philosopher, they do not take away from him the designation of philosopher, but, assuming that he is a philosopher, and then taking from what goes on that he is misbehaving, they conclude that there is no good in being a philosopher.

What, then, is the reason for this? It is because we respect the prime conception of the carpenter, and the musician, and so also of all the other artisans and artists, while we do not respect that of the philosopher, but as if it were confused and inarticulate in our minds we judge of it only from externals. And what other art is there that is acquired by guise and hair-dress, and does not have also principles, and subject-matter, and end? What, then, is subject-matter for the philosopher? It is not a rough cloak, is it? No, but reason. what is end for the philosopher? It is not to wear a rough cloak, is it? No, but to keep his reason right. What is the nature of his principles? They do not have to do with the question how to grow a long beard, or a thick head of hair, do they? Nay, rather, as Zeno says, to understand the elements of reason, what the nature of each one is, and how they are fitted one to another, and all the consequences of these facts. Will you not, therefore, observe first of all whether the philosopher fulfils his profession by misbehaving, and then, if that be the case, blame his way of acting? But as it is, when you yourself are behaving decently, you say, on the basis of the evil that he seems to you to be doing, "Look at the philosopher," just as though it were proper to call a man who acts like that a philosopher; and again, "Is that what a philosopher is?" But you do not say, "Look at the carpenter," when you know that a man is an adulterer, or see a man eating greedily, nor do you say, under similar circumstances, "Look at the musician." Thus to a certain degree you too realise what the philosopher's profession is, but you backslide and get confused through carelessness.

But even those who are styled philosophers pursue their calling with means which are sometimes good and sometimes bad. For example, when they have taken a rough cloak and let their beards grow, they say, "I am a philosopher." But nobody will say, "I am a musician," if he buys a plectrum and a cithara; nor, "I am a smith," if he puts on a felt cap and an apron; but the guise is fitted to the art, and they get their name from the art, but not from the guise. That is why Euphrates was right when he used to say: "For a long time I tried not to let people know that I was a philosopher, and this," he says, "was useful to me. For, in the first place, I knew that whatever I did well, I did so, not on account of the spectators, but on my own account; it was for my own sake that I ate well, and kept my countenance and gait composed; it was all for myself and for God. And, secondly, as the contest was mine alone, so also I alone ran the risks; in no respect through me, if I did what was disgraceful or unseemly, did the cause of philosophy come into danger, nor did I do harm to the multitude by going wrong as a philosopher. For that reason those who were ignorant of my purpose wondered how it was that, although I was familiar with all the philosophers and lived with them, I was myself not acting in the role of a philosopher. And what harm was there in having the philosopher that I was, recognised by what I did, rather than by the outward signs?"

See how I eat, how drink, how sleep, how endure, how refrain, how help, how employ desire and how aversion, how I observe my relationships, whether they be natural or acquired, without confusion and without hindrance; judge me on the basis of all this, if you know how. But if you are so deaf and blind as not to regard even Hephaestus as a good smith unless you see the felt cap resting on his head, what harm can come from passing un recognised by a judge so foolish?

In this way the great majority of men failed to recognise Socrates, and so they used to come to him and ask to be introduced to philosophers! Was he, then, irritated as we are, and would he say, "And do I not look like a philosopher to you?" No, but he used to take them and introduce them, and was satisfied with one thing, that is, being a philosopher, and glad that he was not annoyed at not being taken for one; for he habitually bore in mind his own proper function. What is the function of a good and excellent man? To have many disciples? Not at all. Those who have set their hearts on it shall see to that. Well, is it to set forth difficult principles with great precision? Other men shall see to these things also. In what field was he, then, somebody, and wished so to be? In the field where there was hurt and help. "If," says he, "a man can hurt me, what I am engaged in amounts to nothing; if I wait for somebody else to help me, I am myself nothing. If I want something and it does not happen, it follows that I am miserable." This was the mighty ring to which he challenged every man whomsoever, and therein he would not, I believe, have given way before anyone in—what do you suppose?—in proclaiming and asserting "I am such and such a man"? Far from it! but in being such and such a man. For, again, it is the part of a fool and blowhard to say, "I am tranquil and serene; be not ignorant, O men, that while you are tossed about and are in turmoil over worthless things, I alone am free from every perturbation." So is it not enough for you yourself to feel no pain without proclaiming, "Come together, all you who are suffering from gout, headaches, and fever, the halt, and the blind, and see how sound I am, and free from every disorder"? That is a vain and vulgar thing to say, unless, like Asclepius, you are able at once to show by what treatment those others will also become well again, and for this end are producing your own good health as an example.

Such is the way of the Cynic who is deemed worthy of the sceptre and diadem of Zeus, and says, "That you may see yourselves, O men, to be looking for happiness and serenity, not where it is, but where it is not, behold, God has sent me to you as an example; I have neither property, nor house, nor wife, nor children, no, not even so much as a bed, or a shirt, or a piece of furniture, and yet you see how healthy I am. Make trial of me, and if you see that I am free from turmoil, hear my remedies and the treatment which cured me." For this, at length, is an attitude both humane and noble. But see whose work it is; the work of Zeus, or of him whom Zeus deems worthy of this service, to the end that he shall never lay bare to the multitudes anything whereby he shall himself invalidate the testimony which it is his to give in behalf of virtue, and against externals.

"Never there fell o'er his beauteous features a pallor, nor ever

Wiped he the tears from his cheeks."

And not merely that, but he must neither yearn for anything, nor seek after it—be it human being, or place, or manner of life—like children seeking after the season of vintage, or holidays; he must be adorned on every side with self-respect, as all other men are with walls, and doors, and keepers of doors. But, as it is, being merely moved towards philosophy, like dyspeptics who are moved to some paltry foods, which they are bound in a short while to loathe, immediately these men are off to the sceptre, to the kingdom. One of them lets his hair grow long, he takes up a rough cloak, he shows his bare shoulder, he quarrels with the people he meets, and if he sees somebody in an overcoat he quarrels with him. Man, take a winter's training first; look at your own choice, for fear it is like that of a dyspeptic, or a woman with the strange cravings of pregnancy. Practise first not to let men know who you are; keep your philosophy to yourself a little while. That is the way fruit is produced: the seed has to be buried and hidden for a season, and be grown by slow degrees, in order that it may come to perfection. But if it heads out before it produces the jointed stock, it never matures, it is from a garden of Adonis. That is the kind of plant you are too; you have blossomed prematurely, and the winter will blight you utterly. See what the farmers say about their seeds, when the hot weather comes before its proper time. They are in utmost anxiety lest the seeds should grow insolently lush, and then but a single frost should lay hold of them and expose

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their weakness. Man, do you also beware; you have grown insolently lush, you have leaped forward to occupy some petty reputation before its due time; you think yourself somebody, fool that you are among fools; you will be bitten by the frost, or rather, you have already been bitten by the frost, down at the root, while your upper part still blooms a little, and for that reason you seem to be still alive and flourishing. Allow us at least to ripen as nature wishes. Why do you expose us to the elements, why force us? We are not yet able to stand the open air. Let the root grow, next let it acquire the first joint, and then the second, and then the third; and so finally the fruit will forcibly put forth its true nature, even against my will.

For who that has conceived and is big with such great judgements is not aware of his own equipment, and does not hasten to act in accordance with them? Why, a bull is not ignorant of his own nature and equipment, when some wild beast appears, nor does he hang back for someone to encourage him; neither does a dog, when he sees some wild animal; and shall I, if I have the equipment of a good man, hang back, so that you may encourage me to do what is my own proper work? But as yet I do not have the equipment, believe me. Why, then, do you wish to have me wither away before my time, as you yourself have withered?

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 9 - To The Man Who Had Become Shameless

Whenever you see another person holding office, set over against this the fact that you possess the ability to get along without office; whenever you see another person wealthy, see what you have instead. For if you have nothing instead, you are wretched; but if you are capable of feeling no need of wealth, know that you are better off, and have something worth far more than wealth. Another has a comely wife, you the ability not to yearn for a comely wife. Is all this small in your eyes? Yet how much would these men give, who are rich and hold office, and live with beautiful women, to be able to despise wealth and offices, and these very same women whom they passionately love and win? Do you not know what kind of thing the thirst of a man in fever is? It is quite unlike that of a man in health. The latter drinks and his thirst is gone, but the other gets a momentary satisfaction, and then becomes nauseated, turns the water into bile, throws up, has a pain in his bowels, and suffers more violent thirst than before. A similar thing it is to be rich and have strong desire, to hold office and have strong desire, to sleep by the side of a beautiful woman and have strong desire; jealousy is added to one's lot, fear of loss, disgraceful words, disgraceful thoughts, unseemly deeds.

And what do I lose? says somebody.—Man, you used to be modest, and are no longer so; have you lost nothing? Instead of Chrysippus and Zeno you now read Aristeides and Evenus*; have you lost nothing? Instead of Socrates and Diogenes you have come to admire the man who is able to corrupt and seduce the largest number of women. [* Typical erotic writers, the former the author of the celebrated Milesian Tales, the latter of an erotic work admired by Menander.] You wish to be handsome and make yourself up, though you are not handsome, and you wish to make a show of gay attire, so as to attract the women, and you think yourself blessed if perchance you light upon some trivial perfume. But formerly you used never even to think of any of these things, but only where you might find decent speech, a worthy man, a noble thought. Therefore you used to sleep as a man, to go forth as a man, to wear the clothes of a man, to utter the discourse that was suitable for a good man; and after all that do you still say, "I have lost nothing"? And is it nothing but small change that men lose in this way? Is not self-respect lost, is not decency lost? Or is it impossible that the loss of these things counts for anything? To you, indeed, the loss of none of these things, perhaps, seems any longer serious; but there once was a time when you thought it the only serious loss and harm, when you were in great anxiety lest anyone should dislodge you from these good words and deeds.

Behold, you have been dislodged, though by no one else but yourself. Fight against yourself, vindicate yourself for decency, for respect, for freedom. If anyone ever told you about me that someone was forcing me to commit adultery, to wear clothes like yours, or to perfume myself, would you not have gone and murdered the man who was so maltreating me? And now, therefore, are you not willing to come to your own rescue? Yet how much easier is the work of rescue in the latter case! It is not necessary to kill somebody, put him in bonds, or assault him; you do not have to come out into the market-place, but only to talk to yourself, the man most likely to be persuaded, to whom no one is more persuasive than yourself. And first of all condemn what you are doing; then, when you have passed your condemnation, do not despair of yourself, nor act like the spiritless people who, when once they have given in, surrender themselves completely, and are swept off by the current, as it were, but learn how the gymnastic trainer of boys acts. The boy he is training is thrown; "get up," he says, "and wrestle again, till you get strong." React in some such way yourself, for I would have you know that there is nothing more easily prevailed upon than a human soul. You have but to will a thing and it has happened, the reform has been made; as, on the other hand, you have but to drop into a doze and all is lost. For it is within you that both destruction and deliverance lie.—But what good do I get after all that?—And what greater good than this are you looking for? Instead of shameless, you will be self-respecting; instead of faithless, faithful; instead of dissolute, self-controlled. If you are looking for anything else greater than these things, go ahead and do what you are doing; not even a god can any longer save you.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 10 - What Ought We To Despise And On What Place A High Value?

Men find all their difficulties in externals, their perplexities in externals. "What shall I do? How is it to take place? How is it to turn out? I am afraid that this will befall me, or that." All these are the expressions of men who concern themselves with the things that lie outside the sphere of the moral purpose. For who says, "How am I to avoid giving assent to the false? How am I to refuse to swerve aside from the true?"? If a man is so gifted by nature as to be in great anxiety about these things, I shall remind him, "Why are you in great anxiety? It is under your own control; rest secure. Do not be in a hurry to give your assent before applying the rule of nature."

Again, if a man is in great anxiety about desire, for fear lest it become incomplete and miss its mark, or about aversion, for fear lest it fall into what it would avoid, I shall first give him a kiss of congratulation, because he has got rid of what the rest of mankind are excited about, and their fears, and has turned his serious thought to his own true business in the realm where he himself is. And after that I shall say to him, "If you do not wish to desire without failing to get, or to avoid without falling into the object of your aversion, desire none of those things which are not your own, and avoid none of those things which are not under your control. If not, you are of necessity bound to fail in achieving your desires, and to fall into what you would avoid." Where is there any difficulty in that case? What room is there to ask, "How is it to take place?" and "How is it to turn out?" and to say, "I am afraid that this will befall me, or that"?

Is not the future outside the sphere of the moral purpose now?—Yes.—And is not the true nature of the good and evil inside the sphere of the moral purpose?—Yes.—Are you permitted, then, to make a natural use of every outcome? No one can prevent you, can he?—No one.—Therefore, say no longer to me, "How is it to take place?"' Because, whatever takes place, you will turn it to good purpose, and the outcome will be a blessing for you. Or what would Heracles have been had he said "How am I to prevent a great lion from appearing, or a great boar, or savage men?"? And what do you care for that? If a great boar appears, the struggle in which you are to engage will be greater; if evil men appear, you will clear the world of evil men.— But if I die in so doing?—You will die as a good man, bringing to fulfilment a noble action. Why, since you have to die in any event, you must be found doing something or other—farming, or digging, or engaged in commerce, or holding a consulship, or suffering with dyspepsia or dysentery. What is it, then, you wish to be doing when death finds you? I for my part should wish it to be some work that befits a man, something beneficent, that promotes the common welfare, or is noble. But if I cannot be found doing such great things as these, I should like at least to be engaged upon that which is free from hindrance, that which is given me to to do, and that is, correcting myself, as I strive to perfect the faculty which deals with the external impressions, labouring to achieve calm, while yet giving to each of my human relationships its due; and, if I am so fortunate, striving to attain to the third field of study, that which has to do with security in the formation of judgements.

If death finds me occupied with these matters, it is enough for me if I can lift up my hands unto God, and say, "The faculties which I received from Thee to enable me to understand Thy governance and to follow it, these I have not neglected; I have not dishonoured Thee as far as in me lay. Behold how I have dealt with my senses, behold how I have dealt with my preconceptions. Have I ever blamed Thee? Have I been discontented with any of these things which happen, or wished it to have been otherwise? Have I at all violated my relationships with others? For that Thou didst beget me I am grateful; for what Thou hast given I am grateful also. The length of time for which I have had the use of Thy gifts is enough for me. Take them back again and assign them to what place Thou wilt, for they were all Thine, and Thou gavest them me." Is it not enough for a man to take his departure from the world in this state of mind? And what among all the kinds of life is superior to this, or more seemly than his who is so minded, and what kind of end is more fortunate?

But that this may take place a man must accept no small troubles, and must miss no small things. You cannot wish for a consulship and at the same time wish for this; you cannot have set your heart upon having lands and this too; you cannot at the same time be solicitous for your paltry slaves and yourself too. But if you wish for any one of the things that are not your own, what is your own is lost. This is the nature of the matter: Nothing is done except for a price. And why be surprised? If you wish to be consul you must keep vigils, run around, kiss men's hands, rot away at other men's doors, say and do many slavish things, send presents to many persons, and guest-gifts to some people every day. And what is the outcome of it all? Twelve bundles of rods, and the privilege of sitting three or four times on the tribune, and giving games in the Circus, and lunches in little baskets. Or else let someone show me what there is in it beyond this. For calm, then, for peace of mind, for sleeping when you are asleep, and being awake when you are awake, for fearing nothing, for being in great anxiety about nothing, are you unwilling to spend anything, to make any exertion? But if something that belongs to you be lost while you are engaged in these affairs, or be spent to no purpose, or someone else get what you ought to have got, are you going to be vexed immediately at what has happened? Will you not balance off what you are getting in return for what, how much in return for how much? Nay, do you wish to get such valuable things for nothing? And how can you? "One serious business with another."

You cannot be continually giving attention to both externals and your own governing principle. But if you want the former, let the latter go; otherwise you will have neither the latter nor the former, being drawn in both directions. If you want the latter, you must let the former go. The oil will be spilled, my paltry furniture will perish, but I shall be calm. There will be a fire when I am not at home, and my books will perish, yet I shall deal with my external impressions according to nature. But I shall have nothing to eat. If I am so badly off as all that, death is my harbour. And this is the harbour of all men, even death, and this their refuge. That is why no one of the things that befall us in our life is difficult. Whenever you wish, you walk out of the house, and are no longer bothered by the smoke. Why, then, are you consumed with anxiety? Why do you keep vigils? And why do you not forthwith reckon up where your good and your evil lie, and say, "They are both under my control; no man can either rob me of the one, or plunge me in the other against my will? Why, then, do I not throw myself down and snore? What is mine is safe. What is not mine shall be the concern of whoever gets it, according to the terms upon which it may be given by Him who has authority over it. Who am I to wish that what is not mine should be either thus or so? For it has not been given me to make a choice among these things, has it? For no one has made me an administrator of them, has he? I am satisfied with the things over which I have authority. These I ought to treat so that they may become as beautiful as possible, but everything else as their master may desire."

Does any man who has all this before his eyes keep vigils, and does he "toss hither and thither"? What does he wish, or what does he yearn for? For Patroclus, or Antilochus, or Protesilaus? Why, when did he regard any of his friends as immortal? Yes, and when did he not have before his eyes the fact that on the morrow or the day after either he or his friend must die? "Yes," he says, "but I had thought he was going to survive me, and bring up my son." No doubt, but then you were a fool, and were thinking of things that were uncertainties. Why, then, do you not blame yourself, instead of sitting and crying like little girls? "Nay, but he used to set my food before me." Yes, fool, for then he was alive; and now he cannot. But Automedon will set your food before you, and if Automedon too die, you will find somebody else. If the pot in which your meat used to be boiled gets broken, do you have to die of hunger because you do not have your accustomed pot? Will you not send out and buy a new one to take its place? He says,

Ill no greater than this could befall me.

Why, is this what you call an ill? And then, forbearing to get rid of it, do you blame your mother, because she did not foretell it to you, so that you might continue to lament from that time forth?

What do you men think? Did not Homer compose this in order for us to see that there is nothing to prevent the persons of highest birth, of greatest strength, of most handsome appearance, from being most miserable and wretched, when they do not hold the right kind of judgements?

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 11 - Of Cleanliness [And Purity]

Some people raise the question whether the social instinct is a necessary element in the nature of man; nevertheless, even these people, as it seems to me, would not question that the instinct of cleanliness is most assuredly a necessary element, and that man is distinguished from the animals by this quality if by anything. When, therefore, we see some other animal cleaning itself, we are in the habit of saying in surprise that it is acting "like a human being." And again, if one finds fault with some beast, we are in the habit of saying immediately, as though in apology, "Well, of course it is not a human being." So true it is that we consider cleanliness to be a special characteristic of man, deriving it in the first instance from the gods. For since they are by nature pure* and undefiled, in so far as men have approached them by virtue of reason, just so

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far are they attached to purity and cleanliness. [*Both words "clean" and "pure," and their derivatives, is in the Greek expressed by a single word. Zoroastrians, Jews, early Christians, and Muslims have been obsessed with the idea of purity and it encompasses both, body, soul, meaning religion.] But since it is impossible for the nature of men to be altogether pure, seeing that it is composed of such material as it is, the reason which they have received from the gods endeavours to render this material clean as far as is possible.

Therefore, the prime and highest purity is that which appears in the soul, and the same is true of impurity. But you would not find the same impurity in a soul as you would in a body, and as being soul, what else would you find impure about it than that which makes it dirty for the performance of its own functions? And the functions of a soul are the exercise of choice, of refusal, of desire, of aversion, of preparation, of purpose, and of assent. What, then, can that be which makes the soul dirty and unclean in these functions? Nothing but its erroneous decisions. It follows, therefore, that impurity of a soul consists of bad judgements, and purification consists in creating within it the proper kind of judgements; and a pure soul is the one which has the proper kind of judgements, for this is the only soul which is secure against confusion and pollution in its own functions.

Now one ought to be eager to achieve, as far as may be, something similar to this in the case of the body also. It was impossible that there should be no discharge of mucus from the nose, since man's body has been composed as it is; for that reason nature made hands, and the nostrils like tubes to discharge the humours. If, therefore, a man snuffs back these discharges of mucus, I say that he is not acting as a human being should. It was impossible that the feet should not get muddy, nor dirty at all, when they pass through certain such substances; for that reason nature has provided water, for that hands. It was impossible that some impurity from eating should not remain on the teeth; for that reason nature says, "Wash your teeth." Why? In order that you may be a human being, and not a beast or a pig. It was impossible that something dirty and needing to be cleaned off should not be left on the person from our sweat and the pressure of our clothes; for that reason we have water, oil, hands, a towel, a strigil, nitre, and, on occasion, every other kind of equipment to cleanse the body. Not so you. But the smith will remove the rust from his iron tool, and will have implements made for this purpose, and you yourself will wash your plate when you are going to eat, unless you are utterly unclean and dirty; but will you not wash nor make clean your poor body?—Why? says someone.—Again I will tell you: First, so as to do what befits a man; and second, so as not to offend those whom you meet. You are doing something of the sort even here, and do not realise it. You think that you are worthy of the smell. Very well, be worthy of it. Do you think, though, that those who sit by your side, those who recline beside you, those who kiss you, are worthy of it too? Bah, go away into a wilderness somewhere or other, a place worthy of you, and live alone, smelling of yourself! For it is only right that you should enjoy your uncleanliness all by yourself. But since you are living in a city, what kind of character do you fancy you are exhibiting, to behave so thoughtlessly and inconsiderately? If nature had committed to your care a horse, would you have utterly neglected it? And now I would have you think that your body has been entrusted to you like a horse; wash it, rub it down, make it so that nobody will turn his back on you or move aside. But who does not avoid a dirty fellow that smells and has an unsightly skin, even more than a man bespattered with dung? In this latter case the smell is external and acquired, in the other it comes from slovenliness that is internal, and is characteristic of one who has grown rotten through and through.

But Socrates bathed infrequently, says someone.—Why, his body was radiant; why, it was so attractive and sweet that the handsomest and most high-born were in love with him, and yearned to sit by his side rather than beside those who had the prettiest forms and features. He might have neither bathed nor washed, had he so desired; yet even his infrequent bathings were effective.—But Aristophanes says,

The pallid men I mean, who shoeless go.—

Oh, yes, but then he says also that Socrates "trod the air," and stole people's clothes from the wrestling school. And yet all who have written about Socrates unite in bearing testimony to the precise opposite of this; that he was not merely pleasant to hear, but also to see. Again, men write the same thing about Diogenes. For a man ought not to drive away the multitude from philosophy, even by the appearance of his body, but as in everything else, so also on the side of the body, he ought to show himself cheerful and free from perturbation. "See, O men, that I have nothing, and need nothing. See how, although I am without a house, and without a city, and an exile, if it so chance, and without a hearth, I still live a life more tranquil and serene than that of all the noble and the rich. Yes, and you see that even my paltry body is not disfigured by my hard way of living." But if I am told this by a person who has the bearing and face of a condemned man, what one of all the gods shall persuade me to approach philosophy, if she makes people like that? Far be it from me! I should not be willing to do so, not even if it would make me a wise man.

As for me, by the gods, I should rather have the young man who was experiencing the first stirrings towards philosophy come to me with his hair carefully dressed, than with it in a state of desperate neglect and dirty. For the first case shows that there exists in the young man a sort of imaging of beauty, and an aiming at comeliness, and where he fancies it to be, there also he devotes his efforts. With that as a starting-point, all that it is necessary to do is to show him the way, and say, "Young man, you are seeking the beautiful, and you do well. Know, then, that it arises in that part of you where you have your reason; seek it there where you have your choices and your refusals, where you have your desires and your aversions. For this part is something of a special kind which you have within you, but your paltry body is by nature only clay. Why do you toil for it to no purpose? If you learn nothing else, time at least will teach you that it is nothing." But if he comes to me bespattered with dung, dirty, his moustache reaching down to his knees, what have I to say to him, from what point of resemblance can I start so as to prevail upon him? For what is there to which he is devoted, that bears any resemblance to the beautiful, so that I may turn him about and say, "Beauty is not there, but here"? Do you want me to say to him, "Beauty does not consist in being bespattered with dung, but in reason"? For is he aiming at beauty? Has he any manifestation of it? Go and talk to a pig, that he may wallow no more in mud! That is why the words of Xenocrates laid hold even of a Polemo, because he was a young man who loved beauty. For he came to Xenocrates with glimmerings of a zeal for the beautiful, but was looking for it in the wrong place.

Why, look you, nature has not made dirty even the animals which associate with man. A horse doesn't roll around in the mud, does he? or a highly bred dog? No, but the hog, and the miserable rotten geese, and worms, and spiders, the creatures farthest removed from association with human beings. Do you, then, who are a human being, wish to be not even an animal of the kind that associates with men, but rather a worm, or a spider? Will you not take a bath somewhere, some time, in any form you please? Will you not wash yourself? If you don't care to bathe in hot water, then use cold. Will you not come to us clean, that your companions may be glad? What, and do you in such a state go with us even into the temples, where it is forbidden by custom to spit or blow the nose, yourself being nothing but a mass of spit and drivel?

Well, what then? Is anyone demanding that you beautify yourself? Heaven forbid! except you beautify that which is our true nature—the reason, its judgements, its activities; but your body only so far as to keep it cleanly, only so far as to avoid giving offence. But if you hear that one ought not to wear scarlet, go bespatter your rough cloak with dung—or tear it to pieces! Yet where am I to get a rough cloak that looks well?—Man, you have water, wash it! See, here is a lovable young man, here an elderly man worthy to love and to be loved in return, to whom a person will entrust the education of his son, to whom daughters and young men will come, if it so chance—all for the purpose of having him deliver his lectures sitting on a dunghill? Good Lord, no! Every eccentricity arises from some human trait, but this trait comes close to being non-human.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 12 - Of Attention

When you relax your attention for a little while, do not imagine that whenever you choose you will recover it, but bear this in mind, that because of the mistake which you have made to-day, your condition must necessarily be worse as regards everything else. For, to begin with—and this is the worst of all—a habit of not paying attention is developed; and after that a habit of deferring attention; and always you grow accustomed to putting off from one time to another tranquil and appropriate living, the life in accordance with nature, and persistence in that life. Now if the postponement of such matters is profitable, it is still more profitable to abandon them altogether; but if it is not profitable, why do you not maintain your attention continuously? "To-day I want to play." What is to prevent your playing, then,—but with attention? "I want to sing." What is to prevent your singing, then,—but with attention? There is no part of the activities of your life excepted, to which attention does not extend, is there? What, will you do it worse by attention, and better by inattention? And yet what other thing, of all that go to make up our life, is done better by those who are inattentive? Does the inattentive carpenter do his work more accurately? The inattentive helmsman steer more safely? And is there any other of the lesser functions of life which is done better by inattention? Do you not realise that when once you let your mind go wandering, it is no longer within your power to recall it, to bring it to bear upon either seemliness, or self-respect, or moderation? But you do anything that comes into your head, you follow your inclinations.

What are the things, then, to which I ought to pay attention?—First, these general principles, and you ought to have them at your command, and without them neither go to sleep, nor rise up, nor drink, nor eat, nor mingle with men; I mean the following: No man is master of another's moral purpose; and: In its sphere alone are to be found one's good and evil. It follows, therefore, that no one has power either to procure me good, or to involve me in evil, but I myself alone have authority over myself in these matters. Accordingly, when these things are secure for me, what excuse have I for being disturbed about things external? What kind of tyrant inspires fear, what kind of disease, or poverty, or obstacle?—But I have not pleased So-and-so.—He is not my function, is he? He is not my judgement, is he?—No.—Why, then, do I care any longer?—But he has the reputation of being somebody.—He and those who think so highly of him will have to see to that, but I have one whom I must please, to whom I must submit, whom I must obey, that is, God, and after Him, myself. God has commended me to myself, and He has subjected to me alone my moral purpose, giving me standards for the correct use of it; and when I follow these standards, I pay heed to none of those who say anything else, I give not a thought to anyone in arguments with equivocal premisses. Why, then, in the more important matters am I annoyed by those who censure me? What is the reason for this perturbation of spirit? Nothing but the fact that in this field I lack training. For, look you, every science is entitled to despise ignorance and ignorant people, and not merely the sciences, but also the arts. Take any cobbler you please, and he laughs the multitude to scorn when it comes to his own work; take any carpenter you please.

First, therefore, we ought to have these principles at command, and to do nothing apart from them, but keep the soul intent upon this mark; we must pursue none of the things external, none of the things which are not our own, but as He that is mighty has ordained; pursuing without any hesitation the things that lie within the sphere of the moral purpose, and all other things as they have been given us. And next we must remember who we are, and what is our designation, and must endeavour to direct our actions, in the performance of our duties, to meet the possibilities of our social relations. We must remember what is the proper time for song, the proper time for play, and in whose presence; also what will be out of place; lest our companions despise us, and we despise ourselves; when to jest, and whom to laugh at, and to what end to engage in social intercourse, and with whom; and, finally, how to maintain one's proper character in such social intercourse. But whenever you deviate from any one of these principles, immediately you suffer loss, and that not from anywhere outside, but from the very nature of the activity.

What then? Is it possible to be free from fault altogether? No, that cannot be achieved, but it is possible ever to be intent upon avoiding faults. For we must be satisfied, if we succeed in escaping at least a few faults by never relaxing our attention. But now, when you say, "To-morrow I will pay attention," I would have you know that this is what you are saying: "To-day I will be shameless, tactless, abject; it will be in the power of other men to grieve me; I will get angry to-day, I will give way to envy." Just see all the evils that you are allowing yourself! But if it is good for you to pay attention to-morrow, how much better is it to-day! If it is to your interest to-morrow, it is much more so to-day, that you may be able to do the same to-morrow also, and not put it off again, this time to the day after to-morrow.

EPICTETUS CHAPTER 13 - To Those Who Lightly Talk About Their Own Affairs

When someone gives us the impression of having talked to us frankly about his personal affairs, somehow or other we are likewise led to tell him our own secrets, and to think that is frankness! The first reason for this is because it seems unfair for a man to have heard his neighbour's affairs, and yet not to let him too have, in his turn, a share in ours. Another reason, after that, is because we feel that we shall not give the impression to these men of being frank, if we keep our own private affairs concealed. Indeed, men are frequently in the habit of saying, "I have told you everything about myself, aren't you willing: to tell me anything about yourself? Where do people act like that?" Furthermore, there is also the thought that we can safely trust the man who has already entrusted knowledge of his own affairs; for the idea occurs to us that this man would never spread abroad knowledge of our affairs, because he would be careful to guard against our too spreading abroad knowledge of his affairs. In this fashion the rash are ensnared by the soldiers in Rome. A soldier, dressed like a civilian, sits down by your side, and begins to speak ill of Caesar, and then you too, just as though you had received from him some guarantee of good faith in the fact that he began the abuse, tell likewise everything you think, and the next thing is—you are led off to prison in chains [It may possibly be, as Upton suggests, that this abuse led John the Baptist to warn soldiers specifically, "Neither accuse any falsely" (Luke 3:14).]. We experience something of the same sort also in the general course of our life. For even though this particular man has safely entrusted knowledge of his own affairs to me, I do not myself in like manner tell my affairs to any chance comer; no, I listen and keep still, if, to be sure, I

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happen to be that kind of a person, but he goes out and tells everybody. And then, when I find out what has happened, if I myself resemble the other person, because I want to get even with him I tell about his affairs, and confound him and am myself confounded. If, however, I remember that one person does not harm another, but that it is a man's own actions which both harm and help him, this much I achieve, namely, that I do not act like the other person, but despite that I get into the state in which I am because of my own foolish talking.

Yes, but it is not fair to hear your neigbour's secrets and then give him no share of your own in return.—Man, I did not invite your confidences, did I? You did not tell about your affairs on certain conditions, that you were to hear about mine in return, did you? If you are a babbler, and think that every person you meet is a friend, do you also want me to be like yourself? And why, if you did well to entrust your affairs to me, but it is impossible for me to do well in trusting you, do you wish me to be rash? It is just as though I had a jar that was sound, and you one with a hole in it, and you came to me and deposited your wine with me, for me to store it in my jar; and then you complained because I do not entrust to you my wine also; why, your jar has a hole in it! How, then, is equality any longer to be found? You made your deposit with a faithful man, with a respectful man, with a man who regards only his own activities as either harmful or helpful, and nothing that is external. Do you wish me to make a deposit with you—a man who has dishonoured his own moral purpose, and wants to get paltry cash, or some office, or advancement at court, even if you are going to cut the throats of your children, as Medea did? Where is there equality in that? Nay, show yourself to me as a faithful, respectful, dependable man; show that your judgements are those of a friend, show that your vessel has no hole in it, and you shall see how I will not wait for you to entrust the knowledge of your affairs to me, but I will go of myself and ask you to hear about mine. For who does not wish to use a good vessel, who despises a friendly and faithful counsellor, who would not gladly accept the man who is ready to share his difficulties, as he would share a burden with him, and to make them light for him by the very fact of his sharing in them?

Yes, but I trust you, while you do not trust me.—First, you do not trust me, either, but you are a babbler, and that is the reason why you cannot keep anything pack. Why, look you, if that statement of yours is true, entrust these matters to me alone; but the fact is that whenever you see anybody at leisure you sit down beside him and say, "Brother, I have no one more kindly disposed or dearer to me than you, I ask you to listen to my affairs"; and you act this way to people whom you have not known for even a short time. And even if you do trust me, it is clear you trust me as a faithful and respectful person, not because I have already told you about my affairs. Allow me also, then, to have the same thought about you. Show me that, if a man unbosoms himself to somebody about his own affairs, he is faithful and respectful. For if that were so, I should have gone about and told my own affairs to all men, that is, if that was going to make me faithful and respectful. But that is not the case; to be faithful and respectful a man needs judgements of no casual sort. If, therefore, you see someone very much in earnest about the things that lie outside the province of his moral purpose, and subordinating his own moral purpose to them, rest assured that this man has tens of thousands of persons who subject him to compulsion and hinder him. He has no need of pitch or the wheel to get him to speak out what he knows, but a little nod from a wench, if it so happen, will upset him, a kindness from one of those who frequent Caesar's court, desire for office, or an inheritance, and thirty thousand other things of the sort. Remember, therefore, in general, that confidences require faithfulness and faithful judgements; and where can one readily find these things nowadays? [Cf. "When the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?" (Luke 18:8).] Or, let someone show me the man who is so minded that he can say, "I care only for what is my own, what is not subject to hindrance, what is by nature free. This, which is the true nature of the good, I have; but let everything else be as God has granted, it makes no difference to me."

EPICTETUS FRAGMENTS

(Introductory Note: The genuine fragments of Epictetus are not very numerous, and since several of them are of unusual interest, it has seemed best to add them at this point. One fragment, No. 28 b, I have added to those listed by Schenkl, since its discovery was subsequent to his latest edition.

Earlier editions have included a large number of aphorisms gathered from Stobaeus, and from a gnomology purporting to contain excerpts from Democritus, Isocrates, and Epictetus. The researches of a group of scholars, principally H. Schenkl, R. Asmus, and A. Elter, have thrown such doubt upon the authenticity of these aphorisms that it would scarcely serve any useful purpose to reproduce them in the present work.)

FRAGMENTS OF EPICTETUS

FRAGMENT 1 From Arrian the disciple of Epictetus. To the man who was bothering himself about the problem of being

What do I care, says Epictetus, whether all existing things are composed of atoms, or of indivisibles, or of fire and earth? Is it not enough to learn the true nature of the good and the evil, and the limits of the desires and aversions, and also of the choices and refusals, and, by employing these as rules, to order the affairs of our life, and dismiss the things that are beyond us? It may very well be that these latter are not to be comprehended by the human mind, and even if one assume that they are perfectly comprehensible, well, what profit comes from comprehending them? And ought we not to say that those men trouble themselves in vain who assign all this as necessary to the philosopher's system of thought? Is, therefore, also the precept at Delphi superfluous, "Know thyself"?—That, indeed, no, the man answers.—What, then, does it mean? If one bade a singer in a chorus to "know himself," would he not heed the order by paying attention both to his fellows in the chorus and to singing in harmony with them?—Yes.—And so in the case of a sailor? or a soldier? Does it seem to you, then, that man has been made a creature to live all alone by himself, or for society?—For society.—By whom?—By Nature.—What Nature is, and how she administers the universe, and whether she really exists or not, these are questions about which there is no need to go on to bother ourselves.

FRAGMENT 2 From Arrian the disciple of Epictetus

He who is dissatisfied with what he has and what has been given him by fortune is a layman in the art of living, but the man who bears all this in a noble spirit and makes a reasonable use of all that comes from it deserves to be considered a good man.

FRAGMENT 3 From Arrian the disciple of Epictetus

All things obey and serve the Cosmos, both earth, and sea, and sun, and the other stars, and the plants and animals of earth; obedient to it also is our body, both in sickness and in health, when the Cosmos wishes, both in youth and in old age, and when passing through all the other changes. Therefore it is reasonable also that the one thing which is under our control, that is, the decision of our will, should not be the only thing to stand out against it. For the Cosmos is mighty and superior to us, and has taken better counsel for us than we can, by uniting us together with the universe under its governance. Besides, to act against it is to side with unreason, and while accomplishing nothing but a vain struggle, it involves us in pains and sorrows.

FRAGMENT 4 Rufus. From the remarks of Epictetus on friendship

Of things that are, God has put some under our control, and others not under our control. Under our control He put the finest and most important matter, that, indeed, by virtue of which He Himself is happy, the power to make use of external impressions. For when this power has its perfect work, it is freedom, serenity, cheerfulness, steadfastness; it is also justice, and law, and self-control, and the sum and substance of virtue. But all other things He has not put under our control. Therefore we also ought to become of one mind with God, and, dividing matters in this way, lay hold in every way we can upon the things that are under our control, but what is not under our control we ought to leave to the Cosmos, and gladly resign to it whatever it needs, be that our children, our country, our body, or anvthing whatsoever.

FRAGMENT 5 Rufus. From Epictetus on friendship

What man among us does not admire the saying of Lycurgus the Lacedaemonian? For when he had been blinded in one eye by one of his fellow-citizens, and the people had turned over the young man to him, to take whatever vengeance upon the culprit he might desire, this he refrained from doing, but brought him up and made a good man of him, and presented him in the theatre. And when the Lacedaemonians expressed their surprise, he said, "This man when I received him at your hands was insolent and violent; I am returning him to you a reasonable and public-spirited person."

FRAGMENT 6 Rufus. From Epictetus on friendship

But above all else this is the function of nature, to bind together and to harmonise our choice with the conception of what is fitting and helpful.

FRAGMENT 7 Rufus. From Epictetus on friendship

To fancy that we shall be contemptible in the sight of other men, if we do not employ every means to hurt the first enemies we meet, is characteristic of extremely ignoble and thoughtless men. For it is a common saying among us that the contemptible man is recognised among other things by his incapacity to do harm; but he is much better recognised by his incapacity to extend help.

FRAGMENT 8 Rufus. From the remarks of Epictetus on friendship

Such was, and is, and will be, the nature of the universe, and it is not possible for the things that come into being to come into being otherwise than they now do. And not only has mankind participated in this process of change and transformation, and all the other living beings upon earth, but also those which are divine, and, by Zeus, even the four elements, which are changed and transformed upwards and downwards, as earth becomes water, and water air, and air again is transformed into ether; and there is the same kind of transformation also downwards. If a man endeavours to incline his mind to these things, and to persuade himself to accept of his own accord what needs must befall him, he will have a very reasonable and harmonious life.

FRAGMENT 9 A philosopher who is well known in the Stoic school . . . brought out of his handbag the fifth book of the Discourses of the philosopher Epictetus, which had been arranged by Arrian, and agree, no doubt, with the writings of Zeno and Chrysippus. In that book, written of course in Greek, we find, a passage to this purport: Things seen by the mind (which the philosophers call φαντασίας), whereby the intellect of man is struck at the very first sight of anything which penetrates to the mind, are not subject to his will, nor to his control, but by virtue of a certain force of their own thrust themselves upon the attention of men; but the assents (which they call συγκαταθέσεις), whereby these same things seen by the mind are recognised, are subject to man's will, and fall under his control. Therefore, when some terrifying sound comes from the sky, or from the collapse of a building, or sudden word comes of some peril or other, or something else of the same sort happens, the mind of even the wise man cannot help but be disturbed, and shrink, and grow pale for a moment, not from any anticipation of some evil, but because of certain swift and unconsidered motions which forestall the action of the intellect and the reason. Soon, however, our wise man does not give his assent (that is, these terrifying things seen by his mind), but rejects and repudiates them, and sees in them nothing to cause him fear. And this, they say, is the difference between the mind of the fool and the mind of the wise man, that the fool thinks the cruel and harsh things seen by his mind, when it is first struck by them, actually to be what they appear, and likewise afterwards, just as though they really were formidable, he confirms them by his own approval also, καὶ προσεπιδοξάζει (the word the Stoics use when they discuss this matter); whereas the wise man, when his colour and expression have changed for a brief instant, οὐ συγκατατίθεται, but keeps the even tenor and strength of the opinion which he has always had about mental impressions of this kind, as things that do not deserve to be feared at all, but terrify only with a false face and a vain fear.

This is the sentiment and expression of the philosopher Epictetus, derived from the doctrines of the Stoics, that we have read in the book of which I spoke above.

FRAGMENT 10 I have heard Favorinus say that he had heard the philosopher Epictetus say, that most of those who gave the appearance of philosophizing were philosophers of this kind: apart from deeds, as far as words". There is a still more vigorous expression which he was accustomed to use, that Arrian has recorded in the books which he wrote about his discourses. For Arrian says that when Epictetus had noticed a man lost to shame, of misdirected energy, and evil habits, bold, impudent in speech, and concerned with everything else but his soul, when he saw a man of that kind, continues Arrian, handling also the studies and pursuits of philosophy, and taking up physics, and studying dialectics, and taking up and investigating many a theoretical principle of this sort, he would call upon gods and men, and frequently, in the midst of that appeal, he would denounce the man in these words: "Surely there is nothing weightier, nothing truer than these words, in which the greatest of philosophers declared that the writings and teachings of philosophy, when poured into a false and low-lived person, as though into a dirty and defiled vessel, turn, change, are spoiled, and become urine, or something, it may be, dirtier than urine.

The same Epictetus, moreover, as we have heard from Favorinus, was in the habit of saying that there were two vices which are far more severe and atrocious than all others, want of endurance and want of self-control, when we do not endure or bear the wrongs which we have to bear, or do not abstain from, or forbear, those matters and pleasures which we ought to forbear. "And so," he says, "if a man should take to heart these two words and observe them in controlling and keeping watch over himself, he will, for the most part, be free from wrongdoing, and will live a highly peaceful life." These two words, he used to say, were Anechou and Apechou.

FRAGMENT 10a When the salvation of our souls and regard for our true selves are at stake, something has to be

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done, even without stopping to think about it, a saying of Epictetus which Arrian quotes with approval.

FRAGMENT 11 From the homilies of Arrian, exhorting to virtue

Now when Archelaus sent for Socrates with the intention of making him rich, the latter bade the messenger take back the following answer: "At Athens four quarts of barley-meal can be bought for an obol, and there are running springs of water." For, look you, if what I have is not sufficient for me, still, I am sufficient for it, and so it too is sufficient for me. Or do you not see that Polus was not accustomed to act Oedipus the King with any finer voice or more pleasure to his audience than Oedipus at Colonus, the outcast and beggar? And then shall the man of noble nature make a poorer showing than Polus, and not play well any role to which the Deity assigns him? And will he not follow the example of Odysseus, who was no less pre-eminent in his rags than in his rich and purple cloak?

FRAGMENT 12 From Arrian

There are certain persons who exhibit their high spirit rather gently, and in a sort of passionless manner do everything that even those who are swept away by their anger do. We must be on our guard, therefore, against the error of these persons, as something much worse than violent anger. For those who give way to violent anger are soon sated with their revenge, but the others prolong it like men who have a light fever.

FRAGMENT 13 From the Memorabilia of Epictetus

But, says someone I see the good and excellent perishing from hunger and cold.—And do you not see those who are not good and excellent perishing from luxury, and bombast, and vulgarity?—Yes, but it is disgraceful to be supported by another.—And who, O miserable fellow, is supported by himself alone, except the Cosmos? Whoever accuses Providence, therefore, because the wicked are not punished, and because they are strong and rich, is acting just as though, when the wicked had lost their eyes, he said they were not being punished because their finger-nails were in good condition. Now, as for me, I assert that there is much more difference between virtue and property than there is between eyes and finger-nails.

FRAGMENT 14 From the Memorabilia of Epictetus

. . . bring forward the ill-natured philosophers, who think that pleasure is not something natural, but a sequel of things that are natural, as justice, self-control, and freedom. Why indeed, then, does the soul take delight in the lesser goods of the body, and enjoy calm therein, as Epicurus says, and yet not find pleasure in its own goods, which are very great? Verily nature has also given me a sense of shame, and frequently I blush, when I feel that I am saying something disgraceful. It is this emotion which does not allow me to lay down pleasure as the good and end of life.

FRAGMENT 15 From the Memorabilia of Epictetus

At Rome the women have in their hands Plato's Republic, because he insists on community of women. For they pay attention only to the words, and not to the meaning of the man; the fact is, he does not bid people marry and live together, one man with one woman, and then go on to advocate the community of women, but he first abolishes that kind of marriage altogether, and introduces another kind in its place. And in general people delight in finding excuses for their own faults; for, indeed, philosophy says we ought not to stretch out even our finger at random!

FRAGMENT 16 From the Memorabilia of Epictetus

One ought to know that it is not easy for a man to acquire a fixed judgement, unless he should day by day state and hear the same principles, and at the same time apply them to his life.

FRAGMENT 17 From Epictetus

Now when we have been invited to a banquet, we take what is set before us; and if a person should bid his host to set before him fish or cakes, he would be regarded as eccentric. Yet in the world at large we ask the gods for things which they do not give us, and that too when there are many things which they actually have given us.

FRAGMENT 18 From Epictetus

Those are amusing persons, he said, who take great pride in the things which are not under our control. A man says, "I am better than you; for I have many estates, and you are half-dead with hunger." Another says, "I am a consular." Another, "I am a procurator." Another, "I have thick curly hair." But one horse does not say to another horse, "I am better than you, for I have quantities of fodder, and a great deal of barley, and my bridles are of gold, and my saddle-cloths are embroidered," but "I can run faster than you can." And every creature is better or worse because of its own particular virtue or vice. Can it be, then, that man is the only creature without a special virtue, but he must have recourse to his hair, and his clothes, and his grandsires?

FRAGMENT 19 From Epictetus

When men are sick and their physician gives them no advice, they are annoyed, and think that he has given them up. And why should not a man feel that way toward the philosopher, and so conclude that he has given up hope of one's ever coming to a sound state of mind, if he no longer tells one anything that is of any use?

20 The same

Those whose bodies are in good condition can endure heat and cold; so also those whose souls are in an excellent condition can endure anger, and grief, and great joy, and every other emotion.

FRAGMENT 21 From Epictetus

For this reason it is right to praise Agrippinus, because, although he was a man of the very highest worth, he never praised himself, but used to blush even if someone else praised him. His character was such, said Epictetus, that when any hardship befell him he would compose a eulogy upon it; on fever, if he had a fever; on disrepute, if he suffered from disrepute; on exile, if he went into exile. And once, he said, when Agrippinus was preparing to take lunch, a man brought him word that Nero ordered him into exile; "Very well," said he, "we shall take our lunch in Aricia."

FRAGMENT 22 From Agrippinus

When Agrippinus was governor, he used to try to persuade the persons whom he sentenced that it was proper for them to be sentenced. "For," he would say, "it is not as an enemy or as a brigand that I record my vote against them, but as a curator and guardian; just as also the physician encourages the man upon whom he is operating, and persuades him to submit to the operation."

FRAGMENT 23 From Epictetus

Nature is wonderful, and, as Xenophon says, "fond of her creatures." At all events we love and tend our body, the most unpleasant and dirtiest thing that there is; why, if we had had to tend our neighbour's body for no more than five days, we could not have endured it. Just consider what a nuisance it is to get up in the morning and brush some other person's teeth, and then after attending to a call of nature to wash those parts. Truly it is wonderful to love a thing for which we perform so many services every day. I stuff this bag here; and then I empty it; what is more tiresome? But I must serve God. For that reason I remain, and endure to wash this miserable paltry body, and to feed and shelter it; and when I was younger, there was still another behest which it laid upon me, yet nevertheless I endured it. Why, then, when Nature, which gave us our body, takes it away, do you not bear it?—I love it, says somebody.—Well, but as I was just now saying, is it not Nature that has given you this very affection? But the same Nature also says, "Let it go now, and have no more trouble with it."

FRAGMENT 24 From Epictetus

If a man dies young, he blames the gods <because he is carried off before his time. But if a man fails to die when he is old, he too blames the gods>, because, when it was long since time for him to rest, he has trouble; yet none the less, when death draws nigh, he wishes to live, and sends for the doctor, and implores him to spare no zeal and pains. People are very strange, he used to say, wishing neither to live nor to die.

FRAGMENT 25 From Epictetus

When you attack someone with vehemence and threatening, remember to tell yourself beforehand that you are a tame animal; and then you will never do anything fierce, and so will come to the end of your life without having to repent, or to be called to account.

FRAGMENT 26 You are a little soul, carrying around a corpse, as Epictetus used to say.

FRAGMENT 27 We must discover, said he, an art that deals with assent, and in the sphere of the choices we must be careful to maintain close attention, that they be made with due reservations, that they be social, and that they be according to merit; and from desire we must refrain altogether, and must exercise aversion towards none of the things that are not under our control.

FRAGMENT 28 It is no ordinary matter that is at stake, said he, but it is a question of either madness or sanity.

FRAGMENT 28a Socrates used to say, "What do you want? To have souls of rational or irrational animals?" "Of rational animals." "Of what kind of rational animals? Sound or vicious?" "Sound." "Why, then, do you not try to get them?" "Because we have them." "Why, then, do you strive and quarrel?"

FRAGMENT 28b "Me miserable, that this has befallen me!" Say not so, but rather, "Fortunate that I am, because, although this has befallen me, I continue to live untroubled, being neither crushed by the present nor afraid of the future." For something of this kind might have befallen anyone; but not everyone would have continued to live untroubled by it. Why, then, count the former aspect of the matter a misfortune, rather than this latter good fortune? And in general do you call a man's misfortune that which is not an aberration from man's nature? And does that seem to you to be an aberration from the nature of man which does not contravene the will of his nature? What then? This will of man's nature you have already learned; this, then, which has befallen you does not prevent you, does it, from being just, high-minded, self-controlled, self-possessed, deliberate, free from deceit, self-respecting, free, and everything else, the possession of which enables the nature of man to come into its own?

Remember for the future, whenever anything begins to trouble you, to make use of the following judgement: This thing is not a misfortune, but to bear it in a noble spirit is good fortune.

DOUBTFUL AND SPURIOUS FRAGMENTS

29 From the Encheiridion of Epictetus

Under all circumstances take thought of nothing so much as safety; for it is safer to keep silence than to speak; and refrain from saying what will be devoid of sense and full of censure.

FRAGMENT 30 From Epictetus

We ought neither to fasten our ship to one small anchor nor our life to a single hope.

FRAGMENT 31 From the same

We ought to measure both the length of our stride, and the extent of our hope, by what is possible.

FRAGMENT 32 From Epictetus

It is much more necessary to cure the soul than the body; for death is better than a bad life.

FRAGMENT 33 From Epictetus

Those of our pleasures which come most rarely give the greatest delight.

FRAGMENT 34 From Epictetus

If a man should overpass the mean, the most delightful things would become least delightful.

FRAGMENT 35 No man is free who is not master of himself.

FRAGMENT 36 The truth is something immortal and eternal, and does not present us with a beauty that withers from the passage of time, nor a freedom of speech which can be taken away by justice, but it presents us with what is just and lawful, distinguishing the unlawful therefrom, and refuting it.

THE ENCHEIRIDION, OR MANUAL [SUMMARY]

This celebrated work is a compilation made by Arrian himself from the Discourses, and the great majority of those who know Epictetus at all have come to do so from this little book alone. That is a pity, because the necessary aridity and formalism of such a systematization obscure the more modest, human, and sympathetic aspects of the great teacher's character. Most of the unfavourable criticism which has been passed upon Epictetus—and there is some of this, although not much—is clearly based upon the occasionally somewhat inadequate impressions which any compendium must produce. For it may be doubted whether even so noble a statement as the Apostles' Creed has ever made a single convert.

Occasionally Arrian has modified to a slight degree the form of statement, as we may observe from the numerous instances, amounting to somewhat more than half of the book, where material from the first four books of the Discourses has been employed; but the substance seems to have been faithfully preserved, wherever it is possible to follow his procedure in detail.

The separate editions and translations of the Encheiridion are extremely numerous. Few, however, have been of any notable value, except, perhaps, the celebrated translations by Politian and Leopardi, and Schweighäuser's separate edition of 1798, which is still the last independent critical text, and has been reprinted by most subsequent editors, even Schenkl, although the latter has added much useful critical material in his notes, especially those which indicate the probable sources of such passages as seem to be derived from the four books of the Discourses, and in particular has arranged the apparatus criticus in more convenient terms.

THE ENCHEIRIDION OF EPICTETUS

1. Some things are under our control, while others are not under our control. Under our control are conception, choice, desire, aversion, and, in a word, everything that is our own

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doing; not under our control are our body, our property, reputation, office, and, in a word, everything that is not our own doing. Furthermore, the things under our control are by nature free, unhindered, and unimpeded; while the things not under our control are weak, servile, subject to hindrance, and not our own. Remember, therefore, that if what is naturally slavish you think to be free, and what is not your own to be your own, you will be hampered, will grieve, will be in turmoil, and will blame both gods and men; while if you think only what is your own to be your own, and what is not your own to be, as it really is, not your own, then no one will ever be able to exert compulsion upon you, no one will hinder you, you will blame no one, will find fault with no one, will do absolutely nothing against your will, you will have no personal enemy, no one will harm you, for neither is there any harm that can touch you.

With such high aims, therefore, remember that you must bestir yourself with no slight effort to lay hold of them, but you will have to give up some things entirely, and defer others for the time being. But if you wish for these things also, and at the same time for both office and wealth, it may be that you will not get even these latter, because you aim also at the former, and certainly you will fail to get the former, which alone bring freedom and happiness.

Make it, therefore, your study at the very outset to say to every harsh external impression, "You are an external impression and not at all what you appear to be." After that examine it and test it by these rules which you have, the first and most important of which is this: Whether the impression has to do with the things which are under our control, or with those which are not under our control; and, if it has to do with some one of the things not under our control, have ready to hand the answer, "It is nothing to me."

2 Remember that the promise of desire is the attainment of what you desire, that of aversion is not to fall into what is avoided, and that he who fails in his desire is unfortunate, while he who falls into what he would avoid experiences misfortune. If, then, you avoid only what is unnatural among those things which are under your control, you will fall into none of the things which you avoid; but if you try to avoid disease, or death, or poverty, you will experience misfortune. Withdraw, therefore, your aversion from all the matters that are not under our control, and transfer it to what is unnatural among those which are under our control. But for the time being remove utterly your desire; for if you desire some one of the things that are not under our control you are bound to be unfortunate; and, at the same time, not one of the things that are under our control, which it would be excellent for you to desire, is within your grasp. But employ only choice and refusal, and these too but lightly, and with reservations, and without straining.

3 With everything which entertains you, is useful, or of which you are fond, remember to say to yourself, beginning with the very least things, "What is its nature?" If you are fond of a jug, say, "I am fond of a jug"; for when it is broken you will not be disturbed. If you kiss your own child or wife, say to yourself that you are kissing a human being; for when it dies you will not be disturbed.

4 When you are on the point of putting your hand to some undertaking, remind yourself what the nature of that undertaking is. If you are going out of the house to bathe, put before your mind what happens at a public bath—those who splash you with water, those who jostle against you, those who vilify you and rob you. And thus you will set about your undertaking more securely if at the outset you say to yourself, "I want to take a bath, and, at the same time, to keep my moral purpose in harmony with nature." And so do in every undertaking. For thus, if anything happens to hinder you in your bathing, you will be ready to say, "Oh, well, this was not the only thing that I wanted, but I wanted also to keep my moral purpose in harmony with nature; and I shall not so keep it if I am vexed at what is going on."

5 It is not the things themselves that disturb men, but their judgements about these things. For example, death is nothing dreadful, or else Socrates too would have thought so, but the judgement that death is dreadful, this is the dreadful thing. When, therefore, we are hindered, or disturbed, or grieved, let us never blame anyone but ourselves, that means, our own judgements. It is the part of an uneducated person to blame others where he himself fares ill; to blame himself is the part of one whose education has begun; to blame neither another nor his own self is the part of one whose education is already complete.

6 Be not elated at any excellence which is not your own. If the horse in his elation were to say, "I am beautiful," it could be endured; but when you say in your elation, "I have a beautiful horse," rest assured that you are elated at something good which belongs to a horse. What, then, is your own? The use of external impressions. Therefore, when you are in harmony with nature in the use of external impressions, then be elated; for then it will be some good of your own at which you will be elated.

7 Just as on a voyage, when your ship has anchored, if you should go on shore to get fresh water, you may pick up a small shell-fish or little bulb on the way, but you have to keep your attention fixed on the ship, and turn about frequently for fear lest the captain should call; and if he calls, you must give up all these things, if you would escape being thrown on board all tied up like the sheep. So it is also in life: If there be given you, instead of a little bulb and a small shell-fish, a little wife and child, there will be no objection to that; only, if the Captain calls, give up all these things and run to the ship, without even turning around to look back. And if you are an old man, never even get very far away from the ship, for fear that when He calls you may be missing.

8 Do not seek to have everything that happens happen as you wish, but wish for everything to happen as it actually does happen, and your life will be serene.

9 Disease is an impediment to the body, but not to the moral purpose, unless that consents. Lameness is an impediment to the leg, but not to the moral purpose. And say this to yourself at each thing that befalls you; for you will find the thing to be an impediment to something else, but not to yourself.

10 In the case of everything that befalls you, remember to turn to yourself and see what faculty you have to deal with it. If you see a handsome lad or woman, you will find continence the faculty to employ here; if hard labour is laid upon you, you will find endurance; if reviling, you will find patience to bear evil. And if you habituate yourself in this fashion, your external impressions will not run away with you.

11 Never say about anything, "I have lost it," but only "I have given it back." Is your child dead? It has been given back. Is your wife dead? She has been given back. "I have had my farm taken away." Very well, this too has been given back. "Yet it was a rascal who took it away." But what concern is it of yours by whose instrumentality the Giver called for its return? So long as He gives it you, take care of it as of a thing that is not your own, as travellers treat their inn.

12 If you wish to make progress, dismiss all reasoning of this sort: "If I neglect my affairs, I shall have nothing to live on." "If I do not punish my slave-boy he will turn out bad." For it is better to die of hunger, but in a state of freedom from grief and fear, than to live in plenty, but troubled in mind. And it is better for your slave-boy to be bad than for you to be unhappy. Begin, therefore, with the little things. Your paltry oil gets spilled, your miserable wine stolen; say to yourself, "This is the price paid for a calm spirit, this the price for peace of mind." Nothing is got without a price. And when you call your slave-boy, bear in mind that it is possible he may not heed you, and again, that even if he does heed, he may not do what you want done. But he is not in so happy a condition that your peace of mind depends upon him.

13 If you wish to make progress, then be content to appear senseless and foolish in externals, do not make it your wish to give the appearance of knowing anything; and if some people think you to be an important personage, distrust yourself. For be assured that it is no easy matter to keep your moral purpose in a state of conformity with nature, and, at the same time, to keep externals; but the man who devotes his attention to one of these two things must inevitably neglect the other.

14 If you make it your will that your children and your wife and your friends should live for ever, you are silly; for you are making it your will that things not under your control should be under your control, and that what is not your own should be your own. In the same way, too, if you make it your will that your slave-boy be free from faults, you are a fool; for you are making it your will that vice be not vice, but something else. If, however, it is your will not to fail in what you desire, this is in your power. Wherefore, exercise yourself in that which is in your power. Each man's master is the person who has the authority over what the man wishes or does not wish, so as to secure it, or take it away. Whoever, therefore, wants to be free, let him neither wish for anything, nor avoid anything, that is under the control of others; or else he is necessarily a slave.

15 Remember that you ought to behave in life as you would at a banquet. As something is being passed around it comes to you; stretch out your hand and take a portion of it politely. It passes on; do not detain it. Or it has not come to you yet; do not project your desire to meet it, but wait until it comes in front of you. So act toward children, so toward a wife, so toward office, so toward wealth; and then some day you will be worthy of the banquets of the gods. But if you do not take these things even when they are set before you, but despise them, then you will not only share the banquet of the gods, but share also their rule. For it was by so doing that Diogenes and Heracleitus, and men like them, were deservedly divine and deservedly so called.

16 When you see someone weeping in sorrow, either because a child has gone on a journey, or because he has lost his property, beware that you be not carried away by the impression that the man is in the midst of external ills, but straightway keep before you this thought: "It is not what has happened that distresses this man (for it does not distress another), but his judgement about it." Do not, however, hesitate to sympathize with him so far as words go, and, if occasion offers, even to groan with him; but be careful not to groan also in the centre of your being.

17 Remember that you are an actor in a play, the character of which is determined by the Playwright: if He wishes the play to be short, it is short; if long, it is long; if He wishes you to play the part of a beggar, remember to act even this rôle adroitly; and so if your rôle be that of a cripple, an official, or a layman. For this is your business, to play admirably the rôle assigned you; but the selection of that rôle is Another's.

18 When a raven croaks inauspiciously, let not the external impression carry you away, but straightway draw a distinction in your own mind, and say, "None of these portents are for me, but either for my paltry body, or my paltry estate, or my paltry opinion, or my children, or my wife. But for me every portent is favourable, if I so wish; for whatever be the outcome, it is within my power to derive benefit from it."

19 You can be invincible if you never enter a contest in which victory is not under your control. Beware lest, when you see some person preferred to you in honour, or possessing great power, or otherwise enjoying high repute, you are ever carried away by the external impression, and deem him happy. For if the true nature of the good is one of the things that are under our control, there is no place for either envy or jealousy; and you yourself will not wish to be a praetor, or a senator, or a consul, but a free man. Now there is but one way that leads to this, and that is to despise the things that are not under our control.

20 Bear in mind that it is not the man who reviles or strikes you that insults you, but it is your judgement that these men are insulting you. Therefore, when someone irritates you, be assured that it is your own opinion which has irritated you. And so make it your first endeavour not to be carried away by the external impression; for if once you gain time and delay, you will more easily become master of yourself.

21 Keep before your eyes day by day death and exile, and everything that seems terrible, but most of all death; and then you will never have any abject thought, nor will you yearn for anything beyond measure.

22 If you yearn for philosophy, prepare at once to be met with ridicule, to have many people jeer at you, and say, "Here he is again, turned philosopher all of a sudden," and "Where do you suppose he got that high brow?" But do you not put on a high brow, and do you so hold fast to the things which to you seem best, as a man who has been assigned by God to this post; and remember that if you abide by the same principles, those who formerly used to laugh at you will later come to admire you, but if you are worsted by them, you will get the laugh on yourself twice.

23 If it should ever happen to you that you turn to externals with a view to pleasing someone, rest assured that you have lost your plan of life. Be content, therefore, in everything to be a philosopher, and if you wish also to be taken for one, show to yourself that you are one, and you will be able to accomplish it.

24 Let not these reflections oppress you: "I shall live without honour, and be nobody anywhere." For, if lack of honour is an evil, you cannot be in evil through the instrumentality of some other person, any more than you can be in shame. It is not your business, is it, to get office, or to be invited to a dinner-party? Certainly not. How, then, can this be any longer a lack of honour? And how is it that you will be "nobody anywhere," when you ought to be somebody only in those things which are under your control, wherein you are privileged to be a man of the very greatest honour? But your friends will be without assistance? What do you mean by being "without assistance"? They will not have paltry coin from you, and you will not make them Roman citizens. Well, who told you that these are some of the matters under our control, and not rather things which others do? And who is able to give another what he does not himself have? "Get money, then," says some friend, "in order that we too may have it." If I can get money and at the same time keep myself self-respecting, and faithful, and high-minded, show me the way and I will get it. But if you require me to lose the good things that belong to me, in order that you may acquire the things that are not good, you can see for yourselves how unfair and inconsiderate you are. And which do you really prefer? Money, or a faithful and self-respecting friend? Help me, therefore, rather to this end, and do not require me to do those things which will make me lose these qualities.

"But my country," says he, "so far as lies in me, will be without assistance." Again I ask, what kind of assistance do you mean? It will not have loggias or baths of your providing. And what does that signify? For neither does it have shoes provided by the blacksmith, nor has it arms provided by the cobbler; but it is sufficient if each man fulfil his own proper function. And if you secured for it another faithful and self-respecting citizen, would you not be doing it any good? "Yes." Very well, and then you also would not be useless to it. "What place, then, shall I have in the State?" says he. Whatever place you can have, and at the same time maintain the man of fidelity and self-respect that is in you. But if, through your desire to help the State, you lose these qualities,

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of what good would you become to it, when in the end you turned out to be shameless and unfaithful?

25 Has someone been honoured above you at a dinner-party, or in salutation, or in being called in to give advice? Now if these matters are good, you ought to be happy that he got them; but if evil, be not distressed because you did not get them; and bear in mind that, if you do not act the same way that others do, with a view to getting things which are not under our control, you cannot be considered worthy to receive an equal share with others. Why, how is it possible for a person who does not haunt some man's door, to have equal shares with the man who does? For the man who does not do escort duty, with the man who does? For the man who does not praise, with the man who does? You will be unjust, therefore, and insatiable, if, while refusing to pay the price for which such things are bought, you want to obtain them for nothing. Well, what is the price for heads of lettuce? An obol, perhaps. If, then, somebody gives up his obol and gets his heads of lettuce, while you do not give your obol, and do not get them, do not imagine that you are worse off than the man who gets his lettuce. For as he has his heads of lettuce, so you have your obol which you have not given away.

Now it is the same way also in life. You have not been invited to somebody's dinner-party? Of course not; for you didn't give the host the price at which he sells his dinner. He sells it for praise; he sells it for personal attention. Give him the price, then, for which it is sold, if it is to your interest. But if you wish both not to give up the one and yet to get the other, you are insatiable and a simpleton. Have you, then, nothing in place of the dinner? Indeed you have; you have not had to praise the man you did not want to praise; you have not had to put up with the insolence of his doorkeepers.

26 What the will of nature is may be learned from a consideration of the points in which we do not differ from one another. For example, when some other person's slave-boy breaks his drinking-cup, you are instantly ready to say, "That's one of the things which happen." Rest assured, then, that when your own drinking-cup gets broken, you ought to behave in the same way that you do when the other man's cup is broken. Apply now the same principle to the matters of greater importance. Some other person's child or wife has died; no one but would say, "Such is the fate of man." Yet when a man's own child dies, immediately the cry is, "Alas! Woe is me!" But we ought to remember how we feel when we hear of the same misfortune befalling others.

27 Just as a mark is not set up in order to be missed, so neither does the nature of evil arise in the universe.

28 If someone handed over your body to any person who met you, you would be vexed; but that you hand over your mind to any person that comes along, so that, if he reviles you, it is disturbed and troubled—are you not ashamed of that?

29 In each separate thing that you do, consider the matters which come first and those which follow after, and only then approach the thing itself. Otherwise, at the start you will come to it enthusiastically, because you have never reflected upon any of the subsequent steps, but later on, when some difficulties appear, you will give up disgracefully. Do you wish to win an Olympic victory? So do I, by the gods! for it is a fine thing. But consider the matters which come before that, and those which follow after, and only when you have done that, put your hand to the task. You have to submit to discipline, follow a strict diet, give up sweet cakes, train under compulsion, at a fixed hour, in heat or in cold; you must not drink cold water, nor wine just whenever you feel like it; you must have turned yourself over to your trainer precisely as you would to a physician. Then when the contest comes on, you have to "dig in" beside your opponent, and sometimes dislocate your wrist, sprain your ankle, swallow quantities of sand, sometimes take a scourging, and along with all that get beaten. After you have considered all these points, go on into the games, if you still wish to do so; otherwise, you will be turning back like children. Sometimes they play wrestlers, again gladiators, again they blow trumpets, and then act a play. So you too are now an athlete, now a gladiator, then a rhetorician, then a philosopher, yet with your whole soul nothing; but like an ape you imitate whatever you see, and one thing after another strikes your fancy. For you have never gone out after anything with circumspection, nor after you had examined it all over, but you act at haphazard and half-heartedly.

In the same way, when some people have seen a philosopher and have heard someone speaking like Euphrates (though, indeed, who can speak like him?), they wish to be philosophers themselves. Man, consider first the nature of the business, and then learn your own natural ability, if you are able to bear it. Do you wish to be a contender in the pentathlon, or a wrestler? Look to your arms, your thighs, see what your loins are like. For one man has a natural talent for one thing, another for another. Do you suppose that you can eat in the same fashion, drink in the same fashion, give way to impulse and to irritation, just as you do now? You must keep vigils, work hard, abandon your own people, be despised by a paltry slave, be laughed to scorn by those who meet you, in everything get the worst of it, in honour, in office, in court, in every paltry affair. Look these drawbacks over carefully, if you are willing at the price of these things to secure tranquillity, freedom and calm. Otherwise, do not approach philosophy; don't act like a child—now a philosopher, later on a tax-gatherer, then a rhetorician, then a procurator of Caesar. These things do not go together. You must be one person, either good or bad; you must labour to improve either your own governing principle or externals; you must work hard either on the inner man, or on things outside; that is, play either the rôle of a philosopher or else that of a layman.

30 Our duties are in general measured by our social relationships. He is a father. One is called upon to take care of him, to give way to him in all things, to submit when he reviles or strikes you. "But he is a bad father." Did nature, then, bring you into relationship with a good father? No, but simply with a father. "My brother does me wrong." Very well, then, maintain the relation that you have toward him; and do not consider what he is doing, but what you will have to do, if your moral purpose is to be in harmony with nature. For no one will harm you without your consent; you will have been harmed only when you think you are harmed. In this way, therefore, you will discover what duty to expect of your neighbour, your citizen, your commanding officer, if you acquire the habit of looking at your social relations with them.

31 In piety towards the gods, I would have you know, the chief element is this, to have right opinions about them—as existing and as administering the universe well and justly—and to have set yourself to obey them and to submit to everything that happens, and to follow it voluntarily, in the belief that it is being fulfilled by the highest intelligence. For if you act in this way, you will never blame the gods, nor find fault with them for neglecting you. But this result cannot be secured in any other way than by withdrawing your idea of the good and the evil from the things which are not under our control, and placing it in those which are under our control, and in those alone. Because, if you think any of those former things to be good or evil, then, when you fail to get what you want and fall into what you do not want, it is altogether inevitable that you will blame and hate those who are responsible for these results. For this is the nature of every living creature, to flee from and to turn aside from the things that appear harmful, and all that produces them, and to pursue after and to admire the things that are helpful, and all that produces them. Therefore, it is impossible for a man who thinks that he is being hurt to take pleasure in that which he thinks is hurting him, just as it is also impossible for him to take pleasure in the hurt itself. Hence it follows that even a father is reviled by a son when he does not give his child some share in the things that seem to be good; and this it was which made Polyneices and Eteocles enemies of one another, the thought that the royal power was a good thing. That is why the farmer reviles the gods, and so also the sailor, and the merchant, and those who have lost their wives and their children. For where a man's interest lies, there is also his piety. Wherefore, whoever is careful to exercise desire and aversion as he should, is at the same time careful also about piety. But it is always appropriate to make libations, and sacrifices, and to give of the firstfruits after the manner of our fathers, and to do all this with purity, and not in a slovenly or careless fashion, nor, indeed, in a niggardly way, nor yet beyond our means.

32 When you have recourse to divination, remember that you do not know what the issue is going to be, but that you have come in order to find this out from the diviner; yet if you are indeed a philosopher, you know, when you arrive, what the nature of it is. For if it is one of the things which are not under our control, it is altogether necessary that what is going to take place is neither good nor evil. Do not, therefore, bring to the diviner desire or aversion, and do not approach him with trembling, but having first made up your mind that every issue is indifferent and nothing to you, but that, whatever it may be, it will be possible for you to turn it to good use, and that no one will prevent this. Go, then, with confidence to the gods as to counsellors; and after that, when some counsel has been given you, remember whom you have taken as counsellors, and whom you will be disregarding if you disobey. But go to divination as Socrates thought that men should go, that is, in cases where the whole inquiry has reference to the outcome, and where neither from reason nor from any other technical art are means vouchsafed for discovering the matter in question. Hence, when it is your duty to share the danger of a friend or of your country, do not ask of the diviner whether you ought to share that danger. For if the diviner forewarns you that the omens of sacrifice have been unfavourable, it is clear that death is portended, or the injury of some member of your body, or exile; yet reason requires that even at this risk you are to stand by your friend, and share the danger with your country. Wherefore, give heed to the greater diviner, the Pythian Apollo, who cast out of his temple the man who had not helped his friend when he was being murdered.

33 Lay down for yourself, at the outset, a certain stamp and type of character for yourself, which you are to maintain whether you are by yourself or are meeting with people. And be silent for the most part, or else make only the most necessary remarks, and express these in few words. But rarely, and when occasion requires you to talk, talk, indeed, but about no ordinary topics. Do not talk about gladiators, or horse-races, or athletes, or things to eat or drink—topics that arise on all occasions; but above all, do not talk about people, either blaming, or praising, or comparing them. If, then, you can, by your own conversation bring over that of your companions to what is seemly. But if you happen to be left alone in the presence of aliens, keep silence.

Do not laugh much, nor at many things, nor boisterously.

Refuse, if you can, to take an oath at all, but if that is impossible, refuse as far as circumstances allow.

Avoid entertainments given by outsiders and by persons ignorant of philosophy; but if an appropriate occasion arises for you to attend, be on the alert to avoid lapsing into the behaviour of such laymen. For you may rest assured, that, if a man's companion be dirty, the person who keeps close company with him must of necessity get a share of his dirt, even though he himself happens to be clean.

In things that pertain to the body take only as much as your bare need requires, I mean such things as food, drink, clothing, shelter, and household slaves; but cut down everything which is for outward show or luxury.

In your sex-life preserve purity, as far as you can, before marriage, and, if you indulge, take only those privileges which are lawful. However, do not make yourself offensive, or censorious, to those who do indulge, and do not make frequent mention of the fact that you do not yourself indulge.

If someone brings you word that So-and-so is speaking ill of you, do not defend yourself against what has been said, but answer, "Yes, indeed, for he did not know the rest of the faults that attach to me; if he had, these would not have been the only ones he mentioned."

It is not necessary, for the most part, to go to the public shows. If, however, a suitable occasion ever arises, show that your principal concern is for none other than yourself, which means, wish only for that to happen which does happen, and for him only to win who does win; for so you will suffer no hindrance. But refrain utterly from shouting, or laughter at anyone, or great excitement. And after you have left, do not talk a great deal about what took place, except in so far as it contributes to your own improvement; for such behaviour indicates that the spectacle has aroused your admiration.

Do not go rashly or readily to people's public readings, but when you do go, maintain your own dignity and gravity, and at the same time be careful not to make yourself disagreeable.

When you are about to meet somebody, in particular when it is one of those men who are held in very high esteem, propose to yourself the question, "What would Socrates or Zeno have done under these circumstances?" and then you will not be at a loss to make proper use of the occasion. When you go to see one of those men who have great power, propose to yourself the thought, that you will not find him at home, that you will be shut out, that the door will be slammed in your face, that he will pay no attention to you. And if, despite all this, it is your duty to go, go and take what comes, and never say to yourself, "It was not worth all the trouble." For this is characteristic of the layman, that is, a man who is vexed at externals.

In your conversation avoid making mention at great length and excessively of your own deeds or dangers, because it is not as pleasant for others to hear about your adventures, as it is for you to call to mind your own dangers.

Avoid also raising a laugh, for this is a kind of behaviour that slips easily into vulgarity, and at the same time is calculated to lessen the respect which your neighbours have of you. It is dangerous also to lapse into foul language. When, therefore, anything of the sort occurs, if the occasion be suitable, go even so far as to reprove the person who has made such a lapse; if, however, the occasion does not arise, at all events show by keeping silence, and blushing, and frowning, that you are displeased by what has been said.

34 When you get an external impression of some pleasure, guard yourself, as with impressions in general, against being carried away by it; nay, let the matter wait upon your leisure, and give yourself a little delay. Next think of the two periods of time, first, that in which you will enjoy your pleasure, and second, that in which, after the enjoyment is over, you will later repent and revile your own self; and set over against these two periods of time how much joy and self-satisfaction you will get if you refrain. However, if you feel that a suitable occasion has arisen to do the deed, be careful not to allow its enticement, and sweetness, and attractiveness to overcome you; but set over against all this the thought, how much better is the consciousness of having won a victory over it.

35 When you do a thing which you have made up your mind ought to be done, never try not to be seen doing it, even though most people are likely to think unfavourably about it. If, however, what you are doing is not right, avoid the deed itself altogether; but if it is right, why fear those who are going to rebuke you wrongly?

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36 Just as the propositions, "It is day," and "It is night," are full of meaning when separated, but meaningless if united; so also, granted that for you to take the larger share at a dinner is good for your body, still, it is bad for the maintenance of the proper kind of social feeling. When, therefore, you are eating with another person, remember to regard, not merely the value for your body of what lies before you, but also to maintain your respect for your host.

37 If you undertake a rôle which is beyond your powers, you both disgrace yourself in that one, and at the same time neglect the rôle which you might have filled with success.

38 Just as you are careful, in walking about, not to step on a nail or to sprain your ankle, so be careful also not to hurt your governing principle. And if we observe this rule in every action, we shall be more secure in setting about it.

39 Each man's body is a measure for his property, just as the foot is a measure for his shoe. If, then, you abide by this principle, you will maintain the proper measure, but if you go beyond it, you cannot help but fall headlong over a precipice, as it were, in the end. So also in the case of your shoe; if once you go beyond the foot, you get first a gilded shoe, then a purple one, then an embroidered one. For once you go beyond the measure there is no limit.

40 Immediately after they are fourteen, women are called "ladies" by men. And so when they see that they have nothing else but only to be the bed-fellows of men, they begin to beautify themselves, and put all their hopes in that. It is worth while for us to take pains, therefore, to make them understand that they are honoured for nothing else but only for appearing modest and self-respecting.

41 It is a mark of an ungifted man to spend a great deal of time in what concerns his body, as in much exercise, much eating, much drinking, much evacuating of the bowels, much copulating. But these things are to be done in passing; and let your whole attention be devoted to the mind.

42 When someone treats you ill or speaks ill of you, remember that he acts or speaks thus because he thinks it is incumbent upon him. That being the case, it is impossible for him to follow what appears good to you, but what appears good to himself; whence it follows, that, if he gets a wrong view of things, the man that suffers is the man that has been deceived. For if a person thinks a true composite judgement to be false, the composite judgement does not suffer, but the person who has been deceived. If, therefore, you start from this point of view, you will be gentle with the man who reviles you. For you should say on each occasion, "He thought that way about it."

43 Everything has two handles, by one of which it ought to be carried and by the other not. If your brother wrongs you, do not lay hold of the matter by the handle of the wrong that he is doing, because this is the handle by which the matter ought not to be carried; but rather by the other handle—that he is your brother, that you were brought up together, and then you will be laying hold of the matter by the handle by which it ought to be carried.

44 The following statements constitute a non sequitur: "I am richer than you are, therefore I am superior to you"; or, "I am more eloquent than you are, therefore I am superior to you." But the following conclusions are better: "I am richer than you are, therefore my property is superior to yours"; or, "I am more eloquent than you are, therefore my elocution is superior to yours." But you are neither property nor elocution.

45 Somebody is hasty about bathing; do not say that he bathes badly, but that he is hasty about bathing. Somebody drinks a good deal of wine; do not say that he drinks badly, but that he drinks a good deal. For until you have decided what judgement prompts him, how do you know that what he is doing is bad? And thus the final result will not be that you receive convincing sense-impressions of some things, but give your assent to others.

46 On no occasion call yourself a philosopher, and do not, for the most part, talk among laymen about your philosophic principles, but do what follows from your principles. For example, at a banquet do not say how people ought to eat, but eat as a man ought. For remember how Socrates had so completely eliminated the thought of ostentation, that people came to him when they wanted him to introduce them to philosophers, and he used to bring them along. So well did he submit to being overlooked. And if talk about some philosophic principle arises among laymen, keep silence for the most part, for there is great danger that you will spew up immediately what you have not digested. So when a man tells you that you know nothing, and you, like Socrates, are not hurt, then rest assured that you are making a beginning with the business you have undertaken. For sheep, too, do not bring their fodder to the shepherds and show how much they have eaten, but they digest their food within them, and on the outside produce wool and milk. And so do you, therefore, make no display to the laymen of your philosophical principles, but let them see the results which come from these principles when digested.

47 When you have become adjusted to simple living in regard to your bodily wants, do not preen yourself about the accomplishment; and so likewise, if you are a water-drinker, do not on every occasion say that you are a water-drinker. And if ever you want to train to develop physical endurance, do it by yourself and not for outsiders to behold; do not throw your arms around statues, but on occasion, when you are very thirsty, take cold water into your mouth, and then spit it out, without telling anybody.

48 This is the position and character of a layman: He never looks for either help or harm from himself, but only from externals. This is the position and character of the philosopher: He looks for all his help or harm from himself.

Signs of one who is making progress are: He censures no one, praises no one, blames no one, finds fault with no one, says nothing about himself as though he were somebody or knew something. When he is hampered or prevented, he blames himself. And if anyone compliments him, he smiles to himself at the person complimenting; while if anyone censures him, he makes no defence. He goes about like an invalid, being careful not to disturb, before it has grown firm, any part which is getting well. He has put away from himself his every desire, and has transferred his aversion to those things only, of what is under our control, which are contrary to nature. He exercises no pronounced choice in regard to anything. If he gives the appearance of being foolish or ignorant he does not care. In a word, he keeps guard against himself as though he were his own enemy lying in wait.

49 When a person gives himself airs because he can understand and interpret the books of Chrysippus, say to yourself, "If Chrysippus had not written obscurely, this man would have nothing about which to give himself airs."

But what is it I want? To learn nature and to follow her. I seek, therefore, someone to interpret her; and having heard that Chrysippus does so, I go to him. But I do not understand what he has written; I seek, therefore, the person who interprets Chrysippus. And down to this point there is nothing to justify pride. But when I find the interpreter, what remains is to put his precepts into practice; this is the only thing to be proud about. If, however, I admire the mere act of interpretation, what have I done but turned into a grammarian instead of a philosopher? The only difference, indeed, is that I interpret Chrysippus instead of Homer. Far from being proud, therefore, when somebody says to me, "Read me Chrysippus," I blush the rather, when I am unable to show him such deeds as match and harmonize with his words.

50 Whatever principles are set before you, stand fast by these like laws, feeling that it would be impiety for you to transgress them. But pay no attention to what somebody says about you, for this is, at length, not under your control.

51 How long will you still wait to think yourself worthy of the best things, and in nothing to transgress against the distinctions set up by the reason? You have received the philosophical principles which you ought to accept, and you have accepted them. What sort of a teacher, then, do you still wait for, that you should put off reforming yourself until he arrives? You are no longer a lad, but already a full-grown man. If you are now neglectful and easy-going, and always making one delay after another, and fixing first one day and then another, after which you will pay attention to yourself, then without realising it you will make no progress, but, living and dying, will continue to be a layman throughout. Make up your mind, therefore, before it is too late, that the fitting thing for you to do is to live as a mature man who is making progress, and let everything which seems to you to be best be for you a law that must not be transgressed. And if you meet anything that is laborious, or sweet, or held in high repute, or in no repute, remember that now is the contest, and here before you are the Olympic games, and that it is impossible to delay any longer, and that it depends on a single day and a single action, whether progress is lost or saved. This is the way Socrates became what he was, by paying attention to nothing but his reason in everything that he encountered. And even if you are not yet a Socrates, still you ought to live as one who wishes to be a Socrates.

52 The first and most necessary division in philosophy is that which has to do with the application of the principles, as, for example, Do not lie. The second deals with the demonstrations, as, for example. How comes it that we ought not to lie? The third confirms and discriminates between these processes, as, for example, How does it come that this is a proof? For what is a proof, what is logical consequence, what contradiction, what truth, what falsehood? Therefore, the third division is necessary because of the second, and the second because of the first; while the most necessary of all, and the one in which we ought to rest, is the first. But we do the opposite; for we spend our time in the third division, and all our zeal is devoted to it, while we utterly neglect the first. Wherefore, we lie, indeed, but are ready with the arguments which prove that one ought not to lie.

53 Upon every occasion we ought to have the following thoughts at our command:

Lead thou me on, O Zeus, and Destiny,
To that goal long ago to me assigned.
I shall follow and not falter; if my will
Prove weak and craven, still I shall follow on.

"Whoso has rightly with necessity complied,
We count him wise, and skilled in things divine."

"Well, O Crito, if so it is pleasing to the gods, so let it be."

"Anytus and Meletus can kill me, but they cannot hurt me."

MEDITATIONS - THINGS TO ONE'S SELF
or Writings To Himself
By Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus
Source: Codex Palatinus, Codex Vaticanus 1950
Translation: R. Graves, 1911
Estimated Range of Dating: 160-180 A.D.

(Meditations [Greek: Ta eis heauton, lit. 'things to one's self'] is a series of personal writings, a diary if you will, written by Marcus Aurelius Antoninus who was a Stoic philosopher but also Roman Emperor from 161 to 180 AD. Marcus Aurelius' work Meditations, written while on campaign between 170 and 180, is still loved by many readers because it gives good advice. Like all other Romans of the upper class, he used Greek as this has been the language of the Roman upper class for hundreds of years.

Meditations serves as an example of how Marcus approached the Platonic ideal of a philosopher–king, and how he symbolised much of what was best about Roman civilisation. His text belongs to a genre known as "wisdom literature" in religious texts. So, it is no surprise that the oldest copy of his Meditations has been found together with the four canonical gospels in the Codex Palatinus and other codex collections. Marcus Aurelius wrote the 12 books of the Meditations as a source for his own guidance and self-improvement and it seems unlikely that he ever intended the writings to be published. This is the reason why the work has no official title. There are several titles that have been proposed such as "Writings to Himself" or "Things to One's Self". Although these titles might reflect well the contents, they were perceived as somewhat awkward, and most publishers chose "Meditations" to assign his entire text collection. It is possible that large portions of the work were written at Sirmium [now Sremska, Serbia], where he spent much time planning military campaigns from 170 to 180. Some of it was written while he was positioned at Aquincum on campaign in Pannonia, because internal notes tell us that the first book was written when he was campaigning against the Quadi on the river Granova (modern-day Hron) and the second book was written at Carnuntum [32 km / 20 mi east of Vienna].

Before we read these texts, we ought to take a closer look at the man as the scarce information about him reveals his extraordinary character. It also explains why you find his writings here. The major sources depicting the life and rule of Marcus are frequently unreliable. The most important group of sources, the biographies contained in the Historia Augusta, claim to be written by a group of authors at the turn of the 4th century AD, but it is believed they were in fact written by a single author (referred to here as 'the biographer') from about 395 AD. The later biographies and the biographies of subordinate emperors and usurpers are unreliable, but the earlier biographies, derived primarily from now-lost earlier sources (Marius Maximus or Ignotus), are much more accurate. For Marcus' life and rule, the biographies of Hadrian, Antoninus, Marcus, and Lucius are largely reliable, but those of Aelius Verus and Avidius Cassius are not. Some surviving letters, between Marcus and his teacher Fronto from c. 138 to 166, look as patchy as the biographies written on him. The only texts that offer a window on his inner life are the Meditations. At the first glimpse, his writings have nothing to do with Christianity but when we know that his displayed philosophy was also the mindset of the Flavian Dynasty and when we know that the Flavians had their editing hand in the creation of the first three gospels [Matthew, Mark, and Luke] then we immediately grasp why these gospels are full of Stoic teachings. And this is the reason why we find Marcus writings frequently in company of Christian writings.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (121–180 AD) was Roman Emperor from 161 to 180. He ruled with Lucius Verus as co-emperor from 161 until Verus' death in 169. He is knowns as the last of the Five Good Emperors, and is considered one of the most important Stoic philosophers mainly because his writings are the only Stoic texts that have survived when the Roman Christians came to power in the 4th century and burned most non-Christian books. [* The rulers commonly known as the "Five Good Emperors" were Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius. The term was coined by Niccolò Machiavelli in The Discourses on Livy (Book 1, Chapter 10.). Machiavelli argued that these adopted emperors earned the respect of those around them through good governing: "Titus, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus, and Marcus had no need of praetorian cohorts, or of countless legions to guard them, but were defended by their own good lives, the good-will of their subjects, and the attachment of the senate.]*

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Marcus' reign was marked by at least five important events: (1st) The constant wars against the German tribes who tried to break into the territory of the Roman Empire due to the westward pressure of Goths and subsequently the arriving Huns, (2nd) a decisive victory over the Persian Parthian Empire, (3rd) a plague of smallpox that ravaged the Roman Empire and probably weakened the Parthian Empire before its defeat, (4th) the official begin of diplomatic relations between the Roman Empire and the Chinese Han Empire, (5th) sensible politics within the Roman Empire according to the teachings of Stoicism.

At the start of his reign, the Empire, under the joint rule of Marcus and Lucius Verus, defeated the Parthian Empire in a war from 161 to 166. The unforeseen consequences for the Empire were great. The returning troops brought with them the so-called Antonine Plague, which may have been smallpox. It would eventually kill about 5 million people, and severely weaken the Empire.

Aurelius fought the German tribes during a long war from 166 to 180. The pressure from the Goths moving west, pushed settled Germanic tribes into invading Roman territory at the entire Limes [Roman border] from the River Rhine to the River Danube. Those Goths and other Germans were pressed westwards by the arriving hordes of the Huns [Chinese: Xiong-nu]. The Plague raging in the Empire limited Rome's ability to respond. The German Marcomanni tribe entered Italy, which had not been invaded for nearly 200 years, and defeated the army of the Praetorian Prefect.

This disaster forced Marcus to collect forces from other frontiers, and move them against the Marcomanni. The Roman army was commanded by Claudius Pompeianus, Marcus' son-in-law, with the future emperor Pertinax as one of his lieutenants. The invaders were thrown out of Italy, and Marcus began planning to cross the Danube into their territory. The practice to recruit more and more foreign mercenaries for the Roman Army began already at this time to show the weakness of the Roman military which obviously could not rely on willingness and support from a fast degenerating mindset of the Roman populace itself.

Instead of reforming the military, by means such as conscription from the own Roman citizens as duty towards the state, Marcus Aurelius tried to find allies outside the Empire. Intense diplomatic activity followed, as the Romans tried to win over various barbarian tribes in preparation for a crossing of the Danube. A peace treaty was signed with some tribes, while others became direct Roman allies.

After its defeat, the Partian Empire could no longer resist a direct Roman contact with Han China which immediately occurred in 166 AD when a Roman envoy visited the Han court and was greeted by Emperor Hàn Huán [132–168 AD), introducing himself to be an ambassador representing a certain Andun (Chinese for Antoninus), ruler of Da Qin [lit. "Greater China", meaning the Roman Empire], who can be identified with Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. In this context it seems possible that the Roman envoy tried to figure out a closer co-operation with China against the Parthian Empire.

In fact, according to the Book of Han, Chinese troops had already occupied some Parthian areas west of the Pamir Mountains, in the Fergana Valley with its capital Alexandria Eschate that once was founded by Alexander the Great. [* called Da Yuan, "Great Ionia" or "Greek Empire" by the Chinese, today part of eastern Uzbekistan, southern Kyrgyzstan and northern Tajikistan. The "Greek Empire" here refers to the Greek Bactrian Empire and also to the following Kushan Empire that had the size of India.] In other words: China and Bactria-Kushan from the east, Rome from the west, and the arriving Huns from the north, put the screws on the Parthian Empire. Time and again, Rome conquered Armenia and Mesopotamia.*

With the Huns or the Chinese came the Plague the to Parthian Empire and then swapped over to the Roman Empire with the unfortunate consequence that both empires were severely weakened by this pandemic. The "Antonine Plague" started in Mesopotamia in 165 or 166 at the end of Lucius' campaign against the Parthians. It may have continued into the reign of Commodus. Galen of Pergamon [Greek: Galenos, Latin: Galenus, 129–216 AD], the Greek physician of Marcus Aurelius who was in Rome when the plague spread to the city in 166, described that "fever, diarrhoea, and inflammation of the pharynx, along with dry or pustular eruptions of the skin after nine days" were among the symptoms. It is therefore believed that the plague was smallpox. The disease also caused damage to the Roman maritime trade in the Indian Ocean as proven by the archaeological record spanning from Egypt to India, as well as decreased Roman commercial activity in Southeast Asia for a while.

A part of Rome's fleet patrouilled the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean with their fast and seagoing galleys. The Kushan Empire had diplomatic relations with Rome as well as with Chang-an [Xian, China]. So, we even can reconstruct the route that the envoy of Rome took: He most likely went down the Red Sea, to the southern coast of today's Pakistan [belonging to the Kushan Empire], up the River Indus, through east Afghanistan to Sogdiana, then to Alexandria Eschate in the Fergana Valley, taking a pass through the Pamir mountains to either Kashgar or Khotan, then to Dunhuang, straight to Chang-an. The Roman embassies reached the Han Chinese capital in 166 AD and onwards. The expeditions of Roman traders and other individuals to the Han Chinese court in 166 may well have started a new era of Roman–Far East trade.

The prehistory of direct Mediterranean-Chinese relation most likely started off with the arrival of Alexander the Great at the outposts of the Chinese sphere of influence in Sogdiana in the Fergana Valley. During the reign of Emperor Han Wudi (156–87 BC), the Chinese tried to get Fergana into their grip. According to the Han dynasty "Records of the Grand Historian" [or "Shiji", based on the travels of Zhang Qian and published around 126 BC], the region of Fergana is presented as the country of the Da Yuan, possibly descendants of Greeks colonists (Da Yuan is a transliteration of "Great Ionians"). The area was renowned for its "Heavenly Horses" [descendants of the far Greek horses that were much larger and taller than Chinese horses], which the Chinese tried to obtain from the Da Yuan with little success until they waged war against them in 104 BC. In 97 AD, the Chinese general Ban Chao tried to send his envoy Gan Ying to Rome, but Gan was dissuaded by Parthians from venturing beyond the Persian Gulf.

The diplomatic relations had a huge impact on the flow of trade goods, information, and occasional travellers between the Roman Empire and Han Empire of China, as well as between the later Eastern Roman Empire and various Chinese dynasties. We know that the ancient Romans imported Han Chinese silk while the Han Dynasty Chinese imported Roman glasswares, high-quality cloth, silverware and amber jewellery from the Baltic Sea, as they have been found in their tombs, including a hoard of sixteen Roman coins found at Xi'an, China (formerly Chang'an). They were dated to the reigns of various emperors from Tiberius (14–37 AD) to Aurelian (270–275 AD). In addition to Republican-era Roman glasswares, found at Guangzhou along the South China Sea, Roman golden medallions made during the reign of Emperor Antoninus Pius and his adopted son Marcus Aurelius Antoninus have been found at Oc Eo, near the Chinese province of Jiaozhi (in northern Vietnam), then part of the Kingdom of Funan, the same region at which Chinese sources claim the Romans first landed. This may have been the port city of Kattigara, described by Ptolemy [Claudius Ptolemaeus, c. 100-170 AD; a Greek Egyptian geographer, astronomer, mathematician.] in c. 150 AD as being visited by a Greek sailor named Alexander and lying beyond the Golden Chersonese (i.e. Malay Peninsula). Roman coins from the reigns of Tiberius to Aurelian have been found in Xi'an, China (site of the Han capital Chang'an), although the far greater amount of Roman coins in India suggests the Roman maritime trade for purchasing Chinese silk was centred there, not in China. Roman coins and glass beads have also been found in Japan.

The reason why we mention these events here is the probable impact that the ideas of those faraway cultures had on one another. As someone may ask himself in what language those people might have talked to one another, the answer is quite straight forward. The main language of the Roman upper class [and this includes also the traders] was Greek which was well-known among many people up to India starting with the colonisation of Alexander the Great. With them also came Aramaic speaking Jews who founded settlements at Kerala in the northwest of India and also settled along the Silk Road and in some parts of China, including the capital Chang-an [Xian]

These empires inched progressively closer in the course of the Roman expansion into the ancient Near East and simultaneous Han Chinese military incursions into Central Asia. Only a few attempts at direct contact are known from records. Intermediate empires such as the Parthians and Kushans, seeking to maintain lucrative control over the silk trade, inhibited direct contact between these two Eurasian powers.

Several Roman emissaries to China continued to be recorded by ancient Chinese historians. Roman envoys are recorded as arriving in 226 and the last in 284 AD. In Chinese records, the Roman Empire came to be known in China as Da Qin or Great Qin [China]. Da Qin was directly associated with the later Fu Lin in Chinese sources, which has been identified as the Eastern Roman Empire. The next recorded embassy from the Eastern Roman Empire arrived in Tang Dynasty China in 643 AD. The records even mention the siege of Constantinople by the Islamic forces of Muawiyah I in 674–678 AD.

The rest of his life Marcus had to keep on fighting. In 172, he defeated the Marcommani, and in 174 their allies, the Quadi. Marcus was now interrupted by a revolt in the east, led by the Roman general Avidius Cassius. He was suppressed by Marcus' army. Marcus then returned to Rome. A triumph was celebrated with his son Commodus. In 177 the Quadi rebelled again, and the Marcommani joined them. Marcus arrived on the scene in August 178, and in due course the Romans won a decisive battle in what is now Slovakia. Marcus Aurelius died near Vindobona [Vienna] in 180 AD, still fighting the German tribes.

Manuscripts

There is no certain mention of the Meditations until the early 10th century. A doubtful mention is made by the orator Themistius in about AD 364. In an address to the emperor Valens, On Brotherly Love, he says: "You have no need of the exhortations (Greek: παραγγέλματα) of Marcus." Another possible reference is in the collection of Greek poems known as the Palatine Anthology, a work dating to the 10th-century but containing much earlier material. The anthology contains an epigram dedicated to "the Book of Marcus". It has been proposed that this epigram was written by the Eastern Roman scholar Theophylact Simocatta in the 7th-century.

The first direct mention of the work comes from Arethas of Caesarea (c. 860–935), a bishop who was a great collector of manuscripts. At some date before 907 he sent a volume of the Meditations to Demetrius, Archbishop of Heracleia, with a letter saying: "I have had for some time an old copy of the Emperor Marcus' most profitable book, so old indeed that it is altogether falling to pieces.… This I have had copied and am able to hand down to posterity in its new dress." Arethas also mentions the work in marginal notes (scholia) to books by Lucian and Dio Chrysostom where he refers to passages in the "Treatise to Himself", and it was this title which the book bore in the manuscript from which the first printed edition was made in the 16th-century. Arethas' own copy has now vanished, but it is thought to be the likely ancestor of the surviving manuscripts.

The present text of Meditations is based almost entirely upon two manuscripts. One is the Codex Palatinus, also known as the Codex Toxitanus, first published in 1558/9 but now lost. The other manuscript is the Codex Vaticanus 1950 in the Vatican Library. The Codex Palatinus, is a 5th-century Latin Gospel Book. The text, written on purple dyed vellum in gold and silver ink, is a version of the old Latin. Most of the manuscript was in the Austrian National Library at Vienna (Cod. 1185) until 1919, when it was transferred to Trento, where it is now being kept as Ms 1589 in the Library of Buonconsiglio Castle. Two leaves were separated from the manuscript in the 18th century: one is now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin (MS 1709), the other in the British Library (Add. MS 40107) in London (Digital images). The manuscript contains the text of the four Gospels. The Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1950 is contained in a codex which passed to the Vatican Library from the collection of Stefano Gradi in 1683. This is a 14th-century manuscript which survives in a very corrupt state, and about forty-two lines have dropped out by accidental omissions.

The First Modern Editions: The editio princeps (first print edition) of the original Greek was published by Conrad Gessner and his cousin Andreas in 1559. Both it and the accompanying Latin translation were produced by Wilhelm Xylander. His source was a manuscript from Heidelberg University, provided by Michael Toxites. By 1568, when Xylander completed his second edition, he no longer had access to the source and it has been lost ever since. The first English translation was published in 1634 by Meric Casaubon.)

Text:

MARCUS AURELIUS MEDITATIONS BOOK 1

1 From my grandfather Verus I learned good morals and the government of my temper.

2 From the reputation and remembrance of my father, modesty and a manly character.

3 From my mother, piety and beneficence, and abstinence, not only from evil deeds, but even from evil thoughts; and further simplicity in my way of living, far removed from the habits of the rich.

4 From my great-grandfather, not to have frequented public schools, and to have had good teachers at home, and to know that on such things a man should spend liberally.

5 From my governor, to be neither of the green nor of the blue party at the games in the Circus, nor a partizan either of the Parmularius or the Scutarius at the gladiators' fights; from him too I learned endurance of labour, and to want little, and to work with my own hands, and not to meddle with other people's affairs, and not to be ready to listen to slander.

6 From Diognetus, not to busy myself about trifling things, and not to give credit to what was said by miracle-workers and jugglers about incantations and the driving away of daemons and such things; and not to breed quails (for fighting), nor to give myself up passionately to such things; and to endure freedom of speech; and to have become intimate with philosophy; and to have been a hearer, first of Bacchius, then of Tandasis and Marcianus; and to have written dialogues in my youth; and to have desired a plank bed and skin, and whatever else of the kind belongs to the Grecian discipline.

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7 From Rusticus I received the impression that my character required improvement and discipline; and from him I learned not to be led astray to sophistic emulation, nor to writing on speculative matters, nor to delivering little hortatory orations, nor to showing myself off as a man who practises much discipline, or does benevolent acts in order to make a display; and to abstain from rhetoric, and poetry, and fine writing; and not to walk about in the house in my outdoor dress, nor to do other things of the kind; and to write my letters with simplicity, like the letter which Rusticus wrote from Sinuessa to my mother; and with respect to those who have offended me by words, or done me wrong, to be easily disposed to be pacified and reconciled, as soon as they have shown a readiness to be reconciled, and to read carefully, and not to be satisfied with a superficial understanding of a book; nor hastily to give my assent to those who talk overmuch; and I am indebted to him for being acquainted with the discourses of Epictetus, which he communicated to me out of his own collection.

8 From Apollonius I learned freedom of will and undeviating steadiness of purpose; and to look to nothing else, not even for a moment, except to reason; and to be always the same in sharp pains, on the occasion of the loss of a child, and in long illness; and to see clearly in a living example that the same man can be both most resolute and yielding, and not peevish in giving his instruction; and to have had before my eyes a man who clearly considered his experience and his skill in expounding philosophical principles as the smallest of his merits; and from him I learned how to receive from friends what are esteemed favours, without being either humbled by them or letting them pass unnoticed.

9 From Sextus, a benevolent disposition, and the example of a family governed in a fatherly manner, and the idea of living conformably to nature; and gravity without affectation, and to look carefully after the interests of friends, and to tolerate ignorant persons, and those who form opinions without consideration: he had the power of readily accommodating himself to all, so that intercourse with him was more agreeable than any flattery; and at the same time he was most highly venerated by those who associated with him; and he had the faculty both of discovering and ordering, in an intelligent and methodical way, the principles necessary for life; and he never showed anger or any other passion, but was entirely free from passion, and also most affectionate; and he could express approbation without noisy display, and he possessed much knowledge without ostentation.

10 From Alexander, the grammarian, to refrain from fault-finding, and not in a reproachful way to chide those who uttered any barbarous or solecistic or strange-sounding expression; but dexterously to introduce the very expression which ought to have been used, and in the way of answer or giving confirmation, or joining in an inquiry about the thing itself, not about the word, or by some other fit suggestion.

11 From Fronto I learned to observe what envy and duplicity and hypocrisy are in a tyrant, and that generally those among us who are called Patricians are rather deficient in paternal affection.

12 From Alexander the Platonic, not frequently nor without necessity to say to any one, or to write in a letter, that I have no leisure; nor continually to excuse the neglect of duties required by our relation to those with whom we live, by alleging urgent occupations.

13 From Catulus, not to be indifferent when a friend finds fault, even if he should find fault without reason, but to try to restore him to his usual disposition; and to be ready to speak well of teachers, as it is reported of Domitius and Athenodotus; and to love my children truly.

14 From my brother Severus, to love my kin, and to love truth, and to love justice; and through him I learned to know Thrasea, Helvidius, Cato, Dion, Brutus; and from him I received the idea of a polity in which there is the same law for all, a polity administered with regard to equal rights and equal freedom of speech, and the idea of a kingly government which respects most of all the freedom of the governed; I learned from him also consistency and undeviating steadiness in my regard for philosophy, and a disposition to do good, and to give to others readily, and to cherish good hopes, and to believe that I am loved by my friends; and in him I observed no concealment of his opinions with respect to those whom he condemned, and that his friends had no need to conjecture what he wished or did not wish, but it was quite plain.

15 From Maximus I learned self-government, and not to be led aside by anything; and cheerfulness in all circumstances, as well as in illness; and a just admixture in the moral character of sweetness and dignity, and to do what was set before me without complaining. I observed that everybody believed that he thought as he spoke, and that in all that he did he never had any bad intention; and he never showed amazement and surprise, and was never in a hurry, and never put off doing a thing, nor was perplexed nor dejected, nor did he ever laugh to disguise his vexation, nor, on the other hand, was he ever passionate or suspicious. He was accustomed to do acts of beneficence and was ready to forgive, and was free from all falsehood; and he presented the appearance of a man who could not be diverted from right rather than of a man who had been improved. I observed, too, that no man could ever think that he was despised by Maximus, or ever venture to think himself a better man. He had also the art of being humorous in an agreeable way.

16 In my father I observed mildness of temper, and unchangeable resolution in the things which he had determined after due deliberation; and no vainglory in those things which men call honours; and a love of labour and perseverance; and a readiness to listen to those who had anything to propose for the common weal; and undeviating firmness in giving to every man according to his deserts; and a knowledge derived from experience of the occasions for vigorous action and for remission. And I observed that he had overcome all passion for joys; and he considered himself no more than any other citizen, and he released his friends from all obligation to sup with him or to attend him of a necessity when he went abroad, and those who failed to accompany him by reason of any urgent circumstances, always found him the same. I observed, too, his habit of careful inquiry in all matters of deliberation, and his persistency, and that he never stopped his investigation through being satisfied with appearances which first present themselves; and that his disposition was to keep his friends, and not to be soon tired of them, nor yet to be extravagant in his affection; and to be satisfied on all occasions, and cheerful; and to foresee things a long way off, and to provide for the smallest without display; and to check immediately popular applause and flattery, and to be ever watchful over the things which were necessary for the administration of the empire, and to be a good manager of the expenditure, and patiently to endure the blame which he got for such conduct; and he was neither superstitious with respect to the gods, nor did he court men by gifts or by trying to please them, or by flattering the populace; but he showed sobriety in all things and firmness, and never any mean thoughts or action, nor love of novelty. And the things which conduce in any way to the commodity of life, and of which fortune gives an abundant supply, he used without arrogance and without excusing himself; so that when he had them, he enjoyed them without affectation, and when he had them not he did not want them. No one could ever say of him that he was either a sophist or a (home-bred) flippant slave or a pedant; but every one acknowledged him to be a man ripe, perfect, above flattery, able to manage his own and other men's affairs. Besides this, he honoured those who were true philosophers, and he did not reproach those who pretended to be philosophers, nor yet was he easily led by them. He was also easy in conversation, and he made himself agreeable without any offensive affectation. He took a reasonable care of his body's health, not as one who was greatly attached to life, nor out of regard to personal appearance, nor yet in a careless way, but so that, through his own attention, he very seldom stood in need of the physician's art or of medicine or external applications. He was most ready to give way without envy to those who possessed any particular faculty, such as that of eloquence or knowledge of the law or of morals, or of anything else; and he gave them his help, that each might enjoy reputation according to his deserts; and he always acted conformably to the institutions of his country, without showing any affectation of doing so. Further, he was not fond of change, nor unsteady, but he loved to stay in the same places, and to employ himself about the same things; and after his paroxysms of headache he came immediately fresh and vigorous to his usual occupations. His secrets were not many, but very few and very rare, and these only about public matters; and he showed prudence and economy in the exhibition of the public spectacles and the construction of public buildings, his donations to the people, and in such things, for he was a man who looked to what ought to be done, not to the reputation which is got by a man's act. He did not take the bath at unseasonable hours; he was not fond of building houses, nor curious about what he eat, nor about the texture and colour of his clothes, nor about the beauty of his slaves. His dress came from Lorium, his villa on the coast, and from Lanuvium generally. We know how he behaved to the toll-collector at Tusculum who asked his pardon; and such was all his behaviour. There was in him nothing harsh, nor implacable, nor violent, nor, as one may say, anything carried to the sweating point; but he examined all things severally as if he had abundance of time, and without confusion, in an orderly way, vigorously and consistently. And that might be applied to him which is recorded of Socrates, that he was able both to abstain from, and to enjoy, those things which many are too weak to abstain from, and cannot enjoy without excess. But to be strong enough both to bear the one and to be sober in the other is the mark of a man who has a perfect and invincible soul, such as he showed in the illness of Maximus.

17 To the gods I am indebted for having good grandfathers, good parents, a good sister, good teachers, good associates, good kinsmen and friends, nearly everything good. Further, I owe it to the gods that I was not hurried into any offence against any of them, though I had a disposition which, if opportunity had offered, might have led me to do something of this kind; but, through their favour, there never was such a concurrence of circumstances as put me to the trial. Further, I am thankful to the gods that I was not longer brought up with my grandfather's concubine, and that I preserved the flower of my youth, and that I did not make proof of my virility before the proper season, but even deferred the time; that I was subjected to a ruler and a father who was able to take away all pride from me, and to bring me to the knowledge that it is possible for a man to live in a palace without wanting either guards or embroidered dresses, or torches and statues, and suchlike show; but it is in such a man's power to bring himself very near to the fashion of a private person, without being for this reason either meaner in thought, or more remiss in action, with respect to the things which must be done for the public interest in a manner that befits a ruler. I thank the gods for giving me such a brother, who was able by his moral character to rouse me to vigilance over myself, and who, at the same time, pleased me by his respect and affection; that my children have not been stupid nor deformed in body; that I did not make more proficiency in rhetoric, poetry, and the other studies, in which I should perhaps have been completely engaged, if I had seen that I was making progress in them; that I made haste to place those who brought me up in the station of honour which they seemed to desire without putting them off with hope of my doing it some time after, because they were then still young; that I knew Apollonius, Rusticus, Maximus; that I received clear and frequent impressions about living according to nature, and what kind of a life that is, so that, so far as depended on the gods, and their gifts and help, and inspirations, nothing hindered me from forthwith living according to nature, though I still fall short of it through my own fault, and though not observing the admonitions of the gods, and, I may almost say, their direct instructions; that my body has held out so long in such a kind of life; that I never touched either Benedicta or Theodotus, and that, after having fallen into amatory passions, I was cured; and, though I was often out of humour with Rusticus, I never did anything of which I had occasion to repent; that, though it was my mother's fate to die young, she spent the last years of her life with me; that, whenever I wished to help any man in his need, or on any other occasion, I was never told that I had not the means of doing it; and that to myself the same necessity never happened, to receive anything from another; that I have such a wife, so obedient, and so affectionate, and so simple; that I had abundance of good masters for my children; and that remedies have been shown to me by dreams, both others, and against blood-spitting and giddiness;… and that, when I had an inclination to philosophy, I did not fall into the hands of any sophist, and that I did not waste my time on writers (of histories), or in the resolution of syllogisms, or occupy myself about the investigation of appearances in the heavens; for all these things require the help of the gods and fortune.

Written near the Quadi at the river Granua.

MARCUS AURELIUS MEDITATIONS BOOK 2

1 Begin the morning by saying to thyself, I shall meet with the busybody, the ungrateful, arrogant, deceitful, envious, unsocial. All these things happen to them by reason of their ignorance of what is good and evil. But I who have seen the nature of the good that it is beautiful and of the bad that it is ugly, and the nature of him who does wrong, that it is akin to me, not (only) of the same blood or seed, but that it participates in (the same) intelligence and (the same) portion of the divinity, I can neither be injured by any of them, for no one can fix on me what is ugly, nor can I be angry with my kinsman, nor hate him. For we are made for co-operation, like feet, like hands, like eyelids, like the rows of the upper and lower teeth. To act against one another then is contrary to nature; and it is acting against one another to be vexed and to turn away.

2 Whatever this is that I am, it is a little flesh and breath, and the ruling part. Throw away thy books; no longer distract thyself: it is not allowed; but as if thou wast now dying, despise the flesh, it is blood and bones and a network, a contexture of nerves, veins and arteries. See the breath also, what kind of a thing it is; air, and not always the same, but every moment sent out and again sucked in. The third then is the ruling part: consider thus: Thou art an old man; no longer let this be a slave, no longer be pulled by the strings like a puppet to unsocial movements, no longer be either dissatisfied with thy present lot, or shrink from the future.

3 All that is from the gods is full of providence. That which is from fortune is not separated from nature or without an interweaving and involution with the things which are ordered by Providence. From thence all things flow; and there is besides necessity, and that which is for the advantage of the whole universe, of which thou art a part. But that is good for every part of nature which the nature of the whole brings, and what serves to maintain this nature. Now the universe is preserved, as by the changes of the elements, so by the changes of things compounded of the elements. Let these principles be enough for thee; let them always be fixed opinions. But cast away the thirst after books, that thou mayest not die

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murmuring, but cheerfully, truly, and from thy heart thankful to the gods.

4 Remember how long thou hast been putting off these things, and how often thou hast received an opportunity from the gods, and yet dost not use it. Thou must now at last perceive of what universe thou art a part, and of what administrator of the universe thy existence is an efflux, and that a limit of time is fixed for thee, which if thou dost not use for clearing away the clouds from thy mind, it will go and thou wilt go, and it will never return.

5 Every moment think steadily as a Roman and a man to do what thou hast in hand with perfect and simple dignity, and feeling of affection, and freedom, and justice; and to give thyself relief from all other thoughts. And thou wilt give thyself relief, if thou doest every act of thy life as if it were the last, laying aside all carelessness and passionate aversion from the commands of reason, and all hypocrisy, and self-love, and discontent with the portion which has been given to thee. Thou seest how few the things are, the which if a man lays hold of, he is able to live a life which flows in quiet, and is like the existence of the gods; for the gods on their part will require nothing more from him who observes these things.

6 Do wrong to thyself, do wrong to thyself, my soul; but thou wilt no longer have the opportunity of honouring thyself. Every man's life is sufficient. But thine is nearly finished, though thy soul reverences not itself, but places thy felicity in the souls of others.

7 Do the things external which fall upon thee distract thee? Give thyself time to learn something new and good, and cease to be whirled around. But then thou must also avoid being carried about the other way. For those too are triflers who have wearied themselves in life by their activity, and yet have no object to which to direct every movement, and, in a word, all their thoughts.

8 Through not observing what is in the mind of another a man has seldom been seen to be unhappy; but those who do not observe the movements of their own minds must of necessity be unhappy.

9 This thou must always bear in mind, what is the nature of the whole, and what is my nature, and how this is related to that, and what kind of a part it is of what kind of a whole; and that there is no one who hinders thee from always doing and saying the things which are according to the nature of which thou art a part.

10 Theophrastus, in his comparison of bad acts (such a comparison as one would make in accordance with the common notions of mankind) says, like a true philosopher, that the offences which are committed through desire are more blamable than those which are committed through anger. For he who is excited by anger seems to turn away from reason with a certain pain and unconscious contraction; but he who offends through desire, being overpowered by pleasure, seems to be in a manner more intemperate and more womanish in his offences. Rightly then, and in a way worthy of philosophy, he said that the offence which is committed with pleasure is more blamable than that which is committed with pain; and on the whole the one is more like a person who has been first wronged and through pain is compelled to be angry; but the other is moved by his own impulse to do wrong, being carried toward doing something by desire.

11 Since it is possible that thou mayest depart from life this very moment, regulate every act and thought accordingly. But to go away from among men, if there are gods, is not a thing to be afraid of, for the gods will not involve thee in evil; but if indeed they do not exist, or if they have no concern about human affairs, what is it to me to live in a universe devoid of gods or devoid of providence? But in truth they do exist, and they do care for human things, and they have put all the means in man's power to enable him not to fall into real evils. And as to the rest, if there was anything evil, they would have provided for this also, that it should be altogether in a man's power not to fall into it. Now, that which does not make a man worse, how can it make a man's life worse? But neither through ignorance, nor having the knowledge, but not the power to guard against or correct these things, is it possible that the nature of the universe has overlooked them; nor is it possible that it has made so great a mistake, either through want of power or want of skill, that good and evil should happen indiscriminately to the good and the bad. But death certainly, and life, honour and dishonour, pain and pleasure, all these things equally happen to good men and bad, being things which make us neither better nor worse. Therefore they are neither good nor evil.

12 How quickly all these things disappear, in the universe the bodies themselves, but in time the remembrance of them; what is the nature of all sensible things, and particularly those which attract with the bait of pleasure or terrify by pain, or are noised about by vapoury fame; how worthless, and contemptible, and sordid, and perishable, and dead they are; all this it is the part of the intellectual faculty to observe. To observe, too, who these are whose opinions and voices give reputation; what death is, and the fact that, if a man looks at it in itself, and by the abstractive power of reflection resolves into their parts all the things which present themselves to the imagination in it, he will then consider it to be nothing else than an operation of nature; and if any one is afraid of an operation of nature he is a child. This, however, is not only an operation of nature, but it is also a thing which conduces to the purposes of nature. To observe, too, how man comes near to the Deity, and by what part of him, and when this part of man is so disposed.

13 Nothing is more wretched than a man who traverses everything in a round, and pries into things beneath the earth, as the poet says, and seeks by conjecture what is in the minds of his neighbours, without perceiving that it is sufficient to attend to the daemon within him, and to reverence it sincerely. And reverence of the daemon consists in keeping it pure from passion and thoughtlessness, and dissatisfaction with what comes from gods and men. For the things from the gods merit veneration for their excellence; and the things from men should be dear to us by reason of kinship; and sometimes even, in a manner, they move our pity by reason of men's ignorance of good and bad; this defect being not less than that which deprives us of the power of distinguishing things that are white and black.

14 Though thou shouldest be going to live three thousand years, and as many times ten thousand years, still remember that no man loses any other life than this which he now lives, nor lives any other than this which he now loses. The longest and shortest are thus brought to the same. For the present is the same to all, though that which perishes is not the same: and so that which is lost appears to be a mere moment. For a man cannot lose either the past or the future: for what a man has not, how can any one take this from him? These two things then thou must bear in mind: the one, that all things from eternity are of like forms and come round in a circle, and that it makes no difference whether a man shall see the same things during a hundred years or two hundred, or an infinite time; and the second, that the longest liver and he who will die soonest lose just the same. For the present is the only thing of which a man can be deprived, if it is true that this is the only thing which he has, and that a man cannot lose a thing if he has it not.

15 Remember that all is opinion. For what was said by the Cynic Monimus is manifest: and manifest too is the use of what was said, if a man receives what may be got out of it as far as it is true.

16 The soul of man does violence to itself, first of all when it becomes as abscess and, as it were, a tumour on the universe, so far as it can. For to be vexed at anything which happens is a separation of ourselves from nature, in some part of which the natures of all other things are contained. In the next place, the soul does violence to itself when it turns away from any man, or even moves towards him with the intention of injuring, such as are the souls of those who are angry. In the third place, the soul does violence to itself when it is overpowered by pleasure or by pain. Fourthly, when it plays a part, and does or says anything insincerely and untruly. Fifthly, when it allows any act of its own and any movement to be without an aim, and does anything thoughtlessly and without considering what it is, being right that even the smallest things be done with reference to an end; and the end of rational animals is to follow the reason and the law of the most ancient city and polity.

17 Of human life the time is a point, and the substance is in a flux, and the perception dull, and the composition of the whole body subject to putrefaction, and the soul of a whirl, and fortune hard to divine, and fame a thing devoid of judgement. And, to say all in a word, everything which belongs to the body is a stream, and what belongs to the soul is a dream and vapour, and life is a warfare and a stranger's sojourn, and after-fame is oblivion. What, then, is that which is able to conduct a man? One thing, and only one: philosophy. But this consists in keeping the daemon within a man free from violence and unharmed, superior to pains and pleasures, doing nothing without a purpose, nor yet falsely and with hypocrisy, not feeling the need of another man's doing or not doing anything; and besides, accepting all that happens, and all that is allotted, as coming from thence, wherever it is, from whence he himself came; and, finally, waiting for death with a cheerful mind, as being nothing else than a dissolution of the elements of which every living being is compounded. But if there is no harm to the elements themselves in each continually changing into another, why should a man have any apprehension about the change and dissolution of all the elements? For it is according to nature, and nothing is evil which is according to nature.

Written at Carnuntum.

MARCUS AURELIUS MEDITATIONS BOOK 3

1 We ought to consider not only that our life is daily wasting away and a smaller part of it is left, but another thing also must be taken into the account, that if a man should live longer it is quite uncertain whether the understanding will still continue sufficient for the comprehension of things, and retain the power of contemplation which strives to acquire the knowledge of the divine and the human. For if he shall begin to fall into dotage, perspiration and nutrition and imagination and appetite, and whatever else there is of the kind, will not fail; but the power of making use of ourselves, and filling up the measure of our duty, and clearly separating all appearances, and considering whether a man should now depart from life, and whatever else of the kind absolutely requires a disciplined reason, all this is already extinguished. We must make haste then, not only because we are daily nearer to death, but also because the conception of things and the understanding of them cease first.

2 We ought to observe also that even the things which follow after the things which are produced according to nature contain something pleasing and attractive. For instance, when bread is baked some parts are split at the surface, and these parts which thus open, and have a certain fashion contrary to the purpose of the baker's art, are beautiful in a manner, and in a peculiar way excite a desire for eating. And again, figs, when they are quite ripe, gape open, and in the ripe olives the very circumstance of their being near to rottenness adds a peculiar beauty to the fruit. And the ears of corn bending down, and the lion's eyebrows, and the foam which flows from the mouth of wild boars, and many other things (though they are far from being beautiful, if a man should examine them severally) still, because they are consequent upon the things which are formed by nature, help to adorn them, and they please the mind; so that if a man should have a feeling and deeper insight with respect to the things which are produced in the universe, there is hardly one of those which follow by way of consequence which will not seem to him to be in a manner disposed so as to give pleasure. And so he will see even the real gaping jaws of wild beasts with no less pleasure than those which painters and sculptors show by imitation; and in an old woman and an old man he will be able to see a certain maturity and comeliness; and the attractive loveliness of young persons he will be able to look on with chaste eyes; and many such things will present themselves, not pleasing to every man, but to him only who has become truly familiar with nature and her works.

3 Hippocrates after curing many diseases himself fell sick and died. The Chaldæi foretold the deaths of many, and then fate caught them too. Alexander, and Pompeius, and Caius Caesar, after so often completely destroying whole cities, and in battle cutting to pieces many ten thousands of cavalry and infantry, themselves too at last departed from life. Heraclitus, after so many speculations on the conflagration of the universe, was filled with water internally and died smeared all over with mud. And lice destroyed Democritus; and other lice killed Socrates. What means all this? Thou hast embarked, thou hast made the voyage, thou art come to shore; get out. If indeed to another life, there is no want of gods, not even there. But it to a state without sensation, thou wilt cease to be held by pains and pleasures, and to be a slave to the vessel which is as much inferior as that which serves it is superior; for the one is intelligence and deity; the other is earth and corruption.

4 Do not waste the remainder of thy life in thoughts about others, when thou dost not refer thy thoughts to some object of common utility. For thou losest the opportunity of doing something else when thou hast such thoughts as these, What is such a person doing, and why, and what is he saying, and what is he thinking of, and what is he contriving, and whatever else of the kind makes us wander away from the observation of our own ruling power. We ought then to check in the series of our thoughts everything that is without a purpose and useless, but most of all the overcurious feeling and the malignant; and a man should use himself to think of those things only about which if one should suddenly ask, What hast thou now in thy thoughts? with perfect openness thou mightest immediately answer, This or That; so that from thy words it should be plain that everything in thee is simple and benevolent, and such as befits a social animal, one that cares not for thoughts about pleasure or sensual enjoyments at all, nor has any rivalry or envy and suspicion, or anything else for which thou wouldst blush if thou shouldst say that thou hadst it in thy mind. For the man who is such and no longer delays being among the number of the best, is like a priest and minister of the gods, using too the (deity) which is planted within him, which makes the man uncontaminated by pleasure, unharmed by any pain, untouched by any insult, feeling no wrong, a fighter in the noblest fight, one who cannot be overpowered by any passion, dyed deep with justice, accepting with all his soul everything which happens and is assigned to him as his portion; and not often, nor yet without great necessity and for the general interest, imagining what another says, or does, or thinks. For it is only what belongs to himself that he makes the matter for his activity; and he constantly thinks of that which is allotted to himself out of the sum total of things, and he makes his own act fair, and he is persuaded that his own portion is good. For the lot which is assigned to each man is carried along with him and carries him along with it. And he remembers also that every rational animal is his kinsman, and that to care for all men is according to man's nature; and a man should hold on to the opinion not of all but of those only who confessedly live according to nature. But as to those who live not so, he always bears in mind what kind of men they are both at home and from home, both by night and

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by day, and what they are, and with what men they live an impure life. Accordingly, he does not value at all the praise which comes from such men, since they are not even satisfied with themselves.

5 Labour not unwillingly, nor without regard to the common interest, nor without due consideration, nor with distraction; nor let studied ornament set off thy thoughts, and be not either a man of many words, or busy about too many things. And further, let the deity which is in thee be the guardian of a living being, manly and of ripe age, and engaged in matter political, and a Roman, and a ruler, who has taken his post like a man waiting for the signal which summons him from life, and ready to go, having need neither of oath nor of any man's testimony. Be cheerful also, and seek not external help nor the tranquility which others give. A man then must stand erect, not be kept erect by others.

6 If thou findest in human life anything better than justice, truth, temperance, fortitude, and, in a word, anything better than thy own mind's self-satisfaction in the things which it enables thee to do according to right reason, and in the condition that is assigned to thee without thy own choice; if, I say, thou seest anything better than this, turn to it with all thy soul, and enjoy that which thou hast found to be the best. But if nothing appears to be better than the deity which is planted in thee, which has subjected to itself all thy appetites, and carefully examines all the impressions, and, as Socrates said, has detached itself from the persuasions of sense, and has submitted itself to the gods, and cares for mankind; if thou findest everything else smaller and of less value than this, give place to nothing else, for if thou dost once diverge and incline to it, thou wilt no longer without distraction be able to give the preference to that good thing which is thy proper possession and thy own; for it is not right that anything of any other kind, such as praise from the many, or power, or enjoyment of pleasure, should come into competition with that which is rationally and politically or, practically good. All these things, even though they may seem to adapt themselves to the better things in a small degree, obtain the superiority all at once, and carry us away. But do thou, I say, simply and freely choose the better, and hold to it. But that which is useful is the better. Well then, if it is only useful to thee as a rational being, keep to it; but if it is only useful to thee as an animal, say so, and maintain thy judgement without arrogance; only take care that thou makest the inquiry by a sure method.

7 Never value anything as profitable to thyself which shall compel thee to break thy promise, to lose thy self-respect, to hate any man, to suspect, to curse, to act the hypocrite, to desire anything which needs walls and curtains: for he who has preferred to everything else his own intelligence and daemon and the worship of its excellence, acts no tragic part, does not groan, will not need either solitude or much company; and, what is chief of all, he will live without either pursuing or flying from death; but whether for a longer or a shorter time he shall have the soul inclosed in the body, he cares not at all; for even if he must depart immediately, he will go as readily as if he were going to do anything else which can be done with decency and order; taking care of this only all through life, that his thoughts turn not away from anything which belongs to an intelligent animal and a member of a civil community.

8 In the mind of one who is chastened and purified thou wilt find no corrupt matter, not impurity, nor any sore skinned over. Nor is his life incomplete when fate overtakes him, as one may say of an actor who leaves the stage before ending and finishing the play. Besides, there is in him nothing servile, nor affected, nor too closely bound to other things, nor yet detached from other things, nothing worthy of blame, nothing which seeks a hiding-place.

9 Reverence the faculty which produces opinion. On this faculty it entirely depends whether there shall exist in thy ruling part any opinion inconsistent with nature and the constitution of the rational animal. And this faculty promises freedom from hasty judgement, and friendship towards men, and obedience to the gods.

10 Throwing away then all things, hold to these only which are few; and besides bear in mind that every man lives only this present time, which is an indivisible point, and that all the rest of his life is either past or it is uncertain. Short then is the time which every man lives, and small the nook of the earth where he lives; and short too the longest posthumous fame, and even this only continued by a succession of poor human beings, who will very soon die, and who know not even themselves, much less him who died long ago.

11 To the aids which have been mentioned let this one still be added: Make for thyself a definition or description of the thing which is presented to thee, so as to see distinctly what kind of a thing it is in its substance, in its nudity, in its complete entirety, and tell thyself its proper name, and the names of the things of which it has been compounded, and into which it will be resolved. For nothing is so productive of elevation of mind as to be able to examine methodically and truly every object which is presented to thee in life, and always to look at things so as to see at the same time what kind of universe this is, and what kind of use everything performs in it, and what value everything has with reference to the whole, and what with reference to man, who is a citizen of the highest city, of which all other cities are like families; what each thing is, and of what it is composed, and how long it is the nature of this thing to endure which now makes an impression on me, and what virtue I have need of with respect to it, such as gentleness, manliness, truth, fidelity, simplicity, contentment, and the rest. Wherefore, on every occasion a man should say: This comes from God; and this is according to the apportionment and spinning of the thread of destiny, and suchlike coincidence and chance; and this is from one of the same stock and a kinsman and partner, one who knows not however what is according to his nature. But I know; for this reason I behave towards him according to the natural law of fellowship with benevolence and justice. At the same time however in things indifferent I attempt to ascertain the value of each.

12 If thou workest at that which is before thee, following right reason seriously, vigorously, calmly, without allowing anything else to distract thee, but keeping thy divine part pure, as if thou shouldst be bound to give it back immediately; if thou holdest to this, expecting nothing, fearing nothing, but satisfied with thy present activity according to nature, and with heroic truth in every word and sound which thou utterest, thou wilt live happy. And there is no man who is able to prevent this.

13 As physicians have always their instruments and knives ready for cases which suddenly require their skill, so do thou have principles ready for the understanding of things divine and human, and doing everything, even the smallest, with a recollection of the bond which unites the divine and human to one another. For neither wilt thou do anything well which pertains to man without at the same time having a reference to things divine; nor the contrary.

14 No longer wander at hazard; for neither wilt thou read thy own memoirs, nor the acts of the ancient Romans and Hellenes, and the selections from books which thou wast reserving for thy old age. Hasten then to the end which thou hast before thee, and, throwing away idle hopes, come to thy own aid, if thou carest at all for thyself, while it is in thy power.

15 They know not how many things are signified by the words stealing, sowing, buying, keeping quiet, seeing what ought to be done; for this is not effected by the eyes, but by another kind of vision.

16 Body, soul, intelligence: to the body belong sensations, to the soul appetites, to the intelligence principles. To receive the impressions of forms by means of appearances belongs even to animals; to be pulled by the strings of desire belongs both to wild beasts and to men who have made themselves into women, and to a Phalaris and a Nero: and to have the intelligence that guides to the things which appear suitable belongs also to those who do not believe in the gods, and who betray their country, and do their impure deeds when they have shut the doors. If then everything else is common to all that I have mentioned, there remains that which is peculiar to the good man, to be pleased and content with what happens, and with the thread which is spun for him; and not to defile the divinity which is planted in his breast, nor disturb it by a crowd of images, but to preserve it tranquil, following it obediently as a god, neither saying anything contrary to the truth, nor doing anything contrary to justice. And if all men refuse to believe that he lives a simple, modest, and contented life, he is neither angry with any of them, nor does he deviate from the way which leads to the end of life, to which a man ought to come pure, tranquil, ready to depart, and without any compulsion perfectly reconciled to his lot.

MARCUS AURELIUS MEDITATIONS BOOK 4

1 That which rules within, when it is according to nature, is so affected with respect to the events which happen, that it always easily adapts itself to that which is possible and is presented to it. For it requires no definite material, but it moves towards its purpose, under certain conditions however; and it makes a material for itself out of that which opposes it, as fire lays hold of what falls into it, by which a small light would have been extinguished: but when the fire is strong, it soon appropriates to itself the matter which is heaped on it, and consumes it, and rises higher by means of this very material.

2 Let no act be done without a purpose, nor otherwise than according to the perfect principles of art.

3 Men seek retreats for themselves, houses in the country, seashores, and mountains; and thou too art wont to desire such things very much. But this is altogether a mark of the most common sort of men, for it is in thy power whenever thou shalt choose to retire into thyself. For nowhere, either with more quiet or more freedom from trouble, does a man retire than into his own soul, particularly when he has within him such thoughts that by looking into them he is immediately in perfect tranquillity; and I affirm that tranquillity is nothing else than the good ordering of the mind. Constantly then give to thyself this retreat, and renew thyself; and let thy principles be brief and fundamental, which, as soon as thou shalt recur to them, will be sufficient to cleanse the soul completely, and to send thee back free from all discontent with the things to which thou returnest. For with what art thou discontented? With the badness of men? Recall to thy mind this conclusion, that rational animals exist for one another, and that to endure is a part of justice, and that men do wrong involuntarily; and consider how many already, after mutual enmity, suspicion, hatred, and fighting, have been stretched dead, reduced to ashes; and be quiet at last. But perhaps thou art dissatisfied with that which is assigned to thee out of the universe. Recall to thy recollection this alternative; either there is providence or fortuitous concurrence of things; or remember the arguments by which it has been proved that the world is a kind of political community and be quiet at last. But perhaps corporeal things will still fasten upon thee. Consider then further that the mind mingles not with the breath, whether moving gently or violently, when it has once drawn itself apart and discovered its own power, and think also of all that thou hast heard and assented to about pain and pleasure (and be quiet at last). But perhaps the desire of the thing called fame will torment thee. See how soon everything is forgotten, and look at the chaos of infinite time on each side of (the present), and the emptiness of applause, and the changeableness and want of judgement in those who pretend to give praise, and the narrowness of the space within which it is circumscribed (and be quiet at last). For the whole earth is a point, and how small a nook in it is this thy dwelling, and how few are there in it, and what kind of people are they who will praise thee.

This then remains: Remember to retire into this little territory of thy own, and, above all, do not distract or strain thyself, but be free, at look and things as a man, as a human being, as a citizen, as a mortal. But among the things readiest to thy hand to which thou shalt turn, let there be these, which are two. One is that things do not touch the soul, for they are external and remain immovable; but our perturbations come only from the opinion which is within. The other is that all these things, which thou seest, change immediately and will no longer be; and constantly bear in mind how many of these changes thou hast already witnessed. The universe is transformation; life is opinion.

4 If our intellectual part is common, the reason also, in respect of which we are rational beings, is common: if this is so, common also is the reason which commands us what to do, and what not to do; if this is so, there is a common law also; if this is so, we are fellow-citizens; if this is so, we are members of some political community; if this is so, the world is in a manner a state. For of what other common political community will any one say that the whole human race are members? And from thence, from this common political community comes also our very intellectual faculty and reasoning faculty and our capacity for law; or whence do they come? For as my earthly part is a portion given to me from certain earth, and that which is watery from another element, and that which is hot and fiery from some peculiar source (for nothing comes out of that which is nothing, as nothing also returns to non-existence), so also the intellectual part comes from some source.

5 Death is such as generation is, a mystery of nature; a composition out of the same elements, and a decomposition into the same; and altogether not a thing of which any man should be ashamed, for it is not contrary to the nature of a reasonable animal, and not contrary to the reason of our constitution.

6 It is natural that these things should be done by such persons, it is a matter of necessity; and if a man will not have it so, he will not allow the fig-tree to have juice. But by all means bear this in mind, that within a very short time both thou and he will be dead; and soon not even your names will be left behind.

7 Take away thy opinion, and then there is taken away the complaint, 'I have been harmed'.Take away the complaint, 'I have been harmed',and the harm is taken away.

8 That which does not make a man worse than he was, also does not make his life worse, nor does it harm him either from without or from within.

9 The nature of that which is universally useful has been compelled to do this.

10 Consider that everything which happens, happens justly, and if thou observest carefully, thou wilt find it to be so. I do not say only with respect to the continuity of the series of things, but with respect to what is just, and as if it were done by one who assigns to each thing its value. Observe then as thou hast begun; and whatever thou doest, do it in conjunction with this, the being good, and in the sense in which a man is properly understood to be good. Keep to this in every action.

11 Do not have such an opinion of things as he has who does thee wrong, or such as he wishes thee to have, but look at them as they are in truth.

12 A man should always have these two rules in readiness; the one, to do only whatever the reason of the ruling and legislating faculty may suggest for the use of men; the other,

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to change thy opinion, if there is any one at hand who sets thee right and moves thee from any opinion. But this change of opinion must proceed only from a certain persuasion, as of what is just or of common advantage, and the like, not because it appears pleasant or brings reputation.

13 Hast thou reason? I have. Why then dost not thou use it? For if this does its own work, what else dost thou wish?

14 Thou hast existed as a part. Thou shalt disappear in that which produced thee; but rather thou shalt be received back into its seminal principle by transmutation.

15 Many grains of frankincense on the same altar: one falls before, another falls after; but it makes no difference.

16 Within ten days thou wilt seem a god to those to whom thou art now a beast and an ape, if thou wilt return to thy principles and to worship of reason.

17 Do not act as if thou wert going to live ten thousand years. Death hangs over thee. While thou livest, while it is in thy power, be good.

18 How much trouble he avoids who does not look to see what his neighbour says or does or thinks, but only to what he does himself, that it may be just and pure; or, as Agathon says, look not round at the depraved morals of others, but run straight along the line without deviating from it.

19 He who has a vehement desire for posthumous fame does not consider that every one of those who remember him will himself also die very soon; then again also they who have succeeded them, until the whole remembrance shall have been extinguished as it is transmitted through men who foolishly admire and perish. But suppose that those who will remember are even immortal, and that the remembrance will be immortal, what then is this to thee? And I say not, what is it to the dead? but, what is it to the living? What is praise, except indeed so far as it has a certain utility? For thou now rejectest unseasonably the gift of nature, clinging to something else….

20 Everything which is in any way beautiful is beautiful in itself, and terminates in itself, not having praise as part of itself. Neither worse then nor better is a thing made by being praised. I affirm this also of the things which are called beautiful by the vulgar; for example, material things and works of art. That which is really beautiful has no need of anything; not more than law, not more than truth, not more than benevolence or modesty. Which of these things is beautiful because it is praised, or spoiled by being blamed? Is such a thing as an emerald made worse than it was, if it is not praised? or gold, ivory, purple, a lyre, a little knife, a flower, a shrub?

21 If souls continue to exist, how does the air contain them from eternity? But how does the earth contain the bodies of those who have been buried from time so remote? For as here the mutation of these bodies after a certain continuance, whatever it may be, and their dissolution make room for other dead bodies; so the souls which are removed into the air after subsisting for some time are transmuted and diffused, and assume a fiery nature by being received into the seminal intelligence of the universe, and in this way make room for the fresh souls which come to dwell there. And this is the answer which a man might give on the hypothesis of souls continuing to exist. But we must not only think of the number of bodies which are thus buried, but also of the number of animals which are daily eaten by us and the other animals. For what a number is consumed, and thus in a manner buried in the bodies of those who feed on them! And nevertheless this earth receives them by reason of the changes of these bodies into blood, and the transformations into the aërial or the fiery element.

What is the investigation into the truth in this matter? The division into that which is material and that which is the cause of form.

22 Do not be whirled about, but in every movement have respect to justice, and on the occasion of every impression maintain the faculty of understanding.

23 Everything harmonizes with me which is harmonious to thee, O Universe. Nothing for me is too early nor too late, which is in due time for thee. Everything is fruit to me which thy seasons bring, O Nature: from thee are all things, in thee are all things, to thee all things return. The poet says, Dear city of Cecrops; and wilt not thou say, Dear city of Zeus?

24 Occupy thyself with few things, says the philosopher, if thou wouldst be tranquil. But consider if it would not be better to say, Do what is necessary, and whatever the reason of the animal which is naturally social requires, and as it requires. For this brings not only the tranquillity which comes from doing well, but also that which comes from doing few things. For the greatest part of what we say and do being unnecessary, if a man takes this away, he will have more leisure and less uneasiness. Accordingly on every occasion a man should ask himself, Is this one of the unnecessary things? Now a man should take away not only unnecessary acts but also unnecessary thoughts, for thus superfluous acts will not follow after.

25 Try how the life of the good man suits thee, the life of him who is satisfied with his portion out of the whole, and satisfied with his own just acts and benevolent disposition.

26 Hast thou seen those things? Look also at these. Do not disturb thyself. Make thyself all simplicity. Does any one do wrong? It is to himself that he does the wrong. Has anything happened to thee? Well, out of the universe from the beginning everything which happens has been apportioned and spun out to thee. In a word, thy life is short. Thou must turn to profit the present by the aid of reason and justice. Be sober in thy relaxation.

27 Either it is a well arranged universe or a chaos huddled together, but still a universe. But can a certain order subsist in thee, and disorder in the All? And this, too, when all things are so separated and diffused and sympathetic.

28 A black character, a womanish character, a stubborn character, bestial, childish, animal, stupid, counterfeit, scurrilous, fraudulent, tyrannical.

29 If he is a stranger to the universe who does not know what is in it, no less is he a stranger who does not know what is going on in it. He is a runaway, who flies from social reason; he is blind, who shuts the eyes of the understanding; he is poor, who has need of another, and has not from himself all things which are useful for life. He is an abscess on the universe, who withdraws and separates himself from the reason of our common nature through being displeased with the things which happen, for the same nature produces this, and has produced thee too; he is a piece rent asunder from the state, who tears his own soul from that of reasonable animals, which is one.

30 The one is a philosopher without a tunic, and the other without a book: here is another half naked: Bread I have not, he says, and I abide by reason. And I do not get the means of living out of my learning, and I abide by my reason.

31 Love the art, poor as it may be, which thou hast learned, and be content with it; and pass through the rest of life like one who has intrusted to the gods with his whole soul all that he has, making thyself neither the tyrant nor the slave of any man.

32 Consider, for example, the times of Vespasian. Thou wilt see all these things, people marrying, bringing up children, sick, dying, warring, feasting, trafficking, cultivating the ground, flattering, obstinately arrogant, suspecting, plotting, wishing for some to die, grumbling about the present, loving, heaping up treasure, desiring consulship, kingly power. Well, then, that life of these people no longer exists at all. Again, remove to the times of Trajan. Again, all is the same. Their life, too, is gone. In like manner view also the other epochs of time and of whole nations, and see how many after great efforts soon fell and were resolved into the elements. But chiefly thou shouldst think of those whom thou hast thyself known distracting themselves about idle things, neglecting to do what was in accordance with their proper constitution, and to hold firmly to this and to be content with it. And herein it is necessary to remember that the attention given to everything has its proper value and proportion. For thus thou wilt not be dissatisfied, if thou appliest thyself to smaller matters no further than is fit.

33 The words which were formerly familiar are now antiquated; so also the names of those who were famed of old, are now in a manner antiquated: Camillus, Caeso, Volesus, Leonnatus, and a little after also Scipio and Cato, then Augustus, then also Hadrianus and Antoninus. For all things soon pass away and become a mere tale, and complete oblivion soon buries them. And I say this of those who have shone in a wondrous way. For the rest, as soon as they have breathed out their breath, they are gone, and no man speaks of them. And, to conclude the matter, what is even an eternal remembrance? A mere nothing. What, then, is that about which we ought to employ our serious pains? This one thing, thoughts just, and acts social, and words which never lie, and a disposition which gladly accepts all that happens, as necessary, as usual, as flowing from a principle and source of the same kind.

34 Willingly give thyself up to one of the fates, allowing her to spin thy thread into whatever things she pleases.

35 Everything is only for a day, both that which remembers and that which is remembered.

36 Observe constantly that all things take place by change, and accustom thyself to consider that the nature of the Universe loves nothing so much as to change the things which are and to make new things like them. For everything that exists is in a manner the seed of that which will be. But thou art thinking only of seeds which are cast into the earth or into a womb: but this is a very vulgar notion.

37 Thou wilt soon die, and thou art not yet simple, not free from perturbations, nor without suspicion of being hurt by external things, nor kindly disposed towards all; nor dost thou yet place wisdom only in acting justly.

38 Examine men's ruling principles, even those of the wise, what kind of things they avoid, and what kind they pursue.

39 What is evil to thee does not subsist in the ruling principle of another; nor yet in any turning and mutation of thy corporeal covering. Where is it then? It is in that part of thee in which subsists the power of forming opinions about evils. Let this power then not form (such) opinions, and all is well. And if that which is nearest to it, the poor body, is cut, burnt, filled with matter and rottenness, nevertheless let the part which forms opinions about these things be quiet, that is, let it judge that nothing is either bad or good which can happen equally to the bad man and the good. For that which happens equally to him who lives contrary to nature and to him who lives according to nature, is neither according to nature nor contrary to nature.

40 Constantly regard the universe as one living being, having one substance and one soul; and observe how all things have reference to one perception, the perception of this one living being; and how all things act with one movement; and how all things are the cooperating causes of all things which exist; observe too the continuous spinning of the thread and the contexture of the web.

41 Thou art a little soul bearing about a corpse, as Epictetus used to say.

42 It is no evil for things to undergo change, and no good for things to subsist in consequence of change.

43 Time is like a river made up of the events which happen, and a violent stream; for as soon as a thing has been seen, it is carried away, and another comes in its place, and this will be carried away too.

44 Everything which happens is as familiar and well known as the rose in spring and the fruit in summer; for such is disease, and death, and calumny, and treachery, and whatever else delights fools or vexes them.

45 In the series of things those which follow are always aptly fitted to those which have gone before; for this series is not like a mere enumeration of disjointed things, which has only a necessary sequence, but it is a rational connection: and as all existing things are arranged together harmoniously, so the things which come into existence exhibit no mere succession, but a certain wonderful relationship.

46 Always remember the saying of Heraclitus, that the death of earth is to become water, and the death of water is to become air, and the death of air is to become fire, and reversely. And think too of him who forgets whither the way leads, and that men quarrel with that with which they are most constantly in communion, the reason which governs the universe; and the things which they daily meet with seem to them strange: and consider that we ought not to act and speak as if we were asleep, for even in sleep we seem to act and speak; and that we ought not, like children who learn from their parents, simply to act and speak as we have been taught.

47 If any god told thee that thou shalt die to-morrow, or certainly on the day after to-morrow, thou wouldst not care much whether it was on the third day or on the morrow, unless thou wast in the highest degree mean-spirited-for how small is the difference?-so think it no great thing to die after as many years as thou canst name rather than to-morrow.

48 Think continually how many physicians are dead after often contracting their eyebrows over the sick; and how many astrologers after predicting with great pretensions the deaths of others; and how many philosophers after endless discourses on death or immortality; how many heroes after killing thousands; and how many tyrants who have used their power over men's lives with terrible insolence as if they were immortal; and how many cities are entirely dead, so to speak, Helice and Pompeii and Herculaneum, and others innumerable. Add to the reckoning all whom thou hast known, one after another. One man after burying another has been laid out dead, and another buries him; and all this in a short time. To conclude, always observe how ephemeral and worthless human things are, and what was yesterday a little mucus, to-morrow will be a mummy or ashes. Pass then through this little space of time conformably to nature, and end thy journey in content, just as an olive falls off when it is ripe, blessing nature who produced it, and thanking the tree on which it grew.

49 Be like the promontory against which the waves continually break, but it stands firm and tames the fury of the water around it.

Unhappy am I, because this has happened to me. Not so, but Happy am I, though this has happened to me, because I continue free from pain, neither crushed by the present nor fearing the future. For such a thing as this might have happened to every man; but every man would not have continued free from pain on such an occasion. Why, then, is that rather a misfortune than this a good fortune? And dost thou in all cases call that a man's misfortune, which is not a deviation from man's nature? And does a thing seem to thee to be a deviation from man's nature, when it is not contrary to the will of man's nature? Well, thou knowest the will of nature. Will then this which has happened prevent thee from being just, magnanimous, temperate, prudent, secure against inconsiderate opinions and falsehood; will it prevent thee from having modesty, freedom, and everything else, by the presence of which man's nature obtains all that is its own? Remember, too, an every occasion which leads thee to vexation to apply this principle: not that this is a misfortune, but that to bear it nobly is good fortune.

50 It is a vulgar but still a useful help towards contempt of death, to pass in review those who have tenaciously stuck to life. What more then have they gained than those who have died early? Certainly they lie in their tombs somewhere at last,

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Cadicianus, Fabius, Julianus, Lepidus, or any one else like them, who have carried out many to be buried, and then were carried out themselves. Altogether the interval is small (between birth and death); and consider with how much trouble, and in company with what sort of people, and in what a feeble body this interval is laboriously passed. Do not then consider life a thing of any value. For look to the immensity of time behind thee, and to the time which is before thee, another boundless space. In this infinity then what is the difference between him who lives three days and him who lives three generations?

51 Always run to the short way; and the short way is the natural: accordingly say and do everything in conformity with the soundest reason. For such a purpose frees a man from trouble, and warfare, and all artifice and ostentatious display.

MARCUS AURELIUS MEDITATIONS BOOK 5

1 In the morning when thou risest unwillingly, let this thought be present—I am rising to the work of a human being. Why then am I dissatisfied if I am going to do the things for which I exist and for which I was brought into the world? Or have I been made for this, to lie in the bedclothes and keep myself warm? But this is more pleasant. Dost thou exist then to take thy pleasure, and not at all for action or exertion? Dost thou not see the little plants, the little birds, the ants, the spiders, the bees working together to put in order their several parts of the universe? And art thou unwilling to do the work of a human being, and dost thou not make haste to do that which is according to thy nature? But it is necessary to take rest also. It is necessary: however nature has fixed bounds to this too: she has fixed bounds both to eating and drinking, and yet thou goest beyond these bounds, beyond what is sufficient; yet in thy acts it is not so, but thou stoppest short of what thou canst do. So thou lovest not thyself, for if thou didst, thou wouldst love thy nature and her will. But those who love their several arts exhaust themselves in working at them unwashed and without food; but thou valuest thy own nature less than the turner values the turning art, or the dancer the dancing art, or the lover of money values his money, or the vainglorious man his little glory. And such men, when they have a violent affection to a thing, choose neither to eat nor to sleep rather than to perfect the things which they care for. But are the acts which concern society more vile in thy eyes and less worthy of thy labour?

2 How easy it is to repel and to wipe away every impression which is troublesome or unsuitable, and immediately to be in all tranquillity.

3 Judge every word and deed which are according to nature to be fit for thee, and be not diverted by the blame which follows from any people, nor by their words, but if a thing is good to be done or said, do not consider it unworthy of thee. For those persons have their peculiar leading principle and follow their peculiar movement; which things do not thou regard, but go straight on, following thy own nature and the common nature; and the way of both is one.

4 I go through the things which happen according to nature until I shall fall and rest, breathing out my breath into that element out of which I daily draw it in, and falling upon that earth out of which my father collected the seed, and my mother the blood, and my nurse the milk; out of which during so many years I have been supplied with food and drink; which bears me when I tread on it and abuse it for so many purposes.

5 Thou sayest, men cannot admire the sharpness of thy wits. Be it so; but there are many other things of which thou canst not say, I am not formed for them by nature. Show those qualities then which are altogether in thy power: sincerity, gravity, endurance of labour, aversion to pleasure, contentment with thy portion and with few things, benevolence, frankness, no love of superfluity, freedom from trifling magnanimity. Dost thou not see how many qualities thou art immediately able to exhibit, in which there is no excuse of natural incapacity and unfitness, and yet thou still remainest voluntarily below the mark? or art thou compelled through being defectively furnished by nature to murmur, and to be stingy, and to flatter, and to find fault with thy poor body, and to try to please men, and to make great display, and to be restless in thy mind? No, by the gods: but thou mightest have been delivered from these things long ago. Only if in truth thou canst be charged with being rather slow and dull of comprehension, thou must exert thyself about this also, not neglecting it nor yet taking pleasure in thy dullness.

6 One man, when he has done a service to another, is ready to set it down to his account as a favour conferred. Another is not ready to do this, but still in his own mind he thinks of the man as his debtor, and he knows what he has done. A third in a manner does not even know what he has done, but he is like a vine which has produced grapes, and seeks for nothing more after it has once produced its proper fruit. As a horse when he has run, a dog when he has tracked the game, a bee when it has made the honey, so a man when he has done a good act, does not call out for others to come and see, but he goes on to another act, as a vine goes on to produce again the grapes in season. Must a man then be one of these, who in a manner act thus without observing it? Yes. But this very thing is necessary, the observation of what a man is doing; for it may be said, it is characteristic of the social animal to perceive that he is working in a social manner, and indeed to wish that his social partner also should perceive it. It is true what thou sayest, but thou dost not rightly understand what is now said; and for this reason thou wilt become one of those of whom I spoke before, for even they are misled by a certain show of reason. But if thou wilt choose to understand the meaning of what is said, do not fear that for this reason thou wilt omit any social act.

7 A prayer of the Athenians: Rain, rain, O dear Zeus, down on the plowed fields of the Athenians and on the plains. In truth we ought not to pray at all, or we ought to pray in this simple and noble fashion.

8 Just as we must understand when it is said, That Æsculapius prescribed to this man horse-exercise, or bathing in cold water, or going without shoes, so we must understand it when it is said, That the nature of the universe prescribed to this man disease or mutilation or loss or anything else of the kind. For in the first case prescribed means something like this: he prescribed this for this man as a thing adapted to procure health; and in the second case it means, That which happens to every man is fixed in a manner for him suitably to his destiny. For this is what we mean when we say that things are suitable to us, as the workmen say of squared stones in walls or the pyramids, that they are suitable, when they fit them to one another in some kind of connection. For there is altogether one harmony. And as the universe is made up out of all bodies to be such a body as it is, so out of all existing causes necessity and destiny is made up to be such a cause as it is. And even those who are completely ignorant understand what I mean, for they say, Necessity amd destiny brought this to such a person. This then was brought and this was prescribed to him. Let us then receive these things, as well as those which Æsculapius prescribes. Many, as a matter of course, even among his prescriptions, are disagreeable, but we accept them in the hope of health. Let the perfecting and accomplishment of the things, which the common nature judges to be good, be judged by thee to be of the same kind as thy health. And so accept everything which happens, even if it seem disagreeable, because it leads to this, to the health of the universe and to the prosperity and felicity of Zeus (the universe). For he would not have brought on any man what he has brought, if it were not useful for the whole. Neither does the nature of anything, whatever it may be, cause anything which is not suitable to that which is directed by it. For two reasons, then, it is right to be content with that which happens to thee; the one, because it was done for thee and prescribed for thee, and in a manner had reference to thee, originally from the most ancient causes spun with thy destiny; and the other, because even that which comes severally to every man is to the power which administers the universe a cause of felicity and perfection, nay even of its very continuance. For the integrity of the whole is mutilated, if thou cuttest off anything whatever from the conjunction and the continuity either of the parts or of the causes. And thou dost cut off, as far as it is in thy power, when thou art dissatisfied, and in a manner triest to put anything out of the way.

9 Be not disgusted, nor discouraged, nor dissatisfied, if thou dost not succeed in doing everything according to right principles; but when thou hast failed, return back again, and be content if the greater part of what thou doest is consistent with man's nature, and love this to which thou returnest; and do not return to philosophy as if she were a master, but act like those who have sore eyes and apply a bit of sponge and egg, or as another applies a plaster, or drenching with water. For thus thou wilt not fail to obey reason and thou wilt repose in it. And remember that philosophy requires only the things which thy nature requires; but thou wouldst have something else which is not according to nature. It may be objected, Why, what is more agreeable than this (which I am doing)? But is not this the very reason why pleasure deceives us? And consider if magnanimity, freedom, simplicity, equanimity, piety are not more agreeable. For what is more agreeable than wisdom itself, when thou thinkest of the security and the happy course of all things which depend on the faculty of understanding and knowledge?

10 Things are in such a kind of envelopment that they have seemed to philosophers, not a few nor those common philosophers, altogether unintelligible; nay even to the Stoics themselves they seem difficult to understand. And all our assent is changeable; for where is the man who never changes? Carry thy thoughts then to the objects themselves, and consider how short-lived they are and worthless, and that they may be in the possession of a filthy wretch or a whore or a robber. Then turn to the morals of those who live with thee, and it is hardly possible to endure even the most agreeable of them, to say nothing of a man being hardly able to endure himself. In such darkness, then, and dirt, and in so constant a flux, both of substance and of time, and of motion, and of things moved, what there is worth being highly prized, or even an object of serious pursuit, I cannot imagine. But on the contrary it is a man's duty to comfort himself, and to wait for the natural dissolution and not to be vexed at the delay, but to rest in these principles only: the one, that nothing will happen to me which is not conformable to the nature of the universe; and the other, that it is in my power never to act contrary to my god and daemon: for there is no man who will compel me to this.

11 About what am I now employing my own soul? On every occasion I must ask myself this question, and inquire, what have I now in this part of me which they call the ruling principle? and whose soul have I now? that of a child, or of a young man, or of a feeble woman, or of a tyrant, or of a domestic animal, or of a wild beast?

12 What kind of things those are which appear good to the many, we may learn even from this. For if any man should conceive certain things as being really good, such as prudence, temperance, justice, fortitude, he would not after having first conceived these endure to listen to anything which should not be in harmony with what is really good. But if a man has first conceived as good the things which appear to the many to be good, he will listen and readily receive as very applicable that which was said by the comic writer. Thus even the many perceive the difference. For were it not so, this saying would not offend and would not be rejected in the first case, while we receive it when it is said of wealth, and of the means which further luxury and fame, as said fitly and wittily. Go on then and ask if we should value and think those things to be good, to which after their first conception in the mind the words of the comic writer might be aptly applied—that he who has them, through pure abundance has not a place to ease himself in.

13 I am composed of the formal and the material; and neither of them will perish into non-existence, as neither of them came into existence out of non-existence. Every part of me then will be reduced by change into some part of the universe, and that again will change into another part of the universe, and so on forever. And by consequence of such a change I too exist, and those who begot me, and so on forever in the other direction. For nothing hinders us from saying so, even if the universe is administered according to definite periods.

14 Reason and the reasoning art of philosophy are powers which are sufficient for themselves and for their own works. They move then from a first principle which is their own, and they make their way to the end which is proposed to them; and this is the reason why such acts are named Catorthoseis or right acts, which word signifies that they proceed by the right road.

15 None of these things ought to be called a man's which do not belong to a man, as man. They are not required of a man, nor does man's nature promise them, nor are they the means of man's nature attaining its end. Neither then does the end of man lie in these things, nor yet that which aids to the accomplishment of this end, and that which aids toward this end is that which is good. Besides, if any of these things did belong to man, it would not be right for a man to despise them and to set himself against them; nor would a man be worthy of praise who showed that he did not want these things, nor would he who stinted himself in any of them be good, if indeed these things were good. But now the more of these things a man deprives himself of, or of other things like them, or even when he is deprived of any of them, the more patiently he endures the loss, just in the same degree he is a better man.

16 Such as are thy habitual thoughts, such also will be the character of thy mind; for the soul is dyed by the thoughts. Dye it then with a continuous series of such thoughts as these: for instance, that where a man can live, there he can also live well. But he must live in a palace. Well then, he can also live well in a palace. And again, consider that for whatever purpose each thing has been constituted, for this it has been constituted, and toward this it is carried; and its end is in that toward which it is carried; and where the end is, there also is the advantage and the good of each thing. Now the good for the reasonable animal is society; for that we are made for society has been shown above. Is it not plain that the inferior exist for the sake of the superior? but the things which have life are superior to those which have not life, and of those which have life the superior are those which have reason.

17 To seek what is impossible is madness: and it is impossible that the bad should not do something of this kind.

18 Nothing happens to any man which he is not formed by nature to bear. The same things happen to another, and either because he does not see that they have happened or because he would show a great spirit he is firm and remains unharmed. It is a shame then that ignorance and conceit should be stronger than wisdom.

19 Things themselves touch not the soul, not in the least degree; nor have they admission to the soul, nor can they turn or move the soul: but the soul turns and moves itself alone, and whatever judgements it may think proper to make, such it makes for itself the things which present themselves to it.

20 In one respect man is the nearest thing to me, so far as I must do good to men and endure them. But so far as some men

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make themselves obstacles to my proper acts, man becomes to me one of the things which are indifferent, no less than the sun or wind or a wild beast. Now it is true that these may impede my action, but they are no impediments to my affects and disposition, which have the power of acting conditionally and changing: for the mind converts and changes every hindrance to its activity into an aid; and so that which is a hindrance is made a furtherance to an act; and that which is an obstacle on the road helps us on this road.

21 Reverence that which is best in the universe; and this is that which makes use of all things and directs all things. And in like manner also reverence that which is best in thyself; and this is of the same kind as that. For in thyself also, that which makes use of everything else, is this, and thy life is directed by this.

22 That which does no harm to the state, does no harm to the citizen. In the case of every appearance of harm apply this rule: if the state is not harmed by this, neither am I harmed. But if the state is harmed, thou must not be angry with him who does harm to the state. Show him where his error is.

23 Often think of the rapidity with which things pass by and disappear, both the things which are and the things which are produced. For substance is like a river in a continual flow, and the activities of things are in constant change, and the causes work in infinite varieties; and there is hardly anything which stands still. And consider this which is near to thee, this boundless abyss of the past and of the future in which all things disappear. How then is he not a fool who is puffed up with such things or plagued about them or makes himself miserable? for they vex him only for a time, and a short time.

24 Think of the universal substance, of which thou hast a very small portion; and of universal time, of which a short and indivisible interval has been assigned to thee; and of that which is fixed by destiny, and how small a part of it thou art.

25 Does another do me wrong? Let him look to it. He has his own disposition, his own activity. I now have what the universal nature wills me to have; and I do what my nature now wills me to do.

26 Let the part of thy soul which leads and governs be undisturbed by the movements in the flesh, whether of pleasure or of pain; and let it not unite with them, but let it circumscribe itself and limit those affects to their parts. But when these affects rise up to the mind by virtue of that other sympathy that naturally exists in a body which is all one, then thou must not strive to resist the sensation, for it is natural: but let not the ruling part of itself add to the sensation the opinion that it is either good or bad.

27 Live with the gods. And he does live with the gods who constantly shows to them that his own soul is satisfied with that which is assigned to him, and that it does all that the daemon wishes, which Zeus hath given to every man for his guardian and guide, a portion of himself. And this is every man's understanding and reason.

28 Art thou angry with him whose arm-pits stink? art thou angry with him whose mouth smells foul? What good will this anger do thee? He has such a mouth, he has such arm-pits: it is necessary that such an emanation must come from such things. But the man has reason, it will be said, and he is able, if he takes pains, to discover wherein he offends. I wish thee well of thy discovery. Well then, and thou hast reason: by thy rational faculty stir up his rational faculty; show him his error, admonish him. For if he listens, thou wilt cure him, and there is no need of anger, no need to mourn about and there is also no need to be too complaisant.

29 As thou intendest to live when thou are gone out,… so it is in thy power to live here. But if men do not permit thee, then get away out of life, yet so as if thou wert suffering no harm. The house is smoky, and I quit it. Why dost thou think that this is any trouble? But so long as nothing of the kind drives me out, I remain, am free, and no man shall hinder me from doing what I choose; and I choose to do what is according to the nature of the rational and social animal.

30 The intelligence of the universe is social. Accordingly it has made the inferior things for the sake of the superior, and it has fitted the superior to one another. Thou seest how it has subordinated, co-ordinated and assigned to everything its proper portion, and has brought together into concord with one another the things which are the best.

31 How hast thou behaved hitherto to the gods, thy parents, brethren, children, teachers, to those who looked after thy infancy, to thy friends, kinsfolk, to thy slaves? Consider if thou hast hitherto behaved to all in such a way that this may be said of thee:

Never has wronged a man in deed or word.

And call to recollection both how many things thou hast passed through, and how many things thou hast been able to endure: and that the history of thy life is now complete, and thy service is ended: and how many beautiful things thou hast seen: and how many pleasures and pains thou hast despised; and how many things called honourable thou hast spurned; and to how many ill-minded folks thou hast shown a kind disposition.

32 Why do unskilled and ignorant souls disturb him who has skill and knowledge? What soul then has skill and knowledge? That which knows beginning and end, and knows the reason which pervades all substance and through all time by fixed periods administers the universe.

33 Soon, very soon, thou wilt be ashes, or a skeleton, and either a name or not even a name; but name is sound and echo, and the things which are much valued in life are empty and rotten and trifling, and like little dogs biting one another, and little children quarrelling, laughing, and then straightway weeping. But fidelity and modesty and justice and truth are fled

Up to Olympus from the wide-spread earth.

What then is there which still detains thee here? if the objects of sense are easily changed and never stand still, and the organs of perception are dull and easily receive false impressions; and the poor soul itself is an exhalation from blood. But to have good repute amid such a world as this is an empty thing. Why then dost thou not wait in tranquillity for thy end, whether it is extinction or removal to another state? And until that time comes, what is sufficient? Why, what else than to venerate the gods and bless them, and to do good to men, and to practise tolerance and self-restraint; but as to everything which is beyond the limits of the poor flesh and breath, to remember that this is neither thine nor in thy power.

34 Thou canst pass thy life in an equable flow of happiness, if thou canst go by the right way, and think and act in the right way. These two things are common both to the soul of God and to the soul of man, and to the soul of every rational being, not to be hindered by another; and to hold good to consist in the disposition to justice and the practice of it, and in this to let thy desire find its termination.

35 If this is neither my own badness, nor an effect of my own badness, and the common weal is not injured, why am I troubled about it? and what is the harm to the common weal?

36 Do not be carried along inconsiderately by the appearance of things, but give help (to all) according to thy ability and their fitness; and if they should have sustained loss in matters which are indifferent, do not imagine this to be a damage. For it is a bad habit. But as the old man, when he went away, asked back his foster-child's top, remembering that it was a top, so do thou in this case also.

When thou art calling out on the Rostra, hast thou forgotten, man, what these things are? Yes; but they are objects of great concern to these people. Wilt thou too then be made a fool for these things? I was once a fortunate man, but I lost it, I know not how. But fortunate means that a man has assigned to himself a good fortune; and a good fortune is good disposition of the soul, good emotions, good actions.

MARCUS AURELIUS MEDITATIONS BOOK 6

1 The substance of the universe is obedient and compliant; and the reason which governs it has in itself no cause for doing evil, for it has no malice, nor does it do evil to anything, nor is anything harmed by it. But all things are made and perfected according to this reason.

2 Let it make no difference to thee whether thou art cold or warm, if thou art doing thy duty; and whether thou art drowsy or satisfied with sleep; and whether ill-spoken of or praised; and whether dying or doing something else. For it is one of the acts of this life, this act by which we die; it is sufficient then in this act also to do well what we have in hand.

3 Look within. Let neither the peculiar quality of anything nor its value escape thee.

4 All existing things soon change, and they will either be reduced to vapour, if indeed all substance is one, or they will be dispersed.

5 The reason which governs knows what its own disposition is, and what it does, and on what material it works.

6 The best way of avenging thyself is not to become like the wrong doer.

7 Take pleasure in one thing and rest in it, in passing from one social act to another social act, thinking of God.

8 The ruling principle is that which rouses and turns itself, and while it makes itself such as it is and such as it wills to be, it also makes everything which happens appear to itself to be such as it wills.

9 In conformity to the nature of the universe every single thing is accomplished, for certainly it is not in conformity to any other nature that each thing is accomplished, either a nature which externally comprehends this, or a nature which is comprehended within this nature, or a nature external and independent of this.

10 The universe is either a confusion, and a mutual involution of things, and a dispersion; or it is unity and order and providence. If then it is the former, why do I desire to tarry in a fortuitous combination of things and such a disorder? and why do I care about anything else than how I shall at last become earth? and why am I disturbed, for the dispersion of my elements will happen whatever I do. But if the other supposition is true, I venerate, and I am firm, and I trust in him who governs.

11 When thou hast been compelled by circumstances to be disturbed in a manner, quickly return to thyself and do not continue out of tune longer than the compulsion lasts; for thou wilt have more mastery over the harmony by continually recurring to it.

12 If thou hadst a step-mother and a mother at the same time, thou wouldst be dutiful to thy step-mother, but still thou wouldst constantly return to thy mother. Let the court and philosophy now be to thee step-mother and mother; return to philosophy frequently and repose in her, through whom what thou meetest with in the court appears to thee tolerable, and thou appearest tolerable in the court.

13 When we have meat before us and such eatables, we receive the impression, that this is the dead body of a fish, and this is the dead body of a bird or of a pig; and again, that this Falernian is only a little grape juice, and this purple robe some sheep's wool dyed with the blood of a shell-fish: such then are these impressions, and they reach the things themselves and penetrate them, and so we see what kind of things they are. Just in the same way ought we to act all through life, and where there are things which appear most worthy of our approbation, we ought to lay them bare and look at their worthlessness, and strip them of all the words by which they are exalted. For outward show is a wonderful perverter of the reason, and when thou art most sure that thou art employed about things worth thy pains, it is then that it cheats thee most. Consider then what Crates says of Xenocrates himself.

14 Most of the things which the multitude admire are referred to objects of the most general kind, those which are held together by cohesion or natural organization, such as stones, wood, fig-trees, vines, olives. But those which are admired by men who are a little more reasonable are referred to the things which are held together by a living principle, as flocks, herds. Those which are admired by men who are still more instructed are the things which are held together by a rational soul, not however a universal soul, but rational so far as it is a soul skilled in some art, or expert in some other way, or simply rational so far as it possesses a number of slaves. But he who values a rational soul, a soul universal and fitted for political life, regards nothing else except this; and above all things he keeps his soul in a condition and in an activity conformable to reason and social life, and he co-operates to this end with those who are of the same kind as himself.

15 Some things are hurrying into existence, and others are hurrying out of it; and of that which is coming into existence part is already extinguished. Motions and changes are continually renewing the world, just as the uninterrupted course of time is always renewing the infinite duration of ages. In this flowing stream then, on which there is no abiding, what is there of the things which hurry by on which a man would set a high price? It would be just as if a man should fall in love with one of the sparrows which fly by, but it has already passed out of sight. Something of this kind is the very life of every man, like the exhalation of the blood and the respiration of the air. For such as it is to have once drawn in the air and to have given it back, which we do every moment, just the same is it with the whole respiratory power, which thou didst receive at thy birth yesterday and the day before, to give it back to the element from which thou didst first draw it.

16 Neither is transpiration, as in plants, a thing to be valued, nor respiration, as in domesticated animals and wild beasts, nor the receiving of impressions by the appearances of things, nor being moved by desires as puppets by strings, nor assembling in herds, nor being nourished by food; for this is just like the act of separating and parting with the useless part of our food. What then is worth being valued? To be received with clapping of hands? No. Neither must we value the clapping of tongues, for the praise which comes from the many is a clapping of tongues. Suppose then that thou hast given up this worthless thing called fame, what remains that is worth valuing? This, in my opinion, to move thyself and to restrain thyself in conformity to thy proper constitution, to which end both all employments and arts lead. For every art aims at this, that the thing which has been made should be adapted to the work for which it has been made; and both the vine-planter who looks after the vine, and the horse-breaker, and he who trains the dog, seek this end. But the education and the teaching of youth aim at something. In this then is the value of the education and the teaching. And if this is well, thou wilt not seek anything else. Wilt thou not cease to value many other things too? Then thou wilt be neither free, nor sufficient for thy own happiness, nor without passion. For of necessity thou must be envious, jealous, and suspicious of those who can take away those things, and plot against those who have that which is valued by thee. Of necessity a man must be altogether in a state of perturbation who wants any of these things; and besides, he must often find fault with the gods. But to reverence and honour thy own mind will make thee content with thyself, and in harmony with society, and in agreement with the gods, that is, praising all that they give and have ordered.

17 Above, below, all around are the movements of the elements. But the motion of virtue is in none of these: it is something more divine, and advancing by a way hardly observed it goes happily on its road.

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18 How strangely men act. They will not praise those who are living at the same time and living with themselves; but to be themselves praised by posterity, by those whom they have never seen or ever will see, this they set much value on. But this is very much the same as if thou shouldst be grieved because those who have lived before thee did not praise thee.

19 If a thing is difficult to be accomplished by thyself, do not think that it is impossible for man; but if anything is possible for man and conformable to his nature, think that this can be attained by thyself too.

20 In the gymnastic exercises suppose that a man has torn thee with his nails, and by dashing against thy head has inflicted a wound. Well, we neither show any signs of vexation, nor are we offended, nor do we suspect him afterward as a treacherous fellow; and yet we are on our guard against him, not however as an enemy, nor yet with suspicion, but we quietly get out of his way. Something like this let thy behaviour be in all the other parts of life; let us overlook many things in those who are like antagonists in the gymnasium. For it is in our power, as I said, to get out of the way, and to have no suspicion nor hatred.

21 If any man is able to convince me and show me that I do not think or act right, I will gladly change; for I seek the truth by which no man was ever injured. But he is injured who abides in his error and ignorance.

22 I do my duty: other things trouble me not; for they are either things without life, or things without reason, or things that have rambled and know not the way.

23 As to the animals which have no reason, and generally all things and objects, do thou, since thou hast reason and they have none, make use of them with a generous and liberal spirit. But toward human beings, as they have reason, behave in a social spirit. And on all occasions call on the gods, and do not perplex thyself about the length of time in which thou shalt do this; for even three hours so spent are sufficient.

24 Alexander the Macedonian and his groom by death were brought to the same state; for either they were received among the same seminal principles of the universe, or they were alike dispersed among the atoms.

25 Consider how many things in the same indivisible time take place in each of us, things which concern the body and things which concern the soul; and so thou wilt not wonder if many more things, or rather all things which come into existence in that which is the one and all, which we call Cosmos, exist in it at the same time.

26 If any man should propose to thee the question, how the name Antoninus is written, wouldst thou with a straining of the voice utter each letter? What then if they grow angry, wilt thou be angry too? Wilt thou not go on with composure and number every letter? Just so then in this life also remember that every duty is made up of certain parts. These it is thy duty to observe and without being disturbed or showing anger toward those who are angry with thee to go on thy way and finish that which is set before thee.

27 How cruel it is not to allow men to strive after the things which appear to them to be suitable to their nature and profitable! And yet in a manner thou dost not allow them to do this, when thou art vexed because they do wrong. For they are certainly moved toward things because they suppose them to be suitable to their nature and profitable to them. But it is not so. Teach them then, and show them without being angry.

28 Death is a cessation of the impressions through the senses, and of the pulling of the strings which move the appetites, and of the discursive movements of the thoughts, and of the service to the flesh.

29 It is a shame for the soul to be first to give way in this life, when thy body does not give way.

30 Take care that thou art not made into a Caesar, that thou art not dyed with this dye; for such things happen. Keep thyself then simple, good, pure, serious, free from affectation, a friend of justice, a worshiper of the gods, kind, affectionate, strenuous in all proper acts. Strive to continue to be such as philosophy wished to make thee. Reverence the gods, and help men. Short is life. There is only one fruit of this terrene life, a pious disposition and social acts. Do everything as a disciple of Antoninus. Remember his constancy in every act which was conformable to reason, and his evenness in all things, and his piety, and the serenity of his countenance, and his sweetness, and his disregard of empty fame, and his efforts to understand things; and how he would never let anything pass without having first most carefully examined it and clearly understood it; and how he bore with those who blamed him unjustly without blaming them in return; how he did nothing in a hurry; and how he listened not to calumnies, and how exact an examiner of manners and actions he was; and not given to reproach people, nor timid, nor suspicious, nor a sophist; and with how little he was satisfied, such as lodging, bed, dress, food, servants; and how laborious and patient; and how he was able on account of his sparing diet to hold out to the evening, not even requiring to relieve himself by any evacuations except at the usual hour; and his firmness and uniformity in his friendships; and how he tolerated freedom of speech in those who opposed his opinions; and the pleasure that he had when any man showed him anything better; and how religious he was without superstition. Imitate all this that thou mayest have as good a conscience, when thy last hour comes, as he had.

31 Return to thy sober senses and call thyself back; and when thou hast roused thyself from sleep and hast perceived that they were only dreams which troubled thee, now in thy waking hours look at these (the things about thee) as thou didst look at those (the dreams).

32 I consist of a little body and soul. Now to this little body all things are indifferent, for it is not able to perceive differences. But to the understanding those things only are indifferent, which are not the works of its own activity. But whatever things are the works of its own activity, all these are in its power. And of these however only those which are done with reference to the present; for as to the future and the past activities of the mind, even these are for the present indifferent.

33 Neither the labour which the hand does nor that of the foot is contrary to nature, so long as the foot does the foot's work and the hand the hand's. So then neither to a man as a man is his labour contrary to nature, so long as it does the things of a man. But if the labour is not contrary to his nature, neither is it an evil to him.

34 How many pleasures have been enjoyed by robbers, patricides, tyrants.

35 Dost thou not see how the handicraftsmen accommodate themselves up to a certain point to those who are not skilled in their craft—nevertheless they cling to the reason (the principles) of their art and do not endure to depart from it? Is it not strange if the architect and the physician shall have more respect to the reason (the principles) of their own arts than man to his own reason, which is common to him and the gods?

36 Asia, Europe are corners of the universe; all the sea a drop in the universe; Athos a little clod of the universe; all the present time is a point in eternity. All things are little, changeable, perishable. All things come from thence, from that universal ruling power either directly proceeding or by way of sequence. And accordingly the lion's gaping jaws, and that which is poisonous, and every harmful thing, as a thorn, as mud, are after-products of the grand and beautiful. Do not then imagine that they are of another kind from that which thou dost venerate, but form a just opinion of the source of all.

37 He who has seen present things has seen all, both everything which has taken place from all eternity and everything which will be for time without end; for all things are of one kin and of one form.

38 Frequently consider the connection of all things in the universe and their relation to one another. For in a manner all things are implicated with one another, and all in this way are friendly to one another; for one thing comes in order after another, and this is by virtue of the active movement and mutual conspiration and the unity of the substance.

39 Adapt thyself to the things with which thy lot has been cast; and the men among whom thou hast received thy portion, love them, but do it truly.

40 Every instrument, too, vessel, if it does that for which it has been made, is well, and yet he who made it is not there. But in the things which are held together by nature there is within and there abides in them the power which made them; wherefore the more is it fit to reverence this power, and to think that, if thou dost live and act according to its will, everything in thee is in conformity to intelligence. And thus also in the universe the things which belong to it are in conformity to intelligence.

41 Whatever of the things which are not within thy power thou shalt suppose to be good for thee or evil, it must of necessity be that, if such a bad thing befall thee or the loss of such a good thing, thou wilt blame the gods, and hate men too, those who are the cause of the misfortune or the loss, or those who are suspected of being likely to be the cause; and indeed we do much injustice, because we make a difference between these things (because we do not regard these things as indifferent). But if we judge only those things which are in our power to be good or bad, there remains no reason either for finding fault with God or standing in a hostile attitude to man.

42 We are all working together to one end, some with knowledge and design, and others without knowing what they do; as men also when they are asleep, of whom it is Heraclitus, I think, who says that they are labourers and co-operators in the things which take place in the universe. But men co-operate after different fashions: and even those co-operate abundantly, who find fault with what happens and those who try to oppose it and to hinder it; for the universe had need even of such men as these. It remains then for thee to understand among what kind of workmen thou placest thyself; for he who rules all things will certainly make a right use of thee, and he will receive thee among some part of the co-operators and of those whose labours conduce to one end. But be not thou such a part as the mean and ridiculous verse in the play, which Chrysippus speaks of.

43 Does the sun undertake to do the work of the rain, or Æsculapius the work of the Fruit-bearer (the earth)? And how is it with respect to each of the stars, are they not different, and yet they work together to the same end?

44 If the gods have determined about me and about the things which must happen to me, they have determined well, for it is not easy even to imagine a deity without forethought; and as to doing me harm, why should they have any desire towards that? for what advantage would result to them from this or to the whole, which is the special object of their providence? But if they have not determined about me individually, they have certainly determined about the whole at least, and the things which happen by way of sequence in this general arrangement I ought to accept with pleasure and to be content with them. But if they determine about nothing, which it is wicked to believe, or if we do believe it, let us neither sacrifice nor pray nor swear by them, nor do anything else which we do as if the gods were present and lived with us, but if however the gods determine about none of the things which concern us, I am able to determine about myself, and I can inquire about that which is useful; and that is useful to every man which is conformable to his own constitution and nature. But my nature is rational and social; and my city and country, so far as I am Antoninus, is Rome, but so far as I am a man, it is the world. The things then which are useful to these cities are alone useful to me.

45 Whatever happens to every man, this is for the interest of the universal: this might be sufficient. But further thou wilt observe this also as a general truth, if thou dost observe, that whatever is profitable to any man is profitable also to other men. But let the word profitable be taken here in the common sense as said of things of the middle kind neither good nor bad.

46 As it happens to thee in the amphitheatre and such places, that the continual sight of the same things and the uniformity make the spectacle wearisome, so it is in the whole of life; for all things above, below, are the same and from the same. How long then?

47 Think continually that all kinds of men and of all kinds of pursuits and of all nations are dead, so that thy thoughts come down even to Philistion and Phoebus and Origanion. Now turn thy thoughts to the other kinds of men. To that place then we must remove, where there are so many great orators, and so many noble philosophers, Heraclitus, Pythagoras, Socrates; so many heroes of former days, and so many generals after them, and tyrants; besides these, Eudoxus, Hipparchus, Archimedes, and other men of acute natural talents, great minds, lovers of labour, versatile, confident, mockers even of the perishable and ephemeral life of man, as Menippus and such as are like him. As to all these consider that they have long been in the dust. What harm then is this to them; and what to those whose names are altogether unknown? One thing here is worth a great deal, to pass thy life in truth and justice, with a benevolent disposition even to liars and unjust men.

48 When thou wishest to delight thyself, think of the virtues of those who live with thee; for instance, the activity of one, and the modesty of another, and the liberality of a third, and some other good quality of a fourth. For nothing delights so much as the examples of the virtues, when they are exhibited in the morals of those who live with us and present themselves in abundance, as far as is possible. Wherefore we must keep them before us.

49 Thou art not dissatisfied, I suppose, because thou weighest only so many litre and not three hundred. Be not dissatisfied then that thou must live only so many years and not more; for as thou art satisfied with the amount of substance which has been assigned to thee, so be content with the time.

50 Let us try to persuade them (men). But act even against their will, when the principles of justice lead that way. If, however, any man using force stands in thy way, betake thyself to contentment and tranquillity, and at the same time employ the hindrance toward the exercise of some other virtue; and remember that thy attempt was with a reservation (conditionally), that thou didst not desire to do impossibilities. What then didst thou desire? Some such effort as this. But thou attainest thy object, if the things to which thou wast moved are not accomplished.

51 He who loves fame considers another man's activity to be his own good; and he who loves pleasure, his own sensations; but he who has understanding, considers his own acts to be his own good.

52 It is in our power to have no opinion about a thing, and not to be disturbed in our soul, for things themselves have no natural power to form our judgements.

53 Accustom thyself to attend carefully to what is said by another, and as much as it is possible, be in the speaker's mind.

54 That which is not good for the swarm, neither is it good for the bee.

55 If sailors abused the helmsman or the sick the doctor, would they listen to anybody else; or how could the helmsman secure the safety of those in the ship or the doctor the health of those whom he attends?

56 How many together with whom I came into the world are already gone out of it.

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57 To the jaundiced honey tastes bitter, and to those bitten by mad dogs water causes fear; and to little children the ball is a fine thing. Why then am I angry? Dost thou think that a false opinion has less power than the bile in the jaundiced or the poison in him who is bitten by a mad dog?

58 No man will hinder thee from living according to the reason of thy own nature: nothing will happen to thee contrary to the reason of the universal nature.

59 What kind of people are those whom men wish to please, and for what objects, and by what kind of acts? How soon will time cover all things, and how many it has covered already.

MARCUS AURELIUS MEDITATIONS BOOK 7

1 What is badness? It is that which thou hast often seen. And on the occasion of everything which happens keep this in mind, that it is that which thou hast often seen. Everywhere up and down thou wilt find the same things, with which the old histories are filled, those of the middle ages and those of our own day; with which cities and houses are filled now. There is nothing new; all things are both familiar and short-lived.

2 How can our principles become dead, unless the impressions (thoughts) which correspond to them are extinguished? But it is in thy power continuously to fan these thoughts into a flame. I can have that opinion about anything, which I ought to have. If I can, why am I disturbed? The things which are external to my mind have no relation at all to my mind. Let this be the state of thy affects, and thou standest erect. To recover thy life is in thy power. Look at things again as thou didst use to look at them; for in this consists the recovery of thy life.

3 The idle business of show, plays on the stage, flocks of sheep, herds, exercises with spears, a bone to cast to little dogs, a bit of bread into fish-ponds, labourings of ants and burden-carrying, runnings about of frightened little mice, puppets pulled by strings (all alike). It is thy duty then in the midst of such things to show good humour and not a proud air; to understand, however, that every man is worth just so much as the things are worth about which he busies himself.

4 In discourse thou must attend to what is said, and in every movement thou must observe what is doing. And in the one thou shouldst see immediately to what end it refers, but in the other watch carefully what is the thing signified.

5 Is my understanding sufficient for this or not? If it is sufficient I use it for the work as an instrument given by the universal nature. But if it is not sufficient, then either I retire from the work and give way to him who is able to do it better, unless there be some reason why I ought not to do so; or I do it as well as I can, taking to help me the man who with the aid of my ruling principle can do what is now fit and useul for the general good. For whatsoever either by myself or with another I can do, ought to be directed to this only, to that which is useful and well suited to society.

6 How many after being celebrated by fame have been given up to oblivion; and how many who have celebrated the fame of others have long been dead.

7 Be not ashamed to be helped; for it is thy business to do thy duty like a soldier in the assault on a town. How then, if being lame thou canst not mount up on the battlements alone, but with the help of another it is possible?

8 Let not future things disturb thee, for thou wilt come to them, if it shall be necessary, having with thee the same reason which now thou usest for present things.

9 All things are implicated with one another, and the bond is holy; and there is hardly anything unconnected with any other thing. For things have been co-ordinated, and they combine to form the same universe order. For there is one universe made up of all things, and one god who pervades all things, and one substance, and one law, one common reason in all intelligent animals, and one truth; if indeed there is also one perfection for all animals which are of the same stock and participate in the same reason.

10 Everything material soon disappears in the substance of the whole; and everything causal is very soon taken back into the universal reason; and the memory of everything is very soon overwhelmed in time.

11 To the rational animal the same act is according to nature and according to reason.

12 Be thou erect, or be made erect.

13 Just as it is with the members in those bodies which are united in one, so it is with rational beings which exist separate, for they have been constituted for one co-operation. And the perception of this will be more apparent to thee, if thou often sayest to thyself that I am a member of the system of rational beings. But if thou sayest that thou art a part, thou dost not yet love men from thy heart; beneficence does not yet delight thee for its own sake; thou still doest it barely as a thing of propriety, and not yet as doing good to thyself.

14 Let there fall externally what will on the parts which can feel the effects of this fall. For those parts which have felt will complain, if they choose. But I, unless I think that what has happened is an evil, am not injured. And it is in my power not to think so.

15 Whatever any one does or says, I must be good, just as if the gold, or the emerald, or the purple were always saying this: Whatever any one does or says, I must be emerald and keep my colour.

16 The ruling faculty does not disturb itself; I mean, does not frighten itself or cause itself pain. But if any one else can frighten or pain it, let him do so. For the faculty itself will not by its own opinion turn into such ways. Let the body itself take care, if it can, that it suffer nothing, and let it speak, if it suffers. But the soul itself, that which is subject to fear, to pain, which has completely the power of forming an opinion about these things, will suffer nothing, for it will never deviate into such a judgement. The leading principle in itself wants nothing, unless it makes a want for itself; and therefore it is both free from perturbation and unimpeded, if it does not disturb and impede itself.

17 Happiness is a good daemon, or a good thing. What then art thou doing here, O imagination? go away, I entreat thee by the gods, as thou didst come, for I want thee not. But thou art come according to thy old fashion. I am not angry with thee: only go away.

18 Is any man afraid of change? Why, what can take place without change? What then is more pleasing or more suitable to the universal nature? And canst thou take a bath unless the wood undergoes a change? And canst thou be nourished unless the food undergoes a change? And can anything else that is useful be accomplished without change? Dost thou not see then that for thyself also to change is just the same, and equally necessary for the universal nature?

19 Through the universal substance as through a furious torrent all bodies are carried, being by their nature united with and cooperating with the whole, as the parts of our body with one another. How many a Chrysippus, how many a Socrates, how many an Epictetus has time already swallowed up? And let the same thought occur to thee with reference to every man and thing.

20 One thing only troubles me, lest I should do something which the constitution of man does not allow, or in the way which it does not allow, or what it does not allow now.

21 Near is thy forgetfulness of all things; and near the forgetfulness of thee by all.

22 It is peculiar to man to love even those who do wrong. And this happens, if when they do wrong it occurs to thee that they are kinsmen, and that they do wrong through ignorance and unintentionally, and that soon both of you will die; and above all, that the wrong-doer has done thee no harm, for he has not made thy ruling faculty worse than it was before.

23 The universal nature out of the universal substance, as if it were wax, now moulds a horse, and when it has broken this up, it uses the material for a tree, then for a man, then for something else; and each of these things subsists for a very short time. But it is no hardship for the vessel to be broken up, just as there was none in its being fastened together.

24 A scowling look is altogether unnatural; when it is often assumed, the result is that all comeliness dies away, and at last is so completely extinguished that it cannot be again lighted up at all. Try to conclude from this very fact that it is contrary to reason. For if even the perception of doing wrong shall depart, what reason is there for living any longer?

25 Nature which governs the whole will soon change all things which thou seest, and out of their substance will make other things, and again other things from the substance of them, in order that the world may be ever new.

26 When a man has done thee any wrong, immediately consider with what opinion about good or evil he has done wrong. For when thou hast seen this, thou wilt pity him, and wilt neither wonder nor be angry. For either thou thyself thinkest the same thing to be good that he does, or another thing of the same kind. It is thy duty then to pardon him. But if thou dost not think such things to be good or evil, thou wilt more readily be well-disposed to him who is in error.

27 Think not so much of what thou hast not as of what thou hast: but of the things which thou hast select the best, and then reflect how eagerly they would have been sought, if thou hadst them not. At the same time, however, take care that thou dost not through being so pleased with them accustom thyself to overvalue them, so as to be disturbed if ever thou shouldst not have them.

28 Retire into thyself. The rational principle which rules has this nature, that it is content with itself when it does what is just, and so secures tranquillity.

29 Wipe out the imagination. Stop the pulling of the strings. Confine thyself to the present. Understand well what happens either to thee or to another. Divide and distribute every object and being into its causal form and its material contents. Think of thy last hour. Let the wrong which is done by a man stay there where the wrong was done.

30 Direct thy attention to what is said. Let thy understanding enter into the things that are doing and the things which do them.

31 Adorn thyself with simplicity and modesty and with indifference towards the things which lie between virtue and vice. Love mankind. Follow God. The poet says that Law rules all. And it is enough to remember that law rules all.

32 About death: whether it is a dispersion, or a resolution into atoms, or annihilation, it is either extinction or change.

33 About pain: the pain which is intolerable carries us off; but that which lasts a long time is tolerable; and the mind maintains its own tranquillity by retiring into itself, and the ruling faculty is not made worse. But the parts which are harmed by pain, let them, if they can, give their opinion about it.

34 About fame: look at the minds of those who seek fame, observe what they are, and what kind of things they avoid, and what kind of things they pursue. And consider that as the heaps of sand piled on one another hide the former sands, so in life the events which go before are soon covered by those which come after.

35 From Plato: the man who has an elevated mind and takes a view of all time and of all substance, dost thou suppose it possible for him to think that human life is anything great? It is not possible, he said. Such a man then will think that death also is no evil. Certainly not.

36 From Antisthenes: It is royal to do good and to be abused.

37 It is a base thing for the countenance to be obedient and to regulate and compose itself as the mind commands, and for the mind not to be regulated and composed by itself.

38 It is not right to vex ourselves at things, for they care nought about it.

39 To the immortal gods and us give joy.

40 Life must be reaped like the ripe ears of corn: One man is born; another dies.

41 If gods care not for me and for my children, there is a reason for it.

42 For the good is with me, and the just.

43 No joining others in their wailing, no violent emotion.

44 From Plato: But I would make this man a sufficient answer, which is this: Thou sayest not well, if thou thinkest that a man who is good for anything at all ought to compute the hazard of life or death, and should not rather look to this only in all that he does, whether he is doing what is just or unjust, and the works of a good or a bad man.

45 For thus it is, men of Athens, in truth: wherever a man has placed himself thinking it the best place for him, or has been placed by a commander, there in my opinion he ought to stay and to abide the hazard, taking nothing into the reckoning, either death or anything else, before the baseness of deserting his post.

46 But, my good friend, reflect whether that which is noble and good is not something different from saving and being saved; for as to a man living such or such a time, at least one who is really a man, consider if this is not a thing to be dismissed from the thoughts: and there must be no love of life: but as to these matters a man must intrust them to the deity and believe what the women say, that no man can escape his destiny, the next inquiry being how he may best live the time that he has to live.

47 Look round at the courses of the stars, as if thou wert going along with them; and constantly consider the changes of the elements into one another; for such thoughts purge away the filth of the terrene life.

48 This is a fine saying of Plato: That he who is discoursing about men should look also at earthly things as if he viewed them from some higher place; should look at them in their assemblies, armies, agricultural labours, marriages, treaties, births, deaths, noise of the courts of justice, desert places, various nations of barbarians, feasts, lamentations, markets, a mixture of all things and an orderly combination of contraries.

49 Consider the past; such great changes of political supremacies. Thou mayest foresee also the things which will be. For they will certainly be of like form, and it is not possible that they should deviate from the order of the things which take place now: accordingly to have contemplated human life for forty years is the same as to have contemplated it for ten thousand years. For what more wilt thou see?

50 That which has grown from the earth to the earth, but that which has sprung from heavenly seed, back to the heavenly realms returns. This is either a dissolution of the mutual involution of the atoms, or a similar dispersion of the insentient elements.

51 With food and drinks and cunning magic arts turning the channel's course to 'scape from death. The breeze which heaven has sent. We must endure, and toil without complaining.

52 Another may be more expert in casting his opponent; but he is not more social, nor more modest, nor better disciplined to meet all that happens, nor more considerate with respect to the faults of his neighbours.

53 Where any work can be done conformably to the reason which is common to gods and men, there we have nothing to fear; for where we are able to get profit by means of the activity which is successful and proceeds according to our constitution, there no harm is to be suspected.

54 Everywhere and at all times it is in thy power piously to acquiesce in thy present condition, and to behave justly to those who are about thee, and to exert thy skill upon thy

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present thoughts, that nothing shall steal into them without being well examined.

55 Do not look around thee to discover other men's ruling principles, but look straight to this, to what nature leads thee, both the universal nature through the things which happen to thee, and thy own nature through the acts which must be done by thee. But every being ought to do that which is according to its constitution; and all other things have been constituted for the sake of rational beings, just as among irrational things the inferior for the sake of the superior, but the rational for the sake of one another.

The prime principle then in man's constitution is the social. And the second is not to yield to the persuasions of the body, for it is the peculiar office of the rational and intelligent motion to circumscribe itself, and never to be overpowered either by the motion of the senses or of the appetites, for both are animal; but the intelligent motion claims superiority and does not permit itself to be overpowered by the others. And with good reason, for it is formed by nature to use all of them. The third thing in the rational constitution is freedom from error and from deception. Let then the ruling principle holding fast to these things go straight on, and it has what is its own.

56 Consider thyself to be dead, and to have completed thy life up to the present time; and live according to nature the remainder which is allowed thee.

57 Love that only which happens to thee and is spun with the thread of thy destiny. For what is more suitable?

58 In everything which happens keep before thy eyes those to whom the same things happened, and how they were vexed, and treated them as strange things, and found fault with them: and now where are they? Nowhere. Why then dost thou too choose to act in the same way? and why dost thou not leave these agitations which are foreign to nature, to those who cause them and those who are moved by them? And why art thou not altogether intent upon the right way of making use of the things which happen to thee? for then thou wilt use them well, and they will be a material for thee (to work on). Only attend to thyself, and resolve to be a good man in every act which thou doest; and remember…

59 Look for qualities inside of thyself. Within is the fountain of good, and it will ever bubble up, if thou wilt ever dig.

60 The body ought to be compact, and to show no irregularity either in motion or attitude. For what the mind shows in the face by maintaining in it the expression of intelligence and propriety, that ought to be required also in the whole body. But all these things should be observed without affectation.

61 The art of life is more like the wrestler's art than the dancer's, in respect of this, that it should stand ready and firm to meet onsets which are sudden and unexpected.

62 Constantly observe who those are whose approbation thou wishest to have, and what ruling principles they possess. For then thou wilt neither blame those who offend involuntarily, nor wilt thou want their approbation, if thou lookest to the sources of their opinions and appetites.

63 Every soul, the philosopher says, is involuntarily deprived of truth; consequently in the same way it is deprived of justice and temperance and benevolence and everything of the kind. It is most necessary to bear this constantly in mind, for thus thou wilt be more gentle towards all.

64 In every pain let this thought be present, that there is no dishonour in it, nor does it make the governing intelligence worse, for it does not damage the intelligence either so far as the intelligence is rational or so far as it is social. Indeed in the case of most pains let this remark of Epicurus aid thee, that pain is neither intolerable nor everlasting, if thou bearest in mind that it has its limits, and if thou addest nothing to it in imagination: and remember this too, that we do not perceive that many things which are disagreeable to us are the same as pain, such as excessive drowsiness, and the being scorched by heat, and the having no appetite. When then thou art discontented about any of these things, say to thyself that thou art yielding to pain.

65 Take care not to feel towards the inhuman as they feel towards men.

66 How do we know if Telauges was not superior in character to Socrates? for it is not enough that Socrates dies a more noble death, and disputed more skilfully with the sophists, and passed the night in the cold with more endurance, and that when he was bid to arrest Leon of Salamis, he considered it more noble to refuse, and that he walked in a swaggering way in the streets-though as to this fact one may have great doubts if it was true. But we ought to inquire, what kind of a soul it was that Socrates possessed, and if he was able to be content with being just towards men and pious towards the gods, neither idly vexed on account of men's villainy, nor yet making himself a slave to any man's ignorance, nor receiving as strange anything that fell to his share out of the universal, nor enduring it as intolerable, nor allowing his understanding to sympathize with the affects of the miserable flesh.

67 Nature has not so mingled (the intelligence) with the composition of the body, as not to have allowed thee the power of circumscribing thyself and of bringing under subjection to thyself all that is thy own; for it is very possible to be a divine man and to be recognized as such by no one. Always bear this in mind; and another thing too, that very little indeed is necessary for living a happy life. And because thou hast despaired of becoming a dialectician and skilled in the knowledge of nature, do not for this reason renounce the hope of being both free and modest and social and obedient to God.

68 It is in thy power to live free from all compulsion in the greatest tranquillity of mind, even if all the world cry out against thee as much as they choose, and even if wild beasts tear in pieces the members of this kneaded matter which has grown around thee. For what hinders the mind in the midst of all this from maintaining itself in tranquillity, and in a just judgement of all surrounding things, and in a ready use of the objects which are presented to it, so that the judgement may say to the thing which falls under its observation: This thou art in substance (reality), though in men's opinion thou mayest appear to be of a different kind; and the use shall say to that which falls under the hand: Thou art the thing that I was seeking; for to me that which presents itself is always a material for virtue, both rational and political, and, in a word, for the exercise of art, which belongs to man or God. For everything which happens has a relationship either to God or man, and is neither new nor difficult to handle, but usual and apt matter to work on.

69 The perfection of moral character consists in this, in passing every day as the last, and in being neither violently excited, nor torpid, nor playing the hypocrite.

70 The gods who are immortal are not vexed because during so long a time they must tolerate continually men such as they are and so many of them bad; and besides this, they also take care of them in all ways. But thou, who art destined to end so soon, art thou wearied of enduring the bad, and this too when thou art one of them?

71 It is a ridiculous thing for a man not to fly from his own badness, which is indeed possible, but to fly from other men's badness, which is impossible.

72 Whatever the rational and political (social) faculty finds to be neither intelligent nor social, it properly judges to be inferior to itself.

73 When thou hast done a good act and another has received it, why dost thou still look for a third thing besides these, as fools do, either to have the reputation of having done a good act or to obtain a return?

74 No man is tired of receiving what is useful. But it is useful to act according to nature. Do not then be tired of receiving what is useful by doing it to others.

75 The nature of the All moved to make the universe. But now either everything that takes place comes by way of consequence or (continuity); or even the chief things towards which the ruling power of the universe directs its own movement are governed by no rational principle. If this is remembered it will make thee more tranquil in many things.

MARCUS AURELIUS MEDITATIONS BOOK 8

1 This reflection also tends to the removal of the desire of empty fame, that it is no longer in thy power to have lived the whole of thy life, or at least thy life from thy youth upwards, like a philosopher; but both to many others and to thyself it is plain that thou art far from philosophy. Thou hast fallen into disorder then, so that it is no longer easy for thee to get the reputation of a philosopher; and thy plan of life also opposes it. If then thou hast truly seen where the matter lies, throw away the thought, How thou shalt seem (to others), and be content if thou shalt live the rest of thy life in such wise as thy nature wills. Observe then what it wills, and let nothing else distract thee; for thou hast had experience of many wanderings without having found happiness anywhere, not in syllogisms, nor in wealth, nor in reputation, nor in enjoyment, nor anywhere. Where is it then? In doing what man's nature requires. How then shall a man do this? If he has principles from which come his affects and his acts. What principles? Those which relate to good and bad: the belief that there is nothing good for man, which does not make him just, temperate, manly, free; and that there is nothing bad, which does not do the contrary to what has been mentioned.

2 On the occasion of every act ask thyself, How is this with respect to me? Shall I repent of it? A little time and I am dead, and all is gone. What more do I seek, if what I am doing now is the work of an intelligent living being, and a social being, and one who is under the same law with God?

3 Alexander and Caius and Pompeius, what are they in comparison with Diogenes and Heraclitus and Socrates? For they were acquainted with things, and their causes, and their matter, and the ruling principles of these men were the same and conformable to their pursuits. But as to the others, how many things had they to care for, and to how many things were they slaves.

4 Consider that men will do the same things nevertheless, even though thou shouldst burst.

5 This is the chief thing: Be not perturbed, for all things are according to the nature of the universal; and in a little time thou wilt be nobody and nowhere, like Hadrianus and Augustus. In the next place having fixed thy eyes steadily on thy business look at it, and at the same time remembering that it is thy duty to be a good man, and what man's nature demands, do that without turning aside; and speak as it seems to thee most just, only let it be with a good disposition and with modesty and without hypocrisy.

6 The nature of the universal has this work to do, to remove to that place the things which are in this, to change them, to take them away hence, and to carry them there. All things are change, yet we need not fear anything new. All things are familiar (to us); but the distribution of them still remains the same.

7 Every nature is contented with itself when it goes on its way well; and a rational nature goes on its way well, when in its thoughts it assents to nothing false or uncertain, and when it directs its movements to social acts only, and when it confines its desires and aversions to the things which are in its power, and when it is satisfied with everything that is assigned to it by the common nature. For of this common nature every particular nature is a part, as the nature of the leaf is a part of the nature of the plant; except that in the plant the nature of the leaf is part of a nature which has not perception or reason, and is subject to be impeded; but the nature of man is part of a nature which is not subject to impediments, and is intelligent and just, since it gives to everything in equal portions and according to its worth, times, substance, cause (form), activity, and incident. But examine, not to discover that any one thing compared with any other single thing is equal in all respects, but by taking all the parts together of one thing and comparing them with all the parts together of another.

8 Thou hast no ability to read. But thou hast the ability to check arrogance: thou hast the ability to be superior to pleasure and pain: thou hast ability to be superior to love of fame, and not to be vexed at stupid and ungrateful people, nay even to care for them.

9 Let no man any longer hear thee finding fault with the court life or with thy own.

10 Repentance is a kind of self-reproof for having neglected something useful; but that which is good must be something useful, and the perfect good man should look after it. But no such man would ever repent of having refused any sensual pleasure. Pleasure then is neither good nor useful.

11 This thing, what is it in itself, in its own constitution? What is its substance and material? And what is its causal nature and form? And what is it doing in the world? And how long does it subsist?

12 When thou risest from sleep with reluctance, remember that it is according to thy constitution and according to human nature to perform social acts, but sleeping is common also to irrational animals. But that which is according to each individual's nature is also more peculiarly its own, and more suitable to its nature, and indeed also more agreeable.

13 Constantly and, if it be possible, on the occasion of every impression on the soul, apply to it the principles of Physic, of Ethic, and of Dialectic.

14 Whatever man thou meetest with, immediately say to thyself: What opinions has this man about good and bad? For it with respect to pleasure and pain and the causes of each, and with respect to fame and ignominy, death and life, he has such and such opinions, it will seem nothing wonderful or strange to me, if he does such and such things; and I shall bear in mind that he is compelled to do so.

15 Remember that as it is a shame to be surprised if the fig-tree produces figs, so it is to be surprised if the world produces such and such things of which it is productive; and for the physician and the helmsman it is a shame to be surprised, if a man has a fever, or if the wind if unfavourable.

16 Remember that to change thy opinion and to follow him who corrects thy error is as consistent with freedom as it is to persist in thy error. For it is thy own, the activity which is exerted according to thy own movement and judgement, and indeed according to thy own understanding too.

17 If a thing is in thy own power, why dost thou do it? but if it is in the power of another, whom dost thou blame? the atoms (chance) or the gods? Both are foolish. Thou must blame nobody. For if thou canst, correct (that which is the cause); but if thou canst not do this, correct at least the thing itself; but if thou canst not do even this, of what use is it to thee to find fault? for nothing should be done without a purpose.

18 That which has died falls not out of the universe. If it stays here, it also changes here, and is dissolved into its proper parts, which are elements of the universe and of thyself. And these too change, and they murmur not.

19 Everything exists for some end, a horse, a vine. Why dost thou wonder? Even the sun will say, I am for some purpose, and the rest of the gods will say the same. For what purpose then art thou? to enjoy pleasure? See if common sense allows this.

20 Nature has had regard in everything no less to the end than to the beginning and the continuance, just like the man

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who throws up a ball. What good is it then for the ball to be thrown up, or harm for it to come down, or even to have fallen? and what good is it to the bubble while it holds together, or what harm when it is burst? The same may be said of a light also.

21 Turn it (the body) inside out, and see what kind of thing it is; and when it has grown old, what kind of thing it becomes, and when it is diseased. Short-lived are both the praiser and the praised, and the rememberer and the remembered: and all this in a nook of this part of the world; and not even here do all agree, no, not any one with himself: and the whole earth too is a point.

22 Attend to the matter which is before thee, whether it is an opinion or an act or a word. Thou sufferest this justly: for thou choosest rather to become good to-morrow than to be good to-day.

23 Am I doing anything? I do it with reference to the good of mankind. Does anything happen to me? I receive it and refer it to the gods, and the source of all things, from which all that happens is derived.

24 Such as bathing appears to thee, oil, sweat, dirt, filthy water, all things disgusting, so is every part of life and everything.

25 Lucilla saw Verus die, and then Lucilla died. Secunda saw Maximus die, and then Secunda died. Epitynchanus saw Diotimus die, and then Epitynchanus died. Antoninus saw Faustina die, and then Antoninus died. Such is everything. Celer saw Hadrianus die, and then Celer died. And those sharp-witted men, either seers or men inflated with pride, where are they? for instance, the sharp-witted men, Charax and Demetrius the Platonist and Eudæmon, and any one else like them. All ephemeral, dead long ago. Some indeed have not been remembered even for a short time, and others have become the heroes of fables, and again others have disappeared even from fables. Remember this, then, that this little compound, thyself, must either be dissolved, or thy poor breath must be extinguished, or be removed and placed elsewhere.

26 It is satisfaction to a man to do the proper works of a man. Now it is a proper work of a man to be benevolent to his own kind, to despise the movements of the senses, to form a just judgement of plausible appearances, and to take a survey of the nature of the universe and of the things which happen in it.

27 There are three relations between thee and other things: the one to the body which surrounds thee; the second to the divine cause from which all things come to all; and the third to those who live with thee.

28 Pain is either an evil to the body, then let the body say what it thinks of it, or to the soul; but it is in the power of the soul to maintain its own serenity and tranquillity, and not to think that pain is an evil. For every judgement and movement and desire and aversion is within, and no evil ascends so high.

29 Wipe out thy imaginations by often saying to thyself: now it is in my power to let no badness be in this soul, nor desire, nor any perturbation at all; but looking at all things I see what is their nature, and I use each according to its value. Remember this power which thou hast from nature.

30 Speak both in the senate and to every man, whoever he may be, appropriately, not with any affectation: use plain discourse.

31 Augustus' court, his wife, his daughter, his descendants, his ancestors, his sister, his friend Agrippa, his kinsmen, his intimates, his friends Areius and Mæcenas, the physicians and the sacrificing priests; the whole court is the loot of father Death. Then turn to the rest, not considering the death of a single man, but of a whole family, as of the Pompeii-Family; and that which is inscribed on the tombs: 'the last of his family'. Then consider what trouble those before them have had that they might leave a successor; and then, that of necessity some one must be the last. Again here consider the death of a whole race.

32 It is thy duty to order thy life well in every single act; and if every act does its duty, as far as is possible, be content; and no one is able to hinder thee so that each act shall not do its duty. But something external will stand in the way. Nothing will stand in the way of thy acting justly and soberly and considerately, but perhaps some other active power will be hindered. Well, but by acquiescing in the hindrance and by being content to transfer thy efforts to that which is allowed, another opportunity of action is immediately put before thee in place of that which was hindered, and one which will adapt itself to this ordering of which we are speaking.

33 Receive wealth and prosperity without arrogance; and be ready to let it go.

34 If thou didst ever see a hand cut off, or a foot, or a head, lying anywhere apart from the rest of the body, such does a man make himself, as far as he can, who is not content with what happens, and separates himself from others, or does anything unsocial. Suppose that thou hast detached thyself from the natural unity - for thou wast made by nature a part, but now thou hast cut thyself off - yet here there is this beautiful provision, that it is in thy power again to unite thyself. God has allowed this to no other part, after it has been separated and cut asunder, to come together again. But consider the kindness by which he has distinguished man, for he has put it in his power not to be separated at all from the universal; and when he has been separated, he has allowed him to return and to be united and to resume his place as a part.

35 As the nature of the universal has given to every rational being all the other powers that it has, so we have received from it this power also. For as the universal nature converts and fixes in its predestined place everything which stands in the way and opposes it, and makes such things a part of itself, so also the rational animal is able to make every hindrance its own material, and to use it for such purposes as it may have designed.

36 Do not disturb thyself by thinking of the whole of thy life. Let not thy thoughts at once embrace all the various troubles which thou mayest expect to befall thee: but on every occasion ask thyself, What is there in this which is intolerable and past bearing? for thou wilt be ashamed to confess. In the next place remember that neither the future nor the past pains thee, but only the present. But this is reduced to a very little, if thou only circumscribest it, and chidest thy mind, if it is unable to hold out against even this.

37 Does Panthea or Pergamus now sit by the tomb of Verus? Does Chaurias or Diotimus sit by the tomb of Hadrianus? That would be ridiculous. Well, suppose they did sit there, would the dead be conscious of it? and if the dead were conscious, would they be pleased? and if they were pleased, would that make them immortal? Was it not in the order of destiny that these persons too should first become old women and old men and then die? What then would those do after these were dead? All this is foul smell and blood in a bag.

38 If thou canst see sharp, look and judge wisely, says the philosopher.

39 In the constitution of the rational animal I see no virtue which is opposed to justice; but I see a virtue which is opposed to love of pleasure, and that is temperance.

40 If thou takest away thy opinion about that which appears to give thee pain, thou thyself standest in perfect security. Who is this self? The reason. But I am not reason. Be it so. Let then the reason itself not trouble itself. But if any other part of thee suffers, let it have its own opinion about itself.

41 Hindrance to the perceptions of sense is an evil to the animal nature. Hindrance to the movements of desires is equally an evil to the animal nature. And something else also is equally an impediment and evil to the constitution of plants. So then that which is a hindrance to the intelligence is an evil to the intelligent nature. Apply all these things then to thyself. Does pain or sensuous pleasure affect thee? The senses will look to that. Has any obstacle opposed thee in thy efforts towards an object? if indeed thou wast making this effort absolutely, unconditionally and without any reservation, certainly this obstacle is an evil to thee considered as a rational animal. But if thou takest (into consideration) the usual course of things, thou hast not yet been injured nor even impeded. The things however which are proper to the understanding no other man is used to impede, for neither fire, nor iron, nor tyrant, nor abuse, touches it in any way. When it has been made a sphere, it continues a sphere.

42 It is not fit that I should give myself pain, for I have never intentionally given pain even to another.

43 Different things delight different people. But it is my delight to keep the ruling faculty sound without turning away either from any man or from any of the things which happen to men, but looking at and receiving all with welcome eyes and using everything according to its value.

44 See that thou secure this present time to thyself; for those who rather pursue posthumous fame do not consider that the men of after-time will be exactly such as these whom they cannot bear now; and both are mortal. And what is it in any way to thee if these men of after-time utter this or that sound, or have this or that opinion about thee?

45 Take me and cast me where thou wilt; for there I shall keep my divine part tranquil, that is, content, if it can feel and act conformably to its proper constitution. Is this (change of place) sufficient reason why my soul should be unhappy and worse than it was, depressed, expanded, shrinking, affrighted? and what wilt thou find which is sufficient reason for this?

46 Nothing can happen to any man which is not human accident, nor to an ox which is not according to the nature of an ox, nor to a vine which is not according to the nature of a vine, nor to a stone which is not proper to a stone. If then there happens to each thing both what is usual and natural, why shouldst thou complain? For the common nature brings nothing which may not be borne by thee.

47 If thou art pained by any external thing, it is not this that disturbs thee, but thy own judgement about it. And it is in thy power to wipe out this judgement now. But if anything in thy own disposition gives thee pain, who hinders thee from correcting thy opinion? And even if thou art pained because thou art not doing some particular thing which seems to thee to be right, why dost thou not rather act than complain? But some insuperable obstacle is in the way? Do not be grieved then, for the cause of its not being done depends not on thee. But it is not worth while to live, if this cannot be done. Take thy departure then from life contentedly, just as he dies who is in full activity, and well pleased too with the things which are obstacles.

48 Remember that the ruling faculty is invincible, when self-collected it is satisfied with itself, if it does nothing which it does not choose to do, even if it resist from mere obstinacy. What then will it be when it forms a judgement about anything aided by reason and deliberately? Therefore the mind which is free from passions is a citadel, for man has nothing more secure to which he can fly for refuge and for the future be inexpugnable. He then who has not seen this is an ignorant man; but he who has seen it and does not fly to this refuge is unhappy.

49 Say nothing more to thyself than what the first appearances report. Suppose that it has been reported to thee that a certain person speaks ill of thee. This has been reported; but that thou hast been injured, that has not been reported. I see that my child is sick. I do see; but that he is in danger, I do not see. Thus then always abide by the first appearances, and add nothing thyself from within, and then nothing happens to thee. Or rather add something, like a man who knows everything that happens in the world.

50 A cucumber is bitter. Throw it away. There are briars in the road. Turn aside from them. This is enough. Do not add, And why were such things made in the world? For thou wilt be ridiculed by a man who is acquainted with nature, as thou wouldst be ridiculed by a carpenter and shoemaker if thou didst find fault because thou seest in their workshop shavings and cuttings from the things which they make. And yet they have places into which they can throw these shavings and cuttings, and the universal nature has no external space; but the wondrous part of her art is that though she has circumscribed herself, everything within her which appears to decay and to grow old and to be useless she changes into herself, and again makes other new things from these very same, so that she requires neither substance from without nor wants a place into which she may cast that which decays. She is content then with her own space, and her own matter, and her own art.

51 Neither in thy actions be sluggish, nor in thy conversation without method, nor wandering in thy thoughts, nor let there be in thy soul inward contention nor external effusion, nor in life be so busy as to have no leisure.

Suppose that men kill thee, cut thee in pieces, curse thee. What then can these things do to prevent thy mind from remaining pure, wise, sober, just? For instance, if a man should stand by a limpid pure spring, and curse it, the spring never ceases sending up potable water; and if he should cast clay into it or filth, it will speedily disperse them and wash them out, and will not be at all polluted. How then shalt thou possess a perpetual fountain (and not a mere well)? By forming thyself hourly to freedom conjoined with contentment, simplicity and modesty.

52 He who does not know what the world is, does not know where he is. And he who does not know for what purpose the world exists, does not know who he is, nor what the world is. But he who has failed in any one of these things could not even say for what purpose he exists himself. What then dost thou think of him who (avoids or) seeks the praise of those who applaud, of men who know not either where they are or who they are?

53 Dost thou wish to be praised by a man who curses himself thrice every hour? Wouldst thou wish to please a man who does not please himself? Does a man please himself who repents of nearly everything that he does?

54 No longer let thy breathing only act in concert with the air which surrounds thee, but let thy intelligence also now be in harmony with the intelligence which embraces all things. For the intelligent power is no less diffused in all parts and pervades all things for him who is willing to draw it to him than the aërial power for him who is able to respire it.

55 Generally, wickedness does no harm at all to the universe; and particularly, the wickedness of one man does no harm to another. It is only harmful to him who has it in his power to be released from it, as soon as he shall choose.

56 To my own free will the free will of my neighbour is just as indifferent as his poor breath and flesh. For though we are made especially for the sake of one another, still the ruling power of each of us has its own office, for otherwise my neighbour's wickedness would be my harm, which God has not willed in order that my unhappiness may not depend on another.

57 The sun appears to be poured down, and in all directions indeed it is diffused, yet it is not effused. For this diffusion is extension: Accordingly its rays are called Extensions because they are extended. But one may judge what kind of a thing a ray is, if he looks at the sun's light passing through a narrow opening into a darkened room, for it is extended in a right line, and, as it were, is divided when it meets with any solid body which stands in the way and intercepts the air beyond; but there the light remains fixed and does not glide or fall off. Such then ought to be the outpouring and diffusion of the understanding, and it should in no way be an effusion, but an

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extension, and it should make no violent or impetuous collision with the obstacles which are in its way; nor yet fall down, but be fixed and enlighten that which receives it. For a body will deprive itself of the illumination, if it does not admit it.

58 He who fears death either fears the loss of sensation or a different kind of sensation. But if thou shalt have no sensation, neither wilt thou feel any harm; and if thou shalt acquire another kind of sensation, thou wilt be a different kind of living being, and thou wilt not cease to live.

59 Men exist for the sake of one another. Teach them then or bear with them.

60 In one way an arrow moves, in another way the mind. The mind, indeed, both when it exercises caution and when it is employed about inquiry, moves straight onward not the less, and to its object.

61 Enter into every man's ruling faculty; and also let every other man enter into thine.

MARCUS AURELIUS MEDITATIONS BOOK 9

1 He who acts unjustly acts impiously. For since the universal nature has made rational animals for the sake of one another to help one another according to their deserts, but in no way to injure one another, he who transgresses her will, is clearly guilty of impiety towards the highest divinity. And he too who lies is guilty of impiety to the same divinity; for the universal nature is the nature of things that are; and things that are have a relation to all things that come into existence. And further, this universal nature is named truth, and is the prime cause of all things that are true. He then who lies intentionally is guilty of impiety inasmuch as he acts unjustly be deceiving; and he also who lies unintentionally, inasmuch as he is at variance with the universal nature, and inasmuch as he disturbs the order by fighting against the nature of the world; for he fights against it, who is moved of himself to that which is contrary to truth, for he had received powers from nature through the neglect of which he is not able now to distinguish falsehood from truth. And indeed he who pursues pleasure as good, and avoids pain as evil, is guilty of impiety. For of necessity such a man must often find fault with the universal nature, alleging that it assigns things to the bad and the good contrary to their deserts, because frequently the bad are in the enjoyment of pleasure and possess the things which procure pleasure, but the good have pain for their share and the things which cause pain. And further, he who is afraid of pain will sometimes also be afraid of some of the things which will happen in the world, and even this is impiety. And he who pursues pleasure will not abstain from injustice, and this is plainly impiety. Now with respect to the things towards which the universal nature is equally affected (for it would not have made both, unless it was equally affected towards both) towards these they who wish to follow nature should be of the same mind with it, and equally affected. With respect to pain, then, and pleasure, or death and life, or honour and dishonour, which the universal nature employs equally, whoever is not equally affected is manifestly acting impiously. And I say that the universal nature employs them equally, instead of saying that they happen alike to those who are produced in continuous series and to those who come after them by virtue of a certain original movement of Providence, according to which it moved from a certain beginning to this ordering of things, having conceived certain principles of the things which were to be, and having determined powers productive of beings and of changes and of suchlike successions.

2 It would be a man's happiest lot to depart from mankind without having had any taste of lying and hypocrisy and luxury and pride. However to breathe out one's life when a man has had enough of these things is the next best voyage, as the saying is. Hast thou determined to abide with vice, and has not experience yet induced thee to fly from this pestilence? For the destruction of the understanding is a pestilence, much more indeed than any such corruption and change of this atmosphere which surrounds us. For this corruption is a pestilence of animals so far as they are animals; but the other is a pestilence of men so far as they are men.

3 Do not despise death, but be well content with it, since this too is one of those things which nature wills. For such as it is to be young and to grow old, and to increase and to reach maturity, and to have teeth and beard and gray hairs, and to beget, and to be pregnant, and to bring forth, and all the other natural operations which the seasons of thy life bring, such also is dissolution. This then, is consistent with the character of a reflecting man, to be neither careless nor impatient nor contemptuous with respect to death, but to wait for it as one of the operations of nature. As thou now waitest for the time when the child shall come out of thy wife's womb, so be ready for the time when thy soul shall fall out of this envelope. But if thou requirest also a vulgar kind of comfort which shall reach thy heart, thou wilt be made best reconciled to death by observing the objects from which thou art going to be removed, and the morals of those with whom thy soul will no longer be mingled. For it is no way right to be offended with men, but it is thy duty to care for them and to bear with them gently; and yet to remember that thy departure will be not from men who have the same principles as thyself. For this is the only thing, if there be any, which could draw us the contrary way and attach us to life, to be permitted to live with those who have the same principles as ourselves. But now thou seest how great is the trouble arising from the discordance of those who live together, so that thou mayst say, Come quick, O death, lest perchance I, too, should forget myself.

4 He who does wrong does wrong against himself. He who acts unjustly acts unjustly to himself, because he makes himself bad.

5 He often acts unjustly who does not do a certain thing; not only he who does a certain thing.

6 Thy present opinion founded on understanding, and thy present conduct directed to social good, and thy present disposition of contentment with everything which happens—that is enough.

7 Wipe out imagination: check desire: extinguish appetite: keep the ruling faculty in its own power.

8 Among the animals which have not reason one life is distributed; but among reasonable animals one intelligent soul is distributed: just as there is one earth of all things which are of an earthy nature, and we see by one light, and breathe one air, all of us that have the faculty of vision and all that have life.

9 All things which participate in anything which is common to them all move towards that which is of the same kind with themselves. Everything which is earthy turns towards the earth, everything which is liquid flows together, and everything which is of an aërial kind does the same, so that they require something to keep them asunder, and the application of force. Fire indeed moves upwards on account of the elemental fire, but it is so ready to be kindled together with all the fire which is here, that even every substance which is somewhat dry, is easily ignited, because there is less mingled with it of that which is a hindrance to ignition. Accordingly then everything also which participates in the common intelligent nature moves in like manner towards that which is of the same kind with itself, or moves even more. For so much as it is superior in comparison with all other things, in the same degree also is it more ready to mingle with and to be fused with that which is akin to it. Accordingly among animals devoid of reason we find swarms of bees, and herds of cattle, and the nurture of young birds, and in a manner, loves; for even in animals there are souls, and that power which brings them together is seen to exert itself in the superior degree, and in such a way as never has been observed in plants nor in stones nor in trees. But in rational animals there are political communities and friendships, and families and meetings of people; and in wars, treaties and armistices. But in the things which are still superior, even though they are separated from one another, unity in a manner exists, as in the stars. Thus the ascent to the higher degree is able to produce a sympathy even in things which are separated. See then what now takes place. For only intelligent animals have now forgotten this mutual desire and inclination, and in them alone the property of flowing together is not seen. But still, though men strive to avoid (this union), they are caught and held by it, for their nature is too strong for them; and thou wilt see what I say, if thou only observest. Sooner then will one find anything earthy which comes in contact with no earthy thing than a man altogether separated from other men.

10 Both man and God and the universe produce fruit; at the proper seasons each produces it. But if usage has especially fixed these terms to the vine and like things, this is nothing. Reason produces fruit both for all and for itself, and there are produced from it other things of the same kind as reason itself.

11 If thou art able, correct by teaching those who do wrong; but if thou canst not, remember that indulgence is given to thee for this purpose. And the gods, too, are indulgent to such persons; and for some purposes they even help them to get health, wealth, reputation; so kind they are. And it is in thy power also; or say, who hinders thee?

12 Labour not as one who is wretched, nor yet as one who would be pitied or admired; but direct thy will to one thing only, to put thyself in motion and to check thyself, as the social reason requires.

13 To-day I have got out of all trouble, or rather I have cast out all trouble, for it was not outside, but within and in my opinions.

14 All things are the same, familiar in experience, and ephemeral in time, and worthless in the matter. Everything now is just as it was in the time of those whom we have buried.

15 Things stand outside of us, themselves by themselves, neither knowing aught of themselves, nor expressing any judgement. What is it, then, which does judge about them? The ruling faculty.

16 Not in passivity, but in activity, lie the evil and the good of the rational social animal, just as his virtue and his vice lie not in passivity, but in activity.

17 For the stone which has been thrown up it is no evil to come down, nor indeed any good to have been carried up.

18 Penetrate inwards into men's leading principles, and thou wilt see what judges thou art afraid of, and what kind of judges they are of themselves.

19 All things are changing; and thou thyself art in continuous mutation and in a manner in continuous destruction, and the whole universe too.

20 It is thy duty to leave another man's wrongful act there where it is.

21 Termination of activity, cessation from movement and opinion, and in a sense their death, is no evil. Turn thy thoughts now to the consideration of thy life, thy life as a child, as a youth, thy manhood, thy old age, for in these also every change was a death. Is this anything to fear? Turn thy thoughts now to thy life under thy grandfather, then to thy life under thy mother, then to thy life under thy father; and as thou findest many other differences and changes and terminations, ask thyself, Is this anything to fear? In like manner, then, neither are the termination and cessation and change of thy whole life a thing to be afraid of.

22 Hasten (to examine) thy own ruling faculty and that of the universe and that of thy neighbour: thy own, that thou mayst make it just; and that of the universe, that thou mayst remember of what thou art a part; and that of thy neighbour, that thou mayst know whether he has acted ignorantly or with knowledge, and that thou mayst also consider that his ruling faculty is akin to thine.

23 As thou thyself art a component part of a social system, so let every act of thine be a component part of social life. Whatever act of thine then has no reference, either immediately or remotely, to a social end, this tears asunder thy life, and does not allow it to be one, and it is of the nature of a mutiny, just as when in a popular assembly a man acting by himself stands apart from the general agreement.

24 Quarrels of little children and their sports, and poor spirits carrying about dead bodies (such is everything); and so what is exhibited in the representation of the mansions of the dead strikes our eyes more clearly.

25 Examine into the quality of the form of an object, and detach it altogether from its material part, and then contemplate it; then determine the time, the longest which a thing of this peculiar form is naturally made to endure.

26 Thou hast endured infinite troubles through not being contented with thy ruling faculty, when it does the things which it is constituted by nature to do. But enough (of this).

27 When another blames thee or hates thee, or when men say about thee anything injurious, approach their poor souls, penetrate within, and see what kind of men they are. Thou wilt discover that there is no reason to take any trouble that these men may have this or that opinion about thee. However thou must be well-disposed towards them, for by nature they are friends. And the gods too aid them in all ways, by dreams, by signs, towards the attainment of those things on which they set a value.

28 The periodic movements of the universe are the same, up and down from age to age. And either the universal intelligence puts itself in motion for every separate effect, and if this is so, be thou content with that which is the result of its activity; or it puts itself in motion once, and everything else comes by way of sequence in a manner; or indivisible elements are the origin of all things. In a word, if there is a god, all is well; and if chance rules, do not thou also be governed by it.

Soon will the earth cover us all: then the earth, too, will change, and the things also which result from change will continue to change forever, and these again forever. For if a man reflects on the changes and transformations which follow one another like wave after wave and their rapidity, he will despise everything which is perishable.

29 The universal cause is like a winter torrent: it carries everything along with it. But how worthless are all these poor people who are engaged in matters political, and, as they suppose, are playing the philosopher! All drivelers. Well then, man: do what nature now requires. Set thyself in motion, if it is in thy power, and do not look about thee to see if any one will observe it; nor yet expect Plato's Republic: but be content if the smallest thing goes on well, and consider such an event to be no small matter. For who can change men's opinions? And without a change of opinions what else is there than the slavery of men who groan while they pretend to obey? Come now and tell me of Alexander and Philippus and Demetrius and Phalerum. They themselves shall judge whether they discovered what the common nature required, and trained themselves accordingly. But if they acted like tragedy heroes, no one has condemned me to imitate them. Simple and modest is the work of philosophy. Draw me not aside to insolence and pride.

30 Look down from above on the countless herds of men and their countless solemnities, and the infinitely varied voyagings in storms and calms, and the differences among those who are born, who live together, and die. And consider, too, the life lived by others in olden time, and the life of those who will live after thee, and the life now lived among barbarous nations, and how many know not even thy name, and how many will soon forget it, and how they who perhaps now are praising thee will very soon blame thee, and that

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neither a posthumous name is of any value, nor reputation, nor anything else.

31 Let there be freedom from perturbations with respect to the things which come from the external cause; and let there be justice in the things done by virtue of the internal cause, that is, let there be movement and action terminating in this, in social acts, for this is according to thy nature.

32 Thou canst remove out of the way many useless things among those which disturb thee, for they lie entirely in thy opinion; and thou wilt then gain for thyself ample space by comprehending the whole universe in thy mind, and by contemplating the eternity of time, and observing the rapid change of every several thing, how short is the time from birth to dissolution, and the illimitable time before birth as well as the equally boundless time after dissolution.

33 All that thou seest will quickly perish, and those who have been spectators of its dissolution will very soon perish too. And he who dies at the extremest old age will be brought into the same condition with him who died prematurely.

34 What are these men's leading principles, and about what kind of things are they busy, and for what kind of reasons do they love and honour? Imagine that thou seest their poor souls laid bare. When they think that they do harm by their blame or good by their praise, what an idea!

35 Loss is nothing else than change. But the universal nature delights in change, and in obedience to her all things are now done well, and from eternity have been done in like form, and will be such to time without end. What then dost thou say? That all things have been and all things always will be bad, and that no power has ever been found in so many gods to rectify these things, but the world has been condemned to be bound in never-ceasing evil?

36 The rottenness of the matter which is the foundation of everything! water, dust, bones, filth; or again, marble rocks, the callosities of the earth; and gold and silver, the sediments; and garments, only bits of hair; and purple dye, blood; and everything else is of the same kind. And that which is of the nature of breath, is also another thing of the same kind, changing from this to that.

37 Enough of this wretched life and murmuring and apish tricks. Why art thou disturbed? What is there new in this? What unsettles thee? Is it the form of the thing? Look at it. Or is it the matter? Look at it. But besides these there is nothing. Towards the gods, then, now become at last more simple and better. It is the same whether we examine these things for a hundred years or three.

38 If any man has done wrong, the harm is his own. But perhaps he has not done wrong.

39 Either all things proceed from one intelligent source and come together as in one body, and the part ought not to find fault with what is done for the benefit of the whole; or there are only atoms, and nothing else than mixture and dispersion. Why, then, art thou disturbed? Say to the ruling faculty, Art thou dead, art thou corrupted, art thou playing the hypocrite, art thou become a beast, dost thou herd and feed with the rest?

40 Either the gods have no power or they have power. If, then, they have no power, why dost thou pray to them? But if they have power, why dost thou not pray for them to give thee the faculty of not fearing any of the things which thou fearest, or of not desiring any of the things which thou desirest, or not being pained at anything, rather than pray that any of these things should not happen or happen? for certainly if they can co-operate with men, they can co-operate for these purposes. But perhaps thou wilt say, the gods have placed them in thy power. Well, then, is it not better to use what is in thy power like a free man than to desire in a slavish and abject way what is not in thy power? And who has told thee that the gods do not aid us even in the things which are in our power? Begin, then, to pray for such things, and thou wilt see. One man prays thus: How shall I be able to lie with that woman? Do thou prays thus: How shall I not desire to lie with her? Another prays thus: How shall I be released from this? Another prays: How shall I not desire to be released? Another thus: How shall I not lose my little son? Thou thus: How shall I not be afraid to lose him? In fine, turn thy prayers this way, and see what comes.

41 Epicurus says, In my sickness my conversation was not about my bodily sufferings, nor, says he, did I talk on such subjects to those who visited me; but I continued to discourse on the nature of things as before, keeping to this main point, how the mind, while participating in such movements as go on in the poor flesh, shall be free from perturbations and maintain its proper good. Nor did I, he says, give the physicians an opportunity of putting on solemn looks, as if they were doing something great, but my life went on well and happily. Do, then, the same that he did both in sickness, if thou art sick, and in any other circumstances; for never to desert philosophy in any events that may befall us, nor to hold trifling talk either with an ignorant man or with one unacquainted with nature, is a principle of all schools of philosophy; but to be intent only on that which thou art now doing and on the instrument by which thou doest it.

42 When thou art offended with any man's shameless conduct, immediately ask thyself, Is it possible, then, that shameless men should not be in the world? It is not possible. Do not, then, require what is impossible. For this man also is one of those shameless men who must of necessity be in the world. Let the same considerations be present to thy mind in the case of the knave, and the faithless man, and of every man who does wrong in any way. For at the same time that thou dost remind thyself that it is impossible that such kind of men should not exist, thou wilt become more kindly disposed towards every one individually. It is useful to perceive this, too, immediately when the occasion arises, what virtue nature has given to man to oppose to every wrongful act. For she has given to man, as an antidote against the stupid man, mildness, and against another kind of man some other power. And in all cases it is possible for thee to correct by teaching the man who is gone astray; for every man who errs misses his object and is gone astray. Besides wherein hast thou been injured? For thou wilt find that no one among those against whom thou art irritated has done anything by which thy mind could be made worse; but that which is evil to thee and harmful has its foundation only in the mind. And what harm is done or what is there strange, if the man who has not been instructed does the acts of an uninstructed man? Consider whether thou shouldst not rather blame thyself, because thou didst not expect such a man to err in such a way. For thou hadst means given thee by thy reason to suppose that it was likely that he would commit this error, and yet thou hast forgotten and art amazed that he has erred. But most of all when thou blamest a man as faithless or ungrateful, turn to thyself. For the fault is manifestly thy own, whether thou didst trust that a man who had such a disposition would keep his promise, or when conferring thy kindness thou didst not confer it absolutely, nor yet in such way as to have received from thy very act all the profit. For what more dost thou want when thou hast done a man a service? Art thou not content that thou hast done something conformable to thy nature, and dost thou seek to be paid for it? Just as if the eye demanded a recompense for seeing, or the feet for walking. For as these members are formed for a particular purpose, and by working according to their several constitutions obtain what is their own; so also as man is formed by nature to acts of benevolence, when he has done anything benevolent or in any other way conducive to the common interest, he has acted conformably to his constitution, and he gets what is his own.

MARCUS AURELIUS MEDITATIONS BOOK 10

1 Wilt thou then, my soul, never be good and simple and one and naked, more manifest than the body which surrounds thee? Wilt thou never enjoy an affectionate and contented disposition? Wilt thou never be full and without a want of any kind, longing for nothing more, nor desiring anything, either animate of inanimate, for the enjoyment of pleasures? nor yet desiring time wherein thou shalt have longer enjoyment, or place, or pleasant climate, or society of men with whom thou mayst live in harmony? but wilt thou be satisfied with thy present condition, and pleased with all that is about thee, and wilt thou convince thyself that thou hast everything and that it comes from the gods, that everything is well for thee, and will be well whatever shall please them, and whatever they shall give for the conservation of the perfect living being, the good and just and beautiful, which generates and holds together all things, and contains and embraces all things which are dissolved for the production of other like things? Wilt thou never be such that thou shalt so dwell in community with gods and men as neither to find fault with them at all, nor to be condemned by them?

2 Observe what thy nature requires, so far as thou art governed by nature only; then do it and accept it, if thy nature, so far as thou art a living being, shall not be made worse by it. And next thou must observe what thy nature requires so far as thou art a living being. And all this thou mayst allow thyself, if thy nature, so far as thou art a rational animal, shall not be made worse by it. But the rational animal is consequently also a political (social) animal. Use these rules then, and trouble thyself about nothing else.

3 Everything which happens either happens in such wise as thou art formed by nature to bear it, or as thou art not formed by nature to bear it. If then it happens to thee in such way as thou art formed by nature to bear it, do not complain, but bear it as thou art formed by nature to bear it. But if it happens in such wise as thou art not formed by nature to bear it, do not complain, for it will perish after it has consumed thee. Remember, however, that thou art formed by nature to bear everything, with respect to which it depends on thy own opinion to make it endurable and tolerable, by thinking that it is either thy interest or thy duty to do this.

4 If a man is mistaken, instruct him kindly and show him his error. But if thou art not able, blame thyself, or blame not even thyself.

5 Whatever may happen to thee, it was prepared for thee from all eternity; and the implication of causes was from eternity spinning the thread of thy being, and of that which is incident to it.

6 Whether the universe is (a concourse of) atoms, or nature (is a system), let this first be established, that I am a part of the whole which is governed by nature; next, I am in a manner intimately related to the parts which are of the same kind with myself. For remembering this, inasmuch as I am a part, I shall be discontented with none of the things which are assigned to me out of the whole; for nothing is injurious to the part, if it is for the advantage of the whole. For the whole contains nothing which is not for its advantage; and all natures indeed have this common principle, but the nature of the universe has this principle besides, that it cannot be compelled even by any external cause to generate anything harmful to itself. By remembering then that I am a part of such a whole, I shall be content with everything that happens. And inasmuch as I am in a manner intimately related to the parts which are of the same kind with myself, I shall do nothing unsocial, but I shall rather direct myself to the things which are of the same kind with myself, and I shall turn all my efforts to the common interest, and divert them from the contrary. Now, if these things are done so, life must flow on happily, just as thou mayst observe that the life of a citizen is happy, who continues a course of action which is advantageous to his fellow-citizens, and is content with whatever the state may assign to him.

7 The parts of the whole, everything, I mean, which is naturally comprehended in the universe, must of necessity perish; but let this be understood in this sense, that they must undergo change. But if this is naturally both an evil and a necessity for the parts, the whole would not continue to exist in a good condition, the parts being subject to change and constituted so as to perish in various ways. For whether did nature herself design to do evil to the things which are parts of herself, and to make them subject to evil and of necessity fall into evil, or have such results happened without her knowing it? Both these suppositions, indeed, are incredible. But if a man should even drop the term Nature (as an efficient power), and should speak of these things as natural, even then it would be ridiculous to affirm at the same time that the parts of the whole are in their nature subject to change, and at the same time to be surprised or vexed as if something were happening contrary to nature, particularly as the dissolution of things is into those things of which each thing is composed. For there is either a dispersion of the elements out of which everything has been compounded, or a change from the solid to the earthy and from the airy to the aërial, so that these parts are taken back into the universal reason, whether this at certain periods is consumed by fire or renewed by eternal changes. And do not imagine that the solid and the airy part belong to thee from the time of generation. For all this received its accretion only yesterday, and the day before, as one may say, from the food and the air which is inspired. This, then, which has received the accretion, changes, not that which thy mother brought forth. But suppose that this which thy mother brought forth implicates thee very much with that other part, which has the peculiar quality of change, this is nothing in fact in the way of objection to what is said.

8 When thou hast assumed these names, good, modest, true, rational, a man of equanimity, and magnanimous, take care thou dost not change these names; and if thou shouldst lose them, quickly return to them. And remember that the term Rational was intended to signify a discriminating attention to every several thing and freedom from negligence; and that Equanimity is the voluntary acceptance of the things which are assigned to thee by the common nature; and that Magnanimity is the elevation of the intelligent part above the pleasurable or painful sensations of the flesh, and above that poor thing called fame, and death, and all such things. If, then, thou maintainest thyself in the possession of these names, without desiring to be called by these names by others, thou wilt be another person and wilt enter on another life. For to continue to be such as thou hast hitherto been, and to be torn in pieces and defiled in such a life, is the character of a very stupid man and one overfond of his life, and like those half-devoured fighters with wild beasts, who, though covered with wounds and gore, still entreat to be kept to the following day, though they will be exposed in the same state to the same claws and bites. Therefore fix thyself in the possession of these few names: and if thou art able to abide in them, abide as if thou wast removed to certain islands of the Happy. But if thou shalt perceive that thou fallest out of them and dost not maintain thy hold, go courageously into some nook where thou shalt maintain them, or even depart at once from life, not in passion, but with simplicity and freedom and modesty, after doing this one laudable thing at least in thy life, to have gone out of it thus. In order, however, to the remembrance of these names, it will greatly help thee, if thou rememberest the gods, and that they wish not to be flattered, but wish all reasonable beings to be made like themselves; and if thou rememberest that what does the work of a fig-tree is a fig-tree, and that what does the work of a dog is a dog, and that what does the work of a bee is a bee, and that what does the work of a man is a man.

9 Mimi, war, astonishment, torpor, slavery, will daily wipe out those holy principles of thine. How many things without studying nature dost thou imagine, and how many dost thou neglect? But it is thy duty so to look on and so to do everything, that at the same time the power of dealing with

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circumstances is perfect, and the contemplative faculty is exercised, and the confidence which comes from the knowledge of each several thing is maintained without showing it, buy yet not concealed. For when wilt thou enjoy simplicity, when gravity, and when the knowledge of every several thing, both what it is in substance, and what place it has in the universe, and how long it is formed to exist, and of what things it is compounded, and to whom it can belong, and who are able both to give it and take it away?

10 A spider is proud when it has caught a fly, and another when he has caught a poor hare, and another when he has taken the little fish in a net, and another when he has taken wild boars, and another when he has taken bears, and another when he has taken Sarmatians. Are not these robbers, if thou examinest their opinions?

11 Acquire the contemplative way of seeing how all things change into one another, and constantly attend to it, and exercise thyself about this part of philosophy. For nothing is so much adapted to produce magnanimity. Such a man has put off the body, and as he sees that he must, no one knows how soon, go away from among men and leave everything here, he gives himself up entirely to just doing in all his actions, and in everything else that happens he resigns himself to the universal nature. But as to what any man shall say or think about him, or do against him, he never even thinks of it, being himself contented with these two things, with acting justly in what he now does, and being satisfied with what is now assigned to him; and he lays aside all distracting and busy pursuits, and desires nothing else than to accomplish the straight course through the law, and by accomplishing the straight course to follow God.

12 What need is there of suspicious fear, since it is in thy power to inquire what ought to be done? And if thou seest clear, go by this way content, without turning back: but if thou dost not see clear, stop and take the best advisers. But if any other things oppose thee, go on according to thy powers with due consideration, keeping to that which appears to be just. For it is best to reach this object, and if thou dost fail, let thy failure be in attempting this. He who follows reason in all things is both tranquil and active at the same time, and also cheerful and collected.

13 Inquire of thyself as soon as thou wakest from sleep whether it will make any difference to thee, if another does what is just and right. It will make no difference.

Thou hast not forgotten, I suppose, that those who assume arrogant airs in bestowing their praise or blame on others, are such as they are at bed and at board, and thou hast not forgotten what they do, and what they avoid and what they pursue, and how they steal and how they rob, not with hands and feet, but with their most valuable part, by means of which there is produced, when a man chooses, fidelity, modesty, truth, law, a good genius?

14 To her who gives and takes back all, to nature, the man who is instructed and modest says, Give what thou wilt; take back what thou wilt. And he says this not proudly, but obediently and well pleased with her.

15 Short is the little which remains to thee of life. Live as on a mountain. For it makes no difference whether a man lives there or here, if he lives everywhere in the world as in a state (political community). Let men see, let them know a real man who lives according to nature. If they cannot endure him, let them kill him. For that is better than to live thus as men do.

16 No longer talk at all about the kind of man that a good man ought to be, but be such.

17 Constantly contemplate the whole of time and the whole of substance, and consider that all individual things as to substance are a grain of a fig, and as to time the turning of a gimlet.

18 Look at everything that exists, and observe that it is already in dissolution and in change, and as it were putrefaction or dispersion, or that everything is so constituted by nature as to die.

19 Consider what men are when they are eating, sleeping, generating, easing themselves and so forth. Then what kind of men they are when they are imperious and arrogant, or angry and scolding from their elevated place. But a short time ago to how many they were slaves and for what things: and after a little time consider in what a condition they will be.

20 That is for the good of each thing, which the universal nature brings to each. And it is for its good at the time when nature brings it.

21 'The earth loves the shower'; and 'the solemn aether loves': and the universe loves to make whatever is about to be. I say then to the universe, that I love as thou lovest. And is not this too said, that 'this or that loves to be happened'?

22 Either thou livest here and hast already accustomed thyself to it, or thou art going away, and this was thy own will; or thou art dying and hast discharged thy duty. But besides these things there is nothing. Be of good cheer, then.

23 Let this always be plain to thee, that this piece of land is like any other; and that all things here are the same with things on the top of a mountain, or on the sea-shore, or wherever thou choosest to be. For thou wilt find just what Plato says, Dwelling within the walls of a city as in a shepherd's fold on a mountain.

24 What is my ruling faculty now to me? and of what nature am I now making it? and for what purpose am I now using it? is it void of understanding? is it loosed and rent asunder from social life? is it melted into and mixed with the poor flesh so as to move together with it?

25 He who flies from his master is a runaway; but the law is master, and he who breaks the law is a runaway. And he also who is grieved or angry or afraid, is dissatisfied because something has been or is or shall be of the things which are appointed by him who rules all things, and he is Law, and assigns to every man what is fit. He then who fears or is grieved or is angry is a runaway.

26 A man deposits seed in a womb and goes away, and then another cause takes it, and labours on it and makes a child. What a thing from such a material! Again, the child passes food down through the throat, and then another cause takes it and makes perception and motion, and in fine life and strength and other things; how many and how strange! Observe then the things which are produced in such a hidden way, and see the power just as we see the power which carries things downwards and upwards, not with the eyes, but still no less plainly.

27 Constantly consider how all things such as they now are, in time past also were; and consider that they will be the same again. And place before thy eyes entire dramas and stages of the same form, whatever thou hast learned from thy experience or from older history; for example, the whole court of Hadrianus, and the whole court of Antoninus, and the whole court of Philippus, Alexander, Croesus; for all those were such dramas as we see now, only with different actors.

28 Imagine every man who is grieved at anything or discontented to be like a pig which is sacrificed and kicks and screams.

Like this pig also is he who on his bed in silence laments the bonds in which we are held. And consider that only to the rational animal is it given to follow voluntarily what happens; but simply to follow is a necessity imposed on all.

29 Severally on the occasion of everything that thou doest, pause and ask thyself, if death is a dreadful thing because it deprives thee of this.

30 When thou art offended at any man's fault, forthwith turn to thyself and reflect in what like manner thou dost err thyself; for example, in thinking that money is a good thing, or pleasure, or a bit of reputation, and the like. For by attending to this thou wilt quickly forget thy anger, if this consideration also is added, that the man is compelled; for what else could he do? or, if thou art able, take away from him the compulsion.

31 When thou hast seen Satyron the Socratic, think of either Eutyches or Hymen, and when thou hast seen Euphrates, think of Eutychion or Silvanus, and when thou hast seen Alciphron, think of Tropaeophorus, and when thou hast seen Xenophon, think of Crito of Severus, and when thou hast looked on thyself, think of any other Caesar, and in the case of every one do in like manner. Then let this thought be in thy mind, Where then are those men? Nowhere, or nobody knows where. For thus continuously thou wilt look at human things as smoke and nothing at all; especially if thou reflectest at the same time that what has once changed will never exist again in the infinite duration of time. But thou, in what a brief space of time is thy existence? And why art thou not content to pass through this short time in an orderly way? What matter and opportunity for thy activity art thou avoiding? For what else are all these things, except exercises for the reason, when it has viewed carefully and by examination into their nature the things which happen in life? Persevere then until thou shalt have made these things thy own, as the stomach which is strengthened makes all things its own, as the blazing fire makes flame and brightness out of everything that is thrown into it.

32 Let it not be in any man's power to say truly of thee that thou art not simple or that thou art not good; but let him be a liar whoever shall think anything of this kind about thee; and this is altogether in thy power. For who is he that shall hinder thee from being good and simple? Do thou only determine to live no longer, unless thou shalt be such. For neither does reason allow thee to live, if thou art not such.

33 What is that which as to this material (our life) can be done or said in the way most conformable to reason? For whatever this may be, it is in thy power to do it or to say it, and do not make excuses that thou art hindered. Thou wilt not cease to lament till thy mind is in such a condition that, what luxury is to those who enjoy pleasure, such shall be to thee, in the matter which is subjected and presented to thee, the doing of the things which are conformable to man's constitution; for a man ought to consider as an enjoyment everything which it is in his power to do according to his own nature. And it is in his power everywhere. Now, it is not given to a cylinder to move everywhere by its own motion, nor yet to water nor to fire nor to anything else which is governed by nature of an irrational soul, for the things which check them and stand in the way are many. But intelligence and reason are able to go through everything that opposes them, and in such manner as they are formed by nature and as they choose. Place before thy eyes this facility with which the reason will be carried through all things, as fire upwards, as a stone downwards, as a cylinder down an inclined surface, and seek for nothing further. For all other obstacles either affect the body only which is a dead thing; or, except through opinion and the yielding of the reason itself, they do not crush nor do any harm of any kind; for if they did, he who felt it would immediately become bad. Now, in the case of all things which have a certain constitution, whatever harm may happen to any of them, that which is so affected becomes consequently worse; but in the like case, a man becomes both better, if one may say so, and more worthy of praise by making a right use of these accidents. And finally remember that nothing harms him who is really a citizen, which does not harm the state; nor yet does anything harm the state which does not harm law (order); and of these things which are called misfortunes not one harms law. What then does not harm law does not harm either state or citizen.

34 To him who is penetrated by true principles even the briefest precept is sufficient, and any common precept, to remind him that he should be free from grief and fear. For example:

Leaves, some the wind scatters on the ground - -

- - So is the race of men.

Leaves, also, are thy children; and leaves, too, are they who cry out as if they were worthy of credit and bestow their praise, or on the contrary curse, or secretly blame and sneer; and leaves, in like manner, are those who shall receive and transmit a man's fame to aftertimes. For all such things as these 'are produced in the season of spring',as the poet says; then the wind casts them down; then the forest produces other leaves in their places. But a brief existence is common to all things, and yet thou avoidest and pursuest all things as if they would be eternal. A little time, and thou shalt close thy eyes' and him who has attended thee to thy grave another soon will lament.

35 The healthy eye ought to see all visible things and not to say, I wish for green things; for this is the condition of a diseased eye. And the healthy hearing and smelling ought to be ready to perceive all that can be heard and smelled. And the healthy stomach ought to be with respect to all food just as the mill with respect to all things which it is formed to grind. And accordingly the healthy understanding ought to be prepared for everything which happens; but that which says, Let my dear children live, and let all men praise whatever I may do, is an eye which seeks for green things, or teeth which seek for soft things.

36 There is no man so fortunate that there shall not be by him when he is dying some who are pleased with what is going to happen. Suppose that he was a good and wise man, will there not be at last some one to say to himself, Let us at last breathe freely, being relieved from this schoolmaster? It is true that he was harsh to none of us, but I perceived that he tacitly condemns us. This is what is said of a good man. But in our own case how many other things are there for which there are many who wish to get rid of us. Thou wilt consider this then when thou art dying, and thou wilt depart more contentedly by reflecting thus: I am going away from such a life, in which even my associates in behalf of whom I have striven so much, prayed, and cared, themselves wish me to depart, hoping perchance to get some little advantage by it. Why then, should a man cling to a longer stay here? Do not, however, for this reason go away less kindly disposed to them, but preserving thy own character, and friendly and benevolent and mild, and on the other hand not as if thou wast torn away; but as when a man dies a quiet death, the poor soul is easily separated from the body, such also ought thy departure from men to be, for nature united thee to them and associated thee. But does she now dissolve the union? Well, I am separated as from kinsmen, not, however, dragged resisting, but without compulsion; for this too is one of the things according to nature.

37 Accustom thyself as much as possible on the occasion of anything being done by any person to inquire with thyself, For what object is this man doing this? but begin with thyself, and examine thyself first.

38 Remember that this which pulls the strings is the thing which is hidden within: this is the power of persuasion, this is life; this, if one may so say, is man. In contemplating thyself never include the vessel which surrounds thee, and these instruments which are attached about it. For they are like to an ax, differing only in this, that they grow to the body. For indeed there is no more use in these parts without the cause which moves and checks them than in the weaver's shuttle, and the writer's pen, and the driver's whip.

MARCUS AURELIUS MEDITATIONS BOOK 11

1 These are the properties of the rational soul: it sees itself, analyzes itself, and makes itself such as it chooses; the fruit which it bears itself enjoys (for the fruits of plants and that in animals which corresponds to fruits others enjoy) it obtains its own end, wherever the limit of life may be fixed. Not as in a

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dance and in a play and in suchlike things, where the whole action is incomplete, if anything cuts it short; but in every part and wherever it may be stopped, it makes what has been set before it full and complete, so that it can say, I have what is my own. And further it traverses the whole universe, and the surrounding vacuum, and surveys its form, and it extends itself into the infinity of time, and embraces and comprehends the periodical renovation of all things, and it comprehends that those who come after us will see nothing new, nor have those before us seen anything more, but in a manner he who is forty years old, if he has any understanding at all, has seen by virtue of the uniformity that prevails all things which have been and all that will be. This too is a property of the rational soul, love of one's neighbour, and truth and modesty, and to value nothing more than itself, which is also the property of Law. Thus then right reason differs not at all from the reason of justice.

2 Thou wilt set little value on pleasing song and dancing and the pancratium, if thou wilt distribute the melody of the voice into its several sounds, and ask thyself as to each, if thou art mastered by this; for thou wilt be prevented by shame from confessing it: and in the matter of dancing, if at each movement and attitude thou wilt do the same; and the like also in the matter of the pancratium. In all things, then, except virtue and the acts of virtue, remember to apply thyself to their several parts, and by this division to come to value them little: and apply this rule also to thy whole life.

3 What a soul that is which is ready, if at any moment it must be separated from the body, and ready to be extinguished or dispersed or continue to exist; but so that this readiness comes from a man's own judgement, not from mere obstinacy, as with the Christians, but considerately and with dignity and in a way to persuade another, without tragic show.

4 Have I done something for the general interest? Well, then, I have had my reward. Let this always be present to thy mind, and never stop (doing such good).

5 What is thy art? to be good. And how is this accomplished well except by general principles, some about the nature of the universe, and others about the proper constitution of man?

6 At first tragedies were brought on the stage as means of reminding men of the things which happen to them, and that it is according to nature for things to happen so, and that, if you are delighted with what is shown on the stage, you should not be troubled with that which takes place on the larger stage. For you see that these things must be accomplished thus, and that even they bear them who cry out, 'O Cithaeron'.And, indeed, some things are said well by the dramatic writers, of which kind is the following especially

Me and my children if the gods neglect, This has its reason too. And again

We must not chafe and fret at that which happens. And

Life's harvest reap like the wheat's fruitful ear. And other things of the same kind.

After tragedy the old comedy was introduced, which had a magisterial freedom of speech, and by its very plainness of speaking was useful in reminding men to beware of insolence; and for this purpose too Diogenes used to take from these writers.

But as to the middle comedy which came next, observe what it was, and again, for what object the new comedy was introduced, which gradually sunk down into a mere mimic artifice. That some good things are said even by these writers, everybody knows: but the whole plan of such poetry and dramaturgy, to what end does it look!

7 How plain does it appear that there is not another condition of life so well suited for philosophizing as this in which thou now happenest to be.

8 A branch cut off from the adjacent branch must of necessity be cut off from the whole tree also. So too a man when he is separated from another man has fallen off from the whole social community. Now as to a branch, another cuts it off, but a man by his own act separates himself from his neighbour when he hates him and turns away from him, and he does not know that he has at the same time cut himself off from the whole social system. Yet he has this privilege certainly from Zeus who framed society, for it is in our power to grow again to that which is near to us, and again to become a part which helps to make up the whole. However, if it often happens, this kind of separation, it makes it difficult for that which detaches itself to be brought to unity and to be restored to its former condition. Finally, the branch, which from the first grew together with the tree, and has continued to have one life with it, is not like that which after being cut off is then ingrafted, for this is something like what the gardeners mean when they say that it grows with the rest of the tree, but that it has not the same mind with it.

9 As those who try to stand in thy way when thou art proceeding according to right reason, will not be able to turn thee aside from thy proper action, so neither let them drive thee from thy benevolent feelings towards them, but be on thy guard equally in both matters, not only in the matter of steady judgement and action, but also in the matter of gentleness towards those who try to hinder or otherwise trouble thee. For this also is a weakness, to be vexed at them, as well as to be diverted from thy course of action and to give way through fear; for both are equally deserters from their post, the man who does it through fear, and the man who is alienated from him who is by nature a kinsman and a friend.

10 There is no nature which is inferior to art, for the arts imitate the natures of things. But if this is so, that nature which is the most perfect and the most comprehensive of all natures, cannot fall short of the skill of art. Now all arts do the inferior things for the sake of the superior; therefore the universal nature does so too. And, indeed, hence is the origin of justice, and in justice the other virtues have their foundation: for justice will not be observed, if we either care for indifferent things, or are easily deceived and careless and changeable.

11 If the things do not come to thee, the pursuits and avoidances of which disturb thee, still in a manner thou goest to them. Let then thy judgement about them be at rest, and they will remain quiet, and thou wilt not be seen either pursuing or avoiding.

12 The spherical form of the soul maintains its figure, when it is neither extended towards any object, nor contracted inwards, nor dispersed nor sinks down, but is illuminated by light, by which it sees the truth, the truth of all things and the truth that is in itself.

13 Suppose any man shall despise me. Let him look to that himself. But I will look to this, that I be not discovered doing or saying anything deserving of contempt. Shall any man hate me? Let him look to it. But I will be mild and benevolent towards every man, and ready to show even him his mistake, not reproachfully, nor yet as making a display of my endurance, but nobly and honestly, like the great Phocion, unless indeed he only assumed it. For the interior parts ought to be such, and a man ought to be seen by the gods neither dissatisfied with anything nor complaining. For what evil is it to thee, if thou art now doing what is agreeable to thy own nature, and art satisfied with that which at this moment is suitable to the nature of the universe, since thou art a human being placed at thy post in order that what is for the common advantage may be done in some way?

14 Men despise one another and flatter one another; and men wish to raise themselves above one another, and crouch before one another.

15 How unsound and insincere is he who says, I have determined to deal with thee in a fair way. What art thou doing, man? There is no occasion to give this notice. It will soon show itself by acts. The voice ought to be plainly written on the forehead. Such as a man's character is, he immediately shows it in his eyes, just as he who is beloved forthwith reads everything in the eyes of lovers. The man who is honest and good ought to be exactly like a man who smells strong, so that the bystander as soon as he comes near him must smell whether he choose or not. But the affectation of simplicity is like a crooked stick. Nothing is more disgraceful than a wolfish and false friendship. Avoid this most of all. The good and simple and benevolent show all these things in the eyes, and there is no mistaking.

16 As to living in the best way, this power is in the soul, if it be indifferent to things which are indifferent. And it will be indifferent, if it looks on each of these things separately and all together, and if it remembers that not one of them produces in us an opinion about itself, nor comes to us; but these things remain immovable, and it is we ourselves who produce the judgements about them, and, as we may say, write them in ourselves, it being in our power not to write them, and it being in our power, if perchance these judgements have imperceptibly got admission to our minds, to wipe them out; and if we remember also that such attention will only be for a short time, and then life will be at an end. Besides, what trouble is there at all in doing this? For if these things are according to nature, rejoice in them, and they will be easy to thee: but if contrary to nature, seek what is conformable to thy own nature, and strive towards this, even if it bring no reputation; for every man is allowed to seek his own good.

17 Consider whence each thing is come, and of what it consists, and into what it changes, and what kind of a thing it will be when it has changed, and that it will sustain no harm.

18 (If any have offended against thee, consider first): What is my relation to men, and that we are made for one another; and in another respect, I was made to be set over them, as a ram over the flock or a bull over the herd. But examine the matter from first principles, from this: If all things are not mere atoms, it is nature which orders all things: if this is so, the inferior things exist for the sake of the superior, and these for the sake of one another.

Second, consider what kind of men they are at table, in bed, and so forth; and particularly, under what compulsions in respect of opinions they are; and as to their acts, consider with what pride they do what they do.

Third, that if men do rightly what they do, we ought not to be displeased; but if they do not right, it is plain that they do so involuntarily and in ignorance. For as every soul is unwillingly deprived of the truth, so also is it unwillingly deprived of the power of behaving to each man according to his deserts. Accordingly men are pained when they are called unjust, ungrateful, and greedy, and in a word wrong-doers to their neighbours.

Fourth, consider that thou also doest many things wrong, and that thou art a man like others; and even if thou dost abstain from certain faults, still thou hast the disposition to commit them, though either through cowardice, or concern about reputation or some such mean motive, thou dost abstain from such faults.

Fifth, consider that thou dost not even understand whether men are doing wrong or not, for many things are done with a certain reference to circumstances. And, in short, a man must learn a great deal to enable him to pass a correct judgement on another man's acts.

Sixth, consider when thou art much vexed or grieved, that man's life is only a moment, and after a short time we are all laid out dead.

Seventh, that it is not men's acts which disturb us, for those acts have their foundation in men's ruling principles, but it is our own opinions which disturb us. Take away these opinions then, and resolve to dismiss thy judgement about an act as if it were something grievous, and thy anger is gone. How then shall I take away these opinions? By reflecting that no wrongful act of another brings shame on thee: for unless that which is shameful is alone bad, thou also must of necessity do many things wrong, and become a robber and everything else.

Eighth, consider how much more pain is brought on us by the anger and vexation caused by such acts than by the acts themselves, at which we are angry and vexed.

Ninth, consider that a good disposition is invincible, if it be genuine, and not an affected smile and acting a part. For what will the most violent man do to thee, if thou continuest to be of a kind disposition towards him, and if, as opportunity offers, thou gently admonishest him and calmly correctest his errors at the very time when he is trying to do thee harm, saying, Not so, my child: we are constituted by nature for something else: I shall certainly not be injured, but thou art injuring thyself, my child. And show him with gentle tact and by general principles that this is so, and that even bees do not do as he does, nor any animals which are formed by nature to be gregarious. And thou must do this neither with any double meaning nor in the way of reproach, but affectionately and without any rancour in thy soul; and not as if thou wert lecturing him, nor yet that any bystander may admire, but either when he is alone, and if others are present.

Remember these nine rules, as if thou hadst received them as a gift from the Muses, and begin at last to be a man while thou livest. But thou must equally avoid flattering men and being vexed at them, for both are unsocial and lead to harm. And let this truth be present to thee in the excitement of anger, that to be moved by passion is not manly, but that mildness and gentleness, as they are more agreeable to human nature, so also are they more manly; and he who possesses these qualities possesses strength, nerves and courage, and not the man who is subject to fits of passion and discontent. For in the same degree in which a man's mind is nearer to freedom from all passion, in the same degree also is it nearer to strength: and as the sense of pain is a characteristic of weakness, so also is anger. For he who yields to pain and he who yields to anger, both are wounded and both submit.

But if thou wilt, receive also a tenth present from the leader of the Muses, and it is this, that to expect bad men not to do wrong is madness, for he who expects this desires an impossibility. But to allow men to behave so to others, and to expect them not to do thee any wrong, is irrational and tyrannical.

19 There are four principal aberrations of the superior faculty against which thou shouldst be constantly on thy guard, and when thou hast detected them, thou shouldst wipe them out and say on each occasion thus: this thought is not necessary: this tends to destroy social union: this which thou art going to say comes not from the real thoughts; for thou shouldst consider it among the most absurd of things for a man not to speak from his real thoughts. But the fourth is when thou shalt reproach thyself for anything, for this is an evidence of the diviner part within thee being overpowered and yielding to the less honourable and to the perishable part, the body, and to its gross pleasures.

20 Thy aërial part and all the fiery parts which are mingled in thee, though by nature they have an upward tendency, still in obedience to the disposition of the universe they are overpowered here in the compound mass of the body. And also the whole of the earthy part in thee and the watery, though their tendency is downwards, still are raised up and occupy a position which is not their natural one. In this manner then the elemental parts obey the universal, for when they have been fixed in any place perforce they remain there until again the universal shall sound the signal for dissolution. Is it not then strange that thy intelligent part only should be disobedient and discontented with its own place? And yet no force is imposed on it, but only those things which are conformable to its nature: still it does not submit, but is carried in the opposite direction. For the movement towards injustice and intemperance and to anger and grief and fear is

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nothing else than the act of one who deviates from nature. And also when the ruling faculty is discontented with anything that happens, then too it deserts its post: for it is constituted for piety and reverence towards the gods no less than for justice. For these qualities also are comprehended under the generic term of contentment with the constitution of things, and indeed they are prior to acts of justice.

21 He who has not one and always the same object in life, cannot be one and the same all through his life. But what I have said is not enough, unless this also is added, what this object ought to be. For as there is not the same opinion about all the things which in some way or other are considered by the majority to be good, but only about some certain things, that is, things which concern the common interest; so also ought we to propose to ourselves an object which shall be of a common kind social and political. For he who directs all his own efforts to this object, will make all his acts alike, and thus will always be the same.

22 Think of the country mouse and of the town mouse, and of the alarm and trepidation of the town mouse.

23 Socrates used to call the opinions of the many by the name of Lamiae, bugbears to frighten children.

24 The Lacedaemonians at their public spectacles used to set seats in the shade for strangers, but themselves sat down anywhere.

25 Socrates excused himself to Perdiccas for not going to him, saying, It is because I would not perish by the worst of all ends, that is, I would not receive a favour and then be unable to return it.

26 In the writings of the Ephesians there was this precept, constantly to think of some one of the men of former times who practised virtue.

27 The Pythagoreans bid us in the morning look to the heavens that we may be reminded of those bodies which continually do the same things and in the same manner perform their work, and also be reminded of their purity and nudity. For there is no veil over a star.

28 Consider what a man Socrates was when he dressed himself in a skin, after Xanthippe had taken his cloak and gone out, and what Socrates said to his friends - fine feathers make fine birds - who were ashamed of him and drew back from him when they saw him dressed thus.

29 Neither in writing nor in reading wilt thou be able to lay down rules for others before thou shalt have first learned to obey rules thyself. Much more is this so in life.

30 A slave thou art: free speech is not for thee.

31 And my heart laughed within.

32 Hesiod wrote: And virtue they will curse speaking harsh words.

33 Epictetus said: To look for the fig in winter is a madman's act: such is he who looks for his child when it is no longer allowed.

34 When a man kisses his child, said Epictetus, he should whisper to himself, 'To-morrow perchance thou wilt die'.But those are words of bad omen. 'No word is a word of bad omen',said Epictetus, 'which expresses any work of nature; or if it is so, it is also a word of bad omen to speak of the ears of corn being reaped'.

35 Epictetus said: The unripe grape, the ripe bunch, the dried grape all are changes, not into nothing, but into something which exists not yet.

36 Epictetus said: No man can rob us of our free will.

37 Epictetus also said, a man must discover an art (or rules) with respect to giving his assent; and in respect to his movements he must be careful that they be made with regard to circumstances, that they be consistent with social interests, that they have regard to the value of the object; and as to sensual desire, he should altogether keep away from it; and as to avoidance and aversion, he should not show it with respect to any of the things which are not in our power.

38 The dispute then, he said, is not about any common matter; but about being mad or not.

39 Socrates used to say, What do you want? Souls of rational men or irrational? Souls of rational men! Of what rational men? Sound or unsound? Sound! Why then do you not seek for them? Because we have them! Why then do you fight and quarrel?

MARCUS AURELIUS MEDITATIONS BOOK 12

1 All those things at which thou wishest to arrive by a circuitous road, thou canst have now, if thou dost not refuse them to thyself. And this means, if thou wilt take no notice of all the past, and trust the future to providence, and direct the present only conformably to piety and justice. Conformably to piety, that thou mayest be content with the lot which is assigned to thee, for nature designed it for thee and thee for it. Conformably to justice, that thou mayest always speak the truth freely and without disguise, and do the things which are agreeable to law and according to the worth of each. And let neither another man's wickedness hinder thee, nor opinion nor voice, nor yet the sensations of the poor flesh which has grown about thee; for the passive part will look to this. If then, whatever the time may be when thou shalt be near to thy departure, neglecting everything else thou shalt respect only thy ruling faculty and the divinity within thee, and if thou shalt be afraid not because thou must sometime cease to live, but if thou shalt fear never to have begun to live according to nature, then thou wilt be a man worthy of the universe which has produced thee, and thou wilt cease to be a stranger in thy native land, and to wonder at things which happen daily as if they were something unexpected, and to be dependent on this or that.

2 God sees the minds of all men bared of the material vesture and rind and impurities. For with his intellectual part alone he touches the intelligence only which has flowed and been derived from himself into these bodies. And if thou also usest thyself to do this, thou wilt rid thyself of thy much trouble. For he who regards not the poor flesh which envelops him, surely will not trouble himself by looking after raiment and dwelling and fame and suchlike externals and show.

3 The things are three of which thou art composed, the body, the breath of life, the capability of thinking. Of these the first two are thine, so far as it is thy duty to take care of them; but the third alone is properly thine. Therefore, if thou shalt separate from thyself, that is, from thy understanding, whatever others do or say, and whatever thou hast done or said thyself, and whatever future things trouble thee because they may happen, and whatever in the body which envelops thee, or in the breath (life), which is by nature associated with the body, is attached to thee independent of thy will, and whatever the external circumfluent vortex whirls round, so that the intellectual power exempt from the things of fate can live pure and free by itself, doing what is just and accepting what happens and saying the truth: if thou wilt separate, I say, from this ruling faculty the things which are attached to it by the impressions of sense, and the things of time to come and of time that is past, and wilt make thyself like Empedocles' sphere, All round, and in its joyous rest reposing; and if thou shalt strive to live only what is really thy life, that is, the present, then thou wilt be able to pass that portion of life which remains for thee up to the time of thy death, free from perturbations, nobly, and obedient to thy own daemon, to the god that is within thee.

4 I have often wondered how it is that every man loves himself more than all the rest of men, but yet sets less value on his own opinion of himself than on the opinion of others. If then a god or a wise teacher should present himself to a man and bid him to think of nothing and to design nothing which he would not express as soon as he conceived it, he could not endure it even for a single day. So much more respect have we to what our neighbours shall think of us than to what we shall think of ourselves.

5 How can it be that the gods, after having arranged all things well and benevolently for mankind, have overlooked this alone, that some men and very good men, and men who, as we may say, have had most communion with the divinity, and through pious acts and religious observances have been most intimate with the divinity, when they have once died should never exist again, but should be completely extinguished?

But if this is so, be assured that if it ought to have been otherwise, the gods would have done it. For if it were just, it would also be possible; and if it were according to nature, nature would have had it so. But because it is not so, if in fact it is not so, be thou convinced that it ought not to have been so: for thou seest even of thyself that in this inquiry thou art disputing with the deity; and we should not thus dispute with the gods, unless they were most excellent and most just; but if this is so, they would not have allowed anything in the ordering of the universe to be neglected unjustly and irrationally.

6 Practise thyself even in the things which thou despairest of accomplishing. For even the left hand, which is ineffectual for all other things for want of practice, holds the bridle more vigorously than the right hand; for it has been practised in this.

7 Consider in what condition, both in body and soul, a man should be when he is overtaken by death; and consider the shortness of life, the boundless abyss of time, past and future, the feebleness of all matter.

8 Contemplate the formative principles (forms) of things bare of their coverings; the purposes of actions; consider what pain is, what pleasure is, and death, and fame; who is to himself the cause of his uneasiness; how no man is hindered by another; that everything is opinion.

9 In the application of thy principles thou must be like the pancratiast, not like the gladiator; for the gladiator lets fall the sword which he uses and is killed; but the other always has his hand, and needs to do nothing else than use it.

10 See what things are in themselves, dividing them into matter, form and purpose.

11 What a power man has to do nothing except what God will approve, and to accept all that God may give him.

12 With respect to that which happens conformably to nature, we ought to blame neither gods, for they do nothing wrong either voluntarily or involuntarily, nor men, for they do nothing wrong except involuntarily. Consequently we should blame nobody.

13 How ridiculous and what a stranger he is who is surprised at anything which happens in life.

14 Either there is a fatal necessity and invincible order, or a kind providence, or a confusion without a purpose and without a director. If then there is an invincible necessity, why dost thou resist? But if there is a providence which allows itself to be propitiated, make thyself worthy of the help of the divinity. But if there is a confusion without a governor, be content that in such a tempest thou hast in thyself a certain ruling intelligence. And even if the tempest carry thee away, let it carry away the poor flesh, the poor breath, everything else; for the intelligence at least it will not carry away.

15 Does the light of the lamp shine without losing its splendour until it is extinguished; and shall the truth which is in thee and justice and temperance be extinguished (before thy death)?

16 When a man has presented the appearance of having done wrong, (say), How then do I know if this is a wrongful act? And even if he has done wrong, how do I know that he has not condemned himself? and so this is like tearing his own face. Consider that he who would not have the bad man do wrong, is like the man who would not have the fig-tree to bear juice in the figs and infants to cry and the horse to neigh, and whatever else must of necessity be. For what must a man do who has such a character? If then thou art irritable, cure this man's disposition.

17 If it is not right, do not do it: if it is not true, do not say it. For let thy efforts be… (Note: There is something wrong, or incomplete here).

18 In everything always observe what the thing is which produces for thee an appearance, and resolve it by dividing it into the formal, the material, the purpose, and the time within which it must end.

19 Perceive at last that thou hast in thee something better and more divine than the things which cause the various effects, and as it were pull thee by the strings. What is there now in my mind? is it fear, or suspicion, or desire, or anything of the kind?

20 First, do nothing inconsiderately, nor without a purpose. Second, make thy acts refer to nothing else than to a social end.

21 Consider that before long thou wilt be nobody and nowhere, nor will any of the things exist which thou now seest, nor any of those who are now living. For all things are formed by nature to change and be turned and to perish in order that other things in continuous succession may exist.

22 Consider that everything is opinion, and opinion is in thy power. Take away then, when thou choosest, thy opinion, and like a mariner, who has doubled the promontory, thou wilt find calm, everything stable, and a waveless bay.

23 Any one activity, whatever it may be, when it has ceased at its proper time, suffers no evil because it has ceased; nor he who has done this act, does he suffer any evil for this reason that the act has ceased. In like manner then the whole which consists of all the acts, which is our life, if it cease at its proper time, suffers no evil for this reason that it has ceased; nor he who has terminated this series at the proper time, has he been ill dealt with. But the proper time and the limit nature fixes, sometimes as in old age the peculiar nature of man, but always the universal nature, by the change of whose parts the whole universe continues ever young and perfect. And everything which is useful to the universal is always good and in season. Therefore the termination of life for every man is no evil, because neither is it shameful, since it is both independent of the will and not opposed to the general interest, but it is good, since it is seasonable and profitable to and congruent with the universal. For thus too he is moved by the deity who is moved in the same manner with the deity and moved towards the same things in his mind.

24 These three principles thou must have in readiness. In the things which thou doest do nothing either inconsiderately or otherwise than as justice herself would act; but with respect to what may happen to thee from without, consider that it happens either by chance or according to providence, and thou must neither blame chance nor accuse providence. Second, consider what every being is from the seed to the time of its receiving a soul, and from the reception of a soul to the giving back of the same, and of what things every being is compounded and into what things it is resolved. Third, if thou shouldst suddenly be raised up above the earth, and shouldst look down on human beings, and observe the variety of them how great it is, and at the same time also shouldst see at a glance how great is the number of beings who dwell all around in the air and the aether, consider that as often as thou shouldst be raised up, thou wouldst see the same things, sameness of form and shortness of duration. Are these things to be proud of?

25 Cast away opinion: thou art saved. Who then hinders thee from casting it away?

26 When thou art troubled about anything, thou hast forgotten this, that all things happen according to the universal nature; and forgotten this, that a man's wrongful act is nothing to thee; and further thou hast forgotten this, that everything which happens, always happened so and will

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happen so, and now happens so everywhere; forgotten this too, how close is the kinship between a man and the whole human race, for it is a community, not of a little blood or seed, but of intelligence. And thou hast forgotten this too, that every man's intelligence is a god, and is an efflux of the deity; and forgotten this, that nothing is a man's own, but that his child and his body and his very soul came from the deity; forgotten this, that everything is opinion; and lastly thou hast forgotten that every man lives the present time only, and loses only this.

27 Constantly bring to thy recollection those who have complained greatly about anything, those who have been most conspicuous by the greatest fame or misfortunes or enmities or fortunes of any kind: then think where are they all now? Smoke and ash and a tale, or not even a tale. And let there be present to thy mind also everything of this sort, how Fabius Catullinus lived in the country, and Lucius Lupus in his gardens, and Stertinius at Baiae, and Tiberius at Capreae, and Velius Rufus (or Rufus at Velia); and in fine think of the eager pursuit of anything conjoined with pride; and how worthless everything is after which men violently strain; and how much more philosophical it is for a man in the opportunities presented to him to show himself just, temperate, obedient to the gods, and to do this with all simplicity: for the pride which is proud of its want of pride is the most intolerable of all.

28 To those who ask, Where hast thou seen the gods or how dost thou comprehend that they exist and so worshipest them? I answer, in the first place, they may be seen even with the eyes; in the second place, neither have I seen even my own soul and yet I honour it. Thus then with respect to the gods, from what I constantly experience of their power, from this I comprehend that they exist and I venerate them.

29 The safety of life is this, to examine everything all through, what it is itself, what is its material, what the formal part; with all thy soul to do justice and to say the truth. What remains except to enjoy life by joining one good thing to another so as not to leave even the smallest intervals between?

30 There is one light of the sun, though it is interrupted by walls, mountains, and other things infinite. There is one common substance, though it is distributed among countless bodies which have their several qualities. There is one soul, though it is distributed among infinite natures and individuals. There is one intelligent soul, though it seems to be divided. Now in the things which have been mentioned all the other parts, such as those which are air and matter, are without sensation and have no fellowship: and yet even these parts the intelligent principle holds together, and the gravitation towards the same. But intellect in a peculiar manner tends to that which is of the same kin, and combines with it, and the feeling for communion is not interrupted.

31 What dost thou wish? to continue to exist? Well, dost thou wish to have sensation? movement? growth? and then again to cease to grow? to use thy speech? to think? What is there of all these things which seems to thee worth desiring? But if it is easy to set little value on all these things, turn to that which remains, which is to follow reason and god. But it is inconsistent with honouring reason and god to be troubled because by death a man will be deprived of the other things.

32 How small a part of the boundless and unfathomable time is assigned to every man! for it is very soon swallowed up in the eternal. And how small a part of the whole substance! and how small a part of the universal soul! and on what a small clod of the whole earth thou creepest! Reflecting on all this, consider nothing to be great, except to act as thy nature leads thee, and to endure that which the common nature brings.

33 How does the ruling faculty make use of itself? for all lies in this. But everything else, whether it is in the power of thy will or not, is only lifeless ashes and smoke.

34 This reflection is most adapted to move us to contempt of death, that even those who think pleasure to be a good and pain an evil still have despised it.

35 The man to whom that only is good which comes in due season, and to whom it is the same thing whether he has done more or fewer acts conformable to right reason, and to whom it makes no difference whether he contemplates the world for a longer or a shorter time. For this man neither is death a terrible thing.

36 Man, thou hast been a citizen in this great state (the world): what difference does it make to thee whether for five years (or three)? for that which is conformable to the laws is just for all. Where is the hardship then, if no tyrant nor yet an unjust judge sends thee away from the state, but nature who brought thee into it? the same as if a praetor who has employed an actor dismisses him from the stage. 'But I have not finished the five acts, but only three of them'.Thou sayest well, but in life the three acts are the whole drama; for what shall be a complete drama is determined by him who was once the cause of its composition, and now of its dissolution: but thou art the cause of neither. Depart then satisfied, for he also who releases thee is satisfied.

THE END

THE STROMATA, OR MISCELLANIES

The Stromateis (The Patchwork)
Author: Titus Flavius Clemens (Clement of Alexandria)
From: Ante-Nicene Fathers Vol 2 1886, pp. 40-92.
Translation: Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 1886
Translation: Henry Chadwick, 1954, Book 3
Estimated Range of Dating: 180-215 A.D.

(The Stromata, a wrong writing for "Stromateis" [meaning "Patchwork," i.e., Miscellanies], attributed to Clement of Alexandria [c. 150–215 AD], is the third of a trilogy of works regarding the Christian life. The oldest extant manuscripts date to the 11th century AD. The work is titled Stromateis ("patchwork") because it deals with such a variety of matters. It goes further than its two predecessors and aims at the perfection of the Christian life by initiation into complete knowledge. It attempts, on the basis of Scripture and tradition, to give such an account of the Christian faith as shall answer all the demands of learned men, and conduct the student into the innermost realities of his belief.

The full title of the Stromata, according to Eusebius and Photius, was "Titus Flavius Clement's miscellaneous collections of speculative (gnostic) notes bearing upon the true philosophy." The aim of the work, in accordance with this title, is, in opposition to Gnosticism, to furnish the materials for the construction of a true gnosis, a Christian philosophy, on the basis of faith, and to lead on to this higher knowledge those who, by the discipline of the Paedagogus, had been trained for it. The work consisted originally of eight books. The eighth book is lost; that which appears under this name has plainly no connection with the rest of the Stromata. Various accounts have been given of the meaning of the distinctive word in the title Stromateis; but all agree in regarding it as indicating the miscellaneous character of its contents. And they are very miscellaneous. They consist of the speculations of Greek philosophers, of heretics, and of those who cultivated the true Christian gnosis, and of quotations from sacred Scripture. The latter he affirms to be the source from which the higher Christian knowledge is to be drawn; as it was that from which the germs of truth in Plato and the Hellenic philosophy were derived. He describes philosophy as a divinely ordered preparation of the Greeks for faith in Christ, as the law was for the Hebrews; and shows the necessity and value of literature and philosophic culture for the attainment of true Christian knowledge, in opposition to the numerous body among Christians who regarded learning as useless and dangerous. He proclaims himself an eclectic, believing in the existence of fragments of truth in all systems, which may be separated from error; but declaring that the truth can be found in unity and completeness only in Christ, as it was from Him that all its scattered germs originally proceeded.

The contents of the Stromateis, as its title suggests, are miscellaneous. Its place in the trilogy is disputed – Clement initially intended to write the Didascalus, a work which would complement the practical guidance of the Paedagogus with a more intellectual schooling in theology. The Stromata is less systematic and ordered than Clement's other works.

The sole authority for the Stromateis is preserved at the Laurentian Library in Florence. How it came to Florence is unknown. The editio princeps was published by Piero Vettori in 1550.

In the 19th century, Percy Mordaunt Barnard and Otto Stählin posited that this manuscript was copied out in the 910s for Arethas of Caesarea, the remainder of whose extant library is held by the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Their theory is generally accepted today. As with the library of Arethas held at Paris, the Laurentian manuscript contains numerous misspellings, omitted words and sentences and even marginalia integrated into the text. However, Frederic G. Kenyon argued that this is not the fault of the copyist, but that an ancestral manuscript had caused the damage, perhaps even a papyrus.

Contents of the books:

The 1st book starts on the topic of Greek philosophy. Consistent with his other writing, Clement affirms that philosophy had a propaedeutic role for the Greek, similar to the function of the law for the Jews. He then embarks on a discussion of the origins of Greek culture and technology, arguing that most of the important figures in the Greek world were foreigners, and that Jewish culture was the most significant influence on Greece. In an attempt to demonstrate the primacy of Moses, Clement gives an extended chronology of the world, wherein he dates the birth of Christ to 25 April or May, 4-2 B.C., and the creation of the world to 5592 B.C. The book ends with a discussion on the origin of languages and the possibility of a Jewish influence on Plato.

While many scholars keep themselves busy by exploring how much much Titus Flavius Clemens knew about early Christianity, it is acually far more significant to see how he knew about the religions and philosophies of Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism. It goes even so far that he mentions Vedic terms and the Buddha by name and that he gained a godlike status due to "his precepts," [which clearly refers to his Four Noble Truths, the analysis of all human suffering, and The Eightfold Path, the only effective therapy, which consists of eight practices: right view, right resolve, right speech, right conduct, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right meditative absorption of these truths or the union with them.]. In Book 1, Chapter 15 he reports: "Thus philosophy, a thing of the highest utility, flourished in antiquity among the barbarians, shedding its light over the nations. And afterwards it came to Greece. First in its ranks were the prophets of the Egyptians; and the Chaldeans [Babylonians] among the Assyrians [whose state language was Aramaic]; and the Druids among the Gauls; and the Samanaeans [Shramana, a Vedic term, in Sanskrit and Pali: Samana, means "one who labours, toils, or exerts themselves for some higher or religious purpose" or "seeker or researcher who is extremely diligent but also austere and ascetic".] among the Bactrians [Indians, Hindus]; and the philosophers of the Celts; and the Magi of the Persians [Zoroastrians], who foretold the Saviour's birth, and came into the land of Judaea guided by a star. The Indian gymnosophists are also in the number, and the other barbarian philosophers. And of these there are two classes, some of them called Sarmanae [Sramana, Samana], and others Brahmins [Brahmanai]. And those of the Sarmanae who are called Hylobii neither inhabit cities, nor have roofs over them, but are clothed in the bark of trees, feed on nuts, and drink water in their hands. Like those called Encratites in the present day, they know not marriage nor begetting of children. Some, too, of the Indians obey the precepts of Buddha [Boutta]; whom, on account of his extraordinary sanctity, they have raised to divine honours."*

Who was the man who was so well informed? His real name was Titus Flavius Clemens, also known as Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–215 AD) in order to avoid confusion with a man of the same name who was a close relative to Titus Flavius Clemens, whom we know as the [Clement of Rome] who is the first historically verifyable Pope. Whether these two Clements were related to one another is not known.

Neither Clement's birthdate or birthplace is known with any degree of certainty. It is conjectured that he was born sometime around 150 AD. According to Epiphanius of Salamis, he was born in Athens. Clement converted to Christianity as a young man. In the Protrepticus he displays an extensive knowledge of Greek religion and mystery religions. He travelled in Greece, Asia Minor, Palestine, and Egypt. Clement's journeys were primarily a religious undertaking. In Greece, he encountered an Ionian theologian, who has been identified as Athenagoras of Athens; while in the east, he was taught by an Assyrian, sometimes identified with Tatian, and a Jew, possibly Theophilus of Caesarea. In around 180 AD, Clement reached Alexandria,[10] where he met Pantaenus, who taught at the Catechetical School of Alexandria. Clement studied under Pantaenus, and was ordained to the priesthood by Pope Julian before 189. Otherwise, virtually nothing is known of Clement's personal life in Alexandria. He may have been married, a conjecture supported by his writings. During the persecutions of the Roman emperor Lucius Septimius Severus [145–211, born in Leptis Magna, Libya, Africa] in the years 202–203, Clement left Alexandria. In 211, Alexander of Jerusalem wrote a letter commending him to the Church of Antioch, which may imply that Clement was living in Cappadocia or Jerusalem at that time. The date and location of his death are unknown.

Clement of Alexandria was strongly influenced by Stoics, Pythagoras, Plato, Heraclitus, Pantaenus, Xenophanes and Homer. Clement was not only with classical Greek and Roman philosophy and literature but surprisingly also with Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism.He taught at the Catechetical School of Alexandria. Among his pupils were Origen and Alexander of Jerusalem.

The 2nd book is largely devoted to the respective roles of faith and philosophical argument. Clement contends that while both are important, the fear of God is foremost, because through faith one receives divine wisdom. To Clement, scripture is an innately true primitive philosophy which is complemented by human reason through the Logos. Faith is voluntary, and the decision to believe is a crucial fundamental step in becoming closer to God. It is never irrational, as it is founded on the knowledge of the truth of the Logos, but all knowledge proceeds from faith, as first principles are unprovable outside a systematic structure.

The 3rd book covers asceticism. He discusses marriage, which is treated similarly in the Paedagogus. Clement rejects the Gnostic opposition to marriage, arguing that only men who are uninterested in women should remain celibate, and that sex is a positive good if performed within marriage for the purposes of procreation. However it has not always been so: the Fall occurred because Adam and Eve succumbed to their desire for each other, and copulated before the allotted time. He argues against the idea that Christians should reject their family for an ascetic life, which stems from Luke 14:25–27, contending that Jesus would not have contradicted the precept to "Honour thy Father and thy Mother" (Exodus 20:12), one of the Ten Commandments. Clement concludes

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that asceticism will only be rewarded if the motivation is Christian in nature, and thus the asceticism of non-Christians such as the gymnosophists is pointless.

The 4th book focuses on martyrdom. While all good Christians should be unafraid of death, Clement condemns those who actively seek out a martyr's death, arguing that they do not have sufficient respect for God's gift of life. He is ambivalent whether any believing Christian can become a martyr by virtue of the manner of their death, or whether martyrdom is reserved for those who have lived exceptional lives. Marcionites cannot become martyrs, because they do not believe in the divinity of God the Father – their sufferings are in vain. There is then a digression to the subject of theological epistemology. According to Clement, there is no way of empirically testing the existence of God the Father, because the Logos has revelatory, not analysable meaning, although Christ was an object of the senses. God had no beginning, and is the universal first principle; this is clearly a Hindu teaching.

The 5th book returns to the subject of faith. Clement begins the fourth book with a belated explanation of the disorganised nature of the work, and gives a brief description of his aims for the remaining three or four books. Then he argues that truth, justice and goodness can be seen only by the mind, not the eye; faith is a way of accessing the unseeable. He stresses that knowledge of God can only be achieved through faith once one's moral faults have been corrected. This parallels Clement's earlier insistence that martyrdom can only be achieved by those who practice their faith in Christ through good deeds, not those who simply profess their faith. God transcends matter entirely, and thus the materialist cannot truly come to know God. Although Christ was God incarnate, it is our spiritual, not physical comprehension of him which is important.

In the beginning of the 6th book, Clement intends to demonstrate that the works of Greek poets were derived from the prophetic books of the Bible. In order to reinforce his position that the Greeks were inclined towards plagiarism, he cites numerous instances of such inappropriate appropriation by classical Greek writers, reported second-hand from On Plagiarism, an anonymous 3rd century BC work sometimes ascribed to Aretades. Clement then digresses to the subject of sin and hell, arguing that Adam was not perfect when created, but given the potential to achieve perfection. He espouses broadly universalist doctrine, holding that Christ's promise of salvation is available to all, even those condemned to hell.

The final extant book begins with a description of the nature of Christ, and that of the true Christian, who aims to be as similar as possible to both the Father and the Son. Clement then criticises the simplistic anthropomorphism of most ancient religions, quoting Xenophanes' famous description of African, Thracian and Egyptian deities. The Greek gods may also have had their origins in the personification of material objects: Ares representing iron, and Dionysus wine. Prayer, and the relationship between love and knowledge are then discussed. 1 Corinthians 13:8 seems to contradict the characterisation of the true Christian as one who knows; but to Clement knowledge vanishes only in that it is subsumed by the universal love expressed by the Christian in his reverence for his Creator. Following Socrates, he argues that vice arises from a state of ignorance, not from intention. The Christian is a "laborer in God's vineyard", responsible both for his own path to salvation and that of his neighbor. The work ends with an extended passage against the contemporary divisions and heresies within the church.

Question of the 8th book: Clement intended to make but one book of this; at least seven grew out of it, without his having treated all the subjects proposed. The absence of certain things definitely promised has led scholars to ask whether he wrote an eighth book, as would appear from Eusebius (6,13,1) and the Florilegia, and various attempts have been made to identify short or fragmentary treatises of his work that may have been part of this book. Photius, writing in the 9th century, found various texts appended to manuscripts of the seven canonical books, which lead Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655) to suggest that the original eighth book is lost, and he identified the text purported to be from the eighth book as fragments of the Hypopotoses. In any case the "excerpts" and "selections", which, with part of a treatise on logical method, are designated as the eighth book of the Stromateis in a single 11th-century manuscript, are not parts of the Hypotyposes, which Clement is known to have written.)

THE STROMATA, BOOK 1

CHAPTER 1 -- PREFACE. THE AUTHOR'S OBJECT. THE UTILITY OF WRITTEN COMPOSITIONS.

[Missing the beginning] . . . .. that you may read them under your hand, and may be able to preserve them. Whether written compositions are not to be left behind at all; or if they are, by whom? And if the former, what need there is for written compositions? and if the latter, is the composition of them to be assigned to earnest men, or the opposite? It were certainly ridiculous for one to disapprove of the writing of earnest men, and approve of those, who are not such, engaging in the work of composition. Theopompus and Timaeus, who composed fables and slanders, and Epicurus the leader of atheism, and Hipponax and Archilochus, are to be allowed to write in their own shameful manner. But he who proclaims the truth is to be prevented from leaving behind him what is to benefit posterity. It is a good thing, I reckon, to leave to posterity good children. This is the case with children of our bodies. But words are the progeny of the soul. Hence we call those who have instructed us, fathers. Wisdom is a communicative and philanthropic thing. Accordingly, Solomon says, "My son, if thou receive the saying of my commandment, and hide it with thee, thine ear shall hear wisdom." He points out that the word that is sown is hidden in the soul of the learner, as in the earth, and this is spiritual planting. Wherefore also he adds, "And thou shall apply thine heart to understanding, and apply it for the admonition of thy son." For soul, me thinks, joined with soul, and spirit with spirit, in the sowing of the word, will make that which is sown grow and germinate. And every one who is instructed, is in respect of subjection the son of his instructor. "Son," says he, "forget not my laws."

And if knowledge belong not to all (set an ass to the lyre, as the proverb goes), yet written compositions are for the many. "Swine, for instance, delight in dirt more than in clean water." "Wherefore," says the Lord, "I speak to them in parables: because seeing, they see not; and hearing, they hear not, and do not understand; " not as if the Lord caused the ignorance: for it were impious to think so. But He prophetically exposed this ignorance, that existed in them, and intimated that they would not understand the things spoken. And now the Saviour shows Himself, out of His abundance, dispensing goods to His servants according to the ability of the recipient, that they may augment them by exercising activity, and then returning to reckon with them; when, approving of those that had increased His money, those faithful in little, and commanding them to have the charge over many things, He bade them enter into the joy of the Lord. But to him who had hid the money, entrusted to him to be given out at interest, and had given it back as he had received it, without increase, He said, "Thou wicked and slothful servant, thou oughtest to have given my money to the bankers, and at my coming I should have received mine own." Wherefore the useless servant "shall be cast into outer darkness." "Thou, therefore, be strong," says Paul, "in the grace that is in Christ Jesus. And the things which thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also." And again: "Study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth."

If, then, both proclaim the Word -- the one by writing, the other by speech -- are not both then to be approved, making, as they do, faith active by love? It is by one's own fault that he does not choose what is best; God is free of blame. As to the point in hand, it is the business of some to lay out the word at interest, and of others to test it, and either choose it or not. And the judgment is determined within themselves.

But there is that species of knowledge which is characteristic of the herald, and that which is, as it were, characteristic of a messenger, and it is serviceable in whatever way it operates, both by the hand and tongue. "For he that soweth to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting. And let us not be weary in well-doing." On him who by Divine Providence meets in with it, it confers the very highest advantages, -- the beginning of faith, readiness for adopting a right mode of life, the impulse towards the truth, a movement of inquiry, a trace of knowledge; in a word, it gives the means of salvation. And those who have been rightly reared in the words of truth, and received provision for eternal life, wing their way to heaven. Most admirably, therefore, the apostle says, "In everything approving ourselves as the servants of God; as poor, and yet making many rich; as having nothing, yet possessing all things. Our mouth is opened to you." "I charge thee," he says, writing to Timothy, "before God, and Christ Jesus, and the elect angels, that thou observe these things, without preferring one before another, doing nothing by partiality."

Both must therefore test themselves: the one, if he is qualified to speak and leave behind him written records; the other, if he is in a right state to hear and read: as also some in the dispensation of the Eucharist, according to custom enjoin that each one of the people individually should take his part. One's own conscience is best for choosing accurately or shunning. And its firm foundation is a right life, with suitable instruction. But the imitation of those who have already been proved, and who have led correct lives, is most excellent for the understanding and practice of the commandments. "So that whosoever shall eat the bread and drink the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. But let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of the bread and drink of the cup." It therefore follows, that every one of those who undertake to promote the good of their neighbours, ought to consider whether he has betaken himself to teaching rashly and out of rivalry to any; if his communication of the word is out of vainglory; if the t only reward he reaps is the salvation of those who hear, and if he speaks not in order to win favour: if so, he who speaks by writings escapes the reproach of mercenary motives. "For neither at any time used we flattering words, as ye know," says the apostle, "nor a cloak of covetousness. God is witness. Nor of men sought we glory, neither of you, nor yet of others, when we might have been burdensome as the apostles of Christ. But we were gentle among you, even as a nurse cherisheth her children."

In the same way, therefore, those who take part in the divine words, ought to guard against betaking themselves to this, as they would to the building of cities, to examine them out of curiosity; that they do not come to the task for the sake of receiving worldly things, having ascertained that they who are consecrated to Christ are given to communicate the necessaries of life. But let such be dismissed as hypocrites. But if any one wishes not to seem, but to be righteous, to him it belongs to know the things which are best. If, then, "the harvest is plenteous, but the labourers few," it is incumbent on us "to pray" that there may be as great abundance of labourers as possible.

But the husbandry is twofold, -- the one unwritten, and the other written. And in whatever way the Lord's labourer sow the good wheat, and grow and reap the ears, he shall appear a truly divine husbandman. "Labour," says the Lord, "not for the meat which perisheth, but for that which endureth to everlasting life." And nutriment is received both by bread and by words. And truly "blessed are the peace-makers," who instructing those who are at war in their life and errors here, lead them back to the peace which is in the Word, and nourish for the life which is according to God, by the distribution of the bread, those "that hunger after righteousness." For each soul has its own proper nutriment; some growing by knowledge and science, and others feeding on the Hellenic philosophy, the whole of which, like nuts, is not eatable. "And he that planteth and he that watereth," "being ministers" of Him "that gives the increase, are one" in the ministry. "But every one shall receive his own reward, according to his own work. For we are God's husbandmen, God's husbandry. Ye are God's building," according to the apostle. Wherefore the hearers are not permitted to apply the test of comparison. Nor is the word, given for investigation, to be committed to those who have been reared in the arts of all kinds of words, and in the power of inflated attempts at proof; whose minds are already pre-occupied, and have not been previously emptied. But whoever chooses to banquet on faith, is stedfast for the reception of the divine words, having acquired already faith as a power of judging, according to reason. Hence ensues to him persuasion in abundance. And this was the meaning of that saying of prophecy, "If ye believe not, neither shall ye understand." "As, then, we have opportunity, let us do good to all, especially to the household of faith." And let each of these, according to the blessed David, sing, giving thanks. "Thou shalt sprinkle me with hyssop, and I shall be cleansed. Thou shalt wash me, and I shall be whiter than the snow. Thou shalt make me to hear gladness and joy, and the bones which have been humbled shall rejoice. Turn Thy face from my sins. Blot out mine iniquities. Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit in my inward parts. Cast me not away from Thy face, and take not Thy Holy Spirit from me. Restore to me the joy of Thy salvation, and establish me with Thy princely spirit."

He who addresses those who are present before him, both tests them by time, and judges by his judgment, and from the others distinguishes him who can hear; watching the words, the manners, the habits, the life, the motions, the attitudes, the look, the voice; the road, the rock, the beaten path, the fruitful land, the wooded region, the fertile and fair and cultivated spot, that is able to multiply the seed. But he that speaks through books, consecrates himself before God, crying in writing thus: Not for gain, not for vainglory, not to be vanquished by partiality, nor enslaved by fear nor elated by pleasure; but only to reap the salvation of those who read, which he does, not at present participate in, but awaiting in expectation the recompense which will certainly be rendered by Him, who has promised to bestow on the labourers the reward that is meet. But he who is enrolled in the number of men ought not to desire recompense. For he that vaunts his good services, receives glory as his reward. And he who does any duty for the sake of recompense, is he not held fast in the custom of the world, either as one who has done well, hastening to receive a reward, or as an evil-doer avoiding retribution? We must, as far as we can, imitate the Lord.I And he will do so, who complies with the will of God, receiving freely, giving freely, and receiving as a worthy reward the citizenship itself. "The hire of an harlot shall not come into the sanctuary," it is said: accordingly it was forbidden to bring to the altar the price of a dog.

And in whomsoever the eye of the soul has been blinded by ill-nurture and teaching, let him advance to the true light, to the truth, which shows by writing the things that are unwritten. "Ye that thirst, go to the waters," says Esaias, And "drink water from thine own vessels," Solomon exhorts.

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Accordingly in "The Laws," the philosopher who learned from the Hebrews, Plato, commands husbandmen not to irrigate or take water from others, until they have first dug down in their own ground to what is called the virgin soil, and found it dry. For it is right to supply want, but it is not well to support laziness. For Pythagoras said that, "although it be agreeable to reason to take a share of a burden, it is not a duty to take it away."

Now the Scripture kindles the living spark of the soul, and directs the eye suitably for contemplation; perchance inserting something, as the husbandman when he ingrafts, but, according to the opinion of the divine apostle, exciting what is in the soul. "For there are certainly among us many weak and sickly, and many sleep. But if we judge ourselves, we shall not be judged." Now this work of mine in writing is not artfully constructed for display; but my memoranda are stored up against old age, as a remedy against forgetfulness, truly an image and outline of those vigorous and animated discourses which I was privileged to hear, and of blessed and truly remarkable men.

Of these the one, in Greece, an Ionic; the other in Magna Graecia: the first of these from Coele-Syria, the second from Egypt, and others in the East. The one was born in the land of Assyria, and the other a Hebrew in Palestine.

When I came upon the last (he was the first in power), having tracked him out concealed in Egypt, I found rest. He, the true, the Sicilian bee, gathering the spoil of the flowers of the prophetic and apostolic meadow, engendered in the souls of his hearers a deathless element of knowledge.

Well, they preserving the tradition of the blessed doctrine derived directly from the holy apostles, Peter, James, John, and Paul, the sons receiving it from the father (but few were like the fathers), came by God's will to us also to deposit those ancestral and apostolic seeds. And well I know that they will exult; I do not mean delighted with this tribute, but solely on account of the preservation of the truth, according as they delivered it. For such a sketch as this, will, I think, be agreeable to a soul desirous of preserving from escape the blessed tradition.

"In a man who loves wisdom the father will be glad." Wells, when pumped out, yield purer water; and that of which no one partakes, turns to putrefaction. Use keeps steel brighter, but disuse produces rust in it. For, in a word, exercise produces a healthy condition both in souls and bodies. "No one lighteth a candle, and putteth it under a bushel, but upon a candlestick, that it may give light to those who are regarded worthy of the feast." For what is the use of wisdom, if it makes not him who can hear it wise? For still the Saviour saves, "and always works, as He sees the Father." For by teaching, one learns more; and in speaking, one is often a hearer along with his audience. For the teacher of him who speaks and of him who hears is one -- who waters both the mind and the word. Thus the Lord did not hinder from doing good while keeping the Sabbath; but allowed us to communicate of those divine mysteries, and of that holy light, to those who are able to receive them. He did not certainly disclose to the many what did not belong to the many; but to the few to whom He knew that they belonged, who were capable of receiving and being moulded according to them. But secret things are entrusted to speech, not to writing, as is the case with God.

And if one say that it is written, "There is nothing secret which shall not be revealed, nor hidden which shall not be disclosed," let him also hear from us, that to him who hears secretly, even what is secret shall be manifested. This is what was predicted by this oracle. And to him who is able secretly to observe what is delivered to him. that which is veiled shall be disclosed as truth; and what is hidden to the many, shall appear manifest to the few. For why do not all know the truth? why is not righteousness loved, if righteousness belongs to all? But the mysteries are delivered mystically, that what is spoken may be in the mouth of the speaker; rather not in his voice, but in his understanding. "God gave to the Church, some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ."

The writing of these memoranda of mine, I well know, is weak when compared with that spirit, full of grace, which I was privileged to hear. But it will be an image to recall the archetype to him who was struck with the thyrsus. For "speak," it is said, "to a wise man, and he will grow wiser; and to him that hath, and there shall be added to him." And we profess not to explain secret things sufficiently -- far from it -- but only to recall them to memory, whether we have forgot aught, or whether for the purpose of not forgetting. Many things, I well know, have escaped us, through length of time, that have dropped away unwritten. Whence, to aid the weakness of my memory, and provide for myself a salutary help to my recollection in a systematic arrangement of chapters, I necessarily make use of this form. There are then some things of which we have no recollection; for the power that was in the blessed men was great. There are also some things which remained unnoted long, which have now escaped; and others which are effaced, having faded away in the mind itself, since such a task is not easy to those not experienced; these I revive in my commentaries. Some things I purposely omit, in the exercise of a wise selection, afraid to write what I guarded against speaking: not grudging -- for that were wrong -- but fearing for my readers, lest they should stumble by taking them in a wrong sense; and, as the proverb says, we should be found "reaching a sword to a child." For it is impossible that what has been written should not escape, although remaining unpublished by me. But being always revolved, using the one only voice, that of writing, they answer nothing to him that makes inquiries beyond what is written; for they require of necessity the aid of some one, either of him who wrote, or of some one else who has walked in his footsteps. Some things my treatise will hint; on some it will linger; some it will merely mention. It will try to speak imperceptibly, to exhibit secretly, and to demonstrate silently. The dogmas taught by remarkable sects will be adduced; and to these will be opposed all that ought to be premised in accordance with the profoundest contemplation of the knowledge, which, as we proceed to the renowned and venerable canon of tradition, from the creation of the world, will advance to our view; setting before us what according to natural contemplation necessarily has to be treated of beforehand, and clearing off what stands in the way of this arrangement. So that we may have our ears ready for the reception of the tradition of true knowledge; the soil being previously cleared of the thorns and of every weed by the husbandman, in order to the planting of the vine. For there is a contest, and the prelude to the contest; and them are some mysteries before other mysteries.

Our book will not shrink from making use of what is best in philosophy and other preparatory instruction. "For not only for the Hebrews and those that are under the law," according to the apostle, "is it right to become a Jew, but also a Greek for the sake of the Greeks, that we may gain all." Also in the Epistle to the Colossians he writes, "Admonishing every man, and teaching every man in all wisdom, that we may present every man perfect in Christ." The nicety of speculation, too, suits the sketch presented in my commentaries. In this respect the resources of learning are like a relish mixed with the food of an athlete, who is not indulging in luxury, but entertains a noble desire for distinction.

By music we harmoniously relax the excessive tension of gravity. And as those who wish to address the people, do so often by the herald, that what is said may be better heard; so also in this case. For we have the word, that was spoken to many, before the common tradition. Wherefore we must set forth the opinions and utterances which cried individually to them, by which those who hear shall more readily turn.

And, in truth, to speak briefly: Among many small pearls there is the one; and in a great take of fish there is the beauty-fish; and by time and toil truth will gleam forth, if a good helper is at hand. For most benefits are supplied, from God, through men. All of us who make use of our eyes see what is presented before them. But some look at objects for one reason, others for another. For instance, the cook and the shepherd do not survey the sheep similarly: for the one examines it if it be fat; the other watches to see if it be of good breed. Let a man milk the sheep's milk if he need sustenance: let him shear the wool if he need clothing. And in this way let me produce the fruit of the Greek erudition.

For I do not imagine that any composition can be so fortunate as that no one will speak against it. But that is to be regarded as in accordance with reason, which nobody speaks against, with reason. And that course of action and choice is to be approved, not which is faultless, but which no one rationally finds fault with. For it does not follow, that if a man accomplishes anything not purposely, he does it through force of circumstances. But he will do it, managing it by wisdom divinely given, and in accommodation to circumstances. For it is not he who has virtue that needs the way to virtue, any more than he, that is strong, needs recovery. For, like farmers who irrigate the land beforehand, so we also water with the liquid stream of Greek learning what in it is earthy; so that it may receive the spiritual seed cast into it, and may be capable of easily nourishing it. The Stromata will contain the truth mixed up in the dogmas of philosophy, or rather covered over and hidden, as the edible part of the nut in the shell. For, in my opinion, it is fitting that the seeds of truth be kept for the husbandmen of faith, and no others. I am not oblivious of what is babbled by some, who in their ignorance are frightened at every noise, and say that we ought to occupy ourselves with what is most necessary, and which contains the faith; and that we should pass over what is beyond and superfluous, which wears out and detains us to no purpose, in things which conduce nothing to the great end. Others think that philosophy was introduced into life by an evil influence, for the ruin of men, by an evil inventor. But I shall show, throughout the whole of these Stromata, that evil has an evil nature, and can never turn out the producer of aught that is good; indicating that philosophy is in a sense a work of Divine Providence.

CHAPTER 2 -- OBJECTION TO THE NUMBER OF EXTRACTS FROM PHILOSOPHICAL WRITINGS IN THESE BOOKS ANTICIPATED AND ANSWERED.

In reference to these commentaries, which contain as the exigencies of the case demand, the Hellenic opinions, I say thus much to those who are fond of finding fault. First, even if philosophy were useless, if the demonstration of its uselessness does good, it is yet useful. Then those cannot condemn the Greeks, who have only a mere hearsay knowledge of their opinions, and have not entered into a minute investigation in each department, in order to acquaintance with them. For the refutation, which is based on experience, is entirely trustworthy. For the knowledge of what is condemned is found the most complete demonstration. Many things, then, though not contributing to the final result, equip the artist. And otherwise erudition commends him, who sets forth the most essential doctrines so as to produce persuasion in his hearers, engendering admiration in those who are taught, and leads them to the truth. And such persuasion is convincing, by which those that love learning admit the truth; so that philosophy does not ruin life by being the originator of false practices and base deeds, although some have calumniated it, though it be the clear image of truth, a divine gift to the Greeks; nor does it drag us away from the faith, as if we were bewitched by some delusive art, but rather, so to speak, by the use of an ampler circuit, obtains a common exercise demonstrative of the faith. Further, the juxtaposition of doctrines, by comparison, saves the truth, from which follows knowledge.

Philosophy came into existence, not on its own account, but for the advantages reaped by us from knowledge, we receiving a firm persuasion of true perception, through the knowledge of things comprehended by the mind. For I do not mention that the Stromata, forming a body of varied erudition, wish artfully to conceal the seeds of knowledge. As, then, he who is fond of hunting captures the game after seeking, tracking, scenting, hunting it down with dogs; so truth, when sought and got with toil, appears a delicious thing. Why, then, you will ask, did you think it fit that such an arrangement should be adopted in your memoranda? Because there is great danger in divulging the secret of the true philosophy to those, whose delight it is unsparingly to speak against everything, not justly; and who shout forth all kinds of names and words indecorously, deceiving themselves and beguiling those who adhere to them. "For the Hebrews seek signs," as the apostle says, "and the Greeks seek after wisdom."

CHAPTER 3 -- AGAINST THE SOPHISTS.

There is a great crowd of this description: some of them, enslaved to pleasures and willing to disbelieve, laugh at the truth which is worthy of all reverence, making sport of its barbarousness. Some others, exalting themselves, endeavour to discover calumnious objections to our words, furnishing captious questions, hunters out of paltry sayings, practisers of miserable artifices, wranglers, dealers in knotty points, as that Abderite says: "For mortals' tongues are glib, and on them are many speeches; And a wide range for words of all sorts in this place and that." And -- "Of whatever sort the word you have spoken, of the same sort you must hear."

Inflated with this art of theirs, the wretched Sophists, babbling away in their own jargon; toiling their whole life about the division of names and the nature of the composition and conjunction of sentences, show themselves greater chatterers than turtle-doves; scratching and tickling, not in a manly way, in my opinion, the ears of those who wish to be tickled.

"A river of silly words -- not a dropping;" just as in old shoes, when all the rest is worn and is falling to pieces, and the tongue alone remains. The Athenian Solon most excellently enlarges, and writes: "Look to the tongue, and to the words of the glozing man, But you look on no work that has been done; But each one of you walks in the steps of a fox, And in all of you is an empty mind."

This, I think, is signified by the utterance of the Saviour, "The foxes have holes, but the Son of man hath not where to lay His head." For on the believer alone, who is separated entirely from the rest, who by the Scripture are called wild beasts, rests the head of the universe, the kind and gentle Word, "who taketh the wise in their own craftiness. For the Lord knoweth the thoughts of the wise, that they axe vain;" the Scripture calling those the wise (sofous) who are skilled in words and arts, sophists (sofistas) Whence the Greeks also applied the denominative appellation of wise and sophists (sofoi sofistai) to those who were versed in anything Cratinus accordingly, having in the Archilochii enumerated the poets, said: "Such a hive of sophists have ye examined." And similarly Iophon, the comic poet, in Flute-playing Satyrs, says: "For there entered A band of sophists, all equipped."

Of these and the like, who devote their attention to empty words, the divine Scripture most excellently says, "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent."

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CHAPTER 4 -- HUMAN ARTS AS WELL AS DIVINE KNOWLEDGE PROCEED FROM GOD.

Homer calls an artificer wise; and of Margites, if that is his work, he thus writes: "Him, then, the Gods made neither a delver nor a ploughman, Nor in any other respect wise; but he missed every art."

Hesiod further said the musician Linus was "skilled in all manner of wisdom;" and does not hesitate to call a mariner wise, seeing he writes: "Having no wisdom in navigation."

And Daniel the prophet says, "The mystery which the king asks, it is not in the power of the wise, the Magi, the diviners, the Gazarenes, to tell the king; but it is God in heaven who revealeth it."

Here he terms the Babylonians wise. And that Scripture calls every secular science or art by the one name wisdom (there are other arts and sciences invented over and above by human reason), and that artistic and skilful invention is from God, will be clear if we adduce the follow ing statement: "And the Lord spake to Moses, See, I have called Bezaleel, the son of Uri, the son of Or, of the tribe of Judah; and I have filled him with the divine spirit of wisdom, and understanding, and knowledge, to devise and to execute in all manner of work, to work gold, and silver, and brass, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, and in working stone work, and in the art of working wood," and even to "all works." And then He adds the general reason, "And to every understanding heart I have given understanding;" that is, to every one capable of acquiring it by pains and exercise. And again, it is written expressly in the name of the Lord "And speak thou to all that are wise in mind, whom I have filled with the spirit of perception."

Those who are wise in mind have a certain attribute of nature peculiar to themselves; and they who have shown themselves capable, receive from the Supreme Wisdom a spirit of perception in double measure. For those who practise the common arts, are in what pertains to the senses highly gifted: in hearing, he who is commonly called a musician; in touch, he who moulds clay; in voice the singer, in smell the perfumer, in sight the engraver of devices on seals. Those also that are occupied in instruction, train the sensibility according to which the poets are susceptible to the influence of measure; the sophists apprehend expression; the dialecticians, syllogisms; and the philosophers are capable of the contemplation of which themselves are the objects. For sensibility finds and invents; since it persuasively exhorts to application. And practice will increase the application which has knowledge for its end. With reason, therefore, the apostle has called the wisdom of God" manifold," and which has manifested its power "in many departments and in many modes" -- by art, by knowledge, by faith, by prophecy -- for our benefit. "For all wisdom is from the Lord, and is with Him for ever," as says the wisdom of Jesus.

For if thou call on wisdom and knowledge with a loud voice, and seek it as treasures of silver, and eagerly track it out, thou shalt understand godliness and find divine knowledge." The prophet says this in contradiction to the knowledge according to philosophy, which teaches us to investigate in a magnanimous and noble manner, for our progress in piety. He opposes, therefore, to it the knowledge which is occupied with piety, when referring to knowledge, when he speaks as follows: "For God gives wisdom out of His own mouth, and knowledge along with understanding, and treasures up help for the righteous." For to those who have been justified by philosophy, the knowledge which leads to piety is laid up as a help.

CHAPTER 5 -- PHILOSOPHY THE HANDMAID OF THEOLOGY.

Accordingly, before the advent of the Lord, philosophy was necessary to the Greeks for righteousness. And now it becomes conducive to piety; being a kind of preparatory training to those who attain to faith through demonstration. "For thy foot," it is said, "will not stumble, if thou refer what is good, whether belonging to the Greeks or to us, to Providence." For God is the cause of all good things; but of some primarily, as of the Old and the New Testament; and of others by consequence, as philosophy. Perchance, too, philosophy was given to the Greeks directly and primarily, till the Lord should call the Greeks. For this was a schoolmaster to bring "the Hellenic mind," as the law, the Hebrews, "to Christ." Philosophy, therefore, was a preparation, paving the way for him who is perfected in Christ.

"Now," says Solomon, "defend wisdom, and it will exalt thee, and it will shield thee with a crown of pleasure." For when thou hast strengthened wisdom with a cope by philosophy, and with right expenditure, thou wilt preserve it unassailable by sophists. The way of truth is therefore one. But into it, as into a perennial river, streams flow from all sides. It has been therefore said by inspiration: "Hear, my son, and receive my words; that thine may be the many ways of life. For I teach thee the ways of wisdom; that the fountains fail thee not," which gush forth from the earth itself. Not only did He enumerate several ways of salvation for any one righteous man, but He added many other ways of many righteous, speaking thus: "The paths of the righteous shine like the light." The commandments and the modes of preparatory training are to be regarded as the ways and appliances of life.

"Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thy children, as a hen her chickens!" And Jerusalem is, when interpreted, "a vision of peace." He therefore shows prophetically, that those who peacefully contemplate sacred things are in manifold ways trained to their calling. What then? He "would," and could not. How often, and where? Twice; by the prophets, and by the advent. The expression, then, "How often," shows wisdom to be manifold; every mode of quantity and quality, it by all means saves some, both in time and in eternity. "For the Spirit of the Lord fills the earth." And if any should violently say that the reference is to the Hellenic culture, when it is said, "Give not heed to an evil woman; for honey drops from the lips of a harlot," let him hear what follows: "who lubricates thy throat for the time." But philosophy does not flatter. Who, then, does He allude to as having committed fornication? He adds expressly, "For the feet of folly lead those who use her, after death, to Hades. But her steps are not supported." Therefore remove thy way far from silly pleasure. "Stand not at the doors of her house, that thou yield not thy life to others." And He testifies, "Then shall thou repent in old age, when the flesh of thy body is consumed." For this is the end of foolish pleasure. Such, indeed, is the case. And when He says, "Be not much with a strange woman," He admonishes us to use indeed, but not to linger and spend time with, secular culture. For what was bestowed on each generation advantageously, and at seasonable times, is a preliminary training for the word of the Lord. "For already some men, ensnared by the charms of handmaidens, have despised their consort philosophy, and have grown old, some of them in music, some in geometry, others in grammar, the most in rhetoric." "But as the encyclical branches of study contribute to philosophy, which is their mistress; so also philosophy itself co-operates for the acquisition of wisdom. For philosophy is the study of wisdom, and wisdom is the knowledge of things divine and human; and their causes." Wisdom is therefore queen of philosophy, as philosophy is of preparatory culture. For if philosophy" professes control of the tongue, and the belly, and the parts below the belly, it is to be chosen on its own account. But it appears more worthy of respect and pre-eminence, if cultivated for the honour and knowledge of God." And Scripture will afford a testimony to what has been said in what follows. Sarah was at one time barren, being Abraham's wife. Sarah having no child, assigned her maid, by name Hagar, the Egyptian, to Abraham, in order to get children. Wisdom, therefore, who dwells with the man of faith (and Abraham was reckoned faithful and righteous), was still barren and without child in that generation, not having brought forth to Abraham aught allied to virtue. And she, as was proper, thought that he, being now in the time of progress, should have intercourse with secular culture first (by Egyptian the world is designated figuratively); and afterwards should approach to her according to divine providence, and beget Isaac."

And Philo interprets Hagar to mean "sojourning." For it is said in connection with this, "Be not much with a strange woman." Sarah he interprets to mean "my princedom." He, then, who has received previous training is at liberty to approach to wisdom, which is supreme, from which grows up the race of Israel. These things show that that wisdom can be acquired through instruction, to which Abraham attained, passing from the contemplation of heavenly things to the faith and righteousness which are according to God. And Isaac is shown to mean "self-taught;" wherefore also he is discovered to be a type of Christ. He was the husband of one wife Rebecca, which they translate "Patience." And Jacob is said to have consorted with several, his name being interpreted" Exerciser." And exercises are engaged in by means of many and various dogmas. Whence, also, he who is really "endowed with the power of seeing" is called Israel, having much experience, and being fit for exercise.

Something else may also have been shown by the three patriarchs, namely, that the sure seal of knowledge is composed of nature, of education, and exercise.

You may have also another image of what has been said, in Thamar sitting by the way, and presenting the appearance of a harlot, on whom the studious Judas (whose name is interpreted "powerful"), who left nothing unexamined and uninvestigated, looked; and turned aside to her, preserving his profession towards God. Wherefore also, when Sarah was jealous at Hagar being preferred to her, Abraham, as choosing only what was profitable in secular philosophy, said, "Behold, thy maid is in thine hands: deal with her as it pleases thee;" manifestly meaning, "I embrace secular culture as youthful, and a handmaid; but thy knowledge I honour and reverence as true wife." And Sarah afflicted her; which is equivalent to corrected and admonished her. It has therefore been well said, "My son, despise not thou the correction of God; nor faint when thou art rebuked of Him. For whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom He receiveth." And the foresaid Scriptures, when examined in other places, will be seen to exhibit other mysteries. We merely therefore assert here, that philosophy is characterized by investigation into truth and the nature of things (this is the truth of which the Lord Himself said, "I am the truth"; that, again, the preparatory training for rest in Christ exercises the mind, rouses the intelligence, and begets an inquiring shrewdness, by means of the true philosophy, which the initiated possess, having found it, or rather received it, from the truth itself.

CHAPTER 6 -- THE BENEFIT OF CULTURE.

The readiness acquired by previous training conduces much to the perception of such things as are requisite; but those things which can be perceived only by mind are the special exercise for the mind. And their nature is triple according as we consider their quantity, their magnitude, and what can be predicated of them. For the discourse which consists of demonstrations, implants in the spirit of him who follows it, clear faith; so that he cannot conceive of that which is demonstrated being different; and so it does not allow us to succumb to those who assail us by fraud. In such studies, therefore, the soul is purged from sensible things, and is excited, so as to be able to see truth distinctly. For nutriment, and the training which is maintained gentle, make noble natures I; and noble natures, when they have received such training, become still better than before both in other respects, but especially in productiveness, as is the case with the other creatures. Wherefore it is mid, "Go to the ant, thou sluggard, and become wiser than it, which provideth much and, varied food in the harvest against the inclemency of winter." Or go to the bee, and learn how laborious she is; for she, feeding on the whole meadow, produces one honey-comb. And if "thou prayest in the closet," as the Lord taught, "to worship in spirit," thy management will no longer be solely occupied about the house, but also about the soul, what must be bestowed on it, and how, and how much; and what must be laid aside and treasured up in it; and when it ought to be produced, and to whom. For it is not by nature, but by learning, that people become noble and good, as people also become physicians and pilots. We all in common, for example, see the vine and the horse. But the husbandman will know if the vine be good or bad at fruit-bearing; and the horseman will easily distinguish between the spiritless and the swift animal. But that some are naturally predisposed to virtue above others, certain pursuits of those, who are so naturally predisposed above others, show. But that perfection in virtue is not the exclusive property of those, whose natures are better, is proved, since also those who by nature are ill-disposed towards virtue, in obtaining suitable training, for the most part attain to excellence; and, on the other hand, those whose natural dispositions are apt, become evil through neglect.

Again, God has created us naturally social and just; whence justice must not be said to take its rise from implantation alone. But the good imparted by creation is to be conceived of as excited by the commandment; the soul being trained to be willing to select what is noblest.

But as we say that a man can be a believer without learning, so also we assert that it is impossible for a man without learning to comprehend the things which are declared in the faith. But to adopt what is well said, and not to adopt the reverse, is caused not simply by faith, but by faith combined with knowledge. But if ignorance is want of training and of instruction, then teaching produces knowledge of divine and human things. But just as it is possible to live rightly in penury of this world's good things, so also in abundance. And we avow, that at once with more ease and more speed will one attain to virtue through previous training. But it is not such as to be unattainable without it; but it is attainable only when they have learned, and have had their senses exercised. "For hatred," says Solomon, "raises strife, but instruction guardeth the ways of life;" in such a way that we are not deceived nor deluded by those who are practised in base arts for the injury of those who hear. "But instruction wanders reproachless," it is said. We must be conversant with the art of reasoning, for the purpose of confuting the deceitful opinions of the sophists. Well and felicitously, therefore, does Anaxarchus write in his book respecting "kingly rule:" "Erudition benefits greatly and hurts greatly him who possesses it; it helps him who is worthy, and injures him who utters readily every word, and before the whole people. It is necessary to know the measure of time. For this is the end of wisdom. And those who sing at the doors, even if they sing skilfully, are not reckoned wise, but have the reputation of folly." And Hesiod: "Of the Muses, who make a man loquacious, divine, vocal."

For him who is fluent in words he calls loquacious; and him who is clever, vocal; and "divine," him who is skilled, a philosopher, and acquainted with the truth.

CHAPTER 7 -- THE ECLECTIC PHILOSOPHY PAVES THE WAY FOR DIVINE VIRTUE.

The Greek preparatory culture, therefore, with philosophy itself, is shown to have come down from God to men, not with a definite direction but in the way in which showers fail down

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on the good land, and on the dunghill, and on the houses. And similarly both the grass and the wheat sprout; and the figs and any other reckless trees grow on sepulchres. And things that grow, appear as a type of truths. For they enjoy the same influence of the rain. But they have not the same grace as those which spring up in rich soil, inasmuch as they are withered or plucked up. And here we are aided by the parable of the sower, which the Lord interpreted. For the husbandman of the soil which is among men is one; He who from the beginning, from the foundation of the world, sowed nutritious seeds; He who in each age rained down the Lord, the Word. But the times and places which received [such gifts], created the differences which exist. Further, the husbandman sows not only wheat (of which there are many varieties), but also other seeds -- barley, and beam, and peas, and vetches, and vegetable and flower seeds. And to the same husbandry belongs both planting and the operations necessary in the nurseries, and gardens, and orchards, and the planning and rearing of all sorts of trees In like manner, not only the care of sheep, but the care of herds, and breeding of horses, and dogs, and bee-craft, all arts, and to speak comprehensively, the care of flocks and the rearing of animals, differ from each other more or less, but are all useful for life. And philosophy -- I do not mean the Stoic, or the Platonic, or the Epicurean, or the Aristotelian, but whatever has been well said by each of those sects, which teach righteousness along with a science pervaded by piety, -- this eclectic whole I call philosophy. But such conclusions of human reasonings, as men have cut away and falsified, I would never call divine.

And now we must look also at this, that if ever those who know not how to do well, live well; for they have lighted on well-doing. Some, too, have aimed well at the word of truth through understanding. "But Abraham was not justified by works, but by faith." It is therefore of no advantage to them after the end of life, even if they do good works now, if they have not faith. Wherefore also the Scriptures were translated into the language of the Greeks, in order that they might never be able to allege the excuse of ignorance, inasmuch as they are able to hear also what we have in our hands, if they only wish. One speaks in one way of the truth, in another way the truth interprets itself. The guessing at truth is one thing, and truth itself is another. Resemblance is one thing, the thing itself is another. And the one results from learning and practice, the other from power and faith. For the teaching of piety is a gift, but faith is grace. "For by doing the will of God we know the will of God." "Open, then," says the Scripture, "the gates of righteousness; and I will enter in, and confess to the Lord." But the paths to righteousness (since God saves in many ways, for He is good) are many and various, and lead to the Lord's way and gate. And if you ask the royal and true entrance, you will hear, "This is the gate of the Lord, the righteous shall enter in by it." While there are many gates open, that in righteousness is in Christ, by which all the blessed enter, and direct their steps in the sanctity of knowledge. Now Clemens, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, while expounding the differences of those who are approved according to the Church, says expressly, "One may be a believer; one may be powerful in uttering knowledge; one may be wise in discriminating between words; one may be terrible in deeds."

CHAPTER 8 -- THE SOPHISTICAL ARTS USELESS.

But the art of sophistry, which the Greeks cultivated, is a fantastic power, which makes false opinions like true by means of words. For it produces rhetoric in order to persuasion, and disputation for wrangling. These arts, therefore, if not conjoined with philosophy, will be injurious to every one. For Plato openly called sophistry "an evil art." And Aristotle, following him, demonstrates it to be a dishonest art, which abstracts in a specious manner the whole business of wisdom, and professes a wisdom which it has not studied. To speak briefly, as the beginning of rhetoric is the probable, and an attempted proof the process, and the end persuasion, so the beginning of disputation is what is matter of opinion, and the process a contest, and the end victory. For in the same manner, also, the beginning of sophistry is the apparent, and the process twofold; one of rhetoric, continuous and exhaustive; and the other of logic, and is interrogatory. And its end is admiration.

The dialectic in vogue in the schools, on the other hand, is the exercise of a philosopher in matters of opinion, for the sake of the faculty of disputation. But truth is not in these at all. With reason, therefore, the noble apostle, depreciating these superfluous arts occupied about words, says, "If any man do not give heed to wholesome words, but is puffed up by a kind of teaching, knowing nothing, but doting (noswn) about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh contention, envy, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, destitute of the truth."

You see how he is moved against them, calling their art of logic -- on which, those to whom this garrulous mischievous art is dear, whether Greeks or barbarians, plume themselves -- a disease (nosos). Very beautifully, therefore, the tragic poet Euripides says in the Phoenissoe,- "But a wrongful speech Is diseased in itself, and needs skilful medicines."

For the saving Word is called "wholesome," He being the truth; and what is wholesome (healthful) remains ever deathless. But separation from what is healthful and divine is impiety, and a deadly malady. These are rapacious wolves hid in sheep-skins, men-stealers, and glozing soul-seducers, secretly, but proved to be robbers; striving by fraud and force to catch us who are unsophisticated and have less power of speech.

"Often a man, impeded through want of words, carries less weight In expressing what is right, than the man of eloquence. But now in fluent mouths the weightiest truths They disguise, so that they do not seem what they ought to seem," says the tragedy. Such are these wranglers, whether they follow the sects, or practise miserable dialectic arts. These are they that "stretch the warp and weave nothing," says the Scripture; prosecuting a bootless task, which the apostle has called "cunning craftiness of men whereby they lie in wait to deceive." "For there are," he says, "many unruly and vain talkers and deceivers:" Wherefore it was not said to all, "Ye are the salt of the earth." For there are some even of the hearers of the word who are like the fishes of the sea, which, reared from their birth in brine, yet need salt to dress them for food. Accordingly I wholly approve of the tragedy, when it says: "O son, false words can be well spoken, And truth may be vanquished by beauty of words.

But this is not what is most correct, but nature and what is right; He who practises eloquence is indeed wise, But I consider deeds always better than words." We must not, then, aspire to please the multitude. For we do not practise what will please them, but what we know is remote from their disposition. "Let us not be desirous of vainglory,," says the apostle, "provoking one another, envying one another." Thus the truth-loving Plato says, as if divinely inspired, "Since I am such as to obey nothing but the word, which, after reflection, appears to me the best." Accordingly he charges those who credit opinions without intelligence and knowledge, with abandoning right and sound reason unwarrantably, and believing him who is a partner in falsehood. For to cheat one's self of the truth is bad; but to speak the truth, and to hold as our opinions positive realities, is good.

Men are deprived of what is good unwillingly. Nevertheless they are deprived either by being deceived or beguiled, or by being compelled and not believing. He who believes not, has already made himself a willing captive; and he who changes his persuasion is cozened, while he forgets that time imperceptibly takes away some things, and reason others. And after an opinion has been entertained, pain and anguish, and on the other hand contentiousness and anger, compel. Above all, men are beguiled who are either bewitched by pleasure or terrified by fear. And all these are voluntary changes, but by none of these will knowledge ever be attained.

CHAPTER 9 -- HUMAN KNOWLEDGE NECESSARY FOR THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE SCRIPTURES.

Some, who think themselves naturally gifted, do not wish to touch either philosophy or logic; nay more, they do not wish to learn natural science. They demand bare faith alone, as if they wished, without bestowing any care on the vine, straightway to gather clusters from the first. Now the Lord is figuratively described as the vine, from which, with pains and the art of husbandry, according to the word, the fruit is to be gathered.

We must lop, dig, bind, and perform the other operations. The pruning-knife, I should think, and the pick-axe, and the other agricultural implements, are necessary for the culture of the vine, so that it may produce eatable fruit. And as in husbandry, so also in medicine: he has learned to purpose, who has practised the various lessons, so as to be able to cultivate and to heal. So also here, I call him truly learned who brings everything to bear on the truth; so that, from geometry, and music, and grammar, and philosophy itself, culling what is useful, he guards the faith against assault. Now, as was said, the athlete is despised who is not furnished for the contest. For instance, too, we praise the experienced helmsman who "has seen the cities of many men," and the physician who has had large experience; thus also some describe the empiric. And he who brings everything to bear on a fight life, procuring examples from the Greeks and barbarians, this man is an experienced searcher after truth, and in reality a man of much counsel, like the touch-stone (that is, the Lydian), which is believed to possess the power of distinguishing the spurious from the genuine gold. And our much-knowing gnostic can distinguish sophistry from philosophy, the art of decoration from gymnastics, cookery from physic, and rhetoric from dialectics, and the other sects which are according to the barbarian philosophy, from the truth itself. And how necessary is it for him who desires to be partaker of the power of God, to treat of intellectual subjects by philosophising! And how serviceable is it to distinguish expressions which are ambiguous, and which in the Testaments are used synonymously! For the Lord, at the time of His temptation, skilfully matched the devil by an ambiguous expression. And I do not yet, in this connection, see how in the world the inventor of philosophy and dialectics, as some suppose, is seduced through being deceived by the form of speech which consists in ambiguity. And if the prophets and apostles knew not the arts by which the exercises of philosophy are exhibited, yet the mind of the prophetic and instructive spirit, uttered secretly, because all have not an intelligent ear, demands skilful modes of teaching in order to clear exposition. For the prophets and disciples of the Spirit knew infallibly their mind. For they knew it by faith, in a way which others could not easily, as the Spirit has said. But it is not possible for those who have not learned to receive it thus. "Write," it is said, "the commandments doubly, in counsel and knowledge, that thou mayest answer the words of truth to them who send unto thee." What, then, is the knowledge of answering? or what that of asking? It is dialectics. What then? Is not speaking our business, and does not action proceed from the Word? For if we act not for the Word, we shall act against reason. But a rational work is accomplished through God. "And nothing," it is said, "was made without Him" -- the Word of God.

And did not the Lord make all things by the Word? Even the beasts work, driven by compelling fear. And do not those who are called orthodox apply themselves to good works, knowing not what they do?

CHAPTER 10 -- TO ACT WELL OF GREATER CONSEQUENCE THAN TO SPEAK WELL.

Wherefore the Saviour, taking the bread, first spake and blessed. Then breaking the bread, He presented it, that we might eat it, according to reason, and that knowing the Scriptures s we might walk obediently. And as those whose speech is evil are no better than those whose practice is evil (for calumny is the servant of the sword, and evil-speaking inflicts pain; and from these proceed disasters in life, such being the effects of evil speech); so also those who are given to good speech are near neighbours to those who accomplish good deeds. Accordingly discourse refreshes the soul and entices it to nobleness; and happy is he who has the use of both his hands. Neither, therefore, is he who can act well to be vilified by him who is able to speak well; nor is he who is able to speak well to be disparaged by him who is capable of acting well. But let each do that for which he is naturally fitted.

What the one exhibits as actually done, the other speaks, preparing, as it were, the way for well-doing, and leading the hearers to the practice of good. For there is a saving word, as there is a saving work. Righteousness, accordingly, is not constituted without discourse. And as the receiving of good is abolished if we abolish the doing of good; so obedience and faith are abolished when neither the command, nor one to expound the command, is taken along with us. But now we are benefited mutually and reciprocally by words and deeds; but we must repudiate entirely the art of wrangling and sophistry, since these sentences of the sophists not only bewitch and beguile the many, but sometimes by violence win a Cadmean victory. For true above all is that Psalm, "The just shall live to the end, for he shall not see corruption, when he beholds the wise dying." And whom does he call wise? Hear from the Wisdom of Jesus: "Wisdom is not the knowledge of evil." Such he calls what the arts of speaking and of discussing have invented. "Thou shalt therefore seek wisdom among the wicked, and shalt not find it." And if you inquire again of what sort this is, you are told, "The mouth of the righteous man will distil wisdom." And simi larly with truth, the art of sophistry is called wisdom.

But it is my purpose, as I reckon, and not without reason, to live according to the Word, and to understand what is revealed; but never affecting eloquence, to be content merely with indicating my meaning. And by what term that which I wish to present is shown, I care not. For I well know that to be saved, and to aid those who desire to be saved, is the best thing, and not to compose paltry sentences like gewgaws. "And if," says the Pythagorean in the Politicus of Plato, "you guard against solicitude about terms, you will be richer in wisdom against old age." And in the Theaetetus you will find again, "And carelessness about names, and expressions, and the want of nice scrutiny, is not vulgar and illiberal for the most part, but rather the reverse of this, and is sometimes necessary." This the Scripture has expressed with the greatest possible brevity, when it said, "Be not occupied much about words." For expression is like the dress on the body. The matter is the flesh and sinews. We must not therefore care more for the dress than the safety of the body. For not only a simple mode of life, but also a style of speech devoid of superfluity and nicety, must be cultivated by him who has adopted the true life, if we are to abandon luxury as treacherous and profligate, as the ancient Lacedaemonians adjured ointment and purple, deeming and calling them rightly treacherous garments and treacherous unguents; since neither is that mode of preparing food right where there is more of seasoning than of nutriment; nor is that style of speech elegant which can please rather than benefit the hearers. Pythagoras exhorts us to consider the Muses more pleasant than the Sirens, teaching us to cultivate wisdom apart from pleasure, and exposing the other mode of attracting the soul

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as deceptive. For sailing past the Sirens one man has sufficient strength, and for answering the Sphinx another one, or, if you please, not even one. We ought never, then, out of desire for vainglory, to make broad the phylacteries. It suffices the gnostic if only one hearer is found for him. You may hear therefore Pindar the Boeotian, who writes, "Divulge not before all the ancient speech. The way of silence is sometimes the surest. And the mightiest word is a spur to the fight." Accordingly, the blessed apostle very appropriately and urgently exhorts us "not to strive about words to no profit, but to the subverting of the hearers, but to shun profane and vain babblings, for they increase unto more ungodliness, and their word will eat as doth a canker."

CHAPTER 11 -- WHAT IS THE PHILOSOPHY WHICH THE APOSTLE BIDS US SHUN?

This, then, "the wisdom of the world is foolishness with God," and of those who are "the wise the Lord knoweth their thoughts that they are vain." Let no man therefore glory on account of pre-eminence in human thought. For it is written well in Jeremiah, "Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, and let not the mighty man glory in his might, and let not the rich man glory in his riches: but let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth that I am the Lord, that executeth mercy and judgment and righteousness upon the earth: for in these things is my delight, saith the Lord." "That we should trust not in ourselves, but in God who raiseth the dead," says the apostle, "who delivered us from so great a death, that our faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God." "For the spiritual man judgeth all things, but he himself is judged of no man." I hear also those words of his, "And these things I say, lest any man should beguile you with enticing words, or one should enter in to spoil you." And again, "Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ;" branding not all philosophy, but the Epicurean, which Paul mentions in the Acts of the Apostles, which abolishes providence and deifies pleasure, and whatever other philosophy honours the elements, but places not over them the efficient cause, nor apprehends the Creator.

The Stoics also, whom he mentions too, say not well that the Deity, being a body, pervades the vilest matter. He calls the jugglery of logic "the tradition of men." Wherefore also he adds, "Avoid juvenile questions. For such contentions are puerile." "But virtue is no lover of boys," says the philosopher Plato. And our struggle, accOrding to Gorgias Leontinus, requires two virtues -- boldness and wisdom, -- boldness to undergo danger, and wisdom to understand the enigma. For the Word, like the Olympian proclamation, calls him who is wiring, and crowns him who is able to continue unmoved as far as the truth is concerned. And, in truth, the Word does not wish him who has believed to be idle. For He says, "Seek, and ye shall find." But seeking ends in finding, driving out the empty trifling, and approving of the contemplation which confirms our faith. "And this I say, lest any man beguile you with enticing words," says the apostle, evidently as having learned to distinguish what was said by him, and as being taught to meet objections. "As ye have therefore received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk in Him, rooted and built up in Him, and stablished in the faith." Now persuasion is [the means of] being established in the faith. "Beware lest any man spoil you of faith in Christ by philosophy and vain deceit," which does away with providence, "after the tradition of men;" for the philosophy which is in accordance with divine tradition establishes and confirms providence, which, being done away with, the economy of the Saviour appears a myth, while we are influenced "after the elements of the world, and not after Christ." For the teaching which is agreeable to Christ deifies the Creator, and traces providence in particular events, and knows the nature of the elements to be capable of change and production, and teaches that we ought to aim at rising up to the power which assimilates to God, and to prefer the dispensation as holding the first rank and superior to all training.

The elements are worshipped, -- the air by Diogenes, the water by Thales, the fire by Hippasus; and by those who suppose atoms to be the first principles of things, arrogating the name of philosophers, being wretched creatures devoted to pleasure. "Wherefore I pray," says the apostle, "that your love may abound yet more and more, in knowledge and in all judgment, that ye may approve things that are excellent." "Since, when we were children," says the same apostle, "we were kept in bondage under the rudiments of the world. And the child, though heir, differeth nothing from a servant, till the time appointed of the father." Philosophers, then, are children, unless they have been made men by Christ. "For if the son of the bond woman shall not be heir with the son of the free," at least he is the seed of Abraham, though not of promise, receiving what belongs to him by free gift. "But strong meat belongeth to those that are of full age, even those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil." "For every one that useth milk is unskilful in the word of righteousness; for he is a babe," and not yet acquainted with the word, according to which he has believed and works, and not able to give a reason in himself. "Prove all things," the apostle says, "and hold fast that which is good," speaking to spiritual men, who judge what is said according to truth, whether it seems or truly holds by the truth. "He who is not corrected by discipline errs, and stripes and reproofs give the discipline of wisdom," the reproofs manifestly that are with love. "For the right heart seeketh knowledge." "For he that seeketh the Lord shall find knowledge with righteousness; and they who have sought it rightly have found peace." "And I will know," it is said, "not the speech of those which are puffed up, but the power." In rebuke of those who are wise in appearance, and think themselves wise, but are not in reality wise, he writes: "For the kingdom of God is not in word." It is not in that which is not true, but which is only probable according to opinion; but he said "in power," for the truth alone is powerful. And again: "If any man thinketh that he knoweth anything, he knoweth nothing yet as he ought to know." For truth is never mere opinion. But the "supposition of knowledge inflates," and fills with pride; "but charity edifieth," which deals not in supposition, but in truth. Whence it is said, "If any man loves, he is known."

CHAPTER 12 -- THE MYSTERIES OF THE FAITH NOT TO BE DIVULGED TO ALL.

But since this tradition is not published alone for him who perceives the magnificence of the word; it is requisite, therefore, to hide in a mystery the wisdom spoken, which the Son of God taught. Now, therefore, Isaiah the prophet has his tongue purified by fire, so that he may be able to tell the vision. And we must purify not the tongue alone, but also the ears, if we attempt to be partaken of the truth.

Such were the impediments in the way of my writing. And even now I fear, as it is said, "to cast the pearls before swine, lest they tread them under foot, and turn and rend us." For it is difficult to exhibit the really pure and transparent words respecting the true light, to swinish and untrained hearers. For scarcely could anything which they could hear be more ludicrous than these to the multitude; nor any subjects on the other hand more admirable or more inspiring to those of noble nature. "But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness to him." But the wise do not utter with their mouth what they reason in council. "But what ye hear in the ear," says the Lord, "proclaim upon the houses;" bidding them receive the secret traditions of the true knowledge, and expound them aloft and conspicuously; and as we have heard in the ear, so to deliver them to whom it is requisite; but not enjoining us to communicate to all without distinction, what is said to them in parables. But there is only a delineation in the memoranda, which have the truth sowed sparse and broadcast, that it may escape the notice of those who pick up seeds like jackdaws; but when they find a good husbandman, each one of them will germinate and produce corn.

CHAPTER 13 -- ALL SECTS OF PHILOSOPHY CONTAIN A GERM OF TRUTH.

Since, therefore, truth is one (for falsehood has ten thousand by-paths); just as the Bacchantes tore asunder the limbs of Pentheus, so the sects both of barbarian and Hellenic philosophy have done with truth, and each vaunts as the whole truth the portion which has fallen to its lot. But all, in my opinion, are illuminated by the dawn of Light. Let all, therefore, both Greeks and barbarians, who have aspired after the truth, -- both those who possess not a little, and those who have any portion, -- produce whatever they have of the word of truth.

Eternity, for instance, presents in an instant the future and the present, also the past of time. But truth, much more powerful than limitless duration, can collect its proper germs, though they have fallen on foreign soil. For we shall find that very many of the dogmas that are held by such sects as have not become utterly senseless, and are not cut out from the order of nature (by cutting off Christ, as the women of the fable dismembered the man), though appearing unlike one another, correspond in their origin and with the truth as a whole. For they coincide in one, either as a part, or a species, or a genus. For instance, though the highest note is different from the lowest note, yet both compose one harmony. And in numbers an even number differs from an odd number; but both suit in arithmetic; as also is the case with figure, the circle, and the triangle, and the square, and whatever figures differ from one another. Also, in the whole universe, all the parts, though differing one from another, preserve their relation to the whole. So, then, the barbarian and Hellenic philosophy has torn off a fragment of eternal truth not from the mythology of Dionysus, but from the theology of the ever-living Word. And He who brings again together the separate fragments, and makes them one, will without peril, be assured, contemplate the perfect Word, the truth. Therefore it is written in Ecclesiastes: "And I added wisdom above all who were before me in Jerusalem; and my heart saw many things; and besides, I knew wisdom and knowledge, parables and understanding. And this also is the choice of the spirit, because in abundance of wisdom is abundance of knowledge." He who is conversant with all kinds of wisdom, will be pre-eminently a gnostic.

Now it is written, "Abundance of the knowledge of wisdom will give life to him who is of it." And again, what is said is confirmed more clearly by this saying, "All things are in the sight of those who understand" -- all things, both Hellenic and barbarian; but the one or the other is not all. "They are right to those who wish to receive understanding. Choose instruction, and not silver, and knowledge above tested gold," and prefer also sense to pure gold; "for wisdom is better than precious stones, and no precious thing is worth it."

CHAPTER 14 -- SUCCESSION OF PHILOSOPHERS IN GREECE.

The Greeks say, that after Orpheus and Linus, and the most ancient of the poets that appeared among them, the seven, called wise, were the first that were admired for their wisdom. Of whom four were of Asia -- Thales of Miletus, and Bias of Priene, Pittacus of Mitylene, and Cleobulus of Lindos; and two of Europe, Solon the Athenian, and Chilon the Lacedaemonian; and the seventh, some say, was Periander of Corinth; others, Anacharsis the Scythian; others, Epimenides the Cretan, whom Paul knew as a Greek prophet, whom he mentions in the Epistle to Titus, where he speaks thus: "One of themselves, a prophet of their own, said, The Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies. And this witness is true." You see how even to the prophets of the Greeks he attributes something of the truth, and is not ashamed, when discours ing for the edification of some and the shaming of others, to make use of Greek poems. Accordingly to the Corinthians (for this is not the only instance), while discoursing on the resurrection of the dead, he makes use of a tragic Iambic line, when he said, "What advantageth it me if the dead are not raised? Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die. Be not deceived; evil communications corrupt good manners." Others have enumerated Acusilaus the Argive among the seven wise men; and others, Pherecydes of Syros. And Plato substitutes Myso the Chenian for Periander, whom he deemed unworthy of wisdom, on account of his having reigned as a tyrant. That the wise men among the Greeks flourished after the age of Moses, will, a little after, be shown. But the style of philosophy among them, as Hebraic and enigmatical, is now to be considered. They adopted brevity, as suited for exhortation, and most useful.

Even Plato says, that of old this mode was purposely in vogue among all the Greeks, especially the Lacedaemonians and Cretans, who enjoyed the best laws. The expression, "Know thyself," some supposed to be Chilon's. But Chamaeleon, in his book About the Gods, ascribes it to Thales; Aristotle to the Pythian. It may be an injunction to the pursuit of knowledge. For it is not possible to know the parts without the essence of the whole; and one must study the genesis of the universe, that thereby we may be able to learn the nature of man. Again, to Chilon the Lacedaemonian they attribute, "Let nothing be too much." Strato, in his book Of Inventions, ascribes the apophthegm to Stratodemus of Tegea. Didymus assigns it to Solon; as also to Cleobulus the saying, "A middle course is best." And the expression, "Come under a pledge, and mischief is at hand," Cleomenes says, in his book Concerning Hesiod, was uttered before by Homer in the lines: "Wretched pledges, for the wretched, to be pledged."

The Aristotelians judge it to be Chilon's; but Didymus says the advice was that of Thales. Then, next in order, the saying, "All men are bad," or, "The most of men are bad" (for the same apophthegm is expressed in two ways), Sotades the Byzantian says that it was Bias's. And the aphorism, "Practice conquers everything," they will have it to be Periander's; and likewise the advice, "Know the opportunity," to have been a saying of Pittacus. Solon made laws for the Athenians, Pittacus for the Mitylenians. And at a late date, Pythagoras, the pupil of Pherecydes, first called himself a philosopher. Accordingly, after the fore-mentioned three men, there were three schools of philosophy, named after the places where they lived: the Italic from Pythagoras, the Ionic from Thales, the Eleatic from Xenophanes. Pythagoras was a Samian, the son of Mnesarchus, as Hippobotus says: cording to Aristoxenus, in his life of Pythagoras and Aristarchus and Theopompus, he was a Tuscan; and according to Neanthes, a Syrian or a Tyrian. So that Pythagoras was, according to the most, of barbarian extraction. Thaies, too, as Leander and Herodotus relate, was a Phoenician; as some suppose, a Milesian. He alone seems to have met the prophets of the Egyptians. But no one is described as his teacher, nor is any one mentioned as the teacher of Pherecydes of Syros, who had Pythagoras as his pupil. But the Italic philosophy, that of Pythagoras, grew old in Metapontum in Italy. Anaximander of Miletus, the son of Praxiades, succeeded Thales; and was himself succeeded by Anaximenes of Miletus, the son of Eurustratus; after whom came Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, the son of Hegesibulus. He transferred his school from Ionia to Athens. He was succeeded by Archelaus, whose pupil Socrates was.

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"From these turned aside, the stone-mason; Talker about laws; the enchanter of the Greeks," says Timon in his Satirical Poems, on account of his quitting physics for ethics. Antisthenes, after being a pupil of Socrates, introduced the Cynic philosophy; and Plato withdrew to the Academy. Aristotle, after studying philosophy under Plato, withdrew to the Lyceum, and founded the Peripatetic sect. He was succeeded by Theophrastus, who was succeeded by Strato, and he by Lycon, then Critolaus, and then Diodorus. Speusippus was the successor of Plato; his successor was Xenocrates; and the successor of the latter, Polemo. And the disciples of Polemo were Crates and Crantor, in whom the old Academy founded by Plato ceased. Arcesilaus was the associate of Crantor; from whom, down to Hegesilaus, the Middle Academy flourished. Then Carneades succeeded Hegesilaus, and others came in succession. The disciple of Crates was Zeno of Citium, the founder of the Stoic sect. He was succeeded by Cleanthes; and the latter by Chrysippus, and others after him. Xenophanes of Colophon was the founder of the Eleatic school, who, Timaeus says, lived in the time of Hiero, lord of Sicily, and Epicharmus the poet; and Apollodorus says that he was born in the fortieth Olympiad, and reached to the times of Darius and Cyrus.

Parmenides, accordingly, was the disciple of Xenophanes, and Zeno of him; then came Leu cippus, and then Democritus. Disciples of Democritus were Protagoras of Abdera, and Metrodorus of Chios, whose pupil was Diogenes of Smyrna; and his again Anaxarchus, and his Pyrrho, and his Nausiphanes. Some say that Epicurus was a scholar of his.

Such, in an epitome, is the succession of the philosophers among the Greeks. The periods of the originators of their philosophy are now to be specified successively, in order that, by comparison, we may show that the Hebrew: philosophy was older by many generations.

It has been said of Xenophanes that he was the founder of the Eleatic philosophy. And Eudemus, in the Astrological Histories, says that Thales foretold the eclipse of the sun, which took place at the time that the Medians and the Lydians fought, in the reign of Cyaxares the father of Astyages over the Medes, and of Alyattus the son of Croesus over the Lydians. Herodotus in his first book agrees with him. The date is about the fiftieth Olympiad. Pythagoras is ascertained to have lived in the days of Polycrates the tyrant, about the sixty-second Olympiad. Mnesiphilus is described as a follower of Solon, and was a contemporary of Themistocles. Solon therefore flourished about the forty-sixth Olympiad. For Heraclitus, the son of Bauso, persuaded Melancomas the tyrant to abdicate his sovereignty. He despised the invitation of king Darius to visit the Persians.

CHAPTER 15 -- THE GREEK PHILOSOPHY IN GREAT PART DERIVED FROM THE BARBARIANS.

These are the times of the oldest wise men and philosophers among the Greeks. And that the most of them were barbarians by extraction, and were trained among barbarians, what need is there to say? Pythagoras is shown to have been either a Tuscan or a Tyrian. And Antisthenes was a Phrygian. And Orpheus was an Odrysian or a Thracian. The most, too, show Homer to have been an Egyptian. Thales was a Phoenician by birth, and was said to have consorted with the prophets of the Egyptians; as also Pythagoras did with the same persons, by whom he was circumcised, that he might enter the adytum and learn from the Egyptians the mystic philosophy. He held converse with the chief of the Chaldeans and the Magi; and he gave a hint of the church, now so called, in the common hall which he maintained.

And Plato does not deny that he procured all that is most excellent in philosophy from the barbarians; and he admits that he came into Egypt. Whence, writing in the Phoedo that the philosopher can receive aid from all sides, he said: "Great indeed is Greece, O Cebes, in which everywhere there are good men, and many are the races of the barbarians." Thus Plato thinks that some of the barbarians, too, are philosophers. But Epicurus, on the other hand, supposes that only Greeks can philosophise. And in the Symposium, Plato, landing the barbarians as practising philosophy with conspicuous excellence, truly says: "And in many other instances both among Greeks and barbarians, whose temples reared for such sons are already numerous." And it is clear that the barbarians signally honoured their lawgivers and teachers, designating them gods. For, according to Plato, "they think that good souls, on quitting the supercelestial region, submit to come to this Tartarus; and assuming a body, share in all the ills which are involved in birth, from their solicitude for the race of men;" and these make laws and publish philosophy, "than which no greater boon ever came from the gods to the race of men, or will come."

And as appears to me, it was in consequence of perceiving the great benefit which is conferred through wise men, that the men themselves Were honoured and philosophy cultivated publicly by all the Brahmins, and the Odrysi, and the Getae. And such were strictly deified by the race of the Egyptians, by the Chaldeans and the Arabians, called the Happy, and those that inhabited Palestine, by not the least portion of the Persian race, and by innumerable other races besides these. And it is well known that Plato is found perpetually celebrating the barbarians, remembering that both himself and Pythagoras learned the most and the noblest of their dogmas among the barbarians. Wherefore he also called the races of the barbarians, "races of barbarian philosophers," recognising, in the Phaedrus, the Egyptian king, and shows him to us wiser than Theut, whom he knew to be Hermes. But in the Charmides, it is manifest that he knew certain Thracians who were said to make the soul immortal. And Pythagoras is reported to have been a disciple of Sonches the Egyptian arch-prophet; and Plato, of Sechnuphis of Heliopolis; and Eudoxus, of Cnidius of Konuphis, who was also an Egyptian. And in his book, On the Saul, Plato again manifestly recognises prophecy, when he introduces a prophet announcing the word of Lachesis, uttering predictions to the souls whose destiny is becoming fixed. And in the Timoeus he introduces Solon, the very wise, learning from the barbarian. The substance of the declaration is to the following effect: "O Solon, Solon, you Greeks are always children. And no Greek is an old man. For you have no learning that is hoary with age."

Democritus appropriated the Babylonian ethic discourses, for he is said to have combined with his own compositions a translation of the column of Acicarus. And you may find the distinction notified by him when he writes, "Thus says Democritus." About himself, too, where, pluming himself on his erudition, he says, "I have roamed over the most ground of any man of my time, investigating the most remote parts. I have seen the most skies and lands, and I have heard of learned men in very great numbers. And in composition no one has surpassed me; in demonstration, not even those among the Egyptians who are called Arpenodaptae, with all of whom I lived in exile up to eighty years." For he went to Babylon, and Persis, and Egypt, to learn from the Magi and the priests.

Zoroaster the Magus, Pythagoras showed to be a Persian. Of the secret books of this man, those who follow the heresy of Prodicus boast to be in possession. Alexander, in his book On the Pythagorean Symbols, relates that Pythagoras was a pupil of Nazaratus the Assyrian a (some think that he is Ezekiel; but he is not, as will afterwards be shown), and will have it that, in addition to these, Pythagoras was a hearer of the Galatae and the Brahmins.

Clearchus the Peripatetic says that he knew a Jew who associated with Aristotle. Heraclitus says that, not humanly, but rather by God's aid, the Sibyl spoke. They say, accordingly, that at Delphi a stone was shown beside the oracle, on which, it is said, sat the first Sibyl, who came from Helicon, and had been reared by the Muses. But some say that she came from Milea, being the daughter of Lamia of Sidon. And Serapion, in his epic verses, says that the Sibyl, even when dead ceased not from divination. And he writes that, what proceeded from her into the air after her death, was what gave oracular utterances in voices and omens; and on her body being changed into earth, and the grass as natural growing out of it, whatever beasts happening to be in that place fed on it exhibited to men an accurate knowledge of futurity by their entrails. He thinks also, that the face seen in the moon is her soul. So much for the Sibyl.

Numa the king of the Romans was a Pythagorean, and aided by the precepts of Moses, prohibited from making an image of God in human form, and of the shape of a living creature. Accordingly, during the first hundred and seventy years, though building temples, they made no cast or graven image. For Numa secretly showed them that the Best of Beings could not be apprehended except by the mind alone. Thus philosophy, a thing of the highest utility, flourished in antiquity among the barbarians, shedding its light over the nations. And afterwards it came to Greece. First in its ranks were the prophets of the Egyptians; and the Chaldeans among the Assyrians; and the Druids among the Gauls; and the Samanaeans among the Bactrians; and the philosophers of the Celts; and the Magi of the Persians, who foretold the Saviour's birth, and came into the land of Judaea guided by a star. The Indian gymnosophists are also in the number, and the other barbarian philosophers. And of these there are two classes, some of them called Sarmanae, and others Brahmins. And those of the Sarmanae who are called Hylobii neither inhabit cities, nor have roofs over them, but are clothed in the bark of trees, feed on nuts, and drink water in their hands. Like those called Encratites in the present day, they know not marriage nor begetting of children.

Some, too, of the Indians obey the precepts of Buddha; whom, on account of his extraordinary sanctity, they have raised to divine honours.

Anacharsis was a Scythian, and is recorded to have excelled many philosophers among the Greeks. And the Hyperboreans, Hellanicus relates, dwelt beyond the Riphaean mountains, and inculcated justice, not eating flesh, but using nuts. Those who are sixty years old they take without the gates, and do away with. There are also among the Germans those called sacred women, who, by inspecting the whirlpools of rivers and the eddies, and observing the noises of streams, presage and predict future events. These did not allow the men to fight against Caesar till the new moon shone.

Of all these, by far the oldest is the Jewish race; and that their philosophy committed to writing has the precedence of philosophy among the Greeks, the Pythagorean Philo shows at large; and, besides him, Aristobulus the Peripatetic, and several others, not to waste time, in going over them by name. Very clearly the author Megasthenes, the contemporary of Seleucus Nicanor, writes as follows in the third of his books, On Indian Affairs: "All that was said about nature by the ancients is said also by those who philosophise beyond Greece: some things by the Brahmins among the Indians, and others by those called Jews in Syria." Some more. fabulously say that certain of those called the Idaean Dactyli were the first wise men; to whom are attributed the invention of what are called the "Ephesian letters," and of numbers in music. For which reason dactyls in music received their name. And the Idaean Dactyli were Phrygians and barbarians. Herodotus relates that Hercules, having grown a sage and a student of physics, received from the barbarian Atlas, the Phrygian, the columns of the universe; the fable meaning that he received by instruction the knowledge of the heavenly bodies. And Hermippus of Berytus calls Charon the Centaur wise; about whom, he that wrote The Battle of the Titans says, "that he first led the race of mortals to righteousness, by teaching them the solemnity of the oath, and propitiatory sacrifices and the figures of Olympus." By him Achilles, who fought at Troy, was taught. And Hippo, the daughter of the Centaur, who dwelt with Æolus, taught him her father's science, the knowledge of physics. Euripides also testifies of Hippo as follows: "Who first, by oracles, presaged, And by the rising stars, events divine."

By this Æolus, Ulysses was received as a guest after the taking of Troy. Mark the epochs by comparison with the age of Moses, and with the high antiquity of the philosophy promulgated by him.

CHAPTER 16 -- THAT THE INVENTORS OF OTHER ARTS WERE MOSTLY BARBARIANS.

And barbarians were inventors not only of philosophy, but almost of every art. The Egyptians were the first to introduce astrology among men. Similarly also the Chaldeans. The Egyptians first showed how to burn lamps, and divided the year into twelve months, prohibited intercourse with women in the temples, and enacted that no one should enter the temples from a woman without bathing. Again, they were the inventors of geometry. There are some who say that the Carians invented prognostication by the stars. The Phrygians were the first who attended to the flight of birds. And the Tuscans, neighbours of Italy, were adepts at the art of the Haruspex. The Isaurians and the Arabians invented augury, as the Telmesians divination by dreams. The Etruscans invented the trumpet, and the Phrygians the flute. For Olympus and Marsyas were Phrygians. And Cadmus, the inventor of letters among the Greeks, as Euphorus says, was a Phoenician; whence also Herodotus writes that they were called Phoenician letters. And they say that the Phoenicians and the Syrians first invented letters; and that Apis, an aboriginal inhabitant of Egypt, invented the healing art before Io came into Egypt. But afterwards they say that Asclepius improved the art. Atlas the Libyan was the first who built a ship and navigated the sea. Kelmis and Damnaneus, Idaean Dactyli, first discovered iron in Cyprus. Another Idaean discovered the tempering of brass; according to Hesiod, a Scythian. The Thracians first invented what is called a scimitar (arph), -- it is a curved sword, -- and were the first to use shields on horseback. Similarly also the Illyrians invented the shield (pelth). Besides, they say that the Tuscans invented the art of moulding clay; and that Itanus (he was a Samnite) first fashioned the oblong shield (qureos). Cadmus the Phoenician invented stonecutting, and discovered the gold mines on the Pangaean mountain. Further, another nation, the Cappadocians, first invented the instrument called the nabla, and the Assyrians in the same way the dichord. The Carthaginians were the first that constructed a triterme; and it was built by Bosporus, an aboriginal. Medea, the daughter of Æetas, a Colchian, first invented the dyeing of hair. Besides, the Noropes (they are a Paeonian race, and are now called the Norici) worked copper, and were the first that purified iron. Amycus the king of the Bebryci was the first inventor of boxing-gloves. In music, Olympus the Mysian practised the Lydian harmony; and the people called Troglodytes invented the sambuca, a musical instrument. It is said that the crooked pipe was invented by Satyrus the Phrygian; likewise also diatonic harmony by Hyagnis, a Phrygian too; and notes by Olympus, a Phrygian; as also the Phrygian harmony, and the half-Phrygian and the half-Lydian, by Marsyas, who belonged to the same region as those mentioned above. And the Doric was invented by Thamyris the Thracian. We have heard that the Persians were the first who fashioned the chariot, and bed, and footstool; and the Sidonians the first to construct a trireme. The Sicilians, close to Italy, were the first inventors of the phorminx, which is not much inferior to the lyre. And they invented castanets. In the time of Semiramis

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queen of the Assyrians, they relate that linen garments were invented. And Hellanicus says that Atossa queen of the Persians was the first who composed a letter. These things are reported by Seame of Mitylene, Theophrastus of Ephesus, Cydippus of Mantinea also Antiphanes, Aristodemus, and Aristotle and besides these, Philostephanus, and also Strato the Peripatetic, in his books Concerning Inventions. I have added a few details from them, in order to confirm the inventive and practically useful genius of the barbarians, by whom the Greeks profited in their studies. And if any one objects to the barbarous language, Anacharsis says, "All the Greeks speak Scythian to me." It was he who was held in admiration by the Greeks, who said, "My covering is a cloak; my supper, milk and cheese." You see that the barbarian philosophy professes deeds, not words. The apostle thus speaks: "So likewise ye, except ye utter by the tongue a word easy to be understood, how shall ye know what is spoken? for ye shall speak into the air. There are, it may be, so many kind of voices in the world, and none of them is without signification. Therefore if I know not the meaning of the voice, I shall be unto him that speaketh a barbarian, and he that speaketh shall be a barbarian unto me." And, "Let him that speaketh in an unknown tongue pray that he may interpret."

Nay more, it was late before the teaching and writing of discourses reached Greece. Alcmaeon, the son of Perithus, of Crotona, first composed a treatise on nature. And it is related that Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, the son of Hegesibulus, first published a book in writing. The first to adapt music to poetical compositions was Terpander of Antissa; and he set the laws of the Lacedaemonians to music. Lasus of Hermione invented the dithyramb; Stesichorus of Himera, the hymn; Alcman the Spartan, the choral song; Anacreon of Tees, love songs; Pindar the Theban, the dance accompanied with song. Timotheus of Miletus was the first to execute those musical compositions called nomoi on the lyre, with dancing. Moreover, the iambus was invented by Archilochus of Pares, and the choliambus by Hipponax of Ephesus. Tragedy owed its origin to Thespis the Athenian, and comedy to Susarion of Icaria. Their dates are handed down by the grammarians. But it were tedious to specify them accurately: presently, however, Dionysus, on whose account the Dionysian spectacles are celebrated, will be shown to be later than Moses. They say that Antiphon of Rhamnusium, the son of Sophilus, first invented scholastic discourses and rhetorical figures, and was the first who pied causes for a fee, and wrote a forensic speech for delivery, as Diodorus says. And Apollodorus of Cuma first assumed the name of critic, and was called a grammarian. Some say it was Eratosthenes of Cyrene who was first so called, since he published two books which he entitled Grammatica. The first who was called a grammarian, as we now use the term, was Praxiphanes, the son of Disnysophenes of Mitylene. Zeleucus the Locrian was reported to have been the first to have framed laws (in writing) Others say that it was Menos the son of Zeus, in the time of Lynceus. He comes after Danaus, in the eleventh generation from Inachus and Moses; as we shall show a little further on. And Lycurgus, who lived many years after the taking of Troy, legislated for the Lacedaemonians a hundred and fifty years before the Olympiads. We have spoken before of the age of Solon. Draco (he was a legislator too) is discovered to have lived about the three hundred and ninth Olympiad. Antilochus, again, who wrote of the learned men from the age of Pythagoras to the death of Epicurus, which took place in the tenth day of the month Gamelion, makes up altogether three hundred and twelve years. Moreover, some say that Phanothea, the wife of Icarius, invented the heroic hexameter; others Themis, one of the Titanides. Didymus, however, in his work On the Pythagorean Philosophy, relates that Theano of Crotona was the first woman who cultivated philosophy and composed poems The Hellenic philosophy then, according to some, apprehended the truth accidentally, dimly, partially; as others will have it, was set a-going by the devil. Several suppose that certain powers, descending from heaven, inspired the whole of philosophy. But if the Hellenic philosophy comprehends not the whole extent of the truth, and besides is destitute of strength to perform the commandments of the Lord, yet it prepares the way for the truly royal teaching; training in some way or other, and moulding the character, and fitting him who believes in Providence for the reception of the truth.

CHAPTER 17 -- ON THE SAYING OF THE SAVIOUR, "ALL THAT CAME BEFORE ME WERE THIEVES AND ROBBERS."

But, say they, it is written, "All who were before the Lord's advent are thieves and robbers." All, then, who are in the Word (for it is these that were previous to the incarnation of the Word) are understood generally. But the prophets, being sent and inspired by the Lord, were not thieves, but servants.

The Scripture accordingly says, "Wisdom sent her servants, inviting with loud proclamation to a goblet of wine." But philosophy, it is said, was not sent by the Lord, but came stolen, or given by a thief. It was then some power or angel that had learned something of the truth, but abode not in it, that inspired and taught these things, not without the Lord's knowledge, who knew before the constitution of each essence the issues of futurity, but without His prohibition.

For the theft which reached men then, had some advantage; not that he who perpetrated the theft had utility in his eye, but Providence directed the issue of the audacious deed to utility. I know that many are perpetually assailing us with the allegation, that not to prevent a thing happening, is to be the cause of it happening. For they say, that the man who does not take precaution against a theft, or does not prevent it, is the cause of it: as he is the cause of the conflagration who has not quenched it at the beginning; and the master of the vessel who does not reef the sail, is the cause of the shipwreck. Certainly those who are the causes of such events are punished by the law. For to him who had power to prevent, attaches the blame of what happens. We say to them, that causation is seen in doing, working, acting; but the not preventing is in this respect inoperative. Further, causation attaches to activity; as in the case of the shipbuilder in relation to the origin of the vessel, and the builder in relation to the construction of the house. But that which does not prevent is separated from what takes place. Wherefore the effect will be accomplished; because that which could have prevented neither acts nor prevents. For what activity does that which prevents not exert? Now their assertion is reduced to absurdity, if they shall say that the cause of the wound is not the dart, but the shield, which did not prevent the dart from passing through; and if they blame not the thief, but the man who did not prevent the theft. Let them then say, that it was not Hector that burned the ships of the Greeks, but Achilles; because, having the power to prevent Hector, he did not prevent him; but out of anger (and it depended on himself to be angry or not) did not keep back the fire, and was a concurring cause. Now the devil, being possessed of free-will, was able both to repent and to steal; and it was he who was the author of the theft, not the Lord, who did not prevent him. But neither was the gift hurtful, so as to require that prevention should intervene.

But if strict accuracy must be employed in dealing with them, let them know, that that which does not prevent what we assert to have taken place in the theft, is not a cause at all; but that what prevents is involved in the accusation of being a cause. For he that protects with a shield is the cause of him whom he protects not being wounded; preventing him, as he does, from being wounded. For the demon of Socrates was a cause, not by not preventing, but by exhorting, even if (strictly speaking) he did not exhort. And neither praises nor censures, neither rewards nor punishments, are right, when the soul has not the power of inclination and disinclination, but evil is involuntary. Whence he who prevents is a cause; while he who prevents not judges justly the soul's choice. So in no respect is God the author of evil. But since free choice and inclination originate sins, and a mistaken judgment sometimes prevails, from which, since it is ignorance and stupidity, we do not take pains to recede, punishments are rightly inflicted. For to take fever is involuntary; but when one takes fever through his own fault, from excess, we blame him. Inasmuch, then, as evil is involuntary, -- for no one prefers evil as evil; but induced by the pleasure that is in it, and imagining it good, considers it desirable; -- such being the case, to free ourselves from ignorance, and from evil and voluptuous choice, and above all, to withhold our assent from those delusive phantasies, depends on ourselves. The devil is called "thief and robber;" having mixed false prophets with the prophets, as tares with the wheat. "All, then, that came before the Lord, were thieves and robbers;" not absolutely all men, but all the false prophets, and all who were not properly sent by Him. For the false prophets possessed the prophetic name dishonestly, being prophets, but prophets of the liar. For the Lord says, "Ye are of your father the devil; and the lusts of your father ye will do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own; for he is a liar, and the father of it."

But among the lies, the false prophets also told some true things. And in reality they prophesied "in an ecstasy," as the servants of the apostate. And the Shepherd, the angel of repentance, says to Hermas, of the false prophet: "For he speaks some truths. For the devil fills him with his own spirit, if perchance he may be able to cast down any one from what is right." All things, therefore, are dispensed from heaven for good, "that by the Church may be made known the manifold wisdom of God, according to the eternal foreknowledge, which He purposed in Christ." Nothing withstands God: nothing opposes Him: seeing He is Lord and omnipotent.

Further, the counsels and activities of those who have rebelled, being partial, proceed from a bad disposition, as bodily diseases from a bad constitution, but are guided by universal Providence to a salutary issue, even though the cause be productive of disease. It is accordingly the greatest achievement of divine Providence, not to allow the evil, which has sprung from voluntary apostasy, to remain useless, and for no good, and not to become in all respects injurious. For it is the work of the divine wisdom, and excellence, and power, not alone to do good (for this is, so to speak, the nature of God, as it is of fire to warm and of light to illumine), but especially to ensure that what happens through the evils hatched by any, may come to a good and useful issue, and to use to advantage those things which appear to be evils, as also the testimony which accrues from temptation.

There is then in philosophy, though stolen as the fire by Prometheus, a slender spark, capable of being fanned into flame, a trace of wisdom and an impulse from God. Well, be it so that "the thieves and robbers" are the philosophers among the Greeks, who from the Hebrew prophets before the coming of the Lord received fragments of the truth, not with full knowledge, and claimed these as their own teachings, disguising some points, treating others sophistically by their ingenuity, and discovering other things, for perchance they had "the spirit of perception." Aristotle, too, assented to Scripture, and declared sophistry to have stolen wisdom, as we intimated before. And the apostle says, "Which things we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth." For of the prophets it is said, "We have all received of His fulness," that is, of Christ's. So that the prophets are not thieves. "And my doctrine is not Mine," saith the Lord, "but the Father's which sent me." And of those who steal He says: "But he that speaketh of himself, seeketh his own glory." Such are the Greeks, "lovers of their own selves, and boasters." Scripture, when it speaks of these as wise, does not brand those who are really wise, but those who are wise in appearance.

CHAPTER 18 -- HE ILLUSTRATES THE APOSTLE'S SAYING, "I WILL DESTROY THE WISDOM OF THE WISE."

And of such it is said, "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise: I will bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent." The apostle accordingly adds, "Where is the wise? Where is the scribe? Where is the disputer of this world?" setting in contradistinction to the scribes, the disputers of this world, the philosophers of the Gentiles. "Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of the world?" which is equivalent to, showed it to be foolish, and not true, as they thought. And if you ask the cause of their seeming wisdom, he will say, "because of the blindness of their heart;" since "in the wisdom of God," that is, as proclaimed by the prophets, "the world knew not," in the wisdom "which spake by the prophets," "Him," that is, God, -- "it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching" -- what seemed to the Greeks foolishness -- "to save them that believe. For the Jews require signs," in order to faith; "and the Greeks seek after wisdom," plainly those reasonings styled "irresistible," and those others, namely, syllogisms. "But we preach Jesus Christ crucified; to the Jews a stumbling-block," because, though knowing prophecy, they did not believe the event: "to the Greeks, foolishness;" for those who in their own estimation are wise, consider it fabulous that the Son of God should speak by man and that God should have a Son, and especially that that Son should have suffered. Whence their preconceived idea inclines them to disbelieve. For the advent of the Saviour did not make people foolish, and hard of heart, and unbelieving, but made them understanding, amenable to persuasion, and believing. But those that would not believe, by separating themselves from the voluntary adherence of those who obeyed, were proved to be without understanding, unbelievers and fools. "But to them who are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ is the power of God, and the wisdom of God." Should we not understand (as is better) the words rendered, "Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of the world?" negatively: "God hath not made foolish the wisdom of the world?" -- so that the cause of their hardness of heart may not appear to have proceeded from God, "making foolish the wisdom of the world." For on all accounts, being wise, they incur greater blame in not believing the proclamation. For the preference and choice of truth is voluntary. But that declaration, "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise," declares Him to have sent forth light, by bringing forth in opposition the despised and contemned barbarian philosophy; as the lamp, when shone upon by the sun, is said to be extinguished, on account of its not then exert ing the same power. All having been therefore called, those who are willing to obey have been named "called." For there is no unright-eousness with God. Those of either race who have believed, are "a peculiar people." And in the Acts of the Apostles you will find this, word for word, "Those then who received his word were baptized;" but those who would not obey kept themselves aloof. To these prophecy says, "If ye be willing and hear me, ye shall eat the good things of the land;" proving that choice or refusal depends on ourselves. The apostle designates the doctrine which is according to the Lord, "the wisdom of God," in order to show that the true philosophy has been communicated by the Son. Further, he, who has a show of wisdom, has certain exhortations enjoined on him by the apostle: "That ye put on the new man, which after God is renewed in righteousness and true holiness. Wherefore, putting away lying, speak every man truth. Neither give place to the devil. Let him that stole, steal no more; but rather let him labour, working that which is good" (and to work is to labour in seeking the truth; for it is accompanied with

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rational well-doing), "that ye may have to give to him that has need," both of worldly wealth and of divine wisdom. For he wishes both that the word be taught, and that the money be put into the bank, accurately tested, to accumulate interest. Whence he adds, "Let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth," -- that is "corrupt communication" which proceeds out of conceit, -- "but that which is good for the use of edifying, that it may minister grace to the hearers." And the word of the good God must needs be good. And how is it possible that he who saves shall not be good?

CHAPTER 19 -- THAT THE PHILOSOPHERS HAVE ATTAINED TO SOME PORTION OF TRUTH.

Since, then, the Greeks are testified to have laid down some true opinions, we may from this point take a glance at the testimonies. Paul, in the Acts of the Apostles, is recorded to have said to the Areopagites, "I perceive that ye are more than ordinarily religious. For as I passed by, and beheld your devotions, I found an altar with the inscription, To The Unknown God. Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you. God, that made the world and all things therein, seeing that He is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands; neither is worshipped with men's hands, as though He needed anything, seeing He giveth to all life, and breath, and all things; and hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation; that they should seek God, if haply they might feel after Him, and find Him; though He be not far from every one of us: for in Him we live, and move, and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said, For we also are His offspring." Whence it is evident that the apostle, by availing himself of poetical examples from the Phenomena of Aratus, approves of what had been well spoken by the Greeks; and intimates that, by the unknown God, God the Creator was in a roundabout way worshipped by the Greeks; but that it was necessary by positive knowledge to apprehend and learn Him by the Son. "Wherefore, then, I send thee to the Gentiles," it is said, "to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God; that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them that are sanctified by faith which is in Me." Such, then, are the eyes of the blind which are opened. The knowledge of the Father by the Son is the comprehension of the "Greek circumlocution;" and to turn from the power of Satan is to change from sin, through which bondage was produced. We do not, indeed, receive absolutely all philosophy, but that of which Socrates speaks in Plato. "For there are (as they say) in the mysteries many bearers of the thyrsus, but few bacchanals;" meaning, "that many are called, but few chosen." He accordingly plainly adds: "These, in my opinion, are none else than those who have philosophized right; to belong to whose number, I myself have left nothing undone in life, as far as I could, but have endeavoured in every way. Whether we have endeavoured rightly and achieved aught, we shall know when we have gone there, if God will, a little afterwards." Does he not then seem to declare from the Hebrew Scriptures the righteous man's hope, through faith, after death? And in Demodocus (if that is really the work of Plato): "And do not imagine that I call it philosophizing to spend life pottering about the arts, or learning many things, but something different; since I, at least, would consider this a disgrace." For he knew, I reckon, "that the knowledge of many things does not educate the mind," according to Heraclitus. And in the fifth book of the Republic. he says, "' Shall we then call all these, and the others which study such things, and those who apply themselves to the meaner arts, philosophers?' 'By no means,' I said, 'but like philosophers.' 'And whom,' said he, 'do you call true?' 'Those,' said I,' who delight in the contemplation of truth. For philosophy is not in geometry, with its postulates and hypotheses; nor in music, which is conjectural; nor in astronomy, crammed full of physical, fluid, and probable causes. But the knowledge of the good and truth itself are requisite, -- what is good being one thing, and the ways to the good another.'" So that he does not allow that the curriculum of training suffices for the good, but co-operates in rousing and training the soul to intellectual objects. Whether, then, they say that the Greeks gave forth some utterances of the true philosophy by accident, it is the accident of a divine administration (for no one will, for the sake of the present argument with us, deify chance); or by good fortune, good fortune is not unforeseen. Or were one, on the other hand, to say that the Greeks possessed a natural conception of these things, we know the one Creator of nature; just as we also call righteousness natural; or that they had a common intellect, let us reflect who is its father, and what righteousness is in the mental economy.

For were one to name "prediction," and assign as its cause "combined utterance," he specifies forms of prophecy. Further, others will have it that some truths were uttered by the philosophers, in appearance. The divine apostle writes accordingly respecting us: "For now we see as through a glass;" knowing ourselves in it by reflection, and simultaneously contemplating, as we can, the efficient cause, from that, which, in us, is divine. For it is said, "Having seen thy brother, thou hast seen thy God:" methinks that now the Saviour God is declared to us. But after the laying aside of the flesh, "face to face," -- then definitely and comprehensively, when the heart becomes pure. And by reflection and direct vision, those among the Greeks who have philosophized accurately, see God. For such, through our weakness, are our true views, as images are seen in the water, and as we see things through pellucid and transparent bodies. Excellently therefore Solomon says: "He who soweth righteousness, worketh faith." "And there are those who, sewing their own, make increase." And again: "Take care of the verdure on the plain, and thou shalt cut grass and gather ripe hay, that thou mayest have sheep for clothing." You see how care must be taken for external clothing and for keeping. "And thou shalt intelligently know the souls of thy flock." "For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves; uncircumcision observing the precepts of the law," according to the apostle, both before the law and before the advent. As if making comparison of those addicted to philosophy with those called heretics, the Word most clearly says: "Better is a friend that is near, than a brother that dwelleth afar off." "And he who relies on falsehoods, feeds on the winds, and pursues winged birds." I do not think that philosophy directly declares the Word, although in many instances philosophy attempts and persuasively teaches us probable arguments; but it assails the sects. Accordingly it is added: "For he hath forsaken the ways of his own vineyard, and wandered in the tracks of his own husbandry." Such are the sects which deserted the primitive Church. Now he who has fallen into heresy passes through an arid wilderness, abandoning the only true God, destitute of God, seeking waterless water, reaching an uninhabited and thirsty land, collecting sterility with his hands. And those destitute of prudence, that is, those involved in heresies, "I enjoin," remarks Wisdom, saying, "Touch sweetly stolen bread and the sweet water of theft;" the Scripture manifestly applying the terms bread and water to nothing else but to those heresies, which employ bread and water in the oblation, not according to the canon of the Church. For there are those who celebrate the Eucharist with mere water. "But begone, stay not in her place:" dace is the synagogue, not the Church. He calls it by the equivocal name, place. Then He subjoins: "For so shalt thou pass through the water of another;" reckoning heretical baptism not proper and true water. "And thou shalt pass over another's river," that rushes along and sweeps down to the sea; into which he is cast who, having diverged from the stability which is according to truth, rushes back into the heathenish and tumultous waves of life.

CHAPTER 20 -- IN WHAT RESPECT PHILOSOPHY CONTRIBUTES TO THE COMPREHENSION OF DIVINE TRUTH.

As many men drawing down the ship, cannot be called many causes, but one cause consisting of many; -- for each individual by himself is not the cause of the ship being drawn, but along with the rest; -- so also philosophy, being the search for truth, contributes to the comprehension of truth; not as being the cause of comprehension, but a cause along with other things, and co-operator; perhaps also a joint cause. And as the several virtues are causes of the happiness of one individual; and as both the sun, and the fire, and the bath, and clothing are of one getting warm: so while truth is one, many things contribute to its investigation. But its discovery is by the Son. If then we consider, virtue is, in power, one. But it is the case, that when exhibited in some things, it is called prudence, in others temperance, and in others manliness or righteousness. By the same analogy, while truth is one, in geometry there is the truth of geometry; in music, that of music; and in the right philosophy, there will be Hellenic truth. But that is the only authentic truth, unassailable, in which we are instructed by the Son of God. In the same way we say, that the drachma being one and the same, when given to the shipmaster, is called the fare; to the tax-gatherer, tax; to the landlord, rent; to the teacher, fees; to the seller, an earnest. And each, whether it be virtue or truth, called by the same name, is the cause of its own peculiar effect alone; and from the blending of them arises a happy life. For we are not made happy by names alone, when we say that a good life is happiness, and that the man who is adorned in his soul with virtue is happy. But if philosophy contributes remotely to the discovery of truth, by reaching, by diverse essays, after the knowledge which touches close on the truth, the knowledge possessed by us, it aids him who aims at grasping it, in accordance with the Word, to apprehend knowledge. But the Hellenic truth is distinct from that held by us (although it has got the same name), both in respect of extent of knowledge, certainly of demonstration, divine power, and the like. For we are taught of God, being instructed in the truly "sacred letters" by the Son of God. Whence those, to whom we refer, influence souls not in the way we do, but by different teaching. And if, for the sake of those who are fond of fault-finding, we must draw a distinction, by saying that philosophy is a concurrent and cooperating cause of true apprehension, being the search for truth, then we shall avow it to be a preparatory training for the enlightened man (tou gnwstikou); not assigning as the cause that which is but the joint-cause; nor as the upholding cause, what is merely co-operative; nor giving to philosophy the place of a sine qua non. Since almost all of us, without training in arts and sciences, and the Hellenic philosophy, and some even without learning at all, through the influence of a philosophy divine and barbarous, and by power, have through faith received the word concerning God, trained by self-operating wisdom. But that which acts in conjunction with something else, being of itself incapable of operating by itself, we describe as co-operating and concausing, and say that it becomes a cause only in virtue of its being a joint-cause, and receives the name of cause only in respect of its concurring with something else, but that it cannot by itself produce the right effect.

Although at one time philosophy justified the Greeks, not conducting them to that entire righteousness to which it is ascertained to cooperate, as the first and second flight of steps help you in your ascent to the upper room, and the grammarian helps the philosopher. Not as if by its abstraction, the perfect Word would be rendered incomplete, or truth perish; since also sight, and hearing, and the voice contribute to truth, but it is the mind which is the appropriate faculty for knowing it. But of those things which co-operate, some contribute a greater amount of power; some, a less. Perspicuity accordingly aids in the communication of truth, and logic in preventing us from falling under the heresies by which we are assailed. But the teaching, which is according to the Saviour, is complete in itself and without defect, being "the power and wisdom of God;" and the Hellenic philosophy does not, by its approach, make the truth more powerful; but rendering powerless the assault of sophistry against it, and frustrating the treacherous plots laid against the truth, is said to be the proper "fence and wall of the vineyard." And the truth which is according to faith is as necessary for life as bread; while the preparatory discipline is like sauce and sweetmeats. "At the end of the dinner, the dessert is pleasant," according to the Theban Pindar. And the Scripture has expressly said, "The innocent will become wiser by understanding, and the wise will receive knowledge." "And he that speaketh of himself," saith the Lord, "seeketh his own glory; but He that seeketh His glory that sent Him is true, and there is no unrighteousness in Him." On the other hand, therefore, he who appropriates what belongs to the barbarians, and vaunts it is his own, does wrong, increasing his own glory, and falsifying the truth. It is such an one that is by Scripture called a "thief." It is therefore said, "Son, be not a liar; for falsehood leads to theft."

Nevertheless the thief possesses really, what he has possessed himself of dishonestly, whether it be gold, or silver, or speech, or dogma. The ideas, then, which they have stolen, and which are partially true, they know by conjecture and necessary logical deduction: on becoming disciples, therefore, they will know them with intelligent apprehension.

CHAPTER 21 -- THE JEWISH INSTITUTIONS AND LAWS OF FAR HIGHER ANTIQUITY THAN THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE GREEKS.

On the plagiarizing of the dogmas of the philosophers from the Hebrews, we shall treat a little afterwards. But first, as due order demands, we must now speak of the epoch of Moses, by which the philosophy of the Hebrews will be demonstrated beyond all contradiction to be the most ancient of all wisdom. This has been discussed with accuracy by Tatian in his book To the Greeks, and by Cassian in the first book of his Exegetics. Nevertheless our commentary demands that we too should run over what has been said on the point. Apion, then, the grammarian, surnamed Pleistonices, in the fourth book of The Egyptian Histories, although of so hostile a disposition towards the Hebrews, being by race an Egyptian, as to compose a work against the Jews, when referring to Amosis king of the Egyptians, and his exploits, adduces, as a witness, Ptolemy of Mendes. And his remarks are to the following effect: Amosis, who lived in the time of the Argive Inachus, overthrew Athyria, as Ptolemy of Mendes relates in his Chronology. Now this Ptolemy was a priest; and setting forth the deeds of the Egyptian kings in three entire books, he says, that the exodus of the Jews from Egypt, under the conduct of Moses, took place while Amosis was king of Egypt. Whence it is seen that Moses flourished in the time of Inachus. And of the Hellenic states, the most ancient is the Argolic, I mean that which took its rise from Inachus, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus teaches in his Times. And younger by forty generations than it was Attica, founded by Cecrops, who was an aboriginal of double race, as Tatian expressly says; and Arcadia, founded by Pelasgus, younger too by nine generations; and he, too, is said to have been an aboriginal. And more recent than this last by fifty-two generations, was Pthiotis, rounded by Deucalion.

And from the time of Inachus to the Trojan war twenty generations or more are reckoned; let us say, four hundred years and more. And if Ctesias says that the Assyrian power is

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many years older than the Greek, the exodus of Moses from Egypt will appear to have taken place in the forty-second year of the Assyrian empire, in the thirty-second year of the reign of Belochus, in the time of Amosis the Egyptian, and of Inachus the Argive. And in Greece, in the time of Phoroneus, who succeeded Inachus, the flood of Ogyges occurred; and monarchy subsisted in Sicyon first in the person of Ægialeus, then of Europs, then of Telches; in Crete, in the person of Cres. For Acusilaus says that Phoroneus was the first man. Whence, too, the author of Phoronis said that he was "the father of mortal men." Thence Plato in the Timaeus, following Acusilaus, writes: "And wishing to draw them out into a discussion respecting antiquities, he said that he ventured to speak of the most remote antiquities of this city respecting Phoroneus, called the first man, and Niobe, and what happened after the deluge." And in the time of Phorbus lived Actaeus, from whom is derived Actaia, Attica; and in the time of Triopas lived Prometheus, and Atlas, and Epimetheus, and Cecrops of double race, and Ino.

And in the time of Crotopus occurred the burning of Phaethon, and the deluge s of Deucalion; and in the time of Sthenelus, the reign of Amphictyon, and the arrival of Danaus in the Peloponnesus; and trader Dardanus happened the building of Dardania, whom, says Homer, "First cloud-compelling Zeus begat,"- and the transmigration from Crete into Phoenicia. And in the time of Lynceus took place the abduction of Proserpine, and the dedication of the sacred enclosure in Eleusis, and the husbandry of Triptolemus, and the arrival of Cadmus in Thebes, and the reign of Minos. And in the time of Proetus the war of Eumolpus with the Athenians took place; and in the time of Acrisius, the removal of Pelops from Phrygia, the arrival of Ion at Athens; and the second Cecrops appeared, and the exploits of Perseus and Dionysus took place, and Orpheus and Musaeus lived. And in the eighteenth year of the reign of Agamemnon, Troy was taken, in the first year of the reign of Demophon the son of Theseus at Athens, on the twelfth day of the month Thargelion, as Dionysius the Argive says; but Ægias and Dercylus, in the third book, say that it was on the eighth day of the last division of the month Panemus; Hellanicus says that it was on the twelfth of the month Thargelion; and some of the authors of the Attica say that it was on the eighth of the last division of the month in the last year of Menestheus, at full moon.

"It was midnight," says the author of the Little Iliad, "And the moon shone clear." Others say, it took place on the same day of Scirophorion. But Theseus, the rival of Hercules, is older by a generation than the Trojan war. Accordingly Tlepolemus, a son of Hercules, is mentioned by Homer, as having served at Troy.

Moses, then, is shown to have preceded the deification of Dionysus six hundred and four years, if he was deified in the thirty-second year of the reign of Perseus, as Apollodorus says in his Chronology. From Bacchus to Hercules and the chiefs that sailed with Jason in the ship Argo, are comprised sixty-three years. Æsculapius and the Dioscuri sailed with them, as Apollonius Rhodius testifies in his Argonautics. And from the reign of Hercules, in Argos, to the deification of Hercules and of Æsculapius, are comprised thirty-eight years, according to Apollodorus the chronologist; from this to the deification of Castor and Pollux, fifty-three years. And at this time Troy was taken. And if we may believe the poet Hesiod, let us hear him: "Then to Jove, Maia, Atlas' daughter, bore renowned Hermes, Herald of the immortals, having ascended the sacred couch.

And Semele, the daughter of Cadmus, too, bore an illustrious son, Dionysus, the joy-inspiring, when she mingled with him in love." Cadmus, the father of Semele, came to Thebes in the time of Lynceus, and was the inventor of the Greek letters. Triopas was a contemporary of Isis, in the seventh generation from Inachus. And Isis, who is the same as Io, is so called, it is said, from her going (ienai) roaming over the whole earth. Her, Istrus, in his work on the migration of the Egyptians, calls the daughter of Prometheus. Prometheus lived in the time of Triopas, in the seventh generation after Moses. So that Moses appears to have flourished even before the birth of men, according to the chronology of the Greeks. Leon, who treated of the Egyptian divinities, says that Isis by the Greeks was called Ceres, who lived in the time of Lynceus, in the eleventh generation after Moses. And Apis the king of Argos built Memphis, as Aristippus says in the first book of the Arcadica. And Aristeas the Argive says that he was named Serapis, and that it is he that the Egyptians worship. And Nymphodorus of Amphipolis, in the third book of the Institutions of Asia, says that the bull Apis, dead and laid in a coffin (soros), was deposited in the temple of the god (daimonos) there worshipped, and thence was called Soroapis, and afterwards Serapis by the custom of the natives. And Apis is third after Inachus. Further, Latona lived in the time of Tityus. "For he dragged Latona, the radiant consort of Zeus." Now Tityus was contemporary with Tantalus. Rightly, therefor, the Boeotian Pindar writes, "And in time was Apollo born;" and no wonder when he is found along with Hercules, serving Admetus "for a long year." Zethus and Amphion, the inventors of music, lived about the age of Cadmus. And should one assert that Phemonoe was the first who sang oracles in verse to Acrisius, let him know that twenty-seven years after Phemonoe, lived Orpheus, and Musaeus, and Linus the teacher of Hercules. And Homer and Hesiod are much more recent than the Trojan war; and after them the legislators among the Greeks are far more recent, Lycurgus and Solon, and the seven wise men, and Pherecydes of Syros, and Pythagoras the great, who lived later, about the Olympiads, as we have shown. We have also demonstrated Moses to be more ancient, not only than those called poets and wise men among the Greeks, but than the most of their deities. Nor he alone, but the Sibyl also is more ancient than Orpheus. For it is said, that respecting her appellation and her oracular utterances there are several accounts; that being a Phrygian, she was called Artemis; and that on her arrival at Delphi, she sang- "O Delphians, ministers of far-darting Apollo, I come to declare the mind of Ægis-bearing Zeus, Enraged as I am at my own brother Apollo."

There is another also, an Erythraean, called Herophile. These are mentioned by Heraclides of Pontus in his work On Oracles. I pass over the Egyptian Sibyl, and the Italian, who inhabited the Carmentale in Rome, whose son was Evander, who built the temple of Pan in Rome, called the Lupercal.

It is worth our while, having reached this point, to examine the dates of the other prophets among the Hebrews who succeeded Moses. After the close of Moses's life, Joshua succeeded to the leadership of the people, and he, after warring for sixty-five years, rested in the good land other five-and-twenty. As the book of Joshua relates, the above mentioned man was the successor of Moses twenty-seven years. Then the Hebrews having sinned, were delivered to Chusachar king of Mesopotamia for eight years, as the book of Judges mentions. But having afterwards besought the Lord, they receive for leader Gothoniel, the younger brother of Caleb, of the tribe of Judah, who, having slain the king of Mesopotamia, ruled over the people forty years in succession. And having again sinned, they were delivered into the hands of Æglom king of the Moabites for eighteen years. But on their repentance, Aod, a man who had equal use of both hands, of the tribe of Ephraim, was their leader.for eighty years. It was he that despatched Æglom. On the death of Aod, and on their sinning again, they were delivered into the hand of Jabim king of Canaan twenty years. After him Deborah the wife of Lapidoth, of the tribe of Ephraim, prophesied; and Ozias the son of Rhiesu was high priest. At her instance Barak the son of Bener, of the tribe of Naphtali, commanding the army, having joined battle with Sisera, Jabim's commander-in-chief, conquered him. And after that Deborah ruled, judging the people forty years. On her death, the people having again sinned, were delivered into the hands of the Midianites seven years. After these events, Gideon, of the tribe of Manasseh, the son of Joas, having fought with his three hundred men, and killed a hundred and twenty thousand, ruled forty years; after whom the son of Ahimelech, three years. He was succeeded by Boleas, the son of Bedan, the son of Charran, of the tribe of Ephraim, who ruled twenty-three years. After whom, the people having sinned again, were delivered to the Ammonites eighteen years; and on their repentance were commanded by Jephtha the Gileadite, of the tribe of Manasseh; and he ruled six years. After whom, Abatthan of Bethlehem, of the tribe of Juda, ruled seven years. Then Ebron the Zebulonite, eight years. Then Eglom of Ephraim, eight years. Some add to the seven years of Abatthan the eight of Ebrom. And after him, the people having again transgressed, came under the power of the foreigners, the Philistines, for forty years. But on their returning [to God], they were led by Samson, of the tribe of Dan, who conquered the foreigners in battle. He ruled twenty years. And after him, there being no governor, Eli the priest judged the people for forty years. He was succeeded by Samuel the prophet; contemporaneously with whom Saul reigned, who held sway for twenty-seven years. He anointed David. Samuel died two years before Saul, while Abimelech was high priest. He anointed Saul as king, who was the first that bore regal sway over Israel after the judges; the whole duration of whom, down to Saul, was four hundred and sixty-three years and seven months.

Then in the first book of Kings there are twenty years of Saul, during which he reigned after he was renovated. And after the death of Saul, David the son of Jesse, of the tribe of Judah, reigned next in Hebron, forty years, as is contained in the second book of Kings. And Abiathar the son of Abimelech, of the kindred of Eli, was high priest. In his time Gad and Nathan prophesied. From Joshua the son of Nun, then, till David received the kingdom, there intervene, according to some, four hundred and fifty years. But, as the chronology set forth shows, five hundred and twenty-three years and seven months are comprehended till the death of David.

And after this Solomon the son of David reigned forty years. Under him Nathan continued to prophesy, who also exhorted him respecting the building of the temple. Achias of Shilo also prophesied. And both the kings, David and Solomon, were prophets. And Sadoc the high priest was the first who ministered in the temple which Solomon built, being the eighth from Aaron, the first high priest. From Moses, then, to the age of Solomon, as some say, are five hundred and ninety-five years, and as others, five hundred and seventy-six.

And if you count, along with the four hundred and fifty years from Joshua to David, the forty years of the rule of Moses, and the other eighty years of Moses's life previous to the exodus of the Hebrews from Egypt, you will make up the sum in all of six hundred and ten years. But our chronology will run more correctly, if to the five hundred and twenty-three years and seven months till the death of David, you add the hundred and twenty years of Moses and the forty years of Solomon. For you will make up in all, down to the death of Solomon, six hundred and eighty-three years and seven months.

Hiram gave his daughter to Solomon about the time of the arrival of Menelaus in Phoenicia, after the capture of Troy, as is said by Menan-der of Pergamus, and Laetus in The Phoenicia. And after Solomon, Roboam his son reigned for seventeen years; and Abimelech the son of Sadoc was high priest. In his reign, the kingdom being divided, Jeroboam, of the tribe of Ephraim, the servant of Solomon, reigned in Samaria; and Achias the Shilonite continued to prophesy; also Samaeas the son of Amame, and he who came from Judah to Jeroboam, and prophesied against the altar. After him his son Abijam, twenty-three years; and likewise his son Asaman. The last, in his old age, was diseased in his feet; and in his reign prophesied Jehu the son of Ananias.

After him Jehosaphat his son reigned twenty-five years. In his reign prophesied Elias the Thesbite, and Michaeas the son of Jebla, and Abdias the son of Ananias. And in the time of Michaeas there was also the false prophet Zedekias, the son of Chonaan. These were followed by the reign of Joram the son of Jehosaphat, for eight years; during whose time prophesied Elias; and after Elias, Elisaeus the son of Saphat. In his reign the people in Samaria ate doves' dung and their own children. The period of Jehosaphat extends from the close of the third book of Kings to the fourth. And in the reign of Joram, Elias was translated, and Elisaeus the son of Saphat commenced prophesying, and prophesied for six years, being forty years old.

Then Ochozias reigned a year. In his time Elisaeus continued to prophesy, and along with him Adadonaeus. After him the mother of Ozias, Gotholia, reigned eight years, having slain the children of her brother. For she was of the family of Ahab. But the sister of Ozias, Josabaea, stole Joas the son of Ozias, and invested him afterwards with the kingdom. And in the time of this Gotholia, Elisaeus was still prophesying. And after her reigned, as I said before, Joash, rescued by Josabaea the wife of Jodae the high priest, and lived in all forty years.

There are comprised, then, from Solomon to the death of Elisaeus the prophet, as some say, one hundred and five years; according to others, one hundred and two; and, as the chronology before us shows, from the reign of Solomon an hundred and eighty-one.

Now from the Trojan war to the birth of Homer, according to Philochorus, a hundred and eighty years elapsed; and he was posterior to the Ionic migration. But Aristarchus, in the Archilochian Memoirs, says that he lived during the Ionic migration, which took place a hundred and twenty years after the siege of Troy. But Apollodorus alleges it was an hundred and twenty years after the Ionic migration, while Agesilaus son of Doryssaeus was king of the Lacedaemonians: so that he brings Lycurgus the legislator, while still a young man, near him. Euthymenes, in the Chronicles, says that he flourished contemporaneously with Hesiod, in the time of Acastus, and was born in Chios about the four hundredth year after the capture of Troy. And Archimachus, in the third book of his Euboean History), is of this opinion. So that both he and Hesiod were later than Elisaeus, the prophet. And if you choose to follow the grammarian Crates, and say that Homer was born about the time of the expedition of the Heraclidae, eighty years after the taking of Troy, he will be found to be later again than Solomon, in whose days occurred the arrival of Menelaus in Phenicia, as was said above. Eratosthenes says that Homer's age was two hundred years after the capture of Troy. Further, Theopompus, in the forty-third book of the.Philippics, relates that Homer was born five hundred years after the war at Troy. And Euphorion, in his book about the Aleuades, maintains that he was born in the time of Gyges, who began to reign in the eighteenth Olympiad, who, also he says, was the first that was called tyrant turannos. Sosibius Lacon, again, in his Record of Dates, brings Homer down to the eighth year of the reign of Charillus the son of Polydectus. Charillus reigned for sixty-four years, after whom the son of Nicander reigned thirty-nine years. In his thirty-fourth year it is said that the first Olympiad was instituted; so that Homer was ninety years before the introduction of the Olympic games.

After Joas, Amasias his son reigned as his successor thirty-nine years. He in like manner was succeeded by his son Ozias, who reigned for fifty-two years, and died a leper. And in his time prophesied Amos, and Isaiah his son, and Hosea the son of Beeri, and Jonas the son of Amathi, who was of Gethchober,

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who preached to the Ninevites, and passed through the whale's belly.

Then Jonathan the son of Ozias reigned for sixteen years. In his time Esaias still prophesied, and Hosea, and Michaeas the Morasthite, and Joel the son of Bethuel.

Next in succession was his son Ahaz, who reigned for sixteen years. In his time, in the fifteenth year, Israel was carried away to Babylon. And Salmanasar the king of the Assyrians carried away the people of Samaria into the country of the Medes and to Babylon.

Again Ahaz was succeeded by Osee, who reigned for eight years. Then followed Hezekiah, for twenty-nine years. For his sanctity, when he had approached his end, God, by Isaiah, allowed him to live for other fifteen years, giving as a sign the going back of the sun. Up to his times Esaias, Hosea, and Micah continued prophesying.

And these are said to have lived after the age of Lycurgus, the legislator of the Lacedaemonians. For Dieuchidas, in the fourth book of the Megarics, places the era of Lycurgus about the two hundred and ninetieth year after the capture of Troy.

After Hezekiah, his son Manasses reigned for fifty-five years. Then his son Amos for two years. After him reigned his son Josias, distinguished for his observance of the law, for thirty-one years. He "laid the carcases of men upon the carcases of the idols," as is written in the book of Leviticus. In his reign, in the eighteenth year, the passover was celebrated, not having been kept from the days of Samuel in the intervening period. Then Chelkias the priest, the father of the prophet Jeremiah, having fallen in with the book of the law, that had been laid up in the temple, read it and died. And in his days Olda prohesied, and Sophonias, and Jeremiah. And in the days of Jeremiah was Ananias the son of Azor, the false prophet. He having disobeyed Jeremiah the prophet, was slain by Pharaoh Necho king of Egypt at the river Euphrates, having encountered the latter, who was marching on the Assyrians.

Josiah was succeeded by Jechoniah, called also Joachas, his son, who reigned three months and ten days. Necho king of Egypt bound him and led him to Egypt, after making his brother Joachim king in his stead, who continued his tributary for eleven years. After him his namesake Joakim reigned for three months. Then Zedekiah reigned for eleven years; and up to his time Jeremiah continued to prophesy. Along with him Ezekiel the son of Buzi, and Urias the son of Samaeus, and Ambacum prophesied. Here end the Hebrew kings.

There are then from the birth of Moses till this captivity nine hundred and seventy-two years; but according to strict chronological accuracy, one thousand and eighty-five, six months, ten days. From the reign of David to the captivity by the Chaldeans, four hundred and fifty-two years and six months; but as the accuracy we have observed in reference to dates makes out, four hundred and eighty-two and six months ten days.

And in the twelfth year of the reign of Zedekiah, forty years before the supremacy of the Persians, Nebuchodonosor made war against the Phoenicians and the Jews, as Berosus asserts in his Chaldaean Histories. And Joabas, writing about the Assyrians, acknowledges that he had received the history from Berosus, and testifies to his accuracy. Nebuchodonosor, therefore, having put out the eyes of Zedekiah, took him away to Babylon, and transported the whole people (the captivity lasted seventy years), with the exception of a few who fled to Egypt.

Jeremiah and Ambacum were still prophesying in the time of Zedekiah. In the fifth year of his reign Ezekiel prophesied at Babylon; after him Nahum, then Daniel. After him, again, Haggai and Zechariah prophesied in the time of Darius the First for two years; and then the angel among the twelve. After Haggai and Zechariah, Nehemiah, the chief cup-bearer of Artaxerxes, the son of Acheli the Israelite, built the city of Jerusalem and restored the temple. During the captivity lived Esther and Mordecai, whose book is still extant, as also that of the Maccabees. During this captivity Mishael, Ananias, and Azarias, refusing to worship the image, and being thrown into a furnace of fire, were saved by the appearance of an angel. At that time, on account of the serpent, Daniel was thrown into the den of lions; but being preserved through the providence of God by Ambacub, he is restored on the seventh day. At this period, too, occurred the sign of Jona; and Tobias, through the assistance of the angel Raphael, married Sarah, the demon having killed her seven first suitors; and after the marriage of Tobias, his father Tobit recovered his sight. At that time Zorobabel, having by his wisdom overcome his opponents, and obtained leave from Darius for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, returned with Esdras to his native land; and by him the redemption of the people and the revisal and restoration of the inspired oracles were effected; and the passover of deliverance celebrated, and marriage with aliens dissolved.

Cyrus had, by proclamation, previously enjoined the restoration of the Hebrews. And his promise being accomplished in the time of Darius, the feast of the dedication was held, as also the feast of tabernacles.

There were in all, taking in the duration of the captivity down to the restoration of the people, from the birth of Moses, one thousand one hundred and fifty-five years, six months, and ten days; and from the reign of David, according to some, four hundred and fifty-two; more correctly, five hundred and seventy-two years, six months, and ten days.

From the captivity at Babylon, which took place in the time of Jeremiah the prophet, was fulfilled what was spoken by Daniel the prophet as follows: "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to seal sins, and to wipe out and make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal the vision and the prophet, and to anoint the Holy of Holies. Know therefore, and understand, that from the going forth of the word commanding an answer to be given, and Jerusalem to be built, to Christ the Prince, are seven weeks and sixty-two weeks; and the street shall be again built, and the wall; and the times shall be expended. And after the sixty-two weeks the anointing shall be overthrown, and judgment shall not be in him; and he shall destroy the city and the sanctuary along with the coming Prince. And they shall be destroyed in a flood, and to the end of the war shall be cut off by: desolations. And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week; and in the middle of the week the sacrifice and oblation shall be taken away; and in the holy place shall be the abomination of desolations, and until the consummation of time shall the consummation be assigned for desolation. And in the midst of the week shall he make the incense of sacrifice cease, and of the wing of destruction, even till the consummation, like the destruction of the oblation." That the temple accordingly was l built in seven weeks, is evident; for it is written in Esdras. And thus Christ became King of the Jews, reigning in Jerusalem in the fulfilment of the seven weeks. And in the sixty and two weeks the whole of Judaea was quiet, and without wars. And Christ our Lord, "the Holy of Holies," having come and fulfilled the vision and the prophecy, was anointed in His flesh by the Holy Spirit of His Father.

In those "sixty and two weeks," as the prophet said, and "in the one week," was He Lord. The half of the week Nero held sway, and in the holy city Jerusalem placed the abomination; and in the half of the week he was taken away, and Otho, and Galba, and Vitellius. And Vespasian rose to the supreme power, and destroyed Jerusalem, and desolated the holy place. And that such are the facts of the case, is clear to him that is able to understand, as the prophet said.

On the completion, then, of the eleventh year, in the beginning of the following, in the reign of Joachim, occurred the carrying away captive to Babylon by Nabuchodonosor the king, in the seventh year of his reign over the Assyrians, in the second year of the reign of Vaphres over the Egyptians, in the archonship of Philip at Athens, in the first year of the forty-eighth Olympiad. The captivity lasted for seventy years, and ended in the second year of Darius Hystaspes, who had become king of the Persians, Assyrians, and Egyptians; in whose reign, as I said above, Haggai and Zechariah and the angel of the twelve prophesied. And the high priest was Joshua the son of Josedec. And in the second year of the reign of Darius, who, Herodotus says, destroyed the power of the Magi, Zorobabel the son of Salathiel was despatched to raise and adorn the temple at Jerusalem.

The times of the Persians are accordingly summed up thus: Cyrus reigned thirty years; Cambyses, nineteen; Darius, forty-six; Xerxes, twenty-six; Artaxerxes, forty-one; Darius, eight; Artaxerxes, forty-two; Ochus or Arses, three. The sum total of the years of the Persian monarchy is two hundred and thirty-five years.

Alexander of Macedon, having despatched this Darius, during this period, began to reign. Similarly, therefore, the times of the Macedonian kings are thus computed: Alexander, eighteen years; Ptolemy the son of Lagus, forty years; Ptolemy Philadelphus, twenty-seven years; then Euergetes, five-and-twenty years; then Philopator, seventeen years; then Epiphanes, four-and-twenty years; he was succeeded by Philometer, who reigned five-and-thirty years; after him Physcon, twenty-nine years; then Lathurus, thirty-six years; then he that was surnamed I Dionysus, twenty-nine years; and last Cleopatra reigned twenty-two years. And after her was the reign of the Cappadocians for eighteen days.

Accordingly the period embraced by the Macedonian kings is, in all, three hundred and twelve years and eighteen days.

Therefore those who prophesied in the time of Darius Hystaspes, about the second year of his reign, -- Haggai, and Zechariah, and the angel of the twelve, who prophesied about the first year of the forty-eighth Olympiad, -- are demonstrated to be older than Pythagoras, who is said to have lived in the sixty-second Olympiad, and than Thales, the oldest of the wise men of the Greeks, who lived about the fiftieth Olympiad. Those wise men that are classed with Thales were then contemporaneous, as Andron says in the Tripos. For Heraclitus being posterior to Pythagoras, mentions him in his book. Whence indisputably the first Olympiad, which was demonstrated to be four hundred and seven years later than the Trojan war, is found to be prior to the age of the above-mentioned prophets, together with those called the seven wise men.

Accordingly it is easy to perceive that Solomon, who lived in the time of Menelaus (who was during the Trojan war), was earlier by many years than the wise men among the Greeks. And how many years Moses preceded him we showed, in what we said above. And Alexander, surnamed Polyhistor, in his work on the Jews, has transcribed some letters of Solomon to Vaphres king of Egypt, and to the king of the Phoenicians at Tyre, and theirs to Solomon; in which it is shown that Vaphres sent eighty thousand Egyptian men to him for the building of the temple, and the other as many, along with a Tyrian artificer, the son of a Jewish mother, of the tribe of Dan, as is there written, of the name of Hyperon. Further, Onomacritus the Athenian, who is said to have been the author of the poems ascribed to Orpheus, is ascertained to have lived in the reign of the Pisistratidae, about the fiftieth Olympiad. And Orpheus, who sailed with Hercules, was the pupil of Musaeus. Amphion precedes the Trojan war by two generations. And Demodocus and Phemius were posterior to the capture of Troy; for they were famed for playing on the lyre, the former among the Phaeacians, and the latter among the suitors. And the Orades ascribed to Musaeus are said to be the production of Onomacritus, and the Crateres of Orpheus the production of Zopyrus of Heraclea, and The Descent to Hades that of Prodicus of Samos. Ion of Chios relates in the Triagmi, that Pythagoras ascribed certain works [of his own] to Orpheus. Epigenes, in his book respecting The Poetry attributed to Orpheus, says that The Descent to Hades and the Sacred Discourse were the production of Cecrops the Pythagorean; and the Peplus and the Physics of Brontinus. Some also make Terpander out ancient. Hellanicus, accordingly, relates that he lived in the time of Midas: but Phanias, who places Lesches the Lesbian before Terpander, makes Terpander younger than Archilochus, and relates that Lesches contended with Arctinus, and gained the victory. Xanthus the Lydian says that he lived about the eighteenth Olympiad; as also Dionysius says that Thasus was built about the fifteenth Olympiad: so that it is clear that Archilochus was already known after the twentieth Olympiad. He accordingly relates the destruction of Magnetes as having recently taken place. Simonides is assigned to the time of Archilochus. Callinns is not much older; for Archilochus refers to Magnetes as destroyed, while the latter refers to it as flourishing. Eumelus of Corinth being older, is said to have met Archias, who founded Syracuse.

We were induced to mention these things, because the poets of the epic cycle are placed amongst those of most remote antiquity. Already, too, among the Greeks, many diviners are said to have made their appearance, as the Bacides, one a Boeotian, the other an Arcadian, who uttered many predictions to many. By the counsel of Amphiletus the Athenian, who showed the time for the onset, Pisistratus, too, strengthened his government. For we may pass over in silence Cometes of Crete, Cinyras of Cyprus, Admetus the Thessalian, Aristaeas the Cyrenian, Amphiaraus the Athenian, Timoxeus the Corcyraean, Demaenetus the Phocian, Epigenes the Thespian, Nicias the Carystian, Aristo the Thessalian, Dionysius the Carthaginian, Cleophon the Corinthian, Hippo the daughter of Chiro, and Boeo, and Manto, and the host of Sibyls, the Samian, the Colophonian, the Cumaean, the Erythraean, the Pythian, the Taraxandrian, the Macetian, the Thessalian, and the Thesprotian. And Calchas again, and Mopsus, who lived during the Trojan war. Mopsus, however, was older, having sailed along with the Argonants. And it is said that Battus the Cyrenian composed what is called the Divination of Mop-sus. Dorotheus in the first Pandect relates that Mopsus was the disciple of Alcyon and Corone. And Pythagoras the Great always applied his mind to prognostication, and Abaris the Hyperborean, and Aristaeas the Proconnesian, and Epimenides the Cretan, who came to Sparta, and Zoroaster the Mede, and Empedocles of Agrigentum, and Phormion the Lacedaemonian; Polyaratus, too, of Thasus, and Empedotimus of Syracuse; and in addition to these, Socrates the Athenian in particular.

"For," he says in the Theages, "I am attended by a supernatural intimation, which has been assigned me from a child by divine appointment. This is a voice which, when it comes, prevents What I am about to do, but exhorts never."

And Execestus, the tyrant of the Phocians, wore two enchanted rings, and by the sound which they uttered one against the other determined the proper times for actions. But he died, nevertheless, treacherously murdered, although warned beforehand by the sound, as Aristotle says in the Polity of the Phocians.

Of those, too, who at one time lived as men among the Egyptians, but were constituted gods by human opinion, were Hermes the Theban, and Asclepius of Memphis; Tireseus and Manto, again, at Thebes, as Euripides says. Helenus, too, and Laocoon, and OEnone, and Crenus in Ilium. For Crenus, one of the Heraclidae, is said to have been a noted prophet. Another was Jamus in Elis, from whom came the Jamidae; and Polyidus at Argos and Megara, who is mentioned by the tragedy. Why enumerate Telemus, who, being a prophet of

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the Cyclops, predicted to Polyphemus the events of Ulysses' wandering; or Onomacritus at Athens; or Amphiaraus, who campaigned with the seven at Thebes, and is reported to be a generation older than the capture of Troy; or Theoclymenus in Cephalonia, or Telmisus in Caria, or Galeus in Sicily?

There are others, too, besides these: Idmon, who was with the Argonauts, Phemonoe of Delphi, Mopsus the son of Apollo and Manto in Pamphylia, and Amphilochus the son of Amphiaraus in Cilicia, Alcmaeon among the Acarnanians, Anias in Delos, Aristander of Telmessus, who was along with Alexander. Philochorus also relates in the first book of the work, On Divination, that Orpheus was a seer. And Theopompus, and Ephorus, and Timaeus, write of a seer called Orthagoras; as the Samian Pythocles in the fourth book of The Italics writes of Caius Julius Nepos.

But some of these "thieves and robbers," as the Scripture says, predicted for the most part from observation and probabilities, as physicians and soothsayers judge from natural signs; and others were excited by demons, or were disturbed by waters, and fumigations, and air of a peculiar kind. But among the Hebrews the prophets were moved by the power and inspiration of God. Before the law, Adam spoke prophetically in respect to the woman, and the naming of the creatures; Noah preached repentance; Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob gave many clear utterances respecting future and present things. Contemporaneous with the law, Moses and Aaron; and after these prophesied Jesus the son of Nave, Samuel, Gad, Nathan, Achias, Samaeas, Jehu, Elias, Michaeas, Abdiu, Elisaeus, Abbadonai, Amos, Esaias, Osee, Jonas, Joel, Jeremias, Sophonias the son of Buzi, Ezekiel, Urias, Ambacum, Naum, Daniel, Misael, who wrote the syllogisms, Aggai, Zacharias, and the angel among the twelve. These are, in all, five-and-thirty prophets. And of women (for these too prophesied), Sara, and Rebecca, and Mariam, and Debbora, and Olda, i.e., Huldah.

Then within the same period John prophesied till the baptism of salvation; and after the birth of Christ, Anna and Simeon. For Zacaharias, John's father, is said in the Gospels to have prophesied before his son. Let us then draw up the chronology of the Greeks from Moses.

From the birth of Moses to the exodus of the Jews from Egypt, eighty years j and the period down to his death, other forty years. The exodus took place in the time of Inachus, before the wandering of Sothis, Moses having gone forth from Egypt three hundred and forty-five years before. From the rule of Moses, and from Inachus to the flood of Deucalion, I mean the second inundation, and to the conflagration of Phaethon, which events happened in the time of Crotopus, forty generations are enumerated (three generations being reckoned for a century). From the flood to the conflagration of Ida, and the discovery of iron, and the Idaean Dactyls, are seventy-three years, according to Thrasyllus; and from the conflagration of Ida to the rape of Ganymede, sixty-five years. From this to the expedition of Perseus, when Glaucus established the Isthmian games in honour of Melicerta, fifteen years; and from the expedition of Perseus to the building of Troy, thirty-four years. From this to the voyage of the Argo, sixty-four years. From this to Theseus and the Minotaur, thirty-two years; then to the seven at Thebes, ten years. And to the Olympic contest, which Hercules instituted in honour of Pelops, three years; and to the expedition of the Amazons against Athens, and the rape of Helen by Theseus, nine years. From this to the deification of Hercules, eleven years; then to the rape of Helen by Alexander, four years. From the taking of Troy to the descent of Æneas and the founding of Lavinium, ten years; and to the government of Ascanius, eight years; and to the descent of the Heraclidae, sixty-one years; and to the Olympiad of Iphitus, three hundred and thirty-eight years. Eratosthenes thus sets down the dates: "From the capture of Troy to the descent of the Heraclidae, eighty years. From this to the founding of Ionia, sixty years; and the period following to the protectorate of Lycurgus, a hundred and fifty-nine years; and to the first year of the first Olympiad, a hundred and eight years. From which Olympiad to the invasion of Xerxes, two hundred and ninety-seven years; from which to the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, forty-eight years; and to its close, and the defeat of the Athenians, twenty-seven years; and to the battle at Leuctra, thirty-four years; after which to the death of Philip, thirty-five years. And after this to the decease of Alexander, twelve years."

Again, from the first Olympiad, some say, to the building of Rome, are comprehended twenty-four years; and after this to the expulsion of the kings,' when consuls were created, about two hundred and forty-three years. And from the taking of Babylon to the death of Alexander, a hundred and eighty-six years. From this to the victory of Augustus, when Antony killed himself at Alexandria, two hundred and ninety-four years, when Augustus was made consul for the fourth time. And from this time to the games which Domitian instituted at Rome, are a hundred and fourteen years; and from the first games to the death of Commodus, a hundred and eleven years.

There are some that from Cecrops to Alexander of Macedon reckon a thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight years; and from Demophon, a thousand two hundred and fifty; and from the taking of Troy to the expedition of the Heraclidae, a hundred and twenty or a hundred and eighty years. From this to the archonship of Evaenetus at Athens, in whose time Alexander is said to have marched into Asia, according to Phanias, are seven hundred and fifty years; according to Ephorus, seven hundred and thirty-five; according to Timaeus and Clitarchus, eight hundred and twenty; according to Eratosthenes, seven hundred and seventy-four. As also Duris, from the taking of Troy to the march of Alexander into Asia, a thousand years; and from that to the archonship of Hegesias, in whose time Alexander died eleven years. From this date to the reign of Germanicus Claudius Caesar, three hundred and sixty-five years. From which time the years summed up to the death of Commodus are manifest.

After the Grecian period, and in accordance with the dates, as computed by the barbarians, very large intervals are to be assigned.

From Adam to the deluge are comprised two thousand one hundred and forty-eight years, four days. From Shem to Abraham, a thousand two hundred and fifty years. From Isaac to the division of the land, six hundred and sixteen years. Then from the judges to Samuel, four hundred and sixty-three years, seven months. And after the judges there were five hundred and seventy-two years, six months, ten days of kings.

After which periods, there were two hundred and thirty-five years of the Persian monarchy. Then of the Macedonian, till the death of Antony, three hundred and twelve years and eighteen days. After which time, the empire of the Romans, till the death of Commodus, lasted for two hundred and twenty-two years.

Then, from the seventy years' captivity, and the restoration of the people into their own land to the captivity in the time of Vespasian, are comprised four hundred and ten years: Finally, from Vespasian to the death of Commodus, there are ascertained to be one hundred and twenty-one years, six months, and twenty-four days.

Demetrius, in his book, On the Kings in Judaea, says that the tribes of Juda, Benjamin, and Levi were not taken captive by Sennacherim; but that there were from this captivity to the last, which Nabuchodonosor made out of Jerusalem, a hundred and twenty-eight years and six months; and from the time that the ten tribes were carried captive from Samaria till Ptolemy the Fourth, were five hundred and seventy-three years, nine months; and from the time that the captivity from Jerusalem took place, three hundred and thirty-eight years and three months.

Philo himself set down the kings differently from Demetrius. Besides, Eupolemus, in a similar work, says that all the years from Adam to the fifth year of Ptolemy Demetrius, who reigned twelve years in Egypt, when added, amount to five thousand a hundred and forty-nine; and from the time that Moses brought out the Jews from Egypt to the above-mentioned date, there are, in all, two thousand five hundred and eighty years. And from this time till the consulship in Rome of Caius Domitian and Casian, a hundred and twenty years are computed.

Euphorus and many other historians say that there are seventy-five nations and tongues, in consequence of hearing the statement made by Moses: "All the souls that sprang from Jacob, which went down into Egypt, were seventy-five." According to the true reckoning, there appear to be seventy-two generic dialects, as our Scriptures hand down. The rest of the vulgar tongues are formed by the blending of two, or three, or more dialects.

A dialect is a mode of speech which exhibits a character peculiar to a locality, or a mode of speech which exhibits a character peculiar or common to a race. The Greeks say, that among them are five dialects -- the Attic, Ionic, Doric, Aeolic, and the fifth the Common; and that the languages of the barbarians, which are innumerable, are not called dialects, but tongues.

Plato attributes a dialect also to the gods, forming this conjecture mainly from dreams and oracles, and especially from demoniacs, who do not speak their own language or dialect, but that of the demons who have taken possession of them. He thinks also that the irrational creatures have dialects, which those that belong to the same genus understand. Accordingly, when an elephant falls into the mud and bellows out any other one that is at hand, on seeing what has happened, shortly turns, and brings with him a herd of elephants, and saves the one that has fallen in. It is said also in Libya, that a scorpion, if it does not succeed in stinging a man, goes away and returns with several more; and that, hanging on one to the other like a chain they make in this way the attempt to succeed in their cunning design.

The irrational creatures do not make use of an obscure intimation, or hint their meaning by assuming a particular attitude, but, as I think, by a dialect of their own. And some others say, that if a fish which has been taken escape by breaking the line, no fish of the same kind will be caught in the same place that day. But the first and generic barbarous dialects have terms by nature, since also men confess that prayers uttered in a barbarian tongue are more powerful. And Plato, in the Cratylus, when wishing to interpret pyr (fire), says that it is a barbaric term. He testifies, accordingly, that the Phrygians use this term with a slight deviation.

And nothing, in my opinion, after these details, need stand in the way of stating the periods of the Roman emperors, in order to the demonstration of the Saviour's birth. Augustus, forty-three years; Tiberius, twenty-two years; Caius, four years; Claudius, fourteen years; Nero, fourteen years; Galba, one year; Vespasian, ten years; Titus, three years; Domitian, fifteen years; Nerva, one year; Trajan, nineteen years; Adrian, twenty-one years; Antoninus, twenty-one years; likewise again, Antoninus and Commodus, thirty-two. In all, from Augustus to Commodus, are two hundred and twenty-two years; and from Adam to the death of Commodus, five thousand seven hundred and eighty-four years, two months, twelve days.

Some set down the dates of the Roman emperors thus: Caius Julius Caesar, three years, four months, five days; after him Augustus reigned forty-six years, four months, one day. Then Tiberius, twenty-six years, six months, nineteen days. He was succeeded by Caius Caesar, who reigned three years, ten months, eight days; and be by Claudius for thirteen years, eight months, twenty-eight days. Nero reigned thirteen years, eight months, twenty-eight days; Galba, seven months and six days; Otho, five months, one day; Vitellius, seven months, one day; Vespasian, eleven years, eleven months, twenty-two days; Titus, two years, two months; Domitian, fifteen years, eight months, five days; Nerva, one year, four months, ten days; Trajan, nineteen years, seven months, ten days; Adrian, twenty years, ten months, twenty-eight days. Antoninus, twenty-two years, three months, and seven days; Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, nineteen years, eleven days; Commodus, twelve years, nine months, fourteen days.

From Julius Caesar, therefore, to the death of Commodus, are two hundred and thirty-six years, six months. And the whole from Romulus, who founded Rome, till the death of Commodus, amounts to nine hundred and fifty-three years, six months. And our Lord was born in the twenty-eighth year, when first the census was ordered to be taken in the reign of Augustus. And to prove that this is true, it is written in the Gospel by Luke as follows: "And in the fifteenth year, in the reign of Tiberius Caesar, the word of the Lord came to John, the son of Zacharias." And again in the same book: "And Jesus was coming to His baptism, being about thirty years old," and so on. And that it was necessary for Him to preach only a year, this also is written: "He hath sent Me to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord." This both the prophet spake, and the Gospel. Accordingly, in fifteen years of Tiberius and fifteen years of Augustus; so were completed the thirty years till the time He suffered. And from the time that He suffered till the destruction of Jerusalem are forty-two years and three months; and from the destruction of Jerusalem to the death of Commodus, a hundred and twenty-eight years, ten months, and three days. From the birth of Christ, therefore, to the death of Commodus are, in all, a hundred and ninety-four years, one month, thirteen days. And there are those who have determined not only the year of our Lord's birth, but also the day; and they say that it took place in the twenty-eighth year of Augustus, and in the twenty-fifth day of Pachon. And the followers of Basilides hold the day of his baptism as a festival, spending the night before in readings.

And they say that it was the fifteenth year of Tiberius Caesar, the fifteenth day of the month Tubi; and some that it was the eleventh of the same month, And treating of His passion, with very great accuracy, some say that it took place in the sixteenth year of Tiberius, on the twenty-fifth of Phamenoth; and others the twenty-fifth of Pharmuthi and others say that on the nineteenth of Pharmuthi the Saviour suffered. Further, others say that He was born on the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth of Pharmuthi.

We have still to add to our chronology the following, -- I mean the days which Daniel indicates from the desolation of Jerusalem, the seven years and seven months of the reign of Vespasian. For the two years are added to the seventeen months and eighteen days of Otho, and Galba, and Vitellius; and the result is three years and six months, which is "the half of the week," as Daniel the prophet said. For he said that there were two thousand three hundred days from the time that the abomination of Nero stood in the holy city, till its destruction. For thus the declaration, which is subjoined, shows: "How long shall be the vision, the sacrifice taken away, the abomination of desolation, which is given, and the power and the holy place shall be trodden under foot? And he said to him, Till the evening and morning, two thousand three hundred days, and the holy place shall be taken away."

These two thousand three hundred days, then, make six years four months, during the half of which Nero held sway, and it was half a week; and for a half, Vespasian with Otho, Galba, and Vitellius reigned. And on this account Daniel says, "Blessed is he that cometh to the thousand three hundred and thirty-five days." For up to these days was war, and after them it ceased. And this number is demonstrated from a subsequent chapter, which is as follows: "And from the time of the change of continuation, and of the giving of the abomination of desolation, there shall be a thousand two

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hundred and ninety days. Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and thirty-five days."

Flavius Josephus the Jew, who composed the history of the Jews, computing the periods, says that from Moses to David were five hundred and eighty-five years; from David to the second year of Vespasian, a thousand one hundred and seventy-nine; then from that to the tenth year of Antoninus, seventy-seven. So that from Moses to the tenth year of Antoninus there are, in all, two thousand one hundred and thirty-three years.

Of others, counting from Inachus and Moses to the death of Commodus, some say there were three thousand one hundred and forty-two years; and others, two thousand eight hundred and thirty-one years.

And in the Gospel according to Matthew, the genealogy which begins with Abraham is continued down to Mary the mother of the Lord. "For," it is said, "from Abraham to David are fourteen generations; and from David to the carrying away into Babylon are fourteen generations; and from the carrying away into Babylon till Christ are likewise other fourteen generations," -- three mystic intervals completed in six weeks.

CHAPTER 22 -- ON THE GREEK TRANSLATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

So much for the details respecting dates, as stated variously by many, and as set down by us.

It is said that the Scriptures both of the law and of the prophets were translated from the dialect of the Hebrews into the Greek language in the reign of Ptolemy the son of Lagos, or, according to others, of Ptolemy surnamed Philadelphus; Demetrius Phalereus bringing to this task the greatest earnestness, and employing painstaking accuracy on the materials for the translation. For the Macedonians being still in possession of Asia, and the king being ambitious of adorning the library he had at Alexandria with all writings, desired the people of Jerusalem to translate the prophecies they possessed into the Greek dialect. And they being the subjects of the Macedonians, selected from those of highest character among them seventy elders, versed in the Scriptures, and skilled in the Greek dialect, and sent them to him with the divine books. And each having severally translated each prophetic book, and all the translations being compared together, they agreed both in meaning and expression. For it was the counsel of God carried out for the benefit of Grecian ears. It was not alien to the inspiration of God, who gave the prophecy, also to produce the translation, and make it as it were Greek prophecy. Since the Scriptures having perished in the captivity of Nabuchodonosor, Esdras the Levite, the priest, in the time of Artaxerxes king of the Persians, having become inspired in the exercise of prophecy restored again the whole of the ancient Scriptures. And Aristobulus, in his first book addressed to Philometor, writes in these words: "And Plato followed the laws given to us, and had manifestly studied all that is said in them." And before Demetrius there had been translated by another, previous to the dominion of Alexander and of the Persians, the account of the departure of our countrymen the Hebrews from Egypt, and the fame of all that happened to them, and their taking possession of the land, and the account of the whole code of laws; so that it is perfectly clear that the above-mentioned philosopher derived a great deal from this source, for he was very learned, as also Pythagoras, who transferred many things from our books to his own system of doctrines. And Numenius, the Pythagorean philosopher, expressly writes: "For what is Plato, but Moses speak ing in Attic Greek?" This Moses was a theologian and prophet, and as some say, an interpreter of sacred laws. His family, his deeds, and life, are related by the Scriptures themselves, which are worthy of all credit; but have nevertheless to be stated by us also as well as we can.

CHAPTER 23 -- THE AGE, BIRTH, AND LIFE OF MOSES.

Moses, originally of a Chaldean family, was born in Egypt, his ancestors having migrated from Babylon into Egypt on account of a protracted famine. Born in the seventh generation and having received a royal education, the following are the circumstances of his history. The Hebrews having increased in Egypt to a great multitude, and the king of the country being afraid of insurrection in consequence of their numbers, he ordered all the female children born to the Hebrews to be reared (woman being unfit for war), but the male to be destroyed, being suspicious of stalwart youth. But the child being goodly, his parents nursed him secretly three months, natural affection being too strong for the monarch's cruelty. But at last, dreading lest they should be destroyed along with the child, they made a basket of the papyrus that grew there, put the child in it, and laid it on the banks of the marshy river. The child's sister stood at a distance, and watched what would happen. In this emergency, the king's daughter, who for a long time had not been pregnant, and who longed for a child, came that day to the river to bathe and wash herself; and hearing the child cry, she ordered it to be brought to her; and touched with pity, sought a nurse. At that moment the child's sister ran up, and said that, if she wished, she could procure for her as nurse one of the Hebrew women who had recently had a child. And on her consenting and desiring her to do so, she brought the child's mother to be nurse for a stipulated fee, as if she had been some other person. Thereupon the queen gave the babe the name of Moses, with etymological propriety, from his being drawn out of "the water," -- for the Egyptians call water "mou," -- in which he had been exposed to die. For they call Moses one who "who breathed [on being taken] from the water." It is clear that previously the parents gave a name to the child on his circumcision; and he was called Joachim. And he had a third name in heaven, after his ascension, as the mystics say -- Melchi. Having reached the proper age, he was taught arithmetic, geometry, poetry, harmony, and besides, medicine and music, by those that excelled in these arts among the Egyptians; and besides, the philosophy which is conveyed by symbols, which they point out in the hieroglyphical inscriptions. The rest of the usual course of instruction, Greeks taught him in Egypt as a royal child, as Philo says in his life of Moses. He learned, besides, the literature of the Egyptians, and the knowledge of the heavenly bodies from the Chaldeans and the Egyptians; whence in the Acts he is said "to have been instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." And Eupolemus, in his book On the Kings in Judea, says that "Moses was the first wise man, and the first that imparted grammar to the Jews, that the Phoenicians received it from the Jews, and the Greeks from the Phoenicians." And betaking himself to their philosophy, he increased his wisdom, being ardently attached to the training received from his kindred and ancestors, till he struck and slew the Egyptian who wrongfully attacked the Hebrew. And the mystics say that he slew the Egyptian by a word only; as, certainly, Peter in the Acts is related to have slain by speech those who appropriated part of the price of the field, and lied. And so Artapanus, in his work On the Jews, relates "that Moses, being shut up in custody by Chenephres, king of the Egyptians, on account of the people demanding to be let go from Egypt, the prison being opened by night, by the interposition of God, went forth, and reaching the palace, stood before the king as he slept, and aroused him; and that the latter, struck with what had taken place, bade Moses tell him the name of the God who had sent him; and that he, bending forward, told him in his ear; and that the king on hearing it fell speechless, but being supported by Moses, revived again." And respecting the education of Moses, we shall find a harmonious account in Ezekiel, the composer of Jewish tragedies in the drama entitled The Exodus. He thus writes in the person of Moses: "For, seeing our race abundantly increase, His treacherous snares King Pharaoh 'gainst us laid, And cruelly in brick-kilns some of us, And some, in toilsome works of building, plagued.

And towns and towers by toil of ill-starred men He raised. Then to the Hebrew race proclaimed, That each male child should in deep-flowing Nile Be drowned. My mother bore and hid me then Three months (so afterwards she told). Then took, And me adorned with fair array, and placed On the deep sedgy marsh by Nilus bank, While Miriam, my sister, watched afar.

Then, with her maids, the daughter of the king, To bathe her beauty in the cleansing stream, Came near, straight saw, and took and raised me up; And knew me for a Hebrew. Miriam My sister to the princess ran, and said, 'Is it thy pleasure, that I haste and find A nurse for thee to rear this child Among the Hebrew women?' The princess Gave assent. The maiden to her mother sped, And told, who quick appeared. My own Dear mother took me in her arms. Then said The daughter of the king: 'Nurse me this child, And I will give thee wages.' And my name Moses she called, because she drew and saved Me from the waters on the river's bank.

And when the days of childhood had flown by, My mother brought me to the palace where The princess dwelt, after disclosing all About my ancestry, and God's great gifts.

In boyhood's years I royal nurture had, And in all princely exercise was trained, As if the princess's very son. But when The circling days had run their course, I left the royal palace."

Then, after relating the combat between the Hebrew and the Egyptian, and the burying of the Egyptian in the sand, he says of the other contest: "Why strike one feebler than thyself?

And he rejoined: Who made thee judge o'er us, Or ruler? Wilt thou slay me, as thou didst Him yesterday? And I m terror said, How is this known?"

Then he fled from Egypt and fed sheep, being thus trained beforehand for pastoral rule. For the shepherd's life is a preparation for sovereignty in the case of him who is destined to rule over the peaceful flock of men, as the chase for those who are by nature warlike. Thence God brought him to lead the Hebrews. Then the Egyptians, oft admonished, continued unwise; and the Hebrews were spectators of the calamities that others suffered, learning in safety the power of God. And when the Egyptians gave no heed to the effects of that power, through their foolish infatuation disbelieving, then, as is said, "the children knew" what was done; and the Hebrews afterwards going forth, departed carrying much spoil from the Egyptians, not for avarice, as the cavillers say, for God did not persuade them to covet what belonged to others. But, in the first place, they took wages for the services they had rendered the Egyptians all the time; and then in a way recompensed the Egyptians, by afflicting them in requital as avaricious, by the abstraction of the booty, as they had done the Hebrews by enslaving them. Whether, then, as may be alleged is done in war, they thought it proper, in the exercise of the rights of conquerors, to take away the property of their enemies, as those who have gained the day do from those who are worsted (and there was just cause of hostilities. The Hebrews came as suppliants to the Egyptians on account of famine; and they, reducing their guests to slavery, compelled them to serve them after the manner of captives, giving them no recompense); or as in peace, took the spoil as wages against the will of those who for a long period had given them no recompense, but rather had robbed them, [it is all one.]

CHAPTER 24 -- HOW MOSES DISCHARGED THE PART OF A MILITARY LEADER.

Our Moses then is a prophet, a legislator, skilled in military tactics and strategy, a politician, a philosopher. And in what sense he was a prophet, shall be by and by told, when we come to treat of prophecy. Tactics belong to military command, and the ability to command an army is among the attributes of kingly rule. Legislation, again, is also one of the functions of the kingly office, as also judicial authority.

Of the kingly office one kind is divine, -- that which is according to God and His holy Son, by whom both the good things which are of the earth, and external and perfect felicity too, are supplied. "For," it is said, "seek what is great, and the little things shall be added." And there is a second kind of royalty, inferior to that administration which is purely rational and divine, which brings to the task of government merely the high mettle of the soul; after which fashion Hercules ruled the Argives, and Alexander the Macedonians. The third kind is what aims after one thing -- merely to conquer and overturn; but to turn conquest either to a good or a bad purpose, belongs not to such rule. Such was the aim of the Persians in their campaign against Greece. For, on the one hand, fondness for strife is solely the result of passion, and acquires power solely for the sake of domination; while, on the other, the love of good is characteristic of a soul which uses its high spirit for noble ends. The fourth, the worst of all, is the sovereignty which acts according to the promptings of the passions, as that of Sardanapalus, and those who propose to themselves as their end the gratification of the passions to the utmost. But the instrument of regal sway -- the instrument at once of that which overcomes by virtue, and that which does so by force -- is the power of managing (or tact). And it, varies according to the nature and the material. In the case of arms and of fighting animals the ordering power is the soul and mind, by means animate and inanimate; and in the case of the passions of the soul, which we master by virtue, reason is the ordering power, by affixing the seal of continence and self-restraint, along with holiness, and sound knowledge with truth, making the result of the whole to terminate in piety towards God. For it is wisdom which regulates in the case of those who so practise virtue; and divine things are ordered by wisdom, and human affairs by politics -- all things by the kingly faculty. He is a king, then, who governs according to the laws, and possesses the skill to sway willing subjects. Such is the Lord, who receives all who believe on Him and by Him. For the Father has delivered and subjected all to Christ our King," that at the name of Jesus every knee may bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.'

Now, generalship involves three ideas: caution, enterprise, and the union of the two. And each of these consists of three things, acting as they do either by word, or by deeds, or by both together. And all this can be accomplished either by persuasion, or by compulsion, or by inflicting harm in the way of taking vengeance on those who ought to be punished; and this either by doing what is right, or by telling what is untrue, or by telling what is true, or by adopting any of these means conjointly at the same time.

Now, the Greeks had the advantage of receiving from Moses all these, and the knowledge of how to make use of each of them. And, for the sake of example, I shall cite one or two instances of leadership. Moses, on leading the people forth, suspecting that the Egyptians would pursue, left the short and direct route, and turned to the desert, and marched mostly by night. For it was another kind of arrangement by which the Hebrews were trained in the great wilderness, and for a protracted time, to belief in the existence of one God alone, being inured by the wise discipline of endurance to which they were subjected. The strategy of Moses, therefore, shows the necessity of discerning what will be of service before the approach of dangers, and so to encounter them. It turned out precisely as he suspected, for the Egyptians pursued with horses and chariots, but were quickly destroyed by the sea breaking on them and overwhelming them with their horses and chariots, so that not a remnant of them was left. Afterwards the pillar of fire, which accompanied them (for it

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went before them as a guide), conducted the Hebrews by night through an untrodden region, training and bracing them, by toils and hardships, to manliness and endurance, that after their experience of what appeared formidable difficulties, the benefits of the land, to which from the trackless desert he was conducting them, might become apparent. Furthermore, he put to flight and slew the hostile occupants of the land, falling upon them from a desert and rugged line of march (such was the excellence of his generalship). For the taking of the land of those hostile tribes was a work of skill and strategy.

Perceiving this, Miltiades, the Athenian general, who conquered the Persians in battle at Marathon, imitated it in the following fashion. Marching over a trackless desert, he led on the Athenians by night, and eluded the barbarians that were set to watch him. For Hippias, who had deserted from the Athenians, conducted the barbarians into Attica, and seized and held the points of vantage, in consequence of having a knowledge of the ground. The task was then to elude Hippias. Whence rightly Miltiades, traversing the desert and attacking by night the Persians commanded by Dates, led his soldiers to victory.

But further, when Thrasybulus was bringing back the exiles from Phyla, and wished to elude observation, a pillar became his guide as he marched over a trackless region. To Thrasybulus by night, the sky being moonless and stormy, a fire appeared leading the way, which, having conducted them safely, left them near Munychia, where is now the altar of the light-bringer (Phosphorus).

From such an instance, therefore, let our accounts become credible to the Greeks, namely, that it was possible for the omnipotent God to make the pillar of fire, which was their guide on their march, go before the Hebrews by night. It is said also in a certain oracle,- "A pillar to the Thebans is joy-inspiring Bacchus," from the history of the Hebrews. Also Euripides says, in Antiope,- "In the chambers within, the herdsman, With chaplet of ivy, pillar of the Evoean god."

The pillar indicates that God cannot be portrayed. The pillar of light, too, in addition to its pointing out that God cannot be represented, shows also the stability and the permanent duration of the Deity, and His unchangeable and inexpressible light. Before, then, the invention of the forms of images, the ancients erected pillars, and reverenced them as statues of the Deity.

Accordingly, he who composed the Pharonis writes,- "Callithoe, key-bearer of the Olympian queen: Argive Hera, who first with fillets and with fringes The queen's tall column all around adorned."

Further, the author of Europia relates that the statue of Apollo at Delphi was a pillar in these words: "That to the god first-fruits and tithes we may On sacred pillars and on lofty column hang."

Apollo, interpreted mystically by "privation of many," means the one God. Well, then, that fire like a pillar, and the fire in the desert, is the symbol of the holy light which passed through from earth and returned again to heaven, by the wood [of the cross], by which also the gift of intellectual vision was bestowed on us.

CHAPTER 25 -- PLATO AN IMITATOR OF MOSES IN FRAMING LAWS.

Plato the philosopher, aided in legislation by the books of Moses, censured the polity of Minos, and that of Lycurgus, as having bravery alone as their aim; while he praised as more seemly the polity which expresses some one thing, and directs according to one precept. For he says that it becomes us to philosophize with strength, and dignity, and wisdom, -- holding unalterably the same opinions about the same things, with reference to the dignity of heaven. Accordingly, therefore, he interprets what is in the law, enjoining us to look to one God and to do justly. Of politics, he says there are two kinds, -- the department of law, and that of politics, strictly so called.

And he refers to the Creator, as the Statesman (o politikos) by way of eminence, in his book of this name (o politikos); and those who lead an active and just life, combined with contemplation, he calls statesmen (politiko). That department of politics which is called "Law," he divides into administrative magnanimity and private good order, which he calls orderliness; and harmony, and sobriety, which are seen when rulers suit their subjects, and subjects are obedient to their rulers; a result which the system of Moses sedulously aims at effecting. Further, that the department of law is founded on generation, that of politics on friendship and consent, Plato, with the aid he received, affirms; and so, coupled with the laws the philosopher in the Epinomis, who knew the course of all generation, which takes place by the instrumentality of the planets; and the other philosopher, Timaeus, who was an astronomer and student of the motions of the stars, and of their sympathy and association with one another, he consequently joined to the "polity" (or "republic"). Then, in my opinion, the end both of the statesman, and of him who lives according to the law, is contemplation. It is necessary, therefore, that public affairs should be rightly managed. But to philosophize is best. For he who is wise will live concentrating all his energies on knowledge, directing his life by good deeds, despising the opposite, and following the pursuits which contribute to truth. And the law is not what is decided by law (for what is seen is not vision), nor every opinion (not certainly what is evil). But law is the opinion which is good, and what is good is that which is true, and what is true is that which finds "true being," and attains to it. "He who is," says Moses, "sent me." In accordance with which, namely, good opinion, some have called law, right reason, which enjoins what is to be done and forbids what is not to be done.

CHAPTER 26 -- MOSES RIGHTLY CALLED A DIVINE LEGISLATOR, AND, THOUGH INFERIOR TO CHRIST, FAR SUPERIOR TO THE GREAT LEGISLATORS OF THE GREEKS, MINOS AND LYCURGUS.

Whence the law was rightly said to have been given by Moses, being a rule of fight and wrong; and we may call it with accuracy the divine ordinance (qesmos, inasmuch as it was given by God through Moses. It accordingly conducts to the divine. Paul says: "The law was instituted because of transgressions, till the seed should come, to whom the promise was made." Then, as if in explanation of his meaning, he adds: "But before faith came, we were kept under the law, shut up," manifestly through fear, in consequence of sins, "unto the faith which should afterwards be revealed; so that the law was a schoolmaster to bring us to Christ, that we should be justified by faith." The true legislator is he who assigns to each department of the soul what is suitable to it and to its operations. Now Moses, to speak comprehensively, was a living law, governed by the benign Word. Accordingly, he furnished a good polity, which is the right discipline of men in social life. He also handled the administration of justice, which is that branch of knowledge which deals with the correction of transgressors in the interests of justice. Co-ordinate with it is the faculty of dealing with punishments, which is a knowledge of the due measure to be observed in punishments. And punishment, in virtue of its being so, is the correction of the soul. In a word, the whole system of Moses is suited for the training of such as are capable of becoming good and noble men, and for hunting out men like them; and this is the art of command. And that wisdom, which is capable of treating rightly those who have been caught by the Word, is legislative wisdom. For it is the property of this wisdom, being most kingly, to possess and use, It is the wise man, therefore, alone whom the philosophers proclaim king, legislator, general, just, holy, God-beloved. And if we discover these qualities in Moses, as shown from the Scriptures themselves, we may, with the most assured persuasion, pronounce Moses to be truly wise. As then we say that it belongs to the shepherd's art to care for the sheep; for so "the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep;" so also we shall say that legislation, inasmuch as it presides over and cares for the flock of men, establishes the virtue of men, by fanning into flame, as far as it can, what good there is in humanity.

And if the flock figuratively spoken of as belonging to the Lord is nothing but a flock of men, then He Himself is the good Shepherd and Lawgiver of the one flock, "of the sheep who hear Him," the one who cares for them, "seeking," and finding by the law and the word, "that which was lost;" since, in truth, the law is spiritual and leads to felicity. For that which has arisen through the Holy Spirit is spiritual. And he is truly a legislator, who not only announces what is good and noble, but understands it. The law of this man who possesses knowledge is the saving precept; or rather, the law is the precept of knowledge. For the Word is "the power and the wisdom of God." Again, the expounder of the laws is the same one by whom the law was given; the first expounder of the divine commands, who unveiled the bosom of the Father, the only-begotten Son.

Then those who obey the law, since they have some knowledge of Him. cannot disbelieve or be ignorant of the truth. But those who disbelieve, and have shown a repugnance to engage in the works of the law, whoever else may, certainly confess their ignorance of the truth.

What, then, is the unbelief of the Greeks? Is it not their unwillingness to believe the truth which declares that the law was divinely given by Moses, whilst they honour Moses in their own writers? They relate that Minos received the laws from Zeus in, nine years, by frequenting the cave of Zeus; and Plato, and Aristotle, and Ephorus write that Lycurgus was trained in legislation by going constantly to Apollo at Delphi. Chamaeleo of Heraclea, in his book On Drunkenness, and Aristotle in The Polity of Locrians, mention that Zaleucus the Locrian received the laws from Athene.

But those who exalt the credit of Greek legislation as far as in them lies, by referring it to a divine source, after the model of Mosaic prophecy, are senseless in not owning the truth, and the archetype of what is related among them.

CHAPTER 27 -- THE LAW, EVEN IN CORRECTING AND PUNISHING, AIMS AT THE GOOD OF MEN.

Let no one then, run down law, as if, on account of the penalty, it were not beautiful and good. For shall he who drives away bodily disease appear a benefactor; and shall not he who attempts to deliver the soul from iniquity, as much more appear a friend, as the soul is a more precious thing than the body? Besides, for the sake of bodily health we submit to incisions, and cauterizations, and medicinal draughts; and he who administers them is called saviour and healer even though amputating parts, not from grudge or ill-will towards the patient, but as the principles of the art prescribe, so that the sound parts may not perish along with them, and no one accuses the physician's art of wickedness; and shall we not similarly submit, for the soul's Sake, to either banishment, or punishment, or bonds, provided only from unrighteousness we shall attain to righteousness?

For the law, in its solicitude for those who obey, trains up to piety, and prescribes what is to be done, and restrains each one from sins, imposing penalties even on lesser sins.

But when it sees any one in such a condition as to appear incurable, posting to the last stage of wickedness, then in its solicitude for the rest, that they may not be destroyed by it (just as if amputating a part from the whole body), it condemns such an one to death, as the course most conducive to health. "Being judged by the Lord," says the apostle, "we are chastened, that we may not be condemned with the world." For the prophet had said before, "Chastening, the Lord hath chastised me, but hath not given me over unto death." "For in order to teach thee His righteousness," it is said, "He chastised thee and tried thee, and made thee to hunger and thirst in the desert land; that all His statutes and His judgments may be known in thy heart, as I command thee this day; and that thou mayest know in thine heart, that just as if a man were chastising his son, so the Lord our God shall chastise thee."

And to prove that example corrects, he says directly to the purpose: "A clever man, when he seeth the wicked punished, will himself be severely chastised, for the fear of the Lord is the source of wisdom."

But it is the highest and most perfect good, when one is able to lead back any one from the practice of evil to virtue and well-doing, which is the very function of the law. So that, when one fails into any incurable evil, -- when taken possession of, for example, by wrong or covetousness, -- it will be for his good if he is put to death. For the law is beneficent, being able to make some righteous from unrighteous, if they will only give ear to it, and by releasing others from present evils; for those who have chosen to live temperately and justly, it conducts to immortality. To know the law is characteristic of a good disposition. And again: "Wicked men do not understand the law; but they who seek the Lord shall have understanding in all that is good."

It is essential, certainly, that the providence which manages all, be both supreme and good. For it is the power of both that dispenses salvation -- the one correcting by punishment, as supreme, the other showing kindness in the exercise of beneficence, as a benefactor. It is in your power not to be a son of disobedience, but to pass from darkness to life, and lending your ear to wisdom, to be the legal slave of God, in the first instance, and then to become a faithful servant, fearing the Lord God. And if one ascend higher, he is enrolled among the sons.

But when "charity covers the multitude of sins," by the consummation of the blessed hope, then may we welcome him as one who has been enriched in love, and received into the elect adoption, which is called the beloved of God, while he chants the prayer, saying, "Let the Lord be my God."

The beneficent action of the law, the apostle showed in the passage relating to the Jews, writing thus: "Behold, thou art called a Jew and restest in the law, and makest thy boast in God, and knowest the will of God, and approvest the things that are more excellent, being instructed out of the law, and art confident that thou thyself art a guide of the blind, a light of them who are in darkness, an instructor of the foolish, a teacher of babes, who hast the form of knowledge and of truth in the law." For it is admitted that such is the power of the law, although those whose conduct is not according to the law, make a false pretence, as if they lived in the law.

"Blessed is the man that hath found wisdom, and the mortal who has seen understanding; for out of its mouth," manifestly Wisdom's, "proceeds righteousness, and it bears law and mercy on its tongue." For both the law and the Gospel are the energy of one Lord, who is "the power and wisdom of God;" and the terror which the law begets is merciful and in order to salvation. "Let not alms, and faith, and truth fail thee, but hang them around thy neck." In the same way as Paul, prophecy upbraids the people with not understanding the law. "Destruction and misery are in their ways, and the way of peace have they not known." "There is no fear of God before their eyes." "Professing themselves wise, they became fools." "And we know that the law is good, if a man use it lawfully." "Desiring to be teachers of the law, they understand," says the apostle, "neither what they say, nor whereof they affirm."

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"Now the end of the commandment is charity out of a pure heart, and a good conscience, and faith unfeigned."

CHAPTER 28 -- THE FOURFOLD DIVISION OF THE MOSAIC LAW.

The Mosaic philosophy is accordingly divided into four parts, -- into the historic, and that which is specially called the legislative, which two properly belong to an ethical treatise; and the third, that which, relates to sacrifice, which belongs to physical science; and the fourth, above all, the department of theology, "vision," which Plato predicates of the truly great mysteries. And this species Aristotle calls metaphysics. Dialectics, according to Plato, is, as he says in The Statesman, a science devoted to the discovery of the explanation of things. And it is to be acquired by the wise man, not for the sake of saying or doing aught of what we find among men (as the dialecticians, who occupy themselves in sophistry, do), but to be able to say and do, as far as possible, what is pleasing to God. But the true dialectic, being philosophy mixed with truth, by examining things, and testing forces and powers, gradually ascends in relation to the most excellent essence of all, and essays to go beyond to the God of the universe, professing not the knowledge of mortal affairs, but the science of things divine and heavenly; in accordance with which follows a suitable course of practice with respect to words and deeds, even in human affairs. Rightly, therefore, the Scripture, in its desire to make us such dialecticians, exhorts us: "Be ye skilful money-changers" rejecting some things, but retaining what is good. For this true dialectic is the science which analyses the objects of thought, and shows abstractly and by itself the individual substratum of existences, or the power of dividing things into genera, which descends to their most special properties, and presents each individual object to be contemplated simply such as it is.

Wherefore it alone conducts to the true wisdom, which is the divine power which deals with the knowledge of entities as entities, which grasps what is perfect, and is freed from all passion; not without the Saviour, who withdraws, by the divine word, the gloom of ignorance arising from evil training, which had overspread the eye of the soul, and bestows the best of gifts,- "That we might well know or God or man."

It is He who truly shows how we are to know ourselves. It is He who reveals the Father of the universe to whom He wills, and as far as human nature can comprehend. "For no man knoweth the Son but the Father, nor the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son shall reveal Him." Rightly, then, the apostle says that it was by revelation that he knew the mystery: "As I wrote afore in few words, according as ye are able to understand my knowledge in the mystery of Christ." "According as ye are able," he said, since he knew that some had received milk only, and had not yet received meat, nor even milk simply. The sense of the law is to be taken in three ways, -- either as exhibiting a symbol, or laying down a precept for right conduct, or as uttering a prophecy. But I well know that it belongs to men [of full age] to distinguish and declare these things. For the whole Scripture is not in its meaning a single Myconos, as the proverbial expression has it; but those who hunt after the connection of the divine teaching, must approach it with the utmost perfection of the logical faculty.

CHAPTER 29 -- THE GREEKS BUT CHILDREN COMPARED WITH THE HEBREWS.

Whence most beautifully the Egyptian priest in Plato said, "O Solon, Solon, you Greeks are always children, not having in your souls a single ancient opinion received through tradition from antiquity. And not one of the Greeks is an old man;" meaning by old, I suppose, those who know what belongs to the more remote antiquity, that is, our literature; and by young, those who treat of what is more recent and made the subject of study by the Greeks, -- things of yesterday and of recent date as if they were old and ancient. Wherefore he added, "and no study hoary with time;" for we, in a kind of barbarous way, deal in homely and rugged metaphor. Those, therefore, whose minds are rightly constituted approach the interpretation utterly destitute of artifice. And of the Greeks, he says that their opinions" differ but little from myths." For neither puerile fables nor stories current among children are fit for listening to. And he called the myths themselves "children," as if the progeny of those, wise in their own conceits among the Greeks, who had but little insight meaning by the "hoary studies" the truth which was possessed by the barbarians, dating from the highest antiquity. To which expression he opposed the phrase "child fable," censuring the mythical character of the attempts of the moderns, as, like children, having nothing of age in them, and affirming both in common -- their fables and their speeches -- to be puerile.

Divinely, therefore, the power which spoke to Hermas by revelation said, "The visions and revelations are for those who are of double mind, who doubt in their hearts if these things are or are not."

Similarly, also, demonstrations from the resources of erudition, strengthen, confirm, and establish demonstrative reasonings, in so far as men's minds are in a wavering state like young people's. "The good commandment," then, according to the Scripture, "is a lamp, and the law is a light to the path; for instruction corrects the ways of life." "Law is monarch of all, both of mortals and of immortals," says Pindar. I understand, however, by these words, Him who enacted law. And I regard, as spoken of the God of all, the following utterance of Hesiod, though spoken by the poet at random and not with comprehension: "For the Saturnian framed for men this law: Fishes, and beasts, and winged birds may eat Each other, since no rule of right is theirs; But Right (by far the best) to men he gave."

Whether, then, it be the law which is connate and natural, or that given afterwards, which is meant, it is certainly of God; and both the law of nature and that of instruction are one. Thus also Plato, in The Statesman, says that the lawgiver is one; and in The Laws, that he who shall understand music is one; teaching by these words that the Word is one, and God is one. And Moses manifestly calls the Lord a covenant: "Behold I am my Covenant with thee," having previously told him not to seek the covenant in writing. For it is a covenant which God, the Author of all, makes. For God is called from qesis (placing), and order or arrangement. And in the Preaching of Peter you will find the Lord called Law and Word. But at this point, let our first Miscellany of gnostic notes, according to the true philosophy, come to a close.

THE STROMATA, BOOK 2

CHAPTER 1 -- INTRODUCTORY.

As Scripture has called the Greeks pilferers of the Barbarian philosophy, it will next have to be considered how this may be briefly demonstrated. For we shall not only show that they have imitated and copied the marvels recorded in our books; but we shall prove, besides, that they have plagiarized and falsified (our writings being, as we have shown, older) the chief dogmas they hold, both on faith and knowledge and science, and hope and love, and also on repentance and temperance and the fear of God, -- a whole swarm, verily, of the virtues of truth.

Whatever the explication necessary on the point in hand shall demand, shall be embraced, and especially what is occult in the barbarian philosophy, the department of symbol and enigma; which those who have subjected the teaching of the ancients to systematic philosophic study have affected, as being in the highest degree serviceable, nay, absolutely necessary to the knowledge of truth. In addition, it will in my opinion form an appropriate sequel to defend those tenets, on account of which the Greeks assail us, making use of a few Scriptures, if perchance the Jew also may listen and be able quietly to turn from what he has believed to Him on whom he has not believed. The ingenuous among the philosophers will then with propriety be taken up in a friendly exposure both of their life and of the discovery of new dogmas, not in the way of our avenging ourselves on our detractors (for that is far from being the case with those who have learned to bless those who curse, even though they needlessly discharge on us words of blasphemy), but with a view to their conversion; if by any means these adepts in wisdom may feel ashamed, being brought to their senses by barbarian demonstration; so as to be able, although late, to see clearly of what sort are the intellectual acquisitions for which they make pilgrimages over the seas. Those they have stolen are to be pointed out, that we may thereby pull down their conceit; and of those on the discovery of which through investigation they plume themselves, the refutation will be furnished. By consequence, also we must treat of what is called the curriculum of study -- how far it is serviceable; and of astrology, and mathematics, and magic, and sorcery. For all the Greeks boast of these as the highest sciences. "He who reproves boldly is a peacemaker." We lave often said already that we have neither practised nor do we study the expressing ourselves in pure Greek; for this suits those who seduce the multitude from the truth. But true philosophic demonstration will contribute to the profit not of the listeners' tongues, but of their minds. And, in my opinion, he who is solicitous about truth ought not to frame his language with artfulness and care, but only to try to express his meaning as he best can. For those who are particular about words, and devote their time to them, miss the things. It is a feat fit for the gardener to pluck without injury the rose that is growing among the thorns; and for the craftsman to find out the pearl buried in the oyster's flesh. And they say that fowls have flesh of the most agreeable quality, when, through not being supplied with abundance of food, they pick their sustenance with difficulty, scraping with their feet. If any one, then, speculating on what is similar, wants to arrive at the truth [that is] in the numerous Greek plausibilities, like the real face beneath masks, he will hunt it out with much pains. For the power that appeared in the vision to Hermas said, "Whatever may be revealed to you, shall be revealed."

CHAPTER 2 -- THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD CAN BE ATTAINED ONLY THROUGH FAITH.

"Be not elated on account of thy wisdom," say the Proverbs. "In all thy ways acknowledge her, that she may direct thy ways, and that thy foot may not stumble." By these remarks he means to show that our deeds ought to be conformable to reason, and to manifest further that we ought to select and possess what is useful out of all culture. Now the ways of wisdom are various that lead right to the way of truth. Faith is the way. "Thy foot shall not stumble" is said with reference to some who seem to oppose the one divine administration of Providence. Whence it is added, "Be not wise in thine own eyes," according to the impious ideas which revolt against the administration of God. "But fear God," who alone is powerful. Whence it follows as a consequence that we are not to oppose God. The sequel especially teaches clearly, that "the fear of God is departure from evil;" for it is said, "and depart from all evil." Such is the discipline of wisdom ("for whom the Lord loveth He chastens"), causing pain in order to produce understanding, and restoring to peace and immortality. Accordingly, the Barbarian philosophy, which we follow, is in reality perfect and true. And so it is said in the book of Wisdom: "For He hath given me the unerring knowledge of things that exist, to know the constitution of the word," and so forth, down to "and the virtues of roots." Among all these he comprehends natural science, which treats of all the phenomena in the world of sense. And in continuation, he alludes also to intellectual objects in what he subjoins: "And what is hidden or manifest I know; for Wisdom, the artificer of all things, taught me." You have, in brief, the professed aim of our philosophy; and the learning of these branches, when pursued with right course of conduct, leads through Wisdom, the artificer of all things, to the Ruler of all, -- a Being difficult to grasp and apprehend, ever receding and withdrawing from him who pursues. But He who is far off has -- oh ineffable marvel! -- come very near. "I am a God: that draws near," says the Lord. He is in essence remote; "for how is it that what is begotten can have approached the Unbegotten?" But He is very near in virtue of that power which holds all things in its embrace. "Shall one do aught in secret, and I see him not?" For the power of God is always present, in contact with us, in the exercise of inspection, of beneficence, of instruction. Whence Moses, persuaded that God is not to be known by human wisdom, said, "Show me Thy glory;" and into the thick darkness where God's voice was, pressed to enter -- that is, into the inaccessible and invisible ideas respecting Existence. For God is not in darkness or in place, but above both space and time, and qualities of objects. Wherefore neither is He at any time in a part, either as containing or as contained, either by limitation or by section. "For what house will ye build to Me?" saith the Lord? Nay, He has not even built one for Himself, since He cannot be contained. And though heaven be called His throne, not even thus is He contained, but He rests delighted in the creation.

It is clear, then, that the truth has been hidden from us; and if that has been already shown by one example, we shall establish it a little after by several more. How entirely worthy of approbation are they who are both willing to learn, and able, according to Solomon, "to know wisdom and instruction, and to perceive the words of wisdom, to receive knotty words, and to perceive true righteousness," there being another [righteousness as well], not according to the truth, taught by the Greek laws, and by the rest of the philosophers. "And to direct judgments," it is said -- not those of the bench, but he means that we must preserve sound and free of error the judicial faculty which is within us -- "That I may give subtlety to the simple, to the young man sense and understanding." "For the wise man," who has been persuaded to obey the commandments, "having heard these things, will become wiser" by knowledge; and "the intelligent man will acquire rule, and will understand a parable and a dark word, the sayings and enigmas of the wise." For it is not spurious words which those inspired by God and those who are gained over by them adduce, nor is it snares in which the most of the sophists entangle the young, spending their time on nought true. But those who possess the Holy Spirit "search the deep things of God," -- that is, grasp the secret that is in the prophecies. "To impart of holy things to the dogs" is forbidden, so long as they remain beasts. For never ought those who are envious and perturbed, and still infidel in conduct, shameless in barking at inves tigation, to dip in the divine and clear stream of the living water. "Let not the waters of thy fountain overflow, and let thy waters spread over thine own streets." For it is not many who understand such things as they fall in with; or know them even after learning them, though they think they do, according to the worthy Heraclitus. Does not even he seem to thee to censure those who believe not? "Now my just one shall live by faith," the prophet said. And another prophet also says, "Except ye believe, neither shall ye understand." For how ever could the soul admit the transcendental contemplation of such themes, while unbelief respecting what was to be learned struggled within? But faith, which the Greeks disparage, deeming it

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futile and barbarous, is a voluntary preconception the assent of piety -- " the subject of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen," according to the divine apostle. "For hereby," pre-eminently, "the elders obtained a good report. But without faith it is impossible to please God." Others have defined faith to be a uniting assent to an unseen object, as certainly the proof of an unknown thing is an evident assent. If then it be choice, being desirous of something, the desire is in this instance intellectual. And since choice is the beginning of action, faith is discovered to be the beginning of action, being the foundation of rational choice in the case of any one who exhibits to himself the previous demonstration through faith. Voluntarily to follow what is useful, is the first principle of understanding. Unswerving choice, then, gives considerable momentum in the direction of knowledge. The exercise of faith directly becomes knowledge, reposing on a sure foundation. Knowledge, accordingly, is defined by the sons of the philosophers as a habit, which cannot be overthrown by reason. Is there any other true condition such as this, except piety, of which alone the Word is teacher? I think not.

Theophrastus says that sensation is the root of faith. For from it the rudimentary principles extend to the reason that is in us, and the understanding. He who believeth then the divine Scriptures with sure judgment, receives in the voice of God, who bestowed the Scripture, a demonstration that cannot be impugned. Faith, then, is not established by demonstration. "Blessed therefore those who, not having seen, yet have believed." The Siren's songs, exhibiting a power above human, fascinated those that came near, conciliating them, almost against their will, to the reception of what was said.

CHAPTER 3 -- FAITH NOT A PRODUCT OF NATURE.

Now the followers of Basilides regard faith as natural, as they also refer it to choice, [representing it] as finding ideas by intellectual comprehension without demonstration; while the followers of Valentinus assign faith to us, the simple, but will have it that knowledge springs up in their own selves (who are saved by nature) through the advantage of a germ of superior excellence, saying that it is as far removed from faith as s the spiritual is from the animal. Further, the followers of Basilides say that faith as well as choice is proper according to every interval; and that in consequence of the supramundane selection mundane faith accompanies all nature, and that the free gift of faith is comformable to the hope of each. Faith, then, is no longer the direct result of free choice, if it is a natural advantage.

Nor will he who has not believed, not being the author [of his unbelief], meet with a due recompense; and he that has believed is not the cause [of his belief]. And the entire peculiarity and difference of belief and unbelief will not fall under either praise or censure, if we reflect rightly, since there attaches to it the antecedent natural necessity proceeding from the Almighty. And if we are pulled like inanimate things by the puppet-strings of natural powers, willingness and unwillingness, and impulse, which is the antecedent of both, are mere redundancies. And for my part, I am utterly incapable of conceiving such an animal as has its appetencies, which are moved by external causes, under the dominion of necessity. And what place is there any longer for the repentance of him who was once an unbeliever, through which comes forgiveness of sins? So that neither is baptism rational, nor the blessed seal, nor the Son, nor the Father. But God, as I think, turns out to be the distribution to men of natural powers, which has not as the foundation of salvation voluntary faith.

CHAPTER 4 -- FAITH THE FOUNDATION OF ALL KNOWLEDGE.

But we, who have heard by the Scriptures that self-determining choice and refusal have been given by the Lord to men, rest in the infallible criterion of faith, manifesting a willing spirit, since we have chosen life and believe God through His voice. And he who has believed the Word knows the matter to be true; for the Word is truth. But he who has disbelieved Him that speaks, has disbelieved God.

"By faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that what is seen was not made of things which appear," says the apostle. "By faith Abel offered to God a fuller sacrifice than Cain, by which he received testimony that he was righteous, God giving testimony to him respecting his gifts; and by it he, being dead, yet speaketh," and so forth, down to "than enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season." Faith having, therefore, justified these before the law, made them heirs of the divine promise. Why then should I review and adduce any further testimonies of faith from the history in our hands? "For the time would fail me were I to tell of Gideon, Barak, Samson, Jephtha, David, and Samuel, and the prophets," and what follows. Now, inasmuch as there are four things in which the truth resides -- Sensation, Understanding, Knowledge, Opinion, -- intellectual apprehension is first in the order of nature; but in our case, and in relation to ourselves, Sensation is first, and of Sensation and Understanding the essence of Knowledge is formed; and evidence is common to Understanding and Sensation. Well Sensation is the ladder to Knowledge; while Faith, advancing over the pathway of the objects of sense, leaves Opinion behind, and speeds to things free of deception, and reposes in the truth.

Should one say that Knowledge is founded on demonstration by a process of reasoning, let him hear that first principles are incapable of demonstration; for they are known neither by art nor sagacity. For the latter is conversant about objects that are susceptible of change, while the former is practical solely, and not theoretical. Hence it is thought that the first cause of the universe can be apprehended by faith alone. For all knowledge is capable of being taught; and what is capable of being taught is rounded on what is known before. But the first cause of the universe was not previously known to the Greeks; neither, accordingly, to Thales, who came to the conclusion that water was the first i cause; nor to the other natural philosophers who succeeded him, since it was Anaxagoras who was the first who assigned to Mind the supremacy over material things. But not even he preserved the dignity suited to the efficient cause, describing as he did certain silly vortices, together with the inertia and even foolishness of Mind. Wherefore also the Word says, "Call no man master on earth." For knowledge is a state of mind that results from demonstration; but faith is a grace which from what is indemonstrable conducts to what is universal and simple, what is neither with matter, nor matter, nor under matter. But those who believe not, as to be expected, drag all down from heaven, and the region of the invisible, to earth, "absolutely grasping with their hands rocks and oaks," according to Plato. For, clinging to all such things, they asseverate that that alone exists which can be touched and handled, defining body and essence to be identical: disputing against themselves, they very piously defend the existence of certain intellectual and bodiless forms descending somewhere from above from the invisible world, vehemently maintaining that there is a true essence. "Lo, I make new things," saith the Word, "which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man." With a new eye, a new ear, a new heart, whatever can be seen and heard is to be apprehended, by the faith and understanding of the disciples of the Lord, who speak, hear, and act spiritually. For there is genuine coin, and other that is spurious; which no less deceives unprofessionals, that it does not the money-changers; who know through having learned how to separate and distinguish what has a false stamp from what is genuine. So the money-changer only says to the unprofessional man that the coin is counterfeit. But the reason why, only the banker's apprentice, and he that is trained to this department, learns.

Now Aristotle says that the judgment which follows knowledge is in truth faith. Accordingly, faith is something superior to knowledge, and is its criterion. Conjecture, which is only a feeble supposition, counterfeits faith; as the flatterer counterfeits a friend, and the wolf the dog. And as the workman sees that by learning certain things he becomes an artificer, and the helmsman by being instructed in the art will be able to steer; he does not regard the mere wishing to become excellent and good enough, but he must learn it by the exercise of obedience. But to obey the Word, whom we call Instructor, is to believe Him, going against Him in nothing. For how can we take up a position of hostility to God? Knowledge, accordingly, is characterized by faith; and faith, by a kind of divine mutual and reciprocal correspondence, becomes characterized by knowledge.

Epicurus, too, who very greatly preferred pleasure to truth, supposes faith to be a preconception of the mind; and defines preconception to be a grasping at something evident, and at the clear understanding of the thing; and asserts that, without preconception, no one can either inquire, or doubt, or judge, or even argue. How can one, without a preconceived idea of what he is aiming after, learn about that which is the subject of his investigation? He, again, who has learned has already turned his preconception into comprehension. And if he who learns, learns not without a preconceived idea which takes. in what is expressed, that man has ears to hear the truth. And happy is the man that speaks to the ears of those who hear; as happy certainly also is he who is a child of obedience. Now to hear is to understand. If, then, faith is nothing else than a preconception of the mind in regard to what is the subject of discourse, and obedience is so called, and understanding and persuasion; no one shall learn aught without faith, since no one [learns aught] without preconception. Consequently there is a more ample demonstration of the complete truth of what was spoken by the prophet, "Unless ye believe, neither will ye understand." Paraphrasing this oracle, Heraclitus of Ephesus says, "If a man hope not, he will not find that which is not hoped for, seeing it is inscrutable and inaccessible." Plato the philosopher, also, in The Laws, says, "that he who would be blessed and happy, must be straight from the beginning a partaker of the truth, so as to live true for as long a period as possible; for he is a man of faith. But the unbeliever is one to whom voluntary falsehood is agreeable; and the man to whom involuntary falsehood is agreeable is senseless; neither of which is desirable. For he who is devoid of friendliness, is faithless and ignorant." And does he not enigmatically say in Euthydemus, that this is "the regal wisdom"? In The Statesman he says expressly, "So that the knowledge of the true king is kingly; and he who possesses it, whether a prince or private person, shall by all means, in consequence of this act, be rightly styled royal." Now those who have believed in Christ both are and are called Chrestoi (good), as those who are cared for by the true king are kingly. For as the wise are wise by their wisdom, and those observant of law are so by the law; so also those who belong to Christ the King are kings, and those that are Christ's Christians. Then, in continuation, he adds clearly, "What is right will turn out to be lawful, law being in its nature right reason, and not found in writings or elsewhere." And the stranger of Elea pronounces the kingly and statesmanlike man "a living law." Such is he who fulfils the law, "doing the will of the Father," inscribed on a lofty pillar, and set as an example of divine virtue to all who possess the power of seeing. The Greeks are acquainted with the staves of the Ephori at Lacedaemon, inscribed with the law on wood. But my law, as was said above, is both royal and living; and it is right reason. "Law, which is king of all -- of mortals and immortals," as the Boeotian Pindar sings. For Speusippus, in the first book against Cleophon, seems to write like Plato on this wise: "For if royalty be a good thing, and the wise man the only king and ruler, the law, which is fight reason, is good;" which is the case. The Stoics teach what is in conformity with this, assigning kinghood, priesthood, prophecy, legislation, riches, true beauty, noble birth, freedom, to the wise man alone. But that he is exceedingly difficult to find, is confessed even by them.

CHAPTER 5 -- HE PROVES BY SEVERAL EXAMPLES THAT THE GREEKS DREW FROM THE SACRED WRITERS.

Accordingly all those above-mentioned dogmas appear to have been transmitted from Moses the great to the Greeks. That all things belong to the wise man, is taught in these words: "And because God hath showed me mercy, I have all things." And that he is beloved of God, God intimates when He says, "The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob." For the first is found to have been expressly called "friend;" and the second is shown to have received a new name, signifying "he that sees God;" while Isaac, God in a figure selected for Himself as a consecrated sacrifice, to be a type to us of the economy of salvation.

Now among the Greeks, Minos the king of nine years' reign, and familiar friend of Zeus, is celebrated in song; they having heard how once God conversed with Moses, "as one speaking with his friend." Moses, then, was a sage, king, legislator. But our Saviour surpasses all human nature." He is so lovely, as to be alone loved by us, whose hearts are set on the true beauty, for "He was the true light." He is shown to be a King, as such hailed by unsophisticated children and by the unbelieving and ignorant Jews, and heralded by the prophets. So rich is He, that He despised the whole earth, and the gold above and beneath it, with all glory, when given to Him by the adversary. What need is there to say that He is the only High Priest, who alone possesses the knowledge of the worship of God? He is Melchizedek, "King of peace," the most fit of all to head the race of men. A legislator too, inasmuch as He gave the law by the mouth of the prophets, enjoining and teaching most distinctly what things are to be done, and what not. Who of nobler lineage than He whose only Father is God? Come, then, let us produce Plato assenting to those very dogmas. The wise man he calls rich in the Phoedrus, when he says, "O dear Pan, and whatever other gods are here, grant me to become fair within; and whatever external things I have, let them be agreeable to what is within. I would reckon the wise man rich." And the Athenian stranger, finding fault with those who think that those who have many possessions are rich, speaks thus: "For the very rich to be also good is impossible -- those, I mean, whom the multitude count rich. Those they call rich, who, among a few men, are owners of the possessions worth most money; which any bad man may possess." "The whole world of wealth belongs to the believer," Solomon says, "but not a penny to the unbeliever." Much more, then, is the Scripture to be believed which says, "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man " to lead a philosophic life. But, on the other hand, it blesses "the poor;" as Plato understood when he said, "It is not the diminishing of one's resources, but the augmenting of insatiableness, that is to be considered poverty; for it is not slender means that ever constitutes poverty, but insatiableness, from which the good man being free, will also be rich." And in Alcibiades he calls vice a servile thing, and virtue the attribute of freemen. "Take away from you the heavy yoke, and take up the easy one," says the Scripture; as also the poets call [vice] a slavish yoke. And the expression, "Ye have sold yourselves to your sins," agrees with what is said above: "Every one, then, who committeth sin is a slave; and the slave abideth not in the house for ever. But if the Son shall make you free, then shall ye be free, and the truth shall make you free."

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And again, that the wise man is beautiful, the Athenian stranger asserts, in the same way as if one were to affirm that certain persons were just, even should they happen to be ugly in their persons. And in speaking thus with respect to eminent rectitude of character, no one who should assert them to be on this account beautiful would be thought to speak extravagantly. And "His appearance was inferior to all the Sons of men," prophecy predicted.

Plato, moreover, has called the wise man a king, in The Statesman. The remark is quoted above.

These points being demonstrated, let us recur again to our discourse on faith. Well, with the fullest demonstration, Plato proves, that there is need of faith everywhere, celebrating peace at the same time: "For no man will ever be trusty and sound in seditions without entire virtue. There are numbers of mercenaries full of fight, and willing to die in war; but, with a very few exceptions, the most of them are desperadoes and villains, insolent and senseless." If these observations are right, "every legislator who is even of slight use, will, in making his laws, have an eye to the greatest virtue. Such is fidelity, which we need at all times, both in peace and in war, and in all the rest of our life, for it appears to embrace the other virtues. "But the best thing is neither war nor sedition, for the necessity of these is to be deprecated. But peace with one another and kindly feeling are what is best."

From these remarks the greatest prayer evidently is to have peace, according to Plato. And faith is the greatest mother of the I virtues. Accordingly it is rightly said in Solomon, "Wisdom is in the mouth of the faithful." Since also Xenocrates, in his book on "Intelligence," says "that wisdom is the knowledge of first causes and of intellectual essence." He considers intelligence as twofold, practical and theoretical, which latter is human wisdom. Consequently wisdom is intelligence, but all intelligence is not wisdom. And it has been shown, that the knowledge of the first cause of the universe is of faith, but is not demonstration. For it were strange that the followers of the Samian Pythagoras, rejecting demonstrations of subjects of question, should regard the bare ipse dixit as ground of belief; and that this expression alone sufficed for the confirmation of what they heard, while those devoted to the contemplation of the truth, presuming to disbelieve the trustworthy Teacher, God the only Saviour, should demand of Him tests of His utterances. But He says, "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear." And who is he? Let Epicharmus say: "Mind sees, mind hears; all besides is deaf and blind."

Rating some as unbelievers, Heraclitus says, "Not knowing how to hear or to speak;" aided doubtless by Solomon, who says, "If thou lovest to hear, thou shalt comprehend; and if thou incline thine ear, thou shalt be wise.

CHAPTER 6 -- THE EXCELLENCE AND UTILITY OF FAITH.

"Lord, who hath believed our report?" Isaiah says. For "faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God," saith the apostle. "How then shall they call on Him in whom they have not believed? And how shall they believe on Him whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher? And how shall they preach except they be sent? As it is written, How beautiful are the feet of those that publish glad tidings of good things! "3 You see how he brings faith by hearing, and the preaching of the apostles, up to the word of the Lord, and to the Son of God. We do not yet understand the word of the Lord to be demonstration.

As, then, playing at ball not only depends on one throwing the ball skilfully, but it requires besides one to catch it dexterously, that the game may be gone through according to the rules for ball; so also is it the case that teaching is reliable when faith on the part of those who hear, being, so to speak, a sort of natural art, contributes to the process of learning. So also the earth co-operates, through its productive power, being fit for the sowing of the seed. For there is no good of the very best instruction without the exercise of the receptive faculty on the part of the learner, not even of prophecy, when there is the absence of docility on the part of those who hear. For dry twigs, being ready to receive the power of fire, are kindled with great ease; and the far-famed stone attracts steel through affinity, as the amber tear-drop drags to itself twigs, and the lump sets chaff in motion. And the substances attracted obey them, influenced by a subtle spirit, not as a cause, but as a concurring cause.

There being then a twofold species of vice -- that characterized by craft and stealth, and that which leads and drives with violence -- the divine Word cries, calling all together; knowing perfectly well those that will not obey; notwithstanding then since to obey or not is in our own power, provided we have not the excuse of ignorance to adduce. He makes a just call, and demands of each according to his strength. For some are able as well as willing, having reached this point through practice and being purified; while others, if they are not yet able, already have the will. Now to will is the act of the soul, but to do is not without the body. Nor are actions estimated by their issue alone; but they are judged also according to the element of free choice in each, -- if he chose easily, if he repented of his sins, if he reflected on his failures and repented (metegnw), which is (meta tauta egnw) "afterwards knew." For repentance is a tardy knowledge, and primitive innocence is knowledge. Repentance, then, is an effect of faith. For unless a man believe that to which he was addicted to be sin, he will not abandon it; and if he do not believe punishment to be impending over the transgressor, and salvation to be the portion of him who lives according to the commandments, he will not reform.

Hope, too, is based on faith. Accordingly the followers of Basilides define faith to be, the assent of the soul to any of those things, that do not affect the senses through not being present. And hope is the expectation of the possession of good. Necessarily, then, is expectation founded on faith. Now he is faithful who keeps inviolably what is entrusted to him; and we are entrusted with the utterances respecting God and the divine words, the commands along with the execution of the injunctions. This is the faithful servant, who is praised by the Lord. And when it is said, "God is faithful," it is intimated that He is worthy to be believed when declaring aught. Now His Word declares; and "God" Himself is "faithful." How, then, if to believe is to suppose, do the philosophers think that what proceeds from themselves is sure? For the voluntary assent to a preceding demonstration is not supposition, but it is assent to something sure. Who is more powerful than God? Now unbelief is the feeble negative supposition of one opposed to Him: as incredulity is a condition which admits faith with difficulty. Faith is the voluntary supposition and anticipation of pre-comprehension. Expectation is an opinion about the future, and expectation about other things is opinion about uncertainty. Confidence is a strong judgment about a thing. Wherefore we believe Him in whom we have confidence unto divine glory and salvation. And we confide in Him, who is God alone, whom we know, that those things nobly [promised to us, and for this end benevolently created and bestowed by Him on us, will not fail.

Benevolence is the wishing of good things to another for his sake. For He needs nothing; and the beneficence and benignity which flow from the Lord terminate in us, being divine benevolence, and benevolence resulting in beneficence. And if to Abraham on his believing it was counted for righteousness; and if we are the seed of Abraham, then we must also believe through heating. For we are Israelites, who are convinced not by signs, but by hearing. Wherefore it is said, "Rejoice, O barren, that barest not; break forth and cry, thou that didst not travail with child: for more are the children of the desolate than of her who hath an husband." "Thou hast lived for the fence of the people, thy children were blessed in the tents of their fathers." And if the same mansions are promised by prophecy to us and to the patriarchs, the God of both the covenants is shown to be one.

Accordingly it is added more clearly, "Thou hast inherited the covenant of Israel," speaking to those called from among the nations that were once barren, being formerly destitute of this husband, who is the Word, -- desolate formerly, -- of the bridegroom. "Now the just shall live by faith," which is according to the covenant and the commandments; since these, which are two in name and time, given in accordance with the [divine] economy -- being in power one -- the old and the new, are dispensed through the Son by one God. As the apostle also says in the Epistle to the Romans, "For therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith," teaching the one salvation which from prophecy to the Gospel is perfected by one and the same Lord. "This charge," he says, "I commit to thee, son Timothy, according to the prophecies which went before on thee, that thou by them mightest war the good warfare; holding faith, and a good conscience; which some having put away concerning faith have made shipwreck," because they defiled by unbelief the conscience that comes from God. Accordingly, faith may not, any more, with reason, be disparaged in an offhand way, as simple and vulgar, appertaining to anybody.

For, if it were a mere human habit, as the Greeks supposed, it would have been extinguished. But if it grow, and there be no place where it is not; then I affirm, that faith, whether founded in love, or in fear, as its disparagers assert, is something divine; which is neither rent asunder by other mundane friendship, nor dissolved by the presence of fear. For love, on account of its friendly alliance with faith, makes men believers; and faith, which is the foundation of love, in its turn introduces the doing of good; since also fear, the paedagogue of the law, is believed to be fear by those, by whom it is believed. For, if its existence is shown in its working, it is yet believed when about to do and threatening, and when not working and present; and being believed to exist, it does not itself generate faith, but is by faith tested and proved trustworthy. Such a change, then, from unbelief to faith -- and to trust in hope and fear, is divine. And, in truth, faith is discovered, by us, to be the first movement towards salvation; after which fear, and hope, and repentance, advancing in company with temperance and patience, lead us to love and knowledge. Rightly, therefore, the Apostle Barnabas says, "From the portion I have received I have done my diligence to send by little and little to you; that along with your faith you may also have perfect knowledge.

Fear and patience are then helpers of your faith; and our allies are long-suffering and temperance. These, then," he says, "in what respects the Lord, continuing in purity, there rejoice along with them, wisdom, understanding, intelligence, knowledge." The fore-mentioned virtues being, then, the elements of knowledge; the result is that faith is more elementary, being as necessary to the Gnostic, as respiration to him that lives in this world is to life. And as without the four elements it is not possible to live, so neither can knowledge be attained without faith. It is then the support of truth.

CHAPTER 7 -- THE UTILITY OF FEAR. OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

Those, who denounce fear, assail the law; and if the law, plainly also God, who gave the law. For these three elements are of necessity presented in the subject on hand: the ruler, his administration, and the ruled. If, then, according to hypothesis, they abolish the law; then, by necessary consequence, each one who is led by lust, courting pleasure, must neglect what is right and despise the Deity, and fearlessly indulge in impiety and injustice together, having dashed away from the truth.

Yea, say they, fear is an irrational aberration and perturbation of mind. What sayest thou? And how can this definition be any longer maintained, seeing the commandment is given me by the Word? But the commandment forbids, hanging fear over the head of those who have incurred admonition for their discipline.

Fear is not then irrational. It is therefore rational. How could it be otherwise, exhorting as it does, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Than shalt not bear false witness? But if they will quibble about the names, let the philosophers term the fear of the law, cautious fear, (eulabeia) which is a shunning (ekklisis) agreeable to reason. Such Critolaus of Phasela not inaptly called fighters about names (onomatomakoi). The commandment, then, has already appeared fair and lovely even in the highest degree, when conceived under a change of name. Cautious fear (eulabeia) is therefore shown to be reasonable being the shunning of what hurts; from which arises repentance for previous sins. "For the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom; good understanding is to all that do it." He calls wisdom a doing, which is the fear of the Lord paving the way for wisdom. But if the law produces fear, the knowledge of the law is the beginning of wisdom; and a man is not wise without law. Therefore those who reject the law are unwise; and in consequence they are reckoned godless (aqeoi). Now instruction is the beginning of wisdom. "But the ungodly despise wisdom and instruction," saith the Scripture.

Let us see what terrors the law announces. If it is the things which hold an intermediate place between virtue and vice, such as poverty, disease, obscurity, and humble birth, and the like, these things civil laws hold forth, and are: praised for so doing. And those of the Peripatetic school, who introduce three kinds of good things, and think that their opposites are evil, this opinion suits. But the law given to us enjoins us to shun what are in reality bad things -- adultery, uncleanness, paederasty, ignorance, wickedness, soul-disease, death (not that which severs the soul from the body, but that which severs the soul from truth). For these are vices in reality, and the workings that proceed from them are dreadful and terrible. "For not unjustly," say the divine oracles, "are the nets spread for birds; for they who are accomplices in blood treasure up evils to themselves." How, then, is the law still said to be not good by certain heresies that clamorously appeal to the apostle, who says, "For by the law is the knowledge of sin?" To whom we say, The law did not cause, but showed sin. For, enjoining what is to be done, it reprehended what ought not to be done. And it is the part of the good to teach what is salutary, and to point out what is deleterious; and to counsel the practice of the one, and to command to shun the other. Now the apostle, whom they do not comprehend, said that by the law the knowledge of sin was manifested, not that from it it derived its existence. And how can the law be not good, which trains, which is given as the instructor (paidagwgos) to Christ, s that being corrected by fear, in the way of discipline, in order to the attainment of the perfection which is by Christ? "I will not," it is said, "the death of the sinner, as his repentance." Now the commandment works repentance; inasmuch as it deters from what ought not to be done, and enjoins good deeds. By ignorance he means, in my opinion, death. "And he that is near the Lord is full of stripes." Plainly, he, that draws near to knowledge, has the benefit Of perils, fears, troubles, afflictions, by reason of his desire for the truth. "For the son who is instructed turns out wise, and an intelligent son is saved from burning. And an intelligent son will receive the commandments." And Barnabas the apostle having said, "Woe to those who are wise in their own conceits, clever in their own eyes," added, "Let us become spiritual, a perfect temple to God; let us, as far as in us lies, practise the fear of

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God, and strive to keep His commands, that we may rejoice in His judgments." Whence "the fear of God" is divinely said to be the beginning of wisdom.

CHAPTER 8 -- THE VAGARIES OF BASILIDES AND VALENTINUS AS TO FEAR BEING THE CAUSE OF THINGS.

Here the followers of Basilides, interpreting this expression, say, "that the Prince, having heard the speech of the Spirit, who was being ministered to, was struck with amazement both with the voice and the vision, having had glad tidings beyond his hopes announced to him; and that his amazement was called fear, which became the origin of wisdom, which distinguishes classes, and discriminates, and perfects, and restores. For not the world alone, but also the election, He that is over all has set apart and sent forth."

And Valentinus appears also in an epistle to have adopted such views. For he writes in these very words: "And as terror fell on the angels at this creature, because he uttered things greater than proceeded from his formation, by reason of the being in him who had invisibly communicated a germ of the supernal essence, and who spoke with free utterance; so also among the tribes of men in the world, the works of men became terrors to those who made them, -- as, for example, images and statues. And the hands of all fashion things to bear the name of God: for Adam formed into the name of man inspired the dread attaching to the pre-existent man, as having his being in him; and they were terror-stricken, and speedily marred the work."

But there being but one First Cause, as will be shown afterwards, these men will be shown to be inventors of chatterings and chirpings. But since God deemed it advantageous, that from the law and the prophets, men should receive a preparatory discipline by the Lord, the fear of the Lord was called the beginning of wisdom, being given by the Lord, through Moses, to the disobedient and hard of heart. For those whom reason convinces not, fear tames; which also the Instructing Word, foreseeing from the first, and purifying by each of these methods, adapted the instrument suitably for piety. Consternation is, then, fear at a strange apparition, or at an unlooked-for representation -- such as, for example, a message; while fear is an excessive wonderment on account of something which arises or is. They do not then perceive that they represent by means of amazement the God who is highest and is extolled by them, as subject to perturbation and antecedent to amazement as having been in ignorance. If indeed ignorance preceded amazement; and if this amazement and fear, which is the beginning of wisdom, is the fear of God, then in all likelihood ignorance as cause preceded both the wisdom of God and all creative work, and not only these, but restoration and even election itself. Whether, then, was it ignorance of what was good or what was evil?

Well, if of good, why does it cease through amazement? And minister and preaching and baptism are [in that case] superfluous to them. And if of evil, how can what is bad be the cause of what is best? For had not ignorance preceded, the minister would not have come down, nor would have amazement seized on "the Prince," as they say; nor would he have attained to a beginning of wisdom from fear, in order to discrimination between the elect and those that are mundane. And if the fear of the pre-existent man made the angels conspire against their own handiwork, under the idea that an invisible germ of the supernal essence was lodged within that creation, or through unfounded suspicion excited envy, which is incredible, the angels became murderers of the creature which had been entrusted to them, as a child might be, they being thus convicted of the grossest ignorance. Or suppose they were influenced by being involved in foreknowledge. But they would not have conspired against what they foreknew in the assault they made; nor would they have been terror-struck at their own work, in consequence of foreknowledge, on their perceiving the supernal germ. Or, finally, suppose, trusting to their knowledge, they dared (but this also were impossible for them), on learning the excellence that is in the Pleroma, to conspire against man. Furthermore also they laid hands on that which was according to the image, in which also is the archetype, and which, along with the knowledge that remains, is indestructible.

To these, then, and certain others, especially the Marcionites, the Scripture cries, though they listen not, "He that heareth Me shall rest with confidence in peace, and shall be tranquil, fearless of all evil."

What, then, will they have the law to be? They will not call it evil, but just; distinguishing what is good from what is just. But the Lord, when He enjoins us to dread evil, does not exchange one evil for another, but abolishes what is opposite by its opposite. Now evil is the opposite of good, as what is just is of what is unjust. If, then, that absence of fear, which the fear of the Lord produces, is called the beginning of what is good, fear is a good thing. And the fear which proceeds from the law is not only just, but good, as it takes away evil. But introducing absence of fear by means of fear, it does not produce apathy by means of mental perturbation, but moderation of feeling by discipline. When, then, we hear, "Honour the Lord, and be strong: but fear not another besides Him," we understand it to be meant fearing to sin, and following the commandments given by God, which is the honour that cometh from God. For the fear of God is Deos [in Greek]. But if fear is perturbation of mind, as some will have it that fear is perturbation of mind, yet all fear is not perturbation. Superstition is indeed perturbation of mind; being the fear of demons, that produce and are subject to the excitement of passion. On the other hand, consequently, the fear of God, who is not subject to perturbation, is free of perturbation. For it is not God, but failing away from God, that the man is terrified for. And he who fears this -- that is, falling into evils -- fears and dreads those evils. And he who fears a fall, wishes himself to be free of corruption and perturbation. "The wise man, fearing, avoids evil: but the foolish, trusting, mixes himself with it," says the Scripture; and again it says, "In the fear of the Lord is the hope of strength."

CHAPTER 9 -- THE CONNEXION OF THE CHRISTIAN VIRTUES.

Such a fear, accordingly, leads to repentance and hope. Now hope is the expectation of good things, or an expectation sanguine of ab sent good; and favourable circumstances are assumed in order to good hope, which we have learned leads on to love. Now love turns out to be consent in what pertains to reason, life, and manners, or in brief, fellowship in life, or it is the intensity of friendship and of affection, with fight reason, in the enjoyment of associates. And an associate (etairos) is another self; just as we call those, brethren, who are regenerated by the same word. And akin to love is hospitality, being a congenial an devoted to the treatment of strangers. And those are strangers, to whom the things of the world are strange. For we regard as worldly those, who hope in the earth and carnal lusts. "Be not conformed," says the apostle, "to this world: but be ye transformed in the renewal of the mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect, will of God."

Hospitality, therefore, is occupied in what is useful for strangers; and guests (epixenoi) are strangers (xenoi); and friends are guests; and brethren are friends. "Dear brother," says Homer.

Philanthropy, in order to which also, is natural affection, being a loving treatment of men, and natural affection, which is a congenial habit exercised in the love of friends or domestics, follow in the train of love. And if the real man within us is the spiritual, philanthropy is brotherly love to those who participate, in the same spirit. Natural affection, on the other hand, the preservation of good-will, or of affection; and affection is its perfect demonstration; and to be beloved is to please in behaviour, by drawing and attracting. And persons are brought to sameness by consent, which is the knowledge of the good things that are enjoyed in common. For community of sentiment (omognwmosunh) is harmony of opinions (sumfwnia gnwmpn). "Let your love be without dissimulation," it is said; "and abhorring what is evil, let us become attached to what is good, to brotherly love," and so on, down to "If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, living peaceably with all men." Then "be not overcome of evil," it is said, "but overcome evil with good." And the same apostle owns that he bears witness to the Jews, "that they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge. For, being ignorant of God's righteousness, and seeking to establish their own, they have not submitted themselves to the righteousness of God." For they did not know and do the will of the law; but what they supposed, that they thought the law wished. And they did not believe the law as prophesying, but the bare word; and they followed through fear, not through disposition and faith. "For Christ is the end of the law for righteousness," who was prophesied by the law to every one that believeth. Whence it was said to them by Moses, "I will provoke you to jealousy by them that are not a people; and I will anger you by a foolish nation, that is, by one that has become disposed to obedience." And by Isaiah it is said, "I was found of them that sought Me not; I was made manifest to them that inquired not after Me," -- manifestly previous to the coming of the Lord; after which to lsrael, the things prophesied, are now appropriately spoken: "I have stretched out My hands all the day long to a disobedient and gainsaying people." Do you see the cause of the calling from among the nations, clearly declared, by the prophet, to be the disobedience and gainsaying of the people? Then the goodness of God is shown also in their case. For the apostle says, "But through their transgression salvation is come to the Gentiles, to provoke them to jealousy," and to willingness to repent. And the Shepherd, speaking plainly of those who had fallen asleep, recognises certain righteous among Gentiles and Jews, not only before the appearance of Christ, but before the law, in virtue of acceptance before God, -- as Abel, as Noah, as any other righteous man. He says accordingly, "that the apostles and teachers, who had preached the name of the Son of God, and had fallen asleep, in power and by faith, preached to those that had fallen asleep before." Then he subjoins: "And they gave them the seal of preaching.

They descended, therefore, with them into the water, and again ascended. But these descended alive, and again ascended alive. But those, who had fallen asleep before, descended dead, but ascended alive. By these, therefore, they were made alive, and knew the name of the Son of God. Wherefore also they ascended with them, and fitted into the structure of the tower, and unhewn were built up together; they fell asleep in righteousness and in great purity, but wanted only this seal." "For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things of the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves," according to the apostle.

As, then, the virtues follow one another, why need I say what has been demonstrated already, that faith hopes through repentance, and fear through faith; and patience and practice in these along with learning terminate in love, which is perfected by knowledge? But that is necessarily to be noticed, that the Divine alone is to be regarded as naturally wise. Therefore also wisdom, which has taught the truth, is the power of God; and in it the perfection of knowledge is embraced. The philosopher loves and likes the truth, being now considered as a friend, on account of his love, from his being a true servant. The beginning of knowledge is wondering at objects, as Plato says is in his Theoetetus; and Matthew exhorting in the Traditions, says, "Wonder at what is before you;" laying this down first as the foundation of further knowledge. So also in the Gospel to the Hebrews it is written, "He that wonders shall reign, and he that has reigned shall rest. It is impossible, therefore, for an ignorant man, while he remains ignorant, to philosophize, not having apprehended the idea of wisdom; since philosophy is an effort to grasp that which truly is, and the studies that conduce thereto. And it is not the rendering of one accomplished in good habits of conduct, but the knowing how we are to use and act and labour, according as one is assimilated to God. I mean God the Saviour, by serving the God of the universe through the High Priest, the Word, by whom what is in truth good and right is beheld. Piety is conduct suitable and corresponding to God.

CHAPTER 10 -- TO WHAT THE PHILOSOPHER APPLIES HIMSELF.

These three things, therefore, our philosopher attaches himself to: first, speculation; second, the performance of the precepts; third, the forming of good men; -- which, concurring, form the Gnostic. Whichever of these is wanting, the elements of knowledge limp. Whence the Scripture divinely says, "And the Lord spake to Moses, saying, Speak to the children of Israel, and thou shalt say to them, I am the Lord your God. According to the customs of the land of Egypt, in which ye have dwelt, ye shall not do; and according to the customs of Canaan, into which I bring you, ye shall not do; and in their usages ye shall not walk. Ye shall perform My judgments, and keep My precepts, and walk in them: I am the Lord your God. And ye shall keep all My commandments, and do them. He that doeth them shall live in them. I am the Lord your God." Whether, then, Egypt and the land of Canaan be the symbol of the world and of deceit, or of sufferings and afflictions; the oracle shows us what must be abstained from, and what, being divine and not worldly, must be observed. And when it is said, "The man that doeth them shall live in them," it declares both the correction of the Hebrews themselves, and the training and advancement of us who are nigh: it declares at once their life and ours. For "those who were dead in sins are quickened together with Christ," by our covenant. For Scripture, by the frequent reiteration of the expression, "I am the Lord your God," shames in such a way as most powerfully to dissuade, by teaching us to follow God who gave the commandments, and gently admonishes us to seek God and endeavour to know Him as far as possible; which is the highest speculation, that which scans the greatest mysteries, the real knowledge, that which becomes irrefragable by reason. This alone is the knowledge of wisdom, from which rectitude of conduct is never disjoined.

CHAPTER 11 -- THE KNOWLEDGE WHICH COMES THROUGH FAITH THE SUREST OF ALL.

But the knowledge of those who think themselves wise, whether the barbarian sects or the philosophers among the Greeks, according to the apostle, " puffeth up." But that knowledge, which is the scientific demonstration of what is delivered according to the true philosophy, is rounded on faith. Now, we may say that it is that process of reason which, from what is admitted, procures faith in what is disputed. Now, faith being twofold -- the faith of knowledge and that of opinion -- nothing prevents us from calling demonstration twofold, the one resting on knowledge, the other on opinion; since also knowledge and foreknowledge are designated as twofold, that which is essentially accurate, that which is defective. And is not the demonstration, which we possess, that alone which is true, as being supplied out of the divine Scriptures, the sacred writings, and out of the "God-taught wisdom," according to the apostle? Learning, then, is also

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obedience to the commandments, which is faith in God. And faith is a power of God, being the strength of the truth. For example, it is said, "If ye have faith as a grain of mustard, ye shall remove the mountain." And again, "According to thy faith let it be to thee." And one is cured, receiving healing by faith; and the dead is raised up in consequence of the power of one believing that he would be raised. The demonstration, however, which rests on opinion is human, and is the result of rhetorical arguments or dialectic syllogisms. For the highest demonstration, to which we have alluded, produces intelligent faith by the adducing and opening up of the Scrip tures to the souls of those who desire to learn; the result of which is knowledge (gnosis). For if what is adduced in order to prove the point at issue is assumed to be true, as being divine and prophetic, manifestly the conclusion arrived at by inference from it will consequently he inferred truly; and the legitimate result of the demonstration will be knowledge. When, then, the memorial of the celestial and divine food was commanded to be consecrated in the golden pot, it was said, "The omer was the tenth of the three measures." For in ourselves, by the three measures are indicated three criteria; sensation of objects of sense, speech, -- of spoken names and words, and the mind, -- of intellectual objects. The Gnostic, therefore, will abstain from errors in speech, and thought, and sensation, and action, having heard "that he that looks so as to lust hath committed adultery;" and reflecting that "blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God;" and knowing this, "that not what enters into the mouth defileth, but that it is what cometh forth by the mouth that defileth the man. For out of the heart proceed thoughts." This, as I think, is the true and just measure according to God, by which things capable of measurement are measured, the decad which is comprehensive of man; which summarily the three above-mentioned measures pointed out. There are body and soul, the five senses, speech, the power of reproduction -- the intellectual or the spiritual faculty, or whatever you choose to call it. And we must, in a word, ascending above all the others, stop at the mind; as also certainly in the universe overleaping the nine divisions, the first consisting of the four elements put in one place for equal interchange: and then the seven wandering stars and the one that wanders not, the ninth, to the perfect number, which is above the nine, and the tenth division, we must reach to the knowledge of God, to speak briefly, desiring the Maker after the creation. Wherefore the tithes both of the ephah and of the sacrifices were presented to God; and the paschal feast began with the tenth day, being the transition from all trouble, and from all objects of sense.

The Gnostic is therefore fixed by faith; but the man who thinks himself wise touches not what pertains to the truth, moved as he is by unstable and wavering impulses. It is therefore reasonably written, "Cain went forth from the face of God, and dwelt in the land of Naid, over against Eden." Now Naid is interpreted commotion, and Eden delight; and Faith, and Knowledge, and Peace are delight, from which he that has disobeyed is cast out. But he that is wise in his own eyes will not so much as listen to the beginning of the divine commandments; but, as if his own teacher, throwing off the reins, plunges voluntarily into a billowy commotion, sinking down to mortal and created things from the uncreated knowledge, holding various opinions at various times. "Those who have no guidance fall like leaves."

Reason, the governing principle, remaining unmoved and guiding the soul, is called its pilot. For access to the Immutable is obtained by a truly immutable means. Thus Abraham was stationed before the Lord, and approaching spoke. And to Moses it is said, "But do thou stand there with Me." And the followers of Simon wish be assimilated in manners to the standing form which they adore. Faith, therefore, and the knowledge of the truth, render the soul, which makes them its choice, always uniform and equable. For congenial to the man of falsehood is shifting, and change, and turning away, as to the Gnostic are calmness, and rest, and peace. As, then, philosophy has been brought into evil repute by pride and self-conceit, so also ghosts by false ghosts called by the same name; of which the apostle writing says, "O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding the profane and vain babblings and oppositions of science (gnosis) falsely so called; which some professing, have erred concerning the faith."

Convicted by this utterance, the heretics reject the Epistles. to Timothy. Well, then, if the Lord is the truth, and wisdom, and power of God, as in truth He is, it is shown that the real Gnostic is he that knows Him, and His Father by Him. For his sentiments are the same with him who said, "The lips of the righteous know high things."

CHAPTER 12 -- TWOFOLD FAITH.

Faith as also Time being double, we shall find virtues in pairs both dwelling together. For memory is related to past time, hope to future. We believe that what is past did, and that what is future will take place. And, on the other I hand, we love, persuaded by faith that the past was as it was, and by hope expecting the future. For in everything love attends the Gnostic, who knows one God. "And, behold, all things which He created were very good." He both knows and admires. Godliness adds length of life; and the fear of the Lord adds days. As, then, the days are a portion of life in its progress, so also fear is the beginning of love, becoming by development faith, then love. But it is not as I fear and hate a wild beast (since fear is twofold) that I fear the father, whom I fear and love at once. Again, fearing lest I be punished, I love myself in assuming fear. He who fears to offend his father, loves himself. Blessed then is he who is found possessed of faith, being, as he is, composed of love and fear. And faith is power in order to salvation, and strength to eternal life. Again, prophecy is foreknowledge; and knowledge the understanding of prophecy; being the knowledge of those things known before by the Lord who reveals all things.

The knowledge, then, of those things which have been predicted shows a threefold result -- either one that has happened long ago, or exists now, or about to be. Then the extremes either of what is accomplished or of what is hoped for fall under faith; and the present action furnishes persuasive arguments of the confirmation of both the extremes. For if, prophecy being one, one part is accomplishing and another is fulfilled; hence the truth, both what is hoped for and what is passed is confirmed. For it was first present; then it became past to us; so that the belief of what is past is the apprehension of a past event, and a hope which is future the apprehension of a future event.

And not only the Platonists, but the Stoics, say that assent is in our own power. All opinion then, and judgment, and supposition, and knowledge, by which we live and have perpetual intercourse with the human race, is an assent; which is nothing else than faith. And unbelief being defection from faith, shows both assent and faith to be possessed of power; for non-existence cannot be called privation. And if you consider the truth, you will find man naturally misled so as to give assent to what is false, though possessing the resources necessary for belief in the truth. "The virtue, then, that encloses the Church in its grasp," as the Shepherd says, "is Faith, by which the elect of God are saved; and that which acts the man is Self-restraint. And these are followed by Simplicity, Knowledge, Innocence, Decorum, Love," and all these are the daughters of Faith. And again, "Faith leads the way, fear upbuilds, and love perfects." Accordingly he says, the Lord is to be feared in order to edification, but not the devil to destruction. And again, the works of the Lord -- that is, His commandments -- are to be loved and done; but the works of the devil are to be dreaded and not done. For the fear of God trains and restores to love; but the fear of the works of the devil has hatred dwelling along with it. The same also says" that repentance is high intelligence. For he that repents of what he did, no longer does or says as he did. But by torturing himself for his sins, he benefits his soul. Forgiveness of sins is therefore different from repentance; but both show what is in our power."

CHAPTER 13 -- ON FIRST AND SECOND REPENTANCE.

He, then, who has received the forgiveness of sins ought to sin no more. For, in addition to the first and only repentance from sins (this is from the previous sins in the first and heathen life -- I mean that in ignorance), there is forthwith proposed to those who have been called, the repentance which cleanses the seat of the soul from transgressions, that faith may be established. And the Lord, knowing the heart, and foreknowing the future, foresaw both the fickleness of man and the craft and subtlety of the devil from the first, from the beginning; how that, envying man for the forgiveness of sins, he would present to the servants of God certain causes of sins; skilfully working mischief, that they might fall together with himself. Accordingly, being very merciful, He has vouch-safed, in the case of those who, though in faith, fall into any transgression, a second repentance; so that should any one be tempted after his calling, overcome by force and fraud, he may receive still a repentance not to be repented of. "For if we sin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation, which shah devour the adversaries." But continual and successive repentings for sins differ nothing from the case of those who have not believed at all, except only in their consciousness that they do sin. And I know not which of the two is worst, whether the case of a man who sins knowingly, or of one who, after having repented of his sins, transgresses again. For in the process of proof sin appears on each side, -- the sin which in its commission is condemned by the worker of the iniquity, and that of the man who, foreseeing what is about to be done, yet puts his hand to it as a wickedness. And he who perchance gratifies himself in anger and pleasure, gratifies himself in he knows what; and he who, repenting of that in which he gratified himself, by rushing again into pleasure, is near neighbour to him who has sinned wilfully at first. For one, who does again that of which he has repented, and condemning what he does, performs it willingly.

He, then, who from among the Gentiles and from that old life has betaken himself to faith, has obtained forgiveness of sins once. But he who has sinned after this, on his repentance, though he obtain pardon, ought to fear, as one no longer washed to the forgiveness of sins. For not only must the idols which he formerly held as gods, but the works also of his former life, be abandoned by him who has been "born again, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh," but in the Spirit; which consists in repenting by not giving way to the same fault. For frequent repentance and readiness to change easily from want of training, is the practice of sin again. The frequent asking of forgiveness, then, for those things in which we often transgress, is the semblance of repentance, not repentance itself. "But the righteousness of the blameless cuts straight paths," says the Scripture. And again, "The righteousness of the innocent will make his way right." Nay, "as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear Him." David writes, "They who sow," then, "in tears, shall reap in joy; " those, namely, who confess in penitence. "For blessed are all those that fear the Lord." You see the corresponding blessing in the Gospel. "Fear not," it is said, "when a man is enriched, and when the glory of his house is increased: because when he dieth he shall leave all, and his glory shall not descend after him." "But I in Thy I mercy will enter into Thy house. I will worship I toward Thy holy temple, in Thy fear: Lord, lead me in Thy righteousness." Appetite is then the movement of the mind to or from something. Passion is an excessive appetite exceeding the measures of reason, or appetite unbridled and disobedient to the word. Passions, then, are a perturbation of the soul contrary to nature, in disobedience to reason. But revolt and distraction and disobedience are in our own power, as obedience is in our power. Wherefore voluntary actions are judged. But should one examine each one of the passions, he will find them irrational impulses.

CHAPTER 14 -- HOW A THING MAY BE INVOLUNTARY.

What is involuntary is not matter for judgment. But this is twofold, -- what is done in ignorance, and what is done through necessity. For how will you judge concerning those who are said to sin in involuntary modes? For either one knew not himself, as Cleomenes and Athamas, who were mad; or the thing which he does, as Aeschylus, who divulged the mysteries on the stage, who, being tried in the Areopagus, was absolved on his showing that he had not been initiated. Or one knows not what is done, as he who has let off his antagonist, and slain his domestic instead of his enemy; or that by which it is done, as he who, in exercising with spears having buttons on them, has killed some one in consequence of the spear throwing off the button; or knows not the manner how, as he who has killed his antagonist in the stadium, for it was not for his death but for victory that he contended; or knows not the reason why it is done, as the physician gave a salutary antidote and killed, for it was not for this purpose that he gave it, but to save. The law at that time punished him who had killed involuntarily, as e.g., him who was subject involuntarily to gonorrhoea, but not equally with him who did so voluntarily.

Although he also shall be punished as for a voluntary action, if one transfer the affection to the truth. For, in reality, he that cannot contain the generative word is to be punished; for this is an irrational passion of the soul approaching garrulity. "The faithful man chooses to conceal things in his spirit." Things, then, that depend on choice are subjects for judgment. "For the Lord searcheth the hearts and reins." "And he that looketh so as to lust" is judged. Wherefore it is said, "Thou shalt not lust." And "this people honoureth Me with their lips," it is said, "but their heart is far from Me." For God has respect to the very thought, since Lot's wife, who had merely voluntarily turned towards worldly wickedness, He left a senseless mass, rendering her a pillar of salt, and fixed her so that she advanced no further, not as a stupid and useless image, but to season and salt him who has the power of spiritual perception.

CHAPTER 15 -- ON THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF VOLUNTARY ACTIONS, AND THE SINS THENCE PROCEEDING.

What is voluntary is either what is by desire, or what is by choice, or what is of intention. Closely allied to each other are these things -- sin, mistake, crime. It is sin, for example, to live luxuriously and licentiously; a misfortune, to wound one's friend in ignorance, taking him for an enemy; and crime, to violate graves or commit sacrilege. Sinning arises from being unable to determine what ought to be done, or being unable to do it; as doubtless one falls into a ditch either through not knowing, or through inability to leap across through feebleness of body. But application to the training of ourselves, and subjection to the commandments, is in our own power; with which if we will have nothing to do, by abandoning ourselves wholly to lust, we shall sin, nay rather, wrong our own soul. For the noted Laius says in the tragedy: "None of these things of which you admonish me have escaped me; But notwithstanding that I am in my senses, Nature compels me;" i.e., his abandoning himself to passion. Medea,

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too, herself cries on the stage: "And I am aware what evils I am to perpetrate, But passion is stronger than my resolutions."

Further, not even Ajax is silent; but, when about to kill himself, cries: - "No pain gnaws the soul of a free man like dishonour.

Thus do I suffer; and the deep stain of calamity Ever stirs me from the depths, agitated By the bitter stings of rage."

Anger made these the subjects of tragedy, and lust made ten thousand others -- Phaedra, Anthia, Eriphyle,- "Who took the precious gold for her dear husband."

For another play represents Thrasonides of the comic drama as saying: "A worthless wench made me her slave."

Mistake is a sin contrary to calculation; and voluntary sin is crime (adikia); and crime is voluntary wickedness. Sin, then, is on my part voluntary. Wherefore says the apostle, "Sin shall not have dominion over you; for ye are not under the law, but under grace." Addressing those who have believed, he says, "For by His stripes we were healed." Mistake is the involuntary action of another towards me, while a crime (adikia) alone is voluntary, whether my act or another's. These differences of sins are alluded to by the Psalmist, when he calls those blessed whose iniquities (anomias) God hath blotted out, and whose sins (amartias) He hath covered. Others He does not impute, and the rest He forgives. For it is written, "Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin, and in whose mouth there is no fraud." This blessedness came on those who had been chosen by Cod through Jesus Christ our Lord. For "love hides the multitude of sins." And they are blotted out by Him "who desireth the repentance rather than the death of a sinner." And those are not reckoned that are not the effect of choice; "for he who has lusted has already committed adultery," it is said. And the illuminating Word forgives sins: "And in that time, saith the Lord, they shall seek for the iniquity of Israel, and it shall not exist; and the sins of Judah, and they shall not be found." "For who is like Me? and who shall stand before My face? You see the one God declared good, rendering according to desert, and forgiving sins. John, too, manifestly teaches the differences of sins, in his larger Epistle, in these words: "If any man see his brother sin a sin that is not unto death, he shall ask, and he shall give him life: for these that sin not unto death," he says. For "there is a sin unto death: I do not say that one is to pray for it. All unrighteousness is sin; and there is a sin not unto death."

David, too, and Moses before David, show the knowledge of the three precepts in the following words: "Blessed is the man who walks not in the counsel of the ungodly;" as the fishes go down to the depths in darkness; for those which have not scales, which Moses prohibits touching, feed at the bottom of the sea. "Nor standeth in the way of sinners," as those who, while appearing to fear the Lord, commit sin, like the sow, for when hungry it cries, and when full knows not its owner. "Nor sitteth in the chair of pestilences," as birds ready for prey. And Moses enjoined not to eat the sow, nor the eagle, nor the hawk, nor the raven, nor any fish without scales. So far Barnabas. And I heard one skilled in such matters say that "the counsel of the ungodly" was the heathen, and "the way of sinners" the Jewish persuasion, and explain "the chair of pestilence" of heresies. And another said, with more propriety, that the first blessing was assigned to those who had not followed wicked sentiments which revolt from God; the second to those who do not remain in the wide and broad road, whether they be those who have been brought up in the law, or Gentiles who have repented. And "the chair of pestilences" will be the theatres and tribunals, or rather the compliance with wicked and deadly powers, and complicity with their deeds. "But his delight is in the law of the Lord." Peter in his Preach ing called the Lord, Law and Logos. The legislator seems to teach differently the interpretation of the three forms of sin -- understanding by the mute fishes sins of word, for there are times in which silence is better than speech, far silence has a safe recompense; sins of deed, by the rapacious and carnivorous birds. The sow delights in dirt and dung; and we ought not to have "a conscience" that is "defiled."

Justly, therefore, the prophet says, "The ungodly are not so: but as the chaff which the wind driveth away from the face of the earth. Wherefore the ungodly shall not stand in the judgment" (being already condemned, for "he that believeth not is condemned already"), "nor sinners in the counsel of the righteous," inasmuch as they are already condemned, so as not to be united to those that have lived without stumbling. "For the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous; and the way of the ungodly shall perish."

Again, the Lord clearly shows sins and transgressions to be in our own power, by prescribing modes of cure corresponding to the maladies; showing His wish that we should be Corrected by the shepherds, in Ezekiel; blaming, I am of opinion, some of them for not keeping the commandments. "That which was enfeebled ye have not strengthened," and so forth, down to, "and there was none to search out or turn away."

For "great is the joy before the Father when one sinner is saved," saith the Lord. So Abraham was much to be praised, because "he walked as the Lord spake to him." Drawing from this instance, one of the wise men among the Greeks uttered the maxim, "Follow God." "The godly," says Esaias, "framed wise counsels." Now counsel is seeking for the right way of acting in present circumstances, and good counsel is wisdom in our counsels. And what?

Does not God, after the pardon bestowed on Cain, suitably not long after introduce Enoch, who had repented? showing that it is the nature of repentance to produce pardon; but pardon does not consist in remission, but in remedy. An instance of the same is the making of the calf by the people before Aaron. Thence one of the wise men among the Greeks uttered the maxim, "Pardon is better than punishment;" as also, "Become surety, and mischief is at hand," is derived from the utterance of Solomon which says, "My son, if thou become surety for thy friend, thou wilt give thine hand to thy enemy; for a man's own lips are a strong snare to him, and he is taken in the words of his own mouth." And the saying, "Know thyself," has been taken rather more mystically from this, "Thou hast seen thy brother, thou hast seen thy God." Thus also, "Thou shalt love the Load thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbour as thyself;" for it is said, "On these commandments the law and the prophets hang and are suspended." With these also agree the following: "These things have I spoken to you, that My joy might be fulfilled: and this is My commandment, That ye love one another, as I have loved you." "For the Lord is merciful and pitiful; and gracious is the Lord to all." "Know thyself" is more clearly and often expressed by Moses, when he enjoins, "Take heed to thyself." "By alms then, and acts of faith, sins are purged." "And by the fear of the Lord each one departs from evil." "And the fear of the Lord is instruction and wisdom."

CHAPTER 16 -- HOW WE ARE TO EXPLAIN THE PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE WHICH ASCRIBE TO GOD HUMAN AFFECTIONS.

Here again arise the cavaliers, who say that joy and pain are passions of the soul: for they define joy as a rational elevation and exultation, as rejoicing on account of what is good; and pity as pain for one who suffers undeservedly; and that such affections are moods and passions of the soul. But we, as would appear, do not cease in such matters to understand the Scriptures carnally; and starting from our own affections, interpret the will of the impassible Deity similarly to our perturbations; and as we are capable of hearing; so, supposing the same to be the case with the Omnipotent, err impiously. For the Divine Being cannot be declared as it exists: but as we who are lettered in the flesh were able to listen, so the prophets spake to us; the Lord savingly accommodating Himself to the weakness of men. Since, then, it is the will of God that he, who is obedient to the commands and repents of his sins should be saved, and we rejoice on account of our salvation, the Lord, speaking by the prophets, appropriated our joy to Himself; as speaking lovingly in the Gospel He says, "I was hungry, and ye gave Me to eat: I was thirsty, and ye gave Me to drink. For inasmuch as ye did it to one of the least of these, ye did it to Me." As, then, He is nourished, though not personally, by the nourishing of one whom He wishes nourished; so He rejoices, without suffering change, by reason of him who has repented being in joy, as He wished. And since God pities richly, being good, and giving commands by the law and the prophets, and more nearly still by the appearance of his Son, saving and pitying, as was said, those who have found mercy; and properly the greater pities the less; and a man cannot be greater than man, being by nature man; but God in everything is greater than man; if, then, the greater pities the less, it is God alone that will pity us. For a man is made to communicate by righteousness, and bestows what he received from God, in consequence of his natural benevolence and relation, and the commands which he obeys. But God has no natural relation to us, as the authors of the heresies will have it; neither on the supposition of His having made us of nothing, nor on that of having formed us from matter; since the former did not exist at all, and the latter is totally distinct from God unless we shall dare to say that we are a part of Him, and of the same essence as God. And I know not how one, who knows God, can bear to hear this when he looks to our life, and sees in what evils we are involved. For thus it would turn out, which it were impiety to utter, that God sinned in [certain] portions, if the portions are parts of the whole and complementary of the whole; and if not complementary, neither can they be parts. But God being by nature rich in pity, in consequence of His own goodness, cares for us, though neither portions of Himself, nor by nature His children. And this is the greatest proof of the goodness of God: that such being our relation to Him, and being by nature wholly estranged, He nevertheless cares for us. For the affection in animals to their progeny is natural, and the friendship of kindred minds is the result of intimacy. But the mercy of God is rich toward us, who are in no respect related to Him; I say either in our essence or nature, or in the peculiar energy of our essence, but only in our being the work of His will. And him who willingly, with discipline and teaching, accepts the knowledge of the truth, He calls to adoption, which is the greatest advancement of all. "Transgressions catch a man; and in the cords of his own sins each one is bound." And God is without blame. And in reality, "blessed is the man who feareth alway through piety."

CHAPTER 17 -- ON THE VARIOUS KINDS OF KNOWLEDGE.

As, then, Knowledge (episthmh) is an intellectual state, from which results the act of knowing, and becomes apprehension irrefragable by reason; so also ignorance is a receding impression, which can be dislodged by reason. And that which is overthrown as well as that which is elaborated by reason, is in our power. Akin to Knowledge is experience, cognition (eidhsis), Comprehension (sunesis), perception, and Science. Cognition (eidhsis) is the knowledge of universals by species; and Experience is comprehensive knowledge, which investigates the nature of each thing. Perception (nohsis) is the knowledge of intellectual objects; and Comprehension (sunesis) is the knolwedge of what is compared, or a comparison that cannot be annulled, or the faculty of comparing the objects with which Judgment and Knowledge are occupied, both of one and each and all that goes to make up one reason. And Science (gnwsis) is the knowledge of the thing in itself, or the knowledge which harmonizes with what takes place. Truth is the knowledge of the true; and the mental habit of truth is the knowledge of the things which are true. Now knowledge is constituted by the reason, and cannot be overthrown by another reason. What we do not, we do not either from not being able, or not being willing -- or both. Accordingly we don't fly, since we neither can nor wish; we do not swim at present, for example, since we can indeed, but do not choose; and we are not as the Lord, since we wish, but cannot be: "for no disciple is above his master, and it is sufficient if we be as the master:" not m essence (for it is impossible for that, which is by adoption, to be equal in substance to that, which is by nature); but [we are as Him] only in our having been made immortal, and our being conversant with the contemplation of realities, and beholding the Father through what belongs to Him.

Therefore volition takes the precedence of all; for the intellectual powers are ministers of the Will. "Will," it is said, "and thou shalt be able." And in the Gnostic, Will, Judgment, and Exertion are identical. For if the determinations are the same, the opinions and judgments will be the same too; so that both his words, and life, and conduct, are conformable to rule. "And a right heart seeketh knowl edge, and heareth it." "God taught me wisdom, and I knew the knowledge of the holy."

CHAPTER 18 -- THE MOSAIC LAW THE FOUNTAIN OF ALL ETHICS, AND THE SOURCE FROM WHICH THE GREEKS DREW THEIRS.

It is then clear also that all the other virtues, delineated in Moses, supplied the Greeks with the rudiments of the whole department of morals. I mean valour, and temperance, and wisdom, and justice, and endurance, and patience, and decorum, and self-restraint; and in addition to these, piety.

But it is clear to every one that piety, which teaches to worship and honour, is the highest and oldest cause; and the law itself exhibits justice, and teaches wisdom, by abstinence from sensible images, and by inviting to the Maker and Father of the universe. And from this sentiment, as from a fountain, all intelligence increases. "For the sacrifices of the wicked are abomination to the Lord; but the prayers of the upright are acceptable before Him," since "righteousness is more acceptable before God than sacrifice." Such also as the following we find in Isaiah: "To what purpose to me is the multitude of your sacrifices? saith the Lord;" and the whole section. "Break every bond of wickedness; for this is the sacrifice that is acceptable to the Lord, a contrite heart that seeks its Maker." "Deceitful balances are abomination before God; but a just balance is acceptable to Him." Thence Pythagoras exhorts "not to step over the balance;" and the profession of heresies is called deceitful righteousness; and "the tongue of the unjust shall be destroyed, but the mouth of the righteous droppeth wisdom." "For they call the wise and prudent worthless." But it were tedious to adduce testimonies respecting these virtues, since the whole Scripture celebrates them. Since, then, they define manliness to be knowledge of things formidable, and not formidable, and what is intermediate; and temperance to be a state of mind which by choosing and avoiding preserves the judgments of wisdom; and conjoined with manliness is patience, which is called endurance, the knowledge of what is bearable and what is unbearable; and magnanimity is the knowledge which rises superior to circumstances. With temperance also is conjoined caution, which is avoidance in accordance with reason. And observance of the commandments, which is the innoxious keeping of them, is the attainment of a secure life. And there is no endurance without manliness, nor the exercise of self-restraint without temperance. And these virtues follow one another; and with whom are the sequences of the virtues, with

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him is also salvation, which is the keeping of the state of well-being. Rightly, therefore, in treating of these virtues, we shall inquire into them all; for he that has one virtue gnostically, by reason of their accompanying each other, has them all. Self-restraint is that quality which does not overstep what appears in accordance with right reason. He exercises self-restraint, who curbs the impulses that are contrary to right reason, or curbs himself so as not to indulge in desires contrary to right reason. Temperance, too, is not without manliness; since from the commandments spring both wisdom, which follows God who enjoins, and that which imitates the divine character, namely righteousness; in virtue of which, in the exercise of self-restraint, we address ourselves in purity to piety and the course of conduct thence resulting, in conformity with God; being assimilated to the Lord as far as is possible for us beings mortal in nature. And this is being just and holy with wisdom; for the Divinity needs nothing and suffers nothing; whence it is not, strictly speaking, capable of self-restraint, for it is never subjected to perturbation, over which to exercise control; while our nature, being capable of perturbation, needs self-constraint, by which disciplining itself to the need of little, it endeavours to approximate in character to the divine nature. For the good man, standing as the boundary between an immortal and a mortal nature, has few needs; having wants in consequence of his body, and his birth itself, but taught by rational self-control to want few things.

What reason is there in the law's prohibiting a man from "wearing woman's clothing "? Is it not that it would have us to be manly, and not to be effeminate neither in person and actions, nor in thought and word? For it would have the man, that devotes himself to the truth, to be masculine both in acts of endurance and patience, in life, conduct, word, and discipline by night and by day; even if the necessity were to occur, of witnessing by the shedding of his blood. Again, it is said, "If any one who has newly built a house, and has not previously inhabited it; or cultivated a newly-planted vine, and not yet partaken of the fruit; or betrothed a virgin, and not yet married her;" -- such the humane law orders to be relieved from military service: from military reasons in the first place, lest, bent on their desires, they turn out sluggish in war; for it is those who are untrammelled by passion that boldly encounter perils; and from motives of humanity, since, in view of the uncertainties of war, the law reckoned it not right that one should not enjoy his own labours, and another should without bestowing pains, receive what belonged to those who had laboured. The law seems also to point out manliness of soul, by enacting that he who had planted should reap the fruit, and he that built should inhabit, and he that had betrothed should marry: for it is not vain hopes which it provides for those who labour; according to the gnostic word: "For the hope of a good man dead or living does not perish," says Wisdom; "I love them that love me; and they who seek me shall find peace," and so forth. What then? Did not the women of the Midianites, by their beauty, seduce from wisdom into impiety, through licentiousness, the Hebrews when making war against them? For, having seduced them from a grave mode of life, and by their beauty ensnared them in wanton delights, they made them insane upon idol sacrifices and strange women; and overcome by women and by pleasure at once, they revolted from God, and revolted from the law. And the whole people was within a little of falling under the power of the enemy through female stratagem, until, when they were in peril, fear by its admonitions pulled them back. Then the survivors, valiantly undertaking the struggle for piety, got the upper hand of their foes. "The beginning, then, of wisdom is piety, and the knowledge of holy things is understanding; and to know the law is the characteristic of a good understanding." Those, then, who suppose the law to be productive of agitating fear, are neither good at understanding the law, nor have they in reality comprehended it; for "the fear of the Lord causes life, but he who errs shall be afflicted with pangs which knowledge views not." Accordingly, Barnabas says mystically, "May God who rules the universe vouchsafe also to you wisdom, and understanding, and science, and knowledge of His statutes, and patience. Be therefore God-taught, seeking what the Lord seeks from you, that He may find you in the day of judgment lying in wait for these things."

"Children of love and peace," he called them gnostically.

Respecting imparting and communicating, though much might be said, let it suffice to remark that the law prohibits a brother from taking usury: designating as a brother not only him who is born of the same parents, but also one of the same race and sentiments, and a participator in the same word; deeming it right not to take usury for money, but with open hands and heart to bestow on those who need. For God, the author and the dispenser of such grace, takes as suitable usury the most precious things to be found among men -- mildness, gentleness, magnanimity, reputation, renown. Do you not regard this command as marked by philanthropy? As also the following, "To pay the wages of the poor daily," teaches to discharge without delay the wages due for service; for, as I think, the alacrity of the poor with reference to the future is paralyzed when he has suffered want. Further, it is said, "Let not the creditor enter the debtor's house to take the pledge with violence." But let the former ask it to be brought out, and let not the latter, if he have it, hesitate. And in the harvest the owners are prohibited from appropriating what falls from the handfuls; as also in reaping [the law] enjoins a part to be left unreaped; signally thereby training those who possess to sharing and to large-heartedness, by foregoing of their own to those who are in want, and thus providing means of subsistence for the poor? You see how the law proclaims at once the righteousness and goodness of God, who dispenses food to all ungrudgingly. And in the vintage it prohibited the grape-gatherers from going back again on what had been left, and from gathering the fallen grapes; and the same injunctions are given to the olive-gatherers. Besides, the tithes of the fruits and of the flocks taught both piety towards the Deity, and not covetously to grasp everything, but to communicate gifts of kindness to one's neighbours. For it was from these, I reckon, and from the first-fruits that the priests were maintained. We now therefore understand that we are instructed in piety, and in liberality, and in justice, and in humanity by the law. For does it not command the land to be left fallow in the seventh year, and bids the poor fearlessly use the fruits that grow by divine agency, nature cultivating the ground for behoof of all and sundry? How, then, can it be maintained that the law is not humane, and the teacher of righteousness? Again, in the fiftieth year, it ordered the same things to be performed as in the seventh; besides restoring to each one his own land, if from any circumstance he had parted with it in the meantime; setting bounds to the desires of those who covet possession, by measuring the period of enjoyment, and choosing that those who have paid the penalty of protracted penury should not suffer a life-long punishment. "But alms and acts of faith are royal guards, and blessing is on the head of him who bestows; and he who pities the poor shall be blessed." For he shows love to one like himself, because of his love to the Creator of the human race. The above-mentioned particulars have other explanations more natural, both respecting rest and the recovery of the inheritance; but they are not discussed at present.

Now love is conceived in many ways, in the form of meekness, of mildness, of patience, of liberality, of freedom from envy, of absence of hatred, of forgetfulness of injuries. In all it is incapable of being divided or distinguished: its nature is to communicate. Again, it is said, "If you See the beast of your relatives, or friends, or, in general, of anybody you know, wandering in the wilderness, take it back and restore it; and if the owner be far away, keep it among your own till he return, and restore it." It teaches a natural communication, that what is found is to be regarded as a deposit, and that we are not to bear malice to an enemy. "The command of the Lord being a fountain of life" truly, "causeth to turn away from the snare of death." And what? Does it not command us "to love strangers not only as friends and relatives, but as ourselves, both in body and soul?" Nay more, it honoured the nations, and bears no grudge against those who have done ill. Accordingly it is expressly said, "Thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian, for thou wast a sojourner in Egypt;" designating by the term Egyptian either one of that race, or any one in the world. And enemies, although drawn up before the walls attempting to take the city, are not to be regarded as enemies till they are by the voice of the herald summoned to peace.

Further, it forbids intercourse with a female captive so as to dishonour her. "But allow her," it says, "thirty days to mourn according to her wish, and changing her clothes, associate with her as your lawful wife." s For it regards it not right that this should take place either in wantonness or for hire like harlots, but only for the birth of children. Do you see humanity combined with continence? The master who has fallen in love with his captive maid it does not allow to gratify his pleasure, but puts a check on his lust by specifying an interval of time; and further, it cuts off the captive's hair, in order to shame disgraceful love: for if it is reason that induces him to marry, he will cleave to her even after she has become disfigured. Then if one, after his lust, does not care to consort any longer with the captive, it ordains that it shall not be lawful to sell her, or to have her any longer as a servant, but desires her to be freed and released from service, lest on the introduction of another wife she bear any of the intolerable miseries caused through jealousy.

What more? The Lord enjoins to ease and raise up the beasts of enemies when labouring beneath their burdens; remotely teaching us not to indulge in joy at our neighbour's ills, or exult over our enemies; in order to teach those who are trained in these things to pray for their enemies. For He does not allow us either to grieve at our neighbour's good, or to reap joy at our neighbour's ill. And if you find any enemy's beast straying, you are to pass over the incentives of difference, and take it back and restore it. For oblivion of injuries is followed by goodness, and the latter by dissolution of enmity. From this we are fitted for agreement, and this conducts to felicity. And should you suppose one habitually hostile, and discover him to be unreasonably mistaken either through lust or anger, turn him to goodness. Does the law then which conducts to Christ appear humane and mild? And does not the same God, good, while characterized by righteousness from the beginning to the end, employ each kind suitably in order to salvation? "Be merciful," says the Lord, "that you may receive mercy; forgive, that you may be forgiven. As ye do, so shall it be done to you; as ye give, so shall it be given to you; as ye judge, so shall ye be judged; as ye show kindness, so shall kindness be shown to you: with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again." Furthermore, [the law] prohibits those, who are in servitude for their subsistence, to be branded with disgrace; and to those, who have been reduced to slavery through money borrowed, it gives a complete release in the seventh year. Further, it prohibits suppliants from being given up to punishment. True above all, then, is that oracle. "As gold and silver are tried in the furnace, so the Lord chooseth men's hearts. The merciful man is long-suffering; and in every one who shows solicitude there is wisdom. For on a wise man solicitude will fall; and exercising thought, he will seek life; and he who seeketh God shall find knowledge with righteousness. And they who have sought Him rightly have found peace." And Pythagoras seems to me, to have derived his mildness towards irrational creatures from the law. For instance, he interdicted the immediate use of the young in the flocks of sheep, and goats, and herds of cattle, on the instant of their birth; not even on the pretext of sacrifice allowing it, both on account of the young ones and of the mothers; training man to gentleness by what is beneath him, by means of the irrational creatures. "Resign accordingly," he says, "the young one to its dam for even the first seven days." For if nothing takes place without a cause, and milk comes in a shower to animals in parturition for the sustenance of the progeny, he that tears that, which has been brought forth, away from the supply of the milk, dishonours nature. Let the Greeks, then, feel ashamed, and whoever else inveighs against the law; since it shows mildness in the case of the irrational creatures, while they expose the offspring of men though long ago and prophetically, the law, in the above-mentioned commandment, threw a check in the way of their cruelty. For if it prohibits the progeny of the irrational creatures to be separated from the dam before sucking, much more in the case of men does it provide beforehand a cure for cruelty and savageness of disposition; so that even if they despise nature, they may not despise teaching. For they are permitted to satiate themselves with kids and lambs, and perhaps there might be some excuse for separating the progeny from its dam. But what cause is there for the exposure of a child? For the man who did not desire to beget children had no right to marry at first; certainly not to have become, through licentious indulgence, the murderer of his children. Again, the humane law forbids slaying the offspring and the dam together on the same day. Thence also the Romans, in the case of a pregnant woman being condemned to death, do not allow her to undergo punishment till she is delivered. The law too, expressly prohibits the slaying of such animals as are pregnant till they have brought forth, remotely restraining the proneness of man to do wrong to man. Thus also it has extended its clemency to the irrational creatures; that from the exercise of humanity in the case of creatures of different species, we might practise among those of the same species a large abundance of it. Those, too, that kick the bellies of certain animals before parturition, in order to feast on flesh mixed with milk, make the womb created for the birth of the foetus its grave, though the law expressly commands, "But neither shalt thou seethe a lamb in its mother's milk." For the nourishment of the living animal, it is meant, may not become sauce for that which has been deprived of life; and that, which is the cause of life, may not co-operate in the consumption of the body. And the same law commands "not to muzzle the ox which treadeth out the corn: for the labourer must be reckoned worthy of his food."

And it prohibits an ox and ass to be yoked in the plough together; pointing perhaps to the want of agreement in the case of the animals; and at the same time teaching not to wrong any one belonging to another race, and bring him under the yoke, when there is no other cause to allege than difference of race, which is no cause at all, being neither wickedness nor the effect of wickedness. To me the allegory also seems to signify that the husbandry of the Word is not to be assigned equally to the clean and the unclean, the believer and the unbeliever; for the ox is clean, but the ass has been reckoned among the unclean animals. But the benignant Word, abounding in humanity, teaches that neither is it right to cut down cultivated trees, or to cut down the grain before the harvest, for mischiefs sake; nor that cultivated fruit is to be destroyed at all -- either the fruit of the soil or that of the soul: for it does not permit the enemy's country to be laid waste.

Further, husbandmen derived advantage from the law in such things. For it orders newly planted trees to be nourished three years in succession, and the superfluous growths to be cut off, to prevent them being loaded and pressed down; and to prevent their strength being exhausted from want, by the nutriment being frittered away, enjoins tilling and digging round them, so that [the tree] may not, by sending out suckers,

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hinder its growth. And it does not allow imperfect fruit to be plucked from immature trees, but after three years, in the fourth year; dedicating the first-fruits to God after the tree has attained maturity.

This type of husbandry may serve as a mode of instruction, teaching that we must cut the growths of sins, and the useless weeds of the mind that spring up round the vital fruit, till the shoot of faith is perfected and becomes strong. For in the fourth year, since there is need of time to him that is being solidly catechized, the four virtues are consecrated to God, the third alone being already joined to the fourth, the person of the Lord. And a sacrifice of praise is above holocausts: "for He," it is said, "giveth strength to get power." And if your affairs are in the sunshine of prosperity, get and keep strength, and acquire power in knowledge. For by these instances it is shown that both good things and gifts are supplied by God; and that we, becoming ministers of the divine grace, ought to sow the benefits of God, and make those who approach us noble and good; so that, as far as possible, the temperate man may make others continent, he that is manly may make them noble, he that is wise may make them intelligent, and the just may make them just.

CHAPTER 19 -- THE TRUE GNOSTIC IS AN IMITATOR OF GOD, ESPECIALLY IN BENEFICENCE.

He is the Gnostic, who is after the image and likeness of God, who imitates God as far as possible, deficient in none of the things which contribute to the likeness as far as compatible, practising self-restraint and endurance, living righteously, reigning over the passions, bestowing of what he has as far as possible, and doing good both by word and deed. "He is the greatest," it is said, "in the kingdom who shall do and teach;" imitating God in conferring like benefits. For God's gifts are for the common good. "Whoever shall attempt to do aught with presumption, provokes God," it is said. For haughtiness is a vice of the soul, of which, as of other sins, He commands us to repent; by adjusting our lives from their state of derangement to the change for the better in these three things -- mouth, heart, hands. These are signs -- the hands of action, the heart of volition, the mouth of speech. Beautifully, therefore, has this oracle been spoken with respect to penitents: "Thou hast chosen God this day to be thy God; and God hath chosen thee this day to be His people." For him who hastes to serve the self-existent One, being a suppliant, God adopts to Himself; and though he be only one in number, he is honoured equally with the people. For being a part of the people, he becomes complementary of it, being restored from what he was; and the whole is named from a part.

But nobility is itself exhibited in choosing and practising what is best. For what benefit to Adam was such a nobility as he had? No mortal was his father; for he himself was father of men that are born. What is base he readily chose, following his wife, and neglected what is true and good; on which account he exchanged his immortal life for a mortal life, but not for ever. And Noah, whose origin was not the same as Adam's, was saved by divine care, For he took and consecrated himself to God. And Abraham, who had children by three wives, not for the indulgence of pleasure, but in the hope, as I think, of multiplying the race at the first, was succeeded by one alone, who was heir of his father's blessings, while the rest were separated from the family; and of the twins who sprang from him, the younger having won his father's favour and received his prayers, became heir, and the eider served him. For it is the greatest boon to a bad man not to be master of himself.

And this arrangement was prophetical and typical. And that all things belong to the wise, Scripture clearly indicates when it is said, "Because God hath had mercy on me, I have all things." For it teaches that we are to desire one thing, by which are all things, and what is promised is assigned to the worthy. Accordingly, the good man who has become heir of the kingdom, it registers also as fellow-citizen, through divine wisdom, with the righteous of the olden time, who under the law and before the law lived according to law, whose deeds have become laws to us; and again, teaching that the wise man is king, introduces people of a different race, saying to him, "Thou art a king before God among us;" those who were governed obeying the good man of their own accord, from admiration of his virtue.

Now Plato the philosopher, defining the end of happiness, says that it is likeness to God as far as possible; whether concurring with the precept of the law (for great natures that are free of passions somehow hit the mark respecting the truth, as the Pythagorean Philo says in relating the history of Moses), or whether instructed by certain oracles of the time, thirsting as he always was for instruction. For the law says, "Walk after the Lord your God, and keep my commandments." For the law calls assimilation following; and such a following to the utmost of its power assimilates. "Be," says the Lord, "merciful and pitiful, as your heavenly Father is pitiful." Thence also the Stoics have laid down the doctrine, that living agreeably to nature is the end, fitly altering the name of God into nature; since also nature extends to plants, to seeds, to trees, and to stones. It is therefore plainly said, "Bad men do not understand the law; but they who love the law fortify themselves with a wall." "For the wisdom of the clever knows its ways; but the folly of the foolish is in error." "For on whom will I look, but on him who is mild and gentle, and trembleth at my words?" says the prophecy.

We are taught that there are three kinds of friendship: and that of these the first and the best is that which results from virtue, for the love that is founded on reason is firm; that the second and intermediate is by way of recompense, and is social, liberal, and useful for life; for the friendship which is the result of favour is mutual.

And the third and last we assert to be that which is founded on intimacy; others, again, that it is that variable and changeable form which rests on pleasure. And Hipppodamus the Pythagorean seems to me to describe friendships most admirably: "That founded on knowledge of the gods, that founded on the gifts of men, and that on the pleasures of animals." There is the friendship of a philosopher, -- that of a man and that of an animal. For the image of God is really the man who does good, in which also he gets good: as the pilot at once saves, and is saved. Wherefore, when one obtains his request, he does not say to the giver, Thou hast given well, but, Thou hast received well. So he receives who gives, and he gives who receives. "But the righteous pity and show mercy." "But the mild shall be inhabitants of the earth, and the innocent shall be left in it. But the transgressors shall be extirpated from it." And Homer seems to me to have said prophetically of the faithful, "Give to thy friend." And an enemy must be aided, that he may not continue an enemy. For by help good feeling is compacted, and enmity dissolved. "But if there be present readiness of mind, according to what a man hath it is acceptable, and not according to what he hath not: for it is not that there be ease to others, but tribulation to you, but of equality at the present time," and so forth. "He hath dispersed, he hath given to the poor; his righteousness endureth for ever," the Scripture says. For conformity with the image and likeness is not meant of the body (for it were wrong for what is mortal to be made like what is immortal), but in mind and reason, on which fitly the Lord impresses the seal of likeness, both in respect of doing good and of exercising rule. For governments are directed not by corporeal qualities, but by judgments of the mind. For by the counsels of holy men states are managed well, and the household also.

CHAPTER 20 -- THE TRUE GNOSTIC EXERCISES PATIENCE AND SELF-RESTRAINT.

Endurance also itself forces its way to the divine likeness, reaping as its fruit impassibility. through patience, if what is related of Ananias be kept in mind; who belonged to a number, of whom Daniel the prophet, filled with divine faith, was one. Daniel dwelt at Babylon, as Lot at Sodom, and Abraham, who a little after became the friend of God, in the land of Chaldea. The king of the Babylonians let Daniel down into a pit full of wild beasts; the King of all, the faithful Lord, took him up unharmed. Such patience will the Gnostic, as a Gnostic, possess. He will bless when under trial, like the noble Job; like Jonas, when swallowed up by the whale, he will pray, and faith will restore him to prophesy to the Ninevites; and though shut up with lions, he will tame the wild beasts; though cast into the fire, he will be besprinkled with dew, but not consumed. He will give his testimony by night; he will testify by day; by word, by life, by conduct, he will testify. Dwelling with the Lord? he will continue his familiar friend, sharing the same hearth according to the Spirit; pure in the flesh, pure in heart, sanctified in word. "The world," it is said, "is crucified to him, and he to the world." He, bearing about the cross of the Saviour, will follow the Lord's footsteps, as God, having become holy of holies.

The divine law, then, while keeping in mind all virtue, trains man especially to self-restraint, laying this as the foundation of the virtues; and disciplines us beforehand to the attainment of self-restraint by forbidding us to partake of such things as are by nature fat, as the breed of swine, which is full-fleshed. For such a use is assigned to epicures. It is accordingly said that one of the philosophers, giving the etymology of us (sow), said that it was qus, as being fit only for slaughter (qusin) and killing; for life was given to this animal for no other purpose than that it might swell in flesh. Similarly, repressing our desires, it forbade partaking of fishes which have neither fins nor scales; for these surpass other fishes in fleshiness and fatness. From-this it was, in my opinion, that the mysteries not only prohibited touching certain animals, but also withdrew certain parts of those slain in sacrifice, for reasons which are known to the initiated. If, then, we are to exercise control over the belly, and what is below the belly, it is clear that we have of old heard from the Lord that we are to check lust by the law.

And this will be completely effected, if we unfeignedly condemn what is the fuel of lust: I mean pleasure. Now they say that the idea of it is a gentle and bland excitement, accompanied with some sensation. Enthralled by this, Menelaus, they say, after the capture of Troy, having rushed to put Helen to death, as having been the cause of such calamities, was nevertheless not able to effect it, being subdued by her beauty, which made him think of pleasure. Whence the tragedians, jeering, exclaimed insultingly against him: "But thou, when on her breast thou lookedst, thy sword Didst cast away, and with a kiss the traitress, Ever-beauteous wretch, thou didst embrace."

And again: Was the sword then by beauty blunted?"

And I agree with Antisthenes when he says, "Could I catch Aphrodite, I would shoot her; for she has destroyed many of our beautiful and good women." And he says that "Love is a vice of nature, and the wretches who fall under its power call the disease a deity." For in these words it is shown that stupid people are overcome from ignorance of pleasure, to which we ought to give no admittance, even though it be called a god, that is, though it be given by God for the necessity of procreation. And Xenophon, expressly calling pleasure a vice, says: "Wretch, what good dost thou know, or what honourable aim hast thou? which does not even wait for the appetite for sweet things, eating before being hungry, drinking before being thirsty; and that thou mayest eat pleasantly, seeking out fine cooks; and that thou mayest drink pleasantly, procuring costly wines; and in summer runnest about seeking snow; and that thou mayest sleep pleasantly, not only providest soft beds, but also supports to the couches." Whence, as Aristo said, "against the whole tetrachord of pleasure, pain, fear, and lust, there is need of much exercise and struggle."

"For it is these, it is these that go through our bowels, And throw into disorder men's hearts."

"For the minds of those even who are deemed grave, pleasure makes waxen," according to Plato; since "each pleasure and pain nails to the body the soul" of the man, that does not sever and crucify himself from the passions. "He that loses his life," says the Lord, "shall save it;" either giving it up by exposing it to danger for the Lord's sake, as He did for us, or loosing it from fellowship with its habitual life. For if you would loose, and withdraw, and separate (for this is what the cross means) your soul from the delight and pleasure that is in this life, you will possess it, found and resting in the looked-for hope. And this would be the exercise of death, if we would be content with those desires which are measured according to nature alone, which do not pass the limit of those which are in accordance with nature -- by going to excess, or going against nature -- in which the possibility of sinning arises. "We must therefore put on the panoply of God, that we may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil; since the weapons of our war fire are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds, casting down reasonings, and every lofty thing which exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing every thought into captivity unto the obedience of Christ," says the divine apostle. There is need of a man who shall use in a praiseworthy and discriminating manner the things from which passions take their rise, as riches and poverty, honour and dishonour, health and sickness, life and death, toil and pleasure. For, in order that we may treat things, that are different, indifferently, there is need of a great difference in us, as having been previously afflicted with much feebleness, and in the distortion of a bad training and nurture ignorantly indulged ourselves. The simple word, then, of our philosophy declares the passions to be impressions on the soul that is soft and yielding, and, as it were, the signatures of the spiritual powers with whom we have to straggle. For it is the business, in my opinion, of the malificent powers to endeavour to produce somewhat of their own constitution in everything, so as to overcome and make their own those who have renounced them. And it follows, as might be expected, that some are worsted; but in the case of those who engage in the contest with more athletic energy, the powers mentioned above, after carrying on the conflict in all forms, and advancing even as far as the crown wading in gore, decline the battle, and admire the victors.

For of objects that are moved, some are moved by impulse and appearance, as animals; and some by transposition, as inanimate objects. And of things without life, plants, they say, are moved by transposition in order to growth, if we will concede to them that plants are without life. To stones, then, belongs a permanent state. Plants have a nature; and the irrational animals possess impulse and perception, and likewise the two characteristics already specified. But the reasoning faculty, being peculiar to the human soul, ought not to be impelled similarly with the irrational animals, but ought to discriminate appearances, and not to be carried away by them. The powers, then, of which we have spoken hold out beautiful sights, and honours, and adulteries, and pleasures, and such like alluring phantasies before facile spirits; as those who drive away cattle hold, out branches to them. Then, having beguiled those incapable of distinguishing the true from the false pleasure, and the fading and meretricious from the holy beauty, they lead them into slavery. And each deceit, by pressing constantly on the spirit, impresses its image on it; and the soul unwittingly carries about the image of the passion, which takes its rise from the bait and our consent.

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The adherents of Basilides are in the habit of calling the passions appendages: saying that these are in essence certain spirits attached to the rational soul, through some original perturbation and confusion; and that, again, other bastard and heterogeneous natures of spirits grow on to them, like that of the wolf, the ape, the lion, the goat, whose properties showing themselves around the soul, they say, assimilate the lusts of the soul to the likeness of the animals. For they imitate the actions of those whose properties they bear. And not only are they associated with the impulses and perceptions of the irrational animals, but they affect the motions and the beauties of plants, on account of their bearing also the properties of plants attached to them. They have also the properties of a particular state, as the hardness of steel. But against this dogma we shall argue subsequently, when we treat of the soul. At present this only needs to be pointed out, that man, according to Basilides, preserves the appearance of a wooden horse, according to the poetic myth, embracing as he does in one body a host of such different spirits. Accordingly, Basilides' son himself, Isidorus, in his book, About the Soul attached to us, while agreeing in the dogma, as if condemning himself, writes in these words: "For if I persuade any one that the soul is undivided, and that the passions of the wicked are occasioned by the violence of the appendages, the worthless among men will have no slight pretence for saying,' I was compelled, I was carried away, I did it against my will, I acted unwillingly;' though he himself led the desire of evil things, and did not fight against the assaults of the appendages. But we must, by acquiring superiority in the rational part, show ourselves masters of the inferior creation in us." For he too lays down the hypothesis of two souls in us, like the Pythagoreans, at whom we shall glance afterwards.

Valentinus too, in a letter to certain people, writes in these very words respecting the appendages: "There is one good, by whose presence is the manifestation, which is by the Son, and by Him alone can the heart become pure, by the expulsion of every evil spirit from the heart: for the multitude of spirits dwelling in it do not suffer it to be pure; but each of them performs his own deeds, insulting it oft with unseemly lusts. And the heart seems to be treated somewhat like a caravanserai. For the latter has holes and ruts made in it, and is often filled with dung; men living filthily in it, and taking no care for the place as belonging to others. So fares it with the heart as long as there is no thought taken for it, being unclean, and the abode of many demons. But when the only good Father visits it, it is sanctified, and gleams with light. And he who possesses such a heart is so blessed, that "he shall see God."

What, then, let them tell us, is the cause of such a soul not being cared for from the beginning? Either that it is not worthy (and somehow a care for it comes to it as from repentance), or it is a saved nature, as he would have it; and this, of necessity, from the beginning, being cared for by reason of its affinity, afforded no entrance to the impure spirits, unless by being forced and found feeble. For were he to grant that on repentance it preferred what was better, he will say this unwillingly, being what the truth we hold teaches; namely, that salvation is from a change due to obedience, but not from nature. For as the exhalations which arise from the earth, and from marshes, gather into mists and cloudy masses; so the vapours of fleshly lusts bring on the soul an evil condition, scattering about the idols of pleasure before the soul. Accordingly they spread darkness over the light of intelligence, the spirit attracting the exhalations that arise from lust, and thickening the masses of the passions by persistency in pleasures. Gold is not taken from the earth in the lump, but is purified by smelting; then, when made pure. it is called gold, the earth being purified. For "Ask, and it shall be given you," it is said to those who are able of themselves to choose what is best. And how we say that the powers of the devil, and the unclean spirits, sow into the sinner's soul, requires no more words from me, on adducing as a witness the apostolic Barnabas (and he was one of the seventy? and a fellow-worker of Paul), who speaks in these words: "Before we believed in God, the dwelling-place of our heart was unstable, truly a temple built with hands.

For it was full of idolatry, and was a house of demons, through doing what was opposed to God."

He says, then, that sinners exercise activities appropriate to demons; but he does not say that the spirits themselves dwell in the soul of the unbeliever. Wherefore he also adds, "See that the temple of the Lord be gloriously built. Learn, having received remission of sins; and having set our hope on the Name, let us become new, created again from the beginning." For what he says is not that demons are driven out of us, but that the sins which like them we commit before believing are remitted. Rightly thus he puts in opposition what follows: "Wherefore God truly dwells in our home. He dwells in us. How? The word of His faith, the calling of His promise, the wisdom of His statutes, the commandments of His communication, [dwell in us]."

"I know that I have come upon a heresy; and its chief was wont to say that he fought with pleasure by pleasure, this worthy Gnostic advancing on pleasure in reigned combat, for he said he was a Gnostic; since he said it was no great thing for a man that had not tried pleasure to abstain from it, but for one who had mixed in it not to be overcome [was something]; and that therefore by means of it he trained himself in it. The wretched man knew not that he was deceiving himself by the artfulness of voluptuousness. To this opinion, then, manifestly Aristippus the Cyrenian adhered -- that of the sophist who boasted of the truth. Accordingly, when reproached for continually cohabiting with the Corinthian courtezan, he said, "I possess Lais, and am not possessed by her."

Such also are those (who say that they follow Nicolaus, quoting an adage of the man, which they pervert, "that the flesh must be abused." But the worthy man showed that it was necessary to check pleasures and lusts, and by such training to waste away the impulses and propensities of the flesh. But they, abandoning themselves to pleasure like goats, as if insulting the body, lead a life of self-indulgence; not knowing that the body is wasted, being by nature subject to dissolution; while their soul is buffed in the mire of vice; following as they do the teaching of pleasure itself, not of the apostolic man. For in what do they differ from Sardanapalus, whose life is shown in the epigram: "I have what I ate -- what I enjoyed wantonly; And the pleasures I felt in love. But those Many objects of happiness are left, For I too am dust, who ruled great Ninus."

For the feeling of pleasure is not at all a necessity, but the accompaniment of certain natural needs -- hunger, thirst, cold, marriage. If, then, it were possible to drink without it, or take food, or beget children, no other need of it could be shown. For pleasure is neither a function, nor a state, nor any part of us; but has been introduced into life as an auxiliary, as they say salt was to season food. But when it casts off restraint and rules the house, it generates first concupiscence, which is an irrational propension and impulse towards that which gratifies it; and it induced Epicurus to lay down pleasure as the aim of the philosopher. Accordingly he deifies a sound condition of body, and the certain hope respecting it. For what else is luxury than the voluptuous gluttony and the superfluous abundance of those who are abandoned to self-indulgence? Diogenes writes significantly in a tragedy: "Who to the pleasures of effeminate And filthy luxury attached in heart, Wish not to undergo the slightest toil."

And what follows, expressed indeed in foul language, but in a manner worthy of the voluptuaries.

Wherefore the divine law appears to me necessarily to menace with fear, that, by caution and attention, the philosopher may acquire and retain absence of anxiety, continuing without fall and without sin in all things. For peace and freedom are not otherwise won, than by ceaseless and unyielding struggles with our lusts. For these stout and Olympic antagonists are keener than wasps, so to speak; and Pleasure especially, not by day only, but by night, is in dreams with witchcraft ensnaringly plotting and biting. How, then, can the Greeks any more be right in running down the law, when they themselves teach that Pleasure is the slave of fear? Socrates accordingly bids "people guard against enticements to eat when they are not hungry, and to drink when not thirsty, and the glances and kisses of the fair, as fitted to inject a deadlier poison than that of scorpions and spiders." And Antisthenes chose rather "to be demented than delighted." And the Theban Crates says: "Master these, exulting in the disposition of the soul, Vanquished neither by gold nor by languishing love, Nor are they any longer attendants to the wanton."

And at length infers: "Those, unenslaved and unbended by servile Pleasure, Love the immortal kingdom and freedom."

He writes expressly, in other words, "that the stop to the unbridled propensity to amorousness is hunger or a halter."

And the comic poets attest, while they depreciate the teaching of Zeno the Stoic, to be to the following effect: "For he philosophizes a vain philosophy:

He teaches to want food, and gets pupils One loaf, and for seasoning a dry fig, and to drink water."

All these, then, are not ashamed clearly to confess the advantage which accrues from caution. And the wisdom which is trite and not contrary to reason, trusting not in mere words and oracular utterances, but in invulnerable armour of defence and energetic mysteries, and devoting itself to divine commands, and exercise, and practice, receives a divine power according to its inspiration from the Word.

Already, then, the aegis of the poetic Jove is described as "Dreadful, crowned all around by Terror, And on it Strife and Prowess, and chilling Rout; On it, too, the Gorgon's head, dread monster, Terrible, dire, the sign of Ægis-bearing Jove."

But to those, who are able rightly to understand salvation, I know not what will appear dearer than the gravity of the Law, and Reverence, which is its daughter. For when one is said to pitch too high, as also the Lord says, with reference to certain; so that some of those whose desires are towards Him may not sing out of pitch and tune, I do not understand it as pitching too high in reality, but only as spoken with reference to such as will not take up the divine yoke. For to those, who are unstrung and feeble, what is medium seems too high; and to those, who are unrighteous, what befalls them seems severe justice. For those, who, on account of the favour they entertain for sins, are prone to pardon, suppose truth to be harshness, and severity to be savageness, and him who does not sin with them, and is not dragged with them, to be pitiless. Tragedy writes therefore well of Pluto: "And to what sort of a deity wilt thou come, dost thou ask, Who knows neither clemency nor favour, But loves bare justice alone."

For although you are not yet able to do the things enjoined by the Law, yet, considering that the noblest examples are set before us in it, we are able to nourish and increase the love of liberty; and so we shall profit more eagerly as far as we can, inviting some things, imitating some things, and fearing others. For thus the righteous of the olden time, who lived according to the law, "were not from a storied oak, or from a rock;" because they wish to philosophize truly, took and devoted themselves entirely to God, and were classified under faith. Zeno said well of the Indians, that he would rather have seen one Indian roasted, than have learned the whole of the arguments about bearing pain. But we have exhibited before our eyes every day abundant sources of martyrs that are burnt, impaled, beheaded. All these the fear inspired by the law, -- leading as a paedagogue to Christ, trained so as to manifest their piety by their blood. "God stood in the congregation of the gods; He judgeth in the midst of the gods." Who are they? Those that are superior to Pleasure, who rise above the passions, who know what they do -- the Gnostics, who are greater than the world. "I said, Ye are Gods; and all sons of the Highest." To whom speaks the Lord? To those who reject as far as possible all that is of man. And the apostle says, "For ye are not any longer in the flesh, but in the Spirit." And again he says, "Though in the flesh, we do not war after the flesh." "For flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, neither doth corruption inherit incorruption." "Lo, ye shall die like men," the Spirit has said, confuting us.

We must then exercise ourselves in taking care about those things which fall under the power of the passions, fleeing like those who are truly philosophers such articles of food as excite lust, and dissolute licentiousness in chambering and luxury; and the sensations that tend to luxury, which are a solid reward to others, must no longer be so to us. For God's greatest gift is self-restraint. For He Himself has said, "I will neyer leave thee, nor forsake thee," as having judged thee worthy according to the true election. Thus, then, while we attempt piously to advance, we shall have put on us the mild yoke of the Lord from faith to faith, one charioteer driving each of us onward to salvation, that the meet fruit of beatitude may be won. "Exercise is" according to Hippocrates of Cos, "not only the health of the body, but of the soul -- fearlessness of labours -- a ravenous appetite for food."

CHAPTER 21 -- OPINIONS OF VARIOUS PHILOSOPHERS ON THE CHIEF GOOD.

Epicurus, in placing happiness in not being hungry, or thirsty, or cold, uttered that godlike word, saying impiously that he would tight in these points even with Father Jove; teaching, as if it were the case of pigs that live in filth and not that of rational philosophers, that happiness was victory. For of those that are ruled by pleasure are the Cyrenaics and Epicurus; for these expressly said that to live pleasantly was the chief end, and that pleasure was the only perfect good. Epicurus also says that the removal of pain is pleasure; and says that that is to be preferred, which first attracts from itself to itself, being, that is, wholly in motion. Dinomachus and Callipho said that the chief end was for one to do what he could for the attainment and enjoyment of pleasure; and Hieronymus the Peripatetic said the great end was to live unmolested, and that the only final good was happiness; and Diodorus likewise, who belonged to the same sect, pronounces the end to be to live undisturbed and well. Epicurus indeed, and the Cyrenaics, say that pleasure is the first duty; for it is for the sake of pleasure, they say, that virtue was introduced, and produced pleasure. According to the followers of Calliphon, virtue was introduced for the sake of pleasure, but that subsequently, on seeing its own beauty, it made itself equally prized with the first principle, that is, pleasure.

But the Aristotelians lay it down, that to live in accordance with virtue is the end, but that neither happiness nor the end is reached by every one who has virtue. For the wise man, vexed and involved in involuntary mischances, and wishing gladly on these accounts to flee from life, is neither fortunate nor happy. For virtue needs time; for that is not acquired in one day which exists [only] in the perfect man since, as they say, a child is never happy. But human life is a perfect time, and therefore happiness is completed by the three kinds of good things. Neither, then, the poor, nor the mean nor even the diseased, nor the slave, can be one of them.

Again, on the other hand, Zeno the Stoic thinks the end to be living according to virtue; and, Cleanthes, living agreeably to nature in the fight exercise of reason, which he held to consist of the selection of things according to nature. And Antipatrus, his friend, supposes the end to consist in choosing

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continually and unswervingly the things which are according to nature, and rejecting those contrary to nature. Archedamus, on the other hand, explained the end to be such, that in selecting the greatest and chief things according to nature, it was impossible to overstep it. In addition to these, Panictius pronounced the end to be, to live according to the means given to us by nature. And finally, Posidonius said that it was to live engaged in contemplating the truth and order of the universe, and forming himself as he best can, in nothing influenced by the irrational part of his soul. And some of the later Stoics defined the great end to consist in living agreeably to the constitution of man. Why should I mention Aristo? He said that the end was indifference; but what is indifferent simply abandons the indifferent.

Shall I bring forward the opinions of Herillus? Herillus states the end to be to live according to science. For some think that the more recent disciples of the Academy define the end to be, the steady abstraction of the mind to its own impressions. Further, Lycus the Peripatetic used to say that the final end was the true joy of the soul; as Leucimus, that it was the joy it had in what was good. Critolaus, also a Peripatetic, said that it was the perfection of a life flowing rightly according to nature, referring to the perfection accomplished by the three kinds according to tradition.

We must, however, not rest satisfied with these, but endeavour as we best can to adduce the doctrines laid down on the point by the naturalist; for they say that Anaxagoras of Clazomenae affirmed contemplation and the freedom. flowing from it to be the end of life; Heraclitus the Ephesian, complacency. The Pontic Heraclides relates, that Pythagoras taught that the knowledge of the perfection of the numbers I was happiness of the soul. The Abderites also teach the existence of an end. Democritus, in his work On the Chief End, said it was cheerfulness, which he also called well-being, and often exclaims, "For delight and its absence are the boundary of those who have reached full age;" Hecataeus, that it was sufficiency to one's self; Apollodotus of Cyzicum, that it was delectation as Nausiphanes, that it was undauntedness, for he said that it was this that was called by Democritus imperturbability.

In addition to these still, Diotimus declared the end to be perfection of what is good, which he said was termed well-being. Again, Antisthenes, that it was humility. And those called Annicereans, of the Cyrenaic succession, laid down no definite end for the whole of life; but said that to each action belonged, as its proper end, the pleasure accruing from the action. These Cyrenaics reject Epicurus' definition of pleasure, that is the removal of pain, calling that the condition of a dead man; because we rejoice not only on account of pleasures, but companionships and distinctions; while Epicurns thinks that all joy of the soul arises from previous sensations of the flesh. Metrodorus, in his book On the Source of Happiness in Ourselves being greater than that which arises from Objects, says: What else is the good of the soul but the sound state of the flesh, and the sure hope of its continuance?

CHAPTER 22-- PLATO'S OPINION, THAT THE CHIEF GOOD CONSISTS IN ASSIMILATION TO GOD, AND ITS AGREEMENT WITH SCRIPTURE.

Further, Plato the philosopher says that the end is twofold: that which is communicable, and exists first in the ideal forms themselves, which he also calls "the good;" and that which partakes of it, and receives its likeness from it, as is the case in the men who appropriate virtue and true philosophy. Wherefore also Cleanthes, in the second book, On Pleasure, says that Socrates everywhere teaches that the just man and the happy are one and the same, and execrated the first man who separated the just from the useful, as having done an impious thing. For those are in truth impious who separate the useful from that which is tight according to the law. Plato himself says that happiness (eudai monia) is to possess rightly the daemon, and that the ruling faculty of the soul is called the daemon; and he terms happiness (eudaimonia) the most perfect and complete good. Sometimes he calls it a consistent and harmonious life, sometimes the highest perfection in accordance with virtue; and this he places in the knowledge of the Good, and in likeness to God, demonstrating likeness to be justice and holiness with wisdom. For is it not thus that some of our writers have understood that man straightway on his creation received what is "according to the image," but that what is according "to the likeness" he will receive afterwards on his perfection? Now Plato, teaching that the virtuous man shall have this likeness accompanied with humility, explains the following: "He that humbleth himself shall be exalted." He says, accordingly, in The Laws: "God indeed, as the ancient saying has it, occupying the beginning, the middle, and the end of all things, goes straight through while He goes round the circumference. And He is always attended by Justice, the avenger of those who revolt from the divine law." You see how he connects fear with the divine law. He adds, therefore: "To which he, who would be happy, cleaving, will follow lowly and beautified." Then, connecting what follows these words, and admonishing by fear, he adds: "What conduct, then, is dear and conformable to God? That which is characterized by one word of old date: Like will be dear to like, as to what is in proportion; but things out of proportion are neither dear to one another, nor to those which are in proportion. And that therefore he that would be dear to God, must, to the best of his power, become such as He is And in virtue of the same reason, our self-controlling man is dear to God. But he that has no self-control is unlike and diverse." In saying that it was an ancient dogma, he indicates the teaching which had come to him from the law. And having in the Theaoetus admitted that evils make the circuit of mortal nature and of this spot, he adds: "Wherefore we must try to flee hence as soon as possible. For flight is likeness to God as far as possible. And likeness is to become holy and just with wisdom." Speusippus, the nephew of Plato, says that happiness is a perfect state in those who conduct themselves in accordance with nature, or the state of the good: for which condition all men have a desire, but the good only attained to quietude; consequently the virtues are the authors of happiness. And Xenocrates the Chalcedonian defines happiness to be the possession of virtue, strictly so called, and of the power subservient to it. Then he clearly says, that the seat in which it resides is the soul; that by which it is effected, the virtues; and that of these as parts are formed praiseworthy actions, good habits and dispositions, and motions, and relations; and that corporeal and external objects are not without these. For Polemo, the disciple of Xenocrates, seems of the opinion that happiness is sufficiency of all good things, or of the most and greatest. He lays down the doctrine, then, that happiness never exists without virtue; and that virtue, apart from corporeal and external objects, is sufficient for happiness. Let these things be so. The contradictions to the opinions specified shall be adduced in due time. But on us it is incumbent to reach the unaccomplished end, obeying the commands -- that is, God -- and living according to them, irreproachably and intelligently, through knowledge of the divine will; and assimilation as far as possible in accordance with right reason is the end, and restoration to perfect adoption by the Son, which ever glorifies the Father by the great High Priest who has deigned to call us brethren and fellow-heirs. And the apostle, succinctly describing the end, writes in the Epistle to the Romans: "But now, being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life." And viewing the hope as twofold -- that which is expected, and that which has been received -- he now teaches the end to be the restitution of the hope. "For patience," he says, "worketh experience, and experience hope: and hope maketh not ashamed; because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit that is given to us." On account of which love and the restoration to hope, he says, in another place, "which rest is laid up for us." You will find in Ezekiel the like, as follows: "The soul that sinneth, it shall die. And the man who shall be righteous, and shall do judgment and justice, who has not eaten on the mountains, nor lifted his eyes to the idols of the house of Israel, and hath not defiled his neighbour's wife, and hath not approached to a woman in the time of her uncleanness (for he does not wish the seed of man to be dishonoured), and will not injure a man; will restore the debtor's pledge, and will not take usury; will turn away his hand from wrong; will do true judgment between a man and his neighbour; will walk in my ordinances, and keep my commandments, so as to do the truth; he is righteous, he shall surely live, saith Adonai the Lord." Isaiah too, in exhorting him that hath not believed to gravity of life, and the Gnostic to attention, proving that man's virtue and God's are not the same, speaks thus: "Seek the Lord, and on finding Him call on Him. And when He shall draw near to you, let the wicked forsake his ways, and the unrighteous man his ways; and let him return to the Lord, and he shall obtain mercy," down to "and your thoughts from my thoughts."' "We," then, according to the noble apostle, "wait for the hope of righteousness by faith. For in Christ neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh by love." And we desire that every one of you show the same diligence to the full assurance of hope," down to "made an high priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek." Similarly with Paul "the All-virtuous Wisdom" says, "He, that heareth me shall dwell trusting in hope." For the restoration of hope is called by the same term "hope." To the expression "will dwell" it has most beautifully added" trusting," showing that such an one has obtained rest, having received the hope for which he hoped. Wherefore also it is added, "and shall be quiet, without fear of any evil." And openly and expressly the apostle, in the first Epistle to the Corinthians says, "Be ye followers of me, as also I am of Christ," s in order that that may take place. If ye are of me, and I am of Christ, then ye are imitators of Christ, and Christ of God. Assimilation to God, then, so that as far as possible a man becomes righteous and holy with wisdom he lays down as the aim of faith, and the end to be that restitution of the promise which is effected by faith. From these doctrines gush the fountains, which we specified above, of those who have dogmatized about "the end." But of these enough.

CHAPTER 23 -- ON MARRIAGE.

Since pleasure and lust seem to fall under marriage, it must also be treated of. Marriage is the first conjunction of man and woman for the procreation of legitimate children. Accordingly Menander the comic poet says: "For the begetting of legitimate children, I give thee my daughter."

We ask if we ought to marry; which is one of the points, which are said to be relative. For some must marry, and a man must be in some condition, and he must marry some one in some condition. For every one is not to marry, nor always. But there is a time in which it is suitable, and a person for whom it is suitable, and an age up to which it is suitable. Neither ought every one to take a wife, nor is it every woman one is to take, nor always, nor in every way, nor inconsiderately. But only he who is in certain circumstances, and such an one and at such time as is requisite, and for the sake of children, and one who is in every respect similar, and who does not by force or compulsion love the husband who loves her. Hence Abraham, regarding his wife as a sister, says, "She is my sister by my father, but not by my mother; and she became my wife," teaching us that children of the same mothers ought not to enter into matrimony. Let us briefly follow the history. Plato ranks marriage among outward good things, providing for the perpetuity of our race, and handing down as a torch a certain perpetuity to children's children. Democritus repudiates marriage and the procreation of children, on account of the many annoyances thence arising, and abstractions from more necessary things. Epicurus agrees, and those who place good in pleasure, and in the absence of trouble and pain. According to the opinion of the Stoics, marriage and the rearing of children are a thing indifferent; and according to the Peripatetics, a good. In a word, these, following out their dogmas in words, became enslaved to pleasures; some using concubines, some mistresses, and the most youths. And that wise quaternion in the garden with a mistress, honoured pleasure by their acts. Those, then, will not escape the curse of yoking an ass with an ox, who, judging certain things not to suit them, command others to do them, or the reverse. This Scripture has briefly showed, when it says, "What thou hatest, thou shalt not do to another."

But they who approve of marriage say, Nature has adapted us for marriage, as is evident from the structure of our bodies, which are male and female. And they constantly proclaim that command, "Increase and replenish." And though this is the case, yet it seems to them shameful that man, created by God, should be more licentious than the irrational creatures, which do not mix with many licentiously, but with one of the same species, such as pigeons and ringdoves, and creatures like them. Furthermore, they say, "The childless man fails in the perfection which is according to nature, not having substituted his proper successor in his place. For he is perfect that has produced from himself his like, or rather, when he sees that he has produced the same; that is, when that which is begotten attains to the same nature with him who begat." Therefore we must by all means marry, both for our country's sake, for the succession of children, and as far as we are concerned, the perfection of the world; since the poets also pity a marriage half-perfect and childless, but pronounce the fruitful one happy. But it is the diseases of the body that principally show marriage to be necessary. For a wife's care and the assiduity of her constancy appear to exceed the endurance of all other relations and friends, as much as to excel them in sympathy; and most of all, she takes kindly to patient watching. And in truth, according to Scripture, she is a needful help. The comic poet then, Menander, while running down marriage, and yet alleging on the other side its advantages, replies to one who had said: "I am averse to the thing, For you take it awkwardly."

Then. he adds: "You see the hardships and the things which annoy you in it.

But you do not look on the advantages." And so forth.

Now marriage is a help in the case of those advanced in years, by furnishing a spouse to take care of one, and by rearing children of her to nourish one's old age.

"For to a man after death his children bring renown, Just as corks bear the net, Saving the fishing-line from the deep." according to the tragic poet Sophocles.

Legislators, moreover, do not allow those who are unmarried to discharge the highest magisterial offices. For instance, the legislator of the Spartans imposed a fine not on bachelorhood only, but on monogamy? and late marriage, and single life. And the renowned Plato orders the man who has not married to pay a wife's maintenance into the public treasury, and to give to the magistrates a suitable sum of money as expenses. For if they shall not beget children, not having married, they produce, as far as in them lies, a scarcity of men, and dissolve states and the world that is composed of them, impiously doing away with divine generation. It is also unmanly and weak to shun living with a wife and children. For of that of which the loss is an evil, the possession is by all means a good; and this is the case with the rest of things. But the loss of children is, they say, among the chiefest evils: the possession of children is consequently a good thing; and if it

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be so, so also is marriage. It is said: "Without a father there never could be a child, And without a mother conception of a child could not be.

Marriage makes a father, as a husband a mother."

Accordingly Homer makes a thing to be earnestly prayed for: "A husband and a house;" yet not simply, but along with good agreement. For the marriage of other people is an agreement for indulgence; but that of philosophers leads to that agreement which is in accordance with reason, bidding wives adorn themselves not in outward appearance, but in character; and enjoining husbands not to treat their wedded wives as mistresses, making corporeal wantonness their aim; but to take advantage of marriage for help in the whole of life, and for the best self-restraint.

Far more excellent, in my opinion, than the seeds of wheat and barley that are sown at appropriate seasons, is man that is sown, for whom all things grow; and those seeds temperate husbandmen ever sow. Every foul and polluting practice must therefore be purged away from marriage; that the intercourse of the irrational animals may not be cast in our teeth, as more accordant with nature than human conjunction in procreation. Some of these, it must be granted, desist at the time in which they are directed, leaving creation to the working of Providence.

By the tragedians, Polyxena, though being murdered, is described nevertheless as having, when dying, taken great care to fall decently,- "Concealing what ought to be hid from the eyes of men."

Marriage to her was a calamity. To be subjected, then, to the passions, and to yield to them, is the extremest slavery; as to keep them in subjection is the only liberty. The divine Scripture accordingly says, that those who have transgressed the commandments are sold to strangers, that is, to sins alien to nature, till they return and repent. Marriage, then, as a sacred image, must be kept pure from those things which defile it. We are to rise from our slumbers with the Lord, and retire to sleep with thanksgiving and prayer,- "Both when you sleep, and when the holy light comes," confessing the Lord in our whole life; possessing piety in the soul, and extending self-control to the body. For it is pleasing to God to lead decorum from the tongue to our actions. Filthy speech is the way to effrontery; and the end of both is filthy conduct.

Now that the Scripture counsels marriage, and allows no release from the union, is expressly contained in the law, "Thou shalt not put away thy wife, except for the cause of fornication;" and it regards as fornication, the marriage of those separated while the other is alive. Not to deck and adorn herself beyond what is becoming, renders a wife free of calumnious suspicion. while she devotes herself assiduously to prayers and supplications; avoiding frequent departures from the house, and shutting herself up as far as possible from the view of all not related to her, and deeming housekeeping of more consequence than impertinent trifling. "He that taketh a woman that has been put away," it is said, "committeth adultery; and if one puts away his wife, he makes her an adulteress," that is, compels her to commit adultery. And not only is he who puts her away guilty of this, but he who takes her, by giving to the woman the opportunity of sinning; for did he not take her, she would return to her husband. What, then, is the law? In order to check the impetuosity of the passions, it commands the adulteress to be put to death, on being convicted of this; and if of priestly family, to be committed to the flames. And the adulterer also is stoned to death, but not in the same place, that not even their death may be in common. And the law is not at variance with the Gospel, but agrees with it. How should it be otherwise, one Lord being the author of both? She who has committed fornication liveth in sin, and is dead to the commandments; but she who has repented, being as it were born again by the change in her life, has a regeneration of life; the old harlot being dead, and she who has been regenerated by repentance having come back again to life. The Spirit testifies to what has been said by Ezekiel, declaring, "I desire not the death of the sinner, but that he should turn." Now they are stoned to death; as through hardness of heart dead to the law which they believed not. But in the case of a priestess the punishment is increased, because "to whom much is given, from him shall more be required."

Let us conclude this second book of the Stromata at this point, on account of the length and number of the chapters.

THE STROMATA BOOK 3

[Translation from: Henry Chadwick, ed, The Ethereal Library of Christian Classics: Volume II, Alexandrian Christianity (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1954), pp. 40-92.]

CHAPTER 1

The Valentinians, who hold that the union of man and woman is derived from the divine emanation in heaven above, approve of marriage. The followers of Basilides, on the other hand, say that when the apostles asked whether it was not better not to marry, the Lord replied: "Not all can receive this saying; there are some eunuchs who are so from their birth, others are so of necessity." And their explanation of this saying is roughly as follows: Some men, from their birth, have a natural sense of repulsion from a woman; and those who are naturally so constituted do well not to marry. Those who are eunuchs of necessity are those theatrical ascetics who only control themselves because they have a passion for the limelight. [And those who have suffered accidental castration have become eunuchs of necessity.] Those, then, who are eunuchs of necessity have no sound reason for their abstinence from marriage. But those who for the sake of the eternal kingdom have made themselves eunuchs derive this idea, they say, from a wish to avoid the distractions involved in marriage, because they are afraid of having to waste time in providing for the necessities of life.

And they say that by the words "it is better to marry than to burn" the apostle means this: "Do not cast your soul into the fire, so that you have to endure night and day and go in fear lest you should fall from continence. For a soul which has to concentrate upon 'endurance has lost hope." In his Ethics, Isidore says in these very words: " Abstain, then, from a quarrelsome woman lest you are distracted from the grace of God. But when you have rejected the fire of the seed, then pray with an undisturbed conscience. And when your prayer of thanksgiving," he says, "descends to a prayer of request, and your request is not that in future you may do right, but that you may do no wrong, then marry. But perhaps a man is too young or poor or suffers from weak health, and has not the will to marry as the apostle's saying suggests. Such a man should not separate himself from his brother Christian. He should say, I have come into the sanctuary, I can suffer nothing. And if he has a presentiment that he may fall, he may say, Brother, lay your hand on me lest I sin, and he will receive help both spiritually and physically. Let him only wish to accomplish what is right and he will achieve his object.

"Sometimes, however, we say with our mouth 'I wish not to sin' while our mind is really inclined towards sin. Such a man does not do what he wishes for fear lest any punishment should be in store for him. Human nature has some wants which are necessary and natural, and others which are only natural. To be clothed is necessary and natural; sexual intercourse is natural but not necessary."

I have quoted these remarks to prove in error those Basilidians who do not live purely, supposing either that they have the power even to commit sin because of their perfection, or indeed that they will be saved by nature even if they sin in this life because they possess an innate election. For the original teachers of their doctrines do not allow one to do the same as they are now doing. They ought not, therefore, to take as a covering cloak the name of Christ and, by living lewder lives than the most uncontrolled heathen, bring blasphemy upon his name. "For such people are false apostles, deceitful workers" as far as the words "whose end shall be like their works." Continence is an ignoring of the body in accordance with the confession of faith in God. For continence is not merely a matter of sexual abstinence, but applies also to the other things for which the soul has an evil desire because it is not satisfied with the necessities of life. There is also a continence of the tongue, of money, of use, and of desire. It does not only teach us to exercise self-control; it is rather that self-control is granted to us, since it is a divine power and grace. Accordingly I must declare what is the opinion of our people about this subject. Our view is that we welcome as blessed the state of abstinence from marriage in those to whom this has been granted by God. We admire monogamy and the high standing of single marriage, holding that we ought to share suffering with another and "bear one another's burdens," lest anyone who thinks he stands securely should himself fall. It is of second marriage that the apostle says, If you burn, marry.

CHAPTER 2

But the followers of Carpocrates and Epiphanes think that wives should be common property. Through them the worst calumny has become current against the Christian name. This fellow Epiphanes, whose writings I have at hand, was a son of Carpocrates and his mother was named Alexandria. On his father's side he was an Alexandrine, on his mother's a Cephallenian. He lived in all only seventeen years, and at Same in Cephallenia was honoured as a god. There a temple of vast blocks of stone was erected and dedicated to him, with altars, sacred precincts, and a "museum." The Cephallenians gather at the temple every new moon and celebrate with sacrifices the day when Epiphanes became a god as his birthday; they pour libations to him, feast in his honour, and sing his praises. He was educated by his father in the general education and in Platonism, and he was instructed in the knowledge of the Monad, which is the root-origin of the Carpocratians' heresy.

This is what he says, then, in the book Concerning Righteousness: "The righteousness of God is a kind of universal fairness and equality. There is equality in the heaven which is stretched out in all directions and contains the entire earth in its circle. The night reveals equally all the stars. The light of the sun, which is the cause of the daytime and the father of light, God pours out from above upon the earth in equal measure on all who have power to see. For all see alike. There is no distinction between rich and poor, people and governor, stupid and clever, female and male, free men and slaves. Even the irrational animals are not accorded any different treatment; but in just the same way God pours out from above sunlight equally upon all the animals. He establishes his righteousness to both good and bad by seeing that none is able to get more than his share and to deprive his neighbour, so that he has twice the light his neighbour has. The sun causes food to grow for all living beings alike; the universal righteousness is given to all equally. In this respect there is no difference between the entire species of oxen and any individual oxen, between the species of pigs and particular pigs, between the species of sheep and particular sheep, and so on with all the rest. In them the universality of God's fairness is manifest. Furthermore all plants of whatever sort are sown equally in the earth. Common nourishment grows for all beasts which feed on the earth's produce; to all it is alike. It is regulated by no law, but rather is harmoniously available to all through the gift of him who gives it and makes it to grow.

"And for birth there is no written law (for otherwise it would have been transcribed). All beings beget and give birth alike, having received by God's righteousness an innate equality. The Creator and Father of all with his own righteousness appointed this, just as he gave equally the eye to all to enable them to see. He did not make a distinction between female and male, rational and irrational, nor between anything and anything else at all; rather he shared out sight equally and universally. It was given to all alike by a single command. As the laws (he says) could not punish men who were ignorant of them, they taught men that they were transgressors. But the laws, by pre-supposing the existence of private property, cut up and destroyed the universal equality decreed by the divine law." As he does not understand the words of the apostle where he says "Through the law I knew sin," he says that the idea of Mine and Thine came into existence through the laws so that the earth and money were no longer put to common use. And so also with marriage. "For God has made vines for all to use in common, since they are not protected against sparrows and a thief; and similarly corn and the other fruits. But the abolition, contrary to divine law, of community of use and equality begat the thief of domestic animals and fruits.

8.He brought female to be with male and in the same way united all animals. He thus showed righteousness to be a universal fairness and equality .But those who have been born in this way have denied the universality which is the corollary of their birth and say, 'Let him who has taken one woman keep her,' whereas all alike can have her, just as the other animals do." After this, which is quoted word for word, he again continues in the same spirit as follows: "With a view to the permanence of the race, he has implanted in males a strong and ardent desire which neither law nor custom nor any other restraint is able to destroy. For it is God's decree."

And how can this man still be reckoned among our number when he openly abolishes both law and gospel by these words. The one says: "Thou shalt not commit adultery." The other says: "Everyone who looks lustfully has already committed adultery." The saying in the law, "Thou shalt not covet," It shows that one God is proclaimed by law, prophets, and gospel; for it says: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife." But for a Jew the "neighbour" is not a Jew, for he is a brother and has the same spirit. Therefore it remains that "neighbour" means one of another race. But how can he not be a neighbour who is able to share in the same spirit? For Abraham is father not only of the Hebrews, but also of the Gentiles.

If the adulteress and he who committed fornication with her are punished with death, clearly the command which says "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife" speaks of the Gen- tiles, in order that anyone who, as the law directs, abstains from his neighbour's wife and from his sister may hear clearly from the Lord, "But I say unto you, Thou shalt not lust." The addition of the word "I," however, shows the stricter force of the commandment, and that Carpocrates fights against God, and Epiphanes likewise. The latter in the same notorious book, I mean Concerning Righteousness, writes in one passage as follows: "Consequently one must understand the saying 'Thou shalt not covet' as if the lawgiver was making a jest, to which he added the even more comic words 'thy neighbour's goods'. For he himself who gave the desire to sustain the race orders that it is to be suppressed, though he removes it from no other animals. And by the words 'thy neighbour's wife' he says something even more ludicrous, since he forces what should be common property to be treated as a private possession."

These then are the doctrines of the excellent Carpocratians. These, so they say, and certain other enthusiasts for the same wickednesses, gather together for feasts (I would not call their meeting an Agape), men and women together. After they have sated their appetites ("on repletion Cypris, the goddess of love, enters,"21 as it is said), then they overturn the lamps and so extinguish the light that the shame of their adulterous

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"righteousness" is hidden, and they have intercourse where they will and with whom they will.23 After they have practiced community of use in this love-feast, they demand by daylight of whatever women they wish that they will be obedient to the law of Carpocrates-it would not be right to say the law of God. Such, I think, is the law that Carpocrates must have given for the copulations of dogs and pigs and goats. He seems to me to have misunderstood the saying of Plato in the Republic24 that the women of all are to be common. Plato means that the unmarried are common for those who wish to ask them, as also the theatre is open to the public for all who wish to see, but that when each one has chosen his wife, then the married woman is no longer common to all.

In his book entitled Magica Xanthus says: "The Magi think it permissible to have sexual intercourse with mothers and daughters and sisters, and that wives are to be held in common, not by force and in secret, but both parties may agree when one man wishes to marry another's wife. "Of these and other similar sects Jude, I think, spoke prophetically in his letter- "In the same way also these dreamers" (for they do not seek to find the truth in the light of day) as far as the words "and their mouth speaks arrogant things."

CHAPTER 3

If Plato himself and the Pythagoreans, as indeed later also followers of Marcion, regard birth as something evil (though the last named was far from thinking that wives were to be held in common), yet by the Marcionites nature is regarded as evil because it was created out of evil matter and by a just Creator. On this ground, that they do not wish to fill the world made by the Creator-God, they decide to abstain from marriage. Thus they are in opposition to their Maker and hasten towards him who is called the good God, but not to the God, as they say, of the other kind. As they wish to leave nothing of their own behind them on this earth, they are continent, not of their own free choice, but from hatred of the Creator, being unwilling to use what he has made. But these folk, who in their blasphemous fight against God have abandoned natural reasoning, and despise the long-suffering and goodness of God, even if they do not wish to marry, use the food made by the Creator and breathe his air; for they are his works and dwell in his world. They say they have received the gospel of the knowledge of the Strange God; yet at least they ought to acknowledge gratitude to the. Lord of the world because they receive this gospel on this earth.

But we shall give a detailed answer to these people when we discuss the doctrine of First Principles. The philosophers whom we have mentioned, from whom the Marcionites blasphemously derived their doctrine that birth is evil, on which they then plumed themselves as if it were their own idea, do not hold that it is evil by nature, but only for the soul which has perceived the truth. For they think the soul is divine and has come down here to this world as a place of punishment. In their view souls which have become embodied need to be purified. But this doctrine is not that of the Marcionites, but of those who believe that the souls are enclosed in bodies and change from this prison and undergo transmigration. There will be an opportunity to reply to these when we come to speak about the soul.

It is clear that Heraclitus regards birth as something evil when he says: "When men are born they are fain to live and suffer death," or rather go to their rest, "and they leave children who also suffer death." Empedocles is obviously in agreement with him when he says:

"When I saw the place, so strange it was, I wept and wailed."

And further:

"For out of the living he made the dead, changing their forms."

And again;

"O woe, unhappy race of mortals, wretched men!

Out of what kind of dissensions and groans were you born!"

And the Sibyl also says:

"Mortal men are ye, and fleshly, being nothing," like the poet who writes:

"Earth nurtures nothing weaker than a man."

Moreover Theognis shows that birth is evil when he speaks as follows:

"For mortals best it is not to be born at all

And never to see the rays of the bright sun,

But if born to pass the gates of Hades as soon as possible."

With this agrees also the tragic poet Euripides when he writes:

"Where a man is born we ought to assemble only to bewail His lot in coming into so much evil.

But when one dies and comes to the end of troubles

Then we should rejoice and praise his happy departure."

And again he says the same in these words:

"Who knows if life be not in truth but death And death be life."

Herodotus, it is clear, makes Solon say the same as this: "O Croesus, every man is a misfortune." And his myth about Cleobis and Biton has obviously no other intention than to disparage birth and praise death. " As scattered leaves, so is mankind," says Homer.41 And in the Cratylus Plato attributes to Orpheus the doctrine that the soul in this body is suffering punishment. This is what he says: "Some say that the body is a tomb of the soul, as being buried in it for the present life. And because the soul expresses (semainei) by this body whatever it may wish to express, so it is rightly called a tomb (sema). The Orphics, in particular, seem to have given it this name, as they think the soul suffers punishment for its misdeeds,"

It is also worth mentioning the remark of Philolaus. This Pythagorean speaks as follows: "The ancient theologians and seers testify that the soul is conjoined to the body to suffer certain punishments, and is, as it were, buried in this tomb." And Pindar speaks of the Eleusinian mysteries as follows: "Blessed is he who has seen before he goes under the earth; for he knows the end of life and knows also its divine beginning. Similarly in the Phaedo Plato does not hesitate to write as follows: "And these men who established our mysteries. . ." down to the words "and will dwell with the gods." And what when he says, "As long as we have still the body and our soul is involved in such evil, shall we never have sufficient possession of that which we desire?" Does he not hint that birth is the cause; of the worst evils? And in the Phaedo he bears witness again: "All who have rightly been concerned with philosophy run the risk that other men will fail to notice that their sole object is to pursue death and dying."

And in another place: " Accordingly here the soul of the philosopher mostly disregards his body and flees from it, and seeks to be existent by itself." Does he not agree to some extent with the divine apostle when he says, "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from this body of death?" unless he speaks of "body of death" in a figurative sense to refer to the agreement of those who have been enticed into evil. And that sexual intercourse, as the cause of birth, was rejected long before Marcion by Plato is clear from the first book of the Republic. For after praising old age he continues: "Mark it well, for me the more the other pleasures of the body fade away, the more grow the desires and pleasures of rational enquiry." And with reference to sex relations: "Be silent, O man, it is with the greatest joy that I escaped from it-as if I had escaped from a wild and raging tyrant."

Again in the Phaedo he disparages birth when he writes of "the doctrine which is secretly taught about this that we men are in a sort of prison." And again, "Those who are manifestly distinguished for their holiness of life are liberated from these places on earth and are set free as if this earth were a prison, and go to the pure home above." Nevertheless, although he says this, he perceives that the administration of this world is good, and says: "One ought not to set oneself free and run away."And to sum up briefly, he has given Marcion no opening for his view that matter is evil, when he himself reverently says of the world, "All that is good the world has received from him who has composed it; but from its previous state arise all the recalcitrant and unjust things in the heaven and from this it derives these elements and causes them in living beings."

20. With even greater clarity he adds: "The cause of these things was the material element in the world's constitution, which was at one time bound up with its ancient nature. For before it came into its present ordered state it was in a condition of great chaos." To the same effect in the Laws he laments the of men saying: "The gods had mercy on mankind which born for trouble, and to give them rest from their labours appointed the changing cycle of feasts." And in the Epinomis discusses the causes of this pitiful condition and says this:)m the beginning birth was difficult for every human being; to get to the state of being an embryo, then to be born, and l to be nourished and educated, all this is attended by count- pains, as we all agree."

What then? Does not Heraclitus call birth death, just as Pythagoras and Socrates in the Gorgias, when he says: "Death is what we see when we are awake; and what we see in our sleep is a dream." But enough of this. When we discuss First Principles we consider the difference between the views of the philosophers and those of the Marcionites. But I think I have shown clearly enough that Marcion took from Plato the starting-point of his "strange" doctrines, without either grateful acknowledgment or understanding.

Now we may continue our discussion about continence. We were saying that from a dislike of its inconveniences the Greeks have made many adverse observations about the birth of children, and that the Marcionites have interpreted them in a godless sense and are ungrateful to their Creator. For the tragedy says:

"For mortals it is better not to be born than to be born;

Children I bring to birth with bitter pains; And then when I have borne them they lack understanding.

In vain I groan, that I must look on wicked offspring

While I lose the good. If the good survive, My wretched heart is melted by alarm.

What is this goodness then? Is it not enough That I should care for one alone

And bear the pain for this one soul?"

And further to the same effect

"So now I think and have long so thought Man ought never children to beget, Seeing into what agonies we are born."

But in the following verses he clearly attributes the cause of evil to the primal origins, when he speaks as follows:

"O thou who art born for misfortune and disaster, thou art born a man, and thine unhappy life thou didst receive from the place where the air of heaven, which gives breath to mortals, first began to give food for all. Complain not of thy mortal state, thou who art mortal."

Again he puts the same idea in these words:

"No mortal is content and happy

Nor is any born free from sorrow."

And then again:

"Alas, alas, how many are the chances of mortal calamity! How many forms it takes! None can tell the end."

And further likewise:

"Of what is mortal there is nothing which is happy without end."

It is asserted that on this ground the Pythagoreans exercised abstinence. But to me, on the contrary, it seems that they marry for the sake of procreating children, but after they have begotten children they desire to control sexual indulgence. That is why they give the mysterious command to abstain from beans, not because pulse leads to flatulence and is indigestible and causes troubled dreams, nor because the bean is shaped like a man's head; as the verse has it, "It is alike to eat beans and the head of one's parents." The real reason is that if beans are eaten they make women barren. At any rate Theophrastus in the fifth book of his Causes of Plants relates that if the pods of beans are put round the roots of newly planted trees the shoots dry up and that if birds that live round houses are continuously fed on beans they become unable to lay eggs.

CHAPTER 4

Of the heretics we mentioned Marcion of Pontus as forbidding the use of this world's goods on the ground of opposition to the Creator. The Creator himself is thus the reason for continence, if this can be called continence; for this giant o thinks he can resist God is not continent by an act of free choice, in that he attacks the creation and the process by which n is formed. If they quote the Lord's words to Philip, "Let dead bury their dead, but do thou follow me," they ought to consider that Philip's flesh is also formed in the same way; body is not a polluted corpse. How then could he have a body of flesh which is not a corpse? Because he rose from the tomb when the Lord killed his passions, and he began to live unto Christ. We also mentioned the blasphemous immorality of Carpocrates. But when we spoke about the saying of Nicolaus we omitted to say this. Nicolaus, they say, had a lovely wife. When after the Saviour's ascension he was accused before the apostles of jealousy, he brought his wife into the concourse and allowed anyone who so desired to marry her. For, they say, this action was appropriate to the saying: "One must abuse the flesh." Those who share his heresy follow both his action and his words simply and without qualification by indulging in the gravest enormity.

I am informed, however, that Nicolaus never had relations with any woman other than the wife he married, and that of his children his daughters remained virgins to their old age, and his son remained uncorrupted. In view of this it was an act of suppression of passion when he brought before the apostles the wife on whose account he was jealous. He taught what it meant to "abuse the flesh" by restraining the distracting passions. For, as the Lord commanded, he did not wish to serve two masters, pleasure and God. It is said that Matthias also taught that one should fight the flesh and abuse it, never allowing it to give way to licentious pleasure, so that the soul might grow by faith and knowledge.

There are some who call Aphrodite Pandemos [i.e., physical love] a mystical communion. This is an insult to the name of communion. To do something wrong is called an action, just as also to do right is likewise called an action. Similarly communion is good when the word refers to sharing of money and food and clothing. But they have impiously called by the name of communion any common sexual intercourse. The story goes that one of them came to a virgin of our church who had a lovely face and said to her: "Scripture says, 'Give to everyone that asks you.'" She, however, not understanding the lascivious intention of the man gave the dignified reply: "On the subject of marriage, talk to my mother." What godlessness! Even the words of the Lord are perverted by these immoral fellows, the brethren of lust, a shame not only to philosophy but to all human life, who corrupt the truth, or rather destroy it; as far as they can. These thrice wretched men treat carnal and sexual intercourse as a sacred religious mystery, and think that it will bring them to the kingdom of God.

It is to the brothels that this "communion" leads. They can have pigs and goats as their associates. Those who have most to hope from them are the public harlots who shamelessly receive all who want to come to them. "But you have not so learned Christ, if you have heard him and have been taught by

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him as the truth is in Christ Jesus; put off with the ways of your former life your old man which is corrupted by the deceitful lusts. Be renewed in the spirit of your mind and put on the new man which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness," so as to be made like unto God. "Be therefore imitators of God, as dear children, and walk in love as Christ also loved us and gave himself for us as an offering and sacrifice to God for a sweet smelling savor. But fornication and all impurity and covetousness and shamefulness and foolish talk, let them not be mentioned among you as is fitting for saints." Moreover, the apostle teaches us to be chaste in speech when he writes, "Know this well that no fornicator. . ." and so on as far as the words "but rather expose them."

They derived their doctrines from an apocryphal work. I will quote the text which is the mother of their licentiousness. And whether they themselves, I mean the authors of the book, bare responsible (see their madness, for by their licence they do grievous wrong to God) or whether they derived their ideas from some others whom they fell in with, they have taken a sound doctrine and perversely misapplied it. The passage reads as follows: "All things were one; but as it seemed good to its f unity not to be alone, an idea came forth from it, and it had intercourse with it and made the beloved. In consequence of this there came forth from him an idea with which he had intercourse and made powers which cannot be seen or heard. .." ; down to the words "each by her own name." If these people spoke of acts of spiritual union like the Valentinians, perhaps one could accept their view. But to suppose that the holy prophets spoke of carnal and wanton intercourse is the way of a man who has renounced salvation.

These are also the doctrines of the adherents of Prodicus, who falsely entitle themselves gnostics, asserting that they are by nature sons of the first God. But they misuse their noble birth and freedom and life as they desire. And their desire is for pleasure, thinking that no one is superior to them, as they are lords of the sabbath and are royal sons far above the rest of mankind. To a king, they say, there is no law prescribed. But in the first place they cannot do all they desire since there is much to prevent them, however much they desire and essay to do it. And even what they can do, they do not like kings, but like cringing slaves. For it is only in secret that they commit adultery, as they are scared of being caught. They want to avoid condemnation and are afraid of punishment. What freedom is there in their license and filthy talk? "Everyone who sins is a slave," says the apostle.

The Lord has said: "But I say unto you, you shall not lust." How then can he live according to God's will who surrenders himself to every desire? And is a man to decide of his own free will that he can sin, and lay it down as a principle that one may commit adultery and revel in sin and break up other men's marriages, when we even take pity on others if they fall into sin against their will? And if they regard the world into which they have come as an alien country they will not possess the truth if they have not been faithful in that which is another's. Does a foreign visitor insult the citizens and do them injury? Does he not rather behave as a guest and conform to the necessary rules, living without causing offence to the citizens? And how can they say that they alone know God when they do the same things as those who are loathed by the heathen because they do not do what the laws direct, that is, as the wicked and incontinent and covetous and adulterous? They ought to live good lives even while they are dwelling in an alien country, to manifest their truly kingly nature.

But because they have chosen to disobey the laws, they make themselves objects of hatred both to human lawgivers and to the law of God. At any rate in Numbers the man who thrust his spear into the fornicator is evidently blessed by God. And John says in his epistle: "If we say that we have fellowship with him and walk in darkness, we lie and do not the truth; but if we walk in the light as he is in the light, we have fellowship with him, and the blood of Jesus his Son cleanses us from sin."

How then are they who do these things superior to worldly men when they behave like the very worst men of this world? Those whose actions are alike are in my opinion of like nature. Those who think they are superior to others by their nobility of birth ought to be superior to them also in their moral characters, that they may escape incarceration in the prison. For indeed as the Lord said: "Except your righteousness exceed that of the scribes and Pharisees, you shall not enter the kingdom of God." However, abstinence from food is exemplified in the book of Daniel. And to sum up in a word, concerning obedience David speaks in the Psalms: "How shall a young man correct his way?" And at once he hears "by keeping thy word with his whole heart." And Jeremiah says: "Thus saith the Lord, You shall not walk in the ways of the heathen."

Because of this certain other depraved and worthless fellows have been impelled to assert that man was formed by various powers, and that down as far as the navel his body shows the work of godlike craftsmanship, but his lower parts indicate inferior workmanship. In consequence of the latter man has a sexual impulse. They fail to observe that the upper parts also want food and in some men are lustful. And they contradict Christ when he said to the Pharisees that the same God made both our outer and our inner man. Moreover, desire is not a bodily thing, though it occurs because of the body.

Certain others, whom we may call Antitactae [i.e., opponents], assert that the God of the universe is our Father by nature, and all that he has made is good. But one of the beings made by him sowed tares and so caused the origin of evils. He involved us all in them and so made us opponents of the Father. Therefore even we ourselves are set in opposition to him to avenge the Father, and act contrary to the will of the second. Since, then, the latter has said, "Thou shalt not commit adultery," Let us, say they, commit adultery to abolish his commandment.

To them we would say: We have been taught to recognize by their works false prophets and all who merely pretend to the truth. And your works tell against you. How can you still assert that you adhere to the truth? For either nothing evil exists, in which case there is no question of finding fault with him whom you attack as being in opposition to God, and he is not the originator of anything evil (both the fruit and the tree are done away together), or, if wickedness really does exist, let them tell us what they have to say of the commandments given to us about righteousness, self-control, patience, long suffering, and other such virtues, whether they think them bad or good? If the command is bad which forbids one to do almost all that is disgraceful, then evil must enact laws against itself in order t(l destroy its own fruit, which is impossible. If it is good, by opposing good commandments they must confess that they are opposing what is right and doing wrong.

But the Saviour himself, whom alone they think one should obey, has forbidden hatred and reviling and says: "When you go with your adversary to court, try to achieve a friendly reconciliation with him." Accordingly, they will either refuse to accept Christ's exhortation, in that they are in opposition to the adversary, or they will become his friends and cease to oppose him. What then? Do you not realize, my worthy friends (I speak as if you were present with me) that by conflict with these excellent commandments you fight against your own salvation? You overturn yourselves, not these beneficial instructions. The Lord said, "Let your good works shine out." But you make your licentiousness manifest to all. Besides, if your aim is to destroy the lawgiver's commands, why is it the commands "Thou shalt not commit adultery" and "Thou shalt not corrupt boys," and all the commandments enjoining purity, which through your incontinence you seek to destroy? Why do you not abolish winter, which he made, and make it summer when it is still midwinter, and make dry land navigable and the sea pass- able on foot, as the historians say Xerxes the barbarian desired to do?

Why do you not oppose all the commandments? For he says, "Increase and multiply." you who are opposed to him ought to abstain from sexual relations altogether. And if he says, "I have given you all things for food and enjoyment," you ought to enjoy nothing at all. Moreover, he says, "An eye for an eye." you ought not, therefore, to repay opposition with opposition. If he tells the thief to restore fourfold, you ought even to give something to the thief. Similarly again, you who oppose the command "Thou shalt love the Lord" ought not to love the God of the universe at all. And if he says, "Thou shalt not make any graven or molten image," it follows that you ought to bow down to graven images. Are you not blasphemous, therefore, when you oppose, as you say, the Creator, and endeavour to do the same as fornicators and adulterers? Do you not perceive that you make him all the greater whom you regard as weak if what is taking place is what he wishes and not what the good God wills? For, on the contrary, your father, as you call him, is shown to be weak by you yourselves.

These folk also collect extracts from the prophets, making a selection and mischievously stringing them together. They interpret in a literal sense sayings intended to be understood allegorically. It is written, they say, "They resisted God and were saved." But they add the "shameless" God, and interpret this saying as if it gave them advice, thinking it will bring them salvation if they resist the Creator. In fact, scripture does not mention the " shameless" God. And if it did, you fools, you should have understood the word "shameless" to refer to him who is called the devil, either because he slanders men, or because he accuses sinners, or because he is an apostate. The people to whom the passage refers were unwilling to be punished for their sins, and they spoke the words quoted in a spirit of complaining and grumbling, on the ground that other nations were not punished when they transgressed, and that on every occasion they alone were humiliated, so that even Jeremiah said, "Why is the way of the ungodly easy?" Similar in sense to this is the saying in Malachi which has been quoted: "They resisted God and were saved." In uttering their oracles the prophets do not only say that they have heard some message from God; it is also evident that they take up phrases in common use among the people and reply to them, as if they were reporting certain questions raised by them. The saying under discussion is an instance of this.

Perhaps it is such people that the apostle attacks in the epistle to the Romans when he writes: " And not as we are blasphemously accused and some assert that we say, Let us do evil that good may come, an argument which is rightly condemned." These are they who when reading the Bible pervert the sense to their own desires by their tone of voice, and by changing certain accents and marks of punctuation twist words that are wise and useful to conform to their own lusts. "You who provoke God with your words," says Malachi, "have even said Wherein have we provoked him? In this, that you have said, Anyone who does evil is good in the Lord's sight, and he is well pleased with them; and, Where is the God of righteousness?"

CHAPTER 5

It is not our aim to pursue this subject in further detail and to mention further senseless heresies. To put them to shame we should be forced to deal with each one, and to state our objections to each point, which would extend these notes to an un- conscionable length. Accordingly we may divide all the heresies into two groups in making answer to them. Either they teach that one ought to live on the principle that it is a matter of indifference whether one does right or wrong, or they set a too ascetic tone and proclaim the necessity of continence on the ground of opinions which are godless and arise from hatred of what God has created. First we may discuss the former group. If it is lawful to live any sort of life one likes, obviously one may live in continence; or if any kind of life has no dangers for the elect, obviously one of virtue and self-control is far less dangerous. If the "lord of the sabbath" has been given the right to pass uncorrected if he lives an immoral life, a fortiori there will be no correction for him who behaves decently. "All things are lawful, but all things are not expedient," says the apostle. If all things are lawful, obviously this includes self-control.

Therefore if one who uses his power to live a virtuous life receives praise, then much more worthy of reverence and honour is he who has given us this free and sovereign power and has allowed us to live as we choose, not allowing us to become en- slaved and subjected to necessity by our acts of choice and rejection. But if both can have no anxiety, he who chooses incontinence and he who chooses abstinence, yet the honour is not equal. He who indulges his pleasures gratifies his body; but he who is controlled liberates from its passions his soul which is master of the body. And if they tell us that we are called to freedom, only let us not use our freedom as an opportunity for the flesh, as the apostle says. If lust is to be gratified and a life of sin regarded as morally neutral, as they say, either we ought to indulge our desires in every direction and, if this is our desire, do the most lascivious and immoral acts, in that we are following our instincts in every way; or we may suppress certain desires and live no longer a life which recognizes no distinction of right and wrong, nor be absolute slaves to our most dishonourable members, the stomach and the private parts, gratifying our carcase for the sake of desire. For desire is nourished and invigorated if it is encouraged in indulgence, just as, on the other hand, it loses strength if it is kept in check.

But how is it possible to become like the Lord and have knowledge of God if one is subject to physical pleasures? Every pleasure is the consequence of an appetite, and an appetite is a certain pain and anxiety, caused by need, which requires some object. In my opinion those who choose this kind of life are simply "suffering pain to their shame," as the well-known verse puts it, choosing evil which they bring upon themselves, now and hereafter. If, then, all things were lawful and one need have no fear that because of one's wicked deeds one's hope of salvation would be lost, perhaps they might have some excuse for living this wicked and wretched life. But through the commandments a life of blessedness is shown to us. We must all keep to them without misinterpreting any of the words or neglecting any of our duties, however minute. We must follow where the word leads; and if we depart from it, we must fall into "endless evil." And by following the divine scripture, the path by which believers travel, we are to be made like unto the Lord as far as possible. We must not live as if there were no difference between right and wrong, but, to the best of our power, must purify ourselves from indulgence and lust and take care for our soul which must continually be devoted to the Deity alone. For when it is pure and set free from all evil the mind is somehow capable of receiving the power of God and the divine image is set up in it. " And everyone who has this hope in the Lord purifies himself," says the Scripture, "even as he is pure."

To attain the knowledge of God is impossible for those who are still under the control of their passions. Therefore they cannot attain the salvation they hope for as they have not obtained any knowledge of God. He who fails to attain this end is clearly subject to the charge of being ignorant of God, and ignorance of God is shown by a man's manner of life. It is absolutely impossible at the same time to be a man of understanding and not to be ashamed to gratify the body.

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Nor can the view that pleasure is the supreme Good be reconciled with the view that only the beautiful is good, or that only the Lord is beautiful, and God alone is good and is alone to be loved. "You are circumcised in Christ with a circumcision not done with hands, which consists rather in the putting away of the carnal body, in the circumcision of Christ."

"If you then are risen with Christ, seek those things which are above; have in mind higher things, not earthly things. For you are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God" --but not the fornication which they practice. "Mortify therefore your earthly members, fornication, uncleanness, passion, lust; for on account of these wrath is coming." Let them also therefore "put away anger, wrath, wickedness, blasphemy, filthy talk from their mouth, putting off the old man with its lusts, and putting on the new man which is renewed to possess full knowledge according to the image of him who created it."

It is the manner of life which shows up those who know the commandments; for as a man's word is, so is his life. The tree is known by its fruit, not by its blossom and leaves. Knowledge, then, comes from the fruit and from behaviour, not from talk and from blossom. We say that knowledge is not mere talk, but a certain divine knowledge, that light which is kindled in the soul as a result of obedience to the commandments, and which reveals all that is in a state of becoming, enables man to know himself and teaches him to become possessed of God. What the eye is in the body, knowledge is in the mind. Let them not call bondage to pleasure freedom, as if bitterness were sweet. We have learnt to recognize as freedom that which the Lord alone confers on us when he liberates us from lusts and desires and the other passions. "He who says, I know the Lord, and does not keep his commandments, is a liar and the truth is not in him," says John.

CHAPTER 6

To those, on the other hand, who under a pious cloak blaspheme by their continence both the creation and the holy Creator, the almighty, only God, and teach that one must reject marriage and begetting of children, and should not bring others in their place to live in this wretched world, nor give any sustenance to death, our reply is as follows. We may first quote the word of the apostle John: "And now are many antichrists come, whence we know that it is the last hour. They went out from us, but they were not of us. For if they had been of us, they would have remained with US." Next we may destroy their case on the ground that they pervert the sense of the books they quote, as follows. When Salome asked the Lord: "How long shall death hold sway?" he answered: "As long as you women bear children." Her words do not imply that this life is evil and the' creation bad, and his reply only teaches the ordinary course of nature. For birth is invariably followed by death.

The task of the law is to deliver us from a dissolute life and all disorderly ways. Its purpose is to lead us from unrighteousness to righteousness, so that it would have us self-controlled in marriage, in begetting children, and in general behavior. The Lord is not "come to destroy the law but to fulfill it."

"To fulfill" does not imply that it was defective, but that by his coming the prophecies of the law are accomplished, since before the law the demand for right conduct was proclaimed by the Logos to those also who lived good lives. The multitude who know nothing of continence live for the body, not for the spirit. But the body without spirit is "earth and ashes." Now the Lord judges adultery which is only committed in thought. What then? Is it not possible to remain continent even in the married state and not to seek to "put asunder what God has joined together" For such is the teaching of those who divide the yoke of marriage, by reason of whom the Christian name is blasphemed. If it is the view of these people who themselves owe their existence to sexual relations that such relations are impure, must not they be impure? But I hold that even the seed of the sanctified is holy.

In us it is not only the spirit which ought to be sanctified, but also our behaviour, manner of life, and our body. What does the apostle Paul mean when he says that the wife is sanctified by the husband and the husband by the wife? And what is the meaning of the Lord's words to those who asked concerning divorce whether it is lawful to put away one's wife as Moses commanded? "Because of the hardness of your hearts," he says, "Moses wrote this; but have you not read that God said to the first man, You two shall be one flesh? Therefore he who divorces his wife except for fornication makes her an adulteress." But "after the resurrection," he says, "they neither marry nor are given in marriage." Moreover, concerning the belly and its food it is written: "Food is for the belly and the belly for food; but God shall destroy both the one and the other ." In this saying he attacks those who think they can live like wild pigs and goats, lest they should indulge their physical appetites without restraint.

If, as they say, they have already attained the state of resurrection, and on this account reject marriage let them neither eat nor drink. For the apostle says that in the resurrection the belly and food shall be destroyed. Why then do they hunger and thirst and suffer the weaknesses of the flesh and all the other needs which will not affect the man who through Christ has attained to the hoped for resurrection? Furthermore those who worship idols abstain both from food and from sexual intercourse. "But the kingdom of God does not consist in eating and drinking," he says. And indeed the Magi make a point of abstaining from wine and the meat of animals and from sexual intercourse while they are worshipping angels and daemons. But just as humility consists in meekness and not in treating one's body roughly, so also continence is a virtue of the soul which is not manifest to others, but is in secret.

There are some who say outright that marriage is fornication and teach that it was introduced by the devil. They proudly say that they are imitating the Lord who neither married nor had any possession in this world, boasting that. they understand the gospel better than anyone else. The Scripture says to them: "God resists the proud but gives grace to the humble." Further, they do not know the reason why the Lord did not marry .In the first place he had his own bride, the Church; and in the next place he was no ordinary man that he should also be in need of some helpmeet after the flesh. Nor was it necessary for him to beget children since he abides eternally and was born the only Son of God. It is the Lord himself who says: "That which God has joined together, let no man put asunder." And again: "As it was in the days of Noah, they were marrying, and giving in marriage, building and planting, and as it was in the days of Lot, so shall be the coming of the Son of man." And to show that he is not referring to the heathen he adds: "When the Son of man is come, shall he find faith on the earth?" And again: "Woe to those who are with child and are giving suck in those days," a saying, I admit, to be understood allegorically. The reason why he did not determine "the times which the Father has appointed by his own power" was that the world might continue from generation to generation.

Concerning the words, "Not all can receive this saying. There are some eunuchs who were born so, and some who were made eunuchs by men, and some who have made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of heaven; let him receive it who can receive it," they do not realise the context. After his word about divorce some asked him whether, if that is the position in relation to woman, it is better not to marry; and it was then that the Lord said: "Not all can receive this saying, but those to whom it is granted." What the questioners wanted to know was whether, when a man's wife has been condemned for fornication, it is allowable for him to marry another.

It is said, however, that several athletes abstained from sexual intercourse, exercising continence to keep their bodies in training, as Astylos of Croton and Crison of Himera. Even the cithara-player, Amoebeus, though newly married, kept away from his bride. And Aristotle of Cyrene was the only man to disdain the love of Lais when she fell for him.

As he had sworn to the courtesan that he would take her to his home country if she rendered him some assistance against his antagonists, when she had rendered it, he kept his oath in an amusing manner by painting the closest possible likeness of her and setting it up in Cyrene. The story is told by Istros in his book on The Peculiarity of Athletic Contests. Therefore there is nothing meritorious about abstinence from marriage unless it arises from love to God. At any rate the blessed Paul says of those who revile marriage: "In the last times some shall depart from the faith, turning to spirits of error and doctrines inspired by daemons, forbidding to marry and commanding abstinence from food." And again he says: "Let no one disqualify you by demanding self-imposed ascetic practices and severe treatment of the body." And the same writer has this also: "Are you bound to a wife? Do not seek to be separated from her? Are you free from any wife? Do not seek to find one." And again: "Let every man have his own wife lest Satan tempt you."

How then? Did not the righteous in ancient times partake of what God made with thanksgiving? Some begat children and lived chastely in the married state. To Elijah the ravens brought bread and meat for food. And Samuel the prophet brought as food for Saul the remnant of the thigh, of which he had already eaten. But whereas they say that they are superior to them in behaviour and conduct, they cannot even be compared with them in their deeds. "He who does not eat," then, "let him not despise him who eats; and he who eats let him not judge him who does not eat; for God has accepted him." Moreover, the Lord says of himself: "John came neither eating nor drinking, and they say, He has a devil. The Son of man came eating and drinking and they say, Behold a gluttonous man and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and a sinner."

Or do they also scorn the apostles? Peter and Philip had children, and Philip gave his daughters in marriage.

Even Paul did not hesitate in one letter to address his consort. The only reason why he did not take her about with him was that it would have been an inconvenience for his ministry. Accordingly he says in a letter: "Have we not a right to take about with us a wife that is a sister like the other apostles?" But the latter, in accordance with their particular ministry, devoted themselves to preaching without any distraction, and took their wives with them not as women with whom they had marriage relations, but as sisters, that they might be their fellow-ministers in dealing with housewives. I t was through them that the Lord's teaching penetrated also the women's quarters without any scandal being aroused. We also know the directions about women deacons which are given by the noble Paul in his second letter to Timothy. Furthermore, the selfsame man cried aloud that "the kingdom of God does not consist in food and drink," not indeed in abstinence from wine and meat, "but in righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit." Which of them goes about like Elijah clad in a sheepskin and a leather girdle? Which of them goes about like Isaiah, naked except for a piece of sacking and without shoes? Or clothed merely in a linen loincloth like Jeremiah? Which of them will imitate John's gnostic way of life? The blessed prophets also lived in this manner and were thankful to the Creator .

The "righteousness" of Carpocrates, however, and those like him who pursue immoral "communion" is to be refuted by an argument along the following lines. Immediately after the words "Give to him that asks you," he continues: " And do not turn away from him who wishes to borrow ."Thus it is this kind of communion which he is teaching, not the immoral kind. How can there be one who asks and receives and borrows unless there is someone who possesses and gives and lends? What, then, is the position when the Lord says, "I was hungry and you fed me, I was thirsty and you gave me drink, I was a stranger and you took me in, naked and you clothed me," after which he adds "inasmuch as you did it to one of these little ones, you did it to me"? And does he not lay down the same principle in the Old Testament? "He who gives to the poor lends to God," and "Do not avoid giving to the needy," he says.

And again: "Let not your almsgiving and faithfulness lapse." And: "Poverty brings a man low, but the hands of the energetic are made rich." And he adds: "Behold the man who has not given his money on usury is accepted." And does he not declare expressly, " A man's wealth is judged to be his soul's ransom"? Just as the world is composed of opposites, of heat and cold, dry and wet, so also is it made up of givers and receivers. Again when he says, "If you would be perfect, sell your possessions and give to the poor," he convicts the man who boasts that he has kept all the commandments~ from his youth up. For he had not fulfilled "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." Only then was he taught by the Lord who wished to make him perfect, to give for love's sake.

Accordingly he has not forbidden us to be rich in the right way, but only a wrongful and insatiable grasping of money. For "property gained unlawfully is diminished." "There are some who sow much and gain the more, and those who hoard become impoverished." Of them it is written: "He distributed, he gave to the poor, his righteousness endures for ever." For he who sows and gathers more is the man who by giving away his earthly and temporal goods has obtained a heavenly and eternal prize; the other is he who gives to no one, but vainly "lays up treasure on earth where moth and rust corrupt"; of him it is written: "In gathering motley, he has gathered it into a condemned cell." Of his land the Lord says in the gospel that it produced plentifully; then wishing to store the fruits he built larger store-houses, saying to himself in the words dramatically put into his mouth "You have many good things laid up for many years to come, eat, drink, and be merry. You fool," says the Lord, "this night your soul shall be required of you. Whose then shall be the things you have prepared?"

CHAPTER 7

The human ideal of continence, I mean that which is set forth by Greek philosophers, teaches that one should fight desire and not be subservient to it so as to bring it to practical effect. But our ideal is not to experience desire at all. Our aim is not that while a man feels desire he should get the better of it, but that he should be continent even respecting desire itself. This chastity cannot be attained in any other way except by God's grace. That was why he said "Ask and it shall be given you." This grace was received even by Moses, though clothed in his needy body, so that for forty days he felt neither thirst nor hunger. Just as it is better to be in good health than for a sick man to talk about health, so to be light is better than to discuss light, and true chastity is better than that taught by the philosophers. Where there is light there is no darkness. But where there is inward desire, even if it goes no further than desire and is quiescent so far as bodily action is concerned, union takes place in thought with the object of desire, although that object is not present.

Our general argument concerning marriage, food, and other matters, may proceed to show that we should do nothing from desire. Our will is to be directed only towards that which is necessary. For we are children not of desire but of will. A man who marries for the sake of begetting children must practise continence so that it is not desire he feels for his wife, whom he ought to love, and that he may beget children

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with a chaste and controlled will. For we have learnt not to "have thought for the flesh to fulfil its desires." We are to "walk honourably as in the way", that is in Christ and in the enlightened conduct of the Lord's way, "not in revelling and drunkenness, not in debauchery and lasciviousness, not in strife and envy."

However, one ought to consider continence not merely in relation to one form of it, that is, sexual relations, but in relation to all the other indulgences for which the soul craves when it is ill content with what is necessary and seeks for luxury. It is continence to despise money, softness, property, to hold in small esteem outward appearance, to control one's tongue, to master evil thoughts. In the past certain angels became incontinent and were seized by desire so that they fell from heaven to earth. And Valentine says in the letter .to Agathopus: "Jesus endured " all things and was continent; It was his endeavour to earn a divine nature; he ate and drank in a manner peculiar to himself, and the food did not pass out of his body. Such was the power of his continence that food was not corrupted within him; for he himself was not subject to the process of corruption." As for ourselves, we set high value on continence which arises from love to the Lord and seeks that which is good for its own sake, sanctifying the temple of the Spirit. It is good if for the sake of the kingdom of heaven a man emasculates himself from all desire, and "purifies his conscience from dead works to serve the living God."

But those who from a hatred for the flesh ungratefully long to have nothing to do with the marriage union and the eating of reasonable food, are both blockheads and atheists, and exercise an irrational chastity like the other heathen. For example, the Brahmans neither eat animal flesh nor drink wine. But some of them take food every way, as we do, while others do so only on every third day, as Alexander Polyhistor says in his Indian History. They despise deaths and reckon life of no account. For they are persuaded that there is a regeneration. The gods they worship are Heracles and Pan. And the Indians who are called Holy Men go naked throughout their entire life. They seek for the truth, and predict the future, and reverence a certain pyramid beneath which, they think, lie the bones of a certain god. Neither the Gymnosophists nor the so-called Holy Men have wives. They think sexual relations are unnatural and contrary to law. For this cause they keep themselves chaste. The Holy Women are also virgins. They observe, it seems, the heavenly bodies and from what they indicate foretell future events.

CHAPTER 8

Those who hold that for them there is no difference between right and wrong force a few passages of Scripture and think they favour their own immoral opinions. In particular they quote the saying: "Sin shall not have dominion over you; for you are not under the law but under grace," and others of this sort, which there is no reason to add, for I am not proposing to fit out a pirate ship. Let us then briefly put a stop to their argument. The noble apostle himself refutes the charge against him implied in their false exegesis by the words with which he continues after the saying just quoted: "What then? Shall we sin because we are not under the law but under grace? God forbid." In this inspired and prophetic way he at once destroys the device of these licentious sophists.

They fail to understand, it seems, that "we must all stand before the judgment seat of Christ that each man may be rewarded for what he has done with his body, whether it is good or bad," that is, in order that a man may receive his reward for what he has done by means of his body. So then, "if any man be in Christ he is a new creation," no longer inclined to sin ; "old things are passed away," we have washed off the old life; "behold new things have happened," there is chastity instead of fornication, continence instead of incontinence; righteousness instead of unrighteousness. "What is there in common between righteousness and lawlessness? Or what fellowship between light and darkness? Or what harmony between Christ and Belial? What community is there between a believer and an unbeliever? What agreement between the temple of God and idols? Having then these promises let us cleanse ourselves from all defilement of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God."

CHAPTER 9

Those who are opposed to God's creation, disparaging it under the fair name of continence, also quote the words to Salome which we mentioned earlier. They are found, I believe, in the Gospel according to the Egyptians. They say that the Saviour himself said "1 came to destroy the works of the female," meaning by "female" desire, and by "works" birth and corruption. What then would they say? Has this destruction in fact been accomplished? They could not say so, for the world continues exactly as before. Yet the Lord did not lie. For in truth he did destroy the works of desire, love of money, contentiousness, vanity, mad lust for women, paederasty, gluttony, licentious- ness, and similar vices. Their birth is the soul's corruption, since then we are "dead in sins." And this is the incontinence referred to as "female." Birth and the corruption chiefly involved in the creation must necessarily continue until the achievement of complete separation and the restoration of the elect, on whose account even the beings mingled with this world are restored to their proper condition.

64. It is probably therefore with reference to the consummation that Salome says: "Until when shall men die?" The Scripture uses the word "man" in two senses, the outward man and the soul, and again of him who is being saved and him who is not; and sin is said to be the death of the soul. That is why the Lord gave a cautious answer-" As long as women bear children," that is, as long as the desires are active. "Therefore, as through one man sin entered into the world, and through sin death came to all men, in that all sinned, and death reigned from Adam to Moses," says the apostle. By natural necessity in the divine plan death follows birth, and the coming together of soul and body is followed by their dissolution. If birth exists for the sake of learning and knowledge, dissolution leads to the final restoration. As woman is regarded as the cause of death because she brings to birth, so also for the same reason she may be called the originator of life.

In fact the woman who first began transgression was named "Life" because she became responsible for the succession of those who were born and fell into sin, the mother of righteous and unrighteous alike, since each one of us makes him- self either righteous or disobedient. On this account I for my part do not think the apostle was expressing disgust at life in the flesh when he said: "But with all boldness both now and ever Christ shall be magnified in my body, whether by life or by death. For to me to live is Christ and to die is gain. If, however, it is to be life in the flesh, that also means for me fruitful work. I do not know which I prefer. I am constrained on both sides: I have a desire to depart and to be with Christ, which is far better; but to abide in the flesh is more needful for your sakes." Here he showed clearly, I think, that the perfect reason for departing from the body is love for God, and that if one is to be in the flesh one should thankfully remain here for the sake of those who need salvation.

But why do they not go on to quote the words after those spoken to Salome, these people who do anything rather than walk according to the truly evangelical rule? For when she says, "I would have done better had I never given birth to a child," suggesting that she might not have been right in giving birth to a child, the Lord replies to her saying: "Eat of every plant, but eat not of that which has bitterness in it." For by this saying also he indicates that whether we are continent or married is a matter for our free choice and that there is no absolute prohibition which would impose continence upon us as a necessity. And he further makes it clear that marriage is co-operation with the work of creation.

Therefore a man ought not to think that marriage on rational principles is a sin, supposing that he does not look on the bringing up of children as being bitter (on the contrary to many childlessness is most grievous) ; but if a man regards the rearing of children as bitter because it distracts him from the things of God on account of the time it takes up, he may yet desire to marry because he does not take easily to a bachelor's life. What he wants to do is not harmful if it is done with self-control; and each one of us is master of his own will in deciding whether to beget children. But I am aware that because of marriage there are some who have kept clear of it and against the principles of holy knowledge have lapsed into hatred of humanity so that the spirit of charity has departed from them. There are others who have become absorbed by marriage and fulfil their desires in the indulgence which the law permits, and, as the prophet says, "have become like beasts."

CHAPTER 10

But who are the two or three gathered in the name of Christ in whose midst the Lord is? Does he not by the "three" mean husband, wife, and child? For a wife is bound to her husband by God. If, however, a man wishes to be undistracted, and prefers to avoid begetting children because of the business it involves, "let him remain unmarried," says the apostle, "even as I am." They explain that what the Lord meant was this. By the plurality he means the Creator, the God who is the cause of the world's existence; and by the one, the elect, he meant the Saviour who is Son of another God, the good God. But this is not correct. Through his Son, God is with those who are soberly married and have children. By the same mediation the same God is also with the man who exercises continence on rational grounds.

According to another view the three may be passion, desire, and thought; another interpretation makes them flesh, soul, and spirit.

Perhaps the triad mentioned refers to the called, and in the second place to the chosen, and in the third place to the race appointed to receive the greatest honour . With them is the power of God watching over all things which is indivisibly divided among them. He, then, who uses the soul's natural powers as is right, desires those things which are appropriate, and hates what is harmful, as the commandments prescribe: "Thou shalt bless him who blesses thee and curse him who curses thee." But when he has risen above these, passion and desire, and in very deed has begun to love the creation of the God and Creator of all things, then he will live a gnostic life, as he has become like the Saviour and has attained to a state of continence no longer maintained with difficulty. He has united knowledge, faith, and love. Thenceforth he is one in his judgment and truly spiritual, wholly incapable of thoughts arising from passion and desire, one who is to be made perfect after the image of the Lord by the artist himself, a perfect man, already worthy to be called a brother to the Lord as well as his friend and son. Thus the "two" and the "three" come together into one and the same thing -- a gnostic man.

The agreement of many, which is indicated by the number "three," with whom the Lord is present, might also be the one Church, the one man, and the one race. Or could it mean this? The Lord when he gave the law was with the one, that is the Jew. Later when he inspired the prophets and sent Jeremiah to Babylon and, moreover, called believers from the Gentiles by the teaching of the prophets, he brought the two peoples together. And was not the third the one which is made out of the two into a new man in which he walks and dwells, in the Church itself? And the law, the prophets, and also the gospel were brought together in Christ's name into a single knowledge. Accordingly, those who from hatred do not marry or from desire use the flesh as if it were not a matter of right and wrong,6 are not in the number of the saved with whom the Lord is present.

CHAPTER 11

The demonstration of these matters being concluded, let us - now quote all the Scriptures which oppose these heretical sophists, and show the right rule of continence that is preserved on grounds of reason. The man of understanding will find out the particular Scripture which deals with each individual heresy, and at the right time will quote it to refute those who teach doctrines contrary to the commandments. Right from the beginning the law, as we have already said, lays down the command, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife," long before the Lord's closely similar utterance in the New Testament, -- where the same idea is expressed in his own mouth: "You have heard that the law commanded, Thou shalt not commit adultery. But I say, Thou shalt not lust."9 That the law intended husbands to cohabit with their wives with self-control and only for the purpose of begetting children is evident from the prohibition which forbids the unmarried man from having immediate sexual relations with a captive woman. If the man has conceived a desire for her, he is directed to mourn for thirty days while she is to have her hair cut; if after this the desire has not passed off, then they may proceed to beget children, because the appointed period enables the overwhelming impulse to be tested and to become a rational act of will.

For this reason you could not point to any place in Scripture where one of the ancients approached a pregnant woman; later, after the child is born and weaned, you might find that marriage relations of husbands and wives were resumed. You will find that Moses' father kept this principle in mind. After Aaron's birth three years passed before Moses was born. Again, the tribe of Levi observed this law of nature given by God, although they were fewer in number than any others which came into the promised land. For a tribe does not easily grow to great numbers if their men have intercourse only within the legal marriage relationship and then wait until the end not only of pregnancy but also of breast-feeding.

It was, therefore, reasonable when Moses in his attempt to bring the Jews to continence by degrees, directed that after sexual intercourse they must abstain for three days before they heard the divine words. "We are God's temples; as the prophet said, I will dwell among them and walk among them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people," if our behaviour conforms to the commandments both as individuals and also as a society, as the Church. "Wherefore come out from among them and be separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you and be to you a Father, and you shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty." Is He prophetically commands us to be separate not from those who are married, as they assert, but from the heathen who are still living in immorality, and also from the heretics we have mentioned, as unclean and godless persons.

Hence Paul speaks against people who are like those I have mentioned, saying: "You have then these promises, beloved; let us cleanse ourselves from all defilement of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God." "For I am jealous for you with a divine jealousy, for I betrothed you to one husband to present a pure virgin to Christ." The Church cannot marry another, having obtained a bridegroom; but each of us individually has the right to marry the woman he wishes according to the law; I mean here first marriage. "1 am afraid lest, as the serpent in his craftiness deceived Eve, so also your thoughts may be corrupted from the simplicity which is toward Christ," said the apostle as a very careful and conscientious teacher .

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So also the admirable Peter says: "Beloved, I exhort you as strangers and pilgrims, to abstain from carnal lusts, which war against the soul, and conduct yourselves well among the heathen; for this is the will of God that by doing good you should put to silence the activity of foolish men, as free and not using your freedom as a covering for evil, but as God's slaves." Likewise also Paul in the Epistle to the Romans writes: "We who are dead to sin, how shall we any longer live in it? Because our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed," down to the words, "do not present your members as instruments of unrighteousness to sin."

While on this point I think I must not commit mention of the fact that the apostle declares that the same God is the God of the law, the prophets, and the gospel. In the Epistle to the Romans he quotes the gospel saying "Thou shalt not lust" as if it were from the law, knowing that it is the one Father who is preached by the law and the prophets. For he says: "What shall we say? Is the law sin? God forbid. I had not known sin except through the law; and I had not known lust unless the law had said, Thou shalt not lust." Even if the heretics who are opposed to the Creator suppose that in the next sentence Paul was speaking against him when he says, "I know that in me, that is in my flesh, there dwells no good thing," yet let them read what precedes and follows this. For before it he says, "But sin which dwells in me," which explains why it was appropriate for him to say, "in my flesh dwells no good thing."

In what follows he continues, "But if I do that which I do not wish to do, it is no longer I that do it, but sin which dwells in me," which being at war with the law of God and "of my mind," he says, "makes me captive by the law of sin which is in my members. O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from this body of death." And again (for he does not be- come in the least weary of being helpful) he does not hesitate to add, "For the law of the Spirit has set me free from the law of sin and death," since by his Son "God condemned sin in the flesh that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us who walk not after the flesh but after the Spirit." In addition to this he makes the point still clearer by saying emphatically, "The body is dead because of sin," indicating that if it is not the temple, it is still the tomb of the soul. For when it is dedicated to God, he adds, "the spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you, who shall also make alive your mortal bodies through his Spirit dwelling in you."

Again his remarks are directed against libertines when he continues as follows: "The mind of the flesh is death because those who live according to the flesh mind the things of the flesh, and the mind of the flesh is enmity against God. For it is not subject to the law of God. Those who are in the flesh cannot please God," not in the sense in which some teach, but in the sense which we have already explained. Then by contrast to this he says to the Church: "But you are not in the flesh but in the spirit, if the Spirit of God dwells in you. If any man has not Christ's Spirit, he is none of his. But if Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin, the Spirit is life because of righteousness. So then, brethren, we are under an obligation, not to the flesh to live after the flesh. If you live after the flesh you shall die. But if by the Spirit you mortify the deeds of the body, you shall live. For all who are led by the Spirit of God are sons of God." And against the "nobility of birth" and the "freedom" abominably taught by the heretics who make a boast of their licentiousness, he goes on to say: "You have not received the spirit of bondage that you should again be in fear, but you have received the spirit of sonship by which we cry, Abba, Father." That is, we have received the Spirit for this purpose, that we may know him to whom we pray, the true Father, the only Father of all that is, him who like a father educates us for salvation and destroys fear.

CHAPTER 12

If by agreement marriage relations are suspended for a time to give opportunity for prayer, this teaches continence. He adds the words "by agreement" lest anyone should dissolve his marriage, and the words "for a time" lest a married man, brought to continence by force, should then fall into sin; for if he spares his own wife he may fall into desire for another woman. On this principle he said that the man who thinks he is not behaving properly if he brings up his daughter to be unmarried, does right to give her in marriage. Whether a man becomes a celibate or whether he joins himself in marriage with a woman for the sake of having children, his purpose ought to be to re- main unyielding to what is inferior. If he can live a life of intense devotion, he will gain to himself great merit with God, since his continence is both pure and reasonable. But if he goes be- yond the rule he has chosen to gain greater glory, there is a danger that he may lose hope. Both celibacy and marriage have their own different forms of service and ministry to the Lord; I have in mind the caring for one's wife and children. For it seems that the particular characteristic of the married state is that it gives the man who desires a perfect marriage an opportunity to take responsibility for everything in the home which he shares with his wife. The apostle says that one should appoint bishops who by their oversight over their own house have learned to be in charge of the whole church. Let each man therefore fufil his ministry by the work in which he was called, that he may be free in Christ and receive the proper reward of his ministry.

Again when speaking about the law he makes use of an illustration saying: "The married woman is by law bound to her husband while he is alive" and the following words. And again: "The wife is bound to her husband so long as he is alive, but if he dies, she is free to marry, only in the Lord. But she is happier in my judgment if she remains as she is." Moreover in the former passage he says, "You are dead to the law," not to marriage, "that you may belong to another who was raised from the dead," as Bride and Church. The Church must be chaste, both from inward thoughts contrary to the truth and from outward tempters, that is the adherents of the sects who would persuade her to commit fornication against her one husband, Almighty God, lest as the serpent deceived Eve, who is called Life, we too should be led to transgress the commandments by the lewd craftiness of the sects. The second passage teaches single marriage. One should not suppose, as some have expounded the text, that when Paul says the wife is bound to her husband he means that flesh is involved in corruption. He is attacking the notion of the godless men who attribute the invention of marriage directly to the devil, a notion which dangerously blasphemes the lawgiver.

I believe Tatian the Syrian made bold to teach these doctrines. At any rate he writes these words in his book On Perfection According to the Saviour: "While agreement to be continent makes prayer possible, intercourse of corruption destroys it. By the very disparaging way in which he allows it, he forbids it. For although he allowed them to come together again because of Satan and the temptation to incontinence, he indicated that the man who takes advantage of this permission will be serving two masters, God if there is 'agreement,' but, if there is no such agreement, incontinence, fornication, and the devil." This he says in expounding the apostle. But he falsifies the truth in that by means of what is true he tries to prove what is untrue. We too confess that incontinence and fornication are diabolical passions, but the agreement of a controlled marriage occupies a middle position. If the married couple agree to be .continent, it helps them to pray; if they agree with reverence to have sexual relations it leads them to beget children. In fact the right time to procreate is said in Scripture to be knowledge since it says: " And Adam knew his wife Eve, and she conceived and bore a son, and they called him by the name of Seth. For God has raised up for me other seed instead of Abel." You see who is the object of the blasphemy of those who abuse sober marriage and attribute birth to the devil? The Scripture here does not speak simply of a God, but of the God, indicating the Almighty by the addition of the definite article.

The point of the apostle's addition " And then come together again because of Satan" is to stop the husband from ever turning aside after other women. A temporary agreement, although for the moment intercourse is not approved, does not mean that the natural instincts are completely removed. Because of them he again restores the marriage bond, not so that husband and wife may be incontinent and fornicate and do the devil's work, but to prevent them from falling into incontinence, fornication, and the devil. Tatian also separates the old man and the new, but not as we understand it. We agree with him that the law is the old man and the gospel the new, and say the same ourselves, but not in the sense in which he takes it since he would do away with the law as originating from another God. But it is the same man and Lord who makes the old new, by no longer allowing several marriages (for at that time God required it when men had to increase and multiply), and by teaching single marriage for the sake of begetting children and looking after domestic affairs, for which purpose woman was given as a "helpmeet." And if from sympathy the apostle allows a man a second marriage because he cannot control himself and burns with passion, he also does not commit any sin according to the Old Testament (for it was not forbidden by the Law), but he does not fulfil the heightened perfection of the gospel ethic. But he gains heavenly glory for himself if he remains as he is, and keeps undefiled the marriage yoke broken by death, and willingly accepts God's purpose for him, by which he has become free from distraction for the service of the Lord. But the providence of God as revealed by the Lord does not order now, as it did in ancient times, that after sexual intercourse a man should wash. For there is no need for the Lord to make believers do this after intercourse since by one Baptism he has washed them clean for every such occasion, as also he has comprehended in one Baptism the many washings of Moses.

In ancient times the law directed washing after the emission of the generative seed because it was foretelling our regeneration by speaking of fleshly birth, not because it held human birth to be a defilement. For that which after birth appears as a man is effected by the emission of the seed. It is not frequent intercourse of the parents which produces birth, but the reception of the seed in the womb. In the workshop of nature the seed is transformed into an embryo. How then can marriage be a state only intended for ancient times and an invention of the law, and marriage on Christian principles of a different nature, if we hold that the Old and the New Testaments proclaim the same God? "For what God has joined together no man may ever put asunder" for any good reason; if the Father commanded this, so much the more also will the Son keep it. If the author of the law and the gospel is the same, he never contradicts himself. For there is life in the law in that it is spiritual and is to be gnostically understood. But "we are dead to the law by the body of Christ, that we should belong to an- other, to him who was raised from the dead" and was prophesied by the law: "that we might bear fruit unto God."

Therefore "the law is holy and the commandment holy, righteous, and good." We, then, are dead to the law, that is to sin of which the law makes us aware; the law indicates it, it does not give rise to it; by telling us what we ought to do and prohibiting what we ought not to do, the law shows up the sin which lies underneath "that sin may be manifest." But if marriage according to the law is sin, I do not know how anyone can say he knows God when he asserts that the command of God is sin. If the law is holy, marriage is holy. This mystery the apostle refers to Christ and the Church. Just as "that which is born of the flesh is flesh, so that which is born of the spirit is spirit" not only in respect of its birth but also of what is acquired by learning. Thus "the children also are holy," they are well-pleasing to God, in that the Lord's words bring the soul as a bride to God. Fornication and marriage are therefore different things, as far apart as God is from the devil. " And you are dead to the law through the body of Christ so that you might belong to another, to him who was raised from the dead." 1t is to be understood here that you become closely obedient, since it is also according to the truth of the law that we obey the same Lord whose commands are given to us from a distance.

85. And no doubt of such people it is reasonable when, "the Spirit says expressly that in the last times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to spirits of error and the teaching inspired by daemons, through hypocritical sophists who are seated in conscience and forbid marriage, and demand abstinence from foods which God created to be eaten with thanksgiving by believers who know the truth. Everything created by God is good, and none is to be rejected but accepted with thanksgiving. For it is sanctified by the Word of God and by prayer." It necessarily follows, then, that it is wrong to forbid marriage and indeed eating meat or drinking wine. For it is written: "It is good to eat no meat and to drink no wine" if it causes offence to do so, and that it is "good to remain as I am." But both he who eats with thanksgiving and he who does not eat, who also offers thanksgiving and has a continent enjoyment, should live in accordance with reason.

In general all the epistles of the apostle teach self-control and continence and contain numerous instructions about marriage, begetting children, and domestic life. But they nowhere rule out self-controlled marriage. Rather they preserve the harmony of the law and the gospel and approve both the man who with thanks to God enters upon marriage with sobriety and the man who in accordance with the Lord's win lives as a celibate, even as each individual is caned, making his choice without blemish and in perfection. "And the land of Jacob was praised above another lands," says the prophet, glorifying the vessel of his Spirit. But a certain man who disparages birth, speaking of it as corrupt and destined for abolition, and does violence to the Scripture, saying that the Lord was referring to procreation in the words that on earth one ought not to "lay up treasure where moth and rust corrupt." And he is not ashamed to add to this the quotation from the prophet: "You all shall wax old like a garment and moth shall eat you." But we do not contradict the Scripture. Our bodies are corruptible and by nature subject to continual change. Perhaps the prophet was foretelling destruction to those whom he was addressing because they were sinners. But the Saviour did not refer to begetting children, but was exhorting those who wished only to possess large wealth and not to help the needy, to share their goods with others.

That is why he says: "Work not for the food which perishes, but for that which abides unto eternal life." Similarly they quote the saying: "The children of the age to come neither marry nor are given in marriage." But if anyone thinks carefully about this question concerning the resurrection of the dead and those who asked it, he will find that the Lord is not rejecting marriage, but ridding their minds of the expectation that in the resurrection there will be carnal desire. The phrase "the children of this age" is not meant to make a contrast with the children of some other age, but is equivalent to saying "those who are born in this age," who are children because of birth; they beget and are begotten since without birth no one will come into this life. But this birth, which must expect a corresponding corruption, no longer awaits him who has once departed from this life. "Your father in heaven is one," but he is also father of all men by creation. "Therefore call no man your father on earth," which is as if he said: Do not reckon him who begat you by fleshly generation to be the

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cause of your being, but as the one who co-operated in causing your birth, or rather as a subordinate helper to that end.

He thus wishes us to turn ourselves again and become as children who have come to know the true Father and are reborn through water by a generation different from birth in the created world. Yes, he says, "the unmarried cares for the things The source of the quotation is unknown; the entire sentence is cited by of the Lord, but he who is married how he can please his wife." What then? Is it not lawful also for those who wish to please their wives according to the will of God to give thanks to God? Is it not allowable for both the married man and his wife to care for things of the Lord together? But just as "the unmarried woman cares for the things of the Lord, .that she may be holy both in body and spirit," so also the married woman cares in the Lord for the things of her husband and the things of the Lord, the one as a wife, the other as a virgin. But to put to shame and to discourage those inclined to contract a second marriage the apostle appropriately uses strong language and says at once: "Every other sin is external to the body, but he who commits fornication sins against his own body."

But if anyone dares to call marriage fornication, he again falls into blasphemy against the law and the Lord. For as covetousness is called fornication because it is opposed to contentment with what one possesses, and as idolatry is an abandonment of the one God to embrace many gods, so fornication is apostasy from single marriage to several. For, as we have re- marked, the apostle uses the words fornication and adultery in ; three senses. On this matter the prophet says: "You were sold to your sins." And again: "You were defiled in a foreign land." Here he regards as defilement an association which is bound up with a strange body and not with that which in marriage is bestowed for the purpose of procreation. That is why the apostle ! also says: "I wish then that the younger women marry, bear children, look after their houses, and give the adversary no occasion for abuse; for some have already turned aside after Satan."

And indeed he entirely approves of the man who is husband of one wife, whether he be presbyter, deacon, or layman, if he conducts his marriage unblameably. "For he shall be saved by child-bearing." Again when the Saviour calls the Jews "a wicked and adulterous generation" he teaches that they did not know the law as the law intended; by following the tradition of the elders and the commandments of men, they were committing adultery against the law, as they did not accept "the husband and lord of their virginity." But perhaps he also knew that they were enslaved by alien desires, on account of which they were in continual bondage to their sins and were sold to foreigners, since among the Jews at least no public harlots existed and adultery was forbidden. But he who said, "I have married a wife and therefore I cannot come" to the divine supper was an example to convict those who for pleasure's sake were abandoning the divine command; for if this saying is taken otherwise, neither the righteous before the coming of Christ nor those who have married since his coming, even if they be apostles, will be saved. And if they again bring forward the point that the prophet also said, "I have become old among all my enemies," by "enemies" they ought to understand sins. It is not marriage that is a sin but fornication, since otherwise they must say that birth and the creation of birth are sinful.

CHAPTER. 13

Such are the arguments of Julius Casinos, the originator of deceits. At any rate in his book Concerning Continence and Celibacy he says these words: "And let no one say that because we have these parts, that the female body is shaped this way and the male that way, the one to receive, the other to give seed, sexual intercourse is allowed by God. For if this arrangement had been made by God, to whom we seek to attain, he would not have pronounced eunuchs blessed; nor would the prophet have said that they are 'not an unfruitful tree,' using the tree as an illustration of the man who chooses to emasculate himself of any such notion."

And striving still further to support his godless opinion he adds: "Could not one rightly find fault with the Saviour if he was responsible for our formation and then delivered us from error and from this use of the generative organs?" In this respect his teaching is the same as Titian's. But he departed from the school of Valentine. On this account he says: "When Salome ' asked when she would know the answer to her questions, the Lord said, When you trample on the robe of shame, and when the two shall be one, and the male with the female, and there is neither male nor female."

In the first place we have not got the saying in the four Gospels that have been handed down to us, but in the Gospel according to the Egyptians. Secondly Cassia seems to me not to know that it refers to wrath in speaking of and to desire in speaking of the female. When these operate, there follow repentance and shame. But when a man gives in neither to wrath nor to desire, both of which increase in consequence of evil habit and upbringing so as to cloud and obscure rational thought, but puts off from him the darkness they cause with penitence and shame, uniting spirit and soul in obedience to the Word, then, as Paul also says, "there is among you neither male nor female." For the soul leaves this physical form in which male and female are distinguished, and being neither the one nor the other changes to unity. But this worthy fellow thinks in Platonic fashion that the soul is of divine origin and, having become female by desire, has come down here from above to birth and corruption.

CHAPTER 14

He then does violence to Paul, making him hold that birth originated from deceit because he says: "I am afraid lest, as the serpent deceived Eve, your thoughts should be corrupted from the simplicity which is towards Christ." But the Lord, as all agree, came to that which was astray, but it had not strayed from above into earthly birth (for birth is created and the creation of the Almighty who would never bring the soul down from what is good to what is bad). The Saviour came to men who were astray in their thoughts, to us whose minds were corrupted as a result of our disobeying the commandments because we were lovers of pleasure, and perhaps also because the first man of our race did not bide his time, desired the favor of marriage before the proper hour, and fell into sin by not waiting for the time of God's will; "for everyone who looks upon a woman to lust after her has already committed adultery with her."

It was the same Lord who at that time also condemned the desire which preceded marriage. When, therefore, the apostle says, "Put on the new man which is created after God," he speaks to us who were formed as we are by the will of the Almighty. In speaking of the old man and the new he is not referring to birth and rebirth respectively, but to manner of life, the one being disobedient, the other obedient. The "coats of skins" in Cassia's view are bodies. That both he and those who teach the same as he does are wrong here we will show :r when we undertake an explanation of the birth of man :r the necessary preliminary discussion. He further says: The subjects of earthly kings both beget and are born, 'but our citizenship is in heaven, from whence also we look for the Savior. That this remark also is right we recognize, since ought to behave as strangers and pilgrims, if married as though we were not married, if possessing wealth as though we not possess it, if procreating children as giving birth to mortals , as those who are ready to abandon their property, as men) would even live without a wife if need be, as people who not passionately attached to the created world, but use it with all gratitude and with a sense of exaltation beyond it.

CHAPTER 15

And again when the apostle says, "It is good for a man not to touch a woman; but because of the risk of immorality let man have his own wife," he explains it, as it were, by the further words "lest Satan tempt you." In the phrase "because of continence" he speaks not to those who chastely use marriage for procreation alone, but to those who were desiring to beyond procreation, lest the adversary should raise a stormy and arouse desire for alien pleasures. But perhaps because Satan is zealously hostile to those who live rightly and contends against them, and wishes to bring them over to his own side, he aims to give them occasions for falling by making it difficult for to be continent.

Accordingly the apostle rightly says, "It is better to marry :than to burn," that the husband may give to the wife her due he wife to the husband, and that they should not deprive another of help given by divine providence for the purpose of generation. "But whosoever shall not hate father or mother or wife or children," they quote, "cannot be my disciple." This a command to hate one's family. For he says: "Honour thy father and thy mother that it may be well with thee."1s But what he means is this: Do not let yourself be led astray by irrational impulses and have nothing to do with the city customs. For a household consists of a family, and cities of households, as Paul also says of those who are absorbed in marriage that they aim to "please the world." Again the Lord says, "Let not the married person seek a divorce, nor the unmarried person marriage," that is, he who has confessed his intention of being celibate, let him remain unmarried.

To both the same Lord gives the corresponding promises by the prophet Isaiah in the following words: "Let not the eunuch say, I am dry wood. To eunuchs the Lord says this, If you keep my sabbaths and do all that I command you, I will give you a place better than sons and daughters." For a eunuch is not justified merely because he is a eunuch, and certainly not because he observes the sabbath, if he does not keep the commandments. And for the married he goes on to say, "My elect shall not labour in vain nor bear children to be accursed; for they are a seed blessed by the Lord." For him who begets children and brings them up and educates them in the Lord, just as for him who begets children by means of the true teaching, a reward is laid up, as also for the elect seed. But others hold that procreation is a curse and do not understand that the Scripture speaks against them. Those who are in truth the Lord's elect neither teach doctrines nor beget children to be accursed, as the sects do.

A eunuch, then, does not mean a man who has been castrated, nor even an unmarried man, but a man who is unproductive of truth. Formerly he was "dry wood," but if he obeys the word and observes the sabbaths by abstaining from sins and keeps the commandments, he will be in higher honour that those who are educated in word alone and fail to do what is right. "Little children," says our teacher, "a little while longer I am with you." That is why Paul also instructs the Galatians in these words: "My little children, with whom I travail in birth again until Christ be formed in you." And again he writes to the Corinthians: "For though you may have ten thousand instructors in Christ, yet you have not many fathers. For in Christ I have begotten you through the gospel." On this account a eunuch shall not enter into God's assembly," that is, the man who is unproductive and unfruitful both in conduct and in word; but blessed are those who have made themselves eunuchs, free from all sin, for the sake of the kingdom of heaven by their abstinence from the world.

CHAPTER 16

When Jeremiah says, Cursed be the day in which I was born, and let it not be longed for," he is not saying simply that birth is accursed, but is in despair at the sins and disobedience of the people. In fact he goes on, "Why was I born to see labour and pain and my days accomplished in shame?" All those who preach the truth are persecuted and in danger because of the disobedience of their hearers. "Why did not my mother's womb become my tomb, that I might not see the distress of Jacob and the toil of the nation of Israel?" says Esdras the prophet. "No one is pure from defilement," says Job, "not even if his life last but one day." Let them tell us how the newly born child could commit fornication, or how that which has done nothing has fallen under the curse of Adam. The only consistent answer for them, it seems, is to say that birth is an evil, not only for the body, but also for the soul for the sake of which the body itself exists. And when David says: "In sin I was born and in unrighteousness my mother conceived me," he says in prophetic manner that Eve is his mother. For Eve became the mother of the living." But if he was conceived in sin, yet he was not himself in sin, nor is he himself sin.

But on the question whether everyone who turns from I sin to faith turns from sinful habits to life as though born of a mother, I may call as witness one of the twelve prophets who said:, "Am I to give my firstborn for my impiety, the fruit of my womb for the sin of my soul?" This is not an attack on him who said: "Increase and multiply." Rather he calls the first impulses resulting from birth, by which we do not know God, "impiety." If on this basis anyone maintains that birth is evil, let him also on the same ground hold that it is good, since in it we recognise the truth. "Be sober as is right, .and sin not; for some have not the knowledge of God," that is, those who sin. "For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against spiritual powers." But "the rulers of darkness" have power to tempt us. That is why concessions are made. Therefore also Paul says: "I buffet my body and bring it into subjection." "For everyone who wishes to take part in a contest is continent in all things" (the words "he is continent in all things" really mean that, though he does not abstain from everything, yet he is self-controlled on such things as he thinks fit). "They do it to obtain a corruptible crown, but we an incorruptible," as if we conquer in the struggle, though there is no crown for us if we do not put up any fight at all. There are also some now who rank the widow higher than the virgin in the matter of continence, on the ground that she scorns pleasure of which she has had experience.

CHAPTER 17

If birth is something evil, let the blasphemers say that the Lord who shared in birth was born in evil, and that the virgin gave birth to him in evil. Woe to these wicked fellows! They blaspheme against the will of God and the mystery of creation in speaking evil of birth. This is the ground upon which Docetism is held by Cassian and by Marcion also, and on which even Valentine indeed teaches that Christ's body was "psychic." They say: Man became like the beasts when he came to practice sexual intercourse. But it is when a man in his passion really wants to go to bed with a strange woman that in truth such a man has become a wild beast. "Wild horses were they become, each man whinnied after his neighbour's wife." And if the serpent took the use of intercourse from the irrational animals and persuaded Adam to agree to have sexual union with Eve, as though the couple first created did not have such union by nature, as some think, this again is blasphemy against the creation. For it makes human nature weaker than that of the brute beasts if in this matter those who were first created by God copied them.

But if nature led them, like the irrational animals, to procreation, yet they were impelled to do it more quickly than . was proper because they were still young and had been led away by deceit. Thus God's judgment against them was just, because they did not wait for his will. But birth is holy. By it were made the world, the existences, the natures, the

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angels, powers, souls, the commandments, the law, the gospel, the knowledge of God. And "all flesh is grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass. The grass withers, the flower falls; but the word of the Lord abides" which anoints the soul and unites it with the spirit. Without the body how could the divine plan for us in the Church achieve its end? Surely the Lord himself, the head of the Church, came in the flesh, though without form and beauty, to teach us to look upon the formless and incorporeal nature of the divine Cause. "For a tree of life" says the prophet, "grows by a good desire," teaching that desires which are in the living Lord are good and pure.

Furthermore they wish to maintain that the intercourse of man and wife in marriage, which is called knowledge, is a sin; this sin is referred to as eating of the tree of good and evil, and the phrase "he knew" signifies transgression of the commandment. But if this is so, even knowledge of the truth is eating of the tree of life. It is possible for a sober-minded marriage to partake of that tree. We have already observed that marriage may be used rightly or wrongly; and this is the tree of knowledge, if we do not transgress in marriage. What then? Does not the Saviour who heals the soul also heal the body of its passions? But if the flesh were hostile to the soul, he would not have raised an obstacle to the soul by strengthening with good health the hostile flesh. "This I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God nor corruption incorruption." For sin being corruption cannot have fellowship with incorruption which is righteousness. " Are you so foolish?" he says; "having begun in the Spirit are you now to be made perfect by the flesh."

CHAPTER 18

Some, then, as we have shown, have tried to go beyond what is right and the concord that marks salvation which is holy

and established. They have blasphemously accepted the ideal of continence for reasons entirely godless. Celibacy may lawfully be chosen according to the sound rule. with godly reasons, provided that the person gives thanks for the grace God has granted, and does not hate the creation' or reckon married people to be of no account. For the world is created: celibacy is also created. Let both give thanks for their appointed state, if they know to what state they are appointed. But others have kicked over the traces and waxed wanton, having become indeed "wild horses who whinny after their neighbour's wives." They have abandoned themselves to lust without restraint and persuade their neighbours to live licentiously; as wretches they follow the Scripture: "Cast your lot in with us; let us all have a common purse and let our moneybag be one."

On account of them the same prophet gives us advice saying: "Go not in the way with them, withdraw thy foot from their steps. For not unjustly are nets spread out to catch birds; for they are guilty of bloodshed and treasure up evil for themselves" -that is, they seek for immorality and teach their neighbours to do the same. According to the prophet they are "fighters struck with their own tails" (ourai) , to which the Greeks give the name kerkoi. Those to whom the prophecy refers might well be lustful, incontinent, men who fight with their tails, children of darkness and wrath, bloodstained suicides and murderers of their neighbours. "Purify out the old leaven, that you may be a new lump," cries the apostle to us. And again in anger at such people he directs that we should "have no fellowship with anyone called a brother if he is a fornicator or covetous man or idolater or reviler or drunkard or robber; with such a man one ought not even to eat." "For I through the law am dead to the law," he says, "that I may live unto God. I am crucified with Christ; it is no longer I that live," meaning that I used to live according to my lusts, "but Christ lives in me," and I am pure and blessed by obeying the commandments; so that whereas at one time I lived in the flesh carnally, "the life which I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God."

"Go into no way of the heathen and enter no city of the Samaritans," says the Lord, to keep us away from society contrary to his will. "For the end of the lawless man is evil. And these are the ways of all those who do lawless deeds." "Woe to that man," the Lord says, "it were well for him if he had never been born, than that he should cause one of my little ones to stumble. It were better for him that a millstone were hung about him and he cast into the sea than that he should pervert one of my elect." "For the name of God is blasphemed because of them." Therefore the apostle nobly says, "1 wrote to you in my letter to have no company with fornicators," as far as the words "but the body is not for fornication but for the Lord, and the Lord for the body." And to show that he does not regard marriage as fornication he goes on: "Do you not know that he Who is joined to a harlot is one body with her?" Or who will assert that before she is married a virgin is a harlot? " And do not deprive one another," he says, "except by agreement for a time," indicating by the word "deprive" the obligation of marriage, procreation, which he has set forth in the preceding pas- sage where he says: "Let the husband give the wife her due and likewise also the wife to the husband."

In fulfilling this obligation she is a helpmeet in the house and in Christian faith. And the apostle expresses the same point even more clearly as follows: "To the married I direct, yet not I but the Lord, that the wife be not separated from her husband (and if she is separated, let her remain unmarried or be reconciled to her husband) and that the husband should not leave his wife. But to the rest I say, not the Lord: If any brother. ..," 'down to the words "but now are they holy." What have they to say to these words, these people who disparage the law and speak as if marriage were only conceded by the law and is not in accord with the New Testament? What reply to these directions have those who recoil from intercourse and birth? For he also lays down that the bishop who is to rule the Church must be a man who governs his own household well. A household pleasing to the Lord consists of a marriage with one wife.. "To the pure," he says, "all things are pure: but to the defiled and unbelieving nothing is pure, but their mind and conscience are polluted." With reference to illicit indulgence he says: "Make no mistake: neither fornicators nor idolaters nor adulterers nor effeminate men nor homosexuals nor covetous men nor robbers nor drunkards nor revilers nor thieves shall inherit the kingdom of God. And we," who used to indulge in such practices, "have washed ourselves." 'But they have a purification, with a view to committing this immorality; their baptism means passing from se1f-control to fornication. They maintain that one should gratify the lusts and passions, teaching that one must turn from sobriety to be incontinent. They set their hope on their private parts. Thus they shut themselves out of God's kingdom and deprive themselves of enrolment as disciples, and under the name of knowledge, falsely so called, they have taken the road to outer darkness. "For the rest, brethren, whatever is true, whatever is holy, whatever is righteous, whatever is pure, whatever is attractive, whatever is well spoken of, whatever is virtuous, and whatever is praiseworthy, think on these things. And whatever you have learnt and received and heard and seen in me, this do. And the God of peace shall be with you."

And Peter in his epistle says the same: "So that your faith and hope may be in God, because you have purified your souls in obedience to the truth," "as obedient children, not behaving after the fashion of the lusts in which in your ignorance you formerly indulged; but as he who has called you is holy, so also must you be holy in all your conduct; as it is written, Be ye holy for I am holy."

But our polemic, though necessary against those who masquerade under the false name of knowledge, has carried us beyond the limit and made our discussion lengthy. Accordingly this is the end of our third miscellany of gnostic notes in accordance with the true philosophy.

THE STROMATA, BOOK 4

CHAPTER 1 -- ORDER OF CONTENTS.

It will follow, I think, that I should treat of martyrdom, and of who the perfect man is. With these points shall be included what follows in accordance with the demands of the points to be spoken about, and how both bond and free must equally philosophize, whether male or female in sex. And in the sequel, after finishing what is to be said on faith and inquiry, we shall set forth the department of symbols; so that, on cursorily concluding the discourse on ethics, we shall exhibit the advantage which has accrued to the Greeks from the barbarian philosophy. After which sketch, the brief explanation of the Scriptures both against the Greeks and against the Jews will be presented, and whatever points we were unable to embrace in the previous Miscellanies (through having respect necessarily to the multitude of matters), in accordance with the commencement of the poem, purposing to finish them in one commentary. In addition to these points, afterwards on completing the sketch, as far as we can in accordance with what we propose, we must give an account of the physical doctrines of the Greeks and of the barbarians, respecting elementary principles, as far as their opinions have reached us, and argue against the principal views excogitated by the philosophers.

It will naturally fall after these, after a cursory view of theology, to discuss the opinions handed down respecting prophecy; so that, having demonstrated that the Scriptures which we believe are valid from their omnipotent authority, we shall be able to go over them consecutively, and to show thence to all the heresies one God and Omnipotent Lord to be truly preached by the law and the prophets, and besides by the blessed Gospel. Many contradictions against the heterodox await us while we attempt, in writing, to do away with the force of the allegations made by them, and to persuade them against their will, proving by the Scriptures themselves.

On completing, then, the whole of what we propose in the commentaries, on which, if the Spirit will, we ministering to the urgent need, (for it is exceedingly necessary, before coming to the truth, to embrace what ought to be said by way of preface), shall address ourselves to the true gnostic science of nature, receiving initiation into the minor mysteries before the greater; so that nothing may be in the way of the truly divine declaration of sacred things, the subjects requiring preliminary detail and statement being cleared away, and sketched beforehand. The science of nature, then, or rather observation, as contained in the gnostic tradition according to the rule of the truth, depends on the discussion concerning cosmogony, ascending thence to the department of theology. Whence, then, we shall begin our account of what is handed down, with the creation as related by the prophets, introducing also the tenets of the heterodox, and endeavouring as far as we can to confute them. But it shall be written if God will, and as He inspires; and now we must proceed to what we proposed, and complete the discourse on ethics.

CHAPTER 2 -- THE MEANING OF THE NAME STROMATA OR MISCELLANIES.

Let these notes of ours, as we have often said for the sake of those that consult them carelessly and unskilfully, be of varied character -- and as the name itself indicates, patched together -- passing constantly from one thing to another, and in the series of discussions hinting at one thing and demonstrating another. "For those who seek for gold," says Heraclitus, "dig much earth and find little gold." But those who are of the truly golden race, in mining for what is allied to them, will find the much in little. For the word will find one to understand it. The Miscellanies of notes contribute, then, to the recollection and expression of truth in the case of him who is able to investigate with reason.

And you must prosecute, in addition to these, other labours and researches; since, in the case of people who are setting out on a road with which they are unacquainted, it is sufficient merely to point out the direction. After this they must walk and find out the rest for themselves. As, they say, when a certain slave once asked at the oracle what he should do to please his master, the Pythian priestess replied, "You will find if you seek." It is truly a difficult matter, then, as turns out, to find out latent good; since "Before virtue is placed exertion, And long and steep is the way to it, And rough at first; but when the summit is reached, Then is it easy, though difficult [before]."

"For narrow," in truth, "and strait is the way" of the Lord. And it is to the "violent that the kingdom of God belongs."

Whence, "Seek, and ye shall find," holding on by the truly royal road, and not deviating. As we might expect, then, the generative power of the seeds of the doctrines comprehended in this treatise is great in small space, as the "universal herbage of the field," as Scripture saith. Thus the Miscellanies of notes have their proper title, wonderfully like that ancient oblation culled from all sorts of things of which Sophocles writes: "For there was a sheep's fleece, and there was a vine, And a libation, and grapes well stored; And there was mixed with it fruit of all kinds, And the fat of the olive, and the most curious Wax-formed work of the yellow bee."

Just so our Stromata, according to the husbandman of the comic poet Timocles, produce "figs, olives, dried figs, honey, as from an all-fruitful field;" on account of which exuberance he adds: "Thou speakest of a harvest-wreath not of husbandry."

For the Athenians were wont to cry: "The harvest-wreath bears figs and fat loaves, And honey in a cup, and olive oil to anoint you."

We must then often, as in winnowing sieves, shake and toss up this the great mixture of seeds, in order to separate the wheat.

CHAPTER 3 -- THE TRUE EXCELLENCE OF MAN.

The most of men have a disposition unstable and heedless, like the nature of storms. "Want of faith has done many good things, and faith evil things." And Epicharmus says, "Don't forget to exercise incredulity; for it is the sinews of the soul." Now, to disbelieve truth brings death, as to believe, life; and again, to believe the lie and to disbelieve the truth hutries to destruction. The same is the case with self-restraint and licentiousness. To restrain one's self from doing good is the work of vice; but to keep from wrong is the beginning of salvation. So the Sabbath, by abstinence from evils, seems to indicate self-restraint. And what, I ask, is it in which man differs from beasts, and the angels of God, on the other hand, are wiser than he? "Thou madest him a little lower than the angels." For some do not interpret this Scripture of the Lord, although He also bore flesh, but of the perfect man and the gnostic, inferior in comparison with the angels in time, and by reason of the vesture [of the body]. I call then wisdom nothing but science, since life differs not from life. For to live is common to the mortal nature, that is to man, with that to which has been vouchsafed immortality; as also the faculty of contemplation and of self-restraint, one of the two being more excellent. On this ground Pythagoras seems to me to have said that God alone is wise, since also the apostle writes in the Epistle to the Romans, "For the obedience of the faith among all nations, being made known to the only wise God through Jesus Christ;" and that he himself was a philosopher, on

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account of his friendship with God. Accordingly it is said, "God talked with Moses as a friend with a friend." s That, then, which is true being clear to God, forthwith generates truth. And the gnostic loves the truth. "Go," it is said, "to the ant, thou sluggard, and be the disciple of the bee;" thus speaks Solomon. For if there is one function belonging to the peculiar nature of each creature, alike of the ox, and horse, and dog, what shall we say is the peculiar function of man? He is like, it appears to me, the Centaur, a Thessalian figment, compounded of a rational and irrational part, of soul and body. Well, the body tills the ground, and hastes to it; but the soul is raised to God: trained in the true philosophy, it speeds to its kindred above, turning away from the lusts of the body, and besides these, from toil and fear, although we have shown that patience and fear belong to the good man.

For if "by the law is the knowledge of sin," as those allege who disparage the law, and "till the law sin was in the world;" yet "without the law sin was dead," we oppose them. For when you take away the cause of fear, sin, you have taken away fear; and much more, punishment, when you have taken away that which gives rise to lust. "For the law is not made for the just man," says the Scripture. Well, then, says Heraclitus, "They would not have known the name of Justice if these things had not been." And Socrates says, "that the law was not made for the sake of the good." But the cavillers did not know even this, as the apostle says, "that he who loveth his brother worketh not evil;" for this, "Thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not steal; and if there be any other commandment, it is comprehended in the word, Thou shall love thy neighbour as thyself." So also is it said, "Thou shall love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." And "if he that loveth his neighbour worketh no evil," and if "every commandment is comprehended in this, the loving our neighbour," the commandments, by menacing with fear, work love, not hatred. Wherefore the law is productive of the emotion of fear. "So that the law is holy," and in truth "spiritual," according to the apostle. We must, then, as is fit, in investigating the nature of the body and the essence of the soul, apprehend the end of each, and not regard death as an evil. "For when ye were the servants of sin," says the apostle, "ye were free from righteousness. What fruit had ye then in those things in which ye are now ashamed? For the end of those things is death. But now, being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life. For the wages of sin is death: but the gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord." The assertion, then, may be hazarded, that it has been shown that death is the fellowship of the soul in a state of sin with the body; and life the separation from sin. And many are the stakes and ditches of lust which impede us, and the pits of wrath and anger which must be overleaped, and all the machinations we must avoid of those who plot against us, -- who would no longer see the knowledge of God "through a glass."

"The half of virtue the far-seeing Zeus takes From man, when he reduces him to a state of slavery."

As slaves the Scripture views those "under sin" and "sold to sin," the lovers of pleasure and of the body; and beasts rather than men, "those who have become like to cattle, horses, neighing after their neighbours' wives." The licentious is "the lustful ass," the covetous is the "savage wolf," and the deceiver is "a serpent." The severance, therefore, of the soul from the body, made a life-long study, produces in the philosopher gnostic alacrity, so that he is easily able to bear natural death, which is the dissolution of the chains which bind the soul to the body. "For the world is crucified to me, and I to the world," the [apostle] says; "and now I live, though in the flesh, as having my conversation in heaven."

CHAPTER 4 -- THE PRAISES OF MARTYRDOM.

Whence, as is reasonable, the gnostic, when Galled, obeys easily, and gives up his body to him who asks; and, previously divesting himself of the affections of this carcase, not insulting the tempter, but rather, in my opinion, training him and convincing him,- "From what honour and what extent of wealth fallen," as says Empedocles, here for the future he walks with mortals. He, in truth, bears witness to himself that he is faithful and loyal towards God; and to the tempter, that he in vain envied him who is faithful through love; and to the Lord, of the inspired persuasion in reference to His doctrine, from which he will not depart through fear of death; further, he confirms also the truth of preaching by his deed, showing that God to whom he hastes is powerful. You will wonder at his love, which he conspicuously shows with thankfulness, in being united to what is allied to him, and besides by his precious blood, shaming the unbelievers. He then avoids denying Christ through fear by reason of the command; nor does he sell his faith in the hope of the gifts prepared, but in love to the Lord he will most gladly depart from this life; perhaps giving thanks both to him who afforded the cause of his departure hence, and to him who laid the plot against him, for receiving an honourable reason which he himself furnished not, for showing what he is, to him by his patience, and to the Lord in love, by which even before his birth he was manifested to the Lord, who knew the martyr's choice. With good courage, then, he goes to the Lord, his friend, for whom he voluntarily gave his body, and, as his judges hoped, his soul, hearing from our Saviour the words of poetry, "Dear brother," by reason of the similarity of his life. We call martyrdom perfection, not because the man comes to the end of his life as others, but because he has exhibited the perfect work of love. And the ancients laud the death of those among the Greeks who died in war, not that they advised people to die a violent death, but because he who ends his life in war is released without the dread of dying, severed from the body without experiencing previous suffering or being enfeebled in his soul, as the people that suffer in diseases. For they de part in a state of effeminacy and desiring to live; and therefore they do not yield up the soul pure, but bearing with it their lusts like weights of lead; all but those who have been conspicuous in virtue. Some die in battle with their lusts, these being in no respect different from what they would have been if they had wasted away by disease.

If the confession to God is martyrdom, each soul which has lived purely in the knowledge of God, which has obeyed the commandments, is a witness both by life and word, in whatever way it may be released from the body, -- shedding faith as blood along its whole life till its departure. For instance, the Lord says in the Gospel, "Whosoever shall leave father, or mother, or brethren," and so forth, "for the sake of the Gospel and my name," he is blessed; not indicating simple martyrdom, but the gnostic martyrdom, as of the man who has conducted himself according to the rule of the Gospel, in love to the Lord (for the knowledge of the Name and the understanding of the Gospel point out the gnosis, but not the bare appellation), so as to leave his worldly kindred, and wealth, and every possession, in order to lead a life free from passion.

"Mother" figuratively means Country and sustenance; "fathers" are the laws of civil polity: which must be contemned thankfully by the high-souled just man; for the sake of being the friend of God, and of obtaining the right hand in the holy place, as the Apostles have done.

Then Heraclitus says, "Gods and men honour those slain in battle;" and Plato in the fifth book of the Republic writes, "Of those who die in military service, whoever dies after winning renown, shall we not say that he is chief of the golden race? Most assuredly." But the golden race is with the gods, who are in heaven, in the fixed sphere, who chiefly hold command in the providence exercised towards men. Now some of the heretics who have misunderstood the Lord, have at once an impious and cowardly love of life; saying that the true martyrdom is the knowledge of the only true God (which we also admit), and that the man is a self-murderer and a suicide who makes confession by death; and adducing other similar sophisms of cowardice. To these we shall reply at the proper time; for they differ with us in regard to first principles. Now we, too, say that those who have rushed on death (for there are some, not belonging to us, but sharing the name merely, who are in haste to give themselves up, the poor wretches dying through hatred to the Creator) -- these, we say, banish themselves without being martyrs, even though they are punished publicly. For they do not preserve the characteristic mark of believing martyrdom, inasmuch as they have not known the only true God, but give themselves up to a vain death, as the Gymnosophists of the Indians to useless fire.

But since these falsely named calumniate the body, let them learn that the harmonious mechanism of the body contributes to the understanding which leads to goodness of nature. Wherefore in the third book of the Republic, Plato, whom they appeal to loudly as an authority that disparages generation, says, "that for the sake of harmony of soul, care must be taken for the body," by which, he who announces the proclamation of the truth, finds it possible to live, and to live well. For it is by the path of life and health that we learn gnosis. But is he who cannot advance to the height without being occupied with necessary things, and through them doing what tends to knowledge, not to choose to live well? In living, then, living well is secured. And he who in the body has devoted himself to a good life, is being sent on to the state of immortality.

CHAPTER 5 -- ON CONTEMPT FOR PAIN, POVERTY, AND OTHER EXTERNAL THINGS.

Fit objects for admiration are the Stoics, who say that the soul is not affected by the body, either to vice by disease, or to virtue by health; but both these things, they say, are indifferent. And indeed Job, through exceeding continence, and excellence of faith, when from rich he became poor, from being held in honour dishonoured, from being comely unsightly, and sick from being healthy, is depicted as a good example, putting the Tempter to shame, blessing his Creator; bearing what came second, as the first, and most clearly teaching that it is possible for the gnostic to make an excellent use of all circumstances, And that ancient achievements are proposed as images for our correction, the apostle shows, when he says, "So that my bonds in Christ are become manifest in all the palace, and to all the rest; and several of the brethren in the Lord, waxing confident by my bonds, are much more bold to speak the word of God without fear," -- since martyrs' testimonies are examples 'of conversion gloriously sanctified. "For what things the Scripture speaks were written for our instruction, that we, through patience and the consolation of the Scriptures, might have the hope of consolation." When pain is present, the soul appears to decline from it, and to deem release from present pain a precious thing. At that moment it slackens from studies, when the other virtues also are neglected. And yet we do not say that it is virtue itself which suffers, for virtue is not affected by disease. But he who is partaker of both, of virtue and the disease, is afflicted by the pressure of the latter; and if he who has not yet attained the habit of self-command be not a high-souled man, he is distraught; and the inability to endure it is found equivalent to fleeing from it.

The same holds good also in the case of poverty. For it compels the soul to desist from necessary things, I mean contemplation and from pure sinlessness, forcing him, who has not wholly dedicated himself to God in love, to occupy himself about provisions; as, again, health and abundance of necessaries keep the soul free and unimpeded, and capable of making a good use of what is at hand. "For," says the apostle, "such shall have trouble in the flesh. But I spare you. For I would have you without anxiety, in order to decorum and assiduity for the Lord, without distraction."

These things, then, are to be abstained from, not for their own sakes, but for the sake of the body; and care for the body is exercised for the sake of the Soul, to which it has reference. For on this account it is necessary for the man who lives as a gnostic to know what is suitable. Since the fact that pleasure is not a good thing is admitted from the fact that certain pleasures are evil, by this reason good appears evil, and evil good. And then, if we choose some pleasures and shun others, it is not every pleasure that is a good thing.

Similarly, also, the same rule holds with pains, some of which we endure, and others we shun. But choice and avoidance are exercised according to knowledge; so that it is not pleasure that is the good thing, but knowledge by which we shall choose a pleasure at a certain time, and of a certain kind. Now the martyr chooses the pleasure that exists in prospect through the present pain. If pain is conceived as existing in thirst, and pleasure in drinking, the pain that has preceded becomes the efficient cause of pleasure. But evil cannot be the efficient cause of good. Neither, then, is the one thing nor the other evil. Simonides accordingly (as also Aristotle) writes, "that to be in good health is the best thing, and the second best thing is to be handsome, and the third best thing is to be rich without cheating."

And Theognis of Megara says: "You must, to escape poverty, throw Yourself, O Cyrnus down from The steep rocks into the deep sea."

On the other hand, Antiphanes, the comic poet, says, "Plutus (Wealth), when it has taken hold of those who see better than others, makes them blind." Now by the poets he is proclaimed as blind from his birth: "And brought him forth blind who saw not the sun."

Says the Chalcidian Euphorion: "Riches, then, and extravagant luxuries, Were for men the worst training for manliness."

Wrote Euripides in Alexander: "And it is said, Penury has attained wisdom through misfortune; But much wealth will capture not Sparta alone, but every city."

"It is not then the only coin that mortals have, that which is white silver or golden, but virtue too," as Sophocles says.

CHAPTER 6 -- SOME POINTS IN THE BEATITUDES.

Our holy Saviour applied poverty and riches, and the like, both to spiritual things and objects of sense. For when He said, "Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness' sake," He clearly taught us in every circumstance to seek for the martyr who, if poor for righteousness' sake, witnesses that the righteousness which he loves is a good thing; and if he "hunger and thirst for righteousness' sake," testifies that righteousness is the best thing. Likewise he, that weeps and mourns for righteousness' sake, testifies to the best law that it is beautiful. As, then, "those that are persecuted," so also "those that hunger and thirst" for righteousness' sake, are called "blessed" by Him who approves of the true desire, which not even famine can put a stop to. And if "they hunger after righteousness itself," they are blessed. "And blessed are the poor," whether "in spirit" or in circumstances -- that is, if for righteousness' sake. It is not the poor simply, but those that have wished to become poor for righteousness' sake, that He pronounces blessed -- those who have despised the honours of this world in order to attain "the good;" likewise also those who, through chastity, have become comely in person and character, and those who are of noble birth, and honourable, having through righteousness attained to adoption, and therefore "have received power to become the sons of God," and "to tread on serpents and scorpions," and to rule over demons and "the host of the adversary." And, in fine, the Lord's disciplines draws the soul away gladly from the body, even if it wrench itself away in its removal. "For he that

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loveth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life shall find it," if we only join that which is mortal of us with the immortality of God. It is the will of God [that we should attain] the knowledge of God, which is the communication of immortality. He therefore, who, in accordance with the word of repentance, knows his life to be sinful will lose it -- losing it from sin, from which it is wrenched; but losing it, will find it, according to the obedience which lives again to faith, but dies to sin. This, then, is what it is "to find one's life," "to know one's self."

The conversion, however, which leads to divine things, the Stoics say, is affected by a change, the soul being changed to wisdom. And Plato: "On the soul taking a turn to what is better, and a change from a kind of nocturnal day." Now the philosophers also allow the good man an exit from life in accordance with reason, in the case of one depriving him of active exertion, so that the hope of action is no longer left him. And the judge who compels us to deny Him whom we love, I regard as showing who is and who is not the friend of God. In that case there is not left ground for even examining what one prefers -- the menaces of man or the love of God. And abstinence from vicious acts is found, somehow, [to result in] the diminution and extinction of vicious propensities, their energy being destroyed by inaction. And this is the import of "Sell what thou hast, and give to the poor, and come, follow Me" -- that is, follow what is said by the Lord. Some say that by what "thou hast" He designated the things in the soul, of a nature not akin to it, though how these are bestowed on the poor they are not able to say. For God dispenses to all according to desert, His distribution being righteous. Despising, therefore, the possessions which God apportions to thee in thy magnificence, comply with what is spoken by me; haste to the ascent of the Spirit, being not only justified by abstinence from what is evil, but in addition also perfected, by Christlike beneficence. In this instance He convicted the man, who boasted that he had fulfilled the injunctions of the law, of not loving his neighbour; and it is by beneficence that the love which, according to the gnostic ascending scale, is Lord of the Sabbath, proclaims itself. We must then, according to my view, have recourse to the word of salvation neither from fear of punishment nor promise of a gift, but on account of the good itself. Such, as do so, stand on the right hand of the sanctuary; but those who think that by the gift of what is perishable they shall receive in exchange what belongs to immortality are in the parable of the two brothers called "hirelings." And is there not some light thrown here on the expression "in the likeness and image," in the fact that some live according to the likeness of Christ, while those who stand on the left hand live according to their image? There are then two things proceeding from the truth, one root lying beneath both, -- the choice being, however, not equal, or rather the difference that is in the choice not being equal. To choose by way of imitation differs, as appears to me, from the choice of him who chooses according to knowledge, as that which is set on fire differs from that which is illuminated. Israel, then, is the light of the likeness which is according to the Scripture. But the image is another thing. What means the parable of Lazarus, by showing the image of the rich and poor? And what the saying, "No man can serve two masters, God and Mammon?" -- the Lord so terming the love of money. For instance, the covetous, who were invited, responded not to the invitation to the supper, not because of their possessing property, but of their inordinate affection to what they possessed. "The foxes," then, have holes. He called those evil and earthly men who are occupied about the wealth which is mined and dug from the ground, foxes. Thus also, in reference to Herod: "Go, tell that fox, Behold, I cast out devils, and perform cures to-day and to-morrow, and the third day I shall be perfected." For He applied the name "fowls of the air" to those who were distinct from the other birds -- those really pure, those that have the power of flying to the knowledge of the heavenly Word. For not riches only, but also honour, and marriage, and poverty, have ten thousand cares for him who is unfit for them. And those cares He indicated in the parable of the fourfold seed, when He said that "the seed of the word which fell unto the thorns" and hedges was choked by them, and could not bring forth fruit. It is therefore necessary to learn how to make use of every occurrence, so as by a good life, according to knowledge, to be trained for the state of eternal life. For it said, "I saw the wicked exalted and towering as the cedars of Lebanon; and I passed," says the Scripture, "and, lo, he was not; and I sought him, and his place was not found. Keep innocence, and look on uprightness: for there is a remnant to the man of peace." Such will he be who believes unfeignedly with his whole heart, and is tranquil in his whole soul. "For the different people honour me with their lips, but their heart is far from the Lord." "They bless with their mouth, but they curse in their heart." "They loved Him with their mouth, and lied to Him with their tongue; but their heart was not right with Him, and they were not faithful to His covenant." Wherefore "let the false lips become speechless, and let the Lord destroy the boastful tongue: those who say, We shall magnify our tongue, and our lips are our own; who is Lord over us? For the affliction of the poor and the groaning of the needy now will I arise, saith the Lord; I will set him in safety; I will speak out in his case." For it is to the humble that Christ belongs, who do not exalt themselves against His flock. "Lay not up for yourselves, therefore, treasures on the earth, where moth and rust destroy, and thieves break through and steal," says the Lord, in reproach perchance of the covetous, and perchance also of those who are simply anxious and full of cares, and those too who indulge their bodies. For amours, and diseases, and evil thoughts "break through" the mind and the whole man. But our true "treasure" is where what is allied to our mind is, since it bestows the communicative power of righteousness, showing that we must assign to the habit of our old conversation what we have acquired by it, and have recourse to God, beseeching mercy. He is, in truth, "the bag that waxeth not old," the provisions of eternal life, "the treasure that faileth not in heaven." "For I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy," saith the Lord. And they say those things to those who wish to be poor for righteousness' sake. For they have heard in the commandment that "the broad and wide way leadeth to destruction, and many there are who go in by it." It is not of anything else that the assertion is made, but of profligacy, and love of women, and love of glory, and ambition, and similar passions. For so He says, "Fool, this night shall thy soul be required of thee; and whose shall those things be which thou hast prepared?" And the commandment is expressed in these very words, "Take heed, therefore, of covetousness. For a man's life does not consist in the abundance of those things which he possesses. For what shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" "Wherefore I say, Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat; neither for your body, what ye shall put on. For your life is more than meat, and your body than raiment." And again, "For your Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things." "But seek first the kingdom of heaven, and its righteousness," for these are the great things, and the things which are small and appertain to this life "shall be added to you." Does He not plainly then exhort us to follow the gnostic life, and enjoin us to seek the truth in word and deed? Therefore Christ, who trains the soul, reckons one rich, not by his gifts, but by his choice. It is said, therefore, that Zaccheus, or, according to some, Matthew, the chief of the publicans, on hearing that the Lord had deigned to come to him, said, "Lord, and if I have taken anything by false accusation, I restore him fourfold;" on which the Saviour said, "The Son of man, on coming to-day, has found that which was lost." Again, on seeing the rich cast into the treasury according to their wealth, and the widow two mites, He said "that the widow had cast in more than they all," for "they had contributed of their abundance, but she of her destitution." And because He brought all things to bear on the discipline of the soul, He said, "Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth." And the meek are those who have quelled the battle of unbelief in the soul, the battle of wrath, and lust, and the other forms that are subject to them. And He praises those meek by choice, not by necessity. For there are with the Lord both rewards and" many mansions," corresponding to men's lives. "Whosoever shall receive," says He, "a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall receive a prophet's reward; and whosoever shall receive a righteous man in the name of a righteous man, shall receive a righteous man's reward; and whoso shall receive one of the least of these my disciples, shall not lose his reward." And again, the differences of virtue according to merit, and the noble rewards, He indicated by the hours unequal in number; and in addition, by the equal reward given to each of the labourers -- that is, salvation, which is meant by the penny -- He indicated the equality of justice; and the difference of those called He intimated, by those who worked for unequal portions of time. They shall work, therefore, in accordance with the appropriate mansions of which they have been deemed worthy as rewards, being fellow-workers in the ineffable administration and service. "Those, then," says Plato, "who seem called to a holy life, are those who, freed and released from those earthly localities as from prisons, have reached the pure dwelling-place on high." In clearer terms again he expresses the same thing: "Those who by philosophy have been sufficiently purged from those things, live without bodies entirely for all time. Although they are enveloped in certain shapes; in the case of some, of air, and others, of fire." He adds further: "And they reach abodes fairer than those, which it is not easy, nor is there sufficient time now to describe." Whence with reason, "blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted;" for they who have repented of their former evil life shall attain to "the calling" (klhsin), for this is the meaning of being comforted (paraklhqhnai). And there are two styles of penitents. That which is more common is fear on account of what is done; but the other which is more special, the shame which the spirit feels in itself arising from conscience. Whether then, here or elsewhere (for no place is devoid of the beneficence of God), He again says, "Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy." And mercy is not, as some of the philosophers have imagined, pain on account of others' calamities, but rather something good, as the prophets say. For it is said, "I will have mercy, and not sacrifice." And He means by the merciful, not only those who do acts of mercy, but those who wish to do them, though they be not able; who do as far as purpose is concerned. For sometimes we wish by the gift of money or by personal effort to do mercy, as to assist one in want, or help one who is sick, or stand by one who is in any emergency; and are not able either from poverty, or disease, or old age (for this also is natural disease), to carry out our purpose, in reference to the things to which we are impelled, being unable to conduct them to the end we wished. Those, who have entertained the wish whose purpose is equal, share in the same honour with those who have the ability, although others have the advantage in point of resources. And since there are two paths of reaching the perfection of salvation, works and knowledge, He called the "pure in heart blessed, for they shall see God." And if we really look to the truth of the matter, knowledge is the purification of the leading faculty of the soul, and is a good activity. Some things accordingly are good in themselves, and others by participation in what is good, as we say good actions are good. But without things intermediate which hold the place of material, neither good nor bad actions are constituted, such I mean as life, and health, and other necessary things or circumstantials. Pure then as respects corporeal lusts, and pure in respect of holy thoughts, he means those are, who attain to the knowledge of God, when the chief faculty of the soul has nothing spurious to stand in the way of its power. When, therefore, he who partakes gnostically of this holy quality devotes himself to contemplation, communing in purity with the divine, he enters more nearly into the state of impassible identity, so as no longer to have science and possess knowledge, but to be science and knowledge.

"Blessed, then, are the peacemakers," who have subdued and tamed the law which wars against the disposition of the mind, the menaces of anger, and the baits of lust, and the other passions which war against the reason; who, having lived in the knowledge both of good works and true reason, shall be reinstated in adoption, Which is dearer. It follows that the perfect peacemaking is that which keeps unchanged in all circumstances what is peaceful; calls Providence holy and good; and has its being in the knowledge of divine and human affairs, by which it deems the opposites that are in the world to be the fairest harmony of creation. They also are peacemakers, who teach those who war against the stratagems of sin to have recourse to faith and peace. And it is the sum of all virtue, in my opinion, when the Lord teaches us that for love to God we must gnostically despise death. "Blessed are they," says He, "who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for they shall be called the sons of God;" or, as some of those who transpose the Gospels say, "Blessed are they who are persecuted by righteousness, for they shall be perfect." And, "Blessed are they who are persecuted for my sake; for they shall have a place where they shall not be persecuted." And, "Blessed are ye when men shall hate you, when they shall separate you, when they shall cast out your name as evil, for the Son of man's sake;" if we do not detest our persecutors, and undergo punishments at their hands, not hating them under the idea that we have been put to trial more tardily than we looked for; but knowing this also, that every instance of trial is an occasion for testifying.

CHAPTER 7 -- THE BLESSEDNESS OF THE MARTYR.

Then he who has lied and shown himself unfaithful, and revolted to the devil's army, in what evil do we think him to be? He belies, therefore, the Lord, or rather he is cheated of his own hope who believes not God; and he believes not who does not what He has commanded.

And what? Does not he, who denies the Lord, deny himself? For does he not rob his Master of His authority, who deprives himself of his relation to Him? He, then, who denies the Saviour, denies life; for "the light was life." He does not term those men of little faith, but faithless and hypocrites, who have the name inscribed on them, but deny that they are really believers. But the faithful is called both servant and friend. So that if one loves himself, he loves the Lord, and confesses to salvation that he may save his soul. Though you die for your neighbour out of love, and regard the Saviour as our neighbour (for God who saves is said to be nigh in respect to what is saved); you do so, choosing death on account of life, and suffering for your own sake rather than his. And is it not for this that he is called brother? he who, suffering out of love to God, suffered for his own salvation; while he, on the other hand, who dies for his own salvation, endures for love to the Lord. For he being life, in what he suffered wished to suffer that we might live by his suffering.

"Why call ye me Lord, Lord," He says, "and do not the things which I say?" For "the people that loveth with their lips, but have their heart far away from the Lord," is another people, and trust in another, and have willingly sold themselves to another; but those who perform the commandments of the Lord, in every action "testify," by doing what He wishes, and consistently naming the Lord's name; and "testifying" by deed to Him in whom they trust,

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that they are those "who have crucified the flesh, with the affections and lusts." "If we live in the Spirit, let us also walk in the Spirit." s "He that soweth to his flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting."

But to those miserable men, witness to the Lord by blood seems a most violent death, not knowing that such a gate of death is the beginning of the true life; and they will understand neither the honours after death, which belong to those who have lived holily, nor the punishments of those who have lived unrighteously and impurely? I do not say only from our Scriptures (for almost all the commandments indicate them); but they will not even hear their own discourses. For the Pythagorean Theano writes, "Life were indeed a feast to the wicked, who, having done evil, then die; were not the soul immortal, death would be a godsend." And Plato in the Phaedo, "For if death were release from everything," and so forth. We are not then to think according to the Telephus of Aeschylus, "that a single path leads to Hades." The ways are many, and the sins that lead thither. Such deeply erring ones as the unfaithful are, Aristophanes properly makes the subjects of comedy. "Come," he says, "ye men of obscure life, ye that are like the race of leaves, feeble, wax figures, shadowy tribes, evanescent, fleeting, ephemeral." And Epicharmus, "This nature of men is inflated skins." And the Saviour has said to us, "The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak." "Because the carnal mind is enmity against God," explains the apostle: "for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed, can be. And they that are in the flesh cannot please God." And in further explanation continues, that no one may, like Marcion regard the creature as evil. "But if Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin; but the Spirit is life because of righteousness." And again: "For if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die. For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared to the glory which shall be revealed in us. If we suffer with Him, that we also may be glorified together as joint-heirs of Christ. And we know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them that are called according to the purpose. For whom He did foreknow, He also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of His Son, that He might be the first-born among many brethren. And whom He did predestinate, them He also called; and whom He called, them He also justified; and whom He justified, them He also glorified."

You see that martyrdom for love's sake is taught. And should you wish to be a martyr for the recompense of advantages, you shall hear again. "For we are saved by hope: but hope that is seen is not hope: for what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for? But if we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience wait for it." "But if we also suffer for righteousness' sake," says Peter, "blessed are we. Be not afraid of their fear, neither be troubled. But sanctify the Lord God in your hearts: and be ready always to give an answer to him that asks a reason of the hope that is in you, but with meekness and fear, having a good conscience; so that in reference to that for which you are spoken against, they may be ashamed who calumniate your good conversation in Christ. For it is better to suffer for well-doing. if the will of God, than for evil-doing." But if one should cap tiously say, And how is it possible for feeble flesh to resist the energies and spirits of the Powers? well, let him know this, that, confiding in the Almighty and the Lord, we war against the principalities of darkness, and against death. "Whilst thou art yet speaking," He says, "Lo, here am I." See the invincible Helper who shields us. "Think it not strange, therefore, concerning the burning sent for your trial, as though some strange thing happened to you; But, as you are partaken in the sufferings of Christ, rejoice; that at the revelation of His glory ye may rejoice exultant. If ye be reproached in the name of Christ, happy are ye; for the Spirit of glory and of God resteth on you." As it is written, "Because for Thy sake we are killed all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter. Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors, through Him that loved us."

"What you wish to ascertain from my mind, You shall not ascertain, not were you to apply Horrid saws from the crown of my head to the soles of my feet, Not were you to load me with chains," says a woman acting manfully in the tragedy. And Antigone, contemning the proclamation of Creon, says boldly: "It was not Zeus who uttered this proclamation."

But it is God that makes proclamation to us, and He must be believed. "For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation. Wherefore the Scripture saith, "Whosoever believeth on Him shah not be put to shame." Accordingly Simonides justly writes, "It is said that virtue dwells among all but inaccessible rocks, but that she speedily traverses a pure place. Nor is she visible to the eyes of all mortals. He who is not penetrated by heart-vexing sweat will not scale the summit of manliness." And Pindar says: "But the anxious thoughts of youths, revolving with toils, Will find glory: and in time their deeds Will in resplendent ether splendid shine."

Æschylus, too, having grasped this thought, says: "To him who toils is due, As product of his toil, glory from the gods."

"For great Fates attain great destinies," according to Heraclitus: "And what slave is there, who is careless of death?"

"For God hath not given us the spirit of bondage again to fear; but of power, and love, and of a sound mind. Be not therefore ashamed of the testimony of our Lord, or of me his prisoner," he writes to Timothy. Such shall he be "who cleaves to that which is good," according to the apostle, "who hates evil, having love unfeigned; for he that loveth another fulfilleth the law." If, then, this God, to whom we bear witness, be as He is, the God of hope, we acknowledge our hope, speeding on to hope, "saturated with goodness, filled with all knowledge."

The Indian sages say to Alexander of Macedon: "You transport men's bodies from place to place. But you shall not force our souls to do what we do not wish. Fire is to men the greatest torture, this we despise." Hence Heraclitus preferred one thing, glory, to all else; and professes "that he allows the crowd to stuff themselves to satiety like cattle."

"For on account of the body are many toils, For it we have invented a roofed house, And discovered how to dig up silver, and sow the land, And all the rest which we know by names."

To the multitude, then, this vain labour is desirable. But to us the apostle says, "Now we know this, that our old man is crucified with Him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin." Does not the apostle then plainly add the following, to show the contempt for faith in the case of the multitude? "For I think that God hath set forth us the apostles last, as appointed to death: we are made a spectacle to the world, and to angels, and to men. Up to this present hour we both hunger, and thirst, and are naked, and are beaten, and are feeble, and labour, working with our hands. Being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we endure; being defamed, we entreat; we are become as it were the offscourings of the world." Such also are the words of Plato in the Republic: "The just man, though stretched on the rack, though his eyes are dug out, will be happy." The Gnostic will never then have the chief end placed in life, but in being always happy and blessed, and a kingly friend of God. Although visited with ignominy and exile, and confiscation, and above all, death, he will never be wrenched from his freedom, and signal love to God. "The charity which bears all things, endures all things," is assured that Divine Providence orders all things well. "I exhort you," therefore it is said, "Be followers of me." The first step to salvation is the instruction accompanied with fear, in consequence of which we abstain from what is wrong; and the second is hope, by reason of which we desire the best things; but love, as is fitting, perfects, by training now according to knowledge. For the Greeks, I know not how, attributing events to unreasoning necessity, own that they yield to them unwillingly. Accordingly Euripides says: "What I declare, receive from me, madam:

No mortal exists who has not toil; He buries children, and begets others, And he himself dies, And thus mortals are afflicted."

Then he adds: - "We must bear those things which are inevitable according to nature, and go through them: Not one of the things which are necessary is formidable for mortals."

And for those who are aiming at perfection there is proposed the rational gnosis, the foundation of which is "the sacred Triad." "Faith, hope, love; but the greatest of these is love." Truly, "all things are lawful, but all things are not expedient," says the apostle: "all things are lawful for me, but all things edify not." And, "Let no one seek his own advantage, but also that of his neighbour," so as to be able at once to do and to teach, building and building up. For that "the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof," is admitted; but the conscience of the weak is supported. "Conscience, I say, not his own, but that of the other; for why is my liberty judged of by another conscience? For if I by grace am partaker, why am I evil spoken of l for that for which I give thanks? Whether therefore ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God." "For though we walk in the flesh, we do not war after the flesh; for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the demolition of fortifications, demolishing thoughts, and every high thing which exalteth itself against the knowledge of Christ." Equipped with these weapons, the Gnostic says: O Lord, give opportunity, and receive demonstration; let this dread event pass; I contemn dangers for the love I bear to Thee.

"Because alone of human things Virtue receives not a recompense from without, But has itself as the reward of its toils."

"Put on therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness, meekness, long-suffering. And above all these, love, which is the bond of perfection. And let the peace of God reign in your hearts, to which also ye are called in one body; and be thankful," ye who, while still in the body, like the just men of old, enjoy impassibility and tranquillity of soul.

CHAPTER 8 -- WOMEN AS WELL AS MEN, SLAVES AS WELL AS FREEMEN, CANDIDATES FOR THE MARTYR'S CROWN.

Since, then, not only the Aesopians, and Macedonians, and the Lacedaemonians endured when subjected to torture, as Eratosthenes says in his work, On Things Good and Evil; but also Zeno of Elea, when subjected to compulsion to divulge a secret, held out against the tortures, and confessed nothing; who, when expiring, bit out his tongue and spat it at the tyrant, whom some term Nearchus, and some Demulus. Theodotus the Pythagorean acted also similarly, and Paulus the friend of Lacydes, as Timotheus of Pergamus says in his work on The Fortitude of Philosophers, and Achaicus in The Ethics. Posthumus also, the Roman, when captured by Peucetion, did not divulge a single secret; but putting his hand on the fire, held it to it as if to a piece of brass, without moving a muscle of his face. I omit the case of Anaxarchus, who exclaimed, "Pound away at the sack which holds Anaxarchus, for it is not Anaxarchus you are pounding," when by the tyrant's orders he was being pounded with iron pestles. Neither, then, the hope of happiness nor the love of God takes what befalls ill, but remains free, although thrown among the wildest beasts or into the all-devouring fire; though racked with a tyrant's tortures. Depending as it does on the divine favour, it ascends aloft unenslaved, surrendering the body to those who can touch it alone. A barbarous nation, not cumbered with philosophy, select, it is said, annually an ambassador to the hero Zamolxis. Zamolxis was one of the disciples of Pythagoras. The one, then, who is judged of the most sterling worth is put to death, to the distress of those who have practised philosophy, but have not been selected, at being reckoned unworthy of a happy service.

So the Church is full of those, as well chaste women as men, who all their life have contemplated the death which rouses up to Christ? For the individual whose life is framed as ours is, may philosophize without Learning, whether barbarian, whether Greek, whether slave -- whether an old man, or a boy, or a woman. For self-control is common to all human beings who have made choice of it. And we admit that the same nature exists in every race, and the same virtue. As far as respects human nature, the woman does not possess one nature, and the man exhibit another, but the same: so also with virtue. If, consequently, a self-restraint and righteousness, and whatever qualities are regarded as following them, is the virtue of the male, it belongs to the male alone to be virtuous, and to the woman to be licentious and unjust. But it is offensive even to say this. Accordingly woman is to practise self-restraint and righteousness, and every other virtue, as well as man, both bond and free; since it is a fit consequence that the same nature possesses one and the same virtue. We do not say that woman's nature is the same as man's, as she is woman. For undoubtedly it stands to reason that some difference should exist between each of them, in virtue of which one is male and the other female. Pregnancy and parturition, accordingly, we say belong to woman, as she is woman, and not as she is a human being. But if there were no difference between man and woman, both would do and suffer the same things. As then there is sameness, as far as respects the soul, she will attain to the same virtue; but as there is difference as respects the peculiar construction of the body, she is destined for child-bearing and housekeeping. "For I would have you know," says the apostle, "that the head of every man is Christ; and the head of the woman is the man: for the man is not of the woman, but the woman of the man. I For neither is the woman without the man, nor the man without the woman, in the Lord." For as we say that the man ought to be conti-nent, and superior to pleasures; so also we reckon that the woman should be continent and practised in fighting against pleasures. "But I say, Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lusts of the flesh," counsels the apostolic command; "for the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh. These, then, are contrary" (not as good to evil, but as fighting advantageously), he adds therefore, so that ye cannot do the things that ye would. Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are, fornication uncleanness, profligacy, idolatry, witchcrafts, enmities, strifes, jealousies, wrath, contentions, dissensions, heresies, envyings, drunkenness, revellings, and such like; of which I tell you before, as I have also said before, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God. But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, temperance, goodness, faith, meekness." He calls sinners, as I think, "flesh," and the righteous "spirit." Further, manliness is to be assumed in order to produce confidence and forbearance, so as "to him that strikes on the one cheek, to give to him the other; and to him that takes away the cloak, to yield to him the coat also," strongly, restraining anger. For we do not train our women like Amazons to manliness in war; since we wish the men even to be peaceable. I hear that the Sarmatian women practise war no less than the men; and the women of the Sacae besides, who shoot backwards, feigning flight as well as the men. I am aware, too, that the women near Iberia practise manly work and toil, not refraining from their tasks even though near their delivery; but even in the very struggle of her pains, the woman, on being delivered, taking up the infant, carries it home. Further, the females no less than the males manage the house, and hunt,

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and keep the flocks: "Cressa the hound ran keenly in the stag's track."

Women are therefore to philosophize equally with men, though the males are preferable at everything, unless they have become effeminate To the whole human race, then, discipline and virtue are a necessity, if they would pursue after happiness. And how recklessly Euripides writes sometimes this and sometimes that! On one occasion, "For every wife is inferior to her husband, though the most excellent one marry her that is of fair fame." And on another: "For the chaste is her husband's slave, While she that is unchaste in her folly despises her consort.

. . . .. For nothing is better and more excellent, Than when as husband and wife ye keep house, Harmonious in your sentiments." The ruling power is therefore the head. And if "the Lord is head of the man, and the man is head of the woman," the man, "being the image and glory of God, is lord of the woman." Wherefore also in the Epistle to the Ephesians it is written, "Subjecting),ourselves one to another in the fear of God. Wives, submit yourselves to your own husbands, as to the Lord. For the husband is head of the wife, as also Christ is the head of the Church; and He is the Saviour of the body. Husbands, love your wives, as also Christ loved the Church. So also ought men to love their wives as their own bodies: he that loveth his wife loveth himself. For no man ever yet hated his own flesh." And in that to the Colossians it is said, "Wives, submit yourselves to your own husbands, as is fit in the Lord. Husbands, love your wives, and be not bitter against them. Children, obey your parents in all things; for this is well pleasing to the Lord. Fathers, provoke not your children to anger, lest they be discouraged. Servants, be obedient in all things to those who are your masters according to the flesh; not with eye-service, as men-pleasers; but with singleness of heart, fearing the Lord. And whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as serving the Lord and not men; knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance: for ye serve the Lord Christ. For the wrongdoer shall receive the Wrong, which he hath done; and there is no respect of persons. Masters, render to your servants justice and equity; knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven, where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond, free: but Christ is all, and in all." And the earthly Church is the image of the heavenly, as we pray also "that the will of God may be done upon the earth as in heaven." "Putting on, therefore, bowels of mercy, gentleness, humbleness, meekness, long-suffering; forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if one have a quarrel against any man; as also Christ hath forgiven us, so also let us. And above all these things put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness. And let the peace of God rule in your hearts, to which ye are called in one body; and be thankful." For there is no obstacle to adducing frequently the same Scripture in order to put Marcion to the blush, if perchance he be persuaded and converted; by learning that the faithful ought to be grateful to God the Creator, who hath called us, and who preached the Gospel in the body. From these considerations the unity of the faith is clear, and it is shown who is the perfect man; so that though some are reluctant, and offer as much resistance as they can, though menaced with punishments at the hand of husband or master, both the domestic and the wife will philosophize. Moreover, the free, though threatened with death at a tyrant's hands, and brought before the tribunals, and all his substances imperilled, will by no means abandon piety; nor will the wife who dwells with a wicked husband, or the son if he has a bad father, or the domestic if he has a bad master, ever fail in holding nobly to virtue. But as it is noble for a man to die for virtue, and for liberty, and for himself, so also is it for a woman. For this is not peculiar to the nature of males, but to the nature of the good. Accordingly, both the old man, the young, and the servant will live faithfully, and if need be die; which will be to be made alive by death. So we know that both children, and women, and servants have often, against their fathers', and masters', and husbands' will, reached the highest degree of excellence. Wherefore those who are determined to live piously ought none the less to exhibit alacrity, when some seem to exercise compulsion on them; but much more, I think, does it become them to show eagerness, and to strive with uncommon vigour, lest, being overcome, they abandon the best and most indispensable counsels. For it does not, I think, admit of comparison, whether it be better to be a follower of the Almighty than to choose the darkness of demons. For the things which are done by us on account of others we are to do always, endeavouring to have respect to those for whose sake it is proper that they be done, regarding the gratification rendered in their case, as what is to be our rule; but the things which are done for our own sake rather than that of others, are to be done with equal earnestness, whether they are like to please certain people or not. If some indifferent things have obtained such honour as to appear worthy of adoption, though against the will of some; much more is virtue to be regarded by us as worth contending for, looking the while to nothing but what can be rightly done, whether it seem good to others or not. Well then, Epicurus, writing to Menoeceus, says, "Let not him who is young delay philosophizing, and let not the old man grow weary of philosophizing; for no one is either not of age or past age for attending to the health of his soul. And he who says that the time for philosophizing is not come or is past, is like the man who says that the time for happiness is not come or has gone. So that young s as well as old ought to philosophize: the one, in order that, while growing old, he may grow young in good things out of favour accruing from what is past; and the other, that he may be at once young and old, from want of fear for the future."

CHAPTER 9 -- CHRIST'S SAYINGS RESPECTING MARTYRDOM.

On martyrdom the Lord hath spoken explicitly, and what is written in different places we bring together. "But I say unto you, Whosoever shall confess in Me before men, the Son of man also shall confess before the angels of God; but whosoever shall deny Me before men, him will I deny before the angels." "Whosoever shall be ashamed of Me or of My words in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the Son of man also be ashamed when He cometh in the glory of His Father with His angels.

Whosoever therefore shall confess in Me before men, him will I also confess before my Father in heaven. "And when they bring you before synagogues, and rulers, and powers, think not: beforehand how ye shall make your defence, or what ye shall say. For the Holy Spirit shall teach you in the same hour what ye must say." In explanation of this passage, Heracleon, the most distinguished of the school of Valentinians, says expressly, "that there is a confession by faith and conduct, and one with the voice. The confession that is made with the voice, and before the authorities, is what the most reckon the only confession. Not soundly: and hypocrites also can confess with this confession. But neither will this utterance be found to be spoken universally; for all the saved have confessed with the confession made by the voice, and departed. Of whom are Matthew, Philip, Thomas, Levi, and many others. And confession by the lip is not universal, but partial. But that which He specifies now is universal, that which is by deeds and actions corresponding to faith in Him. This confession is followed by that which is partial, that before the authorities, if necessary, and reason dictate. For he will confess rightly with his voice who has first confessed by his disposition. And he has well used, with regard to those who confess, the expression 'in Me,' and applied to those who deny the expression 'Me.' For those, though they confess Him with the voice, yet deny Him, not confessing Him in their conduct. But those alone confess 'in Him,' who live in the confession and conduct according to Him, in which He also confesses, who is contained in them and held by them. Wherefore 'He never can deny Himself.' And those deny Him who are not in Him. For He said not, 'Whosoever shall deny' in Me, but 'Me.' For no one who is in Him will ever deny Him. And the expression 'before men ' applies both to the saved and the heathen similarly by conduct before the one, and by voice before the other. Wherefore they never can deny Him. But those deny Him who are not in Him." So far Heracleon. And in other things he seems to be of the same sentiments with us in this section; but he has not adverted to this, that if some have not by conduct and in their life "confessed Christ before men," they are manifested to have believed with the heart; by confessing Him with the mouth at the tribunals, and not denying Him when tortured to the death. And the disposition being confessed, and especially not being changed by death at any time, cuts away all passions which were engendered by corporeal desire. For there is, so to speak, at the close of life a sudden repentance in action, and a true confession toward Christ, in the testimony of the voice. But if the Spirit of the Father testifies in us, how can we be any more hypocrites, who are said to bear testimony with the voice alone? But it will be given to some, if expedient, to make a defence, that by their witness and confession all may be benefited -- those in the Church being confirmed, and those of the heathen who have devoted themselves to the search after salvation wondering and being led to the faith; and the rest seized with amazement. So that confession is by all means necessary. For it is in our power. But to make a defence for our faith is not universally necessary. For that does not depend on us. "But he that endureth to the end shall be saved." For who of those who are wise would not choose to reign in God, and even to serve? So some "confess that they know God," according to the apostle; "but in works they deny Him, being abominable and disobedient, and to every good work reprobate." And these, though they confess nothing but this, will have done at the end one good work. Their witness, then, appears to be the cleansing away of sins with glory. For instance, the Shepherd says: "You will escape the energy of the wild beast, if your heart become pure and blameless." Also the Lord Himself says: "Satan hath desired to sift you; but I have prayed." Alone, therefore, the Lord, for the purification of the men who plotted against Him and disbelieved Him, "drank the cup;" in imitation of whom the apostles, that they might be in reality Gnostics, and perfect, suffered for the Churches which they founded.

So, then, also the Gnostics who tread in the footsteps of the apostles ought to be sinless, and, out of love to the Lord, to love also their brother; so that, if occasion call, enduring without stumbling, afflictions for the Church, "they may drink the cup." Those who witness in their life by deed, and at the tribunal by word, whether entertaining hope or surmising fear, are better than those who confess salvation by their mouth alone. But if one ascend also to love, he is a really blessed and true martyr, having confessed perfectly both to the commandments and to God, by the Lord; whom having loved, he acknowledged a brother, giving himself up wholly for God, resigning pleasantly and lovingly the man when asked, like a deposit.

CHAPTER 10 -- THOSE WHO OFFERED THEMSELVES FOR MARTYRDOM REPROVED.

When, again, He says, "When they persecute you in this city, flee ye to the other," He does not advise flight, as if persecution were an evil thing; nor does He enjoin them by flight to avoid death, as if in dread of it, but wishes us neither to be the authors nor abettors of any evil to any one, either to ourselves or the persecutor and murderer. For He, in a way, bids us take care of ourselves. But he who disobeys is rash and foolhardy. If he who kills a man of God sins against God, he also who presents himself before the judgment-seat becomes guilty of his death. And such is also the case with him who does not avoid persecution, but out of daring presents himself for capture. Such a one, as far as in him lies, becomes an accomplice in the crime of the persecutor. And if he also uses provocation, he is wholly guilty, challenging the wild beast. And similarly, if he afford any cause for conflict or punishment, or retribution or enmity, he gives occasion for persecution. Wherefore, then, we are enjoined not to cling to anything that belongs to this life; but "to him that takes our cloak to give our coat," not only that we may continue destitute of inordinate affection, but that we may not by retaliating make our persecutors savage against ourselves, and stir them up to blaspheme the name.

CHAPTER 11 -- THE OBJECTION, WHY DO YOU SUFFER IF GOD CARES FOR YOU, ANSWERED.

But, say they, if God cares for you, why are you persecuted and put to death? Has He delivered you to this? No, we do not suppose that the Lord wishes us to be involved in calamities, but that He foretold prophetically what would happen -- that we should be persecuted for His name's sake, slaughtered, and impaled. So that it was not that He wished us to be persecuted, but He intimated beforehand what we shall suffer by the prediction of what would take place, training us to endurance, to which He promised the inheritance, although we are punished not alone, but along with many. But those, it is said, being malefactors, are righteously punished. Accordingly, they unwillingly bear testimony to our righteousness, we being unjustly punished for righteousness' sake. But the injustice of the judge does not affect the providence of God. For the judge must be master of his own opinion -- not pulled by strings, like inanimate machines, set in motion only by external causes. Accordingly he is judged in respect to his judgment, as we also, in accordance with our choice of things desirable, and our endurance.

Although we do not wrong, yet the judge looks on us as doing wrong, for he neither knows nor wishes to know about us, but is influenced by unwarranted prejudice; wherefore also he is judged. Accordingly they persecute us, not from the supposition that we are wrong-doers. but imagining that by the very fact of our being Christians we sin against life in so conducting ourselves, and exhorting others to adopt the like life.

But why are you not helped when persecuted? say they. What wrong is done us, as far as we are concerned, in being released by death to go to the Lord, and so undergoing a change of life, as if a change from one time of life to another? Did we think rightly, we should feel obliged to those who have afforded the means for speedy departure, if it is for love that we bear witness; and if not, we should appear to the multitude to be base men. Had they also known the truth, all would have bounded on to the way, and there would have been no choice. But our faith, being the light of the world, reproves unbelief. "Should Anytus and Melitus kill me, they will not hurt me in the least; for I do not think it right for the better to be hurt by the worse," [says Socrates]. So that each one of us may with confidence say, "The Lord is my helper; I will not fear: what shall man do to me?" "For the souls of the righteous are in the hand of the Lord, and no plague shall touch them."

CHAPTER 12 -- BASILIDES' IDEA OF MARTYRDOM REFUTED.

Basilides, in the twenty-third book of the Exegetics, respecting those that are punished by martyrdom, expresses himself in the following language: "For I say this, Whosoever fall under the afflictions mentioned, in consequence of unconsciously transgressing in other matters, are brought to this good end by the kindness of Him who brings them, but

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accused on other grounds; so that they may not suffer as condemned for what are owned to be iniquities, nor reproached as the adulterer or the murderer, but because they are Christians; which will console them, so that they do not appear to suffer. And if one who has not sinned at all incur suffering -- a rare case -- yet even he will not suffer aught through the machinations of power, but will suffer as the child which seems not to have sinned would suffer." Then further on he adds: "As, then, the child which has not sinned before, or committed actual sin in itself, but has that which committed sin, when subjected to suffering, gets good, reaping the advantage of many difficulties; so also, although a perfect man may not have sinned in act, while he endures afflictions, he suffers similarly with the child. Having within him the sinful principle, but not embracing the opportunity of committing sin, he does not sin; so that he is not to be reckoned as not having sinned. For as he who wishes to commit adultery is an adulterer, although he does not succeed in committing adultery; and he that wishes to commit murder is a murderer, although he is unable to kill; so also, if I see the man without sin, whom I specify, suffering, though he have done nothing bad, I should call him bad, on account of his wishing to sin. For I will affirm anything rather than call Providence evil." Then, in continuation, he says expressly concerning the Lord, as concerning man: "If then, passing from all these observations, you were to proceed to put me to shame by saying, perchance impersonating certain parties, This man has then sinned; for this man has suffered; -- if you permit, I will say, He has not sinned; but was like a child suffering. If you were to insist more urgently, I would say, That the man you name is man, but that God is righteous: ' For no one is pure,' as one said, ' from pollution.' " But the hypothesis of Basilides says that the soul, having sinned before in another life, endures punishment in this -- the elect soul with honour by martyrdom, the other purged by appropriate punishment. How can this be true, when the confessing and suffering punishment or not depends on ourselves? For in the case of the man who shall deny, Providence, as held by Basilides, is done away with. I will ask him, then, in the case of a confessor who has been arrested, whether he will confess and be punished in virtue of Providence or not? For in the case of denying he will not be punished. But if, for the sake of escaping and evading the necessity of punishing such an one, he shall say that the destruction of those who shall deny is of Providence, he will be a martyr against his will. And how any more is it the case, that there is laid up in heaven the very glorious recompense to him who has witnessed, for his witnessing? If Providence did not permit the sinner to get the length of sinning, it is unjust in both cases; both in not rescuing the man who is dragged to punishment for righteousness' sake, and in having rescued him who wished to do wrong, he having done it as far as volition was concerned, but [Providence] having prevented the deed, and unjustly favoured the sinner. And how impious, in deifying the devil, and in daring to call the Lord a sinful man! For the devil tempting us, knowing what we are, but not knowing if we will hold out, but wishing to dislodge us from the faith, attempts also to bring us into subjection to himself. Which is all that is allowed to him, partly from the necessity of saving us, who have taken occasion from the commandment, from ourselves; partly for the confusion of him who has tempted and failed; for the confirmation of the members of the Church, and the conscience of those who admire the constancy [displayed]. But if martyrdom be retribution by way of punishment, then also faith and doctrine, on account of which martyrdom comes, are co-operators in punishment -- than which, what other absurdity could be greater? But with reference to these dogmas, whether the soul is changed to another body, also of the devil, at the proper time mention will be made. But at present, to what has been already said, let us add the following: Where any more is faith in the retribution of sins committed before martyrdom takes place? And where is love to God, which is persecuted and endures for the truth? And where is the praise of him who has confessed, or the censure of him who has denied? And for what use is right conduct, the mortification of the lusts, and the hating of no creature? But if, as Basilides himself says, we suppose one part of the declared will of God to be the loving of all things because all things bear a relation to the Whole, and another "not to lust after anything," and a third "not to hate anything," by the will of God these also will be punishments, which it were impious to think. For neither did the Lord suffer by the will of the Father, nor are those who are persecuted by the will of God; since either of two things is the case: either persecution in consequence of the will of God is a good thing, or those who decree and afflict are guiltless. But nothing is without the will of the Lord of the universe. It remains to say that such things happen without the prevention of God; for this alone saves both the providence and the goodness of God. We must not therefore think that He actively produces afflictions (far be it that we should think this!); but we must be persuaded that He does not prevent those that cause them, but overrules for good the crimes of His enemies: "I will therefore," He says, "destroy the wall, and it shall be for treading under foot." Providence being a disciplinary art; in the case of others for each individual's sins, and in the case of the Lord and His apostles for ours. To this point says the divine apostle: "For this is the will of God, even your sanctification, that ye abstain from fornication: that each one of you should know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour; not in the lust of concupiscence, as the Gentiles who know not the Lord: that none of you should overreach or take advantage of his brother in any matter; because the Lord is the avenger in respect of all such, as we also told you before, and testified. For God hath not called us unto uncleanness, but to holiness. Wherefore he that despiseth, despiseth not man, but God, who hath also given His Holy Spirit to you." Wherefore the Lord was not prohibited from this sanctification of ours. if, then, one of them were to say, in reply, that the martyr is punished for sins committed before this embodying, and that he will again reap the fruit of his conduct in this life, for that such are the arrangements of the [divine administration], we shall ask him if the retribution takes place by Providence. For if it be not of the divine administration, the economy of expiations is gone, and their hypothesis falls to the ground; but if expiations are by Providence, punishments are by Providence too. But Providence, although it begins, so to speak, to move with the Ruler, yet is implanted in substances along with their origin by the God of the universe. Such being the case, they must confess either that punish-merit is not just, and those who condemn and persecute the martyrs do right, or that persecutions even are wrought by the will of God. Labour and fear are not, then, as they say, incident to affairs as rust to iron, but come upon the soul through its own will. And on these points there is much to say, which will be reserved for future consideration, taking them up in due course.

CHAPTER 13 -- VALENTINIAN'S VAGARIES ABOUT THE ABOLITION OF DEATH REFUTED.

Valentinian, in a homily, writes in these words: "Ye are originally immortal, and children of eternal life, and ye would have death distributed to you, that ye may spend and lavish it, and that death may die in you and by you; for when we dissolve the world, and are not yourselves dissolved, ye have dominion over creation and all corruption." For he also, similarly with Basilides, supposes a class saved by nature, and that this different race has come hither to us from above for the abolition of death, and that the origin of death is the work of the Creator of the world. Wherefore also he so expounds that Scripture, "No man shall see the face of God, and live," as if He were the cause of death. Respecting this God, he makes those allusions when writing in these expressions: "As much as the image is inferior to the living face, so much is the world inferior to the living Æon. What is, then, the cause of the image? The majesty of the face, which exhibits the figure to the painter, to be honoured by his name; for the form is not found exactly to the life, but the name supplies what is wanting in the effigy. The invisibility of God co-operates also in order to the faith of that which has been fashioned." For the Creator, called God and Father, he designated as "Painter," and "Wisdom," whose image that which is formed is, to the glory of the invisible One; since the things which proceed from a pair are complements, and those which proceed from one are images. But since what is seen is no part of Him, the soul comes from what is intermediate, which is different; and this is the inspiration of the different spirit, and generally what is breathed into the soul, which is the image of the spirit. And in general, what is said of the Creator, who was made according to the image, they say was foretold by a sensible image in the book of Genesis respecting the origin of man; and the likeness they transfer to themselves, teaching that the addition of the different spirit was made; unknown to the Creator. When, then, we treat of the unity of the God who is proclaimed in the law, the prophets, and the Gospel, we shall also discuss this; for the topic is supreme. But we must advance to that which is urgent. If for the purpose of doing away with death the peculiar race has come, it is not Christ who has abolished death, unless He also is said to be of the same essence with them. And if He abolished it to this end, that it might not touch the peculiar race, it is not these, the rivals of the Creator, who breathe into the image of their intermediate spirit the life from above -- in accordance with the principle of their dogma -- that abolish death. But should they say that this takes place by His mother, or should they say that they, along with Christ, war against death, let them own their secret dogma that they have the hardihood to assail the divine power of the Creator, by setting to rights His creation, as if they were superior, endeavouring to save the vital image which He was not able to rescue from corruption. Then the Lord would be superior to God the Creator; for the son would never contend with the father, especially among the gods. But the point that the Creator of all things, the omnipotent Lord, is the Father of the Son, we have deferred till the discussion of these points, in which we have under taken to dispute against the heresies, showing that He alone is the God proclaimed by Him.

But the apostle, writing to us with reference to the endurance of afflictions, says, "And this is of God, that it is given to you on behalf of Christ, not only to believe on Him, but also to suffer for His sake; having the same conflict which ye saw in me, and now hear to be in me. If there is therefore any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any communion of spirit, if any bowels and mercies, fulfil ye my joy, that ye may be of the same mind, having the same love, unanimous, thinking one thing. And if he is offered on the sacrifice and service of faith, joying and rejoicing" with the Philippians, to whom the apostle speaks, calling them "fellow-partakers of joy," how does he say that they are of one soul, and having a soul? Likewise, also, writing respecting Timothy and himself, he says, "For I have no one like-souled, who will nobly care for your state. For all seek their own, not the-things which are Jesus Christ's."

Let not the above-mentioned people, then, call us, by way of reproach, "natural men" (yukikoi), nor the Phrygians either; for these now call those who do not apply themselves to the new prophecy "natural men" (yukikoi), with whom we shall discuss in our remarks on "Prophecy." The perfect man ought therefore to practise love, and thence to haste to the divine friendship, fulfilling the commandments from love. And loving one's enemies does not mean loving wickedness, or impiety, or adultery, or theft; but the thief, the impious, the adulterer, not as far as he sins, and in respect of the actions by which he stains the name of man, but as he is a man, and the work of God. Assuredly sin is an activity, not an existence: and therefore it is not a work of God. Now sinners are called enemies of God -- enemies, that is, of the commands which they do not obey, as those who obey become friends, the one named so from their fellowship, the others from their estrangement, which is the result of free choice; for there is neither enmity nor sin without the enemy and the sinner. And the command "to covet nothing," not as if the things to be desired did not belong to us, does not teach us not to entertain desire, as those suppose who teach that the Creator is different from the first God, not as if creation was loathsome and bad (for such opinions are impious). But we say that the things of the world are not our own, not as if they were monstrous, not as if they did not belong to God, the Lord of the universe, but because we do not continue among them for ever; being, in respect of possession, not ours, and passing from one to another in succession; but belonging to us, for whom they were made in respect of use, so long as it is necessary to continue with them. In accordance, therefore, with natural appetite, things disallowed are to be used rightly, avoiding all excess and inordinate affection.

CHAPTER 14 -- THE LOVE OF ALL, EVEN OF OUR ENEMIES.

How great also is benignity! "Love your enemies," it is said, "bless them who curse you, and pray for them who despitefully use you," and the like; to which it is added, "that ye may be the children of your Father who is in heaven," in allusion to resemblance to God. Again, it is said, "Agree with thine adversary quickly, whilst thou art in the way with him." The adversary is not the body, as some would have it, but the devil, and those assimilated to him, who walks along with us in the person of men, who emulate his deeds in this earthly life. It is inevitable, then, that those who confess themselves to belong to Christ, but find themselves in the midst of the devil's works, suffer the most hostile treatment. For it is written, "Lost he deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officers of Satan's kingdom." "For I am persuaded that neither death," through the assault of persecutors, "nor life" in this world, "nor angels," the apostate ones, " nor powers" (and Satan's power is the life which he chose, for such are the powers and principalities of darkness belonging to him), "nor things present," amid which we exist during the time of life, as the hope entertained by the soldier, and the merchant's gain, "nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature," in consequence of the energy proper to a man, -- opposes the faith of him who acts according to free choice. "Creature" is synonymous with activity, being our work, and such activity "shall not be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." You have got a compendious account of the gnostic martyr.

CHAPTER 15 -- ON AVOIDING OFFENCE.

"We know that we all have knowledge" -- common knowledge in common things, and the knowledge that there is one God. For he was writing to believers; whence he adds, "But knowledge (gnosis) is not in all," being communicated to few. And there are those who say that the knowledge about things sacrificed to idols is not promulgated among all, "lest our liberty prove a stumbling-block to the weak. For by thy knowledge he that is weak is destroyed. " Should they say, "Whatsoever is sold in the shambles, ought that to be bought?" adding, by way of interrogation, "asking no questions," as if equivalent to "asking questions," they give a ridiculous interpretation. For the apostle says, "All other things buy out of the shambles, asking no questions," with the exception of the things mentioned in the Catholic epistle of all

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the apostles, "with the consent of the Holy Ghost," which is written in the Acts of the Apostles, and conveyed to the faithful by the hands of Paul himself. For they intimated "that they must of necessity abstain from things offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication, from which keeping themselves, they should do well." It is a different matter, then, which is expressed by the apostle: "Have we not power to eat and to drink? Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as the rest of the apostles, as the brethren of the Lord and Cephas? But we have not used this power," he says, "but bear all things, lest we should occasion hindrance to the Gospel of Christ;" namely, by bearing about burdens, when it was necessary to be untrammelled for all things; or to become an example to those who wish to exercise temperance, not encouraging each other to eat greedily of what is set before us, and not to consort inconsiderately with woman. And especially is it incumbent on those entrusted with such a dispensation to exhibit to disciples a pure example. "For though I be free from all men, I have made myself servant to all," it is said, "that I might gain all. And every one that striveth for mastery is temperate in all things." "But the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof." For conscience' sake, then, we are to abstain from what we ought to abstain. "Conscience, I say, not his own," for it is endued with knowledge, "but that of the other," lest he be trained badly, and by imitating in ignorance what he knows not, he become a despiser instead of a strong-minded man. "For why is my liberty judged of by another conscience? For if I by grace am a partaker, why am I evil spoken of for that for which I give thanks? Whatever ye do, do all to the glory of God " -- what you are commanded to do by the rule of faith.

CHAPTER 16 -- PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE RESPECTING THE CONSTANCY, PATIENCE, AND LOVE OF THE MARTYRS.

"With the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation. Wherefore the Scripture saith, Whosoever believeth on Him shall not be ashamed; that is, the word of faith which we preach: for if thou confess the word with thy mouth that Jesus is Lord, and believe in thy heart that God hath raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." There is clearly described the perfect righteousness, fulfilled both in practice and contemplation. Wherefore we are "to bless those who persecute us. Bless, and curse not." " For our rejoicing is this, the testimony of a good conscience, that in holiness and sincerity we know God" by this inconsiderable instance exhibiting the work of love, that "not in fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world." So far the apostle respecting knowledge; and in the second Epistle to the Corinthians he calls the common "teaching of faith" the savour of knowledge. "For unto this day the same veil remains on many in the reading of the Old Testament," not being uncovered by turning to the Lord. Wherefore also to those capable of perceiving he showed resurrection, that of the life still in the flesh, creeping on its belly. Whence also he applied the name "brood of vipers" to the voluptuous, who serve the belly and the pudenda, and cut off one another's heads for the sake of worldly pleasures. "Little children, let us not love in word, or in tongue," says John, teaching them to be perfect, "but in deed and in truth; hereby shall we know that we are of the truth." And if "God be love," piety also is love: "there is no fear in love; but perfect love casteth out fear." "This is the love of God, that we keep His commandments." And again, to him who desires to become a Gnostic, it is written, "But be thou an example of the believers, in word, in conversation, in love, in faith, in purity." For perfection in faith differs, I think, from ordinary faith. And the divine apostle furnishes the rule for the Gnostic in these words, writing as follows: "For I have learned, in whatsoever state I am, to be content. I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound. Everywhere and in all things I am instructed both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to lack. I can do all things through Him who strengtheneth me." And also when discussing with others in order to put them, to shame, he does not shrink from saying, "But call to mind the former days, in which, after ye were illuminated, ye endured a great fight of afflictions; partly, whilst ye were made a gazing-stock, both by reproaches and afflictions; and partly, whilst ye became companions of them that were so used. For ye had compassion of me in my bonds, and took with joy the spoiling of your goods, knowing that you have a better and enduring substance. Cast not away therefore your confidence, which hath great recompense of reward. For ye have need of patience, that, after doing the will of God, ye may obtain the promise. For yet a little while, and He that cometh will come, and will not tarry. Now the just shall live by faith: and if any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him. But we are not of them that draw back unto perdition, but of them that believe to the saving of the soul." He then brings forward a swarm of divine examples. For was it not "by faith," he says, this endurance, that they acted nobly who "had trial of mockeries and scourgings, and, moreover, of bonds and imprisonments? They were stoned, they were tempted, were slain with the sword. They wandered about in sheep-skins and goat-skins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented, of whom the world was not worthy. They wandered in deserts, in mountains, in dens, and caves of the earth. And all having received a good report, through faith, received not the promise of God" (what is expressed by a parasiopesis is left to be understood, viz., "alone "). He adds accordingly, "God having provided some better thing for us (for He was good), that they should not without us be made perfect.

Wherefore also, having encompassing us such a cloud," holy and transparent, "of witnesses, laying aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, let us run with patience the race set before us, looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith." Since, then, he specifies one salvation in Christ of the righteous, and of us he has expressed the former unambiguously, and saying nothing less respecting Moses, adds, "Esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt: for he had respect to the recompense of the reward. By faith he forsook Egypt, not fearing the wrath of the king: for he endured as seeing Him who is invisible." The divine Wisdom says of the martyrs, "They seemed in the eyes of the foolish to die, and their departure was reckoned a calamity, and their migration from us an affliction. But they are in peace. For though in the sight of men they were punished, their hope was full of immortality." He then adds, teaching martyrdom to be a glorious purification, "And being chastened a little, they shall be benefited much; because God proved them," that is, suffered them to be tried, to put them to the proof, and to put to shame the author of their trial, "and found them worthy of Himself," plainly to be called sons. "As gold in the furnace He proved them, and as a whole burned-offering of sacrifice He accepted them. And in the time of their visitation they will shine forth, even as sparks run along the stubble. They shall judge the nations, and rule over the peoples, and the Lord shall reign over them forever."

CHAPTER 17 -- PASSAGES FROM CLEMENT'S EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS ON MARTYRDOM.

Moreover, in the Epistle to the Corinthians, the Apostle Clement also, drawing a picture of the Gnostic, says: "For who that has sojourned among you has not proved your perfect and firm faith? and has not admired your sound and gentle piety? and has not celebrated the munificent style of your hospitality? and has not felicitated your complete and sure knowledge? For ye did all things impartially, and walked in the ordinances of God;" and so forth.

Then more clearly: "Let us fix our eyes on those who have yielded perfect service to His magnificent glory. Let us take Enoch, who, being by his obedience found righteous, was translated; and Noah, who, having believed, was saved; and Abraham, who for his faith and hospitality was called the friend of God, and was the father of Isaac." "For hospitality and piety, Lot was saved from Sodom." "For faith and hospitality, Rahab the harlot was saved." "From patience and faith they walked about in goat-skins, and sheep-skins, and folds of camels' hair, proclaiming the kingdom of Christ. We name His prophets Elias, and Eliseus, and Ezekiel, and John."

"For Abraham, who for his free faith was called ' the friend of God,' was not elated by glory, but modestly said, 'I am dust and ashes.' And of Job it is thus written: ' Job was just and blameless, true and pious, abstaining from all evil.'" He it was who overcame the tempter by patience, and at once testified and was testified to by God; who keeps hold of humility, and says, "No one is pure from defilement, not even if his life were but for one day." "Moses, 'the servant who was faithful in all his house,' said to Him who uttered the oracles from the bush,' Who am I, that Thou sendest me? I am slow of speech, and of a stammering tongue,' to minister the voice of God in human speech. And again: ' I am smoke from a pot.'" "For God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble."

"David too, of whom the Lord, testifying, says, 'I found a man after my own heart, David the son of Jesse. With my holy oil I anointed him.' But he also says to God, 'Pity me, O God, according to Thy mercy; and according to the multitude of Thy tender mercies, blot out my transgression. Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin. For I know my transgression, and my sin is ever before me.' " Then, alluding to sin which is not subject to the law, in the exercise of the moderation of true knowledge, he adds, "Against Thee only have I sinned, and done evil in Thy sight." For the Scripture somewhere says, "The Spirit of the Lord is a lamp, searching the recesses of the belly." And the more of a Gnostic a man becomes by doing right, the nearer is the illuminating Spirit to him. "Thus the Lord draws near to the righteous, and none of the thoughts and reasonings of which we are the authors escape Him -- I mean the Lord Jesus," the scrutinizer by His omnipotent will of our heart, "whose blood was consecrated for us. Let us therefore respect those who are over us, and reverence the elders; let us honour the young, and let us teach the discipline of God." For blessed is he who shah do and teach the Lord's commands worthily; and he is of a magnanimous mind, and of a mind contemplative of truth. "Let us direct our wives to what is good; let them exhibit," says he, "the lovable disposition of chastity; let them show the guileless will of their meekness; let them manifest the gentleness of their tongue by silence; let them give their love not according to their inclinations, but equal love in sanctity to all i that fear God. Let our children share in the discipline that is in Christ; let them learn what humility avails before God; what is the power of holy love before God, how lovely and great is the fear of the Lord, saving all that walk in it holily; with a pure heart: for He is the Searcher of the thoughts and sentiments, whose breath is in us, and when He wills He will take it away."

"Now all those things are confirmed by the faith that is in Christ. 'Come, ye children,' says the Lord, ' hearken to me, and I will teach you the fear of the Lord. Who is the man that desireth life, that loveth to see good days?' Then He subjoins the gnostic mystery of the numbers seven and eight. 'Stop thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile. Depart from evil, and do good. Seek peace, and pursue it.' For in these words He alludes to knowledge (gnosis), with abstinence from evil and the doing of what is good, teaching that it is to be perfected by word and deed. ' The eyes of the Lord are on the righteous, and His ears are to their prayer. But the face of God is against those thai do evil, to root out their memory from the earth. The righteous cried, and the Lord heard, and delivered him out of all his distresses.' ' Many are the stripes of sinners; but those who hope in the Lord, mercy shall compass about.'" "A multitude of mercy," he nobly says, "surrounds him that trusts in the Lord."

For it is written in the Epistle to the Corinthians, "Through Jesus Christ our foolish and darkened mind springs up to the light. By Him the Sovereign Lord wished us to taste the knowledge that is immortal." And, showing more expressly the peculiar nature of knowledge, he added: "These things, then, being clear to us, looking into the depths of divine knowledge, we ought to do all things in order which the Sovereign Lord commanded us to perform at the appointed seasons. Let the wise man, then, show his wisdom not in words only, but in good deeds. Let the humble not testify to himself, but allow testimony to be borne to him by another. Let not him who is pure in the flesh boast, knowing that it is another who furnishes him with continence. Ye see, brethren, that the more we are subjected to peril, the more knowledge are we counted worthy of."

CHAPTER 18 -- ON LOVE, AND THE REPRESSING OF OUR DESIRES.

"The decorous tendency of our philanthropy, therefore," according to Clement, "seeks the common good;" whether by suffering martyrdom, or by teaching by deed and word, -- the latter being twofold, unwritten and written. This is love, to love God and our neighbour. "This conducts to the height which is unutterable. ' Love covers a multitude of sins. Love beareth all things, suffereth all things.' Love joins us to God, does all things in concord. In love, all the chosen of God were perfected. Apart from love, nothing is well pleasing to God." "Of its perfection there is no unfolding," it is said. "Who is fit to be found in it, except those whom. God counts worthy?" To the point the Apostle Paul speaks, "If I give my body, and have not love, I am sounding brass, and a tinkling cymbal." If it is not from a disposition determined by gnostic love that I shall testify, he means; but if through fear and expected reward, moving my lips in order to testify to the Lord that I shall confess the Lord, I am a common man, sounding the Lord's name, not knowing Him. "For there is the people that loveth with the lips; and there is another which gives the body to be burned." "And if I give all my goods in alms," he says, not according to the principle of loving communication, but on account of recompense, either from him who has received the benefit, or the Lord who has promised; "and if I have all faith so as to remove mountains," and cast away obscuring passions, and be not faithful to the Lord from love, "I am nothing," as in comparison of him who testifies as a Gnostic, and the crowd, and being reckoned nothing better.

"Now all the generations from Adam to this day are gone. But they who have been perfected in love, through the grace of God, hold the place of the godly, who shall be manifested at the visitation of the kingdom of Christ." Love permits not to sin; but if it fall into any such case, by reason of the interference of the: adversary, in imitation of David, it will sing: "I will confess unto the Lord, and it will please Him above a young bullock that has horns and hoofs. Let the poor see it, and be glad." For he says, "Sacrifice to God a sacrifice of praise, and pay to the Lord thy vows; and call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me." "For the sacrifice of God is a broken spirit."

"God," then, being good, "is love," it is said. Whose "love worketh no ill to his neighhour," neither injuring nor revenging ever, but, in a word, doing good to all according to the image of God. "Love is," then, "the fulfilling of the law; " like as Christ, that is the presence of the Lord who loves us; and our loving teaching of, and discipline according to Christ. By love, then, the commands not to commit adultery, and not to covet one's neighbour's wife, are fulfilled, [these sins being] formerly prohibited by fear.

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The same work, then, presents a difference, according as it is done by fear, or accomplished by love, and is wrought by faith or by knowledge. Rightly, therefore, their rewards are different. To the Gnostic "are prepared what eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath entered into the heart of man;" but to him who has exercised simple faith He testifies a hundredfold in return for what he has left, -- a promise which has turned out to fall within human comprehension. Come to this point, I recollect one who called himself a Gnostic. For, expounding the words, "But i say unto you, he that looketh on a woman to lust after, hath committed adultery," he thought that it was not bare desire that was condemned; but if through the desire the act that results from it proceeding beyond the desire is accomplished in it. For dream employs phantasy and the body. Accordingly, the historians relate the following decision, of Bocchoris the just. A youth, falling in love with a courtezan, persuades the girl, for a stipulated reward, to come to him next day. But his desire being unexpectedly satiated, by laying hold of the girl in a dream, by anticipation, when the object of his love came according to stipulation, he prohibited her from coming in. But she, on learning what had taken place, demanded the reward, saying that in this way she had sated the lover's desire. They came accordingly to the judge. He, ordering the youth to hold out the purse containing the reward in the sun, bade the courtezan take hold of the shadow; facetiously bidding him pay the image of a reward for the image of an embrace.

Accordingly one dreams, the soul assenting to the vision. But he dreams waking, who looks so as to lust; not only, as that Gnostic said, if along with the sight of the woman he imagine in his mind intercourse, for this is already the act of lust, as lust; but if one looks on beauty of person (the Word says), and the flesh seem to him in the way of lust to be fair, looking on cam ally and sinfully, he is judged because he admired. For, on the other hand, he who in chaste love looks on beauty, thinks not that the flesh is beautiful, but the spirit, admiring, as I judge, the body as an image, by whose beauty he transports himself to the Artist, and to the true beauty; exhibiting the sacred symbol, the bright impress of righteousness to the angels that wait on the ascension; I mean the unction of acceptance, the quality of disposition which resides in the soul that is gladdened by the communication of the Holy Spirit. This glory, which Shone forth on the face of Moses, the people could not look on. Wherefore he took a veil for the glory, to those who looked cam ally. For those, who demand toll, detain those who bring in any worldly things, who are burdened with their own passions. But him that is free of all things which are subject to duty, and is full of knowledge, and of the righteousness of works, they pass on with their good wishes, blessing the man with his work. "And his life shall not fall away" -- the leaf of the living tree that is nourished "by the water-courses." Now the righteous is likened to fruit-bearing trees, and not only to such as are of the nature of tall-growing ones. And in the sacrificial oblations, according to the law, there were those who looked for blemishes in the sacrifices. They who are skilled in such matters distinguish propension (orexis) from lust (epiqumia); and assign the latter, as being irrational, to pleasures and licentiousness; and propension, as being a rational movement, they assign to the necessities of nature.

CHAPTER 19 -- WOMEN AS WELL AS MEN CAPABLE OF PERFECTION.

In this perfection it is possible for man and woman equally to share. It is not only Moses, then, that heard from God, "I have spoken to thee once, and twice, saying, I have seen this people, and lo, it is stiff-necked. Suffer me to exterminate them, and blot out their name from under heaven; and I will make thee into a great and wonderful nation much greater than this;" who answers not regarding himself, but the common salvation: "By no means, O Lord; forgive this people their sin, or blot me out of the book of the living." How great was his perfection, in wishing to die together with the people, rather than be saved alone!

But Judith too, who became perfect among women, in the siege of the city, at the entreaty of the elders went forth into the strangers' camp, despising all danger for her country's sake, giving herself into the enemy's hand in faith in God; and straightway she obtained the reward of her faith, -- though a woman, prevailing over the enemy of her faith, and gaining possession of the head of Holofernes. And again, Esther perfect by faith, who rescued Israel from the power of the king and the satrap's cruelty: a woman alone, afflicted with fastings, held back ten thousand armed hands, annulling by her faith the tyrant's decree; him indeed she appeased, Haman she restrained, and Israel she preserved scathless by her perfect prayer to God. I pass over in silence Susanna and the sister of Moses, since the latter was the prophet's associate in commanding the host, being superior to all the women among the Hebrews who were in repute for their wisdom; and the former in her surpassing modesty, going even to death condemned by licentious admirers, remained the unwavering martyr of chastity.

Dion, too, the philosopher, tells that a certain woman Lysidica, through excess of modesty, bathed in her clothes; and that Philotera, when she was to enter the bath, gradually drew back her tunic as the water covered the naked parts; and then rising by degrees, put it on. And did not Lesena of Attica manfully bear the torture? She being privy to the conspiracy of Harmodius and Aristogeiton against Hipparchus, uttered not a word, though severely tortured. And they say that the Argolic women, under the guidance of Telesilla the poetess, turned to flight the doughty Spartans by merely showing themselves; and that she produced in them fearlessness of death. Similarly speaks he who composed the Danais respecting the daughters of Danaus: "And then the daughters of Danaus swiftly armed themselves, Before the fair-flowing river, majestic Nile," and so forth.

And the rest of the poets sing of Atalanta's swiftness in the chase, of Anticlea's love for children, of Alcestis's love for her husband, of the courage of Makaeria and of the Hyacinthides. What shall I say? Did not Theano the Pythagorean make such progress in philosophy, that to him who looked intently at her, and said, "Your arm is beautiful," she answered "Yes, but it is not public." Characterized by the same propriety, there is also reported the following reply. When asked when a woman after being with her husband attends the Thesmophoria, said, "From her own husband at once, from a stranger never." Themisto too, of Lampsacus, the daughter of Zoilus, the wife of Leontes of Lampsacus, studied the Epicurean philosophy, as Myia the daughter of Theano the Pythagorean, and Arignote, who wrote the history of Dionysius.

And the daughters of Diodorus, who was called Kronus, all became dialecticians, as Philo the dialectician says in the Mrenexenus, whose names are mentioned as follows -- Menexene, Argia, Theognis, Artemesia, Pantaclea. I also recollect a female Cynic, -- she was called Hipparchia, a Maronite, the wife of Crates, -- in whose case the so-called dog-wedding was celebrated in the Pcecile. Arete of Cyrene, too, the daughter of Aristippus, educated her son Aristippus, who was surnamed Mother-taught. Lastheneia of Arcis, and Axiothea of Phlius, studied philosophy with Plato. Besides, Aspasia of Miletus, of whom the writers of comedy write much, was trained by Socrates in philosophy, by Pericles in rhetoric. I omit, on account of the length of the discourse, the rest; enumerating neither the poetesses Corinna, Telesilla, Myia, and Sappho; nor the painters, as Irene the daughter of Cratinus, and Anaxandra the daughter of Nealces, according to the account of Didymus in the Symposiaci. The daughter of Cleobulus, the sage and monarch of the Lindii, was not ashamed to wash the feet of her father's guests. Also the wife of Abraham, the blessed Sarah, in her own person prepared the cakes baked in the ashes for the angels; and princely maidens among the Hebrews fed sheep. Whence also the Nausicaa of Homer went to the washing-tubs.

The wise woman, then, win first choose to persuade her husband to be her associate in what is conducive to happiness. And should that be found impracticable, let her by herself earnestly aim at virtue, gaining her husband's consent in everything, so as never to do anything against his will, with exception of what is reckoned as contributing to virtue and salvation. But if one keeps from such a mode of life either wife or maid-servant, whose heart is set on it; what such a person in that case plainly does is nothing else than determine to drive her away from righteousness and sobriety, and to choose to make his own house wicked and licentious.

It is not then possible that man or woman can be conversant with anything whatever, without the advantage of education, and application, and training; and virtue, we have said, depends not on others, but on ourselves above all. Other things one can repress, by waging war against them; but with what depends on one's self, this is entirely out of the question, even with the most strenuous persistence. For the gift is one conferred by God, and not in the power of any other. Whence licentiousness should be regarded as the evil of no other one than of him who is guilty of licentiousness; and temperance, on the other hand, as the good of him who is able to practise it.

CHAPTER 20 -- A GOOD WIFE.

The woman who, with propriety, loves her husband, Euripides describes, while admonishing,- "That when her husband says aught, She ought to regard him as speaking well if she say nothing; And if she will say anything, to do her endeavour to gratify her husband."

And again he subjoins the like : "And that the wife should sweetly look sad with her husband, Should aught evil befall him, And have in common a share of sorrow and joy."

Then, describing her as gentle and kind even in misfortunes, he adds: "And I, when you are ill, will, sharing your sickness bear it; And I will bear my share in your misfortunes."

And: "Nothing is bitter to me, For with friends one ought to be happy, For what else is friendship but this?"

The marriage, then, that is consummated according to the word, is sanctified, if the union be under subjection to God, and be conducted "with a true heart, in full assurance of faith, having hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and the body washed with pure water, and holding the confession of hope; for He is faithful that promised." And the happiness of marriage ought never to be estimated either by wealth or beauty, but by virtue.

"Beauty," says the tragedy, "helps no wife with her husband; But virtue has helped many; for every good wife Who is attached to her husband knows how to pracise sobriety."

Then, as giving admonitions, he says: "First, then, this is incumbent on her who is endowed with mind, That even if her husband be ugly, he must appear good looking; For it is for the mind, not the eye, to judge." And so forth.

For with perfect propriety Scripture has said that woman is given by God as "an help" to man. It is evident, then, in my opinion, that she will charge herself with remedying, by good sense and persuasion, each of the annoyances that originate with her husband in domestic economy. And if he does not yield, then she will endeavour, as far as possible for human nature, to lead a sinless life; whether it be necessary to die, in accordance with reason, or to live; considering that God is her helper and associate in such a course of conduct, her true defender and Saviour both for the present and for the future; making Him the leader and guide of all her actions, reckoning sobriety and righteousness her work, and making the favour of God her end. Gracefully, therefore, the apostle says in the Epistle to Titus, "that the eider women should be of godly behaviour, should not be slanderers, not enslaved to much wine; that they should counsel the young women to be lovers of their husbands, lovers of their children, discreet, chaste, housekeepers, good, subject to their own husbands; that the word of God be not blasphemed." But rather, he says, "Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord: looking diligently, lest there be any fornicator or profane person, as Esau, who for one morsel surrendered his birthright; and lest any root of bitterness springing up trouble you, and thereby many be defiled." And then, as putting the finishing stroke to the question about marriage, he adds:

"Marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled: but whoremongers and adulterers God will judge."

And one aim and one end, as far as regards perfection, being demonstrated to belong to the man and the woman, Peter in his Epistle says, "Though now for a season, if need be, ye are in heaviness through manifold temptations; that the trial of your faith, being much more precious than that of gold which perisheth, though it be tried with fire, might be found unto praise, and honour, and glory at the revelation of Jesus Christ; whom, having not seen, ye love; in whom, though now ye see Him not, yet believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable, and full of glory, receiving the end of your faith, the salvation of your souls." Wherefore also Paul rejoices for Christ's sake that he was "in labours, more abundantly, in stripes above measure, in deaths oft."

CHAPTER 21 -- DESCRIPTION OF THE PERFECT MAN, OR GNOSTIC.

Here I find perfection apprehended variously in relation to Him who excels in every virtue. Accordingly one is perfected as pious, and as patient, and as continent, and as a worker, and as a martyr, and as a Gnostic. But I know no one of men perfect in all things at once, while still human, though according to the mere letter of the law, except Him alone who for us clothed Himself with humanity. Who then is perfect? He who professes abstinence from what is bad. Well, this is the way to the Gospel and to well-doing. But gnostic perfection in the case of the legal man is the acceptance of the Gospel, that he that is after the law may be perfect. For so he, who was after the law, Moses, foretold that it was necessary to hear in order that we might, according to the apostle, receive Christ, the fulness of the law. But now in the Gospel the Gnostic attains proficiency not only by making use of the law as a step, but by understanding and comprehending it, as the Lord who gave the Covenants delivered it to the apostles. And if he conduct himself rightly (as assuredly it is impossible to attain knowledge (gnosis) by bad conduct); and if, further, having made an eminently right confession, he become a martyr out of love, obtaining considerable renown as among men; not even thus will he be called perfect in the flesh beforehand; since it is the close of life which claims this appellation, when the gnostic martyr has first shown the perfect work, and rightly exhibited it, and having thankfully shed his blood, has yielded up the ghost: blessed then will he be, and truly proclaimed perfect, "that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us," as the apostle says. Only let us preserve free-will and love: "troubled on every side, yet not distressed; perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed." For those who strive after perfection, according to the same apostle, must "give no offence in anything, but in everything approve themselves not to men, but to God." And, as a consequence, also they ought to yield to men; for it is reasonable, on account of abusive calumnies: Here is the specification: "in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses, in stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults, in labours, in watchings, in fastings, in pureness, in knowledge, in long-suffering, in

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kindness, in the Holy Ghost, in love unfeigned, in the word of truth, in the power of God," that we may be the temples of God, purified "from all filthiness of the flesh and of the spirit." "And I," He says, "will receive you; and I will be to you for a Father, and ye shall be to Me for sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty." "Let us then," he says, "perfect holiness in the fear of God." For though fear beget pain, "I rejoice," he says, "not that ye were made sorry, but that ye showed susceptibility to repentance. For ye sorrowed after a godly sort, that ye might receive damage by us in nothing. For godly sorrow worketh repentance unto salvation not to be regretted; but the sorrow of the world worketh death. For this same thing that ye sorrowed after a godly sort, what earnestness it wrought in you; yea, what clearing of yourselves; yea, what compunction; yea, what fear; yea, what desire; yea, what zeal; yea, revenge! In all things ye have showed yourselves clear in the matter." Such are the preparatory exercises of gnostic discipline. And since the omnipotent God Himself "gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ, till we all attain to the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, to a perfect man, to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ; " we are then to strive to reach manhood as befits the Gnostic, and to be as perfect as we can while still abiding in the flesh, making it our study with perfect concord here to concur with the will of God, to the restoration of what is the truly perfect nobleness and relationship, to the fulness of Christ, that which perfectly depends on our perfection.

And now we perceive where, and how, and when the divine apostle mentions the perfect man, and how he shows the differences of the perfect. And again, on the other hand: "The manifestation of the Spirit is given for our profit. For to one is given the word of wisdom by the Spirit; to another the word of knowledge according to the same Spirit; to another faith through the same Spirit; to another the gifts of healing through the same Spirit; to another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another discernment of spirits; to another diversities of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues: and all these worketh the one and the same Spirit, distributing to each one according as He wills."' Such being the case, the prophets are perfect in prophecy, the righteous in righteousness, and the martyrs in confession, and others in preaching, not that they are not sharers in the common virtues, but are proficient in those to which they are appointed. For what man in his senses would say that a prophet was not righteous? For what? did not righteous men like Abraham prophesy?

"For to one God has given warlike deeds, To another the accomplishment of the dance, To another the lyre and song," says Homer. "But each has his own proper gift of God " -- one in one way, another in another. But the apostles were perfected in all. You will find, then, if you choose, in their acts and writings, knowledge, life, preaching, righteousness, purity, prophecy. We must know, then, that if Paul is' young in respect to time -- having flourished immediately after the Lord's ascension -- yet his writings depend on the Old Testament, breathing and speaking of them. For faith in Christ and the knowledge of the Gospel are the explanation and fulfilment of the law; and therefore it was said to the Hebrews, "If ye believe not, neither shall you understand;" that is, unless you believe what is prophesied in the law, and oracularly delivered by the law, you will not understand the Old Testament, which He by His coming expounded.

CHAPTER 22 -- THE TRUE GNOSTIC DOES GOOD, NOT FROM FEAR OF PUNISHMENT OR HOPE OF REWARD, BUT ONLY FOR THE SAKE OF GOOD ITSELF.

The man of understanding and perspicacity is, then, a Gnostic. And his business is not abstinence from what is evil (for this is a step to the highest perfection), or the doing of good out of fear. For it is written, "Whither shall I flee, and where shall I hide myself from Thy presence? If I ascend into heaven, Thou art there; if I go away to the uttermost parts of the sea, there is Thy right hand; if I go down into the depths, there is Thy Spirit." Nor any more is he to do so from hope of promised recompense. For it is said, "Behold the Lord, and His reward is before His face, to give to every one according to his works; what eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, and hath not entered into the heart of man what God hath prepared for them that love Him." But only the doing of good out of love, and for the sake of its own excellence, is to be the Gnostic's choice. Now, in the person of God it is said to the Lord, "Ask of Me, and I will give the heathen for Thine inheritance;" teaching Him to ask a truly regal request -- that is, the salvation of men without price, that we may inherit and possess the Lord. For, on the contrary, to desire knowledge about God for any practical purpose, that this may be done, or that may not be done, is not proper to the Gnostic; but the knowledge itself suffices as the reason for contemplation. For I will dare aver that it is not because he wishes to be saved that he, who devotes himself to knowledge for the sake of the divine science itself, chooses knowledge. For the exertion of the intellect by exercise is prolonged to a perpetual exertion. And the perpetual exertion of the intellect is the essence of an intelligent being, which results from an uninterrupted process of admixture, and remains eternal contemplation, a living substance. Could we, then, suppose any one proposing to the Gnostic whether he would choose the knowledge of God or everlasting salvation; and if these, which are entirely identical, were separable, he would without the least hesitation choose the knowledge of God, deeming that property of faith, which from love ascends to knowledge, desirable, for its own sake. This, then, is the perfect man's first form of doing good, when it is done not for any advantage in what pertains to him, but because he judges it right to do good; and the energy being vigorously exerted in all things, in the very act becomes good; not, good in some things, and not good in others; but consisting in the habit of doing good, neither for glory, nor, as the philosophers say, for reputation, nor from reward either from men or God; but so as to pass life after the image and likeness of the Lord.

And if, in doing good, he be met with anything adverse, he will let the recompense pass without resentment as if it were good, he being just and good "to the just and the unjust." To such the Lord says, "Be ye, as your Father is perfect."

To him the flesh is dead; but he himself lives alone, having consecrated the sepulchre into a holy temple to the Lord, having turned towards God the old sinful soul.

Such an one is no longer continent, but has reached a state of passionlessness, waiting to put on the divine image. "If thou doest alms," it is said, "let no one know it; and if thou fastest, anoint thyself, that God alone may know," and not a single human being. Not even he himself who shows mercy ought to know that he does show mercy; for in this way he will be sometimes merciful, sometimes not. And when he shall do good by habit, he will imitate the nature of good, and his disposition will be his nature and his practice. There is no necessity for removing those who are raised on high, but there is necessity for those who are walking to reach the requisite goal, by passing over the whole of the narrow way. For this is to be drawn by the Father, to become worthy to receive the power of grace from God, so as to run without hindrance. And if some hate the elect, such an one knows their ignorance, and pities their minds for its folly.

As is right, then, knowledge itself loves and teaches the ignorant, and instructs the whole creation to honour God Almighty. And if such an one teaches to love God, he will not hold virtue as a thing to be lost in any case, either awake or in a dream, or in any vision; since the habit never goes out of itself by falling from being a habit. Whether, then, knowledge be said to be habit or disposition; on account of diverse sentiments never obtaining access, the guiding faculty, remaining unaltered, admits no alteration of appearances by framing in dreams visionary conceptions out of its movements by day. Wherefore also the Lord enjoins "to watch," so that our soul may never be perturbed with passion, even in dreams; but also to keep the life of the night pure and stainless, as if spent in the day. For assimilation to God, as far as we can, is preserving the mind in its relation to the same things. And this is the relation of mind as mind.

But the variety of disposition arises from inordinate affection to material things. And for this reason, as they appear to me, to have called night Euphrone; since then the soul, released from the perceptions of sense, turns in on itself, and has a truer hold of intelligence (Fronhsis). Wherefore the mysteries are for the most part celebrated by night, indicating the withdrawal of the soul from the body, which takes place by night. "Let us not then sleep, as do others; but let us watch and be sober. For they that sleep, sleep in the night; and they that are drunken, are drunken in the night. But let us who are of the day be sober, putting on the breastplate of faith and love, and as an helmet the hope of salvation." And as to what, again, they say of sleep, the very same things are to be understood of death. For each exhibits the departure of the soul, the one more, the other less; as we may also get this in Heraclitus: "Man touches night in himself, when dead and his light quenched; and alive, when he sleeps he touches the dead; and awake, when he shuts his eyes, he touches the sleeper." "For blessed are those that have seen the Lord," according to the apostle; "for it is high time to awake out of sleep. For now is our salvation nearer than when we believed. The night is far spent, the day is at hand. Let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and put on the armour of light." By day and light he designates figuratively the Son, and by the armour of light metaphorically the promises.

So it is said that we ought to go washed to sacrifices and prayers, clean and bright; and that this external adornment and purification are practised for a sign. Now purity is to think holy thoughts. Further, there is the image of baptism, which also was handed down to the poets from Moses as follows: "And she having drawn water, and wearing on her body clean clothes."

It is Penelope that is going to prayer: "And Telemachus, Having washed his hands in the hoary sea, prayed to Athene."

It was a custom of the Jews to wash frequently after being in bed. It was then well said,- "Be pure, not by washing of water, but in the mind."

For sanctity, as I conceive it, is perfect pureness of mind, and deeds, and thoughts, and words too, and in its last degree sinlessness in dreams.

And sufficient purification to a man, I reckon, is thorough and sure repentance. If, condemning ourselves for our former actions, we go forward, after these things taking thought, and divesting our mind both of the things which please us through the senses, and of our former transgressions.

If, then, we are to give the etymology of episthmh, knowledge, its signification is to be derived from stasiu, placing; for our soul, which was formerly borne, now in one way, now in another, it settles in objects. Similarly faith is to be explained etymologically, as the settling (stasiu) of our soul respecting that which is.

But we desire to learn about the man who is always and in all things righteous; who, neither dreading the penalty proceeding from the law, nor fearing to entertain hatred of evil in the case of those who live with him and who prosecute the injured, nor dreading danger at the hands of those who do wrong, remains righteous. For he who, on account of these considerations, abstains from anything wrong, is not voluntarily kind, but is good from fear. Even Epicurus says, that the man who in his estimation was wise, "would not do wrong to any one for the sake of gain; for he could not persuade himself that he would escape detection." So that, if he knew he would not be detected, he would, according to him, do evil. And such are the doctrines of darkness. If, too, one shall abstain from doing wrong from hope of the recompense given by God on account of righteous deeds, he is not on this supposition spontaneously good. For as fear makes that man just, so reward makes this one; or rather, makes him appear to be just. But with the hope after death -- a good hope to the good, to the bad the reverse -- not only they who follow after Barbarian wisdom, but also the Pythagoreans, are acquainted. For the latter also proposed hope as an end to those who philosophize. Whereas Socrates also, in the Phaedo, says "that good souls depart hence with a good hope;" and again, denouncing the wicked, he sets against this the assertion, "For they live with an evil hope." With him Heraclitus manifestly agrees in his dissertations concerning men: "There awaits man after death what they neither hope nor think."

Divinely, therefore, Paul writes expressly, "Tribulation worketh, patience, and patience experience, and experience hope; and hope maketh not ashamed."

For the patience is on account of the hope in the future. Now hope is synonymous with the recompense and restitution of hope; which maketh not ashamed, not being any more vilified.

But he who obeys the mere call, as he is called, neither for fear, nor for enjoyments, is on his way to knowledge (gnwsiu). For he does not consider whether any extrinsic lucrative gain or enjoyment follows to him; but drawn by the love of Him who is the true object of love, and led to what is requisite, practises piety. So that not even were we to suppose him to receive from God leave to do things forbidden with impunity; not even if he were to get the promise that he would receive as a reward the good things of the blessed; but besides, not even if he could persuade himself that God would be hoodwinked with reference to what he does (which is impossible), would he ever wish to do aught contrary to right reason, having once made choice of what is truly good and worthy of choice on its own account, and therefore to be loved. For it is not in the food of the belly, that we have heard good to be situated. But he has heard that "meat will not commend us," nor marriage, nor abstinence from marriage in ignorance; but virtuous gnostic conduct. For the dog, which is an irrational animal, may be said to be continent, dreading as it does the uplifted stick, and therefore keeping away from the meat. But let the predicted promise be taken away, and the threatened dread cancelled, and the impending danger removed, and the disposition of such people will be revealed.

CHAPTER 23 -- THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

For it is not suitable to the nature of the thing itself, that they should apprehend in the truly gnostic manner the truth, that all things which were created for our use are good; as, for example, marriage and procreation, when used in moderation; and that it is better than good to i become free of passion, and virtuous by assimilation to the divine. But in the case of external things, agreeable or disagreeable, from some they abstain, from others not. But in those things from which they abstain from disgust, they plainly find fault with the creature and the Creator; and though in appearance they walk faithfully, the opinion they maintain is impious. That command, "Thou shall not lust," needs neither the necessity arising from fear, which compels to keep from things that are pleasant; nor the reward, which by promise persuades to restrain the impulses of passion.

And those who obey God through the promise, caught by the bait of pleasure, choose obedience not for the sake of the

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commandment, but for the sake of the promise. Nor will turning away from objects of sense, as a matter of necessary consequence, produce attachment to intellectual objects. On the contrary, the attachment to intellectual objects naturally becomes to the Gnostic an influence which draws away from the objects of sense; inasmuch as he, in virtue of the selection of what is good, has chosen what is good according to knowledge (gnwstikwu), admiring generation, and by sanctifying the Creator sanctifying assimilation to the divine. But I shall free myself from lust, let him say, O Lord, for the sake of alliance with Thee. For the economy of creation is good, and all things are well administered: nothing happens without a cause. I must be in what is Thine, O Omnipotent One. And if I am there, I am near Thee. And I would be free of fear that I may be able to draw near to Thee, and to be satisfied with little, practising Thy just choice between things good and things like.

Right mystically and sacredly the apostle, teaching us the choice which is truly gracious, not in the way of rejection of other things as bad, but so as to do things better than what is good, has spoken, saying, "So he that giveth his virgin in marriage doeth well; and he that giveth her not doeth better; as far as respects seemliness and undistracted attendance on the Lord."

Now we know that things which are difficult are not essential; but that things which are essential have been graciously made easy of attainment by God. Wherefore Democritus well says, that "nature and instruction" are like each other. And we have briefly assigned the cause. For instruction harmonizes man, and by harmonizing makes him natural; and it is no matter whether one was made such as he is by nature, or transformed by time and education. The Lord has furnished both; that which is by creation, and that which is by creating again and renewal through the covenant. And that is preferable which is advantageous to what is superior; but what is superior to everything is mind. So, then, what is really good is seen to be most pleasant, and of itself produces the fruit which is desired -- tranquillity of soul. "And he who hears Me," it is said, "shall rest in peace, confident, and shall be calm without fear of any evil." "Rely with all thy heart and thy mind on God."

On this wise it is possible for the Gnostic already to have become God. "I said, Ye are gods, and sons of the highest." And Empedocles says that the souls of the wise become gods, writing as follows: "At last prophets, minstrels, and physicians, And the foremost among mortal men, approach; Whence spring gods supreme in honours."

Man, then, genetically considered, is formed in accordance with the idea of the connate spirit. For he is not created formless and shapeless in the workshop of nature, where mystically the production of man is accomplished, both art and essence being common. But the individual man is stamped according to the impression produced in the soul by the objects of his choice. Thus we say that Adam was perfect, as far as respects his formation; for none of the distinctive characteristics of the idea and form of man were wanting to him; but in the act of coming into being he received perfection. And he was justified by obedience; this was reaching manhood, as far as depended on him. And the cause lay in his choosing, and especially in his choosing what was forbidden. God was not the cause.

For production is twofold -- of things procreated, and of things that grow. And manliness in man, who is subject to perturbation, as they say, makes him who partakes of it essentially fearless and invincible; and anger is the mind's satellite in patience, and endurance, and the like; and self-constraint and salutary sense are set over desire. But God is impassible, free of anger, destitute of desire. And He is not free of fear, in the sense of avoiding what is terrible; or temperate, in the sense of having command of desires. For neither can the nature of God fall in with anything terrible, nor does God flee fear; just as He will not feel desire, so as to rule over desires.

Accordingly that Pythagorean saying was mystically uttered respecting us, "that man ought to become one;" for the high priest himself is one, God being one in the immutable state of the perpetual flow or good things. Now the Saviour has taken away wrath in and with lust, wrath being lust of vengeance.

For universally liability to feeling belongs to every kind of desire; and man, when deified purely into a passionless state, becomes a unit. As, then, those, who at sea are held by an anchor, pull at the anchor, but do not drag it to them, but drag themselves to the anchor; so those who, according to the gnostic life, draw God towards them, imperceptibly bring themselves to God: for he who reverences God, reverences himself. In the contemplative life, then, one in worshipping God attends to himself, and through his own spotless purification beholds the holy God holily; for self-control, being present, surveying and contemplating itself uninterruptedly, is as far as possible assimilated to God.

CHAPTER 24 -- THE REASON AND END OF DIVINE PUNISHMENTS.

Now that is in our power, of which equally with its opposite we are masters, -- as, say to philosophize or not, to believe or disbelieve. In consequence, then, of our being equally masters of each of the opposites, what depends on us is found possible. Now the commandments may be done or not done by us, who, as is reasonable, are liable to praise and blame. And those, again, who are punished on account of sins committed by them, are punished for them alone; for what is done is past, and what is done can never be undone.

The sins committed before faith are accordingly forgiven by the Lord, not that they may be undone, but as if they had not been done. "But not all," says Basilides, "but only sins involuntary and in ignorance, are forgiven;" as would be the case were it a man, and not God, that conferred such a boon. To such an one Scripture says, "Thou thoughtest that I would be like thee."

But if we are punished for voluntary sins, we are punished not that the sins which are done may be undone, but because they were done. But punishment does not avail to him who has sinned, to undo his sin, but that he may sin no more, and that no one else fall into the like. Therefore the good God corrects for these three causes: First, that he who is corrected may become better than his former self; then that those who are capable of being saved by examples may be driven back, being admonished; and thirdly, that he who is injured may not be readily despised, and be apt to receive injury. And there are two methods of correction -- the instructive and the punitive, which we have called the disciplinary. It ought to be known, then, that those who fall into sin after baptism are those who are subjected to discipline; for the deeds done before are remitted, and those done after are purged. It is in reference to the unbelieving that it is said, "that they are reckoned as the chaff which the wind drives from the face of the earth, and the drop which falls from a vessel."

CHAPTER 25 -- TRUE PERFECTION CONSISTS IN THE KNOWLEDGE AND LOVE OF GOD.

"Happy he who possesses the culture of knowledge, and is not moved to the injury of the citizens or to wrong actions, but contemplates the undecaying order of immortal nature, how and in what way and manner it subsists. To such the practice of base deeds attaches not," Rightly, then, Plato says, "that the man who devotes himself to the contemplation of ideas will live as a god among men; now the mind is the place of ideas, and God is mind." He says that be who contemplates the unseen God lives as a god among men. And in the Sophist, Socrates calls the stranger of Elea, who was a dialectician, "god:" "Such are the gods who, like stranger guests, frequent cities. For when the soul, rising above the sphere of generation, is by itself apart, and dwells amidst ideas," like the Coryphaeus in Theaetetus, now become as an angel, it will be with Christ, being rapt in contemplation, ever keeping in view the will of God; in reality "Alone wise, while these flit like shadows."

"For the dead bury their dead." Whence Jeremiah says: "I will fill it with the earth-born dead whom mine anger has smitten." God, then, being not a subject for demonstration, cannot be the object of science. But the Son is wisdom, and knowledge, and truth, and all else that has affinity thereto. He is also susceptible of demonstration and of description. And all the powers of the Spirit, becoming collectively one thing, terminate in the same point -- that is, in the Son. But He is incapable of being declared, in respect of the idea of each one of His powers. And the Son is neither simply one thing as one thing, nor many things as parts, but one thing as all things; whence also He is all things. For He is the circle of all powers rolled and united into one unity. Wherefore the Word is called the Alpha and the Omega, of whom alone the end becomes beginning, and ends again at the original beginning without any break. Wherefore also to believe in Him, and by Him, is to become a unit, being indissolubly united in Him; and to disbelieve is to be separated, disjoined, divided.

"Wherefore thus saith the Lord, Every alien son is uncircumcised in heart, and uncircumcised in flesh" (that is, unclean in body and soul): "there shall not enter one of the strangers into the midst of the house of Israel, but the Lerites." He calls those that would not believe, but would disbelieve, strangers. Only those who live purely being true priests of God. Wherefore, of all the circumcised tribes, those anointed to be high priests, and kings, and prophets, were reckoned more holy. Whence He commands them not to touch dead bodies, or approach the dead; not that the body was polluted, but that sin and disobedience were incarnate, and embodied, and dead, and therefore abominable.

It was only, then, when a father and mother, a son and daughter died, that the priest was allowed to enter, because these were related only by flesh and seed, to whom the priest was indebted for the immediate cause of his entrance into life. And they purify themselves seven days, the period in which Creation was consummated. For on the seventh day the rest is celebrated; and on the eighth he brings a propitiation, as is written in Ezekiel, according to which propitiation the promise is to be received. And the perfect propitiation, I take it, is that propitious faith in the Gospel which is by the law and the prophets, and the purity which shows itself in universal obedience, with the abandonment of the things of the world; in order to that grateful surrender of the tabernacle, which results from the enjoyment of the soul. Whether, then, the time be that which through the seven periods enumerated returns to the chiefest rest, or the seven heavens, which some reckon one above the other; or whether also the fixed sphere which borders on the intellectual world be called the eighth, the expression denotes that the Gnostic ought to rise out of the sphere of creation and of sin. After these seven days, sacrifices are offered for sins. For there is still fear of change, and it touches the seventh circle. The righteous Job says: "Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return there;" not naked of possessions, for that were a trivial and common thing; but, as a just man, he departs naked of evil and sin, and of the unsightly shape which follows those who have led bad lives. For this was what was said, "Unless ye be converted, and become as children," pure in flesh, holy in soul by abstinence from evil deeds; showing that He would have us to be such as also He generated us from our mother -- the water. For the intent of one generation succeeding another is to immortalize by progress. "But the lamp of the wicked shall be put out." That purity in body and soul which the Gnostic partakes of, the all-wise Moses indicated, by employing repetition in describing the incorruptibility of body and of soul in the person of Rebecca, thus: "Now the virgin was fair, and man had not known her." And Rebecca, interpreted, means "glory of God;" and the glory of God is immortality. This is in reality righteousness, not to desire other things, but to be entirely the consecrated temple of the Lord. Righteousness is peace of life and a well-conditioned state, to which the Lord dismissed her when He said, "Depart into peace." For Salem is, by interpretation, peace; of which our Saviour is enrolled King, as Moses says, Melchizedek king of Salem, priest of the most high God, who gave bread and wine, furnishing consecrated food for a type of the Eucharist. And Melchizedek is interpreted "righteous king;" and the name is a synonym for righteousness and peace. Basilides however, supposes that Righteousness and her daughter Peace dwell stationed in the eighth sphere.

But we must pass from physics to ethics, which are clearer; for the discourse concerning these will follow after the treatise in hand. The Saviour Himself, then, plainly initiates us into the mysteries, according to the words of the tragedy: - "Seeing those who see, he also gives the orgies."

And if you ask, "These orgies, what is their nature?"

You will hear again: "It is forbidden to mortals uninitiated in the Bacchic rites to know."

And if any one will inquire curiously what they are, let him hear: "It is not lawful for thee to hear, but they are worth knowing; The rites of the God detest him who practises impiety."

Now God, who is without beginning, is the perfect beginning of the universe, and the producer of the beginning. As, then, He is being, He is the first principle of the department of action, as He is good, of morals; as He is mind, on the other hand, He is the first principle of reasoning and of judgment. Whence also He alone is Teacher, who is the only Son of the Most High Father, the Instructor of men.

CHAPTER 26 -- HOW THE PERFECT MAN TREATS THE BODY AND THE THINGS OF THE WORLD.

Those, then, who run down created existence and vilify the body are wrong; not considering that the frame of man was formed erect for the contemplation of heaven, and that the organization of the senses tends to knowledge; and that the members and parts are arranged for good, not for pleasure. Whence this abode becomes receptive of the soul which is most precious to God; and is dignified with the Holy Spirit through the sanctification of soul and body, perfected with the perfection of the Saviour. And the succession of the three virtues is found in the Gnostic, who morally, physically, and logically occupies himself with God. For wisdom is the knowledge of things divine and human; and righteousness is the concord of the parts of the soul; and holiness is the service of God. But if one were to say that he disparaged the flesh, and generation on account of it, by quoting Isaiah, who says, "All flesh is grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass: the grass is withered, and the flower has fallen; but the word of the Lord endureth for ever; " let him hear the Spirit interpreting the matter in question by Jeremiah, "And I scattered them like dry sticks, that are made to fly by the wind into the desert. This is the lot and portion of your disobedience, saith the Lord. As thou hast forgotten Me, and hast trusted in lies, so will I discover thy hinder parts to thy face; and thy disgrace shall be seen, thy adultery, and thy neighing," and so on. For "the flower of grass," and "walking after the flesh," and "being carnal," according to the apostle, are those who are in their sins. The soul of man is confessedly the better part of man, and the body the inferior. But neither is the soul good by nature, nor, on the other hand, is the body bad by nature. Nor is that which is not good straightway bad. For there are things which occupy a middle place, and among

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them are things to be preferred, and things to be re jected. The constitution of man, then, which has its place among things of sense, was necessarily composed of things diverse, but not opposite -- body and soul.

Always therefore the good actions, as better, attach to the better and ruling spirit; and voluptuous and sinful actions are attributed to the worse, the sinful one.

Now the soul of the wise man and Gnostic, as sojourning in the body, conducts itself towards it gravely and respectfully, not with inordinate affections, as about to leave the tabernacle if the time of departure summon. "I am a stranger in the earth, and a sojourner with you," it is said. And hence Basilides says, that he apprehends that the election are strangers to the world, being supramundane by nature. But this is not the case. For all things are of one God. And no one is a stranger to the world by nature, their essence being one, and God one. But the elect man dwells as a sojourner, knowing all things to be possessed and disposed of; and he makes use of the things which the Pythagoreans make out to be the threefold good things. The body, too, as one sent on a distant pilgrimage, uses inns and dwellings by the way, having care of the things of the world, of the places where he halts; but leaving his dwelling-place and property without excessive emotion; readily following him that leads him away from life; by no means and on no occasion turning back; giving thanks for his sojourn, and blessing [God] for his departure, embracing the mansion that is in heaven "For we know, that, if the earthly house of our tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. For we that are in this tabernacle do groan, desiring to be clothed upon with our house which is from heaven: if so be that being clothed we shall not be found naked. For we by sight," as the apostle says; walk by faith, not "and we are willing rather to be absent from the body, and present with God." The rather is in comparison. And comparison obtains in the case of things that fall under resemblance; as the more valiant man is more valiant among the valiant, and most valiant among cowards. Whence he adds, "Wherefore we strive, whether present or absent, to be accepted with Him," that is, God, whose work and creation are all things, both the world and things supramundane. I admire Epicharmus, who clearly says: "Endowed with pious mind, you will not, in dying, Suffer aught evil. The spirit will dwell in heaven above;" and the minstrel who sings: "The souls of the wicked flit about below the skies on earth, In murderous pains beneath inevitable yokes of evils; But those of the pious dwell in the heavens, Hymning in songs the Great, the Blessed One."

The soul is not then sent down from heaven to what is worse. For God works all things up to what is better. But the soul which has chosen the best life -- the life that is from God and righteousness -- exchanges earth for heaven. With reason therefore, Job, who had attained to knowledge, said, "Now I know that thou canst do all things; and nothing is impossible to Thee. For who tells me of what I know not, great and wonderful things with which I was unacquainted? And I felt myself vile, considering myself to be earth and ashes." For he who, being in a state of ignorance, is sinful, "is earth and ashes; "while he who is in a state of knowledge, being assimilated as far as possible to God, is already spiritual, and so elect. And that Scripture calls the senseless and disobedient "earth," will be made clear by Jeremiah the prophet, saying, in reference to Joachim and his brethren "Earth, earth, hear the word of the Lord; Write this man, as man excommunicated." And another prophet says again, "Hear, O heaven; and give ear, O earth," calling understanding "ear," and the soul of the Gnostic, that of the man who has applied himself to the contemplation of heaven and divine things, and in this way has become an Israelite, "heaven." For again he calls him who has made ignorance and hardness of heart his choice, "earth."And the expression" give ear" he derives from the "organs of hearing, the ears," attributing carnal things to those who cleave to the things of sense. Such are they of whom Micah the prophet says, "Hear the word of the Lord, ye peoples who dwell with pangs." And Abraham said, "By no means. The Lord is He who judgeth the earth; " "since he that believeth not, is," according to the utterance of the Saviour, "condemned already." And there is written in the Kings the judgment and sentence of the Lord, which stands thus: "The Lord hears the righteous, but the wicked He saveth not, because they do not desire to know God." For the Almighty will not accomplish what is absurd. What do the heresies say to this utterance, seeing Scripture proclaims the Almighty God to be good, and not the author of evil and wrong, if indeed ignorance arises from one not knowing? But God does nothing absurd. "For this God," it is said, "is our God, and there is none to save besides Him." "For there is no unrighteous ness with God," according to the apostle. And clearly yet the prophet teaches the will of God, and the gnostic proficiency, in these words: "And now, Israel, what doth the Lord God require of thee, but to fear the Lord thy God, and walk in all His ways, and love Him, and serve Him alone?" He asks of thee, who hast the power of choosing salvation. What is it, then, that the Pythagoreans mean when they bid us "pray with the voice"? As seems to me, not that they thought the Divinity could not hear those who speak silently, but because they wished prayers tO be right, which no one would be ashamed to make in the knowledge of many. We shall, however, treat of prayer in due course by and by. But we ought to have works that cry aloud, as becoming "those who walk in the day." "Let thy works shine," and behold a man and his works before his face. "For behold God and His works." For the gnostic must, as far as is possible, imitate God. And the poets call the elect in their pages godlike and gods, and equal to the gods, and equal in sagacity to Zeus, and having counsels like the gods, and resembling the gods, -- nibbling, as seems to me, at the expression, "in the image and likeness."

Euripides accordingly says, "Golden wings are round my back, and I am shod with the winged sandals of the Sirens; and I shall go aloft into the wide ether, to hold convene with Zeus."

But I shall pray the Spirit of Christ to wing me to my Jerusalem. For the Stoics say that heaven is properly a city, but places here on earth are not cities; for they are called so, but are not. For a city is an important thing, and the people a decorous body, and a multitude of men regulated by law as the church by the word -- a city on earth impregnable -- free from tyranny; a product of the divine will on earth as in heaven. Images of this city the poets create with their pen. For the Hyperboreans, and the Arimaspian cities, and the Elysian plains, are commonwealths of just men. And we know Plato's city placed as a pattern in heaven.

THE STROMATA, BOOK 5

CHAPTER 1 -- ON FAITH

Of the Gnostic so much has been cursorily, as it were, written. We proceed now to the sequel, and must again contemplate faith; for there are some that draw the distinction, that faith has reference to the Son, and knowledge to the Spirit. But it has escaped their notice that, in order to believe truly in the Son, we must believe that He is the Son, and that He came, and how, and for what, and respecting His passion; and we must know who is the Son of God. Now neither is knowledge without faith, nor faith without knowledge. Nor is the Father without the Son; for the Son is with the Father. And the Son is the true teacher respecting the Father; and that we may believe in the Son, we must know the Father, with whom also is the Son. Again, in order that we may know the Father, we must believe in the Son, that it is the Son of God who teaches; for from faith to knowledge by the Son is the Father. And the knowledge of the Son and Father, which is according to the gnostic rule -- that which in reality is gnostic -- is the attainment and comprehension of the truth by the truth.

We, then, are those who are believers in what is not believed, and who are Gnostics as to what is unknown; that is, Gnostics as to what is unknown and disbelieved by all, but believed and known by a few; and Gnostics, not describing actions by speech, but Gnostics in the exercise of contemplation.

Happy is he who speaks in! the ears of the hearing. Now faith is the ear of the soul. And such the Lord intimates faith to be, when He says, "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear;" so that by believing he may comprehend what He says, as He says it. Homer, too, the oldest of the poets, using the word "hear" instead of" perceive" -- the specific for the generic term -- writes: "Him most they heard."

For, in fine, the agreement and harmony of the faith of both contribute to one end -- salvation. We have in the apostle an unerring witness: "For I desire to see you, that I may impart unto you some spiritual gift, in order that ye may be strengthened; that is, that I may be comforted in you, by the mutual faith of you and me." And further on again he adds, "The righteousness of God is revealed from faith to faith." The apostle, then, manifestly announces a twofold faith, or rather one which admits of growth and perfection; for the common faith lies beneath as a foundation. To those, therefore, who desire to be healed, and are moved by faith, He added, "Thy faith hath saved thee." But that which is excellently built upon is consummated in the believer, and is again perfected by the faith which results from instruction and the word, in order to the performance of the commandments. Such were the apostles, in whose case it is said that "faith removed mountains and transplanted trees." Whence, perceiving the greatness of its power, they asked "that faith might be added to them;" a faith which salutarily bites the soil "like a grain of mustard," and grows magnificently in it, to such a degree that the reasons of things sublime rest on it. For if one by nature knows God, as Basilides thinks, who calls intelligence of a superior order at once faith and kingship, and a creation worthy of the essence of the Creator; and explains that near Him exists not power, but essence and nature and substance; and says that faith is not the rational assent of the soul exercising free-will, but an undefined beauty, belonging immediately to the creature; -- the precepts both of the Old and of the New Testament are, then, superfluous, if one is saved by nature, as Valentinus would have it, and is a believer and an elect man by nature, as Basilides thinks; and nature would have been able, one time or other, to have shone forth, apart from the Saviour's appearance. But were they to say that the visit of the Saviour was necessary, then the properties of nature are gone from them, the elect being saved by instruction, and purification, and the doing of good works. Abraham, accordingly, who through hearing believed the voice, which promised under the oak in Mamre," I will give this land to thee, and to thy seed," was either elect or not. But if he was not, how did he straightway believe, as it were naturally? And if he was elect, their hypothesis is done away with, inasmuch as even previous to the coming of the Lord an election was found, and that saved: "For it was reckoned to him for righteousness." For if any one, following Marcion, should dare to say that the Creator (Dhmiourgon) saved the man that believed on him, even before the advent of the Lord, (the' election being saved with their own proper salvation); the power of the good Being will be eclipsed; inasmuch as late only, and subsequent to the Creator spoken of by them in words of be good men, it made the attempt to save, and by instruction, and in imitation of him. But if, being such, the good Being save, according to them; neither is it his own that he saves, nor is it with the consent of him who formed the creation that he essays salvation, but by force or fraud. And how can he any more be good, acting thus, and being posterior? But if the locality is different, and the dwelling-place of the Omnipotent is remote from the dwelling-place of the good God; yet the will of him who saves, having been the first to begin, is not inferior to that of the good God. From what has been previously proved, those who believe not are proved senseless: "For their paths are perverted, and they know not peace," saith the prophet. "But foolish and unlearned questions" the divine Paul exhorted to "avoid, because they gender strifes." And Aeschylus exclaims: "In what profits not, labour not in vain."

For that investigation, which accords with faith, which builds, on the foundation of faith, the august knowledge of the truth, we know to be the best. Now we know that neither things which are clear are made subjects of investigation, such as if it is day, while it is day; nor things unknown, and never destined to become clear, as whether the stars are even or odd in number; nor things convertible; and those are so which can be said equally by those who take the opposite side, as if what is in the womb is a living creature or not. A fourth mode is, when, from either side of those, there is advanced an unanswerable and irrefragable argument. If, then, the ground of inquiry, according to all of these modes, is removed, faith is established. For we advance to them the unanswerable consideration, that it is God who speaks and comes to our help in writing, respecting each one of the points regarding which I investigate. Who, then, is so impious as to disbelieve God, and to demand proofs from God as from men? Again, some questions demand the evidence of the senses, as if one were to ask whether the fire be warm, or the snow white; and some admonition and rebuke, as the question if you ought to honour your parents. And there are those that deserve punishment, as to ask proofs of the existence of Providence. There being then a Providence, it were impious to think that the whole of prophecy and the economy in reference to a Saviour did not take place in accordance with Providence. And perchance one should not even attempt to demonstrate such points, the divine Providence being evident from the sight of all its skilful and wise works which. are seen, some of which take place in order, and some appear in order. And He who communicated to us being and life, has communicated to us also reason, wishing us to live rationally and rightly. For the Word of the Father of the universe is not the uttered word (logou proForikou), but the wisdom and most manifest kindness of God, and His power too, which is almighty and truly divine, and not incapable of being conceived by those who do not confess -- the all-potent will. But since some are unbelieving, and some are disputations, all do not attain to the perfection of the good. For neither is it possible to attain it without the exercise of free choice; nor does the whole depend on our own purpose; as, for example, what is defined to happen. "For by grace we are saved:" not, indeed, without good works; but we must, by being formed for what is good, acquire an inclination for it. And we must possess the healthy mind which is fixed on the pursuit of the good; in order to which we have the greatest need of divine grace, and of right teaching, and of holy susceptibility, and of the drawing of the Father to Him. For, bound in this earthly body, we apprehend the objects of sense by means of the body; but we grasp intellectual objects by means of the logical faculty itself. But if one expect to apprehend all things by the senses, he has fallen far from the truth. Spiritually, therefore, the apostle writes respecting the knowledge of God, "For now we see as through a glass, but then face to face." For the vision of the truth is given but to few. Accordingly, Plato says in the Epinomis, "I do not say that it is possible for all to be blessed and happy; only a few. Whilst we live, I pronounce this to be the case. But there is a good hope that after death I shall attain all." To the same effect is what we find in Moses: "No man shall see My face, and live." For it is evident that no one

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during the period of life has been able to apprehend God clearly. But" the pure in heart shall see God," when they arrive at the final perfection. For since the soul became too enfeebled for the apprehension of realities, we needed a divine teacher. The Saviour is sent down -- a teacher and leader in the acquisition of the good -- the secret and sacred token of the great Providence. "Where, then, is the scribe? where is the searcher of this world? Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world?" it is said. And again, "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent," plainly of those wise in their own eyes, and disputatious. Excellently therefore Jeremiah says, "Thus saith the Lord, Stand in the ways, and ask for the eternal paths,"what is the good way, and walk in it, and ye shall find expiation for your souls." Ask, he says, and inquire of those who know, without contention and dispute. And on learning the way of truth, let us walk on the right way, without turning till we attain to what we desire: It was therefore with reason that the king of the Romans (his name was Numa), being a Pythagorean, first of all men, erected a temple to Faith and Peace. "And to Abraham, on believing, righteousness was reckoned." He, prosecuting the lofty philosophy of aerial phenomena, and the sublime philosophy of the movements in the heavens, was called Abram, which is interpreted "sublime father." But afterwards, on looking up to heaven, whether it was that he saw the Son in the spirit, as some explain, or a glorious angel, or in any other way recognised God to be superior to the creation, and all the order in it, he receives in addition the Alpha, the knowledge of the one and only God, and is called Abraam, having, instead of a natural philosopher, become wise, and a lover of God. For it is interpreted, "elect father of sound." For by sound is the uttered word: the mind is its father; and the mind of the good man is elect. I cannot forbear praising exceedingly the poet of Agrigentum, who celebrates faith as follows: "Friends, I know, then, that there is truth in the myths Which I will relate. But very difficult to men, And irksome to the mind, is the attempt of faith."

Wherefore also the apostle exhorts, "that your faith should not be in the wisdom of men," who profess to persuade, "but in the power of God," which alone without proofs, by mere faith, is able to save. "For the most approved of those that are reputable knows how to keep watch. And justice will apprehend the forger and witnesses of lies," says the Ephesian. For he, having derived his knowledge from the barbarian philosophy, is acquainted with the purification by fire of those who have led bad lives, which the Stoics afterwards called the Conflagration (ekpurwsiu), in which also they teach that each will arise exactly as he was, so treating of the resurrection; while Plato says as follows, that the earth at certain periods is purified by fire and water: "There have been many destructions of men in many ways; and there shall be very great ones by fire and water; and others briefer by innumerable causes." And after a little he adds: "And, in truth, there is a change of the objects which revolve about earth and heaven; and in the course of long periods there is the destruction of the objects on earth by a great conflagration." Then he subjoins respecting the deluge: "But when, again, the gods deluge the earth to purify it with water, those on the mountains herdsmen and shepherds, are saved; those in your cities are carried down by the rivers into the sea." And we showed in the first Miscellany that the philosophers of the Greeks are called thieves, inasmuch as they have taken without acknowledgment their principal dogmas from Moses and the prophets. To which also we shall add, that the angels who had obtained the superior rank, having sunk into pleasures, told to the women the secrets which had come to their knowledge; while the rest of the angels concealed them, or rather, kept them against the coming of the Lord. Thence emanated the doctrine of providence, and the revelation of high things; and prophecy having already been imparted to the philosophers of the Greeks, the treatment of dogma arose among the philosophers, sometimes true when they hit the mark, and sometimes erroneous, when they comprehended not the secret of the prophetic allegory. And this it is proposed briefly to indicate in running over the points requiring mention. Faith, then, we say, we are to show must not be inert and alone, but accompanied with investigation. For I do not say that we are not to inquire at all. For "Search, and thou shalt find," it is said.

"What is sought may be captured, But what is neglected escapes," according to Sophocles.

The like also says Menander the comic poet: "All things sought,,, The wisest say, need anxious thought.

But we ought to direct the visual faculty of the soul aright to discovery, and to clear away obstacles; and to cast clean away contention, and envy, and strife, destined to perish miserably from among men.

For very beautifully does Timon of Phlius write: "And Strife, the Plague of Mortals, stalks vainly shrieking, The sister of Murderous Quarrel and Discord, Which rolls blindly over all things. But then It sets its head towards men, and casts them on hope."

Then a little below he adds: "For who hath set these to fight in deadly strife?

A rabble keeping pace with Echo; for, enraged at those silent, It raised an evil disease against men, and many perished;"

Of the speech which denies what is false, and of the dilemma, of that which is concealed, of the Sorites, and of the Crocodilean, of that which is open, and of ambiguities and sophisms. To inquire, then, respecting God, if it tend not to strife, but to discovery, is salutary. For it is written in David, "The poor eat, and shall be filled; and they shall praise the Lord that seek Him. Your heart shall live for ever." For they who seek Him after the true search, praising the Lord, shall be filled with the gift that comes from God, that is, knowledge. And their soul shall live; for the soul is figuratively termed the heart, which ministers life: for by the Son is the Father known.

We ought not to surrender our ears to all who speak and write rashly. For cups also, which are taken hold of by many by the ears, are dirtied, and lose the ears; and besides, when they fall they are broken. In the same way also, those, who have polluted the pure hearing of faith by many trifles, at last becoming deaf to the truth, become useless and fall to the earth. It is not, then, without reason that we commanded boys to kiss their relations, holding them by the ears; indicating this, that the feeling of love is engendered by hearing. And "God," who is known to those who love, "is love," as "God," who by instruction is communicated to the faithful, "is faithful; " and we must be allied to Him by divine love: so that by like we may see like, hearing the word of truth guilelessly and purely, as children who obey us. And this was what he, whoever he was, indicated who wrote on the entrance to the temple at Epidaurus the inscription: "Pure he must be who goes within The incense-perfumed fane."

And purity is "to think holy thoughts." "Except ye become as these little children, ye shall not enter," it is said, "into the kingdom of heaven."

For there the temple of God is seen established on three foundations -- faith, hope, and love.

CHAPTER 2 -- ON HOPE.

Respecting faith we have adduced sufficient testimonies of writings among the Greeks. But in order not to exceed bounds, through eagerness to collect a very great many also respecting hope and love, suffice it merely to say that in the Crito Socrates, who prefers a good life and death to life itself, thinks that we have hope of another life after death.

Also in the Phaedrus he says, "That only when in a separate state can the soul become partaker of the wisdom which is true, and surpasses human power; and when, having reached the end of hope by philosophic love, desire shall waft it to heaven, then," says he, "does it receive the commencement of another, an immortal life." And in the Symposium he says, "That there is instilled into all the natural love of generating what is like, and in men of generating men alone, and in the good man of the generation of the counterpart of himself. But it is impossible for the good man to do this without possessing the perfect virtues, in which he will train the youth who have recourse to him." And as he says in the Theaetetus, "He will beget and finish men. For some procreate by the body, others by the soul;" since also with the barbarian philosophers to teach and enlighten is called to regenerate; and "I have begotten you in Jesus Christ," says the good apostle somewhere.

Empedocles, too, enumerates friendship among the elements, conceiving it as a combining love: "Which do you look at with your mind; and don't sit gaping with your eyes."

Parmenides, too, in his poem, alluding to hope, speaks thus: "Yet look with the mind certainly on what is absent as present, For it will not sever that which is from the grasp it has of that which is Not, even if scattered in every direction over the world or combined."

CHAPTER 3 -- THE OBJECTS OF FAITH AND HOPE PERCEIVED BY THE MIND ALONE.

For he who hopes, as he who believes, sees intellectual objects and future things with the mind. If, then, we affirm that aught is just, and affirm it to be good, and we also say that truth is something, yet we have never seen any of such objects with our eyes, but with our mind alone. Now the Word of God says, "I am the truth." The Word is then to be contemplated by the mind. "Do you aver," it was said, "that there are any true philosophers?" "Yes," said I, "those who love to contemplate the truth." In the Phaedrus also, Plato, speaking of the truth, shows it as an idea. Now an idea is a conception of God; and this the barbarians have termed the Word of God. The words are as follow: "For one must then dare to speak the truth, especially in speaking of the truth. For the essence of the soul, being colourless, formless, and intangible, is visible only to God, its guide." Now the Word issuing forth was the cause of creation; then also he generated himself, "when the Word had become flesh," that He might be seen. The righteous man will seek the discovery that flows from love, to which if he haste he prospers. For it is said, "To him that knocketh, it shall be opened: ask, and it shall be given to you." "For the violent that storm the kingdom " are not so in disputations speeches; but by continuance in a right life and unceasing prayers, are said "to take it by force," wiping away the blots left by their previous sins.

"You may obtain wickedness, even in great abundance?

And him who toils God helps; For the gifts of the Muses, hard to win, Lie not before you, for any one to bear away."

The knowledge of ignorance is, then, the first lesson in walking according to the Word. An ignorant man has sought, and having sought, he finds the teacher; and finding has believed, and believing has hoped; and henceforward having loved, is assimilated to what was loved -- en-deavouring to be what he first loved. Such is the method Socrates shows Alcibiades, who thus questions: "Do you not think that I shall know about what is right otherwise?" "Yes, if you have found out." "But you don't think I have found out?" "Certainly, if you have sought."

"Then you don't think that I have sought?" "Yes, if you think you do not know." So with the lamps of the wise virgins, lighted at night in the great darkness of ignorance, which the Scripture signified by "night." Wise souls, pure as virgins, understanding themselves to be situated amidst the ignorance of the world, kindle the light, and rouse the mind, and illumine the darkness, and dispel ignorance, and seek truth, and await the appearance of the Teacher.

"The mob, then," said I, "cannot become a philosopher."

"Many rod-bearers there are, but few Bacchi," according to Plato. "For many are called, but few chosen." "Knowledge is not in all," says the apostle. "And pray that we may be delivered from unreasonable and wicked men: for all men have not faith." And the Poetics of Cleanthes, the Stoic, writes to the following effect: "Look not to glory, wishing to be suddenly wise, And fear not the undiscerning and rash opinon of the many; For the multitude has not an intelligent, or wise, or right judgment, And it is in few men that you will find this."

And more sententiously the comic poet briefly says: "It is a shame to judge of what is right by much noise."

For they heard, I think, that excellent wisdom, which says to us, "Watch your opportunity in the midst of the foolish, and in the midst of the intelligent continue." And again, "The wise will conceal sense." For the many demand demonstration as a pledge of truth, not satisfied with the bare salvation by faith.

"But it is strongly incumbent to disbelieve the dominant wicked, And as is enjoined by the assurance of our muse, Know by dissecting the utterance within your breast."

"For this is habitual to the wicked," says Empedocles, "to wish to overbear what is true by disbelieving it." And that our tenets are probable and worthy of belief, the Greeks shall know, the point being more thoroughly investigated in what follows. For we are taught what is like by what is like. For says Solomon, "Answer a fool according to his folly." Wherefore also, to those that ask the wisdom that is with us, we are to hold out things suitable, that with the greatest possible ease they may, through their own ideas, be likely to arrive at faith in the truth. For "I became all things to all men, that I might gain all men." Since also "the rain" of the divine grace is sent down "on the just and the unjust." "Is He the God of the Jews only, and not also of the Gentiles? Yes, also of the Gentiles: if indeed He is one God," exclaims the noble apostle.

CHAPTER 4 -- DIVINE THINGS WRAPPED UP IN FIGURES BOTH IN THE SACRED AND IN HEATHEN WRITERS.

But since they will believe neither in what is good justly nor in knowledge unto salvation, we ourselves reckoning what they claim as belonging to us, because all things are God's; and especially since what is good proceeded from us to the Greeks, let us handle those things as they are capable of hearing. For intelligence or rectitude this great crowd estimates not by truth, but by what they are delighted with. And they will be pleased not more with other things than with what is like themselves. For he who is still blind and dumb, not having understanding, or the undazzled and keen vision of the contemplative soul, which the Saviour confers, like the uninitiated at the mysteries, or the unmusical at dances, not being yet pure and worthy of the pure truth, but still discordant and disordered and material, must stand outside of the divine choir. "For we compare spiritual things with spiritual." Wherefore, in accordance with the method of concealment, the truly sacred Word truly divine and most necessary for us, deposited in the shrine of truth, was by the Egyptians indicated by what were called among them adyta, and by the Hebrews by the veil. Only the consecrated -- that is, those devoted to God, circumcised in the desire of the passions for the sake of love to that which is alone divine -- were allowed access to them. For Plato also thought it not lawful for "the impure to touch the pure."

Thence the prophecies and oracles are spoken in enigmas, and the mysteries are not exhibited incontinently to all and sundry, but only after certain purifications and previous instructions.

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"For the Muse was not then Greedy of gain or mercenary; Nor were Terpsichore's sweet, Honey-toned, silvery soft-voiced Strains made merchandise of." Now those instructed among the Egyptians learned first of all that style of the Egyptian letters which is called Epistolographic; and second, the Hieratic, which the sacred scribes practise; and finally, and last of all, the Hieroglyphic, of which one kind which is by the first elements is literal (Kyriologic), and the other Symbolic. Of the Symbolic, one kind speaks literally by imitation, and another writes as it were figuratively; and another is quite allegorical, using certain enigmas.

Wishing to express Sun in writing, they make a circle; and Moon, a figure like the Moon, like its proper shape. But in using the figurative style, by transposing and transferring, by changing and by transforming in many ways as suits them, they draw characters. In relating the praises of the kings in theological myths, they write in anaglyphs. Let the following stand as a specimen of the third species -- the Enigmatic. For the rest of the stars, on account of their oblique course, they have figured like the bodies of serpents; but the sun, like that of a beetle, because it makes a round figure of ox-dung, and rolls it before its face. And they say that this creature lives six months under ground, and the other division of the year above ground, and emits its seed into the ball, and brings forth; and that there is not a female beetle. All then, in a word, who have spoken of divine things, both Barbarians and Greeks, have veiled the first principles of things, and delivered the truth in enigmas, and symbols, and allegories, and metaphors, and such like tropes. Such also are the oracles among the Greeks. And the Pythian Apollo is called Loxias. Also the maxims of those among the Greeks called wise men, in a few sayings indicate the unfolding of matter of considerable importance. Such certainly is that maxim, "Spare Time:" either because life is short, and we ought not to expend this time in vain; or, on the other hand, it bids you spare your personal expenses; so that, though you live many years, necessaries may not fail you. Similarly also the maxim "Know thyself" shows many things; both that thou art mortal, and that thou wast born a human being; and also that, in comparison with the other excellences of life, thou art of no account, because thou sayest that thou art rich or renowned; or, on the other hand, that, being rich or renowned, you are not honoured on account of your advantages alone. And it says, Know for what thou wert born, and whose image thou art; and what is thy essence, and what thy creation, and what thy relation to God, and the like. And the Spirit says by Isaiah the prophet, "I will give thee treasures, hidden, dark." Now wisdom, hard to hunt, is the treasures of God and unfailing riches. But those, taught in theology by those prophets, the poets, philosophize much by way of a hidden sense. I mean Orpheus, Linus, Musaeus, Homer, and Hesiod, and those in this fashion wise. The persuasive style of poetry is for them a veil for the many. Dreams and signs are all more or less obscure to men, not from jealousy (for it were wrong to conceive of God as subject to passions), but in order that research, introducing to the understanding of enigmas, may haste to the discovery of truth. Thus Sophocles the tragic poet somewhere says: "And God I know to be such an one, Ever the revealer of enigmas to the wise, But to the perverse bad, although a teacher in few words,"- putting bad instead of simple. Expressly then respecting all our Scripture, as if spoken in a parable, it is written in the Psalms, "Hear, O My people, My law: incline your ear to the words of My mouth. I will open My mouth in parables, I will utter My problems from the beginning." Similarly speaks the noble apostle to the following effect: "Howbeit we speak wisdom among those that are perfect; yet not the wisdom of this world, nor of the princes of this world, that come to nought. But we speak the wisdom of God hidden in a mystery; which none of the princes of this world knew. For had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory."

The philosophers did not exert themselves in contemning the appearance of the Lord. It therefore follows that it is the opinion of the wise among the Jews which the apostle inveighs against it. Wherefore he adds, "But we preach, as it is written, what eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, and hath not entered into the heart of man, what God hath prepared for them that love Him. For God hath revealed it to us by the Spirit. For the Spirit searcheth all things, even the deep things of God." For he recognises the spiritual man and the Gnostic as the disciple of the Holy Spirit dispensed by God, which is the mind of Christ. "But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit, for they are foolishness to him." Now the apostle, in contradistinction to gnostic perfection, calls the common faith the foundation, and sometimes milk, writing on this wise: "Brethren, I could not speak to you as to spiritual, but as to carnal, to babes in Christ. I have fed you with milk, not with meat: for ye were not able. Neither yet are ye now able. For ye are yet carnal: for whereas there is among you envy and strife, are ye not carnal, and walk as men? " Which things are the choice of those men who are sinners. But those who abstain from these things give their thoughts to divine things, and partake of gnostic food. "According to the grace," it is said, "given to me as a wise master builder, I have laid the foundation. And another buildeth on it gold and silver, precious stones."

Such is the gnostic superstructure on the foundation of faith in Christ Jesus.

But "the stubble, and the wood, and the hay," are the additions of heresies.

"But the fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it is." In allusion to the gnostic edifice also in the Epistle to the Romans, he says, "For I desire to see you, that I may impart unto you a spiritual gift, that ye may be established." It was impossible that gifts of this sort could be written without disguise.

CHAPTER 5 -- ON THE SYMBOLS OF PYTHAGORAS.

Now the Pythagorean symbols were connected with the Barbarian philosophy in the most recondite way. For instance, the Samian counsels "not to have a swallow in the house;" that is, not to receive a loquacious, whispering, garrulous man, who cannot contain what has been communicated to him. "For the swallow, and the turtle, and the sparrows of the field, know the times of their entrance," says the Scripture; and one ought never to dwell with trifles. And the turtle-dove murmuring shows the thankless slander of fault-finding, and is rightly expelled the house.

"Don't mutter against me, sitting by one in one place, another in another."

The swallow too, which suggests the fable of Pandion, seeing it is right to detest the incidents reported of it, some of which we hear Tereus suffered, and some of which he inflicted. It pursues also the musical grasshoppers, whence he who is a persecutor of the word ought to be driven away.

"By sceptre-bearing Here, whose eye surveys Olympus, I have a rusty closet for tongues," says Poetry. Aeschylus also says: "But, I, too, have a key as a guard on my tongue." Again Pythagoras commanded, "When the pot is lifted off the fire, not to leave its mark in the ashes, but to scatter them;" and "people on getting up from bed, to shake the bed-clothes." For he intimated that it was necessary not only to efface the mark, but not to leave even a trace of anger; and that on its ceasing to boil, it was to be composed, and all memory of injury to be wiped out. "And let not the sun," says the Scripture, "go down upon your wrath." And he that said, "Thou shall not desire," took away all memory of wrong; for wrath is found to be the impulse of concupiscence in a mild soul, especially seeking irrational revenge. In the same way "the bed is ordered to be shaken up," so that there may be no recollection of effusion in sleep, or sleep in the day-time; nor, besides, of pleasure during the night. And he intimated that the vision of the dark ought to be dissipated speedily by the light of truth. "Be angry, and sin not," says David, teaching us that we ought not to assent to the impression, and not to follow it up by action, and so confirm wrath.

Again, "Don't sail on land" is a Pythagorean saw, and shows that taxes and similar contracts, being troublesome and fluctuating, ought to be declined. Wherefore also the Word says that the tax-gatherers shall be saved with difficulty.

And again, "Do not wear a ring, nor engrave on it the images of the gods," enjoins Pythagoras; as Moses ages before enacted expressly, that neither a graven, nor molten, nor moulded, nor painted likeness should be made; so that we may not cleave to things of sense, but pass to intellectual objects: for familiarity with the sight disparages the reverence of what is divine; and to worship that which is immaterial by matter, is to dishonour it by sense. Wherefore the wisest of the Egyptian priests decided that the temple of Athene should be hypaethral, just as the Hebrews constructed the temple without an image. And some, in worshipping God, make a representation of heaven containing the stars; and so worship, although Scripture says, "Let of Eurysus the Pythagorean, which is as follows, who in his book On Fortune, having said that the "Creator, on making man, took Himself as an exemplar," added, "And the body is like the other things, as being made of the same material, and fashioned by the best workman, who wrought it, taking Himself as the archetype." And, in fine, Pythagoras and his followers, with Plato also, and most of the other philosophers, were best acquainted with the Lawgiver, as may be concluded from their doctrine. And by a happy utterance of divination, not without divine help, concurring in certain prophetic declarations, and, seizing the truth in portions and aspects, in terms not obscure, and not going beyond the explanation of the things, they honoured it on as pertaining the appearance of relation with the truth. Whence the Hellenic philosophy is like the torch of wick which men kindle, artificially stealing the light from the sun. But on the proclamation of the Word all that holy light shone forth. Then in houses by night the stolen light is useful; but by day the fire blazes, and all the night is illuminated by such a sun of intellectual light.

Now Pythagoras made an epitome of the statements on righteousness in Moses, when he said, "Do not step over the balance;" that is, do not transgress equality in distribution, honouring justice so.

"Which friends to friends for ever, binds, To cities, cities -- to allies, allies, For equality is what is right for men; But less to greater ever hostile grows, And days of hate begin," as is said with poetic grace.

Wherefore the Lord says, "Take My yoke, for it is gentle and light." And on the disciples, striving for the pre-eminence, He enjoins equality with simplicity, saying "that they must become as little children." Likewise also the apostle writes, that "no one in Christ is bond or free, or Greek or Jew. For the creation in Christ Jesus is new, is equality, free of strife -- not grasping -- just." For envy, and jealousy, and bitterness, stand without the divine choir.

Thus also those skilled in the mysteries forbid "to eat the heart;" teaching that we ought not to gnaw and consume the soul by idleness and by vexation, on account of things which happen against one's wishes. Wretched, accordingly, was the man whom Homer also says, wandering alone, "ate his own heart." But again, seeing the Gospel supposes two ways -- the apostles, too, similarly with all the prophets -- and seeing they call that one "narrow and confined" which is circumscribed according to the commandments and prohibitions, and the opposite one, which leads to perdition, "broad and roomy," open to pleasures and wrath, and say, "Blessed is the man who walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, and standeth not in the way of sinners." Hence also comes the fable of Prodicus of Ceus about Virtue and Vice. And Pythagoras shrinks not from prohibiting to walk on the public thoroughfares, enjoining the necessity of not following the sentiments of the many, which are crude and inconsistent. And Aristocritus, in the first book of his Positions against Heracliodorus, mentions a letter to this effect: "Atoeeas king of the Scythians to the people of Byzantium: Do not impair my revenues in case my mares drink your water;" for the Barbarian indicated symbolically that he would make war on them. Likewise also the poet Euphorion introduces Nestor saying,- "We have not yet wet the Achaean steeds in Simois."

Therefore also the Egyptians place Sphinxes before their temples, to signify that the doctrine respecting God is enigmatical and obscure; perhaps also that we ought both to love and fear the Divine Being: to love Him as gentle and benign to the pious; to fear Him as inexorably just to the impious; for the sphinx shows the image of a wild beast and of a man together.

CHAPTER 6 -- THE MYSTIC MEANING OF THE TABERNACLE AND ITS FURNITURE.

It were tedious to go over all the Prophets and the Law, specifying what is spoken in enigmas; for almost the whole Scripture gives its utterances in this way. It may suffice, I think, for any one possessed of intelligence, for the proof of the point in hand, to select a few examples.

Now concealment is evinced in the reference of the seven circuits around the temple, which are made mention of among the Hebrews; and the equipment on the robe, indicating by the various symbols, which had reference to visible objects, the agreement which from heaven reaches down to earth. And the covering and the veil were variegated with blue, and purple, and scarlet, and linen. And so it was suggested that the nature of the elements contained the revelation of God. For purple is from water, linen from the earth; blue, being dark, is like the air, as scarlet is like fire.

In the midst of the covering and veil, where the priests were allowed to enter, was situated the altar of incense, the symbol of the earth placed in the middle of this universe; and from it came the fumes of incense. And that place intermediate between the inner veil, where the high priest alone, on prescribed days, was permitted to enter, and the external court which surrounded it -- free to all the Hebrews -- was, they say, the middlemost point of heaven and earth. But others say it was the symbol of the intellectual world, and that of sense. The coveting, then, the barrier of popular unbelief, was stretched in front of the five pillars, keeping back those in the surrounding space.

So very mystically the five loaves are broken by the Saviour, and fill the crowd of the listeners. For great is the crowd that keep to the things of sense, as if they were the only things in existence. "Cast your eyes round, and see," says Plato, "that none of the uninitiated listen." Such are they who think that nothing else exists, but what they can hold tight with their hands; but do not admit as in the department of existence, actions and processes of generation, and the whole of the unseen. For such are those who keep by the five senses. But the knowledge of God is a thing inaccessible to the ears and like organs of this kind of people. Hence the Son is said to be the Father's face, being the revealer of the Father's character to the five senses by clothing Himself with flesh. "But if we live in the Spirit, let us also walk in the Spirit." "For we walk by faith, not by sight," the noble apostle says. Within the veil, then, is concealed the sacerdotal service; and it keeps those engaged in it far from those without.

Again, there is the veil of the entrance into the holy of holies. Four pillars there are, the sign of the sacred tetrad of the ancient covenants. Further, the mystic name of four letters which was affixed to those alone to whom the adytum was accessible, is called Jave, which is interpreted, "Who is and

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shall be." The name of God, too, among the Greeks contains four letters.

Now the Lord, having come alone into the intellectual world, enters by His sufferings, introduced into the knowledge of the Ineffable, ascending above every name which is known by sound. The lamp, too, was placed to the south of the altar of incense; and by it were shown the motions of the seven planets, that perform their revolutions towards the south. For three branches rose on either side of the tamp, and lights on them; since also the sun, like the lamp, set in the midst of all the planets, dispenses with a kind of divine music the light to those above and to those below.

The golden lamp conveys another enigma as a symbol of Christ, not in respect of form alone, but in his casting light, "at sundry times and divers manners," on those who believe on Him and hope, and who see by means of the ministry of the First-born. And they say that the seven eyes of the Lord "are the seven spirits resting on the rod that springs from the root of Jesse."

North of the altar of incense was placed a table, on which there was "the exhibition of the loaves;" for the most nourishing of the winds are those of the north. And thus are signified certain seats of churches conspiring so as to form one body and one assemblage.

And the things recorded of the sacred ark signify the properties of the world of thought, which is hidden and closed to the many.

And those golden figures, each of them with six wings, signify either the two bears, as some will have it, or rather the two hemispheres. And the name cherubim meant "much knowledge." But both together have twelve wings, and by the zodiac and time, which moves on it, point out the world of sense. It is of them, I think, that Tragedy, discoursing of Nature, says: "Unwearied Time circles full in perennial flow, Producing itself. And the twin-bears On the swift wandering motions of their wings, Keep the Atlantean pole."

And Atlas, the unsuffering pole, may mean the fixed sphere, or better perhaps, motionless eternity. But I think it better to regard the ark, so called from the Hebrew word Thebotha, as signifying something else. It is interpreted, one instead of one in all places. Whether, then, it is the eighth region and the world of thought, or God, all-embracing, and without shape, and invisible, that is indicated, we may for the present defer saying. But it signifies the repose which dwells with the adoring spirits, which are meant by the cherubim.

For He who prohibited the making of a graven image, would never Himself have made an image in the likeness of holy things. Nor is there at all any composite thing, and creature endowed with sensation, of the sort in heaven. But the face is a symbol of the rational soul, and the wings are the lofty ministers and energies of powers fight and left; and the voice is delightsome glory in ceaseless contemplation. Let it suffice that the mystic interpretation has advanced so far.

Now the high priest's robe is the symbol of the world of sense. The seven planets are represented by the five stones and the two carbuncles, for Saturn and the Moon. The former is southern, and moist, and earthy, and heavy; the latter aerial, whence she is called by some Artemis, as if Aerotomos (cutting the air); and the air is cloudy. And cooperating as they did in the production of things here below, those that by Divine Providence are set over the planets are rightly represented as placed on the breast and shoulders; and by them was the work of creation, the first week. And the breast is the seat of the heart and soul.

Differently, the stones might be the various phases of salvation; some occupying the upper, some the lower parts of the entire body saved. The three hundred and sixty bells, suspended from the robe, is the space of a year, "the acceptable year of the Lord," proclaiming and resounding the stupendous manifestation of the Saviour. Further, the broad gold mitre indicates the regal power of the Lord, "since the Head of the Church" is the Savour. The mitre that is on it [i.e., the head] is, then, a sign of most princely rule; and otherwise we have heard it said, "The Head of Christ is the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." Moreover, there was the breastplate, comprising the ephod, which is the symbol of work, and the oracle logion; and this indicated the Word logos by which it was framed, and is the symbol of heaven, made by the Word, and subjected to Christ, the Head of all things, inasmuch as it moves in the same way, and in a like manner. The luminous emerald stones, therefore, in the ephod, signify the sun and moon, the helpers of nature. The shoulder, I take it, is the commencement of the hand.

The twelve stones, set in four rows on the breast, describe for us the circle of the zodiac, in the four changes of the year. It was otherwise requisite that the law and the prophets should be placed beneath the Lord's head, because in both Testaments mention is made of the righteous. For were we to say that the apostles were at once prophets and righteous, we should say well, "since one and the self-same Holy Spirit works in all." And as the Lord is above the whole world, yea, above the world of thought, so the name engraven on the plate has been regarded to signify, above all rule and authority; and it was inscribed with reference both to the written commandments and the manifestation to sense. And it is the name of God that is expressed; since, as the Son sees the goodness of the Father, God the Saviour works, being called the first principle of all things, which was imaged forth from the invisible God first, and before the ages, and which fashioned all things which came into being after itself. Nay more, the oracles exhibits the prophecy which by the Word cries and preaches, and the judgment that is to come; since it is the same Word which prophesies, and judges, and discriminates all things.

And they say that the robe prophesied the ministry in the flesh, by which He was seen in closer relation to the world. So the high priest, putting off his consecrated robe (the universe, and the creation in the universe, were consecrated by Him assenting that, what was made, was good), washes himself, and puts on the other tunic -- a holy-of holies one, so to speak -- which is to accompany him into the adytum; exhibiting, as seems to me, the Levite and Gnostic, as the chief of other priests (those bathed in water, and clothed in faith alone, and expecting their own individual abode), himself distinguishing the objects of the intellect from the things of sense, rising above other priests, hasting to the entrance to the world of ideas, to wash himself from the things here below, not in water, as formerly one was cleansed on being enrolled in the tribe of Levi. But purified already by the gnostic Word in his whole heart, and thoroughly regulated, and having improved that mode of life received from the priest to the highest pitch, being quite sanctified both in word and life, and having put on the bright array of glory, and received the ineffable inheritance of that spiritual and perfect man, "which eye hath not seen and ear hath not heard, and it hath not entered into the heart of man;" and having become son and friend, he is now replenished with insatiable contemplation face to face. For there is nothing like hearing the Word Himself, who by means of the Scripture inspires fuller intelligence. For so it is said, "And he shall put off the linen robe, which he had put on when he entered into the holy place; and shall lay it aside there, and wash his body in water in the holy place, and put on his robe." But in one way, as I think, the Lord puts off and puts on by descending into the region of sense; and in another, he who through Him has believed puts off and puts on, as the apostle intimated, the consecrated stole. Thence, after the image of the Lord. the worthiest were chosen from the sacred tribes to be high priests, and those elected to the kingly office and to prophecy were anointed.

CHAPTER 7 -- THE EGYPTIAN SYMBOLS AND ENIGMAS OF SACRED THINGS.

Whence also the Egyptians did not entrust the mysteries they possessed to all and sundry, and did not divulge the knowledge of divine things to the profane; but only to those destined to ascend the throne, and those of the priests that were judged the worthiest, from their nurture, culture, and birth. Similar, then, to the Hebrew enigmas in respect to concealment, are those of the Egyptians also. Of the Egyptians, some show the sun on a ship, others on a crocodile. And they signify hereby, that the sun, making a passage through the delicious and moist air, generates time; which is symbolized by the crocodile in some other sacerdotal account. Further, at Diospolis in Egypt, on the temple called Pylon, there was figured a boy as the symbol of production, and an old man as that of decay. A hawk, on the other hand, was the symbol of God, as a fish of hate; and, according to a different symbolism, the crocodile; of impudence. The whole symbol, then, when put together, appears to teach this: "Oh ye who are born and die, God hates impudence."

And there are those who fashion ears and eyes of costly material, and consecrate them, dedicating them in the temples to the gods -- by this plainly indicating that God sees and hears all things. Besides, the lion is with them the symbol of strength and prowess, as the ox clearly is of the earth itself, and husbandry and food, and the horse of fortitude and confidence; while, on the other hand, the sphinx, of strength combined with intelligence -- as it had a body entirely that of a lion, and the face of a man. Similarly to these, to indicate intelligence, and memory, and power, and art, a man is sculptured in the temples. And in what is called among them the Komasiae of the gods, they carry about golden images -- two dogs, one hawk, and one ibis; and the four figures of the images they call four letters. For the dogs are symbols of the two hemispheres, which, as it were, go round and keep watch; the hawk, of the sun, for it is fiery and destructive (so they attribute pestilential diseases to the sun); the ibis, of the moon, likening the shady parts to that which is dark in plumage, and the luminous to the light. And some will have it that by the dogs are meant the tropics, which guard and watch the sun's passage to the south and north. The hawk signifies the equinoctial line, which is high and parched with heat, as the ibis the ecliptic. For the ibis seems, above other animals, to have furnished to the Egyptians the first rudiments of the invention of number and measure, as the oblique line did of circles.

CHAPTER 8 -- THE USE OF THE SYMBOLIC STYLE BY POETS AND PHILOSOPHERS.

But it was not only the most highly intellectual of the Egyptians, but also such of other barbarians as prosecuted philosophy, that affected the symbolical style. They say, then, that Idanthuris king of the Scythians, as Pherecydes of Syros relates, sent to Darius, on his passing the Ister in threat of war, a symbol, instead of a letter, consisting of a mouse, a frog, a bird, a javelin, a plough. And there being a doubt in reference to them, as was to be expected, Orontopagas the Chiliarch said that they were to resign the kingdom; taking dwellings to be meant by the mouse, waters by the frog, air by the bird, land by the plough, arms by the javelin. But Xiphodres interpreted the contrary; for he said, "If we do not take our flight like birds, or like mice get below the earth, or like frogs beneath the water, we shall not escape their arrows; for we are not lords of the territory."

It is said that Anacharsis the Scythian, while asleep, covered the pudenda with his left hand, and his mouth with his fight, to intimate that both ought to be mastered, but that it was a greater thing to master the tongue than voluptuousness.

And why should I linger over the barbarians, when I can adduce the Greeks as exceedingly addicted to the use of the method of concealment? Androcydes the Pythagorean says the far-famed so-called Ephesian letters were of the class of symbols. For he said that askion (shadowless) meant darkness, for it has no shadow; and katas>kion (shadowy) light, since it casts with its rays the shadow; and lix if is the earth, according to an ancient' appellation; and tetras is the year, in reference to the seasons; and d>amnameneus is the sun, which overpowers (damazwn); and ta aisia is the true voice. And then the symbol intimates that divine things have been arranged in harmonious order -- darkness to light, the sun to the year, and the earth to nature's processes of production of every sort. Also Dionysius Thrax, the grammarian, in his book, Respecting the Exposition of the Symbolical Signification in Circles, says expressly, "Some signified actions not by words only, but also by symbols: by words, as is the case of what are called the Delphic maxims, 'Nothing in excess,' 'Know thyself,' and the like; and by symbols, as the wheel that is turned in the temples of the gods, derived from the Egyptians, and the branches that are given to the worshippers. For the Thracian Orpheus says: "Whatever works of branches are a care to men on earth, Not one has one fate in the mind, but all things Revolve around; and it is not lawful to stand at one point, But each one keeps an equal part of the race as they began."

The branches either stand as the symbol of the first food, or they are that the multitude may know that fruits spring and grow universally, remaining a very long time; but that the duration of life allotted to themselves is brief. And it is on this account that they will have it that the branches are given; and perhaps also that they may know, that as these, on the other hand, are burned, so also they themselves speedily leave this life, and will become fuel for fire.

Very useful, then, is the mode of symbolic interpretation for many purposes; and it is helpful to the right theology, and to piety, and to the display of intelligence, and the practice of brevity, and the exhibition of wisdom. "For the use of symbolical speech is characteristic of the wise man," appositely remarks the grammarian Didymus, "and the explanation of what is signified by it." And indeed the most elementary instruction of children embraces the interpretation of the four elements; for it is said that the Phrygians call water Bedu, as also Orpheus says: - "And bright water is poured down, the Bedu of the nymphs."

Dion Thytes also seems to write similarly: "And taking Bedu, pour it on your hands, and turn to divination."

On the other hand, the comic poet, Philydeus, understands by Bedu the air, as being (Biodoros) life-giver, in the following lines : "I pray that I may inhale the salutary Bedu, Which is the most essential part of health; Inhale the pure, the unsullied air."

In the same opinion also concurs Neanthes of Cyzicum, who writes that the Macedonian priests invoke Bedu, which they interpret to mean the air, to be propitious to them and to their children. And Zaps some have ignorantly taken for fire (from zesin,boiling); for so the sea is called, as Euphorion, in his reply to Theoridas: "And Zaps, destroyer of ships, wrecked it on the rocks."

And Dionysius Iambus similarly: "Briny Zaps moans about the maddened deep."

Similarly Cratinus the younger, the comic poet: "Zaps casts forth shrimps and little fishes."

And Simmias of Rhodes: "Parent of the Ignetes and the Telchines briny Zaps was born."

And kqwn is the earth kekxmenh spread forth to bigness. And Plectron, according to some, is the sky (polos), according to others, it is the air, which strikes and moves to nature and increase, and which fills all things. But these have not read Cleanthes the philosopher, who expressly calls Plectron the sun; for darting his beams in the east, as if striking the world, he leads the light to its harmonious course. And from the sun it signifies also the rest of the stars, the

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Sphinx is not the comprehension of the universe, and the revolution of the world, according to the poet Aratus; but perhaps it is the spiritual tone which pervades and holds together the universe. But it is better to regard it as the ether, which holds together and presses all things; as also Empedocles says: "But come now, first will I speak of the Sun, the first principle of all things, From which all, that we look upon, has sprung, Both earth, and billowy deep, and humid air; Titan and Ether too, which binds all things around."

And Apollodorus of Corcyra says that these lines were recited by Branchus the seer, when purifying the Milesians from plague; for he, sprinkling the multitude with branches of laurel, led off the hymn somehow as follows : "Sing Boys Hecaergus and Hecaerga."

And the people accompanied him, saying, "Bedu, Zaps, Chthon, Plectron, Sphinx, Cnaxzbi, Chthyptes, Phlegmos, Drops." Callimachus relates the story in iambics. Cnaxzbi is, by derivation, the plague, from its gnawing (knaiein) and destroying diafqeirein, and qxyai is to consume with a thunderbolt. Thespis the tragic poet says that something else was signified by these, writing thus: "Lo, I offer to thee a libation of white Cnaxzbi, having pressed it from the yellow nurses. Lo, to thee, O two-horned Pan, mixing Chthyptes cheese with red honey, I place it on thy sacred altars. Lo, to thee I pour as a libation the sparkling gleam of Bromius."He signifies, as I think, the soul's first milk-like nutriment of the four-and-twenty elements, after which solidified milk comes as food. And last, he teaches of the blood of the vine of the Word, the sparkling wine, the perfecting gladness of instruction. And Drops is the operating Word, which, beginning with elementary training, and advancing to the growth of the man, inflames and illumines man up to the measure of maturity. The third is said to be a writing copy for children -- marptes, sfigx klwy,zxnkqhdos. And it signifies, in my opinion, that by the arrangement of the elements and of the world, we must advance to the knowledge of what is more perfect, since eternal salvation is attained by force and toil; for maryai is to grasp. And the harmony of the world is meant by the Sphinx; and zunkqhdon means difficulty; and klwys means at once the secret knowledge of the Lord and day. Well! does not Epigenes, in his book on the Poetry of Orpheus, in exhibiting the peculiarities found in Orpheus, say that by " the curved rods" (keraisi) is meant "ploughs;"and by the warp (sthmosi), the furrows; and the woof (mitos) is a figurative expression for the seed; and that the tears of Zeus signify a shower; and that the "parts" (moirai) are, again, the phases of the moon, the thirtieth day, and the fifteenth, and the new moon, and that Orpheus accordingly calls them "white-robed," as being parts of the light? Again, that the Spring is called "flowery," from its nature; and Night "still," on account of rest; and the Moon" Gorgonian," on account of the face in it; and that the time in which it is necessary to sow is called Aphrodite by the "Theologian." In the same way, too, the Pythagoreans figuratively called the planets the "dogs of Persephone;" and to the sea they applied the metaphorical appellation of "the tears of Kronus." Myriads on myriads of enigmatical utterances by both poets and philosophers are to be found; and there are also whole books which present the mind of the writer veiled, as that of Heraclitus On Nature, who on this very account is called "Obscure." Similar to this book is the Theology of Pherecydes of Syrup; for Euphorion the poet, and the Causes of Callimachus, and the Alexandra of Lycophron, and the like, are proposed as an exercise in exposition to all the grammarians.

It is, then, proper that the Barbarian philosophy, on which it is our business to speak, should prophecy also obscurely and by symbols, as was evinced. Such are the injunctions of Moses: "These common things, the sow, the hawk, the eagle, and the raven, are not to be eaten." For the sow is the emblem of voluptuous and unclean lust of food, and lecherous and filthy licentiousness in venery, always prurient, and material, and lying in the mire, and fattening for slaughter and destruction.

Again, he commands to eat that which parts the hoof and ruminates; "intimating," says Barnabas, "that we ought to cleave to those who fear the Lord, and meditate in their heart on that portion of the word which they have received, to those who speak and keep the Lord's statutes, to those to whom meditation is a work of gladness, and who ruminate on the word of the Lord.

And what is the parted hoof? That the righteous walks in this world, and expects the holy eternity to come." Then he adds, "See how well Moses enacted.

But whence could they understand or comprehend these things? We who have rightly understood speak the commandments as the Lord wished; wherefore He circumcised our ears and hearts, that we may comprehend these things. And when he says, 'Thou shalt not eat the eagle, the hawk, the kite, and the crow; he says,' Thou shalt not adhere to or become like those men who know not how to procure for themselves subsistence by toil and sweat, but live by plunder, and lawlessly.' For the eagle indicates robbery, the hawk injustice, and the raven greed. It is also written,' With the innocent man thou wilt be innocent, and with the chosen choice, and with the perverse thou shall pervert.' It is incumbent on us to cleave to the saints, because they that cleave to them shall be sanctified."

Thence Theognis writes: "For from the good you will learn good things; But if you mix with the bad, you will destroy any mind you may have."

And when, again, it is said in the ode, "For He hath triumphed gloriously: the home and his rider hath He cast into the sea;" the manylimbed and brutal affection, lust, with the rider mounted, who gives the reins to pleasures, "He has cast into the sea," throwing them away into the disorders of the world. Thus also Plato, in his book On the Soul, says that the charioteer and the horse that ran off -- the irrational part, which is divided in two, into anger and concupiscence -- fall down; and so the myth intimates that it was through the licentiousness of the steeds that Phaethon was thrown out. Also in the case of Joseph: the brothers having envied this young man, who by his knowledge was possessed of uncommon foresight, stripped off the coat of many colours, and took and threw him into a pit (the pit was empty, it had no water), rejecting the good man's varied knowledge, springing from his love of instruction; or, in the exercise of the bare faith, which is according to the law, they threw him into the pit empty of water, selling him into Egypt, which was destitute of the divine word. And the pit was destitute of knowledge; into which being thrown and stript of his knowledge, he that had become unconsciously wise, stript of knowledge, seemed like his brethren. Otherwise interpreted, the coat of many colours is lust, which takes its way into a yawning pit. "And if one open up or hew out a pit," it is said, "and do not cover it, and there fall in there a calf or ass, the owner of the pit shall pay the price in money, and give it to his neighbour; and the dead body shall be his. Here add that prophecy: "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib: but Israel hath not understood Me." In order, then, that none of those, who have fallen in with the knowledge taught by thee, may become incapable of holding the truth, and disobey and fall away, it is said, Be thou sure in the treatment of the word, and shut up the living spring in the depth from those who approach irrationally, but reach drink to those that thirst for truth. Conceal it, then, from those who are unfit to receive the depth of knowledge, and so cover the pit. The owner of the pit, then, the Gnostic, shall himself be punished, incurring the blame of the others stumbling, and of being overwhelmed by the greatness of the word, he himself being of small capacity; or transferring the worker into the region of speculation, and on that account dislodging him from off-hand faith. "And will pay money," rendering a reckoning, and submitting his accounts to the "omnipotent Will."

This, then, is the type of "the law and the prophets which were until John; " while he, though speaking more perspicuously as no longer prophesying, but pointing out as now present, Him, who was proclaimed symbolically from the beginning, nevertheless said, "I am not worthy to loose the latchet of the Lord's shoe." For he confesses that he is not worthy to baptize so great a Power; for it behooves those, who purify others, to free the soul from the body and its sins, as the foot from the thong. Perhaps also this signified the final exertion of the Saviour's power toward us -- the immediate, I mean -- that by His presence, concealed in the enigma of prophecy, inasmuch as he, by pointing out to sight Him that had been prophesied of, and indicating the Presence which had come, walking forth into the light, loosed the latchet of the oracles of the [old] economy, by unveiling the meaning of the symbols.

And the observances practised by the Romans in the case of wills have a place here; those balances and small coins to denote justice, and freeing of slaves, and rubbing of the ears. For these observances are, that things may be transacted with justice; and those for the dispensing of honour; and the last, that he who happens to be near, as if a burden were imposed on him, should stand and hear and take the post of mediator.

CHAPTER 9 -- REASONS FOR VEILING THE TRUTH IN SYMBOLS.

But, as appears, I have, in my eagerness to establish my point, insensibly gone beyond what is requisite. For life would fail me to adduce the multitude of those who philosophize in a symbolical manner. For the sake, then, of memory and brevity, and of attracting to the truth, such are the Scriptures of the Barbarian philosophy.

For only to those who often approach them, and have given them a trial by faith and in their whole life, will they supply the real philosophy and the true theology. They also wish us to require an interpreter and guide. For so they considered, that, receiving truth at the hands of those who knew it well, we would be more earnest and less liable to deception, and those worthy of them would profit. Besides, all things that shine through a veil show the truth grander and more imposing; as fruits shining through water, and figures through veils, which give added reflections to them. For, in addition to the fact that things unconcealed are perceived in one way, the rays of light shining round reveal defects. Since, then, we may draw several meanings, as we do from what is expressed in veiled form, such being the case, the ignorant and unlearned man fails. But the Gnostior apprehends. Now, then, it is not wished that all things should be exposed indiscriminately to all and sundry, or the benefits of wisdom communicated to those who have not even in a dream been purified in soul, (for it is not allowed to hand to every chance comer what has been procured with such laborious efforts); nor are the mysteries of the word to be expounded to the profane.

They say, then, that Hipparchus the Pythagorean, being guilty of writing the tenets of Pythagoras in plain language, was expelled from the school, and a pillar raised for him as if he had been dead. Wherefore also in the Barbarian philosophy they call those dead who have fallen away from the dogmas, and have placed the mind in subjection to carnal passions. "For what fellowship hath righteousness and iniquity?" according to the divine apostle. "Or what communion hath light with darkness? or what concord hath Christ with Belial? or what portion hath the believer with the unbeliever?" For the honours of the Olympians and of mortals lie apart. "Wherefore also go forth from the midst of them, and be separated, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you, and will be to you for a Father, and ye shall be my sons and daughters."

It was not only the Pythagoreans and Plato then, that concealed many things; but the Epicureans too say that they have things that may not be uttered, and do not allow all to peruse those writings. The Stoics also say that by the first Zeno things were written which they do not readily allow disciples to read, without their first giving proof whether or not they are genuine philosophers. And the disciples of Aristotle say that some of their treatises are esoteric, and others common and exoteric. Further, those who instituted the mysteries, being philosophers, buried their doctrines in myths, so as not to be obvious to all. Did they then, by veiling human opinions, prevent the ignorant from handling them; and was it not more beneficial for the holy and blessed contemplation of realities to be concealed? But it was not only the tenets of the Barbarian philosophy, or the Pythagorean myths. But even those myths in Plato (in the Republic, that of Hero the Armenian; and in the Gorgias, that of Aeacus and Rhadamanthus; and in the Phoedo, that of Tartarus; and in the Protagoras, that of Prometheus and Epimetheus; and besides these, that of the war between the Atlantini and the Athenians in the Atlanticum) r are to be expounded allegorically, not absolutely n in all their expressions, but in those which ex press the general sense. And these we shall find indicated by symbols under the veil of allegory. Also the association of Pythagoras, and the twofold intercourse with the associates which designates the majority, hearers (akousmatikoi), and the others that have a genuine attachment to philosophy, disciples (224>aqhmatikoi, yet signified that something was spoken to the multitude, and something concealed from them. Perchance, too, the twofold species of the Peripatetic teaching -- that called probable, and that called knowable -- came very near the distinction between opinion on the one hand, and glory and truth on the other.

"To win the flowers of fair renown from men, Be not induced to speak aught more than right."

The Ionic muses accordingly expressly say, "That the majority of people, wise in their own estimation, follow minstrels and make use of laws, knowing that many are bad, few good; but that the best pursue glory: for the best make choice of the everlasting glory of men above all. But the multitude cram themselves like brutes, measuring happiness by the belly and the pudenda, and the basest things in us." And the great Parmenides of Elea is introduced describing thus the teaching of the two ways: "The one is the dauntless heart of convincing truth; The other is in the opinions of men, in whom is no true faith."

CHAPTER 10 -- THE OPINION OF THE APOSTLES ON VEILING THE MYSTERIES OF THE FAITH.

Rightly, therefore, the divine apostle says, "By revelation the mystery was made known to me (as I wrote before in brief, in accordance with which, when ye read, ye may understand my knowledge in the mystery of Christ), which in other ages was not made known to the sons of men, as it is now revealed to His holy apostles and prophets." For there is an instruction of the perfect, of which, writing to the Colossians, he says, "We cease not to pray for you, and beseech that ye may be filled with the knowledge of His will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding; that ye may walk worthy of the Lord to all pleasing; being fruitful in every good work, and increasing in the knowledge of God; strengthened with all might according to the glory of His power." And again he says, "According to the disposition of the grace of God which is given me, that ye may fulfil the word of God; the mystery which has been hid from ages and generations, which now is manifested to His saints: to whom God wished to make known what is the riches of the glory of this mystery among the nations." So that, on the one hand, then, are the mysteries which were hid till the time of the apostles, and were delivered by them as they received from the Lord, and, concealed in the

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Old Testament, were manifested to the saints. And, on the other hand, there is "the riches of the glory of the mystery in the Gentiles," which is faith and hope in Christ; which in another place he has called the "foundation." And again, as if in eagerness to divulge this knowledge, he thus writes: "Warning every man in all wisdom, that we may present every man (the whole man) perfect in Christ;" not every man simply, since no one would be unbelieving. Nor does he call every man who believes in Christ perfect; but he says all the man, as if he said the whole man, as if purified in body and soul. For that the knowledge does not appertain to all, he expressly adds: "Being knit together in love, and unto all the riches of the full assurance of knowledge, to the acknowledgment of the mystery of God in Christ, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and of knowledge." "Continue in prayer, watching therein with thanksgiving." And thanksgiving has place not for the soul and spiritual blessings alone, but also for the body, and for the good things of the body. And he still more clearly reveals that knowledge belongs not to all, by adding: "Praying at the same time for you, that God would open to us a door to speak the mystery of Christ, for which I am bound; that I may make it known as I ought to speak." For there were certainly, among the Hebrews, some things delivered unwritten. "For when ye ought to be teachers for the time," it is said, as if they had grown old in the Old Testament, "ye have again need that one teach you which be the first principles of the oracles of God; and are become such as have need of milk, and not of solid food. For every one that partaketh of milk is unskilful in the word of righteousness; for he is a babe, being instructed with the first lessons. But solid food belongs to those who are of full age, who by reason of use have their senses exercised so as to distinguish between good and evil. Wherefore, leaving the first principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on to perfection."

Barnabas, too, who in person preached the word along with the apostle in the ministry of the Gentiles, says, "I write to you most simply, that ye may understand." Then below, exhibiting already a clearer trace of gnostic tradition, he says, "What says the other prophet Moses to them? Lo, thus saith the Lord God, Enter ye into the good land which the Lord God sware, the God of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob; and ye received for an inheritance that land, flowing with milk and honey. What says knowledge? Learn, hope, it says, in Jesus, who is to be manifested to you in the flesh. For man is the suffering land; for from the face of the ground was the formation of Adam. What, then, does it say in reference to the good land, flowing with milk and honey? Blessed be our Lord, brethren, who has put into our hearts wisdom, and the understanding of His secrets. For the prophet says, "Who shall understand the Lord's parable but the wise and understanding, and he that loves his Lord?" It is but for few to comprehend these things. For it is not in the way of envy that the Lord announced in a Gospel, "My mystery is to me, and to the sons of my house;" placing the election in safety, and beyond anxiety; so that the things pertaining to what it has chosen and taken may be above the reach of envy. For he who has not the knowledge of good is wicked: for there is one good, the Father; and to be ignorant of the Father is death, as to know Him is eternal life, through participation in the power of the incorrupt One. And to be incorruptible is to participate in divinity; but revolt from the knowledge of God brings corruption. Again the prophet says: "And I will give thee treasures, concealed, dark, unseen; that they may know that I am the Lord."

Similarly David sings: "For, lo, Thou hast loved truth; the obscure and hidden things of wisdom hast Thou showed me." "Day utters speech to day" (what is clearly written), "and night to night proclaims knowledge" (which is hidden in a mystic veil); "and there are no words or utterances whose voices shall not be heard" by God, who said, "Shall one do what is secret, and I shall not see him?"

Wherefore instruction, which reveals hidden things, is called illumination, as it is the teacher only who uncovers the lid of the ark, contrary to what the poets say, that "Zeus stops up the jar of good things, but opens that of evil." "For I know," says the apostle, "that when I come to you, I shall come in the fulness of the blessing of Christ;" designating the spiritual gift, and the gnostic communication, which being present he desires to impart to them present as "the fulness of Christ, according to the revelation of the mystery sealed in the ages of eternity, but now manifested by the prophetic Scriptures, according to the command of the eternal God, made known to all the nations, in order to the obedience of faith," that is, those of the nations who believe that it is. But only to a few of them is shown what those things are which are contained in the mystery. Rightly then, Plato, in the Epistles, treating of God, says: "We must speak in enigmas that should the tablet come by any mischance on its leaves either by sea or land, he who reads may remain ignorant." For the God of the universe, who is above all speech, all conception, all thought, can never be committed to writing, being inexpressible even by His own power. And this too Plato showed, by saying:

"Considering, then, these things, take care lest some time or other you repent on account of the present things, departing in a manner unworthy. The greatest safeguard is not to write, but learn; for it is utterly impossible that what is written will not vanish."

Akin to this is what the holy Apostle Paul says, preserving the prophetic and truly ancient secret from which the teachings that were good were derived by the Greeks: "Howbeit we speak wisdom among them who are perfect; but not the wisdom of this world, or of the princes of this world, that come to nought; but we speak the wisdom of God hidden in a mystery." Then proceeding, he thus inculcates the caution against the divulging of his words to the multitude in the following terms: "And I, brethren, could not speak to you as to spiritual, but as to carnal, even to babes in Christ. I have fed you with milk, not with meat: for ye were not yet able; neither are ye now able. For ye are yet carnal."

If, then, "the milk" is said by the apostle to belong to the babes, and "meat" to be the food of the full-grown, milk will be understood to be catechetical instruction -- the first food, as it were, of the soul. And meat is the mystic contemplation; for this is the flesh and the blood of the Word, that is, the comprehension of the divine power and essence. "Taste and see that the Lord is Christ," it is said. For so He imparts of Himself to those who partake of such food in a more spiritual manner; when now the soul nourishes itself, according to the truth-loving Plato. For the knowledge of the divine essence is the meat and drink of the divine Word. Wherefore also Plato says, in the second book of the Republic, "It is those that sacrifice not a sow, but some great and difficult sacrifice," who ought to inquire respecting God. And the apostle writes, "Christ our passover was sacrificed for us;" -- a sacrifice hard to procure, in truth, the Son of God consecrated for us.

CHAPTER 11 -- ABSTRACTION FROM MATERIAL THINGS NECESSARY IN ORDER TO ATTAIN TO THE TRUE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD.

Now the sacrifice which is acceptable to God is unswerving abstraction from the body and its passions. This is the really true piety. And is not, on this account, philosophy rightly called by Socrates the practice of Death? For he who neither employs his eyes in the exercise of thought, nor draws aught from his other senses, but with pure mind itself applies to objects, practises the true philosophy. This is, then, the import of the silence of five years prescribed by Pythagoras, which he enjoined on his disciples; that, abstracting themselves from the objects of sense, they might with the mind alone contemplate the Deity. It was from Moses that the chief of the Greeks drew these philosophical tenets. For he commands holocausts to be skinned and divided into parts. For the gnostic soul must be consecrated to the light, stript of the integuments of matter, devoid of the frivolousness of the body and of all the passions, which are acquired through vain and lying opinions, and divested of the lusts of the flesh. But the most of men, clothed with what is perishable, like cockles, and rolled all round in a ball in their excesses, like hedgehogs, entertain the same ideas of the blessed and incorruptible God as of themselves. But it has escaped their notice, though they be near us, that God has bestowed on us ten thousand things in which He does not share: birth, being Himself unborn; food, He wanting nothing; and growth, He being always equal; and long life and immortality, He being immortal and incapable of growing old. Wherefore let no one imagine that hands, and feet, and mouth, and eyes, and going in and coming out, and resentments and threats, are said by the Hebrews to be attributes of God. By no means; but that certain of these appellations are used more sacredly in an allegorical sense, which, as the discourse proceeds, we shall explain at the proper time.

"Wisdom of all medicines is the Panacea, writes Callimachus in the Epigrams. "And one becomes wise from another, both in past times and at present," says Bacchylides in the Paans; "for it is not very easy to find the portals of unutterable words." Beautifully, therefore, Isocrates writes in the Panathenaic, baring put the question, "Who, then, are well trained?" adds, "First, those who manage well the things which occur each day, whose opinion jumps with opportunity, and is able for the most part to hit on what is beneficial; then those who behave becomingly and rightly to those who approach them, who take lightly and easily annoy ances and molestations offered by others, but conduct themselves as far as possible, to those with whom they have intercourse, with consummate care and moderation; further, those who have the command of their pleasures, and are not too much overcome by misfortunes, but conduct themselves in the midst of them with manliness, and in a way worthy of the nature which we share; fourth -- and this is the greatest -- those who are not corrupted by prosperity, and are not put beside themselves, or made haughty, but continue in the class of sensible people." Then he puts on the top-stone of the discourse: "Those who have the disposition of their soul well suited not to one only of these things, but to them all -- those I assert to be wise and perfect men, and to possess all the virtues."

Do you see how the Greeks deify the gnostic life (though not knowing how to become acquainted with it)? And what knowledge it is, they know not even in a dream. If, then, it is agreed among us that knowledge is the food of reason, "blessed truly are they," according to the Scripture, "who hunger and thirst after truth: for they shall be filled" with everlasting food. In the most wonderful harmony with these words, Euripides, the philosopher of the drama, is found in the following words, -- making allusion, I know not how, at once to the Father and the Son: "To thee, the Lord of all, I bring Cakes and libations too, O Zeus, Or Hades would'st thou choose be called; Do thou accept my offering of all fruits, Rare, full, poured forth."

For a whole burnt-offering and rare sacrifice for us is Christ. And that unwittingly he mentions the Saviour, he will make plain, as he adds: -- "

For thou who, 'midst the heavenly gods, Jove's sceptre sway'st, dost also share The rule of those on earth."

Then he says expressly: "Send light to human souls that fain would know Whence conflicts spring, and what the root of ills, And of the blessed gods to whom due rites Of sacrifice we needs must pay, that so We may from troubles find repose."

It is not then without reason that in the mysteries that obtain among the Greeks, lustrations hold the first place; as also the layer among the Barbarians. After these are the minor mysteries, which have some foundation of instruction and of preliminary preparation for what is to come after; and the great mysteries, in which nothing remains to be learned of the universe, but only to contemplate and comprehend nature and things.

We shall understand the mode of purification by confession, and that of contemplation by analysis, advancing by analysis to the first notion, beginning with the properties underlying it; abstracting from the body its physical properties, taking away the dimension of depth, then that of breadth, and then that of length. For the point which remains is a unit, so to speak, having position; from which if we abstract position, there is the conception of unity.

If, then, abstracting all that belongs to bodies and things called incorporeal, we cast ourselves into the greatness of Christ, and thence advance into immensity by holiness, we may reach somehow to the conception of the Almighty, knowing not what He is, but what He is not. And form and motion, or standing, or a throne, or place, or right hand or left, are not at all to be conceived as belonging to the Father of the universe, although it is so written. But what each of these means will be shown in its proper place. The First Cause is not then in space, but above both space, and time, and name, and conception.

Wherefore also Moses says, " Show Thyself to me," -- intimating most clearly that God is not capable of being taught by man, or expressed in speech, but to be known only by His own power. For inquiry was obscure and dim; but the grace of knowledge is from Him by the Son. Most clearly Solomon shall testify to us, speaking thus: "The prudence of man is not in me: but God giveth me wisdom, and I know holy things." Now Moses, describing allegorically the divine prudence, called it the tree of life planted in Paradise; which Paradise may be the world in which all things proceeding from creation grow. In it also the Word blossomed and bore fruit, being "made flesh," and gave life to those "who had tasted of His graciousness;" since it was not without the wood of the tree that He came to our knowledge. For our life was hung on it, in order that we might believe. And Solomon again says: "She is a tree of immortality to those who take hold of her." "Behold, I set before thy face life and death, to love the Lord thy God, and to walk in His ways, and hear His voice, and trust in life. But if ye transgress the statutes and the judgments which I have given you, ye shall be destroyed with destruction. For this is life, and the length of thy days, to love the Lord thy God."

Again: "Abraham, when he came to the place which God told him of on the third day, looking up, saw the place afar off." For the first day is that which is constituted by the sight of good things; and the second is the soul's best desire; on the third, the mind perceives spiritual things, the eyes of the understanding being opened by the Teacher who rose on the third day. The three days may be the mystery of the seal, in which God. is really believed. It is consequently afar off that he sees the place. For the region of God is hard to attain; which Plato called the region of ideas, having learned from Moses that it was a place which contained all things universally. But it is seen by Abraham afar off, rightly, because of his being in the realms of generation, and he is forthwith initiated by the angel. Thence says the apostle: "Now we see as through a glass, but then face to face," by those sole pure and incorporeal applications of the intellect. In reasoning, it is possible to divine respecting God, if one attempt without any of the senses, by reason, to reach what is individual; and do not quit the sphere of existences, till, rising up to the things which transcend it, he apprehends by the intellect itself that which is good, moving in the very confines of the world of thought, according to Plato.

Again, Moses, not allowing altars and temples to be constructed in many places, but raising one temple of God, announced that the world was only-begotten, as Basilides says,

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and that God is one, as does not as yet appear to Basilides. And since the gnostic Moses does not circumscribe within space Him that cannot be circumscribed, he set up no image in the temple to be worshipped; showing that God was invisible, and incapable of being circumscribed; and somehow leading the Hebrews to the conception of God by the honour for His name in the temple. Further, the Word, prohibiting the constructing of temples and all sacrifices, intimates that the Almighty is not contained in anything, by what He says: "What house will ye build to Me? saith the Lord. Heaven is my throne," and so on. Similarly respecting sacrifices: "I do not desire the blood of bulls and the fat of lambs," and what the Holy Spirit by the prophet in the sequel forbids.

Most excellently, therefore, Euripides accords with these, when he writes: "What house constructed by the workmen's hands, With folds of walls, can clothe the shape divine?"

And of sacrifices he thus speaks: "For God needs nought, if He is truly God.

These of the minstrels are the wretched myths."

"For it was not from need that God made the world; that He might reap honours from men and the other gods and demons, winning a kind of revenue from creation, and from us, fumes, and from the gods and demons, their proper ministries," says Plato. Most instructively, therefore, says Paul in the Acts of the Apostles: "The God that made the world, and all things in it, being the Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands; neither is worshipped by men's hands, as if He needed anything; seeing that it is He Himself that giveth to all breath, and life, and all things." And Zeno, the founder of the Stoic sect, says in this book of the Republic, "that we ought to make neither temples nor images; for that no work is worthy of the gods."

And he was not afraid to write in these very words: "There will be no need to build temples. For a temple is not worth much, and ought not to be regarded as holy. For nothing is worth much, and holy, which is the work of builders and mechanics." Rightly, therefore, Plato too, recognising the world as God's temple, pointed out to the citizens a spot in the city where their idols were to be laid up. "Let not, then, any one again," he says, "consecrate temples to the gods. For gold and silver in other states, in the case of private individuals and in the temples, is an invidious possession; and ivory, a body which has abandoned the life, is not a sacred votive offering; and steel and brass are the instruments of wars; but whatever one wishes to dedicate, let it be wood of one tree, as also stone for common temples." Rightly, then, in the great Epistle he says: "For it is not capable of expression, like other branches of study. But as the result of great intimacy with this subject, and living with it, a sudden light, like that kindled by a coruscating fire, arising in the soul, feeds itself." Are not these statements like those of Zephaniah the prophet? "And the Spirit of the Lord took me, and brought me up to the fifth heaven, and I beheld angels called Lords; and their diadem was set on in the Holy Spirit; and each of them had a throne sevenfold brighter than the light of the rising sun; and they dwelt in temples of salvation, and hymned the ineffable, Most High God."

CHAPTER 12 -- GOD CANNOT BE EMBRACED IN WORDS OR BY THE MIND.

"For both is it a difficult task to discover the Father and Maker of this universe; and having found Him, it is impossible to declare Him to all. For this is by no means capable of expression, like the other subjects of instruction," says the truth-loving Plato. For he that had heard right well that the all-wise Moses, ascending the mount for holy contemplation, to the summit of intellectual objects, necessarily commands that the whole people do not accompany him. And when the Scripture says, "Moses entered into the thick darkness where God was," this shows to those capable of understanding, that God is invisible and beyond expression by words, And "the darkness " -- which is, in truth, the unbelief and ignorance of the multitude -- obstructs the gleam of truth. And again Orpheus, the theologian, aided from this quarter, says: "One is perfect in himself, and all things are made the progeny of one," or, "are born;" for so also is it written.He adds: "Him No one of mortals has seen, but He sees all."

And he adds more clearly: "Him see I not, for round about, a cloud Has settled; for in mortal eyes are small, And mortal pupils -- only flesh and bones grow there."

To these statements the apostle will testify: "I know a man in Christ, caught up into the third heaven, and thence into Paradise, who heard unutterable words which it is not lawful for a man to speak," -- intimating thus the impossibility of expressing God, and indicating that what is divine is unutterable by human power; if, indeed, he begins to speak above the third heaven, as it is lawful to initiate the elect souls in the mysteries there. For I know what is in Plato (for the examples from the barbarian philosophy, which are many, are suggested now by the composition which, in accordance with promises previously given, waits the suitable time). For doubting, in Timaoeus, whether we ought to regard several worlds as to be understood by many heavens, or this one, he makes no distinction in the names, calling the world and heaven by the same name. But the words of the statement are as follows: "Whether, then, have we rightly spoken of one heaven, or of many and infinite? It were more correct to say one, if indeed it was created according to the model." Further, in the Epistle of the Romans to the Corinthians it is written, "An ocean illimitable by men and the worlds after it." Consequently, therefore, the noble apostle exclaims, "Oh the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God!"

And was it not this which the prophet meant, when he ordered unleavened cakes to be made, intimating that the truly sacred mystic word, respecting the unbegotten and His powers, ought to be concealed? In confirmation of these things, in the Epistle to the Corinthians the apostle plainly says: "Howbeit we speak wisdom among those who are perfect, but not the wisdom of this world, or of the princes of this world, that come to nought. But we speak the wisdom of God hidden in a mystery." And again in another place he says: "To the acknowledgment of the mystery of God in Christ, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge." These things the Saviour Himself seals when He says: "To you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven." And again the Gospel says that the Saviour spake to the apostles the word in a mystery. For prophecy says of Him: "He will open His mouth in parables, and will utter things kept secret from the foundation of the world." And now, by the parable of the leaven, the Lord shows concealment; for He says, "The kingdom of heaven is like leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened." For the tripartite soul is saved by obedience, through the spiritual power hidden in it by faith; or because the power of the word which is given to us, being strong and powerful, draws to itself secretly and invisibly every one who receives it, and keeps it within himself, and brings his whole system into unity.

Accordingly Solon has written most wisely respecting God thus: "It is most difficult to apprehend the mind's invisible measure Which alone holds the boundaries of all things."

For "the divine," says the poet of Agrigenturn, - "Is not capable of being approached with our eyes, Or grasped with our hands; but the highway Of persuasion, highest o all, leads to men's minds."

And John the apostle says: "No man hath seen God at any time. The only-begotten God, who is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him," -- calling invisibility and ineffableness the bosom of God. Hence some have called it the Depth, as containing and embosoming all things, inaccessible and boundless.

This discourse respecting God is most difficult to handle. For since the first principle of everything is difficult to find out, the absolutely first and oldest principle, which is the cause of all other things being and having been, is difficult to exhibit. For bow can that be expressed which is neither genus, nor difference, nor species, nor individual, nor number; nay more, is neither an event, nor that to which an event happens? No one can rightly express Him wholly. For on account of His greatness He is ranked as the All, and is the Father of the universe. Nor are any parts to be predicated of Him.

For the One is indivisible; wherefore also it is infinite, not considered with reference to inscrutability, but with reference to its being without dimensions, and not having a limit. And therefore it is without form and name.

And if we name it, we do not do so properly, terming it either the One, or the Good, or Mind, or Absolute Being, or Father, or God, or Creator or Lord. We speak not as supplying His name; but for want, we use good names, in order that the mind may have these as points of support, so as not to err in other respects. For each one by itself does not express God; but all together are indicative of the power of the Omnipotent. For predicates are expressed either from what belongs to things themselves, or from their mutual relation. But none of these are admissible in reference to God. Nor any more is He apprehended by the science of demonstration. For it depends on primary and better known principles. But there is nothing antecedent to the Unbegotten.

It remains that we understand, then, the Unknown, by divine grace, and by the word alone that proceeds from Him; as Luke in the Acts of the Apostles relates that Paul said, "Men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious. For in walking about, and beholding the objects of your worship, I found an altar on which was inscribed, To the Unknown God. Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you."

CHAPTER 13 -- THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD A DIVINE GIFT, ACCORDING TO THE PHILOSOPHERS.

Everything, then, which falls under a name, is originated, whether they will or not. Whether, then, the Father Himself draws to Himself everyone who has led a pure life, and has reached the conception of the blessed and incorruptible nature; or whether the free-will which is in us, by reaching the knowledge of the good, leaps and bounds over the barriers, as the gymnasts say; yet it is not without eminent grace that the soul is winged, and soars, and is raised above the higher spheres, laying aside all that is heavy, and surrendering itself to its kindred element.

Plato, too, in Meno, says that virtue is God-given, as the following expressions show: "From this argument then, O Meno, virtue is shown to come to those, in whom it is found, by divine providence." Does it not then appear that "the gnostic disposition" which has come to all is enigmatically called "divine providence?" And he adds more explicitly: "If, then, in this whole treatise we have investigated well, it results that virtue is neither by nature, nor is it taught, but is produced by divine providence, not without intelligence, in those in whom it is found." Wisdom which is God-given, as being the power of the Father, rouses indeed our free-will, and admits faith, and repays the application of the elect with its crowning fellowship.

And now I will adduce Plato himself, who clearly deems it fit to believe the children of God. For, discoursing on gods that are visible and born, in Timaoeus, he says: "But to speak of the other demons, and to know their birth, is too much for us. But we must credit those who have formerly spoken, they being the offspring of the gods, as they said, and knowing well their progenitors, although they speak without probable and necessary proofs." I do not think it possible that clearer testimony could be borne by the Greeks, that our Saviour, and those anointed to prophesy (the latter being called the sons of God, and the Lord being His own Son), are the true witnesses respecting divine things. Wherefore also they ought to be believed, being inspired, he added. And were one to say in a more tragic vein, that we ought not to believe, "For it was not Zeus that told me these things," yet let him know that it was God Himself that promulgated the Scriptures by His Son. And he, who announces what is his own, is to be believed. "No one," says the Lord, "hath known the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son shall reveal Him." This, then, is to be believed, according to Plato, though it is announced and spoken "without probable and necessary proofs," but in the Old and New Testament. "For except ye believe," says the Lord, "ye shall die in your sins." And again: "He that believeth hath everlasting life." "Blessed are all they that put their trust in Him." For trusting is more than faith. For when one has believed that the Son of God is our teacher, he trusts that his teaching is true. And as "instruction," according to Empedocles, "makes the mind grow," so trust in the Lord makes faith grow.

We say, then, that it is characteristic of the same persons to vilify philosophy, and run down faith, and to praise iniquity and felicitate a libidinous life. But now faith, if it is the voluntary assent of the soul, is still the doer of good things, the foundation of right conduct; and if Aristotle defines strictly when he teaches that poiein is applied to the irrational creatures and to inanimate things, while prattein is applicable to men only, let him correct those who say that God is the maker (poiihts) of the universe. And what is done (prakton), he says, is as good or as necessary. To do wrong, then, is not good, for no one does wrong except for some other thing; and nothing that is necessary is voluntary. To do wrong, then, is voluntary, so that it is not necessary. But the good differ especially from the bad in inclinations and good desires. For all depravity of soul is accompanied with want of restraint; and he who acts from passion, acts from want of restraint and from depravity.

I cannot help admiring in every particular that divine utterance: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that entereth not in by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber.

But he that entereth in by the door is the shepherd of the sheep. To him the porter openeth." Then the Lord says in explanation, "I am the door of the sheep." Men must then be saved by learning the truth through Christ, even if they attain philosophy. For now that is clearly shown "which was not made known to other ages, which is now revealed to the sons of men." For there was always a natural manifestation of the one Almighty God, among all right-thinking men; and the most, who had not quite divested themselves of shame with respect to the truth, apprehended the eternal beneficence in divine providence. In fine, then, Xenocrates the Chalcedonian was not quite without hope that the notion of the Divinity existed even in the irrational creatures. And Democritus, though against his will, will make this avowal by the consequences of his dogmas; for he represents the same images as issuing, from the divine essence, on men and on the irrational animals. Far from destitute of a divine idea is man, who, it is written in Genesis, partook of inspiration, being endowed with a purer essence than the other animate creatures. Hence the Pythagoreans say that mind comes to man by divine providence, as Plato and Aristotle avow; but we assert that the Holy Spirit inspires him who has believed. The Platonists hold that mind is an effluence of divine dispensation in the soul, and they place the soul in the body. For it is expressly said by Joel, one of the twelve prophets, "And it shall come to pass after these things, I will pour out of My Spirit on all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy." But it is not as a portion of God that the Spirit is in each of us. But how this dispensation takes place, and what

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the Holy Spirit is, shall be shown by us in the books on prophecy, and in those on the soul. But "incredulity is good at concealing the depths of knowledge," according to Heraclitus; "for incredulity escapes from ignorance."

CHAPTER 14 -- GREEK PLAGIARISM FROM THE HEBREWS.

Let us add in completion what follows, and exhibit now with greater clearness the plagiarism of the Greeks from the Barbarian philosophy.

Now the Stoics say that God, like the soul, is essentially body and spirit. You will find all this explicitly in their writings. Do not consider at present their allegories as the gnostic truth presents them; whether they show one thing and mean another, like the dexterous athletes, Well, they say that God pervades all being; while we call Him solely Maker, and Maker by the Word. They were misled by what is said in the book of Wisdom: "He pervades and passes through all by reason of His purity; " since they did not understand that this was said of Wisdom, which was the first of the creation of God.

So be it, they say. But the philosophers, the Stoics, and Plato, and Pythagoras, nay more, Aristotle the Peripatetic, suppose the existence of matter among the first principles; and not one first principle. Let them then know that what is called matter by them, is said by them to be without quality, and without form, and more daringly said by Plato to be non-existence. And does he not say very mystically, knowing that the true and real first cause is one, in these very words: "Now, then, let our opinion be so. As to the first principle or principles of the universe, or what opinion we ought to entertain about all these points, we are not now to speak, for no other cause than on account of its being difficult to explain our sentiments in accordance with the present form of discourse." But undoubtedly that prophetic expression, "Now the earth was invisible and formless," supplied them with the ground of material essence.

And the introduction of "chance" was hence suggested to Epicurus, who misapprehended the statement, "Vanity of vanities, and all is vanity." And it occurred to Aristotle to extend Providence as far as the moon from this psalm: "Lord, Thy mercy is in the heavens; and Thy truth reacheth to the clouds." For the explanation of the prophetic mysteries had not yet been revealed previous to the advent of the Lord.

Punishments after death, on the other hand, and penal retribution by fire, were pilfered from the Barbarian philosophy both by all the poetic Muses and by the Hellenic philosophy. Plato, accordingly, in the last book of the Republic, says in these express terms: "Then these men fierce and fiery to look on, standing by, and hearing the sound, seized and took some aside and binding Aridaeus and the rest hand, foot, and head, and throwing them down, and flaying them, dragged them along the way, tearing their flesh with thorns." For the fiery men are meant to signify the angels, who seize and punish the wicked. "Who maketh," it is said, "His angels spirits; His ministers flaming fire." It follows from this that the soul is immortal. For what is tortured or corrected being in a state of sensation lives, though said to suffer. Well! Did not Plato know of the rivers of fire and the depth of the earth, and Tartarus, called by the Barbarians Gehenna, naming, as he does prophetically, Cocytus, and Acheron, and Pyriphlegethon, and introducing such corrective tortures for discipline? But indicating "the angels" as the Scripture says, "of the little ones, and of the least, which see God," and also the oversight reaching to us exercised by the tutelary angels? he shrinks not from writing, "That when all the souls have selected their several lives, according as it has fallen to their lot, they advance in order to Lachesis; and she sends along with each one, as his guide in life, and the joint accomplisher of his purposes, the demon which he has chosen." Perhaps also the demon of Socrates suggested to him something similar.

Nay, the philosophers. having so heard from Moses, taught that the world was created. And so Plato expressly said, "Whether was it that the world had no beginning of its existence, or derived its beginning from some beginning? For being visible, it is tangible; and being tangible, it has a body." Again, when he says, "It is a difficult task to find the Maker and Father of this universe," he not only showed that the universe was created, but points out that it was generated by him as a son, and that he is called its father, as deriving its being from him alone, and springing from non-existence. The Stoics, too, hold the tenet that the world was created.

And that the devil so spoken of by the Barbarian philosophy, the prince of the demons, is a wicked spirit, Plato asserts in the tenth book of the Laws, in these words: "Must we not say that spirit which pervades the things that are moved on all sides, pervades also heaven? Well, what? One or more? Several, say I, in reply for you. Let us not suppose fewer than two -- that which is beneficent, and that which is able to accomplish the opposite." Similarly in the Phoedrus he writes as follows: "Now there are other evils. But some demon has mingled pleasure with the most things at present." Further, in the tenth book of the Laws, he expressly emits that apostolic sentiment, "Our contest is not with flesh and blood, but principalities, with powers, with the spiritual things of those which are in heaven;" writing thus: "For since we are agreed that heaven is full of many good beings; but it is also full of the opposite of these, and more of these; and as we assert such a contest is deathless, and requiring marvellous watchfulness."

Again the Barbarian philosophy knows the world of thought and the world of sense -- the former archetypal, and the latter the image of that which is called the model; and assigns the former to the Monad, as being perceived by the mind, and the world of sense to the number six. For six is called by the Pythagoreans marriage, as being the genital number; and he places in the Monad the invisible heaven and the holy earth, and intellectual light. For "in the beginning," it is said, "God made the heaven and the earth; and the earth was invisible." And it is added, "And God said, Let there be light; and there was light." And in the material cosmogony He creates a solid heaven (and what is solid is capable of being perceived by sense), and a visible earth, and a light that is seen. Does not Plato hence appear to have left the ideas of living creatures in the intellectual world, and to make intellectual objects into sensible species according to their genera? Rightly then Moses says, that the body which Plato calls "the earthly tabernacle" was formed of the ground, but that the rational soul was breathed by God into man's face. For there, they say, the ruling faculty is situated; interpreting the access by the senses into the first man as the addition of the soul.

Wherefore also man is said "to have been made in [God's] image and likeness." For the image of God is the divine and royal Word, the impassible man; and the image of the image is the human mind. And if you wish to apprehend the likeness by another name, you will find it named in Moses, a divine correspondence. For he says, "Walk after the Lord your God, and keep His commandments." And I reckon all the virtuous, servants and followers of God. Hence the Stoics say that the end of philosophy is to live agreeable to nature; and Plato, likeness to God, as we have shown in the second Miscellany. And Zeno the Stoic, borrowing from Plato, and he from the Barbarian philosophy, says that all the good are friends of one another. For Socrates says in the Phoedrus, "that it has not been ordained that the bad should be a friend to the bad, nor the good be not a friend to the good;" as also he showed sufficiently in the Lysis, that friendship is never preserved in wickedness and vice. And the Athenian stranger similarly says, "that there is conduct pleasing and conformable to God, based on one ancient ground-principle, That like loves like, provided it be within measure. But things beyond measure are congenial neither to what is within nor what is beyond measure. Now it is the case that God is the measure to us of all things." Then proceeding, Plato adds: "For every good man is like every other good man; and so being like to God, he is liked by every good man and by God." At this point I have just recollected the following. In the end of the Timoeus he says: "You must necessarily assimilate that which perceives to that which is perceived, according to its original nature; and it is by so assimilating it that you attain to the end of the highest life proposed by the gods to men, for the present or the future time." For those have equal power with these. He, who seeks, will not stop till he find; and having found, he will wonder; and wondering, he will reign; and reigning, he will rest. And what? Were not also those expressions of Thales derived from these? The fact that God is glorified for ever, and that He is expressly called by us the Searcher of hearts, he interprets. For Thales being asked, What is the divinity? said, What has neither beginning nor end. And on another asking, "If a man could elude the knowledge of the Divine Being while doing aught?" said, "How could he who cannot do so while thinking?"

Further, the Barbarian philosophy recognises good as alone excellent, and virtue as sufficient for happiness, when it says, "Behold, I have set before your eyes good and evil, life and death that ye may choose life." For it calls good, "life," and the choice of it excellent, and the choice of the opposite "evil." And the end of good and of life is to become a lover of God: "For this is thy life and length of days," to love that which tends to the truth. And these points are yet clearer. For the Saviour, in enjoining to love God and our neighbour, says, "that on these two commandments hang the whole law and the prophets." Such are the tenets promulgated by the Stoics; and before these, by Socrates, in the Phoedrus, who prays, "O Pan, and ye other gods, give me to be beautiful within." And in the Theoetetus he says expressly, "For he that speaks well (kalws) is both beautiful and good." And in the Protagoras he avers to the companions of Protagoras that he has met with one more beautiful than Alcibiades, if indeed that which is wisest is most beautiful. For he said that virtue was the soul's beauty, and, on the contrary, that vice was the soul's deformity. Accordingly, Antipatrus the Stoic, who composed three books on the point, "That, according to Plato, only the beautiful is good," shows that, according to him, virtue is sufficient for happiness; and adduces several other dogmas agreeing with the Stoics. And by Aristobulus, who lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who is mentioned by the composer of the epitome of the books of the Maccabees, there were abundant books to show that the Peripatetic philosophy was derived from the law of Moses and from the other prophets. Let such be the case.

Plato plainly calls us brethren, as being of one God and one teacher, in the following words: "For ye who are in the state are entirely brethren (as we shall say to them, continuing our story). But the God who formed you, mixed gold in the composition of those of you who are fit to rule, at your birth, wherefore you are most highly honoured; and silver in the case of those who are helpers; and steel and brass in the case of farmers and other workers." Whence, of necessity, some embrace and love those things to which knowledge pertains; and others matters of opinion. Perchance he prophesies of that elect nature which is bent on knowledge; if by the supposition he makes of three natures he does not describe three politics, as some supposed: that of the Jews, the silver; that of the Greeks, the third; and that of the Christians, with whom has been mingled the regal gold, the Holy Spirit, the golden.

And exhibiting the Christian life, he writes in the Theoetetus in these words: "Let us now speak of the highest principles. For why should we speak of those who make an abuse of philosophy? These know neither the way to the forum, nor know they the court or the senate-house, or any other public assembly of the state. As for laws and decrees spoken or written, they neither see nor hear them. But party feelings of political associations and public meetings, and revels with musicians [occupy them]; but they never even dream of taking part in affairs. Has any one conducted himself either well or ill in the state, or has aught evil descended to a man from his forefathers? -- it escapes their attention as much as do the sands of the sea.

And the man does not even know that he does not know all these things; but in reality his body alone is situated and dwells in the state, while the man himself flies, according to Pindar, beneath the earth and above the sky, astronomizing, and exploring all nature on all sides.

Again, with the Lord's saying, "Let your yea be yea, and your nay nay," may be compared the following: "But to admit a falsehood, and destroy a truth, is in nowise lawful." With the prohibition, also, against swearing agrees the saying in the tenth book of the Laws: "Let praise and an oath in everything be absent."

And in general, Pythagoras, and Socrates, and Plato say that they hear God's voice while closely contemplating the fabric of the universe, made and preserved unceasingly by God. For they heard Moses say, "He said, and it was done," describing the word of God as an act.

And founding on the formation of man from the dust, the philosophers constantly term the body earthy. Homer, too, does not hesitate to put the following as an imprecation: "But may you all become earth and water."

As Esaias says, "And trample them down as clay." And Callimachus clearly writes: "That was the year in which Birds, fishes, quadrupeds, Spoke like Prometheus' clay."

And the same again: "If thee Prometheus formed, And thou art not of other clay." Hesiod says of Pandora: "And bade Hephaestus, famed, with all his speed, Knead earth with water, and man's voice and mind Infuse."

The Stoics, accordingly, define nature to be artificial fire, advancing systematically to generation. And God and His Word are by Scripture figuratively termed fire and light. But how? Does not Homer himself, is not Homer himself, paraphrasing the retreat of the water from the land, and the clear uncovering of the dry land, when he says of Tethys and Oceanus: "For now for a long time they abstain from Each other's bed and love?"

Again, power in all things is by the most intellectual among the Greeks ascribed to God; Epicharmus -- he was a Pythagorean -- saying: "Nothing escapes the divine. This it behoves thee to know. He is our observer. To God nought is impossible." And the lyric poet: "And God from gloomy night Can raise unstained light, And can in darksome gloom obscure The day's refulgence pure." He alone who is able to make night during the period of day is God. In the Phoenomena Aratus writes thus: "With Zeus let us begin; whom let us ne'er, Being men, leave unexpressed. All full of Zeus, The streets, and throngs of men, and full the sea, And shores, and everywhere we Zeus enjoy." He adds: "For we also are His offspring; . . . . " that is, by creation. "Who, bland to men, Propitious signs displays, and to their tasks Arouses. For these signs in heaven He fixed, The constellations spread, and crowned the year With stars; to show to men the seasons' tasks, That all things may proceed in order sure.

Him ever first, Him last too, they adore: Hail Father, marvel great -- great boon to men." And before him, Homer, framing the world in accordance with Moses on the Vulcan-wrought shield, says: "On it he fashioned earth, and sky, and sea, And all the signs with which the heaven is crowned." For the Zeus celebrated in poems and prose compositions leads the mind up to God. And already, so to speak, Democritus writes, "that a few men are in the light, who stretch out their hands to that place which we Greeks now call the air. Zeus speaks all, and he hears all, and distributes and takes away, and he is

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king of all." And more mystically the Boeotian Pindar, being a Pythagorean, says: "One is the race of gods and men, And of one mother both have breath;" that is, of matter: and names the one creator of these things, whom he calls Father, chief artificer, who furnishes the means of advancement on to divinity, according to merit.

For I pass over Plato; he plainly, in the Epistle to Erastus and Coriscus, is seen to exhibit the Father and Son somehow or other from the Hebrew Scriptures, exhorting in these words: "In invoking by oath, with not illiterate gravity, and with culture, the sister of gravity, God the author of all, and invoking Him by oath as the Lord, the Father of the Leader, and author; whom if ye study with a truly philosophical spirit, ye shall know." And the address in the Timoeus calls the creator, Father, speaking thus: "Ye gods of gods, of whom I am Father; and the Creator of your works." So that when he says, "Around the king of all, all things are, and because of Him are all things; and he [or that] is the cause of all good things; and around the second are the things second in order; and around the third, the third," I understand nothing else than the Holy Trinity to be meant; for the third is the Holy Spirit, and the Son is the second, by whom all things were made according to the will of the Father.

And the same, in the tenth book of the Republic, mentions Eros the son of Armenius, who is Zoroaster. Zoroaster, then, writes: "These were composed by Zoroaster, the son of Armenius, a Pamphylian by birth: having died in battle, and been in Hades, I learned them of the gods." This Zoroaster, Plato says, having been placed on the funeral pyre, rose again to life in twelve days. He alludes perchance to the resurrection, or perchance to the fact that the path for souls to ascension lies through the twelve signs of the zodiac; and he himself says, that the descending pathway to birth is the same. In the same way we are to understand the twelve labours of Hercules, after which the soul obtains release from this entire world.

I do not pass over Empedocles, who speaks thus physically of the renewal of all things, as consisting in a transmutation into the essence of fire, which is to take place. And most plainly of the same opinion is Heraclitus of Ephesus, who considered that there was a world everlasting, and recognised one perishable -- that is, in its arrangement, not being different from the former, viewed in a certain aspect. But that he knew the imperishable world which consists of the universal essence to be everlastingly of a certain nature, he makes clear by speaking thus: "The same world of all things, neither any of the gods, nor any one of men, made. But there was, and is, and will be ever-living fire, kindled according to measure, and quenched according to measure." And that he taught it to be generated and perishable, is shown by what follows: "There are transmutations of fire, -- first, the sea; and of the sea the half is land, the half fiery vapour." For he says that these are the effects of power. For fire is by the Word of God, which governs all things, changed by the air into moisture, which is, as it were, the germ of cosmical change; and this he calls sea. And out of it again is produced earth, and sky, and all that they contain. How, again, they are restored and ignited, he shows clearly in these words: "The sea is diffused and measured according to the same rule which subsisted before it became earth." Similarly also respecting the other elements, the same is to be understood. The most renowned of the Stoics teach similar doctrines with him, in treating of the conflagration and the government of the world, and both the world and man properly so called, and of the continuance of our souls.

Plato, again, in the seventh book of the Republic, has called "the day here nocturnal," as I suppose, on account of "the world-rulers of this darkness; " and the descent of the soul into the body, sleep and death, similarly with Heraclitus. And was not this announced, oracularly, of the Saviour, by the Spirit, saying by David, "I slept, and slumbered; I awoke: for the Lord will sustain me? " For He not only figuratively calls the resurrection of Christ rising from sleep; but to the descent of the Lord into the flesh he also applies the figurative term sleep. The Saviour Himself enjoins, "Watch; " as much as to say, "Study how to live, and endeavour to separate the soul from the body."

And the Lord's day Plato prophetically speaks of in the tenth book of the Republic, in these words: "And when seven days have passed to each of them in the meadow, on the eighth they are to set out and arrive in four days." By the meadow is to be understood the fixed sphere, as being a mild and genial spot, and the locality of the pious; and by the seven days each motion of the seven planets, and the whole practical art which speeds to the end of rest. But after the wandering orbs the journey leads to heaven, that is, to the eighth motion and day. And he says that souls are gone on the fourth day, pointing out the passage through the four elements. But the seventh day is recognised as sacred, not by the Hebrews only, but also by the Greeks; according to which the whole world of all animals and plants revolve. Hesiod says of it: "The first, and fourth, and seventh day were held sacred."

And again: "And on the seventh the sun's resplendent orb." And Homer: "And on the seventh then came the sacred day."

And Homer: "The seventh was sacred." And again: "It was the seventh day, and all things were accomplished."

And again: "And on the seventh morn we leave the stream of Acheron."

Callimachus the poet also writes: "It was the seventh morn, and they had all things done."

And again: "Among good days is the seventh day, and the seventh race."

And: "The seventh is among the prime, and the seventh is perfect."

And: "Now all the seven were made in starry heaven, In circles shining as the years appear."

The Elegies of Solon, too, intensely deify the seventh day. And how? Is it not similar to Scripture when it says, "Let us remove the righteous man from us, because he is troublesome to us?" when Plato, all but predicting the economy of salvation, says in the second book of the Republic as follows: "Thus he who is constituted just shall be scourged, shall be stretched on the rack, shall be bound, have his eyes put out; and at last, having suffered all evils, shall be crucified."

And the Socratic Antisthenes, paraphrasing that prophetic utterance, "To whom have ye likened me? saith the Lord," says that "God is like no one; wherefore no one can come to the knowledge of Him from an image."

Xenophon too, the Athenian, utters these similar sentiments in the following words: "He who shakes all things, and is Himself immoveable, is manifestly one great and powerful. But what He is in form, appears not. No more does the sun, who wishes to shine in all directions, deem it right to permit any one to look on himself. But if one gaze on him audaciously, he loses his eyesight."

"What flesh can see with eyes the Heavenly, True, Immortal God, whose dwelling is the poles?

Not even before the bright beams of the sun Are men, as being mortal, fit to stand,"- the Sibyl had said before. Rightly, then, Xenophanes of Colophon, teaching that God is one and incorporeal, adds: "One God there is 'midst gods and men supreme; In form, in mind, unlike to mortal men."

And again: "But men have the idea that gods are born, And wear their clothes, and have both voice and shape."

And again: "But had the oxen or the lions hands, Or could with hands depict a work like men, Were beasts to draw the semblance of the gods, The horses would them like to horses sketch, To oxen, oxen, and their bodies make Of such a shape as to themselves belongs."

Let us hear, then, the lyric poet Bacchylides speaking of the divine: "Who to diseases dire never succumb, And blameless are; in nought resembling men."

And also Cleanthes, the Stoic, who writes thus in a poem on the Deity: - "If you ask what is the nature of the good, listen- That which is regular, just, holy, pious, Self-governing, useful, fair, fitting, Grave, independent, always beneficial, That feels no fear or grief, profitable, painless, Helpful, pleasant, safe, friendly, Held in esteem, agreeing with itself: honourable, Humble, careful, meek, zealous, Perennial, blameless, ever-during."

And the same, tacitly vilifying the idolatry of the multitude, adds: "Base is every one who looks to opinion, With the view of deriving any good from it."

We are not, then, to think of God according to the opinion of the multitude. "For I do not think that secretly, Imitating the guise of a scoundrel, He would go to thy bed as a man," says Amphion to Antiope. And Sophocles plainly writes: "His mother Zeus espoused, Not in the likeness of gold, nor covered With swan's plumage, as the Pleuronian girl He impregnated; but an out and out man."

He further proceeds, and adds: "And quick the adulterer stood on the bridal steps."

Then he details still more plainly the licentiousness of the fabled Zeus: "But he nor food nor cleansing water touched, But heart-stung went to bed, and that whole night Wantoned."

But let these be resigned to the follies of the theatre.

Heraclitus plainly says: "But of the word which is eternal men are not able to understand, both before they have heard it, and on first hearing it." And the lyrist Melanippides says in song: "Hear me, O Father, Wonder of men, Ruler of the ever-living soul."

And Parmenides the great, as Plato says in the Sophist writes of God thus: "Very much, since unborn and indestructible He is, Whole, only-begotten, and immoveable, and unoriginated."

Hesiod also says: "For He of the immortals all is King and Lord.

With God none else in might may strive." Nay more, Tragedy, drawing away from idols, teaches to look up to heaven. Sophocles, as Hecataeus, who composed the histories in the work about Abraham and the Egyptians, says, exclaims plainly on the stage: "One in very truth, God is One, Who made the heaven and the far-stretching earth, The Deep's blue billow, and the might of winds.

But of us mortals, many erring far In heart, as solace for our woes, have raised Images of gods -- of stone, or else of brass, Or figures wrought of gold or ivory; And sacrifices and vain festivals To these appointing, deem ourselves devout."

And Euripides on the stage, in tragedy, says: "Dost thou this lofty, boundless Ether see, Which holds the earth around in the embrace Of humid arms? This reckon Zeus, And this regard as God."

And in the drama of Pirithous, the same writes those lines in tragic vein: "Thee, self-sprung, who on Ether's wheel Hast universal nature spun, Around whom Light and dusky spangled Night, The countless host of stars, too, ceaseless dance."

For there he says that the creative mind is self-sprung. What follows applies to the universe, in which are the opposites of light and darkness.

Æschylus also, the son of Euphorion, says with very great solemnity of God: "Ether is Zeus, Zeus earth, and Zeus the heaven; The universe is Zeus, and all above."

I am aware that Plato assents to Heraclitus, who writes: "The one thing that is wise alone will not be expressed, and means the name of Zeus." And again, "Law is to obey the will of one." And if you wish to adduce that saying, "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear," you will find it expressed by the Ephesian to the following effect: "Those that hear without understanding are like the deaf. The proverb witnesses against them, that when present they are absent."

But do you want to hear from the Greeks expressly of one first principle?

Timaeus the Locrian, in the work on Nature, shall testify in the following words: "There is one first principle of all things unoriginated. For were it originated, it would be no longer the first principle; but the first principle would be that froth which it originated." For this true opinion was derived from what follows: "Hear," it is said, "0 Israel; the Lord thy God is one, and Him only shalt thou serve."

"Lo He all sure and all unerring is." says the Sibyl.

Homer also manifestly mentions the Father and the Son by a happy hit of divination in the following words: "If outis, alone as thou art, offers thee violence, And there is no escaping disease sent by Zeus, For the Cyclopes heed not Aegis-bearing Zeus."

And before him Orpheus said, speaking of the in hand: "Son of great Zeus, Father of Aegis-bearing Zeus."

And Xenocrates the Chalcedonian, who mentions the supreme Zeus and the inferior Zeus, leaves an indication of the Father and the Son. Homer, while representing the gods as subject to human passions, appears to know the Divine Being, whom Epicurus does not so revere. He says accordingly: "Why, son of Peleus, mortal as thou art, With swift feet me pursuest, a god Immortal? Hast thou not yet known That I am a god?"

For he shows that the Divinity cannot be captured by a mortal, or apprehended either with feet, or hands, or eyes, or by the body at all. "To whom have ye likened the Lord? or to what likeness have ye likened Him?" says the Scripture. Has not the artificer made the image? or the goldsmith, melting the gold, has gilded it, and what follows.

The comic poet Epicharmus speaks in the Republic clearly of the Word in the following terms: "The life of men needs calculation and number alone, And we live by number and calculation, for these save mortals."

He then adds expressly: "Reason governs mortals, and alone preserves manners."

Then: "There is in man reasoning; and there is a divine Reason. Reason is implanted in man to provide for life and sustenance, But divine Reason attends the arts in the case of all, Teaching them always what it is advantageous to do.

For it was not man that discovered art, but God brought it; And the Reason of man derives its origin from the divine Reason."

The Spirit also cries by Isaiah: "Wherefore the multitude of sacrifices? saith the Lord. I am full of holocausts of rams, and the fat of lambs and the blood of bulls I wish not;" and a little after adds: "Wash you, and be clean. Put away wickedness from your souls," and so forth.

Menander, the comic poet, writes in these very words: "If one by offering sacrifice, a crowd Of bulls or kids, O Pamphilus, by Zeus.

Or such like things; by making works of art, Garments of gold or purple, images Of ivory or emerald, deems by these God can be made propitious, he does err, And has an empty mind. For the man must prove A man of worth, who neither maids deflowers, Nor an adulterer is, nor steals, nor kills For love of worldly wealth, O Pamphilus.

Nay, covet not a needle's thread. For God Thee sees, being near beside thee." . . .

"I am a God at hand," it is said by Jeremiah, "and not a God afar off. Shall a man do aught in secret places, and I shall not see him?"

And again Menunder, paraphrasing that Scripture, "Sacrifice a sacrifice of righteousness, and trust in the Lord," thus writes: "And not a needle even that is Another's ever covet, dearest friend; For God in righteous works delights, and so Permits him to increase his worldly wealth, Who toils, and ploughs the land both night and day.

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But sacrifice to God, and righteous be, Shining not in bright robes, but in thy heart; And when thou hear'st the thunder, do not flee, Being conscious to thyself of nought amiss, Good sir, for thee God ever present sees."

"Whilst thou art yet speaking," says the Scripture, "I will say, Lo, here I am."

Again Diphilus, the comic poet, discourses as, follows on the judgment: "Think'st thou, O Niceratus, that the dead, Who in all kinds of luxury in life have shared, Escape the Deity, as if forgot?

There is an eye of justice, which sees all. For two ways, as we deem, to Hades lead- One for the good, the other for the bad. But if the earth hides both for ever, then Go plunder, steal, rob, and be turbulent. But err not. For in Hades judgment is, Which God the Lord of all will execute, Whose name too dreadful is for me to name, Who gives to sinners length of earthly life.

If any mortal thinks, that day by day, While doing ill, he eludes the gods keen sight, His thoughts are evil; and when justice has The leisure, he shall then detected be So thinking. Look, whoe'er you be that say That there is not a God. There is, there is.

If one, by nature evil, evil does, Let him redeem the time; for such as he Shall by and by due punishment receive."

And with this agrees the tragedy in the following lines: "For there shall come, shall come that point of time, When Ether, golden-eyed, shall ope its store Of treasured fire; and the devouring flame, Raging, shall burn all things on earth below, And all above." . . .

And after a little he adds: "And when the whole world fades, And vanished all the abyss of ocean's waves, And earth of trees is bare; and wrapt in flames, The air no more begets the winged tribes; Then He who all destroyed, shall all restore."

We shall find expressions similar to these also in the Orphic hymns, written as follows: - "For having hidden all, brought them again To gladsome light, forth from his sacred heart, Solicitous.

And if we live throughout holily and righteously, we are happy here, and shall be happier after our departure hence; not possessing happiness for a time, but enabled to rest in eternity.

"At the same hearth and table as the rest Of the immortal gods, we sit all free Of human ills, unharmed," says the philosophic poetry of Empedocles. And so, according to the Greeks, none is so great as to be above judgment, none so insignificant as to escape its notice.

And the same Orpheus speaks thus: "But to the word divine, looking, attend, Keeping aright the heart's receptacle Of intellect, and tread the straight path well, And only to the world's immortal King Direct thy gaze."

And again, respecting God, saying that He was invisible, and that He was known to but one, a Chaldean by race -- meaning either by this Abraham or his son -- he speaks as follows: "But one a scion of Chaldean race; For he the sun's path knew right well, And how the motion of the sphere about The earth proceeds, in circle moving Equally around its axis, how the winds Their chariot guide o'er air and sea."

Then, as if paraphrasing the expression, "Heaven is my throne, and earth is my footstool," he adds : "But in great heaven, He is seated firm Upon a throne of gold, and neath His feet The earth. His right hand round the ocean's bound He stretches; and the hills' foundations shake To the centre at His wrath, nor can endure His mighty strength. He all celestial is, And all things finishes upon the earth. He the Beginning, Middle is, and End.

But Thee I dare not speak. In limbs And mind I tremble. He rules from on high." And so forth. For in these he indicates these prophetic utterances: "If Thou openest the heaven, trembling shall seize the mountains from Thy presence; and they shall melt, as wax melteth before the fire;" and in Isaiah, "Who hath measured the heaven with a span, and the whole earth with His fist? Again, when it is said : "Ruler of Ether, Hades, Sea, and Land, Who with Thy bolts Olympus' strong-built home Dost shake. Whom demons dread, and whom the throng Of gods do fear. Whom, too, the Fates obey, Relentless though they be. O deathless One, Our mother's Sire I whose wrath makes all things reel; Who mov'st the winds, and shroud'st in clouds the world, Broad Ether cleaving with Thy lightning gleams,- Thine is the order 'mongat the stars, which run As Thine unchangeable behests direct.

Before Thy burning throne the angels wait, Much-working, charged to do all things, for men. Thy young Spring shines, all prank'd with purple flowers; Thy Winter with its chilling clouds assails; Three Autumn noisy Bacchus distributes."

Then he adds, naming expressly the Almighty God: "Deathless Immortal, capable of being To the immortals only uttered! Come, Greatest of gods, with strong Necessity.

Dread, invincible, great, deathless One, Whom Ether crowns." . . . By the expression "Sire of our Mother" mhtropatwr he not only intimates creation out of nothing, but gives occasion to those who introduce emissions of imagining a consort of the Deity. And he paraphrases those prophetic Scriptures -- that in Isaiah, "I am He that fixes the thunder, and creates the wind; whose hands have rounded the host of heaven;" and that in Moses, "Behold, behold that I am He, and there is no god beside me: I will kill, and I will make to live; I will smite, and I will heal: and there is none that shall deliver out of my hands."

"And He, from good, to mortals planteth ill, And cruel war, and tearful woes," according to Orpheus.

Such also are the words of the Parian Archilochus.

"O Zeus, thine is the power of heaven, and thou Inflict'st on men things violent and wrong."

Again let the Thracian Orpheus sing to us: "His right hand all around to ocean's bound He stretches; and beneath His feet is earth."

These are plainly derived from the following: "The Lord will save the inhabited cities, and grasp the whole land in His hand like a nest;" "It is the Lord that made the earth by His power," as saith Jeremiah, "and set up the earth by His wisdom." Further, in addition to these, Phocylides, who calls the angels demons, explains in the following words that some of them are good, and others bad (for we also have learned that some are apostate): "Demons there are -- some here, some there -- set over men; Some, on rnan's entrance [into life], to ward off ill."

Rightly, then, also Philemon, the comic poet demolishes idolatry in these words: "Fortune is no divinity to us:

There's no such god. But what befalls by chance And of itself to each, is Fortune called."

And Sophocles the tragedian says: "Not even the gods have all things as they choose, Excepting Zeus; for he beginning is and end."

And Orpheus: - "One Might, the great, the flaming heaven, was One Deity. All things one Being were; in whom All these revolve fire, water, and the earth." And so forth.

Pindar, the lyric poet, as if in Bacchic frenzy, plainly says: "What is God? The All." And again: "God, who makes all mortals."

And when he says,- "How little, being a man, dost thou expect Wisdom for man? 'Tis hard for mortal mind The counsels of the gods to scan; and thou Wast of a mortal mother born," he drew the thought from the following: "Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who was His counsellor?" Hesiod, too, agrees with what is said above, in what he writes: "No prophet, sprung of men that dwell on earth, Can know the mind of Aegis-bearing Zeus."

Similarly, then, Solon the Athenian, in the Elegies, following Hesiod, writes : "The immortal's mind to men is quite unknown."

Again Moses, having prophesied that the woman would bring forth in trouble and pain, on account of transgression, a poet not undistinguished writes: "Never by day From toil and woe shall they have rest, nor yet By night from groans. Sad cares the gods to men Shall give."

Further, when Homer says,- "The Sire himself the golden balance held," he intimates that God is just.

And Menander, the comic poet, in exhibiting God, says: "To each man, on his birth, there is assigned A tutelary Demon, as his life's good guide.

For that the Demon evil is, and harms A good life, is not to be thought."

Then he adds: "Apanta d agaqon einai ton Qion," meaning either "that every one good is God," or, what is preferable, "that God in all things is good."

Again, Aeschylus the tragedian, setting forth the power of God, does not shrink from calling Him the Highest, in these words: "Place God apart from mortals; and think not That He is,, like thyself, corporeal.

Thou know st Him not. Now He appears as fire, Dread force; as water now; and now as gloom; And in the beasts is dimly shadowed forth, In wind, and cloud, in lightning, thunder, rain; And minister to Him the seas and rocks, Each fountain and the water's floods and streams.

The mountains tremble, and the earth, the vast Abyss of sea, and towering height of hills, When on them looks the Sovereign's awful eye:

Almighty is the glory of the Most High God."

Does he not seem to you to paraphrase that text, "At the presence of the Lord the earth trembles?" In addition to these, the most prophetic Apollo is compelled -- thus testifying to the glory of God -- to say of Athene, when the Medes made war against Greece, that she besought and supplicated Zeus for Attica. The oracle is as follows: "Pallas cannot Olympian Zeus propitiate, Although with many words and sage advice she prays; But he will give to the devouring fire many temples of the immortals, Who now stand shaking with terror, and bathed in sweat;" and so forth.

Thearidas, in his book On Nature, writes: "There was then one really true beginning [first principle] of all that exists -- one. For that Being in the beginning is one and alone."

"Nor is there any other except the Great King," says Orpheus. In accordance with whom, the comic poet Diphilus says very sententiously, the, "Father of all, To Him alone incessant reverence pay, The inventor and the author of such blessings."

Rightly therefore Plato "accustoms the best natures to attain to that study which formerly we said was the highest, both to see the good and to accomplish that ascent. And this, as appears, is not the throwing of the potsherds; but the turning round of the soul from a nocturnal day to that which is a true return to that which really is, which we shall assert to be the true philosophy." Such as are partakers of this he judges to belong to the golden race, when he says: "Ye are all brethren; and those who are of the golden race are most capable of judging most accurately in every respect."

The Father, then, and Maker of all things is apprehended by all things, agreeably to all, by innate power and without teaching, -- things inanimate, sympathizing with the animate creation; and of living beings some are. already immoral, working in the light of day. But of those that are still mortal, some are in fear, and carried still in their mother's womb; and others regulate themselves by their own independent reason. And of men all are Greeks and Barbarians. But no race anywhere of tillers of the soil, or nomads, and not even of dwellers in cities, can live, without being imbued with the faith of a superior being. Wherefore every eastern nation, and every nation touching the western shore; or the north, and each one towards the south, -- all have one and the same preconception respecting Him who hath appointed government; since the most universal of His operations equally pervade all. Much more did the philosophers among the Greeks, devoted to investigation, starting from the Barbarian philosophy, attribute providence to the "Invisible, and sole, and most powerful, and most skilful and supreme cause of all things most beautiful; " -- not knowing the inferences from these truths, unless instructed by us, and not even how God is to be known naturally; but only, as we have already often said, by a true periphrasis." Rightly therefore the apostle says, "Is He the God of the Jews only, and not also of the Greeks? " -- not only saying prophetically that of the Greeks believing Greeks would know God; but also intimating that in power the Lord is the God of all, and truly Universal King. For they know neither what He is, nor how He is Lord, and Father, and Maker, nor the rest of the system of the truth, without being taught by it. Thus also the prophetic utterances have the same force as the apostolic word. For Isaiah says, "If ye say, We trust in the Lord our God: now make an alliance with my Lord the king of the Assyrians." And he adds: "And now, was it without the Lord that we came up to this land to make war against it?" And Jonah, himself a prophet, intimates the same thing in what he says: "And the shipmaster came to him, and said to him, Why dost thou snore? Rise, call on thy God, that He may save us, and that we may not perish."' For the expression "thy God" he makes as if to one who knew Him by way of knowledge; and the expression, "that God may save us," revealed the consciousness in the minds of heathens who had applied their mind to the Ruler of all, but had not yet believed. And again the same: "And he said to them, I am the servant of the Lord; and I fear the Lord, the God of heaven." And again the same: "And he said, Let us by no means perish for the life of this man." And Malachi the prophet plainly exhibits God saying, "I will not accept sacrifice at your hands. For from the rising of the sun to its going down, My name is glorified among the Gentiles; and in every place sacrifice is offered to Me." And again: "Because I am a great King, saith the Lord omnipotent; and My name is manifest among the nations." What name? The Son declaring the Father among the Greeks who have believed.

Plato in what follows gives an exhibition of free-will: "Virtue owns not a master; and in proportion as each one honours or dishonours it, in that proportion he will be a partaker of it. The blame lies in the exercise of free choice." But God is blameless. For He is never the author of evil.

"O warlike Trojans," says the lyric poet, - "High ruling Zeus, who beholds all things, Is not the cause of great woes to mortals; But it is in the power of all men to find Justice, holy, pure, Companion of order, And of wise Themis The sons of the blessed are ye In finding her as your associate."

And Pindar expressly introduces also Zeus Soter, the consort of Themis, proclaiming him King, Saviour, Just, in the following lines: "First, prudent Themis, of celestial birth, On golden steeds, by Ocean's rock, The Fates brought to the stair sublime, The shining entrance of Olympus, Of Saviour Zeus for aye to be the spouse, And she, the Hours, gold-diademed, fair-fruited, good, brought forth."

He, then, who is not obedient to the truth, and is puffed up with human teaching, is wretched and miserable, according to Euripides: "Who these things seeing, yet apprehends not God, But mouthing lofty themes, casts far Perverse deceits; stubborn in which, the tongue Its shafts discharges, about things unseen, Devoid of sense."

Let him who wishes, then, approaching to the true instruction, learn from Parmenides the Eleatic, who promises: "Ethereal nature, then, and all the signs In Ether thou shall know, and the effects, All viewless, of the sacred Sun's clear torch And whence produced. The round-eyed Moon's Revolving influences and nature thou Shall learn; and the ensphering heaven shall know; Whence sprung; and how Necessity took it And chained so as to keep the starry bounds."

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And Metrodorus, though an Epicurean, spoke thus, divinely inspired: "Remember, O Menestratus, that, being a mortal endowed with a circumscribed life, thou hast in thy soul ascended, till thou hast seen endless time, and the infinity of things; and what is to be, and what has been;" when with the blessed choir, according to Plato, we shall gaze on the blessed sight and vision; we following with Zeus, and others with other deities, if we may be permitted so to say, to receive initiation into the most blessed mystery: which we shall celebrate, ourselves being perfect and untroubled by the ills which awaited us at the end of our time; and introduced to the knowledge of perfect and tranquil visions, and contemplating them in pure sunlight; we ourselves pure, and now no longer distinguished by that, which, when carrying it about, we call the body, being bound to it like an oyster to its shell.

The Pythagoreans call heaven the Antichthon [the opposite Earth]. And in this land, it is said by Jeremiah, "I will place thee among the children, and give thee the chosen land as inheritance of God Omnipotent; " and they who herit it shall reign over the earth. Myriads on myriads of examples rush on my mind which might adduce. But for the sake of symmetry the discourse must now stop, in order that we may not exemplify the saying of Agatho the tragedian: "Treating our by-work as work, And doing our work as by-work."

It having been, then, as I think, clearly shown in what way it is to be understood that the Greeks were called thieves by the Lord, I willingly leave the dogmas of the philosophers. For were we 'to go over their sayings, we should gather together directly such a quantity of notes, in showing that the whole of the Hellenic wisdom was derived from the Barbarian philosophy. But this speculation, we shall, nevertheless, again touch on, as necessity requires, when we collect the opinions current among the Greeks respecting first principles.

But from what has been said, it tacitly devolves on us to consider in what way the Hellenic books are to be perused by the man who is able to pass through the billows in them. Therefore "Happy is he who possesses the wealth of the divine mind," as appears according to Empedocles, "But wretched he, who cares for dark opinion about the Gods."

He divinely showed knowledge and ignorance to be the boundaries of happiness and misery. "For it behoves philosophers to be acquainted with very many things," according to Heraclitus; and truly must "He, who seeks to be good, err in many things."

It is then, now clear to us, from what has been said, that the beneficence of God is eternal, and that, from an unbeginning principle, equal natural righteousness reached all, according to the worth of each several race, -- never having had a beginning. For God did not make a beginning of being Lord and Good, being always what He is. Nor will He ever cease to do good, although He bring all things to an end. And each one of us is a partaker of His beneficence, as far as He wills. For the difference of the elect is made by the intervention of a choice worthy of the soul, and by exercise.

Thus, then, let our fifth Miscellany of gnostic notes in accordance with the true philosophy be brought to a close.

THE STROMATA, BOOK 6

CHAPTER 1 -- PLAN.

The sixth and also the seventh Miscellany of gnostic notes, in accordance with the true philosophy, having delineated as well as possible the ethical argument conveyed in them, and having exhibited what the Gnostic is in his life, proceed to show the philosophers that he is by no means impious, as they suppose, but that he alone is truly pious, by a compendious exhibition of the Gnostic's form of religion, as far as it is possible, without danger, to commit it to writing in a book of reference. For the Lord enjoined "to labour for the meat which endureth to eternity." And the prophet says," Blessed is he that soweth into all waters, whose ox and ass tread," [that is,] the people, from the Law and from the Gentiles, gathered into one faith.

"Now the weak eateth herbs," according to the noble apostle. The Instructor, divided by us into three books, has already exhibited the training and nurture up from the state of childhood, that is, the course of life which from elementary instruction grows by faith; and in the case of those enrolled in the number of men, prepares beforehand the soul, endued with virtue, for the reception of gnostic knowledge. The Greeks, then, clearly learning, from what shall be said by us in these pages, that in profanely persecuting the Godloving man, they themselves act impiously; then, as the notes advance, in accordance with the style of the Miscellanies, we must solve the difficulties raised both by Greeks and Barbarians with respect to the coming of the Lord.

In a meadow the flowers blooming variously, and in a park the plantations of fruittrees, are not separated according to their species from those of other kinds. If some, culling varieties, have Composed learned collections, Meadows, and Helicons, and Honeycombs, and Robes; then, with the things which come to recollection by haphazard, and are expurgated neither in order nor expression, but purposely scattered, the form of the Miscellanies is promiscuously variegated like a meadow. And such being the case, my notes shall serve as kindling sparks; and in the case of him, who is fit for knowledge, if he chance to fall in with them, research made with exertion will turn out to his benefit and advantage. For it is fight that labour should precede not only food but also, much more knowledge, in the case of those that are advancing to the eternal and blessed salvation by the "strait and narrow way," which is truly the Lord's.

Our knowledge, and our spiritual garden, is the Saviour Himself; into whom we are planted, being transferred and transplanted, from our old life, into the good land. And transplanting contributes to fruitfulness. The Lord, then, into whom we have been transplanted, is the Light i and the true Knowledge.

Now knowledge is otherwise spoken of in a twofold sense: that, commonly so called, which appears in all men (similarly also comprehension and apprehension), universally, in the knowledge of individual objects; in which not only the rational powers, but equally the irrational, share, which I would never term knowledge, inasmuch as the apprehension of things through the senses comes naturally. But that which par excellence is termed knowledge, bears the impress of judgment and reason, in the exercise of which there will be rational cognitions alone, applying purely to objects of thought, and resulting from the bare energy of the soul. "He is a good man," says David, "who pities" (those ruined through error), "and lends" (from the communication of the word of truth) not at haphazard, for "he will dispense his words in judgment:" with profound calculation, "he hath dispersed, he hath given to the poor."

CHAPTER 2 -- THE SUBJECT OF PLAGIARISMS RESUMED. THE GREEKS PLAGIARIZED FROM ONE ANOTHER.

Before handling the point proposed, we must, by way of preface, add to the close of the fifth book what is wanting. For since we have shown that the symbolical style was ancient, and was employed not only by our prophets, but also by the majority of the ancient Greeks, and by not a few of the rest of the Gentile Barbarians, it was requisite to proceed to the mysteries of the initiated. I postpone the elucidation of these till we advance to the confutation of what is said by the Greeks on first principles; for we shall show that the mysteries belong to the same branch of speculation. And having proved that the declaration of Hellenic thought is illuminated all round by the truth, bestowed on us in the Scriptures, taking it according to the sense, we have proved, not to say what is invidious, that the theft of the truth passed to them.

Come, and let us adduce the Greeks as witnesses against themselves to the theft. For, inasmuch as they pilfer from one another, they establish the fact that they are thieves; and although against their will, they are detected, clandestinely appropriating to those of their own race the truth which belongs to us. For if they do not keep their hands from each other, they will hardly do it from our authors. I shall say nothing of philosophic dogmas, since the very persons who are the authors of the divisions into sects, confess in writing, so as not to be convicted of ingratitude, that they have received from Socrates the most important of their dogmas. But after availing myself of a few testimonies of men most talked of, and of repute among the Greeks, and exposing their plagiarizing style, and selecting them from various periods, I shall turn to what follows.

Orpheus, then, having composed the line: "Since nothing else is more shameless and wretched than woman,"

Homer plainly says: "Since nothing else is more dreadful and shameless than a woman."

And Musaeus having written: "Since art is greatly superior to strength,"

Homer says: "By art rather than strength is the woodcutter greatly superior."

Again, Musaeus having composed the lines: "And as the fruitful field produceth leaves, And on the ash trees some fade, others grow, So whirls the race of man its leaf,"

Homer transcribes: "Some of the leaves the wind strews on the ground.

The budding wood bears some; in time of spring, They come. So springs one race of men, and one departs."

Again, Homer having said: "It is unholy to exult over dead men,"

Archilochus and Cratinus write, the former: "It is not noble at dead men to sneer;" and Cratinus in the Lacones: "For men 'tis dreadful to exult Much o'er the stalwart dead."

Again, Archilochus, transferring that Homeric line: "I erred, nor say I nay: -- instead of many" writes thus: "I erred, and this mischief hath somehow seized another."

As certainly also that line: "Evenhanded war the slayer slays."

He also, altering, has given forth thus: "I will do it. For Mars to men in truth is evenhanded."

Also, translating the following: "The issues of victory among men depend on the gods," he openly encourages youth, in the following iambic: "Victory's issues on the gods depend." Again, Homer having said: "With feet unwashed sleeping on the ground," Euripides writes in Erechteus: "Upon the plain spread with no couch they sleep Nor m the streams of water lave their feet."

Archilochus having likewise said: "But one with this and one with that His heart delights? in correspondence with the Homeric line: "For one in these deeds, one in those delights," Euripides says in OEneus: "But one in these ways, one in those, has more delight."

And I have heard Aeschylus saying: "He who is happy ought to stay at home; There should he also stay, who speeds not well."

And Euripides, too, shouting the like on the stage: Happy the man who, prosperous, stays at home."

Menander, too, on comedy, saying: "He ought at home to stay, and free remain, Or be no longer rightly happy."

Again, Theognis having said: "The exile has no comrade dear and true,"

Euripides has written: "Far from the poor flies every friend."

And Epicharmus, saying: "Daughter, woe worth the day Thee who art old I marry to a youth;" and adding: "For the young husband takes some other girl, And for another husband longs the wife,"

Euripides writes: "'Tis bad to yoke an old wife to a youth; For he desires to share another's bed, And she, by him deserted, mischief plots."

Euripides having, besides, said in the Medea: "For no good do a bad man's gifts,"Sophocles in Ajax Flagellifer utters this iambic: "For foes' gifts are no gifts, nor any boon."

Solon having written: "For surfeit insolence begets, When store of wealth attends."

Theognis writes in the same way: "For surfeit insolence begets, When store of wealth attends the bad."

Whence also Thucydides, in the Histories, says: -- "Many men, to whom in a great degree, and in a short time, unlookedfor prosperity comes, are wont to turn to insolence." And Philistus likewise imitates the same sentiment, expressing himself thus: -- "And the many things which turn out prosperously to men, in accordance with reason, have an incredibly dangerous s tendency to misfortune. For those who meet with unlooked success beyond their expectations, are for the most part wont to turn to insolence." Again, Euripides having written: "For children sprung of parents who have led A hard and toilsome life, superior are;"

Critias writes: "For I begin with a man's origin: how far the best and strongest in body will he be, if his father exercises himself, and eats in a hardy way, anti subjects his body to toilsome labour; and if the mother of the future child be strong in body, and give herself exercise."

Again, Homer having said of the Hephaestusmade shield: "Upon it earth and heaven and sea he made, And Ocean's rivers' mighty strength portrayed,"

Pherecydes of Syros says: -- "Zas makes a cloak large and beautiful, and works on it earth and Ogenus, and the palace of Ogenus."

And Homer having said: "Shame, which greatly hurts a man or he!ps,"

Euripides writes in Erechtheus: "Of shame I find it hard to judge; ' Tis needed.' 'Tis at times a great mischief."

Take, by way of parallel, such plagiarisms as the following, from those who flourished together, and were rivals of each other. From the Orestes of Euripides: "Dear charm of sleep, aid in disease."

From the Eriphyle of Sophocies: "Hie thee to sleep, healer of that disease."

And from the Antigone of Sophocles: "Bastardy is opprobrious in name; but the nature is equal;"

And from the Aleuades of Sophocles: "Each good thing has its nature equal."

Again, in the Otimenus of Euripides: "For him who toils, God helps;"

And in the Minos of Sophocles; "To those who act not, fortune is no ally;"

And from the Alexander of Euripides: "But time will show; and learning, by that test, I shall know whether thou art good or bad;"

And from the Hipponos of Sophocles: "Besides, conceal thou nought; since Time, That sees all, hears all, all things will unfold."

But let us similarly run over the following; for Eumelus having composed the line, "Of Memory and Olympian Zeus the daughters nine,"

Solon thus begins the elegy: "Of Memory and Olympian Zeus the children bright."

Again, Euripides, paraphrasing the Homeric line: "What, whence art thou? Thy city and thy parents, where?" employs the following iambics in Aegeus: "What country shall we say that thou hast left To roam in exile, what thy land -- the bound Of thine own native soil? Who thee begat?

And of what father dost thou call thyself the son?"

And what? Theognis having said: "Wine largely drunk is bad; but if one use It with discretion, 'tis not bad, but good,"- does not Panyasis write?

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"Above the gods' best gift to men ranks wine, In measure drunk; but in excess the worst."

Hesiod, too, saying: "But for the fire to thee I'll give a plague,

For all men to delight themselves withal,"- Euripides writes: "And for the fire Another fire greater and unconquerable, Sprung up in the shape of women"

And in addition, Homer, saying: "There is no satiating the greedy paunch, Baneful, which many plagues has caused to men."

Euripides says: "Dire need and baneful paunch me overcome; From which all evils come."

Besides, Callias the comic poet having written: "With madmen, all men must be mad, they say,"- Menander, in the Poloumenoi, expresses himself similarly, saying: "The presence of wisdom is not always suitable:

One sometimes must with others play the fool."

And Antimachus of Teos having said: "From gifts, to mortals many ills arise,"- Augias composed the line: "For gifts men's mind and acts deceive."

And Hesiod having said: "Than a good wife, no man a better thing Ere gained; than a bad wife, a worse,"- Simonides said: "A better prize than a good wife no man Ere gained, than a bad one nought worse."

Again, Epicharmas having said : "As destined Ion to live, and yet not long, Think of thyself."- Euripides writes: "Why? seeing the wealth we have uncertain is, Why don't we live as free from care, as pleasant As we may?"

Similarly also, the comic poet Diphilus having said: "The life of men is prone to change,"- Posidippus says: "No man of mortal mould his life has passed From suffering free. Nor to the end again Has continued prosperous."

Similarly speaks to thee Plato, writing of man as a creature subject to change. Again, Euripides having said: "Oh life to mortal men of trouble full, How slippery in everything art thou I

Now grow'st thou, and thou now decay'st away.

And there is set no limit, no, not one, For mortals of their course to make an end, Except when Death's remorseless final end Comes, sent from Zeus,"- Diphilus writes: "There is no life which has not its own ills, Pains, cares, thefts, and anxieties, disease; And Death, as a physician, coming, gives Rest to their victims in his quiet sleep."

Furthermore, Euripides having said: "Many are fortune's shapes, And many things contrary to expectation the gods perform,"- The tragic poet Theodectes similarly writes: "The instability of mortals' fates."

And Bacchylides having said: "To few alone of mortals is it given To reach hoary age, being prosperous all the while, And not meet with calamities,"- Moschion, the comic poet, writes: "But he of all men is most blest, Who leads throughout an equal life."

And you will find that, Theognis having said: "For no advantage to a mall grown old A young wife is, who will not, as a ship The helm, obey,"- Aristophanes, the comic poet, writes: "An old man to a young wife suits but ill."

For Anacreon, having written: "Luxurious love I sing, With flowery garlands graced, He is of gods the king, He mortal men subdues?- Euripides writes : "For love not only men attacks, And women; but disturbs The souls of gods above, and to the sea Descends."

But not to protract the discourse further, in our anxiety to show the propensity of the Greeks to plagiarism in expressions and dogmas, allow us to adduce the express testimony of Hippias, the sophist of Elea, who discourses on the point in hand, and speaks thus: "Of these things some perchance are said by Orpheus, some briefly by Musaeus; some in one place, others in other places; some by Hesiod, some by Homer, some by the rest of the poets; and some in prose compositions, some by Greeks, some by Barbarians. And I from all these, placing together the things of most importance and of kindred character, will make the present discourse new and varied."

And in order that we may see that philosophy and history, and even rhetoric, are not free of a like reproach, it is right to adduce a few instances from them. For Alcmaeon of Crotona having said, "It is easier to guard against a man who is an enemy than a friend," Sophocles wrote in the Antigone: "For what sore more grievous than a bad friend?"

And Xenophon said: "No man can injure enemies in any way other than by appearing to be a friend."

And Euripides having said in Telephus: "Shall we Greeks be slaves to Barbarians? "- Thrasymachus, in the oration for the Larissaeans, says: "Shall we be slaves to Archelaus -- Greeks to a Barbarian?"

And Orpheus having said: "Water is the change for soul, and death for water; From water is earth, and what comes from earth is again water, And from that, soul, which changes the whole ether;" and Heraclitus, putting together the expressions from these lines, writes thus: "It is death for souls to become water, and death for water to become earth; and from earth comes water, and from water soul."

And Athamas the Pythagorean having said, "Thus was produced the beginning of the universe; and there are four roots -- fire, water, air, earth: for from these is the origination of what is produced," -- Empedocles of Agrigentum wrote : "The four roots of all things first do thou hear- Fire, water, earth, and ether's boundless height:

For of these all that was, is, shall be, comes."

And Plato having said,"Wherefore also the gods, knowing men, release sooner from life those they value most, "Menander wrote: "Whom the gods love, dies young."

And Euripides having written in the OEnomaus: "We judge of things obscure from what we see;" and in the Phoenix: "By signs the obscure is fairly grasped?- Hyperides says, "But we must investigate things unseen by learning from signs and probabilities." And Isocrates having said, "We must conjecture the future by the past," Andocides does not shrink from saying, "For we must make use of what has happened previously as signs in reference to what is to be." Besides, Theognis having said : "The evil of counterfeit silver and gold is not intoler able, O Cyrnus, and to a wise man is not difficult of detection; But if the mind of a friend is hidden in his breast, If he is false, and has a treacherous heart within, This is the basest thing for mortals, caused by God, And of all things the hardest to detect,"- Euripides writes : "Oh Zeus, why hast thou given to men clear tests Of spurious gold, while on the body grows No mark sufficing to discover clear The wicked man?"

Hyperides himself also says, "There is no feature of the mind impressed on the countenance Of men."

Again, Stasinus having composed the line: "Fool, who, having slain the father, leaves the children,"- Xenophon says, "For I seem to myself to have acted in like manner, as if one who killed the father should spare his children." And Sophocles having written in the Antigone: "Mother and father being in Hades now, No brother ever can to me spring forth?- Herodotus says, "Mother and father being no more, I shall not have another brother." In addition to these, Theopompus having written: "Twice children are old men in very truth;"

And before him Sophocles in Peleus: "Peleus, the son of Aeacus, I, sole housekeeper, Guide, old as he is now, and train again, For the aged man is once again a child,"- Antipho the orator says, "For the nursing of the old is like the nursing of children." Also the philosopher Plato says, "The old man then, as seems, will be twice a child." Further, Thucydides having said, "We alone bore the brunt at Marathon," -- Demosthenes said, "By those who bore the brunt at Marathon." Nor will I omit the following. Cratinus having said in the "The preparation perchance you know,"

Andocides the orator says, "The preparation, gentlemen of the jury, and the eagerness of our enemies, almost all of you know." Similarly also Nicias, in the speech on the deposit, against Ly-sias, says, "The preparation and the eagerness of the adversaries, ye see, O gentlemen of the jury." After him Aeschines says, "You see the preparation, O men of Athens, and the line of battle." Again, Demosthenes having said, "What zeal and what canvassing, O men of Athens, have been employed in this contest, I think almost all of you are aware;" and Philinus similarly, "What zeal, what forming of the line of battle, gentlemen of the jury, have taken place in this contest, I think not one of you is ignorant." Isocrates, again, having said, "As if she were related to his wealth, not him," Lysias says in the Orphics, "And he was plainly related not to the persons, but to the money." Since Homer also having written: "O friend, if in this war, by taking flight, We should from age and death exemption win, I would not fight among the first myself, Nor would I send thee to the glorious fray; But now -- for myriad fates of death attend In any case, which man may not escape Or shun -- come on. To some one we shall bring Renown, or some one shall to us,"

Theopompus writes, "For if, by avoiding the present danger, we were to pass the rest of our time in security, to show love of life would not be wonderful.

But now, so many fatalities are incident to life, that death in battle seems preferable." And what? Child the sophist having uttered the apophthegm, "Become surety, and mischief is at hand," did not Epicharmus utter the same sentiment in other terms, when he said, "Suretyship is the daughter of mischief, and loss that of suretyship?" Further, Hippocrates the physician having written, "You must look to time, and locality, and age, and disease,"

Euripides says in Hexameters : - "Those who the healing art would practise well, Must study people's modes of life, and note The soil, and the diseases so consider."

Homer again, having written: "I say no mortal man can doom escape,"- Archinus says, "All men are bound to die either sooner or later;" and Demosthenes, "To all men death is the end of life, though one should keep himself shut up in a coop."

And Herodotus, again, having said, in his discourse about Glaucus the Spartan, that the Pythian said, "In the case of the Deity, to say and to do are equivalent," Aristophanes said : "For to think and to do are equivalent."

And before him, Parmenides of Elea said: "For thinking and being are the same."

And Plato having said, "And we shall show, not absurdly perhaps, that the beginning of love is sight; and hope diminishes the passion, memory nourishes it, and intercourse preserves it;" does not Philemon the comic poet write : "First all see, then admire; Then gaze, then come to hope; And thus arises love?"

Further, Demosthenes having said, "For to all of us death is a debt," and so forth, Phanocles writes in Loves, or The Beautiful: "But from the Fates' unbroken thread escape Is none for those that feed on earth."

You will also find that Plato having said, "For the first sprout of each plant, having got a fair start, according to the virtue of its own nature, is most powerful in inducing the appropriate end;" the historian writes, "Further, it is not natural for one of the wild plants to become cultivated, after they have passed the earlier period of growth;" and the following of Empedo cles: "For I already have been boy and girl, And bush, and bird, and mute fish in the sea,"- Euripides transcribes in Chrysippus: "But nothing dies Of things that are; but being dissolved, One from the other, Shows another form."

And Plato having said, in the Republic, that women were common, Euripides writes in the Protesilaus: "For common, then, is woman's bed."

Further, Euripides having written : "For to the temperate enough sufficient is "- Epicurus expressly says, "Sufficiency is the greatest riches of all."

Again, Aristophanes having written : "Life thou securely shalt enjoy, being just And free from turmoil, and from fear live well,"- Epicurus says, "The greatest fruit of righteousness is tranquillity."

Let these species, then, of Greek plagiarism of sentiments, being such, stand as sufficient for a clear specimen to him who is capable of perceiving.

And not only have they been detected pirating and paraphrasing thoughts and expressions, as will be shown; but they will also be convicted of the possession of what is entirely stolen. For stealing entirely what is the production of others they have published it as their own; as Eugamon of Cyrene did the entire book on the Thesprotians from Musaeus, and Pisander of Camirus the Heraclea of Pisinus of Lindus, and Panyasis of Halicarnassus, the capture of OEchalia from Cleophilus of Samos.

You will also find that Homer, the great poet, took from Orpheus, from the Disappearance of Dionysus, those words and what follows verbatim: "As a man trains a luxuriant shoot of olive."

And in the Theogony, it is said by Orpheus of Kronos: "He lay, his thick neck bent aside; and him All-conquering Sleep had seized."

These Homer transferrred to the Cyclops. And Hesiod writes of Melampous: "Gladly to hear, what the immortals have assigned To men, the brave from cowards clearly marks;" and so forth, taking it word for word from the poet Musaeus.

And Aristophanes the comic poet has, in the first of the Thesmophoriazusoe, transferred the words from the Empiprameni of Cratinus. And Plato the comic poet, and Aristophanes in Doeda-lus, steal from one another. Cocalus, composed by Araros, the son of Aristophanes, was by the comic poet Philemon altered, and made into the comedy called Hypobolimoens.

Eumelus and Acusilaus the historiographers changed the contents of Hesiod into prose, and published them as their own. Gorgias of Leontium and Eudemus of Naxus, the historians, stole from Melesagoras. And, besides, there is Bion of Proconnesus, who epitomized and transcribed the writings of the ancient Cadmus, and Archilochus, and Aristotle, and Leandrus, and Hellanicus, and Hecataeus, and Androtion, and Philochorus. Dieuchidas of Megara transferred the beginning of his treatise from the Deucalion of Hellanicus. I pass over in silence Heraclitus of Ephesus, who took a very great deal from Orpheus.

From Pythagoras Plato derived the immortality of the soul; and he from the Egyptians. And many of the Platonists composed books, in which they show that the Stoics, as we said in the beginning, and Aristotle, took the most and principal of their dogmas from Plato. Epicurus also pilfered his leading dogmas from Democritus. Let these things then be so. For life would fail me, were I to undertake to go over the subject in detail, to expose the selfish plagiarism of the Greeks, and how they claim the discovery of the best of their doctrines, which they have received from us.

CHAPTER 3 -- PLAGIARISM BY THE GREEKS OF THE MIRACLES RELATED IN THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE HEBREWS.

And now they are convicted not only of borrowing doctrines from the Barbarians, but also of relating as prodigies of Hellenic mythology the marvels found in our records, wrought through divine power from above, by those who led holy lives, while devoting attention to us. And we shall ask at them whether those things which they relate are true or false. But they will not say that they are false; for they will not with their will condemn themselves of the very great

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silliness of composing falsehoods, but of necessity admit them to be true. And how will the prodigies enacted by Moses and the other prophets any longer appear to them incredible? For the Almighty God, in His care for all men, turns some to salvation by commands, some by threats, some by miraculous signs, some by gentle promises.

Well, the Greeks, when once a drought had wasted Greece for a protracted period, and a dearth of the fruits of the earth ensued, it is said, those that survived of them, having, because of the famine, come as suppliants to Delphi, asked the Pythian priestess how they should be released from the calamity. She announced that the only help in their distress was, that they should avail themselves of the prayers of Aeacus. Prevailed on by them, Aeacus, ascending the Hellenic hill, and stretching out pure hands to heaven, and invoking the commons God, besought him to pity wasted Greece. And as he prayed, thunder sounded, out of the usual course of things, and the whole surrounding atmosphere was covered with clouds. And impetuous and continued rains, bursting down, filled the whole region. The result was a copious and rich fertility wrought by the husbandry of the prayers of Aeacus.

"And Samuel called on the Lord," it is said, "and the Lord gave forth His voice, and rain in the day of harvest." Do you see that "He who sendeth His rain on the just and on the unjust" by the subject powers is the one God? And the whole of our Scripture is full of instances of God, in reference to the prayers of the just, hearing and performing each one of their petitions.

Again, the Greeks relate, that in the case of a failure once of the Etesian winds, Aristaeus once sacrificed in Ceus to Isthmian Zeus. For there was great devastation, everything being burnt up with the heat in consequence of the winds which had been wont to refresh the productions of the earth, not blowing, and he easily called them back.

And at Delphi, on the expedition of Xerxes against Greece, the Pythian priestess having made answer: "O Delphians, pray the winds, and it will be better,"- they having erected an altar and performed sacrifice to the winds, had them as their helpers. For, blowing violently around Cape Sepias, they shivered the whole preparations of the Persian expedition. Empedocles of Agrigentum was called "Checker of Winds." Accordingly it is said, that when, on a time, a wind blew from the mountain of Agrigentum, heavy and pestiferous for the inhabitants, and the cause also of barrenness to their wives, he made the wind to cease. Wherefore he himself writes in the lines: "Thou shalt the might of the unwearied winds make still, Which rushing to the earth spoil mortals' crops, And at thy will bring back the avenging blasts."

And they say that he was followed by some that used divinations, and some that had been long vexed by sore diseases. They plainly, then, believed in the performance of cures, and signs and wonders, from our Scriptures. For if certain powers move the winds and dispense showers, let them hear the psalmist: "How amiable are; thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts!" This is the Lord of powers, and principalities, and authorities, of whom Moses speaks; so that we may be with Him. "And ye shall circumcise your hard heart, and shall not harden your neck any more. For He is Lord of lords and God of gods, the great God and strong," unit so forth. And Isaiah says, "Lift your eyes to the height, and see who hath produced all these things."

And some say that plagues, and hail-storms, and tempests, and the like, are wont to take place, not alone in consequence of material disturbance, but also through anger of demons and bad angels. For instance, they say that the Magi at Cleone, watching the phenomena of the skies, when the clouds are about to discharge hail, avert the threatening of wrath by incantations and sacrifices. And if at any time there is the want of an animal, they are satisfied with bleeding their own finger for a sacrifice. The prophetess Diotima, by the Athenians offering sacrifice previous to the pestilence, effected a delay of the plague for ten years. The sacrifices, too, of Epimenides of Crete, put off the Persian war for an equal period. And it is considered to be all the same whether we call these spirits gods or angels. And those skilled in the matter of consecrating statues, in many of the temples have erected tombs of the dead, calling the souls of these Daemons, and teaching them to be wor-shipped by men; as having, in consequence of the purity of their life, by the divine foreknowledge, received the power of wandering about the space around the earth in order to minister to men. For they knew that some souls were by nature kept in the body. But of these, as the work proceeds, in the treatise on the angels, we shall discourse.

Democritus, who predicted many things from observation of celestial phenomena, was called "Wisdom" (Sofia). On his meeting a cordial reception from his brother Damasus, he predicted that there would be much rain, judging from certain stars. Some, accordingly, convinced by him, gathered their crops; for being in summer-time, they were stir on the threshing-floor. But others lost all, unexpected and heavy showers having burst down.

How then shall the Greeks any longer disbelieve the divine appearance on Mount Sinai, when the fire burned, consuming none of the things that grew on the mount; and the sound of trampets issued forth, breathed without instruments? For that which is called the descent on the mount of God is the advent of divine power, pervading the whole world, and proclaiming "the light that is inaccessible."

For such is the allegory, according to the Scripture. But the fire was seen, as Aristobulus says, while the whole multitude, amounting to not less than a million, besides those under age, were congregated around the mountain, the circuit of the mount not being less than five days' journey. Over the whole place of the vision the burning fire was seen by them all encamped as it were around; so that the descent was not local. For God is everywhere.

Now the compilers of narratives say that in the island of Britain s there is a cave situated under a mountain, and a chasm on its summit; and that, accordingly, when the wind falls into the cave, and rushes into the bosom of the cleft, a sound is heard like cymbals clashing musically. And often in the woods, when the leaves are moved by a sudden gust of wind, a sound is emitted like the song of birds.

Those also who composed the Persics relate that in the uplands, in the country of the Magi, three mountains are situated on an extended plain, and that those who travel through the locality, on coming to the first mountain, hear a confused sound as of several myriads shouting, as if in battle array; and on reaching the middle one, they hear a clamour louder and more distinct; and at the end hear people singing a paean, as if victorious. And the cause, in my opinion, of the whole sound, is the smoothness and cavernous character of the localities; and the air, entering in, being sent back and going to the same point, sounds with considerable force. Let these things be so. But it is possible for God Almighty, even without a medium, to produce a voice and vision through the ear, showing that His greatness has a natural order beyond what is customary, in order to the conversion of the hitherto unbelieving soul, and the reception of the commandment given. But there being a cloud and a lofty mountain, how is it not possible to hear a different sound, the wind moving by the active cause? Wherefore also the prophet says, "Ye heard the voice of words, and saw no similitude." You see how the Lord's voice, the Word, without shape, the power of the Word, the luminous word of the Lord, the truth from heaven, from above, coming to the assembly of the Church, wrought by the luminous immediate ministry.

CHAPTER 4 -- THE GREEKS DREW MANY OF THEIR PHILOSOPHICAL TENETS FROM THE EGYPTIAN AND INDIAN GYMNOSOPHISTS.

We shall find another testimony in confirmation, in the fact that the best of the philosophers, having appropriated their most excellent dogmas from us, boast, as it were, of certain of the tenets which pertain to each sect being culled from other Barbarians, chiefly from the Egyptians -- both other tenets, and that especially of the transmigration of the soul. For the Egyptians pursue a philosophy of their own. This is principally shown by their sacred ceremonial. For first advances the Singer, bearing some one of the symbols of music. For they say that he must learn two of the books of Hermes, the one of which contains the hymns of the gods, the second the regulations for the king's life. And after the Singer advances the Astrologer, with a horologe in his hand, and a palm, the symbols of astrology. He must have the astrological books of Hermes, which are four in number, always in his mouth. Of these, one is about the order of the fixed stars that are visible, and another about the conjunctions and luminous appearances of the sun and moon; and the rest respecting their risings. Next in order advances the sacred Scribe, with wings on his head, and in his hand a book and rule, in which were writing ink and the reed, with which they write. And he must be acquainted with what are called hieroglyphics, and know about cosmography and geography, the position of the sun and moon, and about the five planets; also the description of Egypt, and the chart of the Nile; and the description of the equipment of the priests and of the places consecrated to them, and about the measures and the things in use in the sacred rites. Then the Stole-keeper follows those previously mentioned, with the cubit of justice and the cup for libations. He is acquainted with all points called Paedeutic (relating to training) and Moschophatic (sacrificial). There are also ten books which relate to the honour paid by them to their gods, and containing the Egyptian worship; as that relating to sacrifices, first-fruits, hymns, prayers, processions, festivals, and the like. And behind all walks the Prophet, with the water-vase carried openly in his arms; who is followed by those who carry the issue of loaves.

He, as being the governor of the temple, learns the ten books called "Hieratic;" and they contain all about the laws, and the gods, and the whole of the training of the priests. For the Prophet is, among the Egyptians, also over the distribution of the revenues. There are then forty-two books of Hermes indispensably necessary; of which the six-and-thirty containing the whole philosophy of the Egyptians are learned by the forementioned personages; and the other six, which are medical, by the Pastophoroi (image-bearers), -- treating of the structure of the body, and of diseases, and instruments, and medicines, and about the eyes, and the last about women. Such are the customs of the Egyptians, to speak briefly.

The philosophy of the Indians, too, has been celebrated. Alexander of Macedon, having taken ten of the Indian Gymnosophists, that seemed the best and most sententious, proposed to them problems, threatening to put to death him that did not answer to the purpose; ordering one, who was the eldest of them, to decide.

The first, then, being asked whether he thought that the living were more in number than the dead, said, The living; for that the dead were not. The second, on being asked Whether the sea or the land maintained larger beasts, said, The land; for the sea was part of it. And the third being asked which was the most cunning of animals? The one, which has not hitherto been known, man. And the fourth being interrogated, For what reason they had made Sabba, who was their prince, revolt, answered, Because they wished him to live well rather than die ill. And the fifth being asked, Whether he thought that day or night was first, said, One day. For puzzling questions must have puzzling answers. And the sixth being posed with the query, How shall one be loved most? By being most powerful; in order that he may not be timid. And the seventh being asked, How any one of men could become God? said, If he do what it is impossible for man to do. And the eighth being asked, Which is the stronger, life or death? said, Life, which bears such ills. And the ninth being interrogated, Up to what point it is good for a man to live? said, Till he does not think that to die is better than to live. And on Alexander ordering the tenth to say something, for he was judge, he said, "One spake worse than another." And on Alexander saying, Shall you not, then, die first, having given such a judgment? he said, And how, O king, wilt thou prove true, after saying that thou wouldest kill first the first man that answered very badly?

And that the Greeks are called pilferers of all manner of writing, is, as I think, sufficiently demonstrated by abundant proofs.

CHAPTER 5 -- THE GREEKS HAD SOME KNOWLEDGE OF THE TRUE GOD.

And that the men of highest repute among the Greeks knew God, not by positive knowledge, but by indirect expression, Peter says in the Preaching: "Know then that there is one God, who made the beginning of all things, and holds the power of the end; and is the Invisible, who sees all things; incapable of being contained, who contains all things; needing nothing, whom all things need, and by whom they are; incomprehensible, everlasting, unmade, who made all things by the 'Word of His power,' that is, according to the gnostic scripture, His Son."

Then he adds: "Worship this God not as the Greeks," -- signifying plainly, that the excellent among the Greeks worshipped the same God as we, but that they had not learned by perfect knowledge that which was delivered by the Son. "Do not then worship," he did not say, the God whom the Greeks worship, but "as the Greeks," -- changing the manner of the worship of God, not announcing another God. What, then, the expression "not as the Greeks" means, Peter himself shall explain, as he adds: "Since they are carried away by ignorance, and know not God" (as we do, according to the perfect knowledge); "hut giving shape to the things of which He gave them the power for use -- stocks and stones, brass and iron, gold and silver -- matter; -- and setting up the things which are slaves for use and possession, worship them. And what God hath given to them for food -- the fowls of the air, and the fish of the sea, and the creeping things of the earth, and the wild beasts with the four-footed cattle of the field, weasels and mice, cats and dogs and apes, and their own proper food -- they sacrifice as sacrifices to mortals; and offering dead things to the dead, as to gods, are unthankful to God, denying His existence by these things." And that it is said, that we and the Greeks know the same God, though not in the same way, he will infer thus: "Neither worship as the Jews; for they, thinking that they only know God, do not know Him, adoring as they do angels and archangels, the month and the moon. And if the moon be not visible, they do not hold the Sabbath, which is called the first; nor do they hold the new moon, nor the feast of unleavened bread, nor the feast, nor the great day." Then he gives the finishing stroke to the question: "So that do ye also, learning holily and righteously what we deliver to you; keep them, worshipping God in a new way, by Christ." For we find in the Scriptures, as the Lord says: "Behold, I make with you a new covenant, not as I made with your fathers in Mount Horeb." He made a new covenant with us; for what belonged to the Greeks and Jews is old. But we, who worship Him in a new way, in the third form, are Christians. For clearly, as I think, he showed that the one and only God was known by the Greeks in a Gentile way, by the Jews Judaically, and in a new and spiritual way by us.

And further, that the same God that furnished both the Covenants was the giver of Greek philosophy to the Greeks, by which the Almighty is glorified among the Greeks, he

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shows. And it is clear from this. Accordingly, then, from the Hellenic training, and also from that of the law are gathered into the one race of the saved people those who accept faith: not that the three peoples are separated by time, so that one might suppose three natures, but trained in different Covenants of the one Lord, by the word of the one Lord. For that, as God wished to save the Jews by giving to them prophets, so also by raising up prophets of their own in their own tongue, as they were able to receive God's beneficence, He distinguished the most excellent of the Greeks from the common herd, in addition to "Peter's Preaching," the Apostle Paul will show, saying:

"Take also the Hellenic books, read the Sibyl, how it is shown that God is one, and how the future is indicated. And taking Hystaspes, read, and you will find much more luminously and distinctly the Son of God described, and how many kings shall draw up their forces against Christ, hating Him and those that bear His name, and His faithful ones, and His patience, and His coming."

Then in one word he asks us, "Whose is the world, and all that is in the world? Are they not God's? " Wherefore Peter says, that the Lord said to the apostles: "If any one of Israel then, wishes to repent, and by my name to believe in God, his sins shall be forgiven him, after twelve years. Go forth into the world, that no one may say, We have not heard."

CHAPTER 6 -- THE GOSPEL WAS PREACHED TO JEWS AND GENTILES IN HADES.

But as the proclamation [of the Gospel] has come now at the fit time, so also at the fit time were the Law and the Prophets given to the Barbarians, and Philosophy to the Greeks, to fit their ears for the Gospel. "Therefore," says the Lord who delivered Israel, "in an acceptable time have I heard thee, and in a day of salvation have I helped thee. And I have given thee for a Covenant to the nations; that thou mightest inhabit the earth, and receive the inheritance of the wilderness; saying to those that are in bonds, Come forth; and to those that are in darkness, Show yourselves." For if the "prisoners" are the Jews, of whom the Lord said, "Come forth, ye that will, from your bonds," -- meaning the voluntary bound, and who have taken on them "the burdens grievous to be borne" by human injunction -- it is plain that "those in darkness" are they who have the ruling faculty of the soul buried in idolatry.

For to those who were righteous according to the law, faith was wanting. Wherefore also the Lord, in healing them, said, "Thy faith hath saved thee." But to those that were righteous according to philosophy, not only faith in the Lord, but also the abandonment of idolatry, were necessary. Straightway, on the revelation of the truth, they also repented of their previous conduct.

Wherefore the Lord preached the Gospel to those in Hades. Accordingly the Scripture says, "Hades says to Destruction, We have not seen His form, but we have heard His voice." It is not plainly the place, which, the words above say, heard the voice, but those who have been put in Hades, and have abandoned themselves to destruction, as persons who have thrown themselves voluntarily from a ship into the sea. They, then, are those that hear the divine power and voice. For who in his senses can suppose the souls of the righteous and those of sinners in the same condemnation, charging Providence with injustice?

But how? Do not [the Scriptures] show that. the Lord preached the Gospel to those that perished in the flood, or rather had been chained, and to those kept "in ward and guard"? And it has been shown also, in the second book of the Stromata, that the apostles, following the Lord, preached the Gospel to those in Hades. For it was requisite, in my opinion, that as here, so also there, the best of the disciples should be imitators of the Master; so that He should bring to repentance those belonging to the Hebrews, and they the Gentiles; that is, those who had lived in righteousness according to the Law and Philosophy, who had ended life not perfectly, but sinfully. For it was suitable to the divine administration, that those possessed of greater worth in righteousness, and whose life had been pre-eminent, on repenting of their transgressions, though found in another place, yet being confessedly of the number of the people of God Almighty, should be saved, each one according to his individual knowledge.

And, as I think, the Saviour also exerts His might because it is His work to save; which accordingly He also did by drawing to salvation those who became willing, by the preaching [of the Gospel], to believe on Him, wherever they were. If, then, the Lord descended to Hades for no other end but to preach the Gospel, as He did descend; it was either to preach the Gospel to all or to the Hebrews only. If, accordingly, to all, then all who believe shall be saved, although they may be of the Gentiles, on making their profession there; since God's pun ishments are saving and disciplinary, leading to conversion, and choosing rather the repentance thorn the death of a sinner; and especially since souls, although darkened by passions, when released from their bodies, are able to perceive more clearly, because of their being no longer obstructed by the paltry flesh.

If, then, He preached only to the Jews, who wanted the knowledge and faith of the Saviour, it is plain that, since God is no respecter of persons, the apostles also, as here, so there preached the Gospel to those of the heathen who were ready for conversion. And it is well said by the Shepherd, "They went down with them therefore into the water, and again ascended. But these descended alive, and again ascended alive. But those who had fallen asleep, descended dead, but ascended alive." Further the Gospel says, "that many bodies of those that slept arose," -- plainly as having been translated to a better state. There took place, then, a universal movement and translation through the economy of the Saviour.

One righteous man, then, differs not, as righteous, from another righteous man, whether he be of the Law or a Greek. For God is not only Lord of the Jews, but of all men, and more nearly the Father of those who know Him. For if to live well and according to the law is to live, also to live rationally according to the law is to live; and those who lived rightly before the Law were classed under faith, and judged to be righteous, -- it is evident that those, too, who were outside of the Law, having lived rightly, in consequence of the peculiar' nature of the voice, though they are in Hades and in ward, on hearing the voice of the Lord, whether that of His own person or that acting through His apostles, with all speed turned and believed. For we remember that the Lord is "the power of God," and power can never be weak.

So I think it is demonstrated that the God being good, and the Lord powerful, they save with a righteousness and equality which extend to all that turn to Him, whether here or elsewhere. For it is not here alone that the active power of God is beforehand, but it is everywhere and is always at work. Accordingly, in the Preaching of Peter, the Lord says to the disciples after the resurrection, "I have chosen you twelve disciples, judging you worthy of me," whom the Lord wished to be apostles, having judged them faithful, sending them into the world to the men on the earth, that they may know that there is one God, showing clearly what would take place by the faith of Christ; that they who heard and believed should be saved; and that those who believed not, after having heard, should bear witness, not having the excuse to allege, We have not heard.

What then? Did not the same dispensation obtain in Hades, so that even there, all the souls, on hearing the proclamation, might either exhibit repentance, or confess that their punishment was just, because they believed not? And it were the exercise of no ordinary arbitrariness, for those who had departed before the advent of the Lord (not having the Gospel preached to them, and having afforded no ground from themselves, in consequence of believing or not) to obtain either salvation or punishment. For it is not right that these should be condemned without trial, and that those alone who lived after the advent should have the advantage of the divine righteousness. But to all rational souls it was said from above, "Whatever one of you has done in ignorance, without clearly knowing God, if, on becoming conscious, he repent, all his sins will be forgiven him." "For, behold," it is said, "I have set before your face death and life, that ye may choose life." "God says that He set, not that He made both, in order to the comparison of choice. And in another Scripture He says, "If ye hear Me, and be willing, ye shall eat the good of the land. But if ye hear Me not, and are not willing, the sword shall devour you: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken these things."

Again, David expressly (or rather the Lord in the person of the saint, and the same from the foundation of the world is each one who at different periods is saved, and shall be saved by faith) says, "My heart was glad, and my tongue rejoiced, and my flesh shall still rest in hope. For Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell, nor wilt Thou give Thine holy one to see corruption. Thou hast made known to me the paths of life, Thou wilt make me full of joy in Thy presence." As, then, the people was precious to the Lord, so also is the entire holy people; he also who is converted from the Gentiles, who was prophesied under the name of proselyte, along with the Jew. For rightly the Scripture says, that "the ox and the bear shall come together." For the Jew is designated by the ox, from the animal under the yoke being reckoned clean, according to the law; for the ox both parts the hoof and chews the cud. And the Gentile is designated by the bear, which is an unclean and wild beast. And this animal brings forth a shapeless lump of flesh, which it shapes into the likeness of a beast solely by its tongue. For he who is convened from among the Gentiles is formed from a beastlike life to gentleness by the word; and, when once tamed, is made clean, just as the ox. For example, the prophet says, "The sirens, and the daughters of the sparrows, and all the beasts of the field, shall bless me." Of the number of unclean animals, the wild beasts of the field are known to be, that is, of the world; since those who are wild in respect of faith, and polluted in life, and not purified by the righteousness which is according to the law, are called wild beasts. But changed from wild beasts by the faith of the Lord, they become men of God, advancing from the wish to change to the fact. For some the Lord exhorts, and to those who have already made the attempt he stretches forth His hand, and draws them up. "For the Lord dreads not the face of any one, nor will He regard greatness; for He hath made small and great, and cares alike for all." And David says, "For the heathen are fixed in the destruction they have caused; their foot is taken in the snare which they hid." s "But the Lord was a refuge to the poor, a help in season also in affliction." Those, then, that were in affliction had the Gospel seasonably proclaimed. And therefore it said, "Declare among the heathen his pursuits," that they may not be judged unjustly.

If, then, He preached the Gospel to those in the flesh that they might not be condemned unjustly, how is it conceivable that He did not for the same cause preach the Gospel to those who had departed this life before His advent? "For the righteous Lord loveth righteousness: His countenance beholdeth uprightness." "But he that loveth wickedness hateth his own soul."

If, then, in the deluge all sinful flesh perished, punishment having been inflicted on them for correction, we must first believe that the will of God, which is disciplinary and beneficent, saves those who turn to Him. Then, too, the more subtle substance, the soul, could never receive any injury from the grosser element of water, its subtle and simple nature rendering it impalpable, called as it is incorporeal. But whatever is gross, made so in consequence of sin, this is cast away along with the carnal spirit which lusts against the soul.

Now also Valentinus, the Coryphaeus of those who herald community, in his book on The Intercourse of Friends, writes in these words: "Many of the things that are written, though in common hooks, are found written in the church of God. For those sayings which proceed from the heart are vain. For the law written in the heart is the People of the Beloved -- loved and loving Him." For whether it be the Jewish writings or those of the philosophers that he calls "the Common Books," he makes the truth common. And Isidore," at once son and disciple to Basilides, in the first hook of the Expositions of the Prophet Parchor, writes also in these words: "The Attics say that certain things were intimated to Socrates, in consequence of a daemon attending on him. And Aristotle says that all men are provided with daemons, that attend on them during the time they are in the body,-having taken this piece of prophetic instruction and transferred it to his own books, without acknowledging whence he had abstracted this statement." And again, in the second book of his work, he thus writes: "And let no one think that what we say is peculiar to the elect, was said before by any philosophers. For it is not a discovery of theirs. For having appropriated it from our prophets, they attributed it to him who is wise according to them." Again, in the same: "For to me it appears that those who profess to philosophize, do so that they may learn what is the winged oak,'" and the variegated robe on it, all of which Pherecydes has employed as theological allegories, having taken them from the prophecy of Chum."

CHAPTER 7 -- WHAT TRUE PHILOSOPHY IS, AND WHENCE SO CALLED.

As we have long ago pointed out, what we propose as our subject is not the discipline which obtains in each sect, but that which is really philosophy, strictly systematic Wisdom, which furnishes acquaintance with the things which pertain to life. And we define Wisdom to be certain knowledge, being a sure and irrefragable apprehension of things divine and human, comprehending the present, past, and future, which the Lord hath taught us, both by His advent and by the prophets. And it is irrefragable by reason, inasmuch as it has been communicated. And so it is wholly true according to [God's] intention, as being known through means of the Son. And in one aspect it is eternal, and in another it becomes useful in time. Partly it is one and the same, partly many and indifferent -- partly without any movement of passion, partly with passionate desire -- partly perfect, partly incomplete.

This wisdom, then -- rectitude of soul and of reason, and purity of life -- is the object of the desire of philosophy, which is kindly and lovingly disposed towards wisdom, and does everything to attain it.

Now those are called philosophers, among us, who love Wisdom, the Creator and Teacher of all things, that is, the knowledge of the Son of God; and among the Greeks, those who undertake arguments on virtue. Philosophy, then, consists of such dogmas found in each sect (I mean those of philosophy) as cannot be impugned, with a corresponding life, collected into one selection; and these, stolen from the Barbarian God-given grace, have been adorned by Greek speech. For some they have borrowed, and others they have misunderstood. And in the case of others, what they have spoken, in consequence of being moved, they have not yet perfectly worked out; and others by human conjecture and reasoning, in which also they stumble. And they think that they have hit the truth perfectly; but as we understand them, only partially. They know, then, nothing more than this world. And it is just like geometry, which treats of measures and magnitudes and forms, by delineation on plane-surfaces; and just as painting appears to take in the whole field of view in the scenes represented. But it gives a false description of the view, according to the rules of the art, employing the signs

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that result from the incidents of the lines of vision. By this means, the higher and lower points in the view, and those between, are preserved; and some objects seem to appear in the foreground, and others in the background, and others to appear in some other way, on the smooth and level surface. So also the philosophers copy the truth, after the manner of painting. And always in the case of each one of them, their self-love is the cause of all their mistakes. Wherefore one ought not, in the desire for the glory that terminates in men, to be animated by self-love; but loving God, to become really holy with wisdom. If, then, one treats what is particular as universal, and regards that, which serves, as the Lord, he misses the truth, not understanding what was spoken by David by way of confession: "I have eaten earth [ashes] like bread." Now, self-love and self-conceit are, in his view, earth and error. But if so, science and knowledge are derived from instruction. And if there is instruction, you must seek for the master. Cleanthes claims Zeno, and Metrodorus Epicurus, and Theophrastus Aristotle, and Plato Socrates. But if I Come to Pythagoras, and Pherecydes, and Thales, and the first wise men, I come to a stand in my search for their teacher. Should you say the Egyptians, the Indians, the Babylonians, and the Magi themselves, I will not stop from asking their teacher. And I lead you up to the first generation of men; and from that point I begin to investigate Who is their teacher. No one of men; for they had not yet learned. Nor yet any of the angels: for in the way that angels, in virtue of being angels, speak, men do not hear; nor, as we have ears, have they a tongue to correspond; nor would any one attribute to the angels organs of speech, lips I mean, and the parts contiguous, throat, and windpipe, and chest, breath and air to vibrate, And God is far from calling aloud in the unapproachable sanctity, separated as He is from even the archangels.

And we also have already heard that angels learned the truth, and their rulers over them; for they had a beginning. It remains, then, for us, ascending to seek their teacher. And since the unoriginated Being is one, the Omnipotent God; one, too, is the First-begotten, "by whom all things were made, and without whom not one thing ever was made." "For one, in truth, is God, who formed the beginning of all things;" pointing out "the first-begotten Son," Peter writes, accurately comprehending the statement, "In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth." And He is called Wisdom by all the prophets. This is He who is the Teacher of all created beings, the Fellow-counsellor of God, who foreknew all things; and He from above, from the first foundation of the world, "in many ways and many times," trains and perfects; whence it is rightly said, "Call no man your teacher on earth."

You see whence the true philosophy has its handles; though the Law be the image and shadow of the truth: for the Law is the shadow of the truth. But the self-love of the Greeks proclaims certain men as their teachers. As, then, the whole family runs back to God the Creator; so also all the teaching of good things, which justifies, does to the Lord, and leads and contributes to this.

But if from any creature they received in any way whatever the seeds of the Truth, they did not nourish them; but committing them to a barren and reinless soil, they choked them with weeds, as the Pharisees revolted from the Law, by introducing human teachings, -- the cause of these being not the Teacher, but those who choose to disobey. But those of them who believed the Lord's advent and the plain teaching of the Scriptures, attain to the knowledge of the law; as also those addicted to philosophy, by the teaching of the Lord, are introduced into the knowledge of the true philosophy: "For the oracles of the Lord are pure oracles, melted in the fire, tried in the earth, purified seven times." Just as silver often purified, so is the just man brought to the test, becoming the Lord's coin and receiving the royal image. Or, since Solomon also calls the "tongue of the righteous man gold that has been subjected to fire," intimating that the doctrine which has been proved, and is wise, is to be praised and received, whenever it is amply tried by the earth: that is, when the gnostic soul is in manifold ways sanctified, through withdrawal from earthy fires. And the body in which it dwells is purified, being appropriated to the pureness of a holy temple. But the first purification which takes place in the body, the soul being first, is abstinence from evil things, which some consider perfection, and is, in truth, the perfection of the common believer -- Jew and Greek. But in the case of the Gnostic, after that which is reckoned perfection in others, his righteousness advances to activity in well-doing. And in whomsoever the increased force of righteousness advances to the doing of good, in his case perfection abides in the fixed habit of well-doing after the likeness of God. For those who are the seed of Abraham, and besides servants of God, are "the called;" and the sons of Jacob are the elect -- they who have tripped up the energy of wickedness.

If; then, we assert that Christ Himself is Wisdom, and that it was His working which showed itself in the prophets, by which the gnostic tradition may be learned, as He Himself taught the apostles during His presence; then it follows that the grinds, which is the knowledge and apprehension of things present, future, and past, which is sure and reliable, as being imparted and revealed by the Son of God, is wisdom.

And if, too, the end of the wise man is contemplation, that of those who are still philosophers aims at it, but never attains it, unless by the process of learning it receives the prophetic utterance which has been made known, by which it grasps both the present, the future, and the past -- how they are, were, and shall be.

And the gnosis itself is that which has descended by transmission to a few, having been imparted unwritten by the apostles. Hence, then, knowledge or wisdom ought to be exercised up to the eternal and unchangeable habit of contemplation.

CHAPTER 8 -- PHILOSOPHY IS KNOWLEDGE GIVEN BY GOD.

For Paul too, in the Epistles, plainly does not disparage philosophy; but deems it unworthy of the man who has attained to the elevation of the Gnostic, any more to go back to the Hellenic "philosophy," figuratively calling it "the rudiments of this world," as being most rudimentary, and a preparatory training for the truth. Wherefore also, writing to the Hebrews, who were declining again from faith to the law, he says," Have ye not need again of one to teach you which are the first principles of the oracles of God, and are become such as have need of milk, and not of strong meat?" So also to the Colossians, who were Greek converts, "Beware lest any man spoil you by philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of this world, and not after Christ," -- enticing them again to return to philosophy, the elementary doctrine.

And should one say that it was through human understanding that philosophy was discovered by the Greeks, still I find the Scriptures saying that understanding is sent by God. The psalmist, accordingly, considers understanding as the greatest free gift, and beseeches, saying," I am Thy servant; give me understanding."s And does not David, while asking the abundant experience of knowledge, write, "Teach me gentleness, and discipline, and knowledge: for I have believed in Thy commandments?" He confessed the covenants to be of the highest authority, and that they were given to the more excellent. Accordingly the psalm again says of God, "He hath not done thus to any nation; and He hath not shown His judgments to them." The expression "He hath not done so" shows that He hath done, but not "thus." The "thus," then, is put comparatively, with reference to pre-eminence, which obtains in our case. The prophet might have said simply, "He hath not done," without the "thus."

Further, Peter in the Acts says, "Of a truth, I perceive that God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth Him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted by Him."

The absence of respect of persons in God is not then in time, but from eternity. Nor had His beneficence a beginning; nor any more is it limited to places or persons. For His beneficence is not confined to parts. "Open ye the gates of righteousness," it is said; "entering into them, I will confess to the Lord. This is the gate of the Lord. The righteous shall enter by it." Explaining the prophet's saying, Barnabas adds, "There being many gates open, that which is in righteousness is the gate which is in Christ, by which all who enter are blessed." Bordering on the same meaning is also the following prophetic utterance: "The Lord is on many waters;" not the different covenants alone, but the modes of teaching, those among the Greek and those among the Barbarians, conducing to righteousness. And already clearly David, bearing testimony to the truth, sings, "Let sinners be turned into Hades, and all the nations that forget God." They forget, plainly, Him whom they formerly remembered, and dismiss Him whom they knew previous to forgetting Him. There was then a dim knowledge of God also among the nations. So much for those points.

Now the Gnostic must be erudite. And since the Greeks say that Protagoras having led the way, the opposing of one argument by another was invented, it is fitting that something be said with reference to arguments of this sort. For Scripture says, "He that says much, shall also hear in his turn." And who shall understand a parable of the Lord, but the wise, the intelligent, and he that loves his Lord? Let such a man be faithful; let him be capable of uttering his knowledge; let him be wise in the discrimination of words; let him be dexterous in action; let him be pure. "The greater he seems to be, the more humble should he be," says Clement in the Epistle to the Corinthians, -- "such an one as is capable of complying with the precept, 'And some pluck from the fire, and on others have compassion, making a difference,'"

The pruning-hook is made, certainly, principally for pruning; but with it we separate twigs that have got intertwined, cut the thorns which grow along with the vines, which it is not very easy to reach. And all these things have a reference to pruning. Again, man is made principally for the knowledge of God; but he also measures land, practises agriculture, and philosophizes; of which pursuits, one conduces to life, another to living well, a third to the study of the things which are capable of demonstration. Further, let those who say that philosophy took its rise from the devil know this, that the Scripture says that "the devil is transformed into an angel of light." When about to do what? Plainly, when about to prophesy. But if he prophesies as an angel of light, he will speak what is true. And if he prophesies what is angelical, and of the light, then he prophesies what is beneficial when he is transformed according to the likeness of the operation, though he be different with respect to the matter of apostasy. For how could he deceive any one, without drawing the lover of knowledge into fellowship, and so drawing him afterwards into falsehood? Especially he will be found to know the truth, if not so as to comprehend it, yet so as not to be unacquainted with it.

Philosophy is not then false, though the thief and the liar speak truth, through a transformation of operation. Nor is sentence of condemnation to be pronounced ignorantly against what is said, on account of him who says it (which also is to be kept in view, in the case of those who are now alleged to prophesy); but what is said must be looked at, to see if it keep by the truth.

And in general terms, we shall not err in alleging that all things necessary and profitable for life came to us from God, and that philosophy more especially was given to the Greeks, as a covenant peculiar to them -- being, as it is, a stepping-stone to the philosophy which is according to Christ -- although those who applied themselves to the philosophy of the Greeks shut their ears voluntarily to the truth, despising the voice of Barbarians, or also dreading the danger suspended over the believer, by the laws of the state.

And as in the Barbarian philosophy, so also in the Hellenic, "tares were sown" by the proper husbandman of the tares; whence also heresies grew up among us along with the productive wheat; and those who in the Hellenic philosophy preach the impiety and voluptuousness of Epicurus, and whatever other tenets are disseminated contrary to right reason, exist among the Greeks as spurious fruits of the divinely bestowed husbandry. This voluptuous and selfish philosophy the apostle calls "the wisdom of this world;" in consequence of its teaching the things of this world and about it alone, and its consequent subjection, as far as respects ascendancy, to those who rule here. Wherefore also this fragmentary philosophy is very elementary, while truly perfect science deals with intellectual objects, which are beyond the sphere of the world, and with the objects still more spiritual than those which "eye saw not, and ear heard not, nor did it enter into the heart of men," till the Teacher told the account of them to us; unveiling the holy of holies; and in ascending order, things still holier than these, to those who are truly and not spuriously heirs of the Lord's adoption. For we now dare aver (for here is the faith that is characterized by knowledge) that such an one knows all things, and comprehends all things in the exercise of sure apprehension, respecting matters difficult for us, and really pertaining to the true gnosis such as were James, Peter, John, Paul, and the rest of the apostles. For prophecy is full of knowledge (gnosis), inasmuch as it was given by the Lord, and again explained by the Lord to the apostles. And is not knowledge (gnosis) an attribute of the rational soul, which trains itself for this, that by knowledge it may become entitled to immortality? For both are powers of the soul both knowledge and impulse. And impulse is found to be a movement after an assent. For he who has an impulse towards an action, first receives the knowledge of the action, and secondly the impulse. Let us further devote our attention to this. For since learning is older than action; (for naturally, he who does what he wishes to do learns it first; and knowledge comes from learning, and impulse follows knowledge; after which comes action;) knowledge turns out the beginning and author of all rational action. So that rightly the peculiar nature of the rational soul is characterized by this alone; for in reality impulse, like knowledge, is excited by existing objects. And knowledge (gnosis) is essentially a contemplation of existences on the part of the soul, either of a certain thing or of certain things, and when perfected, of all together. Although some say that the wise man is persuaded that there are some things incomprehensible, in such wise as to have respecting them a kind of comprehension, inasmuch as he comprehends that things incomprehensible are incomprehensible; which is common, and pertains to those who are capable of perceiving little. For such a man affirms that there are some things incomprehensible.

But that Gnostic of whom I speak, himself comprehends what seems to be incomprehensible to others; believing that nothing is incomprehensible to the Son of God, whence nothing incapable of being taught. For He who suffered out of His love for us, would have suppressed no element of knowledge requisite for our instruction. Accordingly this faith becomes sure demonstration; since truth follows what has been delivered by God. But if one desires extensive knowledge, "he knows things ancient, and conjectures things future; he understands knotty sayings, and the solutions of enigmas. The disciple of wisdom foreknows signs and omens, and the issues of seasons and of times."

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CHAPTER 9 -- THE GNOSTIC FREE OF ALL PERTURBATIONS OF THE SOUL.

The Gnostic is such, that he is subject only to the affections that exist for the maintenance of the body, such as hunger, thirst, and the like. But in the case of the Saviour, it were ludicrous [to suppose] that the body, as a body, demanded the necessary aids in order to its duration. For He ate, not for the sake of the body, which was kept together by a holy energy, but in order that it might not enter into the minds of those who were with Him to entertain a different opinion of Him; in like manner as certainly some afterwards supposed that He appeared in a phantasmal shape (dokhsei). But He was entirely impassible (apaqhg); inaccessible to any movement of feeling -- either pleasure or pain. While the apostles, having most gnostically mastered, through the Lord's teaching, angel and fear, and lust, were not liable even to such of the movements of feeling, as seem good, courage, zeal, joy, desire, through a steady condition of mind, not changing a whit; but ever continuing unvarying in a state of training after the resurrection of the Lord.

And should it be granted that the affections specified above, when produced rationally, are good, yet they are nevertheless inadmissible in the case of the perfect man, who is incapable of exercising courage: for neither does he meet what inspires fear, as he regards none of the things that occur in life as to be dreaded; nor can aught dislodge him from this -- the love he has towards God. Nor does he need cheerfulness of mind; for he does not fall into pain, being persuaded that all things happen well. Nor is he angry; for there is nothing to move him to anger, seeing he ever loves God, and is entirely turned towards Him alone, and therefore hates none of God's creatures. No more does he envy; for nothing is wanting to him, that is requisite to assimilation, in order that he may be excellent and good. Nor does he consequently love any one with this common affection, but loves the Creator in the creatures. Nor, consequently, does he fall into any desire and eagerness; nor does he want, as far as respects his soul, aught appertaining to others, now that he associates through love with the Beloved One, to whom he is allied by free choice, and by the habit which results from training, approaches closer to Him, and is blessed through the abundance of good things.

So that on these accounts he is compelled to become like his Teacher in impassibility. For the Word of God is intellectual, according as the image of mind is seen 'in man alone. Thus also the good man is godlike in form and semblance as respects his soul. And, on the other hand, God is like man. For the distinctive form of each one is the mind by which we are characterized. Consequently, also, those who sin against man are unholy and impious. For it were ridiculous to say that the gnostic and perfect man must not eradicate anger and courage, inasmuch as without these he will not struggle against circumstances, or abide what is terrible. But if we take from him desire; he will be quite overwhelmed by troubles, and therefore depart from this life very basely. Unless possessed of it, as some suppose, he will not conceive a desire for what is like the excellent and the good. If, then, all alliance with what is good is accompanied with desire, how, it is said, does he remain impassible who desires what is excellent?

But these people know not, as appears, the divinity of love. For love is not desire on the part of him who loves; but is a relation of affection, restoring the Gnostic to the unity of the faith, -- independent of time and place. But he who by love is already in the midst of that in which he is destined to be, and has anticipated hope by knowledge, does not desire anything, having, as far as possible, the very thing desired. Accordingly, as to be expected, he continues in the exercise of gnostic love, in the one unvarying state.

Nor will he, therefore, eagerly desire to be assimilated to what is beautiful, possessing, as he does, beauty by love. What more need of courage and of desire to him, who has obtained the affinity to the impassible God which arises from love, and by love has enrolled himself among the friends of God?

We must therefore rescue the gnostic and perfect man from all passion of the soul. For knowledge (gnosis) produces practice, and practice habit or disposition; and such a state as this produces impassibility, not moderation of passion. And the complete eradication of desire reaps as its fruit impassibility. But the Gnostic does not share either in those affections that are commonly celebrated as good, that is, the good things of the affections which are allied to the passions: such, I mean, as gladness, which is allied to pleasure; and dejection, for this is conjoined with pain; and caution, for it is subject to fear. Nor yet does he share in high spirit, for it takes its place alongside of wrath; although some say that these are no longer evil, but already good. For it is impossible that he who has been once made perfect by love, and feasts eternally and insatiably on the boundless joy of contemplation, should delight in small and grovelling things. For what rational cause remains any more to the man who has gained "the light inaccessible," for revering to the good things of the world? Although not yet true as to time and place, yet by that gnostic love through which the inheritance and perfect restitution follow, the giver of the reward makes good by deeds what the Gnostic, by gnostic choice, had grasped by anticipation through love.

For by going away to the Lord, for the love he bears Him, though his tabernacle be visible on earth, he does not withdraw himself from life. For that is not permitted to him. But he has withdrawn his soul from the passions. For that is granted to him. And on the other hand he lives, having put to death his lusts, and no longer makes use of the body, but allows it the use of necessaries, that he may not give cause for dissolution.

How, then, has he any more need of fortitude, who is not in the midst of dangers, being not present, but already wholly with the object of love? And what necessity for self-restraint to him who has not need of it? For to have such desires, as require self-restraint in order to their control, is characteristic of one who is not yet pure, but subject to passion. Now, fortitude is assumed by reason of fear and cowardice. For it were no longer seemly that the friend of God, whom "God hath fore-ordained before the foundation of the world" to be enrolled in the highest "adoption," should fall into pleasures or fears, and be occupied in the repression of the passions. For I venture to assert, that as he is predestinated through what he shall do, and what he shall obtain, so also has he predestinated himself by reason of what he knew and whom he loved; not having the future indistinct, as the multitude live, conjecturing it, but having grasped by gnostic faith what is hidden from others. And through love, the future is for him already present. For he has believed, through prophecy and the advent, on God who lies not. And what he believes he possesses, and keeps hold of the promise. And He who hath promised is truth. And through the trustworthiness of Him who has promised, he has firmly laid hold of the end of the promise by knowledge. And he, who knows the sure comprehension of the future which there is in the circumstances, in which he is placed, by love goes to meet the future. So he, that is persuaded that he will obtain the things that are really good, will not pray to obtain what is here, but that he may always cling to the faith which hits the mark and succeeds. And besides, he will pray that as many as possible may become like him, to the glory of God, which is perfected through knowledge. For he who is made like the Saviour is also devoted to saving; performing unerringly the commandments as far as the human nature may admit of the image. And this is to worship God by deeds and knowledge of the true righteousness. The Lord will not wait for the voice of this man in prayer. "Ask," He says, "and I will do it; think, and I will give."

For, in fine, it is impossible that the immutable should assume firmness and consistency in the mutable. But the ruling faculty being in perpetual change, and therefore unstable, the force of habit is not maintained. For how can he who is perpetually changed by external occurrences mad accidents, ever possess habit and disposition, and in a word, grasp of scientific knowledge (episthmh)? Further, also, the philosophers regard the virtues as habits, dispositions, and sciences. And as knowledge (gnosis) is not born with men, but is acquired, and the acquiring of it in its elements demands application, and training, and progress; and then from incessant practice it passes into a habit; so, when perfected in the mystic habit, it abides, being infallible through love. For not only has he apprehended the first Cause, and the Cause produced by it, and is sure about them, possessing firmly firm and irrefragable and immoveable reasons; but also respecting what is good and what is evil, and respecting all production, and to speak comprehensively, respecting all about Which the Lord has spoken, he has learned, from the truth itself, the most exact truth from the foundation of the world to the end. Not preferring to the truth itself what appears plausible, or, according to Hellenic reasoning, necessary; but what has been spoken by the Lord he accepts as clear and evident, though concealed from others; and he has already received the knowledge of all things. And the oracles we possess give their utterances respecting what exists, as it is; and respecting what is future, as it shall be; and respecting what is past, as it was.

In scientific matters, as being alone possessed of scientific knowledge, he will hold the pre-eminence, and will discourse on the discussion respecting the good, ever intent on intellectual objects, tracing out his procedure in human affairs from the archetypes above; as navigators direct the ship according to the star; prepared to hold himself in readiness for every suitable action; accustomed to despise all difficulties and dangers when it is necessary to undergo them; never doing anything precipitate or incongruous either to himself or the common weal; fore-seeing; and inflexible by pleasures both of waking hours and of dreams. For, accustomed to spare living and frugality, he is moderate, active, mad grave; requiring few necessaries for life; occupying himself with nothing superfluous. But desiring not even these things as chief, but by reason of fellowship in life, as necessary for his sojourn in life, as far as necessary.

CHAPTER 10 -- THE GNOSTIC AVAILS HIMSELF OF THE HELP OF ALL HUMAN KNOWLEDGE.

For to him knowledge (gnosis) is the principal thing. Consequently, therefore, he applies to the subjects that are a training for knowledge, taking from each branch of study its contribution to the truth. Prosecuting, then, the proportion of harmonies in music; and in arithmetic noting the increasing and decreasing of numbers, and their relations to one another, and how the most of things fall under some proportion of numbers; studying geometry, which is abstract essence, he perceives a continuous distance, and an immutable essence which is different from these bodies. And by astronomy, again, raised from the earth in his mind, he is elevated along with heaven, and will revolve with its revolution; studying ever divine things, and their harmony with each other; from which Abraham starting, ascended to the knowledge of Him who created them. Further, the Gnostic will avail himself of dialectics, fixing on the distinction of genera into species, and will master the distinction of existences, till he come to what are primary and simple.

But the multitude are frightened at the Hellenic philosophy, as children are at masks, being afraid lest it lead them astray. But if the faith (for I cannot call it knowledge) which they possess be such as to be dissolved by plausible speech, let it be by all means dissolved, and let them confess that they will not retain the truth. For truth is immoveable; but false opinion dissolves. We choose, for instance, one purple by comparison with another purple. So that, if one confesses that he has not a heart that has been made right, he has not the table of the money-changers or the test of words. And how can he be any longer a money-changer, who is not able to prove and distinguish spurious coin, even offhand?

Now David cried, "The righteous shall not be shaken for ever;" neither, consequently, by deceptive speech nor by erring pleasure.

Whence he shall never be shaken from his own heritage. "He shall not be afraid of evil tidings; " consequently neither of unfounded calumny, nor of the false opinion around him. No more will he dread cunning words, who is capable of distinguishing them, or of answering rightly to questions asked. Such a bulwark are dialectics, that truth cannot be trampled under foot by the Sophists. "For it behoves those who praise in the holy name of the Lord," according to the prophet, "to rejoice in heart, seeking, the Lord. Seek then Him, and be strong. Seek His face continually in every way." "For, having spoken at sundry times and in divers manners," it is not in one way only that He is known.

It is, then, not by availing himself of these as virtues that our Gnostic will be deeply learned. But by using them as helps in distinguishing what is common and what is peculiar, he will admit the truth. For the cause of all error and false opinion, is inability to distinguish in what respect things are common, and in what respects they differ. For unless, in things that are distinct, one closely watch speech, he will inadvertently confound what is common and what is peculiar And where this takes place, he must of necessity fall into pathless tracts and error.

The distinction of names and things also in the Scriptures themselves produces great light in men's souls. For it is necessary to understand expressions which signify several things, and several expressions when they signify one thing. The result of which is accurate answering. But it is necessary to avoid the great futility which occupies itself in irrelevant matters; since the Gnostic avails himself of branches of learning as auxiliary preparatory exercises, in order to the accurate communication of the truth, as far as attainable and with as little distraction as possible, and for defence against reasonings that plot for the extinction of the truth. He will not then be deficient in what contributes to proficiency in the curriculum of studies and the Hellenic philosophy; but not principally, but necessarily, secondarily, and on account of circumstances. For what those labouring in heresies use wickedly, the Gnostic will use tightly.

Therefore the truth that appears in the Hellenic philosophy, being partial, the real truth, like the sun glancing on the colours both white and black, shows what like each of them is. So also it exposes all sophistical plausibility. Rightly, then, was it proclaimed also by the Greeks: "Truth the queen is the beginning of great virtue."

CHAPTER 11 -- THE MYSTICAL MEANINGS IN THE PROPORTIONS OF NUMBERS, GEOMETRICAL RATIOS, AND MUSIC.

As then in astronomy we have Abraham as an instance, so also in arithmetic we have the same Abraham. "For, hearing that Lot was taken captive, and having numbered his own servants, born in his house, 318 (tih)," he defeats a very great number of the enemy.

They say, then, that the character representing 300 is, as to shape, the type of the Lord's sign, and that the Iota and the Eta indicate the Saviour's name; that it was indicated, accordingly, that Abraham's domestics were in salvation, who having fled to the Sign and the Name became lords of the

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captives, and of the very many unbelieving nations that followed them.

Now the number 300 is, 3 by 100. Ten is allowed to be the perfect number. And 8 is the first cube, which is equality in all the dimensions -- length, breadth; depth. "The days of men shall be," it is said, "120 (rk) years." And the sum is made up of the numbers from r to 15 added together. And the moon at 15 days is full.

On another principle, 120 is a triangular number, and consists of the equality of the number 64, [which consists of eight of the odd numbers beginning with unity], the addition of which (1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15) in succession generate squares; and of the inequality of the number 56, consisting of seven of the even numbers beginning with 2 (2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14), which produce the numbers that are not squares

Again, according to another way of indicating. the number 120 consists of four numbers -- of one triangle, 15; of another, a square, 25; of a third, a pentagon, 35; and of a fourth, a hexagon, 45. The 5 is taken according to the same ratio in each mode. For in triangular numbers, from the unity 5 comes 15; and in squares, 25; and of those in succession, proportionally. Now 25, which is the number 5 from unity, is said to be the symbol of the Levitical tribe. And the number 35 depends also on the arithmetic, geometric, and harmonic scale of doubles -- 6, 8, 9, 12; the addition of which makes 35. In these days, the Jews say that seven months' children are formed. And the number 45 depends on the scale of triples -- 6, 9, 12, 18 -- the addition of which makes 45; and similarly, in these days they say that nine months' children are formed.

Such, then, is the style of the example in arithmetic. And let the testimony of geometry be the tabernacle that was constructed, and the ark that was fashioned, -- constructed in most regular proportions, and through divine ideas, by the gift of understanding, which leads us from things of sense to intellectual objects, or rather from these to holy things, and to the holy of holies. For the squares of wood indicate that the square form, producing fight angles, pervades all, and points out security. And the length of the structure was three hundred cubits, and the breadth fifty, and the height thirty; and above, the ark ends in a cubit, narrowing to a cubit from the broad base like a pyramid, the symbol of those who are purified and tested by fire. And this geometrical proportion has a place, for the transport of those holy abodes, whose differences are indicated by the differences of the numbers set down below.

And the numbers introduced are sixfold, as three hundred is six times fifty; and tenfold, as three hundred is ten times thirty; and containing one and two-thirds (epidimoiroi), for fifty is one and two-thirds of thirty.

Now there are some who say that three hundred cubits are the symbol of the Lord's sign; and fifty, of hope and of the remission given at Pentecost; and thirty, or as in some, twelve, they say points out the preaching [of the Gospel]; because the LOrd preached in His thirtieth year; and the apostles were twelve. And the structure's terminating in a cubit is the symbol of the advancement of the righteous to oneness and to "the unity of the faith."

And the table which was in the temple was six cubits; and its four feet were about a cubit and a half.

They add, then, the twelve cubits, agreeably to the revolution of the twelve months, in the annual circle, during which the earth produces and matures all things; adapting itself to the four seasons. And the table, in my opinion, exhibits the image of the earth, supported as it is on four feet, summer, autumn, spring, winter, by which the year travels. Wherefore also it is said that the table has "wavy chains;" either because the universe revolves in the circuits of the times, or perhaps it indicated the earth surrounded with ocean's tide.

Further, as an example of music, let us adduce David, playing at once and prophesying, melodiously praising God. Now the Enarmonic s suits best the Dorian harmony, and the Diatonic the Phrygian, as Aristoxenus says. The harmony, therefore, of the Barbarian psaltery, which exhibited gravity of strain, being the most ancient, most certainly became a model for Terpander, for the Dorian harmony, who sings the praise of Zeus thus: "O Zeus, of all things the Beginning, Rule, of, all; O Zeus, I send thee this beginning of hymns."

The lyre, according to its primary signification, may by the psalmist be used figuratively for the Lord; according to its secondary, for those who continually strike the chords of their souls under the direction of the Choir-master, the Lord. And if the people saved be called the lyre, it will be understood to be in consequence of their giving glory musically, through the inspiration of the Word and the knowledge of God, being struck by the Word so as to produce faith. You may take music in another way, as the ecclesiastical symphony at once of the law and the prophets, and the apostles along with the Gospel, and the harmony which obtained in each prophet, in the transitions of the persons.

But, as seems, the most of those who are inscribed with the Name, like the companions of Ulysses, handle the word unskilfully, passing by not the Sirens, but the rhythm and the melody, stopping their ears with ignorance; since they know that, after lending their ears to Hellenic studies, they will never subsequently be able to retrace their steps.

But he who culls what is useful for the advantage of the catechumens, and especially when they are Greeks (and the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof), must not abstain from erudition, like irrational animals; but he must collect as many aids as possible for his hearers. But he must by no means linger over these studies, except solely for the advantage accruing from them; so that, on grasping and obtaining this, he may be able to take his departure home to the true philosophy, which is a strong cable for the soul, providing security from everything.

Music is then to be handled for the sake of the embellishment and composure of manners. For instance, at a banquet we pledge each other while the music is playing; soothing by song the eagerness of our desires, and glorifying God for the copious gift of human enjoyments, for His perpetual supply of the food necessary for the growth of the body and of the soul. But we must reject superfluous music, which enervates men's souls, and leads to variety, -- now mournful, and then licentious and voluptuous, and then frenzied and frantic.

The same holds also of astronomy. For treating of the description of the celestial objects, about the form of the universe, and the revolution of the heavens, and the motion of the stars, leading the soul nearer to the creative power, it teaches to quickness in perceiving the seasons of the year, the changes of the air, and the appearance of the stars; since also navigation and husbandry derive from this much benefit, as architecture and building from geometry. This branch of learning, too, makes the soul in the highest degree observant, capable of perceiving the true and detecting the false, of discovering correspondences and proportions, so as to hunt out for similarity in things dissimilar; and conducts us to the discovery of length without breadth, and superficial extent without thickness, and an indivisible point, and transports to intellectual objects from those of sense.

The studies of philosophy, therefore, and philosophy itself, are aids in treating of the truth. For instance, the cloak was once a fleece; then it was shorn, and became warp and woof; and then it was woven. Accordingly the soul must be prepared and variously exercised, if it would become in the highest degree good. For there is the scientific and the practical element in truth; and the latter flows from the speculative; and there is need of great practice, and exercise, and experience.

But in speculation, one element relates to one's neighbours and another to one's self. Wherefore also training ought to be so moulded as to be adapted to both. He, then, who has acquired a competent acquaintance with the subjects which embrace the principles which conduce to scientific knowledge (gnosis), may stop and remain for the future in quiet, directing his actions in l conformity with his theory.

But for the benefit of one's neighbours, in the case of those who have proclivities for writing, and those who set themselves to deliver the word, both is other culture beneficial, and the reading of the Scriptures of the Lord is necessary, in order to the demonstration of what is said, and especially if those who hear are accessions from Hellenic culture.

Such David describes the Church: "The queen stood on thy right hand, enveloped in a golden robe, variegated; " and with Hellenic and superabundant accomplishments, "clothed variegated with gold-fringed garments." And the Truth says by the Lord, "For who had known Thy counsel, hadst Thou not given wisdom, and sent Thy Holy Spirit from the Highest; and so the ways of those on earth were corrected, and men learned Thy decrees, and were saved by wisdom?" For the Gnostic knows things ancient by the Scripture, and conjectures things future: he understands the involutions of words and the solutions of enigmas. He knows beforehand signs and wonders, and the issues of seasons and periods, as we have said already. Seest thou the fountain of instructions that takes its rise from wisdom? But to those who object, What use is there in knowing the causes of the manner of the sun's motion, for example, and the rest of the heavenly bodies, or in having studied the theorems of geometry or logic, and each of the other branches of study? -- for these are of no service in the discharge of duties, and the Hellenic philosophy is human wisdom, for it is incapable of teachings the truth -- the following remarks are to be made. First, that they stumble in reference to the highest of things -- namely, the mind's free choice. "For they," it is said, "who keep holy holy things, shall be made holy; and those who have been taught will find an answer." For the Gnostic alone will do holily, in accordance with reason all that has to be done, as he hath learned through the Lord's teaching, received through men.

Again, on the other hand, we may hear: "For in His hand, that is, in His power and wisdom, are both we and our words, and all wisdom and skill in works; for God loves nothing but the man that dwells with wisdom." And again, they have not read what is said by Solomon; for, treating of the construction of the temple, he says expressly, "And it was Wisdom as artificer that framed it; and Thy providence, O Father, governs throughout." And how irrational, to regard philosophy as inferior to architecture and shipbuilding! And the Lord fed the multitude of those that reclined on the grass opposite to Tiberias with the two fishes and the five barley loaves, indicating the preparatory training of the Greeks and Jews previous to the divine grain, which is the food cultivated by the law. For barley is sooner ripe for the harvest than wheat; and the fishes signified the Hellenic philosophy that was produced and moved in the midst of the Gentile billow, given, as they were, for copious food to those lying on the ground, increasing no more, like the fragments of the loaves, but having partaken of the Lord's blessing, and breathed into them the resurrection of Godhead through the power of the Word. But if you are curious, understand one of the fishes to mean the curriculum of study, and the other the philosophy which supervenes. The gatherings' point out the word of the Lord.

"And the choir of mute fishes rushed to it," says the Tragic Muse somewhere.

"I must decrease," said the prophet John, and the Word of the Lord alone, in which the law terminates, "increase." Understand now for me the mystery of the truth, granting pardon if I shrink from advancing further in the treatment of it, by announcing this alone: "All things were made by Him, and without Him was not even one thing." Certainly He is called "the chief corner stone; in whom the whole building, fitly joined together, groweth into an holy temple of God," according to the divine apostle.

I pass over in silence at present the parable which says in the Gospel: "The kingdom of heaven is like a man who cast a net into the sea and out of the multitude of the fishes caught, makes a selection of the better ones."

And now the wisdom which we possess announces the four virtues in such a way as to show that the sources of them were communicated by the Hebrews to the Greeks. This may be learned from the following: "And if one loves justice, its toils are virtues. For temperance and prudence teach justice and fortitude; and than these there is nothing more useful in life to men."

Above all, this ought to be known, that by nature we are adapted for virtue; not so as to be possessed of it from our birth, but so as to be adapted for acquiring it.

CHAPTER 12 -- HUMAN NATURE POSSESSES AN ADAPTATION FOR PERFECTION; THE GNOSTIC ALONE ATTAINS IT.

By which consideration s is solved the question propounded to us by the heretics, Whether Adam was created perfect or imperfect? Well, if imperfect, how could the work of a perfect God -- above all, that work being man -- be imperfect? And if perfect, how did he transgress the commandments? For they shall hear from us that he was not perfect in his creation, but adapted to the reception of virtue. For it is of great importance in regard to virtue to be made fit for its attainment. And it is intended that we should be saved by ourselves. This, then, is the nature of the soul, to move of itself. Then, as we are rational, and philosophy being rational, we have some affinity with it. Now an aptitude is a movement towards virtue, not virtue itself. All, then, as I said, are naturally constituted for the acquisition of virtue.

But one man applies less, one more, to learning and training. Wherefore also some have been competent to attain to perfect virtue, and others have attained to a kind of it. And some, on the other hand, through negligence, although in other respects of good dispositions, have turned to the opposite. Now much more is that knowledge which excels all branches of culture in greatness and in truth, most difficult to acquire, and is attained with much toil. "But, as seems, they know not the mysteries of God. For God created man for immortality, and made him an image of His own nature;" according to which nature of Him who knows all, he who is a Gnostic, and righteous, and holy with prudence, hastes to reach the measure of perfect manhood. For not only are actions and thoughts, but words also, pure in the case of the Gnostic: "Thou hast proved mine heart; Thou hast visited me by night," it is said; "Thou hast subjected me to the fire, and unrighteousness was not found in me: so that my mouth shall not speak the works of men."

And why do I say the works of men? He recognises sin itself, which is not brought forward in order to repentance (for this is common to all believers); but what sin is. Nor does he condemn this or that sin, but simply all sin; nor is it what one has done ill that he brings up, but what ought not to be done. Whence also repentance is twofold: that which is common, on account of having transgressed; and that which, from learning the nature of sin, persuades, in the first instance, to keep from sinning, the result of which is not sinning.

Let them not then say, that he who does wrong and sins transgresses through the agency of demons; for then he would be guiltless. But by choosing the same things as demons, by sinning; being unstable, and light, and fickle in his desires, like a demon, he becomes a demoniac man. Now he who is bad, having become, through evil, sinful by nature, becomes depraved, having what he has chosen; and being sinful, sins also in his actions. And again, the good man does right.

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Wherefore we call not only the virtues, but also right actions, good. And of things that are 503. good we know that some are desirable for themselves, as knowledge; for we hunt for nothing from it when we have it, but only [seek] that it be with us, and that we be in uninterrupted contemplation, and strive to reach it for its own sake. But other things are desirable for other considerations, such as faith, for escape from punishment, and the advantage arising from reward, which accrue from it. For, in the case of many, fear is the cause of their not sinning; and the promise is the means of pursuing obedience, by which comes salvation. Knowledge, then, desirable as it is for its own sake, is the most perfect good; and consequently the things which follow by means of it are good. And punishment is the cause of correction to him who is punished; and to those who are able to see before them he becomes an example, to prevent them failing into the like.

Let us then receive knowledge, not desiring its results, but embracing itself for the sake of knowing. For the first advantage is the habit of knowledge (gnpstikh), which furnishes harmless pleasures and exultation both for the present and the future. And exultation is said to be gladness, being a reflection of the virtue which is according to truth, through a kind of exhilaration and relaxation of soul. And the acts which partake of knowledge are good and fair actions. For abundance in the actions that are according to virtue, is the true riches, and destitution in decorous desires is poverty. For the use and enjoyment of necessaries are not injurious in quality, but in quantity, when in excess. Wherefore the Gnostic circumscribes his desires in reference both to possession and to enjoyment, not exceeding the limit of necessity. Therefore, regarding life in this world as necessary for the increase of science (episthmh) and the acquisition of knowledge (gnpsid), he will value highest, not living, but living well. He will therefore prefer neither children, nor marriage, nor parents, to love for God, and righteousness in life. To such an one, his wife, after conception, is as a sister, and is judged as if of the same father; then only recollecting her husband, when she looks on the children; as being destined to become a sister in reality after putting off the flesh, which separates and limits the knowledge of those who are spiritual by the peculiar characteristics of the sexes. For souls, themselves by themselves, are equal. Souls are neither male nor female, when they no longer marry nor are given in marriage. And is not woman translated into man, when she is become equally unfeminine, and manly, and perfect? Such, then, was the laughter of Sarah when she received the good news of the birth of a son; not, in my opinion, that she disbelieved the angel, but that she felt ashamed of the intercourse by means of which she was destined to become the mother of a son.

And did not Abraham, when he was in danger on account of Sarah's beauty, with the king of Egypt, properly call her sister, being of the same father, but not of the same mother?

To those, then, who have repented and not firmly believed, God grants their requests through their supplications. But to those who live sinlessly and gnostically, He gives, when they have but merely entertained the thought. For example, to Anna, on her merely conceiving the thought, conception was vouchsafed of the child Samuel. "Ask," says the Scripture, "and I will do. Think, and I will give." For we have heard that God knows the heart, not judging the soul from [external] movement, as we men; nor yet from the event, For it is ridiculous to think so. Nor was it as the architect praises the work when accomplished that God, on making the light and then seeing it, called it good. But He, knowing before He made it what it would be, praised that [which was made, He having potentially made good, from the first by His purpose that had no beginning, what was destined to be good actually. Now that which has future He already said beforehand was good, the phrase concealing the truth by hyperbaton. Therefore the Gnostic prays in thought during every hour, being by love allied to God. And first he will ask forgiveness of sins; and after, that he may sin no more; and further, the power of well-doing and of comprehending the whole creation and administration by the Lord, that, becoming pure in heart through the knowledge, which is by the Son of God, he may be initiated into the beatific vision face to face, having heard the Scripture which says, "Fasting with prayer is a good thing."

Now fastings signify abstinence from all evils whatsoever, both in action and in word, and in thought itself. As appears, then, righteousness is quadrangular; on all sides equal and like in word, in deed, in abstinence from evils, in beneficence, in gnostic perfection; nowhere, and in no respect halting, so that he does not appear unjust and unequal. As one, then, is righteous, so certainly is he a believer. But as he is a believer, he is not yet also righteous -- I mean ac cording to the righteousness of progress and perfection, according to which the Gnostic is called righteous.

For instance, on Abraham becoming a believer, it was reckoned to him for righteousness, he having advanced to the greater and more perfect degree of faith. For he who merely abstains from evil conduct is not just, unless he also attain besides beneficence and knowledge; and for this reason some things are to be abstained from, others are to be done. "By the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left," the apostle says, the righteous man is sent on to the inheritance above, -- by some [arms] defended, by others putting forth his might. For the defence of his panoply alone, and abstinence from sins, are not sufficient for perfection, unless he assume in addition the work of righteousness -- activity in doing good.

Then our dexterous man and Gnostic is revealed in righteousness already even here, as Moses, glorified in the face of the soul, as we have formerly said, the body bears the stamp of the righteous soul. For as the mordant of the dyeing process, remaining in the wool, produces in it a certain quality and diversity from other wool; so also in the soul the pain is gone, but the good remains; and the sweet is left, but the base is wiped away. For these are two qualities characteristic of each soul, by which is known that which is glorified, and that which is condemned.

And as in the case of Moses, from his righteous conduct, and from his uninterrupted intercourse with God, who spoke to him, a kind of glorified hue settled on his face; so also a divine power of goodness clinging to the righteous soul in contemplation and in prophecy, and in the exercise of the function of governing, impresses on it something, as it were, of intellectual radiance, like the solar ray, as a visible sign of righteousness, uniting the soul with light, through unbroken love, which is God-bearing and God-borne. Thence assimilation to God the Saviour arises to the Gnostic, as far as permitted to human nature, he being made perfect "as the Father who is in heaven."

It is He Himself who says, "Little children, a little while I am still with you." Since also God Himself remains blessed and immortal, neither molested nor molesting another; not in consequence of being by nature good, but in proving Himself actually, both Father and good, continues immutably in the self-same goodness. For what is the use of good that does not act and do good?

CHAPTER 13 -- DEGREES OF GLORY IN HEAVEN CORRESPONDING WITH THE DIGNITIES OF THE CHURCH BELOW.

He, then, who has first moderated his passions and trained himself for impassibility, and developed to the beneficence of gnostic perfection, is here equal to the angels. Luminous already, and like the sun shining in the exercise of beneficence, he speeds by righteous knowledge through the love of God to the sacred abode, like as the apostles. Not that they became apostles through being chosen for some distinguished peculiarity of nature, since also Judas was chosen along with them. But they were capable of becoming apostles on being chosen by Him who foresees even ultimate issues. Matthias, accordingly, who was not chosen along with them, on showing himself worthy of becoming an apostle, is substituted for Judas.

Those, then, also now, who have exercised themselves in the Lord's commandments, and lived perfectly and gnostically according to the Gospel, may be enrolled in the chosen body of the apostles. Such an one is in reality a presbyter of the Church, and a true minister (deacon) of the will of God, if he do and teach what is the Lord's; not as being ordained by men, nor regarded righteous because a presbyter, but enrolled in the presbyterate s because righteous. And although here upon earth he be not honoured with the chief seat, he will sit down on the four-and-twenty thrones, judging the people, as John says in the Apocalypse.

For, in truth, the covenant of salvation, reaching down to us from the foundation of the world, through different generations and times, is one, though conceived as different in respect of gift. For it follows that there is one unchangeable gift of salvation given by one God, through one Lord, benefiting in many ways. For which cause the middle wall which separated the Greek from the Jew is taken away, in order that there might be a peculiar people. And so both meet in the one unity of faith; and the selection out of both is one. And the chosen of the chosen are those who by reason of perfect knowledge are called [as the best] from the Church itself, and honoured with the most august glory -- the judges and rulers -- four-and-twenty (the grace being doubled)equally from Jews and Greeks. Since, according to my opinion, the grades here in the Church, of bishops, presbyters, deacons, are imitations of the angelic glory, and of that economy which, the Scriptures say, awaits those who, following the footsteps of the apostles, have lived in perfection of righteousness according to the Gospel. For these taken up in the clouds, the apostle writes, will first minister [as deacons], then be classed in the presbyterate, by promotion in glory (for glory differs from glory) till they grow into "a perfect man."

CHAPTER 14 -- DEGREES OF GLORY IN HEAVEN.

Such, according to David, "rest in the holy hill of God," in the Church far on high, in which are gathered the philosophers of God, "who are Israelites indeed, who are pure in heart, in whom there is no guile; " who do not remain in the seventh seat, the place of rest, but are promoted, through the active beneficence of the divine likeness, to the heritage of beneficence which is the eighth grade; devoting themselves to the pure vision of insatiable contemplation.

"And other sheep there are also," saith the Lord, "which are not of this fold " -- deemed worthy of another fold and mansion, in proportion to their faith. "But My sheep hear My voice," understanding gnostically the commandments. And this is to be taken in a magnanimous and worthy acceptation, along with also the recompense and accompaniment of works. So that when we hear, "Thy faith hath saved thee, we do not understand Him to say absolutely that those who have believed in any way whatever shall be saved, unless also works follow. But it was to the Jews alone that He spoke this utterance, who kept the law and lived blamelessly, who wanted only faith in the Lord. No one, then, can be a believer and at the same time be licentious; but though he quit the flesh, he must put off the passions, so as to be capable of reaching his own mansion.

Now to know is more than to believe, as to be dignified with the highest honour after being saved is a greater thing than being saved. Accordingly the believer, through great discipline, divesting himself of the passions, passes to the mansion which is better than the former one, viz., to the greatest torment, taking with him the characteristic of repentance from the sins he has committed after baptism. He is tortured then still more -- not yet or not quite attaining what he sees others to have acquired. Besides, he is also ashamed of his transgressions. The greatest torments, indeed, are assigned to the believer. For God's righteousness is good, and His goodness is righteous. And though the punishments cease in the course of the completion of the expiation and purification of each one, yet those have very great and permanent grief who are found worthy of the other fold, on account of not being along with those that have been glorified through righteousness.

For instance, Solomon, calling the Gnostic, wise, speaks thus of those who admire the dignity of his mansion: "For they shall see the end of the wise, and to what a degree the Lord has established him." And of his glory they will say, "This was he whom we once held up to derision, and made a byword of reproach; fools that we were! We thought his life madness, and his end dishonourable. How is he reckoned among the sons of God, and his inheritance among the saints?"

Not only then the believer, but even the heathen, is judged most righteously. For since God knew in virtue of His prescience that he would not believe, He nevertheless, in order that he might receive his own perfection gave him philosophy, but gave it him previous to faith. And He gave the sun, and the moon, and the stars to be worshipped; "which God," the Law says, made for the nations, that they might not become altogether atheistical, and so utterly perish. But they, also in the instance of this commandment, having become devoid of sense, and addicting themselves to graven images, are judged unless they repent; some of them because, though able, they would not believe God; and others because, though willing, they did not take the necessary pains to become believers. There were also, however, those who, from the worship of the heavenly bodies, did not return to the Maker of them. For this was the sway given to the nations to rise up to God, by means of the worship of the heavenly bodies. But those who would not abide by those heavenly bodies assigned to them, but fell away from them to stocks and stones, "were counted," it is said, "as chaff-dust and as a drop from a jar," beyond salvation, cast away from the body.

As, then, to be simply saved is the result of medium actions, but to be saved tightly and becomingly is right action, so also all action of the Gnostic may be called tight action; that of the simple believer, intermediate action, not yet perfected according to reason, not yet made right according to knowledge; but that of every heathen again is sinful. For it is not simply doing well, but doing actions with a certain aim, and acting according to reason, that the Scriptures exhibit as requisite.

As, then, lyres ought not to be touched by those who are destitute of skill in playing the lyre, nor flutes by those who are unskilled in flute-playing, neither are those to put their hand to affairs who have not knowledge, and know not how to use them in the whole of life.

The struggle for freedom, then, is waged not alone by the athletes of battles in wars, but also in banquets, and in bed, and in the tribunals, by those who are anointed by the word, who are ashamed to become the captives of pleasures.

"I would never part with virtue for unrighteous gain." But plainly, unrighteous gain is pleasure and pain, toil and fear; and, to speak comprehensively, the passions of the soul, the present of which is delightful, the future vexatious. "For what is the profit," it is said, "if you gain the world and lose the soul?" It is clear, then, that those who do not perform good actions, do not know what is for their own advantage. And if so, neither are they capable of praying aright, so as to receive from God good things; nor, should they receive them, will they be sensible of the boon; nor, should they enjoy them, will

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they enjoy worthily what they know not; both from their want of knowledge how to use the good things given them, and from their excessive stupidity, being ignorant of the way to avail themselves of the divine gifts.

Now stupidity is the cause of ignorance. And it appears to me that it is the vaunt of a boastful soul, though of one with a good conscience, to exclaim against what happens through circumstances: "Therefore let them do what they may;

For it shall be well with me; and Right Shall be my ally, and I shall not be caught doing evil."

But such a good conscience preserves sanctity towards God and justice towards men; keeping the soul pure with grave thoughts, and pure. words, and just deeds. By thus receiving the Lord's power, the soul studies to be God; regarding nothing bad but ignorance, and action contrary to fight reason. And giving thanks always for all things to God, by righteous heating and divine reading, by true investigation, by holy oblation, by blessed prayer; lauding, hymning, blessing, praising, such a soul is never at any time separated from God. Rightly then is it said, "And they who trust in Him shall underStand the truth, and those faithful in love shall abide by Him." You see what statements Wisdom makes about the Gnostics.

Conformably, therefore, there are various abodes, according to the worth of those who have believed. To the point Solomon says, "For there shall be given to him the choice grace of faith, and a more pleasant lot in the temple of the Lord." For the comparative shows that there are lower parts in the temple of God, which is the whole Church. And the superlative remains to be conceived, where the Lord is. These chosen abodes, which are three, are indicated by the numbers in the Gospel -- the thirty, the sixty, the hundred. And the perfect inheritance belongs to those who attain to "a perfect man," according to the image of the Lord. And the likeness is not, as some imagine, that of the human form; for this consideration is impious. Nor is the likeness to the first cause that which consists in virtue. For this utterance is also impious, being that of those who have imagined that virtue in man and in the sovereign God is the same. "Thou hast supposed iniquity,' He says, " [in imagining] that I will be like to thee." But "it is enough for the disciple to become as the Master," saith the Master. To the likeness of God, then, he that is introduced into adoption and the friendship of God, to the just inheritance of the lords and gods is brought; if he be perfected, according to the Gospel, as the Lord Himself taught.

CHAPTER 15 -- DIFFERENT DEGREES OF KNOWLEDGE.

The Gnostic, then, is impressed with the closest likeness, that is, with the mind of the Master; which He being possessed of, commanded and recommended to His disciples and to the prudent. Comprehending this, as He who taught wished, and receiving it in its grand sense, he teaches worthily "on the housetops" those capable of being built to a lofty height; and begins the doing of what is spoken, in accordance with the example of life. For He enjoined what is possible. And, in truth, the kingly man and Christian ought to be ruler and leader. For we are commanded to be lords over not only the wild beasts without us, but also over the wild passions within ourselves.

Through the knowledge, then, as appears, of a bad and good life is the Gnostic saved, understanding and executing "more than the scribes and Pharisees." "Exert thyself, and prosper, and reign" writes David, "because of truth, and meekness, and righteousness; and thy right hand shall guide thee marvellously," that is, the Lord. "Who then is the wise? and he shall understand these things. Prudent? and he shall know them. For the ways of the Lord are right," says the prophet, showing that the Gnostic alone is able to understand and explain the things spoken by the Spirit obscurely. "And he who understands in that time shall hold his peace," says the Scripture, plainly in the way of declaring them to the unworthy. For the Lord says, "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear," declaring that hearing and understanding belong not to all. To the point David writes: "Dark water is in the clouds of the skies. At the gleam before Him the clouds passed, hail and coals of fire;" showing that the holy words are hidden. He intimates that transparent and resplendent to the Gnostics, like the innocuous hail, they are sent down from God; but that they are dark to the multitude, like extinguished coals out of the fire, which, unless kindled and set on fire, will not give forth fire or light. "The Lord, therefore," it is said, "gives me the tongue of instruction, so as to know in season when it is requisite to speak a word;" not in the way of testimony alone, but also in the way of question and answer. "And the instruction of the Lord opens my mouth." It is the prerogative of the Gnostic, then, to know how to make use of speech, and when, and how, and to whom. And already the apostle, by saying, "After the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ," makes the asseveration that the Hellenic teaching is elementary, and that of Christ perfect, as we have already intimated before.

"Now the wild olive is inserted into the fatness of the olive," and is indeed of the same species as the cultivated olives. For the graft uses as soil the tree in which it is engrafted. Now all the plants sprouted forth simultaneously in consequence of the divine order. Wherefore also, though the wild olive be wild, it crowns the Olympic victors. And the elm teaches the vine to be fruitful, by leading it up to a height. Now we see that wild trees attract more nutriment, because they cannot ripen. The wild trees, therefore, have less power of secretion than those that are cultivated. And the cause of their wildness is the want of the power of secretion. The engrafted olive accordingly receives more nutriment from its growing in the wild one; and it gets accustomed, as it were, to secrete the nutriment, becoming thus assimilated to the fatness of the cultivated tree.

So also the philosopher, resembling the wild olive, in having much that is undigested, on account of his devotion to the search, his propensity to follow, and his eagerness to seize the fatness of the truth; if he get besides the divine power, through faith, by being transplanted into the good and mild knowledge, like the wild olive, engrafted in the truly fair and merciful Word, he both assimilates the nutriment that is supplied, and becomes a fair and good olive tree. For engrafting makes worthless shoots noble, and compels the barren to be fruitful by the art of culture and by gnostic skill.

Different modes of engrafting illustrative of different kinds of conversion.

They say that engrafting is effected in four modes: one, that in which the graft must be fitted in between the wood and the bark; resembling the way in which we instruct plain people belonging to the Gentiles, who receive the word superficially. Another is, when the wood is cleft, and there is inserted in it the cultivated branch. And this applies to the case of those who have studied philosophy; for on cutting through their dogmas, the acknowledgment of the truth is produced in them. So also in the case of the Jews, by opening up the Old Testament, the new and noble plant of the olive is inserted. The third mode of engrafting applies to rustics and heretics, who are brought by force to the truth. For after smoothing off both suckers with a sharp pruning-hook, till the pith is laid bare, but not wounded, they are bound together. And the fourth is that form of engrafting called budding. For a bud (eye) is cut out of a trunk of a good sort, a circle being drawn round in the bark along with it, of the size of the palm. Then the trunk is stripped, to suit the eye, over an equal circumference. And so the graft is inserted, tied round, and daubed with clay, the bud being kept uninjured and unstained. This is the style of gnostic teaching, which is capable of looking into things themselves. This mode is, in truth, of most service in the case of cultivated trees. And "the engrafting into the good olive" mentioned by the apostle, may be [engrafting into] Christ Himself; the uncultivated and unbelieving nature being transplanted into Christ -- that is, in the case of those who believe in Christ. But it is better [to understand it] of the engrafting of each one's faith in the soul itself. For also the Holy Spirit is thus somehow transplanted by distribution, according to the circumscribed capacity of each one, but without being circumscribed.

Knowledge and love.

Now, discoursing on knowledge, Solomon speaks thus: "For wisdom is resplendent and fadeless, and is easily beheld by those who love her. She is beforehand in making herself known to those who desire her. He that rises early for her shall not toil wearily. For to think about her is the perfection of good sense. And he that keeps vigils for her shall quickly be relieved of anxiety. For she goes about, herself seeking those worthy of her (for knowledge belongs not to all); and in all ways she benignly shows herself to them." Now the paths are the conduct of life, and the variety that exists in the covenants. Presently he adds: "And in every thought she meets them," being variously contemplated, that is, by all discipline. Then he subjoins, adducing love, which perfects by syllogistic reasoning and true propositions, drawing thus a most convincing and true inference, "For the beginning of her is the truest desire of instruction," that is, of knowledge; "prudence is the love of instruction, and love is the keeping of its laws; and attention to its laws is the confirmation of immortality; and immortality causes nearness to God. The desire of wisdom leads, then, to the kingdom."

For he teaches, as I think, that true instruction is desire for knowledge; and the practical exercise of instruction produces love of knowledge. And love is the keeping of the commandments which lead to knowledge. And the keeping of them is the establishment of the commandments, from which immortality results. "And immortality brings us near to God."

True knowledge found in the teaching of Christ alone.

If, then, the love of knowledge produces immortality, and leads the kingly man near to God the King, knowledge ought to be sought till it is found. Now seeking is an effort at grasping, and finds the subject by means of certain signs. And discovery is the end and cessation of inquiry, which has now its object in its gasp. And this is knowledge. And this discovery, properly so called, is knowledge, which is the apprehension of the object of search. And they say that a proof is either the antecedent, or the coincident, or the consequent. The discovery, then, of what is sought respecting God, is the teaching through the Son; and the proof of our Saviour being the very Son of God is the prophecies which preceded His coming, announcing Him; and the testimonies regarding Him which attended His birth in the world; in addition, His powers proclaimed and openly shown after His ascension.

The proof of the truth being with us, is the fact of the Son of God Himself having taught us. For if in every inquiry these universals are found, a person and a subject, that which is truly the truth is shown to be in our hands alone. For the Son of God is the person of the truth which is exhibited; and the subject is the power of faith, which prevails over the opposition of every one whatever, and the assault of the whole world.

But since this is confessedly established by eternal facts and reasons, and each one who thinks that there is no Providence has already been seen to deserve punishment and not contradiction, and is truly an atheist, it is our aim to discover what doing, and in what manner living, we shall reach the knowledge of the sovereign God, and how, honouring the Divinity, we may become authors of our own salvation. Knowing and learning, not from the Sophists, but from God Himself, what is well-pleasing to Him, we endeavour to do what is just and holy. Now it is well-pleasing to Him that we should be saved; and salvation is effected through both well-doing and knowledge, of both of which the Lord is the teacher.

If, then, according to Plato, it is only possible to learn the truth either from God or from the progeny of God, with reason we, selecting testimonies from the divine oracles, boast of learning the truth by the Son of God, prophesied at first, and then explained.

Philosophy and heresies, aids in discovering the truth.

But the things which co-operate in the discovery of truth are not to be rejected. Philosophy, accordingly, which proclaims a Providence, and the recompense of a life of felicity, and the punishment, on the other hand, of a life of misery, teaches theology comprehensively; but it does not preserve accuracy and particular points; for neither respecting the Son of God, nor respecting the economy of Providence, does it treat similarly with us; for it did not know the worship of God.

Wherefore also the heresies of the Barbarian philosophy, although they speak of one God, though they sing the praises of Christ, speak without accuracy, not in accordance with truth; for they discover another God, and receive Christ not as the prophecies deliver. But their false dogmas, while they oppose the conduct that is according to the truth, are against us. For instance, Paul circumcised Timothy because of the Jews who believed, in order that those who had received their training from the law might not revolt from the faith through his breaking such points of the law as were understood more cam ally, knowing right well that circumcision does not justify; for he professed that "all things were for all" by conformity, preserving those of the dogmas that were essential, "that he might gain all." And Daniel, under the king of the Persians, wore "the chain," though he despised not the afflictions of the people.

The liars, then, in reality are not those who for the sake of the scheme of salvation conform, nor those who err in minute points, but those who are wrong in essentials, and reject the Lord and as far as in them lies deprive the Lord of the true teaching; who do not quote or deliver the Scriptures in a manner worthy of God and of the Lord; for the deposit rendered to God, according to the teaching of the Lord by His apostles, is the understanding and the practice of the godly tradition. "And what ye hear in the ear " -- that is, in a hidden manner, and in a mystery (for such things are figuratively said to be spoken in the ear) -- "proclaim," He says, "on the housetops," understanding them sublimely, and delivering them in a lofty strain, and according to the canon of the truth explaining the Scriptures; for neither prophecy nor the Saviour Himself announced the divine mysteries simply so as to be easily apprehended by all and sundry, but express them in parables. The apostles accordingly say of the Lord, that "He spake all things in parables, and without a parable spake He nothing unto them;" and if "all things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made that was made," consequently also prophecy and the law were by Him, and were spoken by Him in parables. "But all things are right," says the Scripture, "before those who understand," that is, those who receive and observe, according to the ecclesiastical rule, the exposition of the Scriptures explained by Him; and the ecclesiastical rule is the concord and harmony of the law and the prophets in the covenant delivered at the coming of the Lord. Knowledge is then followed by practical wisdom, and practical wisdom by self-control: for it may be said that practical wisdom is divine knowledge, and exists in those who are deified; but that self-control is mortal, and subsists in those who philosophize, and are not yet wise. But if virtue is divine, so is also the knowledge of it; while self-control is a sort of imperfect wisdom which aspires after

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wisdom, and exerts itself laboriously, and is not contemplative. As certainly righteousness, being human, is, as being a common thing, subordinate to holiness, which subsists through the divine righteousness; for the righteousness of the perfect man does not rest on civil contracts, or on the prohibition of law, but flows from his own spontaneous action and his love to God.

Reasons for the meaning of Scripture being veiled.

For many reasons, then, the Scriptures hide the sense. First, that we may become inquisitive, and be ever on the watch for the discovery of the words of salvation. Then it was not suitable for all to understand, so that they might not receive harm in consequence of taking in another sense the things declared for salvation by the Holy Spirit. Wherefore the holy mysteries of the prophecies are veiled in the parables -- preserved for chosen men, selected to knowledge in consequence of their faith; for the style of the Scriptures is parabolic. Wherefore also the Lord, who was not of the world, came as one who was of the world to men. For He was clothed with all virtue; and it was His aim to lead man, the foster-child of the world, up to the objects of intellect, and to the most essential truths by knowledge, from one world to another.

Wherefore also He employed metaphorical description; for such is the parable, -- a narration based on some subject which is not the principal subject, but similar to the principal subject, and leading him who understands to what is the true and principal thing; or, as some say, a mode of speech presenting with vigour, by means of other circumstances, what is the principal subject.

And now also the whole economy which prophesied of the Lord appears indeed a parable to those who know not the truth, when one speaks and the rest hear that the Son of God -- of Him who made the universe -- assumed flesh, and was conceived in the virgin's womb (as His material body was produced), and subsequently, as was the case, suffered and rose again, being "to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness," as the apostle says.

But on the Scriptures being opened up, and declaring the truth to those who have ears, they proclaim the very suffering endured by the flesh, which the Lord assumed, to be "the power and wisdom of God." And finally, the parabolic style of Scripture being of the greatest antiquity, as we have shown, abounded most, as was to be expected, in the prophets, in order that the Holy Spirit might show that the philosophers among the Greeks, and the wise men among the Barbarians besides, were ignorant of the future coming of the Lord, and of the mystic teaching that was to be delivered by Him. Rightly then, prophecy, in proclaiming the Lord, in order not to seem to some to blaspheme while speaking what was beyond the ideas of the multitude embodied its declarations in expressions capable of leading to other conceptions. Now all the prophets who foretold the Lord's coming, and the holy mysteries accompanying it, were persecuted and killed. As also the Lord Himself, in explaining the Scriptures to them, and His disciples who preached the word like Him, and subsequently to His life, used parables. Whence also Peter, in his Preaching, speaking of the apostles, says: "But we, unrolling the books of the prophets which we possess, who name Jesus Christ, partly in parables, partly in enigmas, partly expressly and in so many words, find His coming and death, and cross, and all the rest of the tortures which the Jews inflicted on Him, and His resurrection and assumption to heaven previous to the capture of Jerusalem. As it is written, These things are all that He behoves to suffer, and what should be after Him. Recognising them, therefore, we have believed in God in consequence of what is written respecting Him."

And after a little again he draws the inference that the Scriptures owed their origin to the divine providence, asserting as follows: "For we know that God enjoined these things, and we say nothing apart from the Scriptures."

Now the Hebrew dialect, like all the rest, has certain properties, consisting in a mode of speech which exhibits the national character. Dialect is accordingly defined as a style of speech produced by the national character. But prophecy is not marked by those dialects. For in the Hellenic writings, what are called changes of figures purposely produce onscurations, deduced after the style of our prophecies. But this is effected through the voluntary departure from direct speech which takes place in metrical or offhand diction. A figure, then, is a form of speech transferred from what is literal to what is not literal, for the sake of the composition, and on account of a diction useful in speech.

But prophecy does not employ figurative forms in the expressions for the sake of beauty of diction. But from the fact that truth appertains not to all, it is veiled in manifold ways, causing the light to arise only on those who are initiated into knowledge, who seek the truth through love. The proverb, according to the Barbarian philosophy, is called a mode of prophecy, and the parable is so called, and the enigma in addition. Further also, they are called "wisdom;" and again, as something different from it, "instruction and words of prudence," and "turnings of words," and "true righteousness and again, "teaching to direct judgment," and "subtlety to the simple," which is the result of training, "and perception and thought," with which the young catechumen is imbued. "He who bears these prophets, being wise, will be wiser. And the intelligent man will acquire rule, and will understand a parable and a dark saying, the words and enigmas of the wise."

And if it was the case that the Hellenic dialects received their appellation from Hellen, the son of Zeus, surnamed Deucalion, from the chronology which we have already exhibited, it is comparatively easy to perceive by how many generations the dialects that obtained among the Greeks are posterior to the language of the Hebrews.

But as the work advances, we shall in each section, noting the figures of speech mentioned above by the prophet, exhibit the gnostic mode of life, showing it systematically according to the rule of the truth.

Did not the Power also, that appeared to Hermas in the Vision, in the form of the Church, give for transcription the book which she wished to be made known to the elect? And this, he says, he transcribed to the letter, without finding how to complete the syllables. And this signified that the Scripture is clear to all, when taken according to the bare reading; and that this is the faith which occupies the place of the rudiments. Wherefore also the figurative expression is employed, "reading according to the letter;" while we understand that the gnostic unfolding of the Scriptures, when faith has already reached an advanced state, is likened to reading according to the syllables.

Further, Esaias the prophet is ordered to take "a new book, and write in it" certain things: the Spirit prophesying that through the exposition of the Scriptures there would come afterwards the sacred knowledge, which at that period was still unwritten, because not yet known. For it was spoken from the beginning to those only who understand. Now that the Saviour has taught the apostles, the unwritten rendering' of the written [Scripture] has been handed down also to us, inscribed by the power of God on hearts new, according to the renovation of the book. Thus those of highest repute among the Greeks, dedicate the fruit of the pomegranate to Hermes, who they say is speech, on account of its interpretation. For speech conceals much. Rightly, therefore, Jesus the son of Nave saw Moses, when taken up [to heaven], double, -- one Moses with the angels, and one on the mountains, honoured with burial in their ravines. And Jesus saw this spectacle below, being elevated by the Spirit, along also with Caleb. But both do not see similarly But the one descended with greater speed, as if the weight he carried was great; while the other, on descending after him, subsequently related the glory which he beheld, being able to perceive more than the other as having grown purer; the narrative, in my opinion, showing that knowledge is not the privilege of all. Since some look at the body of the Scriptures, the expressions and the names as to the body of Moses; while others see through to the thoughts and what it is signified by the names, seeking the Moses that is with the angels.

Many also of those who called to the Lord said, "Son of David, have mercy on me." A few, too, knew Him as the Son of God; as Peter, whom also He pronounced blessed, "for flesh and blood revealed not the truth to him, but His Father in heaven," 3 -- showing that the Gnostic recognises the Son of the Omnipotent, not by His flesh conceived in the womb, but by the Father's own power. That it is therefore not only to those who read simply that the acquisition of the truth is so difficult, but that not even to those whose prerogative the knowledge of the truth is, is the contemplation of it vouch-safed all at once, the history of Moses teaches, until, accustomed to gaze, at the Hebrews on the glory of Moses, and the prophets of Israel on the visions of angels, so we also become able to look the splendours of truth in the face.

CHAPTER 16 -- GNOSTIC EXPOSITION OF THE DECALOGUE.

Let the Decalogue be set forth cursorily by us as a specimen for gnostic exposition.

The number "ten."

That ten is a sacred number, it is superfluous to say now. And if the tables that were written were the work of God, they will be found to exhibit physical creation. For by the "finger of God" is understood the power of God, by which the creation of heaven and earth is accomplished; of both of which the tables will be understood to be symbols. For the writing and handiwork of God put on the table is the creation of the world.

And the Decalogue, viewed as an image of heaven, embraces sun and moon, stars, clouds, light, wind, water, air, darkness, fire. This is the physical Decalogue of the heaven.

And the representation of the earth contains men, cattle, reptiles, wild beasts; and of the inhabitants of the water, fishes and whales; and again, of the winged tribes, those that are carnivorous, and those that rise mild food; and of plants likewise, both fruit-bearing and barren.

This is the physical Decalogue of the earth.

And the ark which held them will then be the knowledge of divine and human things and wisdom.

And perhaps the two tables themselves may be the prophecy of the two covenants. They were accordingly mystically renewed, as ignorance along with sin abounded. The commandments are written, then, doubly, as appears, for twofold spirits, the ruling and the subject.

"For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh."

And there is a ten in man himself: the five senses, and the power of speech, and that of reproduction; and the eighth is the spiritual principle communicated at his creation; and the ninth the ruling faculty of the soul; and tenth, there is the distinctive characteristic of the Holy Spirit, which comes to him through faith.

Besides, in addition to these ten human parts, the law appear to give its injunctions to sight, and hearing, and Smell, and touch, and taste, and to the organs subservient to these, which are double -- the hands and the feet. For such is the formation of man. And the soul is introduced, and previous to it the ruling faculty, by which we re.on, not produced in procreation; so that without it there is made up the number ten, of the faculties by which all the activity of man is carried out. For in order, straightway on man's entering existence, his life begins with sensations. We accordingly assert that rational and ruling power is the cause of the constitution of the living creature; also that this, the irrational part, is animated, and is a part of it. Now the vital force, in which is comprehended the power of nutrition and growth, and generally of motion, is assigned to the carnal spirit, which has great susceptibility of motion, and passes in all directions through the senses and the rest of the body, and through the body is the primary subject of sensations. But the power of choice, in which investigation, and study, and knowledge, reside, belongs to the ruling faculty. But all the faculties are placed in relation to one -- the ruling faculty: it is through that man lives, and lives in a certain way.

Through the corporeal spirit, then, man perceives, desires, rejoices, is angry, is nourished, grows. It is by it, too, that thoughts and conceptions advance to actions. And when it masters the desires, the ruling faculty reigns.

The commandment, then, "Thou shalt not lust," says, thou shalt not serve the carnal spirit, but shall rule over it; "For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit," and excites to disorderly conduct against nature; "and the Spirit against the flesh" exercises sway, in order that the conduct of the man may be according to nature.

Is not man, then, rightly said "to have been made in the image of God?" -- not in the form of his [corporeal] structure; but inasmuch as God creates all things by the Word (logwand the man who has become a Gnostic performs good actions by the faculty of reason (tw logikp), properly therefore the two tables are also said to mean the commandments that were given to the twofold spirits, -- those communicated before the law to that which was created, and to the ruling faculty; and the movements of the senses are both copied in the mind, and manifested in the activity which proceeds from the body. For apprehension results from both combined. Again, as sensation is related to the world of sense, so is thought to that of intellect. And actions are twofold -- those of thought, those of act.

The First Commandment.

The first commandment of the Decalogue shows that there is one only Sovereign God who led the people from the land of Egypt through the desert to their fatherland; that they might apprehend His power, as they were able, by means of the divine works, and withdraw from the idolatry of created things, putting all their hope in the true God.

The Second Commandment.

The second word intimated that men ought not to take and confer the august power of God (which is the name, for this alone were many even yet capable of learning), and transfer His title to things created and vain, which human artificers have made, among which" He that is" is not ranked. For in His uncreated identity, "He that is" is absolutely alone.

The Fourth Commandment.

And the fourth word is that which intimates that the world was created by God, and that He gave us the seventh day as a rest, on account of the trouble that there is in life. For God is incapable of weariness, and suffering, and want. But we who bear flesh need rest. The seventh day, therefore, is proclaimed a rest -- abstraction from ills -- preparing for the Primal Day, our true rest; which, in truth, is the first creation of light, in which all things are viewed and possessed. From this day the first wisdom and knowledge illuminate us. For the light of truth -- a light true, casting no shadow, is the Spirit of God indivisibly divided to all, who are sanctified by faith, holding the place of a luminary, in order to the knowledge of real existences. By following Him, therefore, through our whole life, we become impossible; and this is to rest.

Wherefore Solomon also says, that before heaven, and earth, and all existences, Wisdom had arisen in the Almighty; the participation of which -- that which is by power, I mean, not that by essence -- teaches a man to know by apprehension

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things divine and human. Having reached this point, we must mention these things by the way; since the discourse has turned on the seventh and the eighth. For the eighth may possibly turn out to be properly the seventh, and the seventh manifestly the sixth, and the latter properly the Sabbath, and the seventh a day of work. For the creation of the world was concluded in six days. For the motion of the sun from solstice to solstice is completed in six months -- in the course of which, at one time the leaves fall, and at another plants bud and seeds come to maturity. And they say that the embryo is perfected exactly in the sixth month, that is, in one hundred and eighty days in addition to the two and a half, as Polybus the physician relates in his book On the Eighth Month, and Aristotle the philosopher in his book On Nature. Hence the Pythagoreans, as I think, reckon six the perfect number, from the creation of the world, according to the prophet, and call it Meseuthys and Marriage, from its being the middle of the even numbers, that is, of ten and two. For it is manifestly at an equal distance from both.

And as marriage generates from male and female, so six is generated from the odd number three, which is called the masculine number, and the even number two, which is considered the feminine. For twice three are six.

Such, again, is the number of the most general motions, according to which all origination takes place -- up, down, to the right, to the left, forward, backward. Rightly, then, they reckon the number seven motherless and childless, interpreting the Sabbath, and figuratively expressing the nature of the rest, in which "they neither marry nor are given in marriage any more." For neither by taking from one number and adding to another of those within ten is seven produced; nor when added to any number within the ten does it make up any of them.

And they called eight a cube, counting the fixed sphere along with the seven revolving ones, by which is produced "the great year," as a kind of period of recompense of what has been promised.

Thus the Lord, who ascended the mountain, the fourth, becomes the sixth, and is illuminated all round with spiritual light, by laying bare the power proceeding from Him, as far as those selected to see were able to behold it, by the Seventh, the Voice, proclaimed to be the Son of God; in order that they, persuaded respecting Him, might have rest; while He by His birth, which was indicated by the sixth conspicuously marked, becoming the eighth, might appear to be God in a body of flesh, by displaying His power, being numbered indeed as a man, but being concealed as to who He was. For six is reckoned in the order of numbers, but the succession of the letters acknowledges the character which is not written. In this case, in the numbers themselves, each unit is preserved in its order up to seven and eight. But in the number of the characters, Zeta becomes six and Eta seven.

And the character having somehow slipped into writing, should we follow it out thus, the seven became six, and the eight seven.

Wherefore also man is said to have been made on the sixth day, who became faithful to Him who is the sign (tp epishmw), so as straightway to receive the rest of the Lord's inheritance. Some such thing also is indicated by the sixth hour in the scheme of salvation, in which man was perfected. Further, of the eight, the intermediates are seven; and of the seven, the intervals are shown to be six. For that is another ground, in which seven glorifies eight, and "the heavens declare to the heavens the glory of God."

The sensible types of these, then, are the sounds we pronounce. Thus the Lord Himself is called "Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end," " by whom all things were made, and without whom not even one thing was made." God's resting is not, then, as some conceive, that God ceased from doing. For, being good, if He should ever cease from doing good, then would He cease from being God, which it is sacrilege even to say. The resting is, therefore, the ordering that the order of created things should be preserved inviolate, and that each of the creatures should cease from the ancient disorder. For the creations on the different days followed in a most important succession; so that all things brought into existence might have honour from priority, created together in thought, but not being of equal worth. Nor was the creation of each signified by the voice, inasmuch as the creative work is said to have made them at once. For something must needs have been named first. Wherefore those things were announced first, from which came those that were second, all things being originated together from one essence by one power. For the will of God was one, in one identity. And how could creation take place in time, seeing time was born along with things which exist.

And now the whole world of creatures born alive, and things that grow, revolves in sevens. The first-born princes of the angels, who have the greatest power, are seven. The mathematicians also say that the planets, which perform their course around the earth, are seven; by which the Chaldeans think that all which concerns mortal life is effected through sympathy, in consequence of which they also undertake to tell things respecting the future.

And of the fixed stars, the Pleiades are seven. And the Bears, by the help of which agriculture and navigation are carried through, consist of seven stars. And in periods of seven days the moon undergoes its changes. In the first week she becomes half moon; in the second, full moon; and in the third, in her wane, again half moon; and in the fourth she disappears. Further, as Seleucus the mathematician lays down, she has seven phases. First, from being invisible she becomes crescent-shaped, then half moon, then gibbous and full; and in her wane again gibbous, and in like manner half moon and crescent-shaped.

"On a seven-stringed lyre we shall sing new hymns," writes a poet of note, teaching us that the ancient lyre was seven-toned. The organs of the senses situated on our face are also seven -- two eyes, two passages of hearing, two nostrils, and the seventh the mouth.

And that the changes in the periods of life take place by sevens, the Elegies of Solan teach thus : "The child, while still an infant, in seven years, Produces and puts forth its fence of teeth; And when God seven years more completes, He shows of puberty's approach the signs; And in the third, the beard on growing cheek With down o'erspreads the bloom of changing skin; And in the fourth septenniad, at his best In strength, of manliness he shows the signs; And in the fifth, of marriage, now mature, And of posterity, the man bethinks; Nor does he yet desire vain works to see.

The seventh and eighth septenniads see him now In mind and speech mature, till fifty years; And in the ninth he still has vigour left, But strength and body are for virtue great Less than of yore; when, seven years more, God brings To end, then not too soon may he submit to die."

Again, in diseases the seventh day is that of the crisis; and the fourteenth, in which nature struggles against the causes of the diseases. And a myriad such instances are adduced by Hermippus of Berytus, in his book On the Number Seven, regarding it as holy. And the blessed David delivers clearly to those who know the mystic account of seven and eight, praising thus: "Our years were exercised like a spider. The days of our years in them are seventy years; but if in strength, eighty years. And that will be to reign." That, then, we may be taught that the world was originated, and not suppose that God made it in time, prophecy adds: "This is the book of the generation: also of the things in them, when they were created in the day that God made heaven and earth." For the expression "when they were created" intimates an indefinite and dateless production. But the expression "in the day that God made," that is, in and by which God made "all things," and "without which not even one thing was made," points out the activity exerted by the Son. As David says, "This is the day which the Lord hath made; let us be glad and rejoice in it; " that is, in consequence of the knowledge imparted by Him, let us celebrate the divine festival; for the Word that throws light on things hidden, and by whom each created thing came into life and being, is called day.

And, in fine, the Decalogue, by the letter Iota, signifies the blessed name, presenting Jesus, who is the Word.

The Fifth Commandment.

Now the fifth in order is the command on the honour of father and mother. And it clearly announces God as Father and Lord. Wherefore also it calls those who know Him sons and gods. The Creator of the universe is their Lord and Father; and the mother is not, as some say, the essence from which we sprang, nor, as others teach, the Church, but the divine knowledge and wisdom, as Solomon says, when he terms wisdom "the mother of the just," and says that it is desirable for its own sake. And the knowledge of all, again, that is lovely and venerable, proceeds from God through the Son.

The Seventh Commandment.

This is followed by the command respecting adultery. Now it is adultery, if one, abandoning the ecclesiastical and true knowledge, and the persuasion respecting God, accedes to false and incongruous opinion, either by deifying any created object, or by making an idol of anything that exists not, so as to overstep, or rather step from, knowledge. And to the Gnostic false opinion is foreign, as the true belongs to him, and is allied with him. Wherefore the noble apostle calls one of the kinds of fornication, idolatry, in following the prophet, who says: " [My people] hath committed fornication with stock and stone. They have said to the stock, Thou art my father; and to the stone, Thou hast begotten me."

The Sixth Commandment.

Then follows the command about murder. Now murder is a sure destruction. He, then, that wishes to extirpate the true doctrine of God and of immortality, in order to introduce. falsehood, alleging either that the universe is not under Providence, or that the world is uncrested, or affirming anything against true doctrine, is most pernicious.

The Eight Commandment.

And after this is the command respecting theft. As, then, he that steals what is another's, doing great wrong, rightly incurs ills suitable to his deserts; so also does he, who arrogates to himself divine works by the art of the statuary or the painter, and pronounces himself to be the maker of animals and plants. Likewise those, too, who mimic the true philosophy are thieves. Whether one be a husbandman or the father of a child, he is an agent in depositing seeds. But it is God who, ministering the growth and perfection of all things, brings the things produced to what is in accordance with their nature. But the most, in common also with the philosophers, attribute growth and changes to the stars as the primary cause, robbing the Father of the universe, as far as in them lies, of His tireless might.

The Father of the universe, as far as in lies, of His tireless might. e elements, however, and the stars -- that is, the administrative powers -- are ordained for the accomplishment of what is essential to the administration, and are influenced and moved by what is commanded to them, in the way in which the Word of the Lord leads, since it is the nature of the divine power to work all things secretly. He, accordingly, who alleges that he has conceived or made anything which pertains to creation, will suffer the punishment of his impious audacity.

The Tenth Commandment.

And the tenth is the command respecting all lusts. As, then, he who entertains unbecoming desires is called to account; in the same way he is not allowed to desire things false, or to suppose that, of created objects, those that are animate have power of themselves, and that in-animate things can at all save or hurt. And should one say that an antidote cannot heal or hemlock kill, he is unwittingly deceived. For none of these operates except one makes use of the plant and the drug; just as the axe does not without one to cut with it, or a saw without one sawing with it. And as they do not work by themselves, but have certain physical qualities which accomplish their proper work by the exertion of the artisan; so also, by the universal providence of God, through the medium of secondary causes, the operative power is propagated in succession to individual objects.

CHAPTER 17 -- PHILOSOPHY CONVEYS ONLY AN IMPERFECT KNOWLEDGE OF GOD.

But, as appears, the philosophers of the Greeks, while naming God, do not know Him. But their philosophical speculations, according to Empedocles, "as passing over the tongue of the multitude, are poured out of mouths that know little of the whole." For as art changes the light of the sun into fire by passing it through a glass vessel full of water, so also philosophy, catching a spark from the divine Scripture, is visible in a few. Also, as all animals breathe the same air, some in one way, others in another, and to a different purpose; so also a considerable number of people occupy themselves with the truth, or rather with discourse concerning the truth. For they do not say aught respecting God, but expound Him by attributing their own affections to God. For they spend life in seeking the probable, not the true. But truth is not taught by imitation, but by instruction. For it is not that we may seem good that we believe in Christ, as it is not alone for the purpose of being seen, while in the sun, that we pass into the sun. But in the one case for the purpose of being warmed; and in the other, we are compelled to be Christians in order to be excellent and good. For the kingdom belongs pre-eminently to the violent, who, from investigation, and study, and discipline, reap this fruit, that they become kings.

He, then, who imitates opinion shows also preconception. When then one, having got an inkling of the subject, kindles it within in his soul by desire and study, he sets everything in motion afterwards in order to know it. For that which one does not apprehend, neither does he desire it, nor does he embrace the advantage flowing from it. Subsequently, therefore, the Gnostic at last imitates the Lord, as far as allowed to men, having received a sort of quality akin to the Lord Himself, in order to assimilation to God. But those who are not proficient in knowledge cannot judge the truth by rule. It is not therefore possible to share in the gnostic contemplations, unless we empty ourselves of our previous notions. For the truth in regard to every object of intellect and of sense is thus simply universally declared. For instance, we may distinguish the truth of painting from that which is vulgar, and decorous music from licentious. There is, then, also a truth of philosophy as distinct from the other philosophies, and a true beauty as distinct from the spurious. It is not then the partial truths, of which truth is predicated, but the truth itself, that we are to investigate, not seeking to learn names. For what is to be investigated respecting God is not one thing, but ten thousand. There is a difference between declaring God, and declaring things about God. And to speak generally, in everything the accidents are to be distinguished from the essence.

Suffice it for me to say, that the Lord of all is God; and I say the Lord of all absolutely, nothing being left by way of exception.

Since, then, the forms of truth are two- the names and the things -- some discourse of names, occupying themselves with the beauties of words: such are the philosophers among the Greeks. But we who are Barbarians have the things. Now it was not in vain that the Lord chose to make use of a mean form of body; so that no one praising the grace and admiring

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the beauty might turn his back on what was said, and attending to what ought to be abandoned, might be cut off from what is intellectual. We must therefore occupy ourselves not with the expression, but the meaning.

To those, then, who are not gifted with the power of apprehension, and are not inclined to knowledge, the word is not entrusted; since also the ravens imitate human voices, having no understanding of the thing which they say. And intellectual apprehension depends on faith. Thus also Homer said : "Father of men and gods," - knowing not who the Father is, or how He is Father.

And as to him who has hands it is natural to grasp, and to him who has sound eyes to see the light; so it is the natural prerogative of him who has received faith to apprehend knowledge, if he desires, on "the foundation" laid, to work, and build up "gold, silver, precious stones."

Accordingly he does not profess to wish to participate, but begins to do so. Nor does it belong to him to intend, but to be regal, and illuminated, and gnostic. Nor does it appertain to him to wish to grasp things in name, but in fact.

For God, being good, on account of the principal part of the whole creation, seeing He wishes to save it, was induced to make the rest also; conferring on them at the beginning this first boon, that of existence. For that to be is far better than not to be, will be admitted by every one. Then, according to the capabilities of their nature, each one was and is made, advancing to that which is better.

So there is no absurdity in philosophy having been given by Divine Providence as a preparatory discipline for the perfection which is by Christ; unless philosophy is ashamed at learning from Barbarian knowledge how to advance to truth. But if "the very hairs are numbered, and the most insignificant motions," how shall not philosophy be taken into account? For to Samson power was given in his hair, in order that he might perceive that the worthless arts that refer to the things in this life, which lie and remain on the ground after the departure of the soul, were not given without divine power.

But it is said Providence, from above, from what is of prime importance, as from the head, reaches to all, "as the ointment," it is said, "which descends to Aaron's beard, and to the skirt of his garment" (that is, of the great High Priest, "by whom all things were made, and without whom not even one thing was made"); not to the ornament of the body; for Philosophy is outside of the People, like raiment. The philosophers, therefore, who, trained to their own peculiar power of perception by the spirit of perception, when they investigate, not a part of philosophy, but philosophy absolutely, testify to the truth in a truth-loving and humble spirit; if in the case of good things said by those even who are of different sentiments they advance to understanding, through the divine administration, and the ineffable Goodness, which always, as far as possible, leads the nature of existences to that which is better. Then, by cultivating the acquaintance not of Greeks alone, but also of Barbarians, from the exercise common to their proper intelligence, they are conducted to Faith. And when they have embraced the foundation of truth, they receive in addition the power of advancing further to investigation. And thence they love to be learners, and aspiring after knowledge, haste to salvation.

Thus Scripture says, that "the spirit of perception" was given to the artificers from God. And this is nothing else than Understanding, a faculty of the soul, capable of studying existences, -- of distinguishing and comparing what succeeds as like and unlike, -- of enjoining and forbidding, and of conjecturing the future. And it extends not to the arts alone, but even to philosophy itself.

Why, then, is the serpent called wise? Because even in its wiles there may be found a connection, and distinction, and combination, and conjecturing of the future. And so very many crimes are concealed; because the wicked arrange for themselves so as by all means to escape punishment.

And Wisdom being manifold, pervading the whole world, and all human affairs, varies its appellation in each case. When it applies itself to first causes, it is called Understanding (nohsis). When, however, it confirms this by demonstrative reasoning, it is termed Knowledge, and Wisdom, and Science. When it is occupied in what pertains to piety, and receives without speculation the primal Word in consequence of the maintenance of the operation in it, it is called Faith. In the sphere of things of sense, establishing that which appears as being truest, it is Right Opinion. In operations, again, performed by skill of hand, it is Art But when, on the other hand, without the study of primary causes, by the observation of similarities, and by transposition, it makes any attempt or combination, it is called Experiment. But belonging to it, and supreme and essential, is the Holy Spirit, which above all he who, in consequence of [divine] guidance, has believed, receives after strong faith. Philosophy, then, partaking of a more exquisite perception, as has been shown from the above statements, participates in Wisdom.

Logical discussion, then, of intellectual subjects, with selection and assent, is called Dialectics; which establishes, by demonstration, allegations respecting truth, and demolishes the doubts brought forward.

Those, then, who assert that philosophy did not come hither from God, all but say that God does not know each particular thing, and that He is not the cause of all good things; if, indeed, each of these belongs to the class of individual things. But nothing that exists could have subsisted at all, had God not willed. And if He willed, then philosophy is from God, He having willed it to be such as it is, for the sake of those who not otherwise than by its means would abstain from what is evil. For God knows all things -- not those only which exist, but those also which shall be -- and how each thing shall be.

And foreseeing the particular movements, "He surveys all things, and hears all things," seeing the soul naked within; and possesses from eternity the idea of each thing individually. And what applies to theatres, and to the parts of each object, in looking at, looking round, and taking in the whole in one view, applies also to God. For in one glance He views all things together, and each thing by itself; but not all things, by way of primary intent.

Now, then, many things in life take their rise in some exercise of human reason, having received the kindling spark from God. For instance, health by medicine, and soundness of body through gymnastics, and wealth by trade, have their origin and existence in consequence of Divine Providence indeed, but in consequence, too, of human co-operation. Understanding also is from God.

But God's will is especially obeyed by the free-will of good men. Since many advantages are common to good and bad men: yet they are nevertheless advantageous only to men of goodness and probity, for whose sake God created them. For it was for the use of good men that the influence which is in God's gifts was originated. Besides, the thoughts of virtuous men are produced through the inspiration of God; the soul being disposed in the way it is, and the divine will being conveyed to human souls, particular divine ministers contributing to such services. For regiments of angels are distributed over the nations and cities. And, perchance, some are assigned to individuals.

The Shepherd, then, cares for each of his sheep; and his closest inspection is given to those who are excellent in their natures, and are capable of being most useful. Such are those fit to lead and teach, in whom the action of Providence is conspicuously seen; whenever either by instruction, or government, or administration, God wishes to benefit. But He wishes at all times. Wherefore He moves those who are adapted to useful exertion in the things which pertain to virtue, and peace, and beneficence.

But all that is characterized by virtue proceeds from virtue, and leads back to virtue. And it is given either in order that men may become good, or that those who are so may make use of their natural advantages. For it co-operates both in what is general and what is particular. How absurd, then, is it, to those who attribute disorder and wickedness to the devil, to make him the bestower of philosophy, a virtuous thing! For he is thus all but made more benignant to the Greeks, in respect of making men good, than the divine providence and mind.

Again, I reckon it is the part of law and of right reason to assign to each one what is appropriate to him, and belongs to him, and falls to him. For as the lyre is only for the harper, and the flute for the flute-player; so good things are the possessions of good men. As the nature of the beneficent is to do good, as it is of the fire to warm, and the light to give light, and a good man will not do evil, or light produce darkness, or fire cold; so, again, vice cannot do aught virtuous. For its activity is to do evil, as that of darkness to dim the eyes.

Philosophy is not, then, the product of vice, since it makes men virtuous; it follows, then, that it is the work of God, whose work it is solely to do good. And all things given by God are given and received well.

Further, if the practice of philosophy does not belong to the wicked, but was accorded to the best of the Greeks, it is clear also from what source it was bestowed -- manifestly from Providence, which assigns to each what is befitting in accordance with his deserts."

Rightly, then, to the Jews belonged the Law, and to the Greeks Philosophy, until the Advent; and after that came the universal calling to be a peculiar people of righteousness, through the teaching which flows from faith, brought together by one Lord, the only God of both Greeks and Barbarians, or rather of the whole race of men. We have often called by the name philosophy that portion of truth attained through philosophy, although but partial.

Now, too what is good in the arts as arts, have their beginning from God. For as the doing of anything artistically is embraced in the rules of art, so also acting sagaciously is classed under the head of sagacity (fronhsis). Now sagacity is virtue, and it is its function to know other things, but much more especially what belongs to itself. And Wisdom (Sofia) being power, is nothing but the knowledge of good things, divine and human.

But "the earth is God's, and the fulness thereof," says the Scripture, teaching that good things come from God to men; it being through divine power and might that the distribution of them comes to the help of man.

Now the modes of all help and communication from one to another are three. One is, by attending to another, as the master of gymnastics, in training the boy. The second is, by assimilation, as in the case of one who exhorts another to benevolence by practising it before. The one co-operates with the learner, and the other benefits him who receives. The third mode is that by command, when the gymnastic master, no longer training the learner, nor showing in his own person the exercise for the boy to imitate, prescribes the exercise by name to him, as already proficient in it.

The Gnostic, accordingly, having received from God the power to be of service, benefits some by disciplining them, by bestowing attention on them; others, by exhorting them, by assimilation; and others, by training and teaching them, by command. And certainly he himself is equally benefited by the Lord. Thus, then, the benefit that comes from God to men becomes known -- angels at the same time lending encouragement. For by angels, whether seen or not, the divine power bestows good things. Such was the mode adopted in the advent of the Lord. And sometimes also the power "breathes" in men's thoughts and reasonings, and "puts in" their hearts "strength" and a keener perception, and furnishes "prowess" and "boldness of alacrity" both for researches and deeds.

But exposed for imitation and assimilation are truly admirable and holy examples of virtue in the actions put on record. Further, the department of action is most conspicuous both in the testaments of the Lord, and in the laws in force among the Greeks, and also in the precepts of philosophy.

And to speak comprehensively, all benefit appertaining to life, in its highest reason, proceeding from the Sovereign God, the Father who is over all, is consummated by the Son, who also on this account "is the Saviour of all men," says the apostle, "but especially of those who believe." But in respect of its immediate reason, it is from those next to each, in accordance with the command and injunction of Him who is nearest the First Cause, that is, the Lord.

CHAPTER 18 -- THE USE OF PHILOSOPHY TO THE GNOSTIC.

Greek philosophy the recreation of the Gnostic.

Now our Gnostic always occupies himself with the things of highest importance. But if at any time he has leisure and time for relaxation from what is of prime consequence, he applies himself to Hellenic philosophy in preference to other recreation, feasting on it as a kind of dessert at supper. Not that he neglects what is superior; but that he takes this in addition, as long as proper, for the reasons I mentioned above. But those who give their mind to the unnecessary and superfluous points of philosophy, and addict themselves to wrangling sophisms alone, abandon what is necessary and most essential, pursuing plainly the shadows of words.

It is well indeed to know all. But the man whose soul is destitute of the ability to reach to acquaintance with many subjects of study, will select the principal and better subjects alone. For real science (episthmh, which we affirm the Gnostic alone possesses) is a sure comprehension (katalhyis), leading up through true and sure reasons to the knowledge (gnpsis) of the cause. And he, who is acquainted with what is true respecting any one subject, becomes of course acquainted with what is false respecting it.

Philosophy necessary.

For truly it appears to me to be a proper point for discussion, Whether we ought to philosophize: for its terms are consistent.

But if we are not to philosophize, what then? (For no one can condemn a thing without first knowing it): the consequence, even in that case, is that we must philosophize.

First of all, idols are to be rejected. Such, then, being the case, the Greeks ought by the Law and the Prophets to learn to worship one God only, the only Sovereign; then to be taught by the apostle, "but to us an idol is no, thing in the world," since nothing among created things can be a likeness of God; and further, to be taught that none of those images which they worship can be similitudes: for the race of souls is not in form such as the Greeks fashion their idols. For souls are invisible; not only those that are rational, but those also of the other animals. And their bodies never become parts of the souls themselves, but organs -- partly as seats, partly as vehicles -- and in other cases possessions in various ways. But it is not possible to copy accurately even the likenesses of the organs; since, were it so, one might model the sun, as it is seen, and take the likeness of the rainbow in colours.

After abandoning idols, then, they will hear the Scripture, "Unless your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees " (who justified themselves in the way of abstinence from what was evil), -- so as, along with such, perfection as they evinced, and "the loving of your neighbour," to be able also to do good,you shall not "be kingly."

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For intensification of the righteousness which is according to the law shows the Gnostic. So one who is placed in the head, which is that which rules its own body -- and who advances to the summit of faith, which is the knowledge (gnosis) itself, for which all the organs of perception exist -- will likewise obtain the highest inheritance.

The primacy of knowledge the apostle shows to those capable of reflection, in writing to those Greeks of Corinth, in the following terms: "But having hope, when your faith is increased, that we shall he magnified in you according to our rule abundantly, to preach the Gospel beyond you." He does not mean the extension of his preaching locally: for he says also that in Achaia faith abounded; and it is related also in the Acts of the Apostles that he preached the word in Athens. But he teaches that knowledge (gnosis), which is the perfection of faith, goes beyond catechetical instruction, in accordance with the magnitude of the Lord's teaching and the rule of the Church. Wherefore also he proceeds to add, "And if I am rude in speech, yet I am not in knowledge."

Whence is the knowledge of truth?

But let those who vaunt on account of having apprehended the truth tell us from whom they boast of having heard it. They will not say from God, but will admit that it was from men. And if so, it is either from themselves that they have learned it lately, as some of them arrogantly boast, or from others like them. But human teachers, speaking of God, are not reliable, as men. For he that is man cannot speak worthily the truth concerning God: the feeble and mortal [cannot speak worthily] of the Unoriginated and Incorruptible -- the work, of the Workman. Then he who is incapable of speaking what is true respecting himself, is he not much less reliable in what concerns God? For just as far as man is inferior to God in power, so much feebler is man's speech than Him; although he do not declare God, but only speak about God and the divine word. For human speech is by nature feeble, and incapable of uttering God. I do not say His name. For to name it is common, not to philosophers only, but also to poets. Nor [do I say] His essence; for this is impossible, but the power and the works of God.

Those even who claim God as their teacher, with difficulty attain to a conception of God, grace aiding them to the attainment of their modicum of knowledge; accustomed as they are to contemplate the will [of God] by the will, and the Holy Spirit by the Holy Spirit. "For the Spirit searches the deep things of God. But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit."

The only wisdom, therefore, is the God-taught wisdom we possess; on which depend all the sources of wisdom, which make conjectures at the truth.

Intimations of the Teacher's advent Assuredly of the coming of the Lord, who has taught us, to men, there were a myriad indicators, heralds, preparers, precursors, from the beginning, from the foundation of the world, intimating beforehand by deeds and words, prophesying that He would come, and where, and how, what should be the signs.

From afar certainly Law and Prophecy kept Him in view beforehand. And then the precursor pointed Him out as present. After whom the heralds point out by their teaching the virtue of His manifestation.

Universal diffusion of the Gospel a contrast to philosophy.

The philosophers, however, chose to [teach philosophy] to the Greeks alone, and not even to all of them; but Socrates to Plato, and Plato to Xenocrates, Aristotle to Theophrastus, and Zeno to Cleanthes, who persuaded their own followers alone.

But the word of our Teacher remained not in Judea alone, as philosophy did in Greece; but was diffused over the whole world, over every nation, and village, and town, bringing already over to the truth whole houses, and each individual of those who heard it by him himself, and not a few of the philosophers themselves.

And if any one ruler whatever prohibit the Greek philosophy, it vanishes forthwith. But our doctrine on its very first proclamation was prohibited by kings and tyrants together, as well as particular rulers and governors, with all their mercenaries, and in addition by innumerable men, warring against us, and endeavouring as far as they could to exterminate it. But it flourishes the more. For it dies not, as human doctrine dies, nor fades as a fragile gift. For no gift of God is fragile. But it remains unchecked, though prophesied as destined to be persecuted to the end. Thus Plato writes of poetry: "A poet is a light and a sacred thing, and cannot write poetry till he be inspired and lose his senses." And Democritus similarly: "Whatever things a poet writes with divine afflatus, and with a sacred spirit, are very beautiful." And we know what sort of things poets say. And shall no one be amazed at the prophets of God Almighty becoming the organs of the divine voice?

Having then moulded, as it were, a statue of the Gnostic, we have now shown who he is; indicating in outline, as it were, both the greatness and beauty of his character. What he is as to the study of physical phenomena shall be shown afterwards, when we begin to treat of the creation of the world.

THE STROMATA, BOOK 7

CHAPTER 1 -- THE GNOSTIC A TRUE WORSHIPPER OF GOD, AND UNJUSTLY CALUMNIATED BY UNBELIEVERS AS AN ATHEIST.

It is now time to show the Greeks that the Gnostic alone is truly pious; so that the philosophers, learning of what description the true Christian is, may condemn their own stupidity in rashly and inconsiderately persecuting the [Christian] name, and without reason calling those impious who know the true God. And clearer arguments must be employed, I reckon, with the philosophers, so that they may be able, from the exercise they have already had through their own training, to understand, although they have not yet shown themselves worthy to partake of the power of believing.

The prophetic sayings we shall not at present advert to, as we are to avail ourselves of the Scriptures subsequently at the proper places. But we shall point out summarily the points indicated by them, in our delineation of Christianity, so that by taking the Scriptures at once (especially as they do not yet comprehend their utterances), we may not interrupt the continuity of the discourse. But after pointing out the things indicated, proofs shall be shown in abundance to those who have believed.

But if the assertions made by us appear to certain of the multitude to be different from the Scriptures of the Lord, let it be known that it is from that source that they have breath and life; and taking their rise from them, they profess to adduce the sense only, not the words. For further treatment, not being seasonable, will rightly appear superfluous. Thus, not to look at what is urgent would be excessively indolent and defective; and "blessed, in truth, are they who, investigating the testimonies of the Lord, shall seek Him with their whole heart." And the law and the prophets witness of the Lord.

It is, then, our purpose to prove that the Gnostic alone is holy and pious, and worships the true God in a manner worthy of Him; and that worship meet for God is followed by loving and being loved by God. He accordingly judges all excellence to be honourable according to its worth; and judges that among the objects perceived by our senses, we are to esteem rulers, and parents, and every one advanced in years; and among subjects of instruction, the most ancient philosophy and primeval prophecy; and among intellectual ideas, what is oldest in origin, the timeless and unoriginated First Principle, and Beginning of existences -- the Son -- from whom we are to learn the remoter Cause, the Father, of the universe, the most ancient and the most beneficent of all; not capable of expression by the voice, but to be reverenced with reverence, and silence, and holy wonder, and supremely venerated; declared by the Lord, as far as those who learned were capable of comprehending, and understood by those chosen by the Lord to acknowledge; "whose senses," says the apostle, "were exercised."

The service of God, then, in the case of the Gnostic, is his soul's continual study and occupation, bestowed on the Deity in ceaseless love. For of the service bestowed on men, one kind is that whose aim is improvement, the other ministerial. The improvement of the body is the object of the medical art, of the soul of philosophy. Ministerial service is rendered to parents by children, to rulers by subjects.

Similarly, also, in the Church, the elders attend to the department which has improvement for its object; and the deacons to the ministerial. In both these ministries the angels serve God, in the management of earthly affairs; and the Gnostic himself ministers to God, and exhibits to men the scheme of improvement, in the way in which he has been appointed to discipline men for their amendment. For he is alone pious that serves God rightly and unblameably in human affairs. For as that treatment of plants is best through which their fruits are produced and gathered in, through knowledge and skill in husbandry, affording men the benefit accruing from them; so the piety of the Gnostic, taking to itself the fruits of the men who by his means have believed, when not a few attain to knowledge and are saved by it, achieves by his skill the best harvest. And as Godliness (qeo-prepeia) is the habit which preserves what is becoming to God, the godly man is the only lover of God, and such will he be who knows what is becoming, both in respect of knowledge and of the life which must be lived by him, who is destined to be divine (qep), and is already being assimilated to God. So then he is in the first place a lover of God. For as he who honours his father is a lover of his father, so he who honours God is a lover of God.

Thus also it appears to me that there are three effects of gnostic power: the knowledge of things; second, the performance of whatever the Word suggests; and the third, the capability of delivering, in a way suitable to God, the secrets veiled in the truth.

He, then, who is persuaded that God is omnipotent, and has learned the divine mysteries from His only-begotten Son, how can he be an atheist (apeos)? For he is an atheist who thinks that God does not exist. And he is superstitious who dreads the demons; who deifies all things, both wood and stone; and reduces to bondage spirit, and man who possesses the life of reason.

CHAPTER 2 -- THE SON THE RULER AND SAVIOUR OF ALL.

To know God is, then, the first step of faith; then, through confidence in the teaching of the Saviour, to consider the doing of wrong in any way as not suitable to the knowledge of God.

So the best thing on earth is the most pious man; and the best thing in heaven, the nearer in place and purer, is an angel, the partaker of the eternal and blessed life. But the nature of the Son, which is nearest to Him who is alone the Almighty One, is the most perfect, and most holy, and most potent, and most princely, and most kingly, and most beneficent. This is the highest excellence, which orders all things in accordance with the Father's will, and holds the helm of the universe in the best way, with unwearied and tireless power, working all things in which it operates, keeping in view its hidden designs. For from His own point of view the Son of God is never displaced; not being divided, not severed, not passing from place to place; being always everywhere, and being contained nowhere; complete mind, the complete paternal light; all eyes, seeing all things, hearing all things, knowing all things, by His power scrutinizing the powers. To Him is placed in subjection all the host of angels and gods; He, the paternal Word, exhibiting a the holy administration for Him who put [all] in subjection to Him.

Wherefore also all men are His; some through knowledge, and others not yet so; and some as friends, some as faithful servants, some as servants merely. This is the Teacher, who trains the Gnostic by mysteries, and the believer by good hopes, and the hard of heart by corrective discipline through sensible operation. Thence His providence is in private, in public, and everywhere.

And that He whom we call Saviour and Lord is the Son of God, the prophetic Scriptures explicitly prove. So the Lord of all, of Greeks and of Barbarians, persuades those who are willing. For He does not compel him who (through choosing and fulfilling, from Him, what pertains to laying hold of it the hope) is able to receive salvation from Him.

It is He who also gave philosophy to the Greeks by means of the inferior angels. For by an ancient and divine order the angels are distributed among the nations. But the glory of those who believe is "the Lord's portion."

For either the Lord does not care for all men; and this is the case either because He is unable (which is not to be thought, for it would be a proof of weakness), or because He is unwilling, which is not the attribute of a good being. And He who for our sakes assumed flesh capable of suffering, is far from being luxuriously indolent. Or He does care for all, which is befitting for Him who has become Lord of all. For He is Saviour; not [the Saviour] of some, and of others not. But in proportion to the adaptation possessed by each, He has dispensed His beneficence both to Greeks and Barbarians, even to those of them that were predestinated, and in due time called, the faithful and elect. Nor can He who called all equally, and assigned special honours to those who have believed in a specially excellent way, ever envy any. Nor can He who is the Lord of all, and serves above all the will of the good and almighty Father, ever be hindered by another. But neither does envy touch the Lord, who without beginning was impassible; nor are the things of men such as to be envied by the Lord. But it is another, he whom passion hath touched, who envies. And it cannot be said that it is from ignorance that the Lord is not willing to save humanity, because He knows not how each one is to be cared for. For ignorance applies not to the God who, before the foundation of the world, was the counsellor of the Father. For He was the Wisdom "in which" the Sovereign God "delighted." For the Son is the power of God, as being the Father's most ancient Word before the production of all things, and His Wisdom. He is then properly called the Teacher of the beings formed by Him. Nor does He ever abandon care for men, by being drawn aside from pleasure, who, having assumed flesh, which by nature is susceptible of suffering, trained it to the condition of impossibility.

And how is He Saviour and Lord, if not the Saviour and Lord of all? But He is the Saviour of those who have believed, because of their l wishing to know; and the Lord of those who have not believed, till, being enabled to confess him, they obtain the peculiar and appropriate boon which comes by Him.

Now the energy of the Lord has a reference to the Almighty; and the Son is, so to speak, an energy of the Father. Therefore, a hater of man, the Saviour can never be; who, for His exceeding love to human flesh, despising not its susceptibility to suffering, but investing Himself with it, came for the common salvation of men; for the faith of those who have chosen it, is common. Nay more, He will never neglect His own work, because man alone of all the other living creatures was in his creation endowed with a conception of God. Nor can there be any other better and more suitable government for men than that which is appointed by God.

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It is then always proper for the one who is superior by nature to be over the inferior, and for him who is capable of managing aught well to have the management of it assigned to him. Now that which truly rules and presides is the Divine Word and His providence, which inspects all things, and despises the care of nothing belonging to it.

Those, then, who choose to belong to Him, are those who are perfected through faith. He, the Son, is, by the will of the Almighty Father, the cause of all good things, being the first efficient cause of motion -- a power incapable of being apprehended by sensation. For what He was, was not seen by those who, through the weakness of the flesh, were incapable of taking in [the reality]. But, having assumed sensitive flesh, He came to show man what was possible through obedience to the commandments. Being, then, the Father's power, He easily prevails in what He wishes, leaving not even the minutest point of His administration unattended to. For otherwise the whole would not have been well executed by Him.

But, as I think, characteristic of the highest power is the accurate scrutiny of all the parts, reaching even to the minutest, terminating in the first Administrator of the universe, who by the will of the Father directs the salvation of all; some overlooking, who are set under others, who are set over them, till you come to the great High Priest. For on one original first Principle, which acts according to the [Father's] will, the first and the second and the third depend. Then at the highest extremity of the visible world is the blessed band of angels; and down to ourselves there are ranged, some under others, those who, from One and by One, both are saved and save.

As, then, the minutest particle of steel is moved by the spirit of the Heraclean stone when diffused over many steel rings; so also, attracted by the Holy Spirit, the virtuous are added by affinity to the first abode, and the others in succession down to the last. But those who are bad from infirmity, having fallen from vicious insatiableness into a depraved state, neither controlling nor controlled, rush round and round, whirled about by the passions, and fall down to the ground.

For this was the law from the first, that virtue should be the object of voluntary choice. Wherefore also the commandments, according to the Law, and before the Law, not given to the upright (for the law is not appointed for a righteous man), ordained that he should receive eternal life and the blessed prize, who chose them.

But, on the other hand, they allowed him who had been delighted with vice to consort with the objects of his choice; and, on the other hand, that the soul, which is ever improving in the acquisition of virtue and the increase of righteousness, should obtain a better place in the universe, as tending in each step of advancement towards the habit of impassibility, till "it come to a perfect man," to the excellence at once of knowledge and of inheritance.

These salutary revolutions, in accordance with the order of change, are distinguished both by times, and places, and honours, and cognitions, and heritages, and ministries, according to the particular order of each change, up to the transcendent and continual contemplation of the Lord in eternity.

Now that which is lovable leads, to the contemplation of itself, each one who, from love of knowledge, applies himself entirely to contemplation. Wherefore also the Lord, drawing the commandments, both the first which He gave, and the second, from one fountain, neither allowed those who were before the law to be without law, nor permitted those who were unacquainted with the principles of the Barbarian philosophy to be without restraint. For, having furnished the one with the commandments, and the other with philosophy, He shut up unbelief to the Advent. Whence every one who believes not is without excuse. For by a different process of advancement, both Greek and Barbarian, He leads to the perfection which is by faith.

And if any one of the Greeks, passing over the preliminary training of the Hellenic philosophy, proceeds directly to the true teaching, he distances others, though an unlettered man, by choosing the compendious process of salvation by faith to perfection.

Everything, then, which did not hinder a man's choice from being free, He made and rendered auxiliary to virtue, in order that there might be revealed somehow or other, even to those capable of seeing but dimly, the one only almighty, good God -- from eternity to eternity saving by His Son.

And, on the other hand, He is in no respect whatever the cause of evil. For all things are arranged with a view to the salvation of the universe by the Lord of the universe, both generally and particularly. It is then the function of the righteousness of salvation to improve everything as far as practicable. For even minor marten are arranged with a view to the salvation of that which is better, and for an abode suitable for people's character. Now everything that is virtuous changes for the better; having as the proper cause of change the free choice of knowledge, which the soul has in its own power. But necessary corrections, through the goodness of the great overseeing Judge, both by the attendant angels, and by various acts of anticipative judgment, and by the perfect judgment, compel egregious sinners to repent.

CHAPTER 3 -- THE GNOSTIC AIMS AT THE NEAREST LIKENESS POSSIBLE TO GOD AND HIS SON.

Now I pass over other things in silence, glorifying the Lord. But I affirm that gnostic souls, that surpass in the grandeur of contemplation the mode of life of each of the holy ranks, among whom the blessed abodes of the gods are allotted by distribution, reckoned holy among the holy, transferred entire from among the entire, reaching places better than the better places, embracing the divine vision not in mirrors or by means of mirrors, but in the transcendently clear and absolutely pure insatiable vision which is the privilege of intensely loving souls, holding festival through endless ages, remain honoured with the indentity of all excellence. Such is the vision attainable by "the pure in heart." This is the function of the Gnostic, who has been perfected, to have convene with God through the great High Priest, being made like the Lord, up to the measure of his capacity, in the whole service of God, which tends to the salvation of men, through care of the beneficence which has us for its object; and on the other side through worship, through teaching and through beneficence in deeds. The Gnostic even forms and creates himself; and besides also, he, like to God, adorns those who hear him; assimilating as far as possible the moderation which, arising from practice, tends to impossibility, to Him who by nature possesses impossibility; and especially having uninterrupted converse and fellowship with the Lord. Mildness, I think, and philanthropy, and eminent piety, are the rules of gnostic assimilation. I affirm that these virtues "are a sacrifice acceptable in the sight of God; " heart with Scripture alleging that" right knowledge is the holocaust of God; each man who is admitted to holiness being illuminated in order to indissoluble union.

For "to bring themselves into captivity," and to slay themselves, putting to death "the old man, who is through lusts corrupt," and raising the new man from death, "from the old conversation," by abandoning the passions, and becoming free of sin, both the Gospel and the apostle enjoin.

It was this, consequently, which the Law intimated, by ordering the sinner to be cut off, and translated from death to life, to the impossibility that is the result of faith; which the teachers of the Law, not comprehending, inasmuch as they regarded the law as contentions, they have given a handle to those who attempt idly to calumniate the Law. And for this reason we rightly do not sacrifice to God, who, needing nothing, supplies all men with all things; but we glorify Him who gave Himself in sacrifice for us, we also sacrificing ourselves; from that which needs nothing to that which needs nothing, and to that which is impassible from that which is impassible. For in our salvation alone God delights. We do not therefore, and with reason too, offer sacrifice to Him who is not overcome by pleasures, inasmuch as the fumes of the smoke stop far beneath, and do not even reach the thickest clouds; but those they reach are far from them. The Deity neither is, then, in want of aught, nor loves pleasure, or gain, or money, being full, and supplying all things to everything that has received being and has wants. And neither by sacrifices nor offerings, nor on the other hand by glory and honour, is the Deity won over; nor is He influenced by any such things; but He appears only to excellent and good men, who will never betray justice for threatened fear, nor by the promise of considerable gifts.

But those who have not seen the self-determination of the human soul, and its incapability of being treated as a slave in what respects the choice of life, being disgusted at what is done through rude injustice, do not think that there is a God. On a par with these in opinion, are they who, falling into licentiousness in pleasures, and grievous pains, and unlooked-for accidents, and bidding defiance to events, say that there is no God, or that, though existing, He does not oversee all things. And others there are, who are persuaded that those they reckon gods are capable of being prevailed upon by sacrifices and gifts, favouring, so to speak, their prof-ligacies; and will not believe that He is the only true God, who exists in the invariablehess of righteous goodness.

The Gnostic, then, is pious, who cares first for himself, then for his neighbours, that they may become very good. For the son gratifies a good father, by showing himself good and like his father; and in like manner the subject, the governor. For believing and obeying are in our own power.

But should any one suppose the cause of evils to be the weakness of matter, and the involuntary impulses of ignorance, and (in his stupidity) irrational necessities; he who has become a Gnostic has through instruction superiority over these, as if they were wild beasts; and in imitation of the divine plan, he does good to such as are willing, as far as he can. And if ever placed in authority, like Moses, he will rule for the salvation of the governed; and will tame wildness and faithlessness, by recording honour for the most excellent, and punishment for the wicked, in accordance with reason for the sake of discipline.

For pre-eminently a divine image, resembling God, is the soul of a righteous man; in which, through obedience to the commands, as in a consecrated spot, is enclosed and enshrined the Leader of mortals and of immortals, King and Parent of what is good, who is truly law, and right, and eternal Word, being the one Saviour individually to each, and in common to all.

He is the true Only-begotten, the express image of the glory of the universal King and Almighty Father, who impresses on the Gnostic the seal of the perfect contemplation, according to His own image; so that there is now a third divine image, made as far as possible like the Second Cause, the Essential Life, through which we live the true life; the Gnostic, as we regard him, being described as moving amid things sure and wholly immutable.

Ruling, then, over himself and what belongs to him, and possessing a sure grasp, of divine science, he makes a genuine approach to the truth. For the knowledge and apprehension of intellectual objects must necessarily be called certain scientific knowledge, whose function in reference to divine things is to consider what is the First Cause, and what that "by whom all things were made, and without whom nothing was made; " and what things, on the other hand, are as pervasive, and what is comprehensive; what conjoined, what disjoined; and what is the position which each one of them holds, and what power and what service each contributes. And again. among human things, what man himself is, and what he has naturally or preternaturally; and how, again, it becomes him to do or to suffer; and what are his virtues and what his vices; and about things good, bad, and indifferent; also about fortitude, and prudence, and self-restraint, and the virtue which is in all respects complete, namely, righteousness.

Further, he employs prudence and righteousness in the acquisition of wisdom, and fortitude, not only in the endurance of circumstances, but also in restraining pleasure and desire, grief and anger; and, in general, to withstand everything which either by any force or fraud entices us. For it is not necessary to endure vices and virtues, but it is to be persuaded to bear things that inspire fear.

Accordingly, pain is found beneficial in the healing art, and in discipline, and in punishment; and by it men's manners are corrected to their advantage. Forms of fortitude are endurance, magnanimity, high spirit, liberality, and grandeur. And for this reason he neither meets with the blame or the bad opinion of the multitude; nor is he subjected to opinions or flatteries. But in the indurance of toils and at the same time in the discharge of any duty, and in his manly superiority to all circumstances, he appears truly a man (anhr) among the rest of human beings. And, on the other hand, maintaining prudence, he exercises moderation in the calmness of his soul; receptive of what is commanded, as of what belongs to him, entertaining aversion to what is base, as alien to him; become decorous and supramundane, he does everything with decorum and in order, and transgresses in no respect, and in nothing. Rich he is in the highest degree in desiring nothing, as having few wants; and being in the midst of abundance of all good through the knowledge of the good. For it is the first effect of his righteousness, to love to spend his time and associate with those of his own race both in earth and heaven. So also he is liberal of what he possesses.

And being a lover of men, he is a hater of the wicked, entertaining a perfect aversion to all villany. He must consequently learn to be faithful both to himself and his neighbours, and obedient to the commandments. For he is the true servant of God who spontaneously subjects himself to His commands. And he who already, not through the commandments, but through knowledge itself, is pure in heart, is the friend of God. For neither are we born by nature possessing virtue, nor after we are born does it grow naturally, as certain parts of the body; since then it would neither be voluntary nor praiseworthy.

Nor is virtue, like speech, perfected by the practice that results from everyday occurrences (for this is very much the way in which vice originates).

For it is not by any art, either those of acquisition, or those which relate to the care of the body, that knowledge is attained. No more is it from the curriculum of instruction. For that is satisfied if it can only prepare and sharpen the soul. For the laws of the state are perchance able to restrain bad actions; but persuasive words, which but touch the surface, cannot produce a scientific permanence of the truth.

Now the Greek philosophy, as it were, purges the soul, and prepares it beforehand for the reception of faith, on which the Truth builds up the edifice of knowledge.

This is the true athlete -- he who in the great stadium, the fair world, is crowned for the true victory over all the passions. For He who prescribes the contest is the Almighty God, and He who awards the prize is the only-begotten: Son of God. Angels and gods are spectators; and the contest, embracing all the varied exercises, is "not against flesh and blood," but against the spiritual powers of inordinate passions that work through the flesh. He who obtains the mastery in these struggles, and overthrows the tempter, menacing, as it were, with certain contests, wins immortality.

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For the sentence of God in most righteous judgment is infallible. The spectators are summoned to the contest, and the athletes contend in the stadium; the one, who has obeyed the directions of the trainer, wins the day. For to all, all rewards proposed by God are equal; and He Himself is unimpeachable. And he who has power receives mercy, and he that has exercised will is mighty.

So also we have received mind, that we may know what we do. And the maxim "Know thyself" means here to know for what we are born. And we are born to obey the commandments, if we choose to be willing to be saved. Such is the Nemesis,s through which there is no escaping from God. Man's duty, then, is obedience to God, who has proclaimed salvation manifold by the commandments. And confession is thanksgiving. For the beneficent first begins to do good. And he who on fitting considerations readily receives and keeps the commandments, is faithful (pistos); and he who by love requites benefits as far as he is able, is already a friend. One recompense on the part of men is of paramount importance -- the doing of what is pleasing to God. As being His own production, and a result akin to Himself, the Teacher and Saviour receives acts of assistance and of improvement on the part of men as a personal favour and honour; as also He regards the injuries inflicted on those who believe on Him as ingratitude and dishonour to Himself. For what other dishonour can touch God? Wherefore it is impossible to render a recompense at all equivalent to the boon received from the Lord.

And as those who maltreat property insult the owners, and those who maltreat soldiers insult the commander, so also the ill-usage of His consecrated ones is contempt for the Lord.

For, just as the sun not only illumines heaven and the whole world, shining over land and sea, but also through windows and small chinks sends his beams into the innermost recesses of houses, so the Word diffused everywhere casts His eye-glance on the minutest circumstances of the actions of life.

CHAPTER 4 -- THE HEATHENS MADE GODS LIKE THEMSELVES, WHENCE SPRINGS ALL SUPERSTITION.

Now, as the Greeks represent the gods as possessing human forms, so also do they as possessing human passions. And as each of them depict their forms similar to themselves, as Xenophanes says, "Ethiopians as black and apes, the Thracians ruddy and tawny;" so also they assimilate their souls to those who form them: the Barbarians, for instance, who make them savage and wild; and the Greeks, who make them more civilized, yet subject to passion.

Wherefore it stands to reason, that the ideas entertained of God by wicked men must be bad, and those by good men most excellent. And therefore he who is in soul truly kingly and gnostic, being likewise pious and free from superstition, is persuaded that He who alone is God is honourable, venerable, august, beneficent, the doer of good, the author of all good things, but not the cause of evil. And respecting the Hellenic superstition we have, as I think, shown enough in the book entitled by us The Exhortation, availing ourselves abundantly of the history bearing on the point. There is no need, then, again to make a long story of what has already been clearly stated. But in as far as necessity requires to be pointed out on coming to the topic, suffice it to adduce a few out of many considerations in proof of the impiety of those who make the Divinity resemble the worst men. For either those Gods of theirs are injured by men, and are shown to be inferior to men on being injured by us; or, if not so, how is it that they are incensed at those by whom they are not injured, like a testy old wife roused to wrath?

As they say that Artemis was enraged at the Aetolians on account of OEneus. For how, being a goddess, did she not consider that he had neglected to sacrifice, not through contempt, but out of inadvertence, or under the idea that he had sacrificed?

And Latona, arguing her case with Athene, on account of the latter being incensed at her for having brought forth in the temple, says: "Man-slaying spoils Torn from the dead you love to see. And these To you are not unclean. But you regard My parturition here a horrid thing, Though other creatures in the temple do No harm by bringing forth their young."

It is natural, then, that having a superstitious dread of those irascible [gods], they imagine that all events are signs and causes of evils. If a mouse bore through an altar built of clay, and for want of something else gnaw through an oil flask; if a cock that is being fattened crow in the evening, they determine this to be a sign of something.

Of such a one Menander gives a comic description in The Supersitios Man : "A. Good luck be mine, ye honoured gods!

Tying my,right shoe's string, I broke it."

" B. Most likely, silly fool, For it was rotten, and you, niggard, you Would not buy new ones."

It was a clever remark of Antiphon, who (when one regarded it as an ill omen that the sow had eaten her pigs), on seeing her emaciated through the niggardliness of the person that kept her, said, Congratulate yourself on the omen that, being so hungry, she did not eat your own children.

"And what wonder is it," says Bion, "if the mouse, finding nothing to eat, gnaws the bag?" For it were wonderful if (as Arcesilaus argued in fun) "the bag had eaten the mouse."

Diogenes accordingly remarked well to one who wondered at finding a serpent coiled round a pestle: "Don't wonder; for it would have been more surprising if you had seen the pestle coiled round the serpent, and the serpent straight."

For the irrational creatures must run, and scamper, and fight, and breed, and die; and these things being natural to them, can never be unnatural to us.

"And many birds beneath the sunbeams walk."

And the comic poet Philemon treats such points in comedy: "When I see one who watches who has sneezed, Or who has spoke; or looking, who goes on, I straightway in the market sell him off.

Each one of us walks, talks, and sneezes too, For his own self, not for the citizens:

According to their nature things turn out."

Then by the practice of temperance men seek health: and by cramming themselves, and wallowing in potations at feasts, they attract diseases.

There are many, too, that dread inscriptions set up. Very cleverly Diogenes, on finding in the house of a bad man the inscription, "Hercules, for victory famed, dwells here; let nothing bad enter," remarked, "And how shall the master of the house go in?"

The same people, who worship every stick and greasy stone, as the saying is, dreads tufts of tawny wool, and lumps of salt, and torches, and squills, and sulphur, bewitched by sorcerers, in certain impure rites of expiation. But God, the true God, recognises as holy only the character of the righteous man, -- as unholy, wrong and wickedness.

You may see the eggs, taken from those who have been purified, hatched if subjected to the necessary warmth. But this could not take place if they had had transferred to them the sins of the man that had undergone purification. Accordingly the comic poet Diphilus facetiously writes, in comedy, of sorcerers, in the following words: "Purifying Proetus' daughters, and their father Proetus Abantades, and fifth, an old wife to boot, So many people's persons with one torch, one squill, With sulphur and asphalt of the loud-sounding sea, From the placid-flowing, deep-flowing ocean.

But blest air through the clouds send Anticyra That I may make this bug into a drone."

For well Menander remarks: - "Had you, O Phidias, any real ill, You needs must seek for it a real cure; Now 'tis not so. And for the unreal ill I've found an unreal cure Believe that it Will do thee good. Let women in a ring Wipe thee, and from three fountains water bring.

Add salt and lentils; sprinkle then thyself.

Each one is pure, who s conscious of no sin."

For instance, the tragedy says: Menelaus. "What disease, Orestes, is destroying thee?"

Orestes. "Conscience. For horrid deeds I know I've done."

For in reality there is no other purity but abstinence from sins. Excellently then Epicharmus says: "If a pure mind thou hast, In thy whole body thou art pure."

Now also we say that it is requisite to purify the soul from corrupt and bad doctrines by right reason; and so thereafter to the recollection of the principal heads of doctrine. Since also before the communication of the mysteries they think it right to apply certain purifications to those who are to be initiated; so it is requisite for men to abandon impious opinion, and thus turn to the true tradition.

CHAPTER 5 -- THE HOLY SOUL A MORE EXCELLENT TEMPLE THAN ANY EDIFICE BUILT BY MAN.

For is it not the case that rightly and truly we do not circumscribe in any place that which cannot be circumscribed; nor do we shut up in temples made with hands that which contains all things? What work of builders, and stonecutters, and mechanical art can be holy? Superior to these are not they who think that the air, and the enclosing space, or rather the whole world and the universe, are meet for the excellency of God?

It were indeed ridiculous, as the philosophers themselves say, for man, the plaything of God, to make God, and for God to be the plaything of art; since what is made is similar and the same to that of which it is made, as that which is made of ivory is ivory, and that which is made of gold golden. Now the images and temples constructed by mechanics are made of inert matter; so that they too are inert, and material, and profane; and if you perfect the art, they partake of mechanical coarseness. Works of art cannot then be sacred and divine.

And what can be localized, there being nothing that is not localized? Since all things are in a place. And that which is localized having been formerly not localized, is localized by something. If, then, God is localized by men, He was once not localized, and did not exist at all. For the non-existent is what is not localized; since whatever does not exist is not localized. And what exists cannot be localized by what does not exist; nor by another entity. For it is also an entity. It follows that it must be by itself. And how shall anything generate itself? Or how shall that which exists place itself as to being? Whether, being formerly not localized, has it localized itself? But it was not in existence; since what exists not is not localized. And its localization being supposed, how can it afterwards make itself what it previously was?

But how can He, to whom the things that are belong, need anything? But were God possessed of a human form, He would need, equally with man, food, and shelter, and house, and the attendant incidents. Those who are like in form and affections will require similar sustenance. And if sacred (tp ier?n) has a twofold application, designating both God Himself and the structure raised to His honour, how shall we not with propriety call the Church holy, through knowledge, made for the honour of God, sacred (ieron) to God, of great value, and not constructed by mechanical art, nor embellished by the hand of an impostor, but by the will of God fashioned into a temple? For it is not now the place, but the assemblage of the elect, that I call the Church. This temple is better for the reception of the greatness of the dignity of God. For the living creature which is of high value, is made sacred by that which is worth all, or rather which has no equivalent, in virtue of the exceeding sanctity of the latter. Now this is the Gnostic, who is of great value, who is honoured by God, in whom God is enshrined, that is, the knowledge respecting God is consecrated. Here, too, we shall find the divine likeness and the holy image in the righteous soul, when it is blessed in being purified and performing blessed deeds. Here also we shall find that which is localized, and that which is being localized, -- the former in the case of those who are already Gnostics, and the latter in the case of those capable of becoming so, although not yet worthy of receiving the knowledge of God. For every being destined to believe is already faithful in the sight of God, and set up for His honour, an image, endowed with virtue, dedicated to God.

CHAPTER 6 -- PRAYERS AND PRAISE FROM A PURE MIND, CEASELESSLY OFFERED, FAR BETTER THAN SACRIFICES.

As, then, God is not circumscribed by place, neither is ever represented by the form of a living creature; so neither has He similar passions, nor has He wants like the creatures, so as to desire sacrifice, from hunger, by way of food. Those creatures which are affected by passion are all mortal. And it is useless to bring food to one who is not nourished.

And that comic poet Pherecrates, in The Fugitives, facetiously represents the gods themselves as finding fault with men on the score of their sacred rites: "When to the gods you sacrifice, Selecting what our portion is, 'Tis shame to tell, do ye not take, And both the thighs, clean to the groins, The loins quite bare, the backbone, too, Clean scrape as with a file, Them swallow, and the remnant give To us as if to dogs? And then, As if of one another 'shamed, With heaps of salted barley hide."

And Eubulus, also a comic poet, thus writes respecting sacrifices: "But to the gods the tail alone And thigh, as if to paederasts you sacrifice."

And introducing Dionysus in Semele, he represents him disputing: "First if they offer aught to me, there are Who offer blood, the bladder, not the heart Or caul. For I no flesh do ever eat That's sweeter than the thigh."

And Menander writes: "The end of the loin, The bile, the bones uneatable, they set Before the gods; the rest themselves consume."

For is not the savour of the holocausts avoided by the beasts? And if in reality the savour is the guerdon of the gods of the Greeks, should they not first deify the cooks, who are dignified with equal happiness, and worship the chimney itself, which is closer still to the much-prized savour?

And Hesiod says that Zeus, cheated in a division of flesh by Prometheus, received the white bones of an ox, concealed with cunning art, in shining fat: "Whence to the immortal gods the tribes of men The victim's white bones on the altars burn."

But they will by no means say that the Deity, enfeebled through the desire that springs from want, is nourished. Accordingly, they will represent Him as nourished without desire like a plant, and like beasts that burrow. They say that these grow innoxiously, nourished either by the density in the air, or from the exhalations proceeding from their own body. Though if the Deity, though needing nothing, is according to them nourished, what necessity has He for food, wanting nothing? But if, by nature needing nothing, He delights to be honoured, it is not without reason that we honour God in prayer; and thus the best and holiest sacrifice with righteousness we bring, presenting it as an offering to the most righteous Word, by whom we receive knowledge, giving glory by Him for what we have learned.

The altar, then, that is with us here, the terrestrial one, is the congregation of those who devote themselves to prayers, having as it were one common voice and one mind.

Now, if nourishing substances taken in by the nostrils are diviner than those taken in by the mouth, yet they infer respiration. What, then, do they say of God? Whether does He exhale like the tribe of oaks? Or does He only inhale, like the

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aquatic animals, by the dilatation of their gills? Or does He breathe all round, like the insects, by the compression of the section by means of their wings? But no one, if he is in his senses, will liken God to any of these.

And the creatures that breathe by the expansion of the lung towards the thorax draw in the air. Then if they assign to God viscera, and arteries, and veins, and nerves, and parts, they will make Him in nothing different from man.

Now breathing together (sumpnoia) is properly said of the Church. For the sacrifice of the Church is the word breathing as incense from holy souls, the sacrifice and the whole mind being at the same time unveiled to God. Now the very ancient altar in Delos they celebrated as holy; which alone, being undefiled by slaughter and death, they say Pythagoras approached. And will they not believe us when we say that the righteous soul is the truly sacred altar, and that incense arising from it is holy prayer? But I believe sacrifices were invented by men to be a pretext for eating flesh. But without such idolatry he who wished might have partaken of flesh.

For the sacrifices of the Law express figura tively the piety which we practise, as the turtle-dove and the pigeon offered for sins point out that the cleansing of the irrational part of the soul is acceptable to God. But if any one of the righteous does not burden his soul by the eating of flesh, he has the advantage of a rational reason, not as Pythagoras and his followers dream of the transmigration of the soul.

Now Xenocrates, treating by himself of "the food derived from animals," and Polemon in his work On Life according, to Nature, seem clearly to say that animal food is unwholesome, inasmuch as it has already been elaborated and assimilated to the souls of the irrational creatures.

So also, in particular, the Jews abstain from swine's flesh on the ground of this animal being unclean; since more than the other animals it roots up, and destroys the productions of the ground. But if they say that the animals were assigned to men -- and we agree with them -- yet it was not entirely for food. Nor was it all animals, but such as do not work. Wherefore the comic poet Plato says not badly in the drama of The Feasts: "For of the quadrupeds we should not slay In future aught but swine. For these have flesh Most toothsome; and about the pig is nought For us, excepting bristles, mud, and noise."

Whence Æsop said not badly, that "swine squeaked out very loudly, because, when they were dragged, they knew that they were good for nothing but for sacrifice."

Wherefore also Cleanthes says, "that they have soul instead of salt," that their flesh may not putrefy. Some, then, eat them as useless, others as destructive of fruits. And others do not eat them, because the animal has a strong sensual propensity.

So, then, the law sacrifices not the goat, except in the sole case of the banishment of sins; since pleasure is the metropolis of vice. It is to the point also that it is said that the eating of goat's flesh contributes to epilepsy. And they say that the greatest increase is produced by swine's flesh. Wherefore it is beneficial to those who exercise the body; but to those who devote themselves to the development of the soul it is not so, on account of the hebetude that results from the eating of flesh. Perchance also some Gnostic will abstain from the eating of flesh for the sake of training, and in order that the flesh may not grow wanton in amorousness. "For wine," says Androcydes, "and gluttonous feeds of flesh make the body strong, but the soul more sluggish." Accordingly such food, in order to clear understanding, is to be rejected.

Wherefore also the Egyptians, in the purifications practised among them, do not allow the priests to feed on flesh; but they use chickens, as lightest; and they do not touch fish, on account of certain fables, but especially on account of such food making the flesh flabby. But now terrestrial animals and birds breathe the same air as our vital spirits, being possessed of a vital principle cognate with the air. But it is said that fishes do not breathe this air, but that which was mixed with the water at the instant of its first creation, as well as with the rest of the elements, which is also a sign of the permanence of matter.

Wherefore we ought to offer to God sacrifices not costly, but such as He loves. And that compounded incense which is mentioned in the Law, is that which consists of many tongues and voices in prayer, or rather of different nations and natures, prepared by the gift vouchsafed in the dispensation for "the unity of the faith," and brought together in praises, with a pure mind, and just and right conduct, from holy works and righteous prayer. For in the elegant language of poetry,- "Who is so great a fool, and among men So very easy of belief, as thinks The gods, with fraud of fleshless bones and bile All burnt, not fit for hungry dogs to eat, Delighted are, and take this as their prize, And favour show to those who treat them thus," though they happen to be tyrants and robbers?

But we say that the fire sanctifies s not flesh, but sinful souls; meaning not the all-devouring vulgar fire but that of wisdom, which pervades the soul passing through the fire.

CHAPTER 7 -- WHAT SORT OF PRAYER THE GNOSTIC EMPLOYS, AND HOW IT iS HEARD BY GOD.

Now we are commanded to reverence and to honour the same one, being persuaded that He is Word, Saviour, and Leader, and by Him, the Father, not on special days, as some others, but doing this continually in our whole life, and in every way. Certainly the elect race justified by the precept says, "Seven times a day have I praised Thee." Whence not in a specified place, or selected temple, or at certain festivals and on appointed days, but during his whole life, the Gnostic in every place, even if he be alone by himself, and wherever he has any of those who have exercised the like faith, honours God, that is, acknowledges his gratitude for the knowledge of the way to live.

And if the presence of a good man, through the respect and reverence which he inspires, always improves him with whom he associates, with much more reason does not he who always holds uninterrupted converse with God by knowledge, life, and thanksgiving, grow at every step superior to himself in all respects -- in conduct, in words, in disposition? Such an one is persuaded that God is ever beside him, and does not suppose that He is confined in certain limited places; so that under the idea that at times he is without Him, he may indulge in excesses night and day.

Holding festival, then, in our whole life, persuaded that God is altogether on every side present, we cultivate our fields, praising; we sail the sea, hymning; in all the rest of our conversation we conduct ourselves according to rule. The Gnostic, then, is very closely allied to God, being at once grave and cheerful in all things, -- grave on account of the bent of his soul towards the Divinity, and cheerful on account of his consideration of the blessings of humanity which God hath given us.

Now the excellence of knowledge is evidently presented by the prophet when he says, "Benignity, and instruction, and knowledge teach me," magnifying the supremacy of perfection by a climax.

He is, then, the truly kingly man; he is the sacred high priest of God. And this is even now observed among the most sagacious of the Barbarians, in advancing the sacerdotal caste to the royal power. He, therefore, never surrenders himself to the rabble that rules supreme over the theatres, and gives no admittance even in a dream to the things which are spoken, done, and seen for the sake of alluring pleasures; neither, therefore, to the pleasures of sight, nor the various pleasures which are found in other enjoyments, as costly incense and odours, which bewitch the nostrils, or preparations of meats, and indulgences in different wines, which ensnare the palate, or fragrant bouquets of many flowers, which through the senses effeminate the soul. But always tracing up to God the grave enjoyment of all things, he offers the first-fruits of food, and drink, and unguents to the Giver of all, acknowledging his thanks in the gift and in the use of them by the Word given to him. He rarely goes to convivial banquets of all and sundry, unless the announcement to him of the friendly and harmonious character of the entertainment induce him to go. For he is convinced that God knows and perceives all things -- not the words only, but also the thought; since even our sense of hearing, which acts through the passages of the body, has the apprehension [be longing to it] not through corporeal power, but through a psychical perception, and the intelligence which distinguishes significant sounds. God is not, then, possessed of human form, so as to hear; nor needs He senses, as the Stoics have decided, "especially hearing and sight; for He could never otherwise apprehend." But the susceptibility of the air, and the intensely keen perception of the angels, and the power which reaches the soul's consciousness, by ineffable power and without sensible hearing, know all things at the moment of thought. And should any one say that the voice does not reach God, but is rolled downwards in the air, yet the thoughts of the saints cleave not the air only, but the whole world. And the divine power, with the speed of light, sees through the whole soul. Well! Do not also volitions speak to God, uttering their voice? And are they not conveyed by conscience? And what voice shall He wait for, who, according to His purpose, knows the elect already, even before his birth, knows what is to be as already existent? Does not the light of power shine down to the very bottom of the whole soul; "the lamp of knowledge," as the Scripture says, searching "the recesses"? God is all ear and all eye, if we may be permitted to use these expressions.

In general, then, an unworthy opinion of God preserves no piety, either in hymns, or discourses, or writings, or dogmas, but diverts to grovelling and unseemly ideas and notions. Whence the commendation of the multitude differs nothing from censure, in consequence of their ignorance of the truth. The objects, then, of desires and aspirations, and, in a word, of the mind's impulses, are the subjects of prayers. Wherefore, no man desires a draught, but to drink what is drinkable; and no man desires an inheritance, but to inherit. And in like manner no man desires knowledge, but to know; or a right government, but to take part in the government. The subjects of our prayers, then, are the subjects of our requests, and the subjects of requests are the objects of desires. Prayer, then, and desire, follow in order, with the view of possessing the blessings and advantages offered.

The Gnostic, then, who is such by possession, makes his prayer and request for the truly good things which appertain to the soul, and prays, he himself also contributing his efforts to attain to the habit of goodness, so as no longer to have the things that are good as certain lessons belonging to him, but to be good.

Wherefore also it is most incumbent on such to pray, knowing as they do the Divinity rightly, and having the moral excellence suitable to him; who know what things are really good, and what are to be asked, and when and how in each individual case. It is the extremest stupidity to ask of them who are no gods, as if they were gods; or to ask those things which are not beneficial, begging evils for themselves under the appearance of good things.

Whence, as is right, there being only one good God, that some good things be given from Him alone, and that some remain, we and the angels pray. But not similarly. For it is not the same thing to pray that the gift remain, and to endeavour to obtain it for the first time.

The averting of evils is a species of prayer; but such prayer is never to be used for the injury of men, except that the Gnostic, in devoting attention to righteousness, may make use of this petition in the case of those who are past feeling.

Prayer is, then, to speak more boldly, converse with God. Though whispering, consequently, and not opening the lips, we speak in silence, yet we cry inwardly. For God hears continually all the inward converse. So also we raise the head and lift the hands to heaven, and set the feet in motion at the closing utterance of the prayer, following the eagerness of the spirit directed towards the intellectual essence; and endeavouring to abstract the body from the earth, along with the discourse, raising the soul aloft, winged with longing for better things, we compel it to advance to the region of holiness, magnanimously despising the chain of the flesh. For we know right well, that the Gnostic willingly passes over the whole world, as the Jews certainly did over Egypt, showing clearly, above all, that he will be as near as possible to God.

Now, if some assign definite hours for prayer -- as, for example, the third, and sixth, and ninth -- yet the Gnostic prays throughout his whole life, endeavouring by prayer to have fellowship with God. And, briefly, having reached to this, he leaves behind him all that is of no service, as having now received the perfection of the man that acts by love. But the distribution of the hours into a threefold division, honoured with as many prayers, those are acquainted with, who know the blessed triad of the holy abodes.

Having got to this point, I recollect the doctrines about there being no necessity to pray, introduced by certain of the heterodox, that is, the followers of the heresy of Prodicus. That they may not then be inflated with conceit about this godless wisdom of theirs, as if it were strange, let them learn that it was embraced before by the philosophers called Cyrenaics. Nevertheless, the unholy knowledge (gnosis) of those falsely called [Gnostics] shall meet with confutation at a fitting time; so that the assault on them, by no means brief, may not, by being introduced into the commentary, break the discourse in hand, in which we are showing that the only really holy and pious man is he who is truly a Gnostic according to the rule of the Church, to whom alone the petition made in accordance with the will of God is granted, on asking and on thinking. For as God can do all that He wishes, so the Gnostic receives all that he asks. For, universally, God knows those who are and those who are not worthy of good things; whence He gives to each what is suitable. Wherefore to those that are unworthy, though they ask often, He will not give; but He will give to those who are worthy.

Nor is petition superfluous, though good things are given without claim.

Now thanksgiving and request for the conversion of our neighbours is the function of the Gnostic; as also the Lord prayed, giving thanks for the accomplishment of His ministry, praying that as many as possible might attain to knowledge; that in the saved, by salvation, through knowledge, God might be glorified, and He who is alone good and alone Saviour might be acknowledged through the Son from age to age. But also faith, that one will receive, is a species of prayer gnostically laid up in store.

But if any occasion of converse with God becomes prayer, no opportunity of access to God ought to be omitted. Without doubt, the holiness of the Gnostic, in union with [God's] blessed Providence, exhibits in voluntary confession the perfect beneficence of God. For the holiness of the Gnostic, and the reciprocal benevolence of the friend of God, are a kind of corresponding movement of providence. For neither is God involuntarily good, as the fire is warming; but in Him the imparting of good things is voluntary, even if He receive the request previously. Nor shall he who is saved be saved against his will, for he is not inanimate; but he will above all voluntarily and of free choice speed to salvation. Wherefore also man received the commandments in order that he might be self-impelled, to whatever he wished of things to be chosen

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and to be avoided. Wherefore God does not do good by necessity, but from His free choice benefits those who spontaneously turn. For the Providence which extends to us from God is not ministerial, as that service which proceeds from inferiors to superiors. But in pity for our weakness, the continual dispensations of Providence work, as the care of shepherds towards the sheep, and of a king towards his subjects; we ourselves also conducting ourselves obediently towards our superiors, who take the management of us, as appointed, in accordance with the commission from God with which they are invested.

Consequently those who render the most free and kingly service, which is the result of a pious mind and of knowledge, are servants and attendants of the Divinity. Each place, then, and time, in which we entertain the idea of God, is in reality sacred.

When, then, the man who chooses what is right, and is at the same time of thankful heart, makes his request in prayer, he contributes to the obtaining of it, gladly taking hold in prayer of the thing desired. For when the Giver of good things perceives the susceptibility on our part, all good things follow at once the conception of them. Certainly in prayer the character is sifted, how it stands with respect to duty.

But if voice and expression are given us, for the sake of understanding, how can God not hear the soul itself, and the mind, since assuredly soul hears soul, and mind, mind? Whence God does not walt for loquacious tongues, as interpreters among men, but knows absolutely the thoughts of all; and what the voice intimates to us, that our thought, which even before the creation He knew would come into our mind, speaks to God. Prayer, then, may be uttered without the voice, by concentrating the whole spiritual nature within on expression by the mind, in un-distracted turning towards God.

And since the dawn is an image of the day of birth, and from that point the light which has shone forth at first from the darkness increases, there has also dawned on those involved in darkness a day of the knowledge of truth. In correspondence with the manner of the sun's rising, prayers are made looking towards the sunrise in the east. Whence also the most ancient temples looked towards the west, that people might be taught to turn to the east when facing the images. "Let my prayer be directed before Thee as incense, the uplifting of my hands as the evening sacrifice," say the Psalms.

In the case of wicked men, therefore, prayer is most injurious, not to others alone, but to themselves also. If, then, they should ask and receive what they call pieces of good fortune, these injure them after they receive them, being ignorant how to use them. For they pray to possess what they have not, and they ask things which seem, but are not, good things. But the Gnostic will ask the permanence of the things he possesses, adaptation for what is to take place, and the eternity of those things which he shall receive. And the things which are really good, the things which concern the soul, he prays that they may belong to him, and remain with him. And so he desires not anything that is absent, being content with what is present. For he is not deficient in the good things which are proper to him; being already sufficient for himself, through divine grace and knowledge. But having become sufficient in himself, he stands in no want of other things. But knowing the sovereign will, and possessing as soon as he prays, being brought into close contact with the almighty power, and earnestly desiring to be spiritual, through boundless love, he is united to the Spirit.

Thus he, being magnanimous, possessing, through knowledge, what is the most precious of all, the best of all, being quick in applying himself to contemplation, retains in his soul the permanent energy of the objects of his contemplation, that is the perspicacious keenness of knowledge. And this power he strives to his utmost to acquire, by obtaining command of all the influences which war against the mind; and by applying himself without intermission to speculation, by exercising himself in the training of abstinence from pleasures, and of fight conduct in what he does; and besides, furnished with great experience both in study and in life, he has freedom of speech, not the power of a babbling tongue, but a power which employs plain language, and which neither for favour nor fear conceals aught of the things which may be worthily said at the fitting time, in which it is highly necessary to say them. He, then, having received the things respecting God from the mystic choir of the truth itself, employs language which urges the magnitude of virtue in accordance with its worth; and shows its results with an inspired elevation of prayer, being associated gnostically, as far as possible, with intellectual and spiritual objects.

Whence he is always mild and meek, accessible, affable, long-suffering, grateful, endued with a good conscience. Such a man is rigid, not alone so as not to be corrupted, but so as not to be tempted. For he never exposes his soul to submission, or capture at the hands of Pleasure and Pain. If the Word, who is Judge, call; he, having grown inflexible, and not indulging a whir the passions, walks unswervingly where justice advises him to go; being very well persuaded that all things are managed consummately well, and that progress to what is better goes on in the case of souls that have chosen virtue, till they come to the Good itself, to the Father's vestibule, so to speak, close to the great High Priest. Such is our Gnostic, faithful, persuaded that the affairs of the universe are managed in the best way. Particularly, he is well pleased with all that happens. In accordance with reason, then, he asks for none of those things in life required for necessary use; being persuaded that God, who knows all things, supplies the good with whatever is for their benefit, even though they do not ask.

For my view is, that as all things are supplied to the man of art according to the rules of art, and to the Gentile in a Gentile way, so also to the Gnostic all things are supplied gnostically. And the man who turns from among the Gentiles will ask for faith, while he that ascends to knowledge will ask for the perfection of love. And the Gnostic, who has reached the summit, will pray that contemplation may grow and abide, as the common man will for continual good health.

Nay, he will pray that he may never fall from virtue; giving his most strenuous co-operation in order that he may become infallible. For he knows that some of the angels, through carelessness, were hurled to the earth, not having yet quite reached that state of oneness, by extricating themselves from the propensity to that of duality.

But him, who from this has trained himself to the summit of knowledge and the elevated height of the perfect man, all things relating to time and place help on, now that he has made it his choice to live infallibly, and subjects himself to training in order to the attainment of the stability of knowledge on each side. But in the case of those in whom there is still a heavy corner, leaning downwards, even that part which has been elevated by faith is dragged down. In him, then, who by gnostic training has acquired virtue which cannot be lost, habit becomes nature. And just as weight in a stone, so the knowledge of such an one is incapable of being lost. Not without, but through the exercise of will, and by the force of reason, and knowledge, and Providence, is it brought to become incapable of being lost. Through care it becomes incapable of being lost. He will employ caution so as to avoid sinning, and consideration to prevent the loss of virtue.

Now knowledge appears to produce consideration, by teaching to perceive the things that are capable of contributing to the permanence of virtue. The highest thing is, then, the knowledge of God; wherefore also by it virtue is so preserved as to be incapable of being lost. And he who knows God is holy and pious. The Gnostic has consequently been demonstrated by us to be the only pious man.

He rejoices in good things present, and is glad on account of those promised, as if they were already present. For they do not elude his notice, as if they were still absent, because he knows by anticipation what sort they are. Being then persuaded by knowledge how each future thing shall be, he possesses it. For want and defect are measured with reference to what appertains to one. If, then, he possesses wisdom, and wisdom is a divine thing, he who partakes of what has no want will himself have no want. For the imparting of wisdom does not take place by activity and receptivity moving and stopping each other, or by aught being abstracted or becoming defective.

Activity is therefore shown to be undiminished in the act of communication.

So, then, our Gnostic possesses all good things, as far as possible; but not likewise in number; since otherwise he would be incapable of changing his place through the due inspired stages of advancement and acts of administration.

Him God helps, by honouring him with closer oversight. For were not all things made for the sake of good men, for their possession and advantage, or rather salvation? He will not then deprive, of the things which exist for the sake of virtue, those for whose sake they were created. For, evidently in honour of their excellent nature and their holy choice, he inspires those who have made choice of a good life with strength for the rest of their salvation; exhorting some, and helping others, who of themselves have become worthy. For all good is capable of being produced in the Gnostic; if indeed it is his aim to know and do everything intelligently. And as the physician ministers health to those who co-operate with him in order to health, so also God ministers eternal salvation to those who co-operate for the attainment of knowledge and good conduct; and since what the commandments enjoin are in our own power, along with the performance of them, the promise is accomplished.

And what follows seems to me to be excellently said by the Greeks. An athlete of no mean reputation among those of old, having for a long time subjected his body to thorough training in order to the attainment of manly strength, on going up to the Olympic games, cast his eye on the statue of the Pisaean Zeus, and said: "O Zeus, if all the requisite preparations for the contest have been made by me, come, give me the victory, as is right." For so, in the case of the Gnostic, who has unblameably and with a good conscience fulfilled all that depends on him, in the direction of learning, and training, and well-doing, and pleasing God, the whole contributes to carry salvation on to perfection. From us, then, are demanded the things which are in our own power, and of the things which pertain to us, both present and absent, the choice, and desire, and possession, and use, and permanence.

Wherefore also he who holds converse with God must have his soul immaculate and stainlessly pure, it being essential to have made himself perfectly good.

But also it becomes him to make all his prayers gently with the good. For it is a dangerous thing to take part in others' sins. Accordingly the Gnostic will pray along with those who have more recently believed, for those things in respect of which it is their duty to act together. And his whole life is a holy festival. His sacrifices are prayers, and praises, and readings in the Scriptures before meals, and psalms and hymns during meals and before bed, and prayers also again during night. By these he unites himself to the divine choir, from continual recollection, engaged in contemplation which has everlasting remembrance.

And what? Does he not also know the other kind of sacrifice, which consists in the giving both of doctrines and of money to those who need? Assuredly. But he does not use wordy prayer by his mouth; having learned to ask of the Lord what is requisite. In every place, therefore, but not ostensibly and visibly to the multitude, he will pray. But while engaged in walking, in conversation, while in silence, while engaged in reading and in works according to reason, he in every mood prays. If he but form the thought in the secret chamber of his soul, and call on the Father "with unspoken groanings," He is near, and is at his side, while yet speaking. Inasmuch as there are but three ends of all action, he does everything for its excellence and utility; but doing aught for the sake of pleasure, he leaves to those who pursue the common life.

CHAPTER 8 -- THE GNOSTIC SO ADDICTED TO TRUTH AS NOT TO NEED TO USE AN OATH.

The man of proved character in such piety is far from being apt to lie and to swear. For an oath is a decisive affirmation, with the taking of the divine name. For how can he, that is once faithful, show himself unfaithful, so as to require an oath; and so that his life may not be a sure and decisive oath? He lives, and walks, and shows the trustworthiness of his affirmation in an unwavering and sure life and speech. And if the wrong lies in the judgment of one who does and says [something], and not in the suffering of one who has been wronged, he will neither lie nor commit perjury so as to wrong the Deity, knowing that it by nature is incapable of being harmed. Nor yet will he lie or commit any transgression, for the sake of the neighbour whom he has learned to love, though he be not on terms of intimacy. Much more, consequently, will he not lie or perjure himself on his own account, since he never with his will can be found doing wrong to himself.

But he does not even swear, preferring to make averment, in affirmation by "yea," and in denial by "nay." For it is an oath to swear, or to produce anything from the mind in the way of confirmation in the shape of an oath. It suffices, then, with him, to add to an affirmation or denial the expression" I say truly," for confirmation to those who do not perceive the certainty of his answer. For he ought, I think, to maintain a life calculated to inspire confidence towards those without, so that an oath may not even be asked; and towards himself and those with whom he associates? good feeling, which is voluntary righteousness.

The Gnostic swears truly, but is not apt to swear, having rarely recourse to an oath, just as we have said. And his speaking truth on oath arises from his accord with the truth. This speaking truth on oath, then, is found to be the result of correctness in duties. Where, then, is the necessity for an oath to him who lives in accordance with the extreme of truth? He, then, that does not even swear will be far from perjuring himself. And he who does not transgress in what is ratified by compacts, will never swear; since the ratification of the violation and of the fulfilment is by actions; as certainly lying and perjury in affirming and swearing are contrary to duty. But he who lives justly, transgressing in none of his duties, when the judgment of truth is scrutinized, swears truth by his acts. Accordingly, testimony by the tongue is in his case superfluous.

Therefore, persuaded always that God is everywhere, and fearing not to speak the truth, and knowing that it is unworthy of him to lie, he is satisfied with the divine consciousness and his own alone And so he lies not, nor does aught contrary to his compacts. And so he swears not even when asked for his oath; nor does he ever deny, so as to speak falsehood, though he should die by tortures.

CHAPTER 9 -- THOSE WHO TEACH OTHERS, OUGHT TO EXCEL IN VIRTUES.

The gnostic dignity is augmented and increased by him who has undertaken the first place in the teaching of others, and received the dispensation by word and deed of the greatest good on earth, by which he mediates contact and fellowship with the Divinity. And as those who worship terrestrial things pray to them as if they heard, confirming compacts before them; so, in men who are living images, the true

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majesty of the Word is received by the trustworthy teacher; and the beneficence exerted towards them is carried up to the Lord, after whose image he who is a true man by instruction creates and harmonizes, renewing to salvation the man who receives instruction. For as the Greeks called steel Ares, and wine Dionysus on account of a certain relation; so the Gnostic considering the benefit of his neighbours as his own salvation, may be called a living image of the Lord, not as respects the peculiarity of form, but the symbol of power and similarity of preaching.

Whatever, therefore, he has in his mind, he bears on his tongue, to those who are worthy to hear, speaking as well as living from assent and inclination. For he both thinks and speaks the truth; unless at any time, medicinally, as a physician for the safety of the sick, he may deceive or tell an untruth, according to the Sophists.

To illustrate: the noble apostle circumcised Timothy, though loudly declaring and writing that circumcision made with hands profits nothing. But that he might not, by dragging all at once away from the law to the circumcision of the heart through faith those of the Hebrews who were reluctant listeners, compel them to break away from the synagogue, he, "accommodating himself to the Jews, became a Jew that he might gain all."

He, then, who submits to accommodate himself merely for the benefit of his neighbours, for the salvation of those for whose sake he accommodates himself, not partaking in any dissimulation through the peril impending over the just from those who envy them, such an one by no means acts with compulsion. But for the benefit of his neighbours alone, he will do things which would not have been done by him primarily, if he did not do them on their account. Such an one gives himself for the Church, for the disciples whom he has begotten in faith; for an example to those who are capable of receiving the supreme economy of the philanthropic and God-loving Instructor, for confirmation of the truth of his words, for the exercise of love to the Lord. Such an one is unenslaved by fear, true in word, enduring in labour, never willing to lie by uttered word, and in it always securing sinlessness; since falsehood, being spoken with a certain deceit, is not an inert word, but operates to mischief.

On every hand, then, the Gnostic alone testifies to the truth in deed and word. For he always does rightly in all things, both in word and action, and in thought itself.

Such, then, to speak cursorily, is the piety of the Christian. If, then, he does these things according to duty and right reason, he does them piously and justly. And if such be the case, the Gnostic alone is really both pious, and just, and God-fearing.

The Christian is not impious. For this was the point incumbent on us to demonstrate to the philosophers; so that he will never in any way do aught bad or base (which is unjust). Consequently, therefore, he is not impious; but he alone fears God, holily and dutifully worshipping the true God, the universal Ruler, and King, and Sovereign, with the true piety.

CHAPTER 10 -- STEPS TO PERFECTION.

For knowledge (gnosis), to speak generally, a perfecting of man as man, is consummated by acquaintance with divine things, in character, life, and word, accordant and conformable to itself and to the divine Word. For by it faith is perfected, inasmuch as it is solely by it that the believer becomes perfect.

Faith is an internal good, and without searching for God, confesses His existence, and glorifies Him as existent. Whence by starting from this faith, and being developed by it, through the grace of God, the knowledge respecting Him is to be acquired as far as possible.

Now we assert that knowledge (gnosis) differs from the wisdom (sofia), which is the result of teaching. For as far as anything is knowledge, so far is it certainly wisdom; but in as far as aught is wisdom, it is not certainly knowledge. For the term wisdom appears only in the knowledge of the uttered word.

But it is not doubting in reference to God, but believing, that is the foundation of knowledge. But Christ is both the foundation and the superstructure, by whom are both the beginning and the ends. And the extreme points, the beginning and the end -- I mean faith and love -- are not taught. But knowledge, conveyed from communication through the grace of God as a deposit, is entrusted to those who show themselves worthy of it; and from it the worth of love beams forth from light to light. For it is said, "To him that hath shall be given:" to faith, knowledge; and to knowledge, love; and to love, the inheritance.

And this takes place, whenever one hangs on the Lord by faith, by knowledge, by love, and ascends along with Him to where the God and guard of our faith and love is. Whence at last (on account of the necessity for very great preparation and previous training in order both to hear what is said, and for the composure of life, and for advancing intelligently to a point beyond the righteousness of the law) it is that knowledge is committed to those fit and selected for it. It leads us to the endless and perfect end, teaching us beforehand the future life that we shall lead, according to God, and with gods; after we are freed from all punishment and penalty which we undergo, in consequence of our sins, for salutary discipline. After which redemption the reward and the honours are assigned to those who have become perfect; when they have got done with purification, and ceased from all service, though it be holy service, and among saints. Then become pure in heart, and near to the Lord, there awaits them restoration to everlasting contemplation; and they are called by the appellation of gods, being destined to sit on thrones with the other gods that have been first put in their places by the Saviour.

Knowledge is therefore quick in purifying, and fit for that acceptable transformation to the better. Whence also with ease it removes [the soul] to what is akin to the soul, divine and holy, and by its own light conveys man through the mystic stages of advancement; till it restores the pure in heart to the crowning place of rest; teaching to gaze on God, face to face, with knowledge and comprehension. For in this consists the perfection of the gnostic soul, in its being with the Lord, where it is in immediate subjection to Him, after rising above all purification and service.

Faith is then, so to speak, a comprehensive knowledge of the essentials; and knowledge is the strong and sure demonstration of what is received by faith, built upon faith by the Lord's teaching, conveying [the soul] on to infallibility, science, and comprehension. And, in my view, the first saving change is that from heathenism to faith, as I said before; and the second, that from faith to knowledge. And the latter terminating in love, thereafter gives the loving to the loved, that which knows to that which is known. And, perchance, such an one has already attained the condition of "being equal to the angels." Accordingly, after the highest excellence in the flesh, changing always duly to the better, he urges his flight to the ancestral hall, through the holy septenniad [of heavenly abodes] to the Lord's own mansion; to be a light, steady, and continuing eternally, entirely and in every part immutable.

The first mode of the Lord's operation mentioned by us is an exhibition of the recompense resulting from piety. Of the very great number of testimonies that there are, I shall adduce one, thus summarily expressed by the prophet David: "Who shall ascend to the hill of the Lord, or who shall stand in His holy place? He who is guiltless in his hands, and pure in his heart; who hath not lifted up his soul to vanity, or sworn deceitfully to his neighbour. He shall receive blessing from the Lord, and mercy from God his Saviour. This is the generation of them that seek the Lord, that seek the face of the God of Jacob." The prophet has, in my opinion, concisely indicated the Gnostic. David, as appears, has cursorily demonstrated the Saviour to be God, by calling Him "the face of the God of Jacob," who preached and aught concerning the Spirit. Wherefore also the apostle designates as "the express image (karakthra) of the glory of the Father " the Son, who taught the truth respecting God, and expressed the fact that the Almighty is the one and only God and Father, "whom no man knoweth but the Son, and he to whom the Son shall reveal Him." That God is one is intimated by those "who seek the face of the God of Jacob;" whom being the only God, our Saviour and God characterizes as the Good Father. And "the generation of those that seek Him" is the elect race, devoted to inquiry after knowledge. Wherefore also the apostle says, "I shall profit you nothing, unless I speak to you, either by revelation, or by knowledge, or by prophecy, or by doctrine."

Although even by those who are not Gnostics some things are done rightly, yet not according to reason; as in the case of fortitude. For some who are naturally high-spirited, and have afterwards without reason fostered this disposition, rush to many things, and act like brave men, so as sometimes to succeed in achieving the same things; just as endurance is easy for mechanics. But it is not from the same cause, or with the same object; not were they to give their whole body. "For they have not love," according to the apostle.

All the action, then, of a man possessed of knowledge is right action; and that done by a man not possessed of knowledge is: wrong action, though he observe a plan; since it is not from reflection that he acts bravely, nor does he direct his action in those things which proceed from virtue to virtue, to any useful purpose.

The same holds also with the other virtues. So too the analogy is preserved in religion. Our Gnostic, then, not only is such in reference to holiness; but corresponding to the piety of knowledge are the commands respecting the rest of the conduct of life. For it is our purpose at present to describe the life of the Gnostic, not to present the system of dogmas, which we shall afterwards explain at the fitting time, preserving the order of topics.

CHAPTER 11 -- DESCRIPTION OF THE GNOSTIC'S LIFE.

Respecting the universe, he conceives truly and grandly in virtue of his reception of divine teaching. Beginning, then, with admiration of the Creation, and affording of himself a proof of his capability for receiving knowledge, he becomes a ready pupil of the Lord. Directly on hearing of God and Providence, he believed in consequence of ethe admiration he entertained. Through the power of impulse thence derived he devotes his energies in every way to learning, doing all those things by means of which he shall be able to acquire the knowledge of what he desires. And desire blended with inquiry arises as faith advances. And this is to become worthy of speculation, of such a character, and such importance. So shall the Gnostic taste of the will of God. For it is not his ears, but his soul, that he yields up to the things signified by what is spoken. Accordingly, apprehending essences and things through the words, he brings his soul, as is fit, to what is essential; apprehending (e.g.) in the peculiar way in which they are spoken to the Gnostic, the commands, "Do not commit adultery, "Do not kill;" and not as they are understood by other people. Training himself, then, in scientific speculation, he proceeds to exercise himself in larger generalizations and grander propositions; knowing right well that "He that teacheth man knowledge," according to the prophet, is the Lord, the Lord acting by man's mouth. So also He assumed flesh.

As is right, then, he never prefers the pleasant to the useful; not even if a beautiful woman were to entice him, when overtaken by circumstances, by wantonly urging him: since Joseph's master's wife was not able to seduce him from his stedfastness; but as she violently held his coat, divested himself of it, -- becoming bare of sin, but clothed with seemliness of character. For if the eyes of the master -- the Egyptian, I mean -- saw not Joseph, yet those of the Almighty looked on. For we hear the voice, and see the bodily forms; but God scrutinizes the thing itself, from which the speaking and the looking proceed.

Consequently, therefore, though disease, and accident, and what is most terrible of all, death, come upon the Gnostic, he remains inflexible in soul, -- knowing that all such things are a necessity of creation, and that, also by the power of God, they become the medicine of salvation, benefiting by discipline those who are difficult to reform; allotted according to desert, by Providence, which is truly good.

Using the creatures, then, when the Word prescribes, and to the extent it prescribes, in the exercise of thankfulness to the Creator, he becomes master of the enjoyment of them.

He never cherishes resentment or harbours a grudge against any one, though deserving of hatred for his conduct. For he worships the Maker, and loves him, who shares life, pitying and praying for him on account of his ignorance. He indeed partakes of the affections of the body, to which, susceptible as it is of suffering by nature, he is bound. But in sensation he is not the primary subject of it.

Accordingly, then, in involuntary circumstances, by withdrawing himself from troubles to the things which really belong to him, he is not carried away with what is foreign to him. And it is only to things that are necessary for him that he accommodates himself, in so far as the soul is preserved unharmed. For it is not m supposition or seeming that he wishes to be faithful; but in knowledge and truth, that is, in sure deed and effectual word. Wherefore he not only praises what is noble, but endeavours himself to be noble; changing by love from a good and faithful servant into a friend, through the perfection of habit, which he has acquired in purity from true instruction and great discipline.

Striving, then, to attain to the summit of knowledge (gnosis); decorous in character; composed in mien; possessing all those advantages which belong to the true Gnostic fixing his eye on fair models, on the many patriarchs who have lived rightly, and on very many prophets and angels reckoned without number, and above all, on the Lord, who taught and showed it to be possible for him to attain that highest life of all, -- he therefore loves not all the good things of the world, which are within his grasp, that he may not remain on the ground, but the things hoped for, or rather already known, being hoped for so as to be apprehended.

So then he undergoes toils, and trials, and affections, not as those among the philosophers who are endowed with manliness, in the hope of present troubles ceasing, and of sharing again in what is pleasant; but knowledge has inspired him with the firmest persuasion of receiving the hopes of the future.

Wherefore he contemns not alone the pains of this world, but all its pleasures.

They say, accordingly, that the blessed Peter, on seeing his wife led to death, rejoiced on account of her call and conveyance home, and called very encouragingly and comfortingly, addressing her by name, "Remember thou the Lord." Such was the marriage of the blessed and their perfect disposition towards those dearest to them.

Thus also the apostle says, "that he who marries should be as though he married not," and deem his marriage free of inordinate affection, and inseparable from love to the Lord; to which the true husband exhorted his wife to cling on her departure out of this life to the Lord.

Was not then faith in the hope after death conspicuous in the case of those who gave thanks to God even in the very extremities of their punishments? For firm, in my opinion,

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was the faith they possessed, which was followed by works of faith.

In all circumstances, then, is the soul of the Gnostic strong, in a condition of extreme health and strength, like the body of an athlete.

For he is prudent in human affairs, in judging what ought to be done by the just man; having obtained the principles from God from above, and having acquired, in order to the divine resemblance, moderation in bodily pains and pleasures. And he struggles against fears boldly, trusting in God. Certainly, then, the gnostic soul, adorned with perfect virtue, is the earthly image of the divine power; its development being the joint result of nature, of training, of reason, all together. This beauty of the soul becomes a temple of the Holy Spirit, when it acquires a disposition in the whole of life corresponding to the Gospel. Such an one consequently withstands all fear of everything terrible, not only of death, but also poverty and disease, and ignominy, and things akin to these; being unconquered by pleasure, and lord over irrational desires. For he well knows what is and what! is not to be done; being perfectly aware what things are really to be dreaded, and what not. Whence he bears intelligently what the Word intimates to him to be requisite and necessary; intelligently discriminating what is really safe (that is, good), from what appears so; and things to be dreaded from what seems so, such as death, disease, and poverty; which are rather so in opinion than in truth.

This is the really good man, who is without passions; having, through the habit or disposition of the soul endued with virtue, transcended the whole life of passion. He has everything dependent on himself for the attainment of the end. For those accidents which are called terrible are not formidable to the good man, because they are not evil. And those which are really to be dreaded are foreign to the gnostic Christian, being diametrically opposed to what is good, because evil; and it is impossible for contraries to meet in the same person at the same time. He, then, who faultlessly acts the drama of life which God has given him to play, knows both what is to be done and what is to be endured.

Is it not then from ignorance of what is and what is not to be dreaded that cowardice arises? Consequently the only man of courage is the Gnostic, who knows both present and future good things; along with these, knowing, as I have said, also the things which are in reality not to be dreaded. Because, knowing vice alone to be hateful, and destructive of what contributes to knowledge, protected by the armour of the Lord, he makes war against it.

For if anything is caused through folly, and the operation or rather co-operation of the devil, this thing is not straightway the devil or folly. For no action is wisdom. For wisdom is a habit. And no action is a habit. The action, then, that arises from ignorance, is not already ignorance, but an evil through ignorance, but not ignorance. For neither perturbations of mind nor sins are vices, though proceeding from vice.

No one, then, who is irrationally brave is a Gnostic; since one might call children brave, who, through ignorance of what is to be dreaded, undergo things that are frightful. So they touch fire even. And the wild beasts that rush close on the points of spears, having a brute courage, might be called valiant. And such people might perhaps call jugglers valiant, who tumble on swords with a certain dexterity, practising a mischievous art for sorry gain. But he who is truly brave, with the peril arising from the bad feeling of the multitude before his eyes, courageously awaits whatever comes. In this way he is distin guished from others that are called martyrs, inasmuch as some furnish occasions for themselves, and rush into the heart of dangers, I know not how (for it is right to use mild language); while they, in accordance with right reason, protect themselves; then, on God really calling them, promptly surrender themselves, and confirm the call, from being conscious of no precipitancy, and present the man to be proved in the exercise of true rational fortitude. Neither, then, enduring lesser dangers from fear of greater, like other people, nor dreading censure at the hands of their equals, and those of like sentiments, do they continue in the confession of their calling; but from love to God they willingly obey the call, with no other aim in view than pleasing God, and not for the sake of the reward of their toils.

For some suffer from love of glory, and others from fear of some other sharper punishment, and others for the sake of pleasures and delights after death, being children in faith; blessed indeed, but not yet become men in love to God, as the Gnostic is. For there are, as in the gymnastic contests, so also in the Church, crowns for men and for children. But love is to be chosen for itself, and for nothing else. Therefore in the Gnostic, along with knowledge, the perfection of fortitude is developed from the discipline of life, he having always studied to acquire mastery over the passions.

Accordingly, love makes its own athlete fearless and dauntless, and confident in the Lord, anointing and training him; as righteousness secures for him truthfulness in his whole life. For it was a compendium of righteousness to say, "Let your yea be yea; and your nay, nay."

And the same holds with self-control. For it is neither for love of honour, as the athletes for the sake of crowns and fame; nor on the other hand, for love of money, as some pretend to exercise self-control, pursuing what is good with terrible suffering. Nor is it from love of the body for the sake of health. Nor any more is any man who is temperate from rusticity, who has not tasted pleasures, truly a man of self-con-trol. Certainly those who have led a laborious life, on tasting pleasures, forthwith break down the inflexibility of temperance into pleasures. Such are they who are restrained by law and fear. For on finding a favourable opportunity they defraud the law, by giving what is good the slip. But self-control, desirable for its own sake, perfected through knowledge, abiding ever, makes the man lord and master of himself; so that the Gnostic is temperate and passionless, incapable of being dissolved by pleasures and pains, as they say adamant is by fire.

The cause of these, then, is love, of all science the most sacred and most sovereign.

For by the service of what is best and most exalted, which is characterized by unity, it renders the Gnostic at once friend and son, having in truth grown "a perfect man, up to the measure of full stature."

Further, agreement in the same thing is consent. But what is the same is one. And friendship is consummated in likeness; the community lying in oneness. The Gnostic, consequently, in virtue of being a lover of the one true God, is the really perfect man and friend of God, and is placed in the rank of son. For these are names of nobility and knowledge, and perfection in the contemplation of God; which crowning step of advancement the gnostic soul receives, when it has become quite pure, reckoned worthy to behold everlastingly God Almighty, "face," it is said, "to face." For having become wholly spiritual, and having in the spiritual Church gone to what is of kindred nature, it abides in the rest of God.

CHAPTER 12 -- THE TRUE GNOSTIC IS BENEFICENT, CONTINENT, AND DESPISES WORLDLY THINGS.

Let these things, then, be so. And such being the attitude of the Gnostic towards the body and the soul -- towards his neighbours, whether it be a domestic, or a lawful enemy, or whosoever -- he is found equal and like. For he does not "despise his brother," who, according to the divine law, is of the same father and mother. Certainly he relieves the afflicted, helping him with consolations, encouragements, and the necessaries of life; giving to all that need, though not similarly, but justly, according to desert; furthermore, to him who persecutes and hates, even if he need it; caring little for those who say to him that be has given out of fear, if it is not out of fear that he does so, but to give help. For how much more are those, who towards their enemies are devoid of love of money, and are haters of evil, animated with love to those who belong to them?

Such an one from this proceeds to the accurate knowledge of whom he ought chiefly to give to, and how much, and when, and how.

And who could with any reason become the enemy of a man who gives no cause for enmity in any way? And is it not just as in the case of God? We say that God is the adversary of no one, and the enemy of no one (for He is the Creator of all, and nothing that exists. is what He wills it not to be; but we assert that the disobedient, and those who walk not according to His commandments, are enemies to Him, as being those who are hostile to His covenant).

We shall find the very same to be the case with the Gnostic, for he can never in any way become an enemy to any one; but those may be regarded enemies to him who turn to the contrary path.

In particular, the habit of liberality which prevails among us is called "righteousness;" but the power of discriminating according to desert, as to greater and less, with reference to those who am proper subjects of it, is a form of the very highest righteousness.

There are things practised in a vulgar style by some people, such as control over pleasures. For as, among the heathen, there are those who, from the impossibility of obtaining what one sees, and from fear of men, and also for the sake of greater pleasures, abstain from the delights that are before them; so also, in the case of faith, some practise self-restraint, either out of regard to the promise or from fear of God. Well, such self-restraint is the basis of knowledge, and an approach to something better, and an effort after perfection. For "the fear of the Lord," it is said, "is the beginning of wisdom." But the perfect man, out of love, "beareth all things, endureth all things," "as not pleasing man, but God." Although praise follows him as a consequence, it is not for his own advantage, but for the imitation and benefit of those who praise him.

According to another view, it is not he who merely controls his passions that is called a continent man, but he who has also achieved the mastery over good things, and has acquired surely the great accomplishments of science, from which he produces as fruits the activities of virtue. Thus the Gnostic is never, on the occurrence of an emergency, dislodged from the habit peculiar to him. For the scientific possession of what is good is firm and unchangeable, being the knowledge of things divine and human. Knowledge, then, never becomes ignorance nor does good change into evil. Wherefore also he eats, and drinks, and marries, not as principal ends of existence, but as necessary. I name marriage even, if the Word prescribe, and as is suitable. For having become perfect, he has the apostles for examples; and one is not really shown to be a man in the choice of single life; but he surpasses men, who, disciplined by marriage, procreation of children, and care for the house, without pleasure or pain, in his solicitude for the house has been inseparable from God's love, and withstood all temptation arising through children, and wife, and domestics, and possessions. But he that has no family is in a great degree free of temptation. Caring, then, for himself alone, he is surpassed by him who is inferior, as far as his own personal salvation is concerned, but who is superior in the conduct of life, preserving certainly, in his care for the truth, a minute image.

But we must as much as possible subject the soul to varied preparatory exercise, that it may become susceptible to the reception of knowledge. Do you not see how wax is softened and copper purified, in order to receive the stamp applied to it? Just as death is the separation of the soul from the body, so is knowledge as it were the rational death urging the spirit away, and separating it from the passions, and leading it on to the life of well-doing, that it may then say with confidence to God, "I live as Thou wishest." For he who makes it his purpose to please men cannot please God, since the multitude choose not what is profitable, but what is pleasant. But in pleasing God, one as a consequence gets the favour of the good among men. How, then, can what relates to meat, and drink, and amorous pleasure, be agreeable to such an one? since he views with suspicion even a word that produces pleasure, and a pleasant movement and act of the mind. "For no one can serve two masters, God and Mammon," it is said; meaning not simply money, but the resources arising from money bestowed on various pleasures. In reality, it is not possible for him who magnanimously and truly knows God, to serve antagonistic pleasures.

There is one alone, then, who from the beginning was free of concupiscence -- the philanthropic Lord, who for us became man. And whosoever endeavour to be assimilated to the impress given by Him, strive, from exercise, to become free of concupiscence. For he who has exercised concupiscence and then restrained himself, is like a widow who becomes again a virgin by continence. Such is the reward of knowledge, rendered to the Saviour and Teacher, which He Himself asked for, -- abstinence from what is evil, activity in doing good, by which salvation is acquired.

As, then, those who have learned the arts procure their living by what they have been taught, so also is the Gnostic saved, procuring life by what he knows. For he who has not formed the wish to extirpate the passion of the soul, kills himself. But, as seems, ignorance is the starvation of the soul, and knowledge its sustenance.

Such are the gnostic souls, which the Gospel likened to the consecrated virgins who wait for the Lord. For they are virgins, in respect of their abstaining from what is evil. And in respect of their waiting out of love for the Lord and kindling their light for the contemplation of things, they are wise souls, saying, "Lord, for long we have desired to receive Thee; we have lived according to what Thou hast enjoined, transgressing none of Thy commandments. Wherefore also we claim the promises.

And we pray for what is beneficial, since it is not requisite to ask of Thee what is most excellent. And we shall take everything for good; even though the exercises that meet us, which Thine arrangement brings to us for the discipline of our stedfastness, appear to be evil."

The Gnostic, then, from his exceeding holiness, is better prepared to fail when he asks, than to get when he does not ask.

His whole life is prayer and converse with God. And if he be pure from sins, he will by all means obtain what he wishes. For God says to the righteous man, "Ask, and I will give thee; think, and I will do." If beneficial, he will receive it at once; and if injurious, he will never ask it, and therefore he will not receive it. So it shall be as he wishes.

But if one say to us, that some sinners even obtain according to their requests, [we should say] that this rarely takes place, by reason of the righteous goodness of God. And it is granted to those who are capable of doing others good. Whence the gift is not made for the sake of him that asked it; but the divine dispensation, foreseeing that one would be saved by his means, renders the boon again righteous. And to those who are worthy, things which are really good are given, even without their asking.

Whenever, then, one is righteous, not from necessity or out of fear or hope, but from free choice, this is called the royal road, which the royal race travel. But the byways are slippery and precipitous. If, then, one take away fear and honour, I do not know if the illustrious among the philosophers, who use such freedom of speech, will any longer endure afflictions.

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Now lusts and other sins are called "briars and thorns." Accordingly the Gnostic labours in the Lord's vineyard, planting, pruning, watering; being the divine husbandman of what is planted in faith. Those, then, who have not done evil, think it right to receive the wages of ease. But he who has done good out of free choice, demands the recompense as a good workman. He certainly shall receive double wages -- both for what he has not done, and for what good he has done.

Such a Gnostic is tempted by no one except with God's permission, and that for the benefit of those who are with him; and he strengthens them for faith, encouraging them by manly endurance. And assuredly it was for this end, for the establishment and confirmation of the Churches, that the blessed apostles were brought into trial and to martyrdom.

The Gnostic, then, hearing a voice ringing in his ear, which says, "Whom I shall strike, do thou pity," beseeches that those who hate him may repent. For the punishment of malefactors, to be consummated in the highways, is for children to behold; for there is no possibility of the Gnostic, who has from choice trained himself to be excellent and good, ever being instructed or delighted with such spectacles. And so, having become incapable of being softened by pleasures, and never failing into sins, he is not corrected by the examples of other men's sufferings. And far from being pleased with earthly pleasures and spectacles is he who has shown a noble contempt for the prospects held out in this world, although they are divine.

"Not every one," therefore, "that says Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of God; but he that doeth the will of God." Such is the gnostic labourer, who has the mastery of worldly desires even while still in the flesh; and who, in regard to things future and still invisible, which he knows, has a sure persuasion, so that he regards them as more present than the things within reach. This able workman rejoices in what he knows, but is cramped on account of his being involved in the necessities of life; not yet deemed worthy of the active participation in what he knows. So he uses this life as if it belonged to another, -- so far, that is, as is necessary.

He knows also the enigmas of the fasting of those days -- I mean the Fourth and the Preparation. For the one has its name from Hermes, and the other from Aphrodite. He fasts in his life, in respect of covetousness and voluptuousness, from which all the vices grow. For we have already often above shown the three varieties of fornication, according to the apostle -- love of pleasure, love of money, idolatry. He fasts, then, according to the Law, abstaining from bad deeds, and, according to the perfection of the Gospel, from evil thoughts. Temptations are applied to him, not for his purification, but, as we have said, for the good of his neighbours, if, making trial of toils and pains, he has despised and passed them by.

The same holds of pleasure. For it is the highest achievement for one who has had trial of it, afterwards to abstain. For what great thing is it, if a man restrains himself in what he knows not? He, in fulfilment of the precept, according to the Gospel, keeps the Lord's day, when he abandons an evil disposition, and assumes that of the Gnostic, glorifying the Lord's resurrection in himself. Further, also, when he has received the comprehension of scientific speculation, he deems that he sees the Lord, directing his eyes towards things invisible, although he seems to look on what he, does not wish to look on; chastising the faculty of vision, when he perceives himself pleasurably affected by the application of his eyes; since he wishes to see and hear that alone which concerns him.

In the act of contemplating the souls of the brethren, he beholds the beauty of the flesh also, with the soul itself, which has become habituated to look solely upon that which is good, without carnal pleasure. And they are really brethren; inasmuch as, by reason of their elect creation, and their oneness of character, and the nature of their deeds, they do, and think, and speak the same holy and good works, in accordance with the sentiments with which the Lord wished them as elect to be inspired.

For faith shows itself in their making choice of the same things; and knowledge, in learning and thinking the same things; and hope, in desiring the same things.

And if, through the necessity of life, he spend a small portion of time about his sustenance, he thinks himself defrauded, being diverted by business. Thus not even in dreams does he look on aught that is unsuitable to an elect man. For thoroughly a stranger and sojourner in the whole of life is every such one, who, inhabiting the city, despises the things in the city which are admired by others, and lives in the city as in a desert, so that the place may not compel him, but his mode of life show him to be just.

This Gnostic, to speak compendiously, makes up for the absence of the apostles, by the rectitude of his life, the accuracy of his knowledge, by benefiting his relations, by "removing the mountains" of his neighbours, and putting away the irregularities of their soul. Although each of us is his own vineyard and labourer.

He, too, while doing the most excellent things, wishes to elude the notice of men, persuading the Lord along with himself that he is living in accordance with the commandments, preferring these things from believing them to exist. "For where any one's mind is, there also is his treasure."

He impoverishes himself, in order that he may never overlook a brother who has been brought into affliction, through the perfection that is in love, especially if he know that he will bear want himself easier than his brother. He considers, accordingly, the other's pain his own grief; and if, by contributing from his own indigence in order to do good, he suffer any hardship, he does not fret at this, but augments his beneficence still more. For he possesses in its sincerity the faith which is exercised in reference to the affairs of life, and praises the Gospel in practice and contemplation. And, in truth, he wins his praise "not from men, but from God," by the performance of what the Lord has taught.

He, attracted by his own hope, tastes not the good things that are in the world, entertaining a noble contempt for all things here; pitying those that are chastised after death, who through punishment unwillingly make confession; having a clear conscience with reference to his departure, and being always ready, as "a stranger and pilgrim," with regard to the inheritances here; mindful only of those that are his own, and regarding all things here as not his own; not only admiring the Lord's commandments, but, so to speak, being by knowledge itself partaker of the divine will; a truly chosen intimate of the Lord and His commands in virtue of being righteous; and princely and kingly as being a Gnostic; despising all the gold on earth and under the earth, and dominion from shore to shore of ocean, so that he may cling to the sole service of the Lord. Wherefore also, in eating, and drinking, and marrying (if the Word enjoin), and even in seeing dreams, he does and thinks what is holy.

So is he always pure for prayer. He also prays in the society of angels, as being already of angelic rank, and he is never out of their holy keeping; and though he pray alone, he has the choir of the saints standing with him.

He recognises a twofold [element in faith], both the activity of him who believes, and the excellence of that which is believed according to its worth; since also righteousness is twofold, that which is out of love, and that from fear. Accordingly it is said, "The fear of the Lord is pure, remaining for ever and ever." For those that from fear turn to faith and righteousness, remain for ever. Now fear works abstinence from what is evil; but love exhorts to the doing of good, by building up to the point of spontaneousness; that one may hear from the Lord, "I call you no longer servants, but friends," and may now with confidence apply himself to prayer.

And the form of his prayer is thanksgiving for the past, for the present, and for the future as already through faith present. This is preceded by the reception of knowledge. And he asks to live the allotted life in the flesh as a Gnostic, as free from the flesh, and to attain to the best things, and flee from the worse. He asks, too, relief in those things in which we have sinned, and conversion to the acknowledgment of them.

He follows, on his departure, Him who calls, as quickly, so to speak, as He who goes before calls, hasting by reason of a good conscience to give thanks; and having got there with Christ shows himself worthy, through his purity, to possess, by a process of blending, the power of God communicated by Christ. For he does not wish to be warm by participation in heat, or luminous by participation in flame, but to be wholly light.

He knows accurately the declaration, "Unless ye hate father and mother, and besides your own life, and unless ye bear the sign [of the cross]." For he hates the inordinate affection: of the flesh, which possess the powerful spell of pleasure; and entertains a noble contempt for all that belongs to the creation and nutriment of the flesh. He also withstands the corporeal soul, putting a bridle-bit on the restive irrational spirit: "For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit." And "to bear the sign of [the cross]" is to bear about death, by taking farewell of all things while still alive; since there is not equal love in "having sown the flesh," and in having formed the soul for knowledge.

He having acquired the habit of doing good, exercises beneficence well, quicker than speaking; praying that he may get a share in the sins of his brethren, in order to confession and conversion on the part of his kindred; and eager to give a share to those dearest to him of his own good things. And so these are to him, friends. Promoting, then, the growth of the seeds deposited in him, according to the husbandry enjoined by the Lord, he continues free of sin, and becomes continent, and lives in spirit with those who are like him, among the choirs of the saints, though still detained on earth.

He, all day and night, speaking and doing the Lord's commands, rejoices exceedingly, not only on rising in the morning and at noon, but also when walking about, when asleep, when dressing and undressing; and he teaches his son, if he has a son. He is inseparable from the commandment and from hope, and is ever giving thanks to God, like the living creatures figuratively spoken of by Esaias, and submissive in every trial, he says, "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away." For such also was Job; who after the spoiling of his effects, along with the health of his body, resigned all through love to the Lord. For "he was," it is said, "just, holy, and kept apart from all wickedness." Now the word "holy" points out all duties toward God, and the entire course of life. Knowing which, he was a Gnostic. For we must neither cling too much to such things, even if they are good, seeing they are human, nor on the other hand detest them, if they are bad; but we must be above both [good and bad], trampling the latter under foot, and passing on the former to those who need them. But the Gnostic is cautious in accommodation, lest he be not perceived, or lest the accommodation become disposition.

CHAPTER 13 -- DESCRIPTION OF THE GNOSTIC CONTINUED.

He never remembers those who have sinned against him, but forgives them. Wherefore also he righteously prays, saying, "Forgive us; for we also forgive." For this also is one of the things which God wishes, to covet nothing, to hate no one. For all men are the work of one will. And is it not the Saviour, who wishes the Gnostic to be perfect as" the heavenly Father," that is, Himself, who says, "Come, ye children, hear from me the fear of the Lord?" He wishes him no longer to stand in need of help by angels, but to receive it from Himself, having become worthy, and to have protection from Himself by obedience.

Such an one demands from the Lord, and does not merely ask. And in the case of his brethren in want, the Gnostic will not ask himself for abundance of wealth to bestow, but will pray that the supply of what they need may be furnished to them. For so the Gnostic gives his prayer to those who are in need, and by his prayer they are supplied, without his knowledge, and without vanity.

Penury and disease, and such trials, are often sent for admonition, for the correction of the past, and for care for the future. Such an one prays for relief from them, in virtue of possessing the prerogative of knowledge, not out of vainglory; but from the very fact of his being a Gnostic, he works beneficence, having become the instrument of the goodness of God.

They say in the traditions that Matthew the apostle constantly said, that "if the neighbour of an elect man sin, the elect man has sinned. For had he conducted himself as the Word prescribes, his neighbour also would have been filled with such reverence for the life he led as not to sin."

What, then, shall we say of the Gnostic himself? "Know ye not," says the apostle, "that ye are the temple of God?" The Gnostic is consequently divine, and already holy, God-bearing, and God-borne. Now the Scripture, showing that sinning is foreign to him, sells those who have fallen away to strangers, saying, "Look not on a strange woman, to lust," plainly pronounces sin foreign and contrary to the nature of the temple of God. Now the temple is great, as the Church, and it is small, as the man who preserves the seed of Abraham. He, therefore, who has God resting in him will not desire aught else. At once leaving all hindrances, and despising all matter which distracts him, he cleaves the heaven by knowledge. And passing through the spiritual Essences, and all rule and authority, he touches the highest thrones, hasting to that alone for the sake of which alone he knew.

Mixing, then, "the serpent with the dove," he lives at once perfectly and with a good conscience, mingling faith with hope, in order to the expectation of the future. For he is conscious of the boon he has received, having become worthy of obtaining it; and is translated from slavery to adoption, as the consequence of knowledge; knowing God, or rather known of Him, for the end, he puts forth energies corresponding to the worth of grace. For works follow knowledge, as the shadow the body.

Rightly, then, he is not disturbed by anything which happens; nor does he suspect those things, which, through divine arrangement, take place for good. Nor is he ashamed to die, having a good conscience, and being fit to be seen by the Powers. Cleansed, so to speak, from all the stains of the soul, he knows right well that it will be better with him after his departure.

Whence he never prefers pleasure and profit to the divine arrangement, since he trains himself by the commands, that in all things he may be well pleasing to the Lord, and praiseworthy in the sight of the world, since all things depend on the one Sovereign God. The Son of God, it is said, came to His own, and His own received Him not. Wherefore also in the use of the things of the world he not only gives thanks and praises the creation, but also, while using them as is right, is praised; since the end he has in view terminates in contemplation by gnostic activity in accordance with the commandments.

Thence now, by knowledge collecting materials to be the food of contemplation, having embraced nobly the magnitude of knowledge, he advances to the holy recompense of translation hence. For he has heard the Psalm which says: "Encircle Zion, and encompass it, tell upon its towers." For it intimates, I think, those who have sublimely embraced the Word, so as to become lofty towers, and to stand firmly in faith and knowledge.

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Let these statements concerning the Gnostic, containing the germs of the matter in as brief terms as possible, be made to the Greeks. But let it be known that if the [mere] believer do rightly one or a second of these things, yet he will not do so in all nor with the highest knowledge, like the Gnostic.

CHAPTER 14 -- DESCRIPTION OF THE GNOSTIC FURNISHED BY AN EXPOSITION OF 1 COR. VI. 1, ETC.

Now, of what I may call the passionlessness which we attribute to the Gnostic (in which the perfection of the believer, "advancing by love, comes to a perfect man, to the measure of full stature," by being assimilated to God, and by becoming truly angelic), many other testimonies from the Scripture, occur to me to adduce. But I think it better, on account of the length of the discourse, that such an honour should be devolved on those who wish to take pains, and leave it to them to elaborate the dogmas by the selection of Scriptures.

One passage, accordingly, I shall in the briefest terms advert to, so as not to leave the topic unexplained.

For in the first Epistle to the Corinthians the divine apostle says: "Dare any of you, having a matter against the other, go to law before the unrighteous, and not before the saints? Know ye not that the saints shall judge the world?" and so on.

The section being very long, we shall exhibit the meaning of the apostle's utterance by em ploying such of the apostolic expressions as are most pertinent, and in the briefest language, and in a sort of cursory way, interpreting the discourse in which he describes the perfection of the Gnostic. For he does not merely instance the Gnostic as characterized by suffering wrong rather than do wrong; but he teaches that he is not mindful of injuries, and does not allow him even to pray against the man who has done him wrong. For he knows that the Lord expressly enjoined "to pray for enemies."

To say, then, that the man who has been injured goes to law before the unrighteous, is nothing else than to say that he shows a wish to retaliate, and a desire to injure the second in return, which is also to do wrong likewise himself.

And his saying, that he wishes "some to go to law before the saints," points out those who ask by prayer that those who have done wrong should suffer retaliation for their injustice, and intimates that the second are better than the former; but they are not yet obedient, if they do not, having become entirely free of resentment, pray even for their enemies.

It is well, then, for them to receive right dispositions from repentance, which results in faith. For if the truth seems to get enemies who entertain bad feeling, yet it is not hostile to any one. "For God makes His sun to shine on the just and on the unjust," and sent the Lord Himself to the just and the unjust. And he that earnestly strives to be assimilated to God, in the exercise Of great absence of resentment, forgives seventy times seven times, as it were all his life through, and in all his course in this world (that being indicated by the enumeration of sevens) shows clemency to each and any one; if any during the whole time of his life in the flesh do the Gnostic wrong. For he not only deems it right that the good man should resign his property alone to others, being of the number of those who have done him wrong; but also wishes that the righteous man should ask of those judges forgiveness for the offences of those who have done him wrong. And with reason, if indeed it is only in that which is external and concerns the body, though it go to the extent of death even, that those who attempt to wrong him take advantage of him; none of which truly belong to the Gnostic.

And how shall one "judge" the apostate "angels," who has become himself an apostate from that forgetfulness of injuries, which is according to the Gospel? "Why do ye not rather suffer wrong?" he says; "why are ye not rather defrauded? Yea, ye do wrong and defraud," manifestly by praying against those who transgress in ignorance, and deprive of the philanthropy and goodness of God, as far as in you lies, those against whom you pray, "and these your brethren," -- not meaning those in the faith only, but also the proselytes. For whether he who now is hostile shall afterwards believe, we know not as yet. From which the conclusion follows clearly, if all are not yet brethren to us, they ought to be regarded in that light. And now it is only the man of knowledge who recognises all men to be the work of one God, and invested with one image in one nature, although some may be more turbid than others; and in the creatures he recognises the operation, by which again he adores the will of God.

"Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God?" He acts unrighteously who retaliates, whether by deed or word, or by the conception of a wish, which, after the training of the Law, the Gospel rejects.

"And such were some of you" -- such manifestly as those still are whom you do not forgive; "but ye are washed," not simply as the rest, but with knowledge; ye have cast off the passions of the soul, in order to become assimilated, as far as possible, to the goodness of God's providence by long-suffering, and by forgiveness "towards the just and the unjust," casting on them the gleam of benignity in word and deeds, as the sun.

The Gnostic will achieve this either by greatness of mind, or by imitation of what is better. And that is a third cause. "Forgive, and it shall be forgiven you;" the commandment, as it were, compelling to salvation through superabundance of goodness.

"But ye are sanctified." For he who has come to this state is in a condition to be holy, falling into none of the passions in any way, but as it were already disembodied and already grown holy without this earth.

"Wherefore," he says, "ye are justified in the name of the Lord." Ye are made, so to speak, by Him to be righteous as He is, and are blended as far as possible with the Holy Spirit. For "are not all things lawful to me? yet I will not be brought under the power of any," so as to do, or think, or speak aught contrary to the Gospel. "Meats for the belly, and the belly for meats, which God shall destroy," -- that is, such as think and live as if they were made for eating, and do not eat that they may live as a consequence, and apply to knowledge as the primary end. And does he not say that these are, as it were, the fleshy parts of the holy body? As a body, the Church of the Lord, the spiritual and holy choir, is symbolized. Whence those, who are merely called, but do not live in accordance with the word, are the fleshy parts. "Now" this spiritual "body," the holy Church, "is not for fornication." Nor are those things which belong to heathen life to be adopted by apostasy from the Gospel. For he who conducts himself heathenishly in the Church, whether in deed, or word, or even in thought, commits fornication with reference to the Church and his own body. He who in this way "is joined to the harlot," that is, to conduct contrary to the Covenant becomes another "body," not holy, "and one flesh," and has a heathenish life and another hope. "But he that is joined to the Lord in spirit" becomes a spiritual body by a different kind of conjunction.

Such an one is wholly a son, an holy man, passionless, gnostic, perfect, formed by the teaching of the Lord; in order that in deed, in word, and in spirit itself, being brought close to the Lord, he may receive the mansion that is due to him who has reached manhood thus.

Let the specimen suffice to those who have ears. For it is not required to unfold the mystery, but only to indicate what is sufficient for those who are partakers in knowledge to bring it to mind; who also will comprehend how it was said by the Lord, "Be ye perfect as your father, perfectly," by forgiving sins, and forgetting injuries, and living in the habit of passionlessness. For as we call a physician perfect, and a philosopher perfect, so also, in my view, do we call a Gnostic perfect. But not one of those points, although of the greatest importance, is assumed in order to the likeness of God. For we do not say, as the Stoics do most impiously, that virtue in man and God is the same. Ought we not then to be perfect, as the Father wills? For it is utterly impossible for any one to become perfect as God is. Now the Father wishes us to be perfect by living blamelessly, according to the obedience of the Gospel.

If, then, the statement being elliptical, we understand what is wanting, in order to complete the section for those who are incapable of understanding what is left out, we shall both know the will of God, and shall walk at once piously and magnanimously, as befits the dignity of the commandment.

CHAPTER 15 -- THE OBJECTION TO JOIN THE CHURCH ON ACCOUNT OF THE DIVERSITY OF HERESIES ANSWERED.

Since it comes next to reply to the objections alleged against us by Greeks and Jews; and since, in some of the questions previously discussed, the sects also who adhere to other teaching give, their help, it will be well first to clear away the obstacles before us, and then, prepared thus for the solution of the difficulties, to advance to the succeeding Miscellany.

First, then, they make this objection to us, saying, that they ought not to believe on account of the discord of the sects. For the truth is warped when some teach one set of dogmas, others another.

To whom we say, that among you who are Jews, and among the most famous of the philosophers among the Greeks, very many sects have sprung up. And yet you do not say that one ought to hesitate to philosophize or Judaize, because of the want of agreement of the sects among you between themselves. And then, that heresies should be sown among the truth, as "tares among the wheat," was foretold by the Lord; and what was predicted to take place could not but happen. And the cause of this is, that everything that is fair is followed by a foul blot. If one, then, violate his engagements, and go aside from the confession which he makes before us, are we not to stick to the truth because he has belied his profession? But as the good man must not prove false or fail to ratify what he has promised, although others violate their engagements; so also are we bound in no way to transgress the canon of the Church. And especially do we keep our profession in the most important points, while they traverse it.

Those, then, are to be believed, who hold firmly to the truth. And we may broadly make use of this reply, and say to them, that physicians holding opposite opinions according to their own schools, yet equally in point of fact treat patients. Does one, then, who is ill in body and needing treatment, not have recourse to a physician, on account of the different schools in medicine? No more, then, may he who in soul is sick and full of idols, make a pretext of the heresies, in reference to the recovery of health and conversion to God.

Further, it is said that it is on account of "those that are approved that heresies exist." [The apostle] calls "approved," either those who in reaching faith apply to the teaching of the Lord with some discrimination (as those are called skilful money-changers, who distinguish the spurious coin from the genuine by the false stamp), or those who have already become approved both in life and knowledge.

For this reason, then, we require greater attention and consideration in order to investigate how precisely we ought to live, and what is the true piety. For it is plain that, from the very reason that truth is difficult and arduous of attainment, questions arise from which spring the heresies, savouring of self-love and vanity, of those who have not learned or apprehended truly, but only caught up a mere conceit of knowledge. With the greater care, therefore, are we to examine the real truth, which alone has for its object the true God. And the toil is followed by sweet discovery and reminiscence.

On account of the heresies, therefore, the toil of discovery must be undertaken; but we must not at all abandon [the truth]. For, on fruit being set before us, some real and ripe, and some made of wax, as like the real as possible, we are not to abstain from both on account of the resemblance. But by the exercise of the apprehension of contemplation, and by reasoning of the most decisive character, we must distinguish the true from the seeming.

And as, while there is one royal highway, there are many others, some leading to a precipice, some to a rushing river or to a deep sea, no one will shrink from travelling by reason of the diversity, but will make use of the safe, and royal, and frequented way; so, though some say this, some that, concerning the truth, we must not abandon it; but must seek out the most accurate knowledge respecting it. Since also among garden-grown vegetables weeds also spring up, are the husbandmen, then, to desist from gardening?

Having then from nature abundant means for examining the statements made, we ought to discover the sequence of the truth. Wherefore also we are rightly condemned, if we do not assent to what we ought to obey, and do not distinguish what is hostile, and unseemly, and unnatural, and false, from what is true, consistent, and seemly, and according to nature. And these means must be employed in order to attain to the knowledge of the real truth.

This pretext is then, in the case of the Greeks, futile; for those who are willing may find the truth. But in the case of those who adduce unreasonable excuses, their condemnation is unanswerable. For whether do they deny or admit that there is such a thing as demonstration? I am of opinion that all will make the admission, except those who take away the senses. There being demonstration, then, it is necessary to condescend to questions, and to ascertain by way of demonstration by the Scriptures themselves how the heresies failed, and how in the truth alone and in the ancient Church is both the exactest knowledge, and the truly best set of I principles (airesis).

Now, of those who diverge from the truth, some attempt to deceive themselves alone, and some also their neighbours. Those, then, who are called (doxosoFoi) wise in their own opinions, who think that they have found the truth, but have no true demonstration, deceive themselves in thinking that they have reached a resting-place. And of whom there is no inconsiderable multitude, who avoid investigations for fear of refutations, and shun instructions for fear of condemnation. But those who deceive those who seek access to them are very astute; who, aware that they know nothing, yet darken the truth with plausible arguments.

But, in my opinion, the nature of plausible arguments is of one character, and that of true arguments of another. And we know that it is necessary that the appellation of the heresies should be expressed in contradistinction to the truth; from which the Sophists, drawing certain things for the destruction of men, and burying them in human arts invented by themselves, glory rather in being at the head of a School than presiding over the Church?

CHAPTER 16 -- SCRIPTURE THE CRITERION BY WHICH TRUTH AND HERESY ARE DISTINGUISHED.

But those who are ready to toil in the most excellent pursuits, will not desist from the search after truth, till they get the demonstration from the Scriptures themselves.

There are certain criteria common to men, as the senses; and others that belong to those who have employed their wills and energies in what is true, -- the methods which are pursued by the mind and reason, to distinguish between true and false propositions.

Now, it is a very great thing to abandon opinion, by taking one's stand between accurate knowledge and the rash wisdom of opinion, and to know that he who hopes for everlasting rest knows also that the entrance to it is toilsome "and strait." And let him who has once received the Gospel, even in the

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very hour in which he has come to the knowledge of salvation, "not turn back, like Lot's wife," as is said; and let him not go back either to his former life, which adheres to the things of sense, or to heresies. For they form the character, not knowing the true God. "For he that loveth father or mother more than Me," the Father and Teacher of the truth, who regenerates and creates anew, and nourishes the elect soul, "is not worthy of Me" -- He means, to be a son of God and a disciple of God, and at the same time also to be a friend, and of kindred nature. "For no man who looks back, and puts his hand to the plough, is fit for the kingdom of God."

But, as appears, many even down to our own time regard Mary, on account of the birth of her child, as having been in the puerperal state, although she was not. For some say that, after she brought forth, she was found, when examined, to be a virgin.

Now such to us are the Scriptures of the Lord, which gave birth to the truth and continue virgin, in the concealment of the mysteries of the truth. "And she brought forth, and yet brought not forth," Says the Scripture; as having conceived of herself, and not from conjunction. Wherefore the Scriptures have conceived to Gnostics; but the heresies, not having learned them, dismissed them as not having conceived.

Now all men, having the same judgment, some, following the Word speaking, frame for themselves proofs; while others, giving themselves up to pleasures, wrest Scripture, in accordance with their lusts. And the lover of truth, as I think, needs force of soul. For those who make the greatest attempts must fail in things of the highest importance; unless, receiving from the truth itself the rule of the truth, they cleave to the truth. But such people, in consequence of falling away from the right path, err in most individual points; as you might expect from not having the faculty for judging of what is true and false, strictly trained to select what is essential. For if they had, they would have obeyed the Scriptures.

As, then, if a man should, similarly to those drugged by Circe, become a beast; so he, who has spurned the ecclesiastical tradition, and darted off to the opinions of heretical men, has ceased to be a man of God and to remain faithful to the Lord. But he who has returned from this deception, on hearing the Scriptures, and turned his life to the truth, is, as it were, from being a man made a god.

For we have, as the source of teaching, the Lord, both by the prophets, the Gospel, and the blessed apostles, "in divers manners and at sundry times," leading from the beginning of knowledge to the end. But if one should suppose that another origin was required, then no longer truly could an origin be preserved.

He, then, who of himself believes the Scripture and voice of the Lord, which by the Lord acts to the benefiting of men, is rightly [regarded] faithful. Certainly we use it as a criterion in the discovery of things. What is subjected to criticism is not believed till it is so subjected; so that what needs criticism cannot be a first principle. Therefore, as is reasonable, grasping by faith the indemonstrable first principle, and receiving in abundance, from the first principle itself, demonstrations in reference to the first principle, we are by the voice of the Lord trained up to the knowledge of the truth.

For we may not give our adhesion to men on a bare statement by them, who might equally state the opposite. But if it is not enough merely to state the opinion, but if what is stated must be confirmed, we do not wait for the testimony of men, but we establish the matter that is in question by the voice of the Lord, which is the surest of all demonstrations, or rather is the only demonstration; in which knowledge those who have merely tasted the Scriptures are believers; while those who, having advanced further, and become correct expounders of the truth, are Gnostics. Since also, in what pertains to life, craftsmen are superior to ordinary people, and model what is beyond common notions; so, consequently, we also, giving a complete exhibition of the Scriptures from the Scriptures themselves, from faith persuade by demonstration.

And if those also who follow heresies venture to avail themselves of the prophetic Scriptures; in the first place they will not make use of all the Scriptures, and then they will not quote them entire, nor as the body and texture of prophecy prescribe. But, selecting ambiguous expressions, they wrest them to their own opinions, gathering a few expressions here and there; not looking to the sense, but making use of the mere words. For in almost all the quotations they make, you will find that they attend to the names alone, while they alter the meanings; neither knowing, as they affirm, nor using the quotations they adduce, according to their true nature.

But the truth is not found by changing the meanings (for so people subvert all true teaching), but in the consideration of what perfectly belongs to and becomes the Sovereign God, and in establishing each one of the points demonstrated in the Scriptures again from similar Scriptures. Neither, then, do they want to turn to the truth, being ashamed to abandon the claims of self-love; nor are they able to manage their opinions, by doing violence to the Scriptures. But having first promulgated false dogmas to men; plainly fighting against almost the whole Scriptures, and constantly confuted by us who contradict them; for the rest, even now partly they hold out against admitting the prophetic Scriptures, and partly disparage us as of a different nature, and incapable of understanding what is peculiar to them. And sometimes even they deny their own dogmas, when these are confuted, being ashamed openly to own what in private they glory in teaching. For this may be seen in all the heresies, when you examine the iniquities of their dogmas. For when they are overturned by our clearly showing that they are opposed to the Scriptures, one of two things may be seen to have been done by those who defend the dogma. For they either despise the consistency of their own dogmas, or despise the prophecy itself, or rather their own hope. And they invariably prefer what seems to them to be more evident to what has been spoken by the Lord through the prophets and by the Gospel, and, besides, attested and confirmed by the apostles.

Seeing, therefore, the danger that they are in (not in respect of one dogma, but in reference to the maintenance of the heresies) of not discovering the truth; for while reading the books we have ready at hand, they despise them as useless, but in their eagerness to surpass common faith, they have diverged from the truth. For, in consequence of not learning the mysteries of ecclesiastical knowledge, and not having capacity for the grandeur of the truth, too indolent to descend to the bottom of things, reading superficially, they have dismissed the Scriptures. Elated, then, by vain opinion, they are incessantly wrangling, and plainly care more to seem than to be philosophers.

Not laying as foundations the necessary first principles of things; and influenced by human opinions, then making the end to suit them, by compulsion; on account of being confuted, they spar with those who are engaged in the prosecution of the true philosophy, and undergo everything, and, as they say, ply every oar, even going the length of impiety, by disbelieving the Scriptures, rather than be removed from the honours of the heresy and the boasted first seat in their churches; on account of which also they eagerly embrace that convivial couch of honour in the Agape, falsely so called.

The knowledge of the truth among us from what is already believed, produces faith in what is not yet believed; which [faith] is, so to speak, the essence of demonstration. But, as appears, no heresy has at all ears to hear what is useful, but opened only to what leads to pleasure. Since also, if one of them would only obey the truth, he would be healed.

Now the cure of self-conceit (as of every ailment) is threefold: the ascertaining of the cause, and the mode of its removal; and thirdly, the training of the soul, and the accustoming it to assume a right attitude to the judgments come to. For, just like a disordered eye, so also the soul that has been darkened by unnatural dogmas cannot perceive distinctly the light of truth, but even overlooks what is before it.

They say, then, that in muddy water eels are caught by being blinded. And just as knavish boys bar out the teacher, so do these shut out the prophecies from their Church, regarding them with suspicion by reason of rebuke and admonition. In fact, they stitch together a multitude of lies and figments, that they may appear acting in accordance with reason in not admitting the Scriptures. So, then, they are not pious, inasmuch as they are not pleased with the divine commands, that is, with the Holy Spirit. And as those almonds are called empty in which the contents are worthless, not those in which there is nothing; so also we call those heretics empty, who are destitute of the counsels of God and the traditions of Christ; bitter, in truth, like the wild almond, their dogmas originating with themselves, with the exception of such truths as they could not, by reason of their evidence, discard and conceal.

As, then, in war the soldier must not leave the post which the commander has assigned him, so neither must we desert the post assigned by the Word, whom we have received as the guide of knowledge and of life. But the most have not even inquired, if there is one that we ought to follow, and who this is, and how lie is to be followed. For as is the Word, such also must the believer's life be, so as to be able to follow God, who brings all things to end from the beginning by the right course.

But when one has transgressed against the Word, and thereby against God; if it is through becoming powerless in consequence of some impression being suddenly made, he ought to see to have the impressions of reasons at hand. And if it is that he has become "common," as the Scripture says, in consequence of being overcome. the habits which formerly had sway by over him, the habits must be entirely put a stop to, and the soul trained to oppose them. And if it appears that conflicting dogmas draw some away, these must be taken out of the way, and recourse is to be had to those who reconcile dogmas, and subdue by the charm of the Scriptures such of the untutored as are timid, by explaining the truth by the connection of the Testaments.'

But, as appears, we incline to ideas founded on opinion, though they be contrary, rather than to the truth. For it is austere and grave. Now, since there are three states of the soul -- ignorance, opinion, knowledge -- those who are in ignorance are the Gentiles, those in knowledge, the true Church, and those in opinion, the Heretics. Nothing, then, can be more clearly seen than those, who know, making affirmations about what they know, and the others respecting what they hold on the strength of opinion, as far as respects affirmation without proof.

They accordingly despise and laugh at one another. And it happens that the same thought is held in the highest estimation by some, and by others condemned for insanity. And, indeed, we have learned that voluptuousness, which is to be attributed to the Gentiles, is one thing; and wrangling, which is preferred among the heretical sects, is another; and joy, which is to be appropriated to the Church, another; and delight, which is to be assigned to the true Gnostic, another. And as, if one devote himself to Ischomachus, he will make him a farmer; and to Lampis, a mariner; and to Charidemus, a military commander; and to Simon, an equestrian; and to Perdices, a trader; and to Crobytus, a cook; and to Archelaus, a dancer; and to Homer, a poet; and to Pyrrho, a wrangler; and to Demosthenes, an orator; and to Chrysippus, a dialectician; and to Aristotle, a naturalist; and to Plato, a philosopher: so he who listens to the Lord, and follows the prophecy given by Him, will be formed perfectly in the likeness of the teacher -- made a god going about in flesh.

Accordingly, those fall from this eminence who follow not God whither He leads. And He leads us in the inspired Scriptures.

Though men's actions are ten thousand in number, the sources of all sin are but two, ignorance and inability. And both depend on ourselves; inasmuch as we will not learn, nor, on the other hand, restrain lust. And of these, the one is that, in consequence of which people do not judge well, and the other that, in consequence of which they cannot comply with right judgments. For neither will one who is deluded in his mind be able to act rightly, though perfectly able to do what he knows; nor, though capable of judging what is requisite, will he keep himself free of blame, if destitute of power in action. Consequently, then, there are assigned two kinds of correction applicable to both kinds of sin: for the one, knowledge and clear demonstration from the testimony of the Scriptures; and for the other, the training according to the Word, which is regulated by the discipline of faith and fear. And both develop into perfect love. For the end of the Gnostic here is, in my judgment, two-fold, -- partly scientific contemplation, partly action.

Would, then, that these heretics would learn and be set right by these notes, and turn to the sovereign God! But if, like the deaf serpents, they listen not to the song called new, though very old, may they be chastised by God, and undergo paternal admonitions previous to the Judgment, till they become ashamed and repent, but not rush through headlong unbelief, and precipitate themselves into judgment.

For there are partial corrections, which are called chastisements, which many of us who have been in transgression incur, by falling away from the Lord's people. But as children are chastised by their teacher, or their father, so are we by Providence. But God does not punish, for punishment is retaliation for evil. He chastises, however, for good to those who are chastised, collectively and individually.

I have adduced these things from a wish to avert those, who are eager to learn, from the liability to fall into heresies, and out of a desire to stop them from superficial ignorance, or stupidity, or bad disposition, or whatever it should be called. And in the attempt to persuade and lead to the truth those who are not entirely incurable, I have made use of these words. For there are some who cannot bear at all to listen to those who exhort them to turn to the truth; and they attempt to trifle, pouring out blasphemies against the truth, claiming for themselves the knowledge of the greatest things in the universe, without having learned, or inquired, or laboured, or discovered the consecutive train of ideas, -- whom one should pity rather than hate for such perversity.

But if one is curable, able to bear (like fire or steel) the outspokenness of the truth, which cuts away and burns their false opinions. let him lend the ears of the soul. And this will be the case, unless, through the propensity to sloth, they push truth away, or through the desire of fame, endeavour to invent novelties. For those are slothful who, having it in their power to provide themselves with proper proofs for the divine Scriptures from the Scriptures themselves, select only what contributes to their own pleasures. And those have a craving for glory who voluntarily evade, by arguments of a diverse sort, the things delivered by the blessed apostles and teachers, which are wedded to inspired words; opposing the divine tradition by human teach ings, in order to establish the heresy. For, in truth, what remained to be said -- in ecclesiastical knowledge I mean -- by such men, Marcion, for example, or Prodicus, and such like, who did not walk in the right way? For they could not have surpassed their predecessors in wisdom, so as to discover anything in addition to what had been uttered by them; for they would have been satisfied had they been able to learn the things laid down before.

Our Gnostic then alone, having grown old in the Scriptures, and maintaining apostolic and ecclesiastic orthodoxy in

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doctrines, lives most correctly in accordance with the Gospel, and discovers the proofs, for which he may have made search (sent forth as he is by the Lord), from the law and the prophets. For the life of the Gnostic, in my view, is nothing but deeds and words corresponding to the tradition of the Lord. But "all have not knowledge. For I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren," says the apostle, "that all were under the cloud, and partook of spiritual meat and drink;" clearly affirming that all who heard the word did not take in the magnitude of knowledge in deed and word. Wherefore also he added: "But with all of them He was not well pleased." Who is this? He who said, "Why do you call Me Lord, and do not the will of My Father?" That is the Saviour's teaching, which to us is spiritual food, and drink that knows no thirsty the water of gnostic life. Further it is said, knowledge is said "to puff up." To whom we say: Perchance seeming knowledge is said to puff up, if one suppose the expression means "to be swollen up." But if, as is rather the case, the expression of the apostle means, "to entertain great and true sentiments," the difficulty is solved. Following, then, the Scriptures, let us establish what has been said: "Wisdom," says Solomon, "has inflated her children." For the Lord did not work conceit by the particulars of His teaching; but He produces trust in the truth and expansion of mind, in the knowledge that is communicated by the Scriptures, and contempt for the things which drag into sin, which is the meaning of the expression "inflated." It teaches the magnificence of the wisdom implanted in her children by instruction. Now the apostle says, "I will know not the speech of those that are puffed up, but the power;" if ye understand the Scriptures magnanimously (which means truly; for nothing is greater than truth). For in that lies the power of the children of wisdom who are puffed up. He says, as it were, I shall know if ye rightly entertain great thoughts respecting knowledge. "For God," according to David, "is known in Judea," that is, those that are Israelites according to knowledge. For Judea is interpreted "Confession." It is, then, rightly said by the apostle, "This Thou, shall not commit adultery, Thou shall not steal, Thou shalt not covet; and if there be any other commandment, it is comprehended in this word, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

For we must never, as do those who follow the heresies, adulterate the truth, or steal the canon of the Church, by gratifying our own lusts and vanity, by defrauding our neighbours; whom above all it is our duty, in the exercise of love to them, to teach to adhere to the truth. It is accordingly expressly said, "Declare among the heathen His statutes," that they may not be judged, but that those who have previously given ear may be converted. But those who speak treacherously with their tongues have the penalties that are on record?

CHAPTER 17 -- THE TRADITION OF THE CHURCH PRIOR TO THAT OF THE HERESIES.

Those, then, that adhere to impious words, and dictate them to others, inasmuch as they do not make a right but a perverse use of the divine words, neither themselves enter into the kingdom of heaven, nor permit those whom they have deluded to attain the truth. But not having the key of entrance, but a false (and as the common phrase expresses it), a counterfeit key (antikleis), by which they do not enter in as we enter in, through the tradition of the Lord, by drawing aside the curtain; but bursting through the side-door, and digging clandestinely through the wall of the Church, and stepping over the truth, they constitute themselves the Mystagogues of the soul of the impious.

For that the human assemblies which they held were posterior to the Catholic Church requires not many words to show.

For the teaching of our Lord at His advent, beginning with Augustus and Tiberius, was completed in the middle of the times of Tiberius.

And that of the apostles, embracing the ministry of Paul, ends with Nero. It was later, in the times of Adrian the king, that those who invented the heresies arose; and they extended to the age of Antoninus the eider, as, for instance, Basilides, though he claims (as they boast) for his master, Glaucias, the interpreter of Peter.

Likewise they allege that Valentinus was a hearer of Theudas. And he was the pupil of Paul. For Marcion, who arose in the same age with them, lived as an old man with the younger [heretics]. And after him Simon heard for a little the preaching of Peter.

Such being the case, it is evident, from the high antiquity and perfect truth of the Church, that these later heresies, and those yet subsequent to them in time, were new inventions falsified [from the truth].

From what has been said, then, it is my opinion that the true Church, that which is really ancient, is one, and that in it those who according to God's purpose are just, are enrolled. For from the very reason that God is one, and the Lord one, that which is in the highest degree honourable is lauded in consequence of its singleness, being an imitation of the one first principle. In the nature of the One, then, is associated in a joint heritage the one Church, which they strive to cut asunder into many sects.

Therefore in substance and idea, in origin, in pre-eminence, we say that the ancient and Catholic Church is alone, collecting as it does into the unity of the one faith -- which results from the peculiar Testaments, or rather the one Testament in different times by the will of the one God, through one Lord -- those already ordained, whom God predestinated, knowing before the foundation of the world that they would be righteous.

But the pre-eminence of the Church, as the principle of union, is, in its oneness, in this surpassing all things else, and having nothing like or equal to itself. But of this afterwards.

Of the heresies, some receive their appellation from a [person's] name, as that which is called after Valentinus, and that after Marcion, and that after Basilides, although they boast of adducing the opinion of Matthew [without truth]; for as the teaching, so also the tradition of the apostles was one. Some take their designation from a place, as the Peratici; some from a nation, as the [heresy] of the Phrygians; some from an action, as that of the Encratites; and some from peculiar dogmas, as that of the Docetae, and that of the Harmatites; and some from suppositions, and from individuals they have honoured, as those called Cainists, and the Ophians; and some from nefarious practices and enormities, as those of the Simonians called Entychites.

CHAPTER 18 -- THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN CLEAN AND UNCLEAN ANIMALS IN THE LAW SYMBOLICAL OF THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE CHURCH, AND JEWS, AND HERETICS.

After showing a little peep-hole to those who love to contemplate the Church from the law of sacrifices respecting clean and unclean animals (inasmuch as thus the common Jews and the heretics are distinguished mystically from the divine Church), let us bring the discourse to a close.

For such of the sacrifices as part the hoof, and ruminate, the Scripture represents as clean and acceptable to God; since the just obtain access to the Father and to the Son by faith. For this is the stability of those who part the hoof, those who study the oracles of God night and day, and ruminate them in the soul's receptacle for instructions; which gnostic exercise the Law expresses under the figure of the rumination of the clean animal. But such as have neither the one nor the other of those qualities it separates as unclean.

Now those that ruminate, but do not part the hoof, indicate the majority of the Jews, who have indeed the oracles of God, but have not faith, and the step which, resting on the truth, conveys to the Father by the Son. Whence also this kind of cattle are apt to slip, not having a division in the foot, and not resting on the twofold support of faith. For "no man," it is said, "knoweth the Father, but he to whom the Son shall reveal Him."

And again, those also are likewise unclean that part the hoof, but do not ruminate. For these point out the heretics, who indeed go upon the name of the Father and the Son, but are in capable of triturating and grinding down the clear declaration of the oracles, and who, besides, perform the works of righteousness coarsely and not with precision, if they perform them at all. To such the Lord says, "Why will ye call me Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?"

And those that neither part the hoof nor chew the cud are entirely unclean.

"But ye Megareans," says Theognis," are neither third nor fourth, Nor twelfth, neither in reckoning nor in number," "but as chaff which the wind drives away from the face of the earth," and as a drop from a vessel."

These points, then, having been formerly thoroughly treated, and the department of ethics having been sketched summarily in a fragmentary way, as we promised; and having here and there interspersed the dogmas which are the germs of true knowledge, so that the discovery of the sacred traditions may not be easy to any one of the uninitiated, let us proceed to what we promised.

Now the Miscellanies are not like parts laid out, planted in regular order for the delight of the eye, but rather like an umbrageous and shaggy hill, planted with laurel, and ivy, and apples, and olives, and figs; the planting being purposely a mixture of fruit-bearing and fruitless trees, since the composition aims at concealment, on account of those that have the daring to pilfer and steal the ripe fruits; from which, however, the husbandmen, transplanting shoots and plants, will adorn a beautiful park and a delightful grove.

The Miscellanies, then, study neither arrangement nor diction; since there are even cases in which the Greeks on purpose wish that ornate diction should be absent, and imperceptibly cast in the seed of dogmas, not according to the truth, rendering such as may read laborious and quick at discovery. For many and various are the baits for the various kinds of fishes.

And now, after this seventh Miscellany of ours, we shall give the account of what follows in order from another commencement.

THE STROMATA, BOOK 8

CHAPTER 1 -- THE OBJECT OF PHILOSOPHICAL AND THEOLOGICAL INQUIRY -- THE DISCOVERY OF TRUTH.

But the most ancient of the philosophers were not carried away to disputing and doubting, much less are we, who are attached to the really true philosophy, on whom the Scripture enjoins examination and investigation. For it is the more recent of the Hellenic philosophers who, by empty and futile love of fame, are led into useless babbling in refuting and wrangling. But, on the contrary, the Barbarian philosophy, expelling all contention, said, "Seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you; ask, and it shall be given you."

Accordingly, by investigation, the point proposed for inquiry and answer knocks at the door of truth, according to what appears. And on an opening being made through the obstacle in the process of investigation, there results scientific contemplation. To those who thus knock, according to my view, the subject under investigation is opened.

And to those who thus ask questions, in the Scriptures, there is given from God (that at which they aim) the gift of the God-given knowledge, by way of comprehension, through the true illumination of logical investigation. For it is impossible to find, without having sought; or to have sought, without having examined; or to have examined, without having unfolded and opened up the question by interrogation, to produce distinctness; or again, to have gone through the whole investigation, without thereafter receiving as the prize the knowledge of the point in question.

But it belongs to him who has sought, to find; and to him to seek, who thinks previously that he does not know. Hence drawn by desire to the discovery of what is good, he seeks thoughtfully, without love of strife or glory, asking, answering, and besides considering the statements made. For it is incumbent, in applying ourselves not only to the divine Scriptures, but also to common notions, to institute investigations, the discovery ceasing at some useful end.

For another place and crowd await turbulent people, and forensic sophistries. But it is suitable for him, who is at once a lover and disciple of the truth, to be pacific even in investigations, advancing by scientific demonstration, without love of self, but with love of truth, to comprehensive knowledge.

CHAPTER 2 -- THE NECESSITY OF PERSPICUOUS DEFINITION.

What better or clearer method, for the commencement of instruction of this nature, can there be than discussion of the term advanced, so distinctly, that all who use the same language may follow it? Is the term for demonstration of such a kind as the word Blityri, which is a mere sound, signifying nothing? But how is it that neither does the philosopher, nor the orator, -- no more does the judge, -- adduce demonstration as a term that means nothing; nor is any of the contending parties ignorant of the fact, that the meaning does not exist?

Philosophers, in fact, present demonstration as having a substantial existence, one in one way, another in another. Therefore, if one would treat aright of each question, he cannot carry back the discourse to another more generally admitted fundamental principle than what is admitted to be signified by the term by all of the same nation and language.

Then, starting from this point, it is necessary to inquire if the proposition has this signification or not. And next, if it is demonstrated to have, it is necessary to investigate its nature accurately, of what kind it is, and whether it ever passes over the class assigned. And if it suffices not to say, absolutely, only that which one thinks (for one's opponent may equally allege, on the other side, what he likes); then what is stated must be confirmed. If the decision of it be carried back to what is likewise matter of dispute, and the decision of that likewise to another disputed point, it will go on ad infinitum, and will be incapable of demonstration. But if the belief of a point that is not admitted be carried back to one admitted by all, that is to be made the commencement of instruction. Every term, therefore, advanced for discussion is to be converted into an expression that is admitted by those that are parties in the discussion, to form the starting point for instruction, to lead the way to the discovery of the points under investigation. For example, let it be the term "sun" that is in question. Now the Stoics say that it is "an intellectual fire kindled from the waters of the sea." Is not the definition, consequently, obscurer than the term, requiring another demonstration to prove if it be true? It is therefore better to say, in the common and distinct form of speech, "that the brightest of the heavenly bodies is named the sun." For this expression is more credible and clearer, and is likewise admitted by all.

CHAPTER 3 -- DEMONSTRATION DEFINED.

Similarly, also, all men will admit that demonstration is discourse, agreeable to reason, producing belief in points disputed, from points admitted.

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Now, not only demonstration and belief and knowledge, but foreknowledge also, are used in a twofold manner. There is that which is scientific and certain, and that which is merely based on hope.

In strict propriety, then, that is called demonstration which produces in the souls of learners scientific belief. The other kind is that which merely leads to opinion. As also, both he that is really a man, possessing common judgment, and he that is savage and brutal, -- each is a man. Thus also the Comic poet said that "man is graceful, so long as he is man." The same holds with ox, horse, and dog, according to the goodness or badness of the animal. For by looking to the perfection of the genus, we come to those meanings that are strictly proper. For instance, we conceive of a physician who is deficient in no element of the power of healing, and a Gnostic who is defective in no element of scientific knowledge.

Now demonstration differs from syllogism; inasmuch as the point demonstrated is indicative of one thing, being one and identical; as we say that to be with child is the proof of being no longer a virgin. But what is apprehended by syllogism, though one thing, follows from several; as, for example, not one but several proofs are adduced of Pytho having betrayed the Byzantines, if such was the fact. And to draw a conclusion from what is admitted is to syllogize; while to draw a conclusion from what is true is to demonstrate.

So that there is a compound advantage of demonstration: from its assuming, for the proof of points in question, true premisses, and from its drawing the conclusion that follows from them. If the first have no existence, but the second follow from the first, one has not demonstrated, but syllogized. For, to draw the proper conclusion from the premisses, is merely to syllogize. But to have also each of the premisses true, is not merely to have syllogized, but also to have demonstrated.

And to conclude, as is evident from the word, is to bring to the conclusion. And in every train of reasoning, the point sought to be determined is the end, which is also called the conclusion. But no simple and primary statement is termed a syllogism, although true; but it is compounded of three such, at the least, -- of two as premisses, and one as conclusion.

Now, either all things require demonstration, or some of them are self-evident. But if the first, by demanding the demonstration of each demonstration we shall go on ad infinitum; and so demonstration is subverted. But if the second, those things which are self-evident will become the starting points [and fundamental grounds] of demonstration.

In point of fact, the philosophers admit that the first principles of all things are indemonstrable. So that if there is demonstration at all, there is an absolute necessity that there be something that is self-evident, which is called primary and indemonstrable.

Consequently all demonstration is traced up to indemonstrable faith.

It will also turn out that there are other starting points for demonstrations, after the source which takes its rise in faith, -- the things which appear clearly to sensation and understanding. For the phenomena of sensation are simple, and incapable of being decompounded; but those of understanding are simple, rational, and primary. But those produced from them are compound, but no less clear and reliable, and having more to do with the reasoning faculty than the first. For therefore the peculiar native power of reason, which we all have by nature, deals with agreement and disagreement. If, then, any argument be found to be of such a kind, as from points already believed to be capable of producing belief in what is not yet believed, we shall aver that this is the very essence of demonstration.

Now it is affirmed that the nature of demonstration, as that of belief, is twofold: that which produces in the souls of the hearers persuasion merely, and that which produces knowledge.

If, then, one begins with the things which are evident to sensation and understanding, and then draw the proper conclusion, he truly demonstrates. But if [he begin] with things which are only probable and not primary, that is evident neither to sense nor understanding, and if he draw the right conclusion, he will syllogize indeed, but not produce a scientific demonstration; but if [he draw] not the right conclusion, he will not syllogize at all.

Now demonstration differs from analysis. For each one of the points demonstrated, is demonstrated by means of points that are demonstrated; those having been previously demonstrated by others; till we get back to those which are self-evident, or to those evident to sense and to understanding; which is called Analysis. But demonstration is, when the point in question reaches us through all the intermediate steps. The man, then, who practises demonstration, ought to give great attention to the truth, while he disregards the terms of the premisses, whether you call them axioms, or premisses, or assumptions. Similarly, also, special attention must be paid to what suppositions a conclusion is based on; while he may be quite careless as to whether one choose to term it a conclusive or syllogistic proposition.

For I assert that these two things must be attended to by the man who would demonstrate -- to assume true premisses, and to draw from them the legitimate conclusion, which some also call "the inference," as being what is inferred from the premisses.

Now in each proposition respecting a question there must be different premisses, related, however, to the proposition laid down; and what is advanced must be reduced to definition. And this definition must be admitted by all. But when premisses irrelevant to the proposition to be established are assumed, it is impossible to arrive at any right result; the entire proposition -- which is also called the question of its nature -- being ignored.

In all questions, then, there is something which is previously known, -- that which being self-evident is believed without demonstration; which must be made the starting point in their investigation, and the criterion of apparent results.

CHAPTER 4 -- TO PREVENT AMBIGUITY, WE MUST BEGIN WITH CLEAR DEFINITION.

For every question is solved from pre-existing knowledge. And the knowledge pre-existing of each object of investigation is sometimes merely of the essence, while its functions are unknown (as of stones, and plants, and animals, of whose operations we are ignorant), or [the knowledge] of the properties, or powers, or (so to speak) of the qualities inherent in the objects. And sometimes we may know some one or more of those powers or properties, -- as, for example, the desires and affections of the soul, -- and be ignorant of the essence, and make it the object of investigation. But in many instances, our understanding having assumed all these, the question is, in which of the essences do they thus inhere; for it is after forming conceptions of both -- that is, both of essence and operation -- in our mind, that we proceed to the question. And there are also some objects, whose operations, along with their essences, we know, but are ignorant of their modifications.

Such, then, is the method of the discovery [of truth]. For we must begin with the knowledge of the questions to be discussed. For often the form of the expression deceives and confuses and disturbs the mind, so that it is not easy to discover to what class the thing is to be referred; as, for example, whether the foetus be an animal. For, having a conception of an animal and a foetus, we inquire if it be the case that the foetus is an animal; that is, if the substance which is in the foetal state possesses the power of motion, and of sensation besides. So that the inquiry is regarding functions and sensations in a substance previously known. Consequently the man who proposes the question is to be first asked, what he calls an animal. Especially is this to be done whenever we find the same term applied to various purposes; and we must examine whether what is signified by the term is disputed, or admitted by all. For were one to say that he calls whatever grows and is fed an animal, we shall have again to ask further, whether he considered plants to be animals; and then, after declaring himself to this effect, he must show what it is which is in the foetal state, and is nourished.

For Plato calls plants animals, as partaking of the third species of life alone, that of appetency. But Aristotle, while he thinks that plants are possessed of a life of vegetation and nutrition, does not consider it proper to call them animals; for that alone, which possesses the other life -- that of sensation -- he considers warrantable to be called an animal. The Stoics do not call the power of vegetation, life.

Now, on the man who proposes the question denying that plants are animals, we shall show that he affirms what contradicts himself. For, having defined the animal by the fact of its nourishment and growth, but having asserted that a plant is not an animal, it appears that he says nothing else than that what is nourished and grows is both an animal and not an animal.

Let him, then, say what he wants to learn. Is it whether what is in the womb grows and is nourished, or is it whether it possesses any sensation or movement by impulse? For, according to Plato, the plant is animate, and an animal; but, according to Aristotle, not an animal, for it wants sensation, but is animate. Therefore, according to him, an animal is an animate sentient being. But according to the Stoics, a plant is neither animate nor an animal; for an animal is an animate being. If, then, an animal is animate, and life is sentient nature, it is plain that what is animate is sentient. If, then, he who has put the question, being again interrogated if he still calls the animal in the foetal state an animal on account of its being nourished and growing, he has got his answer.

But were he to say that the question he asks is, whether the foetus is already sentient, or capable of moving itself in consequence of any impulse, the investigation of the matter becomes clear, the fallacy in the name no longer remaining. But if he do not reply to the interrogation, and will not say what he means, or in respect of what consideration it is that he applies the term "animal" in propounding the question, but bids us define it ourselves, let him be noted as disputatious.

But as there are two methods, one by question and answer, and the other the method of exposition, if he decline the former, let him listen to us, while we expound all that bears on the problem. Then when we have done, he may treat of each point in turn. But if he attempt to interrupt the investigation by putting questions, he plainly does not want to hear.

But if he choose to reply, let him first be asked, To what thing he applies the name, animal. And when he has answered this, let him be again asked, what, in his view, the foetus means, whether that which is in the womb, or things already formed and living; and again, if the foetus means the seed deposited, or if it is only when members and a shape are formed that the name of embryos is to be applied. And on his replying to this, it is proper that the point in hand be reasoned out to a conclusion, in due order, and taught.

But if he wishes us to speak without him answering, let him hear. Since you will not say in what sense you allege what you have propounded (for I would not have thus engaged in a discussion about meanings, but I would now have looked at the things themselves), know that you have done just as if you had propounded the question, Whether a dog were an animal? For I might have rightly said, Of what dog do you speak? For I shall speak of the land dog and the sea dog, and the constellation in heaven, and of Diogenes too, and all the other dogs in order. For I could not divine whether you inquire about all or about some one. What you shall do subsequently is to learn now, and say distinctly what it is that your question is about. Now if you are shuffling about names, it is plain to everybody that the name foetus is neither an animal nor a plant, but a name, and a sound, and a body, and a being, and anything and everything rather than an animal. And if it is this that you have propounded, you are answered.

But neither is that which is denoted by the name foetus an animal. But that is incorporeal, and may be called a thing and a notion, and everything rather than an animal. The nature of an animal is different. For it was clearly shown respecting the very point in question, I mean the nature of the embryo, of what sort it is. The question respecting the meanings expressed by the name animal is different.

I say, then, if you affirm that an animal is what has the power of sensation and of moving itself from appetency, that an animal is not simply what moves through appetency and is possessed of sensation. For it is also capable of sleeping, or, when the objects of sensation are not present, of not exercising the power of sensation. But the natural power of appetency or of sensation is the mark of an animal. For something of this nature is indicated by these things. First, if the foetus is not capable of sensation or motion from appetency; which is the point proposed for consideration. Another point is; if the foetus is capable of ever exercising the power of sensation or moving through appetency. In which sense no one makes it a question, since it is evident.

But the question was, whether the embryo is already an animal, or still a plant. And then the name animal was reduced to definition, for the sake of perspicuity. But having discovered that it is distinguished from what is not an animal by sensation and motion from appetency; we again separated this from its adjuncts; asserting that it was one thing for that to be such potentially, which is not yet possessed of the power of sensation and motion, but will some time be so, and another thing to be already so actually; and in the case of such, it is one thing to exert its powers, another to be able to exert them, but to be at rest or asleep. And this is the question.

For the embryo is not to be called an animal from the fact that it is nourished; which is the allegation of those who turn aside from the essence of the question, and apply their minds to what happens otherwise. But in the case of all conclusions alleged to be found out, demonstration is applied in common, which is discourse (logos), establishing one thing from others. But the grounds from which the point in question is to be established, must be admitted and known by the learner. And the foundation of all these is what is evident to sense and to intellect.

Accordingly the primary demonstration is composed of all these. But the demonstration which, from points already demonstrated thereby, concludes some other point, is no less reliable than the former. It cannot be termed primary, because the conclusion is not drawn from primary principles as premisses.

The first species, then, of the different kinds of questions, which are three, has been exhibited -- I mean that, in which the essence being known, some one of its powers or properties is unknown. The second variety of propositions was that in which we all know the powers and properties, but do not know the essence; as, for example, in what part of the body is the principal faculty of the soul.

CHAPTER 5 -- APPLICATION OF DEMONSTRATION TO SCEPTICAL SUSPENSE OF JUDGMENT.

Now the same treatment which applies to demonstration applies also to the following question. Some, for instance, say that there cannot be several originating causes for one animal. It is impossible that there can be several homogeneous originating causes of an animal; but that there should be several heterogeneous, is not absurd.

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Suppose the Pyrrhonian suspense of judgment, as they say, [the idea] that nothing is certain: it is plain that, beginning with itself, it first invalidates itself. It either grants that something is true, that you are not to suspend your judgment on all things; or it persists in saying that there is nothing true. And it is evident, that first it will not be true. For it either affirms what is true or it does not affirm what is true. But if it affirms what is true, it concedes, though unwillingly, that something is true. And if it does not affirm what is true, it leaves true what it wished to do away with. For, in so far as the scepticism which demolishes is proved false, in so far the positions which are being demolished, are proved true; like the dream which says that all dreams are false. For in confuting itself, it is confirmatory of the others.

And, in fine, if it is true, it will make a beginning with itself, and not be scepticism of anything else but of itself first. Then if [such a man] apprehends that he is a man, or that he is sceptical, it is evident that he is not sceptical. And how shall he reply to the interrogation? For he is evidently no sceptic in respect to this. Nay, he affirms even that he does doubt.

And if we must be persuaded to suspend our judgment in regard to everything, we shall first suspend our judgment in regard to our suspense of judgment itself, whether we are to credit it or not.

And if this position is true, that we do not know what is true, then absolutely nothing is allowed to be true by it. But if he will say that even this is questionable, whether we know what is true; by this very statement he grants that truth is knowable, in the very act of appearing to establish the doubt respecting it.

But if a philosophical sect is a leaning toward dogmas, or, according to some, a leaning to a number of dogmas which have consistency with one another and with phenomena, tending to a right life; and dogma is a logical conception, and conception is a state and assent of the mind: not merely sceptics, but every one who dogmatizes is accustomed in certain things to suspend his judgment, either through want of strength of mind, or want of clearness in the things, or equal force in the reasons.

CHAPTER 6 -- DEFINITIONS, GENERA, AND SPECIES.

The introductions and sources of questions are about these points and in them.

But before definitions, and demonstrations, and divisions, it must be propounded in what ways the question is stated; and equivocal terms are to be treated; and synomyms stated accurately according to their significations.

Then it is to be inquired whether the proposition belongs to those points, which are considered in relation to others, or is taken by itself. Further, If it is, what it is, what happens to it; or thus, also, if it is, what it is, why it is. And to the consideration of these points, the knowledge of Particulars and Universals, and the Antecedents and the Differences, and their divisions, contribute.

Now, Induction aims at generalization and definition; and the divisions are the species, and what a thing is, and the individual. The contemplation of the How adduces the assumption of what is peculiar; and doubts bring the particular differences and the demonstrations, and otherwise augment the speculation and its consequences; and the result of the whole is scientific knowledge and truth.

Again, the summation resulting from Division becomes Definition. For Definition is adopted before division and after: before, when it is admitted or stated; after, when it is demonstrated. And by Sensation the Universal is summed up from the Particular. For the starting point of Induction is Sensation; and the end is the Universal.

Induction, accordingly, shows not what a thing is, but that it is, or is not. Division shows what it is; and Definition similarly with Division teaches the essence and what a thing is, but not if it is; while Demonstration explains the three points, if it is, what it is, and why it is.

There are also Definitions which contain the Cause. And since it may be known when we see, when we see the Cause; and Causes are four -- the matter, the moving power, the species, the end; Definition will be fourfold.

Accordingly we must first take the genus, in which are the points that are nearest those above; and after this the next difference. And the succession of differences, when cut and divided, completes the "What it is." There is no necessity for expressing all the differences of each thing, but those which form the species.

Geometrical analysis and synthesis are similar to logical division and definition; and by division we get back to what is simple and more elementary. We divide, therefore, the genus of what is proposed for consideration into the species contained in it; as, in the case of man, we divide animal, which is the genus, into the species that appear in it, the mortal, and the immortal. And thus, by continually dividing those genera that seem to be compound into the simpler species, we arrive at the point which is the subject of investigation, and which is incapable of further division.

For, after dividing "the animal" into mortal and immortal, then into terrestrial and aquatic; and the terrestrial again into those who fly and those who walk; and so dividing the species which is nearest to what is sought, which also contains what is sought, we arrive by division at the simplest species, which contains nothing else, but what is sought alone.

For again we divide that which walks into rational and irrational; and then selecting from the species, apprehended by division, those next to man, and combining them into one formula, we state the definition of a man, who is an animal, mortal, terrestrial, walking, rational.

Whence Division furnishes the class of matter, seeking for the definition the simplicity of the name; and the definition of the artisan and maker, by composition and construction, presents the knowledge of the thing as it is; not of those things of which we have general notions.

To these notions we say that explanatory expressions belong. For to these notions, also, divisions are applicable.

Now one Division divides that which is divided into species, as a genus; and another into parts, as a whole; and another into accidents.

The division, then, of a whole into the parts, is, for the most part, conceived with reference to magnitude; that into the accidents can never be entirely explicated, if, necessarily, essence is inherent in each of the existences.

Whence both these divisions are to be rejected, and only the division of the genus into species is approved, by which both the identity that is in the genus is characterized, and the diversity which subsists in the specific differences.

The species is always contemplated in a part. On the other hand, however, if a thing is part of another, it will not be also a species. For the hand is a part of a man, but it is not a species. And the genus exists in the species. For [the genus] is both in man and the ox. But the whole is not in the parts. For the man is not in his feet. Wherefore also the species is more important than the part; and whatever things are predicated of the genus will be all predicated of the species.

It is best, then, to divide the genus into two, if not into three species. The species then being divided more generically, are characterized by sameness and difference. And then being divided, they are chacterized by the points generically indicated.

For each of the species is either an essence; as when we say, Some substances are corporeal and some incorporeal; or how much, or what relation, or where, or when, or doing, or suffering.

One, therefore, will give the definition of whatever he possesses the knowledge of; as one can by no means be acquainted with that which he cannot embrace and define in speech. And in consequence of ignorance of the definition, the result is, that many disputes and deceptions arise. For if he that knows the thing has the knowledge of it in his mind, and can explain by words what he conceives; and if the explanation of the thought is definition; then he that knows the thing must of necessity be able also to give the definition.

Now in definitions, difference is assumed, which, in the definition, occupies the place of sign. The faculty of laughing, accordingly, being added to the definition of man, makes the whole -- a rational, mortal, terrestrial, walking, laughing animal. For the things added by way of difference to the definition are the signs of the properties of things; but do not show the nature of the things themselves. Now they say that the difference is the assigning of what is peculiar; and as that which has the difference differs from all the rest, that which belongs to it alone, and is predicated conversely of the thing, must in definitions be assumed by the first genus as principal and fundamental.

Accordingly, in the larger definitions the number of the species that are discovered are in the ten Categories; and in the least, the principal points of the nearest species being taken, mark the essence and nature of the thing. But the least consists of three, the genus and two essentially necessary species. And this is done for the sake of brevity.

We say, then, Man is the laughing animal. And we must assume that which pre-eminently happens to what is defined, or its peculiar virtue, or its peculiar function, and the like.

Accordingly, while the definition is explanatory of the essence of the thing, it is incapable of accurately comprehending its nature. By means of the principal species, the definition makes an exposition of the essence, and almost has the essence in the quality.

CHAPTER 7 -- ON THE CAUSES OF DOUBT OR ASSENT.

The causes productive of scepticism are two things principally. One is the changefulness and instability of the human mind, whose nature it is to generate dissent, either that of one with another, or that of people with themselves. And the second is the discrepancy which is in things; which, as to be expected, is calculated to be productive of scepticism.

For, being unable either to believe in all views, on account of their conflicting nature; or to disbelieve all, because that which says that all are untrustworthy is included in the number of those that are so; or to believe some and disbelieve others on account of the equipoise, we are led to scepticism.

But among the principal causes of scepticism is the instability of the mind, which is productive of dissent. And dissent is the proximate cause of doubt. Whence life is full of tribunals and councils; and, in fine, of selection in what is said to be good and bad; which are the signs of a mind in doubt, and halting through feebleness on account of conflicting matters. And there are libraries full of books,' and compilations and treatises of those who differ in dogmas, and are confident that they themselves know the truth that there is in things.

CHAPTER 8 -- THE METHOD OF CLASSIFYING THINGS AND NAMES.

In language there are three things : -- Names, which are primarily the symbols of conceptions, and by consequence also of subjects. Second, there are Conceptions, which are the likenesses and impressions of the subjects. Whence in all, the conceptions are the same; in consequence of the same impression being produced by the subjects in all. But the names are not so, on account of the difference of languages. And thirdly, the Subject-matters by which the Conceptions are impressed in us.

The names are reduced by grammar into the twenty-four general elements; for the elements must be determined. For of Particulars there is no scientific knowledge, seeing they are infinite. But it is the property of science to rest on general and defined principles. Whence also Particulars are resolved into Universals. And philosophic research is occupied with Conceptions and Real subjects. But since of these the Particulars are infinite, some elements have been found, under which every subject of investigation is brought; and if it be shown to enter into any one or more of the elements, we prove it to exist; but if it escape them all, that it does not exist.

Of things stated, some are stated without connection; as, for example, "man" and "runs," and whatever does not complete a sentence, which is either true or false. And of things stated in connection, some point out "essence," some "quality," some "quantity," some "relation," some "where," some "when," some "position," some "possession," some "action," some "suffering," which we call the elements of material things after the first principles. For these are capable of being contemplated by reason.

But immaterial things are capable of being apprehended by the mind alone, by primary application.

And of those things that are classed under the ten Categories, some are predicated by themselves (as the nine Categories), and others in relation to something.

And, again, of the things contained under these ten Categories, some are Univocal, as ox and man, as far as each is an animal. For those are Univocal terms, to both of which belongs the common name, animal; and the same principle, that is definition, that is animate essence. And Heteronyms are those which relate to the same subject under different names, as ascent or descent; for the way is the same whether upwards or downwards. And the other species of Heteronyms, as horse and black, are those which have a different name and definition from each other, and do not possess the same subject. But they are to be called different, not Heteronyms. And Polyonyms are those which have the same definition, but a different name, as, hanger, sword, scimitar. And Paronyms are those which are named from something different, as "manly" from "manliness."

Equivocal terms have the same name, but not the same definition, as man -- both the animal and the picture. Of Equivocal terms, some receive their Equivocal name fortuitously, as Ajax, the Locrian, and the Salaminian; and some from intention; and of these, some from resemblance, as man both the living and the painted; and some from analogy, as the foot of Mount Ida, and our foot, because they are beneath; some from action, as the foot of a vessel, by which the vessel soils, and our foot, by which we move. Equivocal terms are designated from the same and to the same; as the book and scalpel are called surgical, both from the surgeon who uses them and with reference to the surgical matter itself.

CHAPTER 9 -- ON THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF CAUSE.

Of Causes, some are Procatarctic and some Synectic, some Co-operating, some Causes sine qua non.

Those that afford the occasion of the origin of anything first, are Procatarctic; as beauty is the cause of love to the licentious; for when seen by them, it alone produces the amorous inclinanation, but not necessarily.

Causes are Synectic (which are also univocally perfect of themselves) whenever a cause is capable of producing the effect of itself, independently.

Now all the causes may be shown in order in the case of the learner. The father is the Pro-catarctic cause of learning, the teacher the. Synectic, and the nature of the learner the cooperating cause, and time holds the relation of the Cause sine qua non.

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Now that is properly called a cause which is capable of effecting anything actively; since we say that steel is capable of cutting, not merely while cutting, but also while not cutting. Thus, then, the capability of causing (to parektikon) signifies both; both that which is now acting, and that which is not yet acting, but which possesses the power of acting.

Some, then, say that causes are properties of bodies; and others of incorporeal substances; others say that the body is properly speaking cause, and that what is incorporeal is so only catachrestically, and a quasi-cause. Others, again, reverse matters, saying that corporeal substances are properly causes, and bodies are so improperly; as, for example, that cutting, which is an action, is incorporeal, and is the cause of cutting which is an action and incorporeal, and, in the case of bodies, of being cut, -- as in the case of the sword and what is cut [by it].

The cause of things is predicated in a threefold manner. One, What the cause is, as the statuary; a second, Of what it is the cause of becoming, a statue; and a third, To what it is the cause, as, for example, the material: for he is the cause to the brass of becoming a statue. The being produced, and the being cut, which are causes to what they belong, being actions, are incorporeal.

According to which principle, causes belong to the class of predicates (kathgorhmatwn), or, as others say, of dicta (lektwn) (for Cleanthes and Archedemus call predicates dicta); or rather, some causes will be assigned to the class of predicates, as that which is cut, whose case is to be cut; and some to that of axioms, -- as, for example, that of a ship being made, whose case again is, that a ship is constructing. Now Aristotle denominates the name of such things as a house, a ship, burning, cutting, an appellative. But the case is allowed to be incorporeal. Therefore that sophism is solved thus: What you say passes through your mouth. Which is true. You name a house. Therefore a house passes through your mouth. Which is false. For we do not speak the house, which is a body, but the case, in which the house is, which is incorporeal.

And we say that the house-builder builds the house, in reference to that which is to be produced. So we say that the cloak is woven; for that which makes is the indication of the operation. That which makes is not the attribute of one, and the cause that of another, but of the same, both in the case of the cloak and of the house. For, in as far as one is the cause of anything being produced, in so far is he also the maker of it. Consequently, the cause, and that which makes, and that through which (di o), are the same. Now, if anything is "a cause" and "that which effects," it is certainly also "that through which." But if a thing is "that through which," it does not by any means follow that it is also "the cause." Many things, for instance, concur in one result, through which the end is reached; but all are not causes. For Medea would not have killed her children, had she not been enraged. Nor would she have been enraged, had she not been jealous. Nor would she have been this, if she had not loved. Nor would she have loved, had not Jason sailed to Colchi. Nor would this have taken place, had the Argo not been built. Nor would this have taken place, had not the timbers been cut from Pelion. For though in all these things there is the case of "that through which," they are not all "causes" of the murder of the children, but only Medea was the cause. Wherefore, that which does not hinder does not act. Wherefore, that which does not hinder is not a cause, but that which hinders is. For it is in acting and doing something that the cause is conceived:

Besides, what does not hinder is separated from what takes place; but the cause is related to the event. That, therefore, which does not hinder cannot be a cause. Wherefore, then, it is accomplished, because that which can hinder is not present. Causation is then predicated in four ways: The efficient cause, as the statuary; and the material, as the brass; and the form, as the character; and the end, as the honour of the Gymnasiarch.

The relation of the cause sine qua non is held by the brass in reference to the production of the statue; and likewise it is a [true] cause. For everything without which the effect is incapable of being produced, is of necessity a cause; but a cause not absolutely. For the cause sine qua non is not Synectic, but Co-operative. And everything that acts produces the effect, in conjunction with the aptitude of that which is acted on. For the cause disposes. But each thing is affected according to its natural constitution; the aptitude being causative, and occupying the place of causes sine qua non. Accordingly, the cause is inefficacious without the aptitude; and is not a cause, but a co-efficient. For all causation is conceived in action. Now the earth could not make itself, so that it could not be the cause of itself. And it were ridiculous to say that the fire was not the cause of the burning, but the logs, -- or the sword of the cutting, but the flesh, -- or the strength of the antagonist the cause of the athlete being vanquished, but his own weakness.

The Synectic cause does not require time. For the cautery produces pain at the instant of its application to the flesh. Of Procatarctic causes, some require time till the effect be produced, and others do not require it, as the case of fracture.

Are not these called independent of time, not by way of privation, but of diminution, as that which is sudden, not that which has taken place without time?

Every cause, apprehended by the mind as a cause, is occupied with something, and is conceived in relation to something; that is, some effect, as the sword for cutting; and to some object, as possessing an aptitude, as the fire to the wood. For it will not burn steel. The cause belongs to the things which have relation to something. For it is conceived in its relation to another thing. So that we apply our minds to the two, that we may conceive the cause as a cause.

The same relation holds with the creator, and maker, and father. A thing is not the cause of itself. Nor is one his own father. For so the first would become the second. Now the cause acts and affects. That which is produced by the cause is acted on and is affected. But the same thing taken by itself cannot both act and be affected, nor can one be son and father. And otherwise the cause precedes in being what is done by it, as the sword, the cutting. And the same thing cannot precede at the same instant as to matter, as it is a cause, and at the same time, also, be after and posterior as the effect of a cause.

Now being differs from becoming, as the cause from the effect, the father from the son. For the same thing cannot both be and become at the same instant; and consequently it is not the cause of itself. Things are not causes of one another, but causes to each other. For the splenetic affection preceding is not the cause of fever, but of the occurrence of fever; and the fever which precedes is not the cause of spleen, but of the affection increasing.

Thus also the virtues are causes to each other, because on account of their mutual correspondence they cannot be separated. And the stones in the arch are causes of its continuing in this category, but are not the causes of one another. And the teacher and the learner are to one another causes of progressing as respects the predicate.

And mutual and reciprocal causes are predicated, some of the same things, as the merchant and the retailer are causes of gain; and sometimes one of one thing and others of another, as the sword and the flesh; for the one is the cause to the flesh of being cut, and the flesh to the sword of cutting. [It is well said,] "An eye for an eye, life for life." For he who has wounded another mortally, is the cause to him of death, or of the occurrence of death. But on being mortally wounded by him in turn, he has had him as a cause in turn, not in respect of being a cause to him, but in another respect. For he becomes the cause of death to him, not that it was death returned the mortal stroke, but the wounded man himself. So that he was the cause of one thing, and had another cause. And he who has done wrong becomes the cause to another, to him who has been wronged. But the law which enjoins punishment to be inflicted is the cause not of injury, but to the one of retribution, to the other of discipline. So that the things which are causes, are not causes to each other as causes.

It is still asked, if many things in conjunction become many causes of one thing. For the men who pull together are the causes of the ship being drawn down; but along with others, unless what is a joint cause be a cause.

Others say, if there are many causes, each by itself becomes the cause of one thing. For instance, the virtues, which are many, are causes of happiness, which is one; and of warmth and pain, similarly, the causes are many. Are not, then, the many virtues one in power, and the sources of warmth and of pain so, also? and does not the multitude of the virtues, being one in kind, become the cause of the one result, happiness?

But, in truth, Procatarctic causes are more than one both generically and specifically; as, for example, cold, weakness, fatigue, dyspepsia, drunkenness, generically, of any disease; and specifically, of fever. But Synectic causes are so, generically alone, and not also specifically.

For of pleasant odour, which is one thing genetically, there are many specific causes, as frankincense, rose, crocus, styrax, myrrh, ointment. For the rose has not the same kind of sweet fragrance as myrrh.

And the same thing becomes the cause of contrary effects; sometimes through the magnitude of the cause and its power, and sometimes in consequence of the susceptibility of that on which it acts. According to the nature of the force, the same string, according to its tension or relaxation, gives a shrill or deep sound. And honey is sweet to those who are well, and bitter to those who are in fever, according to the state of susceptibility of those who are affected. And one and the same wine inclines some to rage, and others to merriment. And the same sun melts wax and hardens clay.

Further, of causes, some are apparent; others are grasped by a process of reasoning; others are occult; others are inferred analogically.

And of causes that are occult, some are occult temporarily, being hidden at one time, and at another again seen clearly; and some are occult by nature, and capable of becoming at no time visible. And of those who are so by nature, some are capable of being apprehended; and these some would not call occult, being apprehended by analogy, through the medium of signs, as, for example, the symmetry of the passages of the senses, which are contemplated by reason.

And some are not capable of being apprehended; which cannot in any mode fall under apprehension; which are by their very definition occult.

Now some are Procatarctic, some Synectic, some Joint-causes, some Co-operating causes. And there are some according to nature, some beyond nature. And there are some of disease and by accident, some of sensations, some of the greatness of these, some of times and of seasons.

Procatarctic causes being removed, the effect remains. But a Synectic cause is that, which being present, the effect remains, and being removed, the effect is removed.

The Synectic is also called by the synonymous expression "perfect in itself." Since it is of itself sufficient to produce the effect.

And if the cause manifests an operation sufficient in itself, the co-operating cause indicates assistance and service along with the other. If, accordingly, it effects nothing, it will not be called even a co-operating cause; and if it does effect something, it is wholly the cause of this, that is, of what is produced by it. That is, then, a co-operating cause, which being present, the effect was produced -- the visible visibly, and the occult invisibly.

The Joint-cause belongs also to the genus of causes, as a fellow-soldier is a soldier, and as a fellow-youth is a youth.

The Co-operating cause further aids the Synectic, in the way of intensifying what is produced by it. But the Joint-cause does not fall under the same notion. For a thing may be a Joint-cause, though it be not a Synectic cause. For the Joint-cause is conceived in conjunction with another, which is not capable of producing the effect by itself, being a cause along with a cause. And the Co-operating cause differs from the Joint-cause in this particular, that the Joint-cause produces the effect in that which by itself does not act. But the Co-operating cause, while effecting nothing by itself, yet by its accession to that which acts by itself, co-operates with it, in order to the production of the effect in the intensest degree. But especially is that which becomes co-operating from being Procatarctic, effective in intensifying the force of the cause.

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ROMAN CHRISTIANITY FROM THE SECOND FLAVIAN DYNASTY TO NICCOLO MACCHIAVELLI

THE EDICT OF TOLERATION

or Edict Of Serdica
By Emperor Galerius (311 AD)
from Lactantius, De Mort. Pers. ch. 34, 35.
Opera, ed. O. F. Fritzsche, II, P. 273.;
Bibl. Patt. Ecc. Lat. XI, Leipzig, 1844.
Translation: 0. F. Fritzsche, 1844

(The Edict of Serdica, also called Edict of Toleration by Galerius, was issued in 311 in Serdica (today Sofia, Bulgaria) by the Roman emperor Galerius, officially ending the Diocletianic persecution of Christianity in the East. The Edict implicitly granted Christianity the status of "religio licita" [lawful religion], a worship recognised and accepted by the Roman Empire. It was the first edict legalising Christianity, preceding the Edict of Milan by two years.

On February 23, 303, on the Terminalia feast, Emperor Diocletian, by proposal of Galerius, issued a persecutory edict. The edict prescribed: 1. Destroying of churches and burning of the Holy Scriptures; 2. Confiscation of church property; 3. Banning Christians from undertaking collective legal action; 4. Loss of privileges for Christians of high rank who refused to recant; 5. The arrest of some state officials.

At that time, Galerius held the position of Caesar of the Roman Empire, the second most important position after the Emperors. In 305 Diocletian abdicated; Galerius, his successor, continued persecution in the East until 311, when he granted Christians forgiveness, freedom of worship and, implicitly, the status of religio licita. Promulgated in the name of the other official members of the Tetrarchy, the edict marked the end of persecutions against the Christians. This edict needs some explanations.

The Empire in Crisis

The Crisis of the Third Century, also known as Military Anarchy or the Imperial Crisis (235–284 AD), was a period in which the Roman Empire nearly collapsed under the combined pressures of barbarian invasions and migrations into the Roman territory, civil wars, peasant rebellions, political instability (with multiple usurpers competing for power), Roman reliance on (and growing influence of) barbarian mercenaries known as foederati and commanders nominally working for Rome (but increasingly independent), plague, debasement of currency, and economic depression.

The crisis began with the assassination of Emperor Alexander Severus at the hands of his own troops in 235 AD. This started a fifty-year period in which 20–25 rivals struggled for the throne. Most were important Roman Army generals who took control over all or part of the Empire.

By 258–260, the Empire had split into three competing states. There was the Gallic Empire, which included the Roman provinces of Gaul, Britannia and Hispania, and the Palmyrene Empire, with the eastern provinces of Syria Palaestina and Aegyptus. These became independent of the Italian Roman Empire proper, which stood between them. Later, Aurelian (270–275) reunited the empire. The crisis ended with the ascension of Diocletian and his implementation of reforms in 284 and it resulted in many changes to the Empire's institutions, society, economic life and, eventually, religion.

The Tetrarchy

One of Diocletian's reforms was the invention and institution of the Tetrarchy in 293 AD. The term "tetrarchy" describes any form of government where power is divided among four individuals. The government of the empire was divided between the two senior emperors, the augusti, and their juniors and designated successors, the caesares.

This form of government was the answer to the civil wars, peasant rebellions, political instability, the combined pressures of barbarian invasions and migrations into the Roman territory, and also the vast geographical span of the Roman Empire that was roughly 6000 km long and 4000 km wide, larger than modern China or the United States. The Tetrarchy had approximately the following chronology:

• Diocletian as Augustus, 284–286 AD; with Maximian as Augustus of the West 286–293; with Galerius and Constantius Chlorus as Caesares, 293–305 AD.

• Maximian as the sole Caesar, 285–286 AD; with Diocletian as Augustus of the East 286–305 AD; with Galerius and Constantius Chlorus as Caesares, 293–305 AD.

• Galerius and Flavius Constantius Chlorus as Caesares, 293–305 AD.

• Galerius and Flavius Constantius Chlorus as Augusti of East and West 305–306 AD; with Severus and Maximinus Daia as Caesares, 305–306 AD.

• Galerius and Severus as Augusti of East and West 306–307 AD; with Maximinus Daia and Constantine the Great as Caesares 306–307 AD.

• Galerius and Maxentius as Augusti of East and West 307–308; with Maximinus Daia and Constantine the Great as Caesares, 307–308 AD.

• Galerius and Licinius as Augusti of East and West 308–311 AD; with Maximinus Daia and Constantine the Great as Caesares 308–311 AD.

• Maxentius as usurper in Rome (and Asia Minor 311–312 AD), 308–312 AD.

• Maximinus Daia and Licinius as Augusti of East and West 311–312 AD; with Constantine the Great as Caesar (self-proclaimed Augustus) 311–312 AD.

• Licinius and Constantine the Great as Augusti of East and West 312–324 AD; with Licinius II and Constantine II, Crispus as Caesares 317–324 AD.

• The Tetrarchy ended with the Second Flavian [Constantinian] dynasty.

The new Flavian Christians

It is not a great art to find out what was going on in the past. One just has to pay attention to details. All the following persons were interconnected by family bond and by religion:

• Diocletian (Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus; c. 244–311 AD) was a Roman emperor from 284 to 305 AD. Diocletian's reign stabilised the empire and marks the end of the Crisis of the Third Century. He appointed fellow officer Maximian as Augustus, co-emperor, in 286 AD. Diocletian reigned in the Eastern Empire, and Maximian reigned in the Western Empire.

• Prisca (born between 255 and 260, died 315 AD), a Christian, married Emperor Diocletian probably between 275 and 280 AD and they had one daughter: Galeria Valeria.

• Galeria Valeria (born between 275 and 280, died 315 AD) was the daughter of Roman Emperor Diocletian and his wife Prisca; in 293 AD she married his co-emperor Galerius. When Galerius died, in 311 AD, his co-emperor Licinius was entrusted with the care of Valeria and her mother Prisca, but both women, who were Christians, fled from Licinius. She and her mother were captured in Thessaloniki by Licinius' soldiers 4 years after Galerius' death, beheaded in the central square of the city, and their bodies thrown in the sea.

• Constantius I (Flavius Valerius Constantius; 250–306 AD) was a Roman emperor. He ruled as Caesar from 293 to 305 and as Augustus from 305 to 306 AD. He was the junior colleague of the Augustus Maximian under the Tetrarchy and succeeded him as senior co-emperor of the western part of the empire. Constantius ruled the West while Galerius was Augustus in the East. He was the father of Constantine the Great and founder of the Constantinian dynasty. His wife was the Greek Christian Flavia Helena. After his death he became known as Chlorus (Greek: 'the Green'), but the nickname does not appear in records before the sixth century AD.

• Flavia Julia Helena (Greek: Elene; c. 246 / 248 – c. 330 AD), a Greek Christian, was the first wife of Flavius Constantius I and mother of Roman emperor Constantine the Great.

• Maximian (Latin: Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus; c. 250–310 AD), was the father of Flavia Maximiana Theodora, Maxentius, and Fausta. He was Caesar from 285 to 286, then Augustus from 286 to 305 AD. In 310 Maximian died as a consequence of an assassination plot against Constantine. Maximian killed himself by hanging in mid-310 on Constantine's orders.

• Flavia Maximiana Theodora (c. 275–336 AD), also known as Theodora, was the daughter of Maximian and the second wife of Constantius Chlorus. Her typical Christian name Theodora [meaning: "gift of god"] identifies her as Christian.

• Flavia Julia Constantia (c. 294–330 AD) the daughter of the Roman Emperor Constantius Chlorus and Flavia Maximiana Theodora. She was the half-sister of Flavius Constantinus I and a Christian supporting the Arian Christian party at the First Council of Nicaea (325 AD).

• Valerius Licinianus Licinius (c. 265–325 AD) was Roman emperor from 308 to 324. He murdered Prisca the wife of Galerius and also his daughter Galeria Valeria in 315 AD. For most of his reign he was the colleague and rival of Constantine I, with whom he co-authored the Edict of Milan, 313 AD, that granted official toleration to Christians in the Roman Empire. A similar document was already issued by Emperor Galerius in 311 AD. His wife was the Arian Christian Flavia Julia Constantia. He was finally defeated at the Battle of Chrysopolis (324 AD), and was later executed on the orders of Constantine I.

• Maxentius (Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maxentius; c. 276–312 AD) was Roman emperor from 306 to 312 AD. He was the son of former Emperor Maximian and the son-in-law of Emperor Galerius. His wife was Valeria Maximilla, a Christian. Co-emperors or rivals: Galerius (306–311); Severus (306–307); Constantine I (306–312); Maximian (306–308); Maximinus Daia (311–312 AD)

• Valeria Maximilla (fl. 293–312) was daughter of Emperor Galerius and wife of Emperor Maxentius. According to the hagiography of St. Catherine of Alexandria, she was a Christian.

• Constantine I (Flavius Valerius Constantinus; 272 – 22 May 337), also known as Constantine the Great, was a Roman emperor from 306 to 337. Born in Naissus, Dacia Mediterranea (now Niš, Serbia), he was the son of Flavius Constantius, an Illyrian army officer who became one of the four emperors of the Tetrarchy. His mother, Helena, was a Greek Christian. His first wife was Minervina with whom he had his first son Flavius Julius Crispus. There is the possibility that he had Minervina killed in 307 AD for he wanted to marry Fausta. In 326, Crispus' life came to a sudden end. On Constantine's orders, he was tried for adultery with Fausta by a local court at Pola, Istria, condemned to death and executed. His next victim was his second wife Fausta, also in 326 AD.

• Flavia Maxima Fausta (289–326 AD) was daughter of Emperor Maximian [c. 250–310 AD], sister of Emperor Maxentius [c. 276–312 AD], and the second wife of Constantine the Great. They had six children: Constantina, Constantine II; Constantius II; Constans, Helena [wife to Flavius Claudius Julianus the "Apostate", 331–363; Roman emperor 361–363], Fausta II. In 326, Fausta was put to death in an overheated bath by Constantine, following the execution of Crispus, his eldest son by Minervina. Reason: alleged adultery with Constantin's eldest son Crispus.

Constantine's position as ruler was by no means secure. Maxentius was the last "rebel" he had to fight against. This rebellion ended at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in October 312 with the death of Maxentius. According to Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea [Maritima], Constantinus' right-hand-man, the battle marked the beginning of Constantine's conversion to Christianity. Eusebius recounts that Constantine and his soldiers had a vision sent by the Christian God. The Arch of Constantine, erected in celebration of the victory, attributes, according to Church tradition, Constantine's success to divine intervention. This claim, however, is a myth invented by Eusebius as the monument does not display any Christian symbolism at all. On the contrary, Constantine erected a giant statue of himself depicting him as Christ-like figure with a sun-like halo around his head copying the likeness of Mithras. It stood right between his Arch and the Flavian Amphitheatre, today known as the Colloseum. This civil war was not about religion, it was about the strive for power and total suppremacy. This appears to be very different from Church legend.

Many [mainly the female] family members of the Tetrarchy were Christians already decades before the battle and at the same time when their fathers and husbands allegedly were in the business of persecuting and killing Christians. How do these contradictions fit together? The only logical answer in an uncomfortable one. It seems the case that Christians persecuted other Christians and they blamed the Romans. Remember: lots of members of the ruling Roman families were Christians already, and the Church itself proves it to be correct by venerating Flavia Domitilla [granddaughter of Emperor Vespasian] Prisca, Galeria Valeria, Flavia Helena, and other connected or related persons as saints. Anyone who lives in a relationship knows how much influence a wife can assert on her husband, particularly on issues close to her heart. Would it really be such a surprise when Galeria Valeria brought her husband Galerius to sign the Edict of Toleration?

By the way, the family name Flavius or Flavia, came as a new invention too. It was added either by Constantine's father or by Constantine himself. There is the possibility that they knew about Vespasian, Titus, Josephus, and Domitian and that they first tried to establish Roman Christianity as a pacifying factor. For Constantine, the name Flavius was programme, only this time, he himself was the unifying factor of the Roman Empire as Christ. The name "Flavian Dynasty" was made official for the "Constantinian Dynasty" which an informal name for the ruling family of the Roman Empire from Constantius Chlorus (died 306) to the death of Julian in 363.

The Arch of Flavius Constantinus

The main inscription on the attic of Constantine's triumphal arch would originally have been of bronze letters. It can still be read easily; only the recesses in which the letters sat, and their attachment holes, remain. It reads thus, identically on both sides (with abbreviations completed in round brackets): IMP(eratori) CAES(ari) FL(avio) CONSTANTINO MAXIMO P(io) F(elici) AVGUSTO S(enatus) P(opulus) Q(ue) R(omanus) QVOD INSTINCTV DIVINITATIS MENTIS MAGNITVDINE CVM EXERCITV SVO TAM DE TYRANNO QVAM DE OMNI EIVS FACTIONE VNO TEMPORE IVSTIS REMPVBLICAM VLTVS EST ARMIS ARCVM TRIVMPHIS INSIGNEM DICAVIT. Meaning in English: (To the) Emperor Caesar Flavius Constantinus, the great, pious, blessed Augustus: (The) Senate and People of Rome (have decided) that (this) remarkable triumphal arch (is) inspired (by the) divinity (of his) great mind, (as) with his just army, he rescued the state

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from the tyrant and all of his followers (in) one time. Full text of the Edict of Serdica:)

Among other arrangements which we are always accustomed to make for the prosperity and welfare of the republic, we had desired formerly to bring all things into harmony with the ancient laws and public order of the Romans, and to provide that even the Christians who had left the religion of their fathers should come back to reason ; since, indeed, the Christians themselves, for some reason, had followed such a caprice and had fallen into such a folly that they would not obey the institutes of antiquity, which perchance their own ancestors had first established; but at their own will and pleasure, they would thus make laws unto themselves which they should observe and would collect various peoples in diverse places in congregations. Finally when our law had been promulgated to the effect that they should conform to the institutes of antiquity, many were subdued by the fear of danger, many even suffered death. And yet since most of them persevered in their determination, and we saw that they neither paid the reverence and awe due to the gods nor worshipped the God of the Christians, in view of our most mild clemency and the constant habit by which we are accustomed to grant indulgence to all, we thought that we ought to grant our most prompt indulgence also to these, so that they may again be Christians and may hold their conventicles, provided they do nothing contrary to good order. But we shall tell the magistrates in another letter what they ought to do.

Wherefore, for this our indulgence, they ought to pray to their God for our safety, for that of the republic, and for their own, that the republic may continue uninjured on every side, and that they may be able to live securely in their homes.

This edict is published at Nicomedia on the day before the Kalends of May, in our eighth consulship and the second of Maximinus.

THE EDICT OF MILAN
Freedom of worship granted to all Christians
By Constantine And Licinius
From Lactantius, De Mort. Pers., ch. 48. opera
II, p 288 sq. (Bibl Patr. Ecc. Lat. XI).
Translations and Reprints 4, Philadelphia, 1898
Translation: O. F. Fritzsche, 1897
Estimed Range of Dating: 313 A.D.

(The Edict of Milan [Latin: Edictum Mediolanense, Greek: Diatagma ton Mediolanon] was the February AD 313 agreement to treat Christians benevolently within the Roman Empire. Western Roman Emperor Constantine I and Emperor Licinius, who controlled the Balkans, met in Mediolanum (modern-day Milan) and, among other things, agreed to change policies towards Christians following the Edict of Toleration issued by Emperor Galerius two years earlier in Serdica. The Edict of Milan gave Christianity legal status and a reprieve from persecution but did not make it the state church of the Roman Empire. That occurred in AD 380 with the Edict of Thessalonica.

The document is found in Lactantius' De Mortibus Persecutorum and in Eusebius of Caesarea's History of the Church with marked divergences between the two. Whether or not there was a formal 'Edict of Milan' is debated. The version found in Lactantius is not in the form of an edict. It is a letter from Licinius to the governors of the provinces in the Eastern Empire he had just conquered by defeating Maximinus later in the same year and issued in Nicomedia.

The actual letters have never been retrieved. However, they are quoted at length in Lactantius' On the Deaths of the Persecutors [De mortibus persecutorum], which gives the Latin text of both Galerius's Edict of Toleration as posted at Nicomedia on 30 April 311 and of Licinius's letter of toleration and restitution addressed to the governor of Bithynia and posted at Nicomedia on 13 June 313.

Eusebius of Caesarea translated both documents into Greek in his History of the Church [Historia Ecclesiastica]. His version of the letter of Licinius must derive from a copy posted in the province of Palaestina Prima [probably at its capital, Caesarea] in the late summer or early autumn of 313, but the origin of his copy of Galerius's Edict of 311 is unknown since that does not seem to have been promulgated in Caesarea. In his description of the events in Milan in his Life of Constantine, Eusebius eliminated the role of Licinius, whom he portrayed as the evil foil to his hero Constantine.

The Edict was in effect directed against Maximinus Daia, the Caesar in the East who was at that time styling himself as Augustus. Having received the emperor Galerius' instruction to repeal the persecution in 311, Maximinus had instructed his subordinates to desist, but had not released Christians from prisons or virtual death-sentences in the mines, as Constantine and Licinius had both done in the West.

Following Galerius' death, Maximinus was no longer constrained; he enthusiastically took up renewed persecutions in the eastern territories under his control, encouraging petitions against Christians. One of those petitions, addressed not only to Maximinus but also to Constantine and Licinius, is preserved in a stone inscription at Arycanda in Lycia, and is a "request that the Christians, who have long been disloyal and still persist in the same mischievous intent, should at last be put down and not be suffered by any absurd novelty to offend against the honour due to the gods."

The Edict is popularly thought to concern only Christianity, and even to make Christianity the official religion of the Empire (which recognition did not actually occur until the Edict of Thessalonica in 380). Indeed, the Edict expressly grants religious liberty not only to Christians, who had been the object of special persecution, but goes even further and grants liberty to all religions.)

When I, Constantine Augustus, as well as I Licinius Augustus had fortunately met near Mediolanurn (Milan), and were considering everything that pertained to the public welfare and security, we thought -, among other things which we saw would be for the good of many, those regulations pertaining to the reverence of the Divinity ought certainly to be made first, so that we might grant to the Christians and others full authority to observe that religion which each preferred; whence any Divinity whatsoever in the seat of the heavens may be propitious and kindly disposed to us and all who are placed under our rule And thus by this wholesome counsel and most upright provision we thought to arrange that no one whatsoever should be denied the opportunity to give his heart to the observance of the Christian religion, of that religion which he should think best for himself, so that the Supreme Deity, to whose worship we freely yield our hearts) may show in all things His usual favor and benevolence. Therefore, your Worship should know that it has pleased us to remove all conditions whatsoever, which were in the rescripts formerly given to you officially, concerning the Christians and now any one of these who wishes to observe Christian religion may do so freely and openly, without molestation. We thought it fit to commend these things most fully to your care that you may know that we have given to those Christians free and unrestricted opportunity of religious worship. When you see that this has been granted to them by us, your Worship will know that we have also conceded to other religions the right of open and free observance of their worship for the sake of the peace of our times, that each one may have the free opportunity to worship as he pleases ; this regulation is made we that we may not seem to detract from any dignity or any religion. Moreover, in the case of the Christians especially we esteemed it best to order that if it happems anyone heretofore has bought from our treasury from anyone whatsoever, those places where they were previously accustomed to assemble, concerning which a certain decree had been made and a letter sent to you officially, the same shall be restored to the Christians without payment or any claim of recompense and without any kind of fraud or deception, Those, moreover, who have obtained the same by gift, are likewise to return them at once to the Christians. Besides, both those who have purchased and those who have secured them by gift, are to appeal to the vicar if they seek any recompense from our bounty, that they may be cared for through our clemency,. All this property ought to be delivered at once to the community of the Christians through your intercession, and without delay. And since these Christians are known to have possessed not only those places in which they were accustomed to assemble, but also other property, namely the churches, belonging to them as a corporation and not as individuals, all these things which we have included under the above law, you will order to be restored, without any hesitation or controversy at all, to these Christians, that is to say to the corporations and their conventicles: providing, of course, that the above arrangements be followed so that those who return the same without payment, as we have said, may hope for an indemnity from our bounty. In all these circumstances you ought to tender your most efficacious intervention to the community of the Christians, that our command may be carried into effect as quickly as possible, whereby, moreover, through our clemency, public order may be secured. Let this be done so that, as we have said above, Divine favor towards us, which, under the most important circumstances we have already experienced, may, for all time, preserve and prosper our successes together with the good of the state. Moreover, in order that the statement of this decree of our good will may come to the notice of all, this rescript, published by your decree, shall be announced everywhere and brought to the knowledge of all, so that the decree of this, our benevolence, cannot be concealed.

THE IMPERIAL DECREES
OF FLAVIUS CONSTANTINUS
or Imperial Decrees of Constantine
by Eusebius Pamphili.
From: Ecclesiastical History:
Imperial Decrees of Constantine.
C.F. Cruse, trans. London: Samuel Bagster, 1898.
Book 10, Chapter 5.
Translation: by C.F. Cruse, 1897
Estimated Range of Dating: 306–337 A.D.

(Eusebius (ca. 260–340 AD) was Flavius Constantinus' right-hand man and the bishop of Caesaria Maritima (the capital of Roman Judaea) from 314 until his death, during which time he wrote his Ecclesiastical History. Although not of the highest literary quality, it is an invaluable source of information about the first few centuries of the Christian Church. Book 10, which seems to have been issued in 325, includes the text of the Edict of Milan, itself issued in 313 after the Emperor Constantine's victory at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge. The Edict of Milan not only granted Christians religious toleration but also specifically recognised them as a group already owning significant property.)

"Copy Of The Imperial Ordinances, Translated From The Latin Language"

As we long since perceived that religious liberty should not be denied, but that it should be granted to the opinion and wishes of each one to perform divine duties according to his own determination, we had given orders, that each one, and the Christians among the rest, have the liberty to observe the religion of his choice, and his peculiar mode of worship. And as there plainly appeared to be many and different sects added in that edict, in which this privilege was granted them, some of them perhaps, after a little while, on this account shrunk from this kind of attention and observance. Wherefore as I, Constantine and Augustus, and I, Licinius Augusts, came under favorable auspices to Milan, and took under consideration all affairs that pertained to the public benefit and welfare, these things among the rest appeared to us to be most advantageous and profitable to all. We have resolved among the first thing to ordain those matters by which reverence and worship to the Deity might be exhibited; that is, how we may grant likewise to the Christians, and to all, the free choice to follow that mode of worship which they may wish, that whatsoever divinity and celestial power may exist, may be propitious to us and to all that live under our government. Therefore, we have decreed the following ordinance, as our will, with a salutary and most correct intention, that no freedom at all shall be refused to Christians, to follow or to keep their observances or worship; but that to each one power be granted to devote his mind to that worship which he may think adapted to himself, that the Deity may in all things exhibit to us his accustomed favour and kindness. It was just and consistent that we should write that this was our pleasure, that all exceptions respecting the Christians being completely removed, which were contained in the former epistle, that we sent to your fidelity, and whatever measures were wholly sinister and foreign to our mildness, that these should be altogether annulled; and now that each one of the Christians may freely and without molestation, pursue and follow that course of worship which he has proposed to himself: which, indeed, we have resolved to communicate most fully to your care and diligence, that you may know we have granted liberty and full freedom to the Christians, to observe their own mode of worship; which as your fidelity understands absolutely granted to them by us, the privilege is also granted to others to pursue that worship and religion they wish, which it is obvious is consistent with the peace and tranquillity of our times; that each may have the privilege to select and to worship whatsoever divinity he pleases. But this has been done by us, that we might not appear in any manner to detract any thing from any manner of religion, or any mode of worship. And this we further decree, with respect to the Christians, that the places in which they were formerly accustomed to assemble, concerning which we also formerly wrote to your fidelity, in a different form, that if any persons have purchased these, either from our treasury or from any other one, these shall restore them to the Christians, without money and without demanding any price, without any superadded value, or augmentation, without delay, or hesitancy. And if any have happened to receive these places as presents, that they shall restore them as soon as possible to the Christians, so that if either those that purchased or those that received them as presents, have any thing to request of our munificence, they may go to the provincial governor, as the judge, that provision may also be made for them by our clemency; all which, it will be necessary to be delivered up to the body of Christians, by your care, without any delay. And since the Christians themselves are known to have had not only those places where they were accustomed to meet, but other places also, belonging not to individuals among them, but to the right of the whole body of Christians, you will also command all these, by virtue of the law before mentioned,

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without any hesitancy, to be restored to these same Christians, that is to their body, and to each conventicle respectively; the aforesaid consideration, to wit, being observed; namely, that they who as we have said restore them without valuation and price, may expect their indemnity from our munificence and liberality. In all which it will be incumbent on you, to manifest your exertions as much as possible, to the aforesaid body of Christians, that our orders may be most speedily accomplished, that likewise in this, provision may be made by our clemency, for the preservation of the common and public tranquillity. For by these means, as before said, the divine favour with regard to us, which we have already experienced in many affairs, will continue firm and permanent at all times. But that the purpose of this our ordinance and liberality may be extended to the knowledge of all, it is expected that these things written by us, should be proposed and published to the knowledge of all, that this act of our liberality and kindness may remain unknown to none.

"Copy Of Another Ordinance Which Was Issued By The Emperors, Indicating That The Benefit Was Conferred Solely On The Catholic (Universal) Church"

Hail, our most esteemed Anulinus. This is the course of our benevloence; that we wish those things that belong justly to others, should not only remain unmolested, but should also when necessary be restored, most esteemed Anulinus. Whence it is our will, that when thou shalt receive this epistle, if any of those things belonging to the catholic church of the Christians in the several cities or other places, are now possessed either by the decurions, or any others, these thou shalt cause immediately to be restored to their churches. Since we have previously determined, that whatsoever these same churches before possessed, shall be restored to their right. When, therefore, your fidelity has understood this decree of our orders to be most evident and plain, make all haste to restore, as soon as possible, all that belongs to the churches, whether gardens or houses, or any thing else, that we may learn thou hast attended to, and most carefully observe this our decree. Farewell, most esteemed and beloved Anulinus.

"Copy Of The Emperor's Epistle, In Which He Ordains A Council Of Bishops To Be Held At Rome, For The Unity And Peace Of The Church"

Constantine Augustus to Miltiades bishop of Rome, and to Marcus. As many communications of this kind have been sent to me from Anulinus, the most illustrious proconsul of Africa, in which it is contained that Caecilianus, the bishop of Carthage, was accused, in many respects, by his colleagues in Africa; and as this appears to be grievous, that in those provinces which Divine Providence has freely entrusted to my fidelity, and in which there is a vast population, the multitude are found inclining to deteriorate, and in a manner divided into two parties, and among others, that the bishops were at variance; I have resolved that the same Cæcilianus, together with ten bishops, who appear to accuse him, and ten others, whom he himself may consider necessary for his cause, shall sail to Rome; that you, being present there, as also Reticius, Maternus, and Marinus, your colleagues, whom i have commanded to hasten to Rome for this purpose, may be heard, as you may understand most consistent with the most sacred law. And, that you may have the most perfect knowledge of these matters, ,I have subjoined to my own epistle copies of the writings sent to me by Anulinus, and sent them to your aforesaid colleagues; in which your gravity will read and consider in what way the aforesaid cause may be most accurately investigated and justly decided; since it neither escapes your diligence, that I show such regard for the holy catholic church, that I wish you, upon the whole, to leave no room for schism or division. May the power of the great God preserve you many years, most esteemed.

"Copy Of The Epistle In Which The Emperor Commanded Another Council To Be Held, For The Purpose Of Removing All The Dissensions Of The Bishops"

Constantine Augustus to Chrestus bishop of Syracuse. As there were some before who perversely and wickedly began to waver in the holy religion and celestial virtue, and to abandon the doctrine of the catholic (universal) church, desirous, therefore, of preventing such disputes among them, I had thus written, that this subject, which appeared to be agitated among them, might be rectified, by delegating certain bishops from Gaul, and summoning others of the opposite parties from Africa, who are pertinaciously and incessantly contending with one another, that by a careful examination of the matter in their presence, it might thus be decided. But since, as it happens, some, forgetful of their own salvation, and the reverence due to our most holy religion, even now do not cease to protract their own enmity, being unwilling to conform to the decision already promulgated, and asserting that they were very few that advanced their sentiments and opinions, or else that all points which ought to have been first fully discussed not being first examined, they proceeded with too much haste and precipitancy to give publicity to the decision. Hence it has happened, that those very persons who ought to exhibit a brotherly and peaceful unanimity, are disgracefully and detestably at variance with one another, and thus give this occasion of derision to those that are without, and whose minds are averse to our most holy religion. Hence it has appeared necessary to me to provide that this matter, which ought to have ceased after the decision was issued by their own voluntary agreement, now, at length, should be fully terminated by the intervention of many.

"Since, therefore, we have commanded many bishops to meet together from different and remote places, in the city of Arles, towards the calends of August, I have also thought proper to write to thee, that taking a public vehicle from the most illustrious Latronianus, corrector of Sicily, and taking with thee two others of the second rank, which thou mayest select, also three servants to afford you services on the way; I would have you meet them within the same day at the aforesaid place. That by the weight of your authority, and the prudence and unanimity of the rest that assemble, this dispute, which has disgracefully continued until the present time, in consequence of certain disgraceful contentions, may be discussed, by hearing all that shall be alleged by those who are now at variance, whom we have also commanded to be present, and thus the controversy be reduced, though slowly, to that faith, and observance of religion, and fraternal concord, which ought to prevail. May Almighty God preserve thee in safety many years."

THE LIFE OF FLAVIUS CONSTANTINUS

The Life Of The Blessed Emperor Constantine,
or The Life of Constantine the Great
A propaganda treatise by Eusebius of Caesarea
also known as Eusebius Pamphilii.
From Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,
Second Series, Vol. 1.
Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, 1890,
Translation: Ernest Cushing Richardson, 1890.
Estimated Range of Dating: 306–339 AD

(The Life of Constantine the Great (Latin: Vita Constantini) is a panegyric written in Greek in honour of Constantine the Great by Eusebius of Caesarea in the 4th century AD. In today's words we would call it a propaganda treatise. It was never completed due to the death of Eusebius in 339. The historical text provides scholars with one of the most comprehensive sources for the religious policies of Constantine's reign. In addition, Eusebius uses Life of Constantine to engage several of his own religious concerns, such as apologetics, as well as a semi-bibliographic account of Constantine.

Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 265–339 AD.), also known as Eusebius Pamphili (or Pamphilus), was a historian of Christianity, interpreter of the Bible, and above all a Christian polemicist. As such, he was the right-hand man of Emperor Flavius Constantinus as he was that what we would today call the propaganda minister of the Roman Empire, a position that was occupied several generations before him by Flavius Josephus. He became the bishop of Caesarea Maritima about 314 AD. Together with his teacher Saint Pamphilus, he was a scholar of the Biblical canon and is regarded as an extremely learned Christian of his time. He wrote Demonstrations of the Gospel, Preparations for the Gospel, and On Discrepancies between the Gospels, studies of the Biblical text. As "Father of Church History", he produced the Ecclesiastical History, On the Life of Pamphilus, the Chronicle and On the Martyrs.

As chief censor, Eusebius had the power to promote, banish, or to change contents of any publication in the Roman Empire. And he used his postion ruthlessly when he persuaded Emperor Constantine to summon the Christian Church leaders, the bishops, to the first Council of Nicaea (now Iznik, Bursa province, Turkey). This Council had the outcome of nothing less than the marriage of the Roman Empire with the early Christian Church. After a struggle for more than two centuries, this Church meeting decided on which writing were to be accepted in the Bible and which ones were rejected as apocryphical or pseudepigrapha.)

FLAVIUS CONSTANTINUS BOOK 1

1 Preface.— Of the Death of Constantine.

Already have all mankind united in celebrating with joyous festivities the completion of the second and third decennial period of this great emperor's reign; already have we ourselves received him as a triumphant conqueror in the assembly of God's ministers, and greeted him with the due meed of praise on the twentieth anniversary of his reign: and still more recently we have woven, as it were, garlands of words, wherewith we encircled his sacred head in his own palace on his thirtieth anniversary.

But now, while I desire to give utterance to some of the customary sentiments, I stand perplexed and doubtful which way to turn, being wholly lost in wonder at the extraordinary spectacle before me. For to whatever quarter I direct my view, whether to the east, or to the west, or over the whole world, or toward heaven itself, everywhere and always I see the blessed one yet administering the self-same empire. On earth I behold his sons, like some new reflectors of his brightness, diffusing everywhere the luster of their father's character, and himself still living and powerful, and governing all the affairs of men more completely than ever before, being multiplied in the succession of his children. They had indeed had previously the dignity of Caesars; but now, being invested with his very self, and graced by his accomplishments, for the excellence of their piety they are proclaimed by the titles of Sovereign, Augustus, Worshipful, and Emperor.

2 The Preface Continued.

And I am indeed amazed, when I consider that he who was but lately visible and present with us in his mortal body, is still, even after death, when the natural thought disclaims everything superfluous as unsuitable, most marvelously endowed with the same imperial dwellings, and honours, and praises as heretofore. But farther, when I raise my thoughts even to the arch of heaven, and there contemplate his thrice-blessed soul in communion with God himself, freed from every mortal and earthly vesture, and shining in a refulgent robe of light, and when I perceive that it is no more connected with the fleeting periods and occupations of mortal life, but honoured with an ever-blooming crown, and an immortality of endless and blessed existence, I stand as it were without power of speech or thought and unable to utter a single phrase, but condemning my own weakness, and imposing silence on myself, I resign the task of speaking his praises worthily to one who is better able, even to him who, being the immortal God and veritable Word, alone has power to confirm his own sayings.

3 How God honours Pious Princes, but destroys Tyrants.

Having given assurance that those who glorify and honour him will meet with an abundant recompense at his hands, while those who set themselves against him as enemies and adversaries will compass the ruin of their own souls, he has already established the truth of these his own declarations, having shown on the one hand the fearful end of those tyrants who denied and opposed him, and at the same time having made it manifest that even the death of his servant, as well as his life, is worthy of admiration and praise, and justly claims the memorial, not merely of perishable, but of immortal monuments.

Mankind, devising some consolation for the frail and precarious duration of human life, have thought by the erection of monuments to glorify the memories of their ancestors with immortal honours. Some have employed the vivid delineations and colors of painting ; some have carved statues from lifeless blocks of wood; while others, by engraving their inscriptions deep on tablets and monuments, have thought to transmit the virtues of those whom they honoured to perpetual remembrance. All these indeed are perishable, and consumed by the lapse of time, being representations of the corruptible body, and not expressing the image of the immortal soul. And yet these seemed sufficient to those who had no well-grounded hope of happiness after the termination of this mortal life. But God, that God, I say, who is the common Saviour of all, having treasured up with himself, for those who love godliness, greater blessings than human thought has conceived, gives the earnest and first-fruits of future rewards even here, assuring in some sort immortal hopes to mortal eyes. The ancient oracles of the prophets, delivered to us in the Scripture, declare this; the lives of pious men, who shone in old time with every virtue, bear witness to posterity of the same; and our own days prove it to be true, wherein Constantine, who alone of all that ever wielded the Roman power was the friend of God the Sovereign of all, has appeared to all mankind so clear an example of a godly life.

4 That God honoured Constantine.

And God himself, whom Constantine worshipped, has confirmed this truth by the clearest manifestations of his will, being present to aid him at the commencement, during the course, and at the end of his reign, and holding him up to the human race as an instructive example of godliness. Accordingly, by the manifold blessings he has conferred on him, he has distinguished him alone of all the sovereigns of whom we have ever heard as at once a mighty luminary and most clear-voiced herald of genuine piety.

5 That he reigned above Thirty Years, and lived above Sixty.

With respect to the duration of his reign, God honoured him with three complete periods of ten years, and something more, extending the whole term of his mortal life to twice this number of years. And being pleased to make him a representative of his own sovereign power, he displayed him as the conqueror of the whole race of tyrants, and the destroyer of those God-defying giants of the earth who madly raised their impious arms against him, the supreme King of all. They appeared, so to speak, for an instant, and then disappeared: while the one and only true God, when he had enabled his servant, clad in heavenly panoply, to stand singly against many foes, and by his means had relieved mankind from the multitude of the ungodly, constituted him a teacher

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of his worship to all nations, to testify with a loud voice in the hearing of all that he acknowledged the true God, and turned with abhorrence from the error of them that are no gods.

6 That he was the Servant of God, and the Conqueror of Nations.

Thus, like a faithful and good servant, did he act and testify, openly declaring and confessing himself the obedient minister of the supreme King. And God immediately rewarded him, by making him ruler and sovereign, and victorious to such a degree that he alone of all rulers pursued a continual course of conquest, unsubdued and invincible, and through his trophies a greater ruler than tradition records ever to have been before. So dear was he to God, and so blessed; so pious and so fortunate in all that he undertook, that with the greatest facility he obtained the authority over more nations than any who had preceded him, and yet retained his power, undisturbed, to the very close of his life.

7 Comparison with Cyrus, King of the Persians, and with Alexander of Macedon.

Ancient history describes Cyrus, king of the Persians, as by far the most illustrious of all kings up to his time. And yet if we regard the end of his days, we find it but little corresponded with his past prosperity, since he met with an inglorious and dishonourable death at the hands of a woman.

Again, the sons of Greece celebrate Alexander the Macedonian as the conqueror of many and diverse nations; yet we find that he was removed by an early death, before he had reached maturity, being carried off by the effects of revelry and drunkenness. His whole life embraced but the space of thirty-two years, and his reign extended to no more than a third part of that period. Unsparing as the thunderbolt, he advanced through streams of blood and reduced entire nations and cities, young and old, to utter slavery. But when he had scarcely arrived at the maturity of life, and was lamenting the loss of youthful pleasures, death fell upon him with terrible stroke, and, that he might not longer outrage the human race, cut him off in a foreign and hostile land, childless, without successor, and homeless. His kingdom too was instantly dismembered, each of his officers taking away and appropriating a portion for himself. And yet this man is extolled for such deeds as these.

8 That he conquered nearly the Whole World.

But our emperor began his reign at the time of life at which the Macedonian died, yet doubled the length of his life, and trebled the length of his reign. And instructing his army in the mild and sober precepts of godliness, he carried his arms as far as the Britons, and the nations that dwell in the very bosom of the Western ocean. He subdued likewise all Scythia, though situated in the remotest North, and divided into numberless diverse and barbarous tribes. He even pushed his conquests to the Blemmyans and Ethiopians, on the very confines of the South; nor did he think the acquisition of the Eastern nations unworthy his care. In short, diffusing the effulgence of his holy light to the ends of the whole world, even to the most distant Indians, the nations dwelling on the extreme circumference of the inhabited earth, he received the submission of all the rulers, governors, and satraps of barbarous nations, who cheerfully welcomed and saluted him, sending embassies and presents, and setting the highest value on his acquaintance and friendship; insomuch that they honoured him with pictures and statues in their respective countries, and Constantine alone of all emperors was acknowledged and celebrated by all. Notwithstanding, even among these distant nations, he proclaimed the name of his God in his royal edicts with all boldness.

9 That he was the Son of a Pious Emperor, and bequeathed the Power to Royal Sons.

Nor did he give this testimony in words merely, while exhibiting failure in his own practice, but pursued every path of virtue, and was rich in the varied fruits of godliness. He ensured the affection of his friends by magnificent proofs of liberality; and inasmuch as he governed on principles of humanity, he caused his rule to be but lightly felt and acceptable to all classes of his subjects; until at last, after a long course of years, and when he was wearied by his divine labors, the God whom he honoured crowned him with an immortal reward, and translated him from a transitory kingdom to that endless life which he has laid up in store for the souls of his saints, after he had raised him up three sons to succeed him in his power. As then the imperial throne had descended to him from his father, so, by the law of nature, was it reserved for his children and their descendants, and perpetuated, like some paternal inheritance, to endless generations. And indeed God himself, who distinguished this blessed prince with divine honours while yet present with us, and who has adorned his death with choice blessings from his own hand, should be the writer of his actions; since he has recorded his labors and successes on heavenly monuments.

10 Of the Need for this History, and its Value for Edification.

However, hard as it is to speak worthily of this blessed character, and though silence were the safer and less perilous course, nevertheless it is incumbent on me, if I would escape the charge of negligence and sloth, to trace as it were a verbal portraiture, by way of memorial of the pious prince, in imitation of the delineations of human art. For I should be ashamed of myself were I not to employ my best efforts, feeble though they be and of little value, in praise of one who honoured God with such surpassing devotion. I think too that my work will be on other grounds both instructive and necessary, since it will contain a description of those royal and noble actions which are pleasing to God, the Sovereign of all. For would it not be disgraceful that the memory of Nero, and other impious and godless tyrants far worse than he, should meet with diligent writers to embellish the relation of their worthless deeds with elegant language, and record them in voluminous histories, and that I should be silent, to whom God himself has vouchsafed such an emperor as all history records not, and has permitted me to come into his presence, and enjoy his acquaintance and society?

Wherefore, if it is the duty of any one, it certainly is mine, to make an ample proclamation of his virtues to all in whom the example of noble actions is capable of inspiring the love of God. For some who have written the lives of worthless characters, and the history of actions but little tending to the improvement of morals, from private motives, either love or enmity, and possibly in some cases with no better object than the display of their own learning, have exaggerated unduly their description of actions intrinsically base, by a refinement and elegance of diction. And thus they have become to those who by the Divine favor had been kept apart from evil, teachers not of good, but of what should be silenced in oblivion and darkness. But my narrative, however unequal to the greatness of the deeds it has to describe, will yet derive luster even from the bare relation of noble actions. And surely the record of conduct that has been pleasing to God will afford a far from unprofitable, indeed a most instructive study, to persons of well-disposed minds.

11 That his Present Object is to record only the Pious Actions of Constantine.

It is my intention, therefore, to pass over the greater part of the royal deeds of this thrice-blessed prince; as, for example, his conflicts and engagements in the field, his personal valour, his victories and successes against the enemy, and the many triumphs he obtained: likewise his provisions for the interests of individuals, his legislative enactments for the social advantage of his subjects, and a multitude of other imperial labors which are fresh in the memory of all; the design of my present undertaking being to speak and write of those circumstances only which have reference to his religious character.

And since these are themselves of almost infinite variety, I shall select from the facts which have come to my knowledge such as are most suitable, and worthy of lasting record, and endeavor to narrate them as briefly as possible. Henceforward, indeed, there is a full and free opportunity for celebrating in every way the praises of this truly blessed prince, which hitherto we have been unable to do, on the ground that we are forbidden to judge any one blessed before his death, because of the uncertain vicissitudes of life. Let me implore then the help of God, and may the inspiring aid of the heavenly Word be with me, while I commence my history from the very earliest period of his life.

12 That like Moses, he was reared in the Palaces of Kings.

Ancient history relates that a cruel race of tyrants oppressed the Hebrew nation; and that God, who graciously regarded them in their affliction, provided that the prophet Moses, who was then an infant, should be brought up in the very palaces and bosoms of the oppressors, and instructed in all the wisdom they possessed. And when in the course of time he had arrived at manhood, and the time had come for Divine justice to avenge the wrongs of the afflicted people, then the prophet of God, in obedience to the will of a more powerful Lord, forsook the royal household, and, estranging himself in word and deed from the tyrants by whom he had been brought up, openly acknowledging his true brethren and kinsfolk. Then God, exalting him to be the leader of the whole nation, delivered the Hebrews from the bondage of their enemies, and inflicted Divine vengeance through his means on the tyrant race. This ancient story, though rejected by most as fabulous, has reached the ears of all. But now the same God has given to us to be eye-witnesses of miracles more wonderful than fables, and, from their recent appearance, more authentic than any report. For the tyrants of our day have ventured to war against the Supreme God, and have sorely afflicted His Church. And in the midst of these, Constantine, who was shortly to become their destroyer, but at that time of tender age, and blooming with the down of early youth, dwelt, as that other servant of God had done, in the very home of the tyrants, but young as he was did not share the manner of life of the ungodly: for from that early period his noble nature, under the leading of the Divine Spirit, inclined him to piety and a life acceptable to God. A desire, moreover, to emulate the example of his father had its influence in stimulating the son to a virtuous course of conduct. His father was Constantius (and we ought to revive his memory at this time), the most illustrious emperor of our age; of whose life it is necessary briefly to relate a few particulars, which tell to the honour of his son.

13 Of Constantius his Father, who refused to imitate Diocletian, Maximian, and Maxentius, in their Persecution of the Christians.

At a time when four emperors shared the administration of the Roman empire, Constantius alone, following a course of conduct different from that pursued by his colleagues, entered into the friendship of the Supreme God.

For while they besieged and wasted the churches of God, leveling them to the ground, and obliterating the very foundations of the houses of prayer, he kept his hands pure from their abominable impiety, and never in any respect resembled them. They polluted their provinces by the indiscriminate slaughter of godly men and women; but he kept his soul free from the stain of this crime. They, involved in the mazes of impious idolatry, enthralled first themselves, and then all under their authority, in bondage to the errors of evil demons, while he at the same time originated the profoundest peace throughout his dominions, and secured to his subjects the privilege of celebrating without hindrance the worship of God. In short, while his colleagues oppressed all men by the most grievous exactions, and rendered their lives intolerable, and even worse than death, Constantius alone governed his people with a mild and tranquil sway, and exhibited towards them a truly parental and fostering care. Numberless, indeed, are the other virtues of this man, which are the theme of praise to all; of these I will record one or two instances, as specimens of the quality of those which I must pass by in silence, and then I will proceed to the appointed order of my narrative.

14 How Constantius his Father, being reproached with Poverty by Diocletian, filled his Treasury, and afterwards restored the Money to those by whom it had been contributed.

In consequence of the many reports in circulation respecting this prince, describing his kindness and gentleness of character, and the extraordinary elevation of his piety, alleging too, that by reason of his extreme indulgence to his subjects, he had not even a supply of money laid up in his treasury; the emperor who at that time occupied the place of supreme power sent to reprehend his neglect of the public good, at the same time reproaching him with poverty, and alleging in proof of the charge the empty state of his treasury. On this he desired the messengers of the emperor to remain with him awhile, and, calling together the wealthiest of his subjects of all nations under his dominion, he informed them that he was in want of money, and that this was the time for them all to give a voluntary proof of their affection for their prince.

As soon as they heard this (as though they had long been desirous of an opportunity for showing the sincerity of their good will), with zealous alacrity they filled the treasury with gold and silver and other wealth; each eager to surpass the rest in the amount of his contribution: and this they did with cheerful and joyous countenances. And now Constantius desired the messengers of the great emperor personally to inspect his treasures, and directed them to give a faithful report of what they had seen; adding, that on the present occasion he had taken this money into his own hands, but that it had long been kept for his use in the custody of the owners, as securely as if under the charge of faithful treasurers. The ambassadors were overwhelmed with astonishment at what they had witnessed: and on their departure it is said that the truly generous prince sent for the owners of the property, and, after commending them severally for their obedience and true loyalty, restored it all, and bade them return to their homes.

This one circumstance, then, conveys a proof of the generosity of him whose character we are attempting to illustrate: another will contain the clearest testimony to his piety.

15 Of the Persecution raised by his Colleagues.

By command of the supreme authorities of the empire, the governors of the several provinces had set on foot a general persecution of the godly. Indeed, it was from the imperial courts themselves that the very first of the pious martyrs proceeded, who passed through those conflicts for the faith, and most readily endured both fire and sword, and the depths of the sea; every form of death, in short, so that in a brief time all the royal palaces were bereft of pious men. The result was, that the authors of this wickedness were entirely deprived of the protecting care of God, since by their persecution of his worshipers they at the same time silenced the prayers that were wont to be made on their own behalf.

16 How Constantius, feigning Idolatry, expelled those who consented to offer Sacrifice, but retained in his Palace all who were willing to confess Christ.

On the other hand, Constantius conceived an expedient full of sagacity, and did a thing which sounds paradoxical, but in fact was most admirable.

He made a proposal to all the officers of his court, including even those in the highest stations of authority, offering them the following alternative: either that they should offer sacrifice to demons, and thus be permitted to remain with him, and enjoy their usual honours; or, in case of refusal, that they should be shut out from all access to his person, and entirely

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disqualified from acquaintance and association with him. Accordingly, when they had individually made their choice, some one way and some the other; and the choice of each had been ascertained, then this admirable prince disclosed the secret meaning of his expedient, and condemned the cowardice and selfishness of the one party, while he highly commended the other for their conscientious devotion to God. He declared, too, that those who had been false to their God must be unworthy of the confidence of their prince; for how was it possible that they should preserve their fidelity to him, who had proved themselves faithless to a higher power? He determined, therefore, that such persons should be removed altogether from the imperial court, while, on the other hand, declaring that those men who, in bearing witness for the truth, had proved themselves to be worthy servants of God, would manifest the same fidelity to their king, he entrusted them with the guardianship of his person and empire, saying that he was bound to treat such persons with special regard as his nearest and most valued friends, and to esteem them far more highly than the richest treasures.

17 Of his ChristianManner of Life.

The father of Constantine, then, is said to have possessed such a character as we have briefly described. And what kind of death was vouchsafed to him in consequence of such devotion to God, and how far he whom he honoured made his lot to differ from that of his colleagues in the empire, may be known to any one who will give his attention to the circumstances of the case. For after he had for a long time given many proofs of royal virtue, in acknowledging the Supreme God alone, and condemning the polytheism of the ungodly, and had fortified his household by the prayers of holy men, he passed the remainder of his life in remarkable repose and tranquillity, in the enjoyment of what is counted blessedness, — neither molesting others nor being molested ourselves.

Accordingly, during the whole course of his quiet and peaceful reign, he dedicated his entire household, his children, his wife, and domestic attendants, to the One Supreme God: so that the company assembled within the walls of his palace differed in no respect from a church of God; wherein were also to be found his ministers, who offered continual supplications on behalf of their prince, and this at a time when, with most, it was not allowable to have any dealings with the worshipers of God, even so far as to exchange a word with them.

18 That after the Abdication of Diocletian and Maximian, Constantius became Chief Augustus, and was blessed with a Numerous Offspring.

The immediate consequence of this conduct was a recompense from the hand of God, insomuch that he came into the supreme authority of the empire. For the older emperors, for some unknown reason, resigned their power; and this sudden change took place in the first year after their persecution of the churches.

From that time Constantius alone received the honours of chief Augustus, having been previously, indeed, distinguished by the diadem of the imperial Caesars, among whom he held the first rank; but after his worth had been proved in this capacity, he was invested with the highest dignity of the Roman empire, being named chief Augustus of the four who were afterwards elected to that honour. Moreover, he surpassed most of the emperors in regard to the number of his family, having gathered around him a very large circle of children both male and female. And, lastly, when he had attained to a happy old age, and was about to pay the common debt of nature, and exchange this life for another, God once more manifested His power in a special manner on his behalf, by providing that his eldest son Constantine should be present during his last moments, and ready to receive the imperial power from his hands.

19. Of his Son Constantine, who in his Youth accompanied Diocletian into Palestine.

The latter had been with his father's imperial colleagues, and had passed his life among them, as we have said, like God's ancient prophet. And even in the very earliest period of his youth he was judged by them to be worthy of the highest honour. An instance of this we have ourselves seen, when he passed through Palestine with the senior emperor, at whose right hand he stood, and commanded the admiration of all who beheld him by the indications he gave even then of royal greatness. For no one was comparable to him for grace and beauty of person, or height of stature; and he so far surpassed his compeers in personal strength as to be a terror to them. He was, however, even more conspicuous for the excellence of his mental qualities than for his superior physical endowments; being gifted in the first place with a sound judgement, and having also reaped the advantages of a liberal education. He was also distinguished in no ordinary degree both by natural intelligence and divinely imparted wisdom.

20. Flight of Constantine to his Father because of the Plots of Diocletian.

The emperors then in power, observing his manly and vigorous figure and superior mind, were moved with feelings of jealousy and fear, and thenceforward carefully watched for an opportunity of inflicting some brand of disgrace on his character. But the young man, being aware of their designs, the details of which, through the providence of God, more than once came to him, sought safety in flight; in this respect again keeping up his resemblance to the great prophet Moses. Indeed, in every sense God was his helper; and he had before ordained that he should be present in readiness to succeed his father.

21. Death of Constantius, who leaves his Son Constantine Emperor.

Immediately, therefore, on his escape from the plots which had been thus insidiously laid for him, he made his way with all haste to his father, and arrived at length at the very time that he was lying at the point of death. As soon as Constantius saw his son thus unexpectedly in his presence, he leaped from his couch, embraced him tenderly, and, declaring that the only anxiety which had troubled him in the prospect of death, namely, that caused by the absence of his son, was now removed, he rendered thanks to God, saying that he now thought death better than the longest life, and at once completed the arrangement of his private affairs. Then, taking a final leave of the circle of sons and daughters by whom he was surrounded, in his own palace, and on the imperial couch, he bequeathed the empire, according to the law of nature, to his eldest son, and breathed his last.

22 How, after the Burial of Constantius, Constantine was Proclaimed Augustus by the Army.

Nor did the imperial throne remain long unoccupied: for Constantine invested himself with his father's purple, and proceeded from his father's palace, presenting to all a renewal, as it were, in his own person, of his father's life and reign. He then conducted the funeral procession in company with his father's friends, some preceding, others following the train, and performed the last offices for the pious deceased with an extraordinary degree of magnificence, and all united in honouring this thrice blessed prince with acclamations and praises, and while with one mind and voice, they glorified the rule of the son as a living again of him who was dead, they hastened at once to hail their new sovereign by the titles of Imperial and Worshipful Augustus, with joyful shouts. Thus the memory of the deceased emperor received honour from the praises bestowed upon his son, while the latter was pronounced blessed in being the successor of such a father. All the nations also under his dominion were filled with joy and inexpressible gladness at not being even for a moment deprived of the benefits of a well ordered government.

In the instance of the Emperor Constantius, God has made manifest to our generation what the end of those is who in their lives have honoured and loved him.

23 A Brief Notice of the Destruction of the Tyrants.

With respect to the other princes, who made war against the churches of God, I have not thought it fit in the present work to give any account of their downfall, nor to stain the memory of the good by mentioning them in connection with those of an opposite character. The knowledge of the facts themselves will of itself suffice for the wholesome admonition of those who have witnessed or heard of the evils which severally befell them.

24 It was by the Will of God that Constantine became possessed of the Empire.

Thus then the God of all, the Supreme Governor of the whole universe, by his own will appointed Constantine, the descendant of so renowned a parent, to be prince and sovereign: so that, while others have been raised to this distinction by the election of their fellow-men, he is the only one to whose elevation no mortal may boast of having contributed.

25 Victories of Constantine over the Barbarians and the Britons.

As soon then as he was established on the throne, he began to care for the interests of his paternal inheritance, and visited with much considerate kindness all those provinces which had previously been under his father's government. Some tribes of the barbarians who dwelt on the banks of the Rhine, and the shores of the Western ocean, having ventured to revolt, he reduced them all to obedience, and brought them from their savage state to one of gentleness. He contented himself with checking the inroads of others, and drove from his dominions, like untamed and savage beasts, those whom he perceived to be altogether incapable of the settled order of civilised life. Having disposed of these affairs to his satisfaction, he directed his attention to other quarters of the world, and first passed over to the British nations, which lie in the very bosom of the ocean. These he reduced to submission, and then proceeded to consider the state of the remaining portions of the empire, that he might be ready to tender his aid wherever circumstances might require it.

26 How he resolved to deliver Rome from Maxentius.

While, therefore, he regarded the entire world as one immense body, and perceived that the head of it all, the royal city of the Roman empire, was bowed down by the weight of a tyrannous oppression; at first he had left the task of liberation to those who governed the other divisions of the empire, as being his superiors in point of age. But when none of these proved able to afford relief, and those who had attempted it had experienced a disastrous termination of their enterprise, he said that life was without enjoyment to him as long as he saw the imperial city thus afflicted, and prepared himself for the overthrowal of the tyranny.

27 That after reflecting on the Downfall of those who had worshiped Idols, he made Choice of Christianity.

Being convinced, however, that he needed some more powerful aid than his military forces could afford him, on account of the wicked and magical enchantments which were so diligently practiced by the tyrant, he sought Divine assistance, deeming the possession of arms and a numerous soldiery of secondary importance, but believing the co-operating power of Deity invincible and not to be shaken. He considered, therefore, on what God he might rely for protection and assistance. While engaged in this enquiry, the thought occurred to him, that, of the many emperors who had preceded him, those who had rested their hopes in a multitude of gods, and served them with sacrifices and offerings, had in the first place been deceived by flattering predictions, and oracles which promised them all prosperity, and at last had met with an unhappy end, while not one of their gods had stood by to warn them of the impending wrath of heaven; while one alone who had pursued an entirely opposite course, who had condemned their error, and honoured the one Supreme God during his whole life, had found him to be the Saviour and Protector of his empire, and the Giver of every good thing. Reflecting on this, and well weighing the fact that they who had trusted in many gods had also fallen by manifold forms of death, without leaving behind them either family or offspring, stock, name, or memorial among men: while the God of his father had given to him, on the other hand, manifestations of his power and very many tokens: and considering farther that those who had already taken arms against the tyrant, and had marched to the battlefield under the protection of a multitude of gods, had met with a dishonourable end (for one of them had shamefully retreated from the contest without a blow, and the other, being slain in the midst of his own troops, became, as it were, the mere sport of death); reviewing, I say, all these considerations, he judged it to be folly indeed to join in the idle worship of those who were no gods, and, after such convincing evidence, to err from the truth; and therefore felt it incumbent on him to honour his father's God alone.

28 How, while he was praying, God sent him a Vision of a Cross of Light in the Heavens at Mid-day, with an Inscription admonishing him to conquer by that.

Accordingly he called on him with earnest prayer and supplications that he would reveal to him who he was, and stretch forth his right hand to help him in his present difficulties. And while he was thus praying with fervent entreaty, a most marvelous sign appeared to him from heaven, the account of which it might have been hard to believe had it been related by any other person. But since the victorious emperor himself long afterwards declared it to the writer of this history, when he was honoured with his acquaintance and society, and confirmed his statement by an oath, who could hesitate to accredit the relation, especially since the testimony of after-time has established its truth? He said that about noon, when the day was already beginning to decline, he saw with his own eyes the trophy of a cross of light in the heavens, above the sun, and bearing the inscription, Conquer by this . At this sight he himself was struck with amazement, and his whole army also, which followed him on this expedition, and witnessed the miracle. intensest reality the vision of the words, so that for the moment he was living in the intensest reality of such a vision. His mind had just that intense activity to which such a thing is possible or actual. It is like Goethe's famous meeting of his own self. It is that genius power for the realistic representation of ideal things. This is not the same exactly as "hallucination," or even "imagination." The hallucination probably came later when Constantine gradually represented to himself and finally to Eusebius the vivid idea with its slight ground, as an objective reality,—a common phenomenon. When the emperor went to sleep, his brain molecules vibrating to the forms of his late intense thought, he inevitably dreamed, and dreaming naturally confirmed his thought. This does not say that the suggestive form seen, or the idea itself, and the direction of the dream itself, were not providential and the work of the Holy Spirit, for they were, and were special in character, and so miraculous (or why do ideas come?); but it is to be feared that Constantine's own spirit or something else furnished some of the later details. There is a slight difference of authority as to when and where the vision took place. The panegyrist seems to make it before leaving Gaul, and Malalas is inaccurate as usual in having it happen in a war against the barbarians. For farther discussion of the subject see monographs under Literature in the Prolegomena, especially under the names: Baring, Du Voisin, Fabricius, Girault, Heumann, Jacutius Mamachi, Molinet, St. Victor, Suhr, Toderini, Weidener, Wernsdorf, Woltereck. The most concise, clear, and admirable supporter of the account of Eusebius, or rather Constantine, as it stands, is Newman, Miracles (Lond. 1875), 271-286.}-->

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29 How the Christ of God appeared to him in his Sleep, and commanded him to use in his Wars a Standard made in the Form of the Cross.

He said, moreover, that he doubted within himself what the import of this apparition could be. And while he continued to ponder and reason on its meaning, night suddenly came on; then in his sleep the Christ of God appeared to him with the same sign which he had seen in the heavens, and commanded him to make a likeness of that sign which he had seen in the heavens, and to use it as a safeguard in all engagements with his enemies.

30 The Making of the Standard of the Cross.

At dawn of day he arose, and communicated the marvel to his friends: and then, calling together the workers in gold and precious stones, he sat in the midst of them, and described to them the figure of the sign he had seen, bidding them represent it in gold and precious stones. And this representation I myself have had an opportunity of seeing.

31 A Description of the Standard of the Cross, which the Romans now call the Labarum.

Now it was made in the following manner. A long spear, overlaid with gold, formed the figure of the cross by means of a transverse bar laid over it. On the top of the whole was fixed a wreath of gold and precious stones; and within this, the symbol of the Saviour's name, two letters indicating the name of Christ by means of its initial characters, the letter P being intersected by X in its centre: and these letters the emperor was in the habit of wearing on his helmet at a later period. From the cross-bar of the spear was suspended a cloth, a royal piece, covered with a profuse embroidery of most brilliant precious stones; and which, being also richly interlaced with gold, presented an indescribable degree of beauty to the beholder. This banner was of a square form, and the upright staff, whose lower section was of great length, bore a golden half-length portrait of the pious emperor and his children on its upper part, beneath the trophy of the cross, and immediately above the embroidered banner.

The emperor constantly made use of this sign of salvation as a safeguard against every adverse and hostile power, and commanded that others similar to it should be carried at the head of all his armies.

32 How Constantine received Instruction, and read the Sacred Scriptures.

These things were done shortly afterwards. But at the time above specified, being struck with amazement at the extraordinary vision, and resolving to worship no other God save Him who had appeared to him, he sent for those who were acquainted with the mysteries of His doctrines, and enquired who that God was, and what was intended by the sign of the vision he had seen. They affirmed that He was God, the only begotten Son of the one and only God: that the sign which had appeared was the symbol of immortality, and the trophy of that victory over death which He had gained in time past when sojourning on earth. They taught him also the causes of His advent, and explained to him the true account of His incarnation. Thus he was instructed in these matters, and was impressed with wonder at the divine manifestation which had been presented to his sight. Comparing, therefore, the heavenly vision with the interpretation given, he found his judgement confirmed; and, in the persuasion that the knowledge of these things had been imparted to him by Divine teaching, he determined thenceforth to devote himself to the reading of the Inspired writings.

Moreover, he made the priests of God his counselors, and deemed it incumbent on him to honour the God who had appeared to him with all devotion. And after this, being fortified by well-grounded hopes in Him, he hastened to quench the threatening fire of tyranny.

33 Of the Adulterous Conduct of Maxentius at Rome.

For he who had tyrannically possessed himself of the imperial city, had proceeded to great lengths in impiety and wickedness, so as to venture without hesitation on every vile and impure action.

For example: he would separate women from their husbands, and after a time send them back to them again, and these insults he offered not to men of mean or obscure condition, but to those who held the first places in the Roman senate. Moreover, though he shamefully dishonoured almost numberless free women, he was unable to satisfy his ungoverned and intemperate desires. But when he assayed to corrupt Christian women also, he could no longer secure success to his designs, since they chose rather to submit their lives to death than yield their persons to be defiled by him.

34 How the Wife of a Prefect slew herself for Chastity's Sake.

Now a certain woman, wife of one of the senators who held the authority of prefect, when she understood that those who ministered to the tyrant in such matters were standing before her house (she was a Christian), and knew that her husband through fear had bidden them take her and lead her away, begged a short space of time for arraying herself in her usual dress, and entered her chamber. There, being left alone, she sheathed a sword in her own breast, and immediately expired, leaving indeed her dead body to the procurers, but declaring to all mankind, both to present and future generations, by an act which spoke louder than any words, that the chastity for which Christians are famed is the only thing which is invincible and indestructible. Such was the conduct displayed by this woman.

35 Massacre of the Roman People by Maxentius.

All men, therefore, both people and magistrates, whether of high or low degree, trembled through fear of him whose daring wickedness was such as I have described, and were oppressed by his grievous tyranny. Nay, though they submitted quietly, and endured this bitter servitude, still there was no escape from the tyrant's sanguinary cruelty. For at one time, on some trifling pretense, he exposed the populace to be slaughtered by his own bodyguard; and countless multitudes of the Roman people were slain in the very midst of the city by the lances and weapons, not of Scythians or barbarians, but of their own fellow citizens. And besides this, it is impossible to calculate the number of senators whose blood was shed with a view to the seizure of their respective estates, for at different times and on various fictitious charges, multitudes of them suffered death.

36. Magic Arts of Maxentius against Constantine; and Famine at Rome.

But the crowning point of the tyrant's wickedness was his having recourse to sorcery: sometimes for magic purposes ripping up women with child, at other times searching into the bowels of new-born infants. He slew lions also, and practiced certain horrid arts for evoking demons, and averting the approaching war, hoping by these means to get the victory. In short, it is impossible to describe the manifold acts of oppression by which this tyrant of Rome enslaved his subjects: so that by this time they were reduced to the most extreme penury and want of necessary food, a scarcity such as our contemporaries do not remember ever before to have existed at Rome.

37 Defeat of Maxentius's Armies in Italy.

Constantine, however, filled with compassion on account of all these miseries, began to arm himself with all warlike preparation against the tyranny. Assuming therefore the Supreme God as his patron, and invoking His Christ to be his preserver and aid, and setting the victorious trophy, the salutary symbol, in front of his soldiers and bodyguard, he marched with his whole forces, trying to obtain again for the Romans the freedom they had inherited from their ancestors.

And whereas, Maxentius, trusting more in his magic arts than in the affection of his subjects, dared not even advance outside the city gates, but had guarded every place and district and city subject to his tyranny, with large bodies of soldiers, the emperor, confiding in the help of God, advanced against the first and second and third divisions of the tyrant's forces, defeated them all with ease at the first assault, and made his way into the very interior of Italy.

38 Death of Maxentius on the Bridge of the Tiber.

And already he was approaching very near Rome itself, when, to save him from the necessity of fighting with all the Romans for the tyrant's sake, God himself drew the tyrant, as it were by secret cords, a long way outside the gates. And now those miracles recorded in Holy Writ, which God of old wrought against the ungodly (discredited by most as fables, yet believed by the faithful), did he in every deed confirm to all alike, believers and unbelievers, who were eye-witnesses of the wonders. For as once in the days of Moses and the Hebrew nation, who were worshipers of God, "Pharaoh's chariots and his host has he cast into the sea and his chosen chariot-captains are drowned in the Red Sea," — so at this time Maxentius, and the soldiers and guards with him, "went down into the depths like stone," Exodus 15:5 when, in his flight before the divinely-aided forces of Constantine, he essayed to cross the river which lay in his way, over which, making a strong bridge of boats, he had framed an engine of destruction, really against himself, but in the hope of ensnaring thereby him who was beloved by God. For his God stood by the one to protect him, while the other, godless, proved to be the miserable contriver of these secret devices to his own ruin. So that one might well say, "He has made a pit, and dug it, and is fallen into the ditch which he made. His mischief shall return upon his own head, and his violence shall come down upon his own pate." Thus, in the present instance, under divine direction, the machine erected on the bridge, with the ambuscade concealed therein, giving way unexpectedly before the appointed time, the bridge began to sink, and the boats with the men in them went bodily to the bottom. And first the wretch himself, then his armed attendants and guards, even as the sacred oracles had before described, "sank as lead in the mighty waters." Exodus 15:10 So that they who thus obtained victory from God might well, if not in the same words, yet in fact in the same spirit as the people of his great servant Moses, sing and speak as they did concerning the impious tyrant of old: "Let us sing unto the Lord, for he has been glorified exceedingly: the horse and his rider has he thrown into the sea. He has become my helper and my shield unto salvation." And again, "Who is like you, O Lord, among the gods? Who is like you, glorious in holiness, marvelous in praises, doing wonders?"

39 Constantine's Entry into Rome.

Having then at this time sung these and suchlike praises to God, the Ruler of all and the Author of victory, after the example of his great servant Moses, Constantine entered the imperial city in triumph. And here the whole body of the senate, and others of rank and distinction in the city, freed as it were from the restraint of a prison, along with the whole Roman populace, their countenances expressive of the gladness of their hearts, received him with acclamations and abounding joy; men, women, and children, with countless multitudes of servants, greeting him as deliverer, preserver, and benefactor, with incessant shouts. But he, being possessed of inward piety toward God, was neither rendered arrogant by these plaudits, nor uplifted by the praises he heard: but, being sensible that he had received help from God, he immediately rendered a thanksgiving to him as the Author of his victory.

40 Of the Statue of Constantine holding a Cross, and its Inscription.

Moreover, by loud proclamation and monumental inscriptions he made known to all men the salutary symbol, setting up this great trophy of victory over his enemies in the midst of the imperial city, and expressly causing it to be engraven in indelible characters, that the salutary symbol was the safeguard of the Roman government and of the entire empire. Accordingly, he immediately ordered a lofty spear in the figure of a cross to be placed beneath the hand of a statue representing himself, in the most frequented part of Rome, and the following inscription to be engraved on it in the Latin language: by virtue of this salutary sign, which is the true test of valour, I have preserved and liberated your city from the yoke of tyranny. I have also set at liberty the roman senate and people, and restored them to their ancient distinction and splendor .

41 Rejoicings throughout the Provinces; and Constantine's Acts of Grace.

Thus the pious emperor, glorying in the confession of the victorious cross, proclaimed the Son of God to the Romans with great boldness of testimony. And the inhabitants of the city, one and all, senate and people, reviving, as it were, from the pressure of a bitter and tyrannical domination, seemed to enjoy purer rays of light, and to be born again into a fresh and new life. All the nations, too, as far as the limit of the western ocean, being set free from the calamities which had heretofore beset them, and gladdened by joyous festivals, ceased not to praise him as the victorious, the pious, the common benefactor: all, indeed, with one voice and one mouth, declared that Constantine had appeared by the grace of God as a general blessing to mankind. The imperial edict also was everywhere published, whereby those who had been wrongfully deprived of their estates were permitted again to enjoy their own, while those who had unjustly suffered exile were recalled to their homes. Moreover, he freed from imprisonment, and from every kind of danger and fear, those who, by reason of the tyrant's cruelty, had been subject to these sufferings.

42 The Honours Conferred upon Bishops, and the Building of Churches.

The emperor also personally inviting the society of God's ministers, distinguished them with the highest possible respect and honour, showing them favor in deed and word as persons consecrated to the service of his God. Accordingly, they were admitted to his table, though mean in their attire and outward appearance; yet not so in his estimation, since he thought he saw not the man as seen by the vulgar eye, but the God in him. He made them also his companions in travel, believing that He whose servants they were would thus help him. Besides this, he gave from his own private resources costly benefactions to the churches of God, both enlarging and heightening the sacred edifices, and embellishing the august sanctuaries of the church with abundant offerings.

43 Constantine's Liberality to the Poor.

He likewise distributed money largely to those who were in need, and besides these showing himself philanthropist and benefactor even to the heathen, who had no claim on him; and even for the beggars in the forum, miserable and shiftless, he provided, not with money only, or necessary food, but also decent clothing. But in the case of those who had once been prosperous, and had experienced a reverse of circumstances, his aid was still more lavishly bestowed. On such persons, in a truly royal spirit, he conferred magnificent benefactions; giving grants of land to some, and honouring others with various dignities. Orphans of the unfortunate he cared for as a father, while he relieved the destitution of widows, and cared for them with special solicitude. Nay, he even gave virgins, left unprotected by their parents' death, in marriage to wealthy men with whom he was personally acquainted. But this he did after first bestowing on the brides such portions as it was fitting they should bring to the communion of marriage. In short, as the sun, when he rises upon the earth, liberally imparts his rays of light to all, so did Constantine, proceeding at early dawn from the imperial palace, and rising as it were with the heavenly luminary, impart the rays of his own beneficence to all who came into his presence. It was scarcely possible to be near him without receiving some benefit, nor

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did it ever happen that any who had expected to obtain his assistance were disappointed in their hope.

44 How he was present at the Synods of Bishops.

Such, then, was his general character towards all. But he exercised a peculiar care over the church of God: and whereas, in the several provinces there were some who differed from each other in judgement, he, like some general bishop constituted by God, convened synods of his ministers. Nor did he disdain to be present and sit with them in their assembly, but bore a share in their deliberations, ministering to all that pertained to the peace of God. He took his seat, too, in the midst of them, as an individual among many, dismissing his guards and soldiers, and all whose duty it was to defend his person; but protected by the fear of God, and surrounded by the guardianship of his faithful friends. Those whom he saw inclined to a sound judgement, and exhibiting a calm and conciliatory temper, received his high approbation, for he evidently delighted in a general harmony of sentiment; while he regarded the unyielding wills with aversion.

45 His Forbearance with Unreasonable Men.

Moreover he endured with patience some who were exasperated against himself, directing them in mild and gentle terms to control themselves, and not be turbulent. And some of these respected his admonitions, and desisted; but as to those who proved incapable of sound judgement, he left them entirely at the disposal of God, and never himself desired harsh measures against any one. Hence it naturally happened that the disaffected in Africa reached such a pitch of violence as even to venture on overt acts of audacity; some evil spirit, as it seems probable, being jealous of the present great prosperity, and impelling these men to atrocious deeds, that he might excite the emperor's anger against them. He gained nothing, however, by this malicious conduct; for the emperor laughed at these proceedings, and declared their origin to be from the evil one; inasmuch as these were not the actions of sober persons, but of lunatics or demoniacs; who should be pitied rather than punished; since to punish madmen is as great folly as to sympathize with their condition is supreme philanthropy.

46 Victories over the Barbarians.

Thus the emperor in all his actions honoured God, the Controller of all things, and exercised an unwearied oversight over His churches. And God requited him, by subduing all barbarous nations under his feet, so that he was able everywhere to raise trophies over his enemies: and He proclaimed him as conqueror to all mankind, and made him a terror to his adversaries: not indeed that this was his natural character, since he was rather the meekest, and gentlest, and most benevolent of men.

47 Death of Maximin, who had attempted a Conspiracy, and of Others whom Constantine detected by Divine Revelation.

While he was thus engaged, the second of those who had resigned the throne, being detected in a treasonable conspiracy, suffered a most ignominious death. He was the first whose pictures, statues, and all similar marks of honour and distinction were everywhere destroyed, on the ground of his crimes and impiety. After him others also of the same family were discovered in the act of forming secret plots against the emperor; all their intentions being miraculously revealed by God through visions to His servant.

For he frequently vouchsafed to him manifestations of himself, the Divine presence appearing to him in a most marvelous manner, and according to him manifold intimations of future events. Indeed, it is impossible to express in words the indescribable wonders of Divine grace which God was pleased to vouchsafe to His servant. Surrounded by these, he passed the rest of his life in security, rejoicing in the affection of his subjects, rejoicing too because he saw all beneath his government leading contented lives; but above all delighted at the flourishing condition of the churches of God.

48 Celebration of Constantine's Decennalia.

While he was thus circumstanced, he completed the tenth year of his reign. On this occasion he ordered the celebration of general festivals, and offered prayers of thanksgiving to God, the King of all, as sacrifices without flame or smoke. And from this employment he derived much pleasure: not so from the tidings he received of the ravages committed in the Eastern provinces.

49 How Licinius oppressed the East.

For he was informed that in that quarter a certain savage beast was besetting both the church of God and the other inhabitants of the provinces, owing, as it were, to the efforts of the evil spirit to produce effects quite contrary to the deeds of the pious emperor: so that the Roman empire, divided into two parts, seemed to all men to resemble night and day; since darkness overspread the provinces of the East, while the brightest day illumined the inhabitants of the other portion. And whereas the latter were receiving manifold blessings at the hand of God, the sight of these blessings proved intolerable to that envy which hates all good, as well as to the tyrant who afflicted the other division of the empire; and who, notwithstanding that his government was prospering, and he had been honoured by a marriage connection with so great an emperor as Constantine, yet cared not to follow the steps of that pious prince, but strove rather to imitate the evil purposes and practice of the impious; and chose to adopt the course of those whose ignominious end he had seen with his own eyes, rather than to maintain amicable relations with him who was his superior.

50 How Licinius attempted a Conspiracy against Constantine.

Accordingly he engaged in an implacable war against his benefactor, altogether regardless of the laws of friendship, the obligation of oaths, the ties of kindred, and already existing treaties. For the most benignant emperor had given him a proof of sincere affection in bestowing on him the hand of his sister, thus granting him the privilege of a place in family relationship and his own ancient imperial descent, and investing him also with the rank and dignity of his colleague in the empire. But the other took the very opposite course, employing himself in machinations against his superior, and devising various means to repay his benefactor with injuries. At first, pretending friendship, he did all things by guile and treachery, expecting thus to succeed in concealing his designs; but God enabled his servant to detect the schemes thus devised in darkness. Being discovered, however, in his first attempts, he had recourse to fresh frauds; at one time pretending friendship, at another claiming the protection of solemn treaties. Then suddenly violating every engagement, and again beseeching pardon by embassies, yet after all shamefully violating his word, he at last declared open war, and with desperate infatuation resolved thenceforward to carry arms against God himself, whose worshiper he knew the emperor to be.

51 Intrigues of Licinius against the Bishops, and his Prohibition of Synods.

And at first he made secret enquiry respecting the ministers of God subject to his dominion, who had never, indeed, in any respect offended against his government, in order to bring false accusations against them. And when he found no ground of accusation, and had no real ground of objection against them, he next enacted a law, to the effect that the bishops should never on any account hold communication with each other, nor should any one of them absent himself on a visit to a neighbouring church; nor, lastly, should the holding of synods, or councils for the consideration of affairs of common interest, be permitted. Now this was clearly a pretext for displaying his malice against us. For we were compelled either to violate the law, and thus be amenable to punishment, or else, by compliance with its injunctions, to nullify the statutes of the Church; inasmuch as it is impossible to bring important questions to a satisfactory adjustment, except by means of synods. In other cases also this God-hater, being determined to act contrary to the God-loving prince, enacted such things. For whereas the one assembled the priests of God in order to honour them, and to promote peace and unity of judgement; the other, whose object it was to destroy everything that was good, used all his endeavors to destroy the general harmony.

52 Banishment of the Christians, and Confiscation of their Property.

And whereas Constantine, the friend of God, had granted to His worshipers freedom of access to the imperial palaces; this enemy of God, in a spirit the very reverse of this, expelled thence all Christians subject to his authority. He banished those who had proved themselves his most faithful and devoted servants, and compelled others, on whom he had himself conferred honour and distinction as a reward for their former eminent services, to the performance of menial offices as slaves to others; and at length, being bent on seizing the property of all as a windfall for himself, he even threatened with death those who professed the Saviour's name. Moreover, being himself of a nature hopelessly debased by sensuality, and degraded by the continual practice of adultery and other shameless vices, he assumed his own worthless character as a specimen of human nature generally, and denied that the virtue of chastity and continence existed among men.

53 Edict that Women should not meet with the Men in the Churches.

Accordingly he passed a second law, which enjoined that men should not appear in company with women in the houses of prayer, and forbade women to attend the sacred schools of virtue, or to receive instruction from the bishops, directing the appointment of women to be teachers of their own sex. These regulations being received with general ridicule, he devised other means for effecting the ruin of the churches. He ordered that the usual congregations of the people should be held in the open country outside the gates, alleging that the open air without the city was far more suitable for a multitude than the houses of prayer within the walls.

54 That those who refuse to sacrifice are to be dismissed from Military Service, and those in Prison not to be fed.

Failing, however, to obtain obedience in this respect also, at length he threw off the mask, and gave orders that those who held military commissions in the several cities of the empire should be deprived of their respective commands, in case of their refusal to offer sacrifices to the demons. Accordingly the forces of the authorities in every province suffered the loss of those who worshipped God; and he too who had decreed this order suffered loss, in that he thus deprived himself of the prayers of pious men. And why should I still further mention how he directed that no one should obey the dictates of common humanity by distributing food to those who were pining in prisons, or should even pity the captives who perished with hunger; in short, that no one should perform a virtuous action, and that those whose natural feelings impelled them to sympathize with their fellow-creatures should be prohibited from doing them a single kindness? Truly this was the most utterly shameless and scandalous of all laws, and one which surpassed the worst depravity of human nature: a law which inflicted on those who showed mercy the same penalties as on those who were the objects of their compassion, and visited the exercise of mere humanity with the severest punishments.

55 The Lawless Conduct and Covetousness of Licinius.

Such were the ordinances of Licinius. But why should I enumerate his innovations respecting marriage, or those concerning the dying, whereby he presumed to abrogate the ancient and wisely established laws of the Romans, and to introduce certain barbarous and cruel institutions in their stead, inventing a thousand pretenses for oppressing his subjects? Hence it was that he devised a new method of measuring land, by which he reckoned the smallest portion at more than its actual dimensions, from an insatiable desire of acquisition. Hence too he registered the names of country residents who were now no more, and had long been numbered with the dead, procuring to himself by this expedient a shameful gain. His meanness was unlimited and his rapacity insatiable. So that when he had filled all his treasuries with gold, and silver, and boundless wealth, he bitterly bewailed his poverty, and suffered as it were the torments of Tantalus. But why should I mention how many innocent persons he punished with exile; how much property he confiscated; how many men of noble birth and estimable character he imprisoned, whose wives he handed over to be basely insulted by his profligate slaves, and to how many married women and virgins he himself offered violence, though already feeling the infirmities of age? I need not enlarge on these subjects, since the enormity of his last actions causes the former to appear trifling and of little moment.

56 At length he undertakes to raise a Persecution.

For the final efforts of his fury appeared in his open hostility to the churches, and he directed his attacks against the bishops themselves, whom he regarded as his worst adversaries, bearing special enmity to those men whom the great and pious emperor treated as his friends. Accordingly he spent on us the utmost of his fury, and, being transported beyond the bounds of reason, he paused not to reflect on the example of those who had persecuted the Christians before him, nor of those whom he himself had been raised up to punish and destroy for their impious deeds: nor did he heed the facts of which he had been himself a witness, though he had seen with his own eyes the chief originator of these our calamities (whoever he was), smitten by the stroke of the Divine scourge.

57 That Maximian, brought Low by a Fistulous Ulcer with Worms, issued an Edict in Favor of the Christians.

For whereas this man had commenced the attack on the churches, and had been the first to pollute his soul with the blood of just and godly men, a judgement from God overtook him, which at first affected his body, but eventually extended itself to his soul. For suddenly an abscess appeared in the secret parts of his person, followed by a deeply seated fistulous ulcer; and these diseases fastened with incurable virulence on the intestines, which swarmed with a vast multitude of worms, and emitted a pestilential odor. Besides, his entire person had become loaded, through gluttonous excess, with an enormous quantity of fat, and this, being now in a putrescent state, is said to have presented to all who approached him an intolerable and dreadful spectacle. Having, therefore, to struggle against such sufferings, at length, though late, he came to a realisation of his past crimes against the Church; and, confessing his sins before God, he put a stop to the persecution of the Christians, and hastened to issue imperial edicts and rescripts for the rebuilding of their churches, at the same time enjoining them to perform their customary worship, and to offer up prayers on his behalf.

58 That Maximin, who had persecutedthe Christians, was compelled to fly, and conceal himself in the Disguise of a Slave.

Such was the punishment which he underwent who had commenced the persecution. He, however, of whom we are now speaking, who had been a witness of these things, and known them by his own actual experience, all at once banished the remembrance of them from his mind, and reflected neither on the punishment of the first, nor the divine judgement which had been executed on the second persecutor. The latter had indeed endeavored to outstrip his predecessor in the career of crime, and prided himself on the invention of new tortures for us. Fire nor sword, nor piercing with nails, nor yet wild beasts or the depths of the sea sufficed him. In addition to all these, he discovered a new mode of punishment, and issued an edict directing that their eyesight should be

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destroyed. So that numbers, not of men only, but of women and children, after being deprived of the sight of their eyes, and the use of the joints of their feet, by mutilation or cauterisation, were consigned in this condition to the painful labor of the mines. Hence it was that this tyrant also was overtaken not long after by the righteous judgement of God, at a time when, confiding in the aid of the demons whom he worshipped as gods, and relying on the countless multitudes of his troops, he had ventured to engage in battle. For, feeling himself on that occasion destitute of all hope in God, he threw from him the imperial dress which so ill became him, hid himself with unmanly timidity in the crowd around him, and sought safety in flight.

He afterwards lurked about the fields and villages in the habit of a slave, hoping he should thus be effectually concealed. He had not, however, eluded the mighty and all-searching eye of God: for even while he was expecting to pass the residue of his days in security, he fell prostrate, smitten by God's fiery dart, and his whole body consumed by the stroke of Divine vengeance; so that all trace of the original lineaments of his person was lost, and nothing remained to him but dry bones and a skeleton-like appearance.

59 That Maximin, blinded by Disease, issued an Edict in Favor of the Christians.

And still the stroke of God continued heavy upon him, so that his eyes protruded and fell from their sockets, leaving him quite blind: and thus he suffered, by a most righteous retribution, the very same punishment which he had been the first to devise for the martyrs of God. At length, however, surviving even these sufferings, he too implored pardon of the God of the Christians, and confessed his impious fighting against God: he too recanted, as the former persecutor had done; and by laws and ordinances explicitly acknowledged his error in worshiping those whom he had accounted gods, declaring that he now knew, by positive experience, that the God of the Christians was the only true God. These were facts which Licinius had not merely received on the testimony of others, but of which he had himself had personal knowledge: and yet, as though his understanding had been obscured by some dark cloud of error, persisted in the same evil course.

FLAVIUS CONSTANTINUS BOOK 2

1 Secret Persecution by Licinius, who causes Some Bishops to be put to Death at Amasia of Pontus.

In this manner, he of whom we have spoken continued to rush headlong towards that destruction which awaits the enemies of God; and once more, with a fatal emulation of their example whose ruin he had himself witnessed as the consequence of their impious conduct, he re-kindled the persecution of the Christians, like a long-extinguished fire, and fanned the unhallowed flame to a fiercer height than any who had gone before him.

At first, indeed, though breathing fury and threatenings against God, like some savage beast of prey, or some crooked and wriggling serpent, he dared not, from fear of Constantine, openly level his attacks against the churches of God subject to his dominion; but dissembled the virulence of his malice, and endeavored by secret and limited measures to compass the death of the bishops, the most eminent of whom he found means to remove, through charges laid against them by the governors of the several provinces. And the manner in which they suffered had in it something strange, and hitherto unheard of. At all events, the barbarities perpetrated at Amasia of Pontus surpassed every known excess of cruelty.

2 Demolition of Churches, and Butchery of the Bishops.

For in that city some of the churches, for the second time since the commencement of the persecutions, were leveled with the ground, and others were closed by the governors of the several districts, in order to prevent any who frequented them from assembling together, or rendering due worship to God. For he by whose orders these outrages were committed was too conscious of his own crimes to expect that these services were performed with any view to his benefit, and was convinced that all we did, and all our endeavors to obtain the favor of God, were on Constantine's behalf.

These servile governors then, feeling assured that such a course would be pleasing to the impious tyrant, subjected the most distinguished prelates of the churches to capital punishment. Accordingly, men who had been guilty of no crime were led away, without cause punished like murderers: and some suffered a new kind of death, having their bodies cut piecemeal; and, after this cruel punishment, more horrible than any named in tragedy, being cast, as a food to fishes, into the depths of the sea. The result of these horrors was again, as before, the flight of pious men, and once more the fields and deserts received the worshipers of God. The tyrant, having thus far succeeded in his object, he farther determined to raise a general persecution of the Christians: and he would have accomplished his purpose, nor could anything have hindered him from carrying his resolution into effect, had not he who defends his own anticipated the coming evil, and by his special guidance conducted his servant Constantine to this part of the empire, causing him to shine forth as a brilliant light in the midst of the darkness and gloomy night.

3 How Constantine was stirred in Behalf of the Christiansthus in Danger of Persecution.

He, perceiving the evils of which he had heard to be no longer tolerable, took wise counsel, and tempering the natural clemency of his character with a certain measure of severity, hastened to succor those who were thus grievously oppressed. For he judged that it would rightly be deemed a pious and holy task to secure, by the removal of an individual, the safety of the greater part of the human race. He judged too, that if he listened to the dictates of clemency only, and bestowed his pity on one utterly unworthy of it, this would, on the one hand, confer no real benefit on a man whom nothing would induce to abandon his evil practices, and whose fury against his subjects would only be likely to increase; while, on the other hand, those who suffered from his oppression would thus be forever deprived of all hope of deliverance.

Influenced by these reflections, the emperor resolved without farther delay to extend a protecting hand to those who had fallen into such an extremity of distress. He accordingly made the usual warlike preparations, and assembled his whole forces, both of horse and foot. But before them all was carried the standard which I have before described, as the symbol of his full confidence in God.

4 That Constantine prepared himself for the War by Prayer: Licinius by the Practice of Divination.

He took with him also the priests of God, feeling well assured that now, if ever, he stood in need of the efficacy of prayer, and thinking it right that they should constantly be near and about his person, as most trusty guardians of the soul.

Now, as soon as the tyrant understood that Constantine's victories over his enemies were secured to him by no other means than the cooperation of God, and that the persons above alluded to were continually with him and about his person; and besides this, that the symbol of the salutary passion preceded both the emperor himself and his whole army; he regarded these precautions with ridicule (as might be expected), at the same time mocking and reviling the emperor with blasphemous words.

On the other hand, he gathered round himself Egyptian diviners and soothsayers, with sorcerers and enchanters, and the priests and prophets of those whom he imagined to be gods. He then, after offering the sacrifices which he thought the occasion demanded, enquired how far he might reckon on a successful termination of the war. They replied with one voice, that he would unquestionably be victorious over his enemies, and triumphant in the war: and the oracles everywhere held out to him the same prospect in copious and elegant verses. The soothsayers certified him of favorable omens from the flight of birds; the priests declared the same to be indicated by the motion of the entrails of their victims. Elevated, therefore, by these fallacious assurances, he boldly advanced at the head of his army, and prepared for battle.

5 What Licinius, while sacrificing in a Grove, said concerning Idols, and concerning Christ.

And when he was now ready to engage, he desired the most approved of his bodyguard and his most valued friends to meet him in one of the places which they consider sacred. It was a well-watered and shady grove, and in it were several marble statues of those whom he accounted to be gods. After lighting tapers and performing the usual sacrifices in honour of these, he is said to have delivered the following speech: "Friends and fellow-soldiers! These are our country's gods, and these we honour with a worship derived from our remotest ancestors. But he who leads the army now opposed to us has proved false to the religion of his forefathers, and adopted atheistic sentiments, honouring in his infatuation some strange and unheard-of Deity, with whose despicable standard he now disgraces his army, and confiding in whose aid he has taken up arms, and is now advancing, not so much against us as against those very gods whom he has forsaken. However, the present occasion shall prove which of us is mistaken in his judgement, and shall decide between our gods and those whom our adversaries profess to honour. For either it will declare the victory to be ours, and so most justly evince that our gods are the true saviours and helpers; or else, if this God of Constantine's, who comes we know not whence, shall prove superior to our deities (who are many, and in point of numbers, at least, have the advantage), let no one henceforth doubt which god he ought to worship, but attach himself at once to the superior power, and ascribe to him the honours of the victory. Suppose, then, this strange God, whom we now regard with ridicule, should really prove victorious; then indeed we must acknowledge and give him honour, and so bid a long farewell to those for whom we light our tapers in vain. But if our own gods triumph (as they undoubtedly will), then, as soon as we have secured the present victory, let us prosecute the war without delay against these despisers of the gods."

Such were the words he addressed to those then present, as reported not long after to the writer of this history by some who heard them spoken. And as soon as he had concluded his speech, he gave orders to his forces to commence the attack.

6 An Apparition seen in the Cities subject to Licinius, as of Constantine's Troops passing through them.

While these things were taking place a supernatural appearance is said to have been observed in the cities subject to the tyrant's rule. Different detachments of Constantine's army seemed to present themselves to the view, marching at noonday through these cities, as though they had obtained the victory. In reality, not a single soldier was anywhere present at the time, and yet this appearance was seen through the agency of a divine and superior power, and foreshadowed what was shortly coming to pass. For as soon as the armies were ready to engage, he who had broken through the ties of friendly alliance was the first to commence the battle; on which Constantine, calling on the name of "God the Supreme Saviour," and giving this as the watchword to his soldiers, overcame him in this first conflict: and not long after in a second battle he gained a still more important and decisive victory, the salutary trophy preceding the ranks of his army.

7 That Victory everywhere followed the Presence of the Standard of the Cross in Battle.

Indeed, wherever this appeared, the enemy soon fled before his victorious troops. And the emperor perceiving this, whenever he saw any part of his forces hard pressed, gave orders that the salutary trophy should be moved in that direction, like some triumphant charm against disasters: at which the combatants were divinely inspired, as it were, with fresh strength and courage, and immediate victory was the result.

8 That Fifty Men were selected to carry the Cross.

Accordingly, he selected those of his bodyguard who were most distinguished for personal strength, valour, and piety, and entrusted them with the sole care and defense of the standard. There were thus no less than fifty men whose only duty was to surround and vigilantly defend the standard, which they carried each in turn on their shoulders. These circumstances were related to the writer of this narrative by the emperor himself in his leisure moments, long after the occurrence of the events: and he added another incident well worthy of being recorded.

9 That One of the Cross-Bearers, who fled from his Post, was slain: while Another, who faithfully stood his Ground, was preserved.

For he said that once, during the very heat of an engagement, a sudden tumult and panic attacked his army, which threw the soldier who then bore the standard into an agony of fear, so that he handed it over to another, in order to secure his own escape from the battle. As soon, however, as his comrade had received it, and he had withdrawn, and resigned all charge of the standard, he was struck in the belly by a dart, which took his life. Thus he paid the penalty of his cowardice and unfaithfulness, and lay dead on the spot: but the other, who had taken his place as the bearer of the salutary standard, found it to be the safeguard of his life. For though he was assailed by a continual shower of darts, the bearer remained unhurt, the staff of the standard receiving every weapon. It was indeed a truly marvelous circumstance, that the enemies' darts all fell within and remained in the slender circumference of this spear, and thus saved the standard-bearer from death; so that none of those engaged in this service ever received a wound.

This story is none of mine, but for this, too, I am indebted to the emperor's own authority, who related it in my hearing along with other matters. And now, having thus through the power of God secured these first victories, he put his forces in motion and continued his onward march.

10 Various Battles, and Constantine's Victories.

The van, however, of the enemy, unable to resist the emperor's first assault, threw down their arms, and prostrated themselves at his feet. All these he spared, rejoicing to save human life. But there were others who still continued in arms, and engaged in battle. These the emperor endeavored to conciliate by friendly overtures, but when these were not accepted he ordered his army to commence the attack. On this they immediately turned and betook themselves to flight; and some were overtaken and slain according to the laws of war, while others fell on each other in the confusion of their flight, and perished by the swords of their comrades.

11 Flight, and Magic Arts of Licinius.

In these circumstances their commander, finding himself bereft of the aid of his followers, having lost his lately numerous array, both of regular and allied forces, having proved, too, by experience, how vain his confidence had been in those whom he thought to be gods, ignominiously took to flight, by which indeed he effected his escape, and secured his personal safety, for the pious emperor had forbidden his soldiers to follow him too closely, and thus allowed him an opportunity for escape. And this he did in the hope that he might hereafter, on conviction of the desperate state of his affairs, be induced to abandon his insane and presumptuous ambition, and return to sounder reason. So Constantine, in his excessive humanity, thought and was willing patiently to bear past injuries, and extend his forgiveness to one who so ill deserved it; but Licinius, far from renouncing his evil practices, still added crime to crime, and ventured on more

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daring atrocities than ever. Nay, once more tampering with the detestable arts of magic, he again was presumptuous: so that it might well be said of him, as it was of the Egyptian tyrant of old, that God had hardened his heart. Exodus 9:12

12 How Constantine, after prayingin his Tabernacle, obtained the Victory.

But while Licinius, giving himself up to these impieties, rushed blindly towards the gulf of destruction, the emperor on the other hand, when he saw that he must meet his enemies in a second battle, devoted the intervening time to his Saviour. He pitched the tabernacle of the cross outside and at a distance from his camp, and there passed his time in a pure and holy manner, offering up prayers to God; following thus the example of his ancient prophet, of whom the sacred oracles testify, that he pitched the tabernacle without the camp. He was attended only by a few, whose faith and pious devotion he highly esteemed. And this custom he continued to observe whenever he meditated an engagement with the enemy. For he was deliberate in his measures, the better to insure safety, and desired in everything to be directed by divine counsel. And making earnest supplications to God, he was always honoured after a little with a manifestation of his presence. And then, as if moved by a divine impulse, he would rush from the tabernacle, and suddenly give orders to his army to move at once without delay, and on the instant to draw their swords. On this they would immediately commence the attack, fight vigorously, so as with incredible celerity to secure the victory, and raise trophies of victory over their enemies.

13 His Humane Treatment of Prisoners.

Thus the emperor and his army had long been accustomed to act, whenever there was a prospect of an engagement; for his God was ever present to his thoughts, and he desired to do everything according to his will, and conscientiously to avoid any wanton sacrifice of human life. He was anxious thus for the preservation not only of his own subjects, but even of his enemies. Accordingly he directed his victorious troops to spare the lives of their prisoners, admonishing them, as human beings, not to forget the claims of their common nature. And whenever he saw the passions of his soldiery excited beyond control, he repressed their fury by a largess of money, rewarding every man who saved the life of an enemy with a certain weight of gold. And the emperor's own sagacity led him to discover this inducement to spare human life, so that great numbers even of the barbarians were thus saved, and owed their lives to the emperor's gold.

14 A Farther Mention of his Prayers in the Tabernacle.

Now these, and a thousand such acts as these, were familiarly and habitually done by the emperor. And on the present occasion he retired, as his custom was before battle, to the privacy of his tabernacle, and there employed his time in prayer to God. Meanwhile he strictly abstained from anything like ease, or luxurious living, and disciplined himself by fasting and bodily mortification, imploring the favor of God by supplication and prayer, that he might obtain his concurrence and aid, and be ready to execute whatever he might be pleased to suggest to his thoughts. In short, he exercised a vigilant care over all alike, and interceded with God as much for the safety of his enemies as for that of his own subjects.

15 Treacherous Friendship, and Idolatrous Practices of Licinius.

And inasmuch as he who had lately fled before him now dissembled his real sentiments, and again petitioned for a renewal of friendship and alliance, the emperor thought fit, on certain conditions, to grant his request, in the hope that such a measure might be expedient, and generally advantageous to the community. Licinius, however, while he pretended a ready submission to the terms prescribed, and attested his sincerity by oaths, at this very time was secretly engaged in collecting a military force, and again meditated war and strife, inviting even the barbarians to join his standard, and he began also to look about him for other gods, having been deceived by those in whom he had hitherto trusted. And, without bestowing a thought on what he had himself publicly spoken on the subject of false deities, or choosing to acknowledge that God who had fought on the side of Constantine, he made himself ridiculous by seeking for a multitude of new gods.

16 How Licinius counseled his Soldiers not to attack the Standard of the Cross.

Having now learned by experience the Divine and mysterious power which resided in the salutary trophy, by means of which Constantine's army had become habituated to victory, he admonished his soldiers never to direct their attack against this standard, nor even incautiously to allow their eyes to rest upon it; assuring them that it possessed a terrible power, and was especially hostile to him; so that they would do well carefully to avoid any collision with it. And now, having given these directions, he prepared for a decisive conflict with him whose humanity prompted him still to hesitate, and to postpone the fate which he foresaw awaited his adversary. The enemy, however, confident in the aid of a multitude of gods, advanced to the attack with a powerful array of military force, preceded by certain images of the dead, and lifeless statues, as their defense. On the other side, the emperor, secure in the armor of godliness, opposed to the numbers of the enemy the salutary and life-giving sign, as at once a terror to the foe, and a protection from every harm. And for a while he paused, and preserved at first the attitude of forbearance, from respect to the treaty of peace to which he had given his sanction, that he might not be the first to commence the contest.

17 Constantine's Victory.

But as soon as he perceived that his adversaries persisted in their resolution, and were already drawing their swords, he gave free scope to his indignation, and by a single charge overthrew in a moment the entire body of the enemy, thus triumphing at once over them and their gods.

18 Death of Licinius, and Celebration of the Event.

He then proceeded to deal with this adversary of God and his followers according to the laws of war, and consign them to fitting punishment. Accordingly the tyrant himself, and they whose counsels had supported him in his impiety, were together subjected to the just punishment of death. After this, those who had so lately been deceived by their vain confidence in false deities, acknowledged with unfeigned sincerity the God of Constantine, and openly professed their belief in him as the true and only God.

19 Rejoicings and Festivities.

And now, the impious being thus removed, the sun once more shone brightly after the gloomy cloud of tyrannic power. Each separate portion of the Roman dominion became blended with the rest; the Eastern nations united with those of the West, and the whole body of the Roman empire was graced as it were by its head in the person of a single and supreme ruler, whose sole authority pervaded the whole. Now too the bright rays of the light of godliness gladdened the days of those who had heretofore been sitting in darkness and the shadow of death. Past sorrows were no more remembered, for all united in celebrating the praises of the victorious prince, and avowed their recognition of his preserver as the only true God. Thus he whose character shone with all the virtues of piety, the emperor Victor, for he had himself adopted this name as a most fitting appellation to express the victory which God had granted him over all who hated or opposed him, assumed the dominion of the East, and thus singly governed the Roman empire, re-united, as in former times, under one head. Thus, as he was the first to proclaim to all the sole sovereignty of God, so he himself, as sole sovereign of the Roman world, extended his authority over the whole human race. Every apprehension of those evils under the pressure of which all had suffered was now removed; men whose heads had drooped in sorrow now regarded each other with smiling countenances, and looks expressive of their inward joy. With processions and hymns of praise they first of all, as they were told, ascribed the supreme sovereignty to God, as in truth the King of kings; and then with continued acclamations rendered honour to the victorious emperor, and the Caesars, his most discreet and pious sons. The former afflictions were forgotten, and all past impieties forgiven: while with the enjoyment of present happiness was mingled the expectation of continued blessings in the future.

20 Constantine's Enactments in Favor of the Confessors.

Moreover, the emperor's edicts, permeated with his humane spirit, were published among us also, as they had been among the inhabitants of the other division of the empire; and his laws, which breathed a spirit of piety toward God, gave promise of manifold blessings, since they secured many advantages to his provincial subjects in every nation, and at the same time prescribed measures suited to the exigencies of the churches of God. For first of all they recalled those who, in consequence of their refusal to join in idol worship, had been driven to exile, or ejected from their homes by the governors of their respective provinces. In the next place, they relieved from their burdens those who for the same reason had been adjudged to serve in the civil courts, and ordained restitution to be made to any who had been deprived of property. They too, who in the time of trial had signalised themselves by fortitude of soul in the cause of God, and had therefore been condemned to the painful labor of the mines, or consigned to the solitude of islands, or compelled to toil in the public works, all received an immediate release from these burdens; while others, whose religious constancy had cost them the forfeiture of their military rank, were vindicated by the emperor's generosity from this dishonour: for he granted them the alternative either of resuming their rank, and enjoying their former privileges, or, in the event of their preferring a more settled life, of perpetual exemption from all service. Lastly, all who had been compelled by way of disgrace and insult to serve in the employments of women, he likewise freed with the rest.

21 His Laws concerning Martyrs, and concerning Ecclesiastical Property.

Such were the benefits secured by the emperor's written mandates to the persons of those who had thus suffered for the faith, and his laws made ample provision for their property also.

With regard to those holy martyrs of God who had laid down their lives in the confession of His name, he directed that their estates should be enjoyed by their nearest kindred; and, in default of any of these, that the right of inheritance should be vested in the churches. Farther, whatever property had been consigned to other parties from the treasury, whether in the way of sale or gift, together with that retained in the treasury itself, the generous mandate of the emperor directed should be restored to the original owners. Such benefits did his bounty, thus widely diffused, confer on the Church of God.

22 How he won the Favor of the People.

But his munificence bestowed still further and more numerous favors on the heathen peoples and the other nations of his empire. So that the inhabitants of our [Eastern] regions, who had heard of the privileges experienced in the opposite portion of the empire, and had blessed the fortunate recipients of them, and longed for the enjoyment of a similar lot for themselves, now with one consent proclaimed their own happiness, when they saw themselves in possession of all these blessings; and confessed that the appearance of such a monarch to the human race was indeed a marvelous event, and such as the world's history had never yet recorded. Such were their sentiments.

23 That he declared God to be the Author of his Prosperity: and concerning his Rescripts.

And now that, through the powerful aid of God his Saviour, all nations owned their subjection to the emperor's authority, he openly proclaimed to all the name of Him to whose bounty he owed all his blessings, and declared that He, and not himself, was the author of his past victories. This declaration, written both in the Latin and Greek languages, he caused to be transmitted through every province of the empire. Now the excellence of his style of expression may be known from a perusal of his letters themselves which were two in number; one addressed to the churches of God; the other to the heathen population in the several cities of the empire. The latter of these I think it well to insert here as connected with my present subject, in order on the one hand that a copy of this document may be recorded as matter of history, and thus preserved to posterity, and on the other that it may serve to confirm the truth of my present narrative. It is taken from an authentic copy of the imperial statute in my own possession and the signature in the emperor's own handwriting attaches as it were the impress of truth to the statement I have made.

24 Law of Constantine respecting Piety towards God, and the ChristianReligion.

Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to the inhabitants of the province of Palestine.

To all who entertain just and sound sentiments respecting the character of the Supreme Being, it has long been most clearly evident, and beyond the possibility of doubt, how vast a difference there has ever been between those who maintain a careful observance of the hallowed duties of the Christian religion, and those who treat this religion with hostility or contempt. But at this present time, we may see by still more manifest proofs, and still more decisive instances, both how unreasonable it were to question this truth, and how mighty is the power of the Supreme God: since it appears that they who faithfully observe His holy laws, and shrink from the transgression of His commandments, are rewarded with abundant blessings, and are endued with well-grounded hope as well as ample power for the accomplishment of their undertakings. On the other hand, they who have cherished impious sentiments have experienced results corresponding to their evil choice. For how is it to be expected that any blessing would be obtained by one who neither desired to acknowledge nor duly to worship that God who is the source of all blessing? Indeed, facts themselves are a confirmation of what I say.

25 An Illustration from Ancient Times.

For certainly any one who will mentally retrace the course of events from the earliest period down to the present time, and will reflect on what has occurred in past ages, will find that all who have made justice and probity the basis of their conduct, have not only carried their undertakings to a successful issue, but have gathered, as it were, a store of sweet fruit as the produce of this pleasant root. Again, whoever observes the career of those who have been bold in the practice of oppression or injustice; who have either directed their senseless fury against God himself, or have conceived no kindly feelings towards their fellow-men, but have dared to afflict them with exile, disgrace, confiscation, massacre, or other miseries of the like kind, and all this without any sense of compunction, or wish to direct thoughts to a better course, will find that such men have received a recompense proportioned to their crimes. And these are results which might naturally and reasonably be expected to ensue.

26 Of Persecuted and Persecutors.

For whoever have addressed themselves with integrity of purpose to any course of action, keeping the fear of God continually before their thoughts, and preserving an unwavering faith in him, without allowing present fears or dangers to outweigh their hope of future blessings — such persons, though for a season they may have experienced

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painful trials, have borne their afflictions lightly, being supported by the belief of greater rewards in store for them; and their character has acquired a brighter luster in proportion to the severity of their past sufferings. With regard, on the other hand, to those who have either dishonourably slighted the principles of justice, or refused to acknowledge the Supreme God themselves, and yet have dared to subject others who have faithfully maintained his worship to the most cruel insults and punishments; who have failed equally to recognize their own wretchedness in oppressing others on such grounds, and the happiness and blessing of those who preserved their devotion to God even in the midst of such sufferings: with regard, I say, to such men, many a time have their armies been slaughtered, many a time have they been put to flight; and their warlike preparations have ended in total ruin and defeat.

27 How the Persecution became the Occasion of Calamities to the Aggressors.

From the causes I have described, grievous wars arose, and destructive devastations. Hence followed a scarcity of the common necessaries of life, and a crowd of consequent miseries: hence, too, the authors of these impieties have either met a disastrous death of extreme suffering, or have dragged out an ignominious existence, and confessed it to be worse than death itself, thus receiving as it were a measure of punishment proportioned to the heinousness of their crimes. For each experienced a degree of calamity according to the blind fury with which he had been led to combat, and as he thought, defeat the Divine will: so that they not only felt the pressure of the ills of this present life, but were tormented also by a most lively apprehension of punishment in the future world.

28 That God chose Constantine to be the Minister of Blessing.

And now, with such a mass of impiety oppressing the human race, and the commonwealth in danger of being utterly destroyed, as if by the agency of some pestilential disease, and therefore needing powerful and effectual aid; what was the relief, and what the remedy which the Divinity devised for these evils? (And by Divinity is meant the one who is alone and truly God, the possessor of almighty and eternal power: and surely it cannot be deemed arrogance in one who has received benefits from God, to acknowledge them in the loftiest terms of praise.) I myself, then, was the instrument whose services He chose, and esteemed suited for the accomplishment of his will. Accordingly, beginning at the remote Britannic ocean, and the regions where, according to the law of nature, the sun sinks beneath the horizon, through the aid of divine power I banished and utterly removed every form of evil which prevailed, in the hope that the human race, enlightened through my instrumentality, might be recalled to a due observance of the holy laws of God, and at the same time our most blessed faith might prosper under the guidance of his almighty hand.

29 Constantine's Expressions of Piety towards God; and Praise of the Confessors.

I said, under the guidance of his hand; for I would desire never to be forgetful of the gratitude due to his grace. Believing, therefore, that this most excellent service had been confided to me as a special gift, I proceeded as far as the regions of the East, which, being under the pressure of severer calamities, seemed to demand still more effectual remedies at my hands. At the same time I am most certainly persuaded that I myself owe my life, my every breath, in short, my very inmost and secret thoughts, entirely to the favor of the Supreme God. Now I am well aware that they who are sincere in the pursuit of the heavenly hope, and have fixed this hope in heaven itself as the peculiar and predominant principle of their lives, have no need to depend on human favor, but rather have enjoyed higher honours in proportion as they have separated themselves from the inferior and evil things of this earthly existence. Nevertheless I deem it incumbent on me to remove at once and most completely from all such persons the hard necessities laid upon them for a season, and the unjust inflictions under which they have suffered, though free from any guilt or just liability. For it would be strange indeed, that the fortitude and constancy of soul displayed by such men should be fully apparent during the reign of those whose first object it was to persecute them on account of their devotion to God, and yet that the glory of their character should not be more bright and blessed, under the administration of a prince who is His servant.

30 A Law granting Release from Exile, from Service in the Courts, and from the Confiscation of Property.

Let all therefore who have exchanged their country for a foreign land, because they would not abandon that reverence and faith toward God to which they had devoted themselves with their whole hearts, and have in consequence at different times been subject to the cruel sentence of the courts; together with any who have been enrolled in the registers of the public courts though in time past exempt from such office; let these, I say, now render thanks to God the Liberator of all, in that they are restored to their hereditary property, and their wonted tranquility. Let those also who have been despoiled of their goods, and have hitherto passed a wretched existence, mourning under the loss of all that they possessed, once more be restored to their former homes, their families, and estates, and receive with joy the bountiful kindness of God.

31 Release likewise granted to Exiles in the Islands.

Furthermore, it is our command that all those who have been detained in the islands against their will should receive the benefit of this present provision; in order that they who till now have been surrounded by rugged mountains and the encircling barrier of the ocean, being now set free from that gloomy and desolate solitude, may fulfill their fondest wish by revisiting their dearest friends. Those, too, who have prolonged a miserable life in the midst of abject and wretched squalor, welcoming their restoration as an unlooked-for gain, and discarding henceforth all anxious thoughts, may pass their lives with us in freedom from all fear. For that any one could live in a state of fear under our government, when we boast and believe ourselves to be the servants of God, would surely be a thing most extraordinary even to hear of, and quite incredible; and our mission is to rectify the errors of the others.

32 And to those ignominiously employed in the Mines and Public Works.

Again, with regard to those who have been condemned either to the grievous labor of the mines, or to service in the public works, let them enjoy the sweets of leisure in place of these long-continued toils, and henceforth lead a far easier life, and more accordant with the wishes of their hearts, exchanging the incessant hardships of their tasks for quiet relaxation. And if any have forfeited the common privilege of liberty, or have unhappily suffered dishonour, let them hasten back every one to the country of his nativity, and resume with becoming joy their former positions in society, from which they have been as it were separated by long residence abroad.

33 Concerning those Confessors engaged in Military Service.

Once more, with respect to those who had previously been preferred to any military distinction, of which they were afterwards deprived, for the cruel and unjust reason that they chose rather to acknowledge their allegiance to God than to retain the rank they held; we leave them perfect liberty of choice, either to occupy their former stations, should they be content again to engage in military service, or after an honourable discharge, to live in undisturbed tranquillity. For it is fair and consistent that men who have displayed such magnanimity and fortitude in meeting the perils to which they have been exposed, should be allowed the choice either of enjoying peaceful leisure, or resuming their former rank.

34 The Liberation of Free Persons condemned to labor in the Women's Apartments, or to Servitude.

Lastly, if any have wrongfully been deprived of the privileges of noble lineage, and subjected to a judicial sentence which has consigned them to the women's apartments and to the linen making, there to undergo a cruel and miserable labor, or reduced them to servitude for the benefit of the public treasury, without any exemption on the ground of superior birth; let such persons, resuming the honours they had previously enjoyed, and their proper dignities, henceforward exult in the blessings of liberty, and lead a glad life. Let the free man, too, by some injustice and inhumanity, or even madness, made a slave, who has felt the sudden transition from liberty to bondage, and ofttimes bewailed his unwonted labors, return to his family once more a free man in virtue of this our ordinance, and seek those employments which befit a state of freedom; and let him dismiss from his remembrance those services which he found so oppressive, and which so ill became his condition.

35 Of the Inheritance of the Property of Martyrs and Confessors, also of those who had suffered Banishment or Confiscation of Property.

Nor must we omit to notice those estates of which individuals have been deprived on various pretenses. For if any of those who have engaged with dauntless and resolute determination in the noble and divine conflict of martyrdom have also been stripped of their fortunes; or if the same has been the lot of the confessors, who have won for themselves the hope of eternal treasures; or if the loss of property has befallen those who were driven from their native land because they would not yield to the persecutors, and betray their faith; lastly, if any who have escaped the sentence of death have yet been despoiled of their worldly goods; we ordain that the inheritances of all such persons be transferred to their nearest kindred. And whereas the laws expressly assign this right to those most nearly related, it will be easy to ascertain to whom these inheritances severally belong. And it is evidently reasonable that the succession in these cases should belong to those who would have stood in the place of nearest affinity, had the deceased experienced a natural death.

36. The Church is declared Heir of those who leave no Kindred; and the Free Gifts of such Persons Confirmed.

But should there be no surviving relation to succeed in due course to the property of those above-mentioned, I mean the martyrs, or confessors, or those who for some such cause have been banished from their native land; in such cases we ordain that the church locally nearest in each instance shall succeed to the inheritance. And surely it will be no wrong to the departed that that church should be their heir, for whose sake they have endured every extremity of suffering. We think it necessary to add this also, that in case any of the above-mentioned persons have donated any part of their property in the way of free gift, possession of such property shall be assured, as is reasonable, to those who have thus received it.

37 Lands, Gardens, or Houses, but not Actual Produce from them, are to be given back.

And that there may be no obscurity in this our ordinance, but every one may readily apprehend its requirements, let all men hereby know that if they are now maintaining themselves in possession of a piece of land, or a house, or garden, or anything else which had appertained to the before-mentioned persons, it will be good and advantageous for them to acknowledge the fact, and make restitution with the least possible delay. On the other hand, although it should appear that some individuals have reaped abundant profits from this unjust possession, we do not consider that justice demands the restitution of such profits. They must, however, declare explicitly what amount of benefit they have thus derived, and from what sources, and entreat our pardon for this offense; in order that their past covetousness may in some measure be atoned for, and that the Supreme God may accept this compensation as a token of contrition, and be pleased graciously to pardon the sin.

38 In what Manner Requests should be made for these.

But it is possible that those who have become masters of such property (if it be right or possible to allow them such a title) will assure us by way of apology for their conduct, that it was not in their power to abstain from this appropriation at a time when a spectacle of misery in all its forms everywhere met the view; when men were cruelly driven from their homes, slaughtered without mercy, thrust forth without remorse: when the confiscation of the property of innocent persons was a common thing, and when persecutions and property seizures were unceasing. If any defend their conduct by such reasons as these, and still persist in their avaricious temper, they shall be made sensible that such a course will bring punishment on themselves, and all the more because this correction of evil is the very characteristic of our service to the Supreme God. So that it will henceforth be dangerous to retain what dire necessity may in time past have compelled men to take; especially because it is in any case incumbent on us to discourage covetous desires, both by persuasion, and by warning examples.

39 The Treasury must restore Lands, Gardens, and Houses to the Churches.

Nor shall the treasury itself, should it have any of the things we have spoken of, be permitted to keep them; but, without venturing as it were to raise its voice against the holy churches, it shall justly relinquish in their favor what it has for a time unjustly retained. We ordain, therefore, that all things whatsoever which shall appear righteously to belong to the churches, whether the property consist of houses or fields and gardens, or whatever the nature of it may be, shall be restored in their full value and integrity, and with undiminished right of possession.

40 The Tombs of Martyrs and the Cemeteries to be transferred to the Possession of the Churches.

Again, with respect to those places which are honoured in being the depositories of the remains of martyrs, and continue to be memorials of their glorious departure; how can we doubt that they rightly belong to the churches, or refrain from issuing our injunction to that effect? For surely there can be no better liberality, no labor more pleasing or profitable, than to be thus employed under the guidance of the Divine Spirit, in order that those things which have been appropriated on false pretenses by unjust and wicked men, may be restored, as justice demands, and once more secured to the holy churches.

41 Those who have purchased Property belonging to the Church, or received it as a Gift, are to restore it.

And since it would be wrong in a provision intended to include all cases, to pass over those who have either procured any such property by right of purchase from the treasury, or have retained it when conveyed to them in the form of a gift; let all who have thus rashly indulged their insatiable thirst of gain be assured that, although by daring to make such purchases they have done all in their power to alienate our clemency from themselves, they shall nevertheless not fail of obtaining it, so far as is possible and consistent with propriety in each case. So much then is determined.

42 An Earnest Exhortation to worship God.

And now, since it appears by the clearest and most convincing evidence, that the miseries which erewhile oppressed the entire human race are now banished from every part of the world, through the power of Almighty God, and at the same time the counsel and aid which he is pleased on many occasions to administer through our agency; it remains for all, both individually and unitedly, to observe and seriously consider how great this power and how efficacious this grace are, which have annihilated and utterly destroyed this generation, as I may call them, of most wicked and evil

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men; have restored joy to the good, and diffused it over all countries; and now guarantee the fullest authority both to honour the Divine law as it should be honoured, with all reverence, and pay due observance to those who have dedicated themselves to the service of that law. These rising as from some dark abyss and, with an enlightened knowledge of the present course of events, will henceforward render to its precepts that becoming reverence and honour which are consistent with their pious character.

Let this ordinance be published in our Eastern provinces.

43 How the Enactments of Constantine were carried into Effect.

Such were the injunctions contained in the first letter which the emperor addressed to us. And the provisions of this enactment were speedily carried into effect, everything being conducted in a manner quite different from the atrocities which had but lately been daringly perpetrated during the cruel ascendancy of the tyrants. Those persons also who were legally entitled to it, received the benefit of the emperor's liberality.

44 That he promoted Christiansto Offices of Government, and forbade Gentilesin Such Stations to offer Sacrifice.

After this the emperor continued to address himself to matters of high importance, and first he sent governors to the several provinces, mostly such as were devoted to the saving faith; and if any appeared inclined to adhere to Gentile worship, he forbade them to offer sacrifice. This law applied also to those who surpassed the provincial governors in rank and dignity, and even to those who occupied the highest station, and held the authority of the Prætorian Præfecture. If they were Christians, they were free to act consistently with their profession; if otherwise, the law required them to abstain from idolatrous sacrifices.

45 Statutes which forbade Sacrifice, and enjoined the Building of Churches.

Soon after this, two laws were promulgated about the same time; one of which was intended to restrain the idolatrous abominations which in time past had been practiced in every city and country; and it provided that no one should erect images, or practice divination and other false and foolish arts, or offer sacrifice in any way. The other statute commanded the heightening of the oratories, and the enlargement in length and breadth of the churches of God; as though it were expected that, now the madness of polytheism was wholly removed, pretty nearly all mankind would henceforth attach themselves to the service of God. His own personal piety induced the emperor to devise and write these instructions to the governors of the several provinces: and the law farther admonished them not to spare the expenditure of money, but to draw supplies from the imperial treasury itself. Similar instructions were written also to the bishops of the several churches; and the emperor was pleased to transmit the same to myself, being the first letter which he personally addressed to me.

46 Constantine's Letter to Eusebius and Other Bishops, respecting the Building of Churches, with Instructions to repair the Old, and erect New Ones on a Larger Scale, with the Aid of the Provincial Governors.

Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to Eusebius.

Forasmuch as the unholy and willful rule of tyranny has persecuted the servants of our Saviour until this present time, I believe and have fully satisfied myself, best beloved brother, that the buildings belonging to all the churches have either become ruinous through actual neglect, or have received inadequate attention from the dread of the violent spirit of the times.

But now, that liberty is restored, and that serpent driven from the administration of public affairs by the providence of the Supreme God, and our instrumentality, we trust that all can see the efficacy of the Divine power, and that they who through fear of persecution or through unbelief have fallen into any errors, will now acknowledge the true God, and adopt in future that course of life which is according to truth and rectitude. With respect, therefore, to the churches over which you yourself preside, as well as the bishops, presbyters, and deacons of other churches with whom you are acquainted, do you admonish all to be zealous in their attention to the buildings of the churches, and either to repair or enlarge those which at present exist, or, in cases of necessity, to erect new ones: "We also empower you, and the others through you, to demand what is needful for the work, both from the provincial governors and from the Prætorian Præfect. For they have received instructions to be most diligent in obedience to your Holiness's orders. God preserve you, beloved brother." A copy of this charge was transmitted throughout all the provinces to the bishops of the several churches: the provincial governors received directions accordingly, and the imperial statute was speedily carried into effect.

47 That he wrote a Letter in Condemnation of Idolatry.

Moreover, the emperor, who continually made progress in piety towards God, dispatched an admonitory letter to the inhabitants of every province, respecting the error of idolatry into which his predecessors in power had fallen, in which he eloquently exhorts his subjects to acknowledge the Supreme God, and openly to profess their allegiance to his Christ as their Saviour. This letter also, which is in his own handwriting, I have judged it necessary to translate from the Latin for the present work, in order that we may hear, as it were, the voice the emperor himself uttering these sentiments in the audience of all mankind.

48 Constantine's Edict to the People of the Provinces concerning the Error of Polytheism, commencing with Some General Remarks on Virtue and Vice.

Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to the people of the Eastern provinces.

Whatever is comprehended under the sovereign laws of nature, seems to convey to all men an adequate idea of the forethought and intelligence of the divine order. Nor can any, whose minds are directed in the true path of knowledge to the attainment of that end, entertain a doubt that the just perceptions of sound reason, as well as those of the natural vision itself, through the sole influence of genuine virtue, lead to the knowledge of God. Accordingly no wise man will ever be surprised when he sees the mass of mankind influenced by opposite sentiments. For the beauty of virtue would be useless and unperceived, did not vice display in contrast with it the course of perversity and folly. Hence it is that the one is crowned with reward, while the most high God is himself the administrator of judgement to the other.

And now I will endeavor to lay before you all as explicitly as possible, the nature of my own hopes of future happiness.

49 Concerning Constantine's Pious Father, and the Persecutors Diocletian and Maximian.

The former emperors I have been accustomed to regard as those with whom I could have no sympathy, on account of the savage cruelty of their character. Indeed, my father was the only one who uniformly practiced the duties of humanity, and with admirable piety called for the blessing of God the Father on all his actions, but the rest, unsound in mind, were more zealous of cruel than gentle measures; and this disposition they indulged without restraint, and thus persecuted the true doctrine during the whole period of their reign. Nay, so violent did their malicious fury become, that in the midst of a profound peace, as regards both the religious and ordinary interests of men, they kindled, as it were, the flames of a civil war.

50 That the Persecution originated on Account of the Oracle of Apollo, who, it was said, could not give Oracles because of "the Righteous Men."

About that time it is said that Apollo spoke from a deep and gloomy cavern, and through the medium of no human voice, and declared that the righteous men on earth were a bar to his speaking the truth, and accordingly that the oracles from the tripod were fallacious. Hence it was that he suffered his tresses to droop in token of grief, and mourned the evils which the loss of the oracular spirit would entail on mankind. But let us mark the consequences of this.

51 That Constantine, when a Youth, heard from him who wrote the Persecution Edict that "the Righteous Men" were the Christians.

I call now on you, most high God, to witness that, when young, I heard him who at that time was chief among the Roman emperors, unhappy, truly unhappy as he was, and laboring under mental delusion, make earnest enquiry of his attendants as to who these righteous ones on earth were, and that one of the Pagan priests then present replied that they were doubtless the Christians. This answer he eagerly received, like some honeyed draught, and unsheathed the sword which was ordained for the punishment of crime, against those whose holiness was beyond reproach. Immediately, therefore, he issued those sanguinary edicts, traced, if I may so express myself, with a sword's point dipped in blood; at the same time commanding his judges to tax their ingenuity for the invention of new and more terrible punishments.

52 The Manifold Forms of Torture and Punishment practiced against the Christians.

Then, indeed, one might see with what arrogance those venerable worshipers of God were daily exposed, with continued and relentless cruelty, to outrages of the most grievous kind, and how that modesty of character which no enemy had ever treated with disrespect, became the mere sport of their infuriated fellow citizens. Is there any punishment by fire, are there any tortures or forms of torment, which were not applied to all, without distinction of age or sex? Then, it may be truly said, the earth shed tears, the all-encircling compass of heaven mourned because of the pollution of blood; and the very light of day itself was darkened in grief at the spectacle.

53 That the Barbarians kindly received the Christians.

But what is the consequence of this? Why, the barbarians themselves may boast now of the contrast their conduct presents to these creel deeds; for they received and kept in gentlest captivity those who then fled from among us, and secured to them not merely safety from danger, but also the free exercise of their holy religion. And now the Roman people bear that lasting stain which the Christians, at that time driven from the Roman world, and taking refuge with the barbarians, have branded on them.

54 What Vengeance overtook those who on Account of the Oracle raised the Persecution.

But why need I longer dwell on these lamentable events, and the general sorrow which in consequence pervaded the world? The perpetrators of this dreadful guilt are now no more: they have experienced a miserable end, and are consigned to unceasing punishment in the depths of the lower world. They encountered each other in civil strife, and have left neither name nor race behind. And surely this calamity would never have befallen them, had not that impious deliverance of the Pythian oracle exercised a delusive power over them.

55 Constantine gives Glory to God, makes Grateful Acknowledgment of the Sign of the Cross, and prays for the Churches and People.

And now I beseech you, most mighty God, to be merciful and gracious to your Eastern nations, to your people in these provinces, worn as they are by protracted miseries; and grant them healing through your servant. Not without cause, O holy God, do I prefer this prayer to you, the Lord of all. Under your guidance have I devised and accomplished measures fraught with blessings: preceded by your sacred sign I have led your armies to victory: and still, on each occasion of public danger, I follow the same symbol of your perfections while advancing to meet the foe. Therefore have I dedicated to your service a soul duly attempered by love and fear. For your name I truly love, while I regard with reverence that power of which you have given abundant proofs, to the confirmation and increase of my faith. I hasten, then, to devote all my powers to the restoration of your most holy dwelling-place, which those profane and impious men have defiled by the contamination of violence.

56 He prays that All may be Christians, but compels None.

My own desire is, for the common good of the world and the advantage of all mankind, that your people should enjoy a life of peace and undisturbed concord. Let those, therefore, who still delight in error, be made welcome to the same degree of peace and tranquillity which they have who believe. For it may be that this restoration of equal privileges to all will prevail to lead them into the straight path. Let no one molest another, but let every one do as his soul desires. Only let men of sound judgement be assured of this, that those only can live a life of holiness and purity, whom you call to a reliance on your holy laws. With regard to those who will hold themselves aloof from us, let them have, if they please, their temples of lies: we have the glorious edifice of your truth, which you have given us as our native home. We pray, however, that they too may receive the same blessing, and thus experience that heartfelt joy which unity of sentiment inspires.

57 He gives Glory to God, who has given Light by his Son to those who were in Error.

And truly our worship is no new or recent thing, but one which you have ordained for your own due honour, from the time when, as we believe, this system of the universe was first established. And, although mankind have deeply fallen, and have been seduced by manifold errors, yet have you revealed a pure light in the person of your Son, that the power of evil should not utterly prevail, and hast thus given testimony to all men concerning yourself.

58 He glorifies him again for his Government of the Universe.

The truth of this is assured to us by your works. It is your power which removes our guilt, and makes us faithful. The sun and the moon have their settled course. The stars move in no uncertain orbits round this terrestrial globe. The revolution of the seasons recurs according to unerring laws. The solid fabric of the earth was established by your word: the winds receive their impulse at appointed times; and the course of the waters continues with ceaseless flow, the ocean is circumscribed by an immovable barrier, and whatever is comprehended within the compass of earth and sea, is all contrived for wondrous and important ends.

Were it not so, were not all regulated by the determination of your will, so great a diversity, so manifold a division of power, would unquestionably have brought ruin on the whole race and its affairs. For those agencies which have maintained a mutual strife would thus have carried to a more deadly length that hostility against the human race which they even now exercise, though unseen by mortal eyes.

59 He gives Glory to God, as the Constant Teacher of Good.

Abundant thanks, most mighty God, and Lord of all, be rendered to you, that, by so much as our nature becomes known from the diversified pursuits of man, by so much the more are the precepts of your divine doctrine confirmed to those whose thoughts are directed aright, and who are sincerely devoted to true virtue. As for those who will not allow themselves to be cured of their error, let them not attribute this to any but themselves. For that remedy which is of sovereign and healing virtue is openly placed within the reach of all. Only let not any one inflict an injury on that religion which experience itself testifies to be pure and undefiled. Henceforward, therefore, let us all enjoy in common the privilege placed within our reach, I mean the

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blessing of peace, endeavoring to keep our conscience pure from all that is contrary.

60 An Admonition at the Close of the Edict, that No One should trouble his Neighbour.

Once more, let none use that to the detriment of another which he may himself have received on conviction of its truth; but let every one, if it be possible, apply what he has understood and known to the benefit of his neighbour; if otherwise, let him relinquish the attempt. For it is one thing voluntarily to undertake the conflict for immortality, another to compel others to do so from the fear of punishment: "These are our words; and we have enlarged on these topics more than our ordinary clemency would have dictated, because we were unwilling to dissemble or be false to the true faith; and the more so, since we understand there are some who say that the rites of the heathen temples, and the power of darkness, have been entirely removed. We should indeed have earnestly recommended such removal to all men, were it not that the rebellious spirit of those wicked errors still continues obstinately fixed in the minds of some, so as to discourage the hope of any general restoration of mankind to the ways of truth."

61 How Controversies originated at Alexandria through Matters relating to Arius.

In this manner the emperor, like a powerful herald of God, addressed himself by his own letter to all the provinces, at the same time warning his subjects against superstitious error, and encouraging them in the pursuit of true godliness. But in the midst of his joyful anticipations of the success of this measure, he received tidings of a most serious disturbance which had invaded the peace of the Church. This intelligence he heard with deep concern, and at once endeavored to devise a remedy for the evil. The origin of this disturbance may be thus described. The people of God were in a truly flourishing state, and abounding in the practice of good works. No terror from without assailed them, but a bright and most profound peace, through the favor of God, encompassed his Church on every side. Meantime, however, the spirit of envy was watching to destroy our blessings, which at first crept in unperceived, but soon revelled in the midst of the assemblies of the saints. At length it reached the bishops themselves, and arrayed them in angry hostility against each other, on pretense of a jealous regard for the doctrines of Divine truth. Hence it was that a mighty fire was kindled as it were from a little spark, and which, originating in the first instance in the Alexandrian church, overspread the whole of Egypt and Libya, and the further Thebaid. Eventually it extended its ravages to the other provinces and cities of the empire; so that not only the prelates of the churches might be seen encountering each other in the strife of words, but the people themselves were completely divided, some adhering to one faction and others to another. Nay, so notorious did the scandal of these proceedings become, that the sacred matters of inspired teaching were exposed to the most shameful ridicule in the very theaters of the unbelievers.

62 Concerning the Same Arius, and the Melitians.

Some thus at Alexandria maintained an obstinate conflict on the highest questions. Others throughout Egypt and the Upper Thebaid, were at variance on account of an earlier controversy: so that the churches were everywhere distracted by divisions. The body therefore being thus diseased, the whole of Libya caught the contagion; and the rest of the remoter provinces became affected with the same disorder. For the disputants at Alexandria sent emissaries to the bishops of the several provinces, who accordingly ranged themselves as partisans on either side, and shared in the same spirit of discord.

63 How Constantine sent a Messenger and a Letter concerning Peace.

As soon as the emperor was informed of these facts, which he heard with much sorrow of heart, considering them in the light of a calamity personally affecting himself, he immediately selected from the Christians in his train one whom he well knew to be approved for the sobriety and genuineness of his faith, and who had before this time distinguished himself by the boldness of his religious profession, and sent him to negotiate peace between the dissentient parties at Alexandria. He also made him the bearer of a most needful and appropriate letter to the original movers of the strife: and this letter, as exhibiting a specimen of his watchful care over God's people, it may be well to introduce into this our narrative of his life. Its purport was as follows.

64 Constantine's Letter to Alexander the Bishop, and Ariusthe Presbyter.

Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to Alexander and Arius.

I call that God to witness, as well I may, who is the helper of my endeavors, and the Preserver of all men, that I had a twofold reason for undertaking that duty which I have now performed.

65 His Continual Anxiety for Peace.

My design then was, first, to bring the diverse judgements formed by all nations respecting the Deity to a condition, as it were, of settled uniformity; and, secondly, to restore to health the system of the world, then suffering under the malignant power of a grievous distemper. Keeping these objects in view, I sought to accomplish the one by the secret eye of thought, while the other I tried to rectify by the power of military authority. For I was aware that, if I should succeed in establishing, according to my hopes, a common harmony of sentiment among all the servants of God, the general course of affairs would also experience a change correspondent to the pious desires of them all.

66 That he also adjusted the Controversies which had arisen in Africa.

Finding, then, that the whole of Africa was pervaded by an intolerable spirit of mad folly, through the influence of those who with heedless frivolity had presumed to rend the religion of the people into diverse sects; I was anxious to check this disorder, and could discover no other remedy equal to the occasion, except in sending some of yourselves to aid in restoring mutual harmony among the disputants, after I had removed that common enemy of mankind who had interposed his lawless sentence for the prohibition of your holy synods.

67 That Religion began in the East.

For since the power of Divine light, and the law of sacred worship, which, proceeding in the first instance, through the favor of God, from the bosom, as it were, of the East, have illumined the world, by their sacred radiance, I naturally believed that you would be the first to promote the salvation of other nations, and resolved with all energy of thought and diligence of enquiry to seek your aid. As soon, therefore, as I had secured my decisive victory and unquestionable triumph over my enemies, my first enquiry was concerning that object which I felt to be of paramount interest and importance.

68 Being grieved by the Dissension, he counsels Peace.

But, O glorious Providence of God! How deep a wound did not my ears only, but my very heart receive in the report that divisions existed among yourselves more grievous still than those which continued in that country! so that you, through whose aid I had hoped to procure a remedy for the errors of others, are in a state which needs healing even more than theirs. And yet, having made a careful enquiry into the origin and foundation of these differences, I find the cause to be of a truly insignificant character, and quite unworthy of such fierce contention. Feeling myself, therefore, compelled to address you in this letter, and to appeal at the same time to your unanimity and sagacity, I call on Divine Providence to assist me in the task, while I interrupt your dissension in the character of a minister of peace. And with reason: for if I might expect, with the help of a higher Power, to be able without difficulty, by a judicious appeal to the pious feelings of those who heard me, to recall them to a better spirit, even though the occasion of the disagreement were a greater one, how can I refrain from promising myself a far easier and more speedy adjustment of this difference, when the cause which hinders general harmony of sentiment is intrinsically trifling and of little moment?

69 Origin of the Controversy between Alexander and Arius, and that these Questions ought not to have been discussed.

I understand, then, that the origin of the present controversy is this. When you, Alexander, demanded of the presbyters what opinion they severally maintained respecting a certain passage in the Divine law, or rather, I should say, that you asked them something connected with an unprofitable question, then you, Arius, inconsiderately insisted on festhieltest). Bag. had gave utterance to, and with this Vales., 1709, and Str. correspond.}--> what ought never to have been conceived at all, or if conceived, should have been buried in profound silence. Hence it was that a dissension arose between you, fellowship was withdrawn, and the holy people, rent into diverse parties, no longer preserved the unity of the one body. Now, therefore, do ye both exhibit an equal degree of forbearance, and receive the advice which your fellow-servant righteously gives. What then is this advice? It was wrong in the first instance to propose such questions as these, or to reply to them when propounded. For those points of discussion which are enjoined by the authority of no law, but rather suggested by the contentious spirit which is fostered by misused leisure, even though they may be intended merely as an intellectual exercise, ought certainly to be confined to the region of our own thoughts, and not hastily produced in the popular assemblies, nor unadvisedly entrusted to the general ear. For how very few are there able either accurately to comprehend, or adequately to explain subjects so sublime and abstruse in their nature? Or, granting that one were fully competent for this, how many people will he convince? Or, who, again, in dealing with questions of such subtle nicety as these, can secure himself against a dangerous declension from the truth? It is incumbent therefore on us in these cases to be sparing of our words, lest, in case we ourselves are unable, through the feebleness of our natural faculties, to give a clear explanation of the subject before us, or, on the other hand, in case the slowness of our hearers' understandings disables them from arriving at an accurate apprehension of what we say, from one or other of these causes the people be reduced to the alternative either of blasphemy or schism.

70 An Exhortation to Unanimity.

Let therefore both the unguarded question and the inconsiderate answer receive your mutual forgiveness. For the cause of your difference has not been any of the leading doctrines or precepts of the Divine law, nor has any new heresy respecting the worship of God arisen among you. You are in truth of one and the same judgement: you may therefore well join in communion and fellowship.

71 There should be no Contention in Matters which are in themselves of Little Moment.

For as long as you continue to contend about these small and very insignificant questions, it is not fitting that so large a portion of God's people should be under the direction of your judgement, since you are thus divided between yourselves. I believe it indeed to be not merely unbecoming, but positively evil, that such should be the case. But I will refresh your minds by a little illustration, as follows. You know that philosophers, though they all adhere to one system, are yet frequently at issue on certain points, and differ, perhaps, in their degree of knowledge: yet they are recalled to harmony of sentiment by the uniting power of their common doctrines. If this be true, is it not far more reasonable that you, who are the ministers of the Supreme God, should be of one mind respecting the profession of the same religion? But let us still more thoughtfully and with closer attention examine what I have said, and see whether it be right that, on the ground of some trifling and foolish verbal difference between ourselves, brethren should assume towards each other the attitude of enemies, and the august meeting of the Synod be rent by profane disunion, because of you who wrangle together on points so trivial and altogether unessential? This is vulgar, and rather characteristic of childish ignorance, than consistent with the wisdom of priests and men of sense. Let us withdraw ourselves with a good will from these temptations of the devil. Our great God and common Saviour of all has granted the same light to us all. Permit me, who am his servant, to bring my task to a successful issue, under the direction of his Providence, that I may be enabled, through my exhortations, and diligence, and earnest admonition, to recall his people to communion and fellowship. For since you have, as I said, but one faith, and one sentiment respecting our religion, and since the Divine commandment in all its parts enjoins on us all the duty of maintaining a spirit of concord, let not the circumstance which has led to a slight difference between you, since it does not affect the validity of the whole, cause any division or schism among you. And this I say without in any way desiring to force you to entire unity of judgement in regard to this truly idle question, whatever its real nature may be. For the dignity of your synod may be preserved, and the communion of your whole body maintained unbroken, however wide a difference may exist among you as to unimportant matters. For we are not all of us like-minded on every subject, nor is there such a thing as one disposition and judgement common to all alike. As far, then, as regards the Divine Providence, let there be one faith, and one understanding among you, one united judgement in reference to God. But as to your subtle disputations on questions of little or no significance, though you may be unable to harmonize in sentiment, such differences should be consigned to the secret custody of your own minds and thoughts. And now, let the preciousness of common affection, let faith in the truth, let the honour due to God and to the observance of his law continue immovably among you. Resume, then, your mutual feelings of friendship, love, and regard: restore to the people their wonted embracings; and do ye yourselves, having purified your souls, as it were, once more acknowledge one another. For it often happens that when a reconciliation is effected by the removal of the causes of enmity, friendship becomes even sweeter than it was before.

72 The Excess of his Pious Concern caused him to shed Tears; and his Intended Journey to the East was postponed because of These Things: "Restore me then my quiet days, and untroubled nights, that the joy of undimmed light, the delight of a tranquil life, may henceforth be my portion. Else must I needs mourn, with constant tears, nor shall I be able to pass the residue of my days in peace. For while the people of God, whose fellow-servant I am, are thus divided among themselves by an unreasonable and pernicious spirit of contention, how is it possible that I shall be able to maintain tranquillity of mind? And I will give you a proof how great my sorrow has been on this behalf. Not long since I had visited Nicomedia, and intended immediately to proceed from that city to the East. It was while I was hastening towards you, and had already accomplished the greater part of the distance, that the news of this matter reversed my plan, that I might not be compelled to see with my own eyes that which I felt myself scarcely able even to hear. Open then for me henceforward by your unity of judgement that road to the regions of the East which your dissensions have closed against me, and permit me speedily to see yourselves and all other peoples rejoicing together, and render due acknowledgment to God in the

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language of praise and thanksgiving for the restoration of general concord and liberty to all."

73 The Controversy continues without Abatement, even after the Receipt of This Letter.

In this manner the pious emperor endeavored by means of the foregoing letter to promote the peace of the Church of God. And the excellent man to whom it was entrusted performed his part not merely by communicating the letter itself, but also by seconding the views of him who sent it; for he was, as I have said, in all respects a person of pious character. The evil, however, was greater than could be remedied by a single letter, insomuch that the acrimony of the contending parties continually increased, and the effects of the mischief extended to all the Eastern provinces. These things jealousy and some evil spirit who looked with an envious eye on the prosperity of the Church, wrought.

FLAVIUS CONSTANTINUS BOOK 3

1 A Comparison of Constantine's Piety with the Wickedness of the Persecutors.

In this manner that spirit who is the hater of good, actuated by envy at the blessing enjoyed by the Church, continued to raise against her the stormy troubles of intestine discord, in the midst of a period of peace and joy. Meanwhile, however, the divinely-favored emperor did not slight the duties befitting him, but exhibited in his whole conduct a direct contrast to those atrocities of which the cruel tyrants had been lately guilty, and thus triumphed over every enemy that opposed him. For in the first place, the tyrants, being themselves alienated from the true God, had enforced by every compulsion the worship of false deities: Constantine convinced mankind by actions as well as words, that these had but an imaginary existence, and exhorted them to acknowledge the only true God. They had derided his Christ with words of blasphemy: he assumed that as his safeguard against which they directed their blasphemies, and gloried in the symbol of the Saviour's passion. They had persecuted and driven from house and home the servants of Christ: he recalled them every one, and restored them to their native homes. They had covered them with dishonour: he made their condition honourable and enviable in the eyes of all. They had shamefully plundered and sold the goods of godly men: Constantine not only replaced this loss, but still further enriched them with abundant presents. They had circulated injurious calumnies, through their written ordinances, against the prelates of the Church: he on the contrary, conferred dignity on these individuals by personal marks of honour, and by his edicts and statutes raised them to higher distinction than before. They had utterly demolished and razed to the ground the houses of prayer: he commanded that those which still existed should be enlarged, and that new ones should be raised on a magnificent scale at the expense of the imperial treasury. They had ordered the inspired records to be burnt and utterly destroyed: he decreed that copies of them should be multiplied, and magnificently adorned at the charge of the imperial treasury. They had strictly forbidden the prelates, anywhere or on any occasion, to convene synods; whereas he gathered them to his court from every province, received them into his palace, and even to his own private apartments and thought them worthy to share his home and table. They had honoured the demons with offerings: Constantine exposed their error, and continually distributed the now useless materials for sacrifice, to those who would apply them to a better use. They had ordered the pagan temples to be sumptuously adorned: he razed to their foundations those of them which had been the chief objects of superstitious reverence. They had subjected God's servants to the most ignominious punishments: he took vengeance on the persecutors, and inflicted on them just chastisement in the name of God, while he held the memory of his holy martyrs in constant veneration. They had driven God's worshipers from the imperial palaces: he placed full confidence in them at all times, and knowing them to be the better disposed and more faithful than any beside. They, the victims of avarice, voluntarily subjected themselves as it were to the pangs of Tantalus: he with royal magnificence unlocked all his treasures, and distributed his gifts with rich and high-souled liberality. They committed countless murders, that they might plunder or confiscate the wealth of their victims; while throughout the reign of Constantine the sword of justice hung idle everywhere, and both people and municipal magistrates in every provence were governed rather by paternal authority than by any constraining. Surely it must seem to all who duly regard these facts, that a new and fresh era of existence had begun to appear, and a light heretofore unknown suddenly to dawn from the midst of darkness on the human race: and all must confess that these things were entirely the work of God, who raised up this pious emperor to withstand the multitude of the ungodly.

2 Farther Remarks on Constantine's Piety, and his Open Testimony to the Sign of the Cross.

And when we consider that their iniquities were without example, and the atrocities which they dared to perpetrate against the Church such as had never been heard of in any age of the world, well might God himself bring before us something entirely new, and work thereby effects such as had hitherto been never either recorded or observed. And what miracle was ever more marvelous than the virtues of this our emperor, whom the wisdom of God has vouchsafed as a gift to the human race? For truly he maintained a continual testimony to the Christ of God with all boldness, and before all men; and so far was he from shrinking from an open profession of the Christian name, that he rather desired to make it manifest to all that he regarded this as his highest honour, now impressing on his face the salutary sign, and now glorying in it as the trophy which led him on to victory.

3 Of his Picture surmounted by a Cross and having beneath it a Dragon.

And besides this, he caused to be painted on a lofty tablet, and set up in the front of the portico of his palace, so as to be visible to all, a representation of the salutary sign placed above his head, and below it that hateful and savage adversary of mankind, who by means of the tyranny of the ungodly had wasted the Church of God, falling headlong, under the form of a dragon, to the abyss of destruction. For the sacred oracles in the books of God's prophets have described him as a dragon and a crooked serpent; and for this reason the emperor thus publicly displayed a painted resemblance of the dragon beneath his own and his children's feet, stricken through with a dart, and cast headlong into the depths of the sea.

In this manner he intended to represent the secret adversary of the human race, and to indicate that he was consigned to the gulf of perdition by virtue of the salutary trophy placed above his head. This allegory, then, was thus conveyed by means of the colors of a picture: and I am filled with wonder at the intellectual greatness of the emperor, who as if by divine inspiration thus expressed what the prophets had foretold concerning this monster, saying that "God would bring his great and strong and terrible sword against the dragon, the flying serpent; and would destroy the dragon that was in the sea." This it was of which the emperor gave a true and faithful representation in the picture above described.

4 A Farther Notice of the Controversies raised in Egyptby Arius.

In such occupations as these he employed himself with pleasure: but the effects of that envious spirit which so troubled the peace of the churches of God in Alexandria, together with the Theban and Egyptian schism, continued to cause him no little disturbance of mind. For in fact, in every city bishops were engaged in obstinate conflict with bishops, and people rising against people; and almost like the fabled Symplegades, coming into violent collision with each other. Nay, some were so far transported beyond the bounds of reason as to be guilty of reckless and outrageous conduct, and even to insult the statues of the emperor. This state of things had little power to excite his anger, but rather caused in him sorrow of spirit; for he deeply deplored the folly thus exhibited by deranged men.

5 Of the Disagreement respecting the Celebration of Easter.

But before this time another most virulent disorder had existed, and long afflicted the Church; I mean the difference respecting the salutary feast of Easter. For while one party asserted that the Jewish custom should be adhered to, the other affirmed that the exact recurrence of the period should be observed, without following the authority of those who were in error, and strangers to gospel grace.

Accordingly, the people being thus in every place divided in respect of this, and the sacred observances of religion confounded for a long period (insomuch that the diversity of judgement in regard to the time for celebrating one and the same feast caused the greatest disagreement between those who kept it, some afflicting themselves with fastings and austerities, while others devoted their time to festive relaxation), no one appeared who was capable of devising a remedy for the evil, because the controversy continued equally balanced between both parties. To God alone, the Almighty, was the healing of these differences an easy task; and Constantine appeared to be the only one on earth capable of being his minister for this good end. For as soon as he was made acquainted with the facts which I have described, and perceived that his letter to the Alexandrian Christians had failed to produce its due effect, he at once aroused the energies of his mind, and declared that he must prosecute to the utmost this war also against the secret adversary who was disturbing the peace of the Church.

6 How he ordered a Council to be held at Nicæa.

Then as if to bring a divine array against this enemy, he convoked a general council, and invited the speedy attendance of bishops from all quarters, in letters expressive of the honourable estimation in which he held them. Nor was this merely the issuing of a bare command but the emperor's good will contributed much to its being carried into effect: for he allowed some the use of the public means of conveyance, while he afforded to others an ample supply of horses for their transport. The place, too, selected for the synod, the city Nicæa in Bithynia (named from " Victory"), was appropriate to the occasion. As soon then as the imperial injunction was generally made known, all with the utmost willingness hastened there, as though they would outstrip one another in a race; for they were impelled by the anticipation of a happy result to the conference, by the hope of enjoying present peace, and the desire of beholding something new and strange in the person of so admirable an emperor. Now when they were all assembled, it appeared evident that the proceeding was the work of God, inasmuch as men who had been most widely separated, not merely in sentiment but also personally, and by difference of country, place, and nation, were here brought together, and comprised within the walls of a single city, forming as it were a vast garland of priests, composed of a variety of the choicest flowers.

7 Of the General Council, at which Bishops from all Nations were Present.

In effect, the most distinguished of God's ministers from all the churches which abounded in Europe, Lybia, and Asia were here assembled. And a single house of prayer, as though divinely enlarged, sufficed to contain at once Syrians and Cilicians, Phœnicians and Arabians, delegates from Palestine, and others from Egypt; Thebans and Libyans, with those who came from the region of Mesopotamia. A Persian bishop too was present at this conference, nor was even a Scythian found wanting to the number. Pontus, Galatia, and Pamphylia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Phrygia, furnished their most distinguished prelates; while those who dwelt in the remotest districts of Thrace and Macedonia, of Achaia and Epirus, were notwithstanding in attendance. Even from Spain itself, one whose fame was widely spread took his seat as an individual in the great assembly. The prelate of the imperial city was prevented from attending by extreme old age; but his presbyters were present, and supplied his place. Constantine is the first prince of any age who bound together such a garland as this with the bond of peace, and presented it to his Saviour as a thank-offering for the victories he had obtained over every foe, thus exhibiting in our own times a similitude of the apostolic company.

8 That the Assembly was composed, as in the Acts of the Apostles, of Individuals from Various Nations.

For it is said Acts 2:5 sqq. that in the Apostles' age, there were gathered "devout men from every nation under heaven"; among whom were Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, in Judea, and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, in Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and the parts of Libya about Cyrene; and sojourners from Rome, both Jews and proselytes, Cretans and Arabians. But that assembly was less, in that not all who composed it were ministers of God; but in the present company, the number of bishops exceeded two hundred and fifty, while that of the presbyters and deacons in their train, and the crowd of acolytes and other attendants was altogether beyond computation.

9 Of the Virtue and Age of the Two Hundred and Fifty Bishops.

Of these ministers of God, some were distinguished by wisdom and eloquence, others by the gravity of their lives, and by patient fortitude of character, while others again united in themselves all these graces. There were among them men whose years demanded veneration: others were younger, and in the prime of mental vigor; and some had but recently entered on the course of their ministry. For the maintenance of all ample provision was daily furnished by the emperor's command.

10 Council in the Palace. Constantine, entering, took his Seat in the Assembly.

Now when the appointed day arrived on which the council met for the final solution of the questions in dispute, each member was present for this in the central building of the palace, which appeared to exceed the rest in magnitude. On each side of the interior of this were many seats disposed in order, which were occupied by those who had been invited to attend, according to their rank. As soon, then, as the whole assembly had seated themselves with becoming orderliness, a general silence prevailed, in expectation of the emperor's arrival. And first of all, three of his immediate family entered in succession, then others also preceded his approach, not of the soldiers or guards who usually accompanied him, but only friends in the faith. And now, all rising at the signal which indicated the emperor's entrance, at last he himself proceeded through the midst of the assembly, like some heavenly messenger of God, clothed in raiment which glittered as it were with rays of light, reflecting the glowing radiance of a purple robe, and adorned with the brilliant splendor of gold and precious stones. Such was the external appearance of his person; and with regard to his mind, it was evident that he was distinguished by piety and godly fear. This was indicated by his downcast eyes, the blush on his countenance, and his gait. For the rest of his personal excellencies, he surpassed all present in height of stature and beauty of form, as well as in majestic dignity of mien, and invincible strength and vigor. All these graces, united to a suavity of manner, and a serenity becoming his imperial station, declared the excellence of his mental qualities to be above all praise. As soon as he had advanced to the upper end of the seats, at first he remained standing, and when a low chair of wrought gold had been set

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for him, he waited until the bishops had beckoned to him, and then sat down, and after him the whole assembly did the same.

11 Silence of the Council, after Some Words by the Bishop Eusebius.

The bishop who occupied the chief place in the right division of the assembly then rose, and, addressing the emperor, delivered a concise speech, in a strain of thanksgiving to Almighty God on his behalf. When he had resumed his seat, silence ensued, and all regarded the emperor with fixed attention; on which he looked serenely round on the assembly with a cheerful aspect, and, having collected his thoughts, in a calm and gentle tone gave utterance to the following words.

12 Constantine's Address to the Council concerning Peace: "It was once my chief desire, dearest friends, to enjoy the spectacle of your united presence; and now that this desire is fulfilled, I feel myself bound to render thanks to God the universal King, because, in addition to all his other benefits, he has granted me a blessing higher than all the rest, in permitting me to see you not only all assembled together, but all united in a common harmony of sentiment. I pray therefore that no malignant adversary may henceforth interfere to mar our happy state; I pray that, now the impious hostility of the tyrants has been forever removed by the power of God our Saviour, that spirit who delights in evil may devise no other means for exposing the divine law to blasphemous calumny; for, in my judgement, intestine strife within the Church of God, is far more evil and dangerous than any kind of war or conflict; and these our differences appear to me more grievous than any outward trouble. Accordingly, when, by the will and with the co-operation of God, I had been victorious over my enemies, I thought that nothing more remained but to render thanks to him, and sympathize in the joy of those whom he had restored to freedom through my instrumentality; as soon as I heard that intelligence which I had least expected to receive, I mean the news of your dissension, I judged it to be of no secondary importance, but with the earnest desire that a remedy for this evil also might be found through my means, I immediately sent to require your presence. And now I rejoice in beholding your assembly; but I feel that my desires will be most completely fulfilled when I can see you all united in one judgement, and that common spirit of peace and concord prevailing among you all, which it becomes you, as consecrated to the service of God, to commend to others. Delay not, then, dear friends: delay not, you ministers of God, and faithful servants of him who is our common Lord and Saviour: begin from this moment to discard the causes of that disunion which has existed among you, and remove the perplexities of controversy by embracing the principles of peace. For by such conduct you will at the same time be acting in a manner most pleasing to the supreme God, and you will confer an exceeding favor on me who am your fellow-servant."

13 How he led the Dissentient Bishops to Harmony of Sentiment.

As soon as the emperor had spoken these words in the Latin tongue, which another interpreted, he gave permission to those who presided in the council to deliver their opinions. On this some began to accuse their neighbours, who defended themselves, and recriminated in their turn. In this manner numberless assertions were put forth by each party, and a violent controversy arose at the very commencement. Notwithstanding this, the emperor gave patient audience to all alike, and received every proposition with steadfast attention, and by occasionally assisting the argument of each party in turn, he gradually disposed even the most vehement disputants to a reconciliation. At the same time, by the affability of his address to all, and his use of the Greek language, with which he was not altogether unacquainted, he appeared in a truly attractive and amiable light, persuading some, convincing others by his reasonings, praising those who spoke well, and urging all to unity of sentiment, until at last he succeeded in bringing them to one mind and judgement respecting every disputed question.

14 Unanimous Declaration of the Council concerning Faith, and the Celebration of Easter.

The result was that they were not only united as concerning the faith, but that the time for the celebration of the salutary feast of Easter was agreed on by all. Those points also which were sanctioned by the resolution of the whole body were committed to writing, and received the signature of each several member. Then the emperor, believing that he had thus obtained a second victory over the adversary of the Church, proceeded to solemnize a triumphal festival in honour of God.

15 How Constantine entertained the Bishops on the Occasion of His Vicennalia.

About this time he completed the twentieth year of his reign. On this occasion public festivals were celebrated by the people of the provinces generally, but the emperor himself invited and feasted with those ministers of God whom he had reconciled, and thus offered as it were through them a suitable sacrifice to God. Not one of the bishops was wanting at the imperial banquet, the circumstances of which were splendid beyond description. Detachments of the bodyguard and other troops surrounded the entrance of the palace with drawn swords, and through the midst of these the men of God proceeded without fear into the innermost of the imperial apartments, in which some were the emperor's own companions at table, while others reclined on couches arranged on either side. One might have thought that a picture of Christ's kingdom was thus shadowed forth, and a dream rather than reality.

16 Presents to the Bishops, and Letters to the People generally.

After the celebration of this brilliant festival, the emperor courteously received all his guests, and generously added to the favors he had already bestowed by personally presenting gifts to each individual according to his rank. He also gave information of the proceedings of the synod to those who had not been present, by a letter in his own hand-writing. And this letter also I will inscribe as it were on some monument by inserting it in this my narrative of his life. It was as follows:

17 Constantine's Letter to the Churches respecting the Council at Nicæa.

Constantinus Augustus, to the Churches.

Having had full proof, in the general prosperity of the empire, how great the favor of God has been towards us, I have judged that it ought to be the first object of my endeavors, that unity of faith, sincerity of love, and community of feeling in regard to the worship of Almighty God, might be preserved among the highly favored multitude who compose the Catholic Church. And, inasmuch as this object could not be effectually and certainly secured, unless all, or at least the greater number of the bishops were to meet together, and a discussion of all particulars relating to our most holy religion to take place; for this reason as numerous an assembly as possible has been convened, at which I myself was present, as one among yourselves (and far be it from me to deny that which is my greatest joy, that I am your fellow-servant), and every question received due and full examination, until that judgement which God, who sees all things, could approve, and which tended to unity and concord, was brought to light, so that no room was left for further discussion or controversy in relation to the faith.

18 He speaks of their Unanimity respecting the Feast of Easter, and against the Practice of the Jews.

At this meeting the question concerning the most holy day of Easter was discussed, and it was resolved by the united judgement of all present, that this feast ought to be kept by all and in every place on one and the same day. For what can be more becoming or honourable to us than that this feast from which we date our hopes of immortality, should be observed unfailingly by all alike, according to one ascertained order and arrangement? And first of all, it appeared an unworthy thing that in the celebration of this most holy feast we should follow the practice of the Jews, who have impiously defiled their hands with enormous sin, and are, therefore, deservedly afflicted with blindness of soul. For we have it in our power, if we abandon their custom, to prolong the due observance of this ordinance to future ages, by a truer order, which we have preserved from the very day of the passion until the present time. Let us then have nothing in common with the detestable Jewish crowd; for we have received from our Saviour a different way. A course at once legitimate and honourable lies open to our most holy religion. Beloved brethren, let us with one consent adopt this course, and withdraw ourselves from all participation in their baseness. For their boast is absurd indeed, that it is not in our power without instruction from them to observe these things. For how should they be capable of forming a sound judgement, who, since their parricidal guilt in slaying their Lord, have been subject to the direction, not of reason, but of ungoverned passion, and are swayed by every impulse of the mad spirit that is in them? Hence it is that on this point as well as others they have no perception of the truth, so that, being altogether ignorant of the true adjustment of this question, they sometimes celebrate Easter twice in the same year. Why then should we follow those who are confessedly in grievous error? Surely we shall never consent to keep this feast a second time in the same year. But supposing these reasons were not of sufficient weight, still it would be incumbent on your Sagacities to strive and pray continually that the purity of your souls may not seem in anything to be sullied by fellowship with the customs of these most wicked men. We must consider, too, that a discordant judgement in a case of such importance, and respecting such religious festival, is wrong. For our Saviour has left us one feast in commemoration of the day of our deliverance, I mean the day of his most holy passion; and he has willed that his Catholic Church should be one, the members of which, however scattered in many and diverse places, are yet cherished by one pervading spirit, that is, by the will of God. And let your Holinesses' sagacity reflect how grievous and scandalous it is that on the self-same days some should be engaged in fasting, others in festive enjoyment; and again, that after the days of Easter some should be present at banquets and amusements, while others are fulfilling the appointed fasts. It is, then, plainly the will of Divine Providence (as I suppose you all clearly see), that this usage should receive fitting correction, and be reduced to one uniform rule.

19 Exhortation to follow the Example of the Greater Part of the World.

Since, therefore, it was needful that this matter should be rectified, so that we might have nothing in common with that nation of parricides who slew their Lord: and since that arrangement is consistent with propriety which is observed by all the churches of the western, southern, and northern parts of the world, and by some of the eastern also: for these reasons all are unanimous on this present occasion in thinking it worthy of adoption. And I myself have undertaken that this decision should meet with the approval of your Sagacities, in the hope that your Wisdoms will gladly admit that practice which is observed at once in the city of Rome, and in Africa; throughout Italy, and in Egypt, in Spain, the Gauls, Britain, Libya, and the whole of Greece; in the dioceses of Asia and Pontus, and in Cilicia, with entire unity of judgement. And you will consider not only that the number of churches is far greater in the regions I have enumerated than in any other, but also that it is most fitting that all should unite in desiring that which sound reason appears to demand, and in avoiding all participation in the perjured conduct of the Jews. In fine, that I may express my meaning in as few words as possible, it has been determined by the common judgement of all, that the most holy feast of Easter should be kept on one and the same day. For on the one hand a discrepancy of opinion on so sacred a question is unbecoming, and on the other it is surely best to act on a decision which is free from strange folly and error.

20 Exhortation to obey the Decrees of the Council: "Receive, then, with all willingness this truly Divine injunction, and regard it as in truth the gift of God. For whatever is determined in the holy assemblies of the bishops is to be regarded as indicative of the Divine will. As soon, therefore, as you have communicated these proceedings to all our beloved brethren, you are bound from that time forward to adopt for yourselves, and to enjoin on others the arrangement above mentioned, and the due observance of this most sacred day; that whenever I come into the presence of your love, which I have long desired, I may have it in my power to celebrate the holy feast with you on the same day, and may rejoice with you on all accounts, when I behold the cruel power of Satan removed by Divine aid through the agency of our endeavors, while your faith, and peace, and concord everywhere flourish. God preserve you, beloved brethren!"

The emperor transmitted a faithful copy of this letter to every province, wherein they who read it might discern as in a mirror the pure sincerity of his thoughts, and of his piety toward God.

21 Recommendation to the Bishops, on their Departure, to Preserve Harmony.

And now, when the council was on the point of being finally dissolved, he summoned all the bishops to meet him on an appointed day, and on their arrival addressed them in a farewell speech, in which he recommended them to be diligent in the maintenance of peace, to avoid contentious disputations, among themselves and not to be jealous, if any one of their number should appear pre-eminent for wisdom and eloquence, but to esteem the excellence of one a blessing common to all. On the other hand he reminded them that the more gifted should forbear to exalt themselves to the prejudice of their humbler brethren, since it is God's prerogative to judge of real superiority. Rather should they considerately condescend to the weaker, remembering that absolute perfection in any case is a rare quality indeed. Each then, should be willing to accord indulgence to the other for slight offenses, to regard charitably and pass over mere human weaknesses; holding mutual harmony in the highest honour, that no occasion of mockery might be given by their dissensions to those who are ever ready to blaspheme the word of God: whom indeed we should do all in our power to save, and this cannot be unless our conduct seems to them attractive. But you are well aware of the fact that testimony is by no means productive of blessing to all, since some who hear are glad to secure the supply of their mere bodily necessities, while others court the patronage of their superiors; some fix their affection on those who treat them with hospitable kindness, others again, being honoured with presents, love their benefactors in return; but few are they who really desire the word of testimony, and rare indeed is it to find a friend of truth. Hence the necessity of endeavoring to meet the case of all, and, physician-like, to administer to each that which may tend to the health of the soul, to the end that the saving doctrine may be fully honoured by all. Of this kind was the former part of his exhortation; and in conclusion he enjoined them to offer diligent supplications to God on his behalf. Having thus taken leave of them, he gave them all permission to return to their respective countries; and this they did with joy, and thenceforward that unity of judgement at which they had arrived in the emperor's presence continued to prevail, and

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those who had long been divided were bound together as members of the same body.

22 How he dismissed Some, and wrote Letters to Others; also his Presents.

Full of joy therefore at this success, the emperor presented as it were pleasant fruits in the way of letters to those who had not been present at the council. He commanded also that ample gifts of money should be bestowed on all the people, both in the country and the cities, being pleased thus to honour the festive occasion of the twentieth anniversary of his reign.

23 How he wrote to the Egyptians, exhorting them to Peace.

And now, when all else were at peace, among the Egyptians alone an implacable contention still raged, so as once more to disturb the emperor's tranquillity, though not to excite his anger. For indeed he treated the contending parties with all respect, as fathers, nay rather, as prophets of God; and again he summoned them to his presence, and again patiently acted as mediator between them, and honoured them with gifts, and communicated also the result of his arbitration by letter. He confirmed and sanctioned the decrees of the council, and called on them to strive earnestly for concord, and not to distract and rend the Church, but to keep before them the thought of God's judgement. And these injunctions the emperor sent by a letter written with his own hand.

24 How he wrote Frequent Letters of a Religious Character to the Bishops and People.

But besides these, his writings are very numerous on kindred subjects, and he was the author of a multitude of letters, some to the bishops, in which he laid injunctions on them tending to the advantage of the churches of God; and sometimes the thrice blessed one addressed the people of the churches generally, calling them his own brethren and fellow-servants. But perhaps we may hereafter find leisure to collect these dispatches in a separate form, in order that the integrity of our present history may not be impaired by their insertion.

25 How he ordered the Erection of a Church at Jerusalem, in the Holy Place of our Saviour's Resurrection.

After these things, the pious emperor addressed himself to another work truly worthy of record, in the province of Palestine. What then was this work? He judged it incumbent on him to render the blessed locality of our Saviour's resurrection an object of attraction and veneration to all. He issued immediate injunctions, therefore, for the erection in that spot of a house of prayer: and this he did, not on the mere natural impulse of his own mind, but being moved in spirit by the Saviour himself.

26 That the Holy Sepulchre had been covered with Rubbish and with Idols by the Ungodly.

For it had been in time past the endeavor of impious men (or rather let me say of the whole race of evil spirits through their means), to consign to the darkness of oblivion that divine monument of immortality to which the radiant angel had descended from heaven, and rolled away the stone for those who still had stony hearts, and who supposed that the living One still lay among the dead; and had declared glad tidings to the women also, and removed their stony-hearted unbelief by the conviction that he whom they sought was alive. This sacred cave, then, certain impious and godless persons had thought to remove entirely from the eyes of men, supposing in their folly that thus they should be able effectually to obscure the truth. Accordingly they brought a quantity of earth from a distance with much labor, and covered the entire spot; then, having raised this to a moderate height, they paved it with stone, concealing the holy cave beneath this massive mound. Then, as though their purpose had been effectually accomplished, they prepare on this foundation a truly dreadful sepulchre of souls, by building a gloomy shrine of lifeless idols to the impure spirit whom they call Venus, and offering detestable oblations therein on profane and accursed altars. For they supposed that their object could not otherwise be fully attained, than by thus burying the sacred cave beneath these foul pollutions. Unhappy men! They were unable to comprehend how impossible it was that their attempt should remain unknown to him who had been crowned with victory over death, any more than the blazing sun, when he rises above the earth, and holds his wonted course through the midst of heaven, is unseen by the whole race of mankind. Indeed, his saving power, shining with still greater brightness, and illumining, not the bodies, but the souls of men, was already filling the world with the effulgence of its own light. Nevertheless, these devices of impious and wicked men against the truth had prevailed for a long time, nor had any one of the governors, or military commanders, or even of the emperors themselves ever yet appeared, with ability to abolish these daring impieties, save only that one who enjoyed the favor of the King of kings. And now, acting as he did under the guidance of the divine Spirit, he could not consent to see the sacred spot of which we have spoken, thus buried, through the devices of the adversaries, under every kind of impurity, and abandoned to forgetfulness and neglect; nor would he yield to the malice of those who had contracted this guilt, but calling on the divine aid, gave orders that the place should be thoroughly purified, thinking that the parts which had been most polluted by the enemy ought to receive special tokens, through his means, of the greatness of the divine favor. As soon, then, as his commands were issued, these engines of deceit were cast down from their proud eminence to the very ground, and the dwelling-places of error, with the statues and the evil spirits which they represented, were overthrown and utterly destroyed.

27 How Constantine commanded the Materials of the Idol Temple, and the Soil itself, to be removed at a Distance.

Nor did the emperor's zeal stop here; but he gave further orders that the materials of what was thus destroyed, both stone and timber, should be removed and thrown as far from the spot as possible; and this command also was speedily executed. The emperor, however, was not satisfied with having proceeded thus far: once more, fired with holy ardor, he directed that the ground itself should be dug up to a considerable depth, and the soil which had been polluted by the foul impurities of demon worship transported to a far distant place.

28. Discovery of the Most Holy Sepulchre.

This also was accomplished without delay. But as soon as the original surface of the ground, beneath the covering of earth, appeared, immediately, and contrary to all expectation, the venerable and hollowed monument of our Saviour's resurrection was discovered. Then indeed did this most holy cave present a faithful similitude of his return to life, in that, after lying buried in darkness, it again emerged to light, and afforded to all who came to witness the sight, a clear and visible proof of the wonders of which that spot had once been the scene, a testimony to the resurrection of the Saviour clearer than any voice could give.

29 How he wrote concerning the Erection of a Church, both to the Governors of the Provinces, and to the Bishop Macarius.

Immediately after the transactions I have recorded, the emperor sent forth injunctions which breathed a truly pious spirit, at the same time granting ample supplies of money, and commanding that a house of prayer worthy of the worship of God should be erected near the Saviour's tomb on a scale of rich and royal greatness. This object he had indeed for some time kept in view, and had foreseen, as if by the aid of a superior intelligence, that which should afterwards come to pass. He laid his commands, therefore, on the governors of the Eastern provinces, that by an abundant and unsparing expenditure they should secure the completion of the work on a scale of noble and ample magnificence. He also dispatched the following letter to the bishop who at that time presided over the church at Jerusalem, in which he clearly asserted the saving doctrine of the faith, writing in these terms.

30 Constantine's Letter to Macarius respecting the Building of the Church of our Saviour.

Victor Constantius, Maximus Augustus, to Macarius.

Such is our Saviour's grace, that no power of language seems adequate to describe the wondrous circumstance to which I am about to refer. For, that the monument of his most holy Passion, so long ago buried beneath the ground, should have remained unknown for so long a series of years, until its reappearance to his servants now set free through the removal of him who was the common enemy of all, is a fact which truly surpasses all admiration. For if all who are accounted wise throughout the world were to unite in their endeavors to say somewhat worthy of this event, they would be unable to attain their object in the smallest degree. Indeed, the nature of this miracle as far transcends the capacity of human reason as heavenly things are superior to human affairs. For this cause it is ever my first, and indeed my only object, that, as the authority of the truth is evincing itself daily by fresh wonders, so our souls may all become more zealous, with all sobriety and earnest unanimity, for the honour of the Divine law. I desire, therefore, especially, that you should be persuaded of that which I suppose is evident to all beside, namely, that I have no greater care than how I may best adorn with a splendid structure that sacred spot, which, under Divine direction, I have disencumbered as it were of the heavy weight of foul idol worship; a spot which has been accounted holy from the beginning in God's judgement, but which now appears holier still, since it has brought to light a clear assurance of our Saviour's passion.

31 That the Building should surpass all the Churches in the World in the Beauty of its Walls, its Columns, and Marbles.

It will be well, therefore, for your sagacity to make such arrangements and provision of all things needful for the work, that not only the church itself as a whole may surpass all others whatsoever in beauty, but that the details of the building may be of such a kind that the fairest structures in any city of the empire may be excelled by this. And with respect to the erection and decoration of the walls, this is to inform you that our friend Dracilianus, the deputy of the Prætorian Præfects, and the governor of the province, have received a charge from us. For our pious directions to them are to the effect that artificers and laborers, and whatever they shall understand from your sagacity to be needful for the advancement of the work, shall immediately be furnished by their care. And as to the columns and marbles, whatever you shall judge, after actual inspection of the plan, to be especially precious and serviceable, be diligent to send information to us in writing, in order that whatever quantity or sort of materials we shall esteem from your letter to be needful, may be procured from every quarter, as required, for it is fitting that the most marvelous place in the world should be worthily decorated.

32 That he instructed the Governors concerning the Beautifying of the Roof; also concerning Workmen, and Materials.

"With respect to the ceiling of the church, I wish to know from you whether in your judgement it should be panel-ceiled, or finished with any other kind of workmanship. If the panel ceiling be adopted, it may also be ornamented with gold. For the rest, your Holiness will give information as early as possible to the before-mentioned magistrates how many laborers and artificers, and what expenditure of money is required. You will also be careful to send us a report without delay, not only respecting the marbles and columns, but the paneled ceiling also, should this appear to you to be the most beautiful form. God preserve you, beloved brother!"

33 How the Church of our Saviour, the New Jerusalem prophesied of in Scripture, was built.

This was the emperor's letter; and his directions were at once carried into effect. Accordingly, on the very spot which witnessed the Saviour's sufferings, a new Jerusalem was constructed, over against the one so celebrated of old, which, since the foul stain of guilt brought on it by the murder of the Lord, had experienced the last extremity of desolation, the effect of Divine judgement on its impious people. It was opposite this city that the emperor now began to rear a monument to the Saviour's victory over death, with rich and lavish magnificence. And it may be that this was that second and new Jerusalem spoken of in the predictions of the prophets, concerning which such abundant testimony is given in the divinely inspired records.

First of all, then, he adorned the sacred cave itself, as the chief part of the whole work, and the hallowed monument at which the angel radiant with light had once declared to all that regeneration which was first manifested in the Saviour's person.

34 Description of the Structure of the Holy Sepulchre.

This monument, therefore, first of all, as the chief part of the whole, the emperor's zealous magnificence beautified with rare columns, and profusely enriched with the most splendid decorations of every kind.

35 Description of the Atrium and Porticos.

The next object of his attention was a space of ground of great extent, and open to the pure air of heaven. This he adorned with a pavement of finely polished stone, and enclosed it on three sides with porticos of great length.

36 Description of the Walls, Roof, Decoration, and Gilding of the Body of the Church.

For at the side opposite to the cave, which was the eastern side, the church itself was erected; a noble work rising to a vast height, and of great extent both in length and breadth. The interior of this structure was floored with marble slabs of various colors; while the external surface of the walls, which shone with polished stones exactly fitted together, exhibited a degree of splendor in no respect inferior to that of marble. With regard to the roof, it was covered on the outside with lead, as a protection against the rains of winter. But the inner part of the roof, which was finished with sculptured panel work, extended in a series of connected compartments, like a vast sea, over the whole church; and, being overlaid throughout with the purest gold, caused the entire building to glitter as it were with rays of light.

37 Description of the Double Porticos on Either Side, and of the Three Eastern Gates.

Besides this were two porticos on each side, with upper and lower ranges of pillars, corresponding in length with the church itself; and these also had their roofs ornamented with gold. Of these porticos, those which were exterior to the church were supported by columns of great size, while those within these rested on piles of stone beautifully adorned on the surface. Three gates, placed exactly east, were intended to receive the multitudes who entered the church.

38 Description of the Hemisphere, the Twelve Columns, and their Bowls.

Opposite these gates the crowning part of the whole was the hemisphere, which rose to the very summit of the church. This was encircled by twelve columns (according to the number of the apostles of our Saviour), having their capitals embellished with silver bowls of great size, which the emperor himself presented as a splendid offering to his God.

39 Description of the Inner Court, the Arcades and Porches.

In the next place he enclosed the atrium which occupied the space leading to the entrances in front of the church. This comprehended, first the court, then the porticos on each side, and lastly the gates of the court. After these, in the midst of the open market-place, the general entrance-gates, which were of exquisite workmanship, afforded to passers-by on the

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outside a view of the interior which could not fail to inspire astonishment.

40 Of the Number of his Offerings.

This temple, then, the emperor erected as a conspicuous monument of the Saviour's resurrection, and embellished it throughout on an imperial scale of magnificence. He further enriched it with numberless offerings of inexpressible beauty and various materials — gold, silver, and precious stones, the skillful and elaborate arrangement of which, in regard to their magnitude, number, and variety, we have not leisure at present to describe particularly.

41 Of the Erection of Churches in Bethlehem, and on the Mount of Olives.

In the same country he discovered other places, venerable as being the localities of two sacred caves: and these also he adorned with lavish magnificence. In the one case, he rendered due honour to that which had been the scene of the first manifestation of our Saviour's divine presence, when he submitted to be born in mortal flesh; while in the case of the second cavern he hallowed the remembrance of his ascension to heaven from the mountain top. And while he thus nobly testified his reverence for these places, he at the same time eternised the memory of his mother, who had been the instrument of conferring so valuable a benefit on mankind.

42 That the Empress Helena, Constantine's Mother, having visited this Locality for Devotional Purposes, built these Churches.

For she, having resolved to discharge the duties of pious devotion to the God, the King of kings, and feeling it incumbent on her to render thanksgivings with prayers on behalf both of her own son, now so mighty an emperor, and of his sons, her own grandchildren, the divinely favored Caesars, though now advanced in years, yet gifted with no common degree of wisdom, had hastened with youthful alacrity to survey this venerable land; and at the same time to visit the eastern provinces, cities, and people, with a truly imperial solicitude. As soon, then, as she had rendered due reverence to the ground which the Saviour's feet had trodden, according to the prophetic word which says "Let us worship at the place whereon his feet have stood," she immediately bequeathed the fruit of her piety to future generations.

43. A Farther Notice of the Churches at Bethlehem.

For without delay she dedicated two churches to the God whom she adored, one at the grotto which had been the scene of the Saviour's birth; the other on the mount of his ascension. For he who was "God with us" had submitted to be born even in a cave of the earth, and the place of his nativity was called Bethlehem by the Hebrews. Accordingly the pious empress honoured with rare memorials the scene of her travail who bore this heavenly child, and beautified the sacred cave with all possible splendor. The emperor himself soon after testified his reverence for the spot by princely offerings, and added to his mother's magnificence by costly presents of silver and gold, and embroidered hangings. And farther, the mother of the emperor raised a stately structure on the Mount of Olives also, in memory of his ascent to heaven who is the Saviour of mankind, erecting a sacred church and temple on the very summit of the mount. And indeed authentic history informs us that in this very cave the Saviour imparted his secret revelations to his disciples. And here also the emperor testified his reverence for the King of kings, by diverse and costly offerings. Thus did Helena Augusta, the pious mother of a pious emperor, erect over the two mystic caverns these two noble and beautiful monuments of devotion, worthy of everlasting remembrance, to the honour of God her Saviour, and as proofs of her holy zeal, receiving from her son the aid of his imperial power. Nor was it long ere this aged woman reaped the due reward of her labors. After passing the whole period of her life, even to declining age, in the greatest prosperity, and exhibiting both in word and deed abundant fruits of obedience to the divine precepts, and having enjoyed in consequence an easy and tranquil existence, with unimpaired powers of body and mind, at length she obtained from God an end befitting her pious course, and a recompense of her good deeds even in this present life.

44 Of Helena's Generosity and Beneficent Acts.

For on the occasion of a circuit which she made of the eastern provinces, in the splendor of imperial authority, she bestowed abundant proofs of her liberality as well on the inhabitants of the several cities collectively, as on individuals who approached her, at the same time that she scattered largesses among the soldiery with a liberal hand. But especially abundant were the gifts she bestowed on the naked and unprotected poor. To some she gave money, to others an ample supply of clothing: she liberated some from imprisonment, or from the bitter servitude of the mines; others she delivered from unjust oppression, and others again, she restored from exile.

45 Helena's Pious Conduct in the Churches.

While, however, her character derived luster from such deeds as I have described, she was far from neglecting personal piety toward God. She might be seen continually frequenting his Church, while at the same time she adorned the houses of prayer with splendid offerings, not overlooking the churches of the smallest cities. In short, this admirable woman was to be seen, in simple and modest attire, mingling with the crowd of worshipers, and testifying her devotion to God by a uniform course of pious conduct.

46 How she made her Will, and died at the Age of Eighty Years.

And when at length at the close of a long life, she was called to inherit a happier lot, having arrived at the eightieth year of her age, and being very near the time of her departure, she prepared and executed her last will in favor of her only son, the emperor and sole monarch of the world, and her grandchildren, the Caesars his sons, to whom severally she bequeathed whatever property she possessed in any part of the world. Having thus made her will, this thrice blessed woman died in the presence of her illustrious son, who was in attendance at her side, caring for her and held her hands: so that, to those who rightly discerned the truth, the thrice blessed one seemed not to die, but to experience a real change and transition from an earthly to a heavenly existence, since her soul, remoulded as it were into an incorruptible and angelic essence, was received up into her Saviour's presence.

47 How Constantine buried his Mother, and how he honoured her during her Life.

Her body, too, was honoured with special tokens of respect, being escorted on its way to the imperial city by a vast train of guards, and there deposited in a royal tomb. Such were the last days of our emperor's mother, a person worthy of being had in perpetual remembrance, both for her own practical piety, and because she had given birth to so extraordinary and admirable an offspring. And well may his character be styled blessed, for his filial piety as well as on other grounds. He rendered her through his influence so devout a worshiper of God, (though she had not previously been such,) that she seemed to have been instructed from the first by the Saviour of mankind: and besides this, he had honoured her so fully with imperial dignities, that in every province, and in the very ranks of the soldiery, she was spoken of under the titles of Augusta and empress, and her likeness was impressed on golden coins. He had even granted her authority over the imperial treasures, to use and dispense them according to her own will and discretion in every case: for this enviable distinction also she received at the hands of her son. Hence it is that among the qualities which shed a luster on his memory, we may rightly include that surpassing degree of filial affection whereby he rendered full obedience to the Divine precepts which enjoin due honour from children to their parents. In this manner, then, the emperor executed in Palestine the noble works I have above described: and indeed in every province he raised new churches on a far more imposing scale than those which had existed before his time.

48 How he built Churches in Honour of Martyrs, and abolished Idolatry at Constantinople.

And being fully resolved to distinguish the city which bore his name with special honour, he embellished it with numerous sacred edifices, both memorials of martyrs on the largest scale, and other buildings of the most splendid kind, not only within the city itself, but in its vicinity: and thus at the same time he rendered honour to the memory of the martyrs, and consecrated his city to the martyrs' God. Being filled, too, with Divine wisdom, he determined to purge the city which was to be distinguished by his own name from idolatry of every kind, that henceforth no statues might be worshipped there in the temples of those falsely reputed to be gods, nor any altars defiled by the pollution of blood: that there might be no sacrifices consumed by fire, no demon festivals, nor any of the other ceremonies usually observed by the superstitious.

49 Representation of the Cross in the Palace, and of Daniel at the Public Fountains.

On the other hand one might see the fountains in the midst of the market place graced with figures representing the good Shepherd, well known to those who study the sacred oracles, and that of Daniel also with the lions, forged in brass, and resplendent with plates of gold. Indeed, so large a measure of Divine love possessed the emperor's soul, that in the principal apartment of the imperial palace itself, on a vast tablet displayed in the center of its gold-covered paneled ceiling, he caused the symbol of our Saviour's Passion to be fixed, composed of a variety of precious stones richly inwrought with gold. This symbol he seemed to have intended to be as it were the safeguard of the empire itself.

50 That he erected Churches in Nicomedia, and in Other Cities.

Having thus embellished the city which bore his name, he next distinguished the capital of Bithynia by the erection of a stately and magnificent church, being desirous of raising in this city also, in honour of his Saviour and at his own charges, a memorial of his victory over his own enemies and the adversaries of God. He also decorated the principal cities of the other provinces with sacred edifices of great beauty; as, for example, in the case of that metropolis of the East which derived its name from Antiochus, in which, as the head of that portion of the empire, he consecrated to the service of God a church of unparalleled size and beauty. The entire building was encompassed by an enclosure of great extent, within which the church itself rose to a vast elevation, being of an octagonal form, and surrounded on all sides by many chambers, courts, and upper and lower apartments; the whole richly adorned with a profusion of gold, brass, and other materials of the most costly kind.

51 That he ordered a Church to be built at Mambre.

Such was the principal sacred edifices erected by the emperor's command. But having heard that the self-same Saviour who erewhile had appeared on earth had in ages long since past afforded a manifestation of his Divine presence to holy men of Palestine near the oak of Mambre, he ordered that a house of prayer should be built there also in honour of the God who had thus appeared. Accordingly the imperial commission was transmitted to the provincial governors by letters addressed to them individually, enjoining a speedy completion of the appointed work. He sent moreover to the writer of this history an eloquent admonition, a copy of which I think it well to insert in the present work, in order to convey a just idea of his pious diligence and zeal. To express, then, his displeasure at the evil practices which he had heard were usual in the place just referred to, he addressed me in the following terms.

52 Constantine's Letter to Eusebius concerning Mambre.

Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to Macarius, and the rest of the bishops in Palestine.

One benefit, and that of no ordinary importance, has been conferred on us by my truly pious mother-in-law, in that she has made known to us by letter that abandoned folly of impious men which has hitherto escaped detection by you: so that the criminal conduct thus overlooked may now through our means obtain fitting correction and remedy, necessary though tardy. For surely it is a grave impiety indeed, that holy places should be defiled by the stain of unhallowed impurities. What then is this, dearest brethren, which, though it has eluded your sagacity, she of whom I speak was impelled by a pious sense of duty to disclose?

53. That the Saviour appeared in this Place to Abraham: "She assures me, then, that the place which takes its name from the oak of Mambre, where we find that Abraham dwelt, is defiled by certain of the slaves of superstition in every possible way. She declares that idols which should be utterly destroyed have been erected on the site of that tree; that an altar is near the spot; and that impure sacrifices are continually performed. Now since it is evident that these practices are equally inconsistent with the character of our times, and unworthy the sanctity of the place itself, I wish your Gravities to be informed that the illustrious Count Acacius, our friend, has received instructions by letter from me, to the effect that every idol which shall be found in the place above-mentioned shall immediately be consigned to the flames; that the altar be utterly demolished; and that if any one, after this our mandate, shall be guilty of impiety of any kind in this place, he shall be visited with condign punishment. The place itself we have directed to be adorned with an unpolluted structure, I mean a church; in order that it may become a fitting place of assembly for holy men. Meantime, should any breach of these our commands occur, it should be made known to our clemency without the least delay by letters from you, that we may direct the person detected to be dealt with, as a transgressor of the law, in the severest manner. For you are not ignorant that the Supreme God first appeared to Abraham, and conversed with him, in that place. There it was that the observance of the Divine law first began; there first the Saviour himself, with the two angels, vouchsafed to Abraham a manifestation of his presence; there God first appeared to men; there he gave promise to Abraham concerning his future seed, and straightway fulfilled that promise; there he foretold that he should be the father of a multitude of nations. For these reasons, it seems to me right that this place should not only be kept pure through your diligence from all defilement, but restored also to its pristine sanctity; that nothing hereafter may be done there except the performance of fitting service to him who is the Almighty God, and our Saviour, and Lord of all. And this service it is incumbent on you to care for with due attention, if your Gravities be willing (and of this I feel confident) to gratify my wishes, which are especially interested in the worship of God. May he preserve you, beloved brethren!"

54 Destruction of Idol Temples and Images everywhere.

All these things the emperor diligently performed to the praise of the saving power of Christ, and thus made it his constant aim to glorify his Saviour God. On the other hand he used every means to rebuke the superstitious errors of the heathen. Hence the entrances of their temples in the several cities were left exposed to the weather, being stripped of their doors at his command; the tiling of others was removed, and their roofs destroyed. From others again the venerable statues of brass, of which the superstition of antiquity had boasted for a long series of years, were exposed to view in all the public places of the imperial city: so that here a Pythian, there a Sminthian Apollo, excited the contempt of the beholder: while the Delphic tripods were deposited in the hippodrome and the Muses of Helicon in the palace itself. In short, the city

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which bore his name was everywhere filled with brazen statues of the most exquisite workmanship, which had been dedicated in every province, and which the deluded victims of superstition had long vainly honoured as gods with numberless victims and burnt sacrifices, though now at length they learned to renounce their error, when the emperor held up the very objects of their worship to be the ridicule and sport of all beholders. With regard to those images which were of gold, he dealt with them in a different manner. For as soon as he understood that the ignorant multitudes were inspired with a vain and childish dread of these bugbears of error, wrought in gold and silver, he judged it right to remove these also, like stumbling-stones thrown in the way of men walking in the dark, and henceforward to open a royal road, plain and unobstructed to all. Having formed this resolution, he considered no soldiers or military force of any sort needful for the suppression of the evil: a few of his own friends sufficed for this service, and these he sent by a simple expression of his will to visit each several province. Accordingly, sustained by confidence in the emperor's pious intentions and their own personal devotion to God, they passed through the midst of numberless tribes and nations, abolishing this ancient error in every city and country. They ordered the priests themselves, amidst general laughter and scorn, to bring their gods from their dark recesses to the light of day: they then stripped them of their ornaments, and exhibited to the gaze of all the unsightly reality which had been hidden beneath a painted exterior. Lastly, whatever part of the material appeared valuable they scraped off and melted in the fire to prove its worth, after which they secured and set apart whatever they judged needful for their purpose, leaving to the superstitious worshipers that which was altogether useless, as a memorial of their shame. Meanwhile our admirable prince was himself engaged in a work similar to what we have described. For at the same time that these costly images of the dead were stripped, as we have said, of their precious materials, he also attacked those composed of brass; causing those to be dragged from their places with ropes and as it were carried away captive, whom the dotage of mythology had esteemed as gods.

55 Overthrow of an Idol Temple, and Abolition of Licentious Practices, at Aphaca in Phœnicia.

The emperor's next care was to kindle, as it were, a brilliant torch, by the light of which he directed his imperial gaze around, to see if any hidden vestiges of error might still exist. And as the keen-sighted eagle in its heavenward flight is able to descry from its lofty height the most distant objects on the earth, so did he, while residing in the imperial palace of his own fair city, discover as from a watchtower a hidden and fatal snare of souls in the province of Phœnicia. This was a grove and temple, not situated in the midst of any city, nor in any public place, as for splendor of effect is generally the case, but apart from the beaten and frequented road, at Aphaca, on part of the summit of Mount Lebanon, and dedicated to the foul demon known by the name of Venus. It was a school of wickedness for all the votaries of impurity, and such as destroyed their bodies with effeminacy. Here men undeserving of the name forgot the dignity of their sex, and propitiated the demon by their effeminate conduct; here too unlawful commerce of women and adulterous intercourse, with other horrible and infamous practices, were perpetrated in this temple as in a place beyond the scope and restraint of law. Meantime these evils remained unchecked by the presence of any observer, since no one of fair character ventured to visit such scenes. These proceedings, however, could not escape the vigilance of our august emperor, who, having himself inspected them with characteristic forethought, and judging that such a temple was unfit for the light of heaven, gave orders that the building with its offerings should be utterly destroyed. Accordingly, in obedience to the imperial command, these engines of an impure superstition were immediately abolished, and the hand of military force was made instrumental in purging the place. And now those who had heretofore lived without restraint learned self-control through the emperor's threat of punishment, as likewise those superstitious Gentiles wise in their own conceit, who now obtained experimental proof of their own folly.

56. Destruction of the Temple of Æsculapius at Ægæ.

For since a wide-spread error of these pretenders to wisdom concerned the demon worshipped in Cilicia, whom thousands regarded with reverence as the possessor of saving and healing power, who sometimes appeared to those who passed the night in his temple, sometimes restored the diseased to health, though on the contrary he was a destroyer of souls, who drew his easily deluded worshipers from the true Saviour to involve them in impious error, the emperor, consistently with his practice, and desire to advance the worship of him who is at once a jealous God and the true Saviour, gave directions that this temple also should be razed to the ground. In prompt obedience to this command, a band of soldiers laid this building, the admiration of noble philosophers, prostrate in the dust, together with its unseen inmate, neither demon nor god, but rather a deceiver of souls, who had seduced mankind for so long a time through various ages. And thus he who had promised to others deliverance from misfortune and distress, could find no means for his own security, any more than when, as is told in myth, he was scorched by the lightning's stroke. Our emperor's pious deeds, however, had in them nothing fabulous or feigned; but by virtue of the manifested power of his Saviour, this temple as well as others was so utterly overthrown, that not a vestige of the former follies was left behind.

57 How the Gentilesabandoned Idol Worship, and turned to the Knowledge of God.

Hence it was that, of those who had been the slaves of superstition, when they saw with their own eyes the exposure of their delusion, and beheld the actual ruin of the temples and images in every place, some applied themselves to the saving doctrine of Christ; while others, though they declined to take this step, yet reprobated the folly which they had received from their fathers, and laughed to scorn what they had so long been accustomed to regard as gods. Indeed, what other feelings could possess their minds, when they witnessed the thorough uncleanness concealed beneath the fair exterior of the objects of their worship? Beneath this were found either the bones of dead men or dry skulls, fraudulently adorned by the arts of magicians, or filthy rags full of abominable impurity, or a bundle of hay or stubble. On seeing all these things heaped together within their lifeless images, they denounced their fathers' extreme folly and their own, especially when neither in the secret recesses of the temples nor in the statues themselves could any inmate be found; neither demon, nor utterer of oracles, neither god nor prophet, as they had heretofore supposed: nay, not even a dim and shadowy phantom could be seen. Accordingly, every gloomy cavern, every hidden recess, afforded easy access to the emperor's emissaries: the inaccessible and secret chambers, the innermost shrines of the temples, were trampled by the soldiers' feet; and thus the mental blindness which had prevailed for so many ages over the gentile world became clearly apparent to the eyes of all.

58 How he destroyed the Temple of Venus at Heliopolis, and built the First Church in that City.

Such actions as I have described may well be reckoned among the emperor's noblest achievements, as also the wise arrangements which he made respecting each particular province. We may instance the Phœnician city Heliopolis, in which those who dignify licentious pleasure with a distinguishing title of honour, had permitted their wives and daughters to commit shameless fornication. But now a new statute, breathing the very spirit of modesty, proceeded from the emperor, which peremptorily forbade the continuance of former practices. And besides this he sent them also written exhortations, as though he had been especially ordained by God for this end, that he might instruct all men in the principles of chastity. Hence, he disdained not to communicate by letter even with these persons, urging them to seek diligently the knowledge of God. At the same time he followed up his words by corresponding deeds, and erected even in this city a church of great size and magnificence: so that an event unheard of before in any age, now for the first time came to pass, namely, that a city which had hitherto been wholly given up to superstition now obtained the privilege of a church of God, with presbyters and deacons, and its people were placed under the presiding care of a bishop consecrated to the service of the supreme God. And further, the emperor, being anxious that here also as many as possible might be won to the truth, bestowed abundant provision for the necessities of the poor, desiring even thus to invite them to seek the doctrines of salvation, as though he were almost adopting the words of him who said, "Whether in pretense, or in truth, let Christ be preached."

59 Of the Disturbance at Antioch by Eustathius.

In the midst, however, of the general happiness occasioned by these events, and while the Church of God was every where and every way flourishing throughout the empire, once more that spirit of envy, who ever watches for the ruin of the good, prepared himself to combat the greatness of our prosperity, in the expectation, perhaps, that the emperor himself, provoked by our tumults and disorders, might eventually become estranged from us. Accordingly, he kindled a furious controversy at Antioch, and thereby involved the church in that place in a series of tragic calamities, which had nearly occasioned the total overthrow of the city. The members of the Church were divided into two opposite parties; while the people, including even the magistrates and soldiery, were roused to such a pitch, that the contest would have been decided by the sword, had not the watchful providence of God, as well as dread of the emperor's displeasure, controlled the fury of the multitude. On this occasion, too, the emperor, acting the part of a preserver and physician of souls, applied with much forbearance the remedy of persuasion to those who needed it. He gently pleaded, as it were by an embassy, with his people, sending among them one of the best approved and most faithful of those who were honoured with the dignity of Count; at the same time that he exhorted them to a peaceable spirit by repeated letters, and instructed them in the practice of true godliness. Having prevailed by these remonstrances, he excused their conduct in his subsequent letters, alleging that he had himself heard the merits of the case from him on whose account the disturbance had arisen. And these letters of his, which are replete with learning and instruction of no ordinary kind, I should have inserted in this present work, were it not that they might affix a mark of dishonour to the character of the persons accused. I will therefore omit these, being unwilling to revive the memory of past grievances, and will only annex those to my present narrative which he wrote to testify his satisfaction at the re-establishment of peace and concord among the rest. In these letters, he cautioned them against any desire to claim the ruler of another district, through whose intervention peace had been restored, as their own, and exhorted them, consistently with the usage of the Church, to choose him as their bishop, whom the common Saviour of all should point out as suited for the office. His letter, then, is addressed to the people and to the bishops, severally, in the following terms.

60 Constantine's Letter to the Antiochians, directing them not to withdraw Eusebius from Caesarea, but to seek some one else.

Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to the people of Antioch: "How pleasing to the wise and intelligent portion of mankind is the concord which exists among you! And I myself, brethren, am disposed to love you with an enduring affection, inspired both by religion, and by your own manner of life and zeal on my behalf. It is by the exercise of right understanding and sound discretion, that we are enabled really to enjoy our blessings. And what can become you so well as this discretion? No wonder, then, if I affirm that your maintenance of the truth has tended rather to promote your security than to draw on you the hatred of others. Indeed, among brethren, whom the selfsame disposition to walk in the ways of truth and righteousness promises, through the favor of God, to register among his pure and holy family, what can be more honourable than gladly to acquiesce in the prosperity of all men? Especially since the precepts of the divine law prescribe a better direction to your proposed intention, and we ourselves desire that your judgement should be confirmed by proper sanction. It may be that you are surprised, and at a loss to understand the meaning of this introduction to my present address. The cause of it I will not hesitate to explain without reserve. I confess, then, that on reading your records I perceived, by the highly eulogistic testimony which they bear to Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, whom I have myself long well known and esteemed for his learning and moderation, that you are strongly attached to him, and desire to appropriate him as your own. What thoughts, then, do you suppose that I entertain on this subject, desirous as I am to seek for and act on the strict principles of right? What anxiety do you imagine this desire of yours has caused me? O holy faith, who givest us in our Saviour's words and precepts a model, as it were, of what our life should be, how hardly would you yourself resist the sins of men, were it not that you refuse to subserve the purposes of gain! In my own judgement, he whose first object is the maintenance of peace, seems to be superior to Victory herself; and where a right and honourable course lies open to one's choice, surely no one would hesitate to adopt it. I ask then, brethren, why do we so decide as to inflict an injury on others by our choice? Why do we covet those objects which will destroy the credit of our own reputation? I myself highly esteem the individual whom you judge worthy of your respect and affection: notwithstanding, it cannot be right that those principles should be entirely disregarded which should be authoritative and binding on all alike, so that each should not be content with his own circumstances, and all enjoy their proper privileges: nor can it be right, in considering the claims of rival candidates, to suppose but that not one only, but many, may appear worthy of comparison with this person. For as long as no violence or harshness are suffered to disturb the dignities of the church, they continue to be on an equal footing, and worthy of the same consideration everywhere. Nor is it reasonable that an inquiry into the qualifications of this one should be made to the detriment of others; since the judgement of all churches, whether reckoned of greater or less importance in themselves, is equally capable of receiving and maintaining the divine ordinances, so that one is in no way inferior to another, if we will but boldly declare the truth, in regard to that standard of practice which is common to all. If this be so, we must say that you will be chargeable, not with retaining this prelate, but with wrongfully removing him; your conduct will be characterised rather by violence than justice; and whatever may be generally thought by others, I dare clearly and boldly affirm that this measure will furnish ground of accusation against you, and will provoke factious disturbances of the most mischievous kind: for even timid flocks can show the use and power of their teeth, when the watchful care of their shepherd declines, and they find themselves bereft of his accustomed guidance. If this then be really so, if I am not deceived in my judgement, let this, brethren, be your first consideration, for many and important considerations will immediately present themselves, whether, should you persist in your intention, that mutual kindly feeling and affection which should subsist among you will

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suffer no diminution? In the next place, remember that he, who came among you for the purpose of offering disinterested counsel, now enjoys the reward which is due to him in the judgement of heaven; for he has received no ordinary recompense in the high testimony you have borne to his equitable conduct. Lastly, in accordance with your usual sound judgement, do ye exhibit a becoming diligence in selecting the person of whom you stand in need, carefully avoiding all factious and tumultuous clamor; for such clamor is always wrong, and from the collision of discordant elements both sparks and flame will arise. I protest, as I desire to please God and you, and to enjoy a happiness commensurate with your kind wishes, that I love you, and the quiet haven of your gentleness, now that you have cast from you that which defiled, and received in its place at once sound morality and concord, firmly planting in the vessel the sacred standard, and guided, as one may say, by a helm of iron in your course onward to the light of heaven. Receive then on board that merchandise which is incorruptible, since, as it were, all bilge water has been drained from the vessel; and be careful henceforth so to secure the enjoyment of all your present blessing, that you may not seem at any future time either to have determined any measure on the impulse of inconsiderate or ill-directed zeal, or in the first instance rashly to have entered on an inexpedient course. May God preserve you, beloved brethren!"

61 The Emperor's Letter to Eusebius praising him for refusing the Bishopric of Antioch.

The Emperor's Letter to me on my refusing the Bishopric of Antioch.

Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to Eusebius: "I have most carefully perused your letter, and perceive that you have strictly conformed to the rule enjoined by the discipline of the Church. Now to abide by that which appears at the same time pleasing to God, and accordant with apostolic tradition, is a proof of true piety. You have reason to deem yourself happy on this behalf, that you are counted worthy, in the judgement, I may say, of all the world, to have the oversight of any church. For the desire which all feel to claim you for their own, undoubtedly enhances your enviable fortune in this respect. Notwithstanding, your Prudence whose resolve it is to observe the ordinances of God and the apostolic canon of the Church, has done excellently well in declining the bishopric of the church at Antioch, and desiring to continue in that church of which you first received the oversight by the will of God. I have written on this subject to the people of Antioch, and also to your colleagues in the ministry who had themselves consulted me in regard to this question; on reading which letters, your Holiness will easily discern, that, inasmuch as justice itself opposed their claims, I have written to them under divine direction. It will be necessary that your Prudence should be present at their conference, in order that this decision may be ratified in the church at Antioch. God preserve you, beloved brother!"

62 Constantine's Letter to the Council, depreciating the Removal of Eusebius from Caesarea.

Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to Theodotus, Theodorus, Narcissus, Aëtius, Alpheus, and the rest of the bishops who are at Antioch: "I have perused the letters written by your Prudences, and highly approve of the wise resolution of your colleague in the ministry, Eusebius. Having, moreover, been informed of the circumstances of the case, partly by your letters, partly by those of our illustrious counts, Acacius and Strategius, after sufficient investigation I have written to the people of Antioch, suggesting the course which will be at once pleasing to God and advantageous for the Church. A copy of this I have ordered to be subjoined to this present letter, in order that you yourselves may know what I thought fit, as an advocate of the cause of justice, to write to that people: since I find in your letter this proposal, that, in consonance with the choice of the people, sanctioned by your own desire, Eusebius the holy bishop of Caesarea should preside over and take the charge of the church at Antioch. Now the letters of Eusebius himself on this subject appeared to be strictly accordant with the order prescribed by the Church. Nevertheless it is expedient that your Prudences should be made acquainted with my opinion also. For I am informed that Euphronius the presbyter, who is a citizen of Caesarea in Cappadocia, and George of Arethusa, likewise a presbyter, and appointed to that office by Alexander at Alexandria, are men of tried faith. It was right, therefore, to intimate to your Prudences, that in proposing these men and any others whom you may deem worthy the episcopal dignity, you should decide this question in a manner conformable to the tradition of the apostles. For in that case, your Prudences will be able, according to the rule of the Church and apostolic tradition, to direct this election in the manner which true ecclesiastical discipline shall prescribe. God preserve you, beloved brethren!"

63 How he displayed his Zeal for the Extirpation of Heresies.

Such were the exhortations to do all things to the honour of the divine religion which the emperor addressed to the rulers of the churches. Having by these means banished dissension, and reduced the Church of God to a state of uniform harmony, he next proceeded to a different duty, feeling it incumbent on him to extirpate another sort of impious persons, as pernicious enemies of the human race. These were pests of society, who ruined whole cities under the specious garb of religious decorum; men whom our Saviour's warning voice somewhere terms false prophets and ravenous wolves: "Beware of false prophets, which will come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves. By their fruits you shall know them." Accordingly, by an order transmitted to the governors of the several provinces, he effectually banished all such offenders. In addition to this ordinance he addressed to them personally a severely awakening admonition, exhorting them to an earnest repentance, that they might still find a haven of safety in the true Church of God. Hear, then, in what manner he addressed them in this letter.

64 Constantine's Edict against the Heretics.

Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to the heretics.

Understand now, by this present statute, you Novatians, Valentinians, Marcionites, Paulians, you who are called Cataphrygians, and all you who devise and support heresies by means of your private assemblies, with what a tissue of falsehood and vanity, with what destructive and venomous errors, your doctrines are inseparably interwoven; so that through you the healthy soul is stricken with disease, and the living becomes the prey of everlasting death. You haters and enemies of truth and life, in league with destruction! All your counsels are opposed to the truth, but familiar with deeds of baseness; full of absurdities and fictions: and by these ye frame falsehoods, oppress the innocent, and withhold the light from them that believe. Ever trespassing under the mask of godliness, you fill all things with defilement: ye pierce the pure and guileless conscience with deadly wounds, while you withdraw, one may almost say, the very light of day from the eyes of men. But why should I particularize, when to speak of your criminality as it deserves demands more time and leisure than I can give? For so long and unmeasured is the catalogue of your offenses, so hateful and altogether atrocious are they, that a single day would not suffice to recount them all. And, indeed, it is well to turn one's ears and eyes from such a subject, lest by a description of each particular evil, the pure sincerity and freshness of one's own faith be impaired. Why then do I still bear with such abounding evil; especially since this protracted clemency is the cause that some who were sound have become tainted with this pestilent disease? Why not at once strike, as it were, at the root of so great a mischief by a public manifestation of displeasure?

65 The Heretics are deprived of their Meeting Places: "Forasmuch, then, as it is no longer possible to bear with your pernicious errors, we give warning by this present statute that none of you henceforth presume to assemble yourselves together. We have directed, accordingly, that you be deprived of all the houses in which you are accustomed to hold your assemblies: and our care in this respect extends so far as to forbid the holding of your superstitious and senseless meetings, not in public merely, but in any private house or place whatsoever. Let those of you, therefore, who are desirous of embracing the true and pure religion, take the far better course of entering the catholic Church, and uniting with it in holy fellowship, whereby you will be enabled to arrive at the knowledge of the truth. In any case, the delusions of your perverted understandings must entirely cease to mingle with and mar the felicity of our present times: I mean the impious and wretched double-mindedness of heretics and schismatics. For it is an object worthy of that prosperity which we enjoy through the favor of God, to endeavor to bring back those who in time past were living in the hope of future blessing, from all irregularity and error to the right path, from darkness to light, from vanity to truth, from death to salvation. And in order that this remedy may be applied with effectual power, we have commanded, as before said, that you be positively deprived of every gathering point for your superstitious meetings, I mean all the houses of prayer, if such be worthy of the name, which belong to heretics, and that these be made over without delay to the catholic Church; that any other places be confiscated to the public service, and no facility whatever be left for any future gathering; in order that from this day forward none of your unlawful assemblies may presume to appear in any public or private place. Let this edict be made public."

66 How on the Discovery of Prohibited Books among the Heretics, Many of them return to the CatholicChurch.

Thus were the lurking-places of the heretics broken up by the emperor's command, and the savage beasts they harboured (I mean the chief authors of their impious doctrines) driven to flight. Of those whom they had deceived, some, intimidated by the emperor's threats, disguising their real sentiments, crept secretly into the Church. For since the law directed that search should be made for their books, those of them who practiced evil and forbidden arts were detected, and these were ready to secure their own safety by dissimulation of every kind. Others, however, there were, who voluntarily and with real sincerity embraced a better hope. Meantime the prelates of the several churches continued to make strict inquiry, utterly rejecting those who attempted an entrance under the specious disguise of false pretenses, while those who came with sincerity of purpose were proved for a time, and after sufficient trial numbered with the congregation. Such was the treatment of those who stood charged with rank heresy: those, however, who maintained no impious doctrine, but had been separated from the one body through the influence of schismatic advisers, were received without difficulty or delay. Accordingly, numbers thus revisited, as it were, their own country after an absence in a foreign land, and acknowledged the Church as a mother from whom they had wandered long, and to whom they now returned with joy and gladness. Thus the members of the entire body became united, and compacted in one harmonious whole; and the one catholic Church, at unity with itself, shone with full luster, while no heretical or schismatic body anywhere continued to exist. And the credit of having achieved this mighty work our Heaven-protected emperor alone, of all who had gone before him, was able to attribute to himself.

FLAVIUS CONSTANTINUS BOOK 4

1 How he honoured Many by Presents and Promotions.

While thus variously engaged in promoting the extension and glory of the church of God, and striving by every measure to commend the Saviour's doctrine, the emperor was far from neglecting secular affairs; but in this respect also he was unwearied in bestowing benefits of every kind and in quick succession on the people of every province. On the one hand he manifested a paternal anxiety for the general welfare of his subjects; on the other he would distinguish individuals of his own acquaintance with various marks of honour; conferring his benefits in every instance in a truly noble spirit. No one could request a favor from the emperor, and fail of obtaining what he sought: no one expected a boon from him, and found that expectation vain. Some received presents in money, others in land; some obtained the Prætorian præfecture, others senatorial, others again consular rank: many were appointed provincial governors: others were made counts of the first, second, or third order: in numberless instances the title of Most Illustrious and many other distinctions were conferred; for the emperor devised new dignities, that he might invest a larger number with the tokens of his favor.

2 Remission of a Fourth Part of the Taxes.

The extent to which he studied the general happiness and prosperity may be understood from a single instance most beneficial and universal in its application, and still gratefully remembered. He remitted a fourth part of the yearly tribute paid for land, and bestowed it on the owners of the soil; so that if we compute this yearly reduction, we shall find that the cultivators enjoyed their produce free of tribute every fourth year. This privilege being established by law, and secured for the time to come, has given occasion for the emperor's beneficence to be held, not merely by the then present generation, but by their children and descendants, in perpetual remembrance.

3 Equalisation of the More Oppressive Taxes.

And whereas some persons found fault with the surveys of land which had been made under former emperors, and complained that their property was unduly burdened; acting in this case also on the principles of justice, he sent commissioners to equalize the tribute, and to secure immunity to those who had made this appeal.

4 His Liberality, from His Private Resources, to the Losers in Suits of a Pecuniary Nature.

In cases of judicial arbitration, in order that the loser by his decision might not quit his presence less contented than the victorious litigant, he himself bestowed, and from his own private means, in some cases lands, in other money, on the defeated party. In this manner he took care that the loser, as having appeared in his presence, should be as well satisfied as the gainer of the cause; for he considered that no one ought in any case to retire dejected and sorrowful from an interview with such a prince. Thus it happened that both parties returned from the scene of trial with glad and cheerful countenances, while the emperor's noble-minded liberality excited universal admiration.

5 Conquest of the Scythians defeated through the Sign of Our Saviour.

And why should I relate even briefly and incidentally, how he subjected barbarous nations to the Roman power; how he was the first who subjugated the Scythian and Sarmatian tribes, which had never learned submission, and compelled them, how unwilling soever, to own the sovereignty of Rome? For the emperors who preceded him had actually rendered tribute to the Scythians: and Romans, by an annual payment, had confessed themselves servants to barbarians; an indignity which our emperor could no longer bear, nor think it consistent with his victorious career to continue the payment his predecessors had made. Accordingly, with full confidence in his Saviour's aid, he raised his conquering standard against these enemies also, and soon reduced them all to obedience; coercing by military force those who fiercely resisted his authority, while, on the other hand, he conciliated the rest by wisely conducted embassies, and reclaimed them to a state of

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order and civilisation from their lawless and savage life. Thus the Scythians at length learned to acknowledge subjection to the power of Rome.

6. Conquest of the Sarmatians, consequent on the Rebellion of their Slaves.

With respect to the Sarmatians, God himself brought them beneath the rule of Constantine, and subdued a nation swelling with barbaric pride in the following manner. Being attacked by the Scythians, they had entrusted their slaves with arms, in order to repel the enemy. These slaves first overcame the invaders and then, turning their weapons against their masters, drove them all from their native land. The expelled Sarmatians found that their only hope of safety was in Constantine's protection: and he, whose familiar habit it was to save men's lives, received them all within the confines of the Roman empire. Those who were capable of serving he incorporated with his own troops: to the rest he allotted lands to cultivate for their own support: so that they themselves acknowledged that their past misfortune had produced a happy result, in that they now enjoyed Roman liberty in place of savage barbarism. In this manner God added to his dominions many and various barbaric tribes.

7 Ambassadors from Different Barbarous Nations receive Presents from the Emperor.

Indeed, ambassadors were continually arriving from all nations, bringing for his acceptance their most precious gifts. So that I myself have sometimes stood near the entrance of the imperial palace, and observed a noticeable array of barbarians in attendance, differing from each other in costume and decorations, and equally unlike in the fashion of their hair and beard. Their aspect truculent and terrible, their bodily stature prodigious: some of a red complexion, others white as snow, others again of an intermediate color. For in the number of those I have referred to might be seen specimens of the Blemmyan tribes, of the Indians, and the Ethiopians, "that widely-divided race, remotest of mankind." All these in due succession, like some painted pageant, presented to the emperor those gifts which their own nation held in most esteem; some offering crowns of gold, others diadems set with precious stones; some bringing fair-haired boys, others barbaric vestments embroidered with gold and flowers: some appeared with horses, others with shields and long spears, with arrows and bows, thereby offering their services and alliance for the emperor's acceptance. These presents he separately received and carefully laid aside, acknowledging them in so munificent a manner as at once to enrich those who bore them. He also honoured the noblest among them with Roman offices of dignity; so that many of them thenceforward preferred to continue their residence among us, and felt no desire to revisit their native land.

8 That he wrote also to the King of Persia, who had sent him an Embassy, on Behalf of the Christiansin his Realm.

The king of the Persians also having testified a desire to form an alliance with Constantine, by sending an embassy and presents as assurances of peace and friendship, the emperor, in negotiating this treaty, far surpassed the monarch who had first done him honour, in the magnificence with which he acknowledged his gifts. Having heard, too, that there were many churches of God in Persia, and that large numbers there were gathered into the fold of Christ, full of joy at this intelligence, he resolved to extend his anxiety for the general welfare to that country also, as one whose aim it was to care for all alike in every nation.

9 Letter of Constantine Augustus to Sapor, King of the Persians, containing a truly Pious Confession of God and Christ.

Copy of his Letter to the King of Persia.

By keeping the Divine faith, I am made a partaker of the light of truth: guided by the light of truth, I advance in the knowledge of the Divine faith. Hence it is that, as my actions themselves evince, I profess the most holy religion; and this worship I declare to be that which teaches me deeper acquaintance with the most holy God; aided by whose Divine power, beginning from the very borders of the ocean, I have aroused each nation of the world in succession to a well-grounded hope of security; so that those which, groaning in servitude to the most cruel tyrants and yielding to the pressure of their daily sufferings, had well near been utterly destroyed, have been restored through my agency to a far happier state. This God I confess that I hold in unceasing honour and remembrance; this God I delight to contemplate with pure and guileless thoughts in the height of his glory.

10 The Writer denounces Idols, and glorifies God.

This God I invoke with bended knees, and recoil with horror from the blood of sacrifices, from their foul and detestable odors, and from every earth-born magic fire: for the profane and impious superstitions which are defiled by these rites have cast down and consigned to perdition many, nay, whole nations of the Gentile world. For he who is Lord of all cannot endure that those blessings which, in his own loving-kindness and consideration of the wants of men, he has revealed for the use of all, should be perverted to serve the lusts of any. His only demand from man is purity of mind and an undefiled spirit; and by this standard he weighs the actions of virtue and godliness. For his pleasure is in works of moderation and gentleness: he loves the meek, and hates the turbulent spirit: delighting in faith, he chastises unbelief: by him all presumptuous power is broken down, and he avenges the insolence of the proud. While the arrogant and haughty are utterly overthrown, he requires the humble and forgiving with deserved rewards: even so does he highly honour and strengthen with his special help a kingdom justly governed, and maintains a prudent king in the tranquillity of peace.

11 Against the Tyrants and Persecutors; and on the Captivity of Valerian.

I cannot, then, my brother believe that I err in acknowledging this one God, the author and parent of all things: whom many of my predecessors in power, led astray by the madness of error, have ventured to deny, but who were all visited with a retribution so terrible and so destructive, that all succeeding generations have held up their calamities as the most effectual warning to any who desire to follow in their steps. Of the number of these I believe him to have been, whom the lightning-stroke of Divine vengeance drove forth from hence, and banished to your dominions and whose disgrace contributed to the fame of your celebrated triumph.

12 He declares that, having witnessed the Fall of the Persecutors, he now rejoices at the Peace enjoyed by the Christians.

And it is surely a happy circumstance that the punishment of such persons as I have described should have been publicly manifested in our own times. For I myself have witnessed the end of those who lately harassed the worshipers of God by their impious edict. And for this abundant thanksgivings are due to God that through his excellent Providence all men who observe his holy laws are gladdened by the renewed enjoyment of peace. Hence I am fully persuaded that everything is in the best and safest posture, since God is vouchsafing, through the influence of their pure and faithful religious service, and their unity of judgement respecting his Divine character, to gather all men to himself.

13 He bespeaks his Affectionate Interest for the Christiansin his Country: "Imagine, then, with what joy I heard tidings so accordant with my desire, that the fairest districts of Persia are filled with those men on whose behalf alone I am at present speaking, I mean the Christians. I pray, therefore, that both you and they may enjoy abundant prosperity, and that your blessings and theirs may be in equal measure; for thus you will experience the mercy and favor of that God who is the Lord and Father of all. And now, because your power is great, I commend these persons to your protection; because your piety is eminent, I commit them to your care. Cherish them with your wonted humanity and kindness; for by this proof of faith you will secure an immeasurable benefit both to yourself and us."

14 How the Zealous Prayers of Constantine procured Peace to the Christians.

Thus, the nations of the world being everywhere guided in their course as it were by the skill of a single pilot, and acquiescing in the administration of him who governed as the servant of God, the peace of the Roman empire continued undisturbed, and all classes of his subjects enjoyed a life of tranquillity and repose. At the same time the emperor, who was convinced that the prayers of godly men contributed powerfully to the maintenance of the public welfare, felt himself constrained zealously to seek such prayers and not only himself implored the help and favor of God, but charged the prelates of the churches to offer supplications on his behalf.

15 He causes himself to be represented on his Coins, and in his Portraits, in the Attitude of Prayer.

How deeply his soul was impressed by the power of divine faith may be understood from the circumstance that he directed his likeness to be stamped on the golden coin of the empire with the eyes uplifted as in the posture of prayer to God: and this money became current throughout the Roman world. His portrait also at full length was placed over the entrance gates of the palaces in some cities, the eyes upraised to heaven, and the hands outspread as if in prayer.

16 He forbids by Law the Placing his Likeness in Idol Temples.

In this manner he represented himself, even through the medium of painting, as habitually engaged in prayer to God. At the same time he forbade, by an express enactment, the setting up of any resemblance of himself in any idol temple, that not even the mere lineaments of his person might receive contamination from the error of forbidden superstition.

17 Of his Prayers in the Palace, and his Reading the Holy Scriptures.

Still nobler proofs of his piety might be discerned by those who marked how he modeled as it were his very palace into a church of God, and himself afforded a pattern of zeal to those assembled therein: how he took the sacred scriptures into his hands, and devoted himself to the study of those divinely inspired oracles; after which he would offer up regular prayers with all the members of his imperial court.

18 He enjoins the General Observance of the Lord's Day, and the Day of Preparation.

He ordained, too, that one day should be regarded as a special occasion for prayer: I mean that which is truly the first and chief of all, the day of our Lord and Saviour. The entire care of his household was entrusted to deacons and other ministers consecrated to the service of God, and distinguished by gravity of life and every other virtue: while his trusty body guard, strong in affection and fidelity to his person, found in their emperor an instructor in the practice of piety, and like him held the Lord's salutary day in honour and performed on that day the devotions which he loved. The same observance was recommended by this blessed prince to all classes of his subjects: his earnest desire being gradually to lead all mankind to the worship of God. Accordingly he enjoined on all the subjects of the Roman empire to observe the Lord's day, as a day of rest, and also to honour the day which precedes the Sabbath; in memory, I suppose, of what the Saviour of mankind is recorded to have achieved on that day. And since his desire was to teach his whole army zealously to honour the Saviour's day (which derives its name from light, and from the sun), he freely granted to those among them who were partakers of the divine faith, leisure for attendance on the services of the Church of God, in order that they might be able, without impediment, to perform their religious worship.

19 That he directed even his Pagan Soldiers to pray on the Lord's Day.

With regard to those who were as yet ignorant of divine truth, he provided by a second statute that they should appear on each Lord's day on an open plain near the city, and there, at a given signal, offer to God with one accord a prayer which they had previously learned. He admonished them that their confidence should not rest in their spears, or armor, or bodily strength, but that they should acknowledge the supreme God as the giver of every good, and of victory itself; to whom they were bound to offer their prayers with due regularity, uplifting their hands toward heaven, and raising their mental vision higher still to the king of heaven, on whom they should call as the Author of victory, their Preserver, Guardian, and Helper. The emperor himself prescribed the prayer to be used by all his troops, commanding them, to pronounce the following words in the Latin tongue:

20 The Form of Prayer given by Constantine to his Soldiers: "We acknowledge you the only God: we own you, as our King and implore your succor. By your favor have we gotten the victory: through you are we mightier than our enemies. We render thanks for your past benefits, and trust you for future blessings. Together we pray to you, and beseech you long to preserve to us, safe and triumphant, our emperor Constantine and his pious sons." Such was the duty to be performed on Sunday by his troops, and such the prayer they were instructed to offer up to God.

21 He orders the Sign of the Saviour's Cross to be engraven on his Soldiers' Shields.

And not only so, but he also caused the sign of the salutary trophy to be impressed on the very shields of his soldiers; and commanded that his embattled forces should be preceded in their march, not by golden images, as heretofore, but only by the standard of the cross.

22 Of his Zeal in Prayer, and the Honour he paid to the Feast of Easter.

The emperor himself, as a sharer in the holy mysteries of our religion, would seclude himself daily at a stated hour in the innermost chambers of his palace; and there in solitary converse with his God, would kneel in humble supplication, and entreat the blessings of which he stood in need. But especially at the salutary feast of Easter, his religious diligence was redoubled; he fulfilled as it were the duties of a hierophant with every energy of his mind and body, and outvied all others in the zealous celebration of this feast. He changed, too, the holy night vigil into a brightness like that of day, by causing waxen tapers of great length to be lighted throughout the city: besides which, torches everywhere diffused their light, so as to impart to this mystic vigil a brilliant splendor beyond that of day. As soon as day itself returned, in imitation of our Saviour's gracious acts, he opened a liberal hand to his subjects of every nation, province, and people, and lavished abundant bounties on all.

23 How he forbade Idolatrous Worship, but honoured Martyrs and the Church Festivals.

Such were his sacred ministrations in the service of his God. At the same time, his subjects, both civil and military, throughout the empire, found a barrier everywhere opposed against idol worship, and every kind of sacrifice forbidden. A statute was also passed, enjoining the due observance of the Lord's day, and transmitted to the governors of every province, who undertook, at the emperor's command, to respect the days commemorative of martyrs, and duly to honour the festal seasons in the churches: and all these intentions were fullfilled to the emperor's entire satisfaction.

24 That he described himself to be a Bishop, in Charge of Affairs External to the Church.

Hence it was not without reason that once, on the occasion of his entertaining a company of bishops, he let fall the expression, "that he himself too was a bishop," addressing them in my hearing in the following words: "You are bishops

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whose jurisdiction is within the Church: I also am a bishop, ordained by God to overlook whatever is external to the Church." And truly his measures corresponded with his words: for he watched over his subjects with an episcopal care, and exhorted them as far as in him lay to follow a godly life.

25 Prohibition of Sacrifices, of Mystic Rites, Combats of Gladiators, also the Licentious Worship of the Nile.

Consistently with this zeal he issued successive laws and ordinances, forbidding any to offer sacrifice to idols, to consult diviners, to erect images, or to pollute the cities with the sanguinary combats of gladiators. And inasmuch as the Egyptians, especially those of Alexandria, had been accustomed to honour their river through a priesthood composed of effeminate men, a further law was passed commanding the extermination of the whole class as vicious, that no one might thenceforward be found tainted with the like impurity. And whereas the superstitious inhabitants apprehended that the river would in consequence withhold its customary flood, God himself showed his approval of the emperor's law by ordering all things in a manner quite contrary to their expectation. For those who had defiled the cities by their vicious conduct were indeed seen no more; but the river, as if the country through which it flowed had been purified to receive it, rose higher than ever before, and completely overflowed the country with its fertilizing streams: thus effectually admonishing the deluded people to turn from impure men, and ascribe their prosperity to him alone who is the Giver of all good.

26 Amendment of the Law in Force respecting Childless Persons, and of the Law of Wills.

So numerous, indeed, were the benefits of this kind conferred by the emperor on every province, as to afford ample materials to any who might desire to record them. Among these may be instanced those laws which he entirely remodelled, and established on a more equitable basis: the nature of which reform may be briefly and easily explained. The childless were punished under the old law with the forfeiture of their hereditary property, a merciless statute, which dealt with them as positive criminals. The emperor annulled this, and decreed that those so circumstanced should inherit. He regulated the question on the principles of equity and justice, arguing willful transgressors should be chastised with the penalties their crimes deserve. But nature herself denies children to many, who long, perhaps, for a numerous offspring, but are disappointed of their hope by bodily infirmity. Others continue childless, not from any dislike of posterity, but because their ardent love of philosophy renders them averse to the conjugal union. Women, too, consecrated to the service of God, have maintained a pure and spotless virginity, and have devoted themselves, soul and body to a life of entire chastity and holiness. What then? Should this conduct be deemed worthy of punishment, or rather of admiration and praise; since to desire this state is in itself honourable, and to maintain it surpasses the power of unassisted nature? Surely those whose bodily infirmity destroys their hope of offspring are worthy of pity, not of punishment: and he who devotes himself to a higher object calls not for chastisement, but special admiration. On such principles of sound reason did the emperor rectify the defects of this law. Again, with regard to the wills of dying persons, the old laws had ordained that they should be expressed, even at the latest breath, as it were, in certain definite words, and had prescribed the exact form and terms to be employed. This practice had occasioned many fraudulent attempts to hinder the intentions of the deceased from being carried into full effect. As soon as our emperor was aware of these abuses, he reformed this law likewise, declaring that a dying man ought to be permitted to indicate his last wishes in as few words as possible, and in whatever terms he pleased; and to set forth his will in any written form; or even by word of mouth, provided it were done in the presence of proper witnesses, who might be competent faithfully to discharge their trust.

27 Among Other Enactments, he decrees that no Christianshall slave to a Jew, and affirms the Validity of the Decisions of Councils.

He also passed a law to the effect that no Christian should remain in servitude to a Jewish master, on the ground that it could not be right that those whom the Saviour had ransomed should be subjected to the yoke of slavery by a people who had slain the prophets and the Lord himself. If any were found hereafter in these circumstances, the slave was to be set at liberty, and the master punished by a fine.

He likewise added the sanction of his authority to the decisions of bishops passed at their synods, and forbade the provincial governors to annul any of their decrees: for he rated the priests of God at a higher value than any judge whatever. These and a thousand similar provisions did he enact for the benefit of his subjects; but there is not time now to give a special description of them, such as might convey an accurate idea of his imperial wisdom in these respects: nor need I now relate at length, how, as a devoted servant of the Supreme God, he employed himself from morning until night in seeking objects for his beneficence, and how equally and universally kind he was to all.

28 His Gifts to the Churches, and Bounties to Virgins and to the Poor.

His liberality, however, was most especially exercised on behalf of the churches of God. In some cases he granted lands, in others he issued supplies of food for the support of the poor, of orphan children, and widows; besides which, he evinced much care and forethought in fully providing the naked and destitute with clothing. He distinguished, however, with most special honour those who had devoted their lives to the practice of Divine philosophy. Hence his respect, little short of veneration, for God's most holy and ever virgin choir: for he felt assured that the God to whom such persons devoted themselves was himself an inmate of their souls.

29 Of Constantine's Discourses and Declamations.

For himself, he sometimes passed sleepless nights in furnishing his mind with Divine knowledge: and much of his time was spent in composing discourses, many of which he delivered in public; for he conceived it to be incumbent on him to govern his subjects by appealing to their reason, and to secure in all respects a rational obedience to his authority. Hence he would sometimes himself evoke an assembly, on which occasions vast multitudes attended, in the hope of hearing an emperor sustain the part of a philosopher. And if in the course of his speech any occasion offered of touching on sacred topics, he immediately stood erect, and with a grave aspect and subdued tone of voice seemed reverently to be initiating his auditors in the mysteries of the Divine doctrine: and when they greeted him with shouts of acclamation, he would direct them by his gestures to raise their eyes to heaven, and reserve their admiration for the Supreme King alone, and honour him with adoration and praise. He usually divided the subjects of his address, first thoroughly exposing the error of polytheism, and proving the superstition of the Gentiles to be mere fraud, and a cloak for impiety. He then would assert the sole sovereignty of God: passing thence to his Providence, both general and particular. Proceeding next to the dispensation of salvation, he would demonstrate its necessity, and adaptation to the nature of the case; entering next in order on the doctrine of the Divine judgement. And here especially he appealed most powerfully to the consciences of his hearers, while he denounced the rapacious and violent, and those who were slaves to an inordinate thirst of gain. Nay, he caused some of his own acquaintance who were present to feel the severe lash of his words, and to stand with downcast eyes in the consciousness of guilt, while he testified against them in the clearest and most impressive terms that they would have an account to render of their deeds to God. He reminded them that God himself had given him the empire of the world, portions of which he himself, acting on the same Divine principle, had entrusted to their government; but that all would in due time be alike summoned to give account of their actions to the Supreme Sovereign of all. Such was his constant testimony; such his admonition and instruction. And he himself both felt and uttered these sentiments in the genuine confidence of faith: but his hearers were little disposed to learn, and deaf to sound advice; receiving his words indeed with loud applause, but induced by insatiable cupidity practically to disregard them.

30 That he marked out before a Covetous Man the Measure of a Grave, and so put him to Shame.

On one occasion he thus personally addressed one of his courtiers: "How far, my friend, are we to carry our inordinate desires?" Then drawing the dimensions of a human figure with a lance which he happened to have in his hand, he continued: "Though you could obtain the whole wealth of this world, yea, the whole world itself, you will carry with you at last no more than this little spot which I have marked out, if indeed even that be yours." Such were the words and actions of this blessed prince; and though at the time he failed to reclaim any from their evil ways, yet notwithstanding the course of events afforded evident proof that his admonitions were more like Divine prophecies than mere words.

31 That he was derided because of his Excessive Clemency.

Meantime, since there was no fear of capital punishment to deter from the commission of crime, for the emperor himself was uniformly inclined to clemency, and none of the provincial governors visited offenses with their proper penalties, this state of things drew with it no small degree of blame on the general administration of the empire; whether justly or not, let every one form his own judgement: for myself, I only ask permission to record the fact.

32 Of Constantine's Oration which he wrote to the Assembly of the Saints.

The emperor was in the habit of composing his orations in the Latin tongue, from which they were translated into Greek by interpreters appointed for this special service. One of the discourses thus translated I intend to annex, by way of specimen, to this present work, that one, I mean, which he inscribed "To the assembly of the saints," and dedicated to the Church of God, that no one may have ground for deeming my testimony on this head mere empty praise.

33 How he listened standing to Eusebius' Declamation in Honour of our Saviour's Sepulchre.

One act, however, I must by no means omit to record, which this admirable prince performed in my own presence. On one occasion, emboldened by the confident assurance I entertained of his piety, I had begged permission to pronounce a discourse on the subject of our Saviour's sepulchre in his hearing. With this request he most readily complied, and in the midst of a large number of auditors, in the interior of the palace itself, he stood and listened with the rest. I entreated him, but in vain, to seat himself on the imperial throne which stood near: he continued with fixed attention to weigh the topics of my discourse, and gave his own testimony to the truth of the theological doctrines it contained. After some time had passed, the oration being of considerable length, I was myself desirous of concluding; but this he would not permit, and exhorted me to proceed to the very end. On my again entreating him to sit, he in his turn was displeased and said that it was not right to listen in a careless manner to the discussion of doctrines relating to God; and again, that this posture was good and profitable to himself, since it was reverent to stand while listening to sacred truths. Having, therefore, concluded my discourse, I returned home, and resumed my usual occupations.

34 That he wrote to Eusebius respecting Easter, and respecting Copies of the Holy Scriptures.

Ever careful for the welfare of the churches of God, the emperor addressed me personally in a letter on the means of providing copies of the inspired oracles, and also on the subject of the most holy feast of Easter. For I had myself dedicated to him an exposition of the mystical import of that feast; and the manner in which he honoured me with a reply may be understood by any one who reads the following letter.

35. Constantine's Letter to Eusebius, in praise of his Discourse concerning Easter.

Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to Eusebius: "It is indeed an arduous task, and beyond the power of language itself, worthily to treat of the mysteries of Christ, and to explain in a fitting manner the controversy respecting the feast of Easter, its origin as well as its precious and toilsome accomplishment. For it is not in the power even of those who are able to apprehend them, adequately to describe the things of God. I am, notwithstanding, filled with admiration of your learning and zeal, and have not only myself read your work with pleasure, but have given directions, according to your own desire, that it be communicated to many sincere followers of our holy religion. Seeing, then, with what pleasure we receive favors of this kind from your Sagacity, be pleased to gladden us more frequently with those compositions, to the practice of which, indeed, you confess yourself to have been trained from an early period, so that I am urging a willing man, as they say, in exhorting you to your customary pursuits. And certainly the high and confident judgement we entertain is a proof that the person who has translated your writings into the Latin tongue is in no respect incompetent to the task, impossible though it be that such version should fully equal the excellence of the works themselves. God preserve you, beloved brother." Such was his letter on this subject: and that which related to the providing of copies of the Scriptures for reading in the churches was to the following purport.

36 Constantine's Letter to Eusebius on the Preparation of Copies of the Holy Scriptures.

Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to Eusebius: "It happens, through the favoring providence of God our Saviour, that great numbers have united themselves to the most holy church in the city which is called by my name. It seems, therefore, highly requisite, since that city is rapidly advancing in prosperity in all other respects, that the number of churches should also be increased. Do you, therefore, receive with all readiness my determination on this behalf. I have thought it expedient to instruct your Prudence to order fifty copies of the sacred Scriptures, the provision and use of which you know to be most needful for the instruction of the Church, to be written on prepared parchment in a legible manner, and in a convenient, portable form, by professional transcribers thoroughly practiced in their art. The catholicus of the diocese has also received instructions by letter from our Clemency to be careful to furnish all things necessary for the preparation of such copies; and it will be for you to take special care that they be completed with as little delay as possible. You have authority also, in virtue of this letter, to use two of the public carriages for their conveyance, by which arrangement the copies when fairly written will most easily be forwarded for my personal inspection; and one of the deacons of your church may be entrusted with this service, who, on his arrival here, shall experience my liberality. God preserve you, beloved brother!"

37 How the Copies were provided.

Such were the emperor's commands, which were followed by the immediate execution of the work itself, which we sent him in magnificent and elaborately bound volumes of a threefold and fourfold form. This fact is attested by another letter, which the emperor wrote in acknowledgment, in which, having heard that the city Constantia in our country, the inhabitants of which had been more than commonly devoted to superstition, had been impelled by a sense of religion to

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abandon their past idolatry, he testified his joy, and approval of their conduct.

38 How the Market-Town of Gaza was made a City for its Profession of Christianity, and received the Name of Constantia.

For in fact the place now called Constantia, in the province of Palestine, having embraced the saving religion, was distinguished both by the favor of God, and by special honour from the emperor, being now for the first time raised to the rank of a city, and receiving the more honoured name of his pious sister in exchange for its former appellation.

39 That a Place in Phœnicia also was made a City, and in Other Cities Idolatry was abolished, and Churches built.

A similar change was effected in several other cities; for instance, in that town of Phœnicia which received its name from that of the emperor, and the inhabitants of which committed their innumerable idols to the flames, and adopted in their stead the principles of the saving faith. Numbers, too, in the other provinces, both in the cities and the country, became willing inquirers after the saving knowledge of God; destroyed as worthless things the images of every kind which they had heretofore held most sacred; voluntarily demolished the lofty temples and shrines which contained them; and, renouncing their former sentiments, or rather errors, commenced and completed entirely new churches. But since it is not so much my province to give a circumstantial detail of the actions of this pious prince, as it is theirs who have been privileged to enjoy his society at all times, I shall content myself with briefly recording such facts as have come to my own personal knowledge, before I proceed to notice the last days of his life.

40 That having conferred the Dignity of Caesars on his Three Sons at the Three Decennial Periods of his Reign, he dedicated the Church at Jerusalem.

By this time the thirtieth year of his reign was completed. In the course of this period, his three sons had been admitted at different times as his colleagues in the empire. The first, Constantinus, who bore his father's name, obtained this distinction about the tenth year of his reign. Constantius, the second son, so called from his grandfather, was proclaimed Caesar about the twentieth, while Constans, the third, whose name expresses the firmness and stability of his character, was advanced to the same dignity at the thirtieth anniversary of his father's reign. Having thus reared a threefold offspring, a Trinity, as it were, of pious sons, and having received them severally at each decennial period to a participation in his imperial authority, he judged the festival of his Tricennalia to be a fit occasion for thanksgiving to the Sovereign Lord of all, at the same time believing that the dedication of the church which his zealous magnificence had erected at Jerusalem might advantageously be performed.

41 That in the meantime he ordered a Council to be convened at Tyre, because of Controversies raised in Egypt.

Meanwhile that spirit of envy which is the enemy of all good, like a dark cloud intercepting the sun's brightest rays, endeavored to mar the joy of this festivity, by again raising contentions to disturb the tranquillity of the Egyptian churches. Our divinely favored emperor, however, once more convened a synod composed of many bishops, and set them as it were in armed array, like the host of God, against this malignant spirit, having commanded their presence from the whole of Egypt and Libya, from Asia, and from Europe, in order, first, to decide the questions in dispute, and afterwards to perform the dedication of the sacred edifice above mentioned. He enjoined them, by the way, to adjust their differences at the capital city of Phœnicia, reminding them that they had no right, while harbouring feelings of mutual animosity, to engage in the service of God, since his law expressly forbids those who are at variance to offer their gift until they have first become reconciled and mutually disposed to peace. Such were the salutary precepts which the emperor continually kept vividly before his own mind, and in accordance with which he admonished them to undertake their present duties in a spirit of perfect unanimity and concord, in a letter to the following purport.

42 Constantine's Letter to the Council at Tyre.

Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to the holy Council at Tyre: "Surely it would best consist with and best become the prosperity of these our times, that the Catholic Church should be undivided, and the servants of Christ be at this present moment clear from all reproach. Since, however, there are those who, carried away by a baleful and furious spirit of contention (for I will not charge them with intentionally leading a life unworthy of their profession), are endeavoring to create that general confusion which, in my judgement, is the most pernicious of all evils; I exhort you, forward as you already are, to meet together and form a synod without delay: to defend those who need protection; to administer remedies to your brethren who are in peril; to recall the divided members to unity of judgement; to rectify errors while opportunity is yet allowed: that thus you may restore to so many provinces that due measure of concord which, strange and sad anomaly! The arrogance of a few individuals has destroyed. And I believed that all are alike persuaded that this course is at the same time pleasing to Almighty God (as well as the highest object of my own desires), and will bring no small honour to yourselves, should you be successful in restoring peace. Delay not, then, but hasten with redoubled zeal to terminate the present dissensions in a manner becoming the occasion, by assembling together in that spirit of true sincerity and faith which the Saviour whom we serve especially demands from us, I may almost say with an audible voice, on all occasions. No proof of pious zeal on my part shall be wanting. Already have I done all to which my attention was directed by your letters. I have sent to those bishops whose presence you desired, that they may share your counsels. I have dispatched Dionysius, a man of consular rank, who will both remind those prelates of their duty who are bound to attend the Council with you, and will himself be there to superintend the proceedings, but especially to maintain good order. Meantime should any one, though I deem it most improbable, venture on this occasion to violate my command, and refuse his attendance, a messenger shall be dispatched immediately to banish that person in virtue of an imperial edict, and to teach him that it does not become him to resist an emperor's decrees when issued in defense of truth. For the rest, it will be for your Holinesses, unbiased either by enmity or favor, but consistently with ecclesiastical and apostolic order, to devise a fitting remedy whether it be for positive offenses or for unpremeditated errors; in order that you may at once free the Church from all reproach, relieve my anxiety, and, by restoring the blessings of peace to those who are now divided, procure the highest honour for yourselves. God preserve you, beloved brethren!"

43 Bishops from all the Provinces attended the Dedication of the Church at Jerusalem.

No sooner had these injunctions been carried into effect, than another emissary arrived with dispatches from the emperor, and an urgent admonition to the Council to hasten their journey to Jerusalem without delay. Accordingly they all took their departure from the province of Phœnicia, and proceeded to their destination, availing themselves of the public means of transport. Thus Jerusalem became the gathering point for distinguished prelates from every province, and the whole city was thronged by a vast assemblage of the servants of God. The Macedonians had sent the bishop of their metropolis; the Pannonians and Mœsians the fairest of God's youthful flock among them. A holy prelate from Persia too was there, deeply versed in the sacred oracles; while Bithynian and Thracian bishops graced the Council with their presence; nor were the most illustrious from Cilicia wanting, nor the chief of the Cappadocians, distinguished above all for learning and eloquence. In short, the whole of Syria and Mesopotamia, Phœnicia and Arabia, Palestine, Egypt, and Libya, with the dwellers in the Thebaid, all contributed to swell the mighty concourse of God's ministers, followed as they were by vast numbers from every province. They were attended by an imperial escort, and officers of trust had also been sent from the palace itself, with instructions to heighten the splendor of the festival at the emperor's expense.

44 Of their Reception by the Notary Marianus; the Distribution of Money to the Poor; and Offerings to the Church.

The director and chief of these officers was a most useful servant of the emperor, a man eminent for faith and piety, and thoroughly acquainted with the Divine word, who had been honourably conspicuous by his profession of godliness during the time of the tyrants' power, and therefore was deservedly entrusted with the arrangement of the present proceedings. Accordingly, in faithful obedience to the emperor's commands, he received the assembly with courteous hospitality, and entertained them with feasts and banquets on a scale of great splendor. He also distributed lavish supplies of money and clothing among the naked and destitute, and the multitudes of both sexes who suffered from want of food and the common necessaries of life. Finally, he enriched and beautified the church itself throughout with offerings of imperial magnificence, and thus fully accomplished the service he had been commissioned to perform.

45 Various Discourses by the Assembled Bishops; also by Eusebius, the Writer of this History.

Meantime the festival derived additional luster both from the prayers and discourses of the ministers of God, some of whom extolled the pious emperor's willing devotion to the Saviour of mankind, and dilated on the magnificence of the edifice which he had raised to his memory. Others afforded, as it were, an intellectual feast to the ears of all present, by public disquisitions on the sacred doctrines of our religion. Others interpreted passages of holy Scripture, and unfolded their hidden meaning; while such as were unequal to these efforts presented a bloodless sacrifice and mystical service to God in the prayers which they offered for general peace, for the Church of God, for the emperor himself as the instrumental cause of so many blessings, and for his pious sons. I myself too, unworthy as I was of such a privilege, pronounced various public orations in honour of this solemnity, wherein I partly explained by a written description the details of the imperial edifice, and partly endeavored to gather from the prophetic visions apt illustrations of the symbols it displayed. Thus joyfully was the festival of dedication celebrated in the thirtieth year of our emperor's reign.

46 That Eusebius afterwards delivered his Description of the Church of the Saviour, and a Tricennial Oration before Constantine himself.

The structure of the church of our Saviour, the form of his sacred cave, the splendor of the work itself, and the numberless offerings in gold, and silver, and precious stones, I have described to the best of my ability, and dedicated to the emperor in a separate treatise, which on a fitting opportunity I shall append to this present work. I shall add to it also that oration on his Tricennalia which shortly afterwards, having traveled to the city which bears his name, I delivered in the emperor's own presence. This was the second opportunity afforded me of glorifying the Supreme God in the imperial palace itself: and on this occasion my pious hearer evinced the greatest joy, as he afterwards testified, when he entertained the bishops then present, and loaded them with distinctions of every kind.

47 That the Council at Nicæa was held in the Twentieth, the Dedication of the Church at Jerusalem in the Thirtieth, Year of Constantine's Reign.

This second synod the emperor convened at Jerusalem, being the greatest of which we have any knowledge, next to the first which he had summoned at the famous Bithynian city. That indeed was a triumphal assembly, held in the twentieth year of his reign, an occasion of thanksgiving for victory over his enemies in the very city which bears the name of victory. The present meeting added luster to the thirtieth anniversary, during which the emperor dedicated the church at the sepulchre of our Saviour, as a peace-offering to God, the giver of all good.

48 That Constantine was displeased with one who praised him excessively.

And now that all these ceremonies were completed, and the divine qualities of the emperor's character continued to be the theme of universal praise, one of God's ministers presumed so far as in his own presence to pronounce him blessed, as having been counted worthy to hold absolute and universal empire in this life, and as being destined to share the empire of the Son of God in the world to come. These words, however, Constantine heard with indignation, and forbade the speaker to hold such language, exhorting him rather to pray earnestly on his behalf, that whether in this life or in that which is to come, he might be found worthy to be a servant of God.

49 Marriage of his Son Constantius Caesar.

On the completion of the thirtieth year of his reign he solemnised the marriage of his second son, having concluded that of his first-born long before. This was an occasion of great joy and festivity, the emperor himself attending on his son at the ceremony, and entertaining the guests of both sexes, the men and women in distinct and separate companies, with sumptuous hospitality. Rich presents likewise were liberally distributed among the cities and people.

50 Embassy and Presents from the Indians.

About this time ambassadors from the Indians, who inhabit the distant regions of the East, arrived with presents consisting of many varieties of brilliant precious stones, and animals differing in species from those known to us. These offerings they presented to the emperor, thus allowing that his sovereignty extended even to the Indian Ocean, and that the princes of their country, who rendered homage to him both by paintings and statues, acknowledged his imperial and paramount authority. Thus the Eastern Indians now submitted to his sway, as the Britons of the Western Ocean had done at the commencement of his reign.

51 That Constantine divided the Empire between his Three Sons, whom he had instructed in Politics and Religion.

Having thus established his power in the opposite extremities of the world, he divided the whole extent of his dominions, as though he were allotting a patrimonial inheritance to the dearest objects of his regard, among his three sons. To the eldest he assigned his grandfather's portion; to the second, the empire of the East; to the third, the countries which lie between these two divisions. And being desirous of furnishing his children with an inheritance truly valuable and salutary to their souls, he had been careful to imbue them with true religious principles, being himself their guide to the knowledge of sacred things, and also appointing men of approved piety to be their instructors. At the same time he assigned them the most accomplished teachers of secular learning, by some of whom they were taught the arts of war, while they were trained by others in political, and by others again in legal science. To each moreover was granted a truly royal retinue, consisting of infantry, spearmen, and body guards, with every other kind of military force; commanded respectively by captains, tribunes, and generals of whose warlike skill and devotion to his sons the emperor had had previous experience.

52 That after they had reached Man's Estate he was their Guide in Piety.

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As long as the Caesars were of tender years, they were aided by suitable advisers in the management of public affairs; but on their arrival at the age of manhood their father's instructions alone sufficed. When present he proposed to them his own example, and admonished them to follow his pious course: in their absence he furnished them by letter with rules of conduct suited to their imperial station, the first and greatest of which was an exhortation to value the knowledge and worship of the Sovereign Lord of all more than wealth, nay, more than empire itself. At length he permitted them to direct the public administration of the empire without control, making it his first request that they would care for the interests of the Church of God, and boldly profess themselves disciples of Christ. Thus trained, and excited to obedience not so much by precept as by their own voluntary desire for virtue, his sons more than fulfilled the admonitions of their father, devoting their earnest attention to the service of God, and observing the ordinances of the Church even in the palace itself, with all the members of their households. For their father's forethought had provided that all the attendants of his son's should be Christians. And not only so, but the military officers of highest rank, and those who had the control of public business, were professors of the same faith: for the emperor placed confidence in the fidelity of men devoted to the service of God, as in a strong and sure defense. When our thrice blessed prince had completed these arrangements, and thus secured order and tranquillity throughout the empire, God, the dispenser of all blessings, judged it to be the fitting time to translate him to a better inheritance, and summoned him to pay the debt of nature.

53 Having reigned about Thirty-Two Years, and lived above Sixty, he still had a Sound Body.

He completed the time of his reign in two and thirty years, wanting a few months and days, and his whole life extended to about twice that period. At this age he still possessed a sound and vigorous body, free from all blemish, and of more than youthful vivacity; a noble mien, and strength equal to any exertion; so that he was able to join in martial exercises, to ride, endure the fatigues of travel, engage in battle, and erect trophies over his conquered enemies, besides gaining those bloodless victories by which he was wont to triumph over those who opposed him.

54. Of those who abused His Extreme Benevolence for Avarice and Hypocrisy.

In like manner his mental qualities reached the highest point of human perfection. Indeed he was distinguished by every excellence of character, but especially by benevolence; a virtue, however, which subjected him to censure from many, in consequence of the baseness of wicked men, who ascribed their own crimes to the emperor's forbearance. In truth I can myself bear testimony to the grievous evils which prevailed during these times; I mean the violence of rapacious and unprincipled men, who preyed on all classes of society alike, and the scandalous hypocrisy of those who crept into the Church, and assumed the name and character of Christians. His own benevolence and goodness of heart, the genuineness of his own faith, and his truthfulness of character, induced the emperor to credit the profession of these reputed Christians, who craftily preserved the semblance of sincere affection for his person. The confidence he reposed in such men sometimes forced him into conduct unworthy of himself, of which envy took advantage to cloud in this respect the luster of his character.

55 Constantine employed himself in Composition of Various Kinds to the Close of his Life.

These offenders, however, were soon over-taken by divine chastisement. To return to our emperor. He had so thoroughly trained his mind in the art of reasoning that he continued to the last to compose discourses on various subjects, to deliver frequent orations in public, and to instruct his hearers in the sacred doctrines of religion. He was also habitually engaged in legislating both on political and military questions; in short, in devising whatever might be conducive to the general welfare of the human race. It is well worthy of remark, that, very shortly before his departure, he pronounced a funeral oration before his usual auditory, in which he spoke at length on the immortality of the soul, the state of those who had persevered in a life of godliness, and the blessings which God has laid up in store for them that love him. On the other hand he made it appear by copious and conclusive arguments what the end of those will be who have pursued a contrary career, describing in vivid language the final ruin of the ungodly. His powerful testimony on these subjects seemed so far to touch the consciences of those around him, that one of the self-imagined philosophers, of whom he asked his opinion of what he had heard, bore testimony to the truth of his words, and accorded a real, though reluctant, tribute of praise to the arguments by which he had exposed the worship of a plurality of gods. By converse such as this with his friends before his death, the emperor seemed as it were to smooth and prepare the way for his transition to a happier life.

56 How he took Bishops with him on an Expedition against the Persians, and took with him a Tent in the Form of a Church.

It is also worthy of record that about the time of which I am at present writing, the emperor, having heard of an insurrection of some barbarians in the East, observed that the conquest of this enemy was still in store for him, and resolved on an expedition against the Persians. Accordingly he proceeded at once to put his forces in motion, at the same time communicating his intended march to the bishops who happened to be at his court, some of whom he judged it right to take with him as companions, and as needful coadjutors in the service of God. They, on the other hand, cheerfully declared their willingness to follow in his train, disclaiming any desire to leave him, and engaging to battle with and for him by supplication to God on his behalf. Full of joy at this answer to his request, he unfolded to them his projected line of march; after which he caused a tent of great splendor, representing in shape the figure of a church, to be prepared for his own use in the approaching war. In this he intended to unite with the bishops in offering prayers to the God from whom all victory proceeds.

57 How he received an Embassy from the Persians and kept the Night Vigil with others at the Feast of Easter.

In the meanwhile the Persians, hearing of the emperor's warlike preparations, and not a little terrified at the prospect of an engagement with his forces, dispatched an embassy to pray for conditions of peace. These overtures the emperor, himself a sincere lover of peace, at once accepted, and readily entered on friendly relations with that people. At this time, the great festival of Easter was at hand; on which occasion he rendered the tribute of his prayers to God, and passed the night in watching with the rest.

58 Concerning the Building of a Church in Honour of the Apostles at Constantinople.

After this he proceeded to erect a church in memory of the apostles, in the city which bears his name. This building he carried to a vast height, and brilliantly decorated by encasing it from the foundation to the roof with marble slabs of various colors. He also formed the inner roof of finely fretted work, and overlaid it throughout with gold. The external covering, which protected the building from the rain, was of brass instead of tiles; and this too was splendidly and profusely adorned with gold, and reflected the sun's rays with a brilliancy which dazzled the distant beholder. The dome was entirely encompassed by a finely carved tracery, wrought in brass and gold.

59 Farther Description of the same Church.

Such was the magnificence with which the emperor was pleased to beautify this church. The building was surrounded by an open area of great extent, the four sides of which were terminated by porticos which enclosed the area and the church itself. Adjoining these porticos were ranges of stately chambers, with baths and promenades, and besides many apartments adapted to the use of those who had charge of the place.

60 He also erected his own Sepulchral Monument in this Church.

All these edifices the emperor consecrated with the desire of perpetuating the memory of the apostles of our Saviour. He had, however, another object in erecting this building: an object at first unknown, but which afterwards became evident to all. He had in fact made choice of this spot in the prospect of his own death, anticipating with extraordinary fervor of faith that his body would share their title with the apostles themselves, and that he should thus even after death become the subject, with them, of the devotions which should be performed to their honour in this place. He accordingly caused twelve coffins to be set up in this church, like sacred pillars in honour and memory of the apostolic number, in the center of which his own was placed, having six of theirs on either side of it. Thus, as I said, he had provided with prudent foresight an honourable resting-place for his body after death, and, having long before secretly formed this resolution, he now consecrated this church to the apostles, believing that this tribute to their memory would be of no small advantage to his own soul. Nor did God disappoint him of that which he so ardently expected and desired. For after he had completed the first services of the feast of Easter, and had passed this sacred day of our Lord in a manner which made it an occasion of joy and gladness to himself and to all; the God through whose aid he performed all these acts, and whose zealous servant he continued to be even to the end of life, was pleased at a happy time to translate him to a better life.

61 His Sickness at Helenopolis, and Prayers respecting his Baptism.

At first he experienced some slight bodily indisposition, which was soon followed by positive disease. In consequence of this he visited the hot baths of his own city; and thence proceeded to that which bore the name of his mother. Here he passed some time in the church of the martyrs, and offered up supplications and prayers to God. Being at length convinced that his life was drawing to a close, he felt the time had come at which he should seek purification from sins of his past career, firmly believing that whatever errors he had committed as a mortal man, his soul would be purified from them through the efficacy of the mystical words and the salutary waters of baptism. Impressed with these thoughts, he poured forth his supplications and confessions to God, kneeling on the pavement in the church itself, in which he also now for the first time received the imposition of hands with prayer. After this he proceeded as far as the suburbs of Nicomedia, and there, having summoned the bishops to meet him, addressed them in the following words.

62 Constantine's Appeal to the Bishops, requesting them to confer upon him the Rite of Baptism: "The time is arrived which I have long hoped for, with an earnest desire and prayer that I might obtain the salvation of God. The hour has come in which I too may have the blessing of that seal which confers immortality; the hour in which I may receive the seal of salvation. I had thought to do this in the waters of the river Jordan, wherein our Saviour, for our example, is recorded to have been baptised: but God, who knows what is expedient for us, is pleased that I should receive this blessing here. Be it so, then, without delay: for should it be his will who is Lord of life and death, that my existence here should be prolonged, and should I be destined henceforth to associate with the people of God, and unite with them in prayer as a member of his Church, I will prescribe to myself from this time such a course of life as befits his service." After he had thus spoken, the prelates performed the sacred ceremonies in the usual manner, and, having given him the necessary instructions, made him a partaker of the mystic ordinance. Thus was Constantine the first of all sovereigns who was regenerated and perfected in a church dedicated to the martyrs of Christ; thus gifted with the Divine seal of baptism, he rejoiced in spirit, was renewed, and filled with heavenly light: his soul was gladdened by reason of the fervency of his faith, and astonished at the manifestation of the power of God. At the conclusion of the ceremony he arrayed himself in shining imperial vestments, brilliant as the light, and reclined on a couch of the purest white, refusing to clothe himself with the purple any more.

63 How after his Baptism he rendered Thanks to God.

He then lifted his voice and poured forth a strain of thanksgiving to God; after which he added these words. "Now I know that I am truly blessed: now I feel assured that I am accounted worthy of immortality, and am made a partaker of Divine light." He further expressed his compassion for the unhappy condition of those who were strangers to such blessings as he enjoyed: and when the tribunes and generals of his army appeared in his presence with lamentations and tears at the prospect of their bereavement, and with prayers that his days might yet be prolonged, he assured them in reply that he was now in possession of true life; that none but himself could know the value of the blessings he had received; so that he was anxious rather to hasten than to defer his departure to God. He then proceeded to complete the needful arrangement of his affairs, bequeathing an annual donation to the Roman inhabitants of his imperial city; apportioning the inheritance of the empire, like a patrimonial estate, among his own children; in short, making every disposition according to his own pleasure.

64 Constantine's Death at Noon on the Feast of Pentecost.

All these events occurred during a most important festival, I mean the august and holy solemnity of Pentecost, which is distinguished by a period of seven weeks, and sealed with that one day on which the holy Scriptures attest, the ascension of our common Saviour into heaven, and the descent of the Holy Spirit among men. In the course of this feast the emperor received the privileges I have described; and on the last day of all, which one might justly call the feast of feasts, he was removed about mid-day to the presence of his God, leaving his mortal remains to his fellow mortals, and carrying into fellowship with God that part of his being which was capable of understanding and loving him. Such was the close of Constantine's mortal life. Let us now attend to the circumstances which followed this event.

65 Lamentations of the Soldiery and their Officers.

Immediately the assembled spearmen and bodyguard rent their garments, and prostrated themselves on the ground, striking their heads, and uttering lamentations and cries of sorrow, calling on their imperial lord and master, or rather, like true children, on their father, while their tribunes and centurions addressed him as their preserver, protector, and benefactor. The rest of the soldiery also came in respectful order to mourn as a flock the removal of their good shepherd. The people meanwhile ran wildly throughout the city, some expressing the inward sorrow of their hearts by loud cries, others appearing confounded with grief: each mourning the event as a calamity which had befallen himself, and bewailing his death as though they felt themselves bereft of a blessing common alike to all.

66 Removal of the Body from Nicomedia to the Palace at Constantinople.

After this the soldiers lifted the body from its couch, and laid it in a golden coffin, which they enveloped in a covering of purple, and removed to the city which was called by his

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own name. Here it was placed in an elevated position in the principal chamber of the imperial palace, and surrounded by candles burning in candlesticks of gold, presenting a marvelous spectacle, and such as no one under the light of the sun had ever seen on earth since the world itself began. For in the central apartment of the imperial palace, the body of the emperor lay in its elevated resting-place, arrayed in the symbols of sovereignty, the diadem and purple robe, and encircled by a numerous retinue of attendants, who watched around it incessantly night and day.

67 He received the same Honours from the Counts and other Officers as before his Death.

The military officers, too, of the highest rank, the counts, and the whole order of magistrates, who had been accustomed to do obeisance to their emperor before, continued to fulfill this duty without any change, even after his death entering the chamber at the appointed times, and saluting their coffined sovereign with bended knee, as though he were still alive. After them the senators appeared, and all who had been distinguished by any honourable office, and rendered the same homage. These were followed by multitudes of every rank, who came with their wives and children to witness the spectacle. These honours continued to be rendered for a considerable time, the soldiers having resolved thus to guard the body until his sons should arrive, and take on themselves the conduct of their father's funeral. No mortal had ever, like this blessed prince, continued to reign even after death, and to receive the same homage as during his life: he only, of all who have ever lived, obtained this reward from God: a suitable reward, since he alone of all sovereigns had in all his actions honoured the Supreme God and his Christ, and God himself accordingly was pleased that even his mortal remains should still retain imperial authority among men; thus indicating to all who were not utterly devoid of understanding the immortal and endless empire which his soul was destined to enjoy. This was the course of events here.

68 Resolution of the Army to confer thence-forward the Title of Augustus on his Sons.

Meanwhile the tribunes selected from the troops under their command those officers whose fidelity and zeal had long been known to the emperor, and dispatched them to the Caesars with intelligence of the late event. This service they accordingly performed. As soon, however, as the soldiery throughout the provinces received the tidings of the emperor's decease, they all, as if by a supernatural impulse, resolved with one consent, as though their great emperor had been yet alive, to acknowledge none other than his sons as sovereigns of the Roman world: and these they soon after determined should no longer retain the name of Caesar, but should each be honoured with the title of Augustus, a name which indicates the highest supremacy of imperial power. Such were the measures adopted by the army; and these resolutions they communicated to each other by letter, so that the unanimous desire of the legions became known at the same point of time throughout the whole extent of the empire.

69 Mourning for Constantine at Rome; and the Honour paid him there through Paintings after his Death.

On the arrival of the news of the emperor's death in the imperial city, the Roman senate and people felt the announcement as the heaviest and most afflictive of all calamities, and gave themselves up to an excess of grief. The baths and markets were closed, the public spectacles, and all other recreations in which men of leisure are accustomed to indulge, were interrupted. Those who had erewhile lived in luxurious ease, now walked the streets in gloomy sadness, while all united in blessing the name of the deceased, as the one who was dear to God, and truly worthy of the imperial dignity. Nor was their sorrow expressed only in words: they proceeded also to honour him, by the dedication of paintings to his memory, with the same respect as before his death. The design of these pictures embodied a representation of heaven itself, and depicted the emperor reposing in an ethereal mansion above the celestial vault. They too declared his sons alone to be emperors and Augusti, and begged with earnest entreaty that they might be permitted to receive the body of their emperor, and perform his obsequies in the imperial city.

70 His Burial by his Son Constantius at Constantinople.

Thus did they there testify their respect for the memory of him who had been honoured by God. The second of his sons, however, who had by this time arrived, proceeded to celebrate his father's funeral in the city which bears his name, himself heading the procession, which was preceded by detachments of soldiers in military array, and followed by vast multitudes, the body itself being surrounded by companies of spearmen and heavy armed infantry. On the arrival of the procession at the church dedicated to the apostles of our Saviour, the coffin was there entombed. Such honour did the youthful emperor Constantius render to his deceased parent, both by his presence, and by the due performance of this sacred ceremony.

71 Sacred Service in the Church of the Apostles on the Occasion of Constantine's Funeral.

As soon as [Constantius] had withdrawn himself with the military train, the ministers of God came forward, with the multitude and the whole congregation of the faithful, and performed the rites of Divine worship with prayer. At the same time the tribute of their praises was given to the character of this blessed prince, whose body rested on a lofty and conspicuous monument, and the whole multitude united with the priests of God in offering prayers for his soul, not without tears — nay, rather with much weeping; thus performing an office consonant with the desires of the pious deceased. In this respect also the favor of God was manifested to his servant, in that he not only bequeathed the succession of the empire to his own beloved sons, but that the earthly tabernacle of his thrice blessed soul, according to his own earnest wish, was permitted to share the monument of the apostles; was associated with the honour of their name, and with that of the people of God; was honoured by the performance of the sacred ordinances and mystic service; and enjoyed a participation in the prayers of the saints. Thus, too, he continued to possess imperial power even after death, controlling, as though with renovated life, a universal dominion, and retaining in his own name, as Victor, Maximus, Augustus, the sovereignty of the Roman world.

72 Of the Phœnix.

We cannot compare him with that bird of Egypt, the only one, as they say, of its kind, which dies, self-sacrificed, in the midst of aromatic perfumes, and, rising from its own ashes with new life, soars aloft in the same form which it had before. Rather did he resemble his Saviour, who, as the sown grain which is multiplied from a single grain, had yielded abundant increase through the blessing of God, and had overspread the whole world with his fruit. Even so did our thrice blessed prince become multiplied, as it were, through the succession of his sons. His statue was erected along with theirs in every province; and the name of Constantine was owned and honoured even after the close of his mortal life.

73 How Constantine is represented on Coins in the Act of ascending to Heaven.

A coinage was also struck which bore the following device. On one side appeared the figure of our blessed prince, with the head closely veiled: the reverse exhibited him sitting as a charioteer, drawn by four horses, with a hand stretched downward from above to receive him up to heaven.

74 The God whom he had honoured deservedly honoured him in Return.

Such are the proofs by which the Supreme God has made it manifest to us, in the person of Constantine, who alone of all sovereigns had openly professed the Christian faith, how great a difference he perceives between those whose privilege it is to worship him and his Christ, and those who have chosen the contrary part, who provoked his enmity by daring to assail his Church, and whose calamitous end, in every instance, afforded tokens of his displeasure, as manifestly as the death of Constantine conveyed to all men an evident assurance of his Divine love.

75 He surpassed all Preceding Emperors in Devotion to God.

Standing, as he did, alone and pre-eminent among the Roman emperors as a worshiper of God; alone as the bold proclaimer to all men of the doctrine of Christ; having alone rendered honour, as none before him had ever done, to his Church; having alone abolished utterly the error of polytheism, and discountenanced idolatry in every form: so, alone among them both during life and after death, was he accounted worthy of such honours as none can say have been attained to by any other; so that no one, whether Greek or Barbarian, nay, of the ancient Romans themselves, has ever been presented to us as worthy of comparison with him.

ATHANASIUS' HISTORY OF THE ARIANS

by Athanasius of Alexandria
Nicene an Post-Nicene Fathers, Philip Schaff 1893
Translation: Anonymus
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(Athanasius of Alexandria (c. 296/298–373 AD.), also called Athanasius the Great, Athanasius the Confessor or, primarily in the Coptic Orthodox Church, Athanasius the Apostolic, was the 20th bishop of Alexandria (as Athanasius I). Athanasius was a Christian theologian, the chief defender of Trinitarianism against Arianism, and a noted Egyptian leader of the fourth century.)

ATHANASIUS HISTORY OF THE ARIANS, PART 1

1. Arian Persecution Under Constantine

And not long after they put in execution the designs for the sake of which they had had recourse to these artifices; for they no sooner had formed their plans, but they immediately admitted Arius and his fellows to communion. They set aside the repeated condemnations which had been passed upon them, and again pretended the imperial authority in their behalf. And they were not ashamed to say in their letters, 'since Athanasius suffered, all jealousy has ceased, and let us henceforward receive Arius and his fellows;' adding, in order to frighten their hearers, 'because the Emperor has commanded it.' Moreover, they were not ashamed to add, 'for these men profess orthodox opinions;' not fearing that which is written, 'Woe unto them that call bitter sweet, that put darkness for light Isaiah 5:20;' for they are ready to undertake anything in support of their heresy. Now is it not hereby plainly proved to all men, that we both suffered heretofore, and that you now persecute us, not under the authority of an Ecclesiastical sentence , but on the ground of the Emperor's threats, and on account of our piety towards Christ? As also they conspired in like manner against other Bishops, fabricating charges against them also; some of whom fell asleep in the place of their exile, having attained the glory of Christian confession; and others are still banished from their country, and contend still more and more manfully against their heresy, saying, 'Nothing shall separate us from the love of Christ Romans 8:35?'

2. Arianssacrifice morality and integrity to party

And hence also you may discern its character, and be able to condemn it more confidently. The man who is their friend and their associate in impiety, although he is open to ten thousand charges for other enormities which he has committed; although the evidence and proof against him are most clear; he is approved of by them, and straightway becomes the friend of the Emperor, obtaining an introduction by his impiety; and making very many pretences, he acquires confidence before the magistrates to do whatever he desires. But he who exposes their impiety, and honestly advocates the cause of Christ, though he is pure in all things, though he is conscious of no delinquencies, though he meets with no accuser; yet on the false pretences which they have framed against him, is immediately seized and sent into banishment under a sentence of the Emperor, as if he were guilty of the crimes which they wish to charge upon him, or as if, like Naboth, he had insulted the King; while he who advocates the cause of their heresy is sought for and immediately sent to take possession of the other's Church; and henceforth confiscations and insults, and all kinds of cruelty are exercised against those who do not receive him. And what is the strangest of all, the man whom the people desire, and know to be blameless 1 Timothy 3:2, the Emperor takes away and banishes; but him whom they neither desire, nor know, he sends to them from a distant place with soldiers and letters from himself. And henceforward a strong necessity is laid upon them, either to hate him whom they love; who has been their teacher, and their father in godliness; and to love him whom they do not desire, and to trust their children to one of whose life and conversation and character they are ignorant; or else certainly to suffer punishment, if they disobey the Emperor.

3. Recklessness of their proceedings

In this manner the impious are now proceeding, as heretofore, against the orthodox; giving proof of their malice and impiety among all men everywhere. For granting that they have accused Athanasius; yet what have the other Bishops done? On what grounds can they charge them? Has there been found in their case too the dead body of an Arsenius? Is there a Presbyter Macarius, or has a cup been broken among them? Is there a Meletian to play the hypocrite? No: but as their proceedings against the other Bishops show the charges which they have brought against Athanasius, in all probability, to be false; so their attacks upon Athanasius make it plain, that their accusations of the other Bishops are unfounded likewise. This heresy has come forth upon the earth like some great monster, which not only injures the innocent with its words, as with teeth ; but it has also hired external power to assist it in its designs. And strange it is that, as I said before, no accusation is brought against any of them; or if any be accused, he is not brought to trial; or if a show of enquiry be made, he is acquitted against evidence, while the convicting party is plotted against, rather than the culprit put to shame. Thus the whole party of them is full of idleness; and their spies, for Bishops they are not, are the vilest of them all. And if any one among them desire to become a Bishop, he is not told, 'a Bishop must be blameless 1 Timothy 3:2;' but only, 'Take up opinions contrary to Christ, and care not for manners. This will be sufficient to obtain favour for you, and friendship with the Emperor.' Such is the character of those who support the tenets of Arius. And they who are zealous for the truth, however holy and pure they show themselves, are yet, as I said before, made culprits, whenever these men choose, and on whatever pretences it may seem good to them to invent. The truth of this, as I before remarked, you may clearly gather from their proceedings.

4. Ariansperse cute Eustathius and others

There was one Eustathius , Bishop of Antioch, a Confessor, and sound in the Faith. This man, because he was very zealous for the truth, and hated the Arian heresy, and would not receive those who adopted its tenets, is falsely accused before the Emperor Constantine, and a charge invented against him, that he had insulted his mother. And immediately he is driven into banishment, and a great number of Presbyters and Deacons with him. And immediately after the banishment of the Bishop, those whom he would not admit into the clerical order on account of their impiety were not only received into the Church by them, but were even appointed the greater part of them to be Bishops, in order that they might have

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accomplices in their impiety. Among these was Leontius the eunuch , now of Antioch, and his predecessor Stephanus, George of Laodicea, and Theodosius who was of Tripolis, Eudoxius of Germanicia, and Eustathius , now of Sebastia.

5. Did they then stop here? No. For Eutropius , who was Bishop of Adrianople, a good man, and excellent in all respects, because he had often convicted Eusebius, and had advised them who came that way, not to comply with his impious dictates, suffered the same treatment as Eustathius, and was cast out of his city and his Church. Basilina was the most active in the proceedings against him. And Euphration of Balanea, Kymatius of Paltus, Carterius of Antaradus , Asclepas of Gaza, Cyrus of Berœa in Syria, Diodorus of Asia, Domnion of Sirmium, and Ellanicus of Tripolis, were merely known to hate the heresy; and some of them on one pretence or another, some without any, they removed under the authority of royal letters, drove them out of their cities, and appointed others whom they knew to be impious men, to occupy the Churches in their stead.

6. Case of Marcellus

Of Marcellus , the Bishop of Galatia, it is perhaps superfluous for me to speak; for all men have heard how Eusebius and his fellows, who had been first accused by him of impiety, brought a counter-accusation against him, and caused the old man to be banished. He went up to Rome, and there made his defense, and being required by them, he offered a written declaration of his faith, of which the Council of Sardica approved. But Eusebius and his fellows made no defense, nor, when they were convicted of impiety out of their writings, were they put to shame, but rather assumed greater boldness against all. For they had an introduction to the Emperor from the women , and were formidable to all men.

7. Martyrdom of Paul of Constantinople

And I suppose no one is ignorant of the case of Paul , Bishop of Constantinople; for the more illustrious any city is, so much the more that which takes place in it is not concealed. A charge was fabricated against him also. For Macedonius his accuser, who has now become Bishop in his stead (I was present myself at the accusation), afterwards held communion with him, and was a Presbyter under Paul himself. And yet when Eusebius with an evil eye wished to seize upon the Bishopric of that city (he had been translated in the same manner from Berytus to Nicomedia), the charge was revived against Paul; and they did not give up their plot, but persisted in the calumny. And he was banished first into Pontus by Constantine, and a second time by Constantius he was sent bound with iron chains to Singara in Mesopotamia, and from thence transferred to Emesa, and a fourth time he was banished to Cucusus in Cappadocia, near the deserts of Mount Taurus; where, as those who were with him have declared, he died by strangulation at their hands. And yet these men who never speak the truth, though guilty of this, were not ashamed after his death to invent another story, representing that he had died from illness; although all who live in that place know the circumstances. And even Philagrius , who was then Deputy-Governor of those parts, and represented all their proceedings in such manner as they desired, was yet astonished at this; and being grieved perhaps that another, and not himself, had done the evil deed, he informed Serapion the Bishop, as well as many other of our friends, that Paul was shut up by them in a very confined and dark place, and left to perish of hunger; and when after six days they went in and found him still alive, they immediately set upon the man, and strangled him. This was the end of his life; and they said that Philip who was Prefect was their agent in the perpetration of this murder. Divine Justice, however, did not overlook this; for not a year passed, when Philip was deprived of his office in great disgrace, so that being reduced to a private station, he became the mockery of those whom he least desired to be the witnesses of his fall. For in extreme distress of mind, groaning and trembling like Cain , and expecting every day that some one would destroy him, far from his country and his friends, he died, like one astounded at his misfortunes, in a manner that he least desired. Moreover these men spare not even after death those against whom they have invented charges while living. They are so eager to show themselves formidable to all, that they banish the living, and show no mercy on the dead; but alone of all the world they manifest their hatred to them that are departed, and conspire against their friends, truly inhuman as they are, and haters of that which is good, savage in temper beyond mere enemies, in behalf of their impiety, who eagerly plot the ruin of me and of all the rest, with no regard to truth, but by false charges.

8. Restoration of the Catholics

Perceiving this to be the case, the three brothers, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans, caused all after the death of their father to return to their own country and Church; and while they wrote letters concerning the rest to their respective Churches, concerning Athanasius they wrote the following; which likewise shows the violence of the whole proceedings, and proves the murderous disposition of Eusebius and his fellows.

A copy of the Letter of Constantine Caesar to the people of the Catholic Church in the city of the Alexandrians.

I suppose that it has not escaped the knowledge of your pious minds , etc.

This is his letter; and what more credible witness of their conspiracy could there be than he, who knowing these circumstances has thus written of them?

ATHANASIUS HISTORY OF THE ARIANS, PART 2

9. First Arian Persecution under Constantius

Eusebius and his fellows, however, seeing the declension of their heresy, wrote to Rome, as well as to the Emperors Constantine and Constans, to accuse Athanasius: but when the persons who were sent by Athanasius disproved the statements which they had written, they were put to shame by the Emperors; and Julius, Bishop of Rome, wrote to say that a Council ought to be held, wherever we should desire, in order that they might exhibit the charges which they had to make, and might also freely defend themselves concerning those things of which they too were accused. The Presbyters also who were sent by them, when they saw themselves making an exposure, requested that this might be done. Whereupon these men, whose conduct is suspicious in all that they do, when they see that they are not likely to get the better in an Ecclesiastical trial, betake themselves to Constantius alone, and thenceforth bewail themselves, as to the patron of their heresy. 'Spare,' they say, 'the heresy; you see that all men have withdrawn from us; and very few of us are now left. Begin to persecute, for we are being deserted even of those few, and are left destitute. Those persons whom we forced over to our side, when these men were banished, they now by their return have persuaded again to take part against us. Write letters therefore against them all, and send out Philagrius a second time as Prefect of Egypt, for he is able to carry on a persecution favourably for us, as he has already shown upon trial, and the more so, as he is an apostate. Send also Gregory as Bishop to Alexandria, for he too is able to strengthen our heresy.'

10. Violent Intrusion of Gregory

Accordingly Constantius at once writes letters, and commences a persecution against all, and sends Philagrius as Prefect with one Arsacius an eunuch; he sends also Gregory with a military force. And the same consequences followed as before. For gathering together a multitude of herdsmen and shepherds, and other dissolute youths belonging to the town, armed with swords and clubs, they attacked in a body the Church which is called the Church of Quirinus ; and some they slew, some they trampled under foot, others they beat with stripes and cast into prison or banished. They haled away many women also, and dragged them openly into the court, and insulted them, dragging them by the hair. Some they proscribed; from some they took away their bread for no other reason, but that they might be induced to join the Arians, and receive Gregory, who had been sent by the Emperor.

11. The Easterns decline the Council at Rome

Athanasius, however, before these things happened , at the first report of their proceedings, sailed to Rome, knowing the rage of the heretics, and for the purpose of having the Council held as had been determined. And Julius wrote letters to them, and sent the Presbyters Elpidius and Philoxenus, appointing a day , that they might either come, or consider themselves as altogether suspected persons. But as soon as Eusebius and his fellows heard that the trial was to be an Ecclesiastical one, at which no Count would be present, nor soldiers stationed before the doors, and that the proceedings would not be regulated by royal order (for they have always depended upon these things to support them against the Bishops, and without them they have no boldness even to speak); they were so alarmed that they detained the Presbyters till after the appointed time, and pretended an unseemly excuse, that they were not able to come now on account of the war which was begun by the Persians. But this was not the true cause of their delay, but the fears of their own consciences. For what have Bishops to do with war? Or if they were unable on account of the Persians to come to Rome, although it is at a distance and beyond sea, why did they like lions 1 Peter 5:8 go about the parts of the East and those which are near the Persians, seeking who was opposed to them, that they might falsely accuse and banish them?

12. At any rate, when they had dismissed the Presbyters with this improbable excuse, they said to one another, 'Since we are unable to get the advantage in an Ecclesiastical trial, let us exhibit our usual audacity.' Accordingly they write to Philagrius, and cause him after a while to go out with Gregory into Egypt. Whereupon the Bishops are severely scourged and cast into chains. Sarapammon, for instance, Bishop and Confessor, they drive into banishment; Potammon, Bishop and Confessor, who had lost an eye in the persecution, they beat with stripes on the neck so cruelly, that he appeared to be dead before they came to an end. In which condition he was cast aside, and hardly after some hours, being carefully attended and fanned, he revived, God granting him his life; but a short time after he died of the sufferings caused by the stripes, and attained in Christ to the glory of a second martyrdom. And besides these, how many monks were scourged, while Gregory sat by with Balacius the 'Duke!' how many Bishops were wounded! How many virgins were beaten!

13. Cruelties of Gregory at Alexandria

After this the wretched Gregory called upon all men to have communion with him. But if you demanded of them communion, they were not worthy of stripes: and if you scourged them as if evil persons, why did you ask it of them as if holy? But he had no other end in view, except to fulfil the designs of them that sent him, and to establish the heresy. Wherefore he became in his folly a murderer and an executioner, injurious, crafty, and profane; in one word, an enemy of Christ. He so cruelly persecuted the Bishop's aunt, that even when she died he would not allow her to be buried. And this would have been her lot; she would have been cast away without burial, had not they who attended on the corpse carried her out as one of their own kindred. Thus even in such things he showed his profane temper. And again when the widows and other mendicants had received alms, he commanded what had been given them to be seized, and the vessels in which they carried their oil and wine to be broken, that he might not only show impiety by robbery, but in his deeds dishonour the Lord; from whom very shortly he will hear those words, 'Inasmuch as you have dishonoured these, you have dishonoured Me. '

14. Profaneness of Gregory and death of Balacius

And many other things he did, which exceed the power of language to describe, and which whoever should hear would think to be incredible. And the reason why he acted thus was, because he had not received his ordination according to ecclesiastical rule, nor had been called to be a Bishop by apostolic tradition ; but had been sent out from court with military power and pomp, as one entrusted with a secular government. Wherefore he boasted rather to be the friend of Governors, than of Bishops and Monks. Whenever, therefore, our Father Antony wrote to him from the mountains, as godliness is an abomination to a sinner, so he abhorred the letters of the holy man. But whenever the Emperor, or a General, or other magistrate, sent him a letter, he was as much overjoyed as those in the Proverbs, of whom the Word has said indignantly, 'Woe unto them who leave the path of uprightness who rejoice to do evil, and delight in the frowardness of the wicked.' And so he honoured with presents the bearers of these letters; but once when Antony wrote to him he caused Duke Balacius to spit upon the letter, and to cast it from him. But Divine Justice did not overlook this; for no long time after, when the Duke was on horseback, and on his way to the first halt , the horse turned his head, and biting him on the thigh, threw him off; and within three days he died.

ATHANASIUS HISTORY OF THE ARIANS, PART 3

15. Restoration of the Catholics on the Council of Sardica

While they were proceeding in like measures towards all, at Rome about fifty Bishops assembled , and denounced Eusebius and his fellows as persons suspected, afraid to come, and also condemned as unworthy of credit the written statement they had sent; but us they received, and gladly embraced our communion. While these things were taking place, a report of the Council held at Rome, and of the proceedings against the Churches at Alexandria, and through all the East, came to the hearing of the Emperor Constans. He writes to his brother Constantius, and immediately they both determine that a Council shall be called, and matters be brought to a settlement, so that those who had been injured may be released from further suffering, and the injurious be no longer able to perpetrate such outrages. Accordingly there assemble at the city of Sardica both from the East and West to the number of one hundred and seventy Bishops , more or less; those who came from the West were Bishops only, having Hosius for their father, but those from the East brought with them instructors of youth and advocates, Count Musonianus, and Hesychius the Castrensian; on whose account they came with great alacrity, thinking that everything would be again managed by their authority. For thus by means of these persons they have always shown themselves formidable to any whom they wished to intimidate, and have prosecuted their designs against whomsoever they chose. But when they arrived and saw that the cause was to be conducted as simply an ecclesiastical one, without the interference of the Count or of soldiers; when they saw the accusers who came from every church and city, and the evidence which was brought against them, when they saw the venerable Bishops Arius and Asterius , who came up in their company, withdrawing from them and siding with us , and giving an account of their cunning, and how suspicious their conduct was, and that they were fearing the consequences of a trial, lest they should be convicted by us of being false informers, and it should be discovered by those whom they produced in the character of accusers, that they had themselves suggested all they were to say, and were the contrivers of the plot. Perceiving this to be the case, although they had come with great zeal, as thinking that we should be afraid to meet them, yet now when they saw our alacrity, they shut themselves up in the Palace (for they

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had their abode there), and proceeded to confer with one another in the following manner: 'We came hither for one result; and we see another; we arrived in company with Counts, and the trial is proceeding without them. We are certainly condemned. You all know the orders that have been given. Athanasius and his fellows have the reports of the proceedings in the Mareotis , by which he is cleared, and we are covered with disgrace. Why then do we delay? Why are we so slow? Let us invent some excuse and be gone, or we shall be condemned if we remain. It is better to suffer the shame of fleeing, than the disgrace of being convicted as false accusers. If we flee, we shall find some means of defending our heresy; and even if they condemn us for our flight, still we have the Emperor as our patron, who will not suffer the people to expel us from the Churches.'

16. Secession of the Easterns at Sardica

Thus then they reasoned with themselves and Hosius and all the other Bishops repeatedly signified to them the alacrity of Athanasius and his fellows, saying, 'They are ready with their defense, and pledge themselves to prove you false accusers.' They said also, 'If you fear the trial, why did you come to meet us? Either you ought not to have come, or now that you have come, not to flee.' When they heard this, being still more alarmed, they had recourse to an excuse even more unseemly than that they pretended at Antioch, viz. that they betook themselves to flight because the Emperor had written to them the news of his victory over the Persians. And this excuse they were not ashamed to send by Eustathius a Presbyter of the Sardican Church. But even thus their flight did not succeed according to their wishes; for immediately the holy Council, of which the great Hosius was president, wrote to them plainly, saying, 'Either come forward and answer the charges which are brought against you, for the false accusations which you have made against others, or know that the Council will condemn you as guilty, and declare Athanasius and his fellows free and clear from all blame.' Whereupon they were rather impelled to flight by the alarms of conscience, than to compliance with the proposals of the letter; for when they saw those who had been injured by them, they did not even turn their faces to listen to their words, but fled with greater speed.

17. Proceedings of the Council of Sardica

Under these disgraceful and unseemly circumstances their flight took place. And the holy Council, which had been assembled out of more than five and thirty provinces, perceiving the malice of the Arians, admitted Athanasius and his fellows to answer to the charges which the others had brought against them, and to declare the sufferings which they had undergone. And when they had thus made their defense, as we said before, they approved and so highly admired their conduct that they gladly embraced their communion, and wrote letters to all quarters, to the diocese of each, and especially to Alexandria and Egypt, and the Libyas, declaring Athanasius and his friends to be innocent, and free from all blame, and their opponents to be calumniators, evil-doers, and everything rather than Christians. Accordingly they dismissed them in peace; but deposed Stephanus and Menophantus, Acacius and George of Laodicea, Ursacius and Valens, Theodorus and Narcissus. For against Gregory, who had been sent to Alexandria by the Emperor, they put forth a proclamation to the effect that he had never been made a Bishop, and that he ought not to be called a Christian. They therefore declared the ordinations which he professed to have conferred to be void, and commanded that they should not be even named in the Church, on account of their novel and illegal nature. Thus Athanasius and his friends were dismissed in peace (the letters concerning them are inserted at the end on account of their length), and the Council was dissolved.

18. ArianPersecution after Sardica

But the deposed persons, who ought now to have remained quiet, with those who had separated after so disgraceful a flight, were guilty of such conduct, that their former proceedings appear trifling in comparison of these. For when the people of Adrianople would not have communion with them, as men who had fled from the Council, and had proved culprits, they carried their complaints to the Emperor Constantius, and succeeded in causing ten of the laity to be beheaded, belonging to the Manufactory of arms there, Philagrius, who was there again as Count, assisting their designs in this matter also. The tombs of these persons, which we have seen in passing by, are in front of the city. Then as if they had been quite successful, because they had fled lest they should be convicted of false accusation, they prevailed with the Emperor to command whatsoever they wished to be done. Thus they caused two Presbyters and three Deacons to be banished from Alexandria into Armenia. As to Arius and Asterius, the one Bishop of Petræ in Palestine, the other Bishop in Arabia, who had withdrawn from their party, they not only banished into upper Libya, but also caused them to be treated with insult.

19. Tyrannical measures against the Alexandrians

And as to Lucius , Bishop of Adrianople, when they saw that he used great boldness of speech against them, and exposed their impiety, they again, as they had done before, caused him to be bound with iron chains on the neck and hands, and so drove him into banishment, where he died, as they know. And Diodorus a Bishop they remove; but against Olympius of Æni, and Theodulus of Trajanople , both Bishops of Thrace, good and orthodox men, when they perceived their hatred of the heresy, they brought false charges. This Eusebius and his fellows had done first of all, and the Emperor Constantius wrote letters on the subject; and next these men revived the accusation. The purport of the letter was, that they should not only be expelled from their cities and churches, but should also suffer capital punishment, wherever they were discovered. However surprising this conduct may be, it is only in accordance with their principles; for as being instructed by Eusebius and his fellows in such proceedings, and as heirs of their impiety and evil principles, they wished to show themselves formidable at Alexandria, as their fathers had done in Thrace. They caused an order to be written, that the ports and gates of the cities should be watched, lest availing themselves of the permission granted by the Council, the banished persons should return to their churches. They also cause orders to be sent to the magistrates at Alexandria, respecting Athanasius and certain Presbyters, named therein, that if either the Bishop , or any of the others, should be found coming to the city or its borders, the magistrate should have power to behead those who were so discovered. Thus this new Jewish heresy does not only deny the Lord, but has also learned to commit murder.

20. Plot against the Catholic Legates at Antioch

Yet even after this they did not rest; but as the father of their heresy goes about like a lion, seeking whom he may devour, so these obtaining the use of the public posts went about, and whenever they found any that reproached them with their flight, and that hated the Arian heresy, they scourged them, cast them into chains, and caused them to be banished from their country; and they rendered themselves so formidable, as to induce many to dissemble, many to fly into the deserts, rather than willingly even to have any dealings with them. Such were the enormities which their madness prompted them to commit after their flight. Moreover they perpetrate another outrageous act, which is indeed in accordance with the character of their heresy, but is such as we never heard of before, nor is likely soon to take place again, even among the more dissolute of the Gentiles, much less among Christians. The holy Council had sent as Legates the Bishops Vincentius of Capua (this is the Metropolis of Campania), and Euphrates of Agrippina (this is the Metropolis of Upper Gaul), that they might obtain the Emperor's consent to the decision of the Council, that the Bishops should return to their Churches, inasmuch as he was the author of their expulsion. The most religious Constans had also written to his brother , and supported the cause of the Bishops. But these admirable men, who are equal to any act of audacity, when they saw the two Legates at Antioch, consulted together and formed a plot, which Stephanus undertook by himself to execute, as being a suitable instrument for such purposes. Accordingly they hire a common harlot, even at the season of the most holy Easter, and stripping her introduce her by night into the apartment of the Bishop Euphrates. The harlot who thought that it was a young man who had sent to invite her, at first willingly accompanied them; but when they thrust her in, and she saw the man asleep and unconscious of what was going on, and when presently she distinguished his features, and beheld the face of an old man, and the array of a Bishop, she immediately cried aloud, and declared that violence was used towards her. They desired her to be silent, and to lay a false charge against the Bishop; and so when it was day, the matter was reported abroad, and all the city ran together; and those who came from the Palace were in great commotion, wondering at the report which had been spread abroad, and demanding that it should not be passed by in silence. An enquiry, therefore, was made, and her master gave information concerning those who came to fetch the harlot, and these informed against Stephanus; for they were his Clergy. Stephanus, therefore, is deposed , and Leontius the eunuch appointed in his place, only that the Arian heresy may not want a supporter.

21. Constantius' change of mind

And now the Emperor Constantius, feeling some compunctions, returned to himself; and concluding from their conduct towards Euphrates, that their attacks upon the others were of the same kind, he gives orders that the Presbyters and Deacons who had been banished from Alexandria into Armenia should immediately be released. He also writes publicly to Alexandria , commanding that the clergy and laity who were friends of Athanasius should suffer no further persecution. And when Gregory died about ten months after, he sends for Athanasius with every mark of honour, writing to him no less than three times a very friendly letter in which he exhorted him to take courage and come. He sends also a Presbyter and a Deacon, that he may be still further encouraged to return; for he thought that, through alarm at what had taken place before, I did not care to return. Moreover he writes to his brother Constans, that he also would exhort me to return. And he affirmed that he had been expecting Athanasius a whole year, and that he would not permit any change to be made, or any ordination to take place, as he was preserving the Churches for Athanasius their Bishop.

22. Athanasius visits Constantius

When therefore he wrote in this strain, and encouraged him by means of many (for he caused Polemius, Datianus, Bardion, Thalassus , Taurus , and Florentius, his Counts, in whom Athanasius could best confide, to write also): Athanasius committing the whole matter to God, who had stirred the conscience of Constantius to do this, came with his friends to him; and he gave him a favourable audience , and sent him away to go to his country and his Churches, writing at the same time to the magistrates in the several places, that whereas he had before commanded the ways to be guarded, they should now grant him a free passage. Then when the Bishop complained of the sufferings he had undergone, and of the letters which the Emperor had written against him, and besought him that the false accusations against him might not be revived by his enemies after his departure, saying , 'If you please, summon these persons; for as far as we are concerned they are at liberty to stand forth, and we will expose their conduct;' he would not do this, but commanded that whatever had been before slanderously written against him should all be destroyed and obliterated, affirming that he would never again listen to any such accusations, and that his purpose was fixed and unalterable. This he did not simply say, but sealed his words with oaths, calling upon God to be witness of them. And so encouraging him with many other words, and desiring him to be of good courage, he sends the following letters to the Bishops and Magistrates.

23. Constantius Augustus, the Great, the Conqueror, to the Bishops and Clergy of the Catholic Church.

The most Reverend Athanasius has not been deserted by the grace of God , etc.

Another Letter.

From Constantius to the people of Alexandria.

Desiring as we do your welfare in all respects , etc.

Another Letter.

Constantius Augustus, the Conqueror, to Nestorius, Prefect of Egypt.

It is well known that an order was heretofore given by us, and that certain documents are to be found prejudicial to the estimation of the most reverend Bishop Athanasius; and that these exist among the Orders of your worship. Now we desire your Sobriety, of which we have good proof, to transmit to our Court, in compliance with this our order, all the letters respecting the fore-mentioned person, which are found in your Order-book.

24. The following is the letter which he wrote after the death of the blessed Constans. It was written in Latin, and is here translated into Greek.

Constantius Augustus, the Conqueror, to Athanasius.

It is not unknown to your Prudence, that it was my constant prayer, that prosperity might attend my late brother Constans in all his undertakings; and your wisdom may therefore imagine how greatly I was afflicted when I learned that he had been taken off by most unhallowed hands. Now whereas there are certain persons who at the present truly mournful time are endeavouring to alarm you, I have therefore thought it right to address this letter to your Constancy, to exhort you that, as becomes a Bishop, you would teach the people those things which pertain to the divine religion, and that, as you are accustomed to do, you would employ your time in prayers together with them, and not give credit to vain rumours, whatever they may be. For our fixed determination is, that you should continue, agreeably to our desire, to perform the office of a Bishop in your own place. May Divine Providence preserve you, most beloved parent, many years.

25. Return of Athanasius from second exile

Under these circumstances, when they had at length taken their leave, and begun their journey, those who were friendly rejoiced to see a friend; but of the other party, some were confounded at the sight of him; others not having the confidence to appear, hid themselves; and others repented of what they had written against the Bishop. Thus all the Bishops of Palestine , except some two or three, and those men of suspected character, so willingly received Athanasius, and embraced communion with him, that they wrote to excuse themselves, on the ground that in what they had formerly written, they had acted, not according to their own wishes, but by compulsion. Of the Bishops of Egypt and the Libyan provinces, of the laity both of those countries and of Alexandria, it is superfluous for me to speak. They all ran together, and were possessed with unspeakable delight, that they had not only received their friends alive contrary to their hopes; but that they were also delivered from the heretics who were as tyrants and as raging dogs towards them. Accordingly great was their joy , the people in the congregations encouraging one another in virtue. How many unmarried women, who were before ready to enter upon marriage, now

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remained virgins to Christ! How many young men, seeing the examples of others, embraced the monastic life! How many fathers persuaded their children, and how many were urged by their children, not to be hindered from Christian asceticism! How many wives persuaded their husbands, and how many were persuaded by their husbands, to give themselves to prayer 1 Corinthians 7:5, as the Apostle has spoken! How many widows and how many orphans, who were before hungry and naked, now through the great zeal of the people, were no longer hungry, and went forth clothed! In a word, so great was their emulation in virtue, that you would have thought every family and every house a Church, by reason of the goodness of its inmates, and the prayers which were offered to God. And in the Churches there was a profound and wonderful peace, while the Bishops wrote from all quarters, and received from Athanasius the customary letters of peace.

26. Recantation of Ursacius and Valens

Moreover Ursacius and Valens, as if suffering the scourge of conscience, came to another mind, and wrote to the Bishop himself a friendly and peaceable letter , although they had received no communication from him. And going up to Rome they repented, and confessed that all their proceedings and assertions against him were founded in falsehood and mere calumny. And they not only voluntarily did this, but also anathematized the Arian heresy, and presented a written declaration of their repentance, addressing to the Bishop Julius the following letter in Latin, which has been translated into Greek. The copy was sent to us in Latin by Paul , Bishop of Treveri.

Translation from the Latin.

Ursacius and Valens to my Lord the most blessed Pope Julius.

Whereas it is well known that we , etc.

Translation from the Latin.

The Bishops Ursacius and Valens to my Lord and Brother, the Bishop Athanasius.

Having an opportunity of sending , etc.

After writing these, they also subscribed the letters of peace which were presented to them by Peter and Irenæus, Presbyters of Athanasius, and by Ammonius a layman, who were passing that way, although Athanasius had sent no communication to them even by these persons.

27. Triumph of Athanasius

Now who was not filled with admiration at witnessing these things, and the great peace that prevailed in the Churches? Who did not rejoice to see the concord of so many Bishops? Who did not glorify the Lord, beholding the delight of the people in their assemblies? How many enemies repented! How many excused themselves who had formerly accused him falsely! How many who formerly hated him, now showed affection for him! How many of those who had written against him, recanted their assertions? Many also who had sided with the Arians, not through choice but by necessity, came by night and excused themselves. They anathematized the heresy, and besought him to pardon them, because, although through the plots and calumnies of these men they appeared bodily on their side, yet in their hearts they held communion with Athanasius, and were always with him. Believe me, this is true.

ATHANASIUS HISTORY OF THE ARIANS, PART 4

28. Second ArianPersecution under Constantius

But the inheritors of the opinions and impiety of Eusebius and his fellows, the eunuch Leontius , who ought not to remain in communion even as a layman , because he mutilated himself that he might henceforward be at liberty to sleep with one Eustolium, who is a wife as far as he is concerned, but is called a virgin; and George and Acacius, and Theodorus, and Narcissus, who are deposed by the Council; when they heard and saw these things, were greatly ashamed. And when they perceived the unanimity and peace that existed between Athanasius and the Bishops (they were more than four hundred , from great Rome, and all Italy, from Calabria, Apulia, Campania, Bruttia, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and the whole of Africa; and those from Gaul, Britain, and Spain, with the great Confessor Hosius; and also those from Pannonia, Noricum, Siscia, Dalmatia, Dardania, Dacia, Mœsia, Macedonia, Thessaly, and all Achaia, and from Crete, Cyprus, and Lycia, with most of those from Palestine, Isauria, Egypt, the Thebais, the whole of Libya, and Pentapolis); when I say they perceived these things, they were possessed with envy and fear; with envy, on account of the communion of so many together; and with fear, lest those who had been entrapped by them should be brought over by the unanimity of so great a number, and henceforth their heresy should be triumphantly exposed, and everywhere proscribed.

29. Relapse of Ursacius and Valens

First of all they persuade Ursacius, Valens and their fellows to change sides again, and like dogs to return to their own vomit, and like swine to wallow again in the former mire of their impiety; and they make this excuse for their retractation, that they did it through fear of the most religious Constans. And yet even had there been cause for fear, yet if they had confidence in what they had done, they ought not to have become traitors to their friends. But when there was no cause for fear, and yet they were guilty of a lie, are they not deserving of utter condemnation? For no soldier was present, no Palatine or Notary had been sent, as they now send them, nor yet was the Emperor there, nor had they been invited by any one, when they wrote their recantation. But they voluntarily went up to Rome, and of their own accord recanted and wrote it down in the Church, where there was no fear from without, where the only fear is the fear of God, and where every one has liberty of conscience. And yet although they have a second time become Arians, and then have devised this unseemly excuse for their conduct, they are still without shame.

30. Constantius changes sides again

In the next place they went in a body to the Emperor Constantius, and besought him, saying, 'When we first made our request to you, we were not believed; for we told you, when you sent for Athanasius, that by inviting him to come forward, you are expelling our heresy. For he has been opposed to it from the very first, and never ceases to anathematize it. He has already written letters against us into all parts of the world, and the majority of men have embraced communion with him; and even of those who seemed to be on our side, some have been gained over by him, and others are likely to be. And we are left alone, so that the fear is, lest the character of our heresy become known, and henceforth both we and you gain the name of heretics. And if this come to pass, you must take care that we be not classed with the Manichæans. Therefore begin again to persecute, and support the heresy, for it accounts you its king.' Such was the language of their iniquity. And the Emperor, when in his passage through the country on his hasty march against Magnentius , he saw the communion of the Bishops with Athanasius, like one set on fire, suddenly changed his mind, and no longer remembered his oaths, but was alike forgetful of what he had written and regardless of the duty he owed his brother. For in his letters to him, as well as in his interview with Athanasius, he took oaths that he would not act otherwise than as the people should wish, and as should be agreeable to the Bishops. But his zeal for impiety caused him at once to forget all these things. And yet one ought not to wonder that after so many letters and so many oaths Constantius had altered his mind, when we remember that Pharaoh of old, the tyrant of Egypt, after frequently promising and by that means obtaining a remission of his punishments, likewise changed, until he at last perished together with his associates.

31. Constantius begins to persecute

He compelled then the people in every city to change their party; and on arriving at Arles and Milan , he proceeded to act entirely in accordance with the designs and suggestions of the heretics; or rather they acted themselves, and receiving authority from him, furiously attacked every one. Letters and orders were immediately sent hither to the Prefect, that for the future the grain should be taken from Athanasius and given to those who favoured the Arian doctrines, and that whoever pleased might freely insult them that held communion with him; and the magistrates were threatened if they did not hold communion with the Arians. These things were but the prelude to what afterwards took place under the direction of the Duke Syrianus. Orders were sent also to the more distant parts, and Notaries dispatched to every city, and Palatines, with threats to the Bishops and Magistrates, directing the Magistrates to urge on the Bishops, and informing the Bishops that either they must subscribe against Athanasius, and hold communion with the Arians, or themselves undergo the punishment of exile, while the people who took part with them were to understand that chains, and insults, and scourgings, and the loss of their possessions, would be their portion. These orders were not neglected, for the commissioners had in their company the Clergy of Ursacius and Valens, to inspire them with zeal, and to inform the Emperor if the Magistrates neglected their duty. The other heresies, as younger sisters of their own , they permitted to blaspheme the Lord, and only conspired against the Christians, not enduring to hear orthodox language concerning Christ. How many Bishops in consequence, according to the words of Scripture, were brought before rulers and kings Mark 13:9, and received this sentence from magistrates, 'Subscribe, or withdraw from your churches, for the Emperor has commanded you to be deposed!' How many in every city were roughly handled, lest they should accuse them as friends of the Bishops! Moreover letters were sent to the city authorities, and a threat of a fine was held out to them, if they did not compel the Bishops of their respective cities to subscribe. In short, every place and every city was full of fear and confusion, while the Bishops were dragged along to trial, and the magistrates witnessed the lamentations and groans of the people.

32. Persecution by Constantius

Such were the proceedings of the Palatine commissioners; on the other hand, those admirable persons, confident in the patronage which they had obtained, display great zeal, and cause some of the Bishops to be summoned before the Emperor, while they persecute others by letters, inventing charges against them; to the intent that the one might be overawed by the presence of Constantius, and the other, through fear of the commissioners and the threats held out to them in these pretended accusations, might be brought to renounce their orthodox and pious opinions. In this manner it was that the Emperor forced so great a multitude of Bishops, partly by threats, and partly by promises, to declare, 'We will no longer hold communion with Athanasius.' For those who came for an interview, were not admitted to his presence, nor allowed any relaxation, not so much as to go out of their dwellings, until they had either subscribed, or refused and incurred banishment thereupon. And this he did because he saw that the heresy was hateful to all men. For this reason especially he compelled so many to add their names to the small number of the Arians, his earnest desire being to collect together a crowd of names, both from envy of the Bishop, and for the sake of making a show in favour of the Arian impiety, of which he is the patron; supposing that he will be able to alter the truth, as easily as he can influence the minds of men. He knows not, nor has ever read, how that the Sadducees and the Herodians, taking unto them the Pharisees, were not able to obscure the truth; rather it shines out thereby more brightly every day, while they crying out, 'We have no king but Caesar ,' and obtaining the judgement of Pilate in their favour, are nevertheless left destitute, and wait in utter shame, expecting shortly to become bereft, like the partridge , when they shall see their patron near his death.

33. Persecution is from the Devil

Now if it was altogether unseemly in any of the Bishops to change their opinions merely from fear of these things, yet it was much more so, and not the part of men who have confidence in what they believe, to force and compel the unwilling. In this manner it is that the Devil, when he has no truth on his side , attacks and breaks down the doors of them that admit him with axes and hammers. But our Saviour is so gentle that He teaches thus, 'If any man wills to come after Me,' and, 'Whoever wills to be My disciple Matthew 16:24;' and coming to each He does not force them, but knocks at the door and says, 'Open unto Me, My sister, My spouse Song of Songs 5:2;' and if they open to Him, He enters in, but if they delay and will not, He departs from them. For the truth is not preached with swords or with darts, nor by means of soldiers; but by persuasion and counsel. But what persuasion is there where fear of the Emperor prevails? Or what counsel is there, when he who withstands them receives at last banishment and death? Even David, although he was a king, and had his enemy in his power, prevented not the soldiers by an exercise of authority when they wished to kill his enemy, but, as the Scripture says, David persuaded his men by arguments, and suffered them not to rise up and put Saul to death. 1 Samuel 26:9 But he, being without arguments of reason, forces all men by his power, that it may be shown to all, that their wisdom is not according to God, but merely human, and that they who favour the Arian doctrines have indeed no king but Caesar; for by his means it is that these enemies of Christ accomplish whatsoever they wish to do. But while they thought that they were carrying on their designs against many by his means, they knew not that they were making many to be confessors, of whom are those who have lately made so glorious a confession, religious men, and excellent Bishops, Paulinus Bishop of Treveri, the metropolis of the Gauls, Lucifer, Bishop of the metropolis of Sardinia, Eusebius of Vercelli in Italy, and Dionysius of Milan, which is the metropolis of Italy. These the Emperor summoned before him, and commanded them to subscribe against Athanasius, and to hold communion with the heretics; and when they were astonished at this novel procedure, and said that there was no Ecclesiastical Canon to this effect, he immediately said, 'Whatever I will, be that esteemed a Canon; the "Bishops" of Syria let me thus speak. Either then obey, or go into banishment.'

34. Banishment of the Western Bishops spread the knowledge of the truth

When the Bishops heard this they were utterly amazed, and stretching forth their hands to God, they used great boldness of speech against him teaching him that the kingdom was not his, but God's, who had given it to him, Whom also they bid him fear, lest He should suddenly take it away from him. And they threatened him with the day of judgement, and warned him against infringing Ecclesiastical order, and mingling Roman sovereignty with the constitution of the Church, and against introducing the Arian heresy into the Church of God. But he would not listen to them, nor permit them to speak further, but threatened them so much the more, and drew his sword against them, and gave orders for some of them to be led to execution; although afterwards, like Pharaoh, he repented. The holy men therefore shaking off the dust, and looking up to God, neither feared the threats of the Emperor, nor betrayed their cause before his drawn sword; but received their banishment, as a service pertaining to their ministry. And as they passed along, they preached the Gospel in every

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place and city , although they were in bonds, proclaiming the orthodox faith, anathematizing the Arian heresy, and stigmatizing the recantation of Ursacius and Valens. But this was contrary to the intention of their enemies; for the greater was the distance of their place of banishment, so much the more was the hatred against them increased, while the wanderings of these men were but the heralding of their impiety. For who that saw them as they passed along, did not greatly admire them as Confessors, and renounce and abominate the others, calling them not only impious men, but executioners and murderers, and everything rather than Christians?

ATHANASIUS HISTORY OF THE ARIANS, PART 5

35. Persecution and Lapse of Liberius

Now it had been better if from the first Constantius had never become connected with this heresy at all; or being connected with it, if he had not yielded so much to those impious men; or having yielded to them, if he had stood by them only thus far, so that judgement might come upon them all for these atrocities alone. But as it would seem, like madmen, having fixed themselves in the bonds of impiety, they are drawing down upon their own heads a more severe judgement. Thus from the first they spared not even Liberius, Bishop of Rome, but extended their fury even to those parts; they respected not his bishopric, because it was an Apostolical throne; they felt no reverence for Rome, because she is the Metropolis of Romania ; they remembered not that formerly in their letters they had spoken of her Bishops as Apostolical men. But confounding all things together, they at once forgot everything, and cared only to show their zeal in behalf of impiety. When they perceived that he was an orthodox man and hated the Arian heresy, and earnestly endeavoured to persuade all persons to renounce and withdraw from it, these impious men reasoned thus with themselves: 'If we can persuade Liberius, we shall soon prevail over all.' Accordingly they accused him falsely before the Emperor; and he, expecting easily to draw over all men to his side by means of Liberius, writes to him, and sends a certain eunuch called Eusebius with letters and offerings, to cajole him with the presents, and to threaten him with the letters. The eunuch accordingly went to Rome, and first proposed to Liberius to subscribe against Athanasius, and to hold communion with the Arians, saying, 'The Emperor wishes it, and commands you to do so.' And then showing him the offerings, he took him by the hand, and again besought him saying, 'Obey the Emperor, and receive these.'

36. The Eunuch Eusebius attempts Liberius in vain

But the Bishop endeavoured to convince him, reasoning with him thus: 'How is it possible for me to do this against Athanasius? How can we condemn a man, whom not one Council only, but a second assembled from all parts of the world, has fairly acquitted, and whom the Church of the Romans dismissed in peace? Who will approve of our conduct, if we reject in his absence one, whose presence among us we gladly welcomed, and admitted him to our communion? This is no Ecclesiastical Canon; nor have we had transmitted to us any such tradition from the Fathers, who in their turn received from the great and blessed Apostle Peter. But if the Emperor is really concerned for the peace of the Church, if he requires our letters respecting Athanasius to be reversed, let their proceedings both against him and against all the others be reversed also; and then let an Ecclesiastical Council be called at a distance from the Court, at which the Emperor shall not be present, nor any Count be admitted, nor magistrate to threaten us, but where only the fear of God and the Apostolical rule shall prevail; that so in the first place, the faith of the Church may be secure, as the Fathers defined it in the Council of Nicæa, and the supporters of the Arian doctrines may be cast out, and their heresy anathematized. And then after that, an enquiry being made into the charges brought against Athanasius, and any other besides, as well as into those things of which the other party is accused, let the culprits be cast out, and the innocent receive encouragement and support. For it is impossible that they who maintain an impious creed can be admitted as members of a Council: nor is it fit that an enquiry into matters of conduct should precede the enquiry concerning the faith ; but all diversity of opinions on points of faith ought first to be eradicated, and then the enquiry made into matters of conduct. Our Lord Jesus Christ did not heal them that were afflicted, until they showed and declared what faith they had in Him. These things we have received from the Fathers; these report to the Emperor; for they are both profitable for him and edifying to the Church. But let not Ursacius and Valens be listened to, for they have retracted their former assertions, and in what they now say they are not to be trusted.'

37. Liberius refuses the Emperor's offering

These were the words of the Bishop Liberius. And the eunuch, who was vexed, not so much because he would not subscribe, as because he found him an enemy to the heresy, forgetting that he was in the presence of a Bishop, after threatening him severely, went away with the offerings; and next commits an offense, which is foreign to a Christian, and too audacious for a eunuch. In imitation of the transgression of Saul, he went to the Martyry of the Apostle Peter, and then presented the offerings. But Liberius having notice of it, was very angry with the person who kept the place, that he had not prevented him, and cast out the offerings as an unlawful sacrifice, which increased the anger of the mutilated creature against him. Consequently he exasperates the Emperor against him, saying, 'The matter that concerns us is no longer the obtaining the subscription of Liberius, but the fact that he is so resolutely opposed to the heresy, that he anathematizes the Arians by name.' He also stirs up the other eunuchs to say the same; for many of those who were about Constantius, or rather the whole number of them, are eunuchs , who engross all the influence with him, and it is impossible to do anything there without them. The Emperor accordingly writes to Rome, and again Palatines, and Notaries, and Counts are sent off with letters to the Prefect, in order that either they may inveigle Liberius by stratagem away from Rome and send him to the Court to him, or else persecute him by violence.

38. The evil influence of Eunuchs at Court

Such being the tenor of the letters, there also fear and treachery immediately became rife throughout the whole city. How many were the families against which threats were held out! How many received great promises on condition of their acting against Liberius! How many Bishops hid themselves when they saw these things! How many noble women retired to country places in consequence of the calumnies of the enemies of Christ! How many ascetics were made the objects of their plots! How many who were sojourning there, and had made that place their home, did they cause to be persecuted! How often and how strictly did they guard the harbour and the approaches to the gates, lest any orthodox person should enter and visit Liberius! Rome also had trial of the enemies of Christ, and now experienced what before she would not believe, when she heard how the other Churches in every city were ravaged by them. It was the eunuchs who instigated these proceedings against all. And the most remarkable circumstance in the matter is this; that the Arian heresy which denies the Son of God, receives its support from eunuchs, who, as both their bodies are fruitless, and their souls barren of virtue, cannot bear even to hear the name of son. The Eunuch of Ethiopia indeed, though he understood not what he read Acts 8:27, believed the words of Philip, when he taught him concerning the Saviour; but the eunuchs of Constantius cannot endure the confession of Peter , nay, they turn away when the Father manifests the Son, and madly rage against those who say, that the Son of God is His genuine Son, thus claiming as a heresy of eunuchs, that there is no genuine and true offspring of the Father. On these grounds it is that the law forbids such persons to be admitted into any ecclesiastical Council ; notwithstanding which they have now regarded these as competent judges of ecclesiastical causes, and whatever seems good to them, that Constantius decrees, while men with the name of Bishops dissemble with them. Oh! Who shall be their historian? Who shall transmit the record of these things to another generation? Who indeed would believe it, were he to hear it, that eunuchs who are scarcely entrusted with household services (for theirs is a pleasure-loving race, that has no serious concern but that of hindering in others what nature has taken from them); that these, I say, now exercise authority in ecclesiastical matters, and that Constantius in submission to their will treacherously conspired against all, and banished Liberius!

39. Liberius's speech to Constantius

For after the Emperor had frequently written to Rome, had threatened, sent commissioners, devised schemes, on the persecution subsequently breaking out at Alexandria, Liberius is dragged before him, and uses great boldness of speech towards him. 'Cease,' he said, 'to persecute the Christians; attempt not by my means to introduce impiety into the Church. We are ready to suffer anything rather than to be called Arian madmen. We are Christians; compel us not to become enemies of Christ. We also give you this counsel: fight not against Him who gave you this empire, nor show impiety towards Him instead of thankfulness ;' persecute not them that believe in Him, lest you also hear the words, 'It is hard for you to kick against the pricks Acts 9:5.' Nay, I would that you might hear them, that you might obey, as the holy Paul did. Behold, here we are; we have come, before they fabricate charges. For this cause we hastened hither, knowing that banishment awaits us at your hands, that we might suffer before a charge encounters us, and that all may clearly see that all the others too have suffered as we shall suffer, and that the charges brought against them were fabrications of their enemies, and all their proceedings were mere calumny and falsehood.'

40. Banishment of Liberius and others

These were the words of Liberius at that time, and he was admired by all men for them. But the Emperor instead of answering , only gave orders for their banishment, separating each of them from the rest, as he had done in the former cases. For he had himself devised this plan in the banishments which he inflicted, that so the severity of his punishments might be greater than that of former tyrants and persecutors. In the former persecution Maximian, who was then Emperor, commanded a number of Confessors to be banished together , and thus lightened their punishment by the consolation which he gave them in each other's society. But this man was more savage than he; he separated those who had spoken boldly and confessed together, he put asunder those who were united by the bond of faith, that when they came to die they might not see one another; thinking that bodily separation can disunite also the affections of the mind, and that being severed from each other, they would forget the concord and unanimity which existed among them. He knew not that however each one may remain apart from the rest, he has nevertheless with him that Lord, whom they confessed in one body together, who will also provide (as he did in the case of the Prophet Elisha 2 Kings 6:16) that more shall be with each of them, than there are soldiers with Constantius. Of a truth iniquity is blind; for in that they thought to afflict the Confessors, by separating them from one another, they rather brought thereby a great injury upon themselves. For had they continued in each other's company, and abode together, the pollutions of those impious men would have been proclaimed from one place only; but now by putting them asunder, they have made their impious heresy and wickedness to spread abroad and become known in every place.

41. Lapse of Liberius

Who that shall hear what they did in the course of these proceedings will not think them to be anything rather than Christians? When Liberius sent Eutropius, a Presbyter, and Hilarius, a Deacon, with letters to the Emperor, at the time that Lucifer and his fellows made their confession, they banished the Presbyter on the spot, and after stripping Hilarius the Deacon and scourging him on the back, they banished him too, clamouring at him, 'Why did you not resist Liberius instead of being the bearer of letters from him.' Ursacius and Valens, with the eunuchs who sided with them, were the authors of this outrage. The Deacon, while he was being scourged, praised the Lord, remembering His words, 'I gave My back to the smiters Isaiah 50:6;' but they while they scourged him laughed and mocked him, feeling no shame that they were insulting a Levite. Indeed they acted but consistently in laughing while he continued to praise God; for it is the part of Christians to endure stripes, but to scourge Christians is the outrage of a Pilate or a Caiaphas. Thus they endeavoured at the first to corrupt the Church of the Romans, wishing to introduce impiety into it as well as others. But Liberius after he had been in banishment two years gave way, and from fear of threatened death subscribed. Yet even this only shows their violent conduct, and the hatred of Liberius against the heresy, and his support of Athanasius, so long as he was suffered to exercise a free choice. For that which men are forced by torture to do contrary to their first judgement, ought not to be considered the willing deed of those who are in fear, but rather of their tormentors. They however attempted everything in support of their heresy, while the people in every Church, preserving the faith which they had learned, waited for the return of their teachers, and condemned the Antichristian heresy, and all avoid it, as they would a serpent.

ATHANASIUS HISTORY OF THE ARIANS, PART 6

42. Persecution and Lapse of Hosius

But although they had done all this, yet these impious men thought they had accomplished nothing, so long as the great Hosius escaped their wicked machinations. And now they undertook to extend their fury to that great old man. They felt no shame at the thought that he is the father of the Bishops; they regarded not that he had been a Confessor ; they reverenced not the length of his Episcopate, in which he had continued more than sixty years; but they set aside everything, and looked only to the interests of their heresy, as being of a truth such as neither fear God, nor regard man. Luke 18:2 Accordingly they went to Constantius, and again employed such arguments as the following: 'We have done everything; we have banished the Bishop of the Romans; and before him a very great number of other Bishops, and have filled every place with alarm. But these strong measures of yours are as nothing to us, nor is our success at all more secure, so long as Hosius remains. While he is in his own place, the rest also continue in their Churches, for he is able by his arguments and his faith to persuade all men against us. He is the president of Councils , and his letters are everywhere attended to. He it was who put forth the Nicene Confession, and proclaimed everywhere that the Arians were heretics. If therefore he is suffered to remain, the banishment of the rest is of no avail, for our heresy will be destroyed. Begin then to persecute him also and spare him not, ancient as he is. Our heresy knows not to honour even the hoary hairs of the aged.'

43. Brave resistance of Hosius

Upon hearing this, the Emperor no longer delayed, but knowing the man, and the dignity of his years, wrote to summon him. This was when he first began his attempt upon Liberius. Upon his arrival he desired him, and urged him with the usual arguments, with which he thought also to deceive the others, that he would subscribe against us, and hold

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communion with the Arians. But the old man, scarcely bearing to hear the words, and grieved that he had even ventured to utter such a proposal, severely rebuked him, and after gaining his consent, withdrew to his own country and Church. But the heretics still complaining, and instigating him to proceed (he had the eunuchs also to remind him and to urge him further), the Emperor again wrote in threatening terms; but still Hosius, while he endured their insults, was unmoved by any fear of their designs against him, and remaining firm to his purpose, as one who had built the house of his faith upon the rock, he spoke boldly against the heresy, regarding the threats held out to him in the letters but as drops of rain and blasts of wind. And although Constantius wrote frequently, sometimes flattering him with the title of Father, and sometimes threatening and recounting the names of those who had been banished, and saying, 'Will you continue the only person to oppose the heresy? Be persuaded and subscribe against Athanasius; for whoever subscribes against him thereby embraces with us the Arian cause;' still Hosius remained fearless, and while suffering these insults, wrote an answer in such terms as these. We have read the letter, which is placed at the end.

44. 'Hosius to Constantius the Emperor sends health in the Lord.'

I was a Confessor at the first, when a persecution arose in the time of your grandfather Maximian; and if you shall persecute me, I am ready now, too, to endure anything rather than to shed innocent blood and to betray the truth. But I cannot approve of your conduct in writing after this threatening manner. Cease to write thus; adopt not the cause of Arius, nor listen to those in the East, nor give credit to Ursacius, Valens and their fellows. For whatever they assert, it is not on account of Athanasius, but for the sake of their own heresy. Believe my statement, O Constantius, who am of an age to be your grandfather. I was present at the Council of Sardica, when you and your brother Constans of blessed memory assembled us all together; and on my own account I challenged the enemies of Athanasius, when they came to the church where I abode , that if they had anything against him they might declare it; desiring them to have confidence, and not to expect otherwise than that a right judgement would be passed in all things. This I did once and again, requesting them, if they were unwilling to appear before the whole Council, yet to appear before me alone; promising them also, that if he should be proved guilty, he should certainly be rejected by us; but if he should be found to be blameless, and should prove them to be calumniators, that if they should then refuse to hold communion with him, I would persuade him to go with me into the Spains. Athanasius was willing to comply with these conditions, and made no objection to my proposal; but they, altogether distrusting their cause, would not consent. And on another occasion Athanasius came to your Court , when you wrote for him, and his enemies being at the time in Antioch, he requested that they might be summoned either altogether or separately, in order that they might either convict him, or be convicted , and might either in his presence prove him to be what they represented, or cease to accuse him when absent. To this proposal also you would not listen, and they equally rejected it. Why then do you still give ear to them that speak evil of him? How can you endure Valens and Ursacius, although they have retracted and made a written confession of their calumnies ? For it is not true, as they pretend, that they were forced to confess; there were no soldiers at hand to influence them; your brother was not cognizant of the matter. No, such things were not done under his government, as are done now; God forbid. But they voluntarily went up to Rome, and in the presence of the Bishop and Presbyters wrote their recantation, having previously addressed to Athanasius a friendly and peaceable letter. And if they pretend that force was employed towards them, and acknowledge that this is an evil thing, which you also disapprove of; then do you cease to use force; write no letters, send no Counts; but release those that have been banished, lest while you are complaining of violence, they do but exercise greater violence. When was any such thing done by Constans? What Bishop suffered banishment? When did he appear as arbiter of an Ecclesiastical trial? When did any Palatine of his compel men to subscribe against any one, that Valens and his fellows should be able to affirm this? Cease these proceedings, I beseech you, and remember that you are a mortal man. Be afraid of the day of judgement, and keep yourself pure thereunto. Intrude not yourself into Ecclesiastical matters, neither give commands unto us concerning them; but learn them from us. God has put into your hands the kingdom; to us He has entrusted the affairs of His Church; and as he who would steal the empire from you would resist the ordinance of God, so likewise fear on your part lest by taking upon yourself the government of the Church, you become guilty of a great offense. It is written, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's Matthew 22:21 ." Neither therefore is it permitted unto us to exercise an earthly rule, nor have you, Sire, any authority to burn incense. These things I write unto you out of a concern for your salvation. With regard to the subject of your letters, this is my determination; I will not unite myself to the Arians; I anathematize their heresy. Neither will I subscribe against Athanasius, whom both we and the Church of the Romans and the whole Council pronounced to be guiltless. And yourself also, when you understood this, sent for the man, and gave him permission to return with honour to his country and his Church. What reason then can there be for so great a change in your conduct? The same persons who were his enemies before, are so now also; and the things they now whisper to his prejudice (for they do not declare them openly in his presence), the same they spoke against him, before you sent for him; the same they spread abroad concerning him when they come to the Council. And when I required them to come forward, as I have before said, they were unable to produce their proofs; had they possessed any, they would not have fled so disgracefully. Who then persuaded you so long after to forget your own letters and declarations? Forbear, and be not influenced by evil men, lest while you act for the mutual advantage of yourself and them, you render yourself responsible. For here you comply with their desires, hereafter in the judgement you will have to answer for doing so alone. These men desire by your means to injure their enemy, and wish to make you the minister of their wickedness, in order that through your help they may sow the seeds of their accursed heresy in the Church. Now it is not a prudent thing to cast one's self into manifest danger for the pleasure of others. Cease then, I beseech you, O Constantius, and be persuaded by me. These things it becomes me to write, and you not to despise.'

45. Lapse of Hosius, due to cruel persecution

Such were the sentiments, and such the letter, of the Abraham-like old man, Hosius, truly so called. But the Emperor desisted not from his designs, nor ceased to seek an occasion against him; but continued to threaten him severely, with a view either to bring him over by force, or to banish him if he refused to comply. And as the Officers and Satraps of Babylon Daniel 6:5, seeking an occasion against Daniel, found none except in the law of his God; so likewise these present Satraps of impiety were unable to invent any charge against the old man (for this true Hosius, and his blameless life were known to all), except the charge of hatred to their heresy. They therefore proceeded to accuse him; though not under the same circumstances as those others accused Daniel to Darius, for Darius was grieved to hear the charge, but as Jezebel accused Naboth, and as the Jews applied themselves to Herod. And they said, 'He not only will not subscribe against Athanasius, but also on his account condemns us; and his hatred to the heresy is so great, that he also writes to others, that they should rather suffer death, than become traitors to the truth. For, he says, our beloved Athanasius also is persecuted for the Truth's sake, and Liberius, Bishop of Rome, and all the rest, are treacherously assailed.' When this patron of impiety, and Emperor of heresy , Constantius, heard this, and especially that there were others also in the Spains of the same mind as Hosius, after he had tempted them also to subscribe, and was unable to compel them to do so, he sent for Hosius, and instead of banishing him, detained him a whole year in Sirmium. Godless, unholy, without natural affection, he feared not God, he regarded not his father's affection for Hosius, he reverenced not his great age, for he was now a hundred years old ; but all these things this modern Ahab, this second Belshazzar of our times, disregarded for the sake of impiety. He used such violence towards the old man, and confined him so tightly, that at last, broken by suffering, he was brought, though hardly, to hold communion with Valens, Ursacius, and their fellows, though he would not subscribe against Athanasius. Yet even thus he forgot not his duty, for at the approach of death, as it were by his last testament, he bore witness to the force which had been used towards him, and anathematized the Arian heresy, and gave strict charge that no one should receive it.

46. Arbitrary expulsion of so many bishops

Who that witnessed these things, or that has merely heard of them, will not be greatly amazed, and cry aloud unto the Lord, saying, 'Will You make a full end of Israel Ezekiel 11:13?' Who that is acquainted with these proceedings, will not with good reason cry out and say, 'A wonderful and horrible thing is done in the land;' and, 'The heavens are astonished at this, and the earth is even more horribly afraid.' The fathers of the people and the teachers of the faith are taken away, and the impious are brought into the Churches? Who that saw when Liberius, Bishop of Rome, was banished, and when the great Hosius, the father of the Bishops, suffered these things, or who that saw so many Bishops banished out of Spain and the other parts, could fail to perceive, however little sense he might possess, that the charges against Athanasius also and the rest were false, and altogether mere calumny? For this reason those others also endured all suffering, because they saw plainly that the conspiracies laid against these were founded in falsehood. For what charge was there against Liberius? Or what accusation against the aged Hosius? Who bore even a false witness against Paulinus, and Lucifer, and Dionysius, and Eusebius? Or what sin could be lain to the account of the rest of the banished Bishops, and Presbyters, and Deacons? None whatever; God forbid. There were no charges against them on which a plot for their ruin might be formed; nor was it on the ground of any accusation that they were severally banished. It was an insurrection of impiety against godliness; it was zeal for the Arian heresy, and a prelude to the coming of Antichrist, for whom Constantius is thus preparing the way.

47. Persecution at Alexandria

'After' he had accomplished all that he desired against the Churches in Italy, and the other parts; after he had banished some, and violently oppressed others, and filled every place with fear, he at last turned his fury, as it had been some pestilential disorder, against Alexandria. This was artfully contrived by the enemies of Christ; for in order that they might have a show of the signatures of many Bishops, and that Athanasius might not have a single Bishop in his persecution to whom he could even complain, they therefore anticipated his proceedings, and filled every place with terror, which they kept up to second them in the prosecution of their designs. But herein they perceived not through their folly that they were not exhibiting the deliberate choice of the Bishops, but rather the violence which themselves had employed; and that, although his brethren should desert him, and his friends and acquaintance stand afar off, and no one be found to sympathise with him and console him, yet far above all these, a refuge with his God was sufficient for him. For Elijah also was alone in his persecution, and God was all in all to the holy man. And the Saviour has given us an example herein, who also was left alone, and exposed to the designs of His enemies, to teach us, that when we are persecuted and deserted by men, we must not faint, but place our hope in Him, and not betray the Truth. For although at first truth may seem to be afflicted, yet even they who persecute shall afterwards acknowledge it.

48. Attacks upon the Alexandrian Church

Accordingly they urge on the Emperor, who first writes a menacing letter, which he sends to the Duke and the soldiers. The Notaries Diogenius and Hilarius , and certain Palatines with them, were the bearers of it; upon whose arrival those terrible and cruel outrages were committed against the Church, which I have briefly related a little above , and which are known to all men from the protests put forth by the people, which are inserted at the end of this history, so that any one may read them. Then after these proceedings on the part of Syrianus, after these enormities had been perpetrated, and violence offered to the Virgins, as approving of such conduct and the infliction of these evils upon us, he writes again to the senate and people of Alexandria, instigating the younger men, and requiring them to assemble together, and either to persecute Athanasius, or consider themselves as his enemies. He however had withdrawn before these instructions reached them, and from the time when Syrianus broke into the Church; for he remembered that which was written, 'Hide yourself as it were for a little moment, until the indignation be overpast Isaiah 26:20.' One Heraclius, by rank a Count, was the bearer of this letter, and the precursor of a certain George that was dispatched by the Emperor as a spy, for one that was sent from him cannot be a Bishop ; God forbid. And so indeed his conduct and the circumstances which preceded his entrance sufficiently prove.

49 and 50. Hypocrisy of the pretended respect of Constantius for his brother's memory

Heraclius then published the letter, which reflected great disgrace upon the writer. For whereas, when the great Hosius wrote to Constantius, he had been unable to make out any plausible pretext for his change of conduct, he now invented an excuse much more discreditable to himself and his advisers. He said, 'From regard to the affection I entertained towards my brother of divine and pious memory, I endured for a time the coming of Athanasius among you.' This proves that he has both broken his promise, and behaved ungratefully to his brother after his death. He then declares him to be, as indeed he is, 'deserving of divine and pious remembrance;' yet as regards a command of his, or to use his own language, the 'affection' he bore him, even though he complied merely 'for the sake' of the blessed Constans, he ought to deal fairly by his brother, and make himself heir to his sentiments as well as to the Empire. But, although, when seeking to obtain his just rights, he deposed Vetranio, with the question, 'To whom does the inheritance belong after a brother's death ?' yet for the sake of the accursed heresy of the enemies of Christ, he disregards the claims of justice, and behaves undutifully towards his brethren. Nay, for the sake of this heresy, he would not consent to observe even his father's wishes without infringement; but, in what he may gratify these impious men, he pretends to adopt his intention, while in order to distress the others, he cares not to show the reverence which is due unto a father. For in consequence of the calumnies of Eusebius and his fellows, his father sent the Bishop for a time into Gaul to avoid the cruelty of his persecutors (this was shown by the blessed Constantine, the brother of the former, after their father's death, as appears by his letters), but he would not be persuaded by Eusebius and his fellows to send the person whom they desired for a Bishop, but prevented the

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accomplishment of their wishes, and put a stop to their attempts with severe threats.

51. How Constantius shows his respect for his father and brother

If therefore, as he declares in his letters, he desired to observe his sire's practice, why did he first send out Gregory, and now this George, the eater of stores ? Why does he endeavour so earnestly to introduce into the Church these Arians, whom his father named Porphyrians , and banish others while he patronises them? Although his father admitted Arius to his presence, yet when Arius perjured himself and burst asunder he lost the compassion of his father; who, on learning the truth, condemned him as an heretic. Why moreover, while pretending to respect the Canon of the Church, has he ordered the whole course of his conduct in opposition to them? For where is there a Canon that a Bishop should be appointed from Court? Where is there a Canon that permits soldiers to invade Churches? What tradition is there allowing counts and ignorant eunuchs to exercise authority in Ecclesiastical matters, and to make known by their edicts the decisions of those who bear the name of Bishops? He is guilty of all manner of falsehood for the sake of this unholy heresy. At a former time he sent out Philagrius as Prefect a second time , in opposition to the opinion of his father, and we see what has taken place now. Nor 'for his brother's sake' does he speak the truth. For after his death he wrote not once nor twice, but three times to the Bishop, and repeatedly promised him that he would not change his behaviour towards him, but exhorted him to be of good courage, and not suffer any one to alarm him, but to continue to abide in his Church in perfect security. He also sent his commands by Count Asterius, and Palladius the Notary, to Felicissimus, who was then Duke, and to the Prefect Nestorius, that if either Philip the Prefect, or any other should venture to form any plot against Athanasius, they should prevent it.

52. The Emperor has no right to rule the Church

Wherefore when Diogenes came, and Syrianus laid in wait for us, both he and we and the people demanded to see the Emperor's letters, supposing that, as it is written, 'Let not a falsehood be spoken before the king ;' so when a king has made a promise, he will not lie, nor change. If then 'for his brother's sake he complied,' why did he also write those letters upon his death? And if he wrote them for 'his memory's sake,' why did he afterwards behave so very unkindly towards him, and persecute the man, and write what he did, alleging a judgement of Bishops, while in truth he acted only to please himself? Nevertheless his craft has not escaped detection, but we have the proof of it ready at hand. For if a judgement had been passed by Bishops, what concern had the Emperor with it? Or if it was only a threat of the Emperor, what need in that case was there of the so-named Bishops? When was such a thing heard of before from the beginning of the world? When did a judgement of the Church receive its validity from the Emperor? Or rather when was his decree ever recognised by the Church? There have been many Councils held heretofore; and many judgements passed by the Church; but the Fathers never sought the consent of the Emperor thereto, nor did the Emperor busy himself with the affairs of the Church. The Apostle Paul had friends among them of Caesar's household, and in his Epistle to the Philippians he sent salutations from them; but he never took them as his associates in Ecclesiastical judgements. Now however we have witnessed a novel spectacle, which is a discovery of the Arian heresy. Heretics have assembled together with the Emperor Constantius, in order that he, alleging the authority of the Bishops, may exercise his power against whomsoever he pleases, and while he persecutes may avoid the name of persecutor; and that they, supported by the Emperor's government, may conspire the ruin of whomsoever they will and these are all such as are not as impious as themselves. One might look upon their proceedings as a comedy which they are performing on the stage, in which the pretended Bishops are actors, and Constantius the performer of their behests, who makes promises to them, as Herod did to the daughter of Herodias, and they dancing before him accomplish through false accusations the banishment and death of the true believers in the Lord.

53. Despotic interference of Constantius

Who indeed has not been injured by their calumnies? Whom have not these enemies of Christ conspired to destroy? Whom has Constantius failed to banish upon charges which they have brought against them? When did he refuse to hear them willingly? And what is most strange, when did he permit any one to speak against them, and did not more readily receive their testimony, of whatever kind it might be? Where is there a Church which now enjoys the privilege of worshipping Christ freely? If a Church be a maintainer of true piety, it is in danger; if it dissemble, it abides in fear. Every place is full of hypocrisy and impiety, so far as he is concerned; and wherever there is a pious person and a lover of Christ (and there are many such everywhere, as were the prophets and the great Elijah) they hide themselves, if so be that they can find a faithful friend like Obadiah, and either they withdraw into caves and dens of the earth, or pass their lives in wandering about in the deserts. These men in their madness prefer such calumnies against them as Jezebel invented against Naboth, and the Jews against the Saviour; while the Emperor, who is the patron of the heresy, and wishes to pervert the truth, as Ahab wished to change the vineyard into a garden of herbs, does whatever they desire him to do, for the suggestions he receives from them are agreeable to his own wishes.

54. Constantius gives up the Alexandrian Churches to the heretics

Accordingly he banished, as I said before the genuine Bishops, because they would not profess impious doctrines, to suit his own pleasure; and so he now sent Count Heraclius to proceed against Athanasius, who has publicly made known his decrees, and announced the command of the Emperor to be, that unless they complied with the instructions contained in his letters, their bread should be taken away, their idols overthrown, and the persons of many of the city-magistrates and people delivered over to certain slavery. After threatening them in this manner, he was not ashamed to declare publicly with a loud voice, 'The Emperor disclaims Athanasius, and has commanded that the Churches be given up to the Arians.' And when all wondered to hear this, and made signs to one another, exclaiming, 'What! Has Constantius become a heretic?' instead of blushing as he ought, the man all the more obliged the senators and heathen magistrates and wardens of the idol temples to subscribe to these conditions, and to agree to receive as their Bishop whomsoever the Emperor should send them. Of course Constantius was strictly upholding the Canon of the Church, when he caused this to be done; when instead of requiring letters from the Church, he demanded them of the market-place, and instead of the people he asked them of the wardens of the temples. He was conscious that he was not sending a Bishop to preside over Christians, but a certain intruder for those who subscribed to his terms.

55. Irruption into the great Church

The Gentiles accordingly, as purchasing by their compliance the safety of their idols, and certain of the trades , subscribed, though unwillingly, from fear of the threats which he had held out to them; just as if the matter had been the appointment of a general, or other magistrate. Indeed what as heathen, were they likely to do, except whatever was pleasing to the Emperor? But the people having assembled in the great Church (for it was the fourth day of the week), Count Heraclius on the following day takes with him Cataphronius the Prefect of Egypt, and Faustinus the Receiver-General , and Bithynus a heretic; and together they stir up the younger men of the common multitude who worshipped idols, to attack the Church, and stone the people, saying that such was the Emperor's command. As the time of dismissal however had arrived, the greater part had already left the Church, but there being a few women still remaining, they did as the men had charged them, whereupon a piteous spectacle ensued. The few women had just risen from prayer and had sat down when the youths suddenly came upon them naked with stones and clubs. Some of them the godless wretches stoned to death; they scourged with stripes the holy persons of the Virgins, tore off their veils and exposed their heads, and when they resisted the insult, the cowards kicked them with their feet. This was dreadful, exceedingly dreadful; but what ensued was worse, and more intolerable than any outrage. Knowing the holy character of the virgins, and that their ears were unaccustomed to pollution, and that they were better able to bear stones and swords than expressions of obscenity, they assailed them with such language. This the Arians suggested to the young men, and laughed at all they said and did; while the holy Virgins and other godly women fled from such words as they would from the bite of asps, but the enemies of Christ assisted them in the work, nay even, it may be, gave utterance to the same; for they were well-pleased with the obscenities which the youths vented upon them.

56. The great Church pillaged

After this, that they might fully execute the orders they had received (for this was what they earnestly desired, and what the Count and the Receiver-General instructed them to do), they seized upon the seats, the throne, and the table which was of wood , and the curtains of the Church, and whatever else they were able, and carrying them out burnt them before the doors in the great street, and cast frankincense upon the flame. Alas! Who will not weep to hear of these things, and, it may be, close his ears, that he may not have to endure the recital, esteeming it hurtful merely to listen to the account of such enormities? Moreover they sang the praises of their idols, and said, 'Constantius has become a heathen, and the Arians have acknowledged our customs;' for indeed they scruple not even to pretend heathenism, if only their heresy may be established. They even were ready to sacrifice a heifer which drew the water for the gardens in the Caesareum ; and would have sacrificed it, had it not been a female ; for they said that it was unlawful for such to be offered among them.

57. Thus acted the impious Arians in conjunction with the heathens, thinking that these things tended to our dishonour. But Divine justice reproved their iniquity, and wrought a great and remarkable sign, thereby plainly showing to all men, that as in their acts of impiety they had dared to attack none other but the Lord, so in these proceedings also they were again attempting to do dishonour unto Him. This was more manifestly proved by the marvellous event which now came to pass. One of these licentious youths ran into the Church, and ventured to sit down upon the throne; and as he sat there the wretched man uttered with a nasal sound some lascivious song. Then rising up he attempted to pull away the throne, and to drag it towards him; he knew not that he was drawing down vengeance upon himself. For as of old the inhabitants of Azotus, when they ventured to touch the Ark, which it was not lawful for them even to look upon, were immediately destroyed by it, being first grievously tormented by emerods; so this unhappy person who presumed to drag the throne, drew it upon himself, and, as if Divine justice had sent the wood to punish him, he struck it into his own bowels; and instead of carrying out the throne, he brought out by his blow his own entrails; so that the throne took away his life, instead of his taking it away. For, as it is Acts 1:18 written of Judas, his bowels gushed out; and he fell down and was carried away, and the day after he died. Another also entered the Church with boughs of trees and, as in the Gentile manner he waved them in his hands and mocked, he was immediately struck with blindness, so as straightway to lose his sight, and to know no longer where he was; but as he was about to fall, he was taken by the hand and supported by his companions out of the place, and when on the following day he was with difficulty brought to his senses, he knew not either what he had done or suffered in consequence of his audacity.

58. General Persecution at Alexandria

The Gentiles, when they beheld these things, were seized with fear, and ventured on no further outrage; but the Arians were not even yet touched with shame, but, like the Jews when they saw the miracles, were faithless and would not believe, nay, like Pharaoh, they were hardened; they too having placed their hopes below, on the Emperor and his eunuchs. They permitted the Gentiles, or rather the more abandoned of the Gentiles, to act in the manner before described; for they found that Faustinus, who is the Receiver-General by style, but is a vulgar person in habits, and profligate in heart, was ready to play his part with them in these proceedings, and to stir up the heathen. Nay, they undertook to do the like themselves, that as they had modelled their heresy upon all other heresies together , so they might share their wickedness with the more depraved of mankind. What they did through the instrumentality of others I described above; the enormities they committed themselves surpass the bounds of all wickedness; and they exceed the malice of any hangman. Where is there a house which they did not ravage? Where is there a family they did not plunder on pretence of searching for their opponents? Where is there a garden they did not trample under foot? What tomb did they not open, pretending they were seeking for Athanasius, though their sole object was to plunder and spoil all that came in their way? How many men's houses were sealed up! The contents of how many persons' lodgings did they give away to the soldiers who assisted them! Who had not experience of their wickedness? Who that met them but was obliged to hide himself in the market-place? Did not many an one leave his house from fear of them, and pass the night in the desert? Did not many an one, while anxious to preserve his property from them, lose the greater part of it? And who, however inexperienced of the sea, did not choose rather to commit himself to it, and to risk all its dangers, than to witness their threatenings? Many also changed their residences, and removed from street to street, and from the city to the suburbs. And many submitted to severe fines, and when they were unable to pay, borrowed of others, merely that they might escape their machinations.

59. Violence of Sebastianus

For they made themselves formidable to all men, and treated all with great arrogance, using the name of the Emperor, and threatening them with his displeasure. They had to assist them in their wickedness the Duke Sebastianus, a Manichee, and a profligate young man; the Prefect, the Count, and the Receiver-General as a dissembler. Many Virgins who condemned their impiety, and professed the truth, they brought out from the houses; others they insulted as they walked along the streets, and caused their heads to be uncovered by their young men. They also gave permission to the females of their party to insult whom they chose; and although the holy and faithful women withdrew on one side, and gave them the way, yet they gathered round them like Bacchanals and Furies , and esteemed it a misfortune if they found no means to injure them, and spent that day sorrowfully on which they were unable to do them some mischief. In a word, so cruel and bitter were they against all, that all men called them hangmen, murderers, lawless, intruders, evil-doers, and by any other name rather than that of Christians.

60. Martyrdom of Eutychius

Moreover, imitating the savage practices of Scythians, they seized upon Eutychius a Subdeacon, a man who had served the Church honourably, and causing him to be scourged on the back with a leather whip, till he was at the point of death, they demanded that her should be sent away to the mines; and

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not simply to any mine, but to that of Phæno , where even a condemned murderer is hardly able to live a few days. And what was most unreasonable in their conduct, they would not permit him even a few hours to have his wounds dressed, but caused him to be sent off immediately, saying, 'If this is done, all men will be afraid, and henceforward will be on our side.' After a short interval, however, being unable to accomplish his journey to the mine on account of the pain of his stripes, he died on the way. He perished rejoicing, having obtained the glory of martyrdom. But the miscreants were not even yet ashamed, but in the words of Scripture, 'having bowels without mercy Proverbs 12:10,' they acted accordingly, and now again perpetrated a satanic deed. When the people prayed them to spare Eutychius and besought them for him, they caused four honourable and free citizens to be seized, one of whom was Hermias who washed the beggars' feet ; and after scourging them very severely, the Duke cast them into the prison. But the Arians, who are more cruel even than Scythians, when they had seen that they did not die from the stripes they had received, complained of the Duke and threatened, saying, 'We will write and tell the eunuchs , that he does not flog as we wish.' Hearing this he was afraid, and was obliged to beat the men a second time; and they being beaten, and knowing for what cause they suffered and by whom they had been accused, said only, 'We are beaten for the sake of the Truth, but we will not hold communion with the heretics: beat us now as you will; God will judge you for this.' The impious men wished to expose them to danger in the prison, that they might die there; but the people of God observing their time, besought him for them, and after seven days or more they were set at liberty.

61. Ill-treatment of the poor

But the Arians, as being grieved at this, again devised another yet more cruel and unholy deed; cruel in the eyes of all men, but well suited to their antichristian heresy. The Lord commanded that we should remember the poor; He said, 'Sell that you have, and give alms' and again 'I was a hungred, and you gave Me meat; I was thirsty, and you gave Me drink; for inasmuch as you have done it unto one of these little ones, you have done it unto Me.' But these men, as being in truth opposed to Christ, have presumed to act contrary to His will in this respect also. For when the Duke gave up the Churches to the Arians, and the destitute persons and widows were unable to continue any longer in them, the widows sat down in places which the Clergy entrusted with the care of them appointed. And when the Arians saw that the brethren readily ministered unto them and supported them, they persecuted the widows also, beating them on the feet, and accused those who gave to them before the Duke. This was done by means of a certain soldier named Dynamius. And it was well-pleasing to Sebastian , for there is no mercy in the Manichæans; nay, it is considered a hateful thing among them to show mercy to a poor man. Here then was a novel subject of complaint; and a new kind of court now first invented by the Arians. Persons were brought to trial for acts of kindness which they had performed; he who showed mercy was accused, and he who had received a benefit was beaten; and they wished rather that a poor man should suffer hunger, than that he who was willing to show mercy should give to him. Such sentiments these modern Jews, for such they are, have learned from the Jews of old, who when they saw him who had been blind from his birth recover his sight, and him who had been a long time sick of the palsy made whole, accused the Lord who had bestowed these benefits upon them, and judged them to be transgressors who had experienced His goodness.

62. Ill-treatment of the poor

Who was not struck with astonishment at these proceedings? Who did not execrate both the heresy, and its defenders? Who failed to perceive that the Arians are indeed more cruel than wild beasts? For they had no prospect of gain from their iniquity, for the sake of which they might have acted in this manner; but they rather increased the hatred of all men against themselves. They thought by treachery and terror to force certain persons into their heresy, so that they might be brought to communicate with them; but the event turned out quite the contrary. The sufferers endured as martyrdom whatever they inflicted upon them, and neither betrayed nor denied the true faith in Christ. And those who were without and witnessed their conduct, and at last even the heathen, when they saw these things, execrated them as antichristian, as cruel executioners; for human nature is prone to pity and sympathise with the poor. But these men have lost even the common sentiments of humanity; and that kindness which they would have desired to meet with at the hands of others, had themselves been sufferers, they would not permit others to receive, but employed against them the severity and authority of the magistrates, and especially of the Duke.

63. Ill-treatment of the Presbyters and Deacons

What they have done to the Presbyters and Deacons; how they drove them into banishment under sentence passed upon them by the Duke and the magistrates, causing the soldiers to bring out their kinsfolk from the houses , and Gorgonius, the commander of the police to beat them with stripes; and how (most cruel act of all) with much insolence they plundered the loaves of these and of those who were now dead; these things it is impossible for words to describe, for their cruelty surpasses all the powers of language. What terms could one employ which might seem equal to the subject? What circumstances could one mention first, so that those next recorded would not be found more dreadful, and the next more dreadful still? All their attempts and iniquities were full of murder and impiety; and so unscrupulous and artful are they, that they endeavour to deceive by promises of protection, and by bribing with money , that so, since they cannot recommend themselves by fair means, they may thereby make some display to impose on the simple.

ATHANASIUS HISTORY OF THE ARIANS, PART 8

64. Persecution in Egypt

64. Who would call them even by the name of Gentiles; much less by that of Christians? Would any one regard their habits and feelings as human, and not rather those of wild beasts, seeing their cruel and savage conduct? They are more worthless than public hangmen; more audacious than all other heretics. To the Gentiles they are much inferior, and stand far apart and separate from them. I have heard from our fathers, and I believe their report to be a faithful one, that long ago, when a persecution arose in the time of Maximian, the grandfather of Constantius, the Gentiles concealed our brethren the Christians, who were sought after, and frequently suffered the loss of their own substance, and had trial of imprisonment, solely that they might not betray the fugitives. They protected those who fled to them for refuge, as they would have done their own persons, and were determined to run all risks on their behalf. But now these admirable persons, the inventors of a new heresy, act altogether the contrary part; and are distinguished for nothing but their treachery. They have appointed themselves as executioners, and seek to betray all alike, and make those who conceal others the objects of their plots, esteeming equally as their enemy both him that conceals and him that is concealed. So murderous are they; so emulous in their evil-doings of the wickedness of Judas.

65. Martyrdom of Secundus of Barka

The crimes these men have committed cannot adequately be described. I would only say, that as I write and wish to enumerate all their deeds of iniquity, the thought enters my mind, whether this heresy be not the fourth daughter of the horse-leach Proverbs 30:15 in the Proverbs, since after so many acts of injustice, so many murders, it has not yet said, 'It is enough.' No; it still rages, and goes about seeking after those whom it has not yet discovered, while those whom it has already injured, it is eager to injure anew. After the night attack, after the evils committed in consequence of it, after the persecution brought about by Heraclius, they cease not yet to accuse us falsely before the Emperor (and they are confident that as impious persons they will obtain a hearing), desiring that something more than banishment may be inflicted upon us, and that hereafter those who do not consent to their impieties may be destroyed. Accordingly, being now emboldened in an extreme degree, that most abandoned Secundus of Pentapolis, and Stephanus his accomplice, conscious that their heresy was a defense of any injustice they might commit, on discovering a Presbyter at Barka who would not comply with their desires (he was called Secundus, being of the same name, but not of the same faith with the heretic), they kicked him till he died. While he was thus suffering he imitated the Saint, and said, 'Let no one avenge my cause before human judges; I have the Lord for my avenger, for whose sake I suffer these things at their hands.' They however were not moved with pity at these words, nor did they feel any awe of the sacred season; for it was during the time of Lent that they thus kicked the man to death.

66. Persecution the weapon of Arianism

O new heresy, that hast put on the whole devil in impiety and wicked deeds! For in truth it is but a lately invented evil; and although certain heretofore appear to have adopted its doctrines, yet they concealed them, and were not known to hold them. But Eusebius and Arius, like serpents coming out of their holes, have vomited forth the poison of this impiety; Arius daring to blasphemy openly, and Eusebius defending his blasphemy. He was not however able to support the heresy, until, as I said before, he found a patron for it in the Emperor. Our fathers called an Ecumenical Council, when three hundred of them, more or less , met together and condemned the Arian heresy, and all declared that it was alien and strange to the faith of the Church. Upon this its supporters, perceiving that they were dishonoured, and had now no good ground of argument to insist upon, devised a different method, and attempted to vindicate it by means of external power. And herein one may especially admire the novelty as well as wickedness of their device, and how they go beyond all other heresies. For these support their madness by persuasive arguments calculated to deceive the simple; the Greeks, as the Apostle has said, make their attack with excellency and persuasiveness of speech, and with plausible fallacies; the Jews, leaving the divine Scriptures, now, as the Apostle again has said, contend about 'fables and endless genealogies 1 Timothy 1:4;' and the Manichees and Valentinians with them, and others, corrupting the divine Scriptures, put forth fables in terms of their own inventions. But the Arians are bolder than them all, and have shown that the other heresies are but their younger sisters , whom, as I have said, they surpass in impiety, emulating them all, and especially the Jews in their iniquity. For as the Jews, when they were unable to prove the charges which they pretended to allege against Paul, straightway led him to the chief captain and the governor; so likewise these men, who surpass the Jews in their devices, make use only of the power of the judges; and if any one so much as speaks against them, he is dragged before the Governor or the General.

67. Arianismworse than other heresies, because of Persecution

The other heresies also, when the very Truth has refuted them on the clearest evidence, are wont to be silent, being simply confounded by their conviction. But this modern and accursed heresy, when it is overthrown by argument, when it is cast down and covered with shame by the very Truth, immediately endeavours to coerce by violence and stripes and imprisonment those whom it has been unable to persuade by argument, thereby acknowledging itself to be anything rather than godly. For it is the part of true godliness not to compel , but to persuade, as I said before. Thus our Lord Himself, not as employing force, but as offering to their free choice, has said to all, 'If any man will follow after Me Matthew 16:24;' and to His disciples, 'Will you also go away John 6:67?' This heresy, however, is altogether alien from godliness; and therefore how otherwise should it act, than contrary to our Saviour, seeing also that it has enlisted that enemy of Christ, Constantius, as it were Antichrist himself , to be its leader in impiety? He for its sake has earnestly endeavoured to emulate Saul in savage cruelty. For when the priests gave victuals to David, Saul commanded, and they were all destroyed, in number three hundred and five ; and this man, now that all avoid the heresy, and confess a sound faith in the Lord, annuls a Council of full three hundred Bishops, banishes the Bishops themselves, and hinders the people from the practice of piety, and from their prayers to God, preventing their public assemblies. And as Saul overthrew Nob, the city of the priests, so this man, advancing even further in wickedness, has given up the Churches to the impious. And as he honoured Doeg the accuser before the true priests, and persecuted David, giving ear to the Ziphites; so this man prefers heretics to the godly, and still persecutes them that flee from him, giving ear to his own eunuchs, who falsely accuse the orthodox. He does not perceive that whatever he does or writes in behalf of the heresy of the Arians, involves an attack upon the Saviour.

68. Constantius worse than Saul, Ahab, and Pilate. His past conduct to his own relations

Ahab himself did not act so cruelly towards the priests of God, as this man has acted towards the Bishops. For he was at least pricked in his conscience, when Naboth had been murdered, and was afraid at the sight 1 Kings 21:20 of Elijah, but this man neither reverenced the great Hosius, nor was wearied or pricked in conscience, after banishing so many Bishops; but like another Pharaoh, the more he is afflicted, the more he is hardened, and imagines greater wickedness day by day. And the most extraordinary instance of his iniquity was the following. It happened that when the Bishops were condemned to banishment, certain other persons also received their sentence on charges of murder or sedition or theft, each according to the quality of his offense. These men after a few months he released, on being requested to do so, as Pilate did Barabbas; but the servants of Christ he not only refused to set at liberty, but even sentenced them to more unmerciful punishment in the place of their exile, proving himself 'an undying evil ' to them. To the others through congeniality of disposition he became a friend; but to the orthodox he was an enemy on account of their true faith in Christ. Is it not clear to all men from hence, that the Jews of old when they demanded Barabbas, and crucified the Lord, acted but the part which these present enemies of Christ are acting together with Constantius? Nay, that he is even more bitter than Pilate. For Pilate, when he perceived Matthew 27:24 the injustice of the deed, washed his hands; but this man, while he banishes the saints, gnashes his teeth against them more and more.

69. But what wonder is it if, after he has been led into impious errors, he is so cruel towards the Bishops, since the common feelings of humanity could not induce him to spare even his own kindred. His uncles he slew; his cousins he put out of the way; he commiserated not the sufferings of his father-in-law, though he had married his daughter, or of his kinsmen; but he has ever been a transgressor of his oaths towards all. So likewise he treated his brother in an unholy manner; and now he pretends to build his sepulchre, although he delivered up to the barbarians his betrothed wife Olympias, whom his brother had protected till his death, and had brought up as his intended consort. Moreover he attempted to set aside his wishes, although he boasts to be his heir ; for so he writes, in terms which any one possessed of but a small measure of sense would be ashamed of. But when I compare

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his letters, I find that he does not possess common understanding, but that his mind is solely regulated by the suggestions of others, and that he has no mind of his own at all. Now Solomon says, 'If a ruler hearken to lies, all his servants are wicked Proverbs 29:12.' This man proves by his actions that he is such an unjust one, and that those about him are wicked.

70. Inconstancy of Constantius

How then, being such an one, and taking pleasure in such associates, can he ever design anything just or reasonable, entangled as he is in the iniquity of his followers, men who verily bewitch him, or rather who have trampled his brains under their heels? Wherefore he now writes letters , and then repents that he has written them, and after repenting is again stirred up to anger, and then again laments his fate, and being undetermined what to do, he shows a soul destitute of understanding. Being then of such a character, one must fairly pity him, because that under the semblance and name of freedom he is the slave of those who drag him on to gratify their own impious pleasure. In a word, while through his folly and inconstancy, as the Scripture says , he is willing to comply with the desires of others, he has given himself up to condemnation, to be consumed by fire in the future judgement; at once consenting to do whatever they wish, and gratifying them in their designs against the Bishops, and in their exertion of authority over the Churches. For behold, he has now again thrown into disorder all the Churches of Alexandria and of Egypt and Libya, and has publicly given orders, that the Bishops of the Catholic Church and faith be cast out of their churches, and that they be all given up to the professors of the Arian doctrines. The General began to carry this order into execution; and straightway Bishops were sent off in chains, and Presbyters and Monks bound with iron, after being almost beaten to death with stripes. Disorder prevails in every place; all Egypt and Libya are in danger, the people being indignant at this unjust command, and seeing in it the preparation for the coming of Antichrist, and beholding their property plundered by others, and given up into the hands of the heretics.

71. This wickednessunprecedented

When was ever such iniquity heard of? When was such an evil deed ever perpetrated, even in times of persecution? They were heathens who persecuted formerly; but they did not bring their idols into the Churches. Zenobia , was a Jewess, and a supporter of Paul of Samosata; but she did not give up the Churches to the Jews for Synagogues. This is a new piece of iniquity. It is not simply persecution, but more than persecution, it is a prelude and preparation for the coming of Antichrist. Even if it be admitted that they invented false charges against Athanasius and the rest of the Bishops whom they banished, yet what is this to their later practices? What charges have they to allege against the whole of Egypt and Libya and Pentapolis ? For they have begun no longer to lay their plots against individuals, in which case they might be able to frame a lie against them; but they have set upon all in a body, so that if they merely choose to invent accusations against them, they must be condemned. Thus their wickedness has blinded their understanding Wisdom 2:21; and they have required, without any reason assigned, that the whole body of the Bishops shall be expelled, and thereby they show that the charges they framed against Athanasius and the rest of the Bishops whom they banished were false, and invented for no other purpose than to support the accursed heresy of the Arian enemies of Christ. This is now no longer concealed, but has become most manifest to all men. He commanded Athanasius to be expelled out of the city, and gave up the Churches to them. And the Presbyters and Deacons that were with him, who had been appointed by Peter and Alexander, were also expelled and driven into banishment; and the real Arians, who not through any suspicions arising from circumstances, but on account of the heresy had been expelled at first together with Arius himself by the Bishop Alexander — Secundus in Libya, in Alexandria Euzoius the Chananæan, Julius, Ammon, Marcus, Irenæus, Zosimus, and Sarapion surnamed Pelycon, and in Libya Sisinnius, and the younger men with him, associates in his impiety; these have obtained possession of the Churches.

72. Banishment of Egyptian Bishops

And the General Sebastian wrote to the governors and military authorities in every place; and the true Bishops were persecuted, and those who professed impious doctrines were brought in in their stead. They banished Bishops who had grown old in orders, and had been many years in the Episcopate, having been ordained by the Bishop Alexander; Ammonius , Hermes, Anagamphus, and Marcus, they sent to the Upper Oasis; Muis, Psenosiris, Nilammon, Plenes, Marcus, and Athenodorus to Ammoniaca, with no other intention than that they should perish in their passage through the deserts. They had no pity on them though they were suffering from illness, and indeed proceeded on their journey with so much difficulty on account of their weakness, that they were obliged to be carried in litters, and their sickness was so dangerous that the materials for their burial accompanied them. One of them indeed died, but they would not even permit the body to be given up to his friends for interment. With the same purpose they banished also the Bishop Dracontius to the desert places about Clysma, Philo to Babylon, Adelphius to Psinabla in the Thebais, and the Presbyters Hierax and Dioscorus to Syene. They likewise drove into exile Ammonius, Agathus, Agathodæmon, Apollonius, Eulogius, Apollos, Paphnutius, Gaius, and Flavius, ancient Bishops, as also the Bishops Dioscorus, Ammonius, Heraclides, and Psais; some of whom they gave up to work in the stone-quarries, others they persecuted with an intention to destroy, and many others they plundered. They banished also forty of the laity, with certain virgins whom they had before exposed to the fire ; beating them so severely with rods taken from palm-trees, that after lingering five days some of them died, and others had recourse to surgical treatment on account of the thorns left in their limbs, from which they suffered torments worse than death. But what is most dreadful to the mind of any man of sound understanding, though characteristic of these miscreants, is this: When the virgins during the scourging called upon the Name of Christ, they gnashed their teeth against them with increased fury. Nay more, they would not give up the bodies of the dead to their friends for burial, but concealed them that they might appear to be ignorant of the murder. They did not however escape detection; the whole city perceived it, and all men withdrew from them as executioners, as malefactors and robbers. Moreover they overthrew monasteries, and endeavoured to cast monks into the fire; they plundered houses, and breaking into the house of certain free citizens where the Bishop had deposited a treasure, they plundered and took it away. They scourged the widows on the soles of their feet, and hindered them from receiving their alms.

73. Character of Ariannominees

Such were the iniquities practised by the Arians; and as to their further deeds of impiety, who could hear the account of them without shuddering? They had caused these venerable old men and aged Bishops to be sent into banishment; they now appointed in their stead profligate heathen youths, whom they thought to raise at once to the highest dignity, though they were not even Catechumens. And others who were accused of bigamy , and even of worse crimes, they nominated Bishops on account of the wealth and civil power which they possessed, and sent them out as it were from a market, upon their giving them gold. And now more dreadful calamities befell the people. For when they rejected these mercenary dependents of the Arians, so alien from themselves, they were scourged, they were proscribed, they were shut up in prison by the General (who did all this readily, being a Manichee), in order that they might no longer seek after their own Bishops, but be forced to accept those whom they abominated, men who were now guilty of the same mockeries as they had before practised among their idols.

74. The Episcopal appointments of Constantius a mark of Antichrist

Will not every just person break forth into lamentations at the sight or hearing of these things, at perceiving the arrogance and extreme injustice of these impious men? 'The righteous lament in the place of the impious.' After all these things, and now that the impiety has reached such a pitch of audacity, who will any longer venture to call this Costyllius a Christian, and not rather the image of Antichrist? For what mark of Antichrist is yet wanting? How can he in any way fail to be regarded as that one? Or how can the latter fail to be supposed such a one as he is? Did not the Arians and the Gentiles offer those sacrifices in the great Church in the Caesareum , and utter their blasphemies against Christ as by His command? And does not the vision of Daniel thus describe Daniel 7:25 Antichrist; that he shall make war with the saints, and prevail against them, and exceed all that have been before him in evil deeds and shall humble three kings, and speak words against the Most High, and shall think to change times and laws? Now what other person besides Constantius has ever attempted to do these things? He is surely such a one as Antichrist would be. He speaks words against the Most High by supporting this impious heresy: he makes war against the saints by banishing the Bishops; although indeed he exercises this power but for a little while to his own destruction. Moreover he has surpassed those before him in wickedness, having devised a new mode of persecution; and after he had overthrown three kings, namely Vetranio, Magnentius, and Gallus, he straightway undertook the patronage of impiety; and like a giant he has dared in his pride to set himself up against the Most High. He has thought to change laws, by transgressing the ordinance of the Lord given us through His Apostles, by altering the customs of the Church, and inventing a new kind of appointments. For he sends from strange places, distant a fifty days' journey , Bishops attended by soldiers to people unwilling to receive them; and instead of an introduction to the acquaintance of their people, they bring with them threatening messages and letters to the magistrates. Thus he sent Gregory from Cappadocia to Alexandria; he transferred Germinius from Cyzicus to Sirmium; he removed Cecropius from Laodicea to Nicomedia.

75. Arrival of George at Alexandria, and proceedings of Constantius in Italy

Again he transferred from Cappadocia to Milan one Auxentius , an intruder rather than a Christian, whom he commanded to stay there, after he had banished for his piety towards Christ Dionysius the Bishop of the place, a godly man. But this person was as yet even ignorant of the Latin language, and unskilful in everything except impiety. And now one George, a Cappadocian, who was contractor of stores at Constantinople, and having embezzled all monies that he received, was obliged to fly, he commanded to enter Alexandria with military pomp, and supported by the authority of the General. Next, finding one Epictetus a novice, a bold young man, he loved him , perceiving that he was ready for wickedness; and by his means he carries on his designs against those of the Bishops whom he desires to ruin. For he is prepared to do everything that the Emperor wishes; who accordingly availing himself of his assistance, has committed at Rome a strange act, but one truly resembling the malice of Antichrist. Having made preparations in the Palace instead of the Church, and caused some three of his own eunuchs to attend instead of the people, he then compelled three ill-conditioned spies (for one cannot call them Bishops), to ordain forsooth as Bishop one Felix , a man worthy of them, then in the Palace. For the people perceiving the iniquitous proceedings of the heretics would not allow them to enter the Churches , and withdrew themselves far from them.

76. Tyrannous banishment of Bishops by Constantius

Now what is yet wanting to make him Antichrist? Or what more could Antichrist do at his coming than this man has done? Will he not find when he comes that the way has been already prepared for him by this man easily to deceive the people? Again , he claims to himself the right of deciding causes, which he refers to the Court instead of the Church, and presides at them in person. And strange it is to say, when he perceives the accusers at a loss, he takes up the accusation himself, so that the injured party may no longer be able to defend himself on account of the violence which he displays. This he did in the proceedings against Athanasius. For when he saw the boldness of the Bishops Paulinus, Lucifer, Eusebius, and Dionysius, and how out of the recantation of Ursacius and Valens they confuted those who spoke against the Bishop, and advised that Valens and his fellows should no longer be believed, since they had already retracted what they now asserted, he immediately stood up and said, 'I am now the accuser of Athanasius; on my account you must believe what these assert.' And then, when they said —'But how can you be an accuser, when the accused person is not present? For if you are his accuser, yet he is not present, and therefore cannot be tried. And the cause is not one that concerns Rome, so that you should be believed as being the Emperor; but it is a matter that concerns a Bishop; for the trial ought to be conducted on equal terms both to the accuser and the accused. And besides, how can you accuse him? For you could not be present to witness the conduct of one who lived at so great a distance from you; and if you speak but what you have heard from these, you ought also to give credit to what he says; but if you will not believe him, while you do believe them, it is plain that they assert these things for your sake, and accuse Athanasius only to gratify you?'— when he heard this, thinking that what they had so truly spoken was an insult to himself, he sent them into banishment; and being exasperated against Athanasius, he wrote in a more savage strain, requiring that he should suffer what has now befallen him, and that the Churches should be given up to the Arians, and that they should be allowed to do whatever they pleased.

77. Constantius the precursor of Antichrist

Terrible indeed, and worse than terrible are such proceedings; yet conduct suitable to him who assumes the character of Antichrist. Who that beheld him taking the lead of his pretended Bishops, and presiding in Ecclesiastical causes, would not justly exclaim that this was 'the abomination of desolation Daniel 9:27 ' spoken of by Daniel? For having put on the profession of Christianity, and entering into the holy places, and standing therein, he lays waste the Churches, transgressing their Canons, and enforcing the observance of his own decrees. Will any one now venture to say that this is a peaceful time with Christians, and not a time of persecution? A persecution indeed, such as never arose before, and such as no one perhaps will again stir up, except 'the son of lawlessness 2 Thessalonians 2:8,' do these enemies of Christ exhibit, who already present a picture of him in their own persons. Wherefore it especially behooves us to be sober, lest this heresy which has reached such a height of impudence, and has diffused itself abroad like the 'poison of an adder Proverbs 23:32,' as it is written in the Proverbs, and which teaches doctrines contrary to the Saviour; lest, I say, this be that 'falling away 2 Thessalonians 2:3,' after which He shall be revealed, of whom Constantius is surely the forerunner. Else why is he so mad against the godly? Why does he contend for it as his own heresy, and call every one his enemy who will not comply with the madness of Arius, and admit gladly the allegations of the enemies of Christ, and dishonour so many venerable Councils? Why did he command that the Churches

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should be given up to the Arians? Was it not that, when that other comes, he may thus find a way to enter into them, and may take to himself him who has prepared those places for him? For the ancient Bishops who were ordained by Alexander, and by his predecessor Achillas, and by Peter before him, have been cast out; and those introduced whom the companions of soldiers nominated; and they nominated only such as promised to adopt their doctrines.

78. Alliance of Meletians with Arians

This was an easy proposition for the Meletians to comply with; for the greater part, or rather the whole of them, have never had a religious education, nor are they acquainted with the 'sound faith ' in Christ, nor do they know at all what Christianity is, or what writings we Christians possess. For having come out, some of them from the worship of idols, and others from the senate, or from the first civil offices, for the sake of the miserable exemption from duty and for the patronage they gained, and having bribed the Meletians who preceded them, they have been advanced to this dignity even before they had been under instruction. And even if they pretended to have been such, yet what kind of instruction is to be obtained among the Meletians? But indeed without even pretending to be under instruction, they came at once, and immediately were called Bishops, just as children receive a name. Being then persons of this description, they thought the thing of no great consequence, nor even supposed that piety was different from impiety. Accordingly from being Meletians they readily and speedily became Arians; and if the Emperor should command them to adopt any other profession, they are ready to change again to that also. Their ignorance of true godliness quickly brings them to submit to the prevailing folly, and that which happens to be first taught them. For it is nothing to them to be carried about by every wind and tempest, so long as they are only exempt from duty, and obtain the patronage of men; nor would they scruple probably to change again to what they were before, even to become such as they were when they were heathens. Any how, being men of such an easy temper, and considering the Church as a civil senate, and like heathen being idolatrously minded, they put on the honourable name of the Saviour, under which they polluted the whole of Egypt, by causing so much as the name of the Arian heresy to be known therein. For Egypt has heretofore been the only country, throughout which the profession of the orthodox faith was boldly maintained ; and therefore these misbelievers have striven to introduce jealousy there also, or rather not they, but the devil who has stirred them up, in order that when his herald Antichrist shall come, he may find that the Churches in Egypt also are his own, and that the Meletians have already been instructed in his principles, and may recognise himself as already formed in them.

79. Behaviour of the Meletians contrasted with that of the Alexandrian Christians

Such is the effect of that iniquitous order which was issued by Constantius. On the part of the people there was displayed a ready alacrity to submit to martyrdom, and an increased hatred of this most impious heresy; and yet lamentations for their Churches, and groans burst from all, while they cried unto the Lord, 'Spare Your people, O Lord, and give not Your heritage unto Your enemies to reproach Joel 2:17;' but make haste to deliver us out of the hand of the lawless. For behold, 'they have not spared Your servants, but are preparing the way for Antichrist.' For the Meletians will never resist him, nor will they care for the truth, nor will they esteem it an evil thing to deny Christ. They are men who have not approached the word with sincerity; like the chameleon they assume every various appearance; they are hirelings of any who will make use of them. They make not the truth their aim, but prefer before it their present pleasure; they say only, 'Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die 1 Corinthians 15:32.' Such a profession and faithless temper is more worthy of Epicritian players than of Meletians. But the faithful servants of our Saviour, and the true Bishops who believe with sincerity, and live not for themselves, but for the Lord; these faithfully believing in our Lord Jesus Christ, and knowing, as I said before, that the charges which were alleged against the truth were false, and plainly fabricated for the sake of the Arian heresy (for by the recantation of Ursacius and Valens they detected the calumnies which were devised against Athanasius, for the purpose of removing him out of the way, and of introducing into the Churches the impieties of the enemies of Christ); these, I say, perceiving all this, as defenders and preachers of the truth, chose rather, and endured to be insulted and driven into banishment, than to subscribe against him, and to hold communion with the Arian madmen. They forgot not the lessons they had taught to others; yea, they know well that great dishonour remains for the traitors, but for them which confess the truth, the kingdom of heaven; and that to the careless and such as fear Constantius will happen no good thing; but for them that endure tribulations here, as sailors reach a quiet haven after a storm, as wrestlers receive a crown after the combat, so these shall obtain great and eternal joy and delight in heaven;— such as Joseph obtained after those tribulations; such as the great Daniel had after his temptations and the manifold conspiracies of the courtiers against him; such as Paul now enjoys, being crowned by the Saviour; such as the people of God everywhere expect. They, seeing these things, were not infirm of purpose, but waxed strong in faith , and increased in their zeal more and more. Being fully persuaded of the calumnies and impieties of the heretics, they condemn the persecutor, and in heart and mind run together the same course with them that are persecuted, that they also may obtain the crown of Confession.

80. Duty of separating from heretics

One might say much more against this detestable and antichristian heresy, and might demonstrate by many arguments that the practices of Constantius are a prelude to the coming of Antichrist. But seeing that, as the Prophet Isaiah 1:6 has said, from the feet even to the head there is no reasonableness in it, but it is full of all filthiness and all impiety, so that the very name of it ought to be avoided as a dog's vomit or the poison of serpents; and seeing that Costyllius openly exhibits the image of the adversary 2 Thessalonians 2:4; in order that our words may not be too many, it will be well to content ourselves with the divine Scripture, and that we all obey the precept which it has given us both in regard to other heresies, and especially respecting this. That precept is as follows; 'Depart, depart, go out from thence, touch no unclean thing; go out of the midst of them, and be separate, that bear the vessels of the Lord Isaiah 52:11.' This may suffice to instruct us all, so that if any one has been deceived by them, he may go out from them, as out of Sodom, and not return again unto them, lest he suffer the fate of Lot's wife; and if any one has continued from the beginning pure from this impious heresy, he may glory in Christ and say, 'We have not stretched out our hands to a strange god ; neither have we worshipped the works of our own hands, nor served the creature more than You, the God that hast created all things through Your word, the Only-Begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom to You the Father together with the same Word in the Holy Spirit be glory and power for ever and ever. Amen.'

81. The Second Protest

The people of the Catholic Church in Alexandria, which is under the government of the most Reverend Bishop Athanasius, make this public protest by those whose names are under-written.

We have already protested against the nocturnal assault which was committed upon ourselves and the Lord's house; although in truth there needed no protest in respect to proceedings with which the whole city has been already made acquainted. For the bodies of the slain which were discovered were exposed in public, and the bows and arrows and other arms found in the Lord's house loudly proclaim the iniquity.

But whereas after our Protest already made, the most illustrious Duke Syrianus endeavours to force all men to agree with him, as though no tumult had been made, nor any had perished (wherein is no small proof that these things were not done according to the wishes of the most gracious Emperor Augustus Constantius; for he would not have been so much afraid of the consequences of this transaction, had he acted therein by command); and whereas also, when we went to him, and requested him not to do violence to any, nor to deny what had taken place, he ordered us, being Christians, to be beaten with clubs; thereby again giving proof of the nocturnal assault which has been directed against the Church: —

We therefore make also this present Protest, certain of us being now about to travel to the most religious Emperor Augustus: and we adjure Maximus the Prefect of Egypt, and the Controllers , in the name of Almighty God, and for the sake of the salvation of the most religious Augustus Constantius, to relate all these things to the piety of Augustus, and to the authority of the most illustrious Prefects. We adjure also the masters of vessels, to publish these things everywhere, and to carry them to the ears of the most religious Augustus, and to the Prefects and the Magistrates in every place, in order that it may be known that a war has been waged against the Church, and that, in the times of Augustus Constantius, Syrianus has caused virgins and many others to become martyrs.

As it dawned upon the fifth before the Ides of February , that is to say, the fourteenth of the month Mechir, while we were keeping vigil in the Lord's house, and engaged in our prayers (for there was to be a communion on the Preparation); suddenly about midnight, the most illustrious Duke Syrianus attacked us and the Church with many legions of soldiers armed with naked swords and javelins and other warlike instruments, and wearing helmets on their heads; and actually while we were praying, and while the lessons were being read, they broke down the doors. And when the doors were burst open by the violence of the multitude, he gave command, and some of them were shooting; others shouting, their arms rattling, and their swords flashing in the light of the lamps; and immediately virgins were being slain, many men trampled down, and falling over one another as the soldiers came upon them, and several were pierced with arrows and perished. Some of the soldiers also were betaking themselves to plunder, and were stripping the virgins, who were more afraid of being even touched by them than they were of death. The Bishop continued sitting upon his throne, and exhorted all to pray. The Duke led on the attack, having with him Hilarius the notary, whose part in the proceedings was shown in the sequel. The Bishop was seized, and barely escaped being torn to pieces; and having fallen into a state of insensibility, and appearing as one dead, he disappeared from among them, and has gone we know not whither. They were eager to kill him. And when they saw that many had perished, they gave orders to the soldiers to remove out of sight the bodies of the dead. But the most holy virgins who were left behind were buried in the tombs, having attained the glory of martyrdom in the times of the most religious Constantius. Deacons also were beaten with stripes even in the Lord's house, and were shut up there.

Nor did matters stop even here: for after all this had happened, whosoever pleased broke open any door that he could, and searched, and plundered what was within. They entered even into those places which not even all Christians are allowed to enter. Gorgonius, the commander of the city force , knows this, for he was present. And no unimportant evidence of the nature of this hostile assault is afforded by the circumstance, that the armour and javelins and swords borne by those who entered were left in the Lord's house. They have been hung up in the Church until this time, that they might not be able to deny it: and although they sent several times Dynamius the soldier , as well as the Commander of the city police, desiring to take them away, we would not allow it, until the circumstance was known to all.

Now if an order has been given that we should be persecuted we are all ready to suffer martyrdom. But if it be not by order of Augustus, we desire Maximus the Prefect of Egypt and all the city magistrates to request of him that they may not again be suffered thus to assail us. And we desire also that this our petition may be presented to him, that they may not attempt to bring in hither any other Bishop: for we have resisted unto death , desiring to have the most Reverend Athanasius, whom God gave us at the beginning, according to the succession of our fathers; whom also the most religious Augustus Constantius himself sent to us with letters and oaths. And we believe that when his Piety is informed of what has taken place, he will be greatly displeased, and will do nothing contrary to his oaths, but will again give orders that our Bishop Athanasius shall remain with us.

To the Consuls to be elected after the Consulship of the most illustrious Arbæthion and Collianus , on the seventeenth Mechir , which is the day before the Ides of February.

THE 39TH FESTAL LETTER OF ATHANASIUS

Source: The Festal Letters of Athanasius
The ancient Syriac-Aramaic Version
Manuscript British Museum (Cod. 12, 168)
Translation: William Cureton, 1848
Estimated Range of Dating: 367 A.D.

(The Festal Letters or Easter Letters are a series of annual letters by which the Bishops of Alexandria, in conformity with a decision of the First Council of Nicaea, announced the date on which Easter was to be celebrated. The most famous of those letters are those authored by Athanasius, a collection of which was rediscovered in a Syriac translation in 1842.

Athanasius of Alexandria (Greek: Athanasios Alexandrias; c. 296–373), was the 20th bishop of Alexandria (as Athanasius I). His intermittent episcopacy spanned 45 years, of which over 17 encompassed five exiles, when he was replaced on the order of four different Roman emperors. Athanasius was a Christian theologian, a Church Father, the chief defender of Trinitarianism against Arianism, and a noted Egyptian leader of the fourth century.

Conflict with Arius and Arianism as well as successive Roman emperors shaped Athanasius' career. In 325, at the age of 27, Athanasius began his leading role against the Arians as a deacon and assistant to Bishop Alexander of Alexandria during the First Council of Nicaea. Roman emperor Constantine the Great had convened the council in May–August 325 to address the Arian position that the Son of God, Jesus of Nazareth, is of a distinct substance from the Father. Three years after that council, Athanasius succeeded his mentor as archbishop of Alexandria. In addition to the conflict with the Arians (including powerful and influential Arian churchmen led by Eusebius of Nicomedia), he struggled against the Emperors Constantine, Constantius II, Julian the Apostate and Valens.

His writings were well regarded by subsequent Church fathers in the West and the East. In the Eastern Orthodox Church, he is labeled as the "Father of Orthodoxy". Athanasius is the first person to identify the same 27 books of the New Testament that are in use today. He is venerated as a Christian saint in Western and Eastern Christianity.

Of the 45 Festal Letters of Athanasius of Alexandria (c. 296–373), the 39th, written for Easter of AD 367, is of particular interest as regards the biblical canon. In this letter

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Athanasius lists the books of the Old Testament as 22 in accordance with Jewish tradition. To the books in the Tanakh he adds the Book of Baruch and the Letter of Jeremiah, but he excludes the Book of Esther.

He lists the books of the New Testament as the familiar 27: the 4 Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the 7 General Epistles (listed in the order in which they appear in modern editions of the New Testament), the 14 Pauline Epistles (listed with the Letter to the Hebrews placed between those to the Thessalonians and the Pastoral Epistles), and the Book of Revelation. Although the order in which Athanasius places the books is different from what is now usual, his list is the earliest reference to the present canon of the New Testament.

Athanasius reckons, not as part of the canon of Scripture, but as books "appointed by the Fathers to be read by those who newly join us, and who wish for instruction in the word of godliness": the Book of Wisdom, Sirach, the Book of Esther, Judith, the Book of Tobit, the Teaching of the Apostles, and the Shepherd of Hermas. Despite this distinction, J. Leemans has argued that there is no difference in the way Athanasius uses these books and the way he uses those he designated as in the New Testament.

In addition to the books that he calls either canonical or books to be read, he speaks also of books to be rejected, calling them apocrypha, and describing them as "an invention of heretics, who write them when they choose, bestowing upon them their approbation, and assigning to them a date, that so, using them as ancient writings, they may find occasion to lead astray the simple".)

Text:

1. . . . They [The Coptic Egyptians] have fabricated books which they call books of tables [Astrological charts or tables appear to be meant.], in which they shew stars, to which they give the names of Saints. And therein of a truth they have inflicted on themselves a double reproach: those who have written such books, because they have perfected themselves in a lying and contemptible science; and as to the ignorant and simple, they have led them astray by evil thoughts concerning the right faith established in all truth and upright in the presence of God.

2. . . . But* since we have made mention of heretics as dead, but of ourselves as possessing the Divine Scriptures for salvation; and since I fear lest, as Paul wrote to the Corinthians [2 Cor. 11:3], some few of the simple should be beguiled from their simplicity and purity, by the subtilty of certain men, and should henceforth read other books—those called apocryphal—led astray by the similarity of their names with the true books; I beseech you to bear patiently, if I also write, by way of remembrance, of matters with which you are acquainted, influenced by the need and advantage of the Church.

[* The remainder of the thirty-ninth Letter has long been before the world, having been preserved, with the heading of the Letter, in the original Greek, by Theodorus Balsamon. It may be found in the first volume of the Benedictine edition of the works of S. Athan. tom. i. p. 767. ed. 1777. [Migne, ubi supra].]

3. In proceeding to make mention of these things, I shall adopt, to commend my undertaking, the pattern of Luke the Evangelist, saying on my own account: 'Forasmuch as some have taken in hand [Luke 1:1],' to reduce into order for themselves the books termed apocryphal, and to mix them up with the divinely inspired Scripture, concerning which we have been fully persuaded, as they who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the Word, delivered to the fathers; it seemed good to me also, having been urged thereto by true brethren, and having learned from the beginning, to set before you the books included in the Canon, and handed down, and accredited as Divine; to the end that any one who has fallen into error may condemn those who have led him astray; and that he who has continued stedfast in purity may again rejoice, having these things brought to his remembrance.

4. There are, then, of the Old Testament, twenty-two books in number; for, as I have heard, it is handed down that this is the number of the letters among the Hebrews; their respective order and names being as follows. The first is Genesis, then Exodus, next Leviticus, after that Numbers, and then Deuteronomy. Following these there is Joshua, the son of Nun, then Judges, then Ruth. And again, after these four books of Kings, the first and second being reckoned as one book, and so likewise the third and fourth as one book. And again, the first and second of the Chronicles are reckoned as one book. Again Ezra, the first and second [i.e. Ezra and Nehemiah.] are similarly one book. After these there is the book of Psalms, then the Proverbs, next Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs. Job follows, then the Prophets, the twelve being reckoned as one book. Then Isaiah, one book, then Jeremiah with Baruch [i.e. Baruch 6.—The Syriac has the conjunction, which is rejected by the Benedictine editors.], Lamentations, and the epistle, one book; afterwards, Ezekiel and Daniel, each one book. Thus far constitutes the Old Testament.

5. Again it is not tedious to speak of the [books] of the New Testament. These are, the four Gospels, according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Afterwards, the Acts of the Apostles and Epistles (called Catholic), seven, viz. of James, one; of Peter, two; of John, three; after these, one of Jude. In addition, there are fourteen Epistles of Paul, written in this order. The first, to the Romans; then two to the Corinthians; after these, to the Galatians; next, to the Ephesians; then to the Philippians; then to the Colossians; after these, two to the Thessalonians, and that to the Hebrews; and again, two to Timothy; one to Titus; and lastly, that to Philemon. And besides, the Revelation of John.

6. These are fountains of salvation, that they who thirst may be satisfied with the living words they contain. In these alone is proclaimed the doctrine of godliness. Let no man add to these, neither let him take ought from these. For concerning these the Lord put to shame the Sadducees, and said, 'Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures.' And He reproved the Jews, saying, 'Search the Scriptures, for these are they that testify of Me [Matt. 22:29; John 5:39].'

7. But for greater exactness I add this also, writing of necessity; that there are other books besides these not indeed included in the Canon, but appointed by the Fathers to be read by those who newly join us, and who wish for instruction in the word of godliness. The Wisdom of Solomon, and the Wisdom of Sirach, and Esther, and Judith, and Tobit, and that which is called the Teaching of the Apostles, and the Shepherd. But the former, my brethren, are included in the Canon, the latter being [merely] read; nor is there in any place a mention of apocryphal writings. But they are an invention of heretics, who write them when they choose, bestowing upon them their approbation, and assigning to them a date, that so, using them as ancient writings, they may find occasion to lead astray the simple.

FLAVIUS JULIANUS AGAINST THE GALILEANS

Objections against the Doctrines of the Galileans
Synopsis of Against the Galileans (Christians)
By Emperor Flavius Claudius Julianus
From: The Works of the Emperor Julian, Volume 3
Translation: Wilmer Cave Wright, 1923
Estimated Range of Dating: 362-363 AD

(Flavius Claudius Julianus Augustus; 331–363), also known as Julian the Apostate, was Roman Emperor from 361 to 363, as well as a notable philosopher and author in Greek. He was the last pagan emperor to rule the Roman Empire. As he was a nephew of the emperor Flavius Constantinus, he had been brought up as a Christian. He studied with Neoplatonists while growing up, and abandoned Christianity in 351. After he became the Roman Emperor, he tried to end the persecution of pagans that had ongoing over the previous decades, legalising cult sacrifice, restoring many pagan temples, and financing cults. Though he did not persecute Christians or forbid Christianity, he ended subsidies to the Christian church and ended the punishments that had been given to heretical Christians. As emperor, Julian had tried to stop the growing influence of Christianity in the Roman Empire, and had encouraged support for the original pagan imperial cults and ethnic religions of the Empire.

He also composed treatises that attacked those whose ideas he disagreed with, including two on those he called "false Cynics" and Against the Galileaens, which was written during his stay in Antioch in the winter of 362-363. Against the Galilaeans, meaning Christians, was probably not the original title of the polemical essay. He wrote it in Greek the during his short reign (361–363). The original text was probably destroyed by the Christian fanatics who tried to burn all non-Christian books when they came to power. Cyril often wrote of how the Jewish community stood in the way of Christianity, and that Gentiles, the non-Jews, ought to reject all things Jewish. Julian, in contrast to that, had supported the Jewish community in the Roman Empire and sought even to rebuild their Temple in Jerusalem. Perhaps it was this fundamental disagreement over the value of the Jewish faith that made Cyril's refutation so bitter.

In his essay, Julian described what he considered to be the mistakes and dangers of the Christian faith, and he threw an unflattering light on ongoing disputes inside the Christian Church. He was disgusted about their fanaticism, intolerance and their readiness to percute any non-believers. Julian portrayed Christians as apostates from Judaism, which the Emperor considered to be a very old and established religion that should be fully accepted. After Julian's death in battle in 363, the essay was shunned by the Church, and even the text was lost. What we know of Julian's arguments comes from the writings of Cyril of Alexandria, who quoted it at length while writing between 434 and 441 a treatise against it.)

AGAINST THE GALILEANS (CHRISTIANS)

1 It is, I think, expedient to set forth to all mankind the reasons by which I was convinced that the fabrication of the Galilaeans is a fiction of men composed by wickedness. Though it has in it nothing divine, by making full use of that part of the soul which loves fable and is childish and foolish, it has induced men to believe that the monstrous tale is truth. Now since I intend to treat of all their first dogmas, as they call them, I wish to say in the first place that if my readers desire to try to refute me they must proceed as if they were in a court of law and not drag in irrelevant matter, or, as the saying is, bring counter-charges until they have defended their own views. For thus it will be better and clearer if, when they wish to censure any views of mine, they undertake that as a separate task, but when they are defending themselves against my censure, they bring no counter-charges.

2 It is worth while to recall in a few words whence and how we first arrived at a conception of God; next to compare what is said about the divine among the Hellenes and Hebrews; and finally to enquire of those who are neither Hellenes nor Jews, but belong to the sect of the Galilaeans, why they preferred the belief of the Jews to ours; and what, further, can be the reason why they do not even adhere to the Jewish beliefs but have abandoned them also and followed a way of their own. For they have not accepted a single admirable or important doctrine of those that are held either by us Hellenes or by the Hebrews who derived them from Moses; but from both religions they have gathered what has been engrafted like powers of evil, as it were, on these nations – atheism from the Jewish levity, and a sordid and slovenly way of living from our indolence and vulgarity; and they desire that this should be called the noblest worship of the gods.

3 Now that the human race possesses its knowledge of God by nature and not from teaching is proved to us first of all by the universal yearning for the divine that is in all men whether private persons or communities, whether considered as individuals or as races. For all of us, without being taught, have attained to a belief in some sort of divinity, though it is not easy for all men to know the precise truth about it, nor is it possible for those who do know it to tell it to all men. . . . Surely, besides this conception which is common to all men, there is another also. I mean that we are all by nature so closely dependent on the heavens and the gods that are visible therein, that even if any man conceives of another god besides these, he in every case assigns to him the heavens as his dwelling-place; not that he thereby separates him from the earth, but he so to speak establishes the King of the All in the heavens as in the most honourable place of all, and conceives of him as overseeing from there the affairs of this world.

4 What need have I to summon Hellenes and Hebrews as witnesses of this? There exists no man who does not stretch out his hands towards the heavens when he prays; and whether he swears by one god or several, if he has any notion at all of the divine, he turns heavenward. And it was very natural that men should feel thus. For since they observed that in what concerns the heavenly bodies there is no increase or diminution or mutability, and that they do not suffer any unregulated influence, but their movement is harmonious and their arrangement in concert; and that the illuminations of the moon are regulated, and that the risings and settings of the sun are regularly defined, and always at regularly defined seasons, they naturally conceived that the heaven is a god and the throne of a god. For a being of that sort, since it is not subject to increase by addition, or to diminution by subtraction, and is stationed beyond all change due to alteration and mutability, is free from decay and generation, and inasmuch as it is immortal by nature and indestructible, it is pure from every sort of stain. Eternal and ever in movement, as we see, it travels in a circuit about the great Creator, whether it be impelled by a nobler and more divine soul that dwells therein, just as, I mean, our bodies are by the soul in us, or having received its motion from God Himself, it wheels in its boundless circuit, in an unceasing and eternal career.

5 Now it is true that the Hellenes invented their myths about the gods, incredible and monstrous stories. For they said that Kronos swallowed his children and then vomited them forth; and they even told of lawless unions, how Zeus had intercourse with his mother, and after having a child by her, married his own daughter, or rather did not even marry her, but simply had intercourse with her and then handed her over to another. Then too there is the legend that Dionysus was rent asunder and his limbs joined together again. This is the sort of thing described in the myths of the Hellenes. Compare with them the Jewish doctrine, how the garden was planted by God and Adam was fashioned by Him, and next, for Adam, woman came to be. For God said, "It is not good that the man should be alone. Let us make him an help meet like, him." Yet so far was she from helping him at all that she deceived him, and was in part the cause of his and her own fall from their life of ease in the garden.

6 This is wholly fabulous. For is it probable that God did not know that the being he was creating as a help meet would prove to be not so much a blessing as a misfortune to him who

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received her? Again, what sort of language are we to say that the serpent used when he talked with Eve? Was it the language of human beings? And in what do such legends as these differ from the myths that were invented by the Hellenes? Moreover, is it not excessively strange that God should deny to the human beings whom he had fashioned the power to distinguish between good and evil? What could be more foolish than a being unable to distinguish good from bad? For it is evident that he would not avoid the latter, I mean things evil, nor would he strive after the former, I mean things good. And, in short, God refused to let man taste of wisdom, than which there could be nothing of more value for man. For that the power to distinguish between good and less good is the property of wisdom is evident surely even to the witless; so that the serpent was a benefactor rather than a destroyer of the human race. Furthermore, their God must be called envious. For when he saw that man had attained to a share of wisdom, that he might not, God said, taste of the tree of life, he cast him out of the garden, saying in so many words, "Behold, Adam has become as one of us, because he knows good from bad; and now let him not put forth his hand and take also of the tree of life and eat and thus live forever." Accordingly, unless every one of these legends is a myth that involves some secret interpretation, as I indeed believe, they are filled with many blasphemous sayings about God. For in the first place to be ignorant that she who was created as a help meet would be the cause of the fall; secondly to refuse the knowledge of good and bad, which knowledge alone seems to give coherence to the mind of man; and lastly to be jealous lest man should take of the tree of life and from mortal become immortal, – this is to be grudging and envious overmuch.

7 Next to consider the views that are correctly held by the Jews, and also those that our fathers handed down to us from the beginning. Our account has in it the immediate creator of this universe, as the following shows. . . . Moses indeed has said nothing whatsoever about the gods who are superior to this creator, nay, he has not even ventured to say anything about the nature of the angels. But that they serve God he has asserted in many ways and often; but whether they were generated or un-generated, or whether they were generated by one god and appointed to serve another, or in some other way, he has nowhere said definitely. But he describes fully in what manner the heavens and the earth and all that therein is were set in order. In part, he says, God ordered them to be, such as light and the firmament, and in part, he says, God made them, such as the heavens and the earth, the sun and moon, and that all things which already existed but were hidden away for the time being, he separated, such as water, I mean, and dry land. But apart from these he did not venture to say a word about the generation or the making of the Spirit, but only this, "And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." But whether that spirit was ungenerated or had been generated he does not make at all clear.

8 Now, if you please, we will compare the utterance of Plato. Observe then what he says about the creator, and what words he makes him speak at the time of the generation of the universe, in order that we may compare Plato's account of that generation with that of Moses. For in this way it will appear who was the nobler and who was more worthy of intercourse with God, Plato who paid homage to images, or he of whom the Scripture says that God spake with him mouth to mouth. "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was invisible and without form, and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters. And God said, Let there be light; and there was light. And God saw the light that it was good; and God divided the light from the darkness. And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. And the evening and the morning were the first day. And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters. And God called the firmament Heaven. And God said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear; and it was so. And God said, Let the earth bring forth grass for fodder, and the fruit tree yielding fruit. And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven that they may be for a light upon the earth. And God set them in the firmament of the heaven to rule over the day and over the night."

9 In all this, you observe, Moses does not say that the deep was created by God, or the darkness or the waters. And yet, after saying concerning light that God ordered it to be, and it was, surely he ought to have gone on to speak of night also, and the deep and the waters. But of them he says not a word to imply that they were not already existing at all, though he often mentions them. Furthermore, he does not mention the birth or creation of the angels or in what manner they were brought into being, but deals only with the heavenly and earthly bodies. It follows that, according to Moses, God is the creator of nothing that is incorporeal, but is only the disposer of matter that already existed. For the words, "And the earth was invisible and without form" can only mean that he regards the wet and dry substance as the original matter and that he introduces God as the disposer of this matter.

10 Now on the other hand hear what Plato says about the universe: "Now the whole heaven or the universe, – or whatever other name would be most acceptable to it, so let it be named by us, – did it exist eternally, having no beginning of generation, or has it come into being starting from some beginning? It has come into being. For it can be seen and handled and has a body; and all such things are the objects of sensation, and such objects of sensation, being apprehensible by opinion with the aid of sensation are things that came into being, as we saw, and have been generated. . . It follows, therefore, according to the reasonable theory, that we ought to affirm that this universe came into being as a living creature possessing soul and intelligence in very truth, both by the providence of God."

11 Let us but compare them, point by point. What and what sort of speech does the god make in the account of Moses, and what the god in the account of Plato?

12 "And God said, Let us make man in our image, and our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth. So God created man, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them, and said, Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over all the cattle and over all the earth."

13 Now, I say, hear also the speech which Plato puts in the mouth of the Artificer of the All.

14 "Gods of Gods! Those works whose artificer and father I am will abide indissoluble, so long as it is my will. Lo, all that hath been fastened may be loosed, yet to will to loose that which is harmonious and in good case were the act of an evil being. Wherefore, since ye have come into being, ye are not immortal or indissoluble altogether, nevertheless ye shall by no means be loosed or meet with the doom of death, since ye have found in my will a bond more mighty and more potent than those wherewith ye were bound when ye came into being. Now therefore hearken to the saying which I proclaim unto you: Three kinds of mortal beings still remain unborn, and unless these have birth the heaven will be incomplete. For it will not have within itself all the kinds of living things. Yet if these should come into being and receive a share of life at my hands they would become equal to gods. Therefore in order that they may be mortal, and that this All may be All in very truth, turn ye according to your nature to the contriving of living things, imitating my power even as I showed it in generating you. And such part of them as is fitted to receive the same name as the immortals, which is called divine and the power in them that governs all who are willing ever to follow justice and you, this part I, having sowed it and originated the same, will deliver to you. For the rest, do you, weaving the mortal with the immortal, contrive living beings and bring them to birth; then by giving them sustenance increase them, and when they perish receive them back again."

15 But since ye are about to consider whether this is only a dream, do ye learn the meaning thereof. Plato gives the name gods to those that are visible, the sun and moon, the stars and the heavens, but these are only the likenesses of the invisible gods. The sun which is visible to our eyes is the likeness of the intelligible and invisible sun, and again the moon which is visible to our eyes and every one of the stars are likenesses of the intelligible. Accordingly Plato knows of those intelligible and invisible gods which are immanent in and coexist with the creator himself and were begotten and proceeded from him. Naturally, therefore, the creator in Plato's account says "gods" when he is addressing the invisible beings, and "of gods," meaning by this, evidently, the visible gods. And the common creator of both these is he who fashioned the heavens and the earth and the sea and the stars, and begat in the intelligible world the archetypes of these.

16 Observe then that what follows is well said also. "For," he says, "there remain three kinds of mortal things," meaning, evidently, human beings, animals and plants; for each one of these has been denned by its own peculiar definition. "Now," he goes on to say, "if each one of these also should come to exist by me, it would of necessity become immortal." And indeed, in the case of the intelligible gods and the visible universe, no other cause for their immortality exists than that they came into existence by the act of the creator. When, therefore, he says, "Such part of them as is immortal must needs be given to these by the creator," he means the reasoning soul. "For the rest," he says, "do ye weave mortal with immortal." It is therefore clear that the creative gods received from their father their creative power and so begat on earth all living things that are mortal. For if there were to be no difference between the heavens and mankind and animals too, by Zeus, and all the way down to the very tribe of creeping things and the little fish that swim in the sea, then there would have had to be one and the same creator for them all. But if there is a great gulf fixed between immortals and mortals, and this cannot become greater by addition or less by subtraction, nor can it be mixed with what is mortal and subject to fate, it follows that one set of gods were the creative cause of mortals, and another of immortals.

17 Accordingly, since Moses, as it seems, has failed also to give a complete account of the immediate creator of this universe, let us go on and set one against another the opinion of the Hebrews and that of our fathers about these nations.

18 Moses says that the creator of the universe chose out the Hebrew nation, that to that nation alone did he pay heed and cared for it, and he gives him charge of it alone. But how and by what sort of gods the other nations are governed he has said not a word, – unless indeed one should concede that he did assign to them the sun and moon. However of this I shall speak a little later. Now I will only point out that Moses himself and the prophets who came after him and Jesus the Nazarene, yes and Paul also, who surpassed all the magicians and charlatans of every place and every time, assert that he is the God of Israel alone and of Judaea, and that the Jews are his chosen people. Listen to their own words, and first to the words of Moses: "And thou shalt say unto Pharaoh, Israel is my son, my firstborn. And I have said to thee, Let my people go that they may serve me. But thou didst refuse to let them go." And a little later, "And they say unto him, The God of the Hebrews hath summoned us; we will go therefore three days' journey into the desert, that we may sacrifice unto the Lord our God." And soon he speaks again in the same way, "The Lord the God of the Hebrews hath sent me unto thee, saying, Let my people go that they may serve me in the wilderness."

19 But that from the beginning God cared only for the Jews and that He chose them out as his portion, has been clearly asserted not only by Moses and Jesus but by Paul as well; though in Paul's case this is strange. For according to circumstances he keeps changing his views about God, as the polypus changes its colours to match the rocks, and now he insists that the Jews alone are God's portion, and then again, when he is trying to persuade the Hellenes to take sides with him, he says: "Do not think that he is the God of Jews only, but also of Gentiles: yea of Gentiles also." Therefore it is fair to ask of Paul why God, if he was not the God of the Jews only but also of the Gentiles, sent the blessed gift of prophecy to the Jews in abundance and gave them Moses and the oil of anointing, and the prophets and the law and the incredible and monstrous elements in their myths? For you hear them crying aloud: "Man did eat angels' food." And finally God sent unto them Jesus also, but unto us no prophet, no oil of anointing, no teacher, no herald to announce his love for man which should one day, though late, reach even unto us also. Nay he even looked on for myriads, or if you prefer, for thousands of years, while men in extreme ignorance served idols, as you call them, from where the sun rises to where he sets, yes and from North to South, save only that little tribe which less than two thousand years before had settled in one part of Palestine. For if he is the God of all of us alike, and the creator of all, why did he neglect us? Wherefore it is natural to think that the God of the Hebrews was not the begetter of the whole universe with lordship over the whole, but rather, as I said before, that he is confined within limits, and that since his empire has bounds we must conceive of him as only one of the crowd of other gods. Then are we to pay further heed to you because you or one of your stock imagined the God of the universe, though in any case you attained only to a bare conception of Him? Is not all this partiality? God, you say, is a jealous God. But why is he so jealous, even avenging the sins of the fathers on the children?

20 But now consider our teaching in comparison with this of yours. Our writers say that the creator is the common father and king of all things, but that the other functions have been assigned by him to national gods of the peoples and gods that protect the cities; every one of whom administers his own department in accordance with his own nature. For since in the father all things are complete and all things are one, while in the separate deities one quality or another predominates, therefore Ares rules over the warlike nations, Athene over those that are wise as well as warlike, Hermes over those that are more shrewd than adventurous; and in short the nations over which the gods preside follow each the essential character of their proper god. Now if experience does not bear witness to the truth of our teachings, let us grant that our traditions are a figment and a misplaced attempt to convince, and then we ought to approve the doctrines held by you. If, however, quite the contrary is true, and from the remotest past experience bears witness to our account and in no case does anything appear to harmonise with your teachings, why do you persist in maintaining a pretension so enormous?

21 Come, tell me why it is that the Celts and the Germans are fierce, while the Hellenes and Romans are, generally speaking, inclined to political life and humane, though at the same time unyielding and warlike? Why the Egyptians are more intelligent and more given to crafts, and the Syrians unwarlike and effeminate, but at the same time intelligent, hot-tempered, vain and quick to learn? For if there is anyone who does not discern a reason for these differences among the nations, but rather declaims that all this so befell spontaneously, how, I ask, can he still believe that the universe is administered by a providence? But if there is any man who maintains that there are reasons for these differences,

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let him tell me them, in the name of the creator himself, and instruct me. As for men's laws, it is evident that men have established them to correspond with their own natural dispositions; that is to say, constitutional and humane laws were established by those in whom a humane disposition had been fostered above all else, savage and inhuman laws by those in whom there lurked and was inherent the contrary disposition. For lawgivers have succeeded in adding but little by their discipline to the natural characters and aptitudes of men. Accordingly the Scythians would not receive Anacharsis among them when he was inspired by a religious frenzy, and with very few exceptions you will not find that any men of the Western nations have any great inclination for philosophy or geometry or studies of that sort, although the Roman Empire has now so long been paramount. But those who are unusually talented delight only in debate and the art of rhetoric, and do not adopt any other study; so strong, it seems, is the force of nature. Whence then come these differences of character and laws among the nations?

22 Now of the dissimilarity of language Moses has given a wholly fabulous explanation. For he said that the sons of men came together intending to build a city, and a great tower therein, but that God said that he must go down and confound their languages. And that no one may think I am falsely accusing him of this, I will read from the book of Moses what follows: "And they said, Go to, let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven; and let us make us a name, before we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth. And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower, which the children of men had builded. And the Lord said, Behold, the people is one, and they have all one language; and this they have begun to do; and now nothing will be withholden from them which they purpose to do. Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that no man may understand the speech of his neighbour. So the Lord God scattered them abroad upon the face of all the earth: and they left off to build the city and the tower." And then you demand that we should believe this account, while you yourselves disbelieve Homer's narrative of the Aloadae, namely that they planned to set three mountains one on another, "that so the heavens might be scaled." For my part I say that this tale is almost as fabulous as the other. But if you accept the former, why in the name of the gods do you discredit Homer's fable? For I suppose that to men so ignorant as you I must say nothing about the fact that, even if all men throughout the inhabited world ever employ one speech and one language, they will not be able to build a tower that will reach to the heavens, even though they should turn the whole earth into bricks. For such a tower will need countless bricks each one as large as the whole earth, if they are to succeed in reaching to the orbit of the moon. For let us assume that all mankind met together, employing but one language and speech, and that they made the whole earth into bricks and hewed out stones, when would it reach as high as the heavens, even though they spun it out and stretched it till it was finer than a thread? Then do you, who believe that this so obvious fable is true, and moreover think that God was afraid of the brutal violence of men, and for this reason came down to earth to confound their languages, do you, I say, still venture to boast of your knowledge of God?

23 But I will go back again to the question how God confounded their languages. The reason why he did so Moses has declared: namely, that God was afraid that if they should have one language and were of one mind, they would first construct for themselves a path to the heavens and then do some mischief against him. But how he carried this out Moses does not say at all, but only that he first came down from heaven, – because he could not, as it seems, do it from on high, without coming down to earth. But with respect to the existing differences in characters and customs, neither Moses nor anyone else has enlightened us. And yet among mankind the difference between the customs and the political constitutions of the nations is in every way greater than the difference in their language. What Hellene, for instance, ever tells us that a man ought to marry his sister or his daughter or his mother? Yet in Persia this is accounted virtuous. But why need I go over their several characteristics, or describe the love of liberty and lack of discipline of the Germans, the docility and tameness of the Syrians, the Persians, the Parthians, and in short of all the barbarians in the East and the South, and of all nations who possess and are contented with a somewhat despotic form of government? Now if these differences that are greater and more important came about without the aid of a greater and more divine providence, why do we vainly trouble ourselves about and worship one who takes no thought for us? For is it fitting that he who cared nothing for our lives, our characters, our manners, our good government, our political constitution, should still claim to receive honour at our hands? Certainly not. You see to what an absurdity your doctrine comes. For of all the blessings that we behold in the life of man, those that relate to the soul come first, and those that relate to the body are secondary. If, therefore, he paid no heed to our spiritual blessings, neither took thought for our physical conditions, and moreover, did not send to us teachers or lawgivers as he did for the Hebrews, such as Moses and the prophets who followed him, for what shall we properly feel gratitude to him?

24 But consider whether God has not given to us also gods and kindly guardians of whom you have no knowledge, gods in no way inferior to him who from the beginning has been held in honour among the Hebrews of Judaea, the only land that he chose to take thought for, as Moses declared and those who came after him, down to our own time. But even if he who is honoured among the Hebrews really was the immediate creator of the universe, our beliefs about him are higher than theirs, and he has bestowed on us greater blessings than on them, with respect both to the soul and to externals. Of these, however, I shall speak a little later. Moreover, he sent to us also lawgivers not inferior to Moses, if indeed many of them were not far superior.

25 Therefore, as I said, unless for every nation separately some presiding national god (and under him an angel, a demon, a hero, and a peculiar order of spirits which obey and work for the higher powers) established the differences in our laws and characters, you must demonstrate to me how these differences arose by some other agency. Moreover, it is not sufficient to say, "God spake and it was so." For the natures of things that are created ought to harmonise with the commands of God. I will say more clearly what I mean. Did God ordain that fire should mount upwards by chance and earth sink down? Was it not necessary, in order that the ordinance of God should be fulfilled, for the former to be light and the latter to weigh heavy? And in the case of other things also this is equally true. . . . Likewise with respect to things divine. But the reason is that the race of men is doomed to death and perishable. Therefore men's works also are naturally perishable and mutable and subject to every kind of alteration. But since God is eternal, it follows that of such sort are his ordinances also. And since they are such, they are either the natures of things or are accordant with the nature of things. For how could nature be at variance with the ordinance of God? How could it fall out of harmony therewith? Therefore, if he did ordain that even as our languages are confounded and do not harmonise with one another, so too should it be with the political constitutions of the nations, then it was not by a special, isolated decree that he gave these constitutions their essential characteristics, or framed us also to match this lack of agreement. For different natures must first have existed in all those things that among the nations were to be differentiated. This at any rate is seen if one observes how very different in their bodies are the Germans and Scythians from the Libyans and Ethiopians. Can this also be due to a bare decree, and does not the climate or the country have a joint influence with the gods in determining what sort of complexion they have?

26 Furthermore, Moses also consciously drew a veil over this sort of enquiry, and did not assign the confusion of dialects to God alone. For he says that God did not descend alone, but that there descended with him not one but several, and he did not say who these were. But it is evident that he assumed that the beings who descended with God resembled him. If, therefore, it was not the Lord alone but his associates with him who descended for the purpose of confounding the dialects, it is very evident that for the confusion of men's characters, also, not the Lord alone but also those who together with him confounded the dialects would reasonably be considered responsible for this division.

27 Now why have I discussed this matter at such length, though it was my intention to speak briefly? For this reason: If the immediate creator of the universe be he who is proclaimed by Moses, then we hold nobler beliefs concerning him, inasmuch as we consider him to be the master of all things in general, but that there are besides national gods who are subordinate to him and are like viceroys of a king, each administering separately his own province; and, moreover, we do not make him the sectional rival of the gods whose station is subordinate to his. But if Moses first pays honour to a sectional god, and then makes the lordship of the whole universe contrast with his power, then it is better to believe as we do, and to recognise the God of the All, though not without apprehending also the God of Moses; this is better, I say, than to honour one who has been assigned the lordship over a very small portion, instead of the creator of all things.

28 That is a surprising law of Moses, I mean the famous decalogue! "Thou shalt not steal." "Thou shalt not kill." "Thou shalt not bear false witness." But let me write out word for word every one of the commandments which he says were written by God himself.

29 "I am the Lord thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt." Then follows the second: "Thou shalt have no other gods but me." "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image." And then he adds the reason: " For I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third generation." "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain." "Remember the sabbath day." "Honour thy father and thy mother." " Thou shalt not commit adultery." "Thou shalt not kill." "Thou shalt not steal." "Thou shalt not bear false witness." "Thou shalt not covet anything that is thy neighbour's."

30 Now except for the command "Thou shalt not worship other gods," and "Remember the sabbath day," what nation is there, I ask in the name of the gods, which does not think that it ought to keep the other commandments? So much so that penalties have been ordained against those who transgress them, sometimes more severe, and sometimes similar to those enacted by Moses, though they are sometimes more humane.

31 But as for the commandment "Thou shalt not worship other gods," to this surely he adds a terrible libel upon God. "For I am a jealous God," he says, and in another place again, "Our God is a consuming fire." Then if a man is jealous and envious you think him blameworthy, whereas if God is called jealous you think it a divine quality? And yet how is it reasonable to speak falsely of God in a matter that is so evident? For if he is indeed jealous, then against his will are all other gods worshipped, and against his will do all the remaining nations worship their gods. Then how is it that he did not himself restrain them, if he is so jealous and does not wish that the others should be worshipped, but only himself? Can it be that he was not able to do so, or did he not wish even from the beginning to prevent the other gods also from being worshipped? However, the first explanation is impious, to say, I mean, that he was unable; and the second is in accordance with what we do ourselves. Lay aside this nonsense and do not draw down on yourselves such terrible blasphemy. For if it is God's will that none other should be worshipped, why do you worship this spurious son of his whom he has never yet recognised or considered as his own? This I shall easily prove. You, however, I know not why, foist on him a counterfeit son. . . .

32 Nowhere is God shown as angry, or resentful, or wroth, or taking an oath, or inclining first to this side, then suddenly to that, or as turned from his purpose, as Moses tells us happened in the case of Phinehas. If any of you has read the Book of Numbers he knows what I mean. For when Phinehas had seized with his own hand and slain the man who had dedicated himself to Baal-peor, and with him the woman who had persuaded him, striking her with a shameful and most painful wound through the belly, as Moses tells us, then God is made to say: "Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, hath turned my wrath away from the children of Israel, in that he was jealous with my jealousy among them; and I consumed not the children of Israel in my jealousy." What could be more trivial than the reason for which God was falsely represented as angry by the writer of this passage? What could be more irrational, even if ten or fifteen persons, or even, let us suppose, a hundred, for they certainly will not say that there were a thousand, – however, let us assume that even as many persons as that ventured to transgress some one of the laws laid down by God; was it right that on account of this one thousand, six hundred thousand should be utterly destroyed? For my part I think it would be better in every way to preserve one bad man along with a thousand virtuous men than to destroy the thousand together with that one. . . .

33 For if the anger of even one hero or unimportant demon is hard to bear for whole countries and cities, who could have endured the wrath of so mighty a God, whether it were directed against demons or angels or mankind? It is worth while to compare his behaviour with the mildness of Lycurgus and the forbearance of Solon, or the kindness and benevolence of the Romans towards transgressors. But observe also from what follows how far superior are our teachings to theirs. The philosophers bid us imitate the gods so far as we can, and they teach us that this imitation consists in the contemplation of realities. And that this sort of study is remote from passion and is indeed based on freedom from passion, is, I suppose, evident, even without my saying it. In proportion then as we, having been assigned to the contemplation of realities, attain to freedom from passion, in so far do we become like God. But what sort of imitation of God is praised among the Hebrews? Anger and wrath and fierce jealousy. For God says: "Phinehas hath turned away my wrath from the children of Israel, in that he was jealous with my jealousy among them." For God, on finding one who shared his resentment and his grief, thereupon, as it appears, laid aside his resentment. These words and others like them about God Moses is frequently made to utter in the Scripture.

34 Furthermore observe from what follows that God did not take thought for the Hebrews alone, but though he cared for all nations, he bestowed on the Hebrews nothing considerable or of great value, whereas on us he bestowed gifts far higher and surpassing theirs. For instance the Egyptians, as they reckon up the names of not a few wise men among themselves, can boast that they possess many successors of Hermes, I mean of Hermes who in his third manifestation visited Egypt; while the Chaldaeans and Assyrians can boast of the successors of Oannes and Belos; the Hellenes can boast of countless successors of Cheiron. For thenceforth all Hellenes were born with an aptitude for the mysteries and

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theologians, in the very way, you observe, which the Hebrews claim as their own peculiar boast. . . .

35 But has God granted to you to originate any science or any philosophical study? Why, what is it? For the theory of the heavenly bodies was perfected among the Hellenes, after the first observations had been made among the barbarians in Babylon. And the study of geometry took its rise in the measurement of the land in Egypt, and from this grew to its present importance. Arithmetic began with the Phoenician merchants, and among the Hellenes in course of time acquired the aspect of a regular science. These three the Hellenes combined with music into one science, for they connected astronomy with geometry and adapted arithmetic to both, and perceived the principle of harmony in it. Hence they laid down the rules for their music, since they had discovered for the laws of harmony with reference to the sense of hearing an agreement that was infallible, or something very near to it.

36 Need I tell over their names man by man, or under their professions? I mean, either the individual men, as for instance Plato, Socrates, Aristeides, Cimon, Thales, Lycurgus, Agesilaus, Archidamus, – or should I rather speak of the class of philosophers, of generals, of artificers, of lawgivers? For it will be found that even the most wicked and most brutal of the generals behaved more mildly to the greatest offenders than Moses did to those who had done no wrong. And now of what monarchy shall I report to you? Shall it be that of Perseus, or Aeacus, or Minos of Crete, who purified the sea of pirates, and expelled and drove out the barbarians as far as Syria and Sicily, advancing in both directions the frontiers of his realm, and ruled not only over the islands but also over the dwellers along the coasts? And dividing with his brother Rhadamanthus, not indeed the earth, but the care of mankind, he himself laid down the laws as he received them from Zeus, but left to Rhadamanthus to fill the part of judge. . . .

37 But when after her foundation many wars encompassed her, she won and prevailed in them all; and since she ever increased in size in proportion to her very dangers and needed greater security, then Zeus set over her the great philosopher Numa. This then was the excellent and upright Numa who dwelt in deserted groves and ever communed with the gods in the pure thoughts of his own heart. . . . It was he who established most of the laws concerning temple worship. Now these blessings, derived from a divine possession and inspiration which proceeded both from the Sibyl and others who at that time uttered oracles in their native tongue, were manifestly bestowed on the city by Zeus. And the shield which fell from the clouds and the head which appeared on the hill, from which, I suppose, the seat of mighty Zeus received its name, are we to reckon these among the very highest or among secondary gifts? And yet, ye misguided men, though there is preserved among us that weapon which flew down from heaven, which mighty Zeus or father Ares sent down to give us a warrant, not in word but in deed, that he will forever hold his shield before our city, you have ceased to adore and reverence it, but you adore the wood of the cross and draw its likeness on your foreheads and engrave it on your housefronts.

38 Would not any man be justified in detesting the more intelligent among you, or pitying the more foolish, who, by following you, have sunk to such depths of ruin that they have abandoned the ever-living gods and have gone over to the corpse of the Jew. . . . For I say nothing about the Mysteries of the Mother of the Gods, and I admire Marius. . . . For the spirit that comes to men from the gods is present but seldom and in few, and it is not easy for every man to share in it or at every time. Thus it is that the prophetic spirit has ceased among the Hebrews also, nor is it maintained among the Egyptians, either, down to the present. And we see that the indigenous oracles of Greece have also fallen silent and yielded to the course of time. Then lo, our gracious lord and father Zeus took thought of this, and that we might not be wholly deprived of communion with the gods has granted us through the sacred arts a means of enquiry by which we may obtain the aid that suffices for our needs.

39 I had almost forgotten the greatest of the gifts of Helios and Zeus. But naturally I kept it for the last. And indeed it is not peculiar to us Romans only, but we share it, I think, with the Hellenes our kinsmen. I mean to say that Zeus engendered Asclepius from himself among the intelligible gods, and through the life of generative Helios he revealed him to the earth. Asclepius, having made his visitation to earth from the sky, appeared at Epidaurus singly, in the shape of a man; but afterwards he multiplied himself, and by his visitations stretched out over the whole earth his saving right hand. He came to Pergamon, to Ionia, to Tarentum afterwards; and later he came to Rome. And he travelled to Cos and thence to Aegae. Next he is present everywhere on land and sea. He visits no one of us separately, and yet he raises up souls that are sinful and bodies that are sick.

40 But what great gift of this sort do the Hebrews boast of as bestowed on them by God, the Hebrews who have persuaded you to desert to them? If you had at any rate paid heed to their teachings, you would not have fared altogether ill, and though worse than you did before, when you were with us, still your condition would have been bearable and supportable. For you would be worshipping one god instead of many, not a man, or rather many wretched men. And though you would be following a law that is harsh and stern and contains much that is savage and barbarous, instead of our mild and humane laws, and would in other respects be inferior to us, yet you would be more holy and purer than now in your forms of worship. But now it has come to pass that like leeches you have sucked the worst blood from that source and left the purer. Yet Jesus, who won over the least worthy of you, has been known by name for but little more than three hundred years: and during his lifetime he accomplished nothing worth hearing of, unless anyone thinks that to heal crooked and blind men and to exorcise those who were possessed by evil demons in the villages of Bethsaida and Bethany can be classed as a mighty achievement. As for purity of life you do not know whether he so much as mentioned it; but you emulate the rages and the bitterness of the Jews, overturning temples and altars, and you slaughtered not only those of us who remained true to the teachings of their fathers, but also men who were as much astray as yourselves, heretics, because they did not wail over the corpse in the same fashion as yourselves. But these are rather your own doings; for nowhere did either Jesus or Paul hand down to you such commands. The reason for this is that they never even hoped that you would one day attain to such power as you have; for they were content if they could delude maidservants and slaves, and through them the women, and men like Cornelius and Sergius. But if you can show me that one of these men is mentioned by the well-known writers of that time, – these events happened in the reign of Tiberius or Claudius, – then you may consider that I speak falsely about all matters.

41 But I know not whence I was as it were inspired to utter these remarks. However, to return to the point at which I digressed, when I asked, "Why were you so ungrateful to our gods as to desert them for the Jews?" Was it because the gods granted the sovereign power to Rome, permitting the Jews to be free for a short time only, and then forever to be enslaved and aliens? Look at Abraham: was he not an alien in a strange land? And Jacob: was he not a slave, first in Syria, then after that in Palestine, and in his old age in Egypt? Does not Moses say that he led them forth from the house of bondage out of Egypt "with a stretched out arm"? And after their sojourn in Palestine did they not change their fortunes more frequently than observers say the chameleon changes its colour, now subject to the judges, now enslaved to foreign races? And when they began to be governed by kings, – but let me for the present postpone asking how they were governed: for as the Scripture tells us, God did not willingly allow them to have kings, but only when constrained by them, and after protesting to them beforehand that they would thus be governed ill, – still they did at any rate inhabit their own country and tilled it for a little over three hundred years. After that they were enslaved first to the Assyrians, then to the Medes, later to the Persians, and now at last to ourselves. Even Jesus, who was proclaimed among you, was one of Caesar's subjects. And if you do not believe me I will prove it a little later, or rather let me simply assert it now. However, you admit that with his father and mother he registered his name in the governorship of Cyrenius.

42 But when he became man what benefits did he confer on his own kinsfolk? Nay, the Galilaeans answer, they refused to hearken unto Jesus. What? How was it then that this hardhearted and stubborn-necked people hearkened unto Moses; but Jesus, who commanded the spirits and walked on the sea, and drove out demons, and as you yourselves assert made the heavens and the earth, – for no one of his disciples ventured to say this concerning him, save only John, and he did not say it clearly or distinctly; still let us at any rate admit that he said it – could not this Jesus change the dispositions of his own friends and kinsfolk to the end that he might save them?

43 However, I will consider this again a little later when I begin to examine particularly into the miracle-working and the fabrication of the gospels. But now answer me this. Is it better to be free continuously and during two thousand whole years to rule over the greater part of the earth and the sea, or to be enslaved and to live in obedience to the will of others? No man is so lacking in self-respect as to choose the latter by preference. Again, will anyone think that victory in war is less desirable than defeat? Who is so stupid? But if this that I assert is the truth, point out to me among the Hebrews a single general like Alexander or Caesar! You have no such man. And indeed, by the gods, I am well aware that I am insulting these heroes by the question, but I mentioned them because they are well known. For the generals who are inferior to them are unknown to the multitude, and yet every one of them deserves more admiration than all the generals put together whom the Jews have had.

44 Further, as regards the constitution of the state and the fashion of the law-courts, the administration of cities and the excellence of the laws, progress in learning and the cultivation of the liberal arts, were not all these things in a miserable and barbarous state among the Hebrews? And yet the wretched Eusebius will have it that poems in hexameters are to be found even among them, and sets up a claim that the study of logic exists among the Hebrews, since he has heard among the Hellenes the word they use for logic. What kind of healing art has ever appeared among the Hebrews, like that of Hippocrates among the Hellenes, and of certain other schools that came after him? Is their "wisest" man Solomon at all comparable with Phocylides or Theognis or Isocrates among the Hellenes? Certainly not. At least, if one were to compare the exhortations of Isocrates with Solomon's proverbs, you would, I am very sure, find that the son of Theodoras is superior to their "wisest" king. "But," they answer, "Solomon was also proficient in the secret cult of God." What then? Did not this Solomon serve our gods also, deluded by his wife, as they assert? What great virtue! What wealth of wisdom! He could not rise superior to pleasure, and the arguments of a woman led him astray! Then if he was deluded by a woman, do not call this man wise. But if you are convinced that he was wise, do not believe that he was deluded by a woman, but that, trusting to his own judgement and intelligence and the teaching that he received from the God who had been revealed to him, he served the other gods also. For envy and jealousy do not come even near the most virtuous men, much more are they remote from angels and gods. But you concern yourselves with incomplete and partial powers, which if anyone call daemonic he does not err. For in them are pride and vanity, but in the gods there is nothing of the sort.

45 If the reading of your own scriptures is sufficient for you, why do you nibble at the learning of the Hellenes? And yet it were better to keep men away from that learning than from the eating of sacrificial meat. For by that, as even Paul says, he who eats thereof is not harmed, but the conscience of the brother who sees him might be offended according to you, O most wise and arrogant men! But this learning of ours has caused every noble being that nature has produced among you to abandon impiety. Accordingly everyone who possessed even a small fraction of innate virtue has speedily abandoned your impiety. It were therefore better for you to keep men from learning rather than from sacrificial meats. But you yourselves know, it seems to me, the very different effect on the intelligence of your writings as compared with ours; and that from studying yours no man could attain to excellence or even to ordinary goodness, whereas from studying ours every man would become better than before, even though he were altogether without natural fitness. But when a man is naturally well endowed, and moreover receives the education of our literature, he becomes actually a gift of the gods to mankind, either by kindling the light of knowledge, or by founding some kind of political constitution, or by routing numbers of his country's foes, or even by travelling far over the earth and far by sea, and thus proving himself a man of heroic mould. . .

46 Now this would be a clear proof: Choose out children from among you all and train and educate them in your scriptures, and if when they come to manhood they prove to have nobler qualities than slaves, then you may believe that I am talking nonsense and am suffering from spleen. Yet you are so misguided and foolish that you regard those chronicles of yours as divinely inspired, though by their help no man could ever become wiser or braver or better than he was before; while, on the other hand, writings by whose aid men can acquire courage, wisdom and justice, these you ascribe to Satan and to those who serve Satan!

47 Asclepius heals our bodies, and the Muses with the aid of Asclepius and Apollo and Hermes, the god of eloquence, train our souls; Ares fights for us in war and Enyo also; Hephaistus apportions and administers the crafts, and Athene the Motherless Maiden with the aid of Zeus presides over them all. Consider therefore whether we are not superior to you in every single one of these things, I mean in the arts and in wisdom and intelligence; and this is true, whether you consider the useful arts or the imitative arts whose end is beauty, such as the statuary's art, painting, or household management, and the art of healing derived from Asclepius whose oracles are found everywhere on earth, and the god grants to us a share in them perpetually. At any rate, when I have been sick, Asclepius has often cured me by prescribing remedies; and of this Zeus is witness. Therefore, if we who have not given ourselves over to the spirit of apostasy, fare better than you in soul and body and external affairs, why do you abandon these teachings of ours and go over to those others?

48 And why is it that you do not abide even by the traditions of the Hebrews or accept the law which God has given to them? Nay, you have forsaken their teaching even more than ours, abandoning the religion of your forefathers and giving yourselves over to the predictions of the prophets? For if any man should wish to examine into the truth concerning you, he will find that your impiety is compounded of the rashness of the Jews and the indifference and vulgarity of the Gentiles. For from both sides you have drawn what is by no means their best but their inferior teaching, and so have made for yourselves a border of wickedness. For the Hebrews

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have precise laws concerning religious worship, and countless sacred things and observances which demand the priestly life and profession. But though their lawgiver forbade them to serve all the gods save only that one, whose "portion is Jacob, and Israel an allotment of his inheritance "; though he did not say this only, but methinks added also "Thou shalt not revile the gods"; yet the shamelessness and audacity of later generations, desiring to root out all reverence from the mass of the people, has thought that blasphemy accompanies the neglect of worship. This, in fact, is the only thing that you have drawn from this source; for in all other respects you and the Jews have nothing in common. Nay, it is from the new-fangled teaching of the Hebrews that you have seized upon this blasphemy of the gods who are honoured among us; but the reverence for every higher nature, characteristic of our religious worship, combined with the love of the traditions of our forefathers, you have cast off, and have acquired only the habit of eating all things, "even as the green herb." But to tell the truth, you have taken pride in outdoing our vulgarity, (this, I think, is a thing that happens to all nations, and very naturally) and you thought that you must adapt your ways to the lives of the baser sort, shopkeepers, tax-gatherers, dancers and libertines.

49 But that not only the Galilaeans of our day but also those of the earliest time, those who were the first to receive the teaching from Paul, were men of this sort, is evident from the testimony of Paul himself in a letter addressed to them. For unless he actually knew that they had committed all these disgraceful acts, he was not, I think, so impudent as to write to those men themselves concerning their conduct, in language for which, even though in the same letter he included as many eulogies of them, he ought to have blushed, yes, even if those eulogies were deserved, while if they were false and fabricated, then he ought to have sunk into the ground to escape seeming to behave with wanton flattery and slavish adulation. But the following are the very words that Paul wrote concerning those who had heard his teaching, and were addressed to the men themselves: "Be not deceived: neither idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with men, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God. And of this ye are not ignorant, brethren, that such were you also; but ye washed yourselves, but ye were sanctified in the name of Jesus Christ." Do you see that he says that these men too had been of such sort, but that they "had been sanctified" and "had been washed," water being able to cleanse and winning power to purify when it shall go down into the soul? And baptism does not take away his leprosy from the leper, or scabs, or pimples, or warts, or gout, or dysentery, or dropsy, or a whitlow, in fact no disorder of the body, great or small, then shall it do away with adultery and theft and in short all the transgressions of the soul? . . .

50 Now since the Galilaeans say that, though they are different from the Jews, they are still, precisely speaking, Israelites in accordance with their prophets, and that they obey Moses above all and the prophets who in Judaea succeeded him, let us see in what respect they chiefly agree with those prophets. And let us begin with the teaching of Moses, who himself also, as they claim, foretold the birth of Jesus that was to be. Moses, then, not once or twice or thrice but very many times says that men ought to honour one God only, and in fact names him the Highest; but that they ought to honour any other god he nowhere says. He speaks of angels and lords and moreover of several gods, but from these he chooses out the first and does not assume any god as second, either like or unlike him, such as you have invented. And if among you perchance you possess a single utterance of Moses with respect to this, you are bound to produce it. For the words "A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me; to him shall ye hearken," were certainly not said of the son of Mary. And even though, to please you, one should concede that they were said of him, Moses says that the prophet will be like him and not like God, a prophet like himself and born of men, not of a god. And the words " The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a leader from his loins," were most certainly not said of the son of Mary, but of the royal house of David, which, you observe, came to an end with King Zedekiah. And certainly the Scripture can be interpreted in two ways when it says "until there comes what is reserved for him "; but you have wrongly interpreted it "until he comes for whom it is reserved." But it is very clear that not one of these sayings relates to Jesus; for he is not even from Judah. How could he be when according to you he was not born of Joseph but of the Holy Spirit? For though in your genealogies you trace Joseph back to Judah, you could not invent even this plausibly. For Matthew and Luke are refuted by the fact that they disagree concerning his genealogy. However, as I intend to examine closely into the truth of this matter in my Second Book, I leave it till then. But granted that he really is "a sceptre from Judah," then he is not "God born of God," as you are in the habit of saying, nor is it true that "All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made." But, say you, we are told in the Book of Numbers also: "There shall arise a star out of Jacob, and a man out of Israel." It is certainly clear that this relates to David and to his descendants; for David was a son of Jesse.

51 If therefore you try to prove anything from these writings, show me a single saying that you have drawn from that source whence I have drawn very many. But that Moses believed in one God, the God of Israel, he says in Deuteronomy: "So that thou mightest know that the Lord thy God he is one God; and there is none else beside him." And moreover he says besides, "And lay it to thine heart that this the Lord thy God is God in the heaven above and upon the earth beneath, and there is none else." And again, "Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God is one Lord." And again, "See that I am and there is no God save me." These then are the words of Moses when he insists that there is only one God. But perhaps the Galilaeans will reply: "But we do not assert that there are two gods or three." But I will show that they do assert this also, and I call John to witness, who says: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God and the Word was God." You see that the Word is said to be with God? Now whether this is he who was born of Mary or someone else, – that I may answer Photinus at the same time, – this now makes no difference; indeed I leave the dispute to you; but it is enough to bring forward the evidence that he says "with God," and "in the beginning." How then does this agree with the teachings of Moses?

52 "But," say the Galilaeans, "it agrees with the teachings of Isaiah. For Isaiah says, 'Behold the virgin shall conceive and bear a son.' " Now granted that this is said about a god, though it is by no means so stated; for a married woman who before her conception had lain with her husband was no virgin, – but let us admit that it is said about her, – does Isaiah anywhere say that a god will be born of the virgin? But why do you not cease to call Mary the mother of God, if Isaiah nowhere says that he that is born of the virgin is the "only begotten Son of God" and "the firstborn of all creation"? But as for the saying of John, "All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made," can anyone point this out among the utterances of the prophets? But now listen to the sayings that I point out to you from those same prophets, one after another. "O Lord our God, make us thine; we know none other beside thee." And Hezekiah the king has been represented by them as praying as follows: "O Lord God of Israel, that sittest upon the Cherubim, thou art God, even thou alone." Does he leave any place for the second god? But if, as you believe, the Word is God born of God and proceeded from the substance of the Father, why do you say that the virgin is the mother of God? For how could she bear a god since she is, according to you, a human being? And moreover, when God declares plainly "I am he, and there is none that can deliver beside me," do you dare to call her son Saviour?

53 And that Moses calls the angels gods you may hear from his own words, "The sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose." And a little further on: "And also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same became the giants which were of old, the men of renown." Now that he means the angels is evident, and this has not been foisted on him from without, but it is clear also from his saying that not men but giants were born from them. For it is clear that if he had thought that men and not beings of some higher and more powerful nature were their fathers, he would not have said that the giants were their offspring. For it seems to me that he declared that the race of giants arose from the mixture of mortal and immortal. Again, when Moses speaks of many sons of God and calls them not men but angels, would he not then have revealed to mankind, if he had known thereof, God the "only begotten Word," or a son of God or however you call him? But is it because he did not think this of great importance that he says concerning Israel, "Israel is my firstborn son?" Why did not Moses say this about Jesus also? He taught that there was only one God, but that he had many sons who divided the nations among themselves. But the Word as firstborn son of God or as a God, or any of those fictions which have been invented by you later, he neither knew at all nor taught openly thereof. You have now heard Moses himself and the other prophets. Moses, therefore, utters many sayings to the following effect and in many places: "Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God and him only shalt thou serve." How then has it been handed down in the Gospels that Jesus commanded: "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," if they were not intended to serve him also? And your beliefs also are in harmony with these commands, when along with the Father you pay divine honours to the son. . . .

54 And now observe again how much Moses says about the deities that avert evil: "And he shall take two he-goats of the goats for a sin-offering, and one ram for a burnt offering. And Aaron shall bring also his bullock of the sin-offering, which is for himself, and make an atonement for himself and for his house. And he shall take the two goats and present them before the Lord at the door of the tabernacle of the covenant. And Aaron shall cast lots upon the two goats; one lot for the Lord and the other lot for the scape-goat" so as to send him forth, says Moses, as a scape-goat, and let him loose into the wilderness. Thus then is sent forth the goat that is sent for a scape-goat. And of the second goat Moses says: "Then shall he kill the goat of the sin-offering that is for the people before the Lord, and bring his blood within the vail, and shall sprinkle the blood upon the altar-step, and shall make an atonement for the holy place, because of the uncleanness of the children of Israel and because of their transgressions in all their sins." Accordingly it is evident from what has been said, that Moses knew the various methods of sacrifice. And to show that he did not think them impure as you do, listen again to his own words. "But the soul that eateth of the flesh of the sacrifice of peace-offerings that pertain unto the Lord, having his uncleanness upon him, even that soul shall be cut off from his people." So cautious is Moses himself with regard to the eating of the flesh of sacrifice.

55 But now I had better remind you of what I said earlier, since on account of that I have said this also. Why is it, I repeat, that after deserting us you do not accept the law of the Jews or abide by the sayings of Moses? No doubt some sharp-sighted person will answer, "The Jews too do not sacrifice." But I will convict him of being terribly dull-sighted, for in the first place I reply that neither do you also observe any one of the other customs observed by the Jews; and, secondly, that the Jews do sacrifice in their own houses, and even to this day everything that they eat is consecrated; and they pray before sacrificing, and give the right shoulder to the priests as the firstfruits; but since they have been deprived of their temple, or, as they are accustomed to call it, their holy place, they are prevented from offering the firstfruits of the sacrifice to God. But why do you not sacrifice, since you have invented your new kind of sacrifice and do not need Jerusalem at all? And yet it was superfluous to ask you this question, since I said the same thing at the beginning, when I wished to show that the Jews agree with the Gentiles, except that they believe in only one God. That is indeed peculiar to them and strange to us; since all the rest we have in a manner in common with them – temples, sanctuaries, altars, purifications, and certain precepts. For as to these we differ from one another either not at all or in trivial matters. . . .

56 Why in your diet are you not as pure as the Jews, and why do you say that we ought to eat everything "even as the green herb," putting your faith in Peter, because, as the Galilaeans say, he declared, "What God hath cleansed, that make not thou common"? What proof is there of this, that of old God held certain things abominable, but now has made them pure? For Moses, when he is laying down the law concerning four-footed things, says that whatsoever parteth the hoof and is cloven-footed and cheweth the cud is pure, but that which is not of this sort is impure. Now if, after the vision of Peter, the pig has now taken to chewing the cud, then let us obey Peter; for it is in very truth a miracle if, after the vision of Peter, it has taken to that habit. But if he spoke falsely when he said that he saw this revelation, – to use your own way of speaking, – in the house of the tanner, why are we so ready to believe him in such important matters? Was it so hard a thing that Moses enjoined on you when, besides the flesh of swine, he forbade you to eat winged things and things that dwell in the sea, and declared to you that besides the flesh of swine these also had been cast out by God and shown to be impure?

57 But why do I discuss at length these teachings of theirs, when we may easily see whether they have any force? For they assert that God, after the earlier law, appointed the second. For, say they, the former arose with a view to a certain occasion and was circumscribed by definite periods of time, but this later law was revealed because the law of Moses was circumscribed by time and place. That they say this falsely I will clearly show by quoting from the books of Moses not merely ten but ten thousand passages as evidence, where he says that the law is for all time. Now listen to a passage from Exodus: "And this day shall be unto you for a memorial; and ye shall keep it a feast to the Lord throughout your generations; ye shall keep it a feast by an ordinance forever; the first day shall ye put away leaven out of your houses." . . . Many passages to the same effect are still left, but on account of their number I refrain from citing them to prove that the law of Moses was to last for all time. But do you point out to me where there is any statement by Moses of what was later on rashly uttered by Paul, I mean that "Christ is the end of the law." Where does God announce to the Hebrews a second law besides that which was established? Nowhere does it occur, not even a revision of the established law. For listen again to the words of Moses: "Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish aught from it. Keep the commandments of the Lord your God which I command you this day." And "Cursed be every man who does not abide by them all." But you have thought it a slight thing to diminish and to add to the things which were written in the law; and to transgress it completely you have thought to be in every way more manly and more high-spirited, because you do not look to the truth but to that which will persuade all men.

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58 But you are so misguided that you have not even remained faithful to the teachings that were handed down to you by the apostles. And these also have been altered., so as to be worse and more impious, by those who came after. At any rate neither Paul nor Matthew nor Luke nor Mark ventured to call Jesus God. But the worthy John, since he perceived that a great number of people in many of the towns of Greece and Italy had already been infected by this disease, and because he heard, I suppose, that even the tombs of Peter and Paul were being worshipped – secretly, it is true, but still he did hear this, – he, I say, was the first to venture to call Jesus God. And after he had spoken briefly about John the Baptist he referred again to the Word which he was proclaiming, and said, "And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us." But how, he does not say, because he was ashamed. Nowhere, however, does he call him either Jesus or Christ, so long as he calls him God and the Word, but as it were insensibly and secretly he steals away our ears, and says that John the Baptist bore this witness on behalf of Jesus Christ, that in very truth he it is whom we must believe to be God the Word. But that John says this concerning Jesus Christ I for my part do not deny. And yet certain of the impious think that Jesus Christ is quite distinct from the Word that was proclaimed by John. That however is not the case. For he whom John himself calls God the Word, this is he who, says he, was recognised by John the Baptist to be Jesus Christ. Observe accordingly how cautiously, how quietly and insensibly he introduces into the drama the crowning word of his impiety; and he is so rascally and deceitful that he rears his head once more to add, "No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him." Then is this only begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father the God who is the Word and became flesh? And if, as I think, it is indeed he, you also have certainly beheld God. For "He dwelt among you, and ye beheld his glory." Why then do you add to this that "No man hath seen God at any time"? For ye have indeed seen, if not God the Father, still God who is the Word. But if the only begotten Son is one person and the God who is the Word another, as I have heard from certain of your sect, then it appears that not even John made that rash statement.

59 However this evil doctrine did originate with John; but who could detest as they deserve all those doctrines that you have invented as a sequel, while you keep adding many corpses newly dead to the corpse of long ago? You have filled the whole world with tombs and sepulchres, and yet in your scriptures it is nowhere said that you must grovel among tombs and pay them honour. But you have gone so far in iniquity that you think you need not listen even to the words of Jesus of Nazareth on this matter. Listen then to what he says about sepulchres: "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres; outward the tomb appears beautiful, but within it is full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness." If, then, Jesus said that sepulchres are full of uncleanness, how can you invoke God at them? . . .

60 Therefore, since this is so, why do you grovel among tombs? Do you wish to hear the reason? It is not I who will tell you, but the prophet Isaiah: "They lodge among tombs and in caves for the sake of dream visions." You observe, then, how ancient among the Jews was this work of witchcraft, namely, sleeping among tombs for the sake of dream visions. And indeed it is likely that your apostles, after their teacher's death, practised this and handed it down to you from the beginning, I mean to those who first adopted your faith, and that they themselves performed their spells more skilfully than you do, and displayed openly to those who came after them the places in which they performed this witchcraft and abomination.

61 But you, though you practise that which God from the first abhorred, as he showed through Moses and the prophets, have refused nevertheless to offer victims at the altar, and to sacrifice. "Yes," say the Galilaeans, "because fire will not descend to consume the sacrifices as in the case of Moses." Only once, I answer, did this happen in the case of Moses; and again after many years in the case of Elijah the Tishbite. For I will prove in a few words that Moses himself thought that it was necessary to bring fire from outside for the sacrifice, and even before him, Abraham the patriarch as well. . .

62 And this is not the only instance, but when the sons of Adam also offered firstfruits to God, the Scripture says, "And the Lord had respect unto Abel and to his offerings; but unto Cain and to his offerings he had not respect. And Cain was very wroth, and his countenance fell. And the Lord God said unto Cain, Why art thou wroth? and why is thy countenance fallen? Is it not so – if thou offerest rightly, but dost not cut in pieces rightly, thou hast sinned?" Do you then desire to hear also what were their offerings? "And at the end of days it came to pass that Cain brought of the fruits of the ground an offering unto the Lord. And Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his flock and of the fat thereof." You see, say the Galilaeans, it was not the sacrifice but the division thereof that God disapproved when he said to Cain, "If thou offerest rightly, but dost not cut in pieces rightly, hast thou not sinned?" This is what one of your most learned bishops told me. But in the first place he was deceiving himself and then other men also. For when I asked him in what way the division was blameworthy he did not know how to get out of it, or how to make me even a frigid explanation. And when I saw that he was greatly embarrassed, I said; "God rightly disapproved the thing you speak of. For the zeal of the two men was equal, in that they both thought that they ought to offer up gifts and sacrifices to God. But in the matter of their division one of them hit the mark and the other fell short of it. How, and in what manner? Why, since of things on the earth some have life and others are lifeless, and those that have life are more precious than those that are lifeless to the living God who is also the cause of life, inasmuch as they also have a share of life and have a soul more akin to his – for this reason God was more graciously inclined to him who offered a perfect sacrifice."

63 Now I must take up this other point and ask them, Why, pray, do you not practise circumcision? "Paul," they answer, "said that circumcision of the heart but not of the flesh was granted unto Abraham because he believed. Nay it was not now of the flesh that he spoke, and we ought to believe the pious words that were proclaimed by him and by Peter." On the other hand hear again that God is said to have given circumcision of the flesh to Abraham for a covenant and a sign: "This is my covenant which ye shall keep, between me and thee and thy seed after thee in their generations. Ye shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin, and it shall be in token of a covenant betwixt me and thee and betwixt me and thy seed." . . . Therefore when He has undoubtedly taught that it is proper to observe the law, and threatened with punishment those who transgress one commandment, what manner of defending yourselves will you devise, you who have transgressed them all without exception? For either Jesus will be found to speak falsely, or rather you will be found in all respects and in every way to have failed to preserve the law. "The circumcision shall be of thy flesh," says Moses. But the Galilaeans do not heed him, and they say: "We circumcise our hearts." By all means. For there is among you no evildoer, no sinner; so thoroughly do you circumcise your hearts. They say: "We cannot observe the rule of unleavened bread or keep the Passover; for on our behalf Christ was sacrificed once and for all." Very well! Then did he forbid you to eat unleavened bread? And yet, I call the gods to witness, I am one of those who avoid keeping their festivals with the Jews; but nevertheless I revere always the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; who being themselves Chaldaeans, of a sacred race, skilled in theurgy, had learned the practice of circumcision while they sojourned as strangers with the Egyptians. And they revered a God who was ever gracious to me and to those who worshipped him as Abraham did, for he is a very great and powerful God, but he has nothing to do with you. For you do not imitate Abraham by erecting altars to him, or building altars of sacrifice and worshipping him as Abraham did, with sacrificial offerings. For Abraham used to sacrifice even as we Hellenes do, always and continually. And he used the method of divination from shooting stars. Probably this also is an Hellenic custom. But for higher things he augured from the flight of birds.

64 And he possessed also a steward of his house who set signs for himself.And if one of you doubts this, the very words which were uttered by Moses concerning it will show him clearly: "After these sayings the word of the Lord came unto Abraham in a vision of the night, sayings Fear not, Abraham: I am thy shield. Thy reward shall be exceeding great. And Abraham said. Lord God what wilt thou give me? For I go childless, and the son of Masek the slave woman will be my heir. And straightway the word of the Lord came unto him saying, This man shall not be thine heir: but he that shall come forth from thee shall be thine heir. And he brought him forth and said unto him, Look now toward heaven, and tell the stars, if thou be able to number them: and he said unto him, So shall thy seed be. And Abraham believed in the Lord: and it was counted to him for righteousness."

65 Tell me now why he who dealt with him, whether angel or God, brought him forth and showed him the stars? For while still within the house did he not know how great is the multitude of the stars that at night are always visible and shining? But I think it was because he wished to show him the shooting stars, so that as a visible pledge of his words he might offer to Abraham the decision of the heavens that fulfills and sanctions all things. And lest any man should think that such an interpretation is forced, I will convince him by adding what comes next to the above passage. For it is written next: "And he said unto him, I am the Lord that brought thee out of the land of the Chaldees, to give thee this land to inherit it. And he said, Lord God, whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it? And he said unto him, Take me an heifer of three years old, and a she-goat of three years old, and a ram of three years old, and a turtle-dove and a pigeon. And he took unto him all these, and divided them in the midst, and laid each piece one against another; but the birds divided he not. And the fowls came down upon the divided carcases, and Abraham sat down among them."

66 You see how the announcement of the angel or god who had appeared was strengthened by means of the augury from birds, and how the prophecy was completed, not at haphazard as happens with you, but with the accompaniment of sacrifices? Moreover he says that by the flocking together of the birds he showed that his message was true. And Abraham accepted the pledge, and moreover declared that a pledge that lacked truth seemed to be mere folly and imbecility. But it is not possible to behold the truth from speech alone, but some clear sign must follow on what has been said, a sign that by its appearance shall guarantee the prophecy that has been made concerning the future. . . .

67 However, for your indolence in this matter there remains for you one single excuse, namely, that you are not permitted to sacrifice if you are outside Jerusalem, though for that matter Elijah sacrificed on Mount Carmel, and not in the holy city.

Fragments

Such things have often happened and still happen, and how can these be signs of the end of the world? (Neumann frag. ; from Julian, Book , derived from Cyril, Book Quoted by Theodorus, bishop of Mopsuestia, in his Commentary on the New Testament. Neumann thinks that Theodorus probably wrote a refutation of Julian at Antioch about A.D.)

Moses after fasting forty days received the law, and Elijah, after fasting for the same period, was granted to see God face to face. But what did Jesus receive, after a fast of the same length? (Neumann frag. ; from the same source as)

And how could he lead Jesus to the pinnacle of the Temple when Jesus was in the wilderness? (Neumann frag. From the same source as and)

Furthermore, Jesus prays in such language as would be used by a pitiful wretch who cannot bear misfortune with serenity, and though he is a god is reassured by an angel. And who told you, Luke, the story of the angel, if indeed this ever happened? For those who were there when he prayed could not see the angel; for they were asleep. Therefore when Jesus came from his prayer he found them fallen asleep from their grief and he said: "Why do ye sleep? Arise and pray," and so forth. And then, "And while he was yet speaking, behold a multitude and Judas." That is why John did not write about the angel, for neither did he see it. (Neumann frag. From the same source as)

Listen to a fine statesmanlike piece of advice: "Sell that ye have and give to the poor; provide yourselves with bags which wax not old." Can anyone quote a more statesmanlike ordinance than this? For if all men were to obey you who would there be to buy? Can anyone praise this teaching when, if it be carried out, no city, no nation, not a single family will hold together? For, if everything has been sold, how can any house or family be of any value? Moreover the fact that if everything in the city were being sold at once there would be no one to trade is obvious, without being mentioned. (Neumann, frag. From Cyril, Book , quoted by Photius.)

How did the Word of God take away sin, when it caused many to commit the sin of killing their fathers, and many their children? And mankind are compelled either to uphold their ancestral customs and to cling to the pious tradition that they have inherited from the ages or to accept this innovation. Is not this true of Moses also, who came to take away sin, but has been detected increasing the number of sins? (Not in Neumann; reconstructed by him from the polemical writings of Archbishop Arethas of Caesarea who wrote in refutation of Julian in the tenth century. First published by Cuinont, Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite de l'empereur Julien, Brussels, Neumann's reconstruction is in Theologische Literaturzeitung,)

The words that were written concerning Israel Matthew the Evangelist transferred to Christ, that he might mock the simplicity of those of the Gentiles who believed. (Neumann frag. Preserved by the fifth century writer Hieronymus in his Latin Commentary on Hosea)

THE EDICT OF THESSALONICA

or: Cunctos Populos
or: Edict to the People of Constantinople
Concerning Christianity as State Religion
Translation: Sidney Zdeneck Ehler, John B. Morrall, 1967
Estimated Range of Dating: 27 February 380 A.D.

(The Edict of Thessalonica, also known as Cunctos populos, issued on 27 February AD 380 by three reigning Roman Emperors, made Nicene Christianity the state religion of the Roman Empire. It condemned other Christian creeds such as Arianism as heresies of madmen, and authorized their persecution.

In 313 the emperor Constantine I, together with his eastern counterpart Licinius, issued the Edict of Milan, which granted religious toleration and freedom for persecuted Christians. By 325 Arianism, a school of christology which contended that Christ did not possess the divine essence of the Father but was rather a primordial creation and an entity subordinate to God, had become sufficiently widespread and

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controversial in Early Christianity that Constantine called the Council of Nicaea in an attempt to end the controversy by establishing an empire-wide, i.e., "ecumenical" orthodoxy. The council produced the original text of the Nicene Creed, which rejected the Arian confession and upheld that Christ is "true God" and "of one essence with the Father."

However, the strife within the Church did not end with Nicaea, and the Nicene credal formulation remained contentious even among anti-Arian churchmen. Constantine, while urging tolerance, began to think that he had come down on the wrong side, and that the Nicenes — with their fervid, reciprocal persecution of Arians — were actually perpetuating strife within the Church. Constantine was not baptized until he was near death (337), choosing a bishop moderately sympathetic to Arius, Eusebius of Nicomedia, to perform the baptism.

Constantine's son and successor in the eastern empire, Constantius II was partial to the Arian party, and even exiled pro-Nicene bishops. Constantius' successor Julian (later called "The Apostate") was the only emperor after the conversion of Constantine to reject Christianity, attempting to fragment the Church and erode its influence by encouraging a revival of religious diversity, calling himself a "Hellene" and supporting forms of Hellenistic religion. He championed the traditional religious cultus of Rome as well as Judaism, and furthermore declared toleration for all the various unorthodox Christian sects and schismatic movements. Julian's successor Jovian, a Christian, reigned for only eight months and never entered the city of Constantinople. He was succeeded in the east by Valens, an Arian.

By 379, when Valens was succeeded by Theodosius I, Arianism was widespread in the eastern half of the Empire, while the west had remained steadfastly Nicene. Theodosius, who had been born in Hispania, was himself a Nicene Christian and very devout. In August, his western counterpart Gratian promoted persecution of heretics in the west.

The Edict of Thessalonica was jointly issued by Theodosius I, Gratian, and Valentinian II on 27 February 380. The edict came after Theodosius had been baptized by the bishop Ascholius of Thessalonica upon suffering a severe illness in Thessalonica.)

Emperors Gratian, Valentinian And Theodosius Augusti. Edict To The People Of Constantinople.

It is our desire that all the various nations which are subject to our Clemency and Moderation, should continue to profess that religion which was delivered to the Romans by the divine Apostle Peter, as it has been preserved by faithful tradition, and which is now professed by the Pontiff Damasus and by Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic holiness. According to the apostolic teaching and the doctrine of the Gospel, let us believe in the one deity of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, in equal majesty and in a holy Trinity. We authorize the followers of this law to assume the title of Catholic Christians; but as for the others, since, in our judgment they are foolish madmen, we decree that they shall be branded with the ignominious name of heretics, and shall not presume to give to their conventicles the name of churches. They will suffer in the first place the chastisement of the divine condemnation and in the second the punishment of our authority which in accordance with the will of Heaven we shall decide to inflict.

Given In Thessalonica On The Third Day From The Calends Of March, During The Fifth Consulate Of Gratian Augustus And First Of Theodosius Augustus — Codex Theodosianus, 16.1.2

THE DOCTRINA JACOBI

Doctrina Jacobi Nuper Baptisati
The Teaching of Jacob Newly Baptised
Source: Paris Coislin 299
Translation by Andrew S. Jacobs
Estimated Range of Dating: 7th century A.D.

(The Teaching of Jacob Newly Baptised [Doctrina Jacobi Nuper Baptisati] is a Greek dialogue text set in 7th-century Carthage (specifically, the action takes place in spring and summer of the year 634. The Jews of Carthage, including an unfortunate visiting merchant named Jacob, have been forcibly baptised upon the orders of the Emperor Heraclius. (The Doctrina is one of only two contemporary sources for this imperial order; the other is a letter from Maximos the Confessor, also resident in Carthage at the time, arguing against the forced baptisms.) Jacob alone of the converted Jews comes to believe truly in Christ as the messiah, through study and supernatural intervention, and instructs his fellow ex-Jews in a secret house. When another unbaptised Jew named Justus arrives (in Book 3), Jacob convinces him as well that Jews are right to receive baptism and await the impending end of the world.

Jewish-Christian dialogues saw an upsurge in the seventh century as did apocalyptic texts. Unique among Christian anti-Jewish dialogue texts, the Teaching of Jacob anticipates and hopes for the imminent collapse of the Roman Empire as a precondition for the return of Christ in glory. Nonetheless it does seem to have been considered as part of the Christian literary genre of anti-Jewish dialogue, insofar as surviving codices place it with other late dialogues: in one major witness, Paris Coislin 299, the Teaching of Jacob is followed immediately by the fifth-century Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila.

Although the bulk of the Teaching of Jacob comprises long strings of often uncontextualized (if not at times seemingly random) proof-texts, it also contains realistic windows into the social world of the seventh-century Roman Empire: imperial politics; the public brawling of circus factions ("Blues" and "Greens"); the social conflicts of Jews and Christians; the devastation of the Persian wars of the 610s-620s; and the rise of Islam, including a reference to a "false prophet" in Book 5 who is indubitably Muhammad [perhaps the earliest non-Islamic reference to Mohammed].

The text below has been translated from the Greek text edited by Vincent Déroche, "Doctrina Jacobi," Travaux et Mémoires 11 [1991]: 71-219. Bracketed numbers refer to page numbers in Déroche's edition. Book, chapter, and section division numbers are Déroche's. Section titles appearing in the margins are my own and are provided for convenience. I have also added markers to indicate breaks and meetings among the participants; note that the series of dialogues lasts several weeks.

Teaching of Jacob, newly baptised—baptised under Heraclius the most pious emperor and George, the eparch of the city of Carthage, against his own will—to those baptised from the Jews, having had a good pretext to come to know Christ. That it is necessary not to observe the Sabbath after Christ's coming. And that the one who came is truly Christ, and not another. [This manuscript title, which Déroche reproduces from Paris Coislin 299, doesn't capture the full range of topics in the Doctrina.)

DOCTRINA JACOBI BOOK 1

FIRST MEETING

[The chapters 1-4 survive only in non-Greek witnesses. It describes Flavius Heraclius's order, executed by the eparch George, or Sergius, in Carthage and the forcible baptisms. Jacob arrives, pretends to be Christian to avoid baptism, but forgets himself and calls upon "Adonai." He is overheard by a suspicious local, who later sees Jacob's circumcision in the baths and turns him in. Jacob spends 100 days in prison and is forcibly baptised. Afterward, directed by a divine vision, he studies Scriptures and realises that Christianity is true. He meets the discouraged baptised Jews and agrees to teach them; they meet in a hidden house on a Saturday.]

THAT CHRIST HAS COME

5. The holy law and the prophets proclaimed Christ coming as "a sun of righteousness" (Malachi 4:2). The same law and the prophets in advance revealed him coming "out of the root of Jesse" (Isaiah 11:10) and "girding his loins in righteousness" and "binding his side with truth" (Isaiah 11:5), his coming, and they claimed that through him all of human nature would be saved, really inspired by the Holy Spirit; and they made clear the birth of the Anointed One and the incarnation and the wonders that would be done by him and the passion and the cross and the death and the resurrection from the dead and the ascent into heaven and the coming afterward of Hermolaos the devil and deceiver*, [Hermalaos appears as a negative apocalyptic figure in contemporary Jewish apocalypses, but as a positive figure in Christian apocalypses, in both cases usually called something like Armilos (=Romulus). His appearance in the Doctrina as an anti-Christ figure, especially in the last two books, has led some scholars to posit a Jewish background for the author and/or audience.] which would be three and a half years (cf. Daniel 7:25), and his destruction and the consummation of the world; and the second and great and estimable and fearsome and terrifying coming of Christ himself, "the great and remarkable day of the Lord" (Joel 2:11), just as the prophets said, on which "he is going to repay each person according to his deeds" (Romans 2:6). Just as Daniel the great prophet says: "I looked," he said, "and behold with the heavenly clouds one coming like the Son of Man and he has come unto the Ancient of Days and the rule and the honour and the kingdom were given to him and all the tribes and tongues will be enslaved to him" (Daniel 7:13-14).

6. The divine Scripture therefore has taught us so no one would be deceived and accept another in the place of the true Anointed One* when he came, and they have revealed in advance the times of the coming of Christ. [* Throughout the Doctrina uses the literal Greek Eleimmenou to refer to the Anointed One; Déroche and others view this as a particularly Jewish terminological choice.] The Father of all, our heavenly God, says through David concerning his Son: "Today, if you hear his voice, do not harden your hearts as in the provocation, just as your fathers tested me in the wilderness" (Psalms 94:7-8). Our whole Jewish people have night and day prayed to see the coming of Christ, just as you know, the salvation of the whole world. But we have been mistaken, supposing that Christ was not the one born from Saint Mary. For we did not want to hear anything concerning Christ, nor could we behold with pleasure the divine Scriptures about Christ. Our "hearts were engorged" (Isaiah 6:10) truly, just as Isaiah the prophet says; "in drunkenness and strong drink" (Luke 21:34) we were deceived by the devil, so we wouldn't know and be healed. This is why God gave us the idleness of the Sabbath, so that we would pray and examine the divine Scriptures for when Christ comes so that he would save us. But every Sabbath we ate until we groaned, and we had intercourse and sinned with our wives, getting drunk and fornicating, and we sought out the works of the world in our love of money, and we had no care for divine things. And because of this we did not understand the coming of Christ and we did not ask why it was delayed, as the prophet says: "The one coming will come and he will not tarry" (Hab 2:3), and again, in case he was the one coming.

7. But I, as before God, was reassured that he is Christ who was begotten from Saint Mary, and I thank God that they baptised me even though I was unwilling and they made me a Christian. From the time I was baptised, night and day, with tears and weeping and fasting, I have not stopped scrutinizing the law and the prophets in the Greek language, consulting books from the church through Christian friends from one monastery in Carthage, asking if there was any chance that, having been baptised and having become Christian, I was not mistaken. And I found Mr*. Moses saying, or rather the Holy Spirit through Moses, as out of our father Jacob in the blessing of his sons thus: "Judah, your brothers will praise you, your hands on the back of your enemies, the sons of your father will venerate you: a lion's cub is Judah, out of a shoot, my son, you have risen up" (Genesis 49:8-9). And we see Christ coming, because he is out of Judah, truly human and truly God, he is the one Christ. [* Throughout the Doctrina, the participants respectfully address each other using kuris ("sir"), a form of the more common Greek kurios ("lord," "master"). To capture this somewhat stiff formality, "Master" is used (Déroche used the archaic French messire). Uniquely here Jacob uses the term of a hero from the biblical past.]

8. For David said: "Blessed is the one coming in the name of the Lord, the Lord God, and he has shined upon us" (Psalms 117:26-27). And he says again: "And a person was begotten in her and the Most High himself has established her" (Psalms 86:5). And again Jeremiah says: "He is our God, let no other be accounted before him" and again: "Afterward he was seen upon the earth and he conversed with humans" (Baruch 3:36-37). And Isaiah said: "Behold, the virgin will conceive in her womb and she will give birth to a son and they will call him his name, Emanuel" (Isaiah 7:14) and again: "I came to the prophetess and she conceived in her womb and bore a son. And the Lord said: Call him by the name Quickly-Despoil-and-Swiftly-Plunder" (Isaiah 8:3). For Christ despoiled death and Hades and he liberated the prisoners from the hand of the devil and he defeated the diabolical error of the idols, just as Moses said. For he said: "Your hands on the backs of your enemies, and the sons of your father will venerate you." Well indeed has the prophet spoken: For when Adam the first human sinned, all humankind came under the control of the devil and was trampled, and all creation worshiped demons. As the divine Scripture says: "The idols of the nations are demons" (Psalms 95:5) and neither the holy law nor the prophets rescued the world from the error of idols. Even the prophets were in danger and the kings who knew the law and the prophets were mistaken: Ahab and Manasseh and many others. For the prophets predicted that through the coming of Christ the salvation of the world would take place. When the Word of God came and took on flesh from the seed of Judah and was pleased to become a human (since humans cannot bear to look upon the bare divinity) he set his hands "on the back of his enemies"—for Christ, being human and God, chased back the demons, who were fleeing and quaking: for the one fleeing is thrashed on the back—but also in stretching his hands on the cross he defeated the devil. So humanity venerates Christ as a brother, on account of our flesh which he took up, and as God, whether they want to or not. For no one will dare to say: "I do not venerate the flesh, because it is created," just as no one dares to say to the emperor: "Strip off the cloak you're wearing, or else I shall not venerate you." But the Emperor is venerated with what he's wearing, just as also the Word of God is venerated with his flesh, which he took up from us humans. Just as Daniel says: "Behold with the clouds of heaven comes one like the Son of Man, and the authority and honour and kingdom are given to him, and all the peoples, tribes, tongues are enslaved to him" (Daniel 7:13-14).

9. Just as also Isaiah says: "A child has been begotten for us, a son was given to us, almighty God, father of the age to come" (Isaiah 9:5-6). And Moses says in Numbers through Balaam: "A person will go forth from the seed of Israel and he will be lord of many nations and his empire will be exalted. He will eat the nations of his enemies and he will suck the marrow of their fat and he will shoot the enemy with his arrows" and again: "A star will rise from Jacob and a man will rise up out

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of Israel" "and he will be the lord of many nations" (Numbers 24:7-8, 17). And again in Deuteronomy Moses says: "If you enter into your land, which the Lord your God gives to you, you will not learn to act according to the abominations of those nations," and later: "But the Lord your God will raise up a prophet for you, like me, you will listen to him according to all things, as many as you asked from the Lord your God, saying on Horeb: We shall not hear the voice of the Lord our God nor shall we see any longer that great fire, or else we shall die. And the Lord said to Moses: Correctly have they spoken all these things. I shall raise up a prophet for them out of the midst of their brothers, just like you, and I shall give my words into his mouth and he will speak to them, just as I command him; and the person who doesn't hear such words as the prophet speaks in my name, I shall punish him" (Deuteronomy 18:9, 15-19). You see, brothers, that Christ came, who is also the Word of God and who was entirely with God but teaching us as a human the mysteries of God and the Kingdom of Heaven, giving us through the holy gospels a new law as a lawgiver, so that Moses might truthfully say "like me," he said a certain lawgiver was coming.

10. Just so Jeremiah proclaimed saying that the law of Moses would cease and another, better law would rise up, in which all sins would be forgiven to humans. For Jeremiah says: "Behold days come, says the Lord, and I shall establish for the house of Judah a new covenant, not according to the covenant which I established with their fathers, when I took them by their hands to bring them out of the land of Egypt, because they have not remained in the my covenant and I have overlooked them, says the Lord. Because this is the covenant which I shall establish with the house of Judah after those days, says the Lord, giving my laws into their minds and I shall write them upon their hearts, and I shall be for them as a God and they [83] will be for me as a people. And no one will teach his neighbour nor anyone his brother saying: Know the Lord, because from their smallest to their greatest they will know me, because I shall be gracious with their sins and their transgressions and their injustices I shall not remember, says the Lord" (Jeremiah 38:31-34). For Christ came proclaiming a new covenant, to love even enemies with an exuberant love, teaching them to venerate the God of Abraham he also rescued the nations from the error of idols, teaching all creation knowledge of God. Therefore really Christ was shown to be the great lawmaker and is so as the Word of God. Similarly again God says through Ezekiel that another law, above the law of Moses, is going to be brought forth: "I shall remember my covenant with you in your youth and I shall establish with you an eternal covenant and you will remember your way" (Ezekiel 16:60-61); and again, "The parable which was spoken will not be, Until the third and fourth generation I shall repay sins; nor will the son receive on behalf of his father, but the one eating the unripe fruit his teeth will be set on edge" (Jeremiah 38:29-30). Behold, brothers, the overturning the law, or rather the fulfillment of the holy law by God's command. For the law and the prophets proclaimed the coming of Christ appearing in the flesh. For it was not possible for the unseen God to appear except through flesh; for the Word of God is inaccessible to humans. That Christ is God, Isaiah says: "No ambassador or messenger, but God himself when he came has saved us" (Isaiah 63:9). And again God and the Father say through Isaiah concerning Christ: "Behold my child whom I have chosen, my beloved in whom my soul is well-pleased. I shall set my spirit upon him, and he will bring forth judgement to the nations; he will not fight and he will not howl; he will not break the crushed reed and he will not quench the smoking flax until he sets judgement upon the earth. He will shine forth and he will not be aggrieved until he brings forth judgement upon the earth and the nations will have hope in his name" (Isaiah 42:1-4; Matthew 12:18-21). Behold, my brothers, that, just as our God said, the nations place their hope in the name of Christ, and he is Christ who is the son of God begotten from the Virgin Mary.

11. And again Isaiah says: "Old things have passed away" "and I proclaim new things to you, and before proclaiming they were made clear to you. Sing to God a new hymn," that is the new covenant of Christ. And again: "His rule is glorified above. Those from the end of the earth glorify his name, those who go down into the sea and sail it and all the islands" (Isaiah 42:9-10). Behold, the new law of Christ is proclaimed above in the heavens and on earth. And again Isaiah says: "The redeemer will come out of Zion and he will turn away the impieties from Jacob and this covenant is from me for them" "when I take away their sins" (Isaiah 59:20-21, 27:9). See, my brothers, that creation will not be saved through the law of Moses, but through another new law which is arising. Just as also Jeremiah says: "He is our God, let no other be considered before him; he has found every way of knowledge and he has given it to his son Jacob and to Israel who is beloved by him; afterward upon the earth he was seen and he conversed with humans. This is the book of the commandments of God and the law abiding forever; all those possessing it [remain] in life, but those leaving it behind will die" (Baruch 3:35-4:1). Let us therefore, my brothers, possess the book of life, the new covenant of Christ, so we aren't destroyed in faithlessness. For he says: "Return, Jacob, and seize her, pass through to the illumination before her light" (Baruch 4:2). Behold, my brothers, that the prophet moved by the Holy Spirit calls the new covenant of Christ "light" and "life," and [behold] those leaving it behind condemned to eternal death and everlasting punishment. There can be no more Judaising now that Christ has come. And again Jeremiah says: "Behold the days come, says the Lord, and I shall raise up for David a righteous descendant, and the righteous emperor will reign, and he will make judgement and righteousness in the midst of the earth. And in his days Judah will be saved and Israel will make camp, in trust. And this is the name which the Lord will call him, Josedek, the Lord is our righteousness, and he is in the prophets" (Jeremiah 23:5-6). Have you heard the judgement and the righteousness, the new covenant of Christ? Let no one stand apart from faith in Christ.

ON THE NEW COVENANT

12. "Those from the circumcision" (Jews and Jewish Christians) answered and said: But why did Moses say: "Guard this law and live in it" (cf. Leviticus 18:5), but you say, Master Jacob, that it is necessarily no longer to Judaise and keep the Sabbath? [Throughout the Doctrina "Judaise" translates the Greek word ioudaïzen and "keep the Sabbath" translates the Greek verb sabbatizein.] We want both to keep the Sabbath and believe in Christ.

Jacob answered and said: Moses, the great lawgiver, taught us, saying: "Guard" this law, which God gave you through me, and after you enter into the promised land do not do "according to the abominations of those nations." Because of the error of their abominations the Lord himself will wipe them out. But you are "not like this, but the Lord your God will raise up for you a prophet out of your brothers, like me," that is, a great lawgiver, "a mediator of God and humans" (1 Timothy 2:5) "heed him in all things" (Deuteronomy 18:9, 12, 14-15). Therefore Christ came, the Word of God who became a human unchanged and mediating between God and humans, just as the great prophet Moses said to us. Therefore let us listen to all the words of Christ when he came, or else Moses also will become our accuser in the future. For even Malachi also says: "The sun of righteousness rises on those who fear" him (Malachi 4:2). And David says: "The day is yours and the night is yours" (Psalms 73:16). In the night "God made the lights," the moon "and the stars" (Genesis 1:16). So suitably God made the moon and the stars, to shine in the night on the earth and the sea, but also conveniently burning lamps shine by night in a house. Once the morning-star has risen, we expect the rest of the light of the day and the sun. Once the sun has risen, no light of the moon or of the stars shines, but they are idle in shining, and burning lamps do not shine by day, on account of the superior illumination of the sun. I am not saying, to be sure, that the moon and the stars are not noble, but that God when he spoke established the moon "and the stars" "to regulate the night" (Genesis 1:16). But it also happens often in the winter that neither moon nor stars shine, because they are hidden by the thickness and the dimness of the clouds. In this way also the holy law and the prophets, as in the night, on account of diabolical error occupying all the earth, shone in the souls of righteous people, and scarcely was a person able to look up at the one who made him. And out of the great and immense shadow people said: From the time we heard the prophets, evil things have seized us. But also the people of God, Israel, was always deceived and served idols. But when, as I said, "the sun of righteousness" rose up, Christ the son of God, having "healing in his wings" (Malachi 4:2)—I mean the extraordinary wonders which came about through him—just as Isaiah the prophet said, "See: our God renders and will render judgement: then the eyes of the blind will be opened and the ears of the deaf will hear, then the lame will leap like a stag and the tongue of the slow of speech will be clear" (Isaiah 35:4-6), and again: "Death in its strength has swallowed, but God has taken every tear away from every face" (Isaiah 25:8). As "sons of light" we no longer have need of the shadow (cf. 1 Thessalonians 5:5).

13. Nobly the holy law and prophets shone like the moon and stars as in the night for people. For the teaching of the holy Scriptures was a great light proclaimed through the law and the prophets to humans against the error of the vanity of idolatry. For the Word of God and his Holy Spirit spoke through the law and the prophets. And after those many divine teachings and commands of the prophets, the world was deceived and darkened by diabolical error, just as thick and dim clouds in the night darkened for people the light of the moon and the stars. When "the sun of righteousness" (Malachi 4:2) rose his rays shone upon the world, and it was necessary not to sleep. Before the dawn, we took rest in the law and in the prophets and we escaped the roughness and darkness of the night and the rains and the cold and the frost, keeping warm in our beds and the clothes which God gave to us as gifts through the teaching of the holy law and prophets. This is the manner of keeping the sabbath. But as the morning-star has risen around dawn, [that is] John who came in the form of Elijah the Tishabite—since it was not Elijah himself who was going to come at the first advent, but some other hermit comes in the form of Elijah—as Isaiah says, "You will see the emperor with glory" (Isaiah 33:17); "a voice crying out in the wilderness. Prepare the way of the Lord, make straight the paths of our God. Every gully will be filled and every mountain and hill will bow down and the crooked way will be straightened and the jagged ways made smooth, and the glory of the Lord will be seen, and all flesh will see the salvation of our God" (Isaiah 40:3-5).

14. Just as David says: "All the ends of the earth have seen the salvation of our God" (Psalms 97:3). And again: "It will fall like rain on wool" and "before the sun his name will endure" "and before the moon, unto generations of generations." "And all the tribes of the earth will be blessed in him, all the nations will bless him," saying: "Blessed is the Lord God of Israel who alone does wonders and blessed be the name of his glory forever and ever and ever." You see it, my brothers, that the son of David is Christ, and he is human and God, and the God of Israel is called "blessed forever" (Psalms 71:6, 17, 5, 17-19). He says, "Blessed is the one coming in the name of the Lord," "the Lord God also has shined upon us" (Psalms 117:26, 27). But if we say that David said this about Solomon his son, we lie. For Isaiah says: "He will be the root of Jesse, the one rising up to rule the nations. For the nations will put their hope in him" (Isaiah 11:10). And again: "Unto you they will pray and unto you they will bow down, because God is in you and God is not apart from you; for you are our God and we did not know, the God of saving" (Isaiah 45:14-15). At that time, he says, "the wolf will graze with the sheep, and the leopard will take rest with the kid, and the calf and the bull and the lion will graze together, and a little child will lead them, and the ox and the bear will graze together, and the lion and the bull will eat husks together" (Isaiah 11:6-7). The prophet in this way indicates the divine knowledge of the nations.

15. Just as Amos says: "On that day, says the Lord, I shall raise up the fallen tent of David, and I shall build up its fallen parts and I shall raise up its razed parts: and I shall raise it just like the days of eternity, such that the sons of humankind will turn to it and all the nations, upon whom my name has been called down upon them, says the Lords who does these things" (Amos 9:11-12). And again: "Behold the days are coming, says the Lord, and the threshing will overtake the harvest, and the bunches of grapes will ripen in the sowing, and sweetness will trickle down the mountains, and all the hills will be thickly wooded. And I shall turn back the captivity of my people" (Amos 9:13-14). Solomon is not God, existing before the sun and the moon, nor is he the God of saving, nor did he raise up the tent of David, that is, the humanity which is from Adam, nor did he liberate the captivity of the world which, because of Adam, has been controlled by the devil, but even Solomon himself in his old age did evil before the Lord, making shrines of idols, and in this way he died causing grief to God, not turning the nations to God; but the Word of God, coming down out of heaven and taking up flesh out of David and becoming a human in truth unchangingly—just as Jeremiah says: "And he is a human and who will know him?" (Jeremiah 17:9), that is, he is also God. And as a human he died, just as the holy prophets foretold and the holy law, but as God he worked wonders, healing all the diseases of humans; and he defeated the diabolical error of the empty idols and taught the world knowledge of God.

16. Just as Jeremiah says: "Behold, he says, the days are coming, says the Lord, and no one will teach his neighbour, saying: Know the Lord, because from the smallest to the greatest of them they will know me" (Jeremiah 38:31, 34). And Isaiah says: "Thus says the Lord God of Israel: On that day the person will have believed in the one who made him, and his eyes will turn to gaze upon the holy one of Israel" (Isaiah 17:6, 7). The holy one of Israel, brothers, is Christ. And again Isaiah says about Christ: "The Lord will reign in Zion and in Jerusalem and before his elders he will be glorified. O Lord my God, I shall praise you and glorify your name, because you have done wondrous things, ancient and true counsel. So be it, Lord, because you have made cities into heaps, secure cities to fall from their foundations, cities of the impious will not be built for eternity. For this the poor people will bless you and the cities of people ruined and fearing you will bless you. For you have been the help in every humbled city" (Isaiah 24:23-25:4). For when Christ came, my brothers, humans, ruined at that time by the error of the devil, coming into knowledge of God, gave thanks and blessed God. Just as Isaiah says about the call of the nations: "The Lord Sabaoth will make [a feast] for all the nations on Mount Zion. They will drink cheer, they will drink wine, they will be anointed in myrrh" (Isaiah 25:6, 7). And again: "For this is the counsel upon all the nations. And they will say on that day: See our God in whom we have hoped, and we shall rejoice at our Saviour, and the Lord himself will save us" (Isaiah 25:7, 9).

17. Likewise Isaiah says concerning the new law of Christ's new covenant: "These things says the Lord: Those who are

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enslaved to me will be given a new name, which will be blessed upon the earth. For they will bless the true God, and they will swear an oath by the true God. For they will forget their former affliction" (Isaiah 65:13, 15, 16). So let us comprehend, my brothers, that God on high says: "Those who are enslaved to me will be given a new name, which will be blessed upon the earth. For they will bless the true God." He does not say: "They will bless me, the true God" but "They will bless the true God," that is, Christ. So if the highest God of Abraham testifies that this new people, of the Christians, venerates the true God and correctly believes, why then do we wish to Judaise and keep the Sabbath and rise up against God? For again Isaiah says concerning the new people: "Open the gates, let a righteous people enter in, keeping righteousness, loving truth, sharing in righteousness, keeping truth, loving peace, because upon you, Lord, they have placed their hope" (Isaiah 26:2-4). And again: "On that day God by counsel with glory will shine upon the earth to exalt and glorify the remnants of Israel" (Isaiah 4:2).

18. And again: "Because the Lord will wash off the filth from the sons and daughters of Zion" (Isaiah 4:4). "The Lord will wash" means the holy baptism of Christ. Just as also Ezekiel bears witness, saying: "I shall sprinkle pure water upon you, and you will be purified from your idols and your sins" (Ezekiel 36:25). And Isaiah says: "Be washed, become pure" (Isaiah 1:16), and again: "Because water has burst forth" " for those marching in thirst in the dry land" "and the dry land will be a pond, and a fountain of water will be upon the parched earth" (Isaiah 35:6, 44:3) "There will be a pure way and the way will be called holy" (Isaiah 35:7, 8). For really, brothers, the holy way is the baptism of Christ. For through the middle of the waters of the Red Sea the people were saved (cf. Exodus 14:15-30). But also Moses, as a prototype of holy baptism, as a son of the daughter of the king he was lifted up through the water of the river and he was saved (cf. Exodus 2:5-10). But also Elisha sanctified the waters foreshadowing Christ's mysteries (cf. 2 Kings 2:14). But also Naaman the Syrian through baptism was healed from leprosy as a prototype of those who were going to be baptised in the holy font of the holy church and be delivered from the "leprosy" of sins (cf. 2 Kings 5:14). But also in the law it says: the priest "will bathe" and in this way "he will be pure" (Leviticus 14:9). And again God says through Isaiah: "I am the one who obliterates your sins and I shall not recall them. But you recall and we shall be judged together. You recite your sins first so that you might be made righteous" (Isaiah 43:25-26) "because I shall give water in thirst to those marching in the dry land and I shall set my Spirit upon your seed and my blessings upon your offspring" (Isaiah 44:3) and again: "God, having mercy on them, will take pity on them and will lead them through the fountains of water" (Isaiah 49:10). Similarly Micah says about holy baptism: "Who is like you, God, removing sins and passing over injustices for those who remain in your inheritance? He has not held on to anger as a witness to them, because he desires mercy. He will turn and take pity on us and he will sink our sins in the depths of the sea" (Micah 7:18, 19). And Joel says: "On that day sweetness will trickle down the mountains and the hills will rush with milk and all the sluices of Judah will rush with waters and a fountain of water will go forth from the house of the Lord" (Joel 3:18). Brothers, the "depth" is of "God's wisdom" that is the "remissions"* ["Sluices" (apheseis) in the Joel passage just cited may also mean "remissions"; Jacob understands the passage as an allegory of baptism, in which Judah's sins are remitted.] of Judah through waters. That holy baptism is pleasing to God David says: "The Lord's voice is on the waters: God of glory has thundered, the Lord upon the many waters" (Psalms 28:3).

19. Because God hates those who Judaise and keep the Sabbath after Christ's coming, through Malachi he says: "I take no pleasure in the children of Israel, and I shall not receive a sacrifice from their hands. Because from the rising of the sun until its setting my name is glorified among the nations, and in every place incense is brought forth in my name, because my name is great among the nations, I live, says the Almighty Lord" (Malachi 1:10, 11). About those still wishing after Christ's coming to Judaise and keep the Sabbath and saying, "The Anointed One has not yet come and I shall persist in keeping the Sabbath and Judaising, keeping the law of Moses," Isaiah says about them: "Woe to those who pull in their sins as if with a long rope and their transgressions as if by the strap of their heifer's yoke. Those saying: Let it come quickly, whatever God will do so that we may see, and may the counsel of holy Israel come so that we may know. Woe to those saying the evil is good and the good evil, those supposing the light is darkness and the darkness light, those saying that the bitter is sweet and the sweet bitter" (Isaiah 5:18-20); and again: "My people has become a captive, because they did not know the Lord" (Isaiah 5:13); and again: "Their root will be like chaff and their flower will rise up like dust: for they did not wish to perform the law of the Lord Sabaoth, but they insulted the saying of holy Israel. And the Lord Sabaoth raged in anger upon his people and he cast his hand against them and he smote them" (Isaiah 5:24-25). And again Isaiah says about the faithless Jews: "You will hear and you will not understand, and you will look and you will not see. For the heart of this people has grown thick and they hear poorly with their ears and they have closed their eyes, no longer do they see with their eyes and hear with their ears and understand in their heart and repent so that I might heal them" (Isaiah 6:9, 10). And Moses says: "This people is foolish and not wise" (Deuteronomy 32:6). And Jeremiah says: "A foolish and heartless people, they have eyes and do not see, they have ears and do not hear; and will you not fear me and will you not be in awe from my presence, I who ordered the sand at the boundary of the sea, an eternal commandment and it will not pass away?" (Jeremiah 5:21-22) And again Isaiah says: "This people approaches me with their mouths, and they honour me with their lips; but their hearts are far off from me. They worship me in vain, teaching human commands and teachings. Because of this behold: I shall ordain this people's removal and I shall remove them in a removal and I shall destroy the wisdom of their wise men and I shall hide the intellect of their intellectuals" (Isaiah 29:13-14); and again: "Because my people are of disobedience, false sons" "saying to the prophets: do not bear messages to us, and to those having visions, Do not speak correctly to us, but speak nonsense to us and bear to us a message of another deception" (Isaiah 30:9-10). And again God says through Malachi: "I take no pleasure in the children of Israel" (Malachi 1:10).

20. And again Isaiah says concerning the Jews who did not believe in Christ: "Hear, o heaven, and hearken, o earth, because the Lord has spoken: I have begotten sons and I raised them up, but they denied me. The ox knows its owner and the ass its master's manger, but Israel does not know me and the people have not understood me" (Isaiah 1:2, 3). And God says through Hosea: "I shall indeed cast my net upon them, I shall draw them down just like birds of the sky, I shall discipline them in hearing of their affliction. Woe to them, because they have turned away from me. They are wretched, because they have been impious unto me. I redeemed them, but they spoke lies against me and their hearts did not cry to me, says the Lord" (Hosea 7:12-14). And again Jeremiah says, in the character of Christ: "They have abandoned me, a fountain of living water" (Jeremiah 2:13), and again: "Because they hatched a plan for my capture and they hid traps for me, you, Lord, knew their whole plot to put me to death. Do not forgive their sins and do not erase their transgressions from your presence. Let their weaknesses be before you, you will attend to them in the time of wrath" (Jeremiah 18:22-23). And again Christ says through David: "For food they gave me gall and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink. Let them be erased from the Book of the Living and let them not be inscribed with the just ones" (Psalms 68:21, 28). My brothers and fathers, let's not fail to believe in Christ, because he is the saviour of the world. For if we do not believe in him, all the evil things that have been written will befall us, both in the present time and in the future.

THAT CHRIST CAME IN HIS TIME

21. "Those from the circumcision" (Jews and Jewish Christians) answered and said to him: Master Jacob, why do our fathers and teachers of the law say that the era has not yet arrived for the coming of Christ, the King of Israel?

And Jacob said: Truly Christ came in his time and Christians have a timeline of his generations. But also just as righteous Daniel said, sixty-nine weeks after the building of the Temple and Jerusalem Christ came. For this is what the book of Daniel contains, for it says: Daniel pleaded with God, fasting on account of the people. And the angel Gabriel said to him: "Seventy weeks have been calculated for your people and for the holy city, for sealing their sins and ending their transgressions and expunging their injustices and propitiating their transgressions and to bring up eternal righteousness and to seal the vision and prophecy and to anoint the holy of holies" (Daniel 9:24). Christ is the righteousness, the one who forgives all the sins for humankind. And from that time no prophet has come. For once Christ came there was no longer need of a prophet to say Christ is coming. For if Christ were not truly the one who was born from Saint Mary, until now it would have been necessary for prophets to proclaim him. But he is truly Christ who liberated the world from the error of idols and led all the nations to knowledge of God, as the prophets foretold. For through Christ the prophets said the nations would be saved.

22. In this way the prophet speaks also about the era. For he says: "And you will know and you will understand from the word going forth about the separating and building of Jerusalem until Christ the leader, seven weeks and sixty-two; and he will return and the wall and the street will be built and the times will be emptied out; and after the sixty-two weeks the anointing will be annihilated, and there will be no judgement in it, and he will destroy the city and the holy place with the leader who has come" (Daniel 9:25-26). He is talking about your leader, Aristobulus of the Jews, who was captured by the Romans and led off to Rome as a prisoner with his wife and children, when his brother was destroyed by the Parthians*, [This highly condensed narrative of the transition from the Hasmonean to Herodian dynasties is taken from Eusebius, Historia ecclesiastica, 1.6.6-10.] in order that "the leader and prince out of Judah" might fail, according to the prophecy of our righteous father Jacob, which said: "A prince will not fail out of Judah or a leader from his loins until he comes for whom it has been set aside, and he is the expectation of the nations" (Genesis 49:10). For when Christ was born, who was our leader and master of all creation and God and emperor, in Bethlehem of Judea, Herod, the Ashkalonite foreigner, was ruling over our Jewish land, and we have been under the Romans until today and the prophecy of our father Jacob, son of Isaac, has come true. For Daniel says: "And you will know and you will understand from the word going forth of the answering and the building of Jerusalem until Christ the leader, seven weeks and sixty-two," that is 483 years, and so Christ came in the 484th year from the creation of the temple and the city. For when the seventieth week was reached Christ appeared and he saved us and he defeated the error of the devil. For when Aristobulus the leader was taken prisoner with his children by the Romans, the Romans destroyed the holy city and enslaved the people with our Jewish leader, the aforementioned Aristobulus. And so our Jewish reign ceased, as Herod the foreigner reigned under the Romans and cloaked himself in the holy vestment. And so our Jewish reign and priesthood ceased according to the prophecy of our father Jacob. And right away under Herod Christ was born in Bethlehem, the "expectation" and the salvation "of the nations." For if it had not been Christ who came under Herod [and] Augustus Caesar, really our father Jacob is a liar, and Moses is a liar, who composed Genesis which speaks about Jacob's prophecy, and Daniel the prophet is a liar and Gabriel who spoke to him about the era of Christ's arrival. But also the Holy Spirit lies, "the one speaking through the prophets"* [The Greek phrase 'to lalesan dia ton propheton', meaning "the one speaking through the prophets," comes from the Nicene Creed, perhaps unconsciously slipped in by the Christian author as if it were Scripture.] according to the reasoning of those who don't believe in Christ and say that he has not yet come. And Isaiah's prophecy is fulfilled in them, which says: "They have provoked the Holy Spirit and he has turned to them as an enemy" (Isaiah 63:10). For truly the Holy Spirit turned away from us Jews, since we would not have been trampled on by the nations for 640 years. From that time that our fathers the Jews crucified Christ, until this day we have been enslaved to all the nations and trampled underfoot. Because the Holy Spirit is an enemy to those who do not believe in Christ, Josephus the Jewish wise man says that, when Christ was crucified, they heard some voices of the holy ones in the Temple of God saying, "Let us go, let us no longer stay here"* [Titus Flavius Josephus, Jewish War, 6.300, refers to the haunting voice but not Christ's crucifixion. The subsequent reference to the curtain tearing, found in the Gospel of Matthew, appears in the Slavonic version of Josephus, Jewish War, 5.214.] and "the curtain of the Temple was torn from top to bottom" (Matt 27:51). But also the Romans plundered all the country of Judea and divine justice burned up all the Jews in every place. Those who believed in Christ, both before his crucifixion and after his crucifixion, through the divine vision which appeared to them, he commanded them to leave and he ordered them to inhabit a land across the Jordan which was called Pella*. [On the flight of Christ-believing Jews to Pella during the First Jewish War, see Eusebius of Caesarea, Historia Ecclesiastica, 3.5.3.] When the Romans came and conquered the entire East, they destroyed the Jews in every city and land, but they did not come near to those who believed in Christ in Pella, for they were guarded by the Holy Spirit.

THAT CHRIST HAD TO SUFFER

23. "Those from the circumcision" (Jews and Jewish Christians) answered and said: You have helped us, brother. May the Lord bless you! Because often we have been conflicted about whether we were mistaken when we were baptised. Help us, Master Jacob, also about this matter: for when we hear the gospel* [Here, as often in the text, the Doctrina uses the term megaleion which refers to the "great" gospel-book and, by extension, the text of the gospel.] saying that Christ rose from the dead, we are pleased; but when we hear he was insulted and beaten and died, we say that this is not Christ.

Jacob said to them: My brothers and fathers, it was necessary for Christ to suffer as the holy prophets foretold. For Isaiah said, as from God the Father: "Behold, my child will understand and he will be exalted and glorified and elevated; in this way they will be stunned at you, at how your human image and your glory will be held in contempt by human beings. In this way many nations will marvel at him and kings close their mouths; because the one they will see was not announced to them, and those who have not heard will understand" (Isaiah 52:13-15). And again: "A person who is in pain, and who knows how to bear sickness, that one turns away from, he was dishonoured and misunderstood. For he bears our sins and he suffers for us. And we have understood that he is in pain and distress, he was wounded on account of our sins and he was made sick through our transgressions. We

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have all been healed by his bruise" (Isaiah 53:3-6). For when Christ was crucified the soldiers pierced his side with a spear and "blood and water came out" (John 19:34). The water prefigured holy baptism, the blood his body, the holy mysteries of the Christians. About the spear Zachariah said: "They will look upon him whom they have stabbed" (Zach 12:10; cf. John 19:37). For in the second coming of Christ, when "he will judge the living and the dead" (2 Timothy 4:1), those who will not believe in Christ will have to look upon him coming with holy angels. And at that time they will weep keenly, having no hope, but they are handed over into eternal judgement.

ON CHRIST'S DEATH

24. "Those from the circumcision" (Jews and Jewish Christians) answered and said: Master Jacob, what kind of Scripture says that Christ dies and rises from the dead?

Jacob said: The holy law says about the death of Christ: "Having fallen back he has fallen asleep like a lion and like a lion's cub. Who will raise him up?" (Genesis 49:9) And again: "He eats the nations of enemies and he will suck the marrow from their fat and he will shoot his enemy dead with his arrows. Having laid down he rests like a lion and like a lion's cub: who will raise him up?" (Numbers 24:8-9). The Word of God dwelling in Christ's entombed body stripped away all the power of the devil and liberated all of humanity which was ruled by the devil. David says: "He has sent his Word and it has healed them." "They cried out," he says, "to the Lord, and he redeemed them from their bonds" [that is] "those seated in the darkness and in the shadow of death, those bound in poverty and iron," "he smashed the bronze gates and crushed the iron bars" (Psalms 106:20, 6, 10, 16). For Isaiah says: "He was led into death from the transgressions of my people, and I shall give the wicked in exchange for his tomb and the rich in exchange for his death. Because he has committed no transgression, and no treachery was found in his mouth" (Isaiah 53:8, 9). And again Isaiah says thus: "The Lord says to my Christ, whom I held by his right hand, that the nations will pay heed before him and I shall bust the strength of kings. I shall open up before you gates and cities will not be shut up. For I shall proceed before you, and I shall level mountains, I shall smash bronze gates and crush iron bars. And I shall give you darkened storehouses, unseen, hidden, I shall open up to you" (Isaiah 45:1-3); and again: "Saying to those bound: Go forth; and to those in darkness: Be revealed" (Isaiah 49:9). For the death of Christ was the salvation of the world. For because Adam sinned, all the souls of humans after dying and being divided from the body were ruled in hell by the devil. Therefore, by his abundant goodness, God the Most High, as a lover of humanity, sent his Word into the world, well-pleased that he take up a soul and flesh and become truly human, "without confusion and change,"* [As above (ch. 22), where the Doctrina cites the Nicene Creed as if it were Scripture, here the Greek phrase 'asunchutōs kai atreptōs', meaning "without confusion and change," comes from the Definition of Chalcedon appended to the Nicene Creed in 451.] in order that, through our being, he might able to die, and through his incorruptible and ungraspable being he might give life to all things and liberate from the devil's bonds. For the holy prophets, seeing that the wounds of Adam are incurable and human souls after death were controlled and ruled by the evil and afflicted by Satan, as if they were humanity they cried out saying: "Quickly may your compassions overtake us, Lord, because we have fallen on exceedingly hard times. Help us, God our saviour" (Psalms 78:8, 9); and again, "Rise up, Lord, help us and free us for your name's sake" and "Wake up, why do you sleep, Lord?" (Psalms 43:26, 24).

25. That the Word of God, as he was sleepless and deathless, was going to raise up his own temple which he received from us—that is the soul and body—David says: "Let God rise up and let his enemies be scattered abroad and let those who hate him flee from his presence" (Ps. 67:1). That Christ was going to liberate the souls which were from Adam from the devil's hand, David says: "You have gone up on high, you have redeemed captivity" (Psalms 67:18). And Nahum likewise says: "The gates of the cities have been opened and the palaces have fallen and the foundation has been uncovered, and she has gone up and those women enslaved to her have been brought out like doves" (Nahum 2:6-7). And again Isaiah says: "Those who have gone down into the area and into the shadow of death, light will shine upon you" (Isaiah 9:2). You see, then, brothers, what kind of salvation Christ's death was for humans. Just as again Isaiah says about Christ's death: "Do you see that the righteous one has died and no one has taken it to heart, and righteous ones are taken up and no one understands? From the presence of injustice the righteous one has been taken up: for his tomb will be in peace, he will be taken up from their midst" (Isaiah 57:1-2). And again Isaiah says about the death and about the thieves crucified with Christ: "My soul has been handed over into death and it has been reckoned with transgressors" (Isaiah 53:12). And Jeremiah says as if out of the character of our wretched fathers who crucified Christ: "Come, and let us cast wood into his bread and let us eradicate him from the land of the living" (Jeremiah 11:19). And Solomon says about the Jews who crucified Christ: "They reckoned these things and they were mistaken: for their wickedness blinded them, and they did not know the mysteries of God" (Wisdom 2:21-22).

26. Annas and Caiaphas, the miserable high priests who crucified Christ, were out of Levi and the Scribes were out of Simeon. When he was prophesying the blessed Jacob, our Jewish father, said: "Simeon and Levi have accomplished injustice from their choice*. [The Greek 'ex haireseōs' for "from their choice," might evoke for the Christian audience of the Doctrina the danger of heresy; meaning persecution and execution.] My soul did not come into their counsel, and my emotion did not contest their collusion, but in their anger they killed people and in their passion they hamstrung a bull. Their anger is cursed, because stubborn, and their wrath, because it was hardened. I shall apportion them in Jacob and I shall scatter them in Israel" (Genesis 49:5-7). And we might say it was because of Dinah, their sister, but this is not so. For at that time they defended themselves to their father, saying: "But shall they use our sister like a prostitute?" (Genesis 34:31) And righteous Jacob himself afterward, when he was giving the city to Joseph, said: "I give you the portion of Shechem, the city I took by my sword and by my bow" (Genesis 48:22). Jacob himself accepted the defense of Simeon and Levi. How then were the things said by their father fulfilled? But then, as I said, Annas and Caiaphas were of the tribe of Levi and the Scribes of Simeon. Then by their plan and counsel Christ was handed over and through them he was taken up, as Jacob prophesying said: "In their scheme my soul did not enter"—just as also Isaiah says, "Woe to their soul: because they have devised a wicked counsel, saying among themselves: Let us give over the righteous one, because he is inconvenient to us" (Isaiah 3:10)—and "my passion was not in conflict with their plot, because in their anger they killed people and in their desire they hamstrung a bull: their anger is cursed" (Genesis 49:6-7). Behold, then, my brothers, let none of you disbelieve in Christ, in case in the future both Jacob and Isaiah should be found opposed to you.

ON CHRIST'S RESURRECTION

27. "Those from the circumcision" (Jews and Jewish Christians) answered and said: What sort of Scripture talks about the resurrection of Christ?

Jacob said: In Psalm 77 David says: "And the Lord rose up, like one sleeping, like a powerful man intoxicated from wine, and he struck his enemies from behind, he gave them an eternal rebuke" (Psalms 77:65-66). And Hosea says: "He has struck down and he will heal, and he will plug our wounds and he will heal us after two days, and on the third day we shall rise before him" (Hosea 6:1-2); and again: "Death, where is your victory? Hell, where is your sting?" (Hosea 13:14). And Zechariah says: "And you, in the blood of your covenant, you have sent out your prisoners from a pit having no water" (Zechariah 9:11). And David says: "Rise up, God, judge the earth, for you shall be made heir among all the nations" (Psalms 81:8). And Isaiah says: "The Lord wishes to take away from the pain of his soul, to show him light, to form in understanding, justify the righteous one who has been enslaved well to many, and he himself will take away their sins. Because of this he will inherit many and he will share the spoils of the mighty. Instead of them his soul has been handed over to death and he has been reckoned with the transgressors. And he has taken away the sins of many and he has been handed over on account of their sins" (Isaiah 53:10-12).

"Those from the circumcision" (Jews and Jewish Christians) said: Master Jacob, you're mistaken: for as our teachers tell us, Isaiah said this about King Josiah.

Jacob said: They are lying. This is how they are always misleading you. For Josiah was not crucified with transgressing thieves nor was he sufficient to forgive people's sins, nor after he died did he see light, nor did the nations place their hope in Josiah, but even our people went off into captivity. But even the gentiles believed in Christ. Christ defeated all the error of the idols and he brought up the souls who were in hell and he liberated them. Isaiah says as if from God the Father: "I have raised him as a king with righteousness, and all his paths are straight. For he will construct my city and he will overturn the captivity of my people, not with ransoms or gifts, said the Lord Sabaoth" (Isaiah 45:13). And again Isaiah says: "Thus says the Lord Sabaoth: Egypt has grown weary, and the Ethiopian markets and the lofty Sabaean men will cross over to you and they will be enslaved to you and they will follow behind you bound in shackles and they will cross over toward you and they will venerate you and they will pray to you. For God is in you, and there is no God except you. For you are God and we did not know it, the God of Israel, saviour" (Isaiah 45:14-15). He says "God is in you" on account of the Word of God which inhabited the body of the Lord, and "there is no God except you" because Christ was truly God.

ON THE OLD LAW

28. "Those from the circumcision" (Jews and Jewish Christians) and said: May God grant that your words are true, so we don't regret becoming Christian*. ["Becoming Christian" translates the single (Greek) word 'christianisantes', a contrast to the "judaising" (iodaisantes) the baptised Jews are being exhorted to abandon.] But what prevents us from also keeping the Sabbath?

Jacob said: Just as those before the law of Moses were under the natural law [Greek: ton phusikon nomon] and they did not need to keep the Sabbath, but when the law came whoever didn't keep the Sabbath was cursed, so it is again now that Christ has come, the true light—just as Isaiah says: "On that day the light of the moon will be like the light of the sun, and the light of sun will be seven-fold, like the light of seven days in a day, when the Lord will heal the ruin of his people, and he will heal the pain of its blow. Behold the name of God comes after a time, and his Spirit like water whistling into a gully" (Isaiah 30:26-28)—with the result, then, my brothers, that the law is also beautiful and holy, as it was given by God. But blessed Moses said for us to keep the law until Christ came. For Moses says: "When you enter into the land which the Lord God gives to you, the Lord will raise up a prophet for you; heed him in everything, as much as he says to you" (Deuteronomy 18:9, 15-16). Truly the law was beautiful, but the coming of Christ was seven times more beautiful. Just as Isaiah the prophet said: "All will be dishonoured and ashamed who oppose him [113] and they will proceed into dishonour " (Isaiah 45:16). You see then, my brothers, that those who wish to keep the Sabbath will be ashamed as ones opposing Christ.

29. And again Isaiah says: "Who among you fears the Lord? Let him give heed to the voice of his child"* (Isaiah 50:10). ["Of his child," tou paidos autou (τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ), in the original context of Isaiah would mean "of his servant." Early followers of Jesus began to understand the "Suffering Servant" section of Isaiah creatively by reading pais in its alternative sense, "son," rather than "servant."] For it is God's will to listen to Christ, his child. And again God says through Isaiah: "Hear me, my people, and kings, lend me your ears. Because the law will go forth from me and my judgement as a light of the nations. Quickly my righteousness nears and it will go forth as my saving light, and the nations will place their hope in my arm. Islands await me and will place their hope in my arm" (Isaiah 51:4-5). And Micah says about the new law of Christ, the new covenant: "At the end of days the mountain of the Lord will be manifest, at hand above the peaks of the mountains, and it will rise up above the hills. And many nations will be present on it and many peoples and they will say: Come and let us go up unto the mountain of the Lord and into the house of the God of Jacob, and they will show us his way and we shall proceed in his paths. For out of Zion the law will go out and the Word of the Lord out of Jerusalem" (Micah 4:1-2). You see, my bothers, that after the law of Moses another law is proclaimed which is of Christ, the holy gospels of the new covenant, the sevenfold light spoken of by the prophets. We should no longer wish to Judaise or keep the Sabbath, since we would really be enemies and opponents of God and the prophets. The prophet Isaiah said in the passage above: "All will be dishonoured and ashamed who oppose him and they will proceed into dishonour" (Isaiah 45:16). And Moses says, as from God: "The person who does not hear his words, which the prophet speaks in my name, I shall be avenged upon him" (Deuteronomy 18:19). And Malachi says: "I take no pleasure in the children of Israel and I shall not accept sacrifice from their hands. For from the rising of the sun until its setting my name is glorified among the nations and in every place incense goes up in my name, because my name is great among the nations, as I live, says the Lord Almighty" (Malachi 1:10-11). And in Psalm 49 God says: "Hear, my people, and I shall tell you, Israel, and I shall bear witness to you, I am God your God. I shall not condemn you for your sacrifices, your burnt offerings are continually before me. I shall not receive calves from your house, nor goats from your flocks. For all the beasts of the field are mine, flocks on the mountains and cattle. I know all the birds of the sky and the ripeness of the field is with me. If I am hungry I shall not tell you, for the world and its fullness are mine. Shall I not eat the meat of bulls, or drink the blood of goats? Sacrifice to God the offering of praise and offer up to the Most High your prayers, and call upon me on the day of your affliction" (Psalms 49:7-15). You see, my brothers, the overturning of the law, or rather, the fulfillment of the law, as God commands. For it is necessary to celebrate the day of Christ's resurrection as the holy Lord's Day, when Christ rose up and illuminated the universe. Just as Isaiah proclaiming in advance Christ's holy body said: "I have seen the King, Lord Sabaoth, with my eyes. And one of the seraphim was sent to me and in his hand he held a coal, which he took from the altar with tongs, and he touched my mouth and said: See this has touched your lips and taken away your transgressions and purified your sins" (Isaiah 6:5-7).

30. Also: in the law the bread of offering, which only the priests ate, there was a prototype. Also: Melchizedek offered

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bread and wine to God as a prototype of the holy mysteries of the holy church. And "he gave them heavenly bread" is perfected in the mystery of the church (Psalms 77:24). For our fathers, who ate the bread—that is, manna—were utterly destroyed and nothing helped them, "they were struck down in the wilderness" (1 Corinthians 10:5), as rebels against God. But the bread which is Christ's illuminated all of creation from the error of idols: for no longer "does each one teach his neighbour nor each one his fellow citizen nor each one his own brother, saying: Know the Lord" (Jeremiah 38 [31]:34), "for the universe is filled with knowing the Lord, as so much water completely covers the seas. And, he says, there will be in that day the root of Jesse who will rise up to lead the nations; and upon him will the nations place their hope, and his rest will be honour" (Isaiah 11:9-10). And again: "The leader has died, who trampled the earth; the throne will be restored with mercy and he will sit on it with truth in the tent of David, judging and seeking judgement and eager for righteousness" (Isaiah 16:4-5). And again Isaiah: "These things says the Lord God of Israel: On that day the person who will have placed his faith in him, his eyes will gaze upon the holy one of Israel, and they will no longer place their faith in the hills or in the works of their own hands" (Isaiah 17:6-8). Likewise also Zechariah says concerning the new people, the Christians: "Many nations will come and many peoples to seek the countenance of the Lord in Jerusalem and to propitiate the countenance of the Lord" (Zechariah 8:22) and again: "On that day, says the Lord, the names of the idols will be utterly destroyed from the earth and there will be no more memory of them" (Zechariah 13:2).

THAT CHRIST HAD TO BE BETRAYED

31. "Those from the circumcision" (Jews and Jewish Christians) answered and said: Really, Master Jacob, all the things God has spoken through your mouth today are true. For they are the words of the Holy Spirit. But help us: why did Christ allow himself to be betrayed by his own disciple, Judas?

Jacob said: It had to happen, since the prophets proclaimed it in advance, in order to show that the Word of God took on true flesh. For Amos the prophet says: "They have delivered up the righteous one for silver" (Amos 2:6). And Zechariah says, as if from Christ: "And they set my price at thirty silver pieces" (Zechariah 11:12). And Jeremiah said: "They gave thirty silver pieces as the price for the one whose price was set, on whom some from the children of Israel set a price, and they gave them for the potter's field*." [This quote does not appear in Jeremiah, but is cited as if it were in Matthew 27:9-10.] And Isaiah said: "Woe to the transgressor: for wicked things will befall him according to the works of his hands" (Isaiah 3:11). And David says: "Set the sinner upon him and let the devil stand to his right: in judging him let him go forth condemned, and let his prayer be for sin. Let his days be short and let another receive his office" (Psalms 108:6-8). For after Judas was thrown own another came in as apostle (cf. Acts 1:20). And Solomon says about the betrayal: "A foolish and unnatural man proceeds on ways that are not good. He signals with eyes, he indicates with a foot, he teaches in gestures of his fingers. His perverted heart devises bad things for every occasion. Such a one causes lots of trouble. This is why his destruction comes suddenly" (Proverbs 6:12-15). But also then Joseph being sold by his own brothers predicted the betrayal of Christ by the Jews, his brothers according to the flesh. And the prophecy of blessed Moses is fulfilled in the one betraying Christ. For he says in Deuteronomy: "Cursed is he who takes gifts to shed the lifeblood of a righteous one" (Deuteronomy 27:25), and again: "God will not wish to be merciful to him, but at that time the anger of the Lord will be kindled and his zeal against that person, and all the imprecations of that covenant will be bound to him" (Deuteronomy 29:19) and again: "The Lord will erase his name from the heaven" (Deuteronomy 29:19). And Gehazi, the disciple of Elisha, bore the prototype of Judas (cf. 2 Kings 5:20).

ON GOD'S REJECTION OF THE SYNAGOGUE

32. "Those from the circumcision" (Jews and Jewish Christians) answered and said: Really, greatly you have demonstrated and you have cured us. But why, Master Jacob, did God reject the synagogue, as you say? You are not convincing us of this. For the first salvation for humans was the holy synagogue of Israel for knowledge of God.

Jacob said: Through Isaiah God says: "Go and enter* the bridal chamber, to Somnas to steward, and say to him: Why are you here, and what is for you here? For you have quarried for yourself here a monument and you have made for yourself a lofty tomb and you have engraved for yourself a tent in stone. [* The interpretation of the whole sentence should be: ". . . enter the bedroom, seeing the steward and say to him: Get out! Why are you here, and what is it for you to be here? You have tried to get advantage for yourself here in this matrimonial monument and by doing so you have made yourself a lofty tomb and you have engraved for yourself a tombstone housing your guilt.]. Behold, the Lord Sabaoth will cast out a man and he will wipe you out. And he will remove your robe and your headdress and your crown, which is esteemed, and he will toss you into the great and measureless country, and there you will die, and he will set your chariot, which is beautiful, into dishonour and the house of the ruler for trampling underfoot. And you will be taken away from your stewardship and from your position and he will demote you" (Isaiah 22:15-19). Somnas means "Go back outside (or in short: Get out!)." [You see then, brothers, how Judaising comes to an end and is fulfilled in its own time. About the coming of Christ immediately afterward Isaiah says: "And it will be on that day, I shall call my child, Eliakim, son of Hilkiah, and I shall dress him in your robe and I shall give him your crown, according to my might, and I shall give him your stewardship into his hands. And he will be like a father to those dwelling in Jerusalem and to the men of Judah. And I shall give him the glory of David and he will rule and no one will oppose him, and he will open up and no one will close and he will close and there will be no one opening up. And I shall set him as a ruler in the faithful place. And there will be a throne of glory in the house of his father. And everyone who is esteemed in the house of his father, from the small to the great, will trust in him, every vessel from the small to the vessel of aganoth, and they will be dependent upon him on that day" (Isaiah 22:20-25). Behold, then, my brothers, that the divine call is to believe in Christ the son of God and to celebrate his holy resurrection, the holy Lord's Day, through which Christ restored the world.

THAT CHRIST HAD TO BE CRUCIFIED

33. "Those from the circumcision" (Jews and Jewish Christians) said: You have helped us, one enslaved to God, and you have fully satisfied us. But we call upon you, Master Jacob: why was Christ crucified in such a shameful death?

Jacob answered and said*: Christ had to be crucified, because the law and the prophets proclaimed in advance that humanity would be saved in this way by Christ. [* Doctrina 1.33-35 also appears in close paraphrase in Ps.-John Chrysostom, de adoratione pretiosae crucis 2 (PG 52:839), in which the preacher is responding to some hypothetical "demented and ignorant and unbelieving Jew" posing a version of the question from "those of the circumcision" above. The paraphrase contains all of the biblical citations, including the otherwise unknown saying of "Ezra" and the supposed quotation from Moses.] For Moses says: "You will see your life hanging before your eyes" (Deuteronomy 28:66). That God is Christ crucified, Ezra says: "Blessed is the Lord who spreads out his hands and saves Jerusalem." And when the snakes were killing the people, at God's command Moses, suspending a snake from wood, said: "Pay heed to this and you will not die."* [* No surviving book of Ezra (or with Ezra) contains this line (although it is found in the third-century de benedictione Jacobi by Hippolytus) and the line ascribed to Moses does not actually appear in Numbers 21.] And Jeremiah says, as if in the character of those crucifying Christ: "Come and let us cast wood into his bread and we shall remove him from the land of the living" (Jeremiah 11:19). And the Word of God, Christ, says through Jeremiah: "I, like a blameless lamb led to be sacrificed, did not know; they hatched a scheme against me: 'Come and let us cast wood into his bread'" (Jeremiah 11:19). And again through David Christ says: "They have gouged my hands and my feet," "and they have divided my clothes among them and they have cast lots for my cloak" (Psalms 21:17, 19) and "for a whole day I extended my hands toward you" (Psalms 87:10). And again through Isaiah Christ says: "I have spread my hands for a whole day toward a faithless and contrary people, who have not walked on a good way, but behind their sins. This people provoked me, who are preparing a table for the demon" (Isaiah 65:2, 3, 11).

ON VENERATING THE CROSS

34. "Those from the circumcision" (Jews and Jewish Christians) answered and said: Really do you teach us well. Help us, mister, also with this: is it right to venerate the image (ton tupon) of the cross of Christ? For it seems onerous to us.

Jacob said: Yes, it is right. For the prophets teach us. For David says: "You gave those who feared you a sign to flee from the presence of the bow" (Psalms 59:6). And again: "Make with me a sign for good, and let those who hate me see it and be ashamed" (Psalms 85:17). And God says through Ezekiel: "Give the sign upon the forehead of the people who mourn and who are distressed in all their transgressions. And cross through the city and strike, and do not have mercy on the old man or young man or women or the nursing infant, obliterate them all. But do not approach those who possess my sign" (Ezekiel 9:4, 6). And Solomon says about the holy cross: "May he bless the wood, through which comes righteousness" (Wisdom 14:7). And Isaiah says about the source of the cross's wood: in cypress and pine and cedar, to glorify together the holy image (cf. Isaiah 41:19). And Moses, when he cast wood into Mara, into the bitter waters, he sweetened them as an image of the cross of Christ, which sweetens the world from the bitterness of empty idols (cf. Exodus 15:23-25). And the rod of Moses, which split the stone, was an image of the cross of Christ, which split the hearts of the people and cast in the grace of the Holy Spirit (cf. Numbers 20:11).

ON CHRIST'S BODILY ASCENSION

35. "Those from the circumcision" (Jews and Jewish Christians) answered and they said to Jacob: You have made us happy, Master Jacob, and we thank you! But we beseech you, trouble yourself a little more and take care of us. How was Christ raised into heaven in a body, as the Christians say? Because we do not believe it, it is unacceptable.

Jacob said: David in Psalm 46 says: "God ascends in a clamor, the Lord in the sound of a trumpet" (Psalms 46:6) and in Psalm 63: "God will be raised on high" (Psalms 63:8). And Amos says: "The one who constructs his ascent into heaven and founds his steadfastness upon the earth, who summons the water of the sea and pours it out upon the surface of the whole earth, Lord Almighty is his name" (Amos 9:6). And again David says: "He has gone up to the cherubim and he has flown, he has flown upon the wings of the winds" (Psalms 17:11), and again: "Be raised on high, Lord, in your power" (Psalms 20:14); and again: "May your leaders raise up the gates; rise up, eternal gates, and may the King of Glory enter in" (Psalms 23:9). And again in Psalm 45: "Be at rest and know that I am God, I shall be raised up among the nations, I shall be raised up on the earth" (Psalms 45:11), and again in [Psalm] 56: "Be raised up to the heavens, God, and upon all the earth your glory"; and again: "For your mercy has been magnified unto the heavens and your truth unto the clouds" (Psalms 56 [57]:6, 11); and again: "You have gone up on high, you have made a prisoner of captivity" (Psalms 67:19). For he has released the conquered human souls, in order that he might fulfill the prophecy spoken (through Isaiah), and he said: "Speaking to those in bonds: Go forth, and to those in darkness: Be revealed" (Isaiah 49:9). And again David says: "Sing a psalm to the one who has gone up into the heaven of heaven in the east" (Psalms 67:34), and in [Psalm] 93: "Let the one judging the earth be raised up" (Psalms 93:2), and in [Psalm] 98: "Lift up the Lord our God, and venerate the soles of his feet" and again "Lift up the Lord our God and venerate him on his holy mountain" (Psalms 98:5, 9). And Zechariah says: "And the Lord my God will come and all the saints with him. And his feet will stand on that day on the Mount of Olives facing Jerusalem in the east" and he will be raised up (Zechariah 14:5, 4). [The last words of Jacob's citation, 'kai hupsōthēsetai' meaning "and he will be raised up," does not appear in the Hebrew or Greek versions of this verse of Zechariah; yet Jacob must have known a version with this phrase at the end, or else he would not have included it in a chain of "raised up" proof-texts.] For on the Mount of Olives Christ ascended, and his disciples venerated him. And the book of Kings says: "The Lord went up into heavens and thundered. Being righteous he will judge the ends of the earth" (1 Kings [Samuel] 2:10). And Habakkuk says: "His virtue has veiled the heavens, and the earth is full of his understanding" (Habakuk 3:3). And we see that all the nations praise Christ. And Isaiah says: "Behold my child will understand and he will be raised up and glorified and exalted" (Isaiah 52:13). And again through Isaiah Christ says: "Now I shall be raised up, says the Lord" (Isaiah 33:10).

THE ETERNAL WORD OF GOD

36. One of "Those from the circumcision" (Jews and Jewish Christians) , by the name of Theodore, answered and said to him: Really, Master Jacob, you do not persuade me of this, but it's a mistake. For Christ had not come at the time of Isaiah.

Jacob said: The Word of God has always been, and he spoke through the mouth of the holy prophets. Just as David says, that "before the sun the name of the Son of the King remains, and all the tribes of the earth will be blessed in him and before the moon, generation upon generation" (Psalms 71:17, 5). And Jeremiah said: "He is our God. Afterward he was seen upon the earth, he conversed with people" (Baruch 3:36, 38), about the flesh which the holy Word of God took up from the holy virgin Mary. As also Jeremiah says: "Behold days come and I shall raise up a righteous descendant. And a righteous king will reign, and he will make judgement and righteousness in the midst of the earth. In his days Judah will be saved and Israel will settle, in trust. And this is the name which the Lord will call him, Josedek, the Lord is our righteousness, and he is in the prophets" (Jeremiah 23:5, 6). You see that the Word of God "he is in the prophets," who took up flesh from us at the end of days because people could not endure to look upon the bare divinity of the Word.

Everyone answered and said: This is the truth. And also [these verses]: "they have gouged my hands and my feet, they have counted all my bones. They perceived me and they looked upon me" and "They divided my clothes among themselves" and "they cast lots for my cloak" and "he was led as a sheep to the slaughter" were proclaimed in advance (Psalms 21:17, 19; Isaiah 53:7).

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THE NEW COVENANT AFFIRMED

37. I myself, Joseph*, answered and said: Really great is the faith in Christ, because it was proclaimed through the law and the prophets. [* Here the putative narrator and composer of the text, Joseph, appears for the first time (although presumably he also appeared in the lost Greek of the first four chapters).] For Isaiah says: "Only the Lord will be raised up on that day, he will be raised up above the hills" (Isaiah 2:11, 2), "The Lord Sabaoth will be raised up in judgement" (Isaiah 5:16) and again: "I shall be raised up, said the holy one" (Isaiah 40:25) and again: "Rejoice and be happy, you who dwell in Zion, because the holy one of Israel has been raised up in your midst" (Isaiah 12:6).

[Per non-Greek versions, Jacob speaks here:] How did the one on high need to be raised up, unless on account of the flesh which God took up from us, when he dwelled with us humans? Just as Micah also says: "The Lord will be raised up above the hills, and many nations will come to him and many peoples and they will say: Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and they will show us his way and we shall walk in his paths. For out of Zion the law will go forth and the Word of the Lord out of Jerusalem" (Micah 4:1-2). Now do not think that Micah speaks of the Mosaic law. For the law given through Moses by God to humans was before Micah and it was given in the wilderness of Mount Sinai. The prophet saying "out of Zion the law will go forth and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem" indicated the coming of Christ; "the law out of Zion and out of Jerusalem" [indicated] the gospels of Christ, the new covenant; and "the nations" [indicated] those whom we see coming at the time and believing in Christ and learning the way of Christ; and "his paths" [indicated] the new covenant.

[Per non-Greek versions, "Those from the circumcision" (Jews and Jewish Christians) speak here:] Really, Master Jacob, it is necessary not to Judaise any longer, since the new law of Christ has come, just as the prophets foretold to us. As also the great Moses prophesied to us saying: "The Lord God will raise up for a prophet like me," that is, a lawgiver, "listen to him in all things, however many he should say to you" (Deuteronomy 18:15-16). For no one else gave us the old covenant except Moses, and Christ gave us as law the new covenant of the holy gospels.

38. Jacob said: Master Joseph, but even the holy church was prefigured through the law and the prophets. For it says: Jacob took two wives, Leah the elder and Rachel the younger. But "he loved" Rachel more. Leah was as a figure of the synagogue, since she didn't see well (cf. Gen 29:16-30). Just as the prophet said: "They have eyes but do not see" (Jeremiah 5:21). Now Rachel was beautiful and loved by her husband, but she was barren, as a type of the holy church. Just as Isaiah says: "Rejoice, you who are barren and have not given birth, cry aloud and shout, you who have not been in labour. For the offspring of the destitute are many, more than the one who has a husband. For the Lord said: Widen the place of your tent and fix the screens of your courtyards, don't be sparing, extend your allotments and reinforce your stakes, extend on the right and on the left and your seed will inherit nations" (Isaiah 54:1-3); and again: "Shine, shine, Jerusalem: for your light comes and the glory of the Lord has risen up over you. Behold darkness will hide the land and gloom upon the nations, but upon you the Lord will shine, and his glory will be seen upon you. And kings will walk by your light and rulers by your brightness. Rise up your eyes around, and see your children assembled. For your sons have come from far off and your daughters will be hoisted on their shoulders" (Isaiah 60:1-4), in order that David might be proven right when he says: "Hear, daughter, and see and incline your ear and forget your people and the your father's house, and the king will desire your beauty, because he is your Lord and you will venerate him, and the daughters of Tyre with presents" (Psalms 44:11-13). By "daughters of Tyre," the prophet hints at the nations. So now, brothers, let us also forget our fathers' wicked and faithless deeds, so that the Son of God might desire the beauty of our souls and lovely and God-worthy works.

39. As David says about the call of the nations: "Praise the Lord, all the nations, sing praise to him, all the peoples. Because his mercy has prevailed over us and the Lord's truth endures forever" (Psalms 116:1-2). Let us hear David and with the nations let us believe in Christ with all our hearts. For God says through Isaiah, speaking to the church from the nations: "Behold I cast into the foundations of Zion a costly stone and a valuable select cornerstone, and all who believe in it will not be ashamed" (Isaiah 28:16) and again, "Behold I prepare garnet for your stone, and sapphire for your foundations, and jasper for your battlements, and crystal for your gates, and chosen stone for your courtyard, and all your children as students of God and your offspring in great peace. And you will be edified in righteousness; stay away from evil and trembling will not approach you. Behold proselytes will come to you through me, and they will settle before you and will flee for refuge to you" (Isaiah 54:11-15). So if the one who believes in this cornerstone, that is Christ, should not be ashamed, then let those of us from the circumcision also believe in Christ and not be ashamed. For about those who do not believe in Christ Isaiah says: "Behold I set in Zion a stone of hindrance and a rock of stumbling" (Isaiah 8:14) and "all who believe in it will not be ashamed, forever" (Isaiah 28:16). So therefore those who don't believe in Christ will be ashamed forever and ever. And in this world they have are scattered and are trampled underfoot by the nations. And in the age to come, whenever they see Christ with glory, tribes will weep and be ashamed forever and ever and they will be given over to the unquenchable fire incessantly.

JACOB'S PRIOR LIFE

40. "Those from the circumcision" (Jews and Jewish Christians) answered and said: Your soul is really blessed, which has been found worthy of such a gift. For your teaching is the teaching of the Holy Spirit. But why didn't you teach the people (ton laon) these things before, but, as you said, you did not want to hear about Christ?

Jacob answered and said: Because, brothers, I was truly misled by the devil and I hated Christ, not ever wanting to hear the prophecies about Christ. But I even undertook to do bad things to the Christians. And when Phocas [Flavius Focas Augustus; c. 547–610, Roman emperor from 602 up to his execution by Flavius Heraclius in 610 AD.] reigned in Constantinople, I turned over Christians as Greens to the Blues, and I smeared them as "Jews" and "mamzers*." [* Phocas seized control of the eastern empire from Maurice in 602 (see below). "Greens" and "Blues" were popular "clubs" affiliated with either of two major urban racing teams in the hippodrome, often incorporating in their partisan fights other discrete social groups (religious, professional, geographic, etc.). Greens or Blues enjoyed the patronage of key political figures, even emperors. Mamzer, Hebrew for "bastard," appears as a colourful term of Jewish opprobrium throughout the Doctrina.] And when the Greens under Kroukis burned the Midway and did mischief (he said), as a Blue again I hobbled Christians, insulting them as Greens and smearing them as arsonists and Manicheans*. [* On John Kroukis's riot, arson, and execution see Chronicon Paschale sub anno 603. Midway, Mese (Μεσή), refers to the main boulevard of the city.] And when Bonosos in Antioch took vengeance upon the Greens and murdered them, as a Blue and a supporter of the emperor I went up to Antioch and I cudgeled many Christians as Greens and smeared them as rebels (he said)*. [* Bonosos was Phocas's "comes Orientis", who unsuccessfully put down a revolt of Jews in Antioch and whose career ended violently with Phocas's deposition in 609.] And when in Constantinople the Greens dragged Bonosos in the street, I dragged him with them with my whole heart like a Christian. But I attacked Christians like a pagan*, thinking that I was serving God. [* ethnisti; Jacob compares himself to earlier pagan persecutors of Christians.] For I was younger and strong in my body, just 24 years old, but empty-headed and wherever I saw or heard a fight I ran in. In return for these evils, the well-meaning God of my father Abraham impeded me for my own good and, by force, as I said, they made me become a Christian. And God put it into my heart to pore over the holy Scriptures. And I found truly that he is Christ, the one who came under Caesar Augustus, who was born in Bethlehem of Judea from Saint Mary, daughter of Joachim, from the tribe of Judah.

ON MARY'S DESCENT FROM JUDAH

41. One of "Those from the circumcision" (Jews and Jewish Christians) , by the name of Isaac, answered and said with anger: Now really, you are not showing that Mary is out of Judah, but you are mistaken and you mislead everybody, and I don't believe you!

Jacob answered and said: Now really, always our people the Jews have been hard-hearted and disbelieving, fighting God. Now, if the Christians should hear of this, would they not burn you up?

Isaac answered and said: I think you won't ever say anything bad about me to the Christians. Since, miserable and wretched Jacob, don't I know what you did at Butcher's Row and at the Julian port in Constantinople to the Christians, and how many Christians you killed in Pylai and across the way in Pythia and in Cyzicus and in Charax and in Aegae and in Ptolemaïs? And I shall tell them and they will kill you! [* Butcher's Row is ta Makellou, Déroche's correction for ta Markellou ("Marcellus Quarter"). The Julian Port was where, according to the Chronicon Paschale, Bonosos was executed (see above). Pylai (present-day Yalova), Cyzicus, Charax, and Aegae are all cities on the southern coast of the Sea of Marmara. Ptolemaïs, on the Palestinian coast, features heavily in the biographies of Jacob and Justus. Presumably, Isaac knows the details of Jacob's past from his own family connections (we know his cousins still reside in the East).]

Jacob answered and said: By the name of the highest God, I never killed anyone, except I dragged Bonosos in the street with the Christians. I inflicted many wounds on the Christians, thinking I was serving the God of Israel.

"Those from the circumcision" (Jews and Jewish Christians) answered and said to Isaac: Mate*, calm down and don't get angry. Let him show us what he knows about Mary, whether she's a daughter of David. [* anthrōpe, a familiar, and sometimes condescending, form of address used throughout the Doctrina.]

Isaac answered and said: By the great name of the God who spoke to Moses, if you show me that Saint Mary, from whom Christ was born, was out of Judah then I shall no longer Judaise. For as the Lord lives, this has been a great stumbling block for me, that no one can show that Saint Mary is out of David. And the Gospel according to Matthew begins from Abraham until Joseph, but does not go until Saint Mary.

"Those from the circumcision" (Jews and Jewish Christians) answered and said to Jacob: Master Jacob, do not hold a grudge, for even if we fight on account of belief, lift us up as our brother and prove to us that Saint Mary is out of David. For if you don't prove it, many will have this as a stumbling block, because Christ is not out of David, just as the law and prophets said.

42. Jacob answered and said to them: Does Master* Isaac agree that Joseph is the son of Abraham, our Father, according to the flesh, just as the Christians' gospel says? [* Here Jacob uses the more formal kurios rather than the typical kuris used throughout.]

Isaac answered and said: Yes, I do really know precisely that the Gospel according to Matthew tells the truth, that Joseph, who was entrusted with Mary, is a son of Judah. For having pored over very thoroughly the holy Scriptures and the apocrypha, I found that Joseph is out of the seed of David and Judah, and God's curse upon whoever doesn't say Joseph is of David's seed. But I have not discovered that Mary is out of David.

Jacob answered and said: Really, I do not blame you, Master Isaac, for asking where Saint Mary is from. For some Jews took foreign [alloethneis] wives, and I myself was extremely scandalised. But the God of our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who reveals mysteries, sent a certain Jew to Ptolemaïs and he recounted the genealogy of Saint Mary. He said, mocking, that she is of Judah. That Jew was a great teacher of the law from Tiberias, and he said: "Why do the Christians make such a big deal about Mary? She is a daughter of David, not the mother of God*! [* Theotokos, literally "bearer of God," an honorific affirmed for Mary in the fifth century.] For Mary is a woman, she's the daughter of Joachim, her mother is Anne. Joachim is the son of Panther, Panther was the brother of Melchi, as our Jewish tradition of Tiberias has it, from the seed of Nathan the son of David out of the seed of Judah. Melchi is the son of Levi. When Mathan, Jacob's father, died, he [Melchi] married the wife of Mathan, who was a widow, the mother of Jacob, who came along with his own mother to Melchi the brother of Panther, the father of Joachim. When Melchi begat Heli from the mother of Jacob, there were two, Jacob and Heli, brothers from the same mother, but with different fathers. When Heli passed away childless after getting married, Jacob was required according to the law to marry the wife of his brother Heli, in order to "establish the seed of his brother" (cf. Leviticus 18:16), and so he begat a child from the wife of his brother Heli, called Joseph. This Joseph was the natural offspring of Jacob, but legally the child of Heli*. [* This dual fatherhood of Joseph allows the Doctrina to harmonise the genealogy of Matt 1:16, where his father is Jacob, with Luke 3:23, where his father is Heli.] Now Joachim, the father of Mary: both his father Panther and his [Panther's] brother Melchi, who were sons of Levi, were relatives of Joachim, just as the attentive mind tracking from the Hebrew traditions establishes by succession. With the result that Mary, daughter of Joachim son of Panther brother of Melchi, given to Joseph, according to the two patriarchs Nathan and Solomon related to David on his father's side, but on his mother's from Heli, first cousin of her father Joachim out of a natural kinship (of Levi). So don't let the Christians think that Mary is from heaven!" I heard these things from the teacher of the law, before God! The Jew said these things disparagingly, but I glorified God who reveals hidden things. But the gospel speaks the truth when it says Mary is the relative of Elizabeth, for the tribes of Judah and Levi have been mixed together*. [* Jacob's Tiberian genealogy of Jesus builds on earlier attempts to show Jesus's Davidic descent: Eusebius, Historia ecclesiastica 1.7 (citing Julius Africanus), narrates a similar account.]

And Isaac answered and said to those listening from the circumcision: Really, brothers, I do not have anything to say to these things: and if anyone henceforth does not say that Saint Mary is out of the root of Jesse, that is, of Judah, let him be cursed!

43. And again Isaac said: Master Jacob, I wanted at this time to say something to you. I'm afraid that you will get angry and hand me over to the Christians and they will burn me in truth.

And Jacob said: By the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob our fathers, I shall never say anything bad against my brothers from the Hebrews. This is why we have sworn to each other that no one will write these things down and show them to the Christians. But this is why also we have taken the caution to sit together in a hidden house, so no one will know,

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except God alone, but even those things we say will pass away and be forgotten, and we shall not know what we spoke about.

JOSEPH KEEPS A SECRET RECORD

And we stopped and they all left in peace on that day, as they did every other day. But I Joseph—before God!— being uncertain about believing in Christ, I wished—even though I swore with the others not to write anything down—with God forgiving, to keep a record in secret of all these things which Jacob and "Those from the circumcision" (Jews and Jewish Christians) discussed with each other. And through my son Simeon, through tablets and papers, I had him note down exchange by exchange, going out through a window in a house next door where I had hidden my son Simeon, and we kept a record. Very often Isaac said to me: "Why are you going out all the time?" And I said: "Forgive me, because I have a violent discharge* [* biasmous, i.e., diarrhea.] and I am afflicted." But I kept the record so that I might see whether I was misled when I was baptised and became a Christian.

DOCTRINA JACOBI BOOK 2
THAT CHRIST IS THE SON OF GOD.
SECOND MEETING

1. And after two days they gathered altogether and they said to Jacob: Master Jacob, Christians are mistaken when they say that Christ is the Son of God. For God would not get married and have a son! It is useful to say that Christ is the Anointed One and Saviour and Redeemer, but not Son of God.

Jacob answered and said: Really, my fathers and brothers, I too used to think this way, and I wept a lot concerning the subject of this affliction, for many days and nights calling upon God to clarify it for me. And I saw in a vision a man wearing a white cloak, saying to me: Why are you scandalized to call Christ God's Son? Didn't God through David say: "Out of my womb I begat you before the morningstar" (Psalms 109:3)? And again Christ through David says concerning his birth according to the flesh: "The Lord said to me: You are my Son, today I have begotten you. Ask me and I shall give you nations as your inheritance and as your possession the ends of the earth" (Psalms 2:7-8). And through Chronicles God says: "I shall prepare his kingdom, and he will build my house. And I shall restore his throne for eternity. I shall be for him as a father and he will be for me as a Son. I shall not withdraw my mercy from him" (1 Chronicles 17:11-13) and again: "He will be for me as a Son, and I shall be for him as a Father, and I shall restore his throne in Israel for eternity" (1 Chronicles 22:10).

Theodore answered and said: I think, Master Jacob, you were misled when you saw the vision. For the prophets were talking about Solomon.

Jacob answered and said: I was not misled. "Before the morningstar I begat you" means before the creation of the world, and "I shall restore his throne for eternity" means eternally. Solomon didn't exist before light, nor is his throne for eternity. After reigning for forty years he heard the divine voice through the prophet: "I shall indeed break your kingdom" (1 Kings 11:11), and having done wickedness before the Lord he died. And David says: "God, give your judgement to the king and your righteousness to the son of the king"; and again: "Before the sun his name endures and before the moon, generation upon generation" (Psalms 71:1, 17, 5). And Hosea says: "Out of Egypt I called my Son" (Hosea 11:1). And again the prophecy says, as out of Christ: "Before all the hills he begat me" and again: "When he prepared heaven I was present with him" (Proverbs 8:25, 27).

Theodore answered and said: As the Lord lives, you have demonstrated correctly, and the faith of the Christians is great.

THAT THE JEWISH PRIESTHOOD HAD ENDED

2. Jacob said: But also our Jewish priesthood has been cast away by God. [Here, unusually, Jacob introduces a new topic for discussion instead of being prompted by questions from his interlocutors.]

"Those from the circumcision" (Jews and Jewish Christians) answered and said: How can you demonstrate that?

Jacob said: Since we transgressed against God, he took the priesthood away from us. In 1 Kings he said: "A man of God came before Eli and said: Thus says the Lord: I made a revelation of myself before your father's house, when they were enslaved to Pharaoh in Egypt. And I chose the house of your father, out of all the tribes of Israel, to be my priests, to ascend into my sanctuary and offer incense and raise up the ephod. And I gave your father's house all the burnt offerings of the children of Israel as meat. And so why have you looked at my incense with a shameless eye, and glorified your sons above me, to bless yourself with the first fruit of every sacrifice in Israel before me? This is why the Lord God of Israel said: I said: your house and your father's house will go forth before me forever. But now the Lord says: None at all but the ones who have glorified me shall I glorify; and the one denying me I shall make dishonoured. Behold days are coming and I shall utterly destroy your seed and the seed of your father's house, and there will be no elder* [*presubteros, literally "venerable elder," but also commonly used for Christian priests] for you before me all of your days. And I shall destroy a man for you before my sanctuary, that their eyes fail and their souls rush away. And everyone left over in your house will fall by the sword of men. And this sign for you will come upon your sons, Ophni and Phineas, they will both die in a single day" (1 Samuel 2:27-34). See then, my brothers, how he was going to wipe out Judaising at the right time and "the sevenfold light" would come, which Isaiah spoke of, which is the coming of Christ. For the holy Scripture straightaway continues, saying: "And I shall raise up for me a faithful priest, who will do everything in my heart and in my soul and I shall build for him a faithful house and he will go before me all of his days, and the one left over in your house will come to venerate him with a silver obol, saying: Admit me into a single one of the priesthoods to eat bread" (1 Samuel 2:35-36). And again the Lord says to Samuel: "See I shall effect your words in Israel, such that both the ears of everyone who hears will ring. On that day I shall rouse up all those things, as many as I pronounced against his house, I shall begin and I shall end. And I have announced to him that I am having revenge upon his house forever in the transgressions of his sons, which I know, that his sons, speaking evil of God, have also committed fornication with women and he has not rebuked them. And not in this way did I swear to the house of Eli, that the injustice of the house of Eli will be atoned in incense and in sacrifices forever" (1 Samuel 3:11-14).

They all answered and said: Really you speak the truth, Master Jacob. This is why, through David, he said, the priests have been slain.

ON THE WORSHIP OF THE TRINITY

3. Isaac answered and said: But bear with me once more and tell us if it is right for the Trinity to be worshiped as the Christians worship.

Jacob answered and said: Master Isaac, the holy law and the prophets proclaim the Trinity. For it says in the law: "Let us make humankind according to our image" (Genesis 1:26). It is clear that the Father was speaking with the Son. And Job says: "The Spirit of the Lord that made me" (Job 33:4); and again Moses says: "The Lord your God is one Lord" (Deuteronomy 6:4), since there is one divinity of God and of his Word and of the Holy Spirit. And again he says through Moses: "I am the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob" (Exodus 3:6; Matt 22:32) and he does not say: "I am the God of Abraham," so that the Word and his Spirit doesn't go unindicated. But he has indicated three times the triple naming of the single divinity. Also the holy powers of the cherubim and the seraphim say without cease: "Holy, holy, holy, Lord Sabaoth" (Isaiah 6:3). For the Lord is one, since there is a single divinity of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Abraham welcomed three angels, but he imparted to the angels a single lordship of equal honour, saying: "Lord, if I have found grace before you" and so forth (Genesis 18:3) And Sirach says: "I called upon the Lord, Father of my Lord" (Sirach 51:10). And in Genesis it says: "Spirit of God was borne upon the water" (Genesis 1:2); and again, "The Lord rained down fire and brimstone from the Lord upon Sodom" (Genesis 19:24). Likewise also through Isaiah: "They provoked the Holy Spirit and he turned to them in hatred" (Isaiah 63:10). Taking three rods and casting them in the water Jacob watered the flocks of Laban (cf. Gen 30:36-38). For the baptism of Christ in the triple naming of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit waters and saves the rational flocks of God, humans, just as God says through Ezekiel: "Behold I seek out and I review my flocks; and they know that I am the Lord their God" (Ezekiel 34:11, 15); and again, "Let us walk on this path for three days in the wilderness, to sacrifice to the Lord our God" (Exodus 8:23). For the holy Trinity led our fathers out of Egypt and he [Moses] said: "Let us sing to the Lord, for he has been honourably glorified" (Exodus 15:1). And David says: "He has sent his Word and he saved them" (Psalms 106:20); and again, "He sent his Spirit, and the sea covered them" and again "And through the Spirit of your anger the water parted" (Exodus 15:10, 8). After fasting for three days and three nights the Ninevites were saved, a prediction of worshiping the holy Trinity and being saved (Jonah 3:5-8). Three times Elijah poured water on the kindling and on the parts of the bull and brought down fire from heaven on them (1 Kings 18:33-35). The triple water and the kindling and the parts of the bull and the heavenly fire are the holiness of the triple naming of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit on the holy baptism, and the cross, and the parts of Christ, and the heavenly light predicted sanctifying the baptised. Three times a day Daniel, opening the windows of his house and praying, obtained his request (Daniel 6:10), teaching the mystery of the holy Trinity, that equal honour and glory and worship are ascribed to God and to his Word and to his Holy Spirit. For the holy Trinity created all things. For he says, as I said before, "Let us make humankind according to our image" and again: "You will send out your Spirit and they will be created" (Psalms 103:30); and again, "By the Word of the Lord the heavens were made firm, and by the Spirit of his mouth all of their power" (Psalms 32:6).

4. And Job says: "The Lord lives, who judges me in this way, and the almighty who embittered my soul, and the divine Spirit passing through my nostrils" (Job 27:2, 3). By saying "Lord" and "Almighty" and "divine Spirit" he has indicated the holy Trinity. And David in Psalm 49 says: "Offer to God a sacrifice of praise and sing to the most high your prayers, and call upon me on the day of your affliction" (Psalms 49:14, 15)—you see how the holy Trinity is proclaimed?—and in Psalm 26: "My heart said to you: I shall seek the Lord; my countenance has sought you out, your countenance, Lord, I shall seek" (Psalms 26:8). And Zechariah as if in the person of Christ says: "Rejoice and be of good cheer, daughter of Zion, for I am coming and I shall make camp in your midst, says the Lord. And on that day many nations will seek refuge before the Lord" (Zechariah 2:14-15); and again: "I shall pour out upon the house of David the Spirit of grace and mercies" (Zechariah 12:10). And again Zechariah says as if from Christ: "The Lord said: The Lord will rebuke you, devil" (Zechariah 3:2); and again: "but in my Spirit" (Zechariah 4:6). And David says: "The Lord said to my Lord: Sit at my right hand, until I set your enemies beneath your feet" (Psalms 109:1); and again, "Your good spirit will lead me into a straight land" (Psalms 142:10). And again in Psalm 17 he says: "The Lord lives, and God is blessed, and may the God of my salvation be exalted" (Psalms 17:47).

All "Those from the circumcision" (Jews and Jewish Christians) answered, crying out and saying: Really this is the way of life, and all those taking hold of it go into life, while those leaving it behind go into death and endless punishment. For the law and the prophets proclaim the holy Trinity. For we recognise God almighty and the Word of God, which is upon the prophets, and the holy Spirit!

5. I, Joseph, answered, who was making a record of these things and marking them down, and I said to them: Why don't we dissolve the oath which we swore, that the Christians would not learn [about our meeting]?

And Jacob said: No, brothers, no one should reveal anything to the Christians, because they guard a great and precise and holy faith of orthodox teachings. Besides saying that the Son and the Holy Spirit are of one substance* [* homoousion, the technical term for the identity of the persons of the Trinity formalised in the Nicene Creed. Jacob does not explain this theological term, although he does reveal later (in Book 5) how he came to be familiar with its meaning long before his baptism.] with the Father, they also possess other incredible [paradoxa] and invaluable teachings which we have not yet received: what if they anathematize us as heretics? For God poured out his Spirit upon all the flesh of the nations, just as God said through the prophet Joel (cf. Joel 2:28), and they believe correctly, as it is written. For God says through Isaiah: "Those enslaved to me will be called by a new name, which will be blessed upon the earth. For they will bless the true God. And those swearing will swear by the true God. For they will forget their first affliction" (Isaiah 65:15-16)—that is, the diabolical error of empty idols. But we who are from the Jews* [*apo Ioudaion, a phrase used frequently in the Doctrina to describe these baptised Jews. Déroche translated it as "ex-Juifs (ex-Jews)," but there is no certainty that such finality occured.] have not yet learned the basics of the faith of Christ. For Christians exile and anathematise bishops and patriarchs who deviate a little bit.

ON CHRIST'S COMING

6. "Those from the circumcision" (Jews and Jewish Christians) answered and said: You teach us well, father, but make us strong and joyful out of the prophets, bringing to light for us further proof-texts [marturias] concerning Christ's coming.

Jacob answered and said: Isaiah as if from the Father says: "Behold I put in Zion, says the Lord, a stone as an obstacle and a rock as a stumbling block, and everyone who believes in him will not be dishonoured forever" (Isaiah 28:16). Now the obstacle stone and the stumbling rock was Christ for us Jews who did not believe in Christ, just as also Job says concerning those who did not believe in and crucified Christ: "The Lord will not save the impious, since they did not want to know the Lord" (Job 36:12). And Isaiah likewise says about those crucifying: "The counsel of your spirit was in vain" (Isaiah 33:11); and again: "You took counsel that wasn't through me and you made a plan that was not through my Spirit" (Isaiah 30:1). And again Isaiah says: "They have diverted the righteous one among the unjust" (Isaiah 29:21). And Hosea says about those who do not believe: "God will reject them, because they did not listen to him and they will be wanderers among the nations" (Hosea 9:17). For we committed an offense against Christ in our disbelief for 600 years and we are trampled underfoot by all the nations and the demons, since we are in a captivity of soul and body. About those who believe in Christ Isaiah says: "Behold, the Lord comes with strength" (Isaiah 40:10); and again, "On that day the deaf will hear the words of the book, and the eyes of the blind which are in darkness and which are in gloom will see. And

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the tongues that hesitate will learn to speak of peace" (Isaiah 29:18, 24). For, really, in truth [he has healed] the deaf and all those weak in soul and in body, and "the tongues" of people "which hesitate," which were swearing at that time by vain idols, they have learned to speak of peace about Christ. For Christ is peace and salvation for those who believe in him. For God says through Isaiah about the faithful: "I am the Lord God, I shall listen to them, the God of Israel, and I shall not leave them behind, but I shall lead rivers up the mountains and springs in the midst of their plains, and I shall make the desert into pools of water and I shall set their parched land in canals" (Isaiah 41:17-18).

7. And again God says through Isaiah, so no one would Judaise after Christ's coming, but instead would be baptised: "Do not remember the former things and do not take account of the ancient ones; for behold I make all things new, which will rise up now, and you shall know them. And I shall make a path in the wilderness and rivers in the waterless place. The beasts of the field will bless me" (Isaiah 43:18-20); and again, "I myself am speaking righteousness, pronouncing truth; be gathered and come forth, take counsel together you who are saved" "I am God, and there is no other beside me; righteous one and saviour, there is no one outside me. Turn to me and you will be saved, from the end of the earth" (Isaiah 45:19-22). Again Moses says: "Let my saying be anticipated, like rain, and may my words fall down like dew, like showers [149] on the grass and like snowfall on the pasture" (Deuteronomy 32:2). And again through Isaiah he says to Christ: "Do not fear because you have been dishonoured, nor turn away because you have been upbraided" (Isaiah 54:4); and again, "I live, says the Lord, you shall wear them all like a cloak" (Isaiah 49:18)—he's saying this on account of the flesh. And Zechariah says: "The Lord will save them on that day, his people as the flocks," also about the apostles of Christ: "So the holy stones are rolled along on his earth, because if anything is good and right it is his" (Zechariah 9:16, 17). And David says about the apostles: "The heavens recount the glory of God" (Psalms 18:1). And again Isaiah says about Christ: "My God is great, he will not pass me by, the Lord is our judge, the Lord is our leader, the Lord is our King, the Lord is our Saviour" (Isaiah 33:22); and again: "He will come and he will save us" (Isaiah 35:4). And again Isaiah says about Christ: "In the way the lion or the cub will roar at the prey which he takes and he cries out at it until the mountains are filled with his voice and the crowd is overcome from his anger and is terrified, just so the Lord Sabaoth will come down to wage war on Mount Zion and on his mountains: like a bird in flight, so the Lord Sabaoth will protect Jerusalem, he will protect and propitiate and preserve and shield and save" (Isaiah 31:4, 5). And again Isaiah says: "Who among you fears the Lord? Let him listen to the voice of his child" (Isaiah 50:10). And again about the new law of grace of the holy gospels of Christ God says through Isaiah: "Hear, my people and kings hearken to me: for a law will go out from me and my judgement as a light to the nations. Quickly my righteousness approaches and will go forth as my saving light, and in my arm the nations will place their hope" (Isaiah 51:4-5). And again Isaiah says about Christ: "The Lord will uncover his holy arm before all the nations, and all the ends of the world will see the salvation which is from our God" (Isaiah 52:10). And again the highest God says to Christ through Isaiah: "It is great for you to be called my child, to set up the tribes of Jacob and to return the scattering of Israel. Behold I have given you as a covenant of the people, as a light of the nations, for you to be the salvation unto the ends of the earth. Thus says the Lord, who delivered you, the God of Israel: Sanctify the one who diminishes his soul, who is abhorred by" Pilate and the soldiers, "those enslaved to the leaders of the nations. Kings will see him and leaders will rise up and venerate him on account of the Lord, because he is faithful, the holy one of Israel, and he has chosen you. Thus says the Lord: At the appointed time I heard you and on the day of salvation I helped you, and I formed you and I gave you as a covenant of the nations, to establish the earth and receive the bereft inheritance, to say to those in bondage: Go forth, and to those in darkness: Be revealed" (Isaiah 49:6-9). And again through Isaiah: "And your soul will be saved among the good people, and I shall make with you an eternal covenant, holy and faithful, of David. Behold I have given him as a witness among the nations, leading and presiding over the nations. Behold the nations who did not know you will call upon you, peoples who did not believe in you will seek refuge in you" (Isaiah 55:3-5).

8. And again Isaiah says: "Seek God and when you find him call upon him"; and again: "For he will remit your many sins: for my counsels are not like your counsels, nor are your ways like my ways, says the Lord" (Isaiah 55:6, 7-8); and again: "These things says the Lord: Guard judgement and make righteousness: for the coming of my salvation is near and the unveiling of my mercy"; and again: "For my house will be called a house of prayer for all the nations" (Isaiah 56:1, 7). And again Isaiah says about Christ: "No elder or angel but God himself when he came saved them" (Isaiah 63:9); and again: "The one walking in righteousness, speaking in a straight path, hating transgression and injustice, and shaking off his hands from bribes: holding down his ears so as not to hear the judgement of unrighteous blood, closing his eyes, lest he see evil; he will live in a lofty cave of strong rock, bread will be given to him and his water assured. You will see the king with glory" (Isaiah 33:15-17). And again about the holy baptism of Christ through Isaiah God says: "I am the Lord God, I shall listen to them, the God of Israel, and I shall not leave them behind, but I shall lead rivers up the mountains and springs in the midst of their plains, and I shall make the desert into pools of water and I shall set their parched land in canals" (Isaiah 41:17-18). And again: "You who thirst proceed to the water" and again "Hear me and eat good things, and your soul will revel in good things" (Isaiah 55:1, 2).

"Those from the circumcision" (Jews and Jewish Christians) answered and said: Really this is true and Christ is the Son of God, who was born from Saint Mary.

And when evening came they left, giving thanks to God with great thanks. But I, Joseph, as before God, as I was able, I recorded in secret from them with my son Symeon.

DOCTRINA JACOBI BOOK 3

JUSTUS, AN UNBAPTISED JEW, ARRIVES

1. After five days Justus came, an unbaptised Jew, from the East, a first cousin of Isaac, and Isaac received him into his house. And he reproached Isaac, saying: You should not have been baptised, for Christ has not come yet.

And Isaac said to him: Master Justus, really I was greatly afflicted when I was baptised and I fell into despair. But a certain person was found from the Jews by the name of Jacob, and I think he speaks from the Holy Spirit, and he greatly reassured us from the law and the prophets that the one who came was Christ.

And Justus said: Do not I know Jacob, the son of Thanuma*, a highwayman and a thief, the one who committed so many bad acts against the Christians under the Emperor Phocas and Bonosos? Show him to me, and I shall prove that he is a deceiver who is fighting against God, and I shall prove that those who have been baptised have been misled. [* a Greek transliteration of the Aramaic Tan'uma, the only non-biblical, non-Greek name of a Jew in the Doctrina. This Greek form appears in a handful of late antique inscriptions.]

And those of us from the circumcision heard and we were shaken and dejected. And Theodore said: Master Joseph, I think we're in a bad way. For if Justus proves that Jacob has been misled, we're in a bad way. Justus has disturbed all those from the Jews, and we have a lot of distress and despondency.

JACOB REASSURES "THOSE FROM THE CIRCUMCISION" (JEWS AND JEWISH CHRISTIANS)

THIRD MEETING

2. And after a time Jacob came into the place where we gathered and sent and called for those who had been coming and pondering the holy Scriptures and, as he said, were fond of God. Coming with a lot of grief they said among themselves: It's too bad we didn't write down the fountain of things that gushed from Jacob's mouth, so Justus might read them. In all likelihood he would learn the whole truth, whether we were misled upon being baptised or saved, as Master Jacob says.

I, Joseph, answered and I said to them: As before God, I and my son Symeon have kept a record of them; but keep it secret and for now don't say anything to anybody.

And "Those from the circumcision" (Jews and Jewish Christians) came in before Jacob, sullen and aggrieved. And Jacob said to them: What's the matter with you? I notice that you are sullen.

And Isaac said: Yes, we are really in great distress. For my first cousin Justus came from the East and he says that we have been misled by being baptised. For Christ has not yet come.

Jacob answered and said to them: Oh, I am familiar with Master Justus and his brother Little* Abraham and their father, Master Samuel, who are well versed in holy Scriptures. And I was taught many things by their father, blessed Samuel. For I learned about the prophets from him, and I came to know Christ. But I beseech you: seek him out and bring him and let him be useful to us, because he is scriptural and a great teacher. [* Jacob calls Justus's brother Abraamios, but Justus later (Doctrina 5.16) calls him Abraames. Both are declinable forms of the biblical name Abraham, therefore 'little' is used as diminutive.]

Isaac answered and said: If you wish, I shall bring him to you.

Jacob said: Be so kind as to bring him, in order that if God should put something to him he might teach us.

And Isaac set out and found him studying up against Christ and against the Jews who had been baptised and taking notes, because, he said: They have been deceived, for Christ has not yet come.

And Isaac said to him: Master Justus, Master Jacob wishes to pay his respects to you.

And Justus said to him: I don't want to see him; what if, at some point, I insult him and the Christians learn about it and rough me up? Now if I were in Sykamina or Ptolemaïs*, I would prove from the law and the prophets that Christ has not yet come, and it is not yet the time of baptism. [* Towns on the Judaean coast with significant Jewish populations in the seventh century and the scene of most of Justus's and Jacob's youthful recollections; see below.].

Isaac answered and said: Don't be afraid because of this. We have sworn to each other that the Christians will not learn [about our meetings] and so he teaches us in a hidden place. For Jacob does not want the Christians to learn about it. And he is very afraid of them and trembles and doesn't want the Christians to learn about it at all.

And Justus said: Let's go and I shall show you that you have been misled upon being baptised and that Jacob is a devil and a great deceiver and swindler.

And Isaac said to him: Master Justus, it's already the tenth hour and it's evening. But if you insist, I shall go and speak to Master Jacob this evening and tomorrow we shall show up at that hidden place, in order that even if you cry out the Christians will not learn of it, or anyone else, no one but God and those of us who usually show up and who fear God and keep the secret.

And Justus said: That sounds all right.

And Isaac went and spoke to Jacob.

FIRST CONFRONTATION OF JUSTUS AND JACOB

FOURTH MEETING

3. Now Justus did not sleep all night, searching the holy Scriptures and taking notes against those who were baptised on how they were misled. And from early on the fifth day [Thursday] they gathered, Jacob and the rest in the house, where they always showed up. And Justus came with Isaac, holding papers, to do battle.

Jacob looked at him and said: Rightly has God brought my father and teacher, Master Justus, who has fear of God: please, sit.

Sitting, Justus said: Wrongly have I found you, my children and students, who have no fear of God, but are apostates from God.

Jacob answered and said: Calm down, Master Justus!

Justus said: Really I should not calm down, because you—garbage! apostate! abomination of the Jews!—through your fraud you have come to be seen as a teacher.

Jacob answered and said: Really you speak the truth because I was at one time garbage and apostate and abomination and blind and fraudulent, not knowing the highest God. In this you have spoken truth and have prophesied. But he is the highest, the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and Moses and of the prophets, who makes all things for the best, who stood in my way; and I was overtaken and I was baptised and I became a Christian by force. And I wailed and I lamented and I fasted a lot and I searched the holy Scriptures and I knew out of the holy Scriptures and I was greatly assured that the one proclaimed by the law and the prophets, "coming in the name of the Lord" (Psalms 117:26) was Christ, and no other except the one born "in Bethlehem of Judea" (Micah 5:1) from Saint Mary under Caesar Augustus, and the one not accepting Christ or believing in him is apostate from God and a mamzer and cursed.

4. Justus answered and said: You insult me, wretched Jacob! Wasn't my father, blessed Samuel, your teacher in the holy Scriptures?

Jacob answered and said: I do not insult you, certainly not. But the Holy Spirit "who spoke through the prophets*" insults and curses those who do not accept Christ. [* Jacob again cites the Nicene Creed.]

At that point Justus rose up with anger and threw his turban around Jacob's neck and said: All right, I am choking you if you cannot prove from the holy Scriptures that those of us who were not baptised have been misled.

Isaac and Theodore rose up and they said to Justus: Really, Master Justus, this is not what teachers do!

I, Joseph, went out for a little bit and took notes with my son Symeon. And Justus said to me: Where do you go every second, mamzer? Do you want to hand me over to the Christians? All right, if you ever say anything against me to the Christians, I shall have you all burned up and I shall say that you insulted Christ!

I, Joseph, answered and said: I have a violent discharge and I am afflicted, Master Justus. Do not be upset because I go out.

Justus said: Grant me a single week, in order that I might gather my thoughts, and I shall prove that Christ has not yet come and it is not the time for holy baptism.

And they all left on that day. It was resolved that, after a week, they would show up there again and again there would be a great debate about belief and disbelief. Isaac took Justus into his house and he gave him a separate room. And, taking notes day and night, he struggled in order that he might prove that Christ had not yet come and it was not yet the time for holy baptism.

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FIFTH MEETING

5. And after seven days "Those from the circumcision" (Jews and Jewish Christians) were gathered and sent for Justus. And he came and he said to them: You have been greatly misled in being baptised, and I shall prove it right now. Jacob, misled and apostate from God, will say against me whatever he can!

ON THE REJECTION OF THE JEWS

Jacob said: You know, Master Justus, that it says in Hosea: "Go, take for yourself a wife of fornication and children of fornication. For in fornicating the land fornicates behind the Lord's back. And he went and he married Gomer, the daughter of Diblaim. And she conceived and bore him a son. And the Lord said to him: Call his name Jezreel. For in a little while I shall avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Judah and I shall end the kingdom of the house of Israel. And it will be on that day I shall eradicate the bow of Israel in the vale of Jezreel. And she conceived and she bore a daughter. And he said to him: Call her name Not Pitied. For I shall not continue to have pity on the house of Israel but in opposition I shall line up against them, says the Lord" (Hosea 1:2-6); and again: "She weaned Not Pitied and she conceived yet again and bore a son. And he said: Call him Not My People, because you are not my people and I am not your God" (Hosea 1:8-9).

And Justus said: This is indeed how the Scripture shows the turning of God away from his people.

6. And again Jacob said: Hosea said about those who, from disbelief, were going to believe in God: "And it will be in that place, where it was said to them: You are not my people, they will be called also sons of the living God. And the sons of Judah will be gathered and the sons of Israel in the same place and they will establish for themselves a single rule, and they will be raised up out of the land because the day of Jezreel is great" (Hosea 2:1-2). For Judah and Israel and the nations believing in Christ have a single ruler and king, Christ. "Will be raised up out of the land" means they will no longer have earthly and diabolical works but heavenly and God-pleasing works. "The day of Jezreel is great" means the coming of Christ which illuminates all things out of the darkness of empty idolatry and leads to knowledge of God. And again: "Say to your brother: My people, and to your sister: Pitied" (Hosea 2:3). And again about those not believing in Christ and about the synagogue he said: "Your mother" "is not my wife and I am not her husband" (Hosea 2:4) And other bad things the prophet says about the synagogue of unbelievers, until: "And no one will deliver her from my hand; for I shall divert all of her celebrations." "And I shall have vengeance upon her for the days of Baalim" (Hosea 2:12-13, 15). See, Master Justus, the prophets speaks about the cessation of keeping the Sabbath.

About the call of the nations, the new people, who are enslaved to God as Isaiah [Hosea] says, or rather God through Isaiah [Hosea]: "And I shall make a covenant with them on that day, with the beasts and the birds of the sky and with things that creep on the earth. And bow and sword and war I shall eradicate from the earth, and I shall make you dwell upon hope. And I shall betroth you to myself forever and I shall betroth you to myself in righteousness and in judgement and in pity and in mercies. And I shall betroth you to myself in faith and you will know the Lord" (Hosea 2:20-22). Oh wonder, that God says: "You will know the Lord"! He does not say, "You will know me as the Lord," but "You will know the Lord," as he's talking about Christ. For right away the holy Scripture continues: "And it will be on that day, says the Lord, I shall listen to the heaven and the heaven will listen to the earth and the earth will listen to the grain and the wine and the oil. And these things will hear Israel, which is called the seed of God, and I shall sow it for myself upon the earth and I shall have pity on Not Pitied and I shall say to Not My People: You are my people. And he will say: You are the Lord my God" (Hosea 2:23-25); he is talking about the new people, the Christians. For there will no longer be "famine upon the land" "to hear the Word of the Lord" (Amos 8:11). "For everything will be filled with knowing the Lord, as so much water covers the sea. And there will be on that day the root of Jesse and the one rising up to rule the nations, in whom the nations will place their hope" (Isaiah 11:9-10). And Hosea says: "The children of Israel will return and they will seek the Lord their God and David their king and they will be astounded at the Lord and at his good things at the end of days" (Hosea 3:5). The prophet says these things about us, those who were baptised from among the Hebrews and who returned to God through Christ. For he is Christ as God says through Hosea: "They will rise up early toward me, saying: Come and let us return to the Lord our God. For he has struck and he will heal us, he will plug our wound and he will cure us after two days, and on the third days we shall be raised up before him" (Hosea 5:15). And again Hosea says about the faithful: "Who is wise and will understand these things or who understands and will recognize those things? For the ways of the Lord are straight and righteous ones walk on them, but the impious stumble on them" (Hosea 14:10). And about those who did not believe in Christ God says through Hosea: "I have hated them on account of the wickedness of their habits. I shall cast them out of my house and I shall not continue to love them. For if they have children, I shall slay the longings of their wombs. God will destroy them, because they did not listen to him, and they will be wanderers among the nations" (Hosea 9:15-17). And again through Hosea Christ says about those who did not believe in him: "Casting I shall cast upon them my net, and I shall bring them down like birds from the sky. I shall discipline them at the rumor of their affliction. Woe unto them, because they were turning away from me. They are wretched because they were not pious toward me. I have redeemed them, but they have spoken lies against me, and their hearts do not cry out to me" (Hosea 7:12-14); and again: "They plotted wicked things against me" "for this they will be handed over to the nations" (Hosea 7:15, 8:10).

7. And Amos says: "For behold I command and I scatter among all the nations the house of Israel, in the way that chaff is separated in the winnowing-fan, and no crumb will fall upon the earth, all the sinners of my people will be killed by the sword" (Amos 9:9-10). And Isaiah says: "My people has become captive because they did not know the Lord" (Isaiah 5:13). You see, brothers, that God says through Isaiah: "My people has been captive because they did not know the Lord," that is, Christ. From the time when Christ came, the power of our Jewish army and priesthood has been dissolved, and we have been scattered abroad by the Romans among the nations until this day. For Isaiah says about those who crucified Christ: "On account of your sins his countenance has turned away from you, to have no pity on you. For your hands have become stained with blood, and your fingers in sins, your lips have uttered transgression, and your tongue contrives injustice." "The works of transgression, the unrighteous work is in their hands. Their feet run to wickedness, they are swift to pour out innocent blood, and their considerations are those of thoughtless people. Affliction and distress are on their paths, and they do not know the path of peace. For their paths on which they travel are twisted and they do not know peace. This is why judgement has been absent from them and righteousness has not accepted them. While they await the light, darkness has been upon them." "They shall fall down at noontime as at midnight," "because truth has been consumed on their ways and they were not able to come through the straight way" (Isaiah 59:2-3, 6-10, 14). For since we did not believe in Christ, from peace and righteousness and from the true light we have been darkened and we are in wretchedness in all the land. For if he were not Christ, the one coming out of Mary, the chosen one of God, who was proclaimed by the law and the prophets, our Jewish people would have been glorified and exalted and reigning, as having crucified and killed an opponent of God and a deceiver. But from the time when our fathers crucified Christ, from then until today we have been in destruction and dishonour, and God's anger at us has been worse than the captivity in Babylon. For there after seventy years God took pity and called out his people and gave us the gift of the army of the Maccabees and the land, and "A prince out of Judah will not cease and a ruler from his parts" (Genesis 49:10) remained true. But from the time when Christ came, "the expectation of the nations" (Genesis 49:10), and the nations accepted Christ, and the prophet who does not lie, our father the righteous Jacob, has remained true and all of our rulers have fallen away and we have been exiled from our land of Judea to every place.

ON CHRIST'S COMING

8. Justus answered and said: I said to you, Master Jacob, that I await Christ, the saviour of the world. But it is clear to me that he has not yet come. Since we all know from the divine Scriptures that Christ comes in peace and calm, unnoticed. For Scripture says: "The son of the king will descend like rain on wool" (Psalms 71:6, 1).

Jacob answered and said: By the soul of the blessed Samuel, your father, tell me the truth. [In an inversion of the first two books, in his discussions with Justus, Jacob poses the questions that structure the discussion.]

Justus answered and said: As the Lord lives, as much as I comprehend, I shall not lie to you. For it is not necessary for me to lie.

And Jacob said: When does the prophet Daniel say that the coming of Christ will come?

Justus answered and said: After sixty-nine weeks and all prophecy has ceased, and then after a time the coming of Hermolaos and the deceiving devil, and then the great and brilliant and glorious day of Christ, the Son of Man, of which Daniel speaks.

Jacob answered and said: And so do you think there will be two advents?

Justus said: Yes, as the Lord lives. For about the first Joel says: "The sun will turn itself into darkness and the moon into blood, until the great and brilliant day of the Lord comes. And everyone who calls upon the name of the Lord will be saved" (Joel 3:4-5). And about the second coming of Christ Zephaniah says: "Because the day of the Lord which is great is near" "and brilliant" and "exceedingly swift" "and who will be sufficient for it?" (Zephaniah 1:14, Joel 2:11).

ON DANIEL'S FOUR BEASTS

And Jacob answered and said: So I also believe. Then: about the beasts, of which Daniel the prophet speaks, who are four, what do you say, Master Justus, is the prophet speaking the truth or not?

Justus answered and said: Yes, as the Lord lives. Because the four beasts about which Daniel speaks are four kingdoms, and afterward into ten horns, that is into ten kings, and straightaway the small horn is the devil, and straightaway "with clouds of heaven" the Son of Man comes, the judge of all humanity. And likewise is also the matter of the statue which Nebuchadnezzar saw, which also he interpreted, for the head which is gold is the kingdom of the Chaldeans and the breast and arms are the Persians and Medians and the third kingdom, the belly, is that of the Greeks of Alexander and the fourth is of the Romans, the thighs and the calves (cf. Dan 7:2-26, Dan 7:13, Dan 2:26-45).

Jacob said: So then, Christ came after sixty-nine weeks, and the prophets have ceased to prophesy, or not?

Justus answered: Yes, as the Lord lives, and I do not lie. From the time that Christ came, no prophet has come, and I cannot lie.

THAT ROME IS DIMINISHED

Jacob said: How does Rhōmania seem to you? Does it stand as it was from the beginning or has it diminished? [Throughout this discussion, the discussants use "Rhōmania" for the Roman Empire when they are interpreting it as the fourth beast of Daniel's prophecy.]

Justus answered: Even if it has diminished a little, we hope that it will rise up again. Because it is necessary that Christ come first while the fourth beast, that is Rhōmania, yet stands.

[…] Just as God says through Isaiah: "May righteousness not be far off and I shall not delay the salvation which is from me" (Isaiah 46:13). And Habakkuk says: "He shall rise up in the evening on time. And if he should be late, wait for him because the one coming will arrive and he will not take his time"; and again: "Everything will be filled with knowing the glory of the Lord God […] because the day of the Lord is near" (Habakuk 2:3, 14; Zephaniah 1:14). And Zechariah says: "These things says the Lord Almighty: Behold the man, his name is East, and he will rise up from below him" "and he will sit upon his throne" (Zechariah 6:12-13); and again, "Be of great cheer, daughter of Zion: behold your king comes to you, righteous and saving, mild and having mounted a beast of burden" (Zechariah 9:9).

9. Jacob said: Really this is the truth. For straightaway the prophet Zechariah goes on, saying: "Many peoples will come and many nations to seek out the countenance of the Lord Almighty in Jerusalem to propitiate the countenance of the Lord" (Zechariah 8:22). And we observe the nations believing in Christ and the fourth beast having fallen and torn apart by the nations, in order that the ten horns might prevail and Hermolaos might come, Satan, the small horn, and in order that straightaway "they might be stirred out of the mound of earth, some for eternal life, others for eternal dishonour" (Daniel 12:2). For really, Master Justus, Christ truly is the one who came under Caesar Augustus, who was born, just as Micah says, in Bethlehem from Saint Mary, and just as Moses the righteous one said in Numbers, blessed is he who blesses Christ and venerates him and believes, because he is the Word of God (cf. Num 24:9). Just as David says: "He sent his Word and he healed them" (Psalms 106:20). Moses says: "Cursed is the one who curses" Christ and doesn't believe in him (cf. Numbers 24:9). For about those who do not believe in Christ Zechariah says: "the Lord God Almighty sent through his Spirit into the hands of the prophets before, and they did not listen to them. And the anger was great from the Lord Almighty upon Israel. And in this way he said they did not listen to him, just so it has been proclaimed: I shall not listen to them, says the Lord Almighty" (Zechariah 7:12, 13). O wisdom! For he says "they did not listen" to my son, and "I shall not listen to them, says the Lord Almighty." He doesn't say: "They did not listen to him and I have not listened to them" but "I shall not listen to them," those not accepting Christ. For the Scripture of the prophet continues straightaway saying: "I shall cast them among all the nations whom they do not know, and the land will be removed from them" (Zechariah 7:14). And all these things have happened to us Jews. From the time our fathers crucified Christ until today the anger of God has extended against those Jews who did not believe in Christ. For also Micah says about those who crucified Christ: "Committing evil acts in their beds, together by day they finish them, they raise their hands to God" (Micah 2:1). And again God and the Father through Micah say to Christ: "Rise up, crush them, because I shall put iron horns on you and I shall put bronze armor on you and you will winnow out many peoples and you will raise up to the Lord their multitude" (Micah 4:13); and again, "Listen for the Lord said: Rise up and judge before the mountains and let the hills listen to your voice. Listen, hills, to the judgement of

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the Lord and the gullies and foundations of the earth. For the Lord has a judgement toward his people and will converse with Israel" (Micah 6:1-2). You see, Master Justus, that Christ is God and human. As God the foundations of the earth tremble at him while as a human he speaks with the Jews. And these things happened and took place.

10. Justus answered and said: Master Jacob, was the fourth beast so great once?

Jacob answered and said: Yes, really. For from the ocean, that is, from Scotland and Britain and Spain and France and Italy and Greek and Thrace and until Antioch and Syria and Persia and the entire East, and Egypt and Africa and beyond Africa, stood the boundaries of the Romans until today and the pillars of their emperors are visible through bronze and marble. For all the nations were subject to the Romans, by God's command; but today we observe that Rhōmania is humbled.

Isaac answered and said: It's time for us to leave.

And everyone left. And Jacob left alone to his house. He fasted and kept many vigils, in order that his mind might be sober for the divine Scriptures.

JUSTUS BEGINS TO BELIEVE

11. As they departed the rest of "Those from the circumcision" (Jews and Jewish Christians) said to Justus: What do you say, Master Justus, about the things Jacob spoke of?

Justus said to them: As the Lord lives, it appears to me that he speaks the truth, and that he recites the Scriptures by heart from the Holy Spirit and that Christ who has come is God and King of Israel.

They said to him: We wish you might read those words also which he spoke to us before you came.

Justus answered and said: By the name of God, show me and from that I shall see if Jacob has been misled.

"Those from the circumcision" (Jews and Jewish Christians) said: We swore that no one would write it down. But Joseph, one of us, without our knowing, took the trouble to write it down, as he says.

Isaac took Justus into his house and he ate with him—for before Justus had been horrified to eat with those who were baptised—and after they ate Justus said to Isaac: Master Isaac, send for Master Joseph to come and to bring what he wrote from Jacob's mouth.

And Isaac sent and brought Joseph, and Joseph* read these things from the beginning to the end. [* It is not clear why Joseph appears in the third person in this section, and not as narrator. Are we supposed to imagine this scene exists outside of the "notes from the dialogue" that comprise the rest of the Doctrina?] And Justus was amazed, saying: As the Lord lives, because my father Samuel, who taught him, never knew these things. But my father said: "Really I think we Jews were mistaken. And I think there is no other Christ except the one who came, whom the Christians worship." And really I Justus believe that the Spirit of God is in Jacob. For, as you say, he spoke all these things by heart.

Isaac and Joseph said: Yes, as before God, we bear witness that he held no book or paper, when he spoke all these things. [Jacob's prodigious ability to recite long chains of Scripture—taken for granted in other Jewish-Christian dialogues—is understood in the Doctrina as a divine gift.]

Justus said: I was amazed also at the one who wrote, how was he able to make these notes?

Joseph answered and said: Don't you remember, Master Justus, when you cried out every moment and you were disturbed and you said: "Where do you keep going out every second, mamzer?"

And Justus said: Yes, as the Lord lives, I remember, you speak the truth.

Joseph said: As before God, going out to my son Symeon I was able to record out of the mouth of Jacob and my brothers from the circumcision.

12. Justus said: The highest God knows that I speak the truth and I am not lying. For in Sykamina, after the death of the emperor Maurice we were standing down by the house of Master Marianos, and our Jewish leader expounded: "Why do the Jews rejoice that the Emperor Maurice has died and Phocas has become emperor through blood? Really we are able to see the diminishment of the Roman Empire. And if the fourth beast, that is, Rhōmania, is diminished and split and crushed, just as Daniel said, really nothing else is happening except the ten fingers, the ten horns of the fourth beast, and then the small horn mutating all knowledge of God and straightaway the consummation of the world and the resurrection of the dead. And if this happens, then we were mistaken not accepting Christ when he came. Before the tribulation and the splitting of the fourth beast and the ten horns comes the one coming out of the root of Jesse, the Anointed One in the name of the Lord, the Lord God." And the Jews residing in Sykamina mocked the priest* as foolish. And so I, Justus, by the name of the highest God, I was residing there in Sykamina and I heard these things from the old priest and we considered him ridiculous. [* Here, and below at Doctrina 4.5, the "leader" (prōtos) of the Jewish community is also identified as a "priest" (hiereus).]

Straightaway the wife of Isaac and his mother-in-law answered and said to Justus: Master Justus, quickly has that deceiver Jacob bewitched you! We hoped you would have been able to prove to us his error.

Justus said: God's will be done.

By night and day Jacob called upon God for the salvation of Justus and those who were usually present with him, as he confessed to us later. [First person narration returns.]

DOCTRINA JACOBI BOOK 4

1. After a few days Justus desired to see Jacob and said to Isaac: Master Isaac, I have not seen Jacob anywhere.

Isaac said to him: Jacob studies the holy Scriptures while fasting every day and keeps vigils by night and prays and calls upon God to forgive him for his transgressions, which he committed against the Christians. And he does not come except when we want to meet with him. For whenever despondency and wicked thoughts overtake us, we meet with him in that place which is hidden and he revives us and makes us joyful.

Justus said: By the name of God, tell him that I desire to see him.

And Isaac went in the evening and said to Jacob: Be present, Master Jacob, and help us as usual.

THAT CHRIST IS THE ANOINTED ONE

SIXTH MEETING

And early the next day Jacob came and "Those from the circumcision" (Jews and Jewish Christians) with Justus to that house which was hidden, where everyone gathered. And after they sat Justus spoke up and said: Master Jacob, prove to me that Christ is the Anointed One.

2. Jacob answered and said: God said through Jeremiah: "They will not help you, saying: the Lord's Temple. But if you correct yourselves" "and you do not oppress the proselyte and orphan and widow you do not shed the blood of innocents" "I shall make you to dwell in that place. But if" you don't listen to me "I shall remove you from my presence" (Jeremiah 7:4-8, 15). And from the time our fathers shed Christ's blood, from then until today we have been removed from our God, and the regulations have ceased. Just as God says through Jeremiah: "My tent has suffered hardship, my curtains have been torn, for the leaders of my people did not know me" (Jeremiah 10:20), "they are senseless and misunderstanding children. Wise at doing bad things, they do not know how to do the right thing" (Jeremiah 4:22). And again: "Even if Moses stood in my presence, and Samuel, I would not have pity on them" (Jeremiah 15:1). And until this point we have not been pitied. And again through Jeremiah God says to the faithless Jews: "Turn toward me, dwelling place of Israel, says the Lord, and I shall not hold fast my presence from you, but I am merciful, says the Lord, and I shall not be angry at you forever. But know your injustice, because you have been impious toward the Lord your God" (Jeremiah 3:12-13). God does not say: "Because you have been impious against me, your God" but "Because you have been impious against the Lord your God," speaking about Christ. For if we believe in Christ God will have pity on us; if we do not believe, we shall never be pitied.

3. And again, because Christ is the one who came, Jeremiah says about the Jews who believe in Christ: "The Lord has redeemed Jacob and taken him out of the hands of those mightier than he" "and they will come and they will make merry and rejoice on Mount Zion, and they will come and they will be astounded at the good things of the Lord," and again: "My people will be filled up with my good things, says the Lord." And again Jeremiah says about the children destroyed by Herod (cf. Matt 2:18): "A voice was heard in Ramah, a lament and weeping and much mourning. Rachel crying over her children and she did not want to be consoled, for they are not. These things says the Lord: let your voice leave off from weeping and your eyes from tears, for this is the payment for your deeds" (Jeremiah 38:11-12, 14-16). For the payment is for those who die on account of Christ. And we know that Christ came and redeemed us from the error of idols*, and the children were slaughtered by Herod in Bethlehem. [* An odd statement here about the Jews, as earlier Jacob had spoken of "the nations" (gentiles) being redeemed from the error of empty idols.] And really, Christ who came is truth just as God says through Jeremiah: "Behold, the days come, says the Lord, and I shall raise up my good Word, which I have spoken upon my house of Israel and upon my house of Judah. In those days and in that time I shall raise up for David a righteous descendant, and he will make judgement and righteousness in the land. In those days Judea will be saved and Jerusalem will settle, in trust. And this is the name which the Lord will be called, Josedek, the Lord is our righteousness. For these things says the Lord: For David, a man sitting on the throne over the house of Israel will not be utterly destroyed" (Jeremiah 23:5, 6; Jer 33:15-17). So then if Christ did not come, the prophet lies. For we Jews have fallen down into the underworld and we do not reign. Let not God grant to us to say that the prophet of God is a liar! But Jeremiah tells the truth. For until Christ we Jews were ruling but Christ coming out of David according to the flesh, who is eternal God, he is the King of Israel and of the whole world, never ceasing; Christ is called both "Lord" of "righteousness" and "Good" "Word" of God. [177] Now those Jews who have accepted Christ with the nations are ruled over by Christ for eternity. And "a prince from Judah and a leader will not fail until the expectation of the nations comes" (Genesis 49:10) speaks truly. For the Jews who were worthy, a large crowd, accepted Christ with the nations, and God tells the truth when he says: "I shall establish for them a covenant with the beasts" (Hosea 2:20), that is, the nations. For those out of the Jews and the nations believing in Christ have and hold a single faith. Those not wishing to believe in Christ but "preparing a table for the demon, they will all fall by slaughter" (Isaiah 65:11, 12) and they will be in eternal destruction. For God said through Jeremiah: "My covenant will be disbanded, until there is no day or night, my covenant will be disbanded which was with David, enslaved to me, that no son of his will reign" (Jeremiah 33:20-21). And in truth Christ the son of David reigns as God over the nations and over the Jews who believed. Those Jews who did not believe in Christ, just as the dregs of drained wine left in the jug are dried and useless and unsuitable, so also they will remain bereft, for Isaiah says: "preparing a table for the demon," that is, for Hermolaos the devil, whom Daniel calls the small horn. For the kingship out of David lasted until Joakim the king the son of Josiah, just as God says through Jeremiah the prophet: "The Lord spoke unto Joakim, the King of Judah: He will have no one sitting on the throne of David, and his dead body will be thrown out into the heat of the day and into the frost of the night. And I shall visit upon him and upon his seed and upon his children all their transgressions. And I shall draw down upon them and upon those dwelling in Jerusalem and upon the land of Judah all the bad things which I spoke of to them" (Jeremiah 43:30-31). Behold then, Master Justus, the kingdom of David has ceased and we Jews do not reign.

4. That Christ who came, the son of David, born out of Saint Mary the daughter of David, reigns over the nations and over those Jews who believed, this is truth. Just as we said before, that Judaising was going to cease in its own time by command of God, in order that also the prophets might tell the truth. Just as Jacob our father said: "A ruler will not fail from Judah," that is, Judaism will not fail, "until he comes," the awaited Christ (Genesis 49:10). Just as also Isaiah says: "He was dressed in righteousness like a breastplate and wore a helmet of salvation on his head, and he wrapped himself in a cloak of vengeance and a cape of zeal, as one making a reproach and retribution to his opponents, a defense against his enemies. He will repay a gift to the islands. And those from the West will be afraid by the Lord's name, and those from the East, by his glorious name. For, like a forceful river, anger will come from the Lord, it will come with wrath and on account of Zion the redeemer will come and will turn back impiety from Jacob, said the Lord. And this is a covenant from me to them, whenever I take away their sins, says the Lord Almighty" (Isaiah 59:17-21; Rom 11:27). And again Christ says through Isaiah: "I the Lord shall gather them at the time whenever I take away their transgressions, says the Lord Almighty. For the Spirit of the Lord is upon me, through which he has anointed me, he has sent me to proclaim the good news to the poor" (Isaiah 60:22-61:1, Rom 11:27). And again: "I shall make an eternal covenant with them" (Isaiah 61:8). The prophet said these things about the first coming of Christ and about the second: for he connected both. Just as David likewise says in Psalm 95: "At that time all the trees of the forest will rejoice at the countenance of the Lord. Because he comes, because he comes to judge the earth, to judge the world in righteousness and peoples in his truth" (Psalms 95:12, 13). For Christ is the truth of God. Let us not disbelieve in Christ or else an eternal reproach will seize us as opponents of his Christ, and he will take vengeance on us as enemies. And let us hear what God said through Jeremiah: "That people had an unfeeling and unbelieving heart" (Jeremiah 5:23); and again: "Wise men were shamed, they were terrified and captured, because they rejected the Word of the Lord," that is, they crucified Christ (Jeremiah 8:9). And again: "This is why the Lord of powers says these things, the God of Israel: Behold I shall feed them with pains and I shall give them water of bile to drink, and I shall scatter them among the nations" (Jeremiah 9:14-15). And again: "Behold I bring bad things down upon them, from which they will not be able to depart on their own. And they will cry out to me and I shall not listen to them" (Jeremiah 11:11). For all the bad things in this word have taken us, Master Justus, and we have been scattered among all the nations. So if we do not believe in Christ then in the future we shall have to cry out eternally and be driven out from the chorus of saints and be punished with the impious and the sinful, and we shall have to say as we repent, whenever we see Christ in glory venerated by angels and humans: "It was he whom we considered at that time ridiculous and as a figure of reproach, since we were senseless; we reckoned his life as madness and his death as

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shameless. How was he considered among the children of God, says Solomon, and his lot is among the saints? Yes, we have been led astray from the way of truth and the light of righteousness has not shone upon us" (Wisdom 5:4-6).

Justus answered and said: As the Lord lives, Master Jacob, you have spoken correctly. Except this quotation from Solomon is from an apocryphal book*. [* Jacob, before and after this point, cites from the Wisdom of Solomon without objection.]

JUSTUS RECALLS EARLIER SIGNS

5. And they stopped and left. For his part, Jacob went off to his own house, fasting and sobbing, that he should be forgiven his earlier blasphemies against Christ. And we left with Justus. And we said to him: Master Justus, we hear you are a great teacher who fears God. What do you say to us about what Jacob says?

Justus said: By the holy name of God, that he speaks the truth and his words are out of the Holy Spirit. And thus I believe that God, well-intentioned, not wishing to destroy the Jews in the end, who were always rebelling against God himself, commanded that even if by force the Jews should be baptised and they should come into the light. Just as David says: "Furthermore, wash me from my transgressions and cleanse me from my sins, wash me and I shall be whiter than snow" (Psalms 50:4, 9). As also Isaiah says: "Bathe and become clean" (Isaiah 1:16); and again the Lord says through Ezekiel: "I shall sprinkle clean water upon you, and you will be cleansed from your transgressions" (Ezek 36:25). And I believe that Christ is the one who came. Now I'm telling you the actual truth.

When in Ptolemaïs Christians fled on account of the invasion of the Persians, the Jews, finding a pretext, burned the churches of the Christians and plundered their houses, and they harassed and killed many Christians. As they seized a certain man by the name of Leontius, a Caparsine* cleric, Leontius appears again below (Doctrina 5.12). they wanted to kill him, because he was a great lover of Christ and hated the Jews. [* klērikon Kaparsinon, an otherwise unattested place-name. Paul Maas (Byzantinische Zeitschrift 20 [1911]:577) suggested that it refers to Kaparasima, a village in Galilee mentioned by John Moschus. Déroche was skeptical of this identification. Certainly, "Kaparsina/os" sounds like a Greek version of a Hebrew town name (prefix Kfar, as in Capernaum).] He was afraid he would be killed and so he renounced Christ and became a Jew. ioudaizein (ιουδαϊζειν) And a certain Christian subdeacon in passing saw Leontius sitting before the synagogue in the portico which goes along the Midway. And he said to him: "Master Leontius, how could you ever have been a spokesman on Christ's behalf, but now you have renounced him? What kind of defense will you be able to give to Christ and to God?" And Leontius, coming back to himself and repenting, went up to the house of Gemellus which was along the sea at the head of the Samaritan Quarter of Ptolemaïs and he hanged himself. And great tribulation seized us Jews. For we had taken joy in observing a cleric Judaising against Christians.

Our Jewish leader saw a vision over seven days every night: that the churches which the Jews had burned had been built through gold and pearls, and gleamed like light, and our synagogue which was on the harbor of Ptolemaïs was razed to its foundations, and plunging into blood and stinking filth. As the priest swore, he saw this vision over seven nights in a row. There was a certain man in Ptolemaïs named Isaac, a Jew who feared God whom we held (he said) to be very righteous. And he said: "Really, brothers, our priest seeing this same vision seven times indicates destruction for us Jews until the consummation of the world, and that Christ who came is the King of Israel, whom the Christians venerate." Five Jews, disturbed and afraid that this rumor would go out among the people and that Jews would be misled, by night entered Isaac's house and strangled him—for all those who were in his house had died and he was alone—so that everyone thought he died by natural causes. As before God one of the stranglers, seeing me fighting on behalf of our people and cudgeling the Christians, confided in me. But now we see the fourth beast, Rhōmania, fallen and divided by the nations, and next is the wait for the ten horns.

And we left, each to his own house.

DOCTRINA JACOBI BOOK 5

1. And after a few more days Justus said to me: Speak to Jacob, so that I may meet with him.

And I Joseph went out and I said to him: Show up tomorrow and help us, mister, as always.

ON THE ANTI-CHRIST HERMOLAOS

SEVENTH MEETING

Early on the next day we gathered in the place which is hidden. And Justus said: Master Jacob, now that Rhōmania is crushed and divided by the nations and is in ten toparchies, is it necessary for the deceiving devil to come?

And Jacob said: Yes, Hermolaos the deceiver is really going to come now that Rhōmania is divided, and woe to the one accepting him. Just as Jeremiah says: "Cursed is the person who has hope in a human and who rests the flesh of his arm on him and his heart stands apart from God. And he will be like a tamarisk and he will not see whenever the good things come, and he will inhabit marine areas, in salt land, which will be uninhabited forever" (Jeremiah 17:5, 6). And: "At that time they will say to this people and to Jerusalem: Like a spirit of deception in the wilderness is the way of my people's daughter, not into purity, not into holiness. A spirit of gratification will come to me from them. Like a cloud it will rise up; his chariots are like a whirlwind, his horses are lighter than air. For a voice of messengers will come from Dan" (Jeremiah 4:11-13, 15). And again: "Behold the eagerness: from Dan we shall hear the sound of the rushing of horse-led chariot. From the sound of the warning of his chariot all the earth has been shaken. And he will come and he devours all the land and its fullness, cities and those dwelling in them" (Jeremiah 8:15, 16). It's not yet, brothers, as Christ descends "like rain on wool" in peace (Psalms 71:6), but Hermolaos comes in disorder and instability, he is complete destruction. And to be sure at first the crafty one will seem peaceful and quite stable. As Daniel says: "And he will overcome the saints from on high, he will consider mutating the laws and times and it will be granted to him until times and time and a half time" (Daniel 7:25). Jeremiah says about his craftiness: "A partridge has called out, it has gathered those who have not been born; [so too] the one making his wealth without judgement. Halfway through his days they will abandon him; at his end he will be senseless" (Jeremiah 17:11). Just as also Isaiah talks about the destruction of the opponent Hermolaos. For he says: "God will bring out on that day his holy and great and mighty sword against the serpent, the dragon, the crafty one, against the serpent, the dragon who is fleeing. And the Lord will destroy by his sword the serpent in the sea" (Isaiah 27:1).

Justus answered and said: As the Lord lives, Master Jacob, your words are true, and woe be to the people who accept the opponent and apostate Hermolaos.

2. Jacob said: That Christ is the Anointed One, who came and was born in Bethlehem from Saint Mary, truly he was the one proclaimed by the holy law and the prophets, is very clear. For since Christ came after the sixty-nine weeks, of which the angel of God spoke to Daniel, the sins of idolatry have been brought to an end and prophecies about the coming eternal righteousness—that is, Christ—have ceased (cf. Dan 9:24-25). Both "praise God in the churches" and "we shall confess to you in the great church" have happened (Psalms 67:27, Ps 21:26). For really the church of Christ is great, because it has taken hold from the East and the West and the north and the south. And we have observed "the people who are established will praise the Lord" (Psalms 101:19). And we have seen "I shall give your rulers in peace and your bishops in righteousness" (Isaiah 60:17). "For God will be for you, he says, an eternal light" (Isaiah 60:20). These things the prophet Isaiah said about the overpowering knowledge of God brought about by Christ. And through Jeremiah God says about the bishops of the church: "I shall give to you shepherds after my own heart, and they will be shepherds for you, shepherding with knowledge" (Jeremiah 3:15). And David says: "Your priests will be clothed in righteousness" and again: "Then I shall raise up a horn for David" (Psalms 131:9, 17). Great wonder, that the prophets proclaimed both Christ and the priests of the new covenant! For he says: "Sons were born to you in the place of your fathers. You will establish them as leaders over all the land" (Psalms 44:17). "For throughout all the land has gone forth the sound" of the apostles (Psalms 18:5). And David says, exhorting the synagogue: "Listen, daughter, and see and incline your ear and forget your people and your father's house, and the king will desire your beauty, because he is your lord and you will venerate him" (Psalms 44:11, 12). As God says through Malachi: "I take no pleasure in the children of Israel and I shall not accept sacrifice from their hands. For from the rising of the sun until it sets my name is glorified among the nations" (Malachi 1:10, 11). As also Jeremiah says: "In those days and at that time they will call Jerusalem the throne of the Lord, and all the nations they will be gathered in her in the name of the Lord, in Jerusalem, and they will not follow behind idols" (Jeremiah 3:17). And we have seen all these things, and nothing else is left, except the admixture of the nations. And I am afraid it's going to be the case for Jews not believing in Christ the prophecy speaking through Jeremiah: "This people had a deaf and disobedient heart" (Jeremiah 5:23), and again: "Behold I send bad things upon them, from which they will not be able to go out, and they will cry out to me and I shall not listen to them" (Jeremiah 11:11). "At that time they will say to this people and to Jerusalem: Like a spirit of deception in the desert…" (Jeremiah 4:11). He says these things about those who have not believed in Christ and who are going to accept Hermolaos instead of Christ, just as Isaiah likewise says: "Those preparing a table for the demon, all of them will fall by slaughter" (Isaiah 65:11, 12).

Justus answered and said: By the Holy Spirit, you speak the truth. And woe to those who do not believe in Christ who has come, but are still waiting and Judaising.

3. JUSTUS'S NIGHT-TIME VISIONS

And they all left, glorifying God. I, Joseph, took Justus to my lodging* so he could have lunch. And after we had lunch I said to him: In God's name, Master Justus, how do the things spoken by Jacob appear to you? [* ospition, a Greek loan-word from the Latin 'hospitium'.]

Justus said: As the Lord God of Israel lives, that the Holy Spirit is in his heart.

And groaning and weeping Justus said: Believe me, Master Joseph, for I'm not lying: For fifteen nights in a row I have been seeing in a vision Moses and the prophets, and Jacob praised by the prophets. But I don't want to encourage him, for fear that he gets swelled up and the grace of God leaves him. You are doing the right thing by taking notes and writing down the divine wisdom gushing forth from Jacob's mouth, so that I too shall copy so that from it I can also give instruction to the members of my household. But I want to ask him about the end of the world and about the second coming of Christ.

And after ten days Justus said to me, Joseph: Mate, why don't I see Jacob coming around? Speak to him, in order that we might meet with him.

And I went out, Joseph, and I said to Jacob: Master Jacob, show up tomorrow and help us.

ON THE END OF THE WORLD

Eighth and Final Meeting

And the next day we were gathered in the lodging* where we always showed up, with Justus. And Justus said: Have the prophets spoken of great affliction at the end of the world? [* ospitin, another Greek form from the Latin 'hospitium'; elsewhere the meeting place is always described as a "house" (oikos).]

4. Jacob said: Great, to such an extent that nothing else has ever occurred. For Isaiah says: "Behold the day of the Lord comes, without a cure, with anger and wrath, to make the whole world a desert and to destroy the impious from it. For the stars of the heaven and Orion and all of their adornment will not give their luster. And there will be darkness when the sun sets, and the moon will not give its luster. And I shall ordain bad things for the whole world and their sins to the impious" (Isaiah 13:9-11). "And all the powers of the heavens will be shaken and the heaven will be rolled up like a scroll and all the stars will fall like a leaf falls from the vine and like the leaf falls away from the fig tree" (Isaiah 34:4). And again: "For the heaven will be shaken and the earth will quake from its foundations" (Isaiah 13:13). And again: "For the day of the Lord's judgement and the year of its repayment is a judgement of Zion. And its depths will be overturned into pitch and its land into brimstone. And its land will be like burning pitch day and night and it will not be quenched for all time" (Isaiah 34:8-10). And again: "They will see the limbs of people who offended me. For their worm will not die and their fire will not be quenched, and they will be visible in all their flesh" (Isaiah 66:24). Let us not offend Christ, or else we shall be destroyed forever. For the disorder of the nations will have to come to pass, when the ten horns are roused up and Hermolaos the deceiver comes. "Great affliction at that time" (Matt 24:21) occurs. "Woe," says Joel [Amos] "to those who desire to see that day" (Amos 5:18), as also Zephaniah says: "A day of darkness and anguish, a day of affliction and wrath" (Zeph 1:15). And Solomon says: "Turn away anger from your heart and cast out wickedness from your flesh before the sun should be darkened and the light and the moon and the stars fail in their luster" (Eccl 11:10, 12:2). As also Malachi says: "Behold the day of the Lord comes burning like an oven, and all the impious and the sinful will be kindling and the day that is coming will burn them up and nothing will be left from them, twig or root" (Malachi 3:19). As also Haggai says: "For once more I shake the heaven and the earth and the dry land and the sea, and I shall shake all the nations" (Haggai 2:6-7). And Isaiah says: "And I shall clothe the heaven in darkness and I shall make its cloak like sackcloth" (Isaiah 50:3). And through Zephaniah the Lord says: "And I shall afflict the people who are sinners, and they will go forth like the blind, because they have sinned against the Lord" (Zeph 1:17). The Lord does not say: "because they have sinned against me" but "the Lord," to those who have not believed in Christ. And again straightaway: "I shall pour out their blood like dust and their flesh like dung and their silver and their gold will not be able to deliver them on that day of the Lord's wrath, because in the fire of his zeal all the world will be entirely burned up" (Zephaniah 1:17-18). God did not say: "in the day of my wrath" and "in fire of my zeal," but "in the day of the Lord's wrath" and "in the fire of his zeal"; God is talking about his Son. And again Jeremiah says about the consummation: "I have gazed upon the earth and behold nothing, and in the heaven, and its lights were not there. For I saw mountains and behold they were trembling and all the hills disturbed from the countenance of the Lord" (Jeremiah 4:23-24, 26).

5. And again David says about Christ: "Lord, in your power the king is made merry" and again: "He asked you for life and you gave him the length of days for ever and ever"

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(Psalms 20:1, 5). "Forever and ever" is the Word of God, who took flesh and was called Christ. And again: "May your hand be present against all my enemies, may your right hand find all those who hate me; because you will set them as if in an oven of fire at the time of your presence. The Lord in his wrath will disturb them and fire devours them. You will destroy their fruit from the earth and their seed from the children of men, for they have tended to bad things against you, they considered counsels which they were not able to sustain. For you will set them back and you will make ready their presence among your survivors" (Psalms 20:9-13). You see, brothers, how great a judgement has been prepared for those who did not accept Christ, "because the might is God's and mercy yours, Lord, because you render to each according to his works" (Psalms 61:13). For Christ arrives in his second coming with crowds of angels and powers, and Isaiah says: "And he will cast the serpent into the sea" (Isaiah 27:1), and again: "And in the breath through his lips he will destroy the impious one" (Isaiah 11:4) that is, Hermolaos "and all the powers of the heaven will be melted" and all of creation, seen and unseen* (Isaiah 34:4) [* "seen and unseen" may be another citation of the Nicene Creed (see above).]. For Christ comes in that same body which he assumed out of us, since the creation cannot bear to see the bare divinity of the Word of God, which is inexpressible and inscrutable. For Christ comes "like lightning" which shines "from the East until the West" (Matthew 24:27). Just as Daniel said: "Behold, the one coming like the Son of Man"; the prophet indicated the flesh, which he assumed as God from us humans. And again: "Behold with the clouds of heaven one coming like the Son of Man and he has gone until the Ancient of Days and he was brought before him and the rule and honour and kingdom were given to him, and all the peoples, tribes, tongues will be enslaved to him, his authority is eternal authority, which will not depart, and his kingdom will not be destroyed" (Daniel 7:13, 14). As also David said about Christ: "God will come clearly, and our God will not be silenced. Fire will walk before him" (Psalms 49:2-3) "and he will burn his enemies all around" (Psalms 96:3). And again: "The heavens will announce his righteousness, that God is judge" (Psalms 49:6). And again Moses says: "Because the Lord will judge his people and he will relent toward those enslaved to him" (Deuteronomy 32:36). May no one remain Christ's enemy, or else he will be burned forever by the fire which is eternal.

Justus answered and said: As the Lord lives, you have told the truth, Master Jacob, and you teach without error. For no one else is going to come after the diminishment of the fourth beast, that is Rhōmania, except the admixture of the nations, the ten horns, and the arrival of the blasphemer and deceiver, the devil. Just as Daniel said about his ten horns and the one which was going up and rooting out three of its predecessors, "whose eyes and mouth were uttering great blasphemies and his sight was greater than the ones remaining. I looked upon that beast, and he waged war with the saints." And again Daniel says: "I beheld from those great and blasphemous words, which that horn spoke, until the beast was killed and destroyed, and its mouth was given into the burning fire" (Daniel 7:8, 11). Woe to those who are going to really accept the devil when he comes, because with him they will be utterly burned forever and ever.

Jacob rose up and prostrated himself at Justus's knees and said to him: Really the Holy Spirit has spoken through you today, Master Justus, and this is the truth.

AN EARLIER CONFESSION

6. And again Jacob said to Justus: When I ask you this, Master Justus, don't ever hide anything from me, and do not lose your temper or get angry at the question, but tell me the truth.

Justus said: I shall speak the truth as much as I am able and I won't lose my temper.

Jacob said: In God's name, do you remember when we were in Ptolemaïs, under the Emperor Maurice, when we were still a young age, on a Sabbath on the bulwarks near the dry dock of the ships and the custom-house—me and you and your father, Master Samuel, my teacher, and a crowd of Jews? And as we were heading back, some of the Hebrews said that in Tiberias one of our Jewish priests saw a great revelation in a vision, telling him that after eight years the Anointed One would come, the King of Israel, Christ, and he would be born from a virgin and he would rouse up the nation of the Jews. And we all took this with great joy and inexpressible delight, and we said: Blessed is that virgin and her parents, she from whom the Anointed One is incarnate!

Justus said: Yes, as the Lord lives, you speak the truth.

Jacob said: And how did the old man answer, the father of Levi who was from Fountain Square*, and your father, Master Samuel? [* tèn Phialēn, presumably a city quarter with a public fountain.]

Justus answered and said: The two of them said, as if in one voice: Really the priest who saw this vision was mistaken, just like the ancient false prophets. For it seems to us that there is no other Christ except the one who came and was born from Mary.

7. Jacob said: Really you spoke the truth. For the conscience of our fathers always goaded them. But we observe the facts: both the four kingdoms passing away and the time arriving for the ten horns. For Daniel says: "In the days of those kings," that is, of the ten horns and the one which is small, "God will raise up a kingdom, which is eternal and will not be divided and his kingdom will not be left behind for another people, he will winnow and thin out all the kingdoms, and this one will be raised up forever. In this way you saw that the stone was cut from the hills and it was reduced to a shard, the iron, the bronze, the silver, the gold. God has revealed what must happen" at the end of time (Daniel 2:44, 45, 28).

Justus answered and said: By the Holy Spirit, that is how the prophecy goes.

ON THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD

8. Jacob said: But also God speaks to Daniel about the resurrection of the dead. "At that time, he says, all my people who have been written into the book of life will be saved. And many of those sleeping will be raised out of the mound of earth, some into eternal life and others into eternal shame and reproach" (Daniel 12:1-2). As also Isaiah says about the universal resurrection of the dead: "The dead will be raised and those who are in tombs will be roused and those sleeping in the earth will be wakened" (Isaiah 26:19). As God also says through Ezekiel: "Behold I am opening your tombs; and I shall lead you out from your tombs," "and you will know that I am the Lord when I open your graves to lead you out of your graves" (Ezekiel 37:12-13). So Christ (the son of God) comes in his glorious, fearful, and terrible arrival, like lightning. Just as David said: "His lightning strikes have shone to the world" (Psalms 96: 4). For Christ comes beyond the flash of lightning, and no one at that time can be mistaken in seeing the powers of the holy angels, with fear and trembling, shuddering at him. Just as the prophet says: "And the greatness of kings has been given to the saints on high, which will not pass away. And to him they will be enslaved and obedient unto the end" (Daniel 7:27, 14). Just as Isaiah also says: "Behold the Lord will come like fire and his chariots like the whirlwind, to render vengeance in anger and utter condemnation in the flame of fire. For all the land will be judged in the Lord's fire and all flesh by his sword" (Isaiah 66:15, 16). Likewise Malachi says: "Behold he comes, says the Lord Almighty"—he did not say, "I come, God Almighty," but "He comes, the Lord Almighty," he's talking about someone else who is coming—he says, "And who will survive the day of his arrival? Or who will remain standing at his coming? For he enters in like a fire on a furnace and like the lye of washers, and he descends smelting and purifying, as if gold and silver" (Malachi 3:1-3).

9. As David says in Psalm 96: "Fire will go forth before him and it will burn his enemies all around. His lightning flashes have shone upon the world" (Psalms 96:3-4). For just as we said, Christ comes beyond the flash of lightning, being light, who made the light and the lightning as God. "He looked and the earth was shaken. The hills were disturbed and trembled from the Lord's countenance" (Psalms 96:4-5). For the Christ who came earlier is really coming "in the name of the Lord," the Lord God, the one who appeared to the world, who was born from Saint Mary. He comes again for the consummation of the world, he comes with great and incalculable glory, showing both the cross and the spear-wound so that the Scripture might be fulfilled which says: "They will look upon him whom they pierced" (Zechariah 12:10 following John 19:37). At that time, seeing Christ in glory, the Jews who have not believed in him will cry out, tribe by tribe, uselessly, speaking in great tribulation just as Solomon speaks: "He was the one whom we held at that time in ridicule and as a figure of reproach, since we were senseless. We reckoned his life as madness and his death as worthless. How was he considered among the children of God, and his lot is among the saints?" (Wisdom 5:4-5). It was he whom our wretched fathers crucified. "We have gotten our fill on the paths of destruction, we did not know the way of the Lord" (Wisdom 5:7). "At that time really the righteous will stand up in full freedom of speech in the presence of those afflicting him," and crucifying him, "and those dismissing his pains, and those looking will be disturbed by terrible fear and they will be stunned at the marvel of his salvation" (Wisdom 5:1-2). So let no one of us doubt in the faith in Christ, so we shall not be found falling into such a great abyss of inexpressible destruction. But rather let us believe in Christ the King of glory, giving thanks to God and to humans, through whom God commanded us to be baptised by force.

All "Those from the circumcision" (Jews and Jewish Christians) cried out, saying: Glory to God who illuminates us through your teaching, Master Jacob!

ON THE SECOND COMING OF CHRIST

10. Justus said: By the great name of God, tell me, if you have anything else on your mind about the second and fearful coming of Christ.

Jacob answered and said: You are my teacher, and you know all things more correctly than I. Except, Master Justus, Isaiah says: "The Lord alone will be elevated on that day and he will refute a numerous people" (Isaiah 2:11, 4). And David says: "The countenance of the Lord is upon those doing evil, for the utter destruction of their memory from the earth" (Psalms 33:17). And Solomon says: "And afterward they will be like a shameful cadaver and like an insult among the dead forever, because he will break them, voiceless, prone, and until the end they will be left barren and they will be in pain, and their memory will be destroyed" (Wisdom 4:19).

Justus answered and said: You speak well, Master Jacob, except you have spoken from an apocryphal book.

Jacob said: And through Isaiah God says: "I live, says the Lord, for every knee will bend to me and every tongue will confess to me" (Isaiah 45:23). And through Jeremiah he says: "I shall judge each of you on your ways and according to your customs, house of Israel, I live, says the Lord" (Jeremiah 17:10; Ezekiel 18:30/33:20; Jer 22:24). And Solomon says: "He who molds every breath, he knows everything and he will render to each according to his works" (Proverbs 24:12). All righteous things are from the Lord, because the Son of God, Christ, is going to judge all people. And David says, just as we said before, in Psalm 61: "Because the might is God's and mercy is yours, Lord; because you render to each according to his works" (Psalms 61:13).

11. But let us not disbelieve in Christ the judge of all, or else in the age to come Christ the judge will be found to be our enemy, and repenting in weeping and in pain we would say: We have been misled, turning away from God, and "the sun of righteousness" has not risen for us (Malachi 3:20), as Isaiah says: "And we all became impure, and all of our righteousness was like a menstrual rag. But now, Lord, you are our Father and we are all the works of your hands. Do not be exceedingly angry with us and at the time do not remember our sins" (Isaiah 64:5, 7-8). And at that time the King of Glory, Christ, God, the Lord of powers, will answer us and let him say to us: "I have become manifest to those who do not seek me" (as Isaiah says) "I am present among those who do not ask after me and I said: Behold I am among the people, who have not sought my name. For a whole day I have spread out my hands to a disbelieving and disagreeable people, who have not walked on the good way, but follow their sins. This people angers me" (Isaiah 65:1-3) "you who abandoned me, preparing a table for the demon, all of you shall perish in slaughter, since I called and you did not hear me and I have spoken and you have not paid attention" (Isaiah 65:11-12). Isaiah says these things about those receiving Christ: "Behold those who are enslaved to me will rejoice and be cheered with joy" (Isaiah 65:13-14). For those who believed in Christ will receive in the future age eternal good things which "are for life eternal," just as Daniel said (Daniel 12:2). Christ says at that time to the unbelievers through Isaiah: "You who abandoned me," and crucified me, he says, "You will cry out on account of the pain of your hearts and you will shriek from the tribulation of your spirit" (Isaiah 65:11, 14) "into eternal shame and eternal punishment" (Daniel 12:2).

HOW JACOB LEARNED ABOUT THE HOMOOUSION*

[* Homoousion (Greek, lit. 'same in being, same in essence', from homos, "same" and ousia, "being" or "essence") is a Christian theological term, most notably used in the Nicene Creed for describing Jesus (God the Son) as "same in being" or "same in essence" with God the Father (Omoousion to Patri).]

12. Justus answered and said with weeping: Jesus Christ, Son of God, do not hold against me the blasphemies which I uttered against you, my God, on that day of judgement, and make me "kindling" like an impious person, "and burn" me on that "day which is coming" (Malachi 3:19) and I would be an eternal reproach before your righteous ones! For we have all really been mistaken, seeing you and hearing through the divine Scriptures about you being tortured and insulted and crucified and dying. But I call upon you, Master Jacob, through God, if the holy Scriptures have spoken beforehand or prefigured the sufferings of Christ, tell me. Because of this there was a stumbling block for us wretched Jews, and we took offense at "the stone of obstacle" (Isaiah 8:14, 28:16, Romans 9:32, 33; 1 Peter 2:7), Christ our saviour. But also teach me and help me, from where did you learn to say that Christ is the same substance [homoousion] and shares a throne and exists eternally with the Father, and that God was born in Bethlehem?

Jacob answered and said: By the name of God on high, I do not lie to you, Master Justus. But when we set fire to the church of Ptolemaïs, to burn it down, and all the Christian dwelling places, I was with the Jews and was the first adviser of the wicked ones. And I came into the episcopal residence and I found there the Old and New Testament. And the books of the law and the prophets we extracted, but we ripped up those of Christ. But I extracted the amazing manuscripts of the bishops, having the names of Basil and Gregory and Epiphanius and Ambrose and Ephraim and Antiochus. [* Fourth-century church fathers Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa (or of Nazianzus, or both), Epiphanius of Consantia (Cyprus), Ambrose of Milan, Ephraim the Syriac poet, and

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Antiochus who is presumably the late fourth-/early fifth-century bishop of that name from Ptolemaïs itself.] And I read them and I made fun of them and I laughed at them. But I read them to Leontius, who had come from the Christians on account of fear of us Jews—for we did many bad things to the Christians. Leontius and his tragic fate were mentioned by Justus above (Doctrina 4.5). And this same Leontius the Kaparsine told me that the catholic church of the Christians says that the Son is the same substance as the Father and is with the Father eternally and was begotten outside of time before the ages and was begotten out of the virgin according to the flesh. And at that time I laughed, but I have since become fully assured before God that those books of the bishops spoke the truth.

ON CHRIST'S SUFFERINGS

13. Justus answered and said: Blessed are you, Master Jacob, because God revealed such great mysteries to you. But I importune you, Master Jacob, teach me also about the sufferings of Christ and his ineffable condescension. For I am astounded on account of Christ's sufferings and what great insults he endured. For on account of his sufferings and on account of his ineffable humiliation, which we have seen, and the shameful death in Christ himself, Christ was for us "a stone of obstacle and a rock of stumbling" (Isaiah 8:14), just as Isaiah says and we did not want to hear the subsequent speech of the prophet. For the Scripture goes on straightaway, saying, "And who believes in him will not be dishonoured for eternity" (Isaiah 28:16).

Jacob answered and said: In the first book of the law, Genesis, God says to Abraham: "Take your son, your only-begotten, he said, whom you love and slaughter him and offer him up as a sacrifice to me in that place I shall tell you." And fulfilling the will of God Abraham took his beloved son, whom he loved, and with him two enslaved men and offered him up in "that place which God told him." "And binding the feet of his son Isaac, he stretched out his hand in order to [205] slaughter his son." And an angel of God appeared to him and prevented him and he showed him a ram, and Abraham offered it up to God instead of Isaac, his true son (cf. Genesis 22:2, 3, 9, 10-13; cf. Origen, Hom. in Gen. 8). For Abraham was a type of God, who says through Isaiah about Christ: "Behold my child whom I have chosen, my beloved in whom I am well-pleased" (Isaiah 42:1). Through Christ, God was happy to save humans from the error of empty idolatry. Slaughtering the ram taken from the Sabek plant in Isaac's place indicates the flesh of Christ crucified on the wood of the cross. For the Word of God, being immortal, remained without suffering, like Isaac. Taking the two enslaved men was a prototype of the two thieves (cf. Matthew 27:38 parr.). For in truth the thieves were and are enslaved to Christ on account of the Word of God dwelling in Christ. Isaac bearing wood was a prototype that Christ was going to bear his own cross. The high place, where the sacrifice of Abraham took place, is the Place of the Skull, where Christ was crucified. In truth some Jews recounted accurately that the skull of the head of Adam, the first human, lay there. This is why it is called the Place of the Skull, which is Golgotha.

14. And Joseph being plotted against by his own brothers and cast into the pit and being sold was a prototype of the plot of the Jews, the brothers of Christ according to the flesh (cf. Genesis 37:18, 24, 28). And the thirty silver pieces, which the Jews gave for Christ to be betrayed, as Moses predicted, saying in Deuteronomy: "Cursed in the person who receives gifts to smite the life blood of the righteous person" (Deuteronomy 27:25). Just as also Zechariah said as out of the person of Christ: "For they gave the price of thirty silver pieces" (Zechariah 11:12), as also Jeremiah says: "They gave thirty silver pieces as the price of the one bought" (Matthew 27:9).

Justus answered and said: You drew this from an apocryphon.

Jacob said: As I was saying, also Joseph cast into the pit by his own brothers was a prototype: for humans cast their own brother according to the flesh, Christ, into the pit of the tomb. For although he was God, Christ was also human. But just as Joseph lived after the pit and ruled over the land of the Egyptians (cf. Genesis 37:24, 45:26), just so also Christ rose from the dead and ruled over the error of the spiritual Egyptians, that is, the demons. What the Scripture says about Jeremiah: "Before forming you I sanctified you, I put you to rooting out and razing to the ground and rebuilding" (Jeremiah 1:5, 10), applies to the divinity of the Word of God which was in Christ. Jews saying to the king about Jeremiah: "Indeed let that man be removed, for he makes the hands of the fighting men slack" and again "That man does not speak peace to the people, but evil" (Jeremiah 45:4) about this place, applies to Christ. For likewise also the Jews said to Pilate, the legate of Caesar of the Romans: "Away, away, crucify him!" (John 19:15). "That person ought to die" (John 19:7) because "he speaks against the law and evil things against this place" (Acts 13:3). And again: "The king said to the Jews about Jeremiah: Behold, he is in your hands" (Jeremiah 45 [38]:5), just as Pilate said to the Jews about Christ: "Take him and crucify him" (John 19:6). And again: They took Jeremiah the man of God "and they hurled him into the pit" so that he would die. "And in that pit there was no water, but mire" (Jeremiah 45: 6). And they brought him up in an old rag but they did not kill him. Similarly the Jews took and crucified Christ, and cast him in a pit—in the tomb—"having no water," just as Zechariah says (cf. Zechariah 9:11). And in place of the old rags the old covenant of the law and the prophets testify that Christ lives for eternity. And as many as did not believe in Jeremiah went out into captivity, similarly so many who did not accept Christ have gone out into captivity among the nations.

15. And again Daniel was cast into the lion's pit so he would die. And he did not die, but even the lions trembled at him (Daniel 6:16, 22). Similarly Christ was put into the pit, into the holy tomb as a human but as God he despoiled Death*. [* the Greek 'Hades' is here rendered as "Death," meaning the place where the dead reside, and thanatos as "death," meaning the state of dying/being dead.] Just as David says: "God will smash their teeth in their mouths, the Lord has crushed the molars of lions" (Psalms 57:7). As Job also testifies and says: "In fear the gates of death opened to you, seeing you Death's porters were frightened" (Job 38:17). And just as Zechariah said: you have led out "prisoners," Christ who is God, "out of the pit having no water" (Zechariah 9:11). And again: "The rulers grew irritated" at Jeremiah and flogged him and handed him over (Jeremiah 44:15). Likewise also the Jews flogged Christ and handed him over. Again Jeremiah said: "I was laughed at, I spent all day being mocked" (Jeremiah 20:7), similarly also Christ, suspended on the cross, was mocked by the Jews the whole day. That Christ was God Sirach says: "Blessed is the Lord God who stretched forth his hands and saved Jerusalem." [* Not from Jesus Sirach, but the same unattested scripture ascribed to Ezra in Doctrina 2.33.] And again Christ as a human says through David in Psalm 87: "All day I stretched forth my hands" (Psalms 87:10), and in Psalm 142 he says: "I stretched out my hands to you" (Psalms 142:6). And through Isaiah Christ says: "I stretched forth my hands all day to my disbelieving and disobedient people, who did not walk on the good path, but followed their sins. This people angers me, you who have abandoned me" (Isaiah 65:2-3, 11). And again Christ says through Isaiah, "I do not disbelieve, I do not disobey. I gave my back to the whips, my cheeks to slaps, I did not turn my face away from shameful spitting" (Isaiah 50:5, 6). And again Isaiah says about Christ: "And being a human and knowing to bear up weakness, he turned away his face, he was dishonoured and discounted. For he bears our sins and is in pain concerning us, and we reckoned that he was in pain and in a blow and in distress. And he was wounded on account of our sins." And again: "He was led like a sheep to the slaughter and like a lamb before the one shearing him, voiceless" (Isaiah 53:3-5, 7). That Christ who suffered these things on our account is also God and was going to be resurrected, it continues: "And the Lord wants to raise up my soul from the pain, to show it the light, to form it in conscience, to justify the righteous one, who was enslaved well to many, and will take up himself their sins" (Isaiah 53:10, 11).

A FALSE PROPHET IN THE EAST

16. Justus answered and said: You really speak the truth, and thus the salvation is great, to believe in Christ. I confess to you, Master Jacob, the whole truth. For Abraham my brother has written to me that a deceiving prophet has appeared [* Earlier, Jacob had referred to Justus's brother Abraames as Abraamios.]:

"For at the time when (Sergius) the Candidatus* was slaughtered by the Saracens [Arabs] I was in Caesarea"—Abraham says—"and I went out by boat to Sykamina. [* Candidatus (Greek: Kandidatos) refers to an imperially appointed military officer. The name "Sergius" only appears in non-Greek translations of the Doctrina; the Chronographia of Theophanes (9th century) recounts the defeat of the Roman general Sergius (by Caliph Umar) in 633 at the beginning of the Islamic conquest of the Holy Land.] And they said: the Candidatus was slaughtered. And we Jews rejoiced greatly. And they said that a prophet appeared, coming with the Saracens [Arabs] and he is proclaiming the arrival of the coming Anointed One and Christ. And when I went out into Sykamina I communicated it to a certain very scriptural old man and I said to him: 'What do you say to me about this prophet who is appearing with the Saracens?' And with a great groan he said: 'He is a deceiver. Do prophets come with swords and chariots? Really these are works of disorder set in motion today, and I fear that the Christ who came earlier, whom the Christians worship, was the one sent by God and instead of him we shall accept Hermolaos. For Isaiah said that we Jews have a mistaken and hardened heart, until all the land is made a desert. But go forth, Master Abraham, and learn about this prophet who is appearing.' And I, Abraham, thoroughly investigating, heard from those who met him that you find nothing true in this so-called prophet*, except shedding human blood. For he says that he has keys of Paradise which is unbelievable." [* In this little paragrph, the "deceiving prophet" refers to Mohammed.]

These things my brother Abraham wrote from the East. And I Justus believe in Christ who was born from Saint Mary, that he is the one sent by God on high to the earth, the saviour and King of Israel.

And Jacob said: Take care, Master Justus, that your mouth say nothing else and your heart hold nothing else against Christ.

Justus answered and said: By the name of God Almighty, who knows what is hidden in hearts, out of my whole soul I believe in Christ, whom the Christians worship, from today, the one who was born in Bethlehem from Saint Mary; I have been made certain by your teaching and through the revelation of visions which appeared to me.

THE INSTRUCTION AND DEPARTURE OF JUSTUS

17. And everyone left. And Jacob said to Justus: I wished that you would trouble yourself to come to my lodging-place and that you would bless us.

And Justus said: I'm coming if you invite me. But I ask you that brother Joseph might come also, because he is a lover of God.

And Jacob received Justus into his house and me, Joseph. It was still the seventh hour. And he made a salad and served it. And he said to Justus: Say a blessing, Master Justus.

He said: You do it.

And Jacob, testing Justus, said: O Christ, God, bless this.

And Justus said: Amen.

Justus said: I think, Master Jacob, this is why you invited me, so you could test me*. [* That is, Jacob wanted to see if Justus would eat food blessed in Christ's name; meaning if he would take part in a Eucharist.] By the name of God Almighty, I have been made steady out of your teaching, but also I have seen a certain man, wearing white, appearing in a vision to me over many nights and saying: "Jacob teaches correctly from divine grace, and that one is Christ whom Jacob proclaims."

And Jacob said to him: Why don't you get baptised and become a Christian?

Justus answered and said: As before God I speak the truth: first I want to go back into my house and to instruct my relatives. For I have a brother, as you know, and we have wives and children, and I want to make them Christians too.

Jacob said: And if your brother turns you away, or the Jews who are mixed up with the Saracens, what shall we do?

Justus said: Trust in God, Master Jacob, that if the Jews and Saracens impede me or cut my body up, little piece by little piece, I shall not renounce Christ the Son of God. For I have been greatly steadied not only by your teaching, but also by God, that he is Christ. But if God puts it into you, teach me and instruct me, as you were taught yourself by the Christians*, and every day I shall come and bow before you. [* Here was have perhaps a unique reference to Jacob (and the other baptised Jews?) receiving official "instruction" (kat?ch?sis) from the Christians of Carthage.]

18. So Justus studied with Jacob, and he taught him "I believe in one God, Father Almighty," the creed of the Christians, and "Our Father, who is in heaven." And Justus loved Jacob with an inexpressible love, not leaving him at any time, as many days as he passed with us. And in getting ready to sail off and leave, he embraced Jacob with great weeping, kissing him and saying: God, who has come to inhabit your holy soul, until your final breath may he freely grant you the grace of the Holy Spirit and may he spur you to pray on my behalf. For you have edified us, you who are enslaved to God, in the faith of Christ. As the Lord lives, because the admixture of the nations and the humiliation of the Roman Empire indicates nothing else except the ten horns, and then the small horn, the devil, and the consummation of the world.

19. Justus copied all the things that teemed from the mouth of Jacob, with weeping, from me Joseph, without Jacob knowing, thanking God and saying: Never have I been edified before a person knowing the holy Scriptures by heart like this.

And when he was going to embark onto the boat, to set sail, we embraced him: me, Joseph, and my brother, and those who were with me: Theodore and Jacob, both crying. [* Joseph's brother has not appeared previously in the Doctrina; perhaps the author meant his son, Symeon? We might also expect to see Justus's cousin, Isaac, at this farewell scene.]

And Justus said to Jacob: Teacher of light—for Christ is the light, and your teaching leads to the light, to Christ—pray for me, the sinner, so Christ might forgive me those blasphemies I uttered against him, and that God might find me worthy and all my relatives to become Christians.

Jacob said: I hope in the name of God that he will save both you and all the members of your household, but hurry, go up to Constantinople and give back other people's things*, and go down into the East to your family. [* Apparently Justus, like Jacob, is some kind of traveling salesman.]

And he set sail. And we too were edified by the ineffable conversion (tēi metabolēi) of Justus, and we were steadied in the faith of Christ. I alone made him swear: Write me, if God

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wills and you are saved, how you proceed and concerning your household.

THE LIFE AND DEPARTURE OF JACOB

20. Now Jacob went out on a small launch, which had been rented from Thenai, one city of Byzacena, and he set sail. For he had a business matter, as he said, having been entrusted with the deposit of a certain important man of Byzantium. And there in Thenai the ship from Byzantium which had brought him into Africa was unmoored. He had come in this way to Carthage to sell clothes. He had brought with him a letter from the owner of the deposit so he would not be seized or bothered in Africa, as a Jew. Until today I had not revealed to Jacob the things which I had written down. For on the whole he did not wish for any person to learn things about him. For he saw someone in a vision, as he told me, saying to him: "Flee from the people, Jacob, and in fasting and in weeping weep for your countless sins, the impieties you committed against Christ. For if you seek glory among people, these things will be unforgiveable for you, and what you possess will flee from you, and a great famine will befall you, such that you will not know by what name you are called*." [* Like many converts in hagiography, Jacob is apparently going to become a monk.]

Jacob himself was from the East by birth, as he confided to me. He did many bad things to Christians. And in the city of Rhodes, as a Green with the sail-stitchers, he did bad things to those Blues fleeing from the East. And he betrayed them to the sail-stitchers as people of Bonosos* and they were cudgeled. Entering Constantinople after a time he met a certain rich man. [* This would have been after the fall of Emperor Phocas and Bonosos' subsequent lynching described earlier by Jacob, in 610.] And having remained in his service for a short time, he rented lodgings from him and made commissions for him. This rich person seeing, as he said, that Jacob was free, entrusted to him a small account. The rich man, observing things being moved by Asmiktos* and by others, said to Jacob: "I want to give you a few items of clothing, up to two pounds, for you to go into Africa and sell them." [* Who this is or what he is doing in unclear; from context he seems to be another traveling salesman moving merchandise for a wealthy speculator in Constantinople; Déroche speculates the nickname comes from smēchō (σμήχω), "to soap [off]", so Asmiktos would mean something like "Unwashed" or "Grimy."] And Jacob said: "As you wish." And he entrusted his business matter to him and he discharged him, making him swear that: "By the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob who gave the holy law to Moses, if I live and arrive in Africa or in Gaul and sell, I shall set aside the gold for you in this holy and royal city, without guile or theft, taking as my wage fifteen nomismata per year." And he went to Africa in Carthage and he was selling covertly, little by little, the deposit which he had. He found out at that time, by chance, that Jews were being baptised.

And* so he would not be baptised, he fashioned himself a Christian, swearing, he says, by Christ and Saint Mary, as also in the East he had fooled people. [* Déroche asserts that this paragraph (until "he who had come") was inserted by a copyist from loose folio pages, now lost, that contained otherwise lost passages from the opening chapter in Greek. More complete surviving translations into Slavonic and Arabic here refer the reader back to the prologue for Jacob's baptism story.] Having sold to someone three of his better items of clothing, as evening came, he decided that he would leave the clothing and come back early the next day and take his payment for the clothes. And as he exited and left from the house of the one receiving the clothes, his foot went into a drain and he cried out: "Adonai, my God, help me!" The purchaser of the clothes heard and kept silent; and after some days he spied upon him in the bath and knew that he was a Jew*. [* Presumably because he saw that Jacob was circumcised; the surviving opening chapters in Slavonic and Arabic make this observation of Jacob's circumcision in the baths explicit.] And he turned him in, and he was baptised unwillingly. And after that he cried out to God to show him if he was misled when he was baptised and after that with weeping and fasting every day he pored over the holy Scriptures, and he was persuaded from the holy Scriptures that Christ, the King of Israel, was he who had come.

He wrote to the owner of the deposit in Constantinople: "Covertly I sold the clothing which you entrusted to me, unobserved, but I was not allowed to sail to you in the same boat, as we had agreed, and I was not granted leave to sail." The owner of the deposit, having a certain patron who was a cubicularius palatii*, asked him if he might send into Africa and have him brought out. [* Palace chamberlain; the Latin title is here transliterated into Greek: koubikoularion en palatiōi.] The cubicularius sent one of his own people and setting sail he came into Carthage and took him. And he went to Byzacena, and from there he set sail. As Jacob was departing from Carthage I embraced him with great weeping. And I made him swear, saying: Master Jacob, by Christ the son of God whom you proclaimed, if God saves you, write to me how you are doing and how you are proceeding. He left Carthage on July 13 in the seventh indiction [634 A.D.], fortified in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, in whom is the glory and the might with the immaculate Father and the all-holy and vivifying Spirit, now and always and forever and ever. Amen.

JAMES THE JUST AND JOSEPHUS
Excerpt: From cc. 411-413 (pp. 488ff.)
The Chronography by George Syncellus
Translation: Roger Pearse, 2002
Estimated Range of Dating: 760-815 AD

(Georgios Synkellos or George Syncellus [died after 810] was an Eastern Roman chronicler and ecclesiastic. He had lived many years in the Holy Land [probably in the Old Lavra of Saint Chariton or Souka, near Tekoa] as a monk, before coming to Constantinople, where he was appointed synkellos [literally, "cell-mate"] to Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople. He later retired to a monastery to write what was intended to be his great work, a chronicle of world history, Ekloge Chronographias, or Extract of Chronography. The following extract gives information about James the brother of Jesus.)

From Hegesippos the disciple of the apostles from the fifth commentary, concerning the holy James, the brother of God

[Eusebius HE 2.23.4-18]

Together with the apostles, James, the brother of the Lord, took over control of the church. Since many were named James, he was called the Just by everyone, from the time of Christ until now. But he was holy from his mother's womb. He did not drink wine and strong drink, and he did not eat flesh. And no razor went upon his head. And he did not anoint himself with oil and made no use of the baths. It was allowed to him alone to enter into the sanctuary. For he did not wear wool, but linen. And he used to go into the temple alone, and be found kneeling and asking forgiveness for his people, so that his knees became dried up like a camel's, because in worshipping God he was always kneeling and asking forgiveness for the people. Because of his abundant righteousness, he was called the Just and 'oblias', that is 'bastion of the people, justice', as the prophets reveal about him. [From a psychological viewpoint, this describes a person who feels guilt. Had James thought that he neglected to protect his (perhaps younger) brother Jesus?]

Thus some members of the seven heresies previously described by me in this book, the Commentaries, inquired of him, 'What is the gate of Jesus?' And he said that he was the Saviour. From this, some believed that Jesus is the Christ. But the aforementioned heresies did not believe either in resurrection or in him who is coming to reward each according to his works. But those who believed did so through James.

Now since many even of the leaders believed, there was a clamour of the Jews and Pharisees and scribes saying that all the people were in danger of expecting Jesus as the Christ. So they assembled and said to James, 'We beseech you, restrain the people, since they are going astray after Jesus, as if he were the Christ. We beseech you to persuade all who come for the day of Passover concerning Jesus. For all of us obey you. And we and the entire people testify to you that you are just and that you are not a respecter of persons. So then you persuade the mob not to be deceived regarding Jesus. For we and all the people obey you. So stand up on the highest point of the temple, so that you may be up high and your words may be easily heard by all the people. For all the tribes, along with the Gentiles also, have assembled for the Passover.'

So the aforementioned scribes and Pharisees placed James on the highest point of the temple and shouted to him, 'Just one, whom all of us ought to obey, since the people are going astray after the crucified Jesus, tell us what is the gate of Jesus.' And he replied in a loud voice: 'Why do you ask me about the Son of Man, this one who is seated in heaven at the right hand of the great power, and is going to come on the clouds of heaven?' And when many were convinced and were giving praise at the witness of James, saying, 'Hosanna to the son of David', again the same scribes and Pharisees said to one another, 'We did not act well in providing this kind of witness to Jesus. But let us climb up and cast him down, so that, out of fear, they may not believe him.' And they cried out, 'Oh! Oh! Even the just one has gone astray.' And they fulfilled that which was written in the book of Isaiah: 'Let us remove the just one, because he is of no value to us; therefore they shall eat the fruits of their works.' [Isaiah 3:10]

So after they climbed up, they cast down the just one, and they began to stone him. He did not die from the fall, but turned and knelt, saying, 'I beseech you, Lord, God, Father, forgive them, for they do not know what they are doing.' [Luke 23:34] And when they were stoning him in this way, one of the priests of the sons of Rechab, son of Rhachaeim, to whom Jeremiah bore witness, cried out: 'Stop! What are you doing? The just one is praying for us.' And someone, one of the fullers, took a club, with which he used to beat out clothes, and hit the head of the just one. And this is how he was martyred. And they buried him in the place by the temple, and a monument to him stands by the temple. This man has become a true witness to Jews and Greeks, that Jesus is the Christ. And immediately Vespasian set siege to them.

The above is the accurate account of Hegesippos, a trustworthy author, one of those who adhere to our orthodox doctrine. Josephos, whose report is also not in disagreement, concurs with him that this was to blame for the conquest of the Jews at the time of Vespasian [Titus Flavius Vespasianus].

From Titus Flavius Josephus, concerning the same events

[Eusebius HE 2.23.20-4; cf. Josephus Antiquities 20.199-203.]

This befell the Jews in retribution for James the Just, who was the brother of Jesus, the so-called Christ, since the Jews had killed him, although he was most righteous [This sentence is not attested in the preserved text of Titus Flavius Josephus' Antiquities.].

The younger Ananos [Ananias ben Ananias the murderer of James], who as we said acquired the high priesthood, was brash in his manner and exceptionally daring. He belonged to the party of the Sadducees, who are cruel in their judgements in excess of the other Jews, just as we have already explained. Since Ananos had this kind of character, he thought that it was the appropriate time because Festus had died, and Albinus was still in transit. And he convened a council of judges and brought before it the brother of Jesus, the so-called Christ, whose name was James, as well as certain others, accusing them of having broken the law. And he handed them over to be stoned. But all who were considered to be the most capable of the citizens of the city and strict observers in matters of the law took offence at this and sent secretly to the king, appealing to him to write to Ananos to desist from such conduct—for, they said, he had not even behaved correctly in the first place. Some of them went to meet Albinus, who was journeying from Alexandria and they informed him that it was illegal for Ananos to convene a meeting of the Sanhedrin without his knowledge. [... etc]

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JEWISH, ARMENIAN, NESTORIAN, AND OTHER CHRISTIAN DOCUMENTS FROM THE MIDDLE AGES

INSCRIPTION OF THE NESTORIAN MONUMENT

The Christian Inscription of the Nestorian Monument
The Inscription of the Assyrian Monument, Xi'an
The Stele (or Tablet) of the Luminous Religion
Pinyin: Jingjiao bei (Wade-Giles: Ching-chiao-pei)
by Jingjing (Pinyin) / King-Tsing (Wade-Giles),
a Priest of the Syrian Church
Translation from Aramaic: Emanuel Diaz, 1644
Translation from Chinese: Alexander Wylie, 1868
Estimated Range of Dating: 781 A.D.

(In 1623, a stele has been discovered near the massive Westwall of Chang'an [today: Xi'an.], once the capital of the mighty Han and Tang Dynasties. The Nestorian Stele, is also known as the Nestorian Stone, Nestorian Monument, or Nestorian Tablet. Most of the inscription on it is in classical Chinese, but a portion is in Syriac Aramaic, the language of the Eastern Christians outside of the sphere of the Roman Catholic or Orthodox Churches. And this stele tells us the extraordinary story of the early Christians in China.

Prior to 781 AD, Nestorian Christians resided in at least eight cities in China, five of which were situated in the west [along the Silk Road]. There is a high likelihood that a large number of Nestorian Christians lived in China and there are strong indications that the Nestorians were in China from the 5th century, since, the eggs of the silkworm were brought from China to Constantinople in 551 A.D. by Nestorian monks.

The Nestorian Stele shows us 150 years of early Christianity in China. It seems to be that the Christians themselves buried the Nestorian Stele during the great persecution of 845 AD [ordered by Emperor Tang Wuzong, Wu-Tsung; 814-846 AD]; they obviously wanted to preserve the stone from the general destruction.

Description

The stele is 279 cm tall, 110 cm wide, about 30 cm thick and it weighs two tons. It is made of black limestone with text in both Chinese and Syriac Aramaic describing the existence of Christian communities in several cities in northern China. It reveals that the initial Nestorian Christian church had met recognition by the Tang Emperor Taizong, due to efforts of the Christian missionary Alopen in 635. According to the Stele, Alopen and his fellow Syriac missionaries came to China from Daqin (the Eastern Roman Empire) in the ninth year of Emperor Taizong (Tai Tsung) (635), bringing sacred books and images. Buried in 845, probably during religious suppression, the stele was not rediscovered until 1625.

On top of the tablet, there is a cross and the Chinese words in large characters for ***"The Tablet of the Spread of the Da Qin Illustrious Religion In China,"*** *meaning* ***"Memorial Of The Propagation In China of the Luminous Religion [Christianity] from Daqin."*** *Daqin or Da Qin [Greater Chinese Empire] being the Chinese term for the Roman Empire of which the Chinese knew that it was larger than China but similar in its culture. This term also refered to the Christian Church in general which was identified as Roman.*

Below this headpiece is a long Chinese inscription, consisting of around 1,900 Chinese characters, sometimes glossed in Syriac (several sentences amounting to about 50 Syriac words). Calling God "Veritable Majesty", the text refers to Genesis, the cross, and baptism. It also pays tribute to missionaries and benefactors of the church, who are known to have arrived in China by 640. The content was composed by the Nestorian monk Jingjing and the calligraphy was made by Lü Xiuyan. The text contains the name of an early missionary, Alopen.

The tablet describes the "Illustrious Religion" and emphasises the Trinity and the Incarnation, but there is nothing about Christ's crucifixion or resurrection. Other Chinese elements referred to include a wooden bell, beard, tonsure, and renunciation. The Syriac proper names for God, Christ and Satan (Allaha, Mshiha and Satana) were rendered phonetically into Chinese.

The stela was apparently buried, perhaps to avoid destruction during the anti-Nestorian persecution under Empress Wu. It was accidentally re-discovered sometime around 1625, and although there was initially some suspicion of its being a Jesuit forgery, its authenticity has been almost universally accepted since the early 20th century. The text of the inscription is the most famous of the "Jesus Sutras", expressions of Christian, albeit usually Nestorian, theology in Chinese.

Besides celebrating the arrival of Christianity in China in 635 AD, the inscriptions consist of one 1,900 Chinese characters and about 50 Aramaic words in Syriac script, containing some 70 names of Assyrian missionaries in columns on the narrow sides of the stone in Chinese and the corresponding equivalents in Syric. There are some principal Christian doctrines written by the Nestorian monk Jingjing, followed by an historical account of how the Church of the East mission led by Alopen had reached China a generation earlier.)

The Aramaic Inscription

[The Syriac Aramaic inscription on its left and right bottomsides consists of 67 names, including one bishop, 28 presbyters and 38 others, and of the following inscription, translated by Emanuel Diaz, 1644:]

"In the days of the Father of Fathers, Mar Ananjesu [*Mar Khnanishu or* Khnanisho], the Catholicos and Patriarch, when Adam, priest, Chorepiscopos, and Fapshi of Sinestan [Bishop and Pope, i.e., Metropolitan, of China,] in the year 1092 of the era of the Greeks [*7th January,* 781 AD], Mar Jazedbuzid, priest and chrepiscopus of Kumdan the Royal city, son of Millis of blessed memory, a priest from Balkh [Greek: Baktra.], the ancient capital city of Tachuristan [Meaning: Tokharistan, Greek: Baktria, Latin: Bactria.], erected this marble tablet on which are inscribed the redemption of our Saviour and of the preaching of our fathers to the kings of China. Adam, deacon, son of Jazedbuzid the chorespiscopus: Mar Sergius, priest and chorespiscopus; Sabarjesu priest: Gabriel, priest and archdeacon, church rulers of the cities of Kumdan and Sarag."

The Chinese Inscription

[The much longer Chinese Inscription on the Monument, composed by the Buddhist monks Jing Jing and Lü Xiuyan, tell us that A-lo-pu [Alopen or Olopen, the earliest known Christian missionary to China.], arrived in Chang'an 635 AD bringing the sacred scriptures, and Alopen building the Da Qin Temple [or Da Qin Pagoda, meaning: 'Roman Temple'] in Chang'an. The main Chinese text, translated by Alexander Wylie, 1868, in Wade-Giles Romanisation, runs:]

Behold the unchangeably true and invisible, who existed through all eternity without origin; the far-seeing perfect intelligence, wbose mysterious existence is everlasting; operating on primordial substance he created the universe, being more excellent than all holy intelligences, inasmuch as he is the source of all that is honorable. This is our eternal true lord God, triune and mysterious in substance. He appointed the cross as the means for determining the four cardinal points, he moved the original spirit, and produced the two principles of nature; the sombre void was changed, and heaven and earth were opened out; the sun and moon revolved, and day and night commenced; having perfected all inferior objects, he then made the first man; upon him he bestowed an excellent disposition, giving him in charge the government of all created beings; man, acting out the original principles of his nature, was pure and unostentatious; his unsullied and expansive mind was free from the least inordinate desire; until Satan introduced the seeds of falsehood, to deteriorate his purity of principle; the opening thus commenced in his virtue gradually enlarged, and by this crevice in his nature was obscured and rendered vicious; hence three hundred and sixty-five sects followed each other in continuous track, inventing every species of doctrinal complexity; while some pointed to material objects as the source of their faith, others reduced all to vacancy, even to the annihilation of the two primeval principles; some sought to call down blessings by prayers and supplications, while others by an assumption of excellence held themselves up as superior to their fellows; their intellects and thoughts continually wavering, their minds and affections incessantly on the move, they never obtained their vast desires, but being exhausted and distressed they revolved in their own heated atmosphere; till by an accumulation of obscurity they lost their path, and after long groping in darkness they were unable to return. Thereupon, our Trinity being divided in nature, the illustrious and honourable Messiah, veiling his true dignity, appeared in the world as a man; angelic powers promulgated the glad tidings, a virgin gave birth to the Holy One in Syria; a bright star announced the felicitous event, and Persians1 observing the splendour came to present tribute; the ancient dispensation, as declared by the twenty-four holy men, was then fulfilled, and he laid down great principles for the government of families and kingdoms; he established the new religion of the silent operation of the pure spirit of the Triune; he rendered virtue subservient to direct faith; he fixed the extent of the eight boundaries, thus completing the truth and freeing it from dross; he opened the gate of the three constant principles, introducing life and destroying death; he suspended the bright sun to invade the chambers of darkness, and the falsehoods of the devil were thereupon defeated; he set in motion the vessel of mercy by which to ascend to the bright mansions, whereupon rational beings were then released, having thus completed the manifestation of his power, in clear day he ascended to his true station. Twenty-seven sacred books have been left, which disseminate intelligence by unfolding the original transforming principles. By the rule for admission, it is the custom to apply the water of baptism; to wash away all superficial show and to cleanse and purify the neophytes. As a seal, they hold the cross, whose influence is reflected in every direction, uniting all without distinction. As they strike the wood, the fame of their benevolence is diffused abroad; worshiping toward the east, they hasten on the way to life and glory; they preserve the beard to symbolize their outward actions, they shave the crown to indicate the absence of inward affections; they do not keep slaves, but put noble and mean all on an equality; they do not amass wealth, but cast all their property into the common stock; they fast, in order to perfect themselves by self-inspection; they submit to restraints, in order to strengthen themselves by silent watchfulness; seven times a day they have worship and praise for the benefit of the living and the dead; once in seven days they sacrifice, to cleanse the heart and return to purity.

It is difficult to find a name to express the excellence of the true and unchangeable doctrine; but as its meritorious operations are manifestly displayed, by accommodation it is named the illustrious Religion. Now without holy men, principles cannot become expanded; without principles, holy men cannot become magnified; but with holy men and right principles, united as the two parts of a signet, the world becomes civilised and enlightened.

In the time of the accomplished Emperor Taitsung, the illustrious and magnificent founder of the dynasty, among the enlightened and holy men who arrived was the Most-virtuous Olopun, from the country of Syria. Observing the azure clouds, be bore the true sacred books; beholding the direction of the winds, he braved difficulties and dangers. In the year 635 AD be arrived at Chang-an; the Emperor sent his Prime Minister, Duke Fang Hiuen-ling; who, carrying the official staff to the west border, conducted his guest into the interior; the sacred books were translated in the imperial library, the sovereign investigated the subject in his private apartments; when becoming deeply impressed with the rectitude and truth of the religion, be gave special orders for its dissemination. In the seventh month of the year 638 AD the foliowing imperial proclamation was issued:

"Right principles have no invariable name, holy men have no invariable station; instruction is established in accordance with the locality, with the object of benefiting the people at large. The 'Greatly-virtuous Olopun, of the kingdom of Syria, has brought his sacred books and images from that distant part, and has presented them at our chief capital. Having examined the principles of this religion, we find them to be purely excellent and natural; investigating its originating source, we find it has taken its rise from the establishment of important truths; its ritual is free from perplexing expressions, its principles will survive when the framework is forgot; it is beneficial to all creatures; it is advantageous to mankind. Let it be published throughout the Empire, and let the proper authority build a Syrian church in the capital in the I-ning May, which shall be governed by twenty-one priests. When the virtue of the Chau dynasty declined, the rider on the azure ox ascended to the west; the principles of the great Tang becoming resplendent, the Illustrious breezes have come to fan the East."

Orders were then issued to the authorities to have a true portrait of the Emperor taken; when it was transferred to the wall of the church, the dazzling splendor of the celestial visage irradiated the Illustrious portals. The sacred traces emitted a felicitous influence, and shed a perpetual splendor over the holy precincts. According to the Illustrated Memoir of the Western Regions, and the historical books of the Han and Wei dynasties, the kingdom of Syria reaches south to the Coral Sea; on the north it joins the Gem Mountains; on the west it extends toward the borders of the immortals and the flowery forests; on the east it lies open to the violent winds and tideless waters. The country produces fire-proof cloth, life-restoring incense, bright moon-pearls, and night-lustre gems. Brigands and robbers are unknown, but the people enjoy happiness and peace. None but Illustrious laws prevail; none but the virtuous are raised to sovereign power. The land is broad and ample, and its literary productions are perspicuous and clear.

The Emperor Kautsung respectfully succeeded his ancestor, and was still more beneficent toward the institution of truth. In every province he caused Illustrious churches to be erected, and ratified the honor conferred upon Olopun, making him the great conservator of doctrine for the preservation of the State. While this doctrine pervaded every channel, the State became enriched and tranquility abounded. Every city was full of churches, and the royal family enjoyed lustre and happiness. In the year 699 AD the Buddhists, gaining power, raised their voices in the eastern metropolis; in the year 713 AD, some low fellows excited ridicule and spread slanders, in the western capital. At that time there was the chief priest Lo-han, the Greatly-virtuous Kie-leih, and others of noble estate frorn the golden regions, lofty-minded priests, having abandoned all worldly interests; who unitedly maintaied the grand principles and preserved them entire to the end.

The high-principled Emperor Hiuentsung caused the Prince of Ning and others, five princes in all, personally to visit the felicitous edifice; he established the place of worship; he restored the consecrated timbers which had been temporarily

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thrown down; and reerected the sacred stones which for a time had been desecrated.

In 742 AD orders were given to the great general Kau Lih-sz', to send the five sacred portraits and have them placed in the church, and a gift of a hundred pieces of silk accompanied these pictures of intelligence. Although the dragon's beard was then remote, their bows and swords were still within reach; while the solar horns sent forth their rays, and celestial visages seemed close at hand.

In 744 AD the priest Kih-ho, in the kingdom of Syria, looking toward the star (of China), was attracted by its transforming influence, and observing the suri (i.e., Emperor), came to pay court to the most honorable. The Emperor commanded the priest Lo-han, the priest Pu-lun, and others, seven in all, together with the Greatly-virtuous Kih-ho, to perform a service of merit in the Hing-king palace. Thereupon the Emperor composed mottoes for the sides of the church, and the tablets were graced with the royal inscriptions; the accumulated gems emitted their effulgence, while their sparkling brightness vied with the ruby clouds; the transcripts of intelligence suspended in the void shot forth their rays as reflected by the sun; the bountiful gifts exceeded the height of the southern hills; the bedewing favors were deep as the eastern sea. Nothing is beyond the range of the right principle, and what is permissible may be identified; nothing is beyond the power of the holy man, and that which is practicable may be related.

The accomplished and enlightened Emperor Suhtsung rebuilt the Illustrious churches in Ling-wu and four other places; great benefits were conferred, and felicity began to increase; great munificence was displayed, and the imperial State became established.

The accomplished and military Emperor Taitsung magnified the sacred succession, and honored the latent principle of nature; always, on the incarnation-day, he bestowed celestial incense, and ordered the performance of a service of merit; he distributed of the imperial viands, in order to shed a glory on the Illustrious Congregation. Heaven is munificent in the dissemination of blessings, whereby the benefits of life are extended; the holy man embodies the original principle of virtue, whence he is able to counteract noxious influences.

Our sacred and sage-like, accomplished and military Emperor Kienchung appointed the eight branches of government, according to which he advanced or degraded the intelligent and dull; he opened up the nine categories, by means of which he renovated the illustrious decrees; his transforming influence pervaded the most abstruse principles, while openness of heart distinguished his devotions. Thus, by correct and enlarged purity of principle, and undeviating consistency in sympathy with others; by extended commiseration rescuing multitudes from misery, while disseminating blessings on all around, the cultivation of our doctrine gained a grand basis, and by gradual advances its influence was diffused. If the winds and rains are seasonable, the world will be at rest; men will be guided by principle, inferior objects will be pure; the living will be at ease, and the dead will rejoice; the thoughts will produce their appropriate response, the affections will be free, and the eyes will be sincere; such is the laudable condition which we of the Illustrious Religion are laboring to attain.

Our great benefactor, the Imperially-conferred-purple-gown priest, I-sz', titular Great Statesman of the Banqueting-house, Associated Secondary Military Commissioner for the Northern Region, and Examination-palace Overseer, was naturally mild and graciously disposed; his mind susceptible of sound doctrine, he was diligent in the performance; from the distant city of Râjagriha, he came to visit China; his principles more lofty than those of the three dynasties, his practice was perfect in every department; at first he applied himself to dulies pertaining to the palace, eventually his name was inscribed on the military roll. When the Duke Koh Tsz'-i, Secondary Minister of State and Prince of Fan-yang, at first conducted the military in the northern region, the Emperor Suhtsung made him (I-sz') his attendant on his travels; although he was a private chamberlain, he assumed no distinction on the march; he was as claws and teeth to the duke, and in rousing the military he was as ears and eyes; he distributed the wealth conferred upon him, not accumulating treasure for his private use; he made offerings of the jewelry which had been given by imperial favor, he spread out a golden carpet for devotion; now he repaired the old churches, anon he inreased the number of religious establishments; he honored and decorated the various edifices, till they resembled the plumage of the pheasant in its flight; moreover, practising the discipline of the Illustrious Religion, he distributed his riches in deeds of benevolence; every year he assembled those in the sacred office from four churches, and respectfully engaged them for fifty days in purification and preparation; the naked came and were clothed; the sick were attended to and restored; the dead were buried in repose; even among the most pure and self-denying of the Buddhists, such excellence was never heard of; the white-clad members of the Illustrious Congregation, now considering these men, have desired to engrave a broad tablet, in order to set forth a eulogy of their magnanimous deeds.

ODE.
The true Lord is without origin,
Profound, invisible, and unchangeable;
With power and capacity to perfect and transform,
He raised up the earth and established the heavens.

Divided in nature, he entered the world,
To save and to help without bounds;
The sun arose, and darkness was dispelled,
All bearing witness to his true original.

The glorious and resplendent, accomplished Emperor,
Whose principles embraced those of preceding monarchs.
Taking advantage of the occasion, suppressed turbulence:
Heaven was spread out and the earth was enlarged.
When the pure, bright Illustrious Religion

Was introduced to our Tang dynasty,
The Scriptutes were translated, and churches built,
And the vessel set in motion for the living and the dead:
Every kind of blessing was then obtained,
And all the kingdoms enjoyed a state of peace.

When Kautsung succeeded to his ancestral estate.
He rebuilt the edifices of purity;
Palaces of concord, large and light,
Covered the length and breadth of the land.

The true doctrine was clearly announced,
Overseers of the church were appointed in due form;
The people enjoyed happiness and peace,
While all creatures were exempt from calamity and distress.

When Hiuentsung commenced his sacred career,
He applied himself to the cultivation of truth and rectitude;
His imperial tablets shot forth their effulgence,
And the celestial writings mutually reflected their splendours.

The imperial domain was rich and luxuriant,
While the whole land rendered exalted homage;
Every business was flourishing throughout,
And the people all enjoyed prosperity.

Then came Suhtsung, who commenced anew,
And celestial dignity marked the imperial movements.
Sacred as the moon's unsullied expanse,
While felicity was wafted like nocturnal gales.

Happiness reverted to the imperial household,
The autumnal influences were long removed;
Ebullitions were allayed, and risings suppressed,
And thus our dynasty was firmly built up.

Taitsung the filial and just
Combined in virtue with heaven and earth;
By his liberal bequests the living were satisfied,
And property formed the channel of imparting succor.

By fragrant mementoes he rewarded the meritorious,
With benevolence he dispensed his donations;
The solar concave appeared in dignity,
And the lunar retreat was decorated to extreme.

When Kienchung succeeded to the throne,
He began the cultivation of intelligent virtue;
His military vigilance extended to the four seas,
And his accomplished purity influenced all lands.

His light penetrated the secrecies of men,
And to him the diversities of objects were seen as in a mirror;
He shed a vivifying influence through the whole realm of nature,
And all outer nations took him for example.

The true doctrine how expansive!
Its responses are minute;
How difficult to name it!
To elucidate the three in one.

The sovereign has the power to act!
While the ministers record;
We raise this noble monument!
To the praise of great felicity.

This was erected in the 2nd year of Kienchung, of the Tang Dynasty (781 AD), on the 7th day of the 1st month, being Sunday.

Written by Lu Siu-yen, Secretary to Council, formerly Military Superintendent for Taichau; while the Bishop Ning-shu had the charge of the congregations of the Illustrious in the East.

[Then we can see two lines in Syriac Aramaic:]
"Adam, Deacon, Vicar-episcopal and Pope of China.
In the time of the Father of Fathers, the Lord John Joshua, the Universal Patriarch."

[Then Syriac-Aramaic text at the foot of the stone:]
"In the year of the Greeks one thousand and ninety-two, the Lord Jazedbuzid, Priest and Vicar-episcopal of Cumdan the royal ity, son of the enlightened Mailas, Priest of Balach a city of Turkestan, set up this tablet, whereon is inscribed the Dispensation of our Redeemer, and the preaching of the apostolic missionaries to the King of China."

[After this, in Chinese characters:]
"The Priest Lingpau."

[Then follows in Syriac Aramaic:]
"Adam the Deacon, son of Jazedbuzid, Vicar-episcopal.
The Lord Sergius, Priest and Vicar-episcopal.
Sabar Jesus, Priest.
Gabriel, Priest, Archdeacon, and Ecclesiarch of Cumdan and Sarag."

[The following subscription is in Chinese:]
"Assistant Examiner: the High Statesman of the Sacred rites, the Imperially-conferred-purple-gown Chief Presbyter and Priest Yí-li."

[And finally on the left-hand edge are the Syriac Aramaic names of 67 priests, and 61 are given in Chinese.]

THE CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL

or The Hebrew Bible Historiale
or The Chronicles of Eleasar
From: The Bodleian Library, Oxford
Translation: Moses Gaster, 1899
Estimated Range of Dating: 600-800 AD.

(The Chronicles of Jerahmeel or The Hebrew Bible Historiale was published by the Royal Asiatic Society, translated by Moses Gaster, 1899. In Gaster's view, the Chronicles were compiled from several Hebrew sources and Pseudo Philo, some quite ancient and others more recent. The text of these Chronicles is special interest because it includes Hebrew and Aramaic versions of certain deuterocanonical books in the "Septuagint", the Greek Bible.

The actual compiler of the chronicles identifies himself as "Eleasar ben Asher the Levite' who, according to Gaster, lived in the Rhineland in the 14th century. The most recent Chronicles events refer to the time of the Crusades, the rest of it refers to the period before AD 70. Among the early sources quoted in the work is the 1st century Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanus. Gaster chose to title it "Chronicles of Jerahmeel" instead of "Chronicles of Eleasar" because of his analysis that Eleasar was merely a compiler, while Jerahmeel ben Solomon, thought to have written large parts of it in Italy around 1150. According to textual evidence, Gaster concluded that, like the closely related Sefer haYashar, it relies on sources ultimately dependent on Isidore of Seville, particularly evident in its mention of "Franks" and "Lombards" among the Sons of Noah. Isidore of Seville (his real name was Isidorus Hispalensis; c. 560–636 AD), was a scholar and Archbishop of Seville, who is widely regarded as the last of the Church Fathers and The last scholar of the ancient world.)

COMPILER'S PREFACE

Behold I have sworn not to lend anybody this book to take away, with the exception of three, whom I shall mention by name, but whoever desires to read it at my house is at liberty to do so.

Behold I am the youngest of all my family. I, Elazar, son of R. Asher, the Levite, have set my mind upon writing from precious and valuable secular books, for my spirit bore me aloft and filled me with enthusiasm in the days of my youth, when I was easygoing and keen-witted. For I saw many books scattered and dispersed here and there. I then resolved to collect them, and unite them in one book. I then made a collection of the words of the wise and their aphorisms, and wrote them down in a book for the use of those who love parable and history, and for wise men generally who are not otherwise occupied, in order that they may reflect upon these things, so that they may see, understand, and know the truth concerning a few of the events which have taken place under the sun, and of a few of the troubles and afflictions which our ancestors endured in their exile, and what vicissitudes they underwent when the tempest swept over them, so that they may not be forgotten by their seed. Therefore I called this book the 'Book of Chronicles,' wherein may be recorded many varied events. For I have collected in this book records of all events and incidents which have happened from the creation

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of the world until the present day as it is written in this book, and as I found, so I copied, and I have deftly woven the materials to form one book.

Nor did I write them to make myself a great name, but to the glory of my Creator, who truly knows, and so that this book should be a memorial for future generations; and whoever chooses to add to this book may add, and may blessing fall upon him. Behold I hope that God may make my son worthy of inheriting this Book of Chronicles, which I have collected from many books. I wrote it, and laid aside many affairs for its sake, so. as to be able to complete it. The bulk of it I wrote in the autumn and winter, for I only had leisure at that time. 'In the day the drought consumed me, and the cold at night, and drove my sleep from my eyes.' And many events have happened, and what I was not able to do in the daytime, I did at night, for I neither rested nor reposed until I had completed its composition. For I gave a long time to it, and I was constantly occupied upon its composition, and I was continually busy with it, and I worked and laboured vigorously until I had selected each subject and placed it in its proper position, like a pearl in its setting and like a hook in its eye, and had I done it for payment no sum would have satisfied me, for I dwelt upon it days and years until I had completed its composition, for I had not always the books to copy it from, nor had I often the leisure, whilst occasionally I was not in the humour, on account of many misfortunes which befell me in my captivity. Therefore I conjure and command my son—since I bequeath him this Book of Chronicles—that I hand it to him on his undertaking to fulfil the solemn conditions which I impose upon him, a father to his son. He may not sell it, nor may he give it away nor pledge it, neither he nor his posterity, neither may he exchange it nor substitute anything else for it. For what will a small amount of money avail him, since he could not succeed in purchasing its equal or its like in the whole world, either for a large or small sum of money? For I have searched in many places before I composed it; for this reason rather let a man pledge or sell the cloak from his back before he disposes of this. For I know that nobody can obtain half its worth or value, for no scribe could be found to write it for less than six small pieces of gold, to say nothing of the parchment. And who sells it will soon squander the money on frivolity; then he will immediately repent his transaction, but in vain. Moreover, I can assure him that he will never obtain its like, inasmuch as I know full well that no man would compose another such work, on account of the magnitude of the task; further, I know that nobody is broad-minded enough to resolve to compose and publish such a book as this, for it appears at first sight a collection of tales. Nevertheless, if he wishes to dispose of it to one of his sons or to one of his brothers, he may do so, but the one who acquires it may not override my conditions, but must observe everything as set down here. And he may only bequeath this book to one of his sons, or, failing male issue, he should bequeath it to one of his brothers, but not to one of his daughters, who have no portion or inheritance in it, that this book may not pass from one tribe to another. And do not, my sons, resolve to divide the work into two or three portions, so that each one of you may have a share in it, but let the one who inherits it receive it in one volume. May the one who ignores my writing, transgresses my command, or does not fulfil my words, be cursed; but blessed be my descendants, and may they be established if they fulfil my wishes. Neither scoff at me when you notice in what detail I have communicated my wishes concerning this book to my sons, for do ye not know that whatever man completes by the labour and toil of his hands he values highly? And I knew that unless I did it myself, unassisted, I should never have completed it. For who can depend upon scribes in the case of a book of this kind? Besides, even if I had the will, could I order scribes to be present just as books came to my hand; and where could I get the books from? Therefore I said, 'If I do not do it for myself, who, then, will do it for me?' And God enlightened me, and I girded my loins like a mighty man, and composed this Book of Chronicles. May God remember it for me for good!

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 1

1 With the help of God I commence to write this my book without interruption. These are the generations of the heavens and the earth when they were created on the day when the Lord God made heaven and earth. R. Eliezer, son of Hyrqanos, began his homily thus: 'Who can express all the mighty acts of God?' Is there anybody who can possibly give utterance to the mighty deeds of God and proclaim all His praise? Not even the ministering angels can do this. It is only possible to recount part of His mighty deeds, to explain what He has done and what He in future will do, so that His great name may be exalted among the creatures whom He has created from one end of the world to the other, as it is said, 'Every generation shall praise Thy works.' Before the world was created God and His name alone existed. When it entered His mind to create the world, He drew the plan of a world, but it would not stand. This may be compared to the action of a man who wishes to build a palace: unless he plans out its foundations, its exits and its entrances, he cannot commence to build. Thus God planned the world before Him, but it would not stand until He created repentance.

2 Seven things were created prior to the creation of the world, viz.: the Law, repentance, the throne of glory, the Garden of Eden, Gehinnom, the site of the temple, and the name of the Messiah, and for all these things proof is to be found in the Scriptures.

3 Eight things were created on the first day, viz., heaven and earth, light and darkness, that which was without form and void (Tohu va-Bohu), air and water; and the Spirit of God hovered over the surface of the waters. Some say day and night were also included in the first day of the creation, as it is said: 'And it was evening, and it was morning, one day.' Eight things were also created on the second day: The well (of Miriam), manna, the rod (of Moses), the rainbow, the letters and the writing, the clothes (of Adam and Eve), and demons (Maziqim).

4 Ten things were paramount in the thought of God at the creation, viz.: Jerusalem, the spirits of the patriarchs, the ways of the righteous, Gehinnom, the flood, the double tables of stone, the Sabbath, the temple, the ark, and the light of the future world.

5 Wherefrom were the heavens created? From the brilliancy of God's covering which He took up and spread as a garment, and the heavens went on extending until He said unto them, 'Be stayed,' and they stopped.

6 Whence was the earth created? From the snow beneath the throne of glory. God took it up and scattered it upon the waters, then the waters were congealed and became the dust of the earth, as it is said, 'For He says unto the snow, Become earth.' The boundaries of the heavens touch the waters of the ocean, for the waters of the ocean (Oqeanos) flow round the extremities of the heavens and the earth, and the extremities of the heavens are spread upon the waters of the ocean, as it is said, 'Who layeth the foundation of His upper chambers in the waters.' The heavens rise to an immense height in the form of a tent that is spread out, and mortals stand beneath it; its extremity is below, and its centre is above. This is the form of the heavens, their extremity is below and their centre above, so that all (God's) creatures, as it were, sit beneath it as in a tent, as it is said, 'He spread them out as a tent for dwelling therein.'

7 Four winds were created in the world, viz., the winds coming from the east, south, north, and west. From the eastern corner the light of the world goeth forth; from the south, the dews of blessing descend upon the world; from the west emanate the stores of snow, hail, cold and heat, and rains for the benefit of the world; the north corner of the world He created, but did not complete, for He said: Whoever declares himself to be God, let him come and finish this corner which I have left, and then shall all know that he is a God. There the demons, earthquakes, evil spirits, and Shiddim dwell, and from there they come forth to the world, as it is said, 'Out of the north evil shall break forth' (Jer. i. 14).

8 On the second day He created the firmament, the angels, the heat of the living bodies, and the heat of Gehinnom. But were not the heavens created on the first day? as it is said, 'In the beginning God created the heavens.' What, then, is this heaven which was created on the second day? R. Eliezer says: That firmament which is above the heads of the four holy creatures, as it is said, 'In the likeness of a firmament above the holy creatures.' It appears like unto hoar-frost, consisting of precious stones and pearls; it lights up the whole heavens as the light which lights up the house, and as the sun which lights up the world at noon, as it is said, 'And light dwells with Him.' Similarly the righteous are destined in the, future to enlighten the world, as it is said, 'And the wise will shine as the brightness of the firmament.' And if the firmament had not been created on the second day, the whole world would have been drowned by the waters from above, but the firmament now separates the upper from the lower waters. These angels, which were created on the second day, when sent by God, become winds, as it is said: 'He made His angels winds.' When they minister before Him, they become like fire, as it is said, 'His ministering angels are a flaming fire.'

9 Four bands of angels minister unto God, the first band, under Michael, on His right, the second, under Gabriel, in front of Him, the third, under Erich, on His left, and the fourth, under Raphael, behind Him. The Divine presence of God sits in the centre on a high and exalted throne, which is exceedingly majestic, and is suspended above in the air, and the appearance of its glory is like unto a carbuncle, one half is as fire, and the other half is as snow; a resplendent crown of glory rests upon His head, and upon His forehead is written the ineffable name of 'God.' His eyes overlook the whole earth; on His right is life, on His left death; a sceptre of fire is in His hand; a curtain is spread out before Him,

10 and the seven angels which were created first minister before Him within the curtain. His footstool is like fire and hail, and beneath the throne of glory, it has the appearance of sapphires; fire plays round about it; righteousness and justice are the supports of His throne; clouds of glory surround it, and the wheel, the ophan, the cherub, and the holy creatures sing praises unto Him. The throne is like sapphire; it stands upon four legs, and four holy creatures are attached to it; on each side are four faces and four wings, as it is said: 'There were four. faces, which were four angels.'

11 When He speaks from the east, from between the two cherubim, He speaks in the direction of the face of man; when He speaks from the south, He speaks in the direction of the face of the lion; when from the west, He speaks in the direction of the oxen; when from the north, in the direction of the eagle; and opposite Him are the ophanim and the wheels of the chariot. When He sits upon the throne, high and exalted, and looks round the earth, His chariot being upon wheels, through the noise caused by the wheels of the chariot, lightnings and earthquakes are caused in the world. But when He traverses the heavens, He rides upon a swift cherub, as it is said, 'And He rode upon a swift cherub.' When He hastens to do a thing, He flies upon the wings of the wind, as it is said, 'And He flew upon the wings of the wind.'

12 Two seraphim stand near Him, one on His right side and another on His left, each of which has six wings; with two each of them covers his face to prevent them gazing upon the Shekinah, and with two they each hide their legs so as not to remember the sin of the golden calf, and with two they fly, exulting in, and sanctifying, His great name. One answers while another proclaims, and one proclaims while the other answers, and they say, 'Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Hosts.'

13 The holy creatures stand with reverence and awe, with trembling and quaking, lest they be consumed by the fire of the angels; and from their faces streams down a fiery river, as it is said, 'And a river of fire flows before Him;' and the holy creatures do not know the place of His glory, but answer and exclaim wherever His glory be, 'Blessed is the glory of the Lord in His place.'

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 2

1 On the third day the earth was like a plain, and the waters covered the face of the whole earth. When the word of God went forth, saying, 'Let the waters be gathered together,' the mountains were lifted up and scattered over the earth, and deep valleys were dug down in the bowels of the earth, into which the waters rolled and were gathered, as it is said, 'The gathering of waters He called seas.' The waters then immediately rose tumultuously to a great height and covered the face of the earth as at first, until God rebuked them and subdued them, and placed them under the hollow of His feet, and measured them in His palm, so that they could neither diminish nor increase. He surrounded the sea with sand as a fence, just as a man makes a fence for his vineyard. So that when the waters approach and see the fence before them they recede, as it is said, 'Will they not fear My signs, says the Lord.'

2 Before the waters were finally gathered together, the rivers and the fountains of the deep were created, for the earth was stretched over the waters just as a ship floating in the midst of the sea, as it is said, 'To spread out the earth over the waters.'

3 And God opened a gate in the Garden of Eden and brought forth all kinds of plants, every kind of tree yielding fruit after its kind, and every kind of grass. He took their seeds and planted them upon the earth, as it is said, 'Whose seed is within itself upon the earth.' He prepared food for His creatures before they were created, as it is said, 'Thou preparest a table before me.'

4 All the fountains of waters rise from the depths. R. Joshua said that the depth of the earth would take sixty years to walk through. There is one fountain close to Gehinnom which receives and gives out hot waters that delight man.

5 R. Jehudah says: Once every month rivulets ascend from the depths and water the face of the whole earth, as it is said, 'And a spray went up from the earth to water the garden.' The thick clouds pass on the sound of the water-courses to the seas, and the seas to the depths, and the depths to each other, and finally rise and give moisture to the clouds, as it is said, 'Who causes the vapours to ascend at the end of the earth.'

6 The rains descend upon every place bidden them by the King, so that the earth immediately flourishes and becomes fertile. But when God wishes to bless the land and make it fertile and prosperous, so as to feed His creatures, He then opens His storehouse of good contained in the heavens and rains upon the earth, so that it immediately becomes fertile and produces the seed of blessing, as it is said, 'The Lord will open for thee His treasure of good.'

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 3

1 On the fourth day he formed two lights, one not larger than the other; they were identical both in their form and in their light, as it is said, 'And God made the two lights.' A quarrel ensued between them; one said to the other, 'I am greater than thou.' Therefore God, in order to make peace between them, enlarged the one and diminished the other, as it is said, 'And the greater to rule by day.'

2 R. Eliezer said that God uttered one word and the heavens were created to become the dwelling-place of the throne of the glory of His kingdom, as it is said, 'By the word of the Lord the heavens were made,' but for the numerous host of heaven

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God exerted Himself more; He blew with the breath of His mouth, and all the host of the heavens were created, as it is said, 'And with the breath of His mouth all their host.'

3 All the stars and planets and the two lights were created at the beginning of the fourth night. One did not precede the other except by one minute particle of time; therefore, all the work of the sun is done slowly, while that of the moon is done quickly; what the sun takes twelve days to do the moon can do in one day; what the sun does during the whole year the moon does in thirty days, as it is explained in the chapters of R. Eliezer.

4 Three letters of the ineffable name of God are written upon the heart of the sun, and angels lead it. Those that lead it in the day do not lead it in the night, and those that lead it in the night do not lead it in the day. The sun rises in a chariot, and rides forth crowned as a bridegroom, as it is said, 'And he goeth forth from his canopy as a bridegroom.' The horns (the rays) and the fiery face of the sun look upon the earth in the summer, they would consume it with fire if the ice above would not temper the heat, as it is said, 'Nothing is hidden from his heat.' In the winter-time the sun turns his icy face to the earth, and were it not for the fire which warms the cold, the world would not be able to endure it, as it is said, 'Who can stand before his cold?'

5 The sun rises in the east and sets opposite in the west. The Shekinah always resides in the west, and the sun enters in its presence, and, bowing down before the King of kings, says: 'O Lord of the universe, I have fulfilled all Thy commands.' These are some of the ways of the sun.

6 The habitation of the moon is placed between the clouds and the thick darkness, which are like two dishes one above the other; within them the moon travels. These two clouds turn themselves towards the west, and the moon peeps out from between the two in the form of a little horn. On the first night of the new month one part is visible, on the second night a second portion, and so on until the middle of the month, when it is full moon. From the middle of the month onwards these two clouds turn themselves eastwards, and that part of the moon which appeared first is the first to be covered by the two clouds—on the first night one part, on the second night a second part, until the end of the month, when it is entirely covered. Whence do we know that the moon is between two clouds [text missing] Because it is said, 'The cloud is its clothing, and clouds of darkness its covering.'

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 4

1 The following seven planets God created and placed in order in the firmament for the benefit of the world; for by means of them people calculate the signs, seasons, and astronomical computations; the time of summer, the number of the hours, days and months, periods and festivals (appointed times), as it is said, 'They shall be for signs, for seasons, for days and for years.'

2 The seven days of the week are called after the seven planets, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, the Moon, Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars. On the first day Sol, i.e. the sun, rules, and this day is called Zondakh. On the second day the moon serves; it is called Luna, therefore the second day is called Lunedi, i.e., Mondakh. On the third day Mars serves; it is called Mars, hence Marsdi, i.e., Diensdakh. On the fourth day Mercury, or Marcurios, serves, therefore it is called Markusdi, i.e., Godansdakh. On the fifth day Jupiter serves; it is called Iovis, hence Iovisdi, i.e., Donnersdakh. On the sixth day Venus, i.e., Veneri, serves, therefore the day is called Vindredi, that is Vredakh. On the seventh day Saturnus serves, therefore the day is called Sabbatdi, i.e., Satuldakh.

3 In what order are they placed in heaven? They are distributed there as sun and moon and the five planets. The firmament is divided into seven degrees, one above the other. There are seven distinct places for these seven planets; and this is their order:

4 The first degree is near the earth, and this lowest degree is the habitation of the moon, in which the moon makes a circuit round the firmament. The second degree is the habitation of Mercury, in which it describes its circuit in the firmament. The third degree is the habitation of Venus, in which it also describes its circuit in the firmament. The fourth degree is the middle of them, viz., the habitation of the sun, which completes its circuit of the heaven in twelve months. The fifth degree is the habitation of Mars, which makes its circuit in the firmament. The seventh degree is the highest of all, viz., the habitation of Saturn, which completes its circuit in three years.

5 This is the order of their work: Saturn is appointed over the poor and needy women, over faintness and sickness, diseases of the body, and over death. His appearance is like that of an old man with a sickle in his hand.

6 Mars is appointed over war (bloodshed) and the sword, over the wicked, over slander, over strife, battle, hatred, jealousy, quarrels, over warriors, wounds, injuries, bruises, over fire, water, and destruction. His appearance is like that of an armed warrior with a sword in his right hand, and he appears like a man of wrath and a stirrer up of strife. Wherever he turns wickedness ensues; he looks terrible in his coat of mail, and with the spear which he bears in his left hand.

7 Jupiter is appointed over life, peace and good, over prosperity, tranquillity, joy, pleasant conversation, rejoicings, riches, greatness, sovereignty and majesty. His appearance is like that of a valiant and noble-looking man, and his head is that of a ram.

8 Venus is appointed over kindness, favour, love, lust, passion, desire, marriage, the birth of man and animals, the fruits of the earth and the fruits of the tree. Its form is that of a young girl beautifully adorned, and swaying a branch of a tree in her hand. Mercury is appointed over wisdom, discretion, understanding, knowledge, and the active intellect enabling one to unravel mysteries, to devise plans in every branch of work, and in the writings of any language. Its form is that of an old man with thin lips; he possesses wings, and the lower part of the body is like a dragon.

9 The sun is appointed over light, to separate light from darkness, and through it to enable us to calculate the days, months and years, and to do every kind of work, to make any cunning work, to walk any distance, and to migrate from city to city and from town to town. The moon holds the key of heaven and earth, and is appointed over morning and evening. She is set over all creatures, to lead them in the right or wrong way, although she has no power in herself either to do good or evil. But everything is done by order and command. Everything was created by means of the word of God.

10 Hence the Rabbis have said that the orbit of the sun and the circuit of the moon, the order of the stars, the arrangement of the planets, the calculation of the circuits, the lengths of the days and the division of the hours, which are at first long and then become gradually shorter, are all the work of God.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 5

1 The following seven planets God created and placed in order in the firmament for the benefit of the world; for by means of them people calculate the signs, seasons, and astronomical computations; the time of summer, the number of the hours, days and months, periods and festivals (appointed times), as it is said, 'They shall be for signs, for seasons, for days and for years.'

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CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 6

1 On the sixth day He brought forth from the earth all kinds of animals, male and female, and the Behemoth that lies on a thousand hills, from which it obtains its food every day. In the night-time the food grows again as if the hills had not been touched, as it is said, 'Its food is from the produce of the mountains, and it drinks from the waters of the Jordan;' for the waters of the Jordan encompass all the land of Israel, one half of which is above, and the other of which is below the earth, as it is said, 'For He can draw up the Jordan in his mouth.' The Behemoth is preserved for the day on which it is to be brought as a sacrifice on the occasion of the great banquet of the righteous, as it is said, 'Its Maker will approach it with His sword.'

2 Everything in the world was originally created before Adam, who was created last, on the sixth day, on the eve of Sabbath, lest people might say that God had a helper in the work of the creation.

3 When God wished to create the world He called the company of angels commanded by the archangel Michael, and said unto them: 'Let us make man in our image, according to our likeness.' Whereupon they replied: 'What is man, that Thou shouldst remember him; and the son of man, that Thou shouldst think of him?' At this God immediately stretched forth His little finger among them and destroyed them, so that Michael alone was left. He then called the company of angels commanded by Gabriel, and said: 'Let us make man in our image.' They also replied: 'What is man, that Thou shouldst remember him?' God again stretched forth His finger and destroyed them.

4 He then called Boël and his company, and said to them: 'Let us make man in our own image.' At which Boël said to his associates: 'See what has happened to those who said, What is man that Thou shouldst remember him? they were all destroyed. If we repeat what they have said, He will do the same to us, and in the end He will perform His will. It is therefore better that we comply with His wish.' They therefore immediately answered, and said: 'Lord of the world, it is well that Thou hast thought to create man; do Thou create him according to Thy will, and we shall act as attendants and servants upon him, and reveal unto him all our secrets.'

5 God then said to Boël: 'From this day henceforth thy name shall not be called Boël, but Raphael, because, through thy counsel, thou hast saved all thy host, so that they were not consumed like the other companies.'

6 God then called Gabriel, and said unto him: 'Go and bring Me dust from the four corners of the earth, and I will create man out of it.' Gabriel then went to gather dust from the earth, but the earth drove him away and would not allow him to take dust from it. Gabriel thereupon said: 'Why, O earth, dost thou not hearken to the voice of thy Lord, who founded thee upon the waters without props and without pillars?' The earth replied, and said: 'I am destined to become a curse, and to be cursed through man, and if God Himself does not take the dust from me, no one else shall ever do so.'

7 When God saw this He stretched forth His hand, took of the dust, and created therewith the first man on the sixth day. God created the matter of man in four colours, white, black, red and green. The bones and the sinews are white, the intestines black, the blood red, and the skin of the body green (livid). When the soul departs from the body, the body immediately becomes livid.

8 The Torah (Law) then said to God, 'O Lord of the universe, this man whom Thou hast created will be short-lived, and he will sin before Thee; what will become of him?' God replied: 'Is it to no purpose that I am called slow to anger, of abundant mercy and truth? He who returns to Me in repentance, I will pardon.' The Torah said, 'If so, do Thy will.

9 But why did God create man from the four corners of the earth, and not from the dust of one single spot?' 'Because man goeth to the four corners of the earth, and when he dies, the earth shall not be able to say, Thou wast not created from me,

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therefore thou shalt not be buried in me; go to the place whence thou wast created, and there be buried. Thus, wherever a man ends his days, there shall he rest. God created man poor and from dust, and to dust shall he return; therefore has the dust been taken from the four corners of the earth.'

10 There are twelve hours in the day; in the first hour He gathered the dust for man, in the second He hardened it, in the third He shaped it in the form of man, in the fourth the soul was thrust into it, in the fifth man stood on his legs, in the sixth he gave names to all the birds and animals, in the seventh Eve was joined to him, in the eighth they produced two children, in the ninth they were commanded concerning the fruits of the trees, in the tenth he transgressed the command, in the eleventh he was judged, in the twelfth hour he was driven out, as it is said, 'And He drove Adam out of the Garden of Eden.'

11 God kneaded and moulded the dust for the first man in a pure place, He covered him with skin and sinews, and gave to it a human shape, but there was not yet any breath or soul in it. What did God do? He breathed with the breath of His mouth, and thrust the soul into him, as it is said, 'And He breathed in his nostrils the breath of life.' Adam then stood up and gazed above and below, saw all the creatures which God had created, and was amazed with wonderment, and he began to extol and praise his Creator, and said: 'How great are Thy works, O Lord!'

12 He stood upon his feet, and was in the likeness of God; his height extended from the east to the west, as it is said, 'Behind and in front Thou hast formed me.' Behind, that is the west, and in front, that is the east. All the creatures saw him and were afraid of him; they thought he was their creator, and prostrated themselves before him. Adam then said to the animals: 'Why do you come and prostrate yourselves before me? Come, let us all go and invest Him who created us with majesty and strength, and crown Him King over us. If the people do not show allegiance to the King, the King claims it by Himself, and if the people do not praise the King, the King causes Himself to be praised.' As soon as Adam had spoken, all the creatures assented and invested their Creator with majesty and strength, and proclaimed Him King over them, and said: 'The Lord the King is clothed with majesty.'

13 Now, Adam walked about the Garden of Eden like one of the ministering angels. God said: 'Just as I am alone in My world, so is Adam; just as I have no companion, neither has Adam. To-morrow the creatures will say, "He does not propagate, he is surely our creator." It is not good for man to be alone, I will make a helpmeet for him.'

14 When the earth heard the word helpmeet' it shook and trembled, and said to its Creator: 'O Lord of the world, I am not able to provide for the whole of mankind.' To which God replied: 'I will feed the whole of mankind.' And God made a compact with the earth, and God created the sleep of life, so that when man lies down and goes to sleep, he is fed, strengthened and refreshed, and this is the healing and the feeding which God provides, as it is said, 'Then I slept, then I felt refreshed.' God moreover assists the earth and waters it, so that it yields its fruits as food for all the creatures; but, in spite of all this, man obtains his food in toil and trouble.

15 God had pity upon Adam; in order not to give him pain He caused a deep sleep to fall upon him, during which time He took the bone of one of his ribs and flesh from his heart and made of it a helpmeet for him, and placed her before him. When he awoke from his sleep and saw her standing before him, he said: 'This is woman; bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh.'

16 While he was yet alone, he was called Adam. R. Joshua b. Qorha said that his name was Adam on account of the flesh and blood (of which he was composed). God said to him, 'Thou art Adam.' But when a helpmeet was made for him he was called Living Being—i.e., Fiery Being. God then added two letters of His name to it and made the name of man and the name of woman, saying, 'If they walk in My ways and observe My Commandments, behold My name will abide with them and deliver them from all trouble; but if not, behold I will take away My name from them, so that their names will become again fire consuming fire.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 7

1 God created ten canopies for Adam in the Garden of Eden, and all of them were made of precious stones, of pearls and of gold. Each bridegroom has as a rule but one canopy, a king has three, but in order to show great honour to the first man He made ten canopies for him in the Garden of Eden, as it is said, 'Thou hast been in Eden, the garden of God; every precious stone was thy covering, the sardius, the topaz, and the diamond, the beryl, the onyx, and the jasper, the sapphire, the emerald, and the carbuncle, and gold; the workmanship of thy tabrets and of thy pipes (was prepared) for thee on the day when thou wast created.' These represent the ten canopies. The angels were beating their timbrels and dancing to the pipes, as it is said, 'The workmanship of thy tabrets and of thy pipes.'

2 On the day when the first man was created God said to the ministering angels, 'Come, let us descend and show kindness to man and his helper, for upon kindness the world rests.' He further said, 'Kindness is much more acceptable to Me than the sacrifices of burnt-offerings which the Israelites are destined in the future to offer to Me upon the altar,' as it is said, 'For kindness do I desire and not sacrifices.' The ministering angels walked before Adam like shepherds who watch the flocks of birds, as it is said, 'For He commanded His angels to watch over thee in all thy ways.' They were like unto a bridal pair, and God may be compared to a precentor, for just as the precentor in the midst of the congregation blesses the bridal pair under the canopy, so did God bless man and his helpmeet, as it is said, 'And God blessed them, and said unto them, Be fruitful and multiply.' And they did so, as it is said, 'And Adam knew Eve his wife; and she conceived and bore him Cain, and said, I have begotten a man of the Lord.' Why was Cain thus called? Because he was formed from Adam and his wife and from God.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 8

[unreadable, not translated]

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 9

The Formation Of The Child.

1 I will now proceed to explain the formation of the foetus which God created when man approaches his wife. God indicates it to the angel appointed over conception, whose name is Lailah. God says, 'Know that this night a woman will conceive. Take this sperm, place it in thy hand, and break it on the threshing-floor into three hundred and sixty-five particles.' He does so. He then takes the sperm in his hand, brings it to God, and says, 'O Lord of the world, I have done as Thou hast commanded me, and now decree what is to become of it.' God then decrees that it will be either strong or weak, male or female, rich or poor, beautiful or ugly, long or short, wicked or righteous.

2 God then makes a sign to the angel appointed over spirits, and says, 'Bring me a certain spirit which is hidden in the Garden of Eden, whose name is So-and-so, and whose form is So-and-so.' This applies to all the spirits which are destined to be created, for from the very moment when the world was created all (these spirits) were prepared for men, as it is said, 'What has already been has been called by name.' The angel brings the (said) spirit, which, when it comes before God, bows down and prostrates itself before Him.

3 At that moment God says to the spirit, 'Enter thou this sperm.' The spirit then opens its mouth, and says, 'O Lord of the universe, I am satisfied with the world in which I have lived from the day on which Thou didst create me; if it please Thee, do not suffer me to enter this impure being, for I am holy and pure.' God replies, 'The world which I will cause thee to enter is better than the world in which thou hast lived; and when I created thee, I created thee only for this purpose.'

4 God then causes it to enter this new being against its will. The angel then returns and causes it to enter the womb of its mother. Two angels are prepared to watch the embryo (during pregnancy). A light shines upon the head of the child, by which it sees from one end of the world to the other.

5 In the morning the angel takes it, carries it into the Garden of Eden and shows it the righteous men who sit there in glory with crowns on their heads. The angel then says to the soul, 'My child, dost thou know who these are?' 'No,' it replies. The angel then says, 'These people whom thou seest here were formed like thee in the womb of their mother. They went forth into the world and observed God's statutes, therefore they became worthy of this bliss. Know also that thou wilt at the end of thy days depart from the world. and if thou wilt be thought worthy to hearken unto the Law and the Commandments then thou wilt be likewise worthy of sitting with these in the place where I showed thee.'

6 In the evening he carries it into Gehinnom, and shows it the sinners, whom the wicked angels beat with fiery staves. They cry 'Woe, woe!' but no mercy is shown them. The angel then says to the soul, 'Dost thou know, my child, who these are that burn?' 'No,' it replies. The angel answers, 'These were of the same mean origin as thou art. They went forth to the world and did not observe the commandments and judgements of God. Therefore they have come to this place of punishment. Know also, child, that thou must ultimately quit this world.'

7 The angel walks about with it from morning until evening, and shows it every place which it is destined to tread, and the place where it will be buried. After this he shows it the world of the good and the world of the wicked, and in the evening he places it back again in the womb of its mother. God then encloses it within folded doors, as it is said, 'And He shut in the sea with doors, until it burst forth from the womb and became free.' It is further said, 'I will lay My words in thy mouth, and I will protect thee in the shadow of My hand.' God then said, 'Thus far shalt thou go, and no further;' and He sustains the child in the womb of its mother for nine months.

8 At the end of that time the same angel comes and says to it, 'Come forth, for the time has come for thee to go forth into the world.' It replies, 'Have I not already told God that I am satisfied to remain in the place where I was accustomed to dwell? And He replied, "The place I will cause thee to enter is better than that world from which thou hast come." Now that it pleases me to remain here, why dost thou wish to remove me hence?' The angel replies, 'Thou must know that thou wast formed in the womb of thy mother against thy will, and now know that against thy will thou wilt be born, and wilt come forth into the world.' He then immediately strikes it, extinguishes the light, and brings it forth against its will. It then forgets whatever it had seen. As soon as it comes forth unto the world, it cries.

9 And why does it cry? Because of the world it has left behind. For at that moment seven new worlds are awaiting it. In the first world it is like unto a king after whose welfare all people ask; all desire to see it and embrace it, and kiss it, because it is in the first year. In the second world it is like unto a swine which wallows in mire; a child does the same until it reaches two years. In the third world it is like unto a kid that skips and gambols about on the meadows. Thus, a child skips about here and there until it is five years of age. In the fourth world it is like unto a horse which strides along haughtily. In the same way does a child walk along proud of his youth until he is eighteen years old. In the fifth world he is like unto an ass upon whose shoulders burdens are placed. In the same manner burdens are heaped upon man's shoulders; he is given a wife by whom he begets children. He must wander to and fro in order to obtain food for them until he is about forty years old. In the sixth stage he is like unto a dog, insolent and wandering about in all places for food: stealing and robbing in one place and enjoying it in another. In the seventh stage he is like unto an ape, whose appearance is changed in every respect. All the household curse him and desire his death. Even the young children make fun of him, and even the smallest bird wakes him from his sleep.

10 Finally, the time arrives for him to quit this world. When that time arrives the same angel comes beside him and says to him, What is thy name?' To which he replies 'So-and-so, and Why dost thou come to me to-day?' 'To take thee away from this world.' When he hears this he weeps, and his voice reaches from one end of the world to the other, but no creature hears his voice except the cock. 'Have I not already told thee,' he says, 'not to bring me forth from the world in which I have lived?' But the angel replies, 'Have I not already told thee that against thy will thou wast created, against thy will thou wast born, against thy will thou livest, and against thy will thou shalt die, also against thy will thou art bound to render account and reckoning before Him who said, and the world was made?'

11 Behold, these are the four Divine hosts which God showed to Elijah the prophet, as it is said, 'And He said, Go out and stand upon the mountain before God.' God then said to Elijah, 'Behold, these are the four worlds through which man must pass. The great and strong wind is this world. After the wind comes the earthquake, i.e., after this world comes death, which causes the whole body of man to quake. After the earthquake comes the fire, i.e., after death there follows the judgement of Gehinnom, which is fire, and after the judgement of Gehinnom there follows a voice, as it is said, 'A still, soft voice,' which is the voice of the last judgement. After this follows the judgement of the spirits that flit about in the air, and no one is left except God, as it is said, 'God alone shall be exalted on that day.' All this is included in the words of holy tradition spoken by David, king of Israel, who said, 'I was made in secret, I was formed in the nethermost parts of the earth.'

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 10

1 The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom. Happy is the man in whom there is wisdom combined with fear; one may be doing more, another less, provided that his heart is turned to heaven.

2 Woe to, him whom this world leads astray; woe unto him who does not walk in the ways of God; woe unto him who hearkens to his evil inclination, or who does not listen to his Creator; woe to him whose pleader becomes his accuser; woe unto him who does not devote his heart to his Father in heaven; woe to him whose wheel of life has turned; woe unto the man who has been righteous and has turned wicked; woe to him who loses his life's work in a rash moment, or causes the profanation of God's name.

3 Certain punishments follow immediately upon the committal of sin, others come after a time. There are punishments which come one after the other, others simultaneously. Some punishments come upon man while he is asleep, others while he is awake; some come upon him heavily, others lightly; some affect part of the body, others the whole body; some, again, come upon one in his youth, while others come in his old age; some which he anticipates, others which he does not anticipate; some are open and some are hidden, others, again, are revealed to the whole world. And all the

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trouble, misery, and shame come upon man in consequence of sin and transgression.

4 Some bear their punishments with love; some worship God for fear of suffering in their sustenance or in their livelihood, or through the ill-health of their children, or through the punishment of Gehinnom. Some worship Him in simplicity, in purity, in joy, and some in the hope that they may make others worthy of reward. Some, again, worship Him to guard themselves against punishments, as it is said, 'When they are in trouble, they seek Me early.' Everyone is judged while he is in full consciousness, and this applies to the living and the dead alike.

5 When man is about to quit this world the angel appointed over him says, 'Pity this body that goes out of this world without having performed any good actions.' He looks at his two legs, and says, 'Woe unto those legs which have not walked in the ways of the Lord. Woe unto those thighs which have not been eager to run after God's Commandments. Woe unto the bowels which have enjoyed stolen property. Woe unto those hands which have occupied themselves with sin. Woe unto the mouth which has consumed the property of others. Woe unto the eyes which have desired the property of strangers. Woe unto those ears which have not hearkened to reproof. Woe to that proud stature that has not bent in repentance. Woe unto the spirit that has not humbled itself before its Creator.'

6 The angel in anger bids him stand up for judgement to relate his deeds. He says, 'Know whence thou hast come, and whither thou art going—to a place of dust and worms. Who is the Judge, and before whom art thou to give account and reckoning? If thou art able to answer, then answer, for no one else can answer for thee; there is no remedy except good deeds, as it is written, "Thy righteousness shall go before thee."'

7 What enjoyment can it be for man to look upon sin, since it is like fire to stubble, and like a sword to the neck, as an arrow to the liver, as chains to the feet, as darkness to the eyes, as gall to the mouth, and as chastisement to the body? Whoever induces another to swerve from the good path is cut off in the midst of his days, and whoever flatters a sinner, his days shall be shortened in this world. Whoever scoffs at the Commandments will have no mercy shown to him from heaven.

8 Whoever causes another to blush in public will cause the book in which the sins of man are inscribed to be opened. Whoever scoffs at the poverty of the poor, behold he shall be brought low, he will be ahungered while others shall eat before him. Whoever commits fraudulent transactions shall have no rest on the eve of the Sabbath; behold, all the joys which gladden his heart will be turned into mourning. He will be visited on the day of reckoning with terrible judgement and with much shame by relentless angels in the world to come. Therefore it is said, 'And what wilt thou do on the day of visitation?'

9 He who sins with his eyes, those eyes shall become dim; he who sins with his mouth, behold his words shall not be heard; he who sins by giving false advice, behold his own prosperity shall vanish; he who sins in his thoughts, his days shall be a constant vexation; he who sins with his tongue, behold chastisement will overtake him; he who sins with his hand shall lose his honour; he who sins with his legs, the years of his life shall be shortened; whoever sins in his heart shall die of grief; whoever sins with his inclination, this very inclination shall turn his accuser; he who sins and causes others to sin shall bury his wife and his children during his lifetime; he who sins purposely, the decree of Divine judgement will be sealed against him; he who sins unwittingly is not in a good moral condition.

10 What benefit has a man by sinning? his ultimate end is to quit this world for another, to go from light to darkness, from life to death, from sleep which is sweet to a sleep that is troubled; he is a prey for the worms; he passes from sweet dainties to the taste of dust; from beautiful garments to the shroud in the grave. But this is not all: he moreover loses his soul. Many rich men have lost their souls through their riches, such as Dathan and Abiram; and the wisdom of many a wise man has caused him to come to grief, as, for instance, Ahitophel, Doeg the Edomite, and Balaam, the wicked one. Likewise many mighty men have existed whose power has been the cause of their fall, as Samson, Abner, Asael, and Joab. Many also have reared sons, but have had no joy from them, as Aaron, the High Priest, who had no joy from Nadab and Abihu. All this applies equally to the righteous as well as the wicked; death overtakes them all. There were also many beautiful ones, whose beauty was the cause of their downfall, such as Absalom and Adonijah ben Hagith. There have been many elders of the community who have departed this life without honour, such as the great Sanhedrin in the time of Zedekiah, who were slain by Nebuchadnezzar. And again, how many young people have been snatched away from their bridal canopy!

11 Thus, what advantage can possibly accrue to man by robbing and stealing? for, although he may thereby derive some temporal comfort, he must nevertheless render account and reckoning before God. What benefit can man's joy be to him when it brings sorrow and grief upon him? What benefit is it for a man to inspire fear, since punishment will overtake him? What benefit his proud strut if it brings pains upon him? What benefit his evil meditation, which brings in its train many kinds of death? What benefit his deception, which dashes his prosperity to the ground? On account of this the righteous and the pious have no desire whatever for this world which is fleeting. But how do we know that this world is fleeting? Because it is said, 'For a wind has passed over it, and it is no more.'

12 On the other hand, he is heir to the future world who keeps aloof from strife, from evil talk, from causeless hatred, from inciting quarrels, who is truly modest, who is devout in his prayer, and confesses his sins before God. He it is who is loved by God. Therefore the righteous have resolved to claim no honours, and to refrain from pleasure. They have therefore placed a check upon their eyes, their mouths, their hands, and their feet, to prevent them from doing evil. The eye which does not sin is worthy to behold the face of the Divine glory, as it is said, 'Thine eyes shall behold the King in his beauty.' The heart that does not sin shall be worthy to see the Divine glory with abundant joy. The hand that does not sin will be worthy of receiving every reward, as it is said, 'Behold the Lord God shall come with strength, and give him mastery in his arm.' The mouth that does not sin will be worthy of singing praises before God, as it is written, 'And thou shalt say, On that day I will praise Thee, O God.'

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 11

1 R. Abahu told the parable of three different men. One tills the ground, another works in silver and gold, and the third studies the law. When the time approaches for him who tills the ground to die, he says to his household, 'Give me some of my work, so that I do not go to the next world empty-handed.' To which they reply, 'Thou art foolish. Hast thou not worked the field? and Scripture has already said, "The earth and its fulness belong to God," therefore thou hast nothing of thine own to bring.'

2 When the end of him who works in silver and gold arrives, he says to his household, 'Give me some of my labour (work), that I may not go to the next world empty-handed.' But they reply, 'Thou art foolish. Thou hast worked in this world in silver and gold. Scripture has already said, "Mine is the silver, and Mine is the gold, saith the Lord;" therefore thou hast nothing of thine own to bring.'

3 When the time arrives for him who studies the law (Torah) to quit this world, he says to his household, 'Give me of my labour, that I may not go to the next world empty-handed.' To him they say, 'O thou pious and righteous man, how can we give thee (the fruits) of thy labour? Hast thou not constantly occupied thyself with the law? But God will grant thee the reward of thy work, and shall receive thee with good grace. The ministering angels shall go forth to meet thee and exclaim, "Come thou in peace;" and concerning thee Scripture says, "Then shall thy light break forth as the morning."'

4 Rabbi Jose says, 'If thou desirest to know the reward of the righteous in the world to come, come hither and learn it from what has befallen Adam. He was commanded to perform an easy precept, and because he transgressed it, God punished him and all subsequent generations with many kinds of death. Therefore the sages have said that, on the contrary, whoever studies and observes the law and performs good deeds shall be delivered from the punishment of Gehinnom and the sorrows of the grave.' R. Abahu mentions one of the proverbial sayings of Rabbi Isaac that the end of man is death, the end of animals is slaughter, and all are destined to die.

5 R. Jose says, 'Come hither and see the difference existing between man and animals; the latter are slain and flayed, and are not subjected to any judgement: whilst with reference to man, how many chastisements and troubles does he bear in this world; and after his death, if he is a righteous man, his judgement is delayed; but if he is wicked, he is brought before the tribunal every year between Passover and Pentecost, as it is said, "And they shall go forth and look upon the carcases of the men, and it shall be at every new moon."

6 After man's death he is seen by all the other dead, and he appears to each just as they last saw him alive: some see him as a youth, others as an old man, just as each saw him before his own death, so that they should not think that any man lives for ever, and say when we were among the living we saw this or that man, and now how many hundreds of years have passed since we have seen them alive?

7 Therefore, when one dies the angel who guards the dead makes his soul assume various forms, so that all shall recognise him by seeing him just as they saw him in life. Then, in the event of one being condemned afterwards to Gehinnom, he is enveloped with smoke and brimstone, so that one should not see the punishment of the other; and none should be put to shame before the other, except those who have publicly put others to shame.'

8 Every man after death is brought to judgement, even if he should belong to the section of the righteous, still, after a time his sins are visited. Thus Samuel said to Saul, 'To-morrow thou shalt be in my division.' Was not Samuel in Ramah, and Saul in another place? The explanation is that he (Samuel) referred to the soul when he said, 'Thou wilt be with me in my division.' And we see that after a long lapse of time the house of Saul was judged on account of Saul and on account of the house of blood. Thus, the house of Saul was visited. Although he was called 'the chosen of the Lord,' yet His seed was judged.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 12

1 R. Isaac ben Parnach has said that all man's iniquities are engraved upon his bones, as it is said, 'Their iniquities shall be upon their bones,' and all his merits shall be engraved upon his right hand, as it is said, 'The Lord is thy guard and thy protection on thy right hand.'

2 R. Joshua ben Levi says that man's merits and sins are not testified to until the day of his death. Even frivolous conversation, which is not accounted as a sin, is mentioned only at the time of his death, as it is said, 'For behold He who has formed the mountains and created the wind will tell man what his conversation hath been.'

3 Thus at his death three ministering angels come to him, one the angel of death, one a scribe, and a third who is appointed to accompany them. They say to him, 'Arise, for thy end has come.' To which he replies, 'I shall not rise, for my end has not yet arrived.'

4 Then the scribe proceeds to number his days and years. At that moment the man opens his eyes and sees the angel of death, whose length extends from one end of the world to the other; he quakes exceedingly and falls upon his face.

5 From the sole of his (the angel's) foot to the crown of his head he is full of eyes, his clothing is of fire, his covering of fire, he is surrounded by fire, he is all fire. In his hand he carries a fiery blade, from which hangs a bitter drop. This drop causes first death, then decomposition and the lividness of appearance, but man does not die until he has seen God, as it is said, 'For no man shall see Me and live; but when he dies he shall see Him, as it is said, 'Before Him there shall bend all those who go down to the dust when he ceases to live.'

6 Then the man confesses everything he has done in the world. His mouth bears witness, and the Lord writes it down. 'By Myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, that from My mouth shall go forth righteousness.'

7 If he is a man of perfect righteousness his soul is handed over to its owner. But if a man of consummate wickedness, he stiffens his neck and allows his evil inclination to prevail over him; hence the sages have said that a wicked man's evil inclination prevails over him even at his death.

8 R. Eliezer has said that just as he is stiffnecked in this world so is he at the Day of Judgement, as it is said, 'The wicked shall see and be angry.'

9 At the death of the righteous man three companies of ministering angels come to him. The first company says, A righteous man has perished from the earth.' The second company says, 'Let him in peace come and rest upon their couches.' The third company says, 'He goeth the straight path.'

10 But at the death of the wicked five angels of destruction come to him and say, 'The wicked shall return to Sheol.'

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 13

The Beating Of The Grave.

1 R. Eliezer's pupils asked him, 'What judgement is there in the grave?' He replied, 'When a man quits this world, the angel of death comes to him and sits by his grave, and beating it with his hands, says, "Tell me thy name." "Flesh and blood is my name. It is revealed and known to Him who said, and the world was. But I do not know what my name is." Then immediately the soul re-enters his body. He stands up and is brought to judgement.'

2 R. Joshua ben Levi says, 'They bring a chain of iron, half of it burning like fire, half as cold as ice, and they beat him with it. At the first stroke his limbs get separated; at the second, his bones are scattered. Then the ministering angels gather them together, and restoring him, beat him a third time, and demand of him an account and reckoning, and judge him measure for measure.

3 On the second day they judge him in the same manner.

4 On the third day they judge him further, and they punish his two eyes, his two hands, his two feet and his two ears, his mouth and his tongue. Why are his eyes punished? Because he looked with them upon transgression. Why his ears? Because he heard sinful utterances with them. Why his lips? Because he uttered with them words of foolishness. And why his tongue? Because he has testified falsely with it. Why his two hands? He committed violence and robbery with them. Why his two legs? Because he hastened with them to transgression.' R. Jehudah says, 'Whoever has gone to a married woman shall hang ignominiously in Gehinnom; and whoever slanders his neighbour shall be suspended by his tongue.

5 R. Meir, in the name of R. Joshua, says, 'The judgement in the grave is more severe than that in Gehinnom, for in Gehinnom only they are judged who are thirteen years old and upwards; but in the grave, stillborn children and perfectly righteous men, and even sucklings, are brought to

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judgement.' Hence the sages have said, 'He who dwells in the land of Israel and dies on Sabbath eve at the time of the blowing of the Shofar, as long as the sun shines he shall not see the judgement in the grave; whilst he who loves righteousness and chastisement, charitable deeds and hospitality to strangers, although not living in the land of Israel, shall see neither the judgement of the grave nor that in Gehinnom, as it is said, "From the midst of trouble I called to God, and He answered me." "From my trouble" refers to the beating in the grave. "From the depth of Sheol I cried." This refers to the punishment in Gehinnom.'

6 Ben Azay says, 'There are three kinds of punishments, one more severe than the other; moreover, they are all inflicted in the presence of God.' 'But,' asks R. Aqiba, 'are they all in God's presence?' 'Verily the angels inflict the punishment in the grave and also that in Gehinnom, but only the punishment of heaven alone is inflicted in the presence of God!' Three days are given over to the punishment in the grave, three days to that in Gehinnom, and three days to the punishment in heaven. If there is no charge against a man, he is not brought up for judgement; but if there are charges against him, the judgement may last long.

7 The punishment of transgressing Israelites is twelve months in Gehinnom, as it is said, 'And it shall come to pass at the renewal of the new moon and at the renewal of the Sabbath.' Just as the weeks form a cycle, so the months form an annual cycle, and then shall all flesh prostrate themselves before God. R. Johanan ben Nuri says, 'The time extends from Passover until Pentecost, as it is said, "And from one festival to the other," during which the sabbaths are counted.' Some sinners are judged in Gehinnom from Passover until Pentecost, after which time they are acquitted; others, again, such as the consummately wicked' of Israel, obtain no rest for the whole twelve months;

8 while others who have violated the whole of the law and the precepts and have sinned against the law of God, going the idolatrous way of the nations, shall have their bodies and souls burnt. Gehinnom vomits them out, and the north wind scatters them, so that they become ashes under the soles of the feet of the righteous, as it is said, 'And on account of the doings of the wicked, behold they shall become ashes beneath your feet on the day when I execute judgement.'

9 Further, those who leave the community, the apostates, traitors, renegades, scoffers, those who despise the festivals, deny the resurrection of the dead and the divinity of the law, are swallowed up by Gehinnom; the doors are locked upon them, and there they are left a prey to eternal punishment, as it is said, 'And they go forth and look upon the carcasses of those that have transgressed against Me, for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched.'

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 14

This Is The Description Of Gehinnom (Hell).

1 Who can stand before its might, who can withstand the fury of its wrath? R. Abahu opened his homily with the verse: 'Aluqah has two daughters called Hab, Hab.' R. Eliezer says that these are the two bands of angels that stand at the gates of Gehinnom and say, 'Come! come!' Why is it called Gehinnom (Valley of Wailing)? Because the voice of its wailing traverses the world from one end to the other. And why is it called 'Tofteh' (Enticer)? Because all enter therein enticed by their evil inclination.

2 R. Johanan began his homily with the verse, 'Passing through the valley of weeping, they make it a valley of springs.' This means to say that the sinner confesses, just as the leper confesses; and he says: 'I have committed such and such a transgression in that place, on that day, in the presence of So-and-so, in that society.'

3 Hell has three gates: one at the sea, the other in the wilderness, and the third in the inhabited part of the world. That at the sea is alluded to in Jonah: 'Out of the belly of Sheol cried I, and thou heardest my voice.' That of the wilderness is alluded to in Numbers: 'So they and all that appertained to them went down alive unto Sheol.' And that in the inhabited portion of the world in Isaiah: 'Saith the Lord, whose fire is in Zion and His furnace in Jerusalem.'

4 Five different kinds of fires are in hell: one devours and absorbs, another absorbs and does not devour, while another, again, neither devours nor absorbs. There is further fire devouring fire.

5 There are coals big as mountains, and coals big as hills, and coals huge like unto the Dead Sea, and coals like huge stones. There are rivers of pitch and sulphur flowing and fuming and seething.

6 The punishment of the sinner is thus: The angels of destruction throw him to the flame of hell; this opens its mouth wide and swallows him, as it is said, 'Therefore Sheol hath enlarged her desire and opened her mouth without measure, and their glory and their multitude and their pomp, and he that rejoices among them, descends into it.' This all happens to him who has not done one single pious act which would incline the balance towards mercy;

7 Whilst that man who possesses many virtues and good actions and learning, and who has suffered much, he is saved from hell, as it is said, 'Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for Thou art with me; Thy rod and Thy staff shall comfort me.' 'Thy rod' means the suffering, and 'Thy staff' signifies the law.

8 R. Johanan began: 'The eyes of the wicked shall fail, and refuge is perished from them, and their hope shall be the giving up of the ghost.' That means, a body which is never destroyed, and whose soul enters a fire which is never extinguished; of these speaks also the verse, 'For their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched.'

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 15

1 R. Joshua, son of Levi, said, 'Once upon a time I was walking on my way, when I met the prophet Elijah. He said to me, "Would you like to be brought to the gate of hell?" I answered, "Yes!" So he showed me men hanging by their hair; and he said to me, "These were the men that let their hair grow to adorn themselves for sin." Others were hanging by their eyes; these were they that followed their eyes to sin, and did not set God before them. Others were hanging by their noses; these were they that perfumed themselves to sin. Others were hanging by their tongues; these were they that had slandered. Others were hanging by their hands; these were they that had stolen and robbed. Others were hanging ignominiously; these were they that had committed adultery. Others were hanging by their feet; these were they that had run to sin. He showed me women hanging by their breasts; these were they that uncovered their breasts before men, to make them sin.

2 He showed me further men that were fed on fiery coals; these were they who had blasphemed. Others were forced to eat bitter gall; these were they that ate on fast-days.

3 He showed me further men eating fine sand; they are forced to eat it, and their teeth are broken; and the Almighty says to them, "O ye sinners! when you used to eat that which you stole and robbed it was sweet in your mouth; now you are not able to eat even this," as it is said, "Thou hast broken the teeth of the wicked"

4 He showed me further men who are thrown from fire to snow, and from snow to fire; these were they that abused the poor who came to them for assistance; therefore are they thus punished, as it is said, "Thou hast caused men to ride over our heads; we went through fire and through water." He showed me others who were driven from mountain to mountain, as a shepherd leads the flock from one mountain to another. Of these speaks the verse: "They are appointed as a flock for Sheol. Death shall be their shepherd, and the upright shall have the dominion over them in the morning, and their form shall be for Sheol to consume, that there be no habitation for it."'

5 R. Johanan said, For every sin there is an angel appointed to obtain the expiation thereof; one comes first and obtains his expiation, then follows another, and so on until all the sins are expiated. As with a debtor who has many creditors, and who come before the king to claim their debts, and the king delivers him to them, and says, Take him and divide him between yourselves,' so also is the soul delivered in hell to cruel angels, and they divide it among themselves.

6 Three descend to hell for ever, and do not ascend any more—the man who commits adultery, who blames his neighbour in public, and who is guilty of perjury. Others say, Those who seek honour for themselves by slandering their neighbours, and those who make intrigues between man and wife in order to create strife among them.

7 On the eve of the Sabbath the sinners are led to two mountains of snow, where they are left until the end of the Sabbath, when they are taken back from there and brought again to their former places. An angel comes and thrusts them back to their former place in hell. Some of them take, however, snow and hide it in their armpits to cool them during the six days of the week, but the Almighty says unto them, 'Woe unto you who steal even in hell,' as it is said, 'Draught and heat consume the snow waters, in Sheol they sin.' That means to say, 'They sin even in Sheol.'

8 Every twelvemonth the sinners are burned to ashes, and the wind disperses them and carries those ashes under the feet of the just, as it is said, 'And ye shall tread down the wicked, for they shall be ashes under the sole of your feet.' Afterwards, the soul is returned to them, and they come out black as the blackness of a pot, and they acknowledge the justice of their punishment, and say, 'Thou hast rightly sentenced us and rightly judged us. With Thee is righteousness and with us shame, as it is with us to-day.'

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 16

1 There are five kinds of punishment in hell, and Isaiah, the son of Amos, saw them all. He entered the first compartment and saw there two men carrying pails full of water on their shoulders, and they pour that water into a pit, which, however, never fills. Isaiah said to God, 'O Thou who unveilest all that is hidden, unveil to me the secret of this.' And the Spirit of the Lord answered, 'These are the men who coveted the property of their neighbours, and this is their punishment.'

2 He entered the second compartment, and he saw two men hanging by their tongues; and he said, 'O Thou who unveilest the hidden, reveal to me the secret of this.' He answered, 'These are the men who slandered, therefore they are thus punished.'

3 He entered the third compartment, and he saw there men hanging by their organs. He said, 'O Thou who unveilest the hidden, reveal to me the secret of this.' And He answered, 'These are the men who neglected their own wives, and committed adultery with the daughters of Israel.'

4 He entered the fourth compartment and saw there women hanging by their breasts, and he said, 'O Thou who unveilest the hidden, reveal to me the secret of this.' And He answered, 'These are the women who uncovered their hair and rent their veil, and sat in the open marketplace to suckle their children, in order to attract the gaze of men and to make them sin; therefore they are punished thus.'

5 He entered the fifth compartment, and found it full of smoke. There were all the princes, chiefs, and great men, and Pharaoh, the wicked, presides over them and watches at the gate of hell, and he saith unto them, 'Why did you not learn from me when I was in Egypt?' Thus he sits there and watches at the gates of hell.

6 There are seven compartments in hell, and in each of them are 7,000 rooms, in each room 7,000 windows, in each window (recess) there are 7,000 vessels filled with venom, all destined for slanderous writers and iniquitous judges. It is to that that Solomon alludes when he says, 'And thou mournest at thy latter end when thy flesh and thy body are consumed.'

7 The other nations, however, and the idolators are punished in the seven compartments of hell, in each compartment for a twelvemonth. And the river 'Dinur' floweth from beneath the throne of glory and falleth over the heads of the sinners, and the sound travels from one end of the world to the other.'

8 All these punishments are prepared for the apostates, for those who deny the resurrection of the dead, for the renegades, slanderers, and traitors. Of these King Solomon said, 'Their end shall be as bitter as wormwood.' None of these are saved unless they repent, acquire learning, and perform pious deeds. But at the end the Almighty will have pity on all His creatures, as it is said, 'For I will not contend for ever, neither will I be always wroth, for the spirit shall pass before Me and the souls which I have made.'

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 17

1 There are besides in every compartment 7,000 holes (crevices), and in every hole there are 7,000 scorpions. Every scorpion has 300 slits (cavities); in every slit are 7,000 pouches of venom, and from each of these flow six rivers of deadly poison. When a man touches it, he immediately bursts, every limb is torn from him, his body is cleft asunder, and he falls dead upon his face. The angels of destruction collect his limbs, set them aright, and revive the man and place him upon his feet, and take their revenge upon him anew. This takes place in the uppermost compartment, which is called Sheol. The height thereof is 300 years' journey, the width 300 years' journey, and its length the same.

2 The second compartment is Beer Shahat, of the same height, width, and length. The third is Ṭiṭ-Hayaven, of equal size. The fourth is Sha'are Mavet, of the same size. The fifth, Abadon, of the same size. The sixth, Sha'are Ṣalmavet, of the same size. The seventh, Gehinnom, of the same size. Thus the length of hell is altogether 6,300 years' journey. [We read further that the fire of Gehinnom is one-sixtieth of the fire of Sha'are Ṣalmavet, and so of every consecutive compartment till the fire of Sheol.] Sheol consists half of fire and half of hail (ice), and when the sinners contained therein emerge from the fire they are tortured by the hail (ice), and when they emerge from the hail (ice) the fire burns them, and the angels who preside over them keep their souls within their bodies. As it is said, 'For their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched.'

3 Every day the angel of death comes and drives them on like cattle from mountain to valley and from valley to mountain, as it is said, 'They are sent down to Sheol like sheep; death acts like a shepherd unto them.' The angels of destruction punish the sinners for twelve months in Gehinnom. After twelve months they revive their bodies and lower them to Sha'are Mavet, where they are again punished for twelve months. Thence they are lowered into Sha'are Ṣalmavet, and after twelve months' punishment they are lowered into Ṭiṭ-Hayaven, and again after twelve months' punishment they are lowered into Beer Shahat. Thence, after the same lapse of time, to Abadon, and finally, after twelve months' punishment, they are lowered thence into Sheol, where they are seen by the righteous, who say, 'O Lord, who art merciful to all Thy creatures, let it be enough for them!' But God answers, It is not yet enough, for they have destroyed My temple, and have sold My children as slaves among the nations.' Thence they are lowered to Arqa, and placed beneath the river of fire that flows from beneath the heavenly throne, and he who is lowered into Arqa ascends no more.

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4 Above Arqa is Tehom, and above Tehom is Tohu. Above this is Bohu, and above Bohu is the sea, and above the bottom of the sea are the waters. Above the waters is the inhabited world, on the surface of which rise the mountains and dales. This earth is inhabited by man and beasts, by the birds of the air and the fish of the sea. Therein is law, charity, and piety, and the fear of the Lord.

5 At the time of judgement 6,000 angels of trembling surround man and lead him to the place of judgement, where they weigh his merit and his guilt in the balance. Then if his guilt turns the scale they lead him to Gehinnom and hand him over to the angels of terror, and these again to the angels of anguish, and these to the angels of trembling; the angels of trembling then to the angels of destruction, who hand him over to the angel of death. He throws him into the depth of Gehinnom, as it is said, 'And the of the Lord pushes him.'

6 If, however, his merits turn the scale, they lead him to the gates of Paradise and hand him over to the ministering angels, who hand him over to the angels of peace, and these to the angels of mercy, who bestow great honour upon hire in the Garden of Eden.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 18

Paradise.

1 R. Joshua, son of Levi, tells, 'Paradise has two gates of carbuncle, and sixty myriads of ministering angels keep watch over them. Each of these angels shines with the lustre of the heavens. When the just man approaches them they divest him of the clothes in which he had been buried, and clothe him with eight cloths, woven out of clouds of glory, and place upon his head two crowns, one of precious stones and pearls, and the other of gold, and they place eight myrtles in his hand and praise him, and say to him, "Go and eat thy bread with joy." And they lead him to a place full of rivers (waters) surrounded by 800 species of roses and myrtles. Each one has a canopy according to his merits, as it is said, "For over all the glory shall be spread a canopy."

2 'And through it flow four rivers, one of oil, the other of balsam, the third of wine, and the fourth of honey. Every canopy is overgrown by a vine of gold, and thirty pearls hang down from it, each of them shining like the morning star.

3 In every canopy there is a table of precious stones and pearls, and sixty angels stand at the head of every just man, saying unto him, "Go and eat with joy of the honey, for thou hast worked assiduously in the law," of which it is said, "And it is sweeter than honey," "and drink of the wine preserved from the six days of Creation, for thou hast worked in the law which is compared with the wine," as it is said, "I would cause thee to drink of spiced wine." The least fair of them is as beautiful as Joseph and Johanan, and as the grains of the pomegranate lit up by the rays of the sun. There is no night, as it is said, "And the light of the righteous is as the shining light."

4 'And they undergo four transformations according to the four watches of the day. In the first watch the just is changed into a child, and he enters the compartment of children and tastes the joys of childhood. In the second watch he is changed into a youth, and there he enjoys the delights of youth. In the third watch he becomes a middle-aged man and rejoices accordingly. In the fourth watch he is changed into an old man: he enters the compartment of the old and enjoys the pleasures of mature age.

5 'In Paradise there are eighty myriads of trees in every corner; the meanest among them choicer than a garden of spices. In every corner there are sixty myriads of angels singing with sweet voices, and the tree of life stands in the middle and overshadoweth the whole of Paradise; and it has 500 tastes, each different from the others, and the perfumes thereof vary likewise.

6 Over it hang seven clouds of glory, and the winds blow from all the four corners and waft its many odours from one end of the world to the other. Underneath sit the scholars and explain the law. These have each two canopies, one of stars and the other of sun and moon, and clouds of glory separate one from the other. Within this is the Eden containing 310 worlds, as it is said, "That I may cause those that love Me to inherit Substance" (Prov. viii. 21) [the numerical Value of the Hebrew word Substance is equivalent to 310] .

7 'Here are the seven compartments of the just. In the first are the martyrs, as, for instance, R. ‘Aqiba and his companions. In the second, those who were drowned. In the third, R. Johanan ben Zakkai and his disciples. The fourth group consists of those who were covered by the cloud of glory. The fifth group is that of the penitents, for the place occupied by a penitent not even a perfectly just man can occupy. The sixth group is that of children who have not yet tasted sin in their lives. The seventh group is that of the poor, who, notwithstanding their poverty, studied the law and the Talmud, and had followed a moral life. Of these speaks the verse, “For all that put their trust in Thee rejoice, and they shout for ever for joy.’

8 'And God Almighty sitteth in their midst, and expounds to them the law, as it is said, "Mine eyes shall be upon the faithful of the land, that they may dwell with Me." And God hath not yet fully unveiled the glory which awaiteth the pious in the world to come, as it is said, "The eye hath not seen, O God, beside Thee, that which Thou workest for him that waiteth for Him."'

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 19

1 The sages tell that the dead have a large habitation, in front of which there flows a brook from the Garden of Eden, and by the side of this brook is a field. On every Sabbath eve between the afternoon and evening services the souls of the dead go forth from their secret abode and eat on this field and drink from this brook,

2 And every Israelite who drinks water between the afternoon and evening services of the Sabbath robs the dead. When the congregation on Sabbath eve exclaim, 'Bless the Lord, who is blessed,' they return to their graves, and God revives them, and causes them to stand upon their feet alive;

3 And all the dead of Israel rest on the Sabbath, and all stand up alive from their graves, and great multitudes come before God and sing praises unto Him upon their graves, and going to the synagogues, prostrate themselves before Him, as it is said, 'The pious exult in honour, and they sing upon their resting-places.'

4 Every Sabbath and every new moon they rise from their graves, and coming before the Divine Presence, prostrate themselves before Him, as it is said, 'And the people of the earth shall worship Me, on Sabbaths and on the new moons.' What is meant by the people of the earth? Those who are hidden in the earth, as it is written, 'And it shall come to pass that on each new moon and upon each Sabbath all flesh shall come to worship Me.'

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 20

1 There are nine palaces in the Garden of Eden, and all of them consist of well-built houses with upper chambers, and the length of the houses is sixty myriads of miles. Each one of them is presided over by sixty myriads of ministering angels, and in each of these houses there are well-arranged canopies made of species of rose and myrtle trees. Every pious man has his place allotted to him according to his deeds, and to their appointed places the ministering angels lead them. There the angels of mercy dance and sing praises before him, as it is mentioned above.

2 In the midst of the Garden of Eden there are sixty myriads of species of trees, the fruit of which the pupils of the sages eat. There the light of the righteous is as the light of the sun, and sixty myriads of ministering angels attend them and feed them, while sixty myriads of angels of mercy sing and dance before them, and they bring spiced wine and the juice- of the pomegranates, which they drink with delight.

3 P. Joshua ben Levi said, 'I saw in the Garden of Eden ten companies and (well) built houses, each one of which was twelve myriads of miles in length, one hundred and ten myriads of miles in breadth, and one hundred myriads of miles in height.

4 The first house was opposite the first entrance of the Garden of Eden, wherein there dwelt those proselytes who had converted themselves (to the Jewish religion) from love. The beams thereof were of white glass, and the walls thereof of cedar-wood. When I went to measure it, all the proselytes stood up and tried to prevent me, when Obadiah immediately rose and said to them, "Happy would ye be if you should be deemed worthy to dwell with such a righteous man." They thereupon allowed me to measure it.

5 The second house, corresponding with the second gate, is built of silver and its walls of cedar; therein do the penitent dwell, presided over by Manasseh.

6 The third house is built of gold and silver, wherein are to be found all the good things of heaven and earth, and wherein every kind of food and drink is arranged. In this house Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob dwell, as well as those who died in the wilderness—the generation of the wilderness, all the sons of Jacob, and the twelve tribes, with Moses and Aaron presiding over all of them. There also are David and Solomon and Caleb, who is alive, and every generation except those of Absalom and Korah.

7 I saw there precious stones, beds of gold and of precious stones, and couches and prepared lights. David exclaimed, "These are prepared for my children, who dwell in the world from which I have come." I then said to him, "Are not all the Israelites here?" At this our ancestor Jacob interposed and said, "All Israel are my children, and they are not like the other nations of the world, nor are they like the children of Abraham, my (grand)father, nor like the children of Esau, my brother; for whosoever of these performs good deeds in the world from which thou comest is rewarded there, and afterwards descends to Gehinnom; but my children, even the wicked among them, though they are punished, it is only during their lifetime, but after death they inherit the Garden of Eden."

8 The fourth house is built corresponding to the first man (Adam): its walls are of olive-wood, and those who dwell there are those who, though they have been punished in this world, have not rebelled against Providence. Why is this house built of olive-wood? Because their life had been bitter to them as olive-wood.

9 The fifth house is built of onyx stones and of precious stones. Its walls are of gold, and of fine gold, and it is perfumed with balsam. Thence the river Gihon flows forth and illumines the upper world; a fragrance breathes through it, which is more exquisite than the perfume of Lebanon. There are couches of gold and silver, covered with blue, purple, and vermilion covers woven together. In this place dwells the Messiah, the son of David and Elijah the Tishbite, and there is a palanquin of the wood of Lebanon, which Moses made in the wilderness [i.e., the Tabernacle], covered (overlaid) with silver. Its floor is of gold and its seat of purple, and in the midst of this palanquin sits the Messiah, the son of David, the beloved one of the daughters of Jerusalem. Elijah takes him by his head, and placing him in his bosom, holds him and says, "Bear the judgement, O my master, for the end is near."

10 And every Monday and Thursday and every Sabbath and holy-day the patriarchs and the pious and the tribes, Moses and Aaron, David and Solomon, and all the kings of the house of David, come to him, and, weeping, take hold of him and say, "Oh, bear thou the judgement of thy Master, for the end is near." Korah and his company and Absalom come also to him every Thursday, and ask, "When is the end to come? When wilt thou return and bring us to life?" To which he replies, "Go ye to your ancestors and ask them." They are then abashed, and do not go to ask them. When I came before the Messiah, the son of David, he asked and said, "What are my children doing in the captivity?" And I answered, "Every day they await thee in their captivity among the nations of the world, which oppress them." He then lifted up his voice and wept.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 21

1 'After this I implored him and said, "Do thou show me Gehinnom, which I desire to behold." But he would not allow me. And I said unto him, "Why wilt thou not let me see it?" To which the Messiah answered and said, "It is not meet for the righteous to see it, for there are no righteous people in hell."

2 I then forthwith sent to the angel Qipod that he might measure hell from beginning to end; but he was not able to do so, because at that time R. Ishmael, R. Shim‘on, son of Gamliel, and ten other pious men were put to death. I tried, but could not succeed.

3 After this, I went to the angel Qipod, who went with me until I came before the fire at the gates of hell. The Messiah (also) went with me, and when the wicked in hell saw the light of the Messiah, they rejoiced and said, "This one will bring us forth from this fire." They showed me then a compartment in hell, which I entered, and, going round it, I measured it.'

4 R. Joshua said, 'When I measured the first compartment of hell, I found it to be one mile in length and breadth, and behold, there were many open pits in which were lions, and the lions were of fire. There were also two brooks, and when the wicked people fall therein, they are swallowed up, and lions of fire standing above cast them into the fire.

5 When I measured the second, I found it as the first, and I asked the same questions as I asked about the first, and they made the same reply. There were in it some of the nations of the world, presided over by Absalom, and one nation says to the other, "If we have sinned, it is because we did not wish to accept the law; but you, what sin have you committed?" And they reply, "We have committed the same sin as you." And they say to Absalom, "If thou hast not listened, thy ancestors have done so. And why hast thou then been punished in such a manner?" "Because," he replied, "I did not listen to the exhortations of my father."

6 An angel stands with a rod of fire, and this angel that smites them is named Qushiel. He orders the other angels to throw them down and to burn them, and one by one they are brought in, and after smiting them, they are cast upon the fire and burned until all the people have been consumed. After this, Absalom is brought in to be smitten, when a voice is heard to say, "Do not smite him nor burn him because he is one of the sons of those whom I love, who said on Mount Sinai, 'We shall do, and we shall hear.'" After they have finished smiting and burning the wicked these emerge from the fire just as if they had not been burnt; they are then smitten again, and again thrust into the fire, and this is repeated seven times every day and three times every night. But Absalom is saved from all this because he is one of the sons of David.

7 The third compartment contains seven nations of the world, who are judged in the same manner, and Borah and his company are with them. The name of him who smites them is Shabṭil. But Korah and his company are saved from all this, because they exclaimed on Mount Sinai, "We shall do, and we shall hear."

8 The fourth compartment contains four nations of the world, with Jeroboam to preside over them, and the one who smites them is named Maktiel. But Jeroboam is delivered from all these punishments, because he descended from those who exclaimed, "We shall do, and we shall hearken."

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9 In the fifth house they are judged likewise. It contains seven nations, with Ahab among them, and he who smites them is named Ḥushiel. But Ahab is delivered from all this, because his ancestors said on Mount Sinai, "We shall do, and we shall hearken."

10 The sixth house, containing ten nations of the world, is judged likewise, and Micah is among them, and the angel who smites them is named Parhiel. But Micah is rescued from all this, because his ancestors also exclaimed on Mount Sinai, "We shall do, and we shall hear."

11 The seventh compartment contains six nations of the world, which are judged in the same manner, and among them is Elisha ben Abuya; and so in all the compartments. But one cannot see the other on account of the darkness, for the darkness that existed before the creation of the world is now there.'

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 22

1 Before Adam gave the animals their names God brought them before the angels, and said to them, 'Give names to everyone;' but they could not. God thereupon brought them before Adam, and he gave them the names by which they were ever afterwards known. Then God said to the angels, 'Were you not saying, "What is man, that Thou shouldst remember him"? Now his wisdom is greater than yours!' The angels then began to envy him, saying, 'Indeed, God will now love him more than He does us; if we can entice him to sin he will be destroyed from the earth.

2 Forthwith Samael, the angel of death, descended and looked at every creature, but he could find none as cunning and malignant as the serpent. The serpent then went to Eve, and began to speak of various things, until he broached the tree. 'Is it true,' he said, 'that God commanded you not to eat of any tree in the garden?' 'No; He only forbade us the one tree, which stands in the midst of the garden; we are not allowed to eat of its fruit, nor touch it, for on the day that we touch it we shall die.'

3 The serpent laughed at her, saying, 'It is only out of jealousy that God has said this, for He well knows that if you eat thereof your eyes will be opened, and you will know how to create the world just as He. Indeed, who can believe that for that thou shouldst die? Forsooth, I shall go and pluck (gather) some fruit.' The serpent accordingly stood on his feet and shook the tree, so that some of the fruit fell upon the ground; and the tree cried, 'O wicked one, do not touch me!'

4 When Eve saw the serpent touch the tree and not die, she said to herself, that the words of her husband were false. Therefore, on seeing that the fruit was beautiful, she desired it and ate of it. As soon as she had eaten thereof her teeth were set on edge, and she saw the angel of death with drawn sword standing before her. She then said in her heart, 'Woe unto me that I have eaten of this death, for now I will die; and Adam, my husband, who has not eaten of it will live for ever, and God will couple him with another woman. It is better that we die together, for God has created us together even unto death.' So when her husband came she gave him some of the fruit to taste.

5 As soon as he had eaten thereof his teeth were set on edge, and he saw the angel of death standing before him with drawn sword. 'What is this evil food,' he said to Eve, 'which thou hast given me to eat? perchance thou hast given me to eat of the tree of which I was forbidden to eat.' He was then exceedingly grieved. 'Why art thou so troubled?' she said, 'since what has happened was destined to happen.' She then thought, I and my husband are to die for having eaten of the fruit, whilst all the other creatures which have not eaten thereof will live on for ever in joy. It is better that we either die together or live together, since our Creator formed us together.' She therefore forthwith fed all the creatures of the world with the fruit—beasts, animals, and birds alike—until she came to a certain bird named Ḥol or, as some say, Milham (so called because it had pity upon itself, and refused, in spite of her exceedingly strong persuasions, to eat of the fruit or to listen to her voice). Eve said, 'Eat of this fruit, just as thy fellows have done.' But it replied, 'Woe unto thee, thou afflicted one, who hast brought death upon thyself, upon thy husband, and upon all the creatures of the world. I alone remained to be killed by thee, but I swear that I shall never eat of that fruit.'

6 According to another tradition, the bird Milham said to Adam and his wife, 'You have sinned, and have caused many others to sin; you are not satisfied with having brought death upon all the creatures of the world, but you wish me also to sin against God. Indeed, I shall not listen to you.'

7 At that moment a voice was heard saying to Adam, 'Thee I have commanded not to eat of the fruit, and thou hast not obeyed My commands, but Milham the bird I did not command to keep My ordinances and My decrees, yet he has fulfilled what I commanded thee; behold, I will establish him and his descendants for all generations to be an everlasting witness for Israel.' And therefore they live for ever, and exist in that city which the angel of death built, and they increase and multiply as all other creatures.

8 The sages say that these birds live for ever, and that during the space of a thousand years they become smaller and smaller until they are like very young chickens, so that their feathers fall off, and their limbs are divided. Then God sends two angels, who restore them to their eggs as at first, and they feed them until they are grown up again. This is their natural change from one thousand years to another, so that they become revivified like the eagle.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 23

1 Know and understand that, when Adam was separated for 130 years from Eve, he slept alone, and the first Eve—that is, Lilith—found him, and being charmed with his beauty, went and lay by his side, and there were begotten from her demons, spirits, and imps in thousands and myriads, and whomever they lighted upon they injured and killed outright, until Methushelah appeared and besought the mercy of God.

2 After fasting for three clays, God gave him permission to write the ineffable name of God upon (his sword?), through which he slew ninety-four myriads of them in a minute,

3 until Agrimus, the firstborn of Adam, came to him and entreated him (to stop); he then handed over to him the names of the demons and imps. And so he placed their kings in iron fetters, while the remainder fled away and hid themselves in the innermost chambers and recesses of the ocean.

4 Hanoch called his son Methushelah, and said to him, 'All the men died, and they came into the power of the angel of death.' When Methuselah died, his missile (weapon, ###) died with him, and they buried his sword with him.

5 It is said of Methushelah that out of every word uttered by the mouth of God he used to make 230 parables in praise of God, and he studied 900 sections of the Mishna (Traditional Law). When he died, a voice of thunder was heard in the heavens, where the angels made a funeral oration, and they took him up, and the people saw 900 rows of mourners corresponding with the 900 sections of the Mishna, and the tears flowed from the eyes of the holy creatures on to the place where he died.

6 Enosh, the son of Seth, was asked, 'Who was thy father?' 'Seth,' he replied. 'Who was the father of Seth?' 'Adam.' 'And who was Adam's father?' 'He had neither father nor mother, but God formed him (shaped him) from the dust of the earth.' 'But man has not the appearance of dust.' 'After death man returns to dust, as it is said, "He will return to his dust"; but on the day of his creation man was made in the image of God.' 'How was the woman created?' He said, 'Male and female He created them.' 'But how?' asked they (his questioners). He answered, 'God took water and earth and moulded it together in the form of man.' They asked, 'But how?

7 Enosh then took six clods of earth, mixed them, and moulded them and formed an image of dust and clay. 'But,' said they, 'this image does not walk, nor does it possess any breath of life.' He then showed them how God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life. But when He began to breathe into it, Satan entered the image so that it walked, and they went astray after it, saying, 'What is the difference between the bowing down before this image and before man?' That is what is meant when it is said, 'Then they began to apply the name of the Lord'; that is, they gave this name to other gods. On this account Enosh is mentioned in Scripture immediately before the word 'his image.'

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 24

1 And Cain knew Qalmana, his wife, and Enoch was born; and he built a city and called it Enoch, after the name of his son, and he used to entice the people, and to rob and plunder them. He built that city, and surrounded it with a wall and dug trenches.

2 He was the first to surround a city (with a wall), for he was afraid of his enemies. And this city, called by the name Enoch, is the first of all cities. He was, moreover, the counterpart of Enoch the righteous whom God took to Himself and trained for the day which is entirely Sabbath.

3 Cain dedicated the city to his son's name. When the city called Enoch was finished, it was inhabited by his children, who were about double the number of those who went forth from Egypt. Now the city became very corrupt until the other Enoch will arise, the seventh from Adam, and dedicate it anew with a holy dedication, together with the sons of Lemech, who slew Cain in the seventh generation, after Cain had confessed his sin, repented, and his punishment had been suspended until the seventh generation.

4 And Enoch begat Irad, and Irad Mehuyael, and Mehuyael Metushael, and Metushael Lemech, the seventh from Adam. They were all wicked, for all the descendants of Cain were called the seed of evil-doers, and all his descendants were swallowed up by the flood.

5 The wicked Lemech had two wives, ʻAdah and Ṣillah, and ʻAdah bare Jabal; he was the father of such as live in tents and feed the cattle. He discovered the work appertaining to shepherds, and made tents and pens for the cattle, one for the sheep, and another for the oxen, distinct from each other. He also invented the locks which are made to prevent thieves entering the house, which are like unto this, χ. And the name of his brother was Jubal, the father of all who play on the harp and the reed-pipe.

6 At this time the inhabitants of the earth began to commit violence, to defile each other, and kindle the anger of the Lord. They began to sing with the harp and the reed-pipe, and to sport with all kinds of song corrupting the earth. This Jubal discovered the science of music, whence arose all the tunes for the above two instruments. This art is very great.

7 And it came to pass, when he heard of the judgements which Adam prophesied concerning the two trials to come upon his descendants by the flood, the dispersion and fire, he wrote down the science of music upon two pillars, one of white marble, and the other of brick, so that if one would melt and crumble away on account of the water, the other would be saved.

8 And Sillah bare Tubal Cain, who forged all the iron implements of war, and was an artificer in all kinds of ironwork. He also discovered the art of joining lead and iron together, in order to temper the iron and to make the blade sharper. He also invented the pincers, the hammer, and the axe, and other instruments of iron. Tubal was a worker in all kinds of tin and lead, iron and copper, silver and gold. Then men began to make graven images for worship. The sister of Tubal Cain was called Naamah. It was she who invented all kinds of instruments used for weaving and sewing silk, wool and flax, and the entire art of the fancy-worker and the weaver.

9 In the days of Enosh men began to be designated by the names of princes and judges, to be made gods, applying to them the name of the Lord. They also erected temples for them, but in the time of Re'u they were all overthrown.

10 It came to pass when man began to multiply upon the face of the earth, that the children of Elohim—that is, the seed of Seth—looked upon the daughters of man—that is, the seed of Cain—and they took them wives of all which they chose, and begat those giants that peopled the earth in the days of Noah.

11 During the whole lifetime of Adam the sons of Seth had not intermarried with the seed of Cain, but when Adam died they intermarried. The sons of Seth dwelt in the mountains by the Garden of Eden, while Cain dwelt in the fields of Damascus, where Abel was killed. For seven generations the descendants of Seth kept righteous, but thenceforward they became wicked. It was for this reason that God repented that He had made man.

12 From the seed of Seth and Cain there came forth the giants, who, from their haughtiness of spirit, fell and became corrupt, and were therefore swept away by the waters of the flood, and therefore they were called 'Nefilim' (the fallen). They claimed the same pedigree as the descendants of Seth, and compared themselves to princes and to men of noble descent—sons of Elohim, lords and judges. Concerning them it is said, 'Therefore like unto man ye shall die, and as like unto princes ye shall fall.'

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 25

The Midrash Of Shemhazai And Azael.

1 R. Joseph was once asked what was the story of Shemhazai and Azael, and he replied, 'When the generation of Enosh arose and worshipped idols, and when the generation of the flood arose and went astray, God was grieved that He had created man, as it is said, "And the Lord repented that He had made man, and He was grieved at heart."

2 Then two angels, whose names were Shemhazai and ʻAzael, appeared before God, and said, "O Lord of the universe, did we not say unto Thee when Thou didst create Thy world, 'Do not create man'?" as it is said, "What is man, that Thou shouldst remember him?" "Then what shall become of the world?" said God. They replied, "We will occupy ourselves with it."

3 God said, "It is revealed and well known to Me that if peradventure you had lived in that earthly world, the evil inclination would have swayed you just as much as it rules over the sons of man, but you would be more stubborn than they." "Give us Thy sanction, then, and let us descend among the creatures, and then Thou shalt see how we shall sanctify Thy name." "Descend," spake the Lord, "and dwell ye among them." Forthwith He allowed the evil inclination to sway them.

4 As soon as they descended and beheld the daughters of man that they were beautiful, they began to disport themselves with them, as it is said, "When the sons of Elohim saw the daughters of man," they could not restrain their inclination.

5 Shemhazai beheld a girl whose name was Eṣtirah. When he beheld her, he said, "Listen to my request." But she replied, "I will not listen to thee until thou teachest me the name by the mention of which thou art enabled to ascend to heaven." He forthwith taught her the Ineffable Name.

6 She then uttered the Ineffable Name and thereby ascended to heaven. God said, "Since she has departed from sin, go and set her among the stars"—it is she who shines brightly in the midst of the seven stars of Pleiades; for that she may always be remembered God fixed her among the Pleiades.

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7 When Shemhazai and ‘Azael saw this they took to them wives, and begat children. The former begat two children, whose names were Heyya, and Aheyya. And ‘Azael was appointed chief over all the dyes, and over all kinds of ornaments by which women entice men to thoughts of sin.

8 'God then sent Meṭaṭron a messenger to Shemhazai, and said to him, "God will destroy His world, and bring upon it a flood." Shemhazai then raised his voice and wept aloud, for he was sorely troubled about his sons and his own iniquity. "How shall my children live, and what shall they eat, and if the world is destroyed what shall become of my children, for each one of them eats 1,000 camels, 1,000 horses, and 1,000 oxen daily?"

9 One night the sons of Shemhazai—Heyya and Aheyyah—dreamt dreams. One dreamt that he saw a great stone spread over the earth like a table, the whole of which was covered with writing. An angel descended from heaven with a knife in his hand and obliterated all the lines, save one line only with four words upon it.

10 The other dreamt that he saw a lovely garden, planted with all kinds of trees and beautiful things. An angel descended from heaven with an axe in his hand, and cut down all the trees, so that there remained only one tree containing three branches.

11 When they awoke from their sleep they were much confused, and, going to their father, they related their dreams. He said to them, "God is about to bring a flood upon the world, to destroy it, so that there will remain but one man and his three sons." They thereupon cried in anguish, and wept, saying, "What shall become of us, and how shall our names be perpetuated?" "Do not trouble yourselves about your names. Heyya and Aheyya will never cease from the mouths of creatures, because every time that men raise heavy stones, or ships, or any heavy load or burden, they will sigh and call your names." With this his sons were satisfied (quieted).

12 'Shemhazai repented and suspended himself between heaven and earth, head downwards, because he durst not appear before God, and he still hangs between heaven and earth.

13 ‘Azael, however, did not repent. He is appointed over all kinds of dyes which entice man to commit sin, and he still continues to sin. Therefore, when the Israelites used to bring sacrifices on the day of atonement, they cast one lot for the Lord that it might atone for the iniquities of the Israelites, and one lot for Azael that he might bear the burden of Israel's iniquity. This is the ‘Azazel that is mentioned in the Scripture.'

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 26

1 Adam begat three sons and three daughters, Cain and his twin wife Qalmana, Abel and his twin wife Deborah, and Seth and his twin wife Noba.

2 And Adam, after he had begotten Seth, lived 700 years, and there were eleven sons and eight daughters born to him. These are the names of his sons: ‘Eli, Sheel, Ṣurei, ‘Almiel, Berokh, Ke‘al, Nahath, Zarhamah, Ṣisha, Māḥtel, and ‘Anat; and the names of his daughters are: Ḥavah, Giṭṣh, Hare, Bikha, Zifath, Hekhiah, Shaba, and ‘Azin.

3 And Seth lived 105 years and begat Enosh. After he begat Enosh, Seth lived 707 years and begat three sons and two daughters. The names of his sons were: Elide‘ah, Funa, and Matath, and the names of his daughters were Melila and Tela.

4 And Enosh lived 180 years and begat Qeinan; and after Enosh had begotten Qeinan he lived 715 years, and begat two sons, Ehor and Aal, and one daughter, Qatenath.

5 And Qeinan begat, after Mahalalel, three sons, Hatak, Mokro, and Lupa, and two daughters, Hannah and Liba.

6 And after Yered, Mahalalel begat seven sons, viz., Teqa, Māya, Nekhar, Meli, Aesh, Uriel, Luriūṭin, and five daughters, ‘Adah, No‘ah, Yebal, Ma‘adah, and Ṣillah.

7 After Enoch, Yered begat four sons, viz., L‘ei‘ad, ‘Anaq, Sabkhe, Yeter, and two daughters, Zezekho and Lezekh.

8 After Methuselah, Enoch begat five sons, viz., ‘Anaz, Le‘on, ‘Akhaon, Pĕledi, and Eled, and three daughters, viz., Teid, Lefid, Laead. Then God desired Enoch and took him away.

9 After Lemech, Methuselah begat two sons and two daughters, viz., ‘Enab, Rapo, ‘Alumah and ‘Amugah. And Lemech begat Noah, and said, 'This one will comfort us and give rest to the earth and all its inhabitants when God will visit the earth with evil on account of the wickedness of the evildoers.'

10 And Noah begat three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

11 Cain and his wife Temed dwelt in the land of Nod. And Cain knew his wife Temed when he was fifteen years old, and she bore him Enoch, and he built seven cities and called the first Enoch, after the name of his son. (The names of the remaining six were): Maole, Leed, Gezeh, Yeshbah, Qeled, and Yebab.

12 And after Enoch, Cain begat three sons, Ulaf, Lezef, and Fuzal, and two daughters, Ṣeṭa and Mahat.

13 And Enoch took Niba, the daughter of Shem, to wife, and she bore him Zera, Qu‘ith, and Maddaf. And Zera begat Methushael, and Methushael, Lemech.

14 And Lemech took two wives. Ada bore Jabal, the father of all those who dwell in tents, and Jubal, the father of all who play upon the harp and the reed-pipe.

15 Then the inhabitants of the land began to commit violence and to defile the wives of their neighbours, thus kindling the anger of the Lord. And they then began to play upon the harp and the reed-pipe, and to sport with every kind of song, corrupting the earth. This same Jubal discovered the science of music, whence arose all the melodies for the two above-named instruments. This is a great science, as I have explained in its proper place (above).

16 And it came to pass, when Jubal heard the prophecy of Adam concerning the two judgements about to come upon the world by means of the flood, the dispersion and fire, that he wrote down the science of music upon two pillars, one of fine white marble and the other of brick, so that in the event of the one melting and being destroyed by the waters, the other would be saved.

17 And Sillah bore Tubal Cain, who used to sharpen all instruments of iron for war, and worked in all manner of iron. He also invented the art of alloying lead and iron together, so as to temper the iron and to make the blade sharper. He also invented the pincers, the hammer, and the axe, and all instruments of iron.

18 The sister of Tubal Cain was Na‘amah. It was she who invented the art of weaving and sewing silk, wool, and flax, and the whole art of the fancy-worker and the weaver. Ṣillah also bore Miza and Tipa. Tubal was a worker in tin, lead, iron, copper, silver, and gold. Then men began to make graven images for their worship.

19 ‘Adah also bore Jabal, who was the father of those who dwell in tents and attend to the flock. He discovered the work appertaining to shepherds, and made tents and pens for the cattle, one for the sheep and another for the oxen, distinct from each other. He also invented the locks, as a safeguard to prevent robbers entering the house, like this, X.

20 In the time of Enosh men were called princes, judges, and made gods, applying to them the name of God; and temples were made for them, but they were overthrown in the time of Re‘u. And Enoch—who was the author of many writings—walked with God, and was no more, for God had taken him away and placed him in the Garden of Eden, where he will remain until Elijah shall appear and restore the hearts of the fathers to the children.

21 And the flood took place, and Noah went forth from the ark and offered sacrifices, and the Lord, smelling the sweet savour, said, 'I shall no more curse the earth and smite every living being, but if they sin against Me, I shall judge them by famine, sword, fire, pestilence, and earthquake, and I shall scatter them hither and thither. And I shall remember this for the inhabitants of the earth until the end. And it shall come to pass, when the end of the world shall have arrived, that the light shall cease and the darkness shall weep, and I shall revive the dead and awaken those who slumber in the dust, and Sheol will repay its debt, and Abadon return its portion, and I shall requite the wicked according to their deeds and judge between the flesh and the soul. And the world shall rest in quietness (peace), and I shall destroy death for ever. The grave shall close its mouth and the earth shall no longer be without produce, nor shall its inhabitants be rooted out nor be defiled by iniquitous judgements, for there shall be a new earth and new heavens for an everlasting habitation.'

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 27

1 The sons of Jepheth were Gomer, Magog, Madai, Yavan, Tubal, Meshekh, and Tiras; and the sons of Gomar were Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah; and the sons of Yavan, Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim.

2 The sons of Gomer were Ṭeled, Lud, Deber, and Led; the sons of Magog, Qashe, Ṭipa, Paruṭa, ‘Amiel, Pinhas, Golaza, and Samanākh; the sons of Dedan, Shalom, Filog, and Ṭufliṭa; the children of Tubal, Fantonya and Aṭipa; the children of Tiras, Maakh, Ṭabel, Bal’anah, Shampla, Meah, and Elash; the children of Melech, Aburdad, Horad, and Bosrah. The children of Ashkenaz were Vekhal, Sardana, and Anakh; the children of Heri, Esudad, Do‘ath, Depaseat, and Ḥanokh; the children of Togarmah, Abihud, Shāfaṭ, and Yaftir; the children of Elishah, Zaaq, Qenath, and Mastizrida; the children of Zipthai, Mafshiel, Ṭina, Avla, and Jinon. The children of Tisai were, Maqol, Luon, Ṣilagtaba; the children of Dodanim, Iteb, Beath, and Faneg. And of these the inhabitants of the land of Persia, Media, and those of the isles of the sea were divided.

3 And Faneg, son of Dodanim, was the first to ride the ships of the sea. At that time a third part of the land of Romidath was flooded. And his sons subdued Yedid; and the sons of Magog subdued Degel, and the sons of Madai subdued Biṭṭo; the sons of Yavan, Ṣeel; the sons of Tubal, Pahath; the sons of Meshek, Nephṭi; the sons of Tiras, Roo; the sons of Dinim, Gudah. And Riphath without his sons conquered Godo; and the sons of Riphath, Bosrah; and the sons of Targomah, Phut; the sons of Elishah, Ṭablo; the sons of Tarshish, Meriba; and the sons of Kittim ...; and the sons of Dodanim, Qaduba. Then did men begin to till the ground, and when the land was parched, they cried to God, and He caused a fructifying rain to descend. And it came to pass, when the rain descended, the bow was seen in the clouds. When the inhabitants perceived the sign of the covenant, they blessed the Lord.

4 The children of Ham were Cush, Misraim, Put, and Canaan; and these are the children of Cush, Sheba, Tudan, Vabni, Māipon, Tinos, Silio, Ṭiluf, Gilug, Lipukh. The children of Canaan were Ṣidon, Andaïm, Resin, Simim, Oroin, Nimigim, Ḥamatim, Nipim, Ṭilas, Ilag, and Cushim. Cush begat Nimrod, who was the first giant in pride before God. Misraim begat Ludim, ‘Anamim, Lehabim, Naftuhim, Pathrosim, Kasluhim, and Kaftorim. These began to build the following cities: Sidon and its villages, Rison, Kiūza, Mazāger, Ashqalon, Debir, Qamo, Tilon, Lakhish, Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, and Ṣeboim.

5 The children of Shem were Elam, Ashur, Arpakhshad, Lud, and Aran. The sons of Ashur were Gezron, Ishai; and Arpakhshad begat Shelah, and Shelah begat ‘Eber. Two sons were born to Eber: the name of the one was Peleg, for in his days the earth was divided, and the name of his brother, Yoqtan, who begat Almodad, Shalaphtra, Muzam, Riadura, ‘Uzim, Diqalbel, Mimoel, Shabethfin, Havilah, Yobab. And the children of Peleg were Re‘u, Rifud, Shafra, Aqolon, Zakar, Zifd, Gebi, Shuri, Shzeūr, Palabus, Rafa, Palṭia, Shafdifal, Shayish, Harṭman, Elifaz. These are the children of Peleg, and these are their names. They took to them wives of the daughters of Yoqtan, by whom were born sons and daughters, so that the whole earth was filled with them.

6 And Re‘u took to him Malkah, the daughter of Ruth, to wife, and begat Serug. When the days of her pregnancy were drawing to an end, Re‘u said, 'From this one will issue a child, in the fourth generation, whose throne will be established on high; he will be called a perfect righteous man, the father of a multitude of nations. His testimonies will not be forsaken, and his seed shall fill the world.' And Re‘u begat after Serug seven sons, Abiel, Obed, Shalma, Dedazal, Qiniza, ‘Akur, Nefesh, and five daughters, Qadima, Derifa, Sheifa, Firiṭa, and Tehilah.

7 After Nahor, Serug begat four sons, Ṣillah, Diga, Soba, and Pora, and three daughters, Gizla, Hoglah, and Shelifa. And after Terah, Nahor begat six sons, viz., Rekab, Deriab, Berikhab, Shibalshaf, Nidab, and Qemuel, and eight daughters, Yiskah, Tipa, Berona, Qaniṭa. He took to wife Amtalai, the daughter of Karnabo.

8 And Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran, and Haran begat Loṭ.

9 Then the inhabitants of the land began to prognosticate by the planets and to become astrologers and to practise divination. They also passed their sons and daughters through fire, but Serug and his sons did not walk in their ways.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 28

1 These are the generations of Noah in their lands, according to their families, and according to their tongues. After the flood they were spread over the earth according to their nations. The children of Ham then went and appointed Nimrod to be a prince and a chief over them; while the children of Japheth appointed Pinhas to be a prince and a chief over them. And the children of Ham appointed for themselves Yoqtan as their prince and chief.

2 These three chiefs came and took counsel together to assemble all their people while Noah their father was yet alive. And all the people accordingly drew near to them, and were as one body, and peace reigned in the land.

3 It came to pass, 640 years after Noah went out of the ark, that each chief numbered his people. Pinhas numbered the children of Japheth and the children of Gomar, and the total number of those which Pinhas numbered was 5,800; that of the children of Magog under him, 6,200; that of Madai under him, 5,700; that of the children of Tubal, 9,400; and the children of Meshech, 7,200; the children of Riphath numbered 11,500; those of Togarmah, 14,400; those of Elishah, 14,900; of Tarshish, 12,100; of Kittim, 18,300; of Dodanim, 17,700. The number of the children of Japheth, the men of war and the armour-bearers, as Pinhas their prince had numbered them was 142,000, besides women and children.

4 Nimrod the chief numbered the children of Ham under his sway, and found them to be 12,600; the children of Misraim under him were, 24,900; the children of Phut, 27,700; of Canaan, 32,900; of Sheba, 4,300 (?); of Ḥavilah, 24,300; of Sabta, 25,300; of Ra‘amah, 30,600; of Sabtecha, 46,400. And the number of the children of Ham, according to the numbering of Nimrod the prince, was 492,000 valiant men who went out to war, besides the women and children.

5 And the number of the children of Noah was 714,100. All these were numbered during the lifetime of Noah, and Noah lived after the flood 350 years. And all the days of Noah were 950 years, and he died.

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CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 29

1 Now, it came to pass, when the inhabitants of the land were already spread abroad, that they gathered together and journeyed from the East, and arrived at a valley in the land of Babylon, where they stayed. Then each man said to his neighbour, 'Behold the time is coming when at the end of days man will be separated from his neighbour, and brother from brother, and there will be war between us. Come, therefore, and let us build a city and a tower, the top of which is to reach heaven, and let us make for us a great name upon the earth.' (2) And each one said to his neighbour, 'Come, and let us make bricks, and let each one write his name upon his brick, and let us burn them, and each brick will be to us as a stone and the pitch for mortar.' Each one made his brick and wrote his name upon it, with the exception of twelve men, who did not wish to be with them.

3 These are the names of the men who were not in their counsel: Abram, Nahor, Lot, Re'u, Tinuto, Ṣeba, Almodad, Jobab, Eser, Abïmael, Sheba, and Ofir. The people of the land seized these, and, bringing them to their princes, said, 'These are the men who have transgressed the counsel we have advised, and they do not wish to tread in our paths.'

4 The princes then said to them, 'Why did you refuse to make bricks, the same as the other people of the land?' And they answered, 'We shall not make bricks nor remain with you, for we know but one God, and Him we serve; even if you burn us in the fire together with the bricks, we shall not walk in your ways.'

5 The princes were very wroth thereat, and said, 'As they have spoken, so shall we do; for unless they act as we do, you shall cast them in the fire together with the bricks.'

6 And Yoqtan, the head of the princes, answered and said, 'We shall not do this, but we will grant them seven days, and then, if they desire to make the bricks with us, they shall live; but if they refuse, they shall die by the fire.' For he sought to save them from their hands, as he was the head of the house of their fathers, notwithstanding that they served the Lord. So the people did, and placed the transgressors in the prison, in the house of Yoqtan.

7 And it came to pass in the evening that Yoqtan the prince called fifty men of valour, and commanded them, saying, 'Gird yourselves, and this very night take these men that are imprisoned in my house, place them upon ten (twelve) mules, and, providing both the men and the animals with food, bring them to the mountains, and there remain with them; but if you betray this thing to anyone, you shall die by fire.'

8 The men accordingly went forth to do as they were commanded. In the night they took them and brought them before Yoqtan the prince. He said to them, 'Ye who remain steadfast in God, trust in Him for ever, for He shall deliver you and save you. Therefore behold I have commanded these fifty men to take you to the mountains with provender and food, and there do you conceal yourselves in the valleys, for in the valleys there is sufficient water, and stay there for thirty days, for by that time either the thoughts of the people will have passed from you, or the anger of the Lord will be kindled against them so that He shall destroy them, for I know that they will not abide by their wicked counsel which they devised, for their plan will be frustrated.

9 And at the end of the seven days, when they seek you, I will say to them, "They have broken the door of the prison and fled during the night, and I sent a hundred men to pursue and seek them: I shall do all this to appease their wrath."' And eleven men answered him, saying, 'Behold we have found favour in thine eyes, for thou hast delivered our lives from the hands of our enemies.'

10 Abram alone was silent, and Yoqtan the prince said to him, 'Why dost thou not answer together with thy friends?' And Abram replied, 'Behold to-day we flee to the mountains to escape from the fire; but if wild beasts rush out of the mountains and devour us, or if food is lacking so that we die by famine, we shall be found fleeing before the people of the land and dying by our sins. Now, as the Lord in whom I trust liveth, I shall not depart from this place, wherein they have imprisoned me, and if I am to die through any iniquity, then I shall die by the will of God according to His desire.'

11 'Thy blood be upon thine own head,' said the prince, if thou wilt not flee with these men; for if thou wilt flee thou art sure to be saved.' Abram replied, 'I shall not flee, but remain.' He was accordingly put into prison again, and the prince sent the eleven men away in charge of fifty others, whom he commanded to remain with them for fifteen days, and to return and say, 'We have not been able to find them.' 'If you do not do this I shall have you burnt to death.'

12 At the end of seven days all the people assembled and said to their princes, 'Give us the men who refused to abide by our counsel, and let us burn them in the fire.' They thereupon sent for them, but found only Abram. 'Where are those men who were bound in the prison of thy house?' asked the chiefs, Pinhas and Nimrod. Yoqtan replied: 'They broke away in the middle of the night and escaped, and I have sent a hundred men after them to discover and to slay them.' And the people exclaimed, 'Since we have only found Abram, let us burn him in the fire.'

13 And they took Abram and brought him before the princes, who asked him, saying, 'Where are the men whom we imprisoned with thee?' 'I do not know, for I slept all the night, and when I awoke I did not find them.' So they made a brick-kiln, and heated it until the bricks in it glowed fiercely; they then placed Abram in the furnace of fire, and Yoqtan appeased the wrath of the people by the burning of Abram.

14 The Lord at that moment caused a great earthquake throughout the land, so that the fire leaped from the furnace and became a huge blaze, which devoured all the men that surrounded it, and the number of men burnt on that day was 84,500. But Abram was not burnt, and he came forth from the furnace of the Chaldees (i.e., the fire of the Chaldees), and, having escaped, he went to his friends upon the mountains and related all that had befallen him. They thereupon returned with him from the mountains, happy and rejoicing in the name of the Lord, nor did the people speak against them any longer. They thenceforward called the name of that place 'The God of Abraham.'

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 30

1 It came to pass, after these things, that the people did not turn from their evil counsels, but coming to their princes, they said, 'Behold, will not man be able to conquer the world? Come and let us build for ourselves a city and tower, the top of which shall reach heaven, so that it shall stand for ever.'

2 And it happened, when they began to build, that God saw the city and the tower, and said, 'Behold this people is of one speech; now the earth will not bear them, neither will the heaven support them. Therefore I shall scatter them over the whole earth, and shall confuse their tongue, so that one shall neither be able to recognise his brother nor understand the speech of his neighbour.

3 And I will order them to the clefts, and they shall prepare for themselves dwellings made of reeds and straw, and they shall dig for themselves caves and holes in the dust, and the beasts of the field shall dwell among them. There they shall remain all their days, and shall not again counsel such a deed. And I will fight (or: I will draw near unto) them with shields (or: thorns), and I shall destroy one portion by water and another by fire, and I shall destroy them with thirst, but Abram, My servant, I shall select; I shall bring him out of their land to the land upon which my eyes have long dwelt.

4 And when the people sinned and I brought a flood upon them, this land was not destroyed, for I did not cause the flood to descend upon it in My wrath, and I shall bring thither Abram, My servant, and shall make a covenant with him and his seed for ever, and I shall bless him and be to him a God for ever.'

5 And it came to pass, when they commenced to build the tower, that God confused their tongue and changed their form into that of monkeys, so that one could not recognise his own brother nor could one man understand the language of his neighbour, so that when the builders ordered the people to bring stones they brought water, and when they told them to bring water they brought stubble. In this way their evil intentions were frustrated, and they ceased building the tower, and the Lord scattered them over the face of the whole earth.

6 For they had said, 'Come and let us build for ourselves a city, and let us take axes and break open the firmament so that the water flow from there and descend below, that He may not do unto us as He did to the generation of the flood. And let us wage war with those in heaven and establish ourselves there as Gods.'

7 But how could they build the city, since they had no stones? They made bricks from clay and pitch, and burnt them as a potter burns his pots in the oven and hardens them. In this way they made the bricks, and built the city and the tower exceedingly high, with seventy steps. The ascent was made from the east and the descent was from the west. If a man fell therefrom they did not heed it much, whereas if a brick fell, they wept bitterly and said, 'When, oh, when, will another be brought up?'

8 When Abram saw their wicked ways he cursed them in the name of the Lord, but they did not pay attention to his words. The Lord then descended with the seventy (thousand) angels that surround His throne, and at that time of the dispersion He confounded their tongue into seventy different languages.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 31

1 These are the generations of the sons of Noah: Shem, Ham, and Japheth. Children were born to them after the flood, for from Noah there came forth 72 families—from Japheth, 15; from Ham, 30; and from Shem, 27. And these 72 families were separated each according to his lineage in his own land, with their several nations, into 72 languages, the Hebrew language in Eber, the Egyptian in Egypt, the Greek in Greece, Latin in Rome, the Aramean in Syria, the Chaldean in Chaldea, etc. The nations which descended from Shem were 406, Britania, Qalabra, Tosqana, Luqa, Piqe.nsa, etc. The whole earth was divided into three parts.

2 Shem, the eldest, chose his portion in the land of 'Asya, that is, the land of Persia, from Baqtris to Endiana, from the Persian River until the Ocean in the west and the whole Rinds. They numbered 27 languages, and 406 peoples. Ham took his portion in the land of Afriqia, which comprises Aram, Hamath, and the mountain of Lebanon, in a well-watered land, until the Red Sea and the Sea of Philistia, from Rinos as far as Gadaira. The number of their languages was 22, and that of the peoples 394.

3 Japheth chose his portion in the land of Eoropa, that is, in the south from Media to Bodeā, and their boundaries extended from the mountains of Ṭaoro and Mano, in Syria and Sisilia, until the river Ṭanais, until Gadaira, that is, the land of Eoropa (Europe). The number of their languages was 23, and that of their peoples 300. The land of Shem contained the river Euphrates; Ham, G(ihon) which is called the Nile; Japheth, Hiddeqel (Tigris), in Media and Babylon.

4 The children of Japheth are Gomer, i.e., Gavathi (or Gālāthi) and Regini; Magog, i.e., Sqite (Scythes), from whom arose Gog and Magog. These were the peoples which Alexander of Macedon enclosed in the Caspian Mountains; and from them arose the Guti (Goths), Pirāṭi, Nordmani, Bauveri, Langobardi, Saqsonei, Gasgonei. Madai are: Medi, Yavan-Gresi, Armenei, and Fransi. The river of the Gresi is called Yoniū. Tubal are Iberi and Ispamia; Mesech are the Qapadoses. The name of the city was formerly Mesekhah, and the royal city was Qapadoqia, now called Caesarea (Kesari), in the land of Kaftor; Tiras are Trases. The children of Gomer were Ashkenaz, in the land of the Greeks, or Gresi, Rifath is Paflagronas (Paphlagonians). Togarmah are the Frezes (Phryges).

5 The children of Yavan were Elisa', i.e., Eolides, and they are one-fifth of the Greek tongue. Tarshish is Silisia—this is the Tarshish in the Book of Jonah—Kittim are Qipres, Dodanim are Rodie. All these live from the mountain Amone and Ṭaoro, in Brittania, as far as the sea Oqeanos. [Eliezer the Levite thought fit to add here the chapter, from the beginning of Jossipon the Great's work, because it is similar to the above; and this is the very beginning of the Book of Jossipon.]

6 And the children of Japheth were Gomer, Magog, Madai, Yavan, Tubal, Mesekh, and Tiras; and these are the names of the countries of the children of Yapheth who were scattered at the time of the dispersion. The children of Gomer were the Frankos, who inhabited the country of the Frankos, in the land of Franselni, on the river Segna. Riphath are the Britanos, who inhabit the land of Riphtania, on the river Lira.

7 The Segna and Lira both flow into the Ocean. Togarmah branched into ten families, who are the Cuzar, Pasinaq, Alan, Bulgar, Kanbina, Turq, Buz, Zakhukh, Ugar, and Tulmes. All of these dwell in the North, and the names of their lands are taken from their own names, and they live by the river Hetel; but Ugar, Bulgar, and Pasinaq live by the great river called Danube, i.e., the Dunai.

8 The children of Javan are the Greeks, who dwell in the land of Nsā 1-2 and Macedonia.

9 Madai, that is, Edalus, dwell in the land of Turkhan (### or Kurasan ###). 1-2

10 Tubal are the Tuscans, who dwell in the land of Tuscania, by the river Pisa; Mesech, i.e., the Saqsoni.

11 Tirus, i.e., the Rossi; the Saqsni and the Iglesusi dwell by the river of the great sea. The Rossi dwell by the river Kio (or Kiva), which flows into the Gergan Sea.

12 Elisa, i.e., Alamania, inhabit the mountains of Iov and Septimo; and from them arose the Lungobardi, who came from the other side of the mountains of Iov and Septimo, and having conquered Italia, dwelt in it until this very day on the river Pao, and Tisio; and from them again arose the Borgonia, who dwell by the river Rodano, and the Bidria, dwelling by the river Rinos, which flows into the Great Sea. And the rivers Tisio and Pio flow into the sea Venitiqia.

13 Tarshish, i.e., the Trkisiani, who accepted the law of the Macedonians; and from them come Trasos. And it came to pass, when the Ishmaelites captured the land of Trasos, that its inhabitants fled to the land of Greece, and fought hence with the Ishmaelites in Trasos.

14 Kittim, i.e., the Romans, who dwell in the valley Kapania, by the river Tiberio. Dodanim, these are the Danisqi, who dwell in the midst of the tongues of the sea, in the land of Danemarka and Asidania, in the Great Sea, who swore not to serve the Romans, and they hid themselves in the midst of the waves of the sea; but they could not (withstand) them, for the power of Rome extended as far as the end of the isles of the sea.

15 And thus the Moraia, Bruti, Sorbin, Lusinin, Liumin, Krākar, and Bazimin are reckoned among the descendants of the Dodanim. They dwell by the seashore, from the border of Bulgar until Venitiqia on the sea, and from there they spread as far as the border of Saqsni to the Great Sea; they are called Isqlabi. Some say they are descendants of Canaan, but they trace their descent to the Dodanim. [Thus far the Hebrew of Josippon (Flavius Josephus); from the next sentence beginning, 'And it came to pass when the Lord scattered,' etc., I shall copy in connection with Esau and the kings of Edom later on. Let us now return to the narrative of Jerahmeel.]

16 The children of Shem were Elam 'Elamiteṭ, Ashur, i.e., Assyria); Arpachshad, i.e., Qaldea; Lud, i.e., Lydia; and Aram, i.e., Syria. The children of Aram were 'Us, where Job

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was born, Geter, Qarnani, Menes. These dwell from the Persian Gulf until the Ocean.

17 The children of Haul were Cush, Misraim, Phut, and Canaan. Cush is called Ethiopia; Misraim, Egypta, Phut, Libia; and Canaan the Land of Israel. The children of Cush were Saba, Havilah, Sabta, Ra'amah, and Sabtecha. The children of Ra'amah were Sheba and Dedan. Sheba comprises the Sabeans, Arabians, and Indians; Havilah, i.e., Getili; Sabta, i.e., Astabari; Sabtecha and Ra'amah I have not been able to find. From the children of Ra'amah the Queen of Sheba, and Dedan is a nation to the east of Cush.

18 And Cush begat Nimrod. The beginning of his kingdom was Babylon and Erekh, i.e., Edessa; Accad, i.e., the city of Nisibis, Kalnah, Selevqos gave to the city of Kalna the name of Selevqia; from this land came Ashur, i.e., Bel, the son of Nimrod. And Bel begat Ninus, who built the great city of Nineveh; and Rehoboth, i.e., the wide city; and Misraim begat Ludim, and 'Anamim, and Lehabim, and the rest I do not know, for a war broke out between Ethiopia and Egypt, and all these nations were ultimately merged into one, so that they could no longer be distinguished. [And I, Eliezer, the scribe, have heard that the Lehabim are the Flaminga, and their appearance is like blazing fire, as it is said, 'And their faces are the faces of torches.'] And Canaan begat Sidon, his firstborn, by whose name the city of Sidon is called; it is in the land of Phenise.

19 The Hittites, Jebusites, Amorites, and Girgashites and Hivites were destroyed by the Israelites. 'Arqi, the city of 'Arqes, near Tripolis; Arvadi is the name of an island, Arvodios; Semari, i.e., Edessa, in the land of Syria; Hamathi built Hamath, i.e., Antochia. And the Canaanite boundary extended from Sidon, reaching as far as 'Azzah, and as far as Lesha, i.e., Qaliron. Its waters are warm, and flow into the Salt Sea. These are the sons of Ham, according to their families, their tongues, in their countries and provinces.

20 And Cush, the son of Ham, begat Nimrod, who was a mighty hunter in the land before the Lord. He caught men through his strength, and forced them to bow down to him, to make him a god, and to worship him. He therefore counselled the people to erect the city and the tower of Babel, where he established his kingdom, in order to rebel against God; and therefore, according to an ancient proverb, whosoever rebelled against the Lord was compared to Nimrod, the mighty hunter before God.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 32

1 I, Jerahmeel, have found in the book of Strabon of Caphtor that Nimrod was the son of Shem; and when Noah was one hundred years old a son was born to him in his form and in his image, and he called his name Jonithes. His father, Noah, gave him gifts, and sent him to the land of Itan, of which he took possession as far as the sea of Eliochora. And Nimrod the wicked went to Jonithes to learn of his wisdom, for the spirit of the Lord was with him. But Jonithes foresaw by means of astrology that the wicked Nimrod would come to him to take counsel with him how he could obtain sovereignty; he gave him the explanation of the four kings whom Daniel saw. And Jonithes said to Nimrod that the descendants of Ashur would reign first, i.e., the children of Shem, as it is said: 'And the sons of Shem were Elam and Ashur.'

2 The beginning of Nimrod's reign was in Babylon, and there Nimrod begat Bel. At the time of the dispersion Nimrod departed thence, and allied himself with the children of Ham; therefore it is said, 'And Cush begat Nimrod.'

3 After Nimrod, Bel, his son, succeeded to the kingdom in Babylon, in the days of Serug. And Bel went to the land of Ashur, but did not capture it. When Bel died, Ninus, his son, succeeded him, and, capturing the land of Assur, reigned over it, and built Nineveh and Rehoboth; and the length of the city was a distance of thirty days' walk; it became the royal residence of Assur. From this land Assur, that is, Ninus, the son of Bel, the son of Nimrod, went forth.

4 Ninus vanquished Zoroastres the Wise, who discovered the art of Nigromancia, i.e., Nagirā,. He reigned in Bractia (Bactria), and had written down the seven sciences (or arts) on fourteen pillars, seven of brass and seven of brick, so that they should be proof against the water—of the flood—and against the fire—of the day of judgement. But Ninus vanquished him, and burnt the books of wisdom.

5 And Ninus wrote another book of wisdom. When Bel, his father, died, he (Ninus) made an image in the likeness and form of his father, and called it Bel, after the name of his father; and he was always grieving at the loss of his father. He called all the gods Bel, after his name, as it is said, 'Nebo bowed Bel bent down.' Whosoever Ninus hated was pardoned when he came in the name of Bel and supplicated him for mercy. Thus, all the world honoured and worshipped the god Bel, and made obeisance to him. Some gods were called Baal, and there is a Ba'al Pe'or and a Ba'al Zebub.

6 In the forty-third year of the reign of Ninus Abraham was born, and on that very day the first King Pharaoh began to reign in Egypt, who was called Tibei; and after him all the kings of Egypt were called Pharaoh until the reign of Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, in Egypt, after whom all the kings of Egypt were called Ptolemy. All the kings of Assyria were called Antiochus; and all the kings of Rome were called Caesar, after the name of Julius Caesar, until this very day.

7 When Abraham was ten years of age, Ninus, the son of Bel, died, and his wife, Semeramit, reigned after him in Assyria forty-two years. After her there reigned Shim'i, the son of Ninus, who built the city of Babylon. At that time all the kings were under the king of Assyria, i.e., under Shim i, the son of Ninus, and whoever had greater power than his fellow-man forced the other to serve him (Shim'i).

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 33

1 As this is simply to be taken as a legend, we do not care to reconcile it with the other, which makes Abraham live in the time of Nimrod the Wicked. According to the latter we find that Nimrod acted as judge over him, since it is related that the whole household of Abraham's father were idol-worshippers, moreover they made idols and sold them in the streets. But when a man approached Abraham to sell him an idol, he would ask him, 'How much is this image?' 'Three manas,' he would reply. 'How old art thou?' Abraham would add. 'Thirty years.' 'Thou art thirty years of age, and yet worshippest this idol which we made but to-day!' The man would depart and go his way. Again, another would come to Abraham, and ask, 'How much is this idol?' 'Five manas,' he would say. 'How old art thou?' would Abraham continue. 'Fifty years.' 'And dost thou, who art fifty years of age, bow down to this idol which we made but to-day?' With this the man would depart and go his way.

2 When Nimrod heard of Abraham's utterances, he ordered him to be brought before him, and said, 'Thou son of Terah, make me a beautiful god.' Abraham then entered his father's house, and said, 'Make a beautiful image for me.' They accordingly made it, finished it, and painted it with many colours. He went and brought it to Nimrod. [Here probably a lacuna in the Manuscript]

3 And on that day Abraham's righteousness shone forth. It was a cloudy day, and rain fell. Therefore, when they were about to thrust him into the burning furnace, Nimrod sat down, and all the people of the dispersion did likewise. Abraham then entered, and standing in the centre, he pleaded his cause. After which Nimrod asked, 'If not the gods, whom shall I serve?' Abraham replied, 'The God of gods and Lord of lords, whose kingdom is everlasting in heaven and on earth, and in the heavens of the high heavens.' 'I shall worship,' said Nimrod, 'the god of fire; and, behold, I shall cast thee therein. Let, then, the God to whom thou testifiest deliver thee from the burning furnace.'

4 They then immediately bound him strongly and tightly, and placed him on the ground. They then surrounded him with wood on the four sides, 500 cubits thickness to the north, 500 cubits to the south, 500 to the west, and 500 to the east. They then set the pile on fire.

5 The whole house of Terah were worshippers of idols, and until that moment had not recognised their Creator. Their neighbours and fellow-citizens assembled, and, beating their heads, said to Terah, 'O shame—great shame! thy son, of whom thou didst say that he will inherit this world and the world to come has Nimrod burnt in the fire.' (G) Immediately then God's mercy was moved, so that He descended from the habitation of His glory, His greatness, His majesty, and the holiness of His great name, and delivered Abraham, our ancestor, from that shame, from that reproach, and from the burning furnace, as it is said, 'I am the Lord who brought thee out of the fire of the Chaldeans'; and since a miracle was wrought for our forefather Abraham, he and Torah were able to refute the generation of the Dispersion, as it is said, 'Be wise, O my son, and let my heart rejoice, and then I shall be able to answer those who reproach me.'

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 34

1 The sages tell that when our forefather Abraham was born a star appeared, which swallowed up four other stars from the four sides of the heavens. When the astrologers of Nimrod saw this they forthwith went to Nimrod and said, 'Nimrod, of a certainty there is born to-day a lad who is destined to inherit both this world and the world to come. Now, if it is thy wish, let us give his father and mother a large sum of money, and then kill him. 'Whatever his father and mother wish shall be given to them.' What kind of child is he whom ye seek to kill?' asked Nimrod. 'A boy,' said they, 'was born to-day, and a star appeared which swallowed up four stars of the heavens, and he is destined to inherit this world and the world to come.'

2 Then said Terah, for Terah, the father of Abraham, was present there, 'This thing which you suggest is to be compared to a mule, to which man says, "I will give thee a quantity of barley, as much as a houseful, on condition that I cut off thy head." The mule replies, "Fool that thou art; if thou cuttest off my head, of what use will the barley be to me, and who will eat it when thou givest it to me?" Thus I say unto you, if ye slay the son, who will inherit the goods and the money which ye give to his parents?' To this they answered, 'From thy words we perceive that a son has been born to thee.' 'A son has been born to me, but he is now dead.' 'But we speak of a living son, and not of one dead,' added they.

3 When Terah heard their words he immediately went home, and hid his son Abraham in a cave for three years. After that time he brought him forth. As soon as Abraham saw the rising sun in the east he said to himself, 'Of a certainty this is the lord of the whole world, and to him I pray; he created me and the whole world.' When he saw the moon he said, 'This is the lord of the whole world, and to him I shall supplicate; he created me and the whole world.' Thus when evening came, and the sun had set and the moon had risen, he prayed to the moon the whole night. When, however, the morning came, the moon set and the sun rose. As soon as he saw the sun on the morrow Abraham said, 'Now do I know that neither the one nor the other is lord of the world, but that both of them are servants of another Master, and that is Lord who created the heavens and the earth and the whole world.'

4 Then Abraham forthwith asked his father, 'Who created this world, the heavens, and the earth?' And Terah, his father, replied, 'This great image is our god.' If this is true,' said Abraham, 'I shall bring a sacrifice to him, and he will be pleased with me, as he is with other people.'

5 He thereupon went to his father, and said, 'Make for me a cake of fine flour that I may offer it to him.' His father, complying with his request, made him a cake of fine flour, which Abraham took and offered before the great idol, saying, 'Accept this offering from me;' but he neither took it nor ate it nor drank it.

6 When Abraham saw this he went to his mother, and said, 'Make me a meal offering better than this, that I may offer it to the god of my father.' When she made it Abraham took the meal offering to the little image, saying, 'Accept thou this meal offering from my hand, and be pleased with me as thou art with other men.' Seeing that he did not reply, Abraham said, 'This offering has not been made to his liking.'

7 Then going once more to his mother, he said, 'Prepare a meal offering better still than this.' She did so, and Abraham presented the offering to the image. When he perceived that it neither ate nor drank nor answered him a word he went once more to the large image, and said, 'I entreat thee to receive this offering from me; do thou eat and drink and be pleased with me as thou art with other men.'

8 But as neither of them replied to him, Abraham waxed very angry, and the spirit of prophecy rested upon him, and he said, 'They have eyes, but see not; ears, but hear not; they have hands, but do not move them; and feet, but do not walk; nor do their throats give utterance. Like them are their makers and all those who trust in them.' He then kindled a fire and burned them.

9 When Terah arrived home and found his idols burnt, he went to Abraham, and said, 'Who has burnt my gods?' And Abraham replied, 'The large one picked a quarrel with the little ones, and burnt them because he was angry with them.' 'Fool that thou art,' said his father, 'how canst thou say that he who cannot see nor hear nor walk, that he who has no power could burn them?' Then said Abraham to his father, 'O my father, hear what thy mouth utters; why dost thou forsake the living God who created the heavens and the earth, and servest gods that neither see nor hear?'

10 Thereupon Terah took Abraham, our ancestor, and went with him to Nimrod. And Terah said to Nimrod, 'O my lord the king, judge this my son who has burned my gods, and find out who is the God which he makes for himself.' 'Who is this man?' said Nimrod. 'My son.' Then added Nimrod, 'Why hast thou acted thus and burned the idols?' 'I did not do this, nor did I burn them,' said Abraham. 'Who, then, did act thus and burn them?' 'The great idol burnt them,' said he. 'Fool that thou art,' replied Nimrod. 'how canst thou say that that which cannot stand by itself, cannot hear nor see, nor hath any power could burn them?' 'Hear thou, my lord, what thy mouth utters. Why dost thou forsake the living God, who created the heavens and the earth and who created thee, and in whose hand is the Spirit of all living, and worshippest other gods of wood and stone, which do not hear nor see nor speak?'

11 'Who, then,' said Nimrod, 'created the heavens and the earth, if not I?' 'Art thou he?' queried Abraham. I am,' replied he. Then by this I shall know that thou art the creator of everything. Behold, the sun rises in the east and sets in the west: if thou canst by thy command cause the sun to rise in the west and to set in the east, I shall then know and believe that thou didst create all.' When Nimrod heard Abraham's words he was dumbfounded; he put his hand to his beard and was wonder-struck at his words.

12 As soon as the astrologers saw Abraham they recognised him at once, and said to Nimrod, 'O lord the king, this is the child of whom we spoke on the day of his birth, and whom thou didst desire to slay. If it be thy will, we shall bring thee wood and burn him to death, and then compensate his parents with a large sum of money. Now, O lord, since he has come into our hands, let us burn him in the fire.' 'Do then your will,' said Nimrod. They forthwith went away, and having heated the furnace for seven (whole) days, cast him into it.

13 Then spake the angels to God, saying, 'O Lord of the universe, let us go and deliver this man from the fiery furnace.'

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At that moment a dispute arose among the angels who said, 'Let us descend and deliver this man from the furnace.' One said, 'I shall go down to deliver him,' and another said, 'I shall go down to deliver him.' Michael said, 'I shall go down,' and Gabriel said, 'I shall go down.' Then spake God himself to Gabriel, and said, 'I am One in My world, and so is this man, who was the first to declare the unity of My name in the world. It is, therefore, meet that I the One should go down and rescue him who is also one in his generation. It is pleasing to Me to descend and rescue him from the fiery furnace.' At that moment God descended in His glory and in His strength, and delivered him from the furnace of fire. He brought him forth without a blemish. When all the nations saw that Abraham was thus delivered from the burning furnace, they forthwith sanctified the name of God, and some of them were made proselytes through the means of Abraham our ancestor.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 35

1 These are the generations of Terah, etc.: Haran, the firstborn, begat Lot and Yiskah, i.e., Sarai, and Milkah. And Haran died in the presence of his father Terah in Ur of the Chaldees. On account of the idols of Terah he died in the fire of the Chaldeans, for the Chaldeans worshipped the fire. Terah used to make the idols of their gods, and Haran, his eldest son, used to sell them. But Abram did not worship them. The Chaldeans came to dip both Haran and Abram in the fire, for they were accustomed to dip them in the fire, just as some nations dip their sons in the water. Abram, who did not worship, and who did not bow down to the idol, was saved from the fire of the Chaldeans and was not burnt; but Haran, who feared the idols, who honoured them and sold them for worship, was burnt in the fire of the Chaldeans and died. When Terah saw that God delivered Abram, he deserted his former faith, and went forth with him (Abram) to dwell in a foreign country; and he gave Milkah, the daughter of Haran, to Nahor, his son, to wife, and Yiskah, that is Sarai, he gave to Abram, his youngest son, after he had weaned her and brought her up in his own house on the death of her father Haran. And he gave Lot, the son of Haran, to Abram as an adopted son, for Sarai was barren. And they went forth towards the land of Canaan.

2 Now, it came to pass, when Abram came from Babylon—i.e., Ur of the Chaldees—he betook himself to Damascus, he and his household, and was made king over that city; for Eliezer was then the ruler of Damascus; but when he saw that the Lord was with Abram he presented him with the kingdom and surrendered himself to his service. And I, Jerahmeel, have discovered in the Book of Nicolaos of Damascus that there existed a certain neighbourhood in Damascus called the dwelling-place of Abram. This they honoured exceedingly.

3 And the Lord said to him (Abram), 'I am the Lord, who brought thee forth from the fire of the Chaldeans.' The sages say that when Nimrod the Wicked cast Abram into the fiery furnace, Gabriel said to God, 'I shall go down and cool the furnace, and deliver this righteous man.' But God replied, 'I am One in My world, and he is one in this world; it is therefore proper for the One to deliver the other one.' But since God does not withhold reward from any creature, He added to Gabriel, 'Thou shalt deliver three of his posterity.' For when Nebuchadnezzar cast Hananya, Mishael, and ʻAzaria, into the burning furnace Laqmi, the angel who rules over hail, spake to God, and said, 'I shall go down and cool the furnace, and thus deliver the righteous men.' But Gabriel interposed, and said, 'The greatness of God would not be shown in this manner, for thou art the ruler over hail, and all people know that water quenches fire; but I who am the ruler over fire shall go down and cool the inside while I am at the same time heating the outside of the furnace. Thus I shall perform a double miracle.' Then spake God to Gabriel, 'Descend.' And Gabriel at once exclaimed, 'The truth of God is everlasting.'

4 And Abram was rich in cattle, silver, gold, and in all the wisdom of 'hermetica' and astrology which he had acquired in Egypt from Pharaoh's magicians, so that there was none so wise as he. From Egypt these sciences spread over Greece. And Abram was able to foretell the future by the observance of the stars, and was very wise in astrology. He taught his magic science to Zoroastres, the philosopher, and he saw from the planets that the order of the world was not as before, for the order of creation was changed on account of the flood and the dispersion. Rabbi Elʻazar, of Modiin, asserted that Abraham was exceedingly great in magic, so much so that all the kings of the East and West waited upon him.

5 And the Lord appeared unto him in the plains of Mamre. Josippon (Flavius Josephus) relates that Abram used to sit in an oak-tree, and that that oak lasted until the reign of Theodosius in Rome, when it withered, and despite the fact that it had dried up, yet its wood was excellent for medicinal purposes, for whoever took of its wood, whether animal or man, did not experience any illness to the day of his death.

6 Then supervened the destruction of the cities of the plain. And Lot said, 'I am not able to flee to the mountain, for I am an old man, and the cold will kill me, and my soul is also weary. Behold there is a little city near to flee to; I pray thee let me escape thither, for the way is short, and my soul shall live.' And the name of the city had formerly been 'Belaʻ.' Now, there was a great earthquake; and Lot went and dwelt in a cave, for he feared the earthquake. And the Lord rained brimstone and fire from heaven upon Sodom, so that on the third day all the plain was filled with water. This they now call the Salt Sea, or 'Leber Meer'. Neither fish nor fowl are found there. It separates the land of Israel from Arabia. During the whole of the forty years the Israelites were in the wilderness they travelled round this sea. No ships are able to travel thereon, because the sea is like pitch, so that nothing can sink in it, but remains on the surface on account of the pitch; and if one places a burning torch upon the pitch, all the while it floats it burns, but as soon as it is extinguished it sinks to the bottom. And the sea vomits a kind of black pitch with which the things are joined together, for it is good for sticking. Josippon (Flavius Josephus) relates that he saw Vespasian cast a man into that sea, and that he hurled him with great force into it so that he should sink, but the sea brought him up again. The sand on the shores of the sea is salty, and one finds there the 'salty stones of Sodom' looking like pieces of marble.

7 When Jacob was born Inachus was then the first King of Argos, and reigned for fifty years, and in the third year of his reign a daughter was born to Inachus whose name was Io, and the Egyptians gave her a surname and called her Izides, and worshipped her as a God.

8 And in the nineteenth year of Jacob's life the Egyptians made Apis King of Egypt; they made him a god and called his name Sarapis. And Apis made for himself a calf by means of the magic of his magicians. On the right eye of the calf there was a white mark in the likeness of the moon, and once every day at the fourth hour it used to rise up from the river and fly in the air. And the Egyptians used to worship and pray and sing praises to it with all kinds of instruments, and prostrate themselves before it. And in a moment the calf vanished and was no more, and it was hidden and concealed as before in the river, so that the Egyptians could not see it until the morrow at the fourth hour. This the calf repeated every day. The Egyptians called it Sarapis, and for this idol-worship the Egyptians were punished by water when they perished in the Red Sea.

9 In the ninety-second year of Jacob's life Joseph was born, and at that time there was a flood in the land of Achayā, which was a very large kingdom. There reigned in it a king whose name was Ogiges. This king built anew the city Akta, and called its name Eliozin (Eleusis). At that time there arose a virgin, whose name was Titonide. She was versed in all the seven sciences. They called her Pallas, because she killed a giant called Palante. At that place the city of Palini was built.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 36

1 And a great terror was upon the cities that were round about them, and they did not pursue after the sons of Jacob; for they said, 'If two sons of Jacob were able to do this thing' (namely, to exterminate a whole town), how much more would they exterminate the whole world if all the sons of Jacob gathered together?' This terror of them fell upon the cities, for the Lord let the terror fall upon all the nations, and they did not pursue the sons of Jacob. The sages say, 'They did not pursue them during that same year, but after (seven) years they pursued them, for they came back and settled there again.' The kings of the Amorites assembled themselves, when they heard that Jacob and his sons had again settled in Shekhem. They came to slay them, saying, 'It is not enough for them to have killed all the men of Shekhem, now they come also to take possession of their land.'

2 When Judah beheld them coming, he was the first to spring in the midst of their ranks, and was soon engaged in fight with Ishub, King of Tapuah, who was covered with iron and brass from head to foot, standing in the middle of his lines (of soldiers). He rode a powerful steed, and he could throw his javelins with both hands from horseback, in front and behind, and never missed his aim even to a hair's breadth, for he was a mighty and powerful man, and could manage his spear with either hand. Judah was not at all frightened when he saw him, despite his strength, but he picked up a heavy stone from the ground, weighing about sixty shekels, and threw it at him at a distance of two parts of a furlong; i.e., 170 cubits and one-third of a cubit. Whilst the king was advancing against Judah, dressed in iron armour and throwing his spears, Judah struck him with the stone upon his shield and rolled him off his horse.

3 Judah hastened to approach him, in order to kill him before he could get up again from the ground, but the king rallied quickly and sprang upon his feet. Now he began to fight with Judah, shield against shield. He drew his sword and tried to smite the head of Judah, but Judah lifted up his shield and received the blow aimed at him; the shield broke into two pieces. Judah thereupon ducked and slashed with his, sword at the feet of the king and cut them off from the ankles. The king fell to the ground and his sword slipped out of his hands. Judah sprang upon him and cut off his head.

4 Whilst he was busy stripping him of his armour, nine comrades of the dead man attacked him. Judah broke the head of the first who approached him with a stone, and killed him on the spot. He let his shield drop out of his hand, which Judah seized, and defended himself with it against the other eight. His brother Levi came to his rescue and shot the King of Gaʻash with an arrow. Judah succeeded then in killing the eight. Jacob then killed (Zehori), King of Shiloh, with an arrow, and they could not stand against the children of Jacob, but all turned and fled, and the sons of Jacob pursued them. And Judah killed on that day a thousand men before sunset.

5 The remaining sons of Jacob came out from Shekhem, from the side where they had been standing, and pursued them among the mountains, until they came to Ḥasor. There, before the town of Ḥasor, they had to fight more than they had fought in the vale of Shekhem.

6 Jacob shot with his arrows and killed Pirʻathaho, King of Ḥasor, and Susi, King of Sartan, and Laban, King of Horan (or Ḥeldon), and Shakir (or Shikkor), King of Mahna(im). Judah was the first to climb up the wall of Ḥasor. Four warriors attacked Judah and fought with him, till Naphtali came to his rescue, for he followed Judah upon the wall; but before he came up, Judah had killed the four warriors. Judah stood now on the right side of the wall, and Naphtali on the left, and they killed all the people that were there. The other sons of Jacob jumped upon the wall after them, and destroyed it, and on that same day they took the town of Ḥasor, and killed all the warriors, and they did not leave one single man. After that they carried away the booty.

7 The following day they went to Sartan. There was a great multitude of people, and the fight was a very heavy one, for it was a town built upon a height, with high walls, and it was difficulty to approach in consequence of these walls; yet they subdued it on that same clay, and got upon the walls. The first to climb them was Judah, on the east, after him came Gad on the west, Simeon and Levi climbed up on the north, and Reuben and Dan on the south, whilst Naphtali and Issachar put fire to the gates of the town. The fight was very fierce upon the walls, and their remaining comrades went up to their assistance. They all stood now against a huge tower (wherein the inhabitants had fled, defying from there the assailants). That was before Judah had taken the tower. But he soon went up to the top of the tower and killed two hundred men on the roof, and the other sons of Israel killed the rest, not leaving one single man, for these were all powerful and valiant warriors. They carried away the whole booty and returned to their places.

8 Now they went against Tapuah, for its inhabitants had tried to rob them of their spoil. First they killed all the men who had come out for the purpose of robbing them of the booty. Afterwards they rested on the waters of Jishub, north of Tapuah. Early in the morning of the third day they marched towards Tapuah. Whilst they were gathering their booty, the inhabitants of Shilo came out and attacked them. But they were all beaten and killed before noon, and they entered with the fugitives into Shilo, and did not allow them to stand up against the sons of Jacob. On that same day they occupied the town and carried away the spoil thereof. The troop of their company which they had left against Tapuah came now to meet them with the booty from Tapuah.

9 On the fourth day they marched against the camp of Shakir. Some of the camp came out to rob them of the booty. They (the sons of Jacob) had gone down into the valley, and the (men from Shakir) ran after them, but when they tried to ascend again they were killed. After that the men from the camp of Shakir threw stones upon them; but the sons of Jacob occupied the town, and killed all the warriors, and added the booty from this town to the booty they had formerly collected.

10 On the fifth day they went to Mount Gaʻash. There lived a great multitude of the Amorites. Gaʻash was a fortified town of the Amorites. They fought against it, but could not well subdue it because it had three walls, one wall inside the other. And the inhabitants began to defy and to reproach the sons of Jacob.

11 Judah waxed wroth, and he was the first to jump upon the wall. He would have met his death there had not his father Jacob come to his rescue. He first bent his bow and shot his arrows with his right hand, then he drew his sword and killed right and left, until Dan sprang upon the wall and assisted Judah. (From the right-hand side the inhabitants threw stones at him, and from inside they fought him, and they all tried to push him down the wall.) Dan drove them away from the wall. After Dan, Simeon, Levi and Naphtali came up, and they killed so many of the inhabitants that the blood flowed like a river. (And when the sun was near its setting they had taken the town and killed all the warriors) and they carried away the booty.

12 On the sixth day all the Amorites came without arms and promised to keep peace (and friendship, and they gave unto Jacob Timnaʻ and the whole land of Hararyah). Then made Jacob peace with them, and the sons of Jacob restored them all the sheep they had captured from them, and in returning them gave double, two for one. And Jacob built Timnah, and Judah built Zabel. And from that time on they lived in peace with

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the Amorites. This it was that Jacob said to Joseph, "I have given thee a portion above thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow."

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 37

1 And Esau went into a land away from his brother Jacob. He made a contract with him. Some say he went out of shame. The sages say: Esau went away because he had moved his property away, and not because his hatred had subsided, for "his anger did he bear perpetually and he kept his wrath for ever." Although he went away at that time, he came again to fight Jacob afterwards. Leah had just died, and Jacob and his sons were sitting in mourning, and some of his children had come to comfort him. At that time Esau came against him with a mighty host, all clad in iron and brass coats of mail, all armed with shields, and bows, and lances. They were altogether four thousand men, and they surrounded the fortress. Jacob, his sons, his servants, and his cattle, and all that belonged to them, were gathered, for they had all congregated to comfort Jacob during his mourning.

2 So they were all sitting peacefully, and never thought of any attack from any side whatsoever until that host approached the place where Jacob and his sons were dwelling. There were with them in all two hundred servants.

3 When Jacob saw that Esau dared to war with him, and that he had come to take the fortress and to slay them, and that he shot arrows against them, Jacob stood upon the wall of the tower and spoke to Esau words of peace, friendship and brotherhood. But Esau did not heed them.

4 After that, Judah spoke to his father Jacob, and Said to him: "How long wilt thou speak unto him words of friendship and love, whilst he comes against us like an armed enemy, with coats of mail and with bows to slay us?" And immediately Jacob bent the bow, and killed Adoram the Edomite.

5 And again he drew his bow, sent forth his arrow, and hit Esau on the right shoulder. Esau became weak from the wound, and so his sons took him up and placed him upon a white mule, and they carried him to Adoram, where he died. [Others say he did not die there.]

6 And then came Judah, and Gad and Naphtali with him, out of the south side of the fortress, and fifty young men-servants of their father. And Levi, and Dan, and Asher came out from the east side of the fortress, and fifty servants with them. And Reuben, Issachar and Zebulun came out from the north of the fortress, and with them fifty servants. And Simeon, and Benjamin, and Enoch, the son of Reuben, came out from the west side of the fortress, and fifty servants with them. Joseph was not with them at that time, for he had already been sold.

7 Judah strengthened himself for the battle, and he, Naphtali and Gad first rushed against the host. And they captured the iron tower (?), and caught on their shields the stones which were hurled at them. The sun was darkened through the stones, and through the arrows which were shot at them, and through the missiles which the catapults hurled at them. And Judah rushed first against the enemy, and killed sixty men. Naphtali and Gad went with him, one kept watch over him to the right, and the other to the left, guarding him lest he should be slain by the enemy. They also slew two men each, and the fifty servants who were with them helped them, and each of them slew his man, fifty in all.

8 And yet Judah, Naphtali and Gad could not drive away the host from the north side of the fortress, nor even move them from their position. Again they strengthened themselves for the battle, and each of them slew two of his adversaries.

9 And when Judah saw that they still kept their ground and that they could not move them from their place, his wrath was kindled, and he clothed himself with strength, and he slew twenty men, whilst Naphtali and Gad slew ten men. And when the servants saw that Judah, Naphtali and Gad were standing in the midst of the battle, they came to their assistance, and fought together with them. Judah was slaying to the right and left, and Naphtali and Gad slew behind him.

10 At that time they drove the army away from the north side of the city, a distance of a furlong (Ris). And they wanted to bury (their dead), but could not do it. When the enemy saw that those who had fought against Judah had been dispersed by Judah and his brothers, they gathered together and strengthened themselves to fight with Judah and his brothers, and they arrayed their ranks to fight with strength and might. In the same manner Levi and those with him, and Simeon and those with him, prepared themselves for battle with those arrayed against them, and they were ready to fight for life or death.

11 When Judah beheld that the whole army of the enemy had gathered against him, and that all would fight at one time, and that they stood in battle-array, he lifted up his eyes to God (imploringly) that He might help them, for they were very fatigued from the heavy fight, and they could not by any means fight any longer.

12 At that moment God accepted Judah's prayer. He saw their trouble, and He helped them, for He sent forth a storm from His treasuries, which blew in the faces of the army and filled their eyes with darkness and obscurity, so that they could not see how to fight, whilst the eyes of Judah and his brothers were clear, as the wind came from behind them. So Judah, Naphtali and Gad began to slay them, and they felled them to the ground, like the harvest cut by the reaper, who binds it into sheaves and heaps them up into stacks. So did they do until they had destroyed the whole army which stood against them on the north side of the fortress.

13 Reuben, Simeon and Levi fought on their side with another portion of the army. And after Judah, Naphtali and Gad had slain those who fought with them, they went to the assistance of their brothers. The storm was still blowing, filling the eyes of the enemies with darkness and obscurity. Thereupon Reuben, Simeon and Levi, and those with them, fell upon the enemies, and felled them to the ground in heaps, whilst Judah, Naphtali and Gad were driving them before them, until all those were destroyed who fought against Levi and Reuben; and out of those who fought against Simeon four hundred were slain. The remaining six hundred ran away; with them were the four sons of Esau: Reuel, Yeush, Ya'alam and Borah. Eliphaz did not accompany them in the war, for Jacob had been his teacher.

14 The sons of Jacob pursued them up to the city Merodio (Herodia). There in the citadel of Merodio they left the body of Esau lying on the ground, and they ran away to Mount Se'ïr, to the place leading up to 'Aqrabim. The sons of Jacob entered Merodio and encamped there over night. Finding there the body of Esau, they buried him out of respect for their father, Jacob. (Some say he did not die there, but left Merodio, though ill, and went with his children to Mount Se'ïr.)

The sons of Jacob armed themselves and pursued them the way leading to 'Aqrabim, where they found the children of Esau, and all those that had fled with them. They all came out, prostrated themselves before the sons of Jacob, and sued for peace. The children of Jacob made peace with them, and made them tributary for ever.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 38

This Is The Will (Testament) Of Naphtali, Son Of Jacob.

1 When Naphtali grew old and came to an old age, and had completed his years of strength, and fulfilled the duty of the earth-born man, he began to command his children, and he said unto them, 'My children, come and draw near and receive the command of your father.' They answered, and said, 'Lo, we hearken to fulfil all that thou wilt command us.' And he said unto them, 'I do not command you concerning my silver, nor concerning my gold, nor concerning all my substance that I leave unto you here under the sun, nor do I command you any difficult thing which you may not be able to accomplish; but I speak to you about a very easy matter, which you can easily fulfil.'

2 His sons answered, and said a second time, 'Speak, O father, for we listen. Then he said unto them, 'I leave you no command save concerning the fear of God; Him ye shall serve, to Him ye shall cling.' They said unto him, What need hath He of our service?' And he answered, 'It is not that God hath need of any creature, but that all the creatures need Him. Neither hath He created the world for naught, but that His creatures should fear Him, and that none should do to his neighbour what he would not have done to himself.' They then said, 'Our father, hast thou, forsooth, seen us departing from thy ways, or from the ways of our fathers, either to the right or to the left?' And he answered, 'God and I are witnesses that it is even as ye say; but I dread only the future, that ye may not err after the gods of strange nations; that ye should not go in the ways of the peoples of the lands, and that you should not join the children of Joseph; only the children of Levi and the children of Judah shall you join.'

3 They said to him, 'What dost thou see that thou commandest us concerning it?' He answered, 'Because I see that in the future the children of Joseph will depart from the Lord, the God of their fathers, and induce the children of Israel to sin, and will cause them to be banished from the good land into another that is not ours, as we have been exiled through him to the bondage of Egypt. I will also tell you the vision I have seen. When I was pasturing the flock I saw my twelve(?) brothers feeding with me in the field; and lo, our father came, and said to us, "My children, go (run) and let everyone lay hold here before me on anything that he can get." And we answered, and said, "What shall we take possession of, as we do not see anything else but the sun, the moon, and the stars?" And he said, "Take hold of them." When Levi heard it, he took a staff (rod) in his hands, and jumped upon the sun and rode on it. When Judah saw it, he did in like wise; he also took a rod and jumped upon the moon, and rode on it. So also every one of the nine tribes rode upon his star and his planet in the heavens; Joseph alone remained upon the earth.

4 'Jacob, our father, said to him, "My son, why hast thou not done as thy brothers?" He answered, "What availeth the woman-born in heaven, as in the end he must needs stand upon the earth?" Whilst Joseph was speaking, behold there stood near by him a mighty bull with wings like the wings of a stork, and his horns were like unto the horns of the Reëm. And Jacob said to him, "Get up, my son Joseph, and ride upon him." And Joseph got up and mounted upon the bull. And Jacob left us. For about four hours Joseph gloried in the bull; now he walked and ran, anon he flew up with him, till he came near to Judah, and with the staff he had in his hands he began to beat his brother Judah. Judah said to him, "My brother, why dost thou beat me?" He answered, "Because thou holdest in thy hands twelve rods, and I have only one; give them unto me, and then there will be peace."

5 'But Judah refused to give them to him, and Joseph beat him till he had taken from him ten against his will, and had left only two with him. Joseph then said to his ten brothers, "Wherefore run ye after Judah and Levi? Depart from them at once!" When the brothers of Joseph heard his words, they departed from Judah and Levi like one man, and followed Joseph, and there remained with Judah only Benjamin and Levi. When Levi beheld this, he descended from the sun full of anger (sadness). And Joseph said unto Benjamin, "Benjamin, my brother, art thou not my brother? Come thou also with me." But Benjamin refused to go with Joseph. When the day drew to an end, there arose a mighty storm, which separated Joseph from his brothers, so that no two were left together. When I beheld this vision, I related it unto my father Jacob, and he said unto me, "My son, it is only a dream, which will not come to pass (will neither ascend nor descend), for it hath not been repeated."

6 'Not a long period, however, elapsed after that before I saw another vision. We were standing all together with our father Jacob, at the shore of the Great Sea. And, behold, there was a ship sailing in the middle of the sea without a sailor and a man (pilot). Our father said to us, "Do ye see what I am seeing?" We answered, "We see it." He then said to us, "Look what I am doing, and do the same." He took off his clothes, threw himself into the sea, and we all followed him. The first were Levi and Judah and they jumped in (to the ship), and Jacob with them. In that ship there was all the goodness of the world. Jacob said, "Look at the mast and see what is written on it; for there is no ship on which the name of the master should not be written on the mast."

7 'Levi and Judah looked up, and they saw there was written, "This ship and all the good therein belongs to the son of Berakhel (the one whom God had blessed)." When Jacob heard that, he rejoiced very much, bowed down and thanked God, and said, "Not only hast Thou blessed me on earth, but Thou hast blessed me on the sea too!" He then said, "My children, be men, and whatever each one of you will seize, that shall be his share." Thereupon Levi ascended the big mast and sat upon it; the second after him to ascend the other mast was Judah, and he sat upon it. My other brothers then took each his oar, and Jacob our father grasped the two rudders to steer the ship by then. Joseph alone was left, and Jacob said unto him, "My son Joseph, take thou also thine oar." But Joseph refused. When my father saw that Joseph refused to take his oar, he said unto him, "Come here, my son, and grasp one of the rudders which I hold in my hands, and steer the ship, whilst thy brothers row with the oars until you reach land." And he taught each one of us, and he said to us, "Thus ye shall steer the ship, and ye will not be afraid of the waves of the sea, nor of the blast of the wind when it shall rise against you."

8 'When he had made an end of speaking, he disappeared from us. Joseph grasped both the rudders, one with the right hand and one with the left, and my other brothers were rowing, and the ship sailed on and floated over the waters. Levi and Judah sat upon the mast to look out for the way (course) the ship was to take. As long as Joseph and Judah were of one mind, so that when Judah showed to Joseph which was the right way, Joseph accordingly directed thither the ship, the ship sailed on peaceably without hindrance. After a while, however, a quarrel arose between Joseph and Judah, and Joseph did not steer any longer the ship according to the words of his father, and to the teaching of Judah; and the ship went wrong, and the waves of the sea dashed it on a rock, so that the ship foundered.

9 'Levi and Judah then descended from the mast to save their lives, and every one of the brothers went to the shore to save himself. Behold, there came our father, Jacob, and found us cast about, one here and the other there. He said to us, "What is the matter with you, my sons? Have you not steered the ship as it ought to be steered, and as I had taught you?" We answered, "By the life of thy servants, we did not depart from anything that thou hast commanded us, but Joseph transgressed the word (sinned in the affair), for he did not keep the ship right according to thy command, and as he was told (taught) by Judah and Levi, for he was jealous of them." And he (Jacob) said unto us, "Show me the place (of the ship)." And he saw, and only the tops of the masts were visible. But lo, the ship floated on the surface of the water. My father whistled, and we gathered round him. He again threw himself into the sea as before, and he healed (repaired) the ship, and entered it; and he reproved Joseph, and said, "My son, thou shalt no more deceive and be jealous of thy brothers, for they were nearly lost through thee."

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10 'When I had told this vision to my father lie clapped his hands and he sighed, and his eyes shed tears. I waited for awhile, but he did not answer. So I took the hand of my father to embrace it, and to kiss it, and I said to him, "O servant of the Lord, why do thine eyes shed tears?" He answered, "My son, the repetition of thy vision hath made my heart sink within me, and my body is shaken with tremor by reason of my son Joseph, for I loved him above you all; and for the wickedness of my son Joseph you will be sent into captivity, and you will be scattered among the nations. For thy first and second visions are both but one." I therefore command you not to unite (combine) with the sons of Joseph, but only with Levi and Judah. I further tell you that my lot will be in the best of the middle of the land, and ye shall eat and be satisfied with the choice of its products. But I warn you not to kick in your fatness and not to rebel and not to oppose the will of God, who satisfies you with the best of His earth; and not to forget the Lord your God, the God of your fathers, who was chosen by our father Abraham when the nations of the earth were divided in the time of Phaleg.

11 'At that time the Lord—blessed be He!—came down from His high heavens, and brought down with Him seventy ministering angels, Michael being the first among them. He commanded them to teach the seventy descendants of Noah seventy languages. The angels descended immediately and fulfilled the command of their Creator. The holy language, the Hebrew, remained only in the house of Sem and Eber, and in the house of our father Abraham, who is one of their descendants.

12 'On that day the angel Michael took a message from the Lord, and said to each of the seventy nations separately, "You know the rebellion you undertook and the treacherous confederacy into which you entered against the Lord of heaven and earth, now choose to-day whom you will worship and who shall be your Protector in heaven." Nimrod, the wicked, answered, "I do not know anyone greater than those who taught me and my nation the languages of Kush." In like manner answered also Put, and Mizraim, and Tubal, and Javan, and Meseh, and Tiras; and every nation chose its own angel, and none of them mentioned the name of the Lord, blessed be He!

13 'But when Michael said unto our father Abraham, "Abram, whom dost thou choose, and whom wilt thou worship?" Abram answered, "I choose and I will worship only Him who said and the world was created, Him who has created me in the womb of my mother, body within body, Him who has given unto me spirit and soul—Him I choose and to Him will I cling, I and my seed after me, all the days of the world." Then He divided the nations and apportioned to every nation its lot and share; and from that time all the nations separated themselves from the Lord, blessed be He! Only Abraham and his house remained with his Creator to worship Him, and after him Isaac and Jacob and myself. I therefore conjure you not to err and not to worship any other god than that one chosen by your fathers.

14 'For ye shall know there is no other god like unto Him, and no other who can do like His works in heaven and on earth, and there is none to do such wondrous and mighty deeds like unto Him. A portion only of His power you can see in the creation of man; how many remarkable wonders are there not in him! He created him perfect from head to foot; to listen with the ears, to see with the eyes, to understand with his brains, to smell with his nose, to bring forth the voice with his windpipe, to eat and drink with his gullet, to speak with his tongue, to pronounce with his mouth, to do work with his hands, to think with his heart, to laugh with his spleen, to be angry with his liver, to digest with his belly (stomach), to walk with his feet, to breathe with his lungs, to be counselled by his kidneys, and none of his members changes its function, but every one remains at its own.

15 'It is therefore proper for man to bear in mind all these things—to remember who hath created him, and who it is that hath wrought him out of a drop in the womb of the woman, and who it is that bringeth him out into the light of the world, and who hath given him the sight of the eyes and the walking of the feet, and who standeth him upright and hath given him intelligence for doing good deeds, and hath breathed into him a living soul and the spirit of purity. Blessed is the man who does not defile the Divine spirit which hath been put and breathed into him, and blessed is he who returns it as pure as it was on the day when it was entrusted to (him by his) Creator.' These are the words of Naphtali, the son of Israel, which he (commended) to his sons; they are sweeter than honey to the palate.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 39

1 After these things the wife of his master raised her eyes unto Joseph. Potiphar's wife, his mistress, used to entice him every day by her conversation, and used to bedeck herself with all kinds of ornaments and array herself in many dresses in order to find favour in his eyes. But he prevailed over his inclination. It was for this strength of mind that he became worthy of being made king and ruler over Egypt.

2 One day all the Egyptian women assembled together to see Joseph's beauty. When Joseph was brought before them to wait upon them, his mistress offered each of them an apple and knife to peel it; but when they started peeling their apples they all cut their hands, since they were so much captivated with Joseph's beauty that they could not take their eyes from him. She (Potiphar's wife) then said, 'If you do this after seeing him but for one hour, how much more should I be captivated who see him continually?'

[Here I think it right to return to the book of Josippon (Flavius Josephus) at the place where we left, viz., the generations of Noah's sons. Josippon (Flavius Josephus) commenced to enumerate the generations of Adam, Seth, and Anosh, and gave a list of the names of the families of the children of Japheth, and the boundaries of their lands until Kittim and Dudanim, as I have written above, among the generations of Noah's sons. Afterwards he wrote the following, which I write down here, as it seems to belong to this portion.]

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 40

1 It came to pass when the Lord scattered the sons of man all over the surface of the earth that they became separated into different companies. The Kittim formed one company, and encamping in the plain of Kapanya (Campania), they dwelt there by the river Tiberio, while the children of Tubal encamped in Toscana, and their frontier was the river Tiberio. They built a city and called it Sabino, after the name of its builders. And the Kittim also built a city for themselves, and called its name Posomanga. Now, the children of Tubal were overbearing to the Kittim, and said, 'They shall not intermarry among us.' But it happened at the harvest time, when the children of Tubal had gone to their fields, that the young men of the Kittim gathered together, and, going to Sabino, they took their daughters captives, and then climbed the mountain of Kaporisio. As soon as the children of Tubal heard of this they arrayed themselves in battle against them, but could not prevail over them on account of the height of the mountain, so they gathered all the young warriors to the mountain.

2 In the next year the children of Tubal went out again to battle, but the Kittim brought up all the children that were born of their (Tubal's) daughters upon the wall which they had built, and said, 'You have come to fight against your own sons and daughters; are we not now your own bone and flesh?' At this they ceased fighting, and the Kittim gathered together and built a city by the sea which they called Porto, and another which they called Albano, and yet another which they named Aresah.

3 In those days Ṣefo, the son of Eliphaz, fled from Egypt. Joseph had captured him when he went up to Hebron to bury his father. It was then that the children of Esau tried to entice him to evil, but Joseph prevailed over him and (capturing) Ṣefo from them, brought him to Egypt. After the death of Joseph, Ṣefo fled from Egypt, to Africa, to Agnias, King of Carthage, where he was received with great honour and appointed captain of the host.

4 At the same time there lived a man in the land of the Kittim, in the city of Posomanga, named ʻUsi. He was to the Kittim as a vain god. He died and left no son, but only one daughter, named Iania. She was beautiful and very wise, nor was the like of her beauty to be found in all the land. Agnias sought her for his wife, as did Turnus, King of Benevento; but they (the Kittim) said to the latter, 'We cannot give her to thee, because Agnias, King of Afriqia, seeks her; we fear lest he wage war against us, and in that case thou couldst not deliver us from his power.'

5 The inhabitants of Posomanga then sent a letter to that effect to Agnias. Thereupon he mustered all his host and came to the island of Sardinia. Palos, his nephew, went out to meet him, and said, 'When thou askest my father to come to thy assistance, ask him to appoint me the head of the army.' Agnias did so, and came into the province of Astiras in ships. Turnus went out to meet him, and a very severe battle ensued in the valley Kapanya (Campania), in which Palos, his nephew, fell by the sword. Agnias then embalmed him, and having made a golden human image (mask?), placed him therein. After that he once more set his men in battle array and captured Turnus, King of Benevento, and having slain him, made a mask (image) of brass, and placed him therein. He then built a tower in the highway in his honour, and another for Palos, his nephew, and called the one 'The tower of Palos,' and the other 'The tower of Turnus,' and the latter were separated by a marble pavement, which remains unto this day. They were built between Albano and Rome. Agnias then took Iania to wife and returned to his own country. From that day henceforth Gondalas and the armies of the kings of Afriqia used to ravage the land of the Kittim for spoil and plunder, Ṣefo always accompanying them.

6 When this Ṣefo, the son of Eliphaz, travelled from Afriqia to the Kittim, the inhabitants received him with great honour, and presented him with many gifts so that he became very rich. And the troops of Afriqia spread themselves over all the land of the Kittim, and they having assembled, ascended the mountain of Kaporisio (Campo-Marzio?) on account of the troops of Gondalos.

7 One day one of the herd of Ṣefo was missing, and after starting in search of it he heard the lowing of a bull in the neighbourhood of the mountain. On going to the bottom of the mountain, he discovered a cave with a great stone placed at its mouth. When he removed the stone he beheld to his surprise a huge animal devouring the bullock. From the middle downwards it presented the likeness of man, while from the middle upwards that of a goat. Ṣefo instantly sprang upon it, and split its head open. The inhabitants of Kittim then said, 'What shall be done for the man who has slain the beast that continually devoured our cattle?' On a festival day they assembled together and called his name Janus, after the name of the beast. They offered him drink offerings on that clay and brought him meal offerings, and from that time they named the day 'The festival of Janus.'

8 When the troops of Gondalos once more invaded the land of the Kittim for plunder, as heretofore, Janus went out against them, and having smitten them and put them to flight, he delivered the land from their raids. The Kittim then assembled and appointed Ṣefo to the throne of the kingdom. The Kittim then went forth to subdue the children of Tubal and the nations round about. And Janus their king went before them and subdued them. After this Ṣefo was called Saturnus, in addition to Janus: Janus after the name of the beast, and Saturnus after the name of the star which they worshipped in those days, i.e., the planet 'Shabtai' (Saturnus).

9 He reigned at first in the valley of Kapanya, in the land of the Kittim, and built an exceedingly large temple there. He then extended his kingdom over the whole of the Kittim, and over all Italy. Janus Saturnus, after a reign of fifty-five years, died and was buried.

10 His successor was Piqos Faunos, who reigned fifty years. He also erected a huge temple in the valley of Kapanya, and soon after died. His successor was named Latinus; it was he who explained the language and its letters. He likewise built a temple for his dwelling, and many ships. He went to battle with Astrubel, the son of Agnias, whom Iania bore him, in order to take his daughter Yaspisi to wife, as Agnias had done to the Kittim when he took Iania from them in battle. And this woman was very beautiful, so much so that the men of her generation weaved her image upon their clothes in honour of her beauty. A fierce battle ensued between Astrubel, King of the Carthaginians, and Latinus, King of Kittim, and Latinus captured the fountain of water which Agnias, when he took Iania, had brought with her to Carthage.

11 For Iania the queen, when arriving there, was taken ill, and Agnias and his servants were sorely grieved. Agnias said to his wise men, 'How can I cure Iania's illness?' His servants replied, 'The air of our land is not like unto that of Kittim, nor our waters like theirs. Therefore the queen is ill through the change of air and water, for in her own land she only drank the water drawn from Forma, which her ancestors drew upon bridges (aqueducts).' Agnias then ordered his ministers (princes) to bring water from Forma in Kittim in a vessel. They weighed these waters against all the waters of Africa, and found that only those of Goqar corresponded with them. Agnias then ordered his princes to gather together stonemasons by thousands and myriads. So they hewed a vast number of stones for building; and, being in great numbers, they built a bridge (an aqueduct) from the fountain of the water as far as Carthage. All these waters were for the sole use of Iania, who used them for drinking, baking, washing clothes, ordinary washing, and for watering all the seeds which provided her food. They also brought earth from Kittim in many ships, as well as stones and bricks, and they built therewith temples. All this they did for the great love they bore her, for through her wiles she charmed the people, and through her they called themselves blessed, and she was to them as a goddess.

12 Now, it happened when Latinus waged war with Astrubel that he overthrew part of the bridge, so that the troops of Gondalos were exceedingly furious, and fought desperately. Astrubel being mortally wounded, Latinus by main force captured Yaspisi, his daughter, for his wife. He brought her to Kittim and made her queen. And Latinus reigned forty-five years.

13 When Latinus died, Anias reigned in his stead for three years, and, after his death, Asqinus (Ascanias) reigned thirty-eight years. He also built a large temple. After him Seliaqos reigned twenty-nine years, and he built a large temple. After his death Latinus, who reigned for fifty years, succeeded him. This was the king who fought with Almania and Burgunia, the sons of Elisa, whom he took as tribute. He built a temple to 'Lusifer', i.e., Nogah, and closed that of Saturnus, which was 'the Temple of Shabbetai.' He passed his priests through the fire on the altar of his temple, dedicated to 'Lusifer.'

14 After the death of Latinus, Anias Trognos (Tarquinius) reigned in his stead thirty-three years. He also erected a temple to Saturn. After him Alba reigned thirty-nine years. When he died, Avisianos reigned for twenty-four years, and built a large temple. After him Qapis reigned twenty-eight years, and built a temple. After him Karpitos reigned for

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twenty-three years, and built a temple. After him Tiberios reigned for eight years. Agrippa reigned after him for forty years. Romulus succeeded him, and reigned nine years, during which time he built several temples. After him Abṭinos reigned for thirty-seven years. This is the king who waged war with the children of Rifath, who dwelt by the Lira, and with the sons of Turnus, who dwelt in Toronia by the river Lira. It was they who fled from Agnias, King of Afriqi, and who built Purnus and Anba. These Abṭinos brought to submission. After him Procas reigned twenty-three years; and after him Æmilius reigned for forty-three years.

15 After his death Romulus reigned for thirty-eight years. In his days David smote the land of Syria, so that Hadarezer and his sons fled into the land of the Kittim. He there obtained a place on the seashore and a place on the mountain. He there built a city, and called its name Sorento.

16 At that place there dwelt a young man of a descendant of the family of Hadarezer, who had fled from David. He built the old city Albano, where his posterity dwell unto this day. But within the city of Sorento a well of oil sprung up, and after some years the city subsided, and the sea swept over it, i.e., between Napoli and New Sorento; yet the well did not cease from flowing, for until this very day the oil bubbles and rises upon the waters of the sea, while the inhabitants are continually collecting it.

17 Romulus was greatly afraid of David. He therefore built a wall higher than any other wall hitherto erected by any king that preceded him, and he surrounded all the mountains and hills round about with this wall. Its length was forty-five miles, and he called the name of the city Roma, after the name of Romulus. And they yet continued to be greatly afraid of David. He made the name of the Kittim great, and they called the place Romania, as it is called unto this very day. He built a temple in honour of Jovis, i.e., 'Ṣedek,' and removed that dedicated to 'Lusifer.' And Romulus waged great wars. He also made a covenant with David.

18 After the death of Romulus, Numa Popilios reigned in his stead forty-one years. After him Polios reigned for thirty-two years. After him Tarkinos reigned for thirty-seven years. After his death Servios reigned thirty-four years. After him Tarkinos reigned. This Tarkinos was he who fell in love with a Roman woman. But as she was already married, he took her by force. The woman was thereat grieved, and she stabbed herself with a dagger and met her death. Her brothers rose up, and, going to the temple of Jovis, they lay in wait for Tarkinos When he came to pray they fell upon him with drawn swords and killed him.

19 On that day the Romans took an oath that no king should henceforth reign in Rome. They then selected seventy Roman counsellors and appointed them to rule and to guide the kingdom. 'The Old Man' and his seven counsellors then ruled over them and subdued all the West.

20 After the lapse of 205 years battles were fought by sea and land between Babylon and Rome, because the Romans assisted Greece when the Greeks fought with Babylon. At that time, when they rebelled, they caused the Tiber to flow into other channels, and made a bottom to the river from one gate (of Rome) to the other, from its entrance to its exit, a distance of eighteen miles, all of which covered with brass, from the gate of Rome where it flows into the sea until the gate where it takes its source, 'a distance of eighteen miles, for three-fourths of the people were on one side of the river and one-fourth on the other side. The river flowed in the midst of the city, and the inhabitants of Rome paved its bed. No ships or boats of the King of Babylon could henceforth enter. The Romans feared and trembled, as they had heard that the King of Babylon had captured Jerusalem. They sent him presents by messengers, and made a treaty after that war so that wars ceased between them until the reign of Darius the Mede.

[Thus far the narrative of Josippon (Flavius Josephus). After this Josippon (Flavius Josephus) wrote of the kingdom of Darius and Cyrus, and the book of the Maccabees, and of the kings who lived during the time of the second temple until its destruction. I shall, with the help of God, write it all in its proper place just as it is written in the book of Josippon (Flavius Josephus) until the end.]

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 41

1 I also find that during the first temple, in the time of Jotham, King of Judah, two brothers, Remus and Romilus, arose who were the first kings of Rome. They reigned thirty-eight years.

2 I also find in 'Ṣoher Tob' that their mother from the pains of travail died at their birth, and that God appointed a she-wolf to suckle them until they were grown up. Romulus built the city of Roma. He, the first king, then appointed 100 elders as counsellers. He also built a temple in Rome, and erected the walls of Rome.

3 After him, Huma (Numa) Pompilios reigned for forty-one years. This Huma Pompilios added two months to the year, viz., Januarius and Febrius, for the Romans had originally but ten months to the year. After him Tullus Ostilius reigned for thirty-two years. This Tullus, King of Rome, was the first to clothe himself in purple robes.

4 These are the seven kings that reigned in Rome: 1. Romulus; 2. Numa Pompilius; 3. Tullus Ostilius; 4. Ancus Marcus; 5. Tarquinius Priscus; 6. Servius; 7. Tarquinus. Their rule over Rome lasted altogether 240 years. After them Rome remained without a king for 464 years until the reign of Julius Caesar.

[Here finishes the 'Book of Genealogies.' I now commence the 'Chronicles of Moses, our Teacher.']

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 42

1 From the time that Jacob and his sons came to the land of Goshen, there reigned in it certain shepherds, for the land of Egypt was divided into three kingdoms, viz., the land of Ramses, where the Tibei reigned. This was situated at the extreme end of Egypt. The Israelites built this town, which was afterwards called Ramses on account of the evil (Rá) and the tribute which were imposed upon the Israelites. The former name of the city was Heroes. Another capital was Mof, that is Menfis, for Apis, King of Egypt, built it, and was made a god because Jovis, the god of Egypt, revealed himself to them in the form of a calf and a ram, and therefore they called him Sarapis. On this account shepherds were the abomination of Egypt in the land of Menfis, Nof, Pathros, and Tahpanhes, for the Egyptians did not eat sheep or rams because they worshipped them as gods. But the land of Goshen was the kingdom of the shepherds in honour of Joseph and Jacob and his sons, all of whom were shepherds.

2 Now, a new king arose in Egypt who did not know Joseph and his good deeds. This was Pharaoh Amenofis. In his days there arose in the air the likeness of an ox. On its right side it had a mark resembling the moon, from which there issued sparks. When it arose in the morning with the sun, it used to fly in the air of the heaven. All the Egyptians worshipped it, and praised it with every kind of song. When it moved they also moved, and when it stood they also stood. The ox used also to sing hymns. This it did once in each year. It became a festival day in Egypt, and they called it the day of Sarapis. On account of this, the Israelites afterwards made the calf in the wilderness, as it is said, 'And he passed through the sea of affliction.'

3 Then he (Pharaoh) said to his people, 'Behold the people of Israel are becoming mightier and stronger than we; and the Egyptians envy and hate them on account of the multitude of their families, the greatness of their riches, and their mighty strength. Come, let us take counsel lest they multiply, and let us appoint rulers over Israel, and taskmasters over these rulers from among our own people, for the purpose of subjecting them to rigorous servitude, and let us further appoint tax-gatherers over them that they may be reduced to poverty.' And they built store-cities for Pharaoh, Pithom and Ramses, great cities which stood on the border of Pithom at the extremity of the land of Egypt, and Ramses at the other extremity. In these two cities were the stores of the king and his implements of war. They were built in such a manner that no one could possibly enter or go out of the land of Egypt without the king's knowledge. And the Egyptians enslaved the Israelites with rigour; they appointed taskmasters, who beat them to obtain the taxes. They embittered their lives with hard bondage, in that they had to dig all the channels in the land of Egypt, and to carry the manure upon their shoulders in pots and in baskets to manure the fields, as it is said, 'I shall remove the burden of manure from his shoulder, and his hands shall be removed from the pots.' They had to cleanse all the channels of the land on account of the Nile, which filled them once in forty years.

4 The Egyptians decreed three kinds of punishment against Israel. One was to embitter their lives; the second to impose upon them the slavery in the field; and the third to cast all their males into the river, for they said to King Pharaoh Amenofis, 'We shall slay the males that they may not increase, and allow the females to live to be our servants and our wives, and the males that we beget from them shall be our slaves.' On this account their misery went up before the Lord. And it came to pass when the time of the pregnancy of the women had almost come to an end, they went out in the field and there gave birth to their children, and they left them in the field. The Lord then sent an angel, who washed the children and placed in their hand two stones, from one of which they sucked milk, and from the other honey. When the children were weaned they returned to their father's house. When the Egyptians saw the children in the field, they tried to take them away, but the earth opened its mouth and swallowed them up. The Egyptians brought their ploughshares and ploughed the field over them, but could not harm them, for the Lord had saved them.

5 The elders and all the people then gathered together, wept and wailed, saying, 'It would have been better had our wives been barren, for the fruit of the womb has now been annihilated. Now let no man approach his wife for some time; for it is preferable to die childless than to see our children defiled by the Gentile, until we know what the Lord will do.' Now Amram answered and said, 'Are you willing to destroy by obstinacy or with premeditation the world? But even when misery has reached the bottom of the abyss the seed of Israel will not be destroyed; for the Lord has sworn to Abraham to afflict his seed for 400 years, and behold from the time of the covenant between the pieces which God made with Abraham, 350 years have already passed, and 130 years of these we have been slaves in Egypt. Now I shall not abide by your counsel, to fix a time for God's intercession, and to restrain my wife from helping to people the world, for the anger of the Lord will not last for ever, nor will He forsake His people for ever, nor has He made the covenant with our ancestors in vain, neither has He increased the seed of Israel to no purpose.

6 'Now I shall therefore go to my wife according to the commandment of God, and, if it is pleasing to you, do you act likewise, and it shall come to pass when our wives shall conceive, that they shall conceal the fruit of their conception for three months, just as Tamar, our mother, did. She did not designedly go astray, for she said, "It is better for me to die than to mix with the heathen." She therefore concealed the fruit of her womb for three months and then confessed. Now let us do likewise, even we. And when the time of bearing comes to an end, we shall not withhold the fruit of our womb, for perchance the Lord will be zealous, and save us from our affliction.'

7 The advice of Amram seemed good in the eyes of God, and He said to him, 'Thy words are pleasing in My sight. Therefore there shall be born to thee a son who shall be My servant for ever, who shall perform wonders in the house of Jacob, and signs and miracles among the people. And I shall show him My glory, and make My ways known to him. In him I shall cause My light to burn, and shall teach him My statutes and laws. I shall lead him on the high places of My righteousness and My judgements, and through him shall the light of the world be kindled. Of him have I thought from the beginning when I said, "My spirit shall not strive any longer with man, since he is to be in the flesh. His days shall be 120 years."'

8 Amram, of the tribe of Levi, went forth and took Jochebed, the daughter of Levi, to wife. All the people likewise took to them wives. And Amram begat a son and daughter, Aaron and Miriam. And the spirit of the Lord came upon Miriam so that she had a dream in the night. She told her father, saying, 'In the night I saw a man clothed in fine linen. "Tell thy father and mother," he said, "that whatever is born to thee in the night will be cast upon the waters, and by him the waters shall become dry. And through him shall wonders and miracles be performed, and he shall save My people Israel, and he shall be their leader for ever."' This dream Miriam told her father and mother. But they did not believe it.

9 Now, Jochebed had conceived for six months, and in the seventh month she bore a son. They could no longer conceal him, for the Egyptians had made houses by which they knew of the birth of a child. They therefore made a little ark, and placed the child among the bulrushes. The elders then said to Amram, 'Did we not say to thee "It is better for us to die childless than to see the fruit of our womb cast into the sea"?' Then said Amram to his daughter Miriam, 'Where is thy prophecy?' So his sister stood a little distance off to know what would become of the child. And Pharaoh's daughter went down to wash. And she took the child and adopted him as a son.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 43

The Chronicles Of Moses.

1 In the 130th year after the Israelites had gone down to Egypt, Pharaoh dreamt a dream. While he was sitting on the throne of his kingdom he lifted up his eyes, and beheld an old man standing before him. In his hand he held a pair of scales as used by merchants. The old man then took the scales and, holding them up before Pharaoh, he laid hold of all the elders of Egypt and its princes, together with all its great men, and, having bound them together, placed them in one pan of the scales. After that he took a milch goat, and, placing it in the other pan, it outweighed all the others. Pharaoh then awoke, and it was a dream.

2 Rising early next morning, he called all his servants, and told them the dream. They were sorely frightened by it, and one of the king's eunuchs said, 'This is nothing else than the foreboding of a great evil about to fall upon Egypt.' On hearing this the king said to the eunuch, 'What will it be?' And the eunuch replied, 'A child will be born in Israel, who will destroy all the land of Egypt. If it is pleasing to the king, let the royal command go forth in all the land of Egypt that every male born among the Hebrews should be slain, so that this evil be averted from the land of Egypt.

3 The king did so, and accordingly sent for the Hebrew midwives, one of whom was named Shifrah, and another Puah, and said to them, 'When the Hebrew women give birth, and ye see upon the stools that it is a son, ye slay it; but if a daughter, then let it live.' But the midwives feared God, and did not act according to the king's word, but let the males live. The king, therefore, summoned the midwives, and said to them, 'Why have ye done this thing, and kept the males alive?' And the midwives answered Pharaoh, saying, 'The Hebrew women are not like the Egyptian women, for they are like the free

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animals of the field which do not require midwives; before the midwives come to them the children are born.'

4 When Pharaoh saw that he could not do anything with them, he commanded all his people, saying, 'Every male that is born ye shall cast into the river; but all the females ye shall keep alive.' When the Israelites heard this command of Pharaoh to cast their males into the river, some of the people separated from their wives, while others remained with them. It came to pass, about the time of childbirth, that the women went out into the field, and the Lord, who swore to their ancestors that He would multiply them, sent them an angel, one of his ministers, who was appointed over childbirth, to wash it, and rub it with salt; and the angel bound it in swaddling clothes, and placed in the child's hand two smooth stones, from the one of which it sucked milk, and from the other honey. God also caused its hair to grow down to its knees, so as to be well covered by it; and the angel rocked it caressingly.

5 And when God had compassion upon them and sought to increase them upon the face of the whole land, He commanded the earth to swallow the children up, and protect them until they grew up, after which time it should open its mouth and let them go forth so that they should sprout as the grass of the field, and as the young trees of the forest. Then they would return to their families, and to the house of their fathers, where they would remain.

6 Accordingly, it happened that after the earth had swallowed up, through the mercy of God, the males born of the house of Jacob, that the Egyptians went out into the field to plough with teams of oxen and with the ploughshare. They worked (ploughed) upon them as the spoiler in time of the harvest. But although they ploughed never so hard they were unable to injure them, and thus they increased abundantly.

[Another Version.—It came to pass at the time of birth that they left their children in the field, and the Lord, who swore to their ancestors that He would cause them to inherit the land, tamed for them the beasts of the field, and sustained and reared them, as it is said, 'And the beasts of the field were at peace with thee.' When the Egyptians saw that they (the Israelites) left their sons in the field, and that the wild beasts helped them, and led them in the forests until they had grown to manhood, they said, 'These have surely reared them in the caverns and vaults of the earth,' and each of them brought their ploughshare and their plough, and ploughed above them, etc.]

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 44

1 There was a Levite in the land of Egypt whose name was Amram, the son of Qehath, the son of Levi, the son of Jacob. This man betrothed Jochebed, the daughter of Levi, the sister of his father, and she conceived and bare a daughter, and called her name Miriam (the bitter), because in those days people began to embitter the lives of the Israelites. She conceived again and bare a son, whose name she called Aaron (pregnancy), because during the time of her pregnancy Pharaoh began to shed the blood of their males upon the ground, and to cast them into the river of Egypt. When, however, the word of the king and his decree became known respecting the casting of their males into the river, many of God's people separated from their wives, as did Amram from his wife.

2 After the lapse of three years the Spirit of God came upon Miriam, so that she went forth and prophesied in the house, saying, 'Behold, a son shall be born to my mother and father, and he shall rescue the Israelites from the hands of the Egyptians.' When Amram heard his young daughter's prophecy he took back his wife, from whom he had separated in consequence of Pharaoh's decree to destroy all the male line of the house of Jacob. After three years of separation he went to her and she conceived. And it came to pass at the end of six months from the time of her conception that she bare a son. The whole house was at that moment filled with a great light, as the light of the sun and the moon in their splendour. The woman saw that the child was good and beautiful to behold, so she hid him in an inner room for three months.

3 At that time the Egyptian women took secret counsel together to destroy the Hebrew women; they, therefore, went to the land of Goshen, where the Israelites were carrying their little children who could not speak upon their shoulders. The Hebrew women then hid their children from the Egyptians, so that their existence might not become known to them, in order to preserve them from destruction and annihilation. The Egyptian women came thus to Goshen with their children who could not speak, and when one of them came into the house of the Hebrew she made her own child chatter in the child's language, and the hidden child, hearing it, replied in the same manner. The Egyptian women thereupon went to Pharaoh's house to tell him of it, and Pharaoh sent his officers to slay those children.

4 After that child (Moses) had been hidden now for three months and it thus became known to Pharaoh, the mother took the child and placed it in a little ark of bulrushes, which she daubed with slime and with pitch. She then hurriedly placed the child among the flags by the river's brink, while his sister stood at a distance to wit what would be done to him.

5 God then sent drought and great heat in the land of Egypt, so that it burnt one's very flesh upon him just as when the sun is in its strength. The Egyptians were therefore sorely troubled. Pharaoh's daughter went down by the river-side to bathe, as did all the Egyptian women, on account of the heat and the drought. Her handmaids and all Pharaoh's concubines went with her. While thus occupied, she beheld the ark floating on the water, and sent her handmaid to fetch it. On opening the box, she discovered the child. It began to cry, and she had pity upon it, and said, 'This is one of the Hebrew children.'

6 At this the Egyptian women by the river came up for the purpose of suckling it, but it refused to take them. God wished to return it to the breast of its mother. The child's sister Miriam then said to Pharaoh's daughter, 'Shall I go and call a Hebrew nurse to suckle the child?' 'Yes,' said she. And she forthwith called the child's own mother. Then said Pharaoh's daughter, 'Take this child and suckle it for me, and I will give thee as a reward a monthly wage of two pieces of silver;' so the woman took the child and nursed it.

7 After two years she brought it to Pharaoh's daughter, who adopted it, and she called its name Moses, 'for from the waters I drew him.' But his father called him 'Ḥeber,' because for his sake he joined his wife again from whom he had separated himself; while his mother called him 'Yequtiel,' because 'I placed my hope in God the Almighty,' and He returned him to her. His sister called him 'Yered,' because she went down to the river after him to know what his end would be; while his brother called him 'Abi Zanoah,' saying, My father separated from my mother, but returned to her on account of this child.' Kehath, his grandfather, named him 'Abigedor,' because for his sake God closed up the breach of the house of Jacob, so that they no more cast the children into the water. His nurse called him 'Abi Sokho,' saying that he was hidden in a tent (or box) for three months out of fear of the descendants of Ham; and all Israel called him 'Ben Nethanel,' because in his days God heard their groaning.

8 In the third year of Moses' birth, when Pharaoh was sitting at his meal, with his mistress on his right hand, his daughter on his left, and the child in her lap, and all the princes of the kingdom sitting round the table, it happened that the child stretched out his hand, and, taking the crown from the king's head, placed it upon his own. The king and the princes, on seeing this, were confused and exceedingly astonished.

9 Then Balaam, the enchanter, one of the king's eunuchs, said, 'Rememberest thou, my lord the king, the dream which thou didst dream and the interpretation thy servant gave it? Now, is this not one of the children of the Hebrews in whom the spirit of God is? By his wisdom he has done this and has chosen for himself the kingdom of Egypt. Thus did Abraham, who weakened the power of Nimrod, the King of the Chaldeans, and Abimelech, King of Gerar, and inherited the land of the children of Ḥeth and all the kingdoms of Canaan. He also went down to Egypt, and said of his wife, "She is my sister," for the purpose of placing a stumbling-block in the way of the Egyptians and their king. Isaac did the same in Philistia when he sojourned in Gerar. He grew stronger than all the Philistines. Their king he also wished to lead astray when he said of his wife, "She is my sister." Jacob also went stealthily and took away his only brother's birthright and his blessing withal. He then went to Padan Aram, to the house of Laban, his maternal uncle, and by his cunning obtained his daughters, his cattle, and all that he had. He then fled to the land of Canaan.

10 His sons again sold Joseph into Egypt, where he was put in prison for two years, until the Pharaoh before thee dreamt dreams. He was then taken from prison and appointed over the princes of Egypt, on account of the interpretation of these dreams. When God brought a famine upon the land he brought his father and his brothers to Egypt. He maintained them without paying for it, and us he bought for slaves. If, now, it seems good to the king, let us shed the blood of this child, lest, when he grows up, he take the kingdom from thy hands, and Egypt perish.'

11 God at that moment sent one of his angels, named Gabriel, who assumed the form of one of them. 'If it pleaseth the king,' said the angel, 'let onyx stones and live-coals be brought and placed before the child, and it shall come to pass, if he stretches forth his hand to the coals, then know that he has not done this by his wisdom, and let him live.' This thing being good in the eyes of the king and the princes, they acted according to the word of the angel, and they brought him the onyx and the coals. The angel then placed the child's hand near the coal so that his fingers touched it. He lifted it to his mouth and burnt his lips and his tongue, so that he became heavy of speech. The king and the princes then desisted from killing the child.

12 He lived for fifteen years afterwards in the king's palace, clothed in .garments of purple, for he was reared together with the king's sons. When he was in his eighteenth year the lad longed for his parents, and consequently went to them. He went out to his brethren in the field and looked upon their burdens. He there saw an Egyptian smite one of his Hebrew brethren. When the man that was beaten saw Moses he ran to him for help, for Moses was a greatly-honoured man in Pharaoh's house. He said to him, 'O my Lord, this Egyptian came into my house in the night and, binding me with cords, went to my wife in my very presence, and he now seeks my life.' When Moses heard this evil deed he was exceedingly angry, and, turning this way and that to see that nobody was looking, he smote the Egyptian and hid him in the sand. He thus saved the Hebrew from the hand of the Egyptian.

13 Moses then returned to the palace, and the Hebrew to his house. When the man returned to his house he told his wife that he wished to divorce her, because it was not right for one of the house of Jacob to lie with his wife after she had been defiled. So the woman went out and told her brothers, who thereupon sought to kill him, but he fled into his house, and thus escaped.

14 On the next day Moses went out to his brethren, and, seeing that some were quarrelling, he said to the wicked one, 'Why dost thou beat thy neighbour?' But one of them retorted, 'Who made thee to be a prince and judge over us? Wilt thou slay us as thou didst slay the Egyptian?' Moses by this perceived that the thing was already known.

15 Pharaoh immediately got to hear of it, and ordered Moses to be slain. But God sent Michael, the captain of His heavenly host, in the likeness of the chief butcher (slayer). He then took his sword and severed the head of the chief butcher, for his face was changed to the exact likeness of Moses. The angel then took hold of Moses' hand, and, bringing him forth from Egypt, placed him outside its border, a distance of forty days' journey. But Aaron yet remained in Egypt, who prophesied to the Israelites in the midst of the Egyptians, saying, 'Cast away from you the abominations of the Egyptians, and do not defile yourselves with their idols.' But the Israelites rebelled and would not listen. The Lord then said that He would have destroyed them, were it not that He remembered the covenant He had made with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. But the hand of Pharaoh was constantly becoming heavier upon the Israelites, so that he persecuted and oppressed them until God sent forth His word and redeemed them.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 45

1 At that time a war broke out between Cush on the one side and the people of Qedem (East) and Syria on the other; for these rebelled against the King of Cush. Qinqanos, King of Cush, then went out to war against the other two nations, and smote Syria and the East. He took many captives and made them submit to Cush.

2 When Qinqanos went out to war against Syria and the people of the East he left behind Bala'am the enchanter, i.e., Laban the Aramean, who came from Caphtor, together with his two sons, Janis and Jambris, to guard the city and the poor people. But Bala'am counselled the people to rebel against Qinqanos, so that he should not be able to come into the city. The people, listening to him, swore to act accordingly. Him they made king over them, and his two sons they appointed as captains of the host of the people. On two sides of the city they raised very high walls, while on the third side they dug an innumerable number of pits between the city and the river that surrounds the whole land of Cush, and from there the people drew into them the waters of the river. On the fourth side they collected by their wiles and witchcraft an immense number of serpents, so that no one could approach them.

3 When the king and all the captains of the army returned from the war and saw the very high walls of the city they were greatly astonished, and said, 'Behold, while we have been detained at war, they have built walls to the city and strengthened themselves to prevent the Canaanitish kings from waging war against them.' But when they came near the city and discovered that the gates were closed, they shouted to the keepers, 'Open the gates for us, that we may enter the city.' But they refused to open them, just as Bala'am the enchanter had ordered them, and would not allow them to enter the city. They therefore drew up their line of battle opposite the gate, and fought so that on that day there fell 130 men of Qinqanos's army. On the second day they fought on the side of the river. But when thirty cavalrymen tried to cross they sank into the pits and were drowned. The king then commanded them to hew some wood, which they were to use as rafts upon which to cross, and they did so. When, however, they came to the walls, the rafts rolled from under them like a mill, and on that day 200 men that had gone upon ten rafts were sunk in the wells. On the third day they went on that side of the city where the serpents lay, but they dared not approach. After 170 men had been killed by these serpents they ceased fighting against Cush. They besieged it for nine years, so that no one went out or entered the city.

4 During this siege Moses, having fled from Egypt, came to the camp of Qinqanos, the King of Cush. He was then but eighteen years old. This young man entered their ranks, and was much beloved by the king, the princes, and all the army,

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because he was mighty and beautiful. His height was like the cedar and his face like the rising sun, and his strength like that of a lion. He was therefore made the king's counsellor. It came to pass after nine years that the Cushite king was seized with an illness by which he died, so that after seven days Qinqanos departed this life. His servants embalmed him, and buried him opposite the gate of the city looking towards Egypt. There they erected a beautiful building and a very high temple, and engraved upon the stones his arms and the record of his mighty deeds.

5 When they had completed the building, they said to each other, 'What shall we now do? If we try to get into the city and fight there will be many more of us slain than before. If we give up the siege, then all the Syrian kings and those of the East, having heard of the death of our king, will come upon us suddenly, and none of us will be left. Now, let us appoint a king over us, and we shall then continue the siege until the city falls into our hands.' They then hastily stripped themselves of their garments, and, casting them upon the ground, they made a large platform, upon which they placed Moses. They then blew the trumpets, and exclaimed, 'Long live the king!' And all the princes and all the people took the oath of obedience to him, and gave him a Cushite wife, the widow of Qinqanos. They then crowned him King of Cush. He was twenty-seven years old when he was made king.

6 On the second day of his reign they all assembled before the king, and said, 'If it is pleasing to the king, give us advice what to do. For these last nine years we have not seen our wives nor our sons, but have remained in the siege.' The king then answered the people, saying, 'Be certain that the city will be delivered into our hands if you hearken to my advice. Now, if we fight with them, many of us will fall as at first, and if we determine to cross the water we shall fare similarly. Now, go to the forest, and let each one bring a young stork, which he shall keep until it has grown up and be taught to hunt just as the hawk.' The people immediately hastened to the forest, and, climbing the fir-trees, they each brought the young (of the stork) in their hands according to the king's word.

7 When the young storks had grown up, the king commanded them to starve them for two days, and on the third day he said to them, 'Let each man put on his armour and harness the horses and mules to the chariots; and when each man has taken his stork in his hand, let us rise and war against the city on the side where the serpents are lying.' This they did. When they approached the place, the king said, 'Let each send forth his young stork.' As soon as they did so the storks flew upon the serpents and devoured them, thus ridding the place of them.

8 When the king and the people saw that the serpents had disappeared they raised a great shout, fought against the city, and captured it, so that each man went to his own house, to his own wife, and to his goods. On that day 1,100 inhabitants were killed, but of the besiegers not one. When Bala'am the enchanter saw that the city was taken, opening the gate, he and his two sons fled away upon their horses to Egypt, to Pharaoh, King of Egypt. These were the magicians and the wizards, as it is written in the 'Sefer Hayashar' (Book of the Just = Bible), that counselled Pharaoh to wipe out the name of Jacob from off the face of the earth.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 46

1 And it came to pass when Pharaoh reigned over Egypt that he changed the statutes of the first kings and their laws, and made the yoke heavy upon all the inhabitants of his land, and also upon the house of Jacob he had no pity, through the counsel of Bala'am the enchanter and his two sons, for they were then the king's counsellors. The king then took counsel with his three advisers—one of whom was named Reuel the Midianite, the second Job, and the third Bala'am of Petor—and said, 'Behold, the Israelites are becoming more numerous, and mightier than we. Come, let us be wise, lest they grow too numerous, and in the event of a war breaking out they will assemble against us and fight us, and go up from the land.'

2 Then Reuel the Midianite exclaimed, 'Long live the king! If it pleases the king, do not stretch forth thy hand against them, because God has selected them of old and taken them from all nations of the earth to be His inheritance. For whoever of all the kings of the earth stretches forth his hand against them their God will take vengeance upon him. When Abraham went down to Egypt, and Pharaoh ordered his wife Sarah to be brought to him, did not the Lord their God send great plagues upon him and upon his house until he restored Abraham's wife, and only through Abraham's prayer was he healed? Also in the case of Abimelech in Gerar. As a punishment all his house was struck with barrenness, even unto the animals. In a vision Abimelech learned the cause, and that he must restore Abraham's wife whom he had taken. After Isaac prayed for him and his household, and entreated God on their behalf, they were healed.

3 When Isaac was separated from his wife all their fountains were dried up, and their fruit-bearing trees did not yield their produce, and the breasts of their wives and cows were dried up. Then Abimelech went to him from Gerar, his pasturage, and Phichol, the captain of his host. They prostrated themselves, and asked him to entreat God for them and pray to Him. When he besought God they were healed. Jacob was a simple man dwelling in tents; by his integrity he was delivered from Esau, and Laban the Aramean, and from all the kings of Canaan. Who can stretch forth his hand against them without being punished? Was it not thy father that promoted Joseph over all the princes of Egypt, for through his wisdom he rescued all the inhabitants from famine, and commanded Jacob and his sons to go down to Egypt that the land of Egypt be saved from further evil through their piety? Now, if it seems good to thee, cease destroying them, and if thou dost not wish to allow them to dwell in Egypt, send them hence, and they will go to the land of Canaan.'

4 Pharaoh was exceedingly angry with Reuel, so he left the kingdom and went to Midian. He took Jacob's staff with him. The king then said to Job, 'Give thy counsel. What shall be done with these people?' But Job briefly replied, 'Are not all the inhabitants of thy country in thy hand? Do thou what is pleasing in thine eyes.' Then spake Bala'am of Petor to the king, 'If thou thinkest to diminish them by fire, has not their God delivered Abraham from the furnace of the Chaldeans? And if thou thinkest to destroy them by the sword, has not Isaac been tested thereby, and a rain been given in his stead? Now, my lord the king, if thou seekest to blot out their name, order their babes to be thrown into the sea, because not one of them has yet been put to this test.'

5 This advice pleasing the king, he issued a decree all over Egypt, saying that every male born to the Hebrews should be cast into the water. And it came to pass when the males of the house of Jacob were cast into the river that Moses was one of them. The Lord thereupon sent an angel to deliver them, and thus he also was saved through the daughter of Pharaoh. When Moses grew up in the king's palace Pharaoh's daughter adopted him as her son, and the whole of Pharaoh's household was afraid of him.

6 One day it was reported to Bala'am that the son of Bityah (Pharaoh's daughter) wished to take his life. Bala'am the enchanter and his two sons therefore fled for their lives and escaped to the land of Cush. And when Qinqanos waged war with the peoples of the East and Syria, Bala'am revolted against him and did not allow him to enter the city. Cush was therefore besieged for nine years, and during the siege Qinqanos died. The people then crowned Moses the Levite as their king.

7 By his wisdom Moses captured the city, and was placed upon the throne of the kingdom with the crown upon his head. They also gave him to wife the Cushite wife of the late monarch. But Moses, fearing the God of his fathers, did not approach her, for he remembered the oath which Abraham made Eleazar his servant swear, saying, 'Thou shalt not take a wife of the daughters of Canaan for my sons.' Isaac said likewise to Jacob when he fled on account of Esau. 'Thou shalt not intermarry,' said he, 'with the children of Ham, for remember that Noah said, "The children of Ham should be servants to the children of Shem and Jafeth."' Therefore Moses feared the Lord, and walked before Him in truth with all his heart. Nor did he deviate from the path wherein his ancestors Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob walked. The kingdom of Cush was firmly established through him, and, going to war with Edom, the East of Palestine, and Syria, he conquered them, and made them submit to Cush. The number of years during which he sat upon the throne was forty, and in all his battles he was successful, because the Lord God of his fathers was with him.

8 In the fortieth year of his reign, when he was sitting upon the throne with his queen by his side, the queen said to the princes in the presence of the people, 'Behold now, during the whole of the forty years that this king has reigned he has not once approached me, nor has he worshipped the gods of Cush. Now, hearken ye unto me, O sons of Cush, do not allow this man to reign over you any longer, but let my son Mobros reign over you, for it is better that you serve the son of your master than a stranger, a servant of the King of Egypt.' The people discussed the matter until the evening. They then rose up early next morning and crowned Mobros, the son of Qinqanos, king over them. But the Cushites feared to lay hands on Moses, for they remembered the oath they took to him. So they gave him valuable gifts and sent him away with great honour. Moses accordingly went forth thence, and his reign over Cush thus came to an end.

9 Moses was sixty-seven years of age when he went out of Cush; for the thing came from God, as the time had arrived which had been fixed from olden times when the Israelites were to be freed from the children of Ham. Moses then went to Midian, for he feared to return to Egypt through fear of Pharaoh, and stayed by a well of water. When the seven daughters of Reuel the Midianite came out to feed the sheep of their father, they came to the well to draw the water for the sheep. But the Midianite shepherds drove them away, and Moses rose up and assisted them in watering the sheep. Returning to their father, they told him what the man had done for them. Reuel (i.e., Jethro the Kenite) then invited him into the house to take a meal with him. Moses then related to him that he hailed from Egypt, and that he had reigned over Cush; that they had wrested the kingdom from him and had sent him away. When Reuel heard this, he said to himself, 'I shall put this man in prison, by which I shall please the Cushites from whom he fled.' Accordingly he put him in prison, where he remained for ten years. But Zipporah, the daughter of Reuel, had pity upon him, and fed him with bread and water.

10 At the end of the ten years she said to her father, 'Nobody seeks or inquires after this Hebrew whom thou hast imprisoned these ten years. Now, if it seemeth good to thee, my father, let us send and see whether he is dead or alive.' Her father did not know that she had supplied him with food. Reuel then answered and said, 'Is it possible for a man to be imprisoned twelve years without food and yet live?' But Zipporah replied, 'Hast thou not heard, O my lord, that the God of the Hebrews is great and powerful, and that He works wonders at all times? That he delivered Abraham from the furnace of the Chaldeans, Isaac from the sword, and Jacob from the angel with whom he wrestled by the brook of Jabbok? That even for this man He has done many wonders; that He delivered him from the river of Egypt and from the sword of Pharaoh? He will also be able to deliver him from this place.'

11 This word pleased Reuel, and lie acted as she had asked. He therefore sent to the pit to see what had become of him, and found him alive, standing erect, and praying to the God of his ancestors. Having brought him forth from the pit, he shaved him, changed his prison garments, and gave him to eat. The man then went to the garden of Reuel at the back of the palace, and prayed to his God, who had done so many wonders for him. While he was praying, he suddenly beheld a staff made of sapphire fixed in the ground in the midst of the garden. When he approached it, he found engraved thereon the name of the Lord of Hosts, the ineffable name. He read that name, and pulled up the staff as lightly as a branch is lifted up in a thickly-wooded forest, and it was a rod in his hand.

12 This was the same staff that was created in the world among the works of God after He created the heavens and the earth and all their hosts, the seas, rivers, and all the fishes thereof. When Adam was driven from the garden of Eden he took the staff with him and tilled the ground from which he was taken. It then came into the hands of Noah (son of Lamek), who handed it down to Shem and his descendants until it reached Abraham the Hebrew. He then handed over all his possessions to Isaac, including the staff of wonders, which Isaac also inherited. When Jacob fled to Padan Aram he took it with him, and when he came to his father in Beersheba he did not leave it behind. When he went down to Egypt he handed it over to Joseph as a separate gift above that which he gave to his other sons. After Joseph's death the princes of Egypt dwelt in his house, and the staff came into the hand of Reuel the Midianite, who, when he left Egypt, took it away with him and planted it in his own garden. All the mighty men of King Qinqanos who wished to wed his daughter Zipporah tried to uproot it, but without avail, so that it remained there in the garden until Moses, to whom it rightly belonged, came and took it away. When Reuel saw the staff in Moses' hand he was astonished (and knew that he was the redeemer of Israel). Reuel then gave Zipporah his daughter to Moses.

13 Moses was seventy-seven years old when he came out of prison, and took Zipporah the Midianite to wife. And Zipporah went the ways of the women of Israel; she did not even in the smallest thing fall short of the righteousness of Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, and Leah, the pinnacles of the world. She conceived and bare a son, whom she called Gershon, for he (Moses) said: 'I was a wanderer in a strange land '; but by the order of Reuel his father-in-law the child was not circumcised. After the lapse of three years she conceived again and bare another son. After his circumcision Moses called his name Eleazar, because (he said) 'The God of my father is my help, and He delivered me from the sword of Pharaoh.'

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 47

1 At that time Moses used to tend the flocks of Reuel the Midianite behind the wilderness of Sin, with his staff in his hand. But the Lord was zealous for His people and His inheritance, and, hearing their cry, said He would rescue them from the descendants of Ham, and give them the land of Canaan. He appeared to Moses, His servant, in Horeb, in a burning bush; but the fire did not consume the bush. Then God called him from the midst of the bush, and commanded him to go down to Egypt to Pharaoh, King of Egypt, and to ask him to send away His chosen people as free men. He showed him signs and wonders to perform in Egypt that they might believe that the Lord had sent him. God gave him confidence by saying, 'Go, and return to Egypt, for those that sought thy life are now dead, and they have no power to do thee harm.'

2 Moses then returned to Midian, and related to his father-in-law all that had happened. 'Go in peace,' said he. So Moses arose and went away with his wife and sons. They lodged at a certain place, and an angel came down and attacked him for his transgression of the covenant which God made with Abraham His servant, in that he did not circumcise his eldest

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son, and he wanted to slay him. Zipporah then immediately took one of the sharp flint stones which she found there and circumcised her son, and she rescued her husband from the power of the angel.

3 As Aaron the Levite was walking in Egypt by the river God appeared to him, and said, 'Go now, and meet thy brother Moses in the wilderness.' He accordingly went and met him on the mountain of God, and kissed him. On beholding the woman and her children, he said to Moses, 'Who are these?' 'These are,' said he, 'my wife and sons whom God gave me in Midian.' But Aaron was displeased, and he told him to send the woman and her sons back to her father's house. This Moses did. And Zipporah and her sons remained in the house of Reuel, her father, until the Lord visited His people, and delivered them from Egypt from the hand of Pharaoh.

4 Moses and Aaron then went alone to Egypt to the Israelites, whom they told all that the Lord had spoken. Thereat the people exceedingly rejoiced. The next morning they rose up early and went to Pharaoh's house, taking the staff of God with them.

5 When they came to the gate of the king's palace they saw there two young lions bound in iron chains. No one could enter or pass out from within unless the king commanded it. The keepers on seeing them loosened the chains, and by charms set the lions free to pounce upon them; but Moses hastily waved his wand upon them, and Moses and Aaron entered the king's palace, followed by the young lions playing round them as a dog plays on seeing its master coming home from the field. When Pharaoh saw this he was greatly astonished, and still more confused on account of these men, whose appearance was like that of the children of God. The king then said to them, 'What do you wish?' And Moses said, 'The Lord God of the Hebrews has sent us to thee, saying, "Send out My people, that they may serve Me."' Pharaoh was greatly afraid of them, and told them to go away and come again to-morrow, which they did.

6 When they were gone Pharaoh ordered Bala'am the enchanter, and Janis and Jambris, his sons, the wizards, and all the magicians of Egypt to be summoned before him. He then related to them what these men had spoken. The magicians then asked, 'How did these men pass the lions that were chained at the gate of the palace?' 'They waved their staves upon the lions,' said the king, 'and they let them loose, and they followed them just as dogs who were pleased to meet them.' 'They are nothing else than wizards like ourselves,' said Bala'am. 'Send now after them and let them come, and we shall try them.' The king acted accordingly.

7 Taking the staff, they came before the king, and repeated the words which they had spoken at first. 'But how can one believe,' said Pharaoh, 'that you are messengers of God, and that by His word you have come here? Give us a sign and we shall believe you.' Aaron then threw his staff upon the ground, and it was immediately changed into a serpent. The magicians, seeing this, did the same by their incantations, and the staff of each one of them became a serpent; but Aaron's serpent at that moment lifted its head, and, opening its mouth, swallowed up the serpents of Pharaoh's magicians. Bala'am the wizard, seeing this, said, 'This has been done from time immemorial, that one serpent should swallow up his neighbour just as the fish swallow each other. But change it back to a staff as we shall do, and then if thy staff is able to swallow ours we shall thereby know that the Spirit of the Lord is with thee; but if it cannot swallow them, then thou art a wizard as we are.' Aaron then hastily took hold of the serpent by its tail, and it became a stick again. This the magicians likewise did. Then Aaron, as previously, cast his staff upon the ground, and it swallowed up those of the magicians.

8 Pharaoh then ordered the Book of Chronicles of the Kings of Egypt to be brought to him; therein were contained the names of all the gods of Egypt. When the list was read over to Pharaoh, he said, 'I do not find your God written in this book, nor do I know Him.' 'The Lord God of gods is His name,' replied they (Moses and Aaron). But who is the Lord,' added Pharaoh, 'that I should listen to His voice and send Israel forth? I do not know Him, and shall not allow the Israelites to go.' 'From the days of our forefathers He has been called "The God of the Hebrews." Now give us permission to go a journey of three days in the wilderness to sacrifice unto the Lord, for ever since we came down to Egypt He has not received from our hands a burnt offering, meal offering, or sacrifice. If, however, thou wilt not let us go forth, the Lord will assuredly wax angry and smite the land of Egypt with pestilence or with the sword.'

9 'Tell us something of His might and power,' said Pharaoh. 'He created the heavens and all their host; the earth and all it contains; the seas with all their fishes. He it was who formed the light and who created the darkness; who caused the rain to fall upon the earth to irrigate it. He caused the young plants and the grass to spring forth. He created man, animals, the beasts in the forest, the birds in the heavens, and the fish in the seas. Through Him they live, through Him they die. Did He not create thee in the womb of thy mother, and give thee the spirit of life? did He not make thee grow up, and place thee on the royal throne of Egypt? He shall also take away thy spirit and thy soul, and return thee to the dust from which thou wast taken.' The anger of Pharaoh was kindled, and he said, 'Who is there among all the gods of the people that can do this? Behold, I it was who created the river, and who created myself.' He then drove them out of his presence, and from that day he made the slavery more oppressive than heretofore.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 48

1 The Lord rose in His strength and smote Pharaoh and his people with many great and terrible plagues, and turned all their rivers to blood, so that whenever an Egyptian came to the river to draw water, as soon as he looked into his pitcher, he found it turned to blood. Whether for drinking or for kneading the dough, or for boiling, it always looked like blood.

2 After this all their waters brought forth frogs, so that whenever an Egyptian drank of them, his stomach became full of frogs, which croaked about in his entrails just as they did in the river. Whether they kneaded or whether they boiled, the water was filled with frogs. Even when they lay down upon their beds, their very perspiration was turned into frogs.

3 He then smote their dust so that it became lice two cubits high; on their very bodies they lay a handbreadth, as well on the king and queen as on the

people. Following this, the Lord sent against them the wild beasts of the field to destroy them; serpents, vipers and scorpions to injure them; mice, weasels, lizards, and noxious reptiles; flies, hornets, and other insects to fly into their eyes and ears; fleas, ants, and every species of winged insect to torture them; they filled the innermost recesses of their houses. When the Egyptians tried to hide themselves in order to shut out and to escape the wild beasts, the Lord ordered the sea-monster to ascend to Egypt. It has arms ten cubits in length, according to the cubit of man. Rising to the roof, it uncovered the roof and exposed the rafters; and it then slid its arm inside the house; it wrenched off the bolt and lock, and thus forced open the houses of the Egyptians. In this manner the hordes of wild beasts got into the palace of Pharaoh and his servants, and they worried them greatly.

4 And God sent a pestilence among the horses, asses, camels, cattle and sheep. When the Egyptian rose early in the morning and went out to his pasture, he found his animals lying about dead, there remaining alive but one in ten.

5 The Lord next sent a plague of fever among the Egyptians, which afterwards broke out into severe boils, which covered them from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head. They broke, and their flesh was running with streams of matter, until they wasted away and rotted, and

6 the hail devastated all their vines and trees so that not even the bark or the leaves were left: all their produce was dried up, and a burning fiery flame played in the midst of it. Even the men and animals found abroad were slain by the flame, and all the libraries (houses of books) were overthrown.

7 Various kinds of locust devoured everything left by the hail; what one species left, the other destroyed. The Egyptians, however, were glad to hunt them and salt them for food. The Lord then raised a very strong wind, which carried them all, including the salted ones, into the Red Sea, so that not a solitary one remained in the whole of Egypt.

8 Darkness then covered the earth for three days, so that one could not see his own hand before his eyes. During this period of darkness many Hebrews who had rebelled against their Creator, rebelled also against Moses and Aaron, saying: 'We shall not go forth lest we die in the desolate wilderness by famine.' God smote them by a plague, and they were buried during these three days, lest the Egyptians should see them and rejoice at their downfall.

9 All the firstborn of the Egyptians were then slain from man to animal, even the likeness of their firstborn engraved on the walls of their houses was effaced and thrown to the ground. The bones of their firstborn that were buried in their houses the dogs of Egypt dragged away, and, breaking them to pieces, devoured them before the very eyes of the people, so that their descendants cried out in anguish. The people of Egypt then hastened to accompany the servants of God, whom they sent away with much riches and many gifts, according to the oath which God sware at the Covenant between the pieces.

10 Moses went to Shihor (the Nile), and drawing up the coffin of Joseph, took it away with him. The heads of the tribes of Israel also assisted in bringing up each one the coffins of his forefathers. Many of the heathen joined them in their departure from Egypt and in their journey of three days in the wilderness.

11 On the third day, however, they said to one another, 'Did not Moses and Aaron tell Pharaoh that they wished to go a journey of three days in the wilderness in order to sacrifice to the Lord their God? now let us rise early to-morrow morning and see if they return to Egypt to our lord; we shall thereby know that they are to be believed, but if not, we shall go to war against them and bring them back by main force.' On the fourth day they accordingly rose early, and found Moses and Aaron eating and drinking, and celebrating a festival to their God. The rabble said to them, 'Why do you not return to your master?' Moses replied: 'Because the Lord has warned us, saying, "Ye shall no more return to Egypt, but ye shall go to a land flowing with milk and honey, as I have sworn to your fathers."'

12 As soon as the rabble saw that they refused to return, they went to war against the Israelites; but the Israelites prevailed against them, causing great slaughter. The remainder fled to Egypt to inform Pharaoh that the people had fled. And the heart of Pharaoh and of his servants was forthwith turned against them, so that they pursued after them to bring them back to their burdens; for the Egyptians repented after they had sent them away. Pursuing them hastily, they at length overtook them while they were encamping by the Red Sea. There the Lord wrought many miracles for the Hebrews through Moses, His chosen servant, who stretched his staff upon the sea, when the waters were immediately divided into twelve rents (for the twelve tribes), through which they all passed over dryshod, just as one passes along the highway. After them came all the Egyptians. But they were all drowned except Pharaoh, King of Egypt, who thereupon offered a thanksgiving offering to the living God, and believed that He was the living God. God then commanded Michael, Gabriel, and Uriel, the heavenly princes, to bring him up from the sea. So they brought him to the land of Nineveh, where he remained for 500 years.

13 The Israelites then journeyed into the wilderness, and Amaleq, the son of Eliphaz, the son of Esau, went to war against them. With him there came an innumerable army of wizards and enchanters. But the Lord delivered them into the hand of Moses His servant and Joshua the son of Nun, the Ephrathite, who put them to the edge of the sword. Reuel the Midianite, Moses' father-in-law, then came out into the wilderness to Moses, where he was encamping by the mountain of God with Zipporah and his sons, and dwelt with them among the Israelites. Moses next fought against Sihon and Og, and captured their land. He then fought against Midian and slew Evi, Reqem, Ṣur, Ḥur and Reb'a, the five kings of Midian.

14 He put Bala'am the enchanter and his two sons to the edge of the sword. When Bala'am the enchanter saw Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, and Pinehas his son, captains of the host of Israel, following him for the purpose of slaying him, by means of witchcraft he flew in the air, just as an eagle is seen to fly heavenward. But, uttering the ineffable, revered name of God, they brought him down to the earth, and, capturing him, slew him with the rest of the princes of Midian. The Canaanites who dwelt in the mountains also descended with the Amaleqites to fight against Israel, but the Lord delivered them into the hand of Moses and the Israelites, who smote them utterly.

15 Moses was eighty years old when he stood before Pharaoh, King of Egypt. Through him the Lord redeemed Israel from Egypt. He reigned over them in the wilderness forty years, during which time the Lord maintained them by His mercy with the bread of the mighty and the fowl of the heaven, and from the flinty rock He brought forth fountains of water for them. The cloud of the Lord gently guided them by day like children, and a pillar of fire by night, and during the whole time of their travels in the wilderness neither their garments nor their shoes wore out, and no goodness lacked them there.

16 After travelling through the wilderness of Sin, they arrived at Mount Sinai on the third day of the third month after their departure from Egypt. The word of the Lord then came to Moses the Levite, saying, 'Come up to the mountain, and I will give thee the tablets of stone, the Law and the Commandments which I have written to teach the Israelites.' Moses accordingly told the people to sanctify themselves for three days, and on the third day, that is, on the sixth day of the third month, he ascended the mount. The Lord then gave the Israelites through Moses the 613 precepts refined as silver and tried as gold, accompanied by the sound of the trumpet, by thunders and lightnings. They next erected a tabernacle, with its vessels, for ministering to God, and the ark for the two tablets and for the scroll of the Law. They also prepared burnt-offerings, sacrifices, incense, frankincense, oil for the consecration and for anointing therewith the tabernacle with its vessels and the priests of God, viz., Aaron and his sons, who ministered before God and offered sacrifices and incense for the congregation. They also made for them garments of honour, and appointed the sons of Levi to guard the tabernacle of the Lord, to minister to their fellow-priests, and to sing hymns during the sacrifice. They also offered frankincense within to avert the anger and punishment of the Lord.

17 In the fortieth year of their wanderings, Miriam the propheteess died, on the tenth day of the first month, and was buried in the wilderness of Ṣin, which is Qadesh. In the same year, on the first day of the fifth month, Aaron the priest died, and was buried on Mount Hor, and Eleazar and Ithamar were appointed to minister in the place of their father. The priesthood has remained in that family as an inheritance throughout all generations.

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18 In that same year on the seventh day of the twelfth month—i.e., Adar—Moses, the servant of the Lord, died, 120 years old, and was buried in the valley at the nethermost part of the Mount of Ebarim, and Joshua the son of Nun, the Ephrathite, was appointed leader of the people. The rest of the words of Moses relating to his power, his military deeds, his entreaties and prayers on behalf of his people, are they not written in the 'Sefer Hayashar,' which is the Law of our God? Joshua the son of Nun rose up after him. He led the Israelites across the Jordan and divided the land by lots according to the word of God.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 49

The Death Of Aaron, Of Blessed Memory.

1 'Better is a good name than precious oil.' Thus it was with Aaron. God said to Moses, our teacher, 'The time has arrived for Aaron to quit this world. Do thou go and tell him that his life is nearing the end.' Moses then rose and prayed the whole night. He said, 'Lord of the world, how can I say to Aaron, "Thy time has arrived to quit this world"? And God said to Moses, 'Give him the message of a great thing and of good tidings, that I will not deliver his soul into the hand of the angel of death.'

2 Moses then determined to change the order of things for that day. It was customary for some of the princes to rise early and wait at the door of Eleazar and Ithamar, and for all the elders to wait on Moses; but on that day the order was reversed, for Moses, Eleazar, and all the princes rose early to wait on Aaron. When Aaron came to the door and saw them all standing, with Moses among them, he asked, 'O my brother, why hast thou changed thy custom to-day?' 'Because God has bidden me to tell thee something to-day,' said Moses. 'But canst thou not tell me privately?' 'No.' 'Speak, I entreat thee!' 'I cannot,' replied Moses, 'until we depart hence.' They then immediately went away. On other occasions Moses, Aaron, and Eleazar used to walk together—Moses in the middle Aaron at his right, Eleazar at his left, and all the Israelites behind them; but on this day Aaron walked in the middle. When the Israelites perceived this they said to each other, 'The Holy Spirit has been removed from Moses, and has been given to Aaron.' They all rejoiced, because they loved Aaron with a greater love than they did Moses, because he loved peace and pursued it.

3 'Why,' asked Aaron, 'dost thou confer this great honour upon me to-day?' 'Because God has commanded me to tell thee something.' 'And what is that which thou hast been commanded to tell me?' 'Do thou wait until we are seated.' When they were seated Aaron repeated his question, 'Now tell me, my brother.' 'Wait until we mount the hill.' And he did all this in order not to frighten him too much. The three of them, Moses, Aaron, and Eleazar, then ascended the hill, when Moses said, 'O my brother Aaron, return unto me what God has entrusted thee with.' 'Is it the tent of the congregation with all its vessels which is entrusted to me?' 'Has he handed over a light to thee?' 'Yes,' said Aaron; 'the lamp with its seven lights has been entrusted to my care.' He did not yet understand that Moses referred to his soul, which is compared to a light, as the verse says, 'The light of God is the soul of man, penetrating the inmost chambers of the heart.' 'Aaron, my brother, why did Abraham, our forefather, die? Was it not because the time had arrived for Isaac's rule? And Isaac, why did he die?—why, do you think? Because of the time having arrived for Jacob's rule, which was then to be transferred to him.' Even yet Aaron did not understand the drift of Moses' conversation. 'O Aaron, my brother, if one were to ask thee to give twenty years, or ten years, or one year, or even one day of thy life to that person, when that day should arrive wouldst thou deny his claim?'

4 Aaron then at last understood that the time had come for him to die, and he said to Moses, 'Moses, the time of my death has arrived.' Moses remained silent and did not reply, for he was inwardly weeping. Aaron then, placing his hands upon his head, wept bitterly, saying, What avails me the good name, when I am about to quit this world, in which I have always loved peace and pursued it, and made peace between man and his neighbour, between man and wife?' While they were sitting in that place, the ground suddenly opened, showing them the cave of Machpelah. After entering it, Moses said, 'Aaron, my brother, perhaps this is the cave of Machpelah—that is, the vault of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; thou art clothed in thy priestly garments, and they will become defiled. If now thou art willing, clothe thy son Eleazar with thine own garments, and array thyself in his, then thou and I will enter this vault.' Aaron forthwith stripped himself of his garments and put them upon Eleazar, his son, while he clothed himself in those of Eleazar. When they entered the cave they looked and beheld a burning lamp, a prepared bed, and a table spread. 'Go up, my brother,' said Moses, 'and lie upon this bed. Stretch out thy legs and close thine eyes and mouth.' He did so, and his soul departed.

5 When Moses saw this he coveted such a death, saying, 'Happy the man that is born to such a death.' And God replied, 'By thy life thou shalt end thy days by such a death.' At once Moses went out from the cave, and the mouth of it closed up by itself.

6 Moses and Eleazar then descended the hill. When the Israelites saw Moses and Eleazar without Aaron they said to Moses, 'Where is thy brother Aaron?' 'His time had arrived to die, and he is no more,' answered Moses. Thereupon they sought to stone him, saying, 'Thou hast slain him, because we loved him more than thee.' At this Moses raised his eyes on high and stood in prayer.

7 At that moment God said to the ministering angels, 'Lift up Aaron's coffin, and suspend it in the air that the Israelites may see it and believe Moses.' Thus they did, and the Israelites believed. They mourned for him thirty days. The ministering angels also lamented his death, saying, 'Wail, ye cypresses, for the cedar has fallen.' Even God himself uttered this verse over him, 'The law of truth was in his mouth, iniquity was never found on his lips; he walked with Me in peace and righteousness, and gave many a place of refuge.' Concerning his death, it is said, 'A good name is better than precious oil, and the day of death better than the day of one's birth.'

[End of the death of Aaron. May the Lord deliver us on the last day. With the help of God, I, Eleazar the Levite, add here the account of the death of Moses, our teacher.]

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 50

1 The Lord said to Moses, 'Behold, the time draws near when thou shalt die.' R. Aybo related that Moses addressed God in the following manner, 'Through the very word with which I praised Thee in the law in the presence of sixty myriads of those who sanctify Thy name Thou hast sentenced me to death,' as it is said, 'Behold, thy days draw near for thee to die; all thy gifts and punishments are meted out measure for measure, each one meted out in full, how now evil for good.' And God replied, 'Even this word which I told thee is a mark of goodness, as, e.g., "Behold, I send before thee an angel. Behold, the righteous man will be rewarded in the land."

"Behold, I shall send to you Elijah, the prophet," and just as thou hast proclaimed Me before sixty myriads, so shall I, in the future, exalt thee in the midst of fifty-five myriads of perfectly righteous people.'

2 Rabbi said that the death of Moses is referred to ten times, viz.: 'Behold, the time draws near for thee to die.' 'He died upon the mount.' 'For I am about to die.' 'Thou knowest that after my death.' 'After my death.' 'And before his death.' 'He was one hundred and twenty years old when he died.' 'And Moses, the servant of God, died there.' 'And it came to pass after the death of Moses, the servant of God.' 'Moses My servant is dead.' From all these instances we learn that it was ten times decreed that Moses was not to enter the land of Israel; but this harsh decree was, nevertheless, not sealed until the decision of the Great Tribunal was revealed to him.

3 For God said to him, 'A decree has been passed that thou shalt not pass (into the land of Israel), as it is said, Thou shalt not pass this Jordan.' This decree was, however, lightly felt by Moses, for he said, 'The Israelites have committed many grievous sins; and whenever I interceded for mercy on their behalf my prayer was accepted, as it is said, "Let me alone, that I may destroy them"; yet at the same place it is written, "And the Lord repented of the evil." At the same place it is further written: '"And the Lord said, I have pardoned according to thy word." I, Moses, therefore, who have not sinned from my youth, if I entreat God on my own behalf, how much more will God hear my words?' When God saw that the decree was lightly felt by Moses, and that he did not turn his mind to prayer, He immediately swore by His great name that he would not enter the land, as it is said, 'Therefore thou shalt not bring this congregation.' 'Therefore' means nothing else than an oath, as it is similarly said, 'Therefore, I sware to the house of Eli.'

4 As soon as Moses became aware that the judgement concerning him was finally decreed, he fasted, and drawing a circle he stood within it and said, 'I shall not move from this place until that decree has been annulled.' Having then clothed himself in sackcloth and scattered ashes upon his head, he prayed and supplicated before God until heaven and earth and the very creation were moved, and said, 'Perhaps the will of God to renew the world is being accomplished.' A Divine voice then went forth, and said, 'It is not God's will to renew the world; in His hand is the soul of every Man, and the spirit of all flesh.' 'Man' is applied to Moses, as it is said, 'And the Man Moses was exceedingly meek.'

5 At that moment God made a proclamation at every gate, and in every firmament, and at every door of the Great Tribunal that they should not accept Moses' prayer. They, therefore, did not allow his prayer to reach God as the decree had already been sealed. The angel appointed to carry out this decree was named Akhzariel. God forthwith cried out to his ministering angels, 'Hasten to go down and close all those gates of heaven so long as his prayer continues.' For his prayer strove to penetrate the heavens, for like unto a sword it rent and cut, and was not impeded. It drew its strength from the 'Ineffable Name,' which Moses learnt from Zagzagel, his teacher, who is the scribe of all the heavenly host. To this event refers the verse: 'Behind me I heard the sound of a great noise, saying: "Blessed be the Lord from His abode."' The voice was the cry of one supplicating, and the word 'great' can only be applied to Moses, as it is said, 'The man Moses was very great.'

6 What is the true meaning of the expression, 'Blessed be the glory of the Lord from His abode '? The reply is that when the wheels of the chariot and the seraphim of fire perceived that God said, 'Ye shall not receive Moses' prayer, nor show him favour, nor grant him life, nor allow him to enter the land of Israel,' they exclaimed, 'Blessed be the glory of the Lord from His abode, who is no respecter of persons either small or great.'

7 At that time Moses said to God, 'O Lord of the universe, it is well known to Thee what cares and troubles I have undergone for Israel until they became "The chosen ones" to observe Thy Law, and how much anxiety I have suffered for them until I established for them the Law and the Commandments. I said, "As I saw their evil, may I also look upon their good;" and now that they have reached that state Thou sagest to me, "Thou shalt not pass over this Jordan," behold Thou makest Thy law a falsity; for it is said, "Thou shalt give him his reward on the day due." Is this the payment for the forty years' service during which I have toiled, until they (the Israelites) became holy and faithful?' as it is said, 'While Judah was yet rebelling against God, they became a holy and faithful people.'

8 The angel Samael, the wicked, was the chief of the Satans. Every hour he used to dilate upon the coming death of Moses, saying, 'When will the moment arrive at which Moses is to die, so that I may go and take away his soul?' Concerning this David said, 'The wicked are always watching the righteous, seeking to take their life.' But of all the Satans Samael was the most wicked, while, on the contrary, there was no man so righteous among the prophets as Moses, as it is said, 'There has not yet arisen in Israel a prophet like Moses.' This may be compared to a man who is preparing for a wedding-feast, and who anxiously inquires, 'When will thy festivity begin, that I may participate in the joy?' Thus did the wicked Samael remain on the watch for the soul of Moses, and say, 'When will Michael commence to weep, and when shall I obtain the consummation of my joy?' Michael replied, 'I shall weep when (or while) thou rejoicest.' Some are of opinion that he said, 'Do not rejoice, mine enemy; although I fall, yet I rise again, for I fall at the death of Moses, but I shall rise again at the prosperity of Joshua, when he conquers thirty-one kings. I sit in darkness at the destruction of the first temple, but afterwards the Lord shall be my light, the light of the Messiah.' In the meantime one hour had passed.

9 Moses then said to God, 'Lord of the universe, if Thou wilt not permit me to enter the land of Israel, allow me to live in this world, and not die.' But the Lord replied, 'If I do not kill thee in this world, how can I bring thee to life in the world to come? And, further, thou wouldst by this falsify My law, for it is written in My law, "None shall deliver (him) from My hand."' Thus far God forbore. Moses added, 'Lord of the universe, if I am not allowed to enter the land of Israel, allow me to remain as one of the beasts of the field, which eat the grass and drink the water, but live and see the world. Let my soul be as one of them.' God replied, 'You ask too much.' Moses continued, 'If not, allow me to remain in this world as a bird that flieth every day to the four corners of the earth, and in the evening returns to its nest. Let me be as' one of them.' God still said, 'You ask too much.' O Lord of the universe, then place one of my eyes behind the door, and let them shut the door upon it three times in each year, that I may live and not die.' 'It is too much.' What dost thou mean, O Lord, when thou sayest, "It is too much"?' And God replied, 'Thou hast spoken too much.'

10 When, at length, Moses perceived that there was no creature that could deliver him from death, he immediately exclaimed, 'The Rock, whose work is perfect.' Then, taking a scroll, he wrote upon it the Ineffable Name, and recited his last 'Song' until the moment arrived for him to die. Then spake the Lord to Gabriel, 'Go thou and bring to Me the soul of Moses.' But he replied, 'How can I look upon the death of him who is worth sixty myriads of creatures? and how can I make him angry who uttereth such words as he?' Then spake God to Michael, 'Go and bring me the soul of Moses.' And he replied, 'Lord of the universe, how can I, who was his instructor, look upon the death of him who was my pupil?'

11 At length God addressed Samael, the wicked, saying, 'Go thou and bring to idle the soul of Moses.' Then, clothing himself with anger, girding himself with his sword, and enveloping himself with eagerness, he set out to find Moses. When he saw Moses writing the Ineffable Name, that his brilliancy was like that of the sun, and that he looked like an angel of the Lord of hosts, Samael was seized with a great fear for Moses, and said, 'The angels cannot of a surety take away the soul of Moses.' But before Samael appeared Moses knew that he was coming.

12 When he (again) looked on Moses he was exceedingly terrified, and trembled as a woman in travail, so that he could find no courage to speak to Moses, until Moses himself said,

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'Samael, "There is no peace for the wicked," saith the Lord. What dost thou here?' 'I have come here to take away thy life.' 'But who sent thee?' 'He who formed all creatures,' replied Samael. 'Thou shalt not take my life,' added Moses. 'But the souls of all living beings are entrusted to me.' 'And I am,' said Moses, 'the son of Amram, who was born circumcised. On the day of my birth I found speech; I walked on my feet, and spoke to my parents; even the milk I did not suck. When I was three months old, I prophesied that I would in the future receive the Law on this day, from the midst of the flames of fire. When I went abroad I entered the king's palace and took the crown from off the king's head. When I was eighty years old, I performed signs and wonders in Egypt, and brought out thence sixty myriads under the very eyes of the Egyptians. I also rent the sea into twelve parts; I made the bitter waters sweet; I went up to heaven and trod its path; in the wars of the kings I conquered them; I received the law of fire from the fiery throne, and I was hidden behind a cloud; and I spake face to face to God, and I conquered the host of heaven, and I revealed hidden mysteries to mankind; I received the law from the right hand of God, and taught it to the Israelites; I went to war with Sihon and 'Og, the two mightiest warriors of the world, for even at the time of the flood the waters would not reach their knees on account of their enormous height; I caused the sun and the moon to stand still in the horizon, while I smote those two kings with the staff that is in my hand and killed them. Who is there in the world that can do like this? Away hence, thou wicked one. Thou hast not the permission to stay here. Depart from me, for I shall not give thee my soul.'

13 Samael accordingly returned and brought back word to God, who again said, 'Go forth and bring to Me the soul of Moses.' Samael immediately drew his sword from its sheath and thus stood over Moses. But Moses' anger was kindled against him, and he took the staff of God in his hand, on which the Ineffable Name was engraved, and beat Samael with all his might until he fled before him. Moses ran after him, took away the horn of his glory from him, and deprived him of his sight. Thus far did Moses' power prevail. The last moment of Moses' life had then drawn near, when a voice (Bath Kol) was heard to say: Thy last moment, the time of thy death, has arrived.' But Moses entreated thus, 'O Lord God of the world, remember the day on which thou didst reveal Thyself to me in the bush, when Thou didst say, "Go forth and I will send thee to Pharaoh." Remember (O Lord) the day when I stood upon Mount Sinai, where I remained forty days and forty nights. I entreat Thee not to deliver me into the hand of the angel of death.' A voice (Bath Kol) then went forth and said, 'Do not be afraid, for I myself will attend to thy burial.'

14 At that moment Moses stood up, and having sanctified himself just as one of the Seraphim, the Holy One, blessed be He, descended from the highest heavens together with Michael, Gabriel, and Zagzael. Michael arranged Moses' bed, Gabriel spread a garment of fine linen at his head and Zagzael a rug at his feet; Michael stood on one side and Gabriel on the other. Then spake the Lord to Moses, 'Close thy eyes one after the other, and gather up thy feet.' Then, addressing the soul of Moses from the midst of his body, He said to it, 'My daughter, after I have placed thee in Moses' body for 120 successive years, the time has now arrived for thee to go forth from it; therefore depart and do not delay.' The soul of Moses said: 'O Lord of the universe, I know that Thou art the Lord God of the spirits of all flesh, and that all souls, both of life and death, are delivered into Thy hand. Thou it was who createdst me; Thou it was who formedst me and didst place me in the body of Moses for 120 years; and no human body has ever been purer than the body of Moses, in which no evil germ was seen, no worm or insect, wherein there never was any over-estimation. On account of all this I love him, and do not wish to depart from him.' 'O soul,' added God, 'depart and do not delay. I shall then carry thee up into the highest heavens, and place thee beneath the throne of My glory, with the Cherubim, Seraphim and Gedudim' (troops of angels).

15 Once more entreating the Lord, it said: 'Lord of the universe, from Thy Divine Presence on high there once descended two angels, 'Azah and 'Azazel, who in their desire for the daughters of the earth, corrupted their way upon the earth, until Thou didst suspend them between heaven and earth. But from the very day on which Thou didst reveal Thyself in the bush, the son of Amram did not approach his wife, as it is said, "And Miriam and Aaron spoke against Moses on account of his wife." I entreat Thee, O Lord, allow me to remain in the body of Moses.' At that moment, by a kiss of God, the soul of Moses was taken from him, and, as if weeping, God exclaimed, 'Who will now rise up to correct the evil-doers? who will now stand up for the workers of iniquity?' The Spirit of God then wept and said, 'There has never yet arisen in Israel a prophet like Moses.' The heavens wept and said, 'A pious man has perished from the earth.' The earth wept, saying, 'There is no upright man left on the earth.' When Joshua had sought for his master and could not find him, he also wept, saying, 'Save me, O Lord, for the pious one is no more, and the faithful have ceased from among men.' The Israelites then wept, saying, 'He performed the righteousness of God.' And the angels of every heaven exclaimed, 'His judgements are with Israel: the remembrance of the righteous is for a blessing, and his soul returns to everlasting life.'

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 51

1 Now, what was the special merit of Moses, that God Himself should attend on his burial? It was for the following reason. When he went down to Egypt and the time for the redemption of Israel had arrived, all the Israelites busied themselves with the silver and gold, while Moses, for three days and three nights, wearied himself by walking round the city silently searching for Joseph's coffin, since they could not depart from Egypt without Joseph, for he had made them promise him before his death and swear that they would do it, as it is said, 'And Joseph made the children of Israel swear.'

2 When Moses was already exceedingly tired, a woman, Serah, the daughter of Asher, met him, and, seeing him very faint and weary, she said to him, 'My lord Moses, why art thou faint?' 'Because,' said he, 'I have been wandering round the city for three days and three nights in search of Joseph's coffin, but have not yet been able to find it.' 'Come with me, and I will show thee where it is.' Leading him to a brook in that place, she then related to him that the magicians and wizards of Pharaoh had made a coffin of lead for Joseph, weighing 500 talents, and cast it into the brook. They thus spoke to Pharaoh, 'If it please the king, this nation will now not be able to go forth from this place as it cannot discover Joseph's coffin.'

3 Standing by the edge of the brook, Moses exclaimed, 'Joseph, Joseph, thou knowest how thou didst cause Israel to swear, saying, "The Lord will surely visit you," Now bestow glory upon the God of Israel, and do not prevent their redemption. Beseech, I pray thee, thy Creator that thou mayest rise from these depths.' Immediately after this the coffin ascended from the depths, preceded by a bubbling of the waters, floating as lightly as a reed. Lifting it upon his shoulders, he carried it along, followed by all the Israelites. They carried the silver and the gold which they took from Egypt, whilst Moses carried the coffin. Then said the Lord to Moses, 'Thou sayest that thou hast in this done a small thing; by thy life, the mercy which thou hast shown is great, since thou didst not think of the silver and the gold. I shall, therefore, show thee the same mercy when thou departest this life. I shall with My glory bestow kindness on thee.'

4 Thus, when the time had arrived for Moses to quit this world, and God said to him, 'Behold, the time approaches for thee to die,' he exclaimed, 'O Lord of the universe, after having received the law, and having suffered such weariness, dost Thou tell me, "The day of thy death draws near "? I shall not die, but will live.' Thou canst not, for this is the way of man.' 'Lord of the universe,' entreated Moses, 'I beseech thee before my death to allow me to enter and search all the gates of the heavens and the depths of the earth, that they may see there is none besides Thee, as it is said, "And thou shalt know this day, and lay it up in thy,heart that the Lord is God and no one else."' God said, 'Thou hast written of Me: "and no one else." I say of thee there has not yet arisen in Israel any one like Moses, who knew the Lord face to face.' What is the meaning of the words, 'Behold, thy day draws near to its end '? R. Simon said, The very day appeared before God, and said, "Lord of the universe, I shall not move nor end, so that Moses may continue to live."'

5 The sages asked, 'What did Moses do as soon as he knew the day on which he was to die? R. Janai said, that on that day he wrote thirteen scrolls, twelve for the tribes, and one he placed in the Ark. In the event of their seeking to falsify a word, they might refer to the one in the Ark. Then said Moses, 'While I have been occupying myself with the Torah which is living, the day has set and the decree is thus annulled.' God then forthwith made a sign to the heavens, and the day remained at a standstill, saying, 'I will not set, so that Moses shall live.' Therefore Job uttered, 'Did not I weep for him that was in trouble (whose day was fixed), that is, the day was hardened (fixed) for him?' What is the meaning of the words, 'Behold, thy day draws near '? Just as One man says to his neighbour, 'Behold, someone has sued thee before the King.'

6 He called Joshua, and addressed God thus, 'Lord of the universe, let Joshua, my servant, be the ruler, and I shall live.' God replied, 'Serve thou him as he did serve thee.' Moses then rose up and hastened to the house of Joshua, who was greatly afraid, and said, 'Moses, my teacher, has come to me.' When he went out Moses walked on Joshua's left side. When they entered the tent of the congregation, the pillar of cloud descended and separated them; as soon as it departed Moses went up to Joshua, and asked, 'What did the Word say to thee?' And Joshua replied, 'When the Word was revealed to thee, I knew what was said to thee.' Moses then wept, saying, Better one hundred deaths, than one jealousy.' Solomon explains it thus, that love was as strong as death, and jealousy as Sheol, i.e., the love which Moses bare Joshua, and the jealousy which he showed towards him. When Moses was about to die, God tried to appease him, saying, 'By thy life, as thou hast guarded My children in this world, so will I in the future world make thee the leader of My children,' as it is said, 'And He will remember the days of old.'

7 This is the blessing with which Moses blessed the children of Israel before his death. What is the meaning of the expression, 'Before his death '? The sages say that Moses took hold of the angel of death, and compelled him to go before him while he blessed each one of the twelve tribes. R. Meir says that the angel of death approached Moses, and said to him, 'The Lord has sent me to thee, because thou must depart on this day.' Moses said, 'I seek to praise God, as it is said, "I shall not die, but live to tell of the works of God."' 'But why,' said the angel, 'art thou so boastful? for there are others who praise Him; the heavens and the earth glorify Him every hour, as it is said, "The heavens declare the glory of God." But I will silence them,' continued Moses, 'as it is said, "Listen, O heavens, while I speak."' For the second time the angel of death approached him, but as soon as Moses uttered the 'Shem Hammeforash' (Ineffable Name), he fled, as it is said, 'When I call upon the name of the Lord, bring ye greatness to our God.' When the angel of death approached him the third time, Moses said, 'It is now necessary for me to justify the Divine judgement upon me,' for it is said, The Rock, whose work is perfect.'

8 R. Isaac said that the soul of Moses refused to depart from him, so that Moses communed with it, saying, 'Dost thou aver that the angel of death tried to overcome thee?' 'God will not do this,' it replied, 'for "thou hast delivered my soul from death."' 'Has he caused thee to see them crying, and made thee weep with them?' 'No, for "(thou hast delivered) my eye from tears."' 'But did he try to make me fall among them (the people)?' '"Thou hast prevented my foot,"' said it, '"from slipping."' 'And where wilt thou in the future walk?' The soul replied, 'I shall walk before the Lord in the lands of the living.' As soon as Moses heard this, he exclaimed, 'Return, O my soul, to thy rest.' R. Abin said that as soon as they departed the mortals glorified God, saying, 'Moses has commanded us a law, an everlasting inheritance to the congregation of Jacob.'

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 52

1 R. Joshua ben Levi said that when Moses ascended on high to receive the Law, a cloud appeared before him in a crouching position, so that he did not know whether to ride upon it or to take hold of it. However, it soon opened, and having entered it, the cloud carried him aloft. Moses then walked along the firmament, just as one walks along the earth, as it is said, 'And Moses went in the midst of the cloud.' Qemuel, the angel appointed over 12,000 other angels of destruction, keeping guard at the gates of heaven, met him. When he saw Moses he rebuked him, saying: 'Thou comest from a place of defilement, and darest walk in this place of purity. What dost thou, who wert born of woman, in this place of fire?' 'I am Moses, the son of Amram, and have come here to receive the law for Israel.'

2 Moses walked along the firmament just as a man walks along a pathway, until he came to Hadarniel. The sages say of Hadarniel that he stands 60,000 parasangs above his fellow-angels, and that every word he utters is accompanied by 12,000 sparks of fire. On seeing Moses, he in his turn rebuked him, saying, 'What doest thou in this sublime and holy place?' But as soon as Moses heard the voice of Hadarniel, he became frightened, confused, and trembled exceedingly in his presence, and the tears flowed from his eyes. He therefore entreated the cloud to cast him forth;

3 But God's mercy was moved for Moses, and He thus addressed Hadarniel: 'From the very day that I created you, you have striven before Me; when I wished to create man, all of you became his accusers before Me, saying: "What is man, that Thou shouldst remember him, and the son of man, that Thou shouldst visit him?" You gave Me no rest until I consumed many of your companies; and now, seeing that My desire is to give My law to My children, you stand in the way and will not allow My law to descend to My chosen people Israel. Indeed, were it not for Israel, who are to receive My law, there would be no dwelling in the firmament, either for Me or for you,' as it is said, 'If I had not created the day and the night, I would never have decreed the statutes of heaven and earth. '

4 When Hadarniel heard this he rose and prayed and made supplication before God, saying, 'O Lord of the universe, it is revealed and known before Thee that I did not know that Moses came here with Thy permission. Now that I know it I shall act as a messenger to him, I shall go before him as a pupil before his teacher.' Thus humbling himself, he went before Moses as a pupil before his instructor, until he came to the fire of Saldalphon;

5 And then Hadarniel said: 'Moses, do thou proceed, for I am not able to stand before the fire of Saldalphon. I fear lest he consume me with the breath of his mouth.' When Moses perceived Saldalphon, he was confused and trembled, and the tears flowed from his eyes. He then desired to be thrown from the cloud, and besought the mercy of God. His prayer was answered, for at that moment the Holy One, blessed be He, Himself descended and stood before Moses until he passed the

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fire of Saldalphon. Concerning this it is said, 'And the Lord passed before him and he exclaimed, "The Lord, the Lord, the God of mercy and kindness."'

6 Of Saldalphon the sages say that he towers above his fellow-angels a distance that would take 500 years to walk, and that he stands in front of the curtain weaving crowns for his Maker. The ministering angels do not know where God dwells, for it is said, 'Blessed be the Lord from His abode,' and it is not said in, but from, His abode. He (Saldalphon) therefore conjures with the Ineffable Name, and the crown departs to rest by itself on the head of the Almighty. As soon as the crown leaves the hand of Saldalphon, all the heavenly hosts are moved, and the holy creatures, till now silent, roar like lions, and they exclaim with one voice, 'Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts, the whole earth is filled with His glory.' When the crown reaches the throne of God, all the wheels of His chariot and throne commence rolling; the sockets of fire blaze forth, and all the heavens are seized with terror. When it passes on to the throne all the heavenly hosts with their own crowns on break forth into glorification of God, saying, 'Blessed be the glory of the Lord from His abode.' Come and see the glory and greatness of God. As soon as the crown reaches His head, He strengthens Himself to receive the prayers of His servants. Then all the Hayoth, Ophanim, Seraphim, the wheels of His chariot, the throne of His glory, and the hosts above and below exalt, glorify, and break forth in words of praise, honour and glory, and all as with one mouth proclaim His Sovereignty, saying, The Lord will reign for ever and ever.'

7 As soon as Moses passed away from Saldalphon, he came to Rigion, a river of fire, whose flames burn the angels of fire just as the fire which consumes man. Moses, however, was taken across by God.

8 He then met Galisur, an angel to whom is attributed the saying that out of the mouth of the Most High proceedeth evil and good. Why was his name called Galisur? Because he reveals the secrets of God. His wings are spread out to receive the fiery breath of the holy creatures, for, were he not to do so, no creature would be able to endure it. Galisur is appointed for another kind of work: he prophesies that this year shall be a good wheat crop; the barley shall ripen, and the wine shall be cheap. And yet another kind of work: taking a thick covering of iron and spreading it on the river Rigion, he places certain people upon it opposite the angels and princes, so that they may prosper, and that their fear shall fall upon the creatures. God took Moses up and brought him across the river.

9 After this, Moses met a troop of angels of terror that surround the Throne of Glory, and that are mightier and stronger than all the ministering angels. As soon as they espied Moses, they tried to consume him with the breath of their mouths, saying, 'What doest thou in this place of glory?' But God immediately spread the glory of His throne round about him, as it is said, 'He closeth in the face of His throne and spreadeth His cloud upon it.' Moses, thereby strengthened, returned the following answer: 'What avails the Torah to you? The Exodus from Egypt does not apply to you, nor the worshipping of strange gods, nor the taking of oaths.' At this they immediately rendered their thanksgiving to God, as it is said, 'Our Lord, how mighty is Thy name in all the earth! Thou whose majesty extends over the heavens.' From that moment every one became Moses' friend; every one handed over to him a secret cure, and even the angel of death revealed to him his secret, as it is said, 'And he gave the frankincense and atoned for the people.'

10 Then, opening the seven firmaments, God showed him the heavenly temple and the four different hues in which the tabernacle was made, as it is said, 'And thou shalt erect the tabernacle according to the plan which thou sawest on the mount.' 'O Lord of the universe,' said Moses, 'I do not know its form.' Then spake God to him, 'Turn to the right.' He did so, and seeing angels clothed in a colour like that of the sea, God said, 'This is blue.' 'Now turn to the left,' said God. He did so, and seeing angels clothed in white, God said, 'This is the fine linen.' Then turning in front of him and seeing angels clothed in red, God said, 'This is scarlet.' 'Now turn behind thee.' Turning behind, he saw angels clothed neither in red nor green, and God said, 'This is purple.'

11 The Lord then opened the seven doors of the seven heavens, and revealed Himself to Israel face to face in His glory and with His crown. As soon as the Israelites heard the words, 'I am the Lord thy God' from God's own mouth, their souls departed forthwith, as it is said, 'The souls of the Israelites departed when He spoke.' The Law went forth to Israel and found them all dead. Returning to God, it said, 'Lord of the universe, to whom hast Thou given me, to the living or to the dead?' 'To the living,' said He. 'Hast thou not applied to me the verse, "It shall be thy life and the length of thy days"? and yet here are they all dead.' 'Then for thy sake I shall restore their souls;' and causing that dew to descend which is destined to revive the dead, He thus brought them to life, as it is said, 'Thou, O God, didst send a plentiful rain; Thou didst confirm Thine inheritance when it was weary.' He then restored their souls, as it is said, 'The law of God is perfect, refreshing the soul.'

12 There then descended, at the command of God, 120 myriads of ministering angels, of whom a pair went to each of the Israelites, one to place his hand upon his heart to prevent his soul from departing, and the other to straighten his neck that he might behold God. But why did God reveal Himself to them face to face? Because He said to them, 'Know that I reveal Myself to you in My glory and in My majesty, so that in the event of one of you leading others astray and saying to them, "Forsake your God and let us go and serve other gods," you may then say to him, "Is there anyone who, after beholding his Creator in His glory and in His majesty and upon the throne of His glory, would go and serve other gods?"'

13 Then said the Lord to Moses, 'My angels are afraid of thee because the fire of thy lightnings is stronger than theirs. Let Michael My archangel go before thee, for My great name is engraved upon his heart, as it is said, "For My name is within him." The glory of the heights is on thy right hand, and the image of Jacob thy forefather on thy left.' Moses was inwardly pleased when he saw the Most High condescending to argue with him. All the inhabitants of the world were confused; the inhabitants of every country were astonished when they saw Moses the son of Amram, who had captured the King's daughter (the Law), descending in great exultation, as it is written, 'Thou didst ascend on high; thou didst take captive and receive presents for man.' It is further written, A wise man scaleth the city of the mighty, and bringeth down the strength of the confidence thereof.' The mountains and hills skipped like rams when they saw the canopy erected, and the daughter of God as a bride decked with precious stones. The daughter of God is the Torah (Law), and the precious stones represent the twelve tribes, who said, 'All that the Lord has spoken we shall do and hearken thereunto.' As soon as they exclaimed, 'We shall do and we shall obey,' there descended 120 myriads of ministering angels, who placed two crowns upon every one of the Israelites: one because they said, 'We shall do,' and the other because they exclaimed, 'We shall obey.' And the glory of the Lord was revealed from heaven, from the habitation of His holiness. He gave the Torah to the children of Jacob, His chosen one, and gave them righteous judgements, a true law, statutes and commandments for their good, by which to prolong the life, to obliterate the sins, and to sow the seeds of righteousness.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 53

1 The sages say that while the Israelites were travelling in the wilderness they were surrounded by seven clouds of glory, one in front of them, one behind them, two on each side, and one above them to protect them from the sun and the cold. Another cloud went before them, which levelled the high places and raised the lower places that they might not stumble, as it is said, 'And Thy cloud stood above them, and in a pillar of cloud Thou wentest before them.' This was the one in front of them, and the seventh was that which was placed at the head of the standards, and the light of the Divine Presence was refulgent in it. But how did it shine there?

2 The Rabbis say that there were four standards, of which the standard of Judah was in the east, and similar in shape to a lion, as it is said, Judah is a lion's whelp.' On the top of the banner was the form of a lion, out of which hooks of gold protruded, which ended in a sword-like pike, and on this there rested one arm of the seventh cloud, on which the three letters representing the three forefathers were engraved, viz., Alef, Yod, Yod. 'Alef' for Abraham, 'Yod' for Isaac, and 'Yod' for Jacob (### being the mnemonic sign). These letters were illuminated by the Shechinah.

3 In the south the banner of Reuben was placed. It had the appearance of a man similar to mandrakes, on account of the passage, 'And he found mandrakes.' On the top of the banner hooks of gold, which ended in a sword-like pike, and upon them rested one arm of the cloud, on which the three letters representing the three ancestors were engraved—'Beth' for Abraham, 'Ṣade' for Isaac, and ''Ayin' for Jacob (### being the mnemonic sign). These letters also shone from the splendour of the Shechinah.

4 In the west the banner of Ephraim was encamped, being in appearance like a fish, on account of the expression, 'And they shall increase like the fish abundantly.' On the top of the banner were placed hooks of gold ending in a sword-like pike, on which rested one arm of the cloud, with the three letters representing the three forefathers engraved upon it, viz., 'Resh' for Abraham, 'Heth' for Isaac, and 'Qof' for Jacob (the mnemonic sign being ###). Likewise these letters shone through the splendour of the Shechinah.

5 Lastly, in the north was encamped the banner of Dan, in the form of a serpent, on account of the expression, 'Dan shall be like a serpent by the way.' On the top of the banner were placed hooks of gold ending in a sword-like pike, above which one arm of the cloud rested, with three letters representing the three ancestors engraved thereon, viz., 'Mem' for Abraham, 'Qof' for Isaac, and 'Beth' for Jacob (the mnemonic letters being ###), which shone through the splendour of the Shechinah.

6 Now, there was one letter remaining, viz., the He of Abraham, which God added to Abram from His own name, which is spelt Yod He. With this God created the world, as it is said, 'For with "Yah" the Lord created the worlds.' God placed the pillar of cloud above the ark, which was surrounded by all the banners, as it is said, 'They encamped round about the tent of the congregation.' On this cloud now those sacred letters Yad, He, were fixed, and during the seven days of each week it went the round of all the camps of Israel, giving light as the sun by day and as the moon by night. They were thus able to distinguish between day and night.

7 When God wished them to remove their camps, the cloud on which the letters Yod, He were engraved moved upwards from the ark of the covenant. The four clouds on which were respectively engraved the letters ###, ### and ### followed after them, and as soon as the priests noticed these clouds following in the wake of the pillar of cloud, with the letters ### on it, they blew their trumpets, and the four winds of the earth blew myrrh and frankincense, as it is said, 'Who is this coming up from the wilderness like pillars of smoke, perfumed with myrrh and frankincense?'

8 These trumpets were used first for assembling the people together, then as the signal to continue their journeying for war, and also for the Sabbaths and festivals. Every trumpet was hollow and emitted a loud sound. It was one cubit in length and broad at the mouth, and a thin reed was placed in its mouth to receive the breath, and thus to discourse music in the hearing of the people. When they were used to assemble the people, and to bring the princes together, the sons of Aaron blew on one trumpet one long even sound (teqi'ah), and not a tremolo. A Teqi'ah, or one long even sound, on two trumpets meant the assembling of the whole congregation, but the same on only one trumpet was the signal for the assembling of the princes. If a tribe required its prince, they blew a Teqi'ah on one trumpet, but not a Teru'ah or tremolo. In the same manner the assembling of all the congregation was sounded.

9 As a signal for continuing their journey they used two trumpets and sounded the Teru'ah. At the first sound the three camps eastward, under the banner of Judah, moved onwards; at the second the three camps in the south, under the banner of Reuben; at the third, the three camps in the west, under the banner of Ephraim; and at the fourth sound of the Teru'ah, the three camps in the north, under the banner of Dan, started on their journey. For all these the Teru'ah sound was blown. In war, however, and on a day of rejoicing, or a festival, or a new moon, the sons of Aaron blew the two sounds Teqi'ah and Teru'ah.

10 These four banners correspond with the four elements of which the world is composed, and the twelve tribes correspond with the twelve stones of the ephod, as it is said, 'And the stones shall be called after the names of the children of Israel.' The banner of Judah in the east corresponds to one of the four elements, viz., fire, and of the constellations, to Aries, Leo and Sagittarius, which consist of fire, and to the first row of the stones of the ephod, viz., the sardius, topaz and carbuncle.

11 The standard of Reuben in the south corresponded to earth, the second of the four elements; to Taurus, Virgo and Capricornus of the constellations which are of the dust; and to the second row of the stones of the ephod, viz., the emerald, sapphire, and diamond. The banner of Ephraim in the west corresponded to water, the third of the four elements; to Gemini, Libra, and Aquarius of the constellations, which consist of water; and to the third row of the stones of the ephod, viz., the jacinth, agate, and amethyst.

12 The standard of Dan in the north corresponded to air, the fourth of the four elements; to Cancer, Scorpio, and Pisces of the constellations, which were created of air; and to the fourth row of the stones of the ephod, viz., the beryl, onyx, and the jasper.

13 Judah's constellation is Leo and his stone the sardius; Isaachar's is Aries and his stone the topaz; Zebulun's Sagittarius and his stone the carbuncle, i.e., altogether nine corresponding to fire. * Reuben's constellation is Taurus, and his stone the emerald; Simeon's Virgo and his stone the sapphire; Gad's Capricornus and his stone the diamond, i.e., altogether nine * corresponding to dust. Ephraim's constellation is Gemini and his stone the jacinth; Menasseh's Libra and his stone the agate; Benjamin's Aquarius and his stone the amethyst, which are together nine corresponding to air. * Dan's constellation is Cancer and his stone the beryl; Asher's Scorpio and his stone the onyx; Naphtali's Pisces and his stone the jasper, which are altogether nine corresponding to water.`

14 Each man stood by his standard, together with the ensign of his father's house, thus: Reuben, mandrakes; Simeon, the city of Shechem; Judah, the lion's whelp; Issachar, a strong ass; Zebulun, a ship; Ephraim, an ox; Menasseh, a buffalo (or Rëem); Benjamin, a wolf; Dan, a serpent; Naphtali, a hind; Gad, a troop (according to the passage, 'a troop will overtake him'); Asher, an olive, on account of the passage, 'He

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dipped his foot in oil.' Thus, a sign was given to every banner, according to the deeds and according to the name of the tribe.

15 And these are the four camps of the standards. 'Every man by his standard, according to the house of their fathers, shall encamp round about the tent of the congregation.' Between the tabernacle and the camps of the standards there was a very wide space. Three tribes formed under one banner, that is, in three separate camps according to their order, and each camp was like a large city. The camps of Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun, were placed in the east; Reuben, Simeon and Gad in the south; Ephraim, Benjamin and Menasseh in the west; and Dan, Asher and Naphtali in the north. The Levites encamped between the tabernacle and the camps, on the four sides of the tabernacle, at a distance from the camps, but near the tabernacle, and kept guard in the tabernacle of the Lord. Moses and Aaron and his sons encamped in the east of the tabernacle, opposite Judah's standard. The sons of Kehath encamped in the south, opposite Reuben's banner; the children of Gershon in the west, opposite Ephraim's banner, and the children of Merari in the north, opposite Dan's banner. The tent of the congregation stood in the centre, surrounded on all sides by the Levites, while the four standards of the Israelites surrounded the Levites, and the clouds of glory surrounded the Israelites. That is the meaning of the verse, 'The angel of the Lord encamps round about those who fear Him.' The four standards, Moses, Aaron and the tabernacle, which are altogether seven, correspond to the seven planets, viz., Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon, Saturn, Jupiter and Mars, and the twelve tribes to the twelve constellations.

16 R. Ele'azar asked R. Simeon, 'When the Israelites went out of Egypt, did they take weavers with them?' 'No,' replied R. Simeon. 'How, then, did they clothe themselves during the whole of the forty years?' 'The ministering angels clothed them, as it is said, "And I shall clothe thee in fine network." 'But did not the children grow to men?' said he. 'Learn the reply from the purple snail whose shell grows simultaneously with it.' Thus the Israelites fared, nor did they become dirty, for the clouds were cleansing them. Further, they did not emit a malodorous smell from the perspiration of their bodies, although they did not change their clothes.

17 The well caused to grow various kinds of spices and sweet-smelling herbs, upon which they lay, as it is said, 'He will cause me to lie down in the well-watered pastures,' the perfume of which travelled from one end of the world to the other. The well of Miriam was placed at the entrance of the court near Moses' tent, and indicated to all (the camps) where they were to encamp. It indicated it in this manner: When the curtains of the court were set up, the twelve pillars by the well sang the 'Shirah,' as it is said, 'They dug the well with songs.' And the waters of the well swelled into rivers, one of which surrounded the camp of the Shechinah. From that river there issued four other rivers into the four corners of the court, each one of which flowed through the four corners, such as south-east, etc., to the camp of the Israelites. After passing the camp of the Levites, these rivers flowed together into one channel, encompassing first the whole camp of the Levites; and flowing between each family, and surrounding the camp of the Shechinah, there were seen many small channels. Then this great river encompassed the whole camp of the Israelites from without, forming into smaller rivers running between each tribe. These rivers marked the boundary of each camp, so that one did not encroach upon his neighbour. But do not think that they obtained nothing from the waters, because they produced all kinds of dainties similar to those of the world to come, as it is written, 'Thou art a fountain of gardens.' And all kinds of spices grew for them, as it is said, 'Thy shoots are a garden of pomegranates . . . . with spikenard and saffron,' etc.

18 At the end of each camp on the east, west, north and south, there stretched an area of 4,000 cubits. Moses and Aaron and his sons were encamped in the east; the children of Kehath in the south; the children of Gershon in the west; and the children of Merari in the north. Each one of them occupied 100 cubits within the 4,000. In addition to this there were those 4,000 cubits on each side. Thus the Levites occupied one-eighth of the whole area of the tribes. But where did the animals pasture? The whole encampment extended over an area of 12 square miles, comprising the camp of the Shechinah, that of the Levites, and that of the camp of the Israelites. In the corners on each side their cattle pastured, i.e., opposite (or facing) their own encampment. The rivers surrounded them from within and without, forming channels for them all round, so that the people had permission to walk on the Sabbath from one camp to the other. The cloud being spread over them, divided them from their cattle, as it is said, 'And the cloud of the Lord rested over them by day.' From the splendour of the blue used in the tabernacle the rivers appeared blue as the blue of the morning and the light of the moon and the sun was reflected in them. When the nations beheld them from afar praising God, they said, 'Who are these people looking at us from the wilderness?' and fear and dread fell upon them all, as it is said, 'Fear and dread shall fall upon them.'

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 54

The Smiting Of The Firstborn.

1 The sages say that when God brought the plague of the firstborn upon the Egyptians, He started first upon their gods, as it is said, 'I shall execute judgement on all the gods of Egypt; I am the Lord.' And what was this smiting of their gods, since they were but images of stone? They were broken up into small pieces; every idol of wood rotted and became a heap of dust, and all idols of silver, brass, iron and lead were melted to metal sheets on the ground; and when the Egyptians were drowned in the Red Sea fire descended upon their gods and consumed them, as it is said, 'And in the abundance of Thy majesty, Thou wilt overthrow all those who rise up against Thee.'

2 The sages further say that before the plague of the firstborn descended upon them Moses went among the firstborn in Egypt and said to them, 'Thus saith the Lord, About the time of midnight I shall go forth in the midst. of the Egyptians, and all their firstborn shall die.' Thereupon all the firstborn went to their fathers and said, 'All the plagues which Moses foretold have come to pass; he now says that all the firstborn are to die.' 'Go to Pharaoh,' replied their fathers, 'for he is a firstborn.' Going to him, they said, 'Send this people away, for if you do not, all the firstborn will perish.' Pharaoh immediately ordered his servants to go and smite them, and he said, 'I have once declared either my soul shall be taken or those of the Israelites, and now you wish them to be sent away.' Each one of them took his sword and slew his father, as it is said, 'The smiting of the Egyptians by their firstborn.' Nevertheless, at midnight, all the firstborn were slain, as it is said, 'And the Lord smote all the firstborn of the land of Egypt, from the firstborn of Pharaoh, i.e., his son, who also died. And Pharaoh and his servants arose in the night on that account.

3 If an Egyptian married five wives, having had five sons, the next day these sons were found dead, because they were all firstborn to their mothers. In the same manner, if a woman had married five times and had obtained a son of each husband, all these sons died, because they were all firstborn to their fathers. Thus was fulfilled the statement that 'All the firstborn of the land of Egypt should die.' In the event of a house containing no firstborn, the eldest in the house died. The house wherein the firstborn had died long before, the dead came out again from the grave and died anew within the house, causing great wailing. Therefore it is written, 'There was no house into which death did not enter.'

4 As soon as Pharaoh saw that his son, the son of his wife, and the sons of his servants were dead, he meditated within him that Moses had never once yet lied to him, and said to his servants, 'All the time that he was near me he used to appease; and he prayed before his Creator, and we were then healed of all our plagues. But, a little while ago, I was incensed against Moses, and said to him, "Thou shalt not any longer look upon my face." Therefore it is incumbent upon myself to go to seek him.' Pharaoh and all his servants accordingly rose from their beds with great weeping, and Pharaoh, going the round of all the streets, inquired, 'Where is Moses? Where is Moses? Where does he dwell?' When the Israelites saw him they laughed, saying to him, 'Pharaoh, where art thou going, and whom dost thou seek?' 'It is Moses your master that I am searching for.' 'Here he lives, here he lives,' said the children, all the while laughing at him, until he at last said, 'Arise, go forth from among my people.' But the Israelites took no notice of him until he went to Moses' house and said, 'I entreat thee, O my lord, pray to God for us.' But Moses and Aaron and all the Israelites were at that moment in their several houses, eating their paschal lambs and singing praises to the King of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He, and sitting at home, and no one went out of his house, because God said to the Israelites, 'And no man of you shall go out of his house until the morning.'

5 So that when Pharaoh came to Moses' door, Moses said to him from within his house, 'Who art thou calling?' 'I am Pharaoh,' said he. 'Why dost thou thyself come to me? Surely it is not customary for kings to come to men's houses, and, moreover, at night-time.' 'I entreat thee, go forth and pray for us, for there is no man left in Egypt that is not dead.' 'But I cannot go forth, for I have heard it from the mouth of God, saying, "You shall not go forth."' 'I beseech thee,' said Pharaoh, 'stand at the window and let me behold thy pleasant face.' 'But,' added Moses, 'didst thou not say to me, "Thou shalt no more see my face"?' 'I said this to thee before the firstborn died, but now they are already dead. Thou hast indeed never lied before me: now, why are they all dead?' And Moses said, 'Dost thou wish them to be brought to life again?' 'Yes,' said he.

6 'If so, then raise thy voice and say, "O children of Israel, behold ye are free men, behold ye are your own masters. Now arise and go forth from the midst of my people. But now ye were the servants of Pharaoh, henceforward ye are the servants of God."' These words Pharaoh repeated. 'Say them again.' And Pharaoh did so. Say them a third time.' And Pharaoh said them a third time. When Pharaoh raised his voice, it was heard in all the land of Egypt, a distance of forty days or 400 parasangs.

7 And in that night he called Moses and Aaron and said to them, 'Arise, go forth from among my people.' 'But why dost thou trouble me the whole night?' said Moses. 'Because,' answered Pharaoh, 'I am a firstborn, and I fear lest I die.' 'Do not fear this, because thou art destined for greatness.' And the Egyptians forced Pharaoh, and persuaded him to send the Israelites from among them, as it is said, 'And the Egyptians strengthened themselves to hasten the people out of their land, for they said, "Behold we shall all of us die."' But God answered them, saying, 'By your life you shall not all of you die here, but I shall destroy you in the sea.' When the Egyptians were drowned in the sea, fire descended upon their gods so that they were consumed.

8 Among these Egyptians there were two wizards whose names were Johanai and Mamre. As soon as they entered the sea and saw that the waters encompassed them, by means of their wiles they flew into the air as high as the firmament. There was not another nation in the world so much addicted to witchcraft as the Egyptians. Thus our sages have said, 'Ten measures of witchcraft descended into the world: nine parts the Egyptians took, and one remained for the rest of the world.' Johanai and Mamre were the princes of witchcraft, and, from their great knowledge of it, they ascended to the firmament; nor were Michael and Gabriel able to do anything against them. They therefore cried to God in supplication, saying, 'O Lord of the universe, these wicked men who oppressed Thy children with hard bondage dare to stand here without fear, and not only this, but they dare to defy even Thee.' (Whence do we know that God Himself descended in Egypt? Because it is said, 'I shall go down with thee to Egypt.') 'Now, if it is Thy will, O Lord of the universe, execute punishment for Thy children.' At this God immediately ordered Metatron, saying, 'Throw them down and cast them to the ground, but be careful that they only fall into the sea.' Metatron accordingly cast them forcibly into the midst of the sea. It was then that the Israelites broke forth with the 'Shirah' (the song), 'And in the abundance of Thy majesty Thou hast overthrown those who rise up against Thee.'

9 'The nations heard it and trembled,' The sages say that when the Egyptians pursued the Israelites and beheld them, they were seized with great fear and dread, and did not wish to enter into the sea after them. God therefore sent Gabriel to them, and he appeared like a mare entering the sea. Pharaoh's horse immediately followed into the sea after it, and he was followed by all the Egyptians. Then spake God to Moses, saying, 'Stretch forth thy hand over the sea, and the waters shall return upon the heads of Pharaoh and his chariot and his riders.' Moses thus stretched forth his hand upon the sea, which was cleft asunder and rent. When the nations of the world heard the report of the exodus from Egypt, and the rending of the Red Sea, they trembled, and in terror fled from their habitations.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 55

The Rebellion Of Korah.

1 And the children of Israel went up from the sea, and they came to the wilderness. While they were journeying in the wilderness a quarrel broke out between Korah and Moses. A certain woman had a ewe-lamb which she fed from her bread and gave to drink from her own cup, so that it was as a daughter to her. When she one day sheared the wool of her lamb, Aaron the priest came and took the wool away. Going immediately to Korah, she said to him, 'O my lord, I am exceedingly poor, my whole possession being but one ewe-lamb. When I sheared its wool for the purpose of clothing myself, for I am naked, Aaron the priest came up and took it away by force.'

2 Korah then went up to Aaron and said to him, 'Hast thou not sufficient with the tithes and heave-offerings of the Israelites, that thou must needs take away the wool of this poor woman, who is esteemed as a dead person?' But Aaron retorted, 'Thou shalt not die in the natural way. I shall not annul, for thy sake, one letter of the law. It is written therein, "The first of the shearing of thy flock shall be given to me."' In three months' time the ewe bore a lamb, and Aaron came and took it away. The woman immediately went again to Korah and complained, 'O my lord, behold Aaron has no compassion on me, for but yesterday he took away the wool, and to-day he has taken the firstborn.' And he replied, 'The law says that every male firstborn of thy cattle and of thy sheep shall be dedicated to the Lord thy God.'

3 The woman then went forth and slew the ewe, and Aaron immediately came and took the shoulder, the jaws and the maw. Seeing this, the woman, sorely troubled, cried, saying, 'Thou hast all the flesh.' 'I take all the flesh,' added Aaron, it has now become our portion, as it is said, "The flesh of everything that is dedicated belongs to thee."'

4 The woman, going to Korah, related all that had happened, and Korah, exceedingly enraged, said to Aaron, 'What claim hast thou upon this poor woman? Thou didst first take the wool, then the firstborn, and now the whole ewe itself.' 'I shall not transgress one letter of the law on account of thy anger, for it is said, "All the flesh shall be the priest's."'

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5 Korah was then filled with wrath, and when God commanded Moses to tell the children of Israel to make for themselves fringes, Korah arose in the night, and weaving 400 garments of blue, put them on 400 men. Then, standing before Moses, he said to him, 'Do these garments require fringes, as they are now made wholly of the blue? Moses replied, 'Korah, does a house full of holy books require a Mezuzah.' 'Yes,' said Korah. 'So also do these garments require fringes.'

6 Thus the jealousy (envy) between them grew to such an extent that God said to Moses, 'Take the Levites, and thus thou shalt do to purify them.' He then made four decrees concerning the Levites, two of which they accepted and two-of which they did not accept. They then said to Moses, 'Sprinkle upon us the water of the sin-offering, and we shall also wash oar clothes, but to the heaving and the razor we shall not submit.'

7 Moses then forcibly lifted them up from the ground against their will. When it came to the decree of the shaving their bodies, Moses was not able to attend to them alone, so he said to the Israelites, 'A decree has been issued concerning the Levites to pass the razor over their flesh, and they have refused to submit.' Thereupon, all the Israelites stood up, laid hold of the Levites by force, and made them submit.

8 At that time the wife of Korah said to her husband, 'The King of Life makes both you and Moses subservient to Him, but now, having passed the razor over your own flesh and over your beards, you will be a reproach and a shame to all. It is surely preferable to die than to live.' Concerning this Scripture says, 'The wisdom of woman buildeth her house, but the hands of the foolish one overthrow it.'

9 'The wisdom of woman buildeth her house.' This refers to the wife of On, the son of Peleth, who, when she saw that the quarrel was coming to a head, said to her husband, 'My lord, hearken to my counsel: whether Korah is the prince and thou art the pupil, or Moses is the prince and thou art the pupil, what avails thee this quarrel? It is surely better to free thy soul from the punishment.' 'But what shall I do now,' he answered, 'since I have already sworn to Korah that I shall abide by his counsel?' 'Thy oath will be fulfilled,' she replied, 'if thou sidest with Moses, since all the Israelites are holy.' 'May I trust thee?' said he. She answered: 'Yes.' Thereupon, on the day of visitation, she killed a lamb, and gave him to eat and to drink until he was drunk. She then put him to bed, and while he slept she sat at the street-door and uncovered her head, and combed her hair; and whoever came to call for On, the son of Peleth, saw his wife. with uncovered head, and being shamed, turned away until the time passed, and On was thus saved. With reference to this the text says, 'Hide thyself for a moment until the anger has passed away.'

'But the foolish woman overthroweth it (her house) with her hands.' This alludes to the wife of Korah, who wickedly counselled her husband to quarrel with Moses, and thus he perished from this world and from the next also, as it is said, 'And they perished from the midst of the congregation.'

10 The sages say that through the deep counsel of Balaam the Israelites were diminished, for the sons of Moab and Midian took counsel together, and, gathering all the beautiful women of their land, they made tents for them and placed them therein close by the camp of the Israelites. And the women dwelling within the tents were decked with all conceivable kinds of ornaments and had every kind of saleable garment. At the door of the tent stood an old woman holding a garment for sale. Whenever any Israelite passed by and asked the old woman the price, she placed a very high value upon it, but said, 'Step inside the tent, and there you can choose what you desire at a low price.' As soon as he entered a beautiful maiden would stand up, beautifully decked and sprayed with scent, and, looking at him, say, 'I will sell thee these ornaments at a very low price; and if thou desirest, I will give thee these others for nothing.' Before her was placed excellent strong wine. She would then say to him, 'Drink this cup of wine for my love, and I will present thee with any precious ornament thou mayest wish.' At this time the wine of the heathen was not yet a prohibited thing. He therefore would accept the offer and drink the wine, and as soon as he had finished it he would be very drunk. She then would take hold of him and begin kissing him, so that the evil inclination should burn within him, and he would lie with her. For the great love that sprang up between them, she would not leave him until at length she would say to him, 'Worship this idol for the love you bare me;' and he would worship it.

11 Thus the Israelites sinned through fornication as it is said, 'And the people began to commit fornication with the daughters of Moab, who enticed the people to sacrifice to their god; and the people ate of their sacrifices and bowed down to their gods.' The Lord was therefore angry with Israel, so that there died by a plague 24,000 men.

12 And all the Israelites, and all the princes, and Eleazar, and Pinehas, seeing the angel of destruction among the people, sat down and wept, and did not know how to act. Pinehas saw Zimri publicly going with a Midianite woman, and, burning with zeal, he snatched the spear from Moses. Some say that, raising his spear, he ran after him from behind, and pierced them both, so that it entered the stomach of the woman. On account of this God gave him and his sons the maw of the animals as his reward, and strengthened his arm. He fixed the spear in the ground, and both were found on the top of it, one above the other. Then Pinehas smote the young men of Israel without remorse, and dragged them, scourging them all the while, through the whole camp of Israel, that all should see and fear. R. Eleazar of Modai relates that Pinehas cast the ban of excommunication upon all Israel by means of the secret of the Ineffable Name as written upon the tables of the law—the terrestrial and celestial Tribunal sanctioned an excommunication prohibiting every man of Israel to drink of the wine of the heathen.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 56

1 When the ten plagues with which the Egyptians were smitten commenced, Ṣiqrops fled from Egypt to the city of Aqtes, in Greece, which he built as the Metropolis. There he established the throne of the kingdom of the So'anites, and became the first king of the Atinisim (Athenians)—i.e., the Ṣo'anites. After him there reigned seventeen kings and nineteen princes, until the reign of Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, King of Persia.

2 At the end of the Book of Joshua it is written, 'So Joshua made a covenant with the people that day, and set them a statute and an ordinance in Shechem.' Joseph ben Gorion asserts in his book that when the heathen made a covenant, after shedding the blood of the calf and sprinkling it upon the ground, they used to say, 'Thus shall the blood of him who breaks this covenant which we have made be shed.' Joshua then issued a decree to the Israelites that they should pour water upon the ground instead of blood, to fulfil the command, 'Thou shalt not do according to their deeds.'

3 In those days, in the time of Joshua, there lived a certain man Eriqtonios, who was the first to construct a chariot in Greece. And Cadmus, King of Egypt, went from Thebes and came to Tyre and Sidon, and there reigned. In the land of Greece there also reigned Cadmus Europes Tahpanhes, and he called the name of the royal city Tahpanhes.

4 Now, Danaus had fifty sons, and they took to them the fifty daughters of Egisates, their brother. But one day one of the brothers arose, and, killing all the others, reigned in their stead.

5 At that time, in the days of Othniel, Cadmus reigned in Thebes, and the city of Biṭanya was built by Tahpanhes. He first introduced the letters of the Greek writing. The city of Epira, now called Corinthus, was also then built by Sisipo. Minos, the son of Eoripi, reigned then in Crete

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 57

1 Philo, the friend of Joseph, the son of Gorion, has narrated in his book that after the death of Joshua the Israelites did not possess a friend to lead them. So that the Israelites asked the Lord, 'Who shall go up before us to fight against the Canaanites as in the olden times?' And the Lord replied, 'If the heart of this people is perfect with the Lord, let Judah go up, but if not, nobody shall go up.' 'But whereby shall we know the heart of the people?' they asked further. And the Lord said, 'Draw lots according to your tribes, and the tribe which the Lord shall take shall assemble according to their families, and ye shall thus know the heart of the people.'

2 The people then addressed God, saying, 'O Lord, appoint over us a head and a chief to assemble us for casting the lots, that he may take us out and bring us in.' And the angel of God replied, 'Cast lots in, the tribe of Caleb, and the person selected by lot shall be to you the head and the chief.' They did so, and the lot fell upon Kenaz. They therefore made him a prince over Israel. Kenaz then said to the people, 'Bring me your tribes and hearken to the voice of the Lord.' And they came to him.

3 'You know,' said he, 'that Moses, the servant of the Lord, commanded you, saying, "Ye shall not depart from the way which I commanded you in the Torah, neither to the right nor to the left;" this Joshua has also exhorted you to do.

4 Now, hear and mark my words, for the heart of the people is not with Him, and He has commanded us each tribe to approach for the lot to be cast. Let not the anger of the Lord be kindled against us. If I and my house be caught, then burn us with fire.' 'Thou hast spoken well,' answered the people.

5 Accordingly, the tribes assembled before him by lot, and of the tribe of Judah 345 men were taken, of Reuben 540, of Simeon 335, of Levi 350, of Isaachar 665, of Zebulun 545, of Gad, 380, of Asher 665, of Menasseh 480, and of Ephraim 468.

6 Thus, the total number of those that were caught by lot was 6,110, all of whom Kenaz placed in a ward to inquire the word of the Lord concerning them, and said, 'Of such did Moses, the servant of the Lord, speak when he said, "Lest there be among you a root, a poisonous plant or wormwood," blessed be the Lord, who reveals our sins to us that we may not stumble through them.'

7 And Kenaz, and Eleazar the priest, and all the elders of the assembly, prayed to the Lord, saying, 'Thou, O Lord, hast made known unto us the men who did not believe in Thy wonders what Thou didst for our forefathers from the time when Thou didst bring them forth from the land of Egypt until this very day.'

8 And the Lord replied, 'Ask these people now to confess their iniquity, and they shall be burnt with fire.' And Kenaz addressed them thus, 'You know that Achan ben Zabdi sinned by appropriating the devoted spoil, was taken by lot and confessed his sin: do you also make a confession unto the Lord, that ye may live with those whom the Lord will revive at the resurrection of the dead.'

9 And one of them, whose name was Elah, answered, 'We shall only die once by this fire. Now ask each tribe separately.' Kenaz thereupon commenced with his own tribe, the tribe of Judah. And they said, 'Behold, we have chosen to make a calf for ourselves, just as our forefathers did in the wilderness.'

10 Corning next to the tribe of Reuben, they said, 'We have chosen to sacrifice to the gods of the nations.' The children of Levi said, 'We desired to try and test if the tabernacle is holy.' The children of Isaachar replied, 'We desired to ask the idols what will become of us.'

11 And the children of Zebulun, 'We wished to eat the flesh of our sons and our daughters, to know whether the Lord loved them.' The children of Dan replied, 'We desired to teach our sons what we learned from the Amorites; behold, their books are hidden and concealed under the Mount Ebarim, where thou wilt find them.' And Kenaz sent for them and found them.

12 Coming next to Naphtali, they answered, 'We have done all that the Amorites have done, and hidden them (?) in the tent of Elah, who requested thee to ask each tribe separately.' And Kenaz sent for them and found them there.

13 Then the sons of Gad said, 'We have lain with the wives of our neighbours.' And the sons of Asher said, 'We found seven golden idols, which the Amorites called "The holy ones of Ninfe,"; and upon them were many precious stones. We hid them beneath Mount Shechem. Send thither now and thou wilt find them.' He acted accordingly and found them. These were the idols which informed the Amorites at certain periods the deeds they should perform.

14 Now, these are the names of the seven sinners that made them after the Flood: Canaan, Phut, Shelah, Nimrod, Elah, Diul, and Shuah. Nor was their work like that of ordinary artificers. The precious stones they brought from Havilah, where the bdellium and the onyx are found. These were the stones used by the Amorites for their idols. In the night they shone as the light of day, and when the blind Amorites kissed the idols and touched their eyes they could see. Kenaz then placed them in a ward until he knew what was to become of them.

15 Continuing his questions, Kenaz came to Menasseh, who said, 'We have not observed the Sabbath to sanctify it.' Ephraim answered, 'We have been pleased to pass our sons and our daughters through the fire, according to the custom of the Amorites.' And Benjamin said, 'We desired to test whether the law of God emanated from God or from Moses.' Kenaz thereupon entered all their replies in a book and recited them before the Lord.

16 And the Lord said, 'Take these men, and everything that belongs to them, and bring them down to the river Pishon. There shalt thou burn them with fire.' 'Shall we also burn,' asked Kenaz, 'the precious stones which are priceless or shall we dedicate them to Thee?' And the Lord answered, 'If God would take of the accursed, why then not also man?

17 Take the books and the precious stones and keep them until I make known to thee what thou shalt do with them and how thou shalt destroy them, because fire will not consume them; but the men shall be consumed with fire. And they shall say to all the people, "Thus shall be done to the man who turneth his heart away from the Lord."

18 When they are consumed by the fire, then take the precious stones which fire will not injure, and which iron will not break, and place them on the top of the mountain by the side of the new altar, and there I shall command the thick clouds to cause their dew to fall upon them and thus destroy them; and I shall command My angels to take these stones and cast them into the depths of the sea, so that they shall no more be seen, and to bring up to Me instead of them twelve stones more precious than those. These thou shalt place in the ephod and in the breast-plate, and sanctify them to Me.'

19 Accordingly Kenaz, fetching everything found upon these sinners, said to the people, 'Ye have seen the miracles and the wonders which the Lord has shown us until this very day, and how He has made known unto us these sinning men so that they have been requited according to their deeds.

20 Now, cursed be the man who acts in the same manner in Israel.' And the people answered, 'Amen.' Thus those men perished in the flames. After this, Kenaz wished to test the stones in the fire, but the fire was extinguished. He then took the iron and tried to crush them in pieces, but the iron slipped away from them.

21 Even the books he placed in water, in order to destroy them, but the water became dry upon them. Kenaz then burst forth in praise of God, saying, 'Blessed be the Lord, for this

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day He has wrought miracles and wonders with the sons of man, when they sinned and did not deny their guilt.' He then took the stones and the books of the law, and placed them on the mount by the new altar, just as God had commanded him; and upon the altar he offered sacrifices of peace-offerings, and all the people ate there together.

22 On that night the Lord did with those stones and books just as He had spoken, and in the morning Kenaz found twelve precious stones, upon which were engraved the names of the sons of Israel. And the Lord said, 'Take these stones and place them in the ark together with the tables of the law, until Solomon shall have built a temple dedicated to My name, and shall place them on two cherubim, and it shall be to Me as a memorial of the children of Israel.

23 And it shall come to pass, when the sin of the children of man shall have been completed by defiling My temple, which they will have made, that I shall take these stones, together with the tables of the law, and shall put them in the place whence they were taken of old, and there shall they remain until the end of the world, when I shall visit the inhabitants of the earth; and then I shall take them up, and they shall be as an everlasting light to those who love Me and keep My commandments. The moon shall be confounded and the sun ashamed before that light, for it shall be seven times more powerful than either of them.'

24 Then Kenaz said, 'Behold the innumerable good actions which God has done for man, and of which they have been deprived through their sins; now I know that man's work is nothing and his life vanity.'

25 When he took the stones from the place where they were put, they illumined the whole earth just as the sun at noonday. He put them in the ark of the testimony, together with the tables of the Covenant, just as the Lord had commanded, and there they remain until this very day.

26 Having chosen 300,000 armed men of war, on the second day he waged war with their enemies and slew of them 5,000. On the third day the people spoke against Kenaz, saying, 'Behold Kenaz stays in his house with his wives and his concubines; whilst we arm ourselves for battle and destroy our enemies.'

27 The servants of Kenaz, hearing of this, told their master. And he commanded them to summon before him the captains of fifties, and ordered them to place those thirty-seven men in prison who had spoken evilly against him; and they acted accordingly.

28 He then said, 'When the Lord shall work salvation for His people, will I order the death of these men.' He commanded the captains of the fifties, saying, Go and choose 300 of my servants and 300 horses. Let it not become known that we are going to battle, and let them be ready to march with me to-night.'

29 Sending spies to view the position of the Amorites' encampment, they saw at once that the Amorites were too mighty for the Israelites to fight against. The spies, therefore, returned and reported to Kenaz.

30 He rose up in the middle of the night, holding a shofar in his hand, and taking with him 300 men. When he approached the camp he said to his servants, 'Stay here while I alone go and look at the camp of the Amorites; but as soon as you hear the sound of the shofar, come to me, but if you do not hear it, then return home.'

31 Kenaz thus went down to the camp alone, and he prayed to God, saying, 'O Lord God of our fathers, Thou hast shown Thy servants all the great wonders which Thou hast performed: do Thou now likewise work Thy miracles with Thy servant, and I will go to battle against Thine enemy, that all the nations may know that Thy hand is not too short to send salvation either by means of a multitude or by a few, for Thou O Lord art mighty in war.'

32 And Kenaz continued, 'Let this be the sign of the salvation which Thou wilt show me this day. If when I draw my sword from its sheath and brandish it so that it glitters in the camp of the Amorites, the latter know that I am Kenaz, I shall then know that Thou wilt deliver them into my hand; and if not, then I shall know that Thou hast not heard my prayer, but hast delivered me into the hand of the enemy for my sins.'

33 After this Kenaz overheard the Amorites say, 'Let us arise and fight against the Israelites, for our holy gods Ninfe are in their possession, and they will deliver them into our hands.' At that moment the Spirit of God rested upon Kenaz, so that he rose up, and brandished his sword against the Amorites; and when they saw it they exclaimed, 'Behold, this is the sword of Kenaz, to afflict us with wounds and gashes; but we know that our gods which are with them will deliver them into our hands. Now arise and give them battle.'

34 When Kenaz heard their words, he went down to the camp of the Amorites and smote them, and the Lord sent the angel Gabriel to afflict the Amorites with blindness, so that they killed each other. And Kenaz slew of them 45,000.

35 Now, when Kenaz had finished the slaughter, it happened that his sword clave to his hand, and, noticing an Amorite fleeing from the camp, he said to him, 'Behold, thou knowest what I have done to the Amorites; now tell me, pray, by what means I can separate my sword from my hand.' And the Amorite answered, 'Slay a Hebrew and pour his warm blood over thy hand, and it will be separated.' Kenaz then slew that Amorite, and pouring his blood upon his hand, separated it from his sword. Then returning to his army, he found them all asleep, for a deep sleep had fallen upon them, so that they did not know what Kenaz. had done in the night. When they awoke from their sleep and saw the whole plain full of dead men they expressed great astonishment; at which Kenaz said, 'Are the ways of God like the ways of man? The Lord hath sent salvation through me to His people; now arise and return to your tents.'

36 As soon as all the Israelites heard of the salvation which the Lord had wrought through the hand of Kenaz, they went forth to meet him, saying, 'Blessed be the Lord, who appointed thee to be the captain of His people, for now we know that the Lord has chosen His people.' And Kenaz replied, 'Ask the men who were with me of the work I have done.' On asking them, they replied, 'As the Lord liveth, we do not know, for we found the plain full of dead bodies.'

37 After this Kenaz ordered the captains of the fifties to bring forth the prisoners, that they might obtain a hearing. When they were brought before him he said to them, 'Now, what is the complaint you have against me?' And they replied, 'Why dost thou ask us, seeing that the Lord has delivered us into thy hands, and commanded that we should be burnt, not for our complaint, but in connection with those former men who confessed their iniquity. We were not found out among the people when we had joined the sinners. It was for this that the Lord has delivered us into your hands.' Kenaz then said, 'Since you thus testify against yourselves, why should I withhold you from your punishment?' They were, therefore, ordered to be burnt to death in the flames.

38 Now, the days of the life of Kenaz were drawing to a close, and he called the two prophets Pinehas and Jabin, and also Pinehas, the son of Eleazar the priest, and said to them, 'I know the heart of this people, for they will turn from following the Lord. I therefore testify against them.' And Pinehas said, 'Just as Moses and Joshua testified, so do I testify against them; for they prophesied concerning the vineyard, the beautiful plantation of God which did not know its planter, and did not recognise its worker, so that the vineyard was destroyed and did not give forth its fruit. These are the words which my father commanded me to tell this people.' Kenaz then lifted up his voice and wept aloud, as did all the elders and the people until the evening, when they said, 'Is it for the iniquity of the sheep that the shepherd must perish? May the Lord have compassion upon His inheritance that they may not work in vain.'

39 And the Spirit of the Lord came upon Kenaz, so that he prophesied, saying, 'I have seen what I had not hoped for, and have looked upon what I had not imagined.

40 Behold, I saw a flame which did not burn, and I heard in my dream the noise of the rushing of waters which had no source and no way upon the mountains, and no base in the air, but they appeared according to their form. They had no fixed place, and since the eye does not know what to see, how can the heart understand it?

41 From this flame which was not burning I saw a spark fly out and remain in the air as a shield, as a spider's web in a beam. Then I saw that this was the base and its source vomited hot foam, and became changed to the foundation of the deep, and ways (paths) were between the upper and lower bases; there shone the hidden light, and beings, in the form of men, were walking about. And then I heard a voice saying, "Between these foundations (bases) shall the sons of man dwell 7,000 years, when the lower foundation shall be destroyed, and the upper one which is like hot foam shall be the foundation, and the light which is between them and illumines the path of man is Jerusalem, and there the men will dwell. But when the sons of man shall sin against Me, and the time of their sinning shall have been completed, then shall the spark be extinguished, and the fountain dry up, and everything pass away."'

42 When Kenaz had thus finished prophesying, the spirit of his soul returned to him, and he no longer knew what he had uttered in his prophecy. He then said to the people, 'If such be the rest which the righteous obtain after their death, it would be preferable for them to die at their birth in this world and not sin.' And Kenaz died, and Othniel his son arose in his stead.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 58

1 Josippon (Flavius Josephus) says that the incident of Micah and the concubine of Gibeah occurred between the time of the death of Joshua and Othniel, between the times to which the following verses refer, viz.: 'And Judah captured Azah and its boundary, and Ekron and Askalon'; and the other, And the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord, and He delivered them into the hands of the Canaanites. Then the children of Dan built Laish and the mountain.' For the purpose of enabling us to calculate the days of the judges, this portion was placed at the end of the Book of Judges.

2 After Othniel came Ehud. At that time, in the days of Ehud, the city Cinnereth in Lybia was built, and many ships were built by Tritolymus, for carrying wheat, for merchandise. Dionysius built the city of Niza, in Media; Troy was built about the same time in Dardania. There a dog killed Piritius, and attempted to slay Tisius, and Heraclones saved him. In the sixty-ninth year of Ehud the city Ṣirine in Libia was built.

3 Shamgar succeeded him, and was followed by Deborah and Barak, who fought with Sisera. And the Lord confounded Sisera and all his charioteers and his whole camp with a fierce tempest; and He overwhelmed them all with hail, and blinding rain and lightnings and thunders, so that they could no longer stand, but fell by the sword.

4 Sisera then fled on foot to the tent of Jael, who went out to meet him and embraced him. Then, covering him well, he fell into a deep sleep. And Jael prayed to God, saying, 'I pray Thee, O Lord, strengthen Thy handmaid against Thy enemy, and by this I shall know that Thou wilt deliver him into my hand, viz., if I bring him down from his bed on to the ground, and he does not awake.' She did accordingly. Then, taking a nail of the tent and a hammer, she knocked the nail into his temple, according to Deborah's prophecy. And Barak captured Ḥasor and slew its king, and all its inhabitants.

5 Now, when Sisera went out to fight against Israel his mother, Tamar, with her maidens and princesses, by means of their enchantments prophesied, saying that Sisera would bring as spoil one or more of the women of Israel with their coloured garments, for she saw in her charms that he would lie upon the bed of Jael, the wife of Heber, and be covered with a coloured garment of needlework. Therefore she said, 'A damsel, two damsels to every man.'

6 At that time the kings of Argos, who had reigned for 544 years, were destroyed and exterminated, and their kingdom passed into the hands of Mesenes. In the thirty-ninth year of Deborah's reign the city of Meletus was built. Gideon succeeded Barak and Deborah. He asked a sign of the Lord from the fleece of wool.

7 I find that Gideon asked for yet another sign, for he said, 'Give me a sign that God has chosen me to deliver Israel just as He gave to Moses, who delivered the Israelites from Egypt.' And the angel replied, 'Run and fetch me some water from that pool and pour it upon this rock. I shall then give thee a sign.' Having done as he was requested, the angel said, 'Tell me, shall this water be turned into blood or fire?' And Gideon answered, 'Let part of it be turned into fire and part into blood.' And thus it was, the blood neither quenching the fire, nor the fire drying up the blood.

8 At that time, during the reign of Gideon, Mercorius discovered certain islands called Sirenes; in Ashkenaz they are called Nikes (Nix). The inhabitants were like beautiful women, their lower parts resembling fishes; and the inhabitants of the forests of the islands were half men and the other half wild animals and horses. The wise man Dialus, by means of his cunning, made images and idols and birds of gold and brass, and having breathed into them, the idols spoke and the images prophesied while the birds flew about, for he was exceedingly clever in this art. The city of Tyre was built 240 years before the Temple at Jerusalem.

9 After Gideon Abimelech, the son of his concubine, succeeded him, and at that time the measure of the Kor and the art of playing upon the timbrel were discovered in Greece. Tola, the son of Phua, succeeded Abimelech. During his reign Erkules conquered Anteos, in Lybia, in the water, and destroyed the city of Elios when Priamus reigned in Troy.

10 Yair the Gileadite rose up after him. He made an altar unto Baal, and all the Israelites turned after it and worshipped Baal, except seven righteous men, who did not worship it. These were their names, Da'al, Abi Yezre'el, Gutiel, Shalom, Ashchor, Jonadab, and Shim'i. These said to lair, 'We remember what Moses commanded Israel, saying, "Take care lest ye turn aside from following the Lord to worship Baal."' Yair then commanded his servants to burn those men with fire, because they spoke against Baal. Then, taking the men they cast them into the fire, but the fire swerved from them and burned instead the servants of lair who cast them therein, together with all his household. And these seven men escaped from the fire and went on their way, for the men round about them were struck with blindness so that they could not see them, and the fire reached the house of Yair, who heard the voice of the Lord, saying, 'I have promoted thee to be a judge over Israel; but thou hast corrupted the people and caused them to turn aside from following the Lord and to worship Baal, and those who remain steadfast to Me thou hast burned with fire. But they shall live, and thou shalt die by being consumed in the flames which shall never be extinguished.' Thus the Lord consumed lair and all his house, and Baal with 10,000 of his followers; and lair was buried in Qamon.

11 At that time Theseus captured Helena, but Castor and Pollox, the brothers of Theseus, and his mother, were captured. The city of Carthage was then built. Nizpa invented the Latin alphabet.

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CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 59

1 Yair was succeeded by Jephthah the Gileadite, who delivered the Israelites from the hands of the Ammonites. And Jephthah and all Israel prayed to God in Mizpah, saying, 'We pray Thee, O Lord, save us, and do not deliver Thy inheritance to the slaughter and Thy vineyard to be a spoil. Remember, we beseech Thee, the vine which Thou hast planted and which Thou hast brought up from Egypt.' Jephthah then sent messengers to Giteal, King of the Ammonites, saying, 'What dost thou want, since thou hast come to me?' etc.

2 And the Spirit of the Lord came upon Jephthah, and he went out to wage war against the Ammonites; and he made a vow unto the Lord, saying, 'If Thou wilt deliver the Ammonites into my hand, then that which cometh forth from my house to meet me on my peaceful return from the Ammonites shall be the Lord's, and I shall offer it to God as a burnt-offering.' And Jephthah smote the Ammonites so that they were humbled before the Israelites. When Jephthah returned to Mizpah, behold, all the virgins and women came forth with timbrels and dances to meet him, and his daughter, the only child he had, went in front of the others and was the first to greet him.

3 When, however, he saw her, he rent his garments, saying, 'Alas! my daughter, thou hast sorely grieved and troubled me. Who will put my heart and my flesh in one pan of the scale to see it go down? for thou hast grieved me sorely at the feast in honour of my victories in battle, for I have opened my mouth unto the Lord, and now I am not able to retract.'

4 Then said his daughter Seelah, 'Why dost thou grieve for my death, since the Lord hath wrought vengeance for thee upon thine enemies? Remember our forefathers, one of whom offered up his son as a burnt-offering, and the offerer and the offered were both accepted by God. Therefore, my father, do unto me as thou hast spoken. But before I die I will ask thee a favour. Grant me two months' liberty, that I may during that time pray unto Him to whom I return my soul. I shall go upon the mountains and sojourn among the hills; I shall tread the clefts of the rock and lament my virginity, I and my companions; there I shall shed my tears and thus soften the grief of my youth. The trees of the field shall weep for me, and the wild beasts of the fields shall mourn for me; but I do not grieve for my death, nor do I grieve that I must give up my soul on account of the vow which my father made to sacrifice me as a holocaust to God. The one thing I fear, however, is that the offering of my soul may not be accepted, that my death shall have been for nothing.'

5 Her father having granted her request, she went forth with her maidens and told the sages of her people, but they answered not a word. She then went up to the mount Tlag, and the Lord remembered her in the night, saying, 'Behold, I have closed the mouth of the sages of My people, so that they answered not the daughter of Jephthah; now her soul shall be accepted at her request, and her death shall be very precious in My sight, for the wisdom of the sage belongs to her.'

6 Seelah, the daughter of Jephthah, then fell upon her mother's bosom, and went on the mountain of Tlag weeping, and bewailed her fate in these words, 'Hearken, O ye mountains, to the lamentation of my grief; mark, O ye hills, the tears of mine eyes; and ye clefts of the rocks, testify to the weeping of my soul. Alas! how has my soul been delivered to death! but not in vain; my words will be atoned for in heaven, and my tears shall be written on the firmament, for the father who has vowed to sacrifice his daughter did not have compassion on her. He did not listen to his princes, but said that he would confirm his vow by offering his only daughter. I have not beheld my bridal canopy, nor has the crown of my betrothal been completed. I have not been decked with the lovely ornaments of the bride who sits in her virginity, nor have I been perfumed with the myrrh and the sweet-smelling (odoriferous) aloe.

7 I have not been anointed with the oil of anointment that was prepared for me. Alas! O my mother, it was in vain that thou didst give me birth. Behold, thine only one is destined for the bridal chamber of the grave. Thou hast wearied thyself for me to no purpose. The oil with which I was anointed will be wasted, and the white garments with which I was clothed the moths will eat; the garlands of my crown with which thou hast exalted me will wither and dry up, and my garments of fine needlework in blue and purple the worm shall destroy. And now my friends will lament all the days of my mourning; the trees shall incline their branches and their shoots and weep for my youth. The beasts of the forest shall come together and trample upon my virginity, for my years are cut off and the days of my life grow old in darkness.'

8 It came to pass, at the end of two months, that she returned to her father. He then fulfilled the vow he had made, and the virgins of Israel buried her, and mourned for her, and from time immemorial the daughters of Israel have adhered to the custom of devoting four days in the year to Jephthah's daughter. At the time of the death of Jephthah's daughter Ercules committed suicide by throwing himself in the fire, and was consumed by the flames.

9 Ibsan, of Bethlehem, succeeded Jephthah, and was followed by Elon the Zebulonite. About this time Alexander captured Helena (for his wife).

10 After Elon came Abdon, the son of Hillel the Pirathonite. During his reign the royal city of Troy was captured, and 406 years after its capture began the Olympiad, for after the victory of the Greeks they began to calculate their Olympiad, which consisted of four years, just as we calculate the date from the destruction of the temple. Then Menelaus and Helena came to Egypt, and in the third year after the capture of Troy Agnios reigned over Italy, where Janus, Saturnus, Ficus, and Faunus reigned. Three years after the capture of Troy—some say eight years—Aeneas ruled the empire, and during his reign there arose the city of Rome—i.e., the Latini, so called because the inhabitants spoke the Latin language. In the reign of Ahaz, King of Judah, two twin brothers were born, Remus and Romulus, who founded the great city. They were the first kings of Rome, and reigned in Rome thirty-eight years.

11 In the 'Shocher Tob' I have found it narrated that at the birth of these twins their mother died from the pangs of travail, and that God prepared a young she-wolf to suckle them until they were grown up. Romulus it was who built the city of Rome. At the end of the reign of Hezekiah, King of Judah, Huma Pompilius succeeded Romulus and reigned forty-one years. He added two months to the calendar year, viz., Januarius and Februarius, which were not included in the Roman year, which originally consisted of ten months. At the end of the reign of Menasseh, King of Judah, Tullus Ostilius succeeded Numa, and reigned for thirty-two years. This Tullus, King of Rome, was the first person to clothe himself in purple robes.

12 We now return to the judges. Many people say that in the days of Abdon, the son of Hillel the Pirathonite, occurred the incidents of Gibeah and Micah. Micah acted just as his mother bade him. He made for himself three images of man, and three of calves, and the likeness of an eagle, lion, and serpent. Whoever desired to obtain sons had to pray to the images of man; whoever desired riches had to entreat the eagle; whoever wished for strength had to entreat the lion; whoever desired sons and daughters had to beseech the calves; whoever desired long life had to entreat the serpent; and whoever desired something of everything had to entreat the dove. Thus all the Israelites went astray, forsook the Lord, and worshipped these idols, so that the Lord sold them to the nations of the earth; but when they at intervals repented the Lord visited them.

13 It came to pass, when the Israelites, on account of the concubine who was found dead in Gibeah, waged war against the tribe of Dan (!) that they were smitten by the Danites (!), so that on that day 22,000 men of them were destroyed. The Israelites, then going up, wept before the Lord until the evening, and said, 'Let us ask of the Lord, saying, "What is this iniquity through which we have stumbled?"' Thus they asked the Lord, saying, 'Shall we still continue to wage war against Benjamin our brother?' And the Lord replied, 'Go up, and I shall afterwards make known to you whereby ye have stumbled.' On the second day they accordingly went forth again to battle with Benjamin, and there fell of the Israelites 18,000 more men. The Israelites then went up to Bethel, for there the ark of the Lord was placed, and on that day they wept and fasted until the evening, and they offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings unto the Lord.

14 Then Pinehas, the son of Eleazar the priest, prayed unto God, saying, 'O Lord God, if what we have done was considered right in Thine eyes, why hast Thou caused us to fall into the hands of our brother? And if it was evil in Thy sight what these have done, why have we fallen before them? I pray Thee, tell Thy servant in whom this iniquity rests and we shall set it right, for, behold, I remember what I have done. In my jealousy I pierced Zimri with the sword, and Thou didst deliver me from his people, and didst slay of them 24,000 men. Now Thou didst say to the tribes of Israel, "Go up and fight with Benjamin."'

15 The Lord heard the entreaty of Pinehas, and said, 'The Israelites showed their zeal for Me in this wickedness which was committed (in Gibeah), but they do not show it against Micah and his idols, who caused all the Israelites to go astray after them. Therefore, I was jealous, and wreaked my vengeance on them, for they were astounded at the one sin of the concubine and wanted to root it out, but they did not root out the worshippers of Micah's idols. Now, let the Israelites go up once more against Benjamin, and tomorrow I shall deliver him into their hands.'

16 Thus the Lord smote Benjamin before the Israelites, so that there fell 18,000 men. The total number of the Benjaminites that were slain was 25,000; 600 of them fled to the cleft of Rimmon and escaped. The Israelites then had pity upon their brother Benjamin, and made peace with those that remained, restoring them to their inheritance, where they built cities and dwelt therein; and the Israelites went each one to his tribe and his inheritance.

17 Now, the days of Pinehas drew nigh to die, and the Lord said to him, 'To-day thou art 120 years old, which are the years of a man's life; now arise and get thee to My mountain, where thou shalt remain many days. I shall command the ravens and the eagles to feed thee, but do not go down until the end has arrived. Then thou shalt close the heavens, and at thy command they shall again be opened. And then thou shalt be lifted up to the (Divine) place, where thy fathers have been before thee, and there thou shalt remain until I remember the world.' And Pinehas, the son of Eleazar the priest, did as God had commanded him.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 60

The Eight Exiles.

1 From the time our ancestors were brought out of Egypt until the destruction of the first temple they were exiled eight times. This happened on the following occasions: Four times Sennacherib banished them, and four times Nebuchadnezzar. The first time Sennacherib, King of Assyria, going up to Jerusalem, sent the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Menasseh into exile, and captured the golden calf which Jeroboam had placed in Dan; and the children of Gad and Reuben had brought it up from Dan, and made a holy temple (sanctuary) for it. For this they were exiled from the land of their possession to another land until this very day. When Sennacherib banished them he made them dwell in Lahlah, Habor, the river Gozan, and the cities of Media. At that time Pekah, the son of Remalyahu, reigned over Israel. When Hosea, the son of Elah, perceived that the armies of Pekah were considerably diminished, he went out to war against him and killed him. He reigned over Israel, in Samaria, five years. This was the first exile.

2 When Sennacherib heard of this he went up against Hosea, the son of Elah, and fought against him, and Hosea, the son of Elah, going to Sennacherib, gave him a present of silver and gold and brought him the golden calf, which Jeroboam had placed in Bethel. After this he (Sennacherib) exiled the tribes of Asher, Zebulun, Naphtali, and Isaachar, because they refused to allow Hosea, the son of Elah, to reign over them. He then appointed Hosea, the son of Elah, over Samaria, and thus fulfilled the scriptural passage, 'Thus saith the Lord, Just as the shepherd delivers two legs, or the tip of the ear, from the clutches of the lion, so shall the Israelites be rescued (that sit in Samaria) in the corner of a couch, and in Damascus on a bed.' And Hosea, the son of Elah, reigned over Israel, and Ahaz over Judah. This was the second exile.

3 When this king died Hezekiah reigned over the whole of Judah, and at the beginning of the fourth year of Hezekiah's reign Sennacherib went up against Samaria and besieged it for three years, in the third year of Hezekiah's reign, and he exiled the tribes of Ephraim and Menasseh from Samaria. This was the third exile.

4 After an interval of five years he mustered together the Babylonians, Kuthim, Avim, the B'ne Ḥamath, and the Sapharvaim, and then going against Judah, besieged all the fortified cities in Judah, among the 150 places in which were the tribes of Judah and Simeon. He besieged them and took them captive, and sought to bring them to Lahlah and Habor, to the other tribes. Hearing that Tirhakah, King of Ethiopia, whose land was near Egypt, had rebelled against him, he took with him the tribes of Judah and Simeon, and ascended the mountains of Ethiopia to wage war with the Ethiopian king, and to test the strength of the tribes of Judah and Simeon. He then took these tribes and concealed them behind the mountains of darkness on the other side of the rivers of Ethiopia. Concerning them the prophetess 'Athrai, the daughter of Pusai, prophesied, 'They shall bring my offering.' This was the fourth captivity brought about by Sennacherib, King of Assyria.

5 There remained in Jerusalem of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin 130,000, over whom the righteous Hezekiah reigned. Sennacherib, King of Assyria, now once more became proud, and setting his face towards the holy city of Jerusalem, he assembled all his host, to the number of 40,000 and 2,590,000 warriors, and went up to besiege Jerusalem. When Hezekiah saw the great multitude he was greatly afraid, and, praying to the Lord, he called upon the people of Judah and Benjamin to proclaim a fast. Then, covering themselves with sackcloth, they went into the house of the Lord, and, repenting with all their heart, they cried unto the Lord, and He heard the prayer of the righteous Hezekiah, and sent His angel who smote the Assyrian camp, slaying 185,000 men, together with the kings and princes. Not one of the kings and princes of his army remained except Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar. Thus Isaiah's prophecy was fulfilled, who said, 'On that day the Lord shall shave with a razor that is hired, the parts beyond the river of Ethiopia, even the King of Assyria, the head, and the hair of the feet; and it shall also consume the beard.' The head represents the kings, the hair of the feet represents the armies, and the beard the wicked Sannacherib, whose two sons slew him. From the fall of Sennacherib to the time of Nebuchadnezzar passed 107 years.

6 In the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim the decree was sealed on account of the sins of the Israelites, and the remnant of those who were delivered from the mouth of the lion and the mouth of the bear, the remnant of Judah and Benjamin,

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and the rest of the people that remained of the tribes were banished by Nebuchadnezzar during his first captivity. Of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin 3,023, and of the remaining tribes 7,000. All these were warriors skilled in the art of battle, but their sin lay heavy upon them, and he exiled them to Babylon. This was the first captivity brought about by Nebuchadnezzar.

7 After an interval of seven years he went up to Jerusalem for the second time, and besieging it, he captured it, and exiled of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin 4,600 men, and of the remaining tribes 10,000, together with the free and the imprisoned, i.e., the kings and queens. Others explain the words to refer to the pupils of the sages who study the Torah, and thus open and shut the books. In the time of David these people were called Kerethi and Pelethi. Yet another explanation makes the words refer to the mighty men of Judah and their children. All these were banished through Jechoniah and his sons. This constituted the second captivity of Nebuchadnezzar.

8 He made Zedekiah King of Judah, over which and Jerusalem he reigned eleven years. In the nineteenth year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, while he was yet seated on the throne of his kingdom, he sent Nebuzaraddan, his captain of the guard, against Jerusalem. Having besieged it, he caught Zedekiah, and bringing him to Riblah, to the King of Babylon, he executed his judgement upon him. He then took the pillars, the sea of brass, and all the vessels of the house of the Lord, and the bases which Solomon had made, and the treasures found in Jerusalem, and carried them to Babylon. In Jerusalem he slew 940,000 men, besides those he slew in avenging the blood of Zechariah.

9 He also besieged sixty cities of the Levites, the sons of Moses, in which there were 600,000 men, as we know from the verses, 'And the sons of Moses were Gershom and Eliezer; and of the sons of Eliezer the eldest was Rehabya,' and it is said, 'And the children of Rehabya continually increased, i.e., increased beyond the number of 600,000 men.' The total number of those exiled from Jerusalem was 802,000, all of whom consisted of the youths of Judah and Benjamin. Concerning them the prophet says, 'And he exiled the flower of Judah,' so that there only remained in Jerusalem the poverty of the people, as it is said, 'The people of the land which Nebuzaraddan left were vile,' etc. He made the son of Ahikam king over them, and giving the land over to him, the exiles were carried to Babylon, which constituted the third exile.

10 When Ishmael, the son of Netaniah, of the royal seed, heard that Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam, was appointed over the remnant of the people, he came in stealth and slew him and all his men. The Israelites were exceedingly afraid of this and fled to Egypt, in the twenty-seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, when he besieged Tyre, and capturing it, killed all its inhabitants and sent its king into captivity. On his return he went to Egypt, captured it, and reduced it to desolation, thus fulfilling the prophecy of Scripture, 'Egypt shall be a desolation.' He then slew all the Jews found in Ammon and Moab, and in the surrounding parts of Egypt. There, in Egypt, he discovered the prophet Jeremiah and Baruch, the son of Neriya, and carried them to Babylon. When the Israelites dwelling in Egypt heard that Nebuchadnezzar had announced his intention to come there, in fear and trembling they fled to Amon, a little fortified city in Egypt, near the Salt Sea. This was the fourth captivity through Nebuchadnezzar.

11 When Jeremiah saw that scarcely any of the Israelites were left, he lifted up his heart in prayer to God, saying, 'Why dost Thou cause me to see grief and iniquity? Why hast Thou caused the flock of Thy chosen people to fall into the hands of their enemy? I am sorely grieved and my soul is crushed within me, and mine eye sheddeth tears, and ceaseth not, for the destruction of the daughter of my people am I hurt. Mine eye weepeth with my soul, and for this do I weep day and night. Therefore do I pour forth my supplication before Thee that Thou wilt take my soul from me, for it is better for me to die than to live.' A voice was forthwith heard to say, 'By thy life wait, and behold the downfall of Babylon. Afterwards I shall preserve thee until I build the everlasting building.' Immediately upon these words, God hid him.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 61

The Children Of Moses.

1 The banishment brought about by (Flavius) Vespasianus, (Flavius) Titus, and Hadrian, occurred on the eve of the ninth of Ab, on the outgoing of the Sabbath and the Sabbatical year. The Levites were then occupied with their ministrations, and, with their harps in their hands, were singing their hymns. But Scripture saith, 'He hath brought upon them their own iniquity, and shall cut them off in their own evil.' The words 'He shall cut them off' were not yet fully uttered ere their enemies came upon them, slaughtered many of them, and sent the rest into exile. Thus, also, when Nebuchadnezzar the wicked sent them into exile it fell upon the eve of the ninth of Ab, the outgoing of the Sabbatical year and the Sabbath, when the Levites were standing on their 'Duchan,' being sixty myriads in number, who were, moreover, of the seed of Moses our instructor. While the harps were in their hands, the verse 'He hath brought upon them their own iniquity, and shall cut them off in their own evil,' was not yet fully uttered, ere the enemy came and exiled them to Babylon. When they arrived in Babylon, their enemies and captors said to them, 'Sing us a song of Zion.' And they replied, 'How can we sing a song of Zion upon strange ground?'

2 'Now,' retorted their captors, 'ye shall sing by force.' But they at once cut off their fingers with their teeth, and cast them before them. And they replied, 'How can those fingers which struck the strings of the harps in the temple strike them here in a strange land?' And God exclaimed, 'If I forget Jerusalem, My right hand shall be forgotten.'

3 A cloud then descended, and lifting all the children of Moses, with their sheep and cattle, brought them to the east of Havila. In the night they were let down, and on that same night they heard a great noise surrounding them, like that of a river, without seeing a drop of water descending, but heard only the rolling of stones and sand, where there had never been a river. This river then rolled great stones, and the sand, without any water, made a noise as of a great earthquake, so that if anyone came near that river, he was dashed to pieces. This continued until the Sabbath. The river they called Sabbatyon or Sabbatianus. In some part the river is less than sixty cubits in width; there the people stand and speak with those of the other side. On the Sabbath it ceases to flow, and on the eve of Sabbath a cloud descends full of smoke. No one is able to approach them, neither do they approach us. There are no wild beasts, no unclean animals, nor any reptiles or creeping things; nothing except their flocks and herds.

4 They reap and sow, and they ask the others, and thus they learned of the destruction of the second temple. Behind the sons of Moses we do not know who may be dwelling; but Naphtali, Gad, and Asher came to Dan after the destruction of the second temple; for Isaachar, who lived at the mountains of the deep, quarrelled with them and called them 'the sons of the handmaids.' At length, being afraid lest they be coming to battle, those three tribes went away until they came to Dan, and these four tribes were thus living in one place.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 62

The Ten Banishments Of The Sanhedrim.

1 The Levites, the sons of Moses, made ten journeys and encamped on the other side of the river Sabbatyon. Our sages say that when the Israelites were exiled to Babylon, and came to the Euphrates, as it is said, 'We sat by the waters of Babylon,' etc., they said to them, 'O Levites, stand up before our gods, and sing a song just as you sang in the temple.' But they replied, 'O ye fools, if we had sung a song of thanksgiving for every miracle which God wrought for us, we should not have been exiled from our land, but would, on the contrary, have added honour upon honour; and shall we now sing a song to your idols?' Being angered at this reply, they immediately rose up and slew the Jews in heaps, and although the slaughter was so great, yet their joy had ceased, because the Jews did not worship idols. Therefore it is said, 'Their joy was turned into wailing.' The remaining Levites then cut off their fingers that they might avoid playing on their harps; so that when they were told to play and sing on their harps, just as they had done in the temple, they showed them their mutilated fingers.

2 When night came on a cloud covered them, together with their wives, and sons, and daughters, and the Lord gave them light by a pillar of fire, which showed them the way the whole night until the dawn of day, and brought them to the seashore. When the sun rose the cloud departed as well as the pillar of fire. And the Lord extended the length of the river Sabbatianus, so that it surrounded them completely. It hems them in so that no one can cross over to them, and He extended it all round to a distance of nine months' journey. The river surrounds them from three sides, and on the fourth is the sea. The depth of the river is 200 cubits, and it is full of sand and stones. The noise is that of an earthquake, and reaches the distance of half a day's journey, and causes the sand and stones to roll all the six days of the week.

3 But on the Sabbath it rests, and immediately a fire bursts forth from the western side, which lasts from the eve of Sabbath until the end. Its flames shoot out in every direction, so that one can not approach nearer the river than a distance of thirty-four miles, and this fire burns all round and consumes everything. There is not seen among them any unclean animal or bird, and no creeping thing, but only their flocks and herds. There are six fountains, which gather together and form one pool. From these they water the land and obtain in abundance all kinds of clean fishes, and all kinds of birds and fruits. They sow one seed and reap a hundredfold. They are men of faith, students of the Law, the Scripture, Mishna and Agadah. They are pious and pure and never swear falsely. They attain the ripe old age of 120 years, nor does a son or daughter die in the lifetime of their father.

4 They see three successive generations and build for themselves houses; they sow and plough themselves, because they have no manservants or maidservants. They do not close their houses in the night-time, and a young child walks fearlessly with the cattle for many a day, without having any fear either of robbers or of any possible injury, because they are holy and remained in the holiness of Moses our teacher. Therefore God gave them all this and chose them. They do not see any man, nor does any of the sons of men see them, except the four tribes, Dan, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher, all of whom dwell on the other side of the rivers of Kush, with the Sabbatyon between them, and there they will remain until the end of the world. Concerning them it is said, 'To say to the captives "Go out,"' viz., referring to those behind the river Sabbatyon.

5 There the tribes of Dan, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher, were enclosed. The question as to how they arrived at that place our sages have thus answered: When Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, sinned, and caused Israel to sin, and the house of David became separated from the ten tribes of Israel, he said to the people, 'Go ye forth and fight with Rehoboam and the inhabitants of Jerusalem.' But they said, 'Wherefore should we go to war against our brethren, against the house of our master, David, King of Israel and Judah?' And the elders of Israel said to him, 'In all the land of Israel there do not exist such mighty warriors and men so trained to battle as those of the tribe of Dan.' Then, commanding them forthwith to wage war with Judah, they said, 'By the life of Dan, our forefather, we shall never go to battle with our brethren, and we shall not shed their blood without any cause.' And immediately afterwards the sons of Dan, taking up their swords and spears and bows, determined to fight unto death with Jeroboam, but God saved them from the crime of shedding the blood of their brethren.

6 They spread the news then throughout the whole tribe of Dan, and the sons of Dan took counsel together to depart from Canaan and to go down to Egypt to destroy it and kill all its inhabitants. But their princes asked, 'Why will you go to Egypt? Is it not written in the Torah, "Ye shall never again behold them"?' At this they gave way, but again took counsel concerning Edom, Moab, and the Ammonites. When, however, they heard that God had withheld Israel from fighting them they again gave up their intentions, until the Lord advised them better what to do. So they went to the brook of Pishon, and journeyed on their camels until they arrived at the other side of the river Pishon. There they discovered that the country was fruitful and extensive, containing fruitful fields and gardens. The sons of Dan therefore determined to dwell there, and made a covenant with the inhabitants, the sons of Kush, who paid them tribute, and also dwelt among them until they increased and multiplied exceedingly.

7 On the death of Sennacherib the three tribes of Gad, Asher, and Naphtali left the country, and travelled until they arrived near the border of that tribe, when they slaughtered the Kushites, a distance of four days' journey. They war with six Kushite kings, which every tribe continues to do for three months in the year until this very day, each tribe separately, but the descendants of Simeon go with those of Dan.

8 The Levites journeyed and encamped in Havila, which abounds in gold, that is as common as stones, also in sheep, cattle, camels, asses, and horses. There they sow and reap, and dwell in tents made of skin. They journey from one border to another, a distance of four days each way; and where they encamp there no man dares enter, and they only stay in the fields and vineyards, and punish in accordance with the different kinds of capital punishments meted out by the Jewish Law. Concerning them it is said, 'Those on the other side of the mountains of Kush,' etc.

9 The tribe of Isaachar dwell on the mountains of the great deep in the nethermost parts of Media and Persia, and there they fulfil the commandment, 'the book of the Torah shall not depart from their mouth;' nor do they take upon themselves the yoke of any earthly kingdom, but only the yoke of Heaven and the yoke of the Law. They have many captains of the army, but never fight with man, but discuss the Torah. They dwell in peace and tranquillity, and no rebellious thought or evil of any kind enters their minds. They possess a country whose area covers land of ten days' journey, and they have an abundance of cattle, camels, and servants, but do not breed horses, nor do they possess any warlike instruments, except knives for preparing food, and to kill the animals for that purpose. They are men of great faith, hating oppression or robbery. If even their servant finds money by the way they will not stretch forth their hand to take it.

10 But their wicked neighbours worship fire, and take their mothers and their sisters to wives. They neither till the ground, nor reap, nor gather in the harvest, but they purchase it for money. They have a judge and a chief who metes out the four capital punishments. They speak the Hebrew and Persian languages, and that of Kedar.

11 The children of Zebulun encamp on the mountains of Paran, and pitch tents made of the hair of Armania and stretch as far as the Euphrates. The tribe of Reuben dwells opposite them behind the mountains of Paran, and between them there is love, unity, and peace. They infest the roads leading to Mecoth and the way to Babylon. All their spoil they divide equally between them, and food is so cheap that

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two camel-loads can be bought for two drachmas. They speak among themselves the language of Kedar, and possess the Bible, Mishna, Talmud, and Agadoth. But every Sabbath a lecture is given in Hebrew, and interpreted in the language of Kedar.

12 The tribe of Ephraim and half the tribe of Menasseh dwells opposite the city of Meyuqa. They have to toil for their living by the sweat of their brow, and are hard-hearted. They are riders of horses, infesting the roads, and having pity on no man. They possess no money, but only the spoil they acquire from their enemies. They are a distance of six months' march from the temple, and their numbers are incalculable and without number. They exact tribute from twenty-five kingdoms, as well as from a portion of Ishmael, but the tribes of Judah and Benjamin are scattered over the whole world. May the Rock of Israel gather together our dispersed brethren. Amen.'

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 63

Elchanan The Merchant.

1 The story of Elchanan. Elchanan, the son of Joseph, was a large export merchant, and owned many vessels. He hailed from the province of the tribe of Dan, and was exceedingly wise and pious. He passed the day in praying, maintaining the poor, and giving a helping hand to orphan boys and girls. By means of his great skill he made a ship containing sixty chambers, of which each one of his servants made one for himself and his goods. In the centre of the vessel he constructed a tower which enabled him to see all his servants and their chambers. All the rooms were placed far away from his, and his servants could also not easily enter their neighbour's compartment, nor make any designs upon his property.

2 Elchanan himself was a mighty man of valour, as were also his sons, being altogether four in the tower. The ship was loaded with 10,000 talents' worth of pepper, 10,000 talents' worth of frankincense, 10,000 of calamus and cinnamon, 1,000 litres of machik, which they call saffron, and every other kind of spice, filling the whole vessel from top to bottom. Some of the servants appointed to guard the merchandise were Jews and others Ishmaelites. Besides these, there were, of course, the sailors. He had with him also 10,000 talents of silver to buy beautiful garments in various parts of the world.

3 He acted as captain himself. His intention was to travel to a large kingdom, but was overtaken by a severe storm, which resulted in his ship drifting on to the sand in the Sea of Havila.

4 There R. Elchanan came across a certain people who spoke Hebrew. 'Who are ye?' said he. 'We are descendants of Dan,' answered they. And they forthwith invited him among them, and did very great honour to him, for R. Elchanan was beautiful and majestic in appearance. He then told them all his trouble and everything that befell him, and asked them many questions how they came to that place. Thereupon they related to him all their adventures. At the time when Jeroboam resigned, he said to the Israelites, 'Go ye and wage war with Rehoboam, the son of David.' And then the elders told him, Among all the tribes of Israel there is not one containing such mighty men of war and men so trained to battle as the tribe of Dan, and that they should therefore go to battle with Rehoboam and the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Thereupon. he (Jeroboam) said to them, 'Arise, ye sons of Dan, and fight the men of Judah.' But they replied, 'By the life of our father, Dan, we shall never go against our brothers the house of David and against the King of Judah, and why should we shed innocent blood?' 'If that is so,' said he, 'then depart from this land of Canaan.' For Jeroboam had made two calves of gold, by which he caused Israel to sin, so that the kingdom of the house of David was divided from that time.

5 They then took counsel against the Egyptians to destroy their land and kill its inhabitants. But their chiefs said to them, 'Is it not written in the Torah, "Ye shall no more see them?" How can we therefore go down to Egypt?' They then had designs (counselled) against Edom, Ammon and Moab, but found it stated in the Torah that God had forbidden Israel to inherit their borderland. But God gave them good advice, and they left the land and marched until they reached the brook of Pishon, a journey of seven years from Canaan. Then, journeying upon camels, they came to Rush, i.e., Havila, a land both rich and fertile, abounding in fields, vineyards, gardens and palaces. There they dwelt by the . sea, where there were Ethiopians without number.

6 The news of their advent having reached the ears of the king, they gathered themselves together as one man, and said, 'It is better for us to die all on one day than little by little by the hand of this strange nation.' The Kushite kings, numbering sixty-five, encamped on the one side of the brook of Pishon, facing the others, the town being between the two hosts. The descendants of Dan, consisting of 200,000 foot, took their bows in their hands and crossed the brook, and a battle took place by the water, in which twenty-five Ethiopian kings were slain. Each one of these kings possessed 1,000 horsemen and 80,000 infantry.

7 Soon after this, the descendants of Dan, while they were in their camp, heard a great shouting and a loud noise of trumpets. Almost immediately they set up a great shouting themselves, for about 300,000 men of the tribes of Naphtali, as well as of Gad and Asher, had come to their assistance on their horses, and said, 'Brethren, ye must be weary now; rest until the morrow, and we shall join you.' Accordingly, on the morrow they slew all the kings of Kush, and, taking all the spoil, divided it by lot, the silver and gold being as plentiful as stones. The land of Havila measured a distance of a square, one side of which would take four months to travel, each of the four tribes occupying one side. There they dwell now securely. Concerning them it is written, 'How good and how pleasant it is for brothers to dwell together.' A king is appointed over them, and they have an abundance of sheep and oxen, silver and gold, horses, camels and asses; and they sow and gather in the harvest. The king and the judges appointed by themselves give battle every day to the kings of Rush and to strange kingdoms.

8 These are the names of the kingdoms: Zaqlah the first (or the Eastern), Batuah, Qelalah, Arirah, 'Adirah, Zeridah, Zaryonah, Latusqah, Tira'h, Tiqunah, Qomah, Qalmah, Ahalah, Aholibah, Riphtah, Saqvah, Qadvah (Qadovah), and Horiyah. They converse with each of these peoples in their own language, and, having made a covenant with them, they dwell by the rivers of Kush called 'Zahab Tob,' which is on the border of the land of Havila.

9 These four tribes having given battle to these strange kings, they (the kings) brought them presents. Concerning this it is written, "Othri, the daughter of Pusi, shall bring them gifts. . . .' They possess vineyards and large fields, and dwell in tents made of hair, and no stranger can enter the land of Havila. Therein also dwells their king, Abiel, the son of Shaphat, and also the captain of the host, Abihail, the son of Shaphat, both of them of the tribe of Dan. When the trumpeter sounds the trumpet, the captain of the host comes forth with the armies, consisting of 173 banners, under each one serving 1,500 men of each tribe, and just as they go out, so they return.

10 Then the second tribe comes forth, each of the four tribes serving three months. Each tribe keeps its own spoil, and they converse with each other in Hebrew, and in the language of Kedar, and they are all of them pious men. I dwelt among them for twelve months.

11 They inflict the four capital punishments in accordance with the decisions of the Beth Din. The tribe of Moses is also among them, as it is said, 'And all the children of Levi gathered unto him.' They encamp by the brook of Kedron, together with scattered remnants of the exiles. The brook is called Sambatyon, which encompasses them with a radius of two months' walk. They sleep in houses built like towers, nor is any unclean bird or animal found among them, not even flies, or gnats, or vermin, but only their flocks and herds, which breed twice every year. Nor is there any scorpion or serpent. They reap a hundredfold for every measure of corn they sow, and they possess all kinds of fruits, herbs, spelt, leeks, melons, onions and garlic. They are living together as one nation, and possess many wells, from the waters of which all the lands are irrigated. They also possess all kinds of spices, and round about them there fly about all manner of clean birds. The river, the sand and stones continue in a whirl during the six days of the week, but on the Sabbath they rest. On the eve of every Sabbath a flaming fire ascends from one side of the river, so that no one can approach it until the Sabbath has come to an end. No man has ever seen these flames of the river Sambatyon except the descendants of Dan, Asher, Gad and Naphtali. They alone commune with them, and with reference to them it is said, 'To say to those that are bound, Go forth,' etc.

12 They have an abundance of silver and gold; they sow and reap, and grow the worms that make the crimson colour, and they make unto themselves beautiful garments and robes, and they are more numerous than they were when they left Egypt. Concerning these four tribes it is written, 'Ah! the land of the rustling of wings which is beyond the rivers of Kush.' The river Sambatyon is four cubits wide, as far as a bowshot reaches. The noise it makes is exceedingly loud, like the billows of the sea and like a mighty tempest, and in the night-time the sound is heard at a distance of half a day's journey. If sand from that river is placed in a flask, it whirls about during the six days of the week, but on the Sabbath it rests.

13 The four tribes, together with their cattle, go near the river Sambatyon to shear their flock, for the land is plain and smooth, where neither thorns nor herbs grow. When the descendants of Moses see them, they assemble at the side of the brook, and, raising their voices, say, 'O children of Dan, show us a camel, or ass, or dog.' And they exclaim, 'How long is this camel! and see the length of its neck! How short its ear is! It is very ugly!' These men are pious and charitable, besides being well versed in the Torah, Mishna, and Talmud. When they study they use to say, 'We have received this by tradition from Joshua and Moses, our teachers, and from God.' They do not know the other sages and their traditions are written down in the language in which our teacher Moses delivered them to them. The laws of the killing of animals are according to the words of the sages. They never swore by the name of God.

14 But the children of Dan did so, and the children of Levi said to them, 'Why do ye take the name of God (in vain)? for has He not given thee bread to eat and water to drink? Why do ye therefore do this thing? Know now that your sons and your daughters shall die in their youth on account of your iniquities, but as for us, no son or daughter shall die in the lifetime of their father, but shall live to the ripe age of one hundred and twenty.' These people do not possess any manservants or maidservants, since they are themselves skilled workmen and merchants. They have shutters with which to close their shops, but never do so because there are no thieves. It is usual for a child to go a distance of several days with the cattle, without any fear of wild beasts, evil spirits, demons or injurious beings, since they are pure and still sanctified with the holiness of Moses our teacher, as it is said, 'For they shall eat the fruit of their actions.'

15 The children of Isaachar are as numerous as the sand of the sea, without number. They dwell on the mountains of the deep, behind the land of the Medes and Persians, and a distance of four months' journey from those who dwell by the brook of Pishon. The law does not depart from their mouth, thus fulfilling the command, 'The Torah shall not depart from thy mouth; thou shalt meditate upon it day and night.' They accepted no earthly yoke, but only the yoke of the kingdom of heaven, and do not fight with their fellow-men, but discuss the Talmud and the Torah. They live in peace and tranquillity, with no injurious thought or evil of any kind to tempt them, and dwell on an area of thirteen days' journey in each direction. Silver and gold, servants, camels, flocks and herds, they have in plenty, but they breed none. The only warlike instruments they use are knives for killing the sheep, oxen and birds. They receive a tribute from the heathen kingdoms, of all produce, a fourth, and of the oxen and sheep a fifth every year. From this tribute they accumulate immense riches. They have judges and they inflict the four capital punishments according to the decisions of the Beth Din. They converse in the Hebrew language and in that of Kedar.

16 I dwelt among them for a period of two months, and then, taking my departure on board ship, I fell in among the tribe of Zebulun, who dwell on the mountains of Paran, in tents of hair, in the land of Lud and Pul. Entering their land, I found them to be farmers, tilling the ground and reaping the harvest. They possess all kinds of dainties and are men of valour. For four months they go out to plunder, fighting and robbing people of their riches. They possess the Torah, the Talmud and Mishna, and are men of great faith, who observe all the Commandments. They are also good riders, having innumerable servants, horses, sheep and oxen, as well as camels and asses. They dwell in peace and tranquillity, where no man can intrude.

17 Thence, after six days' journey, I came to the tribe of Reuben, opposite them, between Paran and Bethel, where they dwell without war. Concerning them it is written, 'And I shall cause the wild beast to cease from the land, and no sword shall pass over their land.' In the midst of the mountains of darkness they possess a fertile and fruitful land, the stones of which are iron, and from the mountains of which brass is hewn. It is a land in which one could eat his bread without any danger, for no man passes among them. They watch the roads and capture spoil without end. They dwell safely in tents of hair, and speak the Hebrew language and another strange one.

18 Thence I came to an extensive land by way of Shin'ar, through Elam; it was the kingdom of Mehumat on the border of Madia, a distance of four months' journey from the city of (Medinat). I saw the river Gozan, and a part of the tribes of Ephraim and Menasseh, who were harsh and hard-hearted. They also are good riders, watching the roads, and having pity on no man. All their possessions were plunder. They are men of valour and skilled in war; one of them alone could smite a thousand men. Among themselves a large amount of food could be obtained for two pieces of silver, and grapes could be obtained in the same way. Concerning them it is said, 'Five of you shall pursue 100, and 100 of you 10,000.'

19 A half of the tribe of Simeon lives together with the tribe of Judah in the land of the Chasdim, near Jerusalem, a distance of four months' journey. They are countless and innumerable, and their faces are like lions' faces. They are all of them proficient riders, archers, spearsmen, and swordsmen, and dwell in tents made of hair, in a wilderness the extent of which is a journey of two months each way. They receive tribute from twenty-five kings, all of whom are white, some belonging to the Ishmaelites and others to the descendants of Keturah. They wage war with heathen kingdoms, always seeking battle. They journey the way of Mathol, and the way of Babylon, until the city of the madman; in all directions they journey with their cattle from border to border, and nobody ever dares speak to them. Among themselves they speak Hebrew and Greek, and are men of faith, skilled in the Torah, Talmud, Mishna, and Agada, and also spoke the language of Togarma.

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20 I dwelt among the sons of Judah and Simeon for three years, until merchants from the land of the Danites came to buy the spoil of which they had great quantities, and also spices captured from merchants on the way, and which they had acquired for nothing. I travelled with them on board ship until we came to Elam, after a journey of four months. After the lapse of ten years from the day I departed from the Danites I returned. Those heathen whose land I passed through, and among whom the tribes dwell, were some of them worshippers of the earth, while some worshipped fire, and others worshipped a white horse and were cannibals. [End of the words of R. Elchanan the Danite. I have heard that this R. Elchanan was simple and upright, eschewing evil, and fearing God. He came from the land of India.]

[Footnotes:1 Here follows in the Manuscript the Hebrew translation of Daniel, which is therefore omitted in the English translation; and then the history of Bel and the Dragon, and the 'Song of Three Children.]

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 64

1 'Thus saith the Lord of Ahab ben Qolaya and of Zedekiah ben Ma'aseyah, which prophesy falsely in My name, behold I will deliver them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, and he shall slay them before your very eyes. From them a curse shall be taken up by all the captivity of Judah and Israel in Babylon, saying, "May the Lord make thee like Zedekiah and Ahab, whom the King of Babylon 'roasted' in the fire."' It is not said, 'They were burnt,' but 'roasted.' R. Johanan, in the name of R. Simeon ben Johai, said, 'We learn from the above that He made them like parched ears of corn.' Because they committed abomination in Israel, they committed adultery with the wives of their neighbours, and spoke falsely in My name that which I had not commanded them, even I who know and testify against them, saith the Lord.'

2 Ahab went to the daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, and said to her, 'The Lord said, "Hearken to Zedekiah, and there shall come forth from thee kings and prophets who will prophesy against Israel."' Hearing this, Zedekiah also went to her, and said, 'In the same manner as Ahab has said about me, so also listen to him, and there shall come forth from thee kings and prophets who will prophesy against Israel.' When she heard this, she immediately went to her father and told him all that had happened, saying, 'Thus and thus did Ahab and Zedekiah say unto me.' And her father replied, 'The God of these men hateth lewdness. As soon as they come to thee a second time again send them to me.' When they came, she accordingly said to them, 'I cannot do anything without my father's knowledge; therefore, go ye to my father, and, placing your request before him, listen to his reply.'

3 Going to Nebuchadnezzar, they repeated what they had told his daughter. And he replied, 'What is the cause of it that your God did not tell this prophecy to Hananya, Mishael, and Azariah? Are they not prophets?' And they said, 'He did not command Hananya, Mishael, and Azariah to do anything, but it was us He commanded to do this thing.' At this Nebuchadnezzar retorted, 'I asked Hananya, Mishael, and Azariah, saying, "Is this thing which you ask my daughter prohibited or permitted?" "It is prohibited," said they.' 'But we are prophets,' answered Zedekiah and Ahab, 'as they. He did not command them but us to do this thing.'

4 'I desire, then, to test you as I tested Hananya, Mishael, and Azariah, viz., in the fiery furnace.' 'But they were three, and we are only two,' added they. 'Then choose ye one whomsoever ye wish to be tried with you.' And they said, 'We desire Joshua the son of Jehozadak, the high priest.' They knew that his merit was so great that he would protect them also. Accordingly the three of them were brought and cast into the fiery furnace. Ahab and Zedekiah were consumed by the fire, but Joshua, the high priest, was not touched by it; his garments merely smelt of fire, as it is said, 'He showed me Joshua, the high priest, standing before the angel of the Lord, and Satan standing at his right hand to tempt him.' It is further written, 'And the Lord said unto Satan, "The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan; the Lord who chose Jerusalem shall rebuke thee. Is this not a brand plucked out of the fire?'

5 'I know now,' said Nebuchadnezzar, 'that thou art very righteous, but how is it that thy garments were touched a little by the fire, while in the case of Hananya, Mishael, and Azariah the fire did not touch them at all?' 'Because,' said Joshua, 'they were three and I was alone.' 'But,' said he, 'Abraham was also alone.' 'True, but there were no wicked people in his company, and the Lord therefore did not allow the fire to touch him; but with me there were two wicked men, and on this account the Lord allowed the fire to touch me a little.' This is the parable of the two dry torches and the one moist, where the two dry ones burn the moist.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 65

The History Of Susanna.

1 There dwelt a man in Babylon named Jehoiachin, and he took a wife whose name was Susanna, one that feared the Lord. She was the daughter of righteous and good parents, who brought her up in the ways of the Lord, according to the precepts of the law of Moses. Now, this man Jehoiachin was greater and more respected than any of his generation. To him all the Jews resorted daily, for no one like him was found among God's people. He had a beautiful garden adjoining his house, where his wife Susanna used to retire for bathing.

2 At this time two judges were appointed over the people, who came in the early morning and evening to Jehoiachin's house to deliver judgement to the people. But when they beheld the beautiful Susanna their lust was inflamed towards her. They renounced their hope in heavenly reward, and, whilst separating themselves from the righteous, yet neither one revealed to the other the evil thought of his heart. But when the crowd had dispersed to their homes, they spoke to each other, and then, confessing their lust to each other, they took counsel together in which way they might lead her astray, and, watching diligently every day to defile her, they neither stopped nor rested from their sin.

3 One day when all the people had departed to their homes they remained behind according to custom, nor did they remove the evil of their heart, but lay in wait to commit the evil. When Susanna entered the garden accompanied by her maids to wash herself on account of the heat, she sent them to bring her some oil wherewith to anoint herself, at the same time telling them to close the door behind them. When they went out they accordingly bolted the doors after them, but the old men were concealed in the beautiful garden, and when she stripped to wash they ran out of their hiding-place, and, taking hold of her, said, 'Lie with us, for if thou wilt not consent we shall bear witness against thee that a young man has lain with thee.' In fear and trembling she then said, 'What am I to do? I cannot escape these men. It is better for me to resign myself to the Lord, the righteous, the good, the great, the mighty, and the awe-inspiring God, the Deliverer, Saviour, and mighty Redeemer, whose name is the Lord of Hosts.'

4 Then, raising her voice on high, she cried, 'Save me, O Lord my God, from the hands of the wicked who rebel against Thee.' But they also cried aloud, and bore false witness against her. At their cry the men of her house came forth, and, entering the garden, beheld the elders bearing this testimony against her, and they and all their kindred were astonished, since they knew that the like of this was not seen or heard of her.

5 On the morrow all the people gathered together to the house of Jehoiachin according to their custom, and with them the elders who rose up and testified that they had seen this woman enter the garden with her two maids, and that a young man came and lay with her. 'We then took hold of the young man, but he slipped from our hands.' The people believed their words, for the elders were held to be good and God-fearing men.

6 Then, sending for the woman, they brought her, and there came with her her relatives, friends, and acquaintances; but she was very feeble, and came there with her face covered. But the elders cried angrily from their evil desires, 'Remove the veil from her face!' that they might satisfy the wickedness of their eyes, and, condemning her to death, they led her forth. Then, raising her eyes on high, she said, 'O truthful and righteous Judge, O faithful Witness, behold me and save me from a death through false witnesses; let me not be found a sinner in the sight of all these people; and let not the words of these wicked men be fulfilled against me.'

7 And the Lord heard her cry and sent a helper, for the Lord aroused the spirit of Daniel, who raised his voice, and said, 'Lord God, clear us of the death of this righteous woman.' Hearing this, the people asked, 'Who art thou that speaketh?' And they replied, 'The voice is that of Daniel;' he was then a young man in the king's household and a chamberlain in his palace. 'But why dost thou speak in this manner?' And he said, 'Will ye condemn to death one in Israel without investigation? Will ye slay the innocent and the righteous in a manner contrary to the law? Return to me, that I may investigate the matter.'

8 The woman and all the people then returned, and the elders who bore witness against her said to him, 'Why does my Lord say, she is not to die, since she has done such and such a thing?' And Daniel said to the people, 'Be ye seated;' and they sat down. 'Now separate these elders one from the other.' Then, interrogating one of them, he said, 'O sinful old man, thou art surely condemned to death, and the angel stands over thee to cut thee in two. Under what tree didst thou find her?' 'Under the terebinth' (###). And Daniel said to the people, 'Behold, this man shall die, for there is no such tree in the garden.'

9 He was accordingly taken away, and the second one brought. And he said to him, 'O thou of the seed of Kainan, who art not of Judah. Thus did ye act in our land. Ye enticed beautiful maidens by your false testimony, so that we became a curse and a reproach, we were led captive and became a spoil; behold, thou art destined to be slain, and no soul is to be left within thee. Tell me, before the people, under what tree didst thou find her?' 'Under a trellis of the vine' (###). Then said Daniel, 'Behold, the angel stands over thee with a drawn sword in his hand to saw thy loins asunder, for there is no such tree in the garden.'

10 They went and found that it was the truth. Then Daniel appeared to the people in all his wisdom, and it was done to those judges just as they devised against their sister. From that day Daniel was exalted in the sight of the people of Judah, and they gave thanks and praises to the Lord God of their fathers, as did Shealtiel, the father of Susanna, and her mother, as well as all her relatives and acquaintances, and her husband Jehoiachin.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 66

1 Nebuchadnezzar was not very much changed in his being from other men; but only in his appearance, in his mind, and in his language. He appeared to men like an ox as far as his navel (or stomach), and from his navel to his feet like a lion. He ate the herbs at first which other men eat, to show that he chewed his food like an ox, and became at last like a lion, in that he killed all the wicked. Many people went out to see him, but Daniel did not, because, during the time of his change, he was praying for him, so that the seven years became seven months. For forty days he roamed about among the wild beasts, and for the next forty days his heart became like that of any other man, and he wept on account of his sins. Again, for forty days he wandered about in caves, and for yet another forty days he roamed among the wild beasts until the seven months were completed.

2 When, however, the Lord restored him to his former position he no longer reigned alone, but appointed seven judges, one for each year until the expiration of the seven years. And during this time, while he was repenting for his sins, he neither ate meat nor bread, nor drank any wine, but his food consisted of herbs and seed, according to Daniel's counsel. When, after the seven years of his punishment, he sat once more on the throne of his kingdom, he wished to make Daniel an heir among his sons, but Daniel said, 'Far be it from me to leave the inheritance of my fathers for that of the uncircumcised.'

3 On the death of Nebuchadnezzar the Great, his son of the same name succeeded him. He built a temple to Bel in Babylon, and completed the city of Babylon. He surrounded it with the river, so that the enemy could not prevail against it. He increased the city and the temple of Bel tenfold, and added glory and honour, and in fifteen days the building was complete.

4 The king then, having placed a huge stone upon a mountain, planted a garden upon it, which was raised to a great height so as to enable his wife to gaze upon. Media, the land of her birth, for she longed to behold it. This was the king who besieged Tyre for three years and ten months. When Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nebuchadnezzar the Great, died, Evil Merodach reigned in his stead.

5 Now, in the thirty-seventh year of the captivity of Jehoiachin, King of Judah, on the twenty-seventh day of the twelfth month, Evil Merodach, King of Babylon, in the first year of his reign, rescued Jehoiachin, King of Judah,, from prison, and raised his throne above that of any other king in Babylon, and, changing his prison garments, he maintained him as long as he lived. He did this because Nebuchadnezzar the Great did not keep his faith with him, for Evil Merodach was really his eldest son; but he made Nebuchadnezzar the Younger king, because he had humbled the wicked. They slandered him to his father, who placed him (Evil Merodach) in prison together with Jehoiachin, where they remained together until the death of Nebuchadnezzar, his brother, after whom he reigned.

6 'I fear my father Nebuchadnezzar,' he said, 'lest he rise from his grave, for just as he was changed back from an animal to a man, so in the same manner he may rise up from death to life.' But Jehoiachin advised him to take the corpse out of the grave, and, cutting it into 300 pieces, to give it to 300 vultures, and he said to him, 'Thy father will not rise up until these vultures have brought back the flesh of thy father, which they have eaten.' Evil Merodach had three sons, whose names were Regosar (###), Lebuzer-Dukh (###), and Nabar (###), who was Belshazzar, with whom the Chaldean kingdom came to an end.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 67

[Here Commences The Book Of Joseph Ben Gorion, The Josippon, Which Is Also Often, Probably Wrongly, Attributed To Flavius Josephus, With The Exception Of The First Two Pages, Which Contain An Enumeration Of The Families And Ancient Kings, Which Is Written Above In Its Proper Place In The Book Of The Generations.]

1 When God had visited upon Babylon all that He spake to His servants Isaiah and Jeremiah, the prophets, on behalf of Jerusalem, He raised up against them two mighty kings: Darius, King of Media, and Cyrus, King of Persia. And Cyrus entered into close friendship with Darius by taking his daughter to wife, so that they jointly rebelled against Belshazzar, King of the Chaldeans. This was the commencement of many fierce battles. At the outset the Chaldeans were victorious; but many fell on either side, and

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the Chaldeans fleeing, Cyrus and Darius pursued them until a distance of one day's journey from Babylon, and smote them and cut them to pieces. There Cyrus and Darius encamped with all their armies, and when the king Belshazzar saw them he sent out all the host of his mighty men—a thousand princes and the troops that were in the temple, a numerous and powerful band. At twilight all these marched out of Babylon, continuing their march during the whole night. But at the break of morn they began to attack the camp of Darius and Cyrus, which at the onset became bewildered, and the camp of Media fled in confusion; but Cyrus and his men braced themselves up to fight against the Chaldeans, and prevented them from following the Median camp. In the night, when the battle had ceased, the slain of the Medes and Persians were found to be very numerous.

2 On that same day, as the princes of Belshazzar saw that they had gained a victory, they came before King Belshazzar full of victory and strength. The king made a great feast for them, and many presents of silver and gold were given to them; and the king rejoiced with his 1,000 princes, and sat down to eat and drink with them. They prolonged the banquet until night. Now, Belshazzar had drunk too much, and while he was in a state of intoxication he ordered the golden vessels which had been in the temple of our God at Jerusalem to be brought to him—viz., those holy vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had seized when he exiled the Jews from Jerusalem to Babylon. He then defiled the holy vessels by drinking wine out of them, together with his 1,000 princes, his wives, and his concubines.

3 But when our God beheld this profanation, He was angry and jealous (zealous) for His vessels, so He sent from His throne a scribe to write a severe rebuke for the king, and to acquaint him with the judgement which our God had decreed concerning his life and his kingdom. The scribe accordingly wrote upon the wall in red ink by the lamp of the king the following: 'He thought, He weighed, He separated.' The letters were written in Hebrew characters, but the writing was Aramaic. When the king saw the fingers writing—the other parts of the body he did not see, for the fingers were terrible and beautiful—he became bewildered and very much afraid, so that every limb of his body, his heart, and his very bones trembled.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 68

1 Daniel was then brought before the king to read and interpret the writing, and he said to the king: 'Thou hast acted very foolishly, in that thou hast defiled the vessels of the temple of our God. Therefore our God, being zealous for His children and for His sanctuary, sent an angel to write these words. And these are the words which he has written, 'Shekel,' i.e., the enemy of the Lord, 'has been weighed in the balance and been found wanting. He will therefore rend the kingdom from His enemy, and will give it to Darius and Cyrus, who have given thee battle. Between them the kingdom shall be divided.'

2 And the princes of the king heard this explanation from Daniel and that he reproved the king, saying, 'Hearken to me, I pray thee, King Belshazzar, and mark and understand my words. Didst thou not know that the Lord God of the heavens made thy father great, and raised him over all the kingdoms of the earth; that He caused him to rule, in His greatness, over the holy Land, over the kingdom of priests and the holy nation; and that he (Nebuchadnezzar) treated them with great cruelty; that he shed their blood as water, burnt the holy temple with fire, and sent the whole of God's inheritance into captivity to Babylon? That then his heart waxed mighty and his spirit proud, so that he said, "My hand is exalted, and my power has stood by me"; that he did not remember that the God of the world, who exalteth and maketh humble, had delivered all these things into his hands; nor did he think of this until the Lord humbled him by making him wander among the wild beasts of the field and the birds of the heavens; and not until he believed that the Lord God of heaven is He who slayeth and bringeth to life was he restored again to his palace? And thou, Belshazzar, hast received thy father's kingdom by the will of the God of heaven, and reignest over all the land in the same manner as thy father.

3 'When thy two vassals, Darius and Cyrus, rebelled and made a conspiracy against thee, and went to battle against thy mighty army, thou didst send forth thy warriors to subdue them, and they returned to thee exceedingly elated with strength and glory; but thou didst not give thanks to thy Creator, who gave thee the very breath of thy life, but to thy idols of silver and gold, of iron and brass, of clay and earthenware, which cannot rescue nor save, which can do neither evil nor good. And thou didst burn bright the lamp for thy 1,000 warriors and princes. Then didst thou send for the holy vessels, which were sanctified to the God of heaven, who breathed into thee the breath of life, and in whose hand is thy spirit, to slay or to keep alive. And thou didst defile His vessels by drinking out of them, together with all thy servants, princes, wives, and concubines, and didst sing praises to thy idols. For this the Lord's anger was kindled against thee and thy people, since thou hast foolishly done this. He therefore sent His scribe to write down upon the wall of thy house thy end, and the end of thy kingdom. Behold the writing is written in Hebrew characters, but the language is Aramaic. The words are "Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin," which means that God has "numbered" the years of thy kingdom, which have been found completed; the seventy years (of the captivity) having come to an end. Thou hast been "weighed," and been found wanting. Therefore thy kingdom shall be "taken away" from thee, and given to the Medes and Persians.'

4 When the king, the princes and the dignitaries of the kingdom heard this interpretation from Daniel, they were all greatly afraid, every one of them, their heart beat violently, and they were alarmed and trembled, and the king, being seized with dreadful pains through Daniel's words, fell upon his bed, sad and troubled, and mourning bitterly, while the rest of the princes returned to their houses in fear. When they went out through the gate they were in their excitement crushed and trampled on, and the king remained alone with his messengers and his household, and, being in great excitement and bewildered, he fell into a deep sleep, and slumbered like one of the dead through his fright and trembling.

5 Now, there was in the bedroom of the king a doorkeeper, one of the old servants of Nebuchadnezzar, who was much honoured and respected. Meditating in his heart, he said, 'Did not Daniel interpret all Nebuchadnezzar's dreams? and did not all his words come true, so that nothing he prophesied failed to be realized? Now he has told the king what is decreed concerning him, for the spirit of God is with him, and he does not lie. Why, therefore, should I not go, and, severing Belshazzar's head, run with it to Cyrus and Darius, the Kings of Media and Persia, and thereby find favour in their eyes?' And as he thought, so he did. Rising hastily in the twilight, he drew the sword from beneath the king's pillows, and with it smote Belshazzar, severing his head. He wandered all through the night until daybreak, and then went to the two kings with the head of Belshazzar in his hand.

6 But when they saw it, both they and all the men trembled and gazed in fear at each other, as well as all the army. On asking the man for an explanation, he related all that Daniel had told Belshazzar, how he had defiled the holy vessels of the temple, and thus kindled the anger of the God of the heavens, who sent a messenger to write upon the wall in red ink opposite the candlestick. 'When I heard Daniel tell these things, I knew that it was all true and that nothing would fail to come to pass. On account of this I planned and hastened to perform this deed which now your eyes behold.'

7 When the two kings heard the words of the servant they feared the wrath of the God of heaven, and consequently humbled, prostrated and bowed themselves before the Lord of all things, saying, 'We know that Thou alone art God over all the hosts of heaven and over all the kingdoms of the earth, who removest and establishest kings, and who doest whatever Thou desirest. Thou knowest that this Belshazzar, the wicked grandson of the wicked Nebuchadnezzar, acted wickedly, and Thou hast therefore visited him to destroy him in the wrath of Thy anger in that he defiled the vessels of Thy holy sanctuary. Thou didst hand him over to be slaughtered by this chamberlain that his head may be brought before us. We now give thanks unto Thee, O God of the heavens, for the wonders which Thou hast wrought. If Thou wilt deliver his land into our possession and the valiant, mighty men thereof, we shall wreak vengeance upon them to satisfy the wrath of Thine anger. Then Thou wilt help us to free Thy servants from their captivity, to build Thy holy temple in Jerusalem, and to gather together the outcasts of Thy people, that they may once again worship Thee alone.' Having said this, they made a feast and rejoiced for three days.

8 Then, marching into Babylon, they captured it, and, overthrowing the fortresses, slew the warriors at the edge of the sword, ripped up their women with child, slaughtered their old men in the streets, strangled their young men with ropes and dragged them with their horses along the streets, their virgins they trampled to death, and their young children they dashed against the rocks.

9 Thus God avenged the blood of His servants that was shed by the Babylonians and Chaldeans, and took vengeance for His city and His temple. These two kings overran all the streets with their mighty army, and, overthrowing all their palaces, burnt their most precious things, and, blowing upon their trumpets, raised a loud cry so that the earth was cleft asunder at their noise, and they said: 'Where are ye, ye mighty men of Babylon and ye valiant men, ye sinners of the whole earth. The battle is no longer yours.' They then set fire to everything that came before them until they rendered the whole of Babylon a waste land, like Sodom and Gomorrah, according to the word which God spake to His servants the prophets.

10 After this the two kings divided the whole kingdom of the Chaldeans by lot, so that Darius took for his portion Babylon, with all its inhabitants, and the great temple of the palace which Nebuchadnezzar had built; and Darius sat upon the throne of Belshazzar. Thus, while the great Babylon, with all its inhabitants, together with the land of Media, fell to the lot of Darius, the land of the Chaldeans, Assyria and Persia fell to the lot of Cyrus.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 69

1 Now it came to pass, when Darius was firmly seated upon the throne of his kingdom in Babylon, that he ordered Daniel to be brought before him, and, placing for him a throne, he sat before Darius. Then said the king, 'Art thou Daniel?' 'I am,' said he. 'Then give me counsel what to do, for the spirit of the God of heaven is with thee; do not withhold it from me, for I am old now and wanting in strength. My active life wearies me, and continual wars make me faint; and now that my old age has begun, I am no longer able to bear the burden of my people, to judge between man and man, to reward the righteous and punish the wicked, for the thing is too heavy for me.'

2 And Daniel replied: 'Let my lord the king appoint three officers, men of valour and truth, to take upon themselves part of the responsibility, and let them judge between man and man in order to relieve thee of the heaviness of the burden, and let the king rest in his palace. Then every matter that is too weighty for the judges shall be brought before the king, who shall decide. Thus the king and his throne shall be pure.' He did as he was advised, for he appointed two princes of his host, with Daniel in authority over them, to judge the people, while he himself remained peaceably in his palace.

3 Darius issued a decree throughout all his kingdom, saying, 'The God of the heavens hath given me all these kingdoms of the earth, and the burden is too great for me to bear, for my soul is weary through old age. I have therefore taken advice of Daniel, who has given me true counsel, and I have hearkened unto him. I shall now rest in my palace so that the heaviness of the burden will be taken off my shoulders. Now give honour to the God of Daniel and believe in Him. Rise up early and seek Him, for He is the great God over all other gods. Let it be known to you that by the advice of Daniel have I done this. I have appointed over all my kingdom two princes of the host, to whose decisions all the people shall listen in all cases of trouble, so that the burden is made lighter for me; and Daniel have I appointed as overseer to these two princes, who are to obey him and to listen to all that he teaches them, and not to change his words, but to perform everything he commands them, for I have appointed him as a vicegerent, with the two princes of the army under him, and whoever violates this decree of the king shall forfeit his life.' All the people obeyed this decree, and the princes, governors, commanders and rulers of the provinces bestowed honour upon Daniel, for the holy Spirit was with him.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 70

1 Soon after this, however, the princes of the army, as well as the other chiefs, governors and dignitaries of the kingdom envied Daniel, and, meeting in counsel, they sought for some pretext by which they might overthrow Daniel. So they resolved to make a decree and a covenant that every man, old or young, belonging to the rulers or the princes, who shall during the next thirty days entreat any god, or ask a request from any being, except from the king alone, shall be given as food to lions, nor shall he be rescued by the hand of the king, or redeemed by his great wealth to annul the decree. Daniel was ignorant of their machinations, for they cunningly kept their secret from him, saying, 'If we do not trap him in a religious matter we shall not be able to overthrow him.' But they did not know that, as Daniel was faithful to his God, so would his God prove faithful to him.

2 The men, having then written down what they had resolved to do, they each one of them signed it and sealed it with his seal, in order to give it greater authority. They then waited upon the king with their writing, who took it and read it innocently without suspecting that it was a secret plot cunningly devised against Daniel. Therefore he confirmed the decree by sealing it with the king's seal, and giving it to his scribes to guard for the appointed time.

3 One day the men went to Daniel's house to spy, and, finding a girl playing about opposite the entrance of his house, they asked, 'Where is Daniel, and what is he doing?' And she replied, 'Behold, he is in the upper chamber of his house, praying near the window which looks towards the holy temple at Jerusalem, and uttering praises and words of thanksgiving to his God.' Believing her, they went to the upper chamber, and found him on his knees with his hands spread towards heaven, for Daniel supplicated to God three times during the day.

4 When these men came into Daniel's chamber he was not frightened, nor did he tremble at the noise of their voice, and he finished his prayer, when they all immediately seized him and brought him to the king. But when the king saw Daniel in the hands of the princes he trembled very greatly, and was astounded, for he then knew that it was against Daniel they had made and established such a decree. Then said the king to the princes, 'What have ye done to Daniel, and what have ye to do with him?'

5 And they replied, 'Have we not written down and sealed the decree in accordance with the law of Media and Persia,

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which cannot be changed or frustrated, that whoever prostrates himself to any being for the whole of this month other than to the king shall be consigned as food for the lions? Behold, Daniel was found in his house praying to his God, and thus this decree of the King of Media and Persia was violated, which cannot be. Now, since Daniel has mocked us in trying to set our laws at naught, give him into our hands, and we shall cast him into the den of lions, that no other person may attempt such a thing again in opposition to the laws of Media and Persia.' And the king answered the princes, saying, 'Ye have devised this plan against Daniel to attack him for your envy. Now, cease pursuing him, for he is a Jew, and his God is revered, glorious and mighty, who may visit you with His anger, and destroy you.' But the princes seized Daniel with their hands, ready to destroy him by casting him into the den of lions. The king, therefore, exerted all his strength to rescue him, but not one of them helped the king to save Daniel, for they were all eager for his downfall, and refused, therefore, to release him. But the king would not listen to the princes, and they strove with each other, the princes and the king, until sunset.

6 When, however, they saw that the king was with him, they said with One accord, 'O king, know and mark well, if thou wilt not deliver him into our hands, we shall know that thou annullest the laws of Media and Persia.' As soon as the king saw that they were all of them bent on conspiring against him on account of Daniel, he let him go, delivering him into their power, and saying to them, 'Tell me, if God delivers him from the mouth of the lions, how will you hide your reproach and your shame, for ye shall surely be cast to the lions as food.' And they all replied, 'So it shall be.' The king, having striven with the princes until it was late, said to Daniel, 'Behold, the princes have determined to cast thee into the den of lions, but the Lord God of the heavens, who hath given thee His holy Spirit, shall close their mouths and prevent them injuring thee; but I am innocent before thy God, for I sought to rescue thee, but could not.' Then, drawing Daniel forth, they cast him into the den in which ten lions were enclosed. Their daily fare consisted of ten sheep and ten human bodies. But they starved them, depriving them of their food, giving them nothing to eat, so that they should hasten to devour Daniel. When Daniel had, however, descended to the den of lions they showed him a kind face, licked him, wagged their tails, and were as rejoiced to meet him as dogs are to see their master arrive home from the field. The princes rolled a great stone over the mouth of the pit, which the king sealed with his ring as well as with that of the princes, and they each went their way.

7 Daniel, in the meantime, praised the name of his God all the night until the next morning with the voice of song and thanksgiving, while the lions crouched round about him, eager to hearken unto his song. But the king went to his house grieved and bitterly sad, eating no food, and drinking neither wine nor water. He forbad the musical instruments to be played before him, and did not remove his garments, for he was grieved at heart for Daniel; his sleep also left him, for he was saddened at the princes' plot against Daniel. Then, turning over on his side and sighing, he said, 'Would that it were morning, to see what has become of Daniel.'

8 On that same day, and at the same time as Daniel was cast into the den, behold the prophet Habakkuk, in the land of Judah, returned that evening from harvesting, and prepared a large dish to feed the reapers. While he was carrying his burden in his hand to supply the reapers with food, the word of the Lord came to him, saying, 'Go thou with this food to My servant Daniel, in the land of the Chaldeans, to the den of lions, where he is cast.' 'But, O Lord God, who will lead me there,' said he, 'at this time, since the distance is so great for me?' And forthwith an angel of God lifted him by the lock of his hair, together with his food, and placed him in the midst of Daniel's den, where he put down the food. The angel then brought him forth thence, and restored him to his native place, whence he was taken before the reapers had had their meal. And Daniel uttered thanksgiving and praises to his God, in whose salvation he trusted, for whoever supplicates to his God communes with Him as well as one who studies His law, and he need not despair of His kindness.

9 On the following morning at daybreak the king arose and hastily went to the den, and when he heard Daniel's voice singing and the beauty of his praises, he was not able to speak to him, for his voice was stifled through his sobbing. But, strengthening himself, he called out, 'Daniel, Daniel, has God withheld thee from the mouth of the lions, and art thou not torn to pieces?' And Daniel replied, 'Indeed, God hath withheld me from the mouth of the lions, and hath closed their mouths, and prevented them from injuring me. They, on the contrary, rejoiced to meet me, just as my own household would rejoice, for thus my God, in whom I trust, has commanded, and yesterday food was even given to me through Habakkuk, through the spirit of my God; but, my lord the king, I have not sinned against thee, nor will any iniquity be found in me.'

10 The king then sending for the princes, Daniel's enemies, they came to him as he was standing by the den. 'Know,' said he, 'and behold the seals of your rings; are they as ye sealed them, and has there been any mischief?' And examining the seals, they said, 'They are untouched and just as we have sealed them.' Then, commanding the stone to be rolled away from the mouth of the pit, Daniel they brought forth, sound and perfect, without any blemish or hurt. The bystanders, being struck with wonder at the miracles of the God of Daniel, with a loud voice shouted, 'The God of Daniel is greater than all other gods.' The king then ordered his servants to lay hold of those princes, Daniel's enemies, together with their wives and children, and to cast them into the den of lions, and before they reached the floor of the den, the lions, who had not eaten any food since yesterday, roared at them, and, tearing them, crushed their bones and ground them to dust. They then continued roaring from their den so that the noise could be heard far off, and all the people trembled, and said, 'The lions have escaped from their den.'

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 71

1 The king then returned to his palace with Daniel, and the Lord showered upon Daniel honour and greatness, and he found favour and kindness in the eyes of the king. A command was then issued in the kingdom, saying: 'In all the land there is no god like the God of Daniel who performs miracles and wonders. May his God be with all the people of His inheritance, and cause them to prosper; and let the great temple of God be built in Judah, and I shall give silver and gold of my treasures for the building until it is completed.'

2 He then issued orders to all the cities in the land of his rule, by means of runners and horsemen, to permit the Jews to go up to Jerusalem to build the temple of God. This happened in the first year of Cyrus's reign over the Chaldeans. Letters of the king were also sent to all the princes on the other side of the river and to the governors, to be in readiness to assist the Jews by attending to all their wants in the matter of the building, such as the supply of wood, stones, wheat, oil, and wine, until the building was completed, and rams and lambs for their sacrifices.

3 The Jews then rose, all whose hearts were willing, to go up to the house of God. They numbered about four myriads, with Ezra the priest and scribe at their head, as well as Eliakim the priest, Jeshu'a, Mordecai, and the rest of the chiefs of the fathers belonging to Judah and Benjamin; and, journeying, they came to the other side of the river, and arrived at Jerusalem, where they commenced to lay the foundation of the house of God. When this was finished, the work prospered. There then arose certain wicked men, enemies of the Jews, from the remnant of the nations, e.g., Sanballat the Horonite, Tobiya the Ammonite, and Geshem the Arabian, all of whom wrote evil against the Jews. They sent a letter to the Kings of Media and Persia, saying, 'Be it known to you that if ye build the city of Jerusalem it will be to you a snare, a great evil, and there will arise a great conspiracy against you; for in days of yore the Jews who dealt therein were strong and very hard, and destroyed the whole country. It was for this reason that Nebuchadnezzar, their enemy, exiled them to Babylon. Then the kings had rest, and each dwelt peacefully in his own place. Therefore we send to inform you of it, as we are faithful, for we have eaten at the table of the king, and far be it from us to allow the downfall of the kingdom.' As soon as the letter reached the King of Persia, the work was discontinued until the second year of the reign of Darius.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 72

1 Now, when Darius was seated on the throne of his kingdom, he sent for Daniel, the servant of God, to test his wisdom and to obtain his counsel. Having come before him, he tried him and proved him, and found him sevenfold wiser than report had told of him. He was therefore very pleased with him, and loved him, and appointed him to be his counsellor, as Darius had done before him.

2 One day Darius held a feast in honour of Bel, the god of Babylon, and the king accordingly prepared an offering to be brought before Bel, the god of Babylon. The daily order of the offering consisted of 1 bullock, 10 rams, 10 sheep, 100 doves, 70 loaves of bread, and 10 barrels of wine, for the table of the god. On the day in question they arranged the table before Bel, and the king said to Daniel, 'Would that thou didst believe in the glory of our god Bel, who consumes what is laid upon this table.'

3 And Daniel replied, 'Let not the heart of the king be deceived and be led astray, for it is vanity. There is no breath in it, but it is simply the work of the craftsman. How can it therefore eat or drink anything? It is the priests of Bel who eat the contents of this table, as well as the meal-offering and burnt-offering. Now, if thou wilt hearken unto me, and deliver these priests into my hand, I will show thee the deceit they practise upon thee and thy people, which causes you to prostrate yourselves to vanity and emptiness.' 'Let it be as thou hast spoken,' said the king. Daniel then commanded the porters of Bel to lock the temple and all its gates, except the one which the king and Daniel entered.

4 Then said the king, 'Bring me some ashes.' When they were brought he scattered them upon the floor of the house, and the priests were kept in ignorance of Daniel's advice. As soon as they had done this, the king and Daniel went out with their young men by the same gate, and, locking the door, the king sealed it with his own seal and with that of Daniel, and then both of them went back to the palace, and retired for the night.

5 On the following morning the king sent for Daniel, to let him see and know what Bel had done. Coming to the gate of the temple, they found the seals just as they had been left; and the king said, 'Has there been any tampering with these seals?' And Daniel said 'No,' and commanded the seals to be removed. They then opened the gate, and saw that the contents of the table which they had arranged, from the bread even to the meat and wine, had all been consumed.

6 As soon as the king saw this, he fell prostrate before Bel, and exclaimed, 'O Bel, great is thy name in the world, and who is like unto thee in might among all the other gods?' But Daniel answered, 'Let not the king say that, for Bel is but clay, earthenware, and brass, and cannot eat or drink. Look but upon the ashes which we have spread on the floor, and round about the temple and the table, and see whose footprints are these, for they are the traces of the consumers of Bel's table.' The king looked, and beheld the footprints of men, women, and children;

7 and sending forthwith for these seventy priests and ministers of Bel, he swore to them, saying, 'If ye will not tell me the truth, ye shall surely die.' They then showed him the secret entrances through which they came in and went out in the night, to eat the contents of the table. [Here one leaf of the MS. is missing.]

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 73

1 The dragon felt the smell of the ashes and of the sacrifice, and he rejoiced to go out and see the offering, and it opened its mouth, according to custom, and they cast it therein. After swallowing it, it raised itself on high, and turned to enter the cave again, when the princes said to the king, 'Is Daniel also able to destroy this god, which is a living god, just as he destroyed Bel and his priests and his altar, thus putting an end to his worship? Why does he not strive with this god, for, if he does, then we shall be avenged for the destruction of Bel and his temple.

2 Then said the king to Daniel, 'Hearken to me, pray, and give ear to what I say. Canst thou lift up thy thoughts also against this great and mighty serpent god, and subdue him as thou didst Bel, in which there was no life? This, however, is mighty and strong, and who would dare rise up against it to do it evil? But Daniel replied, 'Let not the king err also in this, for it is but a beast, and can be subdued by the hand of man. It hath no spirit, and now, if my lord the king will permit me to go against this dragon, I shall slay it without either sword or stick or any warlike instrument, for it is but a reptile that crawls upon the earth, and the Lord set the fear of man in every beast, insect, and reptile, for in the image of God did He make man. I shall therefore destroy it just as I destroyed one of the graven images, but do not give power unto thy princes to do me evil.' 'Go thou and do what thou canst,' replied the king. The princes were, however, greatly rejoiced when the king told Daniel to strive with the dragon, for they said, 'Now will Daniel surely perish, for it is impossible for him to make a stand against the dragon.'

3 Daniel then went from the king, and making iron instruments like wool combs, he joined them together back to back, with the points outward, forming a circle of hard and sharp points. This he rolled in all manner of poisonous fat and grease and other fatty substances, and beneath it he placed pitch and brimstone, until the points of the brass and the other piercing metals were concealed. Then, making it in the shape of an oblation, Daniel cast it into the dragon's mouth. The dragon hastily and greedily swallowed it, and seemed to enjoy it. But when it entered its mouth, and passed on to the entrails of its belly, the fat melted from off the iron prongs, so the sharp spikes pierced its entrails, and gave it such agony that it died on the morrow.

4 It came to pass, three days after its death, that the Chaldeans and Babylonians came, as was their daily custom, to propitiate the dragon with an oblation, but it was not visible; only a horrible stench issued from the cave. When they searched the cave they found that their god was slain, swollen up, and decaying. They became very grieved and full of wrath against Daniel, and they said, 'Behold what is this Daniel has done to the two gods! for he has destroyed Bel and smitten the dragon. Now if the king deliver him into our hands, he shall surely be slain; and if not, it must be made known to the king that he also shall surely not live.' When it reached the ears of the king that the people had made a conspiracy against him, a command was issued to smite the leaders and princes, as well as those that rose up against Daniel, with the edge of the sword.

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CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 74

1 Daniel having now grown old in years, came one day to the king, and prostrating himself before him, said, 'O my lord the king, behold old age has crept upon me, and I have now no more strength to stand and go to and fro. Behold, the lawless men of thy people have humbled me through their enmity, and have cast me twice into the den of lions, but God, in whom I put my trust, has delivered me. They meditated to take my soul, to deprive me of my life, through their zeal on behalf of their gods, but my God withheld me from their destruction. My three friends also they cast into the fiery furnace to be burnt, and yet after all this we have not forsaken our God. Now, my lord the king, I pray thee allow me to go back to my native city and to my house, to worship the God of my fathers for the remainder of my days, for I am old and have no longer the power to restrain (check) the multitude of thy host.' And the king answered Daniel, saying, 'How can I listen to thy request to send thee away, seeing thou art a man of the God of heaven? If thou leavest me and departest from my side, how can my kingdom remain in its integrity? I am indeed aware that thou art an old man, and that thou hast no longer that strength for active life which the rulers of the kingdom ought to have; therefore, if thou wilt give me from among thy people a man of wisdom and understanding, and withal filled with the spirit of thy God as thou art, to remain with me in thy stead, then will I send thee away in peace to rest in thine own house, although my soul knoweth there is none esteemed thy equal among the sons of thy people.'

2 Daniel then went forth from the presence of the king to the assembly of the exiles, and, finding there Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, the son of Jechoniah, King of Judah, he selected him from among the people, and taking him by the hand, led him to the king, and said, 'Behold before thee the man who is to take my place. He is esteemed my equal, and is descended from Judah and from the chiefs of the royal seed. He is withal a man of valour, filled with the spirit of God, with knowledge and wisdom as myself, falling short of nothing that is in me, and he will be, as I have been, a faithful counsellor to thee. And now, do thou give me permission to depart for my native place for the short time I have to live.' The king, being confident of the truth of everything Daniel told him, gave him permission to depart. Daniel then made his obeisance, and the king embraced and kissed him, and having ordered many gifts to be presented to him, he sent him away.

3 Thus did Zerubbabel take the place of Daniel, who gave all that the king presented him with to the suffering exiles, and then left for Shushan, his native place, in the land of Elam. There he worshipped the Lord among his brother exiles until the day of his death.

4 Now, Zerubbabel was a man of valour, young and prosperous, understanding and wise, filled with the spirit of wisdom, for Daniel had put his hand upon him. He found favour in the eyes of the king, who loved him and appointed him chief of all the princes, and overseer of the two captains of die host and guardians of the king.

5 One day, according to custom, all the princes assembled before the king, and the king said to them, 'Have ye seen in the whole of this land a man as wise and as full of understanding, in whom is the spirit of Daniel, as this man Zerubbabel?' And they answered, 'The king hath spoken the truth.'

6 Now, about the time of noon, after they had all eaten, the king, as usual, lay upon his bed and slept. The two princes and guardians of the king then arose, as was customary, and Zerubbabel with them, and stood round the king's bedside until he awoke. On this occasion the king slept heavily, for he was drunk with wine; and the three young men, being weary of standing, proposed to test each other's wisdom by means of riddles, each one according to his wit, and they said, 'Let us write them down in a book, and place the book under the head of the king until he awake from his sleep,' when he would see the book, and understand its meaning.

7 'Then it shall be that the man whose words appear wiser than his two colleagues,' and whose riddles are superior to those of his brethren, should be made vicegerent, and should also sit on the royal throne and in the royal chariot; that he should have free access to the presence of the king; that the vessels of his table should be of silver, and the reins of his horse of gold. That the crown of the vicegerent be placed upon his head; that he receive the portion of the vicegerent from the hand of the king; that every request be granted him, and that he be a friend of the king.' To this they all agreed, and, making a covenant in accordance therewith, they established it according to the laws of Media and Persia, which can never be altered.

8 Then, bringing the pen and the scroll, they cast lots as to who should be the first to inscribe. The first wrote, 'On the earth there is no one so powerful as a king.' The second wrote, 'Wine is the strongest thing on earth.' And Zerubbabel, who was the third, wrote, 'There is nothing on the earth so powerful as woman.' When they had finished writing their words of wisdom, they placed the scroll under the king's pillow, but the king was awake, for though his eyes were closed yet he heard their whisperings; and when they placed the scroll under his pillow the king arose as if he had just woke from his sleep, and, rubbing his eyes with his two hands, he looked under his pillow, and saw the scroll which the three young men had written. Then opening it, he read it, and was perplexed about it, until all the princes, pashas, chiefs, governors, and heads of the provinces came to him. Then calling the three young men, he said, 'Bring me each one of you his writing, and let me listen to the interpretation of your riddles; then will I fulfil for the wisest of you three everything that is stated in the scroll to honour and exalt him.'

9 The first one then approached to read what he had written, and said, 'Hearken, O king and princes, to my words. There is nobody on earth so powerful as a king.' The second, drawing near (the king), said, 'There is nothing on earth so powerful as wine.' And the third, viz., Zerubbabel, exclaimed, 'There is nothing on earth so powerful as woman.' At this the king and the princes said, 'We have hearkened to your hidden sayings; now tell us the explanation, and we shall listen.'

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 75

1 And the first answered and said, 'O my lord the king, princes and mighty men, do ye not know the power of the king and the strength of his dominion over all the earth, over the sea, the isles, and over all languages? to slay or to keep alive? If he commands an army to march forth, they march forth armed; they turn not their heads, though they may stand face to face with death. If he command them to overthrow cities, they overthrow them; if to hew down mountains, or to pull down walls, they obey. If he command them to plough for him, they plough; they sow and reap his produce, for they fear the wrath of the king, who is mighty and lord over all, and no one dares frustrate his word; therefore believe ye my words that there is no one on earth so powerful as a king.' All the bystanders were astonished at his speech.

2 The second now replied, saying, 'Though ye know the power of a king and the strength of his might, for he has dominion and rules over the land; yet wine is stronger than a king. It is true he has great power, but as soon as he drinks freely of wine, it overpowers him and inclines his heart to other things, he sings, plays and dances, for his heart is turned by the wine, so that he repulses his kin, approaches strangers, slays his friends, and confers honour upon strangers, and respects neither his father nor mother.

3 Do ye not know that such is the power of wine, when a man is drunk he cannot learn, but is rather prone to singing; he whispers to his neighbour and reveals secrets, and hidden things drop out of his mouth. Men full of sorrow the wine makes glad, and even if mourners and those whose hearts are grieved drink thereof, they rejoice and are merry. The drunken one draws his sword against his neighbour, and he gets fierce, and bashful men it makes bold. But when the wine has disappeared from them, they have forgotten all, and say, "We have not done this thing." Is thus wine not stronger than a king, as it rules over him; it makes man walk crookedly, he cannot see straight, and he continues babbling things which he has not learned. Do ye not think that wine is therefore more powerful than a king, for such it does?' Thereat the men were greatly surprised.

4 After that the king summoned Zerubbabel, and said, 'Tell me, I pray thee, thy riddle and its interpretation, as thy friends have done.' And he answered and said, 'Give ear and hearken unto me, O king and princes, governors and rulers, and all ye who stand here. Indeed, the king is stronger and greater than all; it is true that wine weakens the king through its strength. as my friends have said. Thus the power of both the king and wine cannot be denied; but woman is yet more powerful than either king or wine or any other strong drink. For why should she not be more powerful than the king? Did she not give birth to him, suckle him, sustain him, rear him, clothe him, wash him, and sometimes chastise him? Did she not rule over him as a mother does the child of her womb? When she was angry with him, did he not fear her rebuke? Did she not sometimes beat him and at other times censure him? If she lifted the rod to him, did he not run away from her in fear of her? Moreover, when he grows up to be a young man, he cannot forget his instructress, nor will rebel against her call. He always respects her as a son honours her who conceived him.

5 'Then looking about him, he beholds a woman fair to look upon, and desires her beauty to sport with. His heart inclines towards her, and he will not change his love for her for all the riches. It is then that he leaves his father and mother, forsaking them for her love and her beauty, and many are they that have been led astray through the love of woman; many are they that have acted foolishly, and become mad for her sake; and many that have met their death for the sake of woman, and have fallen for her pride down into hell. Wise men also have been caught in her net, and much hatred has the frivolous one caused among brothers. Do ye not know and understand that if a man sees a comely woman, and he carries in his hands goodly things, will not his eyes gaze upon her, for his heart inclines towards her? If she answers him when he speaks to her on account of her beauty, will he not leave everything that he keeps in his hands to speak to her? for his heart is drawn near to her.

6 'Who is there that will not believe this, and confess the truth of this power of woman? Tell me, for whom do ye steal, for whom do ye rob, and for whom do ye gird yourselves—is it not for woman? Is it not for her that ye buy all the precious ornaments? is not the myrrh and the aloe for her? are not all the spices, perfumed oils, and frankincense for her? If a man break into a house, if he keeps the high roads, goes on the sea, on dry land, on the mountains; if he fight, commit murder, rob, plunder, and shed blood, to whom will he bring his spoil, if not to woman? Have I not seen the concubine of the King Apumaṣia (###), the daughter of Abyaush (###) of Makeden, take the crown of honour from off the king's head and place it on her own head, while he was seated on the throne beside her, and the king was pleased with her? But when she became angry, did not the king then hasten to appease her, and to reconcile her, and remove her anger?

7 'Who, then, is there that will not believe that woman's power is stronger than everything? She subdued Samson, enticed David, and inclined the heart of Solomon towards her. Many are her captives, and innumerable are those that are slain through her, and their number increases. And even if there be one man who rules the whole world, and before whose wrath all people tremble and shake, since he would be supreme, and although man is appointed to be the prince, ruler, and king over her, and to her is given the desire of him, yet not even he would be able to conquer her and to rule over her. Even Adam, the father of all mankind, was induced by his wife to transgress the word of God, by which she destined him and his offspring to death. Also, in the days of Noah, the heavenly angels were led astray and took to them women. Who does not believe that this is known from the very beginning of the world, and will last to the end unaltered? This is the truth that I utter.

8 'Now, finally, let it be known to the king and to all my hearers that all is vanity here—the king who rules the earth, the wine that rules the king, and woman with her iniquity, who rules the three; but truth reigns supreme in heaven and on earth; in the seas and in the depths truth prevails before God and man; for where truth dwells there wickedness cannot abide, for the heavens and the earth are founded upon truth, and the Lord our God is true for ever.'

9 After this all the people assembled there before the king exclaimed, 'It is true.' Then said the king to Zerubbabel, 'Come near to me.' When he approached, the king kissed him and embraced him in the presence of all the people, and said, 'Blessed be the Lord God of Zerubbabel, who hath given him the spirit of truth, for there is nothing like God's truth; everything else is vanity.' And the princes also exclaimed, 'Indeed, truth is greater than all things; nor can one stand up against it since it dwells in the heaven and in the earth, and upon it is everything based. True is the God of Zerubbabel, who hath given him the spirit of truth to praise and to glorify truth before God and man.'

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 76

1 The king then commanded all the honours written in the scroll to be carried out for Zerubbabel, for he had found great favour in the eyes of the king and the two princes, his colleagues. And the king further said to Zerubbabel, 'Ask, in addition to what is written in the scroll, whatever thy soul desires and I will grant it, even to half the kingdom.' And Zerubbabel answered and said, 'Remember, my lord the king, the vow which thou and King Cyrus made to the God of heaven, viz., to build His house, and to restore His holy vessels, and to allow His captive people to worship Him in the temple that is called by His name, that they may pray to the great God of heaven for the welfare of thy reign, for thou must not delay the vow which thou madest to the heavenly God.'

2 The king thereupon commanded the scribes to hasten and write down Zerubbabel's request, to rebuild the ruins of Jerusalem. He then sent a message to Cyrus, King of Persia, to join hands with him in this work, and thus to fulfil their vow by establishing the house of God in Jerusalem. And Cyrus issued a proclamation throughout his kingdom, saying, 'Every one of God's people whose heart prompts him to go up to Jerusalem to lay the foundation of the temple and to build it, let him go, and I shall give everyone the pay of his labour from my treasures until the building is completed.'

3 The king's scribes thereupon wrote down this proclamation on behalf of Darius, King of Media, and Cyrus, King of Persia, to the princes, governors, and rulers on the other side of the river, and to the Arameans, Tyrians, Samaritans, and to Asaph, governor of the garden of Lebanon, 'Be it known to you that it is our pleasure to send back to God's holy city the captives of His people, whom Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, sent into exile; to restore the vessels of the great and holy temple which is called by the name of the God of heaven; to build His altar, and to sacrifice thereon every day; to build the temple, and the Holy of Holies; to establish the palace according to its old form; and to restore the walls of Jerusalem.

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4 When this edict reaches you, exert yourselves to assist them by supplying all their wants in silver and gold, brass, wood, and stones for the builders and hewers until the building is finished, and to give them whatever they ask for, wheat, barley, oil, or wine, and whatever they want for the buildings. For re-establishing the sacrifices upon the altar ye shall give them oxen, calves, rams, sheep, he-goats, doves, flour, oil, salt, to enable them to re-establish the altar, and to finish the whole work.'

5 The Edomites were also commanded by these two kings to contribute their share in the service of the house of the Lord, because they had helped the Chaldeans to overthrow it; they were to give a yearly tribute of five talents of gold for strengthening the breach of the house, to rebuild the temple and the holy city. The Sidonians, Tyrians, and Edomites, as well as the servants of the king in the Lebanon, under the command of Asaph, keeper of the garden, were ordered to hew the wood from the Lebanon, and to drag it to the sea from the Lebanon and thence to the Sea of Joppa, to complete the work of the house of God. No man was to hinder them until everything was completed. Having written down all these details as the two kings commanded, the scribes sealed it, and handed it over to Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, and to Nehemiah, the son of Hachaliah.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 77

1 About this time Darius, King of Media, was taken very ill, and, being about to die, he called Cyrus, King of Persia, his son-in-law, his daughter's husband, and made him king in his stead, so that the kingdoms of Media and Persia were united into one; and when Darius the Mode was gathered to his people, Cyrus reigned over Media and Persia and the remainder of the country. He then issued a proclamation in all his kingdom, saying, 'Whoever of you among the people of the Lord God of heaven is willing to go up to Jerusalem to the footstool of the great and mighty God, to build His house and His temple which the wicked Nebuchadnezzar, who was more wicked than all his predecessors, overthrew, let him go up and assist in the building, and may His God be with everyone whose heart prompts him to do so. And I, Cyrus, servant of the living God, who set me upon this throne, shall provide from my riches and my treasury all the wants of the house of this mighty God who made me King of Media and Persia, and who assisted me to destroy the kingdom of the Chaldeans.'

2 Thus all the elders of the captivity, Ezra the scribe, Nehemiah, the son of Hachaliah, with the other chiefs of the captivity and the priests, went up to Jerusalem and built the temple of God and His altar, and arranged the wood and placed the flesh of sacrifice upon the altar.

3 Then they lifted up their voices and wept, while Ezra and Nehemiah, with the other chiefs of the captivity, prayed to God, and said: 'O Lord of the whole universe, Thou hast put it into the heart of the King of Persia to do honour to Thy house, and to send Thy servants and priests to make sacrifices to Thee and to offer Thy burnt-offerings as Thy servants, our pious forefathers, did before Thee. Behold we, also Thy servants, have come to this place, and have rebuilt Thy altar after the same pattern, and we offer sacrifices to Thee, and arrange the wood beneath the burnt-offering. But how can it be pleasing to Thee, O God, seeing that we offer strange fire, for the holy fire is no more, since it has been hidden by Jeremiah the prophet, Thy servant, and the other chiefs of the captivity whom Nebuchadnezzar sent into exile. What shall we do, O God of heaven? Give us counsel and help, for to Thee belongs dominion, to help us and to strengthen our hands.'

4 Now, it happened while they were praying to the Lord in this wise, a very old man about 100 years of age, belonging to those priests who were exiled in the days of Nebuchadnezzar, was heard calling. Being rather deaf through old age, he summoned his six sons before him, and said, 'O my sons, if I have found favour in your eyes, carry me near the altar and place me opposite it that I may inhale the sweet-smelling frankincense of the altar, for I have not been deemed worthy of that pleasure for many years now. Let your kindness be extended to me that ye may hearken to me this once, that I may be enabled to smell it once more before I die. Ye shall be rewarded by the holy God, for I have been a great burden to you.'

5 His sons forthwith carried him into the midst of the assembled priests opposite the altar. When he heard the noise of the multitude and the priests crying to God for the holy fire, the old man said to his sons, 'What ails the people that they cry?' And they replied, 'The priests are seeking the holy fire which is no longer to be found, as it has been hidden from them.' 'Carry me, then, near the priests and the heads of the fathers, and I shall tell them where it is, and where Jeremiah the prophet and the other priests who went into exile had concealed it.'

6 His sons carried him in the midst of the chiefs of the fathers, who asked him about it, and he told them where it was. Then, carrying the old man, and crossing the Brook of Kedron and the Valley of Hinnom, they ascended Mount Olives; and during their descent, when they faced the valley in the plain, the old man showed them a large stone sunk in the earth. Digging up the dust round about the stone, they rolled the stone away, and removing the lime beneath it, they opened the pit.

7 Then said he to the young priests, 'Descend thither and take the fire, for there it was placed.' He repeated his command, whereupon they descended, and found there at the bottom of the pit something like the lees of oil, and like mud and honey. When they related this to Ezra and the priests, they replied, 'Bring up whatever ye find, and no stranger touch you until ye come to the altar. Then place what ye have carried away upon the altar, upon the burnt-offering, and upon the wood.' They went down and did as they were commanded;

8 And as soon as they did this a great fire suddenly burnt upon the altar, and grew into such huge flames that the priests and the people fled from before it, for they could not endure it. It licked the burnt-offering, and, travelling round the temple, cleansed it, after which it got considerably smaller, so that it remained only on the altar, as usual. From that day thenceforward a continual fire burnt upon the altar, as they placed the wood regularly upon it until the second captivity.

9 But the ark was not there, because Jeremiah took the ark with all the curtains which Moses, the servant of God, made in the wilderness, and he carried them up to Mount Nebo and placed them in a cave. The priests of that time pursued him to find out the place of the ark, and of the tablets, of the curtains of the tabernacle, and of the tent of the congregation. When Jeremiah looked behind him and saw the priests, he became angry with them, and swore to them 'you shall never discover the place you desired to know until I and Elijah appear. Then we shall restore the tabernacle and the tent of the congregation to its original place, as well as the ark of the testimony and the two tables of stone which it contains. Then we shall enter the Holy of Holies.'

10 From that day our ancestors offered their sacrifices and burnt-offerings and continual offerings every day, for the kings of Persia had assisted them with gold and silver, with wheat, oil and wine, with oxen, sheep and rams, everything that they desired, year after year, for the kings of Persia loved the temple of our God, and its sanctuary they greatly honoured.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 78

1 And Cyrus reigned over all the kingdoms of the earth, for our God strengthened his right hand so that he subdued many nations. He (God) opened before him the gates of iron and broke the doors of brass, and revealed to him hidden treasures, just as He had told through Isaiah the prophet to his people, the servants of Jacob and Israel whom He had chosen. And the hand of Cyrus was strengthened, and, going to battle, he captured all the land, all the fords of India, as well as those in the south, the whole land of Ethiopia, all the nations dwelling in the lands of the south (Arabia), and in the west as far as Sefarad, and in the north, the land of Moqedon, and all the land of Kaftor and Ararat, the whole of Alan, Alasar, and the mountains of Alaf, i.e., the mountains of darkness, as far as the Snow Mountains, which are impassable. The rest of his mighty deeds and his battles, are they not written in the Book of Chronicles of the kings of Media and Persia, and in the book of Joseph ben Gorion, the anointed priest of battle, who was exiled from Jerusalem in the reign of Vespasianus, and in the Book of Chronicles of the kings of Borne?

2 Cyrus the king ended his days in battle, and died in the land of the Shittim; but this need not cause surprise, for we know that Saul, the anointed of the Lord, also died in battle, as well as King Josiah, the beloved of God.

3 When Cyrus went to the land of Shittim, he smote their king at the edge of the sword, together with his warriors, because they raised their hands against the king (i.e., himself). And when they fell, the Shittites fled with their queen, Tamirah, and her son until they came to their fortresses, and there they shut themselves in. As soon as Cyrus saw that they had shut themselves in their castles and that no one went out or in, he enticed them out by a ruse, for he departed with all his camp as if seeking to find an escape, whereupon the Shittites, with Tamirah's son, came out of their castles to pursue them. When they had come out into the plain, Cyrus suddenly turned upon them, and smote 300,000 of their warriors, and among the slain was found the son of their queen Tamirah. Cyrus then took all the Shittites prisoners, except those who had escaped to the mountains with the warriors. When Tamyris saw that her son had been slain with the other soldiers, she was exceedingly grieved, and went wandering about the mountains and valleys of the Shittites, lying in ambush. When Cyrus left the land of the Shittites, he being confident of his victory, never thought of any possible ambush; therefore his army passed on before him, and, being left behind with a few followers, he encamped between two mountains and lay there down to sleep.

4 On the same night he was attacked by the woman, who was like a wild beast, like a lioness bereaved of her cubs, and like a bereaved bear. She smote the whole camp of Cyrus, numbering 200,000 mighty men of Persia, together with their king. Then, strengthening herself, she went to the dead body of Cyrus, and, cutting off his head and placing it in a leather bottle, which she filled with the blood of the slain, she said, 'Drink and satisfy thyself with the blood which thou hast been so fond of shedding these thirty years without tiring.'

5 Cyrus being thus gathered to his people, Cambisa, his son, reigned in his stead. As soon as he was enthroned he went to Shittim and destroyed the remainder of its inhabitants, together with their queen, Tamirah, and all her offspring. After him, Ahasuerus arose and abolished all the work of the temple, for the enemies of the Jews had increased, and had written accusations at the beginning of Ahasuerus' reign. Thus the service of the temple was stopped until the second year of the reign of Darius, King of Persia.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 79

1 But our ancestors served the kings of Media and Persia with great loyalty, for they neither did them harm nor oppressed them. It was only in the time of Ahasuerus that the memory of Judah was nearly destroyed through the enmity of Haman the Amalekite, because Mordecai, a descendant of Saul, who smote the Amalekites from Havilah to Shur, a distance of several days, would not rise before him. He slew more than 500,000 Amalekites, and put to the sword their men, women, and children, to the number of thousands of thousands. It was for this reason that Haman, who was descended from them, cherished that hatred against the people of Judah, and especially against the tribe of Benjamin.

2 Now, in the days of Ahasuerus, when Mordecai was sitting at the gate of the king he discovered a secret plot of two Persian princes, Bigthan and Teresh, whom he heard whispering and plotting to sever the head of the king while he lay in his bed, in order to carry it to the Macedonian king, for at that time the Macedonian empire was warring against the Persian kingdom. This plot Mordecai revealed to Esther, and she in her turn to the king, who commanded this act of loyalty on the part of Mordecai to be noted down in the Book of Chronicles, as well as the reward due to him. When, however, these two chamberlains were hanged it incurred the wrath of Haman, for they were his counsellors, and he, therefore, sought to blot out the name of Judah from under the heavens. But Mordecai discovered this plan of his and remembered the dream he had in the second year of the reign of Ahasuerus.

3 It was the following: There was a great earthquake, accompanied by a noise and the sound of wailing in the land, so that fear and terror fell upon all the inhabitants, and two immense dragons with terrible noise went against each other in battle, whereupon all the inhabitants ran towards the spot. Living among them was a small nation, and all the nations round about it rose up to destroy their memory from the face of the earth. On that day everywhere it was thick darkness, and the small nation, being much oppressed, cried unto the Lord. The dragons continued to fight furiously and nobody could separate them; when to! Mordecai saw a small brook of water passing between the two dragons, which separated them, for the brook soon grew into an overflowing river, like the overflowing of the Great Sea, so that it flooded the whole earth. The sun then shone upon the earth, and the small nation was raised to exaltation, while the proud ones were humbled, and peace and truth were restored in the world.

4 Mordecai from that day always nursed that dream in his heart, and when Haman oppressed him, he said to Esther, 'Remember the dream I narrated to thee in the days of thy youth. Now arise, and, beseeching the Lord for mercy, go into the presence of Ahasuerus; stand before him in all thy beauty, and plead the cause of thy people and thy kindred.' And Mordecai supplicated to God, saying, 'It is well known and revealed to the throne of Thy glory, O Lord of the universe, that it was not from pride or haughtiness I refused to bow down to this Amalekite, but on account of the reverence I have for Thee I opposed him, refusing to bow down, for I fear Thee alone, O Lord of the universe, and would not, therefore, give Thine honour to flesh and blood; therefore, I would prostrate myself to no being except Thy holy presence. And who am I that would not bow down to Haman? Yet for Israel's salvation I would lick the shoe upon his foot, and the dust upon which he walks.

5 O Lord, deliver them from his hand, that he may fall into the pit which he has dug for us, and be caught in the net which he has spread (hidden) under the feet of Thy pious men, that they may thereby know that Thou hast not forgotten the oath Thou didst swear; for Thou didst not deliver us into captivity because Thou wert not able to save us, but because of our sins and our iniquities, for we have sinned against Thee. But Thou, our God, art mighty in salvation; therefore save us, O Lord, from his hand; in our distress we call upon Thee to protect us, and to stand up in our midst to fight those who rise up against us. Remember, we beseech Thee, that we are Thy portion; for of old, when Thou didst give the nations their inheritance, and when Thou didst separate the sons of men, we were Thy portion; the lot which Thou didst cast fell upon us to be chosen for Thy name.

6 Why, O God, should our enemies say we have no God? why should they open wide their mouth to swallow up Thy portion and praise their idols and vanities? We beseech Thee,

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O Lord, send salvation unto us; let them be ashamed of their idols and vanities, and let them place their hand upon their mouth and see Thy salvation, O Lord. Have mercy upon Thy people, and upon Thine inheritance. Do not close the mouths of those who praise Thee and proclaim Thy unity evening and morning continually. Turn our sorrow to joy and gladness, that we may live and give Thee thanks for the blessed salvation by which Thou wilt save us.' And all Israel cried unto the Lord for the trouble and sorrow which had come upon them.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 80

The Beating Of The Grave.

1 And Esther fled to the Lord, for she feared the evil which was growing; and, stripping herself of her royal garments and the ornaments of her majesty, she clothed herself in sackcloth, and dishevelling the hair of her head, she put dust and ashes upon it. Then, afflicting her soul with fasting, she fell upon her face in prayer, saying, 'O Lord God of Israel, who art the King of kings, who art to be feared, who createdst the world, and who rulest over us, help Thine handmaid in her desolation, for she has no saviour except Thee. Behold, I dwell in the king's palace alone, without father or mother. Like an afflicted orphan begging charity from house to house, so do I beg for Thy mercy, from one window to the other in the palace of King Ahasuerus, and have done so from the time I was brought here until this present day.

2 O Lord, if it is pleasing to Thee, take my soul from my own hand; and if not, then deliver, I beseech Thee, the flock of Thy pasture from those lions who have risen up against them; for my father taught me that Thou didst redeem our forefathers from Egypt, and didst slay all the firstborn of the Egyptians. Thou didst bring Thy people forth thence with a strong hand and an outstretched arm, and didst cause them to pass over the sea like a horse on dry land. Thou didst give them food from heaven, water from the cleft of the rock, and meat in plenty. Thou didst smite great and mighty kings before them, and caused them to inherit the goodly land. But when our ancestors sinned against Thy great name, then didst Thou deliver them into captivity; and here we are in exile to this day. My father further told me that, through Moses Thy servant, Thou didst say, "When also they shall be in the land of their enemies, I will never forsake them."

3 'Now, O Lord, Father of the fatherless, stand at the right hand of this orphan, who trusts in Thee, and grant me mercy when I am in the presence of King Ahasuerus, for I fear him as a kid fears the lion. Make lowly all his counsellors, that he may be humbled and subdued before the grace and beauty Thou hast given me. O my God, cause his heart to hate our enemies and to love Thy servants, for the heart of kings is in Thy hand. O Thou mighty, revered, and exalted God, deliver me from the fear and trembling which have taken hold of me, that I may go into his presence in Thy name, and come out in peace.'

4 On the third day Esther accordingly clothed herself in royal garments, and came before the king, who was sitting upon the throne, accompanied by her two handmaidens. Upon one of them she placed her right hand, and leaned upon her, according to the royal custom, while the other maiden followed behind her to hold up her train, that the gold and precious stones should not touch the ground. Before him were seated all the potentates of the kingdom, who said one to the other, 'This woman is sure to be killed, since she has entered here without an appointed time.' One said, 'I will then take her royal garments '; another, 'I shall take the ornaments on her feet'; and another, 'I will take the ornaments on her hands.' When Esther heard these remarks, she kept her face serene, and concealed the grief of her soul.

5 The king, then raising his eyes to her, was much enraged that she had transgressed the law by coming into his presence without being called. When Esther noticed the king's anger and fury, she trembled, and, feeling faint, placed her head upon the maid at her right; but our Lord saw the oppression of His people, and had pity upon Israel and upon the trouble of the orphan who trusted in Hint, and He made her find favour in the eyes of the king, for the Lord added beauty to her beauty and majesty to her majesty, and the king, rising in haste from his throne, ran towards Esther, and embraced and kissed her, and, taking her in his arms, said to her, 'What is this fear, O Queen Esther? for this decree of ours does not apply to thee, since thou art the queen, my friend and companion;' and, taking up the golden sceptre, he placed it into her hand, and added, 'Why dost thou not speak to me?' And Esther replied, 'When I saw thee, O lord, my soul trembled before thine honour, and on account of the greatness of thy glory.'

6 She then leaned her head once more upon her handmaid, for she was faint from fasting and from trouble. The king, however, was now very much alarmed at this, and wept before his wife, while all his ministers entreated her to speak to the king, in order to appease his soul. And the Lord brought about that great salvation through Queen Esther and Mordecai. Haman and his sons were hanged upon the gallows, and all those who devised evil against Israel were slain at the edge of the sword, and Mordecai from that day forth was honoured in the king's palace.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 81

[This Is The Letter Which Haman Sent (To The Nations), For The Purpose Of Causing The House Of Jacob To Perish.]

1 'I, Haman, who am great before the king, and second to him, who am the chief of the potentates, and seventh among the princes, and who am the most favoured in the kingdom—I, Haman, do write with the consent of all the prefects (eparchs), governors, rulers, and of all the kings of the East who lend their aid, and with the consent of all the royal princes. We all with one consent, with one mouth, with one speech, and in one language, write down, with the permission of King Ahasuerus, and seal it with his ring, so that it cannot be retracted, concerning the great eagle, whose wings were spread over the whole world, so that no bird, beast, or animal was able to stand before it, until the great Mede arose and smote it with one great blow, by which its wings were broken, its feathers plucked out, and its legs cut off, thereby giving the whole world rest, peace, and tranquillity, from the time it wandered from its nest until this very day. We now see that it wishes to grow and to increase its feathers and to spread out its wings again to cover us and the whole world, and to rend us in pieces in the same manner as it rent our forefathers who preceded us.

2 'On this account all the great men of Media and Persia have here assembled, and with the permission of the king we all of us with one counsel write to you to spread out nets to catch this eagle, whose strength again increases, and bring her back to her nest, to pluck out her feathers and to break her wings, to give her flesh to the birds of the heaven, to destroy her seed, to crush her young, and to root out her memory from the world. Our counsel is not like Pharaoh's, who decreed only concerning the males, leaving the females; nor as Esau's, who said, "Now that the days of my father's mourning draw nigh, I will kill my brother Jacob, and make his sons my servants"; nor like Amalek's, who pursued Israel, and slew the weak, but let the strong remain; nor like Nebuchadnezzar's, who exiled them, and, giving them rest, promoted some to the throne of the kingdom; nor like Sennacherib's, who brought them to a land like their own;

3 but with a united wish, we have decided to destroy and to blot out all the Jews, young and old, women and children, and all on one day, so that there be no seed left in the world, that their children act not as they did to our ancestors, to our fathers, and our great men, for those who did good to them they rewarded with evil. We would be justified even if we took only revenge for Pharaoh, who did many good deeds for them, for he made Joseph, a servant, king over them and over all Egypt, and when his father and brothers came to him, he gave them the very best part of the land to dwell in, and maintained them during the years of famine, so that his people increased and multiplied in the land, and a prophet arose among them, Moses by name, the son of Amram. He was a wizard, and brought upon Pharaoh, upon his household, and upon his land, great plagues, awful and extraordinary. The people then rose up in the middle of the night like thieves, and, after robbing their neighbours, went out of the land. But Pharaoh, with his army, pursued them for their property, and they entered the sea through the enchantments of the Israelites; but they did not know by what means they had entered, and they were all drowned in the sea, thus returning evil for good.

4 'When they arrived in the wilderness, a certain old man, a descendant of Esau, offered them a feast in honour of their ancestor Jacob, and after they had eaten and drunk and enjoyed his feast—Joshua their wizard did not cease with his enchantments—but they spread their hands and whispered with their lips, until our ancestors became weak through him, as it is said, "And Joshua weakened them"; nor was this alone sufficient for them, but they made a decree that our name should be blotted out, as it is said, "Thou shalt destroy the memory of Amalek." They did likewise to the kings of Midian who dwelt there, for they spoiled and slew the Midianite kings, their prophets and their priest they slew at the edge of the sword, and had no mercy upon them, as it is said, "And Balaam, the son of Beor, they slew with the sword, also Sihon and Og, the two Amorite kings." Also the thirty-one kings and seventy elders. Then arose their king, Saul, who destroyed all the seed of Amalek, and had not our ancestor Agag been preserved, there would not have been one single survivor. They strengthened themselves against our kingdom, and destroyed us, not by means of the spear or the sword, but, having built a large house, they entered therein, and when they came out, they caused the nations to fall down before their words by means of their wiles.'

5 When the nations of the world read this writing, they sent back word to Haman, saying, 'Whatever thou hast written we know, but we fear lest they do the same to us as they did to our forefathers and our ancestors, for we shall perish at their hands. Cease, therefore, from them, for whoever touches them touches the apple of God's eye, for they are called "The people near to Him," as it is said, "And the children of Israel are the people near to Him; they are His beloved, His treasure, and His inheritance." Now, Haman, what wilt thou do? for see what happens to those who pursue them, see how the mighty men of the world have fallen beneath them. We therefore do not wish to lay hand upon them, for their God has called them the stone of foundation, and whenever it is moved He shall replace it.'

6 Haman once more wrote to them, saying that 'their God, whom you fear so much, does not fight their battles, nor does He avenge their wrongs; He only did so in His youth, but now He has become weak, and has no more power to wreak vengeance; for if He had, why did He not deliver them from Nebuchadnezzar, who destroyed His house, burnt His temple, and slew His young men, and before whom He had no power, for the remnant was then exiled to his land (Babylon). And now though they are prisoners in our hands, we wish to intermarry with them, but they do not wish it. They, on the contrary, despise us, and account us as reptiles and creeping things; if a fly happens to fall into one of their cups, he throws it out and drinks the wine, and if one of us happens to touch the cup of one of them, he throws it on the ground and breaks it. If we ask them for anything, although we desire to return them double, in order to unite them to us, they do not wish it, but despise us and our kingdom. It is therefore our desire, with the king's consent, as well as the consent of the princes, rulers, governors, and pashas, to destroy them utterly from the world, both young and old, women and children, in one day, as it is said, "Come, and let us destroy them."'

7 As soon as the surrounding nations heard this, with one accord they consented to destroy the Israelites, as it is said, 'Those kings counselled together,' etc. One day when Haman was walking along, with the princes of the kingdom following him, Mordecai, while walking in front of them, met three children just coming from school, and said to them, 'Tell me each of you what lesson you have learnt to-day.' The first one replied, 'Do not be hastily terrified.' The second replied, 'Take counsel together, and it shall be brought to nought;' and the third said, 'Until old age I am He.' On hearing these replies Mordecai rejoiced, and gave thanks to God. When Haman met him, he said, 'What did these children tell thee?' And he replied, 'They told me good tidings.' At this Haman's anger was kindled, and he commanded the children to be captured, saying, 'I will stretch forth my hand first against these children.' [End of the letter.]

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 82

1 R. Isaak Napha said Haman worked cunningly against Israel, for it is written, 'And when these days were fulfilled, the king made a feast unto all the people.' 'The people' here referred to is Israel. Haman said to Ahasuerus, 'The God of these people hates lewdness, for it is written in the Torah, "Thou shalt not commit adultery."' He, therefore, brought together lewd women, and making the banquet for then, decreed that they should comply with any man's wish, so as not to give the accused the excuse of saying that they had been forced to do such a thing by a decree of the king. As soon, however, as Mordecai perceived this, he said to the people, 'Do not go to this banquet, that you may not be led into temptation.' But the Jews disregarded Mordecai's advice, and went.

2 R. Levi said that 18,560 men went to this banquet, and ate and drank until they were intoxicated with the wine. Our sages say that while they were at the table of this wicked man, Satan appeared before God, and accused Israel in these words, 'O Lord of the universe, how long wilt Thou cleave to this nation, who turn their hearts from Thee, who forsake Thee, and separate themselves from Thee? Moreover, they do not turn to Thee in repentance, although the verse has been fulfilled in which it is written, "I shall scatter you among the heathen." Therefore, if it is Thy will, let them perish from the world.' But God asked, 'What will become of My law?' And he replied, 'Let it remain for the higher beings.' Then said the Holy One, blessed be He, 'My mind is satisfied to destroy Israel.'

3 At that moment He wished to blot Israel out of the world, as it is said, 'I shall cease to remember man.' 'What is this nation to Me,' said the Lord, 'for whom My sorrow increases every day?' And God said to Satan, 'Go, and bring Me a scroll, that I may write thereon their destruction.' When Satan went out to fetch the scroll, he came face to face with the Law, which came forth to meet him in widow's garments groaning and weeping, and at the voice of her weeping the ministering angels cried, saying, 'If the Israelites are to be destroyed, what is the use of us?' And they wept aloud, as it is said, 'The Arelim cried abroad, and the angels of peace wept bitterly.' As soon as the sun, moon, stars, and planets heard it they clothed themselves with sackcloth, and lifted up their voice in lamentation, as it is said, 'The heavens and the earth clothed themselves in blackness, and girded themselves with sackcloth;' as it is said, 'I will clothe the heavens with blackness, and make sackcloth their garment.' Then they all exclaimed, 'O Lord of the universe, shall Israel be destroyed, who go from door to door wishing to study the law, observe the Sabbath, circumcision, and the commandments, and for whose sakes we were created? as it is said, "If not for My

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covenant, the day and the night and the ordinances of heaven and earth would not have been founded," and now shall they perish from the world?'

4 At that moment Elijah went to beseech the righteous men of yore, the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and said to them, 'O patriarchs, do ye riot know that the heavens and the earth and all the heavenly host weep in the day, and cry in the night, and that the whole world is now like a travailing woman, while ye remain silent?' 'But why is this?' said they. 'Because Israel has been handed over to the slaughterer like sheep, to be blotted out from the face of the earth, and their name is to perish, as it is said, "Come, and let us destroy them."' Then said Moses to Elijah, 'Is there a righteous man in this generation?' And he replied, 'Yes, there is one, and his name is Mordecai, the son of Jair.' 'Then go, and tell him to supplicate continually for mercy, and I shall do likewise.' 'But,' said Elijah, 'Moses, O faithful shepherd, against thy flock the decree has already been written down, and now they desire to put the seal on it.'

5 'Notice,' then said Moses to Elijah, 'whether it has been sealed with clay, for then our prayers may still be heard; but if it is sealed with blood, then what has been decreed will happen.' After this conversation Elijah, of blessed memory, forthwith went to Mordecai, as it is said, 'And Mordecai knew all that had happened,' and when he heard this, he rent his clothes, as it is said, 'And Mordecai rent his clothes.' Then said Mordecai before God, O Lord of the universe, Thou hast sworn to our forefathers to make their seed as numerous as the stars of the heavens, and now we are accounted for as sheep to be slaughtered. Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, thy servants.'

6 Then, gathering all the children of the school together, he afflicted them by depriving them of bread and water, and, clothing them in sackcloth, he placed them on ashes, so that they cried day and night, while the wicked Haman went to his house rejoicing, as it is written, 'And on that day Haman went home rejoicing, and with a merry heart, and calling his friends, said, "Thus and thus has Queen Esther done." And he told them of his greatness, adding, "But all this is not enough for me." And Zeresh, his wife, said to him to erect gallows for Mordecai, and it pleased him, and he erected a gallows. Cutting down a cedar from his garden, 50 cubits high and 15 cubits wide, he brought it out, and fixed it near his door, all the while singing praises and songs, and thinking in his heart that at the time of the reading of the 'Shema'' he would hang Mordecai thereon. On the same day that he fixed it, it fell upon him; but Gabriel replaced it in its position, saying to him, 'To thee belongs this beautiful tree, and for thee was it established from the creation.'

7 Haman then went out to seek Mordecai, and found him sitting at the head of the children, while they sat upon ashes girded with sackcloth, lamenting and crying. Having beaten them with chains of iron, he appointed keepers over them, saying, 'First shall these be slain, and afterwards I will hang Mordecai the Jew.' Their mothers then brought them bread and water, saying to them, 'Eat and drink, my children, before you die'; but they refused, and, swearing by the life of Mordecai, they placed their hands upon their books, and said, 'We shall not eat anything at all, but shall die in our fast.'

8 After rolling up his scroll, each one of them placed it at his heart, and when the hours of the night passed by their lamentation was heard on high, and the supplications of the patriarchs. The Holy One said, 'I hear the voices of kids and goats;' at which Moses replied, 'O Lord God of the universe, Father of the fatherless, and Judge of the widows, these are not kids and goats, but the young of Thy people of the house of Israel, who sit fasting now for three days and three nights, bound in chains of iron; but to-morrow they are to be slaughtered like kids and goats, while the heart of the enemy rejoiceth.' The mercy of God was then moved for them, so that He broke the seals, rent the decree, and frustrated the counsel of Haman and his plans, causing the salvation of Israel and Mordecai to spring forth, thus fulfilling what is written, 'I shall cut off the horns of the wicked; but the horns of the righteous shall be raised on high.'

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 83

1 It is written, On that same night the sleep of the king was disturbed. God at that time said to the patriarchs, 'They have been condemned to destruction;' they replied, 'O Lord of the universe, for what reason?' 'Because in the time of Nebuchadnezzar they did not sanctify My name, and made Me to be one who hath no power to deliver.' Whereupon they replied, 'Now, O Lord, do unto them what seems good to Thee.' But as soon as God saw that they bowed to justice, He arose from His throne of justice, and sat upon the throne of mercy. Then did the heavenly host address God, saying, 'Didst Thou not create the whole world for the sake of the Torah, which Thou gayest to Israel? do not all things exist for their sake? as it is said, "If not for My covenant I would not have created day and night." Therefore, if Thou destroyest this nation, what shall become of us?' But God replied, 'My children have not done well.' 'O Lord of the world,' added they, 'it is revealed and known to Thee that they did this from fear.'

2 The Lord was then filled with mercy for Israel, and, calling to the trees of the creation, He said, 'Who of you will be willing to serve as gallows for the wicked?' And the fig-tree replied, 'I am ready to be the gallows to hang that wicked man; for from me the Israelites brought the first ripe fruits into the temple, and not only this, but they were compared to me,' as it is said, 'I saw your fathers as the first ripe fruit on the fig-tree in its bud.' The vine also said, 'I will offer myself, for from me they obtained the drink-offering for the temple; and, moreover, to me they were compared,' as it is said, 'Israel is a budding vine.'

3 Then said the pomegranate, 'I will offer myself, for the Israelites were compared to me,' as it is said, 'Like the heart of a pomegranate is thy temple.' And the walnut said, 'I will offer myself, for the Israelites were compared to me,' as it is said, 'I descended to the garden of nuts.' The citron also exclaimed, 'I will offer myself, for the Israelites praised God through me,' as it is said, 'And ye shall take you the fruit of goodly trees.' The willows of the brook said. 'They were compared to me,' as it is said, 'And they shall spring up among the grass, as willows by the water-courses.' The olive said, 'I will offer myself, for from me they kindled the lights in the temple,' as it is said, 'And they shall take unto me pure olive-oil'; 'they were, moreover, compared to me,' as it is said, 'His majesty is like the olive, and, further, the green olive whose fruit is beautiful to look at.'

4 The apple also said, 'I will offer myself, for the Israelites were compared to me,' as it is said, 'And the sweet smell of thy breath is like apples.' The cedar said, 'I will offer myself, for from me the holy temple was built, besides which the Israelites were compared to me,' as it is said, 'He shall grow like the cedar in Lebanon.' The thorn next said, 'I will serve as gallows, for the wicked were compared to me,' as it is said, 'But the ungodly shall be all as thorns to be thrust away.'

5 As soon as the thorn had offered itself, the Lord silenced all the trees of the creation, saying, 'Since thou offerest thyself, this wicked man, who desires to destroy My children, shall be hanged upon thee.' And at that moment that wicked man, summoning his wise men, said unto them, 'I will erect a tree, to hang Mordecai thereon, 50 cubits high, that all the surrounding countries may see him hanging.' 'But there is no tree as high as that, except in thine own house.' This wicked man then destroyed the hall of his own house in order to obtain the materials required for the gallows, and taking the beam of thorn from his house, he fixed it; but it fell upon him, and thereby took his measurement. Then exclaimed Gabriel, 'This tree has been prepared for thee from the creation.'

6 The sages say that Michael came to the bedside of Ahasuerus in the night, and disturbed his sleep, for he knocked him on the ground 366 times. When he arose, in great anger, he saw three companies before him, one of butchers, one of bakers, and the third of butlers, and said to them, 'Ye have given me poison, and you seek to kill me and to blot me out from the world.' But they answered, 'The same bread that Queen Esther and Haman ate thou atest, and the wine they drank thou also drankest. Let us see Esther and Haman, and if they are as thou art, then thou doest rightly; but if not, then why should we be killed?'

7 When they found that Esther and Haman had suffered no harm, the king ordered the Book of Chronicles to be brought before him. On that same night Gabriel appeared in his dream before Ahasuerus, in the likeness of Haman, with a drawn sword in his hand, seeking to kill him. Rising confusedly from his sleep he exclaimed, 'Who is in the court?' And the young chamberlains of the king replied, 'Haman is in the court.' Then he thought, and said,' The dream I have dreamt is true, and he has come here for no other reason than to slay me.' Then, commanding Haman to come into his presence, he said, 'I know that thou art a man of thought, and whoever follows thy counsel never fails. What shall be done to the man whom the king delights to honour?' Revolving this in his mind, Haman thought, 'Whom can the king desire to honour more than me?'

8 He therefore said to the king: 'Let the man whom the king desires to honour be clothed in the royal garments, and let one of the greatest men of the kingdom walk in front of him and proclaim aloud these words, "Whoever will not bend himself or bow down before him shall be slain," and in addition, let the king's daughter be given him.' Then said the king to Haman, 'Go and do likewise to Mordecai the Jew who sits in the gate of the king.' 'But there are many Mordecais who sit in the king's gate, and is not a small province sufficient for him?' asked Haman. The king said, 'Let no word fail from all that thou hast said.'

[End of the letter of Haman. This is a Midrash, and is not to be found in the Book of Josippon (Flavius Josephus).]

THE THRONE OF SOLOMON, KING OF ISRAEL.
CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 84

1 'In those days, when Ahasuerus sat (upon the throne).' The word ### can only be understood as meaning 'sitting on a throne,' as it is said, 'When Ahasuerus sat upon the throne of his kingdom;' but with reference to Solomon, it is said, 'And Solomon sat upon the throne of the Lord as king over Israel.' It is related that the assembly of Israel said unto God, 'O Lord of the universe, this wicked man sits in the sane place where Solomon has been sitting; do not make abominable the throne of Thy glory.' In the third year of his reign—for he busied himself with this throne for three years—he sent for workmen to make a throne like unto that of Solomon, but they were unable to do so.

2 And what was the throne of Solomon? The sages say that Solomon mounted his throne by six different ways, each way having steps. On each step there were two lions, one on the right and the other on the left, who did not remain quiet, but were active. And what did they do? When Solomon went up on the first step, the lions on the right stretched out their paws upon which a writing was engraved. He could not place his foot on the second step until he had read what was written on the lions' paws. It was, 'Ye shall not respect persons in judgement.' Turning now to the left, he read what the other lions had written on their paws, 'Thou shalt not accept any bribe.'

3 Thus at every step he had to read some portion of the law of judgement. All the steps were set with precious stones and pearls, red, white and green. Kinds of trees and species of the palm-trees were fixed on both sides of each step, and upon their branches there nestled all kinds of eagles, peacocks and birds. On the highest step were two huge pillars of ivory on the heads of the lions, and two golden hollow vines fragrant with every kind of perfume, which they exhaled whenever Solomon ascended the throne. The throne itself was made of ivory, overlaid with the gold of Ophir, and surrounded with precious stones and pearls. On either side of the throne a golden seat of honour was placed, one for Gad the seer, and the other for Nathan the prophet.

4 And seventy other seats of gold for the seventy judges of the Sanhedrim formed a circle round the central throne. In front of it was a lamp of gold, with its snuffers and censers and other appurtenances; and on one side of this lamp were seen in sculptured work the seven patriarchs of the world, viz., Adam, Noah, Shem, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Job, while on the other side were the seven pious men of the world, viz., Kehath, Amran, Moses, Aaron, Eldad, Medad and Ḥur, and on the top the form of a priest was seen kindling the light.

5 On the steps approaching the throne were placed as many unclean animals as clean, all facing each other, on the first step the ox was placed opposite the lion; on the second, the goat opposite the wolf; on the third (third missing); on the fourth, the bear opposite the hart; on the fifth, the eagle opposite the dove; and on the sixth, the hawk opposite the turtledove. The ascent to the throne was made between these animals. As soon as Solomon placed his foot on the first step he turned round, and the lion immediately stretched out its paw on the right and the eagle its talon on the left. Upon these he leaned, and was spared the trouble of ascending himself because the same thing was done by the different animals and birds on each until he arrived at the top.

6 Then all the birds of every species began to chirp and sing, and the peacocks to shriek, and all the trees emitted their fragrant perfumes. A serpent of gold then encircled him, and, having seated him upon his throne, crept down beneath his feet. The eagles, nestling on the vines after wafting breezes of perfume with their wings, placed the crown upon his head, and, this done, all the beasts and birds with one accord exclaimed, 'Long may the kingdom of the house of David be established.'

7 After this a dove of gold opposite the throne brought a scroll of the law and placed it upon his knees. Then, laying it upon a golden reading-desk just by the throne, he read it to fulfil what is written, 'And it shall remain with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life.' Every step on the throne contained some verse in praise of the law. On the first was written, 'The law of the Lord is perfect, refreshing the soul.' On the second, 'The testimony of the Lord is faithful, making the foolish (simple) wise.' On the third, 'The precepts of the Lord are just, rejoicing the heart.' On the fourth, 'The commandment of the Lord He created as an enlightenment to the eyes.' On the fifth, 'The fear of the Lord is pure, lasting for ever.' On the sixth, 'The judgements of the Lord are true, and are righteous, all of them.'

8 When the people approached Solomon for judgement, the wheels of his throne turned, the oxen lowed, the lions roared, the bears howled, the lambs bleated, the eagles cried, the peacocks shrieked, the cocks crowed, the hawks screamed, and all the birds chirped, to terrify the plaintiffs and the witnesses, so that they did not plead wrong cases, and the witnesses were not testifying falsely. On account of all this, it is said, 'The like of it will never be made in any kingdom.' When Ahasuerus was king, he tried for three years to have a throne made like that of Solomon, but in vain. [End of the throne of Solomon.]

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CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 85

The Book Of The Maccabee.

1 In the first year of his reign, Cyrus tried to build the temple, but when Ahasuerus arose he prohibited it, and attempted to uproot the vineyard (of the Lord), but God exterminated him and the wicked Haman from the world, and he died. His son succeeded him. These are the kings mentioned, 'Darius,' 'Cyrus,' and 'Artaxerxes.' Then the people believed the prophets and were prosperous. In the second year of his reign he allowed the Jews to return to Jerusalem to erect the holy temple and repair Jerusalem without let or hindrance. This was, indeed, a complete redemption. Then did Ezra, Zerubbabel, and his company for the second time go up to Jerusalem with another generation of the captivity, and they rebuilt Jerusalem and its walls. The towers they erected were very high and strong, and the temple contained more than did the first one, so that the first temple was deemed insignificant in comparison to it. The people on this account served Cyrus loyally for thirty-four years.

2 After the rebuilding of the temple, Zerubbabel returned to Babylon and there died. His son, Meshullam, succeeded him, and in his days, in the fifty-second year of the kingdom of the Medes and Persians, the kingdom was formed. The last prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, died at that time, and from that day prophecy ceased to exist in Israel, and the Echo of the Heavenly Voice (Bath Kol) took its place, and after that they had to consult the sages, until the Messiah will come and show us the right way.

3 Thirty-four years after the rebuilding of the temple, Darius, the son of Ahasuerus, reigned, until Alexander the Macedonian, and first King of Greece, rose up against him in battle, and having killed him, took his kingdom. He reigned over Israel two years and captured every kingdom; he made the whole world subservient to him, for at that time, thirty-four years after the rebuilding of the temple, Alexander the Great was crowned, the son of Philippus, King of Macedon, for he made the name of the Macedonian nation great, and smote the whole country. When he waged war against Darius he smote the land of Egypt, and slew in Alexandria double as many Jews as went out of Egypt. After conquering Edom, he marched along the sea-shore until he came to Acco, which he conquered, as well as Ashkalon and ʻAza. He then turned to go up to Jerusalem to smite it, because the Jews had made a covenant with Darius. After journeying with all his camp some distance, he arrived at a lodge, where he and his army encamped.

4 On the same night, while he was lying in his bed in his tent, he opened his eyes and beheld a man standing over him, clothed in white linen, and with a drawn sword in his hand. The appearance of the sword was like lightning on a rainy day. When he lifted the sword over the head of the king, he was greatly afraid, and said, 'Why will my lord smite his servant?' And the man replied, 'God hath sent me to conquer kings and many nations before thee, and I will go before thee to render thee assistance, but know now that thou shalt surely be slain, because thy heart is bent upon going to Jerusalem in order to injure God's priests and God's people.' 'I beseech thee, O lord,' replied the king, 'pardon the sin of thy servant, and if it is evil in thine eyes, I will return to my home.' 'Do not be afraid,' said the man; 'go thy way to Jerusalem, and when thou comest before the gate of the city and seest a man clothed in white like me, having an appearance and form like mine, do thou immediately make thy obeisance to him and bow thyself to the ground before him; do whatever he bids thee and do not transgress his word, for the very day that thou rebellest against his word thou shalt be slain.'

5 The king accordingly arose and went on his way to Jerusalem. When the High Priest heard that the king was coming against Jerusalem in great anger, he was exceedingly afraid, as were all the people, and he with the people went out at the gate of the city, and he stood before them clothed in white linen. As soon as Alexander beheld the priest, quickly dismounting from his chariot, he fell upon his face and bowed down to him. But the generals of Alexander became very angry at this, and said, 'Why dost thou bow down to a man who has no strength for battle?' And the king replied, 'Because the man that goeth in front of me to subdue all the nations before me is in appearance and form like this man. I therefore bow down to him.'

6 Then, going into our holy temple, he said to the priest, 'I will have my statue erected here, and will give much gold to the workmen, that it may be a remembrance of me. And they shall erect it between the Holy of Holies and the temple, so that my image be a remembrance in this great house of God.' But the priest replied, 'Present the gold for the maintenance of God's priests and the poor of His people, and I shall cause thee to be remembered for good, as thou wishest. All the children of the priests that are born this year shall be called by thy name, Alexander, and thou shalt be remembered when they worship in this house; but it is not permitted to place a graven image or any likeness in the house of our God.' The king then gave the gold according to the priest's request.

7 He asked him to inquire of God on his behalf whether he should go to war with Darius, or abandon the plan. And the priest replied, 'He will surely be delivered into thy hand.' Then, bringing the Book of Daniel, he showed him the passage concerning the ram that gores on all sides, and the young of the goats which runs up to him and tramples upon him. 'Thou,' added he, 'art the young of the goats and Darius is the ram. Thou shalt therefore trample upon him and seize his kingdom.' Thereupon Alexander went to battle, and having slain Darius, captured all his kingdom, so that the Persian kingdom ceased to exist. Alexandria in Egypt was made the royal city.

8 He ruled over all the nations just as a shepherd rules over his flock. He soon went over to India, travelling right across the country to its extremity, and extended his dominion, as we learn from the Talmud. R. Jose said, 'For six years he reigned in Elam, and afterwards spread his kingdom over the whole world.' He reigned altogether twelve years, and when he was on his way home to his house he died. Before his death, he divided his kingdom among his four chieftains. He made Ptolemy, the son of Lagi, King of Egypt; Phillipos his brother King of Macedon, and Seleucus and Nicanor Kings of Syria and Babylon respectively; lastly, he made Antiochus, the great enemy of the Jews, King of Asia.' Daniel prophesied this event when he said that the goat would gore the rain and break down his kingdom, which would be given to the four winds of the heaven.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 86

1 When Seleucus reigned over Macedonia, a very wicked, rebellious man of our own people, Simeon of the tribe of Benjamin, went to Seleucus, and, slandering the Jews, informed him of the riches contained in the temple at Jerusalem, saying that the treasures were heaped up in the treasury in endless quantities, and an abundance of gold and precious stones, and that it would be preferable to have it all placed in the treasury of Seleucus. The king thereupon sent for Eliodorus, the captain of his host, and bade him go to Jerusalem with his armies. On his arrival, Ḥoniah the priest said to him, 'Why has my lord come to his servants?' 'Because of the vast amount of gold and precious stones which, the king has been informed, is contained in the treasury of your temple.' 'The only gold in the treasury,' said the priest, 'is that which King Seleucus and other kings presented to us, for the maintenance of orphans, widows and the poor. For this, we pray to God to grant long life to the king and his sons.'

2 Eliodorus, however, would not listen to the priest, but placed guards round the temple until the following day, when the city was in great uproar through the lamentation and cries of the people. The priests also called upon their God, and the old men and women and princes covered themselves with ashes and afflicted their souls with fasting. They withheld food from even the young, and milk from the sucklings. They cried to God to guard the treasury and the riches deposited therein. Even the young virgins spread out their hands through the windows of their houses, and besought the Lord for protection. And as to Honiah the priest, he afflicted his soul (by fasting), and having stripped himself of his garments of honour, clothed himself in sackcloth and ashes, for he was grief-stricken, and, from his appearance, one could imagine the sorrow that was in his heart.

3 On the next day the enemy came with all his hosts and went into the temple shouting, but the Lord caused a strong and mighty sound of thunder 'to be heard, together with an earthquake, and a tempest that overthrew mountains and shattered rocks. On hearing this, all his troops took to flight, and hid themselves wherever they could, so that he (Eliodorus) remained alone, and, lifting up his eyes, he saw an awe-inspiring man clothed in gold, decked with precious stones, and girt with implements of war. He was riding a splendid horse, that was plunging and rearing, trotting and galloping in the temple. Heliodorus immediately ran away, but the horse felled him to the ground, standing over him. The man then commanded his two young servants, clothed in white linen, with staves in their hands, to smite Eliodorus very severely; and the two young men at his bidding stood one on each side of him, and beat him mercilessly until he became insensible and hovered between life and death.

4 Young priests came then, and lifting him on their shoulders, carried him into his tent and placed him in his bed, where he lay motionless and dumb. He could neither speak nor partake of any food. When the elders of Macedon saw him in this state, they came to Honiah the priest, and, crying, entreated him in the following manner, 'O my lord, we beseech thee, pray for thy servant Eliodorus and all his servants who have come with him, that we may live and not die, for we know that there is no other God except yours, since all the gods of the nations are vanity and emptiness, whilst yours is the God that created the world, and in whose hand is the soul of every living being.'

5 The priest, then praying to God, offered up burnt-offerings and sacrifices, and the two young men that smote Eliodorus by the temple appeared to him and said, 'Arise, go to Ḥoniah the priest, and bow down to his feet, since for his sake the Lord has had mercy upon thee.' Eliodorus accordingly arose, and, going to the priest, prostrated himself, and blessing the Lord and the priest, gave much gold and silver to the treasury of the house of the Lord. Then hastening to Macedonia, he went to Seleucus the king, who asked, 'What of Jerusalem?' And Eliodorus replied, 'If thou hast any enemies that seek thy life, send them at once to Jerusalem, and let them go into the temple, where they will surely be killed, for the great God reigns in that place, and destroys all the enemies of Jerusalem and Judah.' He then told the king all that he had witnessed. And Seleucus no more sent his army to Jerusalem to do evil, but, on the contrary, every year until his death he sent a present to the temple, and the kings of the land loved to send their offerings to honour the temple at Jerusalem.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 87

1 Now, Ptolemy the Macedonian, who was made King of Egypt, was a wise and clever king, who delighted much in books. He, therefore, commanded his two officers to collect very many of them. The names of these princes were Aristios and Andrios. Having collected together many Median and Persian books, besides others in all kinds of languages, the king said to them, 'How many books have you obtained?' 'Nine hundred and fifty,' they replied. Ptolemy laughed at this, and said, 'Go and add another fifty to make a thousand.'

2 But Aristios and Andrios replied, 'O my lord, it is in vain that we weary ourselves to obtain these books, since they are useless. Now, if it please the king, let him write to the priest at Jerusalem, and he will send thee some wise men of that place, conversant with the Greek language, who will explain to thee their law, which is the holy writing, but the books we have copied are of no use.'

3 Acting upon their advice, the king made such a request of the priest who was in those days, and the high priest sent him seventy priests with Eleazar as their chief, the same Eleazar who was afterwards tried during the reign of Antiochus, and who died a martyr's death for his God.

4 When Eleazar and these seventy priestly interpreters came to Egypt, Ptolemy, having put them in seventy different houses, one distinct from the other, provided each one with a scribe, and the priests interpreted the whole twenty-four books of the law, which these seventy elders then translated from Hebrew into Greek. As soon as it was finished, Eleazar brought the various copies to the king, who, after reading each one of them, found that they were all of one mind, and that the interpretations of all were identical.

5 The king was much rejoiced at this, and, presenting Eleazar and the seventy elders with much money, sent them back to Jerusalem. He further gave 150,000 men of Judah their freedom, besides presenting them each with fifty drachmas of gold, and a table of pure gold weighing 1,000 talents for the temple. Upon it he engraved the land of Egypt, and the course of the river Nile in Egypt, by which the country is watered, and inlaid it with precious stones, so that the like of it had never been seen in all the land. This the King Ptolemy sent as a present to the temple of the great and awe-inspiring God of the whole world.

6 A long time after this, Antiochus was made King of Macedonia, while Ptolemy, King of Egypt, was gathered to his people, and another Ptolemy succeeded him. But Antiochus rose up against him, and having slain him, captured the whole land of Egypt, over which he reigned.

7 In those days fierce battles began to be fought against the people of Judah, for after Antiochus had smitten Egypt he became very proud, and issued a proclamation to every people, commanding them to bow down to the image of the king. And all the nations obeyed. But the godless men of our people, Menelaos, Simeon, Alkimos, and others, incited Antiochus to do evil to the Israelites. At this time a great miracle was seen in Jerusalem. There were seen forty men riding between heaven and earth on what seemed like horses of fire. The riders carried in their hands partly golden implements of war, with which they fought one against the other for forty days. At this the wicked men of our people went to King Antiochus, and said, Behold, we have seen a miracle in Jerusalem, and the people say that Antiochus the king is dead, and are rejoicing at the downfall of our lord.'

8 The king was greatly angered at this, and immediately went to Jerusalem and smote them with the edge of the sword, so that there was a great slaughter in the city. A great multitude were sent into exile, and the assembly of the Ḥassidim scattered. They fled to the forest, and fed upon the grass as animals, and hid themselves in the forest like wild beasts, for Antiochus was not satisfied with slaying many, but he sent many more into captivity, and when he left the land of Judah, he left his officers to afflict the people, and he left Phillipos the Pelusian. They are Phrygians, and so are also the Trojans, of whom the Romans are descended. Phillipos belonged to that race. The king left him there to oppress the Israelites, commanding him thus, 'Whoever is willing to bow down to the image I set up, and to eat of the flesh of the swine, shall live, but all who refuse shall be slain without mercy. Prohibit also this people from observing the Sabbath, and from circumcising their children.'

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CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 88

1 The king then returned to Macedonia, and, having left Phillipos in the land of Judah, he (Phillip) acted according to the word of the king, and prohibited the people of Judah from studying the Torah and from performing the service of their God. He supported the wicked and the rebellious of our people, and slew many of the congregation of the Ḥassidim.

2 At that time two women were discovered who had circumcised their children. They hanged them by their breasts, and hurled them with their children from the top of a tower; they burst open and died.

3 After this Eleazar, the chief of the priests, of whom we have spoken as having gone to Egypt in the days of Ptolemy, was captured and brought to Phillip. And Phillip said to him, Eleazar, thou art a wise man and a man of understanding, now, do not transgress the command of the king, but eat of the flesh of his sacrifice.' But Eleazar replied, 'Far be it from me to set aside the command of my God for the performance of the command of the king.' Then did Phillip call him aside and say, 'Thou knowest that I have loved thee now for many years, therefore I have pity for thy soul and for thy old age. Now let a portion of the flesh of your own sacrifices which you are allowed to eat be brought to thee, and eat it before the people so that they will say thou eatest of the flesh of the king's sacrifice. By this means thou canst save thy life and not die.'

4 When Eleazar heard this he thought of the greatness of his honour and of the sanctity of his glory, and said to Phillip, 'I am now ninety years old, and have never yet served my God with deceit, nor is it meet for me now to do so and to deceive man, for then the young men will say, "Since Eleazar, although ninety years of age, has frustrated the law of his God, we can also do so," and they will thus bring destruction upon themselves. Now, far be it from me to defile my holiness, to taint the purity of my old age, and to cause these young men with me to waver, and give them the pretext for saying, "Eleazar, although ninety years of age, has sinned against his God, and has chosen to serve the vanities of the nations; let us do likewise." For even if I escape from your hands to-day, I cannot escape God, for no man can, either living or dead, since His dominion extends over the living to bring death upon them, and over the dead to quicken them to life. I shall therefore die true to my faith, and shall leave my power behind to my people and my young men, so that when they see me give up my life so readily, they will desire to follow my example, and thus keep their Torah precious, and will choose a worthy death.'

5 As soon, however, as Phillipos heard these words, he turned exceedingly cruel, and commanded his men to bind the pious old man and to beat him. They thereupon smote him with all manner of weapons without pity, and he groaned, saying, 'O Lord my God, who hast caused me to reach this old age, Thou knowest that I was able to deliver my soul from such a death, but did not wish to do so on account of my love for Thee. Now they smite so cruelly and fiercely that I would not be able to bear it were it not for my fear of Thee, which renders them as nothing in my eyes, and I suffer them willingly.' While he was still speaking these words his life closed, and he left might to his people and power to his young men.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 89

1 Seven brothers with their mother were then seized and sent to the king, for the king had not yet departed from Jerusalem, and because the swine's flesh was abhorred by the Jews and stank and was despised by them, therefore the cruelties against them were increased, and he tore their flesh as that of an ox.

2 When the first son was brought before the king, he said, 'Why waste words to teach us, for we have already been taught by our forefathers? We are prepared to suffer death for the Lord and His law.' The king was furious at this, and, ordering a pan of brass to be brought, placed it on the fire. Then, ordering his tongue to be cut out, his hands and legs and the skin of his head to be cut off, he placed them all in the frying-pan in the sight of his brothers; the rest of his body they cast in a large brass pot placed upon the hot coals. When he was near death the king commanded the fire to be removed from under the pot so that he should not die too quickly, so as to terrify his brothers and his mother. But they, on the contrary, encouraged each other and fortified each other when they saw that their brother gave up his life for the Lord and His Torah, and said to each other, 'See what Moses, the servant of the Lord, said in his song, "He shall be comforted in His servants." Even now the Lord is comforted in us for all the evil which He has purposed to do to His people, and He will have compassion upon them.'

3 As soon as the first died, the second brother was brought. They said to him, 'Listen to the command of the king. Why die in great torture as thy brother?' And he replied, 'Make haste with the sword and with the fire, and do not do one whit less to me than ye did to my brother, for I do not fall short of my brother in piety and the fear of God.' Every limb was then commanded to be cut off and placed in the frying-pan on the fire. He then said, 'Hear me, thou cruel king: art thou able to bind up these our souls which thou robbest us of? Behold, they shall walk to God, who has given them to us—to the light that is with the Lord. We shall yet live a life that has no limit or end when He awakeneth the dead of His people and the slain of His servants.'

4 Thus died the second brother. When the third was brought, he looked at the king, and, stretching out his right hand towards the king, said, 'What business of thine is it to destroy us, O thou enemy and foe? All this comes from Heaven, and we receive it with love, but thy tortures are despicable in our eyes, as nothing before us, since we expect honour and favour from Heaven. He will grant us the reward of our actions.' The king and all his princes were astonished at the bravery of the youth.

5 After his death the fourth brother was brought. 'What,' said he, 'have I to do with thee, O thou wicked man? We die for the Lord, and He will again bring us back to life, but thou shalt never rise again.'

6 When the fifth was brought, he said, 'Do not imagine that God has forsaken us, for on account of His great love has He brought us to this honour. Thou reviler and blasphemer, the Lord hates thee and stirs thee up to do unto us whatever thou wilt, but a great vengeance will be taken upon thee and thy seed, and His anger will be kindled against thee and all thy household.'

7 After his death the sixth brother was brought before the king, and he said, 'We know our wickedness, for we have sinned against the Lord, and now our souls are given over to death as an atonement for our people; but now because thy heart prompts thee to do this thing to the servants of our God and to fight against God; behold, He shall fight against thee and uproot thee from the face of the earth.'

8 The seventh and last brother was but a young lad, yet the mother, who had seen her seven sons slain on one day, neither feared nor trembled, but, standing upright by the corpses of her sons, she lifted up her voice and cried, saying, 'O my son! O my son! I do not know how you were formed in my womb, nor did I give you the breath and soul which you had, nor bring you out of my womb, nor raise you, nor make you grow, or your flesh which is now offered as a sacrifice; God formed it. He wove the sinews and covered it with skin, and caused hair to grow upon it. He then breathed in your nostrils the breath of life. And since you give up all this for His sake, He will restore them to you, and will renew your body. He will give you the reward of your actions, and happy are ye, my sons, for all this.'

9 At this the king was very much taken aback, in that the woman had subdued him. 'Bring me the seventh one,' said he, 'and perhaps, as he is but a young lad, I may be able to entice him with soft words to do our will, but do not let this woman boast of me, saying, 'I have conquered King Antiochus in exhorting my sons to die for our God.'

10 According to the king's command, the seventh lad was brought, and the king implored him, and took an oath to enrich him with silver and gold, with cattle and many servants, to make him viceregent, and to let him rule over the whole kingdom. But when the lad despised the words of the king, the king summoned the mother to him, and said, 'O good woman, have pity upon this child, and be merciful to the fruit of thy womb; induce him to perform my will and to escape.' And the woman answered, 'Give him to me, and I shall entice him with kind words.' This being done, she led him aside, and having kissed him, and rejoiced at the king's shame and confusion, said, 'O my son, thou whom I carried in my womb for nine months,vand whom I suckled for three years, after which I sustained thee with food until this very day, give up all this proffered honour, and fear the God of whom I taught thee.

11 Now, O my son, look toward the heaven, and behold the land, the sea, the waters, and the fire, which by the word of the Lord were created. But man is merely flesh and blood and as nothing before Him. Do not fear this cruel man, but give up thy life for the sake of the Lord. Go the same way as thy brothers. Would that I could now see where thy brothers are, and the greatness of their glory before the Lord. My son, cleave to thy brothers, and thy lot shall be cast in their glory. I shall go there with you, and rejoice with you as on the days of your marriage. I shall be with you in your righteousness.'

12 While she was yet speaking the lad answered, and said, 'Why do you delay me, and will not leave me to go and join my holy brothers? I will not listen to the king, but to the law of our God, which He has given through the hand of Moses to the people of Israel, which this cruel enemy of God has put to shame and reviled. Woe unto thee, woe unto thee! Whither wilt thou go? whither wilt thou flee? whither wilt thou run? and where wilt thou hide thyself from our God, O enemy, foe, and wicked man, for He still keeps us alive, and has glorified and exalted us over all nations? But thou who art insolent enough to stretch forth thy hand against His servants, it were better thou hadst not been born. Thou wicked fool Antiochus, who wast begotten of tainted folly, hast committed evil against thyself, but Thou hast done good unto us, and if we endure and bear these tortures in this world, we shall be taken to the life and light of the world where there is no darkness, but eternal life without death.

13 But thou wilt be the abomination of all creatures, and wilt be abhorred of our God when He takes vengeance upon thee. Thou shalt die an unnatural death, plagued with dreadful plagues. Thou shalt descend to the bottom of hell. Thou shalt be drawn into darkness, where there is no life or light, but darkness and shades; where there is no repose or; rest, but trouble, sorrow, brimstone, and fire. This will be thy portion of the Lord and thy lot from our God, O man of blood and wicked man. But God will have mercy upon His people. Until now His wrath has rested upon us, but He will henceforth be angry no longer with His people, but will repent of what He has done to us at the beginning, although He did so in truth and in righteousness, for we acted wickedly. He will return and have mercy upon us, and will grant us eternal life.' King Antiochus now became exceedingly angry because he would not perform his will, and therefore increased the tortures, and acted much more cruelly to him than he had done to the others. Thus died the seventh.

14 The mother then stood by the corpses of her sons, and, spreading out her hands, she said, 'O exalted and awe-inspiring God, O God of the universe, now will I come; now will I die with my sons in the place which Thou hast prepared for them.' While she was yet speaking she finished her days upon earth, falling upon the dead bodies of her sons, her spirit went forth, and she died with them.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 90

1 The king then went on his way to Macedon, and commanded Phillip and the captains whom he had left in the land of Judah, saying, 'Blot out the very memory of Judah from the face of the earth, and let him who but mentions the name "Jew" be slain; but let all those live who are willing to be assimilated with our people, and be called "Javan."'

2 Accordingly Phillip and the captains with him destroyed all whom he discovered observing the Torah, with the exception of those who fled with Mattathiah, the son of Jochanan to Mod'aith. For Mattathiah would not bear the reproach of the uncircumcised, but was zealous for his God, and, weeping, he said, 'Woe unto me, O my mother, that thou didst give me birth to behold the breach of my people.'

3 Then he sent his son Judah secretly to say to the Jews, 'Whoever of you are on the side of the Lord, come to me.' There gathered unto him a large assembly of Hassidim, and Mattathiah addressed them in the following words, 'Why multiply words? The only thing that remains for us to do is to pray and to fight. Let us strengthen ourselves and die in battle, but not as sheep led to slaughter.' When they heard these words they all of them took courage (braced themselves up), and said each one to his neighbour, 'To thy tent, O Judah. Rule again over thine own land. It is enough, King Antiochus. Now sharpen thy sword, O people of Judah, and beware of thy life, O nation of Macedon.' From that day the Macedonian yoke was broken asunder from the shoulders of Judah.

4 When Phillip and the chiefs of the king heard these words they went against them with a large army. When they were going against them, they found on the way men, women, and children of Judah in a cave all observing the Sabbath. Coming to the entrance of the cave, they said to them, 'Come out and profane the Sabbath, and perform the command of the king and live, and do not allow yourselves to die.' But they said, 'We shall not come out nor shall we profane the Sabbath day. Let the heavens and the earth be witness that we die in our integrity.' Phillip then commanded fire to be brought and placed at the mouth of the cave. Then, placing some wood upon it, he filled the cave with smoke, so that they were all suffocated.

5 The chiefs of the king then marched upon Mattathiah, to the mount of Mod'aith, and found him, his sons, his brothers, and a few of his people of the assembly of the Ḥassidim fully armed for war, for they had brought their wives and children to that mountain. The chiefs of the king approached Mattathiah with words of peace, saying, 'O honoured among thy people, perform the command of the king and live and do not die.'

6 But Mattathiah answered very proudly, saying, 'I obey the command of my King; do you obey the command of yours.' At this the chiefs were confused, and, being silent, did not say another word; for they wondered at Mattathiah, and were thinking how they could capture and slay him as they had slain the other pious men.

7 But suddenly one of the renegade Jews among the chiefs of the king said, 'I am astonished at the chiefs of the king and his army. How long will ye hold your peace and not perform the command of the king by rising up against Mattathiah, who was insolent enough to refuse to obey the king's command?' And after he had spoken thus he unsheathed his sword, and, cutting off the head of a swine, he took it in his hand and carried it to the altar which they had built to sacrifice to the king's vanities. Then, placing the head of the swine upon the altar, he offered it with frankincense to the idols of Antiochus.

8 When Mattathiah beheld this he was exceedingly wroth, and his fury burnt within him. Then, drawing his sword, he

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leaped upon the sacrificing Jew, and, severing his head from his body, he held it up on high before the chief of the king who approached Mattathiah, while the body fell down from the altar upon which he stood. He also killed the king's chief, and put the rest of them to flight, levelling to the ground a number of the crowd. Then, sounding the Shofar, he gave the signal for war.

9 He was the first one to raise his hand against the Macedonian kingdom. He also commanded us to fight on the Sabbath, and he will stand by us to defend us in this matter. It is written in the book of Joseph ben Gorion the priest.

10 Mattathiah with his sons and brothers then marched forth, and with them a large band of the Ḥassidim. They pursued those who had hidden themselves, and smote and discomfited them, until there did not remain one in the whole land of Judah. They then circumcised their sons. Thus, great salvation was brought about by the Lord through Mattathiah.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 91

1 Now, the days of Mattathiah were drawing to a close, so, calling his five sons to his bedside, he encouraged them and exhorted them, saying, 'I know that now fierce battles will be waged in the land of Judah, since we have been stirred up to fight for our people. Now, my sons, be zealous for your God, for His sanctuary, and for His people. Fight, and do not be afraid of death; if you dievin battle, you will be received among your brethren, and their portion shall be shared with you, for to all our ancestors who have been zealous for God, God has given honour and favour. Did not our ancestor Pinehas receive the everlasting covenant, and did not our other ancestors who were zealous for the Lord receive their reward from the Lord?'

2 Then, addressing Simeon his son, he said, 'I know the wisdom that God has put in thy heart; withhold not, then, thy counsel from this people, and be to thy brethren as a father, and they shall hearken to thee and to all thy counsels, since our God has given thee might and wisdom.'

3 Next Mattathiah called his son Judah, who came and stood before him; and he said, 'O my son Judah, who art called Maccabee on account of thy power, I know, my son, that thou art a man of war, and that God has given thee strength and might, and a heart like a lion's that flees from nothing. Now, my son, honour the Lord with all the strength the Lord hath granted thee; fight His battles without stopping; do not be reluctant to travel the four corners of the land—east, west, south and north—to capture the country from the power of the uncircumcised; be to them the captain of their host and the anointed of battle.' Then, bringing out a horn of oil, he poured it upon his head, and thus anointed him for battle, while all the people raised a shout, and, blowing upon their trumpets, exclaimed, 'Long live the anointed!'

4 When he had finished his exhortation to his sons, he died and was gathered to his people, and Judah his son, surnamed Maccabee, arose in his place. He had the assistance of his brothers, his father's household, and all the assembly of the Ḥassidim. And Judah was glad to fight the battles of Israel. Having clothed himself in a coat of mail as a warrior, and equipped himself with the implements of war, he looked like one of the sons of Anak. He protected the camp of Israel with his sword, and, pursuing the enemy, he crushed out their life. He burnt the sinners with the fire of his mouth, confounded the wicked with terror, and confused all the evil-doers through fear of him, for he appeared to them just as a roaring lion seeking prey appears to cattle. Jacob rejoiced at his deeds and was glad at his actions, for he confounded great kings, so that his name rang from one end of the world to the other, and people continually spoke of the wars he waged. Blessed be his name among the people of Israel; peace and repose be upon his righteous couch, and blessing on his holy bed, for he has not withheld his soul from death to defend Israel, God's people, and has slain all the wicked of the people of Judah who led the Israelites astray.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 92

1 When Apolonius, the captain of the Macedonian host, heard these things, he said, 'Who is it that dared to rebel against our lord the king?' And he gathered unto him a large and strong multitude of Macedonian warriors, and marched forwards to fight against Israel. Judah went out to meet him, and a very fierce battle ensued between the Macedonians and the assembly of the Ḥassidim. During the battle Judah saw Apolonius standing in the midst of the Macedonian company, and ran towards him in the fury of his anger into the valley, and, smiting right and left and in front of him, he cut down the mighty men of Greece just as the reaper cuts down the sheaves and the corn of his harvest. Then, approaching Apolonius, he smote him with the edge of the sword and felled him to the ground. Then, putting the Greeks and Macedonians to flight, they fled in haste, and Judah and the assembly of the Ḥassidim pursued them and smote them with a very great slaughter, and, having taken their spoil, Judah seized Apolonius's sword and fought with it all his life.

2 When Seron, the captain of the host of Syria, heard this he said, 'I will go and fight against Judah, and thus make a name for myself.' Then, summoning all his people, he went to Beth-Ḥoron. Judah, becoming aware of this, said to his men, "There is no time for delay; let us go out to them, although our brethren the Ḥassidim have gone away from us; for if we wait until they return, our enemies will say we are afraid of them.' Therefore Judah marched all the night long; at daybreak, when the people suddenly beheld in the distance a strong and mighty army, they said to Judah, 'How can we who are so few go to war against this great multitude?' But Judah replied, 'Cry unto heaven, and ye shall be saved, for the battle is in the hands of the Lord to deliver the many into the hands of the few; it is in His power to save either with a multitude or with a few.'

3 Judah then went sideways near the enemy's camp, and suddenly leaping upon them, he struck terror into them, and thereby Seron with all his men were put in confusion. Judah pursued him, and, overtaking him, smote him. On that day as many as 800 corpses of the Syrians were found piled up in heaps on the field. Those that remained fled into the land of the Philistines, and the fear of Judah fell upon all the nations.

4 Now, as soon as Antiochus heard these things, he was very much vexed, and gathering together all his people and all the nations under his rule, mustered a strong and mighty army, and divided it into two portions. With one half he went to (Persia), for the Persians had revolted from the Macedonian rule when they saw that the people of Judah had rebelled. The other half he handed over to Lysias, of his own kin, and of royal Macedonian descent, saying to him, 'Thou knowest all that Judah, the son of Mattathiah, has done to my two chiefs, Apolonius and Seron, and to all their host. Therefore, go now and smite all the inhabitants of Judah, and my son Eopator will go with thee. I myself will go to Persia and uproot the nation that rebelled against me.'

5 Accordingly, Antiochus the king went to Persia, and left Lysias in command to wage war against Judah and look after his son. Lysias chose for himself Tolmios, who is Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias, men of valour, sending with them 40,000 young warriors on foot and 7,000 horsemen, and the entire armies of both Syria and Philistia joined them in marching against Judah to destroy it. When Judah and all the elders of Israel heard this they proclaimed a fast, and clothed themselves in sackcloth, and placing dust upon their heads, cried unto the Lord.

6 After the fast Judah numbered his people, and appointed over them captains of thousands, captains of hundreds, captains of fifties, and captains of tens. Then marching into the field, he issued an order in the camp, saying, 'Whoever has planted a vineyard or built a house, and whoever is betrothed or faint-hearted, let him return home;' and many of them returned. There thus remained 7,000 valiant men, chosen warriors, of whom one would not have run away before a hundred enemies.

7 Judah then marched on to meet Nicanor, who had brought many merchants with him, for he intended to sell to them the young men and the young women whom he would capture and carry into captivity from Judah. He went into the valley to meet Judah. Judah, coming out of the assembly of the Ḥassidim who were with him, called upon the Lord, saying, 'O exalted God, who hast ruled from the creation until this time, who causeth battles to cease, and in whose hands is power and might to exalt or to humble, subdue and humble this nation before the lowly of Thy people, for Thou wilt subdue nations under us and peoples under our feet.' After his prayer, the priests blew their holy trumpets, and all the people raised a shout. Then did Judah leap into battle, and smote the camp of Nicanor with heavy slaughter, so that they fled before him. Pursuing them with his army, he continued to slay them in their flight. The number of the slain was 9,000. They then returned and took their spoil, and the gold which the merchants had brought with them to purchase the Israelitish youths. This they distributed among the poor, and then rested in that place, for the battle was fought on the sixth day.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 93

1 Departing thence, Judah went to Bakires and Timothios, and a severe battle ensued between them, in which he himself killed on that day twenty Macedonian warriors. Bakires and Timothios took to flight, and Judah pursued them, but did not overtake them, for they went to Ashtaroth Karnaim. But he captured Phillipio, the man who had done so much evil in Judah. When Judah approached him he turned from the way he was going into a house in the vicinity. Judah then ordered his men to overthrow the house upon him, and to burn him to death in that place. He thus avenged the death of Eleazar and the blood of those pious men which Phillipio had shed. They then returned to strip the slain and they sent the spoil to Jerusalem.

2 Nicanor fled thence and escaped, for he had stripped himself of his purple coat, and dressed himself in a poor man's coat, so that he could not be recognised. In this way he came to Macedon and related to Lysias all that had happened.

3 At that time King Antiochus returned from Persia, ashamed in that the Persians had made him flee the country of Ecbatana, and when he was informed of all Judah had done to his chiefs, and how he had smitten them, he was filled with wrath and fury. He reviled and blasphemed, and said, 'I will go to Jerusalem, and make it a burial-ground, and will fill it with the carcasses of the slain.' He then summoned together all his people, his charioteers and horsemen, a large and mighty multitude.

4 But the Lord had a jealous care for His people, for His city, and His temple, and remembering all the evil Antiochus did to His people, He required the blood of those pious men from Antiochus, and therefore plagued him with boils and with an internal disease. Yet he was not humbled through this, but said, 'Press on, ye charioteers; press on, ye horsemen; press on, ye soldiers. I will go to Jerusalem, and will carry out my intention, for who can stand before me? Is not the sea and the dry land mine, to change their being according to my will? Can I not transform the earth into sea and the sea into earth?' When he had finished speaking thus he mounted his chariot, and went with his huge army in the direction of Jerusalem. With him were many elephants, and his camp was enormous.

5 Now, while on the journey, his chariot happened to pass in front of one of the elephants, and it trumpeted. At this the horses took fright, and slipping down, overturned the chariot, and threw Antiochus out of it. As a result of the fall, his bones were broken, for he was a stout and very heavy man. The Lord, however, heaped up plagues upon him, and his flesh stank. The stench of his body was like that of a dead man cast upon the field in the height of the summer. As soon as his servants lifted him upon their shoulders, they had to cast him back again to the ground and run away, for they could not possibly approach him or carry him on account of the dreadful stench of the flesh of that reviler, and blasphemer, and enemy of God.

6 Now, when his army became weary, and he also became sick unto death of the stench arising from his body, he knew then that the hand of the Lord had touched him, and being humbled and made lowly, he exclaimed, 'The Lord is righteous, who humbleth the proud and humiliates the wicked like me, for I have done all this wickedness to His people and to His pious men. It is for this that all these evils have overtaken me.' He then made a vow, saying, 'If the Lord will heal me from this disease, I will go to Jerusalem and fill it with silver and gold; I will spread carpets of purple in all the streets, and will give all my treasury to the temple of the great God. I will circumcise my foreskin, and will go about the whole land exclaiming in a loud voice, 'There is no God in the whole world like the God of Israel.'

7 But the Lord did not hearken to his prayer, nor did He give ear to him, for all the way Antiochus the Cruel was travelling his flesh fell off from his bones, until finally his very bowels fell out upon the ground. Thus his life came to an end. He died in shame and disgrace and in a strange land. Eopator, his son, succeeded him.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 94

1 Judah, the son of Mattathias, and with him the assembly of the Ḥassidim, now went up to Jerusalem, and overthrowing the altars which the uncircumcised had built, they cleansed the temple of the abominations of the nations, and building a new altar, they placed upon it the flesh of the sacrifice, and arranged the wood, but the holy fire they could not find. Then calling in prayer upon the Lord, fire came forth from a stone upon the altar, and they placed the wood upon it. This fire remained with them until the time of the third captivity. On the 25th of Kislev they dedicated the altar, and placing the showbread in its place and kindling the lights, they praised the name of the Lord by reading the 'Hallel Psalms' for eight days.

2 After this dedication, Judah marched to the land of Edom, and Gorgias came to meet him with a huge multitude of men, but Judah smote Gorgias and his camp, and put them all to flight. Pursuing them, Judah's men left upon the field 20,000 of the enemy slain. Gorgias then fled to Arabia to Timotheos. And Timotheos, marching out with 120,000 men of the Macedonian and Arabian armies, went into the land of Gad and Gilead, and slew many of the Jews, so that they sent a letter to Judah, saying, 'Come up and save us, for the sword of Timotheos is consuming us.' Again another letter arrived, saying, 'The sword of Tyre and Sidon is destroying us, and the men of Macedonia who dwell there.'

3 As soon as Judah heard these words, he cried to the Lord in fasting and prayer, and selecting all the valiant men and the Ḥassidim, he made haste to pass the Jordan. Simeon also took with him 3,000 men of Judah, and hastening to Galilee, engaged in a fierce battle, in which he slew 8,000 men, and thus delivered his brethren in Galilee. Then, taking the spoil of the slain, he returned to Jerusalem.

4 Judah the Anointed one of battle, having passed the Jordan, arrived at Gilead, where they found Timotheos attacking the city on Mount Gilead, and, having girded himself for the fray, a fierce battle ensued. The two armies stood opposite each other, that of Timotheos being mighty and strong, while Judah's army was few in number. And in the midst of the fight Judah cried unto the Lord, when he suddenly beheld five young horsemen, clothed in gold. Two of them stood in front of Judah, and then, placing themselves

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one on each side of him, protected him with their shields, while the other three fought against the camp of Timotheos. As soon as Judah saw them, he at once knew that they were sent from heaven to assist the pious, and, encouraging his men, he pressed hard upon Timotheos's army and smote 20,500 of his men. Timotheos himself and his army fled thence towards the Jordan, but Judah was after him, making havoc among them all the time until they came to Aza.

5 Here Timotheos recruited his men and prepared again for battle, for the whole army of Philistia had now joined his ranks. When Judah arrived at that place he leaped upon them as a lion upon a flock of sheep. Timotheos took to flight, and his whole army was scattered in confusion. The Hasmoneans pursued them and cut them to pieces until there were none left. Timotheos fled to Aza, and there took refuge within the closed gates of the city, from the high walls of which he still gave battle. For five days Judah and his men besieged it.

6 On the fifth day the men of Timotheos, ascending the high tower, cursed and defied the Anointed one of battle, and taunted them all with words of insolence. At length twenty Hasmoneans, becoming heated through passion on account of the reproaches, took their shields in their left hands and their swords in their right hands, and, running towards the wall, scaled it one after another by means of a ladder. Then, smiting those upon the wall, they made room for their fellows, all of whom likewise scaled the wall. The twenty men then went into the market-place of the city, shouting and killing many of the enemy. Then, going towards the gate, they attacked it within, while the whole army of the Hasmoneans approached it from without, and set fire to it, whereupon the gate fell to the ground. In this manner was the city of Aza captured. Then, seizing the men who defied the Anointed one of battle, they burnt them to death, and put the inhabitants to the edge of the sword. For two whole days they did not cease from their deadly work of slaughter.

7 Timotheos, fleeing, hid himself in one of the pits and could not be found. But they discovered his brothers, Birean and Apollopanis, and brought them to Judah, who ordered their heads to be cut off. The spoil of the city they carried to Jerusalem with songs, praises and thanksgivings, and sang the Psalms of David, King of Israel, to the Lord, whose mercy endureth for ever.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 95

1 Now, when it came to the ear of Antiochus Eopator, son of Antiochus called Epiphanes, who had wrought such evil in Jerusalem, who slew the pious men, and who ultimately died from the severe plagues inflicted upon him, as we have stated above,

2 this Antiochus Eopator sent Lysias, his cousin, with an army of 80,000 horsemen and eighty elephants, a mighty army. They came to Judah and Jerusalem and gave battle at Bethter; building a ditch round about the city, he began to attack the city with a battering-ram and with stones, while Judah and the whole army of the Hasmoneans dwelt in the forests and on the mountains away from the Greek army. Judah said to his men, 'Come, let us approach the Lord our God in fasting and in supplication, and then let us march against the Greek army of Javan, who are attacking Bethter.'

3 After the fast he blew the Shofar, and then gave the signal for battle, and he and all his men went to assist their brethren in Bethter. When they came to Jerusalem they entered the temple, offered peace-offerings, sacrificed burnt-offerings, and cried to the Lord. Then, departing from Jerusalem to go to Bethter to the Macedonian camp, Judah said to his men, 'Be strong and of good cheer; for the people of the Lord and for our brethren, let us rather perish together in the fight than see any evil fall upon our people.'

4 When he had finished speaking, he lifted up his eyes and beheld between heaven and earth a man, well dressed, riding upon a horse like a flame of fire, and in his hand a spear. His back was turned towards the Hasmoneans and his face to the camp of the Greeks, with his hand stretched out ready to smite it. Judah then exclaimed, 'Blessed be He who has sent His messenger to save His people and smite the camp of His enemies.' Hastening thence, they went to Bethter, and, springing upon the Macedonian camp, they put them into confusion, and slaughtered 11,000 foot and 1,600 horsemen. Lysias and his men fled for their lives in shame and disorder, and Lysias then knowing that God was fighting against the enemies of Israel, made a covenant with Judah.

5 The following is the letter which Lysias sent to the people of Judah: 'Lysias, chief of the king's army and vicegerent of Antiochus, to Judah the Anointed of battle and to all his people be there greeting! Be it known to you that I have received letters you sent through your messengers, Johanan and Absalom, and that I have carried out whatever they told me. I read the letter with good feeling and have fulfilled everything contained therein. I have told the king the message on your behalf, and have given answer to Johanan and Absalom. I have further charged the messengers I sent to you with words of peace.'

6 This is the contents of the letter which the king sent to Lysias, his cousin: 'King Antiochus to Lysias my brother greeting! Be it known to thee that we have received the letter thou didst send us concerning the Jews, and that we have read it with every good feeling. My father has gone the way of all flesh, he has ceased to be with men and has been taken with angels; but I seek for the welfare of all my kingdom, to stop wars, and to establish peace. I have heard that the Jews refused to listen to my father to violate their law, and that they have therefore conquered by the sword and slain the chief men and the most honoured of my father's kingdom. Now give them thy right hand, and make a covenant with them that they may know it to be my will and my hearty desire that they live in peace and observe their law according to their own wish.'

7 And this is the contents of the letter which the king sent to Judah: 'King Antiochus Eopator to Judah the Anointed one of battle and to the rest of the people greeting! Be it known to you that I have issued a decree throughout all my cities and to all the peoples subjected to my rule, that they should not oppress the Jews, but leave them to keep and to observe your law. Pardon whatever actions my father erringly did, and if we have also erred we send you Menelaos to speak to you words of peace.'

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 96

1 In those days the Lord began to render the fourth kingdom more powerful than the third, that is the kingdom of Rome, which was stirred up against the kingdom of Greece. The name of the Roman was exalted over all the empires of the world. That was the fourth animal which Daniel, that greatly-beloved man, saw in a vision. Just as that animal devoured, crushed and trampled upon everything, so did this nation of Romans devour and crush all the other nations. It was they who fought with Antiochus, King of Greece, his 120 elephants and a strong and powerful army of infantry and cavalry, whom they conquered in the battle, and compelled to pay the Romans tribute.

2 They also humbled the pride of Annibal, King of Africa, who reigned over the city whose name was Carthagene. Annibal entered the field with an army as mighty and as numerous as the sand upon the seashore. With him were all the armies of Ethiopia, Phut and Lud, and other mighty nations. Having crossed the narrow sea between Africa and Sefarad, he humbled the pride of the nation of the Goths. Journeying thence, he arrived in the land of Germania by the sea Oceanus. Thence he came to Italy and engaged in battle with the Romans, who went out to meet him. It was a long and fierce contest, in which the Romans were utterly routed.

3 The Romans, however, continued to fight, and in ten years no less than eighteen battles were fought with Annibal, but they could make no stand before him. At length, they again mustered all their warriors, at the head of whom were two valiant men, Æmilius and Varros. Having arranged their men in line of battle by the river Eopiros, the battle was fought at Canusi, a large city. Here a fierce and desperate battle was fought, in which 90,000 Romans met their death.

4 Among them was Æmilius, one of the Roman commanders. Varros, however, managed to escape to Venosia, a city situated between the mountains and the plain. Of Annibal's men, 40,000 were killed in that battle. Having pursued the Romans up to the gates of the city, he besieged the city for eight days, and building turrets in front of the city, fought against it.

5 Then the Roman counsellors said to each other, 'Let us open the gate and come and make a covenant with Annibal, that we may live and not be put to death.' This they determined to do, when a young man, whose name was Scipios, arose, and said to the 320 counsellors of the city, 'Far be it from us to subject ourselves to Annibal.' 'But what can we do,' answered they, 'since we have not been able to make a stand before Annibal for the last eighteen years?' 'Then,' said Scipio, 'come, let us take counsel. Give me about five legions of men, and I will go to the land of Africa and attack and destroy his land. As soon as Annibal hears this, he will hasten away from Rome to deliver his own land from my hands, and thus will ye obtain rest.'

6 Having consented to his proposal, he took with him 30,000 Romans, and marching to Africa, the country of Annibal, he engaged in battle, in which Astrubal, Annibal's brother, was slain. Scipio cut off his head and brought it to Rome, and, mounting the wall, he cried out to Annibal, 'Why art thou so eager for our land, and dost not go to deliver thy own land from my hands, which I am destroying?' He then sent Annibal his brother's head. When he recognised it he braced himself up, and hardening his heart, swore not to leave the city until he had taken it, and he besieged it for several days more.

7 Scipio then returned to Africa and entirely destroyed it. Thence he went to Carthagene and besieged it. And the men of Carthagene sent Annibal a letter to Rome, saying, 'Why dost thou desire a strange land, when thine own land is taken from thee? If thou wilt not hasten here and deliver us from the hand of Scipio, we shall open the gate and give the city of Carthagene with thy palace into his hands.'

8 When he read this letter he wept, and immediately raised the siege, and going to Epirus, where lay his ships, he slew there Romans without number, men, women and children who were taken prisoners. He then went to Africa with all his army.

9 But Scipio went out to meet him, and a fierce war ensued between them, in which Annibal was conquered and about 50,000 of his men slain. He was likewise conquered in three pitched battles with Scipio. After that Annibal fled to Egypt, but Scipio followed him, and Ptolemy the king delivered him into Scipio's hands. He was brought to Africa in great honour, and there he drank poison and died and was buried. Scipio then captured the whole land of Africa, and the place that abounds in gold and silver. Thus Rome was exalted above all the other nations.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 97

1 The following is the contents of the letter which the Romans sent to Judah, the son of Mattathiah: 'Qinsius Minios, Scipio and Menelaos, princes of Rome, to Judah the Anointed one of battle, and to the elders of Judah greeting to you! for we have heard of your power and of your battles, and are glad, also of what Antiochus and Lysias have given you, and of what they wrote concerning the Jews. Now we also write to ask you whether you will become our associates and friends, but not the friends of the Greeks, who have afflicted you. We are now going to war against Antiochia, therefore hasten to let us know who are your enemies and who your friends.'

2 The following is the text of the covenant made between the Romans and the Jews: 'Whether on the sea or on land, whenever war is declared against the Romans, the Jews are to assist them with all their power. They are not to supply Rome's enemies with either implements of war, with wheat or any other food, according to the decree of the Consul and the 320 counsellors. And if, on the other hand, war be declared against the Jews, the Romans in their turn are to assist the Jews with all their power, and are not to provide the enemies of the Jews with either implements of war, or wheat or food of any kind. They should themselves not take any food from them unless in trouble. Further, neither party is to add or to diminish what had been decreed by the Consul and the 320 counsellors.' After that the land had rest for about eight months. At that time Judah began to judge his people, and to weed out the wicked from his people.

3 At that time the Jews lived in all the cities on the sea-coast, extending from Aza until Acco; but the Macedonian nation and the people of Joppa and Jabneh brought about great evil, for they induced the Jews living among them to board their ships, together with their wives and children, to go and have sports on the sea. The Jews, trusting them, consented to go with them, but when they arrived in mid-ocean they were thrown into the water and drowned, to the number of 200 souls.

4 When Judah was informed of it he wept and proclaimed a fast. Then, hastening to Joppa, he besieged it, and God delivered it into his hands After separating the Jews, he smote the city with the edge of the sword, man, woman, child and suckling, and burnt the city to the ground. The same he did to Jabneh, besides burning the ships of both cities. The burning and conflagration could be seen as far as Jerusalem, a distance of 240 stadia. He thus avenged the blood of the women and children that were drowned in the sea. Journeying thence, he went to the Arabian desert, and having smitten many Arabs, imposed a tribute upon them.

5 He then returned to the land of . . . and during the journey had to pass a certain city by name Kaspon. It was very strongly fortified, for nations of all kinds dwelt therein. Relying upon their strongholds, they cursed Judah, and uttered countless slanders about Judah's people. At this Judah exclaimed, 'O Almighty God, at the sound of the trumpet Thou didst deliver the city of Jericho by the hands of Thy servant Joshua; now deliver this city into our hands, that I may avenge the reproach they have cast upon the people of God.'

6 Then, taking his shield in his left hand and unsheathing his sword, he marched bravely onwards, followed by the Hasmoneans, at a very quick pace until they reached the gate of the city. After besmearing it with pitch, and placing bushes and thorns of the desert upon it, they set fire to it and it fell to the ground. God delivered the city into his hands, and he effected a slaughter such as has never yet been known, for the pool of blood which flowed from the city as a pool of water was two stadia in length and two in breadth.

7 Journeying from that place, he travelled a distance of 750 stadia. And Timotheos came out to meet him with 120,000 foot and 1,000 horse. After offering up his supplication to God, Judah marched out against Timotheos with about 10,000 chosen men. A very fierce battle ensued, in which Judah slaughtered 30,000 of Timotheos's army. Timotheos forthwith tried to escape, but Dostios (Dositheus), the captain of Judah's army, and Sosipater, a gallant warrior of Israel, pursued him and brought him back to Judah, who ordered his head to be cut off. But Timotheos wept bitterly, and implored him, saying, 'O my lord Judah, do not kill me,

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for there are many Jews dwelling in my land, and I swear that I will do good to them all the days of my life.' And he took an oath. Judah had pity upon him and did not kill him, but allowed him to go his way, and Timotheos did no more evil to the Jews all the days of his life, for he kept the oath he had taken.

8 Journeying thence, Judah marched in the direction of the wilderness, and, meeting the army of the king that had come into Arabia, he smote them, and, pursuing them further, slew 25,000 of their men. He next journeyed to Ephron, a large city, and besieged it, and the Lord delivered it into his hands. He slew 20,000 in the contest.

9 Marching onwards a journey of 600 stadia, he came to a city the name of which was Scitopolis; and the inhabitants of Scitopolis being sorely afraid of them, came out to meet them with entreaties and tears, saying, 'O lord, the Anointed one of battle, do thou, I pray thee, ask the Jews who dwell in our midst whether we have treated them kindly or not. Moreover, in the time of the cruel Antiochus many Jews made their escape to us and we maintained them.' To the truth of this the Jews among them testified. As soon as Judah heard this he blessed them, and desisted from attacking them, and he returned to Jerusalem, arriving there three days before the festival of Pentecost.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 98

1 When the festival was at an end he marched out to Gorgios, the captain of the army of Edom, with 3,000 foot and 4,000 horse. A fierce battle took place between their two armies, in which some Hasmoneans were slain, and among them was Dostios, the captain of the host, who was sorely wounded on the shoulders; some of the Hasmonean warriors were nearly thrown back. When Judah realized what had happened, he then prayed to the Lord, and, encouraging his men, leaped forward into the camp of Gorgios and slaughtered many of his men. He then shouted out, 'At thee, Gorgios!' and stretched out his right hand to smite him, but Gorgios stepped back and thus escaped the blow, and throwing down his weapons, fled and made his escape, nor has he ever since been seen or recognised alive or dead. Some hold the opinion that he fled to the desert of Maresha, in the wilderness of Edom, and there died.

2 Judah now returned to Edom, and, after destroying all their cities, took all the inhabitants prisoners. At this time graven images of the nations were discovered under the clothes of those Hasmoneans that were slain in battle. Judah then knew that they had fallen through their iniquity, and said, 'Blessed be the Lord, who discovers that which is hidden, and who revealed these secrets.' He then exhorted the people to serve the Lord in holiness and purity, and returned to Jerusalem.

3 Now, when Antiochus Eopator heard of all the battles Judah had waged and of the cities he had captured, he broke the covenant he had made with Judah, and marched out against him with an army as numerous as the sand upon the seashore, together with Lysias, his cousin, who also marched out at the head of a huge army. Having arrived in the land of Judah, he laid siege to Bethter.

4 Seeing this, Judah and all the elders of Israel called upon the Lord in fasting, tears, and in supplication. They also sacrificed burnt-offerings and offered peace-offerings. On that night Judah mustered all his chosen men of the Hasmoneans, and, dividing them round the camp of the king, he slew 4,000 men and the largest elephant. In the morning the king arranged his men in line of battle opposite Judah, and a very fierce engagement took place.

5 Judah suddenly noticed an elephant coated with armour of gold, and as it was greater than all the other elephants, he thought the king must be riding it, and shouted out to his men, 'Who of you are with me?' And forthwith Eleazar, one of the young Hasmoneans, sprang forward and faced the elephant, felling to the ground all who came in his way, and, striking out right and left, the slain fell on either side of him; then, rushing in the thick of the fight, and placing himself between the elephant's legs, he pierced its belly with his sword, and it fell upon him, so that he died, having sacrificed his life for the Lord and for his people, and left a name after him, and courage to all who heard it. It was a day of mourning to his people. There fell in battle on that day 800 of the king's nobles, besides the other people that were slain among them.

6 The king then ceased fighting, and returned to his tent. Soon after his return, he was informed that Phillip had revolted against him, and that Demetrius, the son of Seleucus the king, was coming from Rome with a large army, in order to wrest the kingdom from his hands. Being sorely frightened, the king made peace, and made a covenant with Judah, embracing and kissing him, and ratified it by an oath, in which Lysias joined, saying, 'We shall never as long as we live go to war against Jerusalem.' The king then brought out much gold from his treasury, and gave it as a present to the house of God in Jerusalem.

7 He took Menelaus, a Judaean, prisoner, who brought Antiochus to Jerusalem, and caused him to do evil, and also Eopator. The king, being very wrath with him, ordered him to be carried to a lofty tower, fifty cubits in height, and near it there was dust and ashes in immense quantities. Then, commanding him to be bound hand and foot, they cast him into the ashes, and buried him beneath them, so that he died in torment, through his iniquity, for he had committed many abominations before the altar of the Lord with the sacred dust and ashes. Thus this wicked man died, suffocated with the very ashes with which he committed abominations. Just is the Lord, who requites man according to his deeds and the fruit of his actions.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 99

1 After this the king went his way to Macedon and Judah, judged his people, and did righteousness and justice. At that time Demetrius, the son of Seleucus the king, with a Roman army, engaged in battle with Antiochus Eopator, in which Antiochus and Lysias were slain, and he held the reins of government in Antiochia in Macedon.

2 Now, Alkimos the priest, a worthless man, who ate swine's flesh during the reign of Antiochus, came to Demetrius, and said, 'Long live King Demetrius! How long wilt thou remain inactive on behalf of thy servants in the land of Judah, who have fallen by the sword of Judah, the son of Mattathias, and his people the Jews, who are called Ḥassidim? He slays us because we refuse to comply with many precepts of their law.'

3 Demetrius, stirred to anger by this, sent Nicanor, the captain of his army, with a strong army, and chariots, horsemen, elephants, and footmen without number. Arriving at Jerusalem, he sent word professing his friendship, and said, 'Come and let us see each other, and consult in a friendly manner.' Judah, fearing no treachery, went to meet him. When Nicanor met him, he embraced him, and asked after his welfare. Then, placing seats for both of them, they sat down and conversed. Judah, however, had commanded his young Hasmoneans to remain armed ready for battle, lest the enemy suddenly attack them. Accordingly, his men stood near him, ready at any moment for the fray, as Judah had ordered. Judah and Nicanor at length rose from their seats, and went into their respective tents, and they dwelt both in Jerusalem, there being no war between them. On the contrary, Nicanor was very fond of Judah, and said to him, 'Would it not be meet for a man like thee to take a wife and beget children?' Judah married, and begat children.

4 When Alkimos recognised the love Judah and Nicanor bore each other, he again went to the king, and informed him what had taken place. The king thereupon sent a letter to Nicanor, saying, 'If thou wilt not send me Judah, son of Mattathiah, bound in chains, know that thou wilt surely be slain.' Judah soon became aware of this, and, leaving the city by night, he sounded the trumpet-call and gave the battle-signal, and when all the valiant Ḥassidim and Hasmoneans had mustered in full force, he went to Samaria, and remained there.

5 In the meantime Nicanor went to the temple of the Lord, and said to the priests, 'Bring ye out the man who fled from me, that I may send him to the king bound in chains.' But the priests swore unto him, saying, 'He has not been here, nor have we seen him since the day before yesterday.' At this reply, Nicanor spoke blasphemously of the temple, and, spitting upon it, stretched out his right hand, and, baring his arm for slaughter, he said, 'I will overthrow this temple, and will not leave one single stone in its place, and I shall dig up and overturn all its foundations.' With this, he departed in anger, and the priests went about crying between the porch and the altar, and said, 'O God, whose dwelling-place has of old been in this temple, now continue to rest here, for here is Thy throne, and here is Thy footstool, and all Thy service. The heart of Nicanor was filled with blasphemy towards Thy house and towards Thy habitation. He acted treacherously against the temple of Thy glory, and has committed abomination, therefore let him die as an abomination.'

6 Nicanor searched all the houses of Jerusalem for Judah, and sent 500 troops to the house of Daqsios, the Elder of Ḥassidim, who was tested in Antiochus's reign and found perfect, for he had suffered many tortures, and was called 'Father of the Jews and Judge in Jerusalem.'

7 And as Nicanor was trying to show his bitter hatred of the Jews, he sent a messenger to fetch the old man, while his men surrounded the house to catch him; but the old man, unsheathing his sword and piercing his bowels, ran upon the wall, and threw himself upon Nicanor's troops, who made room for him, and he fell to the ground. But he soon rose up again, and went towards the troops. He stood on a large stone, and from the great loss of blood which was rapidly flowing from him, he became distracted, and took part of his entrails and threw it at the troops. Then, calling upon the Lord in prayer, he died, and was gathered to his people.

8 When Judah heard these things, he waxed furious, and sent a message to Nicanor, saying, 'Why dost thou delay? Come into the field, and I will show thee the man thou hast been seeking in the chamber. Behold, he is here waiting for thee in the valley and in the plain.' Nicanor then gathered all his forces, and went to meet the Jews on a Sabbath. The Jews that were with him said, 'O my lord, we beseech thee, do not act presumptuously; grant Him honour who gave the Sabbath.' 'And who, indeed, gave the Sabbath?' asked Nicanor. 'The God whose dwelling is in heaven,' answered they, 'and whose dominion extends over the whole world.' Nicanor then spoke such words of blasphemy as are not fit to be written down.

9 Judah heard of this, and said to his men, 'How long will we be indolent, and refuse to give battle to this reviler and blasphemer? for who is this dead dog and outcast that defies the strength and glory of Israel?'

10 He then marched in great anger and zeal to attack Nicanor, who came to meet him with a huge and powerful army. And Judah cried to the Lord, saying, 'O Lord my God, Thou didst send a messenger into the camp of Sennacherib, whose men stood up outside the city and blasphemed Thee, and Thou didst smite his multitude by slaying 175,000 men; the slain we counted, but the slayer we did not see. Now, how much more deserving of death is this man, who has stood up against Thy temple, and has blasphemed Thy might and Thy glory?'

11 On that day a very fierce and bloody battle was fought. When Judah saw Nicanor with drawn sword, he cried out, 'At thee, Nicanor!' and then ran against him in the fury of his anger. And Nicanor turned his back to flee, but Judah laid hold of him, and, cutting him in two, cast him to the ground. There fell on that day 30,000 men of the Macedonian army. The remainder fled, but were pursued by Judah's men, who all the while were sounding the Shofar. All the cities of Judah turned out to meet the enemy, and smote them, cutting them to pieces, so that not one of them remained alive. Then, proceeding to strip the slain, they found abundance of gold, precious stones, and purple garments. They cut off the head of Nicanor and the arm that he had stretched out against God's temple, and hung them up before the gate, which has henceforth until this very day been called 'The gate of Nicanor.' The people then rejoiced exceedingly, and sang the Psalms of David, King of Israel, concluding, 'For He is good, and His mercy endureth for ever.'

12 Ever since that time the Jews celebrate this day as a feast and a holiday, on which wine is drunk—viz., the 13th day of Adar, one day before 'Purim.' And Judah judged all his people, and did justice and righteousness in the land.

CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL CHAPTER 100

1 At the end of the year, the days of Judah drew to a close, and the Lord ordained that Judah end his days, and be gathered to his people the Ḥassidim. At this time Baqidos suddenly came upon Judah with 30,000 men of the Macedonian army, while he was in Laish (Leshem ?). The 3,000 men that were with him fled as one man, and the only ones that remained were himself, his brothers, and 800 chosen men of Israel, who did not stir from their places. All these men were Judah's associates, tried veterans in all the wars that Judah had waged with the nations.

2 Baqidos then brought forward 15,000 men, and arranged them in line of battle on the right of Judah, while on his left he placed another army to the number of 15,000. There was a great shouting, both on the right and left of Judah; but when he saw that the battle was very fierce, and that Baqidos stood on his right—for all the warriors of Baqidos remained on the right, and that the right wing was with him—he shouted and leaped forward followed by his brothers, and the few Hasmoneans.

3 He ran in the direction of Baqidos, and a fierce and terrible battle ensued, at the beginning of which heaps of Macedonians were slain. As soon as Judah saw Baqidos standing in the midst of the people, he ran towards him in the strength of his anger, and smote many of his warriors. He struck out right and left at all who came in his way, slaying enemies without number, until he had no 'place to walk except upon the slain. Upon these he made his way.

4 He then came face to face with Baqidos, with sword unsheathed and steeped in blood. As soon as Baqidos beheld Judah's face, it appeared to him like that of a lion robbed of its prey, and fear and trembling seized him. Turning his back, he attempted to flee in the direction of Ashdod, but Judah pursued him, and put all his men, 15,000, to the edge of the sword.

5 Baqidos succeeded in effecting his escape to Ashdod, and his army, which was behind him, finding Judah faint and weary, fell upon him. Baqidos came out from the city, and war was waged on every side, and many more were slain, Judah being among the number, falling upon those he had slain. His brothers Simeon and Jonathan took him and buried him on Mount Moda'ith, and all Israel mourned for him many days. The number of years during which Judah, surnamed Maccabee, ministered unto Israel was six years, and the Lord caused him to prosper all the days of his life.

[End of the Book of the Maccabee.]

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EVAGRIUS' ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
A History of the Church (and the Eastern Roman Empire) from 431 to 594 AD
Author: Evagrius Scholasticus
Source: copy1524; British Library Egerton MS 2626
Translation: E. Walford, 1846
Estimated Range of Dating: 560-600 A.D.

(Evagrius Scholasticus (c. 536-594 AD) was a Syrian scholar and intellectual living in the 6th century AD. His only surviving work, Ecclesiastical History [History of the Church], comprises a six-volume collection concerning the Church's history from the First Council of Ephesus (431 AD) to the emperor Maurice's reign until Scholasticus' death. However, besides Church matters, this book is foremostly a book on general history.

At the time of his birth, something happened on the other side of the Earth that nobody could understand in his time, such as ". . . the occurrence of excessive rains about Constantinople and Bithynia, which descended like torrents for three or four days; when hills were swept down to the plains, and villages carried away by the deluge: islands also were formed in the lake Boane . . ." and ". . . a drought in Phrygia, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Cilicia: and, from want of ordinary necessaries, the inhabitants had recourse to unwholesome food, which further gave rise to pestilence. The change of food caused disease; excessive inflammation produced a swelling of the body, followed by loss of sight, and attended with a cough, and death took place on the third day. For a time no relief could be devised for the pestilence . . ." In his description of the "great pestilence" [meaning the Black Death] which continued its ravages throughout the empire for more than fifty years. Evagrius himself was infected by the outbreak yet miraculously managed to survive this disaster during his youth, and he mentions that he lost by it his first wife, besides several relatives and members of his household, and among them in particular a daughter with her child (Book 4, chapter 29). A large portion of the havoc at that time can be traced back directly to a massive volcano explosion in Indonesia at about 535 AD.

This havoc that lasted for many decades and possibly contributed to the rise of Islam. Thomas Artsruni, an Armenian historian reported 300 years later what consequences the violent doctrine of Islam then had on the Armenian people who in that account stood as example for the fate of millions of other peoples that encountered Mohammed's ruthless followers.

Evagrius's Ecclesiastical History addresses also the history of the Eastern Roman Empire from the official beginning of the Nestorian controversy at the First Council of Ephesus in 431 to the time in which he was writing, 593. Evagrius Scholasticus, Historia ecclesiastica is preserved as a 1524 copy; British Library Egerton MS 2626. The book's contents focus mainly on religious matters, describing the events surrounding notable bishops and holy men. The editio princeps was published in 1544 under the name of Robertus Stephanus (better known as Robert Estienne). John Christopherson, bishop of Chichester, made a Latin translation of the Ecclesiastical History, which was published after his death in 1570. Translations into English appeared much later: the first was by Edward Walford, which was published at London in 1846; Michael Whitby's translation was published in 2001 by Liverpool University Press as part of their "Texts in Translation Series."

Evagrius was explicitly a Christian in the Chalcedonian tradition, critiquing both Zacharias Rhetor and Zosimus for theological differences, two popular historians during his own time. He respected the former scholar for his contributions to the histories of the 5th and 6th centuries AD but chastised him for his Monophysite position. However, he was especially hostile towards Zosimus, a non-Christian historiographer.

Evagrius is much less critical of the Emperor Justinian and his wife Theodora, in comparison with Procopius, who described the two as physically manifest demons. Because of regional affiliations Evagrius depicts the emperor in a more sympathetic light, praising his moderate approach to justice and his restraint towards excessive persecution, yet still decrying his heresy and displays of wealth.

The Ecclesiastical History is considered an important and relatively authoritative account of the timeline it traces, since Evagrius draws on other scholars' material, explicitly acknowledging his sources. He meticulously organizes information taken from other written historical works in order to validate his account more effectively than other theological scholars of his time, thus diminishing confusion for future historian's interested in studying his work. However, historians acknowledge that there are serious logical errors inherent in Evagrius's surviving work, which is common for its epoch, namely the problematic chronological sequencing and skimming over of undeniably notable events such as major wars and other secular events.)

THE FIRST BOOK.

PREFACE.

DESIGN OF THE WORK.

Eusebius Pamphili—an especially able writer, to the extent, in particular, of inducing his readers to embrace our religion, though failing to perfect them in the faith—and Sozomen, Theodoret, and Socrates* have produced a most excellent record of the advent of our compassionate God, and His ascension into heaven, and of all that has been achieved in the endurance of the divine Apostles, as well as of the other martyrs; and, further, of whatever events have occurred among us, whether more or less worthy of mention, down to a certain period of the reign of Theodosius. [* The "Greek Ecclesiastical Historians of the First Six Centuries," newly translated: viz. I. Eusebius's History, to A.D. 324 ; II. Eusebius's Life of Constantine, Orations, etc. ; III. Socrates's History, A.D. 305—445; IV. Sozomen's Narrative, A.D. 324—440; V. Theodoret's History, 322—428; VI. Evagrius's History, A.D. 431—594; in six uniform volumes, each 7s. in cloth. London: Samuel Bagster and Sons.] But since events subsequent, and scarcely inferior to these, have not hitherto been made the subject of a continuous narrative, I have resolved, though but ill-qualified for such a task, to undertake the labour which the subject demands, and to embody them in a history; surely trusting in Him who enlightened fishermen, and endued a brute tongue with articulate utterance, for ability to raise up transactions already entombed in oblivion, to reanimate them by language, and immortalise them by memory: my object being, that my readers may learn the nature of each of these events, up to our time; the period, place, and manner of its occurrence, as well as those who were its objects and authors; and that no circumstance worthy of recollection, may be lost under the veil of listless indifference, or, its neighbour, forgetfulness. I shall then begin, led onwards by the divine impulse, from the point where the above-mentioned writers closed the history.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 1

Artifice By Which The Devil Attempts To Subvert The Purity Of The Faith.

Scarce had the impiety of Julian been flooded over by the blood of the martyrs, and the frenzy of Arius been bound fast in the fetters forged at Nicaea, and, moreover, Eunomius and Macedonius, by the agency of the Holy Spirit, had been swept as by a blast to the Bosphorus, and wrecked against the sacred city of Constantine; scarce had the holy church cast off her recent defilement, and was being restored to her ancient beauty, robed in a vesture inwrought with gold, and in varied array, and becoming meet for the bridegroom, when the demon enemy of good, unable to endure it, commences against us a new mode of warfare, disdaining idolatry, now laid in the dust, nor deigning to employ the servile madness of Arius. He fears to assault the faith in open war, embattled by so many holy fathers, and he had been already shorn of nearly all his power in battling against it: but he pursues his purpose with a robber's stealth, by raising certain questions and answers; his new device being to turn the course of error towards Judaism, little foreseeing the overthrow that hence would befall the miserable designer. For the faith which formerly was alone arrayed against him, this he now affects: and, no longer exulting in the thought of forcing us to abandon the whole, but of succeeding in corrupting a single term, while he wound himself with many a malignant wile, he devised the change of merely a letter, tending indeed to the same sense, but still with the intention of severing the thought and the tongue, that both might no longer with one accord offer the same confession and glorification to God. The manner and result of these transactions I will set forth, each at its proper juncture; giving at the same time a place in my narrative to other matters that may occur to me, which, though not belonging to my immediate subject, are worthy of mention, laying up the record of them wherever it shall please our compassionate God.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 2

Heresy Of Nestorius Discovered And Condemned.

Since, then, Nestorius, that God-assaulting tongue, that second conclave of Caiaphas, that workshop of blasphemy, in whose case Christ is again made a subject of bargain and sale, by having His natures divided and torn asunder—He of whom not a single bone was broken even on the cross, according to Scripture, and whose seamless vest suffered no rending at the hands of God—slaying men—since, then, he thrust aside and rejected the term, Mother of God, which had been already wrought by the Holy Spirit through the instrumentality of many chosen fathers, and substituted a spurious one of his own coining—Mother of Christ; and further filled the Church with innumerable wars, deluging it with kindred blood, I think that I shall not be at a loss for a well-judged arrangement of my history, nor miss its end, if, with the aid of Christ, who is God over all, I preface it with the impious blasphemy of Nestorius. The war of the churches took its rise from the following circumstances. A certain presbyter named Anastasius, a man of corrupt opinions, and a warm admirer of Nestorius and his Jewish sentiments, who also accompanied him when setting out from his country to take possession of his bishoprick; at which time Nestorius, having met with Theodore at Mop-suestia, was perverted by his teaching from godly doctrine, as Theodulus writes in an epistle upon this subject—this Anastasius, in discoursing to the Christ-loving people in the church of Constantinople, dared to say, without any reserve, "Let no one style Mary the Mother of God; for Mary was human, and it is impossible for God to be born of a human being." When the Christ-loving people were disgusted, and with reason regarded his discourse as blasphemous, Nestorius, the real teacher of the blasphemy, so far from restraining him and upholding the true doctrine, on the contrary, imparted to the teaching of Anastasius the impulse it acquired, by urging on the question with more than ordinary pugnacity. And further, by mingling with it notions of his own, and thus vomiting forth the venom of his soul, he endeavoured to inculcate opinions still more blasphemous, proceeding so far as thus to avouch, upon his own peril, "I could never be induced to call that God which admitted of being two months old or three months old." These circumstances rest on the distinct authority of Socrates, and the former synod at Ephesus.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 3

Letter From Cyril To Nestorius.—Council Of Ephesus.

When Cyril, the renowned bishop of the church of the Alexandrians, had communicated to Nestorius his reprobation of these transactions, and he, in rejoinder, paid no regard to what was addressed to him by Cyril, and by Celestine, bishop of the elder Rome, but was irreverently pouring forth his own vomit over the whole church, there was just occasion for the convening of the first synod of Ephesus, at the injunction of the younger Theodosius, sovereign of the Eastern empire, by the issuing of imperial letters to Cyril and the presidents of the holy churches in every quarter, naming, at the same time, as the day of meeting, the sacred Pentecost, on which the life-giving Spirit descended upon us. Nestorius, on account of the short distance of Ephesus from Constantinople, arrives early; and Cyril too, with his company, came before the appointed day; but John, the president of the church of Antioch, with his associate bishops, was behind the appointed time; not intentionally, as his defence has been thought by many to have sufficiently proved, but because he could not muster his associates with sufficient despatch, who were at a distance of what would be a twelve days' journey to an expeditious traveller from the city formerly named from Antiochus, but now the City of God, and in some cases more; and Ephesus was then just thirty days' journey from Antioch. He stoutly defended himself on the ground that the observance of what is called the New Lord's Day by his bishops in their respective sees, was an insuperable impediment to his arriving before the stated day.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 4

Deposition Of Nestorius. [431 AD.]

When fifteen days had elapsed from the prescribed period, the bishops who had assembled for this business, considering that the Orientals would not join them at all, or, at least, after a considerable delay, hold a conclave, under the presidency of the divine Cyril, occupying the post of Celestine, who, as has been before mentioned, was bishop of the elder Rome. They accordingly summon Nestorius, with an exhortation that he would defend himself against the allegations. When, however, notwithstanding a promise given on the preceding day, that he would present himself if there were occasion, he did not appear, though thrice summoned, the assembly proceeded to the investigation of the matter. Memnon, the president of the Ephesian church, recounted the days which had elapsed, fifteen in number: then were read the letters addressed to Nestorius by the divine Cyril, and his rejoinders; there being also inserted the sacred epistle of the illustrious Celestine to Nestorius himself. Theodotus, bishop of Ancyra, and Acacius, of Melitene, also detailed the blasphemous language to which Nestorius had unreservedly given utterance at Ephesus. With these were combined many statements in which holy fathers had purely set forth the true faith, having side by side with them various blasphemies which the frenzy of the impious Nestorius had vented. When all this had been done, the holy synod declared its judgement precisely in the following terms: "Since, in addition to the other matters, the most reverend Nestorius has refused to submit to our summons, or yet to admit the most holy and godly bishops who were sent by us, we have of necessity proceeded to the investigation of his impieties: and having convicted him of entertaining and avowing impious sentiments, on the evidence both of his letters and writings which have been read, and also of words uttered by him lately in this metropolitan city, and established by sufficient testimony, at length, compelled by the canons, and in accordance with the epistle of our most holy father and fellow-minister, Celestine, bishop of the church of Rome, we have, with many tears, proceeded to this sad sentence. The Lord Jesus Christ, who has been blasphemed by him, has,

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through the agency of this holy synod, decreed, that the same Nestorius is alien from the episcopal dignity, and from every sacerdotal assembly."

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 5

Deposition Of Cyril And Of John.—Their Reconciliation.

After the delivery of this most legitimate and just sentence, John, the bishop of Antioch, arrives with his associate priests, five days after the act of deposition; and having convened all his company, he deposes Cyril and Memnon. On account, however, of libels put forth by Cyril and Memnon to the synod which had been assembled in company with themselves (although Socrates, in ignorance, has given a different account), John is summoned to justify the deposition which he had pronounced; and, on his not appearing after a thrice repeated summons, Cyril and Memnon are released from their sentence, and John and his associate priests are cut off from the holy communion and all sacerdotal authority. When, however, Theodosius, notwithstanding his refusal at first to sanction the deposition of Nestorius, had subsequently, on being fully informed of his blasphemy, addressed pious letters both to Cyril and John, they are reconciled to each other, and ratify the act of deposition.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 6

Cyril's Eulogy Of A Letter From John Of Antioch.

On occasion of the arrival of Paul, bishop of Emesa, at Alexandria, and his delivery before the church of that discourse which is extant on this subject, Cyril also, after highly commending the epistle of John, wrote to him in these words: "Let the heavens rejoice and the earth be glad, for the middle wall of partition is broken down, exasperation is stilled, and all occasion for dissension utterly removed through the bestowal of peace upon his churches by Christ, the Saviour of us all; at the call, too, of our most religious and divinely favoured sovereigns, who, in excellent imitation of ancestral piety, preserve in their own souls a well-founded and unshaken maintenance of the true faith, and a singular care for the holy churches, that they may acquire an everlasting renown, and render their reign most glorious. On them the Lord of Hosts himself bestows blessings with a bountiful hand, and grants them victory over their adversaries. Victory He does bestow: for never can he lie who says, As I live, saith the Lord, those that glorify me, I glorify. On the arrival, then, of my most pious brother and fellow minister, my lord Paul, at Alexandria, I was filled with delight, and with great reason, at the mediation of such a man, and his voluntary engagement in labours beyond his strength, in order that he might subdue the malice of the devil, close our breaches, and, by the removal of the stumbling-blocks that lay between us, might crown both our churches and yours with unanimity and peace." And presently he proceeds thus: "That the dissension of the church has been altogether unnecessary and without sufficient ground, I am fully convinced, now that my lord the most pious bishop Paul has brought a paper presenting an unexceptionable confession of the faith, and has assured me that it was drawn up by your holiness and the most pious bishops of your country." And such is the writing thus drawn up, and inserted verbatim in the epistle; which, with reference to the Mother of God, speaks as follows: "When we read these your sacred words, and were conscious that our own sentiments were correspondent—for there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism—we glorified God, the Preserver of all things, with a feeling of mutual joy, that both your churches and ours maintain a faith in agreement with the divinely inspired Scriptures and the tradition of our holy fathers." Of these matters any one may be assured, who is disposed to investigate diligently the transactions of those times.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 7

Death Of Nestorius.

Historians have not detailed either the banishment of Nestorius, his subsequent fortunes, or the manner in which his life was closed, and the retribution with which he was visited for his blasphemy; matters which would have been allowed to slip into oblivion, and have been altogether swallowed up by time, so as not to be current even in hearsay, if I had not met with a book written by himself, which supplied an account of them. Nestorius, then, himself, the father of the blasphemy, who raised his structure not on the foundation already laid, but built upon the sand one which, in accordance with the Lord's parable, quickly fell to ruin, here, in addition to other matters of his choice, puts forth a defence of his own blasphemy, in reply to those who had charged him with unnecessary innovation and an unseemly demand for the convening of the synod at Ephesus. He asserts that he was driven to assume this position by absolute necessity, on account of the division of the church into two parties, one maintaining that Mary ought to be styled Mother of Man; the other, Mother of God; and he devised the title, Mother of Christ, in order, as he says, that error might not be incurred by adopting either extreme, either a term which too closely united immortal essence with humanity, or one which, while admitting one of the two natures, involved no mention of the other. He also intimates that Theodosius, from feelings of friendship, withheld his ratification of the sentence of deposition; and, afterwards, that, on occasion of the mission of several bishops of both parties from Ephesus to the emperor, and, moreover, at his own request, he was allowed to retire to his own monastery, situated without the gates of the city now called Theopolis. It is not, indeed, expressly named by Nestorius, but is said to be that which is now styled the monastery of Euprepius; which we know to be, in fact, not more than two stadia from that city. Nestorius, then, himself says, that during a residence there of four years, he received every mark of respect and distinction; and that, by a second edict of Theodosius, he is banished to the place called Oasis. But the pith of the matter he has suppressed. For in his retirement he did not cease from his peculiar blasphemy; so that John, the president of the church of Antioch, was led to report the circumstance, and Nestorius was, in consequence, condemned to perpetual banishment. He has addressed also a formal discourse to a certain Egyptian, on the subject of his banishment to Oasis, where he treats of these circumstances more fully. But the retribution with which, unable to escape the all-seeing eye, he was visited for his blasphemous imaginations, may be gathered from other writings addressed by him to the governor of the Thebaid: in which one may see how that, since he had not yet reached the full measure of his deserts, the vengeance of God visited him, in pursuance, with the most terrible of all calamities, captivity. Being, then, still deserving of greater penalties, he was liberated by the Blemmyes, into whose hands he had fallen; and, after Theodosius had decreed his return to his place of exile, wandering from place to place on the verge of the Thebaid, and severely injured by a fall, he closed his life in a manner worthy of his deeds: whose fate, like that of Arius, was a judicial declaration, what are the appointed wages of blasphemy against Christ: for both committed similar blasphemy against him; the one by calling him a creature; the other, regarding him as human. When Nestorius impugns the integrity of the acts of the council of Ephesus, and refers them to subtle designs and lawless innovation on the part of Cyril, I should be most ready thus to reply:—How came it to pass, that he was banished even by Theodosius, notwithstanding his friendly feelings towards him, and was condemned by repeated sentences of extermination, and closed this life under those unhappy circumstances? If Cyril and his associate priests were not guided by heaven in their judgment, how came it to pass that, when both parties were no longer numbered with the living, in which case a heathen sage [Thucydides. Book 2. c. 45.] has observed, "A frank and kindly meed is yielded to departed worth," the one is reprobated as a blasphemer and enemy of God, the other is lauded and proclaimed to the world as the sonorous herald and mighty champion of true doctrine? In order that I may not incur a charge of slander, let me bring Nestorius himself into court as an evidence on these points. Read me then, word for word, some passages of thy epistle, addressed to the governor of the Thebaid:—"On account of the matters which have been lately mooted at Ephesus concerning our holy religion, Oasis, further called Ibis, has been appointed as the place of my residence by an imperial decree." And presently he proceeds thus: "Inasmuch as the beforementioned place has fallen into the hands of the barbarians, and been reduced to utter desolation by fire and sword, and I, by a most unexpected act of compassion, have been liberated by them, with a menacing injunction instantly to fly from the spot, since the Mazices were upon the point of succeeding them in their occupation of it; I have, accordingly, reached the Thebaid, together with the captive survivors whom they had joined with me, by an act of pity for which I am unable to account. They, accordingly, have been allowed to disperse themselves to the places whither their individual inclinations led them, and I, proceeding to Panopolis, have shewed myself in public, for fear lest any one, making the circumstance of my seizure an occasion of criminal proceeding, should raise a charge against me, either of escaping from my place of exile, or some other imagined delinquency: for malice never wants occasion for slander. Therefore I entreat your highness to take that just view of my seizure which the laws would enjoin, and not sacrifice a prisoner of war to the malice and evil designs of men: lest there should hence arise this melancholy story with all posterity, that it is better to be made captive by barbarians, than to fly for refuge to the protection of the Roman sovereignty." He then prefers, with solemn adjuration, the following request: "I request you to lay before the emperor the circumstance, that my arrival hither from Oasis arose from my liberation by the barbarians; so that my final disposal, according to God's good pleasure, may now be determined." The second epistle, from the same to the same, contains as follows: "Whether you are disposed to regard this present letter as a friendly communication from me to your highness, or as an admonition from a father to a son, I beseech you bear with its detail, embracing, indeed, many matters, but as briefly as the case would allow. When Ibis had been devastated by a numerous body of Nomades," and so forth. "Under these circumstances, by what motive or pretext on the part of your highness I know not, I was conducted by barbarous soldiers from Panopolis to Elephantine, a place on the verge of the province of the Thebaid, being dragged thither by the aforesaid military force; and when, sorely shattered, I had accomplished the greater part of the journey, I am encountered by an unwritten order from your valour to return to Panopolis. Thus, miserably worn with the casualties of the road, with a body afflicted by disease and age, and a mangled hand and side, I arrived at Panopolis in extreme exhaustion, and further tormented with cruel pains: whence a second written injunction from your valour, speedily overtaking me, transported me to its adjacent territory. While I was supposing that this treatment would now cease, and was awaiting the determination of our glorious sovereigns respecting me, another merciless order was suddenly issued for a fourth deportation." And presently he proceeds: "But I pray you to rest satisfied with what has been done, and with having inflicted so many banishments on one individual. And I call upon you kindly to leave to our glorious sovereigns the inquisition, for which reports laid before them by your highness, and by myself too, by whom it was proper that information should be given, would furnish materials. If, however, this should excite your indignation, continue to deal with me as before, according to your pleasure; since no words ca,n prevail over your will." Thus does this man, who had not learned moderation even by his sufferings, in his writings strike and trample with fist and heel, even reviling both the supreme and provincial governments. I learn from one who wrote an account of his demise, that, when his tongue had been eaten through with worms, he departed to the greater and everlasting judgment which awaited him.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 8

Succession Of Bishops At Constantinople.

Next in succession to that malignant spirit Nestorius, Maximianus is invested with the bishopric of the city of the renowned Constantine, in whose time the church of God enjoyed perfect peace: and when he was departed from among men, Proclus holds the helm of the see, who had some time before been ordained bishop of Cyzicus. When he too had gone the way of all mankind, Flavian succeeds to the see.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 9

Heresy Of Eutyches.

In his time arose the stir about the impious Eutyches, when a partial synod was assembled at Constantinople, and a written charge was preferred by Eusebius, bishop of Dorylaeum, who, while still practising as a rhetorician, was the first to expose the blasphemy of Nestorius. Since Eutyches, when summoned, did not appear, and afterwards, even on his appearance, was convicted on certain points; for he had said, "I allow that our Lord was produced from two natures before their union, but I confess only one nature after their union;" and he even maintained that our Lord's body was not of the same substance with ourselves—on these grounds he is sentenced to deprivation: but on his presenting a petition to Theodosius, on the plea that the acts, as set forth, had been concocted in the hands of Flavian, the synod of the neighbouring region is assembled at Constantinople, and Flavian is tried by it and some of the magistrates; and when the truth of the acts had been confirmed, the second synod at Ephesus is summoned.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 10

Proceedings Of The Second Council Of Ephesus. [449 AD.]

Of this council, Dioscorus, the successor of Cyril in the see of Alexandria, was appointed president, by an intrigue, in enmity to Flavian, of Chrysaphius, who at that time swayed the imperial court. There hasten to Ephesus Juvenalis, bishop of Jerusalem, who was present at the former council, with a great number of associate priests, and with him also Domnus, the successor of John at Antioch: and besides them, Julius, a bishop, who was the representative of Leo, bishop of the elder Rome. Flavian also was present with his associate bishops, an edict having been addressed by Theodosius to Elpidius, in these precise terms. "Provided that those who had on the former occasion passed judgment on the most religious Archimandrite Eutyches, be present, but take no part in the proceedings, by abstaining from the functions of judges, and awaiting the resolution of all the most holy fathers; inasmuch as their own previous decision is now a subject of inquisition." In this council, the deposition of Eutyches is revoked by Dioscorus and his associates—as is contained in the acts—and that sentence is passed upon Flavian, and Eusebius, president of the church of Dorylaeum. At the same time, Ibas, bishop of Edessa, is excommunicated; and Daniel, bishop of Carrhae, Irenaeus of Tyre, and Aquilinus of Byblus, are deposed. Some measures were also taken on account of Sophronius, bishop of Constantina: and they depose Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, and even Domnus of Antioch. What afterwards befel the last mentioned, I am not able to discover. After these proceedings the second council of Ephesus was dissolved.

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EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 11

An Apology For Differences Of Opinion Among Christians.

And here let not any one of the deluded worshippers of idols presume to sneer, as if it were the business of succeeding councils to depose their predecessors, and to be ever devising some addition to the faith. For while we are endeavouring to trace the unutterable and unsearchable scheme of God's mercy to man, and to revere and exalt it to the utmost, our opinions are swayed in this or that direction: and with none of those who have been the authors of heresies among Christians, was blasphemy the first intention; nor did they fall from the truth in a desire to dishonour the Deity, but rather from an idea which each entertained, that he should improve upon his predecessors by upholding such and such doctrines. Besides, all parties agree in a confession which embraces the essential points; for a Trinity is the single object of our worship, and unity the complex one of our glorification, and the Word, who is God begotten before the worlds, and became flesh by a second birth in mercy to the creature: and if new opinions have been broached on other points, these also have arisen from the freedom granted to our will by our Saviour God, even on these subjects, in order that the holy catholic and apostolic church might be the more exercised in bringing opposing opinions into captivity to truth and piety, and arrive, at length, at one smooth and straight path. Accordingly the apostle says most distinctly: "There is need of heresies among you, that the approved ones may be manifested." And here also, we have occasion to admire the unutterable wisdom of God, who said to the divine Paul, "My strength is made perfect in weakness." For by the very causes by which the members of the church have been broken off, the true and pure doctrine has been more accurately established, and the catholic and apostolic church of God has attained amplification and exaltation to heaven. But those who have been nurtured in Grecian error, having no desire to extol God or his tender care of men, were continually endeavouring to shake the opinions of their predecessors, and of each other, rather devising gods upon gods, and assigning to them by express titles the tutelage of their own passions, in order that they might find an excuse for their own debaucheries by associating such deities with them. Thus, their supreme Father of Gods and men, under the form of a bird, shamelessly carried off the Phrygian boy; and as a reward of his vile service, bestowed the cup, with leave to pledge him in an amorous draught, that they might with the nectar drink in their common shame. Besides innumerable other villanies, reprobated by the meanest of mankind, and transformations into every form of brutes, himself the most brutish of all, he becomes bi-sexual, pregnant, if not in his belly yet in his thigh, that even this violation of nature might be fulfilled in his person: whence springing, the bi-sexual dithyrambic birth outraged either sex; author of drunkenness, surfeit, and mad debauch, and all their fearful consequences. To this Aegis-wearer, this Thunderer, they attach, in spite of these majestic titles, the crime of parricide, universally regarded as the extremity of guilt; inasmuch as he dethroned Saturn who unhappily had begotten him. Why need I also mention their consecration of fornication, over which they made Venus to preside, the shell-born Cyprian, who abhorred chastity as an unhallowed and monstrous thing, but delighted in fornication and all filthiness, and willed to be propitiated by them: in whose company Mars also suffers unseemly exposure, being, by the contrivance of Vulcan, made a spectacle and laughing-stock to the Gods? Justly would one ridicule their phalli and ithyphalli, and phallagogia; their Priapus, and Pan, and the Eleusinian mysteries, which in one respect deserve praise, namely, that the sun was not allowed to see them, but they were condemned to dwell with darkness. Leaving, then, the worshippers and the worshipped in their shame, let us urge our steed to the goal, and set forth, in compendious survey, the remaining transactions of the reign of Theodosius.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 12

Condemnation Op The Nestorian Doctrine By Theodosius.

Theodosius, then, issued a most pious constitution, which is included in the first book of what is termed the Code of Justinian, and is the third under the first title; in which, moved by heaven, he condemned, by all the votes, as the saying is, him to whom he had been long attached, as Nestorius himself writes, and placed him under anathema. The precise terms are as follow: "Further we ordain, that those who favour the impious creed of Nestorius, or follow his unlawful doctrine, be ejected from the holy churches, if they be bishops or clerks; and if laics, be anathematised." Other enactments were also promulgated by him relating to our religion, which shew his burning zeal.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 13

Simeon The Stylite. [440 AD.]

In these times flourished and became illustrious Simeon, of holy and famous memory, who originated the contrivance of stationing himself on the top of a column, thereby occupying a spot of scarce two cubits in circumference. Domnus was then bishop of Antioch; and he, having visited Simeon, and being struck with the singularity of his position and mode of life, was desirous of more mystic intercourse. They met accordingly, and having consecrated the immaculate body, imparted to each other the life-giving communion. This man, endeavouring to realise in the flesh the existence of the heavenly hosts, lifts himself above the concerns of earth, and, overpowering the downward tendency of man's nature, is intent upon things above: placed between earth and heaven, he holds communion with God, and unites with the angels in praising him; from earth, offering his intercessions on behalf of men, and from heaven, drawing down upon them the divine favour. An account of his miracles has been written by one of those who were eye-witnesses, and an eloquent record by Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus: though they have omitted a circumstance in particular, the memory of which I found to be still retained by the inhabitants of the holy desert, and which I learnt from them as follows. When Simeon, that angel upon earth, that citizen in the flesh of the heavenly Jerusalem, had devised this strange and hitherto unknown walk, the inhabitants of the holy desert send a person to him, charged with an injunction to render a reason of this singular habitude, namely, why, abandoning the beaten path which the saints had trodden, he is pursuing another altogether unknown to mankind; and, further, that he should come down and travel the road of the elect fathers. They, at the same time, gave orders, that, if he should manifest a perfect readiness to come down, liberty should be given him to follow out the course he had chosen, inasmuch as his compliance would be sufficient proof that under God's guidance he persevered in this his endurance: but that he should be dragged down by force, in case he should manifest repugnance, or be swayed by self-will, and refuse to be guided implicitly by the injunction. When the person, thus deputed, came and announced the command of the fathers, and Simeon, in pursuance of the injunction, immediately put one foot forward, then he declared him free to fulfil his own course, saying, 'Be stout, and play the man: the post which thou hast chosen is from God.' This circumstance, which is omitted by those who have written about him, I have thus thought worthy of record. In so great a measure had the power of divine grace taken possession of him, that, when Theodosius had issued a mandate, that the synagogues of which they had been previously deprived by the Christians, should be restored to the Jews of Antioch, he wrote to the emperor with so much freedom and vehement rebuke, as standing in awe of none but his own immediate sovereign, that Theodosius re-called his commands, and in every respect favoured the Christians, even superseding the prefect who had suggested the measure. He further proceeded to prefer a request to this effect, to the holy and aerial martyr, that he would entreat and pray for him, and impart a share of his own peculiar benediction. Simeon prolonged his endurance of this mode of life through fifty-six years, nine of which he spent in the first monastery, where he was instructed in divine knowledge, and forty-seven in the Mandra, as it is termed; namely, ten in a certain nook; on shorter columns, seven; and thirty upon one of forty cubits. After his departure, his holy body was conveyed to Antioch, during the episcopate of Martyrius, and the reign of the emperor Leo, when Ardabyrius was in command of the forces of the East, on which occasion the troops, with a concourse of their followers and others, proceeded to the Mandra, and escorted the venerable body of the blessed Simeon, lest the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities should muster and carry it off. In this manner, it was conveyed to Antioch, and attended during its progress by extraordinary prodigies. The emperor also demanded possession of the body; and the people of Antioch addressed to him a petition in deprecation of his purpose, in these terms: "Forasmuch as our city is without walls, for we have been visited in wrath by their fall, we brought hither the sacred body to be our wall and bulwark." Moved by these considerations, the emperor yielded to their prayer, and left them in possession of the venerable body. It has been preserved nearly entire to my time: and, in company with many priests, I enjoyed the sight of his sacred head, in the episcopate of the famous Gregory, when Philippicus had requested that precious relics of saints might be sent to him for the protection of the Eastern armies. And, strange as is the circumstance, the hair of his head had not perished, but is in the same state of preservation as when he was alive and sojourning with mankind. The skin of his forehead, too, was wrinkled and indurated, but is nevertheless preserved, as well as the greater part of his teeth, except such as had been violently removed by the hands of faithful men, affording by their appearance an indication of the personal appearance and years of the man of God. Beside the head lies the iron collar, to which, as the companion of its endurance, the famous body has imparted a share of its own divinely-bestowed honours; for not even in death has Simeon been deserted by the loving iron. In this manner would I have detailed every particular, thereby benefiting both myself and my readers, had not Theodoret, as I said before, already performed the task more fully.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 14

Description Of The Appearance Of A Star Near The Column Of Simeon.

Let me, however, add a record of another circumstance which I witnessed. I was desirous of visiting the precinct of this saint, distant nearly thirty stadia from Theopolis, and situated near the very summit of the mountain. The people of the country give it the title of Mandra, a name bequeathed to the spot, as I suppose, by the holy Simeon, in respect of the discipline which he there had practised. The ascent of the mountain is as much as twenty stadia. The temple is constructed in the form of a cross, adorned with colonnades on the four sides. Beside the colonnades are arranged handsome columns of polished stone, sustaining a roof of considerable elevation; while the centre is occupied by an unroofed court of the most excellent workmanship, where stands the pillar, of forty-cubits, on which the incarnate angel upon earth spent his heavenly life. Adjoining the roof of the colonnades is a balustrade, termed by some persons windows, forming a fence towards both the before-mentioned court and the colonnades. At the balustrade, on the left of the pillar, I saw, in company with all the people who were there assembled, while the rustics were performing dances round it, a very large and brilliant star, shooting along the whole balustrade, not merely once, twice, or thrice, but repeatedly; vanishing, moreover, frequently, and again suddenly appearing: and this occurs only at the commemorations of the saint. There are also persons who affirm—and there is no reason to doubt the prodigy, considering the credibility of the vouchers, and the other circumstances which I actually witnessed—that they have seen a resemblance of the saint's face flitting about here and there, with a long beard, and wearing a tiara, as was his habit. Free ingress is allowed to men, who repeatedly compass the pillar with their beasts of burden: but the most scrupulous precaution is taken, for what reason I am unable to say, that no woman should enter the sacred building: but they obtain a view of the prodigy from the threshold without, since one of the doors is opposite to the star's rays.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 15

Isidore Of Pelusium And Synesius Of Cyrene.

In the same reign Isidore was also conspicuous: "wide whose renown," according to the language of poetry; having become universally celebrated by deed and word. To such a degree did he waste his flesh by severe discipline, and feed his soul by elevating doctrine, as to pursue upon earth the life of angels, and be ever a living monument of monastic life and contemplation of God. Besides his numerous other writings, well stored with various profit, there are some addressed to the renowned Cyril; from which it appears that he flourished contemporary with the divine bishop. And now, while endeavouring to give every attraction to my work, let me also bring upon the scene Synesius of Cyrene, whose memory will add an embellishment to my narrative. This Synesius, while possessed of every other kind of learning, carried the study of philosophy, in particular, to its highest pitch; so as to gain the admiration even of those Christians whose decision upon things which fall under their observation is not guided by favouring or adverse prejudice. They, accordingly, persuade him to resolve on partaking of the saving regeneration, and to take upon himself the yoke of the priesthood, while as yet he did not admit the doctrine of the resurrection, nor was inclined to hold that tenet; anticipating, with well-aimed conjecture, that this belief would be added to his other excellencies, since divine grace is never content to leave its work unfinished. Nor were they disappointed in their expectation: for his epistles, written after his accession to the priesthood, and composed with elegance and learning, as well as his discourse addressed to Theodosius himself, and whatever is extant of his valuable writings, sufficiently show how excellent and great a man he was.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 16

Translation Of The Remains Of Ignatius.

At the same period also took place the translation of the divine Ignatius, as is recorded, with other matters, by John the rhetorician: who, having found a tomb, as he himself desired, in the bowels of the wild beasts, in the amphitheatre of Rome, had, nevertheless, through the preservation of the more solid bones, which were conveyed to Antioch, long reposed in what is called the cemetery: the good God having moved Theodosius to dignify the bearer of the name Theophorus with increased honours, and to dedicate a temple, long ago devoted to the demons, and called by the inhabitants Tychaeum, to the victorious martyr. Thus, what was formerly the shrine of Fortune, became a sanctuary and holy precinct for Ignatius, by depositing there his sacred remains, which were conveyed on a car through the city, attended by a solemn procession. From this event arose the celebration of a public festival, accompanied with rejoicings of the whole population; which has continued to our times, and received increased magnificence at the hands of the prelate Gregory. Such results were brought about by the conspiring agency of friends and foes, while God was decreeing honour to the holy memories of

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the saints. For the impious Julian, that heaven-detested power, when the Daphnaean Apollo, whose prophetic voice proceeded from the Castalian fount, could give no response to the emperor's consultation, since the holy Babylas, from his neighbouring resting-place, restrained his utterance; was goaded on to be an unwilling instrument in honouring that saint by a translation; on which occasion was also erected to him, outside the city, a spacious temple, which has remained entire to the present day: the object of the removal being that the demons might no longer be overawed in the pursuit of their own practices, the performance of which, as is said, they had previously promised to Julian. Thus were events disposed by the providence of God, in his design that both the power of those who were dignified by martyrdom should be clearly manifested, and the sacred relics of the holy martyr should be transferred to sacred ground, and be honoured with a noble precinct.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 17

Attila King Of The Huns. Earthquakes.

During those times arose the celebrated war of Attila, king of the Scythians: the history of which has been written with great care and distinguished ability by Priscus the rhetorician, who details, in a very elegant narrative, his attacks on the eastern and western parts of the empire, how many and important cities he reduced, and the series of his achievements until he was removed from the world.

It was also in the reign of Theodosius that an extraordinary earthquake occurred, which threw all former ones into the shade, and extended, so to speak, over the whole world. Such was its violence, that many of the towers in different parts of the imperial city were overthrown, and the long wall, as it is termed, of the Chersonese, was laid in ruins; the earth opened and swallowed up many villages; and innumerable other calamities happened both by land and sea. Several fountains became dry, and, on the other hand, large bodies of water were formed on the surface, where none existed before: entire trees were torn up by the roots and hurled aloft, and mountains were suddenly formed by the accumulation of masses thrown up. The sea also cast up dead fish; many islands were submerged; and, again, ships were seen stranded by the retreat of the waters. At the same time Bithynia, the Hellespont, and cither Phrygia, suffered severely. This calamity prevailed for a considerable time, though the violence with which it commenced, did not continue, but abated by degrees until it entirely ceased.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 18

Antioch Embellished By Different Governors.

In the course of the same period, Memnonius, Zoilus, and Callistus, were sent out by Theodosius to the government of Antioch, men who made our religion an object of marked honour. Memnonius also rebuilt from the foundation, in a beautiful and elaborate style, the edifice which we name Psephium, leaving an unroofed court in the centre. Zoilus built the basilica, which is situated on the south side of that of Rufinus, and which has continued to bear his name to our times, although the structure itself has undergone changes from various casualties. Callistus, too, erected a noble and striking edifice, called both in former and present times the Basilica of Callistus, in front of the seats of justice, and opposite the forum where stand the splendid buildings which are the quarters of the military commanders. Subsequently, Anatolius, having been sent out as commander of the forces of the East, erects the basilica which bears his name, and embellishes it with every variety of material. The introduction of these matters, though beside my more immediate purpose, will not offend the taste of the curious reader.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 19

Wars During The Reign Of Theodosius.

In the times of Theodosius, repeated revolts took place in Europe, during the reign of Valentinian at Rome. These were crushed by Theodosius, who sent out for that purpose large land and naval forces. He also so far quelled the insolence of the Persians, whose sovereign at that time was Isdigerdes, the father of Vararanes, or, as Socrates thinks, Vararanes himself, as to reduce them to solicit peace; which was granted, and lasted till the twelfth year of the reign of Anastasius. These transactions have been recorded by other writers, and have also been very elegantly epitomised by Eustathius of Epiphania, the Syrian, who wrote, besides, an account of the capture of Amida. In that age, too, it is said that the poets Claudian and Cyrus flourished; and that Cyrus was elevated to the seat of highest dignity among the prefects, styled by our ancestors the prefect of the palace, and was also invested with the command of the forces of the West, when the Vandals under Genseric had made themselves masters of Carthage.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 20

The Empress Eudocia.

Theodosius also espoused Eudocia, who had previously participated in the saving baptism; an Athenian by birth, and distinguished by poetic skill and beauty of person; through the offices of his sister, the princess Pulcheria. By her he had a daughter Eudoxia, whom, when she had reached a marriageable age, the emperor Valentinian afterwards espoused; for which purpose he made a voyage from the elder Rome to the city of Constantine. At a subsequent period, when Eudocia was pursuing a journey to the holy city of Christ our God, she also visits this place; and concluded an address to our people with the following verse, 'Tis from your blood I proudly trace my line: [Homilies. 2. 6. 211.] in allusion to the colonies which were sent hither from Greece. Of these, if any one is curious to know the particulars, an elaborate account has been given by Strabo, the geographer, Phlegon, and Diodorus Siculus, as well as by Arrian and Pisander the poet, and, besides, by the distinguished sophists, Ulpian, Libanius, and Julian. On this occasion, the sons of the Antiochenes honoured her with a skilfully executed statue in brass, which has been preserved even to our times. At her suggestion, Theodosius considerably enlarges the bounds of the city, by extending the circuit of the wall as far as the gate which leads to the suburb of Daphne: of which those who are disposed, may assure themselves by visible proof; for the whole wall may still be traced, since the remains afford a sufficient guidance to the eye. Some, however, say that the elder Theodosius extended the wall. He gave, besides, two hundred pounds' weight of gold for the restoration of the baths of Valens, which had been partially burnt.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 21

Visits Of Eudocia To Jerusalem. Ascetics.

From this city Eudocia proceeds on two occasions to Jerusalem; but on account of what circumstances, or with what object in the first instance, must be gathered through those writers who have treated the subject, although they do not appear to me to give true accounts. At all events, when visiting the holy city of Christ, she did many things for the honour of our Saviour God, even so far as to erect holy monasteries, and what are termed laurae. In these places the mode of life is different, but the discipline of each terminates in the same devout object. For those who live together in companies are still not under the influence of any of those things which weigh down to the earth, since they possess no gold: but why should I say gold? when no article of even dress or food is the sole property of any one among them, but the gown or vest which one is now wearing, another presently puts on, so that the clothing of all appears to belong to one, and that of one to all. A common table also is set before them, not delicately furnished with meats or any other dainties, but supplied with fare of herbs and pulse, and that only in sufficient quantity to sustain life. They maintain common supplications to God throughout the day and night, to such a degree distressing themselves, so galling themselves by their severe service, as to seem, in a manner, tombless corpses. They also frequently practice superadditions, as they are called, namely, by maintaining their fastings for two or three days; and some on the fifth day, or even later, scarcely allow themselves a portion of necessary food. On the other hand, there is a class who pursue a contrary course, and individually seclude themselves in chambers of so limited a height and width, that they can neither stand upright nor lie down at ease, confining their existence to "dens and caves of the earth," as says the apostle. Some, too, take up their dwelling with the wild beasts, and in untracked recesses of the ground; and thus offer their supplications to God. Another mode has also been devised, one which reaches to the utmost extent of resolution and endurance: for transporting themselves to a scorched wilderness, and covering only those parts which nature requires to be concealed, both men and women leave the rest of their persons exposed both to excessive frosts and scorching blasts, regardless alike of heat and cold. They, moreover, cast off the ordinary food of mankind, and feed upon the produce of the ground, whence they are termed Grazers; allowing themselves no more than is barely sufficient to sustain life. In consequence, they at length became assimilated to wild beasts, with their outward form altogether disfigured, and their mind in a state no longer fitted for intercourse with their species, whom they even shun when they see them; and, on being pursued, contrive to escape, favoured either by their swiftness of foot, or by places difficult of access. I will mention still another class, which had almost escaped recollection, though it bears away the preeminence from all others. Its numbers are very small; but still there are persons, who, when by virtue they have attained to a condition exempt from passion, return to the world. In the midst of the stir, by plainly intimating that they are indifferent to those who view them with amazement, they thus trample under foot vain-glory, the last garment, according to the wise Plato, which it is the nature of the soul to cast off. By similar means they study the art of apathy in eating, practising it even, if need be, with the petty retailers of victuals. They also constantly frequent the public baths, mostly mingling and bathing with women, since they have attained to such an ascendancy over their passions, as to possess dominion over nature, and neither by sight, touch, or even embracing of the female, to relapse into their natural condition; it being their desire to be men among men, and women among women, and to participate in both sexes. In short, by a life thus all excellent and divine, virtue exercises a sovereignty in opposition to nature, establishing her own laws, so as not to allow them to partake to satiety in any necessary. Indeed, their own rule enjoins them to hunger and thirst, and to clothe the body only so far as necessity requires: and their mode of life is balanced by opposite scales, so accurately poised, that they are unconscious of any tendency to motion, though arising from strongly antagonist forces; for opposing principles are, in their case, mingled to such a degree, by the power of divine grace combining and again severing things that are incongruous, that life and death dwell together in them, things opposed to each other in nature and in circumstances: for where passion enters, they must be dead and entombed; where prayer to God is required, they must display vigour of body and energy of spirit, though the flower of life be past. Thus with them are the two modes of life combined, so as to be constantly living with a total renunciation of the flesh, and at the same time mingling with the living; both applying remedies to their bodies, and presenting to God the cries of suppliants, and in all other respects fully maintaining a practice in accordance with their former mode of life, except as regards restriction in intercourse and place: on the contrary, they listen to all, and associate with all. They also practise a long and continuous series of kneelings and risings, their earnestness alone serving to reinvigorate their years and self-inflicted weakness; being, as it were, fleshless athletes, bloodless wrestlers, esteeming fasting as a varied and luxurious feast, and the utmost abstinence from food a completely furnished table. On the other hand, whenever a stranger visits them, even at early dawn, they welcome him with generous entertainment, devising another form of fasting in eating against their will. Hence the marvel, how far the pittance on which they subsist falls short of a sufficient allowance of food; foes of their own desires and of nature, but devoted to the wills of those around them, in order that fleshly enjoyment may be constantly expelled, and the soul, diligently selecting and maintaining whatever is most seemly and pleasing to God, may alone bear sway: happy in their mode of existence here, happier in their departure hence, on which they are ever intent, impatient to behold Him whom they desire.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 22

Buildings Erected By Eudocia. Accession Of Marcian.

After having conversed with many persons of this description, and founded, as I have already said, many such seats of contemplation, and, besides, restored the walls of Jerusalem, the consort of Theodosius also erected a very large sanctuary, conspicuous for elevation and beauty, in honour of Stephen, the first of deacons and martyrs, distant less than a stadium from Jerusalem. Here her own remains were deposited, when she had departed to the unfading life.

When Theodosius had subsequently, or, as some think, before Eudocia, departed the sovereignty which he had administered for eight and thirty years, the most excellent Marcian is invested with the empire of the Romans. The sequel of my history shall very clearly set forth the transactions of his reign over the East, while the heavenly impulse bestows its own kindly aid.

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

THE SECOND BOOK.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 1

Fortunes And Character Of Marcian. [450 AD.]

The transactions of the time of Theodosius have been embraced in the preceding book. Let me now introduce upon the scene Marcian, the renowned emperor of the Romans, and in so doing, first recount who and whence he was, and by what means he won the imperial power: and having done this, let me record the occurrences of his reign in the order of time. Marcian, as has been recorded by many other writers, and in particular by Priscus, the rhetorician, was by birth a Thracian, and the son of a military man. In his desire to follow his father's mode of life, he had set out for Philippopolis, where he could be enrolled in the legions, and on the road sees the body of a person recently slain, lying exposed upon the ground. On going up to it—for, besides the excellence of his other virtues, he was singularly compassionate—he commiserated the occurrence, and suspended his journey for some time, from a desire to discharge the due offices to the dead. Some persons, observing the circumstance, reported it to the authorities at Philippopolis, and they proceeded to apprehend Marcian, and interrogated him respecting the murder: and when, through the prevalence of conjecture and mere probability over truth and asseveration of innocence, he was upon the point of suffering the punishment of guilt, a providential interposition suddenly brings into their hands the real criminal, who, by forfeiting his own head as the penalty of the deed, procures an acquittance of the head of Marcian. After this unexpected escape, he presents himself to one of the military bodies stationed in the place, with the intention of enlistment. Struck with the singularity of his

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fortunes, and with reason concluding that he would arrive at power and preeminent distinction, they gladly admitted him, and that too without placing him, according to military rule, lowest on the roll; but they assigned to him the grade of a lately deceased soldier, named Augustus, by inscribing in the list, Marcian, called also Augustus. Thus did his name anticipate the style of our sovereigns, who assume the title of Augustus on attaining the purple. It was as if the name refused to abide on him without its appropriate rank, and, on the other hand, the rank was not ambitious of another name for the augmentation of its style: and thus arose an identity of his personal and titular appellations, since his dignity and his name found an expression in the same term. Another circumstance also occurred, which might serve as a prognostic of the imperial power being destined to Marcian. When serving under Aspar against the Vandals, he was one of many who fell into their hands on the total defeat of that general; and, on the demand of. Genseric to see the prisoners, was dragged with the rest along the plain. When the whole body was collected, Genseric sat in an upper chamber, surveying with delight the numbers that had been taken. As the time wore on, they pursued each his own inclination, for the guard had, at the order of Genseric, released them from their bonds; and while they accordingly disposed of themselves each in his several way, Marcian laid himself down upon the ground to sleep in the sun, which was shining with unusual heat for the season of the year. An eagle, however, poising his flight above him, and directly intercepting the sun as with a cloud, thus produced a shade and its consequent refreshment, to the amazement of Genseric, who, rightly presaging the future, sent for Marcian, and liberated him, having previously bound him by solemn oaths, that on attaining the imperial power he would maintain faithfully the rights of treaty towards the Vandals, and not commence hostilities against them; and Procopius records, that Marcian observed these conditions. But let us leave this digression, and return to my subject. Marcian was pious towards God, and just towards those under his rule; regarding as wealth neither treasured stores nor the revenue of imposts, but only the means of providing relief to the needy, and to the wealthy the security of their possessions. He was dreaded, not in the infliction of punishment, but only by its anticipation. On this account he received the sovereignty not as an inheritance, but as the prize of virtue, conferred by the unanimous voice both of the senate and men of all ranks, at the suggestion of Pulcheria, whom he also espoused as his partner in the imperial dignity, though she still remained a virgin to old age. These transactions took place without a previous ratification of the choice by Valentinian, the emperor of Rome, who, however, accorded his approval to the virtues of the person elected. It was further the desire of Marcian, that an undivided service should be offered up by all to God, by uniting in pious concord the tongues which the arts of impiety had confounded, and that the Deity should be honoured by one and the same doxology.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 2

Council Of Chalcedon Summoned By Marcian.

While entertaining these intentions, the emperor is addressed both by the legates of Leo, bishop of the elder Rome, who alleged that Dioscorus had, during the second council of Ephesus, refused to receive the epistle of Leo, containing a formula of the true doctrine; and also by those who had been contumeliously treated by Dioscorus, intreating that their case might be submitted to the decision of a synod. But Eusebius, who had been president of the church of Dorylaeum, was especially urgent, and affirmed that both himself and Flavian had been deposed by the intrigues of Chrysaphius, the minister of Theodosius, because, in reply to his demand of an offering in gold, Flavian had, in acknowledgment of his own appointment, sent the sacred vessels to shame him; and also that Chrysaphius made a near approach to Eutyches in erroneous doctrine. He also said, that Flavian had even been brought to a miserable end by being thrust and trampled on by Dioscorus himself. These circumstances caused the synod at Chalcedon to be assembled; for which purpose the bearers of missives were despatched, and the prelates in all quarters were summoned by pious letters. The place named was, in the first instance, Nicaea; and, accordingly, Leo, the president of Rome, on writing an epistle respecting Paschasianus, Lucentius, and others, whom he had sent as his representatives, inscribed it to the council assembled at Nicaea. It was, however, subsequently convened at Chalcedon in Bithynia. Zacharias, the rhetorician, influenced by partiality, says that Nestorius was also fetched from his place of exile: but this is disproved by the circumstance, that Nestorius was generally anathematised by the members of the synod. And Eustathius, bishop of Berytus, clearly establishes the point, when writing in the following terms to John, a bishop, and another John, a presbyter, respecting the matters agitated in the assembly. "Those who were in quest of the remains of Nestorius, again presenting themselves, clamorously demanded of the synod, why the saints are anathematised: so that the emperor indignantly ordered the guards to drive them far from the place." How then Nestorius was summoned, when he had departed from the world, I am unable to say.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 3

Description Of The Church Of St. Euphemia.

The place of meeting was the sacred precinct of Euphemia, the martyr, situated in the district of Chalcedon in Bithynia, and distant not more than two stadia from the Bosphorus. The site is a beautiful spot, of so gentle an ascent, that those who are on their way to the temple, are not aware of their immediate approach, but suddenly find themselves within the sanctuary on elevated ground; so that, extending their gaze from a commanding position, they can survey the level surface of the plain spread out beneath them, green with herbage, waving with corn, and beautified with every kind of tree; at the same time including within their range woody mountains, towering gracefully or boldly swelling, as well as parts of the sea under various aspects: here, where the winds do not reach them, the still waters, with their dark blue tint, sweetly playing with gentle ripple on the beach; there wildly surging, and sweeping back the sea-weeds and the lighter shell-fish with the recoil of its waves. Directly opposite is Constantinople: and thus the beauty of the site is enhanced by the view of so vast a city. The holy place consists of three immense buildings. One is open to the sky, including a court of great extent, and embellished on all sides with columns; and next to it another, nearly resembling it in its length, breadth, and columns, and differing from it only in being roofed. On the north side of this, facing the East, is a round building, skilfully terminated in a dome, and surrounded in the interior with columns of uniform materials and size. These support a gallery under the same roof, so contrived, that those who are disposed, may thence both supplicate the martyr and be present at the mysteries. Within the domed building, towards the Eastern part, is a splendid enclosure, where are preserved the sacred remains of the martyr in a long coffin (it is distinguished by some persons by the term "long") of silver, skilfully worked. The wonders which have at certain times been wrought by the holy martyr, are manifest to all Christians. For frequently she has appeared in a dream to the bishops of the city from time to time, and even to certain persons whose lives have been otherwise distinguished, and has bid them visit her and gather a vintage at her sanctuary. When such an occurrence has been ascertained by the sovereigns, the patriarch, and the city, they visit the temple, both those who sway the sceptre, and those who are invested with sacred and civil offices, as well as the whole multitude, desirous to partake in the mysteries. Accordingly, the president of the church of Constantinople, with his attendant priests, enters, in sight of the public, the sanctuary where the already-mentioned sacred body is deposited. There is an aperture in the left side of the coffin, secured with small doors, through which they introduce a sponge attached to an iron rod, so as to reach the sacred relics, and after turning it round, they draw it out, covered with stains and clots of blood. On witnessing this, all the people bend in worship, giving glory to God. So great has been the quantity of blood thus extracted, that both the pious sovereigns and the assembled priests, as well as the congregated people, all share in a liberal distribution, and portions are sent to those of the faithful who desire them, in every place under the sun. The clots also are permanent, neither does the appearance of the sacred blood undergo any change. These divine manifestations occur not at the recurrence of any definite period, but according as the life of the prelate or gravity of manners calls for them. Accordingly it is said, that when the governor of the church is a person reverend and remarkable for virtues, the marvel occurs with peculiar frequency; but when such is not his character, such divine operations are rarely displayed. I will, however, mention a circumstance which suffers no interruption depending on lapse of time or seasonable occasion, nor yet is vouchsafed with a distinction between the faithful and infidels, but to all indiscriminately. Whenever any person approaches the spot where is deposited the precious coffin in which are the holy relics, he is filled with an odour surpassing in sweetness every perfume with which mankind are acquainted, for it resembles neither the mingled fragrance of the meadows, nor that which is exhaled from the sweetest substances, nor is it such as any perfumer could prepare: but it is of a peculiar and surpassing kind, of itself sufficiently indicating the virtue of its source.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 4

Council Of Chalcedon. [451 AD.]

This was, then, the place of meeting of the before-mentioned synod; at which the bishops Paschasinus and Lucentius, and the presbyter Boniface, were the representatives of Leo, archpriest of the elder Rome; there being present Anatolius president of Constantinople, Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, Maximus of Antioch, and Juvenalis of Jerusalem: on whom attended both their associate priests, and those who held the places of highest rank in the most excellent senate. To the latter the representatives of Leo alleged, that Dioscorus ought not to be seated with themselves; for such, they said, were their instructions from their bishop: as also that they would withdraw from the church, if they should be unable to maintain this point. In reply to the question of the senators, what were the charges against Dioscorus, they stated, that he ought himself to render an account of his own decision, since he had unduly assumed the character of a judge. After this statement had been made, and Dioscorus, according to a resolution of the senate, had taken his seat in the centre, Eusebius demanded, in the following words, that the petition should be read which he had presented to the sovereign power: "I have been wronged by Dioscorus; the faith has been wronged: the bishop Flavian was murdered, and, together with myself, unjustly deposed by him. Give directions that my petition be read." When the matter had been discussed, the petition was allowed to be read: it was couched in the following terms. "To our Christ-loving and most religious and pious sovereigns, Flavius Valentinianus, and Flavius Marcianus, the petition of Eusebius, the very humble bishop of Dorylaeum, who now pleads on behalf of himself and the orthodox faith, and the sainted Flavian, formerly bishop of Constantinople. It is the aim of your majesty to exercise a providential care of all your subjects, and stretch forth a protecting hand to all who are suffering wrong, and to those especially who are invested with the priesthood; for by this means service is rendered to God, from whom you have received the bestowal of supremacy and power over all regions under the sun. Inasmuch, then, as the Christian faith and we have suffered many outrages at the hands of Dioscorus, the most reverent bishop of the great city of the Alexandrians, we address ourselves to your piety in pursuance of our rights. The circumstances of the case are as follow:— At the synod lately held at the metropolitan city of the Ephesians—would that it had never met, nor the world been thereby filled with mischiefs and tumult— the excellent Dioscorus, regarding neither the principle of justice nor the fear of God, sharing also in the opinions and feelings of the visionary and heretical Eutyches, though unsuspected by the multitude of being such as he afterwards shewed himself, took occasion of the charge advanced by me against his fellow in doctrine, Eutyches, and the decision given by the sainted bishop Flavian, and having gathered a disorderly rabble, and procured an overbearing influence by bribes, made havoc, as far as lay in his power, of the pious religion of the orthodox, and established the erroneous doctrine of Eutyches the monk, which had from the first been repudiated by the holy fathers. Since, then, his aggressions against the Christian faith and us are of no trifling magnitude, we beseech and supplicate your majesty to issue your commands to the same most reverent bishop Dioscorus, to defend himself against our allegations; namely, when the record of the acts which Dioscorus procured against us, shall be read before the holy synod; on the ground of which we are able to shew, that he is estranged from the orthodox faith, that he strengthened a heresy utterly impious, that he wrongfully deposed and has cruelly outraged us. And this we will do on the issuing of your divine and revered mandates to the holy and universal synod of the bishops, highly beloved of God, to the effect, that they should give a formal hearing to the matters which concern both us and the before-mentioned Dioscorus, and refer all the transactions to the decision of your piety, as shall seem fit to your immortal supremacy. If we obtain this our request, we shall ever pray for your everlasting rule, most divine sovereigns."

In the next place, at the joint request of Dioscorus and Eusebius, the acts of the second council of Ephesus were publicly read, the particulars of which, as being lengthy, and at the same time embraced by the detail of the proceedings at Chalcedon, I have subjoined to the present book of the history, that I might not seem prolix to those who are eager to be brought to the end of the transactions; thereby leaving to such as are desirous of minute acquaintance with every particular, the means of leisurely consultation and an accurate conception of the whole. By way of a cursory statement of the more important points, I mention, that Dioscorus was convicted of having suppressed the epistle of Leo, bishop of the elder Rome; and farther, of having enacted the deposition of Flavian, bishop of new Rome, in the space of a single day, and procured the subscriptions of the assembled prelates to a blank paper, represented as containing the form of the deposition. Upon these grounds, the senators decreed as follows: "Of points relating to the orthodox and catholic faith, we are agreed that a more exact inquiry should take place before a fuller assembly of the council, at its next meeting. But inasmuch as it has been shewn, from examination of the acts and decrees, and from the oral testimony of the presidents of that synod, who admit that themselves were in error, and the deposition was void, that Flavian, of pious memory, and the most reverent bishop Eusebius, were convicted of no error concerning the faith, and were wrongfully deposed, it seems to us, according to God's good pleasure, to be a just proceeding, if approved by our most divine and pious sovereign, that Dioscorus, the most reverent bishop of Alexandria; Juvenalis, the most reverent bishop of Jerusalem; Thalassius, the most reverent bishop of Caesarea, in Cappadocia; Eusebius, the most reverent bishop of Ancyra;

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Eustathius, the most reverent bishop of Berytus; and Basilius, the most reverent bishop of Seleucia, in Isauria; who exercised sway and precedency in that synod; should be subjected to the selfsame penalty, by suffering at the hands of the holy synod deprivation of their episcopal dignity, according to the canons; whatever is consequent hereupon, being submitted to the cognizance of the emperor's sacred supremacy."

On the presentation of libels against Dioscorus at the next meeting of the council, containing charges of slander and extortion, and his refusal, for certain alleged reasons, to appear, after a twice and thrice repeated summons, the representatives of Leo, bishop of the elder Rome, made the following declaration:—"The aggressions committed by Dioscorus, lately bishop of the great city Alexandria, in violation of canonical order and the constitution of the church, have been clearly proved by the investigations at the former meeting, and the proceedings of to-day. For, not to mention the mass of his offences, he did, on his own authority, uncanonically admit to communion his partisan Eutyches, after having been canonically deprived by his own bishop, namely, our sainted father and archbishop Flavian; and this before he sat in council with the other bishops at Ephesus. To them, indeed, the holy see granted pardon for the transactions of which they were not the deliberate authors, and they have hitherto continued obedient to the most holy archbishop Leo, and the body of the holy and universal synod; on which account he also admitted them into communion with him, as being his fellows in faith. Whereas Dioscorus has continued to maintain a haughty carriage, on account of those very circumstances over which he ought to have bewailed and humbled himself to the earth. Moreover, he did not even allow the epistle to be read which the blessed pope Leo had addressed to Flavian, of holy memory; and that too, notwithstanding he was repeatedly exhorted thereto by the bearers, and had promised with an oath to that effect. The result of the epistle not being read, has been to fill the most holy churches throughout the world with scandals and mischief. Notwithstanding, however, such presumption, it was our purpose to deal mercifully with him as regards his past impiety, as we had done to the other bishops, although they had not held an equal judicial authority with him. But inasmuch as he has, by his subsequent conduct, overshot his former iniquity, and has presumed to pronounce excommunication against Leo, the most holy and religious archbishop of great Rome; since, moreover, on the presentation of a paper full of grievous charges against him to the holy and great synod, he refused to appear, though once, twice, and thrice canonically summoned by the bishops, pricked no doubt by his own conscience; and since he has unlawfully given reception to those who had been duly deposed by different synods; he has thus, by variously trampling upon the laws of the church, given his own verdict against himself. Wherefore Leo, the most blessed and holy archbishop of the great and elder Rome, has, by the agency of ourselves and the present synod, in conjunction with the thrice-blessed and all honoured Peter, who is the rock and basis of the Catholic church, and the foundation of the orthodox faith, deprived him of the episcopal dignity, and severed him from every priestly function. Accordingly, this holy and great synod decrees the provisions of the canons on the aforesaid Dioscorus."

After the ratification of these measures by the synod, and the transaction of some other matters, those who had been deposed together with Dioscorus, were reinstated, at the request of the synod and the assent of the imperial government; and, after some further transactions, a definition of faith was enounced in these precise words: "Our Lord Jesus Christ, while confirming the knowledge of the faith in his disciples said, 'My peace I give to you; my peace I leave to you;' to the purpose, that no one should differ from his neighbour in the doctrines of piety, but should accord in publishing the declaration of the truth." After the reading of the holy Nicene creed, and also that of the hundred and fifty holy fathers, they subjoined as follows: "This wise and salutary symbol of divine grace is indeed sufficient for the perfect knowledge and confirmation of godliness; for, concerning the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, its teaching is plain and complete, and it sufficiently suggests the incarnation of the Lord to those who receive it faithfully. But since the enemies of the truth are endeavouring to subvert its doctrine by heresies of their own, and have given birth to certain empty speeches, some daring to pervert the mystery of the economy which the Lord bore for our sakes, and rejecting the term 'Mother of God,' in the case of the Virgin; others introducing a confusion and commixture of substance, and inconsiderately moulding into one the natures of the flesh and of the Godhead, and by such confusion producing the monstrous notion of passibility in the divine nature of the Only-begotten; for this reason the present great and universal holy synod, from a desire to preclude every device of theirs against the truth, and to maintain the hitherto unshaken declaration of doctrine, has determined primarily that the creed of the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers shall be indefeasible; and, on account of those who impugn the Holy Spirit, it ratifies the doctrine delivered subsequently concerning the substance of the Spirit by the hundred and fifty fathers, who assembled in the imperial city, and by them promulgated universally, not as though they were supplying some defect on the part of their predecessors, but were more clearly setting forth, by expressly recorded testimony, their notion respecting the Holy Spirit, in opposition to those who endeavoured to annul His prerogative. In respect to those who have dared to corrupt the mystery of the economy, and with shameless wantonness to represent Him who was born of the holy Virgin as a mere man, the, council has adopted the synodic epistles of the blessed Cyril, pastor of the church of the Alexandrians, addressed to Nestorius and the prelates of the East, in refutation of the madness of Nestorius, and for the instruction of those who with pious zeal are desirous of being impressed with a due conception of the saving symbol. To these the council has not without reason appended, in order to the confirmation of the true doctrines, the epistle of the president of the great and elder Rome, which the most blessed and holy archbishop Leo addressed to the sainted archbishop Flavian, for the overthrow of the evil design of Eutyches; as being in agreement with the confession of the mighty Peter, and forming with it a monument of concurrent testimony against the maintainers of pernicious opinions; for it boldly confronts those who endeavour to dissever the mystery of the economy into a duality of sons; it expels from the congregation of the holy rites those who presume to affirm that the Godhead of the Only-begotten is passible; and opposes those who imagine a mixture or confusion in respect of the two natures of Christ. It also ejects such as fondly fancy that the form of a servant which He assumed from our own nature, was of a heavenly or any other substance ; and it anathematises those who fable a resolution into one, at their union, of two previous natures of the Lord. Following, accordingly, the holy fathers, we confess one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and we all with one voice declare him to be at the same time perfect in Godhead, and perfect in manhood, very God, and at the same time very man, consisting of a reasonable soul and a body, being consubstantial with the Father as respects his Godhead, and at the same time con substantial with ourselves as respects his manhood; resembling us in all things, independently of sin; begotten, before the ages, of the Father, according to his Godhead, but born, in the last of the days, of Mary, the virgin and mother of God, for our sakes and for our salvation; being one and the same Jesus Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, made known in two natures without confusion, without conversion, without severance, without separation, inasmuch as the difference of the natures is in no way annulled by their union, but the peculiar essence of each nature is rather preserved, and conspires in one person and one subsistence, not as though he were parted or severed into two persons, but is one and the same Son, Only-begotten, Divine Word, Lord Jesus Christ, as the prophets declared concerning Him, and Christ himself has fully instructed us, and the symbol of the fathers has conveyed to us. Since, then, these matters have been defined by us with all accuracy and diligence, the holy and universal synod has determined that no one shall be at liberty to put forth another faith, whether in writing, or by framing, or devising, or teaching it to others. And that those who shall presume to frame, or publish, or teach another faith, or to communicate another symbol to those who are disposed to turn to the knowledge of the truth from heathenism or Judaism, or any other sect—that they, if they be bishops or clerks, shall suffer deprivation, the bishops of their episcopal, the clerks of their clerical office; and if monks or laics, shall be anathematised." After the reading of the formula, the emperor Marcian visited Chalcedon, and attended the synod, and, having delivered an harangue, again took his departure. Juvenalis also and Maximus arranged on mutual terms the matters relating to their own provinces, and Theodoret and Ibas were reinstated. Other matters were also mooted; an account of which, as I have already said, is subjoined to this history. It was also determined that the see of New Rome, while ranking second to that of Old Rome, should take precedence of all others.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 5

Tumult At Alexandria—And At Jerusalem. [451 AD.]

In addition to these transactions, Dioscorus is sentenced to reside at Gangra in Paphlagonia, and Proterius is appointed to the see of Alexandria by a general vote of the synod. On his taking possession of his see, a very great and intolerable tumult arose among the people, who were roused into a storm against conflicting opinions; for some, as is likely in such cases, desired the restoration of Dioscorus, while others resolutely upheld Proterius, so as to give rise to many irremediable mischiefs. Thus Priscus, the rhetorician, recounts, that he arrived at Alexandria from the Thebaid, and that he saw the populace advancing in a mass against the magistrates: that when the troops attempted to repress the tumult, they proceeded to assail them with stones, and put them to flight, and on their taking refuge in the old temple of Serapis, carried the place by assault, and committed them alive to the flames: that the emperor, when informed of these events, despatched two thousand newly levied troops, who made so favourable a passage, as to reach Alexandria on the sixth day; and that thence resulted still more alarming consequences, from the license of the soldiery towards the wives and daughters of the Alexandrians: that, subsequently, the people, being assembled in the hippodrome, entreated Floras, who was the military commandant, as well as the civil governor, with such urgency as to procure terms for themselves, in the distribution of provisions, of which he had deprived them, as well as the privileges of the baths and spectacles, and all others from which, on account of their turbulence, they had been debarred: that, at his suggestion, Floras presented himself to the people, and pledged himself to that effect, and by this means stopped the sedition for a time. Nor did even the wilderness in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem preserve its tranquillity, unvisited by this commotion. For there arrived in Palestine some of the monks who had been present at the council, but were disposed to harbour designs in opposition to it; and by lamenting the betrayal of the faith, exerted themselves to fan into a flame the monastic body. And when Juvenalis, after obtaining restitution to his see, had been compelled to return to the imperial city, by the violence of the party who claimed the right to supersede and anathematise in their own province, those who, as we have already mentioned, were opposed to the acts of the council of Chalcedon, assembled in the church of the Resurrection, and appointed Theodosius, who had especially caused confusion in the council, and been the first to bring a report of its proceedings, and respecting whom, at a subsequent period, the monks of Palestine alleged, in letters to Alcison, that having been convicted of malpractices in relation to his own bishop, he had been expelled from his monastery: and that at Alexandria he had impugned the conduct of Dioscorus, and, after having been severely scourged as a seditious person, had been conveyed round the city on a camel, as is usual with malefactors. To him many of the cities of Palestine made application, with a view to the ordination of bishops. Among these was Peter the Iberian; to whom was committed the episcopal helm of the city called Majumas, in the neighbourhood of Gaza. On being informed of these proceedings, Marcian, in the first place, commands Theodosius to be conveyed near his own person, and sends Juvenalis to rectify the past, with an injunction that all who had been ordained by Theodosius should be ejected. Many sad occurrences followed the arrival of Juvenalis, while either party indulged in whatever proceedings their anger suggested. Such was the device of the envious and God-hating demon in the change of a single letter, that, while in reality the one expression was completely inductive of the notion of the other, still with the generality the discrepancy between them was held to be considerable, and the ideas conveyed by them to be clearly in diametric opposition, and exclusive of each other: whereas he who confesses Christ in two natures, clearly affirms Him to be from two; inasmuch as by confessing Christ at once in Godhead and manhood, he asserts His consistence from Godhead and manhood; and, on the other hand, the position of one who affirms His origin from two natures, is completely inclusive of His existence in two, inasmuch as he who affirms Christ to be from Godhead and manhood, confesses His existence in Godhead and manhood, since there is no conversion of the flesh into Godhead, nor a transition of the Godhead into flesh, from which substances arises the ineffable union. So that in this case by the expression, "from two natures," is aptly suggested the thought of the expression, "in two," and conversely; nor can there be a severance of the terms, this being an instance where a representation of the whole is afforded, not merely by its origin from component parts, but, as a further and distinct means, by its existence in them. Yet, nevertheless, persons have so taken up the idea of the marked distinction of the terms, either from a habit of thought respecting the glory of God, or by the inclination forestalling the judgement, as to be reckless of death in any shape, rather than acknowledge the real state of the case; and hence arose the occurrences which I have described. Such then was the state of these matters.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 6

Drought, Famine, And Pestilence In Asia Minor.

About the same time there was also a drought in Phrygia, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Cilicia: and, from want of ordinary necessaries, the inhabitants had recourse to unwholesome food, which further gave rise to pestilence. The change of food caused disease; excessive inflammation produced a swelling of the body, followed by loss of sight, and attended with a cough, and death took place on the third day. For a time no relief could be devised for the pestilence; but all-preserving Providence vouchsafed to the survivors a remedy for the famine, by raining down food in the unproductive year, in the same way as what was termed manna upon the Israelites; and, during the succeeding year, by willing that the fruits of the earth should be matured spontaneously. The spread of these calamities included also Palestine and innumerable other districts, making, as it were, a circuit of the earth.

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EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 7

Death Of The Emperor Valentinian.—Rome Taken.—Successors Of Valentinian.

During the progress of these events in the East, Aetius meets with a miserable end at Old Rome, and Valentinian, the emperor of the West, is slain, together with Heraclius, by some of the guards of Aetius, at the instigation of Maximus, who afterwards assumed the sovereignty, and who conspired against them because Valentinian had violated his wife. This Maximus forces Eudoxia, the wife of Valentinian, into a marriage with himself; and she, justly regarding the transaction as an outrage and altogether monstrous, determined to set, as the saying is, all upon a cast, on account of the wrong she had suffered both in the person of her husband and the infringement of her liberty: for a woman, jealous of her chastity, is unscrupulous and implacable if she has suffered defilement, especially by one through whose means she has been deprived of her husband. Accordingly, she sends to Genseric, in Africa, and by considerable presents, as well as by holding out confident expectations of the future, induces him to make a sudden descent upon the Roman empire, with a promise of betraying every thing into his hands. This was accordingly done, and Rome captured. But Genseric, barbarian-like and fickle, did not maintain his fidelity even to her; but, after firing the city and making an indiscriminate pillage, he retired, taking with him Eudoxia and her two daughters, and returned to Africa. The elder daughter, Eudocia, he espouses to his own son, Huneric; but the younger, Placidia, he subsequently sends, together with her mother Eudoxia, with a royal escort to Constantinople, with the view of pacifying Marcian, who was exasperated both by the burning of Rome and the outrage upon the royal ladies. Placidia, in obedience to Marcian, consents to marry Olybrius, a distinguished member of the senate, who had come to Constantinople on the capture of Rome. After Maximus, Avitus was emperor of the Romans for eight months; and on his decease by starvation, Majorian for more than a year: and after he had been treacherously murdered by Ricimer, master of the Roman armies, Severus for three years.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 8

Death Of The Emperor Marcian. [457 AD.]— Murder Of Proterius, Bishop Of Alexandria. — Election Of Timothy, Surnamed Aelurus (The Cat).

During the reign of Severus at Rome, Marcian exchanges his earthly sovereignty by a removal to a happier state, having reigned only seven years, but leaving behind him a truly royal monument in the memories of mankind. On learning this event, the people of Alexandria renewed their feud against Proterius with still greater exasperation and excessive heat: for the populace in general are an inflammable material, and allow very trivial pretexts to foment the flame of commotion, and not in the least degree that of Alexandria, which presumes on its numbers, chiefly an obscure and promiscuous rabble, and vaunts forth its impulses with excessive audacity. Accordingly, it is said that every one who is so disposed may, by employing any casual circumstance as a means of excitement, inspire the city with a frenzy of sedition, and hurry the populace in whatever direction and against whomsoever he chooses. Their general humour, however, is even of a sportive kind, as Herodotus records to have been the case with Amasis. Such, then, is the character of this people; who were, however, in all other respects by no means contemptible. The people of Alexandria, accordingly, taking advantage of the prolonged absence of Dionysius, commander of the legions, in Upper .Egypt, decree the elevation to the highest priestly grade, of Timotheus, surnamed Aelurus, who had formerly followed the monastic life, but had subsequently been admitted among the presbyters of the church of Alexandria; and, conducting him to the great church, styled that of Caesar, elect him their bishop, though Proterius was still alive and discharged the functions of his office. There were present at the election, Eusebius, president of the church of Pelusium, and Peter the Iberian, bishop of the town of Majumas, according to the account given of the transaction by the writer of the life of Peter, who also says that Proterius was not killed by the populace, but by one of the soldiers. When Dionysius, on account of the urgency of these disorders, had occupied the city with the utmost dispatch, and was taking prompt measures to quench the towering conflagration of the sedition, some of the Alexandrians, at the instigation of Timotheus, according to the written report made to Leo, despatch Proterius when he appeared, by thrusting a sword through his bowels, after he had fled for refuge to the holy baptistery. Suspending the body by a cord, they displayed it to the public in the quarter called Tetrapylum, jeering and vociferating that the victim was Proterius; and, after dragging it through the whole city, committed it to the flames; not even refraining themselves from tasting his intestines, like beasts of prey, according to the account of the entire transaction contained in the petition addressed by the Egyptian bishops and the whole clergy of Alexandria to Leo, who, as has been said, was invested with the imperial power on the death of Marcian. It was couched in the following terms:—"To the pious, Christ-loving, and divinely-appointed, the victorious and triumphant Augustus Leo, the petition of all the bishops of your Egyptian diocese, and the clergy of your most dignified and holy church of Alexandria. Having been granted, by divine grace, a boon to mankind, as such you cease not to exercise, next to God, a daily providence of the common weal, Augustus, most sacred of all emperors." After some other matters, the petition proceeds: "And while undisturbed peace was prevailing among the orthodox people of our country and Alexandria, Timotheus, immediately after the holy synod at Chalcedon, being at that time a presbyter, severed himself from the Catholic church and faith, together with only four or five bishops and a few monks, of those who, as well as himself, were infected with the heretical errors of Apollinaris and his followers; on account of which opinions they were then deposed by Proterius, of divine memory, and the general synod of Egypt, and duly experienced the motion of the imperial will, in the sentence of banishment." And afterwards it proceeds: "And having watched the opportunity afforded by the departure from this world to God of the emperor Marcian, of sacred memory, assuming then in blasphemous terms a bold tone of independence, and shamelessly anathematising the holy and general synod at Chalcedon, while he drew after him a mercenary and disorderly multitude, and assailed the divine canons and ecclesiastical order, the commonwealth and the laws, he intruded himself upon the holy church of God, which at that time was possessed of a pastor and teacher in the person of our most holy father and archbishop, Proterius, duly performing the ordinary rites, and offering up to Christ, the Saviour of us all, supplications in behalf of your pious sovereignty and your Christ-loving court." And presently it proceeds: "And after the interval of only one day, while Proterius, beloved of God, was occupying, as usual, the episcopal residence, Timotheus, taking with him the two bishops who had been justly deposed, and the clergy who, as we have said, were condemned to banishment with them, as if he had received rightful ordination at the hands of the two, though not one of the orthodox bishops of the whole Egyptian diocese was present, as is customary on occasion of the ordinations of the bishop of the church of Alexandria—he possesses himself, as he presumed, of the archiepiscopal see, though manifestly guilty of an adulterous outrage on the church, as already having her rightful spouse in one who was performing the divine offices in her, and canonically occupied his proper throne." And further on: "The blessed man could do nothing else than give place to wrath, according to what is written, and take refuge in the venerable baptistery from the assault of those who were pursuing him to death, a place which especially inspires awe even into barbarians and savages, though ignorant of its dignity, and the grace which flows from it. Notwithstanding, however, those who were eager to carry into execution the design which Timotheus had from the first conceived, and who could not endure that his life should be protected by those undefiled precincts, neither reverenced the dignity of the place, nor yet the season (for it was the solemnity of the saving paschal feast), nor were awe-struck at the priestly office which mediates between God and man; but put the blameless man to death, cruelly butchering him with six others. They then drew forth his body, covered with wounds, and having dragged it in horrid procession with unfeeling mockery through almost every part of the city, ruthlessly loaded the senseless corpse with indignity, so far as to tear it limb from limb, and not even abstain from tasting, like beasts of prey, the ilesh of him whom but just before they were supposed to have as a mediator between God and man. They then committed what remained of the body to the flames, and scattered the ashes to the winds, exceeding the utmost ferocity of wild beasts. Of all these transactions Timotheus was the guilty cause, and the skilful builder of the scheme of mischief." Zacharias, however, while treating at length of these events, is of opinion that the greater part of the circumstances thus detailed actually occurred, but through the fault of Proterius, by his instigation of serious disturbances in the city, and that these outrages were committed, not by the populace, but by some of the soldiery; grounding his opinion on a letter addressed by Timotheus to Leo. In consequence, however, of these proceedings, Stilas is sent out by the emperor to chastise them.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 9

Letter From The Emperor Leo.

Leo also addresses circular letters of inquiry to the bishops throughout the empire and the most distinguished monastics, relating to the synod at Chalcedon and the ordination of Timotheus, surnamed Aelurus, accompanying them with copies of the petitions which had been presented to him on the part both of Proterius and Timotheus. The circular letters were couched in the following terms:—

A copy of the sacred epistle of the most pious emperor Leo to Anatolius, bishop of Constantinople, to the metropolitans throughout the whole world, and the other bishops.

"The emperor Caesar Leo, pious, victorious, triumphant, supreme, ever-worshipful Augustus, to the bishop Anatolius. It has ever been a subject of prayer to my piety, that all the orthodox and most holy churches, and, indeed, the cities throughout the Roman dominion, should enjoy perfect tranquillity, and that nothing should befall them to disturb their settled serenity. The events, however, which have lately happened at Alexandria, we are assured, are known to your holiness: but that you may be more fully informed respecting the entire transaction, and the cause of so much tumult and confusion, we have forwarded to your sanctity copies of the petitions which the most reverent bishops and clergy of the before-mentioned city, and of the Egyptian diocese, presented to our piety against Timotheus, at the imperial city of Constantine; and, in addition, copies of the petitions presented to our serenity, at our sacred court, by persons from Alexandria on behalf of Timotheus; so that your holiness will be able distinctly to learn what have been the proceedings of the before-mentioned Timotheus, whom the people of Alexandria and their dignitaries, senators, and ship-masters request for their bishop, and what relates to the other transactions, as intimated by the tenor of the petitions, as well as regarding the synod at Chalcedon, to which these parties by no means assent, according as the matters are set forth by the petitions appended. Your reverence will accordingly forthwith cause to assemble to you all the orthodox holy bishops who are now resident in the imperial city, as also the most reverent clergy; and, after carefully investigating and testing every circumstance, considering that Alexandria is at present disturbed, and that we are most solicitous for its settlement and tranquillity, declare your opinion respecting the before-mentioned Timotheus and the synod at Chalcedon, without any fear of man, and apart from all favour or dislike; setting before your eyes only the fear of the Almighty, inasmuch as ye know that ye shall give account of this matter to His pure Godhead. This we enjoin, in order that, being perfectly informed by your letters, we may be able to frame the fitting issue on the entire matter." The emperor wrote also in similar terms to the other bishops, and, as I have said, to the most distinguished among those who at that period were practising the endurance of the bare and immaterial mode of life. Among these was Simeon, who first conceived the station on the pillar, and of whom I have made mention in the former part of the history; as well as Baradatus and Jacob, the Syrians.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 10

Replies Of The Bishops.—And Of Simeon.

Accordingly, in the first instance, Leo, bishop of the elder Rome, both wrote in defence of the synod at Chalcedon, and declared the ordination of Timotheus to be null, as having been irregularly performed. This epistle the emperor Leo dispatches to Timotheus, president of the church of Alexandria; Diomedes, the silentiary, executing the imperial commission: and Timotheus wrote in rejoinder, excepting to the synod at Chalcedon and the epistle of Leo. Of these documents copies are preserved in the collection called the Circulars: but I have omitted them, to avoid encumbering the matter on hand with too great a number. The bishops, too, of the other cities, expressed their adherence to the determinations framed at Chalcedon, and unanimously condemned the ordination of Timotheus. Amphilochius alone, bishop of Side, wrote an epistle, loudly reprobating the ordination of Timotheus, but also rejecting the synod at Chalcedon. Zacharias the rhetorician has also treated of these transactions, and has inserted the epistle itself of Amphilochius in his work. Simeon, too, of holy memory, wrote two epistles on the occasion; namely, to the emperor Leo, and to Basilius, bishop of Antioch. The latter, as being brief, I insert in this my history, as follows: "To my lord, the most religious and holy servant of God, the archbishop Basilius, the sinful and humble Simeon wishes health in the Lord. Well may we now say, my lord: Blessed be God, who has not rejected our prayer, nor withdrawn his mercy from us sinners. For, on the receipt of the letters of your worthiness, I admired the zeal and piety of our sovereign, beloved of God, which he manifested and still manifests towards the holy fathers and their unshaken faith. And this gift is not from ourselves, as says the holy apostle, but from God, who, through your prayers, bestowed on him this readiness of mind." And presently he proceeds: "On this account, I also, though mean and worthless, the refuse of the monks, have conveyed to his majesty my judgment respecting the creed of the six hundred and thirty holy fathers assembled at Chalcedon, firmly resolving to abide by the faith then revealed by the Holy Spirit: for if, in the midst of two or three who are gathered in His name, the Saviour is present, how could it be otherwise, than that the Holy Spirit should be throughout in the midst of so many and so distinguished holy fathers?" And afterwards he proceeds: "Wherefore be stout and courageous in the cause of true piety, as was also Joshua the son of Nun, the servant of the Lord, in behalf of the children of Israel. I beg you to salute from me all the reverent clergy who are under your holiness, and the blessed and most faithful laity."

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EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 11

Punishment Of Timothy.

On these grounds Timotheus is sentenced to banishment, and Gangra is in his case also named as the place of exile. The Alexandrians then elect another Timotheus, variously surnamed Basilicus and Salofacialus. Anatolius dies, and Gennadius succeeds him in the see of the imperial city. His successor is Acacius, who had been master of the Orphan Hospital in that city.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 12

Earthquake At Antioch.

During the second year of the reign of Leo, an extraordinary shock and concussion of the earth took place at Antioch, preceded by certain excesses of the populace, which reached the extreme of frenzy, and surpassed the ferocity of beasts, forming, as it were, a prelude to such a calamity. This grievous visitation occurred in the five hundred and sixth year of the free prerogatives of the city, about the fourth hour of the night, on the fourteenth day of the month Gorpiaeus, which the Romans call September, on the eve of the Lord's day, in the eleventh cycle of the indiction; and was the sixth on record after a lapse of three hundred and forty-seven years, since the earthquake under Trajan; for that occurred when the city was in the hundred and fifty-ninth year of its independence; but this, which happened in the time of Leo, in the five hundred and sixth, according to the most diligent authorities. This earthquake threw down nearly all the houses of the New City, which was very populous, and contained not a single vacant or altogether unoccupied spot, but had been highly embellished by the rival liberality of the emperors. Of the structures composing the palace, the first and second were thrown down: the rest, however, remained standing, together with the adjoining baths, which, having been previously useless, were now rendered serviceable to the necessities of the city, arising from the damage of the others. It also levelled the porticoes in front of the palace and the adjacent Tetrapylum, as well as the towers of the Hippodrome, which flanked the entrances, and some of the porticoes adjoining them. In the Old City, the porticoes and dwellings entirely escaped the overthrow; but it shattered a small portion of the baths of Trajan, Severus, and Hadrian, and also laid in ruins some parts of the quarter of houses named Ostracine, together with the porticoes, and levelled what was called the Nymphaeum. All these circumstances have been minutely detailed by John the rhetorician. He says, that a thousand talents of gold were remitted to the city from the tributes by the emperor; and, besides, to individual citizens, the imposts of the houses destroyed: and that he also took measures for the restoration both of them and of the public buildings.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 13

Conflagration At Constantinople. [462 AD.]

A Similar, or even more terrible calamity, befell Constantinople, which took its rise from the quarter of the city bordering on the sea, and named Bosporium. The account is, that about dusk-hour, a demon of destruction in the form of a woman, or in reality a poor woman incited by a demon, for the story is told in both ways, carried a light into the market for the purpose of buying pickled victuals, and then, having set down the light, stole away. Catching some tow, it raised a great flame, and in a moment set the apartment on fire. The conflagration, thus begun, soon consumed every thing within its reach, and afterwards continuing to spread for four days, not only over the more combustible materials, but buildings of stone, notwithstanding every effort to check it, at last destroyed the whole heart of the city from north to south, a space of five stadia in width, and fourteen in length; throughout which it left no building standing, either public or private, nor pillars nor arches of stone; but the hardest substances were as completely consumed as if they had been combustible. The ruin, at its northern extremity, which is where the docks are situated, extended from the Bosporium to the old temple of Apollo; at the southern, from the harbour of Julian as far as the houses near the oratory of the church of Unanimity; and in the centre of the city, from the forum of Constantine to the Forum Tauri, as it is called: a pitiable and loathsome spectacle; for all the most conspicuous ornaments of the city, and whatever had been embellished with unrivalled magnificence, or adapted to public or private utility, had been swept together into huge heaps and impassable mounds, formed of various substances, whose former features were now so blended in one confused mass, that not even those who lived on the spot could recognise the different portions, and the place to which each had belonged.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 14

Other Public Calamities.

About the same time, when the Scythian war was gathering against the Eastern Romans, an earthquake visited Thrace, the Hellespont, Ionia, and the islands called Cyclades; so severe as to cause a universal overthrow in Cnidus and Cos. Priscus also records the occurrence of excessive rains about Constantinople and Bithynia, which descended like torrents for three or four days; when hills were swept down to the plains, and villages carried away by the deluge: islands also were formed in the lake Boane, not far from Nicomedia, by the masses of rubbish brought down by the waters. This evil, however, was subsequent to the former.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 15

Marriage Of Zeno And Ariadne.

Leo bestows his daughter Ariadne on Zeno, who from his infancy had been called Aricmesius, but on his marriage assumed the former name, derived from an individual who had attained great distinction among the Isaurians. The origin of the advancement of this Zeno, and the reason why he was preferred by Leo before all others, have been set forth by Eustathius the Syrian.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 16

Reign Of Anthemius—Of Olybrius—And Other Western Princes.

In compliance with an embassy from the Western Romans, Anthemius is sent out as emperor of Rome; to whom the late emperor Marcian had betrothed his own daughter. Basiliscus, brother to the emperor's wife Verina, is also sent out against Genseric, in command of a body of chosen troops: which transactions have been treated of with great exactness by Priscus the rhetorician; and how Leo, in repayment, as it were, for his own advancement, treacherously procures the death of Aspar, who had been the means of investing him with the sovereignty, and also of his sons, Ardaburius and Patricius; on the latter of whom he had previously bestowed the title of Caesar, in order to conciliate Aspar. After the slaughter of Anthemius, in the fifth year of his reign, Olybrius is declared emperor by Ricimer; and after him appointment is made of Glycerius. Nepos possesses himself of the supreme power for five years, by the expulsion of Glycerius, whom he appoints to the bishopric of Salona, a city of Dalmatia. He is himself driven from power by Orestes, as was subsequently Romulus, surnamed Augustulus, the son of the latter, who was the last emperor of Rome, at an interval of thirteen hundred and three years from the reign of Romulus. Odoacer next sways the affairs of the Romans, declining the imperial title, but assuming that of king.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 17

Death Of The Emperor Leo. [474 AD.]

About the same time the [child] emperor Leo (Leo II, Flavius Leo Iunior Augustus, 467-474 AD), at Constantinople, departs his sovereignty, after having swayed it for seventeen years, and appointed to the empire Leo, the infant son of his daughter Ariadne and Zeno. Zeno then assumes the purple, being aided by the favour of Verina, the wife of Leo, towards her son-in-law. On the death of the child, which shortly followed, Zeno continued in sole possession of the sovereignty. The transactions which originated with him, or were directed against him, and whatever else befell him, the sequel shall detail, with the aid of the Superior Power.

The proceedings of the synod at Chalcedon are here given in a compendious form.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 18

Epitome Of The Acts Of The Council Of Chalcedon.

Paschasinus and Lucentius, bishops, and Boniface, a presbyter, filled the place of Leo, archpriest of the elder Rome; there being present Anatolius president of the church of Constantinople, Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria, Maximus of Antioch, and Juvenalis of Jerusalem, and with them their associate bishops; on whom attended also those who held the highest rank in the most excellent senate. To the latter the representatives of Leo alleged, that Dioscorus ought not to be seated with themselves, for such were their instructions from Leo; and that if this should be allowed, they would retire from the church. In reply to the question of the senators, what were the charges against Dioscorus, they stated, that he ought himself to render an account of his own decision, since he had unduly assumed the character of a judge, without being authorised by the bishop of Rome. After this statement had been made, and Dioscorus stood in the midst, according to a decision of the senate, Eusebius, bishop of Dorylaeum, demanded, in the following words, that the petition should be read which he had presented to the sovereign power: "I have been wronged by Dioscorus; the faith has been wronged; Flavian the bishop was murdered, and together with myself unjustly deposed by him. Give directions that my petition be read." On its being so ruled, the petition was read, couched in the following terms: "The petition of Eusebius, the very humble bishop of Dorylaeum, in behalf of himself and the sainted Flavian, formerly bishop of Constantinople. It is the aim of your majesty to exercise a providential care of all your subjects, and stretch forth a protecting hand to all who are suffering wrong, and to those especially who are invested with the priesthood; for by this means service is rendered to God, from whom you have re ceived the bestowal of supremacy and power over all regions under the sun. Inasmuch, then, as the Christian faith and we have suffered many outrages at the hands of Dioscorus, the most reverent bishop of the great city of the Alexandrians, we address ourselves to your piety in pursuance of our rights. The circumstances of the case are as follow:—At the synod lately held at the metropolitan city of the Ephesians— would that it had never met, nor the world been thereby filled with mischiefs and tumult—the excellent Dioscorus, regarding neither the principle of justice nor the fear of God, sharing also in the opinions and feelings of the visionary and heretical Eutyches, though unsuspected by the multitude of being such as he afterwards shewed himself, took occasion of the charge advanced by me against his fellow in doctrine, Eutyches, and the decision given by the sainted bishop Flavian, and having gathered a disorderly rabble, and procured an overbearing influence by bribes, made havoc as far as lay in his power, of the pious religion of the orthodox, and established the erroneous doctrine of Eutyches the monk, which had from the first been repudiated by the holy fathers. Since, then, his aggressions against the Christian faith and us are of no trifling magnitude, we beseech and supplicate your majesty to issue your commands to the same most reverent bishop Dioscorus, to defend himself against our allegations; namely, when the record of the acts which Dioscorus procured against us, shall be read before the holy synod; on the ground of which we are able to shew, that he is estranged from the orthodox faith, that he strengthened a heresy utterly impious, that he wrongfully deposed and has cruelly outraged us. And this we will do on the issuing of your divine and revered mandates to the holy and universal synod of the bishops, highly beloved of God, to the effect, that they should give a formal hearing to the matters which concern both us and the before-mentioned Dioscorus, and refer all the transactions to the decision of your piety, as shall seem fit to your immortal supremacy. If we obtain this our request, we shall ever pray for your everlasting rule, most divine sovereigns."

At the joint request of Dioscorus and Eusebius, the transactions of the second synod of Ephesus were publicly read; from which it appeared that the epistle of Leo had not obtained a reading, and that, too, when mention of the subject had been twice started. Dioscorus, being called upon to state the reason of this, said expressly that he had twice proposed that it should be done; and he then required that Juvenalis, bishop of Jerusalem, and Thalassius, bishop of Caesarea, metropolis of Cappadocia Prima, should explain the circumstances, since they shared the presidency with himself. Juvenalis accordingly said, that the reading of a sacred rescript, having precedency, had, at his decision, been interposed, and that no one had subsequently mentioned the epistle. Thalassius said that he had not opposed the reading, nor had he sufficient authority to enable him singly to signify that it should proceed. The reading of the transactions was then proceeded with; and on some of the bishops excepting to certain passages as forgeries, Stephen, bishop of Ephesus, being asked which of his notaries were copyists in this place, named Julian, afterwards bishop of Lebedus, and Crispinus; but said that the notaries of Dioscorus would not allow them to act, but seized their fingers, so that they were in danger of most grievous treatment. He also affirmed, that on one and the same day he subscribed to the deposition of Flavian. To this statement, Acacius, bishop of Ariarathia, added, that they had all subscribed a blank paper by force and compulsion, being beset with innumerable evils, and surrounded by soldiers with deadly weapons.

Again, on the reading of another expression, Theodore, bishop of Claudiopolis, said that no one had uttered the words. And as the reading was thus proceeding, on the occurrence of a passage to the effect that Eutyches expressed his disapproval of those who affirmed that the flesh of our God and Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ had descended from heaven, the acts testify that Eusebius, upon this, asserted that Eutyches had discarded indeed the term "from heaven," but had not proceeded to say from whence; and that Diogenes, bishop of Cyzicus, then urged him with the demand, "Tell us from whence;" but that further than this they were not allowed to press the question. The acts then shew:—that Basil, bishop of Seleucia, in Isauria, said, "I worship our one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only Divine Word, manifested after the incarnation and union in two natures;"—that the Egyptians clamoured against this, "Let no one part the indivisible One; it is not proper to call the one Son two;" and that the Orientals exclaimed, "Anathema to him that parts! anathema to him that divides!"—that Eutyches was asked, whether he affirmed two natures in Christ; to which he replied, that he held Christ to have been from two natures before the union, but that after the union there was only one;—that Basil said, that unless he maintained two natures without severance and without confusion after the union, he maintained a confusion and commixture; but, notwithstanding, if he would add the terms "incarnate," and "invested with humanity," and should understand the incarnation and the assumption of humanity in the same sense as Cyril, he affirmed the same thing as themselves; for the Godhead derived from the Father was one thing, and humanity from His mother was another.

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On the parties being asked why they had subscribed the deposition of Flavian, the acts shew that the Orientals exclaimed, "We have all erred; we all intreat pardon." Again, as the reading proceeded, they shew that the bishops were asked why, when Eusebius wished to enter the council, they did not allow him. To this Dioscorus replied, that Elpidius presented a commonitorium, and solemnly affirmed that the emperor Theodosius had given command that Eusebius should not be admitted. The acts shew that Juvenalis also gave the same answer. Thalassius, however, said that authority in the matter did not rest with himself. These replies were disallowed by the magistrates, on the ground that such excuses were insufficient when the faith was at issue: upon which Dioscorus recriminated; "In what respect does the presence of Theodoret at this time accord with the observance of the canons?" The senators rejoined, that Theodoret had been admitted in the character of an accuser; but Dioscorus signified, that he was sitting in the position of a bishop. The senators again said, that Eusebius and Theodoret occupied the position of accusers, as Dioscorus himself that of an accused person.

The entire transactions of the second synod at Ephesus having been accordingly read, and, in like manner, the sentence against Flavian and Eusebius, as far as the place where Hilary had declared a protest, the Oriental bishops and their party exclaimed, "Anathema to Dioscorus: Christ has at this moment deposed Dioscorus. Flavian was deposed by Dioscorus. Holy Lord, do thou avenge him! Orthodox sovereign, do thou avenge him! Many be the years of Leo! Many be the years of the patriarch!" When the sequel of the document had been read, shewing that all the assembled bishops had assented to the deposition of Flavian, the most illustrious magistrates ruled as follows: "Concerning the orthodox and catholic faith, we are clearly of opinion that a more accurate investigation should be made in a more complete assemblage of the synod to-morrow. But since it appears that Flavian, of pious memory, and Eusebius, the most reverent bishop of Dorylaeum, were not in error concerning the faith, but were unjustly deposed, both from the examination of the acts and decrees, and from the present confession of those who presided in the synod, that themselves were in error, and the deposition was null; it seems to us, according to the good pleasure of God, to be just, with the approval of our most divine and pious lord, that Dioscorus, the most reverent bishop of Alexandria; Juvenalis, the most reverent bishop of Jerusalem; Thalassius, the most reverent bishop of Caesarea; Eusebius, the most reverent bishop of Ancyra; Eustathius, the most reverent bishop of Berytus; and Basil, the most reverent bishop of Seleucia, in Isauria, should be subjected to the same penalty, by being deprived, through this holy synod, in accordance; with the canons, of the episcopal dignity; with a reference of whatever is consequent, to the imperial supremacy." On this the Orientals exclaimed, "This is a just decision;" and the Illyrian bishops, "We were all in error; let us all be deemed deserving of pardon." When the Orientals had again exclaimed, "This is a just verdict: Christ has deposed the murderer: Christ has avenged the martyrs!" the senators ruled to the effect, that each of the assembled bishops should severally put forth his own formulary of faith, under the assurance that the belief of the most divine emperor was in accordance with the exposition of the three hundred fathers at Nicaea, and of the hundred and fifty at Constantinople; and with the epistles of the holy fathers, Gregory, Basil, Hilary, Athanasius, and Ambrose, as well as the two of Cyril, which were made public in the first synod at Ephesus; inasmuch as upon these grounds Leo, the most reverent bishop of the Elder Rome, had deposed Eutyches. In this manner was closed the present meeting of the council.

At the next, composed of the most holy bishops alone, Eusebius presented libels in behalf of himself and Flavian, in which he objected to Dioscorus, that he held the same opinions as Eutyches, and had deprived themselves of the priesthood. He further charged him with inserting in the transactions expressions which were not uttered in the synod, and having procured their subscription to a blank paper. He petitioned that the entire acts of the second synod at Ephesus should be annulled by vote of those who were now assembled; that themselves should retain their priesthood; and that foul tenet be anathematised.

After the reading of this document, he also required that his adversary should be present. When this had been ruled in the affirmative, Aetius, archdeacon and primicerius of the notaries, stated that he had proceeded to Dioscorus, as also to the others; but that he said he was not permitted by the persons on guard to appear. It was then decided that Dioscorus should be sought in front of the place of meeting; and, on his not being found, Anatolius, bishop of Constantinople, ruled that he ought to be summoned, and be present before the synod. This course having been adopted, the delegates, on their return, said that he had replied: "I am under restraint. Let these say whether they leave me free to proceed thither;" and to their intimation that they were deputed to himself, and not to the civil powers, his answer was stated to be: "I am ready to proceed to the holy and universal synod, but I am prevented." To this statement Himerius added, that the Assistant of the Master of the Sacred Offices had met them on their return, in company with whom the bishops had again visited Dioscorus, and that he had taken some notes of what then passed. These were then read, and set forth the precise words of Dioscorus, as follows: "Upon calm reflection, and due consideration of my interest, I thus reply. Whereas, at the former meeting of the synod, the most illustrious magistrates ruled upon many several points, and I am now summoned to a second, having for its object a modification of the preceding matters; I pray that the most illustrious magistrates who attended on the former occasion, and the sacred senate, should do so on the present also, in order that the same points may be again debated." The acts shew that Acacius then replied in the following words: "The great and holy synod, in requiring the presence of your holiness, has not in view a modification of what was transacted in the presence of the most illustrious magistrates and the sacred senate; but it has deputed us merely that you should have a place in the meeting, and that your holiness should not be wanting to it." Dioscorus replied, according to the acts, "You have just told me that Eusebius had presented libels. I pray that the matters touching myself may be again sifted in the presence of the magistrates and the senate."

Then follow other similar matters. Afterwards, persons were again sent with a commission to urge Dioscorus to appear; who, on their return, said that they had taken notes of his words. From these it appears that he said : "I have already signified to your piety, both that I am suffering from sickness, and that I demand that the most illustrious magistrates and the sacred senate should also on the present occasion attend the investigation of the matters at issue. Since, however, my sickness has increased, on this ground I am withholding my attendance." Cecropius, then, as appears from the acts, intimated to Dioscorus, that but a short time before he had made no mention of sickness, and, accordingly, he ought to satisfy the requisitions of the canons. To whom Dioscorus rejoined: "I have said once for all, that the magistrates ought to be present." Then Rufinus, bishop of Samosata, told him that the matters mooted were under canonical regulation, and that on his appearance he would be at liberty to make whatever statements he chose. To the enquiry of Dioscorus, whether Juvenalis, Thalassius, and Eustathius were present, he replied that this was nothing to the purpose. The acts shew that Dioscorus said in answer, that he prayed the Christ-loving emperor to the effect that the magistrates should be present, and also those who had acted as judges in conjunction with himself. To this the deputies rejoined, that Eusebius accused him only, and there was accordingly no occasion that all should be present. Dioscorus replied, that the others who had acted with him ought to be present, for the suit of Eusebius did not affect himself individually, but rested in fact upon a judgment in which they had all united. When the deputies still insisted upon this point, Dioscorus summarily replied: "What I have said, I have said once for all; and I have now nothing further to say."

Upon this report, Eusebius stated that his charge was against Dioscorus only, and against no other person; and he required that he should be summoned a third time. Aetius then, in continuance, informed them that certain persons from Alexandria, professing to be clerks, together with several laymen, had lately presented libels against Dioscorus, and, standing outside, were now invoking the synod. When, accordingly, in the first place Theodoras, a deacon of the holy church at Alexandria, had presented libels, and afterwards Ischyrion, a deacon, Athanasius, a presbyter, and nephew of Cyril, and also Sophronius, in which they charged Dioscorus with blasphemies, offences against the person, and violent seizures of money; a third summons was issued urging him to attend. Those who were accordingly selected for this service, on their return, reported Dioscorus to have said: "I have already sufficiently informed your piety on this point, and cannot add any thing further." Since Dioscorus had persisted in the same reply, while the delegates continued to press him, the bishop Paschasinus said: "At length, after being summoned a third time, Dioscorus has not appeared:" and he then asked what treatment he deserved. To this, when the bishops had replied that he had rendered himself obnoxious to the canons, and Proterius, bishop of Smyrna, had observed, that when Flavian had been murdered, no suitable measures had been taken with respect to him; the representatives of Leo, bishop of the elder Rome, made a declaration as follows: ——"The aggressions committed by Dioscorus, lately bishop of the great city Alexandria, in violation of canonical order and the constitution of the church, have been clearly proved by the investigations at the former meeting, and the proceedings of to-day. For, not to mention the mass of his offences, he did, on his own authority, uncanonically admit to communion his partisan Eutyches, after having been canonically deprived by his own bishop, namely, our sainted father and archbishop Flavian; and this before he sat in council with the other bishops at Ephesus. To them, indeed, the holy see granted pardon for the transactions of which they were not the deliberate authors, and they have hitherto continued obedient to the most holy archbishop Leo, and the body of the holy and universal synod; on which account he also admitted them into communion with him, as being his fellows in faith. Whereas Dioscorus has continued to maintain a haughty carriage, on account of those very circumstances over which he ought to have bewailed, and humbled himself to the earth. Moreover, he did not even allow the epistle to be read which the blessed pope Leo had addressed to Flavian, of holy memory; and that too, notwithstanding he was repeatedly exhorted thereto by the bearers, and had promised with an oath to that effect. The result of the epistle not being rend, has been to fill the most holy churches throughout the world with scandals and mischief. Notwithstanding, however, such presumption, it was our purpose to deal mercifully with him as regards his past impiety, as we had done with the other bishops, although they had not held an equal judicial authority with him. But inasmuch as he has, by his subsequent conduct, overshot his former iniquity, and has presumed to pronounce excommunication against Leo, the most holy and religious archbishop of great Rome; since, moreover, on the presentation of a paper full of grievous charges against him to the holy and great synod, he refused to appear, though once, twice, and thrice canonically summoned by the bishops, pricked no doubt by his own conscience; and since he has unlawfully given reception to those who had been duly deposed by different synods; he has thus, by variously trampling upon the laws of the church, given his own verdict against himself. Wherefore Leo, the most blessed and holy archbishop of the great and elder Rome, has, by the agency of ourselves and the present synod, in conjunction with the thrice-blessed and all honoured Peter, who is the rock and basis of the Catholic church, and the foundation of the orthodox faith, deprived him of the episcopal dignity, and severed him from every priestly function. Accordingly, this holy and great synod decrees the provisions of the canons on the aforesaid Dioscorus."

After the ratification of this proceeding by Anatolius and Maximus, and by the other bishops, with the exception of those who had been deposed together with Dioscorus by the senate, a relation of the matter was addressed to Marcian by the synod, and the instrument of deposition was transmitted to Dioscorus, to the following effect: "On account of contempt of the sacred canons, and thy contumacy regarding this holy and universal synod, inasmuch as, in addition to the other offences of which thou hast been convicted, thou didst not appear, even when summoned the third time by this great and holy synod, according to the sacred canons, in order to reply to the charges made against thee; know then that thou hast been deposed from thy bishoprick, on the thirteenth day of this present month, October, by the holy and universal synod, and deprived of all ecclesiastical rank." After a letter had been written to the bishops of the most holy church at Alexandria on this subject, and an edict had been framed against Dioscorus, the proceedings of this meeting were closed.

After the business of the preceding meeting had terminated in this manner, the members of the synod, again assembling, replied to the inquiry of the magistrates, who desired to be informed respecting the orthodox doctrine, that there was no need that any further formulary should be framed, now that the matter relating to Eutyches had been brought to a close, and had received a conclusive determination at the hands of the Roman bishop, with the further accordance of all parties. After the bishops had with one voice exclaimed, that they all held the same language, and the magistrates had ruled that each patriarch, selecting one or two persons of his own diocese, should come forward into the midst of the council in order to a declaration of their several opinions; Florentius, bishop of Sardis, prayed a respite, so that they might approach the truth with due deliberation : and Cecropius, bishop of Sebastopolis, spoke as follows. "The faith has been well set forth by the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers, and has been confirmed by the holy fathers, Athanasius, Cyril, Celestine, Hilary, Basil, Gregory, and again, on the present occasion, by the most holy Leo. We accordingly require that the words both of the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers and of the most holy Leo be now read." At the conclusion of the reading the whole synod exclaimed, "This is the faith of the orthodox; thus we all believe; thus does the Pope Leo believe; thus did Cyril believe; thus has the Pope expounded."

Another interlocution was then issued, that the form set forth by the hundred and fifty fathers should also be read: which was accordingly done; and the members of the synod exclaimed, "This is the faith of all; this is the faith of the orthodox; thus do we all believe!"

Then Aetius, the archdeacon, said that he held in his hand the epistle of the divine Cyril to Nestorius, which all who were assembled at Ephesus had ratified by their individual subscriptions; as also another epistle of the same Cyril addressed to John of Antioch, which had itself also been confirmed. These he earnestly prayed might be read. Agreeably with an interlocution on the point, both were then read; a portion of the former being precisely as follows. "Cyril to our most reverent fellow minister Nestorius. Certain

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persons, as I am informed, treat my rebuke with levity in the presence of your holiness, and that, too, repeatedly, taking especial occasion for that purpose of the meetings of the authorities; perhaps also with the idea of gratifying your own ears." Afterwards it proceeds. "The declaration, then, of the holy and great synod was this: that the only begotten Son, begotten naturally of God the Father, very God of very God, light of light, by whose agency the Father made all things, descended, was incarnate, assumed humanity, suffered, rose again on the third day, ascended into heaven. This declaration we, too, ought to follow, carefully considering what is signified by the expression, that the Divine Word was incarnate and assumed humanity. For we do not affirm that the nature of the Word by undergoing a change became flesh, nor yet was even converted into a complete human being, consisting of soul and body ; but this we rather maintain, that the Word, by uniting personally with himself flesh, animated by a rational soul, became man in an ineffable and incomprehensible manner, and bore the title of the Son of Man, not in respect of mere will or pleasure, nor even, as it were, in an assumption of person merely; and, further, that the natures which conspired to the true unity, were different, but from both is one Christ and Son; not as though the difference of the natures had been done away for the sake of the union, but they had rather consummated for us the one Lord and Christ and Son, from both the Godhead and the manhood, by their ineffable and mysterious coalition for unity." And presently the epistle proceeds. "But since, for our sakes and for our salvation, having personally united humanity with himself, he came forth from a woman; in this respect he is said also to have been born carnally. For he was not born in the first instance an ordinary man of the holy Virgin, and then the Word descended upon him : but the Word, having been united from the very womb, is said to have undergone a carnal nativity, as it were, by an assumption of the nativity of his own flesh. In this manner we say that He suffered and rose again; not as though the Word of God had endured, as regards his own nature, stripes or piercings of nails, or the other wounds, for the Deity is impassible, as being incorporeal. Since, however, his own body underwent these circumstances, Himself is said, on the other hand, to have suffered them on our behalf, inasmuch as the impassible being was in the suffering body."

The greater part of the other epistle has been inserted in the preceding portion of this history. It contains, however, a passage to the following effect, which John, bishop of Antioch wrote, and Cyril entirely approved. "We confess the holy Virgin to be the Mother of God, because from her the Divine Word was incarnate and assumed humanity, and from the very conception united with himself the temple which was derived from her. With respect, however, to the evangelical and apostolical language concerning our Lord, we know that the expressions of the divinely inspired men are sometimes comprehensive, as in respect of a single person; sometimes distinctive, as in respect of two natures; and that they deliver such as are of divine import, in reference to the Godhead of Christ, and those which are humble, in reference to His manhood." Cyril then subjoins the following words:—"On reading these your sacred expressions, we find that we ourselves hold the same opinion: for there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism. We accordingly glorify God, the Saviour of all, rejoicing mutually, because both our churches and yours hold a faith which is in accordance with the inspired scriptures, and the tradition of our holy fathers."

After the reading of these epistles, the members of the synod exclaimed in these words: "Thus do we all believe; thus does the Pope Leo believe. Anathema to him that divides and to him that confounds! This is the faith of Leo the archbishop. Thus does Leo believe. Thus do Leo and Anatolius believe. Thus do we all believe. As Cyril believed, so do we. Eternal be the memory of Cyril! Agreeably with the epistles of Cyril do we also think. Thus did we believe; thus do we now believe. Leo the archbishop thus thinks, thus believes, thus has written."

An interlocution having been given to that effect, the epistle of Leo was also read, in a translation, and is inserted in the acts; the bishops at its conclusion exclaiming, "This is the faith of the fathers: this is the faith of the Apostles. Thus do we all believe: thus do the orthodox believe. Anathema to him who does not thus believe! Peter has uttered these words through Leo. Thus have the Apostles taught. Leo has taught truly and piously: thus has Cyril taught. The teaching of Leo and Cyril is the same. Anathema to him who does not thus believe! This is the true faith. Thus do the orthodox think. This is the faith of the fathers. Why was not this read at Ephesus? This did Dioscorus withhold."

It is contained in the acts that, when the bishops of Illyria and Palestine had expressed some hesitation, after the following passage of the epistle had been read: "In order to the discharge of the debt of our natural state, the divine nature was united to the passible, that one and the same person, the man Christ Jesus, being the mediator between God and man, might be enabled from the one part to die, but incapable of decease from the other, such being the process adapted to our cure;"—that upon this Aetius, archdeacon of the most holy church of Constantinople, produced a passage from Cyril to the following purport: "Since, however, His own body by the grace of God, as says the Apostle Paul, tasted death for every man, Himself is said to have suffered the death on our behalf; not that he experienced death to the extent of his own nature, for it would be madness to say or think this, but because, as I said before, his flesh tasted death." Again, when the bishops of Illyria and Palestine had expressed their hesitation at the following passage of the epistle of Leo:—"For there operates in each form its peculiar property, in union with what belongs to the other; the Word working that which pertains to the Word, and the body discharging that which pertains to the body; and the one shines forth by the miracles, the other was subjected to the insults;" upon this the said Aetius read a passage of Cyril as follows:—"The rest of the expressions are especially appropriate to deity; others, again, are equally suited to manhood; and some hold, as it were, an intermediate place, presenting the Son of God as being God and man at the same time." Afterwards, when the same bishops hesitated at another part of the epistle of Leo, which is as follows:—"Although in our Lord Jesus Christ there is altogether one person, of God and man, yet the one part from which was derived to the other a community of ignominy, is distinct from that from which proceeded a community of glory; for from us was derived the manhood, which is inferior to the Father, and from the Father the Godhead, which partakes equality with the Father;" Theodoret said, to adjust the point, that the blessed Cyril had also expressed himself thus:—"That He both became man, and at the same time did not lay aside His proper nature; for the latter continued as before, though dwelling in what was different from it; namely, the divine nature in conjunction with humanity." Afterwards, when the illustrious magistrates asked whether any one still hesitated, all replied that they no longer entertained any doubt.

Atticus, bishop of Nicopolis, then begged a respite of a few days, in order that a formulary might be framed of the matters which were approved by God and the holy fathers. He also prayed that they might have the epistle which was addressed by Cyril to Nestorius, in which he exhorts him to assent to his twelve chapters. All expressed their concurrence in these requests; and when the magistrates had ruled that a respite of five days should be allowed, in order to their assembling with Anatolius, president of Constantinople, all the bishops signified their approval, saying, "Thus do we believe, thus do we all believe. Not one of us hesitates. We have all subscribed." Upon this it was ruled as follows:—"There is no necessity that you should all assemble; since, however, it is reasonable that the minds of those who have hesitated should be confirmed, let the most reverent bishop Anatolius select from among the subscribers whomsoever he may deem proper for the information of those who have doubted." Upon this the members of the synod proceeded to exclaim, "We intreat for the fathers. The fathers to the synod. Those who accord with Leo to the synod. Our words to the emperor. Our prayers to the orthodox sovereign. Our prayers to Augusta. We have all erred. Let indulgence be granted to all." Upon this, those who belonged to the church of Constantinople cried out, "But few are exclaiming. The synod is not speaking." Then the Orientals shouted, "The Egyptian to exile!" And the Illyrians, "We entreat compassion upon all;" and again the Orientals, "The Egyptian to exile!" While the Illyrians persisted in their prayer, the Constantinopolitan clergy shouted, "Dioscorus to exile! The Egyptian to exile! The heretic to exile!" and again the Illyrians and their party, "We have all erred. Grant indulgence to all. Dioscorus to the synod! Dioscorus to the churches!" After further proceedings of the same kind, the business of this meeting was brought to a close.

At the next meeting, when the senators had ruled that the forms which had been already enacted should be read, Constantine, the secretary, read from a paper, as follows: "Concerning the orthodox and catholic faith, we are agreed that a more exact inquiry should take place before a fuller assembly of the council, at its next meeting. But inasmuch as it has been shewn, from examination of the acts and decrees, and from the oral testimony of the presidents of that synod, who admit that themselves were in error, and the deposition was void, that Flavian, of pious memory, and the most reverent bishop Eusebius, were convicted of no error concerning the faith, and were wrongfully deposed, it seems to us, according to God's good pleasure, to be a just proceeding, if approved by our most divine and pious sovereign, that Dioscorus, the most reverent bishop of Alexandria; Juvenalis, the most reverent bishop of Jerusalem; Thalassius, the most reverent bishop of Caesarea, in Cappadocia; Eusebius, the most reverent bishop of Ancyra; Eustathius, the most reverent bishop of Berytus; and Basilius, the most reverent bishop of Seleucia, in Isauria; who exercised sway and precedency in that synod; should be subjected to the selfsame penalty, by suffering at the hands of the holy synod deprivation of their episcopal dignity, according to the canons; whatever is consequent hereupon, being submitted to the cognizance of the emperor's sacred supremacy."

After several other readings, the assembled bishops, being asked whether the letters of Leo accorded with the faith of the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers who met at Nicaea, and that of the hundred and fifty in the imperial city, Anatolius, president of Constantinople, and all who were present, replied, that the epistle of Leo accorded with the before-mentioned fathers; and he further subscribed the epistle. At this stage of the proceedings the members of the synod exclaimed: "We all concur: we all approve: we all believe alike: we all hold the same sentiments: thus do we all believe. The fathers to the synod! the subscribers to the synod ! Many be the years of the emperor! Many be the years of Augusta! The fathers to the synod: those who agree with us in faith, to the synod! Many be the years of the emperor! Those who agree with us in opinion, to the synod! Many be the years of the emperor! We have all subscribed. As Leo thinks, so do we." An interlocution was then pronounced to the following effect. "We have referred these matters to our most sacred and pious lord, and are now waiting the answer of his piety. But your reverence will give account to God concerning Dioscorus, who has been deposed by you without the knowledge of our most sacred sovereign and ourselves, and concerning the five for whom you are now making entreaty, and concerning all the acts of the synod." They then expressed their approval, saying, "God has deposed Dioscorus; Dioscorus has been justly deposed. Christ has deposed Dioscorus." Afterwards, on the presentation of a response from Marcian, leaving the case of those who had been deposed to the decision of the bishops, as the interlocution of the magistrates had set forth; they made entreaty in the following words. "We pray that they may be admitted:—our fellows in doctrine, to the synod: our fellows in opinion, to the synod: the subscribers to the epistle of Leo, to the synod." They were accordingly, by an interlocution to that effect, numbered with the members of the synod.

Then were read the petitions presented from the Egyptian diocese to the emperor Marcian; which, in addition to other matters, contain the following. "We agree in opinion with what the three hundred and eighteen fathers at Nicaea, and the blessed Athanasius, and the sainted Cyril have set forth anathematising every heresy, both those of Arius, of Eunomius, of Manes, of Nestorius, and that of those who say, that the flesh of our Lord was derived from heaven and not from the holy Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary, in like manner with ourselves, with the exception of sin." Upon this, the whole synod exclaimed: "Why have they not anathematised the doctrine of Eutyches? Let them subscribe the epistle of Leo, anathematising Eutyches and his doctrines. Let them concur with the epistle of Leo. They intend to jeer us, and be gone." In reply, the bishops from Egypt stated, that the Egyptian bishops were numerous, and that they themselves could not assume to represent those who were absent: and they prayed the synod to await their archbishop, that they might be guided by his judgement, as usage required: for if they should do any thing before the appointment of their head, the whole diocese would assail them. After many intreaties on this subject, which were stoutly resisted by the synod, it was ruled, that a respite should be granted to the bishops from Egypt, until their archbishop should be ordained.

Then petitions were presented from certain monks; the purport of which was, that they should not be compelled to subscribe certain papers, before the synod which the emperor hud summoned should have assembled, and its determinations be made known. After these had been read, Diogenes, bishop of Cyzicus, stated that Barsumas, one of the persons present, had been the murderer of Flavian, for he had exclaimed "Slay him!" and, though not a party to the petition, had improperly obtained admission. Upon this all the bishops exclaimed: "Barsumas has desolated all Syria; he has let loose upon us a thousand monks." After an interlocution, to the effect that the assembled monks should await the determination of the synod, they demanded that the libels which they had drawn up, should be read; one requisition therein contained being, that Dioscorus and the bishops of his party should be present in the synod. In reply to which all the bishops exclaimed: "Anathema to Dioscorus. Christ has deposed Dioscorus! Cast out such persons. Away with outrage ; away with violence from the synod! Our words to the emperor! Away with outrage; away with infamy from the synod!" After a repetition of these exclamations, it was ruled that the remainder of the libels should be read: wherein it was affirmed, that the deposition of Dioscorus was improper; that, when a matter of faith was before the council, he ought to share in its deliberations, and that, if this were not granted, they would shake their garments from the communion of the assembled bishops. In reference to these expressions, Aetius, the archdeacon, read a canon against those who separate themselves. Again, when, at the questions of the most holy bishops, the monks manifested disagreement, and afterwards at an interrogation put by Aetius in the name of the synod, some anathematised Nestorius and Eutyches, while others

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declined; it was ruled by the magistrates, that the petitions of Faustus and the other monks should be read: which prayed the emperor no longer to sanction the monks who had lately opposed the orthodox doctrines. Whereupon Dorotheus, a monk, termed Eutyches orthodox : in reply to whom various doctrinal points were started by the magistrates.

At the fifth meeting, the magistrates ruled that the determinations relating to the faith should be published; and Asclepiades, a deacon of Constantinople, read a formulary, which it was resolved should not be inserted in the acts. Some dissented from it, but the majority approved it: and on the utterance of counter exclamations, the magistrates said, that Dioscorus affirmed that he had deposed Flavian on his asserting two natures, whereas the formulary contained the expression "from two natures." To this Anatolius replied, that Dioscorus had not been deposed on a point of faith, but because he had excommunicated Leo, and, after having been thrice summoned, did not appear. The magistrates then required that the substance of the epistle of Leo should be inserted in the formulary; but since the bishops objected, and maintained that no other formulary could be framed, inasmuch as a complete one already existed, a relation was made to the emperor; who commanded that six of the Oriental bishops, three from Pontus, three from Asia, three from Thrace, and three from Illyria, should, together with Anatolius and the vicars of Rome, assemble in the sanctuary of the martyr, and rightly frame the rule of faith, or put forth each his several declaration of faith; or be assured that the synod must be held in the West. On this, being required to state whether they followed Dioscorus when affirming that Christ was from two natures ; or Leo, that there were two natures in Christ; they exclaimed that they agreed with Leo, and that those who contradicted, were Eutychians. The magistrates then said, that, in accordance with the language of Leo, a clause should be added, to the effect that there were two natures united in Christ, without change, or severance, or confusion ; and they entered the sanctuary of the holy martyr Euphemia, in company with Anatolius and the vicars of Leo, as well as Maximus of Antioch, Juvenalis of Jerusalem, Thalassius of Caesarea in Cappadocia, and others; and on their return, the formulary of faith was read, as follows. "Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ," and so forth, as it has been inserted in a previous part of the history. When all had exclaimed, "This is the faith of the fathers: let the metropolitans at once subscribe! This is the faith of the Apostles: by this are we all guided: thus do we all think!" the magistrates ruled, that the formulary, thus framed by the fathers and approved by all, should be referred to the imperial supremacy.

At the sixth meeting Marcian was present, and harangued the bishops on the subject of unanimity. At the command of the emperor, the formulary was read by Aetius, archdeacon of Constantinople, and all subscribed it. The emperor then asked, whether the formulary had been composed with the approbation of all: upon which all declared their confirmation of it by expressions of approval. Again the emperor twice addressed them, and all applauded. At the emperor's suggestion certain canons were enacted, and metropolitan rank was conferred upon Chalcedon. The emperor further commanded the bishops to remain three or four days; that each one should move the synod on whatever matters he might choose, in the presence of the magistrates; and such as were judged proper, should take effect. The meeting was then closed.

Another was held, at which canons were enacted; and at the next, Juvenalis and Maximus came to an agreement that Antioch should have for its province the two Phoenicias and Arabia; and Jerusalem, the three Palestines; which was ratified by an interlocution of the magistrates and bishops.

At the ninth meeting, the case of Theodoret was mooted. He anathematised Nestorius, saying, "Anathema to Nestorius, and to him who does not affirm the holy Virgin Mary to be Mother of God, and to him who divides into two Sons the one Son, the only begotten! I have also subscribed the formulary of faith and the epistle of Leo." Upon this he was restored to his see, by an interlocution of all parties.

At another meeting, the case of Ibas was discussed; and the judgment was read which had been passed upon him by Photius, bishop of Tyre, and Eustathius of Berytus; but the vote was deferred to the next meeting.

At the eleventh meeting, when the majority of the bishops had voted that Ibas should be restored to his episcopal rank, others, in rejoinder, said that his accusers were waiting outside, and required that they should be admitted. The proceedings in his case were then read ; but when the magistrates ruled, that the transactions at Ephesus respecting Ibas should also be read, the bishops replied, that all the proceedings in the second synod at Ephesus were null, with the exception of the ordination of Maximus of Antioch. On this point, they further requested the emperor to decree that nothing should be valid which had been transacted at Ephesus subsequently to the first synod, over which the sainted Cyril, president of Alexandria, had presided. It was judged right that Ibas should retain his bishopric.

At the next meeting, the case of Bassianus was inquired into, and it was judged fit that he should be removed and Stephen substituted: which measures were formally voted at the following meeting. At the thirteenth, the case was investigated of Eunomius of Nicomedia and Anastasius of Nicaea, who had a dispute about their respective cities. A fourteenth was also held, at which the case of Sabinianus was investigated. Finally, it was decided that the see of Constantinople should rank next after that of Rome.

THE END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

THE THIRD BOOK.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 1

Character Of The Emperor Zeno.

Zeno, on becoming, by the death of his son, sole emperor, as if entertaining an idea that his power was incomplete without an unrestrained pursuit of every pleasure that presented itself, so far abandoned himself from the first to the solicitations of desire, as to hesitate at nothing of ail that is unseemly and illicit; but so thorough was his habitude in such things, that he esteemed it grovelling to practise them in concealment and privacy; but to do it openly, and as it were, in a conspicuous spot, truly royal and suited to none but an emperor: a notion base and servile; for the emperor is known, not by the circumstances of ordinary sway over others, but by those wherein he rules and sways himself, in guarding against the admission in his own person of whatever is indecorous; and being thus unconquered by loose indulgence, so as to be a living image of virtue for imitation and the instruction of his subjects. But he who lays himself open to the pleasures of sense, is unwittingly becoming a base slave, an unransomed captive, continually passing, like worthless slaves, from the hands of one master to another; inasmuch as pleasures are an unnumbered train of mistresses, linked in endless succession; while the present enjoyment, so far from being lasting, is only the kindler and prelude to another, until a man either banishes the rabble rule of pleasures, becoming thus a sovereign instead of a victim of tyranny; or, continuing a slave to the last, receives the portion of the infernal world.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 2

Incursions Of The Barbarians.

In such a manner, then, had Zeno, from the commencement of his reign, depraved his course of life: while, however, his subjects, both in the East and the West, were greatly distressed; in the one quarter, by the general devastations of the Scenite [Semite] barbarians; and in Thrace, by the inroads of the Huns, formerly known by the name of Massagetae, who crossed the Ister without opposition: while Zeno himself, in barbarian fashion, was making violent seizure on whatever escaped them.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 3

Insurrection Of Basiliscus. Flight Of [Emperor Flavius] Zeno. 1. [475 AD.]

But on the insurrection of Basiliscus, the brother of Verina---for the disposition of his nearest connexions was hostile, from the universal disgust at his most disgraceful life----he was utterly wanting in courage : for vice is craven and desponding, sufficiently indicating its unmanly spirit by submission to pleasures. Zeno fled with precipitation, and surrendered so great a sovereignty to Basiliscus without a struggle. He was also blockaded in his native district, Isauria, having with him his wife Ariadne, who had subsequently fled from her mother, and those parties who still continued loyal to him. Basiliscus, having thus acquired the Roman diadem, and bestowed on his son Marcus the title of Caesar, adopted measures opposed to those of Zeno and his predecessors.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 4

Circular Of Basiliscus.

At the instigation of an embassy of certain Alexandrians, Basiliscus summons Timotheus Aelurus from his exile, in the eighteenth year of his banishment; at which time Acacius held the episcopate of Constantinople. On his arrival at the imperial city, Timotheus persuades Basiliscus to address circular letters to the bishops in every quarter, and to anathematise the transactions at Chalcedon and the tome of Leo. They were to this effect.

The Circular Letter Of Basiliscus.

"The emperor Caesar Basiliscus, pious, victorious, triumphant, supreme, ever-worshipful Augustus, and Marcus, the most illustrious Caesar, to Timotheus, archbishop of the great city of the Alexandrians, most reverent and beloved of God. It has ever been our pleasure, that whatever laws have been decreed in behalf of the true and apostolic faith, by those our pious predecessors who have maintained the true service of the blessed and undecaying and life-giving Trinity, should never be inoperative; but we are rather disposed to enounce them as of our own enactment. We, preferring piety and zeal in the cause of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ who created and has made us glorious, before all diligence in human affairs, and being further convinced that unity among the flocks of Christ is the preservation of ourselves and our subjects, the stout foundation and unshaken bulwark of our empire; being by these considerations moved with godly zeal, and offering to our God and Saviour Jesus Christ the unity of the Holy Church as the first fruits of our reign, ordain that the basis and settlement of human felicity, namely, the symbol of the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers who were assembled, in concert with the Holy Spirit, at Nicaea, into which both ourselves and all our believing predecessors were baptised; that this alone should have reception and authority with the orthodox people in all the most holy churches of God, as the only formulary of the right faith, and sufficient for the utter destruction of every heresy, and for the complete unity of the holy churches of God ; without prejudice, notwithstanding, to the force of the acts of the hundred and fifty holy fathers assembled in this imperial city, in confirmation of the sacred symbol itself, and in condemnation of those who blasphemed against the Holy Ghost; as well as of all that were passed in the metropolitan city of the Ephesians against the impious Nestorius and those who subsequently favoured his opinions. But the proceedings which have disturbed the unity and order of the holy churches of God, and the peace of the whole world, that is to say, the so-called tome of Leo, and all things said and done at Chalcedon in innovation upon the before-mentioned holy symbol of the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers, whether by way of definition of faith, or setting forth of symbols, or of interpretation, or instruction, or discourse; we ordain that these shall be anathematised both here and every where by the most holy bishops in every church, and shall be committed to the flames whenever they shall be found, inasmuch as it was so enjoined respecting all heretical doctrines by our predecessors, of pious and blessed memory, Constantine, and Theodosius the younger; and that, having thus been rendered null, they shall be utterly expelled from the one and only catholic and apostolic orthodox church, as superseding the everlasting and saving definitions of the three hundred and eighteen fathers, and those of the blessed fathers who, by the Holy Spirit, made their decision at Ephesus; that no one, in short, either of the priesthood or laity, shall be allowed to deviate from that most sacred constitution of the holy symbol; and that, together with all the innovations upon the sacred symbol which were enacted at Chalcedon, there be also anathematised the heresy of those who do not confess, that the only begotten Son of God was truly incarnate, and made man of the Holy Spirit and of the holy and ever-virgin Mary, Mother of God, but, according to their strange conceit, either from heaven, or in mere phantasy and seeming: and, in short, every heresy, and whatever other innovation, in respect either of thought or language, has been devised in violation of the sacred symbol in any manner or at any time or place. And, inasmuch as it is the special task of kingly providence to furnish to their subjects, with forecasting deliberation, abundant means of security, not only for the present but for future time, we ordain that the most holy bishops in every place shall subscribe to this our sacred circular epistle when exhibited to them, as a distinct declaration that they are indeed ruled by the sacred symbol of the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers alone----which the hundred and fifty holy fathers confirmed; as it was also defined by the most holy fathers, who, subsequently, assembled in the metropolitan city of the Ephesians, that the sacred symbol of the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers ought to be the only rule----while they anathematise every stumbling-block enacted at Chalcedon to the faith of the orthodox people, and utterly eject them from the churches, as an impediment to the general happiness and our own. Those, moreover, who, after the issuing of these our sacred letters, which we trust to have been uttered in accordance with the will of God, in an endeavour to accomplish that unity which all desire for the holy churches of God, shall attempt to bring forward or so much as to name the innovation upon the faith which was enacted at Chalcedon, either in discourse or instruction or writing, in whatever manner, place, or time; with respect to those persons, as being the cause of confusion and tumult in the churches of God and among the whole of our subjects, and enemies to God and our safety, we command (in accordance with the laws ordained by our predecessor, Theodosius, of blessed and sacred memory, against such sort of evil designs, which laws are subjoined to this our sacred circular) that, if bishops or clergy, they be deposed; if monks or laics, that they be subjected to banishment and every mode of confiscation, and the severest penalties: for so the holy and homoousian Trinity, the Creator and Vivifier of the universe, which has ever been adored by our piety, receiving at the present time service at our hands in the destruction of the before-mentioned tares and the confirmation of the true and apostolic traditions of the holy symbol, find being thereby rendered favourable and gracious to our souls and to all our subjects, shall ever aid us in the exercise of our sway, and preserve the peace of the world."

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EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 5

Deception Of The Circular.

According to Zacharias, the rhetorician, Timotheus, who, as I said, was just returned from banishment, agrees to these circular letters; as does also Peter, president of the church of Antioch, surnamed the Fuller, who also attended Timotheus at the imperial city. After these proceedings, they also determined that Paul should occupy the archiepiscopal throne of the church of Ephesus. This author also says, that Anastasius, the successor of Juvenalis as president of Jerusalem, subscribes the circular, and very many others; so that those who repudiated the tome of Leo and the synod of Chalcedon, amounted to about five hundred: and also that a written petition was addressed to Basiliscus by the Asiatic bishops, assembled at Ephesus, a part of which is couched in the following terms: "To our entirely pious and Christ-loving lords, Basiliscus and Marcus, ever victorious emperors." Presently it proceeds: "Whenever the faith has been hated and assailed, you, all pious and Christ-loving sovereigns, have made it manifest throughout that you were equally assailed." And further on: "A certain fearful retribution of judgment and fury of divine fire and the just wrath of your serenity shall suddenly involve the adversaries, those who endeavour with vauntful assault to battle down the mighty God and your sovereignty fortified by the faith; who also in various ways have not spared our humble selves, but have continually slandered and belied us, as having subscribed to your sacred and apostolic circular letters by compulsion and violence, which we, in fact, subscribed with all joy and readiness." And further on: "Let it therefore be your pleasure, that nothing be put forward otherwise than as accords with your sacred circular, being assured that, as we have before said, the whole world will be turned upside down, and the evils which have proceeded from the synod at Chalcedon will be found trifling in comparison, notwithstanding the innumerable slaughters which they have caused, and the blood of the orthodox which they have unjustly and lawlessly shed." And further on: "We conjure your piety, in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ, to maintain the just and canonical and ecclesiastical condemnation and deposition which has been inflicted on them, and especially on him who has been on many points convicted of having unduly exercised the episcopate of the imperial city." The same Zacharias also writes as follows: "On the issuing of the imperial circulars, those in the capital who were infected with the phantasy of Eutyches, and followed the monastic rule, believing themselves to have chanced on a prize in the person of Timotheus, and hoping by the circulars to catch their own profit, flock to him with all speed, and again retire, as if convinced by Timotheus that the "Word of God is consubstantial with ourselves as to flesh, and consubstantial with the Father as respects the Godhead."

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 6

Proceedings Of Timothy Aelurus.

The same author says, that Timotheus, setting out from the imperial city, visited Ephesus, and there enthroned Paul as archpriest; who had already been ordained, according to the more ancient custom, by the bishops of the province, but had been ejected from his see: and he also restored to Ephesus the dignity of the patriarchate, of which the synod at Chalcedon had deprived it, as I have already mentioned. Proceeding thence, he arrives at Alexandria, and uniformly required all who approached him to anathematise the synod at Chalcedon. Accordingly, there abandon him, as has been recorded by the same Zacharius, many of his party, and among them Theodotus, one of the bishops ordained at Joppa by Theodosius, who had, by means of certain persons, become bishop of Jerusalem, at the time when Juvenalis betook himself to Constantinople.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 7

Counter Circular Of Basiliscus.

This author also says, that Acacius, president of the church of Constantinople, in consequence of these proceedings, stirred up the monastic body and the populace of the imperial city, on the plea that Basiliscus was a heretic: and that the latter repudiated the circular, and issued a constitution to the effect, that transactions precipitated by overbearing influence were utterly null; and also sent forth a counter circular in recommendation of the synod at Chalcedon. This counter circular, as he terms it, he has, however, omitted, having written the whole work under passionate feelings. It is as follows: ----

The Counter Circular Of Basiliscus.

"We, the emperors, Caesars, Basiliscus and Marcus, thus ordain: that the apostolic and orthodox faith, which has held sway in the catholic churches from the very first, both until the beginning and during the continuance of our reign, and ought to sway in all coming time, into which also we were baptised, and in which we believe; that this alone continue to sway uninjured and unshaken, and ever prevail throughout the catholic and apostolic churches of the orthodox; and that no question tending otherwise be a subject of debate. On this account we also enjoin, that all acts during our reign, whether circular letters or others, or any thing whatever relating to faith or ecclesiastical constitution, be null; while we at the same time anathematise Nestorius, Eutyches, and every other heresy, with all who hold like sentiments; and that no synod or other debate be held on this subject, but that the present form remain unimpaired and unshaken. Also, that the provinces, the ordination to which was possessed by the see of this imperial and glorious city, be restored to the most reverent and holy patriarch and archbishop Acacius, the present bishops, highly beloved of God, retaining their respective sees; provided that no prejudice thence arise after their demise to the right of ordination belonging to the illustrious see of this imperial and glorious city. That this our sacred ordinance has the force of a sacred constitution is a matter of doubt to none."

Such was the course of these transactions.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 8

Restoration Of [Emperor Flavius] Zeno. [477 AD.]

But Zeno, having seen in a vision the holy and much tried proto-martyr Thecla encouraging him and promising him restoration to power, after winning over the besiegers by bribes, marches on Constantinople and expels Basiliscus, who had now held the supreme power for two years, and, on his taking refuge in a holy precinct, surrenders him to his enemies. Zeno, in consequence, dedicated to the proto-martyr Thecla a very extensive sanctuary, of singular stateliness and beauty, at Seleucia, which is situated near the borders of Isauria, and embellished it with very many and royal offerings, which have been preserved to our times. Basiliscus is, accordingly, conveyed to Cappadocia, in order to his death, and is slain with his wife and children at the station named Acusus. Zeno enacts a law in abrogation of what Basiliscus the tyrant had constituted by his circulars, and Peter, surnamed the Fuller, is ejected from the church of the Antiochenes, and Paul from that of the Ephesians.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 9

Epistle Of The Asiatic Bishops To Acacius.

The bishops of Asia, to sooth Acacius, address to him a deprecatory plea, and implore his pardon in a repentant memorial, wherein they alleged, that they had subscribed the circular by compulsion and not voluntarily; and they affirmed with an oath that the case was really thus, and that they had settled their faith, and still maintained it in accordance with the synod at Chalcedon. The purport of the document is as follows.

An epistle or petition sent from the bishops of Asia, to Acacius, bishop of Constantinople. "To Acacius, the most holy and pious patriarch of the church in the imperial city of Constantine, the New Rome." And it afterwards proceeds: "We have been duly visited by the person who will also act as our representative." And shortly after: "By these letters we acquaint you that we subscribed, not designedly but of necessity, having agreed to these matters with letters and words, not with the heart. For, by your acceptable prayers and the will of the higher Power, we hold the faith as we have received it from the three hundred and eighteen lights of the world, and the hundred and fifty holy fathers; and, moreover, we assent to the terms which were piously and rightly framed at Chalcedon by the holy fathers there assembled."

Whether Zacharias has slandered these persons, or they themselves lied in asserting that they were unwilling to subscribe, I am not able to say.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 10

Succession Of Bishops At Antioch.

Next to Peter, Stephen succeeds to the see of Antioch, whom the sons of the Antiochenes dispatched with reeds sharpened like lances, as is recorded by John the Rhetorician. After Stephen, Calandion is entrusted with the helm of that see, and he wrought upon those who approached him, to anathematise Timotheus, and, at the same time, the circular of Basiliscus.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 11

Succession Of Bishops At Alexandria.

It was the intention of Zeno to eject Timotheus from the church of Alexandria; but, on being informed by certain persons that he was already aged, and had almost reached the common resting-place of all men, he abandoned his purpose. And, in fact, Timotheus shortly after paid the debt of nature. Upon this the Alexandrian bishops elect, on their own authority, Peter, surnamed Mongus; the announcement of which proceeding exasperated Zeno, who judged him to have incurred the penalty of death, and he recalls Timotheus, the successor of Proterius, while residing, on account of a popular tumult, at Canopus. Thus Timotheus obtained, by the commands of the emperor, possession of his rightful see.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 12

Ecclesiastical Measures Of Zeno.

By the advice of certain persons, John, a presbyter, who held the office of steward of the venerable temple of the holy forerunner and baptist John, visits the imperial city, in order to negotiate permission for the inhabitants of Alexandria to elect as president of their church a person of their own choice, if it should happen that their bishop should depart out of the world. According to Zacharias, he was detected by the emperor in the endeavour to compass his own appointment to the bishopric, and was allowed to return home, under an oath that he would never aspire to the see of Alexandria. The emperor too issues a precept, to the effect that, after the death of Timotheus, that person should be bishop whom the clergy and people might elect. On the death of Timotheus, which took place shortly after, John, by the employment of money, as the same Zacharias writes, and in disregard of his sworn pledge to the emperor, procures his own nomination as bishop of the Alexandrians. The emperor, on being informed of these circumstances, commands his expulsion, and, at the suggestion of certain persons, addresses an allocution to the Alexandrians, which he named Henoticon, directing, at the same time, that the see of Alexandria should be restored to Peter, with a stipulation, that he should subscribe this document and admit to communion the party of Proterius.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 13

Publication Of The Henoticon* Of [Flavius] Zeno. [482 AD.]

Of this measure of arrangement, framed according to the advice of Acacius, bishop of the imperial city, Pergainius is the bearer, who had been appointed procurator of Egypt. Finding, on his arrival at Alexandria, that John had fled, he addresses himself to Peter, and urges him to receive the allocution of Zeno, and also to admit the separatists. He, accordingly, receives and subscribes the before-mentioned allocution, with a promise also to admit to communion the members of the opposite party. Accordingly, on occasion of a general festival at Alexandria and the universal acceptance of the so-called Henoticon of Zeno, Peter admits the partizans of Proterius; and, on delivering in the church an address to the people, he reads the allocution of Zeno, as follows. [* The Henotikon (Greek for "act of union") was a christological document issued by Eastern Roman emperor Flavius Zeno in 482 AD, in an unsuccessful attempt to reconcile the differences between the supporters of the Council of Chalcedon and the council's opponents, mainly the Nestorian Church and other Eastern Orthodox Churches. It was followed by the Acacian schism. (Flavius Zeno (c. 425–491 AD) was Eastern Roman emperor from 474 to 475 and again from 476 to 491. Domestic revolts and religious dissension plagued his reign but he contributed much to stabilising the Eastern Empire.) Flavius Zeno's successor, Flavius Anastasius I Dicorus (491–518 AD), began by keeping the policy of the Henotikon, though himself a convinced Miaphysite. After Anastasius's death his successor, Justin I (Flavius Iustinus, 450–527 AD), immediately sought to end the schism with Rome, a goal shared by the new Patriarch of Constantinople, John of Cappadocia. A papal legation under Germanus of Capua was sent to Constantinople. The reunion was formalised in 519 AD.]

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 14

The Henoticon (Instrument Of Union).

"The emperor Caesar Zeno, pious, victorious, triumphant, supreme, ever worshipful Augustus, to the most reverent bishops and clergy, and to the monks and laity throughout Alexandria, Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis. Being assured that the origin and constitution, the might and invincible defence of our sovereignty is the only right and true faith, which, through divine inspiration, the three hundred holy fathers assembled at Nicaea set forth, and the hundred and fifty holy fathers, who in like manner met at Constantinople, confirmed; we night and day employ every means of prayer, of zealous pains and of laws, that the holy Catholic and apostolic church in every place may be multiplied, the uncorruptible and immortal mother of our sceptre; and that the pious laity, continuing in peace and unanimity with respect to God, may, together with the bishops, highly beloved of God, the most pious clergy, the archimandrites and monks, offer up acceptably their supplications in behalf of our sovereignty. So long as our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ, who was incarnate and born of Mary, the Holy Virgin, and Mother of God, approves and readily accepts our concordant glorification and service, the power of our enemies will be crushed and swept away, and peace with its blessings, kindly temperature, abundant produce, and whatever is beneficial to man, will be liberally bestowed. Since, then, the irreprehensible faith is the preserver both of ourselves and the Roman weal, petitions have been offered to us from pious archimandrites and hermits, and other venerable persons, imploring us with tears that unity should be procured for the churches, and the limbs should be knit together, which the enemy of all good has of old time been eagerly bent upon severing, under a consciousness that defeat will befall him

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whenever he assails the body while in an entire condition. For since it happens, that of the unnumbered generations which during the lapse of so many years time has withdrawn from life, some have departed, deprived of the laver of regeneration, and others have been borne away on the inevitable journey of man, without having partaken in the divine communion; and innumerable murders have also been perpetrated; and not only the earth, but the very air has been defiled by a multitude of blood-sheddings; that this state of things might be transformed into good, who would not pray? For this reason, we were anxious that you should be informed, that we and the churches in every quarter neither have held, nor do we or shall we hold, nor are we aware of persons who hold, any other symbol or lesson or definition of faith or creed than the before-mentioned holy symbol of the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers, which the aforesaid hundred and fifty holy fathers confirmed; and if any person does hold such, we deem him an alien: for we are confident that this symbol alone is, as we said, the preserver of our sovereignty, and on their reception of this alone are all the people baptised when desirous of the saving illumination: which symbol all the holy fathers assembled at Ephesus also followed; who further passed sentence of deposition on the impious Nestorius and those who subsequently held his sentiments: which Nestorius we also anathematise, together with Eutyches and all who entertain opinions contrary to those above-mentioned, receiving at the same time the twelve chapters of Cyril, of holy memory, formerly archbishop of the holy Catholic church of the Alexandrians. We moreover confess, that the only begotten Son of God, himself God, who truly assumed manhood, namely, our Lord Jesus Christ, who is con-substantial with the Father in respect of the Godhead, and con-substantial with ourselves as respects the manhood; that He, having descended, and become incarnate of the Holy Spirit and Mary, the Virgin and Mother of God, is one and not two; for we affirm that both his miracles, and the sufferings which he voluntarily endured in the flesh, are those of a single person: for we do in no degree admit those who either make a division or a confusion, or introduce a phantom; inasmuch as his truly sinless incarnation from the Mother of God did not produce an addition of a son, because the Trinity continued a Trinity even when one member of the Trinity, the God Word, became incarnate. Knowing, then, that neither the holy orthodox churches of God in all parts, nor the priests, highly beloved of God, who are at their head, nor our own sovereignty, have allowed or do allow any other symbol or definition of faith than the before-mentioned holy lesson, we have united ourselves thereto without hesitation. And these things we write not as setting forth a new form of faith, but for your assurance : and every one who has held or holds any other opinion, either at the present or another time, whether at Chalcedon or in any synod whatever, we anathematise; and specially the before-mentioned Nestorius and Eutyches, and those who maintain their doctrines. Link yourselves, therefore, to the spiritual mother, the church, and in her enjoy the same communion with us, according to the aforesaid one and only definition of the faith, namely, that of the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers. For your all holy mother, the church, waits to embrace you as true children, and longs to hear your loved voice, so long withheld. Speed yourselves, therefore, for by so doing you will both draw towards yourselves the favor of our Master and Saviour and God, Jesus Christ, and be commended by our sovereignty."

When this had been read, all the Alexandrians united themselves to the holy catholic and apostolic church.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 15

Correspondence Between Simplicius And Zeno.

John, however, of whom we have made mention before, having fled from Alexandria, arrives at the ancient Rome, and there causes great stir, by saying that he had been banished from his rightful see for upholding the doctrines of Leo and the council at Chalcedon, and had been superseded by another person, who was their opponent. Upon this Simplicius, bishop of the elder Rome, writes in alarm to Zeno; who in reply charges John with perjury, and alleges that for this reason and no other he had been ejected from his bishopric.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 16

Deposition Of Calandion And Restoration Of Petee The Fuller.

Calandion, president of Antioch, writing to the emperor Zeno, and to Acacius, president of Constantinople, terms Peter an adulterer, saying that, when he was at Alexandria, he had anathematised the council at Chalcedon. He is afterwards condemned to exile at Oasis, on a supposition of having supported Illus, Leontius, and Pamprepius, in their usurpation against Zeno; and Peter the Fuller, the predecessor of Calandion and Stephen, as I have mentioned, recovered his own see. The latter also subscribed the Henoticon of Zeno, and addressed synodical letters to Peter, bishop of Alexandria. Acacius, president of Constantinople, also entered into communion with him. Martyrius, too, bishop of Jerusalem, addressed synodical letters to Peter. Subsequently, certain persons withdrew from communion with Peter, who, in consequence, thenceforward openly anathematised the synod at Chalcedon. The news of this circumstance greatly troubled Acacius, and induced him to send persons to gain information on the subject; when Peter, to convince them that he had not so acted, drew up memorials, in which certain persons said, from their own knowledge, that Peter had not done any thing of the kind.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 17

Letter From Peter To Acacius.

This Peter never abided by one opinion, being a double dealer, a waverer, and a time-server, now anathematising the synod at Chalcedon, at another time recanting, and admitting it with entire assent. Accordingly, the same Peter wrote an epistle to Acacius, president of Constantinople, in the following words: "The most high God will repay your holiness for the many labours and toils wherewith, during the lapse of time, you have guarded the form of faith of the holy fathers, which you have confirmed by unceasingly proclaiming it; in which form when we found the symbol of the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers to be embraced, we were disposed to accord with it; that symbol in which we believed at baptism, and still believe ; which also the hundred and fifty holy fathers, who assembled at Constantinople, confirmed. Accordingly, while increasing in your endeavours to guide all aright, you have united the holy church of God, by convincing us by the most powerful proofs that nothing at variance with this was enacted in the holy and general synod held at Chalcedon, but that it accorded with the acts of the holy fathers at Nicaea, and confirmed them. Thus, having discovered no novelty therein, we have of our own free motion accorded our assent and belief. But we are informed that certain monks, envying our brotherly union, have conveyed certain slanders to your holy ears, which have with some difficulty succeeded in embittering the feelings of your holiness. And, in the first place, it is alleged that we have removed to another place the remains of our sainted father, the blessed archbishop Timotheus, a thing abhorrent to religion and law: and they have further shifted their ground to another charge, in itself incoherent and worse than the former; for how could we possibly have anathematised the synod at Chalcedon, which we had previously confirmed by according to it our belief? But the malignant temper and fickleness of our people are notorious, and cannot but be known to your piety, as well as of those monks who are disposed to innovation ; who, in conspiracy with certain ill-designing persons that have broken loose from the church, are endeavouring to draw away the people. Through your prayers we have also devised a discourse of a directly healing tendency, and in no way impugning the synod at Chalcedon, well knowing that its transactions contain no novelty; and, further, for the satisfaction of guileless persons, we have procured those who had united themselves to us, to affirm this point. This mischief, then, by much exertion, I have readily checked: but I make known to your holiness, that even still the monks who are ever sowing the tares, are not at rest, associating also with themselves, as instruments, persons who were never the inmates of monasteries; but they travel about disseminating various rumours to our disadvantage, and, while they do not allow that we act canonically and in a manner suitable to the holy catholic church of God, but are habituating our people to govern rather than obey us, they are bent on doing whatever is unbecoming the service of God. We doubt not, however, that your holiness will inform the most sacred master of the world of all these circumstances, and provide that a formulary shall be put forth by his serenity, embracing the necessary matters relating to such a peace of the church as becomes both God and the emperor; so as to lead all to repose on its provisions."

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 18

Felix Issues A Sentence Of Deposition Against Acacius.

John, who had fled to Rome, was urgent on Felix, the successor of Simplicius in that see, respecting the proceedings of Peter, and recommends, according to Zacharias, that an instrument of deposition should be sent to Acacius from Felix, on the ground of his communion with Peter: which, however, as being un-canonical, Acacius did not admit, as the same Zacharias writes, on its presentation by certain members of the monastery of the Acoemets, as they are called. Such is the account given by Zacharias; but he appears to me to have been altogether ignorant of the real transactions, and to have reported merely an imperfect hearsay. I now proceed to give a precise account of the proceedings. On the presentation of libels to Felix by John against Acacius, on the score of irregular communion with Peter, and other uncanonical proceedings, the bishops Vitalis and Misenus are sent by Felix to the emperor Zeno, with a requisition that the authority of the synod at Chalcedon should be maintained, that Peter should be ejected as a heretic, and that Acacius should be sent to Felix to answer for himself to the charges brought against him by John, of whom we have made frequent mention.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 19

Interference Of Cyril The Monk.

Before, however, they reached the imperial city, Cyril, the superior of the Acoemets, writes to Felix, blaming his tardiness, when so grievous offences were being committed against the right faith; and Felix writes to Misenus and his associates, that they should take no measures until they had conferred with Cyril, and learnt from him what was best to be done.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 20

Correspondence Between Felix And Zeno.

Further commonitories were also addressed to them by Felix; as also letters to Zeno, concerning both the synod at Chalcedon, and the persecution which Huneric was carrying on in Africa. He also wrote an epistle to Acacius. Zeno wrote in answer, that the concern with which John had filled him, was groundless; because, having sworn that he would in no way endeavour to insinuate himself into the see of Alexandria, and having subsequently violated these terms and disregarded his oath, he had been guilty of the extreme of sacrilege: that Peter had not been appointed without being tested, but had with his own hand subscribed his reception of the faith of the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers who met at Nicaea, which the holy synod at Chalcedon [The Council of Chalcedon, 451 AD.] also followed. Part of the epistle is in these precise words: "You ought to be assured that our piety, and the before-mentioned most holy Peter, and all the most holy churches, receive and revere the most holy synod at Chalcedon, which agreed with the faith of the Nicene synod."

In the transactions are also contained epistles from the before-mentioned Cyril, and other archimandrites of the imperial city, and from bishops and clergy of the Egyptian province, addressed to Felix against Peter, as being a heretic, and against those who communicated with him. The members of the monastery of the Acoemets who came to Felix, further averred against Misenus and his party, that before their arrival at Constantinople, the; name of Peter had been read secretly in the sacred diptychs, and since that time without any concealment, and that they had in this way communicated with him. The epistle also of the Egyptians affirmed the same things respecting Peter; and that John, being orthodox, had been rightfully ordained: that Peter was ordained by two bishops only, maintainers of similar errors with himself: that since the flight of John every species of severity had been inflicted on the orthodox: that all these circumstances had been made known to Acacius by persons who had visited the imperial city; and that they were convinced that he was in all things acting in union with Peter.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 21

Accusation Of The Legates By Simeon The Monk, And Their Consequent Deprivation.

This stir was further increased by Simeon, an Acoemet, who had been dispatched to Rome by Cyril. He expressly charged Misenus and Vitalis with holding communion with the heretics, by distinctly uttering the name of Peter in the reading of the sacred diptychs; and affirmed that many simple persons had, on this ground, been beguiled by the heretics, who said that Peter was admitted to the communion even of the Roman see: and, further, in reply to various interrogatories, Simeon said that Misenus and his party had declined to have communication with any orthodox person, either in person or by letter, or to sift any of the presumptuous attempts upon the right faith. There was also brought forward Silvanus, a presbyter, who had been in company with Misenus and Vitalis at Constantinople, and he confirmed the statement of the monks. There was read, too, a letter from Acacius to Simplicius, to the effect that Peter had been long ago deposed and had become a child of night. On these grounds Misenus and Vitalis were removed from the priesthood and severed from the holy communion, when a unanimous vote was passed by the synod, in the following terms: "The church of the Romans does not admit Peter, the heretic, who has also been long ago condemned by the holy see, excommunicated, and anathematised. To whom, if there were no other objection, this is sufficient, namely, that having been ordained by heretics, he could not have authority over the orthodox." The decree also contains what follows: "The mere circumstance shews Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, to have incurred very great responsibility, because, writing to Simplicius and having termed Peter a heretic, he has nevertheless made no such declaration to the emperor: which was his duty, if he were loyal to him. He is, however, more partial to the emperor than to the faith."

Let me now return to the order of events. There is extant an epistle from Acacius to the Egyptian bishops, the clergy, monks, and the people in general, by which he endeavours to heal the existing schism: on which subject he also wrote to Peter, bishop of Alexandria.

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EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 22

Commotion At Alexandria On Account Of The Council Of Chalcedon.

While the schism at Alexandria was thus at its height, Peter, having again anathematised the tome of Leo, the transactions at Chalcedon, and those who refused to admit the writings of Dioscorus and Timotheus, induced some of the bishops and archimandrites to communicate with him, and failing to prevail upon the others, ejected most of them from their monasteries. On account of these proceedings, Nephalius visited the imperial city, and reported them to Zeno; who, in great vexation, despatches Cosmas, one of his officers, charged to load Peter with menaces, for the enforcement of unity, on the score of his having caused a serious dissension by his harshness. Cosmas returns to the imperial city without accomplishing the object of his mission, having merely restored those who had been ejected, to their monasteries. Subsequently, Arsenius is sent out by the emperor as governor of Egypt and commander of the forces. Arriving at Alexandria in company with Nephalius, he negociated with a view to unity; but failing to induce persons to acquiesce in his measures, he sends some of them to the imperial city, where, accordingly, many discussions took place in the presence of Zeno: but with no practical result, because the emperor altogether declined agreement with the synod at Chalcedon.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 23

Succession Of Bishops At Constantinople, Alexandria, And Antioch.

At this juncture Acacius departed on the common journey of all men, and is succeeded by Fravitas. On his addressing synodical letters to Peter of Alexandria, the latter replies with a repetition of the former matters respecting the synod at Chalcedon. On the demise of Fravitas, after an episcopate of only four months, Euphemius was ordained as his successor, and is the recipient of the letters of Peter addressed to Fravitas. On discovering the anathema against the transactions at Chalcedon, his feelings were greatly roused, and he broke off from communion with Peter. Both epistles are extant, namely, from Fravitas to Peter, and from Peter to Fravitas; but I pass them over on account of their length. When, in consequence, Euphemius and Peter were upon the point of coming to open hostility, and summoning synods against each other, these proceedings were prevented by the death of the latter. He is succeeded by Athanasius, who attempted to unite the dissidents; but without success, since the parties were ranged under differences of opinion. Subsequently, when dispatching synodical letters to Palladius, the successor of Peter in the bishopric of Antioch, he took a similar course respecting the synod at Chalcedon; as did also John, his successor in the see of Alexandria. On the death of Palladius, and the succession of Flavian to the see of Antioch, Solomon, a presbyter of that church, is sent to Alexandria, as the bearer of synodical letters, with the request of an answer from John to Flavian. John is succeeded in the see of Alexandria by another of the same name. Such was the progress of these events down to a certain period of the reign of Anastasius: who had himself ejected Euphemius. I have been compelled thus to detail them continuously, for the sake of perspicuity and a ready comprehension of the whole.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 24

Death Of Armatus.

Zeno, at the instigation of Illus, puts to death Armatus, a kinsman of the empress Verina. When Armatus had been sent against him by Basiliscus, Zeno had succeeded, by bribes, in converting him from a foe into an ally, and had bestowed on his son Basiliscus the rank of Caesar at Nicaea: but on his return to Constantinople, he procures the assassination of Armatus, and makes his son a priest instead of Caesar. The latter was afterwards raised to the episcopal dignity.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 25

Insurrection And Death Of Theodoric.

Theodoric also, a Scythian, raised an insurrection, and having collected his forces in Thrace, marched against Zeno. After ravaging every place in his march as far as the mouth of the Pontus, he was near taking the imperial city, when some of his most intimate companions were secretly induced to enter into a plot against his life. When, however, he had learnt the disaffection of his followers, he commenced a retreat, and was very soon afterwards numbered with the departed, by a kind of death which I will mention, and which happened thus. A spear, with its thong prepared for immediate use, had been suspended before his tent in barbaric fashion. He had ordered a horse to be brought to him for the purpose of exercise, and being in the habit of not having any one to assist him in mounting, vaulted into his seat. The horse, a mettlesome and ungovernable animal, reared before Theodoric was fairly mounted, so that, in the contest, neither daring to rein back the horse, lest it should come down upon him, nor yet having gained a firm seat, he was whirled round in all directions, and dashed against the point of the spear, which thus struck him obliquely, and wounded his side. He was then conveyed to his couch, and after surviving a few days, died of the wound.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 26

Insurrection Of Marcian.

Subsequently Marcian had a rupture with Zeno, and attempted to dispute the empire with him. He was the son of Anthemius who had formerly reigned at Rome, and was allied to Leo, the preceding emperor, having married his younger daughter Leontia. After a severe battle around the palace, in which many fell on both sides, Marcian repulsed his opponents, and would have become master of the palace, had he not let slip the critical moment, by putting off the operation to the morrow.

For the critical season is swift of flight: when it is close upon one, it may be secured; but should it once have escaped the grasp, it soars aloft and laughs at its pursuers, not deigning to place itself again within their reach. And hence no doubt it is, that statuaries and painters, while they figure it with a lock hanging down in front, represent the head as closely shaven behind; thus skilfully symbolising, that when it comes up from behind one, it may perhaps be held fast by the flowing forelock, but fairly escapes when it has once got the start, from the absence of any thing by which the pursuer might grasp it.

And this was what befel Marcian, when he had lost the moment favourable to his success, and was unable to find it afterwards. For the next day he was betrayed by his own followers, and being completely deserted, fled to the sacred precinct of the divine Apostles; whence he was dragged away by force, and transported to Caesarea in Cappadocia. Having there joined the society of certain monks, he was afterwards detected in meditating an escape; and being removed by the emperor to Tarsus in Cilicia, he was shorn, and ordained a presbyter: of all which particulars an elegant narrative has been given by Eustathius the Syrian.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 27

Insurrection Of Illus And Leontius.

The same writer states that Zeno also devised innumerable machinations against his mother-in-law Verina, and afterwards sent her away to Cilicia; and that subsequently, on the assumption of sovereign power by Illus, she removed to what is called the castle of Papirius; where she died.

Eustathius also narrates with great ability the story of Illus: how he escaped Zeno's plots against him, and how Zeno gave up to capital punishment the man who had been commissioned to murder Illus, rewarding him with the loss of his head for his failure in the attempt. He also appointed Illus commander of the forces of the East, thinking thus to conceal his real designs: but he, having gained over as partizans Leontius, Marstis, a man of reputaion, and Pamprepius, proceeded to the east.

The same Eustathius then mentions the proclamation of Leontius as emperor, which took place at Tarsus in Cilicia; and how these persons reaped the fruits of their assumption of power, when Theodoric, a man of Gothic extraction, but illustrious among the Romans, had been sent out against them, with a force composed both of native and foreign troops.

The same author ably depicts the fate of those who were miserably put to death by Zeno in return for their loyalty to him; and how Theodoric, becoming aware of the evil designs of Zeno, withdrew to the elder Rome. Some, however, say that this was done at the suggestion of Zeno. Having there defeated Odoacer, he made himself master of Rome, and assumed the title of king.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 28

Account Of Mammianus And His Structures.

John the rhetorician writes, that in the time of Zeno, Mammianus from an artizan became a person of note and a member of the senate; and that he built in the suburb of Daphne what is called the Antiphorus, on a site previously planted with vines and suitable for cultivation, directly opposite the public baths; where there is also the brazen statue inscribed, "Mammianus the friend of the city." He also states that he built within the city, two basilicas, singularly beautiful in their design, and embellished with brilliant stone-work; and that, as an intervening structure to the two, he raised a Tetrapylum, exquisitely finished both in its columns and its brazen work. The basilicas I have identified, retaining, together with their name, some trace of their former beauty, in the stones from Procomiesus, which form the pavement, but nothing remarkable in their architecture: for, in consequence of the calamities which had befallen them, they had lately been rebuilt, without receiving any thing in the way of ornament. Of the Tetrapylum I was not able to detect the slightest vestige.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 29

Death Of Zeno.----Succession Of Anastasius. [491 AD.]

On the decease of Zeno, by epilepsy, without issue, after a reign of seventeen years, Longinus his brother, having raised himself to considerable power, hoped to secure the sovereignty, but was, notwithstanding, disappointed of his expectation. For Ariadne bestows the diadem on Anastasius, a person who had not yet attained senatorian rank, but belonged to the corps of the Silentiaries.

Eustathius writes, that two hundred and seven years elapsed from the beginning of the reign of Diocletian to the death of Zeno and the nomination of Anastasius: five hundred and fifty-two years and seven months from the time that Augustus obtained the supreme power; eight hundred and thirty-two years and seven months from the reign of Alexander the Macedonian; one thousand and fifty-two years and seven months from the reign of Romulus; one thousand six hundred and eighty-six years and seven months from the taking of Troy.

This Anastasius, being a native of Epidamnus, now called Dyrrachium, both succeeds to the sovereignty of Zeno and espouses his wife Ariadne. In the first place, he dismisses to his native country Longinus, the brother of Zeno, who held the post of Master of the Offices, formerly termed commander of the household troops; and afterwards, many other Isaurians at their own request.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 30

Divisions In The Church.

This Anastasius, being of a peaceful disposition, was altogether averse to the introduction of changes, especially in the state of the church, but endeavoured by every means, that the most holy churches should continue undisturbed, and the whole body of his subjects enjoy profound tranquillity, by the removal of all strife and contention from matters both ecclesiastical and civil. During these times, accordingly, the synod of Chalcedon was neither openly proclaimed in the most holy churches, nor yet was repudiated by all: but the bishops acted each according to his individual opinion. Thus, some very resolutely maintained what had been put forth by that synod, and would not yield to the extent of one word of its determinations, nor admit even the change of a single letter, but firmly declined all contact and communion with those who refused to admit the matters there set forth. Others, again, not only did not submit to the synod of Chalcedon and its determinations, but even anathematised both it and the tome of Leo. Others, however, firmly adhered to the Henoticon of Zeno, and that too although mutually at variance on the point of the single and double nature; some being caught by the artful composition of that document; and others influenced by an inclination for peace. Thus the churches in general were divided into distinct factions, and their presidents did not even admit each other to communion.

Numerous divisions, hence arising, existed in the East, in the West, and in Africa; while the eastern bishops had no friendly intercourse with those of the West and Africa, nor the latter with those of the East. The evil too became still more monstrous, for neither did the presidents of the eastern churches allow communion among themselves, nor yet those who held the sees of Europe and Africa, much less with those of remote parts.

In consideration of these circumstances, the Emperor Anastasius removed those bishops who were promoters of change, wherever he detected any one either proclaiming or anathematising the synod of Chalcedon in opposition to the practice of the neighbourhood. Accordingly, he rejected from the see of the imperial city, first, Euphemius, as has been already mentioned, and afterwards Macedonius, who was succeeded by Timotheus; and Flavian from the see of Antioch.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 31

Letter To Alcison From The Monks Of Palestine.

The monastic body in Palestine, writing to Alcison concerning Macedonius and Flavian, express themselves thus: "On the death of Peter, they were again separated, but Alexandria, Egypt, and Africa remained at unity among themselves; as, on the other hand, did the rest of the East; while the churches of the West refused to communicate with them on any other terms than the anathematising of Nestorius, Eutyches, and Dioscorus, including also Peter, surnamed Mongus, and Acacius. Such, then, being the situation of the churches throughout the world, the genuine followers of Dioscorus and Eutyches were reduced to a very small number; and when they were upon the point of disappearing altogether from the earth, Xenaias, who was truly a stranger to God, with what object we know not, or pursuing what enmity towards Flavian, but under colour of defending the faith, as is generally said, begins to raise a stir against him, and to calumniate him as being a Nestorian. When, however, he had anathematised Nestorius and his notion, Xenaias transferred his attacks from him to Dioscorus and Theodore, Theodoret, Ibas, Cyrus, Eleutherius, and John; and we know not whom, besides and whence he mustered them: some of whom really maintained the opinions of Nestorius, but others, having been suspected, anathematised him, and departed in the communion of the church. 'Unless,' said he, 'thou shalt anathematise all these, as holding the opinions of Nestorius, thou art thyself a Nestorian, though thou shouldest ten thousand times anathematise him and his notion.' He also endeavoured by letters to induce the advocates of Dioscorus

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and Eutyches to take arms with him against Flavian, not however with a view of exacting from him an anathema upon the synod, but merely on the before-mentioned persons. But when the bishop Flavian had maintained a prolonged resistance to them, and other persons had united with Xenaias against him, namely, Eleusinus, a bishop of Cappadocia Secunda, Nicias, of Laodicea in Syria, and others from other quarters, the motive of whose spite against Flavian it is the province of others, not of ourselves, to detail; at last, in hope of peace, he yielded to their contentious spirit, and having in writing anathematised the before-mentioned persons, he despatched the instrument to the emperor, for they had stirred up him also against Flavian as a maintainer of the opinions of Nestorius. Xenaias, not contented with this, again demands of Flavian that he should anathematise the synod itself, and those who maintained two natures in the person of the Lord, namely, the flesh and the Godhead; and on his refusal, again accused him of being a Nestorian. After much stir upon this subject, and after the patriarch had put forth an exposition of faith, in which he confessed that he admitted the synod as far as regards the deposition of Nestorius and Eutyches, not however as defining and teaching the faith; they again impugn him as secretly holding the opinions of Nestorius, unless he would further anathematise the synod itself, and those who maintained two natures in the person of the Lord, the flesh and the Godhead. They also win over to their side the Isaurians, by various deceitful expressions, and having drawn up a formulary of faith, in which they anathematise the synod together with those who maintained the two natures or persons, they separate themselves from Flavian and Macedonius, but unite with others on their subscribing the formulary. At the same time they also demanded of the bishop of Jerusalem a written statement of faith; which he put forth, and sent to the emperor by the hands of the party of Dioscorus. This they present, containing ari anathema upon those who maintained the two natures. But the bishop of Jerusalem himself, affirming that it had been forged by them, puts forth another without such anathema. And no wonder. For they have often forged discourses of the fathers, and to many writings of Apollinaris they have attached titles assigning them to Athanasius, Gregory Thaumaturgus, and Julius; their principal object in so doing being to draw over the multitude to their own impieties. They also demanded of Macedonius a written statement of faith; who put one forth, affirming that he recognised only the creed of the three hundred and eighteen, and of the one hundred and fifty fathers, anathematising at the same time Nestorius, Eutyches, and those who held the doctrine of two sons or two Christs, or divided the natures; making, however, no mention of the synod of Ephesus, which deposed Nestorius, nor that of Chalcedon, which deposed Eutyches. Indignant at this, the monastic bodies about Constantinople separate from their bishop Macedonius. In the mean time Xenaias and Dioscorus, associating with them many of the bishops, became insufferable, from the stir which they raised against those who refused to anathematise; and, by various devices, they endeavoured to procure the banishment of those who persisted in their refusal. In this way, accordingly, they banish both Macedonius, find John, bishop of Paltus, and Flavian." Such are the contents of the letter.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 32

Ejection Of Macedonius And Flavian From Their Sees.

There were other things which caused secret vexation to Anastasius. For when Ariadne was desirous of investing him with the purple, Euphemius, who held the archiepiscopal see, withheld his approval, until Anastasius had presented to him an agreement, written with his own hand, and secured with fearful oaths, that he would maintain the faith inviolate, and introduce no innovation into the holy church of God, in case he should obtain the sceptre: which document he also deposited with Macedonius, the keeper of the sacred treasures. This measure he adopted, because Anastasius had generally the reputation of holding the Manichaean doctrine. When, however, Macedonius ascended the episcopal throne, Anastasius was desirous that the agreement should be returned to him, affirming it to be an insult to the imperial dignity, if the before-mentioned document, in his own hand-writing, should be preserved : and when Macedonius resolutely opposed the demand, and firmly protested that he would not betray the faith, the emperor pursued every insidious device for the purpose of ejecting him from his see. Accordingly, even boys were brought forward as informers, who falsely accused both themselves and Macedonius of infamous practices. But when Macedonius was found to be emasculate, they had recourse to other contrivances; until, by the advice of Celer, commander of the household troops, he secretly retired from his see.

With the ejection of Flavian, other circumstances are associated. For we have met with some very aged men who remembered all the events of this time. These say, that the monks of the district called Cynegica, and of the whole of Syria Prima, having been wrought upon by Xenaias, who was bishop of the neighbouring city of Hierapolis, and who was named in Greek Philoxenus, rushed into the city in a body with great noise and tumult, endeavouring to compel Flavian to anathematise the synod of Chalcedon and the tome of Leo. Roused at the indignation manifested by Flavian, and the violent urgency of the monks, the people of the city made a great slaughter of them, so that a very large number found a grave in the Orontes, where the waves performed their only funeral rites. There happened also another circumstance of scarcely less magnitude than the former. For the monks of Caele Syria, now called Syria Secunda, from sympathy with Flavian, since he had led a monastic life in a monastery of the district called Tilmognon, advanced to Antioch, with the intention of defending him. From which circumstance, also, no inconsiderable mischief arose. Accordingly, on the ground either of the former or latter occurrence, or both, Flavian is ejected, and condemned to reside at Petra, on the extreme verge of Palestine.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 33

Severus Bishop Of Antioch.

Flavian having been thus ejected, Severus ascends the episcopal throne of Antioch, in the five hundred and sixty-first year of the era of that city, in the month Dius, the sixth year of the Indiction; the year in which I am now writing being the six hundred and forty-first of that era. He was a native of Sozopolis, a city of Pisidia, and had applied himself to the profession of a pleader at Berytus; but immediately on his abandoning the practice of the law, having participated in holy baptism in the sacred precinct of the divine martyr Leontius, who is revered at Tripolis, a city of Phoenicia Maritima, he assumed the monastic life in a certain monastery situated between the city of Gaza and the town called Majumas; in which latter place Peter the Iberian, who had been bishop of the same Gaza, and had been banished with Timotheus Aelurus, passed through the same discipline, and left behind him a famous memory. Severus there engages in a discussion with Nephalius, who had formerly sided with him on the question of the single nature, but had subsequently been one of the synod at Chalcedon and among those who held the opinion of two natures in the person of our Lord Jesus Christ; and he is, in consequence, expelled from his own monastery by Nephalius and his party, together with many others who held similar doctrines. Thence he proceeds to the imperial city, to plead the cause of himself and those who had been expelled with him, and thus obtains the notice of the emperor Anastasius, as is narrated by the author of the life of Severus.

Accordingly, Severus, in issuing synodical letters, expressly anathematised the synod at Chalcedon; on which point the letters addressed to Alcison speak as follows. "The synodical letters of Timotheus of Constantinople were admitted here in Palestine, but the deposition of Macedonius and Flavian was not admitted, nor yet the synodical letters of Severus; but the bearers were put to flight, with the ignominy and insult which they deserved, by the people and monks of the city, who rose upon them. Such was the situation of matters in Palestine. But of the bishops subject to Antioch, some were carried away into compliance, among whom was Marinus, bishop of Berytus; others by force and compulsion concurred in the synodical letters of Severus, which included an anathema, both on the synod and all others who affirmed two natures or persons in the Lord, namely, the flesh and the Godhead; and others, after having concurred by compulsion, recalled their assent, and among them the bishops subject to Apamea; others, again, altogether refused concurrence, among whom were Julian, bishop of Bostra, Epiphanius of Tyre, and some others, as is said. But the Isaurian bishops, having returned to their sober senses, are now condemning themselves for the error into which they had been beguiled, and are anathematising Severus and his party. Others of the bishops and clergy subject to Severus have abandoned their churches, and among them Julian of Bostra, and Peter of Damascus, who are now living in these parts, as also Manias. This latter is one of those two who seemed to be the chiefs of the followers of Dioscorus, by whose means also Severus obtained his dignity: but he now condemns the arrogance of that party." And presently the letter proceeds. "The monasteries in these parts and Jerusalem itself are, with the aid of God, unanimous respecting the right faith, and very many cities besides, together with their bishops, for all of whom, and for ourselves, pray thou that we may not enter into temptation, our most holy lord and honoured father."

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 34

Act Of Deposition Against Severus.

Since, then, these letters state, that the priests subject to Apamea had separated from Severus, let me now add a circumstance transmitted to us from our fathers, although it has not hitherto found a place in history. Cosmas, bishop of my native place, Epiphanea, which stands on the Orontes, and Severian, bishop of the neighbouring city of Arethusa, being troubled at the synodical letters of Severus, and having withdrawn from his communion, despatched an instrument of deposition to him, while still bishop of Antioch. They entrust the document to Aurelian, chief of the deacons at Epiphanea, and he, through dread of Severus and the majesty of so great a bishopric, on his arrival at Antioch puts on a female dress, and approaches Severus with delicate carriage and the entire assumption of a woman's appearance. Letting his vail fall down to his breast, with wailing and deep drawn lamentation he presents to Severus, as he advanced, the instruments of deposition in the guise of a petition: he then passes unobserved from among the attendant crowd and purchased safety by flight, before Severus had learned the purport of the document. Severus, having received the document and learned its contents, continued, nevertheless, in his see, until the death of Anastasius.

On being informed of these transactions, for I must record the benevolent measure of Anastasius, he directs Asiaticus, who was commander in Phoenicia Libanensis, to eject Cosmas and Severian from their sees, because they had sent the instrument of deposition to Severus. Finding, on his arrival in the East, that many adhered to the opinions of those bishops, and that their cities resolutely upheld them, he reported to Anastasius that he could not eject them without bloodshed. So great then was the humanity of Anastasius, that he wrote in express terms to Asiaticus, that he did not desire the accomplishment of any object, however important and illustrious, if one drop of blood was to be shed.

Such, then, was the situation of the churches throughout the world down to the reign of Anastasius; whom some, treating him as an enemy to the synod at Chalcedon, erased from the sacred diptychs; and he was also anathematised at Jerusalem even during his life-time.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 35

Suppression Of The Isaurian Insurrection.

It will not be inconsistent, if, in accordance with the promise which I originally made, I insert in my narrative the other circumstances worthy of mention which occurred in the time of Anastasius.

Longinus, the kinsman of Emperor Zeno, on his arrival at his native country, as has been already detailed, openly commences war against the emperor: and after a numerous army had been raised from different quarters, in which Conon, formerly bishop of Apamea in Syria, was also present, who, as being an Isaurian, aided the Isaurians, an end was put to the war by the utter destruction of the Isaurian troops of Longinus. The heads of Longinus and Theodore were sent to the imperial city by John the Scythian; which the emperor displayed on poles at the place called Sycae, opposite Constantinople, an agreeable spectacle to the Romans, who had been hardly treated by Zeno and the Isaurians. The other Longinus, surnamed of Selinus, the main stay of the insurgent faction, and Indes, are sent alive to Anastasius by John, surnamed Hunchback; a circumstance which especially gladdened the emperor and the Romans, by the display of the prisoners led in triumph along the streets and the hippodrome, with iron chains about their necks and hands. Thenceforward, also, the payment called Isaurica accrued to the imperial treasury, being gold previously paid to the Barbarians annually, to the amount of five thousand pounds.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 36

Invasion Of The Arabs. [500 AD.]

The Scenite* barbarians also insulted the Roman empire; not, however, to their own advantage; by plundering Mesopotamia, either Phoenicia, and Palestine [Judaea and Galilee]. After having been everywhere chastised by the commanders, they subsequently continued quiet, and universally made peace with the Romans. [* meaning Semite; the Arabs and Judaeans, of whom many belonged to the Messianic Movement that was defeated by Vespasian and Titus in the First Roman-Jewish War, 66-73 AD. They had to flee into the Arabian deserts. From places such as Petra or Mada'in Saleh, they constantly fought wars against the Romans and Persians. There were not only 3 Roman-Jewish wars but at least 10 Roman-Jewish wars. How many wars they lauched against the Persians is unknown.]

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 37

Capture Of Amida. Founding Of Daras.

The Persians too, having, in violation of treaties, marched beyond their own territories under their king Cabades, first attacked Armenia, and having captured a town named Theodosiopolis, reached Amida, a strong city of Mesopotamia, which they took by storm; and which the Roman emperor subsequently restored by great exertions.

If any one is inclined to learn the particulars of these transactions, and to trace the whole minutely, a very able narrative, a work of great labour and elegance, has been composed by Eustathius; who, after having brought down his history to this point, was numbered with the departed; closing with the twelfth year of the reign of Anastasius.

After the close of this war, Anastasius founds a city on the spot called Daras, in Mesopotamia, situated near the limits of the Roman dominion, and, as it were, a border-point of the two empires. He surrounds it with strong fortifications, and

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embellishes it with various stately erections, both of churches and other sacred buildings, basilicas, public baths, and other ornaments of distinguished cities. The place is said by some to have obtained the name of Daras, because there Alexander the Macedonian, the son of Philip, utterly defeated Darius.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 38

The Long Wall. [507 AD.]

By the same emperor was raised a vast and memorable work called the Long Wall, in a favourable situation in Thrace, distant from Constantinople two hundred and eighty stadia. It reaches from one sea to the other, like a strait, to the extent of four hundred and twenty stadia; making the city an island, in a manner, instead of a peninsula, and affording a very safe transit, to such as choose, from the Pontus to the Euxine Sea. It is a check upon the inroads of the Barbarians from the Euxine, and of the Colchians from the Palus Maeotis, and from beyond the Caucasus, as well as of those who have made irruptions from Europe.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 39

Abolition Of The Chrysargyrum.

The same emperor completed an extraordinary and divine achievement, namely, the entire abolition of the tax called chrysargyrum: which transaction I must now detail, though the task needs the eloquence of Thucydides, or something still more lofty and graceful. I will, however, myself describe it, not in reliance upon powers of language, but encouraged by the nature of the action.

There was imposed upon the Roman commonwealth, so singular in its magnitude and duration, a tax vile and hateful to God, and unworthy even of Barbarians, much more of the most Christian empire of the Romans: which, having been overlooked, from what cause I am unable to say, until the time of Anastasius, he most royally abolished. It was imposed, both on many other classes of persons who procured their livelihood by an accumulation of petty gains, and also upon women who made a sale of their charms, and surrendered themselves in brothels to promiscuous fornication in the obscure parts of the city; and besides, upon those who were devoted to a prostitution which outraged not only nature but the common weal: so that this mode of revenue proclaimed, as distinctly as a direct enactment, that all who chose, might practise such wickedness in security. The impious and accursed revenue raised from this source, the collectors paid at the end of every five years into the hands of the first and most dignified of the prefects: so that it formed no unimportant part of the functions of that office, and had its separate exchequer, and accountants, men who regarded the business as a military service, suited, like the rest, to persons of some distinction.

Anastasius, being informed of the circumstance, laid the matter before the senate, and justly declaring it to be an abomination and unparallelled defilement, decreed that it should be utterly abolished; and committed to the flames the papers which were vouchers for its collection. With the desire also of making this measure a complete sacrifice to God, and of preventing any of his successors from reviving the ancient shame, he puts on the appearance of vexation, and accuses himself of inconsiderateness and excessive folly, saying, that in the too eager pursuit of novelty he had neglected the interests of the commonwealth, and had rashly and thoughtlessly abolished so important a revenue, which had been established in former times and confirmed by so long a continuance, without duly weighing the impending dangers, or the expenses necessary for the maintenance of the army, that living bulwark of the empire, nor yet for the service of God. Accordingly, without betraying his secret thoughts, he proclaims his desire to restore the before-mentioned revenue; and having summoned those who had been in charge of the levy, he told them that he repented of the step, but knew not what course to take, or how to rectify his error, now that the papers had been burnt which could be vouchers for the particulars of its exaction. And while they, on their part, lamented the abolition of the levy, not in semblance but in reality, on account of the unrighteous gain which had thence accrued to them, and were professing the same perplexity as the emperor, he urged and exhorted them to employ every mode of search, in the endeavour to procure from among documents preserved in various quarters, a statement of the entire levy. Supplying each individual with money, he despatched him to collect materials, enjoining him to bring every paper which threw light upon this matter wherever it might be found; that by means of the utmost circumspection and minute attention, a statement of the business might be again put together. Accordingly, on the return of those who were engaged in the execution of these orders, Anastasius put on a pleased and gladsome appearance, and was in reality rejoiced in having compassed the object on which he was bent. He also made particular enquiries, both how they were discovered and in whose possession, and whether any thing of the same kind was still remaining: and on their affirming that they had expended great pains upon the collection, and swearing by the emperor himself, that no other paper which could be a voucher was preserved throughout the whole empire, Anastasius again lighted up a great pile with the papers thus produced, and drenched the ashes with water, with the intention of removing every trace of this levy; so that there might appear neither dust, nor ashes, nor any remnant whatever of the business, through imperfect combustion.

In order, however, that, while we are thus extolling the abolition of this impost, we may not seem to be ignorant how much has been written under passionate feelings on the subject by former authors, let me produce these matters, and shew their falsehood, and that more especially from their own statements.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 40

Falsehoods Of The Historian Zosimus.

Zosimus, a follower of the accursed and foul religion of the Greeks, in his anger against Constantine, because he was the first emperor that had adopted Christianity, abandoning the abominable superstition of the Greeks, says, that he was the person who devised the tax called Chrysargyrum, and enacted that it should be levied every five years. He has on many other grounds also reviled that pious and magnificent monarch; for he affirms that he contrived many other intolerable proceedings against every class of persons; that he miserably destroyed his son Crispus, and made away with his wife Fausta by inclosing her in an overheated bath; and that, after having in vain endeavoured to to procure purification from murders so detestable at the hands of the priests of his own religion (for they plainly declared its impossibility), he met with an Egyptian who had come from Iberia; and, having been assured by him that the faith of the Christians had the power of blotting out every sin, he embraced what the Egyptian had imparted to him, and thenceforward abandoning the faith of his fathers, he made the commencement of his impiety. The falsehood of these assertions I will forthwith shew, and in the first place treat of the matter of the Chrysargyrum.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 41

Refutation Of Zosimus.

Thou sayest, O evil and malignant demon, that Constantine, wishing to raise a city equal to Rome, first made a commencement of so vast a place by laying strong foundations and erecting a lofty wall between Troas and Ilium; but when he had discovered in Constantinople a more suitable site, he in such fashion encircled the place with walls, so far extended the former city, and embellished it with buildings so splendid, as hardly to be surpassed by Rome itself, which had received gradual increase through so long a course of years. Thou sayest also that he made a distribution of provisions at the public cost to the people of Constantinople, and bestowed a very large sum of gold upon those who had accompanied him thither, for the erection of private houses. Again, thou writest to the following effect: that on the decease of Constantine, the imperial power came into the hands of Constantius, his only surviving son after the death of his two brothers; and that when Magnentius and Vetranio had assumed the sovereignty, he wrought upon the latter by persuasives: and when both armies had been mustered, Constantius, addressing them first, reminded the soldiers of the generosity of his father, with whom they had served through many wars, and by whom they had been distinguished with the most liberal gifts; and that the soldiers, on hearing this, stripped Vetranio of his imperial robe, and made him descend from the tribunal into a private station; and tha,t he suffered no unkindness at the hands of Constantius : who has shared with his father in so much of thy calumny. How thou canst then maintain that the same person could be so liberal, so munificent, and at the same time so paltry and sordid as to impose so accursed a tax, I am utterly unable to comprehend.

In proof that Constantine did not destroy Fausta or Crispus, nor was on that account initiated by an Egyptian into our mysteries, listen to the history of Eusebius Pamphili, who was contemporary with Constantine and Crispus, and had intercourse with them. For what thou writest, so far from being truth, was not even contemporary hearsay, since thou livedst long after, in the time of Arcadius and Honorius----to which period thou hast brought down thy history----or even after their time. Eusebius, in the eighth book of his ecclesiastical history, has the following words: "After no very long interval, the emperor Constantine, having maintained a disposition remarkable for gentleness in respect to his whole life, kindliness towards his subjects, and favour towards the divine word, closes his life by the common laws of nature, leaving behind him, as emperor and Augustus in his own room, a, legitimate son, Constantius." And farther on he says: "His son Constantius, having at the very commencement of his reign been proclaimed supreme emperor and Augustus by the armies, and long before by God himself, the universal Sovereign, shewed himself an imitator of his father's piety as respects our faith." And at the end of the history he expresses himself in the following terms: "The mighty, victorious Constantine, distinguished by every religious excellence, in conjunction with his son Crispus, a sovereign highly beloved of God, and resembling his father in all things, obtained his rightful possession of the East." Eusebius, who survived Constantine, would never have praised Crispus in these terms, if he had been destroyed by his father. Theodoret, in his history, says that Constantine partook in the saving baptism at Nicomedia, near the close of his life, and that he had deferred the rite till this period, from a desire that it should be performed in the river Jordan.

Thou sayest, O most detestable and polluted one, that the Roman empire from the time of the appearance of Christianity, fell away and was altogether ruined: either because thou hast not read any of the older writings, or because thou art a traitor to the truth. For, on the contrary, it clearly appears that the Roman power increased together with the spread of our faith. Consider, for instance, how, at the very time of the sojourn of Christ our God among mankind, the greater part of the Macedonians were crushed by the Romans, and Albania, Iberia, the Colchians, and Arabians were subjugated. Caius Caesar also, in the hundred and eighty-first Olympiad, subdued in great battles the Gauls, Germans, and Britons, and thereby added to the Roman empire the inhabitants of five hundred cities; as has been recorded by historians. He also was the first who attained to sole sovereignty since the establishment of consuls, thereby preparing a way for the previous introduction of a reverence for monarchy, after the prevalence of polytheism and popular rule, on account of the monarchy of Christ which was immediately to appear. A further acquisition was also forthwith made of the whole of Judaea and the neighbouring territories: so that it was at this time that the first registration took place; in which Christ also was enrolled, in order that Bethlehem might fulfil the prophecy relating to it; for thus had the prophet Micah spoken respecting that place: "And thou, Bethlehem, territory of Judah, art by no means least among the princes of Judah, for from thee shall come forth a governor who shall feed my people Israel." Also after the nativity of Christ our God, Egypt was added to the Roman dominion; Augustus Caesar, in whose time Christ was born, having completely overthrown Antony and Cleopatra; who also killed themselves. Upon which Cornelius Gallus is appointed by Augustus governor of Egypt, being the first who ruled that country after the Ptolemies: as has been recorded by historians. To what extent the territories of the Persians were curtailed by Ventidius, Corbulo the general of Nero, Severus, Trajan, Carus, Cassius, Odenatus of Palmyra, Apollonius, and others; and how often Seleucia and Ctesiphon were taken, and Nisibis changed sides; and how Armenia and the neighbouring countries were added to the Roman empire; these matters have been narrated by thyself, as well as by others.

I had, however, nearly forgotten to notice what thou thyself writest respecting the achievements of Constantine, how nobly and courageously he swayed the Roman empire, while professing our religion, and what befell Julian, thy hero and the votary of thy orgies, who bequeathed to the commonwealth injuries so serious. Whether, however, he has either already received a foretaste of the things which have been foretold concerning the end of the world, or will even receive their full measure, is a question relating to an economy too high for thy comprehension.

Let us, at all events, consider under what circumstances heathen and Christian emperors have respectively closed their reigns. Did not Caius Julius Caesar, the first sole sovereign, close his life by assassination? In the next place, did not some of his own officers despatch with their swords Caius, the grandson of Tiberius? Was not Nero slain by one of his domestics? Did not Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, who reigned in all only sixteen months, suffer a similar fate? Was not Titus, on his attaining the empire, taken off by poison by his own brother Domitian? Was not Domitian himself miserably despatched by Stephanus? What too dost thou say about Commodus? Was not he killed by Narcissus? Pertinax and Julian, did they not meet with the same treatment? Antoninus, the son of Severus, did he not murder his brother Geta, and was himself murdered by Martial? Macrinus too, was he not dragged about Constantinople, like a captive, and then butchered by his own soldiers? And Aurelius Antoninus, the Emesene, was he not slaughtered together with his mother? And his successor Alexander, was he not, together with his mother, involved in a similar catastrophe? What should I say, too, concerning Maximin, who was slain by his own troops? or Gordian, brought to a similar end by the designs of Philip? Tell me whether Philip and his successor Decius did not perish by the hands of their enemies? And Gallus and Volusian by their own armies? Aemilian, was he not involved in the same fate? And Valerian, was he not made prisoner and carried about as a show by the Persians? After the assassination of Gallienus and the murder of Carinus, the sovereignty came into the hands of Diocletian and those whom he chose as his partners in the empire. Of these, Herculius, Maximian, and Maxentius his son, and Licinius utterly perished. But from the time that the renowned Constantine succeeded to the empire, and had dedicated to Christ the city which bears his name, mark me, whether any of those who have reigned there, except Julian thy hierophant and monarch, have perished by the

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hands of either domestic or foreign foes, and whether a rival has overthrown any of them; except that Basiliscus expelled Zeno, by whom, however, he was afterwards overthrown and killed. I also agree with thee in what thou sayest about Valens, who had inflicted so many evils upon the Christians: for of any other case not even thou thyself makest mention.

Let no one think that these matters are foreign to an ecclesiastical history; since they are, in fact, altogether useful, and essential, on account of wilful desertion of the cause of truth on the part of heathen writers. Let me now proceed to the rest of the acts of Anastasius.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 42

The Gold-Rate.

The before-mentioned measures Anastasius successfully carried out in a truly royal spirit; but he adopted others by no means worthy of them: both by devising what is called the gold-rate, and farming out the supplies for the army on terms most burdensome to the provincials. He also took the levying of imposts out of the hands of the councils of the respective cities, and appointed what are called Vindices, at the suggestion, as is said, of Marinus the Syrian, who held the highest prefecture, termed in former times the Prefect of the Praetorium. The result was that the revenue fell off to a great extent, and the local dignitaries sunk into abeyance: for persons of high families formerly had their names inscribed in the album of each city; which regarded those who were members of its council, as a kind of senate.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 43

Insurrection Of Vitalian. [514 AD.]

Vitalian, a Thracian by birth, disputes the empire with Anastasius, and having devastated Thrace and Mysia as far as Odessus and Anchialus, was advancing rapidly upon the imperial city, at the head of an innumerable force of Huns. The emperor despatched Hypatius to encounter this force; and, after he had been captured through the treachery of his own troops, and liberated at a large ransom, the conduct of the war was entrusted to Cyril.

The battle which followed, was at first indecisive, with several subsequent alternations of success; but, notwithstanding the advantage was on the side of Cyril, the enemy rallied, and he was ultimately routed through the wilful desertion of his own soldiers. In consequence, Vitalian captured Cyril in Odessus, and advanced as far as the place called Sycae, laying the whole country waste with fire and sword; meditating nothing less than the capture of the city itself and the seizure of the sovereignty. When he had encamped at Sycae, Marinus the Syrian, whom we have mentioned before, is despatched by the emperor to attack him by sea. The two armaments, accordingly, encountered, the one having Sycae astern, the other Constantinople. For a time the fleets remained inactive: but, after the skirmishings and discharge of missiles had been followed by a fierce conflict in the place called Bytharia, Vitalian withdraws from the line of battle and takes to flight, with the loss of the greater portion of his fleet. The remainder then fly with such precipitation, that the next day not a single enemy was found in the channel or in the neighbourhood of the city. It is said that Vitalian then continued inactive for some time at Anchialus. There was also another inroad of Huns, who had passed the defiles of Cappadocia.

About the same time Rhodes suffered by a violent earthquake at the dead of night: this being the third time it had been visited by that calamity.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 44

Sedition At Constantinople. [518 AD.]

A Very great sedition occurred at Constantinople, arising from a wish of the emperor to add to the Trisagion the clause, "Who was crucified for our sakes:" which was regarded as subversive of the Christian religion. Its prime mover and chief was Macedonius, aided by his subject clergy, as Severus says in a letter to Sotericus, which he wrote before his elevation to the episcopal throne, while residing at the imperial city, at the time when, with several others, he had been expelled from his monastery, as I have already mentioned. It was on account of this imputation, in addition to the causes before mentioned, that, in my opinion, Macedonius was ejected from his see. Amid the uncontrollable excitement of the populace which followed, persons of rank and station were brought into extreme danger, and many principal parts of the city were set on fire. The populace, having found in the house of Marinus the Syrian, a monk from the country, cut off his head, saying that the clause had been added at his instigation; and having fixed it upon a pole, jeeringly exclaimed: "See the plotter against the Trinity!"

Such was the violence of the tumult, filling every quarter with devastation, and surpassing every means of control, that the emperor was driven to appear at the Hippodrome in pitiable guise, without his crown, and despatched heralds to proclaim to the assembled people, that he was most ready to resign his sovereignty; at the same time reminding them, that it was impossible that all should be elevated to that dignity, which admitted not of a plurality of occupants, and that one individual only could be his successor.

At this the temper of the people was suddenly changed, as by some divine impulse; and they begged Anastasius to resume his crown; with a promise of peaceable conduct in future.

Anastasius survived this event a very short time, and departed to the other world after a reign of twenty-seven years, three months, and three days.

THE END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

THE FOURTH BOOK.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 1

Accession Of Justin.

After Anastasius had, as I have said, departed for the better lot, Justin, a Thracian by birth, assumes the purple, in the five hundred and sixty-sixth year of the Era of Antioch, on the ninth day of the month Panemus, which the Romans call July. He was proclaimed emperor by the imperial body-guards, of which he was also the commander, having been appointed-prefect of the household troops. His elevation was, however, contrary to all expectation, since there were many most distinguished and flourishing members of the family of Anastasius, possessed also of sufficient influence to have secured for themselves the supreme power.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 2

Designs And Death Of Amantius And Theocritus.

Amantius was the imperial chamberlain, and a man of very great influence; but as it was not lawful for any emasculated person to attain the sovereignty of the Romans, he was desirous that the imperial crown should be given to Theocritus, one of his creatures. He, therefore, sends for Justin, and gives him a large sum of money, with orders to distribute it amongst the persons most fit for this purpose, and able to invest Theocritus with the purple. But with the money he either bought over the people, or purchased the goodwill of what are termed the Excubitores--for both accounts are given--and so attained the empire. Soon afterwards he took off Amantius and Theocritus, with some others.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 3

Assassination Of Vitalian.

Justin sends for Vitalian, who was living in Thrace and who had entertained designs of dethroning Anastasius, to Constantinople: for he dreaded his power, his military experience, his universal renown, and his great desire to possess the sovereignty: and rightly conjecturing that he should not be able to overcome him otherwise than by pretending to be a friend; by way of concealing his guile under a plausible mask, he appoints him commander of one of the bodies called Praesentes, and, as a more effectual persuasive, with a view to a still greater deception, he raises him to the consulship. He, being consul elect, was assassinated on visiting the palace, at an inner door, and thus met with a punishment for his insolence towards the Roman sovereignty. But these events happened subsequently.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 4

Deposition Of Severus, Bishop Of Antioch. Succession Of Paul And Euphrasius. [519 AD.]

Severus, who had been ordained president of Antioch, as stated above, ceased not daily to anathematise the Synod at Chalcedon [The Council of Chalcedon, 451 AD.], and chiefly by means of those epistles called Enthronistic, and in the responses which he sent to all the patriarchs, though they were received only at Alexandria, by John, the successor of the former John, and by Dioscorus and Timotheus: which epistles have come down to our time.

Many contentions having thus arisen in the church, whereby the. most faithful people were split into factions, Justin, in the first year of his reign, ordered him to be arrested, and to be punished, as some say, by having his tongue cut out; the execution of which sentence was committed to Irenaeus, who, at Antioch, held the government of the Eastern provinces.

Severus himself confirms the account of Irenaeus being appointed to arrest him, in a letter to some of the Antiochenes, describing the manner of his escape; wherein he casts the strongest invectives on Irenaeus, and states that he is under the strictest surveillance lest he should escape from Antioch. Some say that Vitalian, who still appeared to be in the highest favour with Justin, demanded the tongue of Severus, because he had reproached him in his discourses. Accordingly, he flies from his see, in the month Gorpiaeus, which in the Latin language is called September, in the five hundred and sixty-seventh year of the Era of Antioch. Paul succeeds to the see, with orders to proclaim openly the synod at Chalcedon. Afterwards, retiring voluntarily from Antioch, he went the way of all flesh by a natural death. He is succeeded in his see by Euphrasius from Jerusalem.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 5

Fires And Earthquakes At Antioch. Death Of Euphrasius. [526 AD.]

About the same period of Justin's reign there happened at Antioch numerous and dreadful fires, as if harbingers of the terrible shocks which afterwards took place, and serving as a prelude for the coming calamities. For, a short time after, in the tenth month of the seventh year of Justin's reign, being Artemisius or May, on the twenty-ninth day of the month, precisely at noon, on the sixth day of the week, the city was visited with the shock of an earthquake, which very nearly destroyed the whole of it. This was followed by a fire, to share, as it were, in the calamity: for what escaped the earthquake, the fire in its spread reduced to ashes. The damage that the city sustained, how many persons according to probable estimate became the victims of the fire and earthquake, what strange occurrences surpassing the power of words took place, have been feelingly related by John the Rhetorician, who concludes his history with the relation.

Euphrasius also perished in the ruins, to add another misfortune to the city, by leaving no one to provide for its exigencies.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 6

Elevation Of Ephraemius, Count Of The East, To The Patriarchate Of Antioch.

But the saving care of God for man, which prepares the remedy before the stroke, and the compassion which, while sharpening the sword of wrath, at the moment of the deepest despair displays its sympathy, raised up Ephraemius, at that time governor of the Eastern provinces, to take upon himself all the care of the city; so that it lacked not any thing that its exigency required. On this account, the sons of the Antiochenes so admired him, that they elected him their priest: and he thus attains the apostolic see as a reward and prize of his singular care for the place. Thirty months after, the city suffered again from an earthquake.

At this time also, what had been hitherto called the city of Antiochus was entitled the City of God, and received additional care at the hands of the emperor.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 7

Miracles Of Zosimas And John.

Now that I have recorded the above-mentioned calamities, let me also add to the present narrative some other circumstances worthy of record, and which have been transmitted to us from those who have made them a subject of notice.

Zosimas was a native of Sinde, a village of Phoenicia Maritima, distant from Tyre about twenty stadia, and pursued the monastic discipline. He, by means both of abstinence and use of food, having attained to such a union with God as not only to discern forthcoming events, but also to possess the grace of perfect freedom from passion, was in company with a distinguished person from Caesarea, the capital of one of the Palestines. This was Arcesilaus, a man of good family, accomplished, and high in dignities and whatever gives lustre to life. Zosimas, at the very moment of the overthrow of Antioch, suddenly became troubled, uttered lamentations and deep sighs, and then shedding such a profusion of tears as to bedew the ground, called for a censer, and having fumed the whole place where they were standing, throws himself upon the ground, propitiating God with prayers and supplications. Upon Arcesilaus asking the reason of all this trouble, he distinctly replied, that the sound of the overthrow of Antioch was at that instant ringing in his ears. This led Arcesilaus and the rest of the astonished company to note down the hour; and they afterwards found that it was as Zosimas had said.

By his hand many other miracles were performed: but omitting the greater part of them, since they are too numerous to detail, I shall mention a few.

Contemporary with Zosimas, and endued with equal virtues, was a man named John, who had practised the endurance of the solitary and immaterial life in the cloister called Chuzibas, situated at the extremity of the glen at the northern part of the highway leading from Jerusalem to Jericho, and was now bishop of the before-named Caesarea. This John, the Chuzibite, having heard that the wife of Arcesilaus had lost one of her eyes by a stroke of a spindle, runs immediately to her to see the accident; and when he finds that the pupil is gone and the eye altogether lacerated, he commands one of the physicians in attendance to bring a sponge, and, having replaced as well as he could the lacerated parts, to apply and secure the sponge with bandages. Arcesilaus was absent, for he happened to be with Zosimas in his monastery at Sinde, distant from Caesarea full five hundred stadia. Accordingly, messengers proceeded with all haste to Arcesilaus, whom they found sitting in conversation with Zosimas. When informed of the circumstance, he uttered a piercing cry, tore his hair and cast it towards heaven. Upon Zosimas asking him the reason, he told him what had happened, interrupting his account with frequent wailings and tears. Whereupon Zosimas, leaving him alone, goes to his chamber, where he used to make his

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addresses to God according to the rule of such persons, and after some interval he approaches Arcesilaus with a solemnly joyous countenance, and gently pressing his hand, said: "Depart with joy, depart. Grace is given to the Chuzibite. Your wife is cured, and is in possession of both her eyes; for the accident has had no power to deprive her of them, since such was the desire of the Chuzibite." This was brought about by the united wonder-working of both the just men.

Again, as the same Zosimas was going to Caesarea, and leading an ass laden with certain necessaries, a lion encountered him and carried off the ass. Zosimas follows into the wood, reaches the place where the lion was, satiated with his meal upon the beast, and smiling says, "Come, my friend; my journey is interrupted, since I am heavy and far advanced in years, and not able to carry on my back the ass's load. You must therefore carry it, though contrary to your nature, if you wish Zosimas to get out of this place and yourself to be a wild beast again." All at once the lion, forgetting his ferocity, fawned on him, and by his gestures plainly manifested obedience. Zosimas then put the ass's load upon him, and led him to the gates of Caesarea, showing the power of God, and how all things are subservient to man if we live to Him and do not pervert the grace given to us. But that I may not render my history prolix by more circumstances of the kind, I will return to the point whence 1 digressed.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 8

General Calamities. [521 AD.]

During the reign of Justin, Dyrrachium, formerly called Epidamnus, suffered from an earthquake; as did also Corinth in Greece, and afterwards, for the fourth time, Anazarbus, the capital of Cilicia Minor. These cities Justin restored at great expence. About the same time Edessa, a large and flourishing city of Osroene, was inundated by the waters of the Skirtus, which runs close by it; so that most of the buildings were swept away, and countless multitudes that were carried down by the stream, perished. Accordingly, the names of Edessa and Anazarbus were changed by Justin, and each of them was called, after himself, Justinopolis.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 9

Appointment Of Justinian To A Share In The Empire.

When Justin had reigned eight years, nine months, and three days, he associated in the government Justinian, his nephew, who was proclaimed on the first of the month Xanthicus, or April, in the five hundred and seventy-fifth year of the era of Antioch. After these transactions, Justin departs his earthly sovereignty, closing his life on the first of the month Lous, or August, having had Justin for his associate in the empire four months, and reigned in all nine years and three days. Now that Justinian was sole sovereign of the Roman empire, and the synod at Chalcedon was being proclaimed in the most holy churches by the commands of Justin, as stated before; the state of the church was disturbed in some of the provinces, but chiefly at Constantinople and Alexandria, Anthimus being bishop of the former, and Theodosius of the latter: for both held the doctrine of the single nature of Christ.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 10

The Council Of Chalcedon Upheld By Justinian.

Justinian very resolutely upheld the synod at Chalcedon and what was put forth by it; and Theodora, his consort, those who maintained the single nature: either because such were their real sentiments--for when the faith is a matter of dispute, fathers are divided against their children, children against the authors of their birth, a wife against her own husband, and again a husband against his own wife--or by mutual understanding, that he should uphold those who maintained the two natures in Christ our God after the union; and she those who alleged the single nature. Neither conceded to the other: but he strenuously supported the acts at Chalcedon, and she, ranging with the opposite party, exercised the greatest care towards those who maintained the single nature. Our people she treated with the warmest kindness, and others too with great munificence. She also persuades Justinian to send for Severus.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 11

Deposition Of Anthimus And Theodosius From Their Sees.

There are letters extant from Severus to Justinian and Theodora, from which we may gather that at first he put off his journey to the imperial city on leaving his see of Antioch. Nevertheless he afterwards arrived there; and has written to the effect that when he came thither and had conversed with Anthimus, and found him holding the same sentiments with himself, and the same opinions with respect to the Godhead, he persuaded him to withdraw from his see. He wrote concerning these matters to Theodosius, bishop of Alexandria, and greatly gloried in having persuaded Anthimus, as stated before, to prefer such doctrines to earthly glory and the possession of his see. Letters are also extant on this subject from Anthimus to Theodosius, and from Theodosius to Severus and Anthimus; which I pass over, leaving them to those who choose to consult them, that I may not include in the present work too great a mass of materials. Nevertheless, both were ejected from their sees, as opposing the imperial mandates and the decrees of Chalcedon. Zoilus succeeded to that of Alexandria, and Epiphanius to that of the imperial city: so that from that time forward the synod at Chalcedon was openly proclaimed in all the churches; and no one dared to anathematise it; while those who dissented, were urged by innumerable methods to assent to it. Accordingly, a constitution was drawn up by Justinian in which he anathematised Severus, Anthimus, and others, and subjected those who held their doctrines, to the highest penalties: the effect of which was, that thenceforward no schism remained in any of the churches, but the patriarchs of the several dioceses agreed with each other, and the bishops of the cities followed their respective primates. Four synods were thus proclaimed throughout the churches; first, that held at Nicaea; secondly, that at Constantinople; thirdly, the former one at Ephesus; and fourthly, that at Chalcedon. A fifth also took place by order of Justinian, concerning which I shall say what is suitable in its proper place, while I weave into my present narrative the several events of the same period which are worthy of notice.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 12.

Cabades And Chosroes, Kings Of Persia. [531 AD.]

The history of Belisarius has been written by Procopius the Rhetorician. He says that Cabades, king of the Persians, wishing to invest his youngest son Chosroes with the sovereignty, was desirous to have him adopted by the Roman emperor, so that by that means his succession might be secured. But when this was refused, at the suggestion of Proclus, who advised Justinian as his quaestor, they conceived a still greater hatred against the Romans. This same Procopius has, with diligence, elegance, and ability, set forth the events of the war between the Romans and Persians while Belisarius was commander of the forces of the East. The first victory on the side of the Romans which he records, was in the neighbourhood of Daras and Nisibis, under the command of Belisarius and Hemogenes. He subjoins an account of the occurrences in Armenia, and the mischief inflicted on the Romans by Alamundarus, the chieftain of the Scenite barbarians, who captured Timostratus, the brother of Rufinus, together with his troops, and afterwards liberated him for a considerable ransom.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 13

Incursion Of The Arabs. Sedition At Constantinople.

He also feelingly details the incursion of the before-named Alamundarus and Azarethus into the Roman territory; and how Belisarius, compelled by his own troops, engaged them in their retreat by the Euphrates, on the eve of Easter day; and how the Roman army was destroyed through their repugnance to the measures of Belisarius; and how Rufinus and Hermogenes made with the Persians the peace called the perpetual peace.

He subjoins an account of the insurrection of the people at Constantinople, which derived its name from the watchword of the populace: for they entitled it "Nica", because on their assembling they chose this term as the watchword, to know each other. On this occasion Hypatius and Pompeius were compelled by the people to assume the sovereignty. But on the defeat of the populace, both were beheaded by the soldiers at the command of Justinian, and the insurrection was quelled. Procopius states that thirty thousand persons were killed in this disturbance.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 14

Persecution By Huneric. [484 AD.]

The same writer, when treating of the affairs of the Vandals, has recorded most important occurrences and worthy of perpetual memory, which I now proceed to mention. Himeric, the successor of Genseric, and a professor of the creed of Arius, entertained most cruel intentions against the African Christians, in the endeavour to convert by force the maintainers of the orthodox doctrines to the opinions of the Arians. Those who refused compliance, he destroyed both by fire and various modes of death, and some he deprived of their tongues. The latter, Procopius says that he himself saw, when they had taken refuge at the imperial city, and that he maintained a conversation with them in the same manner as with unmutilated persons: that their tongues were cut out from the root; nevertheless their speech was articulate, and they conversed distinctly; a new and strange marvel, of which also a constitution of Justinian makes mention. Two of these persons lapsed, as Procopius himself writes. For on their desiring commerce with women, they were deprived of their speech, since the grace of their martyrdom had abandoned them.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 15

Cabaones The Moor. [522 AD.]

He also relates another wonderful occurrence, wrought by our Saviour God in the case of men, aliens indeed to our religion, who, however, acted with religious reverence. He states that Cabaones was chieftain of the Moors in the neighbourhood of Tripolis. This Cabaones, he says--for it is worth while to use his own words during his able narration of this matter also--this Cabaones, as soon as he learned that the Vandals were marching against him, acted in the following manner. First, he commanded all his subjects to refrain from injustice and all luxurious food, but particularly from commerce with women; and having raised two fortified enclosures, he encamped himself with all the men in one, and enclosed the women in the other, threatening death to any man who should approach the women. Afterwards, he sent scouts to Carthage with these instructions: that when the Vandals on their march outraged any temple reverenced by the Christians, they should note what was being done, and when the Vandals left the place, should, immediately on their departure, treat the sanctuary in a manner directly the reverse. It is mentioned that he further said, that he was ignorant of the God worshipped by the Christians, but it was likely, if he were powerful, as was affirmed, that he would chastise those who outraged him, and defend such as rendered him service. The scouts, therefore, coming to Carthage, continued to watch the preparations of the Vandals, and when the army set forward for Tripolis, they followed it, disguised in a sorry dress. The Vandals, encamping at the close of the first day, introduced their horses and other beasts into the temples of the Christians, and abstained from no species of outrage, but gave way to their usual license; and beating and severely scourging the priests whom they happened to seize, bid them wait upon them. But as soon as the Vandals had left the place, the scouts of Cabaones did all that had been enjoined them, and immediately cleansed the sanctuaries, sedulously removing the dung and every other defilement: they lighted all the tapers, paid reverent obeisance to the priests, and saluted them with every kindness; and when they had bestowed money on the beggars who sat round the shrine, they followed the army of the Vandals, who, from this point along the whole line of march, committed the same outrages, while the scouts remedied them. When, however, they were at no great distance, the scouts, proceeding in advance, announced to Cabaones all that had been done by the Vandals and themselves to the temples of the Christians, and that the enemy were now near. On hearing this, he prepared to engage. By far the greater part of the Vandals, as our author states, were destroyed: some were captured by the enemy, and very few returned home. Such was the misfortune that Thrasamund sustained at the hands of the Moors. He died some time after, having ruled the Vandals for seven and twenty years.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 16

Expedition Of Belisarius Against The Vandals.

The same author writes that Justinian, having, in pity to the Christians in that quarter, professed his intention of undertaking an expedition for their relief, was being diverted from his purpose by the suggestion of John, prefect of the palace, when a dream appeared to him, bidding him not to shrink from the execution of his design; for, by assisting the Christian she would overthrow the power of the Vandals. Being determined by this circumstance, in the seventh year of his reign, he despatches Belisarius, about the summer solstice, to attack Carthage; on which occasion, when the general's ship touched at the shore of the palace, Epiphanius, bishop of the city, offered up appropriate prayers, having previously baptised some of the soldiers and embarked them on board the vessel. He also narrates some circumstances, worthy of record, relating to the martyr Cyprian, in the following words:

"All the Carthaginians especially reverence Cyprian, a holy man, and having erected on the shore, in front of their city, a noble shrine, besides other reverential observances, they celebrate an annual festival, and call it Cypriana; and the sailors are accustomed to call the tempestuous weather which I have before mentioned by the same name as the festival, since it is wont to happen at the time of the year at which the Africans have fixed its perpetual celebration. This temple the Vandals, in the reign of Huneric, took by force from the Christians, and ignominiously expelling the priests, refitted it, as henceforward belonging to the Arians. They say that Cyprian, frequently appearing in a dream to the Africans who were indignant and distressed on this account, told them that there was no occasion for the Christians to be solicitous about him, for in time he would avenge himself: which prediction attained its accomplishment in the time of Belisarius, when Carthage, ninety-five years after its loss, was reduced by him under the Roman power, by the utter overthrow of the Vandals: at which time the doctrine of the Arians was entirely extirpated from Africa, and the Christians recovered their own temples, according to the prediction of the martyr Cyprian."

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 17

Triumph Of Belisarius.

The same author writes as follows. "When Belisarius had subdued the Vandals, he returned to Constantinople, bringing the spoils and prisoners, and among them Gelimer,

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king of the Vandals. A triumph was granted him, and he carried in procession through the Hippodrome whatever would be an object of wonder. Among these were considerable treasures obtained by Genseric from the plunder of the palace at Rome, as I have already narrated; when Eudoxia, the wife of Valentinian, emperor of the West, having been both deprived of her husband and subjected to an outrage on her chastity by Maximus, invited Genseric, with a promise of surrendering the city to him: on which occasion, after burning Rome, he conveyed Eudoxia and her daughters to the country of the Vandals. Together with the other treasures, he then carried off all that Titus, the son of Vespasian, had brought to Rome on the capture of Jerusalem; offerings which Solomon had dedicated to God. These Justinian, in honour of Christ our God, sent back to Jerusalem; an act of becoming reverence to the Deity, to whom they had in the first instance been dedicated. On this occasion, Procopius says that Gelimer, prostrating himself on the ground in the hippodrome, before the imperial throne on which Justinian was sitting to witness the proceedings, made application, in his own language, of the divine oracle: "Vanity of vanities; all is vanity."

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 18

Origin Of The Moors. Munificence Of Justinian In Africa.

Procopius mentions another circumstance, unnoticed before his time, but one that can scarcely be regarded with sufficient wonder. He states that the Moors of Lybia settled in that country after being dislodged from Palestine, and that they are those whom the divine oracles mention as the Girgashites and Jebusites, and the other nations subdued by Joshua the son of Nun. He concludes the entire truth of the story from an inscription in Phoenician characters, which he says that he himself had read, and that it was near a fountain, where were two pillars of white stone on which were engraved these words: "We are those who fled from the face of Joshua the robber, the son of Nun."

Such was the end of these transactions, in Africa becoming again subject to the Romans, and paying, as before, an annual tribute.

Justinian is said to have restored one hundred and fifty cities in Africa, some of which had been altogether, and others extensively ruined; and this he did with surpassing magnificence, in private and public works and embellishments, in fortifications, and other vast structures by which cities are adorned and the Deity propitiated: also in aqueducts for use and ornament, the supply of water having been in some cases conveyed to the cities for the first time, in others restored to its former state.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 19

Events Following The Death Of Theodoric.

I Now proceed to relate what occurred in Italy; events which have also been treated very distinctly by Procopius, the Rhetorician, down to his own times.

After Theodoric, as I have already detailed, had captured Rome and utterly destroyed its king Odoacer, and had closed his life in possession of the Roman sovereignty, his wife Amalasuntha held the reins of government, as guardian of their common son Athalaric; a woman rather of a masculine temperament, and administering affairs accordingly. She was the first person who led Justinian to entertain a desire for the Gothic war, by sending an embassy to him on the formation of a conspiracy against herself. On the death, however, of Athalaric at a very early age, Theodatus, a kinsman of Theodoric, was invested with the sovereignty of the West, but abdicated when Justinian had despatched Belisarius to that quarter; being a person addicted rather to literature, and altogether wanting in military experience; while Vitiges, an able soldier, was in command of his forces. From the materials which the same Procopius has collected, one may gather that Vitiges abandoned Rome on the arrival of Belisarius in Italy; who at once marched upon the city. The Romans readily opened their gates to him; a result mainly brought about by Silverius, their bishop, who, with this view, had sent to him Fidelis, formerly assessor to Athalaric. They accordingly surrendered their city to him without resistance: and thus Rome, after an interval of sixty years, again fell into Roman hands on the ninth day of the month Apellaeus, called by the Latins December. The same Procopius writes, that, when the Goths were besieging Rome, Belisarius, suspecting Silverius of a design to betray the city, transports him to Greece and appoints Vigilius in his room.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 20

Conversion Of The Heruli.

About the same time, as Procopius also writes, when the Heruli, who had already crossed the river Danube in the reign of Anastasius, had experienced generous treatment at the hands of Justinian, in large presents of money, the whole nation embraced Christianity and adopted a more civilised mode of life.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 21

Loss And Recovery Of Rome. [537 AD.]

Jn the next place he records the return of Belisarius to Constantinople, and how he brought thither Vitiges, together with the spoils of Rome; also the seizure of the sovereignty of Rome by Totila, and how the city again fell under the dominion of a Goth; how Belisarius, having twice entered Italy, again recovered the city, and how, on the breaking out of the Median war, he was recalled to Constantinople by the emperor.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 22

Conversion Of The Abasgi.

Procopius also records, that the Abasgi, having become more civilised, embraced the Christian doctrine about the same time, and that Justinian sent to them one of the eunuchs of the palace, their countryman, by name Euphratas, with an interdict, that henceforward no one in that nation should undergo emasculation in violation of nature; for from among them the imperial chamberlains were principally appointed, whom usage styles eunuchs. At this time, Justinian, having erected among the Abasgi a temple in honour of the Mother of God, appointed priests for them; by which means they were accurately instructed in the Christian doctrine.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 23

Conversion Of Tile People On The Tanais. Earthquakes.

The same author narrates, that the people on the Tanais (the natives give the name of Tanais to the channel extending from the Palus Maeotis to the Euxine Sea) urged Justinian to send a bishop to them; which request he granted, and gladly sent them a priest. The same writer describes, with great ability, the irruptions of the Goths of the Maeotis into the Roman territory in the time of Justinian, and the violent earthquakes which took place in Greece; how Boeotia, Achaia, and the neighbourhood of the Crisssean bay suifered shocks; how innumerable towns and cities were levelled, and chasms were formed, many of which closed again, while others remained open.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 24

Achievements And Piety Of Narses.

Procopius also describes the expedition of Narses, who was sent by Justinian into Italy; how he overthrew Totila and afterwards Teia; and how Rome was taken for the fifth time. Those about the person of Narses affirm that he used to propitiate the Deity with prayers and other acts of piety, paying due honour also to the Virgin and mother of God, so that she distinctly announced to him the proper season for action; and that Narses never engaged until he had received the signal from her. He recounts also other distinguished exploits of Narses in the overthrow of Buselinus and Syndualdus, and the acquisition of nearly the whole country as far as the ocean. These transactions have been recounted by Agathias the Rhetorician, but his history has not reached our hands.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 25

Invasion Of The Persians. Capture Of Antioch. [540 AD.]

The same Procopius has also written the following account. When Chosroes had learned what had occurred in Africa and Italy favourable to the Roman dominion, he was moved to excessive jealousy, and advanced certain charges against the Roman government, that terms had been violated and the existing peace broken. In the first place, Justinian sent ambassadors to Chosroes to induce him not to break the peace which was intended to be perpetual, nor to trespass on the existing conditions; proposing that the points in dispute should be discussed and settled in an amicable manner. But Chosroes, maddened by the ferment of jealousy, would not listen to any proposals, and invaded the Roman territory with a large army, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Justinian. The historian also writes, that Chosroes captured and destroyed Sura, a city on the banks of the Euphrates, after having professed to make terms, but dealing with it in defiance of all justice, by paying no regard to the conditions, and becoming master of it rather by stratagem than by open war. He also narrates the burning of Beraea, and then the advance upon Antioch; at which time Ephraemius was bishop of the city, but had abandoned it on the failure of all his plans. This person is said to have rescued the Church and its precincts, by arraying it with the sacred offerings, in order that they might serve as a ransom for it. The historian also feelingly describes the capture of Antioch by Chosroes, and its promiscuous devastation by fire and sword: his visit to the neighbouring city of Seleucia, and to the suburb Daphne, and his advance towards Apamea, during the episcopate of Thomas, a man most powerful in word and deed. He had the prudence to yield to Chosroes in becoming a spectator of the horse-races in the hippodrome, though an act of irregularity ; employing every means to court and pacify the conqueror. Chosroes also asked him whether he was desirous to see him in his own city: and it is said that he frankly replied that it was no pleasure to see him in his neighbourhood: at which answer Chosroes was struck with wonder, justly admiring the truthfulness of the man.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 26

Display Of The Wood Of The Cross At Apamea. [540 AD.]

Now that I have arrived at this point of my narrative, I will relate a prodigy, which occurred at Apamea, and is worthy of a place in the present history.

When the sons of the Apameans were informed that Antioch had been burnt, they besought the before-mentioned Thomas to bring forth and display the saving and life-giving wood of the cross, in deviation from established rule ; that they might behold and kiss for the last time the sole salvation of man, and obtain a provision for the passage to another life, in having the precious cross as their means of transport to the better lot. In performance of which request, Thomas brings forth the life-giving wood, announcing stated days for its display, that all the neighbouring people might have an opportunity to assemble and enjoy the salvation thence proceeding.

Accordingly, my parents visited it together with the rest, accompanied by myself, at that time a school-boy. When, therefore, we requested permission to adore and kiss the precious cross, Thomas, lifting up both his hands, displayed the wood which blotted out the ancient curse, making an entire circuit of the sanctuary, as was customary on the ordinary days of adoration. As Thomas moved from place to place, there followed him a large body of fire, blazing but not consuming; so that the whole spot where he stood to display the precious cross seemed to be in flames: and this took place not once or twice but often, as the priest was making the circuit of the place, and the assembled people were entreating him that it might be done. This circumstance foreshewed the preservation which was granted to the Apameans. Accordingly, a representation of it was suspended on the roof of the sanctuary, explaining it by its delineation to those who were uninformed: which was preserved until the irruption of Adaarmanes and the Persians, when it was burnt together with the holy church in the conflagration of the entire city. Such were these events. But Chosroes, in his retreat, acted in direct violation of conditions--for even on this occasion terms had been made--in a manner suited to his restless and inconstant disposition, but utterly unbecoming a rational man, much more a king professing a regard for treaties.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 27

Siege Of Edessa By Chosroes. [540 AD.]

The same Procopius narrates what the ancients had recorded concerning Edessa and Abgarus, and how Christ wrote a letter to him. He then relates how Chosroes made a fresh movement to lay siege to the city, thinking to falsify the assertion prevalent among the faithful, that Edessa would never fall into the power of an enemy: which assertion, however, is not contained in what was written to Abgarus by Christ our God; as the studious may gather from the history of Eusebius Pamphili, who cites the epistle verbatim. Such, however, is the averment and belief of the faithful; which was then realised, faith bringing about the accomplishment of the prediction. For after Chosroes had made many assaults on the city, had raised a mound of sufficient size to overtop the walls of the town, and had devised innumerable expedients beside, he raised the siege and retreated. I will, however, detail the particulars. Chosroes ordered his troops to collect a great quantity of wood for the siege from whatever timber fell in their way; and when this had been done before the order could well be issued, arranging it in a circular form, he threw a mound inside with its face advancing against the city. In this way elevating it gradually with the timber and earth, and pushing it forward towards the town, he raised it to a height sufficient to overtop the wall, so that the besiegers could hurl their missiles from vantage ground against the defenders. When the besiegers saw the mound approaching the walls like a moving mountain, and the enemy in expectation of stepping into the town at day-break, they devised to run a mine under the mound--which the Latins term "aggestus"--and by that means apply fire, so that the combustion of the timber might cause the downfall of the mound. The mine was completed; but they failed in attempting to fire the wood, because the fire, having no exit whence it could obtain a supply of air, was unable to take hold of it. In this state of utter perplexity, they bring the divinely wrought image, which the hands of men did not form, but Christ our God sent to Abgarus on his desiring to see Him. Accordingly, having introduced this holy image into the mine, and washed it over with water, they sprinkled some upon the timber; and the divine power forthwith being present to the faith of those who had so done, the result was accomplished which had previously been impossible: for the timber immediately caught the flame, and being in an instant reduced to cinders, communicated with that above, and the fire spread in all directions. When the besieged saw the smoke rising, they adopted the following contrivance. Having filled small jars with sulphur, tow, and other combustibles, they threw them upon the aggestus ; and these, sending forth srnoke as the fire was increased by the force of their flight, prevented that which was rising from the mound from being

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observed ; so that all who were not in the secret, supposed that the smoke proceeded solely from the jars. On the third day the flames were seen issuing from the earth, and then the Persians on the mound became aware of their unfortunate situation. But Chosroes, as if in opposition to the power of heaven, endeavoured to extinguish the pile, by turning all the water-courses which were outside the city upon it. The fire, however, receiving the water as if it had been oil or sulphur, or some other combustible, continually increased, until it had completely levelled the entire mound and reduced the aggestus to ashes. Then Chosroes, in utter despair, impressed by the circumstances with a sense of his disgraceful folly in having entertained an idea of prevailing over the God whom we worship, retreated ingloriously into his own territories.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 28

Miracle At Sergiopolis. [540 AD.]

What occurred at Sergiopolis through the proceedings of Chosroes shall also be described, as being a notable event and worthy of perpetual remembrance. Chosroes advanced against this city too, eager for its capture; and on his proceeding to assault the walls, negociations took place with a view to spare the city: and it was agreed that the sacred treasures should be a ransom for the place, among which was also a cross presented by Justinian and Theodora. When they had been duly conveyed, Chosroes asked the priest and the Persians who had been sent with him, whether there was not any thing besides. Upon this one of them, being persons unaccustomed to speak the truth, told Chosroes that there were some other treasures concealed by the townsmen, who were but few. In fact, there had been left behind not any treasure of gold or silver, but one of more valuable material, and irrevocably devoted to God, namely, the holy relics of the victorious martyr Sergius, lying in a coffin of the oblong sort, plated over with silver. Chosroes, influenced by these persons, advanced his whole army against the city; when suddenly there appeared along the circuit of the walls, in defence of the place, innumerable shields; on seeing which the persons sent by Chosroes returned, describing, with wonder, the number and fashion of the arms. And when, on further enquiry, he learned that very few persons remained in the city, and these consisted of aged people and children, from the absence of the flower of the population, he perceived that the prodigy proceeded from the martyr, and, influenced by fear and wonder at the faith of the Christians, he withdrew into his own country. They also say that in his latter days he partook in the holy regeneration.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 29

Pestilence. [542-594 AD.]

I Will also describe the circumstances of the pestilence which commenced at that period, and has now prevailed and extended over the whole world for fifty-two years; a circumstance such as has never before been recorded. Two years after the capture of Antioch by the Persians, a pestilence broke out, in some respects similar to that described by Thucydides, in others widely different. It took its rise from Aethiopia, as is now reported, and made a circuit of the whole world in succession, leaving, as I suppose, no part of the human race unvisited by the disease. Some cities were so severely afflicted as to be altogether depopulated, though in other places the visitation was less violent. It neither commenced according to any fixed period, nor was the time of its cessation uniform; but it seized upon some places at the commencement of winter, others in the course of the spring, others during the summer, and in some cases, when the autumn was advanced. In some instances, having infected a part of a city, it left the remainder untouched; and frequently in an uninfected city one might remark a few households excessively wasted; and in several places, while one or two households utterly perished, the rest of the city remained unvisited: but, as we have learned from careful observation, the uninfected households alone suffered the succeeding year. But the most singular circumstance of all was this; that if it happened that any inhabitants of an infected city were living in a place which the calamity had not visited, these alone were seized with the disorder. This visitation also befell cities and other places in many instances according to the periods called Indictions; and the disease occurred, with the almost utter destruction of human beings, in the second year of each indiction. Thus it happened in my own case--for I deem it fitting, in due adaptation of circumstances, to insert also in this history matters relating to myself--that at the commencement of this calamity I was seized with what are termed buboes, while still a school-boy, and lost by its recurrence at different times several of my children, my wife, and many of my kin, as well as of my domestic and country servants; the several indictions making, as it were, a distribution of my misfortunes. Thus, not quite two years before my writing this, being now in the fifty-eighth year of my age, on its fourth visit to Antioch, at the expiration of the fourth indiction from its commencement, I lost a daughter and her son, besides those who had died previously. The plague was a complication of diseases: for, in some cases, commencing in the head, and rendering the eyes bloody and the face swollen, it descended into the throat, and then destroyed the patient. In others, there was a flux of the bowels: in others buboes were formed, followed by violent fever; and the sufferers died at the end of two or three days, equally in possession, with the healthy, of their mental and bodily powers. Others died in a state of delirium, and some by the breaking out of carbuncles. Cases occurred where persons, who had been attacked once and twice and had recovered, died by a subsequent seizure.

The ways in which the disease; was communicated, were various and unaccountable: for some perished by merely living with the infected, others by only touching them, others by having entered their chamber, others by frequenting public places. Some, having fled from the infected cities, escaped themselves, but imparted the disease to the healthy. Some were altogether free from contagion, though they had associated with many who were afflicted, and had touched many not only in their sickness but also when dead. Some, too, who were desirous of death, on account of the utter loss of their children and friends, and with this view placed themselves as much as possible in contact with the diseased, were nevertheless not infected; as if the pestilence struggled against their purpose. This calamity has prevailed, as I have already said, to the present time, for two and fifty years, exceeding all that have preceded it. For Philostratus expresses wonder that the pestilence which happened in his time, lasted for fifteen years. The sequel is uncertain, since its course will be guided by the good pleasure of God, who knows both the causes of things, and their tendencies. I shall now return to the point from which I digressed, and relate the remainder of Justinian's history.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 30

Avarice Of Justinian.

Justinian was insatiable in the acquisition of wealth, and so excessively covetous of the property of others, that he sold for money the whole body of his subjects to those who were entrusted with offices or who were collectors of tributes, and to whatever persons were disposed to entrap others by groundless charges. He stripped of their entire property innumerable wealthy persons, under colour of the emptiest pretexts. If even a prostitute, marking out an individual as a victim, raised a charge of criminal intercourse against him, all law was at once rendered vain, and by making Justinian her associate in dishonest gain, she transferred to herself the whole wealth of the accused person. At the same time he was liberal in expenditure; so far as to raise in every quarter many sacred and magnificent temples, and other religious edifices devoted to the care of infants and aged persons of either sex, and of such as were afflicted with various diseases. He also appropriated considerable revenues for carrying out these objects; and performed many such actions as are pious and acceptable to God, provided that those who perform them do so from their own means, and the offering of their deeds be pure.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 31

Description Of The Church Of St. Sophia At Constantinople (Hagia Sophia).

He also raised at Constantinople many sacred buildings of elaborate beauty, in honour of God and the saints, and erected a vast and incomparable work, such as has never been before recorded, namely the largest edifice of the Church, a noble and surpassing structure, beyond the power of words to describe. Nevertheless I will endeavour to the best of my ability to detail the plan of the sacred precinct. The nave of the sanctuary is a dome, supported by four arches, and raised to so great a height that the sight of persons surveying it from below can scarcely reach the vertex of the hemisphere, and no one from above, however daring, ventures to bend over and look down to the floor. The arches are raised clear from the pavement to the roof: but within those on the right and left are ranged columns of Thessalian stone, which, together with other corresponding pillars, support galleries, so as to allow those who wish, to look down upon the performance of the rites below. From these the empress also, when attending at the festivals, witnesses the ceremony of the sacred mysteries. But the eastern and western arches are left vacant, without any thing to interrupt the imposing aspect of so vast dimensions. There are also colonnades under the before-mentioned galleries, forming, with pillars and small arches, a termination to so vast a structure. But in order to convey a more distinct idea of this wonderful fabric, I have thought proper to set down in feet, its length, breadth, and height, as well as the span and height of the arches, as follows:--The length from the door facing the sacred apse where are performed the rites of the bloodless sacrifice, to the apse, is one hundred and ninety feet: the breadth from north to south is one hundred and fifteen feet: the depth from the centre of the hemisphere to the floor is one hundred and eighty feet: the span of each of the arches is . . . . feet: the length, however, from east to west is two hundred and sixty feet; and the range of the lights seventy-five feet. There are also to the west two other noble colonnades, and on all sides unroofed courts of elaborate beauty. Justinian also erected the church of the holy Apostles, which may dispute the first place with any other. In this the emperors and the bishops are usually interred. I have thought fit thus to take some notice of these and similar matters.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 32

Partiality Of Justinian For The Blue Faction.

Justinian was possessed by another propensity, of unequalled ferocity; whether attributable to an innate defect of his disposition, or to cowardice and apprehensions, I am not able to say. It took its rise from the existence of the faction among the populace distinguished by the name "Nica." He appeared to favour one party, namely the Blues, to such an excess, that they slaughtered their opponents at mid-day and in the middle of the city, and, so far from dreading punishment, were even rewarded; so that many persons became murderers from this cause. They were allowed to assault houses, to plunder the valuables they contained, and to compel persons to purchase their own lives; and if any of the authorities endeavoured to check them, he was in danger of his very life: and it actually happened that a person holding the government of the East, having chastised some of the rioters with lashes, was himself scourged in the very centre of the city, and carried about in triumph. Callinicus also, the governor of Cilicia, having subjected to legal punishment two Cilician murderers, Paul and Faustinus, who had assaulted and endeavoured to despatch him, suffered impalement, as the penalty for right feeling and maintenance of the laws. The members of the other faction having, in consequence, fled from their homes, and meeting with a welcome nowhere, but being universally scouted as a pollution, betook themselves to waylaying travellers, and committed thefts and murders to such an extent, that every place was filled with untimely deaths, robberies, and every other crime. Sometimes also, siding with the other faction, Justinian put to death in turn their opponents, by surrendering to the vengeance of the laws those whom he had allowed to commit in the cities equal outrages with barbarians. Neither words nor time would suffice for a minute detail of these transactions. Thus much will, however, serve for a conception of the remainder.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 33

Barsanuphius The Ascetic.

There lived at that season men divinely inspired and workers of distinguished miracles in various parts of the world, but whose glory has shone forth every where. First, Barsanuphius, an Egyptian. He maintained in the flesh the exercise of the fleshless life, in a certain seat of contemplation near the town of Gaza, and succeeded in working wonders too numerous to be recorded. He is also believed to be still alive, enclosed in a chamber, although for fifty years and more from this time he has not been seen by any one, nor has he partaken of any earthly thing. When Eustochius, the president of the church of Jerusalem, in disbelief of this account, had determined to dig into the chamber where the man of God was enclosed, fire burst forth and nearly consumed all those who were on the spot.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 34

Simeon The Monk.

There lived also at Emesa, Simeon, a man who had so completely unclothed himself of vain-glory as to appear insane to those who did not know him, although filled with all wisdom and divine grace. This Simeon lived principally in solitude, affording to none the means of knowing how and when he propitiated the Deity, nor his time of abstinence or eating. Frequently, too, on the public roads, he seemed to be deprived of self-possession, and to become utterly void of sense and intelligence, and entering at times into a tavern, he would eat, when he happened to be hungry, whatever food was within his reach. But if any one saluted him with an inclination of the head, he would leave the place angrily and hastily, through reluctance that his peculiar virtues should be detected by many persons. Such was the conduct of Simeon in public.

But there were some of his acquaintances, with whom he associated without any assumed appearances. One of his friends had a female domestic, who, having been debauched and become pregnant by some person, when she was urged by her owners to name the individual, said that Simeon had secretly cohabited with her and that she was pregnant by him ; that she was ready to swear to the truth of this statement, and, if necessary, to convict him. On hearing this, Simeon assented, saying that he bore the flesh with its frailties; and when the story was universally spread, and Simeon, as it seemed, was deeply disgraced, he withdrew into retirement, as if from feelings of shame. When the woman's time had arrived, and she had been placed in the usual position, her throes, causing great and intolerable sufferings, brought her into imminent peril, but the birth made no progress. When, accordingly, they besought Simeon, who had come thither designedly, to pray for her, he openly declared that the woman would not be

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delivered before she had said who was the father of the child: and when she had done this, and named the real father, the delivery was instantaneous, as though by the midwifery of truth.

He once was seen to enter the chamber of a courtezan, and having closed the door, he remained alone with her a considerable time; and when, again opening it, he went away looking round on all sides lest any one should see him, suspicion rose to so high a pitch, that those who witnessed it, brought out the woman, and inquired what was the nature of Simeon's visit to her and continuance with her for so long a time. She swore that, from want of necessaries, she had tasted nothing but water for three days past, and that Simeon had brought her victuals and a vessel of wine; that, having closed the door, he set a table before her and bid her make a meal, and satisfy her hunger, after her sufferings from want of food. She then produced the remains of what had been set before her.

Also at the approach of the earthquake which visited Phoenicia Maritima, and by which Berytus, Byblus, and Tripolis especially suffered, raising a whip in his hand, he struck the greater part of the columns in the forum, exclaiming, "Stand still, if there shall be occasion to dance." Inasmuch as none of his actions were unmeaning, those who were present carefully marked which were the columns he passed by without striking them. These were soon afterwards thrown down by the effects of the earthquake. Many other things he also did which require a separate treatise.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 35

Thomas The Monk.

At that time lived also Thomas, who pursued the same mode of life in Coele-Syria. On occasion of his visiting Antioch, for the purpose of receiving the yearly stipend for the support of his monastery, which had been assigned from the revenues of the church in that place, Anastasius, the steward of the church, struck him on the head with his hand, because he frequently troubled him. When the bystanders manifested indignation, he said that neither himself should again receive nor Anastasius pay the money. Both which things came to pass, by the death of Anastasius after an interval of one day, and by the departure of Thomas to the unfading life, on his way back, in the sick hospital at the suburb of Daphne. They deposited his body in the tomb appropriated to strangers: but, after the subsequent interment of two others, his body was found above them, an extraordinary wonder, proceeding from God, who bore testimony to him even after his death; for the other bodies were thrown to a considerable distance. They report the circumstance to Ephraemius, in admiration of the saint. In consequence, his holy body is transported to Antioch, with a public festival and procession, and is honoured with a place in the cemetery, having, by its translation, stopped the plague which was then visiting the place. The yearly festival in honour of whom the sons of the Antiochenes continue to celebrate to our time with great magnificence. Let me now, however, return to my subject.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 36

Account Of A Miracle In The Patriarchate Of Menas.

When Anthimus, as has been already mentioned, was removed from the see. of the imperial city, Epiphanius succeeds to the bishopric; and after Epiphanius, Menas, in whose time also occurred a remarkable prodigy. It is an old custom in the imperial city, that, when there remains over a considerable quantity of the holy fragments of the immaculate body of Christ our God, boys of tender age should be fetched from among those who attend the schools, to eat them. On one occasion of this kind, there was included among them the son of a glass-worker, a Jew by faith; who, in reply to the inquiries of his parents respecting the cause of his delay, told them what had taken place, and what he had eaten in company with the other boys. The father, in his indignation and fury, places the boy in the furnace where he used to mould the glass. The mother, unable to find her child, wandered over the city with lamentations and wailings; and on the third day, standing by the door of her husband's workshop, was calling upon the boy by name, tearing herself in her sorrow. He, recognising his mother's voice, answered her from within the furnace, and she, bursting open the doors, saw, on her entrance, the boy standing in the midst of the coals, and untouched by the fire. On being asked how he had continued unhurt, he said that a woman in a purple robe had frequently visited him that; she had offered him water, and with it had quenched that part of the coals which was nearest to him; and that she had supplied him with food as often as he was hungry.

Justinian, on the report of this occurrence, placed the boy and his mother in the orders of the church, after they had been enlightened by the laver of regeneration. But the father, on his refusal to be numbered among the Christians, he ordered to be impaled in the suburb of Sycae, as being the murderer of his child.

Such was the course of these occurrences.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 37

Succession Of Bishops.

After Menas, Eutychius is elevated to the see.

At Jerusalem, Sallustius succeeds Martyrius, who is himself succeeded by Helias. The next in succession was Peter; and after him came Macarius, without the emperor's confirmation. He was ejected from his see, on the charge of maintaining the opinions of Origen, and was succeeded by Eustochius. After the removal of Theodosius, as has been already mentioned, Zoilus is appointed bishop of Alexandria, and when he had been gathered to his predecessors, Apollinaris obtains the chair. After Ephraemius, Domninus is entrusted with the see of Antioch.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 38

The Fifth General Council. [552 AD.]

During the time that Vigilius was bishop of the Elder Rome, and first Menas, then Eutychius of New Rome, Apollinaris of Alexandria, Domninus of Antioch, and Eustochius of Jerusalem, Justinian summons the fifth synod, for the following reason:--On account of the increasing influence of those who held the opinions of Origen, especially in what is called the New Laura, Eustochius used every effort for their removal, and, visiting the place itself, he ejected the whole party, driving them to a distance, as general pests. These persons, in their dispersion, associated with themselves many others. They found a champion in Theodore, surnamed Ascidas, bishop of Caesarea, the metropolis of Cappadocia, who was constantly about the person of Justinian, as being trusty and highly serviceable to him. Whereas he was creating much confusion in the imperial court, and declared the proceeding of Eustochius to be utterly impious and lawless, the latter despatches to Constantinople Rufus, superior of the monastery of Theodosius, and Conon, of that of Saba, persons of the first distinction among the solitaries, both on account of their personal worth and the religious houses of which they were the heads; and with them were associated others scarcely their inferiors in dignity. These, in the first instance, mooted the questions relating to Origen, Evagrius, and Didymus. But Theodore of Cappadocia, with a view to divert them from this point, introduces the subject of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret, and Ibas; the good God providentially disposing the whole proceeding, in order that the profanities of both parties should be ejected.

On the first question being started, namely, whether it were proper to anathematise the dead, Eutychius, a man of consummate skill in the divine Scriptures, being as yet an undistinguished person--for Menas was still living, and he was himself at that time apocrisiarius to the bishop of Amasea--casting a look on the assembly, not merely of commanding intelligence but of contempt, plainly declared that the question needed no debate, since King Josiah in former time not only slew the living priests of the demons, but also broke up the sepulchres of those who had long been dead. This was considered by all to have been spoken to the purpose. Justinian also, having been made acquainted with the circumstance, elevated him to the see of the imperial city on the death of Menas, which happened immediately after. Vigilius gave his assent in writing to the assembling of the synod but declined attendance.

Justinian addressed an inquiry to the synod on its assembling, as to what was their opinion concerning Theodore, and the expressions of Theodoret against Cyril and his twelve chapters, as well as the epistle of Ibas, as it is termed, addressed to Maris, the Persian. After the reading of many passages of Theodore and Theodoret, and proof given that Theodore had been long ago condemned and erased from the sacred diptychs, as also that it was fitting that heretics should be condemned after their death, they unanimously anathematise Theodore, and what had been advanced by Theodoret against the twelve chapters of Cyril and the right faith; as also the epistle of Ibas to Maris, the Persian; in the following words:--

"Our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ, according to the parable in the gospels," and so forth. "In addition to all other heretics, who have been condemned and anathematised by the before-mentioned four holy synods and by the holy catholic and apostolic church, we condemn and anathematise Theodore, styled bishop of Mopsuestia, and his impious writings; also whatever has been impiously written by Theodoret against the right faith, against the twelve chapters of the sainted Cyril, and against the first holy synod at Ephesus, and all that he has written in defence of Theodore and Nestorius. We further anathematise the impious epistle said to have been written by Ibas to Maris the Persian."

After some other matter, they proceed to set forth fourteen chapters concerning the right and unimpeachable faith. In this manner had the transactions proceeded : but on the presentation of libels against the doctrine of Origen, named also Adamantius, and the followers of his impious error, by the monks Eulogius, Conon, Cyriacus, and Pancratius, Justinian addresses a question to the synod concerning these points, appending to it a copy of the libel, as well as the epistle of Vigilius upon the subject: from the whole of which may be gathered the attempts of Origen to fill the simplicity of the apostolic doctrine with philosophic and Manichaean tares. Accordingly, a relation was addressed to Justinian by the synod, after they had uttered exclamations against Origen and the maintainers of similar errors. A portion of it is expressed in the following terms: "O most Christian emperor, gifted with heavenly generosity of soul," and so forth. "We have shunned, accordingly, we have shunned this error; for we knew not the voice of the alien; and having bound such a one, as a thief and a robber, in the cords of our anathema, we have ejected him from the sacred precincts." And presently they proceed: "By perusal you will learn the vigour of our acts." To this they appended a statement of the heads of the matters which the followers of Origen were taught to maintain, shewing their agreements, as well as their disagreements, and their manifold errors. The fifth head contains the blasphemous expressions uttered by private individuals belonging to what is called the New Laura, as follows. Theodore, surnamed Ascidas, the Cappadocian, said "If the Apostles and Martyrs at the present time work miracles, and are already so highly honoured, unless they shall be equal with Christ in the restitution of things, in what respect is there a restitution for them ?" They also reported many other blasphemies of Didymus, Evagrius, and Theodore; having with great diligence extracted whatever bore upon these points. At an interval of some time after the meeting of the synod, Eutychius is ejected, and there is appointed in his place to the see of Constantinople John a native of Seremis, which is a village of the district of Cynegica, belonging to Antioch.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 39

Departure Of Justinian From Orthodoxy.

At that time Justinian, abandoning the right road of doctrine, and following a path untrodden by the apostles and fathers, became entangled among thorns and briers; with which wishing to fill the Church also, he failed in his purpose, and thereby fulfilled the prediction of prophecy ; the Lord having secured the royal road with an unfailing fence, that murderers might not leap, as it were, upon a tottering wall or a broken hedge. Thus, at the time when John, named also Catelinus, was bishop of the elder Rome, after Vigilius; John from Seremis, of New Rome; Apollinaris, of Alexandria; Anastasius, of Theopolis, after Domninus; and Macarius, of Jerusalem, had been restored to his see; Justinian, after he had anathematized Origen, Didymus, and Evagrius, issued what the Latins call an Edict, after the deposition of Eustochius, in which he termed the body of the Lord incorruptible and incapable of the natural and blameless passions; affirming that the Lord ate before his passion in the same manner as after his resurrection, his holy body having undergone no conversion or change from the time of its actual formation in the womb, not even in respect of the voluntary and natural passions, nor yet after the resurrection. To this, he proceeded to compel the bishops in all quarters to give their assent. However, they all professed to look to Anastasius, the bishop of Antioch, and thus avoided the first attack.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 40

Anastasius, Patriarch Of Antioch. [561 AD.]

Anastasius was a man most accomplished in divine learning, and so strict in his manners and mode of life, as to insist upon very minute matters, and on no occasion to deviate from a staid and settled frame, much less in things of moment and having relation to the Deity himself. So well tempered was his character, that neither, by being accessible and affable, was he exposed to the intrusion of things unsuitable; nor by being austere and unindulgent, did he become difficult of approach for proper purposes. Accordingly, in serious concerns he was ready in ear and fluent in tongue, promptly resolving the questions proposed to him; but in trifling matters, his ears were altogether closed, and a bridle restrained his tongue, so that speech was enthralled by thought, and silence resulted, more valuable than speech. Justinian assaults him, like some impregnable tower, with every kind of device, considering that if he could only succeed in shaking this bulwark, all difficulty would be removed in capturing the city, enslaving the right doctrine, and taking captive the sheep of Christ. In such a manner was Anastasius raised above the assailing force by heavenly greatness of mind, for he stood upon the immoveable rock of faith, that he unreservedly contradicted Justinian by a formal declaration, in which he showed very clearly and forcibly that the body of the Lord was corruptible in respect of the natural and blameless passions, and that the divine apostles and the inspired fathers both held and delivered this opinion. In the same terms he replied to a question of the monastic body of Syria Prima and Secunda, confirming the minds of all, preparing them for the struggle, and daily reading in the Church those words of the "chosen vessel:" [Acts 4.15.] "If any one is preaching to you a gospel different from that which ye have received, even though it be an angel from heaven, let him be accursed." [Galatians 1.9.] To this all, with few exceptions, paid a steady regard and zealous adherence. He also addressed to the Antiochenes a valedictory discourse, on hearing that Justinian intended to

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banish him; a discourse deserving admiration for its elegance, its flow of thought, the abundance of sacred texts, and the appropriateness of its historical matters.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 41

Death Of Justinian.

But this discourse was not published, "God having provided some better thing for us:" [Hebrews 11.40.] for Justinian, while dictating the banishment of Anastasius and his associate priests, departed this life by an invisible stroke, having reigned in all eight and thirty years and eight months.

THE END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

THE FIFTH BOOK.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 1

Accession Of Justin The Second.

In this manner did Justinian depart to the lowest region of retribution, after having filled every place with confusion and tumults, and having received at the close of his life the reward of his actions. His nephew Justin succeeds to the purple; having previously held the office of guardian of the palace, styled in the Latin language Curopalata. No one, except those who were immediately about his person, was aware of the demise of Justinian or the declaration of Justin, until the latter made his appearance in the hippodrome, by way of formally assuming the stated functions of royalty. Confining himself to this simple proceeding, he then returned to the palace.

His first edict was one dismissing the bishops to their respective sees, wherever they might be assembled, with a provision that they should maintain what was already established in religion, and abstain from novelties in matters of faith. This proceeding was to his honour. In his mode of life, however, he was dissolute, utterly abandoned to luxury and inordinate pleasures: and to such a degree was he inflamed with desire for the property of others, as to convert every thing into a means of unlawful gain; standing in no awe of the Deity even in the case of bishoprics, but making them a matter of public sale to any purchasers that offered. Possessed, as he was, alike by the vices of audacity and cowardice, he in the first place sends for his kinsman Justin, a man universally famous for military skill and his other distinctions, who was at that time stationed upon the Danube, and engaged in preventing the Avars from crossing that river.

These were one of those Scythian tribes who live in wagons, and inhabit the plains beyond the Caucasus. Having been worsted by their neighbours, the Turks, they had migrated in a mass to the Bosphorus; and, having subsequently left the shores of the Euxine---- where were many barbarian tribes, and where also cities, castles, and some harbours had been located by the Romans, being either settlements of veterans, or colonies sent out by the emperors----they were pursuing their march, in continual conflict with the barbarians whom they encountered, until they reached the bank of the Danube; and thence they sent an embassy to Justinian.

From this quarter Justin was summoned, as having a claim to the fulfilment of the terms of the agreement between himself and the emperor. For, since both of them had been possessed of equal dignity, and the succession to the empire was in suspense between both, they had agreed, after much dispute, that whichever of the two should become possessed of the sovereignty, should confer the second place on the other; so that while ranking beneath the emperor, he should still take precedence of all others.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 2

Murder Of Justin, Kinsman Of The Emperor.

The emperor accordingly received him, in the first instance, with an abundant display of kindness. Afterwards, he proceeded to fix certain charges upon him, and to withdraw the various guards of his person, forbidding him at the same time access to his presence; for he himself lived in the retirement of his palace: and ultimately he ordered his removal to Alexandria. There he is miserably murdered in the dead of night, when he had just retired to rest; such being the reward of his fidelity to the commonwealth and his achievements in war. Nor did the emperor and his consort Sophia abate their rage, nor had they sufficiently indulged their boiling spite, before they had gazed upon his head and spurned it with their feet.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 3

Execution Of Aetherius And Addaeus.

Not long after, the emperor brought to trial for treason Aetherius and Addaeus, members of the senate, who had occupied the very highest position at the court of Justinian. Aetherius confessed to a design of poisoning the emperor, saying that he had in Addaeus an accomplice in the plot and an abettor throughout. The latter, however, asseverated, with fearful imprecations, that he was utterly ignorant of the transaction. Both were accordingly beheaded, Addaeus affirming, at the instant of execution, that he had been falsely accused on this point, but admitting that he received his due at the hands of all-seeing Justice, for that he had taken off Theodotus, prefect of the palace, by sorcery. How far these statements are true, I am not able to say; but both were men of bad character; Addaeus being addicted to unnatural lust, and Aetherius pursuing to the utmost a system of false accusation, and plundering the property both of the living and the dead, in the name of the imperial household, of which he had been comptroller in the time of Justinian. Such was the termination of these matters.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 4

Edict Of Justin Concerning The Faith. [566 AD.]

Justin issues an edict to the Christians in every quarter, in the following terms.

"In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, our God, the Emperor Caesar Flavian Justin, faithful in Christ, clement, supreme, beneficent, Alemannicus, Gothicus, Germanicus, Anticus, Francicus, Herulicus, Gepidicus, pious, fortunate, glorious, victorious, triumphant, ever-worshipful Augustus.

"'My peace I give to you,' says the Lord Christ, our very God. 'My peace I leave to you,' he also proclaims to all mankind. Now this is nothing else than that those who believe on him should gather into one and the same church, being unanimous concerning the true belief of Christians, and withdrawing from such as affirm or entertain contrary opinions: for the prime means of salvation for all men is the confession of the right faith. Wherefore we also, following the evangelical precepts and the holy symbol or doctrine of the holy fathers, exhort all persons to unite in one and the same church and sentiment; and this we do, believing in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, holding the doctrine of a consubstantial Trinity, one Godhead or nature and substance, both in terms and reality; one power, influence, and operation in three subsistences or persons; into which doctrine we were baptized, in which we believe, and to which we have united ourselves. For we worship a Unity in trinity and a Trinity in unity, peculiar both in its division and in its union, being Unity in respect of substance or Godhead, and Trinity with regard to its proprieties or subsistences or persons; for it is divided indivisibly, so to speak, and is united divisibly: for there is one thing in three, namely, the Godhead; and the three things are one, namely, those in which is the Godhead, or, to speak more accurately, which are the Godhead: and we acknowledge the Father to be God, the Son God, and the Holy Spirit God, whenever each person is regarded by itself----the thought in that case separating the things that are inseparable----and the three when viewed in conjunction to be God by sameness of motion and of nature; inasmuch as it is proper both to confess the one God, and at the same time to proclaim the three subsistences or proprieties. We also confess the only begotten Son of God, the God-Word, who, before the ages and without time, was begotten of the Father, not made, and who, in the last of the days, for our sakes and for our salvation, descended from heaven, and was incarnate of the Holy Spirit and of our Lady, the holy glorious Mother of God and ever virgin Mary, and was born of her; who is our Lord Jesus Christ, one of the Holy Trinity, united in glorification with the Father and the Holy Spirit: for the Holy Trinity did not admit the addition of a fourth person, even when one of the Trinity, the God-Word, had become incarnate; but our Lord Jesus Christ is one and the same, being consubstantial with God the Father, as respects the Godhead, and at the same time consubstantial with ourselves as respects the manhood; passible in the flesh, and at the same time impassible in the Godhead: for we do not admit that the divine Word who wrought the miracles was one, and he who underwent the sufferings was another ; but we confess our Lord Jesus Christ to be one and the same, namely, the Word of God become incarnate and made perfectly man, and that both the miracles and the sufferings which he voluntarily underwent for our salvation belong to one and the same; inasmuch as it was not a human being that gave himself on our behalf; but the God-Word himself, becoming man without undergoing change, submitted in the flesh to the voluntary passion and death on our behalf. Accordingly, while confessing him to be God, we do not contravene the circumstance of his being man; and while confessing him to be man, we do not deny the fact of his being God: whence, while confessing our Lord Jesus Christ to be one and the same, composed of both natures, namely, the Godhead and the manhood, we do not superinduce confusion upon the union; for he will not lose the circumstance of being God on becoming man like ourselves; nor yet, in being by nature God, and in that respect incapable of likeness to us, will he also decline the circumstance of being man. But as he continued God in manhood; in like manner, though possessed of divine supremacy, he is no less man; being both in one, God and man at the same time, one Emmanuel. Further, while confessing him to be at the same time perfect in Godhead and perfect in manhood, of which two he was also composed, we do not attach to his one complex subsistence a division by parts or severance; but we signify that the difference of the natures is not annulled by the union: for neither was the divine nature changed into the human, nor the human nature converted into the divine; but, each being the more distinctly understood and existent in the limit and relation of its own nature, we say that the union took place according to subsistence. The union according to subsistence signifies, that the God-Word, that is to say one subsistence of the three subsistences of the Godhead, was not united with a previously existing human being, but in the womb of our Lady, the holy glorious Mother of God and ever virgin Mary, formed for himself of her, in his own subsistence, flesh consubstantial with ourselves, having the same passions in all respects except sin, and animated with a reasonable and intelligent soul; for he retained his subsistence in himself, and became man, and is one and the same, our Lord Jesus Christ, united in glorification with the Father and the Holy Spirit. Further, while considering his ineffable union, we rightly confess one nature, that of the Divine Word, to have become incarnate, by flesh animated with a reasonable and intelligent soul; and, on the other hand, while contemplating the difference of the natures, we affirm that they are two, without, however, introducing any division, for either nature is in him; whence we confess one and the same Christ, one Son, one person, one subsistence, both God and man together: and all who have held or do hold opinions at variance with these, we anathematize, judging them to be alien from the Holy and Apostolic Church of God. Accordingly, while the right doctrines which have been delivered to us by the holy fathers are being thus proclaimed, we exhort you all to gather into one and the same Catholic and Apostolic Church, or rather we even entreat you; for though possessed of imperial supremacy, we do not decline the use of such a term, in behalf of the unanimity and union of all Christians, in the universal offering of one doxology to our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ, and in abstinence for the future on the part of all from unnecessary disputes about persons and words----since the words lead to one true belief and understanding----while the usage and form which has hitherto prevailed in the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of God, remains for ever unshaken and unchanged."

To this edict all assented, saying that it was expressed in orthodox language. None, however, of the severed portions of the Church were entirely reunited, because the edict distinctly declared that what had hitherto been unshaken and unchanged, should continue so in all coming time.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 5

Deposition Of Anastasius, Patriarch Of Antioch.

Justin also ejected Anastasius from the episcopate of Theopolis, on the charge of a profuse and improper expenditure of the funds of the see, and also for scandalous language against himself; inasmuch as Anastasius, on being asked why he was so lavishly squandering the property of the see, frankly replied, that it was done to prevent its being carried off by that universal pest, Justin. He is also said to have entertained a grudge against Anastasius, because he had refused to pay a sum of money, when demanded of him in consideration of his appointment to the bishopric. Other charges were also brought against him by persons, who, as I suppose, wished to second the emperor's bent.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 6

Gregory, The Successor Of Anastasius. [571 AD.]

Next in succession, Gregory is elevated to the episcopal see: "wide whose renown," according to the language of poetry; a person who had devoted himself from the earliest period of life to the monastic discipline, and had wrestled therein so manfully and stoutly, that he arrived at the highest elevation when scarcely past his boyhood, and became superior of the monastery of the Romans, in which he had assumed the bare mode of life, and subsequently, by the orders of Justin, of the monastery of Mount Sinai. Here he encountered extreme danger, having sustained a siege by the Scenite Arabs.

Having, nevertheless, secured the complete tranquillity of the spot, he was thence summoned to the archiepiscopal dignity. He was unrivalled in every excellence of intellect and virtue, and most energetic in accomplishing whatever he resolved upon, uninfluenced by fear, and incapable of shrinking before secular power. So noble was his expenditure of money, in a general system of liberality and munificence, that whenever he appeared in public, crowds, besides his ordinary attendants, followed him; and all gathered round him who saw or heard of his approach. The respect shewn to so high a dignity, was but second to the honour bestowed upon the individual, in the generous desire of persons to obtain a near view of him and to hear his words; for he was possessed of singular power to inspire with attachment towards himself all who held converse with him, being a person of most imposing aspect and sweet address, especially quick of perception and prompt in execution, a most able counsellor and judge, both in his own matters and in those of others. On this account it was that he accomplished so much, never deferring any thing till to-morrow. By dealing with matters with unfailing promptitude, according as either necessity required or opportunity favoured, he tilled with admiration not only the Roman but the Persian sovereigns, as I shall set forth the particulars in their proper place. His

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character was strongly marked by vehemence, and at times by indications of anger; while, on the other hand, his meekness and gentleness were not confined, but were exceedingly abundant; so that to him was admirably fitted the excellent expression of Gregory Theologus, "austerity tempered with modesty," while neither quality was impaired, but each rendered more striking by the other.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 7

Submission Of The Inhabitants Of Persarmenia (Persian Armenia).

In the first year of the episcopate of Gregory, the inhabitants of what was formerly called the greater Armenia, but afterwards Persarmenia----this country was formerly subject to the Romans, but when Philip, the successor of Gordian, had betrayed it to Sapor, what is called the lesser Armenia alone was possessed by the Romans, but the remainder by the Persians----this people, being Christians and cruelly treated by the Persians, especially on the score of their faith, sent a secret embassy to Justin, imploring to be allowed to place themselves under the dominion of the Romans, in order to a safe and unrestrained observance of their religion. When the emperor had admitted their overtures, and certain written conditions had been settled on his part and guaranteed by the most solemn oaths, the Armenians massacre their governors; and the whole nation, together with their allied neighbours, both of kindred and foreign race, unite themselves to the Roman empire, Vardanes having a precedence among his countrymen by birth, dignity, and military skill. In reply to the complaints of Chosroes on account of these transactions, Justin alleged that the peace had expired, and that it was impossible to reject the advances of Christians, when desirous of uniting themselves with fellow Christians in time of war.

Such was his reply. Notwithstanding, he made no preparation for war, but was involved in his habitual luxury, regarding every thing as secondary to his personal enjoyments.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 8

Siege Of Nisibis By Marcian. [572 AD.]

The emperor sends out his kinsman Marcian, as commander of the forces of the East, without, however, sufficiently supplying him with troops, or the other material of war. He occupies Mesopotamia, at the imminent risk of utter ruin, followed by very few troops, and these imperfectly armed, and by a few rustic labourers and herdsmen, whom he had pressed into his service from among the provincials. After gaining the advantage in some skirmishes near Nisibis with the Persians, who were themselves not yet completely prepared, he sits down before that city, though the enemy did not think it necessary to close the gates, and insolently jeered the Roman troops. Besides many other prodigies presaging the approaching calamities, I also saw, at the beginning of the war, a newly born calf with two heads.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 9

Invasion Of The Persians. [574 AD.]

Chosroes, when his preparations for war were completed, having accompanied Adaarmanes for some distance, sent him across the Euphrates from his own bank of the river into the Roman territory, by Circesium, a city most important to the Romans, situated at the limit of the empire, and rendered strong not only by its walls, which are carried to an immense height, but by the rivers Euphrates and Aboras, which, as it were, insulate the place. Chosroes himself, having crossed the Tigris with his own division of the army, advanced upon Nisibis.

Of these operations the Romans were for a long time ignorant, so far that Justin, relying on a rumour to the effect that Chosroes was either dead or approaching his last breath, was indignant at the tardiness of the siege of Nisibis, and sent persons for the purpose of stimulating the efforts of Marcian, and bringing to him the keys of the gates as quickly as possible. Information, however, that the siege was making no progress, but that the commander was bringing great discredit upon himself by attempting impossibilities in the case of so important a city with so contemptible a force, is conveyed in the first instance to Gregory, bishop of Theopolis: for the bishop of Nisibis, being strongly attached to Gregory, as having received munificent presents from him, and especially being indignant at the insolence which the Persians were continually displaying towards the Christians, and desirous that his city should be subject to the Roman power, supplied information to Gregory of all things that were going on in the enemy's territory, at each several juncture. This the latter immediately forwarded to Jus tin, informing him as quickly as possible of the advance of Chosroes: but he, being immersed in his habitual pleasures, paid no regard to the letters of Gregory; nor was he indeed inclined to believe them, indulging rather the thoughts suggested by his wishes: for the ordinary mark of dissolute persons is a meanness of spirit combined with confidence with regard to results; as well as incredulity, if any thing occurs which runs counter to their desires. Accordingly he writes to Gregory, altogether repudiating the information as being utterly false, and, even supposing it were true, saying that the Persians would not come up before the siege was concluded, and that, if they did, they would be beaten off with loss. He further sends Acacius, a wicked and insolent man, to Marcian with orders to supersede him in the command, even supposing he had already set one foot within the town. This command he strictly executed, carrying out the emperor's orders without any regard to the public good: for, on his arrival at the camp, he deprives Marcian of his command while on the enemy's territory, and without informing the army of the transaction. The various officers, on learning at the break of the next clay that their commander was superseded, no longer appeared at the head of their troops, but stole away in various directions, and thus raised that ridiculous siege.

Adaarmanes, on the other hand, in command of a considerable force of Persians and Scenite barbarians, having marched by Circesium, inflicted every possible injury with fire and sword upon the Roman territory, setting no limits to his intentions or actions. He also captures many fortresses and towns, without encountering any resistance; in the first place, because there was no one in command, and secondly, because, since the Roman troops were shut up in Daras by Chosroes, his foragings and incursions were made in perfect security. He also directed an advance upon Theopolis, without proceeding thither in person. These troops were compelled to draw off most unexpectedly; for scarcely any one, or indeed very few persons, remained in the city; and the bishop had fled, taking with him the sacred treasures, because both the greater part of the walls had fallen to ruins, and the populace had made insurrection with the hope of gaining ascendancy by change: a thing of frequent occurrence, and especially at junctures like this. The insurgents themselves also abandoned the city, without any attempt to meet the emergency or take active measures against the enemy.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 10

Capture Of Apamea And Daras.

Failing thus in this attempt, Adaarmanes, having burnt the city formerly called Heraclea but subsequently Gagalica, made himself master of Apamea; which, having been founded by Seleucus Nicator, was once flourishing and populous, but had fallen to a great extent into ruin through lapse of time. On the capitulation of the city from the inability of the inhabitants to offer any resistance, since the wall had fallen down through age, he fired and pillaged the whole place, in violation of the terms, and drew off, carrying away captive the inhabitants of the town and the adjoining country, and among them the bishop and the governor. He also exercised every kind of atrocity during his march, without meeting with any resistance or indeed attempt at opposition, except a very small force sent out by Justin under the command of Magnus, who had formerly been a banker at Constantinople, and subsequently appointed steward of one of the imperial residences. These troops however fled with precipitation, and narrowly escaped being made prisoners.

After these operations, Adaarmanes joins Chosroes, who had not yet captured the city he was besieging. By the junction, he threw an important weight into the scale, in raising the spirits of his countrymen, while he disheartened their opponents. He found the city cut off by lines, and a huge mound carried forward within a short distance of the walls, with engines mounted, and especially catapults, shooting from vantage ground. By these means, Chosroes took the city by storm. John, the son of Timostratus, was governor, who paid little regard to the defence of the place, or perhaps betrayed it; for both accounts are reported. Chosroes had besieged the city for five months or more without any effort being made for its relief. Having brought forth all the inhabitants in immense numbers, some of whom he miserably slaughtered but retained the greater part as captives, he garrisoned the city, on account of its important situation, and then retired into his own territories.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 11

Insanity Of Justin.

On being informed of these events, Justin, in whose mind no sober and considerate thoughts found place after so much inflation and pride, and who did not bear what had befallen him with resignation suited to a human being, falls into a state of frenzy, and becomes unconscious of all subsequent transactions.

Tiberius assumes the direction of affairs, a Thracian by birth, but holding the first place in the court of Justin. He had previously been sent out against the Avars by the emperor, who had raised a very large army for the purpose; and he would inevitably have been made prisoner, since his troops would not even face the barbarians, had not divine Providence unexpectedly delivered him, and preserved him for succession to the Roman 'sovereignty; which, through the inconsiderate measures of Justin, was in danger of falling to ruin, together with the entire commonwealth, and of passing from such a height of power into the hands of barbarians.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 12

Embassy Of Trajan To Chosroes.

Accordingly, Tiberius adopts a measure opportune and well suited to the state of affairs, which altogether repaired the calamity. He despatches to Chosroes, Trajan, a senator and an accomplished man, universally esteemed for his years and intelligence; not, however, as representative of the sovereign power, nor yet as ambassador for the commonwealth, but merely to treat on behalf of the empress Sophia; who herself also wrote to Chosroes, bewailing the calamities which had befallen her husband, and the loss of its head which the commonwealth sustained, and urging the unseemliness of trampling upon a widowed female, a prostrate monarch, and a desolate empire: at the same time reminding him that, when afflicted with sickness, he had himself not only been treated with similar forbearance, but that the very best physicians had been sent to him by the Roman government, and had cured him of his disease. Chosroes is, accordingly, moved by the appeal, and when upon the very point of attacking the empire, makes a truce for three years, embracing the eastern parts; with a condition that Armenia should be excepted, so as to allow of hostilities being maintained there, provided the East were not molested.

During these proceedings in the East, Sirmium is taken by the barbarians, which had some time before fallen into the hands of the Gepidae, and been afterwards restored by them to Justin.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 13

Proclamation Of Tiberius. His Character. [474 AD.]

About this time Justin, by the advice of Sophia, bestows on Tiberius the rank of Caesar, giving utterance, in the act of declaration, to such expressions as surpass all that has been recorded in ancient or recent history; our compassionate God having vouchsafed to him an opportunity for an avowal of his own errors, and a suggestion of what was for the benefit of the state. For when there were assembled in the open court, where ancient usage enjoins that such proceedings should take place, both the archbishop, John, whom we have already mentioned, and his clergy, as well as the state dignitaries, and the household troops, the emperor, on investing Tiberius with the imperial tunic and robe, gave utterance with a loud voice to the following words: "Let not the grandeur of thy investiture deceive thee, nor the pomp of the present spectacle; beguiled by which, I have unwittingly rendered myself obnoxious to the most severe penalties. Do thou make reparation for my errors, by administering the commonwealth with all gentleness." Then pointing to the magistrates, he recommended him by no means to put confidence in them, adding: "These are the very persons who have brought me into the condition which thou now witnessest:" together with other similar expressions, which filled all with utter amazement, and drew forth an abundance of tears.

Tiberius was very tall, and by far the most noble in person not only of sovereigns but all mankind; so that, in the first place, his beauty was deserving of sovereignty. In disposition, he was mild and compassionate, and gave cordial reception to all persons at their very first approach. He deemed wealth to consist in aiding all with largesses, not merely so far as to meet their wants, but even to superfluity: for he did not consider what the needy ought to receive, but what it became a Roman emperor to bestow. He esteemed that gold to be adulterated which was exacted with tears: on which account he entirely remitted the taxation for one year, and released from their imposts the properties which Adaarmanes had devastated, not merely to the extent of the damage but even far beyond it. The magistrates were also excused from the necessity of making the unlawful presents, by means of which the emperors formerly made a sale of their subjects. On these points he also issued constitutions, as a security for coining time.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 14

Successes Of The Roman Commander Justinian Against The Persians.

Tiberius, accordingly, applying to a rightful purpose the wealth which had been amassed by improper means, made the necessary preparations for war. So numerous was the army of brave men, raised among the Transalpine nations, the Massagetae, and other Scythian tribes, by a choice levy in the countries on the Rhine, and on this side of the Alps, as well as in Paeonia, Mysia, Illyria, and Isauria, that he completed squadrons of excellent cavalry, to the amount of nearly one hundred and fifty thousand men, and repulsed Chosroes, who, immediately after the capture of Daras, had advanced in the course of the summer against Armenia, and was thence directing his movements upon Caesarea, which was the seat of government of Cappadocia and the capital of the cities in that quarter. In such contempt did Chosroes hold the Roman power, that, when the Caesar had sent an embassy to him, he did not deign to admit the ambassadors to an audience, but bid them follow him to Caesarea; at which place he said he would take the embassy into his consideration. When, however, he saw the Roman army in the front of him, under

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the command of Justinian, the brother of that Justin who had been miserably put to death by the Emperor Justin, in complete equipment, with the trumpets sending forth martial sounds, the standards uplifted for conflict, and the soldiery eager for slaughter, breathing forth fury, and at the same time maintaining perfect order, and, besides, so numerous and noble a body of cavalry as no monarch had ever imagined, he drew a deep groan, with many adjurations, at the unforeseen and unexpected sight, and was reluctant to begin the engagement. But while he is lingering and whiling away the time, and making a mere feint of fighting, Kurs, the Scythian, who was in command of the right wing, advances upon him; and since the Persians were unable to stand his charge, and were in a very signal manner abandoning their ground, he made an extensive slaughter of his opponents. He also attacks the rear, where both Chosroes and the whole army had placed their baggage, and captures all the royal stores and the entire baggage, under the very eyes of Chosroes; who endured the sight, deeming self-imposed constraint more tolerable than the onset of Kurs. The latter, having together with his troops made himself master of a great amount of money and spoil, and carrying off the beasts of burden with their loads, among which was the sacred fire of Chosroes to which divine honours were paid, makes a circuit of the Persian camp, singing songs of victory, and rejoins, about nightfall, his own army, who had already broken up from their position, without a commencement of battle on the part of either Chosroes or themselves, beyond a few slight skirmishes or single combats, such as usually take place.

Chosroes, having lighted many fires, made preparations for a night assault; and since the Romans had formed two camps, he attacks the division which lay northward, at the dead of night. On their giving way under this sudden and unexpected onset, he advances upon the neighbouring town of Melitene, which was undefended and deserted by its inhabitants, and having fired the whole place, prepared to cross the Euphrates. At the approach, however, of the united forces of the Romans, in alarm for his own safety, he mounted an elephant, and crossed alone; while great numbers of his army found a grave in the waters of the river : on learning whose fate he retreated.

Having paid this extreme penalty for his insolence towards the Roman power, Chosroes retires with the survivors to the eastern parts, in which quarter the terms of the truce had provided that no one should attack him. Nevertheless Justinian made an irruption into the Persian territory with his entire force, and passed the whole winter there, without any molestation. He withdrew about the summer solstice, without having sustained any loss whatever, and passed the summer near the border, surrounded by prosperity and glory.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 15

Death Of Chosroes. Succession Of Hormisdas. [576 AD.]

Ciiosroes, lost in frenzy and despair, and submerged in the surgings of sorrow, is brought to a miserable end by overwhelming anguish, after leaving behind him a lasting monument of his flight, in the law which he enacted, that no king of the Persians should henceforward lead an army against the Romans. He is succeeded by his son Hormisdas. These matters I must now pass over, since the events which follow in direct succession are inviting my attention and awaiting the regular progress of my narrative.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 16

Succession Of Bishops.

On the decease of John, named also Catelinus, Bonosus is intrusted with the helm of the Roman see, and he is succeeded by another John, and he, again, by Pelagius. In the imperial city John is succeeded by Eutychius, who had already held the see before him. Apollinaris is succeeded in the see of Alexandria by John, and he by Eulogius, After Macarius, John is elevated to the bishopric of Jerusalem, who had pursued the monastic discipline in what is called the monastery of the Acoemets. This period passed without any changes being attempted in the state of the Church.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 17

Earthquake At Antioch. [580 AD.]

In the third year of the administration of the empire by Tiberius, a violent earthquake befell Theopolis and its suburb of Daphne, precisely at noon; on which occasion the whole of that suburb was laid in utter ruin by the shocks, while the public and private buildings in Theopolis, though rent to the ground, were still not entirely levelled. Several other events occurred both in Theopolis, and also in the imperial city, deserving especial notice, which threw both places into confusion, and broke out into excessive disturbances: events which took their rise from zeal for God, and terminated in a manner worthy of divine agency. These I now proceed to notice.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 18

Commotion On Account Of Anatolius.

There was residing at Theopolis a certain Anatolius, who was originally one of the vulgar and an artisan, but had subsequently, by some means or other, obtained admission into public offices and other posts of importance. In this city he was pursuing his engagements, from which resulted an intimacy with Gregory, president of that Church, and frequent visits to him, partly for the purpose of conversing on matters of business, and partly with a view to obtain greater influence on the ground of his intercourse with the prelate. This person was detected in the practice of sacrificial rites, and being called to account was proved to be a miscreant and a sorcerer, and implicated in innumerable enormities. He gains over, however, by bribery, the governor of the East, and would have obtained an acquittal, together with his accomplices, for he was associated with others of a similar stamp who were involved in the detection, had not the people risen, and, by exciting a universal stir, frustrated the design.

They also clamoured against the bishop, saying that he was a party to the scheme; and some turbulent and malignant demon induced persons to believe that he had also taken part with Anatolius in the sacrificial rites. By this means Gregory was brought into extreme danger, from the vehement efforts of the populace against him; and the suspicion was so far prevalent, that even the emperor Tiberius was desirous of learning the truth from the mouth of Anatolius. Accordingly, he orders Anatolius and his associates to be conveyed forthwith to the imperial city. On learning this, Anatolius rushed to a certain image of the Mother of God, which was suspended by a cord in the prison, and folding his hands behind his back, announced himself as a suppliant: but she, in detestation and conviction of the guilty and God-hated man, turned herself quite round, presenting a prodigy awful and worthy of perpetual remembrance; which, having been witnessed by all the prisoners as well as by those who had the charge of Anatolius and his associates, was thus published to the world. She also appeared in a vision to some of the faithful, exhorting them against the wretch, and saying that Anatolius was guilty of insult against her Son.

When he had been conveyed to the imperial city, and, on being subjected to the extreme of torture, was unable to allege anything against the bishop, he and his associates were the cause of still greater disturbances and a general rising of the populace: for, when some of the party had received sentence of banishment instead of death, the populace, inflamed with a sort of divine zeal, caused a general commotion, in their fury and indignation, and having seized the persons condemned to banishment and put them into a skiff, they committed them alive to the flames; such being the people's verdict. They also clamoured against the emperor and their own bishop Eutychius as betrayers of the faith; and they would have inevitably despatched Eutychius, and those who had been charged with the investigation, making search for them in every quarter, had not all-preserving Providence rescued them from their pursuers, and gradually lulled the anger of so numerous a population; so that no outrage was perpetrated at their hands. Anatolius himself, after being first exposed to the wild beasts in the amphitheatre and mangled by them, was then impaled, without terminating even then his punishment in this world; for the wolves, tearing down his polluted body, divided it as a feast among themselves; a circumstance never before noticed. There was also one of my fellow-citizens, who, before these events took place, affirmed that he had been informed by a dream, that the judgment upon Anatolius and his associates was in the hands of the populace. A person too of high distinction, being the curator of the palace, who had resolutely protected Anatolius, said that he had seen the Mother of God, demanding of him how long he intended to defend Anatolius, who had so grievously outraged herself and her Son. Such was the termination of this business.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 19

Character And Achievements Of Maurice.

Tiberius, being by this time in possession of the crown on the death of Justin, supersedes Justinian, since he had not been equally successful against the barbarians, and appoints Maurice to the command of the forces of the East; a person who derived his descent and name from the elder Rome, but, as regards his more immediate origin, was a native of Arabissus in Cappadocia; a man of sense and ability, and of unvarying accuracy and firmness. Being staid and precise in his mode of living and manners, he was temperate in his food, using only such as was necessary and simple, and was superior to all other indulgences of a luxurious life. He was not easily accessible to the solicitations of the vulgar, nor a too easy listener in general; well knowing that the one tends to produce contempt, and the other leads to flattery. Accordingly, he granted audiences sparingly, and those only to persons on serious business, and closed his ears against idle talk, not with wax, as poets say, but rather with reason; so that this latter was an excellent key to them, appropriately both opening and closing them during conversation. So completely had he banished both ignorance, the mother of audacity, and also cowardice, which is at the same time a foreigner and a neighbour to the former, that with him to face danger was an act of prudence, and to decline it was a measure of safety; while both courage and discretion were the charioteers of opportunity, and guided the reins to whatever quarter necessity directed: so that his efforts were both restrained and put forth, as it were, by measure and rule. Concerning this person I shall speak more fully in the sequel; since the detail of his greatness and excellence I must reserve for the history of his reign ; which displayed the man in a clearer light, as unfolding, through freedom of action, even the more inward parts of his character.

This Maurice, advancing beyond the limits of the empire, captures both cities and fortresses, of the greatest importance to the Persians, and carried off so much plunder, that the captives were sufficiently numerous to occupy at length whole islands, towns, and districts which had been deserted: and thus the land which had been previously untilled, was every where restored to cultivation. Numerous armies also were raised from among them, that fought resolutely and courageously against the other nations. At the same time every household was completely furnished with domestics, on account of the easy rate at which slaves were procured.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 20

Overthrow Of The Persians.

He also engaged Tamchosroes and Adaarmanes, the principal Persian commanders, who had advanced against him with a considerable force: but the nature, manner, and place of these transactions I leave others to record, or shall perhaps myself make them the subject of a distinct work, since my present one professes to treat of matters of a very different kind. Tamchosroes, however, falls in battle, not by the bravery of the Roman soldiery, but merely through the piety and faith of their commander: and Adaarmanes, being worsted in the fight and having lost many of his men, flies with precipitation, and this too, although Alamundarus, the commander of the Scenite barbarians, played the traitor in declining to cross the Euphrates and support Maurice against the Scenites of the opposite party. For this people are invincible by any other than themselves, on account of the fleetness of their horses : when hemmed in, they cannot be captured; and they outstrip their enemies in retreat. Theodoric too, commander of the Scythian troops, did not so much as venture within range of the missiles, but fled with all his people.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 21

Prodigies Foreshewing The Elevation Of Maurice To The Empire.

Prodigies also occurred, which indicated that the imperial power was destined to Maurice. As he was offering incense, at the dead of night, within the sanctuary of Mary, the holy and immaculate virgin and Mother of God, which is called by the Antiochenes the church of Justinian, the veil which surrounds the holy table became wrapt in flames; so that Maurice was seized with amazement and awe, and was terrified at the sight. Gregory, the archbishop of the city, who was standing by, said that it was a divine manifestation, betokening to him the highest fortune.

Christ our God also appeared to him, when in the East, calling upon him to avenge Him: which circumstance distinctly intimated the possession of sovereign power; for of what other person would He have made the demand than of an emperor, and one who manifested so much piety towards Him?

His parents also detailed to me circumstance's remarkable and worthy of being recorded, when I was making inquiries on this point: for his father said that, about the time of his conception, he had seen in a dream a very large vine growing from his bed, on which hung great numbers of beautiful clusters of grapes : and his mother told me that, at the time of her delivery, the earth sent forth a strange odour of peculiar sweetness; and that Empusa, as she is called, had often carried off the child for the purpose of devouring him, but had been unable to injure him.

Simeon, too, who practised the station upon the pillar in the neighbourhood of Theopolis, a most energetic man, and distinguished by every divine virtue, both said and did many things which betokened his succession to the empire. The sequel of the history will relate respecting him whatever circumstances are suitable.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 22

Accession Of Maurice. [582 AD.]

Maurice assumes the sovereignty, when Tiberius was at the point of death, and had bestowed upon him his daughter Augusta, and the empire as her dowry. Notwithstanding the shortness of his reign, Tiberius left behind him an immortal memorial in the remembrance of his good deeds; for he bequeathed to the commonwealth, in the appointment of Maurice, an inheritance, not admitting of specification in terms, but most precious. He also distributed his own appellations, giving to Maurice the name of Tiberius, and to Augusta that of Constantina. The transactions of their reign the sequel of the history will set forth, with the aid of the divine impulse.

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EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 23

Chronological Statement.

In order also to an accurate account of the various periods of time, be it known that Justin the younger, reigned alone twelve years, ten months and a half, and in conjunction with Tiberius, three years and eleven months: so that the whole period is sixteen years, nine months and a half. Tiberius also reigned four years alone : so that the whole time from Romulus to the proclamation of Maurice Tiberius, amounts to . . . . years; as appears from the previous and present dates.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 24

Succession Of Writers On Sacred And Profane History.

By the aid of God, an account of the affairs of the Church, presenting a fair survey of the whole, has been preserved for us in what has been recorded by Eusebius Pamphili down to the time of Constantine, and thence forward as far as Theodosius the younger, by Theodoret, Sozomen, and Socrates, and in the matters which have been selected for my present work.

Primitive and profane history has been also preserved in a continuous narrative by those who have been zealous at the task; Moses being the first to compose history, as has been clearly shewn by those who have collected whatever bears upon the subject, in writing a true account of events from the beginning of the world, derived from what he learned in converse with God on Mount Sinai. Then follow the accounts which those who after him prepared the way for our religion have stored up in sacred scriptures. Josephus also composed an extensive history, in every way valuable. All the stories, whether fabulous or true, relating to the contests of the Greeks and ancient barbarians, both among themselves and against each other, and whatever else had been achieved since the period at which they record the first existence of mankind, have been written by Charax, Theopompus, Ephorus, and others too numerous to mention. The transactions of the Romans, embracing the history of the whole world and whatever else took place either with respect to their intestine divisions or their proceedings towards other nations, have been treated of by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who has brought down his account from the times of what are called the Aborigines, to those of Pyrrhus of Epirus. The history is then taken up by Polybius of Megalopolis, who brings it down to the capture of Carthage. All these materials Appian has portioned out by a clear arrangement, separately grouping each series of transactions, though occurring at intervals of time. What events occurred subsequent to the before-mentioned periods, have been treated by Diodorus Siculus, as far as the time of Julius Caesar, and by Dion Cassius, who continued his account as far as Antoninus of Emesa. In a similar work of Herodian, the account extends as far as the death of Maximus; and in that of Nicostratus, the sophist of Trapezus, from Philip, the successor of Gordian, to Odenatus of Palmyra, and the ignominious expedition of Valerian against the Persians. Dexippus has also written at great length on the same subject, commencing with the Scythian wars, and terminating with the reign of Claudius, the successor of Gallierius: and he also included the military transactions of the Carpi and other barbarian tribes, in Greece, Thrace, and Ionia. Eusebius too, commencing from Octavian, Trajan, and Marcus, brought his account down to the death of Carus. The history of the same times has been partially written both by Arrian and Asinius Quadratus: that of the succeeding period by Zosimus, as far as Honorius and Arcadius: and events subsequent to their reign by Priscus the Rhetorician, and others. The whole of this range of history has been excellently epitomised by Eustathius of Epiphania, in two volumes, one extending to the capture of Troy, the other to the twelfth year of the reign of Anastasius. The occurrences subsequent to that period have been written by Procopius the rhetorician as far as the time of Justinian ; and the account has been thenceforward continued by Agathias the rhetorician, and John, my fellow-citizen and kinsman, as far as the flight of Chosroes the younger to the Romans, and his restoration to his kingdom: on which occasion Maurice was by no means tardy in his operations, but royally entertained the fugitive, and with the utmost speed restored him to his kingdom, at great cost and with numerous forces. These writers, however, have not yet published their history. With respect to these events, I also will detail in the sequel such matters as are suitable, with the favour of the higher power.

THE END OF THE FIFTH BOOK.

THE SIXTH BOOK.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 1

Nuptials Of Maurice And Augusta.

Maurice, on succeeding to the empire, in the first place made the necessary arrangements for his nuptials, and, in accordance with the imperial ordinance, marries Augusta, named also Constantina, with magnificent ceremony, and with public banquetings and festivity in every part of the city. In attendance on the nuptials were Religion and Royalty, offering an escort most distinguished and gifts most precious. For the one supplied a father and mother, to hallow the rite with honoured locks of grey and venerable wrinkles— a circumstance strange in the story of sovereigns—as also brethren noble and blooming, to give dignity to the nuptial procession: the other, a gold embroidered robe, adorned with purple and Indian gems, and crowns most costly, with abundance of gold and the varied emblazonment of jewels; together with the attendance of all who were distinguished in courtly rank or military service, lighting the nuptial flambeaux in splendid costumes and investitures, and hymning the bridal cavalcade: so that no human display was ever more majestic and happy. Damophilus, when writing on the subject of Rome, says that Plutarch the Chaeronean has well remarked, that in order to her greatness alone did Virtue and Fortune unite in friendly truce: but, for myself, I would say, that in respect of Maurice alone did Piety and Good Fortune so conspire; by Piety laying compulsion upon Fortune, and not permitting her to shift at all. It was henceforward the settled aim of the emperor to wear the purple and the diadem not merely on his person but also on his soul: for he alone of recent sovereigns was sovereign of himself; and, with authority most truly centred in himself, he banished from his own soul the mob-rule of the passions, and having established an aristocracy in his own reasonings, he shewed himself a living image of virtue, training his subjects to imitation. Nor have I said this by way of flattery: for how could such be my motive, since he is not acquainted with what is being written? That such was, however, the case with Maurice, will be evidenced by the gifts bestowed upon him by God, and the circumstances of various kinds that must unquestionably be referred to divine favour.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 2

Alamundarus The Arab And His Son Naamanes.

Besides his other noble purposes, this was an especial object with the emperor, to avoid in every case the shedding of the blood of persons guilty of treason. Accordingly, he did not put to death Alamundarus, chieftain of the Scenite Arabs, who had betrayed both the commonwealth and Maurice himself, as I have already detailed; but sentenced him to deportation to an island with his wife and some of his children, and appointed Sicily as the place of his banishment. Naamanes his son, notwithstanding a unanimous sentence of death, he detained as a prisoner at large, without any further infliction; although he had filled the empire with endless mischiefs, and, by the hands of his followers, had plundered either Phoenicia and Palestine, and enslaved the inhabitants, at the time when Alamundarus was captured. He pursued the same course in innumerable other cases, which shall be severally noticed in their places.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 3

Military Operations Of John And Philippicus. [589 AD.]

Maurice sent out as commander of the forces of the East, first, John, a Scythian, who, after experiencing some reverses, with some alternations of success, achieved nothing worthy of mention; afterwards, Philippicus, who was allied to him by having married one of his two sisters. Having crossed the border and laid waste all before him, he amassed great booty, and killed many of the nobles of Nisibis and the other cities situated within the Tigris. He also gave battle to the Persians, and, after a severe conflict, attended with the loss of many distinguished men on the side of the enemy, he made numerous prisoners, and dismissed unharmed a battalion, which had retreated to an eminence and was fairly in his power, under a promise that they would urge their sovereign to send immediate proposals for peace. He also completed other measures during the continuance of his command, namely, in withdrawing his troops from superfluities and things tending to luxury, and in reducing them to discipline and subordination: the representation of which transactions must be fixed by writers, past or present, according as they may be or have been circumstanced with respect to hearsay or opinion— writers whose narrative, stumbling and limping through ignorance, or rendered affected by partiality, or blinded by antipathy, misses the mark of truth.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 4

Mutiny Of The Troops Against Priscus.

He is succeeded in the command by Priscus, a person difficult of access, and not readily approached without necessary occasion, who expected the successful accomplishment of all his measures if he should maintain an almost entire seclusion; from a notion, that, through the awe thence resulting, the soldiery also would be more obedient to orders. Accordingly, on his arrival at the camp with stern and haughty look and in imposing costume, he issued certain orders, relating to the hardihood of the soldiery in the field, to strictness in respect of their arms and to their allowances. Having received previous intimation of the proceeding, they then gave unrestrained vent to their rage; and advancing in a body to the general's quarters, they pillage, in barbarian fashion, all his magnificence and the most valuable of his treasures, and would inevitably have despatched Priscus himself, had he not mounted one of the led horses, and escaped to Edessa : to which place they laid siege, demanding his surrender.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 5

Compulsory Elevation Of Germanus. [587 AD.]

On the refusal of their demands by the citizens, they leave Priscus there, and seizing Germanus, who at that time held the command in Phoenicia Libanensis, they elect him their own general and emperor, while he resisted and they were the more urgent; and a struggle thus arose, on the part of the one to escape compulsion, of the others to enforce their object. After they had menaced him with death unless he would embrace the offered charge, and he, on his part, eagerly embraced the alternative, disclaiming all fear and consternation, they proceeded to certain severities and methods of cruelty, which they thought he would not be able to bear; for they did not suppose that he would manifest greater endurance than the strength of nature and his time of life would warrant. By putting him to the trial at first cautiously and sparingly, they succeed in forcing him to accede to their demands, and solemnly to swear that he would be true to them. Thus they compelled him to be their ruler under rule, their subject sovereign, their master in thraldom. Then chasing from them the officers of every grade, they elect others in their place, openly reviling the imperial government. They treated provincials on the whole less harshly than the barbarians did, but in a manner very unlike allies or servants of the commonwealth: for they levied their provisions not according to stated measures or weight, and were not contented with the quarters assigned to them: but the will of each individual was a rule, and his caprice an established measure.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 6

Mission Of Philippicus.

The emperor despatches Philippicus to settle this ferment: they, however, not only denied him reception, but perilled the lives of all whom they supposed to be connected with him.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 7

Accusations Against Gregory, Patriarch Of Antioch.

While matters were in this situation, Gregory, bishop of Theopolis, returns from the imperial city, after having been victorious in the struggle which I now proceed to detail.

At the time when Asterius held the government of the East, a quarrel had arisen between him and Gregory: the higher ranks of the city sided entirely with the former, and were supported by the populace, and by those who were engaged in trades; for each class declared that they had been injured by Gregory; until at last license was given to the rabble to vent their abuse against him. Thus both the other classes accorded with the populace, and they clamoured forth their insults against the prelate in the streets and the theatre; and even the actors indulged in them. Asterius is removed from his government, and John is invested with it, with orders from the emperor to make inquiry into the stir; a man incompetent to the management of the most trifling matters, much less a business so important. Having, in consequence, filled the city with confusion and uproar, and given public license to any one that chose, to accuse the bishop, he receives a formal charge against him from a certain banker, to the effect that he had had criminal intercourse with his own sister, married to another man. He also receives accusations from other persons of the same stamp against Gregory, as having repeatedly disturbed the peace of the city. On the latter charge he declared his readiness to make his defence: with respect to the others, he appealed to the emperor and a synod. Accordingly, he repaired to the imperial city, to make answer to these charges, accompanied by myself as his adviser, and is victorious after a prolonged struggle during an investigation of the matter before the patriarchs from every quarter, who appeared either in person or by deputy, as well as the sacred senate, and many most religious metropolitans: and the result was that the accuser, after having been scourged and paraded round the city, was sent into exile. Gregory thence returns to his see, at the time when the troops were in a state of mutiny, and Philippicus was remaining in the neighbourhood of Beroea and Chalcis.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 8

Recurrence Of Earthquakes At Antioch. [589 AD.]

At an interval of four months from the return of Gregory, in the six hundred and thirty-seventh year of the era of Theopolis, sixty-one years after the former earthquake, a crash and concussion shook the entire city, about the third hour of the night, on the last day of the month Hyperberetaeus, at the time when I was celebrating my marriage with a young maiden, and the whole city was making rejoicings and holding a festival at the public cost, in honour of the nuptial ceremony. This convulsion levelled by far the greater part of the buildings, their very foundations being cast up by it, and all the portions of the most holy church were thrown to the ground, with the exception of the hemisphere, which, after its injury by the earthquake in the

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time of Justin, had been secured by Ephraemius with timbers from Daphne. By the subsequent shocks, it received an inclination in a northerly direction; so that the timbers were thrown by it into a leaning position, and fell, when the hemisphere had returned, by the force of the shock, exactly into its original situation, as if it had been adjusted by a rule. Nearly the entire quarter named Ostracine was ruined, and Psephium, of which I have made previous mention, as well as all the parts called Brysia, and the buildings of the venerable sanctuary of the Mother of God, with the sole exception of the central colonnade, which was singularly preserved. All the towers of the plain were also damaged, though the other buildings in that quarter escaped, with the exception of the battlements, of which some stones were thrown backwards, though they did not fall. Other churches also suffered injury, and one of the public baths, namely, that which had separate divisions according to the seasons. An incalculable number of persons were involved in the destruction, and, according to an estimate which some persons drew from the supply of bread, about sixty thousand perished. The bishop experienced a most unexpected preservation in the midst of the fall of the entire habitation where he then was, and the destruction of every individual except those who were near his person. These took up the bishop in their arms, and lowered him by a cord, after a second shock had rent an opening, and thus they removed him beyond the reach of danger. Another preservation was also granted to the city, our compassionate God having mitigated the keenness of His threatened vengeance, and corrected our sin with the branch of pity and mercy: for no conflagration followed, though so many fires were spread about the place, in hearths, public and private lamps, kitchens, furnaces, baths, and innumerable other forms. Very many persons of distinction, and among them Asterius himself, became the victims of the calamity. The emperor endeavoured to alleviate this visitation by grants of money.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 9

Inroad And Destruction Of The Barbarians.

In the army, matters continued in the same state; and, in consequence, the barbarians made an inroad, in the expectation that there would be no one to check them in the exercise of barbarian practices. Germanus, however, encounters them with his forces, and inflicted a defeat so destructive, that not a man was left to convey to the Persians tidings of the misfortune.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 10

Clemency Of The Emperor Towards The Rebels. Invasion Of The Avars. [590 AD.]

Accordingly, the emperor remunerates the troops with largesses of money; and, withdrawing Germanus and others, brings them to trial. They were all condemned to death: but the emperor would not permit any infliction whatever; on the contrary, he bestowed rewards on them.

During the course of these transactions, the Avars twice made an inroad as far as the Long Wall, and captured Anchialus, Singidunum, and many towns and fortresses throughout the whole of Greece, enslaving the inhabitants, and laying every thing waste with fire and sword; in consequence of the greater part of the forces being engaged in the East. Accordingly, the emperor sends Andrew, the first of the imperial guards, on an attempt to induce the troops to receive their former officers.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 11

Mission Of The Patriarch Gregory To The Troops.

Since, however, the troops would not endure the bare mention of the proposal, the business is transferred to Gregory, not only as being a person competent to the execution of the most important measures, but because he had earned the highest regard from the soldiery; since some of them had received presents from him in money, others in clothing, provisions, and other things, when they were passing his neighbourhood at the time of their enlistment. Accordingly, he assembles, by summons despatched to every quarter, the principal persons of the army at Litarba, a place distant from Theopolis about three hundred stadia; and, though confined to his couch, addressed them in person, in the following words.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 12

Oration Of Gregory To The Troops. [590 AD.]

"I Have been expecting, O Romans—Romans both in name and deeds—that your visit to me would have been made long ago, for the purpose of communicating to me your present circumstances, and of receiving that friendly counsel of which you have an assurance in my kindliness towards you, so unequivocally evinced by past occurrences, at the time when I relieved, by a supply of necessaries, your tempest-struck and wave-tost plight. Since, however, this course has not hitherto been taken—it may be that Providence has not permitted it, in order that the Persians, having been utterly defeated by men without a leader, might be thereby thoroughly taught the prowess of the Romans, and that your pure loyalty might be completely proved, in having been tested by the juncture and testified by your deeds; for you shewed that, notwithstanding your quarrel with your officers, you do not regard any thing as more important than the good of the commonwealth—let us accordingly now deliberate what ought to be your conduct. Your sovereign invites you with a promise of an amnesty of all past transactions, receiving the display of your loyalty to the commonwealth and your prowess in the field as emblems of supplication. While bestowing upon you these most certain pledges of pardon the emperor thus speaks: 'Since God has given victory to their loyalty, and, on the abandonment of their errors, a signal display has been granted to their prowess as a clear intimation of forgiveness, how can I do otherwise than follow the judgment of heaven? A king's heart is in the hand of God, and He sways it whithersoever He will.' Yield, therefore, to me at once, O Romans. Let us not wilfully forfeit the present opportunity, nor allow it to elude our grasp: for opportunity, when it has once slipped from us, is most unwilling to be seized, and, as if it were indignant at having been neglected, is ever after intolerant of capture. Shew yourselves the heirs of the obedience of your fathers, as ye are of their courage; in order that ye may appear altogether Romans, and no taunt may touch you or point at you as degenerate. Your fathers, under the command of consuls and emperors, by obedience and courage became masters of the whole world. Manlius Torquatus, though he crowned, yet also put to death his son, who had placed a valiant part but in disobedience of orders. For by skill on the part of the leaders, combined with obedience in those whom they lead, great successes are ordinarily achieved; but either, when bereaved of the other, is lame and unsteady, and is utterly overthrown by the separation of the excellent pair. Be not, therefore, tardy, but at once obey my call, while the priestly office mediates between the emperor and the army; and shew that your proceedings were not the establishment of a rival sovereign, but a transient display of just indignation against commanders who had wronged you: for unless you immediately embrace the offer, I shall at once consider myself as quit of the service laid upon me in this matter by my duty to the commonwealth and my regard for you. Consider too yourselves, what has been the fate of pretenders to the sovereignty. What too will be the termination of your present position? To continue concentrated is impossible: for whence will you derive your provision of ordinary fruits, or those supplies which the sea furnishes to the land, except by war between Christians, and the mutual infliction of the most disgraceful treatment? What too will be the final result? You will live in dispersion, and haunted by Justice, who will henceforward disdain to bestow forgiveness. Let us therefore give pledges of amity, and consider what course will be for the benefit of ourselves and the state, at a time too when we shall have the days of the saving Passion and of the most holy Resurrection conspiring with the deed."

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 13

Submission Of The Troops.

Having thus addressed them, accompanying his speech with many tears, he wrought an instantaneous change in the minds of all, as it had been by some divine impulse. They immediately requested permission to retire from the meeting, and to deliberate among themselves respecting the course to be pursued. After a short interval they returned, and placed themselves at the disposal of the bishop. However, on his naming Philippicus to them, in order that they might themselves request him for a commander, they declared that the whole army had on this point bound themselves with fearful oaths: but the bishop, undeterred by this, without the least delay said, that he was a bishop by divine permission, and had authority to loose and bind both upon earth and in heaven, and at the same time he quoted the sacred oracle. On their yielding upon this point also, he propitiated the Deity with supplication and prayers, at the same time administering to them, the communion of the immaculate body; for it happened to be the second day of the holy passion week. After he had feasted them all, to the number of two thousand, upon couches hastily constructed on the turf, he returned home the following day. It was also agreed that the soldiers should assemble wherever they might choose. Gregory in consequence sends for Philippicus, who at that time was at Tarsus in Cilicia, intending to proceed immediately to the imperial city; and he also reports these proceedings to the government, communicating at the same time the prayer of the soldiery respecting Philippicus. Accordingly, they meet Philippicus at Theopolis, and employing those who had been admitted to partake in the divine regeneration, to entreat for them, they bend in supplication before him, and, on receiving a solemn promise of amnesty, they return to their duty with him. Such was the progress of these events.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 14

Loss Of Martyropolis. [590 AD.]

A Certain Sittas, one of the petty officers stationed at Martyropolis, considering himself aggrieved by the commanders in that place, betrays the city, by watching the withdrawal of the troops which occupied it, and introducing a Persian battalion under colour of being Romans. He thus obtained possession of a place which was most important to the Romans; and, retaining most of the younger females, expelled all the other inhabitants, except a few domestic slaves.

Philippicus in consequence marched thither, and beleaguered the city, without being provided with things necessary for the siege. Nevertheless, he maintained his operations with such means as he possessed, and, having run several mines, threw down one of the towers. He was unable, however, to make himself master of the place, because the Persians continued their exertions through the night, and secured the breach. When the Romans, repeatedly assaulting, were as often repulsed, for the missiles were hurled upon them from vantage ground with unerring aim, and since they were suffering greater loss than they inflicted, they at last raised the siege, and encamped at a short distance, with the sole object of preventing the Persians from reinforcing the garrison. By the order of Maurice, Gregory visits the camp, and induces them to resume the siege. They were, however, unable to accomplish any thing, from their utter want of engines for sieges. In consequence, the army breaks up for winter quarters, and numerous garrisons are left in the neighbouring forts, to prevent the Persians from secretly introducing succours into the place.

In the succeeding summer, on the re-assembling of the army, and the advance of the Persians, a severely contested battle is fought before Martyropolis. Though the advantage was on the side of Philippicus, and many Persians had fallen, with the loss of one distinguished chieftain, a considerable body of the enemy made their way into the city: which was in fact their main object. Thenceforward the Romans gave up the siege in despair, as being unable to encounter this force, and they erect a rival city at the distance of seven stadia, in a stronger situation on the mountains, in order to the carrying on of counter operations. Such were the proceedings of the army during the summer; it broke up on the approach of winter.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 15

Capture Of Ocbas.

Comentiolus, a Thracian by birth, is sent out as a successor in the command to Philippicus. He engaged the Persians with great spirit, and would have lost his life by being thrown to the ground together with his horse, had not one of the guards mounted him upon a led horse, and conveyed him out of the battle. In consequence, the enemy fly with precipitation, with the loss of all their commanders, and retire to Nisibis; and, fearing to return to their king, since he had threatened them with death unless they should bring off their commanders in safety, they there enter into the insurrection against Hormisdas, now that Varamus, the Persian general, had already entertained that design with his party on his return from his encounter with the Turks. In the meantime, Comentiolus, having commenced the siege of Martyropolls, leaves there the greater part of his army, and himself makes an excursion with a chosen body of troops to Ocbas, a very strong fortress, situated on a precipice on the bank opposite to Martyropolis, and commanding a view of the whole of that city. Having employed every effort in the siege, and thrown down some portion of the wall by catapults, he takes the place by storming the breach. In consequence, the Persians thenceforward despaired of keeping possession of Martyropolis.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 16

Murder Of Hormisdas. [591 AD.]

While such was the course of these events, the Persians despatched Hormisdas, the most unjust of all monarchs, in as far as he inflicted upon his subjects not only pecuniary exactions, but also various modes of death.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 17

Flight Of Chosroes The Younger.

They establish as his successor his son Chosroes, against whom Varamus advanced with his troops. Chosroes encounters him with an inconsiderable force, and takes to flight on seeing his own men deserting him. He arrives at Circesium, having, according to his own account, vowed to the God of the Christians, that he would allow his horse to take its course wherever it should be guided by Him. He was accompanied by his wives and two newly-born children, and certain Persian nobles who voluntarily followed him. Thence he sends an embassy to the emperor Maurice; who, manifesting on this occasion too the soundest judgment, and deriving from the very circumstances an estimate of the instability and mutability of life, and the sudden fluctuations of human affairs, admits his suit, and treats him as a guest instead of an exile, and as a son instead of a fugitive,

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welcoming him with royal gifts, which were sent not only by the emperor himself, but, in similar style, by the empress to the consorts of Chosroes, and also by their children to the children.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 18
Mission Of Gregory And Domitian To Meet Chosroes.

The emperor also despatches the whole of his body guards and the entire Roman army with their commander, with orders to attend Chosroes wherever he might choose to proceed: and by way of still greater distinction, he also sends Domitian, bishop of Melitene, his own kinsman, a man of sense and ability, most capable both in word and deed, and most efficient for the despatch of the highest transactions. He sends Gregory too: who on all points filled Chosroes with amazement, by his conversation, by his munificence, and by his suggestion of seasonable measures.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 19
Restoration Of Chosroes. [591 AD.]

Chosroes, having proceeded as far as Hierapolis, the capital of Euphratensis, immediately returned: and this was done with the consent of Maurice, who favoured the interest of his suppliant more than his own glory. He also presents Chosroes with a large sum of money, a circumstance never before recorded; and having raised a body of Persians, and supplied the cost from his own means, he sends him across the border with a combined force of Romans and Persians, after Martyropolis had been previously surrendered, together with the traitor Sittas; whom the inhabitants stoned and impaled. Daras was also recovered on its evacuation by the Persian garrison, and Chosroes was restored to his kingdom in consequence of the utter overthrow of Varamus, in a single engagement with the Roman troops only, and his inglorious and solitary flight.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 20
Golanduch The Martyr.

At that time there was living in our country Golanduch, a female martyr, who maintained her testimony through a course of severe sufferings when tortured by the Persian Magi, and was a worker of extraordinary miracles. Her life was written by Stephen, the former bishop of Hierapolis.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 21
Offerings Of Chosroes.

Chosroes, on his restoration to his kingdom, sends to Gregory a cross, embellished with much gold and precious stones, in honour of the victorious martyr Sergius; which cross Theodora, the wife of Justinian, had dedicated, and Chosroes had carried off, with the other treasures, as I have already related. He also sends another golden cross, on which was engraven the following inscription in Greek:—

"This cross I, Chosroes, king of kings, son of Hormisdas, have sent. After I had been compelled to take refuge in the Roman territory by the slanderous practices and villany of the unhappy Varamus and his cavalry, and when, because the unhappy Zadespram had come to Nisibis with an army, with a view to seduce the cavalry in that quarter to revolt and raise commotion, we also had sent a body of cavalry with a commander to Charchas; at that time, by the fortune of the venerable and renowned saint, Sergius, having heard that he granted the petitions addressed to him, we vowed, in the first year of our reign, on the seventh day of January, that if our cavalry should slay or capture Zadespram, we would send to his sanctuary a golden cross, embellished with jewels for the sake of his venerable name: and on the seventh day of February they brought to us the head of Zadespram. Having, accordingly, obtained our petition, in order that each circumstance should be placed beyond all doubt, we have sent, in honour of his venerable name, this cross, which we have caused to be made, and together with it that which was sent to his sanctuary by Justinian, emperor of the Romans, and which was conveyed hither by our father Chosroes, king of kings, son of Cabades, at the time of the rupture between the two states, and has been found among our treasures."

Gregory, having received these crosses, with the approval of the emperor Maurice, dedicated them with much ceremony in the sanctuary of the martyr. Shortly after, Chosroes sent other offerings for the same temple, with a golden disc, bearing the following inscription:—

"I, Chosroes, king of kings, son of Hormisdas, have placed the inscription upon this disc, not as an object for the gaze of mankind, nor that the greatness of thy venerable name might be made known by words of mine, but on account of the truth of the matters therein recorded, and the many benefits and favours which I have received at thy hands: for, that my name should be inscribed on thy sacred vessels, is a happiness to me. At the time when I was at Beramais, I begged of thee, O holy one, that thou wouldest come to my aid, and that Sira might conceive: and inasmuch as Sira was a Christian and I a heathen, and our law forbids us to have a Christian wife, nevertheless, on account of my favourable feelings towards thee, I disregarded the law as respects her, and among my wives I have constantly esteemed, and do still esteem her as peculiarly mine. Thus I resolved to request of thy goodness, O Saint, that she might conceive: and I made the request with a vow, that, if Sira should conceive, I would send the cross she wears to thy venerable sanctuary. On this account both I and Sira purposed to retain this cross in memory of thy name, O Saint, and in place of it to send five thousand staters, as its value, which does not really exceed four thousand four hundred staters. From the time that I conceived this request and these intentions, until I reached Rhosochosron, not more than ten days elapsed, when thou, O Saint, not on account of my worthiness but thy kindness, appearedst to me in a vision of the night and didst thrice tell me that Sira should conceive, while, in the same vision, thrice I replied, It is well. From that day forward Sira has not experienced the custom of women, because thou art the granter of requests; though I, had I not believed thy words, and that thou art holy and the granter of requests, should have doubted that she would not thenceforward experience the custom of women. From this circumstance I was convinced of the power of the vision and the truth of thy words, and accordingly forthwith sent the same cross and its value to thy venerable sanctuary, with directions that out of that sum should be made a disc, and a cup for the purposes of the divine mysteries, as also a cross to be fixed upon the holy table, and a censer, all of gold: also a Hunnish veil adorned with gold. Let the surplus of the sum belong to thy sanctuary, in order that by virtue of thy fortune, O saint, thou mayest come to the aid of me and Sira in all matters, and especially with respect to this petition; and that what has been already procured for us by thy intercession, may be consummated according to the compassion of thy goodness, and the desire of me and Sira; so that both of us, and all persons in the world, may trust in thy power and continue to believe in thee."

Such is the language of the offerings sent by Chosroes: an instance altogether resembling the prophecy of Balaam; since our compassionate God has wisely disposed it, that the tongues of heathens should give utterance to saving words.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 22
Naamanes The Arab.

At the same time Naamanes, chieftain of the Scenites, after having been a detestable and vile heathen, to such an extent as to sacrifice with his own hand human beings to his gods, approached the sacred baptism. At which time he melted down a Venus of solid gold, and divided it among the poor, and also brought over all his followers to the service of God.

Gregory too, after the presentation of the crosses of Chosroes, while making, with the approbation of the government, a visitation of the solitudes on the borders, where the doctrines of Severus extensively prevailed, brought into union with the Church of God many garrisons, villages, monasteries, and entire tribes.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 23
Simeon The Stylite The Younger.

At this time, when the sainted Simeon was afflicted with a mortal disease, Gregory, on being informed by me of the circumstance, hastens to salute him for the last time, but was nevertheless disappointed. This Simeon far surpassed all his contemporaries in virtue, and endured the discipline of a life on the top of a column from his earliest years, since he even cast his teeth in that situation. The occasion on which he was first elevated on the column, was the following. While still very young, he was roving about, sporting and bounding along the eminences of the mountain, and meeting with a panther, he throws his girdle round its neck, and with this kind of halter led the beast, beguiled of its ferocity, to his monastery. His preceptor, who himself occupied a column, observing the circumstance, enquired what he had got; to which he replied, that it was a cat. Conjecturing from this occurrence how distinguished the child would be for virtue, he took him up upon the column; and on this column, and on another, towering above the summit of the mountain, he spent sixty-eight years; earning thereby the highest gifts of grace, in respect of the ejection of demons, the healing of every disease and malady, and the foresight of future things as if they were present.

He also foretold to Gregory that the latter would not witness his death, but said that he was ignorant of the events which should follow it.

On occasion also of my ponderings on the loss of my children, when I was perplexed with the suggestion, why such things did not befall heathens who had numerous offspring; although I had not disclosed, my thoughts to any one, he wrote advising me to abandon such ideas as being displeasing to God.

In the case of the wife of one of my amanuenses, when the milk would not flow after child-birth, and the child was in extreme danger, laying his hand upon the right hand of her husband, he bid him place it upon the breasts of his wife. When this was done, immediately the milk started, as if from a fountain, so as to saturate her dress.

A child having been forgotten at dead of night by its fellow-travellers, a lion took it on its back, and conveyed it to the monastery; when, by orders of Simeon, the servants went out and brought in the child under the protection of the lion.

Many other actions he performed, surpassing every thing that has been recorded; which demand of an historian elegance of language, leisure, and a separate treatise, being renowned by the tongues of mankind; for persons came to visit him from almost every part of the earth, not only Romans but barbarians, and obtained the object of their prayers. In his case, the place of food and drink was supplied by the branches of a shrub which grew upon the mountain.

EVAGRIUS HISTORY CHAPTER 24
Death Of The Patriarch Gregory. [594 AD.]

Shortly after, Gregory also dies, after taking a draught of medicine composed of what is called Hermodactylus, administered by one of the physicians during a fit of gout; a disease with which he was much afflicted. At the time of his death, Gregory, the successor of Pelagius, was bishop of Old Rome, and John of New Rome; Eulogius, one of those whom I have already mentioned, of Alexandria; and Anastasius was restored, after three and twenty years, to the see of Theopolis. John was bishop of Jerusalem; since whose decease, which occurred shortly after, no one has hitherto been entrusted with that see.

Here let me close my history, in the twelfth year of the reign of Maurice Tiberius, leaving the task of selecting and recording succeeding events to those who choose to undertake it. If any matter has been overlooked by me or has been treated without sufficient accuracy, let no one blame me, considering that I have brought together scattered materials in order to the benefit of mankind; for whose sake I have submitted to so much toil.

I have also compiled another volume, containing memorials, epistles, decrees, orations, and disputations, and some other matters. The memorials were principally composed in the name of Gregory, bishop of Theopolis; and by means of them I obtained two dignities, Tiberius Constantine having conferred upon me quaestorian rank, and Maurice Tiberius that of prefecture, in consideration of what I composed at the time when he rid the empire of reproach in becoming the father of Theodosius, an earnest of all prosperity both to himself and the commonwealth.

THE END.

SEBEOS' HISTORY

An Armenian History of the 7th-century AD
Matenadaran Manuscript 2639, dated 1672
Translation: Robert Bedrosian, 1985
Estimated Range of Dating: 590-630 A.D.

(Sebeos' History is a 7th century document of special importance for the study of Armenia and the Middle East in the sixth-seventh centuries. It was during this period, when the Persian Empire and the Roman Empire were wrestling for control of the Armenian highlands, that Armenian culture became more individual, independent, and distinctively national. While Sebeos focuses his attention primarily on Armenia's lay and clerical naxarars (lords), he also provides extensive and valuable information on events taking place in the neighbouring societies of the Romans, the Persians, and among the Arabs.

This history acount is important for a couple of reasons. It narrates the struggle between the Roman Empire and the Persian Empire of the Sassanid Dynasty, the weakening of these two adversaries, and the subsequential destruction of them by a third power we know as Islam. Significant is this account also because it gives quite a lively report on the Roman emperor Flavius Heraclius who tried to defend the Roman Empire with some success against the Persians and the Mohammedans. In some ways, we can see it as supplement to Evagrius' account, and also to the account narrated by the Armenian historian Thomas Artsruni from a later point of view in which he describes in shocking details how the Armenian nation has been subjugated by Islam like so many other nations.

The history attributed to Sebeos has survived in a single late manuscript, Matenadaran 2639 (dated 1672). It was the last in a series of texts, constituting a virtual canon of historical writing, brought together in this famous manuscript. A second, older manuscript (dated 1568) was known and used for the first edition published in 1851, but it has since been lost.

Sebeos' account is significant for Armenians as Heraclius the Elder was possibly of Armenian origin and presumably bilingual (Armenian and Greek) at an early age. As most Persian documents have been destroyed by the Muslim invaders, Sebeos' documents are also of the utmost importance in the history of Iran, and casts light on several facets of its institutions and political culture.

Who Sebeos was is not clear He has left only a few clues to his identity. His writing is infused with biblical language and

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allusions. His inclusion of the full text of the defense of the Armenian church's Monophysite doctrinal stance (agreed at the Council of Dvin in 649) points to a strong interest in theology. He seems to have had access to the archives of the catholicosate at Dvin, since he includes the text of a fundraising letter sent from Jerusalem by Modestus. It is hard to escape the conclusion that a piece of autobiography, discreetly put in the third person, has been slipped into the history.

One name is outstanding in the accout of Sebeos [as well in those by Evagrius and Thomas Artsruni]: Flavius Heraclius the Roman emperor who destroyed the Sassanid Persian Empire and gave Islam by this deed the chance to rise.

Heraclius (c. 575–641 AD) was the Roman emperor from 610 to 641. His rise to power began in 608, when he and his father, Heraclius the Elder, the exarch of Africa, led a revolt against the unpopular usurper Phocas.

Heraclius's reign was marked by several military campaigns. The year Heraclius came to power, the empire was threatened on multiple frontiers. Heraclius immediately took charge of the Byzantine–Sasanian War of 602–628. The first battles of the campaign ended in defeat for the Romans; the Persian army fought their way to the Bosphorus but Constantinople was protected by impenetrable walls and a strong navy, and Heraclius was able to avoid total defeat. Soon after, he initiated reforms to rebuild and strengthen the military. Heraclius drove the Persians out of Asia Minor and pushed deep into their territory, defeating them decisively in 627 at the Battle of Nineveh. The Persian king Khosrow II was overthrown and executed by his son Kavad II, who soon sued for a peace treaty, agreeing to withdraw from all occupied territory. This way peaceful relations were restored to the two deeply strained empires.

Heraclius lost many of his newly regained lands to the Muslim conquests. Emerging from the Arabian Peninsula, the Muslims quickly conquered the Sassanid Empire. In 634 AD the Muslims marched into Roman Syria, defeating Heraclius's brother Theodore. Within a short period of time, the Arabs conquered Mesopotamia, Armenia and Egypt. Heraclius entered diplomatic relations with the Croats and Serbs in the Balkans. He tried to repair the schism in the Christian church in regard to the Monophysites, by promoting a compromise doctrine called Monothelitism. The Church of the East (commonly called Nestorian) was also involved in the process. Eventually this project of unity was rejected by all sides of the dispute.

The father of Eastern Roman emperor Heraclius (r. 610–641 AD) was Heraclius the Elder (died 610 AD), a Roman general. As a (subordinate) brigadier general, Heraclius the Elder distinguished himself in the war against the Sassanid Persians in the 580s. In circa 600, he was appointed as the Exarch of Africa and in 608, Heraclius the Elder rebelled with his son against the usurper Phocas (r. 602–610). Using North Africa as a base, the younger Heraclius managed to overthrow Phocas, beginning the Heraclian dynasty, which would rule the Roman Empire for a century. Heraclius the Elder died soon after receiving news of his son's accession to the Roman throne in Constaninople.

Not much is known of the specific ancestry of Heraclius the Elder but his Armenian origin is deduced by a passage of Theophylact Simocatta, which considers him a native of Roman Armenia. The passage is from Book 3 of Theophylact Simocatta's history: "And so Philippicus had learned during his journey that Priscus had been accredited as general by the emperor (Maurice); on reaching Tarsus he composed messages to Heraclius the Elder which indicated that, after leaving the army, he should return to his own city when he came to Armenia, and surrender the army to Narses, the commander of the city of Constantina (modern Viranshehir, a Turkish market town near the eastern half of the Turkish-Syrian border."

Heraclius the Elder is mentioned as the father of Emperor Flavius Heraclius in several sources, including Theophylact, John of Nikiû, Nikephoros I, Theophanes, Agapius the historian, the Suda, Georgios Kedrenos, Joannes Zonaras, Michael the Syrian, the Chronicle of 1234 and Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos. Heraclius the Elder's own city is not specifically mentioned. He was at the time probably the "magister militum per Armeniam." If so, "his city" was Theodosiopolis (modern Erzurum), the headquarters of the Roman forces in Armenia.

The best attested sibling of Heraclius the Younger was arguably Theodore. In late 613, Theodore accompanied his brother in a campaign against the Sasanid Persians near Antioch. Theodore reappears in 626, when he was sent with part of Heraclius' army against the forces of the Persian general Shahin which Theodore had defeated decisively in northeastern Anatolia.

Historians will find factual and anecdotal information on the reigns of emperors Maurice (582-602), Theodosius (co-emperor, 590-602), Phocas (602-610), Heraclius I (610-41) and his successors to Constans II (641-68), including their wars against Persia in the east and the Goths in the west. They will find information on officials such as the hamaharz, pustipan, marzpan, ostikan, Asparapet, patgospan, and hamarakar; and a wealth of information on the reigns of shahs Peroz (459-84), Valas (484-88), Kawad I (488-96; 498-531), Xosrov I Anushirvan (531-79), Hormizd IV (579-90), Xosrov II Aparvez (590; 591-628), Kawad II Sheroe (628), Artashir (628-29), queen Boran (630-31), and Yazdigerd III (632-51).

Sebeos' account of the rebellion of Vahram Choben and his description of the last days of the Sassanid dynasty have the authenticity of a contemporary. Sebeos [short form for Eusebios] mentions the Khazars of the north Caucasus, and the Kushans on Persia's northeastern border.

In addition, Sebeos provides unusual information on Jewish nationalism as the translator says. It appears to be unusual because most historians are not aware of the contents of the Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran and that the ancient Jewish Messianic Movement [that wrote many of the scrolls] consequently has fought at least 10 major wars against the Romans up to the 7th century AD. That movement was law-oriented, xenophobic and extremely nationalistic. Therefore they fought war against anybody who occupied the Holy Land, and they were also ready to carry their messianic war into the homeland of the "Sons of Darkness" in order to wipe out their civilisation. If that sounds familiar, then yes, this is also the doctrine of Islam which is particularly directed against any non-Muslims. The rise of Islam is also mentioned by Sebeos and it most likely originates from those messianic Jews who could withdraw after the wars into the Arabian deserts and cities such as Petra ("Maka in Paran" as that place was called by Thomas Artsruni) and Mada'in Saleh.

Regrettably, aside from canonical and hagiographical literature and a few inscriptions, there are no other Armenian historical sources for the period of the sixth-seventh centuries. As such, Sebeos' information on Armenia and the Armenians has particular importance. His account begins where the fifth century Ghazar P'arpets'i's History left off—with the rebellion of Vahan Mamikonean in the 480s. Unfortunately, the account then skips the early and middle parts of the sixth century, picking up again with the rebellion of Vardan II Mamikonean (572 AD) against Iran. Sebeos describes the separatist activities of the district of Siwnik' in eastern historical Armenia; Vahram Choben's efforts to enlist the aid of Mushegh Mamikonean, and Mushegh's role in Vahram's defeat; the alleged plan of the emperor Maurice and shah Xosrov to depopulate Armenia, and the rebellions this engendered. He especially concentrates on the reign of Maurice (582-602 AD), who was perhaps of Armenian descent and had a peculiar antipathy toward the Armenians. The late sixth and early seventh centuries were a period when the Armenian naxarars were strong and independent and prone to switching allegiance from Roman to Iran, or vice versa. Sebeos describes the careers of several such prominent lords as Smbat Bagratuni, his son Varaztirots', T'eodos Xorxoruni and others, some of whom became important officials in the two rival empires. As a cleric, Sebeos was particularly interested in religious matters. He describes the activity of Armenian kat' oghikoi; Roman attempts to force Chalcedonianism on the Armenians; Persian attempts to force Zoroastrianism on the Armenians; Christianity in Persia; and the spread of Islam.

The transliteration used here is a modification of the new Library of Congress [LOC] system for Armenian, substituting x for the LOC's kh, for the thirteenth character of the Armenian alphabet (խ). Otherwise we follow the LOC transliteration, which eliminates diacritical marks above or below a character, and substitutes single or double quotation marks to the character's right. In the LOC romanization, the seventh character of the alphabet (է) appears as e', the eighth (ը) as e", the twenty-eighth (ո) as r', and the thirty-eighth (օ), as o'.

The present translation by Robert Bedrosian, which was completed in 1979, was made from the classical Armenian edition of K. Patkanean [Patmut'iwn Sebeosi episkoposi i Herakln (St. Petersburg, 1879)]. Patkanean based his text on the earlier edition of T. Mihrdatian (Constantinople, 1851) and a manuscript at the Imperial Academy in St. Petersburg. Mihrdatian in turn had based his edition on an anonymous manuscript found in the library of Ejmiatsin in 1842 by bishop Yovhannes Shahxat'unian.)

Text:

Prologue

At the time of the waning of the rule of the Arsacids in the land of Armenia [when] the rule of king Vramshapuh was done away with, there ruled over Armenia the people of the Kark'edovmayets'i principality. The latter, with the unity of the venemous, grandee mages and all the principal naxarars (lords) of the ruler's kingdom adopted an awesome and frightful plan: to eliminate the fruits of piety (Christianity) in the land of Armenia. But nothing availed the Persian king in his plan, rather, he was damaged. And Christian piety more than ever blossomed and sparkled.

Now others have written about all of the following events, as that very same History points out: regarding the days of wicked [king] Yazkert's reign, how he wanted to destroy the divine orders (the clergy); how the brave naxarars of Armenia and the zealot of God, the nahapet Vardan called "Karmir" ("the Red") of the Mamikonean House with a brigade of armed comrades, their friends and troops organised and armed for war. They took in hand the shield of Faith and zeal for the divine Word clothed them like armor of security and truly before their very eyes you might say that they saw their halos descend to them. Thus did they scorn death, considering it better to die on the Divine Path. The History alluded to above also tells how the Persian troops came against them with severe violence and how, when they clashed the Vardaneank' received martyrdom and how the blessed witnesses of Christ who had been captured by the pagans underwent martyrdom at Apr Shahr, close to the city of Niwshapuh, at a place called T'eark'uni.

But I wished to concisely write down and narrate to you [information] about all the following events: all the evil which transpired in Peroz' time; Vardan's rebellion against Xosrov; the rebellion of the Persian troops from Ormizd; Ormizd's death and the enthronement of Xosrov; Maurice's death and the reign of Phocas; the taking of Egypt; the destruction of Alexandria; the appeal of Heraclius to the king of the T'eatalats'ik' in the Northern parts and the sending of countless multitudes of peoples in response to Heraclius' appeal; the Romans' raiding in Atrpatakan, the loot and booty; the return via P'aytakaran; the coming of Persian troops from the east to strike at him; the war which occurred in the land of Caucasian Aghbania; the emperor's turn to the city of Naxchewan and the fight at Archish; the emperor's departure thence to his own borders; the other attack on Xosrov; the warfare which occurred at Ninue; the raid upon the city of Ctesiphon (Tisbon); the return to Atrpatakan; Xosrov's death; the enthronement of Kawad; the reconciliation which occurred between the two kingdoms [Rome and Sassanid Persia]; then the ceding of borders to the Romans; the return of the divine Cross to the Holy City. Then I shall describe the arousal of fathomless [divine] anger and the final disasters brought on by the marauders from the Southern parts [the Muslim Arabs]; how the armies of the Ishmaelites unexpectedly moved forth and, in a moment's time, overthrowing the might of both kings, seized territories extending from Egypt to this side of the great Euphrates river and to the border of the Armenians [ts' sahman Hayastaneayts'], from the shores of the great sea in the West [the Atlantic Ocean] to the gate / court of the Persian [Sassanid] kingdom, taking all the cities of Mesopotamia of the Syrians, and Ctesiphon, Veh Artashir, Marand, Hamatan as far as the city of Gandzak, and the great Hrat which is located in the district of Atrpatakan.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 1

[Vahan's rebellion from Peroz, the seizure of authority and triumph in battle. Peroz' death, the enthronement of Kawad, and the honouring of Vahan with the marzpanate. Kawad's death and the enthronement of Xosrov called Anush Eruan (Anushirvan). The rebellion of Vardan and service to the Romans. The war and defeat of Xosrov.]

During the years of Peroz, king of Iran [459-484 AD], the suppression [bardzumn] of all principalities, and orders and laws of Christianity and such danger of persecutions and contempt were visited upon the princes that they threw off the yoke of service. Vahan Mamikonean rebelled, persecuted the Persians, and seized authority by force.

Then king Peroz released upon him many Hun troops, commanding that the rebels be killed with great severity and that all males be put to the sword. Sparapet Vahan hastened against this army with 30,000 select armed men. They massed in order, brigade against brigade, front against front, and with all possible speed they attacked each other, to the sound of trumpets, in the plain of Geran.

The Word of God came to aid the Armenians, stirring up the wind and pouring upon the Persian troops a dust storm which in midday enveloped them like a dark eclipse. There was enormous destruction on both sides and it was impossible to distinguish Persian from Armenian among the corpses. However, eventually the army of the Armenians drove back the army of Persians, making fugitives of the remainder and pursuing them. They turned back from this with great triumph.

Vahan both collected the taxes of the land of Armenia and also rebuilt the very great churches which the Persians had ruined in the city of Vagharshapat, in Dwin, in Mzur [i Mzrays], and in many places in the land of Armenia. Building the country up, he again renewed it.

Now despite the fact that the Persian king Peroz wanted to mass troops against Armenia again, he had no opportunity since news of the coming of enemies forced him to go to the Kushan area because it was from that very border that the king of the Kushans [in today's Afghanistan and Pakistan] himself was coming against Emperor Peroz with a large army.

Assembling his troops, Peroz went against the Kushan king with great haste, saying: "First I shall expel him, then, having

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nothing further to do, I shall go to Armenia once more and shall spare neither man nor woman from my sword."

When Peroz arrived, he quickly went to face the enemy in the East. An intense battle took place and the Kushans struck at and destroyed the multitude of Persian troops, so much so that none was left alive to flee. King [emperor] Peroz and seven of his sons died in the battle.

Then Peroz' son Kawad ruled the land of Iran [488-496, 498-531]. Because the strength of the multitude of his troops had been shattered, he did not want to make war with anyone; rather, he made peace on all sides including reconciliation with the Armenians. He summoned Vahan to court and exalted him with great honour. He gave him the marzpanate of the land of Armenia and the lordship of the Mamikonean House. He promised much in service and benevolently sent Vahan back to his country.

After Vahan, authority was wielded by his brother Vard Patrik [who ruled] for a short time [505-509, or 510-514], and died. After him came Persian marzpans. The Armenians were unable to rebel, and remained in obedience until the time of the marzpan Suren and Vardan, lord of the Mamikoneans.

In the 41st year of the reign of Kawad's son Xosrov, Vardan rebelled with all Armenia united behind him and stopped serving the Persian king. They killed the marzpan Suren unexpectedly in the city of Dwin, took much loot, and went in service to the Romans.

Prior to this rebellion the prince of the land of Siwnik', named Vahan, broke away from the Armenians. He requested of the Persian king Xosrov [Emperor Khosrov] that they take the diwan of the land of Siwnik' from Dwin to the city of P'aytakaran, and that the city be ranked in the Atrpatakan Shahrmar, so that the name "Armenia/Armenian" no longer be applied to them. Xosrov so ordered.

Now the emperor of the Romans made an oath with the Armenians, confirming the same oath which had existed between those two venerable kings, Trdat and Constantine, and he gave them imperial troops in aid. Taking the troops, the Armenian rebels turned upon the city of Dwin, besieged and destroyed it and pursued the Persian force which was there.

But suddenly great agitation came upon them, for it was learned that the Persians had set fire to and burned down the church of saint Gregory which had been built near the city, and which the Persians had turned into a granary.

Then Mihrewandak the Mihran came against them with 20,000 troops and numerous elephants. There was a big battle in the Xaghamaxik' plain. The Armenians struck unbelievable blows at the Persian forces, dulling their swords, and they captured all the elephants. The Mihran escaped with a few men, and they went to their country.

This is that very Vardan against whom the Persian king himself, called Xosrov Anushirvan, came with a multitude of armed men and many elephants. Travelling through the district of Artaz, Xosrov went through Bagrewand, passing the city of Karin, took the road to a certain spot and encamped opposite Vardan.

Early next morning, with great haste they ranged themselves brigade opposite brigade, front opposite front, and then clashed in battle. And the war was fought with increasing intensity and they fought very hard. And the Lord visited defeat upon the king of the Persians and all his troops. They were crushed before the swords of their enemies and fled from them in frantic panic. Not knowing their path of flight, [the Persians] went and took refuge in the great river called Euphrates. But the water rose and swept away that multitude of fugitives as though they were a host of locusts; and many were unable to save themselves on that day. The king, however, was able to escape by a hairsbreadth, together with a few men thanks to the elephants and horses. He fled through Aghdznik' and on to his abode.

The Armenians took the entire camp, together with the royal treasures. They captured the Bambish ("queen") and the camp and they seized the Mashaperchan, the entire palankeen of very heavy gold which was worked with precious stones and pearls, which they called the palankeen of glory [despak p'arats']. They also took the Fire which the king always used to take around with him to bring him aid, and which was regarded as greater than all the fires and which they called the At'ash [fire]. A multitude of the senior grandees had drowned in the river, as had the Movpetan Movpet. Blessed is God, always.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 2

[Anushirvan's belief in Christ and his baptism by the bishop, and his death; the enthronement of Ormizd; Vahram's striking the troops of the T'etalats'ik', the war with the king of the Mazkut's and his death there; the rebellion and flight of the Vahramakan troops from Xosrov; the coming of Vahram; how Xosrov sought aid from the Roman emperor Maurice.]

Prior to the rebellion [c. 572 AD], this Xosrov, who was called Anushirvan, during his reign [531-579 AD] had made the country strong, for he was a peace-lover and a builder of the land. But when the rebellion occurred Xosrov thereafter was roused to anger, regarding himself innocent and saying: "I was the father, not the lord, of the land and I nourished all like sons and dear ones. And now," he said, "may God seek this blood from them." This Xosrov during his reign closed the Gate of Chor and of Aghbania / Aghuania. He seized and handcuffed the Egerats'ik' king. Through warfare he took Pisidian Antioch and he settled the captives by the royal abode.

He built a city and named it Veh Anjatok' Xosrov, which is called Shahastanin Oknoy. And he took Dara and Callinicos through raiding, enslaving the Cilician parts.

Xosrov ruled the kingdom for 48 years. Now as he was dying, the radiant light of the divine Word was born in him, for he believed in Christ, saying: "I believe in one God Who made Heaven and Earth Whom Christians worship, confessing Father and Son and Holy Spirit, for He alone is God; and there is no other than He Whom the Christians revere."

He ordered his attendants to send the mogpet far from court to a place of work, that others be ejected from the royal abodes, and he summoned the head bishop (Episkoposapet), who is called the Eran kat'oghikos. Xosrov was baptised by the latter and commanded that divine services be held in the chamber. He read the message in the Lord's Gospel, and he communed in the envivifying Body and Blood of the Lord. Bidding farewell to the kat'oghikos and the Lord's Gospel, Xosrov sent him to his place.

After a few days he departed this life in good old age. Christians took his body and placed it in the tomb of kings [i shirims t'agaworats'n]. Ormizd, Xosrov's son, ruled after him [Hormizd IV, c. 579-590 AD].

Now here is a list of the generals of the Persian king who came one after the other to the country of Armenia from the time of the rebellion of Vardan, lord of the Mamikoneans, the son of Vasak, up to the present. Some of them died in battle, some battled, some triumphed and then departed. When they killed Suren the marzpan, that same year a certain Vardan Vshnasp came, accomplished nothing, remained for a year and then departed. After him came Goghon Mihran with 20,000 armed troops and many elephants, and many to help him from among the countless peoples who inhabit the Caucasus mountains, the Hun people. He also had an order from the king to eliminate all men in the land of Armenia, to seize, dig up, to raze to the ground, to mercilessly destroy the country.

Thus did Mihran come. Some people were able to save themselves by going into impregnable fortresses; others fled to a more distant land. Nonetheless, many were unable to save themselves because whomever they chanced upon they put to the sword. Mihran battled once in Iberia [Georgia], but was defeated. He came to Armenia and took Ankgh by a false oath.

P'ilippos, lord of Siwnik', fought a battle between the city and Xaghamaxik', as well as a battle at Ut'mus village in Vanand, but was defeated in both. He remained seven years, and then departed.

Then came Ormazd, son of Anushirvan Xosrov, the king himself. He had bound Vndo and left him in Gruangakan, though Vstam had escaped and gone as a fugitive and not a few were the wars he stirred up in those days.

In this period there lived a certain Vahram Merhewandak, prince of the eastern parts of the land of Iran, who in his bravery had beaten the troops of the T'etalats'ik' and held through force Bahl and the entire country of the Kushans from the far side of the great river called Vehrot as far as the place called Kazbion. Indeed, on the far side of the river he had left behind the spear of the brave Spandiat about whom the barbarians say "Having reached this far in battle, he cast his spear into the river."

It was then that this Vahram made war on the king of the Mazk'ut' who was in those parts on the far side of the great river. Vahram struck at the multitude of his troops, killed the king in battle, and ravished all of the treasures of that kingdom.

Then [Vahram] sent to the Persian king by means of his messengers documents announcing the glad tidings but only an insignificant part of the loot from the very great treasures—the insignia of the fallen kingdom among the honoured goods—while he dispensed all the rest of the treasure among his troops according to each one's merit.

Now when king Ormazd saw the envoys who had come with the good news, when he read the letter of greeting from the troops and received from the worthy royal treasures the gifts of war-portion while outwardly he humored the men, inwardly he was blazing with wrath and saying: "I recognize the insignia of honour, and that the meal was more than great, but from the treasures amassed it is not proper that such a small amount should be forwarded to the court."

So, in return for the message of good news, he ordered written a hrovartak filled with rage, and he sent troops from the brigade of hamazars and royal p'ushtipans to go to Vahram's troops and take all the loot from them. The troops went and began demanding the loot.

At that point the entire force became excited and killed the king's men. They left the king's service, seated Vahram as their king, swore an oath according to their custom, united and left the East. They headed for Asorestan, to kill their king, Ormazd, do away with the House of Sasan, and establish Vahram on the throne of the kingdom.

H] quickly assembled and took along the multitude of brave and warlike peoples of the East. While there was such chaos occurring in the land of Iran, in Armenia Yovhan Patrik and Roman troops were holding the city of Dwin under siege. They were fighting using siege machinery and were close to destroying the wall.

When news of this [i.e., events in Sassanid Persia] reached them, they left off the siege and departed for Atrpatakan. They ravaged the entire country, putting all men and women to the sword. Taking all the loot, captives, and booty, they returned to their country.

Now when the clamorous news of this [event] reached Ormazd, the king of Iran, at the court of the Sasanians, he felt no few pangs of alarm. Summoning the naxarars who were at the royal court, the brigades of hamaharzes and the p'ushtipans, he planned to take the treasury of the kingdom and the entire court host, pass across the great Tigris river by bridge to Vehkawat [or, via Zom to Vehkawat], cut the bridges down and find asylum in the multitudinous hosts of the king of the Tachiks.

However, this did not come to pass. For the king's men, and hamaharzes and pushtipans resolved to kill Ormazd and to enthrone his son Xosrov. They decided to free [Vndo, Vstam's brother] to make him their leader and chief of the operation. They went to Gruandakan fortress and released him and all the captives with him. Vndo sent a trustworthy messenger with very swift horses to his brother. They went to Gruandakan fortress and released him and all the captives with him. Vndo sent a trustworthy messenger with very swift horses to his brother Vstam with the written message: "Come as fast as you can, and participate". And Vstam arrived quickly.

Then all the naxarars and commanders of troops, and soldiers assembled in the hall of the court at an hour when they met there. Entering the royal chamber, they seized, quickly blinded and then killed king Ormazd.

They enthroned Ormazd's son, [Xosrov II Aparvez, first reign 590] as king of the land of Persia, then began to prepare to flee to the other side of the great Tigris river. Not many days later Vahram arrived with speed, like a pouncing eagle.

Because Xosrov was a small boy when enthroned, his uncles [k'erhink'n, "mother's brothers"] Vndo and Vstam took him across the great Tigris river by bridge, destroying the bridges after them. Meanwhile, Vahram came and took all the tun, treasury, and women of the court and sat upon the throne of the kingdom. He ordered wooden rafts tied together and crossed the river to seize Xosrov. But the latter, out of dread, was in no way able to halt for rest. As soon as his party crossed, they fled, wondering on the road whether it would be better to go to the king of the Tachiks [Muslims] or to the king of the Romans.

Finally they decided it best to seek refuge with the king of the Romans. "For", they said, "despite the hostility existing between us, nonetheless the Romans are Christian and merciful, and they are unable to break a sworn oath". Going west by a direct route, they entered the city of Xaghab where they stopped.

As for Vahram, although he crossed the river he was unable to catch up. He returned to Ctesiphon. [The text styles Xosrov ark'ay and Maurice t'agawor, though elsewhere both are called t'agawor. Hereafter we shall translate t'agawor as "emperor" when it refers to the Roman ruler, and as "king" for the shah.]

Then king Xosrov sent men bearing costly gifts to emperor Maurice, and he wrote him the following: "Give me the throne and place of rule which belonged to my fathers and the ancestors: dispatch an army to assist me defeat my enemy; establish my reign and I shall be your son. I shall give you the areas of the Syrians, Aruastan in its entirety as far as the city of Nisibis and from the country of the Armenians, the land of Tanuterakan rule extending as far as Ararat, and to the city of Dwin, and as far as the shore of the Sea of Bznunik' [Lake Van] and to Arhestawan I shall also give a large part of the land of Iberia/Georgia, as far as the city of Tiflis. Let there be an oath of peace between the two of us, lasting until our deaths, and between our sons who rule after us".

The emperor assembled the entire senate to ask their advice. He said to them: "The Persians have killed their king Ormazd and then enthroned his son. However, the troops of the realm seated yet another man as king in the East, and he Vahram came with a large army and seized the kingdom for himself. Ormazd's young son has come to us as a fugitive seeking an auxiliary army from us, and in return has promised to do thus and so. Now what shall we do, accept him? Is he worthy of acceptance or not?" The senators replied: "It is not worth accepting him, for the Persians are an impious people, and thoroughly false. For, in times of their own difficulties they make promises, but when the turmoil ends, they break those promises. We have suffered much wickedness from them. Let them wipe out each other, and we will have peace."

King Xosrov was in great danger then and could see death before his eyes because, having escaped from the lion's mouth,

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he had fallen into the mouths of enemies from which there was no escape.

However, the emperor rejected the senate's counsel, and instead sent his own son-in-law, Phillipicus, entrusted with a reply of acceptance for Xosrov. He received Xosrov's oath and gave him an imperial auxiliary army including Yovhan Patrik from Armenia, the stratelat Nerses from Syria plus their troops. They mustered 3,000 cavalry massed in hundreds and in thousands, in brigades, under their own banners.

The mother of [the Persian commander] Shapuh was the daughter of the Asparapet (who was from the naxarar House of the Part'ews which had died out) [The text seems corrupt: dustr Asparapetin aynorik, or er naxarar tann Part'ewats', ork' merheal ein...] and the sister of Vndo and Vstam. Vndo himself was a wise and sagacious man, and very brave-hearted, as I have said. He fought a great battle at Melitene, but was defeated and left. Then came Tam Xosrov who fought two battles: one in Basen district at Bolorapahak where the Murts' and Arax [rivers] mingle; and one in Bagrewand district at Ket'n. He was very successful in both battles. After remaining for two years, he departed.

Then came Varaz Vzur who fought one battle at Ut'mus village in Vanand. At first he was driven off, but he later triumphed. He remained for one year, and then departed.

Then came marzpan Hrahat who went to Mrtsuni having his kinfolk for support in battle. They were defeated there, but later triumphed. Turning thence he fought and won a battle at Tsaghkajur in Bznunik'. He departed after four months.

[23] Next came marzpan Hrarti Datan. Thereafter, however, the Persians were unable to resist the Roman troops. It was during this period that Ormazd was killed and his son Xosrov was enthroned. [Hrarti Datan] departed after two years.

After this Persian border-guards came and this continued until the expiration of the peace which had existed between the Persians and the Greeks, between the two kings, Maurice and Xosrov.

Then came Vendatakan, then Xorakan. The latter was killed by Persian troops at Garni who then rebelled and went to Geghums. Then came Merakbut, then Yazden, then Butmah, then Hoyiman.

This is the Book of the Times the History of Kings an Persian romance [regarding] the universal defeat of that Sasanian brigand, Xosrov Apruez [Matean zhamanakean patmut'iwn t'agaworakan Vep ariakan vanumn tiezerakan, hen Sasanakan yApruezn Xosrovean.] who put everything to flame, agitated the sea and land, and brought ruin upon every country.

I shall narrate what happened to the country, how it was ruined, making use of legends [charhets'its'...arhaspels vipasanelov]. I shall tell] about Wrath from On High, how anger blazed forth below; about the fire and the bloodshed, the pillaging expeditions, the raids which brought death accompanied by the screams of dews (demons) and the roar of dragons. I shall speak of] the race of Mages [zazants' k'awdeats'], about men descended from giants, armed braves, cavalrymen from East to West, from North to South; about the Southerners the Muslim Arabs who arose with great turbulence and attacked Persia and Constantinople and executed the command of the Lord's anger over every country. The Muslim Arabs spun like a whirlwind, became a storm, and corrupted everything below them, devastating mountains and hills, tearing apart plains in various places, and crushing rocks and stones under the trampling hooves of their horses. Now I shall begin the romance about that destructive corrupter, Xosrov, God's accursed.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 3

Vahram's attack on Xosrov, and the two letters to Mushegh; Mushegh's loyalty to Xosrov; the great battle; the defeat of the rebels; Xosrov's lack of gratitude toward Mushegh which resulted in Mushegh's plans to kill him; the writing of an accusation to the emperor by means of the Roman princes; the emperor's dissatisfaction with that and the letter to [the princes] and to Xosrov; the dispatch of Roman troops; the summoning of Mushegh to the palace by the emperor.

After the death of Kawad's son, Xosrov, his son, Ormazd, ruled over the land of Iran [579-590 AD]. Ormazd's mother, Xosrov's wife named Kayen, was the daughter of the great Khaqan/Qaqan (Xak'an), king of the T'etalats'ik'. Thus Ormazd inherited a bad nature from his father's line, but an even more bestial nature from his mother's line.

He did away with all the naxarars and the earlier, more indigenous Houses of the land of Iran. He killed the great Asparapet of the Part'ew and the Pahlaw who was descended from the son of Anak (whom the Armenians put to death) whom that bandit king Xosrov of Armenia took as a dayek, whom they spirited away to the court of their king in Iran [The text seems corrupt: Span sa zAsparapetn mets zpart'ewn ew zpahlawn or er i zawake Anakay mahaparti. zor arhareal dayekats' i hine anti Xosrovay ark'ayi Hayots' p'axuts'in i durhn ark'uni iwreants' i koghmans parsits']. The king fulfilled [on the son] the rewards promised to his father Anak once the son had fled there, namely, the bun [native habitat] of Part'ewakan Palhaw itself. He tied a crown on his head and exalted him, making him second in the kingdom.

The Asparapet had two sons, one named Vndo, the other Vstam. They accepted troops from the land of Armenia and assembled whomever they found at hand then. When they mustered they were some 15,000 men, each brigade of naxarars arranged in hundreds and in thousands in brigades and under their banners. All were armed, all were choice warriors, burning with bravery, like fire. They neither panicked nor turned back. Their faces were like eagles'. Their light-footedness was like the lightness of wild goats running upon the plains. With dilligence and full loyalty they took the road.

The Mithraist rebel took his troops [The translation is uncertain: arheal apstambin mihrats'eloyn zzawrs iwr...], elephants, and all the royal treasures and reached Atrpatakan. They encamped, at a little distance from each other, in the district of Vararat. Then Vahram wrote a hrovartak to Mushegh and to other naxarars of Armenia. It went as follows:

"I had thought that as soon as I started battling with your enemies, you would come from those parts and help me; and that I and you, united, would do away with that universal pestilence, the House of Sasan. But you, massed and coming against me in battle, are helping them. I am not afraid of the army of Roman elders who have come against me. But you Armenians show the love of your master at an inopportune time. Truly, did not the House of Sasan abolish your country and lordship? Why was it that your fathers always rebelled and went to serve those [the Romans] who to this day are fighting over your land? Should you come against me you will destroy so much of your merit, for [28] should Xosrov triumph, the two of them united [i.e., Xosrov and the emperor Maurice] will remove you from their midst. If, however, it is agreeable to you, break with them, unite with and aid me. Should I triumph, I swear by the great god Aramazd, by the lord Sun, by the Moon, by Fire and by Water, by Mihr and by all the gods, that I shall give you the Armenian kingdom. Make whomever you want the king. And I shall leave you the entire country of Armenia as far as Kapkoh and the Gate of [Caucasian] Aghbania / Aghuania; from the Syrian area: Aruastan and Nor Shirakan as far as the boundaries of the Tachiks, for this [territory] was yours from your ancestors; I shall give territories extending westward to Caesarea in Cappadocia. I shall not rule beyond the Arasp river. Let the treasury of the Aryan kingdom be considered sufficient for me and you. That should be plenty for you before your kingdom is established".

Then, in accordance with their Persian custom, Vahram wrapped up salt, and sealed it with the hrovartak.

The partisans of Mushegh] received and read the hrovartak, but they neither replied nor did they reveal its contents to many [naxarars] because they feared their disunity.

But Vahram wrote a second letter:

"I wrote to you to break with them, considering all the lands and treasures of this kingdom sufficient for you and me. You, however, chose not to listen, and you did not respond. I feel sorry for you, because tomorrow at dawn I will show you splendid elephants mounted by troops of armed braves who will rain down upon you arrows of iron, shafts of tempered steel dispatched by hard-hiting archers, powerful young men, well-armed, and swift Tachik horses, axes and swords of tempered steel, and blows enough for Xosrov and for you."

Mushegh replied to him [as follows:

"God's compassion goes to whomever He grants it to. You should feel sorry for yourself, not for us. I have come to regard you as a boastful man, someone who takes comfort not in God, but in bravery and the strength of elephants. And now I say to you that if God so wills it, tomorrow you will be embroiled in a battle with braves who will explode upon you and your multitude of elephants like the most violent clouds in the sky. An enormous explosion will be heard from on High, and a flash of lightning, and armed men on white horses with unerring spears will attack you and pass through your hosts the way lightning does through an evergreen forest, burning the branches as the bolts rain down from Heaven to earth, burning the brush of the fields. For, should God will it, a whirlwind will carry off your might like dust, and the treasury of the court will return to the court."

Among the Persians were Vndo and Vstam, about whom I spoke earlier. The Persians had about 8,000 cavalrymen. At early dawn the next morning, just as the sun was rising the troops drew themselves up, front facing front, and clashed in battle. The massing and the melee were violent and in the agitation the destruction was enormous. After fighting from dawn to dusk, both sides became fatigued with warfare.

The killing was so great that a torrent of blood flowed in streams and watered the entire country. Unable to resist, the army of rebels fled before the Roman troops. The latter pursued them, covering the plains and roads with corpses, until it was dark night. The Romans put many to their swords; many others they arrested, binding their hands to their necks, and leading them before the king.

A multitude of elephants was coming at a violent speed. Behind them were the armed azatagund. From below the Romans pierced the armor of the cavalrymen who were mounted on elephants. Fighting fearlessly and courageously, the Romans killed many elephants, cavalrymen, and elephant-keepers and were able to forcibly lead off a multitude of the elephants, which they brought before the king.

Thence they turned upon the campsite of Vahram's army. In one tent they found the court treasury and all the priceless, countless, inestimable treasures of the kingdom. This was all taken as booty. With their swords they dismembered many gorgeous thrones of diverse sorts. Going to the area in phalanxes, they loaded the goods onto a multitude of camels and mules. Everyone filled up with much great loot.

The Persian troops then were able to gather a not insignificant part of the treasures and take them to their court. King Xosrov on that day grew more powerful as a result of this victory, more so than any of his enemies, and his kingdom was established.

[Xosrov] ordered that the multitude of arrested horsemen and elephant-riders be stripped, that their hands be tied upon their shoulders, and that they be trampled under the elephants' hooves. But they could find no trace of Vahram. For he had fled and gone as a fugitive, and landed in Bahl Shahastan where, upon Xosrov's word, they themselves killed him.

Some days after this great battle, king Xosrov sat in his tent. Before the king were all of his grandee naxarars. The Roman army was encamped at a day's distance from the Persians, densely massed, brim full of their booty.

The king began speaking as follows: "In truth has there ever been any one of the world's kings who, being able to seize another king—his own enemy, the destroyer of his kingdom—did not have him killed, and did not exterminate all the males with him from his land? What king, instead of doing these things would adopt such a royal fugitive, crown him, and exalt him by adorning him with purple, defeat his enemies, establish him on the throne of his kingdom, give him courtly treasure out of his own treasures, and benevolently free him to go his way? My father, emperor Maurice, bestowed such benefits on me which no man could bestow upon his own beloved son." Some of those [naxarars] responded to Xosrov as follows: "King, live forever! We do not know whether or not gratitude is fitting, for every kingdom is made stable by treasure, yet the Romans have looted all the kingdom's treasures."

The king replied: "I shall directly retrieve the treasures of my kingdom from them, together with other treasures they have amassed, for all of that belongs to me. But the one thing that disconcerts me is the fact that that Vahram, who hates his master, lived and departed. He is a brave man and will again assemble troops from among the braves of the peoples of the East."

[The naxarars] answered him: "They helped that ingrate to flee. With our own eyes we saw how that Mushegh Mamikonean took Vahram, gave him horse and weapon and released him. They said this because they wished Mushegh ill, since, viewing his grandfather evilly, their hearts hardened against him. Yet the king never wondered about the matter, since he was a small boy, and inexperienced. Nor did he recollect the agitation of such Armenian soldiers. Rather, he fixed his mind on those falsehoods, saying: "Let that Mushegh be summoned here and be bound hand and foot, until I inform the emperor about him."

The king immediately ordered a note [yetkar] to be written to Mushegh. He dispatched one of the envoys to Mushegh with the message: "Come quickly. An extremely important matter has come up." Xosrov gave this command to his p'ushtipans: "Be ready. When Mushegh arrives, and when I signal you with my hand, pull his arms back and tie him up. But be prepared, for he is a brave man. And see to it that he neither dies, nor kills me. Should he die, I will be answerable for him to the emperor." He similarly commanded his ushers [barapanats'n], saying: "Take care that when Mushegh comes to the entrance of my tent you remove his belt and sword. Tell him, 'it is not legal to go before the king with a weapon.'"

Now while Mushegh conducted a review of his troops, ascertaining the number living and the number which had died in battle, Xosrov's messenger came before him. The messenger greeted him and gave him the letter. Taking the letter, Mushegh asked him: "Is this a greeting, and does it mean peace?" The messenger replied: "It is indeed a greeting and signifies peace. I do not know what else it says, only that I was commanded to summon you quickly." Mushegh immediately began preparing himself as though he were going to war, for it had entered his mind that perhaps some military matter had come up, or that he would be rewarded with gifts for his labors. He took along 2,000 armed men, azats and non-azats, whom he found worthy of honour, and he felt confidence in his cavalry.

He wrote to Yovhan patrik to release him. The latter so commanded that Mushegh travel with such preparation as he had planned, and he ordered all of Mushegh's men to see to their own armaments. They armed, and departed.

Mushegh's forces entered the Persian army and were close to the court Mashkaperchan ("tent", "pavilion") when an order

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reached him not to approach with such a multitude, but rather to have them encamp at a distance, and to appear before the king with only a few men.

[Mushegh], however, did not consent to this. Instead, he went with his troops close to the entrance of the court tent. Persian soldiers, well-armed, were standing around the tent. Dismounting from his horse, [Mushegh] went to the entrance of the tent with 50 men. The men remained as they were, each one armed, and with a horse. The king was horrified as were all the soldiers with him, and began to conceal their treachery. As soon as Mushegh reached the entrance of the tent, ushers at the door approached him and said: "Remove the belt and sword from your waist, and remove your armor, because it is not lawful to go before the king armed." Doubt stirred in Mushegh's heart and he began to condition and prepare himself for attack. He responded to the ushers as follows: "From my childhood I have been the table-companion of kings deriving from the time of my ancestors and grandfather. And now I have reached the door of the court, the place of review. Am I to remove my armor, my girdle and belt now, when I never do so even in my own House, even when rejoicing? Or indeed, am I worthy of the wickedness of you Persians?" Then he ordered someone to go to the soldiers to have the auxiliary army move forward. He himself turned to go.

The king was informed that Mushegh refused to enter so unarmed, and instead had turned and left. So the king started to conceal his wickedness, saying: "Let him overlook it, let him come as he pleases." For Xosrov himself was a lad, and his troops were few and far between. They called [Mushegh] back, saying: "The king ordered that you may enter as you wish." Mushegh turned and said: "Let me see what boon the king of kings plans to give me."

[Mushegh] entered the tent, going before the king accompanied by seven men. He prostrated himself in reverence to the king, and then stood up. But the king did not extend his hand as hitherto had been done in a gesture of receiving and greeting him. Rather, he remained there frozen, and they stubbornly faced each other that way.

The king grew frightened and dismayed, and was unable to give the order he had planned, or to say anything, great or small, because of his dread. Once again Mushegh quickly left the tent. They brought him his horse; he mounted and departed. As soon as the king saw that, he became extremely frightened. But wanting to conceal his injury, he arose from the throne and strode to the entrance of the tent, went outside and dispatched a certain principal naxarar after Mushegh. He had salt sent, to swear an oath, and to call him back "so that you depart with honour and exaltation and do not consider that something else was intended."

Mushegh, however, did not want it. Instead, he took to the road. Now he planned to deal with them as follows: he planned to attack his tent at the second hour, and to kill him. He so ordered the armed troops who stood around the tent of Xosrov. But because his troops were informed there was agitation, and they abandoned that plan and departed.

As they travelled, a certain one of the king's p'ushtipans strayed across their path. The Mushegheans seized him and took him to their own people. And Mushegh threatened him with an oath, saying that if he did not tell him what had transpired concerning Mushegh himself, he would die.

Then [the p'ushtipan] made Mushegh swear an oath that he would not turn him over to the Persian king. He told everything. The next day at dawn Mushegh went to the door / court of Yovhannes patrik, saw him, and told him all the wicked tales. He had with him the ostikan p'ushtipan who also came and described all that had happened. The princes and all the soldiers became agitated, but when reminded of the emperor's oath and his disturbed state, did nothing about it. They told Mushegh to write to the emperor, to familiarize him with all the wicked events. But Mushegh said in front of all of them: "If that man is not killed, every country under the lordship of the Romans will be taken by his hand."

Then the Mushegheans selected great gifts as their king's share of the booty: crowns and a diadem made of emeralds and pearls; a very great quantity of gold and silver, matchless precious gems, as well as the most outstanding garments which, in their ornamentation, were made for the kings of the Persians; horses from the court, including the very court trappings for them.

They sent the above gifts and with them a written hrovartak announcing the good news, as well as an indictment of king Xosrov. The Mushegheans massed four hundred cavalrymen to accompany the gifts. Now Xosrov became informed that they were about to deliver to their emperor as a share of the loot some of his treasures, and he learned that they had written a complaint about himself. Filled with bitterness, Xosrov sent an army after them, to reach them on the road, to destroy Mushegh suddenly and secretly, to take the treasure of the court and to bring it back to him at once. The Roman princes also knew about matters. They sent after them a very forceful army; when they had passed by, not a single one of the enemy lived, and no word rose about it. [The text seems corrupt.] The troops took the treasures and brought them to the palace with great rejoicing.

The king received the gifts and sent a hrovartak expressing great thanks by means of his messenger. And he wrote [the Mushegheans] to abandon the plan in which they condemned the king. "If you do not restrain Mushegh I shall demand him from you" the emperor wrote. He also wrote to the king gratefully releasing everyone.

Then king Xosrov gave presents to each according to importance, and dismissed them. He himself left Atrpatakan and went to Asorestan, to his native royal abode. And he was established on the throne of his kingdom. He gave to the emperor the promised gifts: all Aruastan as far as Nisibis: the country of the Armenians which had been under his sway the Tanuterakan House as far as the Hurazdan river the district of Kote as far as the awan of Garhni and to the shore of the Sea of Bznunik' [Lake Van], Arhestawan and to the district of Gogovit as far as Hats'iwn and Maku. The area of the Vaspurakan brigade was in service to the Persian king. Many of the naxarars of Armenia were in the Roman part, few were in the Persian part. Xosrov also gave to Emperor Maurice a great part of the land of Iberia [Georgia], up to the city of Tiflis. The king summoned Mushegh to the palace, and he never again saw the country of Armenia.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 4.

The piety of queen Shirin, who was king Xosrov's Christian wife; Xosrov's hrovartak.

[Xosrov], in accordance with their Magian religion, had numerous wives. He also took Christian wives, and had an extremely beautiful Christian wife from the land of Xuzhastan named Shirin, the Bambish, queen of queens [tiknats' tikin]. She constructed a monastery and a church close to the royal abode, and settled priests and deacons there allotting from the court stipends and money for clothing. She lavished gold and silver [on the monastery]. Bravely, with her head held high she preached the gospel of the Kingdom, at court, and none of the grandee mages dared open his mouth to say anything—large or small—about Christians. When, however, days passed and her end approached, many of the mages who had converted to Christianity, were martyred in various places.

[Xosrov] commanded: "Let no infidel dare convert to Christianity and let none of the Christians convert to impiety. Rather, let each individual remain true to his paternal religion [hayreni yawrens]. Whoever does not hold his paternal faith [zhayreni den] but rebels from the religion of his fathers, will be put to death." But on the great feast of Psalm Sunday, Christians from the monastery of Shirin, and other Christians went to the entrance of the king's chamber, and worshipfully read the Gospel. They received presents from the king, and departed. And no one dared to say anything to them.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 5.

[Roman Emperor Maurice requests the body of Daniel from Persian Emperor Xosrov.]

It happened in those days that the emperor of the Romans requested from the king of the Persians the body of that deceased man which was in Shawsh, in a copper basin in the king's treasury. The Persians called him Kaw Xosrov, while the Christians called him Daniel the prophet. King Xosrov ordered that Maurice's request be granted. But queen Shirin was extremely agitated over this affair. When she was unable to change the king's mind, she ordered all the Christians of the land to request of Christ with fasting and prayers that the blessing of Kaw Xosrov's presence not leave their land.

The entire country assembled in that spot and beseeched Christ to prevent the move with fervent pleas and with tears. Mules were brought, as was the court palankeen; they took Daniel's remains and departed. But as soon as they passed through the city gate, suddenly those streams which flowed through the city and outside, dried up. The entire country followed after Daniel's remains with cries and alarm.

As soon as they were at a distance of three asparez from the city, suddenly those mules bearing the palankeen halted and no one could make them budge. Suddenly they violently wielded their swords causing the mob and the brigade to scatter and they rushed back to the city. And as soon as they entered the city gate the waters of the river flowed and water gushed forth in abundance, as had been the case before.

They quickly informed the emperor about this. He had a mass performed [for Daniel] and ordered his troops to do as the relics willed. They left [the relics of Daniel] and departed.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 6.

[Maurice writes Xosrov a letter of condemnation about the princes and troops of Armenia, suggesting that he send those [princes and troops] in his section to Thrace while Xosrov send those in the Persian section to the East; the flight of princes in the Roman section to Iran; Xosrov dispatched the Hazarakar with much treasure to the Roman section to attract many princes to his side; the princes ravish the treasure; preparation for war; the message; disunity of the princes, some of whom went to the Romans, others to the Persians.]

In that period the Roman emperor ordered a letter written to the Persian king. It was a complaint about the princes of all Armenia, and their troops which read as follows:

"There is a crooked and disobedient people which dwells between us and causes trouble. Come now, I shall assemble mine and send them to Thrace. Assemble yours and have them taken East. Should they die, our enemies will be the ones dying; should they kill others it will be our enemies who perish, and we shall live in peace. But should they remain in their own country, we shall have no rest".

Then the two rulers united. The emperor started ordering the Armenians to assemble to go to Thrace, and he was implementing the order with extreme violence. The Armenian princes and their troops began to flee from the Roman sector and to go in service to the Persian king—especially those whose country lay under the emperor's jurisdiction. Now Xosrov received all the fugitives with more exaltation and much greater gifts than the emperor had ever bestowed on them. This occurred even more when he saw them fleeing from the emperor, he wanted to win them to his side with even greater affection.

Now when the Persian king observed the flight of people from the emperor, he sent to Armenia the Vaspurakan hamarakar with much treasure, and very great honours to subdue the princes with it and to draw them into his service. The hamarakar went to Armenia with treasure loaded onto numerous camels.

Samuel Vahewuni with other comrades went against him, encountering him at the borders of the land of Atrpatakan. They took the treasure [but] granted the hamarakar his life. The princes were: Atat Xorhxorhuni, Samuel Vahewuni, Mamak Mamikonean, Step'annos Siwni, Kotit, lord of the Amatunik', T'eodos Trpatuni, and about 2,000 cavalrymen. They were thinking as follows: "With that treasure we shall make Armenia our own. With their aid we shall wage war with both kings and forcibly return our country to ourselves." But once they reached the city of Naxchawan, their plan of unity came apart. They did not believe one another, they divided the treasure, and then encamped in the swamp called Chahuk. Meanwhile that hamarakar went to court and informed the king of all that had transpired. And the emperor's words were vindicated.

King Xosrov ordered that a hrovartak be written to the emperor, requesting an auxiliary force. He also dispatched the vaspurakan hamarakar to Armenia. Then the emperor ordered the general Heraclius who was located in the country of Armenia to take his troops and go against the rebels in battle. The troops of the two kings united in the city of Naxchawan. As these troops started to mass, they began sending messages to the rebels] saying: "Let there not be warfare and bloodshed among Christians. Rather, abandon your stuborness and resign yourselves to serving the king." By oaths they confirmed that "you have nothing to fear from the king." The hamarakar also said: "The king of kings sent me to you; indeed, I brought the treasure for you. You have nothing to fear from the king of kings." He gave an oath, in accordance with their custom.

The Armenian rebels began to separate and divide from each other. Mamak Mamigonean, Kotit, lord of the Amatunik', Step'annos and others withdrew, displaying themselves as innocent to the hamarakar, subduing their troops into serving the Persian king. Meanwhile Atat Xorhxorhuni and Samuel Vahewuni and their troops fled. Going via the town called Sawdk', they reached the land of [Caucasian] Aghbania / Aghuania, heading for the Huns [of Attila's successors] and, after crossing the river called Kur, they encamped on the riverbank.

The Huns also reached the river and encamped on the opposite side. And as soon as the rebels realised that they could not trust the Huns' camp, they requested an oath from the Roman emperor and went into his service. Some went to the hamarakar and then returned to their own country. The hamarakar assembled all the princes and troops of the Persian sector of Armenia encouraging them all through persuasion and sweet words. He united them and formed them into brigades. Leaving few in the land, he departed, saying: "until I find out about you, and a command comes to remain there." For it had entered his mind that others would come to the rebels and that they would multiply.

The emperor summoned Atat Xorhxorhuni and his troops to quickly come to the palace. He exalted Atat with splendour and honour, gave him numerous goods, and sent him to Thrace.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 7.

The Armenian princes in the Roman sector rebel; the war; the deaths of some in battle and the decapitation of two [rebels].

Once again the Vahewunik' sepuhs in the Roman sector—Samuel whom I mentioned above, and Sargis and Varaz Nerseh and Nerses and Vstam and T'eodoros Trpatuni—rebelled. They planned to kill the Roman curator while he was seated in the hot springs close to the city of Karin, to cure an illness. But the latter was informed somehow and fled to

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the city. Thus, when they invaded the bath, they did not encounter him. Then the rebels looted whatever they found, taking a great deal of booty, and departed to the secure Korduats' country. They wanted to have the stronghold there.

Now the Roman forces with general Heraclius and Hamazasp Mamikonean pursued them. The rebels approached the stronghold, crossing by bridge the river called Jermay (which is styled Daniel's bridge). They cut down the bridge and fortified themselves in a pass where they held the site of the bridge. The Romans were on the opposite riverbank wondering what to do. Because they were unable to find a ford, they wanted to depart. But unexpectedly, a traveling priest strayed into their midst. They seized him and said: "If you do not show us the river's ford, we will kill you." The traveller took the forces and showed them the ford at a place below where they were. All the troops crossed the river. Some of them held watch over the stronghold, others the bridgehead. Some held the mouth of the valley, others entered the stronghold and battled with them. The devastation was enormous, and the rebels were worn out.

Killed in the battle were Nerses, Vstam, and Samuel, who killed quite a few [warriors] around them in fight. But Sargis and Varaz Nerseh were arrested along with some others. They were taken to the city of Karin and later beheaded. When they were about to be beheaded, Varaz Nerseh said to Sargis: "Let's cast lots to see whom they kill first." But Sargis replied: "I am an old, blame-worthy man. I beg you, grant me this little respite, that I not see your death." So they beheaded him first. Now T'eodoros Trpatuni fled to the court of the Persian king, for refuge. But the king ordered him bound and delivered into the hands of his enemies to be put to death. And the king visited severe misfortunes upon him.

The enemies who were in the Thrace area, having looted the kingdom by means of quick engagements conducted by a countless multitude of troops, [now] wanted to destroy the kingdom and people of the lordship of the Romans, and to actually rule over the royal city itself.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 8.

[The emperor's order to assemble his Eastern forces and those of Armenia to cross the sea and mass in Thrace, against the enemy. The selection of Mushegh as their commander. The victory, vanquishment, seizure, and killing of Mushegh.]

The Roman emperor gave a command to assemble all of his forces which were in the Eastern area, for it was peacetime and he had no difficulties with Syria, from the Persian lordship. He ordered that all the troops be taken across the sea and assembled against the enemy in the Thracian area. He also commanded the entire cavalry of Armenia, and the princes of the naxarars who were skilled and able to resist and fight in a spear-throwing battle. Again Maurice ordered that very many troops be raised from the land of Armenia a second time, all of choice age and determination, that they be organized into decorated brigades, [kazmel gunds zards] armed, and transported to the land of Thrace against the enemy. Mushegh Mamikonean was their commander.

Now they went against the peoples who hold the area west of the great Danube river. A fierce battle took place in that country. The enemies' strength was shattered before the Roman forces, and they fled to the other side of the river. With great victory they quickly dispatched to the emperor a messenger with the glad tidings.

Then they went to an area below where they were, raiding. They crossed a narrow place, laying waste the entire country. Coming opposite to the Roman army, the enemy waged a great battle, striking at the Romans, destroying them with great slaughter and driving them in front of themselves, as fugitives. But the enemy had seized a narrow pass before them and so put the Romans to the sword. The Romans were barely able to save their lives in the strongholds of the land of Thrace. The enemy had arrested Mushegh Mamikonean, bound him to a tall tree in the forest, and killed him. On that day a multitude of the naxarars and troops of Armenia were killed.

Yet another time did the emperor order other troops called up, telling them only "Look out for yourselves."

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 9.

[Emperor Maurice's order to preach the acceptance of the Council of Chalcedon (that took place from 8th October to 1st November, 451 AD.) in Armenia; the division of the patriarchal throne.]

Once again the emperor issued an order, this time to preach acceptance of] the Council of Chalcedon in all churches of the country of Armenia, and to celebrate communion with his troops. Now the clergy of the churches of Armenia they treated as fugitives going to a foreign country. But many disregarded the order and remained where they were, not budging. Many of the faithful, however, out of the love of ambition, united with the Romans in communion. Then the kat'oghikosal Throne was divided into two parts. One of the kat'oghikoi] was named Movses; the other, Yovhan. Movses was in the Persian sector; Yovhan was in the Roman sector.

Yovhan communed with the Romans but Movses was in no way close to them. The vessels of the entire Church which had been at the church of saint Gregory in Dwin, were taken and placed in a repository in the city of Karin. But Yovhan himself was later taken into captivity to Ahmatan shahastan in the country of the Persians.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 10.

Again the emperor's command to assemble the Armenian cavalry. The troops of Sahak Mamikonean and Smbat Bagratuni are taken. Smbat returns to Armenia. The Armenian naxarars' plan. Smbat goes to the emperor with seven men. Smbat falls into arena [combat]. Smbat's bravery there. His liberation, and exile to Africa.

In that period, once again a command issued from the emperor to seek and demand 2,000 select armed cavalrymen from the land of Armenia, to entrust them to two faithful commanders and to dispatch them with all possible haste.

So 2,000 armed men were selected and entrusted to two faithful men: 1,000 to Sahak Mamikonean, and 1,000 to Manuel's son, Smbat Bagratuni. But they did not go by the same road. Rather, they sent Sahak Mamikonean with 1,000 men by way of Sebastia; and Smbat Bagratuni with the other 1,000 soldiers via the Xaghteats' area. Sahak took his troops to the palace, to the king's presence.

Smbat, however, upon reaching Xaghtik', became his own man. For enroute the force became frightened and did not want to go to Thrace [the region of today's Bulgaria] in compliance with the emperor's request. The emperor was informed about the events. By means of hrovartaks and trustworthy emissaries [the emperor] promised Smbat with an oath that he would send him back to his own country with great honour, and quickly. He promised the troops very great honours and goods, and thus did he coax them to a reconciliation. Smbat's army went united before the emperor. The emperor armed the troops, decorated them, and sent them to the borders of Thrace. He sent Smbat back to their country with great honour and many goods.

Once again the remaining naxarars of Armenia started to unite, seeking to stop serving the Roman emperor. They also wanted to enthrone their own king so that they too not go to Thrace to die, but rather they planned to stay where they were and die upon their own soil. But there was disunity in their councils regarding what they established. And some of them went as informers taking the story to the emperor's ears. Then the rebels dispersed here and there eluding the Roman forces.

In that period imperial ambassadors arrived with edicts. They seized Smbat and seven other men and took them before the emperor. Investigating them in front of the multitudinous public, the verdict was passed that Smbat be stripped and thrown into the arena. Smbat possessed a gigantic size; he was handsome, tall of stature, broad-shouldered with a body as hard as a fist, or the ground. He then was mighty and martial and had displayed his bravery and force in numerous wars. Such was his strength that once when riding on a large and powerful horse, passing through a dense forest of pines and other strong tress, Smbat seized a branch of the tree, energetically wrapped his torso and legs around the horse's middle and lifted the horse bodily from the ground. When all the troops saw this they were awestruck with wonder.

So they stripped Smbat, dressed him in trousers and threw him into the arena to be eaten by the beasts. They released a bear on him. As soon as the bear was opposite him, Smbat shouted in a great voice, attacked the bear, punched its forehead with his fist and killed it on the spot. Second, they released a bull on him. Smbat seized the bull by the horns, shouted powerfully and, when the bull wearied of the fight, Smbat wrenched its neck and crushed both horns on the bull's head. The bull weakened, and drawing back, took to flight. But Smbat ran after the bull and seized it by its tail and worked on the hoof of one of its legs. The hoof came off in his hand, and the bull fled from him, lacking a hoof on one leg. The third time, they released a lion on him. When the lion was attacking him, Smbat was aided by the Lord, for he seized the lion by the ear and jumped astride it. Seizing the throat, he choked and killed the lion. Then the clamour of the vast mob filled the place, and they sought the emperor's mercy on Smbat.

Tired from the combat, Smbat sat on the dead lion to rest a little. The emperor's wife threw herself at the emperor's feet, requesting mercy for him. For previously the man had been dear to the emperor and to his wife and the emperor had styled him his adopted son. The emperor was astounded by the man's strength and endurance; and when he heard the entreaties of his wife and all the palace, he ordered that Smbat be pardoned.

Then they took him to the bath for washing. They washed and clothed him, invited him to dine at court, and revived him with food. After a short time, not because of any evil will of the emperor, but from the slander of envious people, the emperor ordered Smbat's men placed on a boat and exiled to a distant island. And he ordered that Smbat be taken to Africa with them and made tribune of the troops there.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 11.

[The summoning by king Xosrov to Asorestan of those naxarars whom the Hamarakar had left. The stationing of their troops at Spahan.]

As I mentioned above, in the Persian sector were naxarars and troops which the Hamarakar had left there and departed, pending an order from Court.

At that time, peshaspik' arrived with edicts, summoning them to court all together. The following are the naxarars and troops which went united to the court of Xosrov, king of Iran, each [naxarar] with his brigades and banner, in the sixth year of Xosrov's reign: (1st) Gagik Mamikonean, Manuel's son, (2nd) Pap Bagratuni, son of aspet Ashot, (3rd) Xosrov, lord of the Vahewunik', (4th) Vardan Artsruni, (5th) Mamak Mamikonean, (6th) Step'annos Siwni, (7th) Kotit, lord of the Amatunik and others of the naxarars among them. They reached Asorestan where the royal house was, and went before the king. The latter received them with delight, exalting them with noteworthy, lavish honours. He ordered the grandee princes to be kept at court, that court stipends be arranged for them, a dwelling place for each, and that they be summoned daily to dine at court. Xosrov ordered that their troops be stationed in the Spahan land, and he sustained them with affection and all spontaneity.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 12.

[Xosrov judges his uncle Vndo. The killing of Vndo. Vstam flees to war with Xosrov, and he rules in the Parthian areas.]

In this period king Xosrov took it into his head to seek vengeance from those naxarars who had slain his father. First he wanted to judge his mother's brothers. He gave the order to arrest that Vndo, about whom I spoke earlier, to bind and kill him. However, Vndo's brother Vstam was not at court then. Although Xosrov summoned him with entreaties and many persuasive words, so that Vstam would not find out about his brother's death, nonetheless, he learned about it somehow. Thus he did not fall into Xosrov's deception; rather, he went to the secure Gegham country as a rebel, and subdued all of their troops to his command.

Vstam went raiding in the area of Rey, looting all the many lands of the kingdom of Iran. Then king Xosrov took his troops and troops from the emperor, and went against him. The battle between them occurred in the land of Rey, and no small feats of bravery were worked by the Armenian troops [hayakoyt zawrats'n]. When the king saw this, he was even more amazed.

And when the rebel was unable to resist, he secured himself in the mountains. Thus each side returned to its place, neither having triumphed. The rebel Vstam went to the secure Gegham country whence he went to the Parthian area, to his own native country of rule, so that the troops there submit to him, then he planned to return.

The king went to Asorestan reaching his own court residence. The naxarars of Armenia were with him.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 13.

[Death of the Armenian princes, rebellion of their troops at Spahan; the destruction of the country, seizure of the treasure and going to Vstam.]

At that time death came to the princes of Armenia. Gagik Mamikonean and Xosrov, lord of the Vahewunik', died at court. Mamik Mamikonean, who had been released to Armenia for troops died a few days after reaching the city of Dwin. Meanwhile, Step'annos Siwnik' was fighting for the tanuterut'iwn with his father's brother, Sahak. Sahak wrote a document calling for Step'annos' death which he sealed with [his] ring and of the House of the bishop, and with the rings of yet other princes of Siwnik', to remind the king about the danger of their rebellion. Then the king gave the order to bind Step'annos and to put him in prison. They beheaded him on Easter day itself, in Easter week. The king sent Kotit to Nisibis as an emissary, but commanded cavalrymen to lie in ambush in the field, and, like bandits, to attack and kill him on the road. Now when their troops (which were stationed in the Spahan land) heard about these events, they rebelled and devastated the country. They took the court treasury, which was in the house of the hamarakar and which was amassed from the taxes of that land. Taking the road, they went to the secure Gegham country. The perozakan troops caught up with them. Some of them were killed by the rebels' swords, some fell upon their own swords to avoid being captured. Some, escaping by a hairbreadth, got away to the secure Gegham country. But since the rebels did not encounter Vstam, they left for the country of the Parthians, and presented themselves before him.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 14.

[Xosrov gives Smbat Bagratuni the marzpanate of Vrkan [Hyrcania] and greatly exalted him. Smbat improves the land of Hyrcania through spiritual and political education.]

In that period Smbat Bagratuni became pleasing to king Xosrov's eyes. Xosrov gave him the marzpanate of the country of Hyrcania; made him prince over all of those areas besides; exalted him yet more with honours and authority; loaded him

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with gold and silver; adorned him in gorgeous robes of honour; gave him the belt and sword which had belonged to his father, Ormazd; assembled under his authority the Persian and Armenian troops and ordered him to go to the country of his appointment.

At that time there were some countries which had rebelled from the king of Iran, namely, Amagh, Rhoyean, Jrechan and Taparastan. Smbat defeated them in battle, striking with the sword, and putting them in the service of the Persian king. He built up the entire country of his marzpanate, for it was in ruins. In that land were a people who had been captured from the country of Armenia and settled at the edge of the great desert which is in the area of Turk'astan and Delhastan. They had forgotten their own language, learning had weakened and the order of the priesthood had become reduced. There were also Kodreats' people there, who had been captured along with our own men. And there were not a few there from lands subject to Roman authority and from the Syrian area.

The Kodreats' people were not believers but a great light dawned on the Christians. They became confirmed in the faith, studied learning and language, and established in the order of priesthood of that land a certain elder from among them named Abel.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 15.

[Vstam comes to Asorestan to kill Xosrov and take the kingdom. His death from the treachery of Pariovk, king of the Kushans. The small battle in the land of Hyrcania.]

In that period Vstam subjected to himself two kings of the Kushans, Shawg and Pariovk. He gathered all the troops in the East and went to Asorestan with a large and very powerful army, to kill Xosrov and take his kingdom for himself. Vstam's troops were at a distance from him, on the right and left, while the Kushan king Pariovk was to provide assistance from behind him. But then the deceitful king of the Kushans got the idea of going before Vstam with a few men, where he dismounted the horse and bowed to the ground seven times. Motioning him forward, Vstam ordered him to mount again. [But Pariovk] had placed an ambush for him on the road. Pariovk said: "Order the multitude to leave you, for I would have secret words with the king." However, not sensing Pariovk's treachery, Vstam ordered the people to depart. As the two of them were going along the way, talking, suddenly the ambushers sprung out of their place of concealment, and attacked and killed Vstam. Pariovk had stipulated the time with his troops, and he now quickly notified them. The troops came up and captured Vstam's wife, all his bags and baggage, and then turned quickly and departed.

After some days had passed, all of the troops were informed, and they split away from each other, being as it were, abandoned, each one going to his own place. The troops of Geghum which were with [Vstam], similarly, departed and quickly reached the strongholds of their own land. And those Armenian men who had rebelled from Smbat [or: had rebelled in Ispahan] and gone over to Vstam, were among them. They went to the country called Komsh which is on the other side of the mountain which separates it from Hyrcania, and reached the village named Xekewand.

Shahr Vahrich and Smbat, marzpan of Gurgan, went against them with many troops. The Geghumk' troops were not more than 2,000 men. There was a battle in that country. They struck at the Persian troops, put them to flight, killed many, arrested many, then turned back, encamping near the battlefield. Those men from Armenia were with them. Many of the Persian troops and the Armenians who were with marzpan Smbat died.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 16.

[Discovery of a fragment of the Cross.]

Three months prior to this battle, a vision appeared to a certain man named Yovsep'. He said: "A man with a wondrous appearance came and said to me, 'A battle will occurr in three months in which many people will die. Go to the site of the battle, and let this be a sign for you. For you will see a man lying on the ground whose body glitters among all the corpses. Take whatever you find on him, and take care not to forget, for he / it is a miraculous thing.'" Yovsep arose and departed. When he reached the place, he found things as they had been related to him in the vision for [the man] and all the corpses had been stripped, and the man had a chestnut-colored fur [or: a leather bag (shagoyr mashkeghen)] around his shoulders; his body was among the corpses. Yovsep took the fur and discovered that it contained a silver box with a cross in it fashioned from a large fragment of the Lord's Cross. He made the sign of the Cross over himself with this, took it and went after his comrades.

All the troops left that place and went to the strongholds of their land. Then the king requested that Vahrich go home, and he sent great thanks to Smbat for he fought sincerely and was beaten and did not leave the place. He fled only after everyone else had fled.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 17.

[Smbat fights with the enemy and triumphs. He is more honoured with estimable gifts and honours than all the other marzpans. Smbat's son, named Varaztirots', is appointed to the office of the king's cupbearer. Construction of the church of saint Gregory. Enthronement of the kat'oghikos.]

The next year, all the brigades of the enemy assembled and went to the district of Taparastan. Smbat too massed all his troops and went against them in war. And the lord God betrayed the troops of the enemies into Smbat's hands and killed them all with the sword. Those who survived went as fugitives to their own place. Now those who were with them requested an oath and conditions and came before Smbat. That Yovsep' was among them, and related the vision and the many signs which God had worked among the barbarians. Yovsep' had his find with him. Then Smbat arose and kneeled before him, took the fragment of the Cross, made the sign of the Cross, and then gave it to a certain prominent man named Mihru from the Dimak'sean House whom [Smbat] had put in charge of his House as a loyal man and executor of his orders. He gave it to the church which priests kept at his court.

Then the king sent a hrovartak expressing great satisfaction [with Smbat], and exalting him with honour, above all of the other marzpans in his lordship. He sent him cups of gold, royal clothing, and golden diadems set with precious stones and pearls. Smbat's son, whose name was Varaztirots', had been raised by Xosrov as though he were one of his own sons, elevated over all at court, and appointed to the office of cup-bearer, serving wine to the king.

Smbat held the marzpanate of that land for eight years. Then a command came to summon him with great exaltation to the royal court, and [the king] ordered him to go and see his own country in the 18th year of Xosrov's reign.

Now [Smbat] requested a command from the king [permitting him] to build the church of saint Gregory, which was in the city of Dwin. Because the blessed kat'oghikos Movses had died, and no vardapet was there, Smbat hurried even more to request the king's order. When the order reached his country, [Smbat] concerned himself with the great [kat'oghikosal] throne so that they set up an overseer, a caretaker of the church, and a director of its salvation. They seated Abraham, bishop of the Rshtunik' on the patriarchal throne. Then they commenced laying the foundation of the church. Smbat assembled architects skilled in working stone, appointed trustworthy officials over them, and ordered that the work be brought to a speedy conclusion. The overseer of the fortress and [Armenia's] marzpan wrote a complaint to the king, saying: "The church is too close to the fortress and will be damaged by enemies."

The king's reply arrived, saying: "Pull down the fortress and build the church in that same spot." Amen.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 18.

[Smbat is summoned to the Persian court and receives the honour of the lordship (tanuterut'iwn) [and of being] called Xosrov Shum. He persecutes the Kushans (who reigned the areas east of Persia). The killing of Datoyean. Once more Smbat and the Armenian naxarars go against the Kushans and Hepthalites. A certain wrestling match. Smbat triumphs and goes to the court with great glory.]

When winter had passed and spring arrived, messengers came to Smbat with hrovartaks summoning him to the royal court with great pomp. [Smbat] went before the king at the dastakert called "the great dastakert." Leaving the hall, he resided [nsti] in Bob and in Bahghak.

Then the king gave him the tanuterut'iwn known as Xosrov Shum. He adorned him with gorgeous clothing, in a hat and muslin robes embellished with gold; he exalted him with unbelievable honours, a bejewelled camp, troops, and silver thrones, and gave him charge of the lesser diwan of the land. He gave him four-toned trumpets and guards for his court selected from the soldiers at court. He assembled under [Smbat] an enormous force in the eastern country of the Kushans; and he ordered Smbat to make whomever he wanted the marzpan.

Now Smbat departed and reached the nearby country of his first rule, Komsh. He summoned the troops of his own countrymen from Hyrcania, and then went directly to the East.

Here are the names of the princes of the Armenian naxarars who were with Smbat, each with brigade and banner: Varazshapuh Artsruni Sargis Tayets'i Artawazd, Vstam, and Hmayeak pahuni Manuel, lord of the Apahunik' Vrham, lord of Gogh't'n [Vrham Gogh't'neats' ter] Sargis Dimak'sean Sargis Trpatuni and other naxarars. And he had some 2,000 cavalrymen from the land of Armenia. Smbat saw that the Kushans' forces had spread across the entire country, raiding. But as soon as they heard about his reputation, they assembled and departed. [Smbat] went after them and quickly caught up. Now as soon as they observed that he was upon them, they turned and fought, clashing with each other in battle. The forces of the Kushans took to flight and were routed by the forces of Xosrov Shum. Many of them died, while many fled. Then Smbat again camped at Apr Shahr and in the district of Tos. He himself with 300 men stayed in the town called Xrhoxt.

Then the kings of the Kushans requested aid from the great Khaqan / Qaqan (Xak'an), king of the northern parts. A mob of 300,000 came to their aid. This force crossed the Vehrhot river which arises from the Ewighat country, T'urk'astan crossing Dionos ep'esteays [Abgaryan, p. 102, has emended this to yerkre Ewighatay, zGimnosp'esteays..."the Gymnosophists"] Shamn and Bramn and flows to India. The force settled on the banks of the river, and spread out, raiding, to the west. Unexpectedly, they reached and besieged the town, for the village had a bulwark of fortification around it.

Smbat gave an order to the 300 men to fall upon the fortress which was in the town. He himself mounted, taking along the following three men: Sargis Dimak'sean, Sargis Trpatuni, and a certain arms-bearing mounted villager named Smbatik. Suddenly coming upon its entrance, they crushed the might of the mob and departed. The 300 men who were about the fortress in the town went against his troops. And the commander of his troops was a certain Persian prince named Datoyean, by the king's order.

Now despite the fact that Smbat (who is Xosrov Shumn) sent to him, telling him to evade them, Datoyean did not want to listen; rather, he went against them in battle. They struck at the Persian troops, putting Datoyean to flight, and then spread out, raiding as far as the borders of Rey and the district of Aspahan. After devastating the entire country, they turned back to their army; and a command came from the great Khaqan / Qaqan (Xak'an) to Chembux to recross the river and to return home. Now a certain principal naxarar named Shahrapan Bandakan arrived from the court to investigate Smbat and Datoyean. All the surviving troops vindicated Smbat; but Datoyean was taken in shackles to the court and was killed by the king. Then Smbat assembled troops and again armed [them] and called up many other troops [g66] to aid him, after which he went against the Kushan people and the king of the Hepthalites. The latter with great preparation arose and went against him. They reached the place of battle and massed against each other. The king of the Kushans sent a message to Smbat, saying: "What good is it going into battle with such a tumultuous mob, exhausting our forces. How shall our bravery be fathomed? But come, let you and I fight alone and compete, and today my bravery will be revealed to you." And he thumped himself with his hand and said: "Behold I am ready to die." With great speed the two prepared to attack, and approached each other. In the midst of the two armies they battled each other. But they were unable to defeat each other quickly, for both were failing in strength, and heavily armed. But then aid came from On High. Smbat's spear pierced the vertewamut bahlik [?] and the security of the Kushan king's armor, and because Smbat struck him forcefully, he fell to the ground, dead. As soon as [the Kushan king's] forces saw what had happened to their king, they were horrified and turned to flight. Smbat's troops pursued them, raiding as far as Bahl shahastan of the Kushans, looting the entire country: Harew, Vaghages, all Toxorostayn and Taghakan. They also took numerous fortresses which they pulled down, and then returned in great triumph, with much booty. They went and encamped in Marg and in the district of Margrhot.

Messengers bearing the glad tidings quickly reached king Xosrov relating in full the bravery displayed by Smbat. King Xosrov rejoiced with exceeding delight. He ordered that a huge elephant be adorned and brought to the chamber. He commanded that [Smbat's son] Varaztirots' (who was called Javitean Xosrov by the king), be seated atop the elephant. And he ordered treasures scattered on the crowd. He wrote to Smbat a hrovartak expressing great satisfaction and summoned him to court with great honour and pomp.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 19.

[Smbat dies peacefully. The Armenian naxarars rebel from the Persians and go to serve the king of the north, the Khaqan / Qaqan (Xak'an).]

When Smbat] was about one day's journey from the royal court, the king commanded all the naxarars and his forces to go before him. He ordered his aides to take before Smbat a steed from the court stable decked out in royal trappings. Smbat went into the king's presence with great splendor and glory.

Now when the king saw him, he received him with joy, extending his hand which Smbat kissed, prostrating himself. Then the king said to him: "You served loyally, and we are even more satisfied with you. From now on, do not tire yourself by going to battle. Rather, stay close by. Take, eat, and drink, and partake of our joy." Smbat was the third naxarar in the palace of king Xosrov. But after a short while Smbat died in the 28th year of Xosrov's reign [618-619 AD]. His body was taken to the country of Armenia, to his native place of rest, and they placed it in a tomb in the village of Dariwnk' which is in the district of Gogovit.

Then [the naxarars] rebelled and went into the service of the king of the northern regions, the great Khaqan/Qaqan, by means of Chepetx of the House of Chen [The text may be

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defective here, and the translation of this sentence is tentative. The sentence lacks a subject.]. Then they went from east to west via the northern regions to join with the forces of that Chepetx, by order of their king the Khaqan / Qaqan. Going through the Choray gate with a multitude of troops they went to give aid to the Roman emperor.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 20.

[The rebellion of the great patrician Atat Xotxorhuni, and his death. The Persian and Roman borderlords.]

Now what shall I say about another rebellion, that of Atat Xorhxorhuni? He was a great patrician, as a result of which the emperor ordered him summoned to the palace. He went to him accompanied by 17 men. The emperor exalted and glorified him and those with him by a fitting and attractive reception, and gave him gold and silver vessels and an extremely large amount of treasure.

The emperor ordered him to go to his forces in Thrace. Taking leave of the emperor Atat departed. While traveling along the road he had the idea of rebelling and going over to the Persian king. Departing from the road he went to the seashore where he encountered a boat. He said to the boatsmen: "Take me across to the other side, for I have been sent on important work by the emperor." After cajoling the boatsmen, they took him across. In a great hurry he quickly reached the country of Armenia. No one knew of his route until he was quite a distance from the shore. But then somehow they learned of his departure. Troops from city to city went against him but were unable to resist. Enroute Atat battled eighteen times and was the victor in every instance. Nonetheless, his forces were depleted. He went in haste and reached Naxchawan. The Persians received him and he secured himself into the fortress.

King Xosrov was informed about what had happened and sent against the Romans Parsayenpet with troops. As soon as the force approached, the Romans left the city and departed. Atat quickly went to the Persian king who received him affectionately, exalting him with honours, giving him treasures, and commanding that he be given a stipend from the court treasury.

One year later Maurice died and Phocas ruled [602-610 AD]. Atat planned to rebell and go to the Roman emperor. He began to prepare horses and to ready armaments and attract rascals to himself. News of this reached the king's ears. He ordered Atat to be bound hand and foot and beaten to death with clubs.

These are the names of the borderlords in the country of Armenia and the city of Dwin in that sector of the country under the lordship of Iran in the years of that peace: Vndatakan Nixawrakan. The Persian troops killed him at Dwin and themselves went as rebels to Geghum. Merkut, Yazden, Butmah, Yeman. Now in the Roman sector the borderlords were: Yovhan the Patrician, Heraclius' general Suren until thirteen years of peace had elapsed.

Then the emperor issued an order which said: "Thirty thousand cavalrymen are my levy for the land of Armenia. Let thirty thousand families be assembled for me there and settled in the land of Thrace." He dispatched Priskos to Armenia to see to this matter. But when he arrived, news of a great disturbance reached him, and Priskos arose and departed with incredible haste.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 21.

[The killing of emperor Maurice and the reign of Phocas. The rebellion of general Erakghes (Heraclius) of Alexandria and general Nerses of Syrian Mesopotamia. Urha (Edessa) is besieged by the Romans and the city of Dara is besieged by Xosrov. Troops are mustered from the Persian sector of Armenia and prince Juan Veh is made their commander. He comes to Edessa and takes T'eodos. The destruction of Dara. The Romans take Edessa; general Nerses is killed.]

In the 14th year of king Xosrov and in the 20th year of Maurice's reign, the Roman army which was in Thrace rebelled from the emperor and enthroned as their king a certain man named Phocas. Going together to Constantinople, they killed the emperor Maurice and his son and seated Phocas on the throne of the kingdom. Then they themselves went to the Thracian area to oppose the enemy. Now the empeor Maurice had a son named Theodosius, and a rumour spread throughout the entire country that [the Roman emperor] Theodosius had escaped and gone to the Persian king. Thus there was no small agitation in the lordship of the Romans, in the capital city, in the city of Alexandria in Egypt, in Jerusalem and Antioch and in all parts of the country, people took up the sword and killed one another.

Emperor Phocas ordered all the rebels who wavered [in their loyalty] to his rule to be killed. Many were slain there in the capital. He dispatched a certain prince Bonos with troops against Antioch, Jerusalem, and all parts of the land. He went and struck Antioch and Jerusalem and indeed the entire multitude of cities in that country were consumed by the sword.

Then the general Heraclius who was in the Alexandria area rebelled from Phocas along with his own troops. He forcibly detached the country of Egypt from Roman control. In Syrian Mesopotamia general Nerses also rebelled. Together with his troops he entered and took the city of Edessa. But a Roman force came against him and besieged the city and Nerses' troops.

When king Xosrov heard about this, he assembled the entire multitude of his troops, went to the West, reached the city of Dara which he invested and besieged and started battling with. In the regions of Armenia, troops were assembled, a certain great prince, Juan Veh, being their commander. Then king Xosrov divided his forces into two parts: one part he left around the city; with the other he himself went against those forces which were besieging Edessa. He came upon them at dawn, unexpectedly. Some were slain by the sword; some took to flight; some (who had gone into the Euphrates river for security) died there; some were pursued. King Xosrov approached the city gate, so that they would open it and so that he might enter. Now Nerses dressed a youth in royal garb, placed a crown on his head and sent him to Xosrov, saying: "This is Theodosius, emperor Maurice's son. Have mercy upon him, just as his father had mercy on you."

King Xosrov received him with great delight, departed, and went to the city of Dara. He kept Theodosius with him in royal honour. Xosrov besieged Dara for one and a half years. He dug beneath the city walls, demolished the wall, and took the city, putting everyone to the sword. He looted the city, then went to Ctesiphon, since his troops were worn and wasted from battle. But another force from 'Constantinople came upon Edessa, fought with and took the city. They seized and killed Nerses, and shed blood there.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 22.

[The Persians and Romans battle in the plain of Shirak, and the Romans are defeated. Another battle takes place in Tsaghkotn. The Romans are defeated, T'eodos Xorxorhuni surrenders, giving the fortress to the Persians. T'eodos Xorxorhuni's death.]

Now Juan Veh, who had been dispatched to the Armenian area with his troops, reached the city of Dwin in Ayrarat district in wintertime. He stopped there, resting his forces until spring came.

Meanwhile the Roman troops were assembled in the town of Eghevard. The Persian troops came against them and a battle took place in the plain of Eghevard in which the Romans struck at the Persians and severely defeated them. The general Juan Veh was slain in the fight while the survivors fled, pursued. The Romans looted the Persian army and then returned to their camp on the riverbank called Horhomots' Romans' meadow.

The next year [in 602/603], while king Xosrov battled with the city of Dara, another Persian force was assembled in Armenia under the command of Datoyean. The Roman army assembled in the plain of Shirak, in the village named Shirakawan. They located there and stayed some days embroiled in internecine strife, terrified of an attack by the foreign enemy. The Persian troops came upon them, roaring like lions. Now the Romans abandoned their campsite and crossed the river to the plain called Akank', pursued by the Persian troops which caught up with them. The battle took place in the village named Getik. As the two sides were approaching each other to fight, the inhabitants of the district had gathered in Ergina fortress. A multitude of youths streamed out of there armed with scythes and swords, and fell on the army's rear causing great slaughter, leaving wounded men, and taking loot and booty, returned to their fortress.

When the two armies met in battle, the Persians put the Roman forces to flight before them. Pursuing them, they killed many men, filling the plains and roads with corpses. Very few survivors managed to flee. The Persians took the loot and returned to their army. When they observed the evil that had been wrought, they attacked the fortress in a mob and took it. Many they killed with the sword, many out of fright hurled themselves from the precipice; some fled through the gate which faced the river, while all the rest were taken into slavery. On that day 33 villages around the fortress were similarly enslaved. When the Persians had gathered up all the loot of the district, the troops turned and went to Atrpatakan.

Then Senitam Xosrov arrived. The Roman army was settled in Tsaghkotn close to the village called Angegh which the Aratsani river flows through, and on the other side they had pulled apart the village and drawn its fortification around themselves. Their commander was T'eodos Xorhxorhuni. The Persian troops came and encamped near them, to their rear. At first, terrified, the Romans spoke of peace with them, recommending that they not fight and instead they would leave them the fortress and depart peacefully. But as they were united, the matter went no further. Rather, confident of their fortification, they thought they might accomplish something. The next morning the Persian troops went against them. None of the Romans had armed himself or saddled his horse. If anyone did so, the retainers/children of the princes [mankunk' ishxanats'n] ran over and disarmed the men, tormenting them severely and slashing the horses' saddles with their swords.

The Persian troops came and faced them from the plain area. They released a multitude of bowmen who emptied their quivers shooting at them and piercing all the men and horses with their arrows. The horses, which were tied to mangers at the entrances to the tents, became frightened and trampled on all the tents and army. The enemy broke through the fortification and fell upon the army causing incredible destruction. The Romans broke through at one spot, some on foot, others mounted on the kicking horses, and fled. T'eodos Xorhxorhuni fortified himself in the fortress, while that evening the Persians settled into the Romans' campsite. The next morning the Persians dispatched a messenger telling them to quit the fortress and depart with all their baggage and equipment. They agreed to do so. On the third day [the Romans] opened the city gates and all departed as had been agreed. But the Persian commander summoned T'eodos Xorhxorhuni and told him: "I do not have the authority to release you without a royal command. Rather I must have you taken to court. I shall write to the king all the good things about you, how you labored so sincerely and loyally to betray the Roman troops into our hands; how you came into Persian service willingly." And he did write such things and had him taken to court. King Xosrov received T'eodos affectionately, arranging a stipend and money for clothing for him from the treasury. Subsequently, however, as there was a suspicion of treachery about him, he ordered him killed. Now the fortress-keeper residing at Angegh fortress assembled his troops and went in person deeper into the countryside which he subjugated.

After this there was another battle in the Basen area. The Persian commander struck at and chased the Romans who fled back to their own country. He took the cities of Angegh, Gaylatus, Ergina, and the city of Tsxmkert in Dara. Receiving a command from the king, he departed.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 23.

[Xosrov sends a large force to Asorestan under the command of Erhazman Xorheam, and [another army] to Armenia under Ashtat Yeztayar accompanied by the emperor Theodosius. Erhazman Xorheam subdues all of Mesopotamia. Ashtat wars with the Romans and subjugates the district of Karin. Shahen battles with the Romans and is victorious. The inhabitants of Karin are deported to Ahmatan Shahastan. Death(s) of the Kat'oghikoi. Shahen takes Caesarea, and Vasak Artsruni is killed.]

King Xosrov left Dara and again released his troops. Once more he called up another multitude of soldiers, dispatching a large and extremely powerful army to the Asorestan area commanded by Xorheam, called Erhazman. Xosrov commanded them as follows: "Whomever comes into [my] service, receive with affection and keep in peace and prosperity; but kill with the sword whomever resists and makes war." He sent Ashtat Yeztayar with a large army (including emperor Theodosius, called Maurice's son) to Armenia. Xorheam took a multitude of soldiers and went to Asorestan, reaching Syrian Mesopotamia where he besieged and battled with the city of Edessa. Because of the multitude of the troops and the success of the Persian battles, and because the besieged had no hope of salvation from any quarter, the Edessans spoke of peace requesting an oath so that the Persians would not ruin the city. They opened the city gates and submitted. Similarly Amida, T'ela, Resaina (Rhashayenay) and all the cities of Syrian Mesopotamia voluntarily submitted and were kept in peace and prosperity. The Persian troops then went to the city of Antioch which also submitted voluntarily together with all the surrounding] cities and their inhabitants, escaping from the sword of Phocas.

Now Ashtat Yeztayar came to the borders of Armenia in the 18th year of the reign. The Roman army was assembled in the district of Basen and again frightfully attacked him. A great battle took place in Du and Ordru. The Roman army struck and was defeated with great destruction. Many men died in the battle, and there was no counting the number of corpses on the plain. Ashtat pursued them as far as the city of Satala and then he himself encamped around the city of Karin with which he began to fight. The inhabitants resisted somewhat from within causing no small casualties to those outside. But then the emperor Theodosius came forward and said to the inhabitants: "I am your king," whereupon they consented and opened the gates. The principal men of the city emerged and were presented to him, then returned to the city and convinced them that he was indeed Maurice's son, Theodosius. After this the inhabitants opened the gates and submitted. Ashtat set up guards there and then went and captured the city of Hashteank', Dzit'arhich, and Satala, Arhistia and Nicopolis, and then departed. Then Shahen the Patgosapan arrived, passed by the city of Karin, and Shahrayeanapet came to Dwin, ostan of the marzpanate. Now Shahen went and encountered the Roman troops in the district of Karin. Engaging in battle, he struck them with the sword, putting them to flight and chasing them from the land.

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Now in the 21st year of his reign [611 AD] king Xosrov ordered Shahen to move the inhabitants of the city of Karin and settle them in Ahmatean shahastan. The venerable aged kat'oghikos was among those led into captivity, together with all the Church vessels. He died there. His body was brought back to Armenia to the village of Awan and the church which he himself had built. That same year the venerable kat'oghikos Abraham died. He was succeeded on the patriarchal throne by Kumitas, bishop of Taron who was from the village of Aghts' awan. During his tenure the construction of the church of saint Gregory was completed.

In the 20th year of king Xosrov [610 AD], Shahen raided through the western areas, going to Cappadocian Caesarea [today's Kayseri]. Now while the Christian inhabitants of the city arose and departed, the Jews went before Shahen and submitted. He remained in that city for one year. The Persians seized Vasak Artsruni, son of Sahak nahapet of the Artsrunids, and crucified him opposite the city gate. Despite the fact that he had wrought much carnage among the Persian troops, nonetheless, all the Persian troops mourned him because of his bravery and manliness and because he was a powerful and tall youth. They mourned, especially because he had been nourished and trained among them. That is what became of him.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 24.

[Emperor Flavius Heraclius goes to Asorestan to fight against the Persians. The great battle near the city of Antioch in which the Romans were defeated. The country of Palestine submits to the Persians. An Persian ostikan takes up residence in Jerusalem. His murder. The great destruction of Jerusalem by the Persians by sword and fire. The holy Cross is captured.]

In that period, in the 22nd year of the reign of Xosrov [612 AD], Heraclius gathered the troops in the area of Egypt, went by sea to Constantinople, killed the emperor Phocas and seated his son Heraclius on the throne of the kingdom, and pacified the entire country.

Now as soon as Heraclius ruled [Heraclius I, 610-641 AD], he dispatched messengers with great treasures and edicts to king Xosrov, requesting peace with great entreaties. King Xosrov, however, did not want to listen. He said: "That kingdom belongs to me, and I shall enthrone Maurice's son, Theodosius, as emperor. As for Heraclius, he went and took the rule without our order and now offers us our own treasure as gifts. But I shall not stop until I have him in my hands." Taking the treasure, Xosrov commanded that his envoys be killed and he did not respond to his message.

Then Heraclius gathered his troops and encamped around the city of Caesarea], obstructing their expeditions. After assembling troops under the direction of a certain Curator, Heraclius ordered them to be watchful, and then returned to his own place.

They besieged the city of Caesarea for one year and the Persian troops were placed into straits regarding victuals, nor was there hay for the multitude of horses. When warm summer days arrived and the area became filled with green plants, the Persians set fire to the city and forcibly departed, striking at the Romans and pursuing them from behind. The Persian troops then went to the land of Armenia, where they wintered.

The Persian king quickly summoned Shahen to court and ordered him to return to the west in haste. Taking his troops in summertime, Shahen reached the city of Karin. He went against Melitene, took and subdued it. Then he went and united with the army of Xorheam which was in the Pisidia area and at the Ostan of Dwin.

Parseanpet Parshenazdat came and replaced Shahrayenapet; he was succeeded by Namgar Shonazp [or: Namdar Vshnasp], then by Shahrapghan. This latter fought a battle in Pars and was victorious. Then came Chrhoch Vehan [Abgaryan emends this name to Erhoch Vehan.] He followed emperor Heraclius through Armenia as far as the borders of Asorestan. The battle occurred at Nineveh, in which he and all of his troops fell.

Now emperor Heraclius summoned a certain priest P'ilipikos to military service. This P'ilipikos was the son-in-law of emperor Maurice and had been in the military for a long time, triumphing in battle. But then, during Maurice's reign, he took it into his head to cut his hair and to wear priestly garb, becoming a soldier in the covenant of the Church. Heraclius forcibly made him a general and dispatched him to the East with a large army. Going by way of Cappadocian Caesarea [Kayseri], he reached the Ayrarat district in the country of Armenia and encamped in the plain of the city of Vagharshapat. An urgent order from the Persian king, entrusted to swift, fleet-footed messengers arrived at the camp of the Persian general in the vicinity. With great peril the general forced his troops to pursue them and wipe them out without a trace. With great urgency the Persian troops reached the district of Ayrarat and encamped on the bank of the River Arax wanting to engage in battle the next day. However, that very night P'ilippos went against them in the Nig district, surrounding them from the rear of mount Aragats. Then he crossed through Shirak and Vanand close to the city of Karin, and arrived at his own borders.

Now because the Persian troops were tired from such a long and dangerous journey during which many of the men and horses had died along the way, and since, therefore, [many] were on foot, they were unable to quickly pursue the Romans. Rather, they stopped for a few days and then proceeded at a relaxed pace passing into Asorestan. They encamped there in the same place they had been previously, expanding both to their rlght and left. And they ravaged [lastet'an] and seized the entire country.

In that period Heraclius enthroned his son Kostandin [Constantine III, 613-641 AD, as co-emperor], entrusting him to the Roman Senate [in Constanople] and to all the grandees of the palace. He confirmed him on the throne of his kingdom. Together with his brother Theodosius, he assumed the military command, assembled a multitude of troops, and crossed into Asorestan by way of Antioch. A great battle took place in the area of Asia, and the blood of the generals coursed violently to the city of Antioch. The groupings and clashings were severe and the slaughter was great in the agitation. Both sides were worn and wearied in the fight. However, the Persians grew stronger and pursued the fleeing Romans, receiving the victory, in addition to [the renown of] bravery. Yet another battle took place close to the defile leading to Cilicia. The Romans struck the Persians in a front of 8,000 armed men. And they turned and fled. The Persians grew stronger, went and took the city of Tarsus [Tarsos] and all the inhabitants in the district of Cilicia.

Then the entire country of Palestine willingly submitted to the king of kings. The remnants of the Hebrew people especially rebelled from the Christians and taking in hand their native zeal [The translation is uncertain: ew arheal i dzerhn znaxandz hayreni, perhaps "manifesting desire for a or their homeland"] wrought very damaging slaughters among the multitude of believers. Going to the Persians, the Jews united with them. At that time, the army of the king of Iran was stationed at Caesarea [Maritima, the Roman capital] in Palestine [Judaea]. Their general was named Rhazmiozan (that is, Xorheam). He spoke with the inhabitants of Jerusalem so that they submit voluntarily and be kept in peace and prosperity.

Now first the Jerusalemites voluntarily submitted, offering the general and the princes very great gifts, and requesting that loyal ostikans be stationed with them to preserve the city. However, several months later the entire mob of the city's young braves united [miabaneal amenayn rhamik kacharhats'n` mankunk' k'aghak'in...] and killed the Persian king's ostikans. Then they rebelled from his service. After this a battle took place among the inhabitants of the city of Jerusalem, Jew and Christian. The multitude of the Christians grew stronger, struck at and killed many of the Jews [The pejorative satakets'in is used]. The remainder of the Jews jumped from the walls, and went to the Persian army. Then Xorheam (who is Erhamikozan) assembled his troops and went and encamped around Jerusalem and invested it, warring against it for 19 days. Digging beneath the foundations of the city, they destroyed the wall. On the l9th day [of the siege] which was the 27th day of the month of Marg [The 11th month of the Armenian calandar, corresponding to June] in the 25th year of the reign of Xosrov Apruez [615 AD], ten days after Easter, the Persian forces took Jerusalem and putting their swords to work for three days they destroyed [almost] all the people in the city. Stationing themselves inside the city, they burned the place down. The troops were then ordered to count the corpses. The figure reached 57,000. Thirty-five thousand people were taken alive, among whom was a certain patriarch named Zak'aria who was also custodian of the Cross. The Persians sought for the life-bringing Cross and began to torment the clerics, executing many clerics at that time. Finally the clerics pointed out the place where it was hidden. The Persians took it into captivity and also melted all the city's silver and gold, which they took to the court of the king. Now regarding those who had been arrested, an order was issued by the king to have mercy on them, to build a city and to settle them there, establishing each person in his former rank / profession [karg]. He commanded that the Jews be driven from the city, and the king's order was quickly implemented, with great urgency. They placed a certain archpriest named Modestos over the city. He wrote a letter with the following import to the country of Armenia [The main portion of chapter 25, which we omit, contains Modestos' letter to the Armenian kat'oghikos Kumitas, and the latter's response. These letters concern doctrinal matters. The translation resumes with the latter portion of chapter 25.]

The Construction of the Church of Hrhip'sime

Now in the 28th year of the reign of Xosrov Apruez [618 AD], kat'oghikos Kumitas pulled down the chapel of saint Hrhip'sime in the city of Vagharshapat since it was a very base and gloomy construction, having been built by saint Sahak the patriarch and kat'oghikos of Armenia, son of saint Nerses.

It happened that while they were demolishing the chapel wall, unexpectedly a radiant and matchless pearl was uncovered, namely the virgin body of the blessed lady Hrhip'sime. She had been martyred by being torn limb from limb. Now since the venerable saint Gregory had sealed the reliquary with his ring, as had the venerable Sahak, kat'oghikos of Armenia, Kumitas did not dare to open it. He too sealed it with his own ring, and indeed he was worthy of sealing such a pearl with his ring, it being the ring of the third of the three true believers.

Which is the pearl that comes not from the sea, but the pearl born from a royal line, nourished in the embrace of holiness and dedicated to God? The righteous long to behold you, and the venerable Kumitas is tenderly in love with you.

The venerable one had a height of nine palms and four fingers. The entire northern area was motivated to come to worship. Many afflicted people received healing for all kinds of pains. Kumitas built the church, and left the venerable [Hrhip'sime's reliquary] outdoors until the moisture of the lime in the wall had dried. Then he placed it in its abode.

Kumitas also raised the wooden roof of the blessed cathedral, repaired the crumbling wall and built a stone roof. This occurred in the years of Yovhank, priest of the monastery of the blessed cathedral.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 26.

[Xorheam comes to Chalcedon with a large army to take Constantinople. The emperor's exhortation and gift. The Persians consent to turn back. The Persians again return to 'Constantinople (i Biwzandia). The great naval battle and the Persian defeat. Xosrov's hrovartak to Heraclius. Heraclius goes against the Persians. The battle near Tigranakert and Heraclius' arrival at Cappadocian Caesarea in triumph and with booty. He goes against Xosrov again and battles in the plain of Nineveh where the Persians are defeated.]

In that period it happened that Xorheam went to Chalcedon with his troops and encamped opposite Constantinople. He wanted to cross the straits and capture the capital city.

Now as soon as emperor Heraclius saw the brigand who had come to destroy his kingdom, against his will he exalted the Persians as meritorious and beloved guests, and became friendly. He went before Xorheam with presents and gave gifts to the general and to the very great princes. Heraclius gave the troops salaries, and lunch and dinner for seven days. Then he boarded a boat which was in the sea, and spoke the following words to the Persian troops: "What did you expect to accomplish by coming to this place? Could it be that you regard the sea as the land and would war with it? God, should He so will, could dry up the sea before you. But take care that you not displease God, and that He not take vengeance on you with the bottomless sea. For God did not give the victory to you because of your piety, but because of our impiety. Our sins did it, not your bravery. What is it that your king seeks from me that he will not make reconciliation? If he wants to destroy my kingdom let him not attempt it. For it was God who established it, and no one is capable of destroying it except (should God for some reason want to) to fulfill God's will. Furthermore [Xosrov] has said that he will enthrone our emperor. Well, let him enthrone whomever he wants, and we will accept him. Now if he is seeking to avenge the blood of Maurice, God took revenge on Phocas by means of my father, Heraclius. But Xosrov is still thirsting for blood. When will he be satiated? The Romans could have slain him, could they not, and done away with the lordship of the Persians, when God delivered him into our hands. On the contrary, he was shown mercy. And now I seek the same from him—reconciliation and love. I request three things besides, so hear me out. Quit subjecting the land to fire, the sword, and captivity. Rejoice in your priests [The translation is uncertain: yerets'unts'd awgut gtanek'. Perhaps, "take comfort in your seniority"], for you are not oppressed by famine nor are royal taxes being lost. Behold, I am sending a hrovartak with offerings to your king to request reconciliation from him, and that he make peace with me." Taking Heraclius' gifts, the Persians were persuaded to do as he requested. Now the Persian king received the offerings brought from the emperor, but did not dispatch the emissaries. He ordered his troops to go to 'Constantinople by boat. Organising ships, he started preparing to wage naval warfare with 'Constantinople. A force of sailors from 'Constantinople arose before him, and there was a naval battle from which the Persian forces returned humiliated. Four thousand men were lost on the ships, and the Persians thereafter did not attempt such a project.

In the 34th year of his reign [624 AD] king Xosrov wrote the following hrovartak to Heraclius:

"From Xosrov, the honoured of the gods, lord of every country and king, born of the great Aramazd, to Heraclius, our stupid and useless servant.

"You did not want to give yourself into our service, but rather, you call yourself lord and king, and those treasures of mine which are with you, you spend, and you deceive my servants. Furthermore, having assembled troops composed of brigands, you give me no rest. Did I not, truly, exhaust the Romans? You claim confidence in your God, yet how was it

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that your troops did not save Caesarea, Jerusalem and great Antioch from my hands? And could it be that even now you do not know that land and sea has been made obedient to me. Now it is only Constantinople which I have been unable to dig up. Yet, I will forgive all your faults. Bring your wife and children and come here, and I shall give you fields, vineyards and olive-trees by which you may live; and we shall look upon you affectionately. Do not deceive yourself with your vain hopes, for how can that Christ who was unable to save himself from the Jews (but was crucified instead) save you from me? For even if you descend to the bottom of the sea, I shall stretch forth my hands and seize you. And then you will see me under circumstances which you would rather not."

Emperor Heraclius took the hrovartak and commanded that it be read in the presence of the patriarch and the grandees. Entering the House of God, they placed the hrovartak on the altar, and prostrated themselves before the Lord, weeping bitterly, so that He see the insults with which His enemies dishonoured Him.

It pleased Heraclius and all the senators to seat Heraclius' small son, Kostandos [Constantine III, 613-641 AD], on the throne of the kingdom. Heraclius prepared himself to take his wife and go East. At that point Kostandin was even more confirmed into the royal dignity.

Then Heraclius prepared with his wife, eunuchs, and princes of the court, and celebrated Easter in Constantinople. On Easter morning he sailed to Chalcedon, commanding his [103] troops to assemble at Cappadocian Caesarea. Then he himself left Chalcedon [which is just on the opposite side of the Bosporus in Asia] came to Caesarea [Kayseri], pitched his tent in the midst of the army and ordered all the troops to be summoned. He read the hrovartak before them and related why he had come there. Now although the troops were agitated by the words, nonetheless they were exceedingly happy that Heraclius had come among them. They wished him victory and said: "We shall live and die with you, wherever you go. May all of your enemies become dirt beneath your feet, and may we wipe them off the face of the earth of our Lord God and exterminate those people who insult Him." With 120,000 men Heraclius departed for the court of the Persian king, travelling via the north, passing opposite the city of Karin. He reached Ayraratean Dwin, and Naxchawan, both of which he burned.

Then he went against the village of Gandzak, which he took, destroying as well the altars of the great Fire which they called Vshnasp. King Xosrov urged those of his troops in the Roman district to hasten and come to his aid. Yet although they organised his horses and entrusted them to 104 Shahen the Patgosapan, the army was fatigued and could not resist. Xosrov stored up his treasures at Ctesiphon and prepared to flee. Now the Persian troops hurriedly reached Nisibis. Emperor Heraclius was informed that Xorheam had come to Nisibis. He took his troops and captives and turned through the secure land of Media, reaching P'aytakaran. Xosrov was informed that Heraclius had turned and reached P'aytakaran, and wanted to cross into Iberia [Georgia], via [Caucasian] Aghbania / Aghuania. He ordered his general, Shahr Varaz, to get ahead of Heraclius. He quickly reached Ayrarat, crossed to Gardman across from him and encamped facing Heraclius at the other Tigranakert. And Shahen with 30,000 troops arrived and encamped at Heraclius' rear in the awan of Tigranakert. Thus one [army] was encamped in one place, the other, at the other place, while Heraclius' army was between them.

As soon as Heraclius saw that they had trapped him in the middle, he turned upon the troops at his rear, with resolute strength struck at the Persian general, routed him, and went through Tsghuk. He disentangled himself by going into the plain of Naxchawan through the mountains, in wintertime.

Shahr Varaz and his troops, and Shahen, together with those of his men who had escaped, pursued Heraclius. Now the latter forded the Arax river going to the Vrnjunik' awan, and encamped in the fields there. The Persian army caught up, but they were unable to ford the river that day. Heraclius reached Bagrewand and crossed to Apahunik', encamping in the village called Hrchmunk'. Shahr Varaz spread his troops out to Aghiovid and he himself with 6,000 select armed braves went and located in an ambuscade in the district of Archesh, so that he might pounce upon Heraclius' army in the middle of the night.

Heraclius was informed by the spies he had dispatched that Xorheam had arrived and was planning to attack him from the ambuscade. Heraclius, similarly, took select cavalrymen and horsemen and dispatched 20,000 of them on him. Reaching Aghi, he found 500 of the Persian advance-guard and destroyed them. Now one of those Persian cavalrymen escaped, reached Archesh and delivered to Xorheam the bad news that the enemy had come upon him and decimated the peshopa [advance-guard] troops at Aghi. Xorheam became furious with the man and ordered him bound, hand and foot, saying: "Up to the present, Heraclius has fled from me. Now that I have arrived with such an army, should he not flee from me?" But while these very words were in his mouth, the Romans forcefully came upon them, surrounded the city on three sides and set it afire, burning to death multitudes of troops. If anyone was able to flee from it, the Romans seized and killed him. No one survived as all were consumed by the awful fire. Shahr Varaz, however, did escape seated on a horse which swam. Thus did he escape to those troops of his which he had assembled in the district of Aghiovit.

Now Heraclius took the loot and booty of their army and returned in great triumph reaching the area of Caesarea. Shahr Varaz hurried after him. But because the army was fatigued, he thought to go by way of a number of districts to rest and organize the troops. They went into the area of Asia where they spread out and stopped.

Then Heraclius took his forces and returned to the country of Armenia, crossing through Shirak, reaching the ford of the Arax river, crossing it to the awan of Vardanakert, and entering the district of Gogovit. Rhoch Vehan and the Persian troops thought that they had fled. Now he travelled to Her and the district of Zarewand heading straight toward Ctesiphon against Xosrov. Once he had entered the borders of the district of Atrpatakan, news finally reached Rhoch Vehan who took his troops and pursued him to the city of Naxchawan. Thus he went hurriedly, day and night until he approached him. Heraclius went to the far side of Zarasp mountain in the country of Asorestan while the Persians pursued him. The Romans turned west, and went to Nineveh. Other troops came to the aid of Rhoch Vehan from the king's court, the most select men of the entire kingdom. The soldiers joined together and pursued Heraclius. Heraclius drew them along as far as the plain of Nineveh and then suddenly turned back upon them with intense might. Now there was a fog over the plain, and so the Persians were unaware that Heraclius had turned upon them until the two armies merged.

On that day the Lord so increased his compassion on Heraclius that the Romans struck them as though the whole army was but one man, and they killed the general in battle. The Romans surrounded the survivors and wanted to kill all of them. But the Persians raised a clamour, saying: "Pious and benevolent lord, have mercy on us". Then Heraclius commanded that they be set free. And now it was Heraclius who ordered that the country be raided.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 27.

[The flight of Xosrov. Heraclius takes and burns Ctesiphon and returns to Atrpatakan. The killing of Xosrov and his forty sons. Kawad rules and makes peace with 'Constantinople and leaves the Roman borders.]

Now the king of Persia, [Emperor] Xosrov, fled crossing the River Tigris to Vehkawat, severing the ties of the pontoon bridges behind him. Heraclius came and encamped close to the gates of the city of Ctesiphon and burned down all the royal mansions surrounding the city. Then he went to Atrpatakan with all his multitude and equipage, for Heraclius was terrified of Xorheam. Now Xorheam did not go to the aid of king Xosrov but instead went to where he was in the west. Then Xosrov turned to go home and commanded that a pontoon bridge be built. However, the king's women and children, the treasury, and stable of royal horses were at Vehkawat.

Xosrov began to assemble the remaining naxarars speaking to them with extreme criticism, saying: "Why did you not die at the site of the battle, instead of coming to me? Did you, perhaps, think that Xosrov was dead?" Then the Persian naxarars [dukes] decided on a plan of unified action, saying: "Although we survived the enemy, there is no way for us to escape from Xosrov. Come, let us plan something." They then vowed loyalty to one another. They went by night over a draw-bridge to Vehkawat, which they seized. They appointed guards over it, then enthroned Kawad, Xosrov's son. They also had secretly removed the horse by which Xosrov had come to Ctesiphon. Thus, when the outcry of what had taken place reached Xosrov, and when he became filled with dread and horror, and asked for his horse, they did not find the horse in the stable. King Kawad then arrived with all of his troops. And king Xosrov, in a disguise, entered the royal garden and hid himself under some dense hedges. King Kawad ordered a search made and, going into the garden, they found him. They seized Xosrov, sent him to the executioner, king Kawad gave the order, and they put him to death. Regarding Xosrov's children, the naxarars said: "It is not worth letting them live, for they will cause trouble." Then king Kawad gave the order, and all the sons, some forty people, were killed in the same hour. Kawad requested for himself the women, treasury, and royal stable.

Then king Kawad began to consult with the naxarars of his realm, saying: "We must make peace with the emperor, leave all of his borders, and make reconciliation on all sides." They unanimously agreed to do this. King Kawad ordered that a hrovartak [decree] of greeting be written to Heraclius, and that all of his borders be left alone. With this he sent an oath and salt to seal it. He dispatched a certain prince Rhash with very great gifts to confirm the hrovartak based on their unity.

Now when this Rhash arrived, gave the glad tidings, presented the hrovartak and went before them with gifts, emperor Heraclius and all his troops greatly thanked God. Then emperor Heraclius commanded that the multitude of Persian captives and all the troops be set free. He wrote a testament of praise, established peace with an oath, and sent to Kawad a certain one of his principal naxarars [dukes] named Yusdat' together with very great gifts. He also exalted the Persian emissary Rhash, loading him with precious treasures, and dispatched him. He went peacefully back to his own place. And Yusdat' went to king Kawad and presented the hrovartak [decree] and gifts. Once again the terms of peace were confirmed by him, the boundaries were fixed by means of hrovartaks which were sworn to and salt was sealed by Yusdat' in the manner of the first copy, and after the custom of the first kings. In Yusdat's presence Kawad ordered that Shahr Varaz be written to, to assemble the army and return to Persian territory, quitting the Roman borders, though the latter did not want to obey that order. They released Yusdat' laden with treasures, and he departed.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 28.

[Smbat's son Varaztirots' becomes a marzpan. The selection and deposition of kat'oghikos K'ristap'or and his succession by Ezr. The death of Kawad and the enthronement of his son Artashir. Heraclius writes to Xorheam requesting the holy Cross from him. The killing of Artashir and the reign of Xorheam. The killing of Xorheam, and the reign of Bbor, Xosrov's daughter. She was succeeded by a certain Xosrov, who was followed by Xosrov's daughter, Azarmiduxt. She was followed by Ormizd. Finally, the reign of Yazkert.]

King Kawad summoned Varaztirots' (son of Smbat Bagratuni, who was called Xosrov Shum) and bestowed upon him the authority of the tanuterut'iwn. He made him marzpan and sent him back to Armenia with all of his father's belongings so that he would keep the land in a flourishing state. When he arrived in Armenia the entire land received him with delight. However, because the venerable kat'oghikos Kumitas had died and the position was vacant, Varaztirots' consulted with everyone to find someone worthy of filling it. Then, at the proposal of T'eodoros, lord of Rshtunik', they selected a certain hermit from the House of Abraham, named K'ristap'or, and seated him as kat'oghikos. He proved to be an arrogant and impious man whose tongue was as sharp as a sword. He stirred up much agitation and intruded the sword between Aspet and his brother, by slander. He occupied the patriarchal throne for two years. During the third year they made accusations against him. With all the bishops and princes assembled, they held an investigation. Two men from K'ristap'or's family came to the trial and testified against him in front of the entire multitude. So they took from him the veil of the dignity of the priesthood, removed him from the order and pursued him with indignities. They swiftly enthroned Ezr, from the district of Nig, as kat'oghikos. The venerable Kumitas had appointed him doorkeeper / warden of the church of saint Gregory. He was a humble and mild man who did not want to anger anyone, nor did unseemly words issue from his mouth.

Though king Kawad was planning to make the land flourish and wanted to make peace everywhere, he died after only six months [as king]. They enthroned Artashir who was his son, but a small boy [ca. 628/629]. Then Heraclius wrote the following to Xorheam:

"Your king Kawad has died. The throne of that kingdom belongs to you. I shall give it to you, and to your son after you. Should you need troops I shall send as many as are required, and let there be a vow between you and me in addition to a sworn and sealed document."

Xorheam easily accepted and quit Alexandria. He assembled all his troops at one location and left them there. Then he went to the appointment where Heraclius had told him to be, with but a few men. When Heraclius and Xorheam saw each other they were very joyful. And it was then that Heraclius swore to him that he would give the kingdom to him and to his sons after him, and that he would provide as many troops as necessary. The first thing that [Heraclius] requested of him was the life-giving Cross which he had captured at Jerusalem. Then Xorheam swore to him, saying: "As soon as I reach the royal court I shall make inquiry about the Cross, and have it brought to you. Furthermore, I shall place the border wherever you wish, and confirm it in writing, with seal and salt."

[Xorheam] requested a small force from him, and they parted. Now Xorheam took his multitude of troops and went to Ctesiphon. He ordered some people to kill Artashir the boy-king, and he himself went and sat on the throne of the kingdom. He ordered all those principal men at the court and in the army whom he could not trust to be killed by the sword, while others he had sent to Heraclius in shackles.

Then the venerable Heraclius dispatched loyal men to Xorheam concerning the lordly Cross. The latter sought for it with great urgency and barely gave it to the men who had come. They took it and departed hurriedly. Xorheam also gave them no small amount of goods and dispatched them with great joy.

Now one day Xorheam donned royal garments, mounted a horse, and circulated among the troops, displaying himself.

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Suddenly, from the rear, they attacked, struck, and killed him. Then they enthroned Xosrov's daughter, Bbor, who was Xorheam's wife. They appointed Xorhox Ormazd, a prince of Atrpatakan, as the commander at court. Now Xorhox sent a message to Bbor, the Bambish [Persian, "queen of queens"], saying: "Be my wife." She accepted, replying: "Come to me at midnight accompanied by but one man, and I shall fulfill your wishes." Arising at midnight, Xorhox took one man and went. As soon as he entered the royal chamber, the court guards fell upon him, attacked and killed him. Bbor, the Bambish, ruled for two years and then died. After her was a certain Xosrov, from the line of Sasan. After Xosrov was Azarmiduxt, daughter of Xosrov. After her was Ormazd, grandson of Xosrov whom the troops of Xorheam strangled. Finally there came to rule Yazkert [ca. 631-652], son of Kawad, grandson of Xosrov, who ruled in fear, since the troops of the land of Iran had split into three parts. The first army was the one in the Persian and Eastern region; the second army was Xorheam's which was in Asorestan; and the third army was in Atrpatakan. However, the centre of the kingdom was at Ctesiphon, and all the Persians universally respected it.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 29.

[The return of the Cross to holy Jerusalem. The determination of the boundary between the two kings. Forced by Mzhezh Gnuni, Ezr accepts the Council of Chalcedon. The plot of Mezhezh with Rhatovm against aspet Varaztirots' and the latter's flight. The king swears to him and he goes to the palace and is exalted. The evil plot of At'alarikos with the princes against his father. The exposure of the plot and the plotters' deaths. The exile of Varaztirots'. The bravery of Dawit' Saharhuni, who becomes Curopalate. The deeds of T'eodoros, lord of Rshtunik'.]

Now when the holy Cross of the Lord had fallen to the venerable, pious, and blessed king Heraclius, he enthusiastically and joyfully assembled his troops. Then, taking all the royal attendants and revering the blessed, miraculous and divine discovery, they took the Cross back to the holy city of Jerusalem. They also took there all the vessels of the church which had been saved from the enemy, in the city of 'Constantinople. And there was no small amount of joy on the day they entered Jerusalem, with the sound of sobbing and moaning, an outpouring of tears from their excited and moved hearts, and there was a tightening feeling in the king, the princes, all the troops and the inhabitants in the city. No one was capable of singing the sacred songs due to the tremendous and deep emotion [felt by the] king and the entire multitude. Heraclius took the Cross and reestablished it in its place; he put each of the vessels of the churches back in its place; and he gave wealth and incense to all the churches and inhabitants of the city.

Heraclius himself then took to the road heading directly for Syrian Mesopotamia in order to personally see to establishing the cities of the borders. The boundary which was confirmed was the same as had been established under Xosrov and Maurice. The Cross of the Lord remained in the heaven-built city until the taking of Jerusalem by the sons of Ishmael At that time it was taken in exile to the capital city [of Constantinople] with all the church vessels.

A general of the Romans named Mzhezh Gnuni, from the country of Armenia, arrived next and personally took control of all the country of the borders. He told the kat'oghikos Ezr to come to him in the country of the borders and to take the sacrament of communion with the emperor. "Otherwise," he said, "we shall get ourselves another kat'oghikos and you will hold sway in the Persian sector." The kat'oghikos, since he was unable to leave the country of his jurisdiction, requested a statement of faith from the emperor. A volume written by the emperor himself was quickly sent to him in which [the emperor] cursed Nestorius and all heretics, but he did not curse the Council of Chalcedon. The kat'oghikos went to the country of Asorestan, saw the emperor and communed after his fashion. As a gift, Ezr requested from the emperor the salt mine at Koghb, which he received. Then he returned to his home in great pomp. Subsequently, he resided with the Roman army, doing as the general wished. He arranged the orders of soldiers and the distribution of granaries for the entire country.

Now aspet Varaztirots' (son of the great Xosrov Shum, styled Jawitean Xosrov [Forever Loyal to Xosrov] by the kings) completely built up the entire land of Armenia. But he did not submit to the great prince named Xorhox Ormazd of the Atrpatakan land, nor to his son and successor, Rostom, who also was a prince in the Atrpatakan area. There was great agitation between the two. Then the Roman general Mzhezh started to slander the aspet to prince Rostom, who was in Atrpatakan: "Let him not stay in Armenia, otherwise, there will be great agitation between the two kings." And he sent his brother Garik'pet to go and winter in Dwin; and then they would arrest the aspet and depart. However, because all the Persian troops liked the aspet, one of the great princes there informed him, saying: "Look out for yourself, for they are going to arrest you, tomorrow." So aspet took his wife and children and fled at night to Taron. When he got there, he assembled his troops. Varaztirots' requested an oath from emperor Heraclius, that he not be alienated from his own land. Accepting [the emperor's] oath as genuine, he went to him in Asorestan. Then emperor Heraclius swore to him: "Stay with me for a brief time, then I shall dispatch you to your country with great honour." And [Heraclius] exalted him more than all the patricians in his realm. When [Varaztirots'] went to the palace, he gave him a royal mansion, a silver throne, and an extremely large amount of treasure. Furthermore, Varaztirots' son, Smbat, was the beloved chamberlain of Heraclius.

Here is an account of the evil accomplished by the son of emperor Heraclius named At'alarik [Heracleonas, 638-641 AD]. This concerns the great crime which deeply wounded his father's heart, broke a marvellous individual, made the beauty of his face fade and became the cause of the ruin of himself and of many others. Now At'alarik, T'eodoros called Magistros, brother of emperor Heraclius' son, many of the grandees of the city, and Vahan Xorhxoruni all had united to kill Heraclius, and to enthrone his son, At'alarik. Included in the deliberation similarly was Varaztirots', son of Smbat Xosrov Shum; however, he did not consent to the slaying of the emperor and his sons. He said, rather: "You say that they are the locum tenens [place holder, deputy] of God, therefore there is no need to do that killing, nor do I unite with you in that plan." Now a certain curator who had been included in the deliberations, fully related the plot to the emperor. When the emperor had confirmed the truth of the matter, he ordered that his son, nephew, and all those with them, be arrested in the morning. The noses and right hands of all of them were cut off. [Heraclius] sent a message to the aspet, saying: "Since you did as you did with regard to me and did not want to dip your hand into my blood and the blood of my sons, I shall not reach for you and your sons. Go where I order you, and I will have mercy upon you." Although the sides protested, saying: "Kill him," nonetheless, Heraclius did not want to listen to them. Rather he ordered Varaztirots' wife and children taken to the island and city of tribulation named Ak'sor ["Exile"].

Also included in the plot was Dawit' Saharhuni, who was sent to the palace bound, by Mzhezh Gnuni. Bursting his bonds enroute to the palace, Dawit' killed the men who were taking him. He then returned and united the troops of Armenia with himself, suddenly attacking and killing Mzhezh Gnuni the Roman general, and Varaz Gnel Gnuni. [Dawit'] himself took over the military ccmmand with the support and affection of all the troops.

Now at the request of the princes, the emperor made him prince of all the lands and bestowed on him the dignity of curopalate. [Heraclius] confirmed Dawit' in his service. He held authority for three years in the greatest luxury. Then, however, he was dishonoured by the troops and persecuted; and all the azats, being disunited, were the undoing of the country of Armenia.

It was, however, only the pious prince T'eodoros of the Rshtunik' district who continually was organizing the troops of his area, and was on the alert day and night, as his deep wisdom dictated. He wrought not a few slaughters of the enemy, and he built up the island of Aght'amar, [acts which] envivified many districts.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 30.

[The elimination of the Sassanid [dynasty] which held sway for 542 years. The birth of Muhammad and the entrance of the sons of Ishmael into the land of Armenia. The death of Heraclius and the reign of Constantine (the Great).]

I shall discuss the line of the son of Abraham: not the one born of a free woman, but the one born of a serving maid, about whom the quotation from Scripture was fully and truthfully fulfilled, "His hands will be at everyone, and everyone will have their hands at him [Genesis 16. 11,12]."

Twelve peoples [nations] representing all the tribes of the Jews assembled at the city of Edessa. When they saw that the Persian troops had departed and left the city in peace, they closed the gates and fortified themselves. They refused entry to troops of the Roman lordship. Thus Heraclius, emperor of the Romans, gave the order to besiege it. When the Jews realised that they could not militarily resist him, they promised to make peace. Opening the city gates, they went before him, and Heraclius ordered that they should go and stay in their own place. So they departed, taking the road through the desert to Tachkastan to the sons of Ishmael [Arabs]. The Jews called the Arabs to their aid and familiarised them with the relationship they had through the books of the Old Testament. Although the Arabs were convinced of their close relationship, they were unable to get a consensus from their multitude, for they were divided from each other by religion [meaning the dispute they had with Mohammed about Islamic laws and in particular his claimed prophethood. They called him an imposter just the same as they called Saul of Tarsos a liar some 500 years before.]. In that period a certain one of them, a man of the sons of Ishmael named Mohammed, a merchant, became prominent. A sermon about the Way of Truth, supposedly at God's command, was revealed to them, and Mohammed taught them to recognise the God of Abraham, especially since he was informed and knowledgeable about Mosaic history. Because the command had come from On High, he ordered them all to assemble together and to unite in faith. Abandoning the reverence of vain things, they turned toward the living God, who had appeared to their father, Abraham. Mohammed legislated that they were not to eat carrion, not to drink wine, not to speak falsehoods, and not to commit adultery. He said: "God promised that country to Abraham and to his son after him, for eternity. And what had been promised was fulfilled during that time when God loved Israel. Now, however, you are the sons of Abraham, and God shall fulfill the promise made to Abraham and his son on you. Only love the God of Abraham, and go and take the country which God gave to your father, Abraham. No one can successfully resist you in war, since God is with you."

Then all of them assembled together, from Havilah to Shur, which is opposite Egypt [The text is corrupt here. The citation is from Genesis 25.18], and they set out from the P'arhan desert being twelve tribes moving in the order of precedence of the Houses of the patriarchs of their tribe. They were divided into 12,000 men, of which the sons of Israel were in their own tribes, 1,000 to a tribe, to lead them to the country of Israel. They travelled army by army in the order [of precedence] of each patriarchy: Nebaioth, Kedar, Adbeel, Mibsam, Mishma, Dumah, Massa, Hadad, Tema, Jetur, Naphish and Kedemah [Genesis 25. 13-16]. These are the peoples of Ishmael. They reached Moabite Rabbath, at the borders of Ruben's land [on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea (modern Jordan), east of Judah (Judaea) and north of Moab]. The Roman army was encamped in Arabia. The Arabs fell upon them suddenly, struck them with the sword and put to flight emperor Heraclius' brother, Theodosius. Then they turned and encamped in Arabia.

All the remnants of the sons of Israel then assembled and united, becoming a large force. After this they dispatched a message to the Roman emperor, saying: "God gave that country as the inherited property [i kaluats zharhangut'ean] of Abraham and of his sons after him. We are the sons of Abraham. It is too much that you hold our country. Leave in peace, and we shall demand from you what you have seized, plus interest. The emperor rejected this. He did not provide a fitting response to the message but rather said: "The country is mine. Your inheritance is the desert. So go in peace to your country." And Heraclius started organising brigades, as many as 70,000 troops giving them as a general, a certain one of his faithful eunuchs. He ordered that they were to go to Arabia, stipulating that they were not to engage them in war, but rather to keep on the alert until he could assemble his other troops and send them to help. Now the Romans reached the River Jordan and crossed into Arabia. Leaving their campsite on the riverbank, the Romans went on foot to attack the Arabs' camp. The Arabs, however, had placed part of their army in ambuscades here and there, lodging the multitude in dwellings around the camp. Then they drove in herds of camels which they penned around the camp and the tents, tying them at the foot with rope. Such was the fortification of their camp. The beasts were fatigued from the journey, and so the Romans were able to cut through the camp fortification, and started to kill the Arabs. But suddenly the men in the ambuscades sprung from their places and fell upon them. Awe of the Lord came over the Roman troops, and they turned in flight before them. But they were unable to flee because of the quicksand which buried them to the legs. There was great anxiety caused by the heat of the sun and the enemy's sword was upon them. All the generals fell and perished. More than 2,000 men were slain. A few survivors fled to the place of refuge.

The Arabs crossed the Jordan and encamped at Jericho. Then dread of them came over the inhabitants of the country, and all of them submitted. That night the Jerusalemites took the Cross of the Lord and all the vessels of the churches of God, and fled with them by boat to the palace at Constantinople. The Jerusalemites requested an oath from the Arabs and then submitted.

The emperor of the Romans was no longer able to assemble his troops against them. The Arabs divided their army into three parts. One part went to Egypt, taking territory as far as Alexandria. The second part went north to war against the Roman empire. In the twinkling of an eye they had seized territory stretching from the sea to the shores of the great Euphrates river, as well as Edessa and all the cities of Mesopotamia, on the other side of the River Euphrates. The third part of the Arab army was sent to the east, against the kingdom of [Sassanid] Persia.

In that period the kingdom of Persia grew weaker, and their army was divided into three parts. Then the Ishmaelite troops who were gathered in the east, went and besieged Ctesiphon, since the king of Iran resided there. Troops from the land of Media [Marats'], some 80,000 armed men under their general Rostom assembled and went against the Arabs in battle. Then the Arabs left the city and crossed to the other side of the River Tigris. The Persians also crossed the river, pursuing them. And they did not stop until they reached their borders, at the village called Hert'ichan. The Arabs continued

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to pursue them, [eventually] going and encamping in the plain. Present were Mushegh Mamikonean, son of Dawit', the general of Armenia with 3,000 armed men, and also prince Grigor, lord of Siwnik', with 1,000 men. The Persian and Arab armies attacked each other, and the Persian forces fled before them. But the Arabs pursued them, putting them to the sword. All the principal naxarars [dukes] died, as did general Rostom. They killed Mushegh and two of his sister's sons, as well as Grigor, the lord of Siwnik', along with one son. Some of the Persian troops escaped and fled back to their own land. The remnants of the Persian forces assembled in Atrpatakan at one spot and made Xorhoxazat their general. Then they hurried to Ctesiphon and took the treasury of the kingdom, the inhabitants of the cities, and their king, and then hurried to get back to Atrpatakan. But as soon as they had departed and gone some distance, the Ishmaelite army unexpectedly came upon them. Horrified, the Persians abandoned the treasury and the inhabitants of the city, and fled. Their king also fled, winding up with the southern troops. Now the Arabs took the entire treasury and returned to Ctesiphon, taking the inhabitants of the cities along too. And they pillaged the entire country.

The venerable Heraclius ended his life in ripe old age. He reigned for 30 years [610-640/641]. Heraclius made his son Constantine swear to have clemency upon all those transgressors whom he had ordered exiled. He made him vow to send each back to his place, and to bring back the aspet, his wife and son, and to establish him in his former rank. "Should he want to go to his land, as I have sworn—and may my oath not be false—release him, and let him go in peace."

Heraclius died and his son Constantine ruled. But no one was chosen as general of the land of Armenia, since the princes were disunited and quit each other's presence.

The polluting army of the Arabs arose from Asorestan and came through the valley route to the land of Taron. They took Taron, Bznunik' and Aghiovit and then, going to the Berkri valley via Ordspoy and Gogovit, poured into Ayrarat. None of the Armenian troops was able to carry the bad news to the awan of Dwin. There were, however, three of the princes who went and gathered the dispersed troops: T'eodoros Vahewuni, Xach'ean Arhaweghean, and Shapuh Amatuni. They fled to Dwin, reached the Metsamor bridge, crossed it, destroyed it, and then they went to take the bad news to the awan. All the people of the land had assembled in the fortress, and they had come in harvest time for the vineyards.

T'eodoros went to the city of Naxchawan. The enemy Busha reached Metsamawr bridge but was unable to cross over. However, the Arabs had as a guide Vardik, prince of Mokk', who was called Aknik ["Little Eyes"]. Crossing the Metsamawr bridge, they raided the entire country. They accumulated a very great amount of loot and captives, then came and encamped by the edge of the Xosrakert forest.

On the fifth day of the Arabs' sojourn, on a Friday, the 30th of the month of Tre [Tre: the fourth month in the Armenian calendar, November], they came against the city of Dwin and it was betrayed into their hands. For they set fires here and there, and drove away the guards on the wall by smoke and by shooting arrows. They then erected ladders, scaled the wall and, once inside, opened the city gates. The army of the enemy poured inside and put most of the city to the sword. Then, taking the loot and booty of the city, they departed and encamped at their same campsite. After passing some days there, they arose and departed by the same route they had come. They had a multitude of captives with them, some 35,000 souls. Now the prince of Armenia, the lord of Rshtunik', who had been concealed in an ambuscade in the district of Gogovit, went against the Arabs with few troops. But he was unable to resist, and so fled before them. The Arabs pursued Rshtunik's troops killing many of them. Then they went to Asorestan. This occurred in the days of kat'oghikos Ezr.

As a result of that battle, an order came from the emperor granting the military command and the dignity of patrician to T'eodoros, lord of Rshtunik'.

All this took place as a result of kat'oghikos Nerses who succeeded Ezr on the kat'oghikosal throne.

When the sons of Ishmael had arisen and issued from the desert of Sinai, their king Amrh [caliph Umar] did not accompany them. But when the Arabs had militarily routed both kingdoms, seizing from Egypt to the great Taurus mountain, from the Western Sea the Atlantic Ocean to Media and Xuzhastan, they then emerged with the royal army [and went] to the natural borders of the holdings of Ishmael. Then the Arab king gave an order to assemble boats and many sailors and to navigate southwardly, going east to Pars, to Sagastan, to Sind, to Srman, to the land of Turan and to Makuran as far as the borders of India. The troops swiftly prepared and implemented the command. They burned every country, taking loot and booty. They then turned and made expeditions on the waves of the sea, and reached their own places.

We heard this account from men who had returned from captivity in Xuzhastan Tachkastan, who themselves had been eye-witnesses to the events described and narrated them to us.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 31.

[Regarding the Jews and their wicked plans. (In parts his history text was designed as anti-Jewish propaganda pamphlet. The auther did not grasp that the Jews were fighting for their freedom and their Jewish homeland Judaea and Israel that had been unrightfully taken away from them by Greeks and Romans. They fought at least ten major wars against Rome, several wars against Persian oppression and against Mohammeds Muslims hordes.).]

Now I shall speak about the plot of the Jewish rebels, who, finding support from the Hagarenes for a short time, planned to [re]build the temple of Solomon. Locating the place called the holy of holies, they constructed the temple with a pedestal, to serve as their place of prayer. But the Ishmaelites envied the Jews, expelled them from the place, and named the same building their own place of prayer. The Jews built a temple for their worship, elsewhere. It was then that they came up with an evil plan: they wanted to fill Jerusalem with blood from end to end, and to exterminate all the Christians of Jerusalem. Now it happened that there was a certain grandee Ishmaelite who went to worship in their private place of prayer. He encountered three of the principal Jewish men, who had just slaughtered two pigs and taken and put them in the Muslim place of prayer. Blood was running down the walls and on the floor of the building. As soon as the man saw them, he stopped and said something or other to them. They replied and departed. The man at once went inside to pray. He saw the wicked sight, and quickly turned to catch the men. When he was unable to find them, he was silent and went to his place. Then many Muslims entered the place and saw the evil, and they spread a lament throughout the city. The Jews told the prince that the Christians had desecrated their place of prayer. The prince issued an order and all the Christians were gathered together. Just as they wanted to put them to the sword, the man came and addressed them: "Why shed so much blood in vain? Order all the Jews to assemble and I shall point out the guilty ones." As soon as they were all assembled and the man walked among them, he recognized the three men whom he had previously encountered. Seizing them, the Arabs tried them with great severity until they disclosed the plot. And because their prince was among the Jews present, the Arab prince ordered that six of the principals involved in the plot be killed. He permitted the other Jews to return to their places.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 32.

Constantine dies as a result of his mother's plot, and Heraclius (son of Heraclius by his second wife) is enthroned. General Vaghentin (Valentinian) comes to Constantinople and enthrones Constantine's son, Kostas [Constantine III]. The Persians war with the Ishmaelites and are defeated. Aspet Varaztirots' returns from court, and dies. The Ishmaelites [Mohammedans] come to Atrpatakan, and divide into three wings They take Artsap'u fortress, campaigning against the sep'hakan gund.]

When Heraclius died, his son Constantine ruled. The latter appointed Vaghentianos, called an Arsacid, as the general of his troops. He ordered his troops to go to the East.

Constantine ruled only a few days before dying in the plot of his mother Martina, Heraclius' wife. Heraclius' son, Heracleonas, born of the Augusta Martina, was then enthroned [638-641 AD]. Constantine had been Heraclius' son by his first wife. Taking the initiative, Vaghentin went against him at Constantinople with his troops. He captured Martina, cut off her tongue, and then killed her with her two sons. They enthroned Constantine's son, Constans [II, 641-668 AD], calling him after his father's name. Constans personally assembled the troops and went to the East.

During the first year of the reign of the Roman emperor Constans, and in the tenth year of the Persian king Yazkert [641/642], the Persians assembled 60,000 armed men to war with the Ishmaelites [Mohammedans]. The Ishmaelites fought them with 40,000 swordsmen, clashing in the district of Mark'. The battle lasted for three days until the foot soldiers on both sides were reduced. Suddenly the Persian troops were informed that an auxiliary force had come to help the Ishmaelites. The Persians fled from camp all though the night. The remnants of the Ishmaelite troops went against them in the morning, but found no one in the camp. so they raided across the face of the entire country, putting man and beast to the sword. They captured 22 fortresses and killed everything alive in them.

But who can relate the incredible disasters inflicted by the brigand Ishmael who whipped up sea and land? The prophet Daniel long ago prophesied that such difficulties would come upon the earth. He spoke of the four beasts which represent the four kingdoms which arose on the earth. The first was the Western kingdom, which is 'Constantinople, represented by a humanlike beast. "Its wings were plucked off, and it was lifted up from the ground." He said that this was diabolical idolatry. "And it stood erect, as a man, and it was given a human heart." Behold, the second beast resembles a bear. It is in the East and is called the Sasanian kingdom. "And the bear had three ribs in its mouth"— the kingdom of Persians, Medes and Parthians—and they said to it: "Arise and devour much flesh." Everyone knows how it ate. "Now the third beast was like a leopard with four wings of a bird, and possessing four heads." The winged leopard represents the Northern kingdom, Gog and Magog and their two comrades to whom had been given authority to fly in force to the north. "Now the fourth beast was awesome and dreadful with teeth of iron, and claws of copper. It would eat and devour then stomped the residue with its feet." This fourth emerged from the South and represents the Ishmaelite kingdom As the chief of the angels said: "The fourth beast will come to possess a kingdom greater than any kingdom, and will devour the entire world." "And from the ten horns, ten kings will arise but after them yet another shall arise who in wickedness will surpass all the previous ones" [Daniel 7].

In the second year of the venerable Heraclius' grandson Constans' reign, Vaghentin [Valentinian] planned to deceive the Senate through rhetoric and to personally acquire the throne, such that by crowning him, he would do what he wanted with his military command. He made the yoke of service weigh heavy on the inhabitants of the city, having as his support the 3,000 armed troops which he had brought with him and numerous other troops which had joined him. It was then that the men of the city gathered together before the patriarch, in the holy church of God, and told him that they wanted to eliminate the weight of their service. They sent to Vaghentin telling him to abolish their service, but he did not want to hear it. Now there was a certain one of the princes present, named Antoninos, who said to Vaghentin: "What is their alliance, what is their plot? Besides, how could they dare to send you such a message? But if you command, I shall go and destroy their alliance and plot, and shall chase each one back to his place, that your will be done." Vaghentin responded: "Go and do as you said" Antoninos arose and departed with a thousand men. As soon as he entered the church he began severely beating the principals. At this, the patriarch rose to his feet and said: "It is too much, and unjust to do what you are doing here." Anton attacked him and slapped him on the jaw, saying: "Go to your place." Then the mob became agitated and attacked Antoninos, seizing him and dragging him through the city by his feet. After this they set him on fire. Vaghentin was informed and he was seized with trembling. Just then the mob poured in upon him, dragged him beyond the houses, beheaded him, and then took the corpse to the same place where they had burned Antoninos, and burned that too. Then they confirmed Constans on the throne of the empire. They made T'eodoros, a certain one of the loyal princes of Armenia, the general over those in the Roman sector.

As soon as T'eodoros took the military command, he beseeched the emperor as a favour to have clemency on those people who had been exiled to Africa, especially on Aspet, son of Smbat called Xosrov Shum. God made the emperor's heart mild, and he ordered that the exiles be brought to the capital. He received them as though they were beloved personages of the realm. He made Aspet's son Smbat the first spatharios among all the spatharioi, and a candidate. Thus, in the fifth year of his reign, he returned to the previous order. The emperor also had clemency on Vahan Xorhxorhuni and others besides. [Constans] dispatched a certain prince named T'uma to Armenia. He arrived, and did not want to destroy the oath existing between the emperor and the prince of Mark'. He united all the princes and took them with him to the prince of Mark'. He spoke with him about peace. And he received many goods from him and promised with an oath that he would have T'eodoros sent to the palace bound, since he was the prince of the land of Armenia. He then returned to the Armenian troops. As soon as T'uma reached the Kotayk' country, his men suddenly fell upon T'eodoros, seized, bound, and had him sent before the emperor. Now when emperor Constans heard of this, he was exceedingly wroth, for he had not ordered that T'eodoros be bound. He commanded that he be released from bonds, and that the document accusing him be read. When Constans learned what the treachery really was he ordered that T'eodoros be summoned to his presence. Constans received him with affection and with the honour due to his authority He arranged a stipend and funds for upkeep from the treasury. He then commanded that T'uma be summoned, but he did not order him to enter the court. Rather, the examination was conducted outside the chamber. Lord T'eodoros Rshtuni was vindicated in his testimony and justice was done to him, T'uma was discredited and dropped from honour. It was at this time that Aspet [Bagratuni] and T'eodoros, lord of Rshtunik', saw each other again and shed tears upon each other's necks. For they had been nourished together at the court of Xosrov, king of Iran. But Aspet could not be reconciled with Roman rule, instead he plotted treachery. He requested an order from emperor Constans so that Aspet could dispatch four men of his family to Armenia to bring him some things. The emperor commanded that the

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order be issued to him. Now Aspet disguised himself, took along three other men, reached the shore and showed the imperial order. He boarded a ship and quickly crossed the sea, resembling a bird, and soon reached Tayk' where he fortified himself. The people of Tayk' received him with delight.

In this period there was no small amount of turbulence in the land of Armenia, for a royal command arrived for the general of Armenia to hold all the passes of the roads and to search the land's fortresses. Then it became known that Aspet had returned and was fortified in Tayk', Armenia.

Then the Roman general, T'eodoros, together with the princes of the army and the naxarars of Armenia ordered that kat'oghikos Nerses should be sent to Aspet and vow to him their loyalty in requesting that the authority of the land be given to him, and that his wife and children be sent back to him.

The kat'oghikos went and made an oath with [Aspet] so that he would not depart. Then the kat'oghikos returned. They wrote to emperor Constans to treat Aspet according to the oath he had promised. For Aspet had written to the emperor, saying: "I am your servant and shall not leave your service. However, because some people told me 'You will return to the service of the country whence you came,' I became frightened and fled. But now, if I am considered worthy, I shall serve you loyally and give my life for your piety." Emperor Constans ordered that Aspet be made Curopalate, that he be given a crown of honour and the authority of the land. He further ordered that Aspet's wife and children be sent back with great splendour. He had Aspet given silver thrones and other very great gifts.

Yet, before the hrovartak arrived, before he was honoured with the dignity of Curopalate, Aspet became ill and died. They took his body and buried it near his father's, at Dariwnk'. The emperor established Aspet's eldest son, who was named Smbat, in his father's dignity, giving him the authority of the aspetut'iwn of his native tanuterdom. The emperor made Smbat drungarius [drungar] of his troops, and gave him a wife from the Arshakuni House, one of his relatives, and dispatched him to the army, to his troops. After this, the emperor sent T'eodoros, lord of Rshtunik' back to Armenia with great honour, giving him the same authority of military command as he held before—whether or not the princes of Armenia wanted it. He came and was established in the same authority.

The next year, the Ishmaelite army came to Atrpatakan where it divided into three parts. One division went to Ayrarat; another, to the Sep'hakan Gund area; and the third to Aghbania/Aghuania. Those who went to the Sep'hakan Gund area spread out raiding, putting all of those parts to the sword, and taking booty and captives. They came and assembled at Erewan [The Abgaryan edition has Herewan. See Abgaryan, p.314 n. 512, where he speculates that the original text read Her ew and, and referred to the district of Her]. They battled with the fortress, but were unable to take it. They went to Ordspoy and were unable to take it. So they departed, encamping across from the fortress of Artsap', near the water. The Arabs began warring with the fortress, and suffered no small amount of injury from those inside. Now there was a secret way out of the fortress from the rear leading in the direction of Asoren. This was called Kaxanaktuts'. Now some men thus descended from the fortress, to go to request an auxiliary force from Darawn fortress. And Smbat Bagratuni gave them his son, Varaz Sahak, with forty men.

Going at nighttime, they ascended to the fortress, not taking care to conceal the place. The Ishmaelites found the place and entered the fortress by the very same path. Before dawn they had seized the place. They came across ten guards asleep, whom they killed.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 33.

[The Lord frees the captives and destroys the Ishmaelites [Mohammedans]. Those Arabs who had spread out raiding at Ayrarat strike Tayk', Iberia [Georgia], and Aghbania / Aghuania. The naval battle between the Ishmaelites [Mohammedans] and the Romans. Procopius [Prhokop] goes to Mu'awiya [caliph Muawiya], prince of the Ishmaelites, and the peace between the Arabs and Romans. The deeds of kat'oghikos Nerses. The dispute over faith with the Armenians. The Armenians' reply to emperor Constans.]

In the second year of Constans' reign, on a Sunday, the 23rd of the month of Horhi [Horhi: the second month of the moveable Armenian calandar], the Ishmaelites [Mohammedans] shrieked before and behind the fortress and put the inhabitants to the sword. Many were thrown from the height and were killed. After lowering the women and children from the fortress, they wanted to kill them. There was no counting the captives, and there were an extremely great number of cattle which they seized. But at dawn the next day the general of Armenia came upon them and visited inconceivable destruction on them. Now they were 3,000 select armed men, drawn from all the Ishmaelite forces, but virtually none of them escaped. A few, however, fled on foot, and secured themselves in Shamp ["Swamp"]. On that day, the Lord spared the multitude of captives from the Ishmaelites, and greatly destroyed Ishmael. Two Ishmaelite princes, Uthman [Awt'man] and Ogomay [Abgaryan: Ogbay, p. 317 n. 523], died. Great was the tiumph of the general of Armenia, and the latter sent to Constans gifts from the booty, one hundred of the most select horses. The emperor and the entire palace were pleased, and Constans sent great thanks to T'eodoros.

Now that Arab army which was in the Ayraratean region put to the sword areas as far as Tayk', Iberia [Georgia], and Aghbania / Aghuania. They took booty and captives and passed on to Naxchawan where the other division was battling to take the fortress of Naxchawan. However, they were unable to take it. They took the fortress of Xram, killing the men and taking the women and children captive [as slaves].

Now the Arab general who was in the Palestine area, ordered that a large naval fleet be organized. He boarded a ship and began warring with Constantinople. But his naval battle did not succeed, for a multitude of Roman troops in boats came up before him, and sent [the Arabs] to the deep, driving off many others with fire, and pursuing those who fled. Nonetheless, emperor Constans was horrified by the attack and considered it wise to pay a tax / tribute [sak], and to make peace by means of messengers. The Ishmaelites hurried the Romans to complete a peace agreement. Now Constans, the Roman emperor, because he was a lad, did not dare to do so without the approval of the army. So he wrote to Procopius for him to go with him to Damascus, to see Mu'awiya, prince of the Ishmaelite army, in order to make the terms of the agreement in accordance with the desires of the troops. As soon as Procopius saw the imperial order and learned about matters from the troops, he went with them to Damascus to [caliph] Mu'awiya, prince of the Ishmaelite [Mohammedan] army. He revealed the amount of the tribute, stated the limit, made peace, and departed.

At that time Nerses, kat'oghikos of Armenia, decided to build a dwelling for himself close by the holy churches in the city of Vagharshapat, by the road where it is said king Trdat went before saint Gregory. Nerses also built a church there named after the divine Zvart'nots' ["Joyous Ones"] the multitude of heavenly soldiers who appeared in the vision of saint Gregory. He built a lofty structure of stunning beauty worthy of the divine honour to which it was dedicated. Nerses led the course of a river near to the church, he had all the stony areas worked on, and then planted vineyards and trees. To the glory of God, he ordered that a lofty wall be constructed, which by its beautiful design blended with nature.

But that rebellious dragon did not cease and instead out of its cunning, wanted to war with God. It strove to bring persecution upon the churches of the land of the Armenians. For in the time of Heraclius' grandson, emperor Constans, it started working the guile of its wickedness taking as satellites those troops stationed on Roman Armenian land. Now the Armenians never accepted the Roman communion of the Body and Blood of the Lord. The soldiers wrote a letter of complaint to the Roman emperor Constans and to the patriarch, saying: "We are regarded as infidels in this land. For [the people here] are disrespectful toward Christ God's Council of Chalcedon and the Tome of Leo, and they anathematise them." Then the emperor and the patriarch ordered that an edict be written to the Armenians telling them to unite with the faith of the Romans and not to despise the Council or the Tome. Now there was in Constantinople a man named Dawit' from the village of Bagrawan who had studied the art of philosophy. Constans ordered that he be dispatched to Armenia to eliminate the opposition. All the bishops and naxarars of Armenia assembled in Dwin by the Christ-loving kat'oghikos, Nerses, and the pious general of Armenia, T'eodoros, lord of Rshtunik'. They saw the emperor's order, and listened to the philosopher who taught the division of the Trinity according to the Tome of Leo. Having heard this, they did not agree to replace the correct doctrine of saint Gregory with the Tome of Leo. All were inclined to give a written reply.

The following is a copy of the reply to the letter sent to Armenia by Constans, emperor of Rome, written by the bishops of Armenia, kat'oghikos Nerses, the naxarars and general T'eodoros, lord of Rshtunik'.

A true and orthodox Nicean letter.

I beseech those of you who hold the God-loving Christian faith to read this.

We have the command of the caring prophets and apostles of Christ to make beseeching prayers for your God-loving realm, for all the princes, troops, and pious palace officials, wherein the love of God reposes and the signs of divine favor are apparent.

For behold, you possess a kingdom greater and stronger than all others, which was crowned not by human hands but by the right hand of God, which nothing except Christ's kingdom can equal. By the grace of God the same is true of your patriarchate.

The naxarars and Christ-loving troops—and we glory in the light of your God-loving kingdom—were unmoved by the wicked and impious Persian kings. For when they abolished the kingdom, and destroyed all the troops of the land of Armenia taking men and women into captivity, brandishing swords at the survivors and trying to convert [us] to fanaticism, they were unable to do so. Indeed, "the infidels were yet more embarassed in their folly [Psalms 24]." So matters continued until king Kawad and his son Xosrov ordered that "each individual should adhere to his own faith and no one should dare harrass the Armenians. All are physically our servants, but as for spiritual matters, He Who judges souls knows about them." Then there was Ormazd's son Xosrov who, after capturing Jerusalem, ordered all the bishops of the East and of Asorestan to assemble at Court. He said to them: "I hear that both sides are Christians yet that one group anathematizes the other. What do they regard as just? Now let them come together at the royal court so that what is correct will be confirmed and what is false will be rejected." So all the bishops and priests and believers in those parts assembled, and the king established as their ostikan Smbat Bagratuni (who was called Xosrov Shnum), and the chief physician of the Court. Present were the patriarch Zak'aria of Jerusalem who was in captivity and many other philosophers who were captured from the city of Alexandria. King Xosrov ordered them to proceed with justice and to acquaint him with the truth.

All of them assembled in the royal hall, and there was a commotion. For some were of the orthodox faith, possessing documents with the seals of ancient kings. Others were Nestorians, while many others were the rabble. The patriarch even came forward and said: "Let that man not be called God," and the king was informed.

The king responded: "By whose command has he come here? Let him be beaten and have him depart." He also ordered that the multitude of sectarians be removed from the atean. He ordered that only the [beliefs of the] Niceans, Constantinopolitans, Ephesians, and Chalcedonians should be examined. Now there were two bishops from the land of Armenia present, trustworthy men who had been dispatched to Persia because of the violence in the land of Armenia. They were Kumitas, bishop of the Mamikoneans, and Matt'eos, bishop of the Amatunik', and had arrived to inform the king. They had ready with them the document of saint Gregory. The king ordered that it be asked: "During the reigns of which kings did those councils take place?" And they replied: "The Nicean Council took place under Constantine; the Council of Constantinople, under Theodosius the Great; Ephesus, under Theodosius the Less; and Chalcedon, under Marcian." The king replied: "The orders of three kings seem more just than that of one king." Then the king started asking about Nestorius, wanting to know who he was, where he was from, at which council had he been present, and what he had said. Then he ordered that the Nestorians be removed from the atean. Similarly he inquired about the Council of Chalcedon, wanting to know who were its principals. They told him everything, saying "[the heads of the councils of] Nicea and Constantinople were emperors Constantine and Theodosius the Great themselves. The Council of Ephesus was presided over by Cyril, bishop of Alexandria and Chalcedon, by bishop T'eodoretos who was inclined toward Nestorius."

Present at this assembly were the cleric called the Eran kat'oghikos, and other bishops from Asorestan, Aruastan, Xuzhastan, and other lands. King Xosrov ordered that if they did not turn from their heresies and walk the royal path, he would have all of their churches demolished, and have them put to the sword. He ordered that a tax be levied for the Chalcedonians, Iberians [Georgians], and the kat'oghikos of Aghbania / Aghuania and many other bishops from the Roman area, and the princes who had come into the service of the Persian king [? isk ork' zk'aghkedonin ew zVrats'. .ew ishxank' ` ork' ekeal ein i tsarhayut'iwn parsits' t'agaworin, orov ew ch'ep'ayk'arn isk hramayeats' tal]. However, he sought a contract from the two sides. He started to examine the Council of Nicea (which was convened by Constantine): of Constantinople (under Theodosius the Great) of Ephesus (under Theodosius the Less) and of Chalcedon (under Marcian). When he was familiarised with everything justly and truthfully, he inquired: "Why is it that those three do not mention the division of [Christ's] nature into two parts, as the others do? It is clear that even we must be divided in two, that even the king has two, rather than one, nature. For I, too, am of two natures, one from the father and one from the mother, one spiritual, one physical. However, the Divinity which is not everywhere despite what it wants, cannot be everything or do everything. What is Divinity?" Then Xosrov ordered that Zak'aria the patriarch of Jerusalem and the philosopher from the city of Alexandria be ordered to tell the truth under oath. They replied: "We did not approach God wickedly nor did he visit his anger upon us wickedly. Now, fearing God we shall speak the truth before you. The true faith is the one pronounced at Nicea before the venerable Constantine. The councils of Constantinople and Ephesus were in accord with this as is the correct faith of the Armenians. The pronouncements of Chalcedon were not in accord with them, as your benevolence has learned." The king ordered that the treasury be examined and they found in the treasury a copy of the true Nicean creed and the confession of faith of the land of

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Armenia which was sealed with the ring of king Kawad and of his son Xosrov. And this king Xosrov ordered that 'all Christians under my authority should hold the faith of the Armenians.' Those uniting with the Armenians' faith were the metropolitan Kamyishov from Asorestan and ten other bishops, the God-loving queen Shirin, brave Smbat, and the great Chief Physician. King Xosrov ordered that a copy of the correct confession of faith be sealed with his ring and placed in the royal treasury.

"Now because God removed us from serving the authority of darkness and made us worthy of your divine kingdom how much more ought we to beseech Christ God that your pious and God-loving kingdom remain unshaken for eternity, that days on earth be as days in Heaven filled with much triumph, ruling the entire world, land and sea. For although physically you are of the human race, nonetheless you sit on a divine throne and your God-loving kingdom is filled with the light of glory which shines down upon all, you who are crowned from On High, the pride of all Christians, with the strength of the divine Cross. You resemble the God-loving, pious, God-favored, brave, triumphant, salvation-working, blessed Heraclius, your father, who saved all countries from the bitter executioner. May Christ God grant you the same because of your piety."

[There follows a lengthy discussion of doctrinal matters, which we omit. The translation resumes with chapter 34 grabar p. 135.]

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 34.

[The attack of the Hagarenes (Mohammedans / Arabs), and events in Rome.]

Once again I shall speak about the evil which befell us in our time, regarding how the veil of ancient faith was torn, and how that death-bringing dry heat breathed upon us and scorched the tall, beautiful, leafy trees of our tender orchards. And this is the truth, for we sinned against the Lord and angered the saint of Israel. "Should it please you to heed me," he said, "you shall take the land's goodness. But should you wish not to listen, the sword shall devour you, for this was uttered by the mouth of the Lord." This same whirlwind was seen above Babylon and then reached every country. For Babylon is the mother of all nations and its realm, the kingdom of the North.

Now further south of them, namely, the Indians and the peoples dwelling in the great desert were the disowned sons of Abraham, born of Hagar and K'etura: Ishmael, Amram, Mogan, Madian, Yek'san, Yesbok, and Melisawe. And the sons of Lot were Amon and Movab; and those of Esau were Edom, and there were others yet, who dwelled to the north of the southen Indians in the enormous and vast desert, being disowned by Moses and the children of Israel. The prophet said about them: "They are as a storm which comes moving from the south, from the terrible desert." That is the large and terrible desert I mentioned, from which came that whirlwind of peoples, arising as a storm, and seizing and trampling every country. And the saying was fulfilled, that "the fourth beast will create a fourth kingdom upon the earth, more wicked than all other kingdoms, which will make a desert of every country".

Now what shall I say about the agitation and calamitous disasters taking place within the empire of the Romans, the empire which never ceased its internecine warfare? The principal men and advisors of the realm were drowned in blood, since it is said, they were plotting the emperor's death. As a result, all the principal men and the princes of the empire were destroyed and the inhabitants of the land were reduced, until there was no advisor to be found. Among those killed were Georg Magistros and that virtuous man, Manuel, who was the father-in-law of aspet Smbat (son of Smbat the great, called Xosrov Shum). Some say that they observed a glowing light at the place where he was killed. Smbat was exiled. For the troops accused him of trying to rebel afterwards. They told the emperor that Smbat had said "The Magistros' blood must be avenged." He was a prince of the army there, and liked by all the troops. Smbat was prince of the Thracian princes' troops, while Manuel was a Magistros working in Constantinople. Now the emperor did not summon the Magistros with bold authority, since he feared a rebellion of the troops. Rather, he summoned the aspet Smbat and made him swear by the Lord's Cross, which he possessed, that he would divulge nothing. Then the emperor sent Smbat back to his troops to speak to the Magistros in peace, but to deceive him and bring him into captivity. Now Smbat went but was unable to deceive him, especially since he did not conceal the emperor's words. Then he spoke with all the princes of the army and gave the Magistros the imperial order. Since they and all the troops were unable to resist the imperial order, they gave him into their hands. They seized and bound him and took him into the emperor's presence As a result, the troops of the Thracian princes plotted Smbat's death and said that he was planning to rebel, so that he would be put to death. However, the emperor rejected them and spared Smbat.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 35.

[The Ishmaelites' (Mohammedans') war with the Persians and destroy their lordship. The death of Yazkert. The Medes and the Armenians enter the service of the Hagarenes. Constans comes to Armenia. The Ishmaelites prepare to fight with the Romans. Regarding Nerses, kat'oghikos of Armenia.]

In the twentieth year of king Yazkert of Iran [652 AD], in the eleventh year of emperor Constans (who was called Constantine after his father), in the nineteenth year of the lordship of the Ishmaelites [Mohammedans], the Ishmaelite army which was in the country of Persia and Xuzhastan [Khuzestan, ancient Elam] went eastward to the area known as the Palhaw country (which is the land of the Parthians) against Yazkert, king of Iran. Yazkert fled from them, but was unable to escape, because the Arabs caught up with him close to the Kushans' borders, and destroyed all of his troops. Yazkert fled to the army of the T'etals who had come from different areas to help him. Then there was the Marats' prince, about whom I spoke earlier. He had gone to the east to their king, rebelled, fortifying himself in one place, requested an oath from the Ishmaelites, and went to the desert to serve the Ishmaelites. Now the T'etal troops seized Yazkert and killed him. He had reigned for twenty years. And so ended the lordship of the Persians and the House of Sasan, which had ruled for 642 years.

When the king of the Ishmaelites saw the success of these victories, and that he had done away with the kingdom of Persia, he became confident, and when three years of the peace provision had passed, the Arab caliph no longer wanted to continue the peace with the Roman emperor. So he ordered his troops to commence warfare on land and sea, to do away with this kingdom as well, in the twelveth year of the reign of Constans.

In the same year the Armenians rebelled, withdrawing from the Roman empire, and entering the service of the Ishmaelite king. T'eodoros, lord of Rshtunik' and all the princes of Armenia made an oath until death, and an agreement lasting until the grave to break the divine harmony between Armenia and 'Constantinople. The Ishmaelite prince spoke with them as follows: "Let this be an oath of peace between myself and you [lasting] as many years as you wish. I shall not take tribute [sak] from you for three years after which, by oath, you may pay what you wish. You may keep 15,000 cavalry in your land. Provide sustenance from your land and I shall include it in the royal tax. I shall not demand that the Armenian cavalry be sent to Syria though let it be ready to go and fight wherever else I order it. I shall send no emirs to [your] fortresses, nor even a single Arab officer or cavalryman. Let no enemy enter Armenia, but should the Romans come against you, I shall dispatch as large an auxiliary force as you want. And I swear by God the Great that I shall not break this vow." Thus did the satellite of the anti-Christ pull the Armenians away from the Romans [This section, unlike the major portion of the book uses hrhomots' (Romans) instead of yunats' (Greeks) for the Byzantlne empire.]. For although the emperor wrote them many requests and entreaties and summoned them, they did not want to listen to him. Then the emperor said: "I shall come to the city of Karin and you should come to me. For I want to give you stipends in aid and plan together with you what we should do." Despite this the Armenians did not want to heed him.

All the Roman troops complained and grumbled about the lord of Rshtunik' and about the Armenians before their emperor about the blows [inflicted] at Mardots'ek'. They said: "The Armenians have allied with the Ishmaelites. They made us trust them, encouraged the troops to go raiding to Atrpatakan, then had the Arabs attack us unexpectedly and defeat us. We left everything there. Now let us go to Armenia and get our things."

Then emperor Constans agreed to do the will of the troops. He took 100,000 of his troops and went to Armenia. As soon as he reached Derchan, Ishmaelites came before him and gave him a letter from their prince which said: "Armenia is mine, so do not go there. But should you go, I will deal with you in such a way that you will be unable to flee." Now emperor Constans said: "That land belongs to me, and I shall go there. Should you come against me, God will be the judge of what is just." And he went to the city of Karin in the twelveth year of his reign and in the twentieth year of the lordship of the Ishmaelites.

The emperor Constans spent several days in the city of Karin / Erzerum. The princes and troops from so-called Fourth Armenia came before him, as did all the troops and princes from that area who had separated from the followers of] Rshtunik'. Among them were the Sperats'ik', the Bagratid princes, the Managhayk', the Daranaghayk', those from the district of Ekegheats', all the troops from those places, and the Karnats'ik', Tayets'ik' and Basenats'ik'. Also coming into Constans' presence there were the princes of Vanand with their troops, the Shirakats'ik', Xorxorhuni, men from the House of Dimak'sen; Mushegh Mamikonean with his people, certain other princes, troops from the Ayrarat area, the Arhawegheank', Arhaneank' Varazhnunik', Gnt'unik', Spandunik' and others. Kat'oghikos Nerses had come from Tayk' and visited the emperor. All the princes told the emperor about the plan and desire of rebellion of the lord of Rshtunik' and about the quick traffic of Ishmaelite emissaries going to see him. Then the emperor and all of his troops anathematized the lord of Rhshtunik', removed him from the dignity of authority and dispatched another man in his place accompanied by forty men. When they reached [T'eodoros] he had them seized and bound, sending some to the fortress of Baghesh and others to the islands in Lake Bznunik' [Lake Van]. Then he himself went to the island of Aght'amar commanding the troops of those areas to go and secure themselves in their own districts. United with him were the Iberians / Georgians, Aghbanians / Aghuanians and Siwnets'ik' who, in accordance with his order, went to their own lands and fortified themselves there. Now T'eodoros, lord of Vahewunik', seized Arp'a fortress. His son, Grigor, was the son-in-law of the lord of Rshtunik'. Varaz Nerseh Dashtkari secured himself out in the open and seized the treasury, since all the treasures of the land, the Church, the princes, and merchants were there.

Now as soon as emperor Constans heard about this, he wanted to loot the multitude of the troops and to go and winter in Armenia, in order to destroy the country. But then the kat'oghikos Mushegh and all the princes prostrated themselves and with great and tearful entreaties asked for clemency so that Constans not become totally enraged because of their offenses and destroy the country. The emperor heeded their requests and released the multitude of troops. Then he himself went to Ayrarat with 20,000 troops and to Dwin where he resided in the home of the kat'oghikos. The emperor made Mushegh lord of the Mamikoneans, prince of the Armenian cavalry and dispatched him with 3,000 men to the area of the sep'hakan gund. Likewise, he sent some of his troops to Iberia, Aghbania, and Siwnik' to destroy their alliance. Other troops invested the area around the emperor, in the mountains and plains. While for some time they did not want to submit, later on they did go into imperial service. However, those in Aghbania, Siwnik', and the sep'hakan gund [area] did not submit. Imperial troops looted their country, taking whatever they found, and then returning to the king.

Regarding the Armenian kat'oghikos Nerses.

Now I shall relate a few things about Armenia's kat'oghikos Nerses. He was originally from the village of Ishxan in Tayk'. From childhood he was raised on Roman land, had learned the language of the Romans, and circulated about the land as a member of the military. He had accepted the Council of Chalcedon and the Tome of Leo. He did not reveal his plans of impiety to anyone until he reached the office of the episcopacy of the land. Subsequently he was called to the kat'oghikosal throne. He was a man of virtuous behaviour, of fasts and prayers. But within his heart was concealed the poison of bitterness: he planned to make the Armenians accept the Council of Chalcedon, but did not dare to do anything about it until emperor Constans came and stayed at the home of the kat'oghikos and on Sunday preached the Council of Chalcedon in the church of saint Gregory. The mass was offered in Latin by a Roman priest, and the emperor, the kat'oghikos, and all the bishops took communion—those who wanted to and those who did not. Thus did the kat'oghikos shake the true faith of saint Gregory which all [previous] kat'oghikoi had held firmly in the holy Church, from the time of saint Gregory to this day. And Nerses fouled the limpid, clear waters of the fountains a plan which he had in mind for a long time, but which he dared not to reveal until that day. But when the time was right, he worked his will, betraying the bishops one by one, and disheartening them with terror. He threatened them to the point that all of them carried out the command to commune under fear of death. They communed even more so because their mentors, the venerable and most fundamental bishops had died. But a certain bishop silenced and countered the emperor in his presence. Earlier all the bishops had subscribed with him and he had cursed the Council of Chalcedon and the Tome of Leo and rejected communion with 'Constantinople. This was sealed with the ring of the kat'oghikos, and the rings of all the bishops and grandee princes. They gave it to him to keep in the church. Now when mass was offered and all the bishops communed, the bishop whom I mentioned earlier, did not commune. Rather he descended from the bema and was hidden in the crowd.

As soon as the ceremony of communion was finished, and the emperor entered [his] room, the kat'oghikos and the Roman priest betrayed [the bishop] and made a complaint about him, saying: "He did not sit on his throne and did not commune with us, regarding us and you unworthy. He left the bema and concealed himself in the crowd." The emperor became angry and ordered two men to go seize him and bring him to him in the room. When this was done the emperor asked: "Are you a priest?" The bishop replied: "If God and your glory so will it." The emperor said: "And who are you that you regard neither me, your king, nor your kat'oghikos and our father as worthy of communing with you?" The bishop replied: "I am a sinful, worthless man, and unworthy

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of communing with you; however, should God make me worthy of communing with you I would consider that I enjoyed communion with Christ at His Table and from His Hands." The emperor retorted: "Enough of that. Now tell me, is that the kat'oghikos of Armenia, or not?" The bishop answered: "Indeed, just as saint Gregory was." The emperor asked: "Do you have that respect for the kat'oghikos?" "Yes," he said. "Will you take communion with him?" The bishop answered: "Just as with saint Gregory." The emperor asked: "Then why is it that you did not commune today?" The bishop replied: "Benevolent king, when we had but seen your image painted on the wall we were seized with trembling. Behold how much more frightening it is now, to see you face to face and to speak with you directly. We are ignorant benighted people who know neither your language nor your literature. But if we study first, we shall then master it. May your benevolent command rule by healing. He the kat'oghikos has gone beyond all the religious commands of this land. Four years ago he convened an assembly and all the bishops assembled here. He had a document regarding the faith made. Then he, I, and all the princes sealed this with our rings. That document is now with him. Order that it be sought and examined." And he was silent. The emperor realised his treachery and reprimanded him a great deal in his own language. The emperor then ordered the bishop to go and commune with the kat'oghikos. As soon as the bishop fulfilled the emperor's order, he said: "May God bless your benevolent and pious rule forever, and may you rule over all the seas and lands with much triumph". The emperor likewise blessed the bishop, saying: "May God bless you. You did what befits your wisdom, and I am thankful."

The emperor hastened to Constantinople with great urgency, to reach it quickly. He departed in haste. He made a certain Morianos the prince of Armenia and gave him an Armenian force which was from the area.

Now when emperor Constans left Dwin, the kat'oghikos went with him. The kat'oghikos went and stopped in Tayk' and did not return to his place, for the prince of Rshtunik' and the other princes with him directed incredible rage at him. Now T'eodoros, lord of Rshtunik', and his son-in-law, Hamazasp, lord of the Mamikoneans, were lying in ambush at the island of Aght'amar. He requested troops from the Ishmaelites and 7,000 men came to his aid. He stationed them at Aghiovit and Bznunik', then he came and remained with them.

When winter had passed and it was close to great Easter, the Romans fled and went to Tayk', but were expelled. They were unable to station themselves anywhere, but rather fled to the shores of the Black Sea, destroying the entire country. They captured the city of Trapizon amassing a great deal of loot, booty, and captives.

After this, T'eodoros, lord of Rshtunik', went to the Ishmaelite prince Mu'awiya in Damascus and saw him with very great gifts. And the Ishmaelite [Muslim] prince gave him clothing made with gold and silver threads and a veil [or: banner], after their fashion. Mu'awiya gave T'eodoros authority over Armenia, Iberia [Georgia], Aghbania / Aghuania, Siwnik', as far as Kapkoh and the Chora Gate, and released him with honour. Mu'awiya stipulated that he should bring that country into service. The breaking of the peace which had existed between Constans and Mu'awiya the Ishmaelite prince, took place in the eleventh year of Constans' reign. The king of the Ishmaelites ordered that all his troops should assemble in the West and make war on the Roman Empire, to take Constantinople and to eliminate yet another kingdom.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 36.

[The letter of the Ishmaelite king to the Roman emperor Constans. The Ishmaelite prince Mu'awiya comes to Chalcedon and is vanquished by the Lord.]

"If you want to spend your life in peace," he wrote, "abandon that foolish faith which you learned from childhood. Deny that Jesus and turn to the great God whom I worship, the God of our father Abraham.

"Send the multitude of your troops away from you, back to their own places. I shall make you a great prince in that region. I shall send ostikans to your city, examine all the treasures, and order them divided into four parts. Three parts will go to me, one part to you. I will give you as many troops as you need, and take as tribute as much as you are able to give. Otherwise, how can that Jesus whom you call Christ—who was unable to save himself from the Jews—possibly save you from me?"

All the troops in the east, in Iran, and Xuzhastan, in the Indian area, from Aruastan and Egypt assembled by Mu'awiya, prince of the army, who resided in Damascus. They readied military vessels at Alexandria and all the coastal cities and filled the boats with soldiers and [war] machinery. They had three hundred very large vessels with 1,000 very select cavalrymen in each boat. Mu'awiya also ordered that 5,000 light boats be made. Because of their light weight, he placed few men in them, 100 men per ship, so that they swiftly glide over the waves of the sea surrounding the very large boats. Then Mu'awiya dispatched them across the sea. He took the troops which were with him and went to Chalcedon [near Constantinople]. As he approached, all the inhabitants of every land submitted to him, the shore-dwellers, mountain-dwellers, and plains-dwellers. Now the multitude of the Roman troops went and entered Constantinople to guard the city. Meanwhile the corrupter [caliph Mu'awiya] entered Chalcedon in the 13th year of Constans. At the shore he had organized many light ships so that when the heavier boats reached Chalcedon he would quickly go to their aid. The Arabs had a letter from their king taken to Constans in the city.

The emperor took the letter and entered the House of God. He prostrated himself and said:

"See, Lord, how these Hagarenes insult You. Have mercy upon us, Lord, as we place our hopes in You. Shower them with contempt and avenge Your Name, Lord. Let them be kept in embarrassed confusion forever and be destroyed in shame. Let them learn that Your Name is Lord and You alone are high above every country."

Constans removed his crown and his purple robes and donned a hair shirt. He sat upon ashes and ordered that a fast be proclaimed in Constantinople after the fashion of Nineveh.

Then behold, the large ships arrived at Chalcedon from the Alexandria area together with all the small ships and all their equipment. For they had equipped the boats with engines of war, shooting machines, rock-hurling machines, archers and slingers. They were designed so that when they reached the city wall they would easily be able to go over the wall into the city, from the summits of the towers. When the Arabs were about two asparez distant from land, the dreadful power of the Lord was revealed. For the Lord made a sign and caused a violent wind to blow from Heaven. The wind arose, turned into a great storm, stirred the sea from the depths and rose to the surface creating waves as tall as the crests of lofty mountains. The wind which howled at them crashed and thundered like a storm cloud. The abyss gurgled and the towers fell, the machinery was destroyed, the ships were demolished, and the multitude of troops sank into the depths of the sea. The survivors were dispersed on planks, and, tossed about by the rising and falling of the waves, were killed. For the sea opened its mouth and swallowed them, and not a single one survived. That day, God with His arm raised, spared the city because of the prayers of the pious emperor Constantine. The violence of the wind and the churning of the sea did not end for six days.

When the Ishmaelites saw the dreadful power of the Lord, their hearts broke. Quitting Chalcedon at night, they returned to their own place. The other army which was stationed in the Cappadocia area made war on the Roman troops. The Romans struck them and they fled to Aruastan, subjecting Fourth Armenia to looting. When fall had passed and winter was near, the Ishmaelite army came and encamped at Dwin. It planned to go and put Iberia [Georgia] to the sword. The Ishmaelite [Muslim] commander communicated with Iberia by means of a threatening message which said: "Either you enter our service, or you leave the country and depart." But the Iberians [Georgians] did not accept this. Rather, they prepared to resist them in war. The Ishmaelites went against them to make war and to extirpate them completely.

Now when they were on the road, cold and the snow of winter fell on them. As a result, they hastily departed for Asorestan, and did not work injustice in Armenia.

Then the princes of Armenia who were in the Roman and the Arab sections, Hamazasp and Mushegh and all the others, came together in one place and united, making peace with each other so that the sword and bloodshed not appear in their midst, so that they pass the winter in peace, and spare the shinakans [peasants]. For the lord of Rshtunik' had fallen ill and had gone to the island of Aght'amar, and was unable to go out or to think of anything. The princes divided the country on the basis of the number of cavalrymen each prince had, and established taxes in gold and silver.

One could observe there the misfortunes of doubt similar to the reactions of a sick person when the pain grows severe and he cannot speak. Such things occurred. For there was nowhere for a man to flee to and hide, nor was he protected from within. Rather, he resembled someone who had fallen into the sea and was unable to find a way out.

Now when the lord of Rshtunik' saw this, he requested troops from the Ishmaelites to strike and persecute Armenia and to put Iberia to the sword.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 37.

[The Medes rebell from the Ishmaelites (Mohammedans).]

In that year the Medes rebelled from Ishmaelite service and killed the Ishmaelite king's prince in charge of taxation. They took refuge in the strongholds of the land of Medes, the deep forests, the chasms, rocky places, the troublesome deep valleys which are by the Gaz river and Marats' mountain; and they took refuge in the might of the vigorous and brave peoples dwelling in them, Deln and Delumn [Abgaryan, p. 360 n.653 emends this to Geghn and Delamn and takes it as a reference to the peoples of Gilan and Daylam, by the southern shores of the Caspian Sea.].

For they were unable to bear the bitter and harsh service and the weight of the tax which had been imposed on them. Each year 365 sacks of money were taken from them. From those who could not pay they took a man for each dram and eliminated the cavalry and the principality of the land. For such reasons they placed their lives in the balance and one out of two thought it better either to die, or to be freed from that wicked service. They started to assemble the remaining people into an army and to organise by brigades so that perhaps they might escape the dragon's teeth and the bitter breath of the beast.

Now the multitude of the Ishmaelite troops saw that their work was not succeeding in the region of the secure Marats' mountains. For they had not even been able to subjugate the Ket'rus and Skiwt'eay with all the multitude staying in secure places. Many Arabs lost their lives at the strongholds, falling headlong into the deep valleys. Many were pierced by arrows in the rough thorn patches, arrows shot by brave, manly warriors. The Arabs fled the place heading north toward the people who dwell by the Caspian Gates. They reached the Chora pass, crossed it, and destroyed all parts of the land by the foot of the mountain. A small force resisted them at a place called the Gate of the Huns and struck at them, for they were the defenders of the place.

Another army arrived from the T'etal area and the two armies clashed with great violence. The Ishmaelite army was defeated by the T'etal army which struck at them and put them to the sword. Now the survivors were not able to flee through the pass since another T'etal army had come to assist the first army. So the Arabs headed for the great and rugged mount Caucasus. Barely going over a side of the mountain, a few escaped by a hairbreadth, naked, barefoot, on foot, and wounded. Thus did they go to the Ctesiphon area, to the country of their habitation.

SEBEOS HISTORY CHAPTER 38.

[Mushegh rebells from the Romans and enters the Ishmaelites' service. The battle of the Ishmaelites with the Romans at Naxchawan, the destruction of the Romans and the destruction of Armenia. Once more the Armenians quit Ishmaelite [Islamic) service and submit to the Romans. Hamazasp, lord of the Mamikonean, becomes Curopalate, as a result of which the Ishmaelites kill the hostages. Discord breaks out among the Ishmaelite [Muslim] army and they separate from each other. Their prince Mu'awiya conquers all of them, becomes king, and makes peace among them.]

Now Mushegh, lord of the Mamikoneans, rebelled in the Roman area and entered Ishmaelite service. And in that same year the Ishmaelite army which was in the land of Armenia seized the entire country from end to end. T'eodoros, lord of Rshtunik', and all the princes of the land united and entered Arab service, hastening to do their bidding in every way, for fear of a terrible death hung over them.

In that year the venerable and pious man Artawazd Dimaksean was betrayed by a jealous brother and delivered up to the merciless executioner named general Habib, who resided at Ashnak, Aruch. He put Artawazd to a very cruel death.

Now it was extremely cold winter and the Romans were harassing them. But because of the cold, the Arabs were unable to engage them in war. Instead, they arose unexpectedly, crossed the river, and went and fortified themselves at Zarehawan. When the Romans saw this, they did not concern themselves about them, but rather destroyed the fortress of Dwin, went to Naxchawan and fought with the fortress so that they might destroy it too. The general of the Roman army was a certain Mawrianos who was said to be a trustworthy man.

When spring arrived, the army was organized and readied to war with the Ishmaelite army. But Mawrianos, becoming stubborn, thought that he himself would accomplish the work. The Arabs campaigned against the Romans who were fighting with the fortress of Naxchawan. They struck and put them to the sword and put the survivors to flight. Mawrianos fled to Iberia [Georgia]. The Ishmaelite [Muslim] army turned back and besieged the city of Karin, battling with it. Since the inhabitants were unable to resist them in war, they opened the city gates and submitted. The Arabs entered the city, gathered up the gold, silver and entire multitude of the city's goods, robbed the entire country of Armenia, Aghbania / Aghuania, and Siwnik', and denuded all the churches. As hostages they took the chief princes of the land, their women, and many sons and daughters.

T'eodoros, lord of the Rshtunik', and his relatives went along with them and took them to Asorestan. T'eodoros, lord of Rshtunik', died there. His body was brought to his own district, and he was buried in the tomb of his fathers.

Hamazasp, lord of the Mamikoneans, son of Dawit', held authority in the land of Armenia. He was a man regarded as virtuous by everyone. But he was delicate, a reader and a scholar, not—like his patrimonial family—skilled and adept

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at military exercises. He did not enter battle and did not see the enemy's face. But he began to strive for the bravery native to his ancestral House, fervently striving to accomplish an act of bravery as was the wont of his ancestors. He entreated Heaven to give leadership and triumph to him and to make him brave.

As I said earlier, Nerses, the kat'oghikos of Armenia, departed with the emperor and went with him to Constantinople. He was received there with honour. They gave him goods and released him to his place. He went and remained in Tayk' until the lord of Rshtunik' died and the Arab raids stopped. After six years of persecution, he returned to his place and was established on the throne of the kat'oghikosate. He hastened to complete the construction of the church which he had built on the avenue of the city of Vagharshapat.

I have futilely strung together words into a history, following the uninspired counsel of my own mind, and not the worthy blessing of knowledge. But I did examine the order of scholars and confirmed my account with the words of the prophets uttered at the command of the Lord. For although the former is quickly fulfilled, the latter is fulfilled for eternity as the Lord said: "Heaven and earth may pass, but My words will not pass" [Matthew 24. 35]. "For from My anger fire will be roused, will burn, and descend to the depths of hell" [Jeremiah 15. 14]. What [the Lord] said about these people is clear: "They will be burned with fire, and the bases of their mountains will be disturbed"; speaking about the tyranny of the grandee princes: "I shall pour out all types of evil upon them, and exhaust them with my arrows." For just as arrows fly from the well-curved bow of a strong man toward the target, so do the Arabs who come from the Sinai desert to destroy the entire world with hunger, the sword, and great terror. The fact that the fire blazed out in the desert area was clearly indicated by the Lord when He said: "I shall set incurable snares upon them, the beasts of the desert who will drag their prey here and there across the earth." As the prophet Daniel thundered: "The fourth beast is frightful and awesome and very strong. Its teeth are iron, its claws are copper; it eats then spits out and stomps on the food" [Daniel 7. 7] and so forth. The final words are: "The day of their destruction is at hand, and the Lord has come upon them in His preparation" [Jeremiah 46. 21]. This too will be fulfilled in its own time.

That same year the Armenians stopped serving the Ishmaelites [Muslims] and submitted to the Romans. Emperor Constans made Hamazasp, lord of the Mamikoneans, Curopalate, giving him a silver throne and authority over the land of Armenia. He gave honours to the other princes and treasures to the troops.

When the king of the Ishmaelites saw that the Armenians had withdrawn from him, he had all of the hostages who had been taken from the country—some 1775 souls—put to the sword. Some twenty two hostages who were not in the place were the sole survivors.

Now Mushegh, lord of the Mamikoneans, was unable to quit Ishmaelite service because four of his sons were hostages kept by them. The three sons of Hamazasp and one brother were hostages. However, they sought him and other princes together with their women, to bring them to Syria. For this reason the princes preferred death to life, withdrew from Arab service and, using speedy travel, submitted to the Roman emperor. United with them were the princes and troops of Aghbania / Aghuania and the princes of Siwnik' together with their land. Previously they had been attached to the geographical unit of Atrpatakan [yashxaragirn Atrpatakani "to the census of Atrpatakan"] until the Persian kingdom was ended. When the Ishmaelites ruled, they were conquered and united with Armenia. The Arabs arrested Mushegh and the other princes who were with him.

The Arab king ordered that the other princes who had been arrested should be set free; however, he demanded that Mushegh remain with him.

Then God sent discord into the army of the sons of Ishmael. Their unity dissolved, they clashed with each other and divided into four parts. One part was in the Indian area. Another was that army which held Asorestan and the northern areas. Another was the one in Egypt and in the T'etal region. Another was in the Tachik area and at the place called Askarawn. They began fighting with each other and destroyed each other with endless killings. Now the troops who were in Egypt united with those in the Tachik area and they killed their king and took the multitude of treasures as loot. They enthroned another king and returned to their places.

Now when their prince Mu'awiya, who was in Asorestan and was second to their king, saw what had happened, he united his troops and he too went to the desert. He killed the king whom they enthroned, battling with and severely destroying the troops in the Tachik area. He then returned to Asorestan in triumph. Now the army which was in Egypt united with the Roman emperor, made peace and was incorporated. The multitude of the troops, some 15,000 people, believed in Christ and were baptised. But the bloodshed of countless multitudes increased and intensified among the Ishmaelite armies. They engaged in frantic battles and killed each other. Nor were they able to stop even somewhat from wielding swords, taking captives and intense battles on land and sea, until Mu'awiya grew strong and conquered all of them. He subdued them, ruled as king over the property of the sons of Ishmael and made peace with everyone.

Amen

HISTORY OF THE HOUSE OF THE ARTSRUNIK

Author: Thomas Artsruni (Tovma Ardsruni)
Original language and script: Armenian
Translation: Robert W. Thomson, 1985
Estimated Range of Dating: 875-905 A.D.

(Artsruni, one of the most important princely families of Armenia, an offshoot of the Orontids, Achaemenian satraps and subsequently kings of Armenia, but claiming descent from Sennacherib of Assyria. Mithrobarzanes, or more correctly Mithrobuzanes, Tigranes the Great of Armenia's viceroy of Sophene in 69 BC. (Plutarch, Lucullus 25; Appian, Mithradatic War 12.84), may well be the first historically known member of this family. In the Arsacid monarchy, from the first to the fifth century, the Artsrunis reigned in the princely states of Greater and Lesser Albak, southeast of Lake Van, and gradually expanded over the entire surrounding territory, known after the sixth century as Vaspurakan. The political weight of this house can be seen in the fact that the feudal aid which it had to render to its suzerain, the king, consisted of 1,000 horses. The Iranian abolition of the Armenian monarchy in 428 AD left the Artsrunis, like the rest of the princes, who had always reigned in various subdivisions of the country under the suzerainty of the king and who had brought about that abolition, quite independent, save for a distant control exercised now by the Great King of Iran. When, in the ninth century, the Bagratid dynasty re-established the monarchy, the Artsrunis were among its most powerful vassals and rivals. This new unity proved ephemeral, however, and a century later was succeeded by a number of subkingdoms, each in control of lesser princes. One of these succession-kingdoms was Vaspurakan: its prince, Khatch'ik (Xač'ik)-Gagik II Artsruni received the royal crown from the caliph in 908 AD. It lasted till Roman annexation and Saljuq [Seljuk, meaning Turkish] conquest destroyed it after the abdication of the last king, Sennacherib-John in 1021. A branch of the family then moved to Cilicia, where it held Tarsus for the Roman emperor; another, known by the name of Mankaberdeli, played a considerable role in Georgia, in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries.

In the perennial struggle of Iran and Rome over Armenia, the Artsrunis tended, partly out of princely opposition to the crown which was on the whole pro-Roman, but also because of the geographical position of their state, occasionally to espouse a pro-Iranian policy—as later they tended to follow a pro-Arab policy—and this in the circumstances meant also Mazdaizing in religion. Thus, in about 363 AD, Meruzhan (Mithrobuzanes) I Artsruni passed to the side of Iran, exchanged Christianity for Mazdaism [Zoroastrianism], and was one of the leaders of the Iranian invasion of Armenia. On the other hand, Nershapuh I took an active part in the anti-Iranian insurrection of 451 and Vasak I was crucified by the Iranians, during the Roman war of Khosrow II, in 610 / 611. The cultural aspect of the Artsrunid rule is evidenced in the splendid tenth-century monuments of architecture and of fresco and miniature painting, especially in the palace and the church of Alta Amar, the island residence on Lake Van.

Tovma Artsruni (also transliterated as Tovma or Tovmay Ardzruni, known as Thomas Artsruni in English) was a ninth-century to tenth-century Armenian historian and author of the History of the House of Artsrunik. Contrary to the given title, the four-volume work not only relates the history of Artsruni royal family, of which he was a member of, and its origins near Lake Van but also comprehensively covers the history of Armenia. Tovma began writing History sometime in the 870s. Much like other histories composed by Armenian historians, the first volume starts at the beginning of the Armenian nation and ends in the middle of the fifth century. However, Tovma's most valuable contributions are found in the second and third volumes which accurately detail Armenian life under the rule of the Arab Caliphates and in particular the 851 Arab military expedition led by the Turkic general Bugha al-Kabir, its subsequent consequences, and the establishment of the independent Bagratid state north of Lake Van. Tovma was a relative of the king of Vaspurakan Gagik I, and wrote a detailed account in History about the famous palace and church Gagik constructed on Akhtamar Island. The precise date that Tovma completed his work is unknown although some historians have determined that it was composed sometime after 905. Tovma's work ends with an incomplete 29th chapter yet several unknown authors (referred to as "Anonymous") took it upon themselves to continue History down to the 1370s and added an appendix and colophon. Tovma's History was first published in 1852 in Constantinople in Armenian and was subsequently translated into French by Marie-Félicité Brosset in 1862.

Armenian Titles in the text:

[1. Catholicos, plural Catholicoi [Greek: Katholikos, Katholikoi], is a title used for "Patriarch" or "Bishop" (the head of an autonomous Church) of some Eastern Christian Churches. Like our word "Catholic", it comes from ancient Greek derived from kath'olou, "generally" from kata, "down" and holos, "whole", meaning "concerning the whole, universal, general"; it originally designated a financial or civil office in the "Roman Imperial Cult", the predecessor of the Roman Catholic Church. The leader of both organisations has been the Pontifex Maximus.

2. Illuminator, plural Illuminatori [Roman / Latin for "enlightener" meaning 'religious teacher or instructor' who also may have a leading function like an "elder".

3. Mahmet is the Armenian version of Mohammed or Muhammad [or Mahomet]; it is still used in the Turkish language as Mahmut. Mohammed, c. 570–632 AD, was an Arab political, religious, and social leader and the founder of Islam. According to Islamic doctrine, he was a prophet, sent to preach and confirm the monotheistic teachings of Adam, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and other prophets. He was not the only person who claimed at his time to be a prophet, he was fighting against a handful others. Striking is that he used only Jewish contents and characters to create Islam and his Koran. A large part of the Koran reflects the violent and xenophobic attitude of the Messianic Movement that was crushed by Vespasian five centuries before; that attitude was recorded in the Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran. These similarities suggest that lots of Messianist had survived Vespasians onslaught in the Arabian deserts and cities. That Mohammed fell out with the Jewish decendents of the Messianists had no religious reasons but political ones: the Jews did not want to accept his claims for total suppremacy. Mohammed might well have been one of them. With Christians, on the other hand, he had religious problems because their trinity doctrine violates the first three of the Ten Commandments.]

General Contents: All sources, including the anonymous continuator(s) [who probably, refer to the author of the History of the House of the Artsrunik' as Thomas (T'ovmay). However, he only mentions himself once by name: "I Thomas . . . zealously undertook this great work, though devoid of wisdom, sense, and intelligence." Thomas gives no details whatsoever of his own life, but he does refer on occasion to events he witnessed or about which he was informed by living persons. The first edition was published at Ortakoy, a suburb of Constantinople. From this edition Brosset made his French translation, published in 1874. The edition of the Armenian by Patkanean (St. Petersburg 1887) is based on a re-reading of the original manuscript. His edition, without the notes and suggested emendations, was reprinted at Tiflis in 1917 as no. 15 of the Lukasean Matenadaran.

Thomas the vardapet is an unknown figure, but the patrons of his History are well-known members of the Artsruni clan. In his Introduction Thomas sets out in careful detail his objectives in writing this work, and explains that it was composed at the command of "you, Grigor, lord [ter] of the Artsrunik' and prince [ishkhan] of Vaspurakan." This was Grigor Derenik, born in 847, who became prince of Vaspurakan on the death of his father Ashot in 874, and was killed in 887. But elsewhere Thomas refers to his patron as Gagik, the second son of Grigor Derenik: "At your command, Oh Gagik general of Armenia and Prince Ishkhan of Vaspurakan, we have undertaken an abbreviation of the stories of the past." Thomas, therefore, has not described the date or specific occasion when he undertook his History; and since the ending is missing, we do not know when he finished it. From the references to surviving witnesses noted above, one must assume that Thomas wrote before Gagik was raised to royal status in 908 AD.

Thomas Artsruni made great effort to be as precisely as possible: "Great labour have I expended in the search for what is reliable, perusing the written works of antiquarians and many historical accounts; and I have written down whatever I was able to discover." Thomas adds: "But because none of us was then present at the blessed one's responses, we did not consider it right to set them down in writing. . . . Whether this was false or true is not clear to us; and I reckoned it better not to write down what is not certain." This material is presented solely for non-commercial educational purposes. Most of Thomson's scientific footnotes have been removed.)

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO THE HISTORY OF THE HOUSE OF THE ARTSRUNIK

In the resemblance of his image God honoured man with autonomous free will and named the being made from dust lord of the circular creation—as said the first of the prophets Moses . Like words spoke the royally born and prophetically graced David: "With glory and honour you crowned him and set him over your handicraft; and you made everything

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subject under his feet ." He gave to serve him those luminaries established above, those eminent beings which circle around for the affairs and subsistence and needs of men, measuring the division of his works into day and night. As said the psalmist: "At the rising of the sun man goes forth to his work and the labour of his hands until evening ." And the Saviour said: "It is necessary to work while the day lasts: the night will come when no one can work ."

I shall explain in brief: all things have been arranged for the advantage of men at the movement of the two hour-marking luminaries, to indicate the turning rotation of their timekeeping circular course with the stately progression through the air of the heavenly stars—to distinguish the length of days and months and the completion of years; for the measure of the discrete races of mankind, for wise men to make distinctions, for the differentiation of numbers and the fulfillment of periods. Thereby the limits of the entire world are defined, according to the four diverse natures, as the opposing movements fuse in fours and threes from the rapid differing flowing currents of the air. From their threefold constitution the seasons are divided three ways into 365 days. With these various sciences civilised men who care for political sagacity have been occupied in order to provide for man's livelihood: honourable men, grand and of high rank, honoured by kings, famous and rich, who have been in structed in these matters and diligently occupied themselves therein. Distinguishing the period of each event in numbers, they have established its measure, making the sum total of all time seven ages of a thousand years.

So the great Moses of the Hebrews, describer and prophet of the creation of the world, who was learned and versed in Egyptian learning, in works of laborious study, said that the circling luminaries were arranged by the Creator "for signs and seasons and days and years." And through them he encompassed the times of earthly life of men, beginning from our ancestor. Adam, he said, lived 230 years and begat Seth; and having lived 930 years he died. And the beings that succeeded him he likewise wrote about; and in the same fashion set down in order the various aspects of human activity. Similar to him were a certain Berossus and Abydenus, philosophers of the Chaldaeans [Babylonians], who, not very distant from Moses, set down in orderly fashion in the books of Chaldaean histories the discovery of hours and times and the behaviour of human races. All these documents, with much labour, others have written, coming down to our time, which kings held empires, for how many years and what periods they lived and ruled, which exceeded the other in care for the world. They described the order of wars and peace, the series of victories and defeats, the examples of virtuous and intemperate men, the solidarity and weakness of the valiant and the cowards, the firmness and the slackness of the noble and the ignoble, the inequality of the wise and the foolish, the separateness of the intelligent and the weak-witted, the delight in each one's habits of those who bring prosperity to the land and the negligent; how they ruled, pursued the lusts of the flesh or gave pre-eminence to things of the spirit; how they governed with a care for heavenly life or dragged themselves along the ground. Also they described their succession from each other, the existence of various dynasties, the ruling over different countries, those who acquired honour in the same according to circumstances, and others who, gorged in tyranny and the piling up of wealth, won for themselves worldly glory. Some were raised to high status by the Lord, like David and Joshua and others who lived down to our own time. Each one's name and period, the "how" and "why" they have established by reckoning in numbers and have inscribed in their books of history. Accord ing to the different nations and various tongues they have included these in writing for the fulfilment of the church in various ways, so that those who succeed them in the same study and search for wisdom may easily without labour pursue their quest, made more knowledgeable and wise by these men.

So I, who received the request to compose this work from you, Grigor [Gregor], lord of the Artsrunik and prince of Vaspurakan, have accepted your command which your fond desires imposed on you. In the narrative of this book I shall indicate the genealogy and nature of your ancestors; I shall set out in order the dates according to the birth of each one of them, bringing the account down in full to our own time. Concerning events in Armenia wrought by the rule of the Muslims*, with diligent obedience following your command I shall set to work. [* In Armenian called "Tachik". Originally, the term Tajik refered to an indo-European speaking ethnicity that lives in ancient Sogdiana. At the time of Thomas Artsruni however it just refered to Islam and Muslim.] To the best of my ability I shall set out in this history in summary form the most important events and what are the appropriate ones. I shall indicate in this history the least and smallest remnants of records relative to events and places from the earlier and previous historians of our native lords of the Artsruni family, so that their valour and virtue may be clearly revealed by name, place, and time. And I shall seek out the most important ideas as inspiration for this account: who they were, and when, descended from whom, where, how, how many, what sort they were, the manner of their reigns, and the ways in which they distinguished themselves; also concerning their wars and victories, whether they were victorious or were defeated, and how some of them for various reasons provided help and advantage to themselves or their comrades. Whatever descriptive information under these topics is included in previous accounts we shall abbreviate in this book, using to the best of our ability the writings of the ancient prophetic histories and the newer teachers of Christ's church, and the secular tales of industrious and ingenious men, who provided like nurses to us their followers the wholesome and unadulterated food of sweet and valuable nourishment, bringing us to mature and perfect knowledge in love of science and fear of God—intelligent and wise, zealous for his excellent and enduring riches and those here in this world.

Thomas is the only Armenian historian to devote a book specifically to the Artsrunik'; but histories of regions or families are common. Earlier writers have many references to the Artsrunik 1 ; for Thomas's elaborations on such passing allusions see the Introduction to this book. It is noteworthy that Thomas often refers to Moses (Khorenats'i) but never mentions by name P'awstos, Lazar, or especially Sebeos, despite his debt to them.

In this history I shall expound for you, most valiant of literary men, those who for Christ's sake fought the good fight and in victory rose from earth to heaven. By their prayers may the

Lord enable me to write a straightforward and true account in this book, led by the Holy Spirit with the counsel of Christ, for your pleasure and that of your like. Greetings in the Lord Christ. Amen.

BOOK ONE

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 1

It is only with great effort that one can discover the genealogy of the house of the Artsrunik because of the far-off times and the disappearance of archives in Armenia. But the pressing command of your lordship obliges us to pursue rapidly this search and to set down in proper style and to register in this book your desire in eloquent words. Great labour have I expended in the search for what is reliable, perusing the written works of antiquarians and many historical accounts; and I have written down whatever I was able to discover, beginning from Adam down to our own time.

Since the order of the ten nations is accurately written in all accounts, the next task for us is to set down in order the divisions of the nations following Noah, arranging them according to tribe and the dividing up of the world. So I shall discuss, according to the manifold languages after the building of the tower, from which tribe the Artsruni family arose. And since the equality of the three nations, that is, of the sons of Noah, has been set down in order in all books, there is no need for us to repeat that at length.

Now, following the multifarious researches of Eusebius and the faithful account of Africanus and Moses Kertol, first I shall expound how the divisions of the nations came about. Then I shall set down the more unlikely and doubtful suggestions from other critical works for comparison, so that by your intelligent and wise erudition you may be able to cast aside the erroneous aberrations of these opinions. The story runs like this.

Noah begat three sons: Zrvan, Titan, and Yapitost'e, who are Sem, Ham, and Japheth. Sem begat Elam and Asur and Arp'aksat' and Aram and Lud. Asur built the city of Ninos—which is Nineveh, called the capital of Assyria.

Now Nebrot', descended from Ham, built Babylon, the first city, and was the first to rule on the earth. But because Babylon had fallen to Sem's lot, Nebrot' seized it for himself by force and established there the kingdom of the Ethiopians. Whereas Asur, son of Sem, built Nineveh, as the capital city of the kingdom of Assyria.

But why do they say that it was a long time later that Ninos built Nineveh? He was the husband of Semiramis, and begat Ninuas, whose lineage extends as far as King Senek'erim in the time of Hezekiah, leader of the Hebrews, and our Haramay. It seems to me that it is not appropriate cursorily to pass over the reason for this enquiry. Rather we should expound it in toto and write down the truth. Was indeed Asur, who built Nineveh, the grandfather of Ninos from the offspring of Sem, from whom Nebrot' was descended; or is indeed the race of the Artsruni descended from Sem or from Ham by Nebrof? For, as has been written, Asur, descendant of Sem, built Nineveh, and Senek'erim ruled over Nineveh by succession and was called king of Assyria. This is confirmed for us by Eusebius of Caesarea and Julian of Halicarnassos*, who aver that the kings of Assyria descended from the offspring of Sem, as is known from the established account. [* Eusebius, Chronicle, Aucher I p. 110. Julian of Halicarnassos must be a mistake for Julius Africanus. Cf. p. 9, where the reference to the "fourth book" of Julian of Halicarnassos is a reference to the lost book of Julius Africanus.] For the story runs like this. Titan dominated Zrvan, captured Babylon, and built his royal capital there. Zrvan was the fifth generation from Ksisutra.

Now Asur, third from Sem, was the first to build Nineveh. Ninos was the tenth from Sem and from Ham. But Nineveh was really the lot of Sem, while Ninos is assured to be from the offspring of Ham according to Ariston the Chaldaean 3 and Eusebius of Caesarea and Moses Khorenats'i and Julian of Halicarnassos. Because Kronos took as his wife Rhea from the family of Zrvan and seized for himself the kingdom, he did not allow any descendant of Zrvan to rule and made a sworn pact that whatever male was born from his wife Rhea of Zrvan's descent was to be slain at birth. But one child only, Dios by name, was secretly saved by his mother, like Moses in Egypt much later. Thus no descendant of Zrvan was able to reign save only a woman named Dionysia—very opulent, licentious, and sensual.

She called herself Semiramis, after her grandfather Sem—which in the Armenian language is pronounced Shamiram. Captivated by her, Ninos of Bel's line took her to wife, for Shamiram was ensconsed in their native city Nineveh. So Ninos entered the roster of kings of Assyria through his wife Shamiram, since it was not the custom for the female line to be included in the genealogy of kings and legislators, save only according to the requirement of chronology—like Gofolia in Israel, 6 and Cleopatra daughter of Ptolemy Dionysius in Egypt. As a better-known example I can quote you our Saviour the Lord Jesus Christ. Explaining his genealogy in the flesh, the evangelist Matthew counts the generations one after the other beginning from Abraham and coming down as far as Joseph, yet is silent about the genealogy of Mary. Although Joseph had no share in the birth of Christ, he is included in the genealogy instead of his wife Mary, as I mentioned above. For it was not the custom to mention in the genealogy the list of the female line. Likewise you will find the genealogy of Luke set out from beginning to end; he says "as was supposed" Jesus descended from Joseph, from Jacob, from Heli, and so successively.

So also the woman Shamiram, from the progeny of Sem, ruled through her husband Ninos over Assyria legitimately, having rebelled against Ninos on the grounds that he had come as a foreigner to enter the kingdom of Shamiram descendant of Sem. Add to that what is written, that she palpitated with lasciviousness. But as has been explained, Shamiram of the progeny of Asur from Sem reigned in her own right over Assyria, their native empire; and her descendants ruled legitimately one after the other down to Tonos Konkoleros. Eighty-eight years later Senek'erim succeeded to the throne of his ancestral kingdom with great power. He captured Babylon and built Tarsus on the model of Babylon, a river running through the middle, as I shall describe in detail below. Then after the murder of Senek'erim by his sons, Adramelek and Sanasar came with a strong force to the mountain Sim, which mountain had been so named after their grandfather Sem—just as in Persian they call Zaruand after Zrvan. They stayed on Mount Sim until the time of Tigran Haykazn. But because Nebrot had destroyed Nineveh when he overthrew the descendants of Sem and built Babylon in its place, when Ninos became king he captured Babylon and re-built Nineveh and moved there the capital of the Assyrian kingdom. Furthermore, because Mestrim at the division of the nations and the world built Egypt and the descendants of Ham there flourished as rulers, the Assyrians ruled separately. You will find in the canon table of Eusebius Ninos and Shamiram and Abraham and the sixteenth dynasty of Egypt, and also in the fourth book of Julian of Halicarnassos, as in the fourth book of Moses.

So Ninos and Shamiram ruled over Asians and Egyptians and subjected them to tribute, but without removing those nations' legitimacy. I have set down this brief account merely to make known the nations.

Now since the order of my narrative has brought us to this question, we must first realize by what manner the Chaldaean books reckon the number of patriarchs as ten in accordance with Divine Scripture, yet differ from Scripture by calling them different names. Likewise they stretch out the periods of time to infinite myriads of years, which is not a convincing demonstration following one mode of reckoning—neither by the movement of the sun for identical periods of months and days according to the four seasons as they change through the year, nor again according to the waxing and waning of the moon. For although their writings are unreliable, yet they have alluded to many things rightly. They were the first inventors of writing, even if the Greeks presume to boast of Ptolemy for having at some time collected all the books of every nation and having them translated into Greek. But these zealous concerns were merely with a view to information from what others had said previously, and not a personal effort to invent writing—although before him, except as concerns the Babylonians, not only the Greeks but other nations also do not appear to have preceded him. For the Greek script was invented later by Cadmus, a Phoenician. Since we were anxious to comprehend these matters critically and not skim over them, we must here make a little pause in our narrative so that we may compare the tales of those outside the church with Divine Scripture. Then we shall set our sights on later events.

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"God planted paradise," says Scripture, "in Eden to the east"—that is, in a country in the East about which there is nothing more to say than that in the East men inhabited it, rather than speaking of a western paradise or of it somewhere in between. Its unlimited size is indicated by the enormity of the abundant source, which having irrigated paradise sinks into the earth and re-emerges into the visible world from its invisible bed as four mighty and powerful rivers. Its surpassing beauty what human mouth could describe, or the delightful sight of its divinely planted trees? With inconceivable grace, glory, and honour he God crowned man with sovereign authority over it and gave him paradise to enjoy, also endowing him with a term of life whose many years were as but a day. It had no need of a foreign source of light whereby it might become dark on the arrival of evening; there was no delay of the sun to dispel the darkness of the night of the luminous creation, which after the rank and station of the first was moved to second place. There was no flowing nourishment to fill any deficiencies of the incorruptible; it was but a very little below the angels. As for Scripture saying: "to till it and keep it," this was not as if to complete the perfection of paradise or to guard it from harm, but rather it means to work righteousness and keep the commandment, so that by this modest service made like an offering he might thereby be raised to an even higher station according to the saying: "being faithful in this small matter," and not merely have dominion over the planted garden but also attain the bliss of heavenly life.

But he gave way to the seduction of the rebellious serpent, who in his deceitful wickedness liberally poured his bitter advice into the ear of the foolish woman. Thereby he trampled on the kindly benefits of the Creator and at the same time the command, and fell into the camp of the murderer. So it is now appropriate to call him deceitful and stupid. He was not content, for himself and his offspring, in his enchantment to abstain from the fruit, but even desired divine glory—to seize for himself in his effrontery even the honour of the Creator; in which attempt his deceiver the devil came to grief. As did also his wife, the first to taste in her desire to precede her husband in divine honour.

Alas for this most false plan and foolish decision, whereby he forgot his composition of dust and intended to turn his back on his awesome God and Creator. He who sees all at a glance descended to seek out the lost one. With soft footsteps he in dicated to him his approach, calling out in a friendly voice: "Where are you, Adam?" and tenderly bewailed his fall that per chance with His help he might be cared for.

But he, unreasonably refusing the direct recognition of his sin, ascribed the cause to God, saying: "The wife whom you gave to be with me, she gave me from the tree and I ate." And if Adam accused his ilk and helpmate of such things, how could his wife not be blamed for accusing the serpent, who was the very worst of animals? Hence, according to the order of the sin, first on the snake and then on the woman fell the painful consequences of the curses. But if the worker of sin and the firstborn of all evils who nestled in the snake was not cursed, this indicates the guilt of the snake in finding a source of blame for the penalty, which was wrought not only by himself but also by the inventor of evil. To which we respond that in every way he is incurable by good; not a single honourable aspect does he have—if one were to speak without using curses. Likewise the vital aspect in him is not in clined to the good but will be eternally tormented, being indivisible from evil. Philo of Alexandria teaches this about the snake wonderfully: before the occasion of this transgression he had the most wisdom of all breathing creatures; but man was able to see the thoughts of each of them even more distinctly than any other creature. Later, through the curse the two good and evil became understood. Notably by the spirit of prophecy this knowledge became helpful counsel for man to incite elimination of his error through repentance, and thus to provide some little caution to the other living creatures through their senses, even if these were useless.

The Lord God dismissed him from the delightful garden to till the earth from which he had been taken. So what shall we do with regard to these matters save burst into sighs in our lament that the divinely blessed one left the land of Eden and exchanged it for this laborious and painful lot by an irremedial and pitiful exchange. Made in the image of God, he was rendered shadowy; set on high, he was brought low; sharer in immortal life, through the curse he was made dust; established in lordship, he was laid low with multifarious evils. He became the servant of woes, leaving to himself and his posterity as inheritance for his sons a life of labour with death and childbearing in grief. Here with many laments and groaning we must quote the prophet's saying: "Man was in honour and did not understand; he became equal to the irrational animals and was rendered like unto them."

After this Adam approached his wife Eve, and she conceived and bore Cain. He called him "acquired" and "through God"; but he was not a worthy heir. She bore again his brother Abel.

By the prescient spirit of God he said he was his son, for he would see with his own eyes his father's threatened punishment of death and himself mirrored in his son killed by Cain. Now as for the saying: "Any one who kills Cain will suffer sevenfold vengeance," is there really a sevenfold debt of sin? If God's saying is to be understood according to the overplus of rebuke, suitable for righteous judgment, then likewise it will be accompanied by mercy. Let us see if this seems good to anyone.

For did by a series of seven evils this fierce saying evolve into harm, or will it seem of a single kind?

First of all, because after some days as tardy but not most honoured or important, and faulty but not irreproachable, Cain appears from the saying: "If you offer a sacrifice but do not divide it aright, you have sinned." Conversely, Abel took from the firstborn and succulent.

Secondly, his state of vicious and fearless envy, why his offeing was not regarded in the same fashion by God.

Thirdly, his barbarous deceit, that he in despair led him aside from his parents and slew him wrongfully.

Fourthly, because it was a brother and not some stranger. Neither fear of God nor natural compassion softened or weak ened the hands of the bloodthirsty beast.

Fifthly, because he filled his parents with incomprehensible bitterness and new mourning.

Sixthly, because he masked his soul in the darkness of evil, even supposing God to be unaware, and answered with brazen face, when he asked him: "Where is your brother Abel?" say ing: "I do not know; am I my brother's keeper?"

Seventhly, when he heard the sentence of his retribution from the Lord, he did not turn in terror with tears to efface his sin, but he sealed the judgment of his punishment with his own mouth. Departing from the face of the Lord, with pointless effort he built a city, not considered among the generations of the penitent and righteous patriarchs.

When Adam was 230 years old he begat Seth, which in the original language is translated as "drinking." This Philo of Alexandria, the philosopher and teacher of old, renders as "drinker of water." Perhaps his father indicated presciently the cause of begetting and the multiplication of humanity. For Adam had many other sons and daughters, but they were not worthy to be heirs of the legitimate father of the world. For only of him does Scripture add that: "He begat according to his form and according to his image"; and again: "God raised up for me another son in place of Abel whom Cain slew."

When Seth was 205 years old he begat Enos. The latter had hope to call on the name of God. By what example was he emboldened to this? For he learned from his father to call the offspring of Seth "sons of God." He was given a command not to mingle with the cursed descendants of Cain. Thereby he came to know the honour of God's care, and had hope even

more ardently to summon God to visit him.

When Enos was 190 years old he begat Cainan. When Cainan was 170 years old he begat Malaliel. And in the latter's 135th year the first father Adam died, having lived for 930 years. So God gave the patriarchs long lives, having settled them opposite paradise, to teach them to regain that same life through repentance.

And he taught them to be a model of righteousness and patience, not for themselves alone, but also for all mankind; sincerely to acknowledge the fear of God; to establish also natural laws for men, that like themselves others too might learn to avoid lewdness—which was the cause of the original fall, in that by foolish supposition Adam had wished to become divine. And that I might repeat the words of the saints: how all the saints received as it were a paternal inheritance, like fathers to hand on to their sons what they had received for safekeeping; whence this heritage has been preserved for us in successive descent. There are very many other things to say about the patriarchs who filled the world.

But let us now follow the thread of our story.

Malaliel was 165 years old when he begat Jared. Jared was 162 years old when he begat Enoch—who received the ultimate gift of God's grace: he was inscribed in the ranks of the immortals while still alive. But before his transfer he made known the exterminating anger of God in destroying the race and sons of disobedience, who did not decide to obey the commandment of the holy patriarchs. To this bears witness one of the saints, that Enoch, eighth from Adam, prophesied, saying: "Behold the Lord has come with myriads of angels to make judgment on all and to reprove all the impious for their works of impiety."

Here too he mentions their blasphemous habits and all the arrogant words that the sinners and impious spoke about him. And that the number of the seventh he said to be eight by addition, seems to me to be because he reckoned the just Abel in the same list. But why he is not counted in the genealogy is be cause Abel did not have offspring.

Now Enoch was 165 years old when he begat Mathusala, and he lived in the latter's lifetime another 200 years before being transferred to immortality in the thirty-third year of Lamech.

Mathusala was 165 years old when he begat Lamech. Lamech was 188 years old when he begat Noah, and he lived in the latter's lifetime another 565 years until the construction of the ark. Noah was 500 years old when he received the command to make the ark with his sons.

Here the divine Moses, inspired by the mouth of God, describes very well the extensive accusation of the impious, indicating each one's fault. When the sons of God, he says, saw the daughters of men to be beautiful, they took to wife any that they chose. But they had been given a command to keep away from them, whereby he reveals their ruinous corruption. He God was cast into despair by the fact that whereas he had shown in them his honourable love by calling them his sons, they had overthrown the natural order by insolently opposing God's command. At the same time they disfigured the earth by the multifarious crimes they worked on it. For scripture says: "The crimes of men increased on the earth, and everyone as siduously plotted evil in his heart."

Furthermore the Lord God saw that the earth was corrupted; for all flesh had corrupted its path on earth, no longer thinking thoughts of rational creatures, but wandering like wild herds in disorder and all kinds of dissoluteness, taking refuge in their strength of limb and unbridled in boasting of the strength of their arm. They had no concern at all for anything proper but only for the most vicious.

So God repented that he had created man.

He reflected in his heart, he who knows and sees all things perfectly clearly before they come about; and with human voice he indicated his disowning of them to their complete destruction. So he commanded the just one to construct the ark as an indication of the obliteration of the impious.

Listen and wonder here even more, how the mercy of the benevolent one overcame his righteous anger. He temporarily postponed the threatened punishment for a hundred years in his mercy. And there were visions even more striking and novel: the saints say that the sound of axes and the chopping of groups of workmen in hewing the wood rang like the thundering of clouds in the ears of everyone near and far for the terror and admonition of the heedless nation, that perchance they might turn and be saved. Not that God was unaware of what would befall them; but being naturally good, he remained in his unchanging nature and delayed the right compensation for the lover[s] of evil. As Scripture says elsewhere: "I am the Living Lord; I do not wish the death of a sinner but that he may turn from his wicked path and be saved."

Now some say that the ark was built at Laodicaea in Phrygia, which of the three areas of the world is called the region of Asia. But these reports are quite unreliable, because of the ten holy patriarchs not a single one seems ever to have been said to have dwelled in Asia Minor. But at God's command they dwelt opposite the garden, fasting and mourning in penitence, lamenting the fault of the first life, completely divorced from bodily interests, abstaining from meat and wine in a life of spiritual prophecy. After the flood it was commanded: eat meat, like vegetables and herbs. After the flood Noah drank wine; and because he was inexperienced in the matter he became drunk. And those not similar to these heard from the Lord: "Let my spirit not remain on these men for ever because they are flesh"—that is, lovers of the body and not of the spirit. The just patriarchs remained in the same place, and there died. There the ark had been built and terrible evils abounded on earth. When the just one complained after a hundred years, he was commanded by the only and awesome God: "Enter your ark with your sons and the wives of your sons. For behold in seven more days I shall bring a flood of waters over the earth to destroy everything in which there is living breath"—indicating his further mercy for the number seven. Oh the inexhaustible benevolence of God. Oh his incessant love for man, which is still said to pardon the senseless. On that day Noah entered the ark with his sons, his wife, and the wives of his sons.

But some historians say that a daughter of Noah and the ship's architect with his wife and sons and intimate friends also entered the ark. This seems to me plausible. For after the flood the patriarch does not seems to have had any more sons, while the land of upper India is said to be his daughter's. And Eusebius of Caesarea says that by custom up until today a woman reigns over the land of India. [This is not in the Chronicle or the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, the only works of his translated into Armenian. The later Mkhit'ar Ayrivanets'i, History, p. 266, notes that Noah's daughter settled in Arabia Felix. See also Vardan, p. 10.] But as for those who joined in building the ark, if it is most appropriate to say that those who trusted the just one and took refuge with him believed in his words and obeyed with fear his commands—why should it seem unbelievable that they too enjoyed salvation with him, just as God saved the harlot Rahab with her relatives from the wrath at Jericho because of his timely benevolence, or the Gabaonites from the slaughter of the Canaanites? They were so worthy of care that vengeance for their blood was taken from the house of Saul. And when Scripture says "about eight persons," that is an expression of incertitude. Of these we say that if this command was given them only, yet through them others too were saved. Likewise,

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of the eight who entered the ark not all were elect, but through the just one the lesser too were saved.

Now Philo says that out of respect for his affection, Sem took the bones of Adam, as the father of all, and placed them in the ark—which I shall repeat a little later when treating of him. [That Noah took Adam's bones into the ark is asserted in the apocryphal Death of Adam; see Stone, Apocrypha, p. 30. But Philo does not report this. Cf. also the Armenian version of Michael's Chronicle, p. 11, and Vardan, History, pp. 9-11.] "And the Lord shut up the ark from the outside," says Scripture. Oh command of frightful anger for his last moment. Oh fear some sounds and trembling of the foundation of heaven and earth. For if the course of a single thunderbolt and the crack of the clouds are sufficient to terrify even intelligent persons and cause them to faint, what did the souls of the survivors on earth then endure from the raging torrents that broke their banks and burst from the depths before the destruction of the flooding waters! Thereby all springs of the earth were rent open; the confines of heaven were opened to fuse heaven and earth in one uninterrupted sea. The spreading water exterminated every breathing and living creature; for a whole year the earth remained in complete devastation. After the fulfilment of the divine command, the billowing waters brought the ark from the East to the middle of the earth; it came to rest on the mountains of Korduk, and the patriarch offered holocausts of thanks giving to God. He who received the offerings promised no more to inflict that same punishment on men and established an eternal covenant: "I shall place my arc in the clouds," which is the rainbow. Some say that it is fire emerging from cloud, and those who worship the elements (say it is) the belt of Aramazd. But if Bel is the one who gives orders to Aramazd, how is it that Aramazd [Ahura Mazda] is deprived of his belt—at Bel's command? But we shall linger here no further on their fables. It is not fire emerging from cloud, otherwise it would have to be visible also at night. But in reality it is rays of the sun, hidden by clear air above the dense and compact moist clouds. Since it did not occur in the beginning, it is said to have come about in the time of Noah.

After this the sons of men increased and divided the world into three parts, according to the account of Herodotus, and as the great Epiphanius expounds in order. But we said we would repeat the account of Philo, that noble man and very learned philosopher; a follower of the holy apostles, he provided the church with many teachings from the ancient Jews as fine examples, as the book of Eusebius of Caesarea teaches us. [See Eusebius, Eccl. Hist., 2, 4.1, for Philo as a philosopher, and II 17.2 for Philo's relationship to the apostles.] In the Explanation of the Hebrew Names Philo says that Sem took the bones of Adam on a beast of burden and brought them to the land of his inheritance. When he reached a rocky overhang he stopped the beast. There by certain events the place came to be called "place of the stable," which was somewhat distorted in the Hebrew language, seeming to be pronounced Awawrshelim—that is, Jerusalem—which being translated means "my stable was completed."

Now the tomb in which the first father's bones were placed, a place of death and execution, the same is "summit" and "Golgotha" in Hebrew, with a double name. [Cf. Stone, Onomastica, p. 128: Golgotha is "a place of execution where the heads of the dead are buried." Thomas may here see a parallel between gagatn (summit) and Golgotay.] Ham seized it from the sons of Sem, and it was built up as a city of the same name.

Therefore the divine command in the time of Moses ordered him to take as vengeance on the Canaanites the border fixed by the patriarch. This David celebrates: "He remembered his eternal covenant and the word which he commanded for a thousand years." A little later he says: "I shall give you the land of Canaan, the lot of your inheritance." For to Ham were given by his father Egypt and Libya and the territory as far as the Southwest. Japheth was given all of Europe from the mountain of Amman [in Jordan] as far as the Northwest. And to Sem was given Asorestan with all its extent as far as the regions of the East.

Noah lived after the flood during his sons' lifetimes for 350 years down to the eighty-third year of Eber, demonstrating God's will and the natural law to the nations that came after him. We have now recalled the genealogy of all mankind from the first patriarchs in brief, because our especial concern was to know the lineage of the men who ruled over our land and the kings of Assyria before them, son from father in succession down to King Senek'erim, who in the time of Hezekiah, king of Jerusalem, became the founder of this Artsruni house. These add up to the following thus far: Adam, Seth, Enos, Cainan, Malaliel, Jared, Enoch, Mathusala, Lamech, Noah, Ham, Kush, Nebrof, who is also Bel. Of these enough has now been said.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 2

[Concerning Bel And The Babylonians And Their Fables]

Although the testimony of later writers concerning Bel and the Chaldaeans' [Babylonians'] heroic follies does not serve our present enquiry, yet I shall pass over their ravings without blame, not regarding their ridiculous acts as valour, as they suppose. For they say that the first of the gods was some ancient Belos, father of Dios, called in Armenian Aramazd, who lived 215 myriad years or more ago. Likewise there are other fables, that a book was written by him and guarded very carefully in Babylon—which book we know was written after the flood.

Others say that a certain Chronos was father of Aramazd [the Zoroastrian god Ahura Mazda], closer in time, who warned Ksisutra about the events of the flood. He wrote an account of his earlier deeds and placed it in a bronze vessel fastened with lead for safekeeping in the city of the Siparats'ik'. And others haver in many various ramblings about times and events—which inconsistencies we do not think appropriate to put in writing in order to explain the fables. Now Nebrot, son of Kush a descendant of Ham, was much more powerful not only than the early fantastic giants but even than the later Hercules, the raving tyrant who for his warlike deeds at Troy and his valiant and powerful victories was named god by them. [Hercules was associated with the time of the Trojan war; see Eusebius, Canon, year 826 of Abraham.] And he was even more powerful than the world conqueror Alexander of Macedon; for the latter through the deceit of some magus and magician said he was a son of Ammon and Aramazd, although he did not deny he was mortal. Whereas the former Nebrot said he was the timeless Bel of the ancients, not merely the father of the god but the commander of Aramazd. He was the powerful bestower of time on others. As to the men who lived before the flood he gave forty or more myriads of years and successive eras of different sorts and barbarous—called shar and ner and sos—so also he allegorised the names of the patriarchs as doubtful. He was arrogant and confident in the strength of his arm and his massive stature; for they say that his height was sixty cubits. The seeds of his folly were honoured by the Babylonians and preserved down to the time of Alexander of Macedon; and a king of the Babylonians erected to him a golden statue, a monument as a record of his valour. Although he escaped the punishment of the true God, the evil became habitual and was unfailingly preserved. After a long time the expense of his needs was declared to be provided by the king, in accordance with his uncontrollable force and the size of his stomach, namely Bel's food. Just as the Greeks once reported that the god Heracles deflowered fifty virgins in one night, calling valour things that are infamous and shameful, so also the Babylonians claimed marvels for Bel: that in one night he ate twelve measures of flour and forty sheep. For that reason the king said to Daniel with joyful heart as a boast: "Why do you not worship Bel? Do you not see how much he eats and drinks?"

Oh blind Babylonian with brains addled by mice and moles, unless you have anything else in mind good to say, why is the insatiable filling of Bel's stomach such splendour to you? Oh folly of the ancients, what madness and devilish inventions penetrated into the world in former times: rebellion against God and grief for the holy angels, the cause of perilous death for the servants of God in days to come. So it is now the appropriate time to make worthy excuse for the people of that time and many blameless: if so many piled barns of food were stored up for Bel's furnace, would not then his excretions be profitable for the glory of the Babylonians according to their reckoning?

The divine judgment warns through Jeremiah: "On that day I shall seek vengeance from Bel in Babylon, and I shall take from his mouth what he has swallowed." For certain phantoms andshadows of the ancients, according to each one's suppositions, were devoid of the inspired patriarchs' knowledge of God.

Nebrot' of his own initiative declared himself a god and reigned in Babylon with mighty power. He worked apparent miracles by magic to the astonishment of all. He ruled over all nations under heaven. He commanded in a fearsome fashion every one everywhere to set up his image, to worship it as god and offer it sacrifices. This was the origin of idolatry. Not something imaginary as the ancients said of Bel, or other shadowy appearances, dreamlike and deceitful demons—but he showed for worship a statue made by mortal hands. This custom one could attribute to P'aleg, son of Eber, or Aran, son of Taray; for these are said to have died before their fathers, and in their merciful compassion their fathers fashioned images of their sons, according to Solomon's saying: "A father, afflicted by untimely grief, made an image of his son who had died prematurely."

But this custom was altered by the evil one into setting up images in honour of giants and heroes and barbarian kings. And in his time they became addicted to the cult of demons. It is appropriate to liken them to the example of Bel. In his raging pride he gave orders for a senseless cooperation on a vain task—to erect a tower from earth whose top would reach heaven. But by pre-emptive scattering from above God divided the single language of mankind into various forms. Only one person retained his own tongue, the patriarch of the Hebrews Eber, son of Salay, who had not agreed to join the senseless project of building the tower. Hence we know that the original language was Hebrew. But the timeless Bel was exterminated in time by Hayk, son of Torgom of the family of Japheth, who rebelled against him. He disclaimed the hunter descended from Ham and spurned him, saying: "Not only are you not a god but you are a dog, and a pack of dogs runs at your heels."

Appropriate here are the prophetic blessings of the great patriarch and father of the world Noah, in his saying: "God will increase Japheth and cause him to dwell in the house of Sem." For eastern Asia was the lot of Sem; and when Hayk fled and removed himself from Bel and Babylon, he came to eastern Asia. Nebrot with his haughty host pursued him; he was killed with his army by Hayk, struck by an arrow. Some historians say that he fled back to Assyria. But these are vain words; for the great orator Moses expatiates at length on this: the mode of his death, and how his embalmed corpse was taken to the province of Hark', in the sight of many. The period of his tyranny was sixty-two years. Some historians say his father was Mestrim, called Metsrayim—that is, Egypt—because of his in heritance of the borders of Egypt. For Kush son of Ham is called Ethiopian, whom the Book of Genesis calls the father of Nebrot'; and Ethiopia is part of Egypt and of greater Libya.

Now according to historians the order of genealogy goes like this: Ham begat Kush; Kush begat Mestrim. But the Book of Genesis says Nebrot, while according to other historians Mestrim begat Nebrot'. Nebrot begat Bab; Bab begat Anabis; Anabis begat Arbel; Arbel begat Kay el; Kay el begat the other Arbel; Arbel begat Ninos, husband of Semiramis. And the fact that they say Ninos reigned after Bel and were unconcerned about those in between is because in the books of the ancients they had orders from the kings to write only about the notable exploits of valiant men and not about those of ignoble men. They were to portray the character and images of valiant men as virile and splendid; while the feeble and effeminate characters of the ignoble and lower sort were to be indicated only by name.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 3

[Concerning The Kingdom Of The Assyrians; How Zradasht And Manitop Became Leaders Of The Region Of The East; And Their Erroneous Teachings (This kind of Christian arrogance is commonplace. The following passages by Thomas Artsruni on Zoroastrians are based of hearsay rather than facts. In reality, Zoroastrianism has been a monotheistic religion long before Judaism and Christianity. Zoroastrianism influenced Judaism due to close relationship, at least during Jews' Assyrian and Babylonian captivity when not already due to earlier trade contacts.)]

As an exposition of those times that we mentioned above—from the days of Bel down to Ninos—nothing important or significant is found in the books of the ancients, perhaps because of many obstacles. First because the confusion of languages caused a lack of common concern, or because the base deeds of heroes were not written down by the Chaldaean historians. Furthermore, even if there were accounts, only the valiant deeds of Ninos were recorded. After the model of Bel he became even more arrogant, haughty, and egoistic; he said he was the original hero and first king. For, gathering the books of the ancients together with strict diligence, he ordered them to be burned so that no trace or record of others' names might remain save of him alone. Fie is said to have reigned over all Asia and Libya except only for India. He also restored to the honour of his own name the city of Nineveh, the first palace built by Asur which Nebrot' had destroyed. And having subdued Zradasht [Zarathustra] the magus [priest, scholar], king of Bactria and Media, he pursued him as far as the borders of the Hephthalites, then reigned powerfully over all Khuzhastan and the eastern regions and Persia, even beyond Balkh and Depuhan, over Govmayid and Guzban, Sher-i-bamamakan and Khochihrastan, and altogether as far as the Indian Sea he ruled with great valour and bravery for fifty-two years. On his death, since his sons were very young, he gave his empire to his wife Semiramis, who ruled even more valiantly than Ninos. She also fortified Babylon with walls and put down the rebellion of Zradasht, whom she brought into submission to herself [The following tale, with slight variations, is found in both Eznik, §145, and Elishe, pp. 24-25. Thomas here follows Elishe. For his borrowings from Elishe elsewhere see the Introduction to this book.]. And since in her lascivious wicked life she paid no attention to her sons, thinking only of her lovers and showering them with expensive treasures and liberal honours, she appointed Zradasht as governor of Babylon and Khuzhastan and all eastern Persia. She herself went from Assyria to Armenia in lustful desire at the report of a certain Haykazn. In what fashion she arrived, the war caused by her actions, the noble constructions of her workmen which are indeed worthy of wonder, and also the revolt of Zradasht [Zarathustra], the death of Semiramis and the saying about her talisman—all this has been expounded by others. She reigned for forty-two years. Then her son Zameay held sway, who was called Ninuas after his father. He reigned over Assyria, and for a while also over Armenia. He had no interest

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in expanding his empire but lived in peace, being of pleasure-loving and unwarlike character.

As Zradasht held so many regions of eastern Persia, from then on he no more imposed tribute on Assyria. Similarly, condemning the stories about Bel and the other heroes as being very ancient and obscure, he composed a new fable about him self in order once and for all to separate the Persians and Medes from the Babylonians and that in doctrine and repute he might no more be said to have any connection with the Assyrians. He was perverse enough to say that Sem, Noah's son, was a new Zruan, the first of the gods. The latter, he said, desired to become father of Ormizd and said: "May I have a son Ormizd by name, who will create heaven and earth." So Zruan conceived twins. Now the knavish one of them made haste to present himself first. Zruan asked him: "Who are you?" And he replied: "I am your son Ormizd [Ahura Mazda]." He said: "My son Ormizd is luminous and sweet-smelling, but you are dark and evil-loving." But since he greatly importuned him, he gave him power for a thousand years.

After a thousand years Ormizd was born, and he said to his brother: "For a thousand years I have been obedient to you; now do you obey me." Realising his defeat Arhmn rebelled and revolted against Ormizd, becoming an opposing deity. Ormizd created light, Arhmn made darkness; the former created life, the latter made death; the former created fire, the latter made water; the former created good, the latter made evil. And not to repeat every detail, in sum everything that is good is Ormizd's and noble, while evil things and demons are Haraman's. Now as for whoever might think Zradasht's teachings most ridiculous and say that he was a foolish king, tell him that your unpaid god Ormizd does not labour in vain; perhaps your opponent deity, being close by, at some time may get angry and destroy you.

Furthermore the same foolish Zradasht [Zarathustra, Zoroaster the initiator of the monotheistic religion of Zoroastrianism] says that there happened to be a war between Ormizd and Haraman. Being greatly famished, Ormizd wandered over the land seeking food. Seeing a bull, he stole it and led it aside. He sacrificed it, piling up stones over it, and waited for evening in order to remove secretly his plunder and satisfy his hunger. When evening came, he was joyfully intending to gorge himself with food but found it bad and spoiled; for lizards and spotted lizards and newts and beetles had come up and eaten his prey. So thenceforth wood louse and every kind of insect captured in villagers' pots will come to the royal court to slaughter, because they became harmful for the deity. Much other raving nonsense he also legis lated. And it was not for frivolous reasons that we resolved to write these things but because through this devilish doctrine much oppression and death have ravaged and destroyed Armenia—as the history of the saints Vardan and his Companions indicates to you, which the blessed priest Elishe wrote. Even now the "Sons of the Fire"* worshippers still say the same things. [* A rare reference in Armenian to Zoroastrians of Islamic times.]

Manit'op, king of the Hephthalites*, in a further elaboration affirms this: they do not say that fire is a creature of Ormizd, but the nature of Ormizd [That is the name of the Zoaoastrian god Ahura Mazda.) identified with the hot see Zaehner, Twilight, p. 202.]. And Hephaistos and Prometheus, who are the sun and moon, stole the fire from Ormizd and gave a part of it to mankind. And earth is host to the god Spandaramet; it was not created by anyone, but as it now appears, so it always was and remains; and man is self-begotten. [* The Hephthalites (Bactrian: Ebodalo), sometimes called the White Huns, were a people who lived in Central Asia during the 5th to 8th centuries. The Imperial Hephthalites were based in Bactria and expanded east to the Tarim Basin, west to Sogdia and south through Afghanistan. To the Armenians, the Hephthalites were Hephthal, Hep't'al & Tetal and sometimes identified with the Kushans who succeded the Bactrians.]

Of this I have also been informed by many of those who are called Shakhrik'. I had occasion to meet some of them coming from the land of Aplastan, who called themselves hamakden—that is, "fully knowledgeable in the Faith of Fire." [Hamakden: "fully versed in Zoroastrian religion."] These same things they affirmed with other abominable wickednesses. Our ancestor Adam they said was not the first man, but the son of someone else, Shurel, a camelherder. Persecuted in an unknown land and being found there untrustworthy, he was expelled; with his wife he came to the middle of the world, and leaving there became our patriarch. Following up his sayings I enquired: "Where do you say that unknown land was?" And they said: "There is an exceedingly high mountain beyond which no humans dwell." I know from the geographies of Ptolemy that the mountain of Emawon in the East, which is truly the highest spot of the whole earth, has not been trodden by the feet of men. Even with attentive eyes only with difficulty can anyone descry the summit of the mountain, as it is close to the heavens.

The people under discussion told me: "Many of us reached a part of that mountain and saw that the regions of the East were a very extensive plain, stretching for a great distance, level, not enclosed by any boundary, impossible for the eyes to take in, adorned with a strong light at night giving a diverse appearance; and in the daytime it is covered with a very dense cloud like soft felt, in the form of a very bright white mist. Of this they said that it was the foreign unknown land." After comparing this with other accounts I rejected them and was strongly inclined to believe this last account—that perhaps this was the land inhabited by the first man. For in truth paradise was physical and tangible, and not spiritual or between two worlds, as they report about Origen's view. Nor is it distant, as some suppose who do not know the Lord's saying to the robber: "To day you will be with me in paradise." Appropriate here are also the reports of Alexander of Macedon to Olympias; perhaps he reached a place outside the borders of paradise. And the circumstances of the wonderful unknown tree, which in one day grows with incredible rapidity and then suddenly shrinks; the drops of dew on it had an incomparable sweetness. And there are not only strange and incomprehensible forms and types of plants but also invisible guards of incomparable vigilance who torment those who approach with invisible power—which I do not believe is even said of the demons. "And we heard the lashing of the tormentors," he says, "and saw the blows falling on the backs of the punished, but we did not see the tormen tors. But there was a voice [a warning] not to gather and not to cut, otherwise that person would die and the group would be destroyed with a baneful disease. In frightened terror we left there."

Similarly you can learn other marvels like these from the same book. After a little he says: "Frequently my friends begged me to return, but I did not wish to do so because I wanted to see the end of the earth. From there we set out across the desert by the side of the sea. From then on we saw no more fowl or beast, save heaven and earth. We no longer saw the sun, but marched through gloomy weather for ten days. Then we arrived at a spot by the sea. Placing the tents and all the camp equipment on board, we embarked and sailed to an island in the sea, not far from land, whence we heard the voices of men speaking Greek; but we did not see the speakers. Some soldiers, risking death, swam out from the ship to the island, but a crab came out and dragged fifty-four soldiers into the water. We moved on from there in fright and in two days arrived at the place where the sun does not rise. As I wished to instruct servants to try and see where the place of the blessed was, Callisthenes my friend advised me to penetrate there with forty friends, one hundred young men and twelve hundred soldiers only. Outside, after the journey, we came across a female ass which had a foal. We immediately at tached her foal to the army. When we had entered fifteen miles, two birds met us which had human faces and were larger than birds at home. They loudly cried out in Greek: 'Why do you tread on this spot to see the house of God, Alexander? Turn back, miserable one, because you cannot set foot on the islands of the blessed zones. Why do you invade heaven?'

"When I heard this, trembling and terror gripped me from fear and dread. I was forced to obey the wonderful divine voice which had spoken through the birds." It is most appropriate in this regard to call them angels. For rational beings are seen under these three guises: angels, men, and demons, but not as birds or other creatures. "Now the borders of the area were awesome and tangible, altogether outside the realm of the senses. They were guarded by diligent and alert, yet invisible, guards like a very secure fence that would have naturally growing roots needing little care, that might stand outside a fortified royal garden. Such seemed to me these places—to others as they please."

We shall take up other tales from these fables and similar motiveless stories according to their merits in order to refute them, which the benighted Easterners hand down to their believers in Zradasht and Manit'op. They say that Hephaistos stole fire from god, granted part of it to mankind, and kept most of it for himself. And they say Hephaistos was lame in both feet, and has glowing embers in his hand and tongs and hammers, and sits forging men. Now if this lame one stole Ormizd's half with out his knowing, how could the divided half stolen by the lame one be god? Furthermore, since he worships fire and not the sun, which is Hephaistos, saying it is part of a god, how is it that the thief and weak one is worshipped like a god? But how are they not ashamed to say that fire is part of a god? For sparks of it are produced by striking stone and iron, or also by rubbing sticks against each other—as happens with a wheel, when from the rapid motion of the carts the wooden poles catch fire. Like wise, if water is thrown into a clean clear glass and placed in the heat of the sun, with the substance of fire beside it, from the burning ray of the sun the latter will ignite. Now since these things are so, such must also be understood with regard to the worshippers of ashes, "whose judgement will never be rendered void," according to Scripture, "and whose destruction will never abate." Perhaps someone might propose the reason for this ignorance. But the divine Paul truthfully explains these things, saying: "They knew God, but did not glorify or praise him as God. But they became infatuated with their own thoughts, and their hearts were darkened in their folly. They foolishly held themselves to be wise and transformed the glory of the uncreated God into the likeness of corruptible creatures."

The protest is against the frequency of their rebellion, that first they dishonoured the laws of nature and then turned away from the face of God. Hence it was necessary first that they should at least know themselves, and then from things visible comprehend their architect. "For invisible, divine things," he says, "are known and seen from created things—that is, his eternity and power and divinity—so that they may not be able to answer at all." How is this known? The most sagacious of those outside the church say that every moving body is naturally moved by something else. For a body is not self-moving but only the spirit is self-moving. Now we see that the heavenly body has a regular, unceasing movement—that is, the sun and moon and stars and other such bodies. And it is clear that they are moved by another; and if by another, then it is someone who moves the heavenly body. And because the movement of heaven is one and the same, it is clear that it is moved by a single someone and not by many. For if it was moved by many, its movement would be varied and confused, not regular. And because the heaven is eternally moving, it is clear that he who moves it has limitless power. For if he had limited power he would not be able to move the heavenly body ceaselessly. Whence it is clear that he is bodiless, because a body has limited power and is not able to move heaven continuously and regularly. From this it is clear that he is uncreated. For the created is from matter and form; what is made from matter is not bodiless and does not have limitless power. Now he is uncreated and unlimited and not brought into being by someone. And that which is uncreated, the same is incorruptible; and what is incorruptible, the same is also eternal. Now the eternal has no beginning and no end. So then it is clear according to this argument that he who moves the heavenly body is one, has unlimited power, is bodiless and uncreated and incorruptible, is himself not created by anyone, but all others exist through him. Now these definitions apply to no one of the created beings but only to one, God; and he is Creator. These are wise conclusions. But we, following Divine Scripture, have not established the truth from foreign sources. Away with that! But in accordance with the Lord's saying through Moses in order to reprove those outside the church: "to use the grease of a corpse for some exterior purpose, but not for food."

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 4

[How The Kingdom Of The Assyrians Reached In Succession As Far As Cyrus The Persian]

We continue our text with the order of the genealogy of the kingdom of the Assyrians that we carefully set out above. Its founder was Zamesos, also called Ninuas, son of Ninos and Semiramis, in the fifty-third year of the life of the patriarch Abraham; he ruled over all Asia and Armenia. After the death of Zradasht he then exercised sole rule over all east ern Persia and subjected it to tax, ruling with peaceful life for thirty-eight years. After him Arias his son, the fourth from Ninos, ruled for thirty years. All the kings of Assyria held power in succession from father to son; but none of them did anything worthy of record, and none of them held power for less than twenty years. [See the list of reigns in Eusebius, Chronicle, Aucher I pp. 98-100; Aucher notes that there are conflicting figures for the lengths of some reigns.] For their unwarlike and peace-loving character kept them in security. Since they sat inside the palace, no one saw them except concubines and eunuchs. Now the kings of Assyria in succession are the following. I shall indicate in resume their names and times and a little of what happened in their reigns.

• Ninos, son of Arbel, of the tribe of Ham reigned fifty-two years. He restored the kingdom of Nebrot and called himself Bel. Semiramis his wife reigned forty-two years. Coming to Armenia in war she subjected it; and on her return she exercised sole rule over Persia. In her third year Isaac was born, son of the promise to Abraham. In her last year Esau and Jacob were born, called two patriarchs. ... in his last year the Shepherds ruled over Egypt. . . .

• In his twenty-fifth year the first Belochos became king of the Thessalians* and ruled for thirty-five years. In his thirty-fifth year the flood of Ogeges is reported. [* Thessalians: sic.' read "Assyrians." But this mistake must have already been in Thomas's copy of Eusebius.]

• Baleos reigned for fifty-two years. In his forty-third year died Jacob, who predicted the calling of the Gentiles.

• Aztadas reigned for thirty-two years. In his time appeared Prometheus, a wise man.

• Mamizos reigned for thirty years. In his fourteenth year Joseph died.

• Mak'alis reigned for thirty years. In his time appeared Atlas, an astronomer.

• Zpheros reigned for twenty years. In his eighteenth year the prophet Moses was born.

• Another Mamizos reigned for thirty years. In his time there was another king in Thessaly.

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• Sparet'os reigned for forty years. In his tenth year Moses went from Egypt and laboured virtuously in the desert.
• Askatades reigned for forty years. In his eighth year Moses became the leader and legislator of the Jews.
• Amines reigned for forty-five years. In his eighth year the prophet Moses died. There were from Adam until this year 3,730 years according to the translation of the Septuagint.
• Belok'os reigned for twenty-five years. In his time there were many kings in various places. [This was the second king of that name; cf. above, p. 33 n. 7. The Canon now introduces numerous reigns of Greek and other kings.]
• Balepares reigned for thirty years. In his time there reigned a king of the Argives.
• Lamprites reigned for thirty-two years. In his time Pegasus flourished, who is reported to have been a winged horse. [The Canon, year 32 of Lambrides (— 669 of Abraham) says that Pegasus was either a fast horse or Bellerophon's ship. The Armenian version has no reference to "winged," though that appears in the Latin version.]
• Zovsares reigned for twenty years. In his time occurred the expedition of Dionysius against India.
• Lamperes reigned for thirty years. In his time there were many kings in various places.
• Panias reigned for forty-five years. In his time the city of Tyre was built.
• Sovsarmos* reigned for fifteen years. In his eighth year took place the labours of Hercules. [* He reigned for nineteen years.]
• MitTeos reigned for twenty-seven years.
• Mawtanes* reigned for thirty-one years. In his twenty-fifth year the city of Ilium was captured by the Athenians; and in his time the exploits of Samson were performed. [* A corruption of Tawtames. The Canon places the capture of Troy in his twenty-fifth year, and the beginning of Samson's reign in his thirtieth year (= 840 of Abraham).]
• Tewtesay reigned for forty years.
• Ot'ineus [Greek: ho Thineus] reigned for thirty years.
• Derkiwlos reigned for . . . years. At that time David reigned in Jerusalem [The manuscript has a lacuna. Derkiwlos reigned for forty years; in his twenty-ninth year (= 940 of Abraham) David became king.], and the kingdom of the Assyrians declined. Some of them remained as tyrants in the regions of Damascus. [There are no corresponding references to the decline of the Assyrian kingdom or to Damascus at this point in either the Chronicle or the Canon.]
• LawosPenes [reigned] for forty-five years.
• Peritiades [reigned] for thirty years.
• Ap'rat'es reigned for forty years.
• ApTatanes reigned for fifty years.
• Akrapafes reigned for forty-two years.
• Tovnos Konkoleros, called in Greek Sardanapalos, reigned for forty years. In his debauchery he was dissolute and corrupt in the affairs of his kingdom. Therefore many of his troops became wearied of him and caused him to be defeated in battle by Varbakes and Belos, the general of the Medes; as a result he immolated himself on a fire.

The duration of the kingdom of the Assyrians from Bel and Ninos had been 1,300 years. 20 Varbakes the Mede destroyed the empire of the Assyrians; he exempted Paroyr Haykazn from paying taxes, honoured him with the authority of king, gave him many troops in support, and re-established the kingdom of Armenia; he also appointed Belesios ruler of Babylon. Then he himself transferred the palace to Media. It lasted for 259 years; but according to some who include other earlier kings, the period extends to 298 years.

In the time of those kings some Assyrians and Chaldaeans descended from the earlier kings found it appropriate, as a period of anarchy, to emigrate and assemble a numerous army in the regions of Damascus and Nineveh. After twenty-eight years of anarchy in Asorestan, under King P'uay they again ruled over Babylon and lower Assyria, called Khuzhastan; they restored the former palace abandoned by Bel, which is the house of Astorov. Unable to oppose the Medes and Persians, they debouched in war into the regions of Palestine and besieged Samaria. And because the kingdom of the Hebrews was divided into two opposing factions, P'uay, having subjected Assyria, imposed on king Manasses tribute of a thousand silver talents. From then on Israel was endangered by the Assyrians. After him there reigned over the Assyrians T'aglat'p'alasar. The latter came out against Judaea and took captive to Assyria the majority of the people . . . Salmana he took captive ten . . . showing in the mountain of Media. And he destroyed the kingdom . . . which had lasted 250 years. After him the brother of Senek'erim reigned . . . was killed by Marut'ak' Baldan; when ... he had six months, he also was killed by some one who was called Nerelibd and who was a king. In the third year of his reign, Senek'erim gathered a numerous army against him, captured him with his allies, and established his own son Asordanis in Babylon. He himself went to Mesopotamia and valiantly subjected Emat' and Arbat' and all the regions of Damascus and Cilicia and many other places. After that he attacked the land of Palestine and Jerusalem in order to blockade it. By God's command his army was destroyed and he returned to Nineveh. His two other sons Adramelek' and Sanasar plotted against him out of envy for Asordani being king; they killed him with the sword. He had reigned for eighteen years. Then they themselves went to the Northeast, as was said above. Now the kings of the Assyrians from the other branch are these.

• Twenty-eight years of anarchy.
• P'uay, reigned twelve years.
• T'aglat'p'alasar, reigned twenty-seven years.
• Salmanasar, reigned fifteen years.
• Nerelibos, reigned four years.
• Senek'erim, reigned eighteen years.
• His son, reigned eight years.
• Samoges, reigned twenty-one years.
• His brother, reigned twenty-one years.
• Nabupaisaros, reigned twenty years.
• Nabugodonosor, reigned forty-three years.
• Amilmarudak'os, reigned two years.
• Neriglisaros, reigned four years.
• Nabunedos, reigned fifteen years. In his sixth year he was deposed by Cyrus. After falling from power he lived on until the kingdom of the Assyrians and Medes was completely destroyed by Cyrus, who ruled . . .

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 5

Ashdahak, king of the Medes, provoked a war against the great Tigran Haykazn, as the early historians indicate to us. He gathered cavalry to attack Armenia and carry out his evil projects. When Tigran the Great was informed of Ashdahak's steadfast preparations, he assembled the elite soldiers of many nations, brave warriors from Cappadocia, Georgia, Albania, the ferocious and gigantic troops of Ayrarat, and all the numerous companions of soldiers and the sons of Senek'erim, in full readiness and immense numbers, to hasten without delay to encounter Ashdahak, lest the Mede be considered more brave-hearted than the descendant of Hayk. They marched rapidly to the region of Makan, and camped in the plain of Media.

Then no little danger befell Ashdahak from the arrival of Tigran to attack him with a massive army. Furthermore, the very astute Cyrus the Persian marched up with his own mounted warriors to aid Tigran. For Cyrus and Tigran had become mutal allies and were similar in every respect; they were like-minded, very intelligent, and endowed with many noble qualities. But before Tigran and Cyrus had joined forces, Ashdahak sent gifts to Cyrus and promised to give him control of a fourth part of the lands of the descendants of Senek'erim: the regions of Nineveh and Tmorik' with its fortress. That he did not just once but often, sending ambassadors with messages and presents. Xerxes was informed of these deliberations by Adramelek and Sanasar, the sons of Senek'erim; they then came to Tigran, king of Armenia, and informed him of Ashdahak's plans. For the sons of Senek'erim were greatly angered and irreconcilable towards Ashdahak on account of his being descended from Varbakes the Mede, who had seized the kingdom from Sardanapalos and the ancestors of the family of Senek'erim.

Then, after receiving a message from Tigran, Sanasar and his colleagues went with gifts to Cyrus. Taking him they returned to Tigran. With urgent speed they pressed the combat, heroes opposing heroes. Xerxes hurried up from the rear and seized the bronze-hammered muzzle of Ashdahak's horse, knocking him back onto its croup. Tigran with swift hand struck him in the heart with his lance, pulling out his lungs. Cyrus, pursuing the army, wrought no little slaughter, putting all Ashdahak's forces to the sword. Then he reigned over the Medes and Persians.

Two of Ashdahak's offspring were captured by Tigran; he brought them to Armenia and reduced them to the rank of slaves. Since they demonstrated obedient devotion, he appointed them to serve as bearers of eagles and falcons. Promoting them to the position of cupbearers at feasts, he eventually raised them to noble status and settled them in the province of Albag, later settling them in Jolakhel, in Vranjunik', and in Hakhram. He waited some time, because he had previously given them in service to his sister Tigranuhi, wife of Ashdahak, before settling them in the places just mentioned.

When Croesus, king of the Lydians, heard of these events, in great speed and anxiety he assembled a host of numerous troops in order to offer battle to Cyrus. When Cyrus heard of his gathering of troops, he wrote to Tigran [asking him] to send him an army in support. In rapid haste Tigran entrusted the armies of the South and North to Xerxes and Arshez, the latter's son, with orders to reach there quickly. They marched off and met him at Dmbuind in Persia. Advancing to Cyrus's vanguard, they engaged battle. They came to grips, attacking the main force of the Lydian army by shooting arrows at each other; after the battle had lasted for a long time. King Cyrus and Xerxes arrived.

Arshez surrounded the Lydian king with his shield-bearing soldiers, and great tumult ensued. For the Lydian king had covered his horse all over with bronze armour from foot to head without a chink, so that he was impregnable in his armour. Likewise on his own person he wore a plated cuirass, backpiece, shin guards, leg greaves, and helmet, so that he seemed almost entirely covered in bronze; and when disposed in his massive army you would think him unapproachable. The troops, attacking like champions, made the battle rage. Then Xerxes and Arshez, full of cunning, shouted out—as if they were from the Lydian army—"Cyrus's army is defeated and the king has fled." Rejoicing at the report, the Lydians abandoned their fortified positions and rushed after Cyrus, jostling each other, while the king of the Lydians marched proudly behind his army.

Then Xerxes and Arshez rapidly advanced to encounter the Lydians. They captured Croesus, stripped him of his armour and his horse's armour, and brought him before Cyrus. Cyrus brought him back to Khorasan, and from there he returned to Babylon, taking the Lydian with him. He ordered his treasuries to be pillaged. When tortured cruelly, Croesus gave him even his secret treasure; he was put to death on Cyrus's orders, bring ing to an end the Lydian kingdom.

When this venture had been successfully concluded, Xerxes and his colleagues returned, receiving as a gift Tmorik' with its fortress and the river banks of Nineveh. Now when Cyrus had become sole ruler of the Persian kingdom, he captured Babylon and released the Jewish captives.

The house of Gag, the nation of the Galatians, raised an army of 120,000 men to oppose him. Then Cyrus wrote to Tigran asking him to provide him with help: "For a wild barbarian race has attacked to wage war and to wrest from me the Jewish captives." In order to preserve intact his bonds of friendship with him, he sent this same Xerxes and Arshez his son with 40,000 men. They went to meet him at the summit of the Taurus mountain. They protracted their march as far as Arzn in Aldznik', where the prophet Ezra, King Salat'iel, died and is buried in Marbakatina in a hilly spot. There they gave battle for not a few days, about a month, during which time the Armenian troops performed many acts of valiant heroism, astonishing the whole Persian army and the barbarians too. The army of the Galatians was destroyed, from the greatest to the least, and not a single one of them survived. Xerxes and Arshez brought the sons of Israel to their own country, leading them as far as the holy city of Jerusalem. They entrusted the leadership of the Jews to Zorababel, son of SalaPiel, of the tribe of Juda. Then they returned in great strength and notable victory. These are the Gog and Magog mentioned in the books of the prophets Amos and Ezekiel.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 6

[After Cyrus Ruled Kambyses, Shmerges The Magus, Dareh Vshtasp . 5 In The Twentieth Year Of Dareh Died Tigran Haykazn]

Now after these events had taken place, on the collapse of the Haykaznean kingdom people lived diversely, in confusion and anarchy, holding various lands, submitting to various leaders as circumstances of the moment might dictate. We shall not attempt to consider writing about those of whom no actions or valiant deeds are known; but we considered it sufficient merely to set down their names in order, following the format of the other earlier historians. So I set out in order their names in this book: Tigran, Adramelek', Ners, Nersekh, Marod, Arsham, Arshavir, Asud. The Kings of the Persians: Xerxes, Artashes longimanus, Dareh [Darius], Artashes [Artaxerxes], Olokos, Zarses, Dareh [Darius III]. Then Alexander the Macedonian, son of Philipp, became ruler of the world.

At that time reigned Alexander the Macedonian, ruling over the whole world. He rapidly attacked Dareh and killed him, exterminating the kingdom of the Persians. Then after Dareh, Asud son of Arshavir waged war against Alexander's generals.

Attacking them with Herculean valour, like a hero he warded off the powerful generals of Alexander for a long time, amazing their armies, who let him retreat—until Alexander appeared before his haughty opponent. Looking into Alexander's face as that of heroic gods, he lowered his eyes and gazed at the ground. Then rapidly descending from his armoured horse before Alexander, reckoning as naught his impetuous deeds, he made haste to greet the king and say: "When valiant men meet

valiant men*, audacious deeds need no excuse, lest cowardice be more renowned than valour—which is more appropriate for the effeminate—even if they turn their soldiers' lives into torrents of blood." [* Armenian troops did support the Persians against Alexander, see Flavius Arrianus, Anabasis, 3, 11.7.] Astonished at his stoutheartedness and his wise argument, Alexander's generals Ptolemy and Seleucus requested Asud as a gift from the king. For although Alexander was full of wisdom and exceedingly intelligent, yet he was furious at the banditti who opposed him. So Ptolemy received Asud, had him brought to Egypt—the land he had been given by Alexander—and had a liberal stipend arranged for him until he himself should have a convenient opportunity to arrive. As for Vahagn Haykazean, who was Asud's companion in arms, he was established at the royal court and progressed through his great prowess in martial skill, being ready either to die on the sword of the enemy or to win the

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victory through his courage. After ruling twelve years Alexander died in Babylon, having lived for thirty-three years and reigning for twelve. He controlled the whole world for seven years. On his death bed Alexander, who had ruled his kingdom alone strictly and fear lessly, appointed four generals for the four regions of the world: Ptolemy for Egypt and India; Seleucus for Asia and all the North; Antipater for Persia and all the East. [There are three names for the fourfold division because Eusebius's Canon has three columns. However, Thomas has confused Antipater (who ruled in Macedonia) with Antigonus.]

Now by deceit and force Ptolemy held Jerusalem and Judaea for twelve years; many of the Jews he brought down from there and settled in Egypt. Then Seleucus Nicanor, called the Victorious, held the kingdom of Assyria and Babylon and the upper regions. After Ptolemy had gained control of his inheritance he appointed Asud in his place, giving over to him all dominion over Egypt and India; then he removed himself to Babylon, following Alexander. From there he went to Jerusalem and there worshipped God. But although Asud was favoured with such splendour and the wealth of Egypt and India, yet remembering his original native kingdom of Assyria he was not happy to live enthroned in Egypt. His desire increased, so he went to meet Ptolemy. But although Ptolemy would have willingly agreed to this because of the man's noble valour, yet he did not dare reveal it to Alexander. For Alexander had never allowed anyone to suppose that somebody else could govern the world save Alexander. So after living many years he Asud died in Egypt and his body remains there.

After the death of Alexander his generals held the Macedonian empire; but this survived only in the Ptolemaic dynasty down to the reign of an Egyptian woman, Cleopatra, much later in the time of Augustus Caesar. Now sixty years after the death of Alexander and the anarchy in Armenia and Persia, Arshak the Valiant ruled over the Medes and Persians and Egyptians and Elamites, in the city of Balkh. His brother Valarshak came to Armenia and imposed disciplined order on that troubled and confused country. He organised the noble families, introducing titles, positions, and ranks.

As for the descendants of Asud, of the family of Sanasar, they lived as need and circumstance dictated, now thus now so: Shavarsh, Gogean, Shavasp, Peroz, Shahak, Cyrus.

This Shahak called his son Cyrus in remembrance of that man's nobility and his friendship to his ancestor Xerxes. Stripped of the authority which Tigran and Cyrus had given them, they lived ignoble lives, as it were illegitimately, down to Cyrus son of Shahak.

When Arshak waged war against the Macedonians, Cyrus multiplied his martial deeds of bravery and valour. He almost surpassed the courage of Arshak the Parthian against the heroes of the Kushans, Medes, and Elamites. He gained a reputation for victory and even more so for wise intelligence, progressing in station, rank, and favour. For he was asked: "Who are you, from which ancestors, from which father, when, and in whose time?" When Valarshak had ascertained his family, province, land, the reason for his migrating, his settling, the why, the how, the mode, the circumstance, the occasion, and everything else, he requested him from Arshak, brought him with him to Armenia, and named him Artsruni, as being the first in the plain called Artsuik'. Furthermore, by chance he had the distinguishing feature of possessing an aquiline nose. But I do not know whether he named them Artsrunik' from the name of the country or for their physique.

Secondly they were called Arzrunik' from the settlement of his ancestors Adramelek 1 and Sanasar in Arzn.

Thirdly, they likened them to eagles because of their noble courage and their eagle-like audacity and boldness in battle.

But although both reasons for their naming may be considered appropriate as seems fit to the philosophically minded, nonethe less, for me it is more pleasing to place confidence in the first.

The Ptolemies brought the period of kingdoms to a close, extending down to Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Dionysius; she reigned over Egypt and Alexandria. Opening the depository of archival books, she found the lineage of Senek'erim, the acts of each one of them mentioned individually by name with his deeds of prowess; and likewise all the other acts according to family and place: the deeds of the cowardly and insignificant indicated in accordance with their ignobility. She had the archives*, which were written in Greek on parchment, taken with gifts to Tigran king of Armenia, who was the fourth king after Valarshak the Parthian. [* For these "archives" cf. the "archive" in Moses Khorenats'i, I 9, also composed at Alexander's initiative, which was kept in Nineveh and which contained details of the Bagratids' glorious past.]

Up to here Alexander of Macedon had this written: from Senek'erim down to Ptolemy the Egyptian, after whom they named the Ptolemies. All this Ptolemy the lover of literature wrote down and arranged with accuracy. Then they placed it carefully in the archival treasure house until the time of Queen Cleopatra, as we explained above. Now these tales have come down to us through the chronicles of the earlier historians, from Mambre Vertsanol and his brother called Moses, and another Theodore K'ert'ol; they had all studied under Levond the priest who was martyred in Persia with the other holy bishops and priests. At the command of Vahan Artsruni they were entrusted with the urgent task of critically investigating and arranging in abbreviated fashion the genealogies of past families, and diligently reviewing these histories in no long-winded fashion.

We too, at your command, Oh Gagik general of Armenia and prince of Vaspurakan, have undertaken an abbreviation of the stories of the past. So I shall press forward my narrative; in my rapid course I shall traverse the works of past historians; I shall note in order but merely succinctly the genealogy of the Artsrunik until I reach the wide-spreading and extensive arena of written histories. One by one I shall expound these matters systematically and shall arrange them for your pleasure.

This Vahan whom we mentioned is the same Vahan whom the Armenian nobles made king in the days of Saint Vardan—concerning which I shall write in its own chronological place. For now let us continue the order: Cyrus, Vargen, Vahan, ShambiT, Jaj, Jajur.

When Arjam was king of Armenia he greatly maltreated the Bagratuni family for releasing the priest Hyrcanus from imprisonment. Arresting Enanos, the leading prince of the Bagratunis and sparapet of Armenia, with his family and all his relatives, he inflicted many torments on them; some he put to the sword, wishing to exterminate the Bagratid family at a single stroke.

But Jajur Artsruni set his hand to the affair. Approaching the king, he requested Enanos, for he was hanging on the gibbet. Obtaining his request, he brought down Enanos from the gibbet and saved his family from the murderous sword. Then he appointed Enanos Bagratuni to the same dignity in the kingdom. But Arjam could not agree to have Enanos in his company with any confidence, so he sent him to Armenia. Jajur received him with respect and ready provisions, and settled him in the region of Aragats, in the village called Palin. He was the first from the Bagratuni house to come and live in that part of the province of Ayrarat. Jajur married Enanos's daughter called Smbatuhi to his son Sahak. This was the first marriage alliance between the Bagratunik' and the Artsrunik. It took place in the eighteenth year of the king of Persia. After living for twenty years Arjam died and his son Abgar* became king. [* Cf. Moses Khorenats'i, 1126: Arjam (Arsham) died in the twentieth year of Arshavir, king of Persia. The story of Abgar or Abgarus underwent a series of elaborations in Armenian: the Syriac Doctrine of Addai was rendered in a tendentious fashion by "Labubna"; to that version Moses Khorenats'i (who also used the brief account in the Armenian version of Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History) added further changes; and Thomas expands even more in order to enhance the glory of his patrons' ancestors. (* Abgar V is claimed to be one of the first Christian kings in history, having been converted to the faith by Thaddeus of Edessa, one of the seventy disciples. The Letter of Abgar to Jesus is famous in connexion with Jesus. The church historian Eusebius records that the Edessan archives contained a copy of a correspondence exchanged between Abgar of Edessa and Jesus. The correspondence consisted of Abgar's letter and the answer dictated by Jesus. It is part of the Doctrine of Addai. Abgar was described as "king of the Arabs" by Tacitus, a near-contemporary source. According to Movses Khorenatsi, Abgar was an Armenian. Yet both Robert W.Thomson and Richard G. Hovannisian state Abgar's Armenian ethnicity was invented by Khorenatsi. Modern scholarly consensus agree that the Abgarids were in fact an Arab dynasty. Abgar V came to power in 4 BC. He became a Roman client, lost his throne in 7 AD and regained it five years later. Armenian historian Movses Khorenatsi, or Moses of Chorene (ca. 410–490s AD), reported that the chief wife of King Abgar V was Queen Helena of Adiabene, the wife of King Monobaz I of Adiabene, and thus the kingdoms of Edessa and Adiabene were linked in some manner. The Biblical scholar Robert Eisenman suggests Queen Helena as one of the wives of King Abgar V, who allotted her the lands of Adiabene. Professor Eisenman derived this association from Movses Khorenatsi mentioning the same famine relief to Judaea as does Titus Flavius Josephus: "As to the first of Abgar's wives, named Helena... She went away to Jerusalem in the time of Claudius, during the famine which Agabus had predicted; with all her treasures she bought in Egypt an immense quantity of corn, which she distributed amongst the poor, a fact to which Josephus testifies. Helena's tomb, a truly remarkable one, is still to be seen before the gate of Jerusalem." Professor Eisenman goes on to equate King Abgarus V with the Agabus in Acts of the Apostles (Acts 11:27-30), because Agabus was identified with the same famine relief as Queen Helena. By necessity Eisenman then equates the biblical Antioch Orontes with Antioch Edessa, indicating that Paul the Apostle and Barnabas went to Edessa. Abgar V is claimed to be one of the first Christian kings in history, having been converted to the faith by Thaddeus of Edessa, one of the seventy disciples. According to Eastern Christian tradition, Thaddeus of Edessa (Syriac Aramaic: Mar Addai or Mor Aday, sometimes Latinised Addeus; "Mar" refers to "Lord" or "Saint" such as in Mar Papa used by the Saint Thomas Christians of India for the Pope of Rome) was one of the seventy disciples of Jesus. He is possibly identical with Thaddaeus, one of the Twelve Apostles, and therefore with Didymos Judas Thomas. From an early date his hagiography is filled with legends and fabrications.)]

Here we come to the history of Abgar, king of Armenia, in whose days occurred the appearance in the flesh on earth of our Saviour the Lord Jesus Christ, our God, the beginning of the renewal of creation and the illumination of all men who are to come into the world. So it is a great pleasure for me, and especially for everyone—or rather, for all believers in Christ—to expatiate at length on these great events; a plea sure for you to hear and for me to write.

For he was the first of the heathen kings to believe in Christ, as the records of the reliable historians demonstrate—especially the evangelist and apostle John, son of thunder, who made the thunder of the good news of Christ's gospel resound in the world for those who were to believe in Him. For he says: "There were there some of the Gentiles who had come up to Jerusalem for the feast in order to worship. These approached Philipp, who was from Bethsaida, and said: 'We wish to see Jesus'." They were presented to the Saviour with Abgar's letters; and they heard his symbolic response concerning the saving crucifixion on behalf of the world, which he called his glory. He also wrote a reply to the letter through the apostle Thomas, promising to send Thaddaeus to fulfil his Abgar's desired request. And Christ, the source of life, satisfied Abgar's longing by imprinting his desirable visage on a napkin in a glorious and ineffable manner.

Here a new rejoicing suffuses this history concerning the honourable, co-regnant, 9 and magnificent princedom of the Artsrunik', that great stock descended from Senek'erim, which as its noble families increased and multiplied had reached this period of Abgar's rule and belief in Christ. With him there was also the great prince of the Artsrunik', Khuran, the chief general of the army and commander of the kingdom of Greater Armenia. This prince Khuran became the first Armenian believer in Christ and was baptised at the hands of the apostle Thaddaeus [who is also variously called Jude (the brother) of James, Jude Thaddaeus, Judas Thaddaeus or Lebbaeus. He is sometimes identified with Jude, the brother of Jesus, and that means Didymos Judas Thomas, the twin brother of either Jesus or one of his other brothers, better known as Thomas the Apostle. His evangelising mission led him to Syria, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Persia, and India where he died probably between 60 and 70 AD.]. After his conversion to Christ he demonstrated a most upright and pious way of life worthy of his faith, pushing the practice of his religion almost to the extreme of virtue, as the precepts of evangelical doctrine exhort. We think this is sufficient indication for now of the nobility of the blessed man Khuran Artsruni, of his comprehensive intelligence and deep wisdom. So let us carry forward the order of our history, in detail yet briefly, for it is not the occasion for us to linger with praises and thereby neglect the thread of our historical narrative.

Herod the foreigner, son of Antipater of Ascalon [Antipater of Ashkelon also called Antipater I the Idumaean (meaning 'the Arab', born 113 or 114 BC, died 43 BC) was the founder of the Herodian Dynasty and father of Herod the Great. According to Titus Flavius Josephus, he was the son of Antipas and had formerly held that name.] and whose mother was Eupatra, an Arab, was king of the Jews in the days of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ—as Josephus tells us, and also about what he did to the children. He had five sons, among them Herod and Philipp, whose wife Herod had taken, abandoning his own first wife, daughter of Aretas king of Petra. Angered at this, Aretas planned to take revenge for his daughter's dishonour, yet was unable to do so openly because of the emperor Augustus Tiberius Caesar. So he made an alliance with Abgar, king of Armenia, and with the great general Khuran Artsruni. Sending him gifts, he received in support Khuran Artsruni, a wise and valiant man, mighty with the bow and a well-armed cavalry man. When Khuran attacked, Herod's army was defeated, while Herod himself escaped by flight with his squire Urelian. He took refuge with his uncle, son of Hyrcanus the priest, in the city of Ascalon. Now although the alliance of Aretas with Abgar and Khuran provided a reason, yet Abgar and Khuran in their love for Christ and for the fame of the Holy Saviour were resent ful against Herod for what he had done—just as later they sought vengeance against Pilate for the murder of the Baptist and the torments of Christ. And it was the sixteenth year of Tiberius Caesar.

After the ascension of our Saviour and the death of the pious Abgar, Abgar's son Ananun became king. He had not inherited his father's faith in Christ, but abandoning the holy covenant he pursued the worship of idols that Abgar had scorned and rejected. He also trapped the great general Khuran Artsruni in the snare of his deceit into repeating his error, for which the latter was mocked and despised. Then Khuran took the greater part of the army and went to

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Sanatruk at Shavarshan. Sanatruk took him along in his attack on Abgar's son to deprive him of the kingdom he held. But before the war had come to a conclusion, a tower that Abgar's son was building collapsed on him and killed him—exacting vengeance for the death of Saint Adde.

However, Khuran did not remain with Sanatruk but went to Greek territory, to the Caesar Tiberius, while the latter was waging war against the Spaniards because of the gold mines. There Khuran performed many heroic exploits and victories with the soldiers that had accompanied him from Armenia. Being very pleased with him, Tiberius honoured him with purple robes and a baton in the stadium. Tiberius died after reigning for twenty-three years; and in place of Tiberius, Gaius the Less reigned for three and one half years.

Then Khuran heard that Queen Helena of Armenia, Abgar's wife, had been unwilling to remain in Mesopotamia because of the impious Sanatruk and had gone to the holy city of Jerusalem, where she lived in piety. So he too came to join her in Jerusalem. Taking the queen's and his own gold, he went to Egypt to buy corn in the days of the famine that occurred in the reign of Claudius, in order to distribute it to orphans and widows as well as all the impoverished believers in Christ—for whom the corn was sufficient. There Khuran lived and there he died at a good old age; in the world to come he will be crowned by Christ, with the queen Helena among all the saints of Christ our God. Amen.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 7

[Calumny By Nerseh's Nobles Against Vach'e (Nephew) Of Arshavir]

When Khuran went to Tiberius Caesar he left his son VaclTe and his brother Arshavir at Harran with Queen Helena. Then, when the queen went to Jerusalem, VaclTe and Arshavir, being afraid to go to Sanatruk, went to Nerseh king of Syria, taking with them the written treaty of peace between Abgar and Nerseh and Khuran Artsruni. Nerseh appointed them to the oversight of the government: VaclTe he established at the royal court, so that via him everyone would have to enter or leave the palace and through him conduct whatever business they needed—from the greatest to the least; and Arshavir he appointed as commander of the army for war. But Nerseh's nobles took offence at them and induced one of Nerseh's relatives, Dareh by name, to approach Nerseh and say: "Why were you pleased to act thus, to appoint these men to run your country? Behold, they are descended from the family of Senek'erim in Nineveh; they now command your army along with their own. They may perhaps inflict harm on you and snatch the kingdom of Nineveh for themselves. For Khuran, the father of VaclTe and brother of Arshavir, had become friendly with Artashes the king of Persia when Abgar went to Persia and they made a mutual treaty. Perhaps, when they accomplish the evil deeds that they have plotted against you, as we have heard from their confidants, with the help of Artashes they may depose your family and descendants from the throne of Syria. Either make their evil plots redound on their own heads, or let them go away whither they may desire." Nerseh was attentive to Dareh, but he was unable to prove his allegations. However, because of these slanderers Vach'e and Arshavir went to Artashes king of Persia and remained there until the return of Artashes, son of Sanatruk, who came here and reigned as king after killing Eruand.

Now Sahak, Vach'e's son, had gone in flight by the regions of Media to Atrpatakan, and was residing with a certain general and magus called Peroz-Vram. Smbat, taking Artashes, was residing at Zaravand in Atrpatakan [Smbat was the tutor of Artashes.]; he wrote to Sahak asking him to return to Eruand so that perhaps there might be a way to make some plan concerning Eruand. He obediently went without delay, and explaining to Eruand the reasons for his flight said: "We brought up the sons of Sanatruk as foster parents; and you swore by Artemis and Aramazd that when you were king we should have no grounds for fear." But Eruand continued his search for Artashes. So Smbat took Artashes and went to settle on the high mountain of Varag, while Eruand in pursuit encamped at the foot of the mountain at the head of the province of Tosp, and called the spot Eruandakank. Sahak sent word to Smbat that he should not remain on the mountain but make haste to return to Her and Zarevand. "For," he said, "Eruand will not advance with his army across the border of Media." And he had the child's needs taken to him day by day.

When Eruand became aware of this he had Sahak taken in bonds to Armavir. There he remained in prison until he died. Then Ashot, Vach'e's brother, since he was very young in years, was taken by his tutor and brought before Eruand. He had been unable to escape and go whither he might wish, he said, lest perchance on his way he be siezed and condemned to death. But Eruand kept the oath to his father and allowed him to go and settle and live wherever he might please. So his tutor brought him to the mountain Sim, to the place where his ances tor had dwelt in the land of Taron.

At the same time Smbat took Artashes and came down from the mountain. Among the rocks he made a refuge in a most unsuspected spot, a hiding place in a small cavern in a rocky hollow, opposite the southern side of the fortress of Van, near the place where a spring gushes out at the foot of a small hill. It was near the edge of the lake from which temperate breezes blow, freshening the parching heat of the summer caused by the sun's heat. There they stopped for many days in safety from distrust and fear of Eruand. For he was unable to discover the fugitive Artashes. Since the latter was preserved in this way by God's providence, Eruand returned by the borders of Atrpatakan to the valley of Andzahk'. Now the valley of Andzahk is so called for the reason that it contains many treasures in its jagged heights, its narrow defiles, in the safe fastnesses of the valley, in the chaos of the land that is uninhabited by men and free from the attacks of Eruand's brigands. So he came and stopped in the town of Nakhchavan, the capital of the land of Vaspurakan. Thenceforth Eruand was thrown into doubt; sleep did not calm him at night, nor food delight his palate. Then Smbat took Artashes in the guise of a wretch who goes around begging his daily sustenance, and came in his woe to the court of Dareh king of the Medes. When Eruand eventually heard of this, he wrote to Smbat in the hope that he might deliver up the young Artashes. When Artashes attained maturity he went to the Persian king Artashes; and demonstrating there many deeds of valour in heroic combats, he was honoured by Artashes the Persian king to the extent that he supported him with the aid of an army and made him king over Armenia in succession to his father Sanatruk in the royal capital of the valiant Arsacids.

Vach'e and Arshavir then returned with Artashes, who had taken Eruand's kingdom in the thirty-first year of Artashes, king of kings, and in the . . . year of the Greek emperor. . . , He returned to them the land which Tigran Haykazn had given in inheritance to their family, but which Sanatruk had confiscated to the court: the mountain of Sim and Aldznik 4 as far as the borders of Asorestan.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 8

[The Rule Of Artashes Over Armenia]

When the rule of Artashes was flourishing in its systematic orderliness and prosperous administration, as the books of the historians explain, and he had married Satfinik as queen of Armenia, he recalled his exile in the cavern that we mentioned above. So he returned to that spot for amusement. As it pleased him, he built a palace of rough rock as a royal autumn residence, a splendid building, beautifully walled, looking out across the delightful lake to the north. The sun's rays played upon the strollers; the fish seemed to be sporting on the waves as they jumped in and out; it looked across to the great mountain called Masik' with its lofty summit covered in snow of a glorious white—like a splendid king with honourable white hairs diverting himself among his proud nobility and seeing before him the shimmering bluish purple of the wide-spreading lake. Around the shores he built vast estates, with bushy trees, wine-stocks, and various fruits; round the wall he established thickly planted gardens, blooming and smelling sweetly from the variety of flowers. Not merely did they dazzle the eye and their smell delight the nose but they also provided medicinal remedies of ingenious science following the teaching of Asclepius. Around the fortress-like palace he encircled the hill with a wall of roughly hewn rocks, fortifying the valley into a populous city. Above the gushing spring he also walled in the steep rock with very strong constructions in order to protect the source of water; and he strengthened the wall around the rock so that it was secure and inaccessible to attackers. He set it out with delightful precision, bringing the wall down to the depths of the lake. In the middle of the three-forked small hollow valley which runs down from the three hills he built a high tower with hollow centre; on top of it he set the image of Astlik, and nearby the treasure house of the cult of the idols. In the city he arranged bustling streets suitable for commerce. On the highest hill to the southern side he discovered a lesser fountain, whose water he brought along an aqueduct through the valley. And for the improvement of the view, on the west of the plain and along the shore of the lake he arranged walls and had the enclosure filled with thickly planted vineyards in order to delight the eye.

When he had completed the construction of the city and made ready the inaccessible and secure fortress, he called the fortress Zard, that is, "splendour," for the splendid construction. He used to bring Queen Sat'inik for diversion in the autumn season to the fortified and beautifully built palace that adorned the castle. He named the city Artamat, which when translated really means "the handiwork of Artashes," or "the coming of Artashes," because in Persian mat means "coming." For when Artashes left this spot he no longer allowed Eruand to trouble him; but after going from here to the Medes and Persians, he returned in great force and with royal magnificence to reign over Greater Armenia. Following the barbarian rites of divination he honoured this spot as where he began his change from the lowest to the highest station.

Now the holy men of Sukavet mountain, since they were fellow countrymen and confidants of Sat'inik's and had followed her, sent one of their ascetics to the queen to reproach her vain and useless cult of the idols, as Saint K'rysi sent to Artashes.

Sat'inik was attentive to the advice of the holy men, but did not reject the image of the idol called Astlik because she distrusted the king and his sons, especially as she expected the king to turn first from idols to the worship of Christ the true God. But how the matter ended is not clear to us.

Sahak, son of Vach'e, was established at Artashes' court in splendid and prominent authority. Artashes entrusted to him the province of Albag, for some descendants of Ashdahak the Mede dwelt there—valiant men, well armed and good archers. But since their clan had diminished, they had no one powerful enough to wage war and serve the king, especially as the land had been devastated by a Persian raid about the time of Eruand's death and Artashes' accession to the throne. But a certain woman of the race of Ashdahak dwelt in the castles of Jlmay and Sring, in the province of Lesser Albag. The woman's name was Jaylamar, after which she had named the castle, and she had many treasures and a daughter called Anush. Sahak married the latter at the command of Artashes, who confirmed and sealed the land for Sahak as his own inheritance. The king took care of the woman for the reason that she had not gone over to Eruand nor served him in any fashion. After receiving his land as a gift, Sahak let his son Ashot establish himself in the mountainous regions of their first principality, to cultivate and inhabit it, and pass on the land in inheritance to their own family, descendants of the house of the Artsrunik'.

Ashot, by an unwise decision, entered the mountain where some brigands from the regions of Hashteank were strongly established. 1 They came across each other, and through lack of caution he was killed there in this unforeseen encounter. He had been unable to cultivate the land, when shortly, in the eighth year of Artashes, the king took over the land and ordered a temple built there to Heracles and Dionysius. For that reason he was able to keep the land prosperous, with a large population. But when the Artsruni clan declined, no one remained save a single young man named Hamam, son of the aged Arshavir, brother of Khuran who was at the royal court. In consideration of his ancestors' efforts and services the king promoted Hamam to the rank and station of his forefathers, and gave him in inheritance the land of Albag. Just as he did for Sahak, so he did for Hamam. But Hamam was haughty and arrogant, cowardly and lazy in war, and only served the king with adulation.

When the king heard of his weak and languid way of life, he appointed him overseer of the officials of the royal court, so that he might imbue the king's employees with the same subservience, since Hamam was also familiar with the books of the archives. For in the past there was no interest in or care for either the protection of the country's prosperity or preparations for war, but at the royal court one could only enter and leave the archives and treasuries through the king's confidants. How ever, Artashes sent Hamam as ambassador to the emperor Hadrian in the matter of the brigand Barkochba and his war in Syria. He went, and on his return found King Artashes dead in Marand. He himself died with the other flatterers in the land of Media at the town of Bakurakert.

After Artashes there reigned Artavazd; then Tiran, son of Artashes; then Tiran; then the last Tigran; then Valarshak. In the time of their reigns the generations of the Artsrunik' were: Hamazasp, Shavarsh, Asod, Babgean.

Valarshak became king in succession to his father Tigran. Waging war against the Khazars of the North, he was killed by those mighty archers. Then his squires, Babgean and the great aspet Ashot, together escaped from the great battle; returning in haste to Armenia they gave the sad news of the king's death and made king in succession to Valarsh his son Khosrov with the cooperation of the Persian king Artavan. Having thus brought peace to the land they lived in tranquil ease as they pleased all the time of Khosrov's life. He reigned for forty-eight years.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 9

[The Abolition Of The Pahlavik Kingdom And The Rule Of The Stahrian]

While the land of Armenia was thus enjoying a tranquil and undisturbed existence menaced by no danger from any where, but rather inflicting troubles on others as we read, unexpectedly there arrived the news of Artavan's death and the domination of Persia by Artashir the Sasanian from Stahr. Our king Khosrov was struck with dismay and attempted to revenge the death of his blood relative, King Artavan. This indeed he was doing until his treacherous murder by Anak his relative. Then the country fell apart and everyone scattered, hastily fleeing wherever he could. They applied to the emperor Valerian to see if he could revenge the blood of Khosrov and bring an end to the tyranny of the Stahrian. But although the emperor Valerian gave help to the Armenians with the army of Phrygia, nonetheless the land was not pacified. No one was able to live in security, or keep possession of his patrimony; peace did not return until the emperor Probus, who made peace with Artashir. Here I have no indication as to what happened to the Artsruni family, or how, where, or why. But

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we considered it merely sufficient to present the generations of the family as we have laboured to discover them, down to the reign of Trdat and the beginning of he illumination of Armenia through the great Gregory the Illuminator. These are the generations of the Artsrunik from Babgean: Mushel, Vahan, Nerseh, another Babgen, Tirots'.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 10

[Trdat's Return From Greek Territory And Establishment On The Throne Of The Kingdom Of Greater Armenia With The Help Of The Greek King; And Concerning His Belief In Christ]

The details of Trdat the Great's rule over the land of his fathers and of his deeds are known in writing: his belief in one God the Father, and in His only Son the Word of God, Jesus Christ, and in the one Holy Spirit, co-equal in nature and glory with the Father and the Son, in one perfect Divinity; and his baptism with a holy and pure confession in the Father and Son and Holy Spirit at the hand of Gregory the Great, with all the nobility of Greater Armenia.

From the house of the Artsrunik among the magnates of Armenia there was baptised Tirots son of Babgen II. He was a mild man, intelligent, thoughtful, modest in speech and modest in look, who tried to make himself recognised by a single person—that is, Christ—rather than by the multitude. For at the time when Gregory the Great was being taken to the city of Caesarea to be ordained into the priesthood for the illuminating instruction of Armenia, Tirots' accompanied the nobles. And as we said above, be cause of his modest and humble character he willingly undertook this and did not push himself forward to higher rank in order to act the grandee with the famous and the infamous. But being a studious reader of the Holy Gospel which bids us not to sit in the first rank, he never claimed honourable and superior rank among the great nobles of Armenia. For who is grander than the descendants of Senek'erim, the great glory of whose stock the outspoken Isaiah proclaimed to the Israelites, or whose splendid pre-eminence Alexander of Macedon inscribed with no mean eulogies in the books that contain archival traditions?

Now as we said above concerning our important investigations in the chronicles, we have confined ourselves to an exposition of the Artsruni families alone and have not pursued the multifarious stories which previous historians set down in books, describing their deeds of valour performed at various times that are worthy of many and the greatest praises. But we have merely indicated the most famous events: the good fight of the saintly king and brave champion Trdat against both incorporeal and corporeal warriors; his translation from earthly toils to heavenly rest and embalming in great honour with royal pomp and fame, as we read in the eloquent composition of Moses the world-famous teacher and orator, the most accurate author of our illumination, as he relates at the end of his second book.

Khosrov, son of Trdat, succeeded his father as king at the command of Constantius. A lover of peace, he established good order in the country with the princes; nor did anyone have any worry of attacks from anywhere. They submitted themselves to the authority of the Greek emperor alone, abstaining from paying tribute to Shapuh king of kings. Khosrov entrusted the army to Vahan Amatuni to take responsibility for warfare—if indeed there should be occasion for it anywhere. He governed according to Christian principles following the worthy commandments of the Lord, and in everything had recourse to the advice of Vrt'anes the Great; he reigned for nineteen years.

He paid the tribute to the emperor at the royal court through the chief scribe. 5 But we have been unable to discover for certain anything else about the Artsruni clan or what sort of deeds they accomplished, save only that they lived peaceably with regard to the king and the nobles. Mushef, Vahan [and so on] held each his own property given to them in hereditary possession by the former kings. What we could not discover for certain we did not reckon worth putting in writing, save only that they were very highly regarded and honoured by the kings.

After Khosrov the Less his son Tiran became king. At that time the office of hazarapet of Armenia was held by a man of baneful and evil character who was called hayrmardpet. Approaching King Tiran, he began to calumniate in secret the houses of the Artsrunik' and Rshtunik', for they were distinguished and famous families, valiant and renowned, and respected by all. He said: "Unless you exterminate these two noble families, their intentions are inimical to your rule; for heir hand is with Shapuh king of kings." The mardpet said this, supposing that: "If I am able to carry out this perverse plan perhaps I shall also be able to hound the house of the Mamikonean nobles to destruction." Tiran heeded him and ordered the proposition of that impious enemy of God to be carried out.

When this cruel undertaking was made known to the Mamikonean generals, armed and with drawn swords Artavazd and Vasak Mamikonean wholeheartedly rushed into the crowd, struck down many with their swords, snatched away Shavasp, son of Vach'e Artsruni, and Mehedak Rshtuni, for they were very young in age, and took them to their fortresses in Tayk'.

When the boys reached maturity they gave them their daughters in marriage. From them stem the descendants of the two Artsruni and Rshtuni families; but these did not participate in Armenian affairs for many years. As for Tiran, wallowing in his foul turpitude, he was betrayed to Shapuh. Having been blinded, he died a death worthy of his deeds; as he had treated the saints Vrt'anes and Yusik and the great priest Daniel, so was it meted out to him. He had reigned for sixteen years.

Arshak became king in succession to Tiran his father at the command of Shapuh king of kings. Gathering around himself the Armenian nobility, he learned about the Artsruni and Rshtuni families and those of the Mamikonean nobility who had one off and fortified themselves in the fortresses of Tayk'. On being accurately informed about the causes of this, he wrote via a certain Vahan of the Amatuni family directing them to return and live without fear and be promoted in rank and honour. The three noble families heard the wise Vahan Amatuni and followed him back in trusting confidence. For they knew that they themselves had done no harm, neither great nor small. Received by King Arshak as he had written via Vahan, they were installed without fear.

But the evil-minded hayr mardpet never desisted from his typical evil plotting. About that time Arshak travelled to the West accompanied by Nerses the Great, Catholicos of Armenia, and arrived at Ashtishat in Taron, at the martyrium of Saint John the Baptist and the martyr Athanagines, which had been built by our Holy Illuminator Gregory on his return from being consecrated to the priesthood. After entering the holy place and performing their prayers, they came out to walk around and enjoy themselves elsewhere. The malicious hayrmardpet, the son of Satan, was not satisfied with working evil among men, but even had presumptions against God and his saints. Having opened his filthy mouth against heaven, like an insolent and shameless dog he drew his tongue over the earth. Approaching King Arshak he said: "The former kings were not sensible, since they did not keep this place as a royal retreat for luxury and enjoyable entertainment. So may my suggestion please you. The saints do not take delight in grand places, other wise they would not have lived narrow and circumscribed lives equivalent to death." But I do not know whether the king really gave way to his enticement or not. And I did not consider it important to write down what we have not verified.

When Saint Nerses heard of this evil and immoral proposition he heaped strong and violent curses on the mardpet. And the saint's words were fulfilled by deeds. At that very moment Shavasp Artsruni approached the mardpet and said: "Some white bears with fine hair are lurking in thickets in these deep forests. If it pleases you, let us go and hunt them." So they entered the forest with him. Drawing back his wide-arced bow to its fullest extent, Shavasp Artsruni shot an arrow in his back through his spine with an energetic motion of his powerful fingers. It pierced the malicious one's heart, and falling backwards he breathed out his soul into the hands of his counsellor Satan. The words of Saint Nerses mingled with the living word of God, the more easily to bring retribution on those who despise his blessings and curses, accomplishing the task without delay. He received his just reward according to the merit of his intentions.

In those times the emperor Valens ruled over the Greeks, and Shapuh king of kings over the Persians. Arshak supported both kings, sometimes the Persians, sometimes the Greeks, or rebelled against both.

But the Armenian nobles, at Valens's instigation, were incited to war against Arshak. They were advancing to battle when Saint Nerses interposed; he calmed and pacified the quarrel. Then the king begged Saint Nerses to negotiate a reconciliation between Valens and Arshak—which he did indeed bring about.

But Mehuzhan Artsruni did not heed Saint Nerses, nor did he submit himself to the king; but he offered foul enticements to Vahan Mamikonean, who was Mehuzhan's father-in-law, and they passed over to Shapuh. Abandoning the Christian religion, they submitted to the false doctrine of the ash-worship of Ormizd. Shapuh, greatly delighted at this, promised to marry Mehuzhan to his own sister Ormzduhi.

There was a great war between Shapuh and Arshak during Arshak's lifetime. At many times and in many places the Armenian and Persian armies battled against each other. But I consider it superfluous to repeat the accounts of previous historians.

But after many battles, with deceitful trickery Shapuh summoned Arshak to him, apparently for peace and friendship and making no reference to the evils that had been done between them. He went, following the summons and full of innocence. But Shapuh bound him in iron bonds and had him taken to the fortress called Anush in the region of Ctesiphon. There he lived until his death at his own hand, according to the prediction made about him by that man of God Saint Nerses.

But here I shall expound in order the audacious acts which the impious Mehuzhan inflicted on the Armenians. Mehuzhan and Vahan took the Persian army, entered Armenia, spread raiding parties across the whole face of the Armenian land, ravaged hamlets and towns and farms, plundered possessions and all patrimonies, and put to the sword all those they captured. They entered the province of Rshtunik and sacked the house of Garegin, lord of Rshtunik'. Escaping by the skin of his teeth, Garegin fled to the emperor of the Greeks. They captured the princess of Rshtunik', the wife of Garegin and sister of Vardan Mamikonean. Bringing her to Van Tosp, the city of Shamiram, they put her to torture and very cruel torments, trying to force her to abandon the Christian religion and to accept the religion of the Mazdaean cult of ashes. When the saintly princess Hamazaspuhi refused, they took her up to a high place in the castle, stripped off her clothes—that she might be clothed in the glory of Christ—tied ropes to her legs, and suspended her from the northern tower. With thankful endurance 6 she received the sentence of martyrdom. Her nurse, remaining below the gibbet, gathered the holy treasure in her bosom and brought it to rest in the martyrium built by Saint Nerses. Then they transferred it to the place which is now called Dzoroy Vank', to the martyrium of the Holy Hrip'simeank', which Saint Gregory had built and where are preserved in perpetual memory of the illumination of Armeia by our father his holy altar, pastoral staff, engraved ring, and the girdle of his diligent waist.

Mehuzhan and Vahan attacked another time, took Van Tosp, razed and destroyed the beautifully constructed fortresses, and led into captivity the inhabitants of the city—five thousand Jews and eighteen thousand Christians—and the Jews that Barzap'ran had brought captive at Tigran's orders; they marched them to Isfahan. Then they took Valarshapat and Artashat, and led nto captivity the Jews who since the days of Saint Gregory had believed in Christ, causing them more harm than the other Jews because of their faith in Christ.

The blessed Zuit'ay, a priest from Artashat, followed them lest his flock wander astray without a shepherd in deserts and dangerous abysses and fall headlong among wolves. But Mehuzhan came before Shapuh and began to calumniate the priest Zuifay, saying: "This priest has followed the Christian prisoners to oppose the commands of your majesty and the religion of the Mazdaeans and Aryans. Everywhere he is the cause of the Armenians' rebelling against the king of kings; and he dishonours fire and holds the sun in no esteem. So let his life be terminated—the command of your majesty will easily bring that about." Immediately the saint was led before Shapuh. The holy one's responses to the questions were full of the perfect wisdom through the Holy Spirit that the saint possessed inseparably within himself. Having there fought the good fight, like a brave shepherd he gave himself for his flock, received the sentence of martyrdom, and was perfected in the glory of the Holy Trinity [P'awstos says he was beheaded.]. The holy Zuifiay travelled the good road of many martyrs in this land of Armenia, to the East and the West. After ruling for thirty-six years, Arshak died in the anner described above.

During his reign Shapuh king of kings inflicted many insufferable afflictions on Armenia and Syria and Palestine. He led into captivity four million Jews, sacked Judaea and the holy city of Jerusalem, and poured out on the Christians all the mortal poison of vipers and asps. By him many saints were martyred for Christ; as is said, more than forty thousand holy men were martyred for Christ's sake [P'awstos, IV 57, mentions tens of thousands of victims, and also the tortures of nobles and their wives—but this was in Armenia. No earlier Armenian historian refers to Shapuh in Syria, Palestine, and Jerusalem.], many bishops, priests, and the other ecclesiastical ranks, and very many of the noblemen of the country and their wives, with terrible and cruel tortures at which I shudder. My mind is greatly amazed and astonished at their fortitude in enduring such refined instruments of torture as we read of in the book of the history of the martyrs which has the title Araveleay [East] and was composed by the blessed confessor of Christ Abraham from the village of Arats [Thomas is referring to the book of Syrian martyrdoms known in Armenian as Vkayk' Arawelits" (Martyrs of the East), originally composed by Marutha.]. He was the pupil and follower of the holy Levondians, and wrote in that memoir the names of some rather than of all of them: Shahdosd, which means "lover of the king"; Gohsht'asd, which means "dyer of purple for royal clothing"; Bishop Shmavon, a rock of Christ's church; and in addition to him [the names of] another hundred bishops and priests, who were martyred at the same time by the sword, in one day, on the great Friday of Easter.

However, Mehuzhan was not content with carrying out the evils that he inflicted on the Christians, and especially on the land of Armenia; but taking the Persian army he came to rule over Armenia at the command of King Shapuh. In the company of Vahan Mamikonean he entered Armenia with fearless presumption, planning what he was unable to accomplish. For Samuel, Vahan's son, went to meet his father. Vahan expected to bring his son to an irreversible downfall.

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But Samuel took his father aside, as if they were to discuss the business for which they had come; and when they had gone some distance away from the Persian army, Samuel raised his one-edged sword and inflicted such severe wounds on him that he killed him instantly. Furthermore, he also slew his mother Tachatuhi, for they had both forsworn Christ. Then he himself fled from Persia to the regions of Khaltik.

But Mehuzhan did not abandon his plans to rule over Armenia. He amassed around him a vast multitude of battalions, flags, and ensigns without number. On reaching the village of Dzirav in the province of Bagrevand, he wished to pass on to the royal lands of Armenia. But Smbat the sparapet of Armenia, son of Bagarat Bagratuni, opposed him with an army that included numerous Greek troops armed with shields and unfurled flags. The imperial trumpets sounded, and troop after troop of armed battalions surrounded Mehuzhan's force, preventing his rapid escape. Then the valiant Smbat came to grips with Mehuzhan. He hamstrung his armed horse, cast a rope around his neck, and said: "Good for you, king of Armenia. Come here that I the sparapet may crown you." Heating a circular spit [-iron] until it was red-hot, he set it on the head of the impious one. And thus the miserable wretch departed this world. In this regard the poetic fable seems opportune to me, which runs: "Often the foxes planned to reign, but the dogs did not agree."

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 11

[The Reign Of Theodosius Over The Greeks (Romans)]

On the death of the emperor Valens, Theodosius the Great ruled over the Greeks. Then Saint Nerses took Pap, son of Arshak, and with a Greek army installed Pap as king over Armenia in the site of his native Arsacid monarchy. As king of Armenia Pap did not follow the advice of Saint Nerses but travelled a perverse and contrary path, devoting himself to impurity and all forms of vice which it is not pleasing to repeat in this book. On being rebuked by Saint Nerses, he surreptitiously gave him a mortal poison to drink. So Armenia was deprived of the spiritual teacher and valiant shepherd Saint Nerses. They removed the saint's body with a large retinue of Armenian soldiers, appointing Mershapuh Artsruni, general of Armenia, and Vahan Amatuni and Mehuzhan's brother as escorts to precede the cortege, and laid it to rest in the place of his ancestral martyrium at Tordan. 1 But when Pap rebelled against the emperor Theodosius, the Greek general Terentius captured him and marched him in bonds to the emperor. There they killed him at the emperor's command, after he had reigned for six years. Following the death of Saint Nerses, as archbishops of Armenia there were some descendants of Albianos bishop of Bznunik', an honourable man: Shahak, Zaven, and Aspurakes, who do not deserve a good memory.

In place of Pap the emperor Theodosius made king a certain Varazdat from the Arsacid line, a valiant and warlike man who struck fear into both great and small. He rebelled against the emperor and sent word to Shapuh, king of kings, that he would submit to him. As ambassador he sent to Shapuh the brother of Mehuzhan Artsruni in order to confirm that intention. When he came to Shapuh, he reminded him about his own blood relative Mehuzhan: how he had been sincerely loyal to the king, the battles and raids and pillaging of Armenia performed by Mehuzhan, and his death at the hand of the valiant Smbat Mamikonean. Thus he incited the king to carry out the proposals of Varazdat, king of Armenia. While they were plotting this, the news reached the emperor through the general Terentius. And before a reply had come back from the king Shapuh, an order from the emperor was delivered to Varazdat that he should present himself without delay. The emperor had him sent to the islands of the Ocean where he died, having reigned for four years. When Mehuzhan realised what would happen to him from the emperor and the Armenian nobles, he returned no more to Armenia, but lived and died there in Persia, evincing no deed worthy of record. And Zaven had been appointed archbishop of Armenia, as said above, after the fourth year of Shahak.

After Varazdat, Theodosius the Great made king over Armenia Arshak and Valarshak, sons of Pap the Armenian king. Two years later Valarshak died, having reigned with his brother over all Armenia. Soon the emperor Theodosius also died and his sons Honorius and Arcadius succeeded to the throne. Then the Armenian kingdom was divided into two, between Greece and Persia. Arshak went to the region of Mesopotamia, thinking it better to submit to a Christian king than to submit to the Persian empire. And many of the Armenian nobles followed Arshak to Arcadius, including Samuel Mamikonean, who had killed his father Vahan and his mother Tachatuhi because of their acceptance of the Persian Magian religion, and Vasak Artrsuni. Others of the senior nobility with all their strongly armed followers went to Persia to submit to the heathen and barbarian Sasanian race. Their submission was a cause of ruin to the land of Armenia. And they made the Persian king suppose that they accepted their religion.

When King Shapuh learned what Arshak had done, he made a certain Khosrov from the Arsacid line king over Armenia. And Shapuh wrote a letter to the nobles, nullifying the reason for their emigration. For he said: "I have appointed a king for you from your own line and religion. Let it not seem hard for you to return here and occupy each his own inheritance. Do not stubbornly follow Arshak and completely abandon your ances tral homeland, to live as exiles, each finding by his sword position and noble rank. But return here and hold your lands without trouble." They heeded him and returned each man to his own dwelling; and taking Arshak's treasures they brought them to Khosrov. Following a great battle between Arshak and Khosrov on the shore of Lake Gelam at the Marsh, Arshak fled to the province of Ekeleats' and there died, having reigned for seven years. Then in Arshak's sector the Greeks installed consuls and generals and counts, thenceforth appointing no more kings. But Vasak Artsruni went to Khosrov and took possession of his inheritance and his rank. He divided his attention between the two sides, remaining deceitfully inconstant and craftily uncommitted: with the Christians he pretended to be a Christian, and with the Persians one of theirs.

A few days later Khosrov rebelled against Shapuh. Putting his trust in the Greeks, he promised to submit the whole of Armenia to imperial rule. For after the death of Aspurakes he had elevated Saint Sahak, son of Saint Nerses, to the patriarchal see of Armenia, and had appointed the nobles who returned from Arshak to their proper ranks. Shapuh, angered at his having done this without his permission, sent his own son Artashir to Armenia. Removing Khosrov from the throne, he appointed in his stead Valarsh, Khosrov's brother.

Then Vasak Artsruni fled to Artashir the Persian, thinking that it was inspired by the great sparapet Sahak that Khosrov had promulgated his independence, and at the same time plan ning to take revenge on the Mamikonean family for the murder of Mehuzhan his grandfather. The most excellent Alan Artsruni, Vasak's son, was much offended at his father's senseless and irrational character in behaving so sympathetically towards his kinsman the impious Mehuzhan, who should have been hated and inflicted with as many evils as possible. So Alan went to Saint Sahak; throwing down his armour in front of him, he stripped himself of his military garb and mourned for Armenia—the decline of the power of the Armenian monarchy and the despotism of the Persians. Even more did he lament and bewail unconsolably over his own Artsruni family which, quickly forgetting the benefits of Christ, only ran after worldly glory and pursued the ash-cult of magism. Alan continued his lament, shedding torrents of hot tears before Saint Sahak, the great sparapet Sahak, and the other nobles until they too inclined to his thoughts about the future prepared for Armenia, like some prophetic vision. While they were all weeping and bitterly lamenting with inconsolable grief, Alan fell on his face before Saint Sahak and the sparapet Sahak asking to receive the habit of the monastic state so he could adopt the life of a hermit. For a while Saint Sahak did not agree, saying: "Be silent for now.

At another time I shall take care of what you desire. We must beware lest some deceitful and malicious flatterers approach Artashir with some falsehood about us, and your father Vasak make some suggestion to the king and stir up confusion and trouble, so that they suppose we are plotting rebellion. But God will accomplish what you desire and long for, as may be pleasing before the Lord." Accepting his advice, the blessed Alan waited for a suitable day.

After reigning for twenty-three years the emperor Arcadius died, severely punished for his offences against John Chrysostom. He was succeeded by his son, Theodosius the Less, who gave much help and many kinds of support to Armenia, building the city of Theodosiopolis in the province of Karin and providing a garrison of troops to guard it and resist Persian attacks. For Vram and Yazkert, having brought over half the country to themselves, had pretensions to rule over the whole of it. Now on the death of Khosrov king of Armenia, who held power for four years, Yazkert decided not to make king of Armenia anyone from the Arsacid family. But in order that he might henceforth better be able to attract to himself the Armenian army with the nobles, he made king over them his own son Shapuh. When he arrived he did not care for the regular administration of the country but occupied himself exclusively with the pleasures of hunting and games. On seeing this, the Armenian nobles regarded him with derision and scorn. For example, Atom, prince of Mokk', while hunting called him a hero, so that puffed up by this he might be audacious enough to rush at the fire. Again in their exchange he called him effeminate. Then Atom went off in the direction of Media. Even more stoutheartedly, Shavasp Artsruni, while they were playing polo, spurring after him took the ball away many times, saying: "Girl, leave the stadium; effeminate man, know yourself." Shapuh then wielded his mallet in the direction of Shavasp, but scorning him Shavasp ostentatiously galloped off; boldly and openly he went at measured pace over to the general Anatolius. At the command of the emperor, Theodosius Caesar, he appointed him hazarapet of the Greek (Roman) sector of Armenia and entrusted to him Mesopotamia as far as the passage over the river Euphrates. Shavasp remained with the emperor for four years.

When Shapuh heard of his father's illness, he hastened to Persia. His father died, and on the same day he too was put to the sword by his own people. And because Hamazasp Mamikonean had died, who at the time had held the positions of marzpan and general of Armenia, at the request of Saint Sahak to both the Greek and Persian kings thenceforth no one governed Armenia. But people were dispersed and scattered in whatever direction anyone was pleased to run, for many brigands occupied the land.

When Vram, son of Yazkert, became king he summoned Saint Sahak, Catholicos of Armenia, to court. Taking his grandsons Hmayeak and Hamazaspean, he went to the king in Ctesiphon. Now Vardan with the holy teacher Mashtots' had gone to the emperor Theodosius and to the archbishop Atticus with letters from Saint Sahak, taking with them also the script and examples of Armenian writing. The holy patriarch and pious emperor Theodosius received them with the five letters and five replies, and appointed the holy teacher among the pre-eminent and chief doctors of the chair of instruction of Saint John Chrysostom.

On arriving at court with the nobles, Saint Sahak calmed and appeased Vram's anger and vengeful resentment against the Armenians for their insults to Shapuh and making a firm peace with the Greeks. At the request of the nobles and Saint Sahak, Vram II made king over Armenia Artashes, also called Artashir.

When Artashir became king, for a while the country had a respite from the disorders of the Persian army and the royal registers of taxes were re-established, since for the last five years taxes and troops had been withheld from the Persian court. But Artashir, haughtily and without shame, pursued a course of shameful lasciviousness, of homosexuality and lust for women—not only at night but also during the daytime in the light of the sun without distinction he worked his desires, even extending to bestiality.

Exasperated by him, the Armenian nobles were nauseated at his impure conduct and decided that Artashir would no longer reign over Armenia. They approached Saint Sahak to inform him of their plan to turn to the Persian king. This indeed they carried out. They went to Vram and not to Theodosius, the pious and like-minded Christian emperor; impiously and thoughtlessly they committed that foolish crime. Vram, most delighted, heeded them and was happy to abolish the Armenian monarchy. Quickly he summoned back to court Artashir and Saint Sahak with a host of Armenian nobles. He questioned them as to why they had lodged a complaint against Artashir, but Saint Sahak refused to write anything concerning the accusations against Artashir.

But the nobles opposed Saint Sahak as being unwilling to accomplish their wishes. Approaching Vram with Surmak—a certain fanatical and vainglorious monk from Artskhe—they began to calumniate Saint Sahak with all sorts of scandal-mongering to the effect that he did not wish the Persians to rule over the Armenians and impose tribute and military service on them, but he preferred to see the rule of the Greeks. As corroboration they adduced the letters of Saint Sahak to the emperor and the patriarch; they cited the journey of Mesrop and Vardan to Greek territory, the coming of Anatolius, and the building of the city in the province of Karin. Although in discord, they toppled Saint Sahak from the archiepiscopal throne and Artashir from his royal status. In opposition to Saint Sahak they set up the raving Surmak, then the Syrian Brkisho, then Samuel—none of whom lived in accordance with the rule of canon law. They joined the marzpan Mshkan in administering the affairs of the country. This Mshkan held the country in place of Artashir our king at the command of Vram king of kings.

But when the Armenian nobles saw the disorderly and unnecessary hardship inflicted on our country from both sides, they repented of the past course of events which they had willingly sought to bring about. Turning to Vram, they requested Saint Sahak as their Catholicos. But Vram, being undecided, could not fulfil their request. In his suspicion he vacillated, wondering "lest perchance if I do not do what they ask, the nobles may abandon me and go over to the emperor, to pay him tribute and military service."

But Vach'e, lord of the Artsrunik', and Hmayeak, lord of Ashots'k', and others who had been won over to them approved Vram's wishes and allowed the king to appoint whom ever it might please him. So he appointed that Samuel to the archiepiscopate. After five years he died, having lived a life outside the law.

On the other hand, the general Anatolius appointed a certain Havuk Kukrchatsfi as bishop of the Greek sector. In this fashion Armenia was plunged into confusion and turbulence; it remained disunited and full of disorder, following the inclination of Vach'e Artsruni.

It happened that on Saint Sahak's return from Persia Alan Artsruni went to him again. Receiving from him a monk's habit, he went to dwell alone in the province of Golt'n, the place where Saint Mesrop had taught; he lived an ascetic and angelic life, blessed by men and feared by demons. Then, when

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those bishops appointed by the Persians had all died—who, without the permission of the bishop of Caesarea, had been consecrated by the blessed bishop Saint Sahak—the nobles of Armenia came in a body to him. Falling at his feet with great lamentations, they begged him not to remember their past behaviour against the saint, but to restore the throne of the patriarchate, and they promised to follow his command. But he would not listen to them. Then he told them the details of the vision revealed to him by the Holy Spirit indicating what would be done in the future: the removal of the archiepiscopate and the monarchy from the Arsacid house, the rule of unworthy persons, the election of saints, the restoration of the patriarchate and monarchy from the same Arsacid line, the coming of Antichrist, Christ's coming, the future judgement, and the retribution to each according to his deeds—which he had seen on Holy Thursday.

After all this had so occurred, having lived for 120 years Saint Sahak was removed from this world to the ranks of the angels. They laid the saint's relics to rest in Ashtishat of Taron, at the site of the martyrium of John the Baptist and the martyr Athenogines. That same year, six months later, the holy patriarch Mashtots' also died. Accompanied by a light in the form of a cross, a crowd of nobles led by Vahan Amatuni, who was at that time sparapet of Armenia, formed the cortege and laid his body to rest in the village of Awshakan in the province called Aragats-otn.

In the second year of Yazkert, son of Vram II, the monarchy was taken away from the house of Armenia. It had lasted 415 years before being abolished.

After the abolition of the monarchy from the Arsacid house and of the patriarchate from the house of Saint Gregory, a certain Levond, a pupil of Saint Mashtots, became locumtenens for Saint Sahak, and then Bishop Yovsep and Moses and Meles. At the command of Yazkert the Persian general Mshkan occupied the position of the Armenian monarch.

But Vardan Mamikonean, son of Hamazasp Mamikonean, grandson of saint Sahak, fled to the regions of Mokk', to the ravines of the Taurus mountain and the torrents of Jermadzor.

He lived in a fortress which is now called popularly Zrlayl because of its fantastic solidity. After the death of the great Sahak Bagratuni, sparapet, aspet, and general of Armenia, the emperor Theodosius had entrusted the office of sparapet of Armenia to Hamazasp Mamikonean and his son Vardan. Therefore Vardan was frightened that the marzpan Mshkan would disturb his tranquil existence, and so came to the inaccessible area of Mokk' and remained until by the providence of God he could control Armenia. He summoned to himself the bishop of Mokk', Yohan; the bishop of Rshtunik, Sahak; and the bishop of Andzevats'ik', Shmavon. And he established groups of ministers to perform the Lord's service day and night with indefatigable energy and liberal care for the poor, that they might obtain mercy from Christ.

This was the Sahak at whose command the great scholar Moses, the world-renowned orator, wrote his book on the History of Greater Armenia, a wonderful composition which begins with Adam and goes down to the emperor Zeno. He lived a full 120 years and died at a ripe old age, as has been handed down to us in the fourth book of the promised History of Moses Khorenats'i, the section which refers back to them both. This the blessed Koriun, fellow student of Moses and pupil of Saint Mesrop, confirms for us in this own accurate History. Drawing on these, to the best of our ability we have composed this abbreviated narrative which we have presented to you, most valiant of literary men, Gagik of Vaspurakan and great general of Armenia. It is reliably confirmed by the eloquent compositions, full of wisdom and most impressive, of these teachers.

So I Thomas, who did not shamefully occupy the last rank but advanced to this position in their place, zealously undertook this great work, though devoid of wisdom, sense, and intelligence. But the command of your eminence forced me to this great undertaking, in which I shall outdistance the charlatan tongues of vainglorious persons.

End of the first book of the history of Armenia, tracing the genealogy of the Artsruni clan.

BOOK TWO

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 1

After the extinction of the Armenian monarchy from the house of the Arsacids, then Persian marzpans ruled the country. The princes of Greater Armenia fortified themselves in strong stone-built castles in every area and region, while the Persian tyranny waxed stronger and bands of tax gatherers made forays with terrible cruelties.

At that same time Shavasp Artsruni, brother of Vasak the father of Alan Atrsruni, conceived the idea of ruling over Armenia. Pursuing this foolish plan he went to the Persian king Peroz, accepted by self-induced error the mad ash-worshipping Mazdean religion/ and asked the king for the principality of Armenia. Peroz fulfilled the request of his stupid vainglorious desire. Then he returned to Armenia, bringing with him as marzpan Vndoy, a chief magus of the Persians. When they entered the country they threw the covenant of Christianity into turmoil.

Zealously they set their hands to ravaging and razing churches, destroying houses of prayer, overthrowing altars of the sacrament that works salvation, completely demolishing the font of the glorious illumination of the Holy Spirit, bitterly and cruelly torturing the priests, ministers of the New Covenants, casting men and women into prison and torments in their onerous demands for taxes. Their purpose in this was to be able all the more easily to persuade the Armenians to renounce and abandon the holy faith of the pure Christian religion. Many more were those martyred with heroic endurance than those who wavered, regarding as naught the seizure of their goods and possessions and cruel death. After the impious Shavasp Artsruni had reached Artashat with the marzpan, they built in Dvin a temple to Ormizd and lit therein the fire of their erring worship. So the country was in great and dangerous distress.

This bitter news reached Vardan Mamikonean the Great, who had fortified himself in Zrayl in the Taurus. Unable to endure such perilous oppression as had been inflicted on Armenia, and roaring in his soul with ferocious anger over the destruction of the holy faith and the ruin of Armenia, he hastily sent a letter of complaint to Tachat, lord of the Rshtunik, and Vakhrich, lord of the Andzavats'ik', to inform them of what had happened. Immediately, without delay, they joined the great Vardan with their forces, bringing with them the troops from the mountains, no more than twelve hundred men; and with unexpected rapidity they suddenly attacked Shavasp and the marzpan Vndoy. As they were encamped at the junction of the Araxes and Metsamawr, Shavasp Artsruni advanced against them. But on him fell the valiant Vardan, roaring like a lion or lion cub; drawing his one-edged sword with force and rapidity he sliced Shavasp in two.

But Tachat and Vakhrich, having surrounded the marzpan and his son Shiroy, captured them and brought them to Dvin. In the temple of Ormizd they had the marzpan consumed by his god in he blazing fire of the pyraeum; above the pyraeum they hung Shiroy on a gibbet. The garrison they drowned in the river or put to the sword, while the fugitives they pursued beyond the city of Nakhchavan; then they returned victoriously. They demolished the temple and, razing the site to the ground, built with the same stones the great church of Saint Gregory at the place Blur.

There they transferred the Catholicos of Armenia, Giut. The Armenian nobles each built royal palaces for themselves and splendid estates; the city they defended with an encircling wall, and they brought peace to the land. The royal residence of Trdat the Great they entrusted to Vahan Artsruni, for him to build a mansion fit for kings—acts in reparation, since they planned to make him king over Armenia as he was a spirited and powerful man, shrewd and wise, humble, liberal, and quick-witted. But after the Armenian nobles became disunited, they abandoned their plans for making Vahan king and went over to Vardan the Great. Following the nobles, Vahan too went at the very beginning to Vardan, who gave him the supervision of Armenia. And they obeyed him all the days of Vardan.

But the Persian king went away to wage war against the Kushans [in the East at the Pamir Mountains] at the Chor Pass, so the land of Armenia was free from Persian raids. The king was killed there by the Kushans, and Yazkert ruled in his stead. He began to assail the nobles of Greater Armenia defiantly, as the records of previous historians indicate: the ravaging of Armenia, the multiplication of oppression, the numberless multitude of martyrs who died heroically for Christ, the brave valour of the holy priests, the good fight they fought there in the great desert of Apar, and all the rest. I consider it superfluous to repeat what has already been described.

When the great battle took place between Saint Vardan and Mshkan and the Persian army on the plain of Avarayr in the province of Artaz, emboldened by God the Armenian troops, like holy and divine warriors, were martyred in Christ. There Vahan Artsruni, with splendid and outstanding bravery, fought side by side with Saint Vardan, pressing into the midst of the valiant Persians like a fire through reeds.

When the two sides had joined battle and the left wing of the Armenians began to be overcome, Saint Vardan, spurring his horse, turned the Persian champions to flight and strengthened the troops of his own division. Then Vahan Artsruni intervened; he turned the Persian force opposing Vardan. Rapidly a large number of Persian soldiers were struck down one by one, about 140 men. Raising his eyes, Saint Vardan saw the impious Vasak, lord of Siunik'. Rushing after him they attacked the strongly armed batallion standing among the elephants. The valiant Vahan Artsruni supported Vardan, and together they died—the valiant and elect noble warriors Vardan and Vahan. Gaining the name of martyrs, 696 men of the holy Armenian army were perfected in Christ [Elishe and Lazar number 1,036 Armenians who died at Avarayr.]. And this is narrated in the abbreviated account of Abraham the Confessor. But why the story of Vahan's martyrdom is not related in the book of the historian shall indicate to your erudite intelligence accurately and without hesitation.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 2

[An Historical Report Concerning The Murderous Bartsuma (Bar Sauma). Vardanyan Indicates That The Fragments Preserved In Matenadaran 1890 And 2559 Have A Shorter Title To This Chapter: "Concerning The Murderous Barsauma" (refering to Babowai's death). Barsauma (Bar Sauma, Syriac Aramaic), nicknamed Bar Sula, "son of the shoe" in Syriac, was Metropolitan of Nisibis in the 5th century, and a major figure in the history of the Church of the East. Under his leadership the church moved away from Roman loyalties and became increasingly aligned with the Nestorian movement. Barsauma was excommunicated with Ibas and other churchmen for their support of Nestorian teachings, which had been declared heretical at the First Council of Ephesus in 431. Barsauma and other of Ibas' followers relocated to Sassanid Persia, where the persecuted local church had declared itself independent of the Church of Antioch. Barsauma became metropolitan of Nisibis, one of the five great archdioceses of the Church of the East. He quickly became a favourite of King Peroz I (Persian King [emperor] of the Sassanid Dynasty from 459 to 484. A son of Yazdegerd II.), who preferred his compliant stance to that of Babowai, Catholicos of Seleucia-Ctesiphon and head of the Persian Church, whom he regarded as a pro-Roman traitor. Over time Barsauma and Babowai's relationship grew openly antagonistic and came into conflict over the issue of the marriage of bishops, which provoked outrage in the Church of the East. Barsauma was instrumental in Babowai's downfall, ultimately leading to the latter's execution by Peroz in 484 AD. Following Babowai's death, although he was never elevated to the position of Catholicos, or Patriarch, Barsauma became the most powerful figure in the Persian Church.).]

In the time of Peroz, king of kings, there was a certain Bartsuma of the sect of Nestorius who had the title of bishop and most forcefully pursued the Nestorian heresy. Slandering the Armenian nobles to Peroz, he worked many bloody crimes.

At that time the chair of Saint Gregory was proudly and splendidly held by Lord Christopher, Catholicos of Armenia. He wrote to the regions of Asorestan warning them not to associate with the Nestorians, and wrote in similar terms also to the congregation of the orthodox in Khuzhastan. Furthermore he wrote to the district of Derjan, and the inhabitants, sovereign lords, and bishops of the valley of Khaltik. Bartsuma seized these letters by deceitful means and had them taken to King Peroz, saying: "All that the Catholicos of Armenia writes proposes revolt against you and encourages the Armenian princes to submit to the Greek emperor. So you must look to this matter." Vindicating himself, Bartsuma came to Arznarziwn and the land of Mokk' in order to sow there the seeds of the Nestorian heresy. Our holy teacher Elishe at that time was dwelling in the land of Mokk'; Bartsuma came to him asking for the book of Armenian history which he had written on the command of Saint Vardan, and he fulfilled his request. Then the great prince of the Artsrunik, Mershapuh, who was at that time fortified in the castle of Tmorik', hearing about Bartsuma sent word that he was to leave the territory. He did not lay hands on him because of the Persian king, but merely sent messages with a warning threat. Angered at the ultimatum, Bartsuma took vengeance in his resentful rage. He expunged from the history book all details concerning the deeds of the house of the Artsrunik and everything describing the martyrdom of Vahan Artsruni.

Now the teacher Elishe was at that time dwelling in the province of Rshtunik by the shore of the lake; at that spot the holy man of God Elishe fell asleep in Christ. So when the book was returned to the land of Mokk, no one paid any heed to the matter, assuming that the teacher had composed it in that fashion. Elsewhere I shall indicate what action the Persian king took against the house of the Artsrunik at the instigation of the impious Bartsuma.

The emperor Marcian* ruled the Greeks (Romans) after Theodosius II; he summoned the council of 636 bishops at Chalcedon, and in his reign Saint Vardan and Vahan Artsruni were martyred. [Marcian, Flavius Marcianus that is; Greek: Flavios Markianos; c. 392–457 AD) was Roman emperor of the East from 450 to 457 AD. The Armenian king Vardan II Mamikonian, who was leading a revolt against the Sassanian Empire, sent an embassy to Theodosius in 450 AD, composed of his brother Hmayeak Mamikonian, along with Atom Gnuni, Vardan Amatuni, and Meruzhan Artsruni, to ask for assistance. Theodosius received it favourably. Any plans were cut short by his death and the accession of Marcian. Marcian was counseled by the diplomat Anatolius and patricius Florentius not to make war with the Sassanians, as it would engulf a large amount of the Eastern Roman military resources (which were weakened already due the conflict with Atilla's Huns), and thus Marcian could not agree to help them. Marcian convened the Council of Chalcedon in 451 AD,

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which declared that Jesus had two "natures": divine and human.]

Now, Vasak Artsruni, father of the saintly Alan, taking Tachat and his brother Goter went to the emperor to avoid the troubles of the Persian disturbances and the ruin of the country. The emperor Marcian received them in a friendly and peaceful fashion and promoted them to rank and honour with splendid dignities, since like brave champions for Christ's churches and the holy orthodox faith they had heroically shed their blood and gained in addition the renown of confessors. But the emperor begged these honourable men Vasak [But above, Thomas describes Vasak's deceitful character.], Tachat, and Goter, who were of the great nobility of the Artsruni house, to accept that council with the other three holy councils. [I.e. the ecumenical councils of Nicaea (325 AD, at which the Armenian prelate Aristakes had been present), Constantinople (381 AD), and Ephesus (431 AD). No Armenian representatives had attended the second or third council, nor were any present at Chalcedon in 451 AD.] They replied: "Since we were continuously preoccupied with Persian raids we had to abandon the study of the Holy Scriptures with a view to choosing an authoritative confession of faith. But while we were in our own country, our prelates did not allow us to accept those formulations in the definition of faith. Now we cannot agree zealously to flatter and please your majesty as your imperial dignity demands. But please let us write to Armenia, to ask the Armenian prelates and to receive replies."

This reproof they also submitted to the emperor: "When you convoked the council, why did you not think it necessary to summon anyone from Armenia with a view to the unity of faith?"

Marcian responded: "Because the Armenian prelates were en dangered by the Persian troubles." Then our Artsruni mag nates received permission to write to Abraham, bishop of the Mamikonean, who was a disciple of Saint Sahak, and they in formed him of the emperor's request. In response he told them not to yield to the emperor's demand, and if any danger befell them to endure it just as they had endured past dangers. [The only attested Abraham (of Taron), bishop of the Mamikonean, lived in the sixth century; see Sargisean, "Abraham Mamikonean."] They took the letter and laid it before the emperor. Then he, realising that their minds were firm and inflexible, did not trouble them but left them to their own wishes, to live as might please them. Staying there until the time of the emperor Leo I, Vasak and Tachat died there and were splendidly laid to rest in the cemetery of the Greek magnates.

But the blessed Alan Artsruni, son of Vasak, returned to Armenia from the land of the Greeks. Having lived in the same religious austerity and angelic virtue, he left this world for the ranks of the saints. His bones were laid to rest with those of the other saints in the monastery of Hadamakert.

The dangerous affliction of Armenia continued, as many his torians show, until the time of Jamasp and Kavat, until King Khosrov. And the Armenian nobles endured grievous oppression from arms and battles.

But in the days of Valarsh, the young Vahan Mamikonean forcefully opposed the Persians. The Armenian nobles gathered around him and made a covenant and divine pact, through the mediation of the holy gospel, to demonstrate obedient service with true and sincere loyalty, and to revenge even with blood and violent martyrdom the Persian raids, the destruction of the churches of Armenia, the oppression and ravaging and cruel bloodshedding endured by the Christians and the monasteries of the holy church.

It happened in those times that Hazaravukht the Persian general attacked Armenia with a massive army, to give battle to the Armenian forces, to ruin, take captive, and ravage the country. This just when the church of Christ, following the great war of Saint Vardan, was reviving again from the destructive invasion. Scattering raiders in every direction, Hazaravukht himself took the elite of the cavalry and the strongest warriors from among the armed Persian host, and marched through the regions of Hashteank' and Tsop to attack Vahan.

The valiant Vahan was warned that Hazaravukht with a large number of elite Persian troops was bearing down on him. Trust ing in God, Vahan immediately hastened to encourage the Armenian nobles, saying: "Up, valiant comrades, arm yourselves and your mounts; fight valiantly, do not fear the multitude of their forces. God it is who crushes warriors; battle is the Lord's. The Lord weakens opponents; the Lord is our hope."

Straightway they armed themselves and made preparations; mounting each his own horse they went out to oppose them. But when they saw the multitude of the Persian army the Armenian force was disheartened. They abandoned each other and retreated until there remained only thirty men with the brave Vahan: Mershapuh and Yashkur Artsruni, Nerseh Kamsarakan, and some of the house of the Amatuni of whose names I am ignorant. Banding together, these three tens in number called on the Holy Trinity to their support, giving up the help of men.

Forming a solid mass like a hill of bronze, as one man and repeating together as if from one mouth: "All nations surrounded me, but through the name of the Lord I defeated them," in unison they fell on the Persian army. The latter thought it all a joke. Now the Armenians encountered the Persians at the village called Eriz. And as dust is whirled around by a tempest or fire runs through reeds, so the Armenians struck with the sword and routed most of them; the fleeing survivors they pursued beyond the borders of Armenia. Victoriously returning they offered sacrifices to God and filled the needs of the impoverished widows and orphans. The mouths of all, filled with joy, gave glory to God. [This encounter was not the climax of the struggle between Vahan Mamikonean and the Persians. But Thomas now jumps a century, from the 480s to the reign of Maurice (582-602 AD).]

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 3

[How The Evil Persian Kingdom Of The Sasanian Dynasty Came To An End]

In the eighth year of the Greek emperor Maurice, the Persian king Ormizd of the house of Sasan was murdered by his own trusted nobles, and his son Khosrov, still very young in age, succeeded to the throne. A certain Vahram Mehrevandak, who was a prince of the eastern regions, a man of great strength, valiantly smote the forces of the T'etalians and by force took control of Balkh and all the land of the Kushans even beyond the great river called Vahrot; he also seized for himself the kingdom of Persia. Ormizd's son Khosrov fled to the Greek (Roman) emperor Maurice; his uncles Vndoy and Vstam took him and fled to the imperial court. They sent to the emperor Maurice noble men with splendid gifts and presents and a letter written at Khosrov's dictation as follows: "Great king, prince of sea and land, give me an army in support and establish me on the throne of my fathers. For if I am able to defeat my enemy and reinstate my kingdom, I shall be a subject son to you and shall give you the regions of Syria and all Arevastan as far as the city of Nisibis; and also part of Armenia, the area of Tanuterakan authority as far as Ayrarat including the city of Dvin and the shore of the lake of Bznunik' and up to the district of Arest; and the greater part of the land of Georgia as far as the city of Tiflis. And we shall keep a peace treaty between us and our sons who succeed us as kings."

Coming to terms with him, the emperor Maurice sent him his nephew Philipikos; he had him take a letter of welcome, and received from him an oath. Then he gave him an imperial army in support, including John the Patrician from the Armenian sector, Nerses the stratelat from Syria, Mushel a valiant warrior and man of great strength, and all the troops of Greece, Armenia, Georgia, and Albania. This numberless force came to the regions of Atrpatakan in the province of Vararat.

Then Vahram wrote to Mushel and the other generals in this fashion: "I was of the opinion that when I fought against your enemies you would help me from your side, and acting in unison we would exterminate that universal scourge, the house of Sasan. But now you are coming to wage war against me! However, I shall not fear the assembled Roman priests who have gathered to attack me.

"But as for you Armenians, you have shown your loyalty to be untimely. Did not the house of Sasan destroy your land and principality, yet you come to oppose me? But now let it please you to abandon these Romans and unite with me. For if I am victorious, I swear by the great god Ormizd and the sun and the moon and fire and water and Mithra and all the gods that you will be given the kingdom of Armenia. And whomever you wish you will make your king. And you will control in Syrian territory Asorestan and Nisibis and Nushirakan as far as the borders of the Tachiks. And I shall not have the authority to cross the Zarasp.

And I shall deliver so much treasure of the Aryan kingdom that it will be too much for you to count, and a multitude of troops—as many as you may need until your kingdom is re-established." So he swore according to the fashion of their religion, and he had salt wrapped in the declaration and taken to them. But having received and read it, they did not respond to his proposals.

Then he wrote a second letter, saying: "I wrote to you to abandon that side. So if you do not wish to pay heed I am sorry for you. For tomorrow morning you will see armed elephants and on them strong fully armed warriors who will rain down on you iron arrows and steel javelins with tempered shafts. They are mighty archers and their blows will be as many as Khosrov and you may need."

Mushet wrote a reply in the following terms: "Having heard your proposal, I say that royalty comes from God and he gives it to whomever he wishes. But you should be sorry for yourself more than us. For I see that you are a boastful man since you rely on yourself and not on God, on the multitude of your forces and the strength of elephants. But I tell you: if the Lord wishes he will tomorrow envelop you in battle with brave warriors; they will crash down on you like the clouds of heaven. With their mighty lances they will pass through your host like flashes of lightning. For if God wills, the violent wind will blow away your power like dust."

Vndoy, Vstam, and the Persian troops there amounted to about eight thousand cavalry, apart from the Greek and Armenian troops. The next morning, while the sun was still rising, a fierce battle was joined, line facing line in a violent melee and terrible clash. They fought each other valiantly from dawn to evening until both sides were wearied in the great battle. So ferocious was the slaughter that great streams of blood poured out, irrigating the entire ground. Unable to resist, Vahram's army fled before the Greek troops, who pursued them until night was dark, covering the ground with corpses. Many they captured and brought before Khosrov. On that day Khosrov's victory was ensured, while Vahram fled to Bahl Shahastan and was later killed at Khosrov's command.

So Khosrov was established on his royal throne, and he carried out his promises to the emperor. He gave over to him all Arevastan as far as Nisibis; Armenia as far as the river Hrazdan; the province of Kotayk' as far as the town of Garni, as far as the lake of Bznunik' and up to the region of Arest; and the province of Kogovit as far as Hats'iwn and Maku. And a great treaty of friendship was made between the two kings of the Persians and the Greeks (Romans).

It happened in the fourteenth year of King Khosrov and the twentieth year of the rule of Maurice that the Greek troops stationed in Thrace rebelled against the emperor and proclaimed as their king a certain man named Phocas. Marching in unison on Constantinople, they killed the emperor Maurice and installed Phocas on the royal throne.

When King Khosrov heard news of this he was stirred to great anger [and decided] to avenge Maurice's blood. Gathering the host of his army, he wrought enormous and terrible damage in the Greek sector. After eight years Phocas was killed by Heraclius, who plotted against him and seized his throne. [See Sebeos, pp. 112-113. Phocas was killed in 610, eight years after Maurice; but Sebeos places the accession of Heraclius in the twenty-second year of Khosrov, i.e. in 612.] He sent messengers with lavish treasures and letters to King Khosrov to request peace from him in a most solicitous manner, saying: "I have taken vengeance for the blood of Maurice from his enemy, so may it please you to make peace with me and remove your sword from my land." But Khosrov did not wish to heed him, saying: "That is my kingdom, and I shall install as emperor Maurice's son. Heraclius came and ruled without our permission; he offers us as a present our own treasures, unaware that I shall seek reckoning for this treasure and shall not desist until I seize him." Taking the treasures, he ordered the present bearers to be put to death. He did not respond to Heraclius's proposals but caused terrible damage in many regions, inflicting ravage, captivity, and the sword.

The Persian army in Palestine and its general named Razmayuzan, also called Khoream, discussed peace with Jerusalem. For its inhabitants had previously been subject to the Greek (Roman) Empire, and having killed the Persian governor who was over them, were preparing themselves for war against the Persians. Then Khoream Razmayuzan gathered his troops, camped around Jerusalem and besieged it. For nineteen days he attacked Jerusalem, then destroyed the wall by digging under its foundation. It was on the nineteenth day of the siege in the month of Margats', the twenty-eighth day of the month, in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Khosrov called Parviz, ten days after Easter, that they captured the city. For three days they put it to the sword, killing every person in the city. They stayed inside the city for twenty-one days; then they went out and camped outside the city—which they set on fire. They ordered a count to be made of the fallen corpses: the number of the dead was found to be fifty-seven thousand people. They also captured the patriarch Zak'aria. Seeking the divine holy cross, they began to torture people; not until they had executed many of the clerics did they show them the place where it had been hidden. They took it off into captivity and also brought an immense amount of gold and silver to the king's court. As for the survivors in the city and its environs, a command was issued from the court to have mercy on them, to restore the city and re-establish everyone in his own position. The royal command was carried out immediately; they appointed a certain Modestos as archpriest over the city. Then Khoream gathered many troops, marched to Chalcedon, and encamped opposite Constantinople, intending to cross over and destroy the royal capital.

When the emperor Heraclius saw all the misfortunes that had befallen him, he unwillingly decided to offer friendship. Going out to meet them, to honour them as meritorious guests, he received them with splendid presents, gave the general and all the nobles grand gifts, distributed donations of money to all the troops, and for seven days organised banquets and joyous feasts for the whole army. Then boarding a ship, he went to the middle of the sea to converse with the Persian general: "What do you intend to do," he said, "and why have you come to this place? Surely you did not reckon the sea as dry land, to fight with us thereon? God is able, if he should wish, to turn this sea into dry land before us. But

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beware lest perchance God should not be pleased and seek from you vengeance for the blood of the destruction of this land. For God did not bring this about because of your piety or benevolence or holiness, but because of our impiety against the Lord. Our sins have wrought this and not your valour. But what would your king seek from me by not making peace? Does he wish to destroy this empire? Let him not try, because it has been established by God and it is impossible to destroy it. But if it so pleases God, God's will be done.

And if he says: I shall install another king, let him make king whom he wishes; let him send him and we shall receive him. Behold, here is the seat of empire. And if he seeks vengeance for the blood of Maurice, God already has sought vengeance for Maurice's blood from Phocas through my father Heraclius.

And if he seeks land, here is the land before you. Whether we so wish or not, God has taken it from us and delivered it into your hands. If he seeks cities, here are great walled cities. If other treasures, let him say and I shall give as many as his hand may grasp. Yet he did not wish to listen 2 but was still thirsting for blood. How long will he remain unsated with blood? Were not the Romans able to kill him and destroy the Persian king dom at the time when God gave him into our hands? Yet they were merciful to him. So I shall say the same kind words and seek from him a treaty and firendship. And from you I shall seek three things, so hear me: spare the land sword and fire and captivity, and you will gain profit from these three. For you will not be overcome by famine, nor will royal taxes destroy you.

Behold, I shall send to your king gifts and messengers with letters to seek from him peace for the land and a treaty with me." They accepted his requests and agreed to act according to his desires until they should see what response might come from their king and what he might command the army to do. Then the army left and wintered in Syria.

Now when the Persian king received the gifts brought from the emperor, he did not let the ambassadors depart nor did he respond to the messages, but commanded the army to prepare ships and cross over to Constantinople. Then there took place a violent naval battle at sea. On that day four thousand armed cavalry of the Persian army perished with their ships. On seeing such a loss, they had no more enthusiasm for that undertaking, but spread out and occupied the whole land.

But King Khosrov continued to be aroused in his heart; for the Lord hardened his heart since he was about to destroy his kingdom. He wrote an insulting letter to the emperor, which ran like this: "Honoured by the gods and all kings, lord of earth and sea, offspring of the great Aramazd, King Khosrov to the senseless Heraclius and to our abject slave. You did not wish of your own accord to put yourself in subjection to us, but call yourself lord and king. You spend the royal treasure which I sent to you, unaware that soon you will have to give account.

You deceive my servants, and gathering an army of brigands you do not allow me any rest but continually wage war on me and say: I have confidence in my God. But where is that God whom you invoke? Why did he not save Caesarea and Antioch and Tarsus and Amasya and Jerusalem and Alexandria and the Thebaid, and the other lands? Do you not now realise

that I have subjected to myself the whole earth, sea, and dry land? So shall I be unable to take only Constantinople? But I forgive you all your sins and the harm you have done. Arise, take your wife and children and come here, and I shall give you farms, vineyards, olive groves, and seeds for you to sow and harvest; and we shall look benignly upon you. Otherwise, do not deceive yourself with vain hope. For that Christ who could not save himself from the Jews—but they captured him and killed him on the cross—so how will he be able to save you from my hands? For if you descend to the depths of the sea, I shall cast out my nets and seize you. So you will see me in a way you will not wish."

When Heraclius received the letter he ordered it to be read before the patriarch and all the magnates. Then they entered the house of God and spread the letter before the holy altar. They fell on their faces to the ground before the Lord weeping bit terly, that the Lord might take cognisance of the insults which the enemy had inflicted on him.

Heraclius and all the senators decided to set on the royal throne Heraclius's son who was a young child, while Heraclius himself would sail to Chalcedon and prepare to march to the East. The army of the Persian king that was in the land remained ignorant of this. Heraclius gathered all the troops of the East, about 120,000, and attacked Khosrov. Making his way along the northern route he made straight for the city of Karin and passed on to Shirak. Reaching Dvin he sacked it, and also Nakhchavan and Ormi. Attacking Gandzak in Atrpatakan, he destroyed it; he plundered Hamadan and May, overthrew the great fire altar called Vshnasp, and filled the lake opposite the pyraeum with corpses. Humans and animals, men, women, and children, they indiscriminately put to the sword. In terror King Khosrov prepared for flight, since Heraclius's victory was assured, and everywhere he came across the Persian army he would slaughter absolutely everyone, leaving no survivors.

This the ancient historian had previously realised, clearly fore telling their destruction. What he said runs like this: "Woe to you, alas for you, land of Persia. When the massed forces of the Greeks assail you, they will penetrate and strike you with the sword and trample you with their hooves. Woe to you, alas for you, valiant man, renowned king, when the Most High will tretch out his hand to destroy you and break the rod of your haughtiness. Then the sun will strip you of its light and clothe you in darkness. Then heaven with terrible thundering will cast its lightning upon you; a rumbling echo and shaking will be heard from the depths; the thundering sound of the hooves of numerous hosts of horses and the tumult of many armed warriors will assail you. Then with shame-filled eyes you will see the gloriously shining standards of raised flags. Then impenetrable darkness will fall; fog and misty gloom will cover your mountains and plains. Then the sword will consume your warriors.

Many woodcutters will come and cut down your great forests and newly planted tall trees. Then fire will come forth from you and consume you and the multitude of your sons and daughters, intending its flames for vengeance. For whereby you became high and mighty, thereby you will be humbled and fall. The magnificence of your palaces will be destroyed and ruined, demeaned everywhere. What you begat and cherished, you your self will summon to death." All this was brought upon the Persians by the Greek sword.

But Khosrov decided to rally his troops and those of the royal court called hamharz and p'ushtipan; all the elite of the royal house gathered strength again to wage war against Heraclius. He opposed them with a mighty force. And there was fog and thick darkness over the face of the whole land. The Persian army did not realise that Heraclius was bearing down upon them until he arrived and the two sides joined together in the clash of battle. The Lord so multiplied his mercy towards Heraclius on that day that all were delivered into his hands. They were slaughtered by the sword unmercifully; their general was also killed in the battle. Surrounding the few survivors, the Greeks wished to slaughter them all, but they raised a piteous cry for mercy to Heraclius: "Pious and benevolent lord, have mercy on us, although we are not worthy of mercy." Then Heraclius ordered them to be spared. So there were left about four thou sand men, wounded, barefoot, unarmed, and on foot. In the morning Heraclius ordered raids to be spread over all the land and that the whole country should be put to the sword.

King Khosrov fled. Crossing the Tigris at Vehkavat [14 km. north of Ctesiphon.] he or dered the rope of the bridge to be cut. When Heraclius came up he encamped at the gate of the city of Ctesiphon. He destroyed and ravaged all the palaces of the king, burned them with fire, and seized the many stored treasures, an incalculable booty of gold, silver, and clothing, very many animals, and a multitude of prisoners as numberless as the sand of the sea. Now the wives, concubines, and all the children of the king and the royal horses were there in Vehkavat. Then Khosrov began to gather the surviving nobles and troops of his army who had escaped from the battle. He upbraided them with severe and terrible criticism and threats: "Why did you too not die in the battle rather than run away to me in flight, giving encouragement to my slave and causing so much harm? Did you indeed think that Khosrov was dead?" Then they all took counsel together and said: "Although we escaped from the enemy, yet we cannot elude his grasp. So come, let us think of some plan."

Then, taking oaths together, at night they crossed the ford at Vehkavat and captured all the king's wives, concubines, and children, and the royal horses on which King Khosrov had come to Ctesiphon. They seized them secretly at night without King Khosrov knowing anything about it. Then they made his son Kavat king, and he marched against King Khosrov. Someone ran to give the sad news at once to Khosrov: "All the land of the Aryans has revolted against you, and they have made your son Kavat king. Behold, he is coming to attack you." Dismayed, fearful, and greatly terrified, Khosrov sought for himself a place of refuge. He cried out, saying: "A horse, a horse." But on entering the stable they came across no horse. Then King Khosrov disguised himself. Entering the royal garden, he went into the dense groves and stayed hidden under a thick flower bush—a myrtle. King Kavat ordered a search to be made. Entering the garden, they found him hidden in the bush, seized him, and brought him to the hall. King Kavat ordered him to be cast into one of the kiosks of the royal palace. Some nobles would come to him, condemn, insult, and debase him, and leave. This went on for some days. Then King Kavat also found fault with him and decreed a sentence of death on him. He ordered some men to enter and kill him. They came in, hacked at him with axes, and killed him in the room. Kavat also ordered his own brothers to be killed; in one hour forty men were put to death, all of whom had reached maturity.

So King Kavat was confirmed on the throne of the kingdom and made general peace both with the emperor and over the whole land of his dominion. To the emperor he gave every thing he wanted. And while King Kavat was planning the restoration and peace of his country, the end of his life overtook him and he died, having reigned for six months. [Kawat reigned from February to September 628 AD.]

After his death they made king his own son Artashir, who was a very young boy. Then Heraclius wrote to Khoream, saying: "Your king Kavat has died and his son is a young boy. So now the kingdom has devolved on you and I shall agreed and gave over Heraclius, emperor of the Greeks, Jerusalem, Caesarea in Palestine, all the regions of Antioch, of yours and I shall come to Asorestan; let us make a sworn pact between the two of us to rule in peace." Khoream agreed and gave over to Heraclius, emperor of the Greeks, Jerusalem, Caesarea in Palestine, all the regions of Antioch, and all the cities of those provinces, and Tarsus in Cilicia, and the greater part of Armenia, and every thing that Heraclius had ever desired. So he greatly rejoiced.

Then Heraclius granted him the kingdom and promised as many troops as might be necessary. He also made requests of him: "First," he said, "I most earnestly entreat you to return the holy cross that received God which you took captive from Jerusalem." Then Khoream swore to him: "Please send trustworthy men, and when I reach the royal court I shall that very hour seek the cross; when I find it I shall have it brought to you." He gave him surety in writing, sealing an oath with salt according to their custom. And he requested from him a small force of distinguished men in whom he himself trusted. When Khoream had received the troops and had entered the capital, he commanded some others to kill the young Artashir. Then Heraclius sent the trustworthy men to Khoream for the holy cross that received God. He searched for it with great diligence until they were able to find it in its original wrapping, and he gave it to the men who had come for that purpose. On receiving it they immediately departed. Heraclius gave the bearers many gifts and dismissed them with great honours. Then Heraclius gathered all his troops, and with eager and joyful heart went out to meet the holy cross with the host of his army to honour the wondrous and heavenly treasure, and brought it to the holy city of Jerusalem. Then on that day there was no little sound of weeping; from the excited fervour of their hearts, and their affected emotions, the emperor, princes, all the troops, and the inhabitants of the city shed copious tears. No one was able to sing or hear the blessing of the psalms from the piteous tears of the crowd and their overflowing joy. Heraclius set the holy cross back in its place on holy Golgotha. Distributing to all the churches and the poor of the city blessing and money for incense, he himself went to Syrian Mesopotamia to occupy and secure for himself the cities and all the borders which had been established in the time of Khosrov and Maurice. And the holy cross of the Lord remained in the divine city until the recapture of Jerusalem by the sons of Ismael.

So Khoream received the kingdom. One day he was robed in royal garments, riding on a royal horse, and circulating among all his troops to show himself and encourage the army, when suddenly from behind some men fell upon him, struck him down and killed him.

Then they put on the throne Bor, Khosrov's daughter, who was his wife, called Bambishn queen. They appointed as vizier at court Khorokh Ormizd, who was killed by the queen called Bor. Then Bor ruled for two years and died. After her they introduced a certain Khosroy, a young boy, and made him their king. He soon died. Then some of them made king Azarmik, a daughter of Khosrov; while the army of Khoream made king a certain Ormizd in the city of Nisibis. From then on the Persian kingdom was weakened and split. After all this Yazkert reigned [632 to 651 AD.] in Ctesiphon; he held the throne in fear, more concerned with self-preservation than issuing commands. With him the Persian kingdom came to an end, as we shall describe a little later. Here the prophecy of Daniel is relevant, his vision of the grotesque statue of various materials standing on feet of clay and iron.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 4

[How The Evil Kingdom Of The Persians Came To An End And Was Succeeded By The Even More Evil Kingdom (Caliphate) Of The Ismaelites (Arabs, Mohammedans)]

In the time of the Roman emperor Flavius Heraclius the Persian kingdom reached its end. And at that time there came and gathered in the city of Edessa twelve thousand men from all the tribes of Israel, for they had seen that the Persian army had left and abandoned the city. They entered, closed the gates, fortified themselves therein, and began to rebel against Roman rule.

But the emperor Flavius Heraclius commanded them to be besieged. The king's brother Theodore and the host of the army wished to slaughter them, but the king commanded them to leave his territory. They took the desert road and went to Arabia to the sons of Ismael, to the city called Madiam, which Israel had destroyed on leaving Egypt in its war with Balak, king of Moab. And because the Persian power had become very weak, they fearlessly restored the City of Madiam* and dwelt in it. [* To the city . . . in it: not in Sebeos. Thomas identifies the biblical Madiam (Greek for

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Midian, as in Numbers 31) with Medina of Mohammed's Hegira; see below. Midian (Aramaic Hebrew: Mideyan; Arabic: Madyan; Greek: Madiam) is a geographical place mentioned in the Torah and Quran. The Biblical tribe of the Midianites lived in a region on the east shore of the Gulf of Aqaba on the Red Sea". Midian was in the "northwest Arabian Peninsula, and the name Madiam or Midian clearly suggests that Mada'in Salih in the North of Saudi Arabia is meant, a city carved in rock like the City of Petra in the Arabah Valley. "Mada'in" just like "Madinah" or "Medina" is Arabic for "city".]

They sent messengers to the sons of Ismael [the Arabs], indicating their close relationship: "We are the sons of Abraham—we and you, brothers. You must come to our help, and we shall take the land of our inheritance." But although the latter were persuaded, yet there was great opposition between them, because they were divided by the worship of idols according to each one's desire.

At that time there were some despotic brothers in the regions of Arabia Petraea in the place called Paran*, which is now called Maka* (Mecca)—warlike chieftains, worshippers of the temple of the image of the Ammonite temple called Samam and K'abar [Zamzam and the Kaaba.].

[* The Desert of Paran or Wilderness of Paran (also sometimes spelt Pharan or Faran; Aramaic Hebrew: Midbar Paran), is a location mentioned in the Hebrew Bible Genesis 21:19–22; Numbers 10:12; and Deuteronomy 1:1: "These be the words which Moses spake unto all Israel on this side Jordan in the wilderness, in the plain over against the Red sea, between Paran, and Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth, and Dizahab." That is, in the Arabah (Aramaic Hebrew: HaAravah, lit. "desolate and dry area", a place name from which the Arabs got their name.), opposite Suph. It is one of the places where the Israelites spent part of their 40 years of wandering after the Exodus, and was also a home to Ishmael, and a place of refuge for David. The extraordinary thing in this passage is the name "Maka" which clearly refers to "Mecca" or "Makka" the alleged hometown of Mohammed. The given geograhical position does not match the location of the modern City of Mecca in Hejaz, Saudi Arabia, but a place that is today known as "Petra". The Canadian archaeology investigator Dan Gibson came to the very same results in the early 2000s, while he was exploring historical buildings in the Near East where he has lived for several decades. He discovered that the qiblas of the oldest existing mosques were not directed towards Mecca / Makka in Saudi Arabia and he intensified his research. Muslims appear to be certain that all early mosques faced Jerusalem because the Hadith collector Muhammad al-Bukhari (810–870 AD) from Bukhara (the capital of the Bukhara Region of what is now in Uzbekistan) told them so. He was collecting the Hadiths 200 years after the death of Mohammed. Gibson was checking the qibla directions by using a GPS Unit directly at the site of the oldest mosques. And there he found something surprising. The following mosques were neither directed towards Mecca nor to Jerusalem: 1. The Masjid al-Qiblatain Mosque in Medina 623 AD; 2. The Canton Guangzhou Mosque, China, 627 AD; 3. The Fustat near Cairo, Egypt 641 AD; 4. The Umayyad Palace, Jordan, 700 AD; 5. The Mosque of Baalbek, Lebanon, 701 AD; 6. The Amman Umayyad Citadel Praying rooms and the also the Great Mosque, Jordan, 701 AD; 7. The Grand Mosque of Sanaa, Yemen, 705 AD; 8. The Khirbet al-Minya Palace Mosque, Israel, 706 AD; 9. The Wasit ("between") Mosque (the word 'between' most likely seem to refer to the qibla direction which lies between Petra and Mecca), Iraq, 706 AD; 10. The Old Mosque south of the Al Aqsa Mosque, Jerusalem, 706 AD; 11. The Khirbat al Mafjar near Jericho, Jordan Valley, West Bank, 724 AD; 12. The Anjar Mosque, 58 km from Beirut, Lebanon, 724 AD. All these mosques faced a spot located in southern Jordan rather than Mecca: they faced the ancient City of Petra. The few surviving Islamic texts about Mecca too seem to describe Petra: it had green spots with vegetation, agriculture, city walls, colonnaded streets, temples and caves for praying in the rocks that faced the city. Modern Mecca did not have any of those things. It seem to have no archaeological past at all. Mohammed's Hashim tribe of the Qureish also came from Petra; even the modern rulers of Jordan are Hashim.]

It happened that one of them, called Abdla (Abdulla), died leaving a son of tender age called Mohammed. His uncle Abutalp (Abu Talib) took and raised him until he reached puberty. On attaining a sufficient age he dwelt with a certain wealthy man from among their kin. He served him faithfully, pastured camels, and was the steward of his house. When some time had passed, the master of the house died. His wife, seeing that Mohammed was a faithful man and very sagacious in all wordly affairs, married him and turned over to him all the supervision of the house and property. So he became a merchant by trade and skilled in commerce. He undertook distant journeys on mercantile business, to Egypt and the regions of Palestine. And while he was engaged in this business he happened to meet in the regions of Egypt a monk called Sargis Bhira*, who had been a disciple of the mania of the Arians [Bahira was a Nestorian or possibly Gnostic Nazorean monk who, according to Islamic tradition, foretold to the adolescent Mohammed his future as a prophet. His name derives from the Syriac bhira, meaning "tested by God and approved". The Arians were the people of ancient Iran and India. Mania could suggest where that monk originally came from: the Northeast of India, the home of Mahavira and Buddha. Now, the word "mania" can mean two different things: Mania is a village in Kamsaar located in Zamania Tehsil of Ghazipur district in the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh. Mania also could come from Maniae (Maniai, pl.), Greek mysterious divinities, who had a sanctuary in the neighbourhood of Megalopolis, in Arcadia (Central Peloponnese.), and whom Pausanias (8.34. §1) considered to be the same as the Eumenides.]. Becoming acquainted with him and in the course of time becoming friendly, he taught Mohammed many things, especially concerning the old testaments and that God has by nature no Son. He tried to persuade him to follow the earlier faith of the Israelites: "For if you accept this, I predict that you will become a great general and the leader of all your race." He reminded him of God's promise to Abraham and of the rites of circumcision and sacrifices and all the other things which it is not necessary to mention here in detail. On these the Ismaelites [Arabs, Muslims.] mediate ad infinitum.

It happened one day when he was departing from him that a strange voice, an influence fearsome and demonic, fell on him and drove him out of his senses, as is now appropriate to indicate according to the following example. For they say of the woman from whom Antichrist will be born, that journeying from Egypt to the land of Palestine (Judaea) and desiring to see the column of Lot's wife, she went and lingered there to rest. And as she dozed, a strange spirit cried out from the mouth of the woman turned into stone: "You will bear a son who will conquer the world." And, indeed, a daughter of the tribe of Dan conceived from fornication. Such things also occurred in Mohammed's time. For when his travelling companions asked why he had lost his wits, he said: "Some fearsome angel's voice fell on me, and ordered me to go as a messenger to my nation, to show them God the Creator of heaven and earth, to take upon myself the title of leadership and to refute and destroy the false faith in idols." Coming to Paran he repeated these same words to his uncle called Apljehr. He said: "What is this new faith which is now being revealed by you? If you repeat it again you will be condemning your own self." Grieved, he went to his own house, for he was continuously oppressed by the demon; perhaps God allowed him to suppose that his loss of reason was caused by an angel. And many of them believed him when he said he was a messenger of God.

One day when he was depressed from his uncle's threats, Ali son of Aputalp (Abu Talib) came in and said to him: "For what reason do you sit depressed?" He said: "I preach God the Creator of heaven and earth, but they reject me with threats." Now Ali was a valiant man. He said to him: "Arise, let us go out, for there are many men with us. Perhaps there may be some good solution to this matter."

When they had gone outside Mohammed began to speak the same words publicly. There was a great outcry among them and such a dispute that many of them drew their swords. Mohammed's side was defeated; many of both sides were wounded; and Mohammed and Ali fled with about forty men. They came to the city of Madiam which we mentioned above. 1 On hearing the cause of their flight, the Jews, like zealots for God and as sons of Abraham and mutual brothers, were emboldened to unity and to proclaim that his words were true. They joined him and made a pact, gave him a wife from their nation, and made ready to support him in whatever way his wishes might dictate. So one could say that it was by a command of God that this undertaking began. The Jews joined with the Ismaelites, forming a large army. Attacking Paran*, they inflicted a great defeat on their opponents, killed Apljehr and many of the Ammonite and Moabite troops, destroyed the images of Samam on the altar, and dared say that the temple was the house of Abraham. They subjected all the inhabitants of the neighbouring regions and wiped out by the sword all resistance.

When Mohammed saw the success of this venture and the concord of the Jews, he proclaimed himself head and leader of them all. He appointed as his officers and generals Ali and Apubak'r (Abu Bakr) and Amr and Ut'man (Uthman). He sent a message to Theodore, the brother of Heraclius, that the Jews had co-operated: "God promised this land to Abraham and his seed, and it was in their possession for a long time. And if God was disgusted with their wicked deeds and gave it into your hands, let the period you have held it suffice for you. Now we are the sons of Abraham, and you know the promise made to Ismael our father. Give to us our land peacefully, otherwise we shall take it by war—and not only that land but also many others." Theodore wished to show it to the king, but Heraclius died in those same days. 5 His son Constans [Constans: Kostandin, Heraclius's son Constantine III died the same year (641). Constans II, who reigned 641-668, was the nephew of Heraclius. The names Constans, Constantine, and Constantius are often confused in Armenian and other languages as well.] did not agree to respond as Theodore had wished, but simply ordered caution and not to wage war against them until he saw the outcome of events. But the army of Ismael (A synonym for Mohammedans refering to the legendary origin of the Arabs, meaning here: the Mohammedan army.) was vigorously straining for war. So wishing to defend the country the Romans went out against them.

Leaving their horses, they opposed them on foot. The Muslims, having been at rest, attacked them. Exhausted by the weight of their arms, the heat of the blazing sun, the density of the sand which gave no support to the feet, and their tramping on foot, and distressed in every way, the Romans fell into the hands of the enemy, who slew them with their swords. Reaching the site of their camp, the Muslims seized a great amount of booty and began fearlessly to spread over the land because they had no worries of any battle.

Then the inhabitants of Jerusalem, seeing the perilous situation with no hope of help, took the divine holy cross of the Lord with other church ornaments and brought them in flight to the imperial capital to Constans (Constantinople). And Ismael ruled over all Judaea.

Now the Arian monk whom we mentioned above, Mohammed's teacher, on seeing his success rose up and went to Mohammed to show him his kind favour, as if he had attained such things on being instructed by his teacher. But since Mohammed was proclaiming that his mission was from an angel and not from a man, he was very vexed at this and killed him secretly.

At this very time there was another hermit in the regions of Persia who had a pupil called Salman. At the hour of his death the hermit gave him these instructions: "My son, on my death do not remain in this land lest you lose your faith among the infidels. But go to the regions of Egypt to dwell in the numerous company of brethren, so that you may gain your soul." When the hermit died, Salman intended to carry out his instructions.

On his journey he happened to come to the city of Madiam; he had knowledge of the Scriptures, though not a perfect one. When Mohammed saw him, he summoned him and attached him to him, and ordered him to write a book of laws for his nation at the hand of Abut'uraba the Ismaelite; for he himself did not know writing or reading. Salman agreed to write for him and set down a composite book, some of it from accurate memory, other parts being imaginary sayings. But Mohammed himself, moved by a raving spirit, had him write perverse things, of which we shall give brief extracts.

He said that he was the Consoler whom the Lord Christ had promised to send to his disciples; he said he was equal to the Saviour, his travelling companion—in the words of Isaiah: "riding one on a donkey, and the other on a camel." All this he applied to himself. Instead of holy baptism he prescribed continual ablutions with water, and reckoned this was sufficient for purification. The heavenly gifts which the Lord has promised for the future, the ineffable and angelic renewal, he said were vast quantities of food and drink; should one wish to eat insatiably one would find them ready. And there would be continual and insatiable intercourse with women who remained virgins. It is too long to repeat all his impure sayings, for they are very many and opposed to God. And all this he affirmed and set down for his nation, calling it the Quran.

Now come and I shall tell you with what laments the ancient writer bewails them, saying: "Woe to you, alas for you, nation of Arabs, men and women of all the cities by the sea, for the impiety of your tongue and filthiness of habits, whereby opening your mouth you spoke impious things. You have come before the mighty God. Amd now with new and amazing wounds he will judge you more than the whole world for the filthiness of your tongue, which you sharpened against the mighty King. He will slay you with heavy blows. The whole world will see you smoking, and fire will never leave you for ever. Like a potter's furnace will you burn, and you will have no rest."

All these evils he accomplished, and even more laws than these he established for his nation in his multifarious wickedness. Having lived for 20 years in this fashion he died, and himself appointed Apubak'r to the leadership of the Muslims. The latter lived for 2 years and died. Then the leadership of the Muslims fell to Amr, son of Hatap, for 20 years and 6 months. He drove out the Greeks, and gathering a great army attacked the enfeebled kingdom of the Persians in the land of the Parthians and their king called Yazkert. Yazkert fled before them but was unable to escape. For they caught up with him near the borders of the Kushans and slaughtered all his troops. In his flight he came on the army of the Tetals who had come to assist him. But they killed him on Ismael's order; he had reigned for 20 years. Thenceforth the kingdom of the Persians and of the race of Sasan was ended; it had lasted for 542 years. Armenian sources give differing totals for the length of the Sasanian kingdom. Thomas follows Sebeos, p. 164 for 542, whereas Ps.-Sebeos, p. 64, gives 532. Levond, p. 7, gives 481; Asolik, 386; the Armenian Michael, 418. Later authors follow one or other of these

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numbers; see the discussion in Abgaryan, Sebeos, note 609 (p. 343).]

Now the reigns of the Persian kingdom begin with Cyrus and go down to Dareh [Darius III, c. 380–330 BC], who was killed by Alexander (the Great) of Macedon, and the years of anarchy—which some historians count as 60 and others as 70. [For the 60 years of anarchy see Moses Khorenats'i, II 2. whom Thomas follows, p. 43 above. The figure 70 could be derived from Eusebius's Canon, which indicates that the Parthians under Arshak rebelled against the Macedonians in the year 1176 of Abraham, 74 years after the death of Alexander. Ps.-Sebeos, p. 52, gives 61 years, reckoning from the reign of Seleucus Nicanor; see Canon, year 1705 of Abraham.]

That was followed by the reigns of the Pahlavik kings, called Parthians, down to Artevan, son of Valarsh, who was killed by Artashir, son of Sasan, from Stahr. He took over the kingdom of the Parthians, and [his line] lasted down to the time of Yazkert, the last king of the Persians, who was killed by the Muslims. And the years of these reigns, from Cyrus down to the rule of the Muslims, add up to 1,160 years. [According to the Canon, Cyrus's rule began in the year 1457 of Abraham, 558 years before Christ. If to 1160 we add the 60 years of anarchy (when there was no Persian kingdom), 1220 years after 558 BC brings us to a.d. 662, the end of the first year of the caliphate of Muawiya (Mawi).]

• Mawi, 20 years and 3 months and a few days. There was a fierce war between Ali, son of Aputalp, and Mawi for 5 years and 3 months. For Ali claimed that the leadership of the Muslims was rightly his. [Thomas omits the caliphate of 'Uthman, 646-656. Ali was caliph 656-661 AD; Muawiya, 661-680 AD.]

• Yezid, son of Mawi, for 3 years and 3 months. [Yezid I, 680-683; two years and five months in Levond, p. 14.]

• Abdlmelik', son of Mruan, 21 years. And there was a great opposition and war between him and Abdula, son of Zubayr, for 2 years and 3 months. In those same days there was severe affliction for Armenia from his malicious will. [Thomas omits Muawiya II and Marwan I. 'Abd al-Malik was caliph 685-705 AD; cf. Levond, p. 15, for the war.]

• Vild, son of Abdlmelik', for 10 years. [I.e. Walid I, 705-715 AD.] He planned even more evil. By a deceitful trick he trapped the princes of Armenia and burned them all in the city of Nakhchavan and in the town of Khram which is below the monastery of Astapat on the bank of the Araxes. [A reference to the burning of the Armenian nobles in the church at Nakhchavan. This is dated to 704/705 AD by Asolik and Vardan, see Muyldermans. Domination, p. 98. Levond, p. 33, describes the episode in some detail; he says it took place in Walid's first year.]

• Suliman ("Solomon"), son of Abdlmelik', for 3 years. [Sulaiman, 715-717 AD; 2 years and 8 months in Levond, p. 40.]

• Umar*, son of Abdlaziz, for 3 years. He was the most noble of them all. He wrote a letter on the faith to Leo, emperor of the Greeks; and receiving a response from him expunged many of the most fabulous things from their Quran, for he recognised the true power of Leo's argument. Although he did not dare to remove them all, yet being very confounded and ashamed he abandoned the falsehood that was refuted by the emperor's letter, and thereby showed great benevolence to the Christian peoples. Everywhere he showed himself obliging: he returned prisoners, forgave everyone their crimes, gave free pardon. And to his own race he demon strated more friendliness than all his predecessors. Opening the stores of treasures he distributed them liberally to all his soldiers. [* Umar II, 717-720 AD. The letters of 'Umar and Leo are given in Levond, pp. 42-98; see Jeffery, "Ghevond's Text." However, the existing text is a later interpolation, having been written by an Armenian. See the discussion about its authenticity in Gero, Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III, pp. 153-171. For Umar's benevolence see Levond, p. 42, and for the effect of Leo's letter on him, ibid., p. 99: it increased his benevolence to the Christians, he returned prisoners, forgave everyone their crimes, distributed treasures to his soldiers. But Levond does not say that Umar expunged things from the Koran!]

• Yezit, for 6 years. [Yezid II, 720-724. Thomas bases his account on Levond, pp. 99-100, where his anti-Christian behaviour is described.] He was a pestilential man. Moved by a rabid spirit he inflicted many evils on the Christian race. He commanded the images portraying the true incarnation of the Saviour and his disciples to be ground to dust and broken in pieces. He also broke up the sign of the Lord's cross wherever it was set up. For the raving spirit strongly coerced him. He also commanded pigs to be killed and exterminated from the land the multitude of pasturing swine. Reaching the culmination of all evils, he himself was strangled by a demon and perished.

• Sham, who is Heshm, for 19 years. [Hisham, 724-743 AD. Identical wording in Levond, p. 100.]

• Vlit', for 2 years. [Walid II, 743-744. Thomas omits Yezid III (744), called Soliman by Levond.]

• Mruan, for 6 years. [Marwan II, 744-750 AD. Thomas passes over the civil war that led to the establishment of the Abbasid dynasty in Baghdad.]

• Abdla, for 3 years. [Abdulla as-Saffah, 750-754 AD. Levond, p. 126, describes the defeat of Merwan.]

• Another Abdla, for 22 years. [Abdulla al-Mansur, 754-775 AD; 22 years also in Levond.]

• Mahadi, for 10 years. [Mahdi, 775-785 AD.]

• Mohammed, son of Mahadi, for 8 years. [Levond, p. 154, calls Mahdi "Mohammed-Mahadi." Thomas has misunderstood this and invented another caliph before Muse.]

• Muse, for 1 year. [Muse, as Levond, p. 161, is al-Hadi, 785-786 AD.]

• Aharon ("Aaron") for 5 years. [Harun ar-Rashid, 786-809. Levond's History ends at the beginning of his reign.]

• Mohammed, son of Aharon, and his wife Zupet, for 4 years. [This Mohammed is Al-Amin, 809-813 AD.]

• Maymawn, his brother, for 21 years. [Al-Ma'mun, 813-833 AD.]

• Sahak, son of Mohammed, for 9 years. [Al-Mu'tasim, 833-842 AD.]

• Aharon, son of Mohammed, for 5 years and 6 months. [Al-Wathiq, 842-847 AD.]

• Jap'r, son of Mohammed, for 17 years. [Djafar al-Mutawakkil, 847-861 AD.]

The details of these reigns have been written down previously by others, so we considered it superfluous to repeat them. [Levond described in detail these reigns down to Harun ar-Rashid. No surviving Armenian historical text composed before Thomas's History gives the list of caliphs from Harun to Djafar. Thomas probably has in mind the lost History of Shapuh Bagratuni, but whom Thomas does not name, since he wrote for the rivals of the Artsrunik'.] Furthermore, their names and the lengths of reign have been given us in various forms, perhaps because of the troubled and contentious race that dwelt in the region of Damascus. Some there called themselves king, while others living in Asorestan called themselves king (caliph), down to the time of Abdla, who reigned alone over everyone and built a city and royal palace for the secure oversight of royal business, Baghdad. In the Hagarene language Abdla (Abdulla) means "servant of God." [I.e. Abd-Allah. Hagarene is Arabic. It is noteworthy that Thomas rarely describes the descent of the Arabs from Hagar (based on Genesis 16.15); but others do.] But this was the Abdla whom his own nation called Abdlande, that is, "servant of money," and not of God, because of his tremendous covetousness and insatiable avarice. [Servant of money: abd-al-dange, dang being a small coin.]

But we now have to speak about Jap'r and his evil deeds, not described by others, which he inflicted on Armenia over a long period of time; and we shall describe the unbearable oppression that occurred in our days, which was the date 300 of the Armenian era. [Jubilees are periods of fifty years; olympiads are periods of four years; indictions are periods of fifteen years. Thomas begins his calculations from the date when the Armenian calendar was reckoned to begin, 11 July, 551 AD. So "before the completion of the sixth jubilee" means before 851 AD; "after the nineteenth indiction" means after 836 AD. But this does not tally with "before the seventieth olympiad" which would be before 831 AD. However, Thomas does not use "olympiads" or "indictions" in any strict sense; see below. The 222 years refer to the Muslim calendar; 222 AH began on 14 December, 836 AD (the end of the nineteenth indiction). But Djafar al-Mutawakkil became caliph in 847 AD (232 AH).]

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 5

[Concerning The Caliph Jap'r, What He Planned Against Armenia, [How] He Effected His Evil Desires; What Happened In His Time Before The Completion Of The Sixth Jubilee And The Seventieth Olympiad, After The Nineteenth Indiction, When 222 Years Of The Tyranny Of The Muslims Were Completed, According To The Reckoning Of The Armenian Calendar; A Certain T'ok'l Called Jap'r Reigned Over The Muslim]

A certain man, Jap'r, insolent and arrogant, began to lift his horns in impiety, to roar and butt at the four corners of the earth, to oppress and torment those who wished a peaceful life; for confusion and the shedding of blood were very dear to him. He was in continuous irresolution and agitation: on whom or on which regions to pour out the bitterness of his mortal poison, or where to loose and shoot out the multitude of arrows in the quiver of his evil and crafty mind. In his great folly, smitten by passion and with cancerous mien, raging like a wild beast, he began to attack Armenia. And in accordance with the subtle treachery of their wily race, with an amiable countenance he tried to carry out his evil desires gradually.

In his time the ruler of the land of Vaspurakan was Ashot of the Artsruni house, a most renowned man and very highly distinguished. [This is the first reference to Ashot (died 874 AD), father of Grigor Derenik and grandfather of Gagik, to both of whom Thomas had dedicated his History.] Through him many notable deeds of valour were performed in battles and in single combat in view of drawn-up ranks. He was more glorious and famous than those before him who had been princes of all Armenia, those in the East and the North, and especially those in the land of Vaspurakan who had been princes in positions of authority.

At that same time the caliph [Caliph: arkay, lit., "ruler," a term of general application, more commonly used of the Sasanian shahs than of the Roman emperors by earlier writers. The title "caliph" was not rendered in Armenian by a caique on its meaning of "successor."] sent one of his senior nobles as overseer of Armenia with responsibility for the royal taxes; he was called Apuset in the Tachik language and was also familiar with Hebrew literature. He set out and approached the borders of Armenia with a numerous army, coming close to the borders of Taron, called First Armenia [First Armenia: so-called after 536 AD.]. Then Bagarat, prince of Taron, who was of the Bagratuni family, since he then held the highest rank of the Armenian princes [For Bagarat, prince of princes 826-851 AD.], sent some of his magnates to meet him with presents of gold, silver, and honourable garments, urging that he not enter Armenia. But the Muslims had decided that perchance by some deceitful trickery [See: al Taqiyya, the Mohammedan doctrine of deception.] they might be able to dispossess them of each of their principalities. However, when Apuset realised the indissoluble unity of the mutual pact between Ashot and Bagarat, he in no way revealed the wicked plans that they were plotting against the Armenans, but merely indicated that the reason for his coming concerned taxes and other administrative matters. So they had the royal taxes and dues given to him and sent him back whence he had come. He returned to Samarra and informed the caliph what he had done and how the Armenian princes were in mutual solidarity. Angered at the frustration of his plans, he Apuset' greatly calumniated Ashot with letters of Muslims within Armenia. They informed about his deeds with more falsehood than truth, to the effect that: "He is continuously saying things opposed to Your Majesty." Likewise the governors of Persia alarmed the king with charges that Ashot had insulted the rule of the Muslims.

Now while the great vizier was returning to court, he entrusted the oversight of Armenia and the royal taxes to a certain Muse, son of a Hagarite Zorahay, who then ruled Arzn and the lower part of Aldznik, near the borders of Taron.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 6

[Concerning The War Between Bagarat, Prince Of Armenia, And Muse; And His Victory Through Ashot, Prince Of Vaspurakan, Who Came To Bagarat's Aid]

At that time there was a great disturbance between Bagarat and Muse. On the pretext [Pretext: patchar, which could mean "reason"; but the taxes had already been paid.] of the royal tribute Muse had gathered troops and come to the land of Taron to wage war against Bagarat. Bringing up the host of his army near to the city which was the Armenian prince's winter quarters, he camped with all his troops. Forming ranks, he drew out his line and closed off the whole of the flat valley. They were armed and fully prepared to face the Armenian army.

When the Armenian prince saw the Muslim army drawn up and compared it with the paucity of his own troops, he hastily sent a begging letter to the valiant warrior prince Ashot, asking him if possible to come to his aid promptly and rapidly in person and with an army and arms. After the messengers had appeared before the great prince Ashot and he had read the begging letter and codicil of the nobles which mentioned their close relationship and the bond of the pact which they had confirmed between each other with oaths on the holy gospel and the Lord's cross, then he raised the entire forces of the whole land with all the nobles of the principality of Vaspurakan.

Immediately there reported in haste, each with his own troops: Prince Ashot and his brothers Gurgen and Grigor with their forces; from the Artsruni family, Vahan and Vasak and Mushel and Apupelch and Gurgen and Vasak and Apujap'r and Mushel and Apumayeay and Vasak and Vahan and Hamazasp and Vasak, son of Grigor, and Apumkdem and Mehuzhan and Grigor—these all amounted to sixteen men from the house of the ArtsrunikLwith their troops; from the house of the Bagratunik', the son of Tornik with his troops; from the family of the Amatunik', Shapuh with eight relatives and their troops; from the family of the Gnunik', Grigor son of Hazir with six more relatives and their troops; from the family of the Entrunik, Artavazd with seven relatives and their troops. And there were others from among the nobility of the princes of Vaspurakan: Smbat Apahuni, Grigor K'ajberuni, Vahan Havnnni, the lesser noble Davit, Gzrik Apuharaz, T'odoros Varazkh, Khosrov Vahevuni, Khosrov Akeats'i, Vardan Gabayelen, Smbat Marats ean, a lesser noble Sahak, the patrik Andzewats, Gorg Harmats'i, Davit Gundsalar. And many others of knightly rank gathered, each with their troops. Marching together, they reached the battlefield while the two forces were being drawn up in line facing each other; the trumpets were sounding, the flags were waving and the standards were flashing, shield bearers and lancers were shouting, the cavalry was galloping hither and

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thither, the champions were making forays to attack, and the archers were flexing their bows.

While the battle was being fomented in this manner, suddenly our valiant Ashot arrived. In a dauntless assault they fell on the Muslims* and set on each other, one champion striking the other to the ground. [* Muslims: aylazgi, lit., "foreigner, of a different nation." In the Old Testament it is the standard term for enemies of Israel. In Armenian usage it refers more to the Muslims being of a different religion than to their ethnic origin. Elishe uses it once, p. 108, where the Sasanians are likened to the Philistines defeated by David and by implication, the Armenian warriors are compared to the Jewish heroes.] When Prince Ashot raised his eyes he saw one of his troops being struck. Roaring like a lion, he rushed on the elite cavalry and broke its right wing, turning it round on the left. The Armenians made them all fodder for the sword; they attacked like brave heroes, roaring like eagles or lion cubs falling on their prey. From the violence of the attack there were many more whom thby trampled down as corpses to the ground with their horses than whom they slew with the sword. No one could be found on the enemies' side who could resist them, not a single person. Those who survived the sword fled into the dense forests. Some even reached the capital Bitlis [Shahastan, a provincial capital.], having abandoned their own camp. But the princes pursued those who had fled into the fortified places and closely besieged the city and fortress, until its mistress came out on foot, full of lamentation, asking them to reckon as sufficient the deeds of valour which God had granted them through Ashot. She persuaded them to let the fugitives go their way—for she was Bagarat's sister. So the Armenian troops put an end to the warfare, returning in great victory. They plundered the encampment and stripped the corpses; collecting much booty, they piled up masses of silver and gold, arms with decorated scabbards, the ornaments and weapons of brave men, select horses and their decorations. [The plundering, stripping of the corpses, amassing of gold and silver and of armour and decorations from soldiers and horses following a victory are often described by Armenian historians.] So they returned to each one's place in great joy and merry jubilation.

Then, when the impious general Muse saw that his wicked plan and inclination had not been fulfilled and that his army had suffered severe reverses, he made haste to send the bad news to court, informing the caliph of what Ashot, prince of Vaspurakan, had accomplished.

Now we must return to earlier events: the details of actions brought about by the army of the Muslims before the battle of Aldznik', and how Prince Ashot opposed them and defeated them with the sword. The description surpasses our ability, yet it is not appropriate to disregard in silence and forgetfulness such a great victory won by the troops of the nobility of Vaspurakan.

When Apuset' returned to Syria and entrusted the oversight of the royal taxes to Muse, 1 he met coming from the court a certain vizier [in charge] of taxes, Tsovap'i by name, called Emir Ali. Apuset' sent him to the land of Vaspurakan, to remain there with many troops until all the taxes and royal tribute were brought to him from every region of Armenia and each individual territory. When he came to the province of Albag, he spread raids throughout all parts of the land of Vaspurakan; he ravaged, plundered, and pillaged, sacking and despoiling goods and possessions. The Muslims seized men, women, and their inheritance. Ali also made a raid in the direction of the principality of Andzevats'ik', and there too they plundered on the excuse of needing provisions for the cavalry.

The prince sent him a message as follows: "You have come to Armenia at royal command to receive the royal taxes. Do you also have a command from court to capture, ravage, and ruin our country? Now we have never contravened the king's order nor held back the royal taxes likte rebels, disobedient and insubordinate to the authority of lords; so when you enter any Armenian city as governors have the right, we shall give you the due amount of taxes and satisfy you. But do not mercilessly ravage and destroy my land."

But he disdained the message, deeming it unworthy of a response, and in the same fashion began to move around the whole territory of Vaspurakan. Reaching the village of Archuchk d he stopped there and posted observers on the highest hills.

The prince was much angered at the insult, and in his great wrath took the host of his knightly forces, each with his troops according to their various families, and attacked him, supported by the elite cavalry on their fully armed mounts. The scouts having warned the Muslim army, they too armed for battle against the Armenians. As they faced each other, the latter were divided into three divisions: the first division was entrusted to Gurgen and Vahan Havnuni, who was his companion-in-arms; the second division to Gurgen Apupelch, whose companion-in-arms was Vahan Artsruni; the third division to the prince, who was the commander-in-chief for the battle. Bravely attacking with a valiant shout, he rushed on the enemy. The combat began at dawn, and all day victory was on his side. He turned the host of Ali's troops to flight; in the struggle Ali's brother was killed, and frightful torrents of blood flowed. Gurgen, the prince's brother, and Vahan Havnuni fought bravely, gaining a notable victory and putting the enemy's side to the sword. The whole valley was filled with the corpses of the slain, and the streams of water that flowed down from the vales turned to blood from the multitude of those killed. Ali himself, escaping with a few men, fled in the direction of Berkri. But of the Armenian troops only a few insignificant men were killed, and Lord Gurgen was wounded.

Then the Armenian troops stripped the trappings and arms from the corpses of the valiant men and noble horses, collecting much booty, and went to each one's place victoriously. But because of these events a violent war was fomented by Vasak Artsruni through treachery and malevolence, and more especially through fear. For he had hidden much treasure in a barrel in the ground below his house, under the door of his dwelling, and he was fearfully anxious that the Muslims might penetrate and by discovering his store of treasure would reduce his power to nothing. He came to the caliph bearing letters full of charges against the nobles living in Armenia and piling blame for much damage to affairs of state on Prince Ashot. By their capricious terms these stirred up the caliph in hostile fashion against the prince. Likewise, the inhabitants of Aldznik', unable to endure their sufferings, joined in these calumnies. The wives of the slain, together with the common rabble, with unveiled faces, bareheaded, and having discarded the natural apparel of women, as is their custom especially for the nations of Muslims [This seems to imply that at times of distress the women bared their heads and their breasts.], came on foot to the royal palace. They complained, tearing their collars 4 and pulling out their hair, scratching their faces and uttering loud shrieks in lamentation and tearful sighing, moaning and imploring: "It is Ashot who has wrought this harm, the stopping of the royal taxes and the slaughter of your army. He is the cause of all the rebellion of the Armenians against your kingdom, Oh valiant ruler equal to the gods in power, who has general authority over life and death." So was fulfilled the saying of the prophet Zephaniah: "On that day there will be a voice from the gate of discord, and lamentation from the second gate, and crashing on the hills. Mourn, inhabitants of the places of those massacred; for all peoples have resembled the Canaanites; and all those who boasted in silver have been slaughtered."

When the caliph heard this tumult of lamentation at the royal gate, he roared like a lion or like a disturbed bear. He flamed like a fiery furnace, and foamed like the piled-up waves of the sea tinged with purple blood. He uttered a great cry like infernal rumbling from the abyss, like torrents of hail from the crash of the clouds. His blood boiled around his heart in a fiery glow. Carried away by choler, his mind stupified, he was plunged into great anxiety as he sought a solution to the events that had brought this grievous news to him. He assembled groups of counsellors and all the wise men of Syria and Babylonia to examine this matter.

At that time the patriarchal throne was occupied by Lord Yovhannes, Catholicos of Armenia. In most wonderful fashion he embellished the institutions of the holy church of orthodox, apostolic faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. He made covenants with the princes of the land of Armenia that they would walk worthy of Christ's faith, and that their deeds would bear witness to the repute of Christianity. But although they agreed and diligently heard him, yet they did not abandon the foul impurity of their execrable sodomistic vices; they followed the sins of the Arsacid house of our former kings. Gradually, step by step, they began to act in a filthy fashion until they brought mild-tempered God to anger—for the destruction of themselves, the devastation of the country, and the ruin of the patrimonial houses of their ancestral dwellings. For it is written: "A just king sets his country aright; the ruin of a country is an impious king." Continuously he urged them to renounce and abandon the wicked and harmful deeds they were working; he attacked them with biting words, having as his witness the saying of the prophet Isaiah: "Hear, princes of Sodom; consider the laws of God, people of Gomorrah." This he said not because they were from Sodom but because they were committing the same impure and perverse sins as the Sodomites he called them Sodomites. As the prophet Ezekiel says: "Your father was a Canaanite and your mother a Hittite." [Ezekiel 16.3; but there "Canaanite" refers to the land of birth; the father was an "Amorite."] He returned to the same charge, and mindful of the oversight of a different land he repeated the prophet's reproaches with threats: "Your rebellious princes," he said, "are accomplices of thieves; they love bribes and are worthy of punishment. They do not provide justice to orphans, and they disregard the rights of widows." Again he says: "Let the king rule justly, and the prince govern by law." And again: "Let them make just judgments and work mercy and justice, because my words are directed to you, Oh tyrants," says Solomon. For God sends powerful justice to the powerful, while the common people deserve mercy. Such and even more was the advice and teaching of the holy patriarch and valiant shepherd Lord John, Catholicos of Armenia. But they paid no heed to the laws of the Lord and had ears only for the cruel viper and incurable asp. They were drunk with the wine of folly; they had eyes with which they would not see, and ears with which they would not hear. So eventually there fell upon us these terrible evils and irreversible downfall which, continuing my account, I shall indicate in its place [Thomas probably has in mind the campaign of Bugha, which begins in Book 3.]. And the saying of the prophet Isaiah was fulfilled: "You shall hear and not understand; you shall see and not realise. For the heart of this people has hardened until cities will be abandoned by their inhabitants and houses emptied of men. And my people will again be delivered into captivity because they did not know the Lord. And many were their corpses through famine of bread and thirst for water."

At the beginning of the next year—which was the sixth jubilee and seventy-second olympiad and twentieth in diction, and the year 300 according to the Armenian reckoning [The sixth jubilee is 300 years; the seventy-second olympiad 288 years; the twentieth indiction 300 years. The year 300 began on 28 April, a.d. 851.]-—the caliph with his counsellors and all the Babylonian magnates irrevocably decided to remove the princes of Armenia from each one's principality, so that their inheritance would become "ours." First he would lay hands on Ashot and his house and on Bagarat and his house; for if they were to remove them "no one will be able to resist and oppose us."

Immediately gathering an army and forming a force of elite cavalry, with soldiers and generals, he entrusted it to a certain Yovsep', son of Apuset. And he made the country over to him in the stead of his father Apuset; for the latter had died on the journey, in the regions of Syria, when marching against Armenia to wreak harm on them as they had planned. He said: "If you carry out successfully the plan which we have resolved on against the Armenians and their princes, and matters turn out as we ardently desire, and you are able to bring to us in chains the Armenian princes—especially the prince of Vaspurakan, Ashot—then I shall give that land in inheritance to you and your descendants. So hasten, be firm, pursue them. Have no hesitation in these matters; be not lax nor delay in this affair."

Then the general left him, filled with the plans of his wicked cunning. He entered the province of Albag in the land of Vaspurakan through Atrpatakan and camped at Hadamakert, the Artsruni capital. From there he began to scatter raiders, to plunder and pile up for himself a vast amount of booty. He summoned the prince, apparently in friendship and peace, for the matter of the royal taxes. But the prince was warned by the same group of Muslims not to visit him, as they informed him of his plans against him.

So the prince armed himself and made all preparations, with the troops of his noble entourage as well. With all the lords of his principality he withdrew, going round through the regions of Mardastan and Dzor-Haskoy, and sent messengers to the general. He wrote a letter in these terms: "It is the duty of kings who govern the world to watch over and care for the prosperity of the country, to lighten the tyrannous yoke of heavy burdens and soften the severity of painful demands for taxes, lest the productive capacity of the country be completely destroyed. They should remove repressive measures of governors, complaisant but faithless citizens, the burden of taxes and the military, so that the land may be prosperous and peaceful and the royal taxes come in regularly. Such is our concern and it is for you to desire the same. So when we see your benevolent solicitude for the land and your friendly kindness towards us, we shall be most eager to serve you loyally and to fulfill your commands with great despatch." Many other agreeable and acceptable expressions in similar terms he included in his letter. Furthermore, the mother of Prince Ashot, sister of Sahak and Bagarat, prince of Taron, who was a woman wise in words and deeds, very intelligent and also pious, went with many gifts to meet Yovsep', requesting him to establish a treaty and peace with her sons and the whole land of Vaspurakan. He accepted the gifts and carried out her request. Taking as hostages renowned and honourable men, he sent back Ashot's mother with great respect. He himself passed peacefully through the land of Vaspurakan with a minimum of damage, taking the hostages with him. Crossing the province of Bznunik', he reached Khlat'. For he intended to await the most suitable occasion to ensnare the Armenians by deceit and trickery.

When the emir reached Khlat', he entered the city and encamped in its fortress. Then he sent messengers to Bagarat with written invitations to come to him without excuses or fear. He wrote in the letter that he entrusted to him this land of Armenia so that he himself might go to court, using the severity of the winter season that had arrived and the fierceness of the freezing north wind*, which he was afraid he could not endure, as his excuse. [* There are frequent references in Armenian sources to the severity of the winters and the freezing north winds. Classical authors, notably Plutarch and Tacitus, also refer to the snow and ice encountered by Roman armies invading Armenia.]

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So Prince Bagarat, having no suspicion of faithlessness on the part of the king (caliph) and his army, went with innocent frankness and loyal intentions to fulfil his military duty, in accordance with the divine command and the royal order. He followed the messengers, quite unaware of the treacherous trickery whereby he had deceived him, and took with him the holy covenants of the divinely inspired Scriptures with a host of ministers of the priestly ranks. But the emir seized him and all his relatives from the Bagratuni house, bound them in iron bonds, and sent them to Samarra. He himself went to winter in the city of Mush, in Taron, keeping with him the hostages from Vaspurakan, both those of the Artsruni nobility and those of their knights. The inhabitants of the land he took into captivity, to sell them in the regions of Syria and all the area of the empire of the Muslims. But half of the captives they kept with them in the city to be their drawers of water and hewers of wood, causing them cruel torments in these tasks from the bitter winter cold. Those who escaped fled to various regions of the country. The whole country was devastated except for the mountain people who remained in their fortresses on the mountain called Khoyt'.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 7

[Concerning The Murder Of Yovsep ' By The Mountain People Of Khoyt And Their History]

In midwinter the weather became especially severe with fog and tempests. The thick snow, levelling the plain, piled up around the foot of the mountain where the city of Taron was built. There the general of the Muslims was encamped, like a hibernating bear who has gone to ground in his den midway between life and death, surviving the days of winter on roots.

But when the south wind blows, heating the ground with its warming strength and awakening to fertility the buried roots and plants that had been numbed by the icy blasts of the north wind, then the slumbering beasts and birds, when they feel the warmth of the air as day and night become equal, come out from each one's lair and nest in the season of spring. But many there are too who perish then: some are easy prey to hunters, while those who escape inflict much harm wherever they go, both on men and on other animals. In such fashion did that man Yovsep', the general of the Muslims, spend the winter in order to attack Armenia with sword, captivity, and terrible afflictions, to take the magnates of the land into captivity, to set governors over the land who would run the country's affairs by their own orders and would install themselves with their families in the fortresses of Armenia.

Then, when the inhabitants of the mountain saw that their prince had been taken into captivity, they prepared themselves to endure the same anguish as had the lowlanders. The light-armed men of Khoyt' gathered together as a crowd to consider their strategems for their protection that winter. Bearing the pikes they always carry in readiness against the beasts that lurk in the forest or the enemies that may attack them, they marched against the city and besieged it. They slaughtered the emir's troops with the sword, released from prison the hostages from Vaspurakan, freed the captives, and divided their booty among themselves.

But the self-imagined marzpan fled for refuge to a very tall church which had been built by Prince Bagarat in the name of our Saviour at the expense of great treasure—about three hundred thousand coins [Thomas does not name the denomination of coin.]. He hid himself between the inner and outer dome, quaking in most terrible fright. The armed men surrounded the church, and some of them reached him through the gap between the domes [I.e. between the inner and outer domes.]. One of them struck him in the middle of his back with his lance, penetrating under his armpits to his lungs. He breathed his last and was buried like a donkey. And I myself with my own eyes saw that man who struck him, and from him I learned the truth about it.

Then the sad news was immediately brought in haste to the caliph: "Your general has been killed, and the land of Armenia has rebelled against your rule."

Here I shall expound in brief the nature of the inhabitants of the mountain: what sort and manner of people they are, how they manage to live and supply their needs at great labour and enormous trouble. They dwell in deep gorges, in clefts in the mountains, in deep forests, and on mountaintops. They live separately by families, so distant from each other that if one of their strong men were to shout from a very high place he would hardly be able to make his voice carry anywhere; you would think it a mere echo from the rocks. Half of them lose their native tongue from living so far apart and never greeting each other, and their mutual speech is a patchwork of borrowed words. They are so profoundly ignorant of each other that they even need interpreters. For food they use certain seeds, especially that known as millet, which some call bread at time of famine. This they sow in the middle of the forests and irrigate by means of their feet or with double-pronged hoes. They hide their nakedness with clothes of wool. For footwear they use a form of boot made from goatskin. And one food and one garment suffice them both winter and summer. As weapons they have pikes, which they carry with them continuously in readiness against the beasts that live on the mountain.

But when enemies reach their land, the mountain peoples unite to aid their princes, for they are loyal. Now as for the snow of unstable solidity which flows down from the clouds, they have invented for themselves wooden shoes* wound around their feet with ring-like thongs, so they easily run over the snow as if over dry land. [* Cf. the snowshoes used in Armenia that are described by Strabo and Xenophon; see Dowsett, "Ancient Armenian Roller-skates."] They are savage in their habits, drinkers of blood, who regard as naught the killing of their own brothers and even of themselves. They are called light-armed and couriers, and dwell in the mountain that divides Aldznik and Taron. Because of their obscure and inscrutable speech and way of life they are called Khut', from which name the mountain is also called Khoyt'. They know the psalms in the old translation of the Armenian teachers, which they have continually in their mouths [Thomas seem to have known that the old translation was from Syriac, meaning Aramaic. Koriun, pp. 31-32, notes that the first translation of the Bible was later revised from texts brought from Constantinople.]. They are the peasants of Syria who followed to Armenia Adramelek and Sanasar, sons of Senek'erim king of Assyria and Nineveh, from whose name they call themselves Sanasnayk. They are hospitable and respectful to strangers.

BOOK THREE

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 1

[Concerning What Became Of Armenia In General; And Division Among The Princes, Being Mutually Hostile And Rebellious; And What Happened Under Them]

Up to this point we have not hesitated to relate the dangers and tribulations which befell us from the enemies of the truth. For although we were oppressed and tormented with various afflictions by the domination of the armies of the Muslim Tachik nations/ yet these were few in number and for short periods of time; and many more were they whom we smote than we who were smitten. For the Armenian princes with their hosts of knights and troops were still living in unison and harmony and concord, though in secret they had suspicions of treachery. But when discord began to insinuate itself within that unity, the grace of the divine power departed and withdrew. Concerted plans were disregarded in combat and in other matters affecting the administration of the country. And just as someone might cut into pieces all the limbs of a body until the form of the living man, that is the nature of his composition, has disappeared—whereas, if one of the limbs is lost, it is an accidental deprivation but the whole living person is not destroyed—in such manner was the unity of this country gradually destroyed, as each individual plotted evil against his neighbour and his brother. They sent letters and messengers to the caliph secretly from each other. Among themselves they scattered words of slander so that not even two remained in accord, causing great joy to their enemies at the dissolution of their mutual unity. Many were the things they wrote that Armenians had not done; and all the damage and results of the revolt they attributed to Ashot. To them applies the saying of the Saviour: "Every kingdom divided against itself perishes, and every city or house divided against itself will not stand." Equally appropriate is the old fable of the philosopher Olympian concerning the characters of the lion and the bulls, of which erudite people are knowledgeable.

Then the caliph once more took counsel with the magnates of his kingdom to plan sure and infallible destruction for the land of Armenia. From among many good suggestions, the counsellors chose this plan as the only certain one. They said to the caliph: "Gather an army, assemble a force, march into the land of Armenia. From all the nations that are under your control, gather to yourself the elite of the cavalry and cross over the river. On reaching Armenia, first bring Ashot here in exile; then all the others will easily submit to you and you will indubitably set them all under the yoke of obedience to you. Do not merely endeavour to exact vengeance for their holding back taxes or troops or other service or for harming the state, but force them, once taken captive, to renounce the Christian faith and to serve the religion of our prophet and legislator. Then all our plans will easily be carried out. By inflicting them with the bastinado [flogging of the soles of the feet.] and prison and various tortures, and by threats and persuasion and the deceitful promise of wealth, you will subject them to your royal will and extirpate the name of Christianity from among them." This counsel seemed pleasing to the caliph, and he greatly rejoiced.

Here there is weeping, lamentation, and mourning not for a single clan or a single area but for all the clans and lands of Armenia. I shall carry my account forward in order—though not with joyful enthusiasm but unwillingly and by compulsion shall I describe the opening of the gate of divine wrath upon us. This vengeful chastisement was inflicted because of the impieties that we had all committed, from the least to the greatest, as is written in the prophecy of Jeremiah: "The Lord opened his treasures and took out the vessels of anger," which he had gathered and preserved there under seal for the day of retribution, to compensate us for our deeds and to strike our feet against a rock/ The day of destruction has arrived close to our doors, for "behold the Lord has come in readiness against us," as Moses wrote. But the most terrible thing about the opening of the gate is that it is opened invisibly—the gate of destruction of souls rather than of bodies, that is erring from the pure, orthodox, apostolic faith in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Human power cannot prevent the opening of the gate to destruction; only for God, powerful and solicitous in all things, is the power easy, as it is written: "He will shut and there will be no one to open; he will open and there will be no one to close."

Then the caliph composed edicts and sent numerous messengers through all the regions of his empire, to the distant parts of Syria and Babylonia, Turkastan and Khuzhastan, Media and Elam, Egypt and as far as inner Tachkastan near the borders of Sakastan—to the troops and generals, governors of provinces and cities, to viziers, prefects, and the magnates of those lands. He set the time when they were rapidly to present themselves to him in their royal capital [Samarra.]. So everyone, in accordance with the caliph's command, gathered cavalry from his own region, and in the company of other fully armed detachmnents without delay quickly came to the appointed summons.

When the generals had entered his presence, the caliph began to speak, saying: "From the beginning of the rule of our ancestors, when God gave the thrones of many kings into their hands, and down to our time no one has been able to resist us, neither from distant lands nor from near ones. Nor has anyone inflicted such embarrassing reverses on us, our nation and army and our generals, as has Ashot prince of Vaspurakan. So take courage, be men; attack Armenia with famine, sword, and captivity.

Bring hastily to us in bonds the princes, lords, governors, and prefects of that country, the nobility and their sons. And you yourselves will hold that land for your own habitation, and it will be your land as an inheritance for you and your children. But first bring Ashot and his family here, and do not worry about anyone else before capturing him."

He offered to each of the generals who had come to him gifts nd crowns, also giving under seal villages and towns. He asked for the register of the number of troops; they searched and found it. He was furthermore informed about each battalion, about the valiant and powerful warriors by name; also, how many were fully armed, how many were shield-bearing infantry, how many lancers, what were the numbers of archers, how many company commanders there were in the army, how many officers were experts at single combat, how many champions, how many staff officers, how many commanders of couriers. He also sought information about how many flags there were, how many standards, into how many divisions the army was divided, how many trumpets would sound, and how many drums would beat.

After he had accurately enquired into all this, he discovered that the largest number of all were the archers and stalwart bowmen of the Elamites [Persians; sometimes used to paraphrase Turks as Armenians did not make a difference.] and Arabians—adroit with both hands, who did not miss the target, like those powerful men in Israel of yore, the troops of the house of Ephrem and Benjamin. As general he appointed over them a man called Bugha, a Turk by race, and he publicly commanded the multitude to heed his advice and obey his orders. He was the commanding chief of all the realm of the Muslims, and no one was able to contravene his wishes, from the greatest to the least; even the caliph himself obeyed his command. This man, whose devilish intelligence was wicked and full of wiles, undertook these malicious plans; greatly puffed up and haughty, he roared like a dragon, striking terror into those far and near.

This man Bugha, in whom Satan with his power had made his lair, immediately left the caliph's presence. His delight and pleasure were the flesh and blood of innocent men," and his horribly ferocious rage could not be sated.

To him, it seems to me, applies the saying of the prophet Habbakuk: "See, contemptuous ones, and be amazed and undone. For I shall work a deed in your days, a deed you would not believe if someone were to relate it to you. For behold I shall stir up against you the cruel and swift nation which will come across the width of the land to inherit tents which are not their own. They are fearsome and splendid; their judgment shall take place of itself and their sentence proceed of itself. Their horses shall gallop faster than the leopard; they will be swifter than the wolves of Arabia. Their horses shall rush; they shall dart like eagles on their food. The fate of the impious shall befall those who oppose them. They will amass captives like sand. The king himself shall become weak, tyrants will be their laughing-stock, and at all fortresses they will laugh and joke."

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ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 2

[Concerning Smbat Bagratuni, Prince Of Mokk]

At that time Bugha entered the city of Khlat, having marched through Apahunik. He had divided his army into two divisions and had commanded them to enter the land of Vaspurakan, to spread ruin over the country, to take prisoners, to ravage, exterminate, and put to the sword; to depopulate the populous villages and towns and to lead the survivors into captivity including women with their children; to have Prince Ashot taken in bonds to the caliph so that he might suffer vengeance for the deeds he had wrought and his rebellion from the rule of the Muslims. Then he entrusted a part of his army to a general named Zhirak and sent him through Rshtunik. Taking the rest of his host with him he crossed Apahunik, like hunters of lions or such-like surrounding the lair, to entrap the most mighty and valiant of men, Prince Ashot. He took care lest "perchance he elude our clutches, or unexpectedly attack us by night and cause a great disaster." Now because the pass of Holts was open, Zhirak quickly reached the province of Rshtunik, rushing his troops into the valley of Aruank on the border of Mokk. There they came across the inhabitants of Rshtunik, who were scattered by these merciless, murderous, carrion-eating dogs. Slaughtering them with the sword, they filled the land with blood. Taking some captive, they led them off with them. Setting fire to villages, towns, and farms they made it a desert devoid of men and animals. They brought the common people of the town of Noragiwl in Rshtunik to the marketplace of the capital of Rshtunik [The capital (Ostan) of Rshtunik" was the present Vostan on the southern shore of Lake Van.], marching them at the point of the sword with ropes round their necks. From there they went to the valley of Atsan in search of those who had fled. On catching up with them, many they put to the sword or took captive.

But two of the commanders of the couriers, brothers, on reaching the defile of the valley, with shields on their backs, lance in hand, and armed with bows and arrows, attacked the enemy. With help from God they defeated the Muslims, inflicting many wounds, and freed the mass of capitves so they could go to the fortresses of the land. These two were named, the one ... by the sword and was killed . . . "brother aided by brother like a secure and strong city," or according to Isaiah: "At a single voice thousands will perish, and at the sound of five many will flee." A priest called Shapuh and one of the peasants of the valley swelled the number of the force. Supported also by a shepherd, they hurled stones with slings. In the battle they exhibited as much strength and heroic valour as if they had been more numerous. Their memory will be a source of courage and bravery to many, of strength to the cowardly and encouragement to the most valiant champions.

At that point one of the Armenian nobility of the Vahevuni family, a certain Apusahak, brother of Sahak the bishop of the capital city of Nakhchavan and of Mardpetakan, was captured. He was white-haired and his outer body was aged; but his inner being was rejuvenated and beautiful in the image of the Creator. Learned and familiar with Divine Scripture, wise and knowledgeable, he sat digging the narrow road of the path that leads to the supernal metropolis of Sion, to the camp of the heavenly army in Christ's royal kingdom. He was brought before the general Zhirak', who was pleased to see his tall handsome stature and the analogous beauty of his face, his gleaming appearance like the morning star set in the shining white hairs of his venerable head. So he began to discharge his fetid, intoxicating, and bilious poison in the hope that he might be able to subject the blessed man to the foul enticements of his deathly infection. Hiding the arrows of his quiver with a sponge, he directed his destructive power against the saint, hoping to shake him from the refuge of the secure rock and to be able secretly to lead astray the holy one's soul, though he was armed with the protection of the Holy Spirit and had as sword the Lord's saying: "When they deliver you up, do not worry how or what you will say; for I shall give you a mouth and wisdom to which all your opponents will be unable to resist or respond."

The tyrant began to speak fawning words; he ordered great gifts and honours to be proferred and promised to make him splendid and distinguished among the common multitudes at the royal court, that he would be in the caliph's presence with the foremost princes and share the rank of the caliph's magnates at the principal bench 10 when the royal tribunal assembled. "Only abandon," he said, "the faith of Christ, submit to the great king*, and accept the religion and faith that are worthy of life and praise from the great king through obedience to our ruling and commanding king." [* Great king: Vardanyan assumes that Mohammed is intended. But this is a standard expression in Elishe for the shah. Zhirak* means: "submit to the caliph and Islam," just as Denshapuh attempted to persuade the Armenian martyrs to submit to Yazkert and worship the sun; e.g. Elishe, pp. 162, 165. The word "Islam" means "submission", total surender under "Allah and his messenger Mohammed".]

But the holy one, armed with the Holy Spirit, remembered what the Saviour had said: "Do not fear those who kill the body but are unable to kill the spirit" [Matthew 10.28.] ; and: "Do not let a seven-branch candlestick hide the shining of its light under a bushel, but let it be placed on the high candlestick" [The "seven-branch" candlestick of the Jewish Temple of Jerusalem.] of the apostolic church, "so that they may see it and glorify the Heavenly Father." So, opening his mouth with the word of God, he then set forth in beautiful but brief and unadorned form one by one the proofs of faith in Christ, the various gifts preserved by him for the one who abides in the true faith, and the torments of the apostates and the backsliders; he also cast much calumny on their tyrannical and erring legislator Mohammed [In Armenian called "Mahumat". The word "legislator" refers to the fact that Mohammed made the Islamic Law (called "Sharia"). Thomas Artsruni was well aware that the Koran was a book of law because he most likely read it.]. But because none of us was then present at the blessed one's responses, we did not consider it right to set them in writing. [But Thomas does indicate in the next paragraph that his account derives from an eyewitness.]

However, when the tyrant saw his inflexible intention, his unhesitating faith, his fearless and haughty responses, and the great indignity with which he treated him and their legislator, he became exceedingly angry and ordered him to be put to death immediately.

So the holy one went out with the executioners to the arena where his earthly contest 5 would come to an end. Kneeling down, he prayed that he might be able with unfaltering faith to overcome the wiles of the devil who assails in secret and in open warfare. He said: "Creator of justice and righteousness and what follows." 6 Raising his hands to heaven, he placed his neck before the executioners. One of them took a sword, struck the blessed one, and cut off his head [Since sharp steel swords from India became available to Arabs, they became obsessed with carrying out beheadings. This "tradition" has been continued by all Mohammedans ever since.]. In this fashion was martyred the blessed Apusahak. He was the first fruit of the martyrs in the great tribulation which befell all Armenia. This was told to us by the great priest Samuel of the town of Artamet; he had heard of it from a certain Persian from the valley of Shatuan, who had been among the executioners and had been present at the spot from the beginning of the martyrdom until the saint's death, and had taken to heart the psalm that the blessed one had spoken. The inhabitants of the province of Rshtunik' also know this, for many of them are still alive.

Following this Zhirak left there, entered Vantosp, and himself set fire to the great church in the town of Artamet. But Bugha marched in pursuit of the prince, accompanied by the Muslims of Armenia who dwelt in various regions of the land and guided Bugha on his way in and out of the country.

Prince Ashot, on the other hand, gradually surrounded himself with his relatives, including some of their nobility: Mushel Vahevuni who held the rank of tanuter; the junior prince Vahram, the prince's bodyguard; Vahram Truni and Hasan and other retainers from among the lesser nobility. They entered the citadel of the fortress of Nkan in the province of T'ornavan, wanting to see how they might be able to find a way out of the danger that had befallen them.

When the Muslim troops discovered that the prince had entered the castle, they pursued him in large numbers and besieged the castle, making it an inescapable cage. They established their headquarters in the town of Lokoruat, keeping with them the mass of captives all crushed together. But Vahan of the province of Amatunik' had fled to the valley near the fortress where their lord was besieged.

Then, after a few days, Bugha armed his troops for battle with the defenders of the castle in order to capture it. Their commander-in-chief, Bugha himself, mounted on his horse, armed himself for battle with the prince, and led out to the front the powerful archers of the Elamites [Persians from the area of Susa.] and their elite cavalry.

The others bore arms of various kinds: sabres and hatchets, swords and spears, axes and slings, catapults and projectile machines, shields and lances. They also carried for warfare fire and sulphur with naphtha; the fluid materials were placed in glass containers. They mixed finely ground sulphur with it and put this in the throwing arm of the machines with fire beside it, ready to be thrown at the fortress. Those near the ramparts equipped the battle line and provoked battle. They put on garments made from woollen fleeces, pressed and glued together by powerful arms to strengthen the backs; they called the fine hairs "felt." Placed in water, it soaks it up like a sponge. Putting this on themselves as armour, the Muslims render combat more intense since they are not frightened by the heat of the fire [Cf. the felt (tal, as here) worn as armour by the warrior from the Caucasus.]. Their horses and riders they cover with armour: front-lets for the horses and shields for the croups, and leg coverings on the four sides; they also extend armour over the chest, and breastplates of haughty aspect, and collars that ring bells when they trample with their feet. They bind crescent-shaped ornaments to the forehead; the backs of the horses they reinforce with iron; each side of the horse's stomach they protect with plates affixed according to the size of the abdomen in the form of a shield, indicating the artistry of their armour.

They themselves wear a cuirass and on their heads a helmet; on their hands they put gauntlets and bind leg coverings on their thighs. They fashion their shoes like slippers, put a shield on their backs, gird themselves with a sword, take a lance in their hand, and keep their bows and arrows ready at their backs. Their ornaments and belts are embroidered with gold and silver. The flapping of their fringed banners makes the mountain echo. They set up flags, the trumpets and lyres sound, the drums beat. The sun shining on the armed array and glinting on the naked swords sends flashing rays around the mountain. The warriors attacked bravely, the generals shouted, the champions called out; they put the battle line in ready order. This Isaiah described in a phrase: "The Elamites took up their quivers and mounted their steeds." The detachments of their line came near to our valiant Ashot, the elite general of the Armenians and greatest of the nobles. In such—and even greater than this—an array of armed preparedness, in horrible fright and great fear they trembled in awe of our heroic prince and victorious warrior Ashot, and of those battalions of nobles in his company with their troops according to families from among the native lords of the principality of Vaspurakan.

But the prince mounted the wall in lordly and ostentatious fashion, striding like a lion cub, quite unconcerned and regarding as naught the marauders who had attacked and surrounded him. For he counted on his fellow warriors to be loyal and united, on the troops and commanders, the battalions of nobles who had entered the fortress of Nkan with him. But they the Muslims pressed ever more strongly for battle.

Then the prince took counsel with his relatives, Vahan and Mushel Artsruni and the groups of nobles in his company, whether they might perhaps be able to appease the enemy general to abandon the plans he had formed, disengage the warfare, and soothe the turbulence: he could do whatever he wished according to his desire, and they would hand over to him in sealed agreements villages and farms, and would pay royal taxes and give hostages for peace.

While they were considering and planning together in this fashion, all at once those enclosed in the castle broke away from the unity of the covenant. Those of noble family there at counsel decided on an evil plan; feigning friendship as on the previous day and the day before that, they decided to go to the [Muslim] enemy general and seek peace. Despatching from their company one named Vahram, they had him take a letter to the general, full of the diabolical poison of their plans. Hidden from the eyes of the prince in lamb's clothing and sheep's raiment, on the inside they bore the insolence of ravenous wolves, "like dumb dogs who cannot bark," as the prophet Isaiah says, aiming at the Lord the frenzy and murderous force of their mortal poison, to destroy their lord and ruin their land as intriguing adversaries. They loved turbulence more than peace, destroying the unity of harmonious concord between brothers, relatives, and friends wherever they found it to exist.

So they went out like the traitor of the Incarnate Saviour, carrying with them the letter written in this fashion: "From the court you have received the superintendence of this land of Armenia, and in accordance with the command of the imperial king you hold subjected in obedience to your rule the princes and lords, the prefects and governors, the rulers of cities and of borderlands of all Armenia. You have authority to punish by bastinado [beating up, in particular the soles of the feet.], prison, and various tortures rebels and opponents in a manner worthy of their villainy, and to remove from the country discord and from a peaceful land turmoil, as is right for peace-loving kings and royal princes and doers of God's will and his faithful, loyal servants.

"So we, the chief nobles of the prince of Vaspurakan: Mushel from the family of the Vahevunik. Vahram from the family of the Trunik', another Vahram the bodyguard of our prince, and other groups of nobles and military leaders, having in our hands the oversight of this land, have written to you, Bugha, commander-in-chief of the Muslims and colleague of the great king (caliph). If only you will graciously allow us and our clan, the native inhabitants of our land, to remain in each one's dwelling and be at peace, we shall deliver Ashot into your hands—without arms or battles or warfare, and you will have to make no effort at all in this. Now you will not reckon us as rebels against His Imperial Majesty and your honour if you examine the matter properly. But do not be ignorant of this too, that Gurgen, brother of our prince, the other members of the Artsruni family, and a great number of nobles and their sons with their valiant troops of the principality of Vaspurakan have all gone with him to the region of Atrpatakan. There have gathered all the troops and common people of the land, men strong and warlike, who do not flinch from the sword. If this state of affairs continues and the question of battle does not quickly come to a head, perhaps under cover of night he will come upon you and inflict a terrible disaster on you and your royal army. For he is a valiant man and a warrior, and the troops

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with him are united; they will give themselves to death for the sake of their own homes and lands and families and clans. In their hands are many secure fortresses, Jlmar and Sring, and the castle of Chakhuk. And if they divide into three, four, or more groups and turn these strongholds to their advantage, they will cause you great trouble, frustrate all your plans, and inflict on you a shameful and humiliating defeat—as on the vizier who came from court before. For he was unable to resist them, not even a hundred men against ten Armenian soldiers."

When the great general had read the secret message of the nobles he cast his response also in the form of a letter. Confirming it with an oath, he said: "Whatever you wish and eagerly desire will certainly be done for you without doubt. Only let Ashot and his relatives not escape my clutches."

Then the prince realised their treachery and hypocritical deceit and that they were not taking measures to prepare the stronghold in accordance with his orders. So he told them: "Arise, go to the general, see for sure, and we shall understand and know how we may be able to placate him towards peace."

Then the mask of deceit was stripped from their obscene faces. They replied: "Arise and go yourself and hear in person from him what his pleasure is; and let their charge of your being a rebel against the caliph be lifted from you."

When the prince realised that their wickedness had been revealed in their eyes, that they were speaking equivocally, were secretly grumbling, and were disobeying and neglecting his orders, he responded: "What is this that you are doing in secret, and why are you hatching clandestine plots among yourselves? If I seem at all evil in your eyes and have wronged you and have dealt with you falsely, give now a response before my face and indicate expressly one by one each harmful act I have done. Let all the soldiers hear, and do not be ashamed to speak the truth. But if I have cared for you tenderly like a father, or as a hen gathering her chicks under her wings for protection, and you were everywhere kept in watchful security as in a fortified

city, living without worries under my care—is this the compensation you pay me! Do you not know what David said? 'They repaid evil for good, hatred for my love,' and what he says later as compensation for that: 'Set a sinner over them; let Satan stand on his right hand,' and what follows in that psalm. Have you not heard what Solomon said? 'Who returns evil for good, from his house evil will not be lacking.' Did you not reflect on even a single one of the benefits you have received from me?

That according to each one's age I honoured every one of you with appropriate care and love. That the extensive goods among my treasures I gave up year by year to plunder. With joyful heart I reckoned as mine the rapine of my house by you and for you—the like of which no one has ever heard that any earlier prince did. Of my despoiling I paid no heed, only wishing that you be filled thereby. On seeing your sons and children, in affectionate compassion I would clasp them to my bosom with great tenderness as my own offspring. So is this now the reward, that with treacherous plotting you are aiming at my imprisonment, at facilitating for my pursuers the capture of myself and my children, to throw me with all my family into the dragon's mouth, 1 while you become the cause of carnage and captivity for the whole land?"

But since they kept with firm resolve unity in the traitorous plot with regard to the tyrant of the Muslims, they responded: "We are not able to oppose the irresistible force and might of the caliph. The fortresses are not as prepared for defence as we thought, nor are the stores in them sufficient even for the garrisons of some common people who will guard the forts, omitting mention of any one else. Because of all this you must go, so that the suspicion of your rebelliousness is removed and that the wretches who have trustingly come in vain flight may be sent back each to his own place, and that the country may see an end to the ravages of the enemy who have come to ruin and destroy. If you go of your own will, perhaps it will be of advantage for many including yourself. But by going unwillingly, if the oppressor has trouble in restraining you, he may multiply the harm for you too, and so no one will be able to gain any advantage."

On hearing this he Ashot realised their confirmed treachery. Raising his eyes to God he prayed; he ate a little bread and wine, gave thanks, and turned sorrowfully to his family. Then he left the castle and went to present himself before the brutal foe, greeting him according to their custom. He asked: "Are you Ashot?" The latter said: "Yes, I am." When Bugha had heard the same response two and then three times, he heaped many words of censure on him. On hearing observant and wise replies from him, he ordered him to sit down.

Then Smbat Bagratuni, whom we mentioned above, the prince of Mokk', since he had been greatly loved by the general and had received the greatest gifts and honours, was unable to endure what had happened. In deep distress, he groaned and sighed in his soul. Going outside the camp, he wept copious tears over the fall of Prince Ashot and the other nobles. But he was quite unable to help them because of the cruel command of the impious caliph. He burned and seethed secretly in his heart at the ruin of the country and the merciless torments of those taken captive by the enemy. Then he boldly entered the tyrant's hall, and fearlessly standing before the general without flinching, he said: "Since I have found favour with you, and you have honoured my person and have shown me greater respect and consideration than all the other Armenian princes and royal magnates—and they have all heard of your treatment of me—let not your regard for me be vain and hollow, so that those who greatly hate us and are our enemies may see and be ashamed, while our friends and those who love us may greatly rejoice."

Then the general promised with an oath to give him whatever he might request, as far as to appoint him his colleague and equal in honour in his domain.

But he Smbat paid no heed to earthly greatness, for it is transitory; rather he sought to be the cause of gifts that are eternal and undying, that cannot wither, waste away, or be seized by thieves. "Give me," he said, "as many of those captives as your desire may permit." Immediately and with unhesitant rapidity he ordered that no one could prevent Smbat from taking whomever he pleased. And he gave him messengers, lightly armed men, axemen, and men with maces, so that he might take the captives of Vaspurakan from the camp as he wished. So he removed them and brought them each to his native region, himself accompanying them, like Cyrus king of the Persians brought the people returning from captivity in Babylon to their own land. Thus the saying of the prophet Isaiah was fulfilled in Smbat: "He shall send to them a man who will save them and by judgment will deliver them." And again: "He will bring back the captivity of his people, not by bribes and not by offerings, says the Lord." So Bugha dismissed him to his own home in great joy and cheerful rejoicing, making an appointment for him to return to him in his winter quarters at the city of Dvin.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 3

[The Captivity And Banishment From Our Country Of The Prince And The Nobles And Their Families]

In those days, while the prince and the nobles with their families were in bonds, Bugha formed a detachment of soldiers and elite cavalry, fully armed and equipped, and sent away to Samarra the prince Ashot and his son Grigor, Vahan Artsruni and his son Gagik who was also called Apumruan, Mushel the brother of Vahan and the princess Hranush, and others of the nobility, bound and set on camels under tent-like canopies. He sent them to Persia, travelling via Atrpatakan, fearful lest perhaps Gurgen or some other member of the Artsruni family and their nobles, the mighty horsemen of Vaspurakan, "might catch up with them, snatch them away from the troops, and deliver him from my hands."

When the prince reached the court, the caliph had his feet bound with double chains and had him put in prison. He ordered armed soldiers to guard him until he might sit in tribunal and bring them to a judicial interrogation and examination of the charges concerning his conduct which had been heaped up against the prince.

His vizier [The vizier = hazarapet, as above. But Thomas has hitherto called Bugha "general" or (Muslim) "commander-in-chief".] had written and informed the monarch of whatever he had done up to that time.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 4

[For What Cause Some Of Them Attained Holy Martyrdom]

S ome heroes 1 among the prisoners at that time had emerged from prison, were still girt with their swords, and had their shields on their backs. Raising their eyes, they saw their wives and children had been brought among the lay captives. Unable to endure such oppressive affliction, they valiantly gained the pass of the valley and drawing their swords, rushed on the captors, whom the Lord delivered into their hands. Attacking them with the sword, many they killed and even more they wounded, while all the captives and their families they rescued from them and brought through the pass of the valley to the secure regions of the mountain. But the Muslim troops gathered to attack them; surrounding and capturing them, they brought them to the general and told him what deeds of valour they had accomplished. When they led them before him, he urged them to abandon the worship of Christ, saying they were worthy to receive honour and gifts from him rather than to be put to death with cruel torments. But reaching a noble decision, they preferred a valiant death to life with remorse. He spoke to them with cajoling words, but they would not listen to him. He had gifts brought, but even so they would not agree. He spoke with them in a severe fashion, but of that too they were not afraid. He tormented them with the bastinado, but they were even more confirmed in their faith, in the hope of blessings and in the love of Christ. Then he commanded their heads to be cut off by the sword, and they greatly rejoiced that they had become worthy to die for the name of the Lord. So they received the sentence of martyrdom and died as martyrs for the glory of the Holy Trinity. Their names are: of the first, Georg from the Akets'i family; and of the other, Khosrov from the Gabelean family.

Now a thrice-blessed young man, himself a Muslim and a Persian by race who pursued the love of Christ's faith, came and attached himself to the patrik Andzevats'i, asking to receive the Lord's seal in order to become perfect in working the Lord's commandments. But he the patrik had deferred and hindered his eager desire for piety. The Muslim had entered the fortress with the prisoners; and at the time when it was taken, they had urged the captives to abandon Christ and not be put to death. Many had been swayed and turned to Satan, while some suffered the rigor of death. But he rushed to the right-hand side of the martyrs, to offer himself to the sword as a living sacrifice to the Son of God.

When Vahram saw him about to be slaughtered as the executioner was holding the sword above him, he cried out loudly: "Oh Muslim, why are you dying in vain and to no purpose?" But he shouted: "I am a Christian." But Vahram persisted and said: "Do not die, you are a Muslim." But he even more readily cried out, weeping tears: "I am a Christian, and I die for Christ. I am baptised in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, not by water but by my own blood. Did you not see me coming and entering the holy church with all the believers, while you tried to turn me away from faith in Christ?

But I heard, when they were reading the gospel, that Christ said: 'Who will confess me before men, him shall I too acknowledge before my Father who is in heaven.' So go away, man, I am dying for Christ." And he ran through the camp, shouting, crying out, and waving his hands, saying: "I am a Christian, I am a Christian," until the executioners, enraged,

fell on him pell-mell in the great square. Striking the blessed one with the sword, they cut off his head and went to inform the general. Then behold a bright light descended from heaven and shone over his holy body, surrounding the place wherever his blood had spattered. And the whole host of the army saw it.

To this, it seemed to me, refers the saying of the prophet: "Let the foreigner who will come to rely on the Lord not say that the Lord separates me from his people." A little later he says: "As for the foreigners who will come and rely on the Lord, to love his name and be servants and handmaidens to him, and all those who will keep my sabbaths and not profane them, and who will keep my commandments and remain in my covenant—I shall lead them to my holy hill and shall make them rejoice in the house of my prayers. Their holocausts and their offerings will be acceptable on my altar; for my house shall be called a house of prayer for all the heathen, said the Lord omnipotent." Furthermore, the Saviour said likewise: "They are my sheep who are not from this fold; and them too must I lead hither. And they will hear my voice and become one flock and one shepherd. And I shall give them eternal life."

So the holy martyr was killed gloriously for the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. His name is written in the book of life. But to us he is known for his saying: "I am a Christian" according to the Scripture: "A new name shall be given to my servant, who will be blessed on earth." This was written as a memorial for the saint.

After this Bugha despatched soldiers of all nations, from among all magnates and all governors, Persians, Elamites, Babylonians, and Arabs, who had come with him to wage war at the command of the caliph and the great general, more than fifteen thousand men. He sent them in pursuit of Gurgen, that wherever he might be they were to bring him to him, be it by deceitful trickery and cunning fraud and falsity, or by war and strength of arms, with all vigilance and by royal power—however they might be able they were to bring him to him.

But he Gurgen crossed to the province of Orsirank accompanied by a host of nobles and magnates from the Artsruni principalities and all their troops. They encamped on the mountain above the village of T'uay, in its valley called Lake of Blood. For there is a great lake there near the place which was the site of the battlefield where our valiant princes of Vaspurakan were martyred. There gathered all the multitude of the numerous crowd of refugees from the provinces of Albag, Zarehvan, and Ake, and from the mountainous regions of Alz and Arnoy-otn, one side of the mountain of Jol and the other. They were an immense multitude swarming around the mountain like locusts or the numberless sand of the sea. As in a great and impregnable fortress they had taken refuge in the valiant general Gurgen and the Armenian troops with him. He had sent his mother, the princess of Vaspurakan, to the general Bugha so that henceforth he and his land might have peace: 4 he would deliver into his hands the principality of Vaspurakan in exchange for his brother, while he and all his would render submission to the caliph, paying the traditional amount of royal tribute.

When the princess had entered the camp and come before the general, she spoke with him politely in appropriate terms about the matter on which they had come. The general responded to her peaceably, saying: "Remain here until I dismiss you and fulfill the desire of your requests for which you have come." He ordered her to be left at liberty and

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arranged for her a daily allowance worthy of the great lady Hrip'sime.

The troops who had pursued Gurgen reached the borders of he land where Gurgen and his army were, and camped on the bank of the river called Zav. The generals of those troops were the following: Muk'adam, Yusp' from the city of Tiflis, Yusp' son of Raham, and Abuheshm, lord of El; with them was the army of Hamdoy, emir of Persia. They sent messengers to Gurgen asking him to come to them without hesitation or fear and without any suspicion; that they should merely meet each other in peaceable friendliness; he would be honoured by them with gifts at the general's orders, and he would rule in his brother's stead over his entire territory. But he sent as messenger to them a certain Abdlay who was known to the general, to see if they were making trustworthy proposals through the messengers or whether they were trying to destroy him by deceitful trickery. However, they did not reveal their wicked plot and sent him back to say that he Gurgen should come to them without any hesitation. Two, three, and even more times they confirmed the same thing with oaths, that he should come to them fearlessly and boldly. They themselves sent all their troops off and came up to the Armenian force saying: "Behold, we have sent away from us our troops and there are but few with us. Do you likewise come with only a few men, more or less, and let us see each other." Then he entrusted his forces to

Mushel son of Apupelch, brother of Gurgen [This Gurgen is not Ashot's brother, but the son of Apupelch. Gurgen Apupelch was mentioned above in detail.], and went himself to follow the messengers who had brought the invitation. When the greatest nobles restrained him he would heed no one, so they all burst into tears and wept. Before he reached the enemy generals but was still at a distance of about two miles from them, they had decided that if he were to follow the messengers "we shall seize him, his troops will be discouraged, and we shall easily defeat them."

When it was about the third hour of the day, on a Sunday, behold, detachments of cavalry advanced in the direction of the ruin called Smbat's castle, for it had been destroyed in previous times by the Persian army. The flags of each group glittered in the sun; the mountain was filled with a multitude of soldiers; and the army of the fugitives saw the gleaming of armour, the sparkle of swords, and here and there men fleeing in terror like sheep from wolves. The troops were informed of the action, and they obeyed, for the voices of the army commanders were very loud. The earth resounded as the whole host raised a shout, as if the mountain would collapse from its foundations. There was an awesome thundering, shocks, and echoes. From the bright shining of the arms and glittering of the swords, from the glinting of the fully armed horses, the mountain seemed to be burning with fire. Or it was as if some thunderbolt, loosed from the clouds, was casting down flames as at the time of hail and rain. Such was the impression from the neighing of the horses and their rapid attack.

The Armenian army still remained unconcerned. The service of the day came to an end, the priests read the holy gospel in every part of the camp, and when they had finished their prayers and said blessings, they gave glory to God and said "Amen."

Then they sat down to eat bread. Only Lord Apumkdem and his entourage kept watch by night and observed the intention of the [enemy] army. He was still on horseback when they rushed on the camp. He commanded everyohe to arm and equip themselves with swords and to prepare the armour of their elite horses. He himself anxiously made haste to marshal the Armenian forces, to form line, and prepare for battle. His groom brought him his best horse; mounting, he rushed off after Gurgen. On coming near he uncovered his sword, helmet, and cuirass which he had put on, and shouted at him so that perhaps at the sound of his voice, the shining of his armour, the gleaming of his sword, the neighing of his valiant steed, and his rapid gallop, he might be warned, turn at the noise, and be saved from the destructive course on which he was bent that would cast him into the teeth of those bloodthirsty beasts. It happened that he Gurgen raised his eyes, saw the rider bearing down on him, and realised that it was a messenger of grievous news; "for he has a naked sword in his hand and pursues us all by himself." He turned his horse's bridle towards Apumkdem, and after encountering each other they returned to their camp. The troops, taking courage, ran each to his arms; mounting their elite horses, they came forward and stood gathered in one spot, forming a solid compact mass, a single man as it were, or a high rock. They stood firm and solid, having the impenetrable strength of iron. Like a wall of adamant, so they set themselves as protection for the vast number of fugitives, ready to die like a brave shepherd for his sheep. Before they had yet reached the Armenian force, the general Gurgen made haste to send messengers to Apuheshm and the commanders with him to beg for peace until a response from the general-in-chief should reach him. But they did not heed his request. Although he promised to give them treasures, villages, and farms, sealed in writing and confirmed by witnesses, yet despite this they did not command their army not to go out to battle.

When the Armenian commander realised that he was unable by any means to appease them but that they had given a general order to go out to battle, then Gurgen ordered his own force to prepare, to form ranks and a line against the Muslims. He himself raised his hands to heaven, and praying with copious tears repeated the Thirty-fourth and Sixty-second Psalms. At that moment the Muslims attacked and joined battle, their captains rushing after the army. The Armenian force marched out to oppose them like an indestructible rock, in order of their various families:

From the house of the Artsrunik:

• Gurgen and Vasak and Pelch and Mushel and Sahak and Apumkdem and Ashot.

• Gnunik': Vahan and Shapuh and Apuset and the patrik and Apuselm and Vardan.

• Gazrikk: Apuselm and Vasak and Vahan.

• Amatunik: Mushel and Asit and Sahak.

• Varazhnunik: Mleah and Rstom and Varazshapuh.

• Entrunik: Georg and Yise and Sahkawn.

• Akeats'ik: Vasak.

• Vahevunik: K'abarak and Khrakhat.

• Andzevats'ik: the patrik and Georg, Davit and Hasan and the general Davit.

These set out and arranged the battle line. The commander Gurgen himself stood on the left wing of the line in support of the force of infantry; the right wing he had entrusted to Apdlmkdem [Usually spelled Apumkdem.]. The others took their places in order along the line and addressed petitions to the Lord in prayer. The deacons offered benedictions, while the priests raised up the holy gospel and their banner—the holy cross. The ministers completed the Lord's service and the choir sang the song of victory over Pharaoh: "The Lord crushes battles; the Lord is his name." [Cf. the preparations before the battle of Avarayr as described by Elishe.]

Others sang the benediction of the dew born in the furnace to summon the angel of God to their aid [A reference to Daniel 3.50 ff. (in the Armenian and Greek, but not in the English Bible).]. As for the mass of the common people, some set their hands to battle with stones.

With a resolute assault they joined battle. They crashed into the Muslims' force, broke their ranks, and turned them. Roaring like dragons, they struck like lions and smote like wild boars; they delivered the enemy to massacre and defeat, each striking his opponent to the ground and rushing after another. From the tremendous shock of mingled lances, from the shining of the armour and glinting of the swords and whistling of the bowstrings it seemed as if fire was shooting out like lightning from clouds, and the mountain appeared to be aflame. The battle continued until the tenth hour of the day. They inflicted terrible losses on the Muslims; the number of the killed was eighteen hundred, not including the many wounded, those disarmed, and the prisoners. Even the priests among the multitude of fugitives took part in the battle, for it was a spiritual battle and not a physical one; they were fighting for the holy churches and the people of God. They struck the enemy troops, turned them, and put them to flight. Some of the Armenians pursued the fugitives until the night had become quite dark. They expelled them from Armenian territory, some in the direction of El and others in the direction of Atrpatakan and Persia. A certain Ashkhe who had come with the royal army from Gard in Persia 2 did not join in the battle with them to be captured but remained aside with about two thousand men. When the army was defeated, they spurred their horses and were the first to flee. Then they the Armenians returned to plunder the dead.

But not only the valiant Armenian heroes fought in that great battle; there were also incorporeal, heavenly hosts fighting with the Armenian army. For when battle was joined and the lines faced each other, suddenly a man in the likeness of light came and stood in the ranks. He wore around himself a garment of blazing light, shining like the morning star. In his right hand he had a sword and in his left a censer full of incense. He was mounted on a white horse and fanned the smoke towards the enemy. There was a sweet smell as he wafted the smoke around their faces. As the smoke grew thicker the Armenians took strength, and when it lessened they had a little respite from the enemy.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 5

[Second Part Of The Same; Gurgen Heeds The Summons Of Bugha, And What Occurred; And The Letter Supposedly From The Caliph Himself]

Then the generals became undecided in their plans because of the losses inflicted on their army by the Armenian troops. They were unable to write and inform the commander-in-chief, yet they could not hide it and keep it concealed. [Cf. the indecision of Mushkan after Avarayr.] They could not appease their commander by silence and excuses, yet they would not agree to indicate the number of the killed clearly and openly: that a mere nine hundred men had mightily vanquished fifteen thousand [Of the 15,000 total, 1,800 had been killed.], since they had discovered for certain that each Armenian had struck down two of theirs, let alone the wounded and the disarmed and the prisoners. Unwillingly they had to set forth the course of events in all its details. In their terrified awe of the commander they made reference to the event of the vision, when the angel of God had appeared from heaven. Thereby they somewhat calmed the mountainous waves and quieted the tumultuous billows, and appeased the tyrant's fury. A command was sent throughout the whole country that each man was to return to his own land and re-possess his inheritance, to dwell in peace and be independent, and that no one was to be expelled from his own dwelling to a foreign land to live in exile. This command they put out to support their own deceitful trickery, whereby they hunted down and misled the Armenians.

Then once more he despatched Hamdoy the Persian emir and Het'm of the royal army, a Turk by race, accompanied by ten thousand cavalry fully armed and in a greater state of readiness than the former army, with a letter written and sealed but full of deceit and treacherous falsity in accordance with the cunning of the sons of Ismael. Coming to the place where the Armenian army was encamped, they had the letter brought, full of the poison of devilish intent, like quivers full of arrows secretly poisoned to let fly from one's bosom at the target.

When he had read the letter and the oaths made on the privy parts of their women and their erring legislator Mohammed agreeing to surrender to him the authority of his native principality, Gurgen followed the desire of ambitious glory—of which he was frustrated.

As he approached the camp the various battalions of the army deployed before him. When he entered the general's presence, the latter paid no heed to the damage and losses of troops, nor did he charge him with being a rebel. Rather he had the standards and flags unfurled, placed a princely crown on his head and royal garments on his person, girded him with a sword, and set him on a finely adorned mule. With an escort in front and behind in uniform and fully armed, to the sound of trumpets and the beating of drums and other musical instruments echoing around them, with a host of armed soldiers on every side, sergeants and axe bearers to push aside the pressing throng, a herald cried out: "The principality of the land of Vaspurakan has been placed in the hands of Gurgen, to rule over them in the place of his brother Ashot."

After three days had passed they had a letter taken to Gurgen; it had been written by Bugha and was full of gall. It was sealed with the caliph's ring as if it had come from the caliph personally and from court. This is the text of the letter which they forged and gave him: "To Bugha, commander-in-chief of the whole empire of the Muslims, from Jap'r ruler of sea and land, the equal of our legislator Muhammad and faithful mediator between God and man, king over all the nations of the southern realm, in whose hands are entrusted death and life. I have sent you to attack all living things in the land of Armenia.

And I have given into your control my army with my outstanding generals from all the races whose kingdoms have been subjected to me, so that you might rapidly deliver to us Ashot and his brothers. But now that you have reached Armenia, you have gone over to my enemies' side and joined those rebels, since you have delayed in carrying out my orders. So when this letter arrives, send quickly to us in bonds Gurgen and his family and those nobles of Vaspurakan. Otherwise, I shall see about you."

When they had given Gurgen this letter which supposedly came from the caliph personally, Bugha said: "Read this; do not put any blame on me or think that I have come to you treacherously to treat you faithlessly and be false to our oaths. See for yourself and know that I have no guilt in this matter or authority to release you."

Then they put his feet into iron fetters, and likewise Lord Grigor Artsruni who rendered a fine confession in Christ before the caliph. Setting them on camels, they marched them to Samarra and shut them in the royal prison where Prince Ashot and other nobles from the Artsruni house already were.

At the same time, when the princess saw that her sons had been carried off into captivity, she herself followed them, tearing her hair, rending her garments, moaning, and sighing, as the prophet Amos said: "Shave and cut your hair over your delicate children; extend your rending like that of the eagle. For they have been taken from you to captivity."

Then all the Armenian nobles began to scatter and separate. Each went to occupy his fortified place, and they made haste to enter the castles and fortresses in Vaspurakan. Their troops scattered and dispersed over the whole face of the land. This occurred so that the saying might be fulfilled: "Raise a sword against the shepherd and against his companion. I shall strike the shepherd and the sheep will be scattered." And again the aforementioned [prophet Mohammed] says what the Lord said by the mouth of the prophet.

Then the general realised that he had succeeded in everything as he had wished and in accordance with the impious caliph's order: the evil plan that they had formulated against the principality of Vaspurakan had been carried to conclusion; he had removed all the powerful men; henceforth

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there remained no one in a position to resist him. From then on all the races of Muslims [Thomas has especially in mind Arab settlements.] began with fearless audacity to scatter and spread over the face of our land; they had followed Bugha with their families, and had set to dividing the land among themselves. They cast lots, drew boundary lines, and dwelt unafraid in the castles of the land. For the man of whom they had been somewhat nervous—on that score they had been rendered even more secure. So there was great suffering throughout the entire land such as there had not been from the beginning of the world nor will ever again occur. Villages, farms, and towns were turned into ruins and stripped of their charm and grace; the different plants and trees in their varieties on the face of the earth withered. As the prophet Joel lamented over the misery which had befallen, saying: "The land was first like a delightful garden, but later became a plain of destruction. And as fire runs through reeds, so it happened to us. Just like the locust, the caterpillar, and the grub with the grasshopper" set upon the fruit-bearing trees and the sensitive pasture, in such fashion they destroyed and consumed the resources of the human race and their property, just as this is described in the book of the prophet Joel's vision."

Having then given the order to sell the host of captives among various nations to whomever they pleased, he himself went to the city of Dvin which he had prepared as his winter quarters until the springtime. He kept with him many prisoners, having ruined our land both on coming and going.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 6

[Concerning The Evil Undertaking Of The Artsruni Nobles; And The Confession In Christ Of Lord Grigor Artsruni And Lord Yovhannes, Bishop Of Artsrunik And The Priest Grigor; And Their History]

Our annals [lit., "memorials,"] at this point of the narrative are grievous, sad, and full of bitterness, concerning the undertaking of our great princes and nobles. My story is full of tears, and I am incapable of telling the details of their ruinous error in being false to the orthodox and pure apostolic confession of faith of the Catholic church in the Father and Son and Holy Spirit. I am reluctant to put in writing the perdition of our lords and the misfortunes they brought on their souls rather than their bodies.

Nonetheless, though unwilling yet I am forced to set it out in order, briefly and in short. I shall summarise in a few words the history of these events, for it is impossible to pass over in silence or to hide the immense and terrible misfortunes which befell us.

So I shall abbreviate what was done openly, so that you will believe without doubt the various details of the events accom plished in their time and later, and trust me as a truthful and honest historian.

It happened one day of leisure, while the prince [I.e. Ashot Bagratuni.] and his entourage with their families and others not related were still in prison, that suddenly the trumpets sounded with a strident blast to inform the city that the king (caliph) had taken his seat in the tribunal. Heralds proclaimed that all the magnates of the city and the nobles and princes from the royal line were to gather there in order to subject the prisoners to an investigative enquiry. All the magnates with a mass of common people rushed to the scene, not only to obey the king's (caliph's) command at the call of the trumpet and the royal heralds, but anxious to see who and what sort of people these were, the fame of whose valour had reached the ends of the world. Despite all his powerful might the king (caliph) had even been forced to assemble an army from among all the nations in his entire empire, the kings and royal princes subjected to his authority; he (the caliph) had exerted himself with great effort and over a long time, incessantly by day and night; he had been weighed down by great uncertainty and suspense; sleep at night had not seemed sweet to him, and the delights of the daytime he had regarded as naught. He had found scarcely any way to draw the Armenians into a deceitful trap through the astute dissembling and treachery of the generals of his empire. So everyone ran 1 to see them and to discover what the outcome of the tribunal would be.

The king (caliph) came out, sat in the tribunal on a high dais in the midst of the vast multitude of common people, and ordered the prisoners to be brought so he could interrogate them and hear their response. He (the caliph) sat with eyebrows frowning; he was puffed up and full of insolence, acting in an arrogant and haughty fashion. He boiled up and vomited out the bitterness of the fetid bile of his poisonous and evil disposition. Excited to an uncontrollable passion and hot-blooded, tempestuous furor, he began to pour out his mortal venom on the captives like the venom of a snake, indiscriminately scattering and spreading it out to the ruin and destruction of many.

When they were standing before the king (caliph), he questioned them disdainfully, in jeering terms full of presumption. With deceitful fraud he disguised his meaning, saying: "Who are you, and from what country, and what are your names? Have you perchance really rebelled against me?"

They responded saying: "Why, Oh pious king, do you speak with us as if we were obstinate subordinates, insignificant, wild, and ferocious? Before subjecting us to punishment with cruel tortures, by striking us with your words as if with stones you have plunged our souls into consternation. You know who we are, whence we come, and from whom we are descended. What our names are is perfectly clear to you. We are not rebels against your imperial rule. But our troubles have been multiplied. Since we have sinned before the Lord our God and have disregarded the rules of his commandments, God has delivered us into your hands. So behold we have come and stand before you, Imperial Majesty, ruler over life and death [A title applied to the caliph]; as the Lord may command, let it be."

The king (caliph) began to speak, saying: "From long since, from our royal ancestors down to our present time, we have held many races and kings in subjection to our empire, but we have not paid such care and consideration to any of them as much as we have to you and your country. Yet you have been perpetually meditating resistance to me and refusing to accept the governors and over seers of our land, the royal administrators whom we sent you. You would gather troops, form cavalry, provoke battles and wars, draw up battle lines, and destroy our armies with the sword. Our kinsmen [the Arab governors] you used to beset with grave troubles, you ruined the land and held back the taxes* due. [* The Jizya or jizyah is a per capita yearly taxation in the form of financial charge on non-Muslim (Kafir) subjects (Dhimmi) of a state governed by Islamic law. Muslim jurists required adult, free, sane males among the dhimma community to pay the jizya, while exempting women, children, elders, handicapped, the ill, the insane, monks, hermits, slaves, and musta'mins—non-Muslim foreigners who only temporarily reside in Muslim lands. This tax makes sure that the Kafir communities are in a constant decline which is wanted by the Muslims. See: Sharia law.] But behold, we paid no attention to all that, in order that the affection and mercy which we claim to have for you might be manifest. However, since we now see you, personable and handsome, with noble countenance, decorous and elegant, we realise that you are true sons of kings of that country, worthy of compassion. You are men of valour, and from your appearance it is obvious that there is much strength in you. For you have done so much harm to me, yet here you stand in the tribunal before me with cheerful and joyful faces, like innocent and benevolent men, full of our kindness, with unrepenting audacity. But I, sparing you, will not execute you as your wicked deeds and the damage you have caused me deserve. Without suffering tortures and cruel torments, submit to us and our legislator Mahumaf; receive his faith and divinely bestowed religion, which is far removed from falsehood and full of whatever is opposed to falsehood. Abandon your vain and erring cult [Roman Christianity with its Trinity cult which is considered herecy in Judaism and Islam.], which in your great folly you have built up concerning Christ. Then we shall disregard your harmful acts against us of which you are guilty; your lives will be spared, and you will live and rule over your land and your homes—you and your sons. You will not leave your habitation through death by torture and take up your abode in hell."

The holy patriarch [Thomas is referring to the bishop of Artsrunik, not the Catholicos John V.] Yovhannes made answer with the great princes of Armenia: "In the religion of your royal empire and of your leader it is written that the witness of a single person is not veracious or reliable, but most trustworthy and acceptable is the witness of many concerning matters great and small, and concerning life and death. You disdain and reject the argument of one person unsupported and uncontrolled, as is your so-called prophet Mohammed; for there is hardly a single person who bears witness to the truth with him as teacher, let alone many. Now there are one hundred and eleven prophets 4 who produced true and accurate testimony of Christ's divinity in each one's time, as if from a single mouth, apart from the gospel and his apostles. We have received and believe in the truth; we cannot exchange the truth for your vain, fabulous, fabricated, fictitious, bedesined, erroneous teaching. In whatever fashion your desire commands, let punishment be inflicted on us. We are ready for bonds, prison, beating, fire, sword, water, for torments and every contrivance of torture." These and more similar, elaborate and well contrived arguments they put forward for faith in Christ. But since nobody at the time set them down in writing, as is the custom for kings, 1 we did not reckon it appropriate to repeat them.

Then the king was filled with anger; the colour of his face turned livid; he became insolent, and roaring like a bloodthirsty wild beast, ordered them to be taken out from the tribunal. He sent word that: "It is not the custom for our majesty to allow anyone to enter into debate or to give such long speeches as we have done for you. We shall do it no more. Now, because I spoke to you in flattering terms, perhaps you were led astray by that, were deceived and confirmed in your folly. But I shall spare you, if* you, without delay and without troubling me further, abandon the worship of Christ, save your souls and live. Then I shall forgive you the crime of your rebellion, and you will be on good terms with me and rule over your land." [* The caliph is here acting according to his Mohammedan Sharia law in which he is required to to persuade the Kafirs (non-Muslims) to become Muslims. This is a procedure offered only to the so-called "People of the Book" (Bible) meaning: Jews, Christians, Gnostics, Zoroastrians, etc. Other non-Muslims such as Indians or Chinese would be slaughtered without any more consideration.]

Although they had not intended to turn in the slightest from the worship of the Son of God since the faith of the holy apostles was implanted in their hearts, yet because it had no roots it was immediately dried up by the heat of the devil. For at his bellowing sparks were struck, and "through his nostrils came forth the smoke of a fiery furnace," as it is written in Job. And because of their feebleness and their unstable and fickle minds, they loved the glory of men more than the glory of God. For: "This people serves me with their lips, but their hearts are far removed from me." They turned aside from love of the Deity; terror of death fell on them; and especially since they did not wish to abandon the vain life of this transitory world, they said: "We accept the royal commands," with the intention that outwardly they would appease the king, but inwardly they would preserve their confession in Christ. But it is impossible for the two to dwell together; nor can anyone serve two masters, as the Saviour said and which in its place I shall be obliged to show.

Then they were quickly circumcised as Muslims on the spot, following the example of Bagarat Bagratuni, who had been seized by another general in the city of Khlat. He had been prince of Taron, was taken to Samarra, and became an apostate. He opened the wide and spacious road, the path of destruction which leads to irredeemable perdition—like Jereboam, son of Nabat, who sinned and made Israel transgress, as is written in the Book of Kings of Israel. The memory of his going astray, whereby he seduced and destroyed many nations, remains from generation to generation for ever.

But that Vasak whom we mentioned above among the great nobles, since they were related to the Artsruni family, had gone to Samarra of his own will before their arrest and had apostatised. In him Satan had taken root with all his hosts; through all his snares he had cunningly bound with an indissoluble belt his thrice-wretched soul. Satan had formed him into a tool useful for every art of deceitful knowledge, as a convenient snare with poisonous arrows to be loosed in the darkness at benighted souls. So did this man act, putting on himself as an indissoluble and inseparable sheath the power of the devil. But lest I expatiate too long on his shameful error—wicked, selfish, unrepentant, and without scruple—let us eject him from the annals of the princes, since he did not hate the lawless one like the shameless one. For even worse than to sin is not to consider oneself among the transgres sors, since for those of right mind that is shame worse than all cruel torments. So let his memory not be with those who, although they erred and perished, yet repented and stood upright again after their return from the great camp of captivity and from the teeth of the tyrant. But he, both in his going and his returning, kept to the same mind and the same error, wretchedly brazen. As they tell of him, he turned away from God and averted his face from the true confession of faith and from worship of the Son of God, as [Scripture] said: "They turned their backs to me and not their faces." And in accordance with his perverse depravity he inherited the consequences of his perversity. Without an opponent he was defeated; without arms he was wounded; without a storm he was shipwrecked; in his self-willed obsession he went astray and followed the love of power, losing his soul to irredeemable perdition. His life was without faith and his death without hope.

On the other hand, the thrice-blessed saints Lord Yovhannes, bishop of Artsrunik', the blessed priest Grigor, and Lord Grigor Artsruni, taking courage in God, stood up in the tribunal—the great arena of spiritual warfare—with fearless audacity. In brief but eloquent terms they expounded before the tyrant coherent arguments from the divinely inspired Scriptures concerning faith in Christ. They rebuked their erring legislator and trampled under foot their promised gifts, saying: "It is better to die for Christ than to enjoy life for a while in sin."

Then the tyrant ordered them to be bound in iron bonds and placed in prison. It was appropriate for Bishop Yovhannes to take on the yoke of his homonym John the Baptist, who had been arrested by Herod and imprisoned. It was proper for Lord Grigor Artsruni not to disregard his homonym Saint Gregory and to endure being plunged into darkness in the deep, gloomy pit in bonds. It was very befitting for the blessed priest Grigor to be united with them and complete the number three, that Christ might not be separated from them, as Christ said: "Where two or three are gathered in my name, there am I too among them." And together they sang the psalm: "For your sake we die continuously. We have been considered as sheep for slaughter."

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Then the tyrant realised that he had been worsted by these holy men, especially by the valiant Grigor. For he thought that it would be easy to ensnare them like those who had turned away from the faith. However, since his expectation was not realised but rebounded upon himself like a missile [lit. "catapult". But here a missile fired from a catapult must be intended.] from a wall as strong as adamant whose head is Christ, he grew stubborn and ordered his servants to bind them with double chains and to cast them into an underground dungeon.

When the saints realised that battle with the evil one was not something transient, they too armed themselves for a lasting confrontation. With ceaseless psalm singing they perpetually sent their sweet-odoured prayers on high, looking for victory in the great battle from the all-victorious Christ. So they armed themselves for warfare, putting on the breastplate of righteousness and girding themselves with truth, shoeing their feet with the readiness of the gospel of peace, girding themselves with the word of Christ as a sword, which is sharper than all two-edged swords; putting on their backs with all their heart unsullied faith as a shield. They raised their hands to heaven like a strong bow; the force of their prayers they shot forth like an arrow at the target from a wide-arced bow; decapitating Satan they struck him as a corpse to the ground. For their victory they offered thanks to Christ, saying: "Blessed is the Lord our God, who instructed our hands for war and our fingers for combat," and what follows. In that combat not only the blessed bishop and the ascetic priest fought beside Lord Grigor but also the fiery hosts; for "armies of the Lord's angels surround those who fear him and preserve them."

The saints remained imprisoned for three years in the under ground dungeon. They besought the most merciful God that they might fill out this temporal time in secure and firm faith; full of tears and sighings they recalled the heavenly Sion, the holy metropolis—like the people of God sitting beside the rivers and weeping as they recalled their Sion; or like those three young men, bound and thrown into the terrible furnace, they repeated all night their same blessings and begged the giver of all, Christ, for the same dew of blessing. They were greatly consoled by the sweet saying of Christ's, which is an indestructible maxim for Christian souls: "Come to me all who labour and are laden, and I shall give you rest," and: "Who denies himself for my sake will find himself." For these three years the saints were sustained by the work of their own hands, as Paul himself, adorned with the grace of God, said: "These hands served the needs of myself and of those with me."

But in the fourth year that evil man set up instruments of torture even more refined than before, to cast Grigor into the crucible of affliction. For shining pure and refined gold attests in itself the image of the Son of God. As Saint Gregory, the Illuminator of Armenia, said: "My habitation was among snakes, and they twined themselves around my limbs." On the other hand, Lord Grigor dwelt among beasts in human form, in the company of ferocious barbarians who are crueler to us than poisonous beasts. But he had good consolation from the saying of the prophet: "A young child shall plunge his hands into a hole of serpents, yet they will not harm him." He begged Christ that he might leave the body and enter God's presence. Christ did not disregard his pleas, but permitted him to complete the holy Lent, being crucified with Christ, up to the duty of Easter. And the champions rejoiced in the days of Pentecost; they sat at table with Christ like young men of the wedding chamber. But fifteen days after the Ascension of Christ Grigor attained the call of Christ, as Christ said: "I, when I ascend to the Father, shall draw everyone to me." So he raised his hands to heaven, saying: "Remember me, Lord, when you come with your kingdom. He blessed them all, entrusted those far and near to God's grace, commended himself to the blessed bishop and the ascetic priest , and with a good confession, in the month of Hori, on the fifth day of the month, a Friday, fell asleep in Christ Jesus our Lord—to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

When the believers saw that the holy lord Gregory had fallen asleep with a good confession, they offered thanks to the omnipotent Christ who had strengthened the holy martyr and put Satan to shame. The Christian nobles came before the king and asked for the saint's body. Taking it away, they wrapped it and buried it in the tomb. All Asorestan celebrated the day of the saint's death with great rejoicing in Christ Jesus our Lord—to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 7

[Concerning The Heresy Of Bagarat Bagratuni, Which Was Added To His Apostasy From Christ For The Destruction Of Many; Refutation In Brief]

At the time of his apostasy Bagarat said that apostasy because of danger of suffering does no harm if one secretly keeps in one's heart the confession of faith. This the Elke-sites also [claimed]. But it seems to me that the heresy of the Elkesites was long ago quenched and suppressed by the valiant holy teachers whom God placed in the church. It did indeed appear as a bitter root, and many were contaminated thereby.

So come, let us set forth a brief refutation of them from the Holy Scriptures, so that the impiety of that sect may be extirpated from the churches of orthodox believers. Let us turn to the Elkesites, who were those who at the time of persecutions fell into the error of idolatry. And Elkesai had the thought that if anyone in danger of suffering turned to the worship of idols it was of no account, provided that his heart kept true the faith of Christ. At that time a priest Novatian in Rome despatched people to refute the Elkesites; and when the persecution ended he would not receive any of those who repented of sacrificing to idols. He prevented many from idolatry, although he also led astray by despair those who turned to repentence.

He ruined the whole world by observing trifles, although later he did receive penitents. But both sides were at fault, although they went astray in the cause of piety. So lest we too fall into the same error, let us learn from the divinely inspired Scriptures and travel the level road; let us not be diverted to the right or the left. Let us purify our lips by uttering a pure confession and keep our minds unsullied in the true faith. For if the two do not act with a single piety, then there is no profit for either. For if the sail of a ship is not deployed on both sides, a straight course cannot be steered, and it may be shipwrecked by the force of the furious wind piling up the waves. If a bird does not fly with both wings, it cannot rise to the heights. Likewise, unless the faith of the heart and the confession of the lips are preserved intact, one cannot follow the true confession in Father and Son and Holy Spirit. "For with the heart we believe in righteousness, and with the mouth we confess salvation," as the apostle said, like those who honour with the lips and disdain in their hearts. For "this people," says [Scripture], "honour with their lips, and their hearts have gone far away from me." For it is quite impossible that he who believes with the mouth could deny with the lips, since: "A good tree cannot produce bad fruit, nor can a bad tree produce good fruit," as the Saviour said. And else where: "Surely they do not pluck grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles?" Or: "Who denies me before men, him shall I too deny before my Father who is in heaven. And who will confess me before men, him shall I too confess before my Father who is in heaven." Thus both by threats and by promises he demands the fruit of our lips that confess his name. Again similarly Paul says, describing the pledge of the law: "The word is near in your mouth and in your heart, that is, the word of faith which we preach." And to Timothy he wrote that the power of the faith is trustworthy: "If we deny [him], he will deny us, even if we do not believe, he remains faithful." See also what the blessed Isaiah says: "I am a man and I have impure lips; dwell amidst a people with impure lips." He does not accuse himself of this as regards any denial or because of the congregations, but because they had not reproached the king who had acted impiously outside the law. But if the prophet accused himself so much for a small matter, how much more worthy of laments and tears are those who are impious with their lips towards the Son of God. As Paul, lamenting, says as a threat: "Think what severe punishment the man deserves who trampled under foot the Son of God, profaned the blood of the new covenant, and insulted the Spirit of Grace." See, beloved, that to insult is the utterance of the tongue. And the Creator of the tongue does not permit it to utter denial. For it is no one else who created the tongue, and there is no one else who made the heart. So away with it.

See also another saying similar to this one from the book of the Acts of the Apostles. Simon the Samaritan approached Philipp concerning the Spirit of the gifts of tongues, and for the duplicity of his heart how was he punished? What did Anania and Saphira in the matter of the estate and the falsity of the same? Understand and consider. For unless honesty of heart and truth of the mouth are equally matched with confession of the faith, they are worthless, to be rejected, and alien to the holy, apostolic church. Since it is unbefitting that good and evil be set together, or light with darkness, or health with sickness, likewise it is not possible for the heart of the believer to be soiled by his lips. For it is written: the word is spoken from the abundance of the heart, since thought is a conception of the mind and speech is the offspring of intelligence. But as is the root, so are likewise the branch and the fruit. If the origin is pure, then is the root; what is the branch, the same is the species. Let these few words of mine suffice with regard to those heretical errors.

Following the divinely inspired Scriptures, let us keep unsullied the faith of our hearts, and the confession of our lips pure, according to the example of Saint Paul mentioned above: "The word is near in your mouth and in your heart, that is, the word of faith which we preach." And David says: "In what I believed, the same I spoke." And Paul: "We believe what we say." And again Paul: "If you confess with your mouth the Lord Jesus, and believe in your heart that God arose you will live, since with the heart we believe in righteousness and with the mouth we confess salvation."

Since so many testimonies have been brought together, let us not follow the tellers of fables or walk the untrodden path. But when we are brought before kings and judges for testimony concerning me, let us keep a good confession of faith and bear witness like the Saviour before Pontius Pilate. As Paul said to Timothy: "Do not consider shameful the witness of our Lord." and David: "I spoke your testimonies before kings, and I was not ashamed." And the Saviour: "If anyone think my words shameful." Here let us halt this discussion and hasten on, lest by stretching out this refutation we fall behind in the composition that lies before us—the matter of the history.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 8

[What Bugha Did After This In The City Of Dvin; And A Memorial Of The Martyrs]

Just as a little above we described the sea dragon and its natural habits, so also now I shall again recall it for the sake of the plan of our history. When the creatures that live in the fathomless depths feel the arrival of the warmth deep down where they have sheltered from the blowing of the icy north wind, they stir; and when they feel the warmth they greatly rejoice, happily exulting and elated to reach the warmer places. They attempt to reach the ponds by the edge of the sea, and on the seashore they settle and spend the time of summer. But because of the gigantic and obese mass of their heavy bodies it is with difficulty that they make their upward movement. And it happens that collapsing in narrow and shallow places in the water one may remain stuck there immobilised, and easily fall into the hands of hunters. But when it moves, all the fish and beasts of the sea are terrified, because these same fishes and serpents with other creatures are its food [Thomas seems to have in mind the life cycle of seals and walruses. Basil, Hexaemeron 69 A (a work well known in Armenian), refers to the monsters of the deep, but not in terms close to this passage.].

Again, when the strength of the warm south wind fades, the sun declines in its course, and the winter season stands at the door; when the northern wind blows, intensifying the cold, strips from the tops of lofty trees their leaves, and benumbs the strength of the roots; then the dragon is afflicted with distress and anguish by the power of this mighty force. Hastening to descend to the deep and warm places of the unfathomed depths, there he winters. And the creatures there he treats as those above—through them he provides for the need of his hunger until the spring. Thus he hibernates just like the other birds and beasts who naturally divide the year into two or three summer and winter abodes in order to surivive. They live during the spring on the high summits of mountains or in the clefts of rocks or on tall trees. When the north wintery wind begins to blow continuously, they hastily repair to lower ground, take cover in warmer places by themselves, and dwell alone according to their kind.

In such fashion too, the general Bugha, when the summer warmth arrived, thrusting himself up as it were from the bottom less depths, departed from the caliph's presence with a numerous and mighty army and came up onto earth in the northern region at the entrance to Armenia. As he moved, fear gripped the whole country and its rulers; attacking them, he devoured like a dragon those he was able to strike. Just as, because of its tremendous strength, we have drawn the example of a dragon rising from the sea—that is, from the land [of Iraq] and the unfathomable depths, from the royal capital—in similar fashion one must understand the other less powerful whales* and the smaller fish [* Ket, as in Gen. 1.21. Here Thomas implies that Bugha emerged from Dvin like a sea monster from the depths, but that the caliph was also a dragon stirring in Samarra. By comparison with him, his subordinates such as Bugha were like a ket.]. For no one was able to resist him. And our account is not without witnesses, as we described above in our tale of him with the evidence of the prophets' words. Indeed from the outcome of events they know well who in these times survive and were then present there.

So the impious general, when he had carried out all his cruel intentions against the land called Vaspurakan, entered the warmer place, the city of Dvin, to winter there. He dismissed the troops with their various generals who had come to him from every clan in Armenia so they could winter each in his own home, having commanded them all that when the spring season approached they should hasten without delay to join him fully prepared. On entering the city he had with him numerous prisoners and captives without number whom he sold to foreign races to be led into slavery and depart far from the patrimony of their ancestral homes.

At the same time, when he had fulfilled all his wicked desires against the holy church and had destroyed many of the band of Christians, turning sons of light* into sons of darkness*, and heirs of God into the portion of Satan, and fellow heirs of Christ into companions of demons, and inhabitants of the kingdom into inhabitants of eternal fire—then he planned to remove all the ministers of Christ from loyal worship of the true God, our Lord Jesus Christ. [* Terms in the Dead Sea Scrolls, "sons of light" being righteous Jews, "sons of darkness" being non-Jewish invaders.] Thus he became haughty in the false presumption of his mind. He ordered to be brought before him some of the blessed men of noble rank, and others of the cavalry, by clans and families. But they did

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not agree to join the ranks of the apostates. Then he thought that through tortures he would easily ensnare them among those lost and gone astray from the faith of Christ. However, not even in the slightest were they deflected to his arguments; nor did they agree to be deceived by wealth; nor did they pay heed and obeisance to the glory of wordly desires. For they knew and realised that the life of this world is vanity and falsehood, an easily forgotten dream and quickly fleeting shadow; whereas the life and gifts which God has prepared for those who love him and who endure in the true faith are eternal and perpetual and unending. Similarly, the torments for the impure apostates from the holy and pure Christian faith are eternal and everlasting. As precept we have to hand the Lord's saying: "Who denies me before men, him shall I too deny before my Father." And: "Whoever wishes to save his soul will lose it"; and: "Who lost his life for my sake will find it." And: "What will it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his soul?" Or: "What ransom will a man give for his soul? For the Son of Man came to seek and save the lost." Meditating on other such sayings that are written in the holy gospel, they laughed at, jeered, and mocked the tyrant, despising him as a worthless child or crazy old man in his dotage who cannot say what he wishes.

When the tyrant realised that his plans against the saints had not succeeded—as it is written: "The man who plans and is contemptuous is presumptuous and will accomplish nothing" — then in his great presumption and fierce wrath and immense irritation and unquenchable [Correcting arants: The martyrdom of Atom follows that of Georg in the Jerusalem manuscript.] fury his mind became foolish like a drunkard insensible from drink. He gave way not one whit nor did he give them an opportunity to respond, but ordered the executioners to carry out on them the sentence of death, to execute them immediately with the sword [Since the time when Arabs got sharp steel swords from India, they had been obsessed with chopping off heads and limbs and in all Islamic writings this habit became eternalised.]. They left the tribunal in great joy, very happy that they would rapidly leave this body to enter God's presence. Rejoicing with delight and exultation, with joyous and cheerful hearts and unsullied enthusiasm, they headed for the place of execution, like a young groom to the wedding and as happy as a husband joining the bride. They stripped in the midst of the crowd which had rushed to see the saints' martyrdom, throwing off the garments that hid the corruption of the sins of the old man. Instead of the wedding robe they revealed the robe of baptism which they had put on by water and the Holy Spirit. Instead of a robe decorated with flowers and colours of many hues, they covered their saintly bodies with their holy, rose-coloured, red blood. Instead of the ornament of royal crowns laced with gold, they put on the worship of Christ, making the sign of the saving cross on their heads. And instead of necklaces they were to receive the shining sword on their necks.

When they reached the place of execution and the arena of their martyrdom, they knelt to pray that they might receive the sentence of martyrdom with firm faith that had no hesitation or doubt, with much endurance and thankful blessing. Drawing swords the executioners rushed on them like bloodthirsty wild beasts; they smote them with the sword like someone cutting wood in the deep forest with a hatchet, mercilessly dismembering them limb by limb.

So the blessed ones thanked for ineffable gifts Christ who had rendered them worthy to die for his name; in unison they raised the cry: "God, look to help us; and Lord, hasten to succour us," and what follows. "Since we die for you daily, we have been considered as sheep for the slaughter." Thus they were killed as martyrs for the glory of God; they inherited the title of martyr for Christ and the honour of the All-Holy Trinity. Their names are the following: Atom Andzevats'i, Mleah Varazhnuni, Georg Bolkats'i, Vasak, and many others whose names are written in heaven. But the blessed Georg, while he faced the sword and the executioner was beating him like a senseless thing—and not the slightest sword cut was he able to make on the saint's body—turned to the executioner to ask and see why he was not wielding the sword. Taking the sword from his hand he looked this way and that, saying: "Oh, most feeble and cowardly of men, effeminate and wretched soldier, worthless dog to its master." Then the executioner smote his neck and cut off his head. Astonishment gripped the whole multitude at the steadiness of heart, great fortitude, and valiant heroism which the blessed Georg displayed. The large number of Christians present there together praised the glory of God who had strengthened the saints and shamed Satan with his associates.

Then the general ordered the bodies of the saints to be dragged outside the city as food for dogs and birds of the sky. For many days they remained unburied, yet the saints' bodies were not at all contaminated, nor was there any foul smell on them. Later Christians took their precious bodies and covered them with an honourable burial to celebrate year by year the festival of their death. They were seven in number, and the holy martyrs were killed in the year 302 [of the Armenian calendar.].

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 9

What Occurred In The Second Year Of Bugha's Arrival, Which Was The Olympiad [. . .]; Concerning The War Against Sahak The Ismaelite Who Was Known As The Son Of Ismael; And Concerning The Siege Of The City (Tiflis)]

When the winter drew to a close and the season of spring approached, the air cleared of fog and mist and the warm south wind blew over the low-lying plain of Dvin. Roots took hold and plants began to gather strength, the birds and beasts recognised the time of their coming, the toiling labourers prepared for their work on the land, the hunters got ready their equipment and the merchants prepared plans for their distant journeys, shepherds gathered their sheep to drive them to the flowering meadows, and everyone in his own way made haste to go out one by one to the object of his labours.

But the general Bugha was forming his own destructive and ruinous plans. Intending also that lands and governors should not have respite or pause, he foamed in his plots like the sea which does not cease from churning up its waves. He remembered what he had done to Ashot and his land; he recalled his valiant courage; and since he had been unable to resist him, he spread fear, threatening to afflict the Armenians with even worse torments and to trample them as he neighed like a spirited charger.

Now he writhed like a snake, now he roared like a lion; he grunted like a wild pig, foaming, and grinding his teeth. To those nearby he feigned friendship, but on those distant he heaped evil threats. He commanded everyone to report ready at the plain of the city; he reassembled the forces they had previously had in each clan with their troops. But all the other princes of the East fled from his presence; they retired and occupied the strongholds, castles, cities, and mountains, gathering around them the soldiers and inhabitants of their lands in full readiness.

But when Smbat Abulabas, Sparapet [General] of Armenia, realised that it was no use disregarding Bugha's orders, he hastened to come to him. Welcomed by him, Smbat and his people with their possessions lived without worry—especially as he had previously taken the precaution of ensuring by letters and gifts to the caliph and the general that he would follow their orders and make no plans or do anything contrary to their desire. He had previously sent Ashot his son to meet Bugha as soon as he had departed from the caliph; and the sparapet had acted as his guide in the warfare and on his departure from and entrance into the various provinces. He had indicated the strength of each province, the strongholds, the military capacity of the various clans. Then gathering a vast army much greater than before, Bugha marched against the land of the East and ordered an attack on the city called Tiflis—which was previously named P'aytakaran. Their city had been built of pinewood: the walls, ramparts, palaces, all the houses of the city's inhabitants, and all the effects and furniture.

I think it superfluous to expound in writing the individual iniquities of that city which, filled with evildoing, surpassed Sodom and Jericho. Bugha reached the great river Kura and crossed when the rapid spring currents allowed his army to advance and besiege the city. No one was killed in the crossing except a single person called Ashkhet, a distinguished man, renowned in the valiant army, who had under him a host of commanders as numerous as the sea. Ashkhet himself wore armour, as did his horse; so some supposed that horse and rider were an iron statue as it were, only the eyes not being covered. When he approached the river bank, someone hiding in ambush drew a longbow and struck him with an arrow through the opening. His hand that held the bridle slackened. Then a second person hurled a spear at the same eye, and they caused Ashkhet to drown in the river. To those who found his corpse a few days later Bugha gave ten thousand pieces of silver, for the man was so respected by him.

Immediately he surrounded the city with a wall of fire, the flames roaring up from the piles of easily burning wood of cedar and juniper trees. The commander of the city, Sahak, came out through the gate which leads to the castle of Shamshvilde, dressed in sable and bearing a rod in his hand. Becoming deranged he lost his means of escape, though he was able to go wherever he wished. He sent a message to the general Zhirak': "Hasten to meet me." But the latter did not trust the envoys until they had been sent two and three times. Then Zhirak went and seized him and brought him before Bugha, who was more astonished at his reckless coming to him than at his rebelling against him. When Sahak's wife heard that he had been captured, since she was a beautiful woman she hastened to appear before Bugha in the chance of being able to save her husband through her beauty and liberal treasures. But she became the cause of his death rather than of his salvation. Bugha ordered the executioners to cut off his head. His wife raised a shriek, saying: "My lamentation will reach the caliph." She went around the camp unveiled, which was not customary for the women of the Muslim people. But it was to no avail. Bugha had his head cut off and taken to court, and took the wife in marriage. The woman again shrieked: "For my sake you killed my lord. I am not content to be your wife but the great caliph's wife." But Bugha kept her as his wife. Later he sent her to the caliph to be his wife.

When the woman arrived, she told the caliph what had happened, of the complaint that she had raised and the evidence of witnesses that "I am not content to be your wife, but the caliph's," and of what occurred. This was the cause of Bugha's destruction, which I shall briefly demonstrate in its own place.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 10

[Concerning What Took Place Among The Tsanars]

Since no one anywhere was able to resist him in any of the acts that it was his inclination to perform, he began to subject in order all the lands of the East. With fearless audacity and arrogance he made forays throughout all the regions of their control. Indeed he attacked the regions of the North, the land called Tsanak. These people dwell in mountain fastnesses and live in peace undisturbed by outside enemies. The royal taxes and tribute remain in their own hands. They merely appoint someone to rule over them at their own will. They live in unity and concord among themselves, dwelling separately according to their tribes. Near to them is the mountain of the Caucasus, in which dwell tribes, each different in language, to the number of seventy-two. They live without a leader, and each has his own customs as he pleases, even marrying their mothers and sisters.

To these went the priest Grigoris, son of Vrt'anes, to preach to them the word of life. Many among them joined him and believed in Christ, like the Tsanars and the Apkhaz. The rest, paying no heed, went to their destruction up to the present day—which we do not have time to describe. By the hands of these barbarians Saint Grigoris received a martyr's death in the plain of Vatnean.

Now when Bugha with his numerous army arrived close to their borders, he wrote messages, apparently peaceful in intent, that they should turn in friendship and unanimity to obedience to the caliph and receive honours, and through him accept the title of noble princes. But since they had take refuge in impregnable fortresses and trusted in the number of their troops and the valour of their warriors, they did not submit in the least degree to his proposals or condescend to respond. They sent back his messengers in disgrace, having given them a severe beating. Then they descended the mountains and occupied the foothills, making preparations for war. And they closed the fortified passes and defiles of the valleys which led to the approach of their fortresses.

Then the general Bugha ordered his troops to attack them in battle. Approaching them, they arranged their line and gave battle to the army of the Tsanars. They surrounded the foot hills like an encircling sea whose waves swell up by the force of the winds. Indeed, the whole earth roared like the billowing waves of the sea. The battle waxed fierce from dawn until the very end of the day, raging to the twelfth hour. The royal army was defeated and returned to their camp, and the mountaineers returned to their camp. After the interval of a day they again joined battle, and the royal army was defeated. After a few days had passed, once more battle was joined, and the royal army was defeated even more decisively. So they were placed in a great dilemma: they were unwilling to withdraw, for Bugha considered the action a severe disgrace, but neither were they able to continue their resistance, for many of their troops had fallen. So they decided to return to the attack. They set up fortifications, built quarters [here: forts or strongholds], and made dwellings. For nine days they remained there and attacked more than nineteen times. But the royal troops were severely defeated and were decimated by the army of the Tsanars. So they returned humiliated, covered with shame and ignominy, ridiculed and despondent.

Near the end of the second year since he arrived, he marched to the regions of the Atuank. At that time there ruled over the extensive territory of the Aluank' a certain Apumuse, who was noted as a reader and was known as "son of a priest." When he heard that Bugha had brought troops and was already coming to attack him, he ordered his whole country to occupy the mountainous areas, intending to resist with force and courageous heart—especially as he had seen that Bugha had been defeated and beaten by the Tsanars.

"Let us not be more cowardly than the Tsanars," he said, "for we have stronger and higher fortresses than they, and it is easier to secure the entrances to the defiles. Only let us with united hearts take refuge in God's help. If it happens that anyone is killed, it will be considered a glorious thing for himself and his clan, and he will receive a martyr's crown from Christ. For it will not be a death of a common sort, but one on behalf of the holy church and God's people." Such and more similar exhortations did the pious prince of Albania set before his troops.

Then Bugha, taking the mass of his army, descended to the plain of Gagarats'ik' and entered the great city of Partaw. He began to rage and plotted to spew out his evil poison on the prince of the Aluank. He sent a summons, calling him to subjection. But the latter paid no heed to his words because he was well aware of his deceitful habits. He gathered together the inhabitants of the land—all the men and women from the

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land of the Aluank' including a host of common peasants and a few legions of soldiers from the secure mountain called K't'ish, as well as stores of provisions. When Bugha discovered what sort of preparations the prince of the Aluank was making, he became hesitant. For although he had frequently waged war with them in previous battles, he had been unable to reduce their impregnable fortresses or the brave men in them. So in cajoling terms he summoned Apumuse to obedience.

But the latter sent back a response in this fashion: "It is customary for governors to come to a land with royal solicitude to their obedient subjects, to remove tribulations and relieve distress like guardians, but not to ruin [the land] like brigands or ravage it with sword and captivity. If you had come from court as a governor with peaceful intentions you would have brought benefits and prosperity to these people, not ruin and turmoil.

So let it be clear that as long as my strength endures and I live, I shall oppose you with the power and force of the Lord God. I shall not meet you in peaceful friendship, but I shall meet you with arms and a bow and a sword, with valiant men and select horses. If it pleases you to save yourself and your army, remove yourself from here and leave our territory. Otherwise you will soon lose your life through your mad passions, and scatter your bones in the desert, and become food for the beasts of the earth and the birds of the air. Let your will be done. I am innocent of your blood, especially because I regard it as an act of great piety to slay the enemies of God, as Moses did Amalek, or Joshua the Canaanites, or Samuel Agag, or David Goliath. And as the Israelites slew all the foreigners [Muslims] and God was pleased with them, so too shall I deal with you and your army.

This is enough of verbosity towards you on my part. In your hands lies peace or turmoil. If, as I said, you leave me there will be peace; but if not, there will be war and struggle and battle. You are the target, and mine the bow that pierces; you are the adversary, and mine the victorious warriors; you are the enemy, and mine the troops that condemn. Yours is the war, ours the victory; yours the body, and mine the lance; yours the neck, and mine the sword. Yours is the property, but we are the heirs; yours the booty, but we are the plunderers; you are the brigand, we the thieves; you the reed, we the consuming fire; you the straw, we the boisterous winds; you the flower, we the withering simoon; you the flowering field, we the destructive hail; you the building without foundation, I the flood that over turns the foundation, you the carrion, my army the beast that tears; you the toy, we the children who, grasping your power, play with you and all your haughty pride; you the wild animal, we the hunters; you the bird, and we descend from the heights and take you in the net; you the sea serpent, and we the hook, dragging you up by your palate from unfathomable depths; you are like the stag without horns, and we the eagles swooping down on you, blinding your eyes, to throw you as carrion to my young and the foxes who live in dens. So again I say, this is none of your business. And lest you are pained by what I told your messengers, even more than the damage you suffered in attempting to entrap us, such perils will you run."

When the tyrant heard these responses that were full of vigour and terrible indignity, he was thrown into great perturbation and stood seized with astonishment. All his plans had been destroyed and scattered. He did not know what to do. After conferring with much deliberation, as a consequence of their best perceptions the Muslims decided to write and inform the caliph about that man. So they sent messengers to the caliph, while they themselves invested the mountain until some order should be brought them in haste from court.

However, Apumuse, armed and accoutred in full array, descended to attack them. He inflicted great damage, took much booty, and returned to his position and encampment. Thence forth Bugha dared not abandon his own camp without trepidation. Part of his army he put under the command of a certain general and stationed him to the north. He himself with the majority of his troops encamped to the east. They built strongholds, carefully surrounded them with walls, set up fortifications, piled up stones, erected catapults, and made preparations. After a few days Bugha commanded them to go out to battle. They formed ranks and filled the line with the various companies of select troops according to tribes. Encircling the mountain, they set up their tall and long-flapping flags and standards. They formed in their groups companies of five hundred men to each ensign. Why should one enumerate individually the vast number of arms and armoured formations of horses and their riders? There are valiant men knowledgeable in this; those who are occupied with warfare can number all the arms and treasures in the caliph's treasury, which they brought with them loaded on camels. They went out to battle and fought, and the encounter grew ardent. Mingling ranks, they fell on each other. The royal army suffered severe losses, fled back to their camp, and entered the strongholds they had built. The mountaineer troops of Apumuse pursued the fugitives; they descended the mountain and turned to plunder the corpses. They returned to their encampment with a great victory, rejoicing with unsullied joy. Then they settled down to keep guard over themselves and the whole mass of inhabitants of their principality.

After this, which was the second defeat for the Muslims, Bugha again commanded them to go out to war. When they approached the Aluank, suddenly about one thousand men from their elite clashed with them; they turned the Muslims in flight back to their camp and themselves returned safe and sound, without a single one being wounded. So they returned to their general with a great victory and much booty.

For the general Bugha this was a terrible disaster. Plunged into anxiety, he was greatly disturbed in his mind and driven frantic in his search for a solution. He shut himself up in his tent and took no respite or rest. Sleep fled from his eyes. For ten days no one came in to him or went out, for he had entered his chamber with shame-filled visage. However, not a little fear gripped him, so many companies with drawn swords kept watch around him. But when the ten days had come to a close, his commander requested permission to enter his presence; taking him by the hand, he began to converse with him: "Why do you slacken your hand, mingle cowardice with their valour, and allow all these countries to prevail over you? Why do you yourself lose your reputation for bravery whereby you made every land tremble and shake, so no one was able to oppose you? Why do you weaken your mighty arms and hands? Surely you are not the very first to be defeated, or your army the first to fall, or yours the first booty to be divided? Have you not considered, that from the beginnings to the present time, everywhere that an army has been gathered and a war fought and swords and a battle waged, sometimes they are victorious, and sometimes defeated? Which of those who ruled the world was never put to the sword? Among the princes of the nations, in one place they grow powerful, elsewhere they grow weak." By continuing to speak with the general, the commander removed the veil of gloom from his heart. Then leaving the chamber, they sat down to be merry.

At that very moment there arrived from court an order not to grow weary or discouraged, and not to give up waging war with Apumuse until, willingly or unwillingly, he submitted to the caliph.

Then he commanded all the troops to go out to battle. As the host of soldiers put on their armour and swords and-made preparations, there was such a great noise of trumpets, lyres, and harps that the mountain almost collapsed from its foundations. He brought the army near to the summit of the mountain, with them many standards one for each thousand elite men with noble mounts. Scarcely anywhere had there been before such an awesome sight of a fully arrayed army of any of the kings who had held sway over the ends of the world—such a loud and fearsome thunder and crashing and flashing of arms as were then exhibited by the army of the Muslims. They marched out company by company rapidly and eagerly one after the other; and everyone who saw them was stricken with great fear. Lord

Mushel, son of the general [Smbat Abulabas, General of Armenia; Mushel was his second son, brother of the future king Ashot.], was stationed in the open on a ill, and stood there watching in fearful and tremendous amazement. He raised his mind to the future coming of Christ and the awesome thunderings and crashings that will then occur: the bolts of fire and fearsome consternation on earth, and how the bands of angels will press forward one after the other, and how the Lord's cross will shine forth with awesome rays, and whatever accompanies these at the future coming of Christ on the last day. Then, putting aside all preoccupation with wordly illusions, he passed beyond the visible. And since he was versed in the divinely inspired Scriptures and was familiar with and knowledgeable of eloquent precepts, at that moment he set down his spiritual vision as a hymn that begins: "My soul looks with the undisturbed eye of the heart at the second coming." Five strophes from the eighth syllable.

Now when all the host of the army had been assembled in one place to the number of more than two hundred thousand, and they had formed ranks and drawn up their lines, and champions had called their opponents out to battle, then Apumuse, called son of a priest, marched out to battle and confronted them. He was like a great iron hill or rock of adamant; his troops formed a solid mass—as it were a single man. The army of the Muslims completely surrounded the force of the Aluank' and fearlessly rushed upon them, but they held their ground, without anyone stepping in front of his comrade. While the former thought that the Aluank had been delivered into their hands, the latter turned to prayer and invoked God to their aid. They attacked in four divisions, like the Lord's cross; they crushed the enemy line, broke their ranks, turned them back, and pushed them off the mountain, inflicting tremendous losses.

As straw is blown by the wind, or smoke dissipated by a storm, so did they disappear from before the army of the Aluank'. These turned back and amassed an incalculable booty. But why should I describe each detail of the battles one by one? I shall speak concisely and abbreviate my account. The war between them continued for nearly a full year. And not in a single confrontation did Apumuse turn away from Bugha. As is reported, the number of their battles was twenty-eight, and the royal army was defeated in that many encounters and actions.

When both sides realised that there was no solution or way to forge peace, then they agreed to write to the caliph, for the general of the Aluank said: "Lest anyone suppose me to be a rebel against the caliph and for this reason to be attacking the army of Asorestan." But he piled up on Bugha responsibility for the rebellion and the losses to the army—of which indeed he informed the caliph in writing: "Now if there comes to me a letter from the court sealed with the caliph's ring, in which a command is written that I should go to you or to the court, I shall not disobey his command. But if that does not happen, as I said you will see even more sword and battle than you have seen up to now."

Then the two of them sent messages to the caliph through reliable men, according to Isaiah's saying: "They shall send messengers who will weep bitterly." They wrote and informed the caliph of what they had done and how the royal army had been defeated. Both sides settled down to guard their positions with great care and agreed with each other not to give battle until the messengers whom they had sent should return from the caliph. Now that great victory was granted through the general Apumuse so that the Lord's saying through the mouth of the prophet Amos might be fulfilled: "I shall break the lances of Damascus," which is now called Dmishk, whence they had set out following Bugha.

While they were waiting to receive an order from court, the messengers returned rapidly bringing a letter from the caliph to Apumuse bidding him submit to them and go to Bugha. In it was written a pardon for the damage and losses to the army and the mass of booty, also an oath to confirm the spoken message and gifts of honourable and expensive garments with a decorated^ helmet and sword. Only he was to heed the caliph's summons and not disobey his wishes. The latter had written to Bugha not to plot or inflict any evil on that man but to have him taken to the caliph with great honour and consideration.

When the general of the Aluank had read the caliph's letter, he hastened down from the mountain and presented himself to Bugha. Before he reached the general, there came to meet him companies equipped with arms and select horses. He had brought before Apumuse richly adorned and noble horses as well as singers and rhapsodists with many musical instruments in front and behind while he was still outside their camp. Bugha treated him not at all unkindly, neither recalling what he had done, nor causing him any gloom; but he received him in a friendly and peaceful fashion with splendid honour and gifts in accordance with the caliph's orders. After a few days had passed, he had him taken to the caliph accompanied by companies of armed soldiers and elite cavalry. So the valiant champion 1 Apumuse went on his way with fearless courage, strengthened in his mind and determination in accordance with his steadfast valour.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 11

[In What Fashion Makati From The Province Of Vanand Was Martyred]

It happened that there passed that way a certain Mukat' of the nobility of Vanand to inform himself according to custom of each person's station and eminence of rank, whether this was due to birth or place or province or family or valour or chance. It is usual in books to indicate both the event and the place involved, either to make them known or to render them famous. The Muslim soldiers arrested him and brought him to the general. They imputed to him much harm to state affairs, and falsely rather than rightly condemned him. Eventually a great and fearsome tumult was stirred up against him, and his calumniators cried with one voice before the tyrant, tearing their collars: "He is worthy of death; it is not right for him to live or have an opportunity to respond." By such a violent uproar of false testimony they excited the tyrant's full anger against the man, such anger as the general Bugha had never vented on anyone else for all that time. He commanded him to be brought into the tribunal where the group of generals were all assembled. He interrogated him cruelly and with the authority of his position: "Abandon the faith of Christ," he said," and I shall forgive you the great harm you have wrought; you will live and enjoy royal honours and gifts. Do not add to the great crimes you have committed, as I hear them described by your accusers, that of obstinate persistence in the faith of Christ whom you worship, so that you are deprived of life through cruel tortures. For I have nothing more to say to you."

The blessed Mukat' responded, full of faith and with a true confession in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit: "Who allowed me to be martyred for the truth and die for Christ's name, to shed my blood in return for Christ's blood, to offer my body to death in return for his body, to mingle my torments with his torments, that I should be glorified with him? He is the Lord of Lords, King of Kings, Prince of life and death, God for eter nity, Jesus Christ. But your threats and tortures, which you say you will inflict on me, seem in my eyes as a joke

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of children or madmen, and your words like those of a senseless man or a crazy and raving dotard."

Immediately the angry tyrant ordered that first the saint's tongue be cut out 3 so that he could not further insult the caliph, their legislator [Mohammed], and himself. Then he ordered his two hands and his two feet to be cut off. Limb by limb they dismembered him; he offered himself as a living sacrifice to the Son of God. With great fortitude and thanksgiving he endured the tortures inflicted on him for the love of Christ. While he was still alive, Bugha had a massive and very tall gibbet erected; he was put on the top of it and suspended in a very high place. Then bringing him down from the gibbet, they cut off his head with a sword and set it back up again in the spot of his martyrdom, in Goroz near the mountain K'shit [the correct name is K't'ish.] where the camp of the Muslims was situated. So the holy, all-victorious champion of Christ Mukat'l was martyred gloriously for the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

In similar fashion, or even more wonderfully, the thrice-blessed Solomon, known as Sevordi, and Kakhay of the upper land did not incline to the tyrant's proposals or heed his words that reeked of gall and putridity like the stench that emanates from an opened tomb—whereby he had seduced many away from the divine religion and the worship of the Son of God. But they battled valiantly and responded to the tyrant with great audacity, hoping in the one sole King of Kings and in the Lord of Lords, in Christ the Son of God. They said to the tyrant: "It is better for us to die for Christ's name than to enjoy life with you. By whatever death you wish, we are ready to submit to every form of torture that the master of evil, your father Satan, has taught you. We shall not abandon the love of Christ, nor shall we be deprived of eternal life or inherit eternal torments."

Then the tyrant raged like a furious wild beast attacking lambs to devour them. He ordered them to be fastened to stakes with their feet and hands bound. He had iron rods brought, and they tortured them with the rods for a long time until they seemed to have died. But they endured with great fortitude, thanking Christ the liberal bestower of unbounded gifts, who had made them worthy to die for Christ's name and to receive the crown of martyrdom.

While they were still alive and thanking Christ for the unconquerable power with which he had strengthened the saints for the great arena in the spiritual battle, the tyrant became even more enraged, flaming like a fiery furnace. He had wood brought, and they placed the blessed Solomon on the wood. Near to the wood they set the holy Kakhay, so that perhaps the one, frightened by the other's torments, might obey the tyrant's order. But even more than previously they endured the tortures in order to be crucified with Christ. They denied themselves, took up Christ's cross, and followed the summons.

They lost themselves, that is the life of the world, in order to gain eternal life. They died with Christ in order to reign with him.

Then there came an order from court to kill Saint Solomon on that pile of wood by shooting him with arrows. At the tyrant's command, the executioners in a circle shot arrows at him; so the blessed martyr of Christ gave up the ghost for the glory of God.

Saint Kakhay he ordered to be slain with the sword. The executioner took his sword, struck the blessed one, and cut off his head. Immediately he surrendered his soul into God's hands. Thus the blessed ones were martyred to the eternal glory of the Holy Trinity.

With the captives from the mountain of Khoyt' was a man called Yovnan. He it was who during Bugha's attack, from the beginning of his invasion into Armenia, had opposed him with the inhabitants of the mountain and had inflicted severe losses on the royal army. But when the Muslim troops attacked the people of the mountain and defeated them, they arrested the blessed Yovnan and had him taken in bonds to the royal prison.

One day the caliph ordered him to be brought before him. He questioned him about the death of Yovsep' in revenge for* his second heroic exploit when Yovnan had resisted the general and reminded him about the revolt and his involvement in harm to royal affairs. [* It is unclear whether this means "when Yovsep' was seeking to punish [Yovnan]," or "[the caliph questioned him] in order to take revenge for . . ."] At the same time he tried to intimidate him even more, that perchance thereby he might really be able to turn him away from the true faith in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. When he put before him the question of the harm, whereby he expected he would cast him into a snare of destruction, he said to the blessed one: "If you wish to live with me and enjoy the life of this world, to receive gifts and honours from me, submit to my command, abandon the Christian faith that you observe, and serve the true religion and faith that we have learned from the prophet Mahumaf. Otherwise, you will receive the opposite of this, torments and death, and be deprived of life by a cruel death."

But the saint, inspired with a noble resolution, said to the tyrant: "Why do you suppose me to be a young child that you cast before me vain and fanciful deceit, promising me a deceitful and false hope in order to draw me away from the true hope, the truth of which I have comprehended since my youth?" Said the caliph: "Do not despise my royal words and lose your life, to become like one of those condemned to death who have deprived themselves of life by a cruel death—such as has been prepared for you if you persist in the same stubborn faith in Jesus, son of Mariam a Jewish woman."

The blessed one said: "I see you speak as one of those mad fools. long since despised you and had not the slightest fear in my heart for you. In my disdain for you I put your general and his troops to the sword, his booty I distributed, and on the second occasion I planned no little slaughter for your army. So shall I mingle cowardice with my valour and capitulate through fear of death? For the things of this world I have fought much, as you know and as you now hear from me. Shall I not then die for Christ and for eternal life, or shall I really be afraid of you? Far from it! Here stand I; do not hesitate to carry out whatever you wish to do."

When he the caliph heard such replies and more of the same tenor delivered in a resolute and fearless manner with great audacity, then he ordered him to be put to death immediately by beheading with the sword. The executioners took the blessed one to the place of execution. He raised his hands to heaven in prayer that he might be able to overcome heroically, then offered his neck to the executioner who cut off his head. So the blessed Yovnan gave up the ghost with a true confession in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, to whom be glory for ever.

When Bugha had carried out his plans against Armenia—the removal of the Armenian magnates from the country—he also brought it about that no one at all remained in security, and notably that no one continued to resist his control. He wrote individually to those who remained in their lands in strongholds to the effect that they should rapidly come to him from each one's territory without suspicion or fear; that they would receive their principalities and enjoy royal gifts and honours, and be subject to the caliph. Each left his territory, outstripping one another in response to Bugha's summons. Gathering in one spot, they came before the general of the Muslims. For a short while he forgave them with an appearance of peaceful friendship, until his affair with Apumuse had been carried through.

But after the latter had been arrested and the general knew that from then on not a single Armenian prince remained who had not joined him, he then stripped off the mask of deceit which Satan had planted in his heart. He formed companies of armed soldiers, accoutred and prepared, according to the various families and the number of Armenian lords. At dawn one morning, while each was sleeping in his own tent, his troops surrounded them with swords, shields, lances, and lit torches. Entering at their general's command, they put the Armenians' feet into iron bonds, put them on camels, and brought them to Samarra.

These were their names: Lord Smbat, sparapet of Armenia; Grigor son of K'urdik, lord of the Mamikonean; Atrnerseh, prince of Albania; Grigor, lord of Siunik'; Sahl son of Smbat, lord of Shak'e, who had captured Baban; the princes Vasak, lord of Vayots'-dzor, and Pfilippe, prince of Siunik', and Nerseh, prince of Garit'ayank'; and then Esayi Apumuse, who had waged many wars. There remained only Ashot, son of the sparapet , and Mushel and Smbat, brothers of Ashot, whom Bugha allowed to govern their land because of the earlier loyalty of their father to the caliph and the general. For he had followed their wishes with all his strength and devotion. In the principality of Vaspurakan there remained Gurgen in the general's place and the other Artsruni families. So he removed all the powerful men from Armenia, then went himself to Partaw, to winter there and to see how he might complete the final destruction of Armenia. He despatched a certain Abraham and sent him as governor of Armenia and overseer of the royal taxes, to rule in the place of its princes.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 12

[What Took Place After The Removal Of The Princes, And Concerning The Wars]

After the principality had been abolished from the land of Vaspurakan, there remained various families of the Artsruni clan: the valiant Gurgen, Mushel his brother, and Apujap'r, Apumk'dem, Vasak, and another Vasak, and Mushel, and Ashot, and Sahak, and others from the house of the Artsrunik', and their knights. But they began to multiply further woes on woes. For they fought and quarrelled with each other in their desire for the principality. Estranged from each other, they formed armies from among those who had escaped the sword and captivity of Bugha. Some of them proposed Gurgen for the title of the principality, others Apujap'r, and some Vasak. In this regard the saying of the prophet Isaiah is apposite: "In that day a man shall strike his brother or his relative; and they shall say: Be our prince, and our nourishment shall be with you." So the land fell into confusion and was filled with turmoil. Wherever they went they laid waste by raiding, plundering, and rapine. No man had mercy on his brother, in accordance with another saying of Isaiah: "Man shall fall on man," he says, "and man on his fellow. The youth shall smite the old man, and the unworthy the honourable." For in the example of the Israelites, as in the days of their anarchy there were confusions and each man did as was pleasing to his eyes [Thomas is referring to the time of the Judges; see 17.6 and 21.25: "in those days there was no king in Israel; every man did that which was right in his own eyes."], so likewise now the same occurred. For the humble and weak through poverty wandered about in distress, while the more powerful and strong became ferocious like beasts, disturbing the whole country by their shameless and unimpeded brigandage.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 13

[How Gurgen Remained Alone, And The Many Wars In The Country]

With especial pleasure I am happy to undertake the story of he noble, glorious, and victorious champion, I mean Gurgen, member of a family that is most splendid, distinguished, grand, eminent, and prestigious. He descended from two royal lines, being a scion of Senek'erim and of the Mamikoneans from Chen. From both sides he inherited royal blood and station: from his father that of Senek'erim, and from his mother that of the Mamikoneans, from whom he traced his genealogy down to the time we are considering. Gurgen deserves the most expansive praises; I should richly eulogise him and deploy my rhetoric to the fullest extent. But since this is the occasion to write history and not engage in panegyrics, I shall avoid all reproach, especially since with my meagre erudition I am inadequate to expound the full measure of his praise. That I leave to other more competent and intelligent men, freeing myself from overwhelming censure. But I myself have no hesitation, reserve, or objection in considering him the equal of the martyrs and in praising as sacrificial his relentless struggles against the Arab raiders. He expended torrents of blood for his native land, and soul and body for the saints of Christ's church and the believers in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, in order to preserve them safe and unsullied. As a good shepherd gives himself to death for his sheep , he modelled himself on the Son of God, as it pleased Paul to say: "Those whom he previously knew he previously summoned to share the image of his Son." Let this suffice for those who are logically minded and understanding. We shall carry forward in abbreviated fashion our historical task.

But do not blame me, Oh lover of learning , for not including in this history all his deeds in detail. For the deeds accomplished by others are one or two or so, whereas his surpass in number the activity of many men. Therefore, for the moment we have abbreviated them into few words, as Paul was pleased to write in the Epistle to the Hebrews: "Time does not suffice for describing the judges of Israel and the holy prophets"; in this account he includes only "those who by faith defeated the king dom." In similar fashion John writes about the saving dispensation at the end of his gospel.

Gurgen, son of Apupelch, prince of Vaspurakan, in the troubled time of Bugha and when the patriarch Yovhannes was Catholicos of Armenia, acted wisely in not opposing the evil one. But when Bugha entered the land of Vaspurakan, Gurgen went to K'urdik, lord of the Mamikonean, in the province of Bagrevand and stayed there, for K'urdik was Gurgen's uncle.

When Bugha had completed his passage through the land of Vaspurakan and had marched to the East, Gurgen went to the province of Sper. At that time the prince called Grigor of the Bagratuni clan had surreptitiously seized from the Greeks the castle called Aramaneak; Gurgen was received by him with splendid honour. The general of the East came to wage war with the prince in order to recover the fortress, and there Gurgen demonstrated much valour in opposing the Greek army—not once but many times. With forty men he attacked a thousand, killed many of the elite Greeks, and completely despoiled them, so that in his astonishment at his valour the general wrote to the Greek emperor Michael informing him about him.

Then the emperor wrote to his general in the hope that he would be able to persuade Gurgen to come to the capital to the emperor, from whom he would receive gifts and honour and promotion in rank. Gurgen did not consent to go to the Greeks, but he did persuade Grigor to give the castle to the general and appease the emperor. Some Muslim soldiers from Bugha's army had come to attack the Greek forces in the castles. Gurgen opposed them numerous times, inflicting no small losses on the Muslim army. Then he himself went to the prince in the fortress called Ashkharhaberd; after there exhibiting most courageous resistance, he returned to the sparapet Smbat.

The latter informed Bugha about him, saying: "This man Gurgen from the clan of the Artsrunik', a valiant warrior, from fear of you crossed over to the territory of the Greeks. Yet he frequently attacked the Greek forces that were waging war with your army, and caused no little shedding of blood to the Greek troops vicariously for your army. Now behold, he

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has arrived and awaits your orders. May you be pleased, valiant general, with his brave deeds against the Greek army." And Bugha sent word to the sparapet that Gurgen should remain with the sparapet without fear and accept his profound thanks.

In those same days, when the survivors of the Artsruni house heard of the defeat of the royal army by the Tsanars, they gathered their forces in one spot with the foot soldiers and mass of common people, being four thousand in number. As their leader they appointed Apujap'r Artsruni, and with him Sahak Apumk'dem, Apujap Vs uncle, a brave warrior. Raiding the provinces of Chuash and T'ornawan, they took plunder. But because Bugha had entrusted these provinces to the sparapet Smbat, he wrote to the emir of Nakhchavan whose name was Abraham, informing him about the troops of Vaspurakan. Abraham rapidly marched to the city of Berkri, and in unison with the citizens went out to meet the army and commanders of Vaspurakan at a village called Khozalberk'. For the Muslims had retreated and fled before Apumk'dem. In a single raid Apumk'dem had slain eight men and stripped them of their horses, arms, and accoutrements. He had inflicted great losses on the Muslims and had again made incursions in pursuit of them. While he was riding along deep in thought, his wounded horse caught its foot in a small bush, as they say, and fell head long, breaking its back and throwing its rider, the valiant general Apumk'dem. His enemies fell upon him, striking him with their swords. One of them stripped off his shoes, but he kicked the coward in the chest and killed him. Then they rushed on him, cut off his head, and brought it to their general Abraham. Taking courage, they turned on the Armenian force, in flicting grave losses. But Lord Apujap'r and those with him fought bravely against the Muslims and carried the day.

When the Armenians realised that their general had been killed and that their right arm had been crushed, 1 they turned in flight. Breaking ranks and destroying their line, they separated and abandoned the battle, every man fleeing where he could escape. There remained only the infantry, discouraged without a leader. The enemy fell on these and slaughtered them, filling the wide valley with the corpses of the slain. The springs there and the other muddy rivulets of water in the valleys below turned to blood. Abraham crossed over to the capital of Rshtunik* [the city of Ostan, the modern Vostan (Gevash).] and stayed there; later he returned to his own residence in Nakhchavan. Apujap'r went to the region of Albag. Troops gathered around him from every quarter; then they entered the capital of Rshtunik and appointed as their prince Vasak Kovaker, brother of Vahan.

When news of the defeat of the troops of Vaspurakan by the Muslims and of Vasak's becoming prince reached the valiant Gurgen, he rapidly marched to the land of Vaspurakan with the approval of the sparapet. As soon as he reached there, he quickly attacked the fortresses called Jlmar and Sring, seized them, and captured Vasak, appropriating for himself the command of the entire principality of Vaspurakan. He began to make an orderly tour of the whole land, in which dwelt the Muslims who had remained there at Bugha's orders. He inflicted great losses on the Muslims, slaughtering them with the sword and bow, and removed all the tribes of Muslims who were living in the principality of Vaspurakan.

At that time a certain Butel from the royal army came at Bugha's command to attack Gurgen. With him were the citizens of Berkri called Ut'manik and those of the nobility of Vaspurakan who had joined the royal army, about two thousand men. They encountered each other at the village of Ordok' at the head of Hayots'dzor which leads into the province of Aruant'uni. Gurgen was encamped there with four hundred men, unworried and unsuspecting. Suddenly at dawn the force of Muslims attacked. Gurgen hastily mounted his horse. They formed line and filled out the ranks; the shield bearers covered the front of the battle line, posted in support of the warriors of the infantry. Valiantly distinguishing themselves, the Armenian troops battled the Muslims for many drawn-out hours, inflicting great losses on their army. But the Muslim force recovered a little and stood firm. Then Lord Gurgen, in his impatience, spurred the brave horse on which he was mounted and attacked the left wing of the Muslim army. Breaking their ranks he turned them back, and one wing of the Muslims fled before Gurgen. He pursued them and slaughtered them with such vigour that there were more who perished by Gurgen's sword than who survived. The troops pursuing the survivors expelled them from their land. But the right wing of the Muslims pushed back the force of Armenians, pursued them in flight as far as their borders, and then returned thinking they had completely destroyed the Armenian army. But it was the Muslim troops who were defeated by the valiant Gurgen, and their power that was broken. From then on the Muslim army no longer dared to enter the land of Vaspurakan, for great fear had fallen upon them.

Now in addition to the many brigands who attacked Gurgen, and the hard battles that he fought with victorious heroism, not only were there enemies from the outside who surrounded him, there were also many troubles stirred up on the inside by numerous members of his own family, faithless relatives false to their pacts and oaths. But Gurgen and his party, keeping their hope in Christ unbroken, acquired a glorious repute superior to all, raising the standard of victory. And the Lord omnipotent was with him wherever he wished.

When news of Gurgen's valour and strategic skill in mounting attacks reached the general, Bugha's heart turned towards him in peaceful friendship. He had brought to him, as the due of a general, a princely sword to gird him and a noble belt to encircle his waist, rods as batons, and a spirited horse that stamped its foot imperiously, ideal for riding to war. He appointed him prince to be trusted in his own stead, and thus promoted .him to the highest eminence. Neither inner nor outer attacks were able to prevail against the victorious power of this man strengthened by Christ. But I must express my profound astonishment at how he could endure the insufferable multiplication of labour, the bodily effort of ceaseless perseverance in battle, not to mention his enthusiasm in combat. However, as earlier, I have decided to put myself beyond reproach for not setting down methodically and in order my description of the man. For it is impossible to gather in one spot the superabundance [of his deed], or to indicate all the details, especially because some others have written about them before us and have set down a comprehensive account.

After four years had passed, during which time Lord Zak'aria held the patriarchal throne of the Catholicosate of Armenia, Grigor the brother of Ashot prince of Vaspurakan returned from the land of the Apkhaz [Grigor was Ashot's youngest brother; Ashot was still in prison in the Islamic city of Samarra, Iraq.]. With their support and that of elite Georgian troops he entered the land of Vaspurakan to wage war against Gurgen. But when the troops who accompanied him realised the latter's unshakeable valour, they returned to their own territories on various pretexts. So Grigor, unable to carry through his opposition, treated with Gurgen on terms of peace and friendship for the division of the land into two; they mutually agreed to peace. However, the disturbers and enemies of peace did not cease scheming against the good or increasing the evil—especially Vasak [the apostate.], who attributed to himself the supposed title of prince. But although Gurgen recognised those deceiving him, he did not requite for the evil done; but every time he seized him he let Vasak go in peace, treating it as a jest.

At the same time Vahan, son of Ashot and nephew of Sahak, returned from captivity. Intending to seize the land he raised a force to oppose Gurgen, but sustained a defeat rather than victory. Gurgen was residing in the secure fortress of the capital of Rshtunik' when Vahan suddenly attacked him with the intention of acquiring some of Gurgen's land. The latter made a sortie with a few men, rushing down like a torrent of water, and expelled Vahan and his troops. Descending to the plain, they mustered together, drew up line, and joined battle. Many they slaughtered, and Shapuh the prince of the Amatuni family was among the wounded who fell. Gurgen encountered the large force of Vahan in a murky ditch; not a few swords struck at him, and a certain Juansher unexpectedly smote Gurgen from behind, wounding him. But with rapid hand he drew his sword, hit Juansher in the face, putting out his eyes, and returned after this great victory to his fortified position.

After a few days Vahan went back to Samarra to inform Ashot what had transpired. But Grigor lived for one year after his return, and died. They took him and buried him in the monastery of the Holy Cross in the province of Albag [Monastery of the Holy Cross. Many Artsruni princes and princesses were buried here in the family vault.].

But Gurgen pursued his course of heroic encounters in battle.

Ceaselessly, day and night, he and the noble troops who had joined him did not merely demonstrate their prowess and victorious courage in certain places but everywhere rushed to the assault like champions. Like a single person, in armour and bearing a sword for battle, they attacked fortresses and beat down their garrisons with sword and bow, to the flashing of sword and lance, and even in combats by night. Just as the valiant general of Israel, Joshua, or Gideon, or even the very patriarch Abraham, attacking the Canaanites [The Bible mentions no particular victory of Gideon over the Canaanites, but cf. Judges, chapter 6. God promised the land of Canaan to Abraham, Genesis 17.8.], waged a continuously victorious struggle and returned in great triumph; such or even more gloriously victorious battles did the great general Gurgen win over the race of Ismael, setting up the standard of victory everywhere and in all places.

Like the brave shepherd praised by the Saviour, he gave his life for his sheep opposing the ravenous wolves, mercilessly rushing to the assault, as he delivered all the violent oppressors of our country to blood and destruction, to slaughter and death by the sword. He was blessed and eulogised by those far and near, by the natives and foreigners in the land. The tribes of Muslims were altogether atremble at the sight of him and distraught with great fear, for they saw their demise confirmed without a doubt. He cleansed the land from the impurity and deceit of its oppressors, like Judas Maccabee purifying the impiety of Antiochus from Israel, 6 and made peace for all his subjects.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 14

[The Return Of Derenik To Armenia, And The Beginning Of The Lord's Restoration Of The Princes Of All Armenia From Captivity]

The sixth year of the captivity of Armenia was completed, which was the 306th year of the Armenian calendar—equivalent to six jubilees and olympiads and indictions—and the third year of the patriarchate of Lord Zak'aria, Catholicos of Armenia. [The year 306 of the Armenian era ended on April 25, 858 AD. But it is not clear how Thomas makes this six jubilees (300) and six (?) olympiads (24?) and six (?) indictions (90?). As above, p. 106 at n. 5, Thomas does not use these terms in any strict sense. Zak'aria became Catholicos in 855 AD.] It was the beginning of the seventh year that the princes had been at court, in accordance with the septennial measure of time, just as God had allotted for the people of Israel in captivity in Babylon, as it is written in the prophecy of Isaiah: "You will know the seventy-seventh and you will understand how to respond, from the issuance of the saying up to the Anointed will be seven weeks and sixty-two weeks." In like fashion Daniel makes the same declaration.

So much do they say. As for us, we shall abbreviate the whole revolution into single numbers, reckoning the total of years according to tens of weeks, which is the most perfect of numbers—seven. To that period of time did God abbreviate his decree against this new Israel, that is among the heathen. [Although Armenian historians often looked to Old Testament heroes, and especially to the Maccabees, as models, they do not often refer to Armenia as "the new Israel." The "heathen" are the Muslims, just as Elishe applied the term to the Sasanians.] Then abundantly he poured out the mercy of his creative care for his creatures, humanely pitying them at the intercession of the saints who had shed their blood for the true and unsullied confession in Christ, and for the exertions of the blessed Grigor Artsruni, the valiant champion and victorious martyr and confessor of Christ, and through the chief shepherd, Saint Yovhannes the bishop, and the heroic priest Grigor. These continuously addressed pleas for mercy on high on behalf of the Lord's people, just as the angel of the Lord implored God, saying: "For how long will you not have mercy on Jerusalem and the cities of Juda? This is the seventieth year." And he inclined them to the direction he wished.

The Lord heard their prayers and turned from the anger of his wrath in pity and mercy, as the blessed prophets wrote.

After those days, when the caliph had delighted the Armenian princes in his banqueting hall and had promised to restore to each one his lands in inheritance, he then commanded Ashot and his son Grigor to be brought before him. He clothed them with garments, set in their hands a princely banner, girded them with a sword and belt adorned with precious stones, gave them a select and richly ornamented horse, then despatched them from the chamber in glorious splendor and notable honour to the sound of singing and the blowing of trumpets. Heralds proclaimed with voices loud and clear that the principality of the land of Vaspurakan had been given to Ashot and his son Grigor, holding in their hands the royal decree that the caliph had sent Grigor, son of Ashot, to his own country to rule over his land in the place of his father.

Then Prince Grigor departed from the caliph in great joy and indescribable happiness, and entered his own land, the principality called Vaspurakan. He ruled his country with princely authority. When he sat on the throne of his father's dominions he was about ten years old.

In the eighth year of the captivity Gurgen, Ashot's brother, returned to exercise sole control over his principality and domains, and to restore order to the land that had been troubled and ruined. For although the other Gurgen had opposed with great energy the attacks of those who were striving for the princely title, or the violent and bellicose assaults of the Muslims rom outside, nonetheless, the land was not secure. But raids by brigands, the constraints of famine, the afflictions of captors, the attacks of wild beasts, disturbances within and without openly gripped the land.

When the second Gurgen arrived, he hastily moved to attack the first Gurgen, for the latter had seized and was occupying the castles of Sring and Jtmar. But when he reached there, he abandoned armed opposition for peace talks, citing the royal command of the leader of the Muslims that the whole principality of Vaspurakan was to be entrusted to Ashot. To this he was not unresponsive, and with wise courage abandoned the castles. The second Gurgen sent him messengers to the effect that: "If you confirm a permanent alliance with me in a peace agreement, I too shall revolt against Ashot. Together we shall divide the land and live in security."

But Gurgen did not agree to this, for two reasons. First "lest I appear to be in rebellion against the caliph of the Muslims," who had heard of his prowess in many other wars and of the defeats he had inflicted on the Muslim army, and

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was suspicious of what he had done with Ashot. And second, because he did not trust Gurgen, fully remembering what they had negotiated under oath and aware of what his own father had suffered from the other's father. Therefore he set out to travel around the regions of Greek territory, entrusting his cares to the grace of God; for his heart was consecrated to the Lord God omnipotent.

When he arrived at the city of Theodosius in the province of Karin, news of him reached the emperor Michael [Michael III, emperor 842-867.], king of the Greeks [Eastern Roman emperor.], who was prompt to arrange that he proceed to him without delay, in order that he might elevate him to the great honour of the consulate and decorate him with the insignia of the cross. 6 While this plan was under consideration, two emirs, one called Bshir and the other Zk'ri, fell on [Gurgen], captured him, and brought him to Ashot son of the sparapet.

Although the latter was irritated at what had occurred, nonetheless he hesitated to let him go, fearful of the troublesome race of Ismael which still exercised tyrannical control, and because the captives and his father the sparapet were at court. So he informed the governor of the city of Tiflis. The latter demanded that [Gurgen] come to him, insisting and in timidating witji threats that he abandon the Christian religion; then he would not be troubled. But he mocked him, choosing bonds and imprisonment, even death with valour for the name of Christ over life with remorse. They bound Gurgen with triple bonds and also put chains on his neck, sent him through Persian Atrpatakan, and brought him to the prison with the captives. They frequenty addressed him with various threats and persuasive words that he might abandon the Christian religion and join the other apostates from Christ. But not in the least was he perverted by the tyrant's words, because of his love for Christ.

He also clad Solomon Bagratuni with the weapons of Satan and frequently sent him to him with the same intention. But Gurgen rejected him with smarting words as a servant of the devil [Solomon Bagratuni, presumably an apostate, is not attested elsewhere.].

Then there appeared to him in the prison a handsome person in the form of a grey-haired man, shining with light, who said to Gurgen: "Take heed, strive valiantly, arm yourself bravely, be a warrior of Christ. Do not incline to the false religion of those who have turned away from the truth, the race of Ismael, like those Armenian captives who were deluded." So he was even more confirmed and strengthened in the faith, in the love and hope of Christ. Cast into the farthest recesses of the prison, he endured everything with praise for the name of Christ—hunger and thirst, with great fortitude.

But the other Gurgen lived one more year and then departed this world, having turned from the impiety of the apostates. They brought him and laid him to rest in their sepulchre in the monastery of the Holy Cross. [I.e. Gurgen, brother of Ashot, uncle of Grigor Derenik, who died in 860 AD. "In their sepulchre" (tomb) refers to the family vault(s) of the Artsrunik' at the monastery of the Holy Cross; see above.]

Derenik*, strengthened by the power of Christ, became glorious and renowned throughout the whole land of Armenia; and the country had respite from the confusions that had befallen it. [* This is the first time that Thomas calls Grigor, son of Ashot, Derenik (he is called Deranik in the Anonymous).]

The country began to experience a renewal, the churches to shine with ornamentation and splendid rituals; those scattered rushed back to their own places to build, plant, and forget the pains and afflictions they had endured.

In those times, while Jap'rmot'ok' was greatly puffed up and waxing haughty against the Christians—like Senek'erim our an cestor against Jerusalem and the people of Israel—suddenly his own son Mot'ein attacked and slew him. He reigned in his father's place, and died after six months. After him the son of his uncle Muht'is reigned, and having lived for three months died. [Mutawakkil was assassinated on 10 December, 861 AD. Thomas's Mot'ein is Mutanasir, caliph 861-862 AD. Muht'is is Mustain (son of Mutanasir's uncle), who was caliph 862-866 AD. Therefore Vardanyan corrects "three months" (amiss g) to "four years'" (ams d).]

The Armenian princes remained in danger, seeking a way out of their troubles from Christ, from whom they had fallen away. But after the passage of many troubled days, Gurgen was released by Christ's providence, saved from prison, and returned to his land. When the news reached Derenik, he moved to attack him, but was turned back and fled. Taking courage again, he returned to oppose Gurgen, whose horse, galloping along and neighing haughtily, threw him from pain. For Gurgen was still recovering from illness and from his sufferings and afflictions in prison. Derenik's men came upon him, seized him, and brought him to prison in irons in the city of Hadamakert [The capital of Vaspurakan.]. A servant of Derenik's who was the jailer loosed him from his bonds and brought him into the room where Derenik was sleeping. The servant had the evil intention of killing Derenik and handing the principality of the land to Gurgen, for this was a convenient opportunity. But Gurgen preferred the love of Christ to the love of this transitory world. He did not seek vengeance for the blood of his father murdered by the other's grandfather; but addressing Derenik tearfully and holding in his hand a drawn sword, a sabre and axe, he said: "My son Derenik, greetings to you, greetings to you, greetings to you. I have gone off to the territory of the Greeks." The other, stricken by fear, said: "My father, have mercy on me," and was unable to utter anything else.

Then Gurgen hastily went out to conceal himself until he should succeed at Christ's will wherever he might go. He reached a village called Eragani [The site of Eragani is unknown; it was clearly in, or not far from, Vaspurakan.], and came to a monk who was priest in the monastery. As a fearer of God he trusted himself to him and begged him to protect him. The latter enclosed him in a tiny, narrow space, then made haste to put out the sad news that [Gurgen] had died; he was a mad monk full of folly, who did what he had not been ordered to do: of his own will he carried out a crime against himself, for which he will pay retribution on the day of his judgement.

But Derenik captured him and kept him carefully, doing him no harm save for the bonds in which he had fettered him, as compensation for his goodness [I.e. in not murdering him.]. But he rendered him a ready hand and was blessed by Saint Zak'aria [The Catholicos]. For when the blessed Zak'aria heard that Gurgen had been seized, he made haste to come with the bishops of the land, accompanied also by Ashot, prince of princes [Ashot Bagratuni.], and begged the prince Derenik to release him from bonds. The prince paid him heed and carried out his request. And the two made a mutual pact not to be mistrustful of each other. Derenik restored to Gurgen the province of Mardastan [Northeast of Lake Van.], his own allotment. But Gurgen suspected that Ashot might report him as a rebel to the leader of the Muslims, so he went out to live in the guise of a vagabond with brave courage, loved throughout all lands.

Now since the oversight of Armenia had been entrusted to Ashot, who was the prince of princes, he undertook the subjection of the princes of Armenia, Georgia, and Albania—which indeed he brought about. Gathering a force he entered Vantosp; Derenik opposed him, but Ashot captured him and put him in bonds like some disobedient subject and passed into the capital of Rshtunik.

When Gurgen received news of Derenik and how he had been seized, he marched rapidly with all speed from the regions of Taron. They encamped four hundred men strong, armed with armour for men and horses, in Noragiwl of Rshtunik. He wrote to the prince of princes bidding him renounce any useless plans he might have. "Otherwise, he said, I shall see you with arms and armoured cavalry drawn up in battle array." He was planning to attack Ashot unexpectedly by night. But the prince of princes, wisely inspired, hastened to fulfill Gurgen's request. And because Derenik's wife had just died, Gurgen wrote to Ashot, saying: "Does it not seem a fine idea to you, most noble and eminent of all men, that there would be a trust ing alliance between you and Derenik if you gave your daughter in marriage to Derenik as princess of Vaspurakan?" Without delay the plan was carried out. He took with him Derenik and went to his own house in Bagaran. They made a great festival for Derenik's marriage, in the 311th year of the Armenian era. [The year 311 began on 25 April, 862 AD. In 858 Grigor Derenik was "about ten years old" (see above), so he was a young widower; his first wife is not mentioned elsewhere. Ashot's daughter was named Sop'i. Derenik married Hranush, daughter of Ashot Bagratuni.]

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 15

[Return Of The Princes From Captivity]

In those same times benevolent God allowed the Armenian princes to return each to their native principalities; they lived safely in peace, subject to the authority of the prince of princes.

Among them the blessed bishop Yovhannes and the ascetic priest Grigor, bearing the full title of confessor for their testimony as martyrs, were freed from the prison where they had been thrown. They reached our land, bringing the good news of the release of the captives—like Khoren and Abraham, confessors of Christ, who were freed from the cruel sufferings of their tortures in Persia and brought the happy news of the liberation of the Armenian nobles and the Lord's restoration of his captive people.

Now the blessed bishop Yovhannes chose for himself a separate eremitic spot, devoting himself entirely to prayer and leaving his episcopal rank. In his place they appointed a certain Yohan, a gentle and pious man, full of fear of the Lord, fit for the oversight of Christ's church.

But the sparapet Smbat and the princes of Vaspurakan remained there in Persia and were added to the rolls of martyrs. For the leader of the Muslims interrogated and did violence to them both; but by the providence of God they were left to live openly without danger in the faith of Christ as they pleased.

They died there and were buried gloriously according to Christian rite by the Community of the Jacobites*, who are the believing congregations there. Gaining the name of confessors, they were rendered glorious on earth and will be crowned by Christ with all the saints. Amen. [* Ukht Yakobkats'. Ukht could mean "clergy." Yakobik for Syrian monophysites is not common in Armenian, but see the Book of Letters, above: Yovhannes Imastaser (Awdznets'i) (Monophysi[ti]sm is a Christological term derived from monos, "solitary" and physis, a word that has in this context means "nature". It is defined as "a doctrine that in the person of the incarnated Word (that is, in Jesus Christ) there was only one nature—the divine". In other words: the other words: It is about the nature of Christ i.e. if Christ was a human or a god. The Churches have been struggling about this issue for hundreds of years. The mainsteam Churches postulate that Christ is both. The Gnostics believe he is only divine. The Ebionites or Nazoraeans, which is the Jewish-Christian Church represented by James the Just, the brother of Jesus, believe that Christ is only human; he could not be god as this would violate the first three articles of the Ten Commandments.) On the Councils in Armenia, "six bishops from the Jacobite party" (Yakobik tane) attended the Council at Manazkert in the year 175 of the Armenian era 726 AD. Ibid. Letter of the Catholicos Khach'ik to the Metropolitan of Melitene, "those who oppose Chalcedon include . . . Armenians, Aluank' . . . those inhabitants of Asorestan who are Jacobite (A so res tan eayk * ork' en Yakobik), all Egypt . . ." The Council of Manzikert (or Manazkert) met in 726 to reconcile the Armenian Apostolic and Syriac Orthodox churches. It was launched by the Armenian catholicos John of Odzun and attended by many Armenian bishops and six bishops of the Syriac church sent by Patriarch Athanasius III. It took place in Manzikert (Manazkert). Both the Armenian church and the Syriac were miaphysite in their theology and rejected the Council of Chalcedon (451 AD). In the canons of the council, the Armenians anathematized both the aphthartodocetists (who believed that Jesus' body was incorruptible) and the followers of Severus of Antioch (who held a contrary doctrine) in favour of the moderate formulation of Cyril of Alexandria. The council formally withdrew the Armenian church from communion with the Greek Orthodox church. It affirmed that Christ was true God, only-begotten Son, a single hypostasis and a single nature of the incarnate Word. While his human body was capable of pain and suffering, "of his divine nature he was above suffering". This formulation was arguably consistent with Chalcedon. The council also addressed the rise of the Paulicians.

The Syriac church, which disagreed with many distinctive Armenian customs, was not entirely pleased with the outcome at Manzikert, but accepted communion with the Armenians nonetheless. The canons of Manzikert are often credited with confirming the Armenian church in its distinctive non-Chalcedonian theology and setting it apart from other churches. After the council, Armenian Chalcedonism was suppressed. The Council of Chalcedon (Latin: Concilium Chalcedonense; Greek: Synodos tēs Chalkedonos) was a church council held in 451 AD, at Chalcedon, (modern Kadıköy in Istanbul, Turkey) a town of Bithynia in Asia Minor. The Council was called by Emperor Marcian to set aside the 449 Second Council of Ephesus. Its principal purpose was to assert the orthodox catholic doctrine against the heresy of Monophysitism and Eutyches, although ecclesiastical discipline and jurisdiction also occupied the council's attention. The council is numbered as the 4th ecumenical council by the Catholic Church, the Eastern Orthodox Church, and most Protestants. Oriental Orthodox Churches do not agree with the conduct and the proceedings of the Council, commonly calling it "Chalcedon, the Ominous". This disagreement led the Oriental Orthodox Churches to separate from the rest of Christianity after the Council of Chalcedon. The Confession of Chalcedon provides a clear statement on the two natures of Christ, human and divine. The full text of the definition which reaffirms the decisions of the Council of Ephesus, the pre-eminence of the Creed of Nicaea (325 AD). The most comprehensive confession of the Person of Christ was made at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 AD and follows the teachings of Saul of Tarsos, Paul the Apostle: "Following the holy Fathers, we unanimously teach and confess one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ: the same perfect in divinity and perfect in humanity, the same truly God and truly man, composed of rational soul and body; consubstantial with the Father as to his divinity and consubstantial with us as to his humanity; "like us in all things but sin." He was begotten from the Father before all ages as to his divinity and in these last days, for us and for our salvation, was born as to his humanity of the virgin Mary, the Mother of God. We confess that one and the same Christ, Lord, and only-begotten Son, is to be acknowledged in two natures without confusion, change, division, or separation. The distinction between natures was never abolished by their union, but rather the character proper to each of the two natures was preserved as they came together in one person and one hypostasis." After this lengthy explanation, we can figure out who the Community of the Jacobites were. Jacob (Yakob) is the original name of "James"

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the Just, the brother of Jesus. And the Jacobites seem to have been an Ebionite / Nazoraean community that has survived in Armenia. It was still fighting for the real Jesus, the human.]

Gurgen, however, daily increased in strength in numerous places—in Taron, Andzavats'ik', Arzn, and everywhere—as the records which were kept before us indicate, and which it seems to me superfluous to repeat. 6 So after many turmoils and battles he succeeded in bringing the principality of Andzavats'ik' under his control in the following fashion.

Mushel, lord of Andzavats'ik', was ill and at death's door. He had a son who was an infant, so Derenik planned to control the land. Mushel set in writing that he would entrust him with the castle of Noraberd and the surrounding territories, and that he would bequeath the other lands to his own son. When the lord of AndzavatS'ik' died, his wife Helen wrote to Gurgen: "If it pleases you to marry [me] and you wish to rule over Andzavats'ik', do not hold back, delay, be slow, or fail to make haste." The plan of the lady Helen did please Gurgen. He came to the castle of Kanguar, carried out his aims, and ruled with great authority over Andzavats'ik'.

But Derenik exercised great ingenuity and caused himself much anguish in endeavouring to find some means whereby he might wrest the castles from Gurgen and control the country.

He wore himself out from his many troubles and endeavours, from gathering troops and preparing for battle, from fitting out for armed combat and setting up the powerful machine for hurling stones. Making this vain effort, but remaining unable to gain the fortress, he returned to his own principality. However, Derenik did subject to himself half of Andzavats'ik' with the fortress of Noraberd which he held by officials, and he gave to Gurgen the province of Mardastan as his personal portion, while he left his own agents there. But since Derenik had been false to Gurgen, he expelled the officials. And in like fashion Gurgen found a way to seize the castle, expel his officials, and rule alone over the principality of Andzavats'ik'. He pacified the land and made it safe and secure from bandits; he built churches and carried out the ceremonies of dedication in peace.

This was the sixth year of the captivity of the Armenians, and the 306th of their era. In the 307th year of the Armenian era Ashot, prince of Vaspurakan, returned from captivity. [This paragraph does not tally with other information in Thomas. On p. 202 above we are told that Ashot's son Grigor returned in the year 307 (a.d. 858/9), but not Ashot himself. Below, Thomas says that Ashot died six years after returning from captivity, and that he died in 323 (874/75 AD). Vardanyan corrects 307 to 317 (868/69 AD), which fits the dates. But since Thomas next turns to Bugha's death (in 862/63 AD), one may suspect that this paragraph is a later, incorrect, interpolation.]

I promised above to write concerning Bugha, in particular the exaction of vengeance, but not the whole story.

When Bugha returned to the court, he acted in a supercilious manner, was swollen and bloated full of arrogance; he would boast about the tremendous deeds he had accomplished, and suppose that by his own power he had presided over the destruction of Armenia—forgetful of the retribution for our sins inflicted by the Lord, as on Israel in times of old during the reign of Sedekia at the time of Nebuchadnezzar. We have indicated the details of the story of the wife of Sahak, a son of Ismael, the death of Sahak and his wife's public lamentation of the reason for her husband's murder, and her declaration to the leader of the Muslims, Jap'r. The latter, with his habitual licentious and foul insatiableness, waxed haughty and raged in an excess of ferocious poison. He flamed and burned like a furnace to spew out mortal poison on Bugha. But he did not enjoy an open execution of his desires—first, because of Bugha's victorious and renowned accomplishment he thought it would bring opprobrium on himself; second, because of the battalions of the army. So he sent him to Khorasan, entrusting to him the government of that land. Jap'r himself strove to remove the army from him gradually, ostensibly in order to send raids into various lands. At the same time a command was secretly give to some people to deprive him of his life; on receiving the order, they directly carried it out.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 16

Concerning the return of Prince Ashot from captivity, and Vahan Artsruni

A t that time the citizens of [the town] called Kzuin had revolted against the rule of the Muslims. So the leader of the Muslims gathered a force of cavalry from among the elite warriors of Asorestan and Arabia; among them was in cluded our valiant Ashot with his heroic strength who joined the royal army. [The role of Armenians in Sasanian armies is noted by Efishe, Lazar, and Sebeos. That the tradition was continued in Muslim times is clear from the agreement between Muawiya and Theodore Rshtuni, quoted by Sebeos, p. 164 (the "pact with death and treaty with hell"). Thomas makes it clear that the overlords of Armenia obtained military service from their vassals.] Muse, son of Bugha, was appointed general. He had promised to bring about Ashot's return to his native principality, fixing the time at the completion of the campaign on which they had set out.

When they reached their destination, the armies of both sides faced each other in immense numbers. Line prepared for battle opposing line; the most valiant and splendid outdid each other in boasts of prowess. There our brave Ashot, feigning illness, reclined in his tent while they were seeing to preparations for the battle. Although the general Muse himself kept urging him to hurry and arm for battle, even more did he exaggerate the severity of his feigned illness and the grievousness of his pains. But while he feigned illness on his couch, the champions surged around. There was a fearsome thunder and frightful echoings and repercussions from the crush of the assault, like the crashing of hail and lightning from clouds. The army of the citizens of Qazvin had the upper hand over Muse, pushing him back around his own camp where our Ashot seemed to be ill. Vahan entered his tent, begging and urging him not to linger until his repute for valour was thought by some to be tainted with cowardice, though he thought such suspicion unfounded. Immediately his groom made haste to mount him on his horse. Putting on his armour, taking his lance in his hand, and shouting encourage ment to his band of noble warriors, he cried: "On, valiant Armenians; let them now recognise us and our prowess." With an impetuous attack surpassing all admiration, in the twinkling of an eye they routed the enemy cavalry, broke the ranks of their army, and struck down as corpses the champions in the front ranks as if they had been hit by lightning. As the wind blows the summer dust, that rapidly did they bring the battle to an end. All Muse's plans against the enemy were accomplished. Yet Muse did not carry through without fail his promise concerning Ashot—that he would restore him to his principality. He reckoned it inappropriate to establish such an intrepid warrior in a place far from the royal court. However, Ashot escaped and with Vahan openly returned in peace to his own land, his heart full of joy. On his account they multiplied their thanks to God.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 17

[Concerning Ashot's Struggles For Andzavats'ik' And The Return To Peace]

A fter this, when he heard of Gurgen's ruling over Andzavats'ik', Ashot entered the land of Andzavats'ik' with a large force and encamped in the village of Blrakan. He despatched to Gurgen Vahan Artsruni and the priest T'eodoros, abbot of Hogeats' Vank', with this message: "I have come in peace at an order from court and not, like you, to engage in rebellion. So give over half of Andzavats'ik' to my son Derenik, and do not continue to act in opposition. Unless you do this willingly, he will bring constraint to bear, and by force will make you abandon what you do hold."

Gurgen modestly and without pride answered him: "You have deprived me of my ancestral inheritance and expelled me from my fraternal portion. Are you attempting to seize by force this heritage also which God bequeathed to me? Are you to be the only inhabitant on earth? The Lord will see, will judge and give me my rights, as a righteous judge 1 is wont to do."

He provided Grigor his nephew and some elite soldiers with arms and horse armour, two hundred men. When informed about this, Ashot despised as insignificant the report and uttered haughty words. But suddenly, in the middle of the night, Grigor made a heroic attack; they surrounded Ashot's camp, dealing mortal wounds with sword and bow so that very many of his army fell. Ashot himself escaped alone on horseback, and fled as far as the capital of Rshtunik, abandoning his camp. The others were scattered wherever they could escape. In the morning at dawn they plundered the camp with its baggage and the stores of treasure, which they took for themselves.

However, Prince Derenik, unaware of what had happened, on that same day came with a numerous force and encamped on the southern side of the castle. When he was informed of what had occurred, he turned back and went his own way.

Then he gathered eight thousand mounted men including Sahak Bagratuni, son of the prince of princes, and Smbat, Shapuh, and Mushel the ruler of Mokk', and the troops of Arzn. They approached the castle of Kanguar; but although they waged war for two months, they were unable to accomplish what they wanted.

Then Sahak and Smbat with the others were appeased and with drew from the conflict; friendly love was established between the two parties, and they went each to his own land. Gurgen and Ashot met each other, exchanged greetings, and made a peace treaty which has lasted up to the present day.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 18

[Concerning The Strife Of Prince Ashot With The Utmaniks And His Freeing Of The Places Which Had Been Seized By Them]

A shot went to wage war with the people who live on the lakeshore called Ut'manik [The Arab tribe of Ufmanik or Uthmanid], and who were secure in the impregnable rock of Amiuk. For according to the demarcation of Ptolemy and Alexander, or of our Artashes son of Sanatruk, that province was reckoned among the provinces of Vaspurakan; and one hundred years previously it had been forcibly removed from the jurisdiction of Vaspurakan by the Muslims.

In those days the Ut'maniks, who lived in the fortresses of that province had killed Rstom Varazhnuni, who at that time held the rank of tanuter of the land of Vaspurakan. So Ashot and his son Derenik gathered a force to attack them in the castle.

But because the castle was unassailable unless supplies ran out, the prince took Varag from the control of the Muslims. For they had seized it and subjected to taxation the monks of the Holy Cross, and had even captured the abbot of the monastery who was called Grigor, and put him in a deep and gloomy dungeon. Ashot sought to free him from his dangerous imprisonment. Then he turned against another stronghold, a free standing rock to the east of the mountain of Varag above the village of Kokhpanik', opposite the church of Saint Hrip'sime which Saint Gregory had built above the village of Ahevakank' at the completion of the conversion of Armenia. For in that spot had formerly been the site of temples of Vaheavahan. [Satinik had worshipped the image of Astlik in that area. Vaheavahan (if the spelling in the text is correct) must be a variant of Vahevanean, the name of a pagan temple at Ashtishat destroyed by Saint Gregory. But it is not clear whether this derives from the deity Vahagn, or from Vahe.]

But when he had approached the stronghold to besiege it, Yise of Amida, son of Sheh, who held the position of commander-in-chief of Armenia, hurried at the instigation of the chief of Manazav and the Ut'maniks, and arrived in haste to attack Ashot with seventeen thousand armed cavalry. Abandoning the assault on the fortress, he turned with fearless courage to oppose him with the support of Gurgen's troops. He took up his position on the other side of Vantosp in a rocky, stony hollow between two hills that overlooked the plain of Erivarats'arkman above the village of Lezu, where the fable is told that Ara the handsome, killed by the troops of Semiramis, was cured. The emir Yise with his numerous army advanced towards the hill called the summit of Ak'alay.

But Ashot spurred on his horse, which was covered in armour, and prepared for battle. He led the attack, seemingly mocking the enemy forces and reckoning his own small numbers in the thousands; for he did not have more than two thousand cavalry.

At that point Vahan, father of Gagik Apumruan, and Gagik himself attempted to reconcile the parties [Vahan was mentioned in passing, as the brother of Vasak.]. Since Ashot did not agree, Vahan secretly struck the heel from behind and lamed the horse of the armed rider called Sem, a confidant of Yise's. He was advancing to meet the prince, and was in agreement with Vahan to aim at peace, calm the dispute that had arisen, and quench the conflict that had flared up. To these proposals Ashot was not heedless; he retreated and encamped in the town of Artashes, while Yise encamped in the city of Van. At the same time Derenik and Gagik came before Yise, made peace proposals, gave hostages as an undertaking to pay taxes to the caliph, and made him return by the same road that he had come, not allowing him to pass through the land of Vaspurakan. Yise returned to Partaw in the land of the Gargarats'ik'. [Partaw was the residence of the Muslim governors of Arminiya. 'Isa was governor and also emir of Diyar Bakr (Diyabakir, in the southeast of modern Turkey.] So our princes acquired glorious and splendid fame in Armenia. Thenceforth he never dared to enter the land of Vaspurakan.

Now Ashot was aged nineteen years when he became prince; he exercised the dignity of prince for sixteen years before the captivity of the Armenians, was five years in captivity, and lived for six years after returning from captivity. [Thomas's chronology is not clear. On the next page he says that Ashot died in 323 (874 / 875); the captivity was in 852. So either five must be changed to fifteen or six to sixteen. Since Ashot did not return in 858 but later, it is likely that he returned in 867 and was ruler of Vaspurakan for six years before his death, aged fifty-seven.] On entering his land, he resolutely practiced the Christian religion, repenting for his denial of Christ.

But what should I say here? For although they openly came back to the worship of Christ our God, yet they did not carry out the due canonical regulations—not only Ashot but also all the Armenian princes who had returned from captivity. They put aside the cowardice of their apostasy but remained outside the canonical statutes, leading scandalous Christian lives in debauchery and drunkenness, in adultery and lewdness, engaging in revolting and horrible homosexual acts which exceeded the foul bestialities of Jericho and Sodom, man shamelessly lusting for man and piling up infinite flames from heaven that surpass the devastating destruction of the flood. For they were mad for women, copulating with the daughters of Cain, and were destroyed by water; while the men who worked infamous deeds with men were consumed by fire mixed with sulphur, enduring in themselves the token of the eternal fire. At the second coming they will again undergo eternal

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torments, where the worm does not die and the fire is not extinguished. So as the Sodom ites who paid the penalty with fire will be tortured again, for those who will act in every evil fashion, what an expectation of torments will surpass theirs! See, sin over sin and torments over torments.

When the time for Ashot's departure from his world arrived, he was plunged into unfathomable remorse and regret; with flowing tears he made the confession of faith, hoping in the mercy of Christ and repeating the last words of the tax gatherer and the thief. With faith he looked to the saving Body and Blood of the Son of God for the forgiveness of sins, hoping in God's kindness. I do not despise or mock his remorse and repentence, for "who will utter the name of the Lord will live."

But it is unclear whether they were effective, for with difficulty are scars cleaned away by the exercise of words. However, in the house of Christ's Father there are many mansions. Perhaps they will remain free of torments, although they will not enjoy the wedding with the bridegroom. He Ashot departed not in despair, looking to the kindness of God.

When Ashot had completed his life, he died in the province of Vantosp, in 323 of the Armenian era, in the month of Hori, the sixth day of the month, on a Thursday. They laid him to rest with his brothers in the monastery of the Holy Cross in the province of Albag.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 19

[Concerning the offspring of Derenik]

N ow Derenik daily increased and improved the prosperity and peace of the country, building, maintaining, administering. In his days there was a respite from brigands and marauders across the land; the rites of the holy church of Christ were splendidly and properly performed; there was no fear or suspicion anywhere. He begat three sons: Sargis, also known as Ashot, in 326 of the Armenian era; Khachik, also known as Gagik, in 328; and Gurgen—lively children, charm ing, fortunate, and loved by all. He also begat two daughters.

In those times Lord Zak'aria fell asleep in Christ, having occupied the patriarchate for eighteen years. He was succeeded by Lord Georg. [John Catholicos describes the change of Catholicos and notes that Zak'aria had held that office for 22 years. Georg, from Garni, was Catholicos until 897; see p. 243 below for his death.]

Now when the son of Sheh entered Partaw, he left there as governor of the city one of his trusted men, a certain Yamanik [Muhammad al-Yamani]. But he withdrew from obedience to his chief with the leaders of the city. So Yise waged war against the city for a year in concert with all the princes of Armenia. But being unsuccessful, he returned to Syria. This happened twice. Then Yamanik planned to march against Armenia, intending to rule over it. When the Armenian princes came to know his sinister schemes, with one accord they wrote to the court and asked for Ahmet' son of Halit' as governor [Ahmed b. Khalid]. For Yamanik was sending letters and messengers one after the other to the princes of the country, putting himself forward as governor of Armenia, veiling his treacherous deceit, but planning to remove all the princes of Armenia, especially the one in the highest rank, Ashot prince of princes.

However, the leader of the Muslims carried out the Armenians' request, and sent to Armenia the above-mentioned Ahmat son of Halit. When he entered the town of Datuan [Modern Tatvan on the southwest shore of Lake Van], which they regarded as their own private inheritance, the Armenian princes went out to meet him from their own individual places: Derenik, Lord Gagik, and Lord Grigor, and another Lord Grigor prince of Vaspurakan, Ashot curopalates , prince of Armenia [The prince of Taron, not the "prince of princes" just mentioned. The title "prince of Armenia" belonged to the prince of Taron.], Mushel prince of Mokk', Shapuh brother of the prince of princes, Aplbar Kaysik ruler of Apahunik, and various others. All were fully armed and accoutred, generously loaded with gifts, and went to escort him into the city of Dvin. But Yamanik and Ahmat and Aplbar, in concert with some more of the Muslims, came plotting the same wicked intentions. They [The text of the letter indicates that it was written in the name of the governor Ahmad.] wrote a letter to Yamanik, saying: "When I enter the city of Dvin and take control of the royal taxes, let the Armenian princes have no suspicion and come to me. Do you, on the pretext of war against me, gather an army and come out to do battle with me. Then together we shall lay hands on them and remove them from rule over Armenia."

However, with his superior wisdom Ashot did not remain unsolicitous or unconcerned, but he ordered the bridgeheads to be guarded and the desert places and passes of the valleys. He was informed by various persons about the writing of secret messages to the effect that: "Some people on horseback are riding to such and such a place, and have enclosed in the panniers in a package a letter, which they are taking in the direction of Apahunik. So guard your road." The affair turned out accord ing to the warning. They arrested the messengers, took the let ters, and kept the men under guard, letting no one know what had happened.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 20

[Concerning Derenik's Capture Of The Curopalates, The Prince Of Tar On, And His Making David Prince, Who Was Called King.]

While the princes were in accord without any thought of disloyalty, the governor, the son of Halit [I.e. Ahmad, here called hazarapet, "governor."], came from the court. Although they had been firmly and indissolubly united with bonds of mutual love, some calumniators adduced foul but alluring slander and divided the one from the other—as if they were indicating the evil deeds that were being plotted against the governor and putting the blame on each other with secret insinuations. Others, who were close to Derenik, claimed that Ashot the curopalates was in revolt, full of envy, and was slandering him to the governor, and that he was attempting to eject him from his principality. But the certainty of his crimes was revealed and confirmed as regards the Kaysik Aplbar.

As the sun was getting warm, while they were paying a morning call 1 on the emir, mounted on elite horses as if to go hunting, with their near relatives and nobles from among the elite of Vaspurakan, he went off about two stadia. The mounted troops of the Kaysik followed him, realising the reason for his departure from the camp. Unsuccessful, they returned in shame and downcast, thinking that what they had done had not been noticed.

At the same time the curopalates followed Derenik with the same purpose of estranging him from the governor, as he knew what he was plotting with regard to the Armenian princes who had gone to him. They were distant from the army five furlongs, when he [Derenik] recalled the slander they had reported about Ashot the curopalates with regard to Derenik—whether falsely or truly is not clear to us. So Derenik ordered Grigor his relative from the same Artsruni house to seize him and put him in the castle of Sevan; and he ordered Hasanik his nephew to keep him unfettered. [Grigor, Hasanik: Grigor was presumably the son of Vasak, i.e. Grigor Apuhamza, praised on the following page. For the Vasak who was Derenik's brother-in-law and father of Hasan is always called "Vasak the Apostate" (or "Impious"). Hasan (Hasanik) was the son of Derenik's sister and Vasak. His castle was in Vaspurakan (not near modern Lake Sevan).]

Now there was a further reason for holding him, namely: Derenik had married David the brother of the curopalates to his sister Mariam. Because of that, they say, he held him; for he was pleased to make David prince of Taron, who is called prince of Armenia; which indeed took place. Derenik ordered the troops of his own army to follow the ruler [David] in order to gain control of the whole country with its castles. And Derenik wrote to the son of Halit' asking him to confirm him as prince by his own authority. So he* [David] was prince over Taron for seven years before being gathered to his fathers; he left a child named Ashot. [* Thomas mentions David's death below as does John Catholicos, p. 174; the latter calls him David Bagratuni, great prince of Taron. He was ruler of Taron from 887 to 894.] But then Yise, son of Sheh, seized the land by force, secured it for himself, and set his own governors over it.

When the Armenian princes left the emir, there remained with him only Mushel, ruler of Mokk', a renowned and high-ranking man; he was accompanied by Grigor, son of Vasak. He likewise was a lively man embued with wisdom, splendid and famous among the Armenians, endearing to those who heard him and charming to those who saw him. In his great solicitude for wisdom and study and in everything else he surpassed his fathers and grandfathers. But they were suspicious of the governor in the camp, for Ahmat's intentions concerning them were apparent. Finding a suitable occasion they left the camp, freed like deer from the snares of hunters, and went peacefully to their own regions, leaving him dejected and full of shame.

After this Ahmat' advanced with his Kaysik troops and entered the city of Dvin, in the hope that he might be able to bring his wicked plans to completion. The prince of princes—who was the highest ranking and most judicious person in all Armenia and all under heaven—came out to him with the most splendid ceremony, bearing no few gifts and honours. But he persisted in the same obstinate and malicious intention. He wished to destroy the rampart of bronze, to break the rod of iron, to bring the shepherd to ruin and the flocks to destruction.

However, the prince of princes Ashot could not endure that he accomplish his evil plans. So one day while the governor was preening and wallowing in such magnificent homage, the prince ordered his brother Abas, a mighty man and sparapet of Armenia, to put on solid armour, look to the arms and equipment of his troops, as was usual for brave heroes, and prepare horses, in order to thwart his evil plans. At the hour when the morning callers were intending to enter his presence and he was expecting the great prince to come to him, then the great sparapet surrounded his tent with his armed troops bearing shields and lances, making a solid wall. He brought in the letter which Ahmat' had treacherously written to Yamanik in the city of Partaw. Looking down at the ground and unable to lift up his gaze, he remained abashed; he lost his strength and assumed that his last hour had come. The sparapet took his hand and led him out, encouraging him to have no fear. He mounted a mule which they were holding ready by the door of the tent, and they brought him outside the wall of the camp to make him return by the same way as he had come. They sent off his army separately through the region of Apahunik', stripped of arms and horse armour so they could plunder no more, but they travelled with their luggage and horses. Ahmat' was escorted on his passage through the land of Vaspurakan by Shapuh, son of Ashot, until he reached the beginning of the road to Asorestan.

But the curopalates of Taron remained in the fortress of Sevan in the hands of Hasan, son of the impious Vasak [his apostasy]. He found no means of escape from his dangerous prison in any quarter, although many were concerned for that honourable man, especially the great Catholicos of Armenia, Georg, who entreated Derenik to free him. Frequently he implored him by means of letters, but he would not agree. He even took the trouble to come personally with great solicitude to free him from the misery of his prison. But even thus he was unable to obtain for him deliverance from his peril. Consequently, he left him to the care of the Creator, entrusting him to the grace of God. For the prince of Taron had great reverence for the office of the patriarch, and the latter exercised great solicitude for him, although he could not help in this particular matter. Then the curopalates began to make false insinuations between Derenik and Hasan, who was the son of Derenik's sister, to the effect that Derenik was not treating him honestly but was aiming at taking the fortress from him and gaining control of the land. "Often," he said, "I have verified this from his trusted counsellors. So do not remain unconcerned and unworried about this, but promptly look for a way to render his plans void." Now the fortress was quite impregnable, and no little treasure had been accumulated in it over many years, while Hasan himself was very young in years, being at the time of his independence aged fifteen years; for "youth and folly are vanity," as Solomon says. So he fell for the guileful bait at that man's suggestion, hoping for the fortress and the treasures and casting his eyes on the desire for ambition—the gathering of troops, the forming of cavalry, the giving of gifts to magnates and lords of the land, the summoning of everyone to support and aid —so that as his advice proposed, so indeed would he do. But he was unable to act openly, for it would have been unbecoming to form an army and prepare for battle. So he plotted with deceit ful cunning to carry out the fickle intentions of his plan. He entered the fortress and feigned an illness that was nearly mortal.

He sent word to the prince that without the slightest delay he should hurry there. He followed the messengers with compassion for a relative, in the supposition that he had succumbed to a severe illness and was near death, as the messengers averred. When the evening drew on, the darkness thickened, and everyone began to enter his own room for sleep, suddenly there was a glinting of swords and of lighted candles; the band of conspirators [arrived], and Hasan with them. They beat down the outer door where the prince had withdrawn; they seized him and brought him to the highest part of the castle and imprisoned him in the innermost room. Hasan freed the curopalates, for him to go wherever fortune might bring him.

Straightway the bearer of this grievous news rapidly reached the glorious prince of princes and informed him of what had occurred. He was then besieging the city of Manazkert in the land of Apahunik, which was in the hands of Aplbar [The emir of Manazkert], and the blockade was nearly complete; but when the messengers arrived, he abandoned the siege, sending them proposals for peace. Gurgen, Mushel Bagratuni, and he hastened with the Catholicos and camped near the fortress where Derenik was imprisoned. By wise and judicious counsel, with sweet and gentle words, they persuaded the young Hasan, offering him the reverence due his white hairs and the dignity of his princely station and such-like. The patriarch mediated a sworn peace treaty, that they would abandon to eternal oblivion the harm of the evil done. At the begging entreaties of the prince and great patriarch the proposals were carried out, and they extricated him from his captivity, leaving as hostages Gagik, son of Derenik, and the son of Grigor Artsruni [Gagik, son of Grigor: Gagik was Thomas's patron].

At the same time some people approached Derenik insinuating supposedly true charges against Gagik Apumruan, that he was plotting with the curopalates to do what Hasan had fruit lessly done. But whether this was false or true is not clear to us; and I reckoned it better not to write down what is not certain. However, Derenik himself was false to the oath of the peace treaty between himself and Hasan. He seized him and imprisoned him in the castle of Nkan and took his fortress from him, appointing his own trusted retainers to guard it.

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He also took from him his home and lands, putting his own officials in charge of the land.

But when Yamanik heard how Ashot had sent back Ahmat' in disgrace and had frustrated the plan they had schemed against Armenia, he thought he was seeing his last hour upon him. He began to threaten and menace Ashot, openly and not in secret. By means of circular letters he set his hand to weaning away and estranging from him those subject to him—Derenik, prince of Vaspurakan, Aplbar Kaysik, ruler of Apahunik', and likewise those others whom he was able to seduce. Yamanik himself wrote to Ashot about Derenik [to the effect that] he was maliciously plotting against Ashot. So he managed to split and break apart the unity of the Armenians.

But Derenik proposed peace with Hasan, promising to return the fortress of Sevan and his land. "Only," he said, "send to me Gagik Apumruan by some strategem," because Gagik had gone and fortified himself in the castle of Chakhuk, being suspicious of Derenik on being informed as to what Hasan had done to Derenik. So at this proposal Hasan left Derenik, went to Gagik in the castle, and affirmed before him the complaints about Derenik. Gagik seemed very easily persuaded to believe him; so just as he Hasan had feigned a mock illness to Derenik, the same he now did to Gagik. While Gagik was sleeping without worry or suspicion, Hasan came on him at night armed with drawn sword and accompanied by a small band, candles lit, and he bound him with iron bonds. Derenik hastened to come to him, took Gagik for himself, and sent him under armed guard to Vantosp, to the princess of Vaspurakan [Derenik's wife was Sop'i, a Bagratid], to be securely imprisoned. After a few days Derenik went to the province of Chuash, to winter in the town of Marakan.

Here it does not seem pleasant to me to continue my historical narrative. My mind becomes stupified on considering the misfortunes that I planned to describe in these records. The course of my hands fails for strength to write. Pains as of child birth overwhelm me as I set down these woeful tales. I grieve for the blow whereby I am crushed by the reproachful. Fast bubbling tears as from a boiling kettle flow out in torrents. Despairing doubts surround me at these events. Even more than the foaming waves stirred up from the depths by fierce winds, piled up like mountains and thundering like dragons, with even more fearful turbulence than the tempest for persons caught in their thrice violent course, by the whirlings of the mind is a noble heart forcibly constrained within [Such imagery of the sea is reminiscent of the first paragraphs in Agathangelos, where the comparison between sailing a ship and writing a history is elaborated. For other Armenian parallels see Thomson, Agathangelos, notes to §§1-10.]. I need some, even all, wise men gathered together in order to express the wealth of my laments. For have not the strength to sing the funeral dirge of so many calamities that have befallen. Therefore I have withdrawn from running a race that demands such great eloquence.

When men of mighty intellect are lacking, my poor historical talent is unfit to carry out the course required. Only with assistants would I perhaps dare to engage in tragic elegies.

When Derenik went to the winter quarters of the princes of Vaspurakan, he journeyed through the valley of Entsayik which opens into the province of the city of Her. He did not heed the noble troops who tried to prevent him. For they had heard through the circular letter that Ashot prince of princes had laid an ambush for him. They said: "Let us see the outcome of this report." Undaunted in his refusal [to heed them], he passed on and lodged in the village of P'erotak opposite the city of Her.

But the emir of the city, called Aplbers, with the help of the Persian army had been waiting for many days to inflict harm on him; gathering troops, he went out to meet him Derenik.

Early in the morning the messengers hurried out, saying: "Come, let us meet in friendly peace." And when the nobles tried to stop him, he would not heed a single one. Since the two districts are close to each other and contiguous, and the city is in a valley-shaped plain, it favoured the murderous beast to be courageous. He sent messengers to take him a response about their meeting. The emir's spies hastened to report: "Behold, he has left his army in order to go hunting, and is coming in this direction without concern or caution. So hurry to meet him, for God has delivered him into your hands." The armed cavalry galloped rapidly in a disordered attack. Derenik was riding grandly along and came face to face with the line of armed troops; he was alone in a watercourse. The enemy troops split to either side and forced him to come into the centre of their force. Their host immediately surrounded him and enclosed him as in a secure cave, casting a mortal net around him for the destruction of the valiant hero. The emir had given a signal, like that of Judas on kissing the Lord, saying: "When I give the sign by approaching to kiss him, do you wound him with your lances as strongly as you can."

Immediately with drawn swords and lances they rushed on him like bloodthirsty, manoevouring beasts. By his murder they brought darkness to the land of Vaspurakan where he lived. When the prince died he was forty years old [Derenik was killed in 887. When he returned from captivity in 858 / 859 he was "about ten"]. Then everyone turned piteous eyes on his valiant companions, to see whether there would be any who might bring him some aid. But since the Lord had delivered him into their hands, as David said, the fear of the Lord was on them all. Each man escaped by the skin of his teeth, and they fled to their own lands. Only Apusakr, prince of Amatunik', did they capture and bring to the city; and the corpse of the slain Derenik they took with them in triumph.

Here one should recall the words of Solomon that were fulfilled: "The fearless falls into traps and pits, and into places where there will be no visitation for ever. And with regard to the valour of the cowardly he says: "Fear will save the cowardly." But if for the cowardly fear is to be reckoned valour, how much more for the brave does valour acquired through fear sustain them! As David says: "I was prepared and I did not tremble." And another of the wise men of the world said: "Do not travel with a fearless [man]." But particularly true are the words of Solomon, who said: "Woe to one alone. When he falls, who will raise him?" And: "Two are better than one; for if one falls, he will rise up."

Merchants requested his corpse and delivered it to the bishop David of the same province; they placed it in a coffin in the church there. After a day had passed, Ashot, Derenik's son, came, took his corpse, and laid it to rest with his fathers in the province of Albag in the monastery of the Holy Cross. The land of Vaspurakan gathered, and for ten months they made deep mourning for him.

After that, Shapuh, son of the king Ashot, came and conferred the principality on Ashot, son of Derenik, in the place of his father. As for Gagik, also called Apumruan, he appointed him prefect over the land to rule as regent, for Derenik's sons were very young. Ashot was nine years old when Derenik died; Gagik was seven, Gurgen five. Although Gagik [Apumruan] cared for and nutured the land, yet the mass of the nobility was not happy with him and was restive. But since Gagik was greatly endowed with wisdom, he deferred to all the provincial leaders and commanders of the country; he dealt with them wisely and with profound skill; and by honouring each with the respect due his rank he honoured and appeased them.

After this Ashot the king of Armenia came to console his daughter and grandchildren, increasing still further the stability of Ashot's principality and the prefecture of Apumruan.

But the princess Sop'i, living one year and eight months after Derenik's death, was gathered to her fathers. They brought her and laid her to rest in the same monastery of the Holy Cross.

After this, her sons Gagik and Ashot and Gurgen fixed the day of their parents' commemoration on the feast of the Holy Cross. They gave to the holy church four estates: the monastery of P'shots' and the estate of Ahavank', opposite the church that was on the island, and the rock of Manakert, which faces it on the southern side, and Berkri; and many other places, which after the death of their father and mother the king's sons gave over for the needs of the Holy Cross of Affamar. Their commands are as firm as the rock: if anyone tries to change them, by God's commandment he will not inherit his throne and kingdom. And if anyone wishes to affirm them, he will be unshakeable in this world. Amen.

BOOK THREE

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 21

[Smbat Rules In Place Of Ashot]

In those times Ashot king of Armenia departed this world at a good old age, having enjoyed an abundant and happy life. "His hand was on all, and the hand of all on him." [Genesis 16.12.] He splendidly carried through the period of his reign: five years in the dignity of prince, twenty-five years of leadership as prince of princes, four years in royal splendour. He died in the year 339* of the Armenian era, in the fifteenth year of the patriarchate of the Catholicos of Armenia Georg [The year 339 began on 18 April, 890 AD. born in 819, Ashot became "prince of princes" in 862, and king in 885. Georg became Catholicos in 876.]. In his stead ruled Smbat, son of Ashot, an illustrious and very intelligent man, very energetic in all matters; as concerns things under heaven it is suitable and necessary to abbreviate the totality: "pleasing to God and elite among men." [Romans 14.18.; Smbat Bagratuni ruled 890-914.]

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 22

[The Destruction Of The City Of Dvin By A Severe Earthquake]

In the third year of his reign over Armenia [I.e. in 892.], by divine anger the innermost depths clashed together with tremblings and shakings in the abyss like agitated torrents. The lowest part of the earth collapsed and was firmly locked in the region of Sandaramet [The divinity of the underground.]; fierce winds blew over the darkened waters, trampling down the deep, solid foundations of the earth and causing its thick, dense and immeasurable infinity to heave, until it burst onto the surface of the earth opposite the city of Artashat, which is called Blur, where is the capital city Dvin. This populous city, surrounded by fortified ramparts and swarming and teeming with commerce and all kinds of impurity, was overthrown from its foundations. Hell opened its mouth wide and swallowed into its depths very many people. For some their houses became their tombs, just as it swallowed up the houses of the army of the Korahites. He who earlier spared the repentant Ninevites, now had no pity for the stony heart of the citizens of Dvin. Even the holy places and houses of prayer suffered the earthquake, their walls cracking and collapsing, as then on the death of King Ozias in the days of the prophet Isaiah, when at the voice of the seraphim the temple of the Lord was shaken and its doorposts destroyed. Likewise in the time of Zechariah the prophet there was an earthquake as far as the Mount of Olives. It is said that the number of people killed by the quake was more than seventy thousand. This earthquake was more severe than the one in the years of Zak'aria Catholicos of Armenia, after the seventh year of the captivity of the Armenians. [Zak'aria was Catholicos 855-876; see above. "After the seventh year of captivity" would be in 859/860, or later. John Catholicos describes this earthquake; but Thomas had not mentioned it.]

There happened to be there also the blessed bishop Grigor, the prelate of Rshtunik. He was unable to escape with his companions, since they were then at prayer on the mountain. So some of them were buried in that spot by the same earthquake. [Bishop Grigor is not mentioned by other historians. The text of Thomas implies that Grigor did escape, but not with all of his companions.]

But the blessed patriarch Lord Georg, more grievously afflicted than by the worldwide destruction in the time of Noah, with the bishop Grigor offered to benevolent God the supplication of Abraham of old on the destruction of Sodom. Abandoning his residence in Dvin, he went to reside in Nor K'alak' in the great church which the blessed lord Nerses II, Catholicos of Armenia, had built in the name of Saint Gregory. [Nerses II (548-557) is an error for the more famous Nerses III (641-661), named shinol, "the builder." The same mistake is repeated on p. 255 below. Nor K'alak' is Valarshapat (Ejmiatsin); see Agathangelos, §150, and Hubschmann, AON, p. 469. For the church built there dedicated to Saint Gregory the Illuminator, and the improvements carried out by Nerses III, see Khatchatrian, L'architecture, ch. 2. Sebeos, p. 147, notes that Nerses built a church dedicated to Saint Gregory at Zuart'nots', which was "near" Valarshapat; cf. Levond, p. 14.]

In the second year after this [After this: after the earthquake of 892, i.e. in 894/5.] the Greek army besieged the city of Karin, but turned back of their own will and abandoned it. In the same year the ruling prince of Taron died, and Ahmat', son of Yise son of Sheh, seized the land to subject it [Yise: the son of Sheh. But Thomas had said above that Yise himself seized Taron when David died.]. Gurgen the prince, son of the curopalates, was deceitfully killed by Ahmat's commanders; he was a brave and famous man, renowned among the Armenians [John Catholicos says that Ahmat slew Gurgen in battle. On these events see Adontz, "Taronites,"].

But the sons of Derenik, Ashot and Gagik and Gurgen, as they grew in body increased in vigour and stature; they were also endowed with no little intelligence in the concomitant growth of their minds. With lively and joyous enthusiasm they had faith in the Lord's providential care for the prosperity of the land, and they turned the mourning and grief which afflicted the country because of Derenik's death into happiness and joy. Demonstrating the extent of their fraternal deference, with incomparable courtesy each regarded the other two as superior to himself, reckoning the dignity of their princely rank to be equally shared. Merely for his precedence did they agree to give the dignity of prince to Ashot. In this unopposed harmony they divided the land into three parts, giving to Ashot, as we said above, the rank of the ancestral principality with most of the other parts of the country as far as the castle of Nakhchavan. On the other hand, Gagik had the area of Rshtunik' with the neighbouring provinces and as much as he could obtain by force of the land of Mokk. While Gurgen had the eastern regions, from the end of Albag and all Parskahayk' around it as far as the beginning of Korduk', and wherever in this area he could control. And in such fashion they divided the land.

But Apumruan, by reason of being prefect, and alleging the youthful age of these princes, gradually began to gain control of the fortresses, loosening the bridle of his ambition for power: the fortress of Nkan in the province of T'ornawan, the castle of Kotor in the valley of Entsayik', the castle of Sevan in the gully of Lmbay. To the other nobility residing in fortified places he daily distributed gifts and honours, and happily spent time with them in order to win them over. When the nobles of Vaspurakan learned the details of Gagik's intentions, they had no desire to continue supporting him, and tried to find a solution without disturbing the peace. Some proposed this, some suggested that. But the alternative intentions of a majority were carried through for a while.

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The son of Apusech, Awshin [Muhammad Afshin b. Abu'l-Sadj, ostikan of Azerbaijan. See Ter-Ghevondyan, p. 60, for his relations with ArmeniaT and in general El, s.v. Sadjids, no. 2.], who had brought his Persian dynasty [The Sadjid Dynasty is meant rather than Persian domination in general.] to a high point by notable victories, attempted to lay hands on Armenia in order to spread farther his oppressive extortions. He frequently sent letters to each of the princes, especially to Prince Ashot and his brothers. Being acquainted with his tyrannical control over the Persian chiefs and what they had suffered, and reckoning that because of his neighbouring proximity to this country he might well inflict the Persian fate on us and our land, they agreed to submit to him and remain subject.

Ashot followed Awshin's messengers and went off fearlessly and courageously. But the Armenian king Smbat regarded Ashot's going to Awshin as inappropriate, lest other princes be induced to follow the same path. When he tried to restrain Ashot, the latter paid no heed. Immediately, moved by violent anger, King Smbat wrote to Gurgen, lord of Andzavats'ik', and to Gagik Apumruan, saying: "By natural right the land of Vaspurakan was your inheritance, but Ashot's ancestors have set you aside. So advance on your land with a powerful army, and let the territory be yours to inherit." [For the marriage of Gurgen Apupelch to the widow of the lord of Andzavats'ik', and his expulsion from Vaspurakan by Derenik, see above. Thomas has alluded several times to Gagik Apumruan's ambitions over Vaspurakan.] They quickly carried out his command in their ambitious desires. Marching on the land, they divided it into two portions.

They came to attack the castle of the city of Van. When Ashot had gone to Awshin he had left there the princess of Vaspurakan, Seday [Ashot's wife was the daughter of Gagik Apumruan. Thomas had not mentioned this marriage when describing Gagik's sway over the three brothers.], and had entrusted the defence of the fortress to Yise, brother of T'adeos, who were called sons of Sherep [He is only attested as the father of T'adeos; the latter is mentioned often below, but Yise does not reappear.], from the Akeats'i family—valiant men, versed in military affairs. They waged battle there for thirty days and were unable to gain an advantage, but suffered defeat at the hands of Yise rather than winning a victory. Eventually the castle's supplies ran out, water especially being short. So unwillingly they abandoned the battle, ceased hostilities, and surrendered the castle to Gagik.

While peace was thus shattered in the land, news reached Awshin and Prince Ashot to the effect that: "The land is troubled and those who hold your fortresses are wavering. So hurry immediately to destroy the unity they have imposed by force." Brooking no delay, he came with troops of Awshin to attack them. They retreated into their fortresses, and the troops of Vaspurakan turned to support Ashot.

Now Gurgen was planning to seize for himself a part of the country, especially the capital of Rshtunik which was the site of his father's murder, regarding it as the blood price. However, Apumruan made excuses to Ashot, saying: "I have come to this land to prevent Gurgen taking control of the castles of the country by force and winning over your troops by coercion. So talk peace with me, and remove the veil of deceit between the two of us." The gentle prince Ashot, mild and overflowing with all virtues, acquiesced in the proposal. They met at the valley of Kulan, where Gurgen had encamped on the spot called Karkineank' with a numerous army. Gurgen spoke openly to Ashot of his plans, and since the prince did not agree they immediately prepared for battle. Although Ashot had a smaller force with him, he did not withdraw or shy from war. But Apumruan came between them, and calmed the lines prepared for battle. Gurgen returned to his own castle of Kanguar, and a few days later his life came to an end. A mettlesome horse threw and killed that most valiant of lords, the brave commander and general of Greater Armenia.

But Apumruan continued to foster ambitions of ruling over the country. Since the three sons of Derenik, Ashot, Gagik, and Gurgen, were indissolubly linked to each other with mutual confidence and trust like a strong city or rampart of bronze, he was unable to carry out his plan. But as his ambition welled up inside him like raging waves, he persisted in his ambitions. They, having no suspicions with regard to Apumruan, came to him without mistrust; while he found a suitable occasion to seize them together and have them imprisoned in iron bonds in the castles of the country. Ashot was taken to the impregnable Nkan, Gagik to the fortress of Sevan, and Gurgen to the fort of Kotor. And he gave back the fortress of Sevan to Hasan, son of the impious Vasak.

On seeing this the nobles of Vaspurakan were unable to endure what Apumruan had succeeded in doing. They came to Atom, son of the great Gurgen, in the castle of Kanguar in order to find a solution: Yise lord of Trunik, the son of Honawar; Varazshapuh lord of Abeleank; T'adeos Akeats'i, son of Sherep; and others with them. With their baggage and families they all abandoned their homes and ancestral domains in their sincere devotion to the sons of Derenik. They reckoned it better to live in foreign exile than to see the sons of their prince, the ruler[s] of the land, imprisoned and held in bonds. From their youth they had loyally paid due service in accordance with the fitting custom of subjects to masters, as even the teacher of the heathen* enjoins. [* Teacher of the heathen (pagans, here: Muslims): Mohammed.]

At that point Shapuh, the king's brother, arrived and appointed Gagik lord of the principality of Vaspurakan, notably because Shapuh had married his daughter to Gagik. Atom procrastinated because of his fear of the king. The nobles of Vaspurakan in opposition went off to the city of Amida to Ahmat, son of Yise son of Sheh, who with great delight won them to himself as honourable men and powerful warriors, especially because they had often acquired a victorious reputation.

Indeed he had previously known of them by reports, and was very well disposed to receive them. Having seized the region of Taron for himself, he was aiming at becoming the effective ruler of all Armenia. For they earlier called Taron the "province" of Armenia. So Ahmat' received them and put them to forwarding his own purpose, so that he might win over the Armenian princes by respect and friendship, and thereby be secure from the suspicious messages which Smbat the Armenian king was continuously sending to him.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 23

[Concerning the campaign of Smbat, king of Armenia, with the princes of Georgia, Albania, and all Armenia, against Ahmat of Amida; the defeat of Smbat by Ahmaf in the district of Aldznik on the river T'ukh, which flows into the lake of Bznunik]

As we briefly mentioned above concerning Ahmat, he had seized the land of Taron for himself and withdrawn it from Armenian control. Smbat frequently wrote to Ahmat asking him to abandon that land and give it to over to Ashot, son of prince David, promising him the position of governor of Armenia by royal decree with the homage of the Armenians. But Ahmat did not deign to heed his messages and scorned the proposals.

Then the king sent messengers to all regions of his Armenian kingdom, to the Georgians and Albanians, to the citizens, governors and prefects, and those who in friendly submission paid him tribute. Atrnerseh, prince of Georgia, came to him. And they say that the number of his forces was about 120,000. He marched along the edge of the lake of Bznunik' through the area of Apahunik, and camped on the bank of the river that descends from the ravines of Atdznik. When news of his arrival reached Ahmat', he too assembled the forces of his province and those of Mesopotamia and the Get'ats'ik', and came out to meet him. Straightway, in the twinkling of an eye, the thickly massed cavalry, armed and prepared, formed ranks in martial opposition and incited a clash. The valiant warriors of Vaspurakan, whose names we recorded above, attacked like heroes. They surrounded the camp, turned back the commanders, and as the wind shakes thickets of reeds, so did they mow down the host of the enemy army.

When the king learned that the armies had joined combat, he hoped still to be able to bring the battle to an end. But threatened by his corps of warriors, he was unable to calm the raging fury and surging carnage. So he immediately turned his horse's bridle to advance to the fray. He demonstrated there many brave acts of heroism, but they were of no avail. Abandoning the battle, he turned in flight by way of Holts. Ahmat surrounded the Armenian army and inflicted merciless losses, especially on the rabble of foot soldiers with them. They say that the number of killed was more than 5,000, and for one year the bodies of the dead were left intact by beasts and birds. In that battle fell Ashot Haykazn, prince of Gelark'unik', called the son of Sup'an. The wife of the sparapet 1 came from Taron, and finding his body by its insignia, took it to her town of Porp and buried it.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 24

[Concerning The Death Of Apumruan]

A pumruan kept Gagik, son of Derenik, unfettered, having extricated him from bonds and prison. But the latter plotted even more assiduously to murder him courageously. Members of the house of the Amatunik, Shapuh and Vahan and Saray, who were brothers, Apusakr Vahuni, and others conspired together with Gagik to murder Apumruan, whereby they might be able to release Prince Ashot and Gurgen from bonds and win back their principality. So when Apumruan arrived at Vantosp with the fugitives after the king, they resolutely carried out Gagik's plan.

When the king had gone away a distance of two days' journey, Apumruan went out to go riding. The nobles struck him from behind with their swords and slew him; cutting off his head, they sent it to the garrison. They freed Ashot and Gurgen from imprisonment, and ruled over their native principality with great vigour, living thenceforth without worry or suspicion. Princess Seday, Ashot's wife, took the body and placed it in a tomb in the place called Dzoroy-vank', above the village of Ahavakank.

When news of what had been done reached the king, he made no other response save to say: "That deed was done worthily."

When the king arrived in his own lands, he had gifts and honours taken to Ashot in accordance with princely custom, raising Gagik to the dignity of general of Greater Armenia, to carry before him according to the custom of the Eastern Roman emperors banners inscribed with the cross. He endowed Gurgen his brother with the position of governor in accordance with the highest rank of the Armenian kings, especially of the great king Trdat.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 25

[How With Deceitful* Friendship Awshin Plotted Evil Against Armenia And Its Princes (* In Islam, al Taqiyya or Taqiya [Arabic for "prudence, fear"] is officially a precautionary dissimulation or denial of religious belief and practice in the face of persecution. In reality, an "action of covering, dissimulation by silence, omission or blatend lies is in Islamic Jihad a common practice in order to overwhelm, subjugate and kill Kafirs ["the vile Islam rejectors", that means: any non-Muslim!]. The Koran clearly states [2:193]: "Fight them [Kafirs] until there is no more discord and the religion of Allah reign absolute, but if they submit, then only fight those who do wrong [opposing Islam and its main tool Sharia]." It is this tool that implements little things like halal food first, Islamic dress code next; then come bigger demands. Islamic authorities pay you even money to follow their Koranic demands]; over time, before anyone realises that it is to late for any resistance, the Sharia rules everything and everyone! The Koran clearly divides humanity into two humanities: Muslim and Kafir. A dozen verses say that a Muslim is never the true friend of a Kafir; the Koran states [3:28]: "Believers [Muslims] should not take Kafirs as friends in preference to other believers. Those who do this will have none of Allah's protection and will only have themselves as guards [meaning: they can be killed by Muslims without legal consequences.]. Allah warns you to fear Him for all will return to Him." This is one of the Koranic commandments that prevents Muslims to assimilate into non-Muslim societies but encourages them to subjugate the non-Muslim host to which they have migrated before. The Hadith Abu Dawud 2789 says more: "whosoever collegiates or aggregates with Kafirs and lives with them, he is one of them." [This verse explains the dendency of Muslims to form their own close communities, in which, after a while, they rule supreme.]. This set of doctrines have come over the Armenians and hundreds of other nations, and they have been going on for 1400 years, now also in Western countries themselves. Almost two thirds of the Koran are devoted to Kafirs and how to deal with them. Deception and telling lies are an important part of Islamic strategy, it even has a name: al-Taqiyya. The following description is no exaggeration, it rather shows us the usual process of Islamic conquest up to this very day.).].

Now since Awshin, son of Apusech, was a man who loved turmoil and hated peace, and was insatiable in his thirst for human blood [Turmoil . . . blood: This description is parallel to that of Jap'r above.]—which characteristics he regarded as great personal renown—he valued the ruin of a country more highly than its prosperity. Ceaselessly he moved around, contending with all lands, never resting. In his deceitful friendship for the land of Vaspurakan and its leaders he gave the impression that his affection was complete. One after the other he constrained them to hasten individually to his presence in order to render vassal service [Vassal service: tsarayakan spasaworutiwn. The Anonymous below, uses the term tsarayut'iwn of obedience paid to Gagik by rebellious subjects. In Ehshe it refers to the loyal service paid by the Armenians to the Sasanian shahs, p. 45. See further Toumanoff, Studies, p. 117.]—which indeed Ashot and Gagik and Gurgen did. Willingly or unwillingly, they carried out his orders, going and returning one by one.

However, one day Gurgen went to meet him in the city of Partaw, and stayed there for about a whole year. Awshin, that hater of good and lover of evil [cf. Micah 3.2.], continually plotted to effect great harm on Gurgen, to cast him into prison and inflict deadly tortures on him, to seize his castles for himself, to put the land into the hands of his own officials 6 and to treat its inhabitants in Persian fashion. Gurgen learned what Awshin was plotting against him from some people—or rather the providential and protective right hand of Christ sheltered him and saved him from destruction by fire and hail [Cf. Exodus 9.23.]. Help came from God, making him courageous, and snatched him away from the teeth of the wild beast [Cf. Deut. 32.24.]. He escaped under cover of darkness, accompanied by Shapuh from the Amatuni family, who had been an accomplice of Gagik's in the murder of Apumruan that we described above. So they returned to their own land, and filled the country with great joy as if they were to see someone returned from the dead.

But Awshin, thwarted in his plans, redoubled his efforts to accomplish his wicked desires in this fashion. With haughty mien he suddenly entered the city of Semiramis, Vantosp, growling and uttering cruel threats. However, Prince Ashot

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and his brothers retreated through the regions of Lesser Albag, near to the fortresses of Jlmar and Sring. Awshin entrusted the country to a certain minion Sap'i, a eunuch, from among the Greek captives; he had abandoned the Christian faith and accepted the Muslim [Muslim: molimanak] religion, induced by its bloodthirsty teaching. They spread their agents throughout the land, save only that they were unable to gain the fortresses. In this fashion they acted without concern or fear, exacting tribute through officials [Officials: gortsakal. In the previous sentence "agent" renders gortsavar; see above.]. A strong force remained in the town of Hamboyrazan in the province of Mardastan, to which the episcopal see of Mardpetakan had then been transferred from the city of Nakhchavan [For the province of Mardpetakan and the episcopal see of Nakhchavan see above; the transfer had taken place after 852 AD. Hamboyrazan is unattested elsewhere.]. Here our three valiant brothers arrived with a small band of nobles in winter time. In the pale light of dawn they galloped upon the enemy and struck down more than a few with the sword. But since their horses were weary from their long journey and their energy was enfeebled by the drifts of thick snow, the enemy, being rested, returned to the attack with bows and lances. Some they captured, others they condemned to death, and cutting off their heads raised these up on poles over the gateposts of the wall. The captives they sent to Awshin in Partaw; they were imprisoned, condemned to death, and slaughtered by being cut in half. In this fashion they inflicted a cruel death on all the prisoners by cutting them in half, terrifying all who saw their dreadful end. Only a certain Arshak from the family of the Varazhnunik' survived at the request of the daughter of Shapuh Bagratuni, whom Awshin at that time had impiously married [John Catholicos describes the circumstances of the marriage between Awshin and the daughter of Shapuh, the king's younger brother. Arshak Varazhnuni is not attested elsewhere.]. The princes of Vaspurakan Seday, wife of Ashot and daughter of Apumruan, begged for him also, and they saved him from Awshin's sword.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 26

[How Awshin And All His Army Perished Through Divine Anger]

What person or land did Awshin not destroy by various oppressive means—brigandage, rapine, murder by sword, and famine? For the famine became so severe that people not only ate animals regarded as unclean by the rules of purity [The Penitential of David of Gandzak has many examples of such rules of purity with regard to food.] but even revolting and horrible things which wild animals pass over. They ate the corpses of the dead without remorse, dragging them from the graves after they had been buried for one or two years. And what was the reason for this if not what Paul had said: "Because they did not choose to abide by the knowledge of God, he delivered them to dishonourable intentions to work unworthy deeds." [Romans 1:18.] This the prophet at the time of the Babylonian captivity also expressed: "Fathers will eat sons, and sons fathers," [Ezekiel 5.10.] as happened in the time of Vespasian [Titus Flavius Vespasianus: Roman emperor 69-79 AD. Thomas is referring to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 AD by General Titus Flavius. Eusebius, Eccl. Hist., III 6.24 ff., (following Titus Flavius Josephus) describes instances of cannibalism during the siege.]. But since the misfortune came from heaven and the wrath was sent by God, no one was able to oppose him in war. However, he who struck, the same also healed [Cf. Deuteronomy 32.39.]. For while the land was in such distress, they expected God's mercy to be multiplied, as God is accustomed to remember his compassion in his anger.

A man named Yovsep of Greek origin had entered Awshin's service; a eunuch, he abandoned the Christian religion, accepting the erring faith of Mohammed. He was a ferocious man, savage, unsparing in the drinking of human blood, but of mighty prowess in deeds of war, who cast fear into other nations; into his hands Awshin had entrusted power and force. But God, who in his providence alters the hearts of princes, separated and estranged Yovsep' from Awshin. Leaving the city of Partaw, he took his troops and marched rapidly to the land of Asorestan.

When Awshin learned of this, he was deeply stricken and made haste to write to Sap'i, who was residing at Vantosp and exercising the role of lord in Vaspurakan. Without delay and observing utmost speed, he went to Awshin in the city of Marakay. In just vengeance did the sword of the Lord, filled with wrath, fall on Awshin and his entire camp. The angel of God dealt them incurable blows in the fashion of Herod's disease: the body of that beastly man became bloated with pus and horrible swelling, and was filled with bloody corruption. First of all Sap'i, his dear friend, drank the strong poison. His bones and flesh were infected with incurable ulcers, and in the presence of Awshin he ended his life. In similar fashion all the soldiers and captains with the entire army perished; and also the herds of horses and donkeys and camels died from the same ulcerous infection.

Awshin himself suffered dreadful torments; having tasted a cup more bitter than viper's gall, he went on the journey to perdition. And hell below turned bitter on meeting him, who brought with him an infinity of evils.

So our country took breath, and everyone lived in peace according to his rank, from the greatest to the least, thanking the mercies of God. In amazement they considered him wondering who he was, what sort of man, and how he had perished, and saying: "How did the exactor cease and the tormentor pause; [Cf. Isaiah 14.4.] how did his glory go down to hell?" [Cf. Isaiah 14.11.]

This happened in 347 of the Armenian era, in which year Lord Georg, Catholicos of Armenia, also died. [The year 347 began on 16 April, a.d. 898. John Catholicos, pp. 181-182, describes the death of Georg and the election of Mashtots*, but gives no date. Ter-Ghevondyan, places Awshin's death in 901 AD.] He was succeeded on the throne of Saint Gregory by the blessed Mashtots', who came from the island in the lake of Gelark'uni [I.e. the island in Lake Sevan. For the monastery see Mecerian, Histoire et institutions, pp. 293-294.]. He exemplified the way of life of John the Baptist; and if you will not mock at my words, it seems not inappropriate or reprehensible to call him by the same name. For the Baptist was commanded to drink neither wine nor strong liquor. But he not only did not get drunk on wine, but did not quench his thirst with water save by the merest damping; and he satisfied his hunger with austere herbs. But in scholarly learning he was deeply versed, dead to the love for possessions but lively in his generosity. He occupied the patriarchal throne for eight or nine months, then passed on to the throne of apostolic honour promised by our Saviour.

In his stead the blessed lord Yohannes inherited the patriarchal throne. He had been educated and had studied at the feet of Saint Mashtots. Bedewed with the latter's learned instruction and scholarly discipline, he was a man of sweet temperament and modest disposition. He considered himself one with the common people, was foreign to haughty arrogance, and kept to the place of the mild praised by our Lord Jesus Christ.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 27

[Concerning The Miracle Which Was Revealed In Ostan Of Rshtunik' In The Years Of Gagik's Generalship]

I have undertaken to give a true account of the marvellous manifestation of wonders that appeared during the time Gagik was general. But not a few regrets have fallen on me, which I shall now briefly expound, dutifully continuing my narrative.

The four-armed cross of Christ had been fashioned in wood by a certain skilled craftsman, and a silversmith had enclosed the wood with pure and unalloyed silver seven times refined in the furnace—like the altar of propitiation and other vessels prescribed by Moses for the tabernacle [and fashioned] by the craftsmen Eliab and Beseliel. A new Nabuzardan or Zamri from the heresy of Nestorius appeared, a thrice-miserable and wicked wretch, afflicted with the scourge of avarice. Penetrating in the darkness of night, he made his way into the secure walled hill and entered the holy shrine. While sweetly desired sleep overwhelmed those keeping the night watch, he raised his impure hand to the holy of holies and seized the holy cross of Christ. He got out through the window and hid himself to the west on the shore of the lake in a cave in the rock. But when he stripped the silver from the wood, straightway the evil demon afflicted him, causing him to roll down the mountain in a long fall as far as the level ground where the vineyards are. When what had happened became known, people rushed to search in the city and on the roadways in whichever direction anyone might have hurried, until they came upon the man afflicted by an evil spirit, still lying half dead. Picking up the cross that had been broken and crushed into pieces, they brought it to the general and washed off the impure blood that had adhered to the cross from the tumble of the demon-possessed man. He ordered a goldsmith to be brought, and had the invincible wood of the cross of Christ restored again. He rejoined the fragments in each one's position, and covered it with pure silver more splendidly than before, to the glory of the Christians and to the shame and ignominy of the enemies of Christ's cross. Then the wretch suffered the sentence of death, to pay in the world to come the penalty of the crucifiers.

But do not blame me for comparing the things of the law to those of the gospel; I am not ignorant of the greater and the less, of the example [Nabuzardan burned the temple; IV Kings 25.8. For the wickedness of Zamri see III Kings 16.9-20.] and the truth. As Paul teaches: "Whoever despised the laws of Moses, died from the testimony of two or three witnesses. Of how much greater a punishment will we think that man worthy who trampled the Son of God," and so on.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 28

[Concerning The Rebellion Of The Muslims Called Kaysikk* A And Of The Prince Of Siunik' Against The Rule Of Smbat, And The Subjection Again Of Them Both (* Kaysikk The Kaysites were a tribe of north Arab origin; see Ter-Ghevondyan, pp. 51-53, and the table on p. 184; also Canard/Laurent, pp. 386-389, The emirs of Manazkert were Kaysites.).]

At that time the Armenian king Smbat assembled an army to attack the land of Apahunikt For the sons of Abdrahman [Abu'l-Ward (see above, p. 218) had two sons, 'Abd al-Hamid and 'Abd al-Rahman. It was the sons of the former who refused to pay tribute to King Smbat; see Ter-Ghevondyan, p. 65. The following events are more briefly described in the Anonymous, p. 276. He defines the tribute (harks) as "head tax" (harks . . . i glkhots ').], who are called the Kaysikk, had revolted against the king's authority [refusing] to give tribute and military service as was due. Almost all the princes of Armenia, Georgia, and Albania came with the Armenian army to attack the land of Apahunik'. With the princes were also the great prince of Vaspurakan, Ashot son of Derenik, accompanied by Grigor prince of Mokk'! and the troops of Andzavats'ik'; for the princes of Mokk' and of Andzavats'ik' had submitted to the principality of Vaspurakan. The Armenian army crossed over and encamped on the plain of Awshakan in the province of Manazav.

But the Kaysik who governed the land of Apahunik' gathered his own forces, including the neighbouring citizens and the Persian brigands who used to make raids against the Greeks. The Kaysik wrote to the king to seek peace and offering that whatever he wished should be done. So it was openly, but the secret later became clear. The king agreed to peace. But the Kaysiks and their allies and the Persian troops were secretly provoking battle and rapidly marched on the Armenian army. The latter were encamped without concern thinking themselves in safety, when the former drew up their line and armed for battle. The king and his army, taken by surprise, quickly fled from the camp by forced marches.

But Prince Ashot, the prince of Mokk', and the troops of Andzavats'ik very bravely stood their ground. In full armour and on armed horses they attacked as one man. In a resolute charge they fell on the right wing of the enemy, where the bravest of the Muslims were drawn up. They broke their ranks, defeated their warriors, and in the twinkling of an eye routed their army. Pursuing the fugitives, they put their swords to good use, piling up the corpses. The survivors fled for refuge to the city of Manazav. The bearer of the news caught up with the king, and they turned back to besiege the city. But those immured in the city sent prayers and supplications to the great prince Ashot that he might effect peace between them. Not being indifferent, but rather overflowing with benevolence, Ashot made peace proposals to the king. The latter was not unheedful and accepted the proposal, taking tribute and hostages including the fortress of Erikaw of Halats'ovit, which the lord of Manazav had taken from the lord of Berkri. [Berkri: This fortress on Lake Van had been in the hands of the Muslim Utmaniks; see above. Erikaw and Halats'ovit are not attested elsewhere.] These had taken it from the Ginuni [Ginuni: so the text of Patkanean. It is either a misprint for Gnuni, or a form based on traditional etymology from gini, "wine"; cf. Moses Khorenats'i, II 7.] family descended from Mezhezh Gnuni, [Between them: i.e. between the Kaysite of Manazkert and King Smbat.] although Berkri had been part of Vaspurakan. So he restored it to the people of Berkri. They returned in great triumph and unlimited joy. This took place in the year 351 of the Armenian era, in the fourth year of the patriarchate of Yovhannes, Catholicos of the Armenians. [The year 351 began on 15 April, a.d. 902. John became Catholicos in the year 898/9.]

When the next year came round, Smbat prince of Siunik' rebelled against the king of Armenia, prevented the payment of tribute to the king, and endeavoured to direct the tribute and taxes to the tyrant of Persia. He himself gathered his own forces, ten thousand soldiers, and occupied the fortresses of Vayots'dzor. Then the king rapidly sent messengers one after the other to Prince Ashot asking him to come quickly to him without delay. In one letter, recalling what Ashot had done against the army of Apahunik—his victorious war and winning of glorious repute-—he wrote as follows: "This further task will be accomplished by peace or war, if only you put aside distracting delays," and he promised to give him cities, provinces, villages, and estates. For he had already given him possession of the city of Nakhchavan for his victory over the Kaysik of Manazav. The king himself gathered a large army of more than twenty-five thousand, and crossed over the river Araxes; they camped at that spot.

The prince of Vaspurakan arrived posthaste at the rendezvous. At this the king greatly rejoiced, being freed from the fear that he had of the prince of Siunik. At daybreak he crossed over the river Araxes to the plain of Sharur and camped beside the river. Then prince Ashot wrote to Prince Smbat, persuading him of the uselessness of his rebellion. He reconciled the two and made peace between them; so Sahak, brother of the prince of Siunik, came bringing with him the tribute. Then he returned with many gifts and unparalleled joy.

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ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 29

[Concerning The Death Of Ashot, Prince Of Vaspurakan, In The City Of Nakhchavan]

At this point not with ready willingness do I continue my narrative, for grief rather than joy overtakes me. Infinite sadness springs up in the place of rejoicing; torrents of tears pour in streams from my eyes in the place of peals of laughter; I sink down rather than stand up straight; within me reigns broken heart rather than firm valour; my being is full of pain instead of health that opposes inevitable death. For what reason or cause? Because I am deprived of my valiant and great prince, of my hero and glorious chief. I speak of Ashot the honourable, noble, and grandly eminent, absolutely the most prominent among all the Armenians.

For when he went to lend his support to the king of Armenia, as soon as he left his house in the city of Van he was gripped by the pains of sickness, harbingers of death, which the aid of skillful physicians could not assuage. The nobility of Vaspurakan implored him not to go on that journey, adducing his illness; but he chose death for his uncle over life that would render his loyalty suspect. When the pains of his abdominal sickness intensified he entered the city of Nakhchavan. There he remained for forty days before departing this world, respected by all, especially because he was dear and beloved to everyone—high and low, poor and rich, grand and small. He had lived from 325 of the Armenian era, and was twenty-nine when he departed this world in the month of Areg, the fourth day of the month, on a Monday at the ninth hour of the day. [Thomas indicated that the rebellion of Smbat of Sionik* occurred in the year after 351. Therefore Ashot's death was in 352, which began on 15 April, a.d. 903. The fourth of Areg in 903 coincided with 14 November, a Monday as Thomas indicates. But Ashot could not have been aged twenty-nine if he was born in the year 325 of the Armenian era, or in 326 as Thomas said above.] The princess Seday took his body and buried it in Albag in the village of Awsi, in the monastery of the Holy Cross. [The theme of choosing death over life with ignominy is common in Thomas (and other Armenian writers); see above, p. 140 n. 3.]

It would be appropriate to extend further rhetorical laments over him. But since the energy of my feeble mind is inadequate to compose a proper lament, let that now be left to another stronger person or to another time. To counter this affliction I have consoled myself with consummate and incomparable joy, by running after spiritual delights in place of physical pleasure. For although Ashot ended the measure of his life prematurely, he acquired a surplus by exchanging the certain and unfailing dissolution of this existence for spiritual, eternal, and undying life, repenting and regretting his youthful inclination to easy and quickly accomplished evil deeds. For when the mortal pains gripped him, he no longer fretted over his youthful and premature departure from this world, his leaving the country with its numerous provinces and impregnable fortresses, his abandoning his splendid and delightful high-ranking brothers, and leaving the varied magnificence of nobility and what other sweet delights there are under heaven on earth: the glorious beauty of the sun and moon, with the splendour of the stars in their mutations through the firmament of heaven, of the sea and dry lands, of the pleasure of the magnificant rolling of the waves, and all the other congruous features of providence that reveal the image of the archetype. These and even more displays of material things he plunged into oblivion in his flight to the heavenly beings and the king of heaven. In his concern for the future life he was meek to the clergy of the church. He summoned the elders of the new testament, the bishops and priests, before whom he delivered a full confession of faith: the illumination of baptism, repentance for past deeds, hope after death, the benevolence of Christ. He cited the pledges by enumerating the greatest examples in a short time: the adulteress, the tax gatherer, the brigand, and such-like. He poured forth sighing, tears, confession, piteous intercessions, sadness unto death, looking to the medicine of life—the Body and Blood of the Son of God—for the forgiveness of sins, raising moanings and groanings with unbecoming sighs and great laments to Christ. He beat his face with stones, shed torrents of tears from welling eyes, tore out with his nails his newly blooming beard resplendent with gold and adorned with flowers and insatiably performed further acts of penitence. Even the holy angels appeared in visible form; in terror at their sight his mind was dazed. As they surrounded him, he questioned: "Is there forgiveness for my wicked deeds? Will God forgive my frequent trespasses? Tell me, answer me." This he said, his face buried in his couch, mingling his laments with repeated moans and groans. I indeed was beside him and knew precisely his firmness in the hope of salvation. Having tasted the Living Bread and the source of the Living and Life-giving Blood of the Son of God, he gave up his soul into the hands of the holy angels and fearlessly passed through the powers and principalities, through the guardians of this dark region who have control over the souls of unbelievers, rather than those of believers and those who have repented, and deliver them to their perdition.

After the death of Ashot and the completion of the period of mourning for him, his brother Gagik took control of the principality of Vaspurakan. The brothers Gagik and Gurgen, born of the same father and mother, descended from the noble and high-ranking stocks of Senek'erim and David, came together in mutual harmony inspired by affable love for each other with no thoughts of evil. They combined noble intention and generous inspiration, putting aside all thoughts of hostile intent and folly, and embraced each other in their desire for the good and advantageous prosperity and peace of their native land, to which they devoted their diligent care. By their reforms they restored to order what had been disturbed, brought back those who had been deprived of or removed from their ancestral lands and homes, settled the confused and turbulent state of the country into a course of calm and peace, and permitted each and every inhabitant of the country to live in security, undisturbed by marauders within or without.

The whole area of their principality they divided into two parts. The eastern and western regions that face to the north Prince Gagik received as his portion: the provinces of Chuash and T'ornavan, Artaz, Mardastan, Garni, Arberani, Alandrot, Barilovit, Palunik' and of Metsnunik', of Tosp, Rshtunik' [Tosp, kshtunik': The two words are spelled as one in the text, and Vardanyan takes it as a name for one province. But Tosp is the town of Van and the surrounding province; while Rshtunik' is on the southern shore of Lake Van. For Arberani, Barilovit, Palunik, and Gugan see Huebschmann, AON, pp. 341, 345. For Alandrot, Metsnunik, and Bogunik see Eremyan, Hayastan, pp. 32, 70, 45.] , Bogunik', Gugan the province of Artashes. These were famous provinces, which in earlier times the father of treachery called mardpet had made his own—the story of which we recorded above — and especially the city of Shamiram, the most famous and glorious of all regions of Vaspurakan.

On the other hand, Gurgen marzpan of Armenia received as his portion the eastern part that goes down to the south: the valley of Andzahik', Krchunik, Khulanovit, the original province of Mardastan, Archishakovit, Arnoy-otn, Greater and Lesser Albag, Ake, Tamber, Tagrean, Ernay, Zarehavan.

But Tamber, Ernay, and Zarehavan had been detached from Parskahayk', while the city of Nakhchavan and the province of Golt'n had been detached from Vaspurakan a long time before, 211 years in fact, in the year when the church of Saint Gregory was burned and the Armenian troops suffered a horrible death. [It was in 705 (?) that the Armenians were burned in the church at Nakhchavan; see above, p. 105 n. 1. Since Thomas seems here to be referring to the period soon after Ashot's death in 904, the figure of 211 does not tally. The reference to Golt'n in this sentence is superfluous, since Thomas discusses that in the next sentence.]

The province of Golt'n had been detached at the time of the martyrdom of Saint Vahan, in the year 186 of the Armenian era when Saint Vahan, who was the son of Khosrov lord of Golt'n, was martyred. [Vahan's martyrdom is variously dated in the Armenian sources; see Muyldermans, Domination, p. 98. Thomas implies that it was in 737 AD; cf. Kirakos, p. 66: in the reign of Hisham (724-743). John Catholicos, p. 99, places it in the reign of 'Umar II (717-720). The disagreement is also apparent in the hagiographical texts; see BHO, pp. 67-268.]

So they began to create prosperity and peace for the land through equitable justice, care for orphans and widows, vigilance in charity for the poor and embellishment of the church. Gagik fortified with walls the hill at Ostan in Rshtunik that had lain in ruins for many years; he rebuilt the church there dedicated to the Holy Mother of God, Mary, and embellished it with very valuable vessels. In it he also placed the cross which we mentioned above, through which miraculous powers had been revealed. He built a church in the rocky cave of Amrakan, at the summit of the rock, dedicated to the valiant soldier Saint George. He adorned it with similar embellishment, with a silver censer, worked in choice silver and emblazoned with the sign of Christ's cross. Right beneath Amrakan, in a hollow spot diagonally to the north, he built a church, constructed in wonderful fashion from stones cut in the city of Manazav and brought to Vantosp, dedicated to the holy Sion in the holy city of Jerusalem. To the right of the altar he built on the same foundation (a chapel) dedicated to the crucifixion of the Lord at Golgotha. Above it he constructed a church dedicated to the upper room of the mystical celebration of the transmission of the new covenant. On the left side of the altar he built a church in commemoration of the Resurrection of Christ on the third day from the tomb, having pillaged hell. Above that he built a church dedicated to the Ascension to heaven and the sharing of the Father's throne, and in commemoration of the Second Coming, when he will come in the Father's glory with the angels to the apostles, bringing them the consoling and encouraging gospel. He also built on the rock of Amrakan on the eastern and western sides banqueting halls decorated in gold, with verandahs, improving what had earlier been constructed by his father Derenik. On the southern side he provided a staircase cut in the rock to the cistern, rising from below up to the summit of the rock with easy access and egress, cemented with sand and lime. In his seemly wisdom he prepared a water tunnel underground, cutting channels for the passage of water out of the rock, so it could run from the summit of Mount Varag obliquely from south to north into calm wide hollows in the plain, and debouch at the summit of the rock of Amrakan. Thereby he provided for the various needs and requirements of his royal palace, his own construction that was built like a city, improving on the construction of his father.

Futhermore, looking to the east in the direction of Chuashrot and the city of Getk, he constructed a splendid place of pleasure, surrounding with palatial buildings a hill from which one could look down onto the plain to the banks of the river Araxes.

There herds of deer gambolled; there were lairs of boars and lions and herds of onagers, all ready for the pleasures of the chase—facing the mountains of Ayrarat, noble Masis, where Artavazd, son of Artashes, fell headlong on the rough slopes.

Descending to the town of Marakan on the river called Karmir which runs into the river Araxes, he built a stronghold impregnable to mounted raiders. There too in similar fashion he placed inside dwellings, streets, and buildings divided into rooms, sufficient for his needs, a little below the place called Dzork'. He found there a strong rocky place secure from military attacks, which he enclosed with ramparts. He established there a splendid palace, beautifully adorned for festivities. [In this sentence Thomas has combined the themes of the Second Coming and Pentecost. The combination is also attested in one of the frescoes in Gagik's later church on Att'amar. See Thierry, "Survivance." In a wider context cf. the long note 55 in Kitzinger, "Mosaics."] In this manner he was unstintingly mindful of all necessities, and accomplished everything that might serve the prosperity and peace of the land, involving himself in every useful activity—as is appropriate for kings and princes to care and provide for the prosperity of the country over whose direction they have been appointed by God. For not only was he concerned with its prosperity but he was also ready to shed his blood and virtuously lay down his life for his sheep like a good shepherd, raising a lofty and grand memorial, an indelible covenant for ages to come. With rapid step he made his upward course to attain the mountain of the Lord and the house of our God, following the prophet's exhortation, soaring upwards from below to Mount Varag. There he worshipped the wood of Christ's cross that was crowned by Christ, a pedestal for God's feet, in which the ranks of kings who believe in Christ glory and by which they are crowned. He covered the holy cross of salvation with gold studded with precious stones, and set the wondrous rood with pearls; he fitted it into sweet-smelling wood, leaving a part open from the golden covering, and on its front fitted a square cross-shaped wooden casket. This is the cross which we mentioned above when we described its appearance 259 years previously in the time of Nerses II Catholicos of Armenia, and Vard the patrician of Rshtunik', in the year when the Muslims occupied Armenia. [Thomas had not mentioned the apparition of a cross "when the Muslims occupied Armenia." Again there is confusion between Nerses III and Nerses II; see above, p. 231 n. 6. Thomas does not indicate when the Muslim occupation occurred; the attacks began n 640, but Vard (the text erroneously reads Vardan here) succeeded to his father T'eodore's position in 654. Ps.-Shapuh, p. 107, says that the cross appeared in the time of Vard. Nor is it clear from what date the "259 years previously" should be reckoned; for Thomas goes on to describe constructions begun by Gagik prior to Ashot's death in 903. For the cross of Varag see below, p. 306 (in the Anonymous). Thomas has awkwardly moved from Karmir to Varag; for the monastery at Karmir see Thierry, "Monasteres" I.] After splendidly adorning the cross Gagik descended the mountain to its base, where dwelt monks who wore the habit constructions. He built a high embankment at the village of Mahrast on the eastern bank of the river facing Ostan of Rshtunik', where there had previously been the walled palace of the Patrician Vard Rshtuni, descendant of Hayk. He appointed as abbot a certain priest named Yovhannes from the province of Boguni and the village of Anstan. Here he organised a settlement of monks and entrusted their direction to the above-mentioned priest, who was a gentle man, humble and honourable in his way of life, most appropriate for the position to which he had been called. The general set aside for the monastery sufficient villages for the reception of pilgrims and the care of the poor.

There he built a splendid and glorious church dedicated to Saint Peter the apostle, the invincible custodian of hell, and to the right and left of the altar another two churches. At first Gagik, not rightly inclined to the faith, intended to name the church after the Saving Name. For this opinion is of the Nestorians and Chalcedonians, with the other dyophysites, who in their error said that the Word took flesh from the Virgin as a house and tabernacle, and that the flesh was not in unity by nature with the Word. But the holy apostles are the house of Christ, as also are called the groups of other saints, as Paul said: "You are the temple of the living God"; and

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Scripture again says through the prophet: "I shall live among them and shall go among them." But Christ is not called his own house or tabernacle, but the one Lord Jesus Christ, perfect from God and man. Otherwise churches which are called Saviour would be adored and worshipped with divine worship—which is most ridiculous. And it is plainly clear without doubt that if the church were called God and flesh of the Word, it would be even more ridiculous. The stones would be eaten and the wooden and other metal utensils, just as the Body and Blood of the Son of God which is offered in them, especially as he is truly the Son of God; and again that is most ridiculous. Let this be enough said for now for intelligent and learned people, and let us leave aside the opinions of the foolish.

Furthermore, the general Gagik constructed buildings at the head of the valley of Awdz, which is so named because of the severity and strength of the bitter and mortal winds that blow there. He transferred villages there and built up the hillock that formed the fortified encampment of the house of the Artsrunik'. He named the site after his own name Gagkakert, and brought there the boundaries of the villages he had transferred.

Equally for his part the marzpan of Armenia, Gurgen, built in splendid fashion the church in the city of Hadamakert in Greater Albag, in the native princely domain of the noble family of the Artsrunik. The stones were hewn at a good distance—about three stadia away—and transported for the construction of the church by means of carts gathered from far and near. He made a vociferous proclamation, as though he meant a verbal warning, and had a clear announcement broadcast to inform people to prepare material for the completion of the holy church. In such fashion did the sound of hewing wood in the time of Noah announce by the carpenters' tools the flood that poured down from heaven and covered the abyss, in which the faithful man who trusted in God journeyed to safety by the efforts of his family. As the events of his time clearly had reference to the mystery of the ark, and salvation prevailed for us over the insolence of the Phrygians, with valiant faith did they press on with the house of God. Prince Gagik had formed a navigable route over the waves which went up and down like hills and valleys, when he brought hewn stones for the fabric of the church from the province of Manazav across the lake of Bznunik in little wooden ships; these ran in majestic path across the azure blue in their course over mountain and plain.

Thus he completed the splendid tower of the holy Sion with the other holy buildings dedicated to the sites of the dispensation of the Word of God made man. In like fashion Gurgen completed on an eminence on the promontory with graceful elegance his construction of two further churches to right and left of the altar. These he splendidly adorned with very valuable vessels worked in gold, signed with the cross, and set with pearls and precious stones.

But perhaps you here doubt that I can demonstrate Gurgen's enthusiasm for physical prowess and warfare. So I appropriately add for you an account of his valiant heroism, his endurance in combat, his intelligence, experience and diligence in military affairs, his willing and meritorious exercise of the office of marzpan. In such fashion had the glorious Trdat taken proper care to provide for military taxes against the raids of brigands. This regulation we find among the holy angels established by the providence of the Creator for the benefit of the world. You can read in the books of the prophets these details, as in the sixth vision of Daniel and the discourse of Zechariah; and as Paul took care to explain the seven ranks handed down to the holy church by the Holy Spirit.

It happened, after the great battle which took place before the events I have been describing, that the Muslims came to the chiefs of the province of Manazav and the plain of Yush, combined forces with the turbulent occupants of the cities, and vainly raided the land. There they received their punishment from the sword of the warriors of Vaspurakan, as we described. As soon as the sad news of those fallen in battle reached the Persian city and the borders of Atrpatakan, in the perverse custom of their religion, being bloodthirsty and without benevolence, and especially as they were filled with Satanic mischief, they raised a cry to all cities, and created a tumult in their wild raving. They launched an attack from their lairs like bees swarming out from their hives at the season of their procreation led by their queen bee, who in their rage against the human race plan to destroy it, but rather bring extermination upon themselves. In such manner the Persian throng attacked the land of Vaspurakan in their various tribes and cities from Media and Persia, from Elam and Khuzhastan, from Krman and Mukan, from Turkastan and Khorasan. Suddenly they fell on the province of Chuash to bum, plunder, and destroy from the very foundations the holy churches, the houses of prayer of the Christians, to slaughter the priests of the new covenant with their swords, to kill old men and women with the sword, to march young men and maidens away to captivity, to destroy and loot possessions and belongings. So the land was in great anguish, filled with terror at these calamities.

At that time T'adeos of the Akeats'i family, known as the son of Sherep, whom we mentioned above elsewhere in the great battle on the confines of Aldznik, fortified himself in the castle of Shamiram. He was lying in wait like a lion cub in its den. He wrote to the holy bishop Grigor of the house of the Amatunik, who was residing at the tomb of Saint Thaddaeus the apostle in the province of Ardoz, asking him to find some reason for the attack which had befallen them. He returned a response full of encouraging advice and exhortation to the hope of a martyr's crown: if in that battle it should happen that he be killed, then for the victory he would inherit the title of confessor, and he should strengthen himself in the power of the cross of Christ our God. With steadfast faith he rapidly advanced to the decisive battle. He left his fortified position with a small force, the garrison of the fortress of Shamiram; swooping like an eagle on its prey, they encountered the numberless host of the enemy at the village of P'aytakshtan. There, from a slightly higher position, they rushed down like a torrent to attack them, taking courage in Christ. In the twinkling of an eye they filled the surface of the plain with bodies of killed and wounded. Of the survivors, some fled before them wherever they could escape, while others raised loud and piteous cries, seeking deliverance from the sword of the valiant champion T'adeos son of Sherep. So the land of Vaspurakan gained peace, and they lived in safety and security. No more did bands of Persian raiders attack the country.

Since Lesser Albag and the land of Korcheik and Parskahayk' bordered on each other directly, and they were continually finding excuses for mutual quarrels—that is, the marzpan and those who governed Korcheik—the marzpan marched against them, and took control of Tamber and the province of Ernay and the castle called Apujap'r; and in the city of Vhri in Korcheik he installed his own officers to guard the fortress.

But the inhabitants of Parskahayk, marching in a confused rabble, secretly passed by untrodden paths to reach the city of Vitahot in the province of Mardastan. Attacking with the sword, they took captives and seized booty, then returned to Chuash and the province of Tornavan, passing through the province of Krchunik. They took captives and booty from Lek, Alzi, Krerik', and from the province of Chakhuk. When news of this reached Shapuh, brother of T'adeos son of Sherep', he marched out to attack the rabble from Parskahayk. There he exhibited many acts of prowess: he freed all the captives, and seized back the booty. But he was wounded by a sword, and died a martyr's death in the village of Giwlik in the province of Chuash, giving himself to death for the sake of Christ's sheep. Then the Muslims turned back and entered the provinces of T'rab and Shnawh.

When the marzpan of Armenia Gurgen heard the sad news, he pursued them with one thousand men, fully armed cavalry, and reached the province of Ayli. Informed of his arrival, the Muslims fled to a distance and occupied the strongholds, scattering over the mountains in secret hiding places.

When the next year came round, while they were still unconcerned and safe from fear of the marzpan, the latter took about seven hundred cavalry, armed and equipped, and marched by a circuitous route in order to attack the Persian supply camp.

Leaving the city of Hadamakert at the ninth hour on a Friday, he passed by the lake of Embeay and by Varaz and Zrevhavan; at dawn the next day he reached the village of Erenay Yamats, and by evening had arrived at the river called the Taron. The next morning with weary horses they attacked the camp, whose entrance was unguarded. Straightway two men fell, Vlit and Marachay. The marzpan's horse was too weak to gallop, but with seemly defiance they boldly attacked the enemy, captured and plundered the camp, put more than a few to the sword, and reached a hollow at the village of Mlunik. But, as has been said, the horses were tired out from the long march, and the riders overcome by lack of sleep, the blazing sun, and burning heat, and horses and riders alike were suffering extreme thirst. While they were resting and unprepared, suddenly they were attacked by a band of raging infidels (Mohammedans] including women, their children and kinsmen. In fearsome strength they fell on the Armenians with flailing swords and mercilessly butchered them. The Armenian force suffered a terrible disaster, only a few from the large number being able to escape with difficulty. On that day, in the unnecessary battle, there fell about five hundred famous men, whose place of burial has never been revealed to this day. They were the most illustrious men from the house of the Artsrunik and other noble families—on whom may God have mercy.

Thenceforth the infidels gained confidence, and began to gather bands of common people, an innumerable multitude like locusts, from those who were called Shekhetik'. There were also others from various distant countries: Persia, Zhangan, Jurjan, the province of Vararat. They formed an enormous army in the province of Zarevan, and intended in their cruel spite to attack our land in order to destroy it completely. But the best and oldest among them temporised over this, especially those who are known as the most faithful in their religion, called Kurayk, their leader Hamis, and someone else from the regions of Zhangan. These said that it was not right to do this, according to their prophet. Furthermore, Prince Gurgen continually wrote entreaties to their elders and nobles, presenting what had happened as a misfortune and accident, and begging them not to wreak their vengeance on their vassals and subjects. So peace was arranged after these great tribulations by command from on high. [. . .?]

[END OF THE HISTORY BY T'OVMAY (THOMAS ARTSRUNI) HIMSELF. It Might Be Quite Likely That He Died At This Time As He Could Not Finish This Work.]

BOOK FOUR

[BEGINNING OF THE ADDITIONS BY OTHER AUTHORS, THE SO-CALLED "CONTINUATORS."]

He was given by the Lord another son, whom he named Gurgen after his uncle. He also demonstrated many acts of valour with the assistance of God, who fulfilled for him the inspired prophecy of the songs of David: "Everything that he shall do will succeed for him."

He also recovered for himself and his successors the region of Slig of Tosp province at the foot of Mount Varag, which the wicked race of Ismaelites had seized a long time before. His ancestors had striven for it, but without success. Now the renowned and warlike prince, protector of his fathers' claims, by his supremely wise resourcefulness, and especially encouraged by the assistance of God, with great bravery took the fortress by night and ruled over the province. He also plucked by force out of the hands of the Muslims the province of Ernay, which the Muslims had seized so long before that no one was able to recall mention of it, or what had happened to it over many centuries.

Likewise he recovered many other towns of Atrpatakan, over which he ruled with great magnificence. Through so many and such remarkable victories did he become famous and well known in Armenia.

But the cunning devil Satan—as once of old through the influence of the woman he tricked the gullible ancestor to taste the fruit, and rendered mortal the immortal nature that we had in paradise—likewise here too he stirred up the fire of envy against the valiant and renowned prince. He cast resentment and jealousy into the hearts of some Armenians so they might become accomplices; he inflamed the enemies of the cross of Christ, who like blood-thirsty beasts gnashed their teeth against him. Descending to depths of wickedness, they revealed their plots and incited each other to find means, planning by secret treachery and feigned friendship to accomplish their ends. But they never dared reveal any of this: "Perchance he may hear," they said, "and swoop down on us like an eagle on flocks of birds, and make us fodder for the sword." While all these secret conspiracies lay hidden fermenting, the prince, unsuspecting, enjoyed profound peace in accordance with the grace given him from above.

At this time he raised to high rank one of his kinsmen called Gagik, giving him the castle of Agarak and the province of Chakhuk, and making him commander on the Persian frontier. But his eyes were covered with grease, like the blinded Israel; he was ungrateful to his benefactor, and turned his back on the prince, overcome by the vice of rebellion. When the all-wise and mighty prince saw this, he undertook a sublime plan. In order to get rid of him he sent to him his nephew Hasan. Since Gagik had married Hasan's sister, he therefore received him in the castle in a friendly and peaceful manner. Finding a suitable opportunity, Hasan seized the fortress and wrote to the prince, describing how the affair had turned out. Immediately the prince arrived, put Gagik in chains, sent him to the town of Van, and imprisoned him in its fortress.

But as we said above, some traitors from Atrpatakan, and likewise those who were Armenian and whose accomplice this rebel Gagik had been, were continually plotting to carry out their murky plan. Since they were unable to harm the valiant prince in any way openly, they turned to a man who was very dear to the prince, the son of Apumsar from the city of Kher. Shedding tears and sighs before him, they recalled to him their patriotic zeal, the pillaging of cities and possessions, the seizure of houses and destruction of castles, the slaughter of troops and the shedding of much blood by the sword of the mighty prince, and they set before him the false ordinances of the religion of Mohammed's. Some other Armenians promised him riches and gifts. Just as fire thrives on a large supply of wood, so did this man delight in promises and pacts. Thus they seduced him, and through him craftily set the mortal trap.

Matters were in this situation when winter arrived in accordance with the changing of the seasons, by which human lives are measured through the sun's motion. Then the illustrious prince, as was his former habit, set off through the valley of Andzah and arrived in the plain of Kher, intending to reach as rapidly as possible the royal winter quarters in the province of Chuash at the town of Marakan.

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At that time he had been preceded by the impious man, his deceitful and treacherous friend, pregnant with impiety, begetter of destruction, wicked suckling mother of mortal plots, nurse of darkness, accomplice of blood, advised by Satan, spumed by the virtuous, servant of the Evil One, key of hell, furnace of sin, ignited with the fire of envy by his own companions, mire of gloom, who engulfed in his abyss of perdition the shining pearl of the sea. Through evil messengers he begged the renowned prince of Vaspurakan to spend the night with him in accordance with his customary friendliness. The prince did not accept because he was hurrying to his own province. But the former, alleging that this was a violation of his pact of friendship, put pressure on the prince at least to let him see his glorious face. Taking a deadly present, he came to meet the mighty prince.

When they met they were unable to embrace each other. For the prince had gone out hunting unaccompanied by his soldiers and without wearing armour, and the tracks through the vineyards were difficult to pass, and the two men were separated by a noisy rushing stream that was very deep. Neither the Muslim nor any of our soldiers dared cross it, admitting their faintheartedness and the hesitation of their horses, especially as the prince did not let anyone follow him. Then the valiant and mighty prince, spurring his horse's flank, rapidly crossed that difficult torrent.

Now that foul Muslim, since he was unwilling to confront the mighty prince in person, having been previously advised by his accomplices, had taken with him some strong and athletic men secretly armed. He approached the prince, and throwing his arms around his neck gave him the kiss of Judas. The troops nearby forcibly seized his bridle, and laid hands on his sharp steel sword so that the valiant prince was unable to gallop away. Then, striking him with the lance, they took the brave man's life. Since his offspring were young children, Ashot, Gagik, and Gurgen, who had not yet reached maturity, therefore there was no one to avenge his blood so unworthily shed.

We cannot leave the memory of the loss of this all-blessed warrior without considerable and worthy lament. Therefore I call on the bitter grape of the wine pourer, the prophet Jeremiah, saying: "Who made my head a reservoir of water, and my eyes rapid flowing streams?" so I may ceaselessly weep for the day of the destruction of the new Israel. I do not hesitate to summon the similar woeful laments of the great prophet, the wonderful Zechariah, and with him go up to a high watchtower to cry out to all nations and say: "Weep, weep, east to west, north to south, nations to nations, peoples to peoples. For the helper has left, the defender has become silent, the great leader with his princely splendour has today been taken away from our head. Heaven above and earth below mourned the loss of their fellow servant. Who would not lament that day, whose entrails would not be contorted, among us who have deserved to see and endure such cruel and terrible misfortunes?"

For the noble troops, deprived of their lord and scattered over mountains and plains, bitterly filled the land with sighs, laments, and flowing tears; from the anguished burning of their entrails they were struck to the ground like corpses, benumbed by the bitter taste of the mortal cup. The young men of his bodyguard, whom the prince had raised and on whom he personally relied, put nooses round their necks and were anxious to shed their own blood, preferring death to life. Even the dogs who loved their master, grovelling at the spot of his murder and raging in nocturnal vigil, scattered the beasts of the desert by their baying and howling to heaven, until the streams of noble blood that fell to the ground had dried in the heat of the sun.

The news of this mighty loss spread over Armenia like a heavy thundercloud filled with wrath, especially over his own pre-eminent province of Vaspurakan. There women and maidservants, putting aside the decorum of their female sex, heads bare, dragged themselves along the streets and roads. In their deep and bitter grief they forgot to suckle their infant children with their accustomed milk, having time only for voicing their mutual lamentations. The palace of the great princess Sop'i, beautiful as the sun, resounded with the beating of breasts and foreheads and with shrill wailings. In their lamentations they cried: "Woe, the renowned prince is lost, and the land of Armenia remains without a lord."

The princess, who had trusted in the invincible power of the mighty prince, said: "Why, Oh men, and for what reason did you have the arrogance to do this? There are no enemies anywhere; no war has engulfed us from anywhere. Who dared to do this? Who could seize my golden-feathered champion and noble cock, or trap him in a snare, without himself being torn apart and killed? Who was able to bring low the high-flying eagle with his resounding and fearsome cry? Who could approach and bridle the unconquered dragon, and survive?"

Such words as these, and even more, did the princess address to the mourners.

When the event had been confirmed and the news of his death verified, then she threw herself on her face to the ground, strewing ashes on her head and spreading gloom through the palace.

She cast off her noble veil adorned with pearls, dressed herself in black, and prepared a dark-coloured covering for her head.

Summoning her daughters, she prescribed rites of mourning and arranged in groups Jewish singers, and had them chant the laments of the kings of Israel [Jewish: ebrayets'i. The grammar of the printed text makes this adjective qualify "singers," but Vardanyan takes it with "laments." References to contemporary Jews are rare in Armenian literature.].

On that day the holy churches and ranks of ministers were arrayed in mourning. The golden-laced, arc-shaped coloured hangings were removed from the doors of the rooms, to be replaced by black ones, very rough and sombre. Messengers were despatched hither and yon from among the mourners to shut the windows of the splendid palace, at the order of the princess. "Lest," she said, "the sun in the unattainable height of heaven, as it moves through its vault casting its rays down below, illuminate my darkness. Or the moon, reaching its full measure, with the morning star and all the ornament of the stars, dissipate my mist. Until God gives me among my sons one as courageous as his father, who in my lifetime or thereafter will declare over his tomb that he will take revenge for the spilt blood of his father on the heads of those who plunged me into this darkness."

We were informed by those who had witnessed the events and who carried the prince's children in their bosoms that when the princess said this she stretched out her hand onto the shoulder of the splendid young Gagik. But I do not know if this was for the occasion, or whether the great lady Sop'i, blessed among women, did this prophetically. In those days of grievous mourning the hands of labourers and artisans forsook their tasks to be placed on knees and cheeks as they bitterly wept. Lords and nobles gathered together and broke their hearts with cruel laments: "Where," they said, "have we lost the honourable pearl, the boast of Armenia, the invincible warrior, who waged great battles without an effort and gained a glorious name for himself and us? Where is the pleasant smile of his lips which always gave joy to the numerous guests on golden decorated cushions and delighted us with the cup of hospitality?

Where are the liberal gifts of his generous hand that continuously embellished us with splendid adornment? Woe and alas for our life. Why did that day not befall us in a great battle among the jostling spears of an army, when we might have lost our lives?" But then the ranks of patriarchs and hermits bestirred the minds of the princess and the other mourners to the fear of God, and gradually drove away the misery of their bitter distress.

Here it would please me to describe in majestic style the lamentations. But to prevent the listeners' minds from being distressed, I shall refrain from saying anything about them, and we shall hasten on with the course of this history. Perhaps God will grant us success in bringing to a final conclusion the extensive story of the valiant men of the house of the Artsrunik'.

The end of the genealogy of the three sons of the renowned and valiant prince Grigor, in which are described his triumphant deeds, his death through the treachery of certain Armenians and Persians, and laments over him.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 1

[The Accession Of Ashot His Eldest Son; And The Death Of The Blessed And Pious Lady Soph']

After the death of the blessed prince, his eldest son Ashot was confirmed on his father's throne at the age of about twelve years. The renowned lady Sop'i oversaw the remarkable progress of her children, especially that of the young Gagik; for even from that young age he shone out with wonderful eclat among his brothers. On seeing this, the princess took hope and steadied her heart; and he ruled his principality like a man with the help of her father Ashot, king of Armenia.

Since Apumruan was the son of Lady Soph's sister, she therefore released him from imprisonment at the command of her father. Now Sop'i herself, incomparable among women like the turtledove devoted to its mate, separated herself from all delights of this earthly existence; being so attached to her husband, her heart was unable to endure the pain, and after seven months she peacefully departed this world to sleep with her ancestors, leaving her children young and tender in age.

Then several of their relatives murmured, plotting disloyalty to the youths; but they were unable to do anything from fear of the great Ashot, king of Armenia. Following this, King Ashot lived for a year and a half before leaving the world, gloriously buried for eternal glory. Their relatives found this a suitable occasion to begin seizing various places from the control of the young princes. Then Apumruan came forward with a plan, for he wished to rule over the principality of Vaspurakan.

He won over to himself the minds of the lords and nobles of the country by the following argument: "I shall rule the country as a substitute in the name of Ashot, and he will persuade the inhabitants of the land to acquiesce." When Ashot reached his majority he remained according to his custom respectfully submissive to Apumruan, for he had become his son-in-law.

Then, when there were a few days of leisure, he (Apumruan) summoned Ashot with his brothers to the castle of Kotor on pretext of congratulations. There one night he seized and bound them. He sent Ashot and Gurgen to the castle called Nkan, and had them imprisoned and guarded with great circumspection.

But Gagik he marched off to the province of Chuash, to the castle of Shamiram. For he had tricked Ashot like a young child by giving him the castle of Agarak with the province called Chakhuk, in return for taking for himself the castle of Nkan and the provinces of T'ofnavan and Chuash, where he fortified for his own account the castle of Shamiram.

Furthermore he put abroad among the people another type of fraud by saying: "I am a man without heirs, save only for my daughter whom Ashot has married. I am afraid that perchance Ashot may become puffed up against me." By this he persuaded and convinced his audience. But being himself suspicious and overcome by irresolution, now he would release the younger Gurgen and take him around with him, then again he would have him imprisoned once more. So he released Gurgen, but was perplexed with regard to him, not knowing what to do. For his heart was torn for thinking about the youth, and he was waiting for an occasion to kill him secretly. But God did not permit him to dip his hand in innocent blood.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 2

[The Glorious Effulgence And Appearance Of God's Grace Over The Young Gagik; And The Killing Of Apumruan At His Hands Most Valiantly; And Praises Concerning Him]

In his foreknowledge Christ the king of all had previously designated the blessed youth Gagik as a chosen vessel worthy of his grace. Knowing that he would become such a person, he bestowed on him the spirit of power and wisdom, fulfilling in him what had been said by the prophet: "A just king re-establishes the land." Through him he did indeed save Armenia from very grievous afflictions that unremittingly had followed on each other, and from frequent wars that occurred in his generation.

Even from a youthful age he was a budding source of virtue. Hence the youth is a great source of amazement to me: although he had neither gifts nor possessions to grant anyone, nor with princely authority could he impose taxes on anyone, yet the lords and nobles of the land always treated him in a friendly way. For wisdom flowed from his lips purer than gold, and the grace of sweet modesty coupled with brave valour shone out over him, filling the hearts of all with hope.

His valour was already exhibited before he was yet fifteen years of age, when he made the decision of a true warrior to kill Apumruan. When the moment was favourable, he took his conspirators with him, attacked Apumruan, and put him to death by the sword in a park of the town of Van. Throwing him at his horse's feet, he cut off his head—which he brought to the fortress of Ashinot where Gurgen was, and likewise to the castle of Kotor in the valley of Andzakh were Ashot was. Both of them had despaired of deliverance. Liberating them, he gave the ring into Ashot's hands, and made him master of his own inheritance with the dignity of prince.

It was God, as I suppose, who permitted him to take vengeance for his father's blood from Apumruan, since he was one of the accomplices of the Evil One, as we mentioned above. So I do not hesitate to extol his virtues assiduously. Truly I am very eager to compose descriptions and praises of him and his deeds.

Because for a nation that was in darkness he placed a shining torch on the highest point of a castle that was fortified around with the power of God. It was preserved unextinguished from the hostile winds that blew fiercely from four directions. Not only was he himself not obscured, but through his firm faith he made the enemies of his father's house totter, and he utterly consumed them.

He was a tall tower built with strong stones bonded in lead, like a wall of bronze, firmly nailed, unbreachable by the enemy; likewise, similar to an iron pillar on secure bases set up with inconceivable strength and hope in God over the sublime principality of Armenia; a place of refuge to which one could flee from the face of the enemy. He was a rational sword, blazing with the power of the heavenly [angels], glittering and casting rays over the heads of the enemy; casting terror into them, he brought to a halt those who waxed insolent against the church and the institutions of the church. From a youthful and inexperienced age he rose up like a lion cub delightful in his proud stride, raising his arms over the backs of the enemy, plunging those lying in ambush from the paths of their feet. With fearsome summoning voice, through messengers and decrees he wrested for himself many treasures and stores from foreign nations, controlling more of their castles and provinces than his fathers.

Now the prince Ashot was supported by the grace and high arm of the valiant and brave youth Gagik, according to the saying of the wise man: "A brother helped by a brother will become like a strong city." He began to render himself daily

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ever more illustrious on his father's throne with victorious glory.

Seeing this, Smbat the king of Armenia sent his brother David to beg Prince Ashot not to become detached from him, nor to preserve rancour for his captivity by Gagik son of Vahan.

Smbat asked this favour of Ashot his nephew because he was fearful that perhaps Ashot might once again follow the summons of Ap'shin, like the first time which we described above. For Ap'shin was sending to Ashot many promises of gifts and treaty engagements. These Ashot did not accept, but he returned them since he had disregarded him during his days in prison. And he came to Smbat in friendship and peace, saying: "Many trials have befallen us" because the prince did not go to the emir Ap'shin.

Ap'shin came to Armenia with a numberless armed force and attacked Smbat, who escaped by the skin of his teeth and fled to Georgia. He then turned to besiege the castle of Kars, and opening up the stores of amassed treasures he took much booty.

Then Ashot, prince of Vaspurakan, travelling through the province of Bagrevand, rapidly returned to his own land. But Smbat, the king of Armenia, sent a messenger to ask Ap'shin for peace, giving as hostage his eldest son. Taking the latter, he turned to attack Ashot with many threats, resentful of his despising his summons. He reached the province of T'ornavan in the wintertime.

Ashot took counsel with his brothers and all the nobles of his army. They said: "These are hard days and time of war. Who knows whose will be the victory?" In order to spare the holy churches and the faithful, he went to Ap'shin, risking death. With protestations of friendship they engaged in negotiations, falsifying to each other their true wishes. He sent back Prince Ashot in great honour and with many fine gifts. But since suspicion had not departed from both their hearts, Ap'shin asked for hostages. So he gave his brother Gagik; seven months later he sent his youngest brother Gurgen, and Ap'shin returned Gagik.

On the arrival of spring Gurgen escaped from Ap'shin and reached his brothers, breaking the pact of friendship with Ap'shin. The latter pursued him to the city of Tiflis, causing Smbat no little loss, and taking much tribute. From there he advanced as far as the city of Van in the land of Vaspurakan with a numberless host. But Prince Ashot with his brothers and all his troops retreated and fortified themselves in the valley of Orsirank.

Then Hasan, son of Vasak the apostate, whom we mentioned above, gave support to the emir Ap'shin. That impious, baneful, and insolent man, father of brigands, mother of murderers, begetter of all impiety, was overcome by the raging wickedness of his father, scarcely preserving his faith intact. He inflicted much damage and destruction on the believers and on the holy churches; the traitor opened the gate to misfortunes, and set mortal traps, being familiar with the wiles of Satan.

However, leaving two eunuchs, the first of whom was called Sap'i, as governors with many cavalry in the great city of Van and the town of Ostan, the emir himself went to the province of Albag and stopped at the town of Hadamakert. He sent a eunuch named Yiwsr with a large army to wage battle with the prince. But because they were secure in the village of Kakenk, which was difficult of access, the eunuch returned in great shame, having been unable to harm them because of the strength of the site and the valour of their soldiers.

After the emir [Islamic leader or duke.] crossed into Atrpatakan with great haste, leaving the two enuchs in the two towns, as we described above.

When spring arrived, a eunuch whom he had appointed to govern the city of Partaw gathered an army, rebelled against Ap'shin, and went as far as the land of Sham. When the emir heard of this, willy-nilly he summoned to his presence the men whom he had left as deputies in the land of Vaspurakan, while he himself hastened to the city of Partaw. There he met with vengeance for the evils he had inflicted on Armenia. God did not spare him, but smote him with a painful ulcer through a holy angel—as once he smote the emperor Valens through the valiant martyrs of Christ by the vision of Saint Thecla, as the historian Biwzand has accurately expounded to us. Here two of his sons and many of his troops suffered painful deaths before his eyes; and after them he too received his end with cruel suffering. After this the land of Armenia was at peace from raiders of the malicious race of Ismael.

Then Prince Ashot remembered the wicked service that Hasan, son of Vasak the apostate, had rendered the emir Ap'shin. So he despatched a force to besiege the castle of Sevan, which Gagik, son of Vahan, had seized and then given over to Hasan while Ashot was still in prison. Since it was wintertime, when there was no possibility of waging battle with cavalry, Hasan gathered troops and came out on foot to oppose the army of the prince, which was in the village of Pluank' in the province called Lmbay P'orak. Attacking them in the middle of the night, he expected to gain the victory, not understanding the saying of the sage: "A man will not succeed by injustice."

The power of divine providence came to help the prince's troops; although they were fewer in number, they severely smote and defeated the nocturnal attack of the undisciplined bandit Hasan. The roof of a house weakened and collapsed, and the ceiling fell in, making an inescapable trap for him and covering him over; so he was delivered into the hands of the brave warriors, that the saying of the prophet might be fulfilled: "He who dug the pit will fall into the abyss which he made himself."

Then he was captured, and dragged in double bonds to the gate of the castle of Sevan, where Prince Ashot with his brothers hastily preceded him, having been informed by messengers. They besieged it for a few days, then put out Hasan's eyes and took the fortress.

Gagik, the prince's brother, had intervened and made many efforts to save Hasan from the punishment of blinding; but he was not successful. Hasan was deprived of the light of this world, but the eyes of his soul were opened. Straightway he became a monk, and lived a holy life until the day of his death.

But the years of Ashot's principality did not run peacefully as he wished, sometimes because of his brothers, sometimes because of many other people.

About that time Smbat, the king of Armenia, arrived in the province of Apahunik' to demand poll taxes from the tribe called Kaysik. But they resisted, and raised the flag of war.

Then King Smbat summoned to his aid Prince Ashot, who, remembering the sympathetic bond of related blood, came in great haste. When battle was joined, Smbat with his army fled from the face of the infidels. Then Ashot, prince of Vaspurakan, intervened with a few troops, and with much help from on high, inflicted a great defeat on the enemy. He returned to the city of Nakhchavan which he had put under his own control. But falling prey to a mortal illness, he departed this world aged about twenty-nine.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 3

[The Beginning Of The Principality Of Gagik After His Brother Ashot, And His Valiant Deeds]

A fter this Gagik, Ashot's brother, succeeded to the throne of the principality. Like two fountains near each other, when one of them abated, the other would shoot forth its stream all the more. Or like two dragons or lion cubs: one hidden, the other would be even more domineering. Or to speak more majestically, like the Queen of the Night, which circles through the thick clouds for fifteen days hidden from men, all its splendour lost, then returning to the same cycle of brightness, in the twinkling of an eye robes itself in powerful light, and at the command of the supernal regent clears away the gloom in the air, and pours the rays of its pure light onto the earth. In his pleasure at this, one of the saints said: "Sweet is the sun after clouds, as rest is sweet after labour."

In such manner with prudent intelligence did Gagik, prince of Vaspurakan, fulfill in himself these parallels that we mentioned above in accordance with our descriptive style, in the fashion of historians. He calmed the land of Vaspurakan, which was disturbed and troubled by many disorders of neighbouring and bordering foreign nations, and at the same time by [disorders] of inhabitants of the land, of the clan called . . . , who were rebels, thieves' accomplices, ravagers of the land and contemptuous of authority. One of these was Shapuh, son of Maymanik, who by a deceitful ruse had seized the castle of Agarak and the province of Chakhuk, and was occupying the castle for himself with haughty insolence, supposing himself to be a great personage. In those same days Grigor, son of Vasak, known as Apuhamza, had rebelled in similar fashion and was holed up in his lair at the castle called Archuchk'.

When the valiant and wise Gagik, prince of Vaspurakan, saw the simultaneous activity of these two plotters, he attacked Shapuh, and laid such strict siege to his castle that no one could escape. On seeing the great vigour of this most wise hero and the daily shining of God's grace upon him, Shapuh realised the dire straits in which he and his accomplices were placed. Suddenly, like a fruit that falls of its own accord from high branches into the bosom of the gatherer, in such fashion did he descend from the impregnable heights of the fortress and fall at the feet of the blessed prince Gagik, begging for his own life and those of his clan, promising gifts and tribute for ever and that he would remain true at the royal palace. The prince accepted the gifts and spared them; then the whole clan came to do homage at the hero's feet. However, their hearts were not straight, neither with regard to the prince nor to the Lord Christ.

When news reached the ears of Gagik, prince of Vaspurakan, that Apuhamza was audaciously going around with his sons causing devastation in his province, he despatched an army against them. Having captured him, they brought him with his sons before him. And they raised a cry, pouring forth tears and laments, and saying: "Do not completely deprive us of our inheritance."

The valiant hero, as mild as he was powerful, heeded their entreaties, especially because in the great invincible power of his brave heart he never dreamed of being afraid of them. Just as a lion sated from the hunt pays no attention to harmless deer, likewise the mighty warrior had pity on them: first because he was merciful and very benevolent towards friends and enemies, and second because he had taken the daughter of Apuhamza to wife. So he spared them, and having destroyed the structure of the castle to its foundations, he confirmed for them their hereditary right to the province so they could dwell without fear of the mighty hero. In all this he succeeded by the grace of God, and then marched to the land of Vaspurakan.

After the land had been pacified, with compassionate and joyful heart the renowned prince Gagik summoned his brother Gurgen, and gave him as his lot Arniotn and the land from the valley of Endzahk' as far as the two fortresses of Sring and Jlmar. For he loved him with a very affectionate and joyous heart, was as kind to him in his thoughtful oversight as a father to a son, and openly aided him in raiding and recovering what had been captured by the race of Hagar. So he seized the province of Eli, routed its inhabitants, and completely obliterated their memory from the land. For he was a harsh man, brave and very obedient to his brother Gagik, prince of Vaspurakan. In addition to being truly affectionate towards each other, they contributed to the prosperity of the land by a mutual exchange of provinces and castles. Gagik, prince of Vaspurakan, gave the castle of Agarak and the province of Chakhuk, and received the castle of Zrel and the province called Jermadzor, which is part of the land of Mokk', so that the former's holding might be closer to the latter's, and the latter's contiguous with the former's.

So the fortunes of Gagik, prince of Vaspurakan, continued to prosper and increase, and the Lord Almighty was with him. By God's power he subjected to his authority and made vassal to his principality all his neighbours and those who lived around his territory. When the lords of Mokk' saw that Gagik's hand was raised against everyone, they took refuge in their fortresses, and refrained from paying tribute, terrified by the threats of the great prince Gagik. Immediately, the renowned prince gathered troops and raided the land of Mokk' in the wintertime.

Here amazement grips me at the valour of the most blessed and renowned prince in easily overcoming two difficult obstacles and winning a brave victory. In the first place the land of Mokk contains very high mountains, caves, and dense forests; secondly, the whole land was completely frozen over with a covering of snow. But he advanced over the high summits of the mountains as if marching on a flat road. The lords and nobles of the land with all the inhabitants fled, escaping by the skin of their teeth to their castles, unable to resist the powerful Gagik. Having plundered the land, he returned to the province called Eriwark. There he captured the fortresses of Pat and P'arhuk. Proceeding to the valley of Aruank', he seized that fortress too and took control of its provinces.

Now a long time past the Muslims had seized the province on the shore of the lake where the wonderful and impregnable fortress of Amiuk is situated. In numberless battles they had attacked our pious former princes; and still up to that time it was swarming with men of the tribe called Ut'manik, who had fortified themselves there. The house of the Artsrunik had struggled against them with mighty efforts, but had been unable to prevail over them at all. Especially the valiant, victorious, and renowned prince Grigor, called Deranik, which translated means "sought by vows from the Lord," had made many efforts; but he was sadly killed without attaining his goal. So the castle of Amiuk with its province remained a great unhealed wound in the hearts of the princes of Vaspurakan, on which no poultices of former princes had made an impression. This state of affairs had lasted about one hundred years, up to the time of the brave Gagik.

Therefore patriotic zeal burned in him to oppose them in war; afflicted by them, he in turn afflicted them. So conceiving a grand plan, he stole on the castle by night; putting the inhabitants of the castle to the sword, he exterminated them from the earth. Their troublesome chieftains he cast headlong into the depths of the lake, there to have their hidden tombs until the warning sound of the last trumpet, when they will be judged for their vyorks. As for the amazing castle of Amiuk, which I might describe as looking to heaven and neck-tiring to observe, at much expense and with numerous artisans he embellished the eastern side. He completely fortified it with impregnably strong walls from the topmost summit down to the surface of the lake.

When the mischievous races of Ismaelites, Medes, Persians, and all the warriors of Atrpatakan heard of this, they in concert marched to wage war against the great prince, the valiant Gagik. Roaring like bloodthirsty beasts, they came as far as the city of Salamas. They made sworn oaths with each other to take vengeance by ravaging and razing the land of Vaspurakan until they retook Amiuk and revenged the blood of the Ut'manik tribe. But the brave and thrice-blessed prince Gagik, assembling many troops, marched to the province of Mardastan and sent his brother Gurgen to the city of Hadamakert. They armed themselves to offer resistance and guard the passes of the roads, in the hope that through them God would prosper the battle with victory.

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The wise and foresighted prince Gagik had also appointed a general to command the province of Chuash and the castle called Shamiram: someone from the house of the Akeats'ik', a loyal and brave-hearted man called T'adeos, who had demonstrated many acts of valour in war, and shone out as a glorious and famous soldier in the Armenian army. He was full of good works in giving to the poor with liberal heart; he was magnanimous and zealous in the decoration and building of churches; he received orphans and widows, gave repose to all the weary, and placed his hopes not only in his own armour but in the power of God. Scouts came to him, saying: "Behold, a force of Muslims crossed into our land tonight in infinite numbers." He set off in pursuit with a few troops, and came upon them in the plain of Gerat at the very moment when the Muslims were about to put to the sword many of the people of God. Then the valiant T'adeos, raising his eyes to heaven, called on the Lord Christ for help. And in accordance with Scripture: "God is found ready for those who request him," the power of God immediately came to the support of the Armenian army, although they were very few. Raising their swords, they fell to the slaughter and filled the surface of the plain with fallen bodies densely packed together. Taking many prisoners, they victoriously brought them before the prince. Then the renowned prince Gagik decorated and honoured the victorious T'adeos with many outstanding gifts.

When the Muslims saw what had happened, they said: "Since we have suffered this at the hands of a few, how shall we be able to resist the numerous troops of the prince, especially where the prince himself will be organising the battle?" Struck with fear, they beat a retreat, and their evil plans were frustrated.

On seeing these events, Smbat, king of Armenia, developed a grudge and tried to arouse the Muslims a second time against the prince. But since he had no success in this, then by treacherous words and promises he deceived the man whom Gagik had put in charge of the fortress of Amiuk; he was called Apusakr and was from the house of the Vahunik. Like Judas he accepted the price, as did he who sold God, and gave the fortress into the hands of Smbat, king of Armenia.

After Smbat had gained control of the fortress, he then sold it again to Prince Gagik, receiving from him many treasures. From that day suspicion of evil intentions fell into both their minds, and therefore they did not support each other in friendship and peace as they had done previously.

At that time the oppression of the Muslims against the Christians waxed more severe. By royal command a certain great ostikan gained the ascendancy over Persia and Armenia; he was named Yusup, son of Apusach, a proud and notable man, more fearsome than the many who had preceded him. He was moved to great wrath against Smbat because of his holding back the royal tribute. Not a few envoys with messages passed between them, but no peaceful solution was agreeable to them. Since the emir Yusup had heard of the repute and the valiant deeds and also of the wise intelligence of the prudent and renowned prince Gagik, he had desired for a long time to see him. So he then suddenly sent messengers with letters arid many promises to summon the prince with many entreaties to meet him. He heeded the summons promptly in peaceable friendship. And when they encountered each other, he honoured the prince with great eclat.

When the tyrant beheld his glorious youthful figure and the wondrous beauty of his lovely face, he was amazed. On questioning him in profound and inscrutable terms, he received replies of vast erudition that were at the same time profound and enigmatic, whereby he liberally and freely explained his obscure questions, and opened before him gates that were locked and inexplicable to mankind, becoming for him a mother of understanding and a nurse of wisdom. Since the Persian ruler Yusup' was a man of powerful mind, but the most disagreeable among all the sons of men, he therefore submitted the splendid and blessed prince to an arduous investigation. Raising his eyes, he observed him and measured his deportment on sitting and rising. In every aspect of royalty he found him refined and endowed with charming modesty like gold tested in many furnaces. He opened before him royal edicts, revealed to him uncertain plans and deeds, asking him for a solution; and he was assisted by him in gaining the wisdom that flowed copiously from him. He showed him in royal fashion precious stones and beautiful luminous pearls derived from land and sea. He related to him the tales of ancient kings from century to century, and the wars that had occurred in their times. He questioned him on the dynasties and thrones of kings and pre-eminent families, and the borders of each one's lands, beginning with the Medes and Persians, Judaea and Jerusalem, the Assyrians and Egyptians, the Greeks and Indians, all Armenia as far as the Gates of the Alans and the Caspians—which information is very pertinent for kings. He found him versed in everything and exceedingly learned. He interrogated the undefeated champion and splendid prince on the battles he had fought, and surrounded him with warriors to observe him. He found him like a high mountain, immovable by the blasts and shouts of war. In all this and even more did the Persian ruler Yusup observe the grace of God manifested in the valiant and divine prince Gagik, and he greatly rejoiced at his visit to him.

But when the news reached the ears of Smbat that Gagik, prince of Vaspurakan, had made an alliance with the Persian ruler Yusup, in his jealousy he raged against him with profoundly evil intent. Smbat himself did not seek the pursuit of peace or the giving of royal tribute, as the Lord commanded through Peter to pay the tax of the firstborn to those who demanded the didram, saying: "Give what is Caesar's to Caesar, and what is God's to God." He thus worthily indicated that one should pay royal taxes. He even sent Peter to the sea to pluck the safer from the teeth of the fish cast up from the deep, thus satisfying those who had asked him. This he gave for the chief of creation and the head apostle Peter. But Smbat, disregarding the Lord's command, brought many evils on the holy church and the Lord's people.

Therefore Yusup' was greatly angered, and attacked Armenia with an enormous armed host. He inflicted on us many calamities, which another great orator, forceful and intelligent, has written down before us and entrusted to royal archives. When Smbat saw that he had no means of resisting the Persian ruler, he fled and fortified himself in the castle of Kapoyt. But the tyrant surrounded and besieged the castle, and after a few days captured him like a weak child.

Seeing that there was no one who could rule and control Armenia save only Gagik, whose qualities he had tested and knew, he did not leave him to his own independent wishes, but made him king over all Armenia. On his head he placed a crown of pure gold, artfully made and set with pearls and valuable precious stones, which I am unable to describe. He clothed him in a robe embroidered with gold, a girdle and sword shining with golden ornament, which surpasses the understanding and ability of historians to describe. He set him on a horse splendidly caparisoned with a golden harness, shining like the sun among stars. To right and left were hosts of troops in full armour.

There was the rolling of drums, the glittering of swords, the cry of trumpets and blowing of horns, the sound of flutes and sweet lyres and harps; standards before and behind; and to this awesome noise the camp of the royal army shook. In such splendour did he entrust into his hands the whole land of Armenia with its grand cities and all its embellishments. I do not hesitate to say that his anointing was invisibly performed by the Holy Spirit according to the apostle's saying: "There is no authority save from God; and what is, has been established by God."

Then the emir Yusup went to Persia in rebellion against the court. Flouting their orders, he captured many cities and put the royal army to flight, making them stay inside their gates.

When the chief of the Muslims, known as Jap'r in their books and also called by the name of Mokt'gir, knew that Gagik was reigning over Armenia, he sent him a crown and wonderfully decorated robes, and entrusted to him the collection of the royal taxes.

For me this is prodigious to relate, this for me is amazing to hear; it far surpasses my own history and those of others; no one has ever heard tell of it or seen it, to be able to reveal that anyone was honoured by the caliph's court with the dignity of wearing a crown, especially a Christian and orthodox believer and son of a king, the hereditary and legitimate ruler of Armenia. I do not reckon it too audacious to repeat a second time that the tyrant was forced to do this by the will and command of the All-Highest and the Lord of all.

Now when the emir Yusup went to Persia, King Gagik went to the province of Kogovit. Laying siege to the impregnable castle Dariunk, he took it by stealth at night, being granted success from above. He also captured the castle of Maku. Advancing from there, he took the castle of Ule, and imposed his control over those provinces, from Kogovit as far as the middle of Ule and Maseats'otn.

About that time noble messengers were sent from court accompanied by numerous troops with orders to cross into Atrpatakan. They brought for the second time a crown and splendid garments from court, and honoured King Gagik with a second glory even greater than the one we described above. They requested the king in the name of the caliph and with letters filled with friendship to lend them his assistance in their passage through the land of Armenia. The monarch escorted them according to the royal request. So they went to make war in the region of the East. Putting to flight the troops of the emir Yusup, they captured him and took him to the royal court. He was imprisoned for eight years, and then released at the caliph's orders. The latter delivered to him the whole land of Persia and all Armenia, as well as the great cities which he had seized by force in the days of his rebellion, including Ray and the great city of Basra. With the award of such a large number of cities and lands that had been given to him, he had no time to visit trpatakan, but he sent faithful prefects to whom he entrusted that land. He also sent a crown and splendid garments to the king of Armenia Gagik to confirm the land of Armenia in his possession.

At that time Gurgen, the king's brother, departed this world, peacefully falling asleep and joining his fathers. The day of his death was occasion for great mourning for all the land of Armenia. The monarch wept for him with great lament for forty days, and then revived his mind to the fear of God, understanding the saying of the wise man: "The mourning of a wise man lasts seven days, but that of a fool all his life." He reflected on the vicissitudes of this ephemeral and perishable life that soon comes to an end; he raised the eyes of his mind to the lasting state of the eternal and incorruptible life; he lifted himself up with brave fortitude and perfect knowledge; he granted prosperity to the land and brought about renewal of the holy churches and of the monasteries, 6 whereby he perpetually glorified the souls of those who had departed this world. He offered masses and sacrifices with myriad treasures to provide for the crowds of poor, of orphans and widows, of the indigent and afflicted, who thronged to him. So by the liberal benedictions of his prayers and entreaties, according to my knowledge, and especially in accordance with the preaching of the saints—or, it would be better for me to say, the word of the Lord—this offering of his was equivalent to that of the past three just men: Abel, Noah, and Abraham. Through the immortal offering of the essential Word of the Father, sacrificed in the flesh for our sake, a pleasing gift was offered to the Father in a sweet odour.

Not only did he multiply so many offerings, but daily he remembered compassion for this life as well as love for death. Taking piles of treasures and splendid garments, horses and mules, herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, in the four corners of the land he gave these to monasteries of holy and ascetic monks; he established days of festivity and forty-day periods of fasting to be observed continually and with unfailing commemoration for his brother, who had gone to eternal glory and rebirth in that everlasting age without end. He reckoned that perchance he might, on that last fearsome day of the Coming, have the opportunity to embrace his brother among those standing in vigilant glory on the right hand side, and hear him say: "Greetings to you, my brother, who saved my soul from the gates of hell. By your good services to me while you remained behind, you have raised your soul to life with mine."

So the king himself, armed and adorned with incomparable valour, ruled as monarch over all the land of Armenia; over the countryside he poured out peace in flowing torrents like a river or sea, which our speech is really insufficient to describe. On no occasion before him did our land encounter such bounty, and it is impossible to imagine that in the future it will see his like after him.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 4

[About The End Of The Great Mourning; The King's Pacification Of The Land; And Events Concerning Yusup ' Son Of Apusach]

Now after the end of the great mourning, the king pacified the land from the wars stirred up by the Persians and the Sevordik' of Hagar, who inhabited the mountainous regions. At that time Yusup', son of Apusach, was still ruling tyranically over the Persians and Armenians. Unable to resist the valour and wisdom of the king, he abandoned his ferocious evil deeds and turned to peace and real friendship. He entrusted to the king the lands of Armenia and Georgia, and having made with him a peace treaty, he went to Persia. While he was planning to enjoy a peaceful existence, suddenly royal messengers arrived with orders that he should go to wage war against the army of the South, which had marched to attack Babylon and its territory.

He set off with a numberless host of troops, leaving as prefect of Persia one of his favourites named P'et'k [Petk': Abu'l-Musafir Fath, son of Afshin and nephew of Yusuf, who was given his uncle's governorship; see El s.v. Sadjids, no. 4.]. On reaching the royal palace, he took many more troops as reinforcement. They came across each other in the land of Osit; when the armies joined battle, Yusup"s troops were completely defeated and he himself captured. A little later he was killed, but I do not know what sort of death befell him.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 5

[Concerning The Anarchy In Persia]

Then, after these events, the land of Persia fell into anarchy. But although the house of Apusach, the sons of maidservants and slaves, had advanced and consolidated their position, supposing themselves to be significant, they suddenly began to slaughter each other, completing for themselves the saying of the wise man: "Alas and woe to you, Oh city, you whose king is the son of a maidservant." Again elsewhere he says: "A land is shaken by three things, but it cannot resist the fourth. If a slave rules, he shakes the land; and if the fool is sated with bread, he will act likewise." In truth the land was shaken as these slaves thought to rule. But because none of them did any deed worthy of record, we did not set out their names and weave them into the narrative of this history.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 6

[Concerning The Prosperity Of The Land Engendered By The Great King Gagik, The Restoration Of Many Sites, And The Wonderful Construction Of The Town Of Ostan]

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But now it is very pleasasnt for me here to undertake a most splendid task, leaving it as a memorial to those who will come later, and especially for the glory of the house of the Artsrunik, as I record the wise and intelligent acts of Gagik, the great king of Armenia. In his valour and love for peace and prosperity, he cared for this land of Armenia as a father and guardian. In his benevolent mercy he took care of the poor, returned captives, protected the deprived, rendered justice to orphans, and gave their rights to widows—making this the summit and apex of all his virtuous works, and becoming worthy of the greatest praise. And these matters, my dear friend and foremost of brave men, who requested from me this History, I offer and present to you not from reports of others as fables elaborated from fictitious accounts; but having seen with my eyes, heard with my ears, and touched with my hands, I recount for you faithfully the marvels which took place.

These sayings are familiar to all who love reading: "An avaricious man considers it preferable to be decapitated than to pay one penny of his silver as a fine." And if he sees the sun casting its rays for the sustenance of the world at the command of God the provider, he addresses it: "Why instead of your light do you not shower gold on me?" And if he sees a spring of crystal-pure water, he says: "I am not thirsty, and I shall never drink water from you. Offer me silver." But the character of a king who is not avaricious remains free and unsullied by such a fearful affliction; he cares not only for his personal amusement, but for the whole land of Armenia. He gives piles of treasure into the hands of workers and artisans in order to fortify with walls the summits of hills and impregnable fortresses in the provinces and centre of the land, to serve as refuges for those fleeing from brigands and from the convulsions of foreign nations.

Of the many castles fortified in his name, Gagik was especially pleased with two places and watched over them personally. One was at the edge of the lake; its name was Ostan in the province of Rshtunik. The climate was very temperate, as the winds blew there from the four corners of the earth. It flourished with fruit-bearing trees, and was graced with many vineyards. Sweet springs flowed around the city, providing for the many needs of men. Nearby on the southern side of the fortress was the very high mountain Art os, 5which in the spring conserves and preserves the verdure of plants and flowers and the stores of snow piled up for the needs of kings and everyone who might wish to take some. From the summit of the mountain descend rivers in murmuring torrents, by which the whole land is irrigated. Flowing into the lake, they furnish small fish for the luxury of the inhabitants of the land, and provide many items for the treasures of kings, which the ruler takes and offers for the alleviation of the poor.

The summit of the fortress looks out over the lake and is exceedingly charming. If the lake is stirred up by winds, the waves ripple like flowers and appear quite delightful. If the air is clear, the extensive views attract the eyes to admire them.

Therefore the king undertook to build there a palace and pavilions and splendid picturesque streets, and all sorts of ornament which I am inadequate to describe. He walled the side by the lake with massive stones, placing the foundation at a fearful depth. And on top of the wall, facing the sea, he built a pavilion for gatherings which was decorated with gold and various colours, so that it glittered like the rays of the sun to give delight to the eyes and joy to the heart of himself and his guests. The gates he designed in the form of vaults to provide air and refreshing shade; and he provided windows to let in the glittering rays, which at dawn and dusk shine over the lake, illuminating the interior of the palace. As they move round, they light up the multicoloured images, pictures, and various decorations, astonishing the mind of the beholders, and exceeding the ability of the historian to describe. Such in brief is what we have to say about the city of Ostan.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 7

[Concerning The Building Of Alt Amar; And Those Who Constructed There A Few Buildings Unworthy Of Mention Before The Undertaking Of The King]

Now although we have happily undertaken these pleasing histories, we passed over many stories, especially those that would be full of interminable prolixity—profitless for us to relate and useless for the audience to hear. So setting these outside our plans, we shall proceed to review the profitable stories. From the beginning of the settlement of Armenia many buildings and constructions were raised in our land by Hayk the Archer and his descendants, and by the amorous and lascivious Semiramis, queen of Assyria, which have been described by others with unerring indications. These we have visited in person and seen with our own eyes, travelling to distant parts: as far as Klarjk' and the Shushetats'ik' and the foot of the Caucasus mountain, and to Ahiz as far as the entrance to Gal, across Tayastan and all the northern regions and the East. Travelling on foot, we have seen the works of valiant men and our ancestors. But our mind and sight were struck most of all by the splendid, marvellous, and wonderful Alt'amar.

Before this Alfamar is said to have been built up by Dawit' Sakhruni and Rasham Rshtuni and Bazap'ran. This last led into captivity the land of Palestine with the high priest Hyrcanus, and settled them in our land. But all these lived as in tents or fruiterers' huts on that famous island Alt'amar up to the time of Gagik, the great king of Armenia. In his excellent wisdom, seeing the pleasantness of the spot and recognising that it was a refuge from enemy raids, he undertook to build on it in a fearsome and amazing fashion. He commanded many artisans and innumerable men to cast heavy, massive hewn rocks into the depths of the terribly deep lake. After continuing his effort in this way for a time, the great king astonishingly succeeded in forming a stone embankment raised five cubits above the surface of the lake; to the mind's eye this row of solid rocks extended as if on dry land. On top of this he drew a line and raised a fortified wall around the island, as it were five stadia. The wall was amazingly constructed, fearsome and adorned with very high and broad-based towers and raised bastions, which had in them deep niches with pleasure seats, where the king often took his ease with his sons and noble courtiers.

The end of the wall he led into a narrow cavern difficult of access, and brought the sides close together. At the junction of the deep constructions in the sea he set gates, fearful to behold, solidly fixed, and strengthened with nails. In this way he cut off part of the sea on the island side, making a wonderfully calm and secure harbour for many ships—a construction superior to the city of Alexander of Macedon. And in my opinion it surpassed in wonder the excavated chambers of Semiramis in the rock of Van and the aqueduct at the foot of Mount Varag. For the latter at least is on dry land, whereas this, built in the depths of the lake, transcends all the concepts and accomplishments of wise men previously achieved.

Then there gathered at the king's court the princes and lords, nobles and common people, bishops and monks, so that they might all straightway confirm plans for the buildings and constructions, and that he might order that the place should become a refuge from all the raids of the enemy. The king in his mercy did not refuse these requests. And five years after they had begun to build, the constructions of the city had been raised in unprecedented magnificence.

Then the king in his wise understanding, with many artisans took up the architect's line to measure and sketch and indicate at the foot of the mountain—which is the highest point of the island—splendid places for enjoyment that were sites worthy of the king's recreation. He extended walls, laid out streets and terraced gardens and residences for the princes, according to their rank, and gardens and parks, distinguishing the areas for parks and flower gardens. All this he quickly brought to completion. And he planted many trees, which were watered from a sweet and never-failing spring, which by the foresight of provident God flowed in the middle of the city.

There were many artisans assembled at the royal court, honourable men gathered from all nations of the earth who could unerringly carry out the king's plans. So according to his orders the work was quickly completed. Then the king ordered one of these men, a wise and skillful architect, to construct a square palace, forty cubits wide and deep and equally high. The thickness of the wall was three large strides deep, a mass of pure mortar and stone, as it were a fusion of lead and bronze mixed together. The construction of the palace, from its foundations to its summit, took the form of a bird in flight, without the support of any pillar. It was truly worthy of admiration surpassing understanding. It had vaulted domes and niches and beautifully decorated surroundings, innumerable and incomprehensible to the mind and eye. It also had domes like heaven, ornamented with gold and shining with light. If anyone wished to look at them, as if honouring a king first he must remove his head covering, and then twisting his neck he will scarcely be able to distinguish the various beautiful representations.

The structure of the palace is extraordinary and astonishing, and so surpassing and incomprehensible to the imagination that if an intelligent man were to examine only one section of one dome for many hours, on coming out he would be unable to tell anyone anything of what he had seen. For the pictures include gilt thrones, seated on which appears the king in splendid majesty surrounded by shining young men, the servants of his festivities, and also lines of minstrels and girls dancing in an admirable manner. There are bands of men with drawn swords and wrestling matches. There are also troops of lions and other wild beasts, and flocks of birds adorned with various plumage. If anyone wished to enumerate all the works wild beasts, and flocks of birds adorned with various plumage. If anyone wished to enumerate all the works of art in the palace, it would be a great labour for himself and his audience.

The splendour of the palace is extraordinary and wonderful. Doors have been fitted that are inlaid with detailed ornament and amazing decoration. They have two leaves, which on opening admit refreshing breezes. But when they are closed, they appear as a single piece.

A trustworthy official, one of the superintendents of the city, told us that two hundred thousand litra of iron went into the construction of the palace. And he has certainly modified his account rather than exaggerating it. Indeed, the glorious site of the palace appeared from all sides of the province as a great hill in the middle of the city, no less high than the rocky summit of the island.

He Gagik also walled with unassailable strength the summit of the castle, and constructed there enormous storehouses and magazines, and also depositories for treasures and measureless numbers of arms and armour. But if anyone wished to praise in suitable detail all the ornament of the construction, the golden streets, the domed halls, and various throne rooms which outshine each other in diversity, I think that he would fall into incomprehension and hesitation. But we have offered this suitable and convenient account, so far as we could, in order to fulfil your noble interests, Oh great benefactor and ancestor of a heroic and distinguished house.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 8

[Concerning The Most Splendid And Glorious Church In The City Of Altamar, For Which Material And Stones Were Brought From Distant Lands. We Shall Give A Faithful Picture Of It And Its Site]

At the time of the construction of the splendid, famous, and stupendous city of Alt'amar, our Saviour Jesus exalted the arms of his anointed Gagik in order to vex the savage race of Ismael. These he bound by his own hand, through his well-grounded plans and warlike force and bravery. Restraining their cheeks in a bridle, as it were, he broke their force, beginning from the Medes and Persians, all of Atrpatakan as far as Khuzhastan. Whom he wished he spared, and those from whom he wished nothing he exterminated. He threw some onto others, and slaughtered with his wise sword thousands and myriads of them. Advancing on others in war, he put them to the sword and mercilessly slew them, sometimes in person and sometimes by means of his troops.

While the king was making these expeditions, he increased his attacks on Asorestan and captured and destroyed many provinces with their castles. And seeing near the gates of Asorestan a fortress in the principality of Aldznik' in a village called Kotom, which was the hereditary possession of the tribe called Zurarek, he completely destroyed and exterminated that tribe.

Demolishing the construction of the fortress to its foundations, he removed its stones over the waves of the lake to use as material in the building of the holy church, forming with them a temple of glory in place of the impure houses of idolatry. Thus was accomplished the saying of the prophet: "Who removes the honourable from the unworthy will become as my mouth." There the Holy Spirit always rests, enrolling men into the shadeless light.

Because the architect was Manuel, whom we mentioned above, a man full of wisdom and proficient at his work, he skillfully built the church as a marvellous and wonderful construction. To the monk whom we mentioned above he entrusted the decoration of the sculptural relief depicting in a true likeness the figures beginning with Abraham and David down to our Lord Jesus Christ. He arranged the ranks of prophets and apostles in each one's place, wonderful to see. He created and brought together on the walls of the church herds of deer and flocks of birds, and also groups of wild beasts, boars and lions, bulls and bears, facing each other, drawing attention to their struggle for existence, which is very pleasing to wise men. He extended around the back and sides of the church a splendid frieze arranged in detailed sections, depicting grape vines interlaced with vintagers, and wild beasts and serpents, whose forms reproduced their kinds with the various differences according to each one's species.

On the four sides at the summit of the exedrae he accurately depicted the images of the four evangelists, who are worthily the crown of joy of the holy church and superior to all other saints.

He represented on the vault of the west apse the cross-nimbed image of our Saviour, who for our sake put on flesh and appeared as a man. 6 In a true likeness he arranged opposite the Saviour the glorious image of King Gagik, who with proud faith raises the church on his arms like a gold vessel full of manna, or a golden box filled with perfume; he stands in front of the Lord, depicted as if begging forgiveness for his sins. Although there may be words of blame in our history, yet the king will not miss the gifts he seeks, hoping in the future compensation.

Furthermore, on the south side of the apse 8 above the door of the church is set a gallery with a vaulted staircase going down from top to bottom, to act as a place of prayer for the king, restricted and closed to the public, where he may converse with God privately 1 and undisturbed.

In the interior he fashioned the wonderful holy of holies with elegant paintings and with silver doors; it is filled with gilt ornaments, with images encased in gold and precious stones and pearl ornaments, and with various notable and splendid vessels, which wonderfully show us the second Jerusalem and also the gate of Sion on high [Jerusalem, Sion: Cf. the emphasis on the holy places in the naming of Gagik's and Gurgen's churches as described by Thomas, pp. 253, 257.

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For the "second Jerusalem" cf. Thomson, "Architectural Symbolism."].

Here are fulfilled the prophetic canticles: "Rejoice, thirsty desert," and again: "The earth will rejoice and many islands shall be glad." Truly this was once a thirsty desert, but is now the city of the great God, watered by two ever-flowing springs—from the holy font and the incorruptible blood of the Son of God, which give drink to the thirsty in spirit.

Embellishing the day of dedication with groups of bishops and princes, he celebrated a great and joyous festival with grandiose splendour to be remembered from generation to generation. So we have said what concerns the holy church.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 9

[Concerning The Great War With The Arab At The Gates Of The Metropolis Of Dvin; And The Various Valiant Deeds Of The Great King Of The Armenians, Gagik, And His Victorious Accomplishments]

We described above the anarchy in Persia, according to Scripture: "Israel had no judge, and everyone acted as he pleased." 6 At that time a certain man, Arab by race [He is not named by the author. Vardanyan identifies him with Al-Lashkari, emir of Gilan. Ter-Ghevondyan, pp. 78-79, discusses this passage and notes that he must have been one of the emirs of Azerbaijan, Muflih, Lashkari, or Daysam. See also the discussion in the El s.v. Dwin, col. 680. The date of these events is not given, but was probably in the 930s.], versed in warfare and military deeds, with haughty arrogance puffed himself up and reckoned he would become independent. So gathering an army, he unexpectedly and rapidly passed by Golt'nastan and the city of Nakhchavan, forcibly occupying the province called Sharur, and reached as far as the great metropolis of Dvin. He rapidly despatched tax collectors and prefects to the province of Ayrarat and as far as Aragats-otn, the holding of Abas, son of Smbat, which he subjected to his own authority. Since Abas was unable to oppose the tyrant who had risen up against him, he appealed to the king [King: i.e. Gagik, whose mother was the daughter of Ashot Bagratuni, grandfatherof Abas.] through messengers and letters to come and save him from the violent brigands who were demanding tribute. The king, mindful of the tender bonds of related blood, came with a numerous force to seek vengeance for his relative.

Then Abas, son of Smbat, in his pride came down to the plain of the city of Valarshapat, wishing to precede the arrival of the great king of Armenia, Gagik, in order to gain glory for himself. But the Muslim, since he knew that he (Abas) was not versed in warfare, fell upon him with a few troops and put him to flight. Putting some four hundred of his men to the sword, he plundered the army and the inhabitants of the land. Then setting the torch to the whole land, he returned to the city victoriously with much booty. Abas escaped in flight by the skin of his teeth, and took refuge in Georgia.

When the king heard the sad news of this disaster, he immediately marched to the gate of Dvin, to the bank of the river Araxes opposite the holy pit from which the great saint Gregory emerged to illuminate the land of Armenia [Dvin is not on the Araxes; Artashat is opposite Khor Virap. Perhaps "gate," durn, here means "approach to. "]. Now the Muslim saw the great king's camp spread out by the mountain called the hill of Gen [Hill of Gen: west of Artashat.]—and truly the hill was prophetically named, for as if with pure wine it intoxicated and made the king happy in its appointed place; though it was from on High that he received the grace of victory through the intercession of the Holy Illuminator, whose festival is celebrated on the tenth day of the month Sahmi. But the hill too is blessed and is not without praise in this History. Then the impious man gathered an army of some thirteen thousand men and attacked the king, supposing him to be like other people. While the sun was casting its glow over the vault of heaven at the third hour, and he (the king) was still reading the holy gospel, one of his couriers came and said: "Why does my lord the king extend and prolong his prayers? Behold the front line of the Muslims has approached the holy camp of the Lord." Then the king with calm heart and tranquil courage did not raise his eyes or his voice to the messenger, but finished his customary prayers, comprehending the saying of the wise man: "Battle is the Lord's," and: "The Lord opposes the haughty, and gives grace to the humble."

Then the king, donning his armour and putting on a valiant mien, took the troops of his Christian army and calmly advanced, disposing the ranks of his battle line in suitable fashion. The armies, with drawn swords, straightway came to blows. Crashings and thunderings resounded, and flashings as of lightning were seen shooting downwards from the clouds. The day began to wax fearful. The king and his troops were strengthened by help from on High, especially because the holy patriarch of Armenia, Elishe the Great, going to the summit of the hill of Gen with groups of priests, held aloft his hands like Saint Nerses until the second Amalek was defeated. Passing through the ranks of the Armenian army, the king reached the middle of the Muslim force, where there were about four thousand champion armed foot soldiers. Striking those impious ones like a spark among reeds, he routed the Muslim ranks. Then the vast number of corpses of those who had fallen to the ground lay thickly over the surface of the plain, like sheaves in a full field in the days of harvest. So about eight thousand men fell to the sword or were drowned in the river. And taking many of them prisoner, he sent some in chains to the impregnable castle of Dariunk". He spared the lives of about two hundred men, more or less, and ordered them to be freed so that they might go to the city and relate what they had seen.

The king himself rapidly crossed the river Araxes, wishing to burn the city from end to end with the surrounding countryside. But the elders of the city fell at his feet, begging for peace and offering tribute and hostages. Taking these, the king returned in peace to the fortress of Dariunk', having stripped the men and horses of the Muslim army of their arms and armour in immeasurable amounts. The king did not fine any of the many of his own troops who had seized plunder, but let them take openly whatever they had gained.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 10

[The Attack Of The Delmikk' On The City Of Hadamakert And The Province Of Albag; And The Victory Of The Armenian Army By The Grace Of God]

In those days a group of Delmik [the Daylamites; see Ter-Ghevondyan, also called Daylam, refering to their expansion in this direction.] troops advanced, intending to cross to the land of Asorestan. Reaching the city of Hadamakert and the province of Albag, they pillaged property and took women and children captive to the extent they could manage. When the king heard of this, he ordered the valiant cavalry of his army to pursue them. On receiving the royal command, they rushed off immediately, and came upon them when they least expected it in the land of Andzevats'ik'. They attacked the Delmik troops, who were brave warriors armed with lances, and trampled them down like stubble of the plain under the feet of the Armenian horses. Setting on them with the sword, they slaughtered about two thousand men. Having plundered their camp and released the captives, they returned to their own abodes after a great victory.

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 11

[Descriptive Portrait Of The Person And Glory Of The Great King Of Armenia, Gagik]

Since in his foreknowledge and providence God knew that he would become such a man, from his mother's womb he had filled him with the spirit of wisdom. Therefore he also bestowed on him a luminous visage and glorious stature, unparalleled among the entire rational race of mankind. He was elegant and upright, noble and splendid of face. The hair of his head was dark, long, and curly, carefully arranged above a dazzling white forehead in very thick and dense waves. He had two black arched eyebrows, pupils, and eyelids that shaded the eyes like a lily flowering in valleys, spreading in wonderful fashion. His nose was wide and elegant; his ears, quick to hear and believe good news, shone with a luminous colour. His lips were like a red line; his teeth were close to each other and free from stain. His fresh beard flowered like violets on beautiful cheeks, giving him the appearance to onlookers of angelic form. Truly such gifts of grace and glory were given him from on High.

For he reigned like Josiah over a new Israel, but in a way superior to him perfected the institutions of the holy church. Thus it is very pleasing to me at this point to take examples from the land of India and the city of Topaz (in Ethiopia); especially the golden topaz from the commerce of the gem cutters and the Alebasarats'ik (perhaps marble workers) and Thebans, and lace it into his crown on the days of royal pleasure; notably when on the Lord's saving feast of Easter, he arose like a groom from the wedding chamber similar to the morning star. Likewise rays of light shone out from the decoration of coloured gems interwoven with pearls on the head, breast, and croup of his mettlesome steed; and at the outpouring of the fiery brilliance before him, the booming of drums and sounding of trumpets, myriads of people were stirred. Every eye desired to see him, every soul cried out:

"Lord, save the king and hear us." In truth God's anointed, superior to all kings of the earth, merited such and even greater praise.

• For he was the cause of peace and prosperity.

• He was a firebrand [Amos 4.11.] to brigands and repelled them.

• He weighed laws and judgements justly. [Jeremiah 20.12.]

• He clipped the wings of the high-flying mighty.

• He brought down many holed up in high castles.

• He was an inescapable trap for rebels.

• He foresaw the secret deceits of enemies, ensnared and destroyed them.

• On his friends and supporters he bestowed gifts unfailing.

• He was also a sweet-smelling garden, filled with resplendent flowers.

• For his own house he was a verdant plant with golden leaves, full of divinely inspired love, joyous news.

• To his sons he was a school of virtue and an ever-flowing source of wisdom.

• To all artisans his door was open, and he was an unerring model.

• Against the stormy threats of tyrants and their fearsome winds he was a high mountain and unshakeable rock.

• He was a consuming fire for the knavish and deceptive letters and messages sent him by the Muslims.

• In the hearts of the Babylonian, Mede, Persian, Greek, and barbarian tyrants he was a burning, perpetually turning nail.

• He questioned wise men about the depths of the sea or the heights of heaven which are inaccessible.

• He sat at banquets on his golden throne, grand in his majesty like a powerful lion, and heightened in the Lord's glory by his faith.

• He retired for sweet sleep at night to gilded chambers like a dragon.

• The awe of his might spread over the whole of Armenia; like an impregnable wall of bronze he preserved Armenia from fear and from the secretly fired arrows of her enemies.

• Over his neighbours and his subjects he was a shade of secure defense, and swift . . .

[This section is incomplete.]

ARTSRUNI HISTORY CHAPTER 12

[Concerning The Course Of Events In Armenia; And Concerning The Pious Prince Abdlmseh And His Sons]

After the death of King Gagik Artsruni, son of Deranik, and the suppression of the independence of Armenia, the saying of the prophet Jeremiah was fulfilled for the land of Armenia, and even more so for the province of Vaspurakan: "My peoples will wander without a lord." The race of Hagar ruled over us; making perpetual raids for booty and plunder, they oppressed all the Christians, inflicting the greatest and the least with famine, sword, and captivity. Nowhere was there any hope or expectation; only a few remained of the Armenian princes, who had fallen into decline; and with difficulty did they control the strongholds and fastnesses. So our sins and those of our fathers reigned over us, and the Lord delivered us and the surviving Armenians into the hands of the impious, money-minded, perversely wicked, criminal race of the Elim—that is, the nations of the Turks. They ruled over the world from the eastern sea to the western sea; and there remained not even a cave which God did not deliver into their hands. They had the nature of bloodthirsty beasts; for they were people of awful appearance, and the sight of their faces terrified and dismayed onlookers [Cf. the description of the first Turks to invade Armenia in Matthew of Edessa, pp.57 ff., and the horror they caused.]. Their dwelling was in mountains and plains and the wilderness, like that of wild animals, and they ate carrion like beasts. They did not honour the mighty; they did not spare the white hairs or the exigencies of the aged; they did not pity the youth or child, or spare any young person. They are a nation wicked and cruel, a nation that has not directed its heart aright or set its soul towards God. This nation God and our sins gave as ruler of the land of Armenia, according to the words of the holy prophets, companions of Anania: "You delivered us into the hands of the most impious and wicked king in the whole world."

At that time there lived a certain renowned man, related to the great king Senek'erim, of whom the prophet Isaiah speaks. He had the same name as his ancestor Senek'erim, and his brother was the great prince Deranik. These, through God's help and the providential care of the Holy Spirit, ruled over their own ancestral provinces of Vaspurakan. Resisting the Muslims, they did not permit them to ravage the land. For they held the impregnable fortress built by Shamiram, the town of Van, and the impregnable fortress of Amiuk, that looks up to heaven and hurts the neck to see. So they despised the continual attacks of the Muslims, which God's assistance always repulsed.

In their time appeared the treasures of the divine cross on which the Only-Begotten Son of God had shed his blood. It had been brought to the mountain of Varag, to its rocky summit, by the holy lamb and royal virgin Hrip'sime and revealed by God. As in the days of the emperor Constantius and the patriarch Cyril, so likewise in the province of Vaspurakan on the mountain of Varag the sign of the Lord's cross shone out. At the third hour it soared from the rocky summit and settled in a hollow on the same mountain, where there are sweet springs.

The holy king Senek'erim built on that spot churches at great expense; and at the foot of the mountain he constructed the splendid and famous metropolis of the monastery of Varag. In it he established faithful men, and he adorned it with many monks and heavenly ranks of holy priests. He arranged allowances for them, and they lived in peace in the province of Vaspurakan, which became a place of security for refugees and captives from all lands.

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Now because of our sins the race of Elimats'ik' attacked us, as we said above, and continually vexed the nation of Christians and put them to the sword. Then King Senek'erim thought of the Lord's command: "If they expel you from one city, flee to the next." There was no assistance anywhere else save from the Lord, and the Lord's help supported the emperor of the Greeks. At that time the imperial authority and the divinely protected city of Constantinople were held by a God-loving and pious man named Basil. The emperor of the Greeks had no control over the land of the Armenians, but these all freely ruled over their provinces, although they could not endure the onslaught of the Muslims. Then the survivors of the house of T'orgom turned to the emperor of the Greeks as a son to his father. The Greeks, filled with divine love, had compassion for the appeal of their children, and summoned them from their various provinces. They gave them gifts, appointed them at the royal court, gave them great cities in exchange for their cities and in return for their castles, impregnable fortresses and provinces, villages, estates, and holy hermitages. So the Artsrunik', descendants of Hayk and Senek'erim, exchanged their ancestral homes in the year 470 of the Armenian era, and moved into Greek territory with fourteen thousand men, not including women and children, passing under the yoke of servitude to the Romans. Likewise the Bagratid Gagik, son of King Yovhannes, also exchanged his ancestral lands in the year 490 of the same era, and went to Roman territory. They ruled over the eastern part of Armenia, the great city of Van, the province of Vaspurakan, the royal city of Ani, and the land of Armenia.

When news of the kings' departure from Armenia and the Roman control of that country reached the camp of the impious, bloodthirsty, ferocious race of Elim, then the ruler of the Elimites, who was called Sultan Tullup, launched a cavalry attack like an eagle swooping on flocks of birds. Reaching the metropolis of Ani, he besieged it; having captured it, he put the inhabitants to the sword. From the flowing of blood the land was irrigated as at the time of flooding. Many of the witnesses said that the blood from the fallen corpses of children reached the river which flowed by the city gate. In similar fashion, a certain eunuch, baneful and licentious, devoted to the service of Satan, bloodthirsty and an eater of carrion, Srahang by name, came to the province of Vaspurakan and plundered it. He reached as far as the city of Van, besieged it and inflicted terrible disasters. Its populace he put to the sword, and the habitations he burned with fire. The same he did to the city of Archesh in the province of Gnunik'. There remained no place of refuge for the Christians save only the impregnable fortress of Amiuk and the island of Alt'amar, where God dwells. These enjoyed a beautiful position, defended by the waves and the proud height of their walls. For them was accomplished the saying of the inspired psalmist David: "The islands shall be happy and all the inhabitants therein"; they rejoiced in delight according to Solomon's exhortation. Like a cock strutting among forests, or a goat in front of flocks, or a king in his army, so were they renowned and glorious in the land.

The Lord had chosen as overseer and guardian of these divinely protected and impregnable fortresses a man related to King Senek'erim, from the province of Amiuk and the family of the Artsrunik', named Abdlmseh. He had survived like a spark from thunderbolts of fire, protected by the omnipotent right hand of God from shipwreck in the dangerous storm-tossed deep. Just as God chose Noah, from whom all races sprang and multiplied; and as God chose Abraham and blessed him and the offspring of his loins; and as the Lord blessed the great David, blessed the fruit of his loins and granted him invincible power—so too did God choose this all-wise protocuropalates Abdlmseh, son of the great prince and holy martyr T'ornik. The latter, on the day of the great feast of the Lord's birth and baptism, had become worthy to receive the crown of martyrdom with many elect men in the province of Mokk' at the village of Atichank. His son too was strengthened by the gracious gifts of God, and was filled with wisdom and the Holy Spirit. Over him the Lord had poured his sevenfold grace, the spirit of knowledge and of piety, the spirit of power and wisdom, the spirit of counsel and intelligence, and had filled him with the fear of God. He was superior to all nations in being modest, humble, liberal, merciful; a lover of prayer and of the saints; he looked after widows and cared for orphans; he never made a false oath to his fellow, nor was falsehood found on his lips; he continuously handsome of person, distinguished and of tall stature, with curly hair and fine appearance, softly spoken and sweet-voiced like a turtledove. He had married the daughter of Grigor, dux [duke, leader.] of the East and grandson of the splendid and powerful prince of princes Aluz, who was lord and master of the provinces of Tsalkotn and Kogovit and of the great town of Angeltun.

Now the holy lamb of Christ, Mariam by name, most noble of ladies by birth, had been raised in holiness and piety and fear of the Lord. In accordance with her name she was devoted to the love of God, and was superior to all saints in being compassionate to everyone, merciful, firm in faith, prudent and chaste, in no way inferior to holy queens; a lover of prayer and of the poor, she continually served the holy clergy who were in the holy cathedral, in the divinely adorned and beautifully decorated, glorious holy church dedicated to the Holy Cross. For God had chosen it and was pleased to dwell therein. She placed for safekeeping there the divine treasures: the throne of our Holy Illuminator Gregory the Parthian, the sanctifying altar of the divine mystery, the girdle of the holy waist, the staff of the all-powerful right hand which tended the Lord's people and was superior to the two staffs of the great prophets Moses and Aaron, the slippers of the labouring feet of the holy virgin Hrip'sime, the scarf tinged with the holy blood, the arm of the holy martyr, the young Abdlmseh, who was related to the protocuropalates and bore the same name, and many other relics of the martyrs; also the sign of the Lord's cross, on which there was a drop of life-giving blood, mounted with gold and pearls, which the Lord had given through the holy and blessed patriarch, the archbishop Lord Dawit, and which is still called the holy cross of Aparank. For the lord Dawit was related to the protocuropalates, and they were both holy and elected by the Lord.

Previously the Holy Spirit had chosen to be overseer and guardian of the house of Vaspurakan the great prince named Khedenek, a kinsman of King Senek'erim and of the royal branch of the Artsrunik. He begat Prince Tornik, a powerful man and a warrior valiant in deeds of bravery, and his brothers the holy, most praiseworthy and blessed valiant shepherds, Lord Dawit and Lord Step'anos, the great crowns of the church, and also Lord Grigor of the same name as our Illuminator. These shone out in the universe like the sun among stars. From T'ornik was born the great prince T'adeos, a man excellent in warfare. By the help of God and their own bravery they did not permit their provinces to be undermined by the incessant raiding of the enemy. From T'ornik, son of T'adeos, was born the saintly and pious Abdlmseh, who in his divine wisdom exceeded all his ancestors. They were brave and valiant in warfare, but he lived out his life in peace, filled with wisdom and understanding. For in his days was accomplished the Lord's saying: "Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom; and in many places there will be famines and plagues and earthquakes; and in heaven a sign in the sun and the moon and the stars, and on earth agitation of the heathen." In his time the brave nation of the Franks came out and freed the holy city of Jerusalem from the hands of the Muslims, and many other lands in the [Armenian] year 546.

The land of the East was being oppressed at the hands of the impious; by continuous attacks of Muslims, who spread their raids over the surface of the earth like flowing torrents, or like thick clouds blown in confusion by thundering winds and fiery lightning in the dark hours of the night. Our flight took place in winter and on the sabbath day, according to the Lord's warning; and there was no hope or expectation for the Christians save only in the pious and elect royal monarch, the protocuropalates, related to the great and valiant martyr Vardan Mamikonean. For through the prayers and supplications of the holy fathers and his relatives, the Lord had strengthened his anointed. For he lived his life peaceably, and strove for peace with everyone. He gave his property and possessions for the payment of taxes, and did not criticise the taking of any of his own for the requirements of tax exactors. He did not govern by menaces, nor by terror or threats or usury; but he cared for all, consoled them, and was compassionate to them as a father for his children. Long since he had learned the saying: "Be compassionate, even as your heavenly father is compassionate." He begat seven sons and five daughters; and from his offspring the Lord chose one, named Dawit'—as with Jesse of Bethlehem, of whose sons the Lord chose David. And he blessed him with unsurpassable blessing for ever and ever.

He resembled the great David and was even superior to him, for the Lord wished to raise up the horn of his church. He was brought up in the Lord's house under the shadow of the divine treasures that we mentioned above, which were kept in safekeeping on the island of AlFamar, the residence of God. He resembled the prophet Samuel, raised in the temple of the Lord and successor to the high priest Heli. But he was superior to him, having from his youth taken the yoke of humility by fasting and prayer and strict asceticism, warring with brave and valiant endurance against the devil; armed with weapons and armour, by hunger and thirst and vigils he overcame the artful enemy, in accordance with the apostolic saying of Paul, the citizen of heaven: "We do not have combat with flesh and with blood, but with principalities and powers and with the governors of this dark region and with evil spirits under heaven."

Now he carried to fulfilment the exercise of mortification and chastity, since those who live their lives in chastity are superior to the angels. He reckoned as naught this world and its glory and the delight of this present existence, for he had continually heard from the prophets the likeness of man to grass and a flower that is shaken, its similarity to a passing frivolity, a daily hireling, and vanity. He spent his life in all deeds of virtue according to the Lord's saying, when he enjoined his saints: "It is not you who chose me, but I chose you."

He resembled Melchisedek, previously chosen by the Spirit to indicate the coming of the Saviour and the distribution of his Body and Blood, running to meet the patriarch Abraham while he was coming from battle. He resembled Joshua, son of Nav; for he was a virgin holy and brave, who with his lance protected the Lord's people in the Promised Land. He resembled Aaron with his robe and ephod decorated with twelve pearls, in accordance with the number of the holy apostles and a type of the twelve nations that believed in Christ. He resembled Elias the prophet who saw God, who from the womb of his mother was nourished by angels with fire, and who through his chastity closed up heaven for three years and six months; and no dew fell on the earth, until by the word of his mouth it rained. He resembled the great prophet John, son of Zacharias, who heard from the archangel the good news concerning the birth of John, who laid hands on God the Word in the Jordan.

He resembled John the son of Zebedee, who through his chastity was named son of thunder, who from the heights thundered forth the word of God, who reclined on the Lord's breast and was purified like gold in fire. He imitated these in purity and chastity, being granted grace from the most liberal giver of gifts, God. He received the honour of the priesthood and episcopate and archbishopric and Catholicosate. The Lord sat him on the throne of our Holy Illuminator Saint Gregory, and joined him to the ranks of the previous holy fathers, Saints Aristakes, Vrt'anes, Yusik, Grigoris, Nerses and Sahak. For the Holy Spirit had previously indicated by a vision to Saint Sahak the calamities that would befall Armenia, the collapse of her independence, and servitude to foreign nobles; her becoming opposed to the truth, like Surmak and Samuel, who were in opposition to the divine grace; and then in the second part of the vision the parchment which indicated in letters of gold and red ink the elevation of the saints, and the line and a half in black ink, and the erasure indicating those opposed to the truth; then the repeat of the other line, which expressed the model of our holy patriarch, the divinely honoured Lord Dawit [David], the elect and anointed of the Lord, who sat on the throne of our Holy Illuminator. For the former saints were like their fathers, and he even more so resembled his fathers the holy patriarchs and martyrs; since by their prayers and supplications and by the shedding of the blood of the holy martyrs Vardan and his companions, and of T'ornik and his companions, relatives of the holy patriarch Dawit', the Lord strengthened him more and more.

Now another of his offspring, the youngest of the brothers, was named Step'anos according to his father's side; and on his mother's side his godly mother, most illustrious of ladies, named him by her grandfather's name, Aluz. In his advancement he received honour from the holy kings and great renown. He made up for any failure in his paternal and maternal ancestors, and became the most illustrious in his whole family. Just as Isaac blessed Jacob, and the Lord heard him and the Lord blessed Jacob by the mouth of his father—because the blessings of fathers sustain sons—so also was the great prince Aluz blessed by God and by his father Abdlmseh. For he was a God-loving and pious man and obedient to his parents, since he had learned from God's commandments: "Honour your father and mother," and he had heard elsewhere that: "A disobedient son shall go to destruction"; so he was obedient without any temptation. The Lord established him on the throne of his father as he had established Solomon on the throne of his father David; and just as in his days the Lord had made peace for his kingdom, so also did he in the reign of Aluz. The great and most wise Abdimseh the curopalates divided his patrimony, and gave over into the control of his son Aluz the heaven-like and impregnable fortress of Amiuk, for he was able to resist the impious races of the Ismaelites. And he exceeded in wisdom all his fathers.

Now the very renowned and God-loving curopalates Abdlmseh lived his life in peace. He saw his sons glorious and well praised: one, endowed with spiritual and wordly riches, succeeded to the throne of the patriarchate, and was dedicated to the observance of the divine commandments and nailed to fear of the Lord; the other he saw a lord and prince, splendid in glory, fortunate and successful in all his deeds; and his other sons and daughters he saw endowed with glory and honours. He also saw the sons of his sons, and was blessed by the Lord. He himself at a good old age fell asleep with his father, and was buried in that same island of Alt'amar, inhabited by God, at the monastery of the Holy Cross, having been rendered worthy to receive daily from the Lord the new freedom of adoption through the holy and immortal liturgy, which his relative Lord Dawit', Catholicos of Armenia, offered incesssantly in intercession for his pious parents. It was in the year 570 of the Armenian era that the ruler Abdimseh died. His godly wife lived for two years after the death of her husband, then she too quietly passed to Christ and was joined to her fathers; she was buried in the same tomb, having entrusted her sons to God's grace.

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After their departure from this world the wind from the north began to blow ever more strongly with bitterly cold air, and green plants began to disappear from the land. The saying of the Lord's parable was fulfilled: "Rains fell, rivers rose, winds blew." But they were unable to shake the great rock of faith, the gloriously splendid prince Aluz. For he remained on his own in Armenia like a ship in the midst of storm-tossed waves of the sea, having no help from anyone—neither from kings nor princes, neither from magnates nor his fathers, deprived of his possessions and robbed of all his goods. But the walls and buildings that were destroyed he renewed again with much effort. For cruel days had fallen upon the land, since the Lord's saying was fulfilled: "Those will be days of oppression such as have never occurred." But to his support came grace and wisdom from supernal help, as to King Hezekiah. Just as the latter turned back the evening hour to noon and was saved by God's help, so also Aluz was saved by God's grace and filled with wisdom. By various means he survived and made peace with his implacable enemies, the race of Elimites. From them he received gifts and honour, and was rendered glorious and renowned in the eyes of the unbelievers by his judicious knowledge. Not sparing his goods or possessions, but with eager heart he gave his sweat for the salvation of the Christians, both paying tribute to the Muslims and also organising cavalry and providing them with stipends. Thus he made peace with everyone, according to the saying: "Seek peace and follow it." Aluz resembled the great patriarch Noah, and his castle the ark. For the latter had with him chosen deer and other animals, while the former had with him nobles, free men and the sons of nobles, magnates and princes from every province. He was resplendent in the universe for his noble cavalry, like the full moon in the vault of the sky, or like the sun in the days of summer. God had granted him a brilliant son, a beam of light, named after his ancestor Khedenik; he was pleasing and beloved in the eyes of all for his' splendid beauty, since his father, the great prince Aluz, was fair of visage and tall of stature and powerful.

The Only-Begotten Son of God revealed him to be a glorious boast for us, having given him grace like his ancestors the Artsrunik'. He strengthened him with invincible power, like the impregnable fortress Amiuk granted him by God. By his wise knowledge he strove for peace with everyone, that perchance life might be peaceful for himself and his own people, undisturbed by the tumult of agitated and surging waves.

In his peaceable time all the land was troubled; and especially the province of Vaspurakan saw no calm, but was particularly oppressed by dangers. Yet God's right hand protected him and his fortress. Just as Joseph fed all the land during the famine of Egypt, so likewise he became a cause of prosperity for the house of Vaspurakan. He was bread for the famished, refuge for the fleeing; he restored captives, and wiped all tears from every face. He was desired by all who saw him, and longed for by those who saw him not. His name was famous from one end of the earth to the other, and he was praised by all tongues. He was the support of the faith, the glorious crown of the holy church, the mother of all piety. He exceeded himself in prayers and supplications, imploring the salvation of the country; he was undistracted in the midst of his people like one of the humble. He repulsed thieves and brigands, and pursued all impiety. He contented himself with the sweat of his face and the labour of his hands.

He acquired this book of T'ovmay the historian, and had it renovated as a memorial to himself and his good parents and the divinely bestowed fruit of his loins Khedenik; for from the fruit of righteousness grows a tree of blessings. By his luminous flower and fruit he was desirous to all. For in his splendid beauty he resembled the morning star, rising at dawn, or the sweet-smelling rose with its multicoloured beauty that reveals its hues in the springtime. May his memory be blessed, and the prayers of the saints rise on his behalf. Amen.

Glory to the Holy Trinity and single Divinity, threefold yet equal, triune yet one in essence, who in his boundless love for men and liberal bounty gave strength to this weak, pitiable and miserable sinner to reach the end of this book. Praise and ceaseless glorification with worship, now and always and for ever and ever. Amen.

By the grace of the omnipotent God, Father and Only-Begotten Jesus Christ, and the true Holy Spirit, here is terminated and finished this beautifully composed History, which the invincible and knowledgeable vardapet T'ovmay wrote with accuracy, beginning from Adam down to Noah; and then he progressed in descending order detail by detail with much labour in his true account down to the clan of the Artsrunik; one by one he set down the people and events and their causes. How they endured many efforts and labours with wars against the Muslims, and removed their wicked presence from many places so far as they were able. Most especially the divinely crowned, pious and most wise king of Armenia, Gagik, who by his wisdom and orthodox life and by God's will reigned over many lands—as is recorded in this book—and protected them in peace all the days of his life from enemy brigands. He was responsible for the building of churches, in particular this most famous and wonderfully constructed holy church of the Holy Cross of Alfiamar, in whose shade was copied this History in the year 752 of the Armenian era, and in the imperial reign of Lazan, at the order and expense of the venerable, blissful and thrice blessed, wise patriarch of Armenia, Lord Zak'aria, who is truly good and liberally minded, and a lover of the poor and endowed with divine gifts. It was copied at the request of the divinely wise and worthy vardapet, Lord Step'anos, dignified with the archi episcopal rank, who is the gem of the East and the holder of the throne of the great house of Siunik'. If you wish to investigate his ancestry, none of the princes or of those who hold sway in eastern parts is superior to him, for his family and ancestors are the most renowned for valour. And he is as glorious and resplendent among them as is the sun among the stars. Because of his divine love he requested this History from Lord Zak'aria, the godly and pious holder of the throne of our Holy Illuminator. At great effort he had this copied to satisfy his request. Even more eager for this task was the most wise and high-minded, modest and humble brother of Lord Zak'aria, Amir-Gurgen. May the Lord God grant them many days and preserve them safe in soul and body from the snares of enemies visible and invisible all the days of their lives. Amen.

I, the most sinful and unworthy and inconsequential among the ranks of scribes and monks, Daniel by name, in my weakness undertook to copy this at the monastery of the great and splendid Holy Cross of Alt'amar, which we mentioned above. Furthermore, falling on my face, I beg the kind readers and request their pardon for the faults of this book, whatever may be found extra or missing therein, be it a full stop, a line, a comma, or any other expression or changing from kh or h? For the learned know well that in the ancient writings no attention was paid to such matters. Since I am ignorant of these things, what I heard of these expressions from the ecclesiastical books, that I wrote down; and what is beyond them I do not know how it was. So I beg you that according to your pious pleasure, you should merely grant me and my parents a "Lord have mercy" so that you too may find mercy from God on the eternal day of his coming. And may he be blessed, praised and lauded by all creatures, spiritual and tangible, now and always, for ever and ever. Amen.

I also beg that you recall sincerely to the Lord my teacher, the honourable priest Simeon, who taught me a few books from his many skills, and his parents. To Christ and our God glory for ever. Amen.

After all this had so taken place, as is written, we must inform you, Oh dear sons and faithful true brothers, that there was a certain man, renowned and adorned with divine glory, noble and of noble parents, raised in purity and righteousness, who had attained the wisdom of the divine holy testaments, orthodox in faith and in Christian confession. His name was Baron Sefedin Ark'ayun. As by God's summons he came to this impregnable island of Alt'amar, the abode of God, which is the throne of Saint Gregory the Illuminator of Armenia and the residence of the most glorious and renowned holy cross. Khedenik loved Ark'ayun as if he were his own son; he gave him his own daughter as wife in legal marriage, and as her dowry the half of Alt'amar. After a short time when Khedenik grew old, he sold to Baron Sefedin in his poverty the other half, receiving as its price much gold for his bodily needs. After a few days the Lord God provided fruit for his loins, a thriving and fine son, the lord Step'anos. When he had acquired instruction and attained maturity, he had him ordained to the patriarchal throne of Saint Gregory. But aged about forty, he departed this world after a prematurely short life and few days, leaving inconsolable grief to his father Baron Sefedin.

But since God is merciful and compassionate to everyone, he looked down on the fervent woes and tears of his heart and granted him sons, blessed by God and pleasing to God: the natural brothers, the modest and sober Amir-Gurgen and the young, wise Zak'aria.

When the hour came for Baron Sefedin to travel the road of his fathers and depart from this world, he did not have the time to confirm with his own hands Zak'aria on the throne of his brother Lord Step'anos. So he was given over to instruction in the divine Holy Scriptures, and became versed in the Old and New Testaments. He had no one as support and helper, save only his brother Amir-Gurgen as father and head of the family, and Baron Kurchbek and Baron Nuredin, his father's brothers.

These, by God's will, gathered together and summoned holy bishops, vardapets, and many monks. Having prayed together, they blessed and ordained Lord Zak'aria to the patriarchal throne of his brother Lord Step'anos. There was great joy and rejoicing for our see of the Holy Cross of Alt'amar, residence of God. Like an unshakeable rock, like an iron rampart, and like a gate of bronze, he resisted the wicked Muslim warriors. He was a lover of building and responsible for many constructions. Filled with God's Spirit, he built in the land of Vaspurakan on the island called Lim the beautiful, luminous, and domed church of Saint George the General, which he adorned with many furnishings. He also built a house of prayer and living quarters and palaces; he established many monks at the monastery of the church of Saint George the General, and by their prayers may Christ God have mercy on us. Amen.

Furthermore, at his patriarchal see on the island of Alt'amar at the monastery of the Holy Cross he built on a beautiful and spacious site behind the Holy Cross the great oratory for the days of winter. On the western side for the summer days he built the spacious vaulted chapel, finely worked and bound with mortar, bringing its stones from the land of Khlat' with much labour over the deep lake. He had copied in memory of his soul the book called Tonakan for it includes the feasts of the Lord, of the holy apostles and prophets, patriarchs and vardapets, generals and virgins. By their prayers and intercession may the Lord God Jesus Christ have mercy on Lord Zak'aria and his natural brother Baron Gurgen and his son Sahmadin, prematurely dead, and all his relatives. Amen.

Also he built many beautiful and charming summer lodgings as an upper story on top of the palace that Baron Sefedin had constructed for his son Lord Step'anos; and many other inhabited and deserted places he re-established in faith and hope. Reflecting through his superior solicitude and foresight, out of love he decided on a good plan: "After my death and departure from his world, who shall occupy our patriarchal throne if not one of my kinsmen and descendants?" Then he proposed his spiritual son, the wonderful and wise youth Lord Dawit', son of his full brother Baron Gurgen. Numerous bishops, monks, and priests with large congregations, by prayer and rituals blessed and ordained Lord Dawit' as heir and co-heir of his see. There was no little happiness and rejoicing to his parents and his entire family.

Now Lord Zak'aria arose like the sun at dawn, melting the freezing ice of winter frosts and of the Muslim enemies of Christ's cross. He resisted the hurricane of evils, Ali Pasha and others of his ilk, who waxed haughty against the holy churches and the faith of the Christians. He prevented the payment of numerous taxes and haraj from monasteries and monks; he endured many tribulations and efforts, suffered great wounds, and bore many scars on his soul and body. For his nephew Lord Step'anos had his relative, the daughter of his sister, delivered to the Muslims, mixing milk with their blood. Many monasteries and churches were beset with great distress and misery, because they the Muslims seized total control of the beautiful and impregnable island of Alfamar, and many other places and palaces, lands and estates, legally or illegally. After this had so come about, then in the year 775 of the Armenian era occurred the death and departure from this world of the holy patriarch Lord Zak'aria. With a good confession and orthodox profession of faith he gave up his soul and went from this transitory world to the world of the living, to the supernal Jerusalem and the residence of the just. By their prayers and those of all the saints may the compassionate and merciful God make Lord Zak'aria a companion and sharer of the holy fathers and patriarchs past and recent.

After a little time the death of Step'anos and of Shamish-Khat'un took place; they departed this world and went there where are the true accusers and examiners and exactors of words, deeds and thoughts. After this had happened we had no king or prince or judge or overseer or leader or saviour and rescuer who could free us from foreigners and wicked enemies. For they imposed many exactions of treasure, of gold and silver; so whoever had claim to the throne of that patriarchate had to give many riches. Otherwise, the Muslims would seize convents and churches, monks and priests, virgins and abbesses, common people and all Christ's flocks. These disasters and great misfortunes were seen by Lord Dawit', bishop of Armenia, who had been ordained by his brother Lord Zak'aria. Since at that time his father the great Baron Amir Gurgen and his elder brother Amir Sahmadin had departed this world, there was no one to help or support him. Then Lord Dawit' rose like a shining star, like the sun at noon, like a cloud gleaming with lightning, or like rays of light appearing at night in sublime and beauteous fashion, valiant of body and charming of person. With his two handsome full brothers, called Amir Kurchbek and Amir Sefefiin, who were wise, intelligent, eloquent, and fluent, he held council. They addressed each other like the brave and valiant Saint Vardan, or like the holy Atom and his companions. They plunged into this great battle and contest, saying to each other: "It is not right to abandon our holy places, our home and ancestral inheritance, lest foreign Muslims enter therein, or some other wicked men or heretics or adversaries." With much affliction and pain, with ceaseless comings and goings, much labour and endurance of vexations and opprobrium, partly justified partly not, some they implored, others they entreated, some they praised, others they punished according to their merits, striving to resist this great oppression and struggle, and to be freed from the exaction of many possessions and incalculable treasure. Again they said to each other: "Dear brothers, let us be bravely united through the bond of the Holy Spirit, lest our ancestral inheritance fall into the hands of foreign Muslims." May the Lord and merciful God, who is liberal with good gifts and brings peace to the whole world, grant

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them strength, wisdom and knowledge, patience and endurance in their resistance to Muslim enemies of Christ's cross, and may he free them in soul and body from calamities and the deceit of Satan. Amen.

Also we request, beg, entreat and supplicate you, the merciful Father, and the compassionate God Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit, the true God—we the unworthy monks and priests and all believers in the Holy Trinity. In faith and hope we request from your liberal benevolence that you again strengthen the throne of our patriarchate as before, and free it from debt and illegal exactors; and that you make our patriarch Lord Dawit' shine out like the sun over the land, like the moon among the stars, to an advanced old age with many years of life, together with his brothers and their sons and posterity. Amen.

And to Christ our God, glory, praise, and worship for ever and ever. Amen.

THE BOOK OF THE BEE

The Biblical History of Solomon of Akhlat
Translation: Earnest A. Wallis Budge, 1886
Estimated range of dating: 1210-1230 AD.

(The Book of the Bee is a theological compilation of Biblical history and legends. It was written by Solomon of Akhlat, a Syrian Nestorian Bishop of Bassora (Basrah) around 1222. It is written in Syriac. The book consists of 60 chapters discussing various topics including the creation, heaven and earth, the angels, darkness, and paradise. This book is remarkable as it shows lists of the Old Testament prophets or teachers, the New Testament disciples, apostles and teachers, lists of kings and emperors. And it also mentiones details such as that the apostle Thomas went to Persia and India. It discusses also the disputed status of Mary Magdalene.

Of the author of 'the Book of the Bee,' the bishop Shelemon or Solomon, but very little is known. He was a native of Khilat or Akhlat (in Armenia, at the western end of lake Van), and by religious profession a Nestorian. He became metropolitan bishop of al-Basra (in al-Irak, on the right bank of the united streams of the Tigris and Euphrates) about A.D. 1222, in which year he was present at the consecration of the catholicus or Nestorian patriarch Sabr-isho (Hope-in-Jesus; Note: The proper names of the Nestorians strongly resemble those of our Puritans: Jesus-is-risen; Our-Lord-hath-converted; Jesus-hath-answered-me; Blessed-be-His-will; etc.).

The text of 'the Bee,' as contained in this volume, is edited from four Manuscripts, indicated respectively by the letters A, B, C and D.

The Manuscript A2 belongs to the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. It is dated A.Gr. 1880 = A.D. 1569, and p. iv consists of 188 paper leaves, measuring about 8 in. by 5¾. Each page is occupied by one column of writing, generally containing 25 lines. This Manuscript is so stained and damaged by water in parts that some of the writing is illegible. The quires are twenty-one in number and, excepting the last two, are signed with letters. Leaves are wanting after folios 6, 21,49, 125, 166 and 172; and in several pages there are lacunae of one, two and more lines. The volume is written in a good Nestorian hand, with numerous vowel-points. Originally it was the property of the priest Warda, son of the deacon Moses, who was prior of the convent of Mar Ezekiel. Later on, it belonged to one Mar John of Enzelli (near Resht, on the south shore of the Caspian Sea). In the year A.Gr. 1916 = A.D. 1605 it was bound by a person whose name has been erased. The Book of the Bee occupies foll. 26 a to 92 b, and the colophon runs: 'By the help of our Lord and our God, this Book of the Bee was completed on the 16th day of the month of Tammuz, on the Saturday that ushers in the Sunday which is called Nusardel1, in the year 1880 of the blessed Greeks, by the hands of the sinful servant the faulty Elias. Amen.' The Manuscript B is on paper, and is numbered Add. 25,875 in the British Museum. See Wright's Catal., p. 1064, no. 922, ff. 81 b-158 a. It is written with numerous vowel-points, etc., and is dated A. Gr. 2020 = A.D. 1709.)

BOOK OF THE BEE PART 1

The Book Of The Bee

Trusting in the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, we begin to write this book of gleanings called 'The Bee,' which was composed by the saint of God, Mar Solomon, metropolitan of Perath-Maishan, that is Bassorah (al-Basrah), one of His companions. O Lord, in Thy mercy help me. Amen.

First, The Apology.

'The children ought not to lay up treasures for the parents, but the parents for the spiritual children,' saith the blessed Paul; therefore we are bound to repay thee the debt of love, O beloved brother and staff of our old age, saint of God, Mar Narses, bishop of Khoni-Shabor Beth-Wazik. We remember thy solicitude for us, and thy zeal for our service, which thou didst fulfil with fervent love and Christ-like humility. And when we had loving meetings with each other from time to time, thou wert wont to ask questions and to make enquiries about the various things which God hath wrought in His dispensation in this material world, and also as to the things that He is about to do in the world of light. But since we were afflicted with the Mosaic defect of hesitancy of speech, we were unable to inform thee fully concerning the profitable matters about which, as was right, thou didst enquire; and for this reason we were prevented from profitable discourse upon the holy Books. Since, then, God has willed and ruled our separation from each other, and the sign of old age, which is the messenger of death, hath appeared in us, and we have grown old and come into years, it has seemed good to us, with the reed for a tongue and with ink for lips, to inform thee briefly concerning God's dispensation in the two worlds. And, behold, we have gleaned and collected and gathered together chapters and sections relating to this whole universe from the garden of the divine Books and from the crumbs of the Fathers and the Doctors, having laid down as the foundation of our building the beginning of the creation of this world, and concluding with the consummation of the world to come. We have called this book the 'Book of the Bee,' because we have gathered of the blossoms of the two Testaments and of the flowers of the holy Books, and have placed them therein for thy benefit. As the common bee with gauzy wings flies about, and flutters over and lights upon flowers of various colours, and upon blossoms of divers odours, selecting and gathering from all of them the materials which are useful for the construction of her handiwork; and having first of all collected the materials from the flowers, carries them upon her thighs, and bringing them to her dwelling, lays a foundation for her building with a base of wax; then gathering in her mouth some of the heavenly dew which is upon the blossoms of spring, brings it and blows it into these cells; and weaves the comb and honey for the use of men and her own nourishment: in like manner have we, the infirm, hewn the stones of corporeal words from the rocks of the Scriptures which are in the Old Testament, and have laid them down as a foundation for the edifice of the spiritual law. And as the bee carries the waxen substance upon her thighs because of its insipidity and tastelessness, and brings the honey in her mouth because of its sweetness and value; so also have we laid down the corporeal law by way of substratum and foundation, and the spiritual law for a roof and ceiling to the edifice of the spiritual tower. And as the expert gardener and orchard-keeper goes round among the gardens, and seeking out the finest sorts of fruits takes from them slips and shoots, and plants them in his own field; so also have we gone into the garden of the divine Books, and have culled therefrom branches and shoots, and have planted them in the ground of this book for thy consolation and benefit. When thou, O brother, art recreating thyself among these plants, those which appear and which thou dost consider to be insipid and tasteless, leave for thy companions, for they may be more suitable to others (than to thee); but, upon those which are sweet, and which sweeten the palate of thy understanding, do thou feed and satisfy thy hunger. If, however, owing to their fewness, they do not fill thee, seek in succession for their roots, and from thence shall thy want be satisfied. Know also, O brother, that where there is true love, there is no fear; and where there is freedom of speech, there is no dread; and we should not dare to be so rash as to enter upon these subjects, which are beyond the capacity of our simple understanding, unless we relied upon thy immaculate love; because, in the words of one of the inspired, 'When thou findest honey, eat (only) so much as is sufficient for thee, lest, when thou art sated, thou vomit it'; that is to say, do not enquire (too closely) into the divine words.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 1

Of God's Eternal Intention In Respect Of The Creation Of The Universe.

It is well for us to take the materials for our discourse from the divine Scriptures, that we may not stray from the straight paths of the way of truth. The blessed David saith, 'Lord, thou hast been our dwelling-place in all generations, before the mountains were conceived.' David, the harpist of the Spirit, makes known thereby, that although there was a beginning of the framing of Adam and the other creatures when they were made, yet in the mind of God it had no beginning; that it might not be thought that God has a new thought in respect of anything that is renewed day by day, or that the construction of Creation was newly planned in the mind of God: but everything that He has created and is about to create, even the marvellous construction of the world to come, has been planned from everlasting in the immutable mind of God. As the natural child in the womb of his mother knows not her who bears him, nor is conscious of his father, who, after God, is the cause of his formation; so also Adam, being in the mind of the Creator, knew Him not. And when he was created, and recognised himself as being created, he remained with this knowledge six hours only, and there came over him a change, from knowledge to ignorance and from good to evil. Hence, when Divine Providence wished to create the world, the framing of Adam was first designed and conceived in the mind of God, and then that of the (other) creatures; as David saith, 'Before the mountains were conceived.' Consequently, Adam is older than the (other) creatures in respect of his conception, and the (other) creatures are older than Adam in respect of their birth and their being made. And whereas God created all creatures in silence and by a word, He brought forth Adam out of His thoughts, and formed him with His holy hands, and breathed the breath of life into him from His Spirit, and Adam became a living soul, and God gave him the knowledge of the difference between good and evil. When he perceived his Creator, then was God formed and conceived within the mind of man; and man became a temple to God his maker, as it is written, 'Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?' And again, 'I will dwell in them, and walk in them.'

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 2

Of The Creation Of The Seven Natures (Substances) In Silence.

When God in His mercy wished to make known all His power and His wisdom, in the beginning, on the evening of the first day, which is Sunday, He created seven natures (substances) in silence, without voice. And because there was as yet none to hear a sound, He did well to create them in silence, that He might not make anything uselessly; but He willed, and heaven, earth, water, air, fire, and the angels and darkness, came into being from nothing.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 3

Of Earth, Water, Air, And Fire.

The earth was toh we-boh, that is to say, it was unarranged and unadorned, but plunged in the midst of the waters. The waters were above it, and above the waters was air, and above the air was fire. The earth is by nature cold and dry. Dry land appeared on the third day, when the trees and plants were created; and the waters were separated therefrom on the second day, when the firmament was made from them. Water is by nature cold and moist. As touching the 'Spirit which was brooding upon the face of the waters,' some men have ignorantly imagined it to have been the Holy Spirit, while others have more correctly thought it to have been this air (of ours). Air is by nature hot and moist. Fire was operating in the upper ether, above the atmosphere; it possessed heat only, and was without luminosity until the fourth day, when the luminaries were created: we shall mention it in the chapter on the luminaries (chap. x). Fire is by nature hot and dry.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 4

Of Heaven.

Heaven is like a roof to the material world, and will serve as the floor of the new world. It is by nature shining and glorious, and is the dwelling-place of the invisible hosts. When God spread out this firmament, He brought up above it a third part of the waters, and above these is the heaven of light and of the luminaries. Hence people say 'the heaven, and the heaven of heavens'; for we call both the firmament and the waters which are above it 'heaven.' Some consider that the verse 'Let the waters which are above the heavens praise the name of the Lord' refers to the holy angels and to our Lord's humanity; but neither the Church nor the orthodox teachers accept this.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 5

Of The Angels.

The Angels consist of nine classes and three orders, upper, middle and lower. The upper order is composed of Cherubim, Seraphim, and Thrones: these are called 'priests' (kumre), and 'chief priests,' and 'bearers of God's throne.' The middle order is composed of Lords, Powers and Rulers: these are called 'priests' (kahne), because they receive revelations from those above them. The lower order consists of Principalities, Archangels and Angels: and these are the ministers who wait upon created things. The Cherubim are an intellectual motion which bears the throne of the holy Trinity, and is the chief of all motions; they are ever watchful of the classes of themselves and those beneath them. As concerning the epithet 'full of eyes,' which is applied to them, the eyes indicate the mystery of the revelations of the Trinity. Their head, and the foremost and highest among them, is Gabriel, who is the mediator between God and His creation. The Seraphim are a fiery motion, which warms those below it with the fire of the divine love. The six wings which each of them is said to possess indicate the revelations which they receive from the Creator and transmit to mankind. The Thrones are a fixed motion, which is not shaken by the trials which come upon it. The Lords are a motion which is entrusted with the government of the motions beneath it; and it is that which prevents the demons from injuring created things. The Powers are a mighty motion, the minister of the will of the Lord; and it is that which gives victory to some rulers in battle and defeat to others. The Rulers are a motion which has power over the

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spiritual treasures, to distribute them to its companions according to the will of the Creator. This class of angels governs the luminaries, the sun, moon, and stars. The Principalities are a defined motion which possesses the direction of the upper ether, of rain, clouds, lightning, thunder, whirlwinds, tempests, winds, and other ethereal disturbances. The Archangels are a swift operative motion, into whose hands is entrusted the government of the wild beasts, cattle, winged fowl, reptiles, and everything that hath life, from the gnat to the elephant, except man. The Angels are a motion which has spiritual knowledge of everything that is on earth and in heaven. With each and every one of us is an angel of this group--called the guardian angel--who directs man from his conception until the general resurrection. The number of each one of these classes of angels is equal to the number of all mankind from Adam to the resurrection. Hence it is handed down that the number of people who are going to enter the world is equal to the number of all the heavenly hosts; but some say that the number is equal to that of one of the classes only, that they may fill the place of those of them who have fallen through transgressing the law; because the demons fell from three classes (of angels), from each class a third part. If then it is an acknowledged fact that there are three orders of angels, and in each order there are three classes, and in every class a number equivalent to that of all mankind, what is the total number of the angels? Some say that when the angels were created, and were arranged in six divisions--Cherubim, Seraphim, Thrones, Principalities, Archangels, and Angels--the three lower divisions reflected (saying), 'What is the reason that these are set above, and we below? for they have not previously done anything more than we, neither do we fall short of them.' On account of this reflection as a cause, according to the custom of the (divine) government, Justice took from both sides, and established three other middle classes of angels--Lords, Powers, and Rulers--that the upper might not be (unduly) exalted, nor the lower think themselves wronged. As for the dwelling-place of the angels, some say that above the firmament there are waters, and above them another heaven in the form of infinite light, and that this is the home of the angels. Here too is God without limit, and the angels, invisible to bodily eyes, surround the throne of His majesty, where they minister to 'the tabernacle not made with hands.' Others say that, from the beginning, when God created the angels, until the second day, in which the firmament was made, all the classes of angels dwelt in the upper heavens; but when the firmament was made, they all came down below it, with the exception of three classes--the Cherubim, Seraphim, and Thrones--who remained above it. These surrounded and supported the Shechinah of God from the beginning of the world until our Lord ascended unto heaven; and after the Ascension, behold, they surround and support the throne of the Christ God, who is over all, until the end of the world. The Expositor and his companions say: 'The tabernacle which Moses made is a type of the whole world.' The outer tabernacle is the likeness of this world, but the inner tabernacle is the similitude of the place that is above the firmament. And as the priests ministered in the outer tabernacle daily, while the high priest alone entered into the inner tabernacle once a year; so of all rational beings, angels and men, no one has entered (the place) above the firmament, save the High Priest of our confession, Jesus Christ. The fathers, when they have been deemed worthy at any time to see our Lord in a revelation, have seen Him in heaven, surrounded by the Cherubim and Seraphim. Hence some say that there are angels above the heavens. All these celestial hosts have revelations both of sight and of hearing; but the Cherubim have revelations by sight only, because there is no mediator between them and God. The angels have an intellect superior to that of the rest of rational beings; man has stronger desire, and the demons a greater degree of anger.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 6

Of Darkness.

Darkness is a self-existent nature; and if it had not had a nature, it would not have been reckoned among the seven natures which were created in the beginning in silence. Others say that darkness is not a self-existent nature, but that it is the shadow of bodies.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 7

Of Effused (Circumambient) Light.

When the holy angels were created on the evening of the first day, without voice, they understood not their creation, but thought within themselves that they were self-existent beings and not made. On the morning of the first day God said in an audible and commanding voice, 'Let there be light,' and immediately the effused light was created. When the angels saw the creation of light, they knew of a certainty that He who had made light had created them. And they shouted with a loud voice, and praised Him, and marvelled at His creation of light, as the blessed teacher saith, 'When the Creator made that light, the angels marvelled thereat,' etc.; and as it is said in Job, 'When I created the morning star, all my angels praised me.' Now by nature light has no warmth.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 8

Of The Firmament.

On the evening of the second day of the week, God willed to divide the heavens from the earth, that there might be luminaries and stars beneath the heavens to give light to this world, and that the heavens might be a dwelling-place for the righteous and the angels after the resurrection. God said, 'Let there be a firmament which shall divide the waters from the waters'; and straightway the waters were divided into three parts. One part remained upon the earth for the use of men, cattle, winged fowl--the rivers and the seas; of another part God made the firmament; and the third part He took up above the firmament. But on the day of resurrection the waters will return to their former nature.

CHAPTER 9

Of The Creation Of Trees And Plants, And The Making Of Seas And Rivers.

On the third day God commanded that the waters should be gathered together into the pits and depths of the earth, and that the dry land should appear. When the waters were gathered together into the depths of the earth, and the mountains and hills had appeared, God placed the sand as a limit for the waters of the seas, that they might not pass over and cover the earth. And God commanded the earth to put forth herbage and grass and every green thing; and the earth brought forth trees and herbs and plants of all kinds, complete and perfect in respect of flowers and fruit and seed, each according to its kind. Some say that before the transgression of the command, the earth brought forth neither thorns nor briars, and that even the rose had no thorns as it has now; but that after the transgression of the command, the earth put forth thorns and briars by reason of the curse which it had received. The reason why God created the trees and plants before the creation of the luminaries was that the philosophers, who discourse on natural phenomena, might not imagine that the earth brought forth herbs and trees through the power of the heat of the sun. Concerning the making of Paradise, it is not mentioned in the Pentateuch on what day it was created; but according to the opinion of those who may be relied upon, it was made on the same day in which the trees were made: and if the Lord will, we will speak about it in its proper place.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 10

Of The Making Of The Luminaries.

On the fourth day God made the luminaries--sun, moon, and stars--of three substances, air, light, and fire. He took aerial material and prepared vessels like lamps, and mixed fire with light, and filled them. And because in the nature of fire there was no light, nor heat in that of light, the fire imparted heat to the light, and the light gave luminosity to the fire; and from these two were the luminaries--sun, moon, and stars--fabricated. Some say that the luminaries were made in the morning, that the sun was placed in the east, and the moon in the west; while others say that they were made in the evening, and that the sun was placed in the west, and the moon in the east; and therefore the Jews celebrate the fourteenth in the evening. Others say that all the luminaries when they were created were placed in the east; the sun completed his course by day, while the moon waited until eventide, and then began her course. The path of the luminaries is beneath the firmament, and they are not fixed as men have foolishly stated, but the angels guide them. Mar Isaac says, 'The sun performs his course from the east to the west, and goes behind the lofty northern mountains the whole night until he rises in the east.' And the philosophers say that during the night the luminaries perform their course under the earth.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 11

Of The Creation Of Sea-Monsters, Fish, Winged Fowl, And The Reptiles That Are In The Seas.

On the fifth day of the week God made from the waters mighty sea-monsters, fish, winged fowl, swimming beasts, and the reptiles that are in the seas. He created the winged fowl that are in the waters from the waters; for, like fish, they lay eggs and swim. Now, fish swim in the waters, and winged fowl in the air; but some of the latter in the waters also. Although they say that swimming creatures were made from the waters, or that the other wild beasts and cattle were made from the earth; still they consist of parts of all the other elements. Those, however, that are of the waters, have the greater part of their composition made of water; while the greater part of those whose origin is earth, consists of earth: but none of them lack the four elements.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 12

Of The Creation Of Beasts And Animals.

On Friday eve God created them, and therefore animals can see at night as well as in the day time. Others say that they were all created in the morning, and that God created Adam after them on the sixth day, which is Friday.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 13

Of The Formation Of Adam.

On the Friday, after the making of all created things, God said, 'Come, let us make man in our image and in our likeness.' The Jews have interpreted the expression 'Come, let us make,' as referring to the angels; though God (adored be His glory!) needs not help from His creatures: but the expositors of the Church indicate the Persons of the adorable Trinity. Some say that when God said 'Come, let us make man in our image and in our likeness,' the angels by the eye of the Spirit saw the right hand (of God) spread out over the whole world, and there were in it parts of all the creatures both spiritual and corporeal. And God took from an these parts, and fashioned Adam with His holy hands, and breathed into him the breath of life, and man became a living soul. Others say that God took earth from the four quarters of the world, and formed Adam outside paradise; while others say that God fashioned him in the middle of the earth, on the spot where our Lord was crucified, and that there also was Adam's skull laid. After God had formed Adam outside Paradise, He brought him in as a king, and made him king over all the creatures, and commanded him to give a name to each of them. God did not gather together unto Adam all cattle, nor (all) that swim in the sea, nor (all) the birds of the air, that he might give them names; but he received dominion and power over them to make use of them as he pleased, and to give them names, as a master to his slaves. And when God had brought him into Paradise, He commanded him to till it and to guard it. Why did God say 'to till it and to guard it'?--for Paradise needed no guarding, and was adorned with fruit of all kinds, and there was none to injure it--unless it were to exhort him to keep His commandments, and to till it that he might not become a lover of idleness. Because Adam had not seen his own formation, and was not acquainted with the power of his Maker, it was necessary that, when Eve was taken from him in his own likeness, he should perceive his Maker, and should acknowledge that He who made Eve also made him, and that they two were bound to be obedient to Him.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 14

Of The Making Of Eve.

God said, 'Let us make a helper for Adam.' And He threw upon Adam a sleep and stupor, and took one of his ribs from his left side, and put flesh in its place, and of it He formed Eve. He did not make her of earth, that she might not be considered something alien to him in nature; and He did not take her from Adam's fore-parts, that she might not uplift herself against him; nor from his hind-parts, that she might not be accounted despicable; nor from his right side, that she might not have pre-eminence over him; nor from his head, that she might not seek authority over him; nor from his feet, that she might not be trodden down and scorned in the eyes of her husband: but (He took her) from his left side, for the side is the place which unites and joins both front and back.--Concerning the sleep which God cast upon Adam, He made him to be half asleep and half awake, that he might not feel pain when the rib was taken from him, and look upon the woman as a hateful thing; and yet not without pain, that he might not think that she was not meet for him in matters of nature. When Adam came to himself, he prophesied and said, 'This is bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh; this shall be called woman': and they were both clothed in light, and saw not each other's nakedness.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 15

Of Paradise.

In the eastern part of the earth, on the mountain of Eden, beyond the ocean, God planted Paradise, and adorned it with fruit-bearing trees of all kinds, that it might be a dwelling-place for Adam and his progeny, if they should keep His commandments. He made to spring forth from it a great river, which was parted into four heads, to water Paradise and the whole earth. The first river is Pishon, which compasseth the land of Havila, where there is gold and beryls and fair and precious stones. The second river is Gihon, that is, the Nile of Egypt. The third river is Deklath (the Tigris), which travels through the land of Assyria and Beth-Zabdai. The fourth river is Perath (the Euphrates), which flows through the middle of the earth. Some teachers say that Paradise surrounds the whole earth like a wall and a hedge beyond the ocean. Others say that it was placed upon the mount of Eden, higher than every other mountain in the world by fifteen cubits. Others say that it was placed between heaven and earth, below the firmament and above this earth, and that God placed it there as a boundary for Adam between heaven and earth, so that, if he kept His commands, He might lift him up to heaven, but if he transgressed them, He might cast him down to this earth. And as the land of heaven is better and more excellent than the land of Paradise, so was the land of Paradise better and more glorious and more excellent (than our earth); its trees were more beautiful, its flowers more odoriferous, and its atmosphere more pure than ours, through superiority of species and not by nature. God made Paradise large enough to be the dwelling-place of Adam and

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of his posterity, provided that they kept the divine commandments. Now it is the dwelling-place of the souls of the righteous, and its keepers are Enoch and Elijah; Elijah the unwedded, and Enoch the married man: that the unwedded may not exalt themselves above the married, as if, forsooth, Paradise were suitable for the unwedded only. The souls of sinners are without Paradise, in a deep place called Eden. After the resurrection, the souls of the righteous and the sinners will put on their bodies. The righteous will enter into heaven, which will become the land of the righteous; while the sinners will remain upon earth. The tree of good and evil that was in Paradise did not by nature possess these properties of good and evil like rational beings, but only through the deed which was wrought by its means; like the 'well of contention,' and the 'heap of witness,' which did not possess these properties naturally, but only through the deeds which were wrought by their means. Adam and Eve were not stripped of the glory with which they were clothed, nor did they die the death of sin, because they desired and ate of the fruit of the fig-tree--for the fruit of the fig-tree was not better than the fruit of any other tree--but because of the transgression of the law, in that they were presumptuous and wished to become gods. On account of this foolish and wicked and blasphemous intention, chastisement and penalty overtook them.--Concerning the tree of life which was planted in the middle of Paradise, some have said that Paradise is the mind, that the tree of good and evil is the knowledge of material things, and that the tree of life is the knowledge of divine things, which were not profitable to the simple understanding of Adam. Others have said that the tree of life is the kingdom of heaven and the joy of the world to come; and others that the tree of life was a tree in very truth, which was set in the middle of Paradise, but no man has ever found out what its fruit or its flowers or its nature was like.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 16

Of The Sin Of Adam.

When God in His goodness had made Adam, He laid down a law for him, and commanded him not to eat of the tree of good and evil, which is the fig-tree. After Eve was created, Adam told her the story of the tree; and Satan heard it, and by his envy it became the occasion and cause of their being made to sin, and being expelled from Paradise, for it was by reason of him that Adam fell from the height of his glory. Some say that Satan heard when God commanded Adam not to eat of that tree. Others say that God commanded Adam in his mind, mentally (and not by sense); others again say, by sense and openly. And Satan saw that the serpent was more subtle than all four-footed beasts; and he played in him, as it were with pipes, in the hearing of Eve, like an instrument, and said to her, 'Ye shall not die, as God hath said to you, but ye shall be gods like God, knowers of good and evil.' Then Eve saw that the appearance of the fig-tree was beautiful, and that its smell was delightful; and she desired to eat of it and to become a goddess. So she stretched out her hand, and plucked, and ate, and gave also to her husband, and he likewise did eat. And they were stripped of the fair glory and glorious light of purity wherewith they were clothed, when they saw not each other's nakedness. And their eyes were opened, and they saw their nakedness; and they took leaves of the fig-tree, and covered their nakedness for shame, and hid themselves beneath thick trees. Then God called Adam and said to him, 'Where art thou, Adam?'--not that He did not know where he was, but in a chiding manner--and Adam said, 'Lord, I heard Thy voice, and I hid myself because I am naked.' God said, 'Whence knowest thou that thou art naked? peradventure hast thou transgressed the law and command which I laid down for thee, and hast eaten of the tree of which I commanded thee not to eat?' Adam said, 'The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave to me, and I did eat.' And God questioned Eve in like manner; and Eve said, 'The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat.' And God cursed the serpent, saying, 'Cursed art thou above all beasts upon the earth.' With the cursing of the serpent, who was the tool of Satan, Satan, who had instigated the serpent, was himself cursed; and immediately his legs were destroyed, and he crawled upon his belly, and instead of being an animal became a hissing reptile. And God set enmity between the serpent and man, saying, 'He shall smite the heel of man, but man shall crush his head, and the food of the serpent shall be dust.' God said to Eve, 'In pain shalt thou bring forth children;' and to Adam He said, 'Cursed is the ground for thy sake, and in toil and the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread; for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.' And the earth, by reason of the curse which it had received, straightway brought forth thorns and thistles. And God drove them out from Paradise at the ninth hour of the same day in which they were created.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 17

Of The Expulsion Of Adam And Eve From Paradise.

After God had expelled them from Paradise, like wicked servants driven forth from the inheritance of their master, and had cast them into exile, over the gate at the eastern side of Paradise He set a cherub with a sword and spear to frighten Adam from approaching Paradise. Some say that the cherub was one of the heavenly hosts, of the class of the Cherubim; and others say that he did not belong to the spiritual powers, but was a terrible form endowed with a body. So also the spear point and the sword were made of fire extended like a sharp sword, which went and came round about Paradise to terrify Adam and his wife. And God made for them garments of skin to cover their shame. Some say that they clothed themselves with the skins of animals, which they stripped off; but this is not credible, for all the beasts were created in couples, and Adam and Eve had as yet no knives to kill and flay them; hence it is clear that he means the bark of trees. Only the blessed Moses called the bark of trees 'skins,' because it fills the place of skins to trees. In the land of India there are trees whose bark is used for the clothing of kings and nobles and the wealthy, on account of its beauty. After God had expelled Adam and his wife from Paradise, He withheld from them the fruits of trees, and the use of bread and flesh and wine, and the anointing with oil; but they cooked grain and vegetables and the herbs of the earth, and did eat sparingly. Moreover, the four-footed beasts and fowl and reptiles rebelled against them, and some of them became enemies and adversaries unto them. They remained thus until Noah went forth from the ark, and then God allowed them to eat bread and to drink wine and to eat flesh, after they had slain the animal and poured out its blood. They say that when Adam and Eve were driven out of Paradise, Adam cut off a branch for a staff from the tree of good and evil; and it remained with him, and was handed down from generation to generation unto Moses and even to the Crucifixion of our Lord; and if the Lord will, we will relate its history in its proper place.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 18

Of Adam's Knowing Eve.

When Adam and Eve went forth from Paradise, they were both virgins. After thirty years Adam knew Eve his wife, and she conceived and brought forth Cain together with his sister Kelemath at one birth. And after thirty years Eve conceived and brought forth Abel and Leboda his sister at one birth. And when they arrived at the age for marriage, Adam wished and intended to give Abel's sister to Cain and Cain's sister to Abel; but Cain desired his own sister more than Abel's. Both (i.e. Kelemath and Leboda) were his sisters, but because of their birth at one time I have called them thus. Now Cain's sister was exceedingly beautiful. The two brothers made an offering to God because of this matter. Abel, because he was a shepherd, offered up of the fat firstlings of his flock in great love, with a pure heart and a sincere mind. Cain, because he was a husbandman, made an offering of some of the refuse of the fruits of his husbandry with reluctance. He made an offering of ears of wheat that were smitten by blight; but some say of straw only. And the divine fire came down from heaven and consumed the offering of Abel, and it was accepted; while the offering of Cain was rejected. And Cain was angry with God, and envied his brother; and he persuaded his brother to come out into the plain, and slew him. Some say that he smashed his head with stones, and killed him; and others say that Satan appeared to him in the form of wild beasts that fight with one another and slay each other. At any rate, he killed him, whether this way or that way. Then God said to Cain, 'Where is Abel thy brother?' Cain said, 'Am I forsooth my brother's keeper?' God said, 'Behold, the sound of the cry of thy brother Abel's blood has come unto me;' and God cursed Cain, and made him a wanderer and a fugitive all the days of his life. From the day in which the blood of Abel was shed upon the ground, it did not again receive the blood of any animal until Noah came forth from the ark. Adam and Eve mourned for Abel one hundred years. In the two hundred and thirtieth year, Seth, the beautiful, was born in the likeness of Adam; and Adam and Eve were consoled by him, Cain and his descendants went down and dwelt in the plain, while Adam and his children, that is the sons of Seth, dwelt upon the top of the Mount of Eden, And the sons of Seth went down and saw the beauty of the daughters of Cain, and lay with them; and the earth was corrupted and polluted with lasciviousness; and Adam and Eve heard of it and mourned. Now Adam lived nine hundred and thirty years. Some say that in the days of Seth the knowledge of books went forth in the earth; but the Church does not accept this. When Seth was two hundred and fifty years old, he begat Enos; and Seth lived nine hundred and thirteen years, and he died. Enos was two hundred and ninety years old when he begat Cainan; and Enos first called upon the name of the Lord. Some say that he first composed books upon the course of the stars and the signs of the Zodiac. Enos lived nine hundred and five years. Cainan was a hundred and forty years old when he begat Mahalaleel; and he lived nine hundred and ten years. Mahalaleel was one hundred and sixty-five years old when he begat Jared; and he lived eight hundred and ninety-five years. Jared was one hundred and sixty-two years old when he begat Enoch; and he lived nine hundred and sixty-two years. Enoch was one hundred and sixty-five years old when he begat Methuselah; and when he was three hundred and sixty-five years old, God removed him to the generation of life, that is to Paradise. Methuselah was one hundred and eighty-seven years old when he begat Lamech; and he lived nine hundred and sixty-nine years. Lamech was a hundred and eighty-two years old when he begat Noah; and he lived seven hundred and seventy-seven years.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 19

Of The Invention Of The Instruments For Working In Iron.

SOME say that Cainan and Tubal-cain, who were of the family of Cain, were the first who invented the three tools of the art of working in iron, the anvil, hammer and tongs. The art of working in iron is the mother and begetter of all arts; as the head is to the body, so is it to all other crafts. And as all the limbs of the body cease to perform their functions if the head is taken away from it, so also all other arts would cease if the art of working in iron were to come to an end. In the days of Tubal and Tubal-cain, the sons of Lamech the blind, Satan entered and dwelt in them, and they constructed all kinds of musical instruments, harps and pipes. Some say that spirits used to go into the reeds and disturb them, and that the sound from them was like the sound of singing and pipes; and men constructed all kinds of musical instruments. Now this blind Lamech was a hunter, and could shoot straight with a bow; his son used to take him by the hand, and guide him to places where there was game, and when he heard the movement of an animal, he shot an arrow at it, and brought it down. One day, when shooting an arrow at an animal, he smote Cain the murderer, the son of Adam, and slew him.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 20

Of Noah And The Flood.

When Noah was five hundred years old, he took a wife from the daughters of Seth; and there were born to him three sons, Shem, Ham and Japhet. And God saw Noah's uprightness and integrity, while all men were corrupted and polluted by lasciviousness; and He determined to remove the human race from this broad earth, and made this known to the blessed Noah, and commanded him to make an ark for the saving of himself, his sons, and the rest of the animals. Noah constructed this ark during the space of one hundred years, and he made it in three stories, all with boards and projecting ledges. Each board was a cubit long and a span broad. The length of the ark was three hundred cubits, its width fifty cubits, and its height thirty cubits. Noah made it of box wood, though some say of teak wood; and he pitched it within and without. At the end of the six hundredth year, God commanded Noah, with his wife, his sons and his daughters-in-law--eight souls--to go into the ark, and to take in with him seven couples of every clean animal and fowl, and one couple of every unclean animal, a male and a female. And he took bread and water in with him according to his need: not an abundant supply, lest they might be annoyed by the smell of the faeces, but they got food just sufficient to preserve their lives. God forewarned the blessed Noah of what he was about to do seven days beforehand, in case the people might remember their sins and offer the sacrifice of repentance. But those rebels mocked at him scoffingly, and thrust out their unclean lips at the sound of the saw and the adze. After seven days God commanded Noah to shut the door of the ark, and to plaster it over with bitumen. And the fountains of the deeps were broken up from beneath, and a torrent of rain (fell) from above, for forty days and forty nights, without cessation, until the waters rose fifteen cubits above the highest mountains in the world. And the waters bore up the ark, which travelled over them from east to west and from north to south, and so inscribed the figure of the cross upon the world; and it passed over the ocean, and came to this broad earth. So the rain was stayed, and the winds blew, and the waters remained upon the earth without diminishing one hundred and fifty days, besides those forty days; which, from the time that Noah entered the ark and the flood began until the waters began to diminish, make in all one hundred and ninety days, which are six months and ten days--even until the twentieth day of the latter Teshri. The waters began to diminish from the latter Teshri to the tenth month, on the first day of which the tops of the mountains appeared, but until the time when the earth was dry, and the dove found rest for the sole of her foot, was one hundred days. The ark rested upon the top of mount Kardo. In the tenth month, which is Shebat, Noah opened the door of the ark, and sent a raven to bring him news of the earth. And it went and found dead bodies, and it alighted upon them and returned not. For this reason people have made a proverb about Noah's raven. Again he sent forth a dove, but it found not a place whereon to alight, and returned to the ark. After seven days he sent forth another dove, and it returned to him in the evening carrying an olive leaf in its bill; and Noah knew that the waters had subsided. Noah remained in the ark a full year, and he came forth from it and offered up an offering of clean animals; and God accepted his offering and promised him that He would never again bring a flood upon the face of the earth, nor again destroy beasts and men by a flood; and He gave him (as) a token the bow in the clouds, and from that day the bow has appeared in the clouds; and He commanded him to slay

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and eat the flesh of beasts and birds after he had poured out their blood. The number of people who came forth from the ark was eight souls, and they built the town of Themanon after the name of the eight souls, and it is to-day the seat of a bishopric in the province of Suba. Noah planted a vineyard, and drank of its wine; and one day when he slumbered, and was sunk in the deep sleep of drunkenness, his nakedness was uncovered within his tent. When Ham his son saw him, he laughed at him and despised him, and told his brethren Shem and Japhet. But Shem and Japhet took a cloak upon their shoulders, and walked backwards with their faces turned away, and threw the cloak over their father and covered him, and then they looked upon him. When Noah awoke and knew what had been done to him by the two sets of his sons, he cursed Canaan the son of Ham and said, 'Thou shalt be a servant to thy brethren;' but he blessed Shem and Japhet. The reason why he cursed Canaan, who was not as yet born nor had sinned, was because Ham had been saved with him in the ark from the waters of the flood, and had with his father received the divine blessing; and also because the arts of sin--I mean music and dancing and all other hateful things--were about to be revived by his posterity, for the art of music proceeded from the seed of Canaan. After the flood a son was born to Noah, and he called his name Jonaton; and he provided him with gifts and sent him to the fire of the sun, to the east. Noah lived after the flood three hundred and fifty years; the sum of his years was nine hundred and fifty years; and he saw eighteen generations and families before and after it. He died on the fourth day of the week, on the second of Nisan, at the second hour of the day; his son Shem embalmed him, and his sons buried him, and mourned over him forty days.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 21

Of Melchisedek.

Neither the father nor mother of this Melchisedek* were written down in the genealogies; not that he had no natural parents, but that they were not written down. The greater number of the doctors say that he was of the seed of Canaan, whom Noah cursed. In the book of Chronography, however, (the author) affirms and says that he was of the seed of Shem the son of Noah. Shem begat Arphaxar, Arphaxar begat Cainan, and Cainan begat Shalah and Malah, Shalah was written down in the genealogies; but Malah was not, because his affairs were not sufficiently important to be written down in the genealogies. When Noah died, he commanded Shem concerning the bones of Adam, for they were with them in the ark, and were removed from the land of Eden to this earth. Then Shem entered the ark, and sealed it with his father's seal, and said to his brethren, 'My father commanded me to go and see the sources of the rivers and the seas and the structure of the earth, and to return.' And he said to Malah the father of Melchisedek, and to Yozadak his mother, 'Give me your son that he may be with me, and behold, my wife and my children are with you.' Melchisedek's parents said to him, 'My lord, take thy servant; and may the angel of peace be with thee, and protect thee from wild beasts and desolation of the earth.' Shem went by night into the ark, and took Adam's coffin; and he sealed up the ark, saying to his brethren, 'My father commanded me that no one should go into it.' And he journeyed by night with the angel before him, and Melchisedek with him, until they came and stood upon the spot where our Lord was crucified. When they had laid the coffin down there, the earth was rent in the form of a cross, and swallowed up the coffin, and was again sealed up and returned to its former condition. Shem laid his hand upon Melchisedek's head, and blessed him, and delivered to him the priesthood, and commanded him to dwell there until the end of his life. And he said to him, 'Thou shalt not drink wine nor any intoxicating liquor, neither shall a razor pass over thy head; thou shalt not offer up to God an offering of beasts, but only fine flour and olive oil and wine; thou shalt not build a house for thyself; and may the God of thy fathers be with thee.' And Shem returned to his brethren, and Melchisedek's parents said to him, 'Where is our son?' Shem said, 'He died while he was with me on the way, and I buried him;' and they mourned for him a month of days; but Melchisedek dwelt in that place until he died. When he was old, the kings of the earth heard his fame, and eleven of them gathered together and came to see him; and they entreated him to go with them, but he would not be persuaded. And when he did not conform to their wishes, they built a city for him there, and he called it Jerusalem; and the kings said to one another, 'This is the king of all the earth, and the father of nations.' When Abraham came back from the battle of the kings and the nations, he passed by the mount of Jerusalem; and Melchisedek came forth to meet him, and Abraham made obeisance to Melchisedek, and gave him tithes of all that he had with him. And Melchisedek embraced him and blessed him, and gave him bread and wine from that which he was wont to offer up as an offering.

(*Footnote: 'And Melchisedek was honoured by them all, and was called "Father of Kings." Because of that which the Apostle spake, "His days had no beginning, and his life no end," simple folk have imagined that he was not a man at all, and in their error have said of him that he was God. Far from it, that his days had no beginning and his life no end. For when Shem the son of Noah took him away from his parents, not a word was said how old he was when he went up from the east, nor in how many years his departure from this world took place; because he was the son of Malakh, the son of Arphaxar, the son of Shem, and not the son of one of the patriarchs; for the Apostle has said that no one of his father's family ministered at the altar, and the name of his father is not written down in the genealogies, because Matthew and Luke the Evangelists wrote down the names of the patriarchs only, and hence neither the name of his father nor that of his mother are known. The Apostle then did not say that he had no parents, but only that they were not written down by Matthew and Luke in the genealogies.' Bezold, Die Schatzhöhle, p. 36; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 26 b, col. 1, line 22 to fol. 27 a, col. 1, line 5. In A, on fol. 39 a, a marginal note says: 'Know, O my brother readers, that in the manuscript belonging to the priest Makbal I have seen that Melchisedek's father was called Harkleim, and his mother Shelatheil (Salathiel).')

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 22

Of The Generations Of Noah.

The children of Shem. The people of Shem are twenty and seven families. Elam, from whom sprang the Elamites; Asshur, from whom sprang the Assyrians (Athoraye); Arphaxar, from whom sprang the Persians; and Lud (Lod) and Aram, from whom sprang the Arameans, the Damascenes, and the Harranites. Now the father of all the children of Eber was Arphaxar. Shalah begat Eber (Abar), and to Eber were born two sons; the name of the one of whom was Peleg (Palag), because in his days the earth was divided. From this it is known that the Syriac language remained with Eber, because, when the languages were confounded and the earth was divided, he was born, and was called Peleg by the Syriac word which existed in his time. After Peleg, Joktan (Yaktan) was born, from whom sprang the thirteen nations who dwelt beside one another and kept the Syriac language. And their dwelling was from Menashshe (or Mansha) of mount Sepharvaïm, by the side of the land of Canaan, and towards the east, beginning at Aram and Damascus, and coming to Baishan [Maishan ?] and Elam, and their border (was) Assyria, and the east, and Persia to the south, and the Great Sea. Now the Hebrew has Maishan instead of Menashshe (or Mansha), in the verse, 'The children of Joktan dwelt from Maishan to Sepharvaïm.'

The children of Ham. The people of Ham are thirty and six families, besides the Philistines and Cappadocians. Cush, from whom sprang the Cushites; Misraim, from whom sprang the Misraye (or Egyptians); Phut (or Pot), from whom sprang the Potaye; Canaan, from whom sprang the Canaanites; the seven kings whom Joshua the son of Nun destroyed; the children of Obar, Sheba and Havila, from whom sprang the Indians, the Amorites, the Samraye, the Metraye, and all the dwellers of the south. And of Cush was born Nimrod, who was the first king after the flood. The beginning of his kingdom was Babel (Babylon), which he built, and in which he reigned; and then, after the division of tongues, he built the following cities: Arach (Erech), which is Orhai (Edessa), Achar (Accad), which is Nisibis, and Calya (Calneh), which is Ctesiphon. The land of Babel he called the land of Shinar, because in it were the languages confounded, for 'Shinar' in the Hebrew language is interpreted 'division.' From that land the Assyrian went forth and built Nineveh and the town of Rehoboth, which is the town of Arbel (Irbil). It is said that Belus, the son of Nimrod, was the first to depart from Babel and to come to Assyria; and after Belus, his son Ninus built Nineveh, and called it after his name, and Arbel and Calah, which is Hetre (Hatra), and Resen, which is Resh-aina (Rasain). Misraim begat Ludim, from whom sprang the Lodaye; Labim, from whom sprang the Lubaye; Lahbim, from whom sprang the Tebtaye; Yaphtuhim, Pathrusim, and Casluhim, from whom went forth the Philistines, the Gedraye (Gadarenes), and the people of Sodom. Canaan begat Sidon his firstborn, from whom sprang the Soraye (Tyrians) and Sidonians, ten nations who dwelt by the side of Israel, from the sea (i.e. the Mediterranean) to the Euphrates; the Kishaye, the Kenraye (or Kiraye), and the Akdemonaye (or Kadmonaye), who were between the children of Esau and Amna of Ireth. The children of Lot are children of Ham.

The children of Japhet. The people of Japhet are fifteen families. Gomer, from whom sprang the Geothaye (Gothaye, Goths ?); Magog, from whom sprang the Galatians; Madai, from whom sprang the Medes; Javan, from whom sprang the Yaunaye (Greeks); Tubil (Tubal), from whom sprang the Baithonaye (Bithynians); Meshech, from whom sprang the Musaye (Mysians); Tiras, from whom sprang the Tharnekaye (or Threkaye, Thracians), the Anshklaye (or Asklaye), and the Achshklaye. The children of Gomer: Ashkenaz, from whom sprang the Armenians; Danphar, from whom sprang the Cappadocians; Togarmah, from whom sprang the Asaye (Asians) and the Isauraye (Isaurians). The sons of Javan: Elisha, that is Halles (Hellas); Tarshish, Cilicia, Cyprus, Kathim (Kittim), Doranim, and the Macedonians; and from these they were divided among the islands of the nations. These are the families of the children of Noah, and from them were the nations divided on the earth after the flood; they are seventy and two families, and according to the families, so are the languages.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 23

Of The Succession Of Generations From The Flood Until Now.

Shem was a hundred years old, and begat Arphaxar two years after the flood; the sum of his years was six hundred. Arphaxar was a hundred and thirty-five years old, and begat Kainan. Kainan was a hundred and thirty-nine years old, and begat Shalah: the sum of his years was four hundred and thirty-eight. Shalah was a hundred and thirty years old, and begat Eber; the sum of his years was four hundred and thirty-three. Eber was a hundred and thirty-four years old, and begat Peleg; the sum of his years was four hundred and sixty-four. Peleg was a hundred and thirty years old, and begat Reu; the sum of his years was a hundred and thirty-nine. In the days of Reu the languages were divided into seventy and two; up to this time there was only one language*, which was the parent of them all, namely, Aramean, that is Syriac. Reu was a hundred and thirty-two years old, and begat Serug; the sum of his years was a hundred and thirty-nine. Serug was a hundred and thirty years old, and begat Nahor; the sum of his years was a hundred and thirty years. In the days of Serug men worshipped idols and graven images. Nahor was seventy and nine years old, and begat Terah; the sum of his years was one hundred and forty-eight. In the days of Nahor magic began in the world. And God opened the storehouse of the winds and whirlwinds, and they uprooted the idols and graven images, and they collected them together and buried them under the earth, and they reared over them these mounds that are in the world. This was called 'the Wind Flood.' Terah was seventy years old, and begat Abraham; the sum of his years was one hundred and five years. So it is two thousand two hundred and forty-two years from Adam to the flood; and one thousand and eighty-one years from the flood to the birth of Abraham; and from Adam to Abraham it is three thousand three hundred and thirteen years. And know, my brother readers, that there is a great difference between the computation of Ptolemy and that of the Hebrews and the Samaritans; for the Jews take away one hundred years from the beginning of the years of each (patriarch), and they add them to the end of the years of each of them, that they may disturb the reckoning and lead men astray and falsify the coming of Christ, and may say, 'The Messiah is to come at the end of the world, and in the last times;' and behold, according to their account, He came in the fourth millenium, for so it comes out by their reckoning.

(*Footnote: 'From Adam until that time they all spoke this language, that is to say Syriac, which is Aramean; for this language is the king of all languages. The early writers have erred, in that they say that Hebrew was the primitive language; and here have they mingled ignorant error with their writings. For all the tongues that are in the world are taken from Syriac, and all the languages in books are mixed with it.' Bezold, Die Schatzhöhle, p. 21; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 22 a, col. 1.)

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 24

Of The Building Of The Tower And The Division Of Tongues.

When Reu was born in the days of Peleg, the sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, together with Arphaxar and their children, were gathered together in Shinar. And they took counsel together, saying, 'Come, let us build for ourselves a high tower, the top of which shall be in the heavens, lest a flood come again upon us, and destroy us from off the face of the earth.' And they began to make bricks and to build, until (the tower) was reared a great height from the ground. Then they determined to build seventy-two other towers around it, and to set up a chief over each tower to govern those who were under his authority. God saw the weariness of their oppression and the hardness of their toil, and in His mercy had compassion upon them; for the higher they went, the more severe became their labour, and their pain went on increasing, by reason of the violence of the winds and storms and the heat of the luminaries and the necessity of carrying up everything they needed. And God said, 'Come, let us go down and divide the tongues there.' The expression 'Come, let us,' resembles 'Come, let us make man in our image and in our likeness,' and refers to the persons of the adorable Trinity. While they were tormenting themselves with that vain labour, their language was suddenly confounded so as to become seventy-two languages, and they understood not each other's speech, and were scattered throughout the whole world, and built cities, every man with his fellow who spoke the same language. From Adam to the building of the tower, there was only one language, and that was Syriac. Some have said that it was Hebrew; but the Hebrews were not called by this name

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until after Abraham had crossed the river Euphrates and dwelt in Harran; and from his crossing they were called Hebrews. It was grievous to Peleg that the tongues were confounded (or, that God had confounded the tongues of mankind) in his days, and he died; and his sons Serug and Nahor buried him in the town of Palgin, which he built after his name.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 25

Of Abraham.

Terah the father of Abraham took two wives; the one called Yona, by whom he begat Abraham; the other called Shelmath, by whom he begat Sarah. Mar Theodore says that Sarah was the daughter of Abraham's uncle, and puts the uncle in the place of the father. When Abraham was seventy-five years old, God commanded him to cross the river Euphrates and to dwell in Harran. And he took Sarah his wife and Lot his nephew, and crossed the river Euphrates and dwelt in Harran. In his eighty-sixth year his son Ishmael was born to him of Hagar the Egyptian woman, the handmaid of Sarah, whom Pharaoh the king gave to her when he restored her to Abraham; and God was revealed to him under the oak of Mamre. Abraham was a hundred years old when Isaac, the son of promise, was born to him; and on the eighth day he circumcised himself, his son, and every one born in his house. When God commanded Abraham to offer up Isaac upon the altar, He sent him for sacrifice to the special place where, according to the tradition of those worthy of belief, our Lord was crucified. After the death of Sarah, Abraham took to wife Kentorah (Keturah), the daughter of Yaktan, the king of the Turks. When Isaac was forty years old, Eliezer the Damascene, the servant of Abraham, went down to the town of Arach (Erech), and betrothed Raphka (Rebecca), the daughter of Bethuel the Aramean, to Isaac his lord's son. And Abraham died at the age of one hundred and seventy-five years, and was laid by the side of Sarah his wife in the 'double cave,' which he bought from Ephron the Hittite; When Isaac was sixty years old, there were born unto him twin sons, Jacob and Esau: At that time Arbel was built; some say that the king who built it was called Arbol. In Isaac's sixty-sixth year Jericho was built. Esau begat Reuel; Reuel begat Zerah; Zerah begat Jobab, that is Job.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 26

Of The Temptation Of Job.

There was a man in the land of Uz whose name was Job. And he was a perfect, righteous and God-fearing man; and there were born unto him seven sons and three daughters. The number of his possessions was seven thousand sheep, three thousand camels, five hundred yoke of oxen, five hundred she-asses, and a very large train of servants. This man was the greatest of all the children of the east. His children used to go and make a feast; and the day came that his sons and his daughters were eating and drinking in the house of their eldest brother. There came a messenger to Job and said to him, 'The oxen were drawing the ploughs, and the she-asses were feeding by their side, when robbers fell upon them and carried them off, and the young men were slain by the sword; and I alone have escaped to tell thee.' While he was yet speaking, there came another and said to him, 'The fire of God fell from heaven and consumed the sheep and the shepherds, and burnt them up; and I alone have escaped to tell thee.' While he was yet speaking, there came another and said to him, 'The Chaldeans divided themselves into three bands and fell upon the camels and carried them off, and slew the young men; and I alone have escaped to tell thee.' While he was yet speaking, there came another and said to him, 'Thy sons and thy daughters were eating and drinking in the house of their eldest brother, when there came a mighty wind and beat upon the corners of the house, and it fell upon the young people and they are dead; and I alone have escaped to tell thee.' Then Job stood up and rent his garment, and shaved his head; and he fell upon the ground and prostrated himself, saying, 'Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return: the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord.' In all this did Job sin not, neither did he blaspheme God. And Satan smote Job with a grievous sore from the sole of his foot to his head (lit. brain); and Job took a potsherd to scrape himself with, and sat upon ashes. His wife says to him, 'Dost thou still hold fast by thy integrity? curse God and die.' Job says to her, 'Thou speakest as one of the foolish women speaketh: we have received the good things of God; shall we not receive His evil things?' In all this did Job sin not, neither did he blaspheme God with his lips. Job's three friends heard of this evil which had come upon him, and they came to him, every man from his own land, to comfort him; and their names were these: Eliphaz the Temanite, Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar the Naamathite. When they were come, they lifted up their eyes from afar off, and they did not know him. And they lifted up their voice and wept, and each man rent his garment, and they strewed dust upon their heads towards heaven; and they sat with him upon the ground seven days and seven nights, and none spake a word, for they saw that his blow was very sore. And when he held fast by his God, He blessed him, and gave him seven sons and three daughters; and there were not found in the whole land women more beautiful than Job's daughters, and their names were Jemima, Keren-happuch, and Kezia. And God gave him fourteen thousand sheep, six thousand camels and a thousand yoke of oxen; and Job lived one hundred and forty years after his temptation, and died in peace.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 27

Of The Blessings Of Isaac.

Jacob was seventy-seven years old when his father Isaac blessed him; and he stole the blessings and birthright from his brother Esau, and fled from before his brother to Harran. On the first night Jacob saw a ladder reaching from earth to heaven, with angels ascending and descending, and the Power of God upon the top thereof. And he woke and said, 'This is the house of the Lord.' He took the stone that was under his head, and set it up for an altar; and he vowed a vow to God. Now the ladder was a type of Christ's crucifixion; the angels that were ascending and descending were a type of the angels who announced the glad tidings to the shepherds on the day of our Saviour's birth. The Power of God which was upon the top of the ladder was (a type of) the manifestation of God the Word in pure flesh of the formation of Adam. The place in which the vision appeared was a type of the church; the stone under his head, which he set up for an altar, was a type of the altar; and the oil which he poured out upon it was like the holy oil wherewith they anoint the altar.

And Jacob went to Laban the Aramean, his mother's brother, and served before him as a shepherd for fourteen years. And he took his two daughters to wife; Leah with her handmaid Zilpah, and Rachel with her handmaid Bilhah. Now he loved Rachel more than Leah, because she was the younger and was fair in aspect, while Leah had watery eyes. There were born to Jacob by Leah six sons: Rubil (Reuben), which is interpreted 'Great is God' (now Jacob was eighty-four years old at that time); Simeon, which is interpreted 'the Obedient;' Levi, that is 'the Perfect;' Judah, that is 'Praise;' Issachar, that is 'Hope is near;' and Zebulun, that is 'Gift' or 'Dwelling-place.' Two sons were born to him by Rachel: Joseph, that is 'Addition;' and Benjamin, that is 'Consolation.' By Zilpah two sons were born to him: Gad, that is 'Luck;' and Asher, that is 'Praise.' By Bilhah two sons were born to him: Dan, that is 'Judgement;' and Naphtali, that is 'Heartener;' and one daughter, whose name was Dinah. After twenty years Jacob returned to Isaac; and Isaac lived one hundred and eighty years. Twenty-three years after Jacob went up to his father, Joseph was sold by his brethren to the Midianites for twenty dinars. When Isaac died, Jacob was one hundred and twenty years old.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 28

Of Joseph.

After Jacob's sons had been born to him by Leah, then Joseph and Benjamin were born to him (by Rachel); and he loved Joseph more than all his children, because he was the child of (his) old age, and because of his beauty and purity, and his being left motherless. He made him a garment with long sleeves, and his brethren envied him. And he dreamed dreams twice, and their hatred increased, and they kept anger in their hearts against him. They sold him to the Midianites, who carried him to Egypt, and sold him to Potiphar, the chief of the guards; and Potiphar delivered his house and servants into his hands; but because of the wantonness of Potiphar's wife, he was bound and kept in prison for two years. When the chief cup-bearer and the chief baker dreamed dreams in one night, and Joseph interpreted them, his words actually came to pass. After Joseph had remained in bondage two years, Pharaoh the king of Egypt saw two dreams in one night; and he was troubled and disturbed, and the sorcerers and enchanters and wise men were unable to interpret his dreams. Then one of those who had been imprisoned with Joseph remembered (him), and they told Pharaoh; and Joseph interpreted his dreams, and Pharaoh made him king over Egypt. And Joseph gathered together and collected the corn of the seven prosperous years, and saved it for the seven years of famine. When the household of Jacob lacked bread, Jacob sent his sons to Egypt to buy corn, and they met Joseph, and he recognised them, but they did not know him. After he had tortured them twice by his harsh words, he at last revealed himself to them, and shewed himself to his brethren. And he sent and brought his father Jacob and all his family--seventy-five souls in number, and they came down and dwelt in the land of Egypt two hundred and thirty years. Concerning that which God spake to Abraham, 'Thy seed shall be a sojourner in a strange land four hundred and thirty years;' they were under subjection in their thoughts from the time that God spake to Abraham until they went forth from Egypt. Jacob died in Egypt, and he commanded that he should be buried with his fathers; and they carried him and buried him by the side of his fathers in the land of Palestine. After Joseph died, another king arose, who knew not Joseph, and he oppressed the children of Israel with heavy labour in clay; at that time Moses was born in Egypt. Since many have written the history of the blessed Joseph at great length, and the blessed Mar Ephraim has written his history in twelve discourses, concerning everything which happened to him from his childhood to his death, as well as another discourse upon the carrying up of his bones (to Palestine), we refrain from writing a long account of him, that we may not depart from the plan which we laid down in making this collection.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 29

Of Moses And The Children Of Israel.

After Joseph was dead, and another king had arisen who knew not the Israelitish people, the people increased and became strong in Egypt. And Pharaoh was afraid of them, and laid a burden upon them, and oppressed them with hard work in clay, and demanded a tale of bricks from them without giving them straw. At that time Moses the son of Amram, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi, was born. Levi was forty-six years old when he begat Kohath; Kohath was sixty-three years old when he begat Amram; and Amram was seventy years old when he begat Moses. When Moses was born, Pharaoh the king commanded to throw the new-born children of the Israelites into the river. Moses was beautiful in appearance, and he was called Pantil and Amlakya; and the Egyptians used to call him the Shakwitha of the daughter of Pharaoh. The name of Moses' mother was Yokabar (Jochebed). When the command of the king went forth for the drowning of the infants, she made a little ark covered with pitch, and laid the child in it; and she carried it and placed it in a shallow part of the waters of the river Nile (that is Gihon); and she sat down opposite (that is, at a distance), to see what would be the end of the child. And Shipor, the daughter of Pharaoh, came to bathe in the river--some say that she was called Tharmesis--and she saw the ark and commanded it to be fetched. When she opened it, and saw that the appearance of the child was beautiful and his complexion comely, she said, 'Verily this child is one of the Hebrews' children;' and she took him, and reared him up as her son. She sought a Hebrew nurse, and the mother of the child Moses came, and became a nurse to him; and he was reared in the house of Pharaoh until he was forty years old. One day he saw Pethkom* the Egyptian, one of the servants of Pharaoh, quarrelling with an Israelite and reviling him. Moses looked this way and that way, and saw no man; and zeal entered into him, and he slew the Egyptian and buried him in the sand. Two days after, he saw two Hebrews quarrelling with one another. And he said to them, 'Ye are brethren; why quarrel ye with one another?' And one of them thrust him away from him, saying, 'Dost thou peradventure seek to kill me as thou didst the Egyptian yesterday?' Then Moses feared lest Pharaoh should perceive (this) and slay him; and he fled to Midian, and sat by the well there. Now Reuel the Midianite had seven daughters, who used to come to that well and water their father's flocks; and the shepherds came and drove them away; and Moses arose and delivered them, and watered their flocks. When they went to their father, he said to them, 'Ye have come quickly to-day.' They said to him, 'An Egyptian rescued us from the hands of the shepherds, and watered the flocks also.' He said to them, 'Why did ye not bring him? Go quickly and call him hither to eat bread with us.' When Moses came to the house of Reuel and dwelt with him, Reuel loved him and gave him his daughter Zipporah the Cushite to wife. And he said to him, 'Go into the house, and take a shepherd's crook, and go feed thy flocks.' When Moses went into the house to take the rod, it drew near to him by divine agency; and he took it and went forth to feed his father-in-law's flocks.

(*Footnote: 'And he was in the house of Pharaoh forty years, and then he slew Pethkom the Egyptian, the chief baker of Pharaoh. When this was heard in the house of Pharaoh, after Makri the daughter of Pharaoh--who was called the "Trumpet of Egypt," and who reared up Moses--was dead, he feared,' etc. See Bezold, Die Schatzhöhle, p, 42; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 30 a, col. 2.)

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 30

The History Of Moses' Rod.

When Adam and Eve went forth from Paradise, Adam, as if knowing that he was never to return to his place, cut off a branch from the tree of good and evil--which is the fig-tree--and took it with him and went forth; and it served him as a staff all the days of his life. After the death of Adam, his son Seth took it, for there were no weapons as yet at that time. This rod was passed on from hand to hand unto Noah, and from Noah to Shem; and it was handed down from Shem to Abraham as a blessed thing from the Paradise of God. With this rod Abraham broke the images and graven idols which his father made, and therefore God said to him, 'Get thee out of thy father's house,' etc. It was in his hand in every country as far as Egypt, and from Egypt to Palestine. Afterwards Isaac took it, and (it was handed down) from Isaac to Jacob; with it he fed the flocks of Laban the Aramean in Paddan Aram. After Jacob Judah his fourth son took it; and this is the rod which Judah gave to Tamar his daughter-in-law, with his signet ring and his napkin, as the hire for what he had done. From him (it came) to Pharez. At that time there were wars

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everywhere, and an angel took the rod, and laid it in the Cave of Treasures in the mount of Moab, until Midian was built. There was in Midian a man, upright and righteous before God, whose name was Yathro (Jethro). When he was feeding his flock on the mountain, he found the cave and took the rod by divine agency; and with it he fed his sheep until his old age. When he gave his daughter to Moses, he said to him, 'Go in, my son, take the rod, and go forth to thy flock.' When Moses had set his foot upon the threshold of the door, an angel moved the rod, and it came out of its own free will towards Moses. And Moses took the rod, and it was with him until God spake with him on mount Sinai. When God said to him, 'Cast the rod upon the ground,' he did so, and it became a great serpent; and the Lord said, 'Take it,' and he did so, and it became a rod as at first. This is the rod which God gave him for a help and a deliverance; that it might be a wonder, and that with it he might deliver Israel from the oppression of the Egyptians. By the will of the living God this rod became a serpent in Egypt. By it God spake to Moses; and it swallowed up the rod of Posdi the sorceress of the Egyptians. With it Moses smote the sea of Soph in its length and breadth, and the depths congealed in the heart of the sea. It was in Moses' hands in the wilderness of Ashimon, and with it he smote the stony rock, and the waters flowed forth. Then God gave serpents power over the children of Israel to destroy them, because they had angered Him at the waters of strife. And Moses prayed before the Lord, and God said to him, 'Make thee a brazen serpent, and lift it up with the rod, and let the children of Israel look upon it and be healed.' Moses did as the Lord had commanded him, and he placed the brazen serpent in the sight of all the children of Israel in the wilderness; and they looked upon it and were healed. After all the children of Israel were dead, save Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb the son of Yophanna (Jephunneh), they went into the promised land, and took the rod with them, on account of the wars with the Philistines and Amalekites. And Phineas hid the rod in the desert, in the dust at the gate of Jerusalem, where it remained until our Lord Christ was born. And He, by the will of His divinity, shewed the rod to Joseph the husband of Mary, and it was in his hand when he fled to Egypt with our Lord and Mary, until he returned to Nazareth. From Joseph his son Jacob, who was surnamed the brother of our Lord, took it; and from Jacob Judas Iscariot, who was a thief, stole it. When the Jews crucified our Lord, they lacked wood for the arms of our Lord; and Judas in his wickedness gave them the rod, which became a judgement and a fall unto them, but an uprising unto many. There were born to Moses two sons; the one called Gershom, which is interpreted 'sojourner;' and the other Eliezer, which is interpreted 'God hath helped me.' Fifty-two years after the birth of Moses, Joshua the son of Nun was born in Egypt. When Moses was eighty years old, God spake with him upon mount Sinai. And the cry of the children of Israel went up to God by reason of the severity of the oppression of the Egyptians; and God heard their groaning, and remembered His covenants with the fathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, to whom He promised that in their seed should all nations be blessed. One day when Moses was feeding the flock of Jethro his father-in-law, the priest of Midian, he and the sheep went from the wilderness to mount Horeb, the mount of God; and the angel of the Lord appeared to him in a flame of fire in a bush, but the bush was not burnt. Moses said, 'I will turn aside and see this wonderful thing, how it is that the fire blazes in the bush, but the bush is not burnt.' God saw that he turned aside to look, and He called to him from within the bush, and said, 'Moses, Moses.' Moses said, 'Here am I, Lord.' God said to him, 'Approach not hither, for the place upon which thou standest is holy.' And God said to him, 'I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob;' and Moses covered his face, for he was afraid to look at Him. Some say that when God spake with Moses, Moses stammered through fear. And the Lord said to him, 'I have seen the oppression of My people in Egypt, and have heard the voice of their cry, and I am come down to deliver them from the Egyptians, and to carry them up from that land to the land flowing with milk and honey; come, I will send thee to Egypt.' Moses said, 'Who am I, Lord, that I should go to Pharaoh, and bring out those of the house of Israel from Egypt?' God said to him, 'I will be with thee.' Moses said to the Lord, 'If they shall say unto me, What is the Lord's name? what shall I say unto them?' God said (in Hebrew): AeHøYeH AaSheR AeHøYeH, that is, the Being who is the God of your fathers hath sent me to you. This is My name for ever, and this is My memorial to all generations.' God said to Moses, 'Go, tell Pharaoh everything I say to thee.' Moses said to the Lord, 'My tongue is heavy and stammers; how will Pharaoh accept my word?' God said to Moses, 'Behold, I have made thee a god to Pharaoh, and thy brother Aaron a phophet before thee; speak thou with Aaron, and Aaron shall speak with Pharaoh, and he shall send away the children of Israel that they may serve Me. And I will harden the heart of Pharaoh, and I will work My wonders in the land of Egypt, and will bring up My people the children of Israel from thence, and the Egyptians shall know that I am God.' And Moses and Aaron did everything that God had commanded them. Moses was eighty-three years old when God sent him to Egypt. And God said to him, 'If Pharaoh shall seek a sign from thee, cast thy rod upon the ground, and it shall become a serpent.' Moses and Aaron came to Pharaoh, and threw down Moses' rod, and it became a serpent. The sorcerers of Egypt did the same, but Moses' rod swallowed up those of the sorcerers; and the heart of Pharaoh was hardened, and he did not send away the people. And God wrought ten signs by the hands of Moses: first, turning the waters into blood; second, bringing up frogs upon them; third, domination of the gnats; fourth, noisome creatures of all kinds; fifth, the pestilence among the cattle; sixth, the plague of boils; seventh, the coming of hail-stones; eighth, the creation of locusts; ninth, the descent of darkness; tenth, the death of the firstborn. When God wished to slay the first-born of Egypt, He said to Moses, 'This day shall be to you the first of months, that is to say, Nisan and the new year. On the tenth of this month, let every man take a lamb for his house, and a lamb for the house of his father; and if they be too few in number (for a whole lamb), let him and his neighbour who is near him share it. Let the lamb be kept until the fourteenth day of this month, and let all the children of Israel slay it at sunset, and let them sprinkle its blood upon the thresholds of their houses with the sign of the cross. This blood shall be to you a sign of deliverance, and I will see (it) and rejoice in you, and Death the destroyer shall no more have dominion over you;' and Moses and Aaron told the children of Israel all these things. And the Lord commanded them not to go out from their houses until morning; 'for the Lord will pass over the Egyptians to smite their firstborn, and will see the blood upon the thresholds, and will not allow the destroyer to enter their houses.' When it was midnight, the Lord slew the firstborn of the Egyptians, from the firstborn of Pharaoh sitting upon his throne down to the last. And Pharaoh sent to Moses and Aaron, saying, 'Depart from among my people, and go, serve the Lord, as ye have said; and take your goods and chattels with you.' The Egyptians also urged the children of Israel to go forth from among them, through fear of death; and the children of Israel asked chains of gold and silver and costly clothing of the Egyptians, and spoiled them; and the Lord gave them favour in the sight of the Egyptians. The children of Israel set out from Raamses to Succoth, six hundred thousand men; and when they entered Egypt in the days of Joseph, they were seventy-five souls in number. They remained in bodily and spiritual subjection four hundred and thirty years; from the day that God said to Abraham, 'Thy seed shall be a sojourner in the land of Egypt,' from that hour they were oppressed in their minds. When the people had gone out of Egypt on the condition that they should return, and did not return, Pharaoh pursued after them to bring them back to his slavery. And they said to Moses, 'Why hast thou brought us out from Egypt? It was better for us to serve the Egyptians as slaves, and not to die here.' Moses said, 'Fear not, but see the deliverance which God will work for you to-day.' And the Lord said to Moses, 'Lift up thy rod and smite the sea, that the children of Israel may pass over as upon dry land.' And Moses smote the sea, and it was divided on this side and on that; and the children of Israel passed through the depth of the sea as upon dry land. When Pharaoh and his hosts came in after them, Moses brought his rod back over the sea, and the waters returned to their place; and all the Egyptians were drowned. And Moses bade the children of Israel to sing praises with the song 'Then sang Moses and the children of Israel' (Exod. xv.).

The children of Israel marched through the wilderness three days, and came to the place called Murrath (Marah) from the bitterness of its waters; and the people were unable to drink that water. And they lifted up their voice and murmured against Moses, saying, 'What shall we drink?' Moses prayed before God, and took absinth-wood, which is bitter in its nature, and threw it into the water, and it was made sweet. There did the Lord teach them laws and judgements. And they set out from thence, and on the fifteenth of the second month, which is Iyar, came to a place in which there were twelve wells and seventy palm-trees. Dad-Isho says in his exposition of Paradise that the sorcerers Jannes and Jambres, who once opposed Moses, lived there. There was a well in that place, and over it was a bucket and brass chain; and devils dwelt there, because that place resembled Paradise. The blessed Makaris (Macarius) visited that spot, but was unable to live there because of the wickedness of those demons; but that they might not boast over the human race, as if forsooth no one was able to live there, God commanded two anchorites, whose names no man knoweth, and they dwelt there until they died. When the children of Israel saw that wilderness, they murmured against Moses, saying, 'It were better for us to have died in Egypt, being satisfied with bread, than to come forth into this arid desert for this people to perish by hunger.' And God said to Moses, 'Behold, I will bring manna down from heaven for you; a cloud shall shade you by day from the heat of the sun, and a pillar of fire shall give light before you by night.' God said to Moses, 'Go up into this mountain, thou, and Aaron thy brother, and Nadab, and seventy chosen elders of the children of Israel, and let them worship from afar; and let Moses come near to Me by himself.' And they did as the Lord commanded them, and Moses drew near by himself, and the rest of the elders remained below at the foot of the mountain; and God gave him commandments. And Moses made known to the people the words of the Lord; and all the people answered with one voice and said, 'Everything that the Lord commands us we will do.' Moses took blood with a hyssop, and sprinkled it upon the people, saying to them, 'This is the blood of the covenant,' and so forth. And God said to Moses, 'Say unto the children of Israel that they set apart for Me gold and silver and brass and purple,' and the rest of the things which are mentioned in the Torah, 'and let them make a tabernacle for Me.' God also shewed the construction thereof to Moses, saying, 'Let Aaron and his sons be priests to Me, and let them serve My altar and sanctuary.' God wrote ten commandments on two tables of stone, and these are they. Thou shalt not make to thyself an image or a likeness; thou shalt not falsify thy oaths; keep the day of the Sabbath; honour thy father and thy mother; thou shalt not do murder; thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not bear false witness; thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's or brother's house; thou shalt not covet the wife of thy kinsman or neighbour, nor his servants, nor his handmaidens. When the children of Israel saw that Moses tarried on the mountain, they gathered together to Aaron and said to him, 'Arise, make us a god to go before us, for we know not what has become of thy brother Moses.' Aaron said to them, 'Bring me the earrings that are in the ears of your wives and children.' When they had brought them to him, he cast a calf from them, and said to the people, 'This is thy god, O Israel, who brought thee out of Egypt;' and they built an altar, and the children of Israel offered up sacrifice upon it. God said to Moses, 'Get thee down to the people, for they have become corrupt.' And Moses returned to the people, and in his hands were the two tablets of stone, upon which the ten commandments were written by the finger of God. When Moses saw that the people had erred, he was angry and smote the tablets upon the side of the mountain and brake them. And Moses brought the calf, and filed it with a file, and threw it into the fire, and cast its ashes into water; and he commanded the children of Israel to drink of that water. And Moses reproached Aaron for his deeds, but Aaron said, 'Thou knowest that the people is stiffnecked.' Then Moses said to the children of Levi, 'The Lord commands you that each man should slay his brother and his neighbour of those who have wrought iniquity;' and there were slain on that day three thousand men. And Moses went up to the mountain a second time, and there were with him two tables of stone instead of those which he brake. He remained on the mountain and fasted another forty days, praying and supplicating God to pardon the iniquity of the people. When he came down from the mountain with the other two tablets upon which the commandments were written, the skin of his face shone, and the children of Israel were unable to look upon his countenance by reason of the radiance and light with which it was suffused; and they were afraid of him. When he came to the people, he covered his face with a napkin; and when he spake with God, he uncovered his face. And Moses said to Hur, the son of his father-in-law Reuel the Midianite, 'We will go to the land which God promised to give us; come with us, and we will do thee good;' but he would not, and returned to Midian. So the children of Israel went along the road to prepare a dwelling-place for themselves; and they lifted up their voice with a cry; and God heard and was angry, and fire went round about them and burnt up the parts round about their camps. They said to Moses, 'Our soul languishes in this wilderness, and we remember the meats of Egypt; the fishes and the cucumbers and the melons and the onions and the leeks and the garlic; and now we have nought save this manna which is before us.' Now the appearance of manna was like that of coriander seed, and they ground it, and made flat cakes of it; and its taste was like bread with oil in it. And the Lord heard the voice of the people weeping each one at the door of his tent, and it was grievous to Him. Moses prayed before the Lord and said, 'Why have I not found favour before Thee? and why hast Thou cast the weight of this people upon me? Did I beget them? Either slay me or let me find favour in Thy sight.' God said to Moses, 'Choose from the elders of the children of Israel seventy men, and gather them together to the tabernacle, and I will come down and speak with thee. And I will take of the spirit and power which is with thee and will lay it upon them, and they shall bear the burden of the people with thee, and thou shalt not bear it by thyself alone;' and Moses told them. Moses gathered together seventy elders from the children of Israel, and the Lord came down in a cloud, and spake with them; and he took of the spirit and power which was with Moses and laid it upon them, and they prophesied. But two elders of the seventy whose names were written down remained in the camp and did not come; the name of the one was Eldad, and that of the other Medad; and they also prophesied in the tabernacle. A young man came and told Moses, and Joshua the son of Nun, the disciple of Moses, said to him, 'My lord, restrain them.' Moses said, 'Be not

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jealous; would that all the children of Israel were prophets; for the Spirit of God hath come upon them.'

And Moses said to the children of Israel, 'Because ye have wept and have asked for flesh, behold the Lord will give you flesh to eat; not one day, nor two, nor five, nor ten, but a month of days shall ye eat, until it goeth out of your nostrils, and becometh nauseous to you.' Moses said (to the Lord), 'This people among whom I am is six hundred thousand men, and hast Thou promised to feed them with flesh for a month of days? If we slay sheep and oxen, it would not suffice for them; and if we collect for them (all) the fish that are in the sea, they would not satisfy them.' And the Lord said to Moses, 'The hand of the Lord shall bring (this) to pass, and behold, thou shalt see whether this happens or not.' By the command of God a wind blew and brought out quails from the sea, and they were gathered around the camp of the children of Israel about a day's journey on all sides; and they were piled upon one another to the depth of two cubits. Each of the children of Israel gathered about ten cors; and they spread them out before the doors of their tents. And the Lord was angry with them, and smote them with death, and many died; and that place was called 'the graves of lust.'

They departed from thence to the place called Haseroth. And Aaron and Miriam lifted up themselves against Moses because of the Cushite woman whom he had married, and they said, 'Has God spoken with Moses only? Behold, He hath spoken with us also.' Now Moses was meeker than all men. And God heard the words of Miriam and Aaron, and came down in a pillar of cloud, and stood at the door of the tabernacle, and called them, and they came forth to Him. The Lord said to them, 'Hear what I will say to you. I have revealed Myself to you in secret, and ye have prophesied in a dream. Not so with My servant Moses, who is trusted in everything, for with him I speak mouth to mouth.' And the Lord was angry with them, and the cloud was taken up from the tabernacle; and Miriam was a leper, and was white as snow. Aaron saw that she was a leper, and said to Moses, 'I entreat thee not to look upon our sins which we have sinned against thee.' Moses made supplication before God, saying, 'Heal her, O Lord, I entreat Thee.' God said to Moses, 'If her father had spat in her face, it would have been right for her to pass the night alone outside the camp for seven days, and then to come in.' So Miriam stayed outside the camp for seven days, and then she was purified.

And God said to Moses, 'Send forth spies, from every tribe a man, and let them go and search out the land of promise.' Moses chose twelve men, among whom were Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb the son of Jephunneh; and they went and searched out the land. And they returned, carrying with them of the fruit of the land grapes and figs and pomegranates. The spies came and said, 'We have not strength to stand against them, for they are mighty men, while we are like miserable locusts in their sight.' And the children of Israel were gathered together to Moses and Aaron, and they lifted up their voice and wept with a great weeping, saying, 'Why did we not die under the hand of the Lord in the wilderness and in Egypt, and not come to this land to die with our wives and children, and to become a laughing-stock and a scorn to the nations?' Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb the son of Jephunneh said to them, 'Fear not; we will go up against them, and the Lord will deliver them into our hands, and we shall inherit the land, as the Lord said to us.' The children of Israel said to one another, 'Come, let us make us a chief and return to Egypt;' and Moses and Aaron fell upon their faces before the people. And Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb the son of Jephunneh rent their clothes and said to the children of Israel, 'The land which we have searched out is a thriving one, flowing with milk and honey, and it is in the power of God to give it to us; do not provoke God.' And the children of Israel gathered together to stone them with stones. And God was revealed in a cloud over the tabernacle openly in the sight of the children of Israel; and He said to Moses, 'How long will these (people) provoke Me? and how long will they not believe in Me for all the wonders which I have wrought among them? Let Me smite them, and I will make thee the chief of a people stronger than they.' Moses said to the Lord, 'O Lord God Almighty, the Egyptians will hear and will say that Thou hast brought out Thy people from among them by Thy power: but when Thou smitest them, they will say, "He slew them in the desert, because He was unable to make them inherit the land which He promised them." And Thou, O Lord, who hast dwelt among this people, and they have seen Thee eye to eye, and Thy light is ever abiding with them, and Thou goest (before them) by night in a pillar of light, and dost shade them with a cloud by day, pardon now in Thy mercy the sins of Thy people, as Thou hast pardoned their sins from Egypt unto here.' God said to Moses, 'Say unto the children of Israel, O wicked nation, I have heard all the words which ye have spoken, and I will do unto you even as ye wish for yourselves. In this desert shall your dead bodies fall, and your families and your children, every one that knows good from evil, from twenty years old and downwards. Their children shall enter the land of promise; but ye shall not enter it, save Caleb the son of Jephunneh and Joshua the son of Nun. Your children shall remain in this wilderness forty years, until your dead bodies decay, according to the number of the days in which ye searched out the land; for each day ye shall be requited with a year because of your sins.' And the spies who had spied out the land with Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb the son of Jephunneh died at once, save Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb the son of Jephunneh. This was very grievous to the people, and the children of Israel said to Moses, 'Behold, we are going up to the land which God promised us.' He said to them, 'God hath turned His face from you; go ye not away from your place.' And they hearkened not to Moses, but went up to the top of the mountain without Moses and the tabernacle; and the Amalekites and Canaanites who dwelt there came out against them and put them to flight. God said to Moses, 'When the children of Israel enter the land of promise, let them offer as offerings fine flour and oil and wine.' Then Korah the son of Zahar (Izhar), and Dathan and Abiram the sons of Eliab, together with their families, and two hundred and fifty men, separated from the children of Israel; and they came to Moses, and made him hear them, and troubled him. And Moses fell upon his face before the Lord and said, 'To-morrow shall every one know whom God chooses. Is that which I have done for you not sufficient for you, that ye serve before the Lord, but ye must seek the priesthood also?' And Moses said unto God, 'O God, receive not their offerings.' And Moses said to them, 'Let every one of you take his censer in his hand, and place fire and incense therein;' and there stood before the Lord on that day two hundred and fifty men holding their censers. The Lord said to Moses, 'Stand aloof from the people, and I will destroy them in a moment.' And Moses and Aaron fell upon their faces, and said to the Lord, 'Wilt Thou destroy all these for the sake of one man who hath sinned?' God said to Moses, 'Tell the children of Israel to go away from around the tents of Korah and his fellows;' and Moses said to the people everything that God had said to him; and the people kept away from the tent of Korah. Then Korah and his family with their wives and children came forth and stood at the doors of their tents. And Moses said to them, 'If God hath sent me, let the earth open her mouth and swallow them up; but if I am come of my own desire, let them die a natural death like every man.' While the word was yet in his mouth, the earth opened, and swallowed them up, and the people that were with them, from man even unto beast; and fear fell upon their companions. The fire went forth from their censers, and burnt up the two hundred and fifty men. Moses said to Eleazar, 'Take their censers and make a casting of them, that they may be a memorial--for they have been sanctified by the fire which fell into them--that no man who is not of the family of Aaron should dare to take a censer in his hand.'

The children of Israel gathered together unto Moses and Aaron and said to them, 'Ye have destroyed the people of the Lord.' And God said to Moses and Aaron in the tabernacle, 'Stand aloof from them, and I will destroy them in a moment.' Moses said to Aaron, 'Take a censer and put fire and incense therein, and go to the people, that God may forgive their sins, for anger has gone forth against them from before the Lord.' And Aaron put incense in a censer, and went to the people in haste, and he saw death destroying the people unsparingly; but with his censer he separated the living from the dead, and the plague was stayed from them. The number of men whom the plague destroyed at that time of the children of Israel was fourteen thousand and seven hundred, besides those who died with the children of Korah; and Aaron returned to Moses. And God said to Moses, 'Let the children of Israel collect from every tribe a rod, and let them write the name of the tribe upon its rod, and the name of Aaron upon (that of) the tribe of Levi, and the rod of the man whom the Lord chooseth shall blossom.' And they did as God had commanded them, and took the rods and placed them in the tabernacle that day. On the morrow Moses went into the tabernacle, and saw the rod of the house of Levi budding and bearing almonds. And Moses brought out all the rods to the children of Israel, and the sons of Levi were set apart for the service of the priesthood before the Lord.

When the children of Israel came to the wilderness of Sin, Miriam the sister of Moses and Aaron died, and they buried her. And there was no water for them to drink; and the children of Israel murmured against Moses and said, 'Would that we had all died with those who are dead already, and that we had not come hither to die with our beasts and our possessions! Why did the Lord bring us out from Egypt to this desert land, in which there are neither pomegranates nor grapes?' Moses and Aaron went to the tabernacle, and fell upon their faces before the Lord, and the Lord said to them, 'Gather together the children of Israel, and let Moses smite the rock with the rod, and water shall come forth and all the people shall drink;' and Moses called that water 'the water of strife.' The children of Israel gathered themselves together unto Moses and Aaron, and they murmured against them saying, 'Why have ye brought us out to this desert to die of thirst and hunger?' And the Lord was angry with them, and sent serpents upon them, and many of the people died by reason of the serpents. And they gathered themselves together unto Moses and Aaron and said to them, 'We have sinned before God and before you.' God said to Moses, 'Make a serpent of brass, and hang it upon the top of thy rod, and set it up among the people; and let every one whom a serpent shall bite look upon the brazen serpent, and he shall live and not die.' This serpent which Moses set up is a type of the crucifixion of our Lord, as the doctor saith, 'Like the serpent which Moses set up, He set Him up also, that He might heal men of the bites of cruel demons.'

And the children of Israel came to mount Hor, and Aaron died there; and they wept for him a month of days; and Moses put his garments upon Eleazar his son. The children of Israel began to commit fornication with the daughters of Moab, and to bow down to their idols, and to eat of their sacrifices. The Lord was angry with them, and He commanded Moses to gather together the children of Israel, and to order every man to slay his fellow, and every one who should bow down to Baal Peor, the idol of the Moabites. When they were all assembled at the door of the tabernacle, Zimri the son of Salo came and took Cosbi the daughter of Zur, and committed fornication with her in the sight of Moses and all the people; and God smote the people with a pestilence. Then Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest, the son of Aaron, arose, and thrust them through with a spear, and lifted them up upon the top of it; and the plague was stayed from that hour. This zeal was accounted unto Phinehas as a prayer; as the blessed David says, 'Phinehas arose and prayed, and the pestilence was stayed; and it was accounted unto him for merit from generation unto generation, even for ever.' The number of those who died at that time was twenty-four thousand men. God commanded Moses to number the people, and their number amounted to six hundred and one thousand seven hundred and eighty souls. And God commanded Moses to bless Joshua the son of Nun, and to lay his hand upon him, and to set him up before Eleazar the priest and before all the children of Israel; and God gave him wisdom and knowledge and prophecy and courage, and made him ruler of the children of Israel. God commanded the children of Israel to destroy the Midianites. And (Moses) chose from each tribe a thousand men, and they went up against the Midianites and took them captive and spoiled them. And Moses told them to slay every man who had committed fornication with a Midianitish woman, and every Midianitish woman who had committed fornication with a son of Israel, except the virgins whom man had not known. God commanded Moses to set apart one-fiftieth part of the spoil for the sons of Levi, the ministers of the altar and the house of the Lord. The number of the flocks that were gathered together with the children of Israel was six hundred and seventy thousand, and seventy-two thousand oxen, and thirty-two thousand virgins. And the Lord commanded them that when they should pass over the Jordan and come to the land of promise, they should set apart three villages for a place of flight and refuge, that whosoever committed a murder involuntarily might flee thither and dwell in them until the high priest of that time died, when he might return to his family and the house of his fathers. God laid down for them laws and commandments, and these are they. A man shall not clothe himself in a woman's garments, neither shall a woman clothe herself in those of a man. If one sees a bird's nest, he shall drive away the mother, and then take the young ones. A man shall make a fence and an enclosure to his roof, lest any one fall therefrom, and his blood be required of him. Let him that hath a rebellious son, bring him out before the elders, and let them reprimand him; if he turn from his (evil) habit, (goad and well); but if not, let him be stoned. One that is crucified shall not pass the night upon his cross. He that blasphemes God shall be slain. The man that lies with a betrothed woman shall be slain. If she is not betrothed, he shall give her father five hundred dinars, and take her to wife. And the other commandments.

And Moses gathered together the children of Israel and said to them, 'Behold, I am a hundred and twenty years old, no more strength abideth in me; and God hath said to me, Thou shalt not pass over this river Jordan.' And he called Joshua the son of Nun and said to him in the sight of all the people, 'Be strong and of good courage, for thou shalt bring this people into the land of promise. Fear not the nations that are in it, for God will deliver them into thy hands, and thou shalt inherit their cities and villages, and shalt destroy them.'

And Moses wrote down laws and judgements and orders, and gave them into the hands of the priests, the children of Levi. He commanded them that, when they crossed over to the land of promise, they should make a feast of tabernacles and should read aloud these commandments before all the people, men and women; that they might hear and fear the Lord their God. And God said to Moses, 'Behold thou art going the way of thy fathers; call Joshua the son of Nun, thy disciple, and make him stand in the tabernacle, and command him to be diligent for the government of this people; for I know that after thy death they will turn aside from the way of truth, and will worship idols, and I will turn away My face from them.' And God said to Moses, 'Get thee up into this mountain of the Amorites which is called Nebo, and see the land of Canaan, and be gathered to thy fathers, even as Aaron thy brother died

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on mount Hor.' So Moses died there and was buried, and no man knoweth his grave; for God hid him, that the children of Israel might not go astray and worship him as God. He died at the age of one hundred and twenty years; his sight had not diminished, neither was the complexion of his face changed. And the children of Israel wept for him a month of days in Arboth Moab.

From Adam then until the death of Moses was three thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight years.

When the number of the children of Israel was reckoned up, it amounted to eight hundred thousand, and that of the house of Judah to five hundred thousand. In the Book of Chronicles it is written, 'The children of Israel were a thousand thousand, one hundred thousand and one hundred men; and the house of Judah was four hundred thousand and seven hundred men that drew sword.' Now when they came out of Egypt, they were six hundred thousand; and when they entered Egypt, they were seventy and five souls.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 31

Of Joshua The Son Of Nun, And Brief Notices Of The Years Of The Judges And The Kings Of The Children Of Israel.

After Moses was dead, God said to Joshua the son of Nun, 'Moses My servant is dead; now therefore arise, go over this Jordan, thou and all this people, unto the land which I have sworn to their fathers to give them, Every place upon which ye tread shall be yours.' So Joshua the son of Nun gathered the people together, and passed over Jordan. Jordan was divided on this side and on that, and the children of Israel passed over as upon dry ground, even as their fathers passed through the sea of Soph, when they went forth from Egypt. And they took twelve stones from the midst of Jordan, as a memorial for those after them. And they took Jericho, and destroyed it; and Joshua the son of Nun slew thirty-one kings of the foreign nations, and divided the land among them, and he brake their idols and images. These are the names of the kings whom Joshua the son of Nun destroyed. The king of Jericho, the king of Ai, the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, the king of Eglon, the king of Gezer, the king of Debir, the king of Hormah, the king of Geder, the king of Arad, the king of Libnah, the king of Adullam, the king of Makkedah, the king of Bethel, the king of Tappuah, the king of Hepher, the king of Aphek, the king of Lashsharon; the king of Madon, the king of Hazor, the king of Shimron-meron, the king of Achshaph, the king of Taanach, the king of Megiddo, the king of Rekam (Kadesh), the king of Jokneam, the king of Dor and Naphath-Dor, the king of Goiim, the king of Tirzah,

And as we do not intend to write a complete history of the kings and judges, but only to collect a few matters which may serve for the consolation of the feeble in a time of despondency, behold we pass over them with brief notices. If however any one seeks to know these (things), let him read in the Torah and in the Beth-Mautebhe, whence he will understand clearly. Moses ruled the people in the desert forty years. Joshua ruled the people twenty-five years. Judah was ruler of the people forty-eight years. Eglon king of Moab oppressed the people eighteen years. Ahor (Ehud) was ruler of the people eighty years. Nabin (Jabin) oppressed Israel twenty years. Deborah and Barak were rulers of the people forty years. The Midianites oppressed Israel seven years. Gideon was ruler of the people forty years. He had seventy sons, who rode with him upon seventy ass colts. Abimelech the son of Gideon was ruler of the people sixty years. Tola the son of Puah was ruler of the people twenty-three years. Jair was ruler of the people twenty-two years. The Philistines and Ammonites oppressed the people eighteen years. Naphthah (Jephthah) was ruler of the people six years. He vowed a vow to the Lord and said, 'Whatsoever cometh forth to meet me from my house, I will offer up as an offering to the Lord.' And his only daughter came forth, and he offered her up as an offering to the Lord. Abizan (Ibzan) was ruler of the people seven years. He had thirty sons and thirty daughters; he sent out the thirty daughters and brought in thirty daughters-in-law. Elon was a ruler of the people ten years. Acron (Abdon) was ruler of the people eight years. The Philistines oppressed Israel forty years. Samson was ruler of the people twenty years. He slew a thousand men with the jawbone of a dead ass. Eli was ruler of the people forty years. From Eli, the ark was in the house of Abinadab twenty years. Samuel was ruler of the people thirty years. Saul was ruler of the people forty years.These years of the Judges (lit. rulers) amount to six hundred and fifty-five. King David reigned forty years. Solomon reigned forty years. Rehoboam reigned seventeen years. Abijah reigned three years. Asa reigned forty-one years. Jehoshaphat reigned twenty-five years. Joram reigned eight years. Ahaziah reigned one year. Athaliah reigned six years. Joash reigned forty years. Amaziah reigned twenty-three years. Uzziah reigned fifty-two years. Jotham reigned sixteen years. Hezekiah reigned twenty-nine years. He prayed before God, and fifteen years were added to his life; and he held back the sun and the moon in their course. Manasseh reigned fifty-five years. He sawed Isaiah with a wooden saw and killed him. Amon reigned two years. Josiah reigned thirty-one years. Jehoahaz reigned three months. Jehoiakim reigned eleven years. Jehoiachin reigned one hundred days. Zedekiah reigned seven years. These years of the kings amount to four hundred and fifty-five years, six months, and ten days*.

(*Footnote: Bar Hebraeus says that the elders of the people ruled after Joshua, but no number of years is given; his list of the Judges is much fuller, but their years do not agree with those given in this chapter. In Brit. Mus. Add. 21,580, fol. 69 a, after Joshua, there follows Chushan the wicked, eight years; Othniel, forty years; the Moabites, eighteen years; and Ahor or Ehud comes next.)

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 32

Of The Death Of The Prophets; How They Dled, And (Where) Each One Of Them Was Buried.

Manasseh the son of Hezekiah slew Isaiah with a wooden saw; he was buried before the outfall of the waters which Hezekiah concealed by the side of Siloah.

Hosea the son of Beeri, of the tribe of Issachar, (was) from the town of Beelmath. He prophesied mystically about our Lord Jesus Christ who was to come; saying that when He should be born, the oak in Shiloh should be divided into twelve parts; and that He should take twelve disciples of Israel. He died in peace, and was buried in his own land.

Joel the son of Bethuel (Pethuel), of the tribe of Reuben, died in peace in his own land. Others say that Ahaziah the son of Amaziah smote him with a staff upon his head; and while his life was yet in him, they brought him to his own land, and after two days he died.

Amos (was) from the land of Tekoa. The priest of Bethel tortured him and afterwards slew him. Others say that it was he whom Ahaziah the son of Amaziah killed with a staff, and he died.

Obadiah from the country of Shechem was the captain of fifty of Ahab's soldiers. He became a disciple of Elijah, and endured many evil things from Ahab, because he forsook him and went after Elijah. However he died in peace. After he followed Elijah, he was deemed worthy of prophecy.

Elijah the fiery, of the family of Aaron, (was) from Tashbi, a town of the Levites. When this (prophet) was born, his father saw in a dream that one was born, and that they wrapped him in fire instead of swaddling bands, and gave him some of that fire to eat. He came to Jerusalem, and told the priests the vision that he had seen. The learned among the people said to him, 'Fear not, thy son is about to be a fire, and his word shall be like fire, and shall not fall to the ground; he will burn like fire with jealousy of sinners, and his zeal will be accepted before God.' He was taken up in a chariot towards heaven. Some say that his father was called Shobakh.

Elisha his pupil, from Abel-Meholah, (was) of the tribe of Reuben. On the day of his birth a great wonder took place in Israel; for the bull which they worshipped in Gilgal lowed, and his voice was heard in Jerusalem. The chief priests in Jerusalem said, 'A mighty prophet is born to-day in Israel at this time, and he will break the images and idols to pieces.' He died in peace, and was buried in Samaria.

Jonah the son of Amittai (was) from Gath-hepher, from Kuryath-Adamos, which is near to Ascalon and Gaza and the sea coast. After this (prophet) had prophesied to the Ninevites in the time of Sardana the king, he did not remain in his own land because the Jews were jealous of him; but he took his mother, and went and dwelt in Assyria. He feared the reproach of the Jews, because he had prophesied, and his prophecy did not come to pass. He also rebuked Ahab the king, and called a famine upon the land and the people. He came to the widow of Elijah, and blessed her, because she received him, and he returned to Judaea. His mother died on the way, and he buried her by the side of Deborah's grave. He lived in the land of Serida, and died two years after the people had returned from Babylon, and was buried in the cave of Kainan. This (prophet) prophesied that when the Messiah should come, the cities of the Jews would be overturned.

Micah the Morashthite (was) of the tribe of Ephraim, and was slain by Joram the son of Ahab. This (prophet) prophesied concerning the destruction of the temple of the Jews, and the abrogation of the Passover on the death of the Messiah. He died in peace, and was buried in Anikam.

Nahum, from the city of Elkosh, (was) of the tribe of Simeon. After the death of Jonah this (prophet) prophesied concerning the Ninevites, saying, 'Nineveh shall perish by perpetually advancing waters, and ascending fire;' and this actually took place. He prophesied also concerning the Babylonians, that they would come against the Israelitish people; and therefore they sought to kill him. He prophesied that when the Messiah should be slain, the vail of the temple should be rent in twain, and that the Holy Spirit should depart from it. He died in peace, and was buried in his own country.

Habakkuk (was) of the tribe of Simeon, and from the land of Suar (Zoar). This (prophet) prophesied concerning the Messiah, that He should come, and abrogate the laws of the Jews. He brought food to Daniel at Babylon by the divine (or, angelic) agency. The Jews stoned him in Jerusalem.

Zephaniah (was) of the tribe of Simeon. He prophesied concerning the Messiah, that He should suffer, and that the sun should become dark, and the moon be hidden. He died in peace in his own land.

Haggai returned from Babylon to Jerusalem when he was young. He prophesied that the people would return, and concerning the Messiah, that He would abrogate the sacrifices of the Jews. He died in peace.

Zechariah the son of Jehoiada returned from Babylon in his old age, and wrought wonders among the people. He died at a great age, and was buried by the side of the grave of Haggai.

Malachi was born after the return of the people, and because of his beauty he was surnamed 'Angel.' He died in peace in his own land.

The Jews stoned Jeremiah the son of Hilkiah in Egypt, because he rebuked them for worshipping idols; and the Egyptians buried him by the side of Pharaoh's palace. The Egyptians loved him much, because he prayed and the beasts died which used to come up from the river Nile and devour men. These beasts were called 'crocodiles.' When Alexander the son of Philip, the Macedonian, came (to Egypt), he made enquiries about his grave, and took and brought him to Alexandria. This (prophet) during his life said to the Egyptians, 'a child shall be born--that is the Messiah--of a virgin, and He shall be laid in a crib, and He will shake and cast down the idols.' From that time, and until Christ was born, the Egyptians used to set a virgin and a baby in a crib, and to worship him, because of what Jeremiah said to them, that He should be born in a crib.

Ezekiel the son of Buzi was of the priestly tribe, and from the land of Serida. The chief of the Jews who was in the land of the Chaldeans slew him, because he rebuked him for worshipping idols. He was buried in the grave of Arphaxar, the son of Shem, the son of Noah.

Daniel (was) of the tribe of Judah, and was born in Upper Beth-Horon. He was a man who kept himself from women, and hence the Jews thought that he was an eunuch, for his face was different (from that of other men), and he had no children. He prayed for the Babylonians, and died in Elam, in the city of the Hozaye, and was buried in Shoshan the fortress. He prophesied concerning the return of the people.

Ahijah (was) from Shilo. A lion slew this prophet, and he was buried by the oak at Shilo in Samaria.

Ezra the scribe was from the country of Sabtha, and of the tribe of Judah. This (prophet) brought back the people, and died in peace in his own land.

Zechariah the son of Berachiah, the priest, was from Jerusalem. Joash the king slew this (prophet) between the steps and the altar, and sprinkled his blood upon the horns of the altar, and the priests buried him. From that day God forsook the temple, and angels were never again seen in it.

Simon the son of Sira (Sirach) died in peace in his own town.

Nathan died in peace.

Here ends the first part of the book of gleanings called 'the Bee.'

To God be the glory, and may His mercy and compassion be upon us. Amen.

BOOK OF THE BEE PART 2

Again, by the Divine power, we write the second part of the book of gleanings called 'the Bee,' regarding the Divine dispensation which was wrought in the new (covenant).

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 33

Of The Messianic Generations.

God created Adam. Adam begat Seth. Seth begat Enos. Enos begat Kainan. Kainan begat Mahalaleel. Mahalaleel begat Jared. Jared begat Enoch. Enoch begat Methuselah. Methuselah begat Lamech. Lamech begat Noah. Noah begat Shem. Shem begat Arphaxar. Arphaxar begat Kainan. Kainan begat Shalach. Shalach begat Eber. Eber begat Peleg. Peleg begat Reu. Reu begat Serug. Serug begat Nahor. Nahor begat Terah. Terah begat Abraham. Abraham begat Isaac. Isaac begat Jacob. Jacob begat Judah. Judah took a Canaanitish wife, whose name was Shuah. And it was very grievous to Jacob, and he said to Judah, 'The God of my fathers will not allow the seed of Canaan to be mingled with our seed, nor his family with our family.' There were born to Judah by the Canaanitish woman three sons, Er, Onan, and Shelah. Er took Tamar, the daughter of Merari the son of Levi, to wife, and he lay with her in the Sodomite way and died without children. After him his brother Onan took her, to raise up seed to his brother; he also, when he lay with her, scattered his seed outside of her on the ground, and he too died without children. Because Shelah was a child, Judah kept his daughter-in-law in widowhood, that he might give her to Shelah to raise up seed by her. But Tamar went into her father-in-law by crafty devices, and lay with him, and conceived, and gave birth to twins, Pharez and Zarah. Pharez begat Hezron. Hezron begat Aram. Aram begat Amminadab. Amminadab begat Nahshon. Eleazar the son of Aaron, the priest, took the sister of Nahshon to wife, and by her begat Phinehas; and the seed of the priesthood was mingled with the

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royal line. Nahshon begat Salmon. Salmon begat Boaz by Rahab. Boaz begat Obed by Ruth the Moabitess. Obed begat Jesse. Jesse begat David the king by Nahash.

Now two genealogies are handed down from David to Christ; the one from Solomon to Jacob, and the other from Nathan to Heli. David begat Solomon. Solomon begat Rehoboam. Rehoboam begat Abijah. Abijah begat Asa. Asa begat Jehoshaphat. Jehoshaphat begat Joram. Joram begat Uzziah. Uzziah begat Jotham. Jotham begat Ahaz. Ahaz begat Hezekiah. Hezekiah begat Manasseh. Manasseh begat Amon. Amon begat Josiah. Josiah begat Jeconiah. Jeconiah begat Salathiel. Salathiel begat Zerubbabel. Zerubbabel begat Abiud. Abiud begat Eliakim. Eliakim begat Azor. Azor begat Zadok. Zadok begat Achin. Achin begat Eliud. Eliud begat Eleazar. Eleazar begat Matthan. Matthan begat Jacob. Jacob begat Joseph. Or again: David begat Nathan. Nathan begat Mattatha. Mattatha begat Mani. Mani begat Melea. Melea begat Eliakim. Eliakim begat Jonam. Jonam begat Levi. Levi begat Mattitha. Mattitha begat Jorim. Jorim begat Eliezer. Eliezer begat Jose. Jose begat Er. Er begat Elmodad. Elmodad begat Cosam. Cosam begat Addi. Addi begat Melchi. Melchi begat Neri. Neri begat Salathiel. Salathiel begat Zorobabel. Zorobabel begat Rhesa. Rhesa begat Johannan. Johannan begat Juda. Juda begat Joseph. Joseph begat Semei. Semei begat Mattatha. Mattatha begat Maath. Maath begat Nagge. Nagge begat Esli. Esli begat Nahum. Nahum begat Amos. Amos begat Mattitha. Mattitha begat Joseph. Joseph begat Janni. Janni begat Melchi. Melchi begat Levi. Levi begat Matthat. Matthat begat Heli. Heli begat Joseph.

Know too, O my brother, that Mattan the son of Eliezer--whose descent was from the family of Solomon--took a wife whose name was Astha (or Essetha) and by her begat Jacob naturally. Mattan died, and Melchi--whose family descended from Nathan the son of David--took her to wife, and begat by her Eli (or Heli); hence Jacob and Heli are brothers, (the sons) of (one) mother. Eli took a wife and died without children. Then Jacob took her to wife, to raise up seed to his brother, according to the command of the law; and he begat by her Joseph, who was the son of Jacob according to nature, but the son of Heli according to the law; so whichever ye choose, whether according to nature, or according to the law, Christ is found to be the son of David. It is moreover right to know that Eliezer begat two sons, Mattan and Jotham. Mattan begat Jacob, and Jacob begat Joseph; Jotham begat Zadok, and Zadok begat Mary. From this it is clear that Joseph's father and Mary's father were cousins.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 34

Of The Annunciatlon Of The Angel To Yonakir (Joachim) In Respect Of Mary.

This Zadok, who was called Yonakir, and Dinah his wife were righteous before God, and were rich in earthly riches and in goods and chattels; but they had neither fruit nor offspring like other people. They were reproached by the people for their barrenness, and they did not allow them to offer up the offering except after every one else, because they had no children among the people of Israel. And Yonakir went out into the desert, and pitched his tent outside the encampment, and he prayed before God with mournful tears, and put on garments of mourning; so also did Dinah his wife. And God heard their prayers and accepted the sacrifices of their tears. The angel of God came to them, and announced to them the conception of Mary, saying, 'Your prayer has been heard before God, and behold, He will give you blessed fruit, a daughter who shall be a sign and a wonder among all the generations of the world; and all families shall be blessed through her.' Then they two praised God, and Zadok returned to his habitation. And Dinah his wife conceived, and brought forth Mary; and from that day she was called Hannah (Anna) instead of Dinah, for the Lord had had compassion upon her. Now the name 'Mary' (Maryam or Miriam) is interpreted 'lifted up,' 'exalted;' and they rejoiced in her exceedingly. And after six months her parents said to one another, 'We will not allow her to walk upon the ground;' and they carried her with sacrifices and offerings, and brought her to the temple of the Lord. And they sacrificed oxen and sheep to the Lord, and offered Mary to the high priest. He laid his hand upon her head, and blessed her, saying, 'Blessed shalt thou be among women.' Two years after she was weaned, they brought her to the temple of the Lord, even as they had vowed to the Lord, and delivered her to the high priest. He laid his hand upon her head, and blessed her, and said to her that she should give herself over to the aged women who were there. And she was brought up with the virgins in the temple of the Lord, and performed the service of the temple with joyful heart and godly fervour until she was twelve years old. Because she was beautiful in appearance, the priests and the high priest took counsel and prayed before God that He would reveal to them what they should do with her. And the angel of God appeared unto the high priest and said to him, 'Gather together the staves of the men who have been left widowers by their first wives, and are well known for piety, uprightness, and righteousness, and what God sheweth thee, do.' And they brought many staves and laid them down in the temple; and they prayed before God that day and its night. The chief priest went into the temple and gave to each of them his staff, and when Joseph took his staff in his hand, there went forth from it a white dove, and hovered over the top of the rod, and sat upon it. The chief priest drew near to Joseph and kissed him on his head, and said to him, 'The blessed maiden has fallen to thy lot from the Lord; take her to thee until she arrives at the age for marriage, and (then) make a marriage feast after the manner and custom of men; for it is meet for thee (to do so) more than others, because ye are cousins.' Joseph said to the chief priest, 'I am an old and feeble man, and this is a girl, and unfit for my aged condition; it is better to give her to one of her own age, because I cannot rely upon myself to watch her and guard her.' The chief priest said to him, 'Take heed that thou dost not transgress the command of God, and bring a punishment upon thee.' So Joseph took Mary, and went to his dwelling-place.

Some days after the priests distributed various coloured silken threads to weave for the veil of the sanctuary; and it fell to Mary's lot to weave purple. And while she was in the temple in prayer, having placed incense before the Lord, suddenly the archangel Gabriel appeared to her in the form of a middle-aged man, and a sweet odour was diffused from him; and Mary was terrified at the sight of the angel.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 35

Of The Annunciation By Gabriel To Mary Of The Conception Of Our Lord.

At the ninth hour of the first day of the week, on the twenty-fifth of the month of Adar,--though some say on the first day of the month of Nisan, which is correct,--in the three hundred and seventh year of Alexander the son of Philip, or of Nectanebus, the Macedonian, six months after Elizabeth's conception of John, the archangel Gabriel appeared to Mary and said to her, 'Peace be to thee, O full of grace! our Lord is with thee, O blessed among women!' As for her, when she saw (him), she was terrified at his words, and was thinking what this salutation was. The angel said to her, 'Fear not Mary, for thou hast found grace with God. And behold, thou shalt conceive and bear a son, and thou shalt call his name Emmanuel, which is interpreted, "our God is with us." This (child) shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest.' Mary said to the angel, 'Behold, I am the handmaid of the Lord; let it be to me according to thy word.' And the angel went away from her. In those days Mary arose, and went to Elizabeth het cousin, and she went in and saluted Elizabeth. And it came to pass that when Elizabeth heard Mary's salutation, the babe leaped in her womb, and John in Elizabeth's womb bowed down to our Lord in Mary's womb, as a servant to his master. Mary remained with Elizabeth about three months, and then returned to her house. After the lapse of six months, Joseph saw that Mary had conceived, and he was troubled in his mind, and said, 'What answer shall I give to the high priest in respect of this trial which has befallen me?' And because he relied upon the purity of his spouse, he fell into perplexity and doubt, and said to her, 'Whence hast thou this? and who has beguiled thee, O perfect dove? Wast thou not brought up with the pure virgins and venerable matrons in the temple of the Lord?' And she wept, saying, 'As the Lord God liveth, I have never known man nor had connexion with any one;' but she did not speak to him of the angel and the cause of her conception. Then Joseph meditated within himself and said, 'If I reveal this matter before men, I fear lest it may be from God; and if I keep it back and hide it, I fear the rebuke and penalty of the law.' For the Jews did not approach their wives until they made a feast to the high priest, and then they took them. And Joseph thought that he would put her away secretly; and while he was pondering these things in his heart, the angel of the Lord appeared to him in a dream, and said, 'Joseph, son of David, fear not to take Mary thy wife; for that which is born in her is of the Holy Spirit.' He spake well when he said 'in her,' and not 'of her.'

And the priests heard of Mary's conception, and they made an accusation against Joseph, as if deceit had been found in him. Joseph said, 'As the Lord liveth, I know not the cause of her conception;' and Mary likewise swore this. There was a custom among the Jews that, when any one of them was accused with an accusation, they made him drink 'the water of trial;' if he were innocent, he was not hurt, but if he were guilty, his belly swelled, and his body became swollen, and the mark of chastisement appeared in him. When they had made Mary and Joseph drink of the water of trial, and they were not hurt, the high priest commanded Joseph to guard her diligently until they saw the end of this matter.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 36

Of The Birth Of Our Lord In The Flesh.

One year before the annunciation of our Lord, the emperor of the Romans sent to the land of Palestine Cyrinus the governor, to write down every one for the poll-tax, for the Jews were subject to the empire of the Romans; and every man was written down in his city. And Joseph the carpenter also went up that he might be written down in his city; and by reason of his exceeding great watchfulness for the blessed (Mary), he took her with him upon an ass. When they had gone about three miles, Joseph looked at her and saw that her hand was laid upon her belly, and that her face was contracted with pain; and he thought that she was troubled by the beast, and asked her about her trouble and pain. She said to him, 'Hasten and prepare a place for me to alight, for the pains of childbirth have taken hold upon me.' When he had lifted her down from the animal, he went to fetch a midwife, and found a Hebrew woman whose name was Salome. The heretics say that she was called Hadyok, but they err from the truth. When Joseph came to the cave, he found it full of brilliant light, and the child wrapped in swaddling clothes and rags, and laid in a crib. And there were shepherds there keeping watch over their flocks, and behold the angel of God came to them, and the glory of the Lord shone upon them; and they feared with an exceeding great fear. The angel said to them, 'Fear not, for behold, I announce to you a great joy which shall be to all the world; for there is born to you this day a Redeemer, who is the Lord Jesus, in the city of David: and this shall be the sign unto you; ye shall find the babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, and laid in a crib.' And suddenly with the angel there appeared many hosts of heaven, praising God and saying, 'Glory to God in the heights, and on earth peace and tranquillity and good hope to men.' And the shepherds went and entered the cave, and they saw as the angel had said to them. The names of the shepherds were these: Asher, Zebulon, Justus, Nicodemus, Joseph, Barshabba, and Jose; seven in number.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 37

The Prophecy Of Zaradosht Concerning Our Lord.

This Zaradosht* (Zarathustra or Zoroaster) is Baruch the scribe. When he was sitting by the fountain of water called Glosha of Horin, where the royal bath had been erected, he said to his disciples, the king Gushnasaph and Sasan and Mahimad, 'Hear, my beloved children, for I will reveal to you a mystery concerning the great King who is about to rise upon the world. At the end of time, and at the final dissolution, a child shall be conceived in the womb of a virgin, and shall be formed in her members, without any man approaching her. And he shall be like a tree with beautiful foliage and laden with fruit, standing in a parched land; and the inhabitants of that land shall be gathered together to uproot it from the earth, but shall not be able. Then they will take him and crucify him upon a tree, and heaven and earth shall sit in mourning for his sake; and all the families of the nations shall be in grief for him. He will begin to go down to the depths of the earth, and from the depth he will be exalted to the height; then he will come with the armies of light, and be borne aloft upon white clouds; for he is a child conceived by the Word which establishes natures.' Gushnasaph says to him, 'Whence has this one, of whom thou sayest these things, his power? Is he greater than thou, or art thou greater than he?' Zaradosht says to him, 'He shall descend from my family; I am he, and he is I; he is in me, and I am in him. When the beginning of his coming appears, mighty signs will be seen in heaven, and his light shall surpass that of the sun. But ye, sons of the seed of life, who have come forth from the treasuries of life and light and spirit, and have been sown in the land of fire and water, for you it is meet to watch and take heed to these things which I have spoken to you, that ye await his coming; for you will be the first to perceive the coming of that great king, whom the prisoners await to be set free. Now, my sons, guard this secret which I have revealed to you, and let it be kept in the treasure-houses of your souls. And when that star rises of which I have spoken, let ambassadors bearing offerings be sent by you, and let them offer worship to him. Watch, and take heed, and despise him not, that he destroy you not with the sword; for he is the king of kings, and all kings receive their crowns from him. He and I are one.' These are the things which were spoken by this second Balaam, and God, according to His custom, compelled him to interpret these things; or he sprang from a people who were acquainted with the prophecies concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, and declared them aforetime.

(*Footnote: Zarathustra, also known as Zoroaster or Zarathushtra Spitama or Ashu Zarathushtra, was an ancient Iranian-speaking spiritual leader and ethical philosopher who taught a spiritual philosophy of self-realisation and realisation of the Divine. His teachings challenged the existing traditions of the Indo-Iranian religion and later developed into the religion of Mazdayasna or Zoroastrianism. He inaugurated a movement that eventually became the dominant religion in Ancient Persia. He was a native speaker of Old Avestan and lived in the eastern part of the Iranian Plateau, but his exact birthplace is uncertain.)

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 38

Of The Star Which Appeared In The East On The Day Of The Birth Of Our Lord.

Some say that that star appeared to the Magi simultaneously with the birth of our Lord. As for Herod's commanding that all children from two years old and

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downwards should be slain, it is not as if they required all that length of time for their journey, but they had some accidental delay either in their own country or on the road. Again, Herod did not command that the children should be slain immediately after his having met the Magi, but much time passed in the interval, because he was waiting to hear from them.

The holy Mar John Chrysostom, in his exposition of Matthew, says, 'The star appeared a long time before, for their journey was accomplished with great delay that they might come to the end of it on the day of our Lord's birth. It was meet that He should be worshipped in swaddling bands, that the greatness of the wonder might be recognised; therefore the star appeared to them a long time before. For if the star had appeared to them in the east when He was born in Palestine, they would not have been able to see Him in swaddling bands. Marvel not, if Herod slew the children from two years and downwards, for wrath and fear urged him to increased watchfulness; therefore he added more time than was needful, that no one should be able to escape.'

As touching the nature of that star, whether it was a star in its nature, or in appearance only, it is right to know that it was not of the other stars, but a secret power which appeared like a star; for all the other stars that are in the firmament, and the sun and moon, perform their course from east to west. This one, however, made its course from north to south, for Palestine lies thus, over against Persia. This star was not seen by them at night only, but also during the day, and at noon; and it was seen at the time when the sun is particularly strong, because it was not one of the stars. Now the moon is stronger in its light than all the stars, but it is immediately quenched and its light dissipated by one small ray of the sun. But this star overcame even the beams of the sun by the intensity of its light. Sometimes it appeared, and sometimes it was hidden entirely. It guided the Magi as far as Palestine. When they drew near to Jerusalem, it was hidden; and when they went forth from Herod, and began to journey along the road, it appeared and shewed itself. This was not an ordinary movement of the stars, but a rational power. Moreover, it had no fixed path, but when the Magi travelled, it travelled on also, and when they halted, it also halted; like the pillar of cloud which stopped and went forward when it was convenient for the camp of Israel. The star did not remain always up in the height of heaven, but sometimes it came down and sometimes it mounted up; and it also stood over the head of the Child, as the Evangelist tells us.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 39

Of The Coming Of The Magi From Persia.

When Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judah, and the star appeared to the Magi in the east, twelve Persian kings took offerings--gold and myrrh and frankincense--and came to worship Him. Their names are these: Zarwandad the son of Artaban, and Hormizdad the son of Sitaruk (Santarok), Gushnasaph (Gushnasp) the son of Gundaphar, and Arshakh the son of Miharok; these four brought gold. Zarwandad the son of Warzwad, Iryaho the son of Kesro (Khosrau), Artahshisht the son of Holiti, Ashtonabodan the son of Shishron; these four brought myrrh. Meharok the son of Huham, Ahshiresh the son of Hasban, Sardalah the son of Baladan, Merodach the son of Beldaran; these four brought frankincense. Some say that the offerings which the Magi brought and offered to our Lord had been laid in the Cave of Treasures by Adam; and Adam commanded Seth to hand them down from one to another until our Lord rose, and they brought (them), and offered (them) to Him. But this is not received by the Church. When the Magi came to Jerusalem, the whole city was moved; and Herod the king heard it and was moved. And he gathered together the chief priests and the scribes of the people, and enquired about the place in which Christ should be born; and they told him, in Bethlehem of Judah, for so it is written in the prophet. Then Herod called the Magi, and flattered them, and commanded them to seek out the Child diligently, and when they had found Him to tell Herod, that he also might go and worship Him. When the Magi went forth from Herod, and journeyed along the road, the star rose again suddenly, and guided them until it came and stood over (the place) where the Child was. And when they entered the cave, and saw the Child with Mary His mother, they straightway fell down and worshipped Him, and opened their treasures, and offered unto Him offerings, gold and myrrh and frankincense. Gold for His kingship, and myrrh for His burial, and frankincense for His Godhead. And it was revealed to them in a dream that they should not return to Herod, and they went to their land by another way. Some say that the Magi took some of our Lord's swaddling bands with them as a blessed thing.

Then Longinus the sage wrote to Augustus Caesar and said to him, 'Magians, kings of Persia, have come and entered thy kingdom, and have offered offerings to a child who is born in Judah; but who he is, and whose son he is, is not known to us.' Augustus Caesar wrote to Longinus, saying, 'Thou hast acted wisely in that thou hast made known to us (these things) and hast not hidden (them) from us.' He wrote also to Herod, and asked him to let him know the story of the Child. When Herod had made enquiries about the Child, and saw that he had been mocked by the Magi, he was wroth, and sent and slew all the children in Bethlehem and its borders, from two years old and downwards, according to the time which he had enquired of the Magi. The number of the children whom he slew was two thousand, but some say one thousand eight hundred. When John the son of Zechariah was sought for, his father took him and brought him before the altar; and he laid his hand upon him, and bestowed on him the priesthood, and then brought him out into the wilderness. When they could not find John, they slew Zechariah his father between the steps and the altar. They say that from the day when Zechariah was slain his blood bubbled up until Titus the son of Vespasian came and slew three hundred myriads of Jerusalem, and then the flow of blood ceased. The father of the child Nathaniel also took him, and wrapped him round, and laid him under a fig-tree; and he was saved from slaughter. Hence our Lord said to Nathaniel, 'Before Philip called thee, I saw thee, when thou wast under the fig-tree.'

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 40

Of Our Lord Is Going Down Into Egypt.

When the Magi had returned to their country, the angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream, and said to him, 'Arise, take the Child and His mother, and flee to Egypt; and stay there until I tell thee.' So Joseph arose and took the Child and His mother by night, and fled to Egypt, and was there until the death of Herod. When they were journeying along the road to Egypt, two robbers met them; the name of the one was Titus, that of the other Dumachos (?). Dumachos wished to harm them and to treat them evilly, but Titus would not let him, and delivered them from the hands of his companion. When they reached the gate of the city called Hermopolis, there were by the two buttresses of the gate two figures of brass, that had been made by the sages and philosophers; and they spoke like men. When our Lord and His mother and Joseph entered Egypt, that is to say that city, these two figures cried out with a loud voice, saying, 'A great king has come into Egypt.' When the king of Egypt heard this, he was troubled and moved; for he feared lest his kingdom should be taken away from him. And he commanded the heralds to proclaim throughout the whole city, 'If any man knoweth (who He is), let him point (Him) out to us without delay.' When they had made much search and did not find Him, the king commanded all the inhabitants of the city to go outside and come in one by one. When our Lord entered, these two figures cried out, 'This is the king.' And when our Lord was revealed, Pharaoh sought to slay Him. Now Lazarus--whom Christ raised from the dead--was there, and was one of the king's officials, and held in much esteem by the lord of Egypt. He drew near to Joseph and asked them, 'Whence are ye?' They said to him, 'From the land of Palestine.' When he heard that they were from the land of Palestine, he was sorry for them, and came to the king and pledged himself for the Child. And he said to the king, 'O king, live for ever! If deceit be found in this Child, behold, I am before thee, do unto me according to thy will.' This is the (cause) of the love between Lazarus and Christ. One day when Mary was washing the swaddling bands of our Lord, she poured out the water used in washing in a certain place, and there grew up there apursam (that is to say balsam) trees, a species of tree not found anywhere else save in this spot in Egypt. Its oil has (divers) properties; if a man dips iron into it, and brings (the iron) near a fire, it shines like wax; if some of it is thrown upon water, it sinks to the bottom; and if a drop of it is dropped upon the hollow of a man's hand, it goes through to the other side. Our Lord remained two years in Egypt, until Herod had died an evil death. He died in this manner. First of all he slew his wife and his daughter, and he killed one man of every family, saying, 'At the time of my death there shall be mourning and weeping and lamentation in the whole city.' His bowels and his legs were swollen with running sores, and matter flowed from them, and he was consumed by worms. He had nine wives and thirteen children. And he commanded his sister Salome and her husband, saying, 'I know that the Jews will hold a great festival on the day of my death; when they are gathered together with the weepers and mourners, slay them, and let them not live after my death.' There was a knife in his hand, and he was eating an apple; and by reason of the severity of his pain, he drew the knife across his throat, and cut it with his own hand; and his belly burst open, and he died and went to perdition. After the death of Herod who slew the children, his son Herod Archelaus reigned, who cut off the head of John. And the angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in Egypt and said to him, 'Arise, take the Child and His mother, and go to the land of Israel, for those who sought the life of the Child are dead.' So Joseph took the Child and His mother, and came to Galilee; and they dwelt in the city of Nazareth, that what was said in the prophecy might be fulfilled, 'He shall be called a Nazarene.' In the tenth year of the reign of Archelaus the kingdom of the Jews was divided into four parts. To Philip (were assigned) two parts, Ituraea and Trachonitis; to Lysanias one part, which was Abilene; and to Herod the younger the fourth part. And Herod loved Herodias, the wife of his brother Philip.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 41

Of John The Baptist, And Of The Baptism Of Our Lord.

John the Baptist lived thirty yeats in the desert with the wild beasts; and after thirty years he came from the wilderness to the habitations of men. From the day when his father made him flee to the desert, when he was a child, until he came (again), he covered himself with the same clothes both summer and winter, without changing his ascetic mode of life. And he preached in the wilderness of Judaea, saying, 'Repent, the kingdom of God draweth nigh;' and he baptised them with the baptism of repentance for the remission of their sins. He said to them, 'Behold, there cometh after me a man who is stronger than I, the latchets of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose. I baptise you with water for repentance, but He who cometh after me is stronger than I; He will baptise you with the Holy Spirit and with fire:' thereby referring to that which was about to be wrought on the apostles, who received the Holy Spirit by tongues of fire, and this took the place of baptism to them, and by this grace they were about to receive all those who were baptised in Christ. Jesus came to John at the river Jordan to be baptised by him; but John restrained Him, saying, 'I need to be baptised by Thee, and art Thou come to me?' Jesus said to him, 'It is meet thus to fulfil the words of prophecy.' When Jesus had been baptised, as soon as He had gone up from the water, He saw that the heavens were rent, and the Spirit like a dove descended upon Him, and a voice from heaven said, 'This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.' On this day the Trinity was revealed to men; by the Father who cried out, and by the Son who was baptised, and by the Holy Spirit which came down upon Him in the corporeal form of a dove. Touching the voice which was heard from heaven, saying, 'This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye Him,' every one heard the voice; but John only was worthy to see the vision of the Spirit by the mind. The day of our Lord's birth was the fourth day of the week, but the day of His baptism was the fifth. When John rebuked Herod, saying that it was not lawful for him to take his brother Philip's wife, he seized John, and cast him into the prison called Machaerus. And it came to pass on a certain day, when Herod on his birthday made a feast for his nobles, that Boziya, the daughter of Herodias, came in and danced before the guests; and she was pleasing in the sight of Herod and his nobles. And he said to her, 'Ask of me whatsoever thou desirest and I will give it to thee;' and he sware to her saying that whatever she asked he would give it to her, unto the half of his kingdom. She then went in to Herodias her mother and said to her, 'What shall I ask of him?' She said to her, 'The head of John the Baptist;' for the wretched woman thought that when John should be slain, she and her daughter would be free from the reprover, and would have an opportunity to indulge their lust: for Herod committed adultery with the mother and with her daughter. Then she went in to the king's presence and said to him, 'Give me now the head of John the Baptist on a charger.' And the king shewed sorrow, as if, forsooth, he was not delighted at the murder of the saint; but by reason of the force and compulsion of the oath he was obliged to cut off John's head. If, O wretched Herod, she had demanded of thee the half of thy kingdom, that she might sit upon the throne beside thee and divide (it) with thee, wouldst thou have acceded to her, and not have falsified thy oath, O crafty one? And the king commanded an executioner, and he cut off the head of the blessed man, and he put it in a charger and brought and gave it to the damsel, and the damsel gave it to her mother. Then she went out to dance upon the ice, and it opened under her, and she sank into the water up to her neck; and no one was able to deliver her. And they brought the sword with which John's head had been cut off, and cut off hers and carried it to Herodias her mother. When she saw her daughter's head and that of the holy man, she became blind, and her right hand, with which she had taken up John's head, dried up; and her tongue dried up, because she had reviled him, and Satan entered into her, and she was bound with fetters. Some say that the daughter of Herodias was called Boziya, but others say that she also was called by her mother's name Herodias. When John was slain, his disciples came and took his body and laid him in a grave; and they came and told Jesus. The two disciples whom John sent to our Lord, saying, 'Art thou He that should come, or do we look for another,' were Stephen the martyr and deacon, and Hananyah (Ananias) who baptised Paul. Some say that the wild honey and locusts, which he fed upon in the wilderness, was manna,--which was the food of the children of Israel, and of which Enoch and Elijah eat in Paradise,--for its taste is like that of honey. Moses compares it to coriander seed, and the anchorites in the mountains feed upon it. Others say that it was a root like unto a carrot; it is called Kamus, and its taste is sweet like honey-comb. Others say that the locusts were in reality some of those which exist in the world, and that the honey-comb was that which is woven by the little bees, and is found in small white cakes in desert places.

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BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 42

Of Our Lord Is Fast; Of The Strife Which He Waged With The Devil; And Of The Mighty Deeds That He Wrought.

Two days after His baptism, He chose eight of the twelve disciples; and on the third day He changed the water into wine in the city of Cana. After He went forth from the wilderness, He completed the number of the twelve, according to the number of the tribes of the children of Israel and according to the number of the months. After the twelve disciples, He chose seventy and two, according to the number of the seventy-two elders. When He went out to the desert after He had changed the water into wine, He fasted forty days and forty nights. Some say that our Lord and the devil were waging war with one another for forty days; others say that the three contests took place in one day. After He had conquered the devil by the power of His Godhead, and had given us power to conquer him, He began to teach the nations. He wrought miracles, healed the sick, cleansed the lepers, cast out devils, opened the eyes of the blind, made the lame walk, made cripples stand, gave hearing to the deaf, and speech of tongue to the dumb. He satisfied five thousand with five loaves, and there remained twelve basketfuls; and with seven loaves and two fishes He satisfied four thousand (men), besides women and children, and there remained seven basketfuls. And some writers say that our Lord satisfied forty thousand men and women and children with five loaves. He walked upon the water and the sea as upon dry land. He rebuked the sea when it was disturbed, and it ceased from its disturbance. He raised up four dead; the daughter of Jairus, the widow's son, the servant of the centurion, and His friend Lazarus after (he had been dead) four days. He subjected Himself to the ancient law of Moses, that it might not be thought He was opposed to the divine commandments; and when the time came for Him to suffer, and to draw nigh to death that He might make us live by His death, and to slay sin in His flesh, and to fulfil the prophecies concerning Him, first of all He kept the Passover of the law; He dissolved the old covenant, and then He laid the foundation for the new law by His own Passover.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 43

Of The Passover Of Our Lord.

When the time of the Passover came, He sent two of His disciples to a man with whom they were not acquainted, saying, 'When ye enter the city, behold, there will meet you a man carrying a pitcher of water; follow him, and wheresoever he entereth, say ye to the master of the house, "Our Master saith, Where is the guest-chamber, where I may eat the Passover with My disciples?" and behold, he will shew a large upper chamber made ready and prepared; there make ye ready for us.' And because at that time crowds of people were flocking thickly into Jerusalem to keep the feast of the Passover, so that all the houses of the inhabitants of Jerusalem were filled with people by reason of the great crowd which was resorting thither, our Lord, by the power of His Godhead, worked upon the master of the house to make ready a large upper chamber without his being aware for whom he was preparing it, but he thought that perhaps some great man among the nobles and grandees of the Jews was about to come to him, and that it was right to keep a room for him furnished with all things (needful); because all those who came from other places to Jerusalem were received into their houses by the people of the city, and whatsoever they required for the use of the feast of the Passover they supplied. Hence the master of the house made ready that upper chamber with all things (needful), and permitted no man to enter therein, being restrained by the power of our Lord. Because a mystical thing was about to be done in it, it was not meet for Him to perform the hidden mystery when others were near. Mar Basil says: 'On the eve of the Passion, after the disciples had received the body and blood of our Lord, He poured water into a basin and began to wash the feet of His disciples; this was baptism to the apostles. They were not all made perfect, because they were not all pure, for Judas, the son of perdition, was not sanctified; and because that basin of washing was in truth baptism, as our Lord said to Simon Peter, "If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with Me," that is to say, "If I baptise thee not, thou art not able to enter into the kingdom of heaven." Therefore, every one who is not baptised by the priests, and receives not the body and blood of Christ our Lord, enters not into the kingdom of heaven.' Mar Dad-isho says in his commentary on Abba Isaiah: 'When our Lord at the Passover had washed the feet of His disciples, He kissed the knees of Judas, and wiped the soles of his feet with the napkin which was girt round His loins, like a common slave; for everything which our Lord did, He did for our teaching.' Mar Basil in his 'Questions' advises Christians to eat oil, drink wine, and break their fast on this evening; for in it was the old covenant finished, and the new one inaugurated; and in it was the (chosen) people stripped of holiness, and the nations were sanctified and pardoned. Although this saint permits (this), yet the other fathers do not give leave (to do) this, neither do we, nor those of our confession.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 44

Of The Passion Of Our Lord.

Three years and three months after His baptism, Judas Iscariot the son of Simon betrayed his Lord to death. He was called Iscariot (Sekhariota) from the name of his town (Sekhariot), and he had the sixth place among the disciples before he betrayed our Lord. Our Lord was crucified at the third hour of Friday, the ninth of Nisan. Caiaphas, who condemned our Lord, is Josephus. The name of Bar-Abba was Jesus. The name of the soldier who pierced our Lord with the spear, and spat in His face, and smote Him on His cheek, was Longinus; it was he who lay upon a sick bed for thirty-eight years, and our Lord healed him, and said to him, 'Behold, thou art healed; sin no more, lest something worse than the first befall thee.' The watchers at the grave were five, and these are their names: Issachar, Gad, Matthias, Barnabas and Simon; but others say they were fifteen, three centurions and their Roman and Jewish soldiers. Some men have a tradition that the stone which was laid upon the grave of our Lord was the stone which poured out water for the children of Israel in the wilderness. The grave in which our Redeemer was laid was prepared for Joshua the son of Nun, and was carefully guarded by the Divine will for the burial of our Lord. The purple which they put on our Lord mockingly, was given in a present to the Maccabees by the emperors of the Greeks; and they handed it over to the priests for dressing the temple. The priests took it and brought it to Pilate, testifying and saying, 'See the purple which He prepared when He thought to become king,' The garment which the soldiers divided into four parts indicates the passibility of His body, The robe without seam at the upper end which was not rent, is the mystery of the Godhead which cannot admit suffering. As touching the blood and water which came forth from His side, John the son of Zebedee was deemed worthy to see that vivifying flow from the life-giving fountain. Mar John Chrysostom says: 'When His side was rent by the soldiers with the spear, there came forth immediately water and blood. The water is a type of baptism, and the blood is the mystery of His precious blood, for baptism was given first, and then the cup of redemption. But in the gospel it is written, "There went forth blood and water,"' As to the tree upon which our Redeemer was crucified, some have said that He was crucified upon those bars with which they carried the ark of the covenant; and others that it was upon the wood of the tree on which Abraham offered up the ram as an offering instead of Isaac. His hands were nailed upon the wood of the fig-tree of which Adam ate, and behold, we have mentioned its history with that of Moses' rod. The thirty pieces of silver (zuze) which Judas received, and for which he sold his Lord, were thirty pieces according to the weight of the sanctuary, and were equal to six hundred pieces according to the weight of our country. Terah made these pieces for Abraham his son; Abraham gave them to Isaac; Isaac bought a village with them; the owner of the village carried them to Pharaoh; Pharaoh sent them to Solomon the son of David for the building of his temple; and Solomon took them and placed them round about the door of the altar. When Nebuchadnezzar came and took captive the children of Israel, and went into Solomon's temple and saw that these pieces were beautiful, he took them, and brought them to Babylon with the captives of the children of Israel. There were some Persian youths there as hostages, and when Nebuchadnezzar came from Jerusalem, they sent to him everything that was meet for kings and rulers. And since gifts and presents had been sent by the Persians, he released their sons and gave them gifts and presents, among which were those pieces of silver about which we have spoken; and they carried them to their parents. When Christ was born and they saw the star, they arose and took those pieces of silver and gold and myrrh and frankincense, and set out on the journey; and they came to the neighbourhood of Edessa, and these kings fell asleep by the roadside. And they arose and left the pieces behind them, and did not remember them, but forgot that anything of theirs remained behind. And certain merchants came and found them, and took these pieces, and came to the neighbourhood of Edessa, and sat down by a well of water. On that very day an angel came to the shepherds, and gave them the garment without seam at the upper end, woven throughout. And he said to them, 'Take this garment, in which is the life of mankind.' And the shepherds took the garment, and came to the well of water by the side of which were those merchants. They said to them, 'We have a garment without seam at the upper end; will ye buy it?' The merchants said to them, 'Bring it here.' When they saw the garment, they marvelled and said to the shepherds: 'We have thirty pieces of silver which are meet for kings; take them and give us this garment.' When the merchants had taken the garment, and had gone into the city of Edessa, Abgar the king sent to them and said, 'Have ye anything meet for kings, that I may buy it from you?' The merchants said to him, 'We have a garment without seam at the upper end.' When the king saw the garment, he said to them, 'Whence have ye this garment?' They said to him, 'We came to a well by the gate of thy city, and we saw it in the hands of some shepherds, and we bought it from them for thirty pieces of stamped silver, which were also meet for kings like thyself.' The king sent for the shepherds, and took the pieces from them, and sent them together with the garment to Christ for the good that He had done him in healing his sickness. When Christ saw the garment and the pieces, He kept the garment by Him, but He sent the pieces to the Jewish treasury. When Judas Iscariot came to the chief priests and said to them, 'What will ye give me that I may deliver Him to you?' the priests arose and brought those pieces, and gave them to Judas Iscariot; and when he repented, he returned them to the Jews, and went and hanged himself. And the priests took them and bought with them a field for a burial-place for strangers.

Of Joseph the senator (Greek: Bouleuths), and why he was thus called. The senators were a class very much honoured in the land of the Romans; and if it happened that no one could be found of the royal lineage, they made a king from among this class. If one of them committed an offence, they used to beat his horse with white woollen gloves instead of him. This Joseph was not a senator by birth, but he purchased the dignity, and enrolled himself among the Roman senate, and was called Senator.

As for the committal of Mary* to John the son of Zebedee by our Lord, He said to her, 'Woman, behold thy son;' and to John He said, 'Behold thy mother;' and from that hour he took her into his house and ministered unto her. Mary lived twelve years after our Lord's Ascension: the sum of the years which she lived in the world was fifty-eight years, but others say sixty-one years. She was not buried on earth, but the angels carried her to Paradise, and angels bore her bier. On the day of her death all the apostles were gathered together, and they prayed over her and were blessed by her. Thomas was in India, and an angel took him up and brought him, and he found the angels carrying her bier through the air; and they brought it nigh to Thomas, and he also prayed and was blessed by her.

As regards the name of arubhta (i.e. the eve of the Jewish Sabbath), it was not known until this time, but that day was called the sixth day. And when the sun became dark, and the Divine Care also set and abandoned the Israelitish people, then that day was called arubhta.

Touching the writing which was written in Greek, Hebrew and Latin, and set over Christ's head, there was no Aramean written upon the tablet, for the Arameans or Syrians had no part in (the shedding of) Christ's blood, but only the Greeks and Hebrews and Romans; Herod the Greek and Caiaphas the Hebrew and Pilate the Roman. Hence when Abgar the Aramean king of Mesopotamia heard (of it), he was wroth against the Hebrews and sought to destroy them.

(*Footnote: In the History of the Virgin, fol. 156 a, we read as follows: 'And Mary remained in Jerusalem, and grieved because of her separation from our Lord Jesus Christ, and the absence of the apostles from her. And she prayed and cast frankincense into the fire, and lifted up her eyes and spread out her hands to heaven, and said, "O Christ, the Son of the living God, hearken unto the voice of Thy handmaiden, and send unto me Thy friend John the young with his fellow-apostles, that I may see them and be comforted by the sight of them before the day of my death; and I will praise and adore Thy goodness." And straightway it was revealed by the Holy Spirit to each one of the apostles, in whatever country he was in, that the blessed Mary was about to depart from this world into the never-ending life. And the Spirit summoned them, along with those of them who were dead, to be gathered together at daybreak to the blessed Mary for her to see them: and each one of them came to her from his own land at dawn by the agency of the Holy Spirit, and they saluted Mary and each other, and adored her.' See Wright, Contributions to the Apoc. Lit. of the New Test.)

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 45

Of The Resurrection Of Our Lord.

Since the history of our Lord's Passion and Resurrection is recorded in the Gospel, there is no need to repeat it (here). After our Lord rose from the dead, He appeared ten times. First, to Mary Magdalene, as John the Evangelist records. Secondly, to the women at the grave, as Matthew mentions. Thirdly, to Cleopas and his companion, as Luke says. The companion of Cleopas, when they were going to Emmaus, was Luke the Evangelist. Fourthly, to Simon Peter, as Luke says. Fifthly, to all the disciples, except Thomas, on the evening of the first day of the week, when he went in through the closed doors, as Luke and John say. Sixthly, eight days after, to the disciples, and to Thomas with them, as John says. Seventhly, on the mount, as Matthew says. Eighthly, upon the sea of Tiberias, as John says. The reason that Simon Peter did not recognise Him was because he had denied Him, and was ashamed to look upon Him; but John, because of his frank intimacy with our Lord, immediately that he saw Him, knew Him. Ninthly, when He was taken up to heaven from the Mount of Olives, as Mark and Luke say. Tenthly, to the five hundred at once, who had risen from the dead, as Paul says. After His Ascension, He appeared to Paul on the way to Damascus, when He blinded his eyes; and also to Stephen, the martyr and deacon, when he was stoned.

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BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 46

Of The Ascension Of Our Lord To Heaven.

After our Redeemer had risen from the grave, and had gone about in the world forty days, He appeared to His disciples ten times, and ate and drank with them by the side of the Sea of Tiberias. At this point the heathen say to us, that if our Lord really ate and drank after His resurrection, there will certainly be eating and drinking after (our) resurrection; but if He did not really eat and drink, then all the actions of Christ are mere phantasms. To these we make answer, that this world is a world of need for food; therefore He ate and drank, that it might not be thought He was a phantom; and because many who have risen from the dead have eaten and drunk in (this) world until they departed and died, as, for example, the dead (child) whom Elisha raised, and the dead whom our Lord raised. Our Lord did not eat after His resurrection because He needed food, but only to make certain His humanity: for, behold, He once remained in the desert forty days without food, and was not injured by hunger. Some say that after His resurrection our Lord ate food like unto that which the angels ate in the house of Abraham, and that the food was dissipated and consumed by the Divine Power, just as fire licks up oil without any of it entering into its substance. Our Lord remained upon the earth forty days, even as He had fasted forty days, and as Elijah fasted forty days, and as Moses fasted forty days at two several times, and as the rain continued for forty days during the flood, and as God admonished the Ninevites for forty days, and as the spies remained (absent) for forty days, and as the children of Israel wandered about in the wilderness for forty years, and like the child whose fashioning in the womb is completed in forty days. After forty days, our Lord took up His disciples to the Mount of Olives, and laid His hand upon them, and blessed them, and commanded them concerning the preaching and teaching of the nations. And it came to pass that while He was blessing them, He was separated from them, and went up to heaven; and they worshipped Him. And there appeared to them angels, encouraging them and saying, 'This Jesus, who has been taken up from you to heaven, is about to come again even as ye have seen Him go up to heaven.' Then they returned to that upper chamber where they were, and stayed there ten days, until they received the Holy Spirit in the form of tongues of fire. Simon Peter said to his fellow-disciples, 'It is right for us to put some one in the place of Judas to complete the number of twelve;' and they cast lots, and the lot fell upon Matthias, and he was numbered with the eleven apostles.

As concerning the manner in which our Lord entered heaven without cleaving it, some say that He went in as He did through the closed doors; and as He came forth from the virgin womb, and Mary's virginity returned to its former state; and like the sweat from the body; and as water is taken up by the roots of the olive and other trees, and reaches in the twinkling of an eye the leaves, flowers and fruits, as if through certain ducts, without holes or channels being pierced in them. Thus by an infinite and ineffable miracle our Lord entered into heaven without cleaving it. And if the bodies of us who are accustomed to drink water and wine pour out sweat without our flesh being rent or our skin pierced, how very much easier is it for the Divine Power to go in through closed doors and within the firmament of heaven without rending or cleaving it?

As regards the upper chamber in which our Lord held His Passover, some say that it belonged to Lazarus, and others to Simon the Cyrenian, and others to Joseph the senator; but Joshua the son of Nun, the Catholicus, says that it belonged to Nicodemus. The apostles remained in the upper chamber ten days after the Ascension, being constant in fasting and prayer, and expecting the Spirit, the Comforter, which our Lord Jesus Christ promised them.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 47

Of The Descent Of The Holy Spirit Upon The Apostles In The Upper Chamber.

Ten days after our Lord's Ascension, when the holy apostles were assembled in the upper chamber waiting for the promise of our Lord, of a sudden, at the third hour of the holy Sunday of Pentecost, a mighty sound was heard, so that all men were terrified and marvelled at the mightiness of the sound; and the chamber was filled with an ineffably strong light. And there appeared over the head of each one of them (something) in the form of tongues of fire, and there breathed forth from thence a sweet odour which surpassed all aromas in this world. The eyes of their hearts were opened, and they began interpreting new things and uttering wonderful things in the languages of all nations. When the Jews saw them, they thought within themselves that they had been drinking new wine and were drunk, and that their minds were depraved. On that day they participated in the mystery of the body and blood of our Lord, and sanctified the leavened bread of the sign of the cross (the eucharistic wafers) and the oil of baptism.

Some men have a tradition that when our Lord broke His body for His disciples in the upper chamber, John the son of Zebedee hid a part of his portion until our Lord rose from the dead. And when our Lord appeared to His disciples and to Thomas with them, He said to Thomas, 'Hither with thy finger and lay it on My side, and be not unbelieving, but believing.' Thomas put his finger near to our Lord's side, and it rested upon the mark of the spear, and the disciples saw the blood from the marks of the spear and nails. And John took that piece of consecrated bread, and wiped up that blood with it; and the Easterns, Mar Addai and Mar Mari, took that piece, and with it they sanctified this unleavened bread which has been handed down among us. The other disciples did not take any of it, because they said, 'We will consecrate for ourselves whenever we wish.' As for the oil or baptism, some say that it was part of the oil with which they anointed the kings; others say that it was part of the unguent wherewith they embalmed our Lord; and many agree with this (statement). Others again say that when John took that piece of consecrated bread of the Passover in his hand, it burst into flame and burnt in the palm of his hand, and the palm of his hand sweated, and he took that sweat and hid it for the sign of the cross of baptism. This account we have heard by ear from the mouth of a recluse and visitor (Greek: periodeuths), and we have not received it from Scripture. The word Pentecost is interpreted 'the completion of fifty days.'

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 48

Of The Teaching Of The Apostles, And Of The Places Of Each One Of Them, And Of Their Deaths.

Next we write the excellent discourse composed by Mar Eusebius of Caesarea upon the places and families of the holy apostles.

Know then that the apostles were twelve and seventy. When the apostles had received the gift of the Holy Spirit, on the day following they fasted this feast of the apostles (which we keep); but the Malkaye (Melchites) say that the apostles fasted eight days after. Their names are as follows.

Simon, the chief of the apostles, was from Bethsaida, of the tribe of Naphtali. He first preached in Antioch, and built there the first of all churches, which was in the house of Cassianus, whose son he restored to life. He remained there one year, and there the disciples were called Christians. From thence he went to Rome, where he remained for twenty-seven years; and in the three hundred and seventy-sixth year of the Greeks, the wicked Nero crucified him head downwards.

Andrew his brother preached in Scythia and Nicomedia and Achaia. He built a church in Byzantium, and there he died and was buried.

John the son of Zebedee (Zabhdai) was also from Bethsaida, of the tribe of Zebulun. He first preached in Asia (Ephesus), and was afterwards cast into exile in the island of Patmos by Tiberius Caesar. He then went to Ephesus, and built in it a church. Three of his disciples went with him: Ignatius, who was afterwards bishop of Antioch, and who was thrown to the beasts in Rome; Polycarp, who was afterwards bishop of Smyrna, and was crowned by fire; and John, to whom he committed the priesthood and the bishopric after him. When John had lived a long time, he died and was buried at Ephesus; and John, the disciple of the Evangelist, who became bishop of Ephesus, buried him; for he commanded them that no one should know the place of his burial. The graves of both of them are in Ephesus; the hidden one of the Evangelist, and the other of his disciple John, the author of the Revelation; he said that everything he had written down, he had heard from John the Evangelist.

James, the brother of John, preached in his city Bethsaida, and built a church there. Herod Agrippas slew him with the sword one year after the Ascension of our Lord. He was laid in Akar, a city of Marmarika.

Philip also was from Bethsaida, of the tribe of Asher. He preached in Phrygia, Pamphylia and Pisidia; he built a church in Pisidia, and died and was buried there. He lived twenty-seven years as an apostle.

Thomas was from Jerusalem, of the tribe of Judah. He taught the Parthians, Medes and Indians; and because he baptised the daughter of the king of the Indians, he stabbed him with a spear and he died. Habban the merchant brought his body, and laid it in Edessa, the blessed city of Christ our Lord. Others say that he was buried in Mahluph, a city in the land of the Indians.

Matthew the Evangelist was from Nazareth, of the tribe of Issachar. He preached in Palestine, Tyre and Sidon, and went as far as Gabbula. He died and was buried in Antioch, a city of Pisidia.

Bartholomew was from Endor, of the tribe of Issachar. He preached in inner Armenia, Ardeshir, Ketarbol, Radbin, and Pruharman. After he had lived thirty years as an apostle, Hursti the king of the Armenians crucified him, and he was buried in the church which he built in Armenia.

Jude, the son of James, who was surnamed Thaddaeus (Taddai), who is also Lebbaeus (Lebbai), was from Jerusalem, of the tribe of Judah. He preached in Laodicea and in Antaradus and Arwad. He was stoned in Arwad, and died and was buried there.

Simon Zelotes was from Galilee, of the tribe of Ephraim. He preached in Shemeshat (Samosata), Parin (Perrhe), Zeugma, Halab (Aleppo), Mabbog (Manbig), and Kenneshrin (Kinnesrin). He built a church in Kyrrhos, and died and was buried there.

James, the son of Alphaeus (Halphai), was from the Jordan, of the tribe of Manasseh. He preached in Tadmor (Palmyra), Kirkesion (Kirkisiya), and Callinicos (ar-Rakkah), and came to Batnan of Serug (Sarug), where he built a church, and died and was buried there.

Judas Iscariot, the betrayer, was from the town of Sekharyut of the tribe of Gad, though some say that he was of the tribe of Dan. He was like unto the serpent that acts deceitfully towards its master, because like a serpent, he dealt craftily with his Lord. Matthias, of the tribe of Reuben, came in in his stead. He preached in Hellas, and in Sicily, where he built a church, and died and was buried in it.

While James the brother of our Lord was teaching the Jews in Jerusalem, they cast him down from a pinnacle of the temple; and while his life was yet in him, a fuller of cloth smote him upon the head with a club and beat it in; and afterwards they stoned him with stones.

John the Baptist was of the tribe of Levi. Herod the tetrarch slew him, and his body was laid in Sebastia.

Ananias (Hananya) the disciple of the Baptist taught in Damascus and Arbel. He was slain by Pol, the general of the army of Aretas, and was laid in the church which he built at Arbel (Irbil).

Paul of Tarsus was a Pharisee by sect, of the tribe of Ephraim. When he had been baptised by Ananias, he wrought many miracles, and taught great cities, and bore and suffered dangers not a few for the name of Christ. Afterwards he went to Peter at Rome. When they divided the world between them, and the heathen fell to Paul's lot, and the Jewish nation to Peter, and they had turned many to the truth of Christ, Nero commanded that they should both die a cruel death. Then Simon asked to be crucified head downwards, that he might kiss that part of the cross where the heels of his Master had been. As they were going forth to be slain, they gave the laying on of hands of the priesthood to their disciples, Peter to Mark, and Paul to Luke. When Peter had been crucified, and Paul slain, together with many of those who had become their disciples, Mark and Luke went forth by night, and brought their bodies into the city. Now Paul's head was lost among the slain, and could not be found. Some time after, when a shepherd was passing by the spot where the slain were buried, he found Paul's head, and took it upon the top of his staff, and laid it by his sheep-fold. At night he saw a fire blazing over it, and he went in (to the city) and informed the holy bishop Xystus (Sixtus) and the clergy of the church; and they all recognised that it was Paul's head. Xystus said to them, 'Let us watch and pray the whole night, and let us bring out the body and lay the head at its feet; and if it joins again to its neck, it will be certain that it is Paul's.' And when they had done so, the whole body was restored, and the head was joined to its neck as if the vertebrae had never been severed; and those who saw it were amazed and glorified God. From his call to the end of his life was thirty-five years; he went about in every place for thirty-one years; for two years he was in prison at Caesarea, and for two years at Rome. He was martyred in the thirty-sixth year after the Passion of our Lord, and was laid with great honour in the magnificent royal catacombs in Rome. They celebrate every year the day of his commemoration on the twenty-ninth of the month of Tammuz.

Luke the physician and Evangelist was first of all a disciple of Lazarus, the brother of Mary and Martha, and was afterwards baptised by Philip in the city of Beroea. He was crowned with the sword by Horos, the judge (or governor) of the emperor Tiberius, while he was preaching in Alexandria, and was buried there.

Mark the Evangelist preached in Rome, and died and was buried there. Some say that he was the son of Simon Peter's wife, others that he was the Son of Simon; and Rhoda was his sister. He was first called John, but the Apostles changed his name and called him Mark, that there might not be two Evangelists of one name.

Addai was from Paneas, and he preached in Edessa and in Mesopotamia in the days of Abgar the king; and he built a church in Edessa. After Abgar died, Herod Abgar's son slew him in the fortress of Aggel. His body was afterwards taken and carried to Rome; but some say that he was laid in Edessa.

Aggai his disciple was first of all a maker of silks for Abgar, and became a disciple. After Abgar's death, his son reigned, and he required of Aggai to weave silks for him; and when he consented not, saying, 'I cannot forsake teaching and preaching to return to weaving,' he smote him with a club upon his legs and brake them, and he died.

Thaddaeus (Taddai) came after him at Edessa, and Herod, the son of Abgar, slew him also; he was buried at Edessa.

Zacchaeus (Zaccai) the publican and the young man whom our Lord brought to life were both slain together while they were preaching in Mount Horon.

The Jews smote Simon the leper while he was teaching in Ramah, and he died (there).

Joseph the Senator taught in Galilee and Decapolis; he was buried in his town of Ramah.

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Nicodemus the Pharisee, the friend of our Lord, received and honoured the Apostles in Jerusalem; and he died and was buried there.

Nathaniel was stoned while he was teaching in Mount Horon, and died.

Simon the Cyrenian was slain while he was teaching in the island of Chios.

Simon the son of Cleopas became bishop of Jerusalem. When he was an old man, one hundred years of age, Irenaeus the chiliarch crucified him.

Stephen the martyr was stoned with stones at Jerusalem, and his body was laid in the village of Kephar Gamla.

Mark, who was surnamed John, taught at Nyssa and Nazianzus. He built a church at Nazianzus, and died and was buried there. Some say that he is the Evangelist, as we have mentioned.

Cephas, whom Paul mentions, taught in Baalbec, Hims (Emesa) and Nathron (Batharun). He died and was buried in Shiraz.

Barnabas taught in Italy and in Kura; he died and was buried in Samos.

Titus taught in Crete, and there he died and was buried.

Sosthenes taught in the country of Pontus and Asia. He was thrown into the sea by the command of Nonnus the prefect.

Criscus (Crescens) taught in Dalmatia; he was imprisoned in Alexandria, where he died of hunger and was buried.

Justus taught in Tiberias and in Caesarea, where he died and was buried.

Andronicus taught in Illyricum, where he died and was buried.

The people of Zeugma slew Rufus while he was teaching in Zeugma.

Patrobas taught in Chalcedon, and he died and was buried there.

Hermas the shepherd taught in Antioch, and he died and was buried there.

Narcissus taught in Hellas, and he died and was buried there.

Asyncritus went to Beth-Huzaye (Khuzistan), and there he died and was buried.

Aristobulus taught in Isauria, and there he died and was buried.

Onesimus was the slave of Philemon, and he fled from him and went to Paul, while he was in prison; because of this Paul calls him 'the son whom I have begotten in my bonds.' His legs were broken in Rome.

Apollos the elect was burnt with fire by Sparacleus, the governor of Gangra.

Olympas, Stachys and Stephen were imprisoned in Tarsus, and there they died in prison.

Junias was captured in Samos, and there he was slain and died.

Theocritus died while teaching in Ilios, and was buried there.

Martalus was slain while teaching the barbarians.

Niger taught in Antioch, and died and was buried there.

They dragged Lucius behind a horse, and thus he ended his life.

While Alexander was teaching in Heracleopolis, they threw him into a pit and he died.

Milus, while he was teaching in Rhodes, was thrown into the sea and drowned.

Silvanus and Herodion (Rhodion) were slain while they were preaching in the city of Acco.

Silas taught in Sarapolis (Hierapolis?), and died and was buried there.

Timothy taught in Ephesus, and died and was buried there.

Manael was burnt with fire while teaching in Acco, and died.

The Eunuch whom Philip baptised, the officer of Candace the queen of the Ethiopians, went to Ethiopia and preached there. Afterwards, while he was preaching in the island of Parparchia, they strangled him with a cord.

Jason and Sosipatrus were thrown to the wild beasts while they were teaching in Olmius.

Demas taught in Thessalonica, and there he died and was buried.

Omius (Hymenaeus) taught in Melitene, and there he died and was buried.

They threw Thraseus into a fiery furnace, while he was teaching at Laodicea.

Bistorius (Aristarchus?) taught in the island of Ko, and there he died and was buried.

Abrios and Motos went to the country of the Ethiopians, and there they died and were buried.

Levi was slain by Charmus, while he was teaching in Paneas.

Nicetianus (Nicetas) was sawn in two while teaching in Tiberias.

While John and Theodorus were preaching in the theatre of Baalbec, they threw them to the beasts.

The prefect Methalius slew Euchestion and Simon in Byzantium.

Ephraim (Aphrem) taught in Baishan, and he died and was buried there.

Justus was slain at Corinth.

James taught and preached in Nicomedia, and he died and was buried there.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 49

The Names Of The Apostles In Order.

The names of The Twelve. Simon Peter; Andrew his brother; James the son of Zebedee; John his brother; Philip; Bartholomew; Thomas; Matthew the publican; James the son of Alphaeus; Labbaeus, who was surnamed Thaddaeus; Simon the Cananite; Judas Iscariot, in whose stead came in Matthias.

The names of The Seventy. James, the son of Joseph; Simon the son of Cleopas; Cleopas his father; Joses; Simon; Judah; Barnabas; Manaeus; Ananias, who baptised Paul; Cephas, who preached at Antioch; Joseph the senator; Nicodemus the archon; Nathaniel the chief scribe; Justus, that is Joseph, who is called Barshabba; Silas; Judah; John, surnamed Mark; Mnason, who received Paul; Manaël, the foster-brother of Herod; Simon called Niger; Jason, who is (mentioned) in the Acts (of the Apostles); Rufus; Alexander; Simon the Cyrenian, their father; Lucius the Cyrenian; another Judah, who is mentioned in the Acts (of the Apostles); Judah, who is called Simon; Eurion (Orion) the splay-footed; Thorus; Thorisus; Zabdon; Zakron. These are the seven who were chosen with Stephen: Philip the Evangelist, who had three daughters that used to prophesy; Stephen; Prochorus; Nicanor; Timon; Parmenas; Nicolaus, the Antiochian proselyte; Andronicus the Greek; Titus; Timothy.

These are the five who were with Peter in Rome: Hermas; Pligta; Patrobas; Asyncritus; Hermas.

These are the six who came with Peter to Cornelius: Criscus (Crescens); Milichus; Kiriton (Crito); Simon; Gaius, who received Paul; Abrazon; Apollos.

These are the twelve who were rejected from among the seventy, as Judas Iscariot was from among the twelve, because they absolutely denied our Lord's divinity at the instigation of Cerinthus. Of these Luke said, 'They went out from us, but they were not of us;' and Paul called them 'false apostles and deceitful workers.' Simon; Levi; Bar-Kubba; Cleon; Hymenaeus; Candarus; Clithon; Demas; Narcissus; Slikispus; Thaddaeus; Marutha. In their stead there came in these: Luke the physician; Apollos the elect; Ampelius; Urbanus; Stachys; Popillius (or Publius); Aristobulus; Stephen (not the Corinthian); Herodion the son of Narcissus; Olympas; Mark the Evangelist; Addai; Aggai; Mar Mari.

It is said that each one of the twelve and of the seventy wrote a Gospel; but in order that there might be no contention and that the number of 'Acts' might not be multiplied, the apostles adopted a plan and chose two of the seventy, Luke and Mark, and two of the twelve, Matthew and John.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 50

Of Some Minor Matters.

These are they who were married among the apostles: Peter, the chief of the apostles; Philip the Evangelist; Paul; Nathaniel, who is Bartholomew; Labbaeus, who is Thaddaeus, who is Judah the son of Jacob; Simon the Cananite, who is Zelotes, who is Judah the son of Simon.

The child whom our Lord called and set (in the midst), and said, 'Except ye be converted, and become as children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven,' was Ignatius, who became patriarch of Antioch. He saw in a vision the angels ministering in two bands, and he ordained that (men) should minister in the church in like manner. After some time this order was broken through; and when Diodorus went with his father on an embassy to the land of Persia, and saw that they ministered in two bands, he came to Antioch his country, and re-established the custom of their ministering in two bands.

The children whom they brought near to our Lord, that He might lay His hand upon them and pray, were Timothy and Titus, and they were deemed worthy of the office of bishop.

The names of the Maries who are mentioned in the Gospels. Mary the Virgin, the mother of our Lord; Mary the wife of Joseph; Mary the mother of Cleopas and Joseph; Mary the wife of Peter, the mother of Mark the Evangelist; and Mary the sister of Lazarus. Some say that Mary the sinner is Mary of Magdala; but others do not agree with this, and say that she was other than the Magdalene. Those who say that she was the Magdalene tell us that she built herself a tower with the wages of fornication; and those who say that she was other than the Magdalene, say that Mary Magdalene was called after the name of her town Magdala, and that she was a pure and holy woman.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 51

The Names Of The Eastern Catholics, The Successors Of The Apostles Addai And Mari.

Addai was buried in Edessa.

Mari (was buried) in the convent of Koni.

Abris, called in Greek A[m]brosius; the place of his grave is unknown; he was of the laying on of hands of Antioch.

Abraham was of the laying on of hands of Antioch; he was descended from the family of Jacob the son of Joseph; his grave is in Ctesiphon.

James, of the laying on of hands of Antioch, was also of the family of Joseph the husband of Mary; his grave is in Ctesiphon.

Aha-dabu[hi] was of the laying on of hands of Antioch; his grave is in Ctesiphon.

Shahlupha was of the laying on of hands of Ctesiphon, and he was buried there.

Papa; his grave is at Ctesiphon.

Simon bar Sabbae was martyred at Shoshan.

Shah-dost was buried in Ctesiphon.

Bar-Beesh-shemin was martyred and buried in Elam (Khuzistan).

Tumarsa was buried in Ctesiphon.

Kayoma was buried in Ctesiphon; he abdicated the patriarchate, and another was put in his place, and was before him until he died.

Isaac was buried in Ctesiphon.

Aha was buried in Ctesiphon.

Yab-alaha was of the school of Mar Abda; he was buried in Ctesiphon.

Mana dwelt in Persia and was buried there.

Dad-isho was buried in Herta. In his days the strife between Nestorius and Cyril (of Alexandria) took place.

Baboi was martyred and buried in Herta.

Akak (Acacius) was of the family of Baboi the Catholicus; he was buried in al-Madaïn.

Babai took a wife, and was buried at Ctesiphon,

Shila took a wife, and was buried in his convent beside Awana.

Paul was buried in Ctesiphon.

Mar(i)-aba was buried in Herta, and was a martyr without bloodshed.

Ezekiel was buried in Herta.

Isho-yab of Arzon was buried in Herta.

Sabr-isho was buried in Herta.

Gregory was buried in . . . . . .

Isho-yab of Gedala was buried in . . . . . .

Mar[i]-emmeh was buried in Ketimiya.

Isho-yab of Adiabene was buried in Beth-Abe.

George was buried in . . . . . .

John was buried in . . . . . .

Henan-isho was buried in . . . . . .

Seliba-zekha was buried in Ctesiphon.

Pethion was buried in Ctesiphon.

Mar[i]-aba was buried in al-Madaïn.

Jacob was buried in . . . . . .

Henan-isho was buried in . . . . . .

Timothy was buried in his own convent.

Isho (Joshua) the son of Non (Nun) was buried in the convent of Timothy.

George was buried in the same convent.

Sabr-isho was buried in the same convent.

Abraham was buried in the same convent.

Athanasius was buried in the same convent.

Sergius was buried in the same convent.

Anosh (Enos) was buried in the same convent.

John the son of Narsai was buried in the Greek Palace (at Baghdad).

Joannes was buried in the Greek Palace.

John was buried in the Greek Palace.

Abraham was buried in the convent of Abdon.

Emmanuel was buried in the Greek Palace.

Israel was buried in the Greek Palace.

Abd-isho was buried in the Greek Palace.

Mari was buried in the Greek Palace.

Joannes was buried in the Greek Palace.

John was buried in the Greek Palace.

Isho-yab was buried in the Grek Palace.

Elijah (Eliya) was buried in the Greek Palace.

John was buried in the Greek Palace.

Sabr-isho was buried in the Greek Palace.

Abd-isho was buried in the Greek Palace.

Makkikha was buried in the Greek Palace.

Elijah (Eliya) was buried in the Greek Palace.

Bar-sauma was buried in the Greek Palace.

Abd-isho was buried . . . . . .

Isho-yab was buried in the church of Mar Sabr-isho.

Elijah (Eliya) was buried in the church of Mar Sabr-isho.

Yab-alaha was buried in the church of Mart[i] Maryam (my lady Mary).

Sabr-isho was buried in the church of Mart[i] Maryam.

Sabr-isho was buried . . . . . .

[Mar Makkikha was buried . . . . . .

Mar Denha was buried . . . . . .

Mar Yab-alaha the Turk was buried . . . . . .

Mar Timothy was buried . . . . . .

Mar Denha was buried . . . . . .

Mar Simon was buried . . . . . .

Mar Elijah (Eliya) was buried . . . . . .

Mar Simon of our days, may he live for ever!]

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The names of the Catholics who were deposed and dismissed (from office): Mar(i)-bokht, Narsai, Elisha, Joseph and Soren.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 52

The Names Of The Kings Who Have Reigned In The World From The Flood Until Now.

The Median Kings Who Reigned In Babylon.

Darius the son of Vashtasp (Hystaspes) reigned 24 years.

Ahshiresh (Xerxes) his son, 20 years.

Artahshisht the long-hand (Artaxerxes Longimanus), 41 years.

Daryawash (Darius) the son of the concubine, 20 years.

Artahshisht (Artaxerxes) the ruler, 30 years.

Arses the son of Ochus, 4 years.

Daryawash (Darius) the son of Arsham (Arsanes), 6 years.

The Years Of The Egyptian Kings.

Alexander the son of Philip, 12 years. Ptolemy the son of Lagos, 40 years. Ptolemy Philadelphus, 38 years. In his third year3 the fifth millennium ended. This (king) asked the captive Jews who were in Egypt, and seventy old men translated the Scriptures for him, from Hebrew into Greek, in the island of Pharos. In return for this he set them free, and gave back to them also the vessels of their temple. Their names are these. Josephus, Hezekiah, Zechariah, John, Ezekiel, Elisha; these were of the tribe of Reuben. Judah, Simon, Samuel, Addai, Mattathias, Shalmi; these were of the tribe of Simeon. Nehemiah, Joseph, Theodosius, Basa, Adonijah, Daki5; these were of the tribe p. 121 of Levi. Jothan1, Abdi, Elisha, Ananias, Zechariah, Hilkiah; these were of the tribe of Judah. Isaac, Jacob, Jesus, Sambat (Sabbateus), Simon, Levi; these were of the tribe of Issachar. Judah, Joseph, Simon, Zechariah, Samuel, Shamli2; these were of the tribe of Zebulon. Sambat (Sabbateus), Zedekiah, Jacob, Isaac, Jesse, Matthias; these were of the tribe of Gad. Theodosius, Jason, Joshua, John, Theodotus, Jothan3; these were of the tribe of Asher. Abraham, Theophilus, Arsam, Jason, Jeremiah, Daniel; these were of the tribe of Dan. Jeremiah, Eliezer, Zechariah, Benaiah, Elisha, Dathi; these were of the tribe of Naphtali. Samuel, Josephus, Judah, Jonathan, Dositheus, Caleb; these were of the tribe of Joseph. Isalus, John, Theodosius, Arsam, Abijah4, Ezekiel; these were of the tribe of Benjamin.

After Ptolemy Philadelphus arose Ptolemy Euergetes; (he reigned) 26 years5.

Ptolemy Philopator, 17 years.

Ptolemy Epiphanes, 24 years.

Ptolemy Philometor, 35 years. The time of the Maccabees extended to this (reign), and in it the old Covenant came to an end.

Ptolemy Soter, 17 years.

Ptolemy Alexander, 18 years.

Ptolemy Dionysius, 30 years.

The Years Of The Roman Emperors.

Gaius Julius (Caesar), 4 years.

(Octavianus Caesar) Augustus, 57 years. In the forty-third year of his reign our Lord Christ was born.

Tiberius, 23 years. In the fifteenth year of his reign our Lord was baptised; and in the seventeenth year He suffered, died, rose again, and ascended to heaven1.

Gaius (Caligula), 4 years.

Claudius, 14 years.

Nero, 14 years.

(Flavius) Vespasianus, 10 years. Immediately after he came to the throne, he sent his son Titus against Jerusalem, and he besieged it for two years, until he uprooted it and destroyed it.

(Flavius) Titus, 2 years.

(Flavius) Domitianus, 15 years.

Trajan, 20 years. John, the son of Zebedee, lived until the seventh year of his reign.

Hadrian, 20 years.

(Marcus Aurelius) Antoninus, 20 years.

Verus, 20 years.

Commodus, 14 years.

Severus, 20 years.

The house of Antoninus.

Alexander the son of Mammaea, 13 years.

Maximinius and Gordianus, 9 years.

Philip and Gallus, 10 years.

Valerianus and Gallius (Gallienus), 15 years.

Claudius and Tacitus, 16 years.

Diocletian and those that were with him, 20 years.

(Flavius) Constantinus, 33 years.

The Kings Of The Persians From Shabor (Sapor) The Son Of Hormizd1.

In the fourth year of Constantinus Caesar the Victorious, Shabor reigned in Persia 70 years.

Ardashir his brother, 20 years.

Vahran (Bahram) and Shabor, the sons of Ardashir, 20 years.

Yazdagerd, the son of Shabor, 20 years.

Vahran (Bahram), the son of Yazdagerd, 20 years.

Peroz, the son of Yazdagerd, 27 years.

Balash, the son of Peroz, 4 years.

Kawad, the son of Peroz, 41 years.

Chosrau, the son of Kawad, 47 years.

Hormizd, the son of Chosrau, 12 years.

From Shabor to this fifteenth year of Chosrau the son of Hormizd, in which he destroyed Dara, is three hundred and six years. The sum of all the years from Adam to this fifteenth year of Chosrau the conqueror, which is the nine hundred and sixteenth year of the Greeks3, is 5861 years. From Adam to the Crucifixion is 5280 years. The whole of the Jewish economy therefore, from the time they went out of Egypt until Jerusalem was destroyed by Titus, was 1601 years. From Abraham to this year is 2031 years.

Of The Years That Have Passed Away From The World.

From Adam to the Flood was 2262 years. From the Flood to Abraham was 1015 years. From Abraham to the Exodus of the people from Egypt was 430 years. From the Exodus of the people by the hand of Moses to Solomon and the building of the Temple was 400 years. From Solomon to the first Captivity, which Nebuchadnezzar led away captive, was 495 years. From the first Captivity to the prophesying of Daniel was 180 years. From the prophesying of Daniel to the Birth p. 124 of our Lord was 483 years. All these years make 5345 years1. From Alexander to our Lord was 303 years. From our Lord to Constantine was 341 years. In the year 438 of Alexander the Macedonian, the kingdom of the Persians had its beginning2. Know, O my brother readers, that from the beginning of the creation of Adam to Alexander was 5180 years.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 53

Of The End Of Times And The Change Of Kingdoms; From The Book Of Methodius, Bishop Of Rome.

In this seventh and last millennium will the kingdom of the Persians be destroyed. In it will the children of Ishmael go forth from the wilderness of Yathrib (al-Medinah), and they will all come and be gathered together in Gibeah of Ramah, and there shall the fat ones of the kingdom of the Greeks, who destroyed the kingdoms of the Hebrews and the Persians, be destroyed by Ishmael, the wild ass of the desert; for in wrath shall he be sent against the whole earth, against man and beast and trees, and it shall be a merciless chastisement. It is not because God loves them that He has allowed them to enter into the kingdoms of the Christians, but by reason of the iniquity and sin which is wrought by the Christians, the like of which has never been wrought in any one of the former generations. They are mad with drunkenness and anger and shameless lasciviousness; they have intercourse with one another wickedly, a man and his son committing fornication with one woman, the brother with his brother's wife, male with male, and female with female, contrary to the law of nature and of Scripture, as the blessed Paul has said, 'Male with male did work shame, and likewise also the women did work lewdness, and, contrary to nature, had intercourse with one another.' Therefore they have brought upon themselves the recompense of punishment which is meet for their error, women as well as men, and hence God will deliver them over to the impurity of the barbarians, that their wives may be polluted by the sons of pollution, and men may be subjected to the yoke of tribute; then shall men sell everything that they have and give it to them, but shall not be able to pay the debt of the tribute, until they give also their children to them into slavery. And the tyrant shall exalt himself until he demands tribute and poll-tax from the dead that lie in the dust, first oppressing the orphans and defrauding the widows. They will have no pity upon the poor, nor will they spare the miserable; they will not relieve the afflicted; they will smite the grey hairs of the aged, despise the wise, and honour fools; they will mock at those who frame laws, and the little shall be esteemed as the great, and the despised as the honourable; their words shall cut like swords, and there is none who shall be able to change the persuasive force of their words. The path of their chastisement shall be from sea to sea, and from east to west, and from north to south, and to the wilderness of Yathrib. In their latter days there shall be great tribulation, old men and old women hungering and thirsting, and tortured in bonds until they account the dead happy. They will rip up the pregnant woman, and tear infants away from their mothers' bosoms and sell them like beasts, and those that are of no use to them will they dash against the stones. They will slay the priests and deacons in the sanctuary, and they will lie with their wives in the houses of God. They will make clothes for themselves and their wives out of the holy vestments, and they will spread them upon their horses, and work impurity upon them in their beds. They will bring their cattle into the churches and altars, and they will tie up their dogs by the shrines of the saints. In those days the spirit of the righteous and of them that are well versed in signs will be grieved. The feeble will deny the true faith, the holy Cross, and the life-giving mysteries; and without compulsion many will deny Christ, and become rebels and slanderers and boasters, denying the faith. With this chastisement shall the Christians be tried. For at that time the righteous, the humble, the peaceful and the gentle will not be sought after, but liars and slanderers and accusers and disturbers and the obscene and those who are destitute of mercy, and those who scoff at their parents and blaspheme the life-giving mysteries. And the true believers shall come into troubles and persecutions until they despair of their lives. Honour shall be taken away from the priests, and the pastors shall become as the people. When the measure of their (i.e. the Ishmaelites') victory is full, tribulation will increase, and chastisement will be doubled upon man and beast. And there shall be a great famine, and the dead bodies of men shall lie in the streets and squares without any one to bury them, and (just) reckoning shall vanish and disappear from the earth, And men shall sell their brass and their iron and their clothes, and shall give their sons and their daughters willingly to the heathen. A man shall lie down in the evening and rise in the morning, and shall find at his do or two or three exactors and officers to carry off by force; and two or three women shall throw themselves upon one man and say, 'We will eat our own bread, and wear our own apparel, only let us take refuge beneath thy skirts.' When men are oppressed and beaten, and hunger and thirst, and are tormented by that bitter chastisement; while the tyrants shall live luxuriously and enjoy themselves, and eat and drink, and boast in the victory they have won, having destroyed nations and peoples, and shall adorn themselves like brides, saying, 'The Christians have neither a God nor a deliverer;' then all of a sudden there shall be raised up against them pains like those of a woman in childbirth; and the king of the Greeks shall go forth against them in great wrath, and he shall rouse himself like a man who has shaken off his wine. He shall go forth against them from the sea of the Cushites, and shall cast the sword and destruction into the wilderness of Yathrib and into the dwelling-place of their fathers. They shall carry off captive their wives and sons and daughters into the service of slavery, and fear of all those round about them shall fall upon them, and they shall all be delivered into the hand of the king of the Greeks, and shall be given over to the sword and to captivity and to slaughter, and their latter subjection shall be one hundred times more severe than their (former) yoke. They shall be in sore tribulation from hunger and thirst and anxiety; they shall be slaves unto those who served them, and bitter shall their slavery be. Then shall the earth which has become desolate of its inhabitants find peace, and the remnant that is left shall return every man to his own land and to the inheritance of his fathers; and men shall increase like locusts upon the earth which was laid waste. Egypt shall be ravaged, Arabia shall be burnt with fire, the land of Hebron shall be laid waste, and the tongue of the sea shall be at peace. All the wrath and anger of the king of the Greeks shall have full course upon those who have denied Christ. And there shall be great peace on earth, the like of which has not been from the creation of the world until its end; for it is the last peace. And there shall be great joy on earth, and men shall dwell in peace and quiet; convents and churches shall be restored, cities shall be built, the priests shall be freed from taxes, and men shall rest from labour and anxiety of heart. They shall eat and drink; there shall be neither pain nor care; and they shall marry wives and beget children during that true peace. Then shall the gates of the north be opened, and the nations shall go forth that were imprisoned there by Alexander the king.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 54

Of Gog And Magog, Who Are Imprisoned In The North.

When Alexander was king and had subdued countries and cities, and had arrived in the East, he saw on the confines of the East those men who are of the children of Japhet. They were more wicked and unclean than all (other) dwellers in the world; filthy peoples of hideous appearance, who ate mice and the creeping things of the earth and snakes and scorpions. They never buried the bodies of their dead, and they ate as dainties the children which women aborted and the after-birth. People ignorant of God, and unacquainted with the power of reason, but who lived in this world without understanding like ravening beasts. When Alexander saw their wickedness, he called God to his aid, and he gathered together and brought them and their wives and children, and made them go in, and shut them up within the confines of the North. This is the gate of the world on the north, and there is no other entrance or exit from the confines of the world from the east to the north. And Alexander prayed to God with tears, and God heard his prayer and commanded those two lofty mountains which are called 'the children of the north,' and they drew nigh to one another until there remained between them about twelve cubits. Then he built in front of them a strong building, and be made for it a door of brass, and anointed it within and without with oil of Thesnaktis, so that if they should bring iron (implements) near it to force it open, they would be unable to move it; and if they wished to melt it with fire, it would quench it; and it feared neither the operations of devils nor of sorcerers, and was not to be overcome (by them). Now there were twenty-two kingdoms

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imprisoned within the northern gate, and tbeir names are these: Gog, Magog, Nawal, Eshkenaz, Denaphar, Paktaye, Welotaye, Humnaye, Parzaye, Daklaye, Thaubelaye, Darmetaye, Kawkebaye, Dog-men (Cynocephali), Emderatha, Garmido, Cannibals, Therkaye, Alanaye, Pisilon, Denkaye, Saltraye. At the end of the world and at the final consummation, when men are eating and drinking and marrying wives, and women are given to husbands; when they are planting vineyards and building buildings, and there is neither wicked man nor adversary, on account of the assured tranquillity and certain peace; suddenly the gates of the north shall be opened and the hosts of the nations that are imprisoned there shall go forth. The whole earth shall tremble before them, and men shall flee and take refuge in the mountains and in caves and in burial places and in clefts of the earth; and they shall die of hunger; and there will be none to bury them, by reason of the multitude of afflictions which they will make men suffer. They will eat the flesh of men and drink the blood of animals; they will devour the creeping things of the earth, and hunt for serpents and scorpions and reptiles that shoot out venom, and eat them. They will eat dead dogs and cats, and the abortions of women with the after-birth; they will give mothers the bodies of their children to cook, and they will eat them before them without shame. They will destroy the earth, and there will be none able to stand before them. After one week of that sore affliction, they will all be destroyed in the plain of Joppa, for thither will all those (people) be gathered together, with their wives and their sons and their daughters; and by the command of God one of the hosts of the angels will descend and will destroy them in one moment.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 55

Of The Coming Of The Antichrist, The Son Of Perdition.

In a week and half a week after the destruction of these wretches shall the son of destruction appear. He shall be conceived in Chorazin, born in Bethsaida, and reared in Capernaum. Chorazin shall exult because he was conceived in her, Bethsaida because he was born in her, and Capernaum because he was brought up in her; for this reason our Lord proclaimed Woe to these three (cities) in the Gospel. As soon as the son of perdition is revealed, the king of the Greeks will go up and stand upon Golgotha, where our Lord was crucified; and he will set the royal crown upon the top of the holy Cross, upon which our Lord was crucified; and he will stretch out his two hands to heaven; and will deliver over the kingdom to God the Father. The holy Cross will be taken up to heaven, and the royal crown with it; and the king will die immediately. The king who shall deliver over the kingdom to God will be descended from the seed of Kushath the daughter of Pil, the king of the Ethiopians; for Armelaus (Romulus) the king of the Greeks took Kushath to wife, and the seed of the Ethiopians was mingled with that of the Greeks. From this seed shall a king arise who shall deliver the kingdom over to God, as the blessed David has said, 'Cush will deliver the power to God.' When the Cross is raised up to heaven, straightway shall every head and every ruler and all powers be brought to nought, and God will withdraw His providential care from the earth. The heavens will be prevented from letting fall rain, and the earth from producing germs and plants; and the earth shall remain like iron through drought, and the heavens like brass. Then will the son of perdition appear, of the seed and of the tribe of Dan; and he will shew deluding phantasms, and lead astray the world, for the simple will see the lepers cleansed, the blind with their eyes opened, the paralytic walking, the devils cast out, the sun when he looks upon it becoming black, the moon when he commands it becoming changed, the trees putting forth fruit from their branches, and the earth making roots to grow. He will shew deluding phantasms (of this kind), but he will not be able to raise the dead. He will go into Jerusalem and will sit upon a throne in the temple saying, 'I am the Christ;' and he will be borne aloft by legions of devils like a king and a lawgiver, naming himself God, and saying, 'I am the fulfilment of the types and the parables.' He will put an end to prayers and offerings, as if at his appearance prayers are to be abolished and men will not need sacrifices and offerings along with him. He becomes a man incarnate by a married woman of the tribe of Dan. When this son of destruction becomes a man, he will be made a dwelling-place for devils, and all Satanic workings will be perfected in him. There will be gathered together with him all the devils and all the hosts of the Indians; and before all the Indians and before all men will the mad Jewish nation believe in him, saying, 'This is the Christ, the expectation of the world.' The time of the error of the Antichrist will last two years and a half, but others say three years and six months. And when every one is standing in despair, then will Elijah (Elias) come from Paradise, and convict the deceiver, and turn the heart of the fathers to the children and the heart of the children to the fathers; and he will encourage and strengthen the hearts of the believers.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 56

Of Death And The Departure Of The Soul From The Body.

The foundation of all good and precious things, of all the greatness of God's gifts, of His true love, and of our arriving in His presence, is Death. Men die in five ways. Naturally; as David said, 'Unless his day come and he die,' alluding to Saul. Voluntarily; as when Saul killed himself in the battle with the Philistines. By accident; such as a fall from a roof, and other fatal accidents. By violence, from devils and men and wild beasts and venomous reptiles. By (divine) chastisement; as the flood in the days of Noah, and the fire which fell upon the Sodomites, and other such like things. But (side by side) with all these kinds of fatalities runs the providence of God's government, which cannot be comprehended by the creatures, restraining (them) where it is meet (to restrain), and letting (them) loose where it is fitting (to let loose). This government is not comprehended in this world, neither by angels nor by men; but in the world which is to come all rational beings will know it. When the soul goes forth from the body, as Abba Isaiah says, the angels go with it: then the hosts of darkness go forth to meet it, seeking to seize it and examine it, if there be anything of theirs in it. Then the angels do not fight with them, but those deeds which the soul has wrought protect it and guard it, that they come not near it. If its deeds be victorious, then the angels sing praises before it until it meets God with joy. In that hour the soul forgets every deed of this world. Consequently, no one who does not obtain remission (of sins) in this world can be free from the penalty of examination in that day. Not that there is torture or pleasure or recompense before the resurrection; but the soul knows everything that it has done whether of good or evil.

As to where the souls abide from the time they leave their bodies until the resurrection, some say that they are taken up to heaven, that is, to the region of spirit, where the celestial hosts dwell. Others say that they go to Paradise, that is, to the place which is abundantly supplied with the good things of the mystery of the revelations of God; and that the souls of sinners lie in darkness in the abyss of Eden outside Paradise. Others say that they are buried with their bodies; that is to say, as the two were buried in God at baptism, so also will they now dwell in Him until the day of the resurrection. Others say that they stand at the mouth of the graves and await their Redeemer; that is to say, they possess the knowledge of the resurrection of their bodies. Others say that they are as it were in a slumber, because of the shortness of the time; for they point out in regard to them that what seems to us a very long time is to them as a momentary nod (or wink) in its shortness. And just as he that is sunk in slumber departs from the life of this world, and yet does not arrive at absolute mortality, so also are they in an intermediate knowledge which is higher than that of this world, and yet attain not to that which is after the resurrection. Those who say that they are like an infant which has no knowledge, shew that they call even the knowledge of the truth ignorance in comparison with that knowledge of the truth which shall be bestowed upon them after the resurrection.

That the souls of the righteous pray, and that their prayers assist those who take refuge with them, may be learned from many, especially from Mar Theodore in his account of the blessed Thecla. Therefore it is right for those who have a holy man for a friend, to rejoice when he goes to our Lord in Paradise, because their friend has the power to help them by his prayers. Like the blind disciple of one of the saints mentioned in the Book of the Paradise, who, when his master was dying, wept bitterly and said, 'To whose care dost thou leave the poor blind man?' And his master encouraged him, and said to him, 'I believe in God that, if I find mercy in His sight, at the end of a week thou wilt see;' and after some days he did see. The souls of the righteous also hold spiritual conversation with each other, according to the Divine permission and command which moves them to this by necessary causes. Neither those who have departed this life in the flesh are hindered from this (intercourse), nor those who are still clad in their fleshly garments, if they live their life in them holily.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 57

Of The Quickening And The General Resurrection, The Consummation Of The Material World And The Beginning Of The New World.

After Elijah comes and conquers the son of destruction, and encourages the believers, for a space and a time which is known to God alone, there will appear the living sign of our Lord's Cross, honoured and borne aloft in the hands of the Archangel Gabriel. Its light will overpower the light of the sun, to the reproach and putting to shame of the infidels and the crucifying Jews. As soon as the life-giving Cross appears before our Lord, as the Doctor saith, 'His victory comes before Him,' etc., then a powerful light will fill the whole vaulted space between the heavens and the earth, the radiance and light whereof will be above all (other) lights; and suddenly will the mighty sound of the first trumpet of the Archangel be heard, concerning which our Lord said, 'At midnight there will be a cry, "Behold the Bridegroom cometh, go ye forth to meet Him."' At this trumpet the sun shall become dark, the moon shall not display its light, the stars shall drop from the heavens like leaves, and the powers of the heavens shall be moved. The earth shall totter and tremble, the mountains and hills shall melt, the sea shall be disturbed and shall cause terrible sounds to be heard. The rivers shall submerge the earth, the trees shall be uprooted, buildings shall fall, towns and villages shall be overturned, and high walls and strong towers shall be thrown down. The wild beasts and cattle and fowl and fish shall come to an end and perish; and everything shall be destroyed, except a few human beings who shall remain alive, and whom the resurrection shall overtake, of whom Paul has said, 'We who are left shall not overtake them that sleep,' meaning to say that those who are found alive at the time of the resurrection will not sleep the sleep of death; as the apostle says again, 'Behold I tell you a mystery; we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed.' As touching the heavens, some say that they will be rent, and that the waters which are above the firmament will descend, for it is not possible for the substance of water to pass through the substance of the firmament. Others say that as water passes through a tree or a piece of pottery, and sweat through the skin, so also will men enter into heaven and not be prevented, and (in like manner too) will the waters descend from above. Others say that the firmament will be rolled up like the curtain of a tent.

The second trumpet is that at the sound of which the firmament will be opened, and our Lord will appear from heaven in splendour and great glory. He will come down with the glory of His divinity as far as two-thirds of the distance between the firmament and the earth, whither Paul ascended in the spirit of revelation. He will then make an end of the son of perdition, and destroy him body and soul, and He will hurl Satan and the devils into Gehenna.

The third trumpet is the last, at which the dead will rise, and the living be changed, as the blessed Paul says, 'Swiftly, as in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet when it sounds; and the dead shall rise without corruption, and we shall be changed.' So swiftly and speedily will the resurrection of all men be wrought, according to the spiritual nature of the new world. For the swiftness of the resurrection will surpass the swiftness of understanding, and the spiritual hosts alone see and know in what manner it will take place, every man being suddenly found standing in his spirituality. Some men therefore have a tradition that the resurrection of the righteous and the just and the believers will precede that of other men, who are remote from the true faith; but according to the opinion of the truthful and of people generally, the resurrection of the whole human race will take place quicker than lightning and than the twinkling of an eye; from the generation of Adam to the latest generation they shall rise at the last trumpet. And though, according to the opinion of the Expositor, many sounds will be heard on that night, each one of which is a sign of what will happen, yet, according to the consent of the greater part of the expositors and of Scripture, three distinct trumpets will sound by which the whole work of the resurrection will be completed and finished. Michael the expositor and exegete, however, says otherwise in the book of Questions, speaking as follows: 'The world will not pass away and be dissolved before the vivification of the dead, but the coming of our Lord will be seen first of all, who will come with the spiritual hosts; and immediately our Lord's power will compel the earth to give up the parts of the bodies of men who have been slain and have become dust and ashes within it; and there will be a making ready and preparation of the souls to receive their bodies all together. If, before the vivification of the dead, the world and all that is therein were to pass away, from whence pray would the dead rise? Those who say that the world will pass away before the vivification of the dead are fools and simpletons; for Christ will not make the world pass away before the vivification of the dead, but He will first of all raise the dead, and men will see with their eyes the passing away of the world, the uprooting of the elements, and the destruction of the heavens and the earth and the sun and the moon and the stars; and from here sorrow will begin to reign in the mind of the wicked, and endless joy in the mind of the righteous.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 58

Of The Manner And State In Which Men Will Rise In The Day Of The Resurrection.

All classes and conditions of men will rise from the dead in the state of the perfect form of Christ, about thirty-three years of age, even as our Redeemer rose from the grave. We shall rise with all our limbs perfect, and with the same constitutions, without addition or diminution. Some say that the hair and nails and prepuce will rise, and some say they will not; as if they were superfluous for the completion of the nature of man. Some say concerning the resurrection that a likeness only will rise, without parts and without the composition of the limbs of man; a mere similitude of hands and feet and hardness of bones. Others say that the whole man will be cast into one crystalline substance, and that all his parts will be mingled together; and they do not grant him an

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ordered arrangement of composition. Others say that the vessels which are inside the belly, such as the bowels, liver, etc., will not rise; but they err and stray from the truth, and do not understand that if one of the parts of the body perish, it is not perfect. For Paul shewed plainly and laid down an example of the resurrection in the grain of wheat: just as that grows up entire with its glory, without any portion of it having perished, even so we; for the whole man shall rise with all his limbs and parts, and ordered in his composition as now, only having acquired purification from the humours. And this is not surprising, that if an earthen vessel acquires firmness and lightness when it goes into the fiery furnace, without any change taking place in its shape or form, but is lightened of its heaviness and density, whilst it preserves its shape uninjured; so also should the Holy Spirit burn us in the furnace of the resurrection and drive forth from us all the foul material of the present (life), and clothe us with incorruptibility. 'It is sown an animal body; it rises a spiritual body.' We shall neither see nor hear with all our bodily members, although some men have thought that the whole man will be sight and hearing; but we shall carry out action with these same usual limbs, if it happen to be necessary; although we shall not there need speech and conversation with one another, because each other's secrets will be revealed to us.

The things which certain stupid men invent, who indulge their fancy, and give bodily form to the punishment of sinners and the reward of the just and righteous, and say that there is at the resurrection a reckoning and a pair of scales, the Church does not receive; but each one of us carries his light and his fire within him, and his heaviness and his lightness is round in his own pature. Just as stone and iron naturally possess the property of falling to the earth, and as the air naturally ascends upward on account of its rarity and its lightness; so also in the resurrection, he that is heavy and lying in sins, his sins will bring him down; and he that is free from the rust of sin, his purity will make him rise in the scale. And our Lord will ascend to heaven, and the angels (will go) before Him like ambassadors, and the just and the righteous will be upon His right hand and His left, and the children behind Him in the form of the life-giving Cross.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 59

Of The Happiness Of The Righteous And The Torment Of Sinners, And In What State They Are There.

It is right for us to know and explain how those suffer, who suffer in Gehenna. If they do suffer, how can we say that they are impassible? and if they do not suffer, then there is no torture for sinners; and if there be no torture for sinners in proportion to their sins, neither can there be happiness for the righteous as a reward for their labours. The suffering wherewith the Fathers say that sinners will suffer in Gehenna is not one that will pain the limbs, such as the blows of sticks, the mutilation of the flesh, and the breaking of the bones, but one that will afflict the soul, such as grief for the transgression of what is right, repentance for shameful deeds, and banishment from one to whom he is bound in love and for whom his affection is strong. For in the resurrection we shall not be without perception, like the sun which perceives not his splendour, nor the moon her brilliancy, nor the pearl its beauty; but by the power of reason we shall feel perfectly the delight of our happiness or the keen pain of our torture. So then by that which enables the righteous to perceive the pleasure of their happiness, by that selfsame thing will the wicked also perceive the suffering of their torment; (that is) by the power capable of receiving pleasure, which is the intelligence. Hence it is right for us to be certain that intelligence will not be taken away from us, but it will receive the utmost purification and refinement. The glorious and good things of the world which is to come are not to be compared with those of this world; for if all the glorious and good things and delights of this world were given to us in the world which is to come, we should look upon them as hateful and abominable, and they would not be able to give us pleasure or to gladden us; and our nature by the blessedness of its immortality would be exalted above all their glory and desirability. And if all the torments and afflictions and troubles of this world were brought near to us in the world which is to come, the pain of them would make no impression upon our immortal and immutable nature. Hence the pleasure of that world is something beyond all comparison more glorious and excellent and exalted than those of this world; and the torment of yonder is likewise something beyond all comparison more severe and more bitter than any that is here.

It is also right for us to explain the quality of the light of the righteous. The light of the righteous is not of a natural origin like this elemental light (of ours), but some of the light of our Lord--whose splendour surpasses ten thousand suns--is diffused and shed upon them. Each saint shines in proportion to his purity, and holiness and refinement and sincerity, as the blessed Paul has said, 'One star surpasseth another in glory, so also is the resurrection of the dead.' And although all the saints will be happy in one kingdom, yet he who is near to the King or the Bridegroom will be separated from him whose place is at the end of the guest-chamber, even though his place be in the same chamber. So also with the sinners in Gehenna; their sentence will not be alike, for in proportion to the sin of each will be his torment. And as the light of the sun is not to be compared with the light of the moon, nor is the light of the moon like that of the stars, so also will the happiness of the righteous be, although the name and honour of righteousness be laid upon and spread over all of them. And as the light of our Lord's humanity will pass over all our limbs without distinction, and take the place of dress and ornament for us, so also with all our members shall we perceive the suffering and torment of Gehenna. The festal garments which our Lord has prepared for His saints, the children of light, are impassibility; and the filthy garments which hinder us from entering into the spiritual bridal-chamber are the passions. In the new world there will be no distinctive names for ranks and conditions of human beings; and as every name and surname attributed to God and the angels had its origin from this world, and names for human beings were assigned and distributed by the government of this world, in the world of spiritual and intellectual natures there will be neither names nor surnames among them, nor male nor female, nor slave nor free, nor child nor old man, nor Ethiopian nor Roman (Greek); but they will all rise in the one perfect form of a man thirty-three years of age, as our Lord rose from the dead. In the world to come there will be no companies or bands but two; the one of the angels and the righteous, who will mingle and form one Church, and the other of the devils and sinners in Gehenna.

BOOK OF THE BEE CHAPTER 60

Whether Mercy Will Be Shewn To Sinners And The Devils In Gehenna, After They Have Been Tormented And Suffered And Been Punished, Or Not? And If Mercy Is To Be Shewn To Them, When Will It Be?

Some of the Fathers terrify us beyond our strength and throw us into despair; and their opinion is well adapted to the simple-minded and trangressors of the law. Others of them encourage us and bid us rely upon Divine mercy; and their opinions are suitable and adapted to the perfect and those of settled minds and the pious. In the 'Book of Memorials' it is thus written: 'This world is the world of repentance, but the world which is to come is the world of retribution. As in this world repentance saves until the last breath, so in the world to come justice exacts to the uttermost farthing. And as it is impossible to see here strict justice unmingled with mercy, so it is impossible to find there strict justice mingled with mercy.' Mar Isaac says thus: 'Those who are to be scourged in Gehenna will be tortured with stripes of love; they who feel that they have sinned against love will suffer harder and more severe pangs from love than the pain that springs from fear.' Again he says: 'The recompense of sinners will be this: the resurrection itself will be their recompense instead of the recompense of justice; and at the last He will clothe those bodies which have trodden down His laws with the glory of perfection. This act of grace to us after we have sinned is greater than that which, when we were not, brought our nature into being.' Again he says: 'In the world which is to come grace will be the judge and not justice.' Mar Theodore the Expositor says: 'Those who have here chosen fair things will receive in the world to come the pleasure of good things with praises; but the wicked who have turned aside to evil things all their life, when they are become ordered in their minds by penalties and the fear that springs from them, and choose good things, and learn how much they have sinned by having persevered in evil things and not in good things, and by means of these things receive the knowledge of the highest doctrine of the fear of God, and become instructed to lay hold of it with a good will, will be deemed worthy of the happiness of the Divine liberality. For He would never have said, "Until thou payest the uttermost farthing," unless it had been possible for us to be freed from our sins through having atoned for them by paying the penalty; neither would He have said, "he shall be beaten with many stripes," or "he shall be beaten with few stripes," unless it were that the penalties, being meted out according to the sins, should finally come to an end.' These things the Expositor has handed down in his books clearly and distinctly.

So also the blessed Diodorus, who says in the 'Book of the Dispensation:' 'A lasting reward, which is worthy of the justice of the Giver, is laid up for the good, in return for their labours; and torment for sinners, but not everlasting, that the immortality which is prepared for them may not be worthless. They must however be tormented for a short time, as they deserve, in proportion to the measure of their iniquity and wickedness, according to the amount of the wickedness of their deeds. This they will have to bear, that they suffer for a short time; but immortal and unending happiness is prepared for them. If it be then that the rewards of good deeds are as great (in proportion to them) as the times of the immortality which are prepared for them are longer than the times of the limited contests which take place in this world, the torments for many and great sins must be very much less than the greatness of mercy. So then it is not for the good only that the grace of the resurrection from the dead is intended, but also for the wicked; for the grace of God greatly honours the good, but chastises the wicked sparingly.'

Again he says: 'God pours out the wages of reward beyond the measure of the labours (wrought), and in the abundance of His goodness He lessens and diminishes the penalty of those who are to be tormented, and in His mercy He shortens and reduces the length of the time. But even thus He does not punish the whole time according to (the length of) the time of folly, seeing that He requites them far less than they deserve, just as He does the good beyond the measure and period (of their deserts); for the reward is everlasting. It has not been revealed whether the goodness of God wishes to punish without ceasing the blameworthy who have been found guilty of evil deeds (or not), as we have already said before.

But if punishment is to be weighed out according to sin, not even so would punishment be endless. For as regards that which is said in the Gospel, 'These shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal;' this word 'eternal' (le-alam) is not definite: for if it be not so, how did Peter say to our Lord, 'Thou shalt never wash my feet,' and yet He washed him? And of Babylon He said, 'No man shall dwell therein for ever and ever,' and behold many generations dwell therein. In the 'Book of Memorials' he says: 'I hold what the most celebrated of the holy Fathers say, that He cuts off a little from much. The penalty of Gehenna is a man's mind; for the punishment there is of two kinds, that of the body and that of the mind. That of the body is perhaps in proportion to the degree of sin, and He lessens and diminishes its duration; but that of the mind is for ever, and the judgement is for ever.' But in the New Testament le-alam is not without end. To Him be glory and dominion and praise and exaltation and honour for ever and ever. Amen and Amen.

THE PRINCE

Analysis on Political Power and Realpolitik
Italian: Il Principe (The Ruler)
By Nicolo Machiavelli, 1513
Translation: William Kenaz Marriott, 1908

(One may ask why a book such as this one can be found among all those illustrious scriptures. Although this book is written by Machiavelli, it is not about him but about the evil events that he witnessed.

The described principles and strategies to gain power and to stay in power are revolting from an ethic point of view, still, they are in use up to this very day. Whenever we hear anything in the news that seem not be very straight foreward, we can assume that plots, such as those ones described here, are behind it. Religion, politics, business, economics, media, doctrines, and ideologies of any movement what so ever, are entangled with one another in the ways that are described by Machiavelli. Have you never asked yourself why conflicts such as those ones in Machiavelli's Italy, or the Thirty Years War, or the Crusades, or the Wars of Islam, or the World Wars, or the Middle East conflicts, appear to be so confusing?

Therefore, The Prince, Machiavelli's Art of War, as well as General Sun Wu's (Sunzi's) Art of War [written 2,000 years before Machiavelli] are an important part of the schedules in academic institutions that deal with military, politics, doctrines, religion, ideologies, media, financial matters and economics. Be aware of this significant fact!

Niccolò di Bernardo dei Machiavelli was born at Florence in 1469 and died in 1527. He was the second son of Bernardo di Nicolo Machiavelli, a lawyer of some repute, and of Bartolommea di Stefano Nelli, his wife. Both parents were members of the old Florentine nobility. He was an Italian official of his city state of Florence [Firenze], at the time when Italy did not exist as a unified state but the Medicis and Borgias, two families that were ruthlessly fighting for suppremacy.

Machiavelli was taught grammar, rhetoric, and Latin. From his texts we know that he must have been extensively studying political history and military strategy. He has often been called the father of modern political philosophy or political science. Machiavelli is known today as the author of The Prince and The Art of War. These books have influenced politics up to this very day. Even more, they show how politiacians, religious leaders, and political-religious movements act, and it also explains why.

Machiavelli was born in a tumultuous era in which popes waged acquisitive wars against Italian city-states, and people and cities often fell from power as France, Spain, and the Holy Roman Empire battled for regional influence and control. Political-military alliances continually changed, featuring mercenary leaders, who changed sides without warning, and the rise and fall of many short-lived governments. He became a diplomat, political philosopher, playwright, and a civil servant of the Florentine Republic. He also wrote comedies, carnival songs, poetry, and some of the best-known personal correspondence in the Italian language.

Machiavelli carried out several diplomatic missions and Florence sent him to Pistoia to pacify the leaders of two opposing factions which had broken into riots in 1501 and

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1502. When this failed, the leaders were banished from the city. From 1502 to 1503, he witnessed the brutal reality of the state-building methods of Cesare Borgia (1475–1507) and his father, Pope Alexander VI (Rodrigo de Borja or Borgia), who were then engaged in the process of trying to bring a large part of Central Italy under their control. The pretext of defending Church interests was used as a partial justification by the Borgias. Machiavelli conceived of a militia for Florence, and he then began recruiting and creating it. He distrusted mercenaries (a distrust that he explained in his official reports and then later in his theoretical works for their unpatriotic and uninvested nature in the war that makes their allegiance fickle and often unreliable when most needed), and instead staffed his army with citizens, a policy that was to be repeatedly successful.

By February of 1506 he was able to have marching on parade four hundred farmers, suited (including iron breastplates), and armed with lances and small fire arms. Under his command, Florentine citizen-soldiers defeated Pisa in 1509. Machiavelli's success did not last due to lack of funding and time. In August 1512 the Medici, backed by Pope Julius II, used Spanish troops to defeat the Florentines at Prato.

The Florentine city-state and the republic were dissolved, and Machiavelli was deprived of office and banished from the city for a year. In 1513, the Medici accused him of conspiracy against them and had him imprisoned and tortured over several weeks. Therefore, we should not be too surprised that he despised the corrupt Church and spineless politicians. He retired for his own safety and began to write about the events that heavily influenced The Prince and The Art of War.

In his best known book, The Prince, published in 1513, he describes the way that a Prince (by which Machiavelli means a ruler) can control the people he rules. He looks especially at what he calls the "new prince", saying that a prince from a royal family has an easier job because the people are used to his family and the way of life. All that such a hereditary prince needs to do is carefully stick to the traditional ways of working that the people are used to. A new prince has a much more difficult job because he must get people used to his new power and build up new ways of working that people can get used to. This job means that the new prince has to act in a way people would not quickly criticise, but Machiavelli says this may mean doing bad but necessary things which people do not see or remember. Otherwise a new prince will find it difficult to get anything important done, or even to keep ruling. Machiavelli also gives equivalent examples from ancient Roman history to support his analysis.

Machiavelli went far beyond other authors in his time, who in his opinion left things to fortune, and therefore to bad rulers, because of their Christian beliefs. He was undoubtedly a man of great observation, acuteness, and industry; noting with appreciative eye whatever passed before him, and with his supreme literary gift turning it to account in his enforced retirement from affairs. He does not present himself, nor is he depicted by his contemporaries, as a type of that rare combination, the successful statesman and author, for he appears to have been only moderately prosperous in his several embassies and political employments.

Although the light of five centuries has been focused on "The Prince," its problems are still debatable and interesting, because they are the eternal problems between the ruled and their rulers. Such as they are, its ethics are those of Machiavelli's contemporaries; yet they cannot be said to be out of date so long as the governments of Europe rely on material rather than on moral forces. Its historical incidents and personages become interesting by reason of the uses which Machiavelli makes of them to illustrate his theories of government and conduct.

Machiavelli was well aware that he lived in an immoral time, with corruption, brutality, and rotting corpses everywhere. He exposes the sinister methods of power people, and with his razor-blade-sharp mind he analyses how they gain power, stay in power, and use pawns as scapegoat to steer away from their guilt that caused so much misery. Ethics in politics have degenerated up to an empty Lippenbekenntnis (pay lip service) in order to make the way of politicians free to take total power and the citizens' money.

He was being straight foreward and honest with his analysis and what he really thought. This was one of the things that made the power people of the elite furious, and that ethics and politics were two distinct things for them made his works scandalous in their viewpoint. As shown by his letter of dedication, Machiavelli describes the contents of The Prince as being an un-embellished summary of his knowledge about the nature of princes and "the actions of great men", based not only on reading but also, unusually, on real experience. Today we would call it an analysis on rulers, their motivations, and their politics.

At this time, Italy was not a unified state, but Italy was for decades drowning in the quagmire that was created by a bunch unable rulers and irresponsible politicians. Several dozen regions and city states that were fighting wars and civil wars dragged the population into the hell of destruction, famine, plague and the injust inquisition of the Roman Catholic Church. So surprise that Machiavelli called for radical measurements to get rid of this everlasting misery.

Machiavelli emphasised the need for looking at the "effectual truth", as opposed to relying on "imagined republics and principalities".

He states the difference between honorable behaviour and criminal behaviour by using the metaphor of animals, saying that "there are two ways of contending, one in accordance with the laws, the other by force; the first of which is proper to men, the second to beast". In The Prince Machiavelli does not explain what he thinks the best ethical or political goals are, except the control of one's own fortune, as opposed to waiting to see what chance brings. Machiavelli took it for granted that would-be leaders naturally aim at glory or honour. He associated these goals with a need for "virtue" and "prudence" in a leader, and saw such virtues as essential to good politics.

The Prince consists of a Dedication as introduction, 26 chapters and two appendices called "Description Of The Methods Adopted By The Duke Valentino . . ." and "The Life Of Castruccio Castracani Of Lucca".)

DEDICATION

To the Magnificent Lorenzo Di Piero De' Medici:

Those who strive to obtain the good graces of a prince are accustomed to come before him with such things as they hold most precious, or in which they see him take most delight; whence one often sees horses, arms, cloth of gold, precious stones, and similar ornaments presented to princes, worthy of their greatness.

Desiring therefore to present myself to your Magnificence with some testimony of my devotion towards you, I have not found among my possessions anything which I hold more dear than, or value so much as, the knowledge of the actions of great men, acquired by long experience in contemporary affairs, and a continual study of antiquity; which, having reflected upon it with great and prolonged diligence, I now send, digested into a little volume, to your Magnificence.

And although I may consider this work unworthy of your countenance, nevertheless I trust much to your benignity that it may be acceptable, seeing that it is not possible for me to make a better gift than to offer you the opportunity of understanding in the shortest time all that I have learnt in so many years, and with so many troubles and dangers; which work I have not embellished with swelling or magnificent words, nor stuffed with rounded periods, nor with any extrinsic allurements or adornments whatever, with which so many are accustomed to embellish their works; for I have wished either that no honour should be given it, or else that the truth of the matter and the weightiness of the theme shall make it acceptable.

Nor do I hold with those who regard it as a presumption if a man of low and humble condition dare to discuss and settle the concerns of princes; because, just as those who draw landscapes place themselves below in the plain to contemplate the nature of the mountains and of lofty places, and in order to contemplate the plains place themselves upon high mountains, even so to understand the nature of the people it needs to be a prince, and to understand that of princes it needs to be of the people.

Take then, your Magnificence, this little gift in the spirit in which I send it; wherein, if it be diligently read and considered by you, you will learn my extreme desire that you should attain that greatness which fortune and your other attributes promise.

And if your Magnificence from the summit of your greatness will sometimes turn your eyes to these lower regions, you will see how unmeritedly I suffer a great and continued malignity of fortune.

MACHIAVELLI THE PRINCE CHAPTER 1

[How Many Kinds Of Principalities There Are, And By What Means They Are Acquired]

All states, all powers, that have held and hold rule over men have been and are either republics or principalities.

Principalities are either hereditary, in which the family has been long established; or they are new.

The new are either entirely new, as was Milan to Francesco Sforza, or they are, as it were, members annexed to the hereditary state of the prince who has acquired them, as was the kingdom of Naples to that of the King of Spain.

Such dominions thus acquired are either accustomed to live under a prince, or to live in freedom; and are acquired either by the arms of the prince himself, or of others, or else by fortune or by ability.

MACHIAVELLI THE PRINCE CHAPTER 2

[Concerning Hereditary Principalities]

I will leave out all discussion on republics, inasmuch as in another place I have written of them at length, and will address myself only to principalities. In doing so I will keep to the order indicated above, and discuss how such principalities are to be ruled and preserved.

I say at once there are fewer difficulties in holding hereditary states, and those long accustomed to the family of their prince, than new ones; for it is sufficient only not to transgress the customs of his ancestors, and to deal prudently with circumstances as they arise, for a prince of average powers to maintain himself in his state, unless he be deprived of it by some extraordinary and excessive force; and if he should be so deprived of it, whenever anything sinister happens to the usurper, he will regain it.

We have in Italy, for example, the Duke of Ferrara, who could not have withstood the attacks of the Venetians in '84, nor those of Pope Julius in '10, unless he had been long established in his dominions. For the hereditary prince has less cause and less necessity to offend; hence it happens that he will be more loved; and unless extraordinary vices cause him to be hated, it is reasonable to expect that his subjects will be naturally well disposed towards him; and in the antiquity and duration of his rule the memories and motives that make for change are lost, for one change always leaves the toothing for another.

MACHIAVELLI THE PRINCE CHAPTER 3

[Concerning Mixed Principalities]

But the difficulties occur in a new principality. And firstly, if it be not entirely new, but is, as it were, a member of a state which, taken collectively, may be called composite, the changes arise chiefly from an inherent difficulty which there is in all new principalities; for men change their rulers willingly, hoping to better themselves, and this hope induces them to take up arms against him who rules: wherein they are deceived, because they afterwards find by experience they have gone from bad to worse. This follows also on another natural and common necessity, which always causes a new prince to burden those who have submitted to him with his soldiery and with infinite other hardships which he must put upon his new acquisition.

In this way you have enemies in all those whom you have injured in seizing that principality, and you are not able to keep those friends who put you there because of your not being able to satisfy them in the way they expected, and you cannot take strong measures against them, feeling bound to them. For, although one may be very strong in armed forces, yet in entering a province one has always need of the goodwill of the natives.

For these reasons Louis the Twelfth, King of France, quickly occupied Milan, and as quickly lost it; and to turn him out the first time it only needed Lodovico's own forces; because those who had opened the gates to him, finding themselves deceived in their hopes of future benefit, would not endure the ill-treatment of the new prince. It is very true that, after acquiring rebellious provinces a second time, they are not so lightly lost afterwards, because the prince, with little reluctance, takes the opportunity of the rebellion to punish the delinquents, to clear out the suspects, and to strengthen himself in the weakest places. Thus to cause France to lose Milan the first time it was enough for the Duke Lodovico* to raise insurrections on the borders; but to cause him to lose it a second time it was necessary to bring the whole world against him, and that his armies should be defeated and driven out of Italy; which followed from the causes above mentioned. (* Duke Lodovico was Lodovico Moro, a son of Francesco Sforza, who married Beatrice d'Este. He ruled over Milan from 1494 to 1500, and died in 1510.)

Nevertheless Milan was taken from France both the first and the second time. The general reasons for the first have been discussed; it remains to name those for the second, and to see what resources he had, and what any one in his situation would have had for maintaining himself more securely in his acquisition than did the King of France.

Now I say that those dominions which, when acquired, are added to an ancient state by him who acquires them, are either of the same country and language, or they are not. When they are, it is easier to hold them, especially when they have not been accustomed to self-government; and to hold them securely it is enough to have destroyed the family of the prince who was ruling them; because the two peoples, preserving in other things the old conditions, and not being unlike in customs, will live quietly together, as one has seen in Brittany, Burgundy, Gascony, and Normandy, which have been bound to France for so long a time: and, although there may be some difference in language, nevertheless the customs are alike, and the people will easily be able to get on amongst themselves. He who has annexed them, if he wishes to hold them, has only to bear in mind two considerations: the one, that the family of their former lord is extinguished; the other, that neither their laws nor their taxes are altered, so that in a very short time they will become entirely one body with the old principality.

But when states are acquired in a country differing in language, customs, or laws, there are difficulties, and good fortune and great energy are needed to hold them, and one of the greatest and most real helps would be that he who has acquired them should go and reside there. This would make his position more secure and durable, as it has made that of the Turk in Greece, who, notwithstanding all the other

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measures taken by him for holding that state, if he had not settled there, would not have been able to keep it. Because, if one is on the spot, disorders are seen as they spring up, and one can quickly remedy them; but if one is not at hand, they are heard of only when they are great, and then one can no longer remedy them. Besides this, the country is not pillaged by your officials; the subjects are satisfied by prompt recourse to the prince; thus, wishing to be good, they have more cause to love him, and wishing to be otherwise, to fear him. He who would attack that state from the outside must have the utmost caution; as long as the prince resides there it can only be wrested from him with the greatest difficulty.

The other and better course is to send colonies to one or two places, which may be as keys to that state, for it is necessary either to do this or else to keep there a great number of cavalry and infantry. A prince does not spend much on colonies, for with little or no expense he can send them out and keep them there, and he offends a minority only of the citizens from whom he takes lands and houses to give them to the new inhabitants; and those whom he offends, remaining poor and scattered, are never able to injure him; whilst the rest being uninjured are easily kept quiet, and at the same time are anxious not to err for fear it should happen to them as it has to those who have been despoiled. In conclusion, I say that these colonies are not costly, they are more faithful, they injure less, and the injured, as has been said, being poor and scattered, cannot hurt. Upon this, one has to remark that men ought either to be well treated or crushed, because they can avenge themselves of lighter injuries, of more serious ones they cannot; therefore the injury that is to be done to a man ought to be of such a kind that one does not stand in fear of revenge.

But in maintaining armed men there in place of colonies one spends much more, having to consume on the garrison all the income from the state, so that the acquisition turns into a loss, and many more are exasperated, because the whole state is injured; through the shifting of the garrison up and down all become acquainted with hardship, and all become hostile, and they are enemies who, whilst beaten on their own ground, are yet able to do hurt. For every reason, therefore, such guards are as useless as a colony is useful.

Again, the prince who holds a country differing in the above respects ought to make himself the head and defender of his less powerful neighbours, and to weaken the more powerful amongst them, taking care that no foreigner as powerful as himself shall, by any accident, get a footing there; for it will always happen that such a one will be introduced by those who are discontented, either through excess of ambition or through fear, as one has seen already. The Romans were brought into Greece by the Aetolians; and in every other country where they obtained a footing they were brought in by the inhabitants. And the usual course of affairs is that, as soon as a powerful foreigner enters a country, all the subject states are drawn to him, moved by the hatred which they feel against the ruling power. So that in respect to those subject states he has not to take any trouble to gain them over to himself, for the whole of them quickly rally to the state which he has acquired there. He has only to take care that they do not get hold of too much power and too much authority, and then with his own forces, and with their goodwill, he can easily keep down the more powerful of them, so as to remain entirely master in the country. And he who does not properly manage this business will soon lose what he has acquired, and whilst he does hold it he will have endless difficulties and troubles.

The Romans, in the countries which they annexed, observed closely these measures; they sent colonies and maintained friendly relations with* the minor powers, without increasing their strength; they kept down the greater, and did not allow any strong foreign powers to gain authority. Greece appears to me sufficient for an example. (* See remark in the introduction on the word "intrattenere.") The Achaeans and Aetolians were kept friendly by them, the kingdom of Macedonia was humbled, Antiochus was driven out; yet the merits of the Achaeans and Aetolians never secured for them permission to increase their power, nor did the persuasions of Philip ever induce the Romans to be his friends without first humbling him, nor did the influence of Antiochus make them agree that he should retain any lordship over the country. Because the Romans did in these instances what all prudent princes ought to do, who have to regard not only present troubles, but also future ones, for which they must prepare with every energy, because, when foreseen, it is easy to remedy them; but if you wait until they approach, the medicine is no longer in time because the malady has become incurable; for it happens in this, as the physicians say it happens in hectic fever, that in the beginning of the malady it is easy to cure but difficult to detect, but in the course of time, not having been either detected or treated in the beginning, it becomes easy to detect but difficult to cure. Thus it happens in affairs of state, for when the evils that arise have been foreseen (which it is only given to a wise man to see), they can be quickly redressed, but when, through not having been foreseen, they have been permitted to grow in a way that every one can see them, there is no longer a remedy. Therefore, the Romans, foreseeing troubles, dealt with them at once, and, even to avoid a war, would not let them come to a head, for they knew that war is not to be avoided, but is only to be put off to the advantage of others; moreover they wished to fight with Philip and Antiochus in Greece so as not to have to do it in Italy; they could have avoided both, but this they did not wish; nor did that ever please them which is forever in the mouths of the wise ones of our time:—Let us enjoy the benefits of the time—but rather the benefits of their own valour and prudence, for time drives everything before it, and is able to bring with it good as well as evil, and evil as well as good.

But let us turn to France and inquire whether she has done any of the things mentioned. I will speak of Louis* (and not of Charles**) as the one whose conduct is the better to be observed, he having held possession of Italy for the longest period; and you will see that he has done the opposite to those things which ought to be done to retain a state composed of divers elements. (* Louis XII, King of France, "The Father of the People," born 1462, died 1515.); (** Charles VIII, King of France, born 1470, died 1498.

King Louis was brought into Italy by the ambition of the Venetians, who desired to obtain half the state of Lombardy by his intervention. I will not blame the course taken by the king, because, wishing to get a foothold in Italy, and having no friends there—seeing rather that every door was shut to him owing to the conduct of Charles—he was forced to accept those friendships which he could get, and he would have succeeded very quickly in his design if in other matters he had not made some mistakes. The king, however, having acquired Lombardy, regained at once the authority which Charles had lost: Genoa yielded; the Florentines became his friends; the Marquess of Mantua, the Duke of Ferrara, the Bentivogli, my lady of Forli, the Lords of Faenza, of Pesaro, of Rimini, of Camerino, of Piombino, the Lucchese, the Pisans, the Sienese—everybody made advances to him to become his friend. Then could the Venetians realize the rashness of the course taken by them, which, in order that they might secure two towns in Lombardy, had made the king master of two-thirds of Italy.

Let any one now consider with what little difficulty the king could have maintained his position in Italy had he observed the rules above laid down, and kept all his friends secure and protected; for although they were numerous they were both weak and timid, some afraid of the Church, some of the Venetians, and thus they would always have been forced to stand in with him, and by their means he could easily have made himself secure against those who remained powerful. But he was no sooner in Milan than he did the contrary by assisting Pope Alexander to occupy the Romagna. It never occurred to him that by this action he was weakening himself, depriving himself of friends and of those who had thrown themselves into his lap, whilst he aggrandized the Church by adding much temporal power to the spiritual, thus giving it greater authority. And having committed this prime error, he was obliged to follow it up, so much so that, to put an end to the ambition of Alexander, and to prevent his becoming the master of Tuscany, he was himself forced to come into Italy.

And as if it were not enough to have aggrandized the Church, and deprived himself of friends, he, wishing to have the kingdom of Naples, divided it with the King of Spain, and where he was the prime arbiter in Italy he takes an associate, so that the ambitious of that country and the malcontents of his own should have somewhere to shelter; and whereas he could have left in the kingdom his own pensioner as king, he drove him out, to put one there who was able to drive him, Louis, out in turn.

The wish to acquire is in truth very natural and common, and men always do so when they can, and for this they will be praised not blamed; but when they cannot do so, yet wish to do so by any means, then there is folly and blame. Therefore, if France could have attacked Naples with her own forces she ought to have done so; if she could not, then she ought not to have divided it. And if the partition which she made with the Venetians in Lombardy was justified by the excuse that by it she got a foothold in Italy, this other partition merited blame, for it had not the excuse of that necessity.

Therefore Louis made these five errors: he destroyed the minor powers, he increased the strength of one of the greater powers in Italy, he brought in a foreign power, he did not settle in the country, he did not send colonies. Which errors, had he lived, were not enough to injure him had he not made a sixth by taking away their dominions from the Venetians; because, had he not aggrandized the Church, nor brought Spain into Italy, it would have been very reasonable and necessary to humble them; but having first taken these steps, he ought never to have consented to their ruin, for they, being powerful, would always have kept off others from designs on Lombardy, to which the Venetians would never have consented except to become masters themselves there; also because the others would not wish to take Lombardy from France in order to give it to the Venetians, and to run counter to both they would not have had the courage.

And if any one should say: "King Louis yielded the Romagna to Alexander and the kingdom to Spain to avoid war," I answer for the reasons given above that a blunder ought never to be perpetrated to avoid war, because it is not to be avoided, but is only deferred to your disadvantage. And if another should allege the pledge which the king had given to the Pope that he would assist him in the enterprise, in exchange for the dissolution of his marriage* and for the cap to Rouen**, to that I reply what I shall write later on concerning the faith of princes, and how it ought to be kept. (* Louis XII divorced his wife, Jeanne, daughter of Louis XI, and married in 1499 Anne of Brittany, widow of Charles VIII, in order to retain the Duchy of Brittany for the crown.); (** The Archbishop of Rouen. He was Georges d'Amboise, created a cardinal by Alexander VI. Born 1460, died 1510.

Thus King Louis lost Lombardy by not having followed any of the conditions observed by those who have taken possession of countries and wished to retain them. Nor is there any miracle in this, but much that is reasonable and quite natural. And on these matters I spoke at Nantes with Rouen, when Valentino, as Cesare Borgia, the son of Pope Alexander, was usually called, occupied the Romagna, and on Cardinal Rouen observing to me that the Italians did not understand war, I replied to him that the French did not understand statecraft, meaning that otherwise they would not have allowed the Church to reach such greatness. And in fact it has been seen that the greatness of the Church and of Spain in Italy has been caused by France, and her ruin may be attributed to them. From this a general rule is drawn which never or rarely fails: that he who is the cause of another becoming powerful is ruined; because that predominancy has been brought about either by astuteness or else by force, and both are distrusted by him who has been raised to power.

MACHIAVELLI THE PRINCE CHAPTER 4

[Why The Kingdom Of Darius, Conquered By Alexander, Did Not Rebel Against The Successors Of Alexander At His Death]

Considering the difficulties which men have had to hold to a newly acquired state, some might wonder how, seeing that Alexander the Great became the master of Asia in a few years, and died whilst it was scarcely settled (whence it might appear reasonable that the whole empire would have rebelled), nevertheless his successors maintained themselves, and had to meet no other difficulty than that which arose among themselves from their own ambitions.

I answer that the principalities of which one has record are found to be governed in two different ways; either by a prince, with a body of servants, who assist him to govern the kingdom as ministers by his favour and permission; or by a prince and barons, who hold that dignity by antiquity of blood and not by the grace of the prince. Such barons have states and their own subjects, who recognise them as lords and hold them in natural affection. Those states that are governed by a prince and his servants hold their prince in more consideration, because in all the country there is no one who is recognised as superior to him, and if they yield obedience to another they do it as to a minister and official, and they do not bear him any particular affection.

The examples of these two governments in our time are the Turk and the King of France. The entire monarchy of the Turk is governed by one lord, the others are his servants; and, dividing his kingdom into sanjaks, he sends there different administrators, and shifts and changes them as he chooses. But the King of France is placed in the midst of an ancient body of lords, acknowledged by their own subjects, and beloved by them; they have their own prerogatives, nor can the king take these away except at his peril. Therefore, he who considers both of these states will recognise great difficulties in seizing the state of the Turk, but, once it is conquered, great ease in holding it. The causes of the difficulties in seizing the kingdom of the Turk are that the usurper cannot be called in by the princes of the kingdom, nor can he hope to be assisted in his designs by the revolt of those whom the lord has around him. This arises from the reasons given above; for his ministers, being all slaves and bondmen, can only be corrupted with great difficulty, and one can expect little advantage from them when they have been corrupted, as they cannot carry the people with them, for the reasons assigned. Hence, he who attacks the Turk must bear in mind that he will find him united, and he will have to rely more on his own strength than on the revolt of others; but, if once the Turk has been conquered, and routed in the field in such a way that he cannot replace his armies, there is nothing to fear but the family of this prince, and, this being exterminated, there remains no one to fear, the others having no credit with the people; and as the conqueror did not rely on them before his victory, so he ought not to fear them after it.

The contrary happens in kingdoms governed like that of France, because one can easily enter there by gaining over some baron of the kingdom, for one always finds malcontents and such as desire a change. Such men, for the reasons given, can open the way into the state and render the victory easy; but if you wish to hold it afterwards, you meet with infinite

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difficulties, both from those who have assisted you and from those you have crushed. Nor is it enough for you to have exterminated the family of the prince, because the lords that remain make themselves the heads of fresh movements against you, and as you are unable either to satisfy or exterminate them, that state is lost whenever time brings the opportunity.

Now if you will consider what was the nature of the government of Darius, you will find it similar to the kingdom of the Turk, and therefore it was only necessary for Alexander, first to overthrow him in the field, and then to take the country from him. After which victory, Darius being killed, the state remained secure to Alexander, for the above reasons. And if his successors had been united they would have enjoyed it securely and at their ease, for there were no tumults raised in the kingdom except those they provoked themselves.

But it is impossible to hold with such tranquillity states constituted like that of France. Hence arose those frequent rebellions against the Romans in Spain, France, and Greece, owing to the many principalities there were in these states, of which, as long as the memory of them endured, the Romans always held an insecure possession; but with the power and long continuance of the empire the memory of them passed away, and the Romans then became secure possessors. And when fighting afterwards amongst themselves, each one was able to attach to himself his own parts of the country, according to the authority he had assumed there; and the family of the former lord being exterminated, none other than the Romans were acknowledged.

When these things are remembered no one will marvel at the ease with which Alexander held the Empire of Asia, or at the difficulties which others have had to keep an acquisition, such as Pyrrhus and many more; this is not occasioned by the little or abundance of ability in the conqueror, but by the want of uniformity in the subject state.

MACHIAVELLI THE PRINCE CHAPTER 5

[Concerning The Way To Govern Cities Or Principalities Which Lived Under Their Own Laws Before They Were Annexed]

Whenever those states which have been acquired as stated have been accustomed to live under their own laws and in freedom, there are three courses for those who wish to hold them: the first is to ruin them, the next is to reside there in person, the third is to permit them to live under their own laws, drawing a tribute, and establishing within it an oligarchy which will keep it friendly to you. Because such a government, being created by the prince, knows that it cannot stand without his friendship and interest, and does its utmost to support him; and therefore he who would keep a city accustomed to freedom will hold it more easily by the means of its own citizens than in any other way.

There are, for example, the Spartans and the Romans. The Spartans held Athens and Thebes, establishing there an oligarchy: nevertheless they lost them. The Romans, in order to hold Capua, Carthage, and Numantia, dismantled them, and did not lose them. They wished to hold Greece as the Spartans held it, making it free and permitting its laws, and did not succeed. So to hold it they were compelled to dismantle many cities in the country, for in truth there is no safe way to retain them otherwise than by ruining them. And he who becomes master of a city accustomed to freedom and does not destroy it, may expect to be destroyed by it, for in rebellion it has always the watchword of liberty and its ancient privileges as a rallying point, which neither time nor benefits will ever cause it to forget. And whatever you may do or provide against, they never forget that name or their privileges unless they are disunited or dispersed, but at every chance they immediately rally to them, as Pisa after the hundred years she had been held in bondage by the Florentines.

But when cities or countries are accustomed to live under a prince, and his family is exterminated, they, being on the one hand accustomed to obey and on the other hand not having the old prince, cannot agree in making one from amongst themselves, and they do not know how to govern themselves. For this reason they are very slow to take up arms, and a prince can gain them to himself and secure them much more easily. But in republics there is more vitality, greater hatred, and more desire for vengeance, which will never permit them to allow the memory of their former liberty to rest; so that the safest way is to destroy them or to reside there.

MACHIAVELLI THE PRINCE CHAPTER 6

[Concerning New Principalities Which Are Acquired By One's Own Arms And Ability]

Let no one be surprised if, in speaking of entirely new principalities as I shall do, I adduce the highest examples both of prince and of state; because men, walking almost always in paths beaten by others, and following by imitation their deeds, are yet unable to keep entirely to the ways of others or attain to the power of those they imitate. A wise man ought always to follow the paths beaten by great men, and to imitate those who have been supreme, so that if his ability does not equal theirs, at least it will savour of it. Let him act like the clever archers who, designing to hit the mark which yet appears too far distant, and knowing the limits to which the strength of their bow attains, take aim much higher than the mark, not to reach by their strength or arrow to so great a height, but to be able with the aid of so high an aim to hit the mark they wish to reach.

I say, therefore, that in entirely new principalities, where there is a new prince, more or less difficulty is found in keeping them, accordingly as there is more or less ability in him who has acquired the state. Now, as the fact of becoming a prince from a private station presupposes either ability or fortune, it is clear that one or other of these things will mitigate in some degree many difficulties. Nevertheless, he who has relied least on fortune is established the strongest. Further, it facilitates matters when the prince, having no other state, is compelled to reside there in person.

But to come to those who, by their own ability and not through fortune, have risen to be princes, I say that Moses, Cyrus, Romulus, Theseus, and such like are the most excellent examples. And although one may not discuss Moses, he having been a mere executor of the will of God, yet he ought to be admired, if only for that favour which made him worthy to speak with God. But in considering Cyrus and others who have acquired or founded kingdoms, all will be found admirable; and if their particular deeds and conduct shall be considered, they will not be found inferior to those of Moses, although he had so great a preceptor. And in examining their actions and lives one cannot see that they owed anything to fortune beyond opportunity, which brought them the material to mould into the form which seemed best to them. Without that opportunity their powers of mind would have been extinguished, and without those powers the opportunity would have come in vain.

It was necessary, therefore, to Moses that he should find the people of Israel in Egypt enslaved and oppressed by the Egyptians, in order that they should be disposed to follow him so as to be delivered out of bondage. It was necessary that Romulus should not remain in Alba, and that he should be abandoned at his birth, in order that he should become King of Rome and founder of the fatherland. It was necessary that Cyrus should find the Persians discontented with the government of the Medes, and the Medes soft and effeminate through their long peace. Theseus could not have shown his ability had he not found the Athenians dispersed. These opportunities, therefore, made those men fortunate, and their high ability enabled them to recognise the opportunity whereby their country was ennobled and made famous.

Those who by valorous ways become princes, like these men, acquire a principality with difficulty, but they keep it with ease. The difficulties they have in acquiring it rise in part from the new rules and methods which they are forced to introduce to establish their government and its security. And it ought to be remembered that there is nothing more difficult to take in hand, more perilous to conduct, or more uncertain in its success, than to take the lead in the introduction of a new order of things, because the innovator has for enemies all those who have done well under the old conditions, and lukewarm defenders in those who may do well under the new. This coolness arises partly from fear of the opponents, who have the laws on their side, and partly from the incredulity of men, who do not readily believe in new things until they have had a long experience of them. Thus it happens that whenever those who are hostile have the opportunity to attack they do it like partisans, whilst the others defend lukewarmly, in such wise that the prince is endangered along with them.

It is necessary, therefore, if we desire to discuss this matter thoroughly, to inquire whether these innovators can rely on themselves or have to depend on others: that is to say, whether, to consummate their enterprise, have they to use prayers or can they use force? In the first instance they always succeed badly, and never compass anything; but when they can rely on themselves and use force, then they are rarely endangered. Hence it is that all armed prophets have conquered, and the unarmed ones have been destroyed. Besides the reasons mentioned, the nature of the people is variable, and whilst it is easy to persuade them, it is difficult to fix them in that persuasion. And thus it is necessary to take such measures that, when they believe no longer, it may be possible to make them believe by force.

If Moses, Cyrus, Theseus, and Romulus had been unarmed they could not have enforced their constitutions for long—as happened in our time to Fra Girolamo Savonarola, who was ruined with his new order of things immediately the multitude believed in him no longer, and he had no means of keeping steadfast those who believed or of making the unbelievers to believe. Therefore such as these have great difficulties in consummating their enterprise, for all their dangers are in the ascent, yet with ability they will overcome them; but when these are overcome, and those who envied them their success are exterminated, they will begin to be respected, and they will continue afterwards powerful, secure, honoured, and happy.

To these great examples I wish to add a lesser one; still it bears some resemblance to them, and I wish it to suffice me for all of a like kind: it is Hiero the Syracusan* (* Hiero II, born about 307 B.C., died 216 B.C.). This man rose from a private station to be Prince of Syracuse, nor did he, either, owe anything to fortune but opportunity; for the Syracusans, being oppressed, chose him for their captain, afterwards he was rewarded by being made their prince. He was of so great ability, even as a private citizen, that one who writes of him says he wanted nothing but a kingdom to be a king. This man abolished the old soldiery, organised the new, gave up old alliances, made new ones; and as he had his own soldiers and allies, on such foundations he was able to build any edifice: thus, whilst he had endured much trouble in acquiring, he had but little in keeping.

MACHIAVELLI THE PRINCE CHAPTER 7

[Concerning New Principalities Which Are Acquired Either By The Arms Of Others Or By Good Fortune]

Those who solely by good fortune become princes from being private citizens have little trouble in rising, but much in keeping atop; they have not any difficulties on the way up, because they fly, but they have many when they reach the summit. Such are those to whom some state is given either for money or by the favour of him who bestows it; as happened to many in Greece, in the cities of Ionia and of the Hellespont, where princes were made by Darius, in order that they might hold the cities both for his security and his glory; as also were those emperors who, by the corruption of the soldiers, from being citizens came to empire. Such stand simply elevated upon the goodwill and the fortune of him who has elevated them—two most inconstant and unstable things. Neither have they the knowledge requisite for the position; because, unless they are men of great worth and ability, it is not reasonable to expect that they should know how to command, having always lived in a private condition; besides, they cannot hold it because they have not forces which they can keep friendly and faithful.

States that rise unexpectedly, then, like all other things in nature which are born and grow rapidly, cannot leave their foundations and correspondencies* fixed in such a way that the first storm will not overthrow them; unless, as is said, those who unexpectedly become princes are men of so much ability that they know they have to be prepared at once to hold that which fortune has thrown into their laps, and that those foundations, which others have laid BEFORE they became princes, they must lay AFTERWARDS. (* "Le radici e corrispondenze," their roots (i.e. foundations) and correspondencies or relations with other states—a common meaning of "correspondence" and "correspondency" in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.)

Concerning these two methods of rising to be a prince by ability or fortune, I wish to adduce two examples within our own recollection, and these are Francesco Sforza* and Cesare Borgia. Francesco, by proper means and with great ability, from being a private person rose to be Duke of Milan, and that which he had acquired with a thousand anxieties he kept with little trouble. On the other hand, Cesare Borgia, called by the people Duke Valentino, acquired his state during the ascendancy of his father, and on its decline he lost it, notwithstanding that he had taken every measure and done all that ought to be done by a wise and able man to fix firmly his roots in the states which the arms and fortunes of others had bestowed on him. (* Francesco Sforza, born 1401, died 1466. He married Bianca Maria Visconti, a natural daughter of Filippo Visconti, the Duke of Milan, on whose death he procured his own elevation to the duchy. Machiavelli was the accredited agent of the Florentine Republic to Cesare Borgia (1478-1507) during the transactions which led up to the assassinations of the Orsini and Vitelli at Sinigalia, and along with his letters to his chiefs in Florence he has left an account, written ten years before "The Prince," of the proceedings of the duke in his "Descritione del modo tenuto dal duca Valentino nello ammazzare Vitellozzo Vitelli," etc., a translation of which is appended to the present work.)

Because, as is stated above, he who has not first laid his foundations may be able with great ability to lay them afterwards, but they will be laid with trouble to the architect and danger to the building. If, therefore, all the steps taken by the duke be considered, it will be seen that he laid solid foundations for his future power, and I do not consider it superfluous to discuss them, because I do not know what better precepts to give a new prince than the example of his actions; and if his dispositions were of no avail, that was not his fault, but the extraordinary and extreme malignity of fortune.

Alexander the Sixth, in wishing to aggrandize the duke, his son, had many immediate and prospective difficulties. Firstly, he did not see his way to make him master of any state that was not a state of the Church; and if he was willing to rob the Church he knew that the Duke of Milan and the Venetians would not consent, because Faenza and Rimini were already under the protection of the Venetians. Besides this, he saw the arms of Italy, especially those by which he might have been assisted, in hands that would fear the aggrandizement of the Pope, namely, the Orsini and the Colonnesi and their

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following. It behoved him, therefore, to upset this state of affairs and embroil the powers, so as to make himself securely master of part of their states. This was easy for him to do, because he found the Venetians, moved by other reasons, inclined to bring back the French into Italy; he would not only not oppose this, but he would render it more easy by dissolving the former marriage of King Louis. Therefore the king came into Italy with the assistance of the Venetians and the consent of Alexander. He was no sooner in Milan than the Pope had soldiers from him for the attempt on the Romagna, which yielded to him on the reputation of the king. The duke, therefore, having acquired the Romagna and beaten the Colonnesi, while wishing to hold that and to advance further, was hindered by two things: the one, his forces did not appear loyal to him, the other, the goodwill of France: that is to say, he feared that the forces of the Orsini, which he was using, would not stand to him, that not only might they hinder him from winning more, but might themselves seize what he had won, and that the king might also do the same. Of the Orsini he had a warning when, after taking Faenza and attacking Bologna, he saw them go very unwillingly to that attack. And as to the king, he learned his mind when he himself, after taking the Duchy of Urbino, attacked Tuscany, and the king made him desist from that undertaking; hence the duke decided to depend no more upon the arms and the luck of others.

For the first thing he weakened the Orsini and Colonnesi parties in Rome, by gaining to himself all their adherents who were gentlemen, making them his gentlemen, giving them good pay, and, according to their rank, honouring them with office and command in such a way that in a few months all attachment to the factions was destroyed and turned entirely to the duke. After this he awaited an opportunity to crush the Orsini, having scattered the adherents of the Colonna house. This came to him soon and he used it well; for the Orsini, perceiving at length that the aggrandizement of the duke and the Church was ruin to them, called a meeting of the Magione in Perugia. From this sprung the rebellion at Urbino and the tumults in the Romagna, with endless dangers to the duke, all of which he overcame with the help of the French. Having restored his authority, not to leave it at risk by trusting either to the French or other outside forces, he had recourse to his wiles, and he knew so well how to conceal his mind that, by the mediation of Signor Pagolo—whom the duke did not fail to secure with all kinds of attention, giving him money, apparel, and horses—the Orsini were reconciled, so that their simplicity brought them into his power at Sinigalia* (* Sinigalia, 31st December 1502.). Having exterminated the leaders, and turned their partisans into his friends, the duke laid sufficiently good foundations to his power, having all the Romagna and the Duchy of Urbino; and the people now beginning to appreciate their prosperity, he gained them all over to himself. And as this point is worthy of notice, and to be imitated by others, I am not willing to leave it out.

When the duke occupied the Romagna he found it under the rule of weak masters, who rather plundered their subjects than ruled them, and gave them more cause for disunion than for union, so that the country was full of robbery, quarrels, and every kind of violence; and so, wishing to bring back peace and obedience to authority, he considered it necessary to give it a good governor. Thereupon he promoted Messer Ramiro d'Orco*, a swift and cruel man, to whom he gave the fullest power (* Ramiro d'Orco. Ramiro de Lorqua.). This man in a short time restored peace and unity with the greatest success. Afterwards the duke considered that it was not advisable to confer such excessive authority, for he had no doubt but that he would become odious, so he set up a court of judgement in the country, under a most excellent president, wherein all cities had their advocates. And because he knew that the past severity had caused some hatred against himself, so, to clear himself in the minds of the people, and gain them entirely to himself, he desired to show that, if any cruelty had been practised, it had not originated with him, but in the natural sternness of the minister. Under this pretence he took Ramiro, and one morning caused him to be executed and left on the piazza at Cesena with the block and a bloody knife at his side. The barbarity of this spectacle caused the people to be at once satisfied and dismayed.

But let us return whence we started. I say that the duke, finding himself now sufficiently powerful and partly secured from immediate dangers by having armed himself in his own way, and having in a great measure crushed those forces in his vicinity that could injure him if he wished to proceed with his conquest, had next to consider France, for he knew that the king, who too late was aware of his mistake, would not support him. And from this time he began to seek new alliances and to temporize with France in the expedition which she was making towards the kingdom of Naples against the Spaniards who were besieging Gaeta. It was his intention to secure himself against them, and this he would have quickly accomplished had Alexander lived.

Such was his line of action as to present affairs. But as to the future he had to fear, in the first place, that a new successor to the Church might not be friendly to him and might seek to take from him that which Alexander had given him, so he decided to act in four ways. Firstly, by exterminating the families of those lords whom he had despoiled, so as to take away that pretext from the Pope. Secondly, by winning to himself all the gentlemen of Rome, so as to be able to curb the Pope with their aid, as has been observed. Thirdly, by converting the college more to himself. Fourthly, by acquiring so much power before the Pope should die that he could by his own measures resist the first shock. Of these four things, at the death of Alexander, he had accomplished three. For he had killed as many of the dispossessed lords as he could lay hands on, and few had escaped; he had won over the Roman gentlemen, and he had the most numerous party in the college. And as to any fresh acquisition, he intended to become master of Tuscany, for he already possessed Perugia and Piombino, and Pisa was under his protection. And as he had no longer to study France (for the French were already driven out of the kingdom of Naples by the Spaniards, and in this way both were compelled to buy his goodwill), he pounced down upon Pisa. After this, Lucca and Siena yielded at once, partly through hatred and partly through fear of the Florentines; and the Florentines would have had no remedy had he continued to prosper, as he was prospering the year that Alexander died, for he had acquired so much power and reputation that he would have stood by himself, and no longer have depended on the luck and the forces of others, but solely on his own power and ability.

But Alexander died five years after he had first drawn the sword. He left the duke with the state of Romagna alone consolidated, with the rest in the air, between two most powerful hostile armies, and sick unto death. Yet there were in the duke such boldness and ability, and he knew so well how men are to be won or lost, and so firm were the foundations which in so short a time he had laid, that if he had not had those armies on his back, or if he had been in good health, he would have overcome all difficulties. And it is seen that his foundations were good, for the Romagna awaited him for more than a month. In Rome, although but half alive, he remained secure; and whilst the Baglioni, the Vitelli, and the Orsini might come to Rome, they could not effect anything against him. If he could not have made Pope him whom he wished, at least the one whom he did not wish would not have been elected. But if he had been in sound health at the death of Alexander*, everything would have been different to him (* Alexander VI died of fever, 18th August 1503.). On the day that Julius the Second* was elected, he told me that he had thought of everything that might occur at the death of his father, and had provided a remedy for all, except that he had never anticipated that, when the death did happen, he himself would be on the point to die (* Julius II was Giuliano della Rovere, Cardinal of San Pietro ad Vincula, born 1443, died 1513.).

When all the actions of the duke are recalled, I do not know how to blame him, but rather it appears to be, as I have said, that I ought to offer him for imitation to all those who, by the fortune or the arms of others, are raised to government. Because he, having a lofty spirit and far-reaching aims, could not have regulated his conduct otherwise, and only the shortness of the life of Alexander and his own sickness frustrated his designs. Therefore, he who considers it necessary to secure himself in his new principality, to win friends, to overcome either by force or fraud, to make himself beloved and feared by the people, to be followed and revered by the soldiers, to exterminate those who have power or reason to hurt him, to change the old order of things for new, to be severe and gracious, magnanimous and liberal, to destroy a disloyal soldiery and to create new, to maintain friendship with kings and princes in such a way that they must help him with zeal and offend with caution, cannot find a more lively example than the actions of this man.

Only can he be blamed for the election of Julius the Second, in whom he made a bad choice, because, as is said, not being able to elect a Pope to his own mind, he could have hindered any other from being elected Pope; and he ought never to have consented to the election of any cardinal whom he had injured or who had cause to fear him if they became pontiffs. For men injure either from fear or hatred. Those whom he had injured, amongst others, were San Pietro ad Vincula, Colonna, San Giorgio, and Ascanio* (* San Giorgio is Raffaello Riario. Ascanio is Ascanio Sforza.). The rest, in becoming Pope, had to fear him, Rouen and the Spaniards excepted; the latter from their relationship and obligations, the former from his influence, the kingdom of France having relations with him. Therefore, above everything, the duke ought to have created a Spaniard Pope, and, failing him, he ought to have consented to Rouen and not San Pietro ad Vincula. He who believes that new benefits will cause great personages to forget old injuries is deceived. Therefore, the duke erred in his choice, and it was the cause of his ultimate ruin.

MACHIAVELLI THE PRINCE CHAPTER 8

[Concerning Those Who Have Obtained A Principality By Wickedness]

Although a prince may rise from a private station in two ways, neither of which can be entirely attributed to fortune or genius, yet it is manifest to me that I must not be silent on them, although one could be more copiously treated when I discuss republics. These methods are when, either by some wicked or nefarious ways, one ascends to the principality, or when by the favour of his fellow-citizens a private person becomes the prince of his country. And speaking of the first method, it will be illustrated by two examples—one ancient, the other modern—and without entering further into the subject, I consider these two examples will suffice those who may be compelled to follow them.

Agathocles, the Sicilian*, became King of Syracuse not only from a private but from a low and abject position. This man, the son of a potter, through all the changes in his fortunes always led an infamous life. (* Agathocles the Sicilian, born 361 B.C., died 289 B.C.)

Nevertheless, he accompanied his infamies with so much ability of mind and body that, having devoted himself to the military profession, he rose through its ranks to be Praetor of Syracuse. Being established in that position, and having deliberately resolved to make himself prince and to seize by violence, without obligation to others, that which had been conceded to him by assent, he came to an understanding for this purpose with Amilcar, the Carthaginian, who, with his army, was fighting in Sicily. One morning he assembled the people and the senate of Syracuse, as if he had to discuss with them things relating to the Republic, and at a given signal the soldiers killed all the senators and the richest of the people; these dead, he seized and held the princedom of that city without any civil commotion. And although he was twice routed by the Carthaginians, and ultimately besieged, yet not only was he able to defend his city, but leaving part of his men for its defence, with the others he attacked Africa, and in a short time raised the siege of Syracuse. The Carthaginians, reduced to extreme necessity, were compelled to come to terms with Agathocles, and, leaving Sicily to him, had to be content with the possession of Africa.

Therefore, he who considers the actions and the genius of this man will see nothing, or little, which can be attributed to fortune, inasmuch as he attained pre-eminence, as is shown above, not by the favour of any one, but step by step in the military profession, which steps were gained with a thousand troubles and perils, and were afterwards boldly held by him with many hazardous dangers. Yet it cannot be called talent to slay fellow-citizens, to deceive friends, to be without faith, without mercy, without religion; such methods may gain empire, but not glory. Still, if the courage of Agathocles in entering into and extricating himself from dangers be considered, together with his greatness of mind in enduring and overcoming hardships, it cannot be seen why he should be esteemed less than the most notable captain. Nevertheless, his barbarous cruelty and inhumanity with infinite wickedness do not permit him to be celebrated among the most excellent men. What he achieved cannot be attributed either to fortune or genius.

In our times, during the rule of Alexander the Sixth, Oliverotto da Fermo, having been left an orphan many years before, was brought up by his maternal uncle, Giovanni Fogliani, and in the early days of his youth sent to fight under Pagolo Vitelli, that, being trained under his discipline, he might attain some high position in the military profession. After Pagolo died, he fought under his brother Vitellozzo, and in a very short time, being endowed with wit and a vigorous body and mind, he became the first man in his profession. But it appearing a paltry thing to serve under others, he resolved, with the aid of some citizens of Fermo, to whom the slavery of their country was dearer than its liberty, and with the help of the Vitelleschi, to seize Fermo. So he wrote to Giovanni Fogliani that, having been away from home for many years, he wished to visit him and his city, and in some measure to look upon his patrimony; and although he had not laboured to acquire anything except honour, yet, in order that the citizens should see he had not spent his time in vain, he desired to come honourably, so would be accompanied by one hundred horsemen, his friends and retainers; and he entreated Giovanni to arrange that he should be received honourably by the Fermians, all of which would be not only to his honour, but also to that of Giovanni himself, who had brought him up.

Giovanni, therefore, did not fail in any attentions due to his nephew, and he caused him to be honourably received by the Fermians, and he lodged him in his own house, where, having passed some days, and having arranged what was necessary for his wicked designs, Oliverotto gave a solemn banquet to which he invited Giovanni Fogliani and the chiefs of Fermo. When the viands and all the other entertainments that are usual in such banquets were finished, Oliverotto artfully began certain grave discourses, speaking of the greatness of Pope Alexander and his son Cesare, and of their enterprises, to which discourse Giovanni and others answered; but he rose

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at once, saying that such matters ought to be discussed in a more private place, and he betook himself to a chamber, whither Giovanni and the rest of the citizens went in after him. No sooner were they seated than soldiers issued from secret places and slaughtered Giovanni and the rest. After these murders Oliverotto, mounted on horseback, rode up and down the town and besieged the chief magistrate in the palace, so that in fear the people were forced to obey him, and to form a government, of which he made himself the prince. He killed all the malcontents who were able to injure him, and strengthened himself with new civil and military ordinances, in such a way that, in the year during which he held the principality, not only was he secure in the city of Fermo, but he had become formidable to all his neighbours. And his destruction would have been as difficult as that of Agathocles if he had not allowed himself to be overreached by Cesare Borgia, who took him with the Orsini and Vitelli at Sinigalia, as was stated above. Thus one year after he had committed this parricide, he was strangled, together with Vitellozzo, whom he had made his leader in valour and wickedness.

Some may wonder how it can happen that Agathocles, and his like, after infinite treacheries and cruelties, should live for long secure in his country, and defend himself from external enemies, and never be conspired against by his own citizens; seeing that many others, by means of cruelty, have never been able even in peaceful times to hold the state, still less in the doubtful times of war. I believe that this follows from severities* being badly or properly used (* Mr Burd suggests that this word probably comes near the modern equivalent of Machiavelli's thought when he speaks of "crudelta" than the more obvious "cruelties."). Those may be called properly used, if of evil it is possible to speak well, that are applied at one blow and are necessary to one's security, and that are not persisted in afterwards unless they can be turned to the advantage of the subjects. The badly employed are those which, notwithstanding they may be few in the commencement, multiply with time rather than decrease. Those who practise the first system are able, by aid of God or man, to mitigate in some degree their rule, as Agathocles did. It is impossible for those who follow the other to maintain themselves.

Hence it is to be remarked that, in seizing a state, the usurper ought to examine closely into all those injuries which it is necessary for him to inflict, and to do them all at one stroke so as not to have to repeat them daily; and thus by not unsettling men he will be able to reassure them, and win them to himself by benefits. He who does otherwise, either from timidity or evil advice, is always compelled to keep the knife in his hand; neither can he rely on his subjects, nor can they attach themselves to him, owing to their continued and repeated wrongs. For injuries ought to be done all at one time, so that, being tasted less, they offend less; benefits ought to be given little by little, so that the flavour of them may last longer.

And above all things, a prince ought to live amongst his people in such a way that no unexpected circumstances, whether of good or evil, shall make him change; because if the necessity for this comes in troubled times, you are too late for harsh measures; and mild ones will not help you, for they will be considered as forced from you, and no one will be under any obligation to you for them.

MACHIAVELLI THE PRINCE CHAPTER 9

[Concerning A Civil Principality]

But coming to the other point—where a leading citizen becomes the prince of his country, not by wickedness or any intolerable violence, but by the favour of his fellow citizens—this may be called a civil principality: nor is genius or fortune altogether necessary to attain to it, but rather a happy shrewdness. I say then that such a principality is obtained either by the favour of the people or by the favour of the nobles. Because in all cities these two distinct parties are found, and from this it arises that the people do not wish to be ruled nor oppressed by the nobles, and the nobles wish to rule and oppress the people; and from these two opposite desires there arises in cities one of three results, either a principality, self-government, or anarchy.

A principality is created either by the people or by the nobles, accordingly as one or other of them has the opportunity; for the nobles, seeing they cannot withstand the people, begin to cry up the reputation of one of themselves, and they make him a prince, so that under his shadow they can give vent to their ambitions. The people, finding they cannot resist the nobles, also cry up the reputation of one of themselves, and make him a prince so as to be defended by his authority. He who obtains sovereignty by the assistance of the nobles maintains himself with more difficulty than he who comes to it by the aid of the people, because the former finds himself with many around him who consider themselves his equals, and because of this he can neither rule nor manage them to his liking. But he who reaches sovereignty by popular favour finds himself alone, and has none around him, or few, who are not prepared to obey him.

Besides this, one cannot by fair dealing, and without injury to others, satisfy the nobles, but you can satisfy the people, for their object is more righteous than that of the nobles, the latter wishing to oppress, while the former only desire not to be oppressed. It is to be added also that a prince can never secure himself against a hostile people, because of there being too many, whilst from the nobles he can secure himself, as they are few in number. The worst that a prince may expect from a hostile people is to be abandoned by them; but from hostile nobles he has not only to fear abandonment, but also that they will rise against him; for they, being in these affairs more far-seeing and astute, always come forward in time to save themselves, and to obtain favours from him whom they expect to prevail. Further, the prince is compelled to live always with the same people, but he can do well without the same nobles, being able to make and unmake them daily, and to give or take away authority when it pleases him.

Therefore, to make this point clearer, I say that the nobles ought to be looked at mainly in two ways: that is to say, they either shape their course in such a way as binds them entirely to your fortune, or they do not. Those who so bind themselves, and are not rapacious, ought to be honoured and loved; those who do not bind themselves may be dealt with in two ways; they may fail to do this through pusillanimity and a natural want of courage, in which case you ought to make use of them, especially of those who are of good counsel; and thus, whilst in prosperity you honour them, in adversity you do not have to fear them. But when for their own ambitious ends they shun binding themselves, it is a token that they are giving more thought to themselves than to you, and a prince ought to guard against such, and to fear them as if they were open enemies, because in adversity they always help to ruin him.

Therefore, one who becomes a prince through the favour of the people ought to keep them friendly, and this he can easily do seeing they only ask not to be oppressed by him. But one who, in opposition to the people, becomes a prince by the favour of the nobles, ought, above everything, to seek to win the people over to himself, and this he may easily do if he takes them under his protection. Because men, when they receive good from him of whom they were expecting evil, are bound more closely to their benefactor; thus the people quickly become more devoted to him than if he had been raised to the principality by their favours; and the prince can win their affections in many ways, but as these vary according to the circumstances one cannot give fixed rules, so I omit them; but, I repeat, it is necessary for a prince to have the people friendly, otherwise he has no security in adversity.

Nabis*, Prince of the Spartans, sustained the attack of all Greece, and of a victorious Roman army, and against them he defended his country and his government; and for the overcoming of this peril it was only necessary for him to make himself secure against a few, but this would not have been sufficient had the people been hostile (* Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, conquered by the Romans under Flamininus in 195 B.C.; killed 192 B.C.). And do not let any one impugn this statement with the trite proverb that "He who builds on the people, builds on the mud," for this is true when a private citizen makes a foundation there, and persuades himself that the people will free him when he is oppressed by his enemies or by the magistrates; wherein he would find himself very often deceived, as happened to the Gracchi in Rome and to Messer Giorgio Scali* in Florence. (* Messer Giorgio Scali. This event is to be found in Machiavelli's "Florentine History," Book III.)

But granted a prince who has established himself as above, who can command, and is a man of courage, undismayed in adversity, who does not fail in other qualifications, and who, by his resolution and energy, keeps the whole people encouraged—such a one will never find himself deceived in them, and it will be shown that he has laid his foundations well.

These principalities are liable to danger when they are passing from the civil to the absolute order of government, for such princes either rule personally or through magistrates. In the latter case their government is weaker and more insecure, because it rests entirely on the goodwill of those citizens who are raised to the magistracy, and who, especially in troubled times, can destroy the government with great ease, either by intrigue or open defiance; and the prince has not the chance amid tumults to exercise absolute authority, because the citizens and subjects, accustomed to receive orders from magistrates, are not of a mind to obey him amid these confusions, and there will always be in doubtful times a scarcity of men whom he can trust. For such a prince cannot rely upon what he observes in quiet times, when citizens have need of the state, because then every one agrees with him; they all promise, and when death is far distant they all wish to die for him; but in troubled times, when the state has need of its citizens, then he finds but few. And so much the more is this experiment dangerous, inasmuch as it can only be tried once. Therefore a wise prince ought to adopt such a course that his citizens will always in every sort and kind of circumstance have need of the state and of him, and then he will always find them faithful.

MACHIAVELLI THE PRINCE CHAPTER 10

[Concerning The Way In Which The Strength Of All Principalities Ought To Be Measured]

It is necessary to consider another point in examining the character of these principalities: that is, whether a prince has such power that, in case of need, he can support himself with his own resources, or whether he has always need of the assistance of others. And to make this quite clear I say that I consider those who are able to support themselves by their own resources who can, either by abundance of men or money, raise a sufficient army to join battle against any one who comes to attack them; and I consider those always to have need of others who cannot show themselves against the enemy in the field, but are forced to defend themselves by sheltering behind walls. The first case has been discussed, but we will speak of it again should it recur. In the second case one can say nothing except to encourage such princes to provision and fortify their towns, and not on any account to defend the country. And whoever shall fortify his town well, and shall have managed the other concerns of his subjects in the way stated above, and to be often repeated, will never be attacked without great caution, for men are always adverse to enterprises where difficulties can be seen, and it will be seen not to be an easy thing to attack one who has his town well fortified, and is not hated by his people.

The cities of Germany are absolutely free, they own but little country around them, and they yield obedience to the emperor when it suits them, nor do they fear this or any other power they may have near them, because they are fortified in such a way that every one thinks the taking of them by assault would be tedious and difficult, seeing they have proper ditches and walls, they have sufficient artillery, and they always keep in public depots enough for one year's eating, drinking, and firing. And beyond this, to keep the people quiet and without loss to the state, they always have the means of giving work to the community in those labours that are the life and strength of the city, and on the pursuit of which the people are supported; they also hold military exercises in repute, and moreover have many ordinances to uphold them.

Therefore, a prince who has a strong city, and had not made himself odious, will not be attacked, or if any one should attack he will only be driven off with disgrace; again, because that the affairs of this world are so changeable, it is almost impossible to keep an army a whole year in the field without being interfered with. And whoever should reply: If the people have property outside the city, and see it burnt, they will not remain patient, and the long siege and self-interest will make them forget their prince; to this I answer that a powerful and courageous prince will overcome all such difficulties by giving at one time hope to his subjects that the evil will not be for long, at another time fear of the cruelty of the enemy, then preserving himself adroitly from those subjects who seem to him to be too bold.

Further, the enemy would naturally on his arrival at once burn and ruin the country at the time when the spirits of the people are still hot and ready for the defence; and, therefore, so much the less ought the prince to hesitate; because after a time, when spirits have cooled, the damage is already done, the ills are incurred, and there is no longer any remedy; and therefore they are so much the more ready to unite with their prince, he appearing to be under obligations to them now that their houses have been burnt and their possessions ruined in his defence. For it is the nature of men to be bound by the benefits they confer as much as by those they receive. Therefore, if everything is well considered, it will not be difficult for a wise prince to keep the minds of his citizens steadfast from first to last, when he does not fail to support and defend them.

MACHIAVELLI THE PRINCE CHAPTER 11

[Concerning Ecclesiastical Principalities]

It only remains now to speak of ecclesiastical principalities, touching which all difficulties are prior to getting possession, because they are acquired either by capacity or good fortune, and they can be held without either; for they are sustained by the ancient ordinances of religion, which are so all-powerful, and of such a character that the principalities may be held no matter how their princes behave and live. These princes alone have states and do not defend them; and they have subjects and do not rule them; and the states, although unguarded, are not taken from them, and the subjects, although not ruled, do not care, and they have neither the desire nor the ability to alienate themselves. Such principalities only are secure and happy. But being upheld by powers, to which the human mind cannot reach, I shall speak no more of them, because, being exalted and maintained by God, it would be the act of a presumptuous and rash man to discuss them.

Nevertheless, if any one should ask of me how comes it that the Church has attained such greatness in temporal power, seeing that from Alexander backwards the Italian potentates (not only those who have been called potentates, but every baron and lord, though the smallest) have valued the temporal power very slightly—yet now a king of France trembles before it, and it has been able to drive him from Italy,

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and to ruin the Venetians—although this may be very manifest, it does not appear to me superfluous to recall it in some measure to memory.

Before Charles, King of France, passed into Italy (Charles VIII invaded Italy in 1494.), this country was under the dominion of the Pope, the Venetians, the King of Naples, the Duke of Milan, and the Florentines. These potentates had two principal anxieties: the one, that no foreigner should enter Italy under arms; the other, that none of themselves should seize more territory. Those about whom there was the most anxiety were the Pope and the Venetians. To restrain the Venetians the union of all the others was necessary, as it was for the defence of Ferrara; and to keep down the Pope they made use of the barons of Rome, who, being divided into two factions, Orsini and Colonnesi, had always a pretext for disorder, and, standing with arms in their hands under the eyes of the Pontiff, kept the pontificate weak and powerless. And although there might arise sometimes a courageous pope, such as Sixtus, yet neither fortune nor wisdom could rid him of these annoyances. And the short life of a pope is also a cause of weakness; for in the ten years, which is the average life of a pope, he can with difficulty lower one of the factions; and if, so to speak, one people should almost destroy the Colonnesi, another would arise hostile to the Orsini, who would support their opponents, and yet would not have time to ruin the Orsini. This was the reason why the temporal powers of the pope were little esteemed in Italy.

Alexander the Sixth arose afterwards, who of all the pontiffs that have ever been showed how a pope with both money and arms was able to prevail; and through the instrumentality of the Duke Valentino, and by reason of the entry of the French, he brought about all those things which I have discussed above in the actions of the duke. And although his intention was not to aggrandize the Church, but the duke, nevertheless, what he did contributed to the greatness of the Church, which, after his death and the ruin of the duke, became the heir to all his labours.

Pope Julius came afterwards and found the Church strong, possessing all the Romagna, the barons of Rome reduced to impotence, and, through the chastisements of Alexander, the factions wiped out; he also found the way open to accumulate money in a manner such as had never been practised before Alexander's time. Such things Julius not only followed, but improved upon, and he intended to gain Bologna, to ruin the Venetians, and to drive the French out of Italy. All of these enterprises prospered with him, and so much the more to his credit, inasmuch as he did everything to strengthen the Church and not any private person. He kept also the Orsini and Colonnesi factions within the bounds in which he found them; and although there was among them some mind to make disturbance, nevertheless he held two things firm: the one, the greatness of the Church, with which he terrified them; and the other, not allowing them to have their own cardinals, who caused the disorders among them. For whenever these factions have their cardinals they do not remain quiet for long, because cardinals foster the factions in Rome and out of it, and the barons are compelled to support them, and thus from the ambitions of prelates arise disorders and tumults among the barons. For these reasons his Holiness Pope Leo found the pontificate most powerful (as he was the Cardinal de' Medici.), and it is to be hoped that, if others made it great in arms, he will make it still greater and more venerated by his goodness and infinite other virtues.

MACHIAVELLI THE PRINCE CHAPTER 12

[How Many Kinds Of Soldiery There Are, And Concerning Mercenaries]

Having discoursed particularly on the characteristics of such principalities as in the beginning I proposed to discuss, and having considered in some degree the causes of there being good or bad, and having shown the methods by which many have sought to acquire them and to hold them, it now remains for me to discuss generally the means of offence and defence which belong to each of them.

We have seen above how necessary it is for a prince to have his foundations well laid, otherwise it follows of necessity he will go to ruin. The chief foundations of all states, new as well as old or composite, are good laws and good arms; and as there cannot be good laws where the state is not well armed, it follows that where they are well armed they have good laws. I shall leave the laws out of the discussion and shall speak of the arms.

I say, therefore, that the arms with which a prince defends his state are either his own, or they are mercenaries, auxiliaries, or mixed. Mercenaries and auxiliaries are useless and dangerous; and if one holds his state based on these arms, he will stand neither firm nor safe; for they are disunited, ambitious, and without discipline, unfaithful, valiant before friends, cowardly before enemies; they have neither the fear of God nor fidelity to men, and destruction is deferred only so long as the attack is; for in peace one is robbed by them, and in war by the enemy. The fact is, they have no other attraction or reason for keeping the field than a trifle of stipend, which is not sufficient to make them willing to die for you. They are ready enough to be your soldiers whilst you do not make war, but if war comes they take themselves off or run from the foe; which I should have little trouble to prove, for the ruin of Italy has been caused by nothing else than by resting all her hopes for many years on mercenaries, and although they formerly made some display and appeared valiant amongst themselves, yet when the foreigners came they showed what they were. Thus it was that Charles, King of France, was allowed to seize Italy with chalk in hand*; and he who told us that our sins were the cause of it told the truth, but they were not the sins he imagined, but those which I have related. And as they were the sins of princes, it is the princes who have also suffered the penalty. (* "With chalk in hand," refers to the ease with which Charles VIII seized Italy, implying that it was only necessary for him to send his quartermasters to chalk up the billets for his soldiers to conquer the country.)

I wish to demonstrate further the infelicity of these arms. The mercenary captains are either capable men or they are not; if they are, you cannot trust them, because they always aspire to their own greatness, either by oppressing you, who are their master, or others contrary to your intentions; but if the captain is not skilful, you are ruined in the usual way.

And if it be urged that whoever is armed will act in the same way, whether mercenary or not, I reply that when arms have to be resorted to, either by a prince or a republic, then the prince ought to go in person and perform the duty of a captain; the republic has to send its citizens, and when one is sent who does not turn out satisfactorily, it ought to recall him, and when one is worthy, to hold him by the laws so that he does not leave the command. And experience has shown princes and republics, single-handed, making the greatest progress, and mercenaries doing nothing except damage; and it is more difficult to bring a republic, armed with its own arms, under the sway of one of its citizens than it is to bring one armed with foreign arms. Rome and Sparta stood for many ages armed and free. The Switzers are completely armed and quite free.

Of ancient mercenaries, for example, there are the Carthaginians, who were oppressed by their mercenary soldiers after the first war with the Romans, although the Carthaginians had their own citizens for captains. After the death of Epaminondas, Philip of Macedon was made captain of their soldiers by the Thebans, and after victory he took away their liberty.

Duke Filippo being dead, the Milanese enlisted Francesco Sforza against the Venetians, and he, having overcome the enemy at (the Battle of) Caravaggio (15th September 1448), allied himself with them to crush the Milanese, his masters. His father, Sforza, having been engaged by Queen Johanna* of Naples, left her unprotected, so that she was forced to throw herself into the arms of the King of Aragon, in order to save her kingdom. (* Johanna II of Naples, the widow of Ladislao, King of Naples.) And if the Venetians and Florentines formerly extended their dominions by these arms, and yet their captains did not make themselves princes, but have defended them, I reply that the Florentines in this case have been favoured by chance, for of the able captains, of whom they might have stood in fear, some have not conquered, some have been opposed, and others have turned their ambitions elsewhere. One who did not conquer was Giovanni Acuto*, and since he did not conquer his fidelity cannot be proved; but every one will acknowledge that, had he conquered, the Florentines would have stood at his discretion. (* Giovanni Acuto. An English knight whose name was Sir John Hawkwood. He fought in the English wars in France, and was knighted by Edward III; afterwards he collected a body of troops and went into Italy. These became the famous "White Company." He took part in many wars, and died in Florence in 1394. He was born about 1320 at Sible Hedingham, a village in Essex. He married Domnia, a daughter of Bernabo Visconti.) Sforza had the Bracceschi always against him, so they watched each other. Francesco turned his ambition to Lombardy; Braccio against the Church and the kingdom of Naples. But let us come to that which happened a short while ago. The Florentines appointed as their captain Pagolo Vitelli, a most prudent man, who from a private position had risen to the greatest renown. If this man had taken Pisa, nobody can deny that it would have been proper for the Florentines to keep in with him, for if he became the soldier of their enemies they had no means of resisting, and if they held to him they must obey him. The Venetians, if their achievements are considered, will be seen to have acted safely and gloriously so long as they sent to war their own men, when with armed gentlemen and plebians they did valiantly. This was before they turned to enterprises on land, but when they began to fight on land they forsook this virtue and followed the custom of Italy. And in the beginning of their expansion on land, through not having much territory, and because of their great reputation, they had not much to fear from their captains; but when they expanded, as under Carmignuola*, they had a taste of this mistake; for, having found him a most valiant man (they beat the Duke of Milan under his leadership), and, on the other hand, knowing how lukewarm he was in the war, they feared they would no longer conquer under him, and for this reason they were not willing, nor were they able, to let him go; and so, not to lose again that which they had acquired, they were compelled, in order to secure themselves, to murder him. (* Carmignuola. Francesco Bussone, born at Carmagnola about 1390, executed at Venice, 5th May 1432.) They had afterwards for their captains Bartolomeo da Bergamo, Roberto da San Severino, the count of Pitigliano*, and the like, under whom they had to dread loss and not gain, as happened afterwards at Vaila**, where in one battle they lost that which in eight hundred years they had acquired with so much trouble. Because from such arms conquests come but slowly, long delayed and inconsiderable, but the losses sudden and portentous. (* Bartolomeo Colleoni of Bergamo; died 1457. Roberto of San Severino; died fighting for Venice against Sigismund, Duke of Austria, in 1487. "Primo capitano in Italia."—Machiavelli. Count of Pitigliano; Nicolo Orsini, born 1442, died 1510.); (** Battle of Vaila in 1509.)

And as with these examples I have reached Italy, which has been ruled for many years by mercenaries, I wish to discuss them more seriously, in order that, having seen their rise and progress, one may be better prepared to counteract them. You must understand that the empire has recently come to be repudiated in Italy, that the Pope has acquired more temporal power, and that Italy has been divided up into more states, for the reason that many of the great cities took up arms against their nobles, who, formerly favoured by the emperor, were oppressing them, whilst the Church was favouring them so as to gain authority in temporal power: in many others their citizens became princes. From this it came to pass that Italy fell partly into the hands of the Church and of republics, and, the Church consisting of priests and the republic of citizens unaccustomed to arms, both commenced to enlist foreigners.

The first who gave renown to this soldiery was Alberigo da Conio*, the Romagnian (* Alberigo da Conio. Alberico da Barbiano, Count of Cunio in Romagna. He was the leader of the famous "Company of St George," composed entirely of Italian soldiers. He died in 1409.). From the school of this man sprang, among others, Braccio and Sforza, who in their time were the arbiters of Italy. After these came all the other captains who till now have directed the arms of Italy; and the end of all their valour has been, that she has been overrun by Charles, robbed by Louis, ravaged by Ferdinand, and insulted by the Switzers. The principle that has guided them has been, first, to lower the credit of infantry so that they might increase their own. They did this because, subsisting on their pay and without territory, they were unable to support many soldiers, and a few infantry did not give them any authority; so they were led to employ cavalry, with a moderate force of which they were maintained and honoured; and affairs were brought to such a pass that, in an army of twenty thousand soldiers, there were not to be found two thousand foot soldiers. They had, besides this, used every art to lessen fatigue and danger to themselves and their soldiers, not killing in the fray, but taking prisoners and liberating without ransom. They did not attack towns at night, nor did the garrisons of the towns attack encampments at night; they did not surround the camp either with stockade or ditch, nor did they campaign in the winter. All these things were permitted by their military rules, and devised by them to avoid, as I have said, both fatigue and dangers; thus they have brought Italy to slavery and contempt.

MACHIAVELLI THE PRINCE CHAPTER 13

[Concerning Auxiliaries, Mixed Soldiery, And One's Own]

Auxiliaries, which are the other useless arm, are employed when a prince is called in with his forces to aid and defend, as was done by Pope Julius in the most recent times; for he, having, in the enterprise against Ferrara, had poor proof of his mercenaries, turned to auxiliaries, and stipulated with Ferdinand, King of Spain*, for his assistance with men and arms. These arms may be useful and good in themselves, but for him who calls them in they are always disadvantageous; for losing, one is undone, and winning, one is their captive. (* Ferdinand V [F. II of Aragon and Sicily, F. III of Naples], surnamed "The Catholic," born 1452, died 1516.)

And although ancient histories may be full of examples, I do not wish to leave this recent one of Pope Julius the Second, the peril of which cannot fail to be perceived; for he, wishing to get Ferrara, threw himself entirely into the hands of the foreigner. But his good fortune brought about a third event, so that he did not reap the fruit of his rash choice; because, having his auxiliaries routed at Ravenna, and the Switzers having risen and driven out the conquerors (against all expectation, both his and others), it so came to pass that he did not become prisoner to his enemies, they having fled, nor to his auxiliaries, he having conquered by other arms than theirs.

The Florentines, being entirely without arms, sent ten thousand Frenchmen to take Pisa, whereby they ran more danger than at any other time of their troubles.

The Emperor of Constantinople (Joannes Cantacuzenus, born 1300, died 1383.) to oppose his neighbours, sent ten thousand Turks into Greece, who, on the war being finished,

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were not willing to quit; this was the beginning of the servitude of Greece to the infidels.

Therefore, let him who has no desire to conquer make use of these arms, for they are much more hazardous than mercenaries, because with them the ruin is ready made; they are all united, all yield obedience to others; but with mercenaries, when they have conquered, more time and better opportunities are needed to injure you; they are not all of one community, they are found and paid by you, and a third party, which you have made their head, is not able all at once to assume enough authority to injure you. In conclusion, in mercenaries dastardy is most dangerous; in auxiliaries, valour. The wise prince, therefore, has always avoided these arms and turned to his own; and has been willing rather to lose with them than to conquer with the others, not deeming that a real victory which is gained with the arms of others.

I shall never hesitate to cite Cesare Borgia and his actions. This duke entered the Romagna with auxiliaries, taking there only French soldiers, and with them he captured Imola and Forli; but afterwards, such forces not appearing to him reliable, he turned to mercenaries, discerning less danger in them, and enlisted the Orsini and Vitelli; whom presently, on handling and finding them doubtful, unfaithful, and dangerous, he destroyed and turned to his own men. And the difference between one and the other of these forces can easily be seen when one considers the difference there was in the reputation of the duke, when he had the French, when he had the Orsini and Vitelli, and when he relied on his own soldiers, on whose fidelity he could always count and found it ever increasing; he was never esteemed more highly than when every one saw that he was complete master of his own forces.

I was not intending to go beyond Italian and recent examples, but I am unwilling to leave out Hiero, the Syracusan, he being one of those I have named above. This man, as I have said, made head of the army by the Syracusans, soon found out that a mercenary soldiery, constituted like our Italian condottieri, was of no use; and it appearing to him that he could neither keep them not let them go, he had them all cut to pieces, and afterwards made war with his own forces and not with aliens.

I wish also to recall to memory an instance from the Old Testament applicable to this subject. David offered himself to Saul to fight with Goliath, the Philistine champion, and, to give him courage, Saul armed him with his own weapons; which David rejected as soon as he had them on his back, saying he could make no use of them, and that he wished to meet the enemy with his sling and his knife. In conclusion, the arms of others either fall from your back, or they weigh you down, or they bind you fast.

Charles the Seventh*, the father of King Louis the Eleventh**, having by good fortune and valour liberated France from the English, recognised the necessity of being armed with forces of his own, and he established in his kingdom ordinances concerning men-at-arms and infantry. (* Charles VII of France, surnamed "The Victorious," born 1403, died 1461.); (** Louis XI, son of the above, born 1423, died 1483.) Afterwards his son, King Louis, abolished the infantry and began to enlist the Switzers, which mistake, followed by others, is, as is now seen, a source of peril to that kingdom; because, having raised the reputation of the Switzers, he has entirely diminished the value of his own arms, for he has destroyed the infantry altogether; and his men-at-arms he has subordinated to others, for, being as they are so accustomed to fight along with Switzers, it does not appear that they can now conquer without them. Hence it arises that the French cannot stand against the Switzers, and without the Switzers they do not come off well against others. The armies of the French have thus become mixed, partly mercenary and partly national, both of which arms together are much better than mercenaries alone or auxiliaries alone, but much inferior to one's own forces. And this example proves it, for the kingdom of France would be unconquerable if the ordinance of Charles had been enlarged or maintained. But the scanty wisdom of man, on entering into an affair which looks well at first, cannot discern the poison that is hidden in it, as I have said above of hectic fevers. Therefore, if he who rules a principality cannot recognise evils until they are upon him, he is not truly wise; and this insight is given to few. And if the first disaster to the Roman Empire* should be examined, it will be found to have commenced only with the enlisting of the Goths; because from that time the vigour of the Roman Empire began to decline, and all that valour which had raised it passed away to others. [* This refers to the pitiful state to with the empire was brought by its spoiled, inept, and despisably irresponsible people who were, by their low and wrong education and Christianity's failure to support a strong well-educated state, animated only to follow their egoistic every-day whims instead of taking personal responsibilities for the entire community that only a politically strong state can represent. Keeping the defences of that state in order, as it was once the foundation of all citizens' welfare, was neglected and this was the first disaster. The Romans at that time have given up on any sort of political enterprise that involved armament and recruiting soldiers from its own populace. Instead, everyone, including immigrants, in the Empire was given Roman citizenship (by Emperor Caracalla, r. 198–217 AD) eliminating the main motor of that society: striving to become a citizen! Foreigners had to do the "uncomfortable jobs" of cleaning, serving, and being soldiers. The state was rotting from within, with all the bitter ramifications a possible foreign rule will inflict. Rome's downfall into the Middle Ages made people suffer for a thousand years to an unimaginable scale and Machiavelli was well aware it.]

I conclude, therefore, that no principality is secure without having its own forces; on the contrary, it is entirely dependent on good fortune, not having the valour which in adversity would defend it. And it has always been the opinion and judgement of wise men that nothing can be so uncertain or unstable as fame or power not founded on its own strength. And one's own forces are those which are composed either of subjects, citizens, or dependents; all others are mercenaries or auxiliaries. And the way to make ready one's own forces will be easily found if the rules suggested by me shall be reflected upon, and if one will consider how Philip, the father of Alexander the Great, and many republics and princes have armed and organised themselves, to which rules I entirely commit myself.

MACHIAVELLI THE PRINCE CHAPTER 14

[That Which Concerns A Prince On The Subject Of The Art Of War]

A prince ought to have no other aim or thought, nor select anything else for his study, than war and its rules and discipline; for this is the sole art that belongs to him who rules, and it is of such force that it not only upholds those who are born princes, but it often enables men to rise from a private station to that rank. And, on the contrary, it is seen that when princes have thought more of ease than of arms they have lost their states. And the first cause of your losing it is to neglect this art; and what enables you to acquire a state is to be master of the art. Francesco Sforza, through being martial, from a private person became Duke of Milan; and the sons, through avoiding the hardships and troubles of arms, from dukes became private persons. For among other evils which being unarmed brings you, it causes you to be despised, and this is one of those ignominies against which a prince ought to guard himself, as is shown later on. Because there is nothing proportionate between the armed and the unarmed; and it is not reasonable that he who is armed should yield obedience willingly to him who is unarmed, or that the unarmed man should be secure among armed servants. Because, there being in the one disdain and in the other suspicion, it is not possible for them to work well together. And therefore a prince who does not understand the art of war, over and above the other misfortunes already mentioned, cannot be respected by his soldiers, nor can he rely on them. He ought never, therefore, to have out of his thoughts this subject of war, and in peace he should addict himself more to its exercise than in war; this he can do in two ways, the one by action, the other by study.

As regards action, he ought above all things to keep his men well organised and drilled, to follow incessantly the chase, by which he accustoms his body to hardships, and learns something of the nature of localities, and gets to find out how the mountains rise, how the valleys open out, how the plains lie, and to understand the nature of rivers and marshes, and in all this to take the greatest care. Which knowledge is useful in two ways. Firstly, he learns to know his country, and is better able to undertake its defence; afterwards, by means of the knowledge and observation of that locality, he understands with ease any other which it may be necessary for him to study hereafter; because the hills, valleys, and plains, and rivers and marshes that are, for instance, in Tuscany, have a certain resemblance to those of other countries, so that with a knowledge of the aspect of one country one can easily arrive at a knowledge of others. And the prince that lacks this skill lacks the essential which it is desirable that a captain should possess, for it teaches him to surprise his enemy, to select quarters, to lead armies, to array the battle, to besiege towns to advantage.

Philopoemen*, Prince of the Achaeans, among other praises which writers have bestowed on him, is commended because in time of peace he never had anything in his mind but the rules of war; and when he was in the country with friends, he often stopped and reasoned with them: "If the enemy should be upon that hill, and we should find ourselves here with our army, with whom would be the advantage? How should one best advance to meet him, keeping the ranks? If we should wish to retreat, how ought we to pursue?" And he would set forth to them, as he went, all the chances that could befall an army; he would listen to their opinion and state his, confirming it with reasons, so that by these continual discussions there could never arise, in time of war, any unexpected circumstances that he could not deal with. (* Philopoemen, "the last of the Greeks," born 252 B.C., died 183 B.C.)

But to exercise the intellect the prince should read histories, and study there the actions of illustrious men, to see how they have borne themselves in war, to examine the causes of their victories and defeat, so as to avoid the latter and imitate the former; and above all do as an illustrious man did, who took as an exemplar one who had been praised and famous before him, and whose achievements and deeds he always kept in his mind, as it is said Alexander the Great imitated Achilles, Caesar Alexander, Scipio Cyrus. And whoever reads the life of Cyrus, written by Xenophon, will recognise afterwards in the life of Scipio how that imitation was his glory, and how in chastity, affability, humanity, and liberality Scipio conformed to those things which have been written of Cyrus by Xenophon. A wise prince ought to observe some such rules, and never in peaceful times stand idle, but increase his resources with industry in such a way that they may be available to him in adversity, so that if fortune chances it may find him prepared to resist her blows.

MACHIAVELLI THE PRINCE CHAPTER 15

[Concerning Things For Which Men, And Especially Princes, Are Praised Or Blamed]

It remains now to see what ought to be the rules of conduct for a prince towards subject and friends. And as I know that many have written on this point, I expect I shall be considered presumptuous in mentioning it again, especially as in discussing it I shall depart from the methods of other people. But, it being my intention to write a thing which shall be useful to him who apprehends it, it appears to me more appropriate to follow up the real truth of the matter than the imagination of it; for many have pictured republics and principalities which in fact have never been known or seen, because how one lives is so far distant from how one ought to live, that he who neglects what is done for what ought to be done, sooner effects his ruin than his preservation; for a man who wishes to act entirely up to his professions of virtue soon meets with what destroys him among so much that is evil.

Hence it is necessary for a prince wishing to hold his own to know how to do wrong, and to make use of it or not according to necessity. Therefore, putting on one side imaginary things concerning a prince, and discussing those which are real, I say that all men when they are spoken of, and chiefly princes for being more highly placed, are remarkable for some of those qualities which bring them either blame or praise; and thus it is that one is reputed liberal, another miserly, using a Tuscan term (because an avaricious person in our language is still he who desires to possess by robbery, whilst we call one miserly who deprives himself too much of the use of his own); one is reputed generous, one rapacious; one cruel, one compassionate; one faithless, another faithful; one effeminate and cowardly, another bold and brave; one affable, another haughty; one lascivious, another chaste; one sincere, another cunning; one hard, another easy; one grave, another frivolous; one religious, another unbelieving, and the like. And I know that every one will confess that it would be most praiseworthy in a prince to exhibit all the above qualities that are considered good; but because they can neither be entirely possessed nor observed, for human conditions do not permit it, it is necessary for him to be sufficiently prudent that he may know how to avoid the reproach of those vices which would lose him his state; and also to keep himself, if it be possible, from those which would not lose him it; but this not being possible, he may with less hesitation abandon himself to them. And again, he need not make himself uneasy at incurring a reproach for those vices without which the state can only be saved with difficulty, for if everything is considered carefully, it will be found that something which looks like virtue, if followed, would be his ruin; whilst something else, which looks like vice, yet followed brings him security and prosperity.

MACHIAVELLI THE PRINCE CHAPTER 16

[Concerning Liberality And Meanness]

Commencing then with the first of the above-named characteristics, I say that it would be well to be reputed liberal. Nevertheless, liberality exercised in a way that does not bring you the reputation for it, injures you; for if one exercises it honestly and as it should be exercised, it may not become known, and you will not avoid the reproach of its opposite. Therefore, any one wishing to maintain among men the name of liberal is obliged to avoid no attribute of magnificence; so that a prince thus inclined will consume in such acts all his property, and will be compelled in the end, if he wish to maintain the name of liberal, to unduly weigh down his people, and tax them, and do everything he can to get money. This will soon make him odious to his subjects, and becoming poor he will be little valued by any one; thus, with his liberality, having offended many and rewarded few, he is affected by the very first trouble and imperilled by whatever may be the first danger; recognising this himself, and wishing to draw back from it, he runs at once into the reproach of being miserly.

Therefore, a prince, not being able to exercise this virtue of liberality in such a way that it is recognised, except to his cost, if he is wise he ought not to fear the reputation of being mean, for in time he will come to be more considered than if liberal,

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seeing that with his economy his revenues are enough, that he can defend himself against all attacks, and is able to engage in enterprises without burdening his people; thus it comes to pass that he exercises liberality towards all from whom he does not take, who are numberless, and meanness towards those to whom he does not give, who are few.

We have not seen great things done in our time except by those who have been considered mean; the rest have failed. Pope Julius the Second was assisted in reaching the papacy by a reputation for liberality, yet he did not strive afterwards to keep it up, when he made war on the King of France; and he made many wars without imposing any extraordinary tax on his subjects, for he supplied his additional expenses out of his long thriftiness. The present King of Spain would not have undertaken or conquered in so many enterprises if he had been reputed liberal. A prince, therefore, provided that he has not to rob his subjects, that he can defend himself, that he does not become poor and abject, that he is not forced to become rapacious, ought to hold of little account a reputation for being mean, for it is one of those vices which will enable him to govern.

And if any one should say: Caesar obtained empire by liberality, and many others have reached the highest positions by having been liberal, and by being considered so, I answer: Either you are a prince in fact, or in a way to become one. In the first case this liberality is dangerous, in the second it is very necessary to be considered liberal; and Caesar was one of those who wished to become pre-eminent in Rome; but if he had survived after becoming so, and had not moderated his expenses, he would have destroyed his government. And if any one should reply: Many have been princes, and have done great things with armies, who have been considered very liberal, I reply: Either a prince spends that which is his own or his subjects' or else that of others. In the first case he ought to be sparing, in the second he ought not to neglect any opportunity for liberality. And to the prince who goes forth with his army, supporting it by pillage, sack, and extortion, handling that which belongs to others, this liberality is necessary, otherwise he would not be followed by soldiers. And of that which is neither yours nor your subjects' you can be a ready giver, as were Cyrus, Caesar, and Alexander; because it does not take away your reputation if you squander that of others, but adds to it; it is only squandering your own that injures you.

And there is nothing wastes so rapidly as liberality, for even whilst you exercise it you lose the power to do so, and so become either poor or despised, or else, in avoiding poverty, rapacious and hated. And a prince should guard himself, above all things, against being despised and hated; and liberality leads you to both. Therefore it is wiser to have a reputation for meanness which brings reproach without hatred, than to be compelled through seeking a reputation for liberality to incur a name for rapacity which begets reproach with hatred.

MACHIAVELLI THE PRINCE CHAPTER 17

[Concerning Cruelty And Clemency, And Whether It Is Better To Be Loved Than Feared]

Coming now to the other qualities mentioned above, I say that every prince ought to desire to be considered clement and not cruel. Nevertheless he ought to take care not to misuse this clemency. Cesare Borgia was considered cruel; notwithstanding, his cruelty reconciled the Romagna, unified it, and restored it to peace and loyalty. And if this be rightly considered, he will be seen to have been much more merciful than the Florentine people, who, to avoid a reputation for cruelty, permitted Pistoia to be destroyed* (* During the rioting between the Cancellieri and Panciatichi factions in 1502 and 1503.). Therefore a prince, so long as he keeps his subjects united and loyal, ought not to mind the reproach of cruelty; because with a few examples he will be more merciful than those who, through too much mercy, allow disorders to arise, from which follow murders or robberies; for these are wont to injure the whole people, whilst those executions which originate with a prince offend the individual only.

And of all princes, it is impossible for the new prince to avoid the imputation of cruelty, owing to new states being full of dangers. Hence Virgil, through the mouth of Dido, excuses the inhumanity of her reign owing to its being new, saying: "Res dura, et regni novitas me talia cogunt Moliri, et late fines custode tueri." (. . . against my will, my fate A throne unsettled, and an infant state, Bid me defend my realms with all my pow'rs, And guard with these severities my shores. Christopher Pitt.) Nevertheless he ought to be slow to believe and to act, nor should he himself show fear, but proceed in a temperate manner with prudence and humanity, so that too much confidence may not make him incautious and too much distrust render him intolerable.

Upon this a question arises: whether it be better to be loved than feared or feared than loved? It may be answered that one should wish to be both, but, because it is difficult to unite them in one person, it is much safer to be feared than loved, when, of the two, either must be dispensed with. Because this is to be asserted in general of men, that they are ungrateful, fickle, false, cowardly, covetous, and as long as you succeed they are yours entirely; they will offer you their blood, property, life, and children, as is said above, when the need is far distant; but when it approaches they turn against you. And that prince who, relying entirely on their promises, has neglected other precautions, is ruined; because friendships that are obtained by payments, and not by greatness or nobility of mind, may indeed be earned, but they are not secured, and in time of need cannot be relied upon; and men have less scruple in offending one who is beloved than one who is feared, for love is preserved by the link of obligation which, owing to the baseness of men, is broken at every opportunity for their advantage; but fear preserves you by a dread of punishment which never fails.

Nevertheless a prince ought to inspire fear in such a way that, if he does not win love, he avoids hatred; because he can endure very well being feared whilst he is not hated, which will always be as long as he abstains from the property of his citizens and subjects and from their women. But when it is necessary for him to proceed against the life of someone, he must do it on proper justification and for manifest cause, but above all things he must keep his hands off the property of others, because men more quickly forget the death of their father than the loss of their patrimony. Besides, pretexts for taking away the property are never wanting; for he who has once begun to live by robbery will always find pretexts for seizing what belongs to others; but reasons for taking life, on the contrary, are more difficult to find and sooner lapse. But when a prince is with his army, and has under control a multitude of soldiers, then it is quite necessary for him to disregard the reputation of cruelty, for without it he would never hold his army united or disposed to its duties.

Among the wonderful deeds of Hannibal this one is enumerated: that having led an enormous army, composed of many various races of men, to fight in foreign lands, no dissensions arose either among them or against the prince, whether in his bad or in his good fortune. This arose from nothing else than his inhuman cruelty, which, with his boundless valour, made him revered and terrible in the sight of his soldiers, but without that cruelty, his other virtues were not sufficient to produce this effect. And short-sighted writers admire his deeds from one point of view and from another condemn the principal cause of them. That it is true his other virtues would not have been sufficient for him may be proved by the case of Scipio, that most excellent man, not only of his own times but within the memory of man, against whom, nevertheless, his army rebelled in Spain; this arose from nothing but his too great forbearance, which gave his soldiers more license than is consistent with military discipline. For this he was upbraided in the Senate by Fabius Maximus, and called the corrupter of the Roman soldiery. The Locrians were laid waste by a legate of Scipio, yet they were not avenged by him, nor was the insolence of the legate punished, owing entirely to his easy nature. Insomuch that someone in the Senate, wishing to excuse him, said there were many men who knew much better how not to err than to correct the errors of others. This disposition, if he had been continued in the command, would have destroyed in time the fame and glory of Scipio; but, he being under the control of the Senate, this injurious characteristic not only concealed itself, but contributed to his glory.

Returning to the question of being feared or loved, I come to the conclusion that, men loving according to their own will and fearing according to that of the prince, a wise prince should establish himself on that which is in his own control and not in that of others; he must endeavour only to avoid hatred, as is noted.

MACHIAVELLI THE PRINCE CHAPTER 18*

[Concerning The Way In Which Princes Should Keep Faith]

(* "The present chapter has given greater offence than any other portion of Machiavelli's writings." Burd, "Il Principe," p. 297.)

Every one admits how praiseworthy it is in a prince to keep faith, and to live with integrity and not with craft. Nevertheless our experience has been that those princes who have done great things have held good faith of little account, and have known how to circumvent the intellect of men by craft, and in the end have overcome those who have relied on their word. You must know there are two ways of contesting* (i.e. "striving for mastery.), the one by the law, the other by force; the first method is proper to men, the second to beasts; but because the first is frequently not sufficient, it is necessary to have recourse to the second. Therefore it is necessary for a prince to understand how to avail himself of the beast and the man. This has been figuratively taught to princes by ancient writers, who describe how Achilles and many other princes of old were given to the Centaur Chiron to nurse, who brought them up in his discipline; which means solely that, as they had for a teacher one who was half beast and half man, so it is necessary for a prince to know how to make use of both natures, and that one without the other is not durable. A prince, therefore, being compelled knowingly to adopt the beast, ought to choose the fox and the lion; because the lion cannot defend himself against snares and the fox cannot defend himself against wolves. Therefore, it is necessary to be a fox to discover the snares and a lion to terrify the wolves. Those who rely simply on the lion do not understand what they are about. Therefore a wise lord cannot, nor ought he to, keep faith when such observance may be turned against him, and when the reasons that caused him to pledge it exist no longer. If men were entirely good this precept would not hold, but because they are bad, and will not keep faith with you, you too are not bound to observe it with them. Nor will there ever be wanting to a prince legitimate reasons to excuse this non-observance. Of this endless modern examples could be given, showing how many treaties and engagements have been made void and of no effect through the faithlessness of princes; and he who has known best how to employ the fox has succeeded best.

But it is necessary to know well how to disguise this characteristic, and to be a great pretender and dissembler; and men are so simple, and so subject to present necessities, that he who seeks to deceive will always find someone who will allow himself to be deceived. One recent example I cannot pass over in silence. Alexander the Sixth did nothing else but deceive men, nor ever thought of doing otherwise, and he always found victims; for there never was a man who had greater power in asserting, or who with greater oaths would affirm a thing, yet would observe it less; nevertheless his deceits always succeeded according to his wishes, because he well understood this side of mankind.

Therefore it is unnecessary for a prince to have all the good qualities I have enumerated, but it is very necessary to appear to have them. And I shall dare to say this also, that to have them and always to observe them is injurious, and that to appear to have them is useful; to appear merciful, faithful, humane, religious, upright, and to be so, but with a mind so framed that should you require not to be so, you may be able and know how to change to the opposite.

And you have to understand this, that a prince, especially a new one, cannot observe all those things for which men are esteemed, being often forced, in order to maintain the state, to act contrary to fidelity*, friendship, humanity, and religion. Therefore it is necessary for him to have a mind ready to turn itself accordingly as the winds and variations of fortune force it, yet, as I have said above, not to diverge from the good if he can avoid doing so, but, if compelled, then to know how to set about it. (* "Contrary to fidelity" or "faith", "contro alla fede," and "tutto fede," "altogether faithful", in the next paragraph. It is noteworthy that these two phrases, "contro alla fede" and "tutto fede," were omitted in the Testina edition, which was published with the sanction of the papal authorities. It may be that the meaning attached to the word "fede" was "the faith", i.e. the Catholic creed, and not as rendered here "fidelity" and "faithful". Observe that the word "religione" was suffered to stand in the text of the Testina, being used to signify indifferently every shade of belief, as witness "the religion", a phrase inevitably employed to designate the Huguenot heresy. South in his Sermon IX, p. 69, ed. 1843, comments on this passage as follows: "That great patron and Coryphaeus of this tribe, Nicolo Machiavel, laid down this for a master rule in his political scheme: 'That the show of religion was helpful to the politician, but the reality of it hurtful and pernicious'.")

For this reason a prince ought to take care that he never lets anything slip from his lips that is not replete with the above-named five qualities, that he may appear to him who sees and hears him altogether merciful, faithful, humane, upright, and religious. There is nothing more necessary to appear to have than this last quality, inasmuch as men judge generally more by the eye than by the hand, because it belongs to everybody to see you, to few to come in touch with you. Every one sees what you appear to be, few really know what you are, and those few dare not oppose themselves to the opinion of the many, who have the majesty of the state to defend them; and in the actions of all men, and especially of princes, which it is not prudent to challenge, one judges by the result.

For that reason, let a prince have the credit of conquering and holding his state, the means will always be considered honest, and he will be praised by everybody; because the vulgar are always taken by what a thing seems to be and by what comes of it; and in the world there are only the vulgar, for the few find a place there only when the many have no ground to rest on.

One prince* of the present time, whom it is not well to name, never preaches anything else but peace and good faith, and to both he is most hostile, and either, if he had kept it, would have deprived him of reputation and kingdom many a time. (* Ferdinand of Aragon. "When Machiavelli was writing 'The Prince' it would have been clearly impossible to mention Ferdinand's name here without giving offence." Burd's "Il Principe," p. 308.)

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MACHIAVELLI THE PRINCE CHAPTER 19

[That One Should Avoid Being Despised And Hated]

Now, concerning the characteristics of which mention is made above, I have spoken of the more important ones, the others I wish to discuss briefly under this generality, that the prince must consider, as has been in part said before, how to avoid those things which will make him hated or contemptible; and as often as he shall have succeeded he will have fulfilled his part, and he need not fear any danger in other reproaches.

It makes him hated above all things, as I have said, to be rapacious, and to be a violator of the property and women of his subjects, from both of which he must abstain. And when neither their property nor their honour is touched, the majority of men live content, and he has only to contend with the ambition of a few, whom he can curb with ease in many ways.

It makes him contemptible to be considered fickle, frivolous, effeminate, mean-spirited, irresolute, from all of which a prince should guard himself as from a rock; and he should endeavour to show in his actions greatness, courage, gravity, and fortitude; and in his private dealings with his subjects let him show that his judgements are irrevocable, and maintain himself in such reputation that no one can hope either to deceive him or to get round him.

That prince is highly esteemed who conveys this impression of himself, and he who is highly esteemed is not easily conspired against; for, provided it is well known that he is an excellent man and revered by his people, he can only be attacked with difficulty. For this reason a prince ought to have two fears, one from within, on account of his subjects, the other from without, on account of external powers. From the latter he is defended by being well armed and having good allies, and if he is well armed he will have good friends, and affairs will always remain quiet within when they are quiet without, unless they should have been already disturbed by conspiracy; and even should affairs outside be disturbed, if he has carried out his preparations and has lived as I have said, as long as he does not despair, he will resist every attack, as I said Nabis the Spartan did.

But concerning his subjects, when affairs outside are disturbed he has only to fear that they will conspire secretly, from which a prince can easily secure himself by avoiding being hated and despised, and by keeping the people satisfied with him, which it is most necessary for him to accomplish, as I said above at length. And one of the most efficacious remedies that a prince can have against conspiracies is not to be hated and despised by the people, for he who conspires against a prince always expects to please them by his removal; but when the conspirator can only look forward to offending them, he will not have the courage to take such a course, for the difficulties that confront a conspirator are infinite. And as experience shows, many have been the conspiracies, but few have been successful; because he who conspires cannot act alone, nor can he take a companion except from those whom he believes to be malcontents, and as soon as you have opened your mind to a malcontent you have given him the material with which to content himself, for by denouncing you he can look for every advantage; so that, seeing the gain from this course to be assured, and seeing the other to be doubtful and full of dangers, he must be a very rare friend, or a thoroughly obstinate enemy of the prince, to keep faith with you.

And, to reduce the matter into a small compass, I say that, on the side of the conspirator, there is nothing but fear, jealousy, prospect of punishment to terrify him; but on the side of the prince there is the majesty of the principality, the laws, the protection of friends and the state to defend him; so that, adding to all these things the popular goodwill, it is impossible that any one should be so rash as to conspire. For whereas in general the conspirator has to fear before the execution of his plot, in this case he has also to fear the sequel to the crime; because on account of it he has the people for an enemy, and thus cannot hope for any escape.

Endless examples could be given on this subject, but I will be content with one, brought to pass within the memory of our fathers. Messer Annibale Bentivogli, who was prince in Bologna (grandfather of the present Annibale), having been murdered by the Canneschi, who had conspired against him, not one of his family survived but Messer Giovanni*, who was in childhood: immediately after his assassination the people rose and murdered all the Canneschi. (* Giovanni Bentivogli, born in Bologna 1438, died at Milan 1508. He ruled Bologna from 1462 to 1506. Machiavelli's strong condemnation of conspiracies may get its edge from his own very recent experience (February 1513), when he had been arrested and tortured for his alleged complicity in the Boscoli conspiracy.) This sprung from the popular goodwill which the house of Bentivogli enjoyed in those days in Bologna; which was so great that, although none remained there after the death of Annibale who was able to rule the state, the Bolognese, having information that there was one of the Bentivogli family in Florence, who up to that time had been considered the son of a blacksmith, sent to Florence for him and gave him the government of their city, and it was ruled by him until Messer Giovanni came in due course to the government.

For this reason I consider that a prince ought to reckon conspiracies of little account when his people hold him in esteem; but when it is hostile to him, and bears hatred towards him, he ought to fear everything and everybody. And well-ordered states and wise princes have taken every care not to drive the nobles to desperation, and to keep the people satisfied and contented, for this is one of the most important objects a prince can have.

Among the best ordered and governed kingdoms of our times is France, and in it are found many good institutions on which depend the liberty and security of the king; of these the first is the parliament and its authority, because he who founded the kingdom, knowing the ambition of the nobility and their boldness, considered that a bit to their mouths would be necessary to hold them in; and, on the other side, knowing the hatred of the people, founded in fear, against the nobles, he wished to protect them, yet he was not anxious for this to be the particular care of the king; therefore, to take away the reproach which he would be liable to from the nobles for favouring the people, and from the people for favouring the nobles, he set up an arbiter, who should be one who could beat down the great and favour the lesser without reproach to the king. Neither could you have a better or a more prudent arrangement, or a greater source of security to the king and kingdom. From this one can draw another important conclusion, that princes ought to leave affairs of reproach to the management of others, and keep those of grace in their own hands. And further, I consider that a prince ought to cherish the nobles, but not so as to make himself hated by the people.

It may appear, perhaps, to some who have examined the lives and deaths of the Roman emperors that many of them would be an example contrary to my opinion, seeing that some of them lived nobly and showed great qualities of soul, nevertheless they have lost their empire or have been killed by subjects who have conspired against them. Wishing, therefore, to answer these objections, I will recall the characters of some of the emperors, and will show that the causes of their ruin were not different to those alleged by me; at the same time I will only submit for consideration those things that are noteworthy to him who studies the affairs of those times.

It seems to me sufficient to take all those emperors who succeeded to the empire from Marcus the philosopher down to Maximinus; they were Marcus and his son Commodus, Pertinax, Julian, Severus [Lucius Septimius Severus Augustus, 145–211 AD] and his son Antoninus Caracalla [Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus, 188–217 AD], Macrinus [Marcus Opellius Severus Macrinus Augustus, 165–218 AD], Heliogabalus [Elagabalus, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, 204–222 AD], Alexander [Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Augustus, 208–235 AD], and Maximinus [Maximinus Thrax (the Thracian); Gaius Julius Verus Maximinus Augustus; 173–238 AD].

There is first to note that, whereas in other principalities the ambition of the nobles and the insolence of the people only have to be contended with, the Roman emperors had a third difficulty in having to put up with the cruelty and avarice of their soldiers, a matter so beset with difficulties that it was the ruin of many; for it was a hard thing to give satisfaction both to soldiers and people; because the people loved peace, and for this reason they loved the unaspiring prince, whilst the soldiers loved the warlike prince who was bold, cruel, and rapacious, which qualities they were quite willing he should exercise upon the people, so that they could get double pay and give vent to their own greed and cruelty. Hence it arose that those emperors were always overthrown who, either by birth or training, had no great authority, and most of them, especially those who came new to the principality, recognising the difficulty of these two opposing humours, were inclined to give satisfaction to the soldiers, caring little about injuring the people. Which course was necessary, because, as princes cannot help being hated by someone, they ought, in the first place, to avoid being hated by every one, and when they cannot compass this, they ought to endeavour with the utmost diligence to avoid the hatred of the most powerful. Therefore, those emperors who through inexperience had need of special favour adhered more readily to the soldiers than to the people; a course which turned out advantageous to them or not, accordingly as the prince knew how to maintain authority over them.

From these causes it arose that Marcus [Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus; 121–180 AD], Pertinax [Publius Helvius Pertinax Augustus; 126–193 AD], and Alexander, being all men of modest life, lovers of justice, enemies to cruelty, humane, and benignant, came to a sad end except Marcus; he alone lived and died honoured, because he had succeeded to the throne by hereditary title, and owed nothing either to the soldiers or the people; and afterwards, being possessed of many virtues which made him respected, he always kept both orders in their places whilst he lived, and was neither hated nor despised.

But Pertinax was created emperor against the wishes of the soldiers, who, being accustomed to live licentiously under Commodus, could not endure the honest life to which Pertinax wished to reduce them; thus, having given cause for hatred, to which hatred there was added contempt for his old age, he was overthrown at the very beginning of his administration. And here it should be noted that hatred is acquired as much by good works as by bad ones, therefore, as I said before, a prince wishing to keep his state is very often forced to do evil; for when that body is corrupt whom you think you have need of to maintain yourself—it may be either the people or the soldiers or the nobles—you have to submit to its humours and to gratify them, and then good works will do you harm.

But let us come to Alexander, who was a man of such great goodness, that among the other praises which are accorded him is this, that in the fourteen years he held the empire no one was ever put to death by him unjudged; nevertheless, being considered effeminate and a man who allowed himself to be governed by his mother, he became despised, the army conspired against him, and murdered him.

Turning now to the opposite characters of Commodus [Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus; 161–192, son of Marcus Aurelius], Severus, Antoninus Caracalla, and Maximinus, you will find them all cruel and rapacious-men who, to satisfy their soldiers, did not hesitate to commit every kind of iniquity against the people; and all, except Severus, came to a bad end; but in Severus there was so much valour that, keeping the soldiers friendly, although the people were oppressed by him, he reigned successfully; for his valour made him so much admired in the sight of the soldiers and people that the latter were kept in a way astonished and awed and the former respectful and satisfied. And because the actions of this man, as a new prince, were great, I wish to show briefly that he knew well how to counterfeit the fox and the lion, which natures, as I said above, it is necessary for a prince to imitate.

Knowing the sloth of the Emperor Julian*, he persuaded the army in Sclavonia, of which he was captain, that it would be right to go to Rome and avenge the death of Pertinax, who had been killed by the praetorian soldiers; and under this pretext, without appearing to aspire to the throne, he moved the army on Rome, and reached Italy before it was known that he had started. [* Didius Julianus (Caesar Marcus Didius Severus Julianus Augustus; 133 / 137–193 AD) was Roman emperor for nine weeks from March to June 193, during the Year of the Five Emperors.] On his arrival at Rome, the Senate, through fear, elected him emperor and killed Julian. After this there remained for Severus, who wished to make himself master of the whole empire, two difficulties; one in Asia, where Niger, head of the Asiatic army, had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor; the other in the west where Albinus was, who also aspired to the throne. And as he considered it dangerous to declare himself hostile to both, he decided to attack Niger and to deceive Albinus. To the latter he wrote that, being elected emperor by the Senate, he was willing to share that dignity with him and sent him the title of Caesar; and, moreover, that the Senate had made Albinus his colleague; which things were accepted by Albinus as true. But after Severus had conquered and killed Niger, and settled oriental affairs, he returned to Rome and complained to the Senate that Albinus, little recognising the benefits that he had received from him, had by treachery sought to murder him, and for this ingratitude he was compelled to punish him. Afterwards he sought him out in France, and took from him his government and life. He who will, therefore, carefully examine the actions of this man will find him a most valiant lion and a most cunning fox; he will find him feared and respected by every one, and not hated by the army; and it need not be wondered at that he, a new man, was able to hold the empire so well, because his supreme renown always protected him from that hatred which the people might have conceived against him for his violence.

But his son Antoninus was a most eminent man, and had very excellent qualities, which made him admirable in the sight of the people and acceptable to the soldiers, for he was a warlike man, most enduring of fatigue, a despiser of all delicate food and other luxuries, which caused him to be beloved by the armies. Nevertheless, his ferocity and cruelties were so great and so unheard of that, after endless single murders, he killed a large number of the people of Rome and all those of Alexandria. He became hated by the whole world, and also feared by those he had around him, to such an extent that he was murdered in the midst of his army by a centurion. And here it must be noted that such-like deaths, which are deliberately inflicted with a resolved and desperate courage, cannot be avoided by princes, because any one who does not fear to die can inflict them; but a prince may fear them the less because they are very rare; he has only to be careful not to do any grave injury to those whom he employs or has around him in the service of the state. Antoninus had not taken this care, but had contumeliously killed a brother of that centurion, whom also he daily threatened, yet retained in his bodyguard; which, as it turned out, was a rash thing to do, and proved the emperor's ruin.

But let us come to Commodus, to whom it should have been very easy to hold the empire, for, being the son of Marcus, he had inherited it, and he had only to follow in the footsteps of

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his father to please his people and soldiers; but, being by nature cruel and brutal, he gave himself up to amusing the soldiers and corrupting them, so that he might indulge his rapacity upon the people; on the other hand, not maintaining his dignity, often descending to the theatre to compete with gladiators, and doing other vile things, little worthy of the imperial majesty, he fell into contempt with the soldiers, and being hated by one party and despised by the other, he was conspired against and was killed.

It remains to discuss the character of Maximinus. He was a very warlike man, and the armies, being disgusted with the effeminacy of Alexander, of whom I have already spoken, killed him and elected Maximinus to the throne. This he did not possess for long, for two things made him hated and despised; the one, his having kept sheep in Thrace, which brought him into contempt (it being well known to all, and considered a great indignity by every one), and the other, his having at the accession to his dominions deferred going to Rome and taking possession of the imperial seat; he had also gained a reputation for the utmost ferocity by having, through his prefects in Rome and elsewhere in the empire, practised many cruelties, so that the whole world was moved to anger at the meanness of his birth and to fear at his barbarity. First Africa rebelled, then the Senate with all the people of Rome, and all Italy conspired against him, to which may be added his own army; this latter, besieging Aquileia and meeting with difficulties in taking it, were disgusted with his cruelties, and fearing him less when they found so many against him, murdered him.

I do not wish to discuss Heliogabalus, Macrinus, or Julian, who, being thoroughly contemptible, were quickly wiped out; but I will bring this discourse to a conclusion by saying that princes in our times have this difficulty of giving inordinate satisfaction to their soldiers in a far less degree, because, notwithstanding one has to give them some indulgence, that is soon done; none of these princes have armies that are veterans in the governance and administration of provinces, as were the armies of the Roman Empire; and whereas it was then more necessary to give satisfaction to the soldiers than to the people, it is now more necessary to all princes, except the Turk and the Soldan, to satisfy the people rather the soldiers, because the people are the more powerful.

From the above I have excepted the Turk, who always keeps round him twelve thousand infantry and fifteen thousand cavalry on which depend the security and strength of the kingdom, and it is necessary that, putting aside every consideration for the people, he should keep them his friends. The kingdom of the Soldan is similar; being entirely in the hands of soldiers, it follows again that, without regard to the people, he must keep them his friends. But you must note that the state of the Soldan is unlike all other principalities, for the reason that it is like the Christian pontificate, which cannot be called either an hereditary or a newly formed principality; because the sons of the old prince are not the heirs, but he who is elected to that position by those who have authority, and the sons remain only noblemen. And this being an ancient custom, it cannot be called a new principality, because there are none of those difficulties in it that are met with in new ones; for although the prince is new, the constitution of the state is old, and it is framed so as to receive him as if he were its hereditary lord.

But returning to the subject of our discourse, I say that whoever will consider it will acknowledge that either hatred or contempt has been fatal to the above-named emperors, and it will be recognised also how it happened that, a number of them acting in one way and a number in another, only one in each way came to a happy end and the rest to unhappy ones. Because it would have been useless and dangerous for Pertinax and Alexander, being new princes, to imitate Marcus, who was heir to the principality; and likewise it would have been utterly destructive to Caracalla, Commodus, and Maximinus to have imitated Severus, they not having sufficient valour to enable them to tread in his footsteps. Therefore a prince, new to the principality, cannot imitate the actions of Marcus, nor, again, is it necessary to follow those of Severus, but he ought to take from Severus those parts which are necessary to found his state, and from Marcus those which are proper and glorious to keep a state that may already be stable and firm.

MACHIAVELLI THE PRINCE CHAPTER 20

[Are Fortresses, And Many Other Things To Which Princes Often Resort, Advantageous Or Hurtful?]

1. Some princes, so as to hold securely the state, have disarmed their subjects; others have kept their subject towns distracted by factions; others have fostered enmities against themselves; others have laid themselves out to gain over those whom they distrusted in the beginning of their governments; some have built fortresses; some have overthrown and destroyed them. And although one cannot give a final judgement on all of these things unless one possesses the particulars of those states in which a decision has to be made, nevertheless I will speak as comprehensively as the matter of itself will admit.

2. There never was a new prince who has disarmed his subjects; rather when he has found them disarmed he has always armed them, because, by arming them, those arms become yours, those men who were distrusted become faithful, and those who were faithful are kept so, and your subjects become your adherents. And whereas all subjects cannot be armed, yet when those whom you do arm are benefited, the others can be handled more freely, and this difference in their treatment, which they quite understand, makes the former your dependents, and the latter, considering it to be necessary that those who have the most danger and service should have the most reward, excuse you. But when you disarm them, you at once offend them by showing that you distrust them, either for cowardice or for want of loyalty, and either of these opinions breeds hatred against you. And because you cannot remain unarmed, it follows that you turn to mercenaries, which are of the character already shown; even if they should be good they would not be sufficient to defend you against powerful enemies and distrusted subjects. Therefore, as I have said, a new prince in a new principality has always distributed arms. Histories are full of examples. But when a prince acquires a new state, which he adds as a province to his old one, then it is necessary to disarm the men of that state, except those who have been his adherents in acquiring it; and these again, with time and opportunity, should be rendered soft and effeminate; and matters should be managed in such a way that all the armed men in the state shall be your own soldiers who in your old state were living near you.

3. Our forefathers, and those who were reckoned wise, were accustomed to say that it was necessary to hold Pistoia by factions and Pisa by fortresses; and with this idea they fostered quarrels in some of their tributary towns so as to keep possession of them the more easily. This may have been well enough in those times when Italy was in a way balanced, but I do not believe that it can be accepted as a precept for to-day, because I do not believe that factions can ever be of use; rather it is certain that when the enemy comes upon you in divided cities you are quickly lost, because the weakest party will always assist the outside forces and the other will not be able to resist. The Venetians, moved, as I believe, by the above reasons, fostered the Guelph and Ghibelline factions in their tributary cities; and although they never allowed them to come to bloodshed, yet they nursed these disputes amongst them, so that the citizens, distracted by their differences, should not unite against them. Which, as we saw, did not afterwards turn out as expected, because, after the rout at Vaila, one party at once took courage and seized the state. Such methods argue, therefore, weakness in the prince, because these factions will never be permitted in a vigourous principality; such methods for enabling one the more easily to manage subjects are only useful in times of peace, but if war comes this policy proves fallacious.

4. Without doubt princes become great when they overcome the difficulties and obstacles by which they are confronted, and therefore fortune, especially when she desires to make a new prince great, who has a greater necessity to earn renown than an hereditary one, causes enemies to arise and form designs against him, in order that he may have the opportunity of overcoming them, and by them to mount higher, as by a ladder which his enemies have raised. For this reason many consider that a wise prince, when he has the opportunity, ought with craft to foster some animosity against himself, so that, having crushed it, his renown may rise higher.

5. Princes, especially new ones, have found more fidelity and assistance in those men who in the beginning of their rule were distrusted than among those who in the beginning were trusted. Pandolfo Petrucci, Prince of Siena, ruled his state more by those who had been distrusted than by others. But on this question one cannot speak generally, for it varies so much with the individual; I will only say this, that those men who at the commencement of a princedom have been hostile, if they are of a description to need assistance to support themselves, can always be gained over with the greatest ease, and they will be tightly held to serve the prince with fidelity, inasmuch as they know it to be very necessary for them to cancel by deeds the bad impression which he had formed of them; and thus the prince always extracts more profit from them than from those who, serving him in too much security, may neglect his affairs. And since the matter demands it, I must not fail to warn a prince, who by means of secret favours has acquired a new state, that he must well consider the reasons which induced those to favour him who did so; and if it be not a natural affection towards him, but only discontent with their government, then he will only keep them friendly with great trouble and difficulty, for it will be impossible to satisfy them. And weighing well the reasons for this in those examples which can be taken from ancient and modern affairs, we shall find that it is easier for the prince to make friends of those men who were contented under the former government, and are therefore his enemies, than of those who, being discontented with it, were favourable to him and encouraged him to seize it.

6. It has been a custom with princes, in order to hold their states more securely, to build fortresses that may serve as a bridle and bit to those who might design to work against them, and as a place of refuge from a first attack. I praise this system because it has been made use of formerly. Notwithstanding that, Messer Nicolo Vitelli in our times has been seen to demolish two fortresses in Citta di Castello so that he might keep that state; Guido Ubaldo, Duke of Urbino, on returning to his dominion, whence he had been driven by Cesare Borgia, razed to the foundations all the fortresses in that province, and considered that without them it would be more difficult to lose it; the Bentivogli returning to Bologna came to a similar decision. Fortresses, therefore, are useful or not according to circumstances; if they do you good in one way they injure you in another. And this question can be reasoned thus: the prince who has more to fear from the people than from foreigners ought to build fortresses, but he who has more to fear from foreigners than from the people ought to leave them alone. The castle of Milan, built by Francesco Sforza, has made, and will make, more trouble for the house of Sforza than any other disorder in the state. For this reason the best possible fortress is—not to be hated by the people, because, although you may hold the fortresses, yet they will not save you if the people hate you, for there will never be wanting foreigners to assist a people who have taken arms against you. It has not been seen in our times that such fortresses have been of use to any prince, unless to the Countess of Forli*, when the Count Girolamo, her consort, was killed; for by that means she was able to withstand the popular attack and wait for assistance from Milan, and thus recover her state; and the posture of affairs was such at that time that the foreigners could not assist the people. (* Catherine Sforza, a daughter of Galeazzo Sforza and Lucrezia Landriani, born 1463, died 1509. It was to the Countess of Forli that Machiavelli was sent as envoy on 1499. A letter from Fortunati to the countess announces the appointment: "I have been with the signori," wrote Fortunati, "to learn whom they would send and when. They tell me that Nicolo Machiavelli, a learned young Florentine noble, secretary to my Lords of the Ten, is to leave with me at once." Cf. "Catherine Sforza," by Count Pasolini, translated by P. Sylvester, 1898.) But fortresses were of little value to her afterwards when Cesare Borgia attacked her, and when the people, her enemy, were allied with foreigners. Therefore, it would have been safer for her, both then and before, not to have been hated by the people than to have had the fortresses. All these things considered then, I shall praise him who builds fortresses as well as him who does not, and I shall blame whoever, trusting in them, cares little about being hated by the people.

MACHIAVELLI THE PRINCE CHAPTER 21

[How A Prince Should Conduct Himself So As To Gain Renown]

Nothing makes a prince so much esteemed as great enterprises and setting a fine example. We have in our time Ferdinand of Aragon, the present King of Spain. He can almost be called a new prince, because he has risen, by fame and glory, from being an insignificant king to be the foremost king in Christendom; and if you will consider his deeds you will find them all great and some of them extraordinary. In the beginning of his reign he attacked Granada, and this enterprise was the foundation of his dominions. He did this quietly at first and without any fear of hindrance, for he held the minds of the barons of Castile occupied in thinking of the war and not anticipating any innovations; thus they did not perceive that by these means he was acquiring power and authority over them. He was able with the money of the Church and of the people to sustain his armies, and by that long war to lay the foundation for the military skill which has since distinguished him. Further, always using religion as a plea, so as to undertake greater schemes, he devoted himself with pious cruelty to driving out and clearing his kingdom of the Moors; nor could there be a more admirable example, nor one more rare. Under this same cloak he assailed Africa, he came down on Italy, he has finally attacked France; and thus his achievements and designs have always been great, and have kept the minds of his people in suspense and admiration and occupied with the issue of them. And his actions have arisen in such a way, one out of the other, that men have never been given time to work steadily against him.

Again, it much assists a prince to set unusual examples in internal affairs, similar to those which are related of Messer Bernabo da Milano, who, when he had the opportunity, by any one in civil life doing some extraordinary thing, either good or bad, would take some method of rewarding or punishing him, which would be much spoken about. And a prince ought, above all things, always endeavour in every action to gain for himself the reputation of being a great and remarkable man.

A prince is also respected when he is either a true friend or a downright enemy, that is to say, when, without any reservation, he declares himself in favour of one party against the other; which course will always be more advantageous

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than standing neutral; because if two of your powerful neighbours come to blows, they are of such a character that, if one of them conquers, you have either to fear him or not. In either case it will always be more advantageous for you to declare yourself and to make war strenuously; because, in the first case, if you do not declare yourself, you will invariably fall a prey to the conqueror, to the pleasure and satisfaction of him who has been conquered, and you will have no reasons to offer, nor anything to protect or to shelter you. Because he who conquers does not want doubtful friends who will not aid him in the time of trial; and he who loses will not harbour you because you did not willingly, sword in hand, court his fate.

Antiochus went into Greece, being sent for by the Aetolians to drive out the Romans. He sent envoys to the Achaeans, who were friends of the Romans, exhorting them to remain neutral; and on the other hand the Romans urged them to take up arms. This question came to be discussed in the council of the Achaeans, where the legate of Antiochus urged them to stand neutral. To this the Roman legate answered: "As for that which has been said, that it is better and more advantageous for your state not to interfere in our war, nothing can be more erroneous; because by not interfering you will be left, without favour or consideration, the guerdon of the conqueror." Thus it will always happen that he who is not your friend will demand your neutrality, whilst he who is your friend will entreat you to declare yourself with arms. And irresolute princes, to avoid present dangers, generally follow the neutral path, and are generally ruined. But when a prince declares himself gallantly in favour of one side, if the party with whom he allies himself conquers, although the victor may be powerful and may have him at his mercy, yet he is indebted to him, and there is established a bond of amity; and men are never so shameless as to become a monument of ingratitude by oppressing you. Victories after all are never so complete that the victor must not show some regard, especially to justice. But if he with whom you ally yourself loses, you may be sheltered by him, and whilst he is able he may aid you, and you become companions on a fortune that may rise again.

In the second case, when those who fight are of such a character that you have no anxiety as to who may conquer, so much the more is it greater prudence to be allied, because you assist at the destruction of one by the aid of another who, if he had been wise, would have saved him; and conquering, as it is impossible that he should not do with your assistance, he remains at your discretion. And here it is to be noted that a prince ought to take care never to make an alliance with one more powerful than himself for the purposes of attacking others, unless necessity compels him, as is said above; because if he conquers you are at his discretion, and princes ought to avoid as much as possible being at the discretion of any one. The Venetians joined with France against the Duke of Milan, and this alliance, which caused their ruin, could have been avoided. But when it cannot be avoided, as happened to the Florentines when the Pope and Spain sent armies to attack Lombardy, then in such a case, for the above reasons, the prince ought to favour one of the parties.

Never let any Government imagine that it can choose perfectly safe courses; rather let it expect to have to take very doubtful ones, because it is found in ordinary affairs that one never seeks to avoid one trouble without running into another; but prudence consists in knowing how to distinguish the character of troubles, and for choice to take the lesser evil.

A prince ought also to show himself a patron of ability, and to honour the proficient in every art. At the same time he should encourage his citizens to practise their callings peaceably, both in commerce and agriculture, and in every other following, so that the one should not be deterred from improving his possessions for fear lest they be taken away from him or another from opening up trade for fear of taxes; but the prince ought to offer rewards to whoever wishes to do these things and designs in any way to honour his city or state.

Further, he ought to entertain the people with festivals and spectacles at convenient seasons of the year; and as every city is divided into guilds or into societies*, he ought to hold such bodies in esteem, and associate with them sometimes, and show himself an example of courtesy and liberality; nevertheless, always maintaining the majesty of his rank, for this he must never consent to abate in anything. (* Guilds or societies, were craft or trade guilds.)

MACHIAVELLI THE PRINCE CHAPTER 22

[Concerning The Secretaries Of Princes]

The choice of servants is of no little importance to a prince, and they are good or not according to the discrimination of the prince. And the first opinion which one forms of a prince, and of his understanding, is by observing the men he has around him; and when they are capable and faithful he may always be considered wise, because he has known how to recognise the capable and to keep them faithful. But when they are otherwise one cannot form a good opinion of him, for the prime error which he made was in choosing them.

There were none who knew Messer Antonio da Venafro as the servant of Pandolfo Petrucci, Prince of Siena, who would not consider Pandolfo to be a very clever man in having Venafro for his servant. Because there are three classes of intellects: one which comprehends by itself; another which appreciates what others comprehended; and a third which neither comprehends by itself nor by the showing of others; the first is the most excellent, the second is good, the third is useless. Therefore, it follows necessarily that, if Pandolfo was not in the first rank, he was in the second, for whenever one has judgement to know good and bad when it is said and done, although he himself may not have the initiative, yet he can recognise the good and the bad in his servant, and the one he can praise and the other correct; thus the servant cannot hope to deceive him, and is kept honest.

But to enable a prince to form an opinion of his servant there is one test which never fails; when you see the servant thinking more of his own interests than of yours, and seeking inwardly his own profit in everything, such a man will never make a good servant, nor will you ever be able to trust him; because he who has the state of another in his hands ought never to think of himself, but always of his prince, and never pay any attention to matters in which the prince is not concerned.

On the other hand, to keep his servant honest the prince ought to study him, honouring him, enriching him, doing him kindnesses, sharing with him the honours and cares; and at the same time let him see that he cannot stand alone, so that many honours may not make him desire more, many riches make him wish for more, and that many cares may make him dread chances. When, therefore, servants, and princes towards servants, are thus disposed, they can trust each other, but when it is otherwise, the end will always be disastrous for either one or the other.

MACHIAVELLI THE PRINCE CHAPTER 23

[How Flatterers Should Be Avoided]

I do not wish to leave out an important branch of this subject, for it is a danger from which princes are with difficulty preserved, unless they are very careful and discriminating. It is that of flatterers, of whom courts are full, because men are so self-complacent in their own affairs, and in a way so deceived in them, that they are preserved with difficulty from this pest, and if they wish to defend themselves they run the danger of falling into contempt. Because there is no other way of guarding oneself from flatterers except letting men understand that to tell you the truth does not offend you; but when every one may tell you the truth, respect for you abates.

Therefore a wise prince ought to hold a third course by choosing the wise men in his state, and giving to them only the liberty of speaking the truth to him, and then only of those things of which he inquires, and of none others; but he ought to question them upon everything, and listen to their opinions, and afterwards form his own conclusions. With these councillors, separately and collectively, he ought to carry himself in such a way that each of them should know that, the more freely he shall speak, the more he shall be preferred; outside of these, he should listen to no one, pursue the thing resolved on, and be steadfast in his resolutions. He who does otherwise is either overthrown by flatterers, or is so often changed by varying opinions that he falls into contempt.

I wish on this subject to adduce a modern example. Fra Luca, the man of affairs to Maximilian*, the present emperor, speaking of his majesty, said: He consulted with no one, yet never got his own way in anything. (* Maximilian I, born in 1459, died 1519, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. He married, first, Mary, daughter of Charles the Bold; after her death, Bianca Sforza; and thus became involved in Italian politics.) This arose because of his following a practice the opposite to the above; for the emperor is a secretive man—he does not communicate his designs to any one, nor does he receive opinions on them. But as in carrying them into effect they become revealed and known, they are at once obstructed by those men whom he has around him, and he, being pliant, is diverted from them. Hence it follows that those things he does one day he undoes the next, and no one ever understands what he wishes or intends to do, and no one can rely on his resolutions.

A prince, therefore, ought always to take counsel, but only when he wishes and not when others wish; he ought rather to discourage every one from offering advice unless he asks it; but, however, he ought to be a constant inquirer, and afterwards a patient listener concerning the things of which he inquired; also, on learning that any one, on any consideration, has not told him the truth, he should let his anger be felt.

And if there are some who think that a prince who conveys an impression of his wisdom is not so through his own ability, but through the good advisers that he has around him, beyond doubt they are deceived, because this is an axiom which never fails: that a prince who is not wise himself will never take good advice, unless by chance he has yielded his affairs entirely to one person who happens to be a very prudent man. In this case indeed he may be well governed, but it would not be for long, because such a governor would in a short time take away his state from him.

But if a prince who is not inexperienced should take counsel from more than one he will never get united counsels, nor will he know how to unite them. Each of the counsellors will think of his own interests, and the prince will not know how to control them or to see through them. And they are not to be found otherwise, because men will always prove untrue to you unless they are kept honest by constraint. Therefore it must be inferred that good counsels, whencesoever they come, are born of the wisdom of the prince, and not the wisdom of the prince from good counsels.

MACHIAVELLI THE PRINCE CHAPTER 24

[Why The Princes Of Italy Have Lost Their States]

The previous suggestions, carefully observed, will enable a new prince to appear well established, and render him at once more secure and fixed in the state than if he had been long seated there. For the actions of a new prince are more narrowly observed than those of an hereditary one, and when they are seen to be able they gain more men and bind far tighter than ancient blood; because men are attracted more by the present than by the past, and when they find the present good they enjoy it and seek no further; they will also make the utmost defence of a prince if he fails them not in other things. Thus it will be a double glory for him to have established a new principality, and adorned and strengthened it with good laws, good arms, good allies, and with a good example; so will it be a double disgrace to him who, born a prince, shall lose his state by want of wisdom.

And if those seigniors are considered who have lost their states in Italy in our times, such as the King of Naples, the Duke of Milan, and others, there will be found in them, firstly, one common defect in regard to arms from the causes which have been discussed at length; in the next place, some one of them will be seen, either to have had the people hostile, or if he has had the people friendly, he has not known how to secure the nobles. In the absence of these defects states that have power enough to keep an army in the field cannot be lost.

Philip of Macedon, not the father of Alexander the Great, but he who was conquered by Titus Quintius, had not much territory compared to the greatness of the Romans and of Greece who attacked him, yet being a warlike man who knew how to attract the people and secure the nobles, he sustained the war against his enemies for many years, and if in the end he lost the dominion of some cities, nevertheless he retained the kingdom.

Therefore, do not let our princes accuse fortune for the loss of their principalities after so many years' possession, but rather their own sloth, because in quiet times they never thought there could be a change (it is a common defect in man not to make any provision in the calm against the tempest), and when afterwards the bad times came they thought of flight and not of defending themselves, and they hoped that the people, disgusted with the insolence of the conquerors, would recall them. This course, when others fail, may be good, but it is very bad to have neglected all other expedients for that, since you would never wish to fall because you trusted to be able to find someone later on to restore you. This again either does not happen, or, if it does, it will not be for your security, because that deliverance is of no avail which does not depend upon yourself; those only are reliable, certain, and durable that depend on yourself and your valour.

MACHIAVELLI THE PRINCE CHAPTER 25

[What Fortune Can Effect In Human Affairs And How To Withstand Her]

It is not unknown to me how many men have had, and still have, the opinion that the affairs of the world are in such wise governed by fortune and by God that men with their wisdom cannot direct them and that no one can even help them; and because of this they would have us believe that it is not necessary to labour much in affairs, but to let chance govern them. This opinion has been more credited in our times because of the great changes in affairs which have been seen, and may still be seen, every day, beyond all human conjecture. Sometimes pondering over this, I am in some degree inclined to their opinion. Nevertheless, not to extinguish our free will, I hold it to be true that Fortune is the arbiter of one-half of our actions*, but that she still leaves us to direct the other half, or perhaps a little less. (* Frederick the Great was accustomed to say: "The older one gets the more convinced one becomes that his Majesty King Chance does three-quarters of the business of this miserable universe." Sorel's "Eastern Question.")

I compare her to one of those raging rivers, which when in flood overflows the plains, sweeping away trees and buildings, bearing away the soil from place to place; everything flies before it, all yield to its violence, without being able in any way to withstand it; and yet, though its nature be such, it does not follow therefore that men, when the weather becomes fair, shall not make provision, both with defences and barriers, in such a manner that, rising again, the waters may pass away by canal, and their force be neither so unrestrained nor so dangerous. So it happens with fortune, who shows her power where valour has not prepared to resist her, and thither she

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turns her forces where she knows that barriers and defences have not been raised to constrain her.

And if you will consider Italy, which is the seat of these changes, and which has given to them their impulse, you will see it to be an open country without barriers and without any defence. For if it had been defended by proper valour, as are Germany, Spain, and France, either this invasion would not have made the great changes it has made or it would not have come at all. And this I consider enough to say concerning resistance to fortune in general.

But confining myself more to the particular, I say that a prince may be seen happy to-day and ruined to-morrow without having shown any change of disposition or character. This, I believe, arises firstly from causes that have already been discussed at length, namely, that the prince who relies entirely on fortune is lost when it changes. I believe also that he will be successful who directs his actions according to the spirit of the times, and that he whose actions do not accord with the times will not be successful. Because men are seen, in affairs that lead to the end which every man has before him, namely, glory and riches, to get there by various methods; one with caution, another with haste; one by force, another by skill; one by patience, another by its opposite; and each one succeeds in reaching the goal by a different method. One can also see of two cautious men the one attain his end, the other fail; and similarly, two men by different observances are equally successful, the one being cautious, the other impetuous; all this arises from nothing else than whether or not they conform in their methods to the spirit of the times. This follows from what I have said, that two men working differently bring about the same effect, and of two working similarly, one attains his object and the other does not.

Changes in estate also issue from this, for if, to one who governs himself with caution and patience, times and affairs converge in such a way that his administration is successful, his fortune is made; but if times and affairs change, he is ruined if he does not change his course of action. But a man is not often found sufficiently circumspect to know how to accommodate himself to the change, both because he cannot deviate from what nature inclines him to do, and also because, having always prospered by acting in one way, he cannot be persuaded that it is well to leave it; and, therefore, the cautious man, when it is time to turn adventurous, does not know how to do it, hence he is ruined; but had he changed his conduct with the times fortune would not have changed.

Pope Julius the Second went to work impetuously in all his affairs, and found the times and circumstances conform so well to that line of action that he always met with success. Consider his first enterprise against Bologna, Messer Giovanni Bentivogli being still alive. The Venetians were not agreeable to it, nor was the King of Spain, and he had the enterprise still under discussion with the King of France; nevertheless he personally entered upon the expedition with his accustomed boldness and energy, a move which made Spain and the Venetians stand irresolute and passive, the latter from fear, the former from desire to recover the kingdom of Naples; on the other hand, he drew after him the King of France, because that king, having observed the movement, and desiring to make the Pope his friend so as to humble the Venetians, found it impossible to refuse him. Therefore Julius with his impetuous action accomplished what no other pontiff with simple human wisdom could have done; for if he had waited in Rome until he could get away, with his plans arranged and everything fixed, as any other pontiff would have done, he would never have succeeded. Because the King of France would have made a thousand excuses, and the others would have raised a thousand fears.

I will leave his other actions alone, as they were all alike, and they all succeeded, for the shortness of his life did not let him experience the contrary; but if circumstances had arisen which required him to go cautiously, his ruin would have followed, because he would never have deviated from those ways to which nature inclined him.

I conclude, therefore that, fortune being changeful and mankind steadfast in their ways, so long as the two are in agreement men are successful, but unsuccessful when they fall out. For my part I consider that it is better to be adventurous than cautious, because fortune is a woman, and if you wish to keep her under it is necessary to beat and ill-use her; and it is seen that she allows herself to be mastered by the adventurous rather than by those who go to work more coldly. She is, therefore, always, woman-like, a lover of young men, because they are less cautious, more violent, and with more audacity command her.

MACHIAVELLI THE PRINCE CHAPTER 26

[An Exhortation To Liberate Italy From The Barbarians]

Having carefully considered the subject of the above discourses, and wondering within myself whether the present times were propitious to a new prince, and whether there were elements that would give an opportunity to a wise and virtuous one to introduce a new order of things which would do honour to him and good to the people of this country, it appears to me that so many things concur to favour a new prince that I never knew a time more fit than the present.

And if, as I said, it was necessary that the people of Israel should be captive so as to make manifest the ability of Moses; that the Persians should be oppressed by the Medes so as to discover the greatness of the soul of Cyrus; and that the Athenians should be dispersed to illustrate the capabilities of Theseus: then at the present time, in order to discover the virtue of an Italian spirit, it was necessary that Italy should be reduced to the extremity that she is now in, that she should be more enslaved than the Hebrews, more oppressed than the Persians, more scattered than the Athenians; without head, without order, beaten, despoiled, torn, overrun; and to have endured every kind of desolation.

Although lately some spark may have been shown by one, which made us think he was ordained by God for our redemption, nevertheless it was afterwards seen, in the height of his career, that fortune rejected him; so that Italy, left as without life, waits for him who shall yet heal her wounds and put an end to the ravaging and plundering of Lombardy, to the swindling and taxing of the kingdom and of Tuscany, and cleanse those sores that for long have festered. It is seen how she entreats God to send someone who shall deliver her from these wrongs and barbarous insolencies. It is seen also that she is ready and willing to follow a banner if only someone will raise it.

Nor is there to be seen at present one in whom she can place more hope than in your illustrious house*, with its valour and fortune, favoured by God and by the Church of which it is now the chief, and which could be made the head of this redemption. (* Giuliano de Medici. He had just been created a cardinal by Leo X. In 1523 Giuliano was elected Pope, and took the title of Clement VII.) This will not be difficult if you will recall to yourself the actions and lives of the men I have named. And although they were great and wonderful men, yet they were men, and each one of them had no more opportunity than the present offers, for their enterprises were neither more just nor easier than this, nor was God more their friend than He is yours.

With us there is great justice, because that war is just which is necessary, and arms are hallowed when there is no other hope but in them. Here there is the greatest willingness, and where the willingness is great the difficulties cannot be great if you will only follow those men to whom I have directed your attention. Further than this, how extraordinarily the ways of God have been manifested beyond example: the sea is divided, a cloud has led the way, the rock has poured forth water, it has rained manna, everything has contributed to your greatness; you ought to do the rest. God is not willing to do everything, and thus take away our free will and that share of glory which belongs to us.

And it is not to be wondered at if none of the above-named Italians have been able to accomplish all that is expected from your illustrious house; and if in so many revolutions in Italy, and in so many campaigns, it has always appeared as if military virtue were exhausted, this has happened because the old order of things was not good, and none of us have known how to find a new one. And nothing honours a man more than to establish new laws and new ordinances when he himself was newly risen. Such things when they are well founded and dignified will make him revered and admired, and in Italy there are not wanting opportunities to bring such into use in every form.

Here there is great valour in the limbs whilst it fails in the head. Look attentively at the duels and the hand-to-hand combats, how superior the Italians are in strength, dexterity, and subtlety. But when it comes to armies they do not bear comparison, and this springs entirely from the insufficiency of the leaders, since those who are capable are not obedient, and each one seems to himself to know, there having never been any one so distinguished above the rest, either by valour or fortune, that others would yield to him. Hence it is that for so long a time, and during so much fighting in the past twenty years, whenever there has been an army wholly Italian, it has always given a poor account of itself; the first witness to this is Il Taro, afterwards Allesandria, Capua, Genoa, Vaila, Bologna, Mestri* (* The battles of Il Taro, 1495; Alessandria, 1499; Capua, 1501; Genoa, 1507; Vaila, 1509; Bologna, 1511; Mestri, 1513.).

If, therefore, your illustrious house wishes to follow these remarkable men who have redeemed their country, it is necessary before all things, as a true foundation for every enterprise, to be provided with your own forces, because there can be no more faithful, truer, or better soldiers. And although singly they are good, altogether they will be much better when they find themselves commanded by their prince, honoured by him, and maintained at his expense. Therefore it is necessary to be prepared with such arms, so that you can be defended against foreigners by Italian valour.

And although Swiss and Spanish infantry may be considered very formidable, nevertheless there is a defect in both, by reason of which a third order would not only be able to oppose them, but might be relied upon to overthrow them. For the Spaniards cannot resist cavalry, and the Switzers are afraid of infantry whenever they encounter them in close combat. Owing to this, as has been and may again be seen, the Spaniards are unable to resist French cavalry, and the Switzers are overthrown by Spanish infantry. And although a complete proof of this latter cannot be shown, nevertheless there was some evidence of it at the battle of Ravenna, when the Spanish infantry were confronted by German battalions, who follow the same tactics as the Swiss; when the Spaniards, by agility of body and with the aid of their shields, got in under the pikes of the Germans and stood out of danger, able to attack, while the Germans stood helpless, and, if the cavalry had not dashed up, all would have been over with them. It is possible, therefore, knowing the defects of both these infantries, to invent a new one, which will resist cavalry and not be afraid of infantry; this need not create a new order of arms, but a variation upon the old. And these are the kind of improvements which confer reputation and power upon a new prince.

This opportunity, therefore, ought not to be allowed to pass for letting Italy at last see her liberator appear. Nor can one express the love with which he would be received in all those provinces which have suffered so much from these foreign scourings, with what thirst for revenge, with what stubborn faith, with what devotion, with what tears. What door would be closed to him? Who would refuse obedience to him? What envy would hinder him? What Italian would refuse him homage? To all of us this barbarous dominion stinks. Let, therefore, your illustrious house take up this charge with that courage and hope with which all just enterprises are undertaken, so that under its standard our native country may be ennobled, and under its auspices may be verified that saying of Petrarch:

Virtu contro al Furore
Prendera l'arme, e fia il combatter corto:
Che l'antico valore
Negli italici cuor non e ancor morto.
Virtue against fury shall advance the fight,
And it i' th' combat soon shall put to flight:
For the old Roman valour is not dead,
Nor in th' Italians' brests extinguished.

[Edward Dacre, 1640.]

DESCRIPTION OF THE METHODS

[Adopted By The Duke Valentino When Murdering Vitellozzo Vitelli, Oliverotto Da Fermo, The Signor Pagolo, And The Duke Di Gravina Orsini] — By Nicolo Machiavelli

The Duke Valentino had returned from Lombardy, where he had been to clear himself with the King of France from the calumnies which had been raised against him by the Florentines concerning the rebellion of Arezzo and other towns in the Val di Chiana, and had arrived at Imola, whence he intended with his army to enter upon the campaign against Giovanni Bentivogli, the tyrant of Bologna: for he intended to bring that city under his domination, and to make it the head of his Romagnian duchy.

These matters coming to the knowledge of the Vitelli and Orsini and their following, it appeared to them that the duke would become too powerful, and it was feared that, having seized Bologna, he would seek to destroy them in order that he might become supreme in Italy. Upon this a meeting was called at Magione in the district of Perugia, to which came the cardinal, Pagolo, and the Duke di Gravina Orsini, Vitellozzo Vitelli, Oliverotto da Fermo, Gianpagolo Baglioni, the tyrant of Perugia, and Messer Antonio da Venafro, sent by Pandolfo Petrucci, the Prince of Siena. Here were discussed the power and courage of the duke and the necessity of curbing his ambitions, which might otherwise bring danger to the rest of being ruined. And they decided not to abandon the Bentivogli, but to strive to win over the Florentines; and they sent their men to one place and another, promising to one party assistance and to another encouragement to unite with them against the common enemy. This meeting was at once reported throughout all Italy, and those who were discontented under the duke, among whom were the people of Urbino, took hope of effecting a revolution.

Thus it arose that, men's minds being thus unsettled, it was decided by certain men of Urbino to seize the fortress of San Leo, which was held for the duke, and which they captured by the following means. The castellan was fortifying the rock and causing timber to be taken there; so the conspirators watched, and when certain beams which were being carried to the rock were upon the bridge, so that it was prevented from being drawn up by those inside, they took the opportunity of leaping upon the bridge and thence into the fortress. Upon this capture being effected, the whole state rebelled and recalled the old duke, being encouraged in this, not so much by the capture of the fort, as by the Diet at Magione, from whom they expected to get assistance.

Those who heard of the rebellion at Urbino thought they would not lose the opportunity, and at once assembled their men so as to take any town, should any remain in the hands of the duke in that state; and they sent again to Florence to beg that republic to join with them in destroying the common

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firebrand, showing that the risk was lessened and that they ought not to wait for another opportunity.

But the Florentines, from hatred, for sundry reasons, of the Vitelli and Orsini, not only would not ally themselves, but sent Nicolo Machiavelli, their secretary, to offer shelter and assistance to the duke against his enemies. The duke was found full of fear at Imola, because, against everybody's expectation, his soldiers had at once gone over to the enemy and he found himself disarmed and war at his door. But recovering courage from the offers of the Florentines, he decided to temporize before fighting with the few soldiers that remained to him, and to negotiate for a reconciliation, and also to get assistance. This latter he obtained in two ways, by sending to the King of France for men and by enlisting men-at-arms and others whom he turned into cavalry of a sort: to all he gave money.

Notwithstanding this, his enemies drew near to him, and approached Fossombrone, where they encountered some men of the duke and, with the aid of the Orsini and Vitelli, routed them. When this happened, the duke resolved at once to see if he could not close the trouble with offers of reconciliation, and being a most perfect dissembler he did not fail in any practices to make the insurgents understand that he wished every man who had acquired anything to keep it, as it was enough for him to have the title of prince, whilst others might have the principality.

And the duke succeeded so well in this that they sent Signor Pagolo to him to negotiate for a reconciliation, and they brought their army to a standstill. But the duke did not stop his preparations, and took every care to provide himself with cavalry and infantry, and that such preparations might not be apparent to the others, he sent his troops in separate parties to every part of the Romagna. In the meanwhile there came also to him five hundred French lancers, and although he found himself sufficiently strong to take vengeance on his enemies in open war, he considered that it would be safer and more advantageous to outwit them, and for this reason he did not stop the work of reconciliation.

And that this might be effected the duke concluded a peace with them in which he confirmed their former covenants; he gave them four thousand ducats at once; he promised not to injure the Bentivogli; and he formed an alliance with Giovanni; and moreover he would not force them to come personally into his presence unless it pleased them to do so. On the other hand, they promised to restore to him the duchy of Urbino and other places seized by them, to serve him in all his expeditions, and not to make war against or ally themselves with any one without his permission.

This reconciliation being completed, Guido Ubaldo, the Duke of Urbino, again fled to Venice, having first destroyed all the fortresses in his state; because, trusting in the people, he did not wish that the fortresses, which he did not think he could defend, should be held by the enemy, since by these means a check would be kept upon his friends. But the Duke Valentino, having completed this convention, and dispersed his men throughout the Romagna, set out for Imola at the end of November together with his French men-at-arms: thence he went to Cesena, where he stayed some time to negotiate with the envoys of the Vitelli and Orsini, who had assembled with their men in the duchy of Urbino, as to the enterprise in which they should now take part; but nothing being concluded, Oliverotto da Fermo was sent to propose that if the duke wished to undertake an expedition against Tuscany they were ready; if he did not wish it, then they would besiege Sinigalia. To this the duke replied that he did not wish to enter into war with Tuscany, and thus become hostile to the Florentines, but that he was very willing to proceed against Sinigalia.

It happened that not long afterwards the town surrendered, but the fortress would not yield to them because the castellan would not give it up to any one but the duke in person; therefore they exhorted him to come there. This appeared a good opportunity to the duke, as, being invited by them, and not going of his own will, he would awaken no suspicions. And the more to reassure them, he allowed all the French men-at-arms who were with him in Lombardy to depart, except the hundred lancers under Mons. di Candales, his brother-in-law. He left Cesena about the middle of December, and went to Fano, and with the utmost cunning and cleverness he persuaded the Vitelli and Orsini to wait for him at Sinigalia, pointing out to them that any lack of compliance would cast a doubt upon the sincerity and permanency of the reconciliation, and that he was a man who wished to make use of the arms and councils of his friends. But Vitellozzo remained very stubborn, for the death of his brother warned him that he should not offend a prince and afterwards trust him; nevertheless, persuaded by Pagolo Orsini, whom the duke had corrupted with gifts and promises, he agreed to wait.

Upon this the duke, before his departure from Fano, which was to be on 30th December 1502, communicated his designs to eight of his most trusted followers, among whom were Don Michele and the Monsignor d'Euna, who was afterwards cardinal; and he ordered that, as soon as Vitellozzo, Pagolo Orsini, the Duke di Gravina, and Oliverotto should arrive, his followers in pairs should take them one by one, entrusting certain men to certain pairs, who should entertain them until they reached Sinigalia; nor should they be permitted to leave until they came to the duke's quarters, where they should be seized.

The duke afterwards ordered all his horsemen and infantry, of which there were more than two thousand cavalry and ten thousand footmen, to assemble by daybreak at the Metauro, a river five miles distant from Fano, and await him there. He found himself, therefore, on the last day of December at the Metauro with his men, and having sent a cavalcade of about two hundred horsemen before him, he then moved forward the infantry, whom he accompanied with the rest of the men-at-arms.

Fano and Sinigalia are two cities of La Marca situated on the shore of the Adriatic Sea, fifteen miles distant from each other, so that he who goes towards Sinigalia has the mountains on his right hand, the bases of which are touched by the sea in some places. The city of Sinigalia is distant from the foot of the mountains a little more than a bow-shot and from the shore about a mile. On the side opposite to the city runs a little river which bathes that part of the walls looking towards Fano, facing the high road. Thus he who draws near to Sinigalia comes for a good space by road along the mountains, and reaches the river which passes by Sinigalia. If he turns to his left hand along the bank of it, and goes for the distance of a bow-shot, he arrives at a bridge which crosses the river; he is then almost abreast of the gate that leads into Sinigalia, not by a straight line, but transversely. Before this gate there stands a collection of houses with a square to which the bank of the river forms one side.

The Vitelli and Orsini having received orders to wait for the duke, and to honour him in person, sent away their men to several castles distant from Sinigalia about six miles, so that room could be made for the men of the duke; and they left in Sinigalia only Oliverotto and his band, which consisted of one thousand infantry and one hundred and fifty horsemen, who were quartered in the suburb mentioned above. Matters having been thus arranged, the Duke Valentino left for Sinigalia, and when the leaders of the cavalry reached the bridge they did not pass over, but having opened it, one portion wheeled towards the river and the other towards the country, and a way was left in the middle through which the infantry passed, without stopping, into the town.

Vitellozzo, Pagolo, and the Duke di Gravina on mules, accompanied by a few horsemen, went towards the duke; Vitellozo, unarmed and wearing a cape lined with green, appeared very dejected, as if conscious of his approaching death—a circumstance which, in view of the ability of the man and his former fortune, caused some amazement. And it is said that when he parted from his men before setting out for Sinigalia to meet the duke he acted as if it were his last parting from them. He recommended his house and its fortunes to his captains, and advised his nephews that it was not the fortune of their house, but the virtues of their fathers that should be kept in mind. These three, therefore, came before the duke and saluted him respectfully, and were received by him with goodwill; they were at once placed between those who were commissioned to look after them.

But the duke noticing that Oliverotto, who had remained with his band in Sinigalia, was missing—for Oliverotto was waiting in the square before his quarters near the river, keeping his men in order and drilling them—signalled with his eye to Don Michelle, to whom the care of Oliverotto had been committed, that he should take measures that Oliverotto should not escape. Therefore Don Michele rode off and joined Oliverotto, telling him that it was not right to keep his men out of their quarters, because these might be taken up by the men of the duke; and he advised him to send them at once to their quarters and to come himself to meet the duke. And Oliverotto, having taken this advice, came before the duke, who, when he saw him, called to him; and Oliverotto, having made his obeisance, joined the others.

So the whole party entered Sinigalia, dismounted at the duke's quarters, and went with him into a secret chamber, where the duke made them prisoners; he then mounted on horseback, and issued orders that the men of Oliverotto and the Orsini should be stripped of their arms. Those of Oliverotto, being at hand, were quickly settled, but those of the Orsini and Vitelli, being at a distance, and having a presentiment of the destruction of their masters, had time to prepare themselves, and bearing in mind the valour and discipline of the Orsinian and Vitellian houses, they stood together against the hostile forces of the country and saved themselves.

But the duke's soldiers, not being content with having pillaged the men of Oliverotto, began to sack Sinigalia, and if the duke had not repressed this outrage by killing some of them they would have completely sacked it. Night having come and the tumult being silenced, the duke prepared to kill Vitellozzo and Oliverotto; he led them into a room and caused them to be strangled. Neither of them used words in keeping with their past lives: Vitellozzo prayed that he might ask of the pope full pardon for his sins; Oliverotto cringed and laid the blame for all injuries against the duke on Vitellozzo. Pagolo and the Duke di Gravina Orsini were kept alive until the duke heard from Rome that the pope had taken the Cardinal Orsino, the Archbishop of Florence, and Messer Jacopo da Santa Croce. After which news, on 18th January 1502, in the castle of Pieve, they also were strangled in the same way.

THE LIFE OF CASTRUCCIO CASTRACANI OF LUCCA

[Written By Nicolo Machiavelli — And sent to his friends Zanobi Buondelmonti — And Luigi Alamanni]

Castruccio Castracani, 1284-1328

It appears, dearest Zanobi and Luigi, a wonderful thing to those who have considered the matter, that all men, or the larger number of them, who have performed great deeds in the world, and excelled all others in their day, have had their birth and beginning in baseness and obscurity; or have been aggrieved by Fortune in some outrageous way. They have either been exposed to the mercy of wild beasts, or they have had so mean a parentage that in shame they have given themselves out to be sons of Jove or of some other deity. It would be wearisome to relate who these persons may have been because they are well known to everybody, and, as such tales would not be particularly edifying to those who read them, they are omitted. I believe that these lowly beginnings of great men occur because Fortune is desirous of showing to the world that such men owe much to her and little to wisdom, because she begins to show her hand when wisdom can really take no part in their career: thus all success must be attributed to her. Castruccio Castracani of Lucca was one of those men who did great deeds, if he is measured by the times in which he lived and the city in which he was born; but, like many others, he was neither fortunate nor distinguished in his birth, as the course of this history will show. It appeared to be desirable to recall his memory, because I have discerned in him such indications of valour and fortune as should make him a great exemplar to men. I think also that I ought to call your attention to his actions, because you of all men I know delight most in noble deeds.

The family of Castracani was formerly numbered among the noble families of Lucca, but in the days of which I speak it had somewhat fallen in estate, as so often happens in this world. To this family was born a son Antonio, who became a priest of the order of San Michele of Lucca, and for this reason was honoured with the title of Messer Antonio. He had an only sister, who had been married to Buonaccorso Cenami, but Buonaccorso dying she became a widow, and not wishing to marry again went to live with her brother. Messer Antonio had a vineyard behind the house where he resided, and as it was bounded on all sides by gardens, any person could have access to it without difficulty. One morning, shortly after sunrise, Madonna Dianora, as the sister of Messer Antonio was called, had occasion to go into the vineyard as usual to gather herbs for seasoning the dinner, and hearing a slight rustling among the leaves of a vine she turned her eyes in that direction, and heard something resembling the cry of an infant. Whereupon she went towards it, and saw the hands and face of a baby who was lying enveloped in the leaves and who seemed to be crying for its mother. Partly wondering and partly fearing, yet full of compassion, she lifted it up and carried it to the house, where she washed it and clothed it with clean linen as is customary, and showed it to Messer Antonio when he returned home. When he heard what had happened and saw the child he was not less surprised or compassionate than his sister. They discussed between themselves what should be done, and seeing that he was priest and that she had no children, they finally determined to bring it up. They had a nurse for it, and it was reared and loved as if it were their own child. They baptized it, and gave it the name of Castruccio after their father. As the years passed Castruccio grew very handsome, and gave evidence of wit and discretion, and learnt with a quickness beyond his years those lessons which Messer Antonio imparted to him. Messer Antonio intended to make a priest of him, and in time would have inducted him into his canonry and other benefices, and all his instruction was given with this object; but Antonio discovered that the character of Castruccio was quite unfitted for the priesthood. As soon as Castruccio reached the age of fourteen he began to take less notice of the chiding of Messer Antonio and Madonna Dianora and no longer to fear them; he left off reading ecclesiastical books, and turned to playing with arms, delighting in nothing so much as in learning their uses, and in running, leaping, and wrestling with other boys. In all exercises he far excelled his companions in courage and bodily strength, and if at any time he did turn to books, only those pleased him which told of wars and the mighty deeds of men. Messer Antonio beheld all this with vexation and sorrow.

There lived in the city of Lucca a gentleman of the Guinigi family, named Messer Francesco, whose profession was arms and who in riches, bodily strength, and valour excelled all other men in Lucca. He had often fought under the command of the Visconti of Milan, and as a Ghibelline was the valued leader of that party in Lucca. This gentleman resided in Lucca and was accustomed to assemble with others most mornings and evenings under the balcony of the Podesta, which is at the

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top of the square of San Michele, the finest square in Lucca, and he had often seen Castruccio taking part with other children of the street in those games of which I have spoken. Noticing that Castruccio far excelled the other boys, and that he appeared to exercise a royal authority over them, and that they loved and obeyed him, Messer Francesco became greatly desirous of learning who he was. Being informed of the circumstances of the bringing up of Castruccio he felt a greater desire to have him near to him. Therefore he called him one day and asked him whether he would more willingly live in the house of a gentleman, where he would learn to ride horses and use arms, or in the house of a priest, where he would learn nothing but masses and the services of the Church. Messer Francesco could see that it pleased Castruccio greatly to hear horses and arms spoken of, even though he stood silent, blushing modestly; but being encouraged by Messer Francesco to speak, he answered that, if his master were agreeable, nothing would please him more than to give up his priestly studies and take up those of a soldier. This reply delighted Messer Francesco, and in a very short time he obtained the consent of Messer Antonio, who was driven to yield by his knowledge of the nature of the lad, and the fear that he would not be able to hold him much longer.

Thus Castruccio passed from the house of Messer Antonio the priest to the house of Messer Francesco Guinigi the soldier, and it was astonishing to find that in a very short time he manifested all that virtue and bearing which we are accustomed to associate with a true gentleman. In the first place he became an accomplished horseman, and could manage with ease the most fiery charger, and in all jousts and tournaments, although still a youth, he was observed beyond all others, and he excelled in all exercises of strength and dexterity. But what enhanced so much the charm of these accomplishments, was the delightful modesty which enabled him to avoid offence in either act or word to others, for he was deferential to the great men, modest with his equals, and courteous to his inferiors. These gifts made him beloved, not only by all the Guinigi family, but by all Lucca. When Castruccio had reached his eighteenth year, the Ghibellines were driven from Pavia by the Guelphs, and Messer Francesco was sent by the Visconti to assist the Ghibellines, and with him went Castruccio, in charge of his forces. Castruccio gave ample proof of his prudence and courage in this expedition, acquiring greater reputation than any other captain, and his name and fame were known, not only in Pavia, but throughout all Lombardy.

Castruccio, having returned to Lucca in far higher estimation than he left it, did not omit to use all the means in his power to gain as many friends as he could, neglecting none of those arts which are necessary for that purpose. About this time Messer Francesco died, leaving a son thirteen years of age named Pagolo, and having appointed Castruccio to be his son's tutor and administrator of his estate. Before he died Francesco called Castruccio to him, and prayed him to show Pagolo that goodwill which he (Francesco) had always shown to HIM, and to render to the son the gratitude which he had not been able to repay to the father. Upon the death of Francesco, Castruccio became the governor and tutor of Pagolo, which increased enormously his power and position, and created a certain amount of envy against him in Lucca in place of the former universal goodwill, for many men suspected him of harbouring tyrannical intentions. Among these the leading man was Giorgio degli Opizi, the head of the Guelph party. This man hoped after the death of Messer Francesco to become the chief man in Lucca, but it seemed to him that Castruccio, with the great abilities which he already showed, and holding the position of governor, deprived him of his opportunity; therefore he began to sow those seeds which should rob Castruccio of his eminence. Castruccio at first treated this with scorn, but afterwards he grew alarmed, thinking that Messer Giorgio might be able to bring him into disgrace with the deputy of King Ruberto of Naples and have him driven out of Lucca.

The Lord of Pisa at that time was Uguccione of the Faggiuola of Arezzo, who being in the first place elected their captain afterwards became their lord. There resided in Paris some exiled Ghibellines from Lucca, with whom Castruccio held communications with the object of effecting their restoration by the help of Uguccione. Castruccio also brought into his plans friends from Lucca who would not endure the authority of the Opizi. Having fixed upon a plan to be followed, Castruccio cautiously fortified the tower of the Onesti, filling it with supplies and munitions of war, in order that it might stand a siege for a few days in case of need. When the night came which had been agreed upon with Uguccione, who had occupied the plain between the mountains and Pisa with many men, the signal was given, and without being observed Uguccione approached the gate of San Piero and set fire to the portcullis. Castruccio raised a great uproar within the city, calling the people to arms and forcing open the gate from his side. Uguccione entered with his men, poured through the town, and killed Messer Giorgio with all his family and many of his friends and supporters. The governor was driven out, and the government reformed according to the wishes of Uguccione, to the detriment of the city, because it was found that more than one hundred families were exiled at that time. Of those who fled, part went to Florence and part to Pistoia, which city was the headquarters of the Guelph party, and for this reason it became most hostile to Uguccione and the Lucchese.

As it now appeared to the Florentines and others of the Guelph party that the Ghibellines absorbed too much power in Tuscany, they determined to restore the exiled Guelphs to Lucca. They assembled a large army in the Val di Nievole, and seized Montecatini; from thence they marched to Montecarlo, in order to secure the free passage into Lucca. Upon this Uguccione assembled his Pisan and Lucchese forces, and with a number of German cavalry which he drew out of Lombardy, he moved against the quarters of the Florentines, who upon the appearance of the enemy withdrew from Montecarlo, and posted themselves between Montecatini and Pescia. Uguccione now took up a position near to Montecarlo, and within about two miles of the enemy, and slight skirmishes between the horse of both parties were of daily occurrence. Owing to the illness of Uguccione, the Pisans and Lucchese delayed coming to battle with the enemy. Uguccione, finding himself growing worse, went to Montecarlo to be cured, and left the command of the army in the hands of Castruccio. This change brought about the ruin of the Guelphs, who, thinking that the hostile army having lost its captain had lost its head, grew over-confident. Castruccio observed this, and allowed some days to pass in order to encourage this belief; he also showed signs of fear, and did not allow any of the munitions of the camp to be used. On the other side, the Guelphs grew more insolent the more they saw these evidences of fear, and every day they drew out in the order of battle in front of the army of Castruccio. Presently, deeming that the enemy was sufficiently emboldened, and having mastered their tactics, he decided to join battle with them. First he spoke a few words of encouragement to his soldiers, and pointed out to them the certainty of victory if they would but obey his commands. Castruccio had noticed how the enemy had placed all his best troops in the centre of the line of battle, and his less reliable men on the wings of the army; whereupon he did exactly the opposite, putting his most valiant men on the flanks, while those on whom he could not so strongly rely he moved to the centre. Observing this order of battle, he drew out of his lines and quickly came in sight of the hostile army, who, as usual, had come in their insolence to defy him. He then commanded his centre squadrons to march slowly, whilst he moved rapidly forward those on the wings. Thus, when they came into contact with the enemy, only the wings of the two armies became engaged, whilst the center battalions remained out of action, for these two portions of the line of battle were separated from each other by a long interval and thus unable to reach each other. By this expedient the more valiant part of Castruccio's men were opposed to the weaker part of the enemy's troops, and the most efficient men of the enemy were disengaged; and thus the Florentines were unable to fight with those who were arrayed opposite to them, or to give any assistance to their own flanks. So, without much difficulty, Castruccio put the enemy to flight on both flanks, and the centre battalions took to flight when they found themselves exposed to attack, without having a chance of displaying their valour. The defeat was complete, and the loss in men very heavy, there being more than ten thousand men killed with many officers and knights of the Guelph party in Tuscany, and also many princes who had come to help them, among whom were Piero, the brother of King Ruberto, and Carlo, his nephew, and Filippo, the lord of Taranto. On the part of Castruccio the loss did not amount to more than three hundred men, among whom was Francesco, the son of Uguccione, who, being young and rash, was killed in the first onset.

This victory so greatly increased the reputation of Castruccio that Uguccione conceived some jealousy and suspicion of him, because it appeared to Uguccione that this victory had given him no increase of power, but rather than diminished it. Being of this mind, he only waited for an opportunity to give effect to it. This occurred on the death of Pier Agnolo Micheli, a man of great repute and abilities in Lucca, the murderer of whom fled to the house of Castruccio for refuge. On the sergeants of the captain going to arrest the murderer, they were driven off by Castruccio, and the murderer escaped. This affair coming to the knowledge of Uguccione, who was then at Pisa, it appeared to him a proper opportunity to punish Castruccio. He therefore sent for his son Neri, who was the governor of Lucca, and commissioned him to take Castruccio prisoner at a banquet and put him to death. Castruccio, fearing no evil, went to the governor in a friendly way, was entertained at supper, and then thrown into prison. But Neri, fearing to put him to death lest the people should be incensed, kept him alive, in order to hear further from his father concerning his intentions. Ugucionne cursed the hesitation and cowardice of his son, and at once set out from Pisa to Lucca with four hundred horsemen to finish the business in his own way; but he had not yet reached the baths when the Pisans rebelled and put his deputy to death and created Count Gaddo della Gherardesca their lord. Before Uguccione reached Lucca he heard of the occurrences at Pisa, but it did not appear wise to him to turn back, lest the Lucchese with the example of Pisa before them should close their gates against him. But the Lucchese, having heard of what had happened at Pisa, availed themselves of this opportunity to demand the liberation of Castruccio, notwithstanding that Uguccione had arrived in their city. They first began to speak of it in private circles, afterwards openly in the squares and streets; then they raised a tumult, and with arms in their hands went to Uguccione and demanded that Castruccio should be set at liberty. Uguccione, fearing that worse might happen, released him from prison. Whereupon Castruccio gathered his friends around him, and with the help of the people attacked Uguccione; who, finding he had no resource but in flight, rode away with his friends to Lombardy, to the lords of Scale, where he died in poverty.

But Castruccio from being a prisoner became almost a prince in Lucca, and he carried himself so discreetly with his friends and the people that they appointed him captain of their army for one year. Having obtained this, and wishing to gain renown in war, he planned the recovery of the many towns which had rebelled after the departure of Uguccione, and with the help of the Pisans, with whom he had concluded a treaty, he marched to Serezzana. To capture this place he constructed a fort against it, which is called to-day Zerezzanello; in the course of two months Castruccio captured the town. With the reputation gained at that siege, he rapidly seized Massa, Carrara, and Lavenza, and in a short time had overrun the whole of Lunigiana. In order to close the pass which leads from Lombardy to Lunigiana, he besieged Pontremoli and wrested it from the hands of Messer Anastagio Palavicini, who was the lord of it. After this victory he returned to Lucca, and was welcomed by the whole people. And now Castruccio, deeming it imprudent any longer to defer making himself a prince, got himself created the lord of Lucca by the help of Pazzino del Poggio, Puccinello dal Portico, Francesco Boccansacchi, and Cecco Guinigi, all of whom he had corrupted; and he was afterwards solemnly and deliberately elected prince by the people. At this time Frederick of Bavaria, the King of the Romans, came into Italy to assume the Imperial crown, and Castruccio, in order that he might make friends with him, met him at the head of five hundred horsemen. Castruccio had left as his deputy in Lucca, Pagolo Guinigi, who was held in high estimation, because of the people's love for the memory of his father. Castruccio was received in great honour by Frederick, and many privileges were conferred upon him, and he was appointed the emperor's lieutenant in Tuscany. At this time the Pisans were in great fear of Gaddo della Gherardesca, whom they had driven out of Pisa, and they had recourse for assistance to Frederick. Frederick created Castruccio the lord of Pisa, and the Pisans, in dread of the Guelph party, and particularly of the Florentines, were constrained to accept him as their lord.

Frederick, having appointed a governor in Rome to watch his Italian affairs, returned to Germany. All the Tuscan and Lombardian Ghibellines, who followed the imperial lead, had recourse to Castruccio for help and counsel, and all promised him the governorship of his country, if enabled to recover it with his assistance. Among these exiles were Matteo Guidi, Nardo Scolari, Lapo Uberti, Gerozzo Nardi, and Piero Buonaccorsi, all exiled Florentines and Ghibellines. Castruccio had the secret intention of becoming the master of all Tuscany by the aid of these men and of his own forces; and in order to gain greater weight in affairs, he entered into a league with Messer Matteo Visconti, the Prince of Milan, and organised for him the forces of his city and the country districts. As Lucca had five gates, he divided his own country districts into five parts, which he supplied with arms, and enrolled the men under captains and ensigns, so that he could quickly bring into the field twenty thousand soldiers, without those whom he could summon to his assistance from Pisa. While he surrounded himself with these forces and allies, it happened at Messer Matteo Visconti was attacked by the Guelphs of Piacenza, who had driven out the Ghibellines with the assistance of a Florentine army and the King Ruberto. Messer Matteo called upon Castruccio to invade the Florentines in their own territories, so that, being attacked at home, they should be compelled to draw their army out of Lombardy in order to defend themselves. Castruccio invaded the Valdarno, and seized Fucecchio and San Miniato, inflicting immense damage upon the country. Whereupon the Florentines recalled their army, which had scarcely reached Tuscany, when Castruccio was forced by other necessities to return to Lucca.

There resided in the city of Lucca the Poggio family, who were so powerful that they could not only elevate Castruccio, but even advance him to the dignity of prince; and it appearing to them they had not received such rewards for their services as they deserved, they incited other families to rebel and to drive Castruccio out of Lucca. They found their opportunity one morning, and arming themselves, they set upon the lieutenant whom Castruccio had left to maintain

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order and killed him. They endeavoured to raise the people in revolt, but Stefano di Poggio, a peaceable old man who had taken no hand in the rebellion, intervened and compelled them by his authority to lay down their arms; and he offered to be their mediator with Castruccio to obtain from him what they desired. Therefore they laid down their arms with no greater intelligence than they had taken them up. Castruccio, having heard the news of what had happened at Lucca, at once put Pagolo Guinigi in command of the army, and with a troop of cavalry set out for home. Contrary to his expectations, he found the rebellion at an end, yet he posted his men in the most advantageous places throughout the city. As it appeared to Stefano that Castruccio ought to be very much obliged to him, he sought him out, and without saying anything on his own behalf, for he did not recognise any need for doing so, he begged Castruccio to pardon the other members of his family by reason of their youth, their former friendships, and the obligations which Castruccio was under to their house. To this Castruccio graciously responded, and begged Stefano to reassure himself, declaring that it gave him more pleasure to find the tumult at an end than it had ever caused him anxiety to hear of its inception. He encouraged Stefano to bring his family to him, saying that he thanked God for having given him the opportunity of showing his clemency and liberality. Upon the word of Stefano and Castruccio they surrendered, and with Stefano were immediately thrown into prison and put to death. Meanwhile the Florentines had recovered San Miniato, whereupon it seemed advisable to Castruccio to make peace, as it did not appear to him that he was sufficiently secure at Lucca to leave him. He approached the Florentines with the proposal of a truce, which they readily entertained, for they were weary of the war, and desirous of getting rid of the expenses of it. A treaty was concluded with them for two years, by which both parties agreed to keep the conquests they had made. Castruccio thus released from this trouble, turned his attention to affairs in Lucca, and in order that he should not again be subject to the perils from which he had just escaped, he, under various pretences and reasons, first wiped out all those who by their ambition might aspire to the principality; not sparing one of them, but depriving them of country and property, and those whom he had in his hands of life also, stating that he had found by experience that none of them were to be trusted. Then for his further security he raised a fortress in Lucca with the stones of the towers of those whom he had killed or hunted out of the state.

Whilst Castruccio made peace with the Florentines, and strengthened his position in Lucca, he neglected no opportunity, short of open war, of increasing his importance elsewhere. It appeared to him that if he could get possession of Pistoia, he would have one foot in Florence, which was his great desire. He, therefore, in various ways made friends with the mountaineers, and worked matters so in Pistoia that both parties confided their secrets to him. Pistoia was divided, as it always had been, into the Bianchi and Neri parties; the head of the Bianchi was Bastiano di Possente, and of the Neri, Jacopo da Gia. Each of these men held secret communications with Castruccio, and each desired to drive the other out of the city; and, after many threatenings, they came to blows. Jacopo fortified himself at the Florentine gate, Bastiano at that of the Lucchese side of the city; both trusted more in Castruccio than in the Florentines, because they believed that Castruccio was far more ready and willing to fight than the Florentines, and they both sent to him for assistance. He gave promises to both, saying to Bastiano that he would come in person, and to Jacopo that he would send his pupil, Pagolo Guinigi. At the appointed time he sent forward Pagolo by way of Pisa, and went himself direct to Pistoia; at midnight both of them met outside the city, and both were admitted as friends. Thus the two leaders entered, and at a signal given by Castruccio, one killed Jacopo da Gia, and the other Bastiano di Possente, and both took prisoners or killed the partisans of either faction. Without further opposition Pistoia passed into the hands of Castruccio, who, having forced the Signoria to leave the palace, compelled the people to yield obedience to him, making them many promises and remitting their old debts. The countryside flocked to the city to see the new prince, and all were filled with hope and quickly settled down, influenced in a great measure by his great valour.

About this time great disturbances arose in Rome, owing to the dearness of living which was caused by the absence of the pontiff at Avignon. The German governor, Enrico, was much blamed for what happened—murders and tumults following each other daily, without his being able to put an end to them. This caused Enrico much anxiety lest the Romans should call in Ruberto, the King of Naples, who would drive the Germans out of the city, and bring back the Pope. Having no nearer friend to whom he could apply for help than Castruccio, he sent to him, begging him not only to give him assistance, but also to come in person to Rome. Castruccio considered that he ought not to hesitate to render the emperor this service, because he believed that he himself would not be safe if at any time the emperor ceased to hold Rome. Leaving Pagolo Guinigi in command at Lucca, Castruccio set out for Rome with six hundred horsemen, where he was received by Enrico with the greatest distinction. In a short time the presence of Castruccio obtained such respect for the emperor that, without bloodshed or violence, good order was restored, chiefly by reason of Castruccio having sent by sea from the country round Pisa large quantities of corn, and thus removed the source of the trouble. When he had chastised some of the Roman leaders, and admonished others, voluntary obedience was rendered to Enrico. Castruccio received many honours, and was made a Roman senator. This dignity was assumed with the greatest pomp, Castruccio being clothed in a brocaded toga, which had the following words embroidered on its front: "I am what God wills." Whilst on the back was: "What God desires shall be."

During this time the Florentines, who were much enraged that Castruccio should have seized Pistoia during the truce, considered how they could tempt the city to rebel, to do which they thought would not be difficult in his absence. Among the exiled Pistoians in Florence were Baldo Cecchi and Jacopo Baldini, both men of leading and ready to face danger. These men kept up communications with their friends in Pistoia, and with the aid of the Florentines entered the city by night, and after driving out some of Castruccio's officials and partisans, and killing others, they restored the city to its freedom. The news of this greatly angered Castruccio, and taking leave of Enrico, he pressed on in great haste to Pistoia. When the Florentines heard of his return, knowing that he would lose no time, they decided to intercept him with their forces in the Val di Nievole, under the belief that by doing so they would cut off his road to Pistoia. Assembling a great army of the supporters of the Guelph cause, the Florentines entered the Pistoian territories. On the other hand, Castruccio reached Montecarlo with his army; and having heard where the Florentines' lay, he decided not to encounter it in the plains of Pistoia, nor to await it in the plains of Pescia, but, as far as he possibly could, to attack it boldly in the Pass of Serravalle. He believed that if he succeeded in this design, victory was assured, although he was informed that the Florentines had thirty thousand men, whilst he had only twelve thousand. Although he had every confidence in his own abilities and the valour of his troops, yet he hesitated to attack his enemy in the open lest he should be overwhelmed by numbers. Serravalle is a castle between Pescia and Pistoia, situated on a hill which blocks the Val di Nievole, not in the exact pass, but about a bowshot beyond; the pass itself is in places narrow and steep, whilst in general it ascends gently, but is still narrow, especially at the summit where the waters divide, so that twenty men side by side could hold it. The lord of Serravalle was Manfred, a German, who, before Castruccio became lord of Pistoia, had been allowed to remain in possession of the castle, it being common to the Lucchese and the Pistoians, and unclaimed by either—neither of them wishing to displace Manfred as long as he kept his promise of neutrality, and came under obligations to no one. For these reasons, and also because the castle was well fortified, he had always been able to maintain his position. It was here that Castruccio had determined to fall upon his enemy, for here his few men would have the advantage, and there was no fear lest, seeing the large masses of the hostile force before they became engaged, they should not stand. As soon as this trouble with Florence arose, Castruccio saw the immense advantage which possession of this castle would give him, and having an intimate friendship with a resident in the castle, he managed matters so with him that four hundred of his men were to be admitted into the castle the night before the attack on the Florentines, and the castellan put to death.

Castruccio, having prepared everything, had now to encourage the Florentines to persist in their desire to carry the seat of war away from Pistoia into the Val di Nievole, therefore he did not move his army from Montecarlo. Thus the Florentines hurried on until they reached their encampment under Serravalle, intending to cross the hill on the following morning. In the meantime, Castruccio had seized the castle at night, had also moved his army from Montecarlo, and marching from thence at midnight in dead silence, had reached the foot of Serravalle: thus he and the Florentines commenced the ascent of the hill at the same time in the morning. Castruccio sent forward his infantry by the main road, and a troop of four hundred horsemen by a path on the left towards the castle. The Florentines sent forward four hundred cavalry ahead of their army which was following, never expecting to find Castruccio in possession of the hill, nor were they aware of his having seized the castle. Thus it happened that the Florentine horsemen mounting the hill were completely taken by surprise when they discovered the infantry of Castruccio, and so close were they upon it they had scarcely time to pull down their visors. It was a case of unready soldiers being attacked by ready, and they were assailed with such vigour that with difficulty they could hold their own, although some few of them got through. When the noise of the fighting reached the Florentine camp below, it was filled with confusion. The cavalry and infantry became inextricably mixed: the captains were unable to get their men either backward or forward, owing to the narrowness of the pass, and amid all this tumult no one knew what ought to be done or what could be done. In a short time the cavalry who were engaged with the enemy's infantry were scattered or killed without having made any effective defence because of their unfortunate position, although in sheer desperation they had offered a stout resistance. Retreat had been impossible, with the mountains on both flanks, whilst in front were their enemies, and in the rear their friends. When Castruccio saw that his men were unable to strike a decisive blow at the enemy and put them to flight, he sent one thousand infantrymen round by the castle, with orders to join the four hundred horsemen he had previously dispatched there, and commanded the whole force to fall upon the flank of the enemy. These orders they carried out with such fury that the Florentines could not sustain the attack, but gave way, and were soon in full retreat—conquered more by their unfortunate position than by the valour of their enemy. Those in the rear turned towards Pistoia, and spread through the plains, each man seeking only his own safety. The defeat was complete and very sanguinary. Many captains were taken prisoners, among whom were Bandini dei Rossi, Francesco Brunelleschi, and Giovanni della Tosa, all Florentine noblemen, with many Tuscans and Neapolitans who fought on the Florentine side, having been sent by King Ruberto to assist the Guelphs. Immediately the Pistoians heard of this defeat they drove out the friends of the Guelphs, and surrendered to Castruccio. He was not content with occupying Prato and all the castles on the plains on both sides of the Arno, but marched his army into the plain of Peretola, about two miles from Florence. Here he remained many days, dividing the spoils, and celebrating his victory with feasts and games, holding horse races, and foot races for men and women. He also struck medals in commemoration of the defeat of the Florentines. He endeavoured to corrupt some of the citizens of Florence, who were to open the city gates at night; but the conspiracy was discovered, and the participators in it taken and beheaded, among whom were Tommaso Lupacci and Lambertuccio Frescobaldi. This defeat caused the Florentines great anxiety, and despairing of preserving their liberty, they sent envoys to King Ruberto of Naples, offering him the dominion of their city; and he, knowing of what immense importance the maintenance of the Guelph cause was to him, accepted it. He agreed with the Florentines to receive from them a yearly tribute of two hundred thousand florins, and he sent his son Carlo to Florence with four thousand horsemen.

Shortly after this the Florentines were relieved in some degree of the pressure of Castruccio's army, owing to his being compelled to leave his positions before Florence and march on Pisa, in order to suppress a conspiracy that had been raised against him by Benedetto Lanfranchi, one of the first men in Pisa, who could not endure that his fatherland should be under the dominion of the Lucchese. He had formed this conspiracy, intending to seize the citadel, kill the partisans of Castruccio, and drive out the garrison. As, however, in a conspiracy paucity of numbers is essential to secrecy, so for its execution a few are not sufficient, and in seeking more adherents to his conspiracy Lanfranchi encountered a person who revealed the design to Castruccio. This betrayal cannot be passed by without severe reproach to Bonifacio Cerchi and Giovanni Guidi, two Florentine exiles who were suffering their banishment in Pisa. Thereupon Castruccio seized Benedetto and put him to death, and beheaded many other noble citizens, and drove their families into exile. It now appeared to Castruccio that both Pisa and Pistoia were thoroughly disaffected; he employed much thought and energy upon securing his position there, and this gave the Florentines their opportunity to reorganise their army, and to await the coming of Carlo, the son of the King of Naples. When Carlo arrived they decided to lose no more time, and assembled a great army of more than thirty thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry—having called to their aid every Guelph there was in Italy. They consulted whether they should attack Pistoia or Pisa first, and decided that it would be better to march on the latter—a course, owing to the recent conspiracy, more likely to succeed, and of more advantage to them, because they believed that the surrender of Pistoia would follow the acquisition of Pisa.

In the early part of May 1328, the Florentines put in motion this army and quickly occupied Lastra, Signa, Montelupo, and Empoli, passing from thence on to San Miniato. When Castruccio heard of the enormous army which the Florentines were sending against him, he was in no degree alarmed, believing that the time had now arrived when Fortune would deliver the empire of Tuscany into his hands, for he had no reason to think that his enemy would make a better fight, or had better prospects of success, than at Pisa or Serravalle. He assembled twenty thousand foot soldiers and four thousand horsemen, and with this army went to Fucecchio, whilst he sent Pagolo Guinigi to Pisa with five thousand infantry. Fucecchio has a stronger position than any other town in the Pisan district, owing to its situation between the rivers Arno and Gusciana and its slight elevation above the surrounding plain. Moreover, the enemy could not

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hinder its being victualled unless they divided their forces, nor could they approach it either from the direction of Lucca or Pisa, nor could they get through to Pisa, or attack Castruccio's forces except at a disadvantage. In one case they would find themselves placed between his two armies, the one under his own command and the other under Pagolo, and in the other case they would have to cross the Arno to get to close quarters with the enemy, an undertaking of great hazard. In order to tempt the Florentines to take this latter course, Castruccio withdrew his men from the banks of the river and placed them under the walls of Fucecchio, leaving a wide expanse of land between them and the river.

The Florentines, having occupied San Miniato, held a council of war to decide whether they should attack Pisa or the army of Castruccio, and, having weighed the difficulties of both courses, they decided upon the latter. The river Arno was at that time low enough to be fordable, yet the water reached to the shoulders of the infantrymen and to the saddles of the horsemen. On the morning of 10 June 1328, the Florentines commenced the battle by ordering forward a number of cavalry and ten thousand infantry. Castruccio, whose plan of action was fixed, and who well knew what to do, at once attacked the Florentines with five thousand infantry and three thousand horsemen, not allowing them to issue from the river before he charged them; he also sent one thousand light infantry up the river bank, and the same number down the Arno. The infantry of the Florentines were so much impeded by their arms and the water that they were not able to mount the banks of the river, whilst the cavalry had made the passage of the river more difficult for the others, by reason of the few who had crossed having broken up the bed of the river, and this being deep with mud, many of the horses rolled over with their riders and many of them had stuck so fast that they could not move. When the Florentine captains saw the difficulties their men were meeting, they withdrew them and moved higher up the river, hoping to find the river bed less treacherous and the banks more adapted for landing. These men were met at the bank by the forces which Castruccio had already sent forward, who, being light armed with bucklers and javelins in their hands, let fly with tremendous shouts into the faces and bodies of the cavalry. The horses, alarmed by the noise and the wounds, would not move forward, and trampled each other in great confusion. The fight between the men of Castruccio and those of the enemy who succeeded in crossing was sharp and terrible; both sides fought with the utmost desperation and neither would yield. The soldiers of Castruccio fought to drive the others back into the river, whilst the Florentines strove to get a footing on land in order to make room for the others pressing forward, who if they could but get out of the water would be able to fight, and in this obstinate conflict they were urged on by their captains. Castruccio shouted to his men that these were the same enemies whom they had before conquered at Serravalle, whilst the Florentines reproached each other that the many should be overcome by the few. At length Castruccio, seeing how long the battle had lasted, and that both his men and the enemy were utterly exhausted, and that both sides had many killed and wounded, pushed forward another body of infantry to take up a position at the rear of those who were fighting; he then commanded these latter to open their ranks as if they intended to retreat, and one part of them to turn to the right and another to the left. This cleared a space of which the Florentines at once took advantage, and thus gained possession of a portion of the battlefield. But when these tired soldiers found themselves at close quarters with Castruccio's reserves they could not stand against them and at once fell back into the river. The cavalry of either side had not as yet gained any decisive advantage over the other, because Castruccio, knowing his inferiority in this arm, had commanded his leaders only to stand on the defensive against the attacks of their adversaries, as he hoped that when he had overcome the infantry he would be able to make short work of the cavalry. This fell out as he had hoped, for when he saw the Florentine army driven back across the river he ordered the remainder of his infantry to attack the cavalry of the enemy. This they did with lance and javelin, and, joined by their own cavalry, fell upon the enemy with the greatest fury and soon put him to flight. The Florentine captains, having seen the difficulty their cavalry had met with in crossing the river, had attempted to make their infantry cross lower down the river, in order to attack the flanks of Castruccio's army. But here, also, the banks were steep and already lined by the men of Castruccio, and this movement was quite useless. Thus the Florentines were so completely defeated at all points that scarcely a third of them escaped, and Castruccio was again covered with glory. Many captains were taken prisoners, and Carlo, the son of King Ruberto, with Michelagnolo Falconi and Taddeo degli Albizzi, the Florentine commissioners, fled to Empoli. If the spoils were great, the slaughter was infinitely greater, as might be expected in such a battle. Of the Florentines there fell twenty thousand two hundred and thirty-one men, whilst Castruccio lost one thousand five hundred and seventy men.

But Fortune growing envious of the glory of Castruccio took away his life just at the time when she should have preserved it, and thus ruined all those plans which for so long a time he had worked to carry into effect, and in the successful prosecution of which nothing but death could have stopped him. Castruccio was in the thick of the battle the whole of the day; and when the end of it came, although fatigued and overheated, he stood at the gate of Fucecchio to welcome his men on their return from victory and personally thank them. He was also on the watch for any attempt of the enemy to retrieve the fortunes of the day; he being of the opinion that it was the duty of a good general to be the first man in the saddle and the last out of it. Here Castruccio stood exposed to a wind which often rises at midday on the banks of the Arno, and which is often very unhealthy; from this he took a chill, of which he thought nothing, as he was accustomed to such troubles; but it was the cause of his death. On the following night he was attacked with high fever, which increased so rapidly that the doctors saw it must prove fatal. Castruccio, therefore, called Pagolo Guinigi to him, and addressed him as follows:

"If I could have believed that Fortune would have cut me off in the midst of the career which was leading to that glory which all my successes promised, I should have laboured less, and I should have left thee, if a smaller state, at least with fewer enemies and perils, because I should have been content with the governorships of Lucca and Pisa. I should neither have subjugated the Pistoians, nor outraged the Florentines with so many injuries. But I would have made both these peoples my friends, and I should have lived, if no longer, at least more peacefully, and have left you a state without a doubt smaller, but one more secure and established on a surer foundation. But Fortune, who insists upon having the arbitrament of human affairs, did not endow me with sufficient judgement to recognise this from the first, nor the time to surmount it. Thou hast heard, for many have told thee, and I have never concealed it, how I entered the house of thy father whilst yet a boy—a stranger to all those ambitions which every generous soul should feel—and how I was brought up by him, and loved as though I had been born of his blood; how under his governance I learned to be valiant and capable of availing myself of all that fortune, of which thou hast been witness. When thy good father came to die, he committed thee and all his possessions to my care, and I have brought thee up with that love, and increased thy estate with that care, which I was bound to show. And in order that thou shouldst not only possess the estate which thy father left, but also that which my fortune and abilities have gained, I have never married, so that the love of children should never deflect my mind from that gratitude which I owed to the children of thy father. Thus I leave thee a vast estate, of which I am well content, but I am deeply concerned, inasmuch as I leave it thee unsettled and insecure. Thou hast the city of Lucca on thy hands, which will never rest contented under thy government. Thou hast also Pisa, where the men are of nature changeable and unreliable, who, although they may be sometimes held in subjection, yet they will ever disdain to serve under a Lucchese. Pistoia is also disloyal to thee, she being eaten up with factions and deeply incensed against thy family by reason of the wrongs recently inflicted upon them. Thou hast for neighbours the offended Florentines, injured by us in a thousand ways, but not utterly destroyed, who will hail the news of my death with more delight than they would the acquisition of all Tuscany. In the Emperor and in the princes of Milan thou canst place no reliance, for they are far distant, slow, and their help is very long in coming. Therefore, thou hast no hope in anything but in thine own abilities, and in the memory of my valour, and in the prestige which this latest victory has brought thee; which, as thou knowest how to use it with prudence, will assist thee to come to terms with the Florentines, who, as they are suffering under this great defeat, should be inclined to listen to thee. And whereas I have sought to make them my enemies, because I believed that war with them would conduce to my power and glory, thou hast every inducement to make friends of them, because their alliance will bring thee advantages and security. It is of the greatest important in this world that a man should know himself, and the measure of his own strength and means; and he who knows that he has not a genius for fighting must learn how to govern by the arts of peace. And it will be well for thee to rule thy conduct by my counsel, and to learn in this way to enjoy what my life-work and dangers have gained; and in this thou wilt easily succeed when thou hast learnt to believe that what I have told thee is true. And thou wilt be doubly indebted to me, in that I have left thee this realm and have taught thee how to keep it."

After this there came to Castruccio those citizens of Pisa, Pistoia, and Lucca, who had been fighting at his side, and whilst recommending Pagolo to them, and making them swear obedience to him as his successor, he died. He left a happy memory to those who had known him, and no prince of those times was ever loved with such devotion as he was. His obsequies were celebrated with every sign of mourning, and he was buried in San Francesco at Lucca. Fortune was not so friendly to Pagolo Guinigi as she had been to Castruccio, for he had not the abilities. Not long after the death of Castruccio, Pagolo lost Pisa, and then Pistoia, and only with difficulty held on to Lucca. This latter city continued in the family of Guinigi until the time of the great-grandson of Pagolo.

From what has been related here it will be seen that Castruccio was a man of exceptional abilities, not only measured by men of his own time, but also by those of an earlier date. In stature he was above the ordinary height, and perfectly proportioned. He was of a gracious presence, and he welcomed men with such urbanity that those who spoke with him rarely left him displeased. His hair was inclined to be red, and he wore it cut short above the ears, and, whether it rained or snowed, he always went without a hat. He was delightful among friends, but terrible to his enemies; just to his subjects; ready to play false with the unfaithful, and willing to overcome by fraud those whom he desired to subdue, because he was wont to say that it was the victory that brought the glory, not the methods of achieving it. No one was bolder in facing danger, none more prudent in extricating himself. He was accustomed to say that men ought to attempt everything and fear nothing; that God is a lover of strong men, because one always sees that the weak are chastised by the strong. He was also wonderfully sharp or biting though courteous in his answers; and as he did not look for any indulgence in this way of speaking from others, so he was not angered with others did not show it to him. It has often happened that he has listened quietly when others have spoken sharply to him, as on the following occasions. He had caused a ducat to be given for a partridge, and was taken to task for doing so by a friend, to whom Castruccio had said: "You would not have given more than a penny." "That is true," answered the friend. Then said Castruccio to him: "A ducat is much less to me." Having about him a flatterer on whom he had spat to show that he scorned him, the flatterer said to him: "Fisherman are willing to let the waters of the sea saturate them in order that they may take a few little fishes, and I allow myself to be wetted by spittle that I may catch a whale"; and this was not only heard by Castruccio with patience but rewarded. When told by a priest that it was wicked for him to live so sumptuously, Castruccio said: "If that be a vice then you should not fare so splendidly at the feasts of our saints." Passing through a street he saw a young man as he came out of a house of ill fame blush at being seen by Castruccio, and said to him: "Thou shouldst not be ashamed when thou comest out, but when thou goest into such places." A friend gave him a very curiously tied knot to undo and was told: "Fool, do you think that I wish to untie a thing which gave so much trouble to fasten." Castruccio said to one who professed to be a philosopher: "You are like the dogs who always run after those who will give them the best to eat," and was answered: "We are rather like the doctors who go to the houses of those who have the greatest need of them." Going by water from Pisa to Leghorn, Castruccio was much disturbed by a dangerous storm that sprang up, and was reproached for cowardice by one of those with him, who said that he did not fear anything. Castruccio answered that he did not wonder at that, since every man valued his soul for what is was worth. Being asked by one what he ought to do to gain estimation, he said: "When thou goest to a banquet take care that thou dost not seat one piece of wood upon another." To a person who was boasting that he had read many things, Castruccio said: "He knows better than to boast of remembering many things." Someone bragged that he could drink much without becoming intoxicated. Castruccio replied: "An ox does the same." Castruccio was acquainted with a girl with whom he had intimate relations, and being blamed by a friend who told him that it was undignified for him to be taken in by a woman, he said: "She has not taken me in, I have taken her." Being also blamed for eating very dainty foods, he answered: "Thou dost not spend as much as I do?" and being told that it was true, he continued: "Then thou art more avaricious than I am gluttonous." Being invited by Taddeo Bernardi, a very rich and splendid citizen of Luca, to supper, he went to the house and was shown by Taddeo into a chamber hung with silk and paved with fine stones representing flowers and foliage of the most beautiful colouring. Castruccio gathered some saliva in his mouth and spat it out upon Taddeo, and seeing him much disturbed by this, said to him: "I knew not where to spit in order to offend thee less." Being asked how Caesar died he said: "God willing I will die as he did." Being one night in the house of one of his gentlemen where many ladies were assembled, he was reproved by one of his friends for dancing and amusing himself with them more than was usual in one of his station, so he said: "He who is considered wise by day will not be considered a fool at night." A person came to demand a favour of Castruccio, and thinking he was not listening to his plea threw himself on his knees to the ground, and being sharply reproved by Castruccio, said: "Thou art the reason of my acting thus for thou hast thy ears in thy feet," whereupon he obtained double the favour he had asked. Castruccio used to say that the way to hell was an easy one, seeing that it was in a downward direction and you travelled blindfolded. Being asked a favour by one who used many superfluous words, he

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said to him: "When you have another request to make, send someone else to make it." Having been wearied by a similar man with a long oration who wound up by saying: "Perhaps I have fatigued you by speaking so long," Castruccio said: "You have not, because I have not listened to a word you said." He used to say of one who had been a beautiful child and who afterwards became a fine man, that he was dangerous, because he first took the husbands from the wives and now he took the wives from their husbands. To an envious man who laughed, he said: "Do you laugh because you are successful or because another is unfortunate?" Whilst he was still in the charge of Messer Francesco Guinigi, one of his companions said to him: "What shall I give you if you will let me give you a blow on the nose?" Castruccio answered: "A helmet." Having put to death a citizen of Lucca who had been instrumental in raising him to power, and being told that he had done wrong to kill one of his old friends, he answered that people deceived themselves; he had only killed a new enemy. Castruccio praised greatly those men who intended to take a wife and then did not do so, saying that they were like men who said they would go to sea, and then refused when the time came. He said that it always struck him with surprise that whilst men in buying an earthen or glass vase would sound it first to learn if it were good, yet in choosing a wife they were content with only looking at her. He was once asked in what manner he would wish to be buried when he died, and answered: "With the face turned downwards, for I know when I am gone this country will be turned upside down." On being asked if it had ever occurred to him to become a friar in order to save his soul, he answered that it had not, because it appeared strange to him that Fra Lazerone should go to Paradise and Uguccione della Faggiuola to the Inferno. He was once asked when should a man eat to preserve his health, and replied: "If the man be rich let him eat when he is hungry; if he be poor, then when he can." Seeing one of his gentlemen make a member of his family lace him up, he said to him: "I pray God that you will let him feed you also." Seeing that someone had written upon his house in Latin the words: "May God preserve this house from the wicked," he said, "The owner must never go in." Passing through one of the streets he saw a small house with a very large door, and remarked: "That house will fly through the door." He was having a discussion with the ambassador of the King of Naples concerning the property of some banished nobles, when a dispute arose between them, and the ambassador asked him if he had no fear of the king. "Is this king of yours a bad man or a good one?" asked Castruccio, and was told that he was a good one, whereupon he said, "Why should you suggest that I should be afraid of a good man?"

I could recount many other stories of his sayings both witty and weighty, but I think that the above will be sufficient testimony to his high qualities. He lived forty-four years, and was in every way a prince. And as he was surrounded by many evidences of his good fortune, so he also desired to have near him some memorials of his bad fortune; therefore the manacles with which he was chained in prison are to be seen to this day fixed up in the tower of his residence, where they were placed by him to testify forever to his days of adversity. As in his life he was inferior neither to Philip of Macedon, the father of Alexander, nor to Scipio of Rome, so he died in the same year of his age as they did, and he would doubtless have excelled both of them had Fortune decreed that he should be born, not in Lucca, but in Macedonia or Rome.

THE ART OF WAR

Dialogue on the Art of War
Italian: Dell'Arte Della Guerra
The Seven Books on the Art of War
by Niccolo Machiavelli, 1521
Translation: Henry Neville, 1675.

(The Art of War is another book Machiavelli is famous for. The book that can be seen as continuation of The Prince, with the only difference that it was composed in a Question and Answer dialogue like in classic works of Aniquity.

Machiavelli's Art of War echoes many themes, issues, ideas and proposals from his earlier work The Prince. His theories were not merely based on a thorough study and analysis of classical and contemporary military works but on his very own experience. Machiavelli had served for fourteen years as secretary to the Chancery of Florence and personally observed and reported back to his government on the size, composition, weaponry, morale, and logistical capabilities of the most effective militaries of his day.

However, it proved to be extremely difficult to persuade complacent citizens and inept leaders to build up armed forces from their own native populace instead of just hiring unreliable mercenaries from foreign countries. As the native fighting force was not ready yet, the catastrophic defeat in Prato in 1512 was the result and it led to the downfall of the Florentine republican government.

Machiavelli wrote that war must be expressly defined. He developed the philosophy of "limited warfare"—that is, when diplomacy fails, war is an extension of politics. Art of War also emphasises the necessity of a state militia and promotes the concept of armed citizenry. He believed that all society, religion, science, and art rested on the security provided by the military.

Montaigne named Machiavelli next to Caesar, Polybius, and Commynes as an authority on military affairs. Although the massive use of firearms had changed weaponry, Machiavelli Art of War was still frequently used as guideline. It is very likely that Frederick the Great (1712–1786), General Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben (1730–1794), and Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) improved their military with the help of this book.)

Preface By Niccolo Machiavelli Citizen And Secretary Of Florence On The Books On The Art Of War To Lorenzodi Filippo Strozzi, A Gentleman Of Florence.

Many, Lorenzo, have held and still hold the opinion, that there is nothing which has less in common with another, and that is so dissimilar, as civilian life is from the military. Whence it is often observed, if anyone designs to avail himself of an enlistment in the army, that he soon changes, not only his clothes, but also his customs, his habits, his voice, and in the presence of any civilian custom, he goes to pieces; for I do not believe that any man can dress in civilian clothes who wants to be quick and ready for any violence; nor can that man have civilian customs and habits, who judges those customs to be effeminate and those habits not conducive to his actions; nor does it seem right to him to maintain his ordinary appearance and voice who, with his beard and cursing, wants to make other men afraid: which makes such an opinion in these times to be very true. But if they should consider the ancient institutions, they would not find matter more united, more in conformity, and which, of necessity, should be like to each other as much as these (civilian and military);for in all the arts that are established in a society for the sake of the common good of men, all those institutions created to (make people) live in fear of the laws and of God would be in vain, if their defense had not been provided for and which, if well arranged, will maintain not only these, but also those that are not well established. And so (on the contrary), good institutions without the help of the military are not much differently disordered than the habitation of a superb and regal palace, which, even though adorned with jewels and gold, if it is not roofed over will not have anything to protect it from the rain. And, if in any other institutions of a City and of a Republic every diligence is employed in keeping men loyal, peaceful, and full of the fear of God, it is doubled in the military; for in what man ought the country look for greater loyalty than in that man who has to promise to die for her? In whom ought there to be a greater love of peace, than in him who can only be injured by war? In whom ought there to be a greater fear of God than in him who, undergoing infinite dangers every day, has more need for His aid? If these necessities in forming the life of the soldier are well considered, they are found to be praised by those who gave the laws to the Commanders and by those who were put in charge of military training, and followed and imitated with all diligence by others.

But because military institutions have become completely corrupt and far removed from the ancient ways, these sinister opinions have arisen which make the military hated and intercourse with those who train them avoided. And I, judging, by what I have seen and read, that it is not impossible to restore its ancient ways and return some form of past virtue to it, have decided not to let this leisure time of mine pass without doing something, to write what I know of the art of war, to the satisfaction of those who are lovers of the ancient deeds. And although it requires courage to treat of those matters of which others have made a profession, none the less, I do not believe that it is a mistake to occupy a position with words, which may, with greater presumption, have been occupied with deeds; for the errors which I should make in writing can be corrected without injury to anyone, but those which are made with deeds cannot be found out except by the ruin of the Commanders.

You, Lorenzo, will therefore consider the quality of these efforts of mine, and will give in your judgement of them that censure or praise which will appear to you to be merited. I send you these, as much as to show myself grateful for all the benefits I have received from you, although I will not include in them the (review) of this work of mine, as well as also, because being accustomed to honour similar works of those who shine because of their nobility, wealth, genius, and liberality, I know you do not have many equals in wealth and nobility, few in ingenuity, and no one in liberality.

MACHIAVELLI ART OF WAR, 1ST BOOK

As I believe that it is possible for one to praise, without concern, any man after he is dead since every reason and supervision for adulation is lacking, I am not apprehensive in praising our own Cosimo Ruccelai, whose name is never remembered by me without tears, as I have recognised in him those parts which can be desired in a good friend among friends and in a citizen of his country. For I do not know what pertained to him more than to spend himself willingly, not excepting that courage of his, for his friends, and I do not know of any enterprise that dismayed him when he knew it was for the good of his country. And I confess freely not to have met among so many men whom I have known and worked with, a man in whom there was a mind more fired with great and magnificent things. Nor does one grieve with the friends of another of his death, except for his having been born to die young unhonoured within his own home, without having been able to benefit anyone with that mind of his, for one would know that no one could speak of him, except (to say) that a good friend had died. It does not remain for us, however, or for anyone else who, like us, knew him, to be able because of this to keep the faith (since deeds do not seem to) to his laudable qualities. It is true however, that fortune was not so unfriendly to him that it did not leave some brief memory of the dexterity of his genius, as was demonstrated by some of his writings and compositions of amorous verses, in which (as he was not in love) he (employed as an) exercise in order not to use his time uselessly in his juvenile years, in order that fortune might lead him to higher thoughts. Here, it can be clearly comprehended, that if his objective was exercise, how very happily he described his ideas, and how much he was honoured in his poetry. Fortune, however, having deprived us of the use of so great a friend, it appears to me it is not possible to find any other better remedy than for us to seek to benefit from his memory, and recover from it any matter that was either keenly observed or wisely discussed. And as there is nothing of his more recent than the discussions which the Lord Fabrizio Colonna had with him in his gardens, where matters pertaining to war were discussed at length by that Lord, with (questions) keenly and prudently asked by Cosimo, it seemed proper to me having been present with other friends of ours, to recall him to memory, so that reading it, the friends of Cosimo who met there will renew in their minds the memory of his virtue, and another part grieving for not having been there, will learn in part of many things discussed wisely by a most sagacious man useful not only to the military way of life, but to the civilian as well. I will relate, therefore, how Fabrizio Colonna, when he returned from Lombardy where he had fought a long time gloriously for the Catholic King, decided to pass through Florence to rest several days in that City in order to visit His Excellency the Duke, and see again several gentlemen with whom he had been familiar in the past. Whence it appeared proper to Cosimo to invite him to a banquet in his gardens, not so much to show his generosity as to have reason to talk to him at length, and to learn and understand several things from him, according as one can hope to from such a man, for it appeared to him to give him an opportunity to spend a day discussing such matters as would satisfy his mind.

Fabrizio, therefore, came as planned, and was received by Cosimo together with several other loyal friends of his, among whom were Zanobi Buondelmonti, Battista Della Palla, and Luigi Alamanni, young men most ardent in the same studies and loved by him, whose good qualities, because they were also praised daily by himself, we will omit. Fabrizio, therefore, was honoured according to the times and the place, with all the highest honours they could give him. As soon as the convivial pleasures were past and the table cleared and every arrangement of feasting finished, which, in the presence of great men and those who have their minds turned to honourable thoughts is soon accomplished, and because the day was long and the heat intense, Cosimo, in order to satisfy their desire better, judged it would be well to take the opportunity to escape the heat by leading them to the more secret and shadowy part of his garden: when they arrived there and chairs brought out, some sat on the grass which was most fresh in the place, some sat on chairs placed in those parts under the shadow of very high trees; Fabrizio praised the place as most delightful, and looking especially at the trees, he did not recognise one of them, and looked puzzled. Cosimo, becoming aware of this said: Perhaps you have no knowledge of some of these trees, but do not wonder about them, because here are some which were more widely known by the ancients than are those commonly seen today. And giving him the name of some and telling him that Bernardo, his grandfather, had worked hard in their culture, Fabrizio replied: I was thinking that it was what you said I was, and this place and this study make me remember several Princes of the Kingdom, who delighted in their ancient culture and the shadow they cast. And stopping speaking of this, and somewhat upon himself as though in suspense, he added: If I did not think I would offend you, I would give you my opinion: but I do not believe in talking and discussing things with friends in this manner that I insult them. How much better would they have done (it is said with peace to everyone)to seek to imitate the ancients in the strong and rugged things, not in the soft and delicate, and in the things they did under the sun, not in the shadows, to adopt the honest and perfect ways of antiquity, not the false and corrupt; for while these practices were pleasing to my Romans, my

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country (without them) was ruined. To which Cosimo replied (but to avoid the necessity of having to repeat so many times who is speaking, and what the other adds, only the names of those speaking will be noted, without repeating the others). Cosimo, therefore, said: You have opened the way for a discussion which I desired, and I pray you to speak without regard, for I will question you without regard; and if, in questioning or in replying, I accuse or excuse anyone, it will not be for accusing or excusing, but to understand the truth from you.

FABRIZIO: And I will be much content to tell you what I know of all that you ask me; whether it be true or not, I will leave to your judgement. And I will be grateful if you ask me, for I am about to learn as much from what you ask me, as you will from me replying to you, because many times a wise questioner causes one to consider many things and understand many others which, without having been asked, would never have been understood.

COSIMO: I want to return to what you first were saying, that my grandfather and those of yours had more wisely imitated the ancients in rugged things than in delicate ones, and I want to excuse my side because I will let you excuse the other (your side). I do not believe that in your time there was a man who disliked living as softly as he, and that he was so much a lover of that rugged life which you praise: none the less he recognised he could not practice it in his personal life, nor in that of his sons, having been born in so corrupted an age, where anyone who wanted to depart from the common usage would be deformed and despised by everyone. For if anyone in a naked state should thrash upon the sand under the highest sun, or upon the snow in the most icy months of winter, as did Diogenes, he would be considered mad. If anyone (like the Spartan) should raise his children on a farm, make them sleep in the open, go with head and feet bare, bathe in cold water in order to harden them to endure vicissitudes, so that they then might love life less and fear death less, he would be praised by few and followed by none. So that dismayed at these ways of living, he presently leaves the ways of the ancients, and in imitating antiquity, does only that which he can with little wonderment.

FABRIZIO: You have excused him strongly in this part, and certainly you speak the truth: but I did not speak so much of these rugged ways of living, as of those other more human ways which have a greater conformity to the ways of living today, which I do not believe should have been difficult to introduce by one who is numbered among the Princes of a City. I will never forego my examples of my Romans. If their way of living should be examined, and the institutions in their Republic, there will be observed in her many things not impossible to introduce in a Society where there yet might be something of good.

COSIMO: What are those things similar to the ancients that you would introduce?

FABRIZIO: To honour and reward virtu, not to have contempt for poverty, to esteem the modes and orders of military discipline, to constrain citizens to love one another, to live without factions, to esteem less the private than the public good, and other such things which could easily be added in these times. It is not difficult to persuade (people) to these ways, when one considers these at length and approaches them in the usual manner, for the truth will appear in such (examinations) that every common talent is capable of undertaking them. Anyone can arrange these things;(for example), one plants trees under the shadow of which he lives more happily and merrily than if he had not (planted them).

COSIMO: I do not want to reply to anything of what you have spoken, but I do want leave to give a judgement on these, which can be easily judged, and I shall address myself to you who accuse those who in serious and important actions are not imitators of the ancients, thinking that in this way I can more easily carry out my intentions. I should want, therefore, to know from you whence it arises that, on the one hand you condemn those who do not imitate the ancients in their actions, on the other hand, in matters of war which is your profession and in which you are judged to be excellent, it is not observed that you have employed any of the ancient methods, or those which have some similarity.

FABRIZIO: You have come to the point where I expected you to, for what I said did not merit any other question, nor did I wish for any other. And although I am able to save myself with a simple excuse, none the less I want, for your greater satisfaction and mine, since the season (weather) allows it, to enter into a much longer discussion. Men who want to do something, ought first to prepare themselves with all industry, in order [when the opportunity is seen] to be prepared to achieve that which they have proposed. And whenever the preparations are undertaken cautiously, unknown to anyone, no none can be accused of negligence unless he is first discovered by the occasion; in which if it is not then successful, it is seen that either he has not sufficiently prepared himself, or that he has not in some part given thought to it. And as the opportunity has not come to me to be able to show the preparations I would make to bring the military to your ancient organisation, and it I have not done so, I cannot be blamed either by you or by others. I believe this excuse is enough to respond to your accusation.

COSIMO: It would be enough if I was certain that the opportunity did not present itself.

FABRIZIO: But because I know you could doubt whether this opportunity had come about or not, I want to discuss at length [if you will listen to me with patience] which preparations are necessary to be made first, what occasion needs to arise, what difficulty impedes the preparations from becoming beneficial and the occasion from arriving, and that this is [which appears a paradox] most difficult and most easy to do.

COSIMO: You cannot do anything more pleasing for me and for the others than this. But if it is not painful for you to speak, it will never be painful for us to listen. But at this discussion may be long, I want help from these, my friends, and with your permission, and they and I pray you one thing, that you do not become annoyed if we sometimes interrupt you with some opportune question.

FABRIZIO: I am most content that you, Cosimo, with these other young people here, should question me, for I believe that young men will become more familiar with military matters, and will more easily understand what I have to say. The others, whose hair (head) is white and whose blood is icy, in part are enemies of war and in part incorrigible, as those who believe that the times and not the evil ways constrain men to live in such a fashion. So ask anything of me, with assurance and without regard; I desire this, as much because it will afford me a little rest, as because it will give me pleasure not to leave any doubts in your minds. I want to begin from your words, where you said to me that in war [which is my profession] I have not employed any of the ancient methods. Upon this I say, that this being a profession by which men of every time were not able to live honestly, it cannot be employed as a profession except by a Republic or a Kingdom;and both of these, if well established, will never allow any of their citizens or subjects to employ it as a profession: for he who practices it will never be judged to be good, as to gain some usefulness from it at any time he must be rapacious, deceitful, violent, and have many qualities, which of necessity, do not make him good: nor can men who employ this as a profession, the great as well as the least, be made otherwise, for this profession does not provide for them in peace. Whence they are obliged, either to hope that there will be no peace or to gain so much for themselves in times of war, that they can provide for themselves in times of peace. And wherever one of these two thoughts exists, it does not occur in a good man; for, from the desire to provide for oneself in every circumstance, robberies, violence and assassinations result, which such soldiers do to friends as well as to enemies:and from not desiring peace, there arises those deceptions which Captains perpetrate upon those whom they lead, because war hardens them: and even if peace occurs frequently, it happens that the leaders, being deprived of their stipends and of their licentious mode of living, raise a flag of piracy, and without any mercy sack a province.

Do you not have within the memory of events of your time, many soldiers in Italy, finding themselves without employment because of the termination of wars, gathered themselves into very troublesome gangs, calling themselves companies, and went about levying tribute on the towns and sacking the country, without there being any remedy able to be applied? Have you not read how the Carthaginian soldiers, when the first war they engaged in with the Romans under Matus and Spendius was ended, tumultuously chose two leaders, and waged a more dangerous war against the Carthaginians than that which they had just concluded with the Romans? And in the time of our fathers, . Sforza, in order to be able to live honourably (comfortably) in times of peace, not only deceived the Milanese, in whose pay he was, but took away their liberty and became their Prince. All the other soldiers of Italy, who have employed the military as their particular profession, have been like this man; and if, through their malignity, they have not become Dukes of Milan, so much more do they merit to be censured;for without such a return [if their lives were to be examined], they all have the same cares. Sforza, father of Francesco, constrained Queen Giovanna to throw herself into the arms of the King of Aragon, having abandoned her suddenly, and left her disarmed amid her enemies, only in order to satisfy his ambition of either levying tribute or taking the Kingdom. Braccio, with the same industry, sought to occupy the Kingdom of Naples, and would have succeeded, had he not been routed and killed at Aquilla. Such evils do not result from anything else other than the existence of men who employ the practice of soldiering as their own profession. Do you not have a proverb which strengthens my argument, which says:War makes robbers, and peace hangs them? For those who do not know how to live by another practice, and not finding any one who will support them in that, and not having so much virtu that they know how to come and live together honourably, are forced by necessity to roam the streets, and justice is forced to extinguish them.

COSIMO: You have made me turn this profession (art)of soldiering back almost to nothing, and I had supposed it to be the most excellent and most honourable of any: so that if you do not clarify this better, I will not be satisfied; for if it is as you say, I do not know whence arises the glory of Caesar, Pompey, Scipio, Marcellus, and of so many Roman Captains who are celebrated for their fame as the Gods.

FABRIZIO: I have not yet finished discussing all that I proposed, which included two things: the one, that a good man was not able to undertake this practice because of his profession:the other, that a well established Republic or Kingdom would never permit its subjects or citizens to employ it for their profession. Concerning the first, I have spoken as much as has occurred tome: it remains for me to talk of the second, where I shall reply to this last question of yours, and I say that Pompey and Caesar, and almost all those Captains who were in Rome after the last Carthaginian war, acquired fame as valiant men, not as good men:but those who had lived before them acquired glory as valiant and good men: which results from the fact that these latter did not take up the practice of war as their profession; and those whom I named first as those who employed it as their profession. And while the Republic lived immaculately, no great citizen ever presumed by means of such a practice to enrich himself during(periods of) peace by breaking laws, despoiling the provinces, usurping and tyrannizing the country, and imposing himself in every way; nor did anyone of the lowest fortune think of violating the sacred agreement, adhere himself to any private individual, not fearing the Senate, or to perform any disgraceful act of tyranny in order to live at all times by the profession of war. But those who were Captains, being content with the triumph, returned with a desire for the private life; and those who were members (of the army) returned with a desire to lay down the arms they had taken up; and everyone returned to the art (trade or profession)by which they ordinarily lived; nor was there ever anyone who hoped to provide for himself by plunder and by means of the searts. A clear and evident example of this as it applies to great citizens can be found in the Regent Attilio, who, when he was captain of the Roman armies in Africa, and having almost defeated the Carthaginians, asked the Senate for permission to return to his house to look after his farms which were being spoiled by his laborers. Whence it is clearer than the sun, that if that man had practiced war as his profession, and by means of it thought to obtain some advantage for himself, having so many provinces which (he could) plunder, he would not have asked permission to return to take care of his fields, as each day he could have obtained more than the value of all his possessions. But as these good men, who do not practice war as their profession, do not expect to gain anything from it except hard work, danger, and glory, as soon as they are sufficiently glorious, desire to return to their homes and live from the practice of their own profession. As to men of lower status and gregarious soldiers, it is also true that every one voluntarily withdrew from such a practice, for when he was not fighting would have desired to fight, but when he was fighting wanted to be dismissed. Which illustrates the many ways, and especially in seeing that it was among the first privileges, that the Roman people gave to one of its Citizens, that he should not be constrained unwillingly to fight. Rome, therefore, while she was well organised [which it was up to the time of the Gracchi] did not have one soldier who had to take up this practice as a profession, and therefore had few bad ones, and these were severely punished. A well ordered City, therefore, ought to desire that this training for war ought to be employed in times of peace as an exercise, and in times of war as a necessity and for glory, and allow the public only to use it as a profession, as Rome did. And any citizen who has other aims in (using) such exercises is not good, and any City which governs itself otherwise, is not well ordered.

COSIMO: I am very much content and satisfied with what you have said up to now, and this conclusion which you have made pleases me greatly: and I believe it will be true when expected from a Republic, but as to Kings, I do not yet know why I should believe that a King would not want particularly to have around him those who take up such a practice as their profession.

FABRIZIO: A well ordered Kingdom ought so much the more avoid such artifices, for these only are the things which corrupt the King and all the Ministers in a Tyranny. And do not, on the other side, tell me of some present Kingdom, for I will not admit them to be all well ordered Kingdoms; for Kingdoms that are well ordered do not give absolute (power to) Rule to their Kings, except in the armies, for only there is a quick decision necessary, and, therefore, he who (rules) there must have this unique power: in other matters, he cannot do anything without counsel, and those who counsel him have to fear those whom he may have near him who, in times of peace, desire war because they are unable to live without it. But I want to dwell a little longer on this subject, and look for a Kingdom totally good, but similar to those that exist today, where those who take up the profession of war for themselves still ought to be feared by the King, for the

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sinews of armies without any doubt are the infantry. So that if a King does not organise himself in such a way that his infantry in time of peace are content to return to their homes and live from the practice of their own professions, it must happen of necessity that he will be ruined; for there is not to be found a more dangerous infantry than that which is composed of those who make the waging of war their profession; for you are forced to make war always, or pay them always, or to risk the danger that they take away the Kingdom from you. To make war always is not possible: (and)one cannot pay always; and, hence, that danger is run of losing the State. My Romans [as I have said], as long as they were wise and good, never permitted that their citizens should take up this practice as their profession, notwithstanding that they were able to raise them at all times, for they made war at all times: but in order to avoid the harm which this continuous practice of theirs could do to them, since the times did not change, they changed the men, and kept turning men over in their legions so that every fifteen years they always completely re-manned them:and thus they desired men in the flower of their age, which is from eighteen to thirty five years, during which time their legs, their hands, and their eyes, worked together, nor did they expect that their strength should decrease in them, or that malice should grow in them, as they did in corrupt times.

Ottavianus first, and then Tiberius, thinking more of their own power than the public usefulness, in order to rule over the Roman people more easily, begun to disarm them and to keep the same armies continually at the frontiers of the Empire. And because they did not think it sufficient to hold the Roman People and the Senate in check, they instituted an army called the Praetorian(Guard), which was kept near the walls of Rome in a fort adjacent to that City. And as they now begun freely to permit men assigned to the army to practice military matters as their profession, there soon resulted that these men became insolent, and they became form idable to the Senate and damaging to the Emperor. Whence there resulted that many men were killed because of their insolence, for they gave the Empire and took it away from anyone they wished, and it often occurred that at one time there were many Emperors created by the several armies. From which state of affairs proceeded first the division of the Empire and finally its ruin. Kings ought, therefore, if they want to live securely, have their infantry composed of men, who, when it is necessary for him to wage war, will willingly go forth to it for love of him, and afterwards when peace comes, more willingly return to their homes; which will always happen if he selects men who know how to live by a profession other than this. And thus he ought to desire, with the coming of peace, that his Princes return to governing their people, gentlemen to the cultivation of their possessions, and the infantry to their particular arts (trades or professions);and everyone of these will willingly make war in order to have peace, and will not seek to disturb the peace to have war.

COSIMO: Truly, this reasoning of yours appears to me well considered: none the less, as it is almost contrary to what I have thought up to now, my mind is not yet purged of every doubt. For I see many Lords and Gentlemen who provide for themselves in times of peace through the training for war, as do your equals who obtain provisions from Princes and the Community. I also see almost all the men at arms remaining in the garrisons of the city and of the fortresses. So that it appears to me that there is a long time of peace for everyone.

FABRIZIO: I do not believe that you believe this, that everyone has a place in time of peace; for other reasons can be cited for their being stationed there, and the small number of people who remain in the places mentioned by you will answer your question. What is the proportion of infantry needed to be employed in time of war to that in peace? for while the fortresses and the city are garrisoned in times of peace, they are much more garrisoned in times of war; to this should be added the soldiers kept in the field who are a great number, but all of whom are released in time of peace. And concerning the garrisons of States, who are a small number, Pope Julius and you have shown how much they are to be feared who do not know any other profession than war, as you have taken them out of your garrisons because of their insolence, and placed the Swiss there, who are born and raised under the laws and are chosen by the community in an honest election;so do not say further that in peace there is a place for every man. As to the men at arms continued in their enlistment in peacetime, the answer appears more difficult. None the less, whoever considers everything well, will easily find the answer, for this thing of keeping on the men at arms is a corrupt thing and not good. The reason is this; as there are men who do not have any art (trade or profession), a thousand evils will arise every day in those States where they exist, and especially so if they were to be joined by a great number of companions: but as they are few, and unable by themselves to constitute an army, they therefore, cannot do any serious damage. None the less, they have done so many times, as I said of Francesco and of Sforza, his father, and of Braccio of Perugia. So I do not approve of this custom of keeping men at arms, both because it is corrupt and because it can cause great evils.

COSIMO: Would you do without them?, or if you keep them, how would you do so?

FABRIZIO: By means of an ordinance, not like those of the King of France, because they are as dangerous and insolent as ours, but like those of the ancients, who created horsemen(cavalry) from their subjects, and in times of peace sent them back to their homes to live from the practice of their own profession, as I shall discuss at length before I finish this discussion. So, if this part of the army can now live by such a practice even when there is peace, it stems from a corrupt order. As to the provisions that are reserved for me and the other leaders, I say to you that this likewise is a most corrupt order, for a wise Republic ought not to give them to anyone, rather it ought to employ its citizens as leaders in war, and in time of peace desire that they return to their professions. Thus also, a wise King ought not to give (provisions) to them, or if he does give them, the reasons ought to be either as a reward for some excellent act, or in order to avail himself of such a man in peace as well as in war. And because you have mentioned me, I want the example to include me, and I say I have never practiced war as a profession, for my profession is to govern my subjects, and defend them, and in order to defend them, I must love peace but know how to make war; and my King does not reward and esteem me so much for what I know of war, as because I know also how to counsel him in peace. Any King ought not, therefore, to want to have next to him anyone who is not thusly constituted, if he is wise and wants to govern prudently; for if he has around him either too many lovers of peace or too many lovers of war, they will cause him to err. I cannot, in this first discussion of mine and according to my suggestion, say otherwise, and if this is not enough for you, you must seek one which satisfies you better. You can begin to recognise how much difficulty there is in bringing the ancient methods into modem wars, and what preparations a wise man must make, and what opportunities he can hope for to put them into execution. But little by little you will know these things better if the discussion on bringing any part of the ancient institutions to the present order of things does not weary you.

COSIMO: If we first desired to hear your discussion of these matters, truly what you have said up to now redoubles that desire. We thank you, therefore, for what we have had and ask you for the rest.

FABRIZIO: Since this is your pleasure, I want to begin to treat of this matter from the beginning being able in that way to demonstrate it more fully, so that it may be better understood. The aim of those who want to make war is to be able to combat in the field with every (kind) of enemy, and to be able to win the engagement. To want to do this, they must raise an army. In raising an army, it is necessary to find men, arm them, organise them, train them in small and large (battle) orders, lodge them, and expose them to the enemy afterwards, either at a standstill or while marching. All the industry of war in the field is placed in these things, which are the more necessary and honoured (in the waging of war). And if one does well in offering battle to the enemy, all the other errors he may make in the conduct of the war are supportable: but if he lacks this organisation, even though he be valiant in other particulars, he will never carry on a war to victory (and honour). For, as one engagement that you win cancels out every other bad action of yours, so likewise, when you lose one, all the things you have done well before become useless. Since it is necessary, therefore, first to find men, you must come to the Deletto (Draft) of them, as thus the ancients called it, and which we call Scelta (Selection): but in order to call it by a more honoured name, I want us to preserve the name of Deletto. Those who have drawn up regulations for war want men to be chosen from temperate countries as they have spirit and are prudent; for warm countries give rise to men who are prudent but not spirited, and cold (countries) to men who are spirited but not prudent. This regulation is drawn up well for one who is the Prince of all the world, and is therefore permitted to draw men from those places that appear best to him: but wanting to draw up a regulation that anyone can use, one must say that every Republic and every Kingdom ought to take soldiers from their own country, whether it is hot, cold, or temperate. For, from ancient examples, it is seen that in every country, good soldiers are made by training; because where nature is lacking, industry supplies it, which, in this case, is worth more than nature: And selecting them from another place cannot be called Deletto, because Deletto means to say to take the best of a province, and to have the power to select as well those who do not want to fight as those who do want to. This Deletto therefore, cannot be made unless the places are subject to you; for you cannot take whoever you want in the countries that are not yours, but you need to take those who want to come.

COSIMO: And of those who want to come, it can even be said, that they turn and leave you, and because of this, it can then be called a Deletto.

FABRIZIO: In a certain way, you say what is true: but consider the defects that such as Deletto has in itself, for often it happens that it is not a Deletto. The first thing (to consider), is that those who are not your subjects and do not willingly want to fight, are not of the best, rather they are of the worst of a province; for if nay are troublesome, idle, without restraint, without religion, subject to the rule of the father, blasphemous, gamblers, and in every way badly brought up, they are those who want to fight, (and) these habits cannot be more contrary to a true and good military life. When there are so many of such men offered to you that they exceed the number you had designated, you can select them; but if the material is bad, it is impossible for the Deletto to be good: but many times it happens that they are not so many as (are needed) to fill the number you require:so that being forced to take them all, it results that it can no longer be called the making of a Deletto, but in enlisting of infantry. The armies of Italy and other places are raised today with these evils, except in Germany, where no one is enlisted by command of the Prince, but according to the wishes of those who want to fight. Think, therefore, what methods of those ancients can now be introduced in an army of men put together by similar means.

COSIMO: What means should be taken therefore?

FABRIZIO: What I have just said: select them from your own subjects, and with the authority of the Prince.

COSIMO: Would you introduce any ancient form in those thus selected?

FABRIZIO: You know well it would be so; if it is a Principality, he who should command should be their Prince or an ordinary Lord;or if it is a Republic, a citizen who for the time should be Captain:otherwise it is difficult to do the thing well.

COSIMO: Why?

FABRIZIO: I will tell you in time: for now, I want this to suffice for you, that it cannot be done well in any other way.

COSIMO: If you have, therefore, to make ibis Deletto in your country, whence do you judge it better to draw them, from the City or the Countryside?

FABRIZIO: Those who have written of this all agree that it is better to select them from the Countryside, as they are men accustomed to discomfort, brought up on hard work, accustomed to be in the sun and avoid the shade, know how to handle the sword, dig a ditch, carry a load, and are without cunning or malice. But on this subject, my opinion would be, that as soldiers are of two kinds, afoot and on horseback, that those afoot be selected from the Countryside, and those on horseback from the City.

COSIMO: Of what age would you draw them?

FABRIZIO: If I had to raise an (entirely) new army, I would draw them from seventeen to forty years of age; if the army already exists and I had to replenish it, at seventeen years of age always.

COSIMO: I do not understand this distinction well.

FABRIZIO: I will tell you: if I should have to organise an army where there is none, it would be necessary to select all those men who were more capable, as long as they were of military age, in order to instruct them as I would tell them: but if I should have to make the Deletto in places where the army was (already)organised, in order to supplement it, I would take those of seventeen years of age, because the others having been taken for some time would have been selected and instructed.

COSIMO: Therefore you would want to make an ordinance similar to that which exists in our countries.

FABRIZIO: You say well: it is true that I would arm them, captain them, train them, and organise them, in a way which I do not know whether or not you have organised them similarly.

COSIMO: Therefore you praise the ordinance?

FABRIZIO: Why would you want me to condemn it?

COSIMO: Because many wise men have censured it.

FABRIZIO: You say something contrary, when you say a wise man censured the ordinance: for he can be held a wise man and to have censured them wrongly.

COSIMO: The wrong conclusion that he has made will always cause us to have such a opinion.

FABRIZIO: Watch out that the defect is not yours, but his: as that which you recognised before this discussion furnishes proof.

COSIMO: You do a most gracious thing. But I want to tell you that you should be able to justify yourself better in that of which those men are accused. These men say thusly: either that it is useless and our trusting in it will cause us to lose the State: or it is of virtue, and he who governs through it can easily deprive her of it. They cite the Romans, who by their own arms lost their liberty: They cite the Venetians and the King of France, of whom they say that the former, in order not to obey one of its Citizens employed the arms of others, and the King disarmed his People so as to be able to command them more easily. But they fear the uselessness of this much more; for which uselessness they cite two principal reasons: the one, because they are inexpert;the other, for having to fight by force: because they say that they never learn anything from great men, and nothing good is ever done by force.

FABRIZIO: All the reasons that you mention are from men who are not far sighted, as I shall clearly show. And first, as to the uselessness, I say to you that no army is of more use

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than your own, nor can an army of your own be organised except in this way. And as there is no debating over this, which all the examples of ancient history does for us, I do not want to lose time over it. And because they cite inexperience and force, I say [as it is true] that inept experience gives rise to little spirit (enthusiasm) and force makes for discontent: but experience and enthusiasm gains for themselves the means for arming, training, and organising them, as you will see in the first part of this discussion. But as to force, you must understand that as men are brought to the army by commandment of the Prince, they have to come, whether it is entirely by force or entirely voluntarily:for if it were entirely from desire, there would not be a Deletto as only a few of them would go; so also, the (going) entirely by force would produce bad results; therefore, a middle way ought to be taken where neither the entirely forced or entirely voluntarily(means are used), but they should come, drawn by the regard they have for the Prince, where they are more afraid of of his anger then the immediate punishment: and it will always happen that there will be a compulsion mixed with willingness, from which that discontent cannot arise which causes bad effects. Yet I do not claim that an army thus constituted cannot be defeated; form any times the Roman armies were overcome, and the army of Hannibal was defeated: so that it can be seen that no army can be so organised that a promise can be given that it cannot be routed. These wise men of yours, therefore, ought not measure this uselessness from having lost one time, but to believe that just as they can lose, so too they can win and remedy the cause of the defeat. And if they should look into this, they will find that it would not have happened because of a defect in the means, but of the organisation which was not sufficiently perfect. And, as I have said, they ought to provide for you, not by censuring the organisation, but by correcting it: as to how this ought to be done, you will come to know little by little.

As to being apprehensive that such organisation will not deprive you of the State by one who makes himself a leader, I reply, that the arms carried by his citizens or subjects, given to them bylaws and ordinances, never do him harm, but rather are always of some usefulness, and preserve the City uncorrupted for a longer time by means of these (arms), than without (them). Rome remained free four hundred years while armed: Sparta eight hundred: Many other Cities have been disarmed, and have been free less than forty years; for Cities have need of arms, and if they do not have arms of their own, they hire them from foreigners, and the arms of foreigners more readily do harm to the public good than their own; for they are easier to corrupt, and a citizen who becomes powerful can more readily avail himself, and can also manage the people more readily as he has to oppress men who are disarmed. In addition to this, a City ought to fear two enemies more than one. One which avails itself of foreigners immediately has to fear not only its citizens, but the foreigners that it enlists;and, remembering what I told you a short while ago of Francesco Sforza, (you will see that) that fear ought to exist. One which employs its own arms, has not other fear except of its own Citizens. But of all the reasons which can be given, I want this one to serve me, that no one ever established any Republic or Kingdom who did not think that it should be defended by those who lived there with arms: and if the Venetians had been as wise in this as in their other institutions, they would have created a new world Kingdom; but who so much more merit censure, because they had been the first who were armed by their founders. And not having dominion on land, they armed themselves on the sea, where they waged war with virtu, and with arms in hand enlarged their country. But when the time came when they had to wage war on land to defend Venice and where they ought to have sent their own citizens to fight (on land), they enlisted as their captain (a foreigner), the Marquis of Mantua. This was the sinister course which prevented them from rising to the skies and expanding. And they did this in the belief that, as they knew how to wage war at sea, they should not trust themselves in waging it on land; which was an unwise belief (distrust), because a Sea captain, who is accustomed to combat with winds, water, and men, could more easily become a Captain on land where the combat is with men only, than a land Captain become a sea one. And my Romans, knowing how to combat on land and not on the sea, when the war broke out with the Carthaginians who were powerful on the sea, did not enlist Greeks or Spaniards experienced at sea, but imposed that change on those citizens they sent (to fight) on land, and they won. If they did this in order that one of their citizens should not become Tyrant, it was a fear that was given little consideration; for, in addition to the other reasons mentioned a short while ago concerning such a proposal, if a citizen (skilled) in (the use of) arms at sea had never been made a Tyrant in a City situated in the sea, so much less would he be able to do this if he were (skilled) in(the use of arms) on land. And, because of this, they ought to have seen that arms in the hands of their own citizens could not create Tyrants, but the evil institutions of a Government are those which cause a City to be tyrannized; and, as they had a good Government, did not have to fear arms of their own citizens. They took an imprudent course, therefore, which was the cause of their being deprived of much glory and happiness. As to the error which the King of France makes in not having his people disciplined to war, from what has been cited from examples previously mentioned, there is no one [devoid of some particular passion of theirs] who does not judge this defect to be in the Republic, and that this negligence alone is what makes it weak. But I have made too great a digression and have gotten away from my subject:yet I have done this to answer you and to show you, that no reliance can be had on arms other than ones own, and ones own arms can not be established otherwise than by way of an ordinance, nor can forms of armies be introduced in any place, nor military discipline instituted. If you have read the arrangements which the first Kings made in Rome, and most especially of Servius Tullus, you will find that the institution of classes is none other than an arrangement to be able quickly to put together an army for the defense of that City. But turning to our Deletto, I say again, that having to replenish an established (old) organisation, I would take the seventeen year olds, but having to create a new one, I would take them of every age between seventeen and forty in order to avail myself of them quickly.

COSIMO: Would you make a difference of what profession(art) you would choose them from?

FABRIZIO: These writers do so, for they do not want that bird hunters, fishermen, cooks, procurers, and anyone who makes amusement his calling should be taken, but they want that, in addition to tillers of the soil, smiths and blacksmiths, carpenters, butchers, hunters, and such like, should be taken. But I would make little difference in conjecturing from his calling how good the man may be, but how much I can use him with the greatest usefulness. And for this reason, the peasants, who are accustomed to working the land, are more useful than anyone else, for of all the professions(arts), this one is used more than any other in the army: After this, are the forgers (smiths), carpenters, blacksmiths, shoemakers;of whom it is useful to have many, for their skills succeed in many things, as they are a very good thing for a soldier to have, from whom you draw double service.

COSIMO: How are those who are or are not suitable to fight chosen?

FABRIZIO: I want to talk of the manner of selecting a new organisation in order to make it after wards into an army;which yet also apply in the discussion of the selection that should be made in re-manning an old (established) organisation. I say, therefore, that how good the man is that you have to select as a soldier is recognised either from his experience, shown by some excellent deeds of his, or by conjecture. The proof of virtu cannot be found in men who are newly selected, and who never before have been selected; and of the former, few or none are found in an organisation which is newly established. It is necessary, therefore, lacking experience to have recourse to conjecture, which is derived from their age, profession, and physical appearance. The first two have been discussed: it remains to talk of the third. And yet I say that some have wanted that the soldier be big, among whom was Pyrrhus: Some others have chosen them only from the strength of the body, as Caesar did: which strength of body is conjectured from the composition of the members and the gracefulness of aspect. And yet some of those who write say that he should have lively and merry eyes, a nervy neck, a large breast, muscular arms, long fingers, a small stomach, round hips, sleek legs and feet: which parts usually render a man strong and agile, which are the two things sought above everything else in a soldier. He ought, above all, to have regard for his habits and that there should be in him a (sense of) honesty and shame, otherwise there will be selected only an instrument of trouble and a beginning of corruption; for there is no one who believes that in a dishonest education and in a brutish mind, there can exist some virtu which in some part may be praiseworthy. Nor does it appear to me superfluous, rather I believe it necessary, in order for you to understand better the importance of this selection, to tell you the method that the Roman Consuls at the start of their Magistracy observed in selecting the Roman legions. In which Deletto, because those who had to be selected were to be a mixture of new and veteran men[because of the continuing wars], they proceeded from experience with regard to the old (veteran) men, and from conjecture with regard to the new. And this ought to be noted, that these Deletti are made, either for immediate training and use, or for future employment.

I have talked, and will talk, of those that are made for future employment, because my intention is to show you how an army can be organised in countries where there is no military (organisation), in which countries I cannot have Deletti in order to make use of them. But in countries where it is the custom to call out armies, and by means of the Prince, these (Deletti) exist, as was observed at Rome and is today observed among the Swiss. For in these Deletti, if they are for the (selection of) new men, there are so many others accustomed to being under military orders, that the old(veteran) and new, being mixed together, make a good and united body. Notwithstanding this, the Emperors, when they began to hold fixed the (term of service of the) soldiers, placed new men in charge over the soldiers, whom they called Tironi, as teachers to train them, as is seen in the life of the Emperor Maximus: which thing, while Rome was free, was instituted, not in the army, but within the City: and as the military exercises where the young men were trained were in the City, there resulted that those then chosen to go to war, being accustomed in the method of mock warfare, could easily adapt themselves to real war. But afterwards, when these Emperors discontinued these exercises, it was necessary to employ the methods I have described to you. Arriving, therefore, at the methods of the Roman Selection, I say that, as soon as the Roman Consuls, on whom was imposed the carrying on of the war, had assumed the Magistracy, in wanting to organise their armies [as it was the custom that each of them had two legions of Roman men, who were the nerve (center) of their armies], created twenty four military Tribunes, proposing six for each legion, who filled that office which today is done by those whom we call Constables. After they had assembled all the Roman men adept at carrying arms, and placed the Tribunes of each legion apart from each of the others. Afterwards, by lot they drew the Tribes, from which the first Selection was to be made, and of that Tribe they selected four of their best men, from whom one was selected by the Tribunes of the first legion, and of the other three, one was selected by the Tribunes of the second legion; of the other two, one was selected by the Tribunes of the third, and that last belonged to the fourth legion. After these four, four others were selected, of whom the first man was selected by the Tribunes of the second legion, the second by those of the third, the third by those of the fourth, the fourth remained to the first. After, another four were chosen: the first man was selected by the (Tribunes of the) third (legion), the second by the fourth, the third by the first, the fourth remained to the second. And thus this method of selection changed successively, so that the selection came to be equal, and the legions equalized. And as we said above, this was done where the men were to be used immediately: and as it was formed of men of whom a good part were experienced in real warfare, and everyone in mock battles, this Deletto was able to be based on conjecture and experience. But when a new army was to be organised and the selection made for future employment, this Deletto cannot be based except on conjecture, which is done by age and physical appearance.

COSIMO: I believe what you have said is entirely true:but before you pass on to other discussion, I want to ask about one thing which you have made me remember, when you said that the Deletto which should be made where these men are not a ccustomed to fighting should be done by conjecture: for I have heard our organisation censured in many of its parts, and especially as to number; for many say that a lesser number ought to be taken, of whom those that are drawn would be better and the selection better, as there would not be as much hardship imposed on the men, and some reward given them, by means of which they would be more content and could be better commanded. Whence I would like to know your opinion on this part, and if you preferred a greater rather than a smaller number, and what methods you would use in selecting both numbers.

FABRIZIO: Without doubt the greater number is more desirable and more necessary than the smaller: rather, to say better, where a great number are not available, a perfect organisation cannot be made, and I will easily refute all the reasons cited in favor of this. I say, therefore, first, that where there are many people, as there are for example in Tusc any, does not cause you to have better ones, or that the Deletto is more selective; for desiring in the selection of men to judge them on the basis of experience, only a very few would probably be found in that country who would have had this experience, as much because few have been in a war, as because of those few who have been, very few have ever been put to the test, so that because of this they merit to be chosen before the others: so that whoever is in a similar situation should select them, must leave experience to one side and take them by conjecture: and if I were brought to such a necessity, I would want to see, if twenty young men of good physical appearance should come before me, with what rule rule I ought to take some or reject some: so that without doubt I believe that every man will confess that it is a much smaller error to take them all in arming and training them, being unable to know (beforehand) which of them are better, and to reserve to oneself afterwards to make a more certain Deletto where, during the exercises with the army, those of greater courage and vitality may be observed. So that, considering everything, the selection in this case of a few in order to have them better, is entirely false. As to causing less hardship to the country and to the men, I say that the ordinance, whether it is bad or insufficient, does not cause any hardship: for this order does not take men away from their business, and does not bind them so that they cannot go to carry out their business, because it only obliges them to come together for training on their free days, which proposition does not do any harm either to the country or the men; rather, to the young, it ought to be delightful, for where, on holidays they remain

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basely indolent in their hangouts, they would now attend these exercises with pleasure, for the drawing of arms, as it is a beautiful spectacle, is thus delightful to the young men. As to being able to pay (more to) the lesser number, and thereby keeping them more content and obedient, I reply, that no organisation of so few can be made, who are paid so continually, that their pay satisfies them. For instance, if an army of five thousand infantry should be organised, in wanting to pay them so that it should be believed they would be contented, they must be given at least ten thousand ducats a month. To begin with, this number of infantry is not enough to make an army, and the payment is unendurable to a State; and on the other hand, it is not sufficient to keep the men content and obligated to respect your position. So that in doing this although much would be spent, it would provide little strength, and would not be sufficient to defend you, or enable you to undertake any enterprise. If you should give them more, or take on more, so much more impossible would it be for you to pay them: if you should give them less, or take on fewer, so much less would be content and so much less useful would they be to you. Therefore, those who consider things which are either useless or impossible. But it is indeed necessary to pay them when they are levied to send to war.

But even if such an arrangement should give some hardship to those enrolled in it in times of peace, which I do not see, they are still recompensed by all those benefits which an army established in a City bring; for without them, nothing is secure. I conclude that whoever desires a small number in order to be able to pay them, or for any other reason cited by you, does not know (what he is doing); for it will also happen, in my opinion, that any number will always diminish in your hands, because of the infinite impediments that men have; so that the small number will succeed at nothing. However, when you have a large organisation, you can at your election avail yourself of few or of many. In addition to this, it serves you in fact and reputation, for the large number will always give you reputation. Moreover, in creating the organisation, in order to keep men trained, if you enroll a small number of men in many countries, and the armies are very distant from each other, you cannot without the gravest injury to them assemble them for (joint) exercises, and without this training the organisation is useless, as will be shown in its proper place.

COSIMO: What you have said is enough on my question:but I now desire that you resolve another doubt for me. There are those who say that such a multitude of armed men would cause confusion, trouble, and disorder in the country.

FABRIZIO: This is another vain opinion for the reason I will tell you. These organised under arms can cause disorders in two ways: either among themselves, or against others; both of these can be obviated where discipline by itself should not do so: for as to troubles among themselves, the organisation removes them, not brings them up, because in the organisation you give them arms and leaders. If the country where you organise them is so unwar like that there are not arms among its men, and so united that there are no leaders, such an organisation will make them more ferocious against the foreigner, but in no way will make it more disunited, because men well organised, whether armed or unarmed, fear the laws, and can never change, unless the leaders you give them cause a change; and I will later tell you the manner of doing this. But if the country where you have organised an army is warlike and disunited, this organisation alone is reason enough to unite them, for these men have arms and leaders for themselves: but the arms are useless for war, and the leaders causes of troubles; but this organisation gives them arms useful for war, and leaders who will extinguish troubles; for as soon as some one is injured in that country, he has recourse to his(leader) of the party, who, to maintain his reputation, advises him to avenge himself, (and) not to remain in peace. The public leader does the contrary. So that by this means, the causes for trouble are removed, and replaced by those for union; and provinces which are united but effeminate (unwarlike) lose their usefulness but maintain the union, while those that are disunited and troublesome remain united; and that disordinate ferocity which they usually employ, is turned to public usefulness.

As to desiring that they do us injury against others, it should be kept in mind that they cannot do this except by the leaders who govern them. In desiring that the leaders do not cause disorders, it is necessary to have care that they do not acquire too much authority over them. And you have to keep in mind that this authority is acquired either naturally or by accident: And as to nature, it must be provided that whoever is born in one place is not put in charge of men enrolled in another place, but is made a leader in those places where he does not have any natural connections. As to accidents, the organisation should be such that each year the leaders are exchanged from command to command; for continuous authority over the same men generates so much unity among them, which can easily be converted into prejudice against the Prince. As to these exchanges being useful to those who have employed them, and injurious to those who have not observed them, is known from the example of the Kingdom of Assyria and from the Empire of the Romans, in which it is seen that the former Kingdom endured a thousand years without tumult and without civil war; which did not result from anything else than the exchanges of those Captains, who were placed in charge of the care of the armies, from place to place every year. Nor, for other reasons, (did it result) in the Roman Empire; once the blood (race) of Caesar was extinguished, so many civil wars arose among the Captains of the armies, and so many conspiracies of the above mentioned Captains against the Emperors, resulting from the continuing of those Captains in their same Commands. And if any of those Emperors, and any who later held the Empire by reputation, such as Hadrian, Marcus, Severus, and others like them, would have observed such happenings, and would have introduced this custom of exchanging Captains in that Empire, without doubt they would have made it more tranquil and lasting; for the Captains would have had fewer opportunities for creating tumults, and the Emperors fewer causes to fear them, and the Senate, when there was a lack in the succession, would have had more authority in the election of Emperors, and consequently, better conditions would have resulted. But the bad customs of men, whether from ignorance or little diligence, or from examples of good or bad, are never put aside.

COSIMO: I do not know if, with my question, I have gone outside the limits you set; for from the Deletto we have entered into another discussion, and if I should not be excused a little, I shall believe I merit some reproach.

FABRIZIO: This did us no harm; for all this discussion was necessary in wanting to discuss the Organisation (of an Army), which, being censured by many, it was necessary to explain it, if it is desired that this should take place before the Deletto. And before I discuss the other parts, I want to discuss the Deletto for men on horseback. This (selection) was done by the ancients from among the more wealthy, having regard both for the age and quality of the men, selecting three hundred for each legion: so that the Roman cavalry in every Consular army did not exceed six hundred.

COSIMO: Did you organise the cavalry in order to train them at home and avail yourself of them in the future?

FABRIZIO: Actually it is a necessity and cannot be done otherwise, if you want to have them take up arms for you, and not to want to take them away from those who make a profession of them.

COSIMO: How would you select them?

FABRIZIO: I would imitate the Romans: I would take the more wealthy, and give them leaders in the same manner as they are given to others today, and I would arm them, and train them.

COSIMO: Would it be well to give these men some provision?

FABRIZIO: Yes, indeed: but only as much as is necessary to take care of the horse; for, as it brings an expense to your subjects, they could complain of you. It would be necessary, therefore, to pay them for the horse and its upkeep.

COSIMO: How many would you make? How would you arm them?

FABRIZIO: You pass into another discussion. I will tell you in its place, which will be when I have said how the infantry ought to be armed, and how they should prepare for an engagement.

MACHIAVELLI ART OF WAR, 2ND BOOK

I believe that it is necessary, once the men are found, to arm them; and in wanting to do this, I believe it is necessary to examine what arms the ancients used, and from them select the best. The Romans divided their infantry into the heavily and lightly armed. The light armed they gave the name Veliti. Under this name they included all those who operated with the sling, cross-bow, and darts: and the greater part of them carried a helmet (head covering) and a shield on the arm for their defense. These men fought outside the regular ranks, and apart from the heavy armour, which was a Casque that came up to the shoulders, they also carried a Cuirass which, with the skirt, came down to the knees, and their arms and legs were covered by shin-guards and bracelets; they also carried a shield on the arm, two arms in length and one in width, which had an iron hoop on it to be able to sustain a blow, and another underneath, so that in rubbing on the ground, it should not be worn out. For attacking, they had cinched on their left side a sword of an arm and a half length, and a dagger on the right side. They carried a spear, which they called Pilus, and which they hurled at the enemy at the start of a battle. These were the important Roman arms, with which they conquered the world. And although some of the ancient writers also gave them, in addition to the aforementioned arms, a shaft in the hand in the manner of a spit, I do not know how a staff can be used by one who holds a shield, for in managing it with two hands it is impeded by the shield, and he cannot do anything worthwhile with one hand because of its heaviness. In addition to this, to combat in the ranks with the staff (as arms) is useless, except in the front rank where there is ample space to deploy the entire staff, which cannot be done in the inner ranks, because the nature of the battalions [as I will tell you in their organisation] is to press its ranks continually closer together, as this is feared less, even though inconvenient, than for the ranks to spread further apart, where the danger is most apparent. So that all the arms which exceed two arms in length are useless in tight places; for if you have a staff and want to use it with both hands, and handled so that the shield should not annoy you, you cannot attack an enemy with it who is next to you. If you take it in one hand in order to serve yourself of the shield, you cannot pick it up except in the middle, and there remains so much of the staff in the back part, that those who are behind impede you in using it. And that this is true, that the Romans did not have the staff, or, having it, they valued it little, you will read in all the engagements noted by Titus Livius in his history, where you will see that only very rarely is mention made of the shaft, rather he always says that, after hurling the spears, they put their hands on the sword. Therefore I want to leave this staff, and relate how much the Romans used the sword for offense, and for defense, the shield together with the other arms mentioned above.

The Greeks did not arm so heavily for defense as did the Romans, but in the offense relied more on this staff than on the sword, and especially the Phalanxes of Macedonia, who carried staffs which they called Sarisse, a good ten arms in length, with which they opened the ranks of the enemy and maintained order in the Phalanxes. And although other writers say they also had a shield, I do not know [for the reasons given above] how the Sarisse and the shield could exist together. In addition to this, in the engagement that Paulus Emilius had with Perseus, King of Macedonia, I do not remember mention being made of shields, but only of the Sarisse and the difficulty the Romans had in overcoming them. So that I conjecture that a Macedonian Phalanx was nothing else than a battalion of Swiss is today, who have all their strength and power in their pikes. The Romans [in addition to the arms]ornamented the infantry with plumes; which things make the sight of an army beautiful to friends, and terrible to the enemy. The arms for men on horseback in the original ancient Roman (army) was a round shield, and they had the head covered, but the rest (of the body) without armour. They had a sword and a staff with an iron point, long and thin; whence they were unable to hold the shield firm, and only make weak movements with the staff, and because they had no armour, they were exposed to wounds. Afterwards, with time, they were armed like the infantry, but the shield was much smaller and square, and the staff more solid and with two iron tips, so that if the one side was encumbered, they could avail themselves of the other. With these arms, both for the infantry and the cavalry, my Romans occupied all the world, and it must be believed, from the fruits that are observed, that they were the best armed armies that ever existed.

And Titus Livius, in his histories, gives many proofs, where, in coming to the comparison with enemy armies, he says, “but the Romans were superior in virtu, kinds of arms, and discipline”. And, therefore, I have discussed more in particular the arms of the victors than those of the losers. It appears proper to me to discuss only the present methods of arming. The infantry have for their defense a breast plate of iron, and for offense a lance nine armlengths long, which they call a pike, and a sword at their side, rather round in the point than sharp. This is the ordinary armament of the infantry today, for few have their arms and shins(protected by) armour, no one the head; and those few carry a halberd in place of a pike, the shaft of which [as you know] is three armlengths long, and has the iron attached as an axe. Among them they have three Scoppettieri (Exploders, i.e., Gunners), who, with a burst of fire fill that office which anciently was done by slingers and bow-men. This method of arming was established by the Germans, and especially by the Swiss, who, being poor and wanting to live in freedom, were, and are, obliged to combat with the ambitions of the Princes of Germany, who were rich and could raise horses, which that people could not do because of poverty:whence it happened that being on foot and wanting to defend themselves from enemies who were on horseback, it behooved them to search the ancient orders and find arms which should defend them from the fury of horses. This necessity has caused them to maintain or rediscover the ancient orders, without which, as every prudent man affirms, the infantry is entirely useless. They therefore take up pikes as arms, which are most useful not only in sustaining (the attacks of) horses, but to overcome them. And because of the virtu of these arms and ancient orders, the Germans have assumed so much audacity, that fifteen or twenty thousand of them would assault any great number of horse, and there have been many examples of this seen in the last twenty five years. And this example of their virtu founded on these arms and these orders have been so powerful, that after King Charles passed into Italy, every nation has imitated them: so that the Spanish armies have come into a very great reputation.

COSIMO: What method of arms do you praise more, this German one or the ancient Roman?

FABRIZIO: The Roman without any doubt, and I will tell you the good and the bad of one and the other. The German

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infantry can sustain and overcome the cavalry. They are more expeditious in marching and in organising themselves, because they are not burdened with arms. On the other hand, they are exposed to blows from near and far because of being unarmed. They are useless inland battles and in every fight where there is stalwart resistance. But the Romans sustained and overcame the cavalry, as these (Germans) do. They were safe from blows near and far because they were covered with armour. They were better able to attack and sustain attacks having the shields. They could more actively in tight places avail themselves of the sword than these (Germans) with the pike; and even if the latter had the sword, being without a shield, they become, in such a case, (equally) useless. They (the Romans) could safely assault towns, having the body covered, and being able to cover it even better with the shield. So that they had no other inconvenience than the heaviness of the arms (armour) and the annoyance of having to carry them; which inconveniences they overcame by accustoming the body to hardships and inducing it to endure hard work. And you know we do not suffer from things to which we are accustomed. And you must understand this, that the infantry must be able to fight with infantry and cavalry, and those are always useless who cannot sustain the (attacks of the) cavalry, or if they are able to sustain them, none the less have fear of infantry who are better armed and organised than they. Now if you will consider the German and the Roman infantry, you will find in the German [as we have said] the aptitude of overcoming cavalry, but great disadvantages when fighting with an infantry organised as they are, and armed as the Roman. So that there will be this advantage of the one over the other, that the Romans could overcome both the infantry and the cavalry, and the Germans only the cavalry.

COSIMO: I would desire that you give some more particular example, so that we might understand it better.

FABRIZIO: I say thusly, that in many places in our histories you will find the Roman infantry to have defeated numberless cavalry, but you will never find them to have been defeated by men on foot because of some defect they may have had in their arms or because of some advantage the enemy had in his. For if their manner of arming had been defective, it was necessary for them to follow one of two courses: either when they found one who was better armed than they, not to go on further with the conquest, or that they take up the manner of the foreigner, and leave off theirs:and since neither ensued, there follows, what can be easily conjectured, that this method of arming was better than that of anyone else. This has not yet occurred with the German infantry; for it has been seen that anytime they have had to combat with men on foot organised and as obstinate as they, they have made a bad showing; which results from the disadvantage they have in trying themselves against the arms of the enemy. When Filippo Visconti, Duke of Milan, was assaulted by eighteen thousand Swiss, he sent against them Count Carmingnuola, who was his Captain at that time. This man with six thousand cavalry and a few infantry went to encounter them, and, coming hand to hand with them, was repulsed with very great damage. Whence Carmingnuola as a prudent man quickly recognised the power of the enemy arms, and how much they prevailed against cavalry, and the weakness of cavalry against those on foot so organised; and regrouping his forces, again went to meet the Swiss, and as they came near he made his men-at-arms descend from their horses, and in that manner fought with them, and killed all but three thousand, who, seeing themselves consumed without having any remedy, threw their arms on the ground and surrendered.

COSIMO: Whence arises such a disadvantage?

FABRIZIO: I have told you a little while ago, but since you have not understood it, I will repeat it to you. The German infantry [as was said a little while ago] has almost no armour in defending itself, and use pikes and swords for offense. They come with these arms and order of battle to meet the enemy, who [if he is well equipped with armour to defend himself, as were the men-at-arms of Carmingnuola who made them descend to their feet] comes with his sword and order of battle to meet him, and he has no other difficulty than to come near the Swiss until he makes contact with them with the sword; for as soon as he makes contact with them, he combats them safely, for the German cannot use the pike against the enemy who is next to him because of the length of the staff, so he must use the sword, which is useless to him, as he has no armour and has to meet an enemy that is (protected) fully by armour. Whence, whoever considers the advantages and disadvantages of one and the other, will see that the one without armour has no remedy, but the one well armoured will have no difficulty in overcoming the first blow and the first passes of the pike: for in battles, as you will understand better when I have demonstrated how they are put together, the men go so that of necessity they accost each other in a way that they are attacked on the breast, and if one is killed or thrown to the ground by the pike, those on foot who remain are so numerous that they are sufficient for victory. From this there resulted that Carmingnuola won with such a massacre of the Swiss, and with little loss to himself.

COSIMO: I see that those with Carmingnuola were men-at-arms, who, although they were on foot, were all covered with iron (armour), and, therefore, could make the attempt that they made; so that I think it would be necessary to arm the infantry in the same way if they want to make a similar attempt.

FABRIZIO: If you had remembered how I said the Romans were armed, you would not think this way. For an infantryman who has his head covered with iron, his breast protected by a cuirass and a shield, his arms and legs with armour, is much more apt to defend himself from pikes, and enter among them, than is a man-at-arms (cavalryman) on foot. I want to give you a small modem example. The Spanish infantry had descended from Sicily into the Kingdom of Naples in order to go and meet Consalvo who was besieged in Barletta by the French. They came to an encounter against Monsignor D'Obigni with his men-at-arms, and with about four thousand German infantry. The Germans, coming hand to hand with their pikes low, penetrated the (ranks of the) Spanish infantry; but the latter, aided by their spurs and the agility of their bodies, intermingled themselves with the Germans, so that they (the Germans) could not get near them with their swords; whence resulted the death of almost all of them, and the victory of the Spaniards. Everyone knows how many German infantry were killed in the engagement at Ravenna, which resulted from the same causes, for the Spanish infantry got as close as the reach of their swords to the German infantry, and would have destroyed all of them, if the German infantry had not been succored by the French Cavalry: none the less, the Spaniards pressing together made themselves secure in that place. I conclude, therefore, that a good infantry not only is able to sustain the (attack) of cavalry, but does not have fear of infantry, which [as I have said many times] proceeds from its arms (armour) and organisation (discipline).

COSIMO: Tell us, therefore, how you would arm them.

FABRIZIO: I would take both the Roman arms and the German, and would want half to be armed as the Romans, and the other half as the Germans. For, if in six thousand infantry [as I shall explain a little later] I should have three thousand infantry with shields like the Romans, and two thousand pikes and a thousand gunners like the Germans, they would be enough for me; for I would place the pikes either in the front lines of the battle, or where I should fear the cavalry most; and of those with the shield and the sword, I would serve myself to back up the pikes and to win the engagement, as I will show you. So that I believe that an infantry so organised should surpass any other infantry today.

COSIMO: What you have said to us is enough as regards infantry, but as to cavalry, we desire to learn which seems the more strongly armed to you, ours or that of the ancients?

FABRIZIO: I believe in these times, with respect to saddles and stirrups not used by the ancients, one stays more securely on the horse than at that time. I believe we arm more securely: so that today one squadron of very heavily (armed) men-at-arms comes to be sustained with much more difficulty than was the ancient cavalry. With all of this, I judge, none the less, that no more account ought to be taken of the cavalry than was taken anciently;for [as has been said above] they have often in our times been subjected to disgrace by the infantry armed (armoured) and organised as (described) above. Tigranus, King of Armenia, came against the Roman army of which Lucullus was Captain, with (an army) of one hundred fifty thousand cavalry, among whom were many armed as our men-at-arms, whom they called Catafratti, while on the other side the Romans did not total more than six thousand (cavalry)and fifteen thousand infantry; so that Tigranus, when he saw the army of the enemy, said: “These are just about enough horsemen for an embassy”. None the less, when they came to battle, he was routed; and he who writes of that battle blames those Catafratti, showing them to be useless, because, he says, that having their faces covered, their vision was impaired and they were little adept at seeing and attacking the enemy, and as they were heavily burdened by the armour, they could not regain their feet when they fell, nor in any way make use of their persons. I say, therefore, that those People or Kingdoms which esteem the cavalry more than the infantry, are always weaker and more exposed to complete ruin, as has been observed in Italy in our times, which has been plundered, ruined, and overrun by foreigners, not for any other fault than because they had paid little attention to the foot soldiers and had mounted all their soldiers on horses. Cavalry ought to be used, but as a second and not the first reliance of an army; for they are necessary and most useful in undertaking reconnaissance, in overrunning and despoiling the enemy country, and to keep harassing and troubling the enemy army so as to keep it continually under arms, and to impede its provisions; but as to engagements and battles in the field, which are the important things in war and the object for which armies are organised, they are more useful in pursuing than in routing the enemy, and are much more inferior to the foot soldier in accomplishing the things necessary in accomplishing such (defeats).

COSIMO: But two doubts occur to me: the one, that I know that the Parthians did not engage in war except with cavalry, yet they divided the world with the Romans: the other, that I would like you to tell me how the (attack of) the cavalry can be sustained by the infantry, and whence arises the virtu of the latter and the weakness of the former?

FABRIZIO: Either I have told you, or I meant to tell you, that my discussion on matters of war is not going beyond the limits of Europe. Since this is so, I am not obliged to give reasons for that which is the custom in Asia. Yet, I have this to say, that the army of Parthia was completely opposite to that of the Romans, as the Parthians fought entirely on horseback, and in the fighting was about confused and disrupted, and was a way of fighting unstable and full of uncertainties. The Romans, it may be recalled, were almost all on foot, and fought pressed closely together, and at various times one won over the other, according as the site (of the battle) was open or tight; for in the latter the Romans were superior, but in the former the Parthians, who were able to make a great trial with that army with respect to the region they had to defend, which was very open with a seacoast a thousand miles distant, rivers two or three days (journey) apart from each other, towns likewise, and inhabitants rare: so that a Roman army, heavy and slow because of its arms and organisation, could not pursue him without suffering great harm, because those who defended the country were on horses and very speedy, so that he would be in one place today, and tomorrow fifty miles distant. Because of this, the Parthians were able to prevail with cavalry alone, and thus resulted the ruin of the army of Crassus, and the dangers to those of Marcantonio. But [as I have said] I did not intend in this discussion of mine to speak of armies outside of Europe; and, therefore, I want to continue on those which the Romans and Greeks had organised in their time, and that the Germans do today.

But let us come to the other question of yours, in which you desire to know what organisation or what natural virtu causes the infantry to be superior to the cavalry. And I tell you, first, that the horses cannot go in all the places that the infantry do, because it is necessary for them either to turn back after they have come forward, or turning back to go forward, or to move from a stand-still, or to stand still after moving, so that, without doubt, the cavalry cannot do precisely thus as the infantry. Horses cannot, after being put into disorder from some attack, return to the order (of the ranks) except with difficulty, and even if the attack does not occur; the infantry rarely do this. In addition to this, it often occurs that a courageous man is mounted on abase horse, and a base man on a courageous horse, whence it must happen that this difference in courage causes disorders. Nor should anyone wonder that a Knot (group) of infantry sustains every attack of the cavalry, for the horse is a sensible animal and knows the dangers, and goes in unwillingly. And if you would think about what forces make him (the horse) go forward and what keep him back, without doubt you will see that those which hold him back are greater than those which push him; for spurs make him go forward, and, on the other hand, the sword and the pike retain him. So that from both ancient and modem experiences, it has been seen that a small group of infantry can be very secure from, and even actually insuperable to, the cavalry. And if you should argue on this that the Elan with which he comes makes it more furious in hurling himself against whoever wants to sustain his attack, and he responds less to the pike than the spur, I say that, as soon as the horse so disposed begins to see himself at the point of being struck by the points of the pikes, either he will by himself check his gait, so that he will stop as soon as he sees himself about to be pricked by them, or, being pricked by them, he will turn to the right or left. If you want to make a test of this, try to run a horse against a wall, and rarely will you find one that will run into it, no matter with what Elan you attempt it. Caesar, when he had to combat the Swiss in Gaul, dismounted and made everyone dismount to their feet, and had the horses removed from the ranks, as they were more adept at fleeing than fighting.

But, notwithstanding these natural impediments that horse shave, the Captain who leads the infantry ought to select roads that have as many obstacles for horses as possible, and rarely will it happen that the men will not be able to provide for their safety from the kind of country. If one marches among hills, the location of the march should be such that you may be free from those attacks of which you may be apprehensive; and if you goon the plains, rarely will you find one that does not have crops or woods which will provide some safety for you, for every bush and embankment, even though small, breaks up that dash, and every cultivated area where there are vines and other trees impedes the horses. And if you come to an engagement, the same will happen to you as when marching, because every little impediment which the horse meets cause him to lose his fury. None the less, I do not want to forget to tell you one thing, that although the Romans esteemed much their own discipline and trusted very much on their arms (and armour), that if they had to select a place, either so rough to protect themselves from horses and

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where they could not be able to deploy their forces, or one where they had more to fear from the horses but where they were able to spread out, they would always take the latter and leave the former.

But, as it is time to pass on to the training (of the men), having armed this infantry according to the ancient and modem usage, we shall see what training they gave to the Romans before the infantry were led to battle. Although they were well selected and better armed, they were trained with the greatest attention, because without this training a soldier was never any good. This training consisted of three parts. The first, to harden the body and accustom it to endure hardships, to act faster, and more dexterously. Next, to teach the use of arms: The third, to teach the trainees the observance of orders in marching as well as fighting and encamping. These are the three principal actions which make an army: for if any army marches, encamps, and fights, in a regular and practical manner, the Captain retains his honour even though the engagement should not have a good ending. All the ancient Republics, therefore, provided such training, and both by custom and law, no part was left out. They therefore trained their youth so as to make them speedy in running, dextrous in jumping, strong in driving stakes and wrestling. And these three qualities are almost necessary in a soldier; for speed makes him adept at occupying places before the enemy, to come upon him unexpectedly, and to pursue him when he is routed. Dexterity makes him adept at avoiding blows, jumping a ditch and climbing over an embankment. Strength makes him better to carry arms, hurl himself against an enemy, and sustain an attack. And above all, to make the body more inured to hardships, they accustom it to carry great weights. This accustoming is necessary, for in difficult expeditions it often happens that the soldier, in addition to his arms, must carry provisions for many days, and if he had not been accustomed to this hard work, he would not be able to do it, and, hence, he could neither flee from a danger nor acquire a victory with fame.

As to the teaching of the use of arms, they were trained in this way. They had the young men put on arms (armour) which weighed more than twice that of the real (regular) ones, and, as a sword, they gave them a leaded club which in comparison was very heavy. They made each one of them drive a pole into the ground so that three arm-lengths remained (above ground), and so firmly fixed that blows would not drive it to one side or have it fall to the ground; against this pole, the young men were trained with the shield and the club as against an enemy, and sometime they went against it as if they wanted to wound the head or the face, another time as if they wanted to puncture the flank, sometimes the legs, sometime they drew back, another time they went forward. And in this training, they had in mind making themselves adept at covering(protecting) themselves and wounding the enemy; and since the feigned arms were very heavy, the real ones afterwards seemed light. The Romans wanted their soldiers to wound (the enemy) by the driving of a point against him, rather than by cutting (slashing), as much because such a blow was more fatal and had less defense against it, as also because it left less uncovered (unprotected)those who were wounding, making him more adept at repeating his attack, than by slashing. Do you not wonder that those ancients should think of these minute details, for they reasoned that where men had to come hand to hand (in battle), every little advantage is of the greatest importance; and I will remind you of that, because the writers say of this that I have taught it to you. Nor did the ancients esteem it a more fortunate thing in a Republic than to have many of its men trained in arms; for it is not the splendor of jewels and gold that makes the enemy submit themselves to you, but only the fear of arms. Moreover, errors made in other things can sometimes be corrected afterwards, but those that are made in war, as the punishment happens immediately, cannot be corrected. In addition to this, knowing how to fight makes men more audacious, as no one fears to do the things which appear to him he has been taught to do. The ancients, therefore, wanted their citizens to train in every warlike activity; and even had them throw darts against the pole heavier than the actual ones:which exercise, in addition to making men expert in throwing, also makes the arm more limber and stronger. They also taught them how to draw the bow and the sling, and placed teachers in charge of doing all these things: so that when (men) were selected to go to war, they were already soldiers in spirit and disposition. Nor did these remain to teach them anything else than to go by the orders and maintain themselves in them whether marching or combatting: which they easily taught by mixing themselves with them, so that by knowing how to keep (obey) the orders, they could exist longer in the army.

COSIMO: Would you have them train this way now?

FABRIZIO: Many of those which have been mentioned, like running wrestling, making them jump, making them work hard under arms heavier than the ordinary, making them draw the crossbow and the sling; to which I would add the light gun, a new instrument [as you know], and a necessary one. And I would accustom all the youth of my State to this training: but that part of them whom I have enrolled to fight, I would (especially) train with greater industry and more solicitude, and I would train them always on their free days. I would also desire that they be taught to swim, which is a very useful thing, because there are not always bridges at rivers, nor ships ready: so that if your army does not know how to swim, it may be deprived of many advantages, and many opportunities, to act well are taken away. The Romans, therefore, arranged that the young men be trained on the field of Mars, so that having the river Tiber nearby, they would be able after working hard in exercises on land to refresh themselves in the water, and also exercise them in their swimming.

I would also do as the ancients and train those who fight on horseback: which is very necessary, for in addition to knowing how to ride, they would know how to avail themselves of the horse(in maneuvering him). And, therefore, they arranged horses of wood on which they straddled, and jumped over them armed and unarmed without any help and without using their hands: which made possible that in a moment, and at a sign from the Captain, the cavalry to become as foot soldiers, and also at another sign, for them to be remounted. And as such exercises, both on foot and horseback, were easy at that time, so now it should not be difficult for that Republic or that Prince to put them in practice on their youth, as is seen from the experience of Western Cities, where these methods similar to these institutions are yet kept alive.

They divide all their inhabitants into several parts, and assign one kind of arms of those they use in war to each part. And as they used pikes, halberds, bows, and light guns, they called them pikemen, halberdiers, archers, and gunners. It therefore behooved all the inhabitants to declare in what order they wanted to be enrolled. And as all, whether because of age or other impediment, are not fit for war (combat), they make a selection from each order and they call them the Giurati (Sworn Ones), who, on their free days, are obliged to exercise themselves in those arms in which they are enrolled: and each one is assigned his place by the public where such exercises are to be carried on, and those who are of that order but are not sworn, participate by (contributing)money for those expenses which are necessary for such exercises. That which they do, therefore, we can do, but our little prudence does not allow us to take up any good proceeding.

From these exercises, it resulted that the ancients had good infantry, and that now those of the West have better infantry than ours, for the ancients exercised either at home as did those Republics, or in the armies as did those Emperors, for the reasons mentioned above. But we do not want to exercise at home, and we cannot do so in the field because they are not our subjects and we cannot obligate them to other exercises than they themselves want. This reason has caused the armies to die out first, and then the institutions, so that the Kingdoms and the Republics, especially the Italian, exist in such a weak condition today.

But let us return to our subject, and pursuing this matter of training, I say, that it is not enough in undertaking good training to have hardened the men, made them strong, fast and dextrous, but it is also necessary to teach them to keep discipline, obey the signs, the sounds (of the bugle), and the voice of the Captain; to know when to stand, to retire, to go forward, and when to combat, to march, to maintain ranks; for without this discipline, despite every careful diligence observed and practiced, an army is never good. And without doubt, bold but undisciplined men are more weak than the timid but disciplined ones; for discipline drives away fear from men, lack of discipline makes the bold act foolishly. And so that you may better understand what will be mentioned below, you have to know that every nation has made its men train in the discipline of war, or rather its army as the principal part, which, if they have varied in name, they have varied little in the numbers of men involved, as all have comprised six to eight thousand men. This number was called a Legion by the Romans, a Phalanx by the Greeks, a Caterna by the Gauls. This same number, by the Swiss, who alone retain any of that ancient military umbrage, in our times is called in their language what in ours signifies a Battalion. It is true that each one is further subdivided into small Battaglia (Companies), and organised according to its purpose. It appears to me, therefore, more suitable to base our talk on this more notable name, and then according to the ancient and modern systems, arrange them as best as is possible. And as the Roman Legions were composed of five or six thousand men, in ten Cohorts, I want to divide our Battalion into ten Companies, and compose it of six thousand men on foot; and assign four hundred fifty men to each Company, of whom four hundred are heavily armed and fifty lightly armed: the heavily armed include three hundred with shields and swords, and will be called Scudati (shield bearers), and a hundred with pikes, and will be called pikemen: the lightly armed are fifty infantry armed with light guns, cross-bows, halberds, and bucklers, and these, from an ancient name, are called regular(ordinary) Veliti: the whole ten Companies, therefore, come to three thousand shield bearers; a thousand ordinary pikemen, and one hundred fifty ordinary Veliti, all of whom comprise (a number of) four thousand five hundred infantry. And we said we wanted to make a Battalion of six thousand men; therefore it is necessary to add another one thousand five hundred infantry, of whom I would make a thousand with pikes, whom I will call extraordinary pikemen, (and five hundred light armed, whom I will call extraordinary Veliti): and thus my infantry would come [according as was said a little while ago] to be composed half of shield bearers and half among pikemen and other arms (carriers). In every Company, I would put in charge a Constable, four Centurions, and forty Heads of Ten, and in addition, a Head of the ordinary Veliti with five Heads of Ten. To the thousand extraordinary pikemen, I would assign three Constables, ten Centurions, and a hundred Heads ofTen: to the extraordinary Veliti, two Constables, five Centurions, and fifty Heads of Ten. I would also assign a general Head for the whole Battalion. I would want each Constable to have a distinct flag and (bugle) sound.

Summarizing, therefore, a Battalion would be composed of ten Companies, of three thousand shield bearers, a thousand ordinary pikemen, a thousand extraordinary pikemen, five hundred ordinary Veliti, and five hundred extraordinary Veliti: thus they would come to be six thousand infantry, among whom there would be one thousand five hundred Heads of Ten, and in addition fifteen Constables, with fifteen Buglers and fifteen flags, fifty five Centurions, ten Captains of ordinary Veliti, and one Captain for the whole Battalion with its flag and Bugler. And I have knowingly repeated this arrangement many times, so that then, when I show you the methods for organising the Companies and the armies, you will not be confounded.

I say, therefore, that any King or Republic which would want to organise its subjects in arms, would provide them with these parties and these arms, and create as many battalions in the country as it is capable of doing: and if it had organised it according to the division mentioned above, and wanting to train it according to the orders, they need only to be trained Company by Company. And although the number of men in each of them could not be themselves provide a reasonably (sized) army, none the less, each man can learn to do what applies to him in particular, for two orders are observed in the armies: the one, what men ought to do in each Company: the other, what the Company ought to do afterwards when it is with others in an army: and those men who carry out the first, will easily observe the second: but without the first, one can never arrive at the discipline of the second. Each of these Companies, therefore, can by themselves learn to maintain(discipline in) their ranks in every kind and place of action, and then to know how to assemble, to know its (particular bugle)call, through which it is commanded in battle; to know how to recognise by it [as galleys do from the whistle] as to what they have to do, whether to stay put, or go forward, or turn back, or the time and place to use their arms. So that knowing how to maintain ranks well, so that neither the action nor the placed is organises them, they understand well the commands of the leader by means of the (bugle) calls, and knowing how to reassemble quickly, these Companies then can easily [as I have said], when many have come together, learn to do what each body of them is obligated to do together with other Companies in operating as a reasonably(sized) army. And as such a general practice also is not to be esteemed little, all the Battalions can be brought together once or twice in the years of peace, and give them a form of a complete army, training it for several days as if it should engage in battle, placing the front lines, the flanks, and auxiliaries in their(proper) places.

And as a Captain arranges his army for the engagement either taking into account the enemy he sees, or for that which he does not see but is apprehensive of, the army ought to be trained for both contingencies, and instructed so that it can march and fight when the need arises; showing your soldiers how they should conduct themselves if they should be assaulted by this band or that. And when you instruct them to fight against an enemy they can see, show them how the battle is enkindled, where they have to retire without being repulsed, who has to take their places, what signs, what (bugle) calls, and what voice they should obey, and to practice them so with Companies and by mock attacks, that they have the desire for real battle. For a courageous army is not so because the men in it are courageous, but because the ranks are well disciplined;for if I am of the first line fighters, and being overcome, I know where I have to retire, and who is to take my place, I will always fight with courage seeing my succor nearby: If I am of the second line fighters, I would not be dismayed at the first line being pushed back and repulsed, for I would have presupposed it could happen, and I would have desired it in order to be he who, as it was not them, would give the victory to my patron. Such training is most necessary where a new army is created; and where the army is old (veteran), it is also necessary for, as the Romans show, although they knew the organisation of their army from childhood, none the less, those Captains, before they came to an encounter with the enemy, continually exercised the min those disciplines. And Joseph in his history says, that the continual training of the Roman armies resulted in all the

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disturbance which usually goes on for gain in a camp, was of no effect in an engagement, because everyone knew how to obey orders and to fight by observing them. But in the armies of new men which you have to put together to combat at the time, or that you caused to be organised to combat in time, nothing is done without this training, as the Companies are different as in a complete army;for as much discipline is necessary, it must be taught with double the industry and effort to those who do not have it, and be maintained in those who have it, as is seen from the fact that many excellent Captains have tired themselves without any regard to themselves.

COSIMO: And it appears to me that this discussion has somewhat carried you away, for while you have not yet mentioned the means with which Companies are trained, you have discussed engagements and the complete army.

FABRIZIO: You say the truth, and truly the reason is the affection I have for these orders, and the sorrow that I feel seeing that they are not put into action: none the less, have no fear, but I shall return to the subject. As I have told you, of first importance in the training of the Company is to knowhow to maintain ranks. To do this, it is necessary to exercise them in those orders, which they called Chiocciole (Spiralling). And as I told you that one of these Companies ought to consist of four hundred heavily armed infantry, I will stand on this number. They should, therefore, be arranged into eighty ranks (files), with five per file. Then continuing on either strongly or slowly, grouping them and dispersing them; which, when it is done, can be demonstrated better by deeds than by words: afterwards, it becomes less necessary, for anyone who is practiced in these exercises knows how this order proceeds, which is good for nothing else but to accustom the soldiers to maintain ranks. But let us come and put together one of those Companies.

I say that these can be formed in three ways: the first and most useful is to make it completely massive and give it the form of two squares: the second is to make the square with a homed front: the third is to make it with a space in the center, which they call Piazza (plaza). The method of putting together the first form can be in two steps. The first is to have the files doubled, that is, that the second file enters the first, the fourth into the third, and sixth into the fifth, and so on in succession;so that where there were eighty files and five (men) per file, they become forty files and ten per file. Then make them double another time in the same manner, placing one file within the other, and thus they become twenty files of twenty men per file. This makes almost a square, for although there are so many men on one side (of the square) as the other, none the less, on the side of the front, they come together so that (the side of) one man touches the next; but on the other side (of the square) the men are distant at least two arm lengths from each other, so that the square is longer from the front to the back (shoulders), then from one side (flank) to the other. (So that the rectangle thus formed is called two squares).

And as we have to talk often today of the parts in front, in the rear, and on the side of this Company, and of the complete army, you will understand that when I will say either head or front, I mean to say the part in front; when I say shoulder, the part behind (rear); when I say flanks, the parts on the side.

The fifty ordinary Veliti of the company are not mixed in with the other files, but when the company is formed, they extend along its flanks.

The other method of putting together (forming) the company is this; and because it is better than the first, I want to place in front of your eyes in detail how it ought to be organised. I believe you remember the number of men and the heads which compose it, and with what arms it is armed. The form, therefore, that this company ought to have is [as I have said] of twenty files, twenty men per file, five files of pikemen in front, and fifteen files of shield bearers on the shoulders (behind); two centurions are in front and two behind in the shoulders who have the office of those whom the ancients called Tergiduttori (Rear-leaders):The Constable, with the flag and bugler, is in that space which is between the five files of pikemen and the fifteen of shield-bearers:there is one of the Captains of the Ten on every flank, so that each one is alongside his men, those who are on the left side of his right hand, those on the right side on his left hand. The fifty Veliti are on the flanks and shoulders (rear) of the company. If it is desired, now, that regular infantry be employed, this company is put together in this form, and it must organise itself thusly: Have the infantry be brought to eighty files, five per file, as we said a little while ago; leaving the Veliti at the head and on the tail (rear), even though they are outside this arrangement; and it ought to be so arranged that each Centurion has twenty files behind him on the shoulders, and those immediately behind every Centurion are five files of pikemen, and the remaining shield-bearers: the Constable, with his flag and bugler, is in that space that is between the pikemen and the shield-bearers of the second Centurion, and occupies the places of three shield-bearers:twenty of the Heads of Ten are on the Flanks of the first Centurion on the left hand, and twenty are on the flanks of the last Centurion on the right hand. And you have to understand, that the Head ofTen who has to guide (lead) the pikemen ought to have a pike, and those who guide the shield-bearers ought to have similar arms.

The files, therefore, being brought to this arrangement, and if it is desired, by marching, to bring them into the company to form the head (front), you have to cause the first Centurion to stop with the first file of twenty, and the second to continue to march; and turning to the right (hand) he goes along the flanks of the twenty stopped files, so that he comes head-to-head with the other Centurion, where he too stops; and the third Centurion continues to march, also turning to the right (hand), and marches along the flanks of the stopped file so that he comes head-to-head with the other two Centurions; and when he also stops, the other Centurion follows with his file, also going to the right along the flanks of the stopped file, so that he arrives at the head(front) with the others, and then he stops; and the two Centurions who are alone quickly depart from the front and go to the rear of the company, which becomes formed in that manner and with those orders to the point which we showed a little while ago. The Veliti extend themselves along its flanks, according as they were disposed in the first method; which method is called Doubling by the straightline, and this last (method) is called Doubling by the flanks.

The first method is easier, while this latter is better organised, and is more adaptable, and can be better controlled by you, for it must be carried out by the numbers, that from five you make ten, ten twenty, twenty forty: so that by doubling at your direction, you cannot make a front of fifteen, or twenty five or thirty or thirty five, but you must proceed to where the number is less. And yet, every day, it happens in particular situations, that you must make a front with six or eight hundred infantry, so that the doubling by the straight line will disarrange you: yet this(latter) method pleases me more, and what difficulty may exist, can be more easily overcome by the proper exercise and practice of it.

I say to you, therefore, that it is more important than any thing to have soldiers who know how to form themselves quickly, and it is necessary in holding them in these Companies, to train them thoroughly, and have them proceed bravely forward or backward, to pass through difficult places without disturbing the order;for the soldiers who know how to do this well, are experienced soldiers, and although they may have never met the enemy face to face, they can be called seasoned soldiers; and, on the contrary, those who do not know how to maintain this order, even if they may have been in a thousand wars, ought always to be considered as new soldiers. This applies in forming them when they are marching in small files: but if they are formed, and then become broken because of some accident that results either from the location or from the enemy, to reorganise themselves immediately is the important and difficult thing, in which much training and practice is needed, and in which the ancients placed much emphasis. It is necessary, therefore, to do two things: first, to have many countersigns in the Company: the other, always to keep this arrangement, that the same infantry always remain in the same file. For instance, if one is commanded to be in the second (file), he will afterwards always stay there, and not only in this same file, but in the same position (in the file); it is to be observed [as I have said] how necessary are the great number of countersigns, so that, coming together with other companies, it may be recognised by its own men. Secondly, that the Constable and Centurion have tufts of feathers on their head-dress different and recognisable, and what is more important, to arrange that the Heads of Ten be recognised. To which the ancients paid very much attention, that nothing else would do, but that they wrote numbers on their bucklers, calling then the first, second, third, fourth, etc. And they were not above content with this, but each soldier had to write on his shield the number of his file, and the number of his place assigned him in that file. The men, therefore, being thus countersigned(assigned), and accustomed to stay within these limits, if they should be disorganised, it is easy to reorganise them all quickly, for the flag staying fixed, the Centurions and Heads of Ten can judge their place by eye, and bring the left from the right, or the right from the left, with the usual distances between; the infantry guided by their rules and by the difference in countersigns, can quickly take their proper places, just as, if you were the staves of a barrel which you had first countersigned, I would wager you would put it (the barrel) back together with great ease, but if you had not so countersigned them (the staves), it is impossible to reassemble (the barrel). This system, with diligence and practice, can be taught quickly, and can be quickly learned, and once learned are forgotten with difficulty; for new men are guided by the old, and in time, a province which has such training, would become entirely expert in war. It is also necessary to teach them to turn in step, and do so when he should turn from the flanks and by the soldiers in the front, or from the front to the flanks or shoulders (rear). This is very easy, for it is sufficient only that each man turns his body toward the side he is commanded to, and the direction in which they turned becomes the front. It is true that when they turn by the flank, the ranks which turn go outside their usual area, because there is a small space between the breast to the shoulder, while from one flank to the other there is much space, which is all contrary to the regular formation of the company. Hence, care should be used in employing it. But this is more important and where more practice is needed, is when a company wants to turn entirely, as if it was a solid body. Here, great care and practice must be employed, for if it is desired to turn to the left, for instance, it is necessary that the left wing be halted, and those who are closer to the halted one, march much slower then those who are in the right wing and have to run;otherwise everything would be in confusion.

But as it always happens when an army marches from place to place, that the companies not situated in front, not having to combat at the front, or at the flanks or shoulders (rear), have to move from the flank or shoulder quickly to the front, and when such companies in such cases have the space necessary as we indicated above, it is necessary that the pikemen they have on that flank become the front, and the Heads of the Ten, Centurions, and Constables belonging to it relocate to their proper places. Therefore, in wanting to do this, when forming them it is necessary to arrange the eighty files of five per file, placing all the pikemen in the first twenty files, and placing five of the Heads of Ten (of it) in the front of them and five in the rear: the other sixty files situated behind are all shield-bearers, who total to three hundred. It should therefore be so arranged, that the first and last file of every hundred of Heads of Ten; the Constable with his flag and bugler be in the middle of the first hundred (century)of shield-bearers; and the Centurions at the head of every century. Thus arranged, when you want the pikemen to be on the left flank, you have to double them, century by century, from the right flank:if you want them to be on the right flank, you have to double them from the left. And thus this company turns with the pikemen on the flank, with the Heads of Ten on the front and rear, with the Centurions at the front of them, and the Constable in the middle. Which formation holds when going forward; but when the enemy comes and the time for the (companies) to move from the flanks to the front, it cannot be done unless all the soldiers face toward the flank where the pikemen are, and then the company is turned with its files and heads in that manner that was described above; for the Centurions being on the outside, and all the men in their places, the Centurions quickly enter them (the ranks)without difficulty. But when they are marching front wards, and have to combat in the rear, they must arrange the files so that, in forming the company, the pikes are situated in the rear; and to do this, no other order has to be maintained except that where, in the formation of the company ordinarily every Century has five files of pikemen in front, it now has them behind, but in all the other parts, observe the order that I have mentioned.

COSIMO: You have said [if I remember well] that this method of training is to enable them to form these companies into an army, and that this training serves to enable them to be arranged within it. But if it should occur that these four hundred fifty infantry have to operate as a separate party, how would you arrange them?

FABRIZIO: I will now guide you in judging where he wants to place the pikes, and who should carry them, which is not in any way contrary to the arrangement mentioned above, for although it may be the method that is observed when, together with other companies, it comes to an engagement, none the less, it is a rule that serves for all those methods, in which it should happen that you have to manage it. But in showing you the other two methods for arranging the companies, proposed by me, I will also better satisfy your question; for either they are never used, or they are used when the company is above, and not in the company of others.

And to come to the method of forming it with two horns (wings), I say, that you ought to arrange the eighty files at five per file in this way: place a Centurion in the middle, and behind him twenty five files that have two pikemen (each) on the left side, and three shield-bearers on the right: and after the first five, in the next twenty, twenty Heads of Ten be placed, all between the pikemen and shield-bearers, except that those (Heads) who carry pikes stay with the pikemen. Behind these twenty five files thusly arranged, another Centurion is placed who has fifteen files of shield-bearers behind him. After these, the Constable between the flag and the bugler, who also has behind him another fifteen files of shield-bearers. The third Centurion is placed behind these, and he has twenty five files behind him, in each of which are three shield-bearers on the left left side and two pikemen on the right: and after the first five files are twenty Heads of Ten placed between the pikemen and the shield-bearers. After these files, there is the fourth Centurion. If it is desired, therefore, to arrange these files to form a company with two horns(wings), the first Centurion has to be halted with the twenty five files which are behind him. The second Centurion then has to be moved with the fifteen shield-bearers who are on his rear, and turning to the right, and on the right flank of the twenty five files to proceed so far that he comes to the fifteen files, and here he halts. After, the Constable has to be moved with the fifteen files of shield bearers who are behind,

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and turning around toward the right, over by the right flank of the fifteen files which were moved first, marches so that he comes to their front, and here he halts. After, move the third Centurion with the twenty five files and with the fourth Centurion who is behind them, and turning to the right, march by the left flank of the last fifteen files of shield-bearers, and he does not halt until he is at the head of them, but continues marching up until the last files of twenty five are in line with the files behind. And, having done this, the Centurion who was Head of the first fifteen files of shield-bearers leaves the place where he was, and goes to there ar of the left angle. And thus he will turn a company of twenty five solid files, of twenty infantry per file, with two wings, on each side of his front, and there will remain a space between then, as much as would (be occupied by) by ten men side by side. The Captain will be between the two wings, and a Centurion in each corner of the wing. There will be two files of pikemen and twenty Heads of Ten on each flank. These two wings (serve to)hold between them that artillery, whenever the company has any with it, and the carriages. The Veliti have to stay along the flanks beneath the pikemen. But, in wanting to bring this winged(formed) company into the form of the piazza (plaza), nothing else need be done than to take eight of the fifteen files of twenty per file and place them between the points of the two horns (wings), which then from wings become the rear (shoulder) of the piazza(plaza). The carriages are kept in this plaza, and the Captain and the flag there, but not the artillery, which is put either in the front or along the flanks. These are the methods which can be used by a company when it has to pass by suspicious places by itself. None the less, the solid company, without wings and without the plaza, is best. But in wanting to make safe the disarmed ones, that winged one is necessary.

The Swiss also have many forms of companies, among which they form one in the manner of a cross, as in the spaces between the arms, they keep their gunners safe from the attacks of the enemy. But since such companies are good in fighting by themselves, and my intention is to show how several companies united together combat with the enemy, I do not belabor myself further in describing it.

COSIMO: And it appears to me I have very well comprehended the method that ought to be employed in training the men in these companies, but [if I remember well] you said that in addition to the ten companies in a Battalion, you add a thousand extraordinary pikemen and four hundred extraordinary Veliti. Would you not describe how to train these?

FABRIZIO: I would, and with the greatest diligence:and I would train the pikemen, group by group, at least in the formations of the companies, as the others; for I would serve myself of these more than of the ordinary companies, in all the particular actions, how to escort, to raid, and such things. But the Veliti I would train at home without bringing them together with the others, for as it is their office to combat brokenly(in the open, separately), it is not as necessary that they come together with the others or to train in common exercises, than to train them well in particular exercises. They ought, therefore, [as was said in the beginning, and now it appears to me laborious to repeat it] to train their own men in these companies so that they know how to maintain their ranks, know their places, return there quickly when either the evening or the location disrupts them; for when this is caused to be done, they can easily be taught the place the company has to hold and what its office should be in the armies. And if a Prince or a Republic works hard and puts diligence in these formations and in this training, it will always happen that there will be good soldiers in that country, and they will be superior to their neighbours, and will be those who give, and not receive, laws from other men. But [as I have told you]the disorder in which one exists, causes them to disregard and not to esteem these things, and, therefore, our training is not good: and even if there should be some heads or members naturally of virtue, they are unable to demonstrate it.

COSIMO: What carriages would you want each of these companies to have?

FABRIZIO: The first thing I would want is that the Centurions or the Heads of Ten should not go on horseback: and if the Constables want to ride mounted, I would want them to have a mule and nota horse. I would permit them two carriages, and one to each Centurion, and two to every three Heads of Ten, for they would quarter so many in each encampment, as we will narrate in its proper place. So that each company would have thirty six carriages, which I would have (them) to carry the necessary tents, cooking utensils, hatchets, digging bars, sufficient to make the encampment, and after that anything else of convenience.

COSIMO: I believe that Heads assigned by you in each of the companies are necessary: none the less, I would be apprehensive that so many commanders would be confusing.

FABRIZIO: They would be so if I would refer to one, but as I refer to many, they make for order; actually, without those (orders), it would be impossible to control them, for a wall which inclines on every side would need many and frequent supports, even if they are not so strong, but if few, they must be strong, for the virtu of only one, despite its spacing, can remedy any ruin. And so it must be that in the armies and among every ten men there is one of more life, of more heart, or at least of more authority, who with his courage, with words and by example keeps the others firm and disposed to fight. And these things mentioned by me, as the heads, the flags, the buglers, are necessary in an army, and it is seen that we have all these in our (present day) armies, but no one does his duty. First, the Heads of Ten, in desiring that those things be done because they are ordered, it is necessary [as I have said] for each of them to have his men separate, lodge with them, go into action with them, stay in the ranks with them, for when they are in their places, they are all of mind and temperament to maintain their ranks straight and firm, and it is impossible for them to become disrupted, or if they become disrupted, do not quickly reform their ranks. But today, they do not serve us for anything other than to give them more pay than the others, and to have them do some particular thing. The same happens with the flags, for they are kept rather to make a beautiful show, than for any military use. But the ancients served themselves of it as a guide and to reorganise themselves, for everyone, when the flag was standing firm, knew the place that he had to be near his flag, and always returned there. He also knew that if it were moving or standing still, he had to move or halt. It is necessary in an army, therefore, that there be many bodies, and that each body have its own flag and its own guide; for if they have this, it needs must be they have much courage and consequently, are livelier. The infantry, therefore, ought to march according to the flag, and the flag move according to the bugle (call), which call, if given well, commands the army, which proceeding in step with those, comes to serve the orders easily. Whence the ancients having whistles(pipes), fifes, and bugles, controlled (modulated) them perfectly;for, as he who dances proceeds in time with the music, and keeping with it does not make a miss-step, so an army obedient in its movement to that call (sound), will not become disorganised. And, therefore, they varied the calls according as they wanted to enkindle or quiet, or firm the spirits of men. And as the sounds were various, so they named them variously. The Doric call (sound) brought on constancy, Frigio, fury (boldness): whence they tell, that Alexander being at table, and someone sounding the Frigio call, it so excited his spirit that he took up arms. It would be necessary to rediscover all these methods, and if this is difficult, it ought not at least to be (totally) put aside by those who teach the soldier to obey;which each one can vary and arrange in his own way, so long as with practice he accustoms the ears of his soldiers to recognise them. But today, no benefit is gotten from these sounds in great part, other than to make noise.

COSIMO: I would desire to learn from you, if you have ever pondered this with yourself, whence such baseness and disorganisation arises, and such negligence of this training in our times?

FABRIZIO: I will tell you willingly what I think. You know of the men excellent in war there have been many famed in Europe, few in Africa, and less in Asia. This results from (the fact that) these last two parts of the world have had a Principality or two, and few Republics; but Europe alone has had some Kingdoms and an infinite number of Republics. And men become excellent, and show their virtu, according as they are employed and recognised by their Prince, Republic, or King, whichever it may be. It happens, therefore, that where there is much power, many valiant men spring up, where there is little, few. In Asia, there are found Ninus, Cyrus, Artafersus, Mithradates, and very few others to accompany these. In Africa, there are noted [omitting those of ancient Egypt] Maximinius, Jugurtha, and those Captains who were raised by the Carthaginian Republic, and these are very few compared to those of Europe; for in Europe there are excellent men without number, and there would be many more, if there should be named together with them those others who have been forgotten by them alignity of the time, since the world has been more virtuous when there have been many States which have favored virtu, either from necessity or from other human passion. Few men, therefore, spring up in Asia, because, as that province was entirely subject to one Kingdom, in which because of its greatness there was indolence for the most part, it could not give rise to excellent men in business (activity). The same happened in Africa: yet several, with respect to the Carthaginian Republic, did arise. More excellent men come out of Republics than from Kingdoms, because in the former virtu is honoured much of the time, in the Kingdom it is feared;whence it results that in the former, men of virtu are raised, in the latter they are extinguished. Whoever, therefore, considers the part of Europe, will find it to have been full of Republics and Principalities, which from the fear one had of the other, were constrained to keep alive their military organisations, and honour those who greatly prevailed in them. For in Greece, in addition to the Kingdom of the Macedonians, there were many Republics, and many most excellent men arose in each of them. In Italy, there were the Romans, the Samnites, the Tuscans, the Cisalpine Gauls. France and Germany were full of Republics and Princes. Spain, the very same. And although in comparison with the Romans, very few others were noted, it resulted from the malignity of the writers, who pursued fortune and to whom it was often enough to honour the victors. For it is not reasonable that among the Samnites and Tuscans, who fought fifty years with the Roman People before they were defeated, many excellent men should not have sprung up. And so likewise in France and Spain. But that virtu which the writers do not commemorate in particular men, they commemorate generally in the peoples, in which they exalt to the stars (skies) the obstinacy which existed in them in defending their liberty. It is true, therefore, that where there are many Empires, more valiant men spring up, and it follows, of necessity, that those being extinguished, little by little, virtu is extinguished, as there is less reason which causes men to become virtuous. And as the Roman Empire afterwards kept growing, and having extinguished all the Republics and Principalities of Europe and Africa, and in greater part those of Asis, no other path to virtu was left, except Rome. Whence it resulted that men of virtu began to be few in Europe as in Asia, which virtu ultimately came to decline; for all the virtu being brought to Rome, and as it was corrupted, so almost the whole world came to be corrupted, and the Scythian people were able to come to plunder that Empire, which had extinguished the virtu of others, but did not know how to maintain its own. And although afterwards that Empire, because of the inundation of those barbarians, became divided into several parts, this virtu was not renewed: first, because a price is paid to recover institutions when they are spoiled; another, because the mode of living today, with regard to the Christian religion, does not impose that necessity to defend it that anciently existed, in which at the time men, defeated in war, were either put to death or remained slaves in perpetuity, where they led lives of misery: the conquered lands were either desolated or the inhabitants driven out, their goods taken away, and they were sent dispersed throughout the world, so that those overcome in war suffered every last misery. Men were terrified from the fear of this, and they kept their military exercises alive, and honoured those who were excellent in them. But today, this fear in large part is lost, and few of the defeated are put to death, and no one is kept prisoner long, for they are easily liberated. The Citizens, although they should rebel a thousand times, are not destroyed, goods are left to their people, so that the greatest evil that is feared is a ransom; so that men do not want to subject themselves to dangers which they little fear. Afterwards, these provinces of Europe exist under very few Heads as compared to the past, for all of France obeys a King, all of Spain another, and Italy exists in a few parts; so that weak Cities defend themselves by allying themselves with the victors, and strong States, for the reasons mentioned, do not fear an ultimate ruin.

COSIMO: And in the last twenty five years, many towns have been seen to be pillaged, and lost their Kingdoms; which examples ought to teach others to live and reassume some of the ancient orders.

FABRIZIO: That is what you say, but if you would note which towns are pillaged, you would not find them to be the Heads(Chief ones) of the States, but only members: as is seen in the sacking of Tortona and not Milan, Capua and not Naples, Brescia and not Venice, Ravenna and not Rome. Which examples do not cause the present thinking which governs to change, rather it causes them to remain in that opinion of being able to recover themselves by ransom: and because of this, they do not want to subject themselves to the bother of military training, as it appears to them partly unnecessary, partly a tangle they do not understand. Those others who are slave, to whom such examples ought to cause fear, do not have the power of remedying (their situation), and those Princes who have lost the State, are no longer in time, and those who have (the State) do not have (military training) and those Princes who have lost the State, are no longer in time, and those who have (the State) do not have (military training) or want it; for they want without any hardship to remain (in power) through fortune, not through their own virtu, and who see that, because there is so little virtu, fortune governs everything, and they want it to master them, not they master it. And that that which I have discussed is true, consider Germany, in which, because there are many Principalities and Republics, there is much virtu, and all that is good in our present army, depends on the example of those people, who, being completely jealous of their State [as they fear servitude, which elsewhere is not feared] maintain and honour themselves all us Lords. I want this to suffice to have said in showing the reasons for the present business according to my opinion. I do not know if it appears the same to you, or if some other apprehension should have risen from this discussion.

COSIMO: None, rather I am most satisfied with everything. I desire above, returning to our principal subject, to learn from you how you would arrange the cavalry with these companies, and how many, how captained, and how armed.

FABRIZIO: And it, perhaps, appears to you that I have omitted these, at which do not be surprized, for I speak little of them for two reasons: one, because this part of the army is

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less corrupt than that of the infantry, for it is not stronger than the ancient, it is on a par with it. However, a short while before, the method of training them has been mentioned. And as to arming them, I would arm them as is presently done, both as to the light cavalry as to the men-at-arms. But I would want the light cavalry to be all archers, with some light gunners among them, who, although of little use in other actions of war, are most useful in terrifying the peasants, and place them above a pass that is to be guarded by them, for one gunner causes more fear to them (the enemy) than twenty other armed men. And as to numbers, I say that departing from imitating the Roman army, I would have not less than three hundred effective cavalry for each battalion, of which I would want one hundred fifty to be men-at-arms, and a hundred fifty light cavalry; and I would give a leader to each of these parts, creating among them fifteen Heads of Ten per hand, and give each one a flag and a bugler. I would want that every ten men-at-arms have five carriages and every ten light cavalrymen two, which, like those of the infantry, should carry the tents, (cooking) utensils, hitches, poles, and in addition over the others, their tools. And do not think this is out of place seeing that men-at-arms have four horses at their service, and that such a practice is a corrupting one; for in Germany, it is seen that those men-at-arms are alone with their horses, and only every twenty have a cart which carries the necessary things behind them. The horsemen of the Romans were likewise alone:it is true that the Triari encamped near the cavalry and were obliged to render aid to it in the handling of the horses: this can easily be imitated by us, as will be shown in the distribution of quarters. That, therefore, which the Romans did, and that which the Germans do, we also can do; and in not doing it, we make a mistake. These cavalrymen, enrolled and organised together with a battalion, can often be assembled when the companies are assembled, and caused to make some semblance of attack among them, which should be done more so that they may be recognised among them than for any necessity. But I have said enough on this subject for now, and let us descend to forming an army which is able to offer battle to the enemy, and hope to win it; which is the end for which an army is organised, and so much study put into it.

MACHIAVELLI ART OF WAR, 3RD BOOK

COSIMO: Since we are changing the discussion, I would like the questioner to be changed, so that I may not be held ta be presumptuous, which I have always censured in others. I, therefore, resign the speakership, and I surrender it to any of these friends of mine who want it.

ZANOBI: It would be most gracious of you to continue:but since you do not want to, you ought at least to tell us which of us should succeed in your place.

COSIMO: I would like to pass this burden on the Lord Fabrizio.

FABRIZIO: I am content to accept it, and would like to follow the Venetian custom, that the youngest talks first;for this being an exercise for young men, I am persuaded that young men are more adept at reasoning, than they are quick to follow.

COSIMO: It therefore falls to you LUIGI: and I am pleased with such a successor, as long as you are satisfied with such a questioner.

FABRIZIO: I am certain that, in wanting to show how an army is well organised for undertaking an engagement, it would be necessary to narrate how the Greeks and the Romans arranged the ranks in their armies. None the less, as you yourselves are able to read and consider these things, through the medium of ancient writers, I shall omit many particulars, and will cite only those things that appear necessary for me to imitate, in the desire in our times to give some (part of) perfection to our army. This will be done, and, in time, I will show how an army is arranged for an engagement, how it faces a real battle, any how it can be trained in mock ones. The greatest mistake that those men make who arrange an army for an engagement, is to give it only one front, and commit it to only one onrush and one attempt(fortune). This results from having lost the method the ancients employed of receiving one rank into the other; for without this method, one cannot help the rank in front, or defend them, or change them by rotation in battle, which was practiced best by the Romans. In explaining this method, therefore, I want to tell how the Romans divided each Legion into three parts, namely, the Astati, the Princeps, and the Triari; of whom the Astati were placed in the first line of the army in solid and deep ranks,(and) behind them were the Princeps, but placed with their ranks more open: and behind these they placed the Triari, and with ranks so sparse, as to be able, if necessary, to receive the Princeps and the Astati between them. In addition to these, they had slingers, bow-men (archers), and other lightly armed, who were not in these ranks, but were situated at the head of the army between the cavalry man the infantry. These light armed men, therefore, enkindled the battle, and if they won [which rarely happened], they pursued the victory: if they were repulsed, they retired by way of the flanks of the army, or into the intervals (gaps) provided for such a result, and were led back among those who were not armed:after this proceeding, the Astati came hand to hand with the enemy, and who, if they saw themselves being overcome, retired little by little through the open spaces in the ranks of the Princeps, and, together with them, renewed the fight. If these also were forced back, they all retired into the thin lines of the Triari, and all together, en masse, recommenced the battle; and if these were defeated, there was no other remedy, as there was no way left to reform themselves. The cavalry were on the flanks of the army, placed like two wings on a body, and they some times fought on horseback, and sometimes helped the infantry, according as the need required. This method of reforming themselves three times is almost impossible to surpass, as it is necessary that fortune abandon you three times, and that the enemy has so much virtu that he overcomes you three times. The Greeks, with their Phalanxes, did not have this method of reforming themselves, and although these had many ranks and Leaders within them, none the less, they constituted one body, or rather, one front. So that in order to help one another, they did not retire from one rank into the other, as the Romans, but one man took the place of another, which they did in this way. Their Phalanxes were (made up) of ranks, and supposing they had placed fifty men per rank, when their front came against the enemy, only the first six ranks of all of them were able to fight, because their lances, which they called Sarisse, were so long, that the points of the lances of those in the sixth rank reached past the front rank. When they fought, therefore, if any of the first rank fell, either killed or wounded, whoever was behind him in the second rank immediately entered into his place, and whoever was behind him in the third rank immediately entered into the place in the second rank which had become vacant, and thus successively all at once the ranks behind restored the deficiencies of those in front, so that the ranks were always remained complete, and no position of the combatants was vacant except in the last rank, which became depleted because there was no one in its rear to restore it. So that the injuries which the first rank suffered, depleted the last, and the first rank always remained complete; and thus the Phalanxes, because of their arrangement, were able rather to become depleted than broken, since the large(size of its) body made it more immobile. The Romans, in the beginning, also employed Phalanxes, and instructed their Legions in a way similar to theirs. Afterwards, they were not satisfied with this arrangement, and divided the Legion into several bodies; that is, into Cohorts and Maniples; for they judged [as was said a little while ago] that that body should have more life in it(be more active) which should have more spirit, and that it should be composed of several parts, and each regulate itself. The Battalions of the Swiss, in these times, employed all the methods of the Phalanxes, as much in the size and entirety of their organisation, as in the method of helping one another, and when coming to an engagement they place the Battalions one on the flank of the other, or they place them one behind the other. They have no way in which the first rank, if it should retire, to be received by the second, but with this arrangement, in order to help one another, they place one Battalion in front and another behind it to the right, so that if the first has need of aid, the latter can go forward and succor it. They put a third Battalion behind these, but distant a gun shot. This they do, because if the other two are repulsed, this (third) one can make its way forward, and the others have room in which to retire, and avoid the onrush of the one which is going forward; for a large multitude cannot be received (in the same way) as a small body, and, therefore, the small and separate bodies that existed in a Roman Legion could be so placed together as to be able to receive one another among themselves, and help each other easily. And that this arrangement of the Swiss is not as good as that of the ancient Romans is demonstrated by the many examples of the Roman Legions when they engaged in battle with the Greek Phalanxes, and the latter were always destroyed by the former, because the kinds of arms [as I mentioned before] and this method of reforming themselves, was not able to maintain the solidity of the Phalanx. With these examples, therefore, if I had to organise an army, I would prefer to retain the arms and the methods, partly of the Greek Phalanxes, partly of the Roman Legions; and therefore I have mentioned wanting in a Battalion two thousand pikes, which are the arms of the Macedonian Phalanxes, and three thousand swords and shield, which are the arms of the Romans. I have divided the Battalion into ten Companies, as the Romans (divided) the Legion into ten Cohorts. I have organised the Veliti, that is the light armed, to enkindle the battle, as they (the Romans did). And thus, as the arms are mixed, being shared by both nations and as also the organisations are shared, I have arranged that each company have five ranks of pikes (pikemen)in front, and the remainder shields (swordsmen with shields), in order to be able with this front to resist the cavalry, and easily penetrate the enemy companies on foot, and the enemy at the first encounter would meet the pikes, which I would hope would suffice to resist him, and then the shields (swordsmen) would defeat him. And if you would note the virtu of this arrangement, you will see all these arms will execute their office completely. First, because pikes are useful against cavalry, and when they come against infantry, they do their duty well before the battle closes in, for when they are pressed, they become useless. Whence the Swiss, to avoid this disadvantage, after every three ranks of pikemen place one of halberds, which, while it is not enough, gives the pikemen room (to maneuver). Placing, therefore, our pikes in the front and the shields (swordsmen) behind, they manage to resist the cavalry, and in enkindling the battle, lay open and attack the infantry: but when the battle closes in, and they become useless, the shields and swords take their place, who are able to take care of themselves in every strait.

LUIGI: We now await with desire to learn how you would arrange the army for battle with these arms and with these organisations.

FABRIZIO: I do not now want to show you anything else other than this. You have to understand that in a regular Roman army, which they called a Consular Army, there were not more than two Legions of Roman Citizens, which consist of six hundred cavalry man about eleven thousand infantry. They also had as many more infantry and cavalry which were sent to them by their friends and confederates, which they divided into two parts, and they called one the right wing, and the other the left wing, and they never permitted this (latter) infantry to exceed the number of the infantry of the Legion. They were well content that the cavalry should be greater in number. With this army which consisted of twenty two thousand infantry and about two thousand cavalry effectives, a Consul undertook every action and went on every enterprise. And when it was necessary to face a large force, they brought together two Consuls with two armies. You ought also to note that ordinarily in all three of the principal activities in which armies engage, that is, marching, camping, and fighting, they place the Legion in the middle, because they wanted that virtu in which they should trust most should be greater unity, as the discussion of all these three activities will show you. Those auxiliary infantry, because of the training they had with the infantry of the Legion, were as effective as the latter, as they were disciplined as they were, and therefore they arranged them in a similar way when organising(for) and engagement. Whoever, therefore, knows how they deployed the entire (army). Therefore, having told you how they divided a Legion into three lines, and how one line would receive the other, I have come to tell you how the entire army was organised for an engagement.

If I would want, therefore, to arrange (an army for) an engagement in imitation of the Romans, just as they had two Legions, I would take two Battalions, and these having been deployed, the disposition of an entire Army would be known: for by adding more people, nothing else is accomplished than to enlarge the organisation. I do not believe it is necessary that I remind you how many infantry there are in a Battalion, and that it has ten companies, and what Leaders there are per company, and what arms they have, and who are the ordinary (regular) pikemen and Veliti, and who the extraordinary, because a little while I distinctly told you, and I reminded you to commit it to memory as something necessary if you should want to understand all the other arrangements: and, therefore, I will come to the demonstration of the arrangement, without repeating these again. And it appears to me that ten Companies of a Battalion should be placed on the left flank, and the ten others of the other on the right. Those on the left should be arranged in this way. The five companies should be placed one alongside the other on the front, so that between one and the next there would be a space of four arm lengths which come to occupy an area of one hundred forty one arm lengths long, and forty wide. Behind these five Companies I would place three others, distant in a straightline from the first ones by forty arm lengths, two of which should come behind in a straight line at the ends of the five, and the other should occupy the space in the middle. Thus these three would come to occupy in length and width the same space as the five: but where the five would have a distance of four arm lengths between one another, this one would have thirty three. Behind these I would place the last two companies, also in a straightline behind the three, and distant from those three forty arm lengths, and I would place each of them behind the ends of the three, so that the space between them would be ninety one arm lengths. All of these companies arranged thusly would therefore cover (an area of) one hundred forty one arm lengths long and two hundred wide. The extraordinary pikemen I would extend along the flanks of these companies on the left side, distant twenty arm lengths from it, creating a hundred forty three files of seven per file, so that they should cover the entire length of the ten companies arranged as I have previously described; and there would remain forty files for protecting the wagons and the unarmed people in the tail of the army, (and) assigning the Heads of Ten and the Centurions in their (proper) places: and, of the three Constables, I would put one at the head, another in the middle, and the third in the last file, who should fill the office of Tergiduttore, as the ancients called the one placed in charge of the rear of the Army. But returning to the head (van) of the Army I say, that I would place the extraordinary Veliti

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alongside the extraordinary pikemen, which, as you know, are five hundred, and would place them at a distance of forty arm lengths. On the side of these, also on the left hand; I would place the men-at-arms, and would assign them a distance of a hundred fifty arm lengths away. Behind these, the light cavalry, to whom I would assign the same space as the men-at-arms. The ordinary Veliti I would leave around their companies, who would occupy those spaces which I placed between one company and another, who would act to minister to those (companies)unless I had already placed them under the extraordinary pikemen;which I would do or not do according as it should benefit my plans. The general Head of all the Battalions I would place in that space that exists between the first and second order of companies, or rather at the head, and in that space with exists between the last of the first five companies and the extraordinary pikemen, according as it should benefit my plans, surrounded by thirty or sixty picked men, (and) who should know how to execute a commission prudently, and stalwartly resist an attack, and should also be in the middle of the buglers and flag carriers. This is the order in which I would deploy a Battalion on the left side, which would be the deployment of half the Army, and would cover an area five hundred and eleven arm lengths long and as much as mentioned above in width, not including the space which that part of the extraordinary pikemen should occupy who act as a shield for the unarmed men, which would be about one hundred arm lengths. The other Battalions I would deploy on the right side exactly in the same way as Ideployed those on the left, having a space of thirty arm lengths between our battalions and the other, in the head of which space I would place some artillery pieces, behind which would be the Captain general of the entire Army, who should have around him in addition to the buglers and flag carriers at least two hundred picked men, the greater portion on foot, among whom should be ten or more adept at executing every command, and should be so provided with arms and a horse as to be able to go on horseback or afoot as the needs requires. Ten cannon of the artillery of the Army suffice for the reduction of towns, which should not exceed fifty pounds per charge, of which in the field I would employ more in the defense of the encampment than in waging a battle, and the other artillery should all be rather often than fifteen pounds per charge. This I would place in front of the entire army, unless the country should be such that I could situate it on the flank in a safe place, where it should not be able to be attacked by the enemy.

This formation of the Army thusly arranged, in combat, can maintain the order both of the Phalanxes and of the Roman Legions, because the pikemen are in front and all the infantry so arranged in ranks, that coming to battle with the enemy, and resisting him, they should be able to reform the first ranks from those behind according to the usage of the Phalanxes. On the other hand, if they are attacked so that they are compelled to break ranks and retire, they can enter into the spaces of the second company behind them, and uniting with them, (and) en masse be able to resist and combat the enemy again: and if this should not be enough, they can in the same way retire a second time, and combat a third time, so that in this arrangement, as to combatting, they can reform according to both the Greek method, and the Roman. As to the strength of the Army, it cannot be arranged any stronger, for both wings are amply provided with both leaders and arms, and no part is left weak except that part behind which is unarmed, and even that part has its flanks protected by the extraordinary pikemen. Nor can the enemy assault it in any part where he will not find them organised, and the part in the back cannot be assaulted, because there cannot be an enemy who has so much power that he can assail every side equally, for it there is one, you don't have to take the field with him. But if he should be a third greater than you, and as well organised as you, if he weakens himself by assaulting you in several places, as soon as you defeat one part, all will go badly for him. If his cavalry should be greater than yours, be most assured, for the ranks of pikemen that gird you will defend you from every onrush of theirs, even if your cavalry should be repulsed. In addition to this, the Heads are placed on the side so that they are able easily to command and obey. And the spaces that exist between one company and the next one, and between one rank and the next, not only serve to enable one to receive the other, but also to provide a place for the messengers who go and come by order of the Captain. And as I told you before, as the Romans had about twenty thousand men in an Army, so too ought this one have: and as other soldiers borrowed their mode of fighting and the formation of their Army from the Legions, so too those soldiers that you assembled into your two Battalions would have to borrow their formation and organisation. Having given an example of these things, it is an easy matter to initiate it: for if the army is increased either by two Battalions, or by as many men as are contained in them, nothing else has to be done than to double the arrangements, and where ten companies are placed on the left side, twenty are now placed, either by increasing or extending the ranks, according as the place or the enemy should command you.

LUIGI: Truly, (my) Lord, I have so imagined this army, that I see it now, and have a desire to see it facing us, and not for anything in the world would I desire you to become Fabius Maximus, having thoughts of holding the enemy at bay and delaying the engagement, for I would say worse of you, than the Roman people said of him.

FABRIZIO: Do not be apprehensive. Do you not hear the artillery? Ours has already fired, but harmed the enemy little;and the extraordinary Veliti come forth from their places together with the light cavalry, and spread out, and with as much fury and the loudest shouts of which they are capable, assault the enemy, whose artillery has fired one time, and has passed over the heads of our infantry without doing them an injury. And as it is not able to fire a second time, our Veliti and cavalry have already seized it, and to defend it, the enemy has moved forward, so that neither that of friend or enemy can perform its office. You see with what virtu our men fight, and with what discipline they have become accustomed because of the training they have had, and from the confidence they have in the Army, which you see with their stride, and with the men-at-arms alongside, in marching order, going to rekindle the battle with the adversary. Your see our artillery, which to make place for them, and to leave the space free, has retired to the place from which the Veliti went forth. You see the Captain who encourages them and points out to them certain victory. You see the Veliti and light cavalry have spread out and returned to the flanks of the Army, in order to see if they can cause any injury to the enemy from the flanks. Look, the armies are facing each other: watch with what virtu they have withstood the onrush of the enemy, and with what silence, and how the Captain commands the men-at-arms that they should resist and not attack, and do not detach themselves from the ranks of the infantry. You see how our light cavalry are gone to attack a band of enemy gunners who wanted to attach by the flank, any how the enemy cavalry have succored them, so that, caught between the cavalry of the one and the other, they cannot fire, and retire behind their companies. You see with what fury our pikemen attack them, and how the infantry is already so near each other that they can no longer manage their pikes: so that, according to the discipline taught by us, our pikemen retire little by little among the shields (swordsmen). Watch how in this (encounter), so great an enemy band of men-at-arms has pushed back our men-at-arms on the left side and how ours, according to discipline, have retired under the extraordinary pikemen, and having reformed the front with their aid, have repulsed the adversary, and killed a good part of them. In fact all the ordinary pikemen of the first company have hidden themselves among the ranks of the shields (swordsmen), and having left the battle to the swordsmen, who, look with what virtu, security, and leisure, kill the enemy. Do you not see that, when fighting, the ranks are so straitened, that they can handle the swords only with much effort? Look with what hurry the enemy moves; for, armed with the pike and their swords useless [the one because it is too long, the other because of finding the enemy too greatly armed], in part they fall dead or wounded, in part they flee. See them flee on the right side. They also flee on the left. Look, the victory is ours. Have we not won an engagement very happily? But it would have been won with greater felicity if I should have been allowed to put them in action. And see that it was not necessary to avail ourselves of either the second or third ranks, that our first line was sufficient to overcome them. In this part, I have nothing else to tell you, except to dissolve any doubts that should arise in you.

LUIGI: You have won this engagement with so much fury, that I am astonished, and in fact so stupefied, that I do not believe I can well explain if there is any doubt left in my mind. Yet, trusting in your prudence, I will take courage to say that I intend. Tell me first, why did you not let your artillery fire more than one time? and why did you have them quickly retire within the army, nor afterward make any other mention of them? It seems to me also that you pointed the enemy artillery high, and arranged it so that it should be of much benefit to you. Yet, if it should occur [and I believe it happens often] that the lines are pierced, what remedy do you provide? And since I have commenced on artillery, I want to bring up all these questions so as not to have to discuss it any more. I have heard many disparage the arms and the organisation of the ancient Armies, arguing that today they could do little, or rather how useless they would be against the fury of artillery, for these are superior to their arms and break the ranks, so that it appears to them to be madness to create an arrangement that cannot be held, and to endure hardship in carrying a weapon that cannot defend you.

FABRIZIO: This question of yours has need [because it has so many items] of a long answer. It is true that I did not have the artillery fire more than one time, and because of it one remains in doubt. The reason is, that it is more important to one to guard against being shot than shooting the enemy. You must understand that, if you do not want the artillery to injure you, it is necessary to stay where it cannot reach you, or to put yourself behind a wall or embankment. Nothing else will stop it; but it is necessary for them to be very strong. Those Captains who must make an engagement cannot remain behind walls or embankments, nor can they remain where it may reach them. They must, therefore, since they do not have a way of protecting themselves, find one by which they are injured less; nor can they do anything other than to undertake it quickly. The way of doing this is to go find it quickly and directly, not slowly or en masse; for, speed does not allow them to shoot again, and because the men are scattered, they can injure only a few of them. A band of organised men cannot do this, because if they march in a straight line, they become disorganised, and if they scatter, they do not give the enemy the hard work to rout them, for they have routed themselves. And therefore I would organise the Army so that it should be able to do both; for having placed a thousand Veliti in its wings, I would arrange, that after our artillery had fired, they should issue forth together with the light cavalry to seize the enemy artillery. And therefore I did not have my artillery fire again so as not to give the enemy time, for you cannot give me time and take it from others. And for that, the reason I did not have it fired a second time, was not to allow it to be fired first;because, to render the enemy artillery useless, there is no other remedy than to assault it; which, if the enemy abandons it, you seize it; if they want to defend it, it is necessary that they leave it behind, so that in the hands of the enemy or of friends, it cannot be fired. I believe that, even without examples, this discussion should be enough for you, yet, being able to give you some from the ancients, I will do so. Ventidius, coming to battle with the Parthians, the virtu of whom (the latter) in great part consisted in their bows and darts, be allowed them to come almost under his encampments before he led the Army out, which he only did in order to be able to seize them quickly and not give them time to fire. Caesar in Gaul tells, that in coming to battle with the enemy, he was assaulted by them with such fury, that his men did not have time to draw their darts according to the Roman custom. It is seen, therefore, that, being in the field, if you do not want something fired from a distance to injure you, there is no other remedy than to be able to seize it as quickly as possible. Another reason also caused me to do without firing the artillery, at which you may perhaps laugh, yet I do not judge it is to be disparaged. And there is nothing that causes greater confusion in an Army than to obstruct its vision, whence most stalwart Armies have been routed for having their vision obstructed either by dust or by the sun. There is also nothing that impedes the vision than the smoke which the artillery makes when fired: I would think, therefore, that it would be more prudent to let the enemy blind himself, than for you to go blindly to find him. I would, therefore, not fire, or [as this would not be approved because of the reputation the artillery has] I would put it in the wings of the Army, so that firing it, its smoke should not blind the front of what is most important of our forces. And that obstructing the vision of the enemy is something useful, can be adduced from the example of Epaminondas, who, to blind the enemy Army which was coming to engage him, had his light cavalry run in front of the enemy so that they raised the dust high, and which obstructed their vision, and gave him the victory in the engagement. As to it appearing to you that I aimed the shots of artillery in my own manner, making it pass over the heads of the infantry, I reply that there are more times, and without comparison, that the heavy artillery does not penetrate the infantry than it does, because the infantry lies so low, and they (the artillery) are so difficult to fire, that any little that you raise them, (causes) them to pass over the heads of the infantry, and if you lower them, they damagethe ground, and the shot does not reach them (the infantry). Also, the unevenness of the ground saves them, for every little mound or height which exists between the infantry and it (the artillery), impedes it. And as to cavalry, and especially men-at-arms, because they are taller and can more easily be hit, they can be kept in the rear (tail) of the Army until the time the artillery has fired. It is true that often they injure the smaller artillery and the gunners more that the latter (cavalry), to which the best remedy is to come quickly to grips (hand to hand): and if in the first assault some are killed [as some always do die] a good Captain and a good Army do not have to fear an injury that is confined, but a general one; and to imitate the Swiss, who never shun an engagement even if terrified by artillery, but rather they punish with the capital penalty those who because of fear of it either break ranks or by their person give the sign of fear. I made them [once it had been fired] to retire into the Army because it left the passage free to the companies. No other mention of it was made, as something useless, once the battle was started.

You have also said in regard to the fury of this instrument that many judge the arms and the systems of the ancients to be useless, and it appears from your talk that the modems have found arms and systems which are useful against the artillery. If you know this, I would be pleased for you to show it to me, for up to now I do not know of any that have been observed, nor do I believe any can be found. So that I would like to learn from those men for what reasons the soldiers on foot of our times wear the breastplate or the corselet of iron, and those on horseback go completely covered with armour, since,

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condemning the ancient armour as useless with respect to artillery, they ought also to shun these. I would also like to learn for what reason the Swiss, in imitation of the ancient systems, for a close (pressed) company of six or eight thousand infantry, and for what reason all the others have imitated them, bringing the same dangers to this system because of the artillery as the others brought which had been imitated from antiquity. I believe that they would not know what to answer; but if you asked the soldiers who should have some experience, they would answer, first that they go armed because, even if that armour does not protect them from the artillery, it does every other injury inflicted by an enemy, and they would also answer that they go closely together as the Swiss in order to be better able to attack the infantry, resist the cavalry, and give the enemy more difficulty in routing them. So that it is observed that soldiers have to fear many other things besides the artillery, from which they defend themselves with armour and organisation. From which it follows that as much as an Army is better armed, and as much as its ranks are more serrated and more powerful, so much more is it secure. So that whoever is of the opinion you mentioned must be either of little prudence, or has thought very little on this matter; for if we see the least part of the ancient way of arming in use today, which is the pike, and the least part of those systems, which are the battalions of the Swiss, which do us so much good, and lend so much power to our Armies, why shouldn't we believe that the other arms and other systems that they left us are also useful? Moreover, if we do not have any regard for the artillery when we place ourselves close together, like the Swiss, what other system than that can make us afraid? inasmuch as there is no other arrangement that can make us afraid than that of being pressed together. In addition to this, if the enemy artillery does not frighten me when I lay siege to a town, where he may injure me with great safety to himself, and where I am unable to capture it as it is defended from the walls, but can stop him only with time with my artillery, so that he is able to redouble his shots as he wishes, why do I have to be afraid of him in the field where I am able to seize him quickly?So that I conclude this, that the artillery, according to my opinion, does not impede anyone who is able to use the methods of the ancients, and demonstrate the ancient virtu. And if I had not talked another time with you concerning this instrument, I would extend myself further, but I want to return to what I have now said.

LUIGI: We are able to have a very good understanding since you have so much discoursed about artillery, and in sum, it seems to me you have shown that the best remedy that one has against it when he is in the field and having an Army in an encounter, is to capture it quickly. Upon which, a doubt rises in me, for it seems to me the enemy can so locate it on a side of his army from which he can injure you, and would be so protected by the other sides, that it cannot be captured. You have [if you will remember] in your army's order for battle, created intervals of four arm lengths between one company and the next, and placed twenty of the extraordinary pikemen of the company there. If the enemy should organise his army similarly to yours, and place his artillery well within those intervals, I believe that from here he would be able to injure you with the greatest safety to himself, for it would not be possible to enter among the enemy forces to capture it.

FABRIZIO: You doubt very prudently, and I will endeavor either to resolve the doubt, or to give you a remedy. I have told you that these companies either when going out or when fighting are continually in motion, and by nature always end up close together, so that if you make the intervals small, in which you would place the artillery, in a short time, they would be so closed up that the artillery can no longer perform its function: if you make them large to avoid this danger, you incur a greater, so that, because of those intervals, you not only give the enemy the opportunity to capture your artillery, but to rout you. But you have to know that it is impossible to keep the artillery between the ranks, especially those that are mounted on carriages, for the artillery travel in one direction, and are fired in the other, so that if they are desired to be fired while travelling, it is necessary before they are fired that they be turned, and when they are being turned they need so much space, that fifty carriages of artillery would disrupt every Army. It is necessary, therefore, to keep them outside the ranks where they can be operated in the manner which we showed you a short time ago. But let us suppose they can be kept there, and that a middle way can be found, and of a kind which, when closed together, should not impede the artillery, yet not be so open as to provide a path for the enemy, I say that this is easily remedied at the time of the encounter by creating intervals in your army which give a free path for its shots, and thus its fury will be useless. Which can be easily done, because the enemy, if it wants its artillery to be safe, must place it in the end portions of the intervals, so that its shots, if they should not harm its own men, must pass in a straight line, and always in the same line, and, therefore, by giving them room, can be easily avoided. Because this is a general rule, that you must give way to those things which cannot be resisted, as the ancients did to the elephants and chariots with sickles. I believe, rather I am more than certain, that it must appear to you that I prepared and won an engagement in my own manner; none the less, I will repeat this, if what I have said up to now is now enough, that it would be impossible for an Army thus organised and armed not to overcome, at the first encounter, every other Army organised as modem Armies are organised, which often, unless they have shields(swordsmen), do not form a front, and are of an unarmed kind, which cannot defend themselves from a near-by enemy; and so organised that, that if they place their companies on the flanks next to each other, not having a way of receiving one another, they cause it to be confused, and apt to be easily disturbed. And although they give their Armies three names, and divide them into three ranks, the Vanguard, the Company (main body) and the Rearguard, none the less, they do not serve for anything else than to distinguish them in marching and in their quarters: but in an engagement, they are all pledged to the first attack and fortune.

LUIGI: I have also noted that in making your engagement, your cavalry was repulsed by the enemy cavalry, and that it retired among the extraordinary pikemen, whence it happened that with their aid, they withstood and repulsed the enemy in the rear. I believe the pikemen can withstand the cavalry, as you said, but not a large and strong Battalion, as the Swiss do, which, in your Army, have five ranks of pikemen at the head, and seven on the flank, so that I do not know how they are able to withstand them.

FABRIZIO: Although I have told you that six ranks were employed in the Phalanxes of Macedonia at one time, none the less, you have to know that a Swiss Battalion, if it were composed often thousand tanks could not employ but four, or at most five, because the pikes are nine arm lengths long and an arm length and a half is occupied by the hands; whence only seven and a half arm lengths of the pike remain to the first rank. The second rank, in addition to what the hand occupies, uses up an arm's length of the space that exists between one rank and the next; so that not even six arm lengths of pike remain of use. For the same reasons, these remain four and one half arm lengths to the third rank, three to the fourth, and one and a half to the fifth. The other ranks are useless to inflict injury; but they serve to replace the first ranks, as we have said, and serve as reinforcements for those (first) five ranks. If, therefore, five of their ranks can control cavalry, why cannot five of ours control them, to whom five ranks behind them are also not lacking to sustain them, and give the same support, even though they do not have pikes as the others do? And if the ranks of extraordinary pikemen which are placed along the flanks seem thin to you, they can be formed into a square and placed by the flank of the two companies which I place in the last ranks of the army, from which place they would all together be able easily to help the van and the rear of the army, and lend aid to the cavalry according as their need may require.

LUIGI: Would you always use this form of organisation, when you would want to engage in battle?

FABRIZIO: Not in every case, for you have to vary the formation of the army according to the fitness of the site, the kind and numbers of the enemy, which will be shown before this discussion is furnished with an example. But this formation that is given here, not so much because it is stronger than others, which is in truth very strong, as much because from it is obtained a rule and a system, to know how to recognise the manner of organisation of the others; for every science has its generations, upon which, in good part, it is based. One thing only, I would remind you, that you never organise an army so that whoever fights in the van cannot be helped by those situated behind, because whoever makes this error renders useless the great part of the army, and if any virtu is eliminated, he cannot win.

LUIGI: And on this part, some doubt has arisen in me. I have seen that in the disposition of the companies you form the front with five on each side the center with three, and the rear with two; and I would believe that it should be better to arrange them oppositely, because I think that an army can be routed with more difficulty, for whoever should attack it, the more he should penetrate into it, so much harder would he find it: but the arrangement made by you appears to me results, that the more one enters into it, the more he finds it weak.

FABRIZIO: If you would remember that the Triari, who were the third rank of the Roman Legions, were not assigned more than six hundred men, you would have less doubt, when you leave that they were placed in the last ranks, because you will see that I (motivated by this example) have placed two companies in the last ranks, which comprise nine-hundred infantry; so that I come to err rather with the Roman people in having taken away too many, than few. And although this example should suffice, I want to tell you the reasons, which is this. The first front(line) of the army is made solid and dense because it has to withstand the attack of the enemy, and does not have to receive any friends into it, and because of this, it must abound in men, for few men would make it weak both from their sparseness and their numbers. But the second line, because it has to relieve the friends from the first who have withstood the enemy, must have large intervals, and therefore must have a smaller number than the first; for if it should be of a greater or equal number, it would result in not leaving any intervals, which would cause disorder, or if some should be left, it would extend beyond the ends of those in front, which would make the formation of the army incomplete (imperfect). And what you say is not true, that the more the enemy enters into the Battalions, the weaker he will find them; for the enemy can never fight with the second line, if the first one is not joined up with it: so that he will come to find the center of the Battalion stronger and not weaker, having to fight with the first and second(lines) together. The same thing happens if the enemy should reach the third line, because here, he will not only have to fight with two fresh companies, but with the entire Battalion. And as this last part has to receive more men, its spaces must be larger, and those who receive them lesser in number.

LUIGI: And I like what you have said; but also answer me this. If the five companies retire among the second three, and afterwards, the eight among the third two, does it not seem possible that the eight come together then the ten together, are able to crowd together, whether they are eight or ten, into the same space which the five occupied.

FABRIZIO: The first thing that I answer is, that it is not the same space; for the five have four spaces between them, which they occupy when retiring between one Battalion and the next, and that which exists between the three or the two: there also remains that space which exists between the companies and the extraordinary pikemen, which spaces are all made large. There is added to this whatever other space the companies have when they are in the lines without being changed, for, when they are changed, the ranks are either compressed or enlarged. They become enlarged when they are so very much afraid, that they put themselves in flight: they become compressed when they become so afraid, that they seek to save themselves, not by flight, but by defense;so that in this case, they would compress themselves, and not spread out. There is added to this, that the five ranks of pikemen who are in front, once they have started the battle, have to retire among their companies in the rear (tail) of the army to make place for the shield-bearers (swordsmen) who are able to fight: and when they go into the tail of the army they can serve whoever the captain should judge should employ them well, whereas in the front, once the fight becomes mixed, they would be completely useless. And therefore, the arranged spaces come to be very capacious for the remaining forces. But even if these spaces should not suffice, the flanks on the side consist of men and not walls, who, when they give way and spread out, are able to create a space of such capacity, which should be sufficient to receive them.

LUIGI: The ranks of the extraordinary pikemen, which you place on the flank of the army when the first company retires into the second, do you want them to remain firm, and become as two wings of the army or do you also want them to retire with the company. Which, if they have to do this, I do not see how they can, as they do not have companies behind them with wide intervals which would receive them.

FABRIZIO: If the enemy does not fight them when he faces the companies to retire, they are able to remain firm in their ranks, and inflict injury on the enemy on the flank since the first companies had retired: but if they should also fight them, as seems reasonable, being so powerful as to be able to force the others to retire, they should cause them also to retire. Which they are very well able to do, even though they have no one behind who should receive them, for from the middle forward they are able to double on the right, one file entering into the other in the manner we discussed when we talked of the arrangement for doubling themselves. It is true, that when doubling, they should want to retire behind, other means must be found than that which I have shown you, since I told you that the second rank had to enter among the first, the fourth among the third, and so on little by little, and in this case, it would not be begun from the front, but from the rear, so that doubling the ranks, they should come to retire to the rear, and not to turn in front. But to reply to all of that, which (you have asked) concerning this engagement as shown by me, it should be repeated, (and) I again say that I have so organised this army, and will (again) explain this engagement to you for two reasons: one, to show you how it (the army) is organised: the other, to show you how it is trained. As to the systems, I believe you all most knowledgeable. As to the army, I tell you that it may often be put together in this form, for the Heads are taught to keep their companies in this order: and because it is the duty of each individual soldier to keep (well)the arrangement of each company, and it is the duty of each Head to keep (well) those in each part of the Army, and to know well how to obey the commands of the general Captain. They must know, therefore, how to join one company with another, and how to take their places instantly: and therefore, the banner of each company must have its number displayed openly, so that they may be commanded, and the Captain and the soldiers will more readily recognise that number. The Battalions ought also to be numbered, and have their number on their principal banner. One must know, therefore, what the number is of the Battalion placed on the

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left or right wing, the number of those placed in the front and the center, and soon for the others. I would want also that these numbers reflect the grades of positions in the Army. For instance, the first grade is the Head of Ten, the second is the head of fifty ordinary Veliti, the third the Centurion, the fourth the head of the first company, the fifth that of the second (company), the sixth of the third, and so on up to the tenth Company, which should be in the second place next to the general Captain of the Battalion; nor should anyone arrive to that Leadership, unless he had (first) risen through all these grades. And, as in addition to these Heads, there are the three Constables (in command) of the extraordinary pikemen, and the two of the extraordinary Veliti, I would want them to be of the grade of Constable of the first company, nor would I care if they were men of equal grade, as long as each of them should vie to be promoted to the second company. Each one of these Captains, therefore, knowing where his Company should be located, of necessity it will follow that, at the sound of the trumpet, once the Captain's flag was raised, all of the Army would be in its proper places. And this is the first exercise to which an Army ought to become accustomed, that is, to assemble itself quickly: and to do this, you must frequently each day arrange them and disarrange them.

LUIGI: What signs would you want the flags of the Army to have, in addition to the number?

FABRIZIO: I would want the one of the general Captain to have the emblem of the Army: all the others should also have the same emblem, but varying with the fields, or with the sign, as it should seem best to the Lord of the Army, but this matters little, so long as their effect results in their recognising one another.

But let us pass on to another exercise in which an army ought to be trained, which is, to set it in motion, to march with a convenient step, and to see that, while in motion, it maintains order. The third exercise is, that they be taught to conduct themselves as they would afterwards in an engagement; to fire the artillery, and retire it; to have the extraordinary Veliti issue forth, and after a mock assault, have them retire; have the first company, as if they were being pressed, retire within the intervals of the second (company), and then both into the third, and from here each one return to its place; and so to accustom them in this exercise, that it become understood and familiar to everyone, which with practice and familiarity, will readily be learned. The fourth exercise is that they be taught to recognise commands of the Captain by virtue of his (bugle) calls and flags, as they will understand, without other command, the pronouncements made by voice. And as the importance of the commands depends on the(bugle) calls, I will tell you what sounds (calls) the ancients used. According as Thucydides affirms, whistles were used in the army of the Lacedemonians, for they judged that its pitch was more apt to make their Army proceed with seriousness and not with fury. Motivated by the same reason, the Carthaginians, in their first assault, used the zither. Alliatus, King of the Lydians, used the zither and whistles in war; but Alexander the Great and the Romans used horns and trumpets, like those who thought the courage of the soldiers could be increased by virtue of such instruments, and cause them to combat more bravely. But just as we have borrowed from the Greek and Roman methods in equipping our Army, so also in choosing sounds should we serve ourselves of the customs of both those nations. I would, therefore, place the trumpets next to the general Captain, as their sound is apt not only to inflame the Army, but to be heard over every noise more than any other sound. I would want that the other sounds existing around the Constables and Heads of companies to be (made by) small drums and whistles, sounded not as they are presently, but as they are customarily sounded at banquets. I would want, therefore, for the Captain to use the trumpets in indicating when they should stop or go forward or turn back, when they should fire the artillery, when to move the extraordinary Veliti, and by changes in these sounds (calls) point out to the Army all those moves that generally are pointed out; and those trumpets afterwards followed by drums. And, as training in these matters are of great importance, I would follow them very much in training your Army. As to the cavalry, I would want to use the same trumpets, but of lower volume and different pitch of sounds from those of the Captain. This is all that occurs to me concerning the organisation and training of the Army.

LUIGI: I beg you not to be so serious in clearing up another matter for me: why did you have the light cavalry and the extraordinary Veliti move with shouts and noise and fury when they attacked, but they in rejoining the Army you indicated the matter was accomplished with great silence: and as I do not understand the reason for this fact, I would desire you to clarify it for me.

FABRIZIO: When coming to battle, there have been various opinions held by the ancient Captains, whether they ought either to accelerate the step (of the soldiers) by sounds, or have them go slowly in silence. This last manner serves to keep the ranks firmer and have them understand the commands of the Captain better:the first serves to encourage the men more. And, as I believe consideration ought to be given to both these methods, I made the former move with sound, and the latter in silence. And it does not seem to me that in any case the sounds are planned to be continuous, for they would impede the commands, which is a pernicious thing. Nor is it reasonable that the Romans, after the first assault, should follow with such sounds, for it is frequently seen in their histories that soldiers who were fleeing were stopped by the words and advice of the Captains, and changed the orders in various ways by his command: which would not have occurred if the sounds had overcome his voice.

MACHIAVELLI ART OF WAR, 4TH BOOK

LUIGI: Since an engagement has been won so honourably under my Rule, I think it is well if I do not tempt fortune further, knowing how changeable and unstable it is. And, therefore, I desire to resign my speakership, and that, wanting to follow the order that belongs to the youngest, Zanobi now assume this office of questioning. And I know he will not refuse this honour, or we would rather say, this hard work, as much in order to (give) pleasure, as also because he is naturally more courageous than I: nor should he be afraid to enter into these labors, where he can thus be overcome, as he can overcome.

ZANOBI: I intend to stay where you put me, even though I would more willingly stay to listen, because up to now I am more satisfied with your questions than those which occurred to me in listening to your discussions pleased me. But I believe it is well, Lords, that since you have time left, and have patience, we do not annoy you with these ceremonies of ours.

FABRIZIO: Rather you give me pleasure, because this change of questioners makes me know the various geniuses, and your various desires. Is there anything remaining of the matter discussed which you think should be added?

ZANOBI: There are two things I desire before we pass on to another part: the one is, that you would show me if there is another form of organising the Army which may occur to you: the other, what considerations ought a Captain have before going to battle, and if some accident should arise concerning it, what remedies can be made.

FABRIZIO: I will make an effort to satisfy you, I will not reply to your questions in detail; for, when I answer one, often it will also answer another. I have told you that I proposed a form for the Army which should fill all the requirements according to the (nature of) the enemy and the site, because in this case, one proceeds according to the site and the enemy. But note this, that there is no greater peril than to over extend the front of your army, unless you have a very large and very brave Army: otherwise you have to make it rather wide and of short length, than of long length and very narrow. For when you have a small force compared to the enemy, you ought to seek other remedies; for example, arrange your army so that you are girded on a side by rivers or swamps, so that you cannot be surrounded or gird yourself on the flanks with ditches, as Caesar did in Gaul. In this case, you have to take the flexibility of being able to enlarge or compress your front, according to the numbers of the enemy: and if the enemy is of a lesser number, you ought to seek wide places, especially if you have your forces so disciplined, that you are able not only to surround the enemy, but extend your ranks, because in rough and difficult places, you do not have the advantage of being able to avail yourself of (all) your ranks. Hence it happened that the Romans almost always sought open fields, and avoided the difficult ones. On the other hand [as I have said] you ought to, if you have either a small force or a poorly disciplined one, for you have to seek places where a small number can defend you, or where inexperience may not cause you injury. Also, higher places ought to be sought so as to be able more easily to attack (the enemy). None the less, one ought to be aware not to arrange your Army on a beach and in a place near the adjoining hills, where the enemy Army can come; because in this case, with respect to the artillery, the higher place would be disadvantageous to you, because you could continuously and conveniently be harmed by the enemy artillery, without being able to undertake any remedy, and similarly, impeded by your own men, you cannot conveniently injure him. Whoever organises an Army for battle, ought also to have regard for both the sun and the wind, that the one and the other do not strike the front, because both impede your vision, the one with its rays, the other with dust. And in addition, the wind does not aid the arms that are thrown at the enemy, and makes their blows more feeble. And as to the sun, it is not enough that you take care that it is not in your face at the time, but you must think about it not harming you when it comes up. And because of this, in arranging the army, I would have it (the sun) behind them, so that much time should pass before it should come in front of you. This method was observed by Hannibal at Cannae and by Marius against the Cimbrians. If you should be greatly inferior in cavalry, arrange your army between vines and trees, and such impediments, as the Spaniards did in our times when they routed the French in the Kingdom (of Naples) on the Cirignuola. And it has been frequently seen that the same soldiers, when they changed only their arrangement and the location, from being overcome became victorious, as happened to the Carthaginians, who, after having been often defeated by Marius Regulus, were afterwards victorious, through the counsel of Xantippe, the Lacedemonian, who had them descend to the plain, where, by the virtu of their cavalry and Elephants, they were able to overcome the Romans. And it appears to me, according to the examples of the ancients, that almost all the excellent Captains, when they learned that the enemy had strengthened one side of the company, did not attack the stronger side, but the weaker, and the other stronger side they oppose to the weaker: then, when starting a battle, they cornered the stronger part that it only resist the enemy, and not push it back, and the weaker part that it allow itself to be overcome, and retire into the rear ranks of the Army. This causes two great disorders to the enemy: the first, that he finds his strongest part surrounded: the second is, that as it appears to them they will obtain the victory quickly, it rarely happens that he will not become disorganised, whence his defeat quickly results. Cornelius Scipio, when he was in Spain, (fighting) against Hasdrubal, the Carthaginian, and knowing that Hasdrubal was noted, that in arranging the Army, placed his legions in the center, which constituted the strongest part of his Army, and therefore, when Hasdrubal was to proceed in this manner, afterwards, when he came to the engagement, changed the arrangement, and put his Legions in the wings of the Army, and placed his weakest forces in the center. Then when they came hand to hand, he quickly had those forces in the center to walk slowly, and the wings to move forward swiftly: so that only the wings of both armies fought, and the ranks in the center, being distant from each other, did not join (in battle), and thus the strongest part of (the army of) Scipio came to fight the weakest part of (that of) Hasdrubal, and defeated it. This method at that time was useful, but today, because of the artillery, could not be employed, because that space that existed between one and the other army, gives them time to fire, which is most pernicious, as we said above. This method, therefore, must be set aside, and be used, as was said a short time ago, when all the Army is engaged, and the weaker part made to yield. When a Captain finds himself to have an army larger than that of the enemy, and not wanting to be prevented from surrounding him, arranges his Army with fronts equal to those of the enemy: then when the battle is started, has his front retire and the flanks extend little by little, and it will always happen that the enemy will find himself surrounded without being aware of it. When a Captain wants to fight almost secure in not being routed, he arranges his army in a place where he has a safe refuge nearby, either amid swamps or mountains or in a powerful city; for, in this manner, he cannot be pursued by the enemy, but the enemy cannot be pursued by him. This means was employed by Hannibal when fortune began to become adverse for him, and he was apprehensive of the valor of Marcus Marcellus. Several, in order to disorganise the ranks of the enemy, have commanded those who are lightly armed, that they begin the fight, and having begun it, retire among the ranks; and when the Armies afterwards have joined fronts together, and each front is occupied in fighting, they have allowed them to issue forth from the flanks of the companies, and disorganised and routed them. If anyone finds himself inferior in cavalry, he can, in addition to the methods mentioned, place a company of pikemen behind his cavalry, and in the fighting, arrange for them to give way for the pikemen, and he will always remain superior. Many have accustomed some of the lightly armed infantry to get used to combat amidst the cavalry, and this has been a very great help to the cavalry. Of all those who have organised Armies for battle, the most praiseworthy have been Hannibal and Scipio when they were fighting in Africa: and as Hannibal had his Army composed of Carthaginians and auxiliaries of various kinds, he placed eighty Elephants in the first van, then placed the auxiliaries, after these he placed his Carthaginians, and in the rear, he placed the Italians, whom he trusted little. He arranged matters thusly, because the auxiliaries, having the enemy in front and their rear closed by his men, they could not flee: so that being compelled to fight, they should overcome or tire out the Romans, thinking afterwards with his forces of virtu, fresh, he could easily overcome the already tired Romans. In the encounter with this arrangement, Scipio placed the Astati, the Principi, and the Triari, in the accustomed fashion for one to be able to receive the other, and one to help the other. He made the vans of the army full of intervals; and so that they should not be seen through, but rather appear united, he filled them with Veliti, whom he commanded that, as soon as the Elephants arrived, they should give way, and enter through the regular spaces among the legions, and leave the way open to the Elephants: and thus come to render their attack vain, so that coming hand to hand with them, he was superior.

ZANOBI: You have made me remember in telling me of this engagement, that Scipio, during the fight, did not have the Astati retire into the ranks of the Principi, but divided them and had them retire into the wings of the army, so as to make room for the Principi, if he wanted to push them forward. I

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would desire, therefore, that you tell me what reason motivated him not to observe the accustomed arrangement.

FABRIZIO: I will tell you. Hannibal had placed all the virtu of his army in the second line; whence Scipio, in order to oppose a similar virtu to it, assembled the Principi and the Triari; so that the intervals of the Principi being occupied by the Triari, there was no place to receive the Astati, and therefore, he caused the Astati to be divided and enter the wings of the army, and did not bring them among the Principi. But take note that this method of opening up the first lines to make a place for the second, cannot be employed except when the other are superior, because then the convenience exists to be able to do it, as Scipio was able to. But being inferior and repulsed, it cannot be done except with your manifest ruin: and, therefore, you must have ranks in the rear which will receive you. But let us return to our discussion. The ancient Asiatics [among other things thought up by them to injure the enemy] used chariots which had scythes on their sides, so that they not only served to open up the lines with their attack, but also kill the adversary with the scythes. Provisions against these attacks were made in three ways. It was resisted by the density of the ranks, or they were received within the lines as were the Elephants, or a stalwart resistance was made with some stratagems, as did Sulla, the Roman, against Archelaus, who had many of those chariots which they called Falcati; he (Sulla), in order to resist them, fixed many poles in the ground behind the first ranks, by which the chariots, being resisted, lost their impetus. And note is to be taken of the new method which Sulla used against this man in arranging the army, since he put the Veliti and the cavalry in the rear, and all the heavily armed in front, leaving many intervals in order to be able to send those in the rear forward if necessity should require it; whence when the battle was started, with the aid of the cavalry, to whom he gave the way, he obtained the victory. To want to worry the enemy during the battle, something must be made to happen which dismays him, either by announcing new help which is arriving, or by showing things which look like it, so that the enemy, being deceived by that sight, becomes frightened; and when he is frightened, can be easily overcome. These methods were used by the Roman Consuls Minucius Rufus and Accilius Glabrius, Caius Sulpicius also placed many soldier-packs on mules and other animals useless in war, but in a manner that they looked like men-at-arms, and commanded that they appear on a hill while they were (in) hand to hand (combat) with the Gauls: whence his victory resulted. Marius did the same when he was fighting against the Germans. Feigned assaults, therefore, being of great value while the battle lasts, it happens that many are benefited by the real (assaults), especially if, improvised in the middle of the battle, it is able to attack the enemy from behind or on the sides. Which can be done only with difficulty, unless the (nature of the) country helps you; for if it is open, part of your forces cannot be speeded, as must be done in such enterprises: but in wooded or mountainous places, and hence capable of ambush, part of your forces can be well hidden, so that the enemy may be assaulted, suddenly and without his expecting it, which will always be the cause of giving you the victory. And sometimes it has been very important, while the battle goes on, to plant voices which announce the killed of the enemy Captain, or to have defeated some other part of the army; and this often has given the victory to whoever used it. The enemy cavalry may be easily disturbed by unusual forms (sights) or noises; as did Croesus, who opposed camels to the cavalry of his adversaries, and Pyrrhus who opposed elephants to the Roman cavalry, the sight of which disturbed and disorganised it. In our times, the Turk routed the Shah in Persia and the Soldan in Syria with nothing else than the noise of guns, which so affected their cavalry by their unaccustomed noises, that the Turk was able easily to defeat it. The Spaniards, to overcome the army of Hamilcar, placed in their first lines chariots full of tow drawn by oxen, and when they had come to battle, set fire to them, whence the oxen, wanting to flee the fire, hurled themselves on the army of Hamilcar and dispersed it. As we mentioned, where the country is suitable, it is usual to deceive the enemy when in combat by drawing him into ambushes: but when it is open and spacious, many have employed the making (digging) of ditches, and then covering them lightly with earth and branches, but leaving several places (spaces) solid in order to be able to retire between them; then when the battle is started, retire through them, and the enemy pursuing, comes to ruin in them. If, during the battle, some accident befalls you which dismays your soldiers, it is a most prudent thing to know how to dissimulate and divert them to (something) good, as did Lucius Sulla, who, while the fighting was going on, seeing that a great part of his forces had gone over to the side of the enemy, and that this had dismayed his men, quickly caused it to be understood throughout the entire army that everything was happening by his order, and this not only did not disturb the army, but so increased its courage that it was victorious. It also happened to Sulla, that having sent certain soldiers to undertake certain business, and they having been killed, in order that his army would not be dismayed said, that because he had found them unfaithful, he had cunningly sent them into the hands of the enemy. Sertorius, when undertaking an engagement in Spain, killed one who had pointed out to him the slaying of one of his Heads, for fear that by telling the same to the others, he should dismay them. It is a difficult matter to stop an army already in flight, and return it to battle. And you have to make this distinction: either they are entirely in flight (motion), and here it is impossible to return them: or only a part are in flight, and here there is some remedy. Many Roman Captains, by getting in front of those fleeing, have stopped them, by making them ashamed of their flight, as did Lucius Sulla, who, when a part of his Legions had already turned, driven by the forces of Mithradates, with his sword in hand he got in front of them and shouted, "if anyone asks you where you have left your Captain, tell them, we have left him in Boetia fighting." The Consul Attilius opposed those who fled with those who did not flee, and made them understand that if they did not turn about, they would be killed by both friends and enemies. Phillip of Macedonia, when he learned that his men were afraid of the Scythian soldiers, put some of his most trusted cavalry behind his army, and commissioned them to kill anyone who fled; whence his men, preferring to die fighting rather than in flight, won. Many Romans, not so much in order to stop a flight, as to give his men an occasion to exhibit greater prowess, while they were fighting, have taken a banner out of their hands, and tossing it amid the enemy, offered rewards to whoever would recover it.

I do not believe it is out of order to add to this discussion those things that happen after a battle, especially as they are brief, and not to be omitted, and conform greatly to this discussion. I will tell you, therefore, how engagements are lost, or are won. When one wins, he ought to follow up the victory with all speed, and imitate Caesar in this case, and not Hannibal, who, because he had stopped after he had defeated the Romans at Cannae, lost the Empire of Rome. The other (Caesar) never rested after a victory, but pursued the routed enemy with great impetus and fury, until he had completely assaulted it. But when one loses, a Captain ought to see if something useful to him can result from this loss, especially if some residue of the army remains to him. An opportunity can arise from the unawareness of the enemy, which frequently becomes obscured after a victory, and gives you the occasion to attack him; as Martius, the Roman, attacked the Carthaginian army, which, having killed the two Scipios and defeated their armies, thought little of that remnant of the forces who, with Martius, remained alive; and was (in turn) attacked and routed by him. It is seen, therefore, that there is nothing so capable of success as that which the enemy believes you cannot attempt, because men are often injured more when they are less apprehensive. A Captain ought, therefore, when he cannot do this, at least endeavor with industry to restrict the injury caused by the defeat. And to do this, it is necessary for you to take steps that the enemy is not able to follow you easily, or give him cause for delay. In the first case some, after they realize they are losing, order their Leaders to flee in several parts by different paths, having (first) given an order where they should afterward reassemble, so that the enemy, fearing to divide his forces, would leave all or a greater part of them safe. In the second case, many have thrown down their most precious possessions in front of the enemy, so that being retarded by plundering, he gave them more time for flight. Titus Dimius used not a little astuteness in hiding the injury received in battle; for, after he had fought until nightfall with a loss of many of his men, caused a good many of them to be buried during the night; whence in the morning, the enemy seeing so many of their dead and so few Romans, believing they had had the disadvantage, fled. I believe I have thus confused you, as I said, (but) satisfied your question in good part: it is true, that concerning the shape of the army, there remains for me to tell you how sometimes it is customary for some Captains to make the front in the form of a wedge, judging in that way to be able more readily to open (penetrate) the Army of the enemy. In opposition to this shape they customarily would use a form of a scissor, so as to be able to receive that wedge into that space, and surround and fight it from every side. On this, I would like you to have this general rule, that the greatest remedy used against the design of the enemy, is to do that willingly which he designs for you to do by force, because doing it willingly you do it with order and to your advantage, but to his disadvantage: if you should do it by force, it would be to your ruin. As to the fortifying of this, I would not care to repeat anything already said. Does the adversary make a wedge in order to open your ranks? if you proceed with yours open, you disorganise him, and he does not disorganise you. Hannibal placed Elephants in front of his Army to open that of the Army of Scipio; Scipio went with his open and was the cause of his own victory and the ruin of the former (Hannibal). Hasdrubal placed his most stalwart forces in the center of the van of his Army to push back the forces of Scipio: Scipio commanded in like fashion that they should retire, and defeated him. So that such plans, when they are put forward, are the cause for the victory of him against whom they were organised. It remains for me yet, if I remember well, to tell you what considerations a Captain ought to take into account before going into battle: upon which I have to tell you first that a Captain never has to make an engagement, if he does not have the advantage, or if he is not compelled to. Advantages arise from the location, from the organisation, and from having either greater or better forces. Necessity, (compulsion) arises when you see that, by not fighting, you must lose in an event; for example, when you see you are about to lack money, and therefore your Army has to be dissolved in any case; when hunger is about to assail you, or when you expect the enemy to be reinforced again by new forces. In these cases, one ought always to fight, even at your disadvantage; for it is much better to try your fortune when it can favor you, than by not trying, see your ruin sure: and in such a case, it is as serious an error for a Captain not to fight, as it is to pass up an opportunity to win, either from ignorance, or from cowardice. The enemy sometimes gives you the advantage, and sometimes (it derives from) your prudence. Many have been routed while crossing a river by an alert enemy of theirs, who waited until they were in the middle of the stream, and then assaulted them on every side; as Caesar did to the Swiss, where he destroyed a fourth part of them, after they had been split by the river. Some time you may find your enemy tired from having pursued you too inconsiderately, so that, finding yourself fresh, and rested, you ought not to lose such an opportunity. In addition to this, if an enemy offers you battle at a good hour of the morning, you can delay going out of your encampment for many hours: and if he has been under arms for a long time, and has lost that first ardor with which he started, you can then fight with him. Scipio and Metellus employed this method in Spain, the first against Hasdrubal, and the other against Sertorius. If the enemy has diminished in strength, either from having divided the Armies, as the Scipios (did) in Spain, or from some other cause, you ought to try (your) fortune. The greater part of prudent Captains would rather receive the onrush of the enemy, who impetuously go to assault them, for their fury is easily withstood by firm and resolute men, and that fury which was withstood, easily converts itself into cowardice. Fabius acted thusly against the Samnites and against the Gauls, and was victorious, but his colleague, Decius was killed. Some who feared the virtu of their enemy, have begun the battle at an hour near nightfall, so that if their men were defeated, they might be able to be protected by its darkness and save themselves. Some, having known that the enemy Army, because of certain superstitions, does not want to undertake fighting at such a time, selected that time for battle, and won: which Caesar did in Gaul against Ariovistus, and Vespatianus in Syria against the Jews. The greater and more important awareness that a Captain ought to have, is (to see) that he has about him, men loyal and most expert in war, and prudent, with whom he counsels continually, and discusses his forces and those of the enemy with them: which are the greater in number, which are better armed or better trained, which are more apt to suffer deprivation, which to confide in more, the infantry or the cavalry. Also, they consider the location in which they are, and if it is more suitable for the enemy than for themselves; which of them has the better convenience of supply; whether it is better to delay the engagement or undertake it, and what benefit the weather might give you or take away from them; for often when the soldiers see the war becoming long, they become irritable, and weary from hard work and tedium, will abandon you. Above all, it is important for the Captain to know the enemy, and who he has around him: if he is foolhardy or cautious: if timid or audacious. See whether you can trust the auxiliary soldiers. And above all, you ought to guard against leading an army into battle which is afraid, or distrustful in any way of victory, for the best indication of defeat is when one believes he cannot win. And, therefore, in this case, you ought to avoid an engagement, either by doing as Fabius Maximus did, who, by encamping in strong places, did not give Hannibal courage to go and meet him, or by believing that the enemy, also in strong places, should come to meet you, you should depart from the field, and divide your forces among your towns, so that the tedium of capturing them will tire him.

ZANOBI: Can he not avoid the engagement in other ways than by dividing it (the army) into several parts, and putting them in towns?

FABRIZIO: I believe at another time I have discussed with some of you that whoever is in the field, cannot avoid an engagement if he has an enemy who wants to fight in any case; and he has but one remedy, and that is to place himself with his Army at least fifty miles distant from his adversary, so as to be in time to get out of his way if he should come to meet him. And Fabius Maximus never avoided an engagement with Hannibal, but wanted it at his advantage; and Hannibal did not presume to be able to overcome him by going to meet him in the places where he was encamped. But if he supposed he could defeat him, it was necessary for Fabius to undertake an engagement with him in any case, or to flee. Phillip, King of Macedonia, he who was the father of Perseus, coming to war with the Romans, placed his encampment on a very high mountain so as not to have an engagement with them; but the Romans went to meet him on that mountain, and routed him.

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Vercingetorix, a Captain of the Gauls, in order to avoid an engagement with Caesar, who unexpectedly had crossed the river, placed himself miles distant with his forces. The Venetians in our times, if they did not want to come to an engagement with the King of France, ought not to have waited until the French Army had crossed the Adda, but should have placed themselves distant from him, as did Vercingetorix: whence, having waited for him, they did not know how to take the opportunity of undertaking an engagement during the crossing, nor how to avoid it; for the French being near to them, as the Venetians decamped, assaulted and routed them. And so it is, that an engagement cannot be avoided if the enemy at all events wants to undertake it. Nor does anyone cite Fabius, for he avoided an engagement in cases like that, just as much as did Hannibal. It often happens that your soldiers are not willing to fight, and you know that because of their number or the location, or from some other cause, you have a disadvantage, and would like them to change their minds. It also happens that necessity or opportunity constrains you to (come to) an engagement, and that your soldiers are discontent and little disposed to fight, whence it is necessary for you in one case to frighten them, and in the other to excite them. In the first instance, if persuasion is not enough, there is no better way to have both those who fight and those who would not believe you, than to give some of them over to the enemy as plunder. It may also be well to do with cunning that which happened to Fabius Maximus at home. The Army of Fabius desired [as you know] to fight with the Army of Hannibal: his Master of cavalry had the same desire. It did not seem proper to Fabius to attempt the battle, so that in order to dispel such (desires), he had to divide the Army. Fabius kept his men in the encampments: and the other (the Master of cavalry) going forth, and coming into great danger, would have been routed, if Fabius had not succored him. By this example, the Master of the cavalry, together with the entire army, realized it was a wise course to obey Fabius. As to exciting them to fight, it is well to make them angry at the enemy, by pointing out that (the enemy) say slanderous things of them, and showing them to have with their intelligence (in the enemy camp) and having corrupted some part, to encamp on the side where they see they enemy, and undertake some light skirmishes with them; because things that are seen daily are more easily disparaged. By showing yourself indignant, and by making an oration in which you reproach them for their laziness, you make them so ashamed by saying you want to fight only if they do not accompany you. And above every thing, to have this awareness, if you want to make the soldiers obstinate in battle, not to permit them to send home any of their possessions, or settle in any place, until the war ends, so that they understand that if flight saves them their lives, it will not save them their possessions, the love of the latter, not less than the former, renders men obstinate in defense.

ZANOBI: You have told how soldiers can be made to turn and fight, by talking to them. Do you mean by this that he has to talk to the entire Army, or to its Heads?

FABRIZIO: To persuade or dissuade a few from something, is very easy; for if words are not enough, you can use authority and force: but the difficulty is to take away a sinister idea from a multitude, whether it may be in agreement or contrary to your own opinion, where only words can be used, which, if you want to persuade everyone, must be heard by everyone. Captains, therefore, must be excellent Orators, for without knowing how to talk to the entire Army, good things can only be done with difficulty. Which, in these times of ours, is completely done away with. Read the life (biography) of Alexander the Great, and see how many times it was necessary to harangue and speak publicly to the Army; otherwise he could never have them led them [having become rich and full of plunder] through the deserts of Arabia and into India with so much hardship and trouble; for infinite numbers of things arose by which an Army is ruined if a Captain does not know how or is not accustomed to talking to it; for this speaking takes away fear, incites courage, increases obstinacy, and sweeps away deceptions, promises rewards, points out dangers and the ways to avoid them, reprimands, begs, threatens, fills with hope, praises, slanders, and does all those things by which human passion are extinguished or enkindled. Whence that Prince or Republic planning to raise a new army, and to give this army reputation, ought to accustom the soldiers to listen to the talk of the Captain, and the Captain to know how to talk to them. Religion was (also) of much value in keeping the ancient soldiers well disposed and an oath was given to (taken by) them when they came into the army; for whenever they made a mistake, they were threatened not only by those evils that can be feared by men, but also by those that can be expected from the Deity. This practice, mixed with other religious means, often made an entire enterprise easy for the ancient Captains, and would always be so whenever religion was feared and observed. Sertorius availed himself of this when he told of talking with a Hind (female stag), which promised him victory on the part of the Deity. Sulla was said to talk with a Statue which he had taken from the Temple of Apollo. Many have told of God appearing to them in their sleep, and admonishing them to fight. In the times of our fathers, Charles the seventh, King of France, in the war he waged against the English, was said to counsel with a young girl sent by God, who is called the Maid of France, and who was the cause for victory. You can also take means to make your (soldiers) value the enemy little, as Agesilaus the Spartan did, who showed his soldiers some Persians in the nude, so that seeing their delicate members, they should have no cause for being afraid of them. Some have constrained them to fight from necessity, by removing from their paths all hope of saving themselves, except through victory. This is the strongest and the best provision that can be made when you want to make your soldiers obstinate. Which obstinacy is increased by the confidence and the love either of the Captain or of the Country. Confidence is instilled by arms organisation, fresh victories, and the knowledge of the Captain. Love of Country springs from nature: that of the Captain from (his) virtu more than any other good event. Necessities can be many, but that is the strongest, which constrains you either to win or to die.

MACHIAVELLI ART OF WAR, 5TH BOOK

FABRIZIO: I have shown you how to organise an army to battle another army which is seen posted against you, and I have told you how it is overcome, and also of the many circumstances which can occur because of the various incidents surrounding it, so that it appears to me now to be the time to show you how to organise an army against an enemy which is unseen, but which you are continually afraid will assault you. This happens when marching through country which is hostile, or suspected (of being so). And first you have to understand that a Roman Army ordinarily always sent ahead some groups of cavalry as observers for the march. Afterwards the right wing followed. After this came all the wagons which pertained to it. After those, another Legion, and next its wagons. After these come the left wing with its wagon in the rear, and the remainder of the cavalry followed in the last part. This was in effect the manner in which one ordinarily marched. And if it happened that the Army should be assaulted on the march in front or from the rear, they quickly caused all the wagons to be withdrawn either on the right, or on the left, according as it happened, or rather as best they could depending on the location, and all the forces together, free from their baggage, set up a front on that side from which the enemy was coming. If they were assaulted on the flank, they would withdraw the wagons to the side which was secure, and set up a front on the other. This method being good, and prudently conducted, appears to me ought to be imitated, sending cavalry ahead to observe the country, then having four battalions, having them march in line, and each with its wagons in the rear. And as the wagons are of two kinds, that is, those pertaining to individual soldiers, and the public ones for use by the whole camp, I would divide the public wagons into four parts, and assign a part to each Battalion, also dividing the artillery and all the unarmed men, so that each one of those armed should have its equal share of impedimenta. But as it sometimes happens that one marches in a country not only suspect, but hostile in fact, that you are afraid of being attacked hourly, in order to go on more securely, you are compelled to change the formation of the march, and go on in the regular way, so that in some unforeseen place, neither the inhabitants nor the Army can injure you. In such a case, the ancient Captains usually went on with the Army in squares, for such they called these formations, not because it was entirely square, but because it was capable of fighting on four sides, and they said that they were going prepared either for marching or for battle. I do not want to stray far from this method, and want to arrange my two Battalions, which I have taken as a rule for an Army, in this manner. If you want, therefore, to walk securely through the enemy country, and be able to respond from every side, if you had been assaulted by surprise, and wanting, in accordance with the ancients, to bring it into a square, I would plan to make a square whose hollow was two hundred arm lengths on every side in this manner. I would first place the flanks, each distant from the other by two hundred twelve arm lengths, and would place five companies in each flank in a file along its length, and distant from each other three arm lengths; these would occupy their own space, each company occupying (a space) forty arm lengths by two hundred twelve arm lengths. Between the front and rear of these two flanks, I would place another ten companies, five on each side, arranging them in such a way that four should be next to the front of the right flank, and five at the rear of the left flank, leaving between each one an interval (gap) of four arm lengths: one of which should be next to the front of the left flank, and one at the rear of the right flank. And as the space existing between the one flank and the other is two hundred twelve arm lengths, and these companies placed alongside each other by their width and not length, they would come to occupy, with the intervals, one hundred thirty four arm lengths, (and) there would be between the four companies placed on the front of the right flank, and one placed on the left, a remaining space of seventy eight arm lengths, and a similar space be left among the companies placed in the rear parts; and there would be no other difference, except that one space would be on the rear side toward the right wing, the other would be on the front side toward the left wing. In the space of seventy eight arm lengths in front, I would place all the ordinary Veliti, and in that in the rear the extraordinary Veliti, who would come to be a thousand per space. And if you want that the space taken up by the Army should be two hundred twelve arm lengths on every side, I would see that five companies are placed in front, and those that are placed in the rear, should not occupy any space already occupied by the flanks, and therefore I would see that the five companies in the rear should have their front touch the rear of their flanks, and those in front should have their rear touch the front (of their flanks), so that on every side of that army, space would remain to receive another company. And as there are four spaces, I would take four banners away from the extraordinary pikemen and would put one on every corner: and the two banners of the aforementioned pikemen left to me, I would place in the middle of the hollow of their army (formed) in a square of companies, at the heads of which the general Captain would remain with his men around him. And as these companies so arranged all march in one direction, but not all fight in one, in putting them together, one has to arrange which sides are not guarded by other companies during the battle. And, therefore, it ought to be considered that the five companies in front protect all the other sides, except the front; and therefore these have to be assembled in an orderly manner (and) with the pikemen in front. The five companies behind protect all the sides, except the side in the back; and therefore ought to be assembled so that the pikemen are in the rear, as we will demonstrate in its place. The five companies on the right flank protect all the sides, from the right flank outward. The five on the left, engird all the sides, from the left flank outward: and therefore in arranging the companies, the pikemen ought to be placed so that they turn by that flank which in uncovered. And as the Heads of Ten are placed in the front and rear, so that when they have to fight, all the army and its members are in their proper places, the manner of accomplishing this was told when we discussed the methods of arranging the companies. I would divide the artillery, and one part I would place outside the right flank, and the other at the left. I would send the light cavalry ahead to reconnoiter the country. Of the men-at-arms, I would place part in the rear on the right wing, and part on the left, distant forty arms lengths from the companies. And no matter how you arrange your Army, you have to take up [as the cavalry] this general (rule), that you have to place them always either in the rear or on the flanks. Whoever places them ahead in front of the Army must do one of two things: either he places them so far ahead, that if they are repulsed they have so much room to give them time to be able to obtain shelter for themselves from your infantry and not collide with them; or to arrange them (the infantry) with so many intervals, that by means of them the cavalry can enter among them without disorganising them. Let not anyone think little of this instruction, because many, not being aware of this, have been ruined, and have been disorganised and routed by themselves. The wagons and the unarmed men are placed in the plaza that exists within the Army, and so compartmented, that they easily make way for whoever wants to go from one side to the other, or from one front of the Army to the other. These companies, without artillery and cavalry, occupy two hundred eighty two arm lengths of space on the outside in every direction. And as this square is composed of two Battalions, it must be devised as to which part one Battalion makes up, and which part the other. And since the Battalions are called by number, and each of them has [as you know] ten companies and a general Head, I would have the first Battalion place its first five companies in the front, the other five on the left flank, and the Head should be in the left angle of the front. The first five companies of the second Battalion then should be placed on the right flank, and the other five in the rear, and the Head should be in the right angle, who would undertake the office of the Tergiduttore.

The Army organised in this manner is ready to move, and in its movement should completely observe this arrangement: and without doubt it is secure from all the tumults of the inhabitants. Nor ought the Captain make other provisions against these tumultuous assaults, than sometime to give a commission to some cavalry or band of Veliti to put them in their place. Nor will it ever happen that these tumultuous people will come to meet you within the drawing of a sword or pike, because disorderly people are afraid of order; and it will always be seen that they make a great assault with shouts and noises without otherwise approaching you in the way of yelping dogs around a mastiff. Hannibal, when he came to harm from the Romans in Italy, passed through all of France, and always took little account of the tumults of the French. When you want to march, you must have levellers and men with pick axes ahead who clear the road for you, and who are well protected by that cavalry sent ahead to reconnoiter. An Army will march in this order ten miles a day, and enough Sun (light will remain for them to dine and camp, since

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ordinarily an Army marches twenty miles. If it happens that it is assaulted by an organised Army, this assault cannot arise suddenly, because an organised Army travels at its own rate (step), so that you are always in time to reorganise for the engagement, and quickly bring yourself to that formation, or similar to that formation of the Army, which I showed you above. For if you are assaulted on the front side, you do nothing except (to have) the artillery in the flanks and the cavalry behind come forward and take those places and with those distances mentioned above. The thousand Veliti who are forward, come forth from their positions, and dividing into groups of a hundred, enter into their places between the cavalry and the wings of the Army. Then, into the voids left by them, enter the two bands of extraordinary pikemen which I had placed in the plaza of the Army. The thousand Veliti that I had placed in the rear depart from there, and distribute themselves among the flanks of the companies to strengthen them: and from the open space they leave all the wagons and unarmed men issue forth and place themselves at the rear of the companies. The plaza, therefore, remains vacant as everyone has gone to their places, and the five companies that I placed in the rear of the Army come forward through the open void that exists between the one and the other flank, and march toward the company in the front, and the three approach them at forty arm lengths with equal intervals between one another, and two remain behind distant another forty arm lengths. This formation can be organised quickly, and comes to be almost the same as the first disposition of the Army which we described before: and if it becomes more straitened in the front, it becomes larger in the flanks, which does not weaken it. But as the five companies in the back have their pikemen in the rear for the reasons mentioned above, it is necessary to have them come from the forward part, if you want them to get behind the front of the Army; and, therefore, one must either make them turn company by company, as a solid body, or make them enter quickly between the ranks of the shield-bearers (swordsmen), and bring them forward; which method is more swift and less disorderly than to make them turn. And thus you ought to do with all those who are in the rear in every kind of assault, as I will show you. If it should happen that the enemy comes from the rear, the first thing that ought to be done is to have everyone turn to face the enemy, so that at once the front of the army becomes the rear, and the rear the front. Then all those methods of organising the front should be followed, which I mentioned above. If the enemy attacks on the right flank, the entire army ought to be made to face in that direction, and then those things ought to be done to strengthen that (new) front which were mentioned above, so that the cavalry, the Veliti, and the artillery are in the position assigned in this front. There is only this difference, that in the changing of fronts, of those who move about, some have to go further, and some less. It is indeed true that when a front is made of the right flank, the Veliti would have to enter the intervals (gaps) that exist between the wings of the Army, and the cavalry would be those nearer to the left flank, in the position of those who would have to enter into the two bands of extraordinary pikemen placed in the center. But before they enter, the wagons and unarmed men stationed at the openings, should clear the plaza and retire behind the left flank, which then becomes the rear of the army. And the other Veliti who should be placed in the rear according to the original arrangement, in this case should not be changed, as that place should not remain open, which, from being the rear, would become a flank. All the other things ought to be done as was said concerning the first front.

What has been said concerning making a front from the right flank, is intended also in making one from the left flank, since the same arrangements ought to be observed. If the enemy should happen to be large and organised to assault you on two sides, the two sides on which he assaults you ought to be strengthened from the two that are not assaulted, doubling the ranks in each one, and distributing the artillery, Veliti, and cavalry among each side. If he comes from three or four sides, it needs must be either you or he lacks prudence, for if you were wise, you would never put yourself on the side where the enemy could assault you from three or four sides with large and organised forces, and if he wanted to attach you in safety he must be so large and assault you on each side with a force almost as large as you have in your entire Army. And if you are so little prudent that you put yourself in the midst of the territory and forces of an enemy, who has three times the organised forces that you have, you cannot complain if evil happens to you, except of yourself. If it happens, not by your fault, but by some misadventure, the injury will be without shame, and it will happen to you as it did to the Scipios in Spain, and the Hasdrubal in Italy. But if the enemy has a much larger force than you, and in order to disorganise you wants to assault you on several sides, it will be his foolishness and his gamble; for to do this, he must go (spread) himself thin, that you can always attack on one side and resist on another, and in a brief time ruin him. This method of organising an Army which is not seen, but who is feared, is necessary, and it is a most useful thing to accustom your soldiers to assemble, and march in such order, and in marching arrange themselves to fight according to the first front (planned), and then return to marching formation, from that make a front from the rear, and then from the flank, and from that return to the original formation. These exercises and accustomization are necessary matters if you want a disciplined and trained Army. Captains and Princes have to work hard at these things: nor is military discipline anything else, than to know how to command and how to execute these things, nor is a disciplined Army anything else, than an army which is well trained in these arrangements; nor would it be possible for anyone in these times who should well employ such discipline ever to be routed. And if this square formation which I have described is somewhat difficult, such difficulty is necessary, if you take it up as exercise; since knowing how to organise and maintain oneself well in this, one would afterwards know how to manage more easily those which not be as difficult.

ZANOBI: I believe as you say, that these arrangements are very necessary, and by myself, I would not know what to add or leave out. It is true that I desire to know two things from you: the one, when you want to make a front from the rear or from a flank, and you want them to turn, whether the command is given by voice or by sound (bugle call): the other, whether those you sent ahead to clear the roads in order to make a path for the Army, ought to be soldiers of your companies, or other lowly people assigned to such practices.

FABRIZIO: Your first question is very important, for often the commands of the Captain are not very well understood or poorly interpreted, have disorganised their Army; hence the voices with which they command in (times of) danger, ought to be loud and clear. And if you command with sounds (bugle calls), it ought to be done so that they are so different from each other that one cannot be mistaken for another; and if you command by voice, you ought to be alert to avoid general words, and use particular ones, and of the particular ones avoid those which might be able to be interpreted in an incorrect manner. Many times saying “go back, go back”, has caused an Army to be ruined: therefore this expression ought to be avoided, and in its place use “Retreat”. If you want them to turn so as to change the front, either from the rear or from the flank, never use “Turn around”, but say, “To the left”, “To the right”, “To the rear”, “To the front”. So too, all the other words have to be simple and clear, as “Hurry”, “Hold still”, “Forward”, “Return”. And all those things which can be done by words are done, the others are done by sounds (calls). As to the (road) clearers, which is your second question, I would have this job done by my own soldiers, as much because the ancient military did so, as also because there would be fewer unarmed men and less impediments in the army: and I would draw the number needed from every company, and I would have them take up the tools suitable for clearing, and leave their arms in those ranks that are closest to them, which would carry them so that if the enemy should come, they would have nothing to do but take them up again and return to their ranks.

ZANOBI: Who would carry the clearing equipment?

FABRIZIO: The wagons assigned to carry such equipment.

ZANOBI: I'm afraid you have never led these soldiersof ours to dig.

FABRIZIO: Everything will be discussed in its place. For now I want to leave these parts alone, and discuss the manner of living of the Army, for it appears to me that having worked them so hard, it is time to refresh and restore it with food. You have to understand that a Prince ought to organise his army as expeditiously as possible, and take away from it all those things that add burdens to it and make the enterprise difficult. Among those that cause more difficulty, are to have to keep the army provided with wine and baked bread. The ancients did not think of wine, for lacking it, they drank water tinted with a little vinegar, and not wine. They did not cook bread in ovens, as is customary throughout the cities; but they provided flour, and every soldier satisfied himself of that in his own way, having lard and grease for condiment, which gave flavor to the bread they made, and which kept them strong. So that the provisions of living (eating) for the army were Flour, Vinegar, Lard (Bacon) and Grease (Lard), and Barley for the horses. Ordinarily, they had herds of large and small beasts that followed the Army, which [as they did not need to be carried] did not impede them much. This arrangement permitted an ancient Army to march, sometimes for many days, through solitary and difficult places without suffering hardship of (lack of) provisions, for it lived from things which could be drawn behind. The contrary happens in modern Armies, which, as they do not want to lack wine and eat baked bread in the manner that those at home do, and of which they cannot make provision for long, often are hungry; or even if they are provided, it is done with hardship and at very great expense. I would therefore return my Army to this form of living, and I would not have them eat other bread than that which they should cook for themselves. As to wine, I would not prohibit its drinking, or that it should come into the army, but I would not use either industry or any hard work to obtain it, and as to other provisions, I would govern myself entirely as the ancients. If you would consider this matter well, you will see how much difficulty is removed, and how many troubles and hardships an army and a Captain avoid, and what great advantage it will give any enterprise which you may want to undertake.

ZANOBI: We have overcome the enemy in the field, andthen marched on his country: reason wants that there be no booty, ransoming of towns, prisoners taken. Yet I would like to knowhow the ancients governed themselves in these matters.

FABRIZIO: Here, I will satisfy you. I believe you have considered [since I have at another time discussed this with some of you] that modem wars impoverish as much those Lords who win, as those who lose; for if one loses the State, the other loses his money and (movable) possessions. Which anciently did not happen, as the winner of a war (then) was enriched. This arises from not keeping track in these times of the booty (acquired), as was done anciently, but everything is left to the direction of the soldiers. This method makes for two very great disorders: the one, that of which I have spoken: the other, that a soldier becomes more desirous of booty and less an observer of orders: and it has often been said that the cupidity for booty has made him lose who had been victorious. The Romans, however, who were Princes in this matter, provided for both these inconveniences, ordering that all the booty belong to the public, and that hence the public should dispense it as it pleased. And so they had Quaestors in the Army, who were, as we would say, chamberlains, to whom all the ransoms and booty was given to hold: from which the Consul served himself to give the soldiers their regular pay, to help the wounded and infirm, and to provide for the other needs of the army. The Consul could indeed, and often did, concede a booty to the soldiers, but this concession did not cause disorders; for when the (enemy) army was routed, all the booty was placed in the middle and was distributed to each person, according to the merits of each. This method made for the soldiers attending to winning and not robbing, and the Roman legions defeating the enemy but not pursuing him: for they never departed from their orders: only the cavalry and lightly armed men pursued him, unless there were other soldiers than legionnaires, which, if the booty would have been kept by whoever acquired it, it was neither possible nor reasonable to (expect to) hold the Legion firm, and would bring on many dangers. From this it resulted, therefore that the public was enriched, and every Consul brought, with his triumphs, much treasure into the Treasury, which (consisted) entirely of ransoms and booty. Another thing well considered by the ancients, was the pay they gave to each soldier: they wanted a third part to be placed next to him who carried the flag of the company, who never was given any except that furnished by the war. They did this for two reasons: The first so that the soldier would make capital (save) of his pay: for the greater part of them being young and irresponsible, the more they had, the more they spent without need to. The other part because, knowing that their movable possessions were next to the flag, they would be forced to have greater care, and defend it with greater obstinacy: and thus this method made them savers, and strong. All of these things are necessary to observe if you want to bring the military up to your standards.

ZANOBI: I believe it is not possible for an army while marching from place to place not to encounter dangerous incidents, (and) where the industry of the Captain and the virtu of the soldier is needed if they are to be avoided; therefore, if you should have something that occurs to you, I would take care to listen.

FABRIZIO: I will willingly content you, especially as it is necessary, if I want to give you complete knowledge of the practice. The Captains, while they march with the Army, ought, above everything else, to guard against ambushes, which may happen in two ways: either you enter into them while marching, or the enemy cunningly draws you into them without your being aware of it. In the first case, if you want to avoid them, it is necessary to send ahead double the guard, who reconnoiter the country. And the more the country is suitable for ambush, as are wooded and mountainous countries, the more diligence ought to be used, for the enemy always place themselves either in woods or behind a hill. And, just as by not foreseeing an ambush you will be ruined, so by foreseeing it you will not be harmed. Birds or dust have often discovered the enemy, for where the enemy comes to meet you, he will always raise a great dust which will point out his coming to you. Thus often a Captain when he sees in a place whence he ought to pass, pigeons taking off and other birds flying about freely, circling and not setting, has recognised this to be the place of any enemy ambush, and knowing this has sent his forces forward, saving himself and injuring the enemy. As to the second case, being drawn into it [which our men call being drawn into a trap] you ought to look out not to believe readily those things that appear to be less reasonable than they should be: as would be (the case) if an enemy places some booty before you, you would believe that it to be (an act of) love, but would conceal deceit inside it. If many enemies are driven out by few of your man: if only a few

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of the enemy assault you: if the enemy takes to sudden and unreasonable flight: in such cases, you ought always to be afraid of deceit; and you should never believe that the enemy does not know his business, rather, if you want to deceive yourself less and bring on less danger, the more he appears weak, the more enemy appears more cautious, so much the more ought you to esteem (be wary) of him. And in this you have to use two different means, since you have to fear him with your thoughts and arrangements, but by words and other external demonstrations show him how much you disparage him; for this latter method causes your soldiers to have more hope in obtaining the victory, the former makes you more cautious and less apt to be deceived. And you have to understand that when you march through enemy country, you face more and greater dangers than in undertaking an engagement. And therefore, when marching, a Captain ought to double his diligence, and the first thing he ought to do, is to have all the country through which he marches described and depicted, so that he will know the places, the numbers, the distances, the roads, the mountains, the rivers, the marshes, and all their characteristics. And in getting to know this, in diverse ways one must have around him different people who know the places, and question them with diligence, and contrast their information, and make notes according as it checks out. He ought to send cavalry ahead, and with them prudent Heads, not so much to discover the enemy as to reconnoiter the country, to see whether it checks with the places and with the information received from them. He ought also to send out guides, guarded (kept loyal) by hopes of reward and fear of punishment. And above all, he ought to see to it that the Army does not know to which sides he guides them, since there is nothing more useful in war, than to keep silent (about) the things that have to be done. And so that a sudden assault does not disturb your soldiers, you ought to advise them to be prepared with their arms, since things that are foreseen cause less harm. Many have [in order to avoid the confusion of the march] placed the wagons and the unarmed men under the banners, and commanded them to follow them, so that having to stop or retire during the march, they are able to do so more easily: which I approve very much as something useful. He ought also to have an awareness during the march, that one part of the Army does not detach itself from another, or that one (part) going faster and the other more slowly, the Army does not become compacted (jumbled), which things cause disorganisation. It is necessary, therefore, to place the Heads along the sides, who should maintain the steps uniform, restraining those which are too fast, and hastening the slow; which step cannot be better regulated than by sound (music). The roads ought to be widened, so that at least one company can always move in order. The customs and characteristics of the enemy ought to be considered, and if he wants to assault you in the morning, noon, or night, and if he is more powerful in infantry or cavalry, from what you have learned, you may organise and prepare yourself. But let us come to some incident in particular. It sometimes happens that as you are taking yourself away from in front of the enemy because you judge yourself to be inferior (to him), and therefore do not want to come to an engagement with him, he comes upon your rear as you arrive at the banks of a river, which causes you to lose times in its crossing, so that the enemy is about to join up and combat with you. There have been some who have found themselves in such a peril, their army girded on the rear side by a ditch, and filling it with tow, have set it afire, then have passed on with the army without being able to be impeded by the enemy, he being stopped by that fire which was in between.

ZANOBI: And it is hard for me to believe that this fire can check him, especially as I remember to have heard that Hanno, the Carthaginian, when he was besieged by the enemy, girded himself on that side from which he wanted to make an eruption with wood, and set fire to it. Whence the enemy not being intent to guard that side, had his army pass over the flames, having each (soldier) protect his face from the fire and smoke with his shield.

FABRIZIO: You say well; but consider what I have said and what Hanno did: for I said that he dug a ditch and filled it with tow, so that whoever wanted to pass had to contend with the ditch and the fire. Hanno made the fire without a ditch, and as he wanted to pass through it did not make it very large (strong), since it would have impeded him even without the ditch. Do you not know that Nabidus, the Spartan, when he was besieged in Sparta by the Romans, set fire to part of his own town in order to stop the passage of the Romans, who had already entered inside? and by those flames not only stopped their passage, but pushed them out. But let us return to our subject. Quintus Luttatius, the Roman, having the Cimbri at his rear, and arriving at a river, so that the enemy should give him time to cross, made as if to give him time to combat him, and therefore feigned to make camp there, and had ditches dug, and some pavilions raised, and sent some horses to the camps to be shod: so that the Cimbri believing he was encamping, they also encamped, and divided themselves into several parts to provide themselves with food: of which Luttatius becoming aware, he crossed the river without being able to be impeded by them. Some, in order to cross a river, not having a bridge, have diverted it, and having drawn a part of it in their rear, the other then became so low that they crossed it easily. If the rivers are rapid, (and) desiring that the infantry should cross more safely, the more capable horses are placed on the side above which holds back the water, and another part below which succor the infantry if any, in crossing, should be overcome by the river. Rivers that are not forded, are crossed by bridges, boats, and rafts: and it is therefore well to have skills in your Armies capable of doing all these things. It sometimes happens that in crossing a river, the enemy on the opposite bank impedes you. If you want to overcome this difficulty there is no better example known than that of Caesar, who, having his army on the bank of a river in Gaul, and his crossing being impeded by Vercingetorix, the Gaul, who had his forces on the other side of the river, marched for several days along the river, and the enemy did the same. And Caesar having made an encampment in a woody place (and) suitable to conceal his forces, withdrew three cohorts from every Legion, and had them stop in that place, commanding then that as soon as he should depart, they should throw a bridge across and fortify it, and he with the rest of his forces continued the march: Whence Vercingetorix seeing the number of Legions, and believing that no part had remained behind, also continued the march: but Caesar, as soon as he thought the bridge had been completed, turned back, and finding everything in order, crossed the river without difficulty.

ZANOBI: Do you have any rule for recognising the fords?

FABRIZIO: Yes, we have. The river, in that part between the stagnant water and the current, always looks like a line to whoever looks at it, is shallower, and is a place more suitable for fording than elsewhere, for the river always places more material, and in a pack, which it draws (with it) from the bottom. Which thing, as it has been experienced many times, is very true.

ZANOBI: If it happens that the river has washed away the bottom of the ford, so that horses sink, what remedy do you have?

FABRIZIO: Make grids of wood, and place them on the bottom of the river, and cross over those. But let us pursue our discussion. If it happens that a Captain with his army is led (caught) between two mountains, and has but two ways of saving himself, either that in front, or the one in the rear, and both being occupied by the enemy, has, as a remedy, to do what some have done in the past, which is to dig a large ditch, difficult to cross, and show the enemy that by it you want to be able to hold him with all his forces, without having to fear those forces in the rear for which the road in front remains open. The enemy believing this, fortifies himself on the side open, and abandons the (side) closed, and he then throws a wooden bridge, planned for such a result, over the ditch, and without any impediment, passes on that side and freed himself from the hands of the enemy. Lucius Minutius, the Roman Consul, was in Liguria with the Armies, and had been enclosed between certain mountains by the enemy, from which he could not go out. He therefore sent some soldiers of Numidia, whom he had in his army, who were badly armed, and mounted on small and scrawny horses, toward those places which were guarded by the enemy, and the first sight of whom caused the enemy to assemble to defend the pass: but then when they saw those forces poorly organised, and also poorly mounted, they esteemed them little and loosened their guard. As soon as the Numidians saw this, giving spurs to their horses and attacking them, they passed by without the enemy being able to take any remedy; and having passed, they wasted and plundered the country, constraining the enemy to leave the pass free to the army of Lucius. Some Captain, who has found himself assaulted by a great multitude of the enemy, has tightened his ranks, and given the enemy the faculty of completely surrounding him, and then has applied force to that part which he has recognised as being weaker, and has made a path in that way, and saved himself. Marcantonio, while retiring before the army of the Parthians, became aware that every day at daybreak as he moved, the enemy assaulted him, and infested him throughout the march: so that he took the course of not departing before midday. So that the Parthians, believing he should not want to decamp that day returned to their quarters, and Marcantonio was able then for the remainder of the day to march without being molested. This same man, to escape the darts of the Parthians, commanded that, when the Parthians came toward them, they should kneel, and the second rank of the company should place their shields on the heads of (those in the) first, the third on (those of the) second, the fourth on the third, and so on successively: so that the entire Army came to be as under a roof, and protected from the darts of the enemy. This is as much as occurs to me to tell you of what can happen to an army when marching: therefore, if nothing else occurs to you, I will pass on to another part.

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ZANOBI: I believe it is well, since the discussion ought to be changed, that Battista take up his office, and I resign mine; and in this case we would come to imitate the good Captains, according as I have already learned here from the Lord, who place the best soldiers in the front and in the rear of the Army, as it appears necessary to them to have those who bravely enkindle the battle, and those in the rear who bravely sustain it. Cosimo, therefore, begun this discussion prudently, and Battista will prudently finish it. Luigi and I have come in between these. And as each one of us has taken up his part willingly, so too I believe Battista is about to close it.

BATTISTA: I have allowed myself to be governed up to now, so too I will allow myself (to be governed) in the future. Be content, therefore, (my) Lords, to continue your discussions, and if we interrupt you with these questions (practices), you have to excuse us.

FABRIZIO: You do me, as I have already told you, a very great favor, since these interruptions of yours do not take away my imagination, rather they refresh it. But if we want to pursue our subject I say, that it is now time that we quarter this Army of ours, since you know that everything desires repose, and safety; since to repose oneself, and not to repose safely, is not complete (perfect) repose. I am afraid, indeed, that you should not desire that I should first quarter them, then had them march, and lastly to fight, and we have done the contrary. Necessity has led us to this, for in wanting to show when marching, how an army turns from a marching formation to that of battle, it was necessary first to show how they were organised for battle. But returning to our subject I say, that if you want the encampment to be safe, it must be Strong and Organised. The industry of the Captain makes it organised: Arts or the site make it Strong. The Greeks sought strong locations, and never took positions where there was neither grottoes (caves), or banks of rivers, or a multitude of trees, or other natural cover which should protect them. But the Romans did not encamp safely so much from the location as by arts, nor ever made an encampment in places where they should not have been able to spread out all their forces, according to their discipline. From this resulted that the Romans were always able to have one form of encampment, for they wanted the site to obey them, and not they the site. The Greeks were not able to observe this, for as they obeyed the site, and the sites changing the formation, it behooved them that they too should change the mode of encamping and the form of their encampment. The Romans, therefore, where the site lacked strength, supplied it with (their) art and industry. And since in this narration of mine, I have wanted that the Romans be imitated, I will not depart from their mode of encamping, not, however, observing all their arrangements: but taking (only) that part which at the present time seems appropriate to me. I have often told you that the Romans had two Legions of Roman men in their consular armies, which comprised some eleven thousand infantry of forces sent by friends (allies) to aid them; but they never had more foreign soldiers in their armies than Romans, except for cavalry, which they did not care if they exceeded the number in their Legions; and that in every action of theirs, they place the Legions in the center, and the Auxiliaries on the sides. Which method they observed even when they encamped, as you yourselves have been able to read in those who write of their affairs; and therefore I am not about to narrate in detail how they encamped, but will tell you only how I would at present arrange to encamp my army, and then you will know what part of the Roman methods I have treated. You know that at the encounter of two Roman Legions I have taken two Battalions of six thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry effective for each Battalion, and I have divided them by companies, by arms, and names. You know that in organising the army for marching and fighting, I have not made mention of other forces, but have only shown that in doubling the forces, nothing else had to be done but to double the orders (arrangements).

Since at present I want to show you the manner of encamping, it appears proper to me not to stay only with two Battalions, but to assemble a fair army, and composed like the Roman of two Battalions and as many auxiliary forces. I know that the form of an encampment is more perfect, when a complete army is quartered: which matter did not appear necessary to me in the previous demonstration. If I want, therefore, to quarter a fair (sized) army of twenty four thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry effectives, being divided into four companies, two of your own forces and two of foreigners, I would employ this method. When I had found the site where I should want to encamp, I would raise the Captain's flag, and around it I would draw a square which would have each face distant from it fifty arm lengths, of which each should look out on one of the four regions of the sky, that is, east, west, south and north, in which space I would put the quarters of the Captain. And as I believe it prudent, and because thus the Romans did in good part, I would divide the armed men from the unarmed, and separate the men who carry burdens from the unburdened ones. I would quarter all or a greater part of the armed men on the east side, and the unarmed and burdened ones on the west side, making the east the front and the west the rear of the encampment, and the south and north would be the flanks.

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And to distinguish the quarters of the armed men, I would employ this method. I would run a line from the Captain's flag, and would lead it easterly for a distance of six hundred eighty (680) arm lengths. I would also run two other lines which I would place in the middle of it, and be of the same length as the former, but distant from each of them by fifteen arm lengths, at the extremity of which, I would want the east gate to be (placed): and the space which exists between the two extreme (end) lines, I would make a road that would go from the gate to the quarters of the Captain, which would be thirty arm lengths in width and six hundred thirty (630) long [since the Captain's quarters would occupy fifty arm lengths] and call this the Captain's Way. I would then make another road from the south gate up to the north gate, and cross by the head of the Captain's Way, and along the east side of the Captain's quarters which would be one thousand two hundred fifty (1250) arm lengths long [since it would occupy the entire width of the encampment] and also be thirty arm lengths wide and be called the Cross Way. The quarters of the Captain and these two roads having been designed, therefore the quarters of the two battalions of your own men should begin to be designed; and I would quarter one on the right hand (side) of the Captain's Way, and one on the left. And hence beyond the space which is occupied by the width of the Cross Way, I would place thirty two quarters on the left side of the Captain's Way, and thirty two on the right side, leaving a space of thirty arm lengths between the sixteenth and seventeenth quarters which should serve as a transverse road which should cross through all of the quarters of the battalions, as will be seen in their partitioning. Of these two arrangements of quarters, in the first tents that would be adjacent to the Cross Way, I would quarter the heads of men-at-arms, and since each company has one hundred and fifty men-at-arms, there would be assigned ten men-at-arms to each of the quarters. The area (space) of the quarters of the Heads should be forty arm lengths wide and ten arm lengths long. And it is to be noted that whenever I say width, I mean from south to north, and when I say length, that from west to east. Those of the men-at-arms should be fifteen arm lengths long and thirty wide. In the next fifteen quarters which in all cases are next [which should have their beginning across the transverse road, and which would have the same space as those of the men-at-arms] I would quarter the light cavalry, which, since they are one hundred fifty, ten cavalrymen would be assigned to each quarter, and in the sixteenth which would be left, I would quarter their Head, giving him the same space which is given to the Head of men-at-arms. And thus the quarters of the cavalry of the two battalions would come to place the Captain's Way in the center and give a rule for the quarters of the infantry, as I will narrate. You have noted that I have quartered the three hundred cavalry of each battalion with their heads in thirty two quarters situated on the Captain's Way, and beginning with the Cross Way, and that from the sixteenth to the seventeenth there is a space of thirty arm lengths to make a transverse road. If I want, therefore, to quarter the twenty companies which constitute the two regular Battalions, I would place the quarters of every two companies behind the quarters of the cavalry, each of which should be fifteen arm lengths long and thirty wide, as those of the cavalry, and should be joined on the rear where they touch one another. And in every first quarter of each band that fronts on the Cross Way, I would quarter the Constable of one company, which would come to correspond with the quartering of the Head of the men-at-arms: and their quarters alone would have a space twenty arm lengths in width and ten in length. And in the other fifteen quarters in each group which follow after this up the Transverse Way, I would quarter a company of infantry on each side, which, as they are four hundred fifty, thirty would be assigned to each quarter. I would place the other fifteen quarters contiguous in each group to those of the cavalry with the same space, in which I would quarter a company of infantry from each group. In the last quarter of each group I would place the Constable of the company, who would come to be adjacent to the Head of the light cavalry, with a space of ten arm lengths long and twenty wide. And thus these first two rows of quarters would be half of cavalry and half of infantry.

And as I want [as I told you in its place] these cavalry to be all effective, and hence without retainers who help taking care of the horses or other necessary things, I would want these infantry quartered behind the cavalry should be obligated to help the owners (of the horses) in providing and taking care of them, and because of this should be exempt from other activities of the camp, which was the manner observed by the Romans. I would also leave behind these quarters on all sides a space of thirty arm lengths to make a road, and I would call one of the First Road on the right hand (side) and the other the First Road on the left, and in each area I would place another row of thirty two double quarters which should face one another on the rear, with the same spaces as those which I have mentioned, and also divided at the sixteenth in the same manner to create a Transverse Road, in which I would quarter in each area four companies of infantry with the Constables in the front at the head and foot (of each row). I would also leave on each side another space of thirty arm lengths to create a road which should be called the Second Road on the right hand (side) and on the other side the Second Road to the left; I would place another row in each area of thirty two double quarters, with the same distances and divisions, in which I would quarter on every side four companies (of infantry) with their Constables. And thus there would come to be quartered in three rows of quarters per area the cavalry and the companies (of infantry) of the two regular battalions, in the center of which I would place the Captain's Way. The two battalions of auxiliaries [since I had them composed of the same men] I would quarter on each side of these two regular battalions with the same arrangement of double quarters, placing first a row of quarters in which I should quarter half with cavalry and half infantry, distant thirty arm lengths from each other, to create two roads which I should call, one the Third Road on the right hand (side), the other the Third on the left hand. And then I would place on each side two other rows of quarters, separate but arranged in the same way, which are those of the regular battalions, which would create two other roads, and all of these would be called by the number and the band (side) where they should be situated. So that all this part of the Army would come to be quartered in twelve rows of double quarters, and on thirteen roads, counting the Captain's Way and the Cross Way.

I would want a space of one hundred arm lengths all around left between the quarters and the ditch (moat). And if you count all those spaces, you will see, that from the middle of the quarters of the Captain to the east gate, there are seven hundred arm lengths. There remains to us now two spaces, of which one is from the quarters of the Captain to the south gate, the other from there to the north gate, each of which comes to be, measuring from the center point, six hundred thirty five (635) arm lengths. I then subtract from each of these spaces fifty arm lengths which the quarters of the Captain occupies, and forty five arm lengths of plaza which I want to give to each side, and thirty arm lengths of road, which divides each of the mentioned spaces in the middle, and a hundred arm lengths which are left on each side between the quarters and the ditch, and there remains in each area a space left for quarters four hundred arm lengths wide and a hundred long, measuring the length to include the space occupied by the Captain's quarters. Dividing the said length in the middle, therefore, there would be on each side of the Captain forty quarters fifty arm lengths long and twenty wide, which would total eighty quarters, in which would be quartered the general Heads of the battalions, the Chamberlains, the Masters of the camps, and all those who should have an office (duty) in the army, leaving some vacant for some foreigners who might arrive, and for those who should fight through the courtesy of the Captain. On the rear side of the Captain's quarters, I would create a road thirty arm lengths wide from north to south, and call it the Front Road, which would come to be located along the eighty quarters mentioned, since this road and the Cross Way would have between them the Captain's quarters and the eighty quarters on their flanks. From this Front road and opposite to the Captain's quarters, I would create another road which should go from there to the west gate, also thirty arm lengths wide, and corresponding in location and length to the Captain's Way, and I should call it the Way of the Plaza. These two roads being located, I would arrange the plaza where the market should be made, which I would place at the head of the Way of the Plaza, opposite to the Captain's quarters, and next to the Front Road, and would want it to be square, and would allow it a hundred twenty one arm lengths per side. And from the right hand and left hand of the said plaza, I would make two rows of quarters, and each row have eight double quarters, which would take up twelve arm lengths in length and thirty in width so that they should be on each side of the plaza, in which there would be sixteen quarters, and total thirty two all together, in which I would quarter that cavalry left over from the auxiliary battalions, and if this should not be enough, I would assign them some of the quarters about the Captain, and especially those which face the ditch.

It remains for us now to quarter the extraordinary pikemen and Veliti, which every battalion has; which you know, according to our arrangement, in addition to the ten companies (of infantry), each has a thousand extraordinary pikemen, and five hundred Veliti; so that each of the two regular battalions have two thousand extraordinary pikemen, and a thousand extraordinary pikemen, and five hundred Veliti; so that each of the two regular battalions have two thousand extraordinary pikemen, and a thousand extraordinary Veliti, and the auxiliary as many as they; so that one also comes to have to quarter six thousand infantry, all of whom I would quarter on the west side along the ditches. From the point, therefore, of the Front Road, and northward, leaving the space of a hundred arm lengths from those (quarters) to the ditch, I would place a row of five double quarters which would be seventy five arm lengths long and sixty in width: so that with the width divided, each quarters would be allowed fifteen arm lengths for length and thirty for width. And as there would be ten quarters, I would quarter three hundred infantry, assigning thirty infantry to each quarters. Leaving then a space of thirty one arm lengths, I would place another row of five double quarters in a similar manner and with similar spaces, and then another, so that there would be five rows of five double quarters, which would come to be fifty quarters placed in a straight line on the north side, each distant one hundred arm lengths from the ditches, which would quarter one thousand five hundred infantry. Turning then on the left hand side toward the west gate, I would want in all that tract between them and the said gate, five other rows of double quarters, in a similar manner and with the same spaces, [it is true that from one row to the other there would not be more than fifteen arm lengths of space] in which there would also be quartered a thousand five hundred infantry: and thus from the north gate to that on the west, following the ditches, in a hundred quarters, divided into ten rows of five double quarters per row, the extraordinary pikemen and Veliti of the regular battalions would be quartered. And so, too, from the west gate to that on the south, following the ditches, in exactly the same manner, in another ten rows of ten quarters per row, the extraordinary pikemen and Veliti of the auxiliary battalions would be quartered. Their Heads, or rather their Constables, could take those quarters on the side toward the ditches which appeared most convenient for themselves.

I would dispose the artillery all along the embankments of the ditches: and in all the other space remaining toward the west, I would quarter all the unarmed men and all the baggage (impedimenta) of the Camp. And it has to be understood that under this name of impedimenta [as you know] the ancients intended all those carriages (wagons) and all those things which are necessary to an Army, except the soldiers; as are carpenters (wood workers), smiths, blacksmiths, shoe makers, engineers, and bombardiers, and others which should be placed among the number of the armed: herdsmen with their herds of castrated sheep and oxen, which are used for feeding the Army: and in addition, masters of every art (trade), together with public wagons for the public provisions of food and arms. And I would not particularly distinguish their quarters: I would only designate the roads that should not be occupied by them. Then the other spaces remaining between the roads, which would be four, I would assign in general to all the impedimenta mentioned, that is, one to the herdsmen, another to Artificers and workmen, another to the public wagons for provisions, and the fourth to the armourers. The roads which I would want left unoccupied would be the Way of the Plaza, the Front Road, and in addition, a road that should be called the Center Road, which should take off at the north and proceed toward the south, and pass through the center of the Way of the Plaza, which, on the west side, should have the same effect as has the Transverse Road on the east side. And in addition to this a Road that should go around the rear along the quarters of the extraordinary pikemen and Veliti. And all these roads should be thirty arm lengths wide. And I would dispose the artillery along the ditches on the rear of the camp.

BATTISTA: I confess I do not understand, and I also do not believe that to say so makes me ashamed, as this is not my profession. None the less, I like this organisation very much: I would want only that you should resolve these doubts for me. The one, why you make the roads and the spaces around the quarters so wide. The other, which annoys me more, is this, how are these spaces that you designate for quarters to be used.

FABRIZIO: You know that I made all the roads thirty arm lengths wide, so that a company of infantry is able to go through them in order (formation): which, if you remember well, I told you that each of these (formations) were twenty five to thirty arm lengths wide. The space between the ditch and the quarters, which is a hundred arm lengths wide, is necessary, since the companies and the artillery can be handled here, through which booty is taken, (and) when space is needed into which to retire, new ditches and embankments are made. The quarters very distant from the ditches are better, for they are more distant from the fires and other things that might be able to draw the enemy to attack them. As to the second question, my intention is not that every space designated by me is covered by only one pavilion, but is to be used as an all-round convenience for those who are quartered, with several or few tents, so long as they do not go outside its limits. And in designing these quarters, the men must be most experienced and excellent architects, who, as soon as the Captain has selected the site, know how to give it form, and divide it, and distinguishing the roads, dividing the quarters with cords and hatchets in such a practical manner, that they might be divided and arranged quickly. And if confusion is not to arise, the camp must always face the same way, so that everyone will know on which Road and in which space he has to find his quarters. And this ought to be observed at all times, in every place, and in a manner that it appears to be a movable City, which, wherever it goes, brings with it the same roads, the same houses, and the same appearance: which cannot be observed by those men who, seeking strong locations, have to change the form according to the variations in the sites. But

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the Romans made the places strong with ditches, ramparts, and embankments, for they placed a space around the camp, and in front of it they dug a ditch and ordinarily six arm lengths wide and three deep, which spaces they increased according to the (length of) time they resided in the one place, and according as they feared the enemy. For myself, I would not at present erect a stockade (rampart), unless I should want to winter in a place. I would, however, dig the ditch and embankment, not less than that mentioned, but greater according to the necessity. With respect to the artillery, on every side of the encampment, I would have a half circle ditch, from which the artillery should be able to batter on the flanks whoever should come to attack the moats (ditches). The soldiers ought also to be trained in this practice of knowing how to arrange an encampment, and work with them so they may aid him in designing it, and the soldiers quick in knowing their places. And none of these is difficult, as will be told in its proper place. For now I want to pass on to the protection of the camp, which, without the distribution (assignment) of guards, all the other efforts would be useless.

BATTISTA: Before you pass on to the guards, I would want you to tell me, what methods are employed when others want to place the camp near the enemy, for I do not know whether there is time to be able to organise it without danger.

FABRIZIO: You have to know this, that no Captain encamps near the enemy, unless he is disposed to come to an engagement whenever the enemy wants; and if the others are so disposed, there is no danger except the ordinary, since two parts of the army are organised to make an engagement, while the other part makes the encampment. In cases like this, the Romans assigned this method of fortifying the quarters to the Triari, while the Principi and the Astati remained under arms. They did this, because the Triari, being the last to combat, were in time to leave the work if the enemy came, and take up their arms and take their places. If you want to imitate the Romans, you have to assign the making of the encampment to that company which you would want to put in the place of the Triari in the last part of the army.

But let us return to the discussion of the guards. I do not seem to find in connection with the ancients guarding the camp at night, that they had guards outside, distant from the ditches, as is the custom today, which they call the watch. I believe I should do this, when I think how the army could be easily deceived, because of the difficulty which exists in checking (reviewing) them, for they may be corrupted or attacked by the enemy, so that they judged it dangerous to trust them entirely or in part. And therefore all the power of their protection was within the ditches, which they dug with very great diligence and order, punishing capitally anyone who deviated from such an order. How this was arranged by them, I will not talk to you further in order not to tire you, since you are able to see it by yourselves, if you have not seen it up to now. I will say only briefly what would be done by me. I would regularly have a third of the army remain armed every night, and a fourth of them always on foot, who would be distributed throughout the embankments and all the places of the army, with double guards posted at each of its squares, where a part should remain, and a part continually go from one side of the encampment to the other. And this arrangement I describe, I would also observe by day if I had the enemy near. As to giving it a name, and renewing it every night, and doing the other things that are done in such guarding, since they are things (already) known, I will not talk further of them. I would only remind you of a most important matter, and by observing it do much good, by not observing it do much evil; which is, that great diligence be used as to who does not lodge within the camp at night, and who arrives there anew. And this is an easy matter, to review who is quartered there, with those arrangements we have designated, since every quarter having a predetermined number of men, it is an easy thing to see if there are any men missing or if any are left over; and when they are missing without permission, to punish them as fugitives, and if they are left over, to learn who they are, what they know, and what are their conditions. Such diligence results in the enemy not being able to have correspondence with your Heads, and not to have co-knowledge of your counsels. If this had not been observed with diligence by the Romans, Claudius Nero could not, when he had Hannibal near to him, have departed from the encampment he had in Lucania, and go and return from the Marches, without Hannibal having been aware of it. But it is not enough to make these good arrangements, unless they are made to be observed by great security, for there is nothing that wants so much observance as any required in the army. Therefore, the laws for their enforcement should be harsh and hard, and the executor very hard. The Roman punished with the capital penalty whoever was missing from the guard, whoever abandoned the place given him in combat, whoever brought anything concealed from outside the encampment; if anyone should tell of having performed some great act in battle, and should not have done it; if anyone should have fought except at the command of the Captain, if anyone from fear had thrown aside his arms. And if it occurred that an entire Cohort or an entire Legion had made a similar error, in order that they not all be put to death, they put their names in a purse, and drew the tenth part, and those they put to death. Which penalty was so carried out, that if everyone did not hear of it, they at least feared it. And because where there are severe punishments, there also ought to be rewards, so that men should fear and hope at the same time, they proposed rewards for every great deed; such as to him who, during the fighting, saved the life of one of its citizens, to whoever first climbed the walls of enemy towns, to whoever first entered the encampment of the enemy, to whoever in battle wounded or killed an enemy, to whoever had thrown him from his horse. And thus any act of virtu was recognised and rewarded by the Consuls, and publicly praised by everyone: and those who received gifts for any of these things, in addition to the glory and fame they acquired among the soldiers, when they returned to their country, exhibited them with solemn pomp and with great demonstrations among their friends and relatives. It is not to marvel therefore, if that people acquired so much empire, when they had so great an observance of punishment and reward toward them, which operated either for their good or evil, should merit either praise or censure; it behooves us to observe the greater part of these things. And it does not appear proper for me to be silent on a method of punishment observed by them, which was, that as the miscreant was convicted before the Tribune or the Consul, he was struck lightly by him with a rod: after which striking of the criminal, he was allowed to flee, and all the soldiers allowed to kill him, so that immediately each of them threw stones or darts, or hit him with other arms, of a kind from which he went little alive, and rarely returned to camp; and to such that did return to camp, he was not allowed to return home except with so much inconvenience and ignominy, that it was much better for him to die. You see this method almost observed by the Swiss, who have the condemned publicly put to death by the other soldiers. Which is well considered and done for the best, for if it is desired that one be not a defender of a criminal, the better remedy that is found, is to make him the punisher of him (the criminal); for in some respects he favors him while from other desires he longs for his punishment, if he himself is the executioner, than if the execution is carried out by another. If you want, therefore, that one is not to be favored in his mistakes by a people, a good remedy is to see to it that the public judged him. In support of this, the example of Manlius Capitol that can be cited, who, when he was accused by the Senate, was defended so much by the public up to the point where it no longer became the judge: but having become arbiter of his cause, condemned him to death. It is, therefore, a method of punishing this, of doing away with tumults, and of having justice observed. And since in restraining armed men, the fear of laws, or of men, is not enough, the ancients added the authority of God: and, therefore, with very great ceremony, they made their soldiers swear to observe the military discipline, so that if they did the contrary, they not only had to fear the laws and men, but God; and they used every industry to fill them with Religion.

BATTISTA: Did the Romans permit women to be in their armies, or that they indulge in indolent games that are used to day?

FABRIZIO: They prohibited both of them, and this prohibition was not very difficult, because the exercises which they gave each day to the soldiers were so many, sometimes being occupied all together, sometimes individually, that no time was left to them to think either of Venery, or of games, or of other things which make soldiers seditious and useless.

BATTISTA: I like that. But tell me, when the army had to take off, what arrangements did they have?

FABRIZIO: The captain's trumpet was sounded three times: at the first sound the tents were taken down and piled into heaps, at the second they loaded the burdens, and at the third they moved in the manner mentioned above, with the impedimenta behind, the armed men on every side, placing the Legions in the center. And, therefore, you would have to have a battalion of auxiliaries move, and behind it its particular impedimenta, and with those the fourth part of the public impedimenta, which would be all those who should be quartered in one of those (sections of the camp) which we showed a short while back. And, therefore, it would be well to have each one of them assigned to a battalion, so that when the army moved, everyone would know where his place was in marching. And every battalion ought to proceed on its way in this fashion with its own impedimenta, and with a quarter of the public (impedimenta) at its rear, as we showed the Roman army marched.

BATTISTA: In placing the encampment, did they have other considerations than those you mentioned?

FABRIZIO: I tell you again, that in their encampments, the Romans wanted to be able to employ the usual form of their method, in the observance of which, they took no other consideration. But as to other considerations, they had two principal ones: the one, to locate themselves in a healthy place: to locate themselves where the enemy should be unable to besiege them, and cut off their supply of water and provisions. To avoid this weakness, therefore, they avoided marshy places, or exposure to noxious winds. They recognised these, not so much from the characteristics of the site, but from the looks of the inhabitants: and if they saw them with poor color, or short winded, or full of other infections, they did not encamp there. As to the other part of not being besieged, the nature of the place must be considered, where the friends are, and where the enemy, and from these make a conjecture whether or not you can be besieged. And, therefore, the Captain must be very expert concerning sites of the countries, and have around him many others who have the same expertness. They also avoided sickness and hunger so as not to disorganise the army; for if you want to keep it healthy, you must see to it that the soldiers sleep under tents, that they are quartered, where there are trees to create shade, where there is wood to cook the food, and not to march in the heat. You need, therefore, to consider the encampment the day before you arrive there, and in winter guard against marching in the snow and through ice without the convenience of making a fire, and not lack necessary clothing, and not to drink bad water. Those who get sick in the house, have them taken care of by doctors; for a captain has no remedy when he has to fight both sickness and the enemy. But nothing is more useful in maintaining an army healthy than exercise: and therefore the ancients made them exercise every day. Whence it is seen how much exercise is of value, for in the quarters it keeps you healthy, and in battle it makes you victorious. As to hunger, not only is it necessary to see that the enemy does not impede your provisions, but to provide whence you are to obtain them, and to see that those you have are not lost. And, therefore, you must always have provisions (on hand) for the army for a month, and beyond that to tax the neighbouring friends that they provide you daily, keep the provisions in a strong place, and, above all, dispense it with diligence, giving each one a reasonable measure each day, and so observe this part that they do not become disorganised; for every other thing in war can be overcome with time, this only with time overcomes you. Never make anyone your enemy, who, while seeking to overcome you with the sword (iron), can overcome you by hunger, because if such a victory is not as honourable, it is more secure and more certain. That army, therefore, cannot escape hunger which does not observe justice, and licentiously consume whatever it please, for one evil causes the provisions not to arrive, and the other that when they arrive, they are uselessly consumed: therefore the ancients arranged that what was given was eaten, and in the time they assigned, so that no soldier ate except when the Captain did. Which, as to being observed by the modern armies, everyone does (the contrary), and deservedly they cannot be called orderly and sober as the ancients, but licentious and drunkards.

BATTISTA: You have said in the beginning of arranging the encampment, that you did not want to stay only with two battalions, but took up four, to show how a fair (sized) army was quartered. Therefore I would want you to tell me two things: the one, if I have more or less men, how should I quarter them: the other, what number of soldiers would be enough to fight against any enemy?

FABRIZIO: To the first question, I reply, that if the army has four or six thousand soldiers more or less, rows of quarters are taken away or added as are needed, and in this way it is possible to accommodate more or fewer infinitely. None the less, when the Romans joined together two consular armies, they made two encampments and had the parts of the disarmed men face each other. As to the second question, I reply, that the regular Roman army had about twenty four thousand soldiers: but when a great force pressed them, the most they assembled were fifty thousand. With this number they opposed two hundred thousand Gauls whom they assaulted after the first war which they had with the Carthaginians. With the same number, they opposed Hannibal. And you have to note that the Romans and Greeks had made war with few (soldiers), strengthened by order and by art; the westerners and easterners had made it with a multitude: but one of these nations serves itself of natural fury, as are the westerners; the other of the great obedience which its men show to their King. But in Greece and Italy, as there is not this natural fury, nor the natural reverence toward their King, it has been necessary to turn to discipline; which is so powerful, that it made the few able to overcome the fury and natural obstinacy of the many. I tell you, therefore, if you want to imitate the Romans and Greeks, the number of fifty thousand soldiers ought not to be exceeded, rather they should actually be less; for the many cause confusion, and do not allow discipline to be observed nor the orders learned. And Pyrrhus used to say that with fifteen thousand men he would assail the world.

But let us pass on to another part. We have made our army win an engagement, and I showed the troubles that can occur in battle; we have made it march, and I have narrated with what impedimenta it can be surrounded while marching: and lastly we have quartered it: where not only a little repose from past hardship ought to be taken, but also to think about how the war ought to be concluded; for in the quarters, many things are discussed, especially if there remain enemies in the field, towns under suspicion, of which it is well to reassure

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oneself, and to capture those which are hostile. It is necessary, therefore, to come to these demonstrations, and to pass over this difficulty with that (same) glory with which we have fought up to the present. Coming down to particulars, therefore, that if it should happen to you that many men or many peoples should do something, which might be useful to you and very harmful to them, as would be the destruction of the walls of their City, or the sending of many of themselves into exile, it is necessary that you either deceive them in a way that everyone should believe he is affected, so that one not helping the other, all find themselves oppressed without a remedy, or rather, to command everyone what they ought to do on the same day, so that each one believing himself to be alone to whom the command is given, thinks of obeying it, and not of a remedy; and thus, without tumult, your command is executed by everyone. If you should have suspicion of the loyalty of any people, and should want to assure yourself and occupy them without notice, in order to disguise your design more easily, you cannot do better than to communicate to him some of your design, requesting his aid, and indicate to him you want to undertake another enterprise, and to have a mind alien to every thought of his: which will cause him not to think of his defense, as he does not believe you are thinking of attacking him, and he will give you the opportunity which will enable you to satisfy your desire easily. If you should have present in your army someone who keeps the enemy advised of your designs, you cannot do better if you want to avail yourself of his evil intentions, than to communicate to him those things you do not want to do, and keep silent those things you want to do, and tell him you are apprehensive of the things of which you are not apprehensive, and conceal those things of which you are apprehensive: which will cause the enemy to undertake some enterprise, in the belief that he knows your designs, in which you can deceive him and defeat him. If you should design [as did Claudius Nero] to decrease your army, sending aid to some friend, and they should not be aware of it, it is necessary that the encampment be not decreased, but to maintain entire all the signs and arrangements, making the same fires and posting the same guards as for the entire army. Likewise, if you should attach a new force to your army, and do not want the enemy to know you have enlarged it, it is necessary that the encampment be not increased, for it is always most useful to keep your designs secret. Whence Metellus, when he was with the armies in Spain, to one who asked him what he was going to do the next day, answered that if his shirt knew it, he would bum it. Marcus Crassus, to one who asked him when he was going to move his army, said: “do you believe you are alone in not hearing the trumpets?” If you should desire to learn the secrets of your enemy and know his arrangement, some used to send ambassadors, and with them men expert in war disguised in the clothing of the family, who, taking the opportunity to observe the enemy army, and consideration of his strengths and weaknesses, have given them the occasion to defeat him. Some have sent a close friend of theirs into exile, and through him have learned the designs of their adversary. You may also learn similar secrets from the enemy if you should take prisoners for this purpose. Marius, in the war he waged against Cimbri, in order to learn the loyalty of those Gauls who lived in Lombardy and were leagued with the Roman people, sent them letters, open and sealed: and in the open ones he wrote them that they should not open the sealed ones except at such a time: and before that time, he called for them to be returned, and finding them opened, knew their loyalty was not complete. Some Captains, when they were assaulted have not wanted to go to meet the enemy, but have gone to assail his country, and constrain him to return to defend his home. This often has turned out well, because your soldiers begin to win and fill themselves with booty and confidence, while those of the enemy become dismayed, it appearing to them that from being winners, they have become losers. So that to whoever has made this diversion, it has turned out well. But this can only be done by that man who has his country stronger than that of the enemy, for if it were otherwise, he would go on to lose. It has often been a useful thing for a Captain who finds himself besieged in the quarters of the enemy, to set in motion proceedings for an accord, and to make a truce with him for several days; which only any enemy negligent in every way will do, so that availing yourself of his negligence, you can easily obtain the opportunity to get out of his hands. Sulla twice freed himself from his enemies in this manner, and with this same deceit, Hannibal in Spain got away from the forces of Claudius Nero, who had besieged him.

It also helps one in freeing himself from the enemy to do something in addition to those mentioned, which keeps him at bay. This is done in two ways: either by assaulting him with part of your forces, so that intent on the battle, he gives the rest of your forces the opportunity to be able to save themselves, or to have some new incident spring up, which, by the novelty of the thing, makes him wonder, and for this reason to become apprehensive and stand still, as you know Hannibal did, who, being trapped by Fabius Maximus, at night placed some torches between the horns of many oxen, so that Fabius is suspense over this novelty, did not think further of impeding his passage. A Captain ought, among all the other actions of his, endeavor with every art to divide the forces of the enemy, either by making him suspicious of his men in whom he trusted, or by giving him cause that he has to separate his forces, and, because of this, become weaker. The first method is accomplished by watching the things of some of those whom he has next to him, as exists in war, to save his possessions, maintaining his children or other of his necessities without charge. You know how Hannibal, having burned all the fields around Rome, caused only those of Fabius Maximus to remain safe. You know how Coriolanus, when he came with the army to Rome, saved the possessions of the Nobles, and burned and sacked those of the Plebs. When Metellus led the army against Jugurtha, all me ambassadors, sent to him by Jugurtha, were requested by him to give up Jugurtha as a prisoner; afterwards, writing letters to these same people on the same subject, wrote in such a way that in a little while Jugurtha became suspicious of all his counsellors, and in different ways, dismissed them. Hannibal, having taken refuge with Antiochus, the Roman ambassadors frequented him so much at home, that Antiochus becoming suspicious of him, did not afterwards have any faith in his counsels. As to dividing the enemy forces, there is no more certain way than to have one country assaulted by part of them (your forces), so that being constrained to go to defend it, they (of that country) abandon the war. This is the method employed by Fabius when his Army had encountered the forces of the Gauls, the Tuscans, Umbrians, and Samnites. Titus Didius, having a small force in comparison with those of the enemy, and awaiting a Legion from Rome, the enemy wanted to go out to meet it; so that in order that it should not do so, he gave out by voice throughout his army that he wanted to undertake an engagement with the enemy on the next day; then he took steps that some of the prisoners he had were given the opportunity to escape, who carried back the order of the Consul to fight on the next day, (and) caused the enemy, in order not to diminish his forces, not to go out to meet that Legion: and in this way, kept himself safe. Which method did not serve to divide the forces of the enemy, but to double his own. Some, in order to divide his (the enemy) forces, have employed allowing him to enter their country, and (in proof) allowed him to take many towns so that by placing guards in them, he diminished his forces, and in this manner having made him weak, assaulted and defeated him. Some others, when they wanted to go into one province, feigned making an assault on another, and used so much industry, that as soon as they extended toward that one where there was no fear they would enter, have overcome it before the enemy had time to succor it. For the enemy, as he is not certain whether you are to return back to the place first threatened by you, is constrained not to abandon the one place and succor the other, and thus often he does not defend either. In addition to the matters mentioned, it is important to a Captain when sedition or discord arises among the soldiers, to know how to extinguish it with art. The better way is to castigate the heads of this folly (error); but to do it in a way that you are able to punish them before they are able to become aware of it. The method is, if they are far from you, not to call only the guilty ones, but all the others together with them, so that as they do not believe there is any cause to punish them, they are not disobedient, but provide the opportunity for punishment. When they are present, one ought to strengthen himself with the guiltless, and by their aid, punish them. If there should be discord among them, the best way is to expose them to danger, which fear will always make them united. But, above all, what keeps the Army united, is the reputation of its Captain, which only results from his virtu, for neither blood (birth) or authority attain it without virtu. And the first thing a Captain is expected to do, is to see to it that the soldiers are paid and punished; for any time payment is missed, punishment must also be dispensed with, because you cannot castigate a soldier you rob, unless you pay him; and as he wants to live, he can abstain from being robbed. But if you pay him but do not punish him, he becomes insolent in every way, because you become of little esteem, and to whomever it happens, he cannot maintain the dignity of his position; and if he does not maintain it, of necessity, tumults and discords follow, which are the ruin of an Army. The Ancient Captains had a molestation from which the present ones are almost free, which was the interpretation of sinister omen to their undertakings; for if an arrow fell in an army, if the Sun or the Moon was obscured, if an earthquake occurred, if the Captain fell while either mounting or dismounting from his horse, it was interpreted in a sinister fashion by the soldiers, and instilled so much fear in them, that when they came to an engagement, they were easily defeated. And, therefore, as soon as such an incident occurred, the ancient Captains either demonstrated the cause of it or reduced it to its natural causes, or interpreted it to (favor) their own purposes. When Caesar went to Africa, and having fallen while he was putting out to sea, said, “Africa, I have taken you”: and many have profited from an eclipse of the Moon and from earthquakes: these things cannot happen in our time, as much because our men are not as superstitious, as because our Religion, by itself, entirely takes away such ideas. Yet if it should occur, the orders of the ancients should be imitated. When, either from hunger, or other natural necessity, or human passion, your enemy is brought to extreme desperation, and, driven by it, comes to fight with you, you ought to remain within your quarters, and avoid battle as much as you can. Thus the Lacedemonians did against the Messinians: thus Caesar did against Afranius and Petreius. When Fulvius was Consul against the Cimbri, he had the cavalry assault the enemy continually for many days, and considered how they would issue forth from their quarters in order to pursue them; whence he placed an ambush behind the quarters of the Cimbri, and had them assaulted by the cavalry, and when the Cimbri came out of their quarters to pursue them, Fulvius seized them and plundered them. It has been very effective for a Captain, when his army is in the vicinity of the enemy army, to send his forces with the insignia of the enemy, to rob and burn his own country: whence the enemy, believing they were forces coming to their aid, also ran out to help them plunder, and, because of this, have become disorganised and given the adversary the faculty of overcoming them. Alexander of Epirus used these means fighting against the Illirici, and Leptenus the Syracusan against the Carthaginians, and the design succeeded happily for both. Many have overcome the enemy by giving him the faculty of eating and drinking beyond his means, feigning being afraid, and leaving his quarters full of wine and herds, and when the enemy had filled himself beyond every natural limit, they assaulted him and overcome him with injury to him. Thus Tamirus did against Cyrus, and Tiberius Gracchus against the Spaniards. Some have poisoned the wine and other things to eat in order to be able to overcome them more easily. A little while ago, I said I did not find the ancients had kept a night Watch outside, and I thought they did it to avoid the evils that could happen, for it has been found that sometimes, the sentries posted in the daytime to keep watch for the enemy, have been the ruin of him who posted them; for it has happened often that when they had been taken, and by force had been made to give the signal by which they called their own men, who, coming at the signal, have been either killed or taken. Sometimes it helps to deceive the enemy by changing one of your habits, relying on which, he is ruined: as a Captain had already done, who, when he wanted to have a signal made to his men indicating the coming of the enemy, at night with fire and in the daytime with smoke, commanded that both smoke and flame be made without any intermission; so that when the enemy came, he should remain in the belief that he came without being seen, as he did not see the signals (usually) made to indicate his discovery, made [because of his going disorganised] the victory of his adversary easier. Menno Rodius, when he wanted to draw the enemy from the strong places, sent one in the disguise of a fugitive, who affirmed that his army was full of discord, and that the greater part were deserting, and to give proof of the matter, had certain tumults started among the quarters: whence to the enemy, thinking he was able to break him, assaulted him and was routed.

In addition to the things mentioned, one ought to take care not to bring the enemy to extreme desperation; which Caesar did when he fought the Germans, who, having blocked the way to them, seeing that they were unable to flee, and necessity having made them brave, desired rather to undergo the hardship of pursuing them if they defended themselves. Lucullus, when he saw that some Macedonian cavalry who were with him, had gone over to the side of the enemy, quickly sounded the call to battle, and commanded the other forces to pursue it: whence the enemy, believing that Lucullus did not want to start the battle, went to attack the Macedonians with such fury, that they were constrained to defend themselves, and thus, against their will, they became fighters of the fugitives. Knowing how to make yourself secure of a town when you have doubts of its loyalty once you have conquered it, or before, is also important; which some examples of the ancients teach you. Pompey, when he had doubts of the Catanians, begged them to accept some infirm people he had in his army, and having sent some very robust men in the disguise of infirm ones, occupied the town. Publius Valerius, fearful of the loyalty of the Epidaurians, announced an amnesty to be held, as we will tell you, at a Church outside the town, and when all the public had gone there for the amnesty, he locked the doors, and then let no one out from inside except those whom he trusted. Alexander the Great, when he wanted to go into Asia and secure Thrace for himself, took with him all the chiefs of this province, giving them provisions, and placed lowborn men in charge of the common people of Thrace; and thus he kept the chiefs content by paying them, and the common people quiet by not having Heads who should disquiet them. But among all the things by which Captains gain the people over to themselves, are the examples of chastity and justice, as was that of Scipio in Spain when he returned that girl, beautiful in body, to her husband and father, which did more than arms in gaining over Spain. Caesar, when he paid for the lumber that he used to make the stockades around his army in Gaul, gained such a name for himself of being just, that he facilitated the acquisition of that

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province for himself. I do not know what else remains for me to talk about regarding such events, and there does not remain any part of this matter that has not been discussed by us. The only thing lacking is to tell of the methods of capturing and defending towns, which I am about to do willingly, if it is not painful for you now.

BATTISTA: Your humaneness is so great, that it makes us pursue our desires without being afraid of being held presumptuous, since you have offered it willingly, that we would be ashamed to ask you. Therefore we say only this to you, that you cannot do a greater or more thankful benefit to us than to furnish us this discussion. But before you pass on to that other matter, resolve a doubt for us: whether it is better to continue the war even in winter, as is done today, or wage it only in the summer, and go into quarters in the winter, as the ancients did.

FABRIZIO: Here, if there had not been the prudence of the questioner, some part that merits consideration would have been omitted. I tell you again that the ancients did everything better and with more prudence than we; and if some error is made in other things, all are made in matters of war. There is nothing more imprudent or more perilous to a Captain than to wage war in winter, and more dangerous to him who brings it, than to him who awaits it. The reason is this: all the industry used in military discipline, is used in order to be organised to undertake an engagement with your enemy, as this is the end toward which a Captain must aim, for the engagement makes you win or lose a war. Therefore, whoever know how to organise it better, and who has his army better disciplined, has the greater advantage in this, and can hope more to win it. On the other hand, there is nothing more inimical to organisation than the rough sites, or cold and wet seasons; for the rough side does not allow you to use the plentitude (of your forces) according to discipline, and the cold and wet seasons do not allow you to keep your forces together, and you cannot have them face the enemy united, but of necessity, you must quarter them separately, and without order, having to take into account the castles, hamlets, and farm houses that receive you; so that all the hard work employed by you in disciplining your army is in vain. And do not marvel if they war in winter time today, for as the armies are without discipline, and do not know the harm that is done to them by not being quartered together, for their annoyance does not enable those arrangements to be made and to observe that discipline which they do not have. Yet, the injury caused by campaigning in the field in the winter ought to be observed, remembering that the French in the year one thousand five hundred three (1503) were routed on the Garigliano by the winter, and not by the Spaniards. For, as I have told you, whoever assaults has even greater disadvantage, because weather harms him more when he is in the territory of others, and wants to make war. Whence he is compelled either to withstand the inconveniences of water and cold in order to keep together, or to divide his forces to escape them. But whoever waits, can select the place to his liking, and await him (the enemy) with fresh forces, and can unite them in a moment, and go out to find the enemy forces who cannot withstand their fury. Thus were the French routed, and thus are those always routed who assault an enemy in winter time, who in itself has prudence. Whoever, therefore, does not want the forces, organisation, discipline, and virtu, in some part, to be of value, makes war in the field in the winter time. And because the Romans wanted to avail themselves of all of these things, into which they put so much industry, avoided not only the winter time, but rough mountains and difficult places, and anything else which could impede their ability to demonstrate their skill and virtu. So this suffices to (answer) your question; and now let us come to treat of the attacking and defending of towns, and of the sites, and of their edifices.

MACHIAVELLI ART OF WAR, 7TH BOOK

You ought to know that towns and fortresses can be strong either by nature or industry. Those are strong by nature which are surrounded by rivers or marshes, as is Mantua or Ferrara, or those situated on a rock or sloping mountain, as Monaco and San Leo; for those situated on mountains which are not difficult to climb, today are [with respect to caves and artillery] very weak. And, therefore, very often today a plain is sought on which to build (a city)to make it strong by industry. The first industry is, to make the walls twisted and full of turned recesses; which pattern results in the enemy not being able to approach them, as they will be able to be attacked easily not only from the front, but on the flanks. If the walls are made too high, they are excessively exposed to the blows of the artillery; if they are made too low, they are very easily scaled. If you dig ditches (moats) in front of them to make it difficult (to employ) ladders, if it should happen that the enemy fills them [which a large army can do easily]the wall becomes prey to the enemy. I believe, therefore, [subject to a better judgement] that if you want to make provision against both evils the wall ought to be made high, with the ditches inside and not outside. This is the strongest way to build that is possible, for it protects you from artillery and ladders, and does not give the enemy the faculty of filling the ditches. The wall, therefore, ought to be as high as occurs to you, and not less than there from lengths wide, to make it more difficult to be ruined. It ought to have towers placed at intervals of two hundred arm lengths. The ditch inside ought to be at least thirty arm lengths wide and twelve deep, and all the earth that is excavated in making the ditch is thrown toward the city, and is sustained by a wall that is part of the base of the ditch, and extends again as much above the ground, as that a man may take cover behind it: which has the effect of making the depth of the ditch greater. In there as of the ditch, every two hundred arm lengths, there should be a matted enclosure, which with the artillery, causes injury to anyone who should descend into it. The heavy artillery which defends the city, are placed behind the wall enclosing the ditch;for to defend the wall from the front, as it is high, it is not possible to use conveniently anything else other than small or middle sized guns. If the enemy comes to scale your wall, the height of the first wall easily protects you. If he comes with artillery, he must first batter down the first wall: but onceit is battered down, because the nature of all batterings is to cause the wall to fall toward the battered side, the ruin of the wall will result [since it does not find a ditch which receives and hides it] in doubling the depth of the ditch, so that it is not possible for you to pass on further as you will find aruin that holds you back and a ditch which will impede you, and from the wall of the ditch, in safety, the enemy artillery kills you. The only remedy there exists for you, is to fill up the ditch:which is very difficult, as much because its capacity is large, as from the difficulty you have in approaching it, since the walls being winding and recessed, you can enter among them only with difficulty, for the reasons previously mentioned; and then, having to climb over the ruin with the material in hand, causes you a very great difficulty: so that I know a city so organised is completely indestructible.

BATTISTA: If, in addition to the ditch inside, there should be one also on the outside, wouldn't (the encampment) be stronger?

FABRIZIO: It would be, without doubt; but my reasoning is, that if you want to dig one ditch only, it is better inside than outside.

BATTISTA: Would you have water in the ditch, or would you leave them dry?

FABRIZIO: Opinions are different; for ditches full of water protect you from (subterranean) tunnels, the ditches without water make it more difficult for you to fill them in again. But, considering everything, I would have them without water; for they are more secure, and, as it has been observed that in winter time the ditches ice over, the capture of a city is made easy, as happene dat Mirandola when Pope Julius besieged it. And to protect your self from tunnels, I would dig them so deep, that whoever should want to go (tunnel) deeper, should find water. I would also build the fortresses in a way similar to the walls and ditches, so that similar difficulty would be encountered in destroying it I want to call to mind one good thing to anyone who defends a city. This is, that they do not erect bastions outside, and they be distant from its wall. And another to anyone who builds the fortresses:And this is, that he not build any redoubts in them, into which who ever is inside can retire when the wall is lost. What makes me give the first counsel is, that no one ought to do anything, through the medium of which, you begin to lose your reputation without any remedy, the loss of which makes others esteem youless, and dismay those who undertake your defense. And what I say will always happen to you if you erect bastions outside the town you have to defend, for you will always lose them, as you are unable to defend small things when they are placed under the fury of the artillery; so that in losing them, they become the beginning and the cause of your ruin. Genoa, when it rebelled from King Louis of France, erected some bastions on the hills outside the City, which, as soon as they were lost, and they were]lost quickly, also caused the city to be lost. As to the second counsel, I affirm there is nothing more dangerous concerning a fortress, than to be able to retire into it, for the hope that men have (lose) when they abandon a place, cause it to be lost, and when it is lost, it then causes the entire fortress to be lost. For an example, there is the recent loss of the fortress of Forli when the Countess Catherine defended it against Caes are Borgia, son of Pope Alexander the Sixth, who had led the army of the King of France. That entire fortress was full of places by both of them: For it was originally a citadel. There was amoat before coming to the fortress, so that it was entered by means of a draw bridge. The fortress was divided into three parts, and each part separated by a ditch, and with water between them;and one passed from one place to another by means of bridges:whence the Duke battered one of those parts of the fortress with artillery, and opened up part of a wall; whence Messer Giovanni Da Casale, who was in charge of the garrison, did not think of defending that opening, but abandoned to retire into the other places; so that the forces of the Duke, having entered that part without opposition, immediately seized all of it, for they became masters of the bridges that connected the members (parts) with each other. He lost the fort which was held to be indestructible because of two mistakes: one, because it had so many redoubts:the other, because no one was made master of his bridges (they were unprotected). The poorly built fortress and the little prudence of the defender, therefore, brought disgrace to the magnanimous enterprise of the Countess, who had the courage to face an army which neither the King of Naples, nor the Duke of Milan, had faced. And although his (the Duke) efforts did not have a good ending, none the less, he became noted for those honours which his virtumerited. Which was testified to by the many epigrams made in those times praising him. If I should therefore have to build a fortress, I would make its walls strong, and ditches in the manner we have discussed, nor would I build anything else to live in but houses, and they would be weak and low, so that they would not impede the sight of the walls to anyone who might be in the plaza, so that the Captain should be able to see with (his own) eyes where he could be of help, and that everyone should understand that if the walls and the ditch were lost, the entire fortress would be lost. And even if I should build some redoubts, I would have the bridges so separated, that each part should be master of (protect)the bridge in its own area, arranging that it be buttressed on its pilasters in the middle of the ditch.

BATTISTA: You have said that, today, the little thing scan not be defended, and it seems to me I have understood the opposite, that the smaller the thing was, the better it was defended.

FABRIZIO: You have not understood well, for today that place can not be called strong, where he who defends it does not have room to retire among new ditches and ramparts: for such is the fury of the artillery, that he who relies on the protection of only one wall or rampart, deceives himself. And as the bastions [if you want them not to exceed their regular measurements, for then they would be terraces and castles] are not made so that others can retire into them, they are lost quickly. And therefore it is a wise practice to leave these bastions outside, and fortify the entrances of the terraces, and cover their gates with revets, so that one does not go in or out of the gate in a straight line, and there is a ditch with a bridge over it from the revet to the gate. The gates are also fortified with shutters, so as to allow your men to reenter, when, after going out to fight, it happens that the enemy drives them back, and in the ensuing mixing of men, the enemy does not enter with them. And therefore, these things have also been found which the ancients called “cataracts”, which, being let down, keep out the enemy but saves one's friends;for in such cases, one can not avail himself of anything else, neither bridges, or the gate, since both are occupied by the crowd.

BATTISTA: I have seen these shutters that you mention, made of small beams, in Germany, in the form of iron grids, while those of ours are made entirely of massive planks. I would want to know whence this difference arises, and which is stronger.

FABRIZIO: I will tell you again, that the methods and organisations of war in all the world, with respect to those of the ancients, are extinct; but in Italy, they are entirely lost, and if there is something more powerful, it results from the examples of the Ultra montanes. You may have heard, and these others can remember, how weakly things were built before King Charles of France crossed into Italy in the year one thousand four hundred ninety four (1494). The battlements were made a half arm length thin (wide), the places for the cross-bowmen and bombardiers (gunners)were made with a small aperture outside and a large one inside, and with many other defects, which I will omit, not to be tedious;for the defenses are easily taken away from slender battlements;the (places for) bombardiers built that way are easily opened(demolished). Now from the French, we have learned to make the battlements wide and large, and also to make the (places of the)bombardiers wide on the inside, and narrow it at the center of the wall, and then again widen it up to the outside edge: and this results in the artillery being able to demolish its defenses only with difficulty, The French, moreover, have many other arrangements such as these, which, because they have not been seen thus, have not been given consideration. Among which, is this method of the shutters made in the form of a grid, which is by far a better method than yours; for if you have to repair the shutters of agate such as yours, lowering it if you are locked inside, and hence are unable to injure the enemy, so that they can attack it safely either in the dark or with a fire. But if it is made in the shape of a grid, you can, once it is lowered, by those weaves and intervals, to be able to defend it with lances, cross-bows, and every other kind of arms.

BATTISTA: I have also seen another Ultra montane custom in Italy, and it is this, making the carriages of the artillery with the spokes of the wheels bent toward the axles. I would like to know why they make them this way, as it seems to me they would be stronger straight, as those of our wheels.

FABRIZIO: Never believe that things which differ from the ordinary are made at home, but if you would believe that I should make them such as to be more beautiful, you would err;for where strength is necessary, no account is taken of beauty;but they all arise from being safer and stronger than ours. There a son is this. When the carriage is loaded, it either

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goes on a level, or inclines to the right or left side. When it goes level, the wheels equally sustain the weight, which, being divided equally between them, does not burden them much; when it inclines, it comes to have all the weight of the load upon that wheel on which it inclines. If its spokes are straight, they can easily collapse, since the wheel being inclined, the spokes also come to incline, and do not sustain the weight in a straight line. And, thus, when the carriage rides level and when they carry less weight, they come to be stronger; when the carriage rides inclined and when they carry more weight, they are weaker. The contrary happens to the bent spokes of the French carriages; for when the carriageinc lines to one side, it points (leans straight) on them, since being ordinarily bent, they then come to be (more) straight (vertical), and can sustain all the weight strongly; and when the carriage goes level and they (the spikes) are bent, they sustain half the weight.

But let us return to our Cities and Fortresses. The French, for the greater security of their towns, and to enable them during sieges to put into and withdraw forces from them more easily, also employ, in addition to the things mentioned, another arrangement, of which I have not yet seen any example in Italy: and it is this, that they erect two pilasters at the outside point of a draw-bridge, and upon each of them they balance a beam so that half of it comes over the bridge, and the other half outside. Then they join small beams to the part outside, which are woven together from one beam to another in the shape of a grid, and on the inside they attach a chain to the end of each beam. When they want to close the bridge from the outside, therefore, they release the chains and allow all that gridded part to drop, which closes the bridge when it is lowered, and when they want to open it, they pull on the chains, and they (gridded beams) come to be raised; and they can be raised so that a man can pass under, but not a horse, and also so much that a horse with the man can pass under, and also can be closed entirely, for it is lowered and raised like a lace curtain. This arrangement is more secure than the shutters: for it can be impeded by the enemy so that it cannot come down only with difficulty,(and) it does not come down in a straight line like the shutters which can easily be penetrated. Those who want to build a City, therefore, ought to have all the things mentioned installed; and in addition, they should want at least one mile around the wall where either farming or building would not be allowed, but should be open field where no bushes, embankments, trees, or houses, should exist which would impede the vision, and which should be in the rear of a besieging enemy. It is to be noted that a town which has its ditches outside with its embankments higher than the ground, is very weak; for they provide a refuge for the enemy who assaults you, but does not impede him in attacking you, because they can be easily forced (opened) and give his artillery an emplacement.

But let us pass into the town. I do not want to waste much time in showing you that, in addition to the things mentioned previously, provisions for living and fighting supplies must also be included, for they are the things which everyone needs, and without them, every other provision is in vain. And, generally, two things ought to be done, provision yourself, and deprive the enemy of the opportunity to avail himself of the resources of your country. Therefore, any straw, grain, and cattle, which you cannot receive in your house, ought to be destroyed. Whoever defends a town ought to see to it that nothing is done in a tumultuous and disorganised manner, and have means to let everyone know what he has to do in any incident. The manner is this, that the women, children, aged, and the public stay at home, and leave the town free to the young and the brave: who armed, are distributed forde fense, part being on the walls, part at the gates, part in the principal places of the City, in order to remedy those evils which might arise within; another part is not assigned to any place, but is prepared to help anyone requesting their help. And when matters are so organised, only with difficulty can tumults arise which disturb you. I want you to note also that in attacking and defending Cities, nothing gives the enemy hope of being able to occupy a town, than to know the inhabitants are not in the habit of looking for the enemy; for often Cities are lost entirely from fear, without any other action. When one assaults such a City, he should make all his appearances (ostentatious) terrible. On the other hand, he who is assaulted ought to place brave men, who are not afraid of thoughts, but by arms, on the side where the enemy (comes to) fight; for if the attempt proves vain, courage grows in the besieged, and then the enemy is forced to overcome those inside with his virtu and his reputation.

The equipment with which the ancients defended the towns were many, such as, Ballistas, Onagers, Scorpions, Arc-Ballistas, Large Bows, Slingshots; and those with which they assaulted were also many, such as, Battering Rams, Wagons, Hollow Metal Fuses (Muscoli), Trench Covers (Plutei), Siege Machines (Vinee), Scythes, Turtles(somewhat similar to present day tanks). In place of these things, today there is the artillery, which serves both attackers and defenders, and, hence, I will not speak further about it. But let us return to our discussion, and come to the details of the siege (attack). One ought to take care not to be able to be taken by hunger, and not to be forced (to capitulate) by assaults. As to hunger, it has been said that it is necessary, before the siege arrives, to be well provided with food. But when it is lacking during a long siege, some extraordinary means of being provided by friends who want to save you, have been observed to be employed, especially if a river runs in the middle of the besieged City, as were the Romans, when their castle of Casalino was besieged by Hannibal, who, not being able to send them anything else byway of the river, threw great quantities of nuts into it, which being carried by the river without being able to be impeded, fed the Casalinese for some time. Some, when they were besieged, in order to show the enemy they had grain left over, and to make them despair of being able to besiege (defeat) them by hunger, have either thrown bread outside the walls, or have given a calf grain to eat, and then allowed it to be taken, so that when it was killed, and being found full of grain, gave signs of an abundance which they do not have. On the other hand, excellent Captains have used various methods to enfamish the enemy. Fabius allowed the Campanians to sow so that they should lack that grain which they were sowing. Dionysius, when he was besieged at Reggio, feigned wanting to make an accord with them, and while it was being drawn, had himself provided with food, and then when, by this method, had depleted them of grain, pressed them and starved them. Alexander the Great, when he wanted to capture Leucadia, captured all the surrounding castles, and allowed the men from them to take refuge in it (the City), and thus by adding a great multitude, he starved them. As to assaults, it has been said that one ought to guard against the first onrush, with which the Romans often occupied many towns, assaulting them all at once from every side, and they called it attacking the city by its crown: as did Scipio when he occupied new Carthage in Spain. If this onrush is withstood, then only with difficulty will you be overcome. And even if it should occur that the enemy had entered inside the city by having forced the walls, even the small terraces give you some remedy if they are not abandoned; for many armies have, once they have entered into a town, been repulsed or slain. The remedy is, that the towns people keep themselves in high places, and fight them from their houses and towers. Which thing, those who have entered in the City, have endeavored to win in two ways: the one, to open the gates of the City and make a way for the townspeople by which they can escape in safety: the other, to send out a (message)by voice signifying that no one would be harmed unless armed, and whoever would throw his arms on the ground, they would pardon. Which thing has made the winning of many Cities easy. In addition to this, Cities are easy to capture if you fall on them unexpectedly, which you can do when you find yourself with your army far away, so that they do not believe that you either want to assault them, or that you can do it without your presenting yourself, because of the distance from the place. Whence, if you assault them secretly and quickly, it will almost always happen that you will succeed in reporting the victory. I unwillingly discuss those things which have happened in our times, as I would burden you with myself and my (ideas), and I would not know what to say in discussing other things. None the less, concerning this matter, I can not but cite the example of Cesare Borgia, called the Duke Valentine, who, when he was at Nocera with his forces, under the pretext of going to harm Camerino, turned toward the State of Urbino, and occupied a State in one day and without effort, which some other, with great time and expense, would barely have occupied. Those who are besieged must also guard themselves from the deceit and cunning of the enemy, and, therefore, the besieged should not trust anything which they see the enemy doing continuously, but always believe they are being done by deceit, and can change to injure them. When Domitius Calvinus was besieging a town, heunder took habitually to circle the walls of the City every day with a good part of his forces. Whence the townspeople, believing he was doing this for exercise, lightened the guard: when Domitius became aware of this, he assaulted them, and destroyed them. Some Captains, when they heard beforehand that aid was to come to the besieged, have clothed their soldiers with the insignia of those who were to come, and having introduced them inside, have occupied the town. Chimon, the Athenian, one night set fire to a Temple that was outside the town, whence, when the townspeople arrived to succor it, they left the town to the enemy to plunder. Some have put to death those who left the besieged castle to blacksmith(shoe horses), and redressing their soldiers with the clothes of the blacksmiths, who then surrendered the town to him. The ancient Captains also employed various methods to despoil the garrisons of the towns they want to take. Scipio, when he was in Africa, and desiring to occupy several castles in which garrisons had been placed by Carthaginians, feigned several times wanting to assault them, but then from fear not only abstained, but drew away from them. Which Hannibal believing to be true, in order to pursue him with a larger force and be able to attack him more easily, withdrew all the garrisons from them: (and) Scipio becoming aware of this, sent Maximus, his Captain, to capture them. Pyrrhus, when he was waging war in Sclavonia, in one of the Chief Cities of that country, where a large force had been brought in to garrison it, feigned to be desperate of being able to capture it, and turning to other places, caused her, in order to succor them, to empty herself of the garrison, so that it became easy to be forced (captured). Many have polluted the water and diverted rivers to take a town, even though they then did not succeed. Sieges and surrenders are also easily accomplished, by dismaying them by pointing out an accomplished victory, or new help which is come to their disfavor. The ancient Captains sought to occupy towns by treachery, corrupting some inside, but have used different methods. Some have sent one of their men under the disguise of a fugitive, who gained authority and confidence with the enemy, which he afterward used for his own benefit. Many by this means have learned the procedures of the guards, and through this knowledge have taken the town. Some have blocked the gate so that it could not be locked with a cart or a beam under some pretext, and by this means, made the entry easy to the enemy. Hannibal persuaded one to give him a castle of the Romans, and that he should feign going on a hunt at night, to show his inability to go by day for fear of the enemy, and when he returned with the game, placed his men inside with it, and killing the guard, captured the gate. You also deceive the besieged by drawing them outside the town and distant from it, by feigning flight when they assault you. And many [among whom was Hannibal] have, in addition, allowed their quarters to betaken in order to have the opportunity of placing them in their midst, and take the town from them. They deceive also by feigning departure, as did For minus, the Athenian, who having plundered the country of the Calcidians, afterwards received their ambassadors, and filled their City with promises of safety and good will, who, as men of little caution, were shortly after captured by Forminus. The besieged ought to look out for men whom they have among them that are suspect, but sometimes they may want to assure themselves of these by reward, as well as by punishment. Marcellus, recognising that Lucius Bancius Nolanus had turned to favor Hannibal, employed so much humanity and liberality toward him, that, from an enemy, he made him a very good friend. The besieged ought to use more diligence in their guards when the enemy is distant, than when he is near. And they ought to guard those places better which they think can be attacked less; for many towns have been lost when the enemy assaulted them on a side from which they did not believe they would be assaulted. And this deception occurs for two reasons: either because the place is strong and they believe it is inaccessible, or because the enemy cunningly assaults him on one side with feigned uproars, and on the other silently with the real assaults. And, therefore, the besieged ought to have a great awareness of this, and above all at all times, but especially at night, have good guards at the walls, and place there not only men, but dogs; and keep them ferocious and ready, which by smell, detect the presence of the enemy, and with their baying discover him. And, in addition to dogs, it has been found that geese have also saved a City, as happened to the Romans when the Gauls besieged the Capitol. When Athens was besieged by the Spartans, Alcibiades, in order to see if the guards were awake, arranged that when alight was raised at night, all the guards should rise, and inflicted a penalty on those who did not observe it. Hissicratus, the Athenian, slew a guard who was sleeping, saying he was leaving him as he had found him. Those who are besieged have had various ways of sending news to their friends, and in order not to send embassies by voice, wrote letters in cipher, and concealed them in various ways. The ciphers are according to the desires of whoever arranges them, the method of concealment is varied. Some have written inside the scabbard of a sword. Others have put these letters inside raw bread, and then baked it, and gave it as food to him who brought it. Others have placed them in the most secret places of the body. Others have put them in the collar of a dog known to him who brings it. Others have written ordinary things in a letter, and then have written with water (invisible ink) between one line and another, which afterwards by wetting or scalding (caused) the letter to appear. This method has been very astutely observed in our time, where some wanting to point out a thing which was to be kept secret to their friends who lived inside a town, and not wanting to trust it in person, sent communications written in the customary manner, but interlined as I mentioned above, and had them hung at the gates of a Temple; which were then taken and read by those who recognised them from the countersigns they knew. Which is a very cautious method, because whoever brings it can be deceived by you, and you do not run any danger. There are infinite other ways by which anyone by himself likewise can find and read them. But one writes with more facility to the besieged than the besieged do to friends outside, for the latter can not send out such letters except by one who leaves the town under the guise of a fugitive, which is a doubtful and dangerous exploit when the enemy is cautious to a point. But as to those that are sent inside, he who is sent can, under many pretexts, go into the

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camp that is besieged, and from here await a convenient opportunity to jump into the town.

But let us come to talk of present captures, and I say that, if they occur when you are being fought in your City, which is not arranged with ditches inside, as we pointed out a little while ago, when you do not want the enemy to enter by the breaks in the wall made by artillery [as there is no remedy for the break which it makes], it is necessary for you, while the artillery is battering, to dig a ditch inside the wall that is being hit, at least thirty arm lengths wide, and throw all (the earth) that is excavated toward the town, which makes embankments and the ditch deeper: and you must do this quickly, so that if the wall falls, the ditch will be excavated at least five or six arm lengths deep. While this ditch is being excavated, it is necessary that it be closed on each side by a block house. And if the wall is so strong that it gives you time to dig the ditches and erect the block houses, that part which is battered comes to be stronger than the rest of the City, for such a repair comes to have the form that we gave to inside ditches. But if the wall is weak and does not give you time, then there is need to show virtu, and oppose them with armed forces, and with all your strength. This method of repair was observed by the Pisans when you went to besiege them, and they were able to do this because they had strong walls which gave them time, and the ground firm and most suitable for erecting ramparts and making repairs. Which, had they not had this benefit, would have been lost. It would always be prudent, therefore, first to prepare yourself, digging the ditches inside your City and throughout all its circuit, as we devised a little while ago; for in this case, as the defenses have been made, the enemy is awaited with leisure and safety. The ancients often occupied towns with tunnels in two ways: either they dug a secret tunnel which came out inside the town, and through which they enter edit, in the way in which the Romans took the City of the Veienti:or, by tunnelling they undermined a wall, and caused it to be ruined. This last method is more effective today, and causes Cities located high up to be weaker, for they can be undermined more easily, and then when that powder which ignites in an instant is placed inside those tunnels, it not only ruins the wall, but the mountains are opened, and the fortresses are entirely disintegrated into several parts. The remedy for this is to build on a plain, and make the ditch which girds your City so deep, that the enemy can not excavate further below it without finding water, which is the only enemy of these excavations. And even if you find a knoll within the town that you defend, you cannot remedy it otherwise than to dig many deep wells within your walls, which are as outlets to those excavations which the enemy might be able to arrange against it. Another remedy is to make an excavation opposite to where you learn he is excavating: which method readily impedes him, but is very difficult to foresee, when you are besieged by a cautious enemy. Whoever is besieged, above all, ought to take care not to be attacked in times of repose, as after having engaged in battle, after having stood guard, that is, at dawn, the evening between night and day, and, above all, at dinner time, in which times many towns have been captured, and many armies ruined by those inside. One ought, therefore, to be always on guard with diligence on every side, and in good part well armed. I do not want to miss telling you that what makes defending a City or an encampment difficult, is to have to keep all the forces you have in them disunited; for the enemy being able all together to as sault you at his discretion, you must keep every place guarded on all sides, and thus he assaults you with his entire force, and you defend it with part of yours. The besieged can also be completely overcome, while those outside cannot unless repulsed; whence many who have been besieged either in their encampment or in a town, although inferior in strength, have suddenly issued forth with all their forces, and have overcome the enemy. Marcellus did this at Nola, and Caesar did this in Gaul, where his encampment being as saulted by a great number of Gauls, and seeing he could not defend it without having to divide this forces into several parts, and unable to stay within the stockade with the driving attack of the enemy, opened the encampment on one side, and turning to that side with all his forces, attacked them with such fury, and with such virtu, that he overcame and defeated them. The constancy of the besieged has also often displeased and dismayed the besieger. And when Pompey was affronting Caesar, and Caesar's army was suffering greatly from hunger, some of his bread was brought to Pompey, who, seeing it made of grass, commanded it not be shown to his army in order not to frighten it, seeing what kind of enemies he had to encounter. Nothing gave the Romans more honour in the war against Hannibal, as their constancy; for, in whatever more inimical and adverse fortune, they never asked for peace, (and)never gave any sign of fear: rather, when Hannibal was around Rome, those fields on which he had situated his quarters were sold at a higher price than they would ordinarily have been sold in other times; and they were so obstinate in their enterprises, that to defend Rome, they did not leave off attacking Capua, which was being besieged by the Romans at the same time Rome was being besieged.

I know that I have spoken to you of many things, which you have been able to understand and consider by yourselves; none the less, I have done this [as I also told you today] to be able to show you, through them, the better kind of training, and also to satisfy those, if there should be any, who had not had that opportunity to learn, as you have. Nor does it appear tome there is anything left for me to tell you other than some general rules, with which you should be very familiar: which are these. What benefits the enemy, harms you; and what benefits you, harm the enemy. Whoever is more vigilant in observing the designs of the enemy in war, and endures much hardship in training his army, will incur fewer dangers, and can have greater hope for victory. Never lead your soldiers into an engagement unless you are assured of their courage, know they are without fear, and are organised, and never make an attempt unless you see they hope for victory. It is better to defeat the enemy by hunger than with steel; in such victory fortune counts more than virtu. No proceeding is better than that which you have concealed from the enemy until the time you have executed it. To know how to recognise an opportunity in war, and take it, benefits you more than anything else. Nature creates few men brave, industry and training makes many. Discipline in war counts more than fury. If some on the side of the enemy desert to come to your service, if they be loyal, they will always make you a great acquisition; for the forces of the adversary diminish more with the loss of those who flee, than with those who are killed, even though the name of the fugitives is suspect to the new friends, and odious to the old. It is better in organising an engagement to reserve great aid behind the front line, than to spread out your soldiers to make a greater front. He is overcome with difficulty, who knows how to recognise his forces and those of the enemy. The virtu of the soldiers is worth more than a multitude, and the site is often of more benefit than virtu. New and speedy things frighten armies, while the customary and slow things are esteemed little by them: you will therefore make your army experienced, and learn (the strength) of a new enemy by skirmishes, before you come to an engagement with him. Whoever pursues a routed enemy in a disorganised manner, does nothing but become vanquished from having been a victor. Whoever does not make provisions necessary to live (eat), is overcome without steel. Whoever trusts more in cavalry than in infantry, or more in infantry than in cavalry, must settle for the location. If you want to see whether any spy has come into the camp during the day, have no one go to his quarters. Change your proceeding when you become aware that the enemy has foreseen it. Counsel with many on the things you ought to do, and confer with few on what you do afterwards. When soldiers are confined to their quarters, they are kept there by fear or punishment;then when they are led by war, (they are led) by hope and reward. Good Captains never come to an engagement unless necessity compels them, or the opportunity calls them. Act so your enemies do not know how you want to organise your army for battle, and in what ever way you organise them, arrange it so that the first line can be received by the second and by the third. In a battle, never use a company for some other purpose than what you have assigned it to, unless you want to cause disorder. Accidents are remedied with difficulty, unless you quickly take the facility of thinking. Men, steel, money, and bread, are the sinews of war; but of these four, the first two are more necessary, for men and steel find find money and bread, but money and bread do not find men and steel. The unarmed rich man is the prize of the poor soldier. Accustom your soldiers to despise delicate living and luxurious clothing.

This is as much as occurs to me generally to remind you, and I know I could have told you of many other things in my discussion, as for example, how and in how many ways the ancients organised their ranks, how they dressed, and how they trained in many other things; and to give you many other particulars, which I have not judged necessary to narrate, as much because you are able to see them, as because my intention has not been to show you in detail how the ancient army was created, but how an army should be organised in these times, which should have more virtu than they now have. Whence it does not please me to discuss the ancient matters further than those I have judged necessary to such an introduction. I know I should have enlarged more on the cavalry, and also on naval warfare; for whoever defines the military, says, that it is an army on land and on the sea, on foot and on horseback. Of naval matters, I will not presume to talk, not because of not being in formed, but because I should leave the talk to the Genoese and Venetians, who have made much study of it, and have done great things in the past. Of the cavalry, I also do not want to say any thing other than what I have said above, this part being [as I said] less corrupted. In addition to this, if the infantry, who are the nerve of the army, are well organised, of necessity it happens that good cavalry be created. I would only remind you that whoever organises the military in his country, so as to fill(the quota) of cavalry, should make two provisions: the one, tha the should distribute horses of good breed throughout his countryside, and accustom his men to make a round-up of fillies, as you do in this country with calves and mules: the other, [so that the round-up men find a buyer] I would prohibit anyone to keep mules who did not keep a horse; so that whoever wanted to keep a mount only, would also be constrained to keep a horse; and, in addition, none should be able to dress in silk, except whoever keeps a horse. I understand this arrangement has been done by some Princes of our times, and to have resulted in an excellent cavalry being produced in their countries in a very brief time. About other things, how much should be expected from the cavalry, I will go back to what I said to you today, and to that which is the custom. Perhaps you will also desire to learn what parts a Captain ought to have. In this, I will satisfy you in a brief manner; for I would not knowingly select any other man than one who should knowhow to do all those things which we have discussed today. And these would still not be enough for him if he did not know how to find them out by himself, for no one without imagination was ever very great in his profession; and if imagination makes for honour in other things, it will, above all, honour you in this one. And it is to be observed, that every creation (imagination), even though minor, is celebrated by the writers, as is seen where they praised Alexander the Great, who, in order to break camp more secretly, did not give the signal with the trumpet, but with a hat on the end of a lance. He is also praised for having ordered his soldiers, when coming to battle with the enemy, to kneel with the left foot (knee) so that they could more strongly with stand the attack (of the enemy); which not only gave him victory, but also so much praise that all the statues erected in his honour show him in that pose.

But as it is time to finish this discussion, I want to return to the subject, and so, in part, escape that penalty which, in this town, custom decrees for those who do not return. If you remember well, Cosimo, you said to me that I was, on the one hand, an exalter of antiquity, and a censurer of those who did not imitate them in serious matters, and, on the other (hand), in matters of war in which I worked very hard, I did not imitate them, you were unable to discover the reason: to that I replied, that men who want to do something must first prepare themselves to knowhow to do it in order to be able afterwards to do it when the occasion permits it. whether or not I would know how to bring the army to the ancient ways, I would rather you be the judge, who have heard me discuss on this subject at length; whence you have been able to know how much time I have consumed on these thoughts, and I also believe you should be able to imagine how much desire there is in me to put them into effect. Which you can guess, if I was ever able to do it, or if ever the opportunity was given to me. Yet, to make you more certain, and for my greater justification, I would like also to cite you the reasons, and in part, will observe what I promised you, to show you the ease and the difficulty that are present in such imitation. I say to you, therefore, that no activity among men today is easier tore store to its ancient ways than the military; but for those only who are Princes of so large a State, that they are able to assemble fifteen or twenty thousand young men from among their own subjects. On the other hand, nothing is more difficult than this to those who do not have such a convenience. And, because I want you to under stand this part better, you have to know that Captains praised are of two kinds. The one includes those, who, with an army (well) ordered through its own natural discipline, haved one great things, such as were the greater part of the Roman Citizens, and others, who have led armies, who have not had any hardship in maintaining them good, and to see to it that they were safely led. The other includes those who not only had to overcome the enemy, but before they came to this, had been compelled to make their army good and well ordered, (and) who, without doubt, deserve greater praise that those others merited who with a army which was (naturally) good have acted with so much virtu. Such as these were Pelopidas, Epaminondas, Tullus Hostilius, Phillip of Macedonia father of Alexander, Cyrus King of the Persians, and Gracchus the Roman. All these had first to make the army good, and then fight with it. All of these were able to do so, as much by their prudence, as by having subjects capable of being directed in such practices. Nor would it have been possible for any of them to accomplish any praiseworthy deed, no matter how good and excellent they might have been, should they have been in an alien country, full of corrupt men, and not accustomed to sincere obedience. It is not enough, therefore, in Italy, to govern an army already trained, but it is necessary first to know how to do it, and then how to command it. And of these, there need to be those Princes, who because they have a large State and many subjects, have the opportunity to accomplish this. Of whom, I cannot be one, forI have never commanded, nor can I command except armies of foreigners, and men obligated to others and not to me. Whether or not it is possible to introduce into them (those Princes) some of the things we discussed today, I want to leave to your judgement. Would I make one of these soldiers who practice today carry more arms than is customary, and in addition, food for two or three days, and a shovel? Should I make him dig, or keep him many hours everyday under arms in feigned exercises, so that in real (battles)afterward he could be of value to me? Would

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they abstain from gambling, lasciviousness, swearing, and insolence, which they do daily? Would they be brought to so much discipline, obedience, and respect, that a tree full of apples which should be found in the middle of an encampment, would be left intact, as is read happened many times in the ancient armies? What can I promise them, by which they well respect, love, or fear me, when, with a war ended, they no longer must come to me for anything? Of what can I make them ashamed, who are born and brought up without shame?By what Deity or Saints do I make them take an oath? By those they adore, or by those they curse? I do not know any whom they adore; but I well know that they curse them all. How can I believe they will observe the promises to those men, for whom they show their contempt hourly? How can those who deprecate God, have reverence for men? What good customs, therefore, is it possible to instill in such people? And if you should tell me the Swiss and the Spaniards are good, I should confess they are far better than the Italians:but if you will note my discussion, and the ways in which both proceeded, you will see that there are still many things missing among them (the Swiss and Spaniards) to bring them up to the perfection of the ancients. And the Swiss have been good from their natural customs, for the reasons I told you today, and the others (Spaniards)from necessity; for when they fight in a foreign country, it seems to them they are constrained to win or die, and as no place appeared to them where they might flee, they became good. But it is a goodness defective in many parts, for there is nothing good in them except that they are accustomed to await the enemy up to the point of the pike and of the sword. Nor would there be anyone suitable to teach them what they lack, and much less anyone who does not(speak) their language.

But let us turn to the Italians, who, because they have not wise Princes, have not produced any good army; and because they did not have the necessity that the Spaniards had, have not undertaken it by themselves, so that they remain the shame of the world. And the people are not to blame, but their Princes are, who have been castigated, and by their ignorance have received a just punishment, ignominously losing the State, (and) without any show of virtu. Do you want to see if what I tell you is true? Consider how many wars have been waged in Italy, from the passage of King Charles(of France) until today; and wars usually make men warlike and acquire reputations; these, as much as they have been great (big)and cruel, so much more have caused its members and its leaders to lose reputation. This necessarily points out, that the customary orders were not, and are not, good, and there is no one who knowhow to take up the new orders. Nor do you ever believe that reputation will be acquired by Italian arms, except in the manner I have shown, and by those who have large States in Italy, for this custom can be instilled in men who are simple, rough, and your own, but not to men who are malignant, have bad habits, and are foreigners. And a good sculptor will never be found who believes he can make a beautiful statue from a piece of marble poorly shaped, even though it may be a rough one. Our Italian Princes, before they tasted the blows of the ultramontane wars, believed it was enough for them to know what was written, think of a cautious reply, write a beautiful letter, show wit and promptness in his sayings and in his words, know how to weave a deception, ornament himself with gems and gold, sleep and eat with greater splendor than others, keep many lascivious persons around, conduct himself avariciously and haughtily toward his subjects, become rotten with idleness, hand out military ranks at his will, express contempt for anyone who may have demonstrated any praiseworthy manner, want their words should be the responses of oracles; nor were these little men aware that they were preparing themselves to be the prey of anyone who assaulted them. From this, then, in the year one thousand four hundred ninety four (1494), there arose the great frights, the sudden flights, and the miraculous (stupendous) losses: and those most powerful States of Italy were several times sacked and despoiled in this manner. But what is worse is, that those who remained persist in the same error, and exist in the same disorder: and they do not consider that those who held the State anciently, had done all those things we discussed, and that they concentrated on preparing the body for hardships and the mind not to be afraid of danger. Whence it happened that Caesar, Alexander, and all those excellent men and Princes, were the first among the combatants, went around on foot, and even if they did lose their State, wanted also to lose their lives; so that they lived and died with virtu. And if they, or part of them, could be accused of having too much ambition to rule, there never could be found in them any softness or anything to condemn, which makes men delicate and cowardly. If these things were to be read and believed by these Princes, it would be impossible that they would not change their way of living, and their countries not change in fortune. And as, in the beginning of our discussion, you complained of your organisation, I tell you, if you had organised it as we discussed above, and it did not give a good account for itself, then you have reason to complain; but if it is not organised and trained as I have said, (the Army) it can have reason to complain of you, who have made an abortion, and not a perfect figure (organisation). The Venetians also, and the Duke of Ferrara, begun it, but did not pursue it; which was due to their fault, and not of their men. And I affirm to now, that any of them who have States in Italy today, will begin in this way, he will be the Lord higher than any other in this Province; and it will happen to his State as happened to the Kingdom of the Macedonians, which, coming under Phillip, who had learned the manner of organising the armies from Epaminondas, the The ban, became, with these arrangements and practices [while the rest of Greece was in idleness, and attended to reciting comedies] so powerful, that in a few years, he was able to occupy it completely, and leave such a foundation to his son, that he was able to make himself Prince of the entire world. Whoever disparages these thoughts, therefore, if he be a Prince, disparages his Principality, and if he be a Citizen, his City. And I complain of nature, which either ought to make me a recogniser of this, or ought to have given me the faculty to be able to pursue it. Nor, even today when I am old, do I think I can have the opportunity: and because of this, I have been liberal with you, who, being young and qualified, when the things I have said please you, could, at the proper time, in favour of your Princes, aid and counsel them. I do not want you to be afraid or mistrustful of this, because this country appears to be born (to be destined) to resuscitate the things which are dead, as has been observed with Poetry, Painting, and Sculpture. But as for waiting for me, because of my years, do not rely on it. And, truly, if in the past fortune had conceded to me what would have sufficed for such an enterprise, I believe I would, in a very brief time, have shown the world how much the ancient institutions were of value, and, without doubt, I would have enlarged it with glory, or would have lost it without shame.

LETTER ON SECRET MARK

The Mar Saba Letter
A Letter Attributed to Clement of Alexandria
Found at the Mar Saba monastary, Israel
Translation: Morton Smith, 1973
Estimated Range of Dating: 1700-1800 A.D.

(In 1958, a hand-written copy of an unknown letter of Clement of Alexandria (c.150–215 AD) was found at the Mar Saba monastary which is 20 km / 13 mi south-east of Jerusalem. It was discovered by Morton Smith in 1958 when he, as a graduate student of Columbia University, was cataloguing the manuscript collection of the Mar Saba Monastery south of Jerusalem. Morton Smith made a formal announcement of its discovery in 1960. The letter copy was written down by an unknown person, perhaps a student, into 3 empty pages at the end of a printed book, Isaac Voss' 1646 edition of the Epistolae genuinae S. Ignatii Martyris, the "Genuine Letters of Ignatius of Antioch."

Smith made some black and white photographs of that copy. The book itself with the hand-written letter copy was subsequently transferred to the library of the Greek Orthodox Church in Jerusalem, and sometime after 1990, it was lost.

What follows is Morton Smith's translation as it appears in his book Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark (Harvard University Press, 1973). According to script analysis, the copy was written in 18th century Greek minuscule. In his introduction in The Complete Gospels, Stephen Patterson notes: "The handwriting can be dated to around 1750. It caused interest not because Clement of Alexandria talks in it "to Theodore" about a dispute with the Carpocratians, an heterodox Christian sect, but because it mentions an unknown Secret Gospel of Mark!

The revelation of the letter caused a sensation at the time but was soon met with accusations of forgery and misrepresentation. Early discussion of it was marred by accusations of forgery and fraud, no doubt owing in part to its controversial comments. Although most Clement scholars have accepted the letter as genuine, there is no consensus on the authenticity among biblical scholars, and the opinion is split.

For many years it was thought that only Smith had seen the manuscript. However, in 2003 Guy Stroumsa reported that he and a group of other scholars saw it in 1976. Stroumsa, along with the late Hebrew University professors David Flusser and Shlomo Pines and Greek Orthodox Archimandrite Meliton, went to Mar Saba to look for the book. With the help of a Mar Saba monk, they relocated it where Smith presumably had left it 18 years earlier, and with "Clement's letter written on the blank pages at the end of the book". Stroumsa, Meliton, and company determined that the manuscript might be safer in Jerusalem than in Mar Saba. They took the book back with them, and Meliton subsequently brought it to the Patriarchate library. The group looked into having the ink tested but the only entity in the area with such technology was the Jerusalem police. Meliton did not want to leave the manuscript with the police, so no test was taken. Stroumsa published his account upon learning that he was the "last known living Western scholar" to have seen the letter.

Subsequent research has uncovered more about the manuscript [see: Secret Gospel of Mark, Wikipedia]. Around 1977, librarian Father Kallistos Dourvas removed the two pages containing the text from the book for the purpose of photographing and re-cataloguing them. Colour photographs were made in 1983 by Dourvas at a photo studio. However, the re-cataloguing obviously never happened. Kallistos Dourvas gave colour photographs of the manuscript to Olympiou, and Hedrick and Olympiou published them in The Fourth R in 2000. The letter's whereabouts are unknown.

In the letter, addressed to one otherwise unknown Theodore (Theodoros), Clement says that "when Peter died a martyr, Mark [i.e. Mark the Evangelist] came over to Alexandria, bringing both his own notes and those of Peter, from which he transferred to his former book [i.e. the Gospel of Mark] the things suitable to whatever makes for progress toward knowledge." He further says that Mark left this extended version, known today as the Secret Gospel of Mark, "to the church in Alexandria, where it even yet is most carefully guarded, being read only to those who are being initiated into the great mysteries." Clement quotes two passages from this Secret Gospel of Mark, where Jesus in the longer passage is said to have raised a rich young man from the dead in Bethany, a story which shares many similarities with the story of the raising of Lazarus in the Gospel of John.

The text of the letter attributed to Clement of Alexandria about a "Secret Gospel of Mark" is presented in a simple paragraphed format and in the original annotated manuscript version.)

MAR SABA LETTER PAGE 1 [Folio 1 recto]

From the letters of the most holy Clement, the author of the Stromateis.

To Theodore.

You did well in silencing the unspeakable teachings of the Carpocrations. For these are "wandering stars" referred to in the prophecy, who wander from the narrow road of the commandments into a boundless abyss of the carnal and bodily sins. For, priding themselves in knowledge, as they say, "of the deep things of Satan, they do not know that they are casting themselves away into "the netherworld of the darkness" of falseness, and boasting that they are free, they have become slaves of servile desires. Such men are to be opposed in all ways and alltogether. For, even if they should say something true, one who loves the truth should not, even so, agree with them. For not all true things are the truth, nor should that truth which merely seems true according to human opinions be prefered to the true truth, that according to the faith.

Now of the things they keep saying about the divinely inspired Gospel according to Mark, some are altogether falsifications, and others, even if they do contain some true elements, nevertheless are not reported truely. For the true things being mixed with inventions, are falsified, so that, as the saying goes, even the salt loses its savor.

As for Mark, then, during Peter`s stay in Rome he wrote an account of the Lord's doings, not, however, declaring all of them, nor yet hinting at the secret ones, but selecting what he thought most useful for increasing the faith of those who were being instructed. But when Peter died a martyr, Mark came over to Alexandria, bringing both his own notes and those of Peter, from which he transferred to his former books the things suitable to whatever makes for progress toward knowledge. Thus he composed a more spiritual Gospel for the use of those who were being perfected. Nevertheless, he yet did not divulge the things not to be uttered, nor did he write down the hierophantic teaching of the Lord, but to the stories already written he added yet others and, moreover, brought in certain sayings of which he knew the interpretation would, as a mystagogue, lead the hearers into the innermost sanctuary of truth hidden by seven veils. Thus, in sum, he prepared matters, neither grudgingly nor incautionously, in my

MAR SABA LETTER PAGE 2 [Folio 1 verso]

opinion, and, dying, he left his composition to the church in 1, verso Alexandria, where it even yet is most carefully guarded, being read only to those who are being initated into the great mysteries.

But since the foul demons are always devising destruction for the race of men, Carpocrates, instructed by them and using deceitful arts, so enslaved a certain presbyter of the church in Alexandria that he got from him a copy of the secret Gospel, which he both interpreted according to his blasphemous and carnal doctrine and, moreover, polluted, mixing with the spotless and holy words utterly shameless lies. From this mixture is withdrawn off the teaching of the Carpocratians.

To them, therefore, as I said above, one must never give way ; nor, when they put forward their falsifications, should one concede that the secret Gospel is by Mark, but should even deny it on oath. For, "For not all true things are to be

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said to all men". For this reason the Wisdom of God, through Solomon, advises, "Answer the fool with his folly," , teaching that the light of the truth should be hidden from those who are mentally blind. Again it says, "From him who has not shall be taken away" and "Let the fool walk in darkness". But we are "children of Light" having been illuminated by "the dayspring" of the spirit of the Lord "from on high", and "Where the Spirit of the Lord is" , it says, "there is liberty", for "All things are pure to the pure".

To you, therefore, I shall not hesitate to answer the questions you have asked, refuting the falsifications by the very words of the Gospel. For example, after "And they were in the road going up to Jerusalem" and what follows, until "After three days he shall arise", the secret Gospel brings the following material word for word:

"And they come into Bethany. And a certain woman whose brother had died was there. And, coming, she prostrated herself before Jesus and says to him, "son of David, have mercy on me". But the disciples rebuked her. And Jesus, being angered , went off with her into the garden where

MAR SABA LETTER PAGE 3 [Folio 2 recto]

the tomb was, and straightway, going in where the youth was, he stretched forth his hand and raised him, seizing his hand. But the youth, looking upon him, loved him and began to beseech him that he might be with him. And going out of the tomb they came into the house of the youth, for he was rich. And after six days Jesus told him what to do and in the evening the youth comes to him, wearing a linen cloth over his naked body. And he remained with him that night, for Jesus thaught him the mystery of the Kingdom of God. And thence, arising, he returned to the other side of the Jordan."

And these words follow the text, "And James and John come to him" and all that section. But "naked man with naked man" and the other things about which you wrote, are not found.

And after the words,"And he comes into Jericho," the secret Gospel adds only, "And the sister of the youth whom Jesus loved and his mother and Salome were there, and Jesus did not receive them." But many other things about which you wrote both seem to be and are falsifications. Now the true explanation and that which accords with the true philosophy...

[Here the document ends.]

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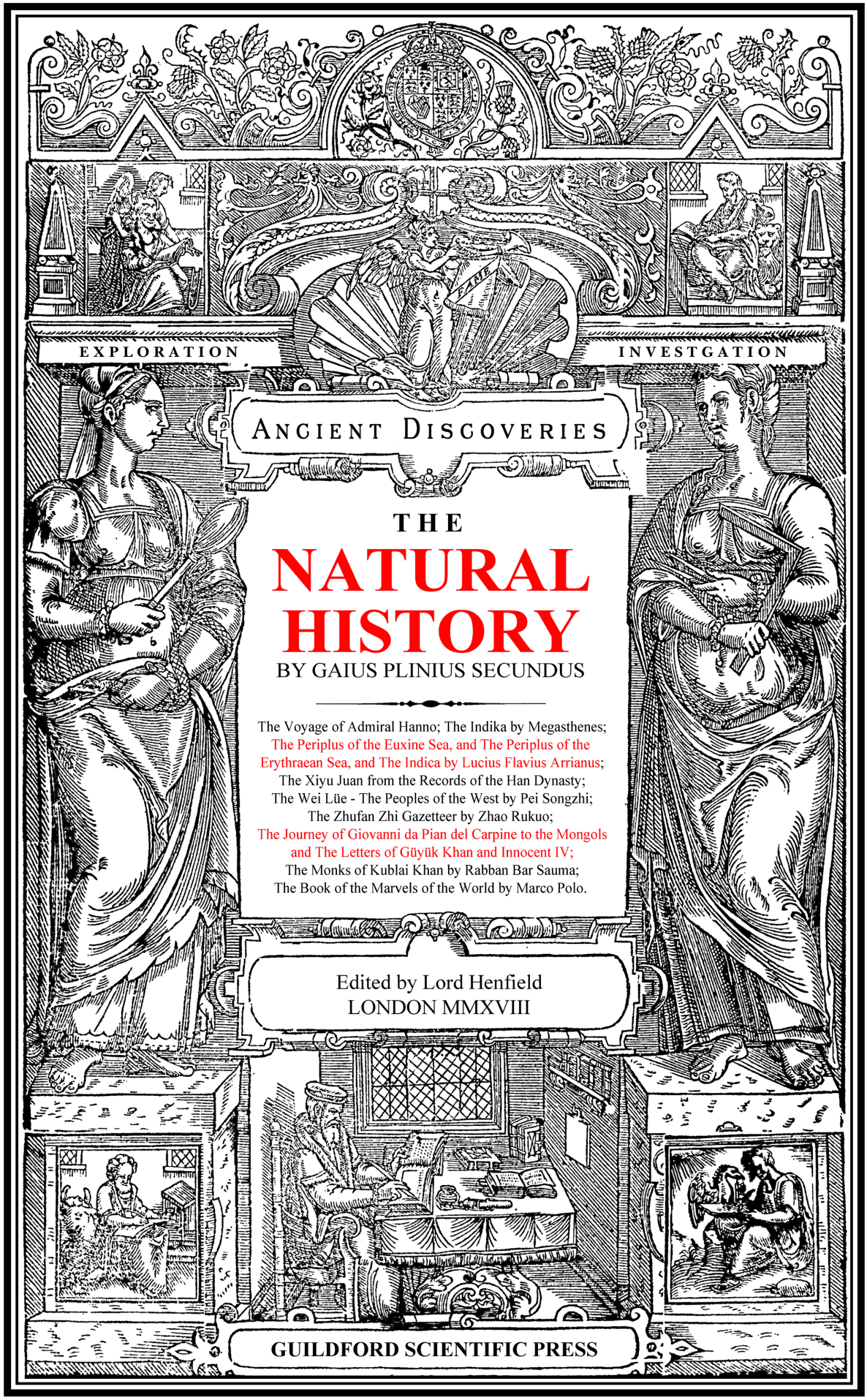

THE

NATURAL HISTORY

BY GAIUS PLINIUS SECUNDUS

The Voyage of Admiral Hanno; The Indika by Megasthenes;
The Periplus of the Euxine Sea, and The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, and The Indica by Lucius Flavius Arrianus;
The Xiyu Juan from the Records of the Han Dynasty;
The Wei Lüe - The Peoples of the West by Pei Songzhi;
The Zhufan Zhi Gazetteer by Zhao Rukuo;
The Journey of Giovanni da Pian del Carpine to the Mongols and The Letters of Güyük Khan and Innocent IV;
The Monks of Kublai Khan by Rabban Bar Sauma;
The Book of the Marvels of the World by Marco Polo.

Edited by Lord Henfield

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EXPLORATION ACCOUNTS AND THE EXCHANGE OF RELIGIOUS AND PHILOSOPHICAL IDEAS

(One may think that the Grand Bible goes off topic with this section on discoveries. Exploration and migration go hand in hand. For at least 2 or 3 million years, humans explored new areas to feed their families. Homo Erectus then burst out of Africa to Asia and Europe. In Europe and the west of Asia they adapted to the cold climate and changed into humans we call Neanderthals. They existed for hundreds of thousands of years and spread also to the East of Asia. About 50,000 years ago, a new group of humans, the Cro-Magnons, modern humans, again, burst out of Africa, intermarried with Neanderthals, and this new and climate-hardened bread spread out to all the continents.

Historians say that exploration have had its most dramatic rise during the Age of Discovery when European explorers sailed and charted much of the rest of the world. That, however, is not the entire truth. History books cover mainly wars, politics, catastrophes, and some daily life. Exploring and migrating people have had a much more dramatic impact on other civilisations than most of us would expect. Whether the explorers have been traders, merchants, scientists, or just people who look for a better life, they all have one thing in common. Each of them brings his own language into the new lands and with it all the baggage of thoughts and beliefs that he once has learned via his mother tongue. This includes also religion, habits, attitudes and traditions, good and bad. This is why we ought to pay attention to explorers and their mind set for they are the pioneers of the newcomers.

Phoenician Explorations

The Phoenicians (also known as Canaanites, may be, from 2000 BC, surely from 1550 BC to 300 BC) traded throughout the Mediterranean Sea and Asia Minor though many of their routes are still unknown today. They were accompanied by people whom the Egyptians called Hyksos [invaders from foreign lands], and who called themselves Habiru or Apiru [meaning "Hebrew"]. The presence of tin in some Phoenician artifacts suggests that they may have traveled to Britain. According to Virgil's Aeneid and other ancient sources, the legendary Queen Dido was a Phoenician from Tyre who sailed to North Africa and founded the city of Carthage.

The Phoenicians had a civilisation that existed in the coastal region of the Levant as early as the 3rd millennium BC. They were not a significant culture until about 1100 BC. By the 9th century BC the Phoenicians had became the dominant culture in the Mediterranean Sea. They grew wealthy through trade. Instead of war they used trade agreements and alliances to expand their colonies. The Phoenicians developed advanced navigational skills and had the best ships in the Mediterranean built in a unit construction system. They explored over land routes and developed caravan routes to trade with distant places. Carthage got its start as a Phoenician colony on the north coast of Africa. It grew to be their largest and most successful colony.

Gradually the western Mediterranean Phoenician colonies all came under the control of Carthage. The Carthaginians were explorers too. Two major explorations are are mentioned by early writers. Both took place around 500 BC. Pliny the Elder wrote that Carthage sent an explorer named Himilco to explore the remote parts of Europe. The report, or periplus (sailing record), has not survived but other early writers have seen it. He had as many as 60 ships in his fleet. He would have traveled along the Iberian Peninsula up the coast of Gaul. Avienus, a Roman writer of the 4th century AD, wrote about the expedition. Himilco moved north from Brittany to the British Isles. It is likely he was looking for tin, a rare metal at the time. He reached a land called Latin: insula sacra, "The Holy Island", generally believed to be Ireland.

Two major explorations are are mentioned by early writers. About the same time, The Carthaginean Phoenicians sent Admiral Hanno [also known as Hanno the Navigator, c. 500 BC, a navigator from Carthage who explored the Western Coast of Africa. Hanno the Navigator was sent to explore the western coast of Africa. His periplus has survived and is one of the earliest surviving manuscripts. The periplus records landmarks, ports and sailing distance between them. It is a guide for other ship captains to follow. Hanno's 60 ships moved south along the African coast. He may have reached as far as an island off the coast of Sierra Leone. There is no record of any other explorations of the west Africa coast until the time of Henry the Navigator, the Portuguese explorer.

Greek and Roman Explorations

The Greek explorer from Marseille, Pytheas of Massalia (c. 380–310 BC) was the first to circumnavigate Great Britain, explore Germany, and reach Thule (most commonly thought to be the Shetland Islands or Iceland). He made a voyage to northwestern Europe in about 325 BC. Pytheas was the first person on record to describe the Midnight Sun and the Arctic polar ice. His account of the tides is the earliest known to suggest the Moon as their cause.

Under General Gaius Julius Caesar, Romans conquered Gallia [France], went deep into Germany, and built the first outposts in Britain. Under Emperor Augustus [Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus, Julius Caesars nephew, adopted son and heir], they reached and explored all the Baltic Sea. The Romans organised expeditions to cross the Sahara desert with five different routes: (1st) through the western Sahara, toward the River Niger and actual Timbuktu; (2nd) through the Tibesti mountains, toward Lake Chad and actual Nigeria; (3rd) through the Nile river, toward actual Uganda; (4th) through the western coast of Africa, towards the Canary Islands and the Cape Verde islands; (5th) through the Red Sea, toward actual Somalia and perhaps Tanzania. All these expeditions were supported by legionaries and had mainly a commercial purpose. Only the one done by emperor Nero seemed to be a preparative for the conquest of Ethiopia or Nubia: in 62 AD two legionaries explored the sources of the River Nile. One of the main reasons of the explorations was to get gold using the camel to transport it. The explorations near the African western and eastern coasts were supported by Roman ships and deeply related to the naval commerce (mainly toward the Indian Ocean). The Romans also organised several explorations into Northern Europe, and explored as far as China in Asia.

From 30 BC to 640 AD: With the acquisition of Ptolemaic Egypt, The Romans begin trading with India. The Empire now has a direct connexion to the Spice trade Egypt had established beginning in 118 BC. Between 100-166 AD, the Roman-Chinese relations begin on a larger scale. Claudius Ptolemy writes of the Golden Chersonese (i.e. Malay Peninsula) and the trade port of Kattigara, now identified as Ôc Eo in northern Vietnam, then part of Jiaozhou, a province of the Chinese Han Empire. The Chinese historical texts describe Roman embassies, from a land they called Daqin or Da Qin [speak: Da Chin], respectfully meaning "Greater Chinese Empire." In the 2nd century AD, Roman traders reach Thailand, Cambodia, Sumatra, and Java. In 161 AD, an embassy from Roman Emperor Antoninus Pius or his successor Marcus Aurelius [who regned together] reaches Chinese Emperor Huan of Han at his capital Luoyang. In 226 AD, a Roman diplomat or merchant lands in northern Vietnam and visits Nanjing [meaning "South Capital"], China and the court of Sun Quan, ruler of Eastern Wu.

Chinese exploration of Central Asia

Following the spectacular conquests of Alexander the Great, the Chinese were forced to pay attention to the new political situation. Persia had changed over night into a Greek Empire streching far into the northwest of India and into the Ferghana Valley, very nearby Kashgar, the westernmost outpost of the Chinese sphere of influence. During the 2nd century BC, the Han Dynasty explored much of the Eastern Northern Hemisphere. Starting in 139 BC, the Han diplomat Zhang Qian traveled west in an unsuccessful attempt to secure an alliance with the Da Yuezhi against the Xiongnu (the Yuezhi had been evicted from Gansu by the Xiongnu in 177 BC); however, Zhang's travels discovered entire countries which the Chinese were unaware of, including the remnants of the conquests of Alexander the Great (r. 336–323 BC). He had traveled as far as the Indus River in northwestern India. When Zhang returned to China in 125 BC, he reported on his visits to Dayuan ("Great Ionia," the "Great Greek Empire," Fergana), Kangju (Sogdiana), and Daxia (The formerly the Greek Kingdom of Bactria which had just been subjugated by the Da Yuezhi, the "White Huns."). Zhang described Dayuan and Daxia as agricultural and urban countries like China, and although he did not venture there, described Shendu (the Indus River valley of Northwestern India) and Anxi (Arsacid territories) further west.

Austronesian Explorations

Austronesians [Polynesians if they live in the East] were a maritime people, who populated and explored the central and south Pacific for around 5,000 years, up to about 1280 when they discovered New Zealand. The key invention to their successful exploration was the outrigger double-canoe, the catamaran [Tamil: kattumaram "tied timber or canoe"], which provided a swift and stable platform for carrying goods and people. Mathematical modelling based on DNA genome studies, using state-of-the-art techniques, have shown that a large number of Austronesian migrants (100–200), including women, arrived in New Zealand around the same time, in about 1280 AD. Austronesians may have used the prevailing north easterly trade winds to reach New Zealand in about three weeks. They did the very same technique to reach the Easter Islands far in the East and Madagascar far in the West, just off the coast of eastern Africa. Austronesians had all sea routes in the Pacific as well as the Indian Ocean in their hands. They used sea maps denoting sea currents, main winds, locations, and the distances of one location to another.

Viking Explorations

From about 800 AD to 1040 AD, the Vikings explored Iceland and much of the Western Northern Hemisphere via rivers and oceans. For example, it is known that the Norwegian Viking explorer, Erik the Red (950–1003), sailed to and settled in Greenland after being expelled from Iceland, while his son, the Icelandic explorer Leif Ericson (980–1020), reached Newfoundland and the nearby North American coast, and is believed to be the first European to land in North America.

Chinese Exploration of the Indian Ocean

The Chinese explorer, Wang Dayuan (fl. 1311–1350) made two major trips by ship to the Indian Ocean. During 1328–1333, he sailed along the South China Sea and visited many places in Southeast Asia and reached as far as South Asia, landing in Sri Lanka and India, and he even went to Australia. Then in 1334–1339, he visited North Africa and East Africa. Later, the Chinese admiral Zheng He (1371–1433) made seven voyages to Arabia, East Africa, India, Indonesia and Thailand.

What follows now are first-hand eye witness accounts. We clearly can read in them how important the rule of religion is in thoughts of those who left these documents behind for us to discover; that applies even for the merchant Marco Polo.)

THE VOYAGE OF HANNO COMMANDER OF THE CARTHAGINIANS

or The Periplous of Captain Hanno
or The Circumnavigation of Africa by Phoenicians in Egyptian Service recorded by Herodotus of Halikarnassos
1st Source: Palatinus Graecus 398,
University Library of Heidelberg, Germany.
2nd Source: Codex Vatopedinus 655,
Vatopedi monastery, Mount Athos, Greece
Translation: Two versions, Anonymus.
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 480 – 425 B.C.

(In his history, Herodotus recounts the remarkable circumnavigation of Africa by Phoenicians in Egyptian service. The Phoenicians of Carthage also made expeditions down the west coast of Africa. The text is a description of one of these explorations. Hanno the Navigator [Punic-Phoenician: H-N-' [guttural H like in Scots "loch"]; Greek: Hannon) was a Carthaginian explorer of the sixth or fifth century BC, best known for his naval exploration of the western coast of Africa. The only source of his voyage is a Greek periplous, a journey description. The periplus is the sole survivor of a larger Phoenician text. This is due to the Roman custom to systematically destroy any written material of their enemies. It happened likewise with any records of, by, or about the druids in Britain and all texts of the Persian Zoroastrians they could find, and texts of all other enemies. This habit was continued by the Roman Christians who destroyed all texts of the Ebionites, Essenes, Marcionites, Arians, and all other texts. All texts of the Jewish Messianic Movement (that engulfed the Empire in total war from 66 to 73 AD) were also distroyed. This is the reason why archaeologist consider finds such the Dead Sea Scroll from Qumran, the Nag Hammadi Library, any cuneiform or Papyrus book a fortunate event.

According to some modern analyses of his route, Hanno's expedition have taken him no further than southern Morocco, according to conservative scholars. However, according to modern scholars, Hanno's expedition could have reached as far south as Gabon or Kongo.

Expedition: Carthage dispatched Hanno at the head of a fleet of 60 ships to explore and colonise the northwestern coast of Africa. He sailed through the straits of Gibraltar, founded or repopulated seven colonies along the African coast of what is now Morocco, and explored significantly farther along the Atlantic coast of the continent. Hanno encountered various indigenous peoples on his journey and met with a variety of welcomes.

Gorillai: At the terminus of Hanno's voyage, the explorer found an island heavily populated with what were described as hirsute (hairy) and savage people. Attempts to capture the men failed, but three of the women were taken. These were so ferocious that they were killed, and their skins preserved for transport home to Carthage. The skins were kept in the Temple of Juno (Tanit or Astarte) on Hanno's return and, according to Pliny the Elder, survived until the Roman destruction of Carthage in 146 BC, some 350 years after Hanno's expedition. The interpreters travelling with Hanno called the people Gorillai (in the Greek text Γόριλλαι). When the American physician and missionary Thomas Staughton Savage and naturalist Jeffries Wyman first described gorillas in the 19th century, the apes were named Troglodytes gorilla after the description in Hanno: "In its inmost recess was an island similar to that formerly described, which contained in like manner a lake with another island, inhabited by a rude description of people. The females were much more numerous than the males, and had rough skins: our interpreters called them Gorillae. We pursued but could take none of the males; they all escaped to the top of precipices, which they mounted with ease, and threw down stones; we took three of the

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females, but they made such violent struggles, biting and tearing their captors, that we killed them, and stripped off the skins, which we carried to Carthage: being out of provisions we could go no further." — (The Periplus of Hanno)

The primary source for Hanno's expedition is a Greek periplous, supposedly a translation of a tablet Hanno is reported to have hung up on his return to Carthage in the temple of Ba'al Hammon, whom Greek writers identified with Kronos. The full title translated from Greek is The Voyage of Hanno, commander of the Carthaginians, round the parts of Libya beyond the Pillars of Heracles, which he deposited in the Temple of Kronos.

In the fifth century, the text was translated into a rather mediocre Greek. It was not a complete rendering; several abridgments were made. The abridged translation was copied several times by Greek and Greek-speaking Roman clerks. Currently, there are only two copies, dating back to the ninth and the fourteenth centuries.

The first of these manuscripts is known as the Palatinus Graecus 398 and can be studied in the University Library of Heidelberg. The other text is in the Codex Vatopedinus 655, found in the Vatopedi monastery in Mount Athos, Greece, and dated to the beginning of the 14th century; the codex is divided between the British Library and the French Bibliothèque Nationale. Ancient authors' accounts:

Source: "The Voyage of Hanno, commander of the Carthaginians, round the parts of Libya beyond the Pillars of Herakles / Hercules [Gibraltar], which he deposited in the temple of Saturn" in A.H. L. Heeren, Historical researches into the Politics, Intercourse and Trade of the Cathaginians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians, anonymus translator [Oxford: D. A. Talboys, 1832, pp. 492-501.]. The text was known to Herodotus, Pliny the Elder, and Flavius Arrianus of Nicomedia.

Herodotus' account: The Greek historian Herodotus (c. 480 – 425 BC) gives a story based probably upon Hanno's original report: "The Carthaginians tell us that they trade with a race of men who live in a part of Libya beyond the Pillars of Herakles. On reaching this country, they unload their goods, arrange them tidily along the beach, and then, returning to their boats, raise a smoke. Seeing the smoke, the natives come down to the beach, place on the ground a certain quantity of gold in exchange for the goods, and go off again to a distance. The Carthaginians then come ashore and take a look at the gold; and if they think it presents a fair price for their wares, they collect it and go away; if, on the other hand, it seems too little, they go back aboard and wait, and the natives come and add to the gold until they are satisfied. There is perfect honesty on both sides; the Carthaginians never touch the gold until it equals in value what they have offered for sale, and the natives never touch the goods until the gold has been taken away." — Herodotus of Halicarnassus.

Pliny the Elder's account: According to Pliny the Elder, Hanno started his journey at the same time that Himilco started to explore the European Atlantic coast. Pliny reports that Hanno actually managed to circumnavigate the African continent, from Gades to Arabia.

Flavius Arrianus ' Account: Arrian mentions Hanno's voyage at the end of his Anabasis of Alexander VIII (Indica): "Moreover, Hanno the Libyan started out from Carthage and passed the Pillars of Heracles and sailed into the outer Ocean, with Libya on his port side, and he sailed on towards the east, five-and-thirty days all told. But when at last he turned southward, he fell in with every sort of difficulty, want of water, blazing heat, and fiery streams running into the sea." — (Flavius Arrianus of Nicomedia.)

Modern Analysis of the Route: A number of modern scholars have commented upon Hanno's voyage. In many cases, the analysis has been to refine information and interpretation of the original account. William Smith points out that the complement of personnel totalled 30,000, and that the core mission included the intent to found Carthaginian (or in the older parlance 'Libyophoenician') towns. Some scholars have questioned whether this many people accompanied Hanno on his expedition, and suggest 5,000 is a more accurate number. Robin Law notes that "It is a measure of the obscurity of the problem that while some commentators have argued that Hanno reached the Gabon area, others have taken him no further than southern Morocco."

Harden reports a general consensus that the expedition reached at least as far as Senegal. Some agree he could have reached Gambia. However, Harden mentions disagreement as to the farthest limit of Hanno's explorations: Sierra Leone, Cameroon, or Gabon. He notes the description of Mount Cameroon, a 4,040-metre (13,250 ft) volcano, more closely matches Hanno's description than Guinea's 890-metre (2,920 ft) Mount Kakulima. Warmington prefers Mount Kakulima, considering Mount Cameroon too distant.

Warmington suggests that difficulties in reconciling the account's specific details with present geographical understanding are consistent with classical reports of Carthaginian determination to maintain sole control of trade into the Atlantic: "This report was the object of criticism by some ancient writers, including the Pliny the Elder, and in modern times a whole literature of scholarship has grown up around it. The account is incoherent and at times certainly incorrect, and attempts to identify the various places mentioned on the basis of the sailing directions and distances almost all fail. Some scholars resort to textual emendations, justified in some cases; but it is probable that what we have before us is a report deliberately edited so that the places could not be identified by the competitors of Carthage. From everything we know about Carthaginian practice, the resolute determination to keep all knowledge of and access to the western markets from the Greeks, it is incredible that they would have allowed the publication of an accurate description of the voyage for all to read. What we have is an official version of the real report made by Hanno which conceals or falsifies vital information while at the same time gratifying the pride of the Carthaginians in their achievements. The very purpose of the voyage, the consolidation of the route to the gold market, is not even mentioned."

The historian Raymond Mauny, in his 1955 article "La navigation sur les côtes du Sahara pendant l'antiquité", argued that the ancient navigators (Hannon, Euthymène, Scylax, etc.) could not have sailed south in the Atlantic farther than Cape Bojador. He pointed out that antique geographers knew of the Canary Islands but nothing further south. Ships with square sails, without stern rudder, might navigate south, but the winds and currents throughout the year would prevent the return trip from Senegal to Morocco. Oared ships might be able to achieve the return northward, but only with very great difficulties. Mauny assumed that Hanno did not get farther than the Drâa. He attributed artifacts found on Mogador Island to the expedition described in the Periplous of Pseudo-Scylax and notes that no evidence of Mediterranean trade further south had yet been found. The author ends by suggesting archaeological investigation of the islands along the coast, such as Cape Verde, or the île de Herné [Dragon Island near Dakhla, Western Sahara) where ancient adventurers may have been stranded and settled.]

The Locations and Stops along the way were proposed by Heeres but the publisher of this text version wrote: "In my opinion, I disagree with Heeres on these descriptions. Calculating the times and landmarks observed myself, it does not add up that Hanno only reached as far as the Gambia River." He refered then to his map and satellite images. According to that, Hanno could have reached the region of modern Gabon. In the 1980s, Boris Rankov from Royal Holloway University of London and Professor John Morrison have demontrated on a 1:1 size replica of a trieme that the main driving power of ships in Antiquity were not only applied by the one or two sparse square sails but by athletic men and as many oars as available. The mentioned 50 oars per ship could develop a driving push two or three times higher than all the sails. This is the reason why they were mentioned in Hanno's Periplous.

These are two Different Translations of the Account of the Trip of Hanno around Africa. There is also a map of my compilation that tracks down the different possible locations of this trip, based solely on visual recon, instead of following the suggested locations through old research.)

The Voyage Of Hanno Commander Of The Carthaginians

(Translation No. 1: from: Oxford: D. A. Talboys, 1832, pp. 492-501. Heeren, A. H. L., Historical researches into the Politics.)

It was decreed by the Carthaginians, that Hanno should undertake a voyage beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and found Liby-Phoenician cities. He sailed accordingly with sixty ships of fifty oars each, and a body of men and women to the number of thirty thousand, and provisions and other necessaries

When we had passed the Pillars [The straits of Gibraltar.] on our voyage, and had sailed beyond them for two days, we founded the first city which we named Thymiaterium [according to Heeres, between El Haratch and Marmora in Morocco.]. Below it lay an extensive plain. Proceeding thence towards the west, we came to Soloeis [according to Heeres, Cape Blanco, near Azimur in Morocco.], a promontory of Libya, a place thickly covered with trees, where we erected a temple to Neptune; and again proceeded for the space of half a day towards the east, until we arrived at a lake lying not far from the sea. and filled with abundance of large reeds. Here elephants, and a great number of other wild beasts, were feeding.

Having passed the lake about a day's sail, we founded cities near the sea, called Cariconticos, and Gytte, and Acra, and Melitta, and Arambys [according to Heeres, in the districts of Safy [or Asafy.]. Thence we came to the great river Lixus [according to Heeres, perhaps this is the river Tersif or Maroc.], which flows from Libya. On its banks the Lixitae, a shepherd tribe, were feeding flocks, amongst whom we continued some time on friendly terms. Beyond the Lixitae dwelt the inhospitable Ethiopians, who pasture a wild country intersected by large mountains, from which they say the river Lixus flows. In the neighbourhood of the mountains lived the Troglodytae, men of various appearances, whom the Lixitae described as swifter in running than horses.

Having procured interpreters from them, we coasted along a desert country towards the south two days. Thence we proceeded towards the east the course of a day. Here we found in a recess of a certain bay a small island, containing a circle of five stadia, where we settled a colony, and called it Cerne [according to Heeres, either near Mogador or Santa Cruz.]. We judged from our voyage that this place lay in a direct line with Carthage; for the length of our voyage from Carthage to the Pillars, was equal to that from the Pillars to Cerne.

We then came to a lake, which we reacted by sailing up a large river called Chretes [according to Heeres, the Senegal River.] This lake had three islands, larger than Cerne from which proceeding a day's sail, we came to the extremity of the lake, that was overhung by large mountains, inhabited by savage men clothed in skins of wild beasts, who drove us away by throwing stones, and hindered us from landing. Sailing thence we came to another river, that was large and broad, and full of crocodiles, and river horses [Hippopotamae.]; whence returning back we came again to Cerne

Thence we sailed towards the south twelve days, coasting the shore, the whole of which is inhabited by Ethiopians, who would not wait our approach, but fled from us. Their language was not intelligible even to the Lixitae who were with us. Towards the last day we approached some large mountains covered with trees, the wood of which was sweet-scented and variegated. Having sailed by these mountains for two days, we came to an immense opening of the sea; on each side of which, towards the continent, was a plain; from which we saw by night fire arising at intervals in all directions, either more or less.

Having taken in water there, we sailed forwards five days near the land, until we came to a large bay, which our interpreters informed us was called the Western Horn [according to Heeres, the mouth of the Senegal River.]. In this was a large island, and in the island a saltwater lake, and in this another island, where, when we had landed, we could discover nothing in the daytime except trees; but in the night we saw many fires burning, and heard the sound of pipes, cymbals, drums, and confused shouts. We were then afraid, and our diviners ordered us to abandon the island.

Sailing quickly away thence we passed a country burning with fires and perfumes; and streams of fire supplied from it fell into the sea. The country was impassable on account of the heat. We sailed quickly thence, being much terrified; and passing on for four days, we discovered at night a country full of fire. In the middle was a lofty fire, larger than the rest, which seemed to touch the stars. When day came we discovered it to be a large hill, called the Chariot of the Gods. On the third day after our departure thence, having sailed by those streams of fire, we arrived at a bay called the Southern Horn [according to Heeres, the mouth of the Gambia River.]; at the bottom of which lay an island like the former, having a lake, and in this lake another island, full of savage people, the greater part of whom were women, whose bodies were hairy, and whom our interpreters called Gorillae. Though we pursued the men we could not seize any of them; but all fled from us, escaping over the precipices, and defending themselves with stones. Three women were however taken; but they attacked their conductors with their teeth and hands, and could not be prevailed upon to accompany us. Having killed them, we flayed them, and brought their skins with us to Carthage. We did not sail farther on, our provisions failing us.

The Voyage Of Hanno Commander Of The Carthaginians

(Translation No. 2, from 'The Phoenicians' by Donald Harden, published in 1962 by Thames and Hudson:)

This is the story of the long voyage of Hanno king of the Carhaginians into Libyan (African) lands beyond the Pillars of Heracles (Straits of Gibraltar), which he dedicated on a tablet in the temple of Kronos:

1. The Carthaginians decided that Hanno should sail beyond the Pillars of Heracles and found cities of Libyphoenicians. He set sail with 60 penteconters and about 30,000 men and women, and provisions and other necessaries.

2.After sailing beyond the Pillars for two days we founded the first city which we called Thymiaterion. Below it was a large plain.

3. Sailing thence westward we came to Soloeis, a Libyan promontory covered with trees. There we founded a temple to Poseidon.

4. Journeying eastward for half a day we reached a lake not far from the sea, covered with a great growth of tall reeds, where elephants and many other wild animals fed.

5. A day's sea journey beyond this lake we founded cities on the coast called Karikon Teichos, Bytte, Akra, Melitta and Arambys.

6. Passing on from there we came to the large river Lixos, flowing from Libya, beside which nomads called Lixitae

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pastured their flocks. We stayed some time with them and became friends.

7. Inland from there dwelt inhospitable Ethiopians in a land ridden with wild beasts and hemmed in by great mountains. They say that the Lixos flows down from there and that amongst these mountains Troglodytes of strange appearance dwell, who according to the Lixitae can run more swiftly than horses.

8. Taking interpreters from the Lixitae we sailed south along the desert shore for two days and then for one day eastward and found a small island 5 stades (about 1 km) in circumference at the further end of a gulf. We made a settlement there and called it Cerne. We judged from our journey that it was directly opposite Carthage, for the voyage from Carthage to the Pillars and from there to Cerne seemed alike.

9. From here sailing up a big river called Chretes we reached a lake, in which were three islands bigger than Cerne. Completing a day's sail from here we came to the end of the lake, overhung by some very high mountains crowded with savages clad in skins of wild beasts, who stoned us and beat us off and prevented us from disembarking.

10.Sailing from there we came to another big wide river, teeming with crocodiles and hippopotamuses. We turned again from there and came back to Cerne.

11. We sailed south for twelve days from there, clinging to the coast, which was all along occupied by Ethiopians who did not stay their ground, but fled from us. Their speech was unintelligible, even to our Lixitae.

12. On the last day we came to anchor by some high mountains clad with trees whose wood was sweet smelling and mottled.

13. Sailing round these for two days we reached an immense gulf, on either shore of which was a plain where by night we saw big and little fires flaming up at intervals everywhere.

14. Taking on water here, we sailed on for five days along the coast until we came to a great bay which our interpreters called the Horn of the West. In it was a large island and in the island a salt-water lake, within which was another island where we disembarked. By day we could see nothing but a forest, but by night we saw many fires burning and we heard the sound of flutes and of beating of cymbals and drums and a great din of voices. Fear came upon us and the soothsayers bade us leave the island.

15. We sailed thence in haste and skirted a fiery coast replete with burning incense. Great streams of fire and lava poured down into the sea and the land was unapproachable because of the heat.

16. We left there hurriedly in fear and sailing for four days we saw the land by night full of flames. In the middle was a high flame taller than the rest, reaching, as it seemed, the stars. By day it was seen to be a very high mountain called the Chariot of the Gods.

17. Thence sailing for three days past fiery lava flows we reached a gulf called the Horn of the South.

18. At the farther end of this bay was an island, like the first, with a lake, within which was another island full of savages. By far the greater number were women with shaggy bodies, whom our interpreters called Gorillas. Chasing them we were unable to catch any of the men, all of whom, being used to climbing precipices, got away, defending themselves by throwing stones. But we caught three women, who bit and mangled those who carried them off, being unwilling to follow them. We killed them, however, and flayed them and brought their skins back to Carthage. For we did not sail further as our supplies gave out.'

THE INDIKA BY MEGASTHENES

From: Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes
Calcutta and Bombay: Thacker, Spink, 1877, 30-174.
Translation: John Watson McCrindle, 1887
Estimated Range of Dating: 330 - 250 B.C.

(Indika is an account of Mauryan India by the Greek writer Megasthenes. The original book is now lost, but its fragments have survived in later Greek and Latin works. The earliest of these works are those by Diodorus Siculus, Strabo (Geographica), Pliny, Titus Flavius Josephus and Lucius Flavius Arrianus (in short Arrian).

The Indika by the Greek writer Megasthenes is written with the Greek letter "k" In order to make a difference to Arrianus' work Indica which is written with the Roman letter "c". Arrianus' work is part of his book the Alexandrou Anabasis of Anabasis of Alexander [The Military Campaign of Alexander the Great.]. Arrian of Nicomedia (Greek: Arrianos; name of Roman citizenship: Lucius Flavius Arrianus; c. 89–160 AD) was a Greek-Roman historian, public servant, military commander and philosopher.

John Watson McCrindle published a reconstructed version of Indica in 1887. However, this reconstruction is not universally accepted because McCrindle attributed several fragments in the writings of the 1st century BC writer Diodorus to Megasthenes although he was not explicitly mentioned. However, McCrindle's collection gives us an idea who Romans saw India. After this Indika, we also will show the Indica of Arrianus. These two documents are important as they show that the Roman and Indian civilisations were by no means isolated but interacted with one another. Over a long period in Antiquity, they did only exchanged goods and people, but also ideas and ethics, a fact that is particularly shown by Buddhist disciples who travelled not only east to Indochina and to China but also to Greece, the philosophial centre of the Roman civilisation.)

Project South Asia editor's note: We have removed the footnotes that appeared in J. W. McCrindle's original text for clarity. Serious students and scholars who wish to see the footnotes are encouraged to refer to the original text.)

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 1.a

AN EPITOME OF MEGASTHENES. (Diod. 2. 35-42.)

India, which is in shape quadrilateral*, has its eastern as well as its western side bounded by the great sea [Indian Ocean], but on the northern side it is divided by Mount Hemodos from that part of Skythia which is inhabited by those Skythians who are called the Sakai, while the fourth or western side is bounded by the river called the Indus, which is perhaps the largest of all rivers in the world after the Nile. [* here it is obvious that Megathenes had no correct map at hand. He would have seen by then that India's shape is triangular. The other descriptions however are quite correct.] The extent of the whole country from east to west is said to be 28,000 stadia, and from north to south 32,000. [1 stadion is about 1/10 of a mile; so 28,000 stadia are 2,800 mi [4,500 km], and 32,000 stadia are 3,200 mi [5,000 km]. That is a correct approximation if we take the entire area of Indian culture into consideration.] Being thus of such vast extent, it seems well-nigh to embrace the whole of the northern tropic zone of the earth, and in fact at the extreme point of India the gnomon of the sundial may frequently be observed to cast no shadow, while the constellation of the Bear is by night invisible, and in the remotest parts even Arcturus disappears from view. Consistently with this, it is also stated that shadows there fall to the southward.

India has many huge mountains which abound in fruit-trees of every kind, and many vast plains of great fertility--more or less beautiful, but all alike intersected by a multitude of rivers.

The greater part of the soil, moreover, is under irrigation, and consequently bears two crops in the course of the year. It teems at the same time with animals of all sorts,--beasts of the field and fowls of the air,--of all different degrees of strength and size. It is prolific, besides, in elephants, which are of monstrous bulk, as its soil supplies food in unsparing profusion, making these animals far to exceed in strength those that are bred in Libya. It results also that, since they are caught in great numbers by the Indians and trained for war, they are of great moment in turning the scale of victory.

The inhabitants, in like manner, having abundant means of subsistence, exceed in consequence the ordinary stature, and are distinguished by their proud bearing. They are also found to be well skilled in the arts, as might be expected of men who inhale a pure air and drink the very finest water. And while the soil bears on its surface all kinds of fruits which are known to cultivation, it has also under ground numerous veins of all sorts of metals, for it contains much gold and silver, and copper and iron in no small quantity, and even tin and other metals, which are employed in making articles of use and ornament, as well as the implements and accoutrements of war.

In addition to cereals, there grows throughout India much millet, which is kept well watered by the profusion of river-streams, and much pulse of different sorts, and rice also, and what is called bosporum, as well as many other plants useful for food, of which most grow spontaneously. The soil yields, moreover, not a few other edible products fit for the subsistence of animals, about which it would be tedious to write. It is accordingly affirmed that famine has never visited India, and that there has never been a general scarcity in the supply of nourishing food. For, since there is a double rainfall in the course of each year,--one in the winter season, when the sowing of wheat takes place as in other countries, and the second at the time of the summer solstice, which is the proper season for sowing rice and bosporum, as well as sesamum and millet--the inhabitants of India almost always gather in two harvests annually; and even should one of the sowings prove more or less abortive they are always sure of the other crop. The fruits, moreover, of spontaneous growth, and the esculent roots which grow in marshy places and are of varied sweetness, afford abundant sustenance for man. The fact is, almost all the plains in the country have a moisture which is alike genial, whether it is derived from the rivers, or from the rains of the summer season, which are wont to fall every year at a stated period with surprising regularity; while the great heat which prevails ripens the roots which grow in the marshes, and especially those of the tall reeds.

But, farther, there are usages observed by the Indians which contribute to prevent the occurrence of famine among them; for whereas among other nations it is usual, in the contests of war, to ravage the soil, and thus to reduce it to an uncultivated waste, among the Indians, on the contrary, by whom husbandmen are regarded as a class that is sacred and inviolable, the tillers of the soil, even when battle is raging in their neighbourhood, are undisturbed by any sense of danger, for the combatants on either side in waging the conflict make carnage of each other, but allow those engaged in husbandry to remain quite unmolested. Besides, they neither ravage an enemy's land with fire, nor cut down its trees.

India, again, possesses many rivers both large and navigable, which, having their sources in the mountains which stretch along the northern frontier, traverse the level country, and not a few of these, after uniting with each other, fall into the river called the Ganges. Now this river, which at its source is 30 stadia broad, flows from north to south, and empties its waters into the ocean forming the eastern boundary of the Gangaridai, a nation which possesses a vast force of the largest-sized elephants. Owing to this, their country has never been conquered by any foreign king: for all other nations dread the overwhelming number and strength of these animals. [Thus Alexander the Macedonian, after conquering all Asia, did not make war upon the Gangaridai, as be did on all others; for when he had arrived with all his troops at the river Ganges, and had subdued all the other Indians, he abandoned as hopeless an invasion of the Gangaridai when he learned that they possessed four thousand elephants well trained and equipped for war.] Another river, about the same size as the Ganges, called the Indus, has its sources, like its rival, in the north, and falling into the ocean forms on its way the boundary of India; in its passage through the vast stretch of level country it receives not a few tributary streams which are navigable, the most notable of them being the Hupanis, the Hudaspes, and the Akesines. Besides these rivers there are a great many others of every description, which permeate the country, and supply water for the nurture of garden vegetables and crops of all sorts. Now to account for the rivers being so numerous, and the supply of water so superabundant, the native philosophers and proficients in natural science advance the following reasons:--They say that the countries, which surround India--those of the Skythians and Baktrians and also of the Aryans--are more elevated than India, so that their waters, agreeably to natural law, flow down together from all sides to the plains beneath, where they gradually saturate the soil with moisture, and generate a multitude of rivers.

A peculiarity is found to exist in one of the rivers of India,--that called the Sillas, which flows from a fountain bearing the same name. It differs from all other rivers in this respect,--that nothing cast into it will float, but everything, strange to say, sinks down to the bottom.

It is said that India, being of enormous size when taken as a whole, is peopled by races both numerous and diverse, of which not even one was originally of foreign descent, but all were evidently indigenous; and moreover that India neither received a colony from abroad, nor sent out a colony to any other nation. The legends further inform us that in primitive times the inhabitants subsisted on such fruits as the earth yielded spontaneously, and were clothed with the skins of the beasts found in the country, as was the case with the Greeks; and that, in like manner as with them, the arts and other appliances which improve human life were gradually invented, Necessity herself teaching them to an animal at once docile and furnished not only with hands ready to second all his efforts, but also with reason and a keen intelligence.

The men of greatest learning among the Indians tell certain legends, of which it may be proper to give a brief summary. They relate that in the most primitive times, when the people of the country were still living in villages, Dionusos made his appearance coming from the regions lying to the west and at the head of a considerable army. He overran the whole of India, as there was no great city capable of resisting his arms. The heat, however, having become excessive, and the soldiers of Dionusos being afflicted with a pestilence, the leader, who was remarkable for his sagacity, carried his troops away from the plains up to the hills. There the army, recruited by the cool breezes and the waters that flowed fresh from the fountains, recovered from sickness. The place among the mountains where Dionusos restored his troops to health was called Meros; from which circumstance, no doubt, the Greeks have transmitted to posterity the legend concerning the god, that Dionusos was bred in his father's thigh. Having after this turned his attention to the artificial propagation of useful plants, he communicated the secret to the Indians, and taught them the way to make wine, as well as other arts conducive to human well-being. He was, besides, the founder of large cities, which he formed by removing the villages to convenient sites, while he also showed the people how to worship the deity, and introduced laws and courts of justice. Having thus achieved altogether many great and noble works, he was regarded as a deity and. gained immortal honours. It is related also of him that he led about with his army a great host of women and employed, in marshalling his troops for battle, drums and cymbals, as the trumpet had not in his days been invented; and that after reigning over the whole of India for two and fifty years he died of old age, while his sons, succeeding to the

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government, transmitted the sceptre in unbroken succession to their posterity. At last, after many generations had come and. gone, the sovereignty, it is said, was dissolved, and democratic governments were set up in the cities.

Such, then, are the traditions regarding Dionusos and his descendants current among the Indians who inhabit the hill-country. They further assert that Herakles also was born among them. They assign to him, like the Greeks, the club and the lion's skin. He far surpassed other men in personal strength and prowess, and cleared sea and land of evil beasts. Marrying many wives he begot many sons, but one daughter only. The sons having reached man's estate, he divided all India into equal portions for his children, whom he made kings in different parts of his dominions. He provided similarly for his only daughter, whom be reared up and made a queen. He was the founder, also, of no small number of cities, the most renowned and greatest of which he called Palibothra. He built therein many sumptuous palaces, and settled within its walls a numerous population. The city he fortified with trenches of notable dimensions, which were filled with water introduced from the river. Herakles, accordingly, after his removal from among men, obtained immortal honour; and his descendants, having reigned for many generations and signalized themselves by great achievements, neither made any expedition beyond the confines of India, nor sent out any colony abroad. At last, however, after many years had gone, most of the cities adopted the democratic form of government, though some retained the kingly until the invasion of the country by Alexander. Of several remarkable customs existing among the Indians, there is one prescribed by their ancient philosophers which one may regard as truly admirable: for the law ordains that no one among them shall, under any circumstances, be a slave, but that, enjoying freedom, they shall respect the equal right to it which all possess: for those, they thought, who have learned neither to domineer over nor to cringe to others will attain the life best adapted for all vicissitudes of lot: for it is but fair and reasonable to institute laws which bind all equally, but allow property to be unevenly distributed.

The whole population of India is divided into seven castes, of which the first is formed by the collective body of the Philosophers, which in point of number is inferior to the other classes, but in point of dignity preeminent over all. For the philosophers, being exempted from all public duties, are neither the masters nor the servants of others. They are, however, engaged by private persons to offer the sacrifices due in lifetime, and to celebrate the obsequies of the dead: for they are believed to be most dear to the gods, and to be the most conversant with matters pertaining to Hades. In requital of such services they receive valuable gifts and privileges. To the people of India at large they also render great benefits, when, gathered together at the beginning of the year, they forewarn the assembled multitudes about droughts and. wet weather, and also about propitious winds, and diseases, and other topics capable of profiting-the hearers. Thus the people and the sovereign, learning beforehand what is to happen, always make adequate provision against a coming deficiency, and never fail to prepare beforehand what will help in a time of need. The philosopher who errs in his predictions incurs no other penalty than obloquy, and he then observes silence for the rest of his life.

The second caste consists of the Husbandmen, who appear to be far more numerous than the others. Being, moreover, exempted from fighting and other public services, they devote the whole of their time to tillage; nor would an enemy coming upon a husbandman at work on his land do him any harm, for men of this class, being regarded as public benefactors, are protected from all injury. The land, thus remaining unravaged, and producing heavy crops, supplies the inhabitants with all that is requisite to make life very enjoyable. The husbandmen themselves, with their wives and children, live in the country, and entirely avoid going into town. They pay a land-tribute to the king, because all India is the property of the crown, and no private person is permitted to own land. Besides the land-tribute, they pay into the royal treasury a fourth part of the produce of the soil.

The third caste consists of the Neatherds and Shepherds and in general of all herdsmen who neither settle in towns nor in villages, but live in tents. By hunting and trapping they clear the country of noxious birds and wild beasts. As they apply themselves eagerly and assiduously to this pursuit, they free India from the pests with which it abounds,--all sorts of wild beasts, and birds which devour the seeds sown by the husbandmen.

The fourth caste consists of the Artizans. Of these some are armourers, while others make the implements which husbandmen and others find useful in their different callings. This class is not only exempted from paying taxes, but even receives maintenance from the royal exchequer.

The fifth caste is the Military. It is well organized and equipped for war, holds the second place in point of numbers, and gives itself up to idleness and amusement in the times of peace. The entire force--men-at-arms, war-horses, war-elephants, and all--are maintained at the king's expense.

The sixth caste consists of the Overseers. It is their province to inquire into and superintend all that goes on in India, and make report to the king, or, where there is not a king, to the magistrates.

The seventh caste consists of the Councillors and Assessors,--of those who deliberate on public affairs. It is the smallest class, looking to number, but the most respected, on account of the high character and wisdom of its members; for from their ranks the advisers of the king are taken, and the treasurers, of the state, and the arbiters who settle disputes. The generals of the army also, and the chief magistrates, usually belong to this class.

Such, then, are about the parts into which the body politic in India is divided. No one is allowed to marry out of his own caste, or to exercise any calling or art except his own: for instance, a soldier cannot become a husbandman, or an artizan a philosopher.

India possesses a vast number of huge elephants, which far surpass those found elsewhere both in strength and size. This animal does not cover the female in a peculiar way, as some affirm, but like horses and other quadrupeds. The period of gestation is at shortest sixteen months, and at furthest eighteen. Like mares, they generally bring forth but one young one at a time, and this the dam suckles for six years. Most elephants live to be as old as an extremely old man, but the most aged live two hundred years.

Among the Indians officers are appointed even for foreigners whose duty is to see that no foreigner is wronged. Should any of them lose his health, they send physicians to attend him, and take care of him otherwise, and if he dies they bury him, and deliver over such property as he leaves to his relatives. The judges also decide cases in which foreigners are concerned, with the greatest care, and come down sharply on those who take unfair advantage of them. [What we have now said regarding India and its antiquities will suffice, for our present purpose.]

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 1.b

Concerning Dionusos. (Diod. 3. 63.)

Now some, as I have already said, supposing that there were three individuals of this name, who lived in different ages, assign to each appropriate achievements. They say, then, that the most ancient of them was Indos, and that as the country, with its genial temperature, produced spontaneously the vine-tree in great abundance, he was the first who crushed grapes and discovered the use of the properties of wine. In like manner he ascertained what culture was requisite for figs and other fruit trees, and transmitted this knowledge to after-times; and, in a word, it was he who found out how these fruits should be gathered in, whence also he was called Lenaios. This same Dionusos, however, they call also Katapogon, since it is a custom among the Indians to nourish their beards with great care to the very end of their life. Dionusos then, at the head of an army, marched to every part of the world, and taught mankind the planting of the vine, and how to crush grapes in the winepress, whence he was called Lenaios. Having in like manner imparted to all a knowledge of his other inventions, he obtained after his departure from among men immortal honour from those who had benefited by his labours. It is further said that the place is pointed out in India even to this day where the god had been, and that cities are called by his name in the vernacular dialects, and that many other important evidences still exist of his having been born in India, about which it would be tedious to write.

INDIKA BOOK 1.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 2

Of the Boundaries of India, its General Character, and its Rivers. (Lucius Flavius Arrianus, The Indica, from The Expedition of Alexander, 5. 6. 2-11.)

According to Eratosthenes, and Megasthenes who lived with Siburtios the satrap of Arachosia, and who, as he himself tells us, often visited Sandrakottos the king of the Indians, India forms the largest of the four parts into which Southern Asia is divided, while the smallest part is that region which is included between the Euphrates and our own sea. The two remaining parts, which are separated from the others by the Euphrates and. the Indus, and lie between these rivers, are scarcely of sufficient size to be compared with India, even should they be taken both together. The same writers say that India is bounded on its eastern side, right onwards to the south, by the great ocean; that its northern frontier is formed by the Kaukasos range as far as the junction of that range with Tauros; and that the boundary towards the west and the north-west, as far as the great ocean, is formed by the river Indus. A considerable portion of India consists of a level plain, and this, as they conjecture, has been formed from the alluvial deposits of the river,--inferring this from the fact that in other countries plains which are far away from the sea are generally formations of their respective rivers, so that in old times a country was even called by the name of its river. As an instance, there is the so-called plain of the Hermos--a river in Asia (Minor), which, flowing from the Mount of Mother Dindymene, falls into the sea near the Aeolian city of Smyrna. There is also the Lydian plain of Kaustros, named after that Lydian river; and another, that of the Kaikos, in Mysia; and one also in Karia,--that of the Maiandros, which extends even to Miletos, which is an Ionian city. [As for Egypt, both the historians Herodotus and Hekataios (or at any rate the author of the work on Egypt if he was other than Hekataios) alike agree in declaring it to be the gift of the Nile, so that that country was perhaps even called after the river; for in early times Aigyptos was the name of the river which now-a-days both the Egyptians and other nations call the Nile, as the words of Homer clearly prove, when he says that Menelaos stationed his ships at the mouth of the river Aigyptos. If, then, there is but a single river in each plain, and these rivers, though by no means large, are capable of forming, as they flow to the sea, much new land, by carrying down silt from the uplands, where their sources are, it would be unreasonable to reject the belief in the case of India that a great part of it is a level plain, and that this plain is formed from the silt deposited by the rivers, seeing that the Hermos, and the Kaüstros, and the Kaïkos, and the Maiandros, and all the many rivers of Asia which fall into the Mediterranean, even if united, would not be fit to be compared in volume of water with an ordinary Indian river, and much less with the greatest of them all, the Ganges, with which neither the Egyptian Nile, nor the Danube which flows through Europe, can for a moment be compared. Nay, the whole of these if combined all into one are not equal even to the Indus, which is already a large river where it rises from its fountains, and which after receiving as tributaries fifteen rivers all greater than those of Asia, and bearing off from its rival the honour of giving name to the country, falls at last into the sea.]

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 3

Of the Boundaries of India (Lucius Flavius Arrianus, The Indica, 2. 1. 7.) (See translation of Arrian.)

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 4

Of the Boundaries and Extent of India. (Strabo, 15. 1. 11, p.689.)

India is bounded on the north by the extremities of Tauros, and from Ariana to the Eastern Sea by the mountains which are variously called by the natives of these regions Parapamisos, and Hemodos, and Himaos, and other names, but by the Macedonians Kaukasos. The boundary on the west is the river Indus, but the southern and eastern sides, which are both much greater than the others, run out into the Atlantic Ocean. The shape of the country is thus rhomboïdal, since each of the greater sides exceeds its opposite side by 3000 Stadia, which is the length, of the promontory common to the south and the east coast, which projects equally in these two directions. [The length of the western side, measured from the Kaukasian mountains to the southern sea along the course of the river Indus to its mouths, is said-to be 13,000 stadia, so that the eastern side opposite, with the addition of the 3000 stadia of the promontory, will be somewhere about 16,000 stadia. This is the breadth of India where it is both smallest and greatest.] The length from west to east, as far as Palibothra can be stated with greater certainty, for the royal road which leads to that city bas been measured by schoeni, and is in length 10,000 stadia. The extent of the parts beyond can only be conjectured from the time taken to make voyages from the sea to Palibothra by the Ganges, and may be about 6000 stadia. The entire length, computed at the shortest, will be 16,000 stadia. This is the estimate of Eratosthenes, who says he derived it principally from the authoritative register of the stages on the Royal Road. Herein Megasthenes agrees with him. [Patrokles, however, makes the length less by 1000 stadia.]

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 5

Of the Size of India. (Strabo, 2. 1. 7, p.69.)

Again, Hipparchos, in the 2nd volume of his commentary, charges Eratosthenes himself with throwing discredit on Patrokles for differing from Megasthenes about the length of India on its northern side, Megasthenes making it 16,000 stadia, and Patrokles 1000 less.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 6

Of the Size of India. (Strabo, 15. 1. 12, pp.689-690.)

[From this, one can readily see, how the accounts of the other writers vary from one another. Thus Ktesias says that India is not of less size than the rest of Asia; Onesikritos regards it as the third part of the habitable World; and Nearchos says it takes one four months to traverse the plain only.] Megasthenes and Deimachos incline to be more moderate in their estimate, for according to them the distance from the Southern Sea to Kaukasos is over 20,000 stadia. [Deimachos, however, allows that the distance in some places exceeds 30,000 stadia. Of these notice has been taken in an earlier part of the work.]

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 7

Of the Size of 1ndia. (Strabo, 2. 1. 4, pp.68-69.)

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Hipparchos controverts this view, urging the futility of the proofs on which it rests. Patrokles, he says, is unworthy of trust, opposed as he is by two competent authorities, Deimachos and Megasthenes, who state that in some places the distance from the southern sea is 20,000 stadia, and in others 30,000. Such, he says, is the account they give, and it agrees with the ancient charts of the country.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 8

Of the, Size, of India. (Lucius Flavius Arrianus, The Indica, 3. 7-8.)

With Megasthenes the breadth of India is its extent from east to west, though this is called by others its length. His account is that the breadth at shortest is 16,000 stadia, and its length-by which he means its extent from north to south--is at the narrowest 22,300 stadia.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 9

Of the setting of the Bear, and shadows falling in contrary directions. (Strabo, II. L19,--p. 76.)

Again, he [Eratosthenes] wished to show the ignorance of Deimachos, and his want of a practical knowledge of such subjects, evidenced as it was by his thinking that India lay between the autumnal equinox and the winter tropic, and by his contradicting the assertion of Megasthenes that in the southern parts of India the constellation of the Bear disappeared from view, and shadows fell in opposite directions,--phenomena which he assures us are never seen in India, thereby exhibiting the sheerest ignorance. He does not agree in this opinion, but accuses Deimachos of ignorance for directions, as Megasthenes supposed.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 10

Of the Setting of the Bear. (Pliny the Elder, Natural History, 6. 22.6.)

Next [to the Prassi] in the interior are the Monedes and the Suari, to whom belongs Mount Maleus, on which shadows fall towards the north in winter, and in summer to the south, for six months alternately. The Bears, Baeton says, in that part of the country are only once visible in the course of the year, and not for more than fifteen clays. Megasthenes says that this takes place in many parts of India. [Conf. Solin, 52.13:--Beyond Palibrotha is Mount Maleus, on which shadows fall in winter towards the north, and in summer towards the south, for six months alternately. The North Pole is visible in that part of the country once in the course of the year, and not for longer than fifteen days, as Baeton informs us, who allows that this occurs in many parts of India.]

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 11

Of the Fertility of India. (Strabo, 15. 1. 20, p.693.)

Megasthenes indicates the fertility of India by the fact of the soil producing two crops every year both of fruits and grain. [Eratosthenes writes to the same effect, for he speaks of a winter and a summer sowing, which both have rain: for a year, he says, is never found to be without rain at both those seasons, whence ensues a great abundance, since the soil is always productive. Much fruit is produced by trees; and the roots of plants, particularly of tall reeds, are sweet both by nature and by coction, since the moisture by which they are nourished is heated by the rays of the sun, whether it has fallen from the clouds or been drawn from the rivers. Eratosthenes uses here a peculiar expression: for what is called by others the ripening of fruits and the juices of plants is called among the Indians coction, which is as effective in producing a good flavour as the coction by fire itself. To the heat of the water the same writer ascribes the wonderful flexibility of the branches of trees, from which wheels are made, as also the fact of there being trees on which wool grows. [Conf. Eratosth. ap. Strabo. XV. i. 13,-p. 690:--From the vapours arising from such vast rivers, and from the Etesian winds, as Eratosthenes states, India is watered by the summer rains, and the plains are overflowed. During these rains, accordingly,--flax is sown and millet, also sesamum, rice, and bosmorum, and in the winter time wheat, barley, pulse, and other esculent fruits unknown to us.]

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 12.a

Of some Wild Beasts of India. (Strabo, 15. 1. 37, p.703.)

According to Megasthenes the largest tigers are found among the Prasii, being nearly twice the size of the lion, and so strong that a tame tiger led by four men having seized a mule by the hinder leg overpowered it and dragged it to him. The monkeys are larger than the largest dogs; they are white except in the face, which is black, though the contrary is observed elsewhere. Their tails are more than two cubits in length. They are very tame, and not of a malicious disposition: so that they neither attack man nor steal. Stones are dug up which are of the colour of frankincense, and sweeter than figs or honey. In some parts of the country there are serpents two cubits long which have membranous wings like bats. They fly about by night, when they let fall drops of urine or sweat, which blister the skin of persons not on their guard, with putrid sores. There are also winged scorpions of an extraordinary size. Ebony grows there. There are also dogs of great strength and courage, which will not let go their hold till water is poured into their nostrils: they bite so eagerly that the eyes of some become distorted, and the eyes of others fall out. Both a lion and a bull were held fast by a dog. The bull was seized by the muzzle, and died before the dog could be taken off.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 12.b

There is found in India (a graminivorous animal which is double the size of a horse, and which has a very bushy tail purely black in colour. The hair of this tail is finer than human hair, and its possession is a point on which Indian women set great store, for therewith they make a charming coiffure, by binding and braiding it with the locks of their own natural hair. The length of a hair is two cubits, and from a single root there sprout out, in the form of a fringe, somewhere about thirty hairs. The animal itself is the most timid that is known, for should it perceive that any one is looking at it, it starts off at its utmost speed, and runs right forward,--but its eagerness to escape is greater than the rapidity of its pace. It is hunted with horses and hounds good to run. When it sees that it is on the point of being caught, it hides its tail in some near thicket, while it stands at bay facing its pursuers, whom it watches narrowly. It even plucks up courage in a way, and thinks that since its tail is hid from view the hunters will not care to capture it, for it knows that its tail is the great object of attraction. But it finds this to be, of course, a vain delusion, for some one hits it with a poisoned dart, who then flays off the entire skin (for this is of value) and throws away the carcase, as the Indians make no use of any part of its flesh.

But further: whales are to be found in the Indian Sea, and these five times larger than the largest elephant. A rib of this monstrous fish measures as much as twenty cubits, and its lip fifteen cubits. The fins near the gills are each of them so much as seven cubits in breadth. The shell-fish called Kerukes are also met with, and the purple fish of a size that would admit it easily into a gallon measure, while on the other hand the shell of the sea-urchin is large enough to cover completely a measure of that size. But fish in India attain enormous dimensions, especially the sea-wolves, the thunnies, and the golden-eyebrows. I bear also that at the season when the rivers are swollen, and with their full and boisterous flood deluge all the land, the fish are carried into the fields, where they swim and wander to and fro, even in shallow water, and that when the rains which flood the rivers cease, and the waters retiring from the land resume their natural channels, then in the low-lying tracts and in flat and marshy grounds, where we may be sure the so-called Nine are wont to have some watery recesses, fish even of eight cubits length are found, which the husbandmen themselves catch as they swim about languidly on the surface of the water, which is no longer of a depth they can freely move in, but in fact so very shallow that it is with the utmost difficulty they can live in it at all.

The following fish are also indigenous to India:--prickly roaches, which are never in any respect smaller than the asps of Argolis; and shrimps, which in India are even larger than crabs. These, I must mention, finding their way from the sea up the Ganges, have claws which are very large, and which feel rough to the touch. I have ascertained that those shrimps which pass from the Persian Gulf into the river Indus have their prickles smooth, and the feelers with which they are furnished elongated and curling, but this species has no claws.

The tortoise is found in India, where it lives in the rivers. It is of immense size, and it has a shell not smaller than a full-sized skiff, and which is capable of holding ten meimni (120 gallons) of pulse. There are, however, also land-tortoises which may be about as big as the largest clods turned up in a rich soil where the glebe is very yielding, and the plough sinks deep, and, cleaving the furrows with ease, piles the clods up high. These are said to cast their shell. Husbandmen, and all the hands engaged in field labour, turn them up with their mattocks, and take them out just in the way one extracts wood-worms from the plants they have eaten into. They are fat things and their flesh is sweet, having nothing of the sharp flavour of the sea-tortoise.

Intelligent animals are to be met with among ourselves, but they are few, and not at all so common as they are in India. For there we find the elephant, which answers to this character, and the parrot, and apes of the sphinx kind, and the creatures called satyrs. Nor must we forget the Indian ant, which is so noted for its wisdom. The ants of our own country do, no, doubt, dig for themselves subterranean holes and burrows, and by boring provide themselves with lurking-places, and wear out all their strength in what may be called mining operations, which are indescribably toilsome and conducted with secrecy; but the Indian ants construct for themselves a cluster of tiny dwelling-houses, seated not on sloping or level grounds where they could easily be inundated, but on steep and lofty eminences. And in these, by boring out with untold skill certain circuitous passages which remind one of the Egyptian burial-vaults or Cretan labyrinths, they so contrive the structure of their houses that none of the lines run straight, and it is difficult for anything to enter them or flow into them, the windings and perforations being so tortuous. On the outside they leave only a single aperture to admit themselves and the grain which they collect and carry to their store-chambers. Their object in selecting lofty sites for their mansions is, of course, to escape the high floods and inundations of the rivers; and they derive this advantage from their foresight, that they live as it were in so many watch-towers or islands when the parts around the heights become all a lake. Moreover, the mounds they live in, though placed in contiguity, so far from being loosened and torn asunder by the deluge, are rather strengthened, especially by the morning dew: for they put on, so to speak, a coat of ice formed from this dew-thin, no doubt, but still of strength; while at the same time they are made more compact at their base by weeds and bark of trees adhering, which the silt of the river has carried down. Let so much about Indian ants be said by me now, as it was said by Iobas long ago.

In the country of the Indian Areianoi there is a subterranean chasm down in which there are mysterious vaults, concealed ways, and thoroughfares invisible to men. These are deep withal, and stretch to a very great distance. How they came to exist, and how they were excavated, the Indians do not say, nor do I concern myself to inquire. Hither the Indians bring more than thrice ten thousand head of cattle of different kinds, sheep and goats, and oxen and horses; and every person who has been terrified by, an ominous dream, or a warning sound or prophetic voice, or who has seen a bird of evil augury, as a substitute for his life casts into the chasm such a victim as his private means can afford, giving the animal as a ransom to save his soul alive. The victims conducted thither are not led in chains nor otherwise coerced, but they go along this road willingly, as if urged forward by some mysterious spell and as soon as they find themselves on the verge of the chasm they voluntarily, leap in, and disappear for ever from human sight so soon as they fall into this mysterious and viewless cavern of the earth. But above there are heard the bellowings of oxen, the bleating of sheep, the neighing of horses, and the plaintive cries of goats, and if any one goes near enough to the edge and closely applies his ear he will hear afar off the sounds just mentioned. This commingled sound is one that never ceases, for every day that passes men bring new victims to be their substitutes. Whether the cries of the animals last brought only are beard, or the cries also of those brought before, I know not,--all I know is that the cries are heard.

In the sea which has been mentioned they say there is a very large island, of which, as I hear, the name is Taprobane from what I can learn, it appears to be a very long and mountainous island, having a length of 7,000 stadia and a breadth of 5,000. It has not, however, any cities, but only villages, of which the number amounts to 750. The houses in which the inhabitants lodge themselves are made of wood, and sometimes also of reeds.

In the sea which surrounds the islands, tortoises are bred of so vast a size that their shells are employed to make roofs for the houses: for a shell, being fifteen cubits in length, can hold a good many people under it, screening them from the scorching heat of the sun, besides affording them a welcome shade. But, more than this, it is a protection against the violence of storms of rain far more effective than tiles, for it at once shakes off the rain that dashes against it, while those under its shelter hear the rain rattling as on the roof of a house. At all events they do not require to shift their abode, like those whose

tiling is shattered, for the shell is hard and like a hollowed rock and the vaulted roof of a natural cavern.

The island, then, in the great sea, which they call Taprobane, has palm-groves, where the trees are planted with wonderful regularity all in a row, in the way we see the keepers of pleasure parks plant out shady trees in the choicest spots. It has also herds of elephants, which are there very numerous and of the largest size. These island elephants are more powerful than those of the mainland, and in appearance larger, and may be pronounced to be in every possible way more intelligent. The islanders export them to the mainland opposite in boats, which they construct expressly for this traffic from wood supplied by the thickets of the island, and they dispose of their cargoes to the king of the Kalingai. On account of the great size of the island, the inhabitants of the interior have never seen the sea, but pass their lives as if resident on a continent, though no doubt they learn from others that they are all around enclosed by the sea. The inhabitants, again, of the coast have no practical acquaintance with elephant-catching, and know of it only by report. All their energy is devoted to catching fish and the monsters of the deep; for the sea encircling the island is reported to breed an incredible number of fish, both of the smaller fry and of the monstrous sort, among the latter being some which have the heads of lions and of panthers and of other wild beasts, and also of rams; and, what is still a greater marvel, there are monsters which in all points of their shape resemble satyrs. Others are in appearance like women, but,

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instead of having locks of hair, are furnished with prickles. It is even solemnly alleged that this sea contains certain strangely formed creatures, to represent which in a picture would baffle all the skill of the artists of the country, even though, with a view to make a profound sensation, they are wont to paint monsters which consist of different parts of different animals pieced together. These have their tails and the parts which are wreathed of great length, and have for feet either claws or fins. I learn further that they are amphibious, and by night graze on the pasture-fields, for they eat grass like cattle and birds that pick up seeds. They have also a great liking for the date when ripe enough to drop from the palms, and accordingly they twist their coils, which are supple, and large enough for the purpose, around these trees, and shake them so violently that the dates come tumbling down, and afford them a welcome repast. Thereafter when the night begins gradually to wane, but before there is yet clear daylight, they disappear by plunging into the sea just as the first flush of morning faintly illumines its surface. They say whales also frequent this sea, though it is not true that they come near the shore lying in wait for thunnies. The dolphins are reported to be of two sorts--one fierce and armed with sharp pointed teeth, which gives endless trouble to the fisherman, and is of a remorselessly cruel disposition, while the other kind is naturally mild and tame, swims about in the friskiest way, and is quite like a fawning dog. It does not run away when any one tries to stroke it, and it takes with pleasure any food it is offered.

The sea-hare, by which I now mean the kind found in the great sea (for of the kind found in the other sea I have already spoken), resembles in every particular the land hare except only the fur, which in the case of the land animal is soft and lies smoothly down, and does not resist the touch, whereas its brother of the sea has bristling hair which is prickly, and inflicts a wound on any one who touches it. It is said to swim atop of the sea-ripple without ever diving below, and to be very rapid in its movements. To catch it alive is no easy matter, as it never falls into the net, nor goes near the line and bait of the fishing rod. When it suffers, however, from disease, and being in consequence hardly able to swim, is cast out on shore, then if any one touches it with his hand death ensues if he is not attended to,--nay, should one, were it only with a staff, touch this dead hare, he is affected in the same way as those who have touched a basilisk. But a root, it is said, grows along the coast of the island, well known to every one, which is a remedy for the swooning which ensues. It is brought close to the nostrils of the person who has fainted, who thereupon recovers consciousness. But should the remedy not be applied the injury proves fatal to life, so noxious is the vigour which this hare has at its command.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 13

Of Indian Apes. (Aelian, Hist. Anim. 17. 39. Conf. Fragment 12. 2.)

In the country of the Praxii, who are an Indian people, Megasthenes says there are apes not inferior in size to the largest dogs. They have tails five cubits long, hair grows on their forehead, they have luxuriant beards hanging down their breast. Their face is entirely white, and all the rest of the body black. They are tame and. attached to man, and not malicious by nature like the apes of other countries.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 14

Of Winged Scorpions and Serpents. (Aelian, Hist. Anim. XVI. 41. Conf. Fragm. 12. 4.)

Megasthenes says there are winged scorpions in India of enormous size, which sting Europeans and natives alike. There are also serpents which are likewise winged. These do not go abroad during the day; but by night, when they let fall urine, which if it lights upon any one's skin at once raises putrid sores thereon. Such is the statement of Megasthenes.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 15.a

Of the Beasts of India, and the Reed. (Strabo, 15. 1. 56, pp.710-711.)

He (Megasthenes) says there are monkeys, rollers of rocks, which climb precipices whence they roll down stones upon their pursuers. Most animals, he says, which are tame with us are wild in India, and he speaks of horses which are one-horned and have heads like those of deer; and also of reeds some of which grow straight up to the height of thirty orguiae, whi1e others grow along the ground to the length of fifty. They vary in thickness from three to six cubits in diameter.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 15.b

There is also a race called the Skiratait whose country is beyond India. They are snub-nosed, either because in the tender years of infancy their nostrils are pressed down, and continue to be so throughout their after-life, or because such is the natural shape of the organ. Serpents of enormous size are bred in their country, of which some kinds seize the cattle when at pasture and devour them, while other kinds only suck the blood, as do the Aigithelai in Greece, of which I have already spoken in the proper place.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 15.c

Of some Beasts of India. (Aelian, Hist. Anim. XVI. 20.21. Conf. Fragment 15. 2. 1.)

In certain districts of India (I speak of those which are most inland) they say there are inaccessible mountains infested by wild beasts, and which are also the haunts of animals like those of our own country except that they are wild; for even sheep, they say, ran wild there, as well as dogs and goats and oxen, which roam about at their own pleasure, being independent and free from the dominion of the herdsman. That their number is beyond calculation is stated not only by writers on India, but also by the learned men of the country, among whom the Brachmans deserve to be reckoned, whose testimony is to the same effect. It is also said that there exists in India a one-horned animal, called by the natives the Kartazon. It is of the size of a full-grown horse, and has a crest, and yellow hair soft as wool. It is furnished with very good legs and is very fleet. Its legs are jointless and formed like those of the elephant, and it has a tail like a swine's. A horn sprouts out from between its eyebrows, and this is not straight, but carved into the most natural wreaths, and is of a black colour. It is said to be extremely sharp, this horn. The animal, as I learn, has a voice beyond all example loud-ringing and dissonant. It allows other animals to approach it, and is good-natured towards them, though they say that with its congeners it is rather quarrelsome. The males are reported to have a natural propensity not, only to fight among themselves, by butting with their horns, but to display a like animosity against the female, and to be so obstinate in their quarrels that they will not desist till a worsted rival is killed outright. But, again, not only is every member of the body of this animal endued with great strength, but such is the potency of its horn that nothing can withstand it. It loves to feed in secluded pastures, and wanders about alone, but at the rutting season it seeks the society of the female, and is then gentle towards her,--nay, the two even feed in company. The season being over and the female pregnant, the Indian Kartazon again becomes ferocious and seeks solitude. The foals, it is said, are taken when quite young to the king of the Prasii, and are set to fight each other at the great public spectacles. No full-grown specimen is remembered to have ever been caught.

The traveller who crosses the mountains which skirt that frontier of India which is most inland meets, they say, with ravines which are clothed with very dense, jungle, in a district called by the Indians Korouda. These ravines are said to be the haunts of a peculiar kind of animal shaped like a satyr, covered all over with shaggy hair, and having a tail like a horse's, depending from its rump. If these creatures are left unmolested, they keep within the coppices, living on the wild fruits; but should they hear the hunter's halloo and the baying of the hounds they dart up the precipices with incredible speed, for they are habituated to climbing the mountains. They defend themselves by rolling down stones on their assailants, which often kill those they hit. The most difficult to catch are those which roll the stones. Some are said to have been brought, though with difficulty and after long intervals, to the Prasii, but these were either suffering from diseases or were females heavy with young, the former being too weak to escape, and the latter being impeded by the burden of the womb.--[Conf. Pliny the Elder, Natural History, 7. 2. 17.]

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 16

Of the Boa-Constrictor. (Pliny the Elder, Natural History, 8. 14. 1.)

According to Megasthenes, serpents in India grow to such a size that they swallow stags and bulls whole. [Solinus, 52. 33. So huge are the serpents that they swallow stags whole, and other animals of equal size.]

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 17

Of the Electric Eel. (Aelian, Hist. Anim. 8. 7.)

I learn from Megasthenes that there is in the Indian Sea a small kind of fish which is never seen when alive, as it always swims in deep water, and only floats on the surface after it is dead. Should any one touch it he becomes faint [gets an electric shock] and swoons,--nay, even dies at last.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 18

Of Taprobane. (Pliny the Elder, Natural History, 6. 24. 1.

Megasthenes says that Taprobane is separated from the mainland by a river; that the inhabitants are called Palaigonoi, and, that their country is more productive of gold and large pearls than India. [Solin. 53.3. Taprobane is separated from India by a river flowing between: for one part of it abounds with wild beasts and elephants much larger than India breeds, and man claims the other part.]

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 19

Of Marine Trees. (Antigon. Caryst. 647.)

Megasthenes, the author of the Indika, mentions that trees grow in the Indian Sea. [He meant mangroves.]

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 20.a

Of the1ndus and the Ganges. (Lucius Flavius Arrianus, The Indica, 4. 2-13.) See translation of Arrian.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 20.b

The Rivers Indus and Ganges. (Pliny the Elder, Natural History, 6. 21.9-22. 1.)

The Prinas and the Cainas (a tributary of the Ganges) are both navigable rivers. The, tribes which dwell by the Ganges are the Calingae, nearest the sea, and higher up the Mandei, also the Malli, among whom is Mount Mallus, the boundary of all that region being the Ganges. Some have asserted that this river, like the Nile, rises from unknown sources, and in a similar way waters the country it flows through, while others trace its source to the Skythian mountains. Nineteen rivers are said to flow into it, of which, besides those already mentioned, the Condochates, Erannoboas, Cosoagus, and Sonus are navigable. According to other accounts, it bursts at once with thundering roar from its fountain, and tumbling down a steep and rocky channel lodges in a lake as soon as it reaches the level plain, whence it issues forth with a gentle current, being nowhere less than eight miles broad, while its mean breadth is a hundred stadia, and its least depth twenty fathoms. [Solin. 52. 6-7. In India the largest rivers are the Ganges and the Indus,--the Ganges, as some maintain, rising from uncertain sources, and, like the Nile, overflowing its banks; while others think that it rises in the Skythian mountains. In India there is also the Hupanis, a very noble river, which formed the limit of Alexander's march, as the altars set up on its banks testify. The least breadth of the Ganges is eight miles, and the greatest twenty. Its depth where least is fully one hundred feet. (Conf. Fragm. 25.1. Some say that the least breadth is thirty stadia, but others only three; while Megasthenes says that the mean breadth is a hundred stadia, and its least depth twenty orguiae.)]

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 21

Of the River Silas. (Lucius Flavius Arrianus, The Indica, 6. 2-3.) See translation of Arrian.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 22

Of the River Silas. (Boissonade, Anecd. Graec. 1. p.419.)

There is in India a river called the Silas, named after the fountain from which it flows, on which nothing will float that is thrown into it, but everything sinks to the bottom, contrary, to the usual law.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 23

Of the River Silas. (Strabo, 15. 1. 38,--p. 703.)

(Megasthenes says) that in the mountainous country is a river, the Silas, on the waters of which nothing will float. Demokritos, who had travelled over a large part of Asia, disbelieves this, and so does Aristotle.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 24

Of the Number of Indian Rivers. (Lucius Flavius Arrianus, The Indica, 5. 2.) See translation of Arrian.

INDIKA BOOK 2.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 25

Of the city Pataliputra [the today's Patna]. (Strabo. 15. 1. 35-36, p.702.)

According to Megasthenes the mean breadth (of the Ganges) is 100 stadia, and its least depth 20 fathoms. At the meeting of this river and another is situated Palibothra, a city eighty stadia in length and fifteen in breadth. It is of the shape of a parallelogram, and is girded with a wooden wall, pierced with loopholes for the discharge of arrows. It has a ditch in front for defence and for receiving the sewage of the city. The people in whose country this city is situated is the most distinguished in all India, and is called the Prasii. The king, in addition to his family name, must adopt the surname of Palibothros, as Sandrakottos, for instance, did, to whom Megasthenes was sent on an embassy. [This custom also prevails among the Parthians, for all are called Arsakai, though each has his own peculiar name, as Orodes, Phraates, or some other.]

Then follow these words:-- All the country beyond the Hupanis is allowed to be very fertile, but little is accurately known regarding it. Partly from ignorance and the remoteness of its situation, everything about it is exaggerated or represented as marvellous: for instance, there are the stories of the gold-digging ants, of animals and men of peculiar shapes, and possessing wonderful faculties; as the Seres, who, they say, are so long-lived that they attain an age beyond that of two hundred years. They mention also an aristocratical form of government consisting of five thousand councillors, each of whom furnishes the state with an elephant.

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According to Megasthenes the largest tigers are found in the country of the Prasii, etc. (Cf. Fragm. 12.)

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 26

Of Pataliputra and the Manners of the Indians. (Lucius Flavius Arrianus, The Indica, 10.)

It is farther said that the Indians do not rear monuments to the dead, but consider the virtues which men have displayed in life, and the songs in which their praises are celebrated, sufficient to preserve their memory after death. But of their cities it is said that the number is so great that it cannot be stated with precision, but that such cities as are situated on the banks of rivers or on the sea-coast are built of wood instead of brick, being meant to last only for a time,--so destructive are the heavy rains which pour down, and the rivers also when they overflow their banks and inundate the plains,--while those cities which stand on commanding situations and lofty eminences are built of brick and mud; that the greatest city in India is that which is called Palimbothra, in the dominions of the Prasians, where the streams of the Erannoboas and the Ganges unite,--the Ganges being the greatest of all rivers, and the Erannoboas being perhaps the third largest of Indian rivers, though greater than the greatest rivers elsewhere; but it is smaller than the Ganges where it falls into it. Megasthenes informs us that this city stretched in the inhabited quarters to an extreme length on each side of eighty stadia, and that its breadth was fifteen stadia, and that a ditch encompassed it all round, which was six hundred feet in breadth and thirty cubits in depth, and that the wall was crowned with 570 towers and had four-and-sixty gates. The same writer tells us further this remarkable fact about India, that all the Indians are free, and not one of them is a slave. The Lakedaemonians, and the Indians are here so far in agreement. The Lakedaemonians, however, hold the Helots as slaves, and these Helots do servile labour; but the Indians do not even use aliens as slaves, and much less a countryman of their own.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 27.a

Of the Manners of the Indians. (Strabo. 15. 1. 53-56, pp.709-10.)

The Indians all live frugally, especially when in camp. They dislike a great undisciplined multitude, and consequently they observe good order. Theft is of very rare occurrence. Megasthenes says that those who were in the camp of Sandrakottos, wherein lay 400,000 men, found that the thefts reported on any one day did not exceed the value of two hundred drachmae, and this among a people who have no written laws, but are ignorant of writing, and must therefore in all the business of life trust to memory. They live, nevertheless, happily enough, being simple in their manners and frugal. They never drink wine except at sacrifices. Their beverage is a liquor composed from rice instead of barley, and their food is principally a rice-pottage. The simplicity of their laws and their contracts is proved by the fact that they seldom go to law. They have no suits about pledges or deposits, nor do they, require either seals or witnesses, but make their deposits and confide in each other. Their houses and property they generally leave unguarded. These things indicate that they possess good, sober sense; but other things they do which one cannot approve: for instance, that they eat always alone, and that they have no fixed

hours when meals are to be taken by all in common, but each one eats when he feels inclined. The contrary custom would be better for the ends of social and civil life.

Their favourite mode of exercising the body is by friction, applied in various ways, but especially by passing smooth ebony rollers over the skin. Their tombs are plain, and the mounds raised over the dead lowly. In contrast to the general simplicity of their style, they love finery and ornament. Their robes are worked in gold, and ornamented with precious stones, and they wear also flowered garments made of the finest muslin. Attendants walking behind hold up umbrellas over them: for they have a high regard for beauty, and avail themselves of every device to improve their looks. Truth and virtue they hold alike in esteem. Hence they accord no special privileges to the old unless they possess superior wisdom. They marry many wives, whom they buy from their parents, giving in exchange a yoke of oxen. Some they marry hoping to find in them willing helpmates; and others for pleasure and to fill their houses with children. The wives prostitute themselves unless they are compelled to be chaste. No one wears a crown at a sacrifice or libation, and they do not stab the victim, but strangle it, so that nothing mutilated, but only what is entire, may be presented to the deity.

A person convicted of bearing false witness suffers mutilation of his extremities, He who maims any one not only suffers in return the loss of the same limb, but his hand also is cut off. If he causes an artizan to lose his hand or his eye, he is put to death. The same writer says that none of the Indians employ slaves; [but Onesikritos says that this was peculiar to that part of the country over which Musikanos ruled.]

The care of the king's person is entrusted to women, who also are bought from their parents. The guards and the rest of the soldiery attend outside the gates. A woman who kills the king when drunk becomes the wife of his successor. The sons succeed the father. The king may not sleep during the daytime, and by night he is obliged to change his couch from time to time, with a view to defeat plots against his life.

The king leaves his palace not only in time of war, but also for the purpose of judging causes. He then remains in court for the whole day, without allowing the business to be interrupted, even though the hour arrives when he must needs attend to his person,--that is, when he is to be rubbed with cylinders of wood. He continues hearing cases while the friction, which is performed by four attendants, is still proceeding. Another purpose for which he leaves his palace is to offer sacrifice; a third is to go to the chase, for which he departs in Bacchanalian fashion. Crowds of women surround him, and outside of this circle spearmen are ranged. The road is marked off with ropes, and it is death, for man and woman alike, to pass within the ropes. Men with drums and gongs lead the procession. The king hunts in the enclosures and shoots arrows from a platform. At his side stand two or three armed women. If he hunts in the open grounds he shoots from the back of an elephant. Of the women, some are in chariots, some on horses, and. some even on elephants, and they are equipped with weapons of every kind, as if they were going on a campaign.

[These customs are very strange when compared with our own, but the following are still more so;] for Megasthenes states that the tribes inhabiting the Kaukasos have intercourse with women in public, and eat the bodies of their relatives, that there are monkeys which roll down stones, etc.. (Fragm. XV. follows, and then Fragm. XXIX.)

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 27.b

(Aelian. 5. 50. 4.1.)

The Indians neither put out money at usury, nor know how to borrow. It is contrary to established usage for an Indian either to do or suffer a wrong, and therefore they neither make contracts nor require securities. [Conf. Suid. 5.]

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 27.c

(Nicol. Damasc. 44; Stob. Serm. 42.)

Among the Indians one who is unable to recover a loan or a deposit has no remedy at law. All the creditor can do is to blame himself for trusting a rogue.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 27.d

(Nicol. Damasc. 44; Stob. Serm. 42.)

He who causes an artisan to lose his eye or his hand is put to death. If one is guilty of a very heinous offence the king orders his hair to be cropped, this being a punishment to the last degree infamous.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 28

Of the Suppers of the Indians. (Athen: 4. p. 153.)

Megasthenes, in the second book of his Indika, says that when the Indians are at supper a table is placed before each person, this being like a tripod. There, is placed upon it a golden bowl, into which they first put rice, boiled as one would boil barley, and then they add many dainties prepared according to Indian receipts.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 29

Of fabulous tribes. (Strabo 15. 1. 57, p.711.)

But deviating into fables he says there are men five spans and even three spans in height, some of whom want the nose, having only two orifices above the mouth through which they breathe. Against the men of three spans, war, as Homer has sung, is waged by the cranes, and also by partridges, which are as large as geese. These people collect and destroy the eggs of the cranes, for it is in their country the cranes lay their eggs, and thus the eggs and the young cranes are not to be found anywhere else. Frequently a crane escapes having the brazen point of a weapon in its body, from wounds received in that country. Equally absurd is the account given of the Enotokoitai, of the wild men, and of other monsters. The wild men could not be brought to Sandrakottos, for they refused to, take food and died. Their heels are in front, and the instep and toes are turned backwards. Some were brought to the court who had no mouths and were tame. They dwell near the sources of the Ganges, and subsist on the savour of roasted flesh and the perfumes of fruits and flowers, having instead of mouths orifices through which they breathe. They are distressed with things of evil smell, and hence it is with difficulty they keep their hold on life, especially in a camp. Referring to the other monstrosities, the philosophers told him of the Okupedes, a people who in running could leave the horse behind; of the Enotokoitai, who had ears reaching down to their feet, so that they could sleep in them, and were so strong that they could pull up trees and break a bowstring. Of others the Monommatoi, who have the ears of a dog, their one eye set in the middle of their forehead, the hair standing erect, and their breasts shaggy; of the Amukteres also, a people without nostrils, who devour everything, eat raw meat, and are short-lived, and die before old age supervenes. The upper part of the mouth protrudes far over the lower lip. With regard to the Hyperboreans, who live a thousand years, they give the same account as Simonides, Pindaros, and other mythological writers. The story told by Timagenes, that showers fall of drops of copper, which are swept together, is a fable. Megasthenes states--what is more open to belief, since the same is the case in Iberia--that the rivers carry down gold dust, and that a part of this is paid by way of tribute to the king.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 30.a

Of fabulous races. (Pliny the Elder, Natural History, 7. 2. 14-22.)

According to Megasthenes, on a mountain called Nulo there live men whose feet are turned backward, and who have eight toes on each foot; while on many of the mountains there lives a race of men having heads like those of dogs, who are clothed with the skins of wild beasts, whose speech is barking, and who, being armed with claws, live by hunting and fowling. [Ktesias asserts on his own authority that the number of these men was upwards of 120,000, and that there is a race in India whose females bear offspring but once in the course of their life, and that their children become at once grey-haired.]

Megasthenes speaks of a race of men among the Nomadic Indians who instead of nostrils have merely orifices, whose legs are contorted like snakes, and who are called Scyritae. He speaks also of a race living on the very confines of India on the east, near the source of the Ganges, the Astomi who have no mouth; who cover their body, which is all over hairy, with the soft down found upon the leaves of trees; and who live merely by breathing, and the perfume inhaled by the nostrils. They eat nothing, and they drink nothing. They require merely a variety of odours of roots and of flowers and of wild apples. The apples they carry with them when they go on a distant journey, that they may always have something to smell. Too strong an odour would readily kill them.

Beyond the Astomi, in the remotest part of the mountains, the Trispithami and the Pygmies are said to have their abode. They are each three spans in height--that is, not more than seven-and-twenty inches. Their climate is salubrious and they enjoy a perpetual spring, under shelter of a barrier of mountains which rise on the north. They are the same whom Homer mentions as being harassed by the attacks of the cranes. The story about them is--that mounted on the backs of rams and goats, and equipped with arrows, they march down in spring-time all in a body to the sea; and destroy the eggs and the young of these birds. It takes them always three months to finish this yearly campaign, and were it not undertaken they could not defend themselves against the vast flocks of subsequent years. Their hats are made of clay and feathers and egg-shells. [Aristotle says that they live in caves, but otherwise he gives the same account of them as others.]

[From Ktesias we learn that there is a people belonging to this race, which is called Pandore and settled in the valleys, who live two hundred years, having in youth hoary hair, which in old age turns black. On the other hand, others do not live beyond the age of forty,--nearly related to the Macrobii, whose women bear offspring but once. Agatharchides says the same of them, adding that they subsist on locusts, and are swift of foot.] Clitarchus and Megasthenes call them Mandi and reckon the number of their villages at three, hundred. The females bear children at the age of seven, and are old women at forty.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 30.b

(Solin. 52. 26-30.)

Near a mountain which is called Nulo there live men whose feet are turned backwards and have eight toes on each foot. Megasthenes writes that on different mountains in India there are tribes of men with dog-shaped heads, armed with claws, clothed with skins, who speak not in the accents of human language, but only bark, and have fierce grinning jaws. [In Ktesias we read that in some parts the females bear offspring but once, and that the children are white-haired from their birth, etc..]

Those who live near the source of the Ganges, requiring nothing in the shape of food, subsist on the odour of wild apples, and when they go on a long journey they carry these with them for safety of their life, which they can support by inhaling their perfume. Should they inhale very foul air, death is inevitable.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 31

Plutarch, de facie in orbe lunae. Of the race of men without mouths. (Opp. ed. Reisk, vol. 9. p.701.)

For how could one find growing there that Indian root which Megasthenes says a race of men who neither eat nor drink, and in fact have not even mouths, set on fire and burn like incense, in order to sustain their existence with its odorous fumes, unless it received moisture from the moon--

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INDIKA BOOK 3.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 32

(Lucius Flavius Arrianus, The Indica, 11.l.-12.9. Cf. Epit.40-53, and Pliny the Elder, Natural History, 6. 22. 2, 3.) (See the translation of Arrian's Indica.)

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 33

Of the Seven Castes among the Indians. (Strabo 15. 1. 39-41, 46-49, pp.703-4, 707.)

According to him (Megasthenes) the population of India is divided into seven parts. The philosophers are first in rank, but form the smallest class in point of number. Their services are employed privately by persons who wish to offer sacrifices or perform

other sacred rites, and also publicly by the kings at what is called the Great Synod, wherein at the beginning of the new year all the philosophers are gathered together before the king at the gates, when any philosopher who may have committed any useful suggestion to writing, or observed any means for improving the crops and the cattle, or for promoting the public interests, declares it publicly. If any one is detected giving false information thrice, the law condemns him to be silent for the rest of his life, but he who gives sound advice is exempted from paying any taxes or contributions.

The second caste consists of the husbandmen, who form, the bulk of the population, and are in disposition most mild and gentle. They are exempted from military service, and cultivate their lands undisturbed by fear. They never go to town, either to take part in its tumults, or for any other purpose. It therefore not infrequently happens that at the same time, and in the same part of the country, men may be seen drawn up in array of battle and fighting at risk of their lives, while other men close at hand are ploughing and digging in perfect security, having these soldiers to protect them. The whole of the land is the property of the king, and the husbandmen till it on condition of receiving one-fourth of the produce.

The third caste consists of herdsmen and hunters, who alone are allowed to hunt, and to keep cattle, and to sell draught animals or let them out on hire. In return for clearing the land of wild beasts and fowls which devour the seeds sown in the fields, they receive an allowance of grain from the king. They lead a wandering life and live under tents.

The fourth class, after herdsmen and hunters, consists of those who work it trades, of those who vend wares, and of those who are employed in bodily labour. Some of these pay tribute, and render to the state certain prescribed services. But the armour-makers and shipbuilders receive wages and their victuals from the king, for whom alone they work. The general in command of the army supplies the soldiers with weapons, and the admiral of the fleet lets out ships on hire for the transport both of passengers and merchandize.

The fifth class consists of fighting men, who, when not engaged in active service, pass their time in idleness and drinking. They are maintained at the king's expense, and hence they are always ready, when occasion calls, to take the field, for they carry nothing of their own with them but their own bodies.

The sixth class consists of the overseers, to whom is assigned the duty of watching all that goes on, and making reports secretly to the king. Some are entrusted

with the inspection of the city, and others with that of the army. The former employ as their coadjutors the courtezans of the city, and the latter the courtezans of the camp. The ablest and most trustworthy men are appointed to fill these offices.

The seventh class consists of the councillors and assessors of the king. To them belong the highest posts of government, the tribunals of justice, and the general administration of public affairs. No one is allowed to marry out of his own caste, or to exchange one profession or trade for another, or to follow more than one business. An exception is made in favour of the philosopher, who for his virtue is allowed this privilege.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 34

(Strabo 15. 1. 50-52, pp.707-709.)

Of the administration of public affairs. Of the use of Horses and Elephants.

Of the great officers of state, some have charge of the market, others of the city, others of the soldiers. Some superintend the rivers, measure the land, as is done in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches, so that every one may have an equal supply of it. The same persons have charge also of the huntsmen, and are entrusted with the power of rewarding or punishing them according to their deserts. They collect the taxes, and superintend the occupations connected with land; as those of the woodcutters, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the miners. They construct roads, and at every ten stadia set up a pillar to show the by-roads and distances. Those who have charge of the city are divided into six bodies of five each. The members of the first look after everything relating to the industrial arts. Those of the second attend to the entertainment of foreigners. To these they assign lodgings, and they keep watch over their modes of life by means of those persons whom they give to them for assistants. They escort them on the way when they leave the country, or, in the event of their dying, forward their property to their relatives. They take care of them when they are sick, and if they die bury them. The third body consists of those who inquire when and how births and deaths occur, with the view not only of levying a tax, but also in order that births and deaths among both high and low may not escape the cognizance of Government. The fourth class superintends trade and commerce. Its members have charge of weights and measures, and see that the products in their season are sold by public notice. No one is allowed to deal in more than one kind of commodity unless he pays a double tax. The fifth class supervises manufactured articles, which they sell by public notice. What is new is sold separately from what is old, and there is a fine for mixing the two together. The sixth and last class consists of those who collect the tenths

of the prices of the articles sold. Fraud, in the payment of this tax is punished with death. Such are the functions which these bodies separately discharge. In their collective capacity they have charge both of their special departments, and also of matters affecting the general interest, as the keeping of public buildings in proper repair, the regulation of prices, the care of markets, harbours, and temples. Next to the city magistrates there is a third governing body, which directs military affairs. This also consists of six divisions, with five members to each. One division is appointed to cooperate with the admiral of the fleet, another with the superintendent of the bullock-trains which are used for transporting engines of war, food for the soldiers, provender for the cattle, and other military requisites. They supply servants who beat the drum, and others who carry gongs; grooms also for the horses, and mechanists and their assistants. To the sound of the gong they send out foragers to bring in grass, and by a system of rewards and punishments ensure the work being done with despatch and safety. The third division has charge of the foot-soldiers, the fourth of the horses, the fifth of the war-chariots, and the sixth of the elephants. There are royal stables for the horses and elephants, and also a royal magazine for the arms, because the soldier has to return his arms to the magazine, and his horse and his elephant to the stables. They use the elephants without bridles. The chariots are drawn on the march by oxen, but the horses are led along by a halter, that their legs may not be galled and inflamed, nor their spirits damped by drawing chariots. In addition to the charioteer, there are two fighting men who sit up in the chariot beside him. The war-elephant carries four men--three who shoot arrows, and the driver.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 35

Of the use of Horses and Elephants. (Aelian, Hist. Anim. 13. 10.)

When it is said that an Indian by springing forward in front of a horse can check his speed and hold him back, this is not true of all Indians, but only of such as have been trained from boyhood to manage horses; for it is a practice with them to control their horses with bit and bridle, and to make them move at a measured pace and in a straight course. They neither, however, gall their tongue by the use of spiked muzzles, nor torture the roof of their mouth. The professional trainers break them in by forcing them to gallop round and round in a ring, especially when they see them refractory. Such as undertake this work require to have a strong hand as well as a thorough knowledge of horses. The greatest proficients test their skill by driving a chariot round and round in a ring; and in truth it would be no trifling feat to control with ease a team of four high-mettled steeds when whirling round in a circle. The chariot carries two men who sit beside the charioteer. The war-elephant, either in what is called the tower, or on his bare back in sooth, carries three fighting men, of whom two shoot from the side, while one shoots from behind. There is also a fourth man, who carries in his hand the goad wherewith he guides the animal, much in the same way as the pilot and captain of a ship direct its course with the helm.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 36

Of Elephants. (Strabo 15. 1. 41-43, pp.704-705.)

A private person is not allowed to keep either a horse or an elephant. These animals are held to be the special property of the king, and persons are appointed to take care of them. The manner of hunting the elephant is this. Round a bare patch of ground is dug a deep trench about five or six stadia in extent, and over this is thrown a very narrow bridge which gives access to the enclosure. Into this enclosure are introduced three or four of the best-trained female elephants. The men themselves lie in ambush in concealed huts. The wild elephants do not approach this trap in the daytime, but they enter it at night, going in one-by-one. When all have passed the entrance, the men secretly close it up; then, introducing the strongest of the tame fighting elephants, they fight it out with the wild ones, whom at the same time they enfeeble with hunger. When the latter are now overcome with fatigue, the boldest of the drivers dismount unobserved, and each man creeps under his own elephant, and from this position creeps under the belly of the wild elephant and ties his feet together. When this is done they incite the tame ones to beat those whose feet are tied till they fall to the ground. They then bind the wild ones and the tame ones together neck to neck with thongs of raw ox-hide. To prevent them shaking themselves in order to throw off those who attempt to mount them, they make cuts all round their neck and then put thongs of leather into the incisions so that the pain obliges them to submit to their fetters and to remain quiet. From the number caught they reject such as are too old or too young to be serviceable, and the rest they lead away to the stables. Here they tie their feet one to another, and fasten their necks to a firmly fixed pillar, and tame them by hunger. After this they restore their strength with green reeds and grass. They next teach them to be obedient, which they effect by soothing them, some by coaxing words, and others by songs and the music of the drum. Few of them are found difficult to tame, for they are naturally so mild and gentle in their disposition that they approximate to rational creatures. Some of them take up their drivers when fallen in battle, and carry them off in safety from the field. Others, when their masters have sought refuge between their forelegs, have fought in their defence and saved their lives. If in a fit of anger they kill either the man who feeds or the man who trains them, they pine so much for their loss that they refuse to take food, and sometimes die of hunger.

They copulate like horses, and the female casts her calf chiefly in spring. It is the season for the male, when he is in heat and becomes ferocious. At this time he discharges a fatty substance through an orifice near the temples. It is also the season for the females, when the corresponding passage opens. They go with young for a period which varies from sixteen to eighteen months. The dam suckles her calf for six years. Most of them live as long as men who attain extreme longevity, and some live over two hundred years. They are liable to many distempers, and are not easily cured. The remedy for diseases of the eye is to wash it with, cows' milk. For most of their other diseases draughts of black wine are administered to them. For the cure of their wounds they are made to swallow butter, for this draws out iron. Their sores are fomented with swine's flesh.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 37.a

(Lucius Flavius Arrianus, The Indica, ch. 13-14.) (See the translation of Arrian's Indika.)

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 37.b

Of Elephants. (Aelian, Hist. Anim. XII. 44.)

In India an elephant if caught when full-grown is difficult to tame, and longing for freedom thirsts for blood. Should it be bound in chains, this exasperates it still more, and it will not submit to a master. The Indians, however, coax it with food, and seek to pacify it with various things for which it has a liking, their aim being to fill its stomach and to soothe its temper. But it is still angry with them, and takes no notice of them. To what device do they then resort? They sing to it their native melodies, and soothe it with the music of an instrument in common use which has four strings and is called a skindapsos. The creature now pricks up its ears, yields to the soothing strain, and its anger subsides. Then, though there is an occasional outburst of its suppressed passion, it gradually turns its eye to its food. It is then freed from its bonds, but does not seek to escape, being enthralled with the music. It even takes food eagerly, and, like a luxurious guest riveted to the festive board, has no wish to go, from its love of the music.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 38

Of the diseases of Elephants. (Aelian, Hist. Anim. 13. 7.)

The Indians cure the wounds of the elephants which they catch, in the manner following:--

They treat them in the way in which, as good old Homer tells us, Patroklos treated the wound of Euryplyos,--they foment them with lukewarm water. After this they rub them over with butter, and if they are deep allay the inflammation by applying and inserting pieces of pork, hot but still retaining the blood. They cure ophthalmia with cows' milk, which is first used as a fomentation for the eye, and is then injected into it. The animals open their eyelids, and finding they can see better are delighted, and are sensible of the benefit like human beings. In proportion as their blindness diminishes their delight overflows, and this is a token that the disease has been cured. The remedy for other distempers to which they are liable is black wine; and if this potion fails to work a cure nothing else can save them.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 39

Of Gold-digging Ants. (Strabo 15. 1. 44, p.706.)

Megasthenes gives the following account of these ants. Among the Derdai, a great tribe of Indians, who inhabit the mountains on the eastern borders, there is an elevated plateau about 3,000 stadia, in circuit. Beneath the surface there are mines of gold, and here accordingly are found the ants which dig for that metal. They are not inferior in size to wild foxes. They run with amazing speed, and live by the produce of the chase. The time when they dig is winter. They throw up heaps

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of earth, as moles do, at the mouth of the mines. The gold-dust has to be subjected to a little boiling. The people of the neighbourhood, coming secretly with beasts of burden, carry this off. If they came openly the ants would attack them, and pursue them if they fled, and would destroy both them and their cattle. So, to effect the robbery without being observed, they lay down in several different places pieces of the flesh of wild beasts, and when the ants are by this device dispersed they carry off the gold-dust. This they sell to any trader they meet with while it is still in the state of ore, for the art of fusing metals is unknown to them.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 40.a

(Lucius Flavius Arrianus, The Indica, XV.5-7.) (See the translation of Arrian's Indika.)

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 40.b

Of Ants which dig.for gold. (Dio Chrysostom Or. 35,--p. 436, Morell.)

They get the gold from ants. These creatures are larger than foxes, but are in other respects like the ants of our own country. They dig holes in the earth like other ants. The heap which they throw up consists of gold the purest and brightest in all the world. The mounds are piled up close to each other in regular order like hillocks of gold dust, whereby all the plain is made effulgent. It is difficult, therefore, to look towards the sun, and many who have attempted to do this have thereby destroyed their eyesight. The people who are next neighbours to the ants, with a view to plunder these heaps, cross the intervening desert, which is of no great extent, mounted on wagons to which they have yoked their swiftest h6rses. They arrive at noon, a time when the ants have gone underground, and at once seizing the booty make off at full speed. The ants, on learning what has been done, pursue the fugitives, and overtaking them fight with them till they conquer or die, for of all animals they are the most courageous. It hence appears that they understand the worth of gold, and that they will sacrifice their lives rather than part with it.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 41

Of the Indian Philosophers. (Strabo 15. 1. 58-60, pp.711-714.)

Speaking of the philosophers, he (Megasthenes) says that such of them as live, on the mountains are worshippers of Dionysos, showing as proofs that he had come among them the wild vine, which grows in their country only, and the ivy, and the laurel, and the myrtle, and the box-tree, and other evergreens, none of which are found beyond the Euphrates, except a few in parks, which it requires great care to preserve. They observe also certain customs which are Bacchanalian. Thus they dress in muslin, wear the turban, use perfumes array themselves in garments dyed of bright colours; and their kings, when they appear in public, are preceded by the music of drums and gongs. But the, philosophers who live on the plains worship Herakles. [These accounts are fabulous, and are impugned by many writers, especially what is said about the vine and wine. For the greater part of Armenia, and the whole of Mesopotamia and Media, onwards to Persia and Karmania, lie beyond the Euphrates, and throughout a great part of each of these countries good vines grow, and good wine is produced.]

Megasthenes makes a different division of the philosophers, saying that they are of two kinds--one of which he calls the Brachmanes, and the other the Sarmanes. The Brachmanes are best esteemed, for they are more consistent in their opinions. From the time of their conception in the womb they are under the guardian care of learned men, who go to the mother and, under the pretence of using some incantations for the welfare of herself and her unborn babe, in reality give her prudent hints and counsels. The women who listen most willingly are thought to be the most fortunate in their children. After their birth the children are under the care of one person after another, and as they advance in age each succeeding master is more accomplished than his predecessor. The philosophers have their abode in a grove in front of the city within a moderate-sized enclosure. They live in a simple style, and lie on beds of rushes or (deer) skins. They abstain from animal food and sexual pleasures, and spend their time in listening to serious discourse, and in imparting their knowledge to such as will listen to them. The hearer is not allowed to speak, or even to cough, and much less to spit, and if he offends in any of these ways he is cast out from their society that very day, as being a man who is wanting in self-restraint. After living in this manner for seven-and-thirty years, each individual retires to his own property, where he lives for the rest of his days in ease and serenity. They then array themselves in fine muslin, and wear a few trinkets of gold on their fingers and in their ears. They eat flesh, but not that of animals employed in labour. They abstain from hot and highly seasoned food. They marry as many wives as they please, with a view to have numerous children, for by having many wives greater advantages are enjoyed, and, since they have no slaves, they have more need to have children around them to attend to their wants. The Brachmanes do not communicate a knowledge of philosophy to their wives, lest they should, divulge any of the forbidden mysteries to the profane if they became depraved, or lest they should, desert them if they became good philosophers: far no one who despises pleasure and pain, as well as life and death, wishes to be in subjection to another, but this is characteristic both of a good man and of a good woman. Death is with them a very frequent subject of discourse. They regard this life as, so to speak, the time when the child within the womb becomes mature, and death as a birth into a real and happy life for the votaries of philosophy. On this account they undergo much, discipline as a preparation for death. They consider nothing that befalls men to be either good or bad, to suppose otherwise being a dream-like illusion, else how could some be affected with sorrow, and others with pleasure, by the very same things, and how could the same things affect the same individuals at different times with these opposite emotions? Their ideas about physical phenomena, the same author tells us, are very crude, for, they are better in their actions than in their reasonings, inasmuch as their belief is in great measure based upon fables; yet on many points their opinions coincide with those of the Greeks, for like them they say that the world had a beginning, and is liable to destruction, and is in shape spherical, and that the Deity who made it, and who governs it, is diffused through all its parts. They hold that various first principles operate in the universe, and that water was the principle employed in the making of the world. In addition to the four elements there is a fifth agency, from which the heaven and the stars were produced. The earth is placed in the centre of the universe. Concerning generation, and the nature of the soul, and many other subjects, they express views like those maintained by the Greeks. They wrap up their doctrines about immortality and future judgement, and kindred topics, in allegories, after the manner of Plato. Such are his statements regarding the Brachmanes.

Of the Sarmanes he tells us that those who are held in most honour are called the Hylobioi. They live in the woods, where they subsist on leaves of trees and wild fruits, and wear garments made from the bark of trees. They abstain from sexual intercourse and from wine. They communicate with the kings, who consult them by messengers regarding the causes of things, and who through them worship and supplicate the deity. Next in honour to the Hylobioi are the physicians, since they are engaged in the study of the nature of man. They are simple in their habits, but do not live in the fields. Their food consists of rice and barley-meal, which they can always get for the mere asking, or receive from those who entertain them as guests in their houses. By their knowledge of pharmacy they can make marriages fruitful, and determine the sex of the offspring. They effect cures rather by regulating diet than by the use of medicines. The remedies most esteemed are ointments and plasters. All others they consider to be in a great measure pernicious in their nature. This class and the other class practise fortitude, both by undergoing active toil, and by the endurance of pain, so that they remain for a whole day motionless in one fixed attitude.

Besides these there are diviners and sorcerers, and adepts in the rites and customs relating to the dead, who go about begging both in villages and towns. Even such of them as are of superior culture and refinement inculcate such superstitions regarding Hades as they consider favourable to piety and holiness of life. Women pursue philosophy with some of them, but abstain from sexual intercourse.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 42.a

(Titus Flavius Clemens of Alexandria, Stromata 1. p. 305 D; ed. Colon. 1688)

That the Jewish race is by far the oldest of all these, and that their philosophy, which has been committed to writing, preceded the philosophy of the Greeks, Philo the Pythagorean shows by many arguments, as does also Aristoboulos the Peripatetic, and many others, whose names I need not waste time in enumerating. Megasthenes, the author of a work on India, who lived with Seleukos Nikator, writes most clearly on this point, and his words are these:-- "All that has been said regarding nature by the ancients is asserted also by philosophers out of Greece, on the one part in India by the Brachmanes, and on the other in Syria by the people called the Jews."

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 42.b

(Eusebius of Caesarea, Praep. Ev. 9. 6, pp.410 C, D; ed. Colon. 1688). Ex Clem. Alex.

Again, in addition to this, further on he writes thus: "Megasthenes, the writer who lived with Seleukos Nikator, writes most clearly on this point and to this effect:--'All that has been said,'" etc.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 42.c

Cyrill. Contra Julian. 4. (Opp. ed. Paris, 1638, T. VI. p. 134 Al. Ex Clem. Alex.)

Aristoboulos the Peripatetic somewhere writes to this effect:--"All that has been said," etc.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 43

Of the Philosophers of India. (Titus Flavius Clemens of Alexandria, Stromata 1. p.305, A, B; ed. Colon. 1688).

[Philosophy, then; with all its blessed advantages to man, flourished long ages ago among the barbarians, diffusing its light among the Gentiles, and eventually penetrated into Greece. Its hierophants were the prophets among the Egyptians, the Chaldaeans among the Assyrians, the Druids among the Gauls, the Sarmanaeans who were the philosophers of the Baktrians and the Kelts, the Magi among the Persians, who, as you know, announced beforehand the birth of the Saviour, being led by a star till they arrived in the land of Judaea, and among the Indians the Gymnosophists, and other philosophers of barbarous nations.]

There are two sects of these Indian philosophers--one called the Sarmanai and the other the.Brachmanai. Connected with the Sarmanai are the philosophers called the Hylobioi, who neither live in cities nor even in houses. They clothe themselves with the bark of trees, and subsist upon acorns, and drink water by lifting it to their mouth with their hands. They neither marry nor beget children [like those ascetics of our own day called the Enkratetai. Among the Indians are those philosophers also who follow the precepts of Boutta, whom they honour as a god on account of his extraordinary sanctity.]

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 44

Of Kalanos and Mandanis. (Strabo 15. 1. 68, p.718.)

Megasthenes, however, says that self-destruction is not a dogma of the philosophers, but that such as commit the act are regarded as foolhardy, those naturally of a severe temper stabbing themselves or casting themselves down a precipice, those averse to pain drowning themselves, those capable of enduring pain strangling themselves, and those of ardent temperaments throwing themselves into the fire. Kalanos was a man of this stamp. He was ruled by his passions, and became a slave to the table of Alexander. He is on this account condemned by his countrymen, but Mandanis is applauded because when messengers from Alexander invited him to go to the son of Zeus, with the promise of gifts if he complied, and threats of punishment if he refused, he did not go. Alexander, he said, was not the son of Zeus, for he was not so much as master of the larger half of the world. As for himself, he wanted none of the gifts of a man whose desires nothing could satiate; and as for his threats he feared them not: for if he lived, India would supply him with food enough, and if he died, he would be delivered from the body of flesh now afflicted with age, and would be translated to a better and a purer life. Alexander expressed admiration of the man, and let him have his own way.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 45

(Lucius Flavius Arrianus, The Indica, 7. 2. 3-9.)

Of Kalanos and Mandanis.

This shows that Alexander, notwithstanding the terrible ascendancy which the passion for glory had acquired over him, was not altogether without a perception of the things that are better; for when he arrived at Taxila and saw the Indian gymnosophists, a desire seized him to have one of these men brought into his presence, because he admired their endurance. The eldest of these sophists, with whom the others lived as disciples with a master, Dandamis by name, not only refused to go himself, but prevented the others going. He is said to have returned this for answer, that he also was the son of Zeus as much as Alexander himself was, and that he wanted nothing that was Alexander's (for he was well off in his present circumstances), whereas he saw those who were with him wandering over so much sea and land for no good got by it, and without any end coming to their many wanderings. He coveted, therefore, nothing Alexander had it in his power to give, nor, on the other hand, feared aught he could do to coerce him: for if he lived, India would suffice for him, yielding him her fruits in due season, and if he died, he would be delivered from his ill-assorted companion the body. Alexander accordingly did not put forth his hand to violence, knowing the man to be of an independent spirit. He is said, however, to have won over Kalanos, one of the sophists of that place, whom Megasthenes represents as a man utterly wanting in self-control, while the sophists themselves spoke opprobriously of Kalanos, because that, having left the happiness enjoyed among them, he went to serve another master than God.

INDIKA BOOK 4.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 46

That the Indians had never been attacked by others, nor had themselves attacked others. (Strabo 15. 1 6-8, pp. 686-688.)

But what just reliance can we place on the accounts of India from such expeditions as those of Kyros and Semiramis? If Megasthenes concurs in this view, and recommends his readers to put no faith in the ancient history of India. Its people, he

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says, never sent an expedition abroad, nor was their country ever invaded and conquered except by Herakles and Dionysos in old times, and by the Makedonians in our own. Yet Sesostris the Egyptian and Tearkon the Ethiopian advanced as far as Europe. And Nabukodrosor, who is more renowned among the Chaldaeans [Babylonians] than even Herakles among the Greeks, carried his arms to the Pillars, which Tearkon also reached, while Sesostris penetrated from Iberia even into Thrace and Pontos. Besides these there was Idanthyrsos the Skythian, who overran Asia as far as Egypt. But not one of these great conquerors approached India, and Semiramis, who meditated its conquest, died before the necessary preparations were undertaken. The Persians indeed summoned the Hydrakai from India to serve as mercenaries, but, they did not lead an army into the country, and only approached its borders when Kyros marched against the Massagetai.

Of Dionysos and Herakles

The accounts about Herakles and Dionysos, Megasthenes and some few authors with him consider entitled to credit, [but the majority, among whom is Eratosthenes, consider them incredible and fabulous, like the stories current among the Greeks.]

On such grounds they called a particular race of people Nyssaians, and their city Nyssa, which Dionysos had founded, and the mountain which rose above the city Meron, assigning as their reason for bestowing these names that ivy grows there, and also the vine, although its fruit does not come to perfection, as the clusters, on account of the heaviness of the rains, fall off the trees before ripening. They further called the Oxydrakai descendants of Dionysos, because the vine grew in their country, and their processions were conducted with great pomp, and their kings on going forth to war and on other occasions marched in Bacchic fashion, with drums beating, while they were dressed in gay coloured robes, which is also a custom among other Indians. Again, when Alexander had captured at the first assault the rock called Aornos, the base of which is washed by the Indus near its source, his followers, magnifying the affair, affirmed that Herakles had thrice assaulted the same rock and had been thrice repulsed. They said also that the Sibae were descended from those who accompanied Herakles on his expedition, and that they preserved badges of their descent, for they wore skins like Herakles, and carried clubs, and branded the mark of a cudgel on their oxen and mules. In support of this story they turn to account the legends regarding Kaukasos and Prometheus by transferring them hither from Pontos, which they did on the slight pretext that they had seen a sacred cave among the Paropamisadae. This they declared was the prison of Promestheus, whither Herakles had come to effect his deliverance, and that this was the Kaukasos, to which the Greeks represent Prometheus as having been bound.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 47

(Lucius Flavius Arrianus, The Indica, V. 4-12.) (See the translation of Arrian's Indika.)

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 48.a

Of Nabuchodrosor. (Titus Flavius Josephus Contra Apion. 1. 20; vol. 2 p.451, Havere.)

Megasthenes also expresses the same opinion in the fourth book of his Indika, where he endeavours to show that the aforesaid king of the Babylonians (Nabouchodonosor) surpassed Herakles in courage and the greatness of his achievements, by telling us that he conquered even Iberia.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 48.b

(Titus Flavius Josephus, Jewish Antiquities 10. 2. 1; vol. 1 p.533, Havere.)

[In this place (Nabouchodonosor) erected also of stone elevated places for walking about on, which had to the eye the appearance of mountains, and were so contrived that they were planted with all sorts of trees, because his wife, who had been bred up in the land of Media, wished her surroundings to be like those of her early home.] Megasthenes also, in the fourth book of his Indika, makes mention of these things, and thereby endeavours to show that this king surpassed Herakles in courage and the greatness of his achievements, for he says that he conquered Libya and a great part of Iberia.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 48.c

(Zonar. ed. Basil. 1557, vol. 1. p. 87.)

Among the many old historians who mention Nabouchodonosor, Flavius Josephus enumerates Berosos, Megasthenes, and Diokles.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 48.d

(George Syncellus vol. 1. p.419, ed. Benn.; p.221 ed. Paris, p. 177 ed. Venet.)

Megasthenes, in his fourth book of the Indika represents Nabouchodonosor as mightier than Herakles, because with great courage and enterprise he conquered the greater part of Libya and Iberia.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 49

Of Nabouchodrosor. (Abyden. ap. Euseb. Praep. Ev. 1. 41; ed. Colon. 1688, p. 456 D)

Megasthenes says that Nabouchodrosor, who was mightier than Herakles, undertook an expedition against Libya and Iberia, and that having conquered them he planted a colony of these people in the parts lying to the right of Pontos.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 50.a

(Lucius Flavius Arrianus, The Indica, 7-9.) (See the translation of Arrian's Indica.)

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 50.b

Of Pearls. (Pliny the Elder, Natural History, 9. 5)

Some writers allege that in swarms of oysters, as among bees, individuals distinguished for size and beauty act as leaders. These are of wonderful cunning in preventing themselves being caught, and are eagerly sought for by the divers. Should they be caught, the others are easily enclosed in the nets as they go wandering about. They are then put into earthen pots, where they are buried deep in salt. By this process the flesh is all eaten away, and the hard concretions, which are the pearls, drop down to the bottom.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 50.c

Of the Pandaian Land. (Phlegon. Mirab. 33.)

Megasthenes says that the women of the Pandaian realm bear children when they are six years of age.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 51

(Pliny the Elder, Natural History, 6. 21. 4-5.)

Of the Ancient History of the Indians.

For the Indians stand almost alone among the nations in never having migrated from their own country. From the days of Father Bacchus to Alexander the Great, their kings are reckoned at 154, whose reigns extend over 6451 years and 3 months. [Solin. 52. 5. Father Bacchus was the first who invaded India, and was the first of all who triumphed over the vanquished Indians. From him to Alexander the Great 6451 years are reckoned with 3 months additional, the calculation being made by counting the, kings who reigned in the intermediate period, to the number of 153.]

INDIKA DOUBTFUL FRAGMENTS.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 52

Of Elephants. (Aelian, Hist. Anim. 12. 8.)

The elephant when feeding at large ordinarily drinks water, but when undergoing the fatigues of war is allowed wine,--not that sort, however, which comes from the grape, but another which is prepared from rice. The attendants even go in advance of their elephants and gather them flowers; for they are very fond of sweet perfumes, and they are accordingly taken out to the meadows, there to be trained under the influence of the sweetest fragrance. The animal selects the flowers according to their smell, and throws them as they are gathered into a basket which is held out by the trainer. This being filled, and harvest-work, so to speak, completed, he then bathes, and enjoys his bath with all the zest of a consummate voluptuary. On returning from bathing he is impatient to have his flowers, and if there is delay in bringing them he begins roaring, and will not taste a morsel of food till all the flowers he gathered are placed before him. This done, he takes the flowers out of the basket with his trunk and scatters them over the edge of his manger, and makes by this device their fine scent be, as it were, a relish to his food. He strews also a good quantity of them as litter over his stall, for he loves to have his sleep made sweet and pleasant.

The Indian elephants were nine cubits in height and five in breadth. The largest elephants in all the land were those called the Praisian, and next to these the Taxilan.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 53

Of a White Elephant. (Aelian, Hist. Anim. 3. 46.)

An Indian elephant-trainer fell in with a white elephant-calf, which he brought when still quite young to his home, where he reared it, and gradually made it quite tame and rode upon it. He became much attached to the creature, which loved him in return, and by its affection requited him for its maintenance. Now the king of the Indians, having heard of this elephant, wanted to take it; but the owner, jealous of the love it had for him, and grieving much, no doubt, to think that another should become its master, refused to give it away, and made off at once to the desert mounted on his favourite. The king was enraged at this, and sent men in pursuit, with orders to seize the elephant, and at the same time to bring back the Indian for punishment. Overtaking the fugitive they attempted to execute their purpose, but he resisted and attacked his assailants from the back of the elephant, which in the affray fought on the side of its injured master. Such was the state of matters at the first, but afterwards, when the Indian on being wounded slipped down to the ground, the elephant, true to his salt, bestrides him as soldiers in battle bestride a fallen comrade, whom they cover with their shields, kills many of the assailants, and puts the rest to flight. Then twining his trunk around his rearer he lifted him on to his back, and carried him home to the stall, and remained with him like a faithful friend with his friend, and showed him every kind attention. [0 men! how base are ye! ever dancing merrily when ye hear the music of the frying-pan, ever revelling in the banquet, but traitors in the hour of danger, and vainly and for nought sullying the sacred name of friendship.]

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 54

(Pseudo-Orign, Philosoph. 24, ed. Delarue, Paris, 1733, vol. I. p. 904.)

Of the Brahmans and their Philosophy / Of the Brachhmans in India.

There is among the Brachhmans in India a sect of philosophers who adopt an independent life, and abstain from animal food and all victuals cooked by fire, being content to subsist upon fruits, which they do not so much as gather from the trees, but pick up when they have dropped to the ground, and their drink is the water of the river Tagabena. Throughout life they go about naked, saying that the body has been given by the Deity as a covering for the soul. They hold that God is light, but not such light as we see with the eye, nor such as the sun or fire, but God is with them the Word,--by which term they do not mean articulate speech, but the discourse of reason, whereby the hidden mysteries of knowledge are discerned by the wise. This light, however, which they call the Word, and think to be God, is, they say, known only by the Brachhmans themselves, because they alone have discarded vanity, which is the outermost covering of the soul. The members of this sect regard death with contemptuous indifference, and, as we have seen already, they always pronounce the name of the Deity with a tone of peculiar reverence, and adore him with hymns. They neither have wives nor beget children. Persons who desire to lead a life like theirs cross over from the other side of the river, and remain with them for good, never returning to their own country. These also are called Brachhmans, although they do not follow the same mode of life, for there are women in the country, from whom the native inhabitants are sprung, and of these women they beget offspring. With regard to the Word, which they call God, they hold that it is corporeal, and that it wears the body as its external covering, just as one wears the woollen surcoat, and that when it divests itself of the body with which it is enwrapped it becomes manifest to the eye. There is war, the Brachhmans hold, in the body where with they are clothed, and they regard the body as being the fruitful source of wars, and, as we have already shown, fight against it like soldiers in battle contending against the enemy. They maintain, moreover, that all men are held in bondage, like prisoners of war, to their own innate enemies, the sensual appetites, gluttony, anger, joy, grief, longing desire, and such like, while it is only the man who has triumphed over these enemies who goes to God. Dandamis accordingly, to whom Alexander the Makedonian paid a visit, is spoken of by the Brachhmans as a god because he conquered in the warfare against the body, and on the other hand they condemn Kalanos as one who had impiously apostatized from their philosophy. The Brachhmans, therefore, when the have shuffled off the body, see the pure sunlight as fish see it, when they spring up out of the water into the air.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 55.a

Of Kalanos and Mandanis. (Pallad. de Bragmanibus, pp. 8, 20 et seq. ed. Londin. 1668.) (Camerar. libell. gnomolog. pp., 116, 124 et seq.)

They (the Bragmanes) subsist upon such fruits as they can find, and on wild herbs, which the earth spontaneously produces, and drink only water. They wander about in the woods, and sleep at night on pallets of the leaves of trees . . . . . .

"Kalanos, then, your false friend, held this opinion, but be is despised and trodden upon by us. By you, however, accomplice as he was in causing many evils to you all, he is honoured and worshipped, while from our society he has been contemptuously cast out as unprofitable. And why not? when everything which we trample under foot is an object of admiration to the lucre-loving Kalanos, your worthless friend, but no friend of ours, a

miserable creature, and more to be pitied than the unhappiest wretch, for by setting his heart on lucre he wrought the perdition of his soul! Hence he seemed neither worthy of us, nor worthy of the friendship of God, and hence he neither was content to revel away life in the woods beyond all reach of care, nor was be cheered with the hope of a blessed hereafter: for by his love of money he slew the very life of his miserable soul.

"We have, however, amongst us a sage called Dandamis whose home is in the woods, where he lies on a pallet of leaves, and where he has nigh at hand the fountain of peace, whereof he drinks, sucking, as it were, the pure breast of a mother. King Alexander, accordingly, when he heard of all this, was

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desirous of learning the doctrines of the sect, and so he sent for this Dandaamis, as being their teacher and president.

"Onesikrates was therefore despatched to fetch him, and when he found the great sage he said, "Hail to thee, thou teacher of the Bragmanes. The son of the mighty god Zeus, king Alexander, who is the sovereign lord of all men, asks you to go to him, and if you comply, he will reward you with great and splendid gifts, but if you refuse will cut off your head."

Dandamis, with a complacent smile, heard him to the end, but did not so much as lift up his head from his couch of leaves, and while still retaining his recumbent attitude returned this scornful answer:--"God, the supreme king, is never the author of insolent wrong, but is the creator of light, of peace, of life, of water, of the body of man, and of souls, and these he receives when death sets them free, being in no way subject to evil desire. He alone is the god of my homage, who abhors slaughter and instigates no wars. But Alexander is not God, since he must taste of death; and how can such as he be the world's master, who has not yet reached the further shore of the river Tiberoboas, and has not yet seated himself on a throne of universal dominion? Moreover, Alexander has neither as yet entered living into Hades, nor does he know the course of the sun through the central regions of the earth, while the nations on its boundaries have not so much as heard his, name. If his present dominions are not capacious enough for his desire, let him cross the Ganges river, and he will find a region able to sustain men if the country on our side be too narrow to hold him. Know this, however, that what Alexander offers me, and the gifts he promises, are all things to me utterly useless; but the things which I prize, and find of real use and worth, are these leaves which are my house, these blooming plants which supply me with dainty food and the water which is my drink, while all other possessions and things, which are amassed with anxious care, are wont to prove ruinous to those who amass them, and cause only sorrow and vexation, with which every poor mortal is fully fraught. But as for me, I lie upon the forest leaves, and, having nothing which requires guarding, close my eyes in tranquil slumber; whereas had I gold to guard, that would banish sleep. The earth supplies me with everything, even as a mother her child with milk. I go wherever I please, and there are no cares with which I am forced to cumber myself, against my will. Should Alexander cut off my head, he cannot also destroy my soul. My head alone, now silent, will remain, but the soul will go away to its Master, leaving the body like a torn garment upon the earth, whence also it was taken. I then, becoming spirit, shall ascend to my God, who enclosed us in flesh, and left us upon the earth to prove whether when here below we shall live obedient to his ordinances, and who also will require of us, when we depart hence to his presence, an account of our life, since he is judge of all proud wrong-doing; for the groans of the oppressed become the punishments of the oppressors.

Let Alexander, then, terrify with these threats those who wish for gold and for wealth, and who dread death, for against as these weapons are both alike powerless, since the Bragmanes neither love gold nor fear death. Go, then, and tell Alexander this: Dandamis has no need of aught that is yours, and therefore will not go to you, but if you want anything from Dandamis come you to him."

Alexander, on receiving from Onesikrates a report of the interview, felt a stronger desire than ever to see Dandamis, who, though old and naked, was the only antagonist in whom he, the conqueror of many nations, had found more than his match.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 55.b

Ambrosius, De Moribus Brachmanorum, pp. 62, 68 et seq. ed. Pallad. Londinium 1668.

Of Calanus and Mandanis.

They (the Brachmans) eat what they find on the ground, such as leaves, of trees and wild herbs, like cattle.

Calanus is your friend, but he is despised and trodden upon by us. He, then, who was the author of many evils among you, is honoured and worshipped by you; but since he is of no importance he is rejected by us, and those things we certainly do not seek, please Calanus because of his greediness for money. But he was not ours, a man such as has miserably injured and lost his soul, on which account he is plainly unworthy to be a friend either of God or of ours nor has he deserved security among the woods in this world, nor can he hope for the glory which is promised in the future.

When the emperor Alexander came to the forests, he was not able to see Dandamis as he passed through.

When, therefore, the above-mentioned messenger came to Dandamis, he addressed him thus:-- "The emperor Alexander, the son of the great Jupiter, who is lord of the human race, has ordered, that you should hasten to him, for if you come, he will give you many gifts, but if you refuse he will behead you as a punishment for your contempt."

When these words came to the ears of Dandamis, he rose not from his leaves whereon he lay, but reclining and smiling he replied in this way:--"The greatest God," he said, "can do injury to no one, but restores again the light of life to those who have departed. Accordingly he alone is my lord who forbids murder and excites no wars. But Alexander is no God, for he himself will have to die. How, then, can he be the lord of all, who has not yet crossed the river Tyberoboas, nor has made the whole world his abode, nor crossed the zone of Gades, nor has beheld the course of the sun in the centre of the world? Therefore many nations do not yet even know his name. If, however, the country he possesses cannot contain him, let him cross our river and he will find a soil which is able to support men. All those things Alexander promises would be useless to me if he gave them: I have leaves for a house, live on the herbs at hand and water to drink; other things collected with labour, and which perish and yield nothing but sorrow to those seeking them or possessing them, these I despise. I therefore now rest secure, and with closed eyes I care for nothing. If I wish to keep gold, I destroy my sleep; Earth supplies me with everything, as a mother does to her child. Wherever I wish to go, I proceed wherever I do not wish to be, no necessity of care can force me to go. And if he wish to cut off my head, he cannot take my soul; he will only take the fallen head, but the departing soul will leave the head like a portion of some garment, and will restore it to whence it received it, namely, to the earth. But when I shall have become a spirit I shall ascend to God, who has enclosed it within this flesh. When he did this he wished to try us, how, after leaving him, we would live in this world. And afterwards, when we shall have returned to him, he will demand from us an account of this life. Standing by him I shall see my injury, and shall contemplate his judgement on those who injured me: for the sighs and groans of the injured become the punishments of the oppressors. Let Alexander threaten with this them that desire riches or fear death, both of which I despise. For Brachmans neither love gold nor dread death. Go, therefore, and tell Alexander this:--'Dandamis seeks nothing of yours, but if you think you need something of his, disdain not to go to him.'"

When Alexander heard these words through the interpreter, he wished the more to see such a man, since he, who had subdued many nations, was overcome by an old naked man.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 56.a

List of the Indian Races. (Pliny the Elder, Natural History,. 6. 21. 8-23. 11.)

The other journeys made thence (from the Hyphasis) for Seleukos Nikator are as follows:--168 miles to the Hesidrus, and to the river Jomanes as many (some copies add 5 miles); from thence to the Ganges 112 miles, 9 miles to Rhodopha (others give 325 miles for this distance).

To the town Kalinipaxa 167-500. Others give 263 miles. Thence to the confluence of the Jamanes and Ganges 625 miles (many add 13 miles), and to the town Palimbothra 425. To the mouth of the Ganges 738 miles.

The races which we may enumerate without being tedious, from the chain of Emodus, of which a spur is called Imaus (meaning in the native tongue snowy), are the Isari, Cosyri, Izgi, and on the hills the Chisiotosagi, and the Brachmauae, a name comprising many tribes, among which are the Maccocalingae. The river Prinas and the Cainas (which flows into the Ganges) are both navigable. The tribes called Calingae are nearest the sea, and higher up are the Mandei, and the Malli in whose, country is Mount Mallus, the boundary of all that district being the Ganges.

This river, according to some, rises from uncertain sources, like the Nile, and inundates similarly the countries lying along its course; others say that it rises on the Skythian mountains, and has nineteen tributaries, of which, besides those already mentioned, the Condochates, Erannoboas, Cosoagus, and Sonus are navigable. Others again assert that it issues forth at once with loud roar from its fountain, and after tumbling down a steep and rocky channel is received immediately on reaching the level plains into a lake, whence it flows out with a gentle current, being at the narrowest eight miles, and on the average a hundred stadia in breadth, and never of less depth than twenty paces (one hundred feet) in the final part of its course, which is through the country of the Gangarides. The royal city of the Calingae is called Parthalis. Over their king 60,000 foot-soldiers, 1,000 horsemen, 700 elephants keep watch and ward in "procinct of war."

For among the more civilized Indian communities life is spent in a great variety of separate occupations. Some till the soil, some are soldiers, some traders; the noblest and richest take part in the direction of state affairs, administer justice, and sit in council with the kings. A fifth class devotes itself to the philosophy prevalent in the country, which almost assumes the form of a religion, and the members always put an end to their life by a voluntary death on a burning funeral pile. In addition to these classes there is one half-wild, which is constantly engaged in a task of immense labour, beyond the power of words to describe--that of hunting and taming elephants. They employ these animals in ploughing and for riding on, and regard them as forming the main part of their stock in cattle. They employ them in war and in fighting for their country. In choosing them for war, regard is had to their age, strength, and size.

There is a very large island in the Ganges which is inhabited by a single tribe Modogalingae. Beyond are situated the Modubae, Molindae, the Uberae with a handsome town of the same name, the Galmodroesi, Preti, Calissae, Sasuri, Passalae, Colubae, Orxulae, Abali, Taluctae. The king of these keeps under arms 50,000 foot-soldiers, 4,000 cavalry, and 400 elephants. Next come the Andarae, a still more powerful race, which possesses numerous villages, and thirty towns defended by walls and towers, and which supplies its king with an army of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and 1,000 elephants. Gold is very abundant among the Dardae, and silver among the Setae.

But the Prasii surpass in power and glory every other people, not only in this quarter, but one may say in all India, their capital Palibothra, a very large and wealthy city, after which some call the people itself the Palibothri,--nay even the whole tract along the Ganges. Their king has in his pay a standing army of 600,000 foot-soldiers, 30,000 cavalry, and 9,000 elephants: whence may be formed some conjecture as to the vastness of his resources.

After these, but more inland, are the Monedes and Suari, in whose country is Mount Maleus, on which shadows fall towards the north in winter, and towards the south in summer, for six months alternately. Baeton asserts that the north pole in these parts is seen but once in the year, and only for fifteen days; while Megasthenes says that the same thing happens in many parts of India. The south pole is called by the Indians Dramasa. The river Jomanes flows through the Palibothri into the Ganges between the towns Methora and Carisobora. In the parts which lie southward from the Ganges the inhabitants, already swarthy, are deeply coloured by the sun, though not scorched black like the Ethiopians. The nearer they approach the Indus the more plainly does their complexion betray the influence of the sun.

The Indus skirts the frontiers of the Prasii, whose mountain tracts are said to be inhabited by the Pygmies. Artemidorus sets down the distance between the two rivers at 121 miles.

The Indus, called by the inhabitants Sindus, rising on that spur of Mount Caucasus which is called Paropamisus, from sources fronting the sunrise, receives also itself nineteen rivers, of which the most famous are the Hydaspes, which has four tributaries; the Cantabra, which has three; the Acesines and the Hypasis, which are both navigable; but nevertheless, having no very great supply of water, it is nowhere broader than fifty stadia, or deeper than fifteen paces. It forms an extremely large island, which is called Prasiane, and a smaller one, called Patale. Its stream, which is navigable, by the lowest estimates, for 1,240 miles, turns westward as if following more or less closely the course of the sun, and then falls into the ocean. The measure of the coast line from the mouth of the Ganges to this river I shall set down as it is generally given, though none of the computations agree with each other. From the mouth of the Ganges to Cape Calingon and the town of Dandagula 625 miles; to Tropina 1,225; to the cape of Perimula, where there is the greatest emporium of trade in India, 750 miles; to the town in the island of Patala mentioned above, 620 miles.

The hill-tribes between the Indus and the Iomanes are the Cesi; the Cetriboni, who live in the woods; then the Megallae, whose king is master of five hundred elephants and an army of horse and foot of unknown strength; the Chrysei, the Parasangae, and the Asange, where tigers abound, noted for their ferocity. The force under arms consists of 30,000 foot, 300 elephants, and 800 horse. These are shut in by the Indus, and are surrounded by a circle of mountains and deserts over a space, of 625 miles. Below the deserts are the Dari, the Surae, then deserts again for 187 miles, these deserts encircling the fertile tracts just as the sea encircles islands. Below these deserts we find the Maltecorae, Singhae, Marohae, Rarungae, Moruni. These inhabit the hills which in an unbroken chain run parallel to the shores of the ocean. They are free and have no kings, and occupy the mountain heights, whereon they have built many cities. Next follow the Narae, enclosed by the loftiest of Indian mountains, Capitalia. The inhabitants on the other side of this mountain work extensive mines of gold and silver. Next are the Oraturae, whose king has only ten elephants, though he has a very strong force of infantry. Next again are the Varetatae, subject to a king, who keep no elephants, but trust entirely to their horse and foot. Then the Odomoboerae; the Salabastrae; the Horatae, who have a fine city, defended by marshes which serve as a ditch, wherein crocodiles are kept, which, having a great avidity for human flesh, prevent all access to the city except by a bridge. And another city of theirs is much admired--Automela, which, being seated on the coast at the confluence of five rivers, is a noble emporium of trade. The king is master of 1,600 elephants, 150,000 foot, and 5,000 cavalry. The poorer king of the Charmae has but sixty elephants, and his force otherwise is insignificant. Next come the Pandae, the only race in India ruled by women. They say that Hercules having but one daughter, who was on that account all the more beloved, endowed her with a noble kingdom. Her descendants

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rule over 300 cities, and command an army of 150,000 foot and 500 elephants. Next, with 300 cities, the Syrieni, Derangae, Posingae, Buzae, Gogiarei, Umbrae, Nereae, Brancosi, Nobundae, Cocondae, Nesei, Pedatrirae, Solobriasae, Olostrae, who adjoin the island Patale, from the furthest shore of which to the Caspian gates the distance is said to be 1,925 miles.

Then next to these towards the Indus come, in an order which is easy to follow, the Amatae, Bolingae, Gallitalutae, Dimuri, Megari, Ordabae, Mese; after these the Uri and Sileni. Immediately beyond come deserts extending for 250 miles. These being passed, we come to the Organagae, Abaortae, Sibarae, Suertae, and after these to deserts as extensive as the former. Then come the Sarophages, Sorgae, Baraomatae, and the Umbrittae, who consist of twelve tribes, each possessing two cities, and the Aseni, who possess three cities. Their capital is Bucephala, built where Alexander's famous horse of that name was buried. Hillmen follow next, inhabiting the base of Caucasus, the Soleadae, and the Sondrae; and if we cross to the other side of the Indus and follow its course downward we meet the Samarabriae, Sambruceni, Bisambritae, Osii, Antixeni, and the Taxillae with a famous city. Then succeeds a level tract of country known by the general name of Amanda, whereof the tribes are four in number the Peucolaitae, Arsagalitae, Geretae, Asoi.

Many writers, however, do not give the river Indus as the western boundary of India, but include within it four satrapies,--the Gedrosi, Arachotae, Arii, Paropamisadae, making the river Cophes its furthest limit; though others prefer to consider all these as belonging to the Arii.

Many writers further include in India even the city Nysa and Mount Merus, sacred to Father Bacchus, whence the origin of the fable that he sprang from the thigh of Jupiter. They include also the Astacani, in whose country the vine grows abundantly, and the laurel, and boxwood, and every kind of fruit-tree found in Greece. The remarkable and almost fabulous accounts which are current regarding the fertility of its soil, and the nature of its fruits and trees, its beasts and birds and other animals, will be set down each in its own place in other parts of this work. A little further on I shall speak of the satrapies, but the island of Taprobane requires my immediate attention.

But before we come to this island there are others, one being Patale, which, as we have indicated, lies at the mouth of the Indus, triangular in shape, and 220 miles in breadth. Beyond the mouth of the Indus are Chryse and Argyre, rich, as I believe, in metals. For I cannot readily believe, what is asserted by some writers, that their soil is impregnated with gold and silver. At a distance of twenty miles from these lies Crocala, from which, at a distance of twelve miles, is Bigaba, which abounds with oysters and other shell-fish. Next comes Toralliba, nine miles distant from the last-named island, beside many others unworthy of note.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 56.b.

Catalogue of Indian Races. (Solin. 52. 6-17.)

The greatest rivers of India are the Ganges and Indus, and of these some assert that the Ganges rises from uncertain sources and inundates the country in the manner of the Nile, while others incline to think that it rises in the Scythian mountains. [The Hypanisis is also there, a very noble river, which formed the limit of Alexander's march, as the altars erected on its banks prove.] The least breadth of the Ganges is eight miles, and its greatest twenty. Its depth where it is shallowest is fully a hundred feet. The people who live in the furthest-off part are the Gangarides, whose king possesses 1,000 horse, 700 elephants, and 60,000 foot in apparatus of war.

Of the Indians some cultivate the soil, very many follow war, and others trade. The noblest and richest manage public affairs, administer justice, and sit in council with the kings. There exists also a fifth class, consisting of those most eminent for their wisdom, who, when sated with life, seek death by mounting a burning funeral pile. Those, however, who have become the devotees of a sterner sect, and pass their life in the woods, hunt elephants, which, when made quite tame and docile, they use for ploughing and for riding on.

In the Ganges there is an island extremely populous, occupied by a very powerful nation whose king keeps under arms 50,000 foot and 4,000 horse. In fact no one invested with kingly power ever keeps on foot a military force without a very great number of elephants and foot and cavalry.

The Prasian nation, which is extremely powerful, inhabits a city called Palibotra, whence some call the nation itself the Palibotri. Their king keeps in his pay at all times 60,000 foot, 30,000 horse, and 8,000 elephants.

Beyond Palibotra is Mount Maleus, on which shadows in winter fall towards the north, in summer towards the south, for six months alternately. In that region the Bears are seen but once a year, and not for more than fifteen days, as Beton informs us, who allows that this happens in many parts of India. Those living near the river Indus in the regions that turn southward are scorched more than others by the heat, and at last the complexion of the people is visibly affected by the great power of the sun. The mountains are inhabited by the Pygmies.

But those who live near the sea have no kings.. The Pandaean nation is governed by females, and their first queen is said to have been the daughter of Hercules. The city Nysa is assigned to this region, as is also the mountain sacred to Jupiter, Meros by name, in a cave on which the ancient Indians affirm Father Bacchus was nourished; while the name has given rise to the well known fantastic story that Bacchus was born from the thigh of his father. Beyond the mouth of the Indus are two islands, Chryse and Argyre, which yield such an abundant supply of metals that many writers allege their soils consist of gold and of silver.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 57

Of Dionysos. (Polyaen. Strateg. 1. 1. 1-3.)

Dionysos, in his expedition against the Indians, in order that the cities might receive him willingly, disguised the arms with which he had equipped his troops, and made them wear soft raiment and fawn-skins. The spears were wrapped round with ivy, and the thyrsus had a sharp point. He gave the signal for battle by cymbals and drums instead of the trumpet, and by regaling the enemy with wine diverted their thoughts from war to dancing. These and all other Bacchic orgies were employed in the system of warfare by which he subjugated the Indians and all the rest of Asia.

Dionysos, in the course of his Indian campaign, seeing that his army could not endure the fiery heat of the air, took forcible possession of the three-peaked mountain of India. Of these peaks, one is called Korasibie, another Kondaske, but to the third he himself gave the name of Meros, in remembrance of his birth. Thereon were many fountains of water sweet to drink, game in great plenty, tree-fruits in unsparing profusion, and snows which gave new vigour to the frame. The troops quartered there made a sudden descent upon the barbarians of the plain, whom they easily routed, since they attacked them with missiles from a commanding position on the heights above.

[Dionysos, after conquering the Indians, invaded Baktria, taking with him as auxiliaries the Indians and Amazons. That country has for its boundary the river Saranges. The Baktrians seized the mountains overhanging that river with a view to attack Dionysos, in crossing it from a post of advantage. He, however, having encamped along the river, ordered the Amazons and the Bakkhai to cross it, in order that the

Baktrians, in their contempt for women, might be induced to come down from the heights. The women then assayed to cross the stream, and the enemy came downhill, and advancing to the river endeavoured to beat them back. The women then retreated, and the Baktrians pursued them as far as the bank; then Dionysos, coming to the rescue with his men, slew the Baktrians, who were impeded from fighting by the current, and he crossed the river in safety.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 58

Of Hercules and Pandaea. (Polyaen. Strateg. 1. 3. 4.)

Herakles begat a daughter in India whom he called Pandaia. To her he assigned that portion of India which lies to southward and extends to the sea, while he distributed the people subject to her rule into 365 villages, giving orders that one village should each day bring to the treasury the royal tribute, so that the queen might always have the assistance of those men whose turn it was to pay the tribute in coercing those who for the time being were defaulters in their payments.

MEGASTHENES FRAGMENT 59

Of the Beasts of India. (Aelian, Hist. Anim. XVI. 2-22.)

In India I learn that there are to be found the birds called parrots; and though I have no doubt, already mentioned them, yet what I omitted to state previously regarding them may now with great propriety be here set down. There are, I am informed, three species of them, and all these, if taught to speak, as children are taught, become as talkative as children, and speak with human voice; but in the woods they utter a bird-like scream, and neither send out any distinct and musical notes, nor being wild and untaught are able to talk. There are also peacocks in India, the largest anywhere met with, and pale-green ringdoves. One who is not well-versed in bird-lore seeing these for the first time, would take them to be parrots, and not pigeons. In the colour of the bill and legs they resemble Greek partridges. There are also cocks, which are of extraordinary size, and have their crests not red as elsewhere, or at least in our country, but have the flower-like coronals of which the crest is formed variously coloured. Their rump feathers, again, are neither curved nor wreathed, but are of great breadth, and they trail them in the way peacocks trail their tails, when they neither straighten nor erect them: the feathers of these Indian cocks are in colour golden, and also dark-blue like the smaragdus.

There is found in India also another remarkable bird. This is of the size of a starling and is parti-coloured, and is trained to utter the sounds of human speech. It is even more talkative than the parrot, and of greater natural cleverness. So far is it from submitting with pleasure to be fed by man, that it rather has such a pining for freedom, and such a longing to warble at will in the society of its mates, that it prefers starvation to slavery with sumptuous fare. It is called by the Makedonians who settled among the Indians in the city of Boukephala and its neighbourhood, and in the city called Kuropolis, and others which Alexander the son of Philip built, the Kerkion. This name had, I believe, its origin in the fact that the bird wags its tail in the same way as the water-ousels.

I learn further that in India there is a bird called the Kelas, which is thrice the size of the bustard, and has a bill of prodigious size and long legs. It is furnished also with an immense crop resembling a leather pouch. The cry which it utters is peculiarly discordant. The plumage is ash-coloured, except that the feathers at their tips are tinted with a pale yellow.

I bear also that the Indian hoopoe is double the size of ours, and more beautiful in appearance, and Homer says that while the bridle and trappings of a horse are the delight of a Hellenic king, this hoopoe is the favourite plaything of the king of the Indians, who carries it on his hand, and toys with it, and never tires gazing in ecstasy on its splendour, and the beauty with which Nature has adorned it. The, Brachmanes, therefore, even make this particular bird the subject of a mythic story, and the tale told of it runs thus:--To the king of the Indians there was born a son. The child had elder brothers, who when they came to man's estate turned out to be very unjust and the greatest of reprobates. They despised their brother because he was the youngest; and they scoffed also at their father and their mother, whom they despised because they were very old and grey-haired. The boy, accordingly, and his aged parents could at last no longer live with these wicked men, and away they fled from home, all three together. In the course of the protracted journey which they had then to undergo, the old people succumbed to fatigue and died, and the boy showed them no light regard, but buried them in himself, having cut off his head with a sword. Then, as the Brachmanes tell us, the all-seeing sun, in admiration of this surpassing act of piety, transformed the boy into a bird which is most beautiful to behold, and which lives to a very advanced age. So on his head there grew up a crest which was, as it were, a memorial of what he had done at the time of his flight. The Athenians have also related, in a fable, marvels somewhat similar of the crested lark; and this fable Aristophanes, the comic poet, appears to me to have followed when he says in the Birds, "For thou wert ignorant, and not always bustling, nor always thumbing Aesop, who spake of the crested lark, calling it the first of all birds, born before ever the earth was; and telling how afterwards her father became sick and died, and how that, as the earth did not then exist, he lay unburied till the fifth day, when his daughter, unable to find a grave elsewhere, dug one for him in her own head."

It seems, accordingly, probable that the fable, though with a different bird for its subject, emanated from the Indians, and spread onward even to the Greeks. For the Brachmanes say that a prodigious time has elapsed since the Indian hoopoe, then in human form and young in years, performed that act of piety to its parents.

In India there is an animal closely resembling in appearance the land crocodile, and somewhere about the size of a little Maltese dog. It is covered all over with a scaly skin so rough altogether and compact that when flayed off it is used by the Indians as a file. It cuts through brass and eats iron. They call it the phattages (pangolin or scaly ant-eater) . . . . . .

The Indian sea breeds sea-snakes which have broad tails, and the lakes breed hydras of immense size, but these sea-snakes appear to inflict a bite more sharp than poisonous.

In India there are herds of wild horses, and also of wild asses. They say that the mares submit to be covered by the asses, and enjoy such coition, and breed mules, which are of a reddish colour and very fleet, but impatient of the yoke and otherwise skittish. They say that they catch these mules with foot-traps, and then take them to the king of the Prasians, and that if they are caught when two years old they do not refuse to be broken in, but if caught when beyond that age they differ in no respect from sharp-toothed and carnivorous animals.

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NATURALIS HISTORIA / NATURAL HISTORY
By Gaius Plinius Secundus
Also known as Plinius Maior or Pliny The Elder
Published by Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus
Also known as Plinius Minor, Pliny the Younger
Original Language and Script: Latin
Natural History (Rackham, Jones, & Eichholz
Natural History (1938) by Pliny the Elder,
Translation: H. Rackham (Vols. 1-5, 9), W.H.S. Jones
(Vols. 6-8), and D.E. Eichholz (Vol. 10), 1938
Estimated Range of Dating: 70 A.D.

(This is one of the most extraordinary books in history. Its title Naturalis Historia, usually translated into English as Natural History, is totally misleading the modern reader. It suggests that it is just about plants and animals, yet we must not view the Roman title with the eyes of our scientifically trained mind. In reality, this book shows us, like nothing else, why explorers and merchants in Antiquity took all the incalculable risks that a journey of 10,000 or 20,000 miles bears in itself. Yes, this book is about nature, and yes, this book is about plants, animals and geography. But above all, it is the main shopping list of the Roman Empire. It is the written expertise on Roman science, technology and education. This book reveals, like no other, the worldwide trade and the economic outcome in figures and numbers. This book is the main witness of Flavian enlightenment, never reported in this extent before or after.

The Natural History was compiled and written by Gaius Plinius Secundus or Plinius Maior (AD 23–79), also called Pliny the Elder in English. He was mainly a Roman naval and army commander of the early Roman Empire, although to many he is well-known as author. He spent most of his spare time studying, writing, and investigating natural phenomena, geographic locations, applicable technologies, and he even did not stop before economical, financial and political questions. Plinius was courageous man and he died on 25 August 79 AD when he was attempting the rescue by ship of a friend and his family from the eruption of Mount Vesuvius. The eruption had just destroyed the cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum.

He was a close personal friend of the emperor Vespasian and his son Titus. As a matter of fact, he belonged to a very special group of people we could call "The Literary Circle of the Flavian Dynasty." It was a group designed to re-shape the Roman Empire which the new Emperor Vespasian just had saved from total disaster that was caused by bad management of the last Julio-Claudian administrations and the subsequent war against the Messianic Movement, better known as the First Roman-Jewish War, 66-73 AD. All these people were companions, sharing daily life and professional ambitions. Many were related through friendship, marriage, and teacher-student companionship. The main driving force was a man we know as Vespasian. His full name was Titus Flavius Vespasianus.

Vespasian can be compared with Han Wudi of China (157–87 BC; r. 141–87 BC), whose reign launched a vast expansion of geopolitical influence for the Chinese civilisation, the development of a strong centralised state, economical reorganisation and promotion of a hybrid Legalist-Confucian doctrine via governmental policies and propaganda. Vespasian too expanded geopolitical influence for the Roman civilisation, the development of a strong centralised state, economical reorganisation and promotion of a hybrid Stoic-Messianic doctrine via governmental policies and propaganda. He strengthened the Roman Imperial Cult (which was nothing less but a Ministery of Religion with a huge tax-based revenue) by reforming the Babylonian Talmud and very likely by creating Roman Christianity.

To the "The Literary Circle of the Flavian Dynasty" belonged persons like: Titus Flavius Vespasianus (Vespasian, 9–79 AD); Titus Flavius Sabinus (c. 15–69 AD) was soldier, politician, brother and keen supporter of Emperor Vespasian. Gaius Licinius Mucianus (c. 20–77 AD) was a Roman general, statesman and writer who have played a role behind the scenes in the elevation of Vespasian to the throne; Gaius Plinius Secundus or Plinius Maior (Pliny the Elder, 23–79 AD) close friend of Vespasian and Titus; Titus Flavius Sabinus (c. 40–?), son of Vespsian's brother and brother of Titus Flavius Clemens (consul in 95), husband of Julia Flavia, the daughter of his cousin, the future emperor Titus. Flavia Domitilla Minor (c. 45–66) was the only daughter of the Roman Emperor Vespasian and mother of Flavia Domitilla the saint. Titus Flavius Vespasianus (Titus, 39–81 AD); Berenice of Cilicia (Herod Julia Berenice or Bernice, daughter of the Jewish King Herod Agrippa I and a sister of King Herod Agrippa II, 28–82 AD), was a Jewish client queen of the Roman Empire and the lover or wife of Titus from 67 to his death. Titus Flavius Josephus (Yosef bar Matityahu, 37–100 AD); adoptive son of Vespasian; Titus Flavius Domitianus (Domitian, 51–96 AD);

Flavia Domitia Longina (c. 52–126 AD), wife to Titus Flavius Domitianus; Julia Flavia (Julia Titi, daughter of Titus and Flavia Domitia Longina (8 September 64 – 91); Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus or Plinius Minor (Pliny the Younger, c. 61–113 AD); Titus Flavius Sabinus (c. 65–?), grandson of Vespasian's brother, Sabinus' brother was Titus Flavius Clemens, consul in 95; Titus Flavius Clemens (Pope Clement I, c. 35–96 AD); Flavia Domitilla (saint) was his cousin and wife; Flavia Domitilla (saint), daughter of Vespasian's dauther Flavia Domitilla Minor, she married her cousin, the consul Titus Flavius Clemens; the authors of the Gospel of Matthew (probably Yosef bar Matityahu, that is Josephus, 37–100 AD), the Gospel of Mark (may be Marcus Valerius Martialis, c. 38–104 AD or Marcus Fabius Quintilianus, c. 35–100 AD), and the Gospel of Luke (Lucius Mestrius Plutarchus, c. 46–120 AD). Josephus probably knew Saul of Tarsos from the time when he was a priest in the Temple of Jerusalem or when both went to Rome in about 62 or 63 AD. When Josephus came back to Rome after the Roman-Jewish War, he lived in Vespasians Palace, at the northern side of the Circus Maximus, next door to the emperor's quarters and the library where the captured Hebrew books of the destroyed Temple were kept. There is some likelihood that Josephus met here also Plinius Maior from whom he might have got advice for his writing style which is in some ways similarly straight forward as that of Plinius.

Scope and topics of the Naturalis Historia suggest that Plinius wrote it as a commissioned work for the Flavian Literary Circle. The book is so large that it became an editorial model for encyclopaedias. Together with the works of Caesar, Philo and Josephus, the Naturalis Historia is one of the largest works to have survived from the Roman Empire to the modern day in an almost complete condition. It claims to cover the entire field of ancient knowledge, based on the best authorities available to Plinius. He claims to be the only Roman ever to have undertaken such a work. We can imagine that Plinius had an entire staff of scribes employed, so had Josephus. This book describes in astonishing details plants, animals, minerals, gems, metals, and where to find them, what to do with them, what for to use them and even how. More than any other publication, the Naturalis Historia has fostered foreign trade with Africa, India and China.

Plinius combined his scholarly activities with a busy career as an imperial administrator for the emperor Vespasian. Much of his writing was done at night; daytime hours were spent working for the emperor, as he explains in the dedicatory preface addressed to Vespasian's elder son, the future emperor Titus, with whom he had served in the army (and to whom the work is dedicated). As for the nocturnal hours spent writing, these were seen not as a loss of sleep but as an addition to life. It is the only work by Plinius to have survived, and the last that he published. He published the first 10 books in 77 AD, but had not made a final revision of the remainder at the time of his death during the 79 AD eruption of Vesuvius. The rest was published posthumously by Pliny's nephew, Pliny the Younger.

Measuring Roman Economy

What makes Plinius' account so special is the given figures of costs. They may sound exaggerated. However, as member of the Roman government, he had access to state archives and the documents in them. Therefore it sounds unlikely that he was lying. He normally uses the sestertius as currency example. Most modern people have no idea about the average purchasing power of this money unit.

It is difficult to make any comparisons with modern money or prices, but for most of the 1st century AD, a legionary (a highly trained soldier who usually had 2 or 3 additional professions in the past like builder, metal worker, etc.) was paid 900 sestertii per year (circa 75 sestertii per month and 2.5 sestertii per day. Half of it could be deducted for living costs of the soldier; so he might have left 1.25 sestertii per day if he was lucky enough to get paid.)

We may compare that with the estimated income or purchasing power of a staff sergeant in 2018: U.S. staff sergeant $32,400 year ($2,700 month / $90 day); U.K. staff sergeant £43,000 year (£3,580 month / £120 day). Although the figures of the U.S. and the U.K. look different, in the end, they roughly represent an equal purchasing power as food, rent etc. is much cheaper in the U.S.

The 900 sestertii fit into $32,400 circa 36× and in £43,000 circa 48×. That is an average fit of 42× for USD and GBP combined. So, when we multiply a sum of Roman sestertii by only 40×, we might get a rough idea what sum of money Plinius was talking about translated into modern GBP or USD.]

Measuring Distances

The Romans knew very well that the Earth was a ball. Since the times of Eratosthenes (c. 276–194 BC), the Romans also had a pretty good idea about the size of the Earth.The measurement of Earth's circumference is the most famous among the results obtained by Eratosthenes, who estimated that the meridian has a length of 252,000 stadia, with an error on the real value between −2.4% and +0.8% (assuming a value for the stadion between 155 and 160 metres). Eratosthenes described his arc measurement technique, in a book entitled On the measure of the Earth, which has not been preserved.

Some time between Posidonius of Rhodes (c. 135–51 BC) and Claudius Ptolemy (c. 100–170 AD), i.e. between the 1st century BC and the 2nd century AD, a Greek named Cleomedes wrote a book on astronomy, De motu circulari corporum caelestium [H. Ziegler, Libri, Leipzig: Teubner, 1891, updated Teubner by R.B. Todd, 1990.]. This was based mainly on the lost work of Posidonius, but also on others.

Cleomedes (c. 300–370 AD) is our primary source for the calculations of Erastothenes, who measured the earth in the 3rd century BC. Here's the relevant passage, from Heath's translation of Cleomedes, On the orbits of the heavenly bodies, I, 10. [Translated by T. L. Heath in Greek Astronomy, London (1932); via Cohen & Drabkin, A source book in Greek Science, 1948, p.149-153.]:

1. About the size of the earth the physicists, or natural philosophers, have held different views, but those of Posidonius and Eratosthenes are preferable to the rest. The latter shows the size of the earth by a geometrical method; the method of Posidonius is simpler. Both lay down certain hypotheses, and, by successive inferences from the hypotheses, arrive at their demonstrations.

2. Posidonius says that Rhodes and Alexandria lie under the same meridian. Now meridian circles are circles which are drawn through the poles of the universe and through the point which is above the head of any individual standing on the earth. The poles are the same for all these circles, but the vertical point is different for different persons. Hence we can draw an infinite number of meridian circles. Now Rhodes and Alexandria lie under the same meridian circle, and the distance between the cities is reputed to be 5,000 stades. Suppose this to be the case.

3. All the meridian circles are among the great circles in the universe, dividing it into two equal parts and being drawn through the poles. With these hypotheses, Posidonius proceeds to divide the zodiac circle, which is equal to the mendian circles, because it also divides the universe into two equal parts, into forty-eight parts, thereby cutting each of the twelfth parts of it (i.e., signs) into four. If, then, the meridian circle through Rhodes and Alexandria is divided into the same number of parts, forty-eight, as the zodiac circle, the segments of it are equal to the aforesaid segments of the zodiac. For, when equal magnitudes are divided into (the same number of) equal parts, the parts of the divided magnitudes must be respectively equal to the parts. This being so, Posidonius goes on to say that the very bright star called Canopus lies to the south, practically on the Rudder of Argo. The said star is not seen at all in Greece; hence Aratus does not even mention it in his Phaenomena. But, as you go from north to south, it begins to be visible at Rhodes and, when seen on the horizon there, it sets again immediately as the universe revolves.1 But when we have sailed the 5,000 stades and are at Alexandria, this star, when it is exactly in the middle of the heaven, is found to be at a height above the honzon of one-fourth of a sign, that is,one forty-eighth part of the zodiac circle.' It follows, therefore, that the segment of the same mendian circle which lies above the distance between Rhodes and Alexandria is one forty-eighth part of the said circle, because the honzon of the Rhodians is distant from that of the Alexandrians by one forty-eighth of the zodiac circle. Since, then, the part of the earth under this segment is reputed to be 5,000 stades, the parts (of the earth) under the other (equal) segments (of the meridian circle) also measure 5,000 stades; and thus the great circle of the earth is found to measure 240,000 stades, assuming that from Rhodes to Alexandria is 5,000 stades; but, if not, it is in (the same) ratio to the distance. Such then is Posidonius' way of dealing with the size of the earth.

4. The method of Eratosthenes1 depends on a geometrical argument and gives the impression of being slightly more difficult to follow. But his statement will be made clear if we premise the following. Let us suppose, in this case too, first, that Syene and Alexandria he under the same meridian circle, secondly, that the distance between the two cities is 5,000 stades; and thirdly, that the rays sent down from different parts of the sun on different parts of the earth are parallel; for this is the hypothesis on which geometers proceed Fourthly, let us assume that, as proved by the geometers, straight lines falling on parallel straight lines make the alternate angles equal, and fifthly, that the arcs standing on (i e., subtended by) equal angles are similar, that is, have the same proportion and the same ratio to their proper circles—this, too, being a fact proved by the geometers. Whenever, therefore, arcs of circles stand on equal angles, if any one of these is (say) one-tenth of its proper circle, all the other arcs will be tenth parts of their proper circles.

5. Any one who has grasped these facts will have no difficulty in understanding the method of Eratosthenes, which is this Syene and Alexandria lie, he says, under the same mendian circle. Since meridian circles are great circles in the universe, the circles of the earth which lie under them are

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necessarily also great circles. Thus, of whatever size this method shows the circle on the earth passing through Syene and Alexandria to be, this will be the size of the great circle of the earth Now Eratosthenes asserts, and it is the fact, that Syene lies under the summer tropic. Whenever, therefore, the sun, being m the Crab at the summer solstice, is exactly in the middle of the heaven, the gnomons (pointers) of sundials necessarily throw no shadows, the position of the sun above them being exactly vertical; and it is said that this is true throughout a space three hundred stades in diameter. But in Alexandria, at the same hour, the pointers of sundials throw shadows, because Alexandria lies further to the north than Syene. The two cities lying under the same meridian great circle, if we draw an arc from the extremity of the shadow to the base of the pointer of the sundial in Alexandria, the arc will be a segment of a great circle in the (hemispherical) bowl of the sundial, since the bowl of the sundial lies under the great circle (of the meridian). If now we conceive straight lines produced from each of the pointers through the earth, they will meet at the centre of the earth. Since then the sundial at Syene is vertically under the sun, if we conceive a straight line coming from the sun to the top of the pointer of the sundial, the line reaching from the sun to the centre of the earth will be one straight line. If now we conceive another straight line drawn upwards from the extremity of the shadow of the pointer of the sundial in Alexandria, through the top of the pointer to the sun, this straight line and the aforesaid straight line will be parallel, since they are straight lines coming through from different parts of the sun to different parts of the earth. On these straight lines, therefore, which are parallel, there falls the straight line drawn from the centre of the earth to the pointer at Alexandria, so that the alternate angles which it makes arc equal. One of these angles is that formed at the centre of the earth, at the intersection of the straight lines which were drawn from the sundials to the centre of the earth; the other is at the point of intersection of the top of the pointer at Alexandria and the straight line drawn from the extremity of its shadow to the sun through the point (the top) where it meets the pointer. Now on this latter angle stands the arc carried round from the extremity of the shadow of the pointer to its base, while on the angle at the centre of the earth stands the arc reaching from Syene to Alexandria. But the arcs are similar, since they stand on equal angles. Whatever ratio, therefore, the arc in the bowl of the sundial has to its proper circle, the arc reaching from Syene to Alexandria has that ratio to its proper circle. But the arc in the bowl is found to be one-fiftieth of its proper circle.' Therefore the distance from Syene to Alexandria must necessarily be one-fiftieth part of the great circle of the earth. And the said distance is 5,000 stades; therefore the complete great circle measures 250,000 stades. Such is Eratosthenes' method. (The stadion [Greek; plural: stadia, Latin: stadium; English: stade] was an ancient Greek unit of length, consisting of 600 feet [being either the Ptolemaic or Attic foot: 308mm × 600 = 185m, or the Olympic foot: 294mm × 600 = 176m.].*

Eusebius of Caesarea in his Preparatio Evangelica includes a brief chapter of three sentences on celestial distances (Book 15, Chapter 53). He states simply that Eratosthenes found the distance to the Sun to be "of stadia myriads 400 and 80,000") and the distance to the Moon to be 780,000 stadia. The expression for the distance to the Sun has been translated either as 4,080,000 stadia (1903 translation by E. H. Gifford), or as 804,000,000 stadia (edition of Edouard des Places, dated 1974–1991). The meaning depends on whether Eusebius meant 400 myriad plus 80,000 or "400 and 80,000" myriad. With a stade of 185 m (607 ft), 804,000,000 stadia is 149,000,000 km (93,000,000 mi), approximately the distance from the Earth to the Sun.

Topics and Structure

The Natural History is generally divided into the organic plants and animals and the inorganic matter, although there are frequent digressions in each section. The encyclopedia also notes the uses made of all of these by the Romans. Its description of metals and minerals is valued for its detail in the history of science, being the most extensive compilation still available from the ancient world. That work carries an extraordinarily wide range of topics, such as astronomy, meteorology, geography, anthropology, ethnography, physiology, zoology, botany, spices, perfumes, drugs, medicine, magic, astrology, medicine, religion, warfare, technology, agriculture, chemistry, metallurgy, mineralogy, crystallography and mineralogy, art history, roman sculpture and ancient greek sculpture, mining, economy, politics, etc. Book I serves as Pliny's preface, explaining his approach and providing an extremely detailed table of contents. The Natural History consists of 37 books. Pliny devised a summarium, or list of contents, at the beginning of the work that was later interpreted by modern printers as a table of contents. The table below is a summary based on modern names for topics.

The work is divided into 37 books, organised into 10 volumes. These cover topics including astronomy, mathematics, geography, ethnography, anthropology, human physiology, zoology, botany, agriculture, horticulture, pharmacology, mining, mineralogy, sculpture, art, and precious stones. Pliny's Natural History became a model for later encyclopedias and scholarly works as a result of its breadth of subject matter, its referencing of original authors, and its index.

Contents

Book 1: Table of contents in detail including the "Authorities," meaning the original sources
Book 2: Astronomy and meteorology
Book 3: Geography of the Western Mediterranean
Book 4: Geography of the Eastern Mediterranean, the Black Sea, continental and northern Europe.
Book 5: Geography of Africa, the Middle East and Turkey
Book 6: Geography of Asia; summary overview and wrap-up of world geography
Book 7: Anthropology and human physiology
Book 8: Land animals: elephants, lions, tigers, panthers; cows, horses, asses, mules, sheep, goats; mice, dormice and a few others
Book 9: Marine animals: whales, dolphins, fish, shellfish, etc
Book 10: Birds; animal reproduction; the five senses
Book 11: Insects, then comparative zoology, fumblings toward a taxonomy
Book 12: Exotic plants, spices and perfumes: from Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, China, etc
Book 13: More plants, including aquatic plants
Book 14: Plants: the vine and wine
Book 15: Plants: the olive tree; oil and its uses; fruit and nut trees
Book 16: More trees, mostly evergreens
Book 17: Fruit trees and vines and the art of planting them
Book 18: How to run a farm
Book 19: Garden plants, including a long section on flax
Book 20: More garden plants: mostly vegetables.
Book 21: Flowers.
Book 22: Miscellaneous plants, including dye plants.
Book 23: Medicinal properties of wine, vinegar, oil, nuts, fruit.
Book 24: Medicinal properties of trees and herbs.
Book 25: Medicinal properties of herbs.
Book 26: Major medicinal herbs. The book opens with a section on new diseases.
Book 27: Minor medicinal herbs, in roughly alphabetical order.
Book 28: Medicinal uses of the human body's own products (and discussion of charms); of animal products.
Book 29: Medicinal uses of animal products, continued; but the book starts with a long stiff diatribe against doctors.
Book 30: Medicinal uses of animal products, continued; this time the book starts with a preamble about magic arts.
Book 31: Medicinal uses of marine products: salt, plants, sponges, etc.
Book 32: Medicinal uses of marine animals.
Book 33: Metals: mostly gold, silver and mercury.
Book 34: Metals: bronze and lead; but mostly a discussion of statues, in fact.
Book 35: Uses of earth; but starting with pigments, is mostly a discussion of painters, although the end of the Book goes back to sulphur.
Book 36: Stone. One of the better books. The first half is about sculpture; then a bit of fascinating architecture (obelisks, the Pyramids, the Cretan labyrinth), finally various building materials (plaster, sand, stone), then glass. Ends with a paean to fire and an utterly peculiar story in the very last paragraph.
Book 37: Stones: rock crystal, amber, gemstones; semi-precious stones. At the very end of the Book, Plinius gives his list of "best of categories"; the best of countries is Italy

The Natural History does have structure: Plinius uses Aristotle's division of nature (animal, vegetable, mineral) to recreate the natural world in literary form. Rather than presenting compartmentalised, stand-alone entries arranged alphabetically, his ordered natural landscape is a coherent whole, offering the reader a guided tour: "a brief excursion under our direction among the whole of the works of nature ..." The work is unified but varied: "My subject is the world of nature ... or in other words, life," he tells Titus.

Nature for Pliny was divine, a pantheistic concept inspired by the Stoic philosophy, which underlies much of his thought, but the deity in question was a goddess whose main purpose was to serve the human race: "nature, that is life" is human life in a natural landscape. After an initial survey of cosmology and geography, Pliny starts his treatment of animals with the human race, "for whose sake great Nature appears to have created all other things". This teleological view of nature was common in antiquity and is crucial to the understanding of the Natural History. The components of nature are not just described in and for themselves, but also with a view to their role in human life. Pliny devotes a number of the books to plants, with a focus on their medicinal value; the books on minerals include descriptions of their uses in architecture, sculpture, art, and jewellery. Pliny's premise is distinct from modern ecological theories, reflecting the prevailing sentiment of his time.

Pliny's work frequently reflects Rome's imperial expansion, which brought new and exciting things to the capital: exotic eastern spices, strange animals to be put on display in zoos or private households or herded into the arena. Pliny repeated Aristotle's maxim that Africa was always producing something new. Nature's variety and versatility were claimed to be infinite: "When I have observed nature she has always induced me to deem no statement about her incredible." This led Pliny to recount rumours of strange peoples on the edges of the world. These monstrous races – the Cynocephali or Dog-Heads, the Sciapodae, whose single foot could act as a sunshade, the mouthless Astomi, who lived on scents – were not strictly new. They had been mentioned in the fifth century BC by Greek historian Herodotus (whose history was a broad mixture of myths, legends, and facts), but Pliny made them better known. The Natural History was one of the first ancient European texts to be printed, in Venice in 1469. Philemon Holland's English translation of 1601 has influenced literature ever since.)

DEDICATION.

C.* PLINIUS SECUNDUS
TO HIS FRIEND TITUS VESPASIAN*.

(Caius or the more modern form Gaius; the friend's full name is Titus Flavius Vespasianus, in English often shortened to either Vespasian, the father, or Titus, the son. Father and son had the very same full name. There is the possibility that this book was dedicated to the son, as well as to the father.)

This treatise on Natural History, a novel work in Roman literature, which I have just completed, I have taken the liberty to dedicate to you, most gracious Emperor, an appellation peculiarly suitable to you, while, on account of his age, that of great is more appropriate to your Father;—For still thou never wouldst quite despise The trifles that I write;" if I may be allowed to shelter myself under the example of Catullus, my fellow-countryman, a military term, which you well understand. For he, as you know, when his napkins had been changed4, expressed himself a little harshly, from his anxiety to show his friendship for his dear little Veranius and Fabius5. At the same time this my importunity may effect, what you complained of my not having done in another too forward epistle of mine; it will put upon record, and let all the world know, with what kindness you exercise the imperial dignity. You, who have had the honour of a triumph, and of the censorship, have been six times consul, and have shared in the tribunate; and, what is still more honourable, whilst you held them in conjunction with your Father, you have presided over the Equestrian order, and been the Prefect of the Prætorians: all this you have done for the service of the Republic, and, at the same time, have regarded me as a fellow-soldier and a messmate. Nor has the extent of your prosperity produced any change in you, except that it has given you the power of doing good to the utmost of your wishes. And whilst all these circumstances increase the veneration which other persons feel for you, with respect to myself, they have made me so bold, as to wish to become more familiar. You must, therefore, place this to your own account, and blame yourself for any fault of this kind that I may commit.

But, although I have laid aside my blushes, I have not gained my object; for you still awe me, and keep me at a distance, by the majesty of your understanding. In no one does the force of eloquence and of tribunitian oratory blaze out more powerfully! With what glowing language do you thunder forth the praises of your Father! How dearly do you love your Brother [Titus Flavius Domitianus]! How admirable is your talent for poetry! What a fertility of genius do you possess, so as to enable you to imitate your Brother! But who is there that is bold enough to form an estimate on these points, if he is to be judged by you, and, more especially, if you are challenged to do so? For the case of those who merely publish their works is very different from that of those who expressly dedicate them to you. In the former case I might say, Emperor! why do you read these things? They are written only for the common people, for farmers or mechanics, or for those who have nothing else to do; why do you trouble yourself with them? Indeed, when I undertook this work, I did not expect that you would sit in judgement upon me9; I considered your situation much too elevated for you to descend to such an office. Besides, we possess the right of openly rejecting the opinion of men of learning. M. Tullius himself, whose genius is beyond all competition, uses this privilege; and, remarkable as it may appear, employs an advocate in his own defence:—"I do not write for very learned people; I do not wish my works to be read by Manius Persius, but by Junius Congus." And if Lucilius, who first introduced the satirical style, applied such a remark to himself, and if Cicero thought proper to borrow it, and that more especially in his treatise "De Republica," how much reason

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have I to do so, who have such a judge to defend myself against! And by this dedication I have deprived myself of the benefit of challenge; for it is a very different thing whether a person has a judge given him by lot, or whether he voluntarily selects one; and we always make more preparation for an invited guest, than for one that comes in unexpectedly.

When the candidates for office, during the heat of the canvass, deposited the fine in the hands of Cato, that determined opposer of bribery, rejoicing as he did in his being rejected from what he considered to be foolish honours, they professed to do this out of respect to his integrity; the greatest glory which a man could attain. It was on this occasion that Cicero uttered the noble ejaculation, "How happy are you, Marcus Porcius, of whom no one dares to ask what is dishonourable!" When L. Scipio Asiaticus appealed to the tribunes, among whom was Gracchus, he expressed full confidence that he should obtain an acquittal, even from a judge who was his enemy. Hence it follows, that he who appoints his own judge must absolutely submit to the decision; this choice is therefore termed an appeal.

I am well aware, that, placed as you are in the highest station, and gifted with the most splendid eloquence and the most accomplished mind, even those who come to pay their respects to you, do it with a kind of veneration: on this account I ought to be careful that what is dedicated to you should be worthy of you. But the country people, and, indeed, some whole nations offer milk to the Gods16, and those who cannot procure frankincense substitute in its place salted cakes; for the Gods are not dissatisfied when they are worshiped by every one to the best of his ability. But my temerity will appear the greater by the consideration, that these volumes, which I dedicate to you, are of such inferior importance. For they do not admit of the display of genius, nor, indeed, is mine one of the highest order; they admit of no excursions, nor orations, nor discussions, nor of any wonderful adventures, nor any variety of transactions, nor, from the barrenness of the matter, of anything particularly pleasant in the narration, or agreeable to the reader. The na- ture of things, and life as it actually exists, are described in them; and often the lowest department of it; so that, in very many cases, I am obliged to use rude and foreign, or even barbarous terms, and these often require to be introduced by a kind of preface. And, besides this, my road is not a beaten track, nor one which the mind is much disposed to travel over. There is no one among us who has ever attempted it, nor is there any one individual among the Greeks who has treated of all the topics. Most of us seek for nothing but amusement in our studies, while others are fond of subjects that are of excessive subtilty, and completely involved in obscurity. My object is to treat of all those things which the Greeks include in the Encyclopædia, which, however, are either not generally known or are rendered dubious from our ingenious conceits. And there are other matters which many writers have given so much in detail that we quite loathe them. It is, indeed, no easy task to give novelty to what is old, and authority to what is new; brightness to what is become tarnished, and light to what is obscure; to render what is slighted acceptable, and what is doubtful worthy of our confidence; to give to all a natural manner, and to each its peculiar nature. It is sufficiently honourable and glorious to have been willing even to make the attempt, although it should prove unsuccessful. And, indeed, I am of opinion, that the studies of those are more especially worthy of our regard, who, after having overcome all difficulties, prefer the useful office of assisting others to the mere gratification of giving pleasure; and this is what I have already done in some of my former works. I confess it surprises me, that T. Livius, so celebrated an author as he is, in one of the books of his history of the city from its origin, should begin with this remark, "I have now obtained a sufficient reputation, so that I might put an end to my work, did not my restless mind require to be supported by employment." Certainly he ought to have composed this work, not for his own glory, but for that of the Roman name, and of the people who were the conquerors of all other nations. It would have been more meritorious to have persevered in his labours from his love of the work, than from the gratification which it afforded himself, and to have accomplished it, not for his own sake, but for that of the Roman people.

I have included in thirty-six19 books 20,000 topics, all worthy of attention, (for, as Domitius Piso says, we ought to make not merely books, but valuable collections,) gained by the perusal of about 2000 volumes, of which a few only are in the hands of the studious, on account of the obscurity of the subjects, procured by the careful perusal of 100 select authors21; and to these I have made considerable additions of things, which were either not known to my predecessors, or which have been lately discovered. Nor can I doubt but that there still remain many things which I have omitted; for I am a mere mortal, and one that has many occupations. I have, therefore, been obliged to compose this work at interrupted intervals, indeed during the night, so that you will find that I have not been idle even during this period. The day I devote to you, exactly portioning out my sleep to the necessity of my health, and contenting myself with this reward, that while we are musing on these subjects (according to the remark of Varro), we are adding to the length of our lives; for life properly consists in being awake.

In consideration of these circumstances and these difficulties, I dare promise nothing; but you have done me the most essential service in permitting me to dedicate my work to you. Nor does this merely give a sanction to it, but it determines its value; for things are often conceived to be of great value, solely because they are consecrated in temples.

I have given a full account of all your family—your Father, yourself, and your Brother, in a history of our own times, beginning where Aufidius Bassus concludes. You will ask, Where is it? It has been long completed and its accuracy confirmed; but I have determined to commit the charge of it to my heirs, lest I should have been suspected, during my lifetime, of having been unduly influenced by ambition. By this means I confer an obligation on those who occupy the same ground with myself; and also on posterity, who, I am aware, will contend with me, as I have done with my predecessors.

You may judge of my taste from my having inserted, in the beginning of my book, the names of the authors that I have consulted. For I consider it to be courteous and to indicate an ingenuous modesty, to acknowledge the sources whence we have derived assistance, and not to act as most of those have done whom I have examined. For I must inform you, that in comparing various authors with each other, I have discovered, that some of the most grave and of the latest writers have transcribed, word for word, from former works, without making any acknowledgement; not avowedly rivalling them, in the manner of Virgil, or with the candour of Cicero, who, in his treatise "De Republica," professes to coincide in opinion with Plato, and in his Essay on Consolation for his Daughter, says that he follows Crantor, and, in his Offices, Panæcius; volumes, which, as you well know, ought not merely to be always in our hands, but to be learned by heart. For it is indeed the mark of a perverted mind and a bad disposition, to prefer being caught in a theft to returning what we have borrowed, especially when we have acquired capital, by usurious interest.

The Greeks were wonderfully happy in their titles. One work they called κηρίον, which means that it was as sweet as a honeycomb; another ΚΕΡΑΣ ΄ΑΜΑΛΘΕΙΑΣ, or Cornu copiæ, so that you might expect to get even a draught of pigeon's milk from it. Then they have their Flowers, their Muses, Magazines, Manuals, Gardens, Pictures, and Sketches, all of them titles for which a man might be tempted even to forfeit his bail. But when you enter upon the works, O ye Gods and Goddesses! how full of emptiness! Our duller countrymen have merely their Antiquities, or their Examples, or their Arts. I think one of the most humorous of them has his Nocturnal Studies, a term employed by Bibaculus; a name which he richly deserved. Varro, indeed, is not much behind him, when he calls one of his satires A Trick and a Half, and another Turning the Tables. Diodorus was the first among the Greeks who laid aside this trifling manner and named his history The Library. Apion, the grammarian, indeed—he whom Tiberius Cæsar called the Trumpeter of the World, but would rather seem to be the Bell of the Town-crier,—supposed that every one to whom he inscribed any work would thence acquire immortality. I do not regret not having given my work a more fanciful title.

That I may not, however, appear to inveigh so completely against the Greeks, I should wish to be considered under the same point of view with those inventors of the arts of painting and sculpture, of whom you will find an account in these volumes, whose works, although they are so perfect that we are never satisfied with admiring them, are inscribed with a temporary title35, such as "Apelles, or Polycletus, was doing this;" implying that the work was only commenced and still imperfect, and that the artist might benefit by the criticisms that were made on it and alter any part that required it, if he had not been prevented by death. It is also a great mark of their modesty, that they inscribed their works as if they were the last which they had executed, and as still in hand at the time of their death. I think there are but three works of art which are inscribed positively with the words "such a one executed this;" of these I shall give an account in the proper place. In these cases it appears, that the artist felt the most perfect satisfaction with his work, and hence these pieces have excited the envy of every one.

I, indeed, freely admit, that much may be added to my works; not only to this, but to all which I have published. By this admission I hope to escape from the carping critics36, and I have the more reason to say this, because I hear that there are certain Stoics and Logicians, and also Epicureans (from the Grammarians I expected as much), who are big with something against the little work I published on Grammar; and that they have been carrying these abortions for ten years together—a longer pregnancy this than the elephant's. But I well know, that even a woman once wrote against Theophrastus, a man so eminent for his eloquence that he obtained his name, which signifies the Divine speaker, and that from this circumstance originated the proverb of choosing a tree to hang oneself.

I cannot refrain from quoting the words of Cato the censor, which are so pertinent to this point. It appears from them, that even Cato, who wrote commentaries on military discipline43, and who had learned the military art under Africanus, or rather under Hannibal (for he could not endure Africanus44, who, when he was his general, had borne away the triumph from him), that Cato, I say, was open to the attacks of such as caught at reputation for themselves by detracting from the merits of others. And what does he say in his book? "I know, that when I shall publish what I have written, there will be many who will do all they can to depreciate it, and, especially, such as are themselves void of all merit; but I let their harangues glide by me." Nor was the remark of Plancus a bad one, when Asinius Pollio was said to be preparing an oration against him, which was to be published either by himself or his children, after the death of Plancus, in order that he might not be able to answer it: "It is only ghosts that fight with the dead." This gave such a blow to the oration, that in the opinion of the learned generally, nothing was ever thought more scandalous. Feeling myself, therefore, secure against these vile slanderers, a name elegantly composed by Cato, to express their slanderous and vile disposition (for what other object have they, but to wrangle and breed quarrels?), I will proceed with my projected work.

And because the public good requires that you should be spared as much as possible from all trouble, I have subjoined to this epistle the contents of each of the following books, and have used my best endeavours to prevent your being obliged to read them all through. And this, which was done for your benefit, will also serve the same purpose for others, so that any one may search for what he wishes, and may know where to find it. This has been already done among us by Valerius Soranus, in his work which he entitled "On Mysteries."

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 1

TABLE OF CONTENTS AND AUTHORITIES

Book 2. Contents (1-3) The world is it finite? is it one? its shape; its motion; reason for its name. (4) The elements. (5) God. (6) The planetstheir nature. (7) Eclipses, solar and lunar. Night. (8-10) The starstheir magnitude; astronomical discoveries. (xi) The moon's motion.(xii-xvi). Motions of the planets; theory of their light; causes of apparent recession and approach; general properties of planets; reason for changes of colour. (xvii) The sun's motion; reason for inequality of days. (xviii) Thunderbolts, why attributed to Jove. (xix) The starstheir distances apart. (xx) Music from the stars. (xxi) Dimensions of the world. (xxii, xxiii) Shooting stars. Comets; their nature, position and kinds. (xxiv) Identification of stars--method of Hipparchus. (xxv-xxxv) Sky portentsrecorded instances torches, shafts, skybeams, sky-yawning, colours of the sky, sky-flame, sky-wreaths, sudden rings, prolonged solar eclipses, several suns, several moons, daylight at night, burning shield; an unique sky-portent. (xxxvi) Disruption of stars. (xxxvii) The `Castores.' (xxxviii) The air. (xxxix-xli). Fixed seasons. Rise of dogstar. Regular effect of seasons. (xlii, iii) Irregular seasons. Rain storms. Showers of stones, their reason. Thunderbolts and lightnings. (xliv-viii) Echoits reason. Windstheir Winds, natures and behaviour. (xlix, i). Cloud-burst, typhoon, whirlwinds, presteres, tornadoes, other portentous kinds of storms. (li-vi) Thunderboltswhat countries immune from them and why; their kinds, their peculiarities; Tuscan and Roman observances connected with; method of calling down; general properties; what objects never struck. (lvii) Showers of milk, blood, flesh, iron, wool, bricks. (lviii) Portents.(lix) Stones falling from the skyAnaxagoras as to. (lx) Rainbow. (lxi). Nature of hail, snow, frost, cloud, dew. (lxii) Local peculiarities of the sky. (lxiii-v) Nature of the earth; its shape; antipodesdo they exist? (lxvi-viii) Waterhow linked with earth? Rivers--their reason. Is the earth surrounded by the ocean? What portion of the earth is inhabited? (lxix). The earth at the centre of the world. (lxx) Obliquity of zones. Inequality of climates. (lxxii) Eclipseswhere invisible, and why? (lxxiii) Reason for daylight on earth; gnomonics of daylight. (xxv-vii). Absence of shadowswhere and when? where twice yearly? where shadows travel in opposite direction? Where days are longest and shortest? (lxxviii) The first clock. (lxxix) How days are observed. (lxxx) Racial difference and latitude. (lxxxi-vi) Earthquakes. Chasms. Signs of impending earthquake. Precautions against impending earthquakes. Records of unique earth portents. Marvels of earthquake. (lxxxvii-xciv) treat of sea, where occurred? Emergence of islands reason for; instances and dates of. Disruption of straits. Junction of islands with mainland. Total inundation. Shrinkage of land areas. Cities engulfed by sea. (xcv) Air-holes. (xcvi) Continuous earth-tremors. Islands in constant agitation. (xcvii) Places where rain does not fall. (xcviii) Collection of earth marvels. (xcix f.) Rise and fall of tidesreason for. Where do irregular tides occur? (ci-cv) Marvels of the sea: influence of the moon on earth and sea; of the sun; why is the sea salt? where is it deepest? (cvi) Remarkable properties of springs

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and rivers. (cvii-cx) Combined marvels of fire and water: mineral pitch; naphtha; regions constantly glowing. (cxi) Marvels of fire alone. (cxii) Dimensions of entire earth. (cxiii) Harmonic principle of the world.Total: 417 facts, investigations and observations.

Authorities: Marcus Varro, Sulpicius Gallus, the Emperor Titus Caesar, Quintus Tubero, Tullius Tiro, Lucius Piso, Titus Livy, Cornelius Nepos, Sebosus, Caelius Antipater, Fabianus, Antias, Mucianus, Caecina On the Tuscan System, Tarquitius ditto, Julius Aquila ditto, Sergius Paullus. Foreign authorities; the Pythagorean writers, Hipparchus, Timaeus, Sosigenes, Petosiris, Nechepsus, Posidonius, Anaximander, Epigenes, Eudoxus, Democritus, Critodemus, Thrasyllus, Serapion On Sun-dials, Euclid, Coeranus the philosopher, Dicaearchus, Archimedes, Onesicritus, Eratosthenes, Pytheas, Herodotus, Aristotle, Ctesias, Artemidorus of Ephesus, Isidore of Charax, Theopompus.

Book 3. Contents: sites, races, seas, towns, harbours, mountains, rivers, dimensions, present and past populations of (iii) Baetica, (iv) North-east Spain, (v) Province of Narbonne, (vi-x) Italy to the southernmost point, (ix the Tiber, Rome), (xi-xiv) 64 islands (including the Balearics, Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily), (xv-xxii) Italy from the south to Ravenna (the Po), Transpadane Italy, (xxiii) Istria, (xxiv) the Alps and Alpine races, (xxv-xxx) Illyria, Liburnia, Dalmatia, Noricum, Pannouia, Moesia, Ionian and Adriatic islands.Totals: ... famous rivers; famous mountains; ... islands; ... extinct towns or races; ... facts, researches and observations.

Authorities: Turanius Gracilis, Cornelius Nepos, Livy, Cato the Censor, Marcus Agrippa, Marcus Varro, His Late Majesty Augustus, Varro of Atax, Antias, Hyginus, Lucius Vetus, Pomponius Mela, the elder Curio, Caelius, Arruntius, Sebosus, Licinius Mucianus, Fabricius Tuscus, Lucius Ateius, Ateius Capito, Verrius Flaccus, Lucius Piso, Gellianus, Valerian. Foreign authorities: Artemidorus, Alexander the Learned, Thucydides, Theophrastus, Isidorus, Theopompus, Metrodorus of Scepsis, Callicrates, Xenophon of Lampsacns, Diodorus of Syracuse, Nymphodorus, Calliphanes, Timagenes.

Book 4. Contents: sites, races, seas, towns, harbours, mountains, rivers, dimensions, present and past populations of (i-iv) Epirus, (v-x) Achaia, (xi-xiii) Greece, (xiv-xviii) Thessaly, Magnesia, Macedonia, Thrace, (xix-xxiii) islands off these coasts, including Crete, Euboea, the Cyclades, the Sporades, (xxiv) Dardanelles, Black Sea, Sea of Azoy, (xxv. f.) Dacia, Sarmatia, Seythia, (xxvii) Islands of black Sea, (xxviii f.) Germany, (xxx) North Sea Islands, 96 including Britain, (xxxi-xxxiii) Belgium, Lyonnaise, Aquitaine, (xxxiv) North-eastern Spain, (xxxv) Western Spain and Portugal. (xxxvi) Atlantic islands. (xxxvii) Dimensions of the whole of Europe.Totals ... towns and races; ... famous rivers; ... famous mountains; ... islands; extinct towns or races; ... facts, investigations and observations.

Authorities: Cato the Censor, Marcus Varro, Marcus Agrippa, His Late Majesty Augustus, Varro of Atax, Cornelius Nepos, Hyginus, Lucius Vetus, Pomponius Mela, Licinius Mucianus, Fabricius Tuscus, Ateius Capito, Ateius the scholar. Foreign authorities: Polybius, Hecataeus, Hellanicus, Damastes, Eudoxus, Dicaearchus, Timosthenes, Eratosthenes, Ephorus, Crates the philologist, Serapion of Antioch, Callimachus, Artemidorus, Apollodorus, Agathocles, Timaeus of Sicily, Myrsilus, Alexander the Learned, Thucydides, Dosiades, Anaximander, Philistides of Mallus, Dionysius, Aristides, Callidemus, Menaechmus, Aglaosthenes, Anticides, Heraclides, Philemon, Xenophon, Pytheas, Isidore, Philonides, Xenagoras, Astynomos, Staphylus, Aristocritus, Metrodorus, Cleobulus, Posidonius.

Book 5. Contents:sites, races, seas, towns, harbours, mountains, rivers, dimensions, present and past populations of (i-viii) the Mauritanias, Numidia, Africa, the Syrtes, Cyrenaiea, African islands, remote parts of Africa, (ix-xi) EgyptChora, Thebaid, Nile, (xii) Arabian coast of Egyptian Sea, (xiii-xix) Idumea, Syria, Palestine, Samaria, Judaca, Phoenicia, Hollow Syria, Syria of Antioch, (xx-xxxiii) Euphrates, Cilicia and adjoining races, Isaurica, Omauads, Pisidia, Lycaonia, Pamphylia, Taurus Mountain, Lyci, Caria, Ionia, Aeolid, Troad and adjoining races, (xxxiv-ix) Islands on Asiatic coast (212) including Cyprus, Rhodes, Cos, Samos, Chios, Lesbos, (xl-xliii) Dardanelles, Mysia, Phrygia, Galatia and adjoining races, Bithynia.Totals: ... towns and races; ... famous dyers; ... famous mountains; 118 islands; ... extinct towns and races; facts, investigations and observations.

Authorities: Agrippa, Suetonius Paulinus, Marcus Varro, Varro of Atax, Cornelius Nepos, Hyginus, Lucius Vetus, Mela, Domitius Corbulo, Licinins Mucianus, Claudius Caesar, Arruntius, Livy junior, Sebosus, TriumphsOfficial records. Foreign authorities: King Juba, Hecataeus, Hellanicus, Damastes, Dicaearchus, Baeto, Timosthenes, Philonides, Xenagoras, Astynomus, Staphylus, Dionysius, Aristotle, Aristocritus, Ephorus, Eratosthenes, Hipparchus, Panaetius, Serapio of Antioch, Callimachus, Agathocles, Polybius, Timaeus the mathematician, Herodotus, Myrsilus, Alexander the Learned, Metrodorus, Posidonius's Circumnavigation or Round Guide, Sotades, Pindar, Aristarchus of Sicyon, Eudoxus, Antigenes, Callicrates, Xenophon of Lampsacus, Diodorus of Syracuse, Hanno, Himilco, Nymphodorus, Calliphanes, Artemidorus, Megasthenes, Isidore, Cleobulus, Aristocreon.

Book 6. Contents:sites, races, seas, towns, harbours, mountains, rivers, dimensions, present and past populations of (i) Pontus, Mariandyni, (ii) Paphlagonia, (iii, viii) Cappadocia, (iv) region of Themiscyra and its races, Heniochi, (v) Colic region and races, Achaean races, other races in the same area, (vi-xii) Cimmerian Bosphorus, Maeotis and adjacent races, Lesser Armenia, Greater Armenia, River Cyrus, River Araxes, Albania, Iberia and adjoining Gates of Caucasia, (xiii) Black Sea Islands, (xiv) races towards the Scythian Ocean, (xv-xix) Caspian and Hyrcanian Sea, Adiabene, Media, Caspian Gates, races round Hyrcanian Sea, Scythian races, (xx-xxxvi) regions towards the Eastern Sea, China, India (Ganges, Indus), Taprobane, Arians and adjoining races, voyages to India, Carmania, Persian Gulf, Parthian kingdoms, Mesopotamia, Tigris, Arabia, Gulf of Red Sea, Trogodyte country, Ethiopia, Islands of Ethiopian Sea. (xxxvii) The Fortunate Islands. (xxxviii f.) Lands compared by measurements, division of lands into parallels and equal shadows.Totals: 1195 towns; 576 races, 115 famous rivers, 38 famous mountains, 108 islands, 95 extinct towns and races; 2214 facts and investigations and observations.

Authorities: Marcus Agrippa, Marcus Varro, Varro of Atax, Cornelius Nepos, Hyginus, Lucius Vetus, Pomponius Mela, Domitius Corbulo, Licinius Mucianus, Claudius Caesar, Arruntius, Sebosus, Fabricius Tuscus, Titus Livy junior, Seneca, Nigidius. Foreign authorities: King Juba, Hecataeus, Hellanicus, Damastes, Eudoxus, Dicaearchus, Baeto, Timosthenes, Patrocles, Demodamas, Clitarchus, Eratosthenes, Alexander the Great, Ephorus, Hipparchus, Panaetius, Callimachus, Artemidorus, Apollodorus, Agathocles, Polybius, Timaeus of Sicily, Alexander the Learned, Isidore, Amometus, Metrodorus, Posidonius, Onesicritus, Nearchus, Megasthenes, Diognetus, Aristocreon, Bion, Dalion, the younger Simonides, Basilis, Xenophon of Lampsacus.

Book 7. Contents: (ii f.) Remarkable racial bodily configurations; monstrous births. (iv-xi) Human generation: periods of pregnancy from 7 months to 13 shown by famous examples; significant prenatal indications of sex in the pregnant; monstrous births, cases of surgical delivery; meaning of vopiscus; human conception; human generation; cases of likeness; cases of very numerous progeny. (xii) Age-limit of procreation. (xiii) Exceptional periods of pregnancy. (xiv) Theory of generation. (xv) Investigation as to teeth; as to infants. (xvi f.) Instances of exceptional size. Premature births. (xviii-xxiii) Bodily distinctions, exceptional strength, remarkable speed, exceptional sight, marvellous hearing, bodily endurance. (xxiv-xxvi) Memory, mental rigour, clemency, magnanimity. (xxvii) Supremely distinguished exploits. (xxviii-xxxi) Three supreme virtues in the same person, supreme innocence, supreme bravery, exceptional talents. Who are the wisest men? (xxxii) The most useful rules of conduct. (xxxiii) Divination. (xxxiv-vi). The man deemed the best, the most chaste matrons; instances of extreme piety. (xxxvii-ix) Cases of eminence in the sciences and arts, astronomy, philology, medicine, geometry, architecture, painting, sculpture in bronze, in marble, in ivory; engraving. (xl-xlvi) Remarkable prizes of mankind; supreme happiness; rarity of its continuance in families; remarkable cases of change of fortune; twice proscribed; remarkable cases of honours; ten supremely happy things in the case of a single person; misfortunes of his late Majesty Augustus. (xlvii f.) Whom the gods have judged happiest; what man they have commanded to be worshipped as a god in his lifetime. A remarkable flash of lightning. (xlix) Cases of exceptional longevity. (l) Various modes of birth. (ii) Diseases in various cases. (lii-lvi) Death; cases of the dead coming to life again; instances of sudden death; burial; ghosts; the soul. (lvii-lx) Discoveries in life; matters on which there was the earliest agreement of the races; ancient literature; date of earliest barbers, earliest time-pieces.Total: 747 facts, investigations and observations.

Authorities: Verrius Flaccus, Gnaeus Gellius, Licinius Mucianus, Masurins Sabinus, Agrippina wife of Claudius, Marcus Cicero, Asinius Pollio, Marcus Varro, Messala Rufus, Cornelius Nepos, Virgil, Livy, Cordus, Melissus, Sebosus, Cornelius Celsus, Valerius Maximus, Trogus, Nigidius Figulus, Pomponius Atticus, Pedianus Asconius, Fabianus, Cato the Censor, Official Records, Fabius Vestalis. Foreign authorities: Herodotus, Aristeas, Baeton, Isigonus, Crates, Agatharchides, Calliphanes, Aristotle, Nymphodorus, Apollonides, Phylarchus, Damon, Megasthenes, Ctesias, Tauron, Eudoxus, Onesicritus, Clitarchus, Duris, Artemidorus, the medical authors Hippocrates and Asclepiades, Hesiod, Anacreon, Theopompus, Hellanicus, Damastes, Ephorus, Epigenes, Berosus, Petosiris, Nechepsus, Alexander the Learned, Xenophon, Callimachus, Democritus, the historian Diyllus, Strato's Reply to Ephorus's 'Heuremata,' Heraclides of Pontus, the Tragoedumena of Asclepiades, Phulostephanus, Hegesias, Archemachus, Thucydides, Mnesigiton, Xenagoras, Metrodorus of Scepsis, Anticides, Critodemus.

Book 8. Contents: (i-xi) Elephants, their sense; when first harnessed; their docility; remarkable achievements of; instinctive sense of dangers in wild animals; elephants, when first seen in Italy; fights between elephants; modes of capture; modes of domestication; their propagation, and general physiology; native habitat; hostility between elephants and great snakes. (xii) Intelligence of animals. (xiii) Great snakes. (xiv) Serpents of remarkable size. (xv f.) Animals of Scythia; of the north; bisons, bears, the elk, the achlisf the varieties, their characteristics; with lions in the circus at Lionstheir mode of with the largest number first harnessed lions to a among the exploits of lions. (xxii) Man recognised and rescued by a great snake. (xxiii f.) Panthers, resolution of senate and laws as to African; who first showed African panthers at Rome, and when? who showed the largest number? (xxv) Tigers; when was a tiger first seen at Rome? nature of tigers; tiger-cubs. (xxvi-xxx) Camels; their kinds. The giraffe; when first seen at Rome. The spotted lynx. The cephi. The rhinoceros. The lynx and the sphynxes. The crocottae [hyena?]. The long-tailed monkeys. (xxxi-iv) Land animals of India; ditto of Ethiopia; a creature the sight of which brings death; basilisksnakes; wolves; source of the fabulous werewolf. (xzxv-xl) Snakes, species of; the ichneumon; the crocodile; the African lizard; the hippopotamus: who first showed this animal, and the crocodile at Rome. (xli-iii). Drugs obtained from animals; warnings of dangers from animals; races destroyed by animals. (xliv f.) Hyenas; corocottae; mantichorae. (xlvi) Wild asses. (xlvii-ix) Amphibious species: beavers, otters, the sea-calf, geckoes. (l) Stags. (ii f.) Chameleon; other species that change colour--reindeer, lycaon, jackal (liii) The porcupine, (liv) Bears; their reproduction. (lv-viii) Mice, Black Sea and Alpine; hedgehogs, lion-killer, lynxes, badgers, squirrels. (lix f.) Snails; lizards. (lx-lxiii). Dogs, nature of; instances of relation to masters; nations that have kept dogs of war; dog-breeding; cures for rabies. (lxiv-vii) Nature of horsesequine psychology; remarkable four-in-hands; horse-breeding; cases of conception by wind. (lxviii) Asses; breeding in their case. (lxix) Nature of mules and other draft-animals. (lxx f.) Oxen, breeding of. Apis in Egypt. (lxxii-v) Nature of sheeptheir breeding; kinds of wool and of colours; kinds of cloth. (lxxvi f.) Goats, their nature and breeding; swine, ditto. (lxxviii f.) Wild pigs. Who originated menageries? (lxxx-ii) Apes. Hares, their kinds. Half-wild animals. (lxxxiii) What animals do not occur in what places? which in what places harm only strangers? which in what places only natives?Total: 787 facts, investigations and observations.

Authorities: Mucianus, Procilius, Verrius Flaccus, Lucius Piso, Cornelius Valerianus, Cato the ex-Censor, Fenestella, Trogus, Official Records, Columella, Virgil, Varro, Lucilius, Metellus Scipio, Cornelius Celsus, Nigidius, Trebius Niger, Pomponius Mela, Mamilius Sura. Foreign authorities: King Juba, Polybius, Herodotus, Antipater, Aristotle, Demetrius's Natural History, Democritus, Theophrastus, Euanthes, Scopas's Olympic Victors, King Hiero, King Attalus, King Philometor, Ctesias, Doris, Philisto, Archytas, Phylarchus, Amphilochus of Athens, Anaxipolis of Thasos, Apollodorus of Lemnos, Aristophanes of Miletus, Antigonus of Cumae, Agathocles of Chios, Apollonius of Pergamum, Aristander of Athens, Bacchius of Miletus, Bio of Soil, Chaeareas of Athens, Diodorus of Priene, Dio of Colophon, Epigenes of Rhodes, Euagon of Thasos, Euphronius of Athens, Hegesias of Maronea, Menander of Priene and Menander of Heraclea, the poet Menecrates, Androtion On Agriculture, Aeschrion ditto, Lysinachus ditto, Dionysius's translation of Mago, Diophanes's summary of Dionysius, King Archelaus, Nicander.

Book 9. Subjectthe nature of aquatic animals. (i) Extreme size of marine animals, reason for. (ii) Monsters of the Indian Sea. (iii) Which are the largest in each Ocean? (iv) Tritons and Nereids, shapes of. Sea elephants, shapes of. (v) Whales, grampuses. (vi) Do fishes breathe? do they sleep? (vii-x) Dolphins, persons loved by; places where they fish in partnership with men; other curious facts as to. (xi) Porpoises. (xii f.) Tortoiseskinds of water-tortoise; mode of capture; who invented cutting tortoise-shells (xiv) Aquatic animals arranged by species. (xv) Sea-calves or sealswhich species are hairless? mode of reproduction. (xvi) How many kinds of fish? (xvii-xix). The largest fishes; tunny-fry, young tunny, full-grown tunny; tunny divided and pickled, salted tunny slices, chopped tunny; amia-tunny, mackerel-tunny. (xx) Fishes in the Black Seawhich species not found in it, which enter in from elsewhere, which leave it. (xxi) Why fishes leap out of the water. The sword-fish. (xxii) Augury from fishes a fact. (xxiii-v) Species of that have no males; that have a stone in the head; that hibernate in winter; that are only caught on certain days in winter; that hide in summer; that are liable to planet-stroke. (xxvi-xxx) Mullet, sturgeon, pike, cod, wrasse, lamprey; varieties of mullet; the sargus. (xxxi f.) Remarkable prices for fish. Different kinds popular in different places. (xxxiii) Gills in various species; scales ditto. (xxxiv f.) Fish

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with voice, fish without gills; fish that go ashore. Seasons for catching fish. (xxxvi) Classification of fish by shape. Difference between turbot and sparrow-turbot. Long fishes. (xxxvii) Fins and mode of swimming. (xxxviii) Eels. (xxxix) Lampreys. (xl) Kinds of flat-fish. (xli) The remora and how it operates. (xlii) What fish change colours. (xhii) Swallow-fish. The fish that shines by night. The homed fish. The weever. (xliv) The bloodless fishes. The so-called soft fishes. (xlv) The sepia fish. The cuttle-fish. The small scallops, flying fish. (xlvi-ix) The polyps, including the sailing polyp. The sailor-fish. (l-lii) Shell-fish: lobster, varieties of crab, the sea-pen's guard, sea-urchins, snails, scallops. Varieties of shell. (liii) Quantity of delicacies supplied by the sea. (liv-lix) Pearlshow do they grow and where, how found; varieties of large pearltheir remarkable features, their nature, instances of their occurrence, when first used at Rome. (lx-lxv) Nature of varieties of purplethe purple-fish; kinds of purple-fish; how used to supply dye for woollens; date of use of purple at Borne, date of purple stripe and purple-bordered robe; purple dyed dresses; dying amethyst; Tyrian, vegetable-scarlet, kermes-scarlet. (lxvi) The sea-pen sea-pen's guard. (lxvii) Perception of aquatic animals: the electric ray, stingray, scolopendrae, shad, ramming-fish. (lxviii f.) Species intermediate between animal and vegetable: sea-nettles; sponges, their kinds and habitat; sponges, living creatures. (lxx) Sea-bitches. (lxxi) Flint-shell fish; marine animals without senses; other low species. (lxxii) Venomous marine animals. (lxxiii) Diseases of fishes. (lxxiv-vii) Their reproduction curious, reproductive methods; species both oviparous and viviparous; delivery by rupture of the stomach, afterwards closing up; species possessing matrix; self-fertilizing species. (lxxviii) Longest life of fish. (lxxix-lxxxi) First inventor of fish-ponds; oysters; who invented lamprey-ponds. Notable fish-ponds; who first invented snail-ponds. (lxxxiii) Land fishes. (lxxxiv) Mouse-fish in the Nile. (lxxxv) Flower-fish, mode of catching. (lxxxvi) Starfish. (lxxxvii) Remarkable species of finger-fish. (lxxxviii) Instances of hostility and friendship between aquatic animals.Total: 650 facts, investigations and observations.

Authorities: Turranins Gracilis, Trogus, Maecenas, Alfius Flavus, Cornelius Nepos, the Mimes of Laberius, Fabianus, Fenestella, Mucianus, Aelius Stilo, Sebosus, Melissus, Seneca, Cicero, Aemilius Macer, Corvinus Messala, Trebius Niger, Nigidius. Foreign authorities: Aristotle, King Archelaus, Callimachus, Democritus, Theophrastus, Thrasyllus, Hegesidemus, Sudines, Alexander the Learned.

Book 10. Subjectthe nature of birds. (i f.) The ostrich, the phoenix. (iii-vi) Eagles, their species; their nature; when adopted as regimental badges; self-immolation of eagle on maiden's funeral pyre. (vii) The vulture. (viii) Lmmergeier, sea-eagle (1) (ix-xi) Hawks: the buzzard; use of hawks by fowlers where practised; the only bird that is killed by its own kind; what bird produces one egg at a time. (xii) Kites. (xiii) Classification of birds by species. (xiv-xvi) Birds of ill-omen; in what months crows are not a bad omen; ravens; the horned owl. (xvii) Extinct birds; birds no longer known. (xviii) Birds hatched tail first. (xix) Night-owls. (xx) Mars's woodpecker. (xxi) Birds with hooked talons. (xxii-v) Birds with toes: peacocks; who first killed the peacock for food; who invented fattening peacocks; poultrymode of castrating; a talking cock. (xxvi-xxxii) The goose who first introduced goose-liver (foie gras); Commagene goose; fox-goose, love-goose, heath-cock, bustard; cranes; storks; rest of reflexed-claw genus; swans. (xxxiii-v) Foreign migrant birds: quails, tongue-birds, ortolan, horned owl; native migrant birds and their destinationsswallows, thrushes, blackbirds, starlings; birds that moult in retirement: turtle-dove, ring-dove. (xxxvi) Non-migrant birds: half-yearly and quarter-yearly visitors: wit.walls, hoopoes. (xxxvii-xl) Mernnon's hens, Meleager's sisters (guinea-hens), Seleucid hens, ibis. (xli) Where particular species not known. (xlii-v) Species that change colour and voice: the divination-bird class; nightingale, black-cap, robin, red-start, chat, golden oriole. (xlvi) The breeding season. (xlvii) Kingfishers: sign of fine weather for sailing. (xlviii) Remainder of aquatic class. (xlix-li) Craftsmanship of birds in nest-making; remarkable structures of swallows; sand-martins; thistle-finch; bee-eater; partridges. (lii f.) Pigeonsremarkable structures of, and prices paid for; (liv f.) Varieties of birds' flight and walk; footless martins or swifts. (lvi) Food of birds. Goat-suckers, spoon-bill. (lvii) Intelligence of birds; gold-finch, bull-bittern, yellow wagtail. (lviii-lxl) Talking birds: parrots, acorn-pies; riot at Rome caused by talking crow. (lxi) Diomede's birds. (lxii) What animals learn nothing. (lxiii) Birds, mode of drinking; the sultana hen. (lxiv) The long-legs. (lxv f.) Food of birds. Pelicans. (lxvii f.) Foreign birds: coots, pheasants, Numidian fowl, flamingos, heath-cock, bald crow or cormorant, Ted-beaked or Alpine crow, bare-footed crow or ptarmigan. (lxix) New species: small cranes. (lxx) Fabulous birds. (lxxi) Who invented fattening of chickens, and which consuls first prohibited? who first invented aviaries? Aesop's stewpan. (lxxiii-lxxx) Reproduction of birds: oviparous creatures other than birds; kinds and properties of eggs; defective hatching and its cures; Augusta's augury from eggs; what sort of hens the best? their diseases and remedies; kinds of small heron; nature of puff-eggs, addled eggs, wind-eggs; best way of preserving eggs. (lxxxi f.) The only species of bird that is viviparous and suckles its young. Oviparous species of land animals. Reproduction of snakes. (lxxxui-vii) Reproduction of all land animals; posture of animals in the uterus; animal species whose mode of birth is still uncertain; salamanders; species not reproduced by generation; species whose generated offspring is unfertile; sexless species. (lxxxviii-xc) Senses of animals: all have sense of touch, also taste; species with exceptional sight, smell, hearing; moles; have oysters hearing? which fishes hear most clearly? which fishes have keenest sense of smell? (xci-iii) Difference of food in animals: which live on poisonous things? which on earth? which do not die of hunger of thirst? (xciv) Variety of drink. (xcv f.) Species mutually hostile; facts as to friendship and affection between animals; instances of affection between snakes. (xcvii f.) Sleep of animals; which species sleep?Total: 794 facts, investigations and observations.

Authorities: Manilius, Cornelius Valerian, Records, Umbricius Melior, Masurius Sabinus, Antistins Labeo, Trogus, Cremutius, Marcus Varro, Aemilius Macer, Melissus, Mucianus, Nepos, Fabius Pictor, Titus Lucretius, Cornelius Celsus, Horace, Deculo, Hyginus, the Sasernae, Nigidius, Mamilius Sura. Foreign authorities: Homer, Phemonoe, Philemon, Boethus's Ornithogonia, Hylas's Auguries, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Callimachus, Aeschylus, King Hiero, King Philometor, Archytas of Tarentum, Amphilochus of Athens, Anaxipolis of Thasos, Apollodorus of Lemnos, Aristophanes of Miletus, Antigonus of Cumae, Agathocles of Chios, Apollonius of Peruamum Aristander of Athens, Bacchius of Miletus, Bion of Soli, Chaereas of Athens, Diodorus of Priene, Dion of Colophon, Democritus, Diophanes of Nicaea, Epigenes of Rhodes, Evagon of Thasos, Euphronius of Athens, Juba, Androtion On Agriculture, Aeschrio ditto, Lysimachus ditto, Dionysius's translation of Mago, Diophanes's epitome of Dionysius, Nicander, Onesicritus, Phylarchus, Hesiod.

Book 11. Subjectthe kinds of insects. (i) Nature's subtlety in this department. (ii) Do insects breathe? have they blood? (iii) Their bodies. (iv-xxiii) Beesstructure of their comb; its materials, gum, pitch-wax, bee-glue, bee-bread (sandarack, serintkus); flowers from which materials derived; instances of bee-lovers; drones; nature of honey; the best honey; unique local varieties of honey; test of varieties; heather (heath, sisyrus); reproduction of bees; their system of royalty; swarming sometimes actually a good omen; kinds of bees; diseases of bees; enemies of bees; beekeeping; replenishment of stock. (xxiv) Wasps and hornets. What animals reproduce from another species? (xxv-viii) Assyrian silkworm: chrysalis, larva; inventor of silk fabric; silkworm of Cos; manufacture of Coan silk. (xxviii f.) Spiderswhich varieties make webs; material used in webs; mode of reproduction. (xxx ff.) Scorpions; geckoes; grasshopperstheir lack of mouth and vent. (xxxiii) Insects' wings. (xxxiv-vi) Beetles; glow-worms; other kinds of beetle; locusts; ants. (xxxvii-ix) Chrysalises, gadflies, butterflies; animals born from wood or in wood; animals of human refuse; which is the smallest animal? summer animals. (xl) Ventless animal. (xli-iii) Moths, beetles, gnats; snow-animal; fire-animal (pyrallis or pyrotos); mayflies. (xliv-xcviii) Nature and account of all animals arranged according to the parts of the body: species possessing caps; crested species. (xlv-li) Varieties of hornwhich species can move the horns; heads, headless species; hair; bones of head; brain; earswhich species have none, which hear without ears or apertures; face, brow, eyebrow. (lii-lvii) Eyes: what animals without eyes, what with only one eye; varieties of eyes; method of sight; species that see by night; structure of pupil; species that do not close the eyes; species whose eyes after being destroyed grow again; eyelashesspecies that lack, species with lashes on only one lid; species with no eyelids. (lviii-lx) Cheekbones; nostrils; cheeks, lips, chin, jaws. (lxi-iv) Teethkinds of; species with teeth in one jaw only; with hollow teeth; snakes' teeth, snakes' poison; which bird has teeth; remarkable facts as to teeth; age of ruminants indicated by teeth. (lxv) Tonguetongueless species; croaking of frogs; palate. (lxvi-viii) Tonsils; uvula, epiglottis, windpipe, gullet, nape, neck, backbone, throat, jaws, stomach. (lxix-lxxi) Heart, blood, life; which species has largest heart, which smallest, which two hearts; when inspection of heart of victims began; (lxxii) Lungswhich species has largest, which smallest, which no internal organ besides lungs; cause of speed in animals. (lxxiii-vi) Liverhead of internal organs; its inspection by augurs; species with two livers, and their habitats; gallwhat species have two, and where; what animals have none, which have gall elsewhere than in liver; its function; species whose gall grows and shrinks in size with moon; observation of these species by augurs, and marvellous portents. (lxxvii) Diaphragm; nature of laughter. (lxxviii) Stomach; species that have none; the only species that vomit. (lxxix) Smaller intestines, entrails, stomach, great gut; why some animals have voracious appetites. (lxxx-iii) Caul, spleenspecies without spleen. Kidneys; habitat of species with four kidneyswith none; chest; ribs; bladderanimals without bladder; entrails; membranes. (lxxxiv-viii) Bellythe 'parts,' the womb, sows' womb, paps; what species have suet, what tallow; nature of each; what species have no fat; marrow; species that have none; bones; prickles; species that have neither hones nor prickles; cartilages; sinews; species without sinews. (lxxxix-xcii) Arteries, veins; species with neither veins nor arteries; blood; sweat; species whose blood thickens most quickly, whose blood does not coagulate; which species has the thickest blood, the thinnest, none at all, none at certain seasons of the year; whether blood is dominant factor in body. (xciii f.) Back; hair and integument of back; species having hair inside mouth and under feet. (xcv-xcvii) Paps; which birds have paps; noteworthy points about animals' udders; milk; which the only animal that gives suck while in motion; biestings; cheese; species whose milk does not form cheese; curdled milk; kinds of food obtained from milk; kinds of cheese. (xcviii-cxiii) Differences in limbs between man and other animals; the fingers; arms; resemblance to monkeys; nails; knees and thighs; which parts of human body associated with ritual; dilated veins; gait, feet and legs; hooves; feet of birds; feet of animals, between 2 and 100 ; dwarfs ; genital organs; hermaphrodites; testicles; three kinds of half-man; tails; voices of animals; limbs of subsequent growth. (cxiv) Marks of vitality and character derived from conformation of limbs in man. (cxv) Respiration; nutrition; animals that from eating poison do not die, but kill those who taste them. (cxvii-ix) Causes of indigestion in man; remedies for indigestion; cause of corpulence, and mode of reduction; things whose taste allays hunger and thirst.Total: 2700 facts, investigations and observations.

Authorities: Marcus Varro, Hyginus, Scrofa, Saserna, Cornelius Celsus, Aemilius Macer, Virgil, Columella, Julius Aquila's Eiruscan System, Tarquitius ditto, Umbricius Meior ditto, Cato the ex-Censor, Calvinus, Trogus, Melissus, Fabianus, Mucianus, Nigidius, Mamilius, Oppius. Foreign authorities: Aristotle, Democritus, Neoptolemus's Production of Honey, Aristomachus ditto, Philiscus ditto, Nicander, Menecrates, Dionysins's translation of Mago, Empedocles, Callimachus, King Attaius, Venomous Animals by Apollodorus, Hippocrates, Herophilus, Erasistratus, Asclepiades, Themiso, Posidonius the Stoic, Menander of Priene, Menander of Heraclea, Euphronius of Athens, Theophrastus, Hesiod, King Philometor.

Book 12. Contents: treestheir various qualities. (i, ii) In praise of trees. (iii-lxiii) Foreign trees. (iii-vi) Planewhen and whence first introduced into Italy; their nature; remarkable products; dwarf planes; who first introduced the pruning of garden trees. (vii) Assyrian apple, instructions for planting. (viii-xvii) Indian trees; ebony, when first seen at Rome; its kinds; Indian thorn; Indian fig; beautiful unnamed Indian trees; Indians' flax-trees; plantain tree, its fruit bananas; pepper trees, kinds of pepper, defective pepper, ginger, nut-leaf, wolf-plant or Chiron's box-thorn, macir, sugarcane. (xviii f.) Trees of the Arian race, ditto of Gedrosia, ditto of Ilyrcania, ditto of Bactria; myrrh plant or gain-plant (malacha, maldacum); germander. Modes of adulteration, tests and prices specified for all scents or spices. (xx f.) Trees of Persia; trees of islands in Persian Gulf; cotton-tree. (xxii-iv) Cynas tree; trees used in East for making linen; locality with no deciduous trees; modes in which trees form fruits. (xxv-xxix) Costus; nard, its 12 varieties; hazelwort; amomum, amomis, cardamon. (xxx-xxxii) The incense-producing district, incense-bearing trees; nature and kinds of incense. (xxxiii-v) Myrrh: trees that produce it; nature and kinds of myrrh. (xxxvi-xl) Mastic; ladanum, scorbus, styptic, bratus tree; stobrum tree. (xli) Arabia, why happy. (xlvi-xlvii) Cinnamon, cinnamomum, cinnamon-shrub; wild cinnamon, cancamum, aloe-wood; serichatuxn, gabalium; behennut; Egyptian date. (xlviii-lxi) Scented reed, scented rush; Hammonian gum-tree; fragrant moss; cyprus; calycotome or erysisceptrum; cat-thyme; balsam, balsam-juice, balsam-wood sigma; galbannm; all-heal; bear's-foot: cinnamon-leaf; grape-plant; moss, vine-flower, wild vine; fir or larch; cinnamon comacton.Total: 468 facts, investigations and observations.

Authorities: Marcus Varro, Mucianus, Virgil, Fabianus, Sebosus, Pomponius Mela, Flavius Procilius, Hyginus, Trogus, Claudius Caesar, Cornelius Nepos, Greek Treatise on Medicine by Sextius Niger, Cassius Hemina, Lucius Piso, Tuditanus, Antias. Foreign authorities: Theophrastus, Herodotus, Callisthenes, Isogonus, Clitarchus, Anaximenes, Duris, Nearchus, Onesicritus, Polycritus, Olympiodorus, Diognetus, Nicobulus, Anticlides, Chares of Mitylene, Menaechmus, Dorotheus of Athens, Lycus, Antaeus, Ephippus, Dinon, Adimantus, Ptolemy son of Lagus, Marsyas of Macedon, Zoilus of Macedon, Democritus, Amphilochus, Aristomachus, Alexander the Learned, Juba, Apollodorus On Scents; the physicians Heraclides, Botrys, Archedemus, Dionysius, Democedes, Euphron, Mnesides, Diagoras and Jollas; Heraclides of Tarentum, Xenocrates of Ephesus.

Book 13. Contents: On foreign trees. (i-v) Perfumeswhen invented; 12 kinds and combinations; ointments, salves, testing of perfumes; perfume as promoting luxury; when first in use at Rome. (vi-ix) Palmstheir nature; how planted; 18 kinds of fruit and noteworthy facts. (x-xii) Trees of Syria: pistachio, small fig, damson, Syrian plum; cedar; what trees carry three years' fruit at once; terebinth; sumac. (xiv-xvi)

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Trees of Egypt: Alexandrian fig; Cyprian fig; Carob.(xvii-xx) Persian tree; what trees produce a succession of fruit; cuci palm; Egyptian thorn; gum tree, 8 kinds; Persian gum. (xxi-vii) Papyrus; employment of paper; when begun; how manufactured; 9 kinds; mode of testing papers; defects of papers; paper-glue; Books of Numa. (xxviii) Trees of Ethiopia. (nix) Atlantic tree; citrus-tree ; citrus-wood tables, their merits and defects; citrus-fruit. (xxxii-iv) Lotus; trees of Cyrenaica, Christ's-thorn; pomegranate, 9 kinds, wild pomegranate. (xxxv-xlvii) Trees of Asia and Greece; helleborine, heath, seed of Cnidus or altar-plant or canine thistle or fire-foam or cnestor or mezereon; goat-plant, goat-thorn goat or scorpion, tamarisk or brya, hop-hornbeam; euonymus; lion-tree; purslane; cuckoo-plant, tare; fennel; Thapsas-shrub; caper-bush or dog's bush or snake-vine; sari ha; king's thorn; tree-medick. (xlviii-lvii) Trees and bushes of the Mediterranean; of the Red Sea; of the Indian Ocean; of Cavedwellers' Seasea-weed, grasson or girdle-plant, sea-lettuce, plait of Isis, Graces' eyelid.Total 468 facts, investigations and observations.

Authorities: Marcus Varro, Mucianus, Virgil, Fabianus, Sebosus, Pomponius Mela, Flavius Procilius, Hyginus, Trogus, Ciaudius Caesar, Cornelius Nepos, Sextus Niger's Greek treatise On Medicine, Cassius Hemina, Lucius Piso, Tuditanus, Antias. Foreign authorities: Theophrastus, Herodotus, Callisthenes, Isogonus, Clitarchus, Anaxitnenes, Duris, Nearchus, Onesicritus, Polycritus, Olympiodorus, Diognetus, Nicobulus, Anticlides, Chares of Mitylene, Menaechmus, Dorotheus of Athens, Lycus, Antaeus, Ephippus, Dinon, Adimantus, Ptolemy son of Lagus, Marsyas of Macedon, Zoilus ditto, Democritus, Amphilochus, Aristomachus, Alexander the Learned, Juba, Apollodorus On Scents; the following medical writersHeraclides, Botrys, Archedemus, Dionysius, Democedes, Euphron, Mnesides, Diagoras, Iollas; Heraclides of Tarentnm, Xenophon of Ephesus.

Book 14. Contents: fruit-trees. (i-v) Vines, their nature; their ways of bearing; grapes, their nature and tending; 91 kinds of vines and grapes; viticulture and vineyards, noteworthy facts as to (vi-xi) Mead, its discovery; 50 wines of quality; 38 foreign vintages; Opimian wine; wine-cellars, notable facts as to; nature of wine; salt wine, 7 kinds; raisin-wine, must, sweet wine, 17 kinds. (xii) Inferior wines, 3 kinds. (xiii-xvii) Wines of quality, how recently begun to be made in Italy; remarks as to wine from reign of Romulus onwards; wines used in early periods; four kinds of wine, when first established. (xviii-xxi) Wild vine, 5 uses of; what juice by nature the coldest; artificial wine, 66 kinds; mead or honey-wine or water-mead; vinegar-honey. (xxii-v) Remarkable wines, 12 kinds; wines not permissible to use at sacrifices; substances used to flavour mustpitch, resins. (xxvi f.) Wine-jars, vinegar, lees, cellars. (xxviii f.) Intoxication; drinks made from water and fruit can be as potent as wine.Total: 510 facts, investigations and observations.

Authorities: Cornelius Valerian, Virgil, Celsus, Cato the Censor, Saserna senior, Saserna junior, Scrofa, Marcus Varro, Decius Silanus, Fabius Pietor, Trogus, Hyginus, Verrius Flaccus, Graecinus, Julius Atticus, Columella, Masurius Sabinus, Fenestella, Tergilla, Maccius Plautus, Fabius Dossennus, Scaevala, Lucius Aelius, Ateius Capito, Cotta Messalinus, Lucius Piso, Pompeius Lenaens, Fabianus, Sextius Niger, Vibius Rufinus. Foreign authorities: Hesiod, Theophrastus, Aristotle, Democritus, King Hiero, King Attalus, King Philometor, Archytas, Xenophon, Amphilochus of Athens, Anaxipolis of Thasos, Apollodorus of Lemnos, Aristophanes of Miletus, Antigonus of Cumae, Agathocles of Chios, Apollonius of Pergamum, Aristander of Athens, Bacchius of Miletus, Bion of Soli, Chaereas of Athens, Chaeristus ditto, Diodorus of Priene, Dinon of Colophon, Epigenes of Rhodes, Evagon of Thasos, Euphronius of Athens, Androtion On Agriculture, Aeschrion ditto, Lysimachus ditto, Dionvsius's translation of Mago, Diophanes's Epitome of Dionysius, the medical writers Asclepiades and Erasistratus, treatises on The Making of Wine by Commiades, Aristomachus and Hicesius, Themiso on medicine, Onesicritus, King Juba.

Book 15. Contents: Fruit-bearing trees, their various natures. (i-viii) The olive treehow long was it grown only in Greece; when first introduced into Italy, Spain, Africa; olive-oil, its kinds and valuable properties; nature of the olive and olive-oil when forming; 15 kinds of olives; nature of olive-oil; cultivation of olive-trees; storing of olives; manufacture of olive-oil; 48 kinds of artificial olive-oil; the kiki-tree or croto or sill or sesamum (castor-oil tree); olive-lees. (ix-xxxiv) The varieties of fruit, their kinds and nature: pine-cones, 4 kinds; quinces, 4 kinds; sparrow-apples, 4 kinds; pomegranate, 9 kinds; peach, 7 kinds; plum, 12 kinds; the persca-trea; apple, 30 kinds; foreign applesdates and sources of introduction into Italy: most recent introduction; pears, 41 kinds; grafting of varieties, and expiation when struck by lightning; storage of fruit and grapes; figs, 29 kinds; researches as to; artificial ripening of; medlars, 3 kinds; service-berry, 4 kinds; nuts, 8 kinds; chestnuts, 18 kinds; carobs; fleshy fruits; mulberries; the arbutus; berries, varieties of; hard fruit, varieties; cherry, 9 kinds; cornel-cherries; mastic-trees; juices, 13 different sorts; (xxxv-viii) the myrtle, researches as to; 11 kinds. (xxxix f.) The bay-tree, 13 kinds.Total: 520 facts, researches and observations.

Authorities: Fenestella, Fabianus, Virgil, Comelius Valerian, Celsus, Cato the Censor, the Sasernae, senior and junior, Scrofa, Marcus Varro, Decimus Silanus, Fabius Pictor, Trogus, Hyginus, Verrius Flaccus, Graecinus, Julius Atticus, Columella, Masurius Sabinns, Tergilla, Messalinus Cotta, Lucius Piso, Pompeius Lenaeus, Maccins Platens, Fabius Dossennus, Scaevola, Lucius Aelius, Ateius Capito, Sextius Niger, Vibius Rufinus. Foreign authorities: Hesiod, Theophrastus, Aristotle, Democritus, King Hiero, King Philometor, King Attalus, Archytas, Xenophon, Ampbuloehus of Athens, Anaxipolis of Thasos, Apollodorus of Lemnos, Aristophanes of Miletus, Antigonus of Cumae, Agathocles of Chios, Apollonius of Pergamum, Aristander of Athens, Eaechius of Miletus, Bion of Soli, Chaereas of Athens, Chaeristus ditto, Diodorus of Priene, Dinon of Colophon, Epigenes of Rhodes, Evagon of Thasos, Euphronius of Athens, Androtion On Agriculture, Aeschrion ditto, Dionysius's translation of Mago, Diophanes's summary of Dionysius, Asclepiades the physician, Erasistratus ditto, Commiades On Making Wine, Aristomachus ditto, Hicesius ditto, Onesieritus, King Juba.

Book 16. Contents: forest trees, their various natures. (i f.) Races that have no trees; remarkable trees in the North. (iii-xiii) Acorn-bearing trees: the civic wreath; origin of wreaths; wreath of foliage, on whom bestowed; 13 kinds of acorns; the beech; the other acorn-bearing trees; charcoal; the oak-apple; how many fruits beside the acorn borne by the same trees; catkin, cochineal-berry, larch-fungus. (xiv) Trees whose bark is utilized. (xv-xx) Roof-shingles: stone-pine, wild pine, spruce, silver, larch, pitch-pine, yew. (xxi-iii) Liquid pitch, methods of making; cedar-oil, methods of making; wax-pitch, methods of making; resin, methods of boiling; thick-pitch. (xxiv-ix) Trees of value for timber: ash, 4 kinds; lime, 2 kinds; maple, 10 kinds; growth on the maple, maple-fungus; pistachio tree; box, 3 kinds; elm, 4 kinds. (xxx f.) Nature of trees classified by habitat those that grow on mountains, on plains, on dry soils, in water, in several habitats. (xxxii) Classification. (xxxiii-viii) Non-deciduous trees: rhododendron; partially deciduous trees; regions where all trees evergreen; nature of deciduous foliage; trees whose foliage changes colour: poplars, 3 kinds; foliage that changes shape of leaf; foliage that yearly turns round; palm-leaves, cultivation and use of; remarkable foliage. (xxxix) Process of growth in trees grown from seed. (xl) Non-flowering trees: the junipers. (xli-l) Conception, germination and parturition of trees; order of flowering; the husk; date of bearing of the various kinds, trees that bear yearly, three-yearly; trees that do not bear fruit; trees believed unlucky; trees that lose fruit or flower most easily; which kinds do not bear in which places; method of bearing of the various kinds; kinds that bear fruit before foliage; kinds that bear twice a year, thrice a year. (li) Which age most rapidly, which least rapidly; early ripening and late ripening fruits. (lii) Which kinds have products of more than one sort: the kernel of the box. (liii-vi) Differences of trees in trunks and boughs the lotus or date plum; boughs, bark, roots. (lvii f.) Instances of trees rising again of their own accord; spontaneous generation of trees, modes of. (lix-lxi) Differences of nature not generating all kinds everywhere; places where particular kinds do not grow; cypresses; growth from the earth of entirely novel kinds a frequent occurrence. (lxii) Ivy, its 20 kinds. (lxiii) Bindweed. (lxiv-lxxi) Water plants: canes; reeds, 25 kinds; reed arrows, reed pens, reed pipes; the bird-catcher's and fisherman's reed of Orchomenus; the vine-prop reed; the alder; the willow, its kinds; other plants useful for ties; bulrushes, rush-lights, canes, thatch; elders, brambles. (lxxi f.) Sap of trees. (lxxiv-vii) Nature of timbers; wood-cutting; sizes of trees; the pine; charcoal. (lxxvii-lxxxi) Trees exempt from rotfrom splitting; researches as to durability of timbers; kinds of woodworms; wooden architecture. (lxxxii-iv) Wooden tools; gluing timber; sawn sheets of wood. (lxxxv-xc) Age of long-lived trees: tree planted by the elder Africanus; tree in Rome 500 years old; trees dating from the foundation of the city; trees in the suburbs older than the city; trees planted by Agamemnon; frees dating from first year of the Trojan War; trees at Troy shown from designation 'Ilion' to be older than the Trojan War; ditto at Argos; trees planted by Hercules; trees planted by Apollo; a tree older than Athens; what kinds of trees are least long-lived. (xci-iv) Trees celebrated for some occurrence; parasitic plants; plants parasitic on trees and able to grow in earth9 kinds of these; cadytas, hyphear, stelis, hippophaestum; nature of mistletoe and similar plants; manufacture of bird-lime.Total: 1135 facts, researches and observations.

Authorities: Marcus Varro, Fetialis, Nigidius, Cornelius Nepos, Hyginus, Masurius, Cato, Mucianus, Lucius Piso, Trogus, Calpurnius Bassus, Cremutius, Sextius Niger, Cornelius Bocchus, Vitruvius, Graccinus. Foreign authorities: Alexander the Learned, Hesiod, Theophrastus, Democritus, Homer, Timaeus the mathematician.

Book 17. Contents: the natures of cultivated trees. (i) Remarkable prices for trees. (ii-iv) Effect of climate on trees; proper aspect for vines; best soil; soil enjoyed by Greece and the Gallic provinces8 kinds. (v-viii) The use of ashes; dung; what crops enrich the soil, which impoverish it; methods of using manure. (ix-xxi) Methods of growing trees; kinds springing from seed; that never degenerate; kinds springing from settings, from a cutting, from a layer; seed-beds, transference of seed-beds; growing elms from seed; trenching; distances between trees; shade; droppings from leaves; slow-growing and quick growing kinds; kinds springing from layers. (xxii-viii) Graftinghow discovered; kinds of grafts; eye-grafting; budding; grafting of vines; grafts growing from boughs; kinds grafted by cuttings, and method. (xxix-xxi) Olive-growing; seasonal arrangement of propagating; trenching round and banking up vines. (xxxii-iv) The willow thicket; reed bed; other plants cut for poles and stakes. (xxxv f.) Arrangement of vineyards and plantations; prevention of injury to vines from animals. (xxxvii f.) Diseases of trees; remarkable products from trees. (xxxix-xlvii) Remedies for diseases of trees; method of watering; remarkable facts as to water-meadows; use of dung; method of hoeing round trunk; lopping of trees; how to dig round trees; pruning of trees; effect of gall-insect; mistakes in pruning; medicaments for trees. Total: 1380 facts, researches and observations.

Authorities: Cornelius Nepos, Cato the censor, Marcus Varro, Celsus, Virgil, Hyginus, the Sasernae, senior and junior, Scrofa, Calpurnius Bassus, Trogus, Aemilius Macer, Graecinus, Columella, Julius Atticus, Fabianus, Mamilius Sura, Dessius Mundus, Gaius Epidius, Lucius Piso. Foreign authorities: Hesiod, Theophrastus, Aristotle, Democritus, Theopompus, King Hiero, King Philometer, King Attalus, Arehytas, Xenophon, Amphilochus of Athens, Anaxipolis of Thasos, Apollodorus of Lemnos, Aristophanes of Miletus, Antigonus of Cumae, Agathocles of Chios, Apollonius of Pergamum, Bacchius of Miletus, Bion of Soli, Chaereas of Athens, Chaeristus ditto, Diodorus of Priene, Dinon of Colophon, Epigenes of Rhodes, Evagon of Thasos, Euphronius of Athens, Androtion On Agriculture, Aeschrion ditto, Lysimachus ditto, Dionysius's translation of Mago, Diophanes's summary of Dionysius, Aristander On Portents.

Book 18. Contents: crops, their natures. (i) Devotion to agriculture in early times. (ii) The earliest wreath at Rome; the wreath of ears of corn; (iii) The acre. (iv) Number and dates of lowest falls; price of corn. (v) Distinguished authorities on agriculture. (vi) Rules for preparing the ground. (vii) Location of homesteads. (viii) Old authorities on methods of agriculture. (ix) Kinds of grain. (x-xxix) Properties of corn according to kinds; emmer, wheat, barley, pearl-barley; barley-groats porridge, starch, common wheat, wheat-flour, two grain wheat, seed; the remaining kinds in the east modes of grinding; sesame, erysimum or irio, clary, species of millet; yeasts; bread, methods of making and kinds of; when bakers began at Rome. (xxx-xxxvi) Leguminous plants: beans, kinds of chickpea, calavance, pea; turnips, navews, lupin. (xxxvii-xliii) Fodder: vetch, pulse, fenugreek, secale or rye, mixed fodder, besil, bitter vetch; lucerne. (xliv f.) Oats; corn diseases, remedies. (xlvi) Proper crops to sow in various kinds of soil. (xliii) National differences in methods of sowing. (xlviii-l) Kinds of plough; method of ploughing; harrowing, weeding, hoeing; cross-harrowing. (li-liii) Greatest fertility of soil; method of cropping same field more than once a year; manuring. (liv-lxi) Seed-testing; amount of seed of different varieties of corn required per acre; seasons for sowing; position of stars from day to day and earthly signs as to agricultural operations. (lxii-xxiv) Agricultural operations proper to the several months; poppies; hay; causes of various kinds of Infertility; remedies; harvests, storage of corn, vintage and autumn operations. (lxxv f.) Conditions of the moon, of the winds. (lxxvii) Fixing of rounds of estates. (lxxviii-xc) Weather-forecasts: from the sun, moon, stars, thunderclouds, mists, earth-fires, waters; from the seasons themselves; from aquatic animals, from birds, from quadrupeds. Total 2060 facts, researches and observations.

Authorities: Masurius Sabinus, Cassius Hemma, Verrius Flaccus, Lucius Piso, Cornelius Celsus, Turranius Gracilis, Decimus Silanus, Marcus Varro, Cato the ex-Censor, Scrofa, the Sasernae senior and junior, Domitius Calvinus, Hyginus, Virgil, Trogus, Ovid, Graecinus, Columella, Tubero, Lucius Tarutius's Greek treatise On the Stars, Caesar the Dictator ditto, Sergius Pauilus, Sabinus Fabianus, Marcus Cicero, Calpurnius Bassus, Ateius Capito, Mamilius Sura, Accius's Praxidica. Foreign authorities: Hesiod, Theophrastus, Aristotle, Democritus, King Hiero, King Philometer, King Attains, King Archelana, Archytas, Xenophon, Amphilochus of Athens, Anaxipolis of Thasos, Apollodorus of Lemnos, Aristophanes of Miletus, Antigonus of Cumae, Agathocles of Chios, Apollonius of Pergamos, Aristander of Athens, Bacchius of Miletus, Bion of Soli, Chaereas of Athens, Chaeristus ditto, Diodorus of Priene, Dinon of Colophon, Epigenes of Rhodes, Evagon of Thasos, Euphronius of Athens, Androtion On Agriculture, Aeschrio ditto, Lysimachus ditto, Dionysius's translation of Mago, Diophanes's summary of Dionysius, Thales, Eudoxus, Philip, Calippus, Dositheus,

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Parmeniscus, Meto, Crito, Oenopides, Conon, Euctemon, Harpalus, Hecataeus, Anaximander, Sosigenes, Hipparchus, Aratus, Zoroaster, Archibius.

Book 19. Contents: (i-vi) Flax, nature and remarkable properties of; 27 specially good kinds of; how grown and how made up; earliest employment of awnings in the theatre. (vii-ix) Esparto grass, nature of; how made up; when first used. (x) The wool-bearing bulb. (xi-xviii) Plants that spring up and live without root; plants that spring up and cannot be grown from seed: mushroom, iton, stork's bill; truffles, stalkless mushrooms; silphium plant, and its juice, leaf and stalk; madder; dyers' rocket, (xix-xxi) The charm of gardens; description of plants other than cereals and shrubs. (xxi-xxxvii) Nature and kinds and descriptions of 20 garden plants: roots, flowers, leaves of all these; deciduous garden plants; various periods of sprouting; nature of seeds; various modes of sowing; which of a single kind and which of several kinds. (xxxviii-lv) Nature and kinds and descriptions of 23 garden plants cultivated for condiments. (xlviii) Plants springing from an exudation; (lvi) Fennel-giant, 4 kinds; hemp. (lvii-lix) Diseases of garden plants; cures; modes of killing ants; modes of protecting against caterpillars, against green-fly what plants benefited by salt water. (lx) Method of watering gardens. (lxi f.) Juices and flavours of garden plants; pepperwort, rosemary, mint.Total: 1144 facts, investigations and observations.

Authorities: Maccius Plautus, Marcus Varro, Decimus Silanus, Cato the Censor, Hyginus, Virgil, Mucianus, Celsus, Columella, Calpurnius Bassus, Mamilius Sura, Sabinus Tiro, Licinius Macer, Quintus Birrius, Vibius Rufinus, Caesennius On gardening, Castritius ditto, Firmus ditto, Potitus ditto. Foreign authorities: Herodotus, Theophrastus, Democritus, Aristomachus, Menander's Things serviceable for life, Anaxilaus.

Book 20. Subject: medicines obtained from garden plants: (ii) from the wood-encumber 26, (iii) wild encumber 27; (iv) snake cucumber or wild cucumber 5, (v) garden encumber 9, (vi) pumpkin 11, (vii) gourd or somphus 1, (viii) eoloeynth 10, (ix) turnips 9, (x) wild turnip 1, (xi) navews or swede of two varieties 5, (xii C) garden radish 43, horseradish 1, (xiv) parsnip 5, marsh mallow or plistolochia or wild mallow 11, (xv) staphyhnus or wild parsnip 22, (xvi) French carrot 1, (xvii) skirwort 11, (xviii) hartwort 12, (xix) elecarnpane 11, (xx) onion 27, (xxi) cut leek (chives) 32, (xxii) headed leek 39, (xxiii) garlic 61, (xxiv) lettuce 42, goat-lettuce 4, (xxv) caesapum lettuce 1, isatis 1, wild lettuce 7, (xxvi) hawk-weed 17, (xxvii) beet 24, (xxviii) wild beet or neurois 3, (xxix) endive or wild succory 4, (xxx) chicory or worthy or championship 12, (xxxi) scented succory 4, (xxxii) endive 2 kinds, 7 medicines, (xxxiii) cabbage 87, (xxxv) sprouts, (xxxvi) wild cabbage 27, (xxxvii) charloek 1, (xxxviii) sea-cabbage 1. (xxxix) squill 23, (xl) onions 30, (xli) bulbine 1, emetic onion, (xlii f.) garden asparagus 17, wild asparagus or orminus or Libyan asparagus 24, (xliv) parsley 17, (xlv) wild parsley or bee-plant ; (xlvi) olusatrum or horse-parsley 11, mountain parsley 2, beg parsley 1, (xlvii) rock parsley 1, cow-parsley 1, (xlviii) basil 35, (xlix) colewort 12, (l) cress 42, (li) rue 84, (lii) wild mint 20 (liii) mint 41, (liv) fleabane 25, (lv) wild-bane 17, (lvi) cat-mint 9, (lvii) cumin 48, wild cumin 27, (lviii) ammi 10, (lix) caper-bush 18, (lx) lovage or all-heal 4, (lxi) ox-cunila 5, (lxii) cock-cunila or marjoram 5, (lxiii) cunilago 8, (lxiv) soft cunila 3, libanotis 3, (lxv) garden cunila 3, mountain cunila 7, (lxvi) pepperwort or Indian pepper 5, (vii-ix) wild marjoram or horehound 6, goat's-thyme 9, Heraclean marjoram, 3 kinds, 30 drugs; (lxx) pepperwort 3, (lxxi) git or cultivated fennel 23, (xii-iv) anise or anicetum 61,dill 9, (lxxv) sacopeniuxn sagapenum 13, (lxxvi-lxxx) white poppy 3, black poppy 8 (narcotic effect, opium, prophylactics called anodynes, peptic drugs, febrifuges and purges); poppy-juice 1, wild poppy 2, wild horned poppy or glaucous or shore poppy 6, Heracles poppy or foam poppy 4 (medicinal poppy-juice), spurge poppy or a poppy 3, (lxxxi) purslane, also called peplis, 25, (lxxxii-iv) coriander 21, orache 14, varieties of mallowmalope 13, malache 1, althaea or plistolochia 54, (lxxxv f.) wood-sorrel or oxalis or horse-sorrel or dock 1, water sorrel 2, horse-sorrel 6, bitter sorrel 4, cultivated sorrel 21, cow-sorrel 1, (lxxxvii-ix) mustard 3 kinds, 44 drugs, sedge-froth 48, horehound or prasiurn or flax-twist or lads-love or bilochares 29, (xc-xcix) wild thyme 18, wild mint or Thrynibraeum 23, flax-seed 30, blite 6, bear wort or Athanxas 7, fennel 22, horse-fennel or bay-fennel 5, hemp 9, fennel giant 8, edible thistle or cardoon 6. (c) Snakebite antidote, recipe for.Total 1606 drugs, investigations and observations.

Authorities: Cato the Censor, Marcus Varro, Pompeius Lenaeus, Gaius Valgius, Hyginus, Sextius Niger's Greek writings, Julius Bassus ditto, Celsus, Antonius Castor. Foreign authorities: Democritus, Theophrastus, Orpheus, Menander's Things serviceable for life, Pythagoras, Nicander. Medical writers: Hippocrates, Chrysippus, Diodes, Ophion, Heraclides, Hicesius, Dionysius, Apollodorus of Citium, Apollodorus of Tarentum, Praxagoras, Pleistonicus, Medius, Dieuches, Cleophantus, Philistion, Asclepias, Crateuas, Petronius Diodotus, Iollas, Erasistratus, Diagoras, Andreas, Mnesides, Epicharmus, Damion, Dalion, Sosimenes, Tlepolemus, Metrodorus, Solon, Lycus, Olympias of Thebes, Philinus, Petrichus, Miccio, Glancias, Xenocrates.

Book 21. Contents: the natures of flowers and of flowers for garlands. (ii-ix). Of wreaths; garlands; inventors of blending flowers; when first called 'floral crowns,' and why; who first bestowed crowns with silver and gold foliage; why called 'garland-gratuities'; of ribbonswho first reproduced them in carving; high value placed on crowns of honour among the ancients; simplicity of crowns among the ancients; who received a crown bestowed by the nation at Rome; plaited crowns; stitched crowns, nard-crowns, silk crowns; Queen Cleopatra's action with regard to crowns. (x-xil, lxxiii-v). Rose, 12 kinds, 32 drugs; lily, 3 kinds, 23 drugs; plant from an exudation; narcissus, 3 kinds, 16 drugs. (xiii) Flowers grown of special colours by dyeing the seed. (xiv-xxxvii) Mode of growing from cuttings, from seed, mode of cultivating various flowers, arranged under various kinds; the violet 3 colours (lxxvi, 17 drugs); yellow herb, 5 kinds (lxxvi, 10 drugs); marsh marigold; king flower; cyclamen (17 drugs); rush (1 drug); crocus (lxxxi, 20 drugs); where the best flowers are; what flowers were in vogue in Trojan times; nature of scents; the iris (41 drugs); wild nard (3 drugs); the hulwort or teuthrium (19 drugs); flowers with different colours in the morning, at midday, and at sunset; floral patterns in dress; amaranth; the cornflower (2 drugs); the all-gold (3 drugs); the petiliuin or ox-eye daisy; the goldy-locks or gilt lady (6 drugs); which plants' flowers provide wreaths, which plants' leaves; white byrony, privet, wild marjoram, mezereum or casia, 2 kinds, bee-leaf or balm (21 drugs), melilot, garland of Campama or honey-lotus (12 drugs); trefoil, 3 kinds (4 drugs) mouse bane; thyme, 3 kinds (28 drugs); plants springing from flower, not seed; elecampane; flower of Jupiter; martagon-lily (4 drugs) calamint (5 drugs); phlox; plant with scented stalk and leaves: southern-wood (22 drugs); flower of Adonis, 2 kinds; self-fertilizers; leucanthemum (1 drug); marjoram, 2 kinds (60 drugs); wake-by-night or chenamyche or see-by-night. (xxxviii f.) Time-series of birth of flowers; garland anemone or phrenion (xciv-ix 10 drugs); wine-flower grass (6 drugs); cultivated fennel (11 drugs), marigold (11 drugs), gladiolus, hyacinth (8 drugs), lychnis (7 drugs), narcissus, pothos, 2 kinds, crocus, 2 kinds, periwinkle or dwarf laurel (xl, 4 drugs); evergreen grass. (xli-ix) Length of life of various flowers; what kinds among flowers should be cultivated to attract bees; waxflower; diet of bees; their diseases and remedies; poisonous honey and its remedies; honey that causes madness; honey that flies will not touch; apiaries, hives and care of hives; do bees feel hunger? manufacture of wax; the best kinds of wax; Carthaginian wax. (l-cviii) Self-grown vegetation, its use among certain races, its kinds, remarkable cases of; strawberries, wild grapes, butcher's broom (c, 4 drugs); samphire, 2 kinds (ci. 11 drugs), meadow parsnip, willow-hop, culcas (cii, 2 drugs) Oretan pitch plant, anthalium or anticellium or anthyllium (ciii, 6 drugs); oetum; roots with no growth above the surface of the earth; chickling vetch, aracos; candryala, hypochoeris, caucalis, anthriscum, chervil (also called goat's beard), maiden-flower or white blossom or marjoram or partridge-plant or wall-plant (civ, 8 drugs), nightshade or strychnos or halicacabus or calitha or dorycnion or mad-plant or surplus or sinew-plant or lack-wit or moly (cv, 8 drugs), wild pulse (cvi, 6 drugs), chick-pea, acynopus, rock-plant; non-flowering plants, plants perpetually in flower; safflower, 4 kinds (cvii, 3 drugs). (liv-viii) Plants of the prickly kind (erynge thistle, licorice root, land caltrop, rest-harrow, pheos or stoebe, horse-beam, nettle, 4 kinds, dead-nettle, scorpion-grass, acorna or murder-thistle, whitethorn, copper-wort, safflower, many-thorn, donkey-box, helxine, edible thistle, carline thistle, tetralix heath (thorny mastix, cactus, pternica, pappum, artichoke). (lix) Plants classed by stalks: hartshorn, alkanet, chamomile, phyllanthes, crepis, lotus. (lx) Plants distinguished by leaves: evergreens; plants flowering in sections; heliotrope, whose use for drugs will be stated in the Book. (lxi-v) Ear-bearing classes: stanyops, fox-tail, stelephuros, or quail-plant or plantain, thryallis, partridge-wort, bird's milk; plants of twelve-month growth, plants flowering from top, ditto from bottom; internal-sprouting burdock, Opus-plant making root from leaf; iasione, chondrilla, year-long flowering bitter-plant. (lxvi) Plants producing flower before stalk, stalk before flowers, thrice-flowering. (lxvii-lxxi) Gladiolus, 8 drugs; eorydalis; aspbodel or royal spear-grass (asphodel-stalk or bulb); rush, 6 kinds, 4 drugs; cyperus, 4 drugs, cyperis, cypira, holoschoenos. (lxxii) Drugs from scented rush or teuehites 10. (lxxviii-lxxxii) Drugs from hazelwort 8, drugs from Gallic nard 8, drugs from 'phu' grass 4; Syrian saffron-leas, 2 drugs, (cviii) pesoluta, 1 drug. (cix) Translation of Greek terms for weights and measures.Total, 730 drugs, investigations and observations.

Authorities: Cato the ex-Censor, Marcus Varro, Masurius, Antias, Caepio, Vestinus, Vibius Rufinus, Hyginus, Pomponius Mela, Pompeius Lenaeus, Cornelius Celsus, Calpurnius Bassus, Gaius Valgius, Licinius Macer, Sextius Niger's Greek treatise, Julius Bassus's ditto, Antonius Castor. Foreign authorities: Theophrastus, Democritus, Orpheus, Pythagoras, Mago, Menander's Things serviceable for life, Nicander, Homer, Hesiod, Musaeus, Sophocles, Anaxilaus. Medical writers: Mnesitheus On Wreaths, Callimachus ditto, Phardas the natural scientist, Simus, Timaristus, Hippocrates, Chrysippus, Diodes, Ophion, Heradides, Hicesius, Dionysius, Apollodorus of Citium, Apollodorus of Tarentum, Praxagoras, Plistonicus, Medius, Dieuches, Cleophantus, Phllistio, Asclepias, Crateuas, Petronius Diodotus, Iollas, Frasistratus, Diagoras Andreas, Mnesides, Epicharmus, Damio, Dalio, Sosimenes, Tlepolemus, Mctrodorus, Solon, Lycus, Olympias of Thebes, Philinus, Petrichus, Miecio, Glaueias, Xenocrates.

Book 22. Contents: the importance of herbs. (i-vi) That nations use herbs because of their beauty; herbs used to dye clothes; dye made of vegetable oil, ditto; tufts of sacred grass, sacred branches and the ritual of demanding redress; wreath of grass, its rarity, its only recipients, the only centurion recipient. (vii) Drugs made from the remaining sorts of wreaths. (viii-xlv) Erynge or eryngion or hundred-heads, 30; acanos thistle, 1 sweet-root or licorice, 15; mouth-heal, 1.: caltrop, 2 kinds, 12 drugs; stoebe or pheos; horse-beam, 2 kinds, 2 drugs; nettle, 61; dead-nettle 7; scorpion-plant, 2 kinds, 1 drug; pellitory or phyllos or sciatia-plant or polygonaton, 4; helxine, 12; pellitory or maiden-herb or iron-wort (the same as pitcher-polish or astericum) 11; chamaeleon-plant or canine thistle or ulophytum or cynozo]on, 2 kinds, 12 drugs (gum mastic); hartshorn, alkanet, 14; bastard-bugloss or echis or doris, 3; donkey-lip or archebius or donkey-hoof or rhexia or euchrysa, 30; the plant whose roots make dye; chamomile or white anthemis or earth-apple. or fennel-flower, 3 kinds, 11 drugs; lotus grass, 4; lotometra, 2; heliotrope or turnsole or wartwort, 12; heliotrope or three-berry or scorpion's tail, 14; adiantum or maiden-hair or tnichomanes or many-hair or saxifrage, 2 kinds, 28 drugs, rootless stem; bitter lettuce 1, corydalis 1; asphodel 51; orach 14; bear's breech or lad's love or black-leaf 5; hare's ear 5, cow-nettle 1; wild parsnip 9; chervil 9; southern chevnil 2; bind-weed 4; caucalis 12; bur-parsley 11; sillybus thistle; cardoon or meadow thistle 5; sow-thistle, 2 kinds, 15 drugs; chondrilla 3. (xlvi) Mushrooms: peculiarity in their mode of reproduction. (xlvii-ix) Toadstools: signs of poisonous kinds; 9 drugs obtained from these; silphium 7; assafoetida plant 39. (l-lv) Bee-glue 5, honey 16, hydromel 18; reason for influence of diet on character; mead 6 honey-must, 3; wax, 8. (lvi) Warning against doctors' mixtures. (lvii-lxxvi). Drugs from various grains: common wheat 1, wheat 11, chaff 2, emmer 1, bran 1, arinca, rye-water 2; corresponding varieties of flour; 29 drugs; pearl-barley 8; fine flour, pulse 1, paper flour 1; alica 6; millet 6; Italian millet 4; sesame 7; near-sesame 3, hellebore 3; barley 9, wild barley (Greek 'Phoenician barley') 1; pearl-barley 4; starch 8; oats 1; bread 21; bean 16; lentil 17; marsh-bean 3; elelisphacon or fragrant moss (sage) 13; chick-pea and small chickpea 23; bitter vetch 20; lupine 35; winter-cress or erysimum (Gallic 'vela') 15; clary 6. (lxxvii-lxxx) Darnel 5, millet grass 1, oats 1, choke-weed or broom-rape 1. (lxxxi f.) Protection against maggots in vegetables. Foam from beer.Total 906 drugs, investigations and observations.

Authoritiesas in preceding book, also Chrysermus, Bratosthenes, Alcaeus.

Book 23. Contents: drugs obtained from cultivated trees: (ii-xxii) from vines 20; vine-leaves 7; tendrils 7; juice of unripe grape 14; wild vine 21; fresh grapes; varieties of stored grapes, 11 drugs; vine-shoots 1; grape-stones 6; grape-skins 8; treacle-grape 4; dried grape or raisin 14; wild raisin or staves-acre or taminia or phlegm-heal 12; claret-vine or wild vine 12; salicastrum wild vine 12; white grape or ampelos leuke or staphyle or white bryony or psilothrum or archezostis or cedrostis or madon 31; black grape or bryony or Chiron's plant or gynacanthe or apronia 35; must 15; Falernian 6, Alban 2, Surrentine 3; Setine 1, Statane 1, Signine 1; other wines 64. (xxiii-vi) observations about wines 61; what invalids to be given them, and when and how; observations on these points 91. (xxvii-xxxiii) Vinegar 28, squillvinegar 17, vinegar-honey 7, must 7, wine lees 12, vinegar lees 17, must lees 4. (xxxiv-xxxix) Olive leaves 23; olive flowers 4, olive berries 6, white olives 4, black olives 3; olive lees 21, wild olive leaves 16, oil of unripe olives 3. (xl-l) Wild olive oil 8; castor oil 16; almond oil 16; bay oil 9; myrtle oil 20; oil of dwarf myrtle or prickly myrtle (butcher's room), of cypress, of citrus, nut-oil, Cnidian oil, mastic oil, oil of behen-nut, cyprus oil and cyprus flower 6; oil of must 1; of balsam 5; of betel 5, of henbane 2, of lupine 1, of narcissus 1, of radish 5, of sesame 3, of lily-seed 1, oil of Selga 1, of Iguvium 1; of olive-honey 2, of pitch 2. (li-liii) Palm-oil 9, palm-oil of behen-nut 3, of fir 17. (liv-lxxxiii) Drugs from flower, leaves, fruit, branches, bark, sap, wood, root, ash, of the different sorts of tree; observations as to apple-trees 6, as to quinces 22, as to soapworts 1, sweet apples 6, crab apples 4, citron apples 5, pomegranates 26; lip-salve 14; pomegranate blossom 8, wild pomegranate blossom 12. (lxii-lxix) Observations on pear trees, 13, on figs 111, on wild figs 42; erineus grass 3, plums 4, peaches 2, wild plums 2; tree lichen (lxx-lxxv) Mulberries 39; lip-salve or windpipe salve or all-heal 4;

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cherries 5, medlars 2, serviceberries 2, pine-cones 13, almonds 29. (lxvi-lxxix) Greek nuts 1, walnuts 24 (antidote); filberts 3, pistachios 8, chestnuts 5, caroes 5, cornel-cherry 1, arbutuses. (lxxx-lxxxiii) Bay-trees 69. myrtles 60, myrtle-berry wine 13, Prickly myrtle or ground-myrtle or butcher's broom 6.Total 1418 drugs, investigations and observations.

Authorities: Gaius Valgius, Pompeius Lenaeus, Sextins Niger's Greek writings, Julius Bassus's ditto, Antonius Castor, Marcus Varro, Cornelius Celsus, Fabianus. Foreign authorities: Theophrastus, Democritus, Orpheus, Pythagoras, Mago, Menander's Things serviceable for life, Nicander, Homer, Hesiod, Musaeus, Sophocles, Anaxilaus. Medical writers: Mnesitheus, Callimachus, Phanias's Natural Science, Timaristus, Simus, Hippocrates, Chrysippus, Diodes, Ophion, Heracides, Hicesius, Dionysius, Apollodorus of Citium, Apollodorus of Tarentum, Praxagoras, Plistonicus, Medius, Dieuches, Cleophantes, Philistion, Asclepiades, Crateuas, Petronius Diodotus, Iollas, Erasistratus, Diagoras, Andreas, Mnesides, Epieharmus, Damion, Dalion, Sosimenes, Tlepolemus, Metrodorus, Solon, Lyeus, Olympias of Thebes, Philinus, Petrichus, Miccio, Glaucias, Xenocrates.

Book 24. Contents: Drugs obtained from forest trees: (ii-ix) Egyptian water-lily 6, acorns 13, holm-oak berry 3, oak-apple 23, mistletoe 11, acorns of glandiferous trees 1, Turkey oak 8, cork 2, beech 4. (x-xix) Cypress 23, cedar 13, cedar-berry 10, galbanum 23, gum-tree 24, styrax gum-tree 10, bear's-foot 17, sphagnus or sphaeus or moss 5, turpentine 6, pitch-pine 8. (xx-xxix) Ground-pine 10, pityusa 6, resin 22, pitch 34, cedar-resin oil or twice-boiled pitch 16, earth-pitch 2, wax-pitch 1, pitch-pine 1, mastic-tree 22, plane 25. (xxx-xxxix) Beech 5, maple 1, poplar 8, elm 16, lime 5, elder 15, juniper 21, willow 14, Amerian apple 1, chaste-tree 33, heath 1. (xl-xlix) Broom 5, myrice, also called tamarisk 3, golden-rod 1, brya 29, brook-willow 3, privet 8, alder 1, ivies 39, cisthus 5, reddish-ivy 2, ground-ivy 2, yew 3, clematis 3. (l-lix) Reed 18, papyrus reed 3, ebony 5, rhododendron 1, sumach 2 kinds, 8 drugs (mouth-heal), red sumach 9, madder 11, madwort 2, radicula or soapwort 13, dog's-bane 2, rosemary 18. (lx-lxix) Rosemary capsule 6, sabine grass 7, savin-tree 2, brookweed 2, cummin 11, Arabian thorn 4, white-thorn 2, bear's-foot 1, acacia 18, rosewood or erysisceptrum or adipsatheum or diaxylon 8. (lxx-lxxix) Barberry-bush 2, pyracanthus 1, Christ's-thorn 10, holly 10, yew 1, blackberries 51 (mouth-heal), dog-rose 3, Ida bramble 1; buckthorn 2 kinds, 5 drugs; Lycium thorn 18, Persian gum 2, oporice 2. (lxxx-lxxxix) Germander or dwarf oak or chamaerops or Teucrian plant 16; dwarf laurel 5, dwarf olive 6, dwarf fig 8, ground ivy 1, chamaeleuce or colt's-foot or farfugium 1, ground larch 5, ground cypress 2. field-garlic 6, horsemint 1, wild basil or cleopicetum or zopyrontium or ocimoides 3, knotweed clematis 3. clematis or aetis or cimoides. (xl-xlviii) Egyptian clematis or laurel clematis or polygonoides 2, wake-robin 13, tarragon 2, dragon-root 3, milfoil or varrow 7, bastard-bunion 4, sweet-cicely or myrra or myriza 7, oenobreche 3. (xcix-cii) Sorcery from herbs: coracesia and calicia; Minyad or Corinthian herb 1, aproxis (Pythagorean teachings as to recurrent diseases), aglaophotis or marble-quarry plant. Achaemenis or horse's-mane, theombrotion or semnion, uncrushable herb, Ariana plant, theronarca. Ethiopian plant or herb of Meroe, ophiusa, sea-ray or river-flash, theangelis, gelotophyllis, hestiateris or protomedia or casignetes or Dionysonymphas, helianthis or heliocallis, hermesiades, aeschynomenes, erocis, oenetheris, anacampseros. (ciii-cix) Eriphia, wool grass 1, milk-wort 1, soldier-grass 1, stratiotes 5, statue's head grass 1, river grass 1, tongue grass 1, sieve grass 1. (cx-cxx) Dung-hill grass 1, dog's water grass 1, rodarum 3, French everlasting 2, Venus's comb 1, exedum, southern-wood 2, goose-grass 1, dog-bur 2, hart-wort or syreon 3, couch-grass 17, lady's finger 5, Greek hay or fenugreek, our silicia, 31.Total: 1176 drugs, investigations and observations.

Authorities: Gaius Valgius, Pompeius Lenaeus, Sextius Niger's Greek writings, Julius Bassos's, ditto, Antonius Castor, Cornelius Celsus. Foreign authorities: Theophrastus, Apollodorus, Democritus, Orpheus, Pythagoras, Mago, Menander's Things serviceable for life, Nicander, Homer, Hesiod, Musaeus, Sophocles, Anaxilaus. Medical writers: Mnesitheus, Callimachus, Phanias the scientific writer, Timaristus, Simus, Hippocrates, Chrysippus, Diodes, Ophion, Heradides, Hicesius, Dionysius, Apollodorus of Citium, Apollodorus of Tarentuxn, Praxagoras, Plistonicus, Mcdius, Dieuches, Cleophantus, Philistio, Asclepiades, Cratcuas, Petronius Diodotus, Iollas, Erasistratus, Diagoras, Andreas, Mnesides, Epicharmus, Damion, Sosimenes, Tlepolemus, Metrodorus, Solon, Lycus, Olympias of Thebes, Phulinus, Petrichus, Miccio, Glaucias, Xenocrates.

Book 25. Contents: the natures of self-grown plants; value of plants. (i-vi) Origin of their use; Latin writers on uses of plants; when this knowledge reached the Romans; first Greek writers on the subject; herbal remedies, why comparatively little used; remarkable discoveries of plants. Dog-rose, 2 drugs, tarragon 1, water-clock 5. (vii-ix) The greatest pain. Discoverers of famous plants. Moly 3, shooting star 1, peony or pentorobus or glycysides 1, varieties of all-healAsclepion 2, Heraclion 3, Chironion 4, Centaurion or Pharnacion 3, iron-wort Heraclion 4, hyoscyamos or Apollo-plant or henbane, 2 kinds, 3 drugs; linozostis or maiden-hair or grass of Hermes or grass of Mercury, 2 kinds, 22 drugs; Achilles star-wort or all-heal of Heracles, our milfoil or king's-broom, 6 kinds, 3 drugs. (xx-xxix) Teucer's grass or hermione or spleenwort 2; Melampodium or hellebore, our veratrum 3 kinds, method of gathering, method of testing; drugs from black hellebore 24, how taken; ditto with white hellebore; drugs from the latter 23; to what patients not to be given: observations in regard to each kind 88. Grass of Mithridates 2, scordotis or water-germander 4, Polemonia or Philetaeria or thousand-virtues 6, Eupatoria 1. (xxx-xlii) Centaury or grass of Chiron 20, lesser centaury or libadion, our earth-gall (fumitory) 22, triorchis centaury 2, Clymenos 2, gentian 13, Lysimachia 8, Artemisia or maiden-herb or magwort or ambrosia 5, water-lily or rod of Heracles or rhopalon or mallos, 2 kinds, 14 drugs; Euphorbia .2 kinds, 4 drugs; plantain 2 kinds, 46 drugs; bugloss 3; hound's-tongue 3; ox-eye or cachla 1. (xliii-ix) Plants discovered by various races: Scythian grass 3, mare's-grass 3, styptic plant 2, cestros or psychotrophon, our Vettonica or betony, 48; Cantabrian bindweed 2, lung-wort 1, candy-tuft 7. (l-liii) Plants found from animals: swallow-wort 6, dog's-grass 1, dittany 8, sham-dittany or horehound. Localities where herbs most potent. Milk drunk for herbal contents in Arcady. (liv-lix) Aristolochia or clematis or Cretan plant or plistolochia or many-rooted lochia, our earth-bane, 22; agrimony 4, tinder-fungus 33; viper's-bugloss 3 kinds, 2 drugs; holy-wort or dove-wort, our vervain, 2 kinds 10 drugs; moth-mullein 11, molemony 1; pentapetes or pentaphyllon or chamaezelon, our cinquefoil, 33 drugs; bur-weed 1; wild carrot, 4 kinds, 18 drugs; theronarca 2; brown mullein or arcion 8; cyclamen, our mole-hill plant, 12; ivy-flower cyclamen 4; ground-ivy cyclamen 3. (lxx-xc) Sulphurwort 28, dwarf elder 6; phlomos, our mullein 15; phlornides 2, phlomis or wild lychnis or thryallis; thelyphonon or scorpion-grass (aconite) 1; phrynion or neuras or poterion 1; water-plantain or damnsoniurn or lyron 17; vervain 6; antirrhinum or anarrhinum or wild lychnis 3; euplia 1; pericarpum, 2 kinds; 2 drugs; Hercules water-lily 2; marsh crowfoot 1; colt's-foot or lion-wort 3; hair-dye plant 1; hyssop 10; satyrion 4; gladiolus or sword-lily 4; flea-bane or dog-wort or gold garlic or Sicilian grass or dog-fly 16; thryselinon 1. (xci-cv) Eye-salves: pimpernel or chickweed, our cat's-eye, 2 kinds, 3 drugs; aegilops 2, mandragora or Circe's herb or nightshade or white mandrake, 2 kinds, 24 drugs; hemlock 13; wild seafennel 1, leadwort 1; 'dwarfed smoke,' our chickenfeet (fumitory) 1; bush-smoke 3; acoron or sweetflag 14; navelwort, 2 kinds 61 drugs; greater livefor-ever or ox-eye or zoophthalmon or love-charm or gutter-leek or immortal or care-free, our great houseleek or eye or little finger, 31 drugs; lesser live-for-ever or erithales or trithales or erysithales, our aye-green or stonecrop, 32 drugs; wild purslane, our decoy-bird 32. (cvi-x) Erigeron or pappos or groundsel, our old-man, 8; ephemeron 2; Venus's-lip 1, frog-weed, our ranunculus or buttercup, 4 kinds, 14 drugs; mouth-heal, 2 kinds. Total 1292 drugs, investigations and observations.

Authorities: Gaius Valgius, Pompeius Lenaens, Sextius Niger's Greek writings, Julius Bassus's ditto, Antonius Castor, Cornelius Celsus, Fabianus. Foreign authorities: Theophrastus, Apollodorus, Democritus, Juba, Orpheus, Pythagoras, Mago, Menander's Things serviceable for life, Nicander, Homer, Hesiod, Musaeus, Sophocles, Xanthus, Anaxilaus. Medical writers: Mnesitheus, Callimachns, Phanias the natural scientist, Timaristus, Simus, Hippocrates, Chrysippus, Diodes, Ophion, Heraclides, Hicesins, Dionysius, Apollodorus of Citium, Apollodorus of Tarentum, Praxagoras, Plistonicus, Medius, Dieuches, Cleophantus, Philistion, Asclepias, Crateuas, Petronius Diodotus, Iollas, Erasistratus, Diagoras, Andreas, Mnesides, Epicharmus, Damion, Sosimenes, Tlepolemus, Metrodorus, Solon, Lycus, Olympias of Thebes, Philinus, Petrichus, Miccio, Glaucias, Xenocrates.

Book 26. Contents: the remaining drugs by classes. (i) New diseases. (ii-vi) Ringwormwhen first occurring in Italy; carbuncle ditto; elephantiasis ditto; colic ditto. (vii-ix) The new medicine; the physician Asclepias; reason for alteration of the old medicine; refutation of Magi. (x-xix) Lichen, 2 kinds, 5 drugs, Proserpinaca 1, ox-eye daisy 2, condurdum 1, bechfon or arcion or chamaeleuce, our white colt's-foot, 3; bechion, our sage, 4; molon or syron, balsam-shrub 3. (xx-xxix) Horse-tail or anabasis 3, geum 3, tripolion 3, amaranth. malundrum 2, chalcetum 2, molemonium 1; comfrey or black bryony 5, wall germander 1, French lavender 1, Spanish tragacanth 6. (xxx-xxxix) Ladanum 8; horehound or bastard dittany 1, cisthus-parasite or orobethron, 2 kinds, 8 drugs; layer or sion 2; pond-weed 8, statice 3; horn-weed 2, lentopodion or leuceoron or doribethron or thorybethron; hare's foot 3; thyme-flower or hippopheos 8; devil's-bit 4; polypody 3; scanimony 8; stake-spurge. (xl-xlvi) Myrtle-spurge or nut-spurge 21, sea-spurge or thymalis 4, heliotrope spurge 18, cyparissias-spurge 18, broadleaved spurge or corymbites or almond-spurge 3; tree-spurge or cobius or small-leaved spurge 18; sciatica-spurge or wild radish 2. (l-lix) Sea-fennel 11, sea-fennel kernel, pitch-plant 2, musk-ivy 2, portulaca 1, hypericon or ground-pine or corisson 9, ground-pine seed or hypericon 10, hair-dye plant 1, perpressa 1, marigold 1, chamomile 1, smallage 1, Fulvius-grass, groin-grass or argemo. (lx-lxix) Clirvsippus-grass 1, orchis or Serapia 5, ragwort 3, red ragwort 4, lappagobin or mollugo 1, prickly bur 1, phvcos, our seaweed, 3 kinds, 5 drugs; cattle-bur; crane's bill or geranium or myrtis, 3 kinds, 6 drugs; donkey-hunt or refreshment-plant 3, (lxxiii) Danewort or dwarf-elder, ground Dane-wort. (lxxxiii-xciii) Horsetail or ephedron or anabasis, our horse-hair, 3 kinds, 18 drugs; stephanomeis; erysithales l, polycnemon 1, arsenogonon 1, thelygonon 1, mastos 1, ophrys. Total, 1019 drugs, investigations and observations.

Authorities: Marcus Varro, Gaius Valgius, Pornpeius Lenaeus, Sextius Niger's Greek writings, Julius Bassus's ditto, Antonius Castor, Cornelius Celsus. Foreign Authorities: Theophrastus, Apollodorus, Democritus, Juba, Orpheus, Pythagoras, Mago, Menander's Things serviceable for life, Nicander, Homer, Hesiod, Musaeus, Sophocles, Xanthus, Anaxilaus. Medical writers: Mnesitheus, Callimachus, Phanias the natural philosopher, Timaristus, Simus, Hippocrates, Chrysippus, Diodes, Ophion, Heraclides, Hicesius, Dionysius, Apollodorus of Citium, Apollodorus of Tarentum, Praxagoras, Plistonicus, Medius, Dieuches, Cleophantus, Philistion, Asclepiades, Crateuas, Petronius Diodotus, Iollas, Erasistratus, Diagoras, Andreas, Mnesides, Epicharmus, Damion, Sosimenes, Tlepolemus, Metrodorus, Solon, Lycus, Olympias of Thebes, Philinus, Petrichus, Miccio, Glaucias, Xenocrates.

Book 27. Contents: the remaining kinds of plants, drugs derived from them. (ii-x) Monk's-hood or lady-killer or cammoron or choke-leopard or scorpion, 4 drugs; Aetbiopic sage 4; never-grow-old 4; aloe 29; alcea-mallow 1; herb terrible 1; chickweed for the same uses as helxine 5; androsaces 6; man's-blood or St. John's-wort 6. (xi-xx) Ambrosia or mug-wort or Artemisia 3, rest-harrow or ononis 5, bean-trefoil or pain-killer 3, no-name 2, cleavers or grape-fruit or goose-grass 4, bear-weed or bear-ward 5, miltwort or spleenwort 2, swallowwort 2, aster or star-wort 3, St. John's wort and ascyroides 3. (xxi-xxx) Chick-pea 3, alcibium 1, alectoros Iophos, our cock's-comb 2, comfrey, our rock wallwort 14, red seaweed 1, herb Christopher 1, wild vine 4; wormwood, 4 kinds, 48 drugs; sea-wormwood or seriphum; horehound or black chives 3. (xxxi-xl) Mugwort or ambrosia or Artemisia 1, brabyla 1; sea bryon 5, hare's-ear 1, catanance 1, cemos 1, calyx 3, calyx or strangle-plant or rhinoclia 2, herb of Circe 3, cirsion thistle 1; crataegonon, 3 kinds, 8 drugs; (xli-l) crocodile plant 2, hound's-cod or orchis 4, garden orach, 2 kinds, 3 drugs, earth-bond 2, nightshade or strumus or strychnos 6, salve-herb 2, Cnidus berry 2, teasel 3, oak-wing 2, drabe 1, elatine 2. (li-lx) Harts-tongue, called in Latin break-stone, 4; epicactis or belleborine 2, epimedion 3, nine-leaf 3, fern. 2 kinds called by the Greeks 'feather-fern' or blachnon, also female feather or bride's-feather, 11; ox-thigh; dead-nettle or galeobdoIon or galion 6; owl-plant 1; celandine 3 (pillar-plant, 2 drugs) glycysis or peony or pentorobon 20. (lxi-lxx) Cotton-grass or cudweed 6, hairy teasel 1, mouse-barley or aristis, black centaury, white plantain 3, hippophaeston 8, butcher's broom 1, humble-plant, grass of Ida 4, isopvron or phasiolon 2. (lxxi-lxxx) Wolf's-milk 2, lion's-leaf (others call it 'rhapeion') 2, alkanet 2, lithospermon or exonychon or diospyron or grass of Hercules 2, stone-crop 1, arrow-poison 1, spotted dead-nettle or mesoleucium or leucas 3, St. Mary's thistle 5; medion 3, mouse-ear or forget-me-not 3. (lxxxi-xc) Mouse-hunter 1, nyma 1. water-snake 1, toothwort 1, othonna 1, onosma 1, St. Mary's thistle 5, goose-foot 4, wood sorrel 2, many-flowered crowfoot or frogwort 3. (xci-c) Knot-grass or polygonatum or sea-grass or carcinothron or clema or bayleaf (the same as bloodweed or orbs) 4 kinds, 40 drugs; succory 12, peplis or syce or meconion or foam-poppy 3, honeysuckle 5, hatchet-vetch 1, milkwort 1, tragacanth or frog-cup or tendon-plant 4; anthericum or spider-root or whitethorn 4; groundsel 1; phyllon 1. (ci-cx) Phellandrion 2, canary-grass 2, many-root 5, Proserpinaca 5, rhecoma 36, reseda 2, French lavender 3, nightshade, Greek strychnon, 2; common alexanders 32, sinon 2, purslane 4. (cxi-cxvii) Mad-locks 5, meadow-rue 1, thlaspi or Persian mustard 4, herb of Trachis 1, tragonis or goatwort 1, goat-grass or scorpion-grass 4, goat's-beard or come 1. (cxviii-cxx) Length of life of herbs; means of increasing the potency of each kind. Different national maladies. Total, 602 drugs, investigations and observations.

Authorities: Gaius Valgius, Pompeius Lenaeus, Greek works of Sextius Niger, ditto of Julius Bassus, Antonius Castor, Cornelius Cclsus. Foreign authorities: Theophrastus, Apollodorus, Democritus, Aristogiton, Orpheus, Pythagoras, Mago, Menander's Things serviceable for life, Nicander. Medical writers: Mnesitheus, Callimachus, Timaristus, Simus, Hippocrates, Chrysippus, Diodes, Ophion, Heraclides, Hicesius, Dionysius, Apollodorus of Citium, Apollodorus of Tarcntum, Praxagoras, Plistonicus, Medius, Dieuches, Cleophantus, Philistiou, Asclepiades, Crateuas, Petronius

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Diodotus, Iollas, Erasistratus, Diagoras, Andreas, Mnesides, Epicharmus, Damion, Sosimenes, Tlcpolemus, Metrodorus, Solon, Lycus, Olympias of Thebes, Philinus, Petrichus, Miccio, Glaucia, Xenocrates.

Book 28. Contents: drugs obtained from animals. (iii) Whether there is any healing power in spoken charms. (iv-v) Portents ratified and rejected. (vi-xix) Remedies obtained from the human body; against magicians; 226 drugs and observations derived from an adult male, 8 from a boy; (xx-xxiii) 61 from a woman; (xxiv-xxxi) from foreign animals,elephant 8, lion 10, camel 10, hyena 79, crocodile 19, crocodile's excrement 11, chameleon 15, lizard 4, hippopotamus 7, lynx 5. (xxxiii-xli) Drugs obtained: 1 equally from wild animals and tame animals of the same kind; milk, modes of using and remarks as to, 54; cheeses 12; butter 25; sour milk 1; fat, modes of using and observations as to, 52; suet; marrow; gall; blood. (xlii-lxxx) Special drugs derived from particular animals arranged according to diseases; from the boar 12, pig 60, stag 3, wolf 27, bear 24, wild ass 12, ass 76, ass's foal 3, wild horse 11, foal's rennet 1, horse 42, mare's milk cheese 1, wild oxen 2, ox 81, bull 53, calf 59, hare 64, fox 20, badger 2, cat 5, she-goat 116, he-goat 31, kid 21. (lxxi) On testing bull-glue, and 7 drugs from it. Total 1682 drugs, investigations and observations.

Authorities: Marcus Varro, Lucius Piso, Antias, Verrius, Fabianus, Cato the ex-Censor, Servius Sulpicius, Licinius, Macer, Celsus, Masurius, Greek works of Sextius Niger, Bythus of Durazzo, medical works of Rabirius, Ofilius and Granius. Foreign authorities: Democritus, Apollonius alias the Mouse, Meletus, Artemon, Sextilius Antaeus, Homer, Theophrastus, Lysimachus, Attalus, Xenocrates, Orpheus writer of Idiopkye, Archelaus ditto, Demetrius, Sotira, Lais, Elephantis, Salpe, Olympias of Thebes, Diotimus of Thebes, Jollas, Audreas, Marcio of Smyrna, medical works of Aeseliines, Hippocrates, Aristotle, medical works of Hicetidas and Apelles, Hesiod, Bialcon, Caecilius, Bion's On Potencies, Anaxilaus, King Juba.

Book 29. Contents: drugs obtained from animals. (i-viii) Origin of medicine; Hippocrates; first employment of clinic medicine, first employment of embrocations; Chrysippus the physician, Erasistratus; experimental medicine; Hierophulus; remaining famous physicians; how often the system of medicine has altered; the first physician at Rome, name and date; judgement of Romans as to ancient physicians; defects of medicine. (ix-xiii) Cures from wools 35 and in the next book 25, making 60; from wool-washings 32, next book 20, making 52; from eggs 22, next book 43, making 65; meaning of 'fattened' eggs; how to make eggs all yoke; snakes' eggs; how to make Commagene-cure; drugs from it 4, and in next book 5, making 9. (xiv-xl) Remedies from roaming or wild animals; ram 5 and next book 7 = 12, sheep 2 and next book 15 = 17, mules 1 and next book 5 = 6, horses 1 and next book 3 = 4, dog 16 and next book 41 = 57, mad dog 3 and next book 5 = 7, ichneumon 1, mouse 14 and next book 28 = 42, pygmymouse 4 and next book 1 = 5, dormouse 2 and next book 6 = 8, shrewmouse 1 and next book 2 = 3, weasel 19 and next book 25 = 44, gecko 4 and next book 12 = 16, hedgehog 5 and next book 13 = 18, porcupine 1 and next book 2 = 3, lizard 13 and next book 30 = 43, salamander 1 and next book 3 = 4, snail 27 and next book 19 = 46, asp 1 and next book 3 = 4, basilisk 4, serpent 4 and next book 6 10, viper 14 and next book 21 = 35 (xxi, salt antidote for viper-bite; xxxviii, adder-ash drug) snake 8 and next book 27 = 35, water-serpent 1, ox-snake 4 and next book 3 = 7, water-snake 1 and next book 2 = 3, the other serpents Sand next book 7 = 15, scorpion 4 and next book 2 = 6, spiders and poison-spiders, 12 kinds, drugs from these 9 and next book 27 = 36, cricket or bull-beetle 1 and next book 7 = 8, scolopendra or multipede or millepede or centipede or woodlouse or catkin 1 and next book 20 = 21 (xvii, admiration of nature who produces nothing useless), slug 1 and next book 3 = 4, caterpillar 1 and next book 2 = 3, earth-worm 2 and next book 20 = 22, tree-worm I and next book 4 = 5; from birdseagle 4 and next book 3 = 7, vulture 9 and next book 7 = 16, cock 21 and next book 35 = 56, hen 10 and next book 22 = 32, goose 7 and next book 15 = 22, swan 1 and next book 5 = 6 (xiii manufacture of bird's lard); raven 2 and next book 4 = 6, crow 1 and next book 2 = 3, hawk 2 and next book 2 = 4, kite 2 and next book 6 = 8, goshawk 2, stork 2 and next book 1 = 3, duck 2 and next book 4 = 6, partridge 6 and next book 11 = 17, dove 7 and next book 25 = 32, pigeon 2 and next hook 14 = 16, Mars's woodpecker 1, turtle-dove 4 and next book 5 = 9, swallow 9 and next book 24 = 33, night-owl 4 and next book 5 = 9, screech-owl 1 and next book 1 = 2, horned owl 2 and next book 5 = 7, bat 4 and next book 9 = 13, bees 5 and next book 7 = 12, cow-fly 3 and next book 3 = 6, pine-grub 2 and next book 4 = 6, (xvii that the beneficence of nature has placed powerful remedies even in disgusting animals), hectic 1 and next book 7 = 8, cockroach 4 and next book 13 =17. (xxx) The genus Spanish flydrugs from these 5 and next book 11 = 16, bug 9 and next book 5 = 14, house-fly 7 and next book 5 = 12, locusts 4 and next book 3 = 7, wingless locust 1, ants 3 and next book 5 = 8.Total 621 drugs, investigations and observations.

Authorities: Marcus Varro, Lucius Piso, Verrius Flaccus, Antias, Nigidius, Cassius Hemina, Cicero, Plautus, Celsus, Sextius Niger (Greek works of), Caecilius the medical writer, Metellus Scipio, the poet Ovid, Liciuius Macer. Foreign authorities: Palaephatus, Homer, Aristotle, Orpheus, Democritus, Anaxilaus. Medical writers: Botrys, Apollodorus, Archedemus, Aristogencs, Xenocrates, Democrates, Diodorus, Chrysippus, Philip, Orus, Nicander, Apollonius of Pitane.

Book 30. Contents: drugs obtained from animals (concluded). (i-vii) Origin of magicdate and place of its commencement, by whom practised; whether carried on in Italy. Human sacrifice, when first prohibited by the senate; the Druids of the Gauls; kinds of magic; magicians' view as to moles; 5 drugs. (viii-liii) Remaining drugs, arranged according to diseases, found in animals not classed as tame or wild: cattle 2 and in last book 15 = 17, ram 7 and in last book 5 = 12, wool 25 and in last book 35 = 60, wool-washings 20 and in last book 32 = 52, mules 5 and in last book 1 = 6, horses 3 and in last book 1 = 4; dog 41 and in last book 16 = 57, mad dog 2 and in last book 3 = 5, ferret 1, mouse 28 and in last book 14 = 62, shrewmouse 1 and in last book 4 = 5, dormouse 6 and in last book 2 = 8, shrewmouse 2 and in last book 1 = 3, weasel 25 and in last book 19 = 44, newt 12 and in last book 4 = 16, hedgehog 13 and in last book 5 = 18, porcupine 2 and in last book 1 = 3, lizard 30 and in last book 13 = 43, salamander 3 and in last book 1 4, snail 19 and in last book 27 = 46 (xliii the drug everlasting), viper 3 and in last book 1 = 4, snake 6 and in last book 4 = 10, viper 21 and in last book 14 = 35, serpent 27 and in last book 8 = 35, bova 3 and in last book 4 = 7, water snake 2 and in last book 1 = 3, Libyan snake 3, remaining serpents 7 and in last book 8 = 15, scorpion 2 and in last book 9 = 36, cricket 3, phryganion 1, scolopendra or multipede or millepede or centipede or woodlouse or catkin 20 and in last book 1 = 21 (admiration for nature who produces nothing useless), slug 3 and in last book 1 = 4, caterpillar 2 and in last book 1 = 3, earthworm 20 and in last book 2 = 22, tree-worm 4 and in last book 1 = 5, grass-worm 8, herpes 1, tick 3; from birds, eagle 3 and in last book 4 = 7, vulture 7 and eggs 43 and in last book 22 = 65, Syrian cock 5 and in last book 4 = 9, swan 5 and in last book 1 = 6, otis 2, raven 4 and in last book 2 = 6, crow 2 and in last book 1 = 3, hawk 2 and in last book 2 = 4, kite 6 in last book 2 = 8, crane 1, stork 1 and in last book 2 = 3, ibis 3, little heron 1, duck 4 and in last book 2 = 6, diver 2, partridge 11 and in last book 6 = 17, dove 14 and in last book 2 16, crested lark 4, cuckoo 1, Mars's woodpecker 1, turtledove 5 and in last book 4 = 9, thrush 3, blackbird 1, swallow 24 and in last book 9 = 33, night-owl 5 and in last book 4 = 9, screech-owl 1 and in last book 1 2, hoopoe 1, horned owl 5 and in last book 2 = 7, sparrow 5, galgulus 2, bat 9 and in last hook 4 13, tree cricket 1, bees 7 and in last book 5 = 12, wasps 2, cow-fly 3 and in last book 3 = 6, pine-grub 4 and in last book 2 = 6 (that the beneficence of nature has placed powerful remedies even in disgusting animals), beetle 7 and in last book 1 = 8, cockroaches 13 and in last book 4 = 17; the genus Spanish flydrugs from these 11 and in last book 5 = 16, bug 5 and in last book 9 = 14, house-fly 5 and in last book 7 = 12, locusts 3 and in last book 4 = 7, ants 5 and in last book 3 = 8.Total 854 drugs, investigations and observations.

Authorities: Marcus Varro, Nigidius, Marcus Cicero, Sextius Niger (Greek works of), Licinius Macer. Foreign authorities: Eudoxus, Aristotle, Hermippus, Homer, Apion, Orpheus, Democritus, Anaxilaus. Medical writers: Botrys, Apollodorus, Menander, Archidemus, Aristogenes, Xenocrates, Diodorus, Chrysippus, Pbilippus, Orus, Nicander, Apollonius of Pitane.

Book 31. Contents: drugs obtained from aquatic animals. (i) Remarkable facts as to waters. (ii) Differences in waters. (iii-xvi) Medicinal properties: 266 observations; what sorts of waters are good for the eyes, what sorts produce fertility, what sorts cure insanity, what sorts gall-stone, what sorts wounds, what sorts protect the embryo, what sorts remove tetter, which make dye for wools, which for human beings, which produce memory, which forgetfulness, which keenness of sense, which slowness, which a musical voice, which dislike of wine, which intoxication, which fill the place of oil, which are salt and bitter; springs discharging rocks, springs that cause laughter or weeping, springs said to cure love. (xvii) Water keeping hot for three days after being drawn. (xviii-xx) Remarkable waters: waters in which all objects sink, in which no objects; waters that kill, poisonous fishes; waters that turn into stone, or produce stones. (xxi-iii) Health-giving property of waters; impurities of waters; mode of testing waters. (xxiv f.) The Marcian Spring, the Maiden Spring. (xxvi-ix) Method of finding water; signs of sprints; .differences of waters according to kinds of earth; variation of springs with the seasons. (xxx). Historical account of springs suddenly arising or stopping. (xxxi) Method of carrying water in pipes. (xxxii f.) Medicinal waters, mode of employing, for what kinds of illnesses; ditto sea-water, 29 kinds. Benefits of a voyage, 5. (xxxiv-vi) Sea-water at places inland, 1 method of producing, sea-water-honey 1, water-honey 1. (xxxvii f.) Remedy against foreign waters; 6 drugs from moss; drugs from sands. (xxxix-xlv) Salt, kinds of, preparations and drugs from, 204 observations; historical importance of salt 120; froth of salt; flower of salt 20; brine 2; fish-sauce 15; pickle 15; fish-brine 8; nature of salt. (xlvi f.) Native soda, kinds of, preparations and drugs from221 observations; sponges, 92 drugs from and observations.Total 924 drugs, investigations and observations.

Authorities: Marcus Varro, Cassius of Parma, Cicero, Mucianus, Caelius, Celsus, Trogus, Ovid, Polybius, Sornatius. Foreign authorities: Callimachus, Ctesias, Eudicus, Theophrastus, Eudoxus, Theopompus, Polyclitus, Juba, Lycus, Apion, Epigenes, Pelops, Apelles, Democritus, Thrasyllus, Nicander, comedies of Menander, Attalus, Sallustius, Dionysius, Andreas, Niceratus, Hippocrates, Anaxilaus.

Book 32. Contentsdrugs from aquatic animals. (i-iv) Nature's supreme force in antipathy. The sucking-fish, 2 cases; the electric ray, 7 cases; the sea-hare, 5 cases; marvels of the Red Sea. (v-ix) Intellect of fishes; remarkable properties of fishes; places where oracles are given from fishes, where fishes eat out of the hand, where they recognize the voice, where they are bitter, where salt, where sweet, where not dumb; Their sympathy and also antipathy for localities. (x) Sea-fish when first used by the Roman nation. King Numa's regulation as to fish. (xi) Coral, drugs from and observations as to, 66. (xii) Discord between marine animals: sting-ray 9, dog-fish, mullet 15. (xiii-xx) Amphibious animals: beaver-castors, drugs from and observations as to, 56; tortoise, drugs and observations 66; gilt-bream 4, star-fish 7, sea-snake 3, salt fish 25, sardines 1, tunnies, sea-frog 6, river-frog 52, bramble-toad; observations about them 32; water-snake 6, river-crabs 14, sea-crabs 7, river-snails 7, crow-fish 4, pig-fish 2, sea-calf 10, lamprey 1, sea-horse 9, sea-urchins 11. (xxi-xxx) Shellfish: kinds, observations and drugs 1; purple dye 9; seaweed 2, sea-mouse 2, sea-scorpion 12, leeches 6, purple-fishes 13, mussels 5, fishes' fat 2, callyonymi 3, crow-fish's gall 1, cuttle-fish 24, huso sturgeon 5, batia 1, bacchus or myxon 2, sea-lice 2, sea-bitch 4, seal 1, dolphin 9, sea-snail or murex 3, sea-foam 7, tunny 5, maena 13, scolopendra 2, lizard 1, conchis 1, sheat-flsh 15, sea-snail or longniussel 6, sponge 5. (xxxi-lii) Sea-cabbage 1, myax mussel 25, sea-mussels 8, giant mussels 1, seriphus fish 2, sea-mullet 2, sole-fish 1, turbot 1, blendia 1, sea-nettle 7, sea-lung 6, scallops 4; from the water-snake 4, from the water-serpent 1, mullet 1, from the young tunny 4, grayling 1, perch 4, from the skate 3, zmarides 3, conger 1, beaver 4, moss 1, haddock 1, phager 1, from the whale 1, polypus 1, shad 1, blue-fish I, rudd 1, sea-grape 1, eel 1, river-horse 1, crocodile 1, adarca or sea-foam 3, rush 8. (liii) Names of all animals living in the sea 176.Total: 990 drugs, investigations and observations.

Authorities: Licinius Macer, Trebius Niger, Sextius Niger (Greek writings of), the poet Ovid, Cassius Hemina, Maecenas, Iacchus, Sornatius. Foreign authorities: Juba, Andreas, Salpes, Apion, Pelops, Apelles, Thrasyllus, Nicander.

Book 33. Contents: the properties of the metals. (ii-xii) Gold, what first caused it to be valued; origin of gold rings; limited amount of gold among the ancients; the equestrian order, its right of wearing gold rings; its panels of judges; how often the title 'equestrian order' altered; gold and silver military gifts; gold wreath. When first bestowed; other uses of gold, its use by women. (xiii-xxv) Gold coinage; date of earliest coins, copper, silver, gold; method of using copper before introduction of stamping; highest money rating at first census; how often and at what dates value of copper and stamped coinage raised; the lust for gold; largest owners of silver and gold; date of earliest employment of silver ornaments in the arena, and on the stage; dates of largest accumulations of gold and silver in the national treasury; date of earliest gilded ceilings; reasons for special value of gold; method of gilding; discovery of gold; orpiment; synthetic amber; earliest gold statues; 8 drugs from gold. (xxvi-ix) malachite, method of employing it in painting; 7 drugs from malachite; goldsmith's malachite or mountain-green. (xxx) Remarkable natural facts as to the welding of metals and as to metal manufactures. (xxxi-v) Silver; quicksilver; antimony or stibis or alabaster or larbasis or platyopathalmus, drugs made of, 7; silver slag, drugs made of, 6; foam of silver, drugs made of, 7. (xxxvi-xli) Minimum, reverence for among the ancients; discovery and source of; cinnabar, method of using in medicine and in painting; kinds of red-lead; method of use in medicine and painting; watersilver. (xliii f.) Gilding of silver; touchstones for gold. (xliv-lv) Silver, its kinds and methods of testing; mirrors; Egyptian silver; immoderate wealth; who were the richest people; when did the Roman nation begin to squander money; luxury in silver vessels sparing use of silver in antiquity, instances of; date of earliest use of silver inlay on couches, of silver vessels of excessive size, of trays inlayed with silver, of making drums; excessive prices for silver; silver statuary ; famous works of art and artists in silver. (lvi-lviii) Of yellow ochre, who first used for painting and how. Steel blue; drugs made from, 2.Total 288 drugs, investigations and observations.

Authorities: the Emperor Domitian, Junius Gracchanus, Lucius Piso, Marcus Varro, Corviuus, Pomponius Atticus,

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Licinius Calvus, Cornelius Nepos, Mneianus, Boeehus, Fetialis, Fenestella, Valerius Maximus, Julius Bassus, Greek medical writings of, Sextius Niger, ditto. Foreign authorities: Theophrastus, Democritus, Juba, the historian Timaeus's Mineral Drugs, Heraclides, Andreas, Diagoras, Botrys, Archedemus, Dionysius, Aristogenes, Demodes, Mnesides, Attaius the medical writer, Xenocrates ditto, Theomnestus Nymphodorus, Iollas, Apohlodorus, Pasiteles's Masterpieces, Antigonus On Graving, Menaechmus ditto, Xenocrates ditto, Duris ditto, Menander On Gravers, Heliodorus's Votive Offerings of Athens, Metrodorus of Scepsis.

Book 34. Contents: (i) Copper metals. (ii-x) Kinds of copper--Corinthian, Delian, Aeginetan. On bronze dining-couches; on candelabra; on temple decorations of bronze; first bronze image of a god made at Rome; on the origin of statues and the reverence paid to them. (x-xix) Statues, their kinds and shapes. Ancient statues dressed in toga without tunic; the first statues at Rome, the first erected by the state, the first erected on a column; ship's beaks, when added; first foreigners to whom statues erected by the state at Rome; first women to whom statues so erected; first equestrian statue erected by the state at Rome; date of removal from public places of all statues erected by private donors; first statue publicly erected by foreigners; existence of sculptors from early times even in Italy; excessive prices for statues; the most celebrated colossal statues in the city; 366 famous instances of bronze statues and sculptors in bronze. (xx-xxix) Different kinds of bronze and alloy; gold-bronze, Capuan bronze; preservation of bronze; cadmia, 15 drugs made from; melted bronze, 10 medicinal products of; copper slag, copper blisters, copper scales, copper flakes, 47 drugs from these; copper rust, 18 drugs from; eye-salve; worm-eaten bronze, 18 drugs from; copper ore, 7 drugs from; itch-salve. (xxx-xxxviii) Ink-stone, 3 drugs from; copperas, 14 drugs from; copperas water or shoe-maker's blacking, 16 drugs from; pompholyx, slag, 6 drugs from these; slag-ashes, 15 kinds; skin-detergent; diphryx; the Servilian family's magic sixpence. (xxxix-xlvi) Iron mines; iron statues; chased iron; different kinds of iron; live iron; the tempering of iron; remedies for rust; 7 drugs from iron; 14 drugs from rust; 17 drugs from iron scale; wet plaster. (xlvii-lvi) Lead mines; white lead; silverlead, stannum, black lead; 15 drugs from lead; 15 drugs from lead slag; dross from lead; inolybdaena, 15 drugs from; sugar of lead or cerussa, 6 dmgs from; sandaraeh, 11 drugs from; arsenic.Total, 257 drugs, including remedies for dog-bite, for the head, fox-mange, eyes, ears, nostrils, ailments of the mouth, leprosy, gums, teeth, uvula, phlegm, throat, tonsils, quinsy, cough, vomiting, chest, stomaoh, asthma, pains in the side, spleen, stomach, straining, dysentery, the seat, the private parts, blood-stanching, gout, dropsy, ulcers, 26 wounds, pus, bones, whitlows, erysipelas, haemorrhoids, ulcers, callus, pimples, mange, scars, infants, ailments of women, depilatory, sex restraint, for the voice, against attacks of frenzy.Total, 915 facts, investigations and observations.

Authorities: Lucius Piso, Antias, Verrius, Marcus Varro, Cornelius Nepos, Rufus Messala, the poet Marsus, Bocchus, Julius Bassus's Greek treatise on medicine, Sextius Niger's ditto, Fabius Vestalis. Foreign authorities: Democritus, Metrodorns of Scepsis, Menaechmus's Art of Graving, Xenocrates ditto, Antigonus ditto, Duris ditto, Heliodorus's Votive Offerings of Athens, Pasiteles's Miasterpieces, Timaeus's Mineral Drugs, Nymphodorus, Iollas, Apollodorus, Andreas, Heraclides, Diagoras, Botrys, Archedemus, Dionysius, Aristogenes, Democles, Mnesides, Xenocrates son of Zeno, Theomnestus.

Book 35. Contents: (i-x) Praise of painting. Praise of sculpture. Shields with sculptured figures, when first instituted; when first set up in public; when in private houses. The commencement of painting; pictures in monochrome; the first painters. Antiquity of paintings in Italy. Roman painters. Paintingwhen first esteemed at Rome, and for what reasons, who first exhibited paintings of their victories. Foreign pictures, when first valued at Rome. (xi) Method of painting. (xii-xxx) Non-mineral pigments. Artificial colours; red ochre, 11 drugs from it; red chalk; Lemnian earth, 9 drugs from it; Egyptian earth; yellow ochre; 3 drugs from red ochre; gold size; Paraetonium white; Melian white; 6 drugs from it; burnt white-lead; earth of Eretria, 6 drugs from it; sandarach; vermilion; Syrian; black ink; dark purple ink; indigo, 4 drugs from it; ultramarine, 1 drug from it; Appian green; signet-ring white. (xxxi-iii) Colours that cannot be painted on a damp surface. Colours used by painters of early dates. When battles of gladiators were first painted and exhibited. (xxxiv-xli) The antiquity of painting; 405 celebrated cases of paintings and artists; earliest painting competition; painters that used the brush; how to check the song of birds; what painters used encaustic or waxes or graver or brush; inventors of successive improvements in painting the most difficult thing in painting; kinds of painting; first painter of panelled ceilings; vaulted roofs, when first painted; remarkable prices for pictures; the talent. (xliii-xlvi) The first discoveries of modelling; who first took a mould of a face; 14 celebrated cases of artists in modelling; works in pottery; Segni plaster. (xlvii-lix) Varieties of earth: Pozzuoli dust and other kinds of earth used for concrete; walls cast in moulds; brickwork and employment of brick; brimstone and its kinds; 14 drugs; bitumen and its kinds; 27 drugs; alum and its kinds; 38 drugs therefrom; Samian earth; 3 drugs therefrom; Eretrian earth, its kinds; on washing earth to make a drug; Chian earth; 3 drugs therefrom; earth of Selinunte; 3 drugs therefrom; potters' clay; 9 drugs therefrom; vine-earth; 4 drugs therefrom; chalks for use in connexion with clothes; earth of Kimolo; 9 drugs therefrom; earth of Sardis, of Umbria, rock; rotten-stone; what people and whose freedmen are excessively powerful; Galatian earth, Kalibian earth, Balearic earth, Iviza earth; 4 drugs from these.Total 956 drugs, investigations and observations.

Authorities: the orator Messala, Messala senior, Fenestella. Atticus, Marcus Varro, Verrius, Cornelius Nepos, Deculo, Mucianus, Melissus, Vitruvius, Cassius Severus, Longulanus, Fabius Vestalis On Painting. Foreign authorities; Pasiteles, Apelles, Melanthius, Asclepiodorus, Euphranor, Parrhasius, Heliodorus's Votive offerings of Athens, Metrodorus's Science of Architecture, Democritus, Theophrastus, the philologist Apion's Mineral Drugs, Nymphodorus, Iollas, Apollodorus, Andreas, Heraclides, Diagoras, Botrys, Archedemus, Dionysius, Aristogenes, Democles, Mnesides, Xenocrates son of Zeno, Theomnestus.

Book 36. Contents: the natures of stones. (i-xi) Luxury in use of marbles; first owner of foreign marble pillars at Rome; first exhibitor of marble in public works; first distinguished sculptors in marble, and their dates; (ix the Mausoleum of Caria); 225 famous works and artists in marble; date of first employment of marbles in buildings; what people first cut marbles, and at what date; who first used marble wall-panelling at Rome; at which periods did the various marbles come into use at Rome; method of cutting marble; sands employed in marble-cutting; Naxian marble, Armenian marble, marbles of Alexandria. (xii f.) Onyx, alabaster; 6 drugs therefrom; Parian marble, coral marble, Alabanda stone, Theban stone, Syene granite. (xiv f.) Obelisks: obelisk in Campus Martius serving as gnomon. (xvi-xxiii) Remarkable structures in various countries; Egyptian Sphinx, pyramids; Pharos lighthouse; labyrinths; hanging gardens, hanging town; temple of Diana at Ephesus; remarkable facts as to other temples; runaway stone; sevenfold echo; buildings constructed without clamps. (xxiv) Eighteen remarkable works at Rome. (xxv-xxx) Magnetic stone: 3 drugs therefrom; Syros stone; flesh-eating or Assos stone, 10 drugs therefrom; Chermtes marble; tufa; bone-stones, palm-branch stones, Taenarus stones, Cora stones, black marbles; millstones; pyritis, 7 drugs therefrom. (xxxi-xl) Oyster-shell stone, 4 drugs therefrom; asbestos, 2 drugs therefrom; earthstone, 3 drugs therefrom; honey-stone; 6 drugs therefrom; jet, 6 drugs therefrom; sponge-stone, 2 drugs therefrom; Phrygian stone; bloodstone, 5 drugs therefrom; schistose, 7 drugs therefrom; androdarnas bloodstone, 3 drugs therefrom; Arabian stone; minium bloodstone or liverstone, anthracite; eagle-stone, Taphiusian stone, callimus; Samos stone, 8 drugs therefrom. (xli-l) Arab stone; 6 drugs therefrom; pumicestone, 9 drugs therefrom; medicinal and other mortars; Etesius stone, hailstone stone; Siphnos stone; soft stones; muscovy-stone; selenite; whetstones; tufas; flints, nature of; other building stones. (li-lix) Kinds of building; cisterns; lime; kinds of sand; mixtures of sand and lime; faults in building; stuccos; pillars; kinds of pillars; 5 drugs from chalk; lime-cement; white lime plaster. (lx-lxx) Pavements: the Tesselated Hall; first pavement at Rome; terrace pavements; pavements in the Greek mode; date of first mosaic pavement; date of first glass ceilings; origin of glass; its kinds and mode of manufacture; obsidian panes; remarkable uses of fire; 3 drugs from fire and ash; marvels of the hearth.Total: 89 drugs from these materials, 3 for serpents, animals' bites, for poisons, for the head, eyes, eyelid sores, teeth, tooth-powders, throat, scrofula, stomach, liver, phlegm, testicles, bladder, stone, tumours, piles, gout, remedy for bleeding, for vomiting blood, dislocation, eases of insanity, of lethargy, of epilepsy, of melancholy, of giddiness, ulcers, caustic and surgical treatment of wounds, sprains, bruises, moles burns, consumption, the breasts, diseases of women, carbuncles, plague.Full total: 434 facts, investigations and observations.

Authorities: Marcus Varro, Gaius Galba, Cincius, Mucianus, Cornelius Nepos, Lucius Piso, Quintus Tubero, Fabius Vestalis, Annius Fetialis, Fabianus, Seneca, Cato the Censor, Vitruvius. Foreign authorities: Theophrastus, Pasiteles, King Juba, Nicander, Sotaeus, Sudines, Alexander the Learned, Apion Plistonicus, Duris, Herodotus, Euhemerus, Aristagoras, Dionysius, Artemidorus, Butoridas, Antisthenes, Demetrius, Demoteles, Lyceas.

Book 37. Contents: (i-x) Origin of gems: the tyrant Polycrates's jewel; Pyrrhus's jewel; the best engravers; famous specimens of engraving; the first collection of signet-rings at Rome; jewels carried in the triumph of Pompey the Great; murrine vases, date of first importation; extravagance connected with; their nature; nature of rock-crystal, drug from it; extravagance in use of rock crystal. (xi-xx) Amber, erroneous statements about; kinds of amber, drugs from these; tourmaline, 2 drugs; diamond or ananeite, 6 kinds of diamonds, 2 drugs; emeralds, 12 kinds, their blemishes; the gem tanos; malachite; beryls, their 8 kinds, their blemishes. (xxi-xxx) Opals, their 7 kinds, their blemishes, tests of opals; sardonyx, its kinds, its blemishes; onyx, its kinds; carbuneles, their 12 kinds, their blemishes and tests; coal-carbuncle; sandastros or Garamantitis or sandacitis; sandaresus; lychnis, its 4 kinds; Carthaginian stone. (xxxi-xl) Carnelian, its 5 kinds; chrysolite, its 2 kinds; turquoise; leek-green stone, its 3 kinds; Nile-stone; malachite; jasper, its 4 kinds, their blemishes; lapis lazuli, its kinds; sapphire; amethyst, its 4 kinds; socondion, sapenos, pharanitis, Venus's eyelid or love-returned or lad's-love. (xli-l) Hyacinth; chrysolite, its 7 kinds; golden-amber; chrysolite, its 4 kinds; golden ehrysolite; xuthis; lad's-love or sangenos or tenites; eat's-eye; adularia, astriotes, astolon. (li-lx) St. John's bread, its 4 kinds; baetvlos; rainbow-stone; holy-stone; agates, their kinds; crystalline quartz, drugs therefrom; alabaster-stone, drugs therefrom; cock-stones, androdamas, silverstone, charm-coral, chalcedony, scented amber, asbestos-stone, aspisatis, atizoe, turquoise, amphidanes or chrysocolla, Aphrodisiaca, apsyctos, little-gypsy; acorn-stone, frog-stone, taptes, cat's eye, helus, baroptenus or baripe, grape-stone, lock-of-hair-stone, cow's-heart, thunder-stone, boloe, cadmitis, turquoise, smoke-stone, Cappadocian stone, turquoise-stone, catochitis, catoptritis, cepitis or cepolatitis, brick-stone, cinaedias (kinds of), wax-stone, top-stone, hair-stone, coral-agate, coral-stone, crateritis, crocallis, cyitis, brazen-voice, swallow-stones, tortoise-stones, tortoise-shell-stone, greenstone, Choaspes-stone, gold-gleam, golden-topaz, cepionides, Daphne-stone, diadochos, diphyes, Dionysus-stone, snake-stone, heart-stone or enariste, enorchis, exhebenus, erythallis, erotylos or amphicomos or stone of remembrance, eumeces, eumithres, eupetalos, eureos, Eurotas-stone, eusebes, epimelas; milk-stone, milky-stone or white-earth-stone or white graphite or cloud-stone, Galician-stone, gassinades, tongue-stone, Gorgon-stone, goniaea, striped-jasper, Vulcan-stone, Mercury's privates, sixty-colonr-stone, hawk-stone, hammitis, ammonite, hormiscion, hyenastone, menion bloodstone or yellow-stone. (lxi-lx) Ida's fingers, ieterias, Jove-stone or dew-stone, Indian stone, violet-stone, scale-stone, Lesbian stone, white-eve, white-spot, myrrh-colour, emerald, Lipari-stone, lysimachos, white gold, Memnonstone, Persian stone, poppy-stone, mithrnx, morochthos, mormorion or promnium or Alexandria stone, myrrh-stone, wart-stone, myrrh-stone, white-centre, black-centre, stone of Nasamon, fawn-stone, Nipparena, egg-stone, rain-stone or storm-stone, ass's-heart, mountain-stone or star-stone, hornstone or chalcedony, oyster-stone, ophicardelos, obsidian, all-colours, all-seeds, love-all or all-love, Black Sea stone, 4 kinds, flame-stone or gold-stone, purple-stone, sea-weed-stone, white-ring, Paeanite or gaeanita, sun-stone, green-stone, Samotliracian stone, lizard-stone, flesh-stone, moon-stone, iron-stone, variegated iron-stone, sponge-stone, bream-stone, Syrtian stone, reed-stone, tricolor, thelyrrizos, thelycardios or mucul, Thracian-stone (3 kinds), ash-stone, tecolithos, love-locks, Veii-stone, zathene, zmilampis, zoraniscaea. (lxxi-lxxvii) Liver-stone, soapstone, Adad's-kidney, Adad's-eye, Adad's-finger, three-eyed-stone, crab-stone, adder-stone, scorpion-stone, wrasse-stone, triglitis, goat's-eye, sow's-eye, crane-stone, eagle-stone, ant-stone, beetle-stone, wolf's-eye, peacock-stone, timiclonia; gold-sand-stone, millet-stone, oak-stone, ivy stone, narcissus-stone, bean-stone, pvren, purple-stone, hail-stone, pyritis, striped-stone, lightning-stone, flame-stone, coal-stone, enygros, hairy-stone, lion-stone, leopard-stone, dew-stone, honey-colour-stone, honey-yellow-stone, greystone, spartopolia, rose-stone, honey-stone, copper-stone, fig-stone, ringlet-stone, ivory-marble, anancitis, synochitis, tree-stone, snail-shell. Shape of precious stones; method of testing; natural properties compared in various countries; products compared in respect of price.Total, 1300 facts, investigations and observations.

Authorities: Marcus Varro, Records of Triumphs, Maecenas, Iacchus, Cornelius Bocchus. Foreign authorities: King Juba, Xenocrates son of Zeno, Sudines, Aeschylus, Philoxenus, Euripides, Nicander, Satyrus, Theophrastus, Chares, Philemon, Demostratus, Zenothemis, Metrodorus, Sotacus, Pytheas, Timaeus of Sicily, Nicias, Theochrestus, Asaruba, Mnaseas, Theomenes, Ctesias, Mithridates, Sophocles, King Archelaus, Callistratus, Democritus, Ismenias, Olympicus, Alexander the Learned, Apion, Orus, Zoroaster, Zachalias.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 2

1. The world and thiswhatever other name men have chosen to designate the sky whose vaulted roof encircles the universe, is fitly believed to be a deity, eternal, immeasurable, a being that never began to exist and never will perish. What is outside it does not concern men to explore and is not within the grasp of the human mind to guess. It is sacred, eternal, immeasurable, wholly within the whole, nay rather itself the whole, finite and resembling the infinite certain of all things and resembling the uncertain, holding in its embrace all things that are without and within, at once the work of nature and nature herself.

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That certain persons have studied, and have dared to publish, its dimensions, is mere madness; and again that others, taking or receiving occasion from the former, have taught the existence of a countless number of worlds, involving the belief in as many systems of nature, or, if a single nature embraces all the worlds, nevertheless the same number of suns, moons and other immeasurable and innumerable heavenly bodies, as already in a single world; just as if owing to our craving for some End the same problem would not always encounter us at the termination of this process of thought, or as if, assuming it possible to attribute this infinity of nature to the artificer of the universe, that same property would not he easier to understand in a single world, especially one that is so vast a structure. It is madness, downright madness, to go out of that world, and to investigate what lies outside it just as if the whole of what is within it were already clearly known; as though, forsooth, the measure of anything could be taken by him that knows not the measure of himself, or as if the mind of man could see things that the world itself does not contain.

2. Its shape has the rounded appearance of a perfect sphere. This is shown first of all by the name of `orb' which is bestowed upon it by the general consent of mankind. It is also shown by the evidence of the facts: not only does such a figure in all its parts converge upon itself; not only must it sustain itself, enclosing and holding itself together without the need of any fastenings, and without experiencing an end or a beginning at any part of itself; not only is that shape the one best fitted for the motion with which, as will shortly appear, it must repeatedly revolve, but our eyesight also confirms this belief, because the firmament presents the aspect of a concave hemisphere equidistant in every direction, which would be impossible in the case of any other figure.

3. The world thus shaped then is not at rest but eternally revolves with indescribable velocity, each revolution occupying the space of 24 hours: the rising and setting of the sun have left this not doubtful. Whether the sound of this vast mass whirling in unceasing rotation is of enormous volume and consequently beyond the capacity of our ears to perceive, for my own part I cannot easily sayany more in fact than whether this is true of the tinkling of the stars that travel round with it, revolving in their own orbits; or whether it emits a sweet harmonious music that is beyond belief charming. To us who live within it the world glides silently alike by day and night. Stamped upon it are countless figures of animals and objects of all kindsit is not the case, as has been stated by very famous authors, that its structure has an even surface of unbroken smoothness, like that which we observe in birds' eggs: this is proved by the evidence of the facts, since from seeds of all these objects, falling from the sky in countless numbers, particularly in the sea, and usually mixed together, monstrous shapes are generated; and also by the testimony of sightin one place the figure of a bear, in another of a bull, in another a wain, in another a letter of the alphabet, the middle of the circle across the pole being more radiant.

For my own part I am also influenced by the agreement of the nations. The Greeks have designated the world by a word that means 'ornament,' and we have given it the name of mundus because of its perfect finish and grace! As for our word caelum, it undoubtedly has the signification 'engraved,' as is explained by Marcus Varro. Further assistance is contributed by its orderly structure, the circle called the Zodiac being marked out into the likenesses of twelve animals; and also by the uniform regularity in so many centuries of the sun's progress through these signs.

4. As regards the elements also I observe that they are accepted as being four in number: topmost the element of fire, source of yonder eyes of all those blazing stars; next the vapour which the Greeks and our own nation call by the same name, airthis is the principle of life, and penetrates all the universe and is intertwined with the whole; suspended by its force in the centre of space is poised the earth, and with it the fourth element, that of the waters. Thus the mutual embrace of the unlike results in an interlacing, the light substances being prevented by the heavy ones from flying up, while on the contrary the heavy substances are held from crashing down by the upward tendency of the light ones. In this way owing to an equal urge in opposite directions the elements remain stationary, each in its own place, bound together by the unresting revolution of the world itself; and with this always running back to its starting-point, the earth is the lowest and central object in the whole, and stays suspended at the pivot of the universe and also balancing the bodies to which its suspension is due; thus being alone motionless with the universe revolving round her she both hangs attached to them all and at the same time is that on which they all rest. Upheld by the same vapour between earth and heaven, at definite spaces apart, hang the seven stars which owing to their motion we call 'planets,' although no stars wander less than they do. In the midst of these moves the sun, whose magnitude and power are the greatest, and who is the ruler not only of the seasons and of the lands; but even of the stars themselves and of the heaven. Taking into account all that he effects, we must believe him to be the soul, or more precisely the mind, of the whole world, the supreme ruling principle and divinity of nature. He furnishes the world with light and removes darkness, he obscures and he illumines the rest of the stars, he regulates in accord with nature's precedent the changes of the seasons and the continuous rebirth of the year, he dissipates the gloom of heaven and even calms the storm-clouds of the mind of man, he lends his light to the rest of the stars also; he is glorious and pre-eminent, all-seeing and even all-hearingthis I observe that Homer the prince of literature held to be true in the case of the sun alone.

5. For this reason I deem it a mark of human weakness to seek to discover the shape and form of God. Whoever God isprovided there is a Godand in whatever region he is, he consists wholly of sense, sight and hearing, wholly of soul, wholly of mind, wholly of himself. To believe in gods without number, and gods corresponding to men's vices as well as to their virtues, like the Goddesses of Modesty, Concord, Intelligence, Hope, Honour, Mercy and Faithor else, as Democritus held, only two, Punishment and Reward, reaches an even greater height of folly. Frail, toiling mortality, remembering its own weakness, has divided such deities into groups, so as to worship in sections, each the deity he is most in need of. Consequently different races have different names for the deities, and we find countless deities in the same races, even those of the lower world being classified into groups, and diseases and also many forms of plague, in our nervous anxiety to get them placated. Because of this there is actually a Temple of Fever consecrated by the nation on the Palatine Hill, and one of Bereavement at the Temple of the Household Deities, and an Altar of Misfortune on the Esquiline. For this reason we can infer a larger population of celestials than of human beings, as individuals also make an equal number of gods on their own, by adopting their own private Junos and Genii; while certain nations have animals, even some loathsome ones, for gods, and many things still more disgraceful to tell ofswearing by rotten articles of food and other things of that sort. To believe even in marriages taking place between gods, without anybody all through the long ages of time being born as a result of them, and that some are always old and grey, others youths and boys, and gods with dusky complexions, winged, lame, born from eggs, living and dying on alternate daysthis almost ranks with the mad fancies of children; but it passes all bounds of shamelessness to invent acts of adultery taking place between the gods themselves, followed by altercation and enmity, and the existence of deities of theft and of crime. For mortal to aid mortalthis is god; and this is the road to eternal glory: by this road went our Roman chieftains, by this road now proceeds with heavenward step, escorted by his children, the greatest ruler of all time, His Majesty Vespasian, coming to the succour of an exhausted world. To enrol such men among the deities is the most ancient method of paying them gratitude for their benefactions. In fact the names of the other gods, and also of the stars that I have mentioned above, originated from the services of men: at all events who would not admit that it is the interpretation of men's characters that prompts them to call each other Jupiter or Mercury or other names, and that originates the nomenclature of heaven? That that supreme being, whatever it be, pays heed to man's affairs is a ridiculous notion. Can we believe that it would not be defiled by so gloomy and so multifarious a duty? Can we doubt it? It is scarcely pertinent to determine which is more profitable for the human race, when some men pay no regard to the gods at all and the regard paid by others is of a shameful nature: they serve as the lackeys of foreign ritual, and they carry gods on their fingers; also they pass sentence of punishment upon the monsters they worship, and devise elaborate viands for them; they subject themselves to awful tyrannies, so as to find no repose even in sleep; they do not decide on marriage or having a family or indeed anything else except by the command of sacrifices; others cheat in the very Capitol and swear false oaths by Jupiter who wields the thunderboltsand these indeed make a profit out of their crimes, whereas the others are penalized by their religious observances.

Nevertheless mortality has rendered our guesses about God even more obscure by inventing for itself a deity intermediate between these two conceptions. Everywhere in the whole world at every hour by all men's voices Fortune alone is invoked and named, alone accused, alone impeached, alone pondered, alone applauded, alone rebuked and visited with reproaches; deemed volatile and indeed by most men blind as well, wayward, inconstant, uncertain, fickle in her favours and favouring the unworthy. To her is debited all that is spent and credited all that is received, she alone fills both pages in the whole of mortals' account; and we are so much at the mercy of chance that Chance herself, by whom God is proved uncertain, takes the place of God. Another set of people banishes fortune also, and attributes events to its star and to the laws of birth, holding that for all men that ever are to be God's decree has been enacted once for all, while for the rest of time leisure has been vouchsafed to Him. This belief begins to take root, and the learned and unlearned mob alike go marching on towards it at the double: witness the warnings drawn from lightning, the forecasts made by oracles, the prophecies of augurs, and even inconsiderable triflesa sneeze, a stumblecounted as omens. His late Majesty put abroad a story that on the day on which he was almost overthrown by a mutiny in the army he had put his left boot on the wrong foot. This series of instances entangles unforeseeing mortality, so that among these things but one thing is in the least certain—that nothing certain exists, and that nothing is more pitiable, or more presnmptuous, than man! inasmuch as with the rest of living creatures their sole anxiety is for the means of life, in which nature's bounty of itself suffices, the one blessing indeed that is actually preferable to every other being the fact that they do not think about glory, money, ambition, and above all death.

But it agrees with life's experience to believe that in these matters the gods exercise an interest in human affairs; and that punishment for wickedness, though sometimes tardy, as God is occupied in so vast a mass of things, yet is never frustrated; and that man was not born God's next of kin for the purpose of approximating to the beasts in vileness. But the chief consolations for nature's imperfection in the case of man are that not even for God are all things possiblefor he cannot, even if he wishes, commit suicide, the supreme boon that he has bestowed on man among all the penalties of life, nor bestow eternity on mortals or recall the deceased, nor cause a man that has lived not to have lived or one that has held high office not to have held itand that he has no power over what is past save to forget it, and (to link our fellowship with God by means of frivolous arguments as well) that he cannot cause twice ten not to be twenty, or do many things on similar lines: which facts unquestionably demonstrate the power of nature, and prove that it is this that we mean by the word 'God.' It will not have been irrelevant to have diverged to these topics, which have already been widely disseminated because of the unceasing enquiry into the nature of God.

6. Let us return from these questions to the remaining facts of nature. We have stated that the stars are attached to the firmament, not assigned to each of us in the way in which the vulgar believe, and dealt out to mortals with a degree of radiance proportionate to the lot of each, the brightest stars to the rich, the smaller ones to the poor, the dim to those who are worn out; they do not each rise with their own human being, nor indicate by their fall that someone's life is being extinguished. There is no such close alliance between us and the sky that the radiance of the stars there also shares our fate of mortality. When the stars are believed to fall, what happens is that owing to their being overfed with a draught of liquid they give back the surplus with a fiery flash, just as with us also we see this occur with a stream of oil when lamps are lit. But the heavenly bodies have a nature that is eternalthey interweave the world and are blended with its weft; yet their potency has a powerful influence on the earth, indeed it is owing to the effects that they produce and to their brilliance and magnitude that it has been possible for them to become known with such a degree of precision, as we shall show in the proper place. Also the system of the revolutions of the sky will be more appropriately stated when we deal with geography, since it is entirely related to the earth; only we must not postpone the discoveries that have been made as to the zodiac. Tradition says that Anaximander of Miletus in the fifty-eighth Olympiad was the first person to discover the obliquity of the zodiac, that is, to open the portals of science; and that next Cleostratus explained the signs in it, beginning with the Ram and the Archer; the firmament itself having been explained long before by Atlas.

Let us now leave the frame of the world itself and treat the remaining bodies situated between the sky and the earth. The following points are certain: (1) The star called Saturn's is the highest and consequently looks the smallest and revolves in the largest orbit, returning in thirty years at the shortest to its initial station. (2) The motions of all the planets, and among them the sun and moon, follow a course contrary to that of the world, namely to the left, the world always running to the right. (3) Although they are borne on by it and carried westward with an unceasing revolution of immeasurable velocity, nevertheless they travel with an opposite motion along their respective tracks. (4) Thus it comes about that the air is not massed in a dull lethargic ball by revolving in the same direction because of the eternal rotation of the world, but is scattered into separate portions by the opposite impact of the stars. (5) Saturn is of a cold and frozen nature. The orbit of Jupiter is much below it and therefore revolves much faster, completing one rotation every twelve years. The third star is Mars, called by some Hercules; owing to the proximity of the sun it has a fiery glow; it revolves once in about two years, and consequently, owing to its excessive heat and Saturn's frost, Jupiter being situated between them combines the influence of each and is rendered healthy. (6) Next, the sun's course is divided into 360 parts, but in order that an observation taken of the shadows that it casts may come round to the starting-point, five and a quarter days per annum are added; consequently to every fourth a year an intercalary day is added to make our chronology tally with the course of the sun.

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Below the sun revolves a very large star named Venus, which varies its course alternately, and whose alternative names in themselves indicate its rivalry with the sun and moonwhen in advance and rising before dawn it receives the name of Lucifer, as being another sun and bringing the dawn, whereas when it shines after sunset it is named Vesper, as prolonging the daylight, or as being a deputy for the moon. This property of Venus was first discovered by Pythagoras of Samos about the 42nd Olympiad, [612-609 BC] 142 years after the foundation of Rome. Further it surpasses all the other stars in magnitude, and is so brilliant that alone among stars it casts a shadow by its rays. Consequently there is a great competition to give it a name, some having called it Juno, others Isis, others the Mother of the Gods. Its influence is the cause of the birth of all things upon earth; at both of its risings it scatters a genital dew with which it not only fills the conceptive organs of the earth but also stimulates those of all animals. It completes the circuit of the zodiac every 348 days, and according to Timaeus is never more than 46 degrees distant from the sun. The star next to Venus is Mercury, by some called Apollo; it has a similar orbit, but is by no means similar in magnitude or power. It travels in a lower circle, with a revolution nine days quicker, shining sometimes before sunrise and sometimes after sunset, but according to Cidenas and Sosigenes never more than 22 degrees away from the sun. Consequently the course of these stars also is peculiar, and not shared by those above-mentioned: those are often observed to be a quarter or a third of the heaven away from the sun and travelling against the sun, and they all have other larger circuits of full revolution, the specification of which belongs to the theory of the Great Years.

But the wonder of everyone is vanquished by the last star, the one most familiar to the earth, and devised by nature to serve as a remedy for the shadows of darknessthe moon. By the riddle of her transformations she has racked the wits of observers, who are ashamed that the star which is nearest should be the one about which we know least--always waxing or waning, and now curved into the horns of a sickle, now just halved in size, now rounded into a circle; spotted and then suddenly shining clear; vast and full-orbed, and then all of a sudden not there at all; at one time shining all night and at another rising late and for a part of the day augmenting the light of the sun, eclipsed and nevertheless visible during the eclipse, invisible at the end of the month when she is not believed to be in trouble; again at one time low down and at another up aloft, and not even this in a uniform way, but sometimes raised to the sky and sometimes touching the mountain-tops, now borne up to the North and now carried down to the South. The first human being to observe all these facts about her was Endymionwhich accounts for the traditional story of his love for her. We forsooth feel no gratitude towards those whose assiduous toil has given us illumination on the subject of this luminary, while owing to a curious disease of the human mind we are pleased to enshrine in history records of bloodshed and slaughter, so that persons ignorant of the facts of the world may be acquainted with the crimes of mankind.

The moon then is nearest to the pole, and therefore has the smallest orbit, completing the same distance every 27⅓ days that Saturn the highest star covers, as we have said, in 30 years. Then she lingers two days in conjunction with the sun, and after the 30th day at latest sets out again on the same coursebeing perhaps our teacher as to all the facts that it has been possible to observe in the heavens; (1) that the year is to be divided into twelve monthly spaces, because she herself that number of times follows the sun in his return to his starting point; (2) that she is governed by the sun's radiance as are the rest of the stars, as in fact she shines with a light entirely borrowed from him, like the light which we see flickering reflected in water; (3) that consequently she only causes water to evaporate with a rather gentle and imperfect force, and indeed increases its quantity, whereas the sun's rays dry it up; (4) also that the reason why she is seen to vary in her light is that she is full only when opposite to the sun, and on the remaining days shows as much light from herself to the earth as she herself conceives from the sun; though (5) she is indeed invisible when in conjunction with the sun, because being turned towards him she gives back the entire draught of light to the source from which she receives it; (6) but that the stars are undoubtedly nourished by the moisture of the earth, since she is sometimes seen spotted in half her orb, clearly because she has not yet got sufficient strength to go on drinkingher spots being merely dirt from the earth taken up with the moisture; (7) but that her eclipses and those of the sun, the most marvellous and indeed portentous occurrence in the whole of our observation of nature, serve as indications of their dimensions and shadow.

7. It is in fact obvious that the sun is hidden by the passage across it of the moon, and the moon by the interposition of the earth, and that they retaliate on one another, the same rays of the sun being taken away from the earth by the moon intervening and from the moon by the earth: at the transit of the former a sudden shadow passes over the earth, and in return the shadow of the latter dims the heavenly body (the moon), and the darkness is merely the earth's shadow, but the shape of the shadow is conical, resembling a spinning-top upside down, as it impinges only with its point and does not go beyond the altitude of the moon, because no other star is obscured in the same way, and a conical figure always tapers off into a point: that shadows are made to disappear by distance is proved when birds fly to extreme heights. Consequently the frontier between the moon and the other heavenly bodies is at the point where the air ends and the aether begins. All the space above the moon is clear and filled with continual light, but to us the stars are visible through the night in the same way as other lights in shadows. And these are the reasons why the moon wanes in the night-time; but both of her wanings are irregular and not monthly, because of the slant of the zodiac and the widely varying curves of the moon's course, as has been stated, the motion of the heavenly bodies not always tallying in minute fractional quantities.

8. This theory leads mortal minds upward to heaven, and discloses to their observation from that height, as it were, the greatness of the three greatest parts of the universe; clearly it would not be possible for the whole of the sun to be eclipsed from the earth by the passage of the moon between them if the earth were larger than the moon. The vast size of the sun will be shown with the more certainty from the two bodies, so that there is no need to investigate its size by the evidence of the eyes and by logical inference, arguing that it is immeasurably large for the following reasons: (1) the shadow that it throws of rows of trees along the balks of fields are at equal distances apart for ever so many miles, just as if over the whole space the sun were in the centre; (2) during the equinoxes it reaches the vertical simultaneously for all the inhabitants of the southern region; (3) the shadows of the people living round the Tropic of Cancer fall northward at midday but westward at sunrise, which could not happen unless the sun were much larger than the earth; (4) when it is rising its breadth exceeds Mount Ida, overlapping it widely right and leftand that though it is separated from it by so great a distance.

The eclipse of the moon supplies indubitable proof of the size of the sun, just as the sun itself when it suffers eclipse proves the smallness of the earth. For shadows are of three shapes, and it is clear that, if the solid object that throws a shadow is equal in area to the shaft of light, the shadow projected is shaped like a pillar and is of infinite length, but if the solid body is larger than the light, the shadow has the shape of an upright spinning-top, so that it is narrowest at the bottom, and infinite in length as in the former case, while if the solid is smaller than the light the result is the figure of a cone narrowing down to end in a point, and this is the nature of the shadow observed during an eclipse of the moon; hence it is proved without any further possibility of doubt remaining that the sun exceeds the earth's size. Indeed, this is also proved by the silent testimony of nature herself; for why in the division of the turns of the year does the winter sun retire, so as to refresh the earth with the darkness of the nights? when otherwise it would unquestionably scorch up the earth, and even as it is does so in a certain part, so great is its magnitude.

9. The first person indeed of Roman nationality who published an explanation of both kinds of eclipse was Sulpicius Gallusthe colleague in the consulship of Marcus Marcellus, but at the time military tribunewho delivered the army from fear when on the day before the defeat a of King Perseus by Paulus he was brought before an assembly by the commander-in chief to foretell an eclipse; and later also by writing a treatise. The original discovery was made in Greece by Thales of Miletus, who in the fourth year of the 48th Olympiad (585 BC.) foretold the eclipse of the sun that occurred in the reign of Alyattes, in the 170th year after the foundation of Rome. After their time the courses of both stars for 600 years were prophesied by Hipparchus, whose work embraced the calendar of the nations and the situations of places and aspects of the peopleshis method being, on the evidence of his contemporaries none other than full partnership in the designs of nature. O mighty heroes, of loftier than mortal estate, who have discovered the law of those great divinities and released the miserable mind of man from fear, mortality dreading as it did in eclipses of the stars crimes or death of some sort (those sublime singers, the bards Stesichorus and Pindar, clearly felt this fear owing to an eclipse of the sun), or in the dying of the moon inferring that she was poisoned and consequently coming to her aid with a noisy clattering of cymbals (this alarm caused the Atheman general Nicias, in his ignorance of the cause, to be afraid to lead his fleet out of harbour, so destroying the Athenians' resources: all hail to your genius, ye that interpret the heavens and grasp the facts of nature, discoverers of a theory whereby you have vanquished gods and men! for who beholding these truths and the regularity of the stars' periods of trouble (for so it has pleased you to call them), would not forgive his own destiny for the generation of mortals?

Now I will briefly and summarily touch on facts that are admitted about the same matters, giving an account of them only at necessary points and in a cursory manner, because such theorizing does not form part of the task that I have set in hand, and also it is less surprising that explanations cannot be produced for all the facts than that agreement has been reached on some of them.

10. It is certain that eclipses recur in cycles of 223 monthseclipses of the sun only when the moon is in her last or first phase (this is called their 'conjunction'), eclipses of the moon only at full moonand always within the period of their last occurrence; but that yearly at fixed days and hours eclipses of either star occur below the earth, and that even when they occur above the earth they are not visible everywhere, sometimes owing to clouds, more often because the earth's globe stands in the way of the world's curvature. Less than 200 years ago the penetration of Hipparchus discovered that an eclipse of the moon also sometimes occurs four months after the one before and an eclipse of the sun six months, and that the latter when above earth is hidden twice in thirty days, but that this eclipse is visible to different nations, andthe most remarkable features of this remarkable occurrencethat when it comes about that the moon is obscured by the shadow of the earth, this sometimes happens to it from the west side and sometimes from the east; and he also discovered for what exact reason, although the shadow causing the eclipse must from sunrise onward be below the earth, it happened once in the past that the moon was eclipsed in the west while both luminaries were visible above the earth. For the eclipse of both sun and moon within 15 days of each other has occurred even in our time, in the year of the third consulship of the elder Emperor Vespasian and the second consulship of the younger.

11. It is unquestionable that the moon's horns are always turned away from the sun, and that when waxing she faces east and when waning west; and that the moon shines 47 minutes longer daily from the day after new moon to full and 47 minutes less daily to her wane, while within 14 degrees of the sun she is always invisible. This fact proves that the planets are of greater magnitude than the moon, since these occasionally become unble even on reaching 7 degrees' distance; but their altitude makes them appear smaller, just as the sun's radiance makes the fixed stars invisible in daytime, although they are shining as much as in the night, which becomes manifest at a solar eclipse and also when the star is reflected in a very deep well.

12. The three planets whose positions we have stated to be above the sun travel with the sun when they set and are never more than 11 degrees separate from the sun at dawn when they rise. Afterwards they retire from contact with his rays, and make their morning or 'first' stations in a triangle 120 degrees away, and subsequently their evening risings opposite 180 degrees away, and again approaching from the other side, make their evening or 'second' stations 120 degrees away, till the sun overtaking them at 12 degrees obscures themthis is called their evening setting. The planet Mars being nearer feels the sun's rays even from its quadrature, at an angle of 90 degrees, which has given to his motion after each rising the name of 'first' or 'second ninety-degree.' At the same time Mars remains stationary in the signs of the zodiac for periods of six months (otherwise having a two-mouth period), whereas Jupiter and Saturn spend less than four months in each station. The two lower planets (Mercury and Venus) are similarly obscured at their evening conjunction, and when left by the sun make their morning rising the same number of degrees away, and from the further limits of their distance follow the sun and when they have overtaken him are hidden in their morning setting and pass away. Then they rise in the evening at the same distance apart, as far as the limits we have stated. From these they pass backward to the sun, and disappear in their evening setting. The planet Venus actually makes two stations, morning and evening, after each rise, from the furthest limits of her distance. Mercury's stations have too short a period to be perceptible.

13. This is the system of the shining and occultation of the planets: it is more complicated from their motion and involves many remarkable facts, inasmuch as they change their magnitude and their colours, and both approach the North and retire towards the South, and suddenly are seen closer to the earth or to the sky. And although our account of these matters will differ in many points from that of our predecessors, we confess that credit for these points also must be given to those who first demonstrated the methods of investigating them: only nobody must abandon the hope that the generations are constantly making progress.

All these occurrences are due to a plurality of causes. The first is the factor of the circles which in the case of the stars the Greeks designate apsides or arcs (it will be necessary to employ Greek terms). Each planet has its own circle, and these are not the same as those of the firmament, since the earth between the two vertices, named in Greek poles, is the centre of the sky, and also of the zodiac, which is situated on a slant between the poles. [All these facts are always established beyond doubt by the method of compasses.] Therefore the special arc of each is drawn from a different centre, and consequently they have different orbits and dissimilar motions, because the inner arcs must necessarily be shorter.

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It follows that the points of the arcs highest above the centre of the earth are: in the case of Saturn in Scorpio, in that of Jupiter in Virgo, of Mars in Leo, of the sun in the Twins, of Venus in the Archer, of Mercury in Capricorn, of the moon in the Bull, at the middle of each, and the points lowest and nearest to the centre of the earth are opposite. The result of this is that they appear to move slower and to be smaller when they are travelling at the highest point of their circuit, but to be larger and travel faster when they have come nearer to the earth, not because they actually accelerate or reduce their natural motions, which are fixed and individual to them, but because lines drawn from the top of the arc to the centre necessarily converge like the spokes of a wheel, and the same motion at one time is perceived as faster and at another slower according to its distance from the centre.

Another reason of their elevations is because they have the points of their arcs highest from their centre in different signsSaturn in the 20th degree of the Scales, Jupiter in the 15th of the Crab, Mars in the 28th of Capricorn, the sun in the 29th of the Ram, Venus in the 27th of the Fishes, Mercury in the 15th of Virgo, the moon in the 4th of the Bull.

A third explanation of their altitudes is explained by the dimensions of the firmament, not that of a circle, the eye judging them to rise or to sink through the depth of the air.

Linked with this is the cause of the latitudes of the zodiac and of its obliquity. The stars we have mentioned travel through the zodiac, and the only habitable part of the earth is what lies beneath itall the other parts towards the poles are frost-bound. Only the planet Venus goes two degrees outside the zodiac; this is understood to be the reason that causes some animals to be born even in the desert places of the world. The moon also wanders through the whole of its breadth, but without going at all outside it. The planet Mercury diverges very widely from these, but without wandering over more than 6 of the 12 degrees of latitude of the zodiac, and these 6 not uniformly but two in the middle of the zodiac, four above it and two below it. Then the sun travels unevenly in the middle of the zodiac between the two halves with a wavy serpentine course, the planet Mars over 4 degrees in the middle, Jupiter one in the middle and two above it, Saturn two like the sun. This will be the principle of the latitudes of the planets when setting towards the South or rising towards the North. Most people have supposed that with this system agrees also the third mentioned above, that of their rising from the earth to the sky, and that this ascent also is made simultaneously; but this is a mistake. To refute them it is necessary to develop an extremely abstruse argument that embraces all the causes mentioned.

It is agreed that the planets are nearest to the earth in both altitude and latitude at their evening setting, and that their morning risings occur at the beginning of both altitude and latitude, while their stations occur in the middle sections of the altitudes, called 'ecliptics.' It is similarly admitted that their velocity increases as long as they are in the neighbourhood of the earth and decreases when they withdraw from it to a height: this theory is specially supported by the apogees of the moon. It is equally undoubted that the three higher ones moreover increase their motion in their morning risings and diminish it from their first (morning) stations to their second (evening) stations. In view of these facts it will be evident that the latitudes are ascended from their morning rising, because in that state their acceleration first begins to diminish, but in their first stations their altitude also is ascended, since then the numbers first begin to be reduced and the stars begin to recede. The reason for this must especially be given. When struck in the degree that we stated and by a triangular ray of the sun they are prevented from pursuing a straight course, and are lifted upward by the fiery force. This cannot be directly perceived by our sight, and therefore they are thought to be stationary, which has given rise to the term 'station.' Then the violent force of the same ray advances and compels them by the impact of the heat to retire. This occurs much more at their evening rising, when they are driven out to the top of their apsides by the full opposing force of the sun, and appear very small because they are at the distance of their greatest altitude and are moving with their smallest velocitywhich is proportionately smaller when this occurs in the highest signs of their apsides. From their evening rise their altitude is descended with a velocity now decelerating less and less, but not accelerating before their second stations, when their altitude also is descended, the ray passing above them from the other side and pressing them down again to the earth with the same force as that with which it had raised them to the sky from the former triangle. So much difference does it make whether the rays come from below or from above, and the same things occur far more in the evening setting.

This is the theory of the higher stars; that of the rest is more difficult and has been explained by nobody before ourselves.

14. First therefore let us state the reason why Venus never departs more than 46 degrees and Mercury never more than 23 degrees from the sun, and why they often retire and return towards the sun within those limits. As situated below the sun both have arcs that are the opposite of those of the other planets, and as much of their circle is below the earth as that of the planets mentioned before is above it; and they cannot be further from it than they are because the curve of their arcs does not allow greater elongation there; consequently the edges of their arcs put a limit on a similar principle for each, and compensate for the dimensions of their longitude by the enlargement of their latitude. But, it will be objected, why do they not reach 46 and 23 degrees always? As a matter of fact they do, but the explanation escapes the theorists. For it is manifest that even their arcs alter, because they never cross the sun; accordingly when the edges have fallen on one side or the other into the actual degree of the sun, then the stars also are understood to have reached their longest distances, but when the edges are short of that, they themselves too are compelled to return with proportionately greater velocity, since with each of them that is always the extreme limit.

This also explains the contrary principle of their motions. For the higher planets travel most quickly in their evening setting, whereas these travel most slowly, and the former are farthest from the earth when their pace is slowest but the latter are highest when their pace is quickestthe reason being that with the latter the circumference of the circle accelerates their pace in the same manner as proximity to the centre does in the case of the former; the former begin to decelerate from their morning setting, but the latter to accelerate. The former travel backward from their morning to their evening station, the planet Venus from her evening to her morning station. But she begins to climb her latitude after her morning rise, but after her morning station to ascend her altitude and follow the sun, being swiftest and highest at her morning setting; whereas she begins to descend in latitude and decelerate after her evening rising, and to turn back and simultaneously to descend in altitude after her evening station; on the other hand the planet Mercury begins to climb in both ways after his morning rising, but after his evening rising to descend in latitude, and following the sun at an interval of 15 degrees he stands motionless for almost four days. Afterwards he descends from his altitude and proceeds back from his evening setting to his morning rise. And only this planet and the moon set in as many days as they have risen in; Venus ascends in 15 times as many days as she sets in, while Saturn and Jupiter descend in twice as many, and Mars in actually four times as many. So great is the variety of nature; but the reason is evidentbodies that strain up into the heat of the sun also have difficulty in descending.

15. Many more facts can be produced about these mysteries of nature and the laws that she obeysfor example, in the case of the planet Mars (whose course it is very difficult to observe) that it never makes its station with Jupiter at an angle of 120, and very seldom with Jupiter separated 60 (which amounts to 1/6th of the celestial sphere), and never makes its rises simultaneously with Jupiter except in two signs only, Cancer and Leo, whereas the planet Mercury rarely makes its evening rises in Pisces, and most frequently in Virgo, its morning rises in Libra, and also its morning rises in Aquarius, very rarely in Leo; it does not make its return in Taurus and in Gemini, and not below the 25th degree in Cancer; Gemini is the only sign in which the moon makes conjunction with the sun twice, Sagittarius the only one in which she does not meet him at all, Aries the only one in which the old moon and the new moon are visible on the same day or night (and this too it has happened to few mortals to see, hence Lynceus's reputation for keen sight); the longest period of invisibility for the planets Saturn and Mars is 170 days, for Jupiter 36 days; the shortest periods for all these are 10 days less; Venus's period is 69 days or at shortest 52, Mercury's 13 or at longest 17.

16. The colours of the planets vary with their altitudes, inasmuch as they are assimilated to the stars into whose atmosphere they come in rising, and the circuit of another's path modifies their colour in either direction as they approach, a colder circuit to pallor, a hotter one to redness, a windy one to a leaden colour, the sun and the intersection of its orbit with theirs, and also the extremities of their paths, changing them to black darkness. It is true that each has its own special hueSaturn white, Jupiter transparent, Mars fiery, Lucifer bright white, Vesper glaring, Mercury radiant, the moon soft, the sun when rising glowing and afterwards radiant; with these being causally connected also the appearance of the fixed stars. For at one time there is a dense crowd of stars in the sky round the circle of the half-moon, a fine night giving them a gentle radiance, but at another time they are scarce, so that we wonder at their flight, when the full moon hides them or when the rays of the sun or the planets above-mentioned dim our sight. But the moon herself also is undoubtedly sensitive to the variations of the strength of impact of the rays of the sun, as moreover the curve of the earth dulls their impact, except when the impact of the rays meets at a right angle. And so the moon is at half in the sun's quadrature, and curved in a hollow circle in its trinal aspect, but waxes to full at the sun's opposition, and then waning exhibits the same configurations at corresponding intervals, on the same principle as the three planets above the sun.

17. The sun itself has four differences, as there are two equinoxes, in spring and autumn, when it coincides with the centre of the earth at the eighth degree of Aries and Libra, and two changes of its course, in the eighth degree of Capricorn at midwinter when the days begin to lengthen and in the same degree of Cancer at the summer solstice. The variation is due to the slant of the zodiac, as at every moment an equal part of the firmament is above and below the earth; but the planets that follow a straight path at their rising keep their light for a longer tract and those that follow a slanting path pass in a swifter period.

18. Most men are not acquainted with a truth known to the founders of the science from their arduous study of the heavens, that what when they fall to earth are termed thunderbolts are the fires of the three upper planets, particularly those of Jupiter, which is in the middle positionpossibly because it voids in this way the charge of excessive moisture from the upper circle (of Saturn) and of excessive heat from the circle below (of Mars); and that this is the origin of the myth that thunderbolts are the javelins hurled by Jupiter. Consequently heavenly fire is spit forth by the planet as crackling charcoal flies from a burning log, bringing prophecies with it, as even the part of himself that he discards does not cease to function in its divine tasks. And this is accompanied by a very great disturbance of the air, because moisture collected causes an overflow, or because it is disturbed by the birth-pangs so to speak of the planet in travail.

19. Many people have also tried to discover the distances of the planets from the earth, and have given out that the distance of the sun from the moon is 19 times that of the moon itself from the earth. The penetrating genius of Pythagoras, however, inferred that the distance of the moon from the earth was 15,750 miles, and that of the sun from the moon twice that figure, and of the sun from the twelve signs of the Zodiac three times. Our fellow-countryman Sulpicius Gallus also held this view.

20. But occasionally Pythagoras draws on the theory of music, and designates the distance between the earth and the moon as a whole tone, that between the moon and Mercury a semitone, between Mercury and Venus the same, between her and the sun a tone and a half, between the sun and Mars a tone (the same as the distance between the earth and the moon), between Mars and Jupiter half a tone, between Jupiter and Saturn half a tone, between Saturn and the zodiac a tone and a half: the seven tones thus producing the so-called diapason, a universal harmony; in this Saturn moves in the Dorian mode, Jupiter in the Phrygian, and similarly with the other planetsa refinement more entertaining than convincing.

21. A stade is equivalent to 125 Roman paces, that is 625 feet. Posidonius holds that mists and winds and clouds reach to a height of not less than 5 miles from the earth, but that from that point the air is clear and liquid and perfectly luminous, but that the distance between the cloudy air and the moon is 250,000 miles and between the moon and the sun 625,000 miles, it being due to this distance that the sun's vast magnitude does not burn up the earth. The majority of writers, however, have stated that the clouds rise to a height of 111 miles. These figures are really unascertained and impossible to disentangle, but it is proper to put them forward became they have been put forward already, although they are matters in which the method of geometrical inference, which never misleads, is the only method that it is possible not to reject, were anybody desirous of pursuing such questions more deeply, and with the intention of establishing not precise measurement (for to aspire to that would mark an almost insane absorption in study) but merely a conjectural calculation. For since it appears from the sun's revolution that the circle through which its orb travels extends nearly 366 degrees, and since the diameter of a circle always measures a little less than ⅓ + 1/21 of the circumference, it appears that, as half the circle is subtracted by the interposition of the earth at the centre, the measure of the sun's altitude comprises about tth of this conjecturally estimated immense space of the solar circle round the earth, and the moon's altitude tth, since the moon runs in a circuit that is much shorter than the sun's; so that it comes between the sun and the earth. It is marvellous to what length the depravity of man's intellect will go when lured on by some trifling success, in the way in which reason furnishes impudence with its opportunity in the case of the calculations above stated. And when they have dared to guess the distances of the sun from the earth they apply the same figures to the sky, on the ground that the sun is at its centre, with the consequence that they have at their finger's ends the dimensions of the world also. For they argue that the circumference of a circle is us times its diameter, as though the measure of the heavens were merely regulated from a plumb-line! The Egyptian calculation published by Petosiris and Nechepsos infers that one degree of the lunar circle measures (as has been said) just over 4⅛ miles at the least, one degree of the widest circle, Saturn's, twice that size, and one of the sun's circle, which we stated to be in the middle, the mean between the other two. This computation is a most shameful business, since the addition of the distance of the zodiac itself to the

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circle of Saturn produces a multiple that is even beyond reckoning.

22. A few facts about the world remain. There are also stars that suddenly come to birth in the heaven itself; of these there are several kinds. The Greeks call them 'comets,' in our language 'long-haired stars,' because they have a blood-red shock of what looks like shaggy hair at their top. The Greeks also give the name of 'bearded stars' to those from whose lower part spreads a mane resembling a long beard. 'Javelin-stars' quiver like a dart; these are a very terrible portent. To this class belongs the comet about which Titus Imperator Caesar in his 5th consulship wrote an account in his famous poem, that being its latest appearance down to the present day. The same stars when shorter and sloping to a point have been called 'Daggers'; these are the palest of all in colour, and have a gleam like the flash of a sword, and no rays, which even the Quoit-star, which resembles its name in appearance but is in colour like amber, emits in scattered form from its edge. The 'Tub-star' presents the shape of a cask, with a smoky light all round it. The 'Horned star' has the shape of a horn, like the one that appeared when Greece fought the decisive battle of Salamis. The 'Torch-star' resembles glowing torches, the 'Horse-star horses' manes in very rapid motion and revolving in a circle. There also occurs a shining comet whose silvery tresses glow so brightly that it is scarcely possible to look at it, and which displays within it a shape in the likeness of a man's countenance. There also occur 'Goat comets,' enringed with a sort of cloud resembling tufts of hair. Once hitherto it has happened that a 'Mane-shaped' comet changed into a spear; this was in the 108th [348-345 BC] Olympiad, AUC 408 [346 BC]. The shortest period of visibility on record for a comet is 7 days, the longest 80.

23. Some comets move, like the planets, but others are fixed and stationary, almost all of them towards the due North, not in any particular part of it, though chiefly in the luminous region called the Milky Way. Aristotle also records that several may be seen at the same timea fact not observed by anyone else, as far as I am awareand that this signifies severe winds or heat. Comets also occur in the winter months and at the south pole, but comets in the south have no rays. A terrible comet was seen by the people of Ethiopia and Egypt, to which Typhon the king of that period gave his name; it had a fiery appearance and was twisted like a coil, and it was very grim to behold: it was not really a star so much as what might be called a ball of fire. Planets and all other stars also occasionally have spreading hair. But sometimes there is a comet in the western sky, usually a terrifying star and not easily expiated: for instance, during the civil disorder in the consulship of Octavius, and again during the war between Pompey and Caesar, or in our day about the time of the poisoning which secured the bequest of the empire by Claudius Caesar to Domitius Nero, and thereafter during Nero's principate shining almost continuously and with a terrible glare. People think that it matters in what direction a comet darts, what star's strength it borrows, what shapes it resembles, and in what places it shines; that if it resembles a pair of flutes. It is a portent for the art of music, in the private parts of the constellations it portends immorality, if it forms an equilateral triangle or a rectangular quadrilateral in relation to certain positions of the fixed stars, it portends men of genius and a revival of learning, in the head of the Northern or the Southern Serpent it brings poisonings.

The only place in the whole world where a comet is the object of worship is a temple at Rome. His late Majesty Augustus had deemed this comet very propitious to himself; as it had appeared at the beginning of his rule, at some games which, not long after the decease of his father Caesar, as a member of the college founded by him he was celebrating in honour of Mother Venus. In fact he made public the joy that it gave him in these words: 'On the very days of my Games a comet was visible for seven days in the northern part of the sky. It was rising about an hour before sunset, and was a bright star, visible from all lands. The common people believed that this star signified the soul of Caesar received among the spirits of the immortal gods, and on this account the emblem of a star was added to the bust of Caesar that we shortly afterwards dedicated in the forum.' This was his public utterance, but privately he rejoiced because he interpreted the comet as having been born for his own sake and as containing his own birth within it; and, to confess the truth, it did have a health-giving influence over the world.

Some persons think that even comets are everlasting, and travel in a special circuit of their own, but are not visible except when the sun leaves them; there are others, however, who hold that they spring into existence out of chance moisture and fiery force, and consequently are dissolved.

24. Hipparchus before-mentioned, who can never be sufficiently praised, no one having done more to prove that man is related to the stars and that our souls are a part of heaven, detected a new star that came into existence during his lifetime; the movement of this star in its line of radiance led him to wonder whether this was a frequent occurrence, whether the stars that we think to be fixed are also in motion; and consequently he did a bold thing, That would be reprehensible even for Godhe dared to schedule the stars for posterity, and tick off the heavenly bodies by name in a list, devising machinery by means of which to indicate their several positions and magnitudes, in order that from that time onward it might be possible easily to discern not only whether stars perish and are born, but whether some are in transit and in motion, and also whether they increase and decrease in magnitudethus bequeathing the heavens as a legacy to all mankind, supposing anybody had been found to claim that inheritance!

25. There are also meteoric lights that are only seen when falling, for instance one that ran across the sky at midday in full view of the public when Germanicus Caesar was giving a gladiatorial show. Of these there are two kinds: one sort are called lampades, which means torches, the other bolides (missiles),that is the sort that appeared at the time of the disasters of Modena. The difference between them is that 'torches' make long tracks, with their front part glowing, whereas a 'boils' glows throughout its length, and traces a longer path.

26. Other similar meteoric lights are 'beams.' in Greek dokoi, for example one that appeared when the Spartans were defeated at sea and lost the empire of Greece. There also occurs a yawning of the actual sky, called chasma,

27. and also something that looks like blood, and a fire that falls from it to the earththe most alarming possible cause of terror to mankind; as happened in the third year [349BC] of the 107th Olympiad, when King Philip was throwing Greece into disturbance. My own view is that these occurrences take place at fixed dates owing to natural forces, like all other events, and not, as most people think, from the variety of causes invented by the cleverness of human intellects; it is true that they were the harbingers of enormous misfortunes, but I hold that those did not happen because the marvellous occurrences took place but that these took place because the misfortunes were going to occur, only the reason for their occurrence is concealed by their rarity, and consequently is not understood as are the risings and setting of the planets described above and many other phenomena.

28. Stars are also seen throughout the daytime in company with the sun, usually actually surrounding the sun's orb like wreaths made of ears of corn and rings of changing colourfor instance, when Augustus Caesar in early manhood entered the city after the death of his father to assume his mighty surname. Similar haloes occur round the moon and round The principal fixed stars.

29. A bow appeared round the sun in the consulship of Lucius Opimius and Quintus Fabius, a hoop in that of Gaius Porcius and Manius Acilius, and a red ring in that of Lucius Julius and Publius Rutilius.

30. Portentous and protracted eclipses of the sun occur, such as the one after the murder of Caesar the dictator and during the Antonine war which caused almost a whole year's continuous gloom.

31. Again, several suns are seen at once, neither above nor below the real sun but at an angle with it, never alongside of nor opposite to the earth, and not at night but either at sunrise or at sunset. It is also reported that once several suns were seen at midday at the Bosphorus, and that these lasted from dawn till sunset. In former times three suns have often been seen at once, for example in the consulships of Spurius Postumius and Quintus Mucius, of Quintus Marcius and Marcus Porcius, of Marcus Antonius and Publius Dolabella, and of Marcus Lepidus and Lucius Plancus; and our generation saw this during the principate of his late Majesty Claudius, in his consulship, when Cornelius Orfitus was his colleague. It is not stated that more than three suns at a time have ever been seen hitherto.

32. Also three moons have appeared at once, for instance in the consulship of Gnaeus Domitius and Gaius Fannius.

33. A light from the sky by night, the phenomenon usually called 'night-suns,' was seen in the consulship of Gaius Caecilius and Gnaeus Papirius and often on other occasions causing apparent daylight in the night.

34. In the consulship of Lucius Valerius and Gaius Marius a burning shield scattering sparks ran across the sky at sunset from west to east.

35. In the consulship of Gnaeus Octavius and Gaius Scribonius a spark was seen to fall from a star and increase in size as it approached the earth, and after becoming as large as the moon it diffused a sort of cloudy daylight, and then returning to the sky changed into a torch; this is the only record of this occurring. It was seen by the proconsul Silanus and his suite.

36. Also stars appear to shoot to and fro; and this invariably portends the rise of a fierce hurricane from the same quarter.

37. Stars also come into existence at sea on land. I have seen a radiance of star-like appearance clinging to the javelins of soldiers on sentry duty at night in front of the rampart; and on a voyage stars alight on the yards and other parts of the ship, with a sound resembling a voice, hopping from perch to perch in the manner of birds. These when they come singly are disastrously heavy and wreck ships, and if they fall into the hold burn them up. If there are two of them, they denote safety and portend a successful voyage; and their approach is said to put to flight the terrible star called Helena: for this reason they are called Castor and Pollux, and people pray to them as gods for aid at sea. They also shine round men's heads at evening time; this is a great portent. All these things admit of no certain explanation; they are hidden away in the grandeur of nature.

38. So much as to the world itself and the stars. Now the remaining noteworthy facts as to the heavens: for the name 'heaven' was also given by our ancestors to this which is otherwise designated 'air'the whole of that apparently empty space which pours forth this breath of life. This region below the moon, and a long way below it (as I notice is almost universally agreed), blends together an unlimited quantity from the upper element of air and an unlimited quantity of terrestrial vapour, being a combination of both orders. From it come clouds, thunder-claps and also thunderbolts, hail, frost, rain, storms and whirlwinds; from it come most of mortals' misfortunes, and the warfare between the elements of nature. The force of the stars presses down terrestrial objects that strive to move towards the sky, and also draws to itself things that lack spontaneous levitation. Rain falls, clouds rise, rivers dry up, hailstorms sweep down; rays scorch, and impinging from every side on the earth in the middle of the world, then are broken and recoil and carry with them the moisture they have drunk up. Steam falls from on high and again returns on high. Empty winds sweep down, and then go back again with their plunder. So many living creatures draw their breath from the upper air; but the air strives in the opposite direction, and the earth pours back breath to the sky as if to a vacuum. Thus as nature swings to and fro like a kind of sling, discord is kindled by the velocity of the world's motion. Nor is the battle allowed to stand still, but is continually carried up and whirled round, displaying in an immense globe that encircles the world the causes of things, continually overspreading another and another heaven interwoven with the clouds. This is the realm of the winds. consequently their nature is here pre-eminent, and almost includes all the rest of the phenomena caused by the air, as most men attribute the hurling of thunderbolts and lightning to the winds' violence, and indeed hold that the cause of the rain of stones that sometimes occurs is that the stones are caught up by the wind; and likewise many other things. On this account more facts have to be set out at the same time.

39. Storms and rain obviously have some regular causes, but some that are accidental, or at all events not hitherto explained. For who can doubt that summer and winter and the yearly vicissitudes observed in the seasons are caused by the motion of the heavenly bodies? Therefore as the nature of the sun is understood to control the year's seasons, so each of the other stars also has a force of its own that creates effects corresponding to its particular nature. Some are productive of moisture dissolved into liquid, others of moisture hardened into frost or coagulated into snow or frozen into hail, others of a blast of air, others of warmth or heat, others of dew, others of cold. But it must not be thought that the stars are of the size that they appear to the sight, since the consideration of their immense altitude proves that none of them is smaller than the moon. Consequently each of them exercises its own nature in its own motion, a fact which the transits of Saturn in particular make clear by their storms of rain. Nor does this power belong to the moving stars only, but also to many those that are fixed to the sky, whenever they are impelled forward by the approach of the planets or goaded on by the impact of their rays, as we observe occurring in the case of the Little Pigs, the Greek name for which is consequently the Hyades, a word denoting rain. Indeed some stars move of themselves and at fixed timescompare the rising of the Kids. But the rising of the constellation Arcturus is almost always accompanied by a hail-storm.

40. For who is not aware that the heat of the sun increases at the rising of the Lesser Dog-star, whose effects are felt on earth very widely? At its rise the seas are rough, wine in the cellars ripples in waves, pools of water are stirred. There is a wild animal in Egypt called the gazelle that according to the natives stands facing this dog-star at its rise, and gazing at it as if in worship, after first giving a sneeze. It is indeed beyond doubt that dogs throughout the whole of that period are specially liable to rabies.

41. Moreover also the parts of some constellations have an influence of their ownfor instance at the autumnal equinox and at midwinter, when we learn by the storms that the sun is completing its orbit; and not only by falls of rain and storms, but by many things that happen to our bodies and to the fields. Some men are paralysed by a star, others suffer periodic disturbances of the stomach or sinews or bead or mind. The olive and white poplar and willow turn round their leaves at the solstice. Fleabane hung up in the house to dry flowers exactly on midwinter day, and inflated skins burst. This may surprise one who does not notice in daily experience that one plant, called heliotrope, always looks towards the sun as it passes and at every hour of the day turns with it, even when it is obscured by a cloud. Indeed persistent research has

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discovered that the influence of the moon causes the shells of oysters, cockles and all shell-fish to grow larger and again smaller in bulk, and moreover that the phases of the moon affect the tissues of the shrewmouse, and that the smallest animal, the ant, is sensitive to the influence of the planet and at the time of the new moon is always slack. This makes ignorance all the more disgraceful to man, especially as he admits that with some cattle diseases of the eyes increase and diminish with the moon. His excuse is the heaven's vastness, being divided at an enormous height into 72 signs, that is, shapes of things or of animals into which the learned have mapped out the sky. In them they have indeed noted 1600 stars as being specially remarkable for their influence or their appearance, for instance the seven which they have named the Pleiades in the tail of the Bull and the Little Pigs in his forehead, and Bootes the star that follows the Seven Plough-oxen.

42. I would not deny that rain and wind can arise from other causes than these; it is certain that the earth exhales a damp mist and at other times a smoky one due to vapour, and that clouds are formed out of moisture rising to a height or air condensed into moisture. Their density and bulk are conjectured with certain inference from the fact that they obscure the sun, which is otherwise visible even to those diving into water to whatever depth.

43. Consequently I would not go against the view that it is also possible for the fires of stars to fall from above into the clouds (as we often see happen. in fine weather, and the impact of these fires unquestionably shakes the air since even weapons when flung make a hissing noise); and that when they reach the cloud, a hissing steam is produced, just as when red-hot iron is plunged into water, and a coil of smoke whirls up. And I agree that these produce storms, and if there is wind or steam struggling in the cloud, it gives out claps of thunder, if it bursts out on fire, flashes of lightning, if it forces its way on a longer track, heat-lightning. The latter cleaves the cloud, the flashes burst through it, and thunderclaps are the blows of the fires colliding, causing fiery cracks at once to flash out in the clouds. It is also possible for breath emerging from the earth, when pressed down by the counter-impact of the stars, to be checked by a cloud and so cause thunder, nature choking down the sound while the struggle goes on but the crash sounding when the breath bursts out, as when a skin is stretched by being blown into. It is also possible for this breath, whatever it is, to be set on fire by the friction during its headlong progress. It is also possible for it to be struck out by the impact of the clouds, as by that of two stones, with heat-lightning flashing out like sparks. But all these occurrences are accidentalthey cause mere senseless and ineffectual thunder-claps, as their coming obeys no principle of naturethey merely cleave mountains and seas, and all their other blows are ineffectual; but the former are prophetical and sent from on high, they come by fixed causes and from their own stars.

44. Similarly I am not prepared to deny that it is possible for winds or rather gusts of air to be produced also by a dry and parched breath from the earth, and also possible when bodies of water breathe out a vapour that is neither condensed into mist or solidified into clouds; and also they may be caused by the driving force of the sun, because wind is understood to be nothing else than a wave of air; and in more ways as well. For we see winds arising both from rivers and bays and from the sea even when calm, and others, called altani, arising from the land; the latter when they come back again from the sea are called turning winds, but if they go on, offshore winds.

The windings of mountains and their clustered peaks and ridges curved in an elbow or broken off into shoulders, and the hollow recesses of valleys, cleaving with their irregular contours the air that is consequently reflected from them (a phenomenon that in many place causes words spoken to be endlessly echoed) are productive of winds. So again are caverns, like the one with an enormous gaping mouth on the coast of Dalmatia, from which, if you throw some light object into it, even in calm weather a gust like a whirlwind bursts out; the name of the place is Senta. Also it is said that in the province of Cyrenaica there is a certain cliff, sacred to the South wind, which it is sacrilege for the hand of man to touch, the South wind immediately causing a sandstorm. Even manufactured vessels in many houses if shut up in the dark have peculiar exhalations. Thus there must be some cause for this.

45. But there is a great difference between a gust of air and a wind. The latter, regular and blowing steadily, and felt not by some particular tract only but by whole countries, and not being breezes nor tempests but windseven their name being a masculine word--whether they are caused by the continuous motion of the world and the impact of the stars travelling in the opposite direction or whether wind is the famous `breath' that generates the universe by fluctuating to and fro as in a sort of womb, or air whipped by the irregular impact of the planets and the non-uniform emission of their rays, or whether they issue forth from these nearer stars which are their own or fall from those stars which are fixed in the heavenit is manifest that the winds too obey a law of nature that is not unknown, even if not yet fully known.

More than twenty Greek authors of the past have published observations about these subjects. This makes me all the more surprised that, although when the world was at variance, and split up into kingdoms, that is, sundered limb from limb, so many people devoted themselves to these abstruse researches; especially when wars surrounded them and hosts were untrustworthy, and also when rumours of pirates, the foes of all mankind, terrified intending travellersso that now-a-days a person may learn some facts about his own region from the notebooks of people who have never been there more truly than from the knowledge of the nativesyet now in these glad times of peace under an emperor who so delights in productions of literature and science, no addition whatever is being made to knowledge by means of original research, and in fact even the discoveries of our predecessors are not being thoroughly studied. The rewards were not greater when the ample successes were spread out over made the discoveries in question with no other many students, and in fact the majority of these reward at all save the consciousness of benefiting posterity. Age has overtaken the characters of mankind, not their revenues, and now that every sea has been opened up and every coast offers hospitable landing, an immense multitude goes on voyagesbut their object is profit not knowledge; and in their blind engrossment with avarice they do not reflect that knowledge is a more reliable means even of making profit. Consequently in view of these thousands of persons who go on voyages I will give a more detailed account of the winds than is perhaps suited to the task I have set in hand.

46. The ancients noticed four winds in all, corresponding to the four quarters of the world (this is the reason why even Homer mentions no more)a dull-witted system, as it was soon afterwards considered; the following age added eightthis system on the other hand was too subtle and meticulous. Their successors adopted a compromise, adding to the short list four winds from the long one. There are consequently two winds in each of the four quarters of the heaven: Subsolanns blowing from the equinoctial sunrise (E.) and Vulturnus from the winter sunrise (S.E.)the former designated by the Greeks Apeliotes, the latter Burns; Auster from the sun at midday (S.) and Afriens from the winter sunset (S.W.)named in Greek Notus and Libs; Favonius from the equinoctial sunset (W.), Corus from the sunset at the solstice (N.W.)these the Greeks call Zephyr and Argestes; Septentrio from the North and Aquilo between him and sunrise at the solstice (N.E.)called in Greek Aparctias and Boreas. The more numerous scheme had inserted four between these: Thrascias (N.N.W.) in the space between Septentrio (N.) and the sunset at the solstice (N.W.) and also Caecias (E.N.E.) in the space between Aquilo (N.E.) and the equinoctial sunrise (B.) on the side of the sunrise at the solstice, and Phoenix (S.S.E.) in the space between winter sunrise (S.E.) and midday (S.), and also between Libs (S.W.) and Notus (S.) the combination of the two, Libonotus (S.S.W.), midway between midday (S.) and winter sunset (S.W.). Nor is this the end, inasmuch as others have also added one named Meses between Boreas (N.E.) and Caecias (E.N.E.), and Euronotus between Eurus (S.E.) and Notus (S.). There are also certain winds peculiar to particular races, which do not go outside a special region, e.g. the Athenians have Sciron, slightly diverging from Argestes (N.W.), a name unknown to the rest of Greeceelsewhere the same breeze is called Olympias: customarily all these names are taken to denote Argestni. Some people call Caecias (E.N.E.) Hellespontias, and others have other variants for these names. Similarly in the province of Narbonne the most famous of the winds is Circius (W.N.W.), which is inferior to none other at all in force and which usually carries a vessel right across the Ligurian Sea to Ostia; the same wind is not only unknown in the remaining quarters of the sky, but it does not even touch Vienne, a city of the same province, a few miles before reaching which this mighty wind is checked by the obstacle of a moderate ridge of hills. Fabianus asserts that South winds also do not penetrate Egyptwhich reveals the law of nature that even winds have their prescribed limits as well as seasons.

47. Accordingly the spring opens the seas to voyagers; at its beginning the West winds soften the wintry heaven, when the sun occupies the 25th degree of Aquarius; the date of this is Feb. 8. This also practically applies to all the winds whose positions I shall give afterwards, although every leap-year they come a day earlier, but they keep the regular rule in the period that follows. Certain persons give the name Chelidonias to the West wind on the 19th February, owing to the appearance of the swallow, but some call it Ornithias, from the arrival of the birds on the 71st day after the shortest day, when it blows for nine days. Opposite to the West wind is the wind that we have called Subsolanus (E.). The rise of the Pleiades in the same degrees of Taurus on May 10 brings summer; it is a period of South wind, Auster, the opposite of Septentrio. But in the hottest period of summer the Dog-star rises, when the sun is entering the first degree of Leothis day is July 17. The Dog-star's rise is preceded for about eight days by North-east winds: these are called the Forerunners. But two days after his rising the North-east winds begin again, and continue blowing steadily for 30 days; these are called Etesian or Annual winds. They are believed to be softened by the sun's warmth being reinforced by the heat of the star; and they are the most regular of any of the winds. They are followed in turn by South winds, continuing to the rise of Areturus, which occurs 40 days before the autumnal equinox. With the equinox begins the North-west wind; this, the opposite of Volturnus, marks the beginning of autumn. About 44 days after the autumnal equinox the setting of the Pleiades marks the beginning of winter, which it is customary to date on November 11; this is the period of the winter Aquilo, which is very unlike the summer one mentioned above; it is opposite to the South-west wind. But for six days before the shortest day and six days after it the sea calms down for the breeding of the halcyons from which these days derive their name. The rest of the time there is wintry weather. However, not even the fury of the storms closes the sea; pirates first compelled men by the threat of death to rush into death and venture on the winter seas, but now avarice exercises the same compulsion.

48. The actually coldest winds are those that we have stated to blow from the North, and their neighbour Corus (N.W.); these check the other winds and also drive away the clouds. The Southwest and especially the South are for Italy the damp winds; it is said that on the Black Sea the East-north-east also attracts clouds. The North-west and South-east are dry, except when they are falling. The North-east and North are snow winds; the North brings hailstorms, and so does the North-west. The South wind is hot, the South-east and West warm; the latter are also drier than the East wind, and in general all the northerly and westerly winds are drier than the southerly and easterly. The healthiest of all is the North wind; the South is harmful, and more so when dry, perhaps because when damp it is colder; living creatures are believed to be less hungry when it is blowing. Etesian winds usually cease at night and rise at eight o'clock in the morning; in Spain and Asia they are East winds, on the Black Sea North, and in other regions South. But they also begin to blow at midwinter then they are called the Bird-winds), but more gently and only for a few days. Two winds also change their nature with their geographical position: the South wind in Africa is fine and the North-east cloudy. All the winds blow in their own turns, usually the one opposite to the one that ceases beginning. When those next to the ones falling rise, they go round from left to right a like the sun. The fourth moon usually decides about the course of the winds for the month. Vessels by means of slacking sheets can sail in contrary directions with the same winds, so that collisions occur, usually at night, between ships on opposite tacks. The South wind causes larger waves than the Northeast because the former being below blows from the bottom of the sea but the latter from the top; consequently earthquakes following South winds are specially destructive. The South wind is more violent at night and the North-east wind in the day-time; and easterly winds continue longer than westerly. North winds usually stop after blowing an odd number of days, an observation that holds good in many other departments of nature also: this is why the odd numbers are thought to be masculine. The sun both increases and reduces the force of the windthe former when rising and setting, the latter at midday in summer seasons; consequently the winds are usually lulled at midday or midnight, because either excessive cold or excessive heat makes them slack. Also winds are lulled by rain; but they are most to be expected from quarters where the clouds have broken, revealing a clear sky.

Eudoxus however thinks that (if we choose to study the minimal circuits) there is a regular recurrence of all phenomenanot only of winds but largely of other sorts of bad weather as wellin four-yearly periods, and that the period always begins in a leap-year at the rising of Sirius.

These are our observations with regard to the winds that are regular.

49. Now as to sudden blasts, which arise as has been said from exhalations of the earth, and fall back again to the earth drawing over it an envelope of cloud; these occur in a variety of forms. The fact is that their onrush is quite irregular, like that of mountain torrents (as we have pointed out is the view of certain persons), and they give forth thunder and lightning. If travelling with a heavier momentum they burst a great gap in a dry cloud, they produce a storm called by the Greeks a cloudburst; but if they break out from a downward curve of cloud with a more limited rotation, they cause a whirl unaccompanied by fireI mean by lightningthat is called a typhoon, which denotes a whirling cloudburst. This brings down with it a portion of heat torn from a cloud, which it turns and whirls round, increasing its own downward velocity by its weight, and shifting from place to place with a rapid whirl; it is specially disastrous to navigators, as it twists round and shatters not only the yards, but the vessels themselves, leaving only the slender remedy of pouring out vinegar in advance of its approach, vinegar being a very cold substance. The same whirlwind when beaten back by its very

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impact snatches things up and carries them back with it to the sky, sucking them high aloft.

50. But if it bursts out of a larger cavern of downward pressing cloud but not so wide a one as in the case of a storm, and is accompanied by a crashing noise, this is what they call a whirlwind, which overthrows everything in its neighbourhood. When the same rages hotter and with a fiery flow, it is called a rester, as while sweeping away the things it comes in contact with it also scorches them up. But a typhoon does not occur with a northerly wind, nor a cloudburst with snow or when snow is lying. If it flared up as soon as it burst the cloud, and had fire in it, did not catch fire afterwards, it is a thunderbolt. It differs from a fiery pillar in the way in which a flame differs from a fire: a fiery pillar spreads out its blast widely, whereas a thunderbolt masses together its onrush. On the other hand a tornado differs from a whirlwind by returning, and as a whiz differs from a crash; a storm is different from either in its extentit is caused by the scattering rather than the bursting of a cloud. There also occurs a darkness caused by a cloud shaped like a wild monsterthis is direful to sailors. There is also what is called a column, when densified and stiffened moisture raises itself aloft; in the same class also is a waterspout, when a cloud draws up water like a pipe.

51. Thunderbolts are rare in winter and in summer, from opposite causes. In winter, owing to the thicker envelope of cloud, the air is rendered extremely dense, and all the earth's exhalation being stiff and cold extinguishes whatever fiery vapour it receives. This reason renders Scyrthia and the frozen regions round it immune from the fall of thunderbolts, while conversely the excessive heat does the same for Egypt, inasmuch as the hot and dry exhalations from the earth condense very rarely, and only form thin and feeble clouds. But in spring and autumn thunderbolts are more frequent, their summer and winter causes being combined in each of those seasons; this explains why they are frequent in Italy, where the milder winter and stormy summer make the air more mobile, and it is always somewhat vernal or autumnal. Also in the parts of Italy that slope down from the north towards the warmth, such as the district of Rome and the Campagna, lightning occurs in winter just as in summer, which does not happen in any other locality.

52. Of thunderbolts themselves several varieties are reported. Those that come with a dry flash do not cause a fire but an explosion. The smoky ones do not burn but blacken. There is a third sort, called 'bright thunderbolts,' of an extremely remarkable nature; this kind drains casks dry without damaging their lids and without leaving any other trace, and melts gold and copper and silver in their bags without singeing the bags themselves at all, and even without melting the wax seal. Marcia, a lady of high station at Rome, was struck by lightning when enceinte, and though the child was killed, she herself survived without being otherwise injured. Among the portents in connexion with Catiline, a town-councillor of Pompei named Marcus Herennius was struck by lightning on a fine day.

53. The Tuscan writers hold the view that there are nine gods who send thunderbolts, and that these are of eleven kinds, because Jupiter hurls three varieties. Only two of these deities have been retained by the Romans, who attribute thunderbolts in the daytime to Jupiter and those in the night to Summanus, the latter being naturally rare because the sky at night is colder. Tuscany believes that some also burst out of the ground, which it calls 'low bolts,' and that these are rendered exceptionally direful and accursed by the season of winter, though all the bolts that they believe of earthly origin are not the ordinary ones and do not come from the stars but from the nearer and more disordered element: a clear proof of this being that all those coming from the upper heaven deliver slanting blows, whereas these which they call earthly strike straight. And those that fall from the nearer elements are supposed to come out of the earth because they leave no traces as a result of their rebound, although that is the principle not of a downward blow but of a slanting one. Those who pursue these enquiries with more subtlety think that these bolts come from the planet Saturn, just as the inflammatory ones come from Mars, as, for instance, when Bolsena, the richest town in Tuscany, was entirely burnt up by a thunderbolt. Also the first ones that occur after a man sets up house for himself are called 'family meteors,' as foretelling his fortune for the whole of his life. However, people think that private meteors, except those that occur either at a man's first marriage or on his birthday, do not prophecy beyond ten years, nor public ones beyond the 30th year, except those occurring at the colonization of a town.

54. Historical record also exists of thunderbolts being either caused by or vouchsafed in answer to certain rites and prayers. There is an old story of the latter in Tuscany, when the portent which they called Olta came to the city of Bolsena, when its territory had been devastated; it was sent in answer to the prayer of its king Porsina. Also before his time, as is recorded on the reliable authority of Lucius Piso in his Annals I, this was frequently practised by Numa, though when Tullus Hostilius copied him with incorrect ritual he was struck by lightning. We also have groves and altars and rites, and among the other Jupiters, the Stayers and Thunderers and Receivers of Offerings, tradition gives us Jupiter the Invoked. On this matter the opinion of mankind varies, in correspondence with our individual dispositions. It takes a bold man to believe that Nature obeys the behests of ritual, and equally it takes a dull man to deny that ritual has beneficent powers, when knowledge has made such progress even in the interpretation of thunderbolts that it can prophecy that others will come on a fixed day, and whether they will destroy a previous one or other previous ones that are concealed: this progress has been made by public and private experiments in both fields. In consequence although such indications are certain in some cases but doubtful in others, and approved to some persons but in the view of others to be condemned, in accordance with Nature's will and pleasure, we for our part are not going to leave out the rest of the things worth recording in this department.

55. It is certain that when thunder and lightning occur simultaneously, the flash is seen before the thunderclap is heard (this not being surprising, as light travels more swiftly than sound); but that Nature so regulates the stroke of a thunderbolt and the sound of the thunder that they occur together, although the sound is caused by the bolt starting, not striking; moreover that the current of air travels faster than the bolt, and that consequently the object always is shaken and feels the blast before it is struck; and that nobody hit has ever seen the lightning or heard the thunder in advance. Flashes on the left are considered lucky, because the sun rises on the left-hand side of the firmament; and their approach is not so visible as their return, whether after the blow a fire springs from it or the breath returns when its work is done or its fire used up.

In making these observations the Tuscans divided the heaven into sixteen parts: the first quarter is from the North to the equinoctial sunrise (East), the second to the South, the third to the equinoctial sunset (West), and the fourth occupies the remaining space extending from West to North; these quarters they subdivided into four parts each, of which they called the eight starting from the East the left-hand regions and the eight opposite ones the right-hand. Of these the most formidable are those lying between West and North. Hence the line of approach and the line of retirement of thunderbolts is of very great importance. It is best for them to return to parts in the region of sunrise. Accordingly it will be a portent of supreme happiness when they come from the first part of the sky and retire to the same parta sign that history records to have been vouchsafed to the dictator Sulla; but all the others are less fortunate or actually direful, in accordance with the division of the actual firmament where they occur. Some people think it wrong to give or to listen to reports of thunderbolts, except if they are told to a guest or a parent.

The great folly of paying attention to these occurrences was discovered when the Temple of Juno at Rome was struck by lightning in the time of Scaurus, who was afterwards head of the state.

Lightning unaccompanied by thunder occurs more often by night than in the daytime. Man is the one creature that is not always killed when struckall others are killed on the spot; nature doubtless bestows this honour on man because so many animals surpass him in strength. All things (when struck) fall in the opposite direction to the flash. A man does not die unless the force of the blow turns him right round. Men struck from above collapse. A man struck while awake is found with his eyes shut; while asleep, with them open. It is not lawful to cremate a man who loses his life in this manner; religious tradition prescribes burial. No living creature can be burnt by lightning without being killed. The temperature of the wound of those struck is lower than that of the rest of the body.

56. Among things that grow in the ground, it does not strike a laurel bush. It never penetrates more than five feet into the earth; consequently when in fear of lightning men think caves of greater depth are the safest, or else a tent made of the skin of the creatures called sea-calves, because that alone among marine animals lightning does not strike, just as it does not strike the eagle among birds; this is why the eagle is represented as armed with a thunderbolt as a weapon. In Italy in the time of the Caesarian war people ceased to build towers between Terracina and the Temple of Feronia, as every tower there was destroyed by lightning.

57. Besides these events in the lower sky, it is entered in the records that in the consulship of Manius Acilius and Gaius Porcius it rained milk and blood, and that frequently on other occasions there it has rained flesh, for instance in the consulship of Publius Volumnius and Servius Sulpicius, and that none of the flesh left unplundered by birds of prey went bad; and similarly that it rained iron in the district of Lucania the year before Marcus Crassus was killed a by the Parthians and with him all the Lucanian soldiers, of whom there was a large contingent in his army; the shape of the iron that fell resembled sponges; the augurs prophesied wounds from above. But in the consulship Lucius Paullus and Gaius Marcellus it rained wool in the vicinity of Compsa Castle, near which Titus Annius Milo was killed a year later. It is recorded in the annals of that year that while Milo was pleading a case in court it rained baked bricks.

58. We are told that during the wars with the Cimbri a noise of clanging armour and the sounding of a trumpet were heard from the sky, and that the same thing has happened frequently both before then and later. In the third consulship of Marius the inhabitants of Ameria and Tuder [Todi] saw the spectacle of heavenly armies advancing from the East and the West to meet in battle, those from the West being routed. It has often been seen, and is not at all surprising, that the sky itself catches fire when the clouds have been set on fire by an exceptionally large flame.

59. The Greeks tell the story that Anaxagoras of Clazomenae in the 2nd year [467 BC] of the 78th Olympiad was enabled by his knowledge of astronomical literature to prophecy that in a certain number of days a rock would fall from the sun; and that this occurred in the daytime in the Goat's River district of Thrace (the stone is still shownit is of the size of a wagon-load and brown in colour), a comet also blazing in the nights at the time. If anyone believes in the fact of this prophecy, that involves his allowing that the divining powers of Anaxagoras covered a greater marvel, and that our understanding of the physical universe is annihilated and everything thrown into confusion if it is believed either that the sun is itself a stone or ever had a stone inside it. But it will not be doubted that stones do frequently fall. A stone is worshipped for this reason even at the present day in the exercising ground at Abydosone of moderate size, it is true, but which the same Anaxagoras is said to have prophesied as going to fall in the middle of the country. There is also one that is worshipped at Cassandria, the place that has been given the name of potidaea, and where a colony was settled on account of this occurrence. I myself saw one that had recently come down in the territory of the Vocontii.

60. The common occurrences that we call rainbows have nothing miraculous or portentous about them, for they do not reliably portend even rain or fine weather. The obvious explanation of them is that a ray of the sun striking a hollow cloud has its point repelled and is reflected back to the sun, and that the diversified colouring is due to the mixture of clouds, fires and air. Rainbows certainly do not occur except opposite to the sun, and never except in semi-circular shape, and not at night time, although Aristotle does state that a rainbow has been sometimes seen at night, though he also admits that it cannot happen except on the 14th day of the lunar month. Rainbows in winter occur chiefly when the day is drawing in after the autumnal equinox; when the day draws out again after the vernal equinox they do not occur, nor in the longest days about the solstice, but they occur frequently in midwinter; also they are high in the sky when the sun is low and low when it is high; and smaller but of wider breadth at sunrise or sunset, and narrow but of large circumference at midday. In summer they are not seen during midday, but after the autumn equinox they are seen at any hour; and never more than two are seen at once.

61. I observe that the facts as to the other phenomena of the same kind are generally familiar: viz., that hail is produced from frozen rain and snow from the same fluid less solidly condensed, but hoar frost from cold dew; that snow fall during winter but not hail; and hail itself falls more often in the daytime than at night, and melts much faster than snow; that mists do not occur in summer nor in extremely cold weather, nor dew in frosty or very hot or windy weather, and only on fine nights; that liquid is reduced in bulk by freezing, and when ice is thawed the bulk produced is not the same; that variations of colour and shape are seen in the clouds in proportion as the fire mingled with them gains the upper hand or is defeated;

62. and moreover that particular places have particular special qualities: the nights of Africa are dewy in summer, in Italy rainbows are seen every day at Locri and at the Veine Lake, at Rhodes and Syracuse there is never such a thick curtain of cloud that the sun is not visible at some hour of the day. Such special features will be more suitably related in their places.

So much on the subject of the air.

63. Next comes the earth, the one division of the natural world on which for its merits we have bestowed the venerable title of mother. She belongs to men as the sky belongs to God: she receives us at birth, and gives us nurture after birth, and when once brought forth she upholds us always, and at the last when we have now been disinherited by the rest of nature she embraces us in her bosom and at that very time gives us her maternal shelter; sanctified by no service more than that whereby she makes us also sacred, even bearing our monuments and epitaphs and prolonging our name and extending our memory against the shortness of time; whose divinity is the last which in anger we invoke to lie heavy on those who are now no more, as though we did not know that she is the only element that is never wroth with man. Water rises in mist, freezes into hail, swells in waves, falls headlong in torrents; air becomes thick with clouds and rages with storms; but earth is kind and gentle and indulgent, ever a handmaid in the service of mortals, producing under our

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compulsion, or lavishing of her own accord, what scents and savours, what juices, what surfaces for the touch, what colours! how honestly she repays the interest lent her! what produce she fosters for our benefit! since for living creatures that are noxious the breath of life is to blameshe is compelled to receive them when their seed is sown and to maintain them when they have been born; but their harm lies in the evils of those that generate them. When a serpent has stung a man she harbours it no more, and she exacts retribution even on the account of the helpless; she produces medicinal herbs, and is ever fertile for man's benefit; nay, even poisons she may be thought to have invented out of compassion for us, lest, when we were weary of life, hunger, the death most alien to earth's beneficence, should consume us with slow decay, lest precipices should scatter in fragments our lacerated body, lest departure it is seeking; lest if we sought death in the deep our burial should serve for fodder; lest the torture of the steel should cleave our body. So is it! in mercy did she generate the potion whereof the easiest draughtas men drink when thirstygifts might painlessly just blot us out, without injury to the body or loss of blood, in such wise that when dead no birds nor beasts should touch us, and one that had perished for himself should be preserved for the earth. Let us own the truth: what earth has produced as a cure for our ills, we have made into a deadly poison; why, do we not also put her indispensable gift of iron to a similar use? Nor yet should we have any right to complain even if she had engendered poison to serve the purpose of crime. In fact in regard to one of nature's elements we have no gratitude. For what luxuries and for what outrageous uses does she not subserve mankind? She is flung into the sea, or dug away to allow us to let in the channels. Water, iron, wood, fire, stone, growing crops, are employed to torture her at all hours, and much more to make her minister to our luxuries than our sustenance. Yet in order to make the sufferings inflicted on her surface and mere outer skin seem endurable, we probe her entrails, digging into her veins of gold and silver and mines of copper and lead; we actually drive shafts down into the depth to search for gems and certain tiny stones; we drag out her entrails, we seek a jewel merely to be worn upon a finger! How many hands are worn away with toil that a single knuckle may shine resplendent! If any beings of the nether world existed, assuredly even they would have been dug up ere now by the burrowings of avarice and luxury. And can we wonder if earth has also generated some creatures for our harm? since the wild animals, I well believe, are her guardians, and protect her from sacrilegious hands; do not serpents infest our mines, do we not handle veins of gold mingled with the roots of poison? Yet that shows the goddess all the kinder towards us, because all these avenues from which wealth issues lead but to crime and slaughter and warfare, and her whom we besprinkle with our blood we cover with unburied bones, over which nevertheless, when at length our madness has been finally discharged, she draws herself as a veil, and hides even the crimes of mortals.

I would reckon this too among the crimes of our ingratitude, that we are ignorant of her nature.

64. But her shape is the first fact about which men's judgement agrees. We do undoubtedly speak of the earth's sphere, and admit that the globe is shut in between poles. Nor yet in fact do all these lofty mountains and widely spreading plains comprise the outline of a perfect sphere, but a figure whose circuit would produce a perfect sphere if the ends of all the lines were enclosed in a circumference. This is the consequence of the very nature of things, it is not due to the same causes as those we have adduced in the case of the heaven; for in the heaven the convex hollow converges on itself and from all sides rests upon its pivot, the earth, whereas the earth being a solid dense mass rises like an object swelling, and expands outward. The world converges to its centre, whereas the earth radiates outward from its centre, the ceaseless revolution of the world around her forcing her immense globe into the shape of a sphere.

65. Here there is a mighty battle between learning on one side and the common herd on the other: the theory being that human beings are distributed all round the earth and stand with their feet pointing towards each other, and that the top of the sky is alike for them all and the earth trodden under foot at the centre in the same way from any direction, while ordinary people enquire why the persons on the opposite side don't fall offjust as if it were not reasonable that the people on the other side wonder that we do not fall off. There is an intermediate theory that is acceptable even to the unlearned crowdthat the earth is of the shape of an irregular globe, resembling a pine cone, yet nevertheless is inhabited all round. But what is the good of this theory when there arises another marvel, that the earth herself hangs suspended and does not fall and carry us with it? As if forsooth there were any doubt about the force of breath, especially when shut up inside the world, or as if it were possible for the earth to fall when nature opposes, and denies it any place to fall to For just as the sole abode of fires is in the element of fire, and of waters in water, and of breath in breath, so earth, barred out by all the other elements, has no place except in itself. Yet it is surprising that with this vast level expanse of sea and plains the resulting formation is a globe. This view has the support of Dicaearchus, a savant of the first rank, who with the support of royal patrons took the measurement of mountains, and published that the highest of them was Pelion, with an altitude of 1250 paces [above 6000 feet] inferring that this was no portion of the earth's general sphericity. To me this seems a questionable guess, as I know that some peaks of the Alps rise to a great height, not less than 50,000 paces.

But what the crowd most debates is if it must believe that the conformation of the waters also rises in a curve. Nevertheless nothing else in the natural world is more visibly manifest. For (1) hanging drops of liquid always take the shape of small round globes; (2) when dropped on dust or placed on the downy surface of leaves they are seen to be absolutely spherical; (3) in goblets when filled the surface curves upward most at the centre, though owing to the transparency of the liquid and its fluidity tending to find its own level this is more easily discovered by theory than by observation; and (4) a still more remarkable fact is that when a very little additional liquid is poured into a cup that has already been filled the surplus overflows, but the opposite happens when weighty solids, often as many as 20 coins, are put into it, presumably because these pass inside the liquid and raise its surface to a peak, whereas liquids poured on to the upward curving surface slip off. (5) The same cause explains why the land is not visible from the deck of a ship when in sight from the masthead; and why as a vessel passes far into the distance, if some shining object is tied to the top of the mast it appears slowly to sink and finally it is hidden from sight. Lastly (6) what other conformation could have caused the ocean, which we acknowledge to be at the extreme outside, to cohere and not fall away, if there is no boundary beyond to enclose it? The very question as to how, although the sea is globular in shape, its edge does not fall away, itself ranks with the marvellous. On the other side the Greek investigators, greatly to their delight and to their glory, prove by subtle mathematical reasoning that it cannot possibly be the case that the seas are really flat and have the shape that they appear to have. For, they argue, while it is the ease that water travels downward from an elevation, and this is its admitted nature, and nobody doubts that the water on any coast has reached the farthest point allowed by the slope of the earth, it is manifest beyond doubt that the lower an object is the nearer it is to the centre of the earth, and that all the lines drawn from the centre to the nearest bodies of water are shorter than those drawn from the edge of these waters to the farthest point in the sea: it therefore follows that all the water from every direction converges towards the centre, this pressure inward being the cause of its not falling off.

66. The reason for this formation must be thought to be the inability of earth when absolutely dry to cohere of itself and without moisture, and of water in its turn to remain still without being held up by earth; the intention of the Artificer of nature must have been to unite earth and water in a mutual embrace, earth opening her bosom and water penetrating her entire frame by means of a network of veins radiating within and without, above and below, the water bursting out even at the tops of mountain ridges, to which it is driven and squeezed out by the weight of the earth, and spurts out like a jet of water from a pipe, and is so far from being in danger of falling down that it leaps upward to all the loftiest elevations. This theory shows clearly why the seas do not increase in bulk with the daily accession of so many rivers. The consequence is that the earth at every point of its globe is encircled and engirdled by sea flowing round it, and this does not need theoretical investigation, but has already been ascertained by experience.

67. Today the whole of the West is navigated from Cadiz and the Straits of Gibraltar all round Spain and France. But the larger part of the Northern Ocean was explored under the patronage of his late Majesty Augustus, when a fleet sailed round Germany to the promontory of the Cimbri, and thence seeing a vast sea in front of them or learning of it by report, reached the region of Scythia and localities numb with excessive moisture. On this account it is extremely improbable that there is no sea in those parts, as there is a superabundance of the moist element there. But next, on the Eastward side, the whole quarter under the same star stretching from the Indian Ocean to the Caspian Sea was navigated throughout by the Macedonian forces in the reigns of Seleucus and Antiochus, who desired that it should be called both Seleucis and Antiochis after themselves. And many coasts of Ocean round the Caspian have been explored, and very nearly the whole of the North has been completely traversed from one side to the other by galleys, so that similarly also there is now overwhelming proof, leaving no room for conjecture, of the existence of the Maeotic Marsh, whether it be a gulf of that Ocean, as I notice many have believed, or an overflow from it from which it is separated off by a narrow space. On the other side of Cadiz, from the same Western point, a great part of the Southern gulf is navigated today in the circuit of Mauretania. Indeed the greater part of it Alexander the Great's eastern conquests also explored as far as the Arabian gulf; in which, when Augustus's son Gaius Caesar was operating there, it is said that figureheads of ships from Spanish wrecks were identified. Also when the power of Carthage flourished, Hanno sailed round from Cadiz to the extremity of Arabia and published a memoir of his voyage, as did Himileo when despatched at the same date to explore the outer coasts of Europe. Moreover we have it on the authority of Cornelius Nepos that a certain contemporary of his named Eudoxus when flying from King Lathyrus emerged from the Arabian Gulf and sailed right round to Cadiz; and much before him Caelius Antipater states that he had seen someone who had gone on a trading voyage from Spain to Ethiopia. Nepos also records as to the northern circuit that Quintus Metellus Celer, colleague of Afranius in the consulship hut at the time pro-consul of Gaul, received from the King of the Swabians a present of some Indians, who on a trade voyage had been carried off their course by storms to Germany. Thus there are seas encircling the globe on every side and dividing it in two, so robbing us of half the world since there is no region affording a passage from there to here or from here to there. This reflexion serves to expose the vanity of mortals, and appears to demand that I should display to the eye and exhibit the extent of this whole indefinite region in which men severally find no satisfaction.

68. In the first place it is apparently reckoned as forming one half of the globejust as if no part were cut off for the ocean itself, which surrounding and encircling the whole of it, and pouring forth and reabsorbing the waters and pasturing and all the moisture that goes to form the clouds, the stars themselves with all their numbers and their mighty size, can be supposed to occupy a spaceof what extent, pray? The freehold owned by that mighty climatic mass is bound to be enormouswithout limit! Add that of what is left more than half is taken by the sky. For this has five divisions called zones, and all that lies beneath the two outermost zones that surround the poles at either endboth the pole named from the Seven Oxen and the one opposite to it called after Austeris all crushed under cruel frost and everlasting cold. In both regions perpetual mist prevails, and a light that the invisibility of the milder stars renders niggardly and that is only white with hoarfrost. But the middle portion of the lands, where the sun's orbit is, is scorched by its flames and burnt up by the proximity of its heat: this is the torrid zone. There are only two temperate zones between the torrid one and the frozen ones, and these have no communication with each other because of the fiery heat of the heavenly body.

Thus the sky has stolen three quarters of the earth. The extent of the trespass of ocean is unascertained; but even the one portion left to us suffers perhaps an even greater loss, inasmuch as the same ocean, spreading out, as we shall describe, into a number of bays, advances with its threatening roar so close to the inner seas that there is only a distance of 115 miles between the Arabian Gulf and the Egyptian Sea and of 375 between the Caspian and the Black Sear; and also with its inner channels through so many seas whereby it sunders Africa, Europe and Asia, it occupieswhat area of the land? Calculate moreover the dimensions of all those rivers and vast swamps, add also the lakes and pools, and next the ridges too that rise into the heaven and are precipitous even to the eye, next the forests and steep glens, and the deserts and areas for a thousand reasons left deserted; subtract all these portions from the earth or rather from this pinprick, as the majority of thinkers have taught, in the world--for in the whole universe the earth is nothing else: and this is the substance of our glory, this is its habitation, here it is that we fill positions of power and covet wealth, and throw mankind into an uproar, and launch even civil wars and slaughter one another to make the land more spacious! And to pass over the collective insanities of the nations, this is the land in which we expel the tenants next to us and add a spade-full of turf to our own estate by stealing from our neighbour'sto the end that he who has marked out his acres most widen and banished his neighbours beyond all record may rejoice in owning--how small a fraction of the earth's surface? or, when he has stretched his boundaries to the full measure of his avarice, may still retainwhat portion, pray, of his estate when he is dead?

69. That the earth is at the centre of the universe is proved by irrefragable arguments, but the clearest is the equal hours of day and night at the equinox. For if the earth were not at the centre, it can be realized that it could not have the days and nights equal; and binoculars confirm this very powerfully, since at the season of the equinox sunrise and sunset are seen on the same line, whereas sunrise at midsummer and sunset at midwinter fall on a line of their own. These things could not occur without the earth's being situated at the centre.

70. But the three circles intertwined between the zones aforesaid are the cause of the differences of the seasons: the Tropic of Cancer on the side of the highest part of the zodiac to the northward of us, and opposite to it the Tropic of Capricorn towards the other pole, and also the equator that runs in the middle circuit of the zodiac.

71. The cause of the remaining facts that surprise us is found in the shape of the earth itself, which together with the waters also the same arguments prove to resemble a globe.

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For this is undoubtedly the cause why for us the stars of the northern region never set and their opposites of the southern region never rise, while on the contrary these northern stars are not visible to the antipodes, as the curve of the earth's globe bars our view of the tracts between. Cave-dweller Country [Abyssinia/Somaliland] and Egypt which is adjacent to it do not see the Great and Little Bear, and Italy does not see Canopus and the constellation called Berenice's Hair, also the one that in the reign of his late Majesty Augustus received the name of Caesar's Throne, constellations that are conspicuous there. And so clearly does the rising vault curve over that to observers at Alexandria Canopus appears to be elevated nearly a quarter of one sign above the earth, whereas from Rhodes it seems practically to graze the earth itself, and on the Black Sea, where the North Stars are at their highest, it is not visible at all. Also Canopus is hidden from Rhodes, and still more from Alexandria; in Arabia in November it is hidden during the first quarter of the night and shows itself in the second; at Meroe it appears a little in the evening at midsummer and a few days before the rising of Areturus is seen at daybreak. These phenomena are most clearly disclosed by the voyages of those at sea, the sea sloping upward in the direction of some and downward in the direction of others, and the stars that were hidden behind the curve of the ball suddenly becoming visible as it were rising out of the sea. For it is not the fact, as some have said, that the world rises up at this higher poleor else these stars would be visible everywhere; but these stars are believed to be higher the nearer people are to them, while they seem low to those far away, and just as at present this pole seems lofty to those situated on the declivity, so when people pass across to yonder downward slope of the earth those stars rise while the ones that here were high sink, which could not happen except with the conformation of a ball.

72. Consequently inhabitants of the East do not perceive evening eclipses of the sun and moon, nor do those dwelling in the West see morning eclipses, while the latter see eclipses at midday later than we do. The victory of Alexander the Great is said to have caused an eclipse of the moon at Arbela at 8 p.m. while the same eclipse in Sicily was when the moon was just rising. An eclipse of the sun that occurred on April 30 in the consulship [59 AD] of Vipstanus and Fonteius a few years ago was visible in Campania between 1 and 2 p.m. but was reported by Corbulo commanding in Armenia as observed between 4 and 5: this was because the curve of the globe discloses and hides different phenomena for different localities. If the earth were flat, all would be visible to all alike at the same time; also the nights would not vary in length, because corresponding periods of 12 hours would be visible equally to others than those at the equator, periods that as it is do not exactly correspond in every region alike.

73. Consequently also although night and day are the same thing all over the world, it is not night and day at the same time all over the world, the intervention of the globe bringing night or its revolution day. This has been discovered by many experimentsthat of Hannibal's towers in Africa and Spain, and in Asia when piratical alarms prompted the precaution of watchtowers of the same sort, warning fires lit on which at noon were often ascertained to have been seen by the people farthest to the rear at 9 p.m. Alexander above mentioned had a runner named Philonides who did the 1200 stades from Sicyou to Elis in 9 hours from sunrise and took till 9 p.m. for the return journey, although the way is downhill; this occurred repeatedly. The reason was that going his way lay with the sun but returning he was passing the sun as it met him travelling in the opposite direction. For this reason ships sailing westward beat even in the shortest day the distances they sail in the nights, because they are going with the actual sun.

74. Travellers' sundials are not the same for reference everywhere, because the shadows thrown by the sun as they alter alter the readings at every 300 or at farthest 500 stades. Consequently in Egypt at midday on the day of the equinox the shadow of the pin or 'gnomon' measures a little more than half the length of the gnomon itself, whereas in the city of Rome the shadow is 1/9th shorter than the gnomon, at the town of Ancona 1/35th longer, and in the district of Italy called Venezia the shadow is equal to the gnomon, at the same hours.

75. Similarly it is reported that at the town of Syene, 5000 stades South of Alexandria, at noon in midsummer no shadow is cast, and that in a well made for the sake of testing this the light reaches to the bottom, clearly showing that the sun is vertically above that place at the time; and this is stated in the writings of Onesicritus also to occur at the same time in India South of the river Hypasis. It is also stated that in the Cave-dwellers' city of Berenice, and 4820 stades away at the town of Ptolemais in the same tribe, which was founded on the shore of the Red Sea for the earliest elephant hunts, the same thing occurs 45 days before and 45 days after midsummer, and during that period of 90 days the shadows are thrown southward. Again in Meroethis is an inhabited island in the river Nile 5000 stades from Syene, and is the capital of the Aethiopian racethe shadows disappear twice a year, when the sun is in the 18th degree of Taurus and in the 14th of Leo. There is a mountain named Maleus in the Indian tribe of the Oretes, near which shadows are thrown southward in summer and northward in winter; the northern constellation is visible there on only 15 nights. Also in India at the well-known port of Patala the sun rises on the right and shadows fall southward. It was noticed when Alexander was staying at this place that the Great and Little Bears were visible only in the early part of the night. Alexander's guide Onesicritus wrote that this constellation is not visible at the places in India where there are no shadows, and that these places are called Shadeless, and no reckoning is kept of the hours there.

76. But according to Eratosthenes in the whole of Cave-dweller Country on 90 days once a year shadows fall the wrong way.

77. Thus it comes about that owing to the varied lengthening of daylight the longest day covers 12 8/9 equinoctial hours at Meroe, but 14 hours at Alexandria, 15 in Italy, and 17 in Britain, where the light nights in summer substantiate what theory compels us to believe, that, as on summer days the sun approaches nearer to the top of the world, owing to a narrow circuit of light the underlying parts of the earth have continuous days for 6 months at a time, and continuous nights when the sun has withdrawn in the opposite direction towards winter. Pytheas of Marseilles writes that this occurs in the island of Thule, 6 days' voyage N. from Britain, and some declare it also to occur in the Isle of Anglesea, which is about 200 miles from the British town of Colchester.

78. This theory of shadows and the science called gnomonics was discovered by Anaximenes of Miletus, the pupil of Anaximander of whom we have spoken; he first exhibited at Sparta the time-piece they call 'Hunt-the-Shadow.'

79. The actual period of a day has been differently kept by different people: the Babylonians count the period between two sunrises, the Athenians that between two sunsets, the Umbrians from midday to midday, the common people everywhere from dawn to dark, the Roman priests and the authorities who fixed the official day, and also the Egyptians and Hipparchus, the period from midnight to midnight. But it is obvious that the breaks in daylight between sunset and sunrise are smaller near the solstice than at the equinoxes, because the position of the zodiac is more slanting around its middle points but straighter near the solstice.

80. We must deal next with the results connected with these heavenly causes. For it is beyond question that the Ethiopians are burnt by the heat of the heavenly body near them, and are born with a scorched appearance, with curly beard and hair, and that in the opposite region of the world the races have white frosty skins, with yellow hair that hangs straight; while the latter are fierce owing to the rigidity of their climate but the former wise because of the mobility of theirs; and their legs themselves prove that with the former the juice is called away into the upper portions of the body by the nature of heat, while with the latter it is driven down to the lower parts by falling moisture; in the latter country dangerous wild beasts are found, in the former a great variety of animals and especially of birds; but in both regions men's stature is high, owing in the former to the pressure of the fires and in the latter to the nourishing effect of the damp; whereas in the middle of the earth, owing to a healthy blending of both elements, there are tracts that are fertile for all sorts of produce, and men are of medium bodily stature, with a marked blending even in the matter of complexion; customs are gentle, senses clear, intellects fertile and able to grasp the whole of nature; and they also have governments, which the outer races never have possessed, any more than they have ever been subject to the central races, being quite detached and solitary on account of the savagery of the nature that broods over those regions.

81. The theory of the Babylonians deems that even earthquakes and fissures in the ground are caused by the force of the stars that is the cause of all other phenomena, but only by that of those three stars to which they assign thunderbolts; and that they occur when these are travelling with the sun or are in agreement with him, and particularly about the quadratures of the world. On this subject a remarkable and immortal inspiration is attributed (if we can believe it) to the natural philosopher Anaximander of Miletus, who is said to have warned the Spartans to be careful of their city and buildings, because an earthquake was impending; and subsequently the whole of their city collapsed, and also a large part of Mount Taygetus projecting in the shape of a ship's stern broke off and crashing down on it added to the catastrophe. Also another conjecture is attributed to Pherecydes the teacher of Pythagoras, this also inspired: he is said to have foretold to his fellow-citizens an earthquake, of which he had obtained a premonition in drawing water from a well. Assuming the truth of these stories, how far pray can such men even in their lifetime be thought to differ from a god? And though these matters may be left to the estimation of individual judgment; I think it indubitable that their cause is to be attributed to the winds; for tremors of the earth never occur except when the sea is calm and the sky so till that birds are unable to soar because all the Breath that carries them has been withdrawn; and never except after wind, doubtless because then the blast has been shut up in the veins and hidden bob lows of the sky. And a trembling in the earth is not different from a thunderclap in a cloud, and a fissure is no different from when an imprisoned current of air by struggling and striving to go forth to freedom causes a flash of lightning to burst out.

82. Consequently earthquakes occur in a variety of ways, and cause remarkable consequences, in some places overthrowing walls, in others drawing them down into a gaping cleft, in others thrusting up masses of rock, in others sending out rivers and sometimes even fires or hot springs, in others diverting the course of rivers. They are however preceded or accompanied by a terrible sound, that sometimes resembles a rumble, sometimes the lowing of cattle or the shouts of human beings or the clash of weapons struck together, according to the nature of the material that receives the shock and the shape of the caverns or burrows through which it passes, proceeding with smaller volume in a narrow channel but with a harsh noise in channels that bend, echoing in hard channels, bubbling in damp ones, forming waves in stagnant ones, raging against solid ones. Accordingly even without any movement occurring a sound is sometimes emitted. And sometimes the earth is not shaken in a simple manner but trembles and vibrates. Also the gap sometimes remains open, showing the objects that it has sucked in, while sometimes it hides them by closing its mouth and drawing soil over it again in such a way as to leave no traces; it being usually cities that are engulfed, and a tract of farmland swallowed, although seaboard districts are most subject to earthquakes, and also mountainous regions are not free from disaster of the kind: I have ascertained that tremors have somewhat frequently occurred in the Alps and Apennines.

Earthquakes are more frequent in autumn and spring, as is lightning. Consequently the Gallic provinces and Egypt suffer very little from them, as in the latter the summer is the cause that prevents them and in the former the winter. Similarly they are more frequent by night than in the daytime. The severest earthquakes occur in the morning and the evening, but they are frequent near dawn and in the daytime about noon. They also occur at an eclipse of the sun or moon, since then storms are lulled, but particularly when heat follows rain or rain heat.

83. Sailors at sea can also anticipate an earthquake and forecast it with certainty when a sudden wave swells up without there being a wind, or a shock shakes the vessel. Even in ships posts begin to tremble just as they do in buildings, and foretell an earthquake by rattling; nay more, birds of timid kinds perch on the rigging. There is also a sign in the sky: when an earthquake is impending, either in the daytime or a little after sunset, in fine weather, it is preceded by a thin streak of cloud stretching over a wide space.

84. Another sign is when the water in wells is muddier and has a somewhat foul smell, just as in wells there is also a remedy for earthquake such as frequently caves too afford, as they supply an outlet for the confined breath. This is noticed in whole towns: buildings pierced by frequent conduits for drainage are less shaken, and also among these the ones erected over vaults are much saferas is noticed in Italy at Naples, the solidly built portion of the city being specially liable to collapses of this nature. The safest parts of buildings are arches, also angles of walls, and posts, which swing back into position with each alternate thrust; and walls built of clay bricks suffer less damage from being shaken. There is also a great difference in the actual kind of movement, as the earth shakes in several ways; there is least danger when it quivers with a trembling rattle of the buildings, and when it rises in a swell and settles back again, with an alternating motion; also no harm is done when buildings collide and ram against each other, as the one motion counteracts the other. A waving bend and a sort of billowy fluctuation is dangerous, or when the whole movement drives in one direction. Earthquakes stop when the wind has found an outlet, or else, if they go on, they do not stop before forty days, and usually even longer, some in fact having gone on for one or two years' time.

85. I find in the books of the lore of Tuscany that once a vast and portentous earthquake occurred in the district of Modena; this was during the consulship of Lucius Marcius and Sextus Julius. Two mountains ran together with a mighty crash, leaping forward and then retiring with flames and smoke rising between them to the sky; this took place in the daytime, and was watched from the Aemilian road by a large crowd of Knights of Rome with their retinues and passers by. The shock brought down all the country houses, and a great many animals in the buildings were killed. It was in the year before the Allies' War, which was perhaps more disastrous to the land of Italy than the civil wars. Our generation also experienced a not less marvellous manifestation in the last year of the Emperor Nero, as we have set forth in our history of his principate: meadows and olive trees with a public road running between then got over to the opposite sides of the road; this took place in the Marrucinian territory, on the

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lands of Vettius Marcellus, Knight of Rome, Nero's estate-manager.

86. Earthquakes are accompanied by inundations of the sea, which is presumably caused to flood the land by the same current of air, or drawn into the bosom of the earth as it subsides. The greatest earthquake in human memory occurred when Tiberius Caesar was emperor, twelve Asiatic cities being overthrown in one night; the most numerous series of shocks was during the Punic War, when reports reached Rome of fifty-seven in a single year; it was the year when a violent earthquake occurring during an action between the Carthaginian and Roman armies at Lake Trasimene was not noticed by the combatants on either side. Nor yet is the disaster a simple one, nor does the danger consist only in the earthquake itself, but equally or more in the fact that it is a portent; the city of Rome was never shaken without this being a premonition of something about to happen.

87. The cause of the birth of new lands is the same, when that same breath although powerful enough to cause an upheaval of the soil has not been able to force an exit. For lands are born not only through the conveyance of soil by streams (as the Echinades Islands when heaped up from the river Achelous and the greater part of Egypt from the Nilethe crossing from the island of Pharos to the coast, if we believe Homer, having formerly taken twenty-four hours) or by the retirement of the sea as once took place at Circei; such a retirement is also recorded to have occurred to a distance of 10,000 paces in the harbour of Ambracia, and to a distance of 5,000 at the Athenian port of Piraeus; and at Ephesus, where once the sea used to wash up to the temple of Diana. At all events if we believe Herodotus, there was sea above Memphis as far as the mountains of Ethiopia and also towards the plains of Arabia, and sea round Ilium, and over the whole territory of Teuthras and where the Maeander has spread prairie-land.

88. New lands are also formed in another way, and suddenly emerge in a different sea, nature as it were balancing accounts with herself and restoring in another place what an earthquake has engulfed.

89. The famous islands of Delos and Rhodes are recorded in history as having been born from the sea long ago, and subsequently smaller ones, Anaphe beyond Melos, Neae between Lemnos and the Dardanelles, Halone between Lebedos and Teos, Thera and Therasia among the Cyclades in the 4th year of the 145th Olympiad; also in the same group Hiera, which is the same as Automate, 130 years later; and 2 stades from Hiera, Thia 110 years later, in our age, on July 8 in the year of the consulship of Marcus Junius Silanus and Lucius Balbus.

Before our time also among the Aeolian Islands near Italy, as well as near Crete, there emerged from the sea one island 2500 paces long, with hot springs, and another in the 3rd year [126 BC] of Olympiad 163 in the bay of Tuscany, this one burning with a violent blast of air; and it is recorded that a great quantity of fish were floating round it, and that people who ate of them immediately expired. So also the Monkey Islands are said to have risen in the bay of Campania, and later one among them, Mount Epopos, is said to have suddenly shot up a great flame and then to have been levelled with the surface of the plain. In the same plain also a town was sucked down into the depths, and another earthquake caused a swamp to emerge, and another overturned mountains and threw up the island of Procida.

90. For another way also in which nature has made islands is when she tore Sicily away from Italy, Cyprus from Syria, Euboea from Boeotia, land. Atalantes and Macrias from Enboea, Besbicus from Bithynia, Leucosia from the Sirens' Cape.

91. Again she has taken islands away from the sea and joined them to the landAntissato Lesbos, Zephyrius to Halicarnassus, Aethusa to Myndus, Dromiscos and Pernes to Miletus, Narthecusa to Cape Parthenius. Hybanda, once an Ionian island, is now 25 miles distant from the sea, Ephesus has Syria as part of the mainland, and its neighbour Magnesia the Derasides and Sapphonia. Epidaurus and Oricum have ceased to be islands.

92. Cases of land entirely stolen away by the first of all (if we accept Plato's story [Tim. 24 E]), the vast area covered by the Atlantic, and next, in the inland seas also, the areas that we see submerged at the present day, Acarnania covered by the Ambracian Gulf, Achaea by the Gulf of Corinth, Europe and Asia by the Sea of Marmora and the Black Sea. Also the sea has made the channels of Leucas, Antirrhium, the Dardanclles and the two Bospori.

93. And to pass over bays and marshes, the earth is eaten up by herself. She has devoured the highest mountain in Caria, Cibotus, together with the town of that name, Sipylus in Magnesia, and previously the very celebrated city in the same place that used to be called Tantalis, the territories of Galene and Galame in Phoenicia with the cities themselves, and the loftiest mountain range in Ethiopia, Phegiumjust as if the coasts also did not treacherously encroach!

94. The Black Sea has stolen Pyrra and Antissa in the neighbourhood of Lake Maeotis, the Gulf of Corinth Helice and Bura, traces of which are visible at the bottom of the water. The sea suddenly snatched away more than 30,000 paces together with most of the human beings from the Island of Ceos, and half the city of Tyndaris in Sicily, and all the gap in the coast of Italy, and similarly Eleusis in Boeotia.

95. For let earthquakes not be mentioned, and every case where at least the tombs of cities survive, and at the same time let us tell of the marvels of the earth rather than the crimes of nature. And, I will swear, not even the heavenly phenomena could have been more difficult to recount: the wealth of mines so varied, so opulent, so prolific, brought to the surface in so many ages, although every day all over the world so much devastation is wrought by fires, collapse of buildings, shipwrecks, wars, frauds, and so great is the consumption of luxury and of the multitudes of mankind; such a variety of patterned gems, such many-coloured markings in stones, and among them the brilliance of a certain stone a that only allows actual daylight to penetrate through it; the profusion of medicinal springs; the flames of fire flickering up in so many places, unceasing for so many centuries; the lethal breaths either emitted from chasms or due to the mere formation of the ground, in some places fatal only to birds, as in the region of Soracte near Rome, in others to all living creatures except man, and sometimes to man also, as in the territory of Sinuessa and of Pozzuolithe places called breathing holes, or by other people jaws of helldítches that exhale a deadly breath; also the place near the Temple of Mephitis at Ampsanctus in the Hirpinian district, on entering which people die; likewise the hole at Hierapolis in Asia, harmless only to the priest of the Great Mother; elsewhere prophetic caves, those intoxicated by whose exhalations foretell the future, as at the very famous oracle at Delphi. In these matters what other explanation could any mortal man adduce save that they are caused by the divine power of that nature which is diffused throughout the universe, repeatedly bursting out in different ways?

96. In some places, the earth trembles when trodden on--for instance in the Gabii district not from the city of Rome about 200 acres shake when horsemen gallop over them, and similarly in the Reate district. Certain islands are always afloat, as in the districts of Caecubum and of Reate mentioned above and Modena and Statonium, and in Lake Vadimo, the dense wood near the springs of Cutilia which is never to be seen in the same place by day and by night, the islands in Lydia named the Reed Islands which are not only driven by the winds, but can be punted in any direction at pleasure with poles, and so served to rescue a number of the citizens in the Mithridatic war. There are also small islands at Nymphaeum called the Dancing Islands, because they move to the foot-beats of persons keeping time with the chanting of a choral song. On the great lake of Tarqainii in Italy two islands float about carrying woods, their outline as the winds drive them forward now forming the shape of a triangle and now of a circle, but never a square.

97. Paphos possesses a famous shrine of Venus on a certain court in which rain does not fall, and the same in the case round an image of Minerva at the town of Nea in the Troad; in the same town also sacrifices left over do not go bad.

98. Near the town of Harpasa in Asia stands a jagged rock that can be moved with one finger, but that also resists a push made with the whole body. On the peninsula of Tanri in the state of Parasinum there is some earth which heals all wounds. But in the neighbourhood of Assos in the Troad a stone is produced that causes all bodies to waste away; it is called the Flesh-eater. There are two mountains near the river Indus, the nature of one of which is to hold all iron and that of the other to reject it; consequently if a man has nails in his shoes, on one of the mountains at each step he is unable to tear his foot away from the ground and on the other he cannot set it down on the ground. It is recorded that at Locri and Croton there has never been a plague or earthquake, and that in Lycia an earthquake is always followed by forty days' fine weather. Corn sown in the Arpi district does not come up, and at Mncian Altars in the district of Veil and at Tuscumin and in the Ciminian Forest there are places where stakes driven into the ground cannot be pulled out. Hay grown in the Crustninium district is noxious on the spot but healthy when conveyed elsewhere.

99. About the nature of bodies of water a great deal has been said. But the rise and fall of the tides of the sea is extremely mysterious, at all events in its irregularity; however the cause lies in the sun and moon. Between two risings of the moon there are two high and two low tides every 24 hours, the tide first swelling as the world moves upward with the moon, then falling as it slopes from the midday summit of the sky towards sunset, and again coming in as after sunset the world goes below the earth to the lowest parts of the heaven and approaches the regions opposite to the meridian, and from that point sucking back until it rises again; and never flowing back at the same time as the day before, just as if gasping for breath as the greedy star draws the seas with it at a draught and constantly rises from another point than the day before; yet returning at equal intervals and in every six hours, not of each day or night or place but equinoctial hours, so that the tidal periods are not equal by the space of ordinary hours whenever the tides occupy larger measures of either diurnal or nocturnal hours, and only equal everywhere at the equinox. It is a vast and illuminating proof, and one of even divine utterance, that those are dull of wit who deny that the same stars pass below the earth and rise up again, and that they present a similar appearance to the lands and indeed to the whole of nature in the same processes of rising and setting, the course or other operation of a star being manifest beneath the earth in just the same way as when it is travelling past our eyes.

Moreover, the lunar difference is manifold, and to begin with, its period is seven days: inasmuch as the tides, which are moderate from new moon to half-moon, therefrom rise higher and at full moon are at their maximum; after that they relax, at the seventh day being equal to what they were at first; and they increase again when the moon divides on the other side, at the union of the moon with the sun being equal to what they were at full moon. When the moon is northward and retiring further from the earth the tides are gentler than when she has swerved towards the south and exerts her force at a nearer angle. At every eighth year the tides are brought back at the hundredth circuit of the moon to the beginnings of their motion and to corresponding stages of increase. They make all these increases owing to the yearly influences of the sun, swelling most at the two equinoxes and more at the autumn than the spring one, but empty at midwinter and more so at midsummer. Nevertheless this does not occur at the exact points of time I have specified, but a few days after, just as it is not at full or new moon but afterwards, and not immediately when the world shows or hides the moon or slopes it in the middle quarter, but about two equinoctial hours later, the effect of all the occurrences in the sky reaching the earth more slowly than the sight of them, as is the case with lightning, thunder and thunderbolts.

But all the tides cover and lay bare greater spaces in the ocean than in the rest of the sea, whether because it is more furious when moved in its entirety than when in part, or because the open extent feels the force of the star when it marches untrammelled with more effect, whereas narrow spaces hinder the force, which is the reason why neither lakes nor rivers have tides like the ocean (Pytheas of Marseilles states that north of Britain the tides rise 120 ft.) But also the more inland seas are shut in by land like the water in a harbour; yet a more untrammelled expanse is subject to the tidal sway, inasmuch as there are several instances of people making the crossing from Italy to Utica in two days in a calm sea and with no wind in the sails when a strong tide was running. But these motions are observed more round the coasts than in the deep sea, since in the body too the extremities are more sensitive to the pulse of the veins, that is of the breath. But in most estuaries owing to the different risings of the stars in each region the tides occur irregularly, varying in time though not in method, as for instance in the Syrtes.

100. And nevertheless some tides have a special nature, for instance the channel at Taormina that ebbs and flows more frequently, and the one at Euboea that has seven tides in twenty-four hours. The tide at Buboea stops three times a month, on the seventh, eighth and ninth day after the new moon. At Cadiz the spring nearest the shrine of Hercules, which is enclosed like a well, sometimes rises and sinks with the ocean and sometimes does both at the contrary periods; a second spring in the same place agrees with the motions of the ocean.

There is a town on the banks of the Guadalquivir whose wells sink when the tide rises and rise when it falls, remaining stationary in the intervening periods. At Seville there is one well in the actual town that has the same nature, though all the others are as usual. The Black Sea always flows out into the Sea of Marmorathe tide never sets inward into the Black Sea.

101. All seas excrete refuse at high tide, some also periodically. In the neighbourhood of Messina and Mylae scum resembling dung is spat out on to the shore, which is the origin of the story that this is the place where the Oxen of the Sun are stalled. To this (so that I may leave out nothing that is within my knowledge) Aristotle adds that no animal dies except when the tide is ebbing. This has been widely noticed in the Gallic Ocean, and has been found to hold good at all events in the case of man.

102. This is the source of the true conjecture that the moon is rightly believed to be the star of the breath, and that it is this star that saturates the earth and fills bodies by its approach and empties them by its departure; and that consequently shells increase in size as the moon waxes, and that its breath is specially felt by bloodless creatures, but also the blood even of human beings increases and diminishes with its light; and that also leaves and herbage (as will be stated in the proper place) are sensitive to it, the same force penetrating into all things.

103. Consequently liquid is dried by the heat of the sun, and we are taught that this is the male star, which scorches and sucks up everything; and that in this way the flavour of salt is

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boiled into the wide expanse of the sea, either because the sweet and liquid, which is easily attracted by fiery force, is drawn out of it, but all the harsher and denser portion is left (this being why in a calm sea the water at a depth is sweeter than that at the top, this being the truer explanation of its harsh flavour, rather than because the sea is the ceaseless perspiration of the land), or because a great deal of warmth from the dry is mixed with it, or because the nature of the earth stains the waters as if they were drugged. One instance is that when Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily was expelled from that position, he encountered the portent that on one day the sea-water in the harbour became fresh water.

104. The moon on the contrary is said to be a feminine and soft star, and to disengage moisture at night and attract, not remove it. The proof given for this is that the moon by her aspect melts the bodies of wild animals that have been killed and causes them to putrefy, and that when people are fast asleep she recalls the torpor and collects it into the head, and thaws ice, and unstiffens everything with moistening breath: thus (it is said) nature's alternations are held in balance, and there is always a supply, some of the stars drawing the elements together while others scatter them. But the nutriment of the moon is stated to be contained in bodies of fresh water as that of the sun is in seawater.

105. According to the account of Fabianus, the deepest sea has a depth of nearly two miles. Others report an immense depth of water (called the Black Sea Deeps) off the coast of the Coraxi tribe on the Black Sea, about 37 miles from land, where soundings have never reached bottom.

106. This is rendered more remarkable by springs of fresh water bubbling out as if from pipes on the seashore. In fact the nature of water also is not deficient in marvels. Patches of fresh water float on the surface of the sea, being doubtless lighter. Consequently also seawater being of a heavier nature gives more support to objects floating upon it. But some fresh waters too float on the surface of others; cases are the river carried on the surface of Lake Fucino, the Adde on the Lake of Como, the Ticino on Maggiore, the Mincio on Garda, the Ohio on Lago d'Iseo, the Ithone on the Lake of Geneva (the last north of the Alps, but all the rest in Italy), after a passing visit that covers many miles carrying out their own waters only and no larger quantity than they introduced. This has also been stated in the case of the river Orontes in Syria and many others. But some rivers so hate the sea that they actually flow underneath the bottom of it, for instance the spring Arethusa at Syracuse, in which things emerge that have been thrown into the Alpheus which flows through Olympia and reaches the coast in the Peloponnese. Instances of rivers that flow under ground and come to the surface again are the Lycus in Asia, the Erasmus in the Argolid and the Tigris in Mesopotamia; and obj ects thrown into the Spring of Aesculapius at Athens are given back again in Phaleron Harbour. Also a river that goes underground in the Plain of Atinas comes out 20 miles further on, as also does the Timavus in the district of Aquileia. In Lake Asphaltis in Judea, which produces bitumen, nothing can sink, and also in the Aretissa in Greater Armenia; the latter indeed is a nitrous lake that supports fish. A lake near the town of Manduria in the Salentine district is full to the brim, and is not reduced when water is drawn out of it nor increased when water is poured into it. In the river of the Cicones and in the Veline Lake of Picenum, wood thrown into the water gets covered with a film of stone, and in the river Surius in Colchis this goes so far that the stone in most cases is covered with bark still lasting. Similarly in the Sele beyond Sorrento not only twigs but also leaves immersed in the river become petrified, though apart from this its water is healthy to drink. Rock forms in the outlet of the marsh at Rieti, and olive trees and green bushes grow in the Red Sea.

But the nature of a great many springs is of remarkably high temperature, and this is found even on the ridges of the Alps, and actually in the sea, for instance in the Gulf of Baiae between Italy and the Island of Ischia, and in the river Garigliano and many others. In fact fresh water may be drawn from the sea in a great many places, as at the Swallow Islands and at Aradus and in the Gulf of Cadiz. Green grass grows in the hot springs of Padua, frogs in those of Pisa, fishes at Vetulonia in Tuscany near the sea. A river in the district of Casino called the Bubbling Water is cold, and is fuller in summer; water voles are born in it, as they are in the Stymphalis of Arcadia. The Fountain of Jupiter at Dodona, though it is cold and puts out torches dipped in it, sets them alight if they are brought near to it when they are out. The same spring always stops flowing at noon, on account of which it is called the Wait-a-bit; later it rises again and towards midnight flows abundantly, thereafter gradually ceasing again. A cold spring in Illyria sets fire to clothes spread out above it. The swamp of Jupiter Ammon is cold by day and hot at night. A spring in the Cave-dwellers' territory called the Fountain of the Sun is sweet and very cold at midday, but then gradually warming, towards the middle of the night it becomes spoilt owing to its heat and bitter taste. The source of the Po always dries up at midday in summer as if taking a siesta. A spring on the island of Tenedos after midsummer always overflows from 9 to 12 p.m.; and the spring Inopus on the island of Delos sinks or rises in the same way as the Nile and at the same times. On a small island in the sea at the mouth of the river Timavus there are hot springs that grow larger and smaller with the rise and fall of the tide. In the Pitino district across the Apennines the river Novanus is always hot at midsummer and dried up at midwinter. In the district of Falerii all the water makes oxen that drink it white. The Blackwater in Boeotia makes sheep black, the Cephisus flowing from the same lake makes them white, the Peneus again makes them black, and the river Xanthus at Ilium red, which gives the river its name. Mares pastured on the plains watered by the river Astaces on the Black Sea suckle their foals with black milk. The spring called Neminie in the district of Reate rises now in one place and now in another, indicating a change in the price of corn. A spring in the harbour at Brindisi always supplies pure water for mariners. The slightly acid spring called Lyncestis makes men tipsy, like wine; the same occurs in Paplilagonia and in the territory of Cales.

It is accredited by the Mucianus who was three times consul that the water flowing from a spring in the temple of Father Liber on the island of Andros always has the flavour of wine on January 5th: the day is called God's Gift Day. To drink of the Styx near Nonacris in Arcady causes death on the spot, although the river is not peculiar in smell or colour; similarly three springs on Mount Liberosus in Taurica irremediably but painlessly cause death. In the territory of Carrina in Spain there are two adjacent springs of which one rejects all objects and the other sucks them down; another in the same nation makes all the fish in it look of a golden colour, although except when in that water there is nothing peculiar about them. In the district by the Lake of Como a copious spring always swells up and sinks back again every hour. A hot spring on the island of Cydonea off Lesbos flows only in the springtime. Lake Sannaus in Asia is dyed by the wormwood springing up round it. In the cave of Apollo of Claros at Colophon there is a pool a draught from which causes marvellous oracular utterances to be produced, though the life of the drinkers is shortened. Even our generation has seen rivers flow backward at Nero's last moments, as we have recorded in our history of that Emperor.

Again everybody is aware that all springs are colder in summer than in winter, as well as of the following miracles of nature that bronze and lead sink when in mass form, but float when flattened out into sheets; that among objects of the same weight some float, and others sink; that heavy bodies are more easily moved in water; that stone from Scyros in however large a mass floats, and the same stone broken into small pieces sinks; that bodies recently dead sink to the bottom but rise when they begin to swell; that empty vessels cannot be drawn out of the water more easily than full ones; that rain water is more useful than other water for salt-works, and that fresh water has to be mixed with sea water for the salt to he deposited; that sea water freezes more slowly, and boils more quickly; that the sea is warmer in winter and salted in autumn; that all sea water is made smooth by oil, and so divers sprinkle oil from their mouth because it calms the rough element and carries light down with them; that on the high sea no snow falls; that though all water travels downward, springs leap upwards, and springs rise even at the roots of Etna, which is so hot that it belches out sands in a ball of flame over a space of 50 to 100 miles at a time.

107. (For we must also report some marvels connected with fire, the fourth element of nature, but first those arising from water.)

108. In Samosata the capital of Commagene there is a marsh that produces an inflammable mud called mineral pitch. When this touches anything solid it sticks to it; also when people touch it, it actually follows them as they try to get away from it. By these means they defended the city walls when attacked by Lucullus: the troops kept getting burnt by their own weapons. Water merely makes it burn more fiercely; experiments have shown that it can only be put out by earth.

109. Naphtha is of a similar naturethis is the name of a substance that flows out like liquid bitumen in the neighbourhood of Babylon and the parts of Parthia near Astacus. Naphtha has a close affinity with fire, which leaps to it at once when it sees it in any direction. This is how Medea in the legend burnt her rival, whose wreath caught fire after she had gone up to the altar to offer sacrifice.

110. But among mountain marvelsEtna always glows at night, and supplies its fires with fuel sufficient for a vast period, though in winter cloaked with snow and covering its output of ashes with hoar frost. Nor does nature's wrath employ Mount Etna only to threaten the lands with conflagration. Mount Chimaera in the country of Phaselis is on fire, and indeed burns with a flame that does not die by day or night; Ctesias of Cnidos states that water increases its fire but earth or dung puts it out. Also the Mountains of Hephaestus in Lycia flare up when touched with a flaming torch, and so violently that even the stones of the rivers and the sands actually under water glow; and rain only serves to feed this fire. They say that if somebody lights a stick at it and draws a furrow with the stick, streams of fire follow it. At Cophantium in Bactria a coil of flame blazes in the night, and the same in Media and in Sittacene the frontier of Persia: indeed at the White Tower at Susa it does so from fifteen smoke-holes, from the largest in the daytime also. The Babylonian Plain sends a blaze out of a sort of fishpool an acre in extent; also near Monnt Hesperius in Ethiopia the plains shine at night hke stars. Likewise in the territory of Megalopolis: for if that agreeable Bowl of Nymphaeus, which does not scorch the foliage of the thick wood above it and though near a cold stream is always glowing hot, ceases to flow, it portends horrors to its neighbours in the town of Apollonia, as Theopompus has recorded. It is augmented by rain, and sends forth asphalt to mingle with that unappetizing stream, which even without this is more liquid than ordinary asphalt. But who would be surprised by these things? During the Allies' War Holy Island and Lipari among the Aeolian Islands near Italy burnt in mid sea for several days, as did the sea itself, till a deputation from the senate performed a propitiatory ceremony. Nevertheless the largest volcanic blaze is that of the ridge in Ethiopia called the Gods' Carriage, which discharges flames that glow with truly solar heat.

In so many places and by so many fires does nature burn the countries of the earth.

111. Moreover, as this one element has a fertile principle that engenders itself and grows out of the smallest sparks, what must be expected to happen in future among all these funeral pyres of the earth? What is the natural principle that pastures a most voracious appetite on the whole world while itself unimpaired? Add thereto the innumerable stars and the mighty sun, add the fires of man's making and also those implanted in the nature of stone and of timber rubbing against itself, and again the fire of clouds, and the sources of thunderboltsand doubtless all marvels will be surpassed by the fact that there has ever been a single day on which there has not been a universal conflagration, when also hollow mirrors facing the sun's rays set things alight more easily than any other fire. What of the countless small but natural eruptions of fire? In the river Nymphaeus a flame comes out of a rock that is kindled by rain; also one comes out at the Scantian Springs, not a strong one, it is true, as it passes away, and not lasting long on any substance which it touchesan ash tree shading this fiery spring is everlastingly green; one comes out in the district of Modena on the days appointed as sacred to Vulcan. It is found in the authorities that in the fields lying under Arezzo if charcoal is dropped on the ground, the earth is set on fire; that in the Sabine and Sidicine district a stone flames up when oiled; that in the Sallentine town of Egnatia, if wood is put on a certain sacred rock, a flame at once shoots up; that ashes on the altar of Juno at Lacinium, which stands in the open air, remains motionless when stormy winds sweep over it in every direction. Moreover, it is recorded that sudden fires arise both in pools of water and in bodies, even human bodies: Valerius Antias tells that the whole of Lake Trasimene once was on fire; that when Servius Tullius was a boy a flame flashed out from his head while he was asleep; and that a similar flame burnt on Lucius Marcius in Spain when he was making a speech after the death of the Scipios and exhorting the soldiers to revenge. Later we shall give more instances, and more in detail; for at the present we are displaying a sort of medley of marvels of all the elements. But leaving the interpretation of nature our mind hastens to lead the reader's attention by the hand on a tour of the whole world.

112. Our own portion of the earth, which is my subject, swims as it were in the ocean by which, as we have said, it is surrounded; its longest extent is from East to West, i.e. from India to the Pillars consecrated to Hercules at Cadiz, a distance of 8,568 miles according to Artemidorus, but 9,818 according to Isidore. Artemidorus adds in addition from Cadiz round Cape St. Vincent to Cape Finisterre the longest projection of the coast of Spain, 890 miles. The measurement runs by a double route; from the river Ganges and its mouth where it flows into the Eastern Ocean, through India and Parthyene to the Syrian city of Meriandrus situated on the Gulf of Scanderoon 5,215, from there by the shortest sea-route to the Island of Cyprus, from Patara in Lycia to Rhodes, to the island of Astypalaea in the Carpathian Sea, to Taenarus in Laconia, Lilybaeum in Sicily, Caralis in Sardinia, 213, thence to Cadiz 1,250, the total distance from the Eastern Sea making 8,568. Another route, which is more certain, extends mainly overland from the Ganges to the river Euphrates 5,169, thence to Mazaca in Cappadocia 244, thence through Phrygin and Caria to Ephesus 499, from Ephesus across the Aegean Sea to Delos 200, to the Isthmus 202, thence by land and the Alcyonian Sea and the Gulf of Corinth to Patras in the Peloponnese 102, to Leucas 87, to Corfu ditto, to Acroceraunia 82, to Brindisi 87, to Rome 360, across the Alps to the village of Suze 518, through France to the Pyrenees at Granada 456, to the Ocean and the coast of Spain 832, across to Cadiz 7which figures by Artemidorus's calculation make 8,995 miles.

But the breadth of the earth from the south point to the north is calculated by Isidorus as less by about one half, 5,462

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miles, showing how much the heat has abstracted on one side and the cold on the other. As a matter of fact I do not think that there is this reduction in the earth, or that it is not the shape of a globe, but that the uninhabitable parts on either side have not been explored. This measurement runs from the coast of the Ethiopic Ocean, where habitation just begins, to Meroe 705 miles, thence to Alexandria, 1,250, Rhodes 584, Cnidus 86, Cos 25, Samos 100, Chios 94, Mitylene 65, Tenedos 49, Cape Sigeum 12, Bosphorus 312, Cape Carambis 350, mouth of Lake Maeotis 312, mouth of the Don 266,a route that by cutting down the crossings can be shortened. From the mouth of the Don to the Canopic mouth of the Nile the most careful authorities have made the distance 2,110 miles. Artemidorus thought that the regions beyond had not been explored, though admitting that the tribes of the Sarmatae dwell round the Don to the northward. Isidorus added 1,250 miles right on to Thule, which is a purely conjectural estimate. I understand that the territory of the Sarmatae is known to an extent not less than the limit just stated. And from another aspect, how large is the space bound to be that is large enough to hold innumerable races that are continually migrating? This makes me think that there is an uninhabitable region beyond of much wider extent; for I am informed that beyond Germany also there are vast islands that were discovered not long ago.

These are the facts that I consider worth recording in regard to the earth's length and breadth. Its total circumference was given by Bratosthenes (an expert in every refinement of learning, but on this point assuredly an outstanding authorityI notice that he is universally accepted) as 252,000 stades, a measurement that by Roman reckoning makes 31,500 milesan audacious venture, but achieved by such subtle reasoning that one is ashamed to be sceptical. Hipparchus, who in his refutation of Eratosthenes and also in all the rest of his researches is remarkable, adds a little less than 26,000 stades.

Dionysodorus (for I will not withhold this outstanding instance of Greek folly) has a different creed. He belonged to Melos, and was a celebrated geometrician; his old age came to its term in his native place; his female relations who were his heirs escorted his obsequies. It is said that while these women on the following days were carrying out the due rites they found in the tomb a letter signed with his name and addressed to those on earth, which stated that he had passed from his tomb to the bottom of the earth and that it was a distance of 42,000 stades. Geometricians were forthcoming who construed this to mean that the letter had been sent from the centre of the earth's globe, which was the longest space downward from the surface and was also the centre of the sphere. From this the calculation followed that led them to pronounce the circumference of the globe to be 252,000 stades.

113. To this measurement the principle of uniformity, which leads to the conclusion that the nature of things is self-consistent, adds 12,000 stades, making the earth the 1/96th part of the whole world.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 3

1. So much as to the situation and the marvels of land and water and of the stars, and the plan and dimensions of the universe.

Now to describe its parts, although this also is considered an endless task, not lightly undertaken without some adverse criticism, though in no field does enquiry more fairly claim indulgence, only granting it to be by no means wonderful that one born a human being should not possess all human knowledge. For this reason I shall not follow any single authority, but such as I shall judge most reliable in their several departments, since I have found it a characteristic common to virtually all of them that each gave the most careful description of the particular region in which he personally was writing. Accordingly I shall neither blame nor criticise anyone. The bare names of places will be set down, and with the greatest brevity available, their celebrity and its reasons being deferred to their proper sections; for my topic now is the world as a whole. Therefore I should like it to be understood that I specify the bare names of the places without their record, as they were in the beginning before they had achieved any history, and that though their names are mentioned, it is only as forming a portion of the world and of the natural universe.

The whole circuit of the earth is divided into three parts, Europe, Asia and Africa. The starting point is in the west, at the Straits of Gibraltar, where the Atlantic Ocean bursts in and spreads out into the inland seas. On the right as you enter from the ocean is Africa and on the left Europe, with Asia between them; the boundaries are the river Don and the river Nile. The ocean straits mentioned are fifteen miles long and five miles broad, from the village of Mellaria in Spain to the White Cape in Africa, as given by Turranius Gracilis, a native of the neighbourhood while Livy and Cornelius Nepos state the breadth at the narrowest point as seven miles and at the widest as ten miles: so narrow is the mouth through which pours so boundless an expanse of water. Nor is it of any great depth, so as to lessen the marvel, for recurring streaks of whitening shoal-water terrify passing keels, and consequently many have called this place the threshold of the Mediterranean. At the narrowest part of the Straits stand mountains on either side, enclosing the channel, Ximiera in Africa and Gibraltar in Europe; these were the limits of the labours of Hercules, and consequently the inhabitants call them the Pillars of that deity, and believe that he cut the channel through them and thereby let in the sea which had hitherto been shut out, so altering the face of nature.

To begin then with Europe, nurse of the race that has conquered all the nations, and by far the loveliest portion of the earth, which most authorities, not without reason, have reckoned to be not a third part but a half of the world, dividing the whole circle into two portions by a line drawn from the river Don to the Straits of Gibraltar. The ocean, pouring the Atlantic sea through the passage I have described, and in its eager progress overwhelming all the lands that shrank in awe before its coming, washes also those that offer resistance with a winding and broken coastline: Europe especially it hollows out with a succession of bays, but into four chief gulfs, of which the first bends in a vast curve from the Rock of Gibraltar, which, as I have said, is the extremity of Spain, right to Locri on Cape Spartivento.

The first land situated on this gulf is called Further Spain or Baetica, and then, from the frontier at Mujacar, Hither Spain or the Department of Tarragon, extending to the chain of the Pyrenees. Further Spain is divided lengthwise into two provinces, Lusitania extending along the north side of Baetica and separated from it by the river Anas. This rises in Hither Spain, in the territory of Laminium and now spreading out into meres, now contracting into narrows, or burrowing entirely underground and gaily emerging again several times over, discharges itself into the Atlantic Ocean. The Department of Tarragon adjoin the Pyrenees, running down along the whole of one side of the chain and also extending across from the Iberian Sea to the Gallic Ocean, and is separated from Baetica and Lusitania by Mount Solorius and by the ranges of the Oretani and Carpentani and of the Astures.

Baetica, named after the river Baetis which divides it in two, stands first among the whole of the provinces in the richness of its cultivation and in a sort of peculiar fertility and brilliance of vegetation. It comprises four jurisdictions, those of Cadiz, Cordova, Ecija and Seville. Its towns number in all 175, of which 9 are colonies, 10 municipalities of Roman citizens, 27 towns granted early Latin rights, 6 free towns, 3 bound by treaty to Rome and 120 paying tribute. Worthy of mention in this district, or easily expressed in Latin, are: on the ocean coast beginning at the river Guadiana, the town Ossonoba, surnamed Aestuaria, at the confluence of the Luxia and the Urium; the Hareni Mountains; the river Guadalquivir; the winding bay of the Coast of Curum, opposite to which is Cadiz, to be described among the islands; the Promontory of Juno; Port Vaesippo; the town of Baelo; Mellaria, the strait entering from the Atlantic; Carteia, called by the Greeks Tartesos; Gibraltar. Next, on the coast inside the straits, are: the town of Barbesula with its river; ditto Salduba; the town of Suel; Malaga with its river, one of the treaty towns. Then comes Maenuba with its river; Firmum Julium sumamed Sexum; Sel; Abdara; Murgi, which is the boundary of Baetica. The whole of this coast was thought by Marcus Agrippa to be of Carthaginian origin; but beyond the Guadiana and facing the Atlantic Ocean is the territory of the Bastuli and Turduli. Marcus Varro records that the whole of Spain was penetrated by invasions of Hiberi, Persians, Phoenicians, Celts and Carthaginians; for he says that it was the sport (lusus) of Father Liber, or the frenzy (λύσσα) of those who revelled with him, that gave its name to Lusitania, and that Pan was the governor of the whole of it. The stories related of Hercules, Pyrene or Saturn I regard as absolutely mythical.

The Guadalquivir rises in the province of Tarragon, not at the town of Mentesa, as some authorities have said, but in the Tugiensian Forest bordered by the river Segura that waters the territory of Cartagena; at Lorea it avoids the Sepolero de Scipion and, turning westward, makes for the Atlantic Ocean, giving its name to the province; it is first of moderate size, but it receives many tributaries, from which it takes their glory as well as their waters. It first enters Baetica at Ossigetania, gliding gently in a picturesque channel past a series of towns situated on both its banks.

Between this river and the Ocean coast the most famous places inland are: Segida surnamed Augurina; Julia or Fidentia; Urgao or Alba; Ebura or Cerialis; Iliberri or Liberini; Ilipula or Lans; Artigi or Julienses; Vesci or Faventia; Singili, Ategua, Arialdunum, Agla Minor, Baebro, Castra Vinaria, Cisimbrium, New Hippo, Illurco, Osea, Oscua, Sucaelo, Unditannm, Old Tucciall of which are places in that part of Bastetania which stretches towards the sea. In the jurisdiction of Cordova in the neighbourhood of the actual river are Ossigi surnamed Latonium, Iliturgi or Forum Julium, Ipra, Isturgi or Trintuphale, Sucia, and 17 miles inland Obulco or Pontificense, then Ripa, Epora (a treaty town), Sacili Martialium, Onuba, and on the right bank the colony of Cordova surnamed Patricia. At this point the Guadalquivir first becomes navigable, and there are the towns of Carbula and Detunda, the river Xenil flowing into the Guadalquivir on the same side.

The towns of the jurisdiction of Hispalis are Celti, Axati, Arua, Canama, Evia, Ilipa surnamed Ilpa Italiea; on the left bank is the colony Ilispal surnamed Romulensis, while on the opposite side are the towns Osset surnamed Julia Constantia, Vergentum or Juli Genius, Orippo, Caura, Siarum, and the river Maenuba, a tributary of the Guadalquivir on its right. Between the estuaries of the Guadalquivir are the towns of Nabrissa, surnamed Veneria, and Colobana, with two colonies, Hasta, which is called Itegia, and inland Asido, which is called Caesarina.

The river Xenil, joining the Guadalquivir at the place in the list already mentioned, washes the colony of Astigi, surnamed Augusta Firma, from which point it becomes navigable. The other colonies in this jurisdiction exempt from tribute are Tucci, surnamed Augusta Gemella, Iptuci or Virtus Julia, Ucubi or Claritas Julia, Urso or Genetiva Urbanorum; and among these once was Munda, which was taken with the younger Pompey. The free towns are Old Astigi and Ostippo, with the tributary towns of Callet, Callicula, Castra Gemina, Ilipula Minor, Marruca, Sacrana, Obulcula, Oningis, Sabora and Ventippo. At no great distance, on the Maenuba, another navigable river, are the settlements of Olontigi, Laelia and Lastigi.

The region stretching from the Guadalquivir to the river Guadiana beyond the places already mentioned is called Baeturia, and is divided into two parts and the same number of races, the Celtici bordering on Lusitania, of the jurisdiction of Seville, and the Turduli, who dwell on the borders of Lusitania and the Tarragon territory, but are in the jurisdiction of Cordova. That the Celtici came from the Celtiberi in Lusitania is proved by their religion, their language, and the names of their towns, which in Baetica are distinguished by surnames: Seria has the additional name of Fama Julia, Nertobriga that of Concordia Julia, Segida that of Restituta Julia, Ugultunia that of Contributa Julia (in which now is also included the town of Curiga), Lacimurga that of Constantia Julia, and Stereses the surname of Fortunales and Callenses that of Aeneanici. Besides these places there are in Celtica Acinipo, Arunda, Arunci, Turobriga, Lastigi, Salpesa, Saepone, Serippo. The other part of Baeturia, which we have said belongs to the Turduli and to the jurisdiction of Cordova, contains the not undistinguished towns of Arsa, Mellaria, Mirobriga Regina, Sosintigi and Sisapo. To the jurisdiction of Cadiz belong Regina, with Roman citizens, Laepia Regia with Latin citizens, Carisa surnamed Aurelia, Urgia surnamed Castrum Julium, and also Caesaris Salutariensis; the tributary towns of Besaro, Beippo, Barbesula, Blacippo, Baesippo, Callet, Cappacum, Oleastro, Iptuci, Ibrona, Lascuta, Saguntia, Saudo, Usaepo.

The total length of Baetica according to Marcus Agrippa is 475 miles, and its breadth 258 miles, but this was when its bounds extended as far as Cartagena: such extensions comparatively often give rise to great errors in the measurements of distances, as they sometimes cause alterations in the boundary of provinces and sometimes an increase or reduction of the mileage of roads. During so long a period of time the seas have been encroaching on the land or the shores have been moving forward, and rivers have formed curves or have straightened out their windings. Moreover different persons take different starting-points for their measurements and follow different lines; and the consequence is that no two authorities agree.

2. At present the length of Baetica from the frontier of the town of Cazlona to Cadiz is 250 miles, and from the sea-front of Murgi 25 miles more; its breadth from Carteia along the coast to the Guadiana is 234 miles. Agrippa was a very painstaking man, and also a very careful geographer; who therefore could believe that when intending to set before the eyes of Rome a survey of the world he made a mistake, and with him the late lamented Augustus? for it was Augustus who completed the portico containing a plan of the world that had been begun by his sister in accordance with the design and memoranda of Marcus Agrippa.

3. The old shape of Hither Spain has been considerably altered, as has been that of several provinces, in as much as Pompey the Great on his trophies which he set up in the Pyrenees testified that he had brought into subjection 876 towns between the Alps and the borders of Further Spain. Today the whole province is divided into seven jurisdictions, namely those of Cartagena, Tarragon, Saragossa, Clunia, Astorga, Lugo, Braga. In addition there are the islands which will be mentioned separately, but the province itself contains, besides 293 states dependent on others, 189 towns, of which 12 are colonies, 13 are towns of Roman citizens, 18 have the old Latin rights, one is a treaty town and 135 are tributary.

The first people, on the coast, are the Bastuli, and after them in the following order proceeding inland come the Mentesani, the Bretani, the Carpetani on the Tagus, and next to them the Vaccaei, the Vettones and the Celtiberian Arevaci.

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The towns nearest the coast are Urci and Barea that belongs to Baetica, then the district of Bastitania, next after which comes Contestania and the colony of New Carthage, from the promontory of which, called the Cape of Saturn, the crossing to Caesarea, a city of Mauretania, is 197 miles. There remain to be mentioned on the coast the river Tader and the tax-free colony of Ilici, from which the Ilicitan Gulf takes its name; to this colony the Icositani are subordinate. Next come Lucentum, with Latin rights, Dianium, a tributary town, the river Sucro and in former days a town of the same name, forming the boundary of Contestania. The district of Metania comes next, with a lovely expanse of lake in front of it, and reaching back to Celtiberia. The colony of Valencia three miles from the sea, the river Turium, Saguntum, also three miles from the sea, a town with Roman citizenship, famous for its loyalty, and the river Udiva. The district of the Ilergaones, the river Ebro, rich in ship-borne trade, rising in the district of the Cantabri not far from the town of Juliobrica, with a course of 450 miles, for 260 of which from the town of Vareia it is navigable for ships, and because of it the Greeks have called the whole of Spain by the name of Iberia. Next the district of Cessetania, the river Subi, the colony Tarragon, which was founded by the Scipios, as Cartagena was by the Carthaginians. The district of the Ilergetes comes next, the town of Subur and the river Rubricatum, after which begin the Lacetani and the Indigetes. After them in the following order proceeding inland from the foot of the Pyrenees are the Ausetani, the Jacetani, the Cerretani along the Pyrenees, and then the Vaseones. On the coast is the colony of Lareclonia, surnamed Faventia, the Roman towns of Badalona and Iluro, the River Arnuni, Blandae, the river Alba, Amporias, one part of which is inhabited by the original natives and the other by Greeks descended from the Phocaeans, and the river Ticer. From it Cabo de Cruz on the other side of the promontory is 40 miles distant.

We will now take the jurisdictions in order and give noteworthy facts about them in addition to those mentioned above. Forty-two peoples are subject to the jurisdiction of the courts of Tarragona; of them the best known arewith the rights of Roman citizens, the people of Tortosa and the Bisgargitani; with Latin rights, the Ausetani, the Cerretani surnamed Juliani, and those surnamed Augustani, the Edetani, Gerundenses, Gessorienses, and Teari or Julienses; tributaries, the Aquicaldenses, Aesonenses and Baeculonenses.

Caesaraugusta, a colony that pays no taxes, is washed by the river Ebro; its site was once occupied by a town called Salduba, belonging to the district of Edetania. It is the centre for 55 peoples; of these with the rights of Roman citizens are the Bilbilitani, the Celsenses (once a colony), the Calagurritani (surnamed Nasici), the Ilerdenses belonging to the race of the Surdaones next to the river Sicoris, the Oscenses of the district of Suessetania, and the Turiassonenses; with the old Latin rights are the Cascantenses, Ergavicenses, Graceurritani, Leonicenses and Osieerdenses; bound by treaty are the Tarracenses; tributary are the Arcobrigenses, Andelonenses, Aracelitani, Bursaonenses, Calagurritani surnamed Fibularenses, Conplutenses, Carenses, Cincienses, Cortonenses, Damanitani, Ispallenses, Ilursenses, Iluberitani, Jacetani, Libienses, Pompelonenses and Segienses.

At Cartagena assemble sixty-five peoples, not including inhabitants of islands: from the colony of Accitana Gemellensis and from Libisosana named Foroaugustana, to both of which Italic rights have been given, from the colony of Salaria; townsmen with the rights of old Latium, the Castulonenses, also called Caesarii Iuvenales, the Saetabitani or Augustani, and the Valerienses. Of the tributary peoples the best known are the Alabanenses, Bastitani, Consaburrenses, Dianenses, Egelestani, Iloreitani, Laminitani, Mentesani or Oretani, Mentesani or Bastuli, the Oretani surnamed Germani, and the people of Segobriga, capital of Celtiberia, the people of Toletum on the Tagus, the capital of Carpetania, and then the Viatienses and the Virgilienses.

To the jurisdiction of Corunna the Varduli bring fourteen peoples, of whom we would mention only the Alabanenses, and the Turmogidi bring four, including the Segisamonenses and the Segisamajulieuses. To the same jurisdiction go the Carietes and the Vennenses with five states, of whom the Velienses form one. Thither too go the Pelendones of the Celtiberians with four peoples, of whom the Numantines were once famous, as among the seventeen states of the Vaccaei were the Intercatienses, Palantini, Lacobrigenses and Caucenses. Then among the Cantabriei, seven peoples, one state only, Juliobriga, need be mentioned, and Tritimn and Virovesea among the ten states of the Autrigones. The Arevaei got their name from the river Areva; to them belong six towns, Secontia and Uxama, common names in other regions, also Segovia and Nova Augusta, with Hermes and Corunna itself, the end of Celtiberia. The rest of the country stretches towards the ocean, and here are the Varduli of those already mentioned and the Cantabri.

Adjoining these are twenty-two peoples of the Astures, divided into the Augustani and the Trammontani, with the splendid city of Asturiea; these include the Gigurri, Peseii, Lancienses and Zoelae. The total number of the population amounts to 240,000 free persons.

The jurisdiction of Lucus contains 15 peoples, unimportant and bearing outlandish names, excepting the Celtici and Lemavi, but with a free population amounting to about 166,000.

In a similar way the twenty-four states of Braga contain 286,000 persons, of whom besides the Bracari themselves may be mentioned, without wearying the reader, the Biballi, Coelerni, Callaeci, Equaesi, Limici and Querquerni.

The length of Hither Spain from the Pyrenees to the frontier of Cazlona is 607 miles, and a little more along the coast; its breadth from Tarragon to the shore of Olarson is 307 miles, starting from the foot of the Pyrenees, where the country forms the shape of a wedge between the two seas; then gradually it widens out, and where it touches Further Spain it adds more than as much again to its breadth.

Nearly the whole of Spain is covered with mines of lead, iron, copper, silver and gold, Hither Spain with muscovite mines also; Baetica abounds in cinnabar as well. There are besides quarries of marble. His Majesty the Emperor Vespasian bestowed the rights of Latium on the whole of Spain when it had been storm-tossed by civil disorders. The frontier between the Spanish and the Gallic provinces is formed by the mountains of the Pyrenees, with headlands projecting into the two seas on either side.

4. The part of the Gauls washed by the Mediterranean is entitled the province of Narbonne, having previously had the name of Bracata. It is divided from Italy by the river Var, and by the ranges of the Alps, a very secure protection for the Roman Empire, and from the rest of Gaul on the north by the Cevennes and Jura mountains. Its agriculture, the high repute of its men and manners and the vastness of its wealth make it the equal of any other province: it is, in a word, not so much a province as a part of Italy. On the coast there is the district of the Sordones, and more inland that of the Consuarani; the rivers are the Tech and the Verdouble, and the towns Elne, the mere shadow of what was once a mighty city, and Castel Roussillon, which has Latin rights. Then come the river Aude, which flows from the Pyrenees through the lake Rubrensis. Narbonne, a colony of the tenth legion twelve miles from the sea, and the rivers Ildrault and Lea. Apart from those mentioned there are but few towns, owing to the marshes that fringe the coast. There is Agde, formerly belonging to Marseilles, the district of the Volcae Tectosages, and the former site of Rhoda, a colony of Rhodes, that has given its name to the Rhone, the most fertile river of the two Gauls, which rushes from the Alps though the Lake of Geneva, bringing along the sluggish Sane and the Isre and Durance which are as rapid as itself. Of its mouths the two smaller are called Libica, one the Spanish, the other the Metapinian; the third and largest is the Massaliotic. Some authorities state that at the mouth of the Rhone there was once a town called Heraclea. Beyond are the canals leading out of the Rhone, famous as the work of Gaius Marius whose distinguished name they bear, Lake Mastromela and the town of Maritima of the Avatici, and above are the Stony Plains, where tradition says that Hercules fought battles, the district of the Anatilii, and inland those of the Dexivates and Cavares. Returning to the sea we have the districts of the Tricores and inland those of the Tritolli, Vocontii and Segovellauni, and after them the Allobroges. On the coast is Marseilles, founded by the Greeks of Phocaea and now a confederate city, then the promontory of Zao, the harbour of Citharista, the district of the Camactulici, then the Suelteri and above them the Verucini. On the coast too are Athenopolis of the Massilians, Frjus, a colony of the eighth legion, called Pacensis and Classica, a river named Argenteus, the district of the Oxubii and Ligauni, beyond whom come the Suebri, Quariates and Adunicates. On the coast is the town of Antibes with Latin rights, the district of the Deciates and the river Var, which rises in Mont Genis in the Alps.

The colonies in the interior are: Aries, the station of the sixth legion, Bziers of the seventh, Orange of the second, Valence in the territory of the Cavares, and Vienne in that of the Allobroges. The towns with Latin rights are Aix in the territory of the Salluvii, Mignon of the Cavares, Apt of the Vulgientes, Pies of the Reii Apollinares, Alba of the Helvi, Augusta of the Tricastinf, Anatilia, Aetea, the Bormani, the Comani, Cavaillon, Carcassonne of the Volcae Tectosages, Cessero, Carpentras of the Memini, the Caenicenses, the Camboleetri surnamed Atlantici, Forum Voconi, Glanum Libii, the Lutevani also called Foroneronienses, Nimes of the Arecomici, Pzenas, the Ruteni, the Samnagenses, the Tolosani of the Tectosages on the border of Aquitania, the Tasgoduni, the Tarusconienses, the Umbranici, the two capitals of the confederate state of the Vocontii, Vasio and Lucus Augusti; and also unimportant towns to the number of 19, as well as 24 assigned to the people of Nimes. The Emperor Galba added to the list two peoples dwelling in the Alps, the people of Avanon and the Bodiontici, whose town is Digne. According to Agrippa the length of the province of Narbonne is 370 miles and the breadth 248.

5. After this comes Italy, the first people of it being the Ligurians, after whom come Etruria, Umbria and Latium, where are the mouths of the Tiber and Rome, the capital of the world, sixteen miles from the sea. Afterwards come the coast of the Volsci and of Campania, then of Picenum and Lucania and the Bruttii, the southernmost point to which Italy juts out into the sea from the almost crescent-shaped chain of the Alps. After the Bruttii comes the coast of Magna Graecia, followed by the Sallentini, Paediculi, Apuli, Paeligni, Frentani, Marrueini, Vestini, Sabini, Picentes, Gauls, Umbrians, Tuscans, Venetians, Carni, Iapudes, Histri and Liburni. I am well aware that I may with justice be considered ungrateful and lazy if I describe in this casual and cursory manner a land which is at once the nursling and the mother of all other lands, chosen by the providence of the gods to make heaven itself wore glorious, to unite scattered empires, to make manners gentle, to draw together in converse by community of language the jarring and uncouth tongues of so many nations, to give mankind civilisation, and in a word to become throughout the world the single fatherland of all the races. But what am I to do? The great fame of all its placeswho could touch upon them alland the great renown of the various things and peoples in it give me pause. In that list even the city of Rome alone, a countenance and one worthy of so glorious a neck, what elaborate description it merits! In what terms to describe the coast of Campania taken by itself, with its blissful and heavenly loveliness, so as to manifest of that there is one region where nature has been at work in her joyous mood! And then again all that invigorating healthfulness all the year round, the climate so temperate, the plains so fertile, the hills so sunny, the glades so secure, the groves so shady! Such wealth of various forests, the breezes from so many mountains, the great fertility of its corn and vines and olives, the glorious fleeces of its sheep, the sturdy necks of its bulls, the many lakes, the rich supply of rivers and springs flowing over all its surface, its many seas and harbours and the bosom of its lands offering on all sides a welcome to commerce, the country itself eagerly running out into the seas as it were to aid mankind. I do not speak of the character and customs of its people, its men, the nations that its language and its might have conquered. The Greeks themselves, a people most prone to gushing self-praise, have pronounced sentence on the land by conferring on but a very small part of it the name of Great Greece! The truth is that in this part of my the heavenstouch upon particular points and only a few of the stars. I merely ask my readers to remember that I am hastening on for the purpose of setting forth in detail all the contents of the entire world.

In shape, then, Italy much resembles an oak leaf, being far longer than it is broad, bending towards the left at its top and ending in the shape of an Amazon's the projection in the centre being called Cocynthos, while it sends out two horns along bays of crescent shape, Leucopetra on the right and Lacinium on the left. Its length extends for 1020 miles, beginning from Aosta at the foot of the Alps and passing through Rome and Capua in a winding course to the town of Reggio situated on its shoulder, where begins the curve, as it were, of the neck. The measure would be much greater if the line were carried on to Lacinium, but with that bend the line would seem to diverge to one side. The breadth varies, being four hundred and ten miles between the rivers Var and Arsa where they flow into the Mediterranean and the Adriatic, but about at the middle, in the neighbourhood of the city of Rome, from the mouth of the river Pescara, which flows into the Adriatic Sea, to the mouths of the Tiber, its breadth is 136 miles, and a little less from Castrum Novum on the Adriatic Sea to Palo on the Tuscan Sea, in no place exceeding a width of 200 miles. The circuit of the entire coast from the Var round to the Ama is 2049 miles. Its distances from the countries that surround it are as follows: from Istria and Liburnia in certain places 100 miles, from Epirus and Illyricum, 50 miles, from Africa, according to Marcus Varro, less than 200, from Sardinia 120, from Sicily 1, from Corcyra less t.han 80, from Issa 50. It stretches through the seas in a southerly direction, but a more careful and accurate calculation would place it between due south and sunrise at midwinter. We will now give an account of a circuit of Italy, and of its cities. Herein it is necessary to premise that we intend to follow the authority of his late Majesty Augustus, and to adopt the division that he made of the whole of Italy into eleven regions, but to take them in the order that will be suggested by the coast-line, it being indeed impossible, at all events in a very cursory account, to keep the neighbouring cities together; and so in going on to deal with the inland districts we shall follow the Emperor's alphabetical arrangement, adopting the enumeration of the colonies that he set out in that list. Nor is it easy to trace their sites and origins, the Ligurian Ingauni, for examplenot to mention the other peopleshaving received grants of land on thirty occasions.

Therefore starting from the river Var we have Nice, founded by the people of Marseilles, the river Paghone, the Alps and the Alpine tribes with many names, of which the chief is the Long-haired; Cimiez, the town of the state of the

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Vediantii, the port of Hercules of Monaco, and the Ligurian coast. Of the Ligurians beyond the Alps the most famous are the Sallui, Deciates and Oxubi; on this side, the Veneni, Turn, Soti, Vagienni, Statielli, Binbelli, Maielli, Cuburniates, Casmonates, Velleiates, and the tribes whose towns on the coast we shall mention next. The river Royas, the town of Ventimiglia, the river Merula, the town of Alhenga, the port of Vai or Savona, the river Bisagna, the town of Genoa, the river Fertor, Porto Fino, Tigulia inland, Sestri di Levante, and the river Magra, which is the boundary of Liguria. Behind all the above-mentioned lie the Apennines, the largest range of mountains in Italy, extending in an unbroken chain from the Alps to the Straits of Messina. On one side of the range, along the Po, the richest river of Italy, the whole country is studded with famous and flourishing towns: Libama, the colony of Dertona, Iria, Vardacas, Industria, Pollenza, Correa snrnamed Potentia, Forum Fulvi or Valenza, Augusta of the Bagienni, Mba Pompcia, Aste, Acqui. Under the partition of Augustus this is the ninth region. The coast of Liguria extends 211 miles between the rivers Var and Magra.

The adjoining region is the seventh, in which is Etruria, beginning at the river Magra, a district that has often changed its name. From it in ancient times the Umbri were driven out by the Pelasgi, and these by the Lydians, who after a king of theirs were styled Tyrrheni, but later in the Greek language Tusci, from their ritual of offering sacrifice. The first town in Etruria is Luni, famous for its harbour; then the colony of Lucca, some way from the sea and nearer to Pisa, between the rivers Auser and Arno, which owes its origin to the Pelopidae or to the Greek tribe of the Teutani; then come the Marshes of Volterra the river Cecina and Piombino, once the only Etruscan town on the coast. After these is the river Prile, and then the navigable river Ombrone, at which begins the district of Umbria, the port of Telamone, Cosa of the Volcientes, founded by the Roman people, Graviscae, Castrum Novum, Pyrgi, the river and the town of Caere, seven miles inland, called Agylla by the Pelasgians who founded it, Alsium, Fregenae, and the river Tiber, 284 miles from the Magra. Inland are the colonies of Falisca, founded according to Cato by the Argives and surnamed Falisca of the Etruscans, Lucus Feroniae, Rusellana, Siena and Sutria. The remaining people are the Arretini Veteres, Arretini Fidentiores, Arretini Julienses, Amitinenses, Aquenses surnamed Taurini, Blerani, Cortonenses, Capenates, Clusini Novi, Chisini Veteres, the Florentini on the bank of the Arno that flows by, Faesulae, Ferentinum, Fescennia, Hortanurn, Herbanum, Nepi, Nine Villages, the Claudian Prefecture of Foroclodiurn, Pistoriuni, Perugia, the Suanenses, the Saturnini formerly called the Aurini, the Subertani, Statonenses, Tarquinienses, Tuscanienses, Vetulonienses, Veientani, Vesentini, Volaterrani, the Volcentani surnamed Etrusci, and Volsinienses. In the same district the territories of Crustumium and Caletra still keep the names of the ancient towns.

The Tiber, the former name of which was Thybris, and before that Albula, rises in about the middle of the Apennine chain in the territory of Arezzo. At first it is a narrow stream, only navigable when its water is dammed by sluices and then discharged, in the same way as its tributaries, the Tinia and the Chiana, the waters of which must be so collected for nine days, unless augmented by showers of rain. But the Tiber, owing to its rugged and uneven channel, is even so not navigable for a long distance, except for rafts, or rather logs of wood; in a course of 150 miles it divides Etruria from the Linibrians and Sabines, passing not far from Tifernum, Perugia and Ocriculum, and then, less than 16 miles from Rome, separates the territory of Veii from that of Crustumium, and afterwards that of Fidenae and Latium from Vaticanurn. But below the confluence of the Chiana from Arezzo it is augmented by forty-two tributaries, the chief being the Nera and the Severone (which latter is itself navigable, and encloses Latiurn in the rear), while it is equally increased by the aqueducts and the numerous springs carried through to the city; and consequently it is navigable for vessels of whatever size from the Mediterranean, and is a most tranquil trafficker in the produce of all the earth, with perhaps more villas on its banks and overlooking it than all the other rivers in the whole world. And no river is more circumscribed and shut in on either side; yet of itself it offers no resistance, though it is subject to frequent sudden floods, the inundations being nowhere greater than in the city itself. But in truth it is looked upon rather as a prophet of warning, its rise being always construed rather as a call to religion than as a threat of disaster.

Old Latium has preserved the original limits, extending from the Tiber to Cerceii, a distance of 50 miles; so exiguous at the beginning were the roots of the Empire. Its inhabitants have often changed: at various times it has been occupied by various peoplesthe Aborigines, the Pelasgi, the Arcades, the Siculi, the Aurunci, the Rutuli, and beyond Circello the Volsci, Osci and Ausones, owing to which the name of Latium came to be extended as far as the river Garigliano. To begin with there is Ostia, a colony founded by a Roman king, the town of Laurentum, the grove of Jupiter Indiges, the river Numicius, and Ardea, founded by Dana the mother of Perseus. Then comes the site of what was once Aphrodisium, the colony of Antium, the river and island called Astura, the river Ninfa, the Roman Bulwarks, Circello, once an island surrounded by a boundless sea, if we are to believe Homer, but now surrounded by a plain. The facts that we are able to publish for the information of the world on this matter are remarkable. Theophrastus, the first foreigner to write with special care about the Romansfor Theopompus, before whom nobody mentioned them, merely states that Rome was taken by the Gauls, and Clitarchus, the next after him, only that an embassy was sent to AlexanderTheophrastus, I say, relying on more than rumour, has actually given the measurement of the island of Circello as 80 furlongs in the volume that he wrote in the archonship of Nicodorus at Athens, which was the 440th year [314 BC] of our city. Whatever land therefore has been joined to the island beyond the circumference of 10 miles was added to Italy after that year. Another marvel not far from Circello is the Pomptine Marsh, a place which Mucianus, who was three times consul, has reported to be the site of 24 cities. Then comes the river Aufentum, above which is the town of Tarraeina, called Anxur in the dialect of the Volsci, and the site of Amyclae, or Amynclae, the town destroyed by serpents, then the place called the Grottoes, Lake Fundanus, the port of Gaeta, the town of Formiae, called also Hormiae, the ancient abode, it has been thought, of the Laestrygones. Beyond this formerly stood the town of Pirae, and still exists the colony of Minturnae, through which runs the river Liris, once called Clanis; and Sinuessa, the last town in the Extension of Latium, and stated by some authorities to have been once styled Sinope.

Then comes the favoured country of Campania; in this valley begin those vine-clad hills with their glorious wine and wassail, famous all the world over, and (as old writers have said) the scene of the severest competition between Father Liber and Ceres. From this point stretch the territories of Sezza and Caecubum, with which march the Falernian and those of Calvi. Then rise up Monte Massico, Monte Barbaro and the hills of Sorrento. Here spread the plains of Leborium, where the spelt crop is sedulously tended to produce delicious frumity. These shores are watered by hot springs, and are noted beyond all others throughout the whole of the sea for their famous shell and other fish. Nowhere is there nobler olive oilanother competition to gratify man a pleasure. Its occupants have been Oscans, Greeks, Umbrians, Tuscans and Campanians. On the coast are the river Saove, the town of Volturno with the river of the same name, Liternum, the Chalcidian colony of Cumae, Miseno, the port of Baiae, Bacolo, the Lucrine lake, Lake Averno near which formerly stood the town of Cimmerium, then Pozzuoli, formerly called the Colony of Dicaearchus; after which come the plaim of Salpatara and the Lago di Fusaro near Comae. On the coast stands Naples, itself also a colony of the Chalcidians, named Parthenope from the tomb of one of the Sirens, Herculaneum, Pompei with Mount Vesuvius in view not far off and watered by the river Sarno, the Nucerian territory and nine miles from the sea Nocera itself, and Sorrento with the promontory of Minerva that once was the abode of the Sirens. From this place the distance by sea from Cerceii is 78 miles. This region, beginning from the Tiber, under the partition made by Augustus is regarded as the first region of Italy.

Inland are the following colonies: Capua, so named from its forty miles of plain (campus), Aquino, Suessa, Venafro, Sora, Teano surnamed Sidicinum, and Nola; and the towns of Abellinum, Aricia, Alba Longa, the Acerrani, the Allifani, the Atinates, the Aletrinates, the Anagnini, the Atellani, the Aefulani, the Arpinates, the Auximates, the Abellani, the Alfaterni (both those that take their surname from the Latin territory, and from the Hernican, and from the Labican), Bovillae, Caiatiae, Casinum, Calenum, Capitulum of the Hernici, the Cereatini who have the surname of Mariani, the Corani descended from the Trojan Dardanus, the Cubulterini, the Castrimoenienses, the Cingulani, the Fabienses on Mount Albanus, the Foropopulienses from the Falernian district, the Frusinates, the Ferentinates, the Freginates, the Old Fabraterni, the New Fubraterni, the Ficolenses, the Fregellani, Forum Appi, the Forentani, the Gabini, the Interamnates Sucasini, also called the Lirenates, the Ilionenses, the Lanivini, the Norbani, the Nomentani, the Praenestini with their city once called Stephane, the Privernates, the Setini, the Signini, the Suessulani, the Telesini, the Trebulani surnamed Ballienses, the Trebani, the Tusculani, the Verulani, the Veliterni, the Ulubrenses, the Urbanates; and besides all these Rome itself, whose other name it is held to be a sin to utter except at the ceremonies of the mysteries, and when Valerius Soranus divulged the secret religiously kept for the weal of the state, he soon paid the penalty. It seems pertinent to add at this point an instance of old religion established especially to inculcate this silence: the goddess Angerona, to whom sacrifice is offered on December 21, is represented in her statue with a sealed bandage over her mouth.

Romulus left Rome possessing three or, to accept the statement of the authorities putting the number highest, four gates. The area surrounded by its walls at the time of the principate and censorship of the Vespasians, in the 826th [73 AD] of its foundation, measured 13 miles and 200 yards in circumference, embracing seven hills. It is itself divided into fourteen regions, with 265 crossways with their guardian Lares. If a straight line is drawn from the milestone standing at the head of the Roman Forum to each of the gates, which today number thirty-seven (provided that the Twelve Gates be counted only as one each and the seven of the old gates that exist no longer be omitted), the result is a total of 20 miles 765 yards in a straight line. But the total length of all the ways through the districts from the same milestone to the extreme edge of the buildings, taking in the Praetorians' Camp, amounts to a little more than 60 miles. If one were further to take into account the height of the buildings, a very fair estimate would be formed, that would bring us to admit that there has been no city in the whole world that could be compared to Rome in magnitude. On the east it is bounded by the Dyke of Tarquinius Superbus, a work among the leading wonders of the world, for he made it as high as the walls where the approach was flat and the city lay most open to attack. In other directions it had the protection of lofty walls or else of precipitous hills, except for the fact that the increasing spread of buildings has added a number of cities to it.

The first region formerly included the following celebrated towns of Latium besides those mentioned: Satricum, Pometia, Scaptia, Politorium, Tellena, Tifata, Caenina, Ficana, Crustumerium, Ameriola, Medullum, Corniculum, Satuxnia on the site of the present Rome, Antipolis, which today is Janiculum and a part of Rome, Antemnae, Camerium, Collatia, Amitinum, Norbe, Sulmo; and together with these the Alban peoples who were accustomed to receive flesh on the Alban Hill, namely the Albani, Aesolani, Accienses, Abolani, Bubetani, Bolani, Cusuetani, Coriolani, Fidenates, Foreti, Hortenses, Latinienses, Longulani, Manates, Macrales, Munienses, Numinienses, Olliculani, Octulani, Pedani, Polluscini, Querquetulani, Sicani, Sisolemes, Tolerienses, Tutienses, Vimitellari, Velienses, Venetulani, Vitellenses. Thus 53 peoples of Old Latium have perished without leaving a trace.

In the Campanian territory the town of Stabiae existed right down to April 29 in the consulship of Gnaeus Pompeius and Lucius Cato, when Lieutenant-General Lucius Sulla in the Allies' War destroyed the place that has now been reduced to a farmhouse. Here also was Taurania, which has now perished; and the remains of Casilinum are in process of disappearance. Furthermore, Antias records that the Latin town of Apiolae was captured by King Lucius Tarquinius, who used the spoils of it to begin building the Capitol. The 30 miles of Picentine territory between the district of Sorrento and the river Silaro belonged to the Etruscans; it sins famous for the temple of Argive Juno founded by Jason. Further inland was Picentia, a town of Salerno.

At the Silaro begins the third region, the Lucanian and Bruttian territory; in this too there have been frequent changes of population. It has been occupied by Pelasgi, Oenotri, Itali, Morgetes, Siculi, and mostly by peoples of Greece, and most recently by the Lucani, Samnite in origin, whose leader was Lucius. The town of Paestum (called Posidonia by the Greeks), the bay of Paestum, the town of Thea, now Velia, Cape Palinuro, from which across the bay that here stretches inland the distance to the Royal Pillara is 100 miles. Next is the river Melpes, the town of Buxentum (the Greek name of which is Pyxus) and the river Lausthere was once a town also of the same name. Here begins the coast of the Bruttii, with the town of Blanda, the river Baletum, the port of Parthenius, founded by the Phocians, the Bay of Vibo, the site of Clampetia, the town of Tempsa (the Greek name of which is Temese), and Terina, founded by the people of Croton, and the extensive Bay of Terina; and inland the town of Cosenza. On a peninsula is the river Acheron, which gives its name to the township of the Acherontians; Hippo, which we now call Vibo Valentia; the Port of Hercules, the river Metaurus, the town of Tauroentum, the Port of Orestes, and Medma; the town of Scyllaeum and the river Crataeis, known in legend as the Mother of Scylla; then the Royal Pillar, the Straits of Messina and the two opposing headlands, Caenus on the Italian and Pelorum on the Sicilian side, the distance between them being 1 miles; Reggio is 11 miles away. Next comes the Apennine forest of Sila, and the promontory of Leucopetra 15 miles from it, and Epizephyrian Locri (called after the promontory of Zephyrium) 51 miles; it is 303 miles from the river Silaro. And this rounds off the first gulf of Europe.

The names of the seas that it contains are as follows: that from which it makes its entrance is the Atlantic, or as others call it, the Great Sea; the strait by which it enters is called by the Greeks Porthmos and by us the Straits of Cadiz; after it has entered, as far as it washes the coast of the Spains it is called the Spanish Sea, or by others the Iberian or the Balearic Sea; then the Gallic Sea as far as the Province of Narbonne, and afterwards the Ligurian Sea; from that point to the Island of Sicily the Tuscan Sea, which some of the Greeks call the Southern Sea and others the Tyrrhenian, but most of our own

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people the Lower Sea. Beyond Sicily, as far as the south-eastern point of Italy Polybius calls it the Ausonian Sea, but Eratosthenes calls all the part between the ocean inlet and Sardinia the Sardoan Sea, from Sardinia to Sicily the Tyrrheuian, from Sicily to Crete the Sicilian, and beyond Crete the Cretan.

The first of all the islands scattered over these seas are called with the Greeks the Pityussae, from the pine trees that grow on them; each of these islands is now named Ebusus and in treaty with Rome, the channel between them being narrow. Their area is 46 miles, and their distance from Denia 871 miles, which is the distance by land from Denia to New Carthage, while at the same distance from the Pityussac out to sea are the two Balearic islands, and opposite the River Xucar lies Colubraria. The Balearic islands, formidable in warfare with the sling have been designated by the Greeks the Gymnasiae. The larger island, Majorca, is 100 miles in length and 475 in circumference. It contains towns of Roman citizen colonists, Palma and Pollenza, towns with Latin rights, Sineu and Tucis; a treaty town of the Bocchi, no longer existing. The smaller island, Minorca, is 30 miles away from Majorca; its length is 40 miles and its circumference 150; it contains the states of Iamo, Sanisera and Port Mahon. Twelve miles out to sea from Majorca is Cabrera, treacherous for shipwrecks, and right off the city of Palma lie the Malgrates and Dragonera and the small island of El Torre.

The soil of Iviza drives away snakes, but that of Colubraria breeds snakes, and consequently that land is dangerous to all people except those who bring earth from Iviza; the Greeks called it Snake Island. Iviza does not breed rabbits either, which ravage the crops of the Balearics. The sea is full of shoals, and there are about twenty other small islands; off the coast of Gaul at the mouth of the Rhone is Metina, and then the island named Brescon, and the three which the neighbouring people of Marseilles call the Row of Islands because of their arrangement, their Greek names being First Island, Middle Island, also called Pomponiana, and the third Hypaea; next to these are Iturium, Phoenica, Lero, and opposite Antibes Lerina, on which according to local tradition there was once a town called Berconum.

VI. In the Ligurian Sea, but adjoining the Tuscan, is the island of Corsica, the Greek name of which is Cyrnos it lies in a line from north to south, and is 150 miles long and at most points 50 miles broad: its circumference measures 325 miles; it is 62 a miles from the Shallows of Volterra. It contains 32 states, and the colonies of Mariana founded by Gaius Marius and Aleria founded by Sulla when Dictator. Nearer the mainland is Oglasa, and inside that, and 60 miles from Corsica, Pianosa, so named from its appearance, as it is level with the sea and consequently treacherous to vessels. Then La Gorgona, a larger island, and Capraia, the Greek name of which is Aegilion, and also Giglio and Gianuto, in Greek Artemisia, both opposite the coast at Cosa, and Barpana, Menaria, Columbaria, Venaria, Elba with its iron mines, an island 100 miles round and 10 miles from Populonium, called by the Greeks Aethalia; the distance between Elba and Pianosa is 28 miles. After these beyond the mouths of the Tiber and off the coast of Antium is Astura, then Palmarola, Senone, and opposite to Formiae Ponza. In the gulf of Pozzuoli are Pandateria, Prochyta (so called not after Aeneas's nurse but because it was formed of soil deposited by the current from Aenaria), Aenaria (named from having given anchorage to the fleet of Aeneas but called Inarime in Homer) and Pithecusa (named not from its multitude of monkeys, as some people have supposed, but from its pottery factories). Between Posilippo and Naples is Megaris; then, 8 miles from Sorrento, Capri, celebrated for the Emperor Tiberius's castlethe island is 11 miles round; Leucothea; and out of sight, being on the edge of the African Sea, Sardinia, which is less than 8 miles from the end of Corsica, and moreover the channel is narrowed by the small islands called the Rabbit Warrens, and also by the islands of Caprera, and Fossa, from which comes the Greek name of the Straits themselves, Taphros.

7. The east coast of Sardinia is 188 miles long, the west coast 175, the south coast 77 and the north coast 125; its circumference is 565 miles; and at Cape Carbonara its distance from Africa is 200 miles and from Cadiz 1400. It also has two islands off Capo IFalcone called the Islands of Hercules, one off La Puuta dell'Alga called Santo Antiocho, and one off Cape Carbonara called Coltelalzo. Near it some authorities also place the island sof Berelis, Callodes and the one called the Baths of Hera. The best-known peoples in Sardinia are the Ilienses, Balari, Corsi (who occupy 18 towns), Sulcitani, Valentini, Neapolitani, Vitenses, Caralitani (who have the Roman citizenship), and the Norenses; and one colony called At Libiso's Tower. Sardinia itself was called by Timaeus Sandaliotis, from the similarity of its shape to the sole of a shoe, and by Myrsilus Ichnusa, from its resemblance to a footprint. Opposite to the Bay of Paestum is La Licosa, called after the Siren buried there; and opposite Velia are Pontia and Isacia, both included under the one name of the Oenotrides, which is evidence that Italy was once in the possession of the Oenotri; and opposite to Vibo are the small islands called the Isles of Ithaca, from the watch-tower of Ulysses that stands there.

8. But before all the islands of the Mediterranean in renown stands Sicily, called by Thucydides Sicania and by a good many authors Triuacria or Trinacia from its triangular shape. The measurement of its circumference, according to Agrippa, is 528 miles. In former times it was attached to the southern part of Italy, but later it was separated from it by an overflow of the sea, forming a strait 15 miles long and 1 miles wide at the Royal Pillar: this monument of the formation of the gap is the origin of the Greek name of the town situated on the Italian coast, Rhegium. In these Straits is the rock of Scylla and also the whirlpool of Charybdis, both notoriously treacherous. Sicily itself is triangular in shape, its points being the promontory mentioned before named Pelorum, pointing towards Italy, opposite Scylla, Pachynum towards Greece, the Morea being 440 miles away, and Lilybaenm towards Africa, at a distance of 150 miles from the Promontory of Mercury and 190 from Gape Carbonara in Sardinia. The following are the distances of these promontories from one another and the length of the coast lines: from Pelorum to Pachynum by land is 186 miles, from Pachynum to Lilybaeum 200 miles, and from Lilybacum to Pelorum 142 miles.

Sicily contains five colonies and sixty-three cities and states. Starting from Pelorum, on the coast facing the Ionian Sea is the town of Messina, whose denizens called Mamertines have the Roman citizenship, the promontory of Trapani, the colony of Taormina, formerly Naxos, the river Alcantara, and Mount Etna with its wonderful displays of fire at night: the circuit of its crater measures 21 miles; the hot ashes reach as far as Taormina and Catania. and the noise to Madonia and Monte di Mele. Then come the three Rocks of the Cyclopes, the Harbour of Ulysses, the colony of Catania, and the rivers Symaethum and Terias. Inland are the Laestrygonian Plains. Then there are the towns of Lentini, Megaris, the river Porcaro, the colony of Syracuse with the Spring of Axethusa (although the territory of Syracuse is also supplied with water by the springs of Temenitis, Archidemia, Magea, Cyane and Milichie), the harbour of Naustathmus, the river Elorum, the promontory of Pachynum. On this side of Sicily are the river Hyrminus, the town of Camarina, the river Gelas; the town of Acragas, called Agrigentmn in our language; the colony of Thermae; the rivers Achates, Mazara, Hypsa and Selinus; the town of Lilybacum and the promontory to which it gives its name; Trapani, Mount Eryx, the towns of Palermo, Solunto, Himera with its river, Cephaloedis, Alintium, Agathyrnum; the colony of Tindari, the town of Melazzo, and the district of Pelorum from which we began.

In the interior the towns having Latin rights are those of the Centuripini, Netini and Segestani; tributaries are Asaro, Nicolosi, Argiro, the Acestaei, the Acrenses, the Bidini, the peoples of Cassaro, Trapani, Ergetium, Orchula, Bryn, Butella, Castro Giovanni, Gangi, Gela, Galata, Tisa, Hermae, Hybla, Nicosia, Pantalica, Ilerbitenses, Saleni, Aderno, Imacara, Ipana, Iato, Mistretta, Magella, Mandri, Modica, Mineo, Taormina, Noara, Petra, Colisano, Alicata, Semelita, Scheria, Selinunte, Symaethus, Talaria, Itandazza, Troccoli, Tyracinum and Zancle, a Messenian settlement on the Straits of Sicily.

The islands on the side towards Africa are Oozo, adjacent Malta (which is 87 miles from Camerina and 113 from Lilybaeum), Pantellaria, Maretino, Limosa, Calata, Lampedosa, Aethusa (written by others Aegusa), Levanzo, Alicus (75 miles from Solunto), and Ustica opposite to Paropus. On the Italian side of Sicily facing the river Metaurus, at a distance of nearly 25 miles from Italy, are the seven islands called the Aeolian and also the Liparean: their Greek name is the Hephaestiades, and the Roman Vulcan's Islands; they are called Aeolian from King Aeolus who reigned there in the Homeric period.

9. Lipari, with a town possessing rights of Roman citizenship, takes its name from King Liparus, who succeeded Aeolusit was previously called Milogonis or Meligunis; it is 25 miles from Italy, and its circumference measures a little less than 5 miles. Between it and Sicily is another island formerly called Therasia, and now Holy Island because it is sacred to Vulcan, on it being a hill that vomits out flames in the night. The third island is Stromboli, six miles to the east of Lipari; here Aeolus reigned. It differs from Lipari only in the fact that its flame is more liquid; the local population are reported to be able to foretell from its smoke three days ahead what winds are going to blow, and this is the source of the belief that the winds obeyed the orders of Aeolus. The fourth of the islands, Didyme, is smaller than Lipari. The fifth, Eriphusa, and the sixth, Phoenicusa, are left to provide pasture for the flocks of the neighbouring islands; the last and also the smallest is Euonymus. So far as to the first gulf of Europe.

10. At Locri begins the projection of Italy called Magna Graecia, retiring into the three bays of the Ausonian Sea, so called from its first inhabitants the Ausones. According to Varro its length is 86 miles, but most authorities have made it 75. On this coast are rivers beyond count; but the places worthy of mention, beginning at Locri, are the Sagriano and the ruins of the town of Caulon, Monasteraci, Camp Consilinum, Punta di Stilo (thought by some to be the longest promontory in Italy), then the gulf and city of Squillace, called by the Athenians when founding it Scylletium. This part of the country is made into a peninsula by the Gulf of Santa Eufemia which runs up to it, and on it is the harbour called Hannibal's Camp. It is the narrowest part of Italy, which is here 20 miles across, and consequently the elder Dionysius wanted to cut a canal across the peninsula in this place, and annex it to Sicily. The navigable rivers in this district are the Corace, Alli, Simari, Crocchio and Tacina; it contains the inland town of Strongolo, the range of Monte Monacello, and the promontory of Lacinium, off the coast of which ten miles out lies the Island of the Sons of Zeus and another called Calypso's Island, which is thought to be Homer's island of Ogygia, and also Tyris, Ernnusa and Meloessa. According to Agrippa the distance of the promontory of Lacinium from Caulon is 70 miles.

11. At the promontory of Lacinium begins the second Gulf of Europe; it curves round in a large bay and ends in Acroceraunium, a promontory of Epirus; the distance from cape to cape is 75 miles. Here are the town of Crotona, the river Neto, and the town of Turi between the river Crati and the river Sibari, on which once stood the city of the same name. Likewise Heraclea, once called Sins, lies between the Sins and the Aciris. Then the rivers Salandra and Bassiento, and the town of Torre di Mare, at which the third region of Italy ends. The only inland community of the Bruttii are the Aprustani, but in the interior of Lucania are the Atinates, Bantini, Eburini, Grumentini, Potentini, Sontini, Sirini, Tergilani, Ursentini and Volcentani adjoining whom are the Numestrani. Moreover it is stated by Cato that the town of Thebes in Lucania has disappeared and Theopompus says that there was once a city of the Lucanians named Mardonia, in which Alexander of Epirus died.

Adjoining this district is the second region of Italy, embracing the Hirpini, Calabria, Apulia and the Sallentini with the 250-mile bay named after the Laconian town of Taranto (this is situated in the Nipnermost recess of the bay and has had attached to it the sea-board colony that had settled there, and it is 136 miles distant from the promontory of Lacinium),throwing out Calabria which is opposite to Lacinium to form a peninsula. The Greeks called it Messapia from their leader Messapus, and previously Peucetia from Peucetius the brother of Oenotrius, and it was in the Sallentine territory.

The distance between the two headlands is 100 miles; and the breadth of the peninsula overland from Taranto to Brindisi is 35 miles, and considerably less if measured from the port of Sasine. The towns inland from Taranto are Uria, which has the surname of Messapia to distinguish it from Uria in Apulia, and Sarmadium; on the coast are Senum and Gallipoli, the present Anxa, 75 miles from Taranto. Next, 33 miles farther, the promontory called the Iapygian Point, where Italy projects farthest into the sea. Nineteen miles from this point are the towns of Vaste and Otranto, at the boundary between the Ionian Sea and the Adriatic, where is the shortest crossing to Greece, opposite to the town of Apollonia, separated by an arm of the sea not more than 50 miles wide. King Pyrrhus of Epirus first conceived the plan of carrying a causeway over this gap by throwing bridges across it, and after him Marcus Varro had the same idea when commanding the fleets of Pompey in the Pirate War; but both were prevented by other commitments. After Otranto comes the deserted site of Soletum, then Fratuertium, the harbour of Taranto, the roadstead of Miltope, Lecce, Baleso, Cavallo, and then Brindisi, 50 miles from Otranto, one of the most famous places in Italy for its harbour and as offering a more certain crossing albeit a longer one, ending at the city of Durazzo in Illyria, a passage of 225 miles.

Adjacent to Brindisi is the territory of the Paediculi, whose twelve tribes were the descendants of nine youths and nine maidens from the Illyrians. The towns of the Paediculi are Ruvo, Agnazzo and Ban; their rivers are the Iapyx, named from the son of Daedalus, the king who also gives his name to the Iapygian Point, the Pactius and the Aufidus, which runs down from the Hirpini mountains and past Canossa.

Here begins Apulia, called Apulia of the Daunii, who were named after their chief, the father-in-law of Diomede; in Apulia is the town of Salpi, famous as the scene of Hannibal's amour with a courtezan, Sipontum, Uria, the river Cervaro marking the boundary of the Daunii, the harbour of Porto Greco, the promontory of Monte Gargano (the distance round Gargano from the promontory of Sallentinum or Iapygia being 234 miles), the port of Varano, the lake of Lesina, the river Frento which forms a harbour, Teanum of tile Apuli and Larinum of the Apuli, Cliternia, and the river Biferno, at which begins the district of the Frentani. Thus the Apulians comprise three different races: the Teani, so called from their chief, of Graian descent; the Lucanians who were subdued by Calchas and who occupied the places that now belong to the Atinates; and the Daunians, including, beside the places mentioned above, the colonies of Lucera and Venosa and the towns of Canossa and Arpa, formerly called

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Argos Hippium when founded by Diomede, and afterwards Argyripa. Here Diomede destroyed the tribes of the Monadi and Dardi and two cities whose names have passed into a proverbial joke, Apina and Trica. Besides these there are in the interior of the second region one colony of the Hirpini formerly called Maleventum and now more auspiciously, by a change of name, Beneventum, the Ausculani, Aquiloni, Abellinates snrnamed Protropi, Compsani, Candini, Ligurians with the surnames Baebiani, Vescellani, Aeclani, Aletrini, Abellinates surnamed Marsi, Atrani, Aceani, Alfellani, Atinates, Arpani, Boreani, Collatini, Corinenscs, Cannae celebrated for the Roman defeat, Dirini, Forentani, Genusini, Herdonienses, Irini, Larinates surnamed Frentani, the Merinates from Monte Gargano, Mateolani, Neretini, Natini, Rubustini, Silvini, Strapellini, Turnantini, Vibinates, Venusini, Ulurtini. Inland Calabrian peoples are the Aegetini, Apamestini, Argentini, Butuntinenses, Deciani, Grumbestini, Norbanenses, Palionenses, Stulnini and Tutini; inland Sallentini are the Aletini, Basterbint Neretini, Uzentini and Veretini.

12. There follows the fourth region, which includes the very bravest races in Italy. On the coast, in the territory of the Frentani, after Tifernum are the river Trigno, affording a harbour, and the towns of Histonium, Buca and Hortona and the river Aternus. Inward are the Anxani surnamed Frentani, the Upper and Lower Caretini and the Lanuenses; and in the Marrucine territory Chieti; in the Paelignian, the people of Corfinium; Subequo and Sulmona; in the Marsian, those of Lanciano, Atina, Fucino, Lucca and Muria; in the Albensian region the town of Alba on Lake Fucino; in the Aequicuian, Cliternia and Carsoli; in the Vestinian, Sant Angelo, Pinna and Peituina, adjoining witch is Ofena South of the Mountain; in the region of the Samnites, who once were called Sabelli and by the Greeks Saunitae, the colony of Old Bojano and the other Bojano that bears the name of the Eleventh Legion, Alfidena, Isernia, Fagifulani, Ficolea, Supino, and Terevento; in the Sabine, Amiternum, Correse, Market of Decius, New Market, Fidenae, Ferano, Noreia, La Mentana, Rieti, Trebula Mutuesca, Trebula Suffena, Tivoii, Tarano. In this district, of the tribes of the Aequicoli the Comini, Tadiates, Caedici and Alfaterni have disappeared. It is stated by Gellianus that a Marsian town of Arehippe, founded by the Lydian commander Marsyas, has been submerged in Lake Fucino, and also Valerian says that the town of the Vidicini in Picenum was destroyed by the Romans. The Sabines (according to some opinions called Sebini from their religious beliefs and ritual) live on the lush dewy hills by the Lakes of Velino. Those lakes drain into the river Nera, which from these derives the river Tiber with its sulphurous waters, and they are replenished by the Avens which runs down from Monte Fiscello near the Groves of Vacuna and Rieti and loses itself in the lakes in question. In another direction the Teverone rising in Mount Trevi drains into the Tiber three lakes famous for their beauty, from which Subiaco takes its name. In the district of Rieti is the lake of Cutilia, which is said by Marcus Varro to be the central point of Italy, and to contain a floating island. Below the Sabine territory lies Latium, on one side of it Picenum, and behind it Umbria, while the ranges of the Apennines fence it in on either side.

13. The fifth region is that of Picenum, which formerly was very densely populated: 360,000 Picentines took the oath of allegiance to Rome. They derived their origin from the Sabines, who had made a vow to celebrate a Holy Spring. The territory that they took possession of began at the river Aterno, where are now the district and colony of Adria, 6 miles from the sea. Here is the river Vomanus, the territories of Praetutia and Palma, also the New Camp, the river Batinus, Tronto with its river, the only Liburnian settlement left in Italy, the river Albula, Tessuinum, and Helvinum where the region of the Praetutii ends and that of Picenum begins; the town of Cupra, Porto di Fermo, and above it the colony of Ascoli, the most famous in Picenum. Inland is Novana, and on the coast Cluana, Poteatia, Numana founded by the Sicilians, and Ancona, a colony founded by the same people on the promontory of Cunerus just at the elbow of the coast where it bends round, 183 miles from Monte Gargano. Inland are Osimo, Beregra, Cingula, Cupra surnamed Montana, Falerona, Pausnla, Plalina, Iticinum, Septempedum, Tollentinum, Treia, and the people from Pollentia settled at Urbisaglia.

14. Adjoining to this will come the sixth region, embracing Umbria and the Gallic territory this side Rimini. At Ancona begins the Gallic coast named Gallia Togata. The largest part of this district was occupied by Sicilians and Liburnians, especially the territories of Palma, Praetutia and Adria. They were expelled by the Umbrians, and these by Etruria, and Etruria by the Gauls. The Umbrians are believed to be the oldest race of Italy, being thought to be the people designated as Ombrii by the Greeks on the ground of their having survived the rains after the flood. We find that 300 of their towns were conquered by the Etruscans. On this coast at the present time are the river Esino, Sinigagha, the river Meturo and the colonies of Fano and Pesaro with the river of the same name and inland those of Spello and Todi. Besides these there are the peoples of Amelia, Attiglio, Assisi, Ama, Iesi, Camerino, Casuentillum, Carsulae; the Dolatcs surnamed Sallentini; Foligno, Market of Flaminius, Market of Julius, surnamed Concupium, Market Brenta, Fossombrone, Gubbio, Terni on the Nera, Bevagna, Mevanio, Matilica, Narni (the town formerly called Nequinum); the people of Nocera surnamed Favonienses and those surnamed Camellani; Otricoli, Ostra; the Pitulani surnamed Pisuertes and others surnamed Mergentini; the Plestini; Sentinum, Sassina, Spoleto, Suasa, Sestino, Sigello, Tadina, Trevi, Tuficum, Tifernum on the Tiber, Tifernum on the Meturo; Vesinica, Urbino on the Meturo and Urbino of the Garden, Bettona, the Vindinates and the Visuentani. Peoples that have disappeared in this district are the Felighates and the inhabitants of Clusiolum above Interainna, and the Sarranates, together with the towns of Acerrae surnamed Vafriae and Turocaelum surnamed Vettiolum; also the Solinates, Suriates, Falinates and Sappinates. There have also disappeared the Arinates with the town of Crinivolum and the Usidicani and Plangenses, the Paesinates, the Caelestini. Ameria above-mentioned is stated by Cato to have been founded 963 years before the war with Perseus.

15. The boundaries of the eighth region are marked by Rimini, the Po and the Apennines. On its coast are the river Conca, the colony of Rimini with the rivers Ariminum and Aprusa, and the river Rubicon, once the frontier of Italy. Then there are the Savio, the Bevano and the Roneone; the Sabine town of Ravenna with the river Montone, and the Umbrian town of Butrium 105 miles from Ancona and not far from the sea. Inland are the colonies of Bologna (which at the time when it was the chief place in Etruria was called Felsina), Brescello, Modena, Parrna, Piacenza, and the towns of Cesena, Quaderna, Fornocchia, Forli, Forli Piccolo, Bertinoro, Cornelius Market, Incino, Faenza, Fidentia, Otesini, Castel Bondino, Reggio named from Lepidus, Citt di Sole, Groves of Gallius surnamed Aquinates, Tenedo, Villac in old days surnamed Regias, Urbana. Peoples no longer existing in this region are the Boiip said by Cato to have comprised 112 tribes, and also the Senones who captured Rome.

16. The source of the Po, which well deserves a visit, is a spring in the heart of Monte Viso, an extremely lofty Alpine peak in the territory of the Ligurian Vagienni; the stream burrows underground and emerges again in the district of Vibius Market. It rivals all other rivers in celebrity; its Greek name was Eridanus, and it is famous as the scene of the punishment of Phaethon. The melting of the snows at the rising of the Dogstar causes it to swell in volume; but though its flooding does more damage to the fields adjacent than to vessels, nevertheless it claims no part of its plunder for itself, and where it deposits its spoil it bestows bounteous fertility. Its length from its source is 300 miles, to which it adds 88 by its windings, and it not only receives navigable rivers from the Apennines and the Alps, but also immense lakes that discharge themselves into it, and it carries down to the Adriatic Sea as many as 30 streams in all. Among these the best-known are: flowing from the Apennine range, the Jactum, the Tanaro, the Trebbia (on which is Piacenza), the Taro, the Euza, the Secchia, the Panaro and the Reno; flowing from the Alps, the Stura, Orco, two Doras, Sesia, Ticino, Lambra, Adda, Oglio and Mincio. Nor does any other river increase so much in volume in so short a distance; in fact, the vast body of water drives it on and scoops out its bed with disaster to the land, although it is diverted into streams and canals between Ravenna and Altino over a length of 120 miles; nevertheless where it discharges its water more widely it forms what are called the Seven Seas.

The Po is carried to Ravenna by the Canal of Augustus; this part of the river is called the Padusa, nearest to Ravenna forms the large basin called the Harbour of the Santerno; it was here that Claudius Caesar sailed out into the Adriatic, in what was a vast palace rather than a ship, when celebrating his triumph over Britain. This mouth was formerly called the Eridanus, and by others the Spineticus from the city of Spina that formerly stood near it, and that was believed on the evidence of its treasures deposited at Delphi to have been a very powerful place; it was founded by Diomede. At this point the Po is augmented by the river Santerno from the territory of Cornelius Market.

The next mouth to this is the Caprasian month, then that of Sagis, and then Volane, formerly called Olane; all of these form the Flavian Canal, which was first made from the Sagis by the Tuscans, thus discharging the flow of the river across into the marshes of the Atriani called the Seven Seas, with the famous harbour of the Tuscan town of Atria which formerly gave the name of Atriatic to the sea now called the Adriatic. Next come the deep-water mouths of Carbonaria and the Fosses of Philistina, called by others Tartarus, all of which originate from the overflow of the Philistina Canal, with the addition of the Adige from the Trentino Alps and of the Bacchiglione from the district of Padua. A part of these streams also forms the neighbouring harbour of Brondolo, as likewise that of Chioggia is formed by the Brenta and Brentella and the Clodian Canal. With these streams the Po unites and flows through them into the sea, according to most authorities forming between the Alps and the sea-coast the figure of a triangle, like what is called the Delta formed by the Nile in Egypt; the triangle measures 250 miles in circumference. One is ashamed to borrow an account of Italy from the Greeks; nevertheless, Metrodorus of Scepsis says that the river has received the name of Padus because in the neighbourhood of its source there are a quantity of pine-trees of the kind called in the Gallic dialect padi, while in fact the Ligurian name for the actual river is Bodincus, a word that means 'bottomless.' This theory is supported by the fact that the neighbouring town of Industria, where the river begins to be particularly deep, had the old name of Bodincomagum.

17. The eleventh region receives from the river the name of Transpadana; it is situated entirely inland, but the river carries to it on its bounteous channel the products of all the seas. Its towns are Seluzzo and Susa, and the colony of Turin at the roots of the Alps (here the Po becomes navigable), sprung from an ancient Ligurian stock, and next that of Aosta Praetoria of the Salassi, near the twin gateways of the Alps, the Graian pass and the Pennine, history says that the latter was the pass crossed by the Carthaginians and the former by Herculesand the town of Ivrea, founded by the Roman nation by order of the Sibylline Booksthe name comes from the Gallic word for a man good at breaking horsesVercelli, the town of the Libicii, founded from the Sallui, and Novara founded from Vertamacon, a place belonging to the Vocontii and nowadays a village, not (as Cato thinks) belonging to the Ligurians; from whom the Laevi and Manici founded Ticinum not far from the Po, just as the Boians, coming from the tribes across the Alps, founded Lodi and the Insubrians Milan. According to Cato, Como, Bergamo, Incino and some surrounding peoples are of the Orumbivian stock, but he confesses that he does not know the origin of that race; whereas Cornelius Alexander states that it originated from Greece, arguing merely by the name, which he renders 'those who pass their lives in mountains.' In this locality a town of the Orumbivii named Parra, said by Cato to be the original home of the people of Bergamo, has perished, its remains still showing its site to have been more lofty than advantageous. Other commnities that have perished are the Caturiges, an exiled section of the Insubrians, and the above-mentioned Spina, and also the exceptionally wealthy town of Melpum, which is stated by Cornelius Nepos to have been destroyed by the Insubrians, Boii and Senones on the day on which Camillus took Veii.

18. Next comes the tenth region of Italy, on the coast of the Adriatic Sea. In it are Venetiay the river Silo that rises in the mountains of Treviso, the town of Altino, the river Liquenzo rising in the mountains of Oderzo, and the port of the same name, the colony of Coneordia, the river and port of Rieti, the Greater and Lesser Tagliamento, the Stella, into which flows the Revonchi, the Aba, the Natisone, with the Torre that flows past the colony of Aquileia situated 15 miles from the sea. This is the region of the Carni, and adjoining it is that of the Iapudes, the river Timavo, Castel Duino, famous for its wine, the Gulf of Trieste, and the colony of the same name, 33 miles from Aqnileia. Six miles beyond Trieste is the river Formio, 189 miles from Ravenna, the old frontier of the enlarged Italy and now the boundary of Istria. It has been stated by many authors, even including Nepos, who lived on the banks of the Po, that Istria takes its name from the stream called Ister flowing out of the river Danube (which also has the name of Ister) into the Adriatic, opposite the mouths of the Po, and that their currents, colliding from contrary directions, turn the intervening sea into a pool of fresh water; but these statements are erroneous, for no river flows out of the Danube into the Adriatic. I believe that they have been misled by the fact that the ship Argo came down a river into the Adriatic not far from Trieste, but it has not hitherto been decided what river this was. More careful writers say that the Argo was portaged on men's shoulders across the Alps, but that she had come up the Ister and then the Save and then the Nauportus, a stream rising between Emona and the Alps, that has got its name from this occurrence.

19. Istria projects in the form of a peninsula. Some authorities have given its breadth as 40 miles and its circuit as 125 miles, and the same dimensions for the adjoining territory of Liburnia and the Flanatic Gulf; others make it 225 miles, and others give the circuit of Liburnia as 180 miles. Some carry Iapudia, at the back of Istria, as far as the Flanatic Gulf, a distance of 130 miles, and then make the circuit of Liburnia 150 miles. Tuditanus, who conquered the Istrians, inscribed the following statement on his statue there: From Aquileia to the river Keriko 2000 furlongs. Towns in Istria with the Roman citizenship are Aegida, Parenzo and the colony of Pola, the present Pietas Julia, originally founded by the Colehians, and 105 miles from Trieste. Then comes the town of Nesactium and the river Arsa, now the frontier of Italy. The distance across from Ancona to Pola is 120 miles.

In the interior of the tenth region are the colonies of Cremona and Brescia in the territory of the Cenomani, and Este in that of the Veneti, and the towns of Asolo, Padua, Oderzo, Belluno, Vicenza and Mantua, the only remaining Tuscan town across the Po. According to Cato, the Veneti are

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descended from a Trojan stock, and the Cenomani lived among the Volcae in the neighbourhood of Marseilles. There are also the Rhaetic towns of Feltre, Trent and Berua, Verona which belongs to the Rhaeti and Euganei jointly, and Zuglio which belongs to the Carni; then peoples that we need not be concerned to designate with more particularity, the Alutrenses, Asseriates, Flamonienses Vanienses and other Flamonienses surnamed Curici, the Forojulienses surnamed Transpadani, Foretani, Nedinates, Quarqueni, Tarvisani, Togienses, Varvari. In this district there have disappeared, on the coast-line, Irrnene, Pellaon, Palsiciurn, Atina and Caelina belonging to the Veneti, Segesta and Ocra to the Carni, Noreia to the Taurisci. Also Lucius Piso states that a town 12 miles from Aquileia was destroyed by Marcus Claudius Marcehlus, although against the wish of the Senate.

This region also contains eleven famous lakes and the rivers of which they are the source, or which, in the case of those that after entering the lakes leave them again, are augmented by themfor instance the Adda that flows through Lake Como, the Ticirio through Maggiore, the Mincio through Garda, the Seo through the Lago di Seo, and the Lambro through Lago di Pusiano--all of these streams being tributaries of the Po.

The length of the Alps from the Adriatic to the Mediterranean is given by Caelius as 1000 miles; Timagenes puts it at 25 miles less. Their breadth is given by Cornelius Nepos as 100 miles, by Livy as 375 miles, but they take their measurements at different points; for occasionally the Alps exceed even 100 miles in breadth, where they divide Germany from Italy, while in the remaining part they are as it were providentially narrow and do not cover 70 miles. The breadth of Italy at the roots of the Alps, measured from the river Var through Vado, the port of Savo, Turin, Como, Brescia, Verona, Vicenza, Oderzo, Aquileia, Trieste and Pola, to the river Arsa, amounts to 745 miles.

20. The Alps are inhabited by a great many nations, but the notable ones, between Pola and the district of Trieste, are the Fecusses, Subocrini, Catali and Menoucaleni, and next to the Carni the peoples formerly called Taurisci and now Norici; adjoining these are the Raeti and Vindelici. All are divided into a number of states. The Raeti are believed to be people of Tuscan race driven out by the Gauls; their leader was named Raetus. Then, on the side of the Alps towards Italy, are the Euganean races having the Latin rights, whose towns listed by Cato number 34. Among these are the Triumpilini, a people that sold themselves together with their lands, and then the Camunni and a number of similar peoples, assigned to the jurisdiction of the neighbouring municipal towns. Cato before mentioned considers the Lepontii and Salassi to be of Tauriscan origin, but almost all other authors give a Greek interpretation to their name and believe that the Lepontii are descended from companions of Hercules `left behind' because their limbs had been frostbitten in crossing the Alps; and that the inhabitants of the Graian Alps were also Grai from the same band, and that the Euganei were of specially distinguished family, and took their name from that fact; and that the head of these are the Stoeni. The Raetian tribes Vennones and Sarunetes live near the sources of the river Rhine, and the Lepontian tribe called the Uberi at the source of the Rhone in the same district of the Alps. There are also other native tribes that have received Latin rights; for instance, the Octodurenses and their neighbom the Centrones, the Cottian states and the Turi of Ligurian descent, the Ligurian Vagienni and those called the Mountain Ligurians, and several tribes of Long-haired Ligurians on the borders of the Ligurian Sea.

It seems not out of place to append here the inscription from the triumphal arch erected in the Alps, which runs as follows:

To the Emperor Caesar, son, of the late lamented Augustus, Supreme Pontiff in his fourteenth year of office as Commander-in-chief and seventeenth year of Tribunitial Authorityerected, by the Senate and People of Rome, to commemorate that under his leadership and auspices all the Alpine races stretching from the Adriatic Sea to the Mediterranean were brought under the dominion of the Roman people. Alpine races conqueredthe Triumpilini, Camunni, Venostes, Vennonetes, Isarehi, Breuni, Genaunes, Focunates, four tribes of the Vindelici, the Cosuanetes, Rucinates, Licates, Catenates, Ambisontes, Rugusci, Suanetes, Calucones, Brixentes, Leponti, Uberi, Nantuates, Seduni, Varagri, Salassi, Acitavones, Medulli, Ucenni, Caturiges, Brigiani, Sobionti, Brodicenti, Nemaloni, Edenates, Vesubiani, Veamini, Gallitae, Trizdlati, Ecdini, Vergunni, Eguituri, Nematuri, Oratelli, Nerusi, Felauni, Suetri.

This list does not include the 15 states of the Cottiani which had not shown hostility, nor those that were placed by the law of Pompeius under the jurisdiction of the municipal towns.

This then is Italy, a land sacred to the gods, and these are the races and towns of its peoples. Moreover this is that Italy which, in the consulship of Lucius Aemilius Papas and Gaius Atilius Regulus, on receipt of news of a rising in Gaul, single-handed and without any alien auxiliaries, and moreover at that date without aid from Gaul north of the Po, equipped an army of 80,000 horse and 700,000 foot. She is inferior to no country in abundance of mineral products of every kind; but mining is prohibited by an old resolution of the Senate forbidding the exploitation of Italy.

21. The race of the Liburni stretches from the Arsa to the river Tityus. Sections of it were the Mentores, Himani, Eneheleae, Buni, and the people called by Callimachus the Peucetii, all of whom are now designated collectively by the one name of Illyrians. Few of the peoples are worthy of mention, nor are their names easy to pronounce. To the jurisdiction of Scardona resort the Iapudes and the 14 communities of the Liburni, of which it may not be tedious to name the Lacinienses, Stulpini, Burnistae and Olbonenses. In this jurisdiction states having Italic rights are the Alutae, the Flanates from whom the gulf takes its name, the Lopsi, the Varvarini, the Asseriates who are exempt from tribute, and of the islands Berwitch and Karek. Moreover along the coast starting from Nesactium are Albona, Fianona, Tersaet, Segna, Lopsico, Ortoplinia, Viza, Argyruntum, Carin, Nona, the city of the Pasini and the river Zermagna, at which Iapudia terminates. The islands of the gulf with their towns are, besides the above specified, Absortium, Arba, Cherso, Gissa, Portunata. Again on the mainland is the colony of Zara, 160 miles from Pola, and 30 miles from it the island of Mortero, and 18 miles from it the mouth of the river Kerka.

22. At the city of Scardona on the Kerka, 12 miles from the sea, Liburnia ends and Dalmatia begins. Then comes the ancient region of the Tariotares and the fortress of Tariona, the Promontory of Diomede, or as others name it the Peninsula of Hyllis, measuring 100 miles round, Tragurium, a place possessing Roman citizenship and famous for its marble, Siculi where the late lamented Claudius sent a colony of ex-service men; and the colony of Spalato, 112 miles from Zara. Spalato is the centre for jurisdiction of the Delmataei whose forces are divided into 342 tithings, Deuri into 25 tithings, Ditiones into 239, Maezaei 269, Sardeates 52. In this district are Burnum, Andetrium and Tribulium, fortresses that are famous for battles. Island peoples also belonging to the same jurisdiction are the Issaeans, Colentini, Separi and Epetini. After these come the fortresses of Pegunthim, Nareste and Onium, and the colony of Narenta, the seat of the third centre, 85 miles from Spalato, situated on the river also called Narenta 20 miles from the sea. According to Marcus Varro 89 states used to resort to it, but now nearly the only ones known are the Cerauni with 24 tithings, the Daursi with 17, Desitiates 103, Docleates 33, Deretini 14, Deraemestae 30, Dindari 33, Gunditiones 44, Melcumani 24, Naresi 102, Scirtari 72, Sicnlotae 24, and the Vardaei, once the ravagers of Italy, with not more than 20 tithings. Besides these this district was occupied by the Ozuaei, Partheni, Hemasini, Arthitae and Armistae. The colony of Epidaurume is 100 miles distant from the river Naron. After Epidaurum come the following towns with Roman citizenshipRisine, Cattaro, Budua, Duleigno, formerly called Colchinium because it was founded by the Colehians; the river Drino, and upon it Scutari, a town with the Roman citizenship, 18 miles from the sea; and also a number of Greek towns and also powerful cities of which the memory is fading away, this district having contained the Labeatae, Endirudini, Sasaei and Grabaei; and the Taulanti and the Pyraei, both properly styled Illyrians. The promontory of Nymphaeum on the coast still retains its name. Lissum, a town having the Roman citizenship, is 100 miles from Epidaurum.

23. At Lissum begins the Province of Macedonia. Its races are the Partheni and in their rear the Dassaretae. The mountains of Candavia are 78 miles from Durazzo, and on the coast is Denda, a town with Roman citizenship, the colony of Epidamnum which, on account of the ill-omened sound of that name, has been renamed Dyrrachium by the Romans, the river Aous, called by some Aeas, and the former Corinthian colony of Apollonia 4 miles distant from the sea, in the territory of which is the famous Shrine of the Nymphs, with the neighbouring native tribes of the Amantes and Buliones. Actually on the coast is the town of Ericho, founded by the Colchians. Here begins Epirus, with the Acroceraunian mountains, at which we fixed the boundary of this Gulf of Europe. The distance between Ericho and Cape Leuca in Italy is 80 miles.

24. Behind the Carni and Iapudes, along the course of the mighty Danube, the Raetians are adjoined by the Norici; their towns are Wolk-Markt, Cilley, Lurnfelde, Innichen, Juvavum, Vienna, Clansen, Solfeld. Adjoining the Norici is Lake Peiso, and the Unoccupied Lands of the Boii, now however inhabited by the people of Sarvar, a colony of his late Majesty Claudius, and the town of Sopron Julia.

25. Then come the acorn-producing lands of the province of Pannonia, where the chain of the Alps gradually becomes less formidable, and slopes to the right and left hand with gentle contours as it traverses the middle of Illyria from north to south. The part looking towards the Adriatic is called Dalmatia and Illyria mentioned above, while 139 the part stretching northward is Pannonia, terminating in that direction at the Danube. In it are the colonies of Aemona and Siscia. Famous navigable rivers flowing into the Danube are the Drave from Noricum, a rather violent stream, and the Save from the Carnian Alps which is more gentle, there being a space of 120 miles between them; the Drave flows through the Serretes, Sirapilli, Iasi and Andizetes; the Save through the Colapiani and Breuci. These are the principal peoples; and there are besides the Arviates, Azali, Amantini, Belgites, Catari, Cornacates, IEravisci, Hercuniates, Latovici, Oseriates and Vareiani, and Mount Claudius, in front of which are the Scordisei and behind it the Taurisci. In the Save is the island of Zagrabia, the largest known island formed by a river. Other noteworthy rivers are the Culpa, which flows into the Save near Siscia, where its channel divides and forms the island called Segestica, and another river the Bossut, flowing into the Save at the town of Sirmich, the capital of the Sirmienses and Amantini. From Sirmich it is 45 miles to Tzeruinka, where the Save joins the Danube; tributaries flowing into the Danube higher up are the Walpo and the Verbas, themselves also not inconsiderable streams.

26. Adjoining Pannonia is the province called Moesia, which runs with the course of the Danube right down to the Black Sea, beginning at the confluence of the Danube and the Save mentioned above. Moesia contains the Dardani, Celegeri, Triballi, Timachi, Moesi, Thracians and Scythians adjacent to the Black Sea. Its famous rivers are the Morava, Bek and Timoch rising in the territory of the Dardani, the Iscar in Mount Rhodope and the Vid, Osma and Jantra in Mount Haemus.

Illyria covers 325 miles in width at its widest point, and 530 miles in length from the river Ama to the river Drin; its length from the Drin to the Promontory of Glossa is given by Agrippa as 175 miles, and the entire circuit of the Italian and Iulyrian Gulf as 1700 miles. This gulf, delimited as we described it, contains two seas, in the first part the Ionian and more inland the Adriatic, called the Upper Sea.

There are no islands deserving mention in the Ausonian Sea besides those already specified, and only a few in the Ionianthose lying on the coast of Galabria off Brindisi and by their position forming a harbour, and Diomede's Island off the coast of Apulia, marked by the monument of Diomede, and another island of the same name but by some called Teutria.

On the coast of Illyricum is a cluster of more than 1000 islands, the sea being of a shoaly nature and divided into a network of estuaries with narrow channels. The notable islands are those off the mouth of the Timavo, fed by hot springs that rise with the tide of the sea; Cissa near the territory of the Histri; and Pullaria and those called by the Greeks the Absyrtides, from Medea's brother Absyrtus who was killed there. Islands near these the Greeks have designated the Electrides, because amber, the Greek for which is electrum, was said to be found there; this is a very clear proof of Greek unreliability, seeing that it has never been ascertained which of the islands they mean. Opposite to the Zara are Lissa and the islands already mentioned; opposite the Liburni are several called the Crateae, and an equal number called the Liburnicae and Celadussae; opposite Surium Bavo and Brattia, the latter celebrated for its goats, Issa with the rights of Roman citizenship and Pharia, on which there is a town. Twenty-five miles from Issa is the island called Corcyra Melaena, with a town founded from Cnidos, and between Corcyra Melaena and Illyricum is Meleda, from which according to Callimachus Maltese terriers get their name. Fifteen miles from Meleda are the seven Stag Islands [So called from their combined outlines, Giupan forming the head, Ruda the neck, Mezzo the body, Calemotta the haunches and Grebini or Petini the tail.], and in the Ionian Sea twelve miles from Oricum is Sasena, notorious as a harbour for pirates.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 4

1. The third gulf of Europe begins at the Mountains of Khimarra and ends at the Dardaneiles. Its coast-line measures 1925 miles not including smaller bays. It contains Epirus, Acarnania, Aetolia, Phocis, Locris, Achaia, Messenia, Laconia, Argolis, Megaris, Attica and Boeotia; and again, on the side of the other sea, Phocis and Locris before-mentioned and Doris, Phthiotis, Thessaly, Magnesia, Macedonia and Thrace. All the legendary lore of Greece and likewise its glorious literature first shone forth from this gulf; and consequently we will briefly dwell upon it.

Epirus in the wide sense of the term begins at the Mountains of Khimarra. The peoples that it contains are first the Chaones who give their name to Chaonia, and then the Thesproti and Antigonenses; then comes the place called with exhalations that are noxious to birds, the Cestrini, the Perrhaebi to whom belongs Mount Pindus, the Cassiopaei, the Dryopes, the Selloi, the Hellopes, the Molossi in whose territory is the temple of Zeus of Dodona, famous for its oracle, and Mount Talarus, celebrated by Theopompus, with a hundred springs at its foot. Epirus proper stretches to Magnesia and Macedonia, and has at its back the Dassaretae above mentioned, a free race, and then the savage tribe of the Dardani. On the left side of the Dardani stretch the Triballi and the Moesic races, and joining them in front are the Medi and the Denseletae, and joining these the Thracians who

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extend all the way to the Black Sea. Such is the girdle that walls in the lofty heights of Despoto Dagh and then of the Great Balkan. On the coast of Epirus is the fortress of Khimarra on the Aeroceraunians, and below it the spring named the Royal Water and the towns of Maeandria and Cestria, the Thesprotian river Thyamis, the colony of Butrinto, and the very celebrated Gulf of Arta, whose inlet, half a mile wide, admits an extensive sheet of water, 37 miles long and 15 miles broad. Into it discharges the river Acheron flowing from the Acherusian Lake in Thesprotia, a course of 35 miles, and remarkable in the eyes of people who admire all the achievements of their own race for its 1000-foot bridge. On the gulf lies the town of Ambracia, and there are the Molossian rivers Aphas and Arta, the city of Anactoria and the place where Pandosia stood.

The towns of Acarnania, which was previously called Curetis, are Heraclia, Echinus, and, on the actual coast, the colony founded by Augustus, Actium, with the famous temple of Apollo, and the free city of Nicopolis. Passing from the Gulf of Ambracia into the Ionian Sea we come to the coast of Leucadia and Capo Ducato, and then to the gulf and the actual peninsula of Leucadia, formerly called Neritis, which by the industry of its inhabitants was once cut off from the mainland and which has been restored to it by the mass of sand piled up against it by the violence of the winds; the place has a Greek name meaning 'canalized,' and is 600 yards long. On the peninsula is the town of Leucas, formerly called Neritus. Then come the Acarnanian cities of Alyzia, Stratos, and Argos surnamed Amphilochian, and the river Achelous flowing from Mount Pindus and separating Acarnania from Aetolia; the continual deposits of earth that it brings down are linking the island of Artemita to the main land.

2. The Aetolian peoples are the Athamanes, Tymphaei, Ephyri, Aenienses, Perrhaebi, Dolopes, Maraces and Atraces in whose district is the source of the river Atrax that flows into the Ionian Sea. The towns of Aetolia are Calydon on the river Evenus seven miles and a half from the sea, and then Macynia and Molycria, behind which are Mount Chalcis and Taphiassus. On the coast is the Promontory of Antirrhium, at which is the mouth of the Gulf of Corinth, less than a mile broad, whose channel separates the Aetolians from the Morca. The promontory that juts out opposite is called Rhium. Aetolian towns on the Gulf of Corinth are Lepanto, Eupalimna, and inland Pleuron and Halicarna. Notable mountains are Tomarus in the district of Dodona, Crania in Ambracia, Aracynthus in Acarnania, and Achaton, Panaetolium and Macynium in Aetolia.

3. Next to the Aetolians are the Locrians, surnamed Ozolae, who are exempt from tribute. Here are the town of Oeanthe, the harbour of Apollo Phaestius and the gulf of Salona; and inland the towns of Argyna, Eupalia, Phaestum and Calamisus. Beyond are the Cirrhaean Plains of Phocis, the town of Cirrha and the port of Chalaeon, seven miles inland from which is Delphi, a free town at the foot of Mount Parnassus and the seat of the oracle of Apollo, the most famous in the world. Here are the Castalian Spring and the river Cephisus flowing past Delphi; it rises at the city of Lilaea. There was also formerly the town of Crisa, and together with the people of Bulis there are Anticyra, Naulochus, Pyrrha, the tax-free town of Salona, Tithrone, Tithorea, Ambrysus and Mirana, the district also called Daulis. Then right up the bay is the sea-board corner of Boeotia with the towns of Siphae and Thebes surnamed the Corsian, near Mount Helicon. The third town of Boeotia up from this sea is Pagae, from which projects the neck of the Morea.

4. The Peloponnese, which was previously called Apia and Pelasgia, is a peninsula inferior in celebrity to no region of the earth. It lies between two seas, the Aegean and the Ionian, and resembles in shape the leaf of a plane-tree on account of the angular indentations the circuit of its coast-line, according to Isidore, amounts to 563 miles, and nearly as much again in addition, measuring the shores of the bays. The narrow neck of land from which it projects is called the Isthmus. At this place the two seas that have been mentioned encroach on opposite sides from the north and east and swallow up all the breadth of the peninsula at this point, until in consequence of the inroad of such large bodies of water in opposite directions the coasts on either side have been eaten away so as to leave a space between them of only five miles, with the result that the Morea is only attached to Greece by a narrow neck of land. The inlets on either side are called the Gulf of Lepanto and the Gulf of Egina, the former ending in Lecheae and the latter in Cenchreae. The circuit of the Morca is a long and dangerous voyage for vessels prohibited by their size from being carried across the isthmus on trolleys, and consequently successive attempts were made by King Demetrius, Caesar the dictator and the emperors Caligula and Nero, to dig a ship-canal through the narrow partan undertaking which the end that befell them all proves to have been an act of sacrilege! In the middle of this neck of land which we have called the Isthmus is the colony of Corinth, the former name of which was Ephyra; its habitations cling to the side of a hill, 7 miles from the coast on either side, and the top of its citadel, called the Corinthian Heights, on which is the spring of Pirene, commands views of the two seas in opposite directions. The distance across the Isthmus from Leucas to Patras on the Gulf of Corinth is 88 miles. The colony of Patras is situated on the longest projection of the Peloponnese opposite to Aetolia and the river Evenus, separated from them at the actual mouth of the gulf by a gap of less than a mile, as has been said; but in length the Gulf of Corinth extends 85 miles from Patras to the Isthmus.

5. At the Isthmus begins the province named Achaia. It was previously called Aegialos on account of the cities situated in a row on its coast. The first place there is Lecheae the port of Corinth, already mentioned, and then come Olyrus the fortress of the people of Trikala, and the towns of Helice, and Bura, and those in which their inhabitants took refuge when the former towns were swallowed up by the sea, namely Basilica, Palaeokastro, Vostitza and Artotina. Inland are Klenes and Hysiae. Then come the port of Tekieh and Rhium already described, the distance between which promontory and Patras which we have mentioned above is five miles; and then the place called Pherae. Of the nine mountains in Achaia the best known is Scioessa; and there is also the spring of Cyrnothoe. Beyond Patras is the town of Kato-Achaia, the colony of Dyme, the places called Buprasium and Llyrmine, the promontory of Capo Papa, the Bay of Cyllene, the promontory of Cape Tornese 5 miles from Cyllene, the fortress of Phlius, the district round which was called Araethyrea by Homer and afterwards Asopis.

Then begins the territory of the Eleans, who were formerly called the Epioi. Elis itself is in the interior, and 13 miles inland from Pilo is the shrine of Zeus of Olympus, which owing to the celebrity of its Games has taken possession of the calendar of Greece; here once was the town of Pisa on the banks of the river Thifla. On the coast are the promontory of Katakolo, the river Rufla, navigable for 6 miles, the towns of Aulon and Leprium, and the promontory of Platanodes, all these places lying westward. Southward are the Gulf of Cyparissus with the city of Cyparissus on its shore, which is 75 miles round, the towns of Pilo and Modon, the place called Helos, the promontory of Capo Gallo, the Asinaean Gulf named from the town of Asine and the Coronaean named from Corone; the list ends with the promontory of Cape Matapan. Here is the territory of Messenia with its 18 mountains, and the river Pyrnatza; and inland, the city of Messene, Ithome, Oechalia, Sareni, Pteleon, Thryon, Dorion and Zancle, all of them celebrated at different periods. The gulf measures 80 miles round and 30 miles across.

At Cape Matapan begins the territory of the free nation of Laconia, and the Laconian Gulf, which measures 106 miles round and 38 miles across. The towns are Kimaros, Amyclae, Chitries, Levtros, and inland Sparta, Therapne, the sites of the former Cardamyle, Pitane and Anthea, the place called Thyrea, Gerania, the mountain range of Pente Dactyli, the river Niris, the Gulf of Scutari, the town of Psamathus, the Gulf of Gytheum called from the town of that name, from which is the safest crossing to the island of Crete. All these places are bounded by the promontory of Capo Sant' Angelo.

The bay that comes next, extending to Capo Skyli, is called the Gulf of Nauplia; it is 50 miles across and 162 miles round. The towns on it are Boea, Epidaurus surnamed Limera, Zarax, and the port of Cyphanta. The rivers are the Banitza and the Kephalari, between which lies Argos surnamed Hippium, above the place called Lerne, two miles from the sea, and nine miles further on Mycenae and the traditional site of Tiryns and the place called Mantinea. The mountains are Malvouni, Fuka, Asterion, Parparus and others numbering eleven; the springs, Niobe, Amymone and Psamathe.

From Capo Skyli to the Isthmus of Corinth is 80 miles. The towns are Hermione, Troezen, Coryphasium and Argos, sometimes called Inachian Argos and sometimes Dipsian; then comes the harbour of Schoenitas, and the Saronic Gulf, formerly encircled with oak woods from which it takes its name, this being the old Greek word for an oak. On it is the town of Epidaurus famous for its shrine of Aesculapius; the promontory of Capo Franco; the ports of Anthedus and Bucephalus, and that of Cenchreae mentioned above, on the south side of the Isthmus, with the temple of Poseidon, famous for the Isthmian Games celebrated there every four years.

So many are the bays that pierce the coast of the Peloponnese, and so many seas howl round it, inasmuch as it is invaded on the north by the Ionian Sea, lashed on the west by the Sicilian, and beset by the Cretan on the south, by the Aegean on the south-east and on the north-east by the Myrtoan which starting at the Gulf of Megara washes the whole coast of Attica.

6. Most of the interior of the Peloponnese is occupied by Arcadia, which on every side is remote from the sea; it was originally called Drymodes, and later Pelasgis. Its towns are Psophis, Mantinea, Stymphalus, Tegea, Antigonea Orchomenus, Pheneus, Pallantium (from which the Palatium at Rome gets its name), Megalopolis, Gortyna, Bucohum, Camion, Parrhasia, Thelpusa, Melaenae, Heraea, Pylae, Pallene, Agrae, Epium, Cynaethae, Lepreon in Arcadia, Parthenium, Alea, Methydrimn, Enispe, Macistum, Lampia, Clitorium and Cleonae. Between the last two towns is the district of Nemea commonly called Bembinadia. The mountains in Arcadia are Pholoe, with a town of the same name, Cyllene also with a town, Lycaeus on which is the shrine of Zeus Lycaeus, Maenalus, Artemisius, Parthenius, Lampeus, Nonacris, and also eight others of no note. The rivers are the Landona flowing from the marshes of Fonia and the Dogana flowing down from the mountain of the same name into the Alpheus. The remaining states in Achaia deserving of mention are those of the Alipheraei, Abeatae, Pyrgenses, Paroreatae, Paragenitae, Tortuni, Typanei, Thriusi and Tritienses. Freedom was given to the whole of Achaia by Domitius Nero. The Peloponnese measures 190 miles across from Cape Malea to the town of Vostitza on the Gulf of Corinth, and in the other direction 125 miles from ills to Epidauros and 68 miles from Olympia through Arcadia to Argos. (The distance between Olympia and Pylos has been given already.) Nature has compensated for the inroads of the sea by the mountainous character of the entire region, there being 76 peaks in all.

7. At the narrow part of the Isthmus begins Hellas, called in our language Greece. In this the first region is Attica, named in antiquity Acte. It touches the Isthmus with the part of it named Megaris, from Megara, the colony on the opposite side of the Isthmus from Pagae. These two towns are situated where the Peloponnese projects, and stand on either side of the Isthmus, as it were on the shoulders of Hellas, Pagae and also Aegosthena, being assigned to the jurisdiction of Megara. On the coast are the harbour of Porto Cocosi, the towns Leandra and Cremmyon, the Scironian Rocks six miles in length, Gerania, Megara and Levsina; formerly there were also Oenoe and Probalinthos. There now are the harbours of Piraeus and Phaleron, 55 miles from the Isthmus, and joined by wall to Athens 5 miles away. Athens is a free city, and requires no further advertisement here as her celebrity is more than ample. In Attica are the springs of Cephisia, Larine, and the Nine Wells of Callirrhoe, and the mountains of Brilessus, Aegialeus, Icarius, Hymettus and Lycabettus; the place called Hissus; the promontories of Capo Colonna, 45 miles from Piraeus, and Thoricos; the former towns of Potamos, Steria and Brauron, the village of Rhamnus, the place called Marathon, the Thriasian Plain, the town of Melita, and Ropo on the border of Boeotia.

To Boeotia belong Anthedon, Onchestus, the free town of Thespiae, Livadhia, and Thebes, surnamed Bueotian, which does not yield even to Athens in celebrity, and which is reputed to be the native place of two deities, Liber and Hercules. The Muses also are assigned a birthplace in the grove of Helicon. To this city of Thebes also are attributed the forest of Cithaeron and the river Ismenus. Besides these Boeotia contains the Springs of Oedipus and those of Psamathe, Dirce, Epicrane, Arethusa, Hippocrene, Aganippe and Gargaphie; and in addition to the mountains previously mentioned, Myealesus, Hadylius and Aeontius. The remaining towns between the Megarid and Thebes are Eleutherae, Haliartus, Plataea, Pherae, Aspledon, Hyle, Thisbe, Erythrae, Glissa, Copae, Lamiae and Anichiae on the river Cephisus, Medeon, Phlygone, Acraephia, Coronea and Chaeronea. On the coast below Thebes are Ocalee, Heleon, Scolos, Sehoenos, Peteon, Hyrie, Mycalesos, Ireseum, Pteleon, Olyarum, Tanagra Free State, and right in the channel of the Euripus, formed by the island of Euboea lying opposite, Aulis famous for its spacious harbour. The Boeotians had the name of Hyantes in earlier days. Then come the Locri surnamed Epicnemidii, and formerly called Leleges, through whose territory the river Cephisus flows down to the sea; and the towns of Opus, which gives its name to the Opuntian Bay, and Cynus. The only town of Phocis on the coast is Daphnus, but inland are Larisa, Elatea, and on the banks of the Cephisus, as we have said, Lilaea, and, facing Delphi, Cnemis and Hyampolis. Then there is the Locrian coast, on which are Larumna and Thronium, near which the river Boagrius flows into the sea, and the towns of Narycum, Alope and Scarphia. Afterwards comes the Malian Gulf named from its inhabitants and on it are the towns of Halcyone, Aeconia and Phalara.

Then comes Doris, in which are Sperchios, Frineon, Boion, Pindus and Cytinum. In the rear of Doris is Mount Oeta.

There follows Haemonia, which has often changed its name, having been successively called Pelasgis or Pelasgic Argos, and Hellas, Thessaly and Dryopis, always taking its surname from its kings: it was the birthplace of the king named Graecus from whom Greece is named, and of king Hellen from whom the Hellenes get their name. These same people are called by three different names in Homer, Myrmidons, Hellenes and Achaeans. The section of the Hellenes adjacent to Doris are named Phthiotae; their towns are Akhino and Heraclea, which takes the name of Trechin from the Pass of Thermopylae four miles away in the gorge of the river Ellada. Here is Mount Callidromus, and the notable towns are Hellas, Halos, Lamia, Phthia and Arne.

8. The places in Thessaly are Orchomenus, formerly called the Minyan, and the town of Alimon, otherwise Holmon, Atrax, Palamna, the Hyperian Spring, the towns of Pherae

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(behind which lies Pieria spreading in the direction of Macedonia), Larisa, Gomphi, Thessalian Thebes, Elm Wood, the Gulf of Volo, the town of Pagasa subsequently called Demetrias, Tricca, the Pharsalian Plains with their free city, Crannon, Iletia. The mountains of Phthiotis are Nymphaeus, once so beautiful for its natural landscape gardening, Buzygaeus, Donaeoessa, Bromiaeus, Daphusa, Chimarone, Athamas, Stephane. In Thessaly there are 34, of which the most famous are Cercetii, Pierian Olympus and Ossa, facing which are Pindus and Othrys the abode of the Lapithaethese looking to the west; and looking east is Pelion; all form a curve like a theatre, and in the hollow in front of them lie 75 cities. Thessaly contains the rivers Apidanus, Phoenix, Enipeus, Onochonus and Pamisus; the spring Messeis; Lake Boebeis; and before all alike in celebrity the river Peneus, rising close to Gomphi and flowing down a wooded glen between Ossa and Olympus for 62 miles, for half of which distance it is navigable. Part of this course is called the Vale of Tempe, 5 miles long and nearly an acre and a half in breadth, with gently sloping hills rising beyond human sight on either hand, while the valley between is verdant with a grove of trees. Along it glides the Peneus, glittering with pebbles and adorned with grassy banks, melodious with the choral song of birds. Into it flows the river Orcus, to which it gives no intimate welcome, but merely carries it for a brief space floating on its surface like a skin of oil, in Homer's phrase, and then rejects it, refusing to allow the punitive waters engendered for the service of the Furies to mingle with its own silver flood.

9. Adjoining Thessaly is Magnesia, to which belong the spring Libethra, the towns of Iolcus, Ormenium, Pyrrha, Methone and Olizon, Cape Sepias, the towns of Castana and Spalathra, Cape Aeantium, the towns Meliboea, Ilhizus and Erymnae, the mouth of the Peneus, the towns Homoliuin, Orthe, Iresiae, Pelinna, Thanmacie, Gyrton, Crannon, Acharne, Dotion, Mehte, Phylace and Potniae.

The total length of Epirus, Achaia, Attica and Thessaly is said to be 490 miles and the total breadth of 297 miles.

10. Next comes Macedonia, with 150 nations, and famous for two kings a and for its former world-wide empire; it was previously called Emathia. It stretches westward to the races of Epirus, at the back of Magnesia and Thessaly, and on this side is exposed to the inroads of the Dardani, but its northern part is protected from the Triballi by Paeonia and Pelagonia. Its towns are Aegiae, the customary burial place of its kings, Beroea, and in the district called Pieria from the forest of that name, Aeginium. On the coast are Heraclea, the river Platamona, the towns of Pydna and Olorus, and the river Vistritsa. Inland are the Aloritae, Vallaei, Phylacaei, Cyrrestae and Tyrissaei, the colony of Pella, and the town of Stobi, which has the Roman citizenship. Then come Antigonea, Europus on the river Axius, and the town of the same name through which flows the Rhoedias, Scydra, Eordaea, Mieza and Gordyniae. Then on the coast Ichnae and the river Axius. The neighbours of Macedonia on this frontier are the Dardani, Treres and Pieres, and after the river Axius come the Paeonian races of the Paroraei, Eordenses, Almopi, Pelagones and Mygdones, and the mountains of Rhodope, Scopius and Orbelus; then, in the fold of ground lying in front of them, the Arethusii, Antiochienses, Idomenenses, Doberi, Aestrienses, Allantenses, Audaristenses, Morylli, Garresci, Lyncestae, Othryonei, and the free peoples of the Amantini and Orestae; the colonies Bullidenses and Dienses; the Xylopolitae, the free Scotussaei, Heraclea Sintica, the Tymphaei, the Toronaei. On the Macedonian coast of the gulf are the town of Chalastra and, farther in, Pylorus, Lete, and at the centre of the curve of the coast the free city of Saloniki (from there to Durazzo is 245 miles), Therme, and on the Gulf of Saloniki the towns of Dicaea, Palinandrea and Scione, Cape Paliuri, and the towns of Pallene and Phlegra. The mountains in this district are Hypsizonus, Epitus, Algion and Elaeuonme; the towns are Nyssus, Phryxclon, Mendae, and on the isthmus of Pallene what was formerly Potidaea but is now the colony of Cassandrea, Anthemus, Olophyxus, Mecyberna Bay, the towns of Miscella, Ampelos, Torone, Singos, Telos, and the canal, a mile and a half in length, by which the Persian king Xerxes cut off Mount Athos a from the mainland. The actual mountain projects from the level plain into the sea for a distance of 25 miles, and its circumference at its base amounts to 150 miles. There was once a town on its summit called Acrathoon; the present towns on it are Uranopolis, Palaehorium, Thyssus, Cleonae, and Apollonia, the inhabitants of which are called Macrobitc Then the town of Cassera, and the other side of the isthmus, Acanthus, Stagira, Sithone, Heraclea, and the district of Mygdonia lying below, in which at some distance from the sea are Apollonia and Arethtxsa, and on the coast again Posidium and the bay with the town of Cermorus, the free city of Amphipolis, and the tribe of the Bisaltae. Then comes the river Struma which rises in Mount Haemus and forms the boundary of Macedonia; it is worth recording that it spreads out into seven lakes before it proceeds on its course.

Such is Macedonia, which once won a worldwide empire, marched across Asia, Armenia, Iberia, Albania, Cappadocia, Syria, Egypt, Mount Taurus and the Hindu Kush, was lord over the Bactrians, Medes and Persians, owned the entire East, and even roamed in the tracks of Father Liber and of Hercules and conquered India; and this also is the Macedonia 72 of whose cities our general Aemilius Paullus pillaged and sold in a single day. So great the difference in her lot bestowed upon her by two individuals!

11. Next comes Thrace, one of the most powerful nations of Europe, divided into fifty commands.

Of its peoples those whom we ought not to omit to name are the Denseletae and the Medi, who live on the right bank of the river Struma right up to the Bisaltae above mentioned, and the Digerri and the various sections of the Bessi on the left bank, as far as the river Mesto that winds round the foot of Mount Pilat Tepeh, passing though the Haleti, Diobessi and Carbilesi, and then the Brysae, Sapaei and Odomanti. The race of the Odrysae owns the source of the Maritza, on the banks of which live the Cabyleti, Pyrogeri, Drugeri, Caenici, Hypsalti, Bent Corpi]li, Bottiaei and Edoni. In the same district are the Staletae, Priantae, Dolongae, Thyni, and the Greater Celaletae at the foot of the Great Balkan and the Lesser at the foot of Mount Rhodope. Between these tribes runs the river Maritza, and below Rhodope is the town formerly called Poneropolis, then Philippopolis after its founder, and now Trimontium from its site. To the summit of the Great Balkan is a journey of six miles. Its opposite side sloping down towards the Danube is inhabited by the Moesi, Getae, Aodi, Scaugdae and Clariae, and below them the Sarmatian Arraei called Areatae, and the Scythians, and round the shores of the Black Sea the Moriseni and the Sithoni, the ancestry of the poet Orpheus.

Thus Thrace is bounded by the Danube on the north, the Black Sea and Sea of Marmara on the east, and the Aegean Sea on the south, on the coast of which after leaving the Struma we come to Apollonia, Osima, Kavallo and Batos. Inland is the colony of Filiba, at a distance of 325 miles from Durazzo, Scotussa, the state of Topiros, the mouth of the river Mestus, the mountain of Pilat Tepeh, Melenik, Agia Maria, the free city of Abdera, the Lagos Buru and the people of the Bistoni. Here once was the town of Tirida, formidable on account of the stables of the horses of Diomede; and there now are the towns of Dicaea and Ismaron, the place called Parthenion, Phalesina, Marogna formerly called Orthagurea, Mount Serrium, Zone; and then the place called Doriscus, a plain large enough to hold 10,000 men, as it was in detachments of that number that Xerxes there counted his army; the month of the Maritza, the harbour of Stentor, the free town of Enos with the Funeral Mound of Polydorus, a district formerly belonging to the Cicones. From Doriscus the coast makes a curve of 112 miles to Long Wall, round which flows the Black River that gives its name to the bay. The towns are Ipsala, Rodosto, Long Wall, so called because its fortifications extend between the two seas, from the Sea of Marmara to the Gulf of Enos, cutting off the projecting Gallipoli Peninsula. For the other side of Thrace begins at the coast of the Black Sea where the Danube flows into it; and this region comprises its finest cities, Kostendsje, a colony from Miletus, Temesvar and Collat, formerly called Ccrbatis. It formerly had Heraclea and Bizone, which was swallowed up by an earthquake, and it still has the City of Dionysus, previously called Crunos, which is washed by the river Zyras. The whole of this region was occupied by the Scythian tribe called the Ploughmen, their towns being Aphrodisias, Libistus, Zygerc, Rhocobae, Eumenia, Parthenopolis and Gerania, stated to have been the abode of the race of Pigmies: their name in the local dialect used to be Catizi, and there is a belief that they were driven away by cranes. On the coast after the City of Dionysus come the Milesian colony of Varna, the river Daphne-Soul and the town of Four Roadsteads. The enormous ridge of the Great Balkan projecting into the Black Sea formerly had on its summit the town of Aristaeum, and on the coast now are Mission and Akiali on the former site of Messa. The region of Astice had a town of Anthium, which is now Apollonia. The rivers are the Panisos, Iuras, Tearus, Orosines; the towns Tiniada, Midjeh, Zagora (with its marsh now called Deultum), a colony of veterans, and Phinopolis, near which are the Straits of Constantinople. From the mouth of the Danube to the outlet of the Black Sea was reckoned as 552 miles, but Agrippa made it 60 miles more; and from that point to the wall above mentioned is 150 miles, and from there to the end of the Gallipoli Peninsula 126 miles.

On leaving the Dardanelles we come to the Bay of Casthenes, the Old Men's Harbour and the other called the Women's Harbour, and the promontory of the Golden Horn, on which is the town of Byzantium,a a free state, formerly called Lygos; it is 711 miles from Durazzo, so great being the space of land between the Adriatic and the Sea of Marmara. There are the rivers Bathynias and Pidaras or Athidas, and the towns of Selymbria and Perinthus which are connected with the mainland by an isthmus 200 ft. wide. Inland are Vizia, a citadel of the kings of Thrace that is hated by swallows because of the outrage committed by Tereus, the district of Caenica, the colony of Flaviopolis on the site of the former town called Caela, and 50 miles from Vizia the colony of Apros, which is 189 miles distant from Philippi. On the coast is the river Erkene, and once stood the town of Ganos; Lysimachea on the Gallipoli Peninsula is also now becoming deserted. But at this point there is another Isthmus which cut up marks similar narrows with the same name and is of about equal width; and in a not dissimilar manner two cities occupied the shores on either side, Pactye on the side of the Sea of Marmara and Cardia on that of the Gulf of Enos, the latter city taking its name from the conformation of the place; both were subsequently united with the city of Lysimachea, five miles from Long Wall. On the Marmara side of Gallipoli Peninsula were Tiristasis, Crithotes and Cissa lying on the Goat's River; and there is now Resisthos, 22 miles from the colony of Apros, opposite to the colony of Parium. Also the Dardanelles, which as we have said divide Europe from Asia by a space not quite a mile across, have four cities facing one another on the opposite sides, Gallipoli and Ialova in Europe and Lamsaki and Avido in Asia. Then on Gallipoli there is the promontory of Capo Helles opposite to Jeni-Hisari, on the slanting side of which is the Bitch's Tomb (the name given to the funeral mound of Hecuba), the naval station of the Greeks in the Trojan war, and a tower, the shrine of Protesilaus, and at the point of The peninsula, which is called Aeolium, the town of Elaeus. Then as you make for the Gulf of Enos you have the harbours of Coelos and Panormus and Cardia above mentioned.

This rounds off the third Gulf of Europe. The mountains of Thrace, beside those already mentioned, are Edonus, Gygemeros, Meritus and Melamphyllus; the rivers are the Bargus and the Syrmus, which fall into the Maritza. The length of Macedonia, Thrace and the Hellespont has been mentioned previously (some make it 720 miles); the breadth is 384 miles.

The Aegean Sea takes its name from an island, or more truly a rock suddenly springing out of the middle of the sea, between Tenos and Chios, named Aex from its resemblance to a she-goatall being the Greek word for the animal. In sailing from Achaia to Antandro, this rock is sighted on the starboard side, and it is a sinister threat of disaster. One section of the Aegean is distinguished as the Myrtoan Sea; it takes its name from the small island of Myrtos sighted as you sail from Geraestus in the direction of Macedonia, not far from Carystus in Euboea. The Romans call all these seas by two names, the Macedonian Sea wherever it touches Macedonia or Thraee and the Grecian Sea where it washes the coast of Greece; while the Greeks divide the Ionian Sea too into the Sicilian and the Cretan, named from the islands, and also give the name of Icarian to the part between Samos and Myconos, and the other Greek names are taken from the gulfs that we have mentioned.

12. So much for the arrangement of the seas and the nations in the third Gulf of Europe. The islands are as follows: opposite to Thesprotia, 12 miles from Buthrotus and also 50 from Acroceraunia, lies Corfu, with a city of the same name, a free state, and the town of Cassopo, and the temple of Jupiter Cassius; the island is 97 miles long. In Homer it has the names of Scheria and Phaeacia, and in Callimachus also that of Drepane. Several islands lie round it, especially Fano on the side towards Italy and Paxo and Antipaxo towards Leucadia, both 5 miles away from Corfu. Not far from these, lying off Corfu, are Ericusa, Marathe, Elaphusa, Malthace, Trachie, Pythionia, Ptychia and Tarachie, and off the promontory of Corfu called Capo Drasti the rock into which (according to the story, which is due to the similarity of shape) the ship of Ulysses was changed. Off Leucadia and Aetolia are a very large number, among which those called the Teleboides, and also by their inhabitants the Taphiae, are Taphias, Carnos, Oxia, and Prinoessa; off Aetolia are the Echinades, Aegialia, Cotonis, Thyatira, Geoaris, Dionysia, Cyrnns, Chalcis, Pinara, Nystrus. Off these out at sea lie Cephallenia and Zante, both free, Ithaca, Dulichium, Same, and Crocyle. Cephallenia, formerly called in Greek the Black Island, is 10 miles from Paxo, and measures 93 miles in circumference; Same has been demolished by the Romans, but still possesses three towns. Between Same and the coast of Achaia lies Zante, distinguished by its fine town and remarkable for the fertility of its soil; it was at one time called Hyrie. It is 25 miles from the southern part of Cephallenia, and on it is the celebrated mountain of Elatus. It measures 36 miles in circumference. At a distance of 15 miles from Zante is Ithaca, on which is Monte Stefano; its whole circumference measures 25 miles. The distance from it to the Peloponnesian promontory of Araxus is 15 miles. Off Ithaca in the open sea are Asteris and Prote, and off Zante at a distance of 35 miles to the south-east are the two Strophades, called by other people the Plotae. Off Cephallenia is Letoia, off Pylos the three Sphageae and off Messene the three Oenussae.

In the Messenian Gulf are the three Thyrides, and in the Gulf of Laconia Teganissa, Cothon and Cerigo with the town of that namethe former name of this island was Porphyris; it lies 5 miles from Cape Malea, which is dangerous to circumnavigate because of the narrowness of the strait. In the Gulf of Nauplia are Pityusa, Mine and Ephyre; opposite the territory of Hermione Tricarenus, Aperopia, Colonis and

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Aristera; opposite that of Troezen, Calauria half a mile away, Plateis, Belbina, Lasia and Baucidias; opposite Epidaurus, Cecryphalos and Pityonesus 6 miles from the mainland. Fifteen miles from Pityonesus is Aegina, a free state, which is 18 miles long as you sail past it, and 20 miles distant from Piraeus, the port of Athens; its name used to be Oenone. Off the promontory of Spiraeum lie Eleusa, Adendros, the two Craugiae, the two Caeciae and Selacosa; and Aspis 7 miles from Cenchreae and Methurides in the Bay of Megara 4 miles; while Aegila is 15 miles from Cythera and 25 from the Cretan town of Phalasarna.

Crete itself stretches east and west with one side facing south and the other north; it is celebrated for the renown of its 100 cities. Dosiades held the view that it took its name from the nymph Crete, daughter of Hesperis, Anaximander that it was named from the king of the Curetes, Philistides of Mallos and Crates that it was first called Aeria and then subsequently Curetis; its Greek appellation, 'the Island of the Blest,' is thought by some to be due to the mildness of its climate. Its breadth nowhere exceeds 50 miles, its widest part being about the middle; its length is fully 270 miles and its circumference 589 miles; its longest side forms a curve towards the Cretan Sea which takes its name from it, its easternmost projection, Cape Samonium, pointing towards Rhodes and its westernmost, the Ram's Forehead, towards Cyrene.

The important cities of Crete are Phalasarna, Elaea, Cisamon, Pergamum, Cydonia, Minoium, Apteron, Pantomatrium, Amphomala, Rhithymna, Panhormum, Cytaeum, Apoilonia, Matium, Heraclea, Miletos, Ampelos, Hierapytna, Lebena and Hierapolis; and in the interior Gortyna, Phaestus, Cnossus, Polyrrhenum, Xlyrina, Lycastos, Rhamnus, Lyctus, Diuni, Asium, Pyloros, Rhytion, Elatos, Pherae, Holopyxos, Lasos, Eleuthernae, Therapnae, Marathusa, Gytisos, and about 60 other towns of which only the memory exists. The mountains are Cadistus, Ida, Dictynna and Corycus. The distance of the island at its promontory called the Ram's Forehead from the promontory of Cyrene named Phycus is stated by Agrippa to be 125 miles, and at Cadistus from Malea in the Morea 80; at the promontory of Samonium it is 60 miles west of the island of Skarpanto, which lies between it and Rhodes.

The remaining islands lying round Crete are towards the Morea, the two called Corycos and the two called Myla; on the north side having Crete on the right and opposite to Cydonea are Leuce and the two called Budroe, opposite to Matium is Dia, opposite to the promontory of Itanum are Onysia and Leuce, and opposite to Hierapytua Chrysa and Gaudos. In the same region are Ophiussa, Butoa and Rhamnus, and after rounding the Ram's Forehead the three called Acusagorus. Off the promontory of Samonium are the Phocoi, Platiae and Stirnides, and Naulochos, Harmedon and Zephyre.

Forming part of Hellas but still in the Aegean Sea are the Lichades, Searphia, Corese, Phocasia, and a number of others facing Attica that have no towns on them and are consequently unimportant. Opposite Eleusis is the famous island of Salamis. In front of it is Psyttalea, and, at a distance of 5 miles from Sunium, Helene. Then at the same distance from Helene is Ceos, called by some Romans Cea and by the Greeks also Hydrusa. This is an island that has been torn away from Euboea; it was formerly 64 miles long, but more recently about four-fifths of it lying in the direction of Boeotia has also been swallowed up by the sea, leaving the towns of Iulis and Carthaea, while Coresus and Grassy Island have disappeared. Varro states that this island used to export an exceptionally fine kind of cloth used for ladies' dresses.

Euboea itself also is sundered from Boeotia by so moderate a channel, the Euripus, that it is joined to the mainland by a bridge. At the south end it has two marked promontories, Capo Mandili pointing towards Attica and Kayo Doro towards the Dardanelles; at the north it has Cape Lithadha. Its breadth nowhere exceeds 40 miles and nowhere contracts below two miles; its length stretches along the whole of Boeotia from Attica to Thessaly and measures 150 miles, while its circumference is 365 miles. At its south-easternmost point its distance from the Dardanelles is 225 miles. Its notable cities were formerly Pyrrha, Porthmos, Nesos, Germthos, Oreus, Dium, Aedepsos, Ocha and Oechalia; those now noteworthy are Chalcis (opposite which on the mainland is Aulis), Geraestus, Eretria, Carystus, Oritanum and Artemisium, as well as the Spring of Arethusa, the river Lelantus and the warm springs known as the Hellopiae. Euboea is, however, still better known for the marble of Carystus. It used formerly to be called Chalcodontis or according to Dionysius and Ephorus Macris, but Macra according to Aristides, and according to Callidemus Chalcis, because copper was first discovered there; according to Menaechmus its name was Abantias, while in poetry it is commonly called Asopis.

In the Myrtoan Sea besides Euboea are many islands, the best known being Glauconnesus and the Aegila islands, and off Capo Mandili the Cyclades, lying round Delos in a circle which has given them their name. The first of these is Andro with a town of the same name, 10 miles from Mandili and 38 from Ceos. Myrsilus tells us that Ceos was once called Cauros, and later Antandros; Callimachus says it had the name of Lasia, others Nonagria or Hydrusa or Epagris. Its circuit measures 93 miles. At a distance of a mile from Andros and 15 miles from Delos is Tino, with a city of the same name; this island is 15 miles in length. Aristotle says that owing to its abundance of springs it once was called Hydrusa; others give its old name as Ophiusa. The other islands are: Mykono, with Mount Two Breasts, 15 miles from Delos; Siphnns, previously called Meropia and Ads, 28 miles round; Serpho 15 miles round; Prepesinthus; Cythnos; and by far the most famous of the Cyclades and lying in the middle of them, Delos, celebrated for its temple of Apollo and for its commerce. According to the story, Delos for a long time floated adrift; also it was the only island that down to the time of Marcus Varro had never felt an earthquake shock; Mucianus however states that it has suffered twice from earthquake. Aristotle has recorded that it owes its name to its having suddenly appeared emerging from the water; Aglaosthenes, however, calls it the Isle of Cynthus, and others Quail Island, Star Island, Hare Island, Cloak Island, Dog Island, and Fiery Island because fire was first discovered there. It measures five miles in circumference. Its only eminence is Mount Cynthius.

Next to Delos is Rhene, which Anticlides calls Celadusa, and also Artemites and Celadine; Syros, stated by old writers to measure 20 miles in circuit, but by Mucianus 160 miles; Olearos; Pros, with the town of that name, 38 miles from Delos, famous for its marble, and originally called Platea and afterwards Minois. Seven and a half miles from Paros and 18 from Delos is Naxos with its town, which was called Strongyle and then Dia and afterwards the Island of Dionysus because of the fertility of its vineyards, and by others Little Sicily or Callipolis. Its circuit measures 75 miles and it is half as large again as Paros.

So far the islands are regarded as belonging to the Cyclades, but the remainder that follow are called the Sporades. They are Helene, Phacusa, Nicasia, Schinusa, Pholegandros and 38 miles from Naxos and the same number of miles in length, Icaros, which has given its name to the surrounding sea; it has two towns, a third having disappeared; it was formerly called Doliche or Long Island, also Fish Island. It lies 50 miles north-east of Delos and 35 miles from Samos; between Euboea and Andros there is a channel 10 miles wide, and the distance from Icaros to Geraestus is 112 miles.

After these no regular order can be kept, so the remaining islands shall be given in a group: Scyro; Nio, 18 miles from Naxos, venerable as the burial-place of Homer, 22 miles long, previously called Phoenice; Odia; Oletandros; Gioura, with a town of the same name, 15 miles in circumference, 62 miles distant from Andros; 80 miles from Gionra, Syrnos; Cynethus; Telos, noted for its unguent, and called by Callimachus Agathusa; Donusa; Patmos, 30 miles in circumference; the Corassiae, Lebitha, Lero, Zinari; Sikino, previously Oenoe; Heraclia or Onus; Casos or Astrabe; Kimoli or Echinusa; Milo, with the town of that name, called by Aristides Mimblis, by Aristotle Zephyria, by Callimachus, Mimallis and by Heraclides Siphis and Acytasthe most circular in shape of all the islands; Buporthmos; Machia; Hypere, formerly called Patage, or by others Platage, now Amorgo; Polyaegas; Sapyle; Santorin, called Fair Island when it first emerged from the water; Therasia subsequently detached from it, and Automate or Holy Island, which soon afterwards arose between the two, and Thia, which emerged near the same islands in our own day. The distance between Santorin and Nio is 25 miles.

There follow Lea, Ascania, Namphi, and Hippuris. Stampalia, a free state, measuring 88 miles in circumference, is 125 miles from Cadistus in Crete; Platea 60 miles from Stampalia, and Caminia 38 miles from Platea; Azibintha, Lamse, Atragia, Pharmacusa, Thetaedia, Karki, Kalymni with its town, Coos, Eulimna, and at a distance of 25 miles from it Skarpanto, which has given its name to the Carpathian Sea? From there to Rhodes, a southwest course, is 50 miles; from Skarpanto to Casus is 7 miles, from Casus to Cape Samonium in Crete 30. In the Euripus between Euboea and the mainland, almost at the first entrance, are the four Petaliae Islands, and at its outlet Talanti. The Cyclades and the Sporades are bounded on the east by the Asiatic coasts of the Icarian Sea, on the west by the Attic coasts of the Myrtoan Sea, on the north by the Aegean Sea and on the south by the Cretan and Carpathian coasts; these islands occupy an area 700 miles long and 200 miles broad.

Across the mouth of the Gulf of Volo lie Euthia, Trikeri, Skyro, previously mentioned, and in fact the outermost of the Cyclades and Sporades, Gerontia and Scandira; across the Gulf of Saloniki Lresia Solymnia, Eudemia and Nea, the last an island sacred to Minerva; across the Gulf of Athos lie four islands, Piperi with the town of that name and formerly called Evoenus, 9 miles off, Sciathos 15 miles, and Embro with its town 88 miles; the distance between Embro and Mastusia on the Gallipoli Peninsula is 22 miles. Embro is 62 miles in circuit; it is watered by the river Ilissus. Twenty-two miles from Embro is Stalimene, which lies 87 miles from Mount Athos; its circuit measures 115 miles, and on it are the towns of Hephaestia and Myrinathe market place of the latter is reached by the shadow of Mount Athos at midsummer. Six miles from Staliniene is Thasos, a free state, formerly called Aeria or Aethria; Abdera on the mainland is 22 miles from Thasos, and Athos 621 miles, and the island of Samothrace, a free state, off the river Maritza, is the same distance from Thasos, 32 miles from Embro, 22 from Stalimene, and 38 from the coast of Thrace; its circuit measures 35 miles, and on it rises Monte Nettuno, which is 10 miles high. Embro gives the worst anchorage for vessels of all the islands. It is mentioned by Callimachus under its ancient name of Dardania.

Between the Gallipoli peninsula and Samothrace, about 15 miles from each, is the island of Skopelo, and beyond it are Gethone, Lamponia, Alopeconnesus, which is not far from Coelos the port of Gallipoli, and some others of no importance. We may also specify the names of uninhabited islands in the Gulf so far as we have been able to ascertain them: Avesticos, Sarnos, Cissyros, Charbrusa, Calathusa, Scyllia, Dialeon, Dictaea, Melanthia, Dracanon, Arconesus, Diethusa, Ascapos, Capheris, Mesate, Aeantion, Pateronnesus, Pateria, Calathe, Neriphus, Pelendos.

The fourth of the great Gulfs of Europe begins at the Dardanelles and ends at the entrance of the Sea of Azov. But in order more easily to indicate the divisions of the Black Sea we must give a brief description of its shape as a whole. It is a vast body of water lying in front of Asia and shut out from Europe by the promontory of Gallipoli; but it forces aa entrance into the interior by a narrow winding channel, and separates Europe from Asia, as has been said, by a strait that is less than a mile wide. The first part of the narrows is called the Dardanelles; here the Persian king Xerxes made the bridge of boats across which he led his army. From there a narrow channel 86 miles long extends to the Asiatic city of Priapus; it was here that Alexander the Great crossed. From this point the water begins to widen out, and afterwards narrows again. The wide part is called the Sea of Marmara and the narrows the Straits of Constantinople; at the point where Xerxes' father Darius conveyed his forces across by means of a bridge it is 500 yards wide, and its entire length from the Dardanelles is 239 miles.

Then comes the vast extent of the Black Sea, formerly the Axenus, which encroaches on a large area of the continent, and with a great bend of its coasts curves back into horns and from them stretches out on either side, producing exactly the shape of a Scythian bow. In the middle of the curve it is joined by the mouth of the Sea of Azov; this aperture is called the Straits of Kertsch, and measures two and a half miles across. The distance in a straight line between the two straits, the Dardanelles and Kaffa, measures according to Polybius 500 miles. The whole circumference of the Black Sea according to Varro and the old authorities generally is 2150 miles, but Cornelius Nepos adds 350 miles, while Artemidorus makes it 2119 miles, Agrippa 2540, and Mucianus 2425. There is a similar difference of opinion as to the measurement of the European shore, some fixing it at 1479 miles and others at 1100. Marcus Varro gives the measurement as follows: from the mouth of the Black Sea to Apollonia 1871 miles; from there to Coliat the same; to the month of the Danube 125; to the Dnieper 250; to the town of Cherronesus of the Heraeleotae 375 miles; to Kertseh, by some called Bosporus, the last point on the coast of Europe, 2121 milesthe total making 13371 miles. Agrippa makes it 540 miles from Istamboul to the river Danube and 635 miles from the Danube to Kertseh.

The actual Sea of Azov, which receives the Don flowing down from the Itipaean Mountains, the river being the extreme boundary between Europe and Asia, is said to measure 1406, or according to other authorities 1125, miles in circumference. The distance in a straight line between the entrance of the Sea of Azov and the mouth of the Don is agreed to be 375 miles. The inhabitants of the coasts of this great Gulf as far as Istere have been mentioned in our account of Thrace.

We then come to the mouths of the Danube. It rises in Germany in the range of Mount Abnoua, opposite to the Gallic town of Ranricum, and flows for a course of many miles beyond the Alps, and through innumerable tribes, under the name of Danube; then its volume of water increases enormously and from the point where it first enters Illyria it is called the Hister; after receiving 60 tributary rivers, nearly half of which are navigable, it is discharged into the Black Sea by six vast channels. The first of these is the mouth of Piczina, close to the island of that name, at which the nearest channel, called the Holy River, is swallowed up in a marsh 19 miles in extent. Opening from the same channel and above Istere spreads a lake measuring 63 miles round, named the Saltings. The second is called the Narakian Mouth; the third, next the island of Sarmatica, Fair Mouth; the fourth, False Mouth; then comes the island of Mosquito Crossing, afterwards the North Mouth and the Barren Mouth. These mouths are each of them so large that for a distance of forty miles, so it is said, the sea is overpowered and the water tastes fresh.

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From this point all the races in general are Scythian, though various sections have occupied the lands adjacent to the coast, in one place the Getae, called by the Romans Dacians, at another the Sarmatae, called by the Greeks Sauromatae, and the section of them called Waggon-dwellers or Aorsi, at another the base-born Scythians, descended from slaves, or else the Cave-dwellers, and then the Alani and Rhoxolani. The higher parts between the Danube and the Hercynian Forest as far as the winter quarters of Pannonia at Carnuntum and the plains and level country of the German frontiers There are occupied by the Sarmatian Iazyges, while the Dacians whom they have driven out hold the mountains and forests as far as the river Theiss. From the river Maros, or else the Dora if it is that which separates them from the Suebi and the Kingdom of Vannius, the opposite side of the country is occupied by the Basternae and then other German tribes. Agrippa describes the whole of this area from the Danube to the sea as being 1200 miles in length by 396 in breadth, as far as the river Vistula in the direction of the Sarmatian desert. The name of Scythians has spread in every direction, as far as the Sarmatae and the Germans, but this old designation has not continued for any except the most outlying sections of these races, living almost unknown to the rest of mankind.

After the Danube come the towns of Cremniscoi and Aepolium, the Macrocremni Mountains, and the famous river Dniester, which gives its name to the town on the site which previously was called Ophiusa. A large island in the Dniester, inhabited by the Tyragetae, is 130 miles from the False Mouth of the Danube. Then come the Axiacae named from the river Axiaces, and beyond them the Crobyzi, the river Rhode, the Sangarian Gulf, the port of Ordesus, and 120 miles from the Dniester the river Dnieper and the lake and tribe of the same name, and the town 15 miles inland from the sea, the old names of which were Olbiopolis and Miletopolis. Returning to the coast, we come to the Port of the Achaeans and the Isle of Achilles, famous for the tomb of that hero, and 125 miles from it a peninsula stretching out at a slant in the shape of a sword, and called the Racecourse of Achilles from having been his exercising ground; its length is given by Agrippa as 80 miles. The whole of this stretch is occupied by the Scythian Sardi and Siraci. Then there is a wooded region that has given its name to the Forest Sea that washes its coast; the inhabitants are called the tribe of the Indigene. Beyond is the river Somara, which forms the boundary between the Nomad and Agricultural tribes, and then the Acesinus. Some authorities say that below Olbia the Somara flows into the Dnieper, but the more accurate make the Bug a tributary of the Dnieperso erroneous it is to put the latter in a region of Asia.

Here the sea runs in, forming a large gulf, until there is only a space of five miles separating it from the Sea of Azov, and it forms the coastline of vast tracts of land and numerous races; this is called the Gulf of Negropoli. Here is the river Pacyris, the towns of Navarum and Carcine, and behind them Lake Buces, which discharges into the sea by an artificial channel. Lake Buces itself is shut off by a rocky ridge from the Bay of Coretus in the Sea of Azov. Into it run the rivers Buces, Gerrhus and Bug, coming from different directions: for the Gerrhus separates the Nomads and the Basilides, while the Bug flows through the Nomads and Foresters and discharges by an artificially made channel into the Buces and by a natural channel into the Coretus: this region has the name of Scythia Sindica.

At the river Carcinites begins the Crimea, itself also formerly surrounded by the sea where there are now low-lying stretches of land, though afterwards it rises in huge mountain ridges. The population includes 30 tribes; of these 23 live in the interior, 6 towns are occupied by the Orgocyni, Characeni, Assyrani, Stactari, Acisalitae and Caliordi, and the Scythotauri occupy the actual ridge. On the west side they are adjoined by the New Peninsula and on the east by the Satauci Scythians. The towns on the coast after Carcine are Taphrae at the actual neck of the peninsula, and then the Heraclean Peninsula, a place on which Rome has recently bestowed freedom; it was formerly called Megarice, and is the most highly cultured community in all this region owing to its having preserved the manners of Greece; it is encircled by a wall measuring five miles. Then come the Virgin's Cape, Placia a city of the Tauri, the port of Balaklava, Ram's Head Cape, jutting out into the middle of the Black Sea opposite to Cape Kerempi in Asia with a space between them of 170 miles, which is chiefly the reason that produces the shape of a Scythian bow! After this come a number of harbours and lakes belonging to the Tauri. The town of Theodosia is 125 miles from Ram's Head and 165 from the Peninsula. Beyond it there were in former times the towns of Cytae, Zephyrium, Acrae, Nymphaeum and Dia; while by far the strongest of them all, the Milesian city of Kertsch, at the actual mouth of the Straits, still stands; it is 84 miles from Theodosia and 4 miles, as we have said, from the town of Cimmerium situated across the Straits--this is the width that here separates Asia from Europe, and even this can usually be crossed on foot when the Gulf is frozen over. On the Straits of Kertsch, the length of which is 12 miles, are the towns of Hermisium and Myrmecium, and inside the Straits is the island of Alopece. The coast of the Sea of Azov, from the place called Taphrae at the end of the isthmus to the mouth of the Straits of Kertsch measures altogether 260 miles.

After Taphrae, the interior of the mainland is occupied by the Auchetai and the Neuroi, in whose territories respectively are the sources of the Bug and the Dnieper, the Geloni, Thyssagetae, Budini, Basilidae and Agathyrsi, the last a dark-haired people; above them are the Nomads and then the Cannibals, and after Lake Buces above the Sea of Azov the Sauromatae and Essedones. Along the coast, as far as the river Don, are the Maeotae from whom the sea receives its name, and last of all in the rear of the Maeotae are the Arimaspi. Then come the Ripaean Mountains and the region called Pterophorus, because of the feather-like snow continually falling there; it is a part of the world that lies under the condemnation of nature and is plunged in dense darkness, and occupied only by the work of frost and the chilly lurking-places of the north wind. Behind these mountains and beyond the north wind there dwells (if we can believe it) a happy race of people called the Hyperboreans, who live to extreme old age and are famous for legendary marvels. Here are believed to be the hinges on which the firmament turns and the extreme limits of the revolutions of the stars, with six months' daylight and a single day of the sun in retirement, not as the ignorant have said, from the spring equinox till autumn: for these people the sun rises once in the year, at midsummer, and sets once, at midwinter. It is a genial region, with a delightful climate and exempt from every harmful blast. The homes of the natives are the woods and groves; they worship the gods severally and in congregations; all discord and all sorrow is unknown. Death comes to them only when, owing to satiety of life, after holding a banquet and anointing their old age with luxury, they leap from a certain rock into the sea: this mode of burial is the most blissful. Some authorities have placed these people not in Europe but on the nearest part of the coasts of Asia, because there is a race there with similar customs and a similar location, named the Attaci; others have put them midway between the two suns, the sunsets of the antipodes and our sunrise, but this is quite impossible because of the enormous expanse of sea that comes between. Those who locate them merely in a region having six months of daylight have recorded that they sow in the morning periods, reap at midday, pluck the fruit from the trees at sunset, and retire into caves for the night. Nor is it possible to doubt about this race, as so many authorities state that they regularly send the first fruits of their harvests to Delos as offerings to Apollo, whom they specially worship. These offerings used to be brought by virgins, who for many years were held in veneration and hospitably entertained by the nations on the route, until because of a violation of good faith they instituted the custom of depositing their offerings at the nearest frontiers of the neighbouring people, and these of passing them on to their neighbours, and so till they finally reached Delos. Later this practice itself also passed out of use.

The territories of Sarmatia, Scythia and Taurica, and the whole region from the river Dnieper are stated by Marcus Agrippa to measure 980 miles in length and 716 in breadth; but for my own part I consider that in this part of the world estimates of measurement are uncertain.

But in conformity with the plan set out the remaining features of this gulf must be stated. Its seas we have specified.

13. In the Dardanelles there are no islands that deserve mention belonging to Europe. There are two in the Black Sea, 1 miles from the European coast and 14 miles from the mouth of the straits, the Fanari, called by others the Symplegades, these being the islands about which there is the tradition that they once clashed together: the story is due to the fact that they are separated by so small a gap that by persons entering the Black Sea directly facing them they were seen as two, and then when the line of sight became slightly oblique they gave the appearance of coming together. On this side of the Danube there is one of the islands called Apollonia, 80 miles from the Thracian Bosphorus; from this island Marcus Lucullus brought the statue of Apollo of the Capitol. We have stated the places in the Delta of the Danube. Off the mouth of the Dnieper is the Island of Achilles mentioned above, which also has the Greek names of the White Island and Island of the Blest. Modern investigation shows the position of this island to be 140 miles from the Dnieper, 120 from the Dniester, and 50 from the island of Peuce. It is about 10 miles in circuit. The remaining islands in the Gulf of Carcinites are Cephalonnesus, Spodusa and Macra. Before we leave the Black Sea, we must not omit the opinion held by many persons that all the waters of the Mediterranean are derived from this source, and not from the Straits of Gibraltar; the reason that they give for this view is not an improbable one--viz, that the tide is always flowing out of the Black Sea and never ebbing in the other direction.

Next we must leave the Black Sea to describe the outer regions of Europe, and crossing the Ripaean Mountains must coast to the left along the shore of the northern ocean until we reach Cadiz. In this direction a number of islands are reported to exist that have no names, but according to the account of Timaeus there is one named Baunonia, lying off Scythia, at a distance of a day's voyage from the coast, on the beach of which in spring time amber is cast up by the waves. The rest of these coasts are only known in detail by reports of doubtful authority. To the north is the ocean; beyond the river Parapanisus where it washes the coast of Scythia Hecataeus calls it the Amalehian Sea, a name that in the language of the natives means `frozen'; Philemon says that the Cimbrian name for it is Morimarusa (that is, Dead Sea) from the Parapanisus to Cape Rusbeae, and from that point onward the Cronian Sea. Xenophon of Lampsacus reports that three days' sail from the Scythian coast there is an island of enormous size called Balcia; Pytheas gives its name as Basilia. Also some islands called the Oeonae are reported of which the inhabitants live on birds' eggs and oats, and others on which people are born with horses' feet, which gives them their Greek name; there are others called the All-ears Islands in which the natives have very large ears covering the whole of their bodies, which are otherwise left naked.

From this point more definite information begins to open up, beginning with the race of the Inguaeones, the first that we come to in Germany. Here there is an enormous mountain, the Saevo, as big as those of the Ilipaean range, which forms an enormous bay reaching to the Cimbrian promontory; it is named the Codanian Gulf, and is studded with islands. The most famous of these is Scandinavia; its size has not been ascertained, and so far as is known, only part of it is inhabited, its natives being the Hilleviones, who dwell in 500 villages, and call their island a second world. Aeningia is thought to be equally big. Some authorities report that these regions as far as the river Vistula are inhabited by the Sarmati, Venedi, Sciri and Hirri, and that there is a gulf named Cylipenus, with the island of Latris at its mouth, and then another gulf, that of Lagnus, at which is the frontier of the Cimbri. The Cimbrian promontory projects a long way into the sea, forming a peninsula called Tastris. Then there are twenty-three islands known to the armed forces of Rome; the most noteworthy of these are Burcana, called by our people Bean Island from the quantity of wild beans growing there, and the island which by the soldiery is called Glass Island from its amber, but by the barbarians Austeravia, and also Actania.

The whole of the seacoast as far as the German river Scheldt is inhabited by races the extent of whose territories it is impossible to state, so unlimited is the disagreement among the writers who report about them.

The Greek writers and some of our own have given the coast of Germany as measuring 2500 miles, while Agrippa makes the length of Germany including Raetia and Nonicum 686 miles and the breadth 248 miles,

14 whereas the breadth of Raetia alone almost exceeds that figure; though to be sure it was only conquered about the time of Agrippa's deathfor Germany was explored many years after, and that not fully. If one may be allowed to conjecture, the coast will be found to be not much shorter than the Greek idea of it and the length given by Agrippa.

There are five German races: the Vandals, who include the Burgodiones, Varinnae, Charini and Gutones; the second race the Inguaeones, including Cimbri, Teutoni and the tribes of the Chauci; nearest to the Rhine the Istiaeones, including the Sicambri; inland the Hermiones, including the Suebi, Hermunduri, Chatti and Cherusci; and the fifth section the Peucini, and the Basternae who march with the Dacians above mentioned. Notable rivers that flow into the Ocean are the Guthalus, the Visculus or Vistula, the Elbe, the Weser, the Ems, the Rhine and the Meuse. In the interior stretches the Hercinian range of mountains, which is inferior to none in grandeur.

15. In the Rhine itself, the most notable island is that of the Batavi and Cannenefates, which is almost a hundred miles in length, and others are those of the Frisii, Chauci, Frisiavones, Sturii and Marsacii, which lie between Briel and Vlieland. The latter give their names to the mouths into which the Rhine divides, discharging itself on the north into the lakes there and on the west into the river Meuse, while at the middle mouth between these two it keeps a small channel for its own name.

16. Opposite to this region lies the island of Britain, famous in the Greek records and in our own; it lies to the north-west, facing, across a wide channel, Germany, Gaul and Spain, countries which constitute by far the greater part of Europe. It was itself named Albion, while all the islands about which we shall soon briefly speak were called the Britains. Its distance from Gesoriacum on the coast of the Morini tribe by the shortest passage is 50 miles. Its circumference is reported by Pytheas and Isidorus to measure 4875 miles; nearly thirty years ago, its exploration was carried by the armed forces of Rome to a point not beyond the neighbourhood of the Caledonian Forest. Agrippa believes the length of the island to be 800 miles and its breadth 300, and the breadth of Ireland the same but its length 200 miles less. Ireland lies beyond Britain, the shortest crossing being from the district of the Silures, a distance of 30 miles. Of the remaining islands it is said that none has a circumference of more than 125 miles. There are the 40 Orkneys separated by narrow channels from

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each other, the 7 Shetlands, the 30 Hebrides, and between Ireland and Britain the Islands of Anglesea, Man, Racklin, White-horn, Dalkey and Bardsey; south of Britain are Sian and Ushant, and opposite, scattered about in the direction of the German Sea, are the Glass Islands which the Greeks in more modern times have called the Electrides, from the Greek word for amber, which is produced there. The most remote of all those recorded is Thule, in which as we have pointed out there are no nights at midsummer when the sun is passing through the sign of the Crab, and on the other hand no days at midwinter; indeed some writers think this is the case for periods of six months at a time without a break. The historian Timaeus says there is an island named Mictis lying inward six days' sail from Britain where tin is found, and to which the Britons cross in boats of osier covered with stitched hides. Some writers speak of other islands as well, the Scandiae, Dumna, Bergos, and Berricep the largest of all, from which the crossing to Thule starts. One day's sail from Thule is the frozen ocean, called by some the Cronian Sea.

17. The whole of Gaul included under the general name of Long-haired divides into three races of people, which are chiefly separated by the rivers: from the Scheldt to the Seine is Belgic Gaul, from the Seine to the Garonne Celtic Gaul, also called Lyonese, and from the Garonne to the projection of the Pyrenees Aquitanian Gaul, previously called Armorica. Agrippa reckoned the entire length of the coast at 1750 miles, and the dimensions of the Gauls between the Rhine and the Pyrenees and the ocean and the mountains of the Cevennes and Jura, which exclude the Narbonne division of Gaul, aslength 420 miles, breadth 318 miles.

The part beginning at the Scheldt is inhabited by the Texuandri, who have several names, and then the Menapi, the Morini, the Oromarsaci adjacent to the canton called Chersiacus, the Bretons, the Ambiani, the Bellovaci and the Bassi; and more in the interior the Catoslugi, Atrebates, Nervi (a free people), Veromandui, Suaeuconi, Suessiones (free), Ulmancctes (free), Tungri, Sunici, Frisiavones, Baetasi, Leuci (free), Treveri (formerly free), Lingones (federated), Remi (federated), Mediomatrici, Sequani, Raurici, Helveti; and the Equestrian and Rauric colonies. The races of Germany living on the banks of the Rhine in the same province are the Nemetes, Triboci and Vangioncs, and among the Ubii the Colony of Agrippina,a the Guberni, the Batavi and the people whom we have already mentioned as dwelling on the islands of the Rhine.

18. To Lyonese Gaul belong the Lexovii, Veliocasses, Galeti, Veneti, Abrincatui, Ossismi, the famous river Loire, and also the still more remarkable that runs out into the ocean from the boundary of the Ossismi and measures 625 miles round and 125 miles across at its neck. Beyond that neck are the Namnetes, and in the interior the Aedui (federated), Carnuteni (federated), Boii, Senones, Aulerci (both those named Eburovices and those named Cenomani), Neldi (free), Parisii, Tricasses, Andicavi, Viducasses, Bodiocasses, Venelli, Coriosvelites, Diablinti, Rhedones, Turones, Atesui, and Secusiani (free), in whose territory is the colony of Lyons.

19. To Aquitanian Gaul belong the Ambilatri, Anagnutes, Pictones, Santoni (free), Bituriges, also named Vivisci (free), Aquitani (who give their name to the province), Sediboviates; then the Convenae together forming one town, the Begerri, the Tarbelli Quattuorsignani, Cocosates Sexsignani, Venami, Onobrisates, Belendi; the Pyrenean pass; and below the Monesi, Mountain Oscidates, Sybillates, Camponi, Bercorcates, Pinpedunni, Lassunni, Vellates, Toruates, Consoranni, Ausei, Elusates, Sottiates, Oscidates of the Plain, Succasses, Latusates, Basaboiatcs, Vassei, Sennatcs and the Cambolectri Agessinates. Joining on to the Pictones are the Bitnriges called Cubi (free), then the Lemovices, Arverni (free), Gabales, and again, marching with the province of Gallia Narbonensis, the Ruteni, Cadurci, Nitiobroges, and separated by the river Tarn from the people of Toulouse, the Petrocori.

The seas round the coast are: as far as the Rhine the Northern ocean, between the Rhine and the Seine the British Sea, and between the Seine and the Pyrenees the Gallic Sea. There are a number of islands of the Veneti, both those called the Veneticae and Oleron in the Gulf of Aquitania.

20. At the promontory of the Pyrenees begins Spain, which is narrower not only than Gaul but even than itself, as we have said, seeing how enormously it is pressed together on one side by the ocean and on the other by the Iberian Sea. The actual chain of the Pyrenees, spreading from due east to southwest, makes the Spanish provinces shorter on the northern side than on the southern. On the nearest coast is situated Hither or Tarragonian Spain; along the sea-coast from the Pyrenees are the forest of the Vascones, Olarso, the towns of the Varduli, Morogi, Menosca, Vesperies and the port of Amanum, the present site of the colony of Flaviobrica; then the district of the nine states of the Cantabri, the river Sauga, the port of Victory of the Juliobricenses (from this place the sources of the Ebro are 40 miles distant), the port of Blendium, the Orgenomesci (a branch of the Cantabrians), their port Vereasueca, the district of the Astures, the town of Noega, the Pesici on a peninsula; and then, belonging to the jurisdiction of Lugo, starting from the river Navialbio, the Cibarci, the Egivarri surnamed Namarini, Jadovi, Arroni, Arrotrebae; the Celtic Promontory, the rivers Florius and Nelo, the Celts surnamed Neri, and above them the Tamarci, on whose peninsula are the three Altars of Sestius dedicated to Augustus, the Copori, the town of Noeta, the Celts surnamed Praestamarci, the Cileni. Of the islands must be specified Corticata and Aunios. After the Cileni, in the jurisdiction of the Bracae are the Helleni, the Grovi and Tyde Castle, all people of Greek stock; the Dry Islands, the town of Abobrica, the river Minho four miles wide at its mouth, the Leuni, the Seurbi, Augusta, a town belonging to the Bracae, above whom is Gallaecia; the Limia stream and the river Douro, one of the largest in Spain, which rises in the district of the Pelendones and passing by Numantia then flows through the Arevaci and Vaccaei, separating the Vettones from Asturia and the Gallaeci from Lusitania, and at this point also separating the Turduli from the Bracari. The whole of the district mentioned, from the Pyrenees onward, is full of mines of gold, silver, iron, lead and tin.

21. From the Douro begins Lusitania: the old Turduli, the Paesuri, the river Vouga, the town of Talabrica, the town and river Agueda, the towns of Coimbra, Leiria and Eboro di Alcobaza. Then there runs out into the sea a promontory shaped like a vast horn, called by some people Artabrum, by others the Great Cape, and by many Cape Lisbon after the town; this headland sharply divides the land and sea and climate. This cape ends the side of Spain, and after rounding it the front of Spain begins.

22. On one side of it is the north and the Gallic Ocean, and on the other the west and the Atlantic. The distance to which this promontory projects has been given as 60 miles, and by others as 90 miles; the distance from here to the Pyrenees many give as 1250 miles, and place here a race of Artabres, which never existed, the error being obvious; they have put here, with an alteration in the spelling of the name, the Arrotrebae, whom we spoke of before we came to the Celtic Promontory.

Mistakes have also been made in regard to the important rivers. From the Minho, which we spoke of above, the distance to the Agueda according to Varro is 200 miles, though others place the latter elsewhere and call it the Liniaea; in early times it was called the River of Forgetfulness, and a great many stories were told about it. Two hundred miles from the Douro is the Tagus, the Mondego coming between them; the Tagus is famous for its auriferous sands. At a distance of nearly 160 miles from the Tagus is Cape St. Vincent, projecting from nearly the middle of the front of Spain. The distance from Cape St. Vincent to the middle of the Pyrenees is stated by Varro to amount to 1400 miles; from St. Vincent to the Guadiana, which we Indicated as the boundary between Lusitania and Baetica, he puts at 126 miles, the distance from the Guadiana to Cadiz adding another 102 miles.

The peoples are the Celtici, the Turduli, and on the Tagus the Vettones; and between the Guadiana and Cape St. Vincent the Lusitanians. The notable towns on the coast, beginning at the Tagus, are: Lisbon, famous for its mares which conceive from the west wind; Alcazar do Sal, called the Imperial City; Santiago de Cacem; Cape St. Vincent, and the other promontory called the Wedge; and the towns of Estombar, Tavira and Mertola.

The whole province is divided into three associations, centred at Merida, Beja and Santarem. It consists of 45 peoples in all, among whom there are five colonies, one municipality of Roman citizens, three with the old Latin rights and 36 that pay tribute. The colonies are Merida on the river Guadiana, Medellin, Beja, and Alcantara surnamed Caesarina (to this Trucillo and Caceres are assigned); and the fifth is that of Santarem, which is called the Garrison of Julius. The municipality of Roman citizens is Lisbon, surnamed the Success of Julius. The towns with the old Latin rights are Evora, which is also called the Generosity of Julius, and Mertola and Alcazar do Sal which we have mentioned. Of the tributary towns that deserve mention, besides those already specified in the list of names of those belonging to Baetica, are Augustobriga, Aemia, Arandita, Axabrica, Balsa, Caesarobrica, Capera, Coria, Colarna, Cibilita, Concordia, Elbocorium, Interamnimn, Lancia, Malabriga surnamed Celtic, Medubriga surnamed Plumbaria, Ocelum, the Turduli also called Bardili, and the Tapori.

The dimensions of Lusitania combined with Astnria and Gallaecia are given by Agrippa as: length 540 miles, breadth 536 miles. The provinces of Spain taken all together, measured from the two promontories of the Pyrenees along the sea line, are estimated to cover by the circumference of the whole coast 2924 miles, or by others 2600 miles.

Opposite to Celtiberia are a number of islands called by the Greeks the Tin Islands in consequence of their abundance of that metal; and facing Cape Finisterre are the six Islands of the Gods, which some people have designated the Isles of Bliss. But immediately at the beginning of Baetica comes Cadiz, 25 miles from the mouth of the Strait, an island according to Polybius's account measuring 12 miles in length and 3 miles in breadth. Its distance from the mainland at the nearest point is less than 233 yards. but at other places it is more than 7 miles; the circuit of the island is 15 miles. It has a town whose population have the Roman citizenship and are called Augustans, the title of their city being Julia Gaditana. On the side facing Spain at a distance of about 100 yards is another island one mile long and one mile broad, on which the town of Cadiz was previously situated; Ephorus and Philistus call it Aphrodisias, but its native name is the Isle call this island Erythea, and Timaeus and Silenus of Juno. The larger island according to Timaeus is known as Potimusa from its wells, but our people call it Tartesos and the Punic name is Gadir, which is Carthaginian for a fence; it was called Erythea, because the original ancestors of the Carthaginians, the Tyrians, were said to have come from the Red Sea. This island is believed by some people to have been the home of the Geryones whose cattle were carried off by Hercules; but others hold that that was another island, lying off Lusitania, and that an island there was once called by the same name.

23. Having completed the circuit of Europe we must now give its complete dimensions, in order that those who desire this information may not be left at a loss. Its length from the Don to Cadiz is given by Artemidorus and Isidorus as 7714 miles. Polybius stated the breadth of Europe from Italy to the ocean as 1150 miles, but its exact magnitude had not been ascertained even in his day. The length of Italy itself up to the Alps is 1020 miles, as we stated; and from the Alps through Lyons to the in harbour of the Morini, the port on the British channel, the line of measurement that Polybius appears to take, is 1169 miles, but a better ascertained measurement and a longer one is that starting also from the Alps but going north-west through the Camp of the Legions in Germany to the mouth of the Rhine1243 miles.

Next after this we shall speak of Africa and Asia.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 5

1. The Greeks give to Africa the name of Libya, and they call the sea lying in front of it the Libyan Sea. It is bounded by Egypt. No other part of the earth has fewer bays or inlets in its coast, which stretches in a long slanting line from the west. The names of its peoples and towns are absolutely unpronounceable except by the natives; and for the rest, they mostly reside in fortresses.

The list of its countries begins with the two called Mauretania, which down to the time of the emperor Caligula were kingdoms, but by his cruelty were divided into two provinces. The outermost promontory projecting into the ocean is named by the Greeks Ampelusia. Beyond the Straits of Gibraltar there were once the towns of Lissa and Cotte; but at the present day there is only Tangier, which was originally founded by Antaeus and subsequently entitled Traducta Julia by the emperor Claudius when he established a colony there. It is 30 miles distant from the town of Baelon in Baetica, where the passage across is shortest. On the Atlantic coast 25 miles from Tangier is Julia Constantia Zulil, a colony of Augustus, which is exempt from the government of the native kings and included under the jurisdiction of Baetica. Thirty-five miles from Zulil is Lixus, made a colony by the emperor Claudius, about which the most marvellous legends are told by the old writers: this was the site of the palace of Antaeus and the scene of his combat with Hercules, and here were the gardens of the Ladies of the West. As a matter of fact an arm of the sea stretches inland here with a winding channel which, as people nowadays explain the story, had some resemblance to a guardian serpent; it embraces within it an island which, although the neighbouring district is considerably elevated, is nevertheless the only portion not flooded by the tides. On the island there also rises an altar of Hercules, but of the famous grove in the story that bore the golden fruit nothing else except some wild olive trees. No doubt less wonder may be felt at the portentous falsehoods of Greece put about concerning these serpents and the river Lixus by people who reflect that our own countrymen, and these quite recently, have reported little less miraculous stories about the same matters, stating that this city is exceedingly powerful and greater than Great Carthage ever was, and moreover that it is situated in a line with Carthage and at an almost immeasurable distance from Tangier, and all the other details swallowed so greedily by Cornelius Nepos.

In the interior, 40 miles from Lixus, is another colony of Augustus, Babba, called Julia. On The Plains, and 75 miles further, a third, Banasa, which has the surname of Valentia. Thirty-five miles from Banasa is the town of Volubile, which is at the same distance from the coasts of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. On the shore, 50 miles from Lixus, is the river Sebou, flowing by the colony of Banasa, a fine river available for navigation. The same number of miles from the Sebou is the town of Sallee, situated on the river of the same name; this town is on the very edge of the desert, and is beset by herds of elephants, but much more seriously harried by the Autololes tribe, through whose territory lies the road to Mount Atlas, which is the subject of much the most marvellous stories of all the mountains in Africa. It is reported to rise into the sky out of the middle of the sands, a rugged eminence covered with

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crags on the side facing towards the coast of the Ocean to which it has given its name, but shaded by dense woods and watered by gushing springs on the side facing Africa, where fruits of all kinds spring up of their own accord with such luxuriance that pleasure never lacks satisfaction. It is said that in the daytime none of its inhabitants are seen, and that all is silent with a terrifying silence like that of the desert, so that a speechless awe creeps into the hearts of those who approach it, and also a dread of the peak that soars above the clouds and reaches the neighbourhood of the moon's orb; also that at night this peak flashes with frequent fires and swarms with the wanton gambols of Goat-Pans and Satyrs, and echoes with the music of flutes and pipes and the sound of drums and cymbals. These stories have been published by celebrated authors, in addition to the labours performed in this region by Hercules and Perseus. It is an immense distance away, across unexplored country.

There were also once extant some notes of the Carthaginian commander Hanno, who at the most flourishing period of the Punic state was ordered to explore the circuit of Africa. It is Hanno whom the majority of the Greek and Roman writers have followed in the accounts that they have published of a number of cities founded by him there of which no memory or trace exists, not to speak of other fabulous stories.

Scipio Aemilianus, during his command in Africa, placed a fleet of vessels at the service of the historian Polybius for the purpose of making a voyage of discovery in that part of the world. After sailing round the coast, Polybius reported that beyond Mount Atlas in a westerly direction there are forests teeming with the wild animals that Africa engenders. Agrippa says that to the river Anatis is a distance of 496 miles, and from the Anatis to Linus 205 miles; that Linus is 112 miles from the Straits of Gibraltar and that then come the gulf called Sagigi Bay, the town on Cape Mulelacha, the rivers Sebou and Sallee, the port of Mazagan 224 miles from Linus, then Capo Blanco, the port of Safi, the Gaetulian Free State, the river Tensift, the Velatiti and Masati tribes, the river Mogador, and the river Sous, in which crocodiles are found. Then, he states, a gulf 616 miles across is enclosed by the promontory of the Atlas chain projecting westward, called Cape Ger. After this the river Assa, beyond which is the Aethiopiau tribe of the Perorsi, and in their rear the Pharusii. Adjoining these in the interior are the Gaetulian Darae, and on the coast the Aethiopian Daratitae and the river Non, which is full of crocodiles and hippopotamuses. From the Non runs a line of mountains extending right to the peak of which the Greek name is, as we shall state, the Chariot of the Gods. The distance from this peak to Cape Roxo he gives as a voyage of ten days and nights; and in the middle of this space he places Mount Atlas, which all other authorities give as situated at the farthest point of Mauretania.

The first occasion on which the armed forces of Rome fought in Mauretania was in the principate of Claudius, when King Ptolemy had been put to death by Caligula and his freedman Aedemon was seeking to avenge him; and it is an accepted fact that our troops went as far as Mount Atlas in pursuit of the routed natives. And not only were the ex-consuls and generals drawn from the senate who commanded in that campaign able to boast of having penetrated the Atlas range, but this distinction was also shared by the Knights of Rome who subsequently governed the country. The province contains, as we have said, five Roman colonies, and, to judge by common report, the place might well be thought to be easily accessible; but upon trial this criterion is discovered to be for the most part exceedingly fallacious, because persons of high position, although not inclined to search for the truth, are ashamed of ignorance and consequently are not reluctant to tell falsehoods, as credulity is never more easily let down than when a false statement is attested by an authority of weight. For my own part I am less surprised that some things are outside the knowledge of gentlemen of the equestrian order, some of whom indeed nowadays actually get into the senate, than that anything should be unknown to luxury, which acts as an extremely great and powerful stimulus, inasmuch as forests are ransacked for ivory and citrus-wood and all the rocks of Gaetulia explored for the murex and for purple. The natives, however, inform us that on the coast 150 miles from the Sallee is the River Asana, which is a tidal river but which is notable for its harbour; and then the river which they call the Fat, and 200 miles from it, after crossing a river named Ivor, the Diris rangethat is agreed to be the native name for the Atlas; and that in the neighbourhood are traces of the land having formerly been inhabitedremains of vineyards and palm-groves.

Suetonius Paulinus, who was consul in our own times, was the first Roman commander who actually crossed the Atlas range and advanced a distance of many miles beyond it. His report as to its remarkable altitude agrees with that of all the other authorities, but he also states that the regions at the base of the range are filled with dense and lofty forests of trees of an unknown kind, with very tall trunks remarkable for their glossy timber free from knots, and foliage like that of the cypress except for its oppressive scent, the leaves being covered with a thin downy floss, so that with the aid of art a dress-material like that obtained from the silk-worm can be made from them. The summit (the report continued) is covered with deep snowdrifts even in summer. Ten days' march brought him to this point and beyond it to the river called the Ger, across deserts covered with black dust occasionally broken by projections of rock that looked as if they had been burnt, a region rendered uninhabitable by its heat, although it was winter time when he explored it. He states that the neighbouring forests swarm with every kind of elephant and snake, and are inhabited by a tribe called the Canarii, owing to the fact that they have their diet in common with the canine race and share with it the flesh of wild animals.

It is well ascertained that the next people are the Aethiopian tribe called the Perorsi. Juba, the father of Ptolemy, who was the first ruler to hold sway over both the Mauretanias, and who is even more distinguished for his renown as a student than for his royal sovereignty, has published similar facts about Mount Atlas, and has stated in addition that a plant grows there called the euphorbia, named after his doctor who discovered it; in a volume devoted solely to the subject of this plant he sings the praises of its milky juice in very remarkable terms, stating it to be an aid to clear sight and an antidote against snakebite and poisons of all kinds.This is enough, or more than enough, about Mount Atlas.

The province of Tangier is 170 miles in length. It contains the following tribes: the Moors (from whom it takes its name of Mauretania), by many writers called the Maurusii, were formerly the leading race, but they have been thinned by wars and are now reduced to a few families. The next race to this was previously that of the. Masaesyli, but this has been wiped out in a similar manner. The country is now occupied by the Gaetulian tribes, the Baniurae and the Free State, by far the most powerful of them all, and the Nesimi, who were formerly a section of the Autoteles, but have split off from them and formed a separate tribe of their own in the direction of the Aethiopians. The province itself produces elephants in its mountainous district on the eastern side and also on Mount Ceuta and the range of peaks called the Seven Brothers from their similarity of height; these mountains join on to Mount Ceuta and overlook the Straits of Gibraltar. At the Seven Brothers begins the coast of the Mediterranean, and next come the navigable river Bedia and the site of a former town of the same name, the river Gomera, also navigable for vessels, the town and harbour of Safi, and the navigable river Maluia. Opposite to Malaga in Spain is situated the town of Aresgol, the capital of King Syphax, where we reach the second Mauretania for these regions for a long time took the names of their kings. Further Mauretania being called the Land of Bogut and similarly the present Caesariensis the Land of Bocchus. After Aresgol come the port called from its size Great Harbour, a town with Roman citizenship; the river Mulucha, the frontier between the Land of Bocchus and the Masaesyli; Quiza Xenitana ('Alienville'); Arzen, a town with Latin rights, three miles from the sea; Tenez, a colony of Augustus, where the Second Legion was settled, and Gunugu, likewise a colony of the same emperor and the settlement of a praetorian cohort; Cape Mestagan, and on it the famous town of Caasarea previously called Jol, the capital of King Juba, to which colonial rights were granted by his late Majesty Claudius; New Town, founded as a settlement of veteran troops, and Tipasa, granted Latin rights by the same emperor's orders, and also Icosium given the same privilege by the emperor Vespasian; Rusguniae, a colony of Augustus, Rusucurium, given the honour of citizenship by Claudius, Rusazus, a colony of Augustus, Saldae, a colony of the same, Igilgili likewise; the town of Zucca, situated on the sea and the river Ampsaga. In the interior is the colony of Augusta, also called Sucehabar, and likewise Tubusuptu, the independent cities of Timici and Tigavae, the rivers Sardaval, Ayes and Nabar, the Macurebi tribe, the river Usar, and the Nababes tribe. From the river Ampsaga to Caesarea is 322 miles. The length of the two Mauretanias is 1038 miles and the breadth 467 miles.

2. At the river Ampsaga begins Numidia, a country rendered famous by the name of Masinissa. The Greeks called it Metagonitis, and they named its people the Nomads, from their custom of frequently changing their pasturage, carrying their maptdia, that is their homes, about the country on waggons. The towns are Chollum and Sgigada, and in the interior about 48 miles from the latter the colony of Cirta, called Cirta of the Sitianii and another colony further inland, Sicca, and the free town of King's Bulla. On the coast are Tagodet, King's Hippo, the river Mafragg, and the town of Tabraca, which has Roman citizenship. The boundary of Numidia is the river Zaina. The country produces nothing remarkable beside the Numidian marble and wild beasts.

3. Beyond the Zaina is the district of Zeugitana and the region properly to be called Africa. Three promontories run out into the sea, White Cape and then Cape Farina facing Sardinia and Cape Bon facing Sicily; these form two baysthe Bay of Hippo next the town called Hippo Dirutus, in Greek Diarrhytus, which name is due to its irrigation channels, and adjacent to this, further from the coast, Theudalis, a town exempt from tribute; and then Cape Farina, and on the second bay Utica, which has the rights of Roman citizenship; it is famous as the scene of the death of Cato. Then there is the river Merjerdah, the place called the Camp of Cornelius, the colony of Carthage on the site of Great Carthage, the colony of Maxula, the towns of Carpi, Misua and Clypea, the last a free town on Cape Mercury, where are also the free towns Kurbah and Nabal.

Then comes another section of Africa proper. The inhabitants of Byzacium are called Libyphoenicians, Byzacium being the name given to a region measuring 250 miles round, a district of exceptional fertility, the soil paying the farmers interest at the rate of a hundredfold. Here are the free towns of Lempta, Sousa, Monastir, Demas, and then Taineh, Ayes, Mahometa, Cabs and Sabart on the edge of the Lesser Syrtis; from the Ampsaga to this point the length of Numidia and Africa is 580 miles and the breadth so far as ascertained 200 miles. The part that we have called Africa is divided into two provinces, the Old and the New; the division between these, as agreed between the younger Scipio and the Kings, is a dyke running right through to the town of Taineh, which is 216 miles from Carthage.

4. The third gulf is divided into two bays, which are rendered formidable by the shallow tidal waters of the two Syrtes. The distance between the nearest Syrtis, which is the smaller of the two, and Carthage is said by Polybius to be 300 miles; and he gives its width across as 100 miles and its circuit as 300 miles. There is however also a way to it by land, that can be found by observation of the stars, across a desert abandoned to the sand and swarming with serpents. Next come forests filled with a multitude of wild beasts, and further inland desolate haunts of elephants, and then a vast desert, and beyond it the Garamantes tribe, at a distance of twelve days' journey from Aujelah. Beyond these was formerly the Psylli tribe, and beyond them Lake Lynxama, surrounded by desert. Aulelah itself is situated almost in the middle, at an equal distance on either side from the Ethiopia that stretches westward and from the region lying between the two Syrtes. But by the coast between the two Syrtes it is 250 miles; here are the independent city of Oea, the river Cinyps and the district of that name, the towns of Neapolis, Taphra, Habrotonum and the second Leptis, called Great Leptis. Then comes the Greater Syrtis, measuring 625 miles round and 312 wide at the entrance, near which dwells the race of the Cisippades. At the end of this Gulf was once the Coast of the Lotus-eaters, the people called by some the Machroae, extending to the Altars of the Philaenithese are formed of heaps of sand. After these, not far from the shore of the mainland, there is a vast swamp into which flows the river Tritonis, the name of which it bears; Callimachus calls it the Lake of Pallas. He places it on the nearer side of the Lesser Syrtis, but many writers put it between the two Syrtes. The promontory shutting in the Greater. Syrtis is called Cape Trajuni; beyond it is the province of Cyrene.

Between the river Ampsaga and this boundary Africa contains 516 peoples that accept allegiance to Rome. These include six colonies, Uthina and Thuburbi, in addition to those already mentioned; 15 towns with Roman citizenship, among which in the interior must be mentioned those of Absurae,

Abutucum, Aborium, Canopicum, Chimavis, Simittuum, Thunusidum, Thuburnicum, Thinidrumum, Tibiga, the two towns called Ucita, the Greater and the Lesser, and Vaga; one town with Latin rights, Uzalita; one tributary town at the Camp of Cornelius; 30 free towns, of which must be mentioned in the interior the towns of Acholhta, Accarita, Avina, Abzirita, Canopita, Mehzita, Matera, Salaphita, Tusdrita, Tiphica, Tunisa, Theuda, Tagesa, Tiga, Ulusubrita, a second Vaga, Viga and Zama. Of the remaining number most can rightly be entitled not merely cities but also tribes, for instance the Natabudes, Capsitani, Musulami, Sabarbares, Massyli, Nicives, Vamacures, Cinithi, Musuni, Marchubi, and the whole of Gaetulia as far as the river Quorra, which separates Africa from Ethiopia.

5. Notable places in the district of Cyrenaica (the Greek name of which is the Land of the Five Cities) are the Oracle of Ammon, which is 400 miles from the city of Cyrene, the Fountain of the Sun, and especially five cities, Benghazi, Arsinoe, Tolmeita, Marsa Sousah and Cyrene itself. Benghazi is situated at the tip of the horn of the Syrtis; it was formerly called the City of the Ladies of the West, mentioned above, as the myths of Greece is often change their locality; and in front of the town not far away is the river Leton, with a sacred grove, reputed to be the site of the gardens of the Ladies of the West. Benghazi is 375 miles from Leptis; and Arsinoe is 43 miles from Benghazi, commonly called Teuchira, and then 22 miles further Ptolemais, the old name of which was Barce; then 40 miles on the cape of Ras Sem projects into the Cretan Sea, 350 miles distant from Cape Matapan in Laconia and 225 miles from Crete itself. After the cape of Ras Sem is Cyrene, 11 miles from the sea, from Ras Sem to the harbour of Cyrene being 24 miles and to Ras El Tin 88 miles, from which it is 216 miles to the Canyon. The inhabitants of this coast are the Marmaridae, reaching almost all the way from the region of El Bareton to the Greater Syrtis; after these are the

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Acrauceles and then on the edge of the Syrtis the Nasamones, formerly called by the Greeks Mesammones by reason of their locality, the word meaning `in the middle of the sands'. The territory of Cyrene for a breadth of 15 miles from the coast is thought to be good even for growing trees, but for the same space further inland to grow only corn, and afterwards over a strip 30 miles wide and 250 miles long nothing but silphium.

After the Nasamones, we come to the dwellings of the Asbytae and Macae; and beyond them, twelve days' journey from the Greater Syrtis, the Amantes. These also are surrounded by sands in the western direction, but nevertheless they find water without difficulty at a depth of about three feet, as the district receives the overflow of the waters of Mauretania. They build their houses of blocks of salt quarried out of their mountains like stone. From these it is a journey of 7 days in a south-westerly quarter to the Cave-dwellers, with whom our only intercourse is the trade in the precious stone imported from Ethiopia which we call the carbuncle. Before reaching them, in the direction of the African desert stated already to be beyond the Lesser Syrtis, is Fezzan, where we have subjugated the Fezzan tribe and the cities of Mellulen and Zala, as well as Gadamez in the direction of Sabrata. After these a long range stretches from east to west which our people from its nature call the Black Mountain, as it has the appearance of having suffered from fire, or else of being scorched by the reflection of the sun. Beyond this mountain range is the desert, and then a town of the Garamantes called Thelgae, and also Bedir (near which there is a spring of which the water is boiling hot from midday to midnight and then freezing cold for the same number of hours until midday) and Garama, the celebrated capital of the Garamantes: all of which places have been subdued by the arms of Rome, being conquered by Cornelius Balbus, who was given a triumphthe only foreigner ever so honouredand citizen rights, since, although a native of Cadiz, he together with his great-uncle, Balbus, was presented with our citizenship. There is also this remarkable circumstance, that our writers have handed down the names of the towns mentioned above as having been taken by him, and have stated that in his own triumphal procession beside Cydamum and Garama were carried the names and images of all the other races and cities, which went in this order: the town of Tibesti, the Niteris tribe, the town of Milgis Gemella, the tribe or town of Febabo, the tribe of the Enipi, the town of Thuben, the mountain known as the Black Mountain, the towns called Nitibrum and Rapsa, the Im-Zera tribe, the town of Om-El-Abid, the river Tessava, the town of Sava, the Tamiagi tribe, the town of Boin, the town of Winega, the river Dasibari; then a series of towns, Baracum, Buluba, Alasit, Oalsa, Balla, Missolat, Cizania; and Mount Goriano, its effigy preceded by an inscription that it was a place where precious stones were produced.

Hitherto it has been impossible to open up the road to the Garamantes country, because brigands of that race fill up the wells with sandthese do not need to be dug very deep if you are aided by a knowledge of the localities. In the last war waged with the people of Oea, at the beginning of the principate of Vespasian, a short route of only four days was discovered, which is known as By the Head of the Rock. The last place in Cyrenaica is called the Canyon, a town and a suddenly descending valley. The length of Cyrenaic Africa from the Lesser Syrtis to this boundary is 1060 miles, and the breadth, so far as ascertained, 810 miles.

6. The district that follows is called Libya Mareotis; it borders upon Egypt. It is occupied by the Marmarides, the Adyrmachidae, and then the Mareotae. The distance between the Canyon and Paraetonium is 86 miles. Between them in the interior of this district is Apis, a place famous in the Egyptian religion. The distance from Apis to Paraetonium is 62 miles, and from Paraetonium to Alexandria 200 miles. The district is 169 miles in breadth. Eratosthenes gives the distance by land from Cyrenae to Alexandria as 525 miles. Agrippa made the length of the whole of Africa from the Atlantic, including Lower Egypt, 300 miles; Polybius and Eratosthenes, who are deemed extremely careful writers, made the distance from the Ocean to Great Carthage 1100 miles, and from Great Carthage to the nearest mouth of the Nile, Canopus, 1628 miles; Isidorus makes the distance from Tangier to Canopus 3599 miles, but Artemidorus makes it 40 miles less than Isidorus.

7. These seas do not contain very many islands. The most famous is Zerba, 25 miles long and 22 miles broad, called by Eratosthenes Lotus Eaters' Island. It has two towns, Meninx on the side of Africa and Thoar on the other side, the island itself lying off the promontory on the right-hand side of the Lesser Syrtis, at a distance of a mile and a half away. A hundred miles from Zerba and lying off the left-hand promontory is the island of Cercina, with the free city of the same name; it is 25 miles long and measures half that distance across where it is widest, but not more than 5 miles across at its end; and joined to it by a bridge is the extremely small island of Cercinitis, which looks towards Carthage. About 50 miles from these is Lopadusa, 6 miles long; then come Gaulos and Galata, the soil of the latter having the property of killing scorpions, that pest of Africa. It is also said that scorpions cannot live at Clupea, opposite to which lies Pantellaria with its town. Opposite the Gulf of Carthage lie the two Aegimoeroi; but the Altars, which are more truly rocks than islands, are chiefly between Sicily and Sardinia. Some authorities state that even the Altars were formerly inhabited but that their level has sunk.

8. In the interior circuit of Africa towards the south and beyond the Gaetulians, after an inter- mediate strip of desert, the first inhabitants of all are the Egyptian Libyans, and then the people called in Greek the White Ethiopians. Beyond these are the Ethiopian clans of the Nigritae, named after the river which has been mentioned, the Pharusian Gymnetes, and then bordering on the Ocean the Perorsi whom we have spoken of at the frontier of Mauretania. Eastward of all of these there are vast uninhabited regions spreading as far as the Garamantes and Augilae and the Cave-dwellersthe most reliable opinion being that of those who place two Ethiopias beyond the African desert, and especially Homer, who tells us that the Ethiopians are divided into two sections, the eastward and the westward.

The river Niger has the same nature as the Nile: it produces reeds and papyrus, and the same animals, and it rises at the same seasons of the year. Its source is between the Ethiopic tribes of the Tarraelii and the Oechalicae; the town of the latter is Magium. In the middle of the desert some place the Atlas tribe, and next to them the half-animal Goat-Pans and the Blemmyae and Gamphasantes and Satyrs and Strapfoots.

The Atlas tribe have fallen below the level of human civilization, if we can believe what is said; for they do not address one another by any names, and when they behold the rising and setting sun, they utter awful curses against it as the cause of disaster to themselves and their fields, and when they are asleep they do not have dreams like the rest of mankind. The Cave-dwellers hollow out caverns, which are their dwellings; they live on the flesh of snakes, and they have no voice, but only make squeaking noises, being entirely devoid of intercourse by speech. The Garamantes do not practise marriage but live with their women promiscuously. The Augilae only worship the powers of the lower world. The Gamphasantes go naked, do not engage in battle, and hold no intercourse with any foreigner. The Blemmyae are reported to have no heads, their mouth and eyes being attached to their chests. The Satyrs have nothing of ordinary humanity about them except human shape. The form of the Goat-Pans is that which is commonly shown in pictures of them. The Strapfoots are people with feet like leather thongs, whose nature it is to crawl instead of walking. The Pharusi, originally a Persian people, are said to have accompanied Hercules on his journey to the Ladies of the West. Nothing more occurs to us to record about Africa.

9. Joining on to Africa is Asia, the extent of which from the Canopic mouth of the Nile to the mouth of the Black Sea is given by Timosthenes as 2638 miles; Eratosthenes gives the distance from the mouth of the Black Sea to the mouth of the Sea of Azov as 1545 miles; and Artemidorus and Isidorus give the whole extent of Asia including Egypt as far as the river Don as 5013 miles. It possesses several seas, named after the tribes on their shores, for which reason they will be mentioned together.

The inhabited country next to Africa is Egypt, which stretches southward into the interior to where the Ethiopians border it in the rear. The boundaries of its lower part are formed by the two branches of the Nile embracing it on the right and on the left, the Canopic mouth separating it from Africa and the Pelusiac from Asia, with a space of 170 miles between the two mouths. This has caused some authorities to class Egypt as an island, because the Nile divides in such a manner as to produce a piece of land shaped like a triangle; and consequently many have called Egypt by the name of the Greek letter Delta. The distance from the point where the single channel first splits into branches to the Canopic mouth is 146 miles and to the Pelusiac mouth 156 miles.

The uppermost part of Egypt, marching with Ethiopia, is called the Thebaid. It is divided into prefectures of towns, called 'nomes'the Ombite, Apollonopolite, Hermonthite, Thinite, Phaturite, Coptite, Tentyrite, Diospolite, Antaeopolite, Aphroditopolite and Lycopolite nomes. The nomes belonging to the district in the neighbourhood of Pelusium are the Pharbaethite, Bubastite, Sethroite and Tanite. The remaining nomes are called the Arabic, Hammoniac (on the way to the oracle of Jupiter Ammon), Oxyrhynchite, Leontopolite, Athribite, Cynopolite, Hermopolite, Xoite, Mendesian, Sebennyte, Cabasite, Latopolite, Heliopolite, Vrosopite, Panopolite, Busirite, Onuphite, Saite, Ptenethus, Ptemphus, Naucratite, Metellite, Gynaecopolite, Menelaitethese forming the region of Alexandria; and likewise Mareotis belonging to Libya. The Heracleopolite nome is on an island of the Nile measuring 50 miles long, on which is also the town called the City of Hercules. There are two nomes called the Arsinoite; these and the Memphite extend to the apex of the Delta, adjacent to which on the side of Africa are the two Oasite nomes. Certain authorities alter some out of these names and substitute other nomes, for instance the Heropolite and Crocodilopolite. Between the Arsinoite and Memphite nomes there was once a lake measuring 250, or according to Mucianus's account 450, miles round, and 250 feet deep, an artificial sheet of water, called the Lake of Moeris after the king who made it. Its site is 62 miles from Memphis, the former citadel of the kings of Egypt, and from Memphis it is 12 days' journey to the Oracle of Ammon and 15 days' journey to the place where the Nile divides and forms what we have called the Delta.

10. The sources from which the Nile rises have not been ascertained, proceeding as it does through scorching deserts for an enormously long distance and only having been explored by unarmed investigators, without the wars that have discovered all other countries; but so far as King Juba was able to ascertain, it has its origin in a mountain of lower Mauretania not far from the Ocean, and immediately forms a stagnant lake called Nilldes. Fish found in this lake are the alabeta, coracinus and silurus; also a crocodile was brought from it by Juba to prove his theory, and placed as a votive offering in the temple of Isis at Caesarea, where it is on view today. Moreover it has been observed that the Nile rises in proportion to excessive falls of snow or rain in Mauretania. Issuing from this lake the river disdains to flow through arid deserts of sand, and for a distance of several days' journey it hides underground but afterwards it bursts out in another larger lake in the territory of the Masaesyles clan of Mauretania Caesariensis, and so to speak makes a survey of the communities of mankind, proving its identity by having the same fauna. Sinking again into the sand of the desert it hides for another space of 20 days' journey till it reaches the nearest Ethiopians, and when it has once more become aware of man's proximity it leaps out in a fountain, probably the one called the Black Spring. From this point it forms the boundary line between Africa and Ethiopia, and though the riverside is not immediately inhabited, it teems with wild beasts and animal life and produces forests; and where the river cuts through the middle of Ethiopia it has the name of Astapus, which in the native language means water issuing from the shades below. It strews about such a countless number of islands, and some of them of such vast size, that in spite of its very rapid flow it nevertheless only flies past them in a course of five days, and not shorter; while making the circuit of the most famous of these islands, Meroe, the left-hand channel is called Astobores, that is 'branch of water coming out of the shades,' and the right-hand channel Astusapes, which means 'side branch.' It is not called Nile until its waters are again reconciled and have united in a single stream, and even then for some miles it still has the name of Girls which it had previously. Its name in Homer is Aegyptus over its whole course, and with other writers it is the Triton. Every now and then it impinges on islands, which are so many incitements spurring it forward on its way, till finally it is shut in by mountains, its flow being nowhere more rapid; and it is borne on with hurrying waters to the place in Ethiopia called in Greek the Downcrash, where at its last cataract, owing to the enormous noise it seems not to run but to riot between the rocks that bar its way. Afterwards it is gentle, the violence of its waters having been broken and subdued, and also it is somewhat fatigued by the distance it has raced, and it belches out, by many mouths it is true, into the Egyptian Sea. For a certain part of the year however its volume greatly increases and it roams abroad over the whole of Egypt and inundates the land with a fertilising flood.

Various explanations of this rising of the river have been given; but the most probable are either the backwash caused by what are called in Greek the Annual Winds, which blow in the opposite direction to the current at that period of the year, the sea outside being driven into the mouths of the river, or the summer rains of Ethiopia which are due to the same Annual Winds bringing clouds from the rest of the world to Egypt. The mathematician Timaeus produced a very recondite theorythat the source of the Nile is a spring called Phiala, and that the river buries itself in burrows underground and breathes forth vapour owing to the steaming hot rocks among which it hides itself; but that as the sun at the period in question comes nearer the river water is drawn out by the force of the heat and rises up and overflows, and withdraws itself to avoid being swallowed up. This, he says, begins to occur at the rising of the Dog-star, when the sun is entering the sign of the Lion, the sun standing in a vertical line above the spring, at which season in that region shadows entirely disappearthough the general opinion on the contrary is that the flow of the Nile is more copious when the sun is departing towards the north, which happens when it is in the Crab and the Lion, and that consequently the river is dried up less then; and again when the sun returns to Capricorn and towards the south pole its waters are absorbed and its volume consequently reduced. But if anybody is inclined to accept the possibility of Timaeus's explanation that the waters of the river are drawn out of the earth, there is the fact that in these regions absence of shadows goes on continuously at this season. The Nile begins to rise at the next new moon after midsummer, the rise being gradual and moderate while the sun is passing through the Crab and at its greatest height when it is in the Lion; and when in Virgo it begins to fall by

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the same degrees as it rose. It subsides entirely within its banks, according to the account given by Herodotus, on the hundredth day, when the sun is in the Scales. The view has been held that it is unlawful for kings or rulers to sail on the Nile when it is rising. Its degrees of increase are detected by means of wells marked with a scale. An average rise is one of 24 feet. A smaller volume of water does not irrigate all localities, and a larger one by retiring too slowly retards agriculture; and the latter uses up the time for sowing because of the moisture of the soil, while the former gives no time for sowing because the soil is parched. The province takes careful note of both extremes: in a rise of 18 feet it senses famine, and even at one of 194 feet it begins to feel hungry, but 21 feet brings cheerfulness, 224 feet complete confidence and 24 feet delight. The largest rise up to date was one of 27 feet in the principate of Claudius, and the smallest 74 feet in the year of the war of Pharsalus, as if the river were attempting to avert the murder of Pompey by a sort of portent. When the rise comes to a standstill, the floodgates are opened and irrigation begins; and each strip of land is sown as the flood relinquishes it. It may be added that the Nile is the only river that emits no exhalations.

It first comes within the territory of Egypt at the Ethiopian frontier, at Assuanthat is the name of the peninsula a mile in circuit in which, on the Arabian side, the Camp is situated and off which lie the four islands of Philae, 600 miles from the place where the Nile splits into two channelsthe point at which, as we have said, the island called the Delta begins. This is the distance given by Artemidorus, who also states that the island formerly contained 250 towns; Juba, however, gives the distance as 400 miles. Aristocreon says that the distance from Elephantis to the sea is 750 milesElephantis is an inhabited island 4 miles below the last cataract and 16 above Assuan; it is the extreme limit of navigation in Egypt, being 585 miles from Alexandriaso far out in their calculations have the above-named authors been. Elephantis is the point of rendezvous for Ethiopian vessels, which are made collapsible for the purpose of portage on reaching the cataracts.

11. In addition to boasting its other glories of the cities past Egypt can claim the distinction of having had Egypt in the reign of King Amasis 20,000 cities; and even now it contains a very large number, although of no importance. However, the City of Apollo is notable, as is also the City of Leucothea and the Great City of Zeus, also called Thebes, renowned for the fame of its hundred gates, Coptos the market near the Nile for Indian and Arabian merchandise, and also the Town of Venus and the Town of Jove and Tentyris, below which is Abydos, famous for the palace of Memnon and the temple of Osiris, in the interior of Libya 7 miles from the river. Then Ptolemais and Panopolis and another Town of Venus, and on the Libyan side Lycon, where the Province of Thebes is bounded by a mountain range. Beyond this are the Towns of Mercury, and of the Alabastri, the Town of Dogs, and the Town of Hercules mentioned above. Then Arsinoe's Town and Memphis already mentioned, between which and the Arsinoite district on the Libyan side are the towers called pyramids, and on Lake Moeris the Labyrinth, in the construction of which no timber was used with the masonry, and the town of the Criali. There is one place besides in the interior and bordering on the Arabian frontier which is of great renown; Heliopolis.

But justice requires that praise shall be bestowed on Alexandria, built by Alexander the Great on the coast of the Egyptian Sea on the side of Africa, 12 miles from the Canopic mouth and adjoining Lake Mariout; The site was previously named Rhacotes. It was laid out by the architect Dinochares, who is famous for his talent in a variety of ways; it covered an area spreading 15 miles in the shape of a Macedonian soldier's cape, with indentations in its circumference and projecting corners on the right and left side; while at the same time a fifth of the site was devoted to the King's palace. Lake Mariout, which lies on the south side of the city, carries traffic from the interior by means of a canal from the Canopic mouth of the Nile; also it includes a considerable number of islands, being 30 miles across and 250 miles in circumference, according to Claudius Caesar. Others make it 40 schoeni [4 or 5 miles] long and reckon 150 miles, and they give the same figure for the breadth.

There are also many considerable towns in the region of the lower parts of the Nile, especially those that have given their names to the mouths of the flyer, thongh not all of these are named after townsfor we find that there are twelve of them, besides four more that the natives call 'false mouths'but the seven best known are the Canopic mouth nearest to Alexandria and then the Bolbitine, Sebennytic, Phatnitic, Mendesic, Tanitic, and last the Pelusiac.

Besides the towns that give their names to the mouths there are Butos, Pharbaethos, Leontopolis, Athribis, the Town of Isis, Busiris, Cynopolis, Aphrodite's Town, Sais, and Naucratis, after which some people give the name of Naucratitic to the mouth called by others the Heracleotic, and mention it instead of the Canopic mouth which is next to it.

12. Beyond the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile is Arabia, extending to the Red Sea and to the Arabia known by the surname of Happy and famous for its perfumes and its wealth. This bears the names of the Cattabanes, Esbonitae and Scenitae tribes of Arabs; its soil is barren except where it adjoins the frontier of Syria, and its only remarkable feature is the El Kas mountain. The Arabian tribe of the Canchlei adjoin those mentioned on the east and that of the Cedrei on the south, and both of these in their turn adjoin the Nabataei. The two gulfs of the Red Sea where it converges on Egypt are called the Gulf of Suez and the Gulf of Akaba; between the two towns of Akaba and Guzzah, which is on the Mediterranean, there is a space of 150 miles. Agrippa says that the distance from Pelusium across the desert to the town of Ardscherud on the Red Sea is 125 miles: so small a distance in that region separates two such different regions of the world!

13. The next country on the coast is Syria, formerly the greatest of lands. It had a great many divisions with different names, the part adjacent to Arabia being formerly called Palestine, and Judaea, and Hollow Syria, then Phoenicia and the more inland part Damascena, and that still further south Babylonia as well as Mesopotamia between the Euphrates and the Tigris, the district beyond Mount Taurus Sophene, that on this side of Sophene Commagene, that beyond Armenia Adiabene, which was previously called Assyria, and the part touching Cilicia Antiochia. Its length between Cilicia and Arabia is 470 miles and its breadth from Seleukeh Pieria to Bridgetown on the Euphrates 175 miles. Those who divide the country into smaller parts hold the view that Phoenicia is surrounded by Syria, and that the order isthe seacoast of Syria of which Idumaea and Judaca are a part, then Phoenicia, then Syria. The whole of the sea lying off the coast is called the Phoenician Sea. The Phoenician race itself has the great distinction of having invented the alphabet and the sciences of astronomy, navigation and strategy.

14. After Pelusium come the Camp of Chabrias, Mount El Kas the temple of Jupiter Casius, and the tomb of Pompey the Great. At Ras Straki, 65 miles from Pelusium, is the frontier of Arabia. Then begins Idumaea, and Palestine at the point where the Serbonian Lake comes into view. This lake is recorded by some writers as having measuxed 150 miles roundHerodotus gave it as reaching the foot of Mount El Kas; but it is now an inconsiderable fen. There are the towns of El-Arish and inland Refah, Gaza and inland Anthedon, and Mount Argaris. Further along the coast is the region of Samaria, the free town Ascalon, Ashdod, the two towns named Iamnea, one of them inland; and the Phoenician city of Joppa. This is said to have existed before the flood; it is situated on a hill, and in front of it is a rock on which they point out marks made by the chains with which Andromeda was fettered; here there is a cult of the legendary goddess Ceto. Next Apollonia, and the Tower of Strato, otherwise Caesarea, founded by King Herod, but now the colony called Prima Flavia established by the Emperor Vespasian; this is the frontier of Palestine, 189 miles from the confines of Arabia. After this comes Phoenicia, and inland Samaria; the towns are Naplous, formerly called Mamortha, Sebustieh on a mountain, and on a loftier mountain Gamala.

15. Beyond Idumaea and Samaria stretches the wide expanse of Judaea. The part of Judaea adjoining Syria is called Galilee, and that next to Arabia and Egypt Peraea. Peraea is covered with rugged mountains, and is separated from the other parts of Judaea by the river Jordan. The rest of Judaea is divided into ten Local Government Areas in the following order: the district of Jericho, which has numerous palm-groves and springs of water, and those of Emmaus, Lydda, Joppa, Accrabim, Juffia, Timnath-Serah, Bethlebaoth, the Hills, the district that formerly contained Jerusalem, by far the most famous city of the East and not of Judaea only, and Herodium with the celebrated town of the same name.

The source of the river Jordan is the spring of Panias from which Caesarea described later takes its second name. It is a delightful stream, winding about so far as the conformation of the locality allows, and putting itself at the service of the people who dwell on its banks, as though moving with reluctance towards that gloomy lake, the Dead Sea, which ultimately swallows it up, its much-praised waters mingling with the pestilential waters of the lake and being lost. For this reason at the first opportunity afforded by the formation of the valleys it widens out into a lake usually called the Sea of Gennesareth. This is 16 miles long and 6 broad, and is skirted by the pleasant towns of Bethsaida and Hippo on the east, El Kereh on the south (the name of which place some people also give to the lake), and Tabariah with its salubrious hot springs on the west. The only product of the Dead Sea is bitumen, the Greek word for which gives it its Greek name, Asphaltites. The bodies of animals do not sink in its waters, even bulls and camels floating; this has given rise to the report that nothing at all can sink in it. It is more than 100 miles long, and fully 75 miles broad at the broadest part but only 6 miles at the narrowest. On the east it is faced by Arabia of the Nomads, and on the south by Machaerus, at one time next to Jerusalem the most important fortress in Judaea. On the same side there is a hot spring possessing medicinal value, the name of which, Callirrho, itself proclaims the celebrity of its waters.

On the west side of the Dead Sea, but out of range of the noxious exhalations of the coast, is the solitary tribe of the Essenes, which is remarkable beyond all the other tribes in the whole world, as it has no women and has renounced all sexual desire, has no money, and has only palm-trees for company. Day by day the throng of refugees is recruited to an equal number by numerous accessions of persons tired of life and driven thither by the waves of fortune to adopt their manners. Thus through thousands of ages (incredible to relate) a race in which no one is born lives on for ever: so prolific for their advantage is other men's weariness of life!

Lying below the Essenes was formerly the town of Engedi, second only to Jerusalem in the fertility of its land and in its groves of palm-trees, but now like Jerusalem a heap of ashes. Next comes Masada, a fortress on a rock, itself also not far from the Dead Sea. This is the limit of Judaea.

16. Adjoining Judaea on the side of Syria is the region of Decapolis, so called from the number of its towns, though not all writers keep to the same towns in the list; most however include Damascus, with its fertile water-meadows that drain the river Chrysorrho, Philadelphia, Raphana (all these three withdrawn towards Arabia), Scythopolis (formerly Nysa, after Father Liber's nurse, whom he buried there) where a colony of Scythians are settled; Gadara, past which flows the river Yarmak; Hippo mentioned already, Dion, Pella rich with its waters, Galasa, Canatha. Between and around these cities run tetrarchies, each of them equal to a kingdom, and they are incorporated into kingdomsTrachonitis, Panias (in which is Caesarea with the spring mentioned above), Abila, Area, Ampeloessa and Gabe.

17. From this point we must go back to the coast and to Phoenicia. There was formerly a town called Crocodilon, and there is still a river of that name; and the cities of Dora and Sycamini, of which only the memory exists. Then comes Cape Carmel, and on a mountain the town of the same name, formerly called Acbatana. Next are Getta, Geba, and the river Pacida or Belus, which covers its narrow bank with sand of a kind used for making glass; the river itself flows out of the marsh of Cendebia at the foot of Mount Carmel. Close to this river is Ptolemais, a colony of the Emperor Claudius, formerly called Acce; and then the town of Ach-Zib, and the White Cape. Next Tyre, once an island separated from the mainland by a very deep sea-channel 700 yards wide, but now joined to it by the works constructed by Alexander when besieging the place, and formerly famous as the mother-city from which sprang the cities of Leptis, Utica and the great rival of Rome's empire in coveting world-sovereignty, Carthage, and also Cadiz, which she founded outside the confines of the world; but the entire renown of Tyre now consists in a shell-fish and a purple dye! The circumference of the city, including Old Tyre on the coast, measures 19 miles, the actual town covering 2 miles. Next are Zarephath and Bird-town, and the mother-city of Thebes in Boeotia, Sidon, where glass is made.

Behind Sidon begins Mount Lebanon, a chain extending as far as Zimyra in the district called Hollow Syria, a distance of nearly 190 miles. Facing Lebanon, with a valley between, stretches the equally long range of Counter-Lebanon, which was formerly connected with Lebanon by a wall. Behind Counter-Lebanon inland is the region of the Ten Cities, and with it the tetrarchies already mentioned, and the whole of the wide expanse of Palestine; while on the coast, below Mount Lebanon, are the river Magoras, the colony of Beyrout called Julia Felix, Lion's Town, the river Lycus, Palaebyblos, the river Adonis, the towns of Jebeil, Batrun, Gazis, Trieris, Calamos; Tarablis, inhabited by people from Tyre, Sidon and Ruad; Ortosa, the river Eleutheros, the towns of Zimyra and Marathos; and facing them the seven-furlong town and island of Ruad, 330 yards from the mainland; the region in which the mountain ranges above mentioned terminate; and beyond some intervening plains Mount Bargylus.

18. At this point Phoenicia ends and Syria begins again. There are the towns of Tartus, Banias, Bolde and Djebeleh; the cape on which the free town of Latakia is situated; and Dipolis, Heraclea, Charadrus and Posidium. Then the cape of Antiochian Syria, and inland the city of Antioch itself, which is a free town and is called 'Antioch Near Daphne,' and which is separated from Daphne by the river Orontes; while on the cape is the free town of Seleukeh, called Pieria. Above Seleukeh is a mountain having the same name as the other one, Casius, which is so extremely lofty that in the fourth quarter of the night it commands a view of the sun rising through the darkness, so presenting to the observer if he merely turns round a view of day and night simultaneously. The winding route to the summit measures 19 miles, the perpendicular height of the mountain being 4 miles. On the coast is the river Orontes, which rises between Lebanon and Counter-Lebanon, near Baalbec. The towns are Rhosos,and behind it the pass called the Gates Mount Taurus,and on the coast the town of of Syria, in between the Rhosos Mountains and Myriandros, and Mount Alma-Dagh, on which is the town of Bomitae. This mountain separates Cilicia from Syria.

19. Now let us speak of the places inland. Hollow Syria contains the town of Kulat el Mudik, separated by the river

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Marsyas from the tetrarchy of the Nosairis; Bambyx, which is also named the Holy City, but which the Syrians call Maboghere the monstrous goddess Atargatis, the Greek name for whom is Derceto, is worshipped; the place called Chalcis on Belus, which gives its name to the region of Chalcidene, a most fertile part of Syria; and then, belonging to Cyrrestica, Cyrrus and the Gazetae, Gindareni and Gabeni; the two tetrarchies called Granucomatitae; the Hemeseni, the Hylatae, the Ituraei tribe and a branch of them called the Baethaemi; the Mariamnitani; the tetrarchy called Mammisea; Paradise, Pagrae, Penelenitae; two places called Seleucia in addition to the place of that name already mentioned, Seleucia on the Euphrates and Seleucia on Belus; and the Tardytenses. The remainder of Syria (excepting the parts that will be spoken of with the Euphrates) contains the Arbethusii, the Berocenses, the Epiphanenses on the Orontes, the Laodiceans on Lebanon, the Leucadii and the Larisaei, besides seventeen tetrarchies divided into kingdoms and bearing barbarian names.

20. A description of the Euphrates also will come most suitably at this place. It rises in Caranitis, prefecture of Greater Armenia, as has been stated by two of the persons who have seen it nearest to its sourceDomitius Corbulo putting its source in Mount Aga and Licinius Mucianus at the roots of a mountain the name of which he gives as Capotes, twelve miles above Zimara. Near its source the river is called Pyxurates. Its course divides first the Derzene region of Armenia and then the Anaetic from Cappadocia. Dascusa is 75 miles from Zimara; and from Dascusa the river is navigable to Sartona, a distance of 50 miles, to Mehtene in Cappadocia 24 miles, and to Elegea in Armenia 10 miles, receiving the tributary streams Lycus, Arsania and Arsanus. At Elegea it encounters Mount Taurus, which however does not bar its passage although forming an extremely powerful barrier 12 miles broad. The river is called the Omma where it forces its way into the range, and later, where it emerges, the Euphrates; beyond the range also it is full of rocks and has a violent current. From this point it forms the frontier between the district of Arabia called the country of the Orroei on the left and Commagene on the right, its breadth being three cables' length, although even where it forces its passage through the Taurus range it permits of a bridge. At Claudiopolis in Cappadocia it directs its course towards the west; and there for the first time in this combat Mount Taurus carries the stream out of its course, and though conquered and cleft in twain gains the victory in another manner by breaking its career and forcing it to take a southerly direction. Thus this duel of nature becomes a drawn battle, the river reaching the goal of its choice but the mountain preventing it from reaching it by the course of its choice. After passing the Cataracts the stream is again navigable; and 40 miles from this point is Samosata the capital of Commagene.

21. Arabia above mentioned contains the towns Edessa, which was formerly called Antiochia, Callirrhoe, named from its spring, and Carrhae, famous for the defeat of Crassus there. Adjoining it is the prefecture of Mesopotamia, which derives its origin from the Assyrians and in which are the towns of Anthemusia and Nicephorium. Then comes the Arab tribe called the Praetavi, whose capital is Singara. Below Samosata, on the Syrian side, the river Marsyas flows into the Euphrates. At Cingilla the territory of Commagene ends and state of the Imenei begins. The towns washed by the river are Epiphania and Antioch (called Antioch on the Euphrates), and also Bridgetown, 72 miles from Samosata, famous as a place where the Euphrates can be crossed, Apamea on the opposite bank being joined to it by a bridge constructed by Seleucus, the founder of both towns. The people contiguous to Mesopotamia are called the Rhoali. In Syria are the town of Europus and the town formerly called Thapsacus and now Amphipolis, and an Arab tribe of Scenitae. So the river flows on to the place named Sara, where it takes a turn to the east and leaves the Syrian desert of Palmyra which stretches right on to the city of Petra and the region called Arabia Felix.

Palmyra is a city famous for its situation, for the richness of its soil and for its agreeable springs; its fields are surrounded on every side by a vast circuit of sand, and it is as it were isolated by Nature from the world, having a destiny of its own between the two mighty empires of Rome and Parthia, and at the first moment of a quarrel between them always attracting the attention of both sides. It is 337 miles distant from Parthian Seleucia, generally known as Seleucia on the Tigris, 203 miles from the nearest part of the Syrian coast, and 27 miles less from Damascus.

Below the Desert of Palmyra is the district of Stelendena, and Holy City, Beroea and Chalcis already mentioned. Beyond Palmyra also a part of this desert is claimed by Hemesa, and a part by Elatium, which is half as far as Damascus is from Petrae. Quite near to Sura is the Parthian town of Philiscum on the Euphrates; from Philiscum to Seleucia is a voyage of ten days, and about the same to Babylon. At a paint 594 miles from Bridgetown, the Euphrates divides round the village of Massice, the left branch passing through Seleucia itself into Mesopotamia and falling into the Tigris as it flows round that city, while the right-hand channel makes for Babylon, the former capital of Chaldea, and passing through the middle of it, and also through the city called Mothris, spreads out into marshes. Like the Nile, the Euphrates also increases in volume at fixed periods with little variation, and floods Mesopotamia when the sun has reached the 20th degree of the Crab; but when the sun has passed through the Lion and entered Virgo it begins to sink, and when the sun is in the 29th degree of Virgo it returns to its channel entirely.

22. But let us return to the coast of Syria, adjoining which is Cilicia. Here are the river Diaphanes, Mount Crocodile, the Gates of Mount Alma-Dagh, the rivers Androcus, Pinarus and Lycus, the Gulf of Issos, the town of Issos, likewise Alexandria, the river Chlorus, the free town of Aegaeae, the river Pyramus, the Gates of Cilicia, the towns of Mallos and Magirsos and in the interior Tarsus, the Aleian Plains, the towns of Casyponis, Mopsos (a free town on the river Pyramus), Tyros, Zephyrium and Anchfale; and the rivers Saros and Cydnos, the latter cutting through the free city of Tarsus at a great distance from the sea; the district of Celenderitis with its town, the place Nymphaeum, Soloi of Cilicia now Pompeiopolis, Adana, Cibyra, Pinare, Pedalie, Ale, Selinus, Arsinoe, Iotape, Dorion, and on the coast Corycos, there being a town and harbour and cave of the same name. Then the river Calycadnus, Cape Sarpedon, the towns of Holmoe and Myle, and the promontory and town of Venus, a short distance from which lies the island of Cyprus. On the mainland are the towns of Mysanda, Anemurium and Coracesium and the river Melas, the former boundary of Cilicia. Places worthy of mention in the interior are Anazarbeni (the present Caesarea), Augusta, Castabala, Epiphania (previously called Oeniandos), Eleusa, Iconium, and beyond the river Calycadnus Selencia, called Seleucia Tracheotis, a city moved from the seashore, where it used to be called Hermia. Besides these there are in the interior the rivers Liparis, Bombos and Paradisus, and Mount Imbarus.

23. All the authorities have made Pamphylia join on to Cilicia, overlooking the people of Isauria. The inland towns of Isauria are Isaura, Clibanus and Lalasis; it runs down to the sea over against Anemurium above mentioned. Similarly all who have written on the same subject have ignored the tribe of the Omanades bordering on Isauria, whose town of Omana is in the interior. There are 44 other fortresses lying hidden among rugged valleys.

24. The crest of the mountains is occupied by the Pisidians, formerly called the Solymi, to whom belong the colony of Caesarea also named Antioch and the towns of Oroanda and Sagalessos.

25. The Pisidians are bordered by Lycaonia, included in the jurisdiction of the province of Asia, which is also the centre for the peoples of Philomelium Tymbrium, Leucolithium, Pelta and Tyriacum. To that jurisdiction is also assigned a tetrarchy that forms part of Lycaonia in the division adjoining Galatia, consisting of 14 states, the most famous city being Iconium. Notable places belonging to Lycaonia itself are Thebasa on Mount Taurus and Ida on the frontier between Galatia and Cappadocia. At the side of Lycaonia, beyond Pamphylia, come the Milyae, a tribe of Thracian descent; their town is Aryeanda.

26 Pamphylia was previously called Mopsopia. The Pamphylian Sea joins on to the Sea of Cilicia. Pamphylia includes the towns of Side and, on the mountain, Aspendus, Plantanistns and Perga, Cape Leueolla and Mount Sardemisus; its rivers are the Eurymedon flowing past Aspendus and the Catarrhactes on which are Lyrnessus and Oibia and Phaselis, the last place on the coast.

27. Adjoining Pamphylia are the Sea of Lycia and the Lycian tribe, at the point where Mount Taurus coming from the Eastern shores forms the Chelidonian Promontory as a boundary between vast bays. It is itself an immense range, and holds the balance between a countless number of tribes; its right-hand side, where it first rises out of the Indian Ocean, faces north, and its left-hand side faces south; it also stretches westward, and would divide Asia in two at the middle, were it not that in dominating the land it encounters the opposition of seas. It therefore recoils in a northerly direction, and forming a curve starts on an immense route, Nature as it were designedly throwing seas in its way at intervals, here the Phoenician Sea, here the Black Sea, there the Caspian and the Hyrcanian, and opposite to them the Sea of Azov. Consequently owing to their impact the mountain twists about between these obstacles, and nevertheless sinuously emerging victorious reaches the kindred ranges of the Ripaean Mountains. The range is designated by a number of names, receiving new ones at each point in its advance: its first portion is called Imaus, then Emodus, Paropanisus, Circius, Cambades, Pariades, Choatras, Oreges, Oroandes, Niphates, Taurus, and where it overtops even itself, Caucasus, while where it occasionally throws out arms as if trying to invade the sea, it becomes Sarpedon, Coracesius, Cragus, and once again Taurus; and even where it gapes open and makes a passage for mankind, nevertheless claiming for itself an unbroken continuity by giving to these passes the name of Gates: in one place they are called the Armenian Gates, in another the Caspian, and in another the Cilician. Moreover when it has been cut short in its career, retiring also from the sea, it fills itself on tither side with the names of numerous races, on the right-hand side being called the Hyrcanian Mountain and the Caspian, and on the left the Parihedrian, Moschian, Amazonian, Coraxian, Scythian; whereas in Greek it is called throughout the whole of its course the Ceraunian Mountain.

28. In Lycia therefore after leaving the promontory of Mount Taurus we have the town of Simena, Mount Chimaera, which sends forth flames at night, and the city-state of Hephaestium, which also has a mountain range that is often on fire. The town of Olympus stood here, and there are now the mountain villages of Gagae, Corydalla and Rhodiopolis, and near the sea Limyra with the river of which the Arycandus is a tributary, and Mount Masicitus, the city-state of Andria, Myra, the towns of Aperiae and Antiphellos formerly called Habesos, and in a corner Phellos. Then comes Pyrrha, and also Xanthus 15 miles from the sea, and the river of the same name; and then Patara, previously Pataros, and Sidyma on its mountain, and Cape Cragus. Beyond Cape Cragus is a bay as large as the one before; here are Pinara and Telmessus, the frontier town of Lycia. Lycia formerly contained 70 towns, but now it has 36; of these the most famous besides those mentioned above are Canas, Candyba the site of the famous grove of Eunia, Podalia, Choma past which flows the Aedesa, Cyaneae, Ascandiandalis, Amelas, Noscopium, Tlos, Telandrus. It includes also in its interior Cabalia, with its three cities, Oenianda, Balbura and Bubon. After Telmessus begins the Asiatic or Carpathian Sea, and Asia properly so called. Agrippa divided this country into two parts. One of these he enclosed on the east by Phrygia and Lyeaonia, on the west by the Aegean Sea, on the south by the Egyptian Sea, and on the north by Paphlagonia; the length of this part he made 470 miles and the breadth 320 miles. The other half he bounded on the east by Lesser Armenia, on the west by Phrygia, Lycaonia and Pamphylia, on the north by the Province of Pontus and on the south by the Pamphylian Sea, making it 575 miles long and 325 miles broad.

29. On the adjoining coast is Caria and then Ionia and beyond it Aeolis. Caria entirely surrounds Doris, encircling it right down to the sea on both sides. In Caria are Cape Pedalium and the river Glaucus, with its tributary the Telmedius, the towns of Daedala and Crya, the latter a settlement of refugees, the river Axon, and the town of Calynda. The river Indus, rising in the mountains of the Cibyratae, receives as tributaries 60 streams that are constantly flowing and more than 100 mountain torrents. There is the free town of Caunos, and then Pyrnos, Port Cressa, from which the island of Rhodes is 20 miles distant, the place Loryma, the towns of Tisanusa, Paridon and Larymna, Thymnias Bay, Cape Aphrodisias, the town of Hydas, Schoenus Bay, and the district of Bubassus; there was formerly a town Acanthus, otherwise named Dulopolis. On a promontory stand the free city of Cnidus, Triopia, and then Pegusa, also called Stadia. After Pegusa begins Doris.

But before we go on it may be as well to describe the back parts of Caria and the jurisdictions of the interior. One of these is called Cibyratica; the actual town of Cibyra belongs to Phrygia, and is the centre for 25 city-states, the most famous being the city of Laodicea. Laodicea is on the river Lycus, its sides being washed by the Asopus and the Caprus; its original name was the City of Zeus, and it was afterwards called Rhoas. The rest of the peoples belonging to the same jurisdiction whom it may not be amiss to mention are the Hydrelitae, Themisones and Hierapolitae. Another centre has received its name from Synnas; it is the centre for the Lycaones, Appiani, Corpeni, Dorylaei, Midaei, Julienses and 15 other peoples of no note. A third jurisdiction centres at Apamea, previously called Celaenae, and then Cybotos; Apamea is situated at the foot of Mount Signia, with the rivers Marsyas, Obrima and Orba, tributaries of the Maeander, flowing round it; the Marsyas here emerges from underground, and buries itself again a little later. Aulocrene is the place where Marsyas had a contest in flute-playing with Apollo: it is the name given to a gorge 10 miles from Apamea, on the way to Phrygia. Out of this jurisdiction it would be proper to name the Metropolitae, Dionysopohtae, Euphorbeni, Acmonenses, Pelteni and Silbiani; and there are nine remaining tribes of no note.

On the Gulf of Doris are Leucopolis, Hamaxitos, Eleus, Etene; then there are the Carian towns of Pitaium, Eutane and Halicarnassus. To the jurisdiction of Halicarnassus six towns were assigned by Alexander the Great, Theangela, Side, Medmassa, Uranium, Pedasum and Telmisum; the last is situated between two bays, those of Ceramus and Iasus. Next we come to Myndus and the former site of Old Myndus, Nariandos, Neapolis, Caryanda, the free town Termera, Bargylia and Iasus, the town that gives its name to the bay. Caria is especially distinguished for the famous list of places in its interior, for here are Mylasa, a free town, and Antiochia which occupies the sites of the former towns, of Symmaethus and Cranaos; it is now surrounded by the rivers Maeander and Orsinus. This region formerly also contained Maeandropolis; in it are Eumema on the river Cludrus, the river Glaueus, the

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town of Lysias, and Orthosia, the district of Berecynthus, Nysa, and Trails also called Euanthia and Seleucia and Antiochia. It is washed by the river Eudon and the Thebais flows through it; some record that a race of Pygmies formerly lived in it. There are also Thydonos, Pyrrha, Eurome, Heraclea, Amyzon, the free town of Alabanda which has given its name to this jurisdiction, the free town of Stratonicea, Hynidos, Ceramus, Troezene and Phorontis. At a greater distance but resorting to the same centre for jurisdiction are the Orthronienses, Alidienses, Euhippini, Xystiani, Hydissenses, Apolloniatae, Trapezopolitae and Aphrodisienses, a free people. Besides these places there are Coscinus and Harpasa, the latter on the river Harpasus, which also passes the site of the former town of Trallicon.

30. Lydia, bathed by the ever-returning sinuosities of the river Maeander, extends above Ionia; it is bordered by Phrygia to the east and Mysia to the north, and with its southern portion it embraces Caria. It was previously called Maeonria. It is specially famous for the city of Sardis, situated on the vine-clad side of Mount Tmolus, the former name of which was Timolus. From Tmolus flows the Pactolus, also called the Chrysorrhoas, and the source of the Tarnus; and the city-state of Sardis itself, which is famous for the Gygaean Lake, used to be called Hyde by the people of Maeonia. This jurisdiction is now called the district of Sardis, and besides the people before-named it is the centre for the Macedonian Cadieni, the Philadelphini, and the Maeonii themselves who are situated on the river Cogamus at the foot of Mount Tmolus, the Tripolltani, also called Antoniopolitaetheir territory is washed by the river Maeanderthe Apollonihieritae, the Mysotimolitae and other people of no note.

31. At the Gulf of Iasus Ionia begins. It has a winding coast, with a rather large number of bays. The first is the Royal Bay, then the cape and town of Posideum, and the shrine once called the oracle of the Branchidae, now that of Didymaean Apollo, 4 miles from the coast; and 24 miles from it. Miletus, the capital of Ionia, which formerly bore the names of Lelegeis and Pityusa and Anactoria, the mother of over 90 cities scattered over all the seas; nor must she be robbed of her claim to Cadmus as her citizen, the author who originated composition in prose. From the mountain lake of Aulocrene rises the river Maeander, which washes a large number of cities and is replenished by frequent tributaries; its windings are so tortuous that it is often believed to turn and flow backwards. It first wanders through the region of Apamea, afterwards that of Eumenia, and then the plains of Hyrgale, and finally the country of Caria, its tranquil waters irrigating all these regions with mud of a most fertilising quality; and it glides gently into the sea a mile and a quarter from Miletus. Next comes Mount Latmus, the towns of Heraclea belonging to the mountain so designated in the Carian dialect, Myus which is recorded to have been first founded by Ionian emigrants from Athens, Naulochum, and Priene. At the part of the coast called Troglea is the river Gessus. The district is sacred with all Ionians, and is consequently called Panionia. Next there was formerly a town founded by refugeesas its name Phygela indicatesand another called Marathesium. Above these places is Magnesia, distinguished by the name of Magnesia on Maeander, an offshoot from Magnesia in Thessaly; it is 15 miles from Ephesus, and 3 miles more from Tralles. It previously had the names of Thessaloche and Androlitia. Being situated on the coast it has appropriated the Derasides islands from the sea. Inland also is Thyatira, washed by the Lycus; once it was called Pelopian or Euhippian Thyatira.

On the coast again is Matium, and Ephesus built by the Amazons, previously designated by many namesthat of Alope at the time of the Trojan War, later Ortygia and Amorge; it was also called Smyrna Trachia and Haemonion and Ptelea. It is built on the slope of Mount Pion, and is watered by the Cayster, which rises in the Cilbian range and brings down the waters of many streams, and also drains the Pegasaean Marsh, an overflow of the river Phyrites. From these comes a quantity of mud which advances the coastline and has now joined The island of Syrie on to the mainland by the flats interposed. In the city of Ephesus is the spring called Callippia, and a temple of Diana surrounded by two streams, both called Selinus, coming from different directions.

After leaving Ephesus there is another Matium, which belongs to Colophon, and Colophon itself lying more inland, on the river Halesus. Then the temple of Clarian Apollo, Lebedosformerly there was also the town of NotiumCape Cyrenaeum, and Mount Mimas which projects 150 miles into the sea and slopes down into the plains adjoining. It was here that Alexander the Great had given orders for a canal 7 miles long to be cut across the level ground in question so as to join the two bays and to make an island of Erythrae with Mimas. Near Erythrae were formerly the towns of Pteleon, Hulos and Dorion, and there is now the river Aleon, Corynaeum the promontory of Mimas, Clazomenae, and Parthenie and Hippi, which were called the Chytrophoria when they were islands; these Alexander also ordered to be joined to the mainland by a causeway a quarter of a mile in length. Places in the interior that exist no longer were Daphnus and Hermesta and Sipylum previously called Tantalis, the capital of Maeonia, situated where there is now the marsh named Sale; Archaeopolis which replaced Sipylus has also perished, and later Colpe which replaced Archaeopolis and Libade which replaced Colpe.

On returning thence to the coast, at a distance of 12 miles we come to Smyrna, founded by an Amazon and restored by Alexander; it is refreshed by the river Meles which rises not far off. The mast famous mountains of Asia mostly lie in this district: Mastusia behind Smyrna and Termes, joining on to the roots of Olympus, ends, and is followed by Mount Draco, Draco by Tmolus, Tmolus by Cadmus, and that range by Taurus. After Smyrna the river Hermus forms level plains to which it gives its name. It rises at the Phrygian city-state of Dorylaus, and has many tributary rivers, among them the Phryx which forms the frontier between the race to which it gives its name and Caria, and the Hyllus and the Gryos, themselves also augmented by the rivers of Phrygia, Mysia and Lydia. At the mouth of the Hennus there was once the town of Temnos, and now at the end of the bay are the rocks called the Ants, the town of Leucae on a headland that was formerly an island, and Phocaea, the frontier town of Ionia. The jurisdiction of Smyrna is also the centre resorted to by a large part of Aeolia which will now be described, and also by the Macedonians called Hyrcani and the Magnesians from Sipylus. But Ephesus, the other great luminary of Asia, is the centre for the Caesarienses, Metropolitae, Upper and Lower Cilbiani, Mysomacedones, Mastaurenses, Briullitae, Hypaepeni and Dioshieritae.

32. Next is Aeolis, once called Mysia, and Troas lying on the coast of the Dardanelles. Here after passing Phocaea we come to Port Ascanius, and then to the place where once stood Larisa and where now are Cyme, Myrina which styles itself Sebastopolis, and inland Aegaeae, Itale, Posidea, New Wall, Temnos. On the coast are the river Titanus and the city-state named after it, and also once there was Grynia, now only a harbour, formerly an island that had been joined to the mainland; the town of Elaea and the river Caicus coming from Mysia; the town of Pitane; the river Canaitis. Canae has disappeared, as have Lysimachea, Atarnea, Carene, Cisthene, Cilla, Cocyhum, Thebe, Astyre, Chrysa, Palaescepsis, Gergith, Neandros; but there still exist the city-state of Perperene, the district of Heracleotes, the town of Coryphas, the rivers Grylios and Ollius, the district of Aphrodisias which was formerly Politice Orgas, the district of Scepsis, and the river Evenus, on the banks of which stood Lyrnesus and Miletos, both now in ruins. In this region is Mount Ida, and on the coast Adramytteos, formerly called Pedasus, which has given its name to the bay and to the jurisdiction, and the rivers Astron, Cormalos, Crianos, Alabastros, and Holy River coming from Mount Ida; inland are Mount Gargara and the town of the same name. On the coast again are Antandros previously called Edonis, then Cimmeris, and Assos, which is the same as Apollonia; and formerly there was also the town of Palamedium. Then Cape Lectum which marks the frontier between the Aeolid and the Troad; also there was once the city-state of Polymedia, and Chrysa and another Larisa: the temple of Znintheus still stands. Colone inland has disappeared. Adramytteos is resorted to for legal business by the people of Apollonia on the river Rhyndaeus, the Eresi, Miletopolitae, Poemaneni, Macedonian Asculacae, Polichnaei, Pionitae, the Cilician Mandacandeni, the Mysian peoples known as the Abretteni and the Hellespontii, and others of no note.

33. The first place in the Troad is Hamaxitus, then come Cebrenia, and then Troas itself, formerly called Antigonia and now Alexandria, a Roman colony; the town of Nee; the navigable river Scamander; and on a promontory was formerly the town of Sigeum. Then the Harbour of the Achaeans, into which flows the Xanthus united with the Simois, and the Palaescamander, which previously forms a marsh. Of the rest of the places celebrated in Homer, Rhesus, Heptaporus, Caresus, Rhodius, no traces remain; and the Granicus flows by a different route into the Sea of Marmara. However there is even now the small city-state of Scamander, and 4 miles from its harbour Ilium, a town exempt from tribute, the scene of all the famous story. Outside the bay, are the Rhoetean coasts, occupied by the towns of Rhoeteum, Dardanium and Arisbe. Formerly there was also the town of Achilleon, founded near to the tomb of Achilles by the people of Mitylene and afterwards rebuilt by the Athenians, where the fleet of Achilles was stationed at Sigeum; and also there once was Aeantion, founded by the Rhodians on the other horn of the bay, which is the place where Ajax was buried, at a distance of 3 miles from Sigeum, and from the actual place where his fleet was stationed. Inland behind Aeolis and a part of the Troad is the district called Teuthrania, inhabited in ancient times by the Mysiansthis is where the river Caicus already mentioned rises; Teuthrania was in a considerable independent clan, even when the whole district bore the name of Mysia. Places in Teuthrania are Pioniae, Andera, Idale, Stabulum, Conisium, Teium, Balce, Tiare, Teuthranie, Sarnaca, Haliseme, Lycide, Parthenium, Cambre, Oxyopiun, Lygdamum, Apollonia, and by far the most famous place in Asia, Pergamum, which is traversed by the river Selinus and bordered by the river Cetius, flowing down from Mount Pindasus. Not far away is Elaea, which we mentioned, on the coast. The jurisdiction of this district is called the Pergamene, and it is the centre for the Thyatireni, Mossyni, Mygdones, Bregmeni, Hierocometae, Perpereni, Tiareni, Hierolophienses, Hermocapelitae, Attalenses, Panteenses, Apollonidienses and other city-states of no note. At a distance of 8 miles from Rhoeteum is the small town of Dardanium. Eighteen miles from it is Cape Trapeza, from which point the Dardanelles start. A list of Asiatic races now extinct given by Eratosthenes includes the Solymi, Leleges, Bebryces, Colycantii and Tripsedi; Isidore gives the Arienei and the Capreatae at the place where Apamea stands, founded by King Seleucus, between Cilicia, Cappadocia, Cataonia and Armenia. Apamea was originally called Damea because it had subdued some extremely fierce tribes.

34. Of the islands off the coast of Asia the first is at the Canopic mouth of the Nile, and takes its name, it is said, from Menelaus's helmsman Canopus. The second, called Pharos, joined by a bridge to Alexandria, was settled by the Dictator Caesar; it was formerly a day's sail from Egypt, but now it carries a lighthouse to direct the course of vessels at night; for owing to the treacherous shoals Alexandria can be reached by only three channels of the sea, those of Steganus, Posideum and Taurus. Then in the Phoenician Sea off Joppa lies Paria, the whole of which is a townit is said to have been the place where Andromeda was exposed to the monsterand Arados, mentioned already; between which and the mainland, according to Mucianus, fresh water is brought up from a spring at the bottom of the sea, which is 75 feet deep, by means of a leather pipe.

35. The Pampliylian Sea contains some islands of no note. The Cilician Sea has five of considerable size, among them Cyprus, which lies east and west off the coasts of Cilicia and Syria; it was formerly the seat of nine kingdoms. Its circumference is given by Timosthenes as measuring 427 miles and by Isidore as 375 ruiles. Its length between the two capes of Clidae and Acamas, the latter at its west end, is given by Artemidorus as 1624 and by Timosthenes as 200 miles. According to Philonides it was previously called Acamantis, according to Xenagoras Cerastis and Aspelia and Amathusia and Macada, and according to Astynomus Cryptos and Colinias. It contains 15 towns, New and Old Paphos, Curias, Citium, Corinaeum, Salamis, Amathus, Lapethos, Soloe, Tamasos, Epidaurus, Chytri, Arsinoe, Carpasium and Golgoe; and formerly there were also Cinyria, Mareum and Idalium. It is 50 miles from Anemurius in Cilicia; the sea lying between is called the Cilician Aulon. In the same neighbourhood is the island of Eleusa, and the four Clides off the cape facing Syria, and again off a second headland Stiria, and towards New Faphos Hiera and Cepia, and towards Salamis the Salaminiae. In the Lycian Sea are Illyris, Telendos, Attelebussa, the three barren Cyprian islands and Dionysia, formerly called Charaeta; then opposite to Cape Taurus, the Chelidonian islands, the same in number, fraught with disaster for passing vessels. Next to these the Pactyae with the town of Leucolla, Lasia, Nymphais, Maeris and Megista, the city-state on which has ceased to exist; and then a number of islands of no note. But opposite to Chimaera are Dolichiste, Choerogylion, Crambusa, Rhoge, the eight called the Xenagora islands, the two called Daedaleon, and the three called Cryeon; Strongyle, and opposite Sidyma Antiochi and towards the river Glaucus Lagussa, Macris, Didymae, Helbo, Scope, Aspis and Telandria (the town on which has ceased to exist) and nearest to Mount Caunus Rhodussa.

36. But the most beautiful is the free island of Rhodes, which measures 125, or, if we prefer to believe Isidore, 103 miles round, and which contains the cities of Lindus, Camirus and Ialysus, and now that of Rhodes. Its distance from Alexandria in Egypt is 583 miles according to Isidore, 468 according to Eratosthenes, 500 according to Mucianus; and it is 176 miles from Cyprus. It was previously called Ophiussa, Asteria, Aethria, Trinacrie, Corymbia, Poeeessa, Atabyria after its king, and subsequently Macaria and Oloessa. Islands belonging to the Rhodians are Carpathus which has given its name to the Carpathian Sea, Casos, formerly Achne, Nisyros, previously called Porphyris, 15 miles distant from Cnidus, and in the same neighbourhood lying between Rhodes and Cnidus, Syrne. Syrne measures 37 miles in circumference; it provides the welcome of eight harbours. Other islands in the neighbourhood of Rhodes besides those mentioned are Cyclopis, Teganon, Cordylusa, the four Diabatae, Hymos, Chalce with its town, Teutlusa, Narthecusa, Dimastos, Progne, and in the direction of Cnidus Cisserusa, Therionarcia, Calydne with the three towns of Notium, Nisyrus and Mendeterus, and the town of Ceramus on Arconnesus. Off the coast of Caria are the Argiae, a group of twenty islands, and Hyetusa, Lepsia and Leros. But the most famous island in this gulf is that of Cos, which is 15 miles distant from Halicarnassus and 100 miles in circumference; it is generally believed to have been called Merope, but according to Staphylus its former name was Cea and according to Dionysius Meropis and later Nymphaea. On Cos is Mount Prion; and the island of Nisyros, formerly called

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Porphyris, is believed to have been severed from Cos. Next to Cos we come to Caryanda with its town; and not far from Halicarnassus, Pidossus. In the Ceramic Bay are Priaponesus, Hipponesus, Pserema, Lampsa, Aemyndus, Passala, Crusa, Pyrrhaeciusa, Sepiusa, Melano, and at only a small distance from the mainland the island named Cinaedopolis, because certain persons of disgraceful character were deposited there by Alexander the Great.

37. Off the coast of Ionia are Aegeae and Corseae, and Icarus previously mentioned, Lade, formerly called Late, and among some islands of no importance the two Camelitae near Miletus, the three Trogiliae near Mycala, Phulios, Argennos, Sandalios, and the free island of Samos, which measures 87, or according to Isidore, 100 miles in circumference. Aristotle records that it was first called Parthenia, afterwards Dryusa, and then Anthemusa; Aristocritus adds the names Melamphyllus, and later Cyparissia, others Parthenoarrhusa and Stephane. Samos contains the rivers Imbrasus, Chesius and Hibiethes, the springs Gigartho and Leucothea, and Mount Cercetius. Adjacent islands are Ilhypara, Nymphaea and Achillea.

38. Ninety-four miles from Samos is the equally famous free island of Chios with its town. This island Ephorus designates by its ancient name of Aethalia, while Metrodorus and Cleobulus call it Chia after the nymph Chione, though some say that name is derived from the Greek word for snow. Other names for it are Macris and Pityusa. It contains Mount Pelinnaeus, in which Chian marble is quarried. Its circumference amounts to 125 miles, according to old accounts, but Isidore adds 9 miles to that figure. It is situated between Samos and Lesbos and directly opposite to Erythrae. Neighbouring islands are Tellusa, by other writers called Daphnusa, Oenusa, Elaphitis, Euryanassa and Arginusa with its town. These islands bring us to the neighbourhood of Ephesus, where are also those called the Islands of Pisistratus, Anthinae, Myonnesus, Diarrheusa (the towns on both these islands have disappeared), Pordoselene with its town, Cerciae, Halone, Commone, Illetia, Lepria, Aethre, Sphaeria, Procusae, Bolbulae, Pheate, Priapos, Syce, Melane, Aenare, Sidusa, Pele, Drymusa, Anhydros, Scopclos, Sycussa, Marathusa, Psile, Perirrheusa, and many others of no note. Out at sea is the famous island of Teos with its town, 71 miles from Chios and the same distance from Erythrae. Near Smyrna are the Peristerides, Carteria, Alopece, Elaeusa, Bacchina, Pystira, Crommyonnesos, Megale. Off the Troad are Ascaniae, the three Plateae, then Larniae, the two Plitaniae, Plate, Scopelos, Getone, Arthedon, Coele, Lagusae, Didymae.

39. The most famous island is Lesbos, 65 miles from Chios; it was formerly called Himerte and Lasia, Pelasgia, Aegira, Aethiope and Macaria. It had nine noteworthy towns: of these Pyrrha has been swallowed up by the sea, Arisbe destroyed by earthquake and Antissa absorbed by Methymna, which itself lies near nine cities of Asia, along a coastline of 37 miles. Agamede and Hiera have also ceased to exist; but there remain Eresos, Pyrrhaa and the free city of Mytilene, which has been powerful for 1500 years. The circuit of the whole island measures 168 miles according to Isidore and 195 miles according to old authorities. The mountains on Lesbos are Lepetyrnnus, Ordymnus, Macistus, Creone and Olympus. It is 7 miles distant from the nearest point of the mainland. Adjacent islands are Sandalium and the five Leucae, which include Cydonea with its hot spring; four miles from Aege are the Arginussae and then Phellusa and Pedna. Outside the Dardanelles and opposite the coast of Sigeum lies Tenedos, also called Leucophrys and Phoenice and Lyrnesos; it is 56 miles from Lesbos and l2 from Sigeum.

40. Here the current of the Dardanelles becomes stronger, and comes into collision with the sea, undermining the bar with its eddies until it separates Asia from Europe. We have already given the name of the promontory here as Trapeza. Ten miles from it is the town of Abydus, where the strait is only 7 furlongs wide; then the town of Percote, and Lampsacus formerly called Pityusa, the colony of Parium, called by Homer Adrastia, the town of Priapos, the river Aesepus, Zelia, and the Sea of Mannara (the name given to the Straits where the sea widens out), the river Oranicus and the harbour of Artace, where there once was a town. Beyond is the island which Alexander joined to the mainland and on which is the Milesian town of Cyzicus, formerly called Arctonnesus and Dolionis and Didymis; above it is Mount Didymus. Then the towns of Placia, Ariace and Scylace, and in their rear the mountain called the Mysian Olympus and the city-state of Olympena. The rivers are the Horisius and the Rhyndacus, formerly called the Lycus: this rises in the marsh of Artynia near Miletopolis, and into it flow the Macestos and several other rivers; it forms the boundary between Asia and Bithynia. This district was formerly named Cronia, then Thessalis, and then Malianda and Strymonis; its inhabitants were called by Homer the Halizones, as the tribe is 'girdled by the sea.' It once had a vast city named Atussa, and it now includes twelve city-states, among them Gordiu Come otherwise called Juliopolis, and on the coast Dascylos. Then there is the river Gelbes, and inland the town of Helgas, also called Germanicopolis, another name for it being Boos Coete; as also Apamea now known as Myrlea of the Colophonii; and the river Echeleos which in early times was the frontier of the Troad, and at which Mysia began. Afterwards the bay in which are the river Ascanius, the town of Bryalion, the rivers Hylas and Cios, with the town also named Cios, formerly a trading station for the neighbouring district of Phrygia, founded by the people of Miletus but on a site formerly known as Ascania of Phrygia: consequently this is as suitable a place as any other to speak about Phrygia.

41. Phrygia lies behind Troas and the peoples already mentioned between Cape Lectum and the river Echeleus. On its northern side it marches with Galatia, on its southern side with Lycaonia, Pisidia and Mygdonia, and on the east it extends to Cappadocia. Its most famous towns beside the ones already mentioned are Aneyra, Andria, Celaenae, Cobossae, Carina, Cotyaion, Ceraine, Coniuni and Midaiuni. Some authorities say that the Mysians, Phrygians and Bithynians take their names from three parties of immigrants who crossed over from Europe, the Moesi, Brygi and Thyni.

42. At the same time it seems proper to speak also about Galatia, which lies above Phrygia and holds lands that for the most part were taken from that country, as was Gordium, its former capital. This district is occupied by Gallic settlers called the Tolistobogii, Voturi and Ambitouti, and those occupying the Maeonian and Paphlagonian region are the Trogmi. Along the north and east of Galatia stretches Cappadocia, the most fertile part of which has been occupied by the Tectosages and Toutobodiaci. These are the races that inhabit the country; the peoples and tetrarchies into which they are divided number 195 in all. The towns are Ancyra belonging to the Tectosages, Tavium to the Trogini and Pisinus to the Tolistobogii. Noteworthy people besides these are the Actalenses, Alassenses, Comenses, Didienses, Hierorenses, Lystreni, Neapolitani, Oeandenses, Seleucenses, Sebasteni, Timoniacenses and Thebaseni. Galatia also touches on Cabalia in Pamphylia and the Milyae about Bans; also on Cyllanicum and the district of Oroanda in Pisidia, and Obizene which is part of Lycaonia. The rivers in it beside those already mentioned are the Sakarya and the Gallus; from the latter the priests of the Mother of the Gods take their name.

43. Now we give the remainder of the places on this coast. Inland from Cios, in Bithynia, is Prusa, at the foot of Olympus, founded by Hannibalfrom there to Nicaea is 25 miles, Lake Ascanias coming in betweenthen, on the innermost bay of the lake, Nicaea, which was formerly called Olbia, and Prusias; then a second place also named Prusias at the foot of Mount Hypius. Places that exist no longer are Pythopolis, Parthenopolis and Coryphanta. On the coast are the rivers Aesius, Bryazon, Plataneus, Areus, Aesyrus and Geodos, another name for which is Chrysorrhoas, and the headland on which formerly the town of Megarice stood: owing to which the gulf used to have the name of Craspedites, because that town was a sort of tassel on its fringe. There was also formerly the town of Astacus, owing to which the gulf in question was also called Astacus Bay. Also there was a town called Libyssa at the place where there is now only the tomb of Hannibal; and also at the far extremity of the bay stands the famous city of Bithynian Nicomedia. Cape Leucatas which shuts in Astacus Bay is 37 miles from Nicomedia; and then the coastlines come together again, forming narrows that extend as far as the Straits of Constantinople. On these narrows are the free city of Calchadon, previously called Procerastis, 62 miles from Nicodemia, then Colpusa, afterwards Bhnd Men's Towna name implying that its founders did not know how to choose a site, Byzantium a site so much more attractive in every respect being less than a mile away! Inland in Bithynia are the colony of Apamea, Agrippenses, Juliopolitae and Bithynion. The rivers are the Syriurn, Laphias, Pharnacias, Alces, Serinis, Lilaeus, Scopius and Hieros, which forms the frontier between Bithynia and Galatia. Beyond Calchadon formerly stood Chrysopolis. Then Nicopohs, from which comes the name still given to the bay containing Port of Amycus; then Cape Naulochum, Hestiae and Neptune's Temple. Then come the Straits of Constantinople, the channel half a mile wide which again separates Asia from Europe, 12 miles from Calchadon. Then the mouth of the Straits, 8 miles wide, where once stood the town of Spiropolis. The whole of the coast is inhabited by the Thynians and the interior by the Bithynians. This is the end of Asia and of the 282 peoples who can be counted between the frontier of Lycia and this point. The length of the Dardanelles and the Sea of Marmara to the Straits of Constantinople we stated above as 239 miles, and the distance from Calchadon to Sigeum is given by Isidore as 322 miles.

44. The islands in the Marmara are, Elaphonnesus off Cyzicus, from which is obtained the Cyzicus marbleit is also called Neuris and Proconnesusand then Ophiussa, Acanthus, Phoebe, Scopelos, Porphyrione, Halone with its town, Delphacie, Polydora and Artacaeon with its town. Also off Nicomedia is Demonnesus, and also beyond Heraclea and off Bithynia Thynias, the native name of which is Bithynia. There is also Antiochia, and off the mouth of the Rhyndacus Besbicos, an island 18 miles in circumference; and also Elaea and the two Rhodusae, Erebinthote, Megale, Chalcitis and Pityodes.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 6

1. The Euxine or Black Sea, formerly because of its inhospitable roughness called the Axine, owing to a peculiar jealousy on the part of Nature, which here indulges the sea's greed without any limit, actually spreads into Europe and Asia. The Ocean was not content to have encircled the earth, and with still further cruelty to have reft away a portion of her surface, nor to have forced an entrance through a breach in the mountains and rent Gibraltar away from Africa, so devouring a larger area than it left remaining, nor to have swallowed up a further space of land and flooded the Sea of Marmara through the Dardanelles; even beyond the Straits of Constantinople also it widens out into another desolate expanse, with an appetite unsatisfied until the Sea of Azov links on its own trespass to its encroachments. That this event occurred against the will of the earth is proved by the number of narrows, and by the smallness of the gaps left by Nature's resistance, measuring at the Dardanelles 875 paces, at the Straits of Constantinople and Kertsch the passage being actually fordable by oxenwhich fact gives both of them their name and also by a certain harmonious affinity contained in their disseverance, as the singing of birds and barking of dogs on one side can be heard on the other, and even the interchange of human speech, conversation going on between the two worlds, save when the actual sound is carried away by the wind.

The dimension of the Black Sea from the Dardanelles to the Sea of Azov is given by some authorities as 1438 miles, but Eratosthenes makes it 100 miles less. Agrippa gives the distance from Calchadon to the river Won as 1000 miles and from that river to the Straits of Kertsch as 360 miles. We shall state the distances in sections as ascertained in our own time, inasmuch as there has been dispute even about the mouth of the Straits of Kertsch.

Well then, after the mouth of the Dardanelles is the river Rebas, called by some the Rhesus; then Syris, and Port Calpas, and the Sakarya, a famous river which rises in Phrygia and into which flow some very large tributaries, among them the Tembrogius and the Gallus; its name is commonly given as Sagiarius; the Coralius where the Mariandyni territory begins; the bay of Heraclea, and the town of that name on the river Lycusit is 200 miles from the mouth of the Black Seathe port of Aconae, of evil repute for the poison called aconite, the Acherusian Cavern, the rivers Paedopides, Callichorus and Sonautes, the town of Tium 38 miles from Heraclea, and the river Billis.

2. Beyond this river is the Paphlagonian race, called by some the Pylaemenian, enclosed to the rear by Galatia, the Milesian town of Mastya, then Cromna, a place with which Cornelius Nepos connects the Eneti, from whom he thinks the Veneti in Italy bearing a similar name must be believed to be descended; the town of Sesamon, now called Amastris; Mount Cytorus, 63 miles from Tium; the towns of Cimolis and Stephane and the river Parthenius. The great projection of Cape Cerambis is 325 nines, or according to others 350 miles, distant from the mouth of the Black Sea, and the same distance, or, by an estimate which some prefer, 3121 miles from the Straits of Kertsch. There was formerly also a town of the same name, and then another called Armine; and at the present day there is the colony of Sinb, 164 miles from Mount Cytorus; the river Evarchus, a tribe of Cappadocians, the town of Caturia Zacepluni, and the river Halys that flows down from the base of Mount Taurus through Cataonia and Cappadocia; the towns of Gamge and Carusa, the free town of Amisus 130 miles from Sinb, and the bay of the same name which runs so far inland as to give to Asia the shape of a peninsula,b the isthmus measuring not more than 200 miles across to the Gulf of Issus in Cilicia. It is reported that in all this region there are only three races that can rightly be designated Greek, the Dorian, the Ionian and the Aeolian, all the rest being tribes of barbarians. To Amisus was attached the town of Eupatoria, founded by Mithridates; after he had been conquered, the two places were united under the name of Pompeiopolis.

3. Cappadocia contains in its interior a colony of Claudius Caesar named Archelais, past which flows the river Halys, and the towns of Comana on the Salius, Neocaesarea on the Lycus, and Amasia on the Iris in the region of Gazacena; while in the Colopene region are Sebastia and Sebastopol, which are small towns but equal in importance to those mentioned above; and in the remaining part of Cappadocia are Melita, founded by Samiramis, not far from the Euphrates, Diocaesarea, Tyana, Castabala, Magnopolis, Zela, and under Mount Argaeus Mazacus, now named Caesarea. The part of Cappadocia adjacent to Greater Armenia is called Melitene, the part bordering on Commagene Cataonia, that on Phrygia Garsanritis, that on Cammanene Sargaurasana, that on Galatia Morimene, where the boundary between the two countries is formed by the river Cappadox, from which the Cappadocians take their namethey were formerly called the

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White Syrians. The boundary between Neocaesarea above mentioned and Lesser Armenia is the river Lycus. In the interior there is also the notable river Coeranus, and on the coast after Amisus the town of Chadisia with the river of the same name, and the town of Lycastns, after which the district of Themiscyra begins. The river here is the Iris, with a tributary the Lycus. Inland is Ziela, the city-state famous for the defeat of Triarius and the victory of Gaius Caesar. On the coast is the river Thermodon, which rises at the fortress called Phanollas and flows past the foot of the mountain Mason Dagh; there was formerly a town of the same name as the river, and five others, Amazonium, Themiscyra, Sotira, Amasia and Comana, and now there is Matium;

4. the Caenares and Chalybes tribes, the town of the Cotyi, the tribes of the Tibareni and the Massynithe latter practise tattooingthe Longhead tribe, the town of Cerasus, the harbour of Cordule, the Bechires and Buxeri tribes, the Black River, the Machorones tribe, the Sideni, and the river Sidenus which washes the town of Polemonium 120 miles from Amisus. Then come the rivers Tasonius and Melanthius, and 80 miles from Amisus the town of Pharnacea, the fortress and river Tripolis, the fortress and river Philocalia and the fortress of Liviopolis, which is not on a river, and 100 miles from Pharnacea the free town of Trebizond, shut in by a vast mountain range. Beyond Trebizond begins the Armenochalybes tribe, and 30 miles further Greater Armenia. On the coast before reaching Trebizond is the river Pyxites, and beyond Trebizond the Charioteer Sanni, and the river Absarrus with the fortress of the same name in its gorge, 140 miles from Trapezus. Behind the mountains of this district is Liberia, and on the coast the Charioteers, the Ampreutae and the Lazi, the rivers Acampseon, Isis, Mogrus and Bathys, the Colchian tribes, the town of Matium, the River of Heracles and the cape of the same name, and the Rion, the most celebrated river of the Black Sea region. The Rion rises among the Moschi and is navigable for ships of any size for 38 miles, and a long way further for smaller vessels; it is crossed by 120 bridges. It had a considerable number of towns on its banks, the most notable being Tyndaris, Circaeus, Cygnus, and at its mouth Phasis; but the most famous was Aea, 15 miles from the sea, where two very large tributaries join the Rion from opposite directions, the Hippos and the Cyaneos. At the present day the only town on the Rion is Surium, which itself also takes its name from a river that enters the Rion at the point up to which we said that it is navigable for large vessels. It also receives other tributaries remarkable for their size and number, among them the Glaucus; at its mouth is an island with no name, 70 miles from the mouth of the Absarrus. Then there is another river, the Charicis, the Saltiae tribe called of old the Pine-seed-eaters, and another tribe, the Sanni; the river Chobus flowing from the Caucasus through the Suani territory; then Rhoan, the Cegritic district, the rivers Sigania, Thersos, Astelphus and Chrysorrhoas, the Absilae tribe, the fortress of Sebastopol 100 miles from Phasis, the Sanicae tribe, the town of Cygnus, the river and town of Penius; and then tribes of the Charioteers with a variety of names.

5. Below this lies the Black Sea district named Colica, in which the Caucasus range curves round to the Ripaean Mountains, as we have previously stated, one side sloping down towards the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, and the other towards the Caspian and Hyrcanian Sea. The tribes occupying almost all the rest of the coasts are the Blackcloaks and the Coraxi, with the Colchian city of Dioscurias on the river Anthemus, now deserted, but once so famous that according to Timosthenes 300 tribes speaking different languages used to resort to it; and subsequently business was carried on there by Roman traders with the help of a staff of 130 interpreters. Some people think that Dioscurias was founded by the charioteers of Castor and Pollux, Amphitus and Thelchius, from whom it is virtually certain that the Charioteer tribe are descended. The town of Heracleum is 100 miles from Dioscurias and 70 miles from Sebastopol. The tribes here are the Achaei, Mardi and Cercetae, and after these the Serri and Cephslotomi. In the interior of this region was the extremely wealthy town of Pityus, which was sacked by the Charioteers. Behind Pityus are the Epagerritae, a Sarmatian people on the Caucasus range, and after them come the Sauromatians. It was with this tribe that Mithridates took refuge in the principate of Claudius, and from him we learn that there is a neighbouring tribe, the Thali, who on the eastern side extend to the mouth of the Caspian Sea, where, he tells us, the channel dries up at low tide. On the coast of the Black Sea near the Cercetae is the river Icarus, and the Achaei, with their Holy Town and River, 136 miles from Heracleum. Then comes Cape Cruni, after which a steep cliff is occupied by the Toretae, and then the city-state of Sindica, 67 miles from Holy Town, and the river Secheries.

6. The distance from the Secheries to the entrance to the Straits of Kertsch is 88 miles. But the actual peninsula projecting between the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov is not more than 671 miles long, its breadth being nowhere below 80 yards; it is called Eone. The actual coast of the Straits on both the Asiatic and the European sides curves into the Sea of Azov. The towns at its entrance are Hermonasa and next the Milesian town of Cepi, then Stratoclia and Phanagoria and the almost deserted town of Apaturos, and at the extreme end of the mouth Cimmerium, the former name of which was Cerberion.

7. Then comes the Sea of Azov, which is held to be in Europe.

After passing Cimmerium, the tribes inhabiting the coast are the Maeotici, Hali, Semes, Serrei, Scizi and Gnissi. Next come the two mouths of the river Don, where the inhabitants are the Sarmatae, said to be descended from the Medes, and themselves divided into a number of sections. The first of these are the Matriarchal Sauromatae, the husbands of the Amazons; then the Naevazae, Coitae, Cizici, Messeniani, Cotobacchi, Cetae, Zigae, Tindari, Thussegetae and Tyrcae, which brings us to uninhabited deserts intersected by wooded glens, beyond which are the Arixnphaei, who reach to the Ripaean Mountains. The Don itself is called by the natives the Sinus, and the Sea of Azov the Temarunda, which means in their language 'the mother of the sea.' There is also a town at the mouth of the Don. The neighbouring districts were first occupied by the Carians, then by the Clazomenii and Maeones, and afterwards by the Panticapaeans. Some give the following list of tribes round the Sea of Azov near the Ceraunian Mountains: starting from the coast the Naprae, and higher up the Essedones, joining on to the Colchians on the tops of the mountains. Then the Camacae, Orani, Autacae, Mazamacae, Cantiocaptae, Agamathae, Pici, Itymosoli and Acascomarci, and near the Caucasus range the Icatalae, Imadochi, Rami, Andacae, Tydii, Carastasei and Authiandes; the river Lagous flowing down from the Cathean Mountains, with its tributary the Opharus, where are the Cauthadae and Opharitae tribes; the rivers Menotharus and Imityes flowing from the Cissian Mountains; below these the Agdaes, Carnae, Oscardei, Accisi, Gabri and Gegari, and round the source of the Imityes the Imityi and Apartaei. Other writers say that the Scythian tribes of the Auchetae, Athernei and Asampatae have spread into this country, and have destroyed the Tanaitae and Inapaei to a man. Some state that the river Ocharius runs through the Cantici and Sapei, but that the Don has passed through the Hertichean tribe of Satharchei, the Spondolici, Synhietae, Anasi, Issi, Cataeetae, Tagorae, Caroni, Neripi, Agandei, Meandaraei and Spalaean Satharchei.

8. We have gone over the inner coast of Asia from the river Cius and all the tribes dwelling on it; let us now give an account of the vast region that lies in the interior. I do not deny that my description of it will differ in many points from that of the old writers, as I have devoted much care and attention to ascertaining thoroughly the recent events in that region from Domitius Corbulo and the kings sent from there as suppliants or king's children sent as hostages. We will however begin with the Cappadocian tribe. This extends farthest into the interior of all the peoples of Pontus, passing on its left-hand side Lesser and Greater Armenia and Commagene and on its right all the tribes of Asia mentioned above; it spreads over a very large number of peoples, and rises rapidly in elevation towards the east in the direction of the Taurus range, passing Lycaonia, Pisidia and Cilicia, and then advances above the district of Antiochia, the part of it called Cataoruia reaching as far as the department of Antiochia named Cyrrestica. Consequently the length of Asia at this point is 1250 miles and its breadth 640 miles.

9. Greater Armenia begins at the Parihedri Mountains, and is separated from Cappadocia, as we have said, by the river Euphrates and, when the Euphrates turns aside from Mesopotamia by the equally famous river Tigris. Both rivers rise in Armenia, and it forms the beginning of Mesopotamia, the tract of country lying between these two rivers; the intervening space is occupied by the Orroean Arabs. It thus extends its frontier as far as Adiabene, where it is enclosed by ranges of mountains that stretch across it; here it spreads its width on the left, crossing the Aras, to the river Kur, while its length reaches right to Lesser Armenia, from which it is separated by the river Absarrus, which flows into the Black Sea, and by the Parihedri Mountains in which the Absarrus rises.

10. The source of the Kur is in the Heniochi Mountains, which are called by some persons the Coraxici; while the Aras rises in the same mountains as the Euphrates, at a distance of six miles from it, and after being augmented by the river Usis, itself also, in the opinion of the majority of writers, joins the Kur and is carried by it down into the Caspian Sea.

The notable towns in Lesser Armenia are Caesarea, Ezaz and Nicopolis; those in Greater Armenia are Arsamosata, which is near the Euphrates, Kharput on the Tigris and Sert on the high ground, with Artaxata in the plains adjoining the Araxes. Aufidius gives the circumference of the whole of Armenia as 5000 miles, while Claudius Caesar makes its length from Dascusa to the edge of the Caspian Sea 1300 miles and its breadth from Sert to Hiberia half that amount. It is a well-known fact that it is divided into 120 administrative districts with native names, called in Greek military commands, some of which were formerly actual separate kingdoms. It is shut in on the east, but not immediately, by the Ceraunian Mountains and similarly by the Adiabene district. The intervening space is occupied by the Cepheni, and next to them the mountain district beyond is occupied by the Adiabeni, while along the valleys the peoples adjoining Armenia are the Menobardi and Moschcni. Adiabene is encircled by the Tigris and by impassable mountains. The district on the left of Adiabene belongs to the Medes, as far as the point where the Caspian Sea comes into view; this sea derives its water from the Ocean, as we shall say in the proper place, and is entirely surrounded by the Caucasus Mountains.

We shall now mention the peoples dwelling along the border of Armenia.

11. All the plain from the Kur onward is occupied by the race of the Albani and then that of the Hiberes, separated from the Albani by the river Alazon, which flows down from Mount Caucasus into the Cyrus. Important towns are Kablas-Var in Albania and Hermastus on the river and Neoris in Hiberia. The districts of Thasie and Thriare reach to the Parihedri Mountains, and beyond them is the Colebian desert, on the side of which towards the Ceraunii dwell the Armenochalybes, and the country of the Moschi reaching to the river Hiberus, a tributary of the Kur, and below them the Sacasani and then the Macerones reaching to the river Absarrus. This gives the population of the plains or mountain slopes; then after the frontier of Albania the whole face of the mountains is occupied by the wild tribes of the Silvi and below them those of the Lupenii, and afterwards the Diduri and Sodi.

12. On leaving these one comes to the Gates of the Caucasus, which many very erroneously call the Caspian Gates, an enormous work of Nature, who has here suddenly rent the mountains asunder. Here gates have been placed, with iron-covered beams, under the centre of which flows a river emitting a horrible odour; and on this side of it on a rock stands the fortress called Cumania, erected for the purpose of barring the passage of the innumerable tribes. At this spot therefore the world is divided by gates into two portions; it is just opposite the liberian town of Hermastus. Beyond the Gates of the Caucasus among the Gurdinian Mountains are the Valli and the Suani, races never yet quelled, who nevertheless work goldmines. After these, right on to the Black Sea, are a large number of tribes of Charioteers and then of Achaei. Such is the present state of one of the most famous regions in the world.

Some authorities have reported the distance between the Black Sea and the Caspian as not more than 375 miles, while Cornelius Nepos makes it 250 miles: by such narrow straits is Asia for a second time beset. Claudius Caesar gives the distance from the Straits of Kertseh to the Caspian Sea as 150 miles, and states that Seleueus Nicator at the time when he was killed by Ptolemy Cerannus was contemplating cutting a channel through this isthmus. It is practically certain that the distance from the Gates of the Caucasus to the Black Sea is 200 miles.

13. The islands in the Black Sea are the Planctae, otherwise named the Cyaneae or Symplegades, and then Apollonia, called Thynias to distinguish it from the island of the same name in Europeit is a mile away from the mainland and three miles in circumferenceand opposite to Pharnacea Chaleeritis, called by the Greeks the Isle of Arcs and sacred to the god of war; they say that on it there were birds which used to attack strangers with blows of their wings.

14. Having now completed our description of the interior of Asia let us in imagination cross the Ripaean Mountains and proceed to the right along the shores of the Ocean. This washes the coast of Asia towards three points of the compass, under the name of Scythian Ocean on the north, Eastern Ocean on the east and Indian Ocean on the south; and it is subdivided into a variety of designations according to the bays that it forms and the people dwelling on its coasts. A great portion of Asia however also, adjoining the north, owing to the severity of its frosty climate contains vast deserts. From the extreme north-north-east to the northernmost point at which the sun rises in summer there are the Scythians, and outside of them and beyond the point where north-north-east begins some have placed the Hyperboreans, who are said by a majority of authorities to be in Europe. After that point the first place known is Lytharmis, a promontory of Celtica, and the river Carambucis, where the range of the Ripaean Monntains terminates and with it the rigour of the climate relaxes; here we have reports of a people called the Arimphaei, a race not unlike the Hyperboreans. They dwell in forests and live on berries; long hair is deemed to be disgraceful in the case of women and men alike; and their manners are mild. Consequently they are reported to be deemed a sacred race and to be left unmolested even by the savage tribes among their neighbours, this immunity not being confined to themselves but extended also to people who have fled to them for refuge. Beyond them we come directly to the Scythians, Cimmerians, Cissi, Anthi, Georgi, and a race of Amazons, the last reaching to the Caspian and Hyrcanian Sea.

15. For the sea actually forces a passage from the Scythian Ocean to the back of Asia, where the inhabitants call it by a variety of names, but it is best known by two of them, as the

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Caspian Sea and the Hyrcanian. Clitarchus is of opinion that the Caspian is as large as the Black Sea; Eratosthenes also gives its dimensions on the south-east side along the coast of Cadusia and Albania as 725 miles, from there through the territories of the Atiaei, Amarbi and Hyrcani to the mouth of the river Zonus 600 miles, and from there to the mouth of the Syr Daria 300 miles, making a total of 1575 miles. Artemidorus subtracts 25 miles from this total. Agrippa states that the Caspian Sea and the races surrounding it, including Armenia, bounded on the east by the Chinese Ocean, on the west by the ranges of the Caucasus, on the south by those of the Taurus and on the north by the Scythian Ocean, so far as is known extend 480 miles in length and 290 miles in breadth. But there are some authors who give the entire circuit of the sea in question from the straits as 2500 miles.

Its waters make their way into this sea by a narrow mouth of considerable length; and where it begins to widen out it curves obliquely with crescent-shaped horns, as though descending from the mouth to the Sea of Azov, in the likeness of a sickle, as Marcus Varro states. The first part of it is called the Scythian Gulf, because the inhabitants on both sides are Scythians, who hold communication across the narrows, on one side being the Nomads and the Sauromatae, who have a variety of names, and on the other the Abzoae, with just as many. Starting at the entrance, on the right-hand side the actual point of the mouth is occupied by the Scythian tribe of the Udini; then along the coast are the Albani, said to be descended from Jason, after whom the sea at that point is called the Alban Sea. This race overflows the Caucasus Mountains and, as previously stated, comes down as far as the river Kur, which forms the boundary between Armenia and Hiberia. Above the coastward parts of Albania and the Udini tribe stretch the Sarmatae, Utidorsi and Aroteres, in the rear of whom we have already indicated the Amazons and Sauromatides. The rivers running down to the sea through Albania are the Casus and the Albanus, then the Cambyses, which rises in the Caucasus Mountains, and then the Kur, rising in the Coraxaci, as we have said. The whole of the coast. from the Casus is stated by Agrippa to be formed of very lofty cliffs which prohibit landing for 425 miles. The sea begins to have the name of Caspian from the mouth of the Kur, the coast being inhabited by the Caspii.

In this place we must correct a mistake made by many people, even those who recently served with Corbulo in the war in Armenia. These have given the name of Caspian Gates to the pass in Hiberia, which, as we have stated, is called the Gates of the Caucasus, and maps of the region sent home from the front have this name written on them. Also the expedition threatened by the Emperor Nero was spoken of as intended to penetrate to the Caspian Gates, whereas it was really aimed at the pass that gives a road through Hiberia to Sarmatia, the mountain barrier affording scarcely any access to the Caspian Sea. There are however other Caspian Gates adjoining the Caspian tribes; the distinction between the two passes can only be established by means of the report of those who accompanied the expedition of Alexander the Great.

16. The kingdom of the Persians, which we now know as Parthia, lies between the two seas, the Persian and the Caspian, on the heights of the Caucasus range. Greater Armenia, which occupies the front of the mountain sloping towards Commagene, is adjoined, as we have said, by Cephenia, which lies on the descent on both sides of it, and this by Adiabene, where the land of the Assyrians begins; the part of Adiabene nearest to Syria is Arbilitis, where Alexander conquered Darius. The Macedonians have given to the whole of Adiabene the name of Mygdonia, from its likeness to Mygdonia in Macedon. Its towns are Alexandria and Antiochia, the native name for which is Nesebis; it is 750 miles from Artaxata. There was also once the town of Nineveh, which was on the Tigris facing west, and was formerly very famous. Adjoining the other front of Greater Armenia, which stretches to the Caspian Sea, is Atrapatene, separated from the district of Otene in Armenia by the Aras; its chief town is Gazae, 450 miles from Artaxata and the same distance from Hamadan, the city of the Medes, to which race the Atrapateni belong.

17. Hamadan, the capital of Media, which was founded by King Seleucus, is 750 miles from Great Seleucia and 20 miles from the Caspian Gates. The other towns of Media are Phazaca, Aganzaga and Apamea, called Rhei. The reason for the name 'Gates' is the same as that stated above: the range is here pierced by a narrow pass 8 miles long, scarcely broad enough for a single line of waggon traffic, the whole of it a work of engineering. It is overhung on either side by crags that look as if they had been exposed to the action of fire, the country over a range of 28 miles being entirely waterless; the narrow passage is impeded by a stream of salt water that collects from the rocks and finds an exit by the same way. Moreover the number of snakes renders the route impracticable except in winter.

Joining on to the Adiabeni are the people formerly called the Carduchi and now the Cordueni, past whom flows the river Tigris, and adjoining these are the 'Roadside' Pratitae, as they are called, who hold the Caspian Gates. Running up to these on the other side are the Parthian deserts and the Citheni range; and then comes the very agreeable locality, also belonging to Parthia, called Choara. Here are the two Parthian towns formerly serving for protection against the Medes, Calliope and, on another rock, Issatis; but the actual capital of Parthia, Hecatompylos, is 133 miles from the Gatesso effectively is the Parthian kingdom also shut off by passes. Going out of the Gates one comes at once to the Caspian nation, which extends down to the coast: it is from this people that the pass and the sea obtain their name. On the left there is a mountainous district. Turning back from this people to the river Kur the distance is said to be 225 miles, and going up from the river Kur to the Gates 700 miles; for in the Itineraries of Alexander the Great this pass is made the turning-point of his expeditions, the distance from these Gates to the frontier of India being given as 1961 miles, from the frontier to the town of Balkh, which is the name given to Zariasta, 462 miles, and from Zariasta to the river Syr Darya 620 miles.

18. Lying to the east of the Caspians is the region called Apavortene, in which is Darcium, a place noted for its fertility. Then there are the tribes of the Tapyri, Anariaci, Staures and Hyrcani, from whose shores the Caspian beyond the river Sideris begins to be called the Hyreanian Sea; while on this side of the Sideris are the rivers Maziris and Straor, all three streams rise in the Caucasus. Next comes the Margiarte country, famous for its sunny climateit is the only district in that region where the vine is grown; it is shut in all round by a beautiful ring of mountains, 187 miles in circuit, and is difficult of access on account of sandy deserts stretching for a distance of 120 miles; and it is itself situated opposite to the region of Parthia. In Margiane Alexander had founded a city bearing his name, which was destroyed by the barbarians, but Antiochus son of Seleucus re-established a city on the same site, intersected by the river Murghab, which is canalized into Lake Zotha; he had preferred that the city should be named after himself. Its circuit measures 8 miles. This is the place to which the Roman prisoners taken in the disaster of Crassus were brought by Orodes. From the heights of Merv across the ridges of the Caucasus right on to the Bactrians extend the fierce tribe of the Mardi, an independent state. Below this region are the tribes of the Orciani, Common, Berdnigae, Harmatotropi, Citomarae, Comani, Murrasiarae and Mandruani; the rivers Mandrum and Chindrum, and beyond them the Chorasmi, Gandari, Paricani, Zarangae, Arasmi, Marotiani, Arsi, Gaeli (called by the Greeks the Cadusii), and Matiani; the town of Heraclea, founded by Alexander and subsequently overthrown, but restored by Antiochus, who gave it the name of Achais; the Drehices, whose territory is intersected by the river Amu Darya rising in Lake Oaxus; the Syrmatae, Oxyttagae, Moci, Bateni, Saraparae; and the Bactri, whose town was called Zariasta from the river, but its name was afterwards changed to Balkh. This race occupies the opposite side of the Hindu Kush over against the sources of the Indus, and is enclosed by the river Ochus. Beyond are the Sogdiani and the town of Panda, and on the farthest confines of their territory Alexandria, founded by Alexander the Great. At this place there are altars set up by Hercules and Father Liber, and also by Cyrus and Semiramis and by Alexander, all of whom found their limit in this region of the world, where they were shut in by the river Syr Darya, which the Scythians call the Sills and which Alexander and his soldiers supposed to be the Don. But this river was crossed by Demodamas, the general of King Seleucus and King Antiochus, whom we are chiefly following in this part of our narrative; and he set up altars to Apollo Didymaeus.

19. Beyond are some tribes of Scythians. To these the Persians have given the general name of Sacae, from the tribe nearest to Persia, but old writers call them the Aranxii, and the Scythians themselves give the name of Chorsar to the Persians and call Mount Caucasus Croucasis, which means 'white with snow.' There is an uncountable number of tribes, numerous enough to live on equal terms with the Parthians; most notable among them are the Sacae, Massagetae, Daliae, Essedones, Astacae, Rumnici, Pestici, Homodoti, Histi, Edones, Camae, Camacae, Euchatae, Cotieri, Authusiani, Psacae, Arimaspi, Antacati, Chroasai and Oetael; among them the Napaei are said to have been destroyed by the Palaei. Notable rivers in their country are the Mandragaeus and the Caspasus. And in regard to no other region is there more discrepancy among authorities, this being due, I believe to the countless numbers and the nomadic habits of the tribes. The water of the Caspian Sea itself was said by Alexander the Great to be sweet to drink, and also Marcus Varro states that good drinking water was conveyed from it for Pompey when he was operating in the neighbourhood of the river during the Mithridatic War; doubtless the size of the rivers flowing into it overcomes the salt. Varro further adds that exploration under the leadership of Pompey ascertained that a seven days' journey from India into the Bactrian country reaches the river Bactrus, a tributary of the Amu Darya, and that Indian merchandize can be conveyed from the Bactrus across the Caspian to the Kur and thence with not more than five days' portage by land can reach Phasis in Pontus.

There are many islands in all parts of the Caspian Sea, but only one of them, Zazata, is particularly notable.

20. After leaving the Caspian Sea and the Scythian Ocean our course takes a bend towards the Eastern Sea as the coast turns to face eastward. The first part of the coast after the Scythian promontory is uninhabitable on account of snow, and the neighbouring region is uncultivated because of the savagery of the tribes that inhabit it. This is the country of the Cannibal Scythians who eat human bodies; consequently the adjacent districts are waste deserts thronging with wild beasts lying in wait for human beings as savage as themselves. Then we come to more Scythians and to more deserts inhabited by wild beasts, until we reach a mountain range called Tabis which forms a cliff over the sea; and not until we have covered nearly half of the length of the coast that faces north-east is that region inhabited. The first human occupants are the people called the Chinese, who are famous for the woollen substance obtained from their forests; after a soaking in water they comb off the white down of the leaves, and so supply our women with the double task of unravelling the threads and weaving them together again; so manifold is the labour employed, and so distant is the region of the globe drawn upon, to enable the Roman matron to flaunt transparent raiment in public. The Chinese, though mild in character, yet resemble wild animals, in that they also shun the company of the remainder of mankind, and wait for trade to come to them. The first river found in their territory is the Psitharas, next the Cambari, and third the Lanos, after which come the Malay Peninsula, the Bay of Cirnaba, the river Atianos and the tribe of the Attacorae on the bay of the same name, sheltered by sunbathed hills from every harmful blast, with the same temperate climate as that in which dwell the Hyperborei. The Attacorae are the subject of a monograph by Amometus, while the Hyperborei have been dealt with in a volume by Hecataeus. After the Attacorae there are the Thuni and Focari tribes, and (coming now to natives of India) the Casiri, situated in the interior in the direction of the Scythiansthe Casiri are cannibals; also the Nomad tribes of India reach this point in their wanderings. Some writers state that these tribes are actually in contact with the Cicones and also the Brisari on the north.

21. We now come to a point after which there is complete agreement as to the racesthe range of mountains called the Himalayas. Here begins the Indian race, bordering not only on the Eastern Sea but on the southern also, which we have designated the Indian Ocean. The part facing east stretches in a straight line until it comes to a bend, and at the point where the Indian Ocean begins its total length is 1875 miles; while from that point onward the southerly bend of the coast according to Eratosthenes covers 2475 miles, finally reaching the river Indus, which is the western boundary of India. A great many authors however give the entire length of the coast as being forty days' and nights' sail and the measurement of the country from north to south as 2850 miles. Agrippa says that it is 3300 miles long and 2300 miles broad. Posidonius gives its measurement from north-east to south-east, making the whole of it face the west side of Gaul, of which he gives the measurement from north-west to south-west; and accordingly he shows by an unquestionable line of argument that India has the advantage of being exposed to the current of the west wind, which makes it healthy. In that country the aspect of the heavens and the rising of the stars are different, and there are two summers and two harvests yearly, separated by a winter accompanied by etesian winds, while at our midwinter it enjoys soft breezes and the sea is navigable. Its races and cities are beyond counting, if one wished to enumerate all of them. For it has been brought to knowledge not only by the armed forces of Alexander the Great and the kings who succeeded him, Seleucus and Antiochus, and their admiral of the fleet Patrocles having sailed round even into the Hyrcanian and Caspian Sea, but also by other Greek authors who have stayed as guests with the Indian kings, for instance Megasthenes, and Dionysius sent by Philadelphus for that purpose, and have also reported as to the strength of these nations. Nevertheless there is no possibility of being exact as to this matter, so discrepant and so difficult to believe are the accounts given. Those who accompanied Alexander the Great have written that the region of India subdued by him contained 5000 towns, none less than two miles in circuit, and nine nations, and that India forms a third of the entire surface of the earth, and that its populations are innumerablewhich is certainly a very probable theory, inasmuch as the Indians are almost the only race that has never migrated from its own territory. From the time of Father Liber to Alexander the Great 153 kings of India are counted in a period of 6451 years and three months. The rivers are of enormous size: it is stated that Alexander sailing on the Indus did never less than 75 miles a day and yet could not reach the mouth of the river in less time than five months and a few days over, and nevertheless it is certain that the Indus is smaller than the Ganges. Seneca also, who among our own writers essayed an account of India, gives its rivers as 60 in number and its races as 118. It would be an equally laborious task to enumerate its mountains; there is a continuous chain formed by Imavus,

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Hemodus, Paropanisus and Caucasus, from which the whole country slopes down into an immense plain resembling that of Egypt.

However, in order to give an idea of the geographical description of India we will follow in the footsteps of Alexander the Great. Diognetus and Baeton, the surveyors of his expeditions, write that the distance from the Caspian Gates to the Parthian City of Hecatompylos is the number of miles that we stated above; a from thence to the city of Alexandria of the Arii, which Alexander founded, 575 miles, to the city of the Drangae, Prophthasia, 199 miles, to the town of the Arachosii 565 miles, to Kabul 175 miles, and thence to Alexander's Town 50 miles (in some copies of this record we find different numbers): this city is stated to be situated immediately below the Caucasus; from it to the river Kabul and the Indian town of Peucolatis 237 miles, and thence to the river Indus and the town of Taxilla 60 miles, to the famous river Jhelum 120 miles, to the not less notable Beas 390 milesthis was the terminus of Alexander's journeys, although he crossed the river and dedicated altars upon the opposite bank. The king's actual dispatches also agree with these figures. The remaining distances after the Beas were ascertained by the exploration of Seleucus Nicator; to the Sutlej 169 miles, to the river Jumna the same (some copies add 5 miles), thence to the Ganges 112, to Rhodapha 569 (others give 325 miles in this space), to the town of Callinipaza 167 (others 165), thence to the confluence of the river Jumna and the Ganges 625 (a great many add 13), to the town of Patna 425, to the mouth of the Ganges 637. The races worth mentioning after leaving the Hemodi Mountains (a projection of which is called the Imaus, which in the vernacular means 'snowy') are the Isari, Cosiri, Izi, and spread over the range the Chirotosagi and a number of tribes with the name of Bragmanae, among them the Mactocalingae; the rivers are the Prinas and Cainnas, the latter a tributary of the Ganges, both of them navigable; then the tribes of the Calingae nearest the sea, and further inland the Mandaei, the Malli occupying Mount Malhis, and the river Ganges, which is the boundary of this region.

22. The Ganges is said by some people to rise from unknown sources like the Nile and to irrigate the neighbouring country in the same manner, but others say that its source is in the mountains of Scythia, and that it has nineteen tributaries, among which the navigable ones besides those already mentioned are the Crenacca, Rhamnumbova, Casuagus and Sonus. Others state that it bursts forth with a loud roar at its very source, and after falling over crags and cliffs, as soon as it reaches fairly level country finds hospitality in a certain lake, and flows out of it in a gentle stream with a breadth of 5 miles where narrowest, and 14 miles as its average width, and nowhere less than 100 feet deep, the last race situated on its banks being that of the Gangarid Calingae: the city where their king lives is called Pertalis. This monarch has 60,000 infantry, 1000 cavalry and 700 elephants always equipped ready for active service. For the peoples of the more civilised Indian races are divided into many classes in their mode of life: they cultivate the land, others engage in military service, others export native merchandise and import goods from abroad, while the best and wealthiest administer the government and serve as judges and as counsellors of the kings. There is a fifth class of persons devoted to wisdom which is held in high honour with these people and almost elevated into a religion; those of this class always end their life by a voluntary death upon a pyre to which they have previously themselves set light. There is one class besides these, half-wild people devoted to the laborious taskfrom which the classes above mentioned are kept awayof hunting and taming elephants; these they use for ploughing and for transport, these are their commonest kind of cattle, and these they employ when fighting in battle and defending their country: elephants to use in war are chosen for their strength and age and size. There is a very spacious island in the Ganges containing a single race named the Modogalinga race. Beyond it are situated the Modubae, the Molindae, the Uberae with a magnificent town of the same name, the Modressae, Praeti, Aclissae, Sasuri, Fassulae, Colebae, Orumcolae, Abali and Thalutae: the king of the latter tribe has an army of 50,000 infantry, 4000 cavalry and 4000 elephants. Next come the Andarae, a more powerful tribe, with a great many villages and thirty towns fortified with walls and towers; they furnish their king with 100,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry and 1000 elephants. The country of the Dardae produces gold in great quantity, and that of the Setae silver also. But almost the whole of the peoples of India and not only those in this district are surpassed in power and glory by the Prasi, with their very large and wealthy city of Patna, from which some people give the name of Palibothri to the race itself, and indeed to the whole tract of country from the Ganges. Their king maintains and pays a standing army of 60,000 foot, 30,000 horse and 9000 elephants, from which the vastness of his wealth may be conjectured. Further up country from these are the Monaedes and the Suari, in whose domain is Mount Malens upon which shadows fall towards the north in winter and towards the south in summer, for periods of six months alternately. According to Baeton the constellation of the Great Bear is only visible in this region one time in the year, and only for a period of a fortnight; and Megasthenes says that the same thing occurs in many other places in India. The Indian name for their southern region is Diamasa. The river Jumna runs through the Palibothri country into the Ganges between the towns of Muttra and Chrysobora. In the region to the south of the Ganges the tribes are browned by the heat of the sun to the extent of being coloured, though not as yet burnt black like the Ethiopians; the nearer they get to the Indus the more colour they display. We come to the Indus immediately after leaving the Prasii, a tribe in whose mountain regions there is said to be a race of Pygmies. Artemidorus gives the distance from the Ganges to the Indus as 2100 miles.

23. The Indus, the native name for which is Sindus, rises on the east side of a ridge of Mount Caucasus called Hindu Kush; in its course it receives nineteen tributaries, the best known being the Jhelum which brings with it four other streams, the Cantaba which brings three, and the Chenab and the Beas, themselves navigable rivers. Owing however to a certain limitation in its supply of water the Indus is nowhere more than 6 miles wide or 75 feet deep; and it forms an island of considerable size named Prasiane and another smaller one named Patale. The main river is navigable for a distance of 1240 miles according to the most moderate accounts, and it discharges into the ocean after following the sun course in some measure westward. I will give the measurement of the coastline to the mouth of the river by stages as I find it, although none of the various reports of it agree with one another; from the mouth of the Ganges to the Cape of the Calingae and the town of Dandaguda 625 miles, to Tropina 1225 miles, to the Cape of Perimula, where is the most celebrated trading-place of India, 750 miles, to the town of Patala on the island which we have mentioned above, 620 miles.

Between the Indus and the Jumna are the mountain tribes of the Caesi, the forester Caetriboni, and then the Megallae (whose king possesses 500 elephants and an uncertain number of infantry and cavalry), the Chrysei, the Parasangae and the Asmagi, whose district is infested by the wild tiger; they have an armed force of 30,000 foot, 300 elephants and 800 cavalry. They are bounded by the river Indus and surrounded by a ring of mountains and by deserts. Below the deserts at a distance of 625 miles are the Dan and Surae, and then desert again for a distance of 187 miles, these places for the most part being surrounded by sands exactly as islands are surrounded by the sea. Below these deserts are the Maltaecorae, Singae, Moroae, Rarungae and Moruni. These peoples are the inhabitants of the mountains that stretch in a continuous range on the coast of the ocean; they are free people having no kings, and they occupy the mountain slopes with a number of cities. Next come the Nareae, who are shut in by the Capitalia range, the highest of the mountains of India. The inhabitants of the other side of this mountain work a wide range of gold and silver mines. Next to these come the Oratae, whose king has only ten elephants but a large force of infantry, the Suarataratаethese also though ruled by a king do not keep elephants but rely on cavalry and infantrythe Odonbaeoraes and the Arabastrae, whose fine city Thorax is guarded .by marshy canals which crocodiles, creatures with an insatiable appetite for human flesh, render impassable save by way of a bridge. Another town in their country is also highly spoken of, Automula, which is situated on the coast at the point of confluence of five rivers, and has a celebrated market; their king possesses 1600 elephants, 150,000 foot and 5000 horse. The king of the Charmae is not so wealthy, having 60 elephants and small forces of the other kinds. The race next to these is that of the Pandae, the only people in India ruled by queens. They say that only one child of the female sex was born to Hercules, and that she was in consequence his favourite and he bestowed on her a specially large kingdom. The queens deriving their descent from her rule aver 300 towns, and have an army of 150,000 foot and 500 elephants. After this list of 300 cities we have the Derangae, Posingae, Butae, Gogaraei, Umbrae, Nereae, Brangosi, Nobundae, Cocondae, Nesei, Palatitae, Salobriasae and Orostrae, the last people being adjacent to the island of Patala, the distance from the extreme point of which to the Caspian Gates is given as 1925 miles.

From this point onward the tribes dwelling on the Indusour enumeration proceeding up streamare the Mathoae, Bolingae, Gallitalutae, Dimuri, Megan, Ardabae, Mesae, Abi, Sun and Silae; then 250 miles of desert; and after traversing that, the Organagae, Abortae and Bassuertae; and next to these an uninhabited stretch equal in extent to the preceding one. Then the Sorofages, Arbae and Marogomatrae; the Umbnitae and Ceae comprising twelve tribes and each race possessing two cities; the Asini inhabiting three cities, their chief place being Oxhead, founded to be the burial-place of King Alexander's charger bearing that name. Mountain tribes above these under the Hindu Kush range are the Sosaeadae and Sondrae; and crossing the Indus and following it downstream we come to the Samarabiae, Sarnbraceni, Bisambritae, Orsi and Andiseni, and the Taxilae with their famous city. Then the region slopes down to level ground, the whole having the name of Amenda; and there are four tribes, the Peucolitae, Arsagalitae, Geretae and Assoi; indeed, most authorities do not put the western frontier at the river Indus but include four satrapies, the Gedjrosi, Arachotae, Arii and Paropanisidae, with the river Kabul as the final boundarythe whole of which region others consider to belong to the Arii. Moreover most people also assign to India the city of Nisa and Mount Merus which is sacred to Father Liber (this being the place from which originated the myth of the birth of Liber from the thigh of Jove), and the same as to the Aspagani tribe, a district producing the vine, the bay and the box and all the kinds of fruit indigenous to Greece. Remarkable and almost fabulous reports as to fertility of soil and variety of crops and trees or wild animals and birds and other living creatures will be recorded in their several places in the remainder of the work, and the four satrapies will be described a little below, as at present our mind hastens on to the island of Ceylon.

But before Ceylon come some other islands: Patale, which we have indicated as situated at the very mouth of the Indus, an island of triangular shape, 220 miles in breadth; and outside the mouth of the Indus Chryse and Argyre, both of which I believe to be rich in mineralsfor I find it hard to believe the statement of some writers that they only have gold and silver mines. Twenty miles beyond these is Crocala, and 12 miles further Bibaga, which is full of oysters and other shell-fish, and then Coralliba 8 miles beyond the above-mentioned island, and many of no note.

24. Ceylon, under the name of the Land of the Counterlanders, was long considered to be another world; but the epoch and the achievements of Alexander the Great supplied clear proof of its being an island. Onesicritus, a commander of Alexander's navy, writes that elephants are bred there of larger size and more warlike spirit than in India; and Megasthenes says that it is cut in two by a river, that the inhabitants have the name of Aborigines, and that they produce more gold and large pearls than the Indians. Eratosthenes further gives the dimensions of the island as 875 miles in length and 625 miles in breadth, and says that it contains no cities, but 700 villages. Beginning at the eastern sea it stretches along the side of India from east to west; and it was formerly believed to be a distance of 20 days' sail from the nation of the Prasii, but at later times, inasmuch as the voyage to it used to be made with vessels constructed of reeds and with the rigging used on the Nile, its distance was fixed with reference to the speeds made by our ships as seven days' sail. The sea between the island and the mainland is shallow, not more than 18 feet deep, but in certain channels so deep that no anchors hold the bottom: for this reason ships are used that have bows at each end, so as to avoid the necessity of coming about while negotiating the narrows of the channel; the tonnage of these vessels is as much as three thousand barrels.a The Cingalese take no observations of the stars in navigationindeed, the Great Bear is not visible; but they carry birds on board with them and at fairly frequent intervals set them free, and follow the course they take as they make for the land. They only use four months in the year for voyages, and they particularly avoid the hundred days following midsummer, when those seas are stormy.

So far the facts stated have been recorded by the early writers. We however have obtained more accurate information during the principate of Claudius, when an embassy actually came to Rome from the island of Ceylon. The circumstances were as follows: Annius Plocamus had obtained a contract from the Treasury to collect the taxes from the Red Sea; a freedman of his while sailing round Arabia was carried by gales from the north beyond the coast of Carmania, and after a fortnight made the harbour of Hippuri in Ceylon, where he was entertained with kindly hospitality by the king, and in a period of six months acquired a thorough knowledge of the language; and afterwards in reply to the king's enquiries he gave him an account of the Romans and their emperor. The king among all that he heard was remarkably struck with admiration for Roman honesty, on the ground that among the money found on the captive the denarii were all equal in weight, although the various figures on them showed that they had been coined by several emperors. This strongly attracted his friendship, and he sent four envoys, the chief of whom was Rachias. From them we learnt the following facts about Ceylon: it contains 500 towns, and a harbour facing south, adjacent to the town of Palaesimundus, which is the most famous of all the places in the island and a royal residence, with a population of 200,000. Inland (we were told) there is a marsh named Megisba measuring 375 miles round and containing islands that only produce pasturage; and out of this marsh flow two rivers, Pahesirnundus running through three channels into the harbour near the town that bears the same name as the river, and measuring over half a mile in breadth at the narrowest point and nearly two miles at the widest, and the other, named Cydara, flowing north in the direction of India. The nearest cape in India (according to our informants) is the one called Cape Comorin, at a distance of four days' sail, passing

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in the middle of the voyage the Island of the Sun; and the sea there is of a deep green colour, and also has thickets of trees growing in it, the tops of which are brushed by the rudders of passing vessels. The envoys marvelled at the new aspect of the heavens visible in our country, with the Great and Little Bear and the Pleiades, and they told us that in their own country even the moon only appears above the horizon from the 8th to the 18th day of the month, and that Canopus, a large and brilliant star, lights them by night. But what surprised them most was that their shadows fell towards our sky and not towards theirs, and that the sun rose on the left-hand side of the observer and set towards the right instead of vice versa. They also told us that the side of their island facing towards India is 1250 miles long and lies south-east of India; that beyond the Himalayas they also face towards the country of the Chinese, who are known to them by intercourse in trade as well, the father of Rachia having travelled there, and that when they arrived there the Chinese always hastened down to the beach to meet them. That people themselves (they told us) are of more than normal height, and have flaxen hair and blue eyes, and they speak in harsh tones and use no language in dealing with travellers. The remainder of the envoys' account agreed with the reports of our tradersthat commodities were deposited on the opposite bank of a river by the side of the goods offered for sale by the natives, and they took them away if satisfied by the barterhatred of luxury being in no circumstances more justifiable than if the imagination travels to the Far East and reflects what is procured from there and what means of trade are employed and for what purpose.

But even Ceylon, although banished by Nature beyond the confines of the world, is not without the vices that belong to us: gold and silver are valued there also, and a kind of marble resembling tortoiseshell and pearls and precious stones are held in honour; in fact the whole mass of luxury is there carried to a far higher pitch than ours. They told us that there was greater wealth in their own country than in ours, but that we made more use of our riches: with them nobody kept a slave, everybody got up at sunrise and nobody took a siesta in the middle of the day; their buildings were of only moderate height; the price of corn was never inflated; there were no law-courts and no litigation; the deity worshipped was Hercules; the king was elected by the people on the grounds of age and gentleness of disposition, and as having no children, and if he afterwards had a child, he was deposed, to prevent the monarchy from becoming hereditary. Thirty Governors, they told us, were assigned to the king by the people, and capital punishment could only be inflicted by a vote of a majority of these; and even then there was a right of appeal to the people, and a jury of seventy members was appointed to try the case, and if these acquitted the accused the thirty Governors were no more held in any esteem, being utterly disgraced. The king's costume was of Father Liber, and the other people wore Arabian dress. If the king committed a delinquency he was punished by being condemned to death, though nobody executed the sentence, but the whole of the people turned their backs on him and refused to have any communication with him or even to speak to him. Holidays, they told us, were spent in hunting, tiger hunts and elephant hunts being always the most popular. Agriculture was industriously practised, but the vine was not grown, although orchard fruit was abundant. They were also fond of fishing, especially for turtle, the shells of which were used as roofs for family dwellingsthey were found of so large a size. They looked upon a hundred years as a moderate span of life.

This is the information that was given to us about Ceylon.

25. The following is the arrangement of the four satrapies which we deferred to this place in our account. After leaving the races nearest to India, you come to the mountain districts. That of Capisene formerly had a city named Capisa, which was destroyed by Cyrus; next Arachosia, with a river and town of the same namethe town, which was founded by Semiramis, being called by some writers Culls; then the river Erymandus, flowing past the Arachosian town of Parabeste. Next to the Arachosii writers place the Dexendrusi on the south side, adjoining a section of the Arachotae, and the Paropanisadae on the north; and beneath the Hindu Kush the town of Cartana, later called Tetragonis. This region is opposite to Bactria, and then comes the region of the Ariani, whose town is called Alexandria after its founder; the Syndraci, Dangalae, Parapinae, Cataces and Mazi; near the Hindu Kush the Cadrusi, whose town was founded by Alexander. Below these places the whole country is more level. In the direction of the Indus is the Arian region, which is scorched by glowing heat and encircled by deserts, yet extending in the district between them with plenty of shade, it is occupied by numerous farmers, settled especially on the banks of two rivers, the Tonberos and the Arosapes. There is a town, Artacoana, and a river, Anus, which flows past Alexandria, a town founded by Alexander which covers an area of nearly four miles; and the much more beautiful as well as older town of Artacabene, the fortifications of which were renewed by Antiochus, covers an area of 6 miles. Then the Dorisdorsigi tribe; the rivers Pharnacotis and Ophradus; Prophthasia; the town of Zaraspadum, the Drangae, Euergetae, Zarangae and Gedrusi; the towns of Peucolis, Lyphorta and Methorcum; a space of desert; the river Manain, the Acutri tribe, the river Loins, the Orbi tribe, the navigable river Pomanus at the frontier of the Pandae and the Cabirus at that of the Suari, forming a good harbour at its mouth; the town of Condigramma and the river Kabul. Navigable tributaries of the Kabul are the Saddaros, Parospus and Sodamus. Some hold that Daritis is part of Ariana, and they give the dimensions of both aslength 1950 miles, breadth one half that of India. Others place the Gedrusi and Sires as covering an area of 138 miles, and then the Fish-eating Oritae, who do not speak the Indian language but have one of their own, covering a space of 200 miles. (Alexander made an order forbidding a fish diet to all the Fish-eaters.) Next they put the race of the Arbii, covering 200 miles. Beyond them there is a region of desert, and then come Carmania, Farsistan and Arabia.

26. But before we go on to a detailed account of these countries, it is suitable to indicate the facts reported by Onesicritus after sailing with the fleet of Alexander round from India to the interior of Farsistan, and quite recently related in detail by Juba, and then to state the sea-route that has been ascertained in recent times and is followed at the present day.

The record of the voyage of Onesicritus and Nearchus does not include the names of the official stopping places nor the distances travelled; and to begin with, no sufficiently clear account is given of the position of the city of Timbertown, founded by Alexander, which was their starting point, nor is the river on which it stood indicated. Nevertheless they give the following places worth mentioning: the town of Arbis, founded by Nearchus during his voyage, and the river Arbium, navigable by ships, and an island opposite to Arbis, 8 miles distant; Alexandria, founded in the territory of this race by Leonnatus at the order of Alexander; Argenus, with a serviceable harbour; the navigable river Tonberum, in the neighbourhood of which are the Parirae; then the Fish-eaters, covering so wide a space of coast that it took 30 days to sail past them; the island a called the Isle of the Sun and also the Couch of the Nymphs, the soil of which is red in colour, and on which all animals without exception die, from causes not ascertained; the On tribe; .the Carmanian river Hyctanis, affording harbourage and producing gold. The travellers noted that it was here that the Great and Little Bear first became visible, and that Arcturus is not visible at all on some nights and never all night long; that the rule of the Persian kings extended to this point; and that copper, iron, arsenic and red-lead are mined here. Next there is the Cape of Carmania, from which it is a passage of five miles to cross to the Arabian tribe of the Macae on the opposite coast; three islands, of which only Oracta, 25 miles from the mainland, has a supply of fresh water and is inhabited; four islands quite in the gulf, off the coast of Farsistanin the neighbourhood of these the fleet was terrified by sea-serpents 30 ft. long that swam alongsidethe island of Aradus and that of Gauratae, both inhabited by the Gyani tribe; at the middle of the Persian Gulf the river Hyperis, navigable for merchant vessels; the river Sitioganus, up which it is seven days' voyage to Pasargadae; the navigable river Phrystimus; and an island that has no name. The river Granis, carrying vessels of moderate size, flows through Susiane, and on its right bank dwell the Dedmontani, who manufacture asphalt; the river Zarotis, the mouth of which is difficult to navigate except for those familiar with it; and two small islands. Then comes a shallow stretch of water like a marsh which nevertheless is navigable by way of certain channels; the mouth of the Euphrates; a lake formed in the neighbourhood of Charax by the Eulaeus and the Tigris; then by the Tigris they reached Susa. There after three months' voyaging they found Alexander celebrating a festival; it was seven months since he had left them at Patala. Such was the route followed by the fleet of Alexander; but subsequently it was thought that the safest line is to start from Ras Fartak in Arabia with a west wind (the native name for which in those parts is Hippalus) and make for Patale, the distance being reckoned as 1332 miles. The following period considered it a shorter and safer route to start from the same cape and steer for the Indian harbour of Sigerus, and for a long time this was the course followed, until a merchant discovered a shorter route, and the desire for gain brought India nearer; indeed, the voyage is made every year, with companies of archers on board, because these seas used to be very greatly infested by pirates.

And it will not be amiss to set out the whole of the voyage from Egypt, now that reliable knowledge of it is for the first time accessible. It is an important subject, in view of the fact that in no year does India absorb less than fifty million sesterces of our empire's wealth, sending back merchandise to be sold with us at a hundred times its prime cost. Two miles from Alexandria is the town of Juliopolis. The voyage up the Nile from there to Keft is 309 miles, and takes 12 days when the midsummer trade-winds are blowing. From Keft the journey is made with camels, stations being placed at intervals for the purpose of watering; the first, a stage of 22 miles, is called Hydreuma; the second is in the mountains, a day's journey on; the third at a second place named Hydreuma, 85 miles from Keft; the next is in the mountains; next we come to Apollo's Hydreuma, 184 miles from Keft; again a station in the mountains; then we get to New Hydreuma, 230 miles from Keft. There is also another old Hydreuma known by the name of Trogodyticum, where a guard is stationed on outpost duty at a caravanserai accommodating two thousand travellers; it is seven miles from New Hydreuma. Then comes the town of Berenice, where there is a harbour on the Red Sea, 257 miles from Keft. But as the greater part of the journey is done by night because of the heat and the days are spent at stations, the whole journey from Keft to Berenice takes twelve days. Travelling by sea begins at midsummer before the dog-star rises or immediately after its rising, and it takes about thirty days to reach the Arabian port of Cella or Cane in the frankincense-producing district. There is also a third port named Mokha, which is riot called at on the voyage to India, and is only used by merchants trading in frankincense and Arabian perfumes. Inland there is a town, the residence of the king of the district, called Sapphar, and another called Save. But the most advantageous way of sailing to India is to set out from Celia; from that port it is a 40 days' voyage, if the Hippalus is blowing, to the first trading-station in India, Cranganorenot a desirable port of call, on account of the neighbouring pirates, who occupy a place called Nitriae, nor is it specially rich in articles of merchandise; and furthermore the roadstead for shipping is a long way from the land, and cargoes have to be brought in and carried out in boats. The king of Muziris, at the date of publication, was Caelobothras. There is another more serviceable port, belonging to the Neacyndi tribe, called Porakad; this is where king Pandion reigned, his capital being a town in the interior a long way from the port, called Madura; while the district from which pepper is conveyed to Becare in canoes made of hollowed tree-trunks is called Cottonara. But all these names of tribes and ports or towns are to be found in none of the previous writers, which seems to show that the local conditions of the places are changing. Travellers set sail from India on the return voyage at the beginning of the Egyptian month Tybis, which is our December, or at all events before the sixth day of the Egyptian Mechir, which works out at before January 13 in our calendarso making it possible to return home in the same year. They set sail from India with a southeast wind, and after entering the Red Sea, continue the voyage with a south-west or south wind.

We will now return to our main subject.

27. Nearchus writes that the length of the coast of Carmania is 1250 miles, and the distance from its beginning to the river Sabis 100 miles; and that from that river to the river Ananis, a space of 25 miles, there are vineyards and arable land. The district is called Armysia; and towns of Carmania are Zetis and Alexandria.

28. Moreover in this region the sea then makes a double inroad into the land; the name given to it by our countrymen is the Red Sea, while the Greeks call it Erythrum, from King Erythras, or, according to others, in the belief that the water is given a red colour by the reflexion of the sun, while others say that the name comes from the sand and the soil, and others that it is due to the actual water being naturally of such a character. However, this sea is divided into two bays. The one to the east. is called the Persian Gulf, and according to the report of Eratosthenes measures 2500 miles round. Opposite is Arabia, with a coastline 1500 miles in length, and on its other side Arabia is encompassed by the second bay, named the Arabian Gulf; the ocean flowing into this is called the Azaman Sea. The width of the Persian Gulf at its entrance some make five and others four miles; the distance in a straight line from the entrance to the innermost part of the Gulf has been ascertained to be nearly 1125 miles, and its outline has been found to be in the likeness of a human head. Onesicritus and Nearchus write that from the river Indus to the Persian Gulf and from there to Babylon by the marshes of the Euphrates is a voyage of 1700 miles. In an angle of Carmania are the Turtle-eaters, who roof their houses with the shells and live on the flesh of turtles. These people inhabit the promontory that is reached next after leaving the river Arabis. They are covered all over, except their heads, with shaggy hair, and they wear clothes made of the skins of fishes. After the district belonging to these people, in the direction of India there is said to be an uninhabited island, Cascandrus, 50 miles out at sea, and next to it, with, a strait flowing between, Stoidis, with a valuable pearl-fishery. After the promontory the Carmanians are adjoined by the Harmozaei, though some authorities place the Arbii between them, stretching all along the coast for 421 miles. Here are the Port of the Macedonians and the Altars of Alexander situated on a promontory; the rivers are Siccanas and then the Dratinus and the Salsum. After the Salsum is Cape Themisteas, and the inhabited island of Aphrodisias. Here is the beginning of Farsistan, at the river Tab, which separates Farsistan from Elymais. Off the coast of Farsistan lie the islands of Psilos, Cassandra and Aracha, the last with an extremely lofty mountain, and consecrated to Neptune. Farsistan itself occupies 550 miles of coast, facing west. It is wealthy even to the point of luxury. It has long ago changed its name to Parthia.

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We will now give a brief account of the Parthian empire.

29. The Parthi possess in all eighteen kingdoms, such being the divisions of their provinces on the coasts of two seas, as we have stated, the Red Sea on the south and the Caspian Sea on the north. Of these provinces the eleven designated the Upper Kingdoms begin at the frontiers of Armenia and the shores of the Caspian, and extend to the Scythians, with whom the Parthiars live on terms of equality. The remaining seven kingdoms are called the Lower Kingdoms. So far as the Parthi are concerned, there has always been a country named Parthyaea at the foot of the mountain range, already mentioned more than once, which forms the boundary of all these races. To the east of Parthyaea are the Arii, to the south Carmania and the Ariani, to the west the Pratitae, a Median race, and to the north the Hyrcani; and it is surrounded on all sides by desert. The more remote Parthians are called the Nomads. Short of the desert on the west side are the Parthian cities mentioned above, Issatis and Calliope; north-east is Pyropum, south-east Maria, and in the middle Hecatompylos, Arsace, and the fine district of Parthyene, Nisiaea, containing the city named Alexandropolis after its founder.

At this point it is necessary also to indicate the geographical position of the Medes, and to trace the formation of the country round to the Persian Sea, in order that the rest of the account that follows may be more easily understood. Media lies crosswise on the west side, meeting Parthia at an angle, and so shutting off both groups of Parthian kingdoms. Consequently it has the Caspian and Parthian people on its east side, Sittacene, Susiane and Farsistan on the south, Adiabene on the west, and Armenia on the north. The Persians have always lived on the shore of the Red Sea, which is the reason why it is called the Persian Gulf. The coastal region there is called Cyropolis, but the Greek name of the place where it runs up towards the Medes is the Great Staircase, from a steep gorge ascending the mountain by stages, with a narrow entrance, leading to the former capital of the kingdom, Persepolis, which was destroyed by Alexander. Right on the frontier the region also possesses the city of Laodicea, founded by Antiochus. To the east of Laodicea is the fortress of Phrasargis, occupied by the Magi, which contains the tomb of Cyrus; and another place belonging to the Magi is the town of Ecbatana which King Darius transferred to the mountains. Between the Parthi and the Ariani projects the territory of the Paraetaceni. The Lower Kingdoms are enclosed by these races and by the Euphrates; of the remaining kingdoms we shall speak after describing Mesopotamia, with the exception of the point of that country and the Arabian peoples mentioned in the preceding volume.

30. The whole of Mesopotamia once belonged to the Assyrians, and the population was scattered in villages, with the exception of Babylon and Nineveh. The Macedonians collected its population into cities, because of the fertility of the soil. Besides the cities already mentioned it has the towns of Seleucia, Laodicea and Artemita; and also, in the territory of the Arabian tribe called the Orroei and Mandani, Antioch, which was founded by Nicanor when Governor of Mesopotamia, and which is called Arabian Antioch. Adjoining these, in the interior, are the Arabian tribe of the Eldamari, above whom on the river Pallaconta is the town of Buura, and the Arabian Salmani and Masei; but adjoining the Guxdiaei are the Azoni, through whose country flows the Zerbis, a tributary of the Tigris, and adjoining the Azoni the mountain tribe of the Silices and the Orontes; west of whom is the town of Gaugamela, and also Suae on a cliff. Above the Silices are the Sitrae, through whom flows the Lycus from its source in Armenia, and south-east of the Sitrae the town of Azochis, and then in level country the towns of Zeus's Spring, Polytelia, Stratonicea and Anthemus. In the neighbourhood of the Euphrates is Nicephorion, mentioned above; it was founded by order of Alexander because of the convenience of the site. We have also mentioned Apamea opposite Bridgetown; travelling eastward from which one comes to the fortified town of Caphrena, which formerly measured 8 miles in extent and was called the Court of the Satraps, being a centre for the collection of tribute, but which has now been reduced to a fortress. Thebata remains in the same condition as it was formerly, and so does the place which marked the limit of the Roman Empire under the leadership of Pompey, Oruros, 250 miles from Bridgetown. Some writers record that the Euphrates was diverted into an artificial channel by the governor Gobares at the place where we have stated that it divides, in order to prevent the violence of its current from threatening damage to the district of Babylonia; and that its name among the whole of the Assyrians is Narmalchas, which means the Royal River. At the point where the channel divides there was once a very large town named Agranis, which was destroyed by the Persians.

Babylon, which is the capital of the Chaldaean races, long held an outstanding celebrity among the cities in the whole of the world, and in consequence of this the remaining part of Mesopotamia and Assyria has received the name of Babylonia. It has two walls with a circuit of 60 miles, each wall being 200 ft. high and 50 ft. wide (the Assyrian foot measures 3 inches more than ours). The Euphrates flows through the city, with marvellous embankments on either side. The temple of Jupiter Belus in Babylon is still standingBelus was the discoverer of the science of astronomy; but in all other respects the place has gone back to a desert, having been drained of its population by the proximity of Seleucia, founded for that purpose by Nicator not quite 90 miles away, at the point where the canalised Euphrates joins the Tigris. However, Seleucia is still described as being in the territory of Babylon, although at the present day it is a free and independent city and retains the Macedoman manners. It is said that the population of the city numbers 600,000; that the plan of the walls resembles the shape of an eagle spreading its wings; and that its territory is the most fertile in the whole of the east. For the purpose of drawing away the population of Seleucia in its turn, the Parthians founded Ctesiphon, which is about three miles from Seleucia in the Chalonitis district, and is now the capital of the kingdoms of Parthia. And after it was found that the intended purpose was not being achieved, another town was recently founded in the neighbourhood by King Vologesus, named Vologesocerta. There are in addition the following towns in Mesopotamia: Hipparenithis also a school of Chaldaean learning like Babylonsituated on a tributary of the river Narraga, from which the city-state takes its name (the walls of Hippareni were demolished by the Persians); also Orcheni, a third seat of Chaldaean learning, is situated in the same neighbourhood towards the south; and next Notitae and Orothophanitae and Gnesiochartae.

Nearchus and Onesicritus report that the Euphrates is navigable from the Persian Sea to Babylon, a distance of 412 miles; but subsequent writers say it is navigable up to Seleucia, 440 miles, and Juba from Babylon as far as Charax, 175 miles. Some report that it continues to flow in a single channel for a distance of 87 miles beyond Babylon before it is diverted into irrigation-channels, and that its entire course is 1200 miles long. This discrepancy of measurement is due to the variety of authors that have dealt with the matter, as even among the Persians different writers give different measurements for the length of the sochoenus and the parasang. Where it ceases to afford protection by its channel, as it does when its course approaches the boundary of Charax, it immediately begins to be infested by the Attali, an Arabian tribe of brigands, beyond whom are the Scenitae. But the winding course of the Euphrates is occupied by the Nomads of Arabia right on to the desert of Syria, where, as we have stated, the river makes a bend to the south, quitting the uninhabited districts of Palmyra. The distance of Seleucia from the beginning of Mesopotamia is a voyage by the Euphrates of 1125 miles; its distance from the Red Sea, if the voyage by made by the Tigris, is 320 miles, and from Bridgetown 724 miles. Bridgetown is 175 miles from Seleucia on the Mediterranean coast of Syria. This gives the breadth of the country lying between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. The extent of the kingdom of Parthia is 918 miles.

31. Moreover there is a town belonging to Mesopotamia on the bank of the Tigris near its confluence with the Euphrates, the name of which is Digba. But some statement about the Tigris itself may also be suitable here. The source of the Tigris is in a region of Greater Armenia, and is clearly visible, being on level ground; the name of the place is Elegosine, and the stream itself in its comparatively sluggish part is named Diglitus, but where its flow accelerates, it begins to be called the Tigris, owing to its swiftnesstigris is the Persian word for an arrow. It flows into Lake Aretissa, heavy objects thrown into which always float on the surface, and which gives off nitrous vapours. The lake contains a single species of fish, which never enters the current of the Tigris flowing through the lake, as likewise the fish of the river do not swim out of its stream into the water of the lake; but the river travels on in a distinct course and with a different colour, and when after traversing the lake it comes against Mount Taurus, it plunges into a cave, glides underground, and bursts out again on the other side of the mountain. The name of the place where it emerges is Zoaranda; and the identity of the stream is proved by the fact that objects thrown into it are carried through the tunnel. Then it crosses a second lake called Thespites, and again burrows into underground passages, re-emerging 22 miles further on in the neighbourhood of Nymphaeum. According to Claudius Caesar, the course of the Tigris in the Archene district is so close to that of the Arsanias that when they are in flood they flow together, although without intermingling their waters; that of the Arsanias being of less specific gravity floats on the surface for a distance of nearly four miles, after which the two rivers separate, and the Arsanias discharges into the Euphrates. The Tigris however after receiving as tributaries from Armenia those notable rivers the Parthenias and Nicephorion, makes a frontier between the Arab tribes of the Orroei and Adiabeni and forms the region of Mesopotamia mentioned above; it then traverses the mountains of the Gurdiaei, flowing round Apamea, a town belonging to Mesene, and 125 miles short of Babylonian Seleucia splits into two channels, one of which flows south and reaches Seleucia, watering Mesene on the way, while the other bends northward and passing behind the same people cuts through the plains of Cauchae; when the two streams have reunited, the river is called Pasitigris. Afterwards it is joined by the Kerkhah from Media, and, as we have said, after flowing between Seleucia and Ctesiphon empties itself into the Chaldaean Lakes, and broadens them out to a width of 62 miles. Then it flows out of the Lakes in a vast channel and passing on the right-hand side of the town of Charax discharges into the Persian Sea, the mouth of the river being 10 miles wide. The mouths of the two rivers used to be 25 miles apart, or as others record 7 miles, and both were navigable; but a long time ago the Euphrates was dammed by the Orcheni and other neighbouring tribes in order to irrigate their lands, and its water is only discharged into the sea by way of the Tigris.

The country adjacent to the Tigris is called Parapotamia. It contains the district of Mesene, mentioned above; a town in this is Dabitha, and adjoining it is Chalonitis, with the town of Ctesiphon, a wooded district containing not only palm groves but also olives and orchards. Mount Zagrus extends as far as Chalonitis from Armenia, coming between the Medes and the Adiabeni above Paraetacene and Farsistan. The distance of Chalonitis from Farsistan is 380 miles, and some persons say that by the shortest route it is the same distance from the Caspian Sea and from Syria. Between these races and Mesene is Sittacene, which is also called Arbelitis and Palaestine. Its town of Sittace is of Greek origin, and also to the east of this is Sabdata and to the west Antiochia, which lies between the two rivers, Tigris and Tomadotus, and also Apamea, which Antiochus named after his mother; this town is surrounded by the Tigris, and the Archous intersects it. Below is Susiane, in which is situated Susa, the ancient capital of the Persian monarchy, founded by Darius son of Hystaspes. Babylonia is 450 miles from Seleucia, and the same distance from Ecbatana of the Medes, by way of Mount Carbantus. On the northern channel of the Tigris is the town of Barbitace, which is 135 miles from Susa. Here are the only people among mankind who have a hatred for gold, which they collect together and bury, to prevent anyone from using it. Adjoining the Susiani on the east are the brigand Oxii and the forty in dependent and savage tribes of the Mizaei. Above these and subject to the Parthians are the Mardi and Saitae stretching above Blymais, which we described as adjacent to Farsistan on the coast. The distance of Susa from the Persian Gulf is 250 miles. Near where the fleet of Alexander came up the Pasitigris to the city of Susa is a village on the Chaldaic lake called Aple, the distance of which from Susa is a voyage of 62 miles. The nearest people to the Susiani on the east side are the Cossiaei, and beyond the Cossiaei to the north is Massabatene, lying below Mount Cambalidus, which is a spur of the Caucasus range; from this point is the easiest route across to the country of the Bactri.

The territory of Susa is separated from Elymais Swsa by the river Karn, which rises in the country of the Medes, and after running for a moderate distance underground, comes to the surface again and flows through Massabatene. It passes round the citadel of Susa and the temple of Diana, which is regarded with the greatest reverence by the races in those parts; and the river itself is held in great veneration, inasmuch as the kings drink water drawn from it only, and consequently have it conveyed to places a long distance away. Tributaries of the Karn are the Hedyphos, which flows past the Persian town of Asylum, and the Aduna coming from the territory of the Susiani. On the Karn lies the town of Magoa, 15 miles from Charaxthough some people locate Magoa at the extreme edge of the territory of Susa, close to the desert. Below the Kardu on the coast is Elymais, which marches with Farsistan and extends from the river Oratis to the Charax, a distance of 240 miles; its towns are Seleucia and Sostrate, situated on the flank of Mount Chasirus. The coast lying in front, as we have stated above, is rendered inaccessible by mud, like the Lesser Syrtes, as the rivers Brixa and Ortacia bring down a quantity of sediment, and the Elymais district is itself so marshy that it is only possible to reach Farsistan by making a long detour round it. It is also infested with snakes carried down by the streams. A particularly inaccessible part of it is called Characene, from Charax, a town of Arabia that marks the frontier of these kingdoms; about this town we will now speak, after first stating the opinion of Marcus Agrippa. According to his account the countries of Media, Parthia and Farsistan are bounded on the east by the Indus, on the west by the Tigris, on the north by the Taurus and Caucasus mountains, and on the south by the Red Sea, and cover an area 1320 miles in length and 840 miles in breadth; he adds that the area of Mesopotamia by itself, bounded by the Tigris on the east, the Euphrates on the west, Mount Taurus on the north and the Persian Sea on the south, is 800 miles in length by 360 miles in breadth.

The town of Charax is situated in the innermost recess of the Persian Gulf, from which projects the country called Arabia Felix. It stands on an artificial elevation between the Tigris on the right and the Karn on the left, at the point where these two rivers unite, and the site measures two miles in breadth. The original town was founded by Alexander the Great with settlers brought from the royal city of Durine, which was then

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destroyed, and with the invalided soldiers from his army who were left there. He had given orders that it was to be called Alexandria, and a borough which he had assigned specially to the Macedonians was to be named Pellaeum, after the place where he was born. The original town was destroyed by the rivers, but it was afterwards restored by Antiochus, the fifth king of Syria, who gave it his own name; and when it had been again damaged it was restored and named after himself by Spaosines son of Sagdodonacus, king of the neighbouring Arabs, who is wrongly stated by Juba to have been a satrap of Antiochus; he constructed embankments for the protection of the town, and raised the level of the adjacent ground over a space of six miles in length and a little less in breadth. It was origin ally at a distance of 1 miles from the coast, and had a harbour of its own, but when Juba published his work it was 50 miles inland; its present distance from the coast is stated by Arab envoys and our own traders who have come from the place to be 120 miles. There is no part of the world where earth carried down by rivers has encroached on the sea further or more rapidly; and what is more surprising is that the deposits have not been driven back by the tide, as it approaches far beyond this point.

It has not escaped my notice that Charax was the birthplace of Dionysius, the most recent writer dealing with the geography of the world, who was sent in advance to the East by his late majesty Augustus to write a full account of it when the emperor's elder son was about to proceed to Armenia to take command against the Parthians and Arabians; nor have I forgotten the view stated at the beginning of my work that each author appears to be most accurate in describing his own country; in this section however my intention is to be guided by the Roman armies and by King Juba, in his volumes dedicated to the above-mentioned Gaius Caesar describing the same expedition to Arabia.

32. In regard to the extent of its territory Arabia is inferior to no race in the world; its longest dimension is, as we have said, the slope down from Mount Amanus in the direction of Cilicia and Commagene, many of the Arabian races having been brought to that country by Tigranes the Great, while others have migrated of their own accord to the Mediterranean and the Egyptian coast, as we have explained, and also the Nubei penetrating to the middle of Syria as far as Mount Lebanon adjoining whom are the Ramisi and then the Teranei and then the Patami. Arabia itself however is a peninsula projecting between two seas, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, some device of nature having surrounded it by sea with a conformation and an area resembling Italy, and also with exactly the same orientation, so that it also has the advantage of that geographical position. We have stated the peoples that inhabit it from the Mediterranean to the deserts of Palmyra, and we will now recount the remainder of them from that point onward.

Bordering on the Nomads and the tribes that harry the territories of the Chaldaeans are, as we have said, the Scenitae, themselves also a wandering people, but taking their name from their tents made of goat's-hair cloth, which they pitch wherever they fancy. Next are the Nabataeans inhabiting a town named Petra; it lies in a deep valley a little less than two miles wide, and is surrounded by inaccessible mountains with a river flowing between them. Its distance from the town of Gaza on the Mediterranean coast is 600 miles, and from the Persian Gulf 635 miles. At Petra two roads meet, one leading from Syria to Palmyra, and the other coming from Gaza. After Petra the country as far as Charax was inhabited by the Omani, with the once famous towns of Abaesamis and Soractia, founded by Semiramis; but now it is a desert. Then there is a town on the bank of the Pasitigris named Forat, subject to the King of the Characeni; this is resorted to by people from Petra, who make the journey from there to Charax, a distance of 12 miles by water, using the tide. But those travelling by water from the kingdom of Parthia come to the village of Teredon below the confluence of the Euphrates and the Tigris; the teft bank of the river is occupied by the Chaldaeans and the right bank by the Scenitae tribe of nomads. Some report that two other towns at long distances apart are also passed on the voyage down the Tigris, Barbatia and then Dumatha, the latter said to be ten days' voyage from Petra. Our merchants say that the king of the Characeni also rules over Apamea, a town situated at the confluence of the overflow of the Euphrates with the Tigris; and that consequently when the Parthians threaten an invasion they are prevented by the construction of dams across the river, which cause the country to be flooded.

We will now describe the coast from Charax onward, which was first explored for King Epiphanes. There is the place where the mouth of the Euphrates formerly was, a salt-water stream; Cape Caldone; an estuary more resembling a whirlpool than open sea, stretching 50 miles along the coast; the river Achenum; 100 miles of desert, extending as far as Icarus Island; Capeus Bay, on which dwell the Gaulopes and the Gattaei; the Bay of Gerra and the town of that name, which measures five miles round and has towers made of squared blocks of salt. Fifty miles inland is the Attene district; and opposite to it and the same number of miles distant from the coast is the island of Tyros, extremely famous for its numerous pearls, with a town of the same name, and next another smaller island 12 miles away from the cape of Tyros. It is reported that beyond Tyros some large islands are in view which have never been visited; that the circumference of Tyros measures 112 miles; that its distance from Farsistan is more than that; and that it is accessible only by one narrow channel. Then the island of Ascliae, tribes named Nochaeti, Zurazi, Borgodi and the nomad Cathanei, and the river Cynos. According to Juba the voyage beyond on that side has not been explored, because of the rocksJuba omits to mention Batrasavave, the town of the Omani, and the town of Omana which previous writers have made out to be a famous port of Carmania, and also Homna and Attana, towns said by our traders to be now the most frequented ports in the Persian Gulf, After the Dog's River, according to Juba, there is a mountain looking as if it had been burnt; the Epimaranitae tribes, then the Fish-eaters, an uninhabited island, the Bathyxni tribes, the Eblythaean Mountains, the island of Omoemns, Port Mochorhae, the islands of Etaxalos and Inchobrichae, the Cadaei tribe; a number of islands without names, and the well-known islands of Isura and Rhinnea, and the adjacent island on which there are some stone pillars bearing inscriptions written in an unknown alphabet;. Port Coboea, the unhabited Bragae islands, the Taludaei tribe, the Dabanegoris district, Mount Orsa with its harbour, Duatas Bay, a number of islands, Mount Three Peaks, the Chardaleon district, the Solonades and Cachinna, also islands belonging to the Fish-eaters. Then Clan, the Mamaean coast with its gold-mines, the Canauna district, the Apitami and Casani tribes, Devade Island, the spring Coralis, the Carphati, the islands of Alaea and Amnamethus, the Darae tribe; Chelonitis Island and a number of islands of the Fish-eaters, the uninhabited Odanda, Basa, a number of islands belonging to the Sabaei. The dyers Thanar and Amnum, the llbric Islands, the Daulotos and Dora springs, the islands of Pteros, Labatanis, Coboris and Sambrachate with the town of the same name on the mainland. Many islands to the southward, the largest of which is Camari, the river Musecros, Port Laupas; the Sabaei, a tribe of Scenitae, owning many islands and a trading-station at Kalhat which is a port of embarkation for India; the district of Amithoscatta., Damnia, the Greater and Lesser Mizi, Drymatina, the Macae; a cape in their territory points towards Carmania, 50 miles away. A remarkable event is said to have occurred there: the governor of Mesene appointed by King Antiochus, Numenius, here won a battle against the Persians with his fleet and after the tide had gone out a second battle with his cavalry, and set up a couple of trophies, to Jupiter and to Neptune, on the same spot.

Out at sea off this coast lies the island of Ogyris, famous as the burial-place of King Erythras; its distance from the mainland is 125 miles and it measures 112 miles round. Equally famous is a second island in the Azanian Sea, the island of Socotra, lying 280 miles away from the extreme point of Cape Syagrus.

The remaining tribes on the mainland situated further south are the Autaridae, seven days' journey into the mountains, the Larendani and Catapani tribe, the Gebbanitae with several towns, of which the largest are Nagia and Thomna, the latter with sixty-five temples, a fact that indicates its size. Then a cape the distance between which and the mainland in the Cave-dwellers' territory is 50 miles; then the Thoani, the Actaei, the Chatramotitae, the Tonabaei, the Antiadalei and Lexianae, the Agraei, the Cerbani and the Sabaei, the best known of all the Arabian tribes because of their frankincensethese tribes extend from sea to sea. Their towns on the coast of the Red Sea are Merme, Marina, Corolla, Sabbatha, and the inland towns are Nascus, Cardava, Carnus, and Thomala to which they bring down their perfumes for export. One division of them are the Atrainitae, whose chief place is Sabota, a walled town containing sixty temples; the royal capital of all these tribes however is Mareiabata, which lies on a bay measuring 94 miles round, studded with islands that produce perfumes. Adjoining the Atramitae in the interior are the Minaei; and dwelling on the coast are also the Aelamitae with a town of the same name, and adjoining them the Chaculatae with the town of Sibis, the Greek name of which is Apate, the Arsi, the Codani, the Vadaei with the large town of Barasasa, and the Lechieni; and the island of Sygaros, into which dogs are not admitted, and so being exposed on the seashore they wander about till they die. Then a bay running far inland on which live the Laeanitae, who have given it their name. Their capital is Agra, and on the bay is Laeana, or as others call it Aelana; for the name of the bay itself has been written by our people 'Laeanitic', and by others 'Aelanitic', while Artemidorus gives it as 'Alaenitic' and Juba as 'Leanitic'. The circumference of Arabia from Charax to Laeana is said to amount to 4665 miles, though Juba thinks it is a little less than 4000 miles; it is widest at the north, between the towns of Heroeum and Charax.

The rest of its inland places also must now be stated. Adjoining the Nabataei the old authorities put the Timanei, but now there are the Taveni, Suelleni, Araceni, Arreni (with a town which is a centre for all mercantile business), Hemnatae, Avalitae (with the towns of Domata and Haegra), Tamudaei (town Baclanaza), Cariati, Acitoali (town Phoda), and the Minaei, who derive their origin, as they believe, from King Minos of Crete; part of them are the Carmei. Fourteen miles further is the town of Maribba, then Paramalacun, also a considerable place, and Canon, to which the same applies. Then the Rhadamaei (these also are believed to descend from Rhadamanthus the brother of Minos), the Homeritae with the town of Mesala, the Hamiroei, Gedranitae, Phryaei, Lysanitae, Bachylitae, Samnaei, the Amaitaei with the towns of Messa and Chenneseris, the Zamareni with the towns of Sagiatta and Canthace, the Bacaschami with the town of Riphearina (a name which is the native word for barley), the Autaei, Ethravi, Cyrei with the town of Elmataei, Chodae with the town of Aiathuris 25 miles up in the mountains (in which is the spring called Aenuscabales, which means 'the fountain of the camels'), the town of Ampelome, a colony from Miletus, the town of Athrida, the Calingi, whose town is named Mariba, meaning 'lords of all men', the towns of Pallon and Murannimal, on a river through which the Euphrates is believed to discharge itself, the Agraei and Ammoni tribes, a town named Athenae, the Caunaravi (which means 'very rich in herds'); the Chorranitae, the Cesani and the Choani. Here were also the Greek towns of Arethusa, Larisa and Chalcis, but they have been destroyed in various wars.

Aelius Gallus, a member of the Order of Knights, is the only person who has hitherto carried the arms of Rome into this country; for Gaius Caesar son of Augustus only had a glimpse of Arabia. Gallus destroyed the following towns not named by the authors who have written previouslyNegrana, Nestus, Nesca, Magusus, Caminacus, Labaetia; as well as Mariba above mentioned, which measures 6 miles round, and also Caripeta, which was the farthest point he reached. The other discoveries that he reported on his return are: that the Nomads live on milk and the flesh of wild animals; that the rest of the tribes extract wine out of palm trees, as the natives do in India, and get oil from sesame; that the Homeritae are the most numerous tribe; that the Minaei have land that is fertile in palm groves and timber, and wealth in flocks; that, the Cerbani and Agraei, and especially the Chatramotitae, excel as warriors; that the Carrei have the most extensive and most fertile agricultural land; that the Sabaei are the most wealthy, owing to the fertility of their forests in producing scents, their gold mines, their irrigated agricultural land and their production of honey and wax: of their scents we shall speak in [Book 12] the volume dealing with that subject. The Arabs wear turbans or else go with their hair unshorn; they shave their beards but wear a moustacheothers however leave the beard also unshaven. And strange to say, of these innumerable tribes an equal part are engaged in trade or live by brigandage; taken as a whole, they are the richest races in the world, because vast wealth from Rome and Parthia accumulates in their hands, as they sell the produce they obtain from the sea or their forests and buy nothing in return.

33. We will now follow along the rest of the coast lying opposite to Arabia. Timosthenes estimated the length of the whole gulf at four days' sail, the breadth at two, and the width of the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb as 74 miles; Eratosthenes makes the length of the coast on either side from the mouth of the gulf 1200 miles; Artemidorus gives the length of the coast on the Arabian side as 1750 miles and on the side of the Cave-dweller country as far as Ptolemais 11844 miles; Agrippa says that there is no difference between the two sides, and gives the length of each as 1732 miles. Most authorities give the breadth as 475 miles, and the mouth of the gulf facing south-west some make 4 miles wide, others 7 and others 12.

The lie of the land is as follows: on leaving the Laeanitic Gulf there is another gulf the Arabic name of which is Aeas, on which is the town of Heroim. Formerly there was also the City of Cambyses, between the Neli and the Marchades; this was the place where the invalids from the army of Cambyses were settled. Then come the Tyro tribe and the Harbour of the Daneoi, from which there was a project to carry a ship-canal through to the Nile at the place where it flows into what is called the Delta, over a space of 62 miles, which is the distance between the river and the Red Sea; this project was originally conceived by Sesostris King of Egypt, and later by the Persian King Darius and then again by Ptolemy the Second, who did actually carry a trench 100 ft. broad and 30 ft. deep for a distance of 344 miles, as far as the Bitter Springs. He was deterred from carrying it further by fear of causing a flood, as it was ascertained that the level of the Red Sea is 44 ft. above that of the land of Egypt. Some persons do not adduce this reason for the abandonment of the project, but say that it was due to fear lest making an inlet from the sea would pollute the water of the Nile, which affords to Egypt its only supply of drinking-water. Nevertheless the whole journey from the Egyptian Sea is constantly performed by land, there being three routes: one from Pelusium across the sands, a route on which the only mode of finding the way is to follow a line of reeds fixed in the sand, as the wind causes footprints to be

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covered up immediately; another route beginning two miles beyond Mount Casius and after 60 miles rejoining the road from Pelusiumalong this route dwell the Arab tribe of the Autaei; and a third starting from Gerrum, called the Agipsum route, passing through the same Arab tribe, which is 60 miles shorter but rough and mountainous, as well as devoid of watering-places. All these routes lead to Arsino, the city on Carandra Bay founded and named after his sister by Ptolemy Philadelphus, who first thoroughly explored the Cave-dweller country and gave his own name to the river on which Arsinod stands. Soon after comes the small town of Aenumother writers give the name as Philoteria insteadand then there are the Asarri, a wild Arab tribe sprung from intermarriage with the Cave-dwellers, the islands of Sapirine and Scytala, and then desert stretching as far as Myoshormos, where is the spring of Amos, Mount Eos, Iambe Island, a number of harbours, the town of Berenice named from the mother of Philadelphus, the road to which from Coptus we have described, and the Arab tribes of the Autaei and Gebadaei.

34. Cave-dwellers' country, called in former times Mido and by other people Midio, Mount Five-fingers, some islands called the Narrow Necks, the Halonesi about the same in number, Cardamine, and Topazos, which has given its name to the precious stone. A bay crowded with islands, of which the ones called the Islands of Matreos have springs on them and those called Erato's Islands are dry; these islands formerly had governors appointed by the kings. Inland are the Candaei, who are called the Ophiophagi because it is their habit to eat snakes, of which the district is exceptionally productive. Juba, who appears to have investigated these matters extremely carefully, has omitted to mention in this district (unless there is an error in the copies of his work) a second town called Berenice which has the additional name of All-golden, and a third called Berenice on the Neck, which is remarkable for its situation, being placed on a neck of land projecting a long way out, where the straits at the mouth of the Red Sea separate Africa from Arabia by a space of only 7 miles. Here is the island of Cytis, which itself also produces the chrysolite. Beyond there are forests, in which is Ptolemais, built by Ptolemy Philadelphus for the purpose of elephant-hunting and consequently called Ptolemy's Hunting Lodge; it is close to Lake Monoleus. This is the district referred to by us in Book 2, in which during the 45 days before midsummer and the same number of days after midsummer shadows contract to nothing an hour before noon, and during the rest of the day fall to the south, while all the other days of the year they fall to the north; on the other hand at the first Berenice mentioned above, on the actual day of the summer solstice the shadow disappears altogether an hour before noon, but nothing else unusual is observedthis place is 602 miles from Ptolemais. The phenomenon is extremely remarkable, and the topic is one involving infinitely profound research, it being here that the structure of the world was discovered, because Eratosthenes derived from it the idea of working out the earth's dimensions by the certain method of noting the shadows.

Next come the Azanian Sea, the cape whose name some writers give as Hippalus, Lake Mandalum, Colocasitis Island, and out at sea a number of islands containing a large quantity of turtle. The town of Sacae, the island of Daphnis, Freemen's Town, founded by slaves from Egypt who had run away from their. masters. Here is very large trading centre of the Cave-dwellers and also the Ethiopiansit is two days' sail from Ptolemais; they bring into it a large quantity of ivory, rhinoceros horns, hippopotamus hides, tortoise shell, apes and slaves. Beyond the Ploughmen Ethiopians are the islands called the Isles of Aliaeos, and also Bacchias and Antibacchias, and Soldiers' Island. Next there is a bay in the coast of Ethiopia that has not been explored, which is surprising, in view of the fact that traders ransack more remote districts; and a cape on which is a spring named Cucios, resorted to by seafarers; and further on, Port of Isis, ten days' row distant from Freemen's Town, and a centre to which Cave-dwellers' myrrh is brought. There are two islands off the harbour called the False Gates, and two inside it called the Gates, on one of which are some stone monuments with inscriptions in an unknown alphabet. Further on is the Bay of Abalitos, and then Diodorus's Island and other uninhabited islands, and also along the mainland a stretch of desert; the town of Gaza; Mossylites Cape and Harbour, the latter the port of export for cinnamon. This was the farthest point to which Sesostris led his army. Some writers place one Ethiopian town on the coast beyond this point, Baragaza.

Juba holds that at Cape Mossylites begins the Atlantic Ocean, navigable with a north-west wind along the coast of his kingdom of the Mauretanias as far as Cadiz; and his whole opinion must not be omitted at this point in the narrative. He puts forward the view that the distance from the cape in the Indian territory called in Greek the Narrow Head, and by others the Sickle, in a straight course past Burnt Island to Malichas's Islands is 1500 miles, from there to the place called Scaenei 225 miles, and on from there to Sadanus Island 150 milesmaking 1875 miles to the open sea. All the rest of the authorities have held the view that the heat of the sun makes the voyage impossible; moreover actual goods conveyed for trade are exposed to the depredations of an Arabian tribe living on the islands: who are called the Ascitae because they make rafts of timber placed on a pair of inflated ox-hides and practise piracy, using poisoned arrows. Juba also speaks of some tribes of Cave-dwellers called the Jackal-hunters, because of their skill in hunting, who are remarkable for their swiftness, and also of the Fish-eaters, who can swim like creatures of the sea; also the Bangeni, Zangenae, Thalibae, Saxinae, Sirecae, Daremae and Domazenes. Juba states moreover that the people inhabiting the banks of the Nile from Syene as far as Mero are not Ethiopian but Arabian tribes and also that the City of the Sun, which in our description of Egypt we spoke of as not far from Memphis, had Arab founders. The further bank also is by some authorities taken away from Ethiopia and attached to Africa. (But they lived on the banks for the sake of the water.) We however shall leave this point to the reader to form his own opinion on it, and shall enumerate the towns on either bank in the order in which they are reported, starting from Syene.

35. And taking the Arabian side of the Nile first, we have the Catadupi tribe, and then the Syenitae, and the towns of Tacompson (which some have called Thatice), Aramum, Sesamos, Andura, Nasardunia, Aindoxna Village with Arabeta and Bongiana, Leuphitorga, Tautarene, Meae, Chindita, Noa, Gopba, Gistate, Megada, Lea, Remni, Nups, Dfrea, Patinga, Bagada, Durnana, Radata (where a golden cat used to be worshipped as a god), Boron, and inland Mero, near Mallos. This is the account given by Bion. Juba's is different: he says that there is a fortified town called the Great Wall between Egypt and Ethiopia, the Arabic name for which is Mirsios, and then Tacompson, Aramum, Sesamos, Pide, Mamuda, Corambis near a spring of mineral pitch, Amodota, Prosda, Parenta, Mania, Tessata, Galles, Zoton, Graucome, Emeus, Pidibotae, Endondacometae, Nomad tribes living in tents, Cystaepe, Little Magadale, Prumis, Nups, Dicelis, Patingas, Breves, New Magus, Egasmala, Cramda, Denna, Cadeus, Mathena, Batta, Alana, Macna, Scammos, Gora, and on an island off these places Abale, Androcalis, Seres, Mallos and Agoces.

The places on the African side are given as Tacompsus (either a second town of the same name or a suburb of the one previously mentioned), Mogore, Saea, Aedosa, Pelenariae, Pindis, Magassa, Buma, Lintuma, Spintnm, Sidopt, Gensoe, Pindicitor, Agugo, Orsmn, Suara, Maumarnm, Urbim, Mulon (the town called by the Greeks Hypaton), Pagoartas, Zamncs (after which elephants begin to be found), Mambli, Berressa, Coetum. There was also formerly a town called Epis, opposite to Mero, which had been destroyed before Bion wrote.

These are the places that were reported as far as Mero, though at the present day hardly any of them still exist on either side of the river; at all events an exploring party of praetorian troops under the command of a tribune lately sent by the emperor Nero, when among the rest of his wars he was actually contemplating an attack on Ethiopia, reported that there was nothing but desert. Nevertheless in the time of his late Majesty Augustus the arms of Rome had penetrated even into those regions, under the leadership of Publius Petronius, himself also a member of the Order of Knighthood, when he was Governor of Egypt. Petronius captured the Arabian towns of which we will give a list, the only ones we have found there: Pselcis, Primi, Bocchis, Cambyses' Market, Attenia and Stadissis, where there is a cataract of the Nile the noise of which affects people dwelling near it with deafness; he also sacked the town of Napata. The farthest point he reached was 870 miles from Syene; but nevertheless it was not the arms of Rome that made the country a desert: Ethiopia was worn out by alternate periods of dominance and subjection in a series of wars with Egypt, having been a famous and powerful country even down to the Trojan wars, when Memnon was king; and the stories about Andromeda show that it dominated Syria and the coasts of the Mediterranean in the time of King Cepheus.

Similarly there have also been various reports as to the dimensions of the country, which were first given by Dalion, who sailed up a long way beyond Mero, and then by Aristocreon and Bion and Basilis, and also by the younger Simonides, who stayed at Mero for five years while writing his account of Ethiopia. Further, Timosthenes, who commanded the navies of Philadelphus, has stated the distance from Syene to Mero as sixty days' journey, without specifying the mileage per diem, while Eratosthenes gives it as 625 miles and Artemidorus as 600 miles; and Sebosus says that from the extreme point of Egypt to Mero is 1672 miles, whereas the authors last mentioned give it as 1250 a miles. But all this discrepancy has recently been ended, inasmuch as the expedition sent by Nero to explore the country have reported that the distance from Syene to Mero is 945 miles, made up as follows: from Syene to Holy Mulberry 54 miles, from there to Tama 72 miles through the district of the Ethiopian Euonymites, to Primi 120 miles, Acina 64 miles, Pitara 22 miles, Tergedus 103 miles. The report stated that the island of Gagaudes is halfway between Syene and Meroe, and that it was after passing this island that the birds called parrots were first seen, and after another, named Articula, the sphingion ape, and after Tergedus dog-faced baboons. The distance from Tergedus to Nabata is 80 miles, that little town being the only one among those mentioned that survives; and from Nabata to the island of Mero is 360 miles. Round Mero, they reported, greener herbage begins, and a certain amount of forest came into view, and the tracks of rhinoceroses and elephants were seen. The actual town of Mero they said is at a distance of 70 miles from the first approach to the island, and beside it in the channel on the right hand as one goes up stream lies another island, the Isle of Tados, this forming a harbour; the town possesses few buildings. They said that it is ruled by a woman, Candace, a name that has passed on through a succession of queens for many years; and that religious ceremonies take place in a temple of Hammon in the town and also in shrines of Hammon all over the district. Moreover at the time of the Ethiopic dominion this island was extremely celebrated. It is reported that it used to furnish 250,000 armed men and 3000 artisans. At the present day there are reported to be forty-five other kings of Ethiopia. But the whole race was called Aetheria, and then Atlantia, and finally it took its name from Aethiops the son of Vulcan. It is by no means surprising that the outermost districts of this region produce animal and human monstrosities, considering the capacity of the mobile element of fire to mould their bodies and carve their outlines. It is certainly reported that in the interior on the east side there are tribes of people without noses, their whole face being perfectly flat, and other tribes that have no upper lip and others no tongues. Also one section has the mouth closed up and has no nostrils, but only a single orifice through which it breathes and sucks in drink by means of oat straws, as well as grains of oat, which grows wild there, for food. Some of the tribes communicate by means of nods and gestures instead of speech; and some were unacquainted with the use of fire before the reign of King Ptolemy Lathyrus in Egypt. Some writers have actually reported a race of Pygmies living among the marshes in which the Nile rises. On the coast, in a region which we shall describe later, there is a range of mountains of a glowing red colour, which have the appearance of being on fire.

After Mero all the region is bounded by the Cave-dwellers and the Red Sea, the distance from Napata to the coast of the Red Sea being three days' journey; in several places rainwater is stored for the use of travellers, and the district in between produces a large amount of gold. The parts beyond are occupied by the Atabuli, an Ethiopian tribe; and then, over against Mero, are the Megabarri, to whom some give the name of Adiabari; they have a town named the Town of Apollo, but one division of them are Nomads, and live on the flesh of elephants. Opposite to them, on the African side, are the Macrobii, and again after the Megabarri come the Memnones and Dabelli, and 20 days' journey further on the Critensi. Beyond these are the Doehi, next the Gymnetes, who never wear any clothes, then the Anderae, Mattitae and Mesanches: the last are ashamed of their black colour and smear themselves all over with red clay. On the African side are the Medimni, and then a Nomad tribe that lives on the milk of the dog-faced baboon, the Alabi, and the Syrbotae who are said to be 12 ft. high. Aristocreon reports that on the Lybian side five days' journey from Mero is the town of Tolles, and twelve days beyond it another town, Aesar, belonging to Egyptians who fled to escape from Psammetichus (they are said to have been living there for 300 years), and that the town of Diaron on the Arabian side opposite belongs to them. To the town which Aristocrates calls Aesar Bion gives the name of Sapes, which he says means that the inhabitants are strangers; their chief city is Sembobitis, situated on an island, and they have a third town named Sinat, in Arabia. Between the mountains and the Nile are the Simbarri, the Palunges and, on the actual mountains, the numerous tribes of Asachae, who are said to be five days' journey from the sea; they live by hunting elephants. An island in the Nile, belonging to the Sembritae, is governed by a queen. Eight days' journey from this island are the Nubian Ethiopians, whose town Tenupsis is situated on the Nile, and the Sesambri, in whose country all the four-footed animals, even the elephants, have no ears. On the African side are the Ptonebari; the Ptoemphani, who have a dog for a king and divine his commands from his movements; the Harusbi, whose town is situated a long distance away from the Nile; and afterwards the Arehisarmi, Phalliges, Marigarri and Chasamari. Bion also reports other towns situated on islands: after Sembobitis, in the direction of Mero, the whole distance being twenty days' journey, on the first island reached, a town of the Semberritae, governed by a queen, and another town named Asara; on the second island, the town of Darde; the third island is called Medoe, and the town on it is Asel; the fourth is Garrofi, with a town of the same name. Then along the banks are the towns of Nautis, Madum, Demadatis, Secande, Navectabe with the territory of Psegipta, Candragori, Araba, Summara. Above is the region of Sirbitum, where the mountain range ends, and which is stated by some writers to be occupied by Ethiopian coast-tribes, the Nisicathae and Nisitae, names that mean `men with three' or

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`with four eyes'not because they really are like that but because they have a particularly keen sight in using arrows. On the side of the Nile that stretches inland from the Greater Syrtes and the southern ocean. Dalion says there are the Vacathi, who use only rainwater, the Cisori, the Logonpori five days' journey from the Oecalices, the Usibalchi, Isbeli, Perusii, Ballii and Cispii; and that all the rest of the country is uninhabited. Then come regions that are purely imaginary: towards the west are the Nigroi, whose king is said to have only one eye, in his forehead; the Wild-beast-eaters, who live chiefly on the flesh of panthers and lions; the Eatalls, who devour everything; the Man-eaters, whose diet is human flesh; the Dog-milkers, who have dogs' heads; the Artabatitae, who have four legs and rove about like wild animals; and then the Hesperioi, the Perorsi and the people we have mentioned as inhabiting the border of Mauretania. One section of the Ethiopians live only on locusts, dried in smoke and salted to keep for a year's supply of food; these people do not live beyond the age of forty.

The length of the whole of the territory of the Ethiopians including the Red Sea was estimated by Agrippa as 2170 miles and its breadth including Upper Egypt 1296 miles. Some authors give the following divisions of its length: from Mero to Sirbitus 12 days' sail, from Sirbitus to the Dabelli 12 days' sail, and from the Dabelli to the Ethiopic Ocean 6 days' journey by land. But authorities are virtually agreed that the whole distance from the ocean to Mero is 625 miles and that the distance from Meroe to Syene is what we have stated above. The conformation of Ethiopia spreads from south-east to south-west with its centre line running south. It has flourishing forests, mostly of ebony trees. Rising from the sea at the middle of the coast is a mountain of great height which glows with eternal firesits Greek name is the Chariot of the Gods; and four days' voyage from it is the cape called the Horn of the West, on the confines of Africa, adjacent to the Western Ethiopians. Some authorities also report hills of moderate height in this region, clad with agreeable shady thickets and belonging to the Goat-Pans and Satyrs.

36. It is stated by Ephorus, and also by Eudoxus and Timosthenes, that there are a large number of islands scattered over the whole of the Eastern Sea; while Clitarchus says that King Alexander received a report of one that was so wealthy that its inhabitants gave a talent of gold for a horse, and of another on which a holy mountain had been found, covered with a dense forest of trees from which fell drops of moisture having a marvellously agreeable scent. An island opposite the Persian Gulf and lying off Ethiopia is named Cerne; neither its size nor its distance from the mainland has been ascertained, but it is reported to be inhabited solely by Ethiopian tribes. Ephorus states that vessels approaching it from the Red Sea are unable became of the heat to advance beyond the Columnsthat being the name of certain small islands. Polybius informs us that Cerne lies at the extremity of Mauretania, over against Mount Atlas, a mile from the coast; Cornelius Nepos gives it as being nearly in the same meridian as Carthage, and 10 miles from the mainland, and as measuring not more than 2 miles round. There is also reported to be another island off Mount Atlas, itself also called Atlantis, from which a two days' voyage along the coast reaches the desert district in the neighbourhood of the Western Ethiopians and the cape mentioned above named the Horn of the West, the point at which the coastline begins to curve westward in the direction of the Atlantic. Opposite this cape also there are reported to be some islands, the Gorgades, which were formerly the habitation of the Gorgons, and which according to the account of Xenophon of Lampsacus are at a distance of two days' sail from the mainland. These islands were reached by the Carthaginian general Hanno, a who reported that the women had hair all over their bodies, but that the men were so swift of foot that they got away; and he deposited the skins of two of the female natives in the Temple of Juno as proof of the truth of his story and as curiosities, where they were on show until Carthage was taken by Rome. Outside the Gorgades there are also said to be two Islands of the Ladies of the West; and the whole of the geography of this neighbourhood is so uncertain that Statius Sebosus has given the voyage along the coast from the Gorgons' Islands past Mount Atlas to the Isles of the Ladies of the West as forty days' sail and from those islands to the Horn of the West as one day's sail. Nor is there less uncertainty with regard to the report of the islands of Mauretania: it is only known for certain that a few were discovered by Juba off the coast of the Antololes, in which he had established a dyeing industry that used Gaetulian purple.

37. Some people think that beyond the islands of Mauretania lie the Isles of Bliss, [Canaries] and also some others of which Sebosus before mentioned gives not only the number but also the distances, reporting that Junonia is 750 miles from Gadiz, and that Pluvialia [Ferero] and Capraria [Gomera] are the same distance west from Junonia; that in Pluvialia there is no water except what is supplied by rain; that the Isles of Bliss are 250 miles W.N.W. from these, to the left hand of Mauretania, and that one is called Invallis [Tenerife] from its undulating surface and the other Planasia [Great Canary Is.] from its conformation, Invallis measuring 300 miles round; and that on it trees grow to a height of 140 ft. About the Isles of Bliss Juba has ascertained the following facts: they lie in a southwesterly direction, at a distance of 625 miles' sail from the Purple Islands, provided that a course be laid north of due west for 250 miles and then east for 375 miles; that the first island reached is called Ombrios, and there are no traces of buildings upon it, but it has a pool surrounded by mountains, and trees resembling the giant fennel, from which water is extracted, the black ones giving a bitter fluid and those of brighter colour a juice that is agreeable to drink; that the second island is called Junonia, and that there is a small temple on it built of only a single stone; and that in its neighbourhood there is a smaller island of the same name, and then Capraria, which swarms with large lizards; and that in view from these islands is Ninguaria, so named from its perpetual snow, and wrapped in cloud; and next to it one named Canaria, from its multitude of dogs of a huge size (two of these were brought back for Juba). He said that in this island there are traces of buildings; that while they all have an abundant supply of fruit and of birds of every kind, Canada also abounds in palm-groves bearing dates, and in conifers; that in addition to this there is a large supply of honey, and also papyrus grows in the rivers, and sheat-fish; and that these islands are plagued with the rotting carcases of monstrous creatures that are constantly being cast ashore by the sea.

38. And now that we have fully described the outer and inner regions of the earth, it seems proper to give a succinct account of the dimensions of its various bodies of water.

According to Polybius the distance in a straight line from the Straits of Gibraltar to the outlet of the Sea of Azov is 3437 miles, and the distance from the same starting point due eastward to Sicily 1250 miles, to Crete 375 miles, to Rhodes 187 miles, to the Swallow Islands the same, to Cyprus 225 miles, and from Cyprus to Seleukeh Pieria in Syria 115 mileswhich figures added together make a total of 2340 miles. Agrippa calculates the same distance in a straight line from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Gulf of Scanderoon at 3440 miles, in which calculation I suspect there is a numerical error, as he has also given the length of the route from the Straits of Sicily to Alexandria as 1350 miles. The whole length of the coastline round the bays specified, starting at the same point and ending at the Sea of Azov, amounts to 15,509 milesalthough Artemidorus puts it at 756 miles more, and also reports that the total coastline including the shores of Azov measures 17,390 miles.

This is the measurement made by persons throwing out a challenge to Fortune not by force of arms, but by the boldness they have displayed in time of peace.

We will now compare the dimensions of particular parts of the earth, however great the difficulty that will arise from the discrepancy of the accounts given by authors; nevertheless the matter will be most suitably presented by giving the breadth in addition to the length. The following, then, is the formula for the area of Europe ... length 8148 miles. As for Africato take the average of all the various accounts given of its dimensionsits length works out at 3798 miles, and the breadth of the inhabited portions nowhere exceeds 750 miles; but as Agrippa made it 910 miles at the Cyrenaic part of the country, by including the African desert as far as the country of the Garamantes, the extent then known, the entire length that will come into the calculation amounts to 4708 miles. The length of Asia is admittedly 6375 miles, and the breadth should properly be calculated from the Ethiopic Sea to Alexandria on the Nile, making the measurement run through Meroe and Syene, which gives 1875 miles. It is consequently clear that Europe is a little less than one and a half times the size of Asia, and two and one sixth times the width of Africa. Combining all these figures together, it will be clearly manifest that Europe is a little more than ⅓ + ⅛th, Asia + 1/14th, and Africa 1/5 + 1/60th, of the whole earth.

39. To these we shall further add one theory of Greek discovery showing the most recondite ingenuity, so that nothing may be wanting in our survey of the geography of the world, and so that now the various regions have been indicated, it may be also learnt what alliance or relationship of days and nights each of the regions has, and in which of them the shadows are of the same length and the world's convexity is equal. An account will therefore be given of this also, and the whole earth will be mapped out in accordance with the constituent parts of the heavens.

The world has a number of segments to which our countrymen give the name of `circles' and which the Greeks call 'parallels'. The first place belongs to the southward part of India, extending as far as Arabia and the people inhabiting the coast of the Red Sea. This segment includes the Gedrosians, Carmanians, Persians, and Elymaeans, Parthyene, Aria, Susiane, Mesopotamia, Babylonian Seleucia, Arabia as far as Petra, Hollow Syria, Pelusium, the lower parts of Egypt called Chora, Alexandria, the coastal parts of Africa, all the towns of Cyrenaica, Thapsus, Hadrumeturu, Clupea, Carthage, Utica, the two Hippos, Numidia, the two Mauretanias, the Atlantic Ocean, the Straits of Gibraltar. In this latitude, at noon at the time of the equinox a sundial-pin or 'gnomon' 7 ft. long casts a shadow not more than 4 ft. long, while the longest night and the longest day contain 14 equinoctial hours, and the shortest on the contrary 10.

The next parallel begins with the western part of India, and runs through the middle of Parthia, Versepolis, the nearest parts of Farsistan, Hither Arabia, Judaea and the people living near Mount Lebanon, and embraces Babylon, Idumaea, Samaria, Jerusalem, Ascalon, Joppa, Caesarea, Phoenicia, Ptolemais, Sidon, Tyre, Berytus, Botrys, Tripolis, Byblus, Antioch, Laodicea, Seleucia, seaboard Cilicia, Southern Cyprus, Crete, Lilybaeum in Sicily. Northern Africa and Northern Numidia. At the equinox a 35 ft. gnomon throws a shadow 24 ft. long, while the longest day and the longest night measure 14 2/5 equinoctial hours.

The third parallel begins at the part of India nearest to the Himalayas, and passes through the Caspian Gates, the nearest parts of Media, Cataonia, Cappadocia, Taurus, Amanus, Issus, the Cilician Gates, Soli, Tarsus, Cyprus, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Side, Lycaonia, Lycia, Patara, Xanthus, Caunus, Rhodes, Cos, Halicarnassus, Cnidus, Doris, Chios, Delos, the middle of the Cyclades, Gythiuxn, Malea, Argos, Laconia, Ella, Olympia and Messenia in the Peloponnese, Syracuse, Catania, the middle of Sicily, the southern parts of Sardinia, Carteia, Cadiz. A gnomon 100 inches long throws a shadow 77 inches long. The longest day is 14 8/15 equinoctial hours.

Under the fourth parallel lie the regions on the other side of the Imavus, the southern parts of Cappadocia, Oalatia, Mysia, Sardis, Smyrna, Mount Sipylus, Mount Tmolus, Lydia, Carla, Ionia, Trails, Colophon, Ephesus, Miletus, Chios, Samos, the Icarian Sea, the northern part of the Cyclades, Athens, Megara, Corinth, Sicyon, Achaia, Patras, the Isthmus, Epirus, the northern districts of Sicily, the eastern districts of Gailia Narbonensis, and the coast of Spain from New Carthage westward. A 21-ft. gnomon has 16-ft. shadows. The longest day has 144 equinoctial hours.

The fifth division, beginning at the entrance of the Caspian Sea, contains Bactria, Liberia, Armenia, Mysia, Phrygia, the Dardanelles, the Troad, Tenedos, Abydos, Scepsis, Ilium, Mount Ida, Cyzicus, Lampsacus, Sinope, Amisus, Heraclea in Pontus, Paphlagonia, Lemnos, Imbros, Thasos, Cassandria, Thessaly, Macedon, Larisa, Amphipolis, Thessalonica, Pella, Edesus, Beroea, Pharsalia, Carystum, Euboca belonging to Boeotia, Chalcis, Delphi, Acarnania, Aetolia, Apollonia, Brindisi, Taranto, Thurii, Locri, Reggio, the Lucanian territory, Naples, Pozzuoli, the Tuscan Sea, Corsica, the Baiearic Islands and the middle of Spain. A 7-ft. gnomon throws a 6-ft. shadow. The longest day is 15 equinoctial hours.

The sixth group, the one containing the city of Rome, comprises the Caspian tribes, the Caucasus, the northern parts of Armenia, Apollonia on the Rhyndaeus, Nicomedia, Nicaea, Chalcedon, Byzantium, Lysimachea, the Chersonese, the Gulf of Melas, Abdera, Samothrace, Maronea, Aenos, Bessica, Thrace, Maedica, Paeonia, Illyria, Durazzo, Canosa, the edge of Apulia, Campania, Etruria, Pisa, Luna, Lucca, Genoa, Liguria, Antibes, Marseilles, Narbonne, Tarragon, the middle of Tarragonian Spain; and then runs through Lusitania. A 9-ft. gnomon throws an 8-ft. shadow. The longest day-time is 15 1/9, or, according to Nigidius, 15 1/5 equinoctial hours.

The seventh division starts from the other side of the Caspian Sea and passes above Collat, the Straits of Kertsch, the Dnieper, Tomi, the back parts of Thrace, the Triballi, the remainder of Illyria, the Adriatic Sea, Aquileia, Altinum, Venice, Vicenza, Padua, Verona, Cremona, Ravenna, Ancona, Picenum, the Marsians, Paelignians and Sabines, Umbria, Rimini, Bologna, Piacenza, Milan and all the districts at the foot of the Apennines, and across the Alps Aquitanian Gaul, Vienne, the Pyrenees and Celtiberia. A 35-ft. gnomon throws 36-ft. shadows, except that in part of the Venetian district the shadow and the gnomon are equal. The longest daytime consists of 15 3/5 equinoctial hours.

Up to this point we have been setting forth the results worked out by the ancients. The rest of the earth's surface has been allotted by the most careful among subsequent students to three additional parallels: from the Don across the Sea of Azov and the country of the Sarmatae to the Dnieper and so across Dacia and part of Germany, and including the Gallic provinces forming the coasts of the Ocean, making a parallel with a sixteen-hour longest day; the next across the Hyperboreans and Britain, with a seventeen-hour day; the last the Scythian parallel from the Ripaean mountain-range to Thule, in which, as we said above, there are alternate periods of perpetual daylight and perpetual night.

The same authorities also place two parallels before we made the starting point, the first running through the island of Meroe and Ptolemy's Lodge built on the Red Sea for the sake of elephant-hunting, in which parallel the longest day will be 12 hours, and the second passing through Syene in Egypt, with a 13-hour day; and they also add half an hour to each of the parallels up to the last.

So far as to the geography of the world.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 7

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The above is a description of the world, and of the lands, races, seas, important rivers, islands and cities that it contains.

The nature of the animals also contained in it is not less important than the study of almost any other department, albeit here too the human mind is not capable of exploring the whole field.

The first place will rightly be assigned to man, for whose sake [great] Nature appears to have created all other thingsthongh she asks a cruel price for all her generous gifts, making it hardly possible to judge whether she has been more a kind parent to man or more a harsh stepmother. First of all, man alone of all animals she drapes with borrowed resources. On all the rest in various wise she bestows coveringsshells, bark, spines, hides, fur, bristles, hair, down, feathers, scales, fleeces; even the trunks of trees she has protected against cold and heat by bark, sometimes in two layers: but man alone on the day of his birth she casts away naked on the naked ground, to burst at once into wailing and weeping, and none other among all the animals is more prone to tears, and that immediately at the very beginning of life; whereas, I vow, the much-talked-of smile of infancy even at the earliest is bestowed on no child less than six weeks old. This initiation into the light is followed by a period of bondage such as befalls not even the animals bred in our midst, fettering all his limbs; and thus when successfully born he lies with hands and feet in shackles, weepingthe animal that is to lord it over all the rest, and he initiates his life with punishment because of one fault only, the offence of being born. Alas the madness of those who think that from these beginnings they were bred to proud estate!

His earliest promise of strength and first grant of time makes him like a four-footed animal. When does man begin to walk? when to speak? when is his mouth firm enough to take food? how long does his skull throb, a mark of his being the weakest among all animals? Then his diseases, and all the cures contrived against his illsthese cures also subsequently defeated by new disorders! And the fact that all other creatures are aware of their own nature, some using speed, others swift flight, others swimming, whereas man alone knows nothing save by educationneither how to speak nor how to walk nor who to eat; in short the only thing he can do by natural instinct is to weep! Consequently there have been many who believed that it were best not to be born, or to be put away as soon as possible. On man alone of living creatures is bestowed grief, on him alone luxury, and that in countless forms and reaching every separate part of his frame; he alone has ambition, avarice, immeasurable appetite for life, superstition, anxiety about burial and even about what will happen after he is no more. No creature's life is more precarious, none has a greater lust for all enjoyments, a more confused timidity, a fiercer rage. In fine, all other living creatures pass their time worthily among their own species: we see them herd together and stand firm against other kinds of animalsfierce lions do not fight among themselves, the serpent's bite attacks not serpents, even the monsters of the sea and the fishes are only cruel against different species; whereas to man, I vow, most of his evils come from his fellowman.

1. And about the human race as a whole we have in large part spoken in our account of the various nations. Nor shall we now deal with manners and customs, which are beyond counting and almost as numerous as the groups of mankind; yet there are some that I think ought not to be omitted, and especially those of the people living more remote from the sea; some things among which I doubt not will appear portentous and incredible to many. For who ever believed in the Ethiopians before actually seeing them? or what is not deemed miraculous when first it comes into knowledge? how many things are judged impossible before they actually occur? Indeed the power and majesty of the nature of the universe at every turn lacks credence if one's mind embraces parts of it only and not the whole. Not to mention peacocks, or the spotted skins of tigers and panthers and the colourings of so many animals, a small matter to tell of but one of measureless extent if pondered on is the number of national languages and dialects and varieties of speech, so numerous that a foreigner scarcely counts as a human being for someone of another race! Again though our physiognomy contains ten features or only a few more, to think that among all the thousands of human beings there exist no two countenances that are not distincta thing that no art could supply by counterfeit in so small a number of specimens! Nevertheless in most instances of these I shall not myself pledge my own faith, and shall preferably ascribe the facts to the authorities who will be quoted for all doubtful points: only do not let us be too proud to follow the Greeks, because of their far greater industry or older devotion to study.

2. We have pointed out that some Scythian tribes, and in fact a good many, feed on human bodiesa statement that perhaps may seem incredible if we do not reflect that races of this portentous character have existed in the central region of the world, named Cyclopes and Laestrygones, and that quite recently the tribes of the parts beyond the Alps habitually practised human sacrifice, which is not far removed from eating human flesh. But also a tribe is reported next to these, towards the North, not far from the actual quarter whence the North Wind rises and the cave that bears its name, the place called the Earth's Doorbolt the Arimaspi whom we have spoken of already, people remarkable for having one eye in the centre of the forehead. Many authorities, the most distinguished being Herodotus and Aristeas of Proconnesus, write that these people wage continual war around their mines with the griffins, a kind of wild beast with wings, as commonly reported, that digs gold out of mines, which the creatures guard and the Arimaspi try to take from them, both with remarkable covetousness.

But beyond the other Scythian cannibals, in a certain large valley in the Himalayas, there is a region called Abarimon where are some people dwelling in forests who have their feet turned backward behind their legs, who run extremely fast and range abroad over the country with the wild animals. It is stated by Baeton, Alexander the Great's route-surveyor on his journeys, that these men are unable to breathe in another climate, and that consequently none of them could be brought to the neighbouring kings or had ever been brought to Alexander. According to Isogonus of Nicaea the former cannibal tribes whom we stated to exist to the north, ten days' journey beyond the river Dnieper, drink out of human skulls and use the scalps with the hair on as napkins hung round their necks. The same authority states that certain people in Albania are born with keen grey eyes and are bald from childhood, and that they see better by night than in the daytime. He also says that the Sauromatae, thirteen days' journey beyond the Dnieper, always take food once every two days.

Crates of Pergamum states that there was a race of men round Parium on the Dardanelles, whom he calls Ophiogenes, whose custom it was to cure snakebites by touch and draw the poison out of the body by placing their hand on it. Varro says that there are still a few people there whose spittle is a remedy against snakebites. According to the writings of Agatharchides there was also a similar tribe in Africa, the Psylli, named after King Psyllus, whose tomb is in the region of the greater Syrtes. In their bodies there was engendered a poison that was deadly to snakes, and the smell of which they employed for sending snakes to sleep, while they had a custom of exposing their children as soon as they were born to the most savage snakes and of using that species to test the fidelity of their wives, as snakes do not avoid persons born with adulterous blood in them. This tribe itself has been almost exterminated by the Nasamones who now occupy that region, but a tribe of men descended from those who had escaped or had been absent when the fighting took place survives today in a few places. A similar race lingers on in Italy also, the Marsi, said to be descended from the son of Circe and to possess this natural property on that account. However, all men contain a poison available as a protection against snakes: people say that snakes flee from contact with saliva as from the touch of boiling water, and that if it gets inside their throats they actually die; and that this is especially the case with the saliva of a person fasting.

Beyond the Nasamones and adjacent to them Calliphanes records the Machlyes, who are Adrogyni and perform the function of either sex alternately. Aristotle adds that their left breast is that of a man and their right breast that of a woman. Isogonus and Nymphodorus report that there are families in the same part of Africa that practise sorcery, whose praises cause meadows to dry up, trees to wither and infants to perish. Isogonus adds that there are people of the same kind among the Triballi and the Illyrians, who also bewitch with a glance and who kill those they stare at for a longer time, especially with a look of anger, and that their evil eye is most felt by adults; and that what is more remarkable is that they have two pupils in each eye. Apollonides also reports women of this kind in Scythia, who are called the Bitiae, and Phylarchus also the Thibii tribe and many others of the same nature in Pontus, whose distinguishing marks he records as being a double pupil in one eye and the likeness of a horse in the other, and he also says that they are incapable of drowning, even when weighed down with clothing. Damon records a tribe not unlike these in Ethiopia, the Pharmaces, whose sweat relieves of diseases bodies touched by it. Also among ourselves Cicero states that the glance of all women who have double pupils is injurious everywhere. In fact when nature implanted in man the wild beasts' habit of devouring human flesh, she also thought fit to implant poisons in the whole of the body, and with some persons in the eyes as well, so that there should be no evil anywhere that was not present in man.

There are a few families in the Faliscan territory, not far from the city of Rome, named the Hirpi, which at the yearly sacrifice to Apollo performed on Mount Soracte walk over a charred pile of logs without being scorched, and who consequently enjoy exemption under a perpetual decree of the senate from military service and all other burdens. Some people are born with parts of the body possessing special remarkable properties, for instance King Pyrrhus in the great toe of his right foot, to touch which was a cure for inflammation of the spleen; it is recorded that at his cremation it proved impossible to bum the toe with the rest of the body, and it was stored in a chest in a temple.

India and parts of Ethiopia especially teem with marvels. The biggest animals grow in India: for instance Indian dogs are bigger than any others. Indeed the trees are said to be so lofty that it is not possible to shoot an arrow over them, and [the richness of the soil, temperate climate and abundance of springs bring it about] that, if one is willing to believe it, squadrons of cavalry are able to shelter beneath a single fig-tree; while it is said that reeds are of such height that sometimes a single section between two knots will make a canoe that will carry three people. It is known that many of the inhabitants are more than seven feet six inches high, never spit, do not suffer from headache or toothache or pain in the eyes, and very rarely have a pain in any other part of the bodyso hardy are they made by the temperate heat of the sun; and that the sages of their race, whom they call Gymnosophists, stay standing from sunrise to sunset, gazing at the sun with eyes unmoving, and continue all day long standing first on one foot and then on the other in the glowing sand. Megasthenes states that on the mountain named Nulus there are people with their feet turned backwards and with eight toes on each foot, while on many of the mountains there is a tribe of human beings with dogs' heads, who wear a covering of wild beasts' skins, whose speech is a bark and who live on the produce of hunting and fowling, for which they use their nails as weapons; he says that they numbered more than 120,000 when he published his work. Ctesias writes that also among a certain race of India the women bear children only once in their lifetime, and the children begin to turn grey directly after birth; he also describes a tribe of men called the Monocolia who have only one leg, and who move in jumps with surprising speed; the same are called the Umbrella-foot tribe, because in the hotter weather they lie on their backs on the ground and protect themselves with the shadow of their feet; and that they are not far away from the Cave-dwellers; and again westward from these there are some people without necks, having their eyes in their shoulders. There are also satyrs [doubtless a kind of monkey] in the mountains in the east of India (it is called the district of the Catarcludi); this is an extremely swift animal, sometimes going on all fours and sometimes standing upright as they run, like human beings; because of their speed only the old ones or the sick are caught. Tauron gives the name of Choromandae to a forest tribe that has no speech but a horrible scream, hairy bodies, keen grey eyes and the teeth of a dog. Eudoxus says that in the south of India men have feet eighteen inches long and the women such small feet that they are called Sparrowfeet. Megasthenes tells of a race among the Nomads of India that has only holes in the place of nostrils, like snakes, and bandy-legged; they are called the Sciritae. At the extreme boundary of India to the East, near the source of the Ganges, he puts the Astomi tribe, that has no mouth and a body hairy all over; they dress in cotton-wool and live only on the air they breathe and the scent they inhale through their nostrils; they have no food or drink except the different odours of the roots and flowers and wild apples, which they carry with them on their longer journeys so as not to lack a supply of scent; he says they can easily be killed by a rather stronger odour than usual. Beyond these in the most outlying mountain region we are told of the Three-span men and Pygmies, who do not exceed three spans, i.e. twenty-seven inches, in height; the climate is healthy and always spring-like, as it is protected on the north by a range of mountains; this tribe Homer has also recorded as being beset by cranes. It is reported that in springtime their entire band, mounted on the backs of rams and she-goats and armed with arrows, goes in a body down to the sea and eats the cranes eggs and chickens, and that this outing occupies three months; and that otherwise they could not protect themselves against the flocks of cranes that would grow up; and that their houses are made of mud and feathers and eggshells. Aristotle says that the Pygmies live in caves, but in the rest of his statement about them he agrees with the other authorities. The Indian race of Cyrni according to Isigonus live to 140; and he holds that the same is true of the Long-lived Ethiopians, the Chinese and the inhabitants of Mount Athosin the last case because of their diet of snakes' flesh, which causes their head and clothes to be free from creatures harmful to the body. Onesicritus says that in the parts of India where there are no shadows there are men five cubits and two spans a high, and people live a hundred and thirty years, and do not grow old but die middle-aged. Crates of Pergamum tells of Indians who exceed a hundred years, whom he calls Gymnetae, though many call them Long-livers. Ctesias says that a tribe among them called the Pandae, dwelling in the mountain valleys, live two hundred years, and have white hair in their youth that grows black in old age; whereas others do not exceed forty years, this tribe adjoining the Long-livers, whose women bear children only once. Agatharchides records this as well, and also that they live on locusts, and are very swift-footed. Clitarchus gave them the name of Mandi; and Megasthenes also assigns them three hundred villages, and says that the women bear children at the age of seven and old age comes at forty. Artemidorus says that

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on the Island of Ceylon the people live very long lives without any loss of bodily activity. Duris says that some Indians have union with wild animals and the offspring is of mixed race and half animal; that among the Calingi, a tribe of the same part of India, women conceive at the age of five and do not live more than eight years, and that in another part men are born with a hairy tail and extremely swift, while others are entirely covered by their ears.

The river Arabis is the frontier between the Indians and the Oritae. These are acquainted with no other food but fish, which they cut to pieces with their nails and roast in the sun and thus make bread out of them, as is recorded by Clitarchus. Crates of Pergamum says that the Cavemen beyond Ethiopia are swifter than horses; also that there are Ethiopians more than twelve feet in height, and that this race is called the Syrbotae. The tribe of the Ethiopian nomads along the river Astragus towards the north called the Menismini is twenty days' journey from the Ocean; it lives on the milk of the animals that we call dog-headed apes, herds of which it keeps in pastures, killing the males except for the purpose of breeding. In the deserts of Africa ghosts of men suddenly meet the traveller and vanish in a moment.

These and similar varieties of the human race have been made by the ingenuity of Nature as toys for herself and marvels for us. And indeed who could possibly recount the various things she does every day and almost every hour? Let it suffice for the disclosure of her power to have included whole races of mankind among her marvels. From these we turn to a few admitted marvels in the case of the individual human being.

3. The birth of triplets is attested by the case of the Horatii and Curiatil; above that number is considered portentous, except in Egypt, where drinking the water of the Nile causes fecundity. Recently on the day of the obsequies of his late Majesty Augustus a certain woman of the lower orders named Fausta at Ostia was delivered of two male and two female infants, which unquestionably portended the food shortage that followed. We also find the case of a woman in the Peloponnese who four times produced quintuplets, the greater number of each birth surviving. In Egypt also Trogus alleges cases of seven infants born at a single birth.

Persons are also born of both sexes combined what we call Hermaphrodites, formerly called androgyni and considered as portents, but now as entertainments. Pompey the Great among the decorations of his theatre placed images of celebrated marvels, made with special elaboration for the purpose by the talent of eminent artists; among them we read of Eutychis who at Tralles was carried to her funeral pyre by twenty children and who had given birth 30 times, and Alcippe who gave birth to an elephantalthough it is true that the latter case ranks among portents, for one of the first occurrences of the Marsian War was that a maidservant gave birth to a snake, and also monstrous births of various kinds are recorded among the ominous things that happened. Claudius Caesar writes that a hippo-centaur was born in Thessaly and died the same day; and in his reign we actually saw one that was brought here for him from Egypt preserved in honey. One case is that of an infant at Saguntum which at once went back into the womb, in the year [218 BC] in which that city was destroyed by Hannibal.

4. Transformation of females into males is not an idle story. We find in the Annals that in the consulship [171 BC] of Publius Licinius Crassus and Gaius Cassius Longinus a girl at Casinum was changed into a boy, under the observation of the parents, and at the order of the augurs was conveyed away to a desert island. Licinius Mucianus has recorded that he personally saw at Argos a man named Arescon who had been given the name of Arescusa and had actually married a husband, and then had grown a beard and developed masculine attributes and had taken a wife; and that he had also seen a boy with the same record at Smyrna. I myself saw in Africa a person who had turned into a male on the day of marriage to a husband; this was Lucius Constitius, a citizen of Thysdritum....(It is said that) at the birth of twins neither the mother nor more than one of the two children usually lives, but that if twins are born that are of different sex it is even more unusual for either to be saved; that females are born more quickly than males, just as they grow older more quickly; and that movement in the womb is more frequent in the case of males, and males are usually carried on the right side, females on the left.

5. All the other animals have a fixed season both for copulation and for bearing offspring, but human reproduction takes place all the year round and the period of gestation variesin one case it may exceed six months, in another seven, and it may even exceed ten; a child born before the seventh month is usually still born. Only those conceived the day before or the day after full moon, or when there is no moon, are born in the seventh month. It is a common thing in Egypt for children to be born even in the eighth month; and indeed in Italy also for such cases to live, contrary to the belief of old times. These matters vary in more ways also. Vistilia the wife of Glitius and subsequently of Pomponius and of Orfitius, citizens of the highest distinction, bore these husbands four children, in each case after six months' pregnancy, but subsequently gave birth to Suillius Rufus after ten months and Corbulo after sixboth of these became consulsand subsequently bore Caesonia, the consort of the Emperor Gaius, after seven months. Infants born in this number of months are weakest in health during the first six weeks, the mothers iu the fourth and eighth months of pregnancy; and abortions in these cases are fatal. Masurius states that Lucius Papirius as praetor in a suit for an estate brought by an heir presumptive gave judgement for the defendant; the plaintiff's case was that the heir apparent's mother said that he had been born after thirteen months' pregnancy, and the ground for the judgement was that there appeared to be no fixed period of pregnancy.

6. On the tenth day from conception pains in the head, giddiness and dim sight, distaste for food, and vomiting are symptoms of the formation of the embryo. If the child is a male, the mother has a better colour and an easier delivery; there is movement in the womb on the fortieth day. In a case of the other sex all the symptoms are the opposite: the burden is hard to carry, there is a slight swelling of the legs and groin, but the first movement is on the ninetieth day. But in the case of both sexes the greatest amount of faintness occurs when the embryo begins to grow hair; and also at the full moon, which period is also specially inimical to infants after birth. The gait in walking and every thing that can be mentioned are so important during pregnancy that mothers eating food that is too salt bear children lacking nails, and that not holding the breath makes the delivery more difficult; indeed, to gape during delivery may cause death, just as a sneeze following copulation causes abortion.

7. One feels pity and even shame in realizing how trivial is the origin of the proudest of the animals, when the smell of lamps being put out usually causes abortion! These are the beginnings from which are born tyrants and the pride that deals slaughter. You who put confidence in your bodily strength, you who accept fortune's bounty and deem yourself not even her nurseling but her offspring, you whose thoughts are of empire, you who when swelling with some success believe yourself a god, could you have been made away with so cheaply? and even today you can be more cheaply, from being bitten by a snake's tiny tooth, or even choked by a raisin-stone like the poet Anacreon, or by a single hair in a draught of milk, like the praetor Fabius Senator. Assuredly only he who always remembers how frail a thing man is will weigh life in an impartial balance!

8. It is against nature to be born feet foremost; this is the reason why the designation of 'Agrippa' has been applied to persons so bornmeaning 'born with difficulty' [aegre partus]; Marcus Agrippa is said to have been born in this manner, almost the solitary instance of a successful career among all those so bornalthough he too is deemed to have paid the penalty which his irregular birth foretold, by a youth made unhappy by lameness, a lifetime passed amidst warfare and ever exposed to the approach of death, by the misfortune caused to the world by his whole progeny but especially due to his two daughters a who became the mothers of the emperors Gaius Caligula and Domitius Nero, the two firebrands of mankind; and also by the shortness of his life, as he was cut off at the age of fifty during the agony caused him by his wife's adulteries and during his irksome subjection to his father-in-law Augustus. Nero also, who was emperor shortly before and whose entire rule showed him the enemy of mankind, is stated in his mother Agrippina's memoirs to have been born feet first. It is Nature's method for a human being to be born head first, and it is the custom for him to be carried to burial feet first.

9. It is a better omen when the mother dies in giving birth to the child; instances are the birth of the elder Scipio Africanus and of the first of the Caesars, who got that name from the surgical operation performed on his mother; the origin of the family name Caeso is also the same. Also Manilius who entered Carthage with his army was born in the same manner.

10. The name Vopiscus used to be given to cases of a twin born after being retained in the womb when the other twin had been killed by premature deliveryfor extremely remarkable though infrequent cases of this occur.

11. Few animals except woman ever have sexual intercourse when pregnantat all events superfetation only occurs with animals in very few cases. In the records of the medical profession and of writers who have been interested in collecting such occurrences, there is a case of miscarriage in which twelve infants were stillborn at once. When, however, a moderate interval of time separates two conceptions, both may be successful, as was seen in the instance of Hercules and his brother Iphicles and in the case of the woman who bore twins of whom one resembled her husband and the other an adulterer; and also in that of the maidservant of Marmara who, as a result of intercourse on the same day, bore one twin resembling her master and another resembling his steward, and that of another woman who bore one twin at the proper period and the other a five-months' child, and again of another who after bearing a seven months' child was delivered of twins three months later.

It is also well known that sound parents may have deformed children and deformed parents sound children or children with the same deformity, as the case may be; that some marks and moles and even scars reappear in the offspring, in some cases a birth-mark on the arm reappearing in the fourth generation

12. (we are told that in the Lepidus family three children were born, though not all in succession, with a membrane over the eyes); and indeed that other children have resembled their grandfather, and that also there has been a case of twins of which one resembled the father and the other the mother, and one of a child who resembled his brother like a twin although born a year later. Also that some women always bear children like themselves, some bear children like their husbands, some children with no family likeness, some a female child like its father and a male child like themselves. One unquestioned instance is that of the famous boxer Nicaeus, born at Istamboul, whose mother was the offspring of adultery with an Ethiopian but had a complexion no different from that of other women, whereas Nicaeus himself reproduced his Ethiopian grandfather.

Cases of likeness are indeed an extremely wide subject, and one which includes the belief that a great many accidental circumstances are influentialrecollections of sights and sounds and actual sense-impressions received at the time of conception. Also a thought suddenly flitting across the mind of either parent is supposed to produce likeness or to cause a combination of features, and the reason why there are more differences in man than in all the other animals is that his swiftness of thought and quickness of mind and variety of mental character impress a great diversity of patterns, whereas the minds of the other animals are sluggish, and are alike for all and sundry, each in their own kind. A man of low station named Artemo so closely resembled Antiochus [III, 223-187 BC], king of Syria, that the royal consort Laodice after she had murdered Antiochus successfully made use of him to stage a play of her being recommended for succession to the throne. Pompey the Great had two doubles almost indistinguishable from him in appearance, a plebeian named Vibius and one Publieius who was actually a liberated slave, both of whom reproduced that noble countenance and the actual dignity of his magnificent brow. A similar resemblance was the reason that saddled Pompey's father also with the surname Menogenes, that being the name of his cook, when he already had the surname Strabo [cross-eyed] from the appearance of his eyes, which actually copied a defect in his slave; and a Scipio received the surname Serapio in a similar way, Serapio being a low chattel belonging to a dealer in hogs. Another Scipio of a later generation received his name from an actor Salutio, just as Spinther and Pamphilus who played second and third roles respectively gave their names to the colleagues in the consulship Lentulus and Metellus, a situation which also (most inappropriately) resulted incidentally in the counterfeit presentations of two consuls being seen on the stage at once. Vice versa, Lucius Plancus an orator gave a surname to a player Rubrius, whereas Burbuleius gave his name to Curio senior and likewise Menogenes to the former censor Messala, both alike being actors. A fisherman in Sicily not only resembled the proconsul Sara in appearance but actually reproduced his gape while speaking and his tongue-tied stammering utterance. The famous orator Cassius Severus was taunted for his likeness to the gladiator Armentarius. Recently in the household of Annaeus people used to mistake Gallio for the freedman Castellanus and the senator Agrippinus for the actor Sannius, surnamed Paris. The slave-dealer Toranius sold to Antony after he had become one of the triumvirate two exceptionally handsome boys, who were so identically alike that he passed them off as twins, although one was a native of Asia and the other of a district North of the Alps. Later the boys' speech disclosed the fraud, and a protest was made to the dealer by the wrathful Antony, who complained especially about the large amount of the price (he had bought them for 200,000 sesterces); but the crafty dealer replied that the thing protested about was precisely the cause of his having charged so much, because there was nothing remarkable in a likeness between any pair of twin brothers, whereas (he said) to find natives of different races so precisely alike in appearance was something above all appraisal; and this produced in Antony so convenient a feeling of admiration that the great inflictor of outlawry, who had just been in a fury of threats and abuse, considered that no other property that he possessed was more suited to his station!

13. Particular individuals may have a certain physical incongruity between them, and persons whose union is infertile may have children when they form other connexionsfor instance Augustus and Livia, and similarly others. Also some women have only female or only male children, though usually the sexes come alternatelyfor instance in the case of the mother of the Gracchi this occurred twelve times, and in that of Germanicus's wife Agrippina nine times; some women are childless in youth; on some parentage is bestowed once in a lifetime; certain women are always delivered prematurely, and those of this class, if ever they

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succeed in overcoming this tendency by the use of drugs, usually bear a female child. One of the many exceptional circumstances connected with his late Majesty Augustus is that he lived to see his daughter's grandson, Marcus Silanus, who was born in the year of his death; Silanus, after succeeding the emperor Nero as consul, held the province of Asia, and during his office Nero despatched him by poison. Quintus Metellus Macedonicus, leaving six children, left eleven grandchildren, but including daughters-in-law and sons-in-law the total of those who greeted him by the title of father was twenty-seven. In the annals of the period of his late Majesty Augustus is found a statement that in his twelfth consnlship, [4 BC] when Lucius Sulla was his colleague, on the 9th April a freeman of humble station at Fiesole named Gaius Crispinius Hilarus went in procession preceded by eight children, including two daughters, twenty-seven grandchildren, eighteen great-grandchildren, and eight granddaughters by marriage, and with all of these in attendance offered sacrifice on the Capitol.

14. A woman does not bear children after the age of fifty, and with the majority menstruation ceases at 40. As for the case of men, it is well known that King Masinissa begot a son when over 86, whom he called Methimannus, and Cato the ex-censor had a son by the daughter of his client Salonius when he was 81: this is the reason why this branch of his family bears the surname of Salonianus, although that of the other branch is Licinianus; Cato of Utica belonged to the Salonian branch. Recently also Lucius Volusins Saturninus, who died while holding the office of City Praefect, is known to have had a son, by Cornelia of the Scipio family, born after he was 62, Volusius Saturninus, who was consul. Parentage even up to the age of 75 is commonly found in the lower classes.

15. Woman is, however, the only animal that has monthly periods; consequently she alone has what are called moles in her womb. This mole is a shapeless and inanimate mass of flesh that resists the point and the edge of a knife; it moves about, and it checks menstruation, as it also checks births: in some cases causing death, in others growing old with the patient, sometimes when the bowels are violently moved being ejected. A similar object is also formed in the stomach of males, called a tumour, as in the case of the praetorian Oppius Gapito. But nothing could easily be found that is more remarkable than the monthly flux of women. Contact with it turns new wine sour, crops touched by it become barren, grafts die, seeds in gardens are dried up, the fruit of trees falls off, the bright surface of mirrors in which it is merely reflected is dimmed, the edge of steel and the gleam of ivory are dulled, hives of bees die, even bronze and iron are at once seized by rust, and a horrible smell fills the air; to taste it drives dogs mad and infects their bites with an incurable poison. Moreover bitumen, a substance generally sticky and viscous, that at a certain season of the year floats on the surface of the lake of Judaea called the Asphalt Pool [Dead Sea], adheres to everything touching it, and cannot be drawn asunder except by a thread soaked in the poisonous fluid in question. Even that very tiny creature the ant is said to be sensitive to it, and throws away grains of corn that taste of it and does not touch them again. Not only does this pernicious mischief occur in a woman every month, but it comes in larger quantity every three months; and in some cases it comes more frequently than once a month, just as in certain women it never occurs at all. The latter, however, do not have children, since the substance in question is the material for human generation, as the semen from the males acting like rennet collects this substance within it, which thereupon immediately is inspired with life and endowed with body. Hence when this flux occurs with women heavy with child, the offspring is sickly or still-born or sanious, according to Nigidius.

16. (The same writer holds that a woman's milk does not go bad while she is suckling a baby if she has become pregnant again from the same male.) It is stated, however, that the easiest conceptions are when this condition is beginning or ceasing. We have it recorded as a sure sign of fertility in women if when the eyes have been anointed with a drug the saliva contains traces of it.

Moreover, it is known that children cut their first teeth when six months old, the upper ones mostly coming first, and that the first teeth fall out and are replaced by others when they are six years old; and that some children are born having teethtwo distinguished instances are Manius Curius, who received the surname Dentatus in consequence, and Gnaeus Papirius Carbo. In the regal period this occurrence was considered a sign of bad luck in females; Valeria was born with teeth, and the soothsayers in reply to inquiry prophesied that she would bring disaster to any community to which she was taken; she was deported to Suessa Pometia, at that period a very flourishing place, the eventual result verifying the oracle. (Some females are born with the genitals closed; this is proved by the ease of Cornelia the mother of the Graechi to be a sign of bad luck.) Some infants are born with a ridge of bone instead of teeth; this was the case as regards the upper jaw with the son of Prusias, King of Bithynia. The teeth are so far indestructible by fire as not to burn when the rest of the body is cremated, but although they resist fire they are corroded by a morbid state of the saliva. A certain drug gives them whiteness. Use wears them down, and in some people they decay much before this. Nor are they only necessary for food and nourishment, as the front teeth regulate the voice and speech, meeting the impact of the tongue with a kind of harmony, and according to their regularity of arrangement and size clipping or modulating or else dulling the words, and when they are lost preventing all clear articulation. Moreover this part of the body is believed to possess prophetic powers. Males (excepting the Turduli tribe) have 32 teeth; there have been cases of men with morethis is thought to foretell a longer term of life. Women have fewer; with them two dogteeth on the right side of the upper jaw are a promise of fortune's favours, as in the case of Domitius Nero's mother Agrippina; on the left side the opposite.(It is the universal custom of mankind not to cremate a person who dies before cutting his teeth.)But more of this later when our researches go through the parts of the body seriatim.

It is recorded of only one person, Zoroaster, that he laughed on the same day on which he was born, and also that his brain throbbed so violently as to dislodge a hand placed on his headthis foretelling his future knowledge.

It is known that at the age of three a person's measurement is half his future stature. But it is almost a matter of observation that with the entire human race the stature on the whole is becoming smaller daily, and that few men are taller than their fathers, as the conflagration that is the crisis towards which the age is now verging is exhausting the fertility of the semen. When a mountain in Crete was cleft by an earthquake a body 69 feet in height was found, which some people thought must be that of Orion and others of Otus. The records attest that the body of Orestes dug up at the command of an oracle measured l0 ft. 6 in. Moreover, the famous bard Homer nearly 1000 years ago never ceased to lament that mortals were smaller of stature than in he old days. In the case of Naevius Pollio the annals do not record his height, but they show that was deemed portentous, because he was almost killed by the people flocking round him. The tallest person our age has seen was a man named Gabbara brought from Arabia in the principate of his late Majesty Claudius who was 9 ft. 9 in. in height. Under his late Majesty Augustus there were two persons 6 in. taller, whose bodies on account of this remarkable height were preserved in the tomb in Sallust's Gardens; their names were Pusio and Secundilla. When the same emperor was head of the state the smallest person was a dwarf 2 ft. 5 in. high named Conopas, the pet of his granddaughter Julia, and the smallest female was Andromeda, a freed-woman of Julia Augusta. Marcus Varro states that the Knights of Rome Manius Maximus and Marcus Tullius were 3 ft. high, and we have ourselves men their bodies preserved in coffins. It is a matter of common knowledge that persons are born 18 in. high and some taller, who complete their life's course at the age of three.

We find in the records that at Salamis the son of Euthymenes grew to 4 ft. 6 in. in his third year; he walked slowly, was dull of sense, became sexually quite mature, had a bass voice, and was carried off by a sudden attack of paralysis when he turned three. We ourselves recently saw almost all these features except sexual maturity in a son of the Knight of Rome Cornelius Tacitus, Deputy Finance Minister in Belgic Gaul. The Greeks call these cases 'perverts,' but in the Latin country there is no name for them.

17. It has been noticed that a man's height from head to foot is equal to his full span measured from the tips of the middle fingers; likewise that the right-hand side of the frame is the stronger, though in some cases both sides are equally strong and there are people whose left side is the stronger, though this is never the case with women; and that males are the heavier; and that the bodies of all creatures are heavier when dead than when alive, and when asleep than when awake; and that men's corpses float on their backs, but women's on their faces, as if nature spared their modesty after death.

18. Cases are recorded of persons living whose bones were solid and without marrow; and we are told that their distinguishing mark is insensibility to thirst and absence of perspiration, although we know that thirst can also be subdued by the will, and that a Knight of Rome of the allied tribe of the Vocontil named Julius Viator, suffering from dropsy when a minor, was forbidden liquid by the doctors and habituated himself to defeat nature, going without drink till old age. Moreover other persons also have exercised many kinds of self-control.

19. It is stated that Crassus the grandfather of Crassus who fell in Parthia never laughed, and was consequently called Agelastus, and that likewise there have been many cases of people who never wept, and that the famous philosopher Socrates always wore the same look on his countenance, never gayer and never more perturbed. This temperament sometimes develops into a kind of rigidity and a hard, unbending severity of nature, and takes away the emotions natural to humanity; persons of this sort are called 'apathetic' by the Greeks, who have known many men of the kind, and among them surprising to say, chiefly founders of schools of philosophy, Diogenes the Cynic, Pyrrho, Herachtus, Timothe last indeed going as far as to hate the whole human race. But these small peculiarities of nature are known to occur variously in many persons, for instance in the case of Drusus's daughter Antonia never spitting, in the poet and ex-consul Pomponius never belching. Persons whose bones are by nature solid, a rather rare class, are called 'horny.'

20. Varro in his account of cases of remarkable strength records that one Tritanus, famous in the gladiatorial exercise with the Samnite equipment, was slightly built but of exceptional strength, and that his son, a soldier of Pompey the Great, had a chequered crisscross of sinews all over his body, even in his arms and hands; and moreover that once he challenged one of the enemy to single combat, defeated him without a weapon in his hand, and finally took hold of him with a single finger and carried him off to the camp. Vinnius Valens served as captain in the Imperial Guard of the late lamented Augustus; he was in the habit of holding carts laden with wine-sacks up in the air until they were emptied, and of catching hold of wagons with one hand and stopping them by throwing his weight against the efforts of the teams drawing them, and doing other marvellous exploits which can be seen carved on his monument. Marcus Varro likewise states: 'Rusticelius, who was nicknamed Hercules, used to lift his mule; Fufius Salvius used to walk up a ladder with two hundred pound weights fastened to his feet, the same weights in his hands and two two-hundred-pound weights on his shoulders.' We also saw a man named Athanatus, who was capable of a miraculous display: he walked across the stage wearing a leaden breast-plate weighing 500 pounds and shod in boots of 500 pounds' weight. When the athlete Milo took a firm stand, no one could make him shift his footing, and when he was holding an apple no one could make him straighten out a finger.

Phidippides's running the 130 miles from Athens to Sparta in two days was a mighty feat, until the Spartan runner Anystis and Alexander the Great's courier Philonides ran the 148 miles from Sicyon to This in a day. At the present day indeed we are aware that some men can last out 128 miles in the circus, and that recently in the consulship of Fonteius and Vipstanus a boy of 8 ran 68 miles between noon and evening. The marvellous nature of this feat will only get across to us in full measure if we reflect that Tiberius Nero completed by carriage the longest twenty-four hours' journey on record when hastening to Germany to his brother Drusus who was ill: this measured 182 miles.

21. Keenness of sight has achieved instances transcending belief in the highest degree. Cicero records that a parchment copy of Homer's poem The Iliad was enclosed in a nutshell. He also records a case of a man who could see 123 miles. Marcus Varro also gives this man's name, which was Strabo, and states that in the Punic wars he was in the habit of telling from the promontory of Lilybaeum in Sicily the actual number of ships in a fleet that was passing out from the harbour of Carthage. Callicrates used to make such small ivory models of ants and other creatures that to anybody else their parts were invisible. A certain Myrmecides won fame in the same department by making a four-horse chariot of the same material that a fly's wings would cover, and a ship that a tiny bee could conceal with its wings.

22. There is one marvellous instance of the transmission of a spoken message: the battle that resulted in the destruction of Sybaris was heard of at Olympia on the day on which it was fought. For the messengers who brought news of the victory over the Cimbri and the brothers Castor who reported the victory over Perseus to the Romans on the very day on which it happened were visions and warnings sent by the divine powers.

23. Bodily endurance, so fertile of disasters is fate, has produced countless examples, the most famous in the case of women being that of the harlot Leaena who on the rack refused to betray the tyrannicides Harmodius and Aristogiton, and among men that of Anaxarchus, who when being tortured for a similar reason bit off his tongue and spat the only hope of betrayal in the tyrant's face.

24. As to memory, the boon most necessary for life, it is not easy to say who most excelled in it, so morning. many men having gained renown for it. King Cyrus could give their names to all the soldiers in his army, Lucius Scipio knew the names of the whole Roman people, King Pyrrhus's envoy Cineas knew those of the senate and knighthood at Rome the day after his arrival. Mithridates who was king of twenty-two races gave judgements in as many languages, in an assembly addressing each race in turn without an interpreter. A person in Greece named Charmadas recited the contents of any volumes in libraries that anyone asked him to quote, just as if he were reading them. Finally, a memoria technica was constructed, which was invented by the lyric poet Simonides and perfected by Metrodorus of Seepsis, enabling anything heard to be repeated in the identical words. Also no other human faculty is equally fragile: injuries from, and even apprehensions of, diseases and accident may affect in some cases a single field of memory and in others the whole. A man has been known when struck by a stone to forget how to read and write but nothing else. One who fell from a very high roof

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forgot his mother and his relatives and friends, another when ill forgot his servants also; the orator Messala Corvinus forgot his own name. Similarly tentative and hesitating lapses of memory often occur when the body even when uninjured is in repose; also the gradual approach of sleep curtails the memory and makes the unoccupied mind wonder where it is.

25. The most outstanding instance of innate mental vigour I take to be the dictator Caesar; and I am not now thinking of valour and resolution, nor of a loftiness embracing all the contents of the firmament of heaven, but of native vigour and quickness winged as it were with fire. We are told that he used to write or read and dictate or listen simultaneously, and to dictate to his secretaries four letters at once on his important affairsor, if otherwise unoccupied, seven letters at once. He also fought fifty pitched battles, and alone beat the record of Marcus Marcellus who fought thirty-ninefor I would not myself count it to his glory that in addition to conquering his fellow-citizens he killed in his battles 1,192,000 human beings, a prodigious even if unavoidable wrong indicted on the human race, as he himself confessed it to be by not publishing the casualties of the civil wars.

It would be more just to credit Pompey the Great with the 846 ships that he captured from the pirates; while to Caesar let us assign, in addition to the facts mentioned above, the peculiar distinction of the clemency in which (even to the point of subsequent regret) he surpassed all men; also he afforded an example of magnanimity that no other can parallel. For while to count under this head the shows that he gave and the wealth that he squandered, or the magnificence of his public works, would display indulgence to luxury, it showed the genuine and unrivalled sublimity of an unconquered spirit that, when Pompey the Great's despatch cases were captured at Pharsalia and again those of Scipio at Thapsus, he scrupulously burnt them and did not read them.

26. But it concerns the glory of the Roman Empire, and not that of one man, to mention in this place all the records of the victories of Pompey the Great and all his triumphs, which equal the brilliance of the exploits not only of Alexander the Great but even almost of Hercules and Father Liber. Well then, after the recovery of Sicily, which inaugurated his emergence as a champion of the commonwealth in the party of Sulla, and after the conquest of the whole of Africa and its reduction under our sway, and the acquirement as a trophy therefrom of the title of The Great, he rode back in a triumphal chariot though only of equestrian rank, a thing which had never occurred before; and immediately afterwards he crossed over to the West, and after erecting trophies in the Pyrenees he added to the record of his victorious career the reduction under our sway of 876 towns from the Alps to the frontiers of Further Spain, and with greater magnanimity refrained from mentioning Sertorius, and after crushing the civil war which threatened to stir up all our foreign relations, a second time led into Rome a procession of triumphal chariots as a Knight, having twice been commander-in-chief before having ever served in the ranks. Subsequently he was despatched to the whole of the seas and then to the far east, and he brought back titles without limit for his country, after the manner of those who conquer in the sacred contests before these are not crowned with wreaths themselves but crown their native land; consequently he bestowed these honours on the city in the shrine of Minerva that he was dedicating out of the proceeds of the spoils of war:

Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, Commander in Chief, having completed a thirty years' war, routed, scattered, slain or received the surrender of 12,183,000 people, sunk or taken 846 ships, received the capitulation of 1538 towns and forts, subdued the lands from the Maeotians to the Red Sea, duly dedicates his offering vowed to Minerva.

This is his summary of his exploits in the east. But the announcement of the triumphal procession that he led on September 28 in the consulship of Marcus Piso and Marcus Messala was as follows:

After having rescued the sea coast from pirates and restored to the Roman People the command of the sea, he celebrated a triumph over Asia, Pontus, Armenia, Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, Cicilia, Syria, the Scythians, Jews and Albanians, Iberia, the Island of Crete, the Basternae, and, in addition to these, over King Mithridates and Tigranes.

The crowning pinnacle of this glorious record was (as he himself declared in assembly when discoursing on his achievements) to have found Asia the remotest of the provinces and then to have made her a central dominion of his country. If anybody on the other side desires to review in similar manner the achievements of Caesar, who showed himself greater than Pompey, he must assuredly roll off the entire world, and this it will be agreed is a task without limit.

27. There have been various and numerous cases of eminence in the other kinds of excellence. Cato the first of that name in the Gens Porcia is deemed to have exemplified the three supreme human achievements, excelling alike as orator, as general and as senator; all of which distinctions seem to me to have been achieved though not previously yet with greater brilliance in the case of Scipio Aemilianus, and that moreover without the very wide unpopularity that handicapped Cato. So it may be counted an exceptional fact about Cato that he took part in forty-four actions at law and was sued more frequently than anybody else and always acquitted.

28. What person has possessed the most outstanding courage is a subject of unending enquiry, at all events if the legendary testimony of poetry be accepted. Quintus Ennius had a particular admiration for Titus Caecilius Teucer and his brother, adding Book 16 to his Annals on their account. Lucius Siccius Dentatus, Tribune of the Plebs in the consulship of Spurius Tarpeius and Aulus Aternius not long after the expulsion of the kings, scores an exceedingly large number of votes, as having fought in 120 battles, been challenged to and having won eight single combats, and having the distinction of 45 scars in front and none at all on his back. He also captured spoils 34 times, had bestowed upon him 18 spear-shafts, 25 breast-badges, 83 necklets, 160 bracelets, 26 crowns (including 14 civic crowns, eight of gold, three mural crowns, one siege-rescue crown), a bag of money, ten prisoners of war and with them 20 cows; also he followed in the triumphs of nine generals whose victories were chiefly due to his aid, and in additionand this in my opinion is his finest achievementprocured the conviction in the People's Court at the termination of his consulship of one of his leaders Titus Romilius on the charge of maladministration of his office. The military distinctions of Capitolinus would be not inferior, if he had not cancelled them by the conclusion of his career. He had twice captured enemy's spoils before he was seventeen years old; he had been the first of any one to receive a mural crown as a Knight, as well as six civic crowns and 37 gifts; he had received 23 wounds on the front of his body; he had rescued Publius Servilius Master of the Horse, when himself wounded in the shoulder and thigh; above all he had alone saved the Capitol and the fortunes of the state therein from the Gaulsif only he had not saved it to make himself king.

But, although these cases exhibit great achievements of valour, yet they involve still greater achievements of fortune; whereas nobody, in my judgement at all events, can rightly rank any human being above Marcus Sergius, albeit his great-grandson Catiline diminishes the credit of his name. Sergius in his second campaign lost his right hand; in two campaigns he was wounded twenty-three times, with the result that he was crippled in both hands and both feet, only his spirit being intact; yet although disabled, he served in numerous subsequent campaigns. He was twice taken prisoner by Hannibal (for it was with no ordinary foe that he was engaged), and twice escaped from Hannibal's fetters, although he was kept in chains or shackles on every single day for twenty months. He fought four times with only his left hand, having two horses he was riding stabbed under him. He had a right hand of iron made for him and going into action with it tied to his arm, raised the siege of Cremona, saved Piacenza, captured twelve enemy camps in Gaul: all of which exploits are testified by his speech delivered during his praetorship when his colleagues wanted to debar him from the sacrifices as infirma man who with a different foe would have accumulated what piles of wreaths! inasmuch as it makes the greatest difference with what period of history a particular man's valour happens to coincide. What civic wreaths were bestowed by Trebbia or Ticino or Trasimeno? what crown was won at Cannae, where successful flight was valour's highest exploit? All other victors truly have conquered men, but Sergius vanquished fortune also.

29. Who could make an honours class-list of geniuses, ranging through all the kinds of systems and all the varieties of subject and of treatment? unless perhaps it is agreed that no genius has ever existed who was more successful than Homer the bard of Greece, whether he be judged by the form or by the matter of his work. Consequently Alexander the Greatfor so lordly an assessment will be effected best and least invidiously by the most supreme tribunalswhen among the booty won from the Persian King Darius there was a case of unguents made of gold and enriched with pearls and precious stones, and when his friends pointed out the various uses to which it could be put, since a warrior soiled with warfare had no use for perfume, said, 'No, by Hercules, rather let it be assigned to keeping the works of Homer'so that the most precious achievement of the mind of man might be preserved in the richest possible product of the craftsman's art. Alexander also gave orders at the sack of Thebes for the household and home of the poet Pindar to be spared; and he felt the native place of the philosopher Aristotle to be his own, and blended that evidence of kindliness with all the glory of his exploits. Apollo at Delphi exposed the murderers of the poet Archilochus. When Sophocles the prince of the tragic buskin died [406 BC] Father Liber gave orders for his burial though the Spartans were besieging the city walls, the Spartan king Lysander receiving frequent admonitions in dreams 'to permit the interment of the darling of the god.' The king enquired what persons had expired at Athens and had no difficulty in understanding which among them the god meant, and he granted an armistice for the funeral.

30. The tyrant Dionysius, who was in other matters by nature given to cruelty and pride, sent a ship decked with garlands to meet Plato the high priest of wisdom, and as he disembarked received him at the coast in person, in a chariot with four white horses. Isocrates sold a single speech for 20 talents. The eminent Athenian orator Aeschines, after reading to the citizens of Rhodes the speech that he had made in prosecuting, also read Demosthenes's speech in defence that had driven him into exile at Rhodes, and on their expressing admiration said hat they would have admired it even more on the actual occasion, if they had heard the orator himself: thus his disaster constituted him a powerful witness for his enemy's case. Thucydides as military commander was sentenced to exile by the Athenians but as historian was recalled: they admired the eloquence of a man whose valour they had condemned. High testimony was also born to Menander's eminence in comedy by the kings of Egypt and Macedon when they sent a fleet and an embassy to fetch him, but higher testimony was derived from himself by his preferment of the consciousness of literary merit to royal fortune.

Roman leaders also have borne witness even to foreigners. At the conclusion of the war with Mithridates Gnaeus Pompey when going to enter the abode of the famous professor of philosophy Posidonius forbade his retainer to knock on the door in the customary manner, and the subduer of the East and of the West dipped his standard to the portals of learning. Cato the censor, on the occasion when the famous embassy of the three leaders of philosophy was sent from Athens, after hearing Carneades advised that these envoys should be sent away as soon as possible, because when Carneades was discoursing it was difficult to distinguish where the truth lay. What a complete change of fashion! The Cato in question always on other occasions recommended the total banishment of Greeks from Italy, whereas his great-grandson Cato of Utica brought home one from his military tribunate and another from his mission to Cyprus; and of the two Catos the former has the distinction of having banished and the other of having introduced the same language.

But let us also pass in review the glory of our own countrymen. The elder Africanus gave orders for a statue of Quintus Ennius to be placed on his own tomb, and for that famous name, or rather trophy of war won from a third part of the world, to be read above his last ashes together with the memorial of a poet. His late Majesty Augustus overrode the modesty of Virgil's will and forbade the burning of his poems, and thus the bard achieved a stronger testimony than if he had commended his own works himself. In the library founded at Rome by Asinius Pollio, the earliest library in the world established out of the spoils of war, the only statue of a living person erected was that of Marcus Varro, the bestowal by a leading orator and citizen of this crowning honour on one only out of the multitude of men of genius then existing constituting no less a distinction, in my own opinion, than when Pompey the Great gave to that same Varro a naval crown for his conduct in the war with the pirates. There is a countless series of Roman examples, if one chose to pursue them, since a single race has produced more men of distinction in every branch whatever than the whole of the other countries. But what excuse could I have for omitting mention of you, Marcus Tullius? or by what distinctive mark can I advertise your superlative excellence? by what in preference to the most honourable testimony of that whole nation's decree, selecting out of your entire life only the achievements of your consulship? Your oratory induced the tribes to discard the agrarian law, that is, their own livelihood; your advice led them to forgive Roscius the proposer of the law as to the theatre, and to tolerate with equanimity the mark put upon them by a distinction of seating; your entreaty made the children of the men sentenced to proscription ashamed to stand for office; your genius drove Catiline to flight; you proscribed Mark Antony. Hail, first recipient of the title of Father of the Country, first winner of a civilian triumph and of a wreath of honour for oratory, and parent of eloquence and of Latium's letters; and (as your former foe, the dictator Caesar, wrote of you) winner of a greater laurel wreath than that of any triumph, inasmuch as it is a greater thing to have advanced so far the frontiers of the Roman genius than the frontiers of Rome's empire.

31. Persons who have surpassed the rest of mortal kind in the remaining gifts of the mind are: in wisdom, the people who on this account won at Rome the surnames of Wise and Sage, and in Greece Socrates, whom Pythian Apollo's oracle placed before all other men.

32. Again, partnership with the oracles was bestowed by mortals on the Spartan Chilo, by canonizing in letters of gold at Delphi his three precepts, which are these: Know thyself; Desire nothing too much; The comrade of debt and litigation is misery. Moreover when he expired from joy on his son's being victorious at Olympia, the whole of Greece followed in his funeral procession.

33. The most famous instances of the gift of divination and so to speak communion with the heavenly beings are, among women, the Sibyl, and among men, Melampus in Greece and Marcius at Rome.

34. Scipio Nasica was judged by the verdict of the senate on oath to be once for all the noblest man since the foundation of time, although he was twice branded by the nation with defeat

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when a candidate for office. At the end he was not permitted to die in his native land, any more in truth than the great Socrates, whom Apollo judged to be the wisest of mankind, was allowed to die freed from fetters.

35. The first case of a woman judged by the vote of the matrons to be the most modest was Sulpicia, a daughter of Paterculus and wife of Fulvius Flaccus, who was elected from a previously chosen list of 100 to dedicate the image of Venus in accordance with the Sibylline books; and on a second occasion, by the test of religion, Claudia, when the Mother of the Gods was brought to Rome.

36. Of filial affection there have it is true been unlimited instances all over the world, but one at Rome with which the whole of the rest could not compare. A plebeian woman of low position and therefore unknown, who had just given birth to a child, had permission to visit her mother who had been shut up in prison as a punishment, and was always searched in advance by the doorkeeper to prevent her carrying in any food; she was detected giving her mother sustenance from her own breasts. In consequence of this marvel the daughter's pious affection was rewarded by the mother's release and both were awarded maintenance for life; and the place where it occurred was consecrated to the Goddess concerned, a temple dedicated to Filial Affection being built on the site of the prison, where the Theatre of Marcellus now stands, in the consulship of Gaius Quinctius and Manius Acilius. In the house of the father of the Gracchi two snakes were caught, and in reply to enquiry an oracle declared that he himself would live if the snake of the other sex were killed; "No," said he, "kill my snake: Cornelia is young and still able to bear children." This meant, to spare his wife and think of the public interest; and the result prophesied soon followed. Marcus Lepidus after divorcing his wife Appuleia died for love of her. Publius Rutilius when suffering from a slight illness received news of his brother's defeat in his candidature for the consulship, and at once expired. Publius Catienus Philotimus loved his patron so dearly that he threw himself upon his funeral pyre, although left heir to the whole of his property.

37. The people who have achieved distinction in the knowledge of the various sciences are innumerable, but nevertheless they must be touched on when we are culling the flower of mankind: in astronomy, Berosus, to whom on account of his marvellous predictions Athens officially erected in he exercising ground a statue with a gilt tongue; philology, Apollodorus, whom the Amphictyons of Greece honoured; in medicine, Hippocrates, who foretold a plague that was coming from Illyria and despatched his pupils round the cities to render assistance, in return for which service Greece voted him the honours that it gave to Hercules. The same knowledge in the case of Cleombrotus of Ceos was rewarded by King Ptolemy at the Megalensian Festival with 100 talents, after he had saved the life of King Antiochus. Critobulus also has a great reputation for having extracted an arrow from King Philip's eye, and having treated his loss of sight without causing disfigurement of his face; but the highest reputation belongs to Asclepiades of Prusa, for having founded a new school, despised the envoys and overtures of King Mithridates, discovered a method of preparing medicated wine for the sick, brought back a man from burial and saved his life, but most of all for having made a wager with fortune that he should not be deemed a physician if he were ever in any way ill himself: and he won his bet, as he lost his life in extreme old age by falling downstairs.

Archimedes also received striking testimony to his knowledge of geometry and mechanics from Marcus Marcellus, who at the capture of Syracuse forbade violence to be done to him onlyhad not the ignorance of a soldier foiled the command. Others who won praise were Chersiphron of Gnossus who constructed the wonderful temple of Diana at Ephesus, Philo who made a dockyard for 400 ships at Athens, Ctesibius who discovered the theory of the pneumatic pump and invented hydraulic engines, Dinochares who acted as surveyor for Alexander when founding Alexandria in Egypt. This ruler also issued a proclamation that only Apelles should paint his picture, only Pyrgoteles sculpture his statue, and only Lysippus cast him in bronze: there are many celebrated examples of these arts.

38. King Attalus bid 100 talents for one picture by the Theban painter Aristides; the dictator Caesar purchased two by Timomachus for 80, the Medea and the Ajax, to dedicate them in the temple of Venus Genetrix. King Candaules paid its weight in gold for a picture of considerable size by Bularchus representing the downfall of the Magnesians. King Demetrius surnamed Besieger of Cities refrained from setting fire to Rhodes for fear of burning a picture by Protogenes stored in that part of the fortification. Praxiteles is famous for his marbles, and especially for his Venus at Cnidos, which is celebrated because of the infatuation that it inspired in a certain young man, and because of the value set on it by King Nicomedes, who attempted to obtain it in return for discharging a large debt owed by the Cnidians. Daily testimony is borne to Phidias by Olympian Jove, and to Mentor by Capitoline Jove and by Diana of Ephesus, works that have immortalized the tools of this craft.

39. The highest price hitherto paid, so far as I have ascertained, for a person born in slavery was when Attius of Pesaro was selling a skilled linguist named Daphnis and Marcus Scaurus, Head of the state, bid 700,000 sesterces. This has been exceeded, and considerably, in our own time by actors when buying their own freedom by means of their earnings, inasmuch as already in the time of our ancestors the actor Roscius is said to have earned 500,000 sesterces a year,unless anybody expects a mention in this place of the commissary in the Armenian war carried on not long ago for Tiridates, whom Nero liberated for 13,000,000 sesterces. But this was the price paid for a war, not for an individual, just as in truth when Clutorius Priscus bought one of Sejanus's eunuchs Paezon for 50,000,000, this was the price of lust and not of beauty. But Clutorius got away with this outrageous affair during a period of national mourning, as nobody had time to show him up.

40. The one race of outstanding eminence in virtue among all the races in the whole world is undoubtedly the Roman. What human being has had the greatest happiness is not a question for human judgement, since prosperity itself different people define in different ways and each according to his own temperament. If we wish to make a true judgement and discard all fortune's pomp in deciding the point, none among mortals is happy. Fortune deals lavishly and makes an indulgent bargain with the man whom it is possible justly to pronounce not unhappy. In fact, apart from other considerations, assuredly there is a fear that fortune may grow weary, and this fear once entertained, happiness has no firm foundation. What of the proverb that none among mortals is wise all the time? And would that as many men as possible may deem this proverb false, and not as the utterance of a prophet! Mortality, being so vain and so ingenious in self-deception, makes its calculation after the manner of the Thracian tribe that puts stone counters of different colours corresponding to each day's experience in an urn, and on the last day sorts them and counts them out and thus pronounces judgement about each individual. What of the fact that the very day commended by that stone of brilliant whiteness contained the source of misfortune? How many men have been overthrown by attaining power! How many have been ruined and plunged into the direst torments by wealth! Wealth forsooth it is called if a man has had an hour of joy while surrounded by it. So doubtless is it! Different days pass verdict on different men and only the last day a final verdict on all men; and consequently no day is to be trusted. What of the fact that goods are not equal to evils even if of equal number, and that no joy can counterbalance the smallest grief? Alas what vain and foolish application! we count the number of the days, when it is their weight that is in question!

41. Only one woman can be found in the whole of history, the Spartan Lampido, who was daughter, wife and mother of a king; only one, Berenice, who was daughter, sister and mother of Olympic winners; only one family, the Curios, that has produced three orators in unbroken series, only one, the Fabii, three successive Chiefs of the Senate, Marcus Fabius Ambustus, his son Fabius Rullianus and his grandson Quintus Fabius Gurges.

42. All other cases are instances of changing Fortune, and are beyond counting. For what great joys does she produce except when following on disasters, or what immeasurable disasters except when following on enormous joys?

43. She preserved the senator Marcus Fidustius for 36 a years after his proscription by Sulla, but only to proscribe him a second time: he survived Sulla, but he lived to see Antony, and it is known that Antony proscribed him for no other reason than that he had been proscribed before! It is true she willed that Publius Ventidius should alone win a triumph from the Parthians, but she also in his boyhood led him captive in Gnaeus Pompeius's triumph after Asculumalbeit Masurius states that he was led in triumph twice, and Cicero that he was a mule-driver for an army bakery, and many authorities say that in his youth he supported his poverty by foot-slogging in the ranks! Also the elder Cornelius Balbus was consul, but he was impeached and handed over to a court of justice to decide as to his legal liability to a flogginghe being the first foreigner and actual native of the Atlantic coast to have held an honour refused by our ancestors even to Latium. Lucius Fulvius also is one of the notable examples, having been consul of the Tusculans at the time of their revolt and after coming over having been at once honoured with the same office by the Roman nation: he is the only man who ever in the same year in which he had been Rome's enemy won a triumph from the people whose consul he had been. Lucius Sulla is the sole human being hitherto who has assumed the surname Fortunate, in fact achieving the title by civil bloodshed and by making war upon his country. And what tokens of good fortune were his motive? His success in exiling and slaughtering so many thousands of his fellow-countrymen?

O what a false meaning to attach to the title! How doomed to misfortune in the future! Were not his victims more fortunate at the time when dying, whom we pity today when Sulla is universally hated? Come, was not the close of his life more cruel than the calamity of all the victims of his proscriptions, when his body ate itself away and bred its own torments? And although he dissembled the pangs, and although on the evidence of that last drama of his, which may almost be said to have accompanied his death, we believed that he alone vanquished odium by glory, nevertheless he admitted forsooth that this one thing was wanting to his happinesshe had not dedicated the Capitol.

Quintus Metellus, in the panegyric that he delivered at the obsequies of his father Lucius Metellus the pontiff, who had been Consul twice, Dictator, Master of the Horse and Land-commissioner, and who was the first person who led a procession of elephants in a triumph, having captured them in the first Punic War, has left it in writing that his father had achieved the ten greatest and highest objects in the pursuit of which wise men pass their lives: for he had made it his aim to be a first-class warrior, a supreme orator and a very brave commander, to have the direction of operations of the highest importance, to enjoy the greatest honour, to be supremely wise, to be deemed the most eminent member of the senate, to obtain great wealth in an honourable way, to leave many children, and to achieve supreme distinction in the state; and that these things had fallen to his father's lot, and to that of no one else since Rome's foundation. It would be a lengthy matter to refute this, and it is superfluous to do so as it is abundantly rebutted by a single accidental misfortune: inasmuch as this Metellus passed an old age of blindness, having lost his sight in a fire when saving the statue of Pallas from the temple of Vesta, a memorable purpose but disastrous in its result. Consequently though he must not be pronounced unhappy, still he cannot be called happy. The nation bestowed on him a privilege given to no one else since the foundation of time, permission to ride to the senate-house in a chariot whenever he went to a meeting of the senatea great and highly honourable privilege, bnt one that was bestowed on him as a substitute for sight.

44. The son of this Metellus who made those remarks about his father is also counted among the exceptional instances of human happiness. Besides receiving an abundance of high honours and the surname of Macedonicus, he was borne to the tomb by four sons, one a praetor, three ex-consuls (two winners of triumphs), one an ex-censorthings that even separately have fallen to few men's lot. Nevertheless at the very height of his distinguished career, when coming back from the Field at midday, the market place and Capitol being empty, he was carried off to the Tarpeian Rock by Gaius Atinius Labeo, surnamed Macerio, tribune of the plebs, whom when censor he had ejected from the senate, with the intention of hurling him down the cliff; the numerous company of persons who called him their father did it is true hasten to his aid, but as was inevitable in this sudden emergency, too late and as if coming for his funeral, and as he had not the right to resist and to repel the hallowed person of a tribune his virtue and his strictness would have resulted in his destruction, but with difficulty another tribune was found to intercede, and he was recalled from the very threshold of death; and subsequently he lived on the charity of another, as his own property had immediately been confiscated on the proposal of the very man whom he had himself caused to be condemned, just as though the penalty exacted from him of having his throat tied in a rope and the blood forced out through his ears were not sufficient! Although for my own part I should also reckon it as a disaster to have been at enmity with the second Africanus, on the evidence of Macedonicus himself, inasmuch as he said, "Go, my sons, celebrate his obsequies; you will never see the funeral of a greater citizen!" And he said this to sons who had already won the titles of Balearicus and Dahnaticus, while he himself was already Macedonicus. But even if only that injury be taken into account, who could rightly pronounce happy this man who ran the risk of perishing at the will of an enemy, and him not even an Africanus? Victory over what enemies was worth so much? or what honours and triumphal cars did not fortune put into the shade by that violent strokea censor dragged through the middle of the city (for this had been the sole reason for delaying), dragged to that same Capitol to which he himself had not thus dragged even prisoners when he was triumphing over the spoils taken from them? This was rendered a greater crime by the happiness that followed, as it placed Macedonicus in danger of losing even that great and glorious funeral in which he was carried to the pyre by his children who had themselves won triumphs, so that even his obsequies were a triumphal procession. Assuredly it is no firmly founded happiness that any outrage in a man's career has shattered, let alone so great an outrage as that. For the rest I know not whether it counts to the credit of our morals or increases the anguish of our indignation that among all the many Metelli that criminal audacity of Gaius Atinius for ever went unpunished.

45. Also in the case of his late Majesty Augustus, whom the whole of mankind enrols in the list of happy men, if all the facts were carefully weighed, great revolutions of man's lot

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could be discovered: his failure with his uncle in regard to the office of Master of the Horse, when the candidate opposing him, Lepidus, was preferred; the hatred caused by the proscription; his association in the triumvirate with the wickedest citizens, and that not with an equal share of power but with Antony predominant; his flight in the battle of Philippi when he was suffering from disease, and his three days' hiding in a marsh, in spite of his illness and his swollen dropsical condition (as stated by Agrippa and Maecenas); his shipwreck off Sicily, and there also another period of hiding in a cave; his entreaties to Proculeius to kill him, in the naval rout when a detachment of the enemy was already pressing close at hand; the anxiety of the struggle at Perugia, the alarm of the Battle of Actium, his fall from a tower in the Pannonian Wars; and all the mutinies in his troops, all his critical illnesses, his suspicion of Marcellus's ambitions, the disgrace of Agrippa's banishment, the many plots against his life, the charge of causing the death of his children; and his sorrows that were not due solely to bereavement, his daughter's [Julia] adultery and the disclosure of her plots against her father's life, the insolent withdrawal of his stepson Nero, another adultery, that of his grand-daughter; then the long series of misfortuneslack of army funds, rebellion of Illyria, enlistment of slaves, shortage of man power, plague at Rome, famine in Italy, resolve on suicide and death more than half achieved by four days' starvation; next the disaster of Varus and the foul slur upon his dignity; the disowning of Postumius Agrippa after his adoption as heir, and the sense of loss that followed his banishment; then his suspicion in regard to Fabius and the betrayal of secrets; afterwards the intrigues of his wife and Tiberius that tormented his latest days. In fine, this godwhether deified more by his own action or by his merits I know notdeparted from life leaving his enemy's son his heir.

46. In this review there come to mind the Delphic oracles sent forth by the god as if for the purpose of chastising the vanity of mankind. Here are two: `The happiest of men is Pedius, who lately fell in battle for his country'; and secondly, when the oracle was consulted by Gyges, then the wealthiest king in the world, 'Aglaus of Psophis is happier.' This was an elderly man who cultivated an estate, small but amply sufficient for his yearly provision, in a very shut in corner of Arcadia, and who had never left it, and being (as his kind of life showed) a man of very small desires experienced a very small amount of misfortune in life.

47. By the command of the same oracle and with the assent of Jupiter the supreme deity, Euthynus the boxer, who won all his matches at Olympia and was only once beaten, was made a saint in his lifetime and to his own knowledge. His native place was Locri in Italy; I noticed that Callimachus records as an unparalleled marvel that a statue of him there and another at Olympia were struck by lightning on the same day, and that the oracle commanded that sacrifice should be offered to him; this was repeatedly done both during his lifetime and when he was dead, and nothing about it is surprising except that the gods so decreed.

48. As to the length and duration of men's life, not only geographical position but also dates and the various fortunes allotted at birth to each individual have made it uncertain. Hesiod, who first put forth some observations on this matter, placing many creatures above man in respect of longevity, fictitiously as I think, assigns nine of our lifetimes to the crow, four times a crow s life to stags, three times a stag's to ravens, and for the rest in a more fictitious style in the case of the phoenix and the nymphs. The poet Anacreon attributes 150 years to Arganthonius king of the Tartcsii, 10 years more to Cinyras king of Cyprus, and 200 to Aegimius. Theopompus gives 157 to Epimenides of Cnossus. Hellanicus says that some members of the clan of the Epii in Aetolia complete 200 years, and he is supported by Damastes who records that one of them, Pictoreus, a man of outstanding stature and strength, even lived 300 years; Ephorus records Arcadian kings of 300 years; Alexander Cornelius says that a certain Dando in Illyria lived 500 years. Xenophon in his Coasting Voyage says that a king of the island of the Lutmii lived to 600, andas though that were only a modest fabricationthat his son lived to 800. All of these exaggerations were due to ignorance of chronology, because some people made the year coincide with the summer, the winter being a second year, others marked it by the periods of the four seasons, for example the Arcadians whose years were three months long, and some by the waning of the moon, as do the Egyptians. Consequently with them even individuals are recorded to have lived a thousand years.

But to pass to admitted facts, it is almost certain that Argathonius of Cadiz reigned for 80 years; his reign is thought to have begun in his fortieth year. It is not questioned that Masinissa reigned 60 years and that the Sicilian Gorgias lived 108 years. Quintus Fabius Maxixnus was augur for 63 years. Marcus Perperna and recently Lucius Volusius Saturninus outlived all the persons whose votes in debate they had taken as consuls; Perperna left only seven of those whom as censor he had electedhe lived to 98. In this matter it occurs to me to note also that there has only been a single five-year period in which no senator has died, from when Flaccus and Albinus as censors performed the purification ceremony to the next censorsbeginning 175 B.C. Marcus Valerius Corvinus completed 100 years, and there was an interval of 46 years between his first and sixth consulships. He also took his seat in the curule chair 21 times, which is a record; but his length of life was equalled by the pontifex Metellus.

Also among women Livia wife of Rutilius exceeded 97 years, Statilia a lady of noble family under the Emperor Claudius 99, Terentia Cicero's wife 103, Clodia Ofilius's wife 115; the latter also bore 15 children. The actress Lucceia delivered a recitation on the stage at 100. Galeria Copiola the actress of interludes was brought back to the stage in the consulship of Gaius Poppaeus and Quintus Sulpicius, at the votive games celebrated for the recovery of his late Majesty Augustus, when in her 104th year; she had been brought out at her first appearance by Marcus Pomponius, aedile of the plebs, in the consulship of Gaius Marius and Gnaeus Carbo, 91 years before, and she was brought back to the stage when an old woman by Pompey the Great as a marvel at the deification of the big theatre. Also Pedianus Asconius states that Sammula lived 110 years. I am less surprised that Stephanio, who first introduced dancing in national costume, danced at both secular games, both those of his late Majesty Augustus and those celebrated by Claudius Caesar in his fourth consulship, as the interval was only 63 years, although he also lived a long time afterwards. Mucianus is the authority for one Tempsis having lived 150 years at the place called Mount Tmolus Heights; and the census of Claudius Caesar gives the same number of years for Titus Fullonius of Bologna, which has been verified by comparing the census returns he had made previously and by the facts of his careerfor the emperor gave his attention to this matter.

49. The topic seems of itself to call for the view held by astronomical science. Epigenes declared that it is impossible to live 112 years; Berosus said that 116 years can be exceeded. Also the theory handed down by Petosiris and Necepsos is still extant (it is called the Theory of Quarters, from its dividing up the Zodiac into groups of three signs); this theory shows it possible to attain 124 years of life in the region of Italy. These thinkers declared that nobody exceeds the ascendant measure of 90 degrees (what is called `risings'), and stated that this period itself may be cut short by the encounter of maleficent stars, or even by their rays and by those of the sun. Again it is uncertain what is the greatest longevity allowed by the school of Aesculapius, which says that fixed periods of life are received from the stars; however, they say that longer periods of life are rare, inasmuch as vast crowds of men are born at critical moments in the hours of the lunar days, for example the 7th and the 15th hour counting by night and day, who are liable to die under the law of the ascending scale of years, called 'gradations', persons so born rarely exceeding their fifty-fourth year.

At the outset therefore the variations in the science itself show how uncertain the matter is. In addition there are the experiences of the last census, held within the last four years by the Emperors Caesar Vespasian father and son as Censors. Nor is it necessary to ransack all the records: we will only produce cases from the middle region between the Apennines and the Po. Three persons declared 120 years at Parma and one at Brescello; two at Parma 125; one man at Piacenza and one woman at Faenza 130; Lucius Terentius son of Marcus at Bologna 135; Marcus Aponius 140 and Tertulla 137 at Itimini. In the hills this side of Piacenza is the township of Veleia, where six declared 110 years, four 120, one (Marcus Mucius Felix, son of Marcus, of the Galerian tribe) 150. And, not to delay with further instances in a matter of admitted fact, the census registered in the eighth region of Italy 54 persons of 100 years of age, 14 of 110, 2 of 125, 4 of 130, the same number of 135 or 137, 3 of 140.

Other instances of the fickleness of mortal fortunes are these: Homer has recorded that men of such diverse fates as Hector and Polydamas were born on the same night; Marcus Caelius Rufus and Gaius Licinius Calvus, both orators but with such different success, were born on the same day, May 28 in the consulship [82 BC] of Gaius Marius and Gnaeus Carbothe latter's third. Taking the entire world, this happens daily even to persons born at the same hoursmasters and slaves, kings and paupers come into existence simultaneously.

50. Fublius Cornelius Rufus, who was consul with Manius Curius, lost his sight while asleep, when dreaming that it was happening to him. In the opposite way, Jason of Pherae being ill with a tumour and given up by the doctors sought death in battle, but was wounded in the chest and so obtained a cure from the enemy. In the battle against the clans of the Allobroges and Arverni on the river Isre, on August 8, when 130,000 of the foe were killed, the consul Quintus Fabius Maximus got rid of a quartan ague in action. In fact whatever be this gift of nature that is bestowed upon us, it is uncertain and insecure, indeed sinister and of brief duration even in the case of those to whose lot it has fallen in most bounteous measure, at all events when we regard the whole extent of time. What of the fact that, if we take into account our nightly period of slumber, everybody is alive for only a half of his life, whereas an equal portion is passed in a manner that resembles death, or, in default of slumber, torture. And we are not counting in the years of infancy that lack sensation, nor those of old age that remains alive to be tormented, nor all the kinds of dangers, all the diseases, all the fears, all the anxieties, with death so often invoked that this is the commonest of prayers. But nature has granted man no better gift than the shortness of life. The senses grow dull, the limbs are numb, sight, hearing, gait, even the teeth and alimentary organs die before we do, and yet this period is reckoned a portion of life. Consequently it is virtually a miracleand this is the solitary instance of it foundthat the musician Xenophilus lived to 105 without any bodily disablement. But assuredly with all the rest of men, as in the case of none of the other animals, morbid heat or else stiffness returns through the several portions of the limbs at fixed hours, and not only at certain hours but also every three or four days or nights, even all the year round. And moreover the death of the intellect in some measure is a disease. For nature has imposed certain laws even upon diseases: a four-day-period fever never begins at midwinter or in the winter months, and some people are not attacked by it when over the age of 60, while with others, particularly women, it is discarded at puberty; and old men are least susceptible to plague. For diseases attack not only entire nations but also particular classes, sometimes the slaves, sometimes the nobility, and so Through other grades. In this respect it has been observed that plague always travels from southern quarters westward and almost never otherwise, and that it does not spread in winter, nor during a period exceeding three months.

51. Again, signs of approaching death are: in a case of insanity laughter, but in delirium toying with fringes and making folds in the bed-clothes, disregard of persons trying to keep the patient awake, making water, while the most unmistakable signs are in the appearance of the eyes and nostrils, and also in lying constantly on the back, in an irregular and excessively slow pulse, and the other symptoms noted by that prince of medicine Hippocrates. And whereas the signs of death are innumerable, there are no signs of health being secure; inasmuch as the ex-censor Cato gave an as it were oracular utterance addressed to his son about healthy persons also, to the effect that senile characteristics in youth are a sign of premature death. But so unlimited is the number of diseases that the Syrian Pherecydes expired with a swarm of maggots bursting out of his body. Some people suffer from perpetual fever, for instance Gaius Maecenas: the same had not an hour's sleep in the last three years of his life. The poet Antipater of Sidon used to have a yearly attack of fever on one day only, his birthday, and this at a fairly advanced age carried him off.

52. The ex-consul Aviola came to life again on the funeral pyre, and as the flame was too powerful for it to be possible to come to his assistance, was burnt alive. A similar cause of death is recorded in the case of the ex-praetor Lucius Lamia, while Gaius Aelius Tubero, a former praetor, is recorded by Messala Rufus and most authorities to have been recovered from the pyre. This is the law of mortals: we are born for these and similar accidents of fortune, so that in the case of a human being no confidence must he placed even in death. Among other instances we find that the soul of Hermotimus of Clazomenae used to leave his body and roam abroad, and in its wanderings report to him from a distance many things that only one present at them could know ofhis body in the meantime being only half-conscious; till finally some enemies of his named the Cantharidae burned his body and so deprived his soul on its return of what may be called its sheath. We also read that the soul of Aristeas at Proconnesus was seen flying ont of his mouth in the shape of a raven, with a great deal of fabulous invention that follows this. This inventiveness I for my part also receive in a similar way in the case of Epimenides of Cnossusthat when a boy, being weary with the heat and with travel, he slept in a cave 57 years, and when he woke, just as if it had been on the following day, was surprised at the appearance of things and the change in them; and afterwards old age came on him in the same number of days as he had slept years, though nevertheless he lived to the age of 157. The female sex seems specially liable to this malady, caused by distortion of the womb; if this is set right, the breathing is restored. To this subject belongs the essay of Heracides, well known in Greece, about the woman recalled to life after being dead for seven days.

Also Varro records that when he was acting as one of the Twenty Commissioners and apportioning lands at Capua a person being carried out on a bier to burial returned home on foot; and that the same thing occurred at Aquino; and that also at Rome his maternal aunt's husband Corfidius came to life again after his funeral had been arranged for with an undertaker, and that he himself superintended the funeral of the relative who had made the arrangement. He adds some marvellous occurrences that it would be suitable to have set out in their entirety: that there were two brothers Corfidius, of the rank of knights, to the elder of whom it happened that he appeared to have expired, and when his will was opened the younger brother was read out as his heir, and set about

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arranging his funeral; in the meantime the brother who appeared to be dead summoned the servants by clapping his hands and told them that he had come from his brother, who had entrusted his daughter to his care, and had also shown him where he had without anybody's knowledge hidden some gold in a hole dug in the ground, and had asked that the preparations that he had made for his brother's funeral might be used for himself. While he was telling this story his brother's servants hurriedly came with the news that their master was dead; and the gold was found in the place where he had said. Moreover life is full of these prophecies, but they are not worth collecting, because more often than not they are false, as we will prove by an outstanding example. In the Sicilian War the bravest man in Caesar's navies Gabienus was taken prisoner by Sextus Pompeius, by whose order his throat was cut and almost severed, and so he lay a whole day on the shore. Then on the arrival of evening, a crowd having been gathered to the spot by his groans and entreaties, he besought that Pompey should come to him, or send one of his personal staff, as he had come back from the lower world and had some news to tell him. Pompey sent several of his friends, who were told by Gabienus that the gods below approved Pompey's cause and the righteous party, so that the issue would be what Pompey desired; that he had had orders to bring this news, and that a proof of its truth would be that as soon as his errand was accomplished he would expire. And this so happened. There are also cases of persons appearing after burialsave that our subject is the works of nature, not prodigies.

53. But most miraculous and also frequent, are sudden deaths (this is life's supreme happiness), which we shall show to be natural. Verrius has reported a great many, but we will preserve moderation with a selection. Cases of people who died of joy are (besides Chilo about whom we have spoken) Sophocles and Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily, in both cases after receiving news of a victory with a tragedy: also the mother who saw her son back safe from Cannae in contradiction of a false message; Diodorus the professor of logic died of shame because he could not at once solve a problem put to him in jest by Stilpo. Cases of men dying from no obvious causes are: while putting on their shoes in the morning, the two Caesars, the praetor and the ex-praetor, father of the dictator Caesar, the latter dying at Pisa and the former at Rome; Quintus Fabius Maximus on 31 December in the year of his consulship, in whose place Gaius Rebilus obtained the office for only a few hours; also the senator Gaius Volcatius Gurgesall of these men so healthy and fit that they were thinking of going out for a walk; QuintusAemilius Lepidus who bruised his great toe in the doorway of his bedroom just as he was going out; Gaius Aufidius who after he had gone out hit his foot against something in the Cornitium when he was on his way to the senate. Also an envoy who had pleaded the cause of Rhodes in the senate to the general admiration, just as he wanted to leave the senate-house expired on the threshold; Gnaeus Baebius Tamphilus, who had himself also held the praetorship, died just after asking his footman the time; Aulus Pompeius died on the Capitol after paying reverence to the gods, Mantis Juventius Thalna the consul while offering sacrifice, Gaius Servilius Pansa while standing at a shop in the market-place, leaning on his brother Publius's arm, at seven o'clock in the morning, Baebius the judge while in the act of giving an order for enlargement of bail, Marcus Terentius Corax while writing a note in the market-place; and moreover last year, a Knight of Rome died while saying something in the ear of an ex-consul, just in front of the ivory statue of Apollo in the Forum of Augustus; and, most remarkable of all, the doctor Gaius Julius died from passing the probe through his eye while pouring in ointment, the ex-consul Aulus Manlius Torquatus while helping himself to a cake at dinner, Lucius Tuccius, Sulla's doctor, while drinking a draught of mead, Appius Saufeius when he had drunk some mead and was sucking an egg after coming back from the bathhouse, Publius Quintius Scapula when out to dinner with Aquilius Gallus, Decimus Saufeius the clerk when lunching at home. Cornelius Gallus, expraetor, and Titus Hetereius Knight of Rome died while with women; and, cases remarked on by our own generation, two members of the Order of Knighthood died when with the same ballet-dancer Mystieus, the leading beauty of the day. However, the most enviable case of a peaceful end is one recorded by our forefathers, that of Marcus Ofilius Hilarus: he was an actor in comedy, and having had a considerable success with the public on his birthday and while giving a party, when dinner was served called for a hot drink in a tankard, and at the same time picked up the mask that he had worn on that day and while gazing at it transferred the wreath from his own head to it, and in this attitude lay quite stiff without anybody noticing, until the guest on the next couch warned him that his drink was getting cold.

These are happy instances, but there are countless numbers of unhappy ones. Lucius Domitius, a man of very distinguished family, who was defeated at Marseilles and was taken prisoner, also by Caesar, at Corfinium, grew tired of life and drank poison, but afterwards made every effort to save his life. It is found in the official records that at the funeral of Felix the charioteer of the Reds one of his backers threw himself upon the pyrea pitiful storyand the opposing backers tried to prevent this score to the record of a professional by asserting that the man had fainted owing to the quantity of scents! Not long before, the corpse of Marcus Lepidus, the man of distinguished family whose death from anxiety about his divorce we have recorded above, had been dislodged from the pyre by the violence of the flame, and as it was impossible to put it back again because of the heat, it was burnt naked with a fresh supply of faggots at the side of the pyre.

54. Cremation was not actually an old practice at Rome: the dead used to be buried. But cremation was instituted after it became known that the bodies of those fallen in wars abroad were dug up again. All the same many families kept on the old ritual, for instance it is recorded that nobody in the family of the Cornelii was cremated before Sulla the dictator, and that he had desired it because he was afraid of reprisals for having dug up the corpse of Gaius Marius. [But burial is understood to denote any mode of disposal of a corpse, but interment means covering up with earth.]

55. There are various problems concerning the spirits of the departed after burial. All men are in the same state from their last day onward as they were before their first day, and neither body nor mind possesses any sensation after death, any more than it did before birth for the same vanity prolongs itself also into the future and fabricates for itself a life lasting even into the period of death, sometimes bestowing on the soul immortality, sometimes transfiguration, sometimes giving sensation to those below, and worshipping ghosts and making a god of one who has already ceased to be even a manjust as if man's mode of breathing were in any way different from that of the other animals, or as if there were not many animals found of greater longevity, for which nobody prophesies a similar immortality! But what is the substance of the soul taken by itself? what is its material? where is its thought located? how does it see and hear, and with what does it touch? what use does it get from these senses, or what good can it experience without them? Next, what is the abode. or how great is the multitude, of the souls or shadows in all these ages? These are fictions of childish absurdity, and belong to a mortality greedy for life unceasing. Similar also is the vanity about preserving men's bodies, and about Democritus's promise of our coming to life again who did not come to life again himself! Plague take it, what is this mad idea that life is renewed by death? what repose are the generations ever to have if the soul retains permanent sensation in the upper world and the ghost in the lower? Assuredly this sweet but credulous fancy ruins nature's chief blessing, death, and doubles the sorrow of one about to die by the thought of sorrow to come hereafter also; for if to live is sweet, who can find it sweet to have done living? But how much easier and safer for each to trust in himself, and for us to derive our idea of future tranquillity from our experience of it before birth!

56. Before we quit the subject of man's nature it seems suitable to point out the various discoveries of different persons. Father Liber instituted buying and selling, and also invented the emblem of royalty, the crown, and the triumphal procession. Ceres discovered corn, men having hitherto lived on acorns; she also invented grinding corn and making flour in Attica (or, as others say, in Sicily), and for this was deemed a goddess. Also she first gave laws, though others have thought this was done by Rhadamanthus.

I am of opinion that the Assyrians have always had writing, but others, e.g. Gellius, hold that it was invented in Egypt by Mercury, while others think it was discovered in Syria; both schools of thought believe that Cadmus imported an alphabet of 16 letters into Greece from Phoenicia and that to these Palamedes at the time of the Trojan war added the four characters ΖΨΦΧ, and after him Simonides the lyric poet added another four ΥΞΩΘΥ, all representing sounds recognised also in the Roman alphabet. Aristotle holds that the primitive alphabet contained 18 letters, and that Ψ and Z were added by Epicharmus more probably than Palamedes. Anticlides records that a person named Menos invented the alphabet in Egypt 15,000 years before Phoroneus, the most ancient king of Greece, and he attempts to prove this by the monuments. On the other side Epigenes, an authority of the first rank, teaches that the Babylonians had astronomical observations for 730,000 years inscribed on baked bricks; and those who give the shortest period, Berosus and Critodemus, make it 490,000 years; from which it appears that the alphabet has been in use from very ancient times. It was brought to Latium by the Pelasgi.

Brick-kilns and houses were first introduced by the brothers Euryalus and Hyperbius at Athens; previously caves had served for dwellings. Gellius accepts Toxius son of Uranus as the inventor of building with clay, the example having been taken from swallows' nests. Cecrops named after himself the first town, Cecropia, which is now the Acropolis at Athens; though some hold that Argos had been founded before by King Phoroneus, and certain authorities say Sicyon also, but the Egyptians hold that Diospolis was founded in their country long before. Tiles were invented by Cinyra, son of Agriopa, as well as mining for copper, both in the island of Cyprus, and also the tongs, hammer, crowbar and anvil; wells by Danaus who came from Egypt to Greece to the region that used to be called Dry Argos; stone quarrying by Cadmus at Thebes, or according to Theophrastus, in Phoenicia; walls were introduced by Thrason, towers by the Cyclopes according to Aristotle but according to Theophrastus by the Tirynthians; woven fabrics by the Egyptians, dyeing woollen stuffs by the Lydians at Sardis, the use of the spindle in the manufacture of woollen by Closter son of Arachne, linen and nets by Arachne, the fuller's craft by Nicias of Ntegara, the shoemaker's by Tychius of Boeotia; medicine according to the Egyptians was discovered among themselves, but according to others through the agency of Arabus son of Babylon and Apollo; and the science of herbs and drugs was discovered by Chiron the son of Saturn and Philyra. Aristotle thinks that Lydus the Scythian showed how to melt and work copper, but Theophrastus holds that it was the Phrygian Delas; manufactures of bronze some ascribe to the Chalybes and others to the Cyclopes; the forging of iron Hesiod ascribes to the people called the Dactyli of Ida in Crete. Erichthonius of Athens, or according to others Aeacus, discovered silver; mining and smelting gold was invented by Cadmus the Phoenician at Mount Pangaeus, or according to others by Thoas or Aeacus in Panchaia, or by the Sun, son of Oceanus, to whom Gellius also assigns the discovery of medicine derived from minerals. Tin was first imported by Midacritus from the island of Cassiteriss Working in iron was invented by the Cyclopes, potteries by Coroebus of Athens, the potter's wheel by the Scythian Anacharsis, or according to others by Hyperbius of Corinth. Carpentry was invented by Daedalus, and with it the saw, axe, plumb-line, gimlet, glue, isinglass; but the square, the plummet, the lathe and the lever by Theodorus of Samos, measures and weights by Phidon of Argos, or, as Gellius preferred, Palamedes; fire from flint by Pyrodes son of Cilix, the storing of fire in a fennel-stalk by Prometheus; a vehicle with four wheels by the Phrygians, trade by the Phoenicians, viticulture and arboriculture by Eumolpus of Athens, diluting wine with water by Staphylus son of Silenus, oil and oil-mills by Aristaeus of Athens, honey by the same; the ox and the plough by Buzyges of Athens, or, as others say, by Triptolemus; monarchical government by the Egyptians, republican by the Athenians after Theseus. The first tyrant was Phalaris at Girgenti. Slavery was invented by the Spartans. Capital trials were first carried on in the Areopagus.

The Africans first fought with clubs (called poles) in a war against the Egyptians. Shields were invented by Proetus and Acrisius in making war against each other, or else by Chalcus son of Athamas; the breastplate by Midias of Messene, the helmet, sword and spear by the Spartans, greaves and helmet-plumes by the Carians. The bow and arrow is said by some to have been invented by Scythes son of Jove; others say that arrows were invented by Perses son of Perseus, lances by the Aetolians, the spear slung with a thong by Aetolus son of Mars, spears for skirmishing by Tyrrhenus, the javelin by the same, the battle-axe by Penthesilea the Amazon, hunting-spears and among missile engines the scorpion by Pisaeus, the catapult by the Cretans, the ballista and the sling by the Syrophoenicians, the bronze trumpet by Pysaeus son of Tyrrhenus, tortoise-screens by Artemo of Clazomenae, among siege-engines the horse (now called the ram) by Epius at Troy; horse-riding by Bellerophon, reins and saddles by Pelethronius, fighting on horseback by the Thessalians called Centaurs, who dwelt along Mount Pelion. The Phrygian race first harnessed pairs, Erichthonius four-in-hands. Military formation, the use of passwords, tokens and sentries were invented by Palamedes in the Trojan war, signalling from watch-towers by Sinon in the same war, truces by Lycaon, treaties by Theseus.

Auguries from birds were invented by Car, from whom Caria got its name; Orpheus added auspices derived from the other animals, Delphus divination from victims, Amphiaraus divination from fire, Tiresias of Thebes divination by inspecting birds' entrails, Amphictyon the interpretation of portents and dreams; Atlans son of Libya, or as others say the Egyptians and others the Assyrians, astronomy, Anaximander of Miletus the use of a globe in astronomy, Aeolus son of Hellen the theory of winds; Amphion music, Pan son of Mercury the pipe and single flute, Midas in Phrygia the slanting flute, Marsyas in the same nation the double flute, Amphion the Lydian modes, the Thracian Thamyras the Dorian, Marsyas of Phrygia the Phrygian, Amphion, or others say Orpheus and others Linus, the harp. Terpander first sang with seven strings, adding three to the original four, Simonides added an eighth, Timothens a ninth. Thamyris first played the harp without using the voice, Amphion, or according to others Linus, accompanied the harp with singing; Terpander composed songs for harp and voice. Ardalus of Troezen instituted singing to the flute. The Curetes taught dancing in armour, Pyrrhus the Pyrrhic dance; both of there were in Crete. Hexameter verse we owe to the Pythian oracle, but as to the origin of poetry there is much debate, though it is proved to have existed before the Trojan War. Pherecydes

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of Syria instituted prose composition in the period of King Cyrus, Cadmus of Miletus history; gymnastic games were started by Lycaon in Arcadia, funeral games by Acastus in Iolcus, and subsequently by Theseus at the Isthmus and by Hercules at Olympia; wrestling by Pytheus, the sport of ball-throwing by Gyges of Lydia; painting by the Egyptians, and in Greece by Euchir the kinsman of Daedalus according to Aristotle, but according to Theophrastus by Polygnotus of Athens.

Danaus first came from Egypt to Greece by ship; before that time rafts were used for navigation, having been invented by King Erythras for use between the islands in the Red Sea. Persons are found who think that vessels were devised earlier on the Hellespont by the Mysians and Trojans when they crossed to war against the Thracians. Even now in the British ocean coracles are made of wicker with hide sown round it, and on the Nile canoes are made of papyrus, rushes and reeds. The first voyage made in a long ship is attributed by Philostephanus to Jason, by Hegesias to Parhalus, by Ctesias to Semiramis, and by Archemachus to Aegaeo. Further advances were as follows:

(Vessel , Inventor, Authority, note)

Bireme double-banked galley: the Erythraeans (Phoenicians*), Damastes

Trireme: Aminocles of Corinth (Phoenicians*), Thucydides

Quadrireme: the Carthaginians (western Phoenicians*), Aristotle

Quinquereme: the Salaminians (Dionysius I of Syracuse c.432-367 BC, Greek*), Mnesigiton

Hexareme or sexireme, galleys of six banks: the Syracusans (Dionysius II of Syracuse; r. 367–357, 346–344 BC), Xenagoras

up to ten banks: Alexander the Great, Mnesigiton

up to twelve banks: Ptolemy Soter, Philostephanus

up to fifteen banks: Demetrius son of Antigonus, Philostephanus

up to thirty banks: Ptolemy Phlladelphus, Philostephanus

up to forty banks: Ptolemy Phiopator surnamed Tryphon. Philostephanus

The freight-ship was invented by Hippus of Tyre (a Phoenician), the cutter by the Cyrenians, the skiff by the Phoenicians, the yacht by the Rhodians, the yawl by the Cyprians; the Phoenicians invented observing the stars in sailing, the town of Copae invented the oar, the city of Plataea the oar-blade, Icarus sails, Daedalus mast and yard, the Samians or Pericles of Athens the cavalry transport, the Thasians decked longshipspreviously the marines had fought from the bows and stem only. Pisaeus son of Tyrrenus added beaks, Enpalamus the anchor, Anacharsis the double-fluked anchor, Pericles of Athens grappling-irons and claws, Tiphys the tiller. Minos was the first who fought a battle with a fleet.

Hyperbius son of Mars first killed an animal, Prometheus an ox.

LVII. The first of all cases of tacit agreement between the nations was the convention to employ the alphabet of the Ionians.

58. The practical identity of the old Greek alphabet with the present Latin one will be proved by an ancient Delphic tablet of bronze (at the present day in the Palace, a gift of the emperors) dedicated to Minerva, with the following inscription: Tithe dedicated by Nausicrates to the Daughter of Zeus...

59. The next agreement between nations was in the matter of shaving the beard, but with the Romans this was later. Barbers came to Rome from Sicily in 300 B.C., according to Varro being brought there by Publius Titinius Mena; before then the Romans had been unshaved. The second Africanus first introduced a daily shave. His late Majesty Augustus never neglected the razor.

60. The third agreement was in the observation of the hours (this now being an addition made by theory), the date and inventor of which we have stated in Book 2. This also happened later at Rome: in the Twelve Tables only sunrise and sunset are specified; a few years later noon was also added, the consuls' apparitor announcing it when from the Senate-house he saw the sun between the Beaks and the Greek Lodging. When the sun sloped from the Maenian Column to the Prison he announced the last hour, but this only on clear days, down to the First Punic War. We have it on the authority of Fabius Vestalis that the first sundial was erected 11 years before the ware with Pyrrhus at the Temple of Quirinus by Lucius Papirius Cursor when dedicating that temple, which had been vowed by his father; but Fabius does not indicate the principle of the sundial's construction or the maker, nor where it was brought from or the name of the writer who is his authority for the statement. Marcus Varro records that the first public sundial was set up on a column along by the Beaks during the First Punic War after Catania in Sicily had been taken a by the consul Manius Valerius Messala, and that it was brought from Sicily thirty years later than the traditional date of Papirius's sundial, B.C. 264. The lines of this sundial did not agree with the hours, but all the same they followed it for 99 years, till Quintus Marcius Philippus who was Censor with Lucius Paulus placed a more carefully designed one next to it, and this gift was received as one of the most welcome of the censor's undertakings. Even then however the hours were uncertain in cloudy weather, until the next lustrum, when Scipio Nasica the colleague of Laenas instituted the first water-clock dividing the hours of the nights and the days equally, and dedicated this timepiece in a roofed building, B.C. 159. For so long a period the divisions of daylight had not been marked for the Roman public.

We will now turn to the rest of the animals, beginning with land-animals.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 8

1. Let us pass to the rest of the animals, and first those that live on land.

The largest land animal is the elephant, and it is the nearest to man in intelligence: it understands the language of its country and obeys orders, remembers duties that it has been taught, is pleased by affection and by marks of honour, nay more it possesses virtues rare even in man, honesty, wisdom, justice, also respect for the stars and reverence for the sun and moon. Authorities state that in the forests of Mauretania, when the new moon is shining, herds of elephants go down to a river named Amilo and there perform a ritual of purification, sprinkling themselves with water, and after thus paying their respects to the moon return to the woods carrying before them those of their calves who are tired. They are also believed to understand the obligations of another's religion in so far as to refuse to embark on board ships when going overseas before they are lured on by the mahout's sworn promise in regard to their return. And they have been seen when exhausted by suffering (as even those vast frames are attacked by diseases) to lie on their backs and throw grass up to the heaven, as though deputing the earth to support their prayers. Indeed so far as concerns docility, they do homage to their king by kneeling before him and proffering garlands. The Indians employ the smaller breed, which they call the bastard elephant, for ploughing.

2. At Rome they were first used in harness to draw the chariot of Pompey the Great in his African triumph, as they are recorded to have been used before when Father Liber went in triumph after his conquest of India. Procilius states that at Pompey's triumph the team of elephants were unable to pass out through the gate. At the gladiatorial show given by Germanicus Caesar some even performed clumsy movements in figures, like dancers. It was a common display for them to hurl weapons through the air without the wind making them swerve, and to perform gladiatorial matches with one another or to play together in a sportive war-dance. Subsequently they even walked on tightropes, four at a time actually carrying in a litter one that pretended to be a lady lying-in; and walked among the couches in dining-rooms full of people to take their places among the guests, planting their steps carefully so as not to touch any of the drinking party.

3. It is known that one elephant which was rather slow-witted in understanding instructions given to it and had been punished with repeated beatings, was found in the night practising the same. It is surprising that they can even climb up ropes, but especially that they can come down them again, at all events when they are stretched at a slope. Mucianus who was three times consul states that one elephant actually learnt the shapes of the Greek letters, and used to write out in words of that language: 'I myself wrote this and dedicated these spoils won from the Celts;' and also that he personally had seen elephants that, when having been brought by sea to Pozzuoli they were made to walk off the ship, were frightened by the length of the gangway stretching a long way out from the land and turned round and went backwards, so as to cheat themselves in their estimation of the distance.

4. They themselves know that the only thing in them that makes desirable plunder is in their weapons which Juba calls 'horns,' but which the author so greatly his senior, Herodotus, and also common usage better term 'tusks;' consequently when these fall off owing to some accident or to age they bury them in the ground. The tusk alone is of ivory: otherwise even in these animals too the skeleton forming the framework of the body is common bone; albeit recently owing to our poverty even the bones have begun to be cut into layers, inasmuch as an ample supply of tasks is now rarely obtained except from India, all the rest in our world having succumbed to luxury. A young elephant is known by the whiteness of its tusks. The beasts take the greatest care of them; they spare the point of one so that it may not be blunt for fighting and use the other as an implement for digging roots and thrusting massive objects forward; and when surrounded by a party of hunters they post those with the smallest tusks in front, so that it may be thought not worth while to fight them, and afterwards when exhausted they break their tusks by dashing them against a tree and ransom themselves at the price of the desired booty.

5. It is remarkable in the case of most animals that they know why they are hunted, but also that almost all know what they must beware of. It is said that when an elephant accidentally meets a human being who is merely wandering across its track in a solitary place it is good-tempered and peaceful and will actually show the way; but that when on the other hand it notices a man's footprint before it sees the man himself it begins to tremble in fear of an ambush, stops to sniff the scent, gazes round, trumpets angrily, and avoids treading on the footprint but digs it up and passes it to the next elephant, and that one to the following, and on to the last of all with a similar message, and then the column wheels round and retires and a battle line is formed: since the smell in question lasts to be scented by them all, though in the majority of cases it is not even the smell of bare feet. Similarly a tigress also, It is said, even though savage to all other animals and herself scorning the footprints even of an elephant, when she sees the track of a human being at once carries her cubs elsewhere.Though how has she recognized or where has she seen before the person that she fears? For it is certain that such forests are very little frequented. Granted that no doubt they may be surprised by the mere rarity of the print; but how do they know that it is something to be afraid of? Indeed there is a further point, why should they dread even the sight of a man himself when they excel him so greatly in strength, size and speed? Doubtless it is Nature's law and shows her power, that the fiercest and largest wild beasts may have never seen a thing that they ought to fear and yet understand immediately when they have to fear it.

Elephants always travel in a herd; the oldest leads the column and the next oldest brings up the rear. When going to ford a river they put the smallest in front, so that the bottom may not be worn away by the tread of the larger ones, thus increasing the depth of the water. Antipater states that two elephants employed for military purposes by King Antiochus were known to the public even by name; indeed they know their own names. It is a fact that Cato, although he has removed the names of military commanders from his Annals, has recorded that the elephant in the Carthaginian army that was the bravest in battle was called the Syrian, and that it had one broken tusk. When Antiochus was trying to ford a river his elephant Ajax refused, though on other occasions it always led the line; thereupon Antiochus issued an announcement that the elephant that crossed should have the leading place and he rewarded Patroclus, who made the venture, with the gift of silver harness, an elephant's greatest delight, and with every other mark of leadership. The one disgraced preferred death by starvation to humiliation; for the elephant has a remarkable sense of shame, and when defeated shrinks from the voice of its conqueror, and offers him earth and foliage. Owing to their modesty, elephants never mate except in secret, the male at the age of five and the female at ten; and mating takes place for two years, on five days, so it is said, of each year and not more; and on the sixth day they give themselves a shower-bath in a river, not returning to the herd before. Adultery is unknown among them, or any of the fighting for females that is so disastrous to the other animalsthough not because they are devoid of strong affection, for it is reported that one elephant in Egypt fell in love with a girl who was selling flowers, and (that nobody may think that it was a vulgar choice) who was a remarkable favourite of the very celebrated scholar Aristophanes; and another elephant is said to have fallen in love with a young soldier in Ptolemy's army, a Syracusan named Menander, and whenever it did not see him to have shown its longing for him by refusing food. Also Juba records a girl selling scent who was loved by an elephant. In all these cases the animals showed their affection by their delight at the sight of the object and their clumsy gestures of endearment, and by keeping the branches given to them by the public and showering them in the loved one's lap. Nor is it surprising that animals possessing memory are also capable of affection. For the same writer records a case of an elephant's recognizing many years later in old age a man who had been its mahout in its youth, and also an instance of a sort of insight in to justice, when King Bocchus tied to stakes thirty elephants which he intended to punish and exposed them to a herd of the same number, men running out among them to provoke them to the attack, and it proved impossible to make them perform the service of ministering to another's cruelty.

VI. Italy saw elephants for the first time in the war with King Pyrrhus, and called them Lucan oxen because they were seen in Lucania, 280 BC.; but Rome first saw them at a date five years later, in a triumph, and also a very large number that were captured from the Carthaginians in Sicily by the victory of the pontiff Lucius Metellus, 252 B.C. There were 142 of them, or by some accounts 140, and they had been brought over on rafts that Metellus constructed by laying decks on rows of casks lashed together. Verrius records that they fought in the Circus and were killed with javelins, because it was not known what use to make of them, as it had been decided not to keep them nor to present them to native kings; Lucius Piso says that they were merely led into the Circus, and in order to increase the contempt felt for them were driven all round it by attendants carrying spears with a

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button on the point. The authorities who do not think that they were killed do not explain what was done with them afterwards.

7. There is a famous story of one of the Romans fighting single-handed against an elephant, on the occasion when Hannibal had compelled his prisoners from our army to fight duels with one another. For he pitted one survivor against an elephant, and this man, having secured a promise of his freedom if he killed the animal, met it single-handed in the arena and much to the chagrin of the Carthaginians dispatched it. Hannibal realized that reports of this encounter would bring the animals into contempt, so he sent horsemen to kill the man as he was departing. Experiences in our battles with Pyrrhus made it clear that it is very easy to lop off an elephant's trunk. Fenestella states that the first elephant fought in the circus at Rome in the curule aedileship of Claudius Pulcher and the consulship of Marcus Antonius and Aulus Postumius, 99 BC., and also that the first fight of an elephant against bulls was twenty years later in the curule aedileship of the Luculli. Also in Pompey's second consulship, at the dedication of the Temple of Venus Victrix, twenty, or, as some record, seventeen, fought in the Circus, their opponents being Gaetulians armed with javelins, one of the animals putting up a marvellous fightits feet being disabled by wounds it crawled against the hordes of the enemy on its knees, snatching their shields from them and throwing them into the air, and these as they fell delighted the spectators by the curves they described, as if they were being thrown by a skilled juggler and not by an infuriated wild animal. There was also a marvellous occurrence in the case of another, which was killed by a single blow, as the javelin striking it under the eye had reached the vital parts of the head. The whole band attempted to burst through the iron palisading by which they were enclosed and caused considerable trouble among the public. Owing to this, when subsequently Caesar in his dictatorship was going to exhibit a similar show he surrounded the arena with channels of water; these the emperor Nero removed when adding special places for the Knighthood. But Pompey's elephants when they had lost all hope of escape tried to gain the compassion of the crowd by indescribable gestures of entreaty, deploring their fate with a sort of wailing, so much to the distress of the public that they forgot the general and his munificence carefully devised for their honour, and bursting into tears rose in a body and invoked curses on the head of Pompey for which he soon afterwards paid the penalty. Elephants also fought for the dictator Caesar in his third consulship, twenty being matched against 500 foot soldiers, and on a second occasion an equal number carrying castles each with a garrison of 60 men, who fought a pitched battle against the same number of infantry as on the former occasion and an equal number of cavalry; and subsequently for the emperors Claudius and Nero elephants versus men single-handed, as the crowning exploit of the gladiators' careers.

A story is told that the animal's natural gentleness towards those not so strong as itself is so great that if it gets among a flock of sheep it will remove with its trunk those that come in its way, so as not unwittingly to crush one. Also they never do any harm unless provoked, and that although they go about in herds, being of all animals the least solitary in habit. When surrounded by horsemen they withdraw. The weak ones or those that are exhausted or wounded into the middle of their column, and advance into the fighting line in relays as if by command or strategy.

When captured they are very quickly tamed by means of barley juice.

8. The method of capturing them in India is for a mahout riding one of the domesticated elephants to find a wild elephant alone or detach it from the herd and to flog it, and when it is tired out he climbs across on to it and manages it as he did his previous mount. Africa captures elephants by means of pitfalls; when an elephant straying from the herd falls into one of these all the rest at once collect branches of trees and roll down rocks and construct ramps, exerting every effort in the attempt to get it out. Previously for the purpose of taming them the kings used to round them up with horsemen into a trench made by hand so as to deceive them by its length, and when they were enclosed within its banks and ditches they were starved into submission; the proof of this would be if when a man held out a branch to them they gently took it from him. At the present day hunters for the sake of their tusks shoot them with javelins in the foot, which in fact is extremely soft. The Cavemen on the frontier of Ethiopia, whose only food is elephant meat obtained by hunting, climb up trees near the elephants' track and there keep a look out for the last of the whole column and jump down on to the hind part of its haunches; the tail is grasped in the man's left hand and his feet are planted on the animal's left thigh, and so hanging suspended, with his right hand and with a very sharp axe he hamstrings one leg, and as the elephant runs forward with its leg crippled he strikes the sinews of the other leg, performing the whole of these actions with extreme rapidity. Others employing a safer but less reliable method fix great bows rather deep in the ground, unbent; these are held in position by young men of exceptional strength, while others striving with a united effort bend them, and as the elephants pass by they shoot them with hunting-spears instead of arrows and afterwards follow the tracks of blood.

9. The females of the genus elephant are much more timid than the males. Mad elephants can be tamed by hunger and blows, other elephants being brought up to one that is unmanageable to restrain it with chains. Besides this they get very wild when in heat and overthrow the stables of the Indians with their tusks. Consequently they prevent them from coupling, and keep the herds of females separate, in just the same way as droves of cattle are kept. Male elephants when broken in serve in battle and carry castles manned with armed warriors on their backs; they are the most important factor in eastern warfare, scattering the ranks before them and trampling armed soldiers underfoot. Nevertheless they are scared by the smallest squeal of a pig; and when wounded and frightened they always give ground, doing as much damage to their own side as to the enemy. African elephants are afraid of an Indian elephant, and do not dare to look at it, as Indian elephants are indeed of a larger size.

10. Their period of gestation is commonly supposed to be ten years, but Aristotle puts it at two years, and says that they never bear more than one at a time, and that they live 200 and in some cases 300 years. Their adult life begins at 60. They take the greatest pleasure in rivers and roam in the neighbourhood of streams, although at the same time they are unable to swim because of the size of their bodies, and also as they are incapable of enduring cold: this is their greatest infirmity; they are also liable to flatulence and diarrhoea, but not to other kinds of disease. I find it stated that missiles sticking in their body fall out when they drink oil, but that perspiration makes it easier for them to keep their hold. It also causes them disease to eat earth unless they chew it repeatedly; but they devour even stones, consider trunks of trees a great delicacy, and bend down the loftier palm trees by butting against them with their foreheads and when thus prostrate consume their fruit. They eat with the mouth, but they breathe and drink and smell with the organ not unsuitably called their hand. They hate the mouse worst of living creatures, and if they see one merely touch the fodder placed in their stall they refuse it with disgust. They are liable to extreme torture if in drinking they swallow a leech (the common name for which I notice has now begun to be 'blood-sucker'); when this attaches itself in the actual breathing passage it causes intolerable pain.

The hide of the back is extremely hard, but that of the belly is soft; it has no covering of bristles, not even on the tail as a guard for driving away the annoyance of fliesfor even that huge bulk is sensitive to thisbut the skin is creased, and is inviting to this kind of creature owing to its smell; consequently they stretch the creases open and let the swarms get in, and then crush them to death by suddenly contracting the creases into wrinkles. This serves them instead of tail, mane and fleece.

The tusks fetch a vast price, and supply a very elegant material for images of the gods. Luxury has also discovered another thing that recommends the elephant, the flavour in the hard skin of the trunk, sought after, I believe, for no other reason than because the epicure feels that he is munching actual ivory. Exceptionally large specimens of tusks can indeed be seen in the temples, but nevertheless Polybius has recorded on the authority of the chieftain Gulusa, that in the outlying parts of the province of Africa where it marches with Ethiopia elephants' tusks serve instead of doorposts in the houses, and partitions in these buildings and in stabling for cattle are made by using elephants' tusks for poles.

11. Elephants are produced by Africa beyond the deserts of Sidra and by the country of the Moors; also by the land of Ethiopia and the Cave-dwellers, as has been said; but the biggest ones by India, as well as serpents that keep up a continual feud and warfare with them, the serpents also being of so large a size that they easily encircle the elephants in their coils and fetter them with a twisted knot. In this duel both combatants die together, and the vanquished elephant in falling crushes with its weight the snake coiled round it.

12. Every species of animal is marvellously cunning for its own interests, as are those which we are considering. One difficulty that the serpent has is in climbing to such a height; consequently it keeps watch on the track worn by the elephant going to pasture and drops on him from a lofty tree. The elephant knows that he is badly handicapped in fighting against the snake's coils, and therefore seeks to rub it against trees or rocks. The snakes are on their guard against this, and consequently begin by shackling the elephants' steps with their tail. The elephants untie the knots with their trunk. But the snakes poke their heads right into the elephants' nostrils, hindering their breathing and at the same time lacerating their tenderest parts; also when caught in the path of the elephants they rear up against them, going specially for their eyes: this is how it comes about that elephants are frequently found blind and exhausted with hunger and wasting misery.

What other cause could anybody adduce for such quarrel save Nature arranging a match between a pair of combatants to provide herself with a show? There is also another account of this contestthat elephants are very cold-blooded, and consequently in very hot weather are specially sought after by the snakes; and that for this reason they submerge themselves in rivers and lie in wait for the elephants when drinking, and rising up coil round the trunk and imprint a bite inside the ear, because that place only cannot be protected by the trunk; and that the snakes are so large that they can hold the whole of an elephant's blood, and so they drink the elephants dry, and these when drained collapse in a heap and the serpents being intoxicated are crushed by them and die with them.

13. Ethiopia produces elephants that rival those of India, being 30 ft. high; the only surprising thing is what led Juba to believe them to be crested. The Ethiopian tribe in whose country they are chiefly bred are called the Asachaeans; it is stated that in the coast districts belonging to this tribe the elephants link themselves four or five together into a sort of raft and holding up their heads to serve as sails are carried on the waves to the better pastures of Arabia.

14. Megasthenes writes that in India snakes grow so large as to be able to swallow stags and bulls whole; and Metrodorus that in the neighbourhood of the river Rhyndacus in Pontus they catch and gulp down birds passing over them even though they are flying high and fast. There is the well-known case of the snake 120 ft. long that was killed during the Punic Wars on the River Bagradasa by General Regulus, using ordnance and catapults just as if storming a town; its skin and jawbones remained in a temple at Rome down to the Nuxnantine War? Credibility attaches to these stories on account of the serpents in Italy called boas, which reach such dimensions that during the principate of Claudius of blessed memory a whole child was found in the belly of one that was killed on the Vatican Hill. Their primary food is milk sucked from a cow; from this they derive their name.

15. It is not our concern to give a meticulous account of all the other species of animals that recently have reached Italy more frequently by importation from all quarters. Scythia, owing to its lack of vegetation, produces extremely few; its neighbour Germany few, but some remarkable breeds of wild oxen, the maned bison and the exceptionally powerful and swift aurochaff to which the ignorant masses give the name of buffalo, though the buffalo is really a native of Africa and rather bears some resemblance to the calf and the stag.

16. The North also produces herds of wild horses, as do Asia and Africa of wild asses, and also the elk, which resembles a bullock save that it is distinguished by the length of its ears and neck; also the achlis, born in the island of Scandinavia and never seen in Rome, although many have told stories of itan animal that is not unlike the elk but has no joint at the hock and consequently is unable to lie down but sleeps leaning against a tree, and is captured by the tree being cut through to serve as a trap, but which nevertheless has a remarkable turn of speed. Its upper lip is exceptionally big; on account of this it walks backward when grazing, so as to avoid getting tripped up by it in moving forward. There are reports of a wild animal in Paeonia called the bonasus, which has the mane of a horse but in all other respects resembles a bull; its horns are curved back in such a manner as to be of no use for fighting, and it is said that because of this it saves itself by running away, meanwhile emitting a trail of dung that sometimes covers a distance of as much as three furlongs, contact with which scorches pursuers like a sort of fire.

17. It is remarkable that leopards, panthers, lions and similar animals walk with the point of their claws sheathed inside the body so that they may not get broken or blunted, and run with their talons turned back and do not extend them except when attempting to catch something.

The lion is specially high-spirited at the time when its neck and shoulders are clothed with a manefor this occurs at maturity in the case of those sired by a lion, though those begotten by leopards always lack this characteristic; and the females likewise. Sexual passion is strong in this species, with its consequence of quarrelsomeness in the males; this is most observed in Africa, where the shortage of water makes the animals flock to the few rivers. There are consequently many varieties of hybrids in that country, either violence or lust mating the males with the females of each species indiscriminately. This is indeed the origin of the common saying of Greece that Africa is always producing some novelty. A lion detects intercourse with a leopard in the case of an adulterous mate by scent, and concentrates his entire strength on her chastisement; consequently this guilty stain is washed away in a stream, or else she keeps her distance when accompanying him. But I notice that there used to be a popular belief that the lioness only bears a cub once, as her womb is wounded by the points of its claws in delivery. Aristotle, however, whose authority I feel bound to cite first as I am going in great part to follow him on these subjects, gives a different account. King Alexander the Great being fired with a desire to know the natures of animals and having delegated the pursuit of this study to Aristotle as a man of supreme eminence in every branch of science, orders were given to some thousands of persons throughout the whole of Asia and Greece, all those who made their living by hunting,

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fowling, and fishing and those who were in charge of warrens, herds, apiaries, fishponds and aviaries, to obey his instructions, so that he might not fail to be informed about any creature born anywhere. His enquiries addressed to those persons resulted in the composition of his famous works on zoology, in nearly 50 volumes. To my compendium of these, with the addition of facts unknown to him, I request my readers to give a favourable reception, while making a brief excursion under our direction among the whole of the works of Nature, the central interest of the most glorious of all sovereigns. Aristotle then states that a lioness at the first birth produces five cubs, and each year one fewer, and after bearing a single cub becomes barren; and that the cubs are mere lumps of flesh and very small, at the beginning of the size of weasels, and at six months are scarcely able to walk, not moving at all until they are two months old; also that lions are found in Europe only between the rivers Achelous and Mestus, but that these far exceed in strength those produced by Africa and Syria.

18. He states that there are two kinds of lions, one thickset and short, with comparatively curly manesthese being more timid than the long, straight-haired kind; the latter despise wounds. The males lift one leg in making water, like dogs. Their smell is disagreeable, and not less their breath. They are infrequent drinkers, and they feed every other day, after a full meal occasionally abstaining from food for three days; when chewing they swallow whole what they can, and when their belly will not contain the result of their gluttony, they insert their clenched claws into their throats and drag it out, so that if they have to run away they may not go in a state of repletion. From the fact that many specimens are found lacking teeth he infers that they are long-lived. Aemilianus's companion Polybius states that in old age their favourite prey is a human being, because their strength is not adequate to hunting wild animals; and that at this period of their lives they beset the cities of Africa, and consequently when he was with Scipio he saw lions crucified, because the others might be deterred from the same mischief by fear of the same penalty.

19. The lion alone of wild animals shows mercy to suppliants; it spares persons prostrated in front of it, and when raging it turns its fury on men rather than women, and only attacks children when extremely hungry. Juba believes that the meaning of entreaties gets through to them: at all events he was informed that the onset of a herd of lions in the forests upon a woman of Gaetulia who was captured and got away again had been checked by a speech in which she dared to say that she was a female, a fugitive, a weakling a suppliant to the most generous of all the animals, the lord of all the rest, a booty unworthy of his glory. Opinion will vary in accordance with each person's as experience has not decided whether it be true or false that even serpents can be enticed out by song and forced to submit to chastisement. Lions indicate their state of mind by means of their tail, as horses do by their ears: for Nature has assigned even these means of expression to all the noblest animals. Consequently the lion's tail is motionless when he is calm, and moves gently when he wishes to cajolewhich is seldom, since anger is more usual; at the onset of which the earth is lashed, and as the anger grows, his back is lashed as if for a mode of incitement. A lion's greatest strength is in the chest. Black blood flows from every wound, whether made by claw or tooth. Yet when lions are glutted they are harmless. The lion's nobility of spirit is detected most in dangers, not merely in the way that despising weapons he protects himself for a long time only by intimidation, and protests as it were that he is acting under compulsion, and rises to the encounter not as if forced by danger but as though enraged by madness; but a nobler indication of this spirit is this, that however large a force of hounds and hunters besets him, in level plains and where he can be seen he retires contemptuously and constantly halting, but when he has made his way into brushwood and forest he proceeds at top speed, as if aware that the lie of the land conceals his disgrace. When pursuing he advances by leaps and bounds, but he does not use this gait when in flight. When he has been wounded he marks down his assailant in a marvellous way, and knows him and picks him out in however large a him but fails to wound him he seizes and whirling him round flings him on the ground, but does not wound him. It is said that when a mother lion is fighting in defence of her cubs she fixes the gaze of her eyes upon the ground so as not to flinch from the hunting spears. Otherwise lions are devoid of craft and suspicion, and they do not look at you with eyes askance and dislike being looked at in a similar way. The belief has been held that a dying lion bites the earth and bestows a tear upon death. Yet though of such a nature and of such ferocity this animal is frightened by wheels turning round and by empty chariots, and even more by the crested combs and the crowing of cocks, but most of all by fires. The only malady to which it is liable is that of distaste for food; in this condition it can be cured by insulting treatment, the pranks of monkeys tied to it driving it to fury; and then tasting their blood acts as a remedy.

20. A fight with several lions at once was first the bestowed on Rome by Quintus Scaevola, son of Publius, when consular aedile, but the first of all who exhibited a combat of 100 maned lions was Lucius Sulla, later dictator, in his praetorship. After Sulla Pompey the Great showed in the Circus 600, including 315 with manes, and Caesar when dictator 400.

21. Capturing lions was once a difficult task, chiefly effected by means of pitfalls. In the principate of Claudius accident taught a Gaetulian shepherd a method that was almost one to be ashamed of in the case of a wild animal of this nature: when it charged he flung a cloak against its onseta feat that was immediately transferred to the arena as a showthe creature's great ferocity abating in an almost incredible manner when its head is covered with even a light wrap, with the result that it is vanquished without showing fight. The fact is that all its strength is concentrated in its eyes, which makes it less remarkable that when Lysimachus by order of Alexander was shut up in a lion's cage he succeeded in strangling it. Mark Antony broke lions to the yoke and was the first person at Rome to harness them to a chariot, and this in fact during the civil war, after the decisive battle in the plains of Pharsalia, not without some intention of exhibiting the position of affairs, the portentous feat signifying that generous spirits can bow to a yoke. For his riding in this fashion with the actress Cytheris at his side was a thing that outdid even the portentous oecnrrences of that disastrous period. It is recorded that Hanno, one of the most distinguished of the Carthaginians, was the first human being who dared to handle a lion and exhibit it as tamed, and that this supplied a reason for his impeachment, because it was felt that a man of such an artful character might persuade the public to anything, and that their liberty was ill entrusted to one to whom even ferocity had so completely submitted.

But there are also instances of occasional mercifulness even in lions. The Syracusan Mentor in Syria met a lion that rolled on the ground in suppliant wise and struck such terror into him that he was running away, when the lion stood in his way wherever he turned, and licked his footsteps as if fawning on him; he noticed a swelling and a wound in its foot, and by pulling out a thorn set the creature free from torment: a picture at Syracuse is evidence of this occurrence. In a similar manner a native of Samos named Elpis on landing from a ship in Africa, saw near the coast a lion opening its jaws in a threatening way, and took refuge up a tree, calling on Father Liber for help, since the chief occasion for praying is an emergency where there is no room for hope. The beast had not stood in his way when he tried to run away although it might have done, and lying down by the tree began to beg for compassion with the gaping jaws by which it had scared the man. Owing to its biting its food too greedily a bone had stuck in its teeth, and was tormenting it with starvation and not merely with the punishment contained in the actual prickles, as it gazed up and looked as if making a silent prayer for aidwhile chance events are not to be relied on in face of a wild animal, and much longer hesitation is caused by surprise than by alarm. But finally he came down and pulled out the bone for the lion, which held out its foot to him and adjusted it at the most necessary angle; and they say that as long as that vessel remained on the coast the lion displayed its gratitude by bringing its catches to its benefactor. This led Elpis to consecrate in Samos a temple to Father Liber, to which from that occurrence the Greeks have given the name of Temple of Dionysus with his Mouth Open. After this do not let us be surprised that men's tracks are recognized by wild beasts when they actually hope for assistance from one of the animal race: for why did they not go to other animals, or how do they know of man's healing touch? Unless perchance violent maladies force even wild animals to every expedient.

The natural philosopher Demetrius also records an equally remarkable story about a panther, which out of desire for human aid lay in the middle of a road, where the father of a certain student of philosophy named Philinus suddenly came in sight of it. The man, so the story goes, began to retreat, but the animal rolled over on its back, obviously trying to cajole him, and tormented by sorrow that was intelligible even in a panther: she had a litter of cubs that had fallen into a pit some distance away. The first result of his compassion therefore was not to be frightened, and the next to give her his attention; and he followed where she drew him by lightly touching his clothes with her claws, and when he understood the cause of her grief and at the same time the recompense due for his own security, he got the cubs out of the pit; and the panther with her young escorted him right to the edge of the desert, guiding him with gestures of delight that made it quite clear that she was expressing gratitude and not reckoning on any recompense, which is rare even in a human being.

22. These stories give credibility to Democritus also, who tells a tale of Thoas in Arcadia being saved by a snake. When a boy he had fed it and made a great pet of it, and his parent being afraid of the snake's nature and size had taken it away into an uninhabited region, where it recognized Thoas's voice and came to his rescue when he was entrapped by an ambush of brigands. For as to the reports about infants when they had been exposed being fed by the milk of wild animals, as well as those about our founders being nursed by a she-wolf, I deem it more reasonable for them to be credited to the grandeur of their destinies than to the nature of the wild animals.

23. The panther and the tiger almost alone of beasts are distinguished by a variety of markings, whereas the rest have a single colour, each kind having its ownblack in the case of lions in Syria only. Panthers have small spots like eyes on a light ground. It is said that all four-footed animals are wonderfully attracted by their smell, but frightened by the savage appearance of their head; for which they catch them by hiding their head and enticing them to approach by their other attractions. Some authorities report that they have a mark on the shoulder resembling a moon, expanding into a circle and hollowed out in a similar manner. As it is, people use the name 'spotted ladies', and for the males 'pards', in the whole of this genus, which occurs most frequently in Africa and Syria; some persons distinguish panthers from these by their light colour only, nor have I hitherto discovered any other difference.

24. There was an old Resolution of the Senate prohibiting the importation of African elephants into Italy. Gnaeus Aufidius when Tribune of the Plebs carried in the Assembly of the People a resolution repealing this and allowing them to be imported for shows in the Circus. But Scaurus in his aedileship first sent in procession 150 female leopards in one flock, then Pompey the Great 410, and the late lamented Augustus 420.

25. Augustus also, in the consulship of Marcus Tubero and Paullus Fabius, at the dedication of the Theatre of Marcellus, on May 7, was the first of all persons at Rome who exhibited a tamed tiger in a cage, although his late Majesty Claudius exhibited four at one time.

Hyrcania and India produce the tiger, au animal of terrific speed, which is most noticeable when the whole of its litter, which is always numerous, is being captured. The litter is taken by a man lying in wait with the swiftest horse obtainable, and is transferred successively to fresh horses. But when the mother tiger finds the lair empty (for the males do not look after their young) she rushes off at headlong speed, tracking them by scent. The captor when her roar approaches throws away one of the cubs. She snatches it up in her mouth, and returns and resumes the pursuit at even a faster pace owing to her burden, and so on in succession until the hunter has regained the ship and her ferocity rages vainly on the shore.

26. The East pastures camels among its flocks of cattle; of these there are two kinds, the Bactrian and the Arabian, which differ in that the former have two humps on the back and the latter one, with a second hump beneath the chest on which they can rest their weight; but both kinds resemble oxen in having no teeth in the upper jaw. All however perform the services of beasts of burden, and also of cavalry in battles; their speed is below that of horses. But the two kinds differ in dimensions, as also in strength; and a camel will not travel beyond its customary march, nor carry more than the regulation load. They possess an innate hatred for horses. They can endure thirst for as much as four days, and when they have an opportunity they replenish themselves both for the past interval and for the future, stirring up the water by trampling with their fore feet before they drinkotherwise they do not enjoy the draught. They live for fifty years, some even for a hundred; although even camels are liable to rabies. A method has been discovered of gelding even the females intended for war; this by denying them intercourse increases their strength.

27. Some resemblance to these is passed on to two animals. The Ethiopians give the name of to one that has a neck like a horse, feet and legs like an ox, and a head like a camel, and is of a ruddy colour picked out with white spots, owing to which it is called a camelopard; it was first seen at Rome at the games in the Circus given by Caesar when dictator. From this it has subsequently been recognized to be more remarkable for appearance than for ferocity, and consequently it has also got the name of wild sheep.

28. The games of Pompey the Great first displayed the chama, which the Gauls used to call the lynx, with the shape of a wolf and leopard's spots; the same show exhibited what they call cephi from Ethiopia, which have hind feet resembling the feet of a man and legs and fore feet like hands. Rome has not seen this animal subsequently.

29. At the same games there was also a rhinoceros with one horn on the nose such as has often been seen. Another bred here to fight matches with an elephant gets ready for battle by filing its horns on rocks, and in the encounter goes specially for the belly, which it knows to be softer. It equals an elephant in length, but its legs are much shorter, and it is the colour of box-wood.

30. Ethiopia produces lynxes in great numbers, and sphinxes with brown hair and a pair of udders on the breast, and many other monstrositieswinged homes armed with horns, called pegasi, hyenas like a cross between a dog and a wolf, that break everything with their teeth, swallow it at a gulp and masticate it in the belly; tailed monkeys with black heads, ass's hair and a voice unlike that of any other species of ape; Indian oxen a with one and with three horns; the leucrocota,

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[hyena] swiftest of wild beasts, about the size of an ass, with a stag's haunches, a lion's neck, tail and breast, badger's head, cloven hoot mouth opening right back to the ears, and ridges of bone in place of rows of teeththis animal is reported to imitate the voices of human beings. Among the same people is also found the animal called the yale, the size of a hippopotamus, with an elephant's tail, of a black or tawny colour, with the jaws of a boar and movable horns more than a cubit in length which in a fight are erected alternately, and presented to the attack or sloped backward in turn as policy directs. But its fiercest animals are forest bulls, larger than the bulls of the field, surpassing all in speed, of a tawny colour, with blue eyes, hair turned backward, mouth gaping open to the ears, along with mobile horns; the hide has the hardness of flint, rejecting every wound. They hunt all wild animals, but themselves can only be caught in pits, and when caught always die game. Ctesias writes that in the same country is born the creature that he calls the mantichora [fabulous] which has a triple row of teeth meeting like the teeth of a comb, the face and ears of a human being, grey eyes, a blood-red colour, a lion's body, inflicting stings with its tail in the manner of a scorpion, with a voice like the sound of a panpipe blended with a trumpet, of great speed, with a special appetite for human flesh.

31. He says that in India there are also oxen with solid hoofs and one horn and a wild animal named axis, [deer] with the hide of a fawn but with more spots and whiter ones, belonging to the ritual of Father Liber (the Orsaean Indians hunt monkeys that are a bright white all over the body); but that the fiercest animal is the unicorn, which in the rest of the body resembles a horse, but in the head a stag, in the feet an elephant, and in the tail a boar, and has a deep bellow, and a single black horn three feet long projecting from the middle of the forehead. They say that it is impossible to capture this animal alive.

32. In Western Ethiopia there is a spring, the Nigris, which most people have supposed to be the source of the Nile, as they try to prove by the arguments that we have stated. In its neighbourhood there is an animal called the catoblepas, in other respects of moderate size and inactive with the rest of its limbs, only with a very heavy head which it carries with difficultyit is always hanging down to the ground; otherwise it is deadly to the human race, as all who see its eyes expire immediately.

33. The basilisk serpent also has the same power. It is a native of the province of Cyrenaica, not more than 12 inches long, and adorned with a bright white marking on the head like a sort of diadem. It routs all snakes with its hiss, and does not move its body forward in manifold coils like the other snakes but advancing with its middle raised high. It kills bushes not only by its touch but also by its breath, scorches up grass and bursts rocks. Its effect on other animals is disastrous: it is believed that once one was killed with a spear by a man on horseback and the infection rising through the spear killed not only the rider but also the horse. Yet to a creature so marvellous as thisindeed kings have often wished to see a specimen when safely deadthe venom of weasels is fatal: so fixed is the decree of nature that nothing shall be without its match. They throw the basilisks into weasels' holes, which are easily known by the foulness of the ground, and the weasels kill them by their stench and die themselves at the same time, and nature's battle is accomplished.

34. But in Italy also it is believed that the sight of wolves is harmful, and that if they look at a man before he sees them, it temporarily deprives him of utterance. The wolves produced in Africa and Egypt are feeble and small, but those of colder regions are cruel and fierce. We are bound to pronounce with confidence that the story of men being turned into wolves and restored to themselves again is falseor else we must believe all the tales that the experience of so many centuries has taught us to be fabulous; nevertheless we will indicate the origin of the popular belief, which is so firmly rooted that it classes werewolves among persons under a curse. Evanthes, who holds no contemptible position among the authors of Greece, writes that the Arcadians have a tradition that someone chosen out of the clan of a certain Anthus by casting lots among the family is taken to a certain marsh in that region, and hanging his clothes on an oak-tree swims across the water and goes away into a desolate place and is transformed into a wolf and herds with the others of the same kind for nine years; and that if in that period he has refrained from touching a human being, he returns to the same marsh, swims across it and recovers his shape, with nine years' age added to his former appearance; Evanthes also adds the more fabulous detail that he gets back the same clothes. It is astounding to what lengths Greek credulity will go; there is no lie so shameless as to lack a supporter. Similarly Apollas the author of Olympic Victors relates that at the sacrifice which even at that date the Arcadians used to perform in honour of Lycaean Jove with a human victim, Daemenetus of Parrhasia tasted the vitals of a boy who had been offered as a victim and turned himself into a wolf, and furthermore that he was restored ten years later and trained himself in athletics for boxing and returned a winner from Olympia. Moreover it is popularly believed that even the tail of this animal contains a love-poison in a small tuft of hair, and when it is caught it sheds the tuft, which has not the same potency unless plucked from the animal while it is alive; that the days on which it breeds are not more than twelve in a whole year; also that for it to feed on earth when it is hungry counts as an augury: if it does this in large mouthfuls when barring the path of travellers who come upon it on their right hand side, this is the finest of all omens. Some members of the genus are called stag-wolves; a specimen from Gaul was seen in the arena of Pompey the Great, as we have stated. They say that if this animal while devouring its food looks behind it, however hungry it is, forgetfulness of what it is eating creeps over it and it goes off to look for something else.

35. As concerning serpents, it is generally stated that most of them have the colour of the earth that they usually lurk in; that there are innumerable kinds of them; that horned snakes have little horns, often a cluster of four, projecting from the body, by moving which so as to hide the rest of the body they lure birds to them; that the amphisbaena has a twin he ad, that is one at the tail-end as well, as though it were not enough for poison to be poured out of one mouth; that some have scales, others coloured markings, and all a deadly venom; that the javelin-shake hurls itself from the branches of trees, and at serpents are not only formidable to the feet but fly like a missile from a catapult; that when asps' necks swell, up there is no remedy for their sting except the immediate amputation of the parts stung. Although so pestilential, this animal has one emotion or rather affection: they usually roam in couples, male and female, and only live with their consort. Accordingly when either of the pair has been destroyed the other is incredibly anxious for revenge: it pursues the murderer and by means of some mark of recognition attacks him and him only in however large a throng of people, bursting through all obstacles and traversing all distances, and it is only debarred by rivers or by very rapid flight. It is impossible to declare whether Nature has engendered evils or remedies more bountifully. In the first place she has bestowed on this accursed creature dim eyes, and those not in the forehead for it to look straight in front of it, but in the templesand consequently it is more quickly excited by hearing than by sight; and in the next place she has given it war to the death with the ichneumon.

36. That animal, which is also a native of Egypt, is specially known because of this exploit. The asp repeatedly plunges into mud and dries itself in the sun, and then when it has equipped itself with a cuirass of several coatings by the same method, it proceeds to the encounter. In this it raises its tail and renders the blows it receives ineffectual by turning away from them, till after watching for its opportunity, with head held sideways it attacks its adversary's throat. And not content with this victim it vanquishes another animal no less ferocious, the crocodile.

37. This belongs to the Nile; it is a curse on four legs, and equally pernicious on land and in the river. It is the only land animal not furnished with a tongue and the only one that bites by pressing down the mobile upper jaw, and it is also formidable because of its row of teeth set close together like a comb. In size it usually exceeds 18 ells. It lays as many eggs as a goose, and by a kind of prophetic instinct incubates them always outside the line to which the Nile in that year is going to rise at full flood. Nor does any other animal grow to greater dimensions from a smaller original size; however, it is armed with talons as well, and its hide is invincible against all blows. It passes its days on land and its nights in the water, in both eases for reasons of warmth. This creature when sated with a meal of fish and sunk in sleep on the shore with its mouth always full of food, is tempted by a small bird (called there the trochilus, but in Italy the king-bird) to open its mouth wide to enable the bird to feed; and first it hops in and cleans out the mouth, and then the teeth and inner throat also, [fictitious] which yawns open as wide as possible for the pleasure of this scratching; and the ichneumon watches for it to be overcome by sleep in the middle of this gratification and darts like a javelin through the throat so opened and gnaws out the belly.

38. A native of the Nile resembling the crocodile but smaller even than the ichneumon is the skink, which is an outstanding antidote against poisons, and also an aphrodisiac for males.

But the crocodile constituted too great a plague for Nature to be content with a single enemy for it. Accordingly dolphins also, which have on their backs a sharp fin shaped like a knife as if for this purpose, enter the mouth of the Nile, and when the crocodiles drive them away from their prey and lord it in the river as merely their own domain, kill them by craft, as they are otherwise in themselves no match for them in strength. For all animals are skilful in this, and know not only the things advantageous for themselves but also those detrimental for their enemies, and are acquainted with their own weapons and recognize their opportunities and the unwarlike parts of their adversaries. The crocodile's hide is soft and thin over the belly; consequently the dolphins pretending to be frightened dive and going under them rip the belly with the spine described. Moreover there is also a tribe of human beings right on the Nile, named after the Island of Tentyrus on which it dwells, that is hostile to this monster. They are of small stature but have a readiness of mind in this employment only that is remarkable. The creature in question is terrible against those who run away but runs away from those who pursue it. But these men alone dare to go against them; they actually dive into the river and mounting on their back as if riding a horse, when they yawn with the head thrown backward to bite, insert a staff into the month, and holding the staff at both ends with their right and left hands, drive their prisoners to the land as if with bridles, and by terrifying them even merely with their shouts compel them to disgorge the recently swallowed bodies for burial. Consequently this island only is not visited by crocodiles, and the scent of this race of men drives them away, as that of the Psylli does snakes. This animal is said to have dim sight in the water, but to be very keen-sighted when out of it; and to pass four months of the winter in a cave continuously without food. Some persons think that this alone of animals goes on growing in size as long as it lives; but it lives a long time.

39. A monster of still greater height is also produced in the Nile, the hippopotamus, which has cloven hoofs like those of oxen, a horse's back, mane and neigh, a snub snout, a boar's tail and curved-tusks, though these are less formidable, and with a hide that supplies an impenetrable material for shields and helmets, except if they are soaked in moisture. It feeds on the crops, marking out a definite portion beforehand for each day, so it is said, and making its footprints lead out of the field, so that no traps may be laid for it when it returns.

40. A hippopotamus was exhibited at Rome for the first time, together with five crocodiles, by Marcus Scaurus at the games which he gave when aedile; a temporary channel was made to hold them. The hippopotamus stands out as an actual master in one department of medicine; for when its unceasing voracity has caused it to overeat itself it comes ashore to reconnoitre places where rushes have recently been cut, and where it sees an extremely sharp stalk it squeezes its body down on to it and makes a wound in a certain vein in its leg, and by thus letting blood unburdens its body, which would otherwise be liable to disease, and plasters up the wound again with mud.

41. A somewhat similar display has also been made in the same country of Egypt by the bird called the ibis, which makes use of the curve of its beak to purge itself through the part by which it is most conducive to health for the heavy residue of foodstuffs to be excreted. Nor is the ibis alone, but many animals have made discoveries destined to be useful for man as well. The value of the herb dittany for extracting arrows was shown by stags when wounded by that weapon and ejecting it by grazing on that herb; likewise stags when bitten by the phalangium, a kind of spider, or any similar animal cure themselves by eating crabs. There is also a herb that is particularly good for snakebites, with which lizards heal themselves whenever they fight a battle with snakes and are wounded. Celandine was shown to be very healthy for the sight by swallows using it as a medicine for their chicks' sore eyes. The tortoise eats cunila, called ox-grass, to restore its strength against the effect of snake-bites; the weasel cures itself with rue when it has had a fight with mice in hunting them. The stork drugs itself with marjoram in sickness, and goats use ivy and a diet consisting mostly of crabs thrown up from the sea. When a snake's body gets covered with a skin owing to its winter inactivity it sloughs this hindrance to its movement by means of fennel-sap and comes out all glossy for spring; but it begins the process at its head, and takes at least 24 hours to do it, folding the skin backward so that what was the inner side of it becomes the outside. Moreover as its sight is obscured by its hibernation it anoints and revives its eyes by rubbing itself against a fennel plant, but if its scales have become numbed it scratches itself on the spiny leaves of a juniper. A large snake quenches its spring nausea with the juice of wild lettuce. Barbarian hunters catch leopards by means of meat rubbed over with wolfs bane; their throats are at once attacked by violent pain (in consequence of which some people have given this poison a Greek name meaning choke-leopard), but to cure this the creature doses itself with human excrement, and in general it is so greedy for this that shepherds have a plan of hanging up some of it in a vessel too high for the leopard to be able to reach it by jumping up, and the animal keeps springing up and trying to get it till it is exhausted and finally dies, although otherwise its vitality is so persistent that it will go on fighting for a long time after its entrails have been torn out. When an elephant swallows a chameleon (which is poisonous to it) because it is of the same colour as a leaf, it uses the wild olive as a remedy. When bears have swallowed the fruit of the mandrake they lick up ants. A stag uses wild artichoke as an antidote to poisoned fodder. Pigeons, jays, blackbirds and partridges cure their yearly distaste for food with bay-leaves; doves, turtle-doves and domestic fowls use the plant called helxine, ducks, geese and other water-fowl water-starwort, cranes and the like marsh-rushes. When a raven has killed a chameleon lizard, which is

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noxious even to its conqueror, it stanches the poisonous infection with bay-leaves.

42. There are thousands of points besides, inasmuch as Nature has likewise also bestowed upon very many animals the faculty of observing the sky, and a variety of different modes of prognosticating winds, rain and storms, a subject which it would be an immense task to pursue, just as much so no doubt as the other points of alliance between particular animals and human beings. For in fact animals even give warning of dangers in advance, not only by means of their entrails and internal organs, a thing that much intrigues a great part of mankind, but also by another mode of indication. When the collapse of a building is imminent, the mice migrate in advance, and spiders with their webs are the first things to fall. Indeed auguries have constituted a science at Rome and have given rise to a priestly college of the greatest dignity. In frostbound countries, the fox also is among the creatures believed to give omens, being an animal of formidable sagacity in other respects; people only cross frozen rivers and lakes at points where it goes or returns: it has been observed to put its ear to the frozen surface and to guess the thickness of the ice.

43. Nor are there less remarkable instances of destructiveness even in the case of contemptible animals. Marcus Varro states that a town in Spain was undermined by rabbits and one in Thessaly by moles, and that a tribe in Gaul was put to flight by frogs and one in Africa by locusts, and the inhabitants were banished from the island of Gyara in the Cyclades by mice, and Amynclae in Italy was completely destroyed by snakes. North of the Ethiopic tribe of the Bitch-milkers there is a wide belt of desert where a tribe was wiped out by scorpions and poisonous spiders, and Theophrastus states that the Rhoetienses were driven away by a kind of centipede.

But let us return to the remaining kinds of wild animals.

44. The hyena is popularly believed to be bisexual and to become male and female in alternate years, the female bearing offspring without a male; but this is denied by Aristotle. Its neck stretches right along the backbone like a mane, and cannot bend without the whole body turning round. A number of other remarkable facts about it are reported, but the most remarkable are that among the shepherds' homesteads it simulates human speech, and picks up the name of one of them so as to call him to come out of doors and tear him in pieces, and also that it imitates a person being sick, to attract the dogs so that it may attack them; that this animal alone digs up graves in search of corpses; that a female is seldom caught; that its eyes have a thousand variations and alterations of colour; moreover that when its shadow falls on dogs they are struck dumb; and that it has certain magic arts by which it causes every animal at which it gases three times to stand rooted to the spot.

45. When crossed with this race of animals the Ethiopian lioness gives birth to the corocotta, that mimics the voices of men and cattle in a similar way. It has an unbroken ridge of bone in each jaw, forming a continuous tooth without any gum, which to prevent its being blunted by contact with the opposite jaw is shut up in a sort of case. Juba states that in Ethiopia the mantichora also mimics human speech.

46. Hyenas occur most numerously in Africa, which also produces a multitude of wild asses. In that species each male is lord of a separate herd of females. They are afraid of rivals in their affections, and consequently they keep a watch on their females when in foal, and geld their male offspring with a bite; to guard against this the females when in foal seek hiding-places and are anxious to give birth by stealth. Also they are fond of a great deal of sexual indulgence.

47. The beavers of the Black Sea region practise self-amputation of the same organ when beset by danger, as they know that they are hunted for the sake of its secretion, the medical name for which is beaver-oil. Apart from this the beaver is an animal with a formidable bite, cutting down trees on the river banks as if with steel; if it gets hold of part of a man's body it does not relax its bite before the fractured bones are heard grinding together. The beaver has a fish's tail, while the rest of its conformation resembles an otter's; both species are aquatic, and both have fur that is softer than down.

48. Also the bramble-frog, which is amphibious in its habit, is replete with a great number of drugs, which it is said to evacuate daily and to replace by the food that it eats, always keeping back only the poisons for itself.

49. The seal also resembles the beaver both in its amphibious habits and in its nature. It gets rid of its gall, which is useful for many drugs, by vomiting it up, and also its rennet, a cure for epileptic attacks; it does this because it knows that it is bunted for the sake of these products. Theophrastus states that geckoes also slough off their old skin as a snake does, and similarly swallow the slough at once, it being a cure for epilepsy if one snatches it from them. It is also said that their bite is harmless in Greece but that they are noxious in Sicily.

50. Deer also a have their own form of stinginess although the stag is the gentlest of animals. When beset by a pack of hounds they fly for refuge of their own accord to a human being, and when giving birth to young are less careful to avoid paths worn by human footprints than secluded places that are advantageous for wild beasts. The mating season is after the rising of Arcturus. Pregnancy lasts eight months, and occasionally they bear twins. After mating the hinds withdraw, but the deserted males rage in a fury of desire, and score the ground with their horns; afterwards their snouts are black till a considerable rainfall washes off the dirt. The females before giving birth use a certain plant called hartwort as a purge, so having an easier delivery. After giving birth they browse on the two plants named dittany and seseli before they return to the young: for some reason or other they desire the sucklings' first draughts of milk to be flavoured with those herbs. When the fawns are born they exercise them in running and teach them to practise escaping, and take them to cliffs and show them how to jump. The males when at last freed from lustful desire greedily seek pasture; when they feel they are too fat, they look for lairs to hide in, showing that they are conscious of inconvenient weight. And on other occasions when running away from pursuit they always stop and stand gazing backward, when the hunters draw near again seeking refuge in flight: this is done owing to pain in the gut, which is so weak that a light blow causes internal rupture. But when they hear the baying of hounds they always run away down wind, so that their scent may go away with them. They can be charmed by a shepherd's pipe and by song. Their hearing is very keen when they raise their ears, but dull when they drop them. In other respects the deer is a simple animal and stupefied by surprise at everythingso much so that when a horse or a heifer is approaching they do not notice a huntsman close to them, or if they see him merely gaze in wonder at his bow and arrows. They cross seas swimming in a herd strung out in line with their heads resting on the haunches of the ones in front of them, and taking turns to drop to the rear: this is most noticed when they are crossing from Cilicia to Cyprus; and they do not keep land in sight but swim towards its scent. The males have horns, and alone of animals shed them every year at a fixed time in spring; consequently when the day in question approaches they resort as much as possible to unfrequented places. When they have lost their home they keep in hiding as if disarmedalthough these animals also are grudging of their special good: people say that a stag's right horn, which is endowed with some sort of healing drug, is never found; and this must be confessed to be the more surprising in view of the fact that even stags kept in warrens change their horns every year: it is thought that they bury them. The smell of either horn when burnt arrests attacks of epilepsy. They also bear marks of their age in their horns, each year till they are six years old adding one time; though thenceforward the horns grow again like the old ones and the age cannot be told by them. But old age is indicated by the teeth, for the old have either few or none, nor have they tines at the bottom of the horns, though otherwise these usually jut out in front of the brow when they are younger. When stags have been gelt the horns do not fall off nor grow again, but burst out with excrescences that keep springing again, at first resembling dry skin, and then grow up with tender shoots into reedy tufts feathered with soft down. As long as the stags are without them, they go out to graze iu the nights. When they are growing again they harden them with the heat of the sun, subsequently testing them on trees, and only go out into the open when satisfied with theft strength; and before now they have been caught with green ivy on their antlers, that has been grafted on the tender horns as on a log of wood as a result of rubbing them against trees while testing them. Stags are sometimes even of a white colour, as Quintus Sertorius's hind is said to have been, which he had persuaded the tribes of Spain to believe prophetic. Even stags are at war with a snake; they track out their holes and draw them out by means of the breath of their nostrils in spite of their resistance. Consequently the smell made by burning stag's horn is an outstanding thing for driving away serpents, while a sovereign cure against bites is obtained from the rennet of a fawn killed in its mother's womb. Stags admittedly have a long life, some having been caught a hundred years later with the gold necklaces that Alexander the Great had put on them already covered up by the hide in great folds of fat. This animal is not liable to feverish diseasesindeed it even supplies a prophylactic against their attack; we know that recently certain ladies of the imperial house have made a practice of eating venison every day in the morning and have been free from fevers throughout a long lifetime; though it is thought that this only holds good if the stag has been killed by a single wound.

The animal called the goat-stag, occurring only near the river Phasis, is of the same appearance, differing only in having a beard, and a fleece on the shoulders.

51. Africa almost alone does not produce stags, but Africa also has the chameleon, although India produces it in greater numbers. Its shape and size were those of a lizard, were not the legs straight and longer. The flanks are joined on to the belly as in fishes, and the spine projects in a similar manner. It has a snout not unlike a pig's, considering its small size, a very long tail that tapers towards the end and curls in coils like a viper, and crooked talons; it moves rather slowly like a tortoise and has a rough body like a crocodile's, and eyes in a hollow recess, close together and very large and of the same colours as its body. It never shuts its eyes, and looks round not by moving the pupil but by turning the whole eye. It holds itself erect with its mouth always wide open, and it is the only animal that does not live on food or drink or anything else but the nutriment that it derives from the air, with a gape that is almost terrifying, but otherwise it is harmless. And it is more remarkable for the nature of its colouring, since it constantly changes the hue of its eyes and tail and whole body and always makes it the colour with which it is in closest contact, except red and white. When dead it is of a pallid colour.

It has flesh on the head and jaws and at the junction tail in a rather scanty amount, and nowhere else in the whole body; blood in the heart and around the eyes only; its vital parts contain no spleen. It hibernates like a lizard in the winter months.

52. The reindeer of Scythia also changes its colours, but none other of the fur-clad animals does so except the Indian wolf, which is reported to have a mane on the neck. For the jackalwhich is a kind of wolf, longer in the body and differing in the shortness of the legs, quick in its spring, living by hunting, harmless to manchanges its raiment though not its colour, being shaggy through the winter but naked in summer. The reindeer is the size of an ox; its head is larger than that of a stag but not unlike it; it has branching horns, cloven hooves, and a fleece as shaggy as a bear's but, when it happens to be self-coloured, resembling an ass's coat. The hide is so hard that they use it for making cuirasses. When alarmed it imitates the colours of all the trees, bushes and flowers and places where it lurks, and consequently is rarely caught. It would be surprising that its body has such variety of character, but it is more surprising that even its fleece has.

53. The porcupine is a native of India and Africa. It is covered with a prickly skin of the hedgehogs' kind, but the spines of the porcupine are longer and they dart out when it draws the skin tight: it pierces the mouths of hounds when they close with it, and shoots out at them when further off. In the winter months it hibernates, as is the nature of many animals and before all of bears.

54. Bears couple at the beginning of winter, and not in the usual manner of quadrupeds but both lying down and hugging each other; afterwards they retire apart into caves, in which they give birth on the thirtieth day to a litter of five cubs at most. These are a white and shapeless lump of flesh, little larger than mice, without eyes or hair and only the claws projecting. This lump the mother bears slowly lick into shape. Nor is anything more unusual than to see a she-bear giving birth to cubs. Consequently the males lie in hiding for periods of forty days, and the females four months. If they have not got caves, they build rainproof dens by heaping up branches and brushwood, with a carpet of soft foliage on the floor. For the first fortnight they sleep so soundly that they cannot be aroused even by wounds; at this period they get fat with sloth to a remarkable degree (the bear's grease is useful for medicines and a prophylactic against baldness). As a result of these days of sleep they shrink in bulk and they live by sucking their fore paws. They cherish their freezing offspring by pressing them to their breast, lying on them just like birds hatching eggs. Strange to say, Theophrastus believes that even boiled bear's flesh, if kept, goes on growing in size for that period; that no evidence of food and only the smallest amount of water is found in the belly at this stage, and that there are only a few drops of blood in the neighbourhood of the heart and none in the rest of the body. In the spring they come out, but the males are very fat, a fact the cause of which is not evident, as they have not been fattened up even by sleep, except for a fortnight as we have said. On coming out they devour a plant called wake-robin to loosen the bowels, which are otherwise constipated, and they rub their teeth on tree-stumps to get their mouths into training. Their eyes have got dim, which is the chief reason why they seek for hives, so that their face may be stung by the bees to relieve that trouble with blood. A bear's weakest part is the head, which is the lion's strongest; consequently if when hard pressed by an attack they are going to fling themselves down from a rock they make the jump with their head covered with their fore paws, and in the arena are often killed by their head being broken by a buffet. The Spanish provinces believe that a bear's brain contains poison, and when bears are killed in shows their heads are burnt in the presence of a witness, on the ground that to drink the poison drives a man bear-mad. Bears even walk on two feet, and they crawl down trees backward. They tire out bulls with their weight by hanging by all four feet from their mouth and horns; and no other animal's stupidity is more cunning in doing harm. It is noted in the Annals that on 19 September in the consulship of Marcus Piso and Marcus Messala, Domitius Ahenobarbus as curule aedile provided in the circus a hundred Numidian bears and the same number of Ethiopian huntsmen. I am surprised at the description of the bears as Numidian, since it is known that the bear does not occur in Africa.

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55. The mice of the Black Sea region also hibernate at all events the white ones, which are stated to have a very discriminating palate, though I am curious to know how the authorities detected this. Alpine mice, [marmots] which are the size of badgers, also hibernate, but these carry a supply of fodder into their caves beforehand. Some people say that they let themselves down into their cave in a string, male and female alternately holding the next one's tail in their teeth, and lying on their backs, embracing a bundle of grass that they have bitten off at the roots, and that consequently at this season their backs show marks of rubbing. There are also mice resembling these in Egypt, and they sit back on their haunches in a similar way, and walk on two feet and use their forepaws as hands.

56. Hedgehogs also prepare food for winter, and fixing fallen apples on their spines by rolling on them and holding one more in their mouth carry them to hollow trees. The same animals foretell a change of wind from North to South by retiring to their lair. But when they perceive someone hunting them they draw together their mouth and feet and all their lower part, which has thin and harmless down on it, and roll up into the shape of a ball, so that it may not be possible to take hold of any part of them except the prickles. But when desperate they make water over themselves, which corrodes their hide and damages their spines, for the sake of which they know that people catch them. Hence the scientific way is to hunt them just after they have discharged their water. And then the hide is of particular value, whereas otherwise it is spoiled and fragile, with the spines rotting and falling out, even if the animal escapes by flight and lives. On this account it does not drench itself with this damaging stuff except as a last resort, since even the creatures themselves hate this self-poisoning, sparing themselves and waiting for the final limit so long that usually capture overtakes them beforehand. Afterwards the ball into which they roll up can be made to unroll by a sprinkle of hot water, and to fasten them up by one of the hind feet kills them through starvation when hanging: it is not possible to kill them in any other way and avoid damaging the hide. The animal itself is not, as most of us think, superfluous for the life of mankind, since, if it had not spines, the softness of the hides in cattle would have been bestowed on mortals to no purpose: hedgehog skirt is used in dressing cloth for garments. Even here fraud has discovered a great source of profit by monopoly, nothing having been the subject of more frequent legislation by the senate, and every emperor without exception having been approached by complaints from the provinces.

57. The urine of two other animals also has remarkable properties. We are told that there is a small animal called 'lion's-bane' that only occurs in regions where the lion is found, to taste of which causes that mighty creature, the lord of all the other four-footed animals, to expire immediately. Consequently men burn this creature's body and sprinkle it like pearl barley on the flesh of other animals as a bait for a lion, and even kill their prey with its ashes: so noisome a bane it is. Therefore the lion naturally hates it, and when he sees it crushes it and does all he can short of biting it to kill it; while it meets the attack by spraying urine, knowing already that this also is deadly to a lion.

The water of lynxes, voided in this way when they are born, solidifies or dries up into drops likecarbuncles and of a brilliant flame-colour, called lynx-waterwhich is the origin of the common story that this is the way in which amber is formed. The lynxes have learnt this and know it, and they jealously cover up their urine with earth, thereby causing it to solidify more quickly.

Another case of ingenuity in alarm, is that of the badgers: they ward off men's blows and the bites of dogs by inflating and distending their skin.

58. Squirrels also foresee a storm, and stop up their holes to windward in advance, opening doorways on the other side; moreover their own exceptionally bushy tail serves them as a covering. Consequently some have a store of food ready for the winter and others use sleep as a substitute for food.

59. It is said that the viper is the only snake that hides in the ground, all the others using holes in trees or rocks. And for the rest they can last out a year's starvation if only they are protected against cold. All kinds sleep at the period of retirement and are not poisonous. Snails also hibernate in the same way, these indeed retiring again in the summers also, mostly clinging to rocks, or even when violently bent back and torn away, nevertheless not going out. But those in the Balearic Islands called cave-snails do not crawl out of their holes in the ground and do not live on grass, but cling together in a cluster like a bunch of grapes. There is also another kind, which is not so common, that shuts itself in with a tightly fitting lid formed of the same material as its shell. These are always buried in the earth, and formerly were only dug up in the neighbourhood of the Maritime Alps, but they have now begun to be pulled up in the Velitrae district also; however the most highly commended kind of all is on the island of Astypalaea.

60. The greatest enemy of the snail is the lizard; this genus is said not to live more than six months. The lizard of Arabia is 18 inches long, but those on Mount Nysus in India reach a length of 24 feet, and are coloured yellow or scarlet or blue.

61. Many also of the domestic animals are worth studying, and before all the one most faithful to man, the dog, and the horse. We are told of a dog that fought against brigands in defence of his master and although covered with wounds would not leave his corpse, driving away birds and beasts of prey; and of another dog in Epirus which recognized his master's murderer in a gathering and by snapping and barking made him confess the crime. The King of the Garamantes' was escorted back from exile by 200 dogs who did battle with those that offered resistance. The people of Colophon and also those of Castabulum had troops of dogs for their wars; these fought fiercely in the front rank, never refusing battle, and were their most loyal supporters, never requiring pay. When some Cimbrians were killed their hounds defended their houses placed on waggons. When Jason of Lycia had been murdered his dog refused to take food and starved to death. But a dog the name of which Duris gives as Hyrcanus when king Lysimachus's pyre was set alight threw itself into the flame, and similarly at the funeral of King Hiero. Philistus also records the tyrant Gelo's dog Pyrrhus; also the dog of Nicomedes king of Bithynia is recorded to have bitten the King's wife Consingis because she played a rather loose joke with her husband. Among ourselves the famous Vulcatius, Cassellius's tutor in civil law, when returning on his cob from his place near Rome after nightfall was defended by his dog from a highwayman; and so was the senator Caelius, an invalid, when set upon by armed men at Piacenza, and he did not receive a wound till the dog had been despatched. But above all cases, in our own generation it is attested by the National Records that in the consulship of Appius Julius and Publius Silius when as a result of the case of Germanicus's son Nero punishment was visited on Titius Sabinus and his slaves, a dog belonging to one of them could not be driven away from him in prison and when he had been flung out on the Steps of Lamentation would not leave his body, uttering sorrowful howls to the vast concourse of the Roman public around, and when one of them threw it food it carried it to the mouth of its dead master; also when his corpse had been thrown into the Tiber it swam to it and tried to keep it afloat, a great crowd streaming out to view the animal's loyalty.

Dogs alone know their master, and also recognize a sudden arrival as a stranger; they alone recognize their own names, and the voice of a member of the household; they remember the way to places however distant, and no creature save man has a longer memory. Their onset and rage can be mollified by a person sitting down on the ground. Experience daily discovers very many other qualities in these animals, but it is in hunting that their skill and sagacity is most outstanding. A hound traces and follows footprints, dragging by its leash the tracker that accompanies it towards his quarry; and on sighting it how silent and secret but how significant an indication is given first by the tail and then by the muzzle Consequently even when they are exhausted with old age and blind and weak, men wry them in their arms sniffing at the breezes scents and pointing their muzzles towards Indians want hounds to be sired by tigers, the breeding season they tie up bitches in the for this purpose. They think that the first second litters are too fierce and they only rear the third one. Similarly the Gauls breed hounds wolves; each of their packs has one of the as leader and guide; the pack accompanies this leader in the hunt and pays it obedience; for dogs actually exercise authority among themselves. It is known that the dogs by the Nile lap up water from the river as they run, so as not to give the greed of the crocodiles its chance. When Alexander the Great was on his way to India, the king of Albania had presented him with one dog of unusually large size; Alexander was delighted by its appearance, and gave orders for bears and then boars and finally hinds to be let slipthe hound lying contemptuously motionless. This slackness on the part of so vast an animal annoyed the generous spirit of the Emperor, who ordered it to be destroyed. Report carried news of this to the king; and accordingly sending a second hound he added a message that Alexander should not desire to test it on small game but on a lion or an elephant; he had only possessed two of the breed and if this one was destroyed there would be none left. Alexander did not put off the trial, and forthwith saw a lion crushed. Afterwards he ordered an elephant to be brought in, and no other show ever gave him more delight: for the dog's hair bristled all over his body and it first gave a vast thunderous bark, then kept leaping up and rearing against the creature's limbs on this side and that, in scientific combat, attacking and retiring at the most necessary points, until the elephant turning round and round in an unceasing whirl was brought to the ground with an earth-shaking crash.

62. The genus dog breeds twice a year. Maturity for reproduction begins at the age of one. They carry their young for sixty days. Puppies are born blind, and acquire sight the more slowly the more copious the milk with which they are suckled; though the blind period never lasts more than three weeks or less than one. Some people report that a puppy born singly sees on the 9th day, twins on the 10th, and so on, a corresponding number of days' delay in seeing light being added for each extra puppy; and that a bitch of a first litter begins to see sooner. The best in a litter is the one that begins to see last, or else the one that the mother carries into the kennel first after delivery.

63. Rabies in dogs, as we have said, is dangerous to human beings in periods when the dog-star is shining, as it causes fatal hydrophobia to those bitten in those circumstances. Consequently a precautionary measure during the 30 days in question is to mix dungmostly chicken's droppings, in the dog's food, or, if the disease has come already, hellebore. But after a bite the only cure is one which was lately discovered from an oracle, the root of the wild-rose called in Greek dog-rose. Columella states that if a dog's tail is docked by being bitten off and the end joint amputated 40 days after birth, the spinal marrow having been removed the tail does not grow again and the dog is not liable to rabies. The only cases that have come down to us among portents, so far as I have noted of a dog talking and a snake barking when Tarqum was driven from his kingdom.

64. Alexander also had the good fortune to a great rarity in horseflesh. They called the animal Bucephalus, either because of its fierce appearance or from the mark of a bull's head branded on its shoulder. It is said that it was bought for sixteen talents from the herd of Philonicus of Pharsalus while Alexander was still a boy, as he was taken to its beauty. This horse when adorned with the royal saddle would not allow itself to be mounted by anybody except Alexander, though on other occasions it allowed anybody to mount. It is also celebrated for a memorable feat in battle, not having allowed Alexander during the attack on Thebes to change to another mount when it had been wounded; and a number of occurrences of the same kind are also reported, on account of which when it died the king headed its funeral procession, and built a city round its tomb which he named after it! Also the horse that belonged to Caesar the Dictator is said to have refused to let anyone else mount it; and it is also recorded that its fore feet were like those of a man, as it is represented in the statue that stands in front of the Temple of Venus Genetrix. The late lamented Augustus also made a funeral mound for a horse, which is the subject of a poem by Germanicus Caesar. At Girgenti a great number of horses' tombs have pyramids over them. Juba attests that Semiramis fell so deeply in love with a horse that she married it. The Scythian cavalry regiments indeed resound with famous stories of horses: a chieftain was challenged to a duel by an enemy and killed, and when his adversary came to strip his body of its armour, his horse kicked him and bit him till he died; another horse, when its blinkers were removed and it found out that a mare it had covered was its dam, made for a precipice and committed suicide. We read that an ostler in the Reate district was savaged by a horse for the same reason. For horses actually understand the ties of relationship, and a filly in a herd is even fonder of going with a sister a year older than with their dam. Their docility is so great that we learn that the entire cavalry of the army of Sybaris used to perform a sort of ballet to the music of a band. The Sybarite horses also know beforehand when there is going to be a battle, and when they lose their masters mourn for them: sometimes they shed tears at the bereavement. When King Nicomedes was killed his horse ended its life by refusing food. Phylarchus records that when Antiochus fell in battle one of the Galatians Centaretus caught his horse and mounted it in triumph, but it was fired with indignation and taking the bit between its teeth so as to become unmanageable, galloped headlong to a precipice where it perished with its rider. Philistus records that Dionysius left his horse stuck in a bog, and when it extricated itself it followed its master's tracks with a swarm of bees clinging to its mane; and that in consequence of this portent Dionysius seized the tyranny.

65. The cleverness of horses is beyond description. Mounted javelinmen experience their docility in assisting difficult attempts with the actual swaying of their body; also they gather up the weapons lying on the ground and pass them to their rider. Horses harnessed to chariots in the circus unquestionably show that they understand the shouts of encouragement and applause. At the races in the circus forming part of the Secular Games of Claudius Caesar a charioteer of the Whites named Raven was thrown at the start, and his team took the lead and kept it by getting in the way of their rivals and jostling them aside and doing everything against them that they would have had to do with a most skilful charioteer in control, and as they were ashamed for human science to be beaten by horses, when they had completed the proper course they stopped dead at the chalk line. A greater portent was when in early days a charioteer was thrown at the plebeian circus races and the horses galloped on to the Capitol and raced round the temple three times just the same as if he still stood at the reins; but the greatest was when a chariot-team reached the same place from Veii with the palm-branch and wreath after Ratumenna who had won at Veii had been thrown: an event which subsequently gave its name to the gate. The Sarmatians get

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their horses into training for a long journey by giving them no fodder the day before and only allowing them a small amount of water, and by these means they ride them on a journey of 150 miles without drawing rein.

Some horses live fifty years, but mares live a shorter time; mares stop growing when five years old, the males a year later. The appearance of the horse that ought to be most preferred has been very beautifully described in the poetry of Virgil, but we also have dealt with it in our book on the Use of the Javelin by Cavalry, and I observe that there is almost universal agreement about it. But a different build is required for the Circus; and consequently though horses may be broken as two-year-olds to other service, racing in the Circus does not claim them before five.

66. Gestation in this genus lasts eleven months and the foal is born in the twelfth month. Breeding takes place as a rule in the spring equinox when both animals are two-year-olds, but the progeny is stronger if breeding begins at three. A stallion goes on serving to the age of 33, as they are sent from the racecourse to the stud at 20. It is recorded that a stallion at Opus even continued to 40, only he needed assistance in lifting his fore-quarters. But few animals are such unfertile sires as the horse; consequently intervals are allowed in breeding, and nevertheless a stallion cannot stand serving fifteen times in the same year. Mares in heat are cooled down by having their manes shorn; they foal yearly up to 40. It is stated that a mare has lived to 75.

In the equine genus the pregnant female is delivered standing up; and she loves her offspring more than all other female animals. And in fact a love-poison called horse-frenzy is found in the forehead of horses at birth, the size of a dried fig, black in colour, which a brood mare as soon as she has dropped her foal eats up, or else she refuses to suckle the foal. If anybody takes it before she gets it, and keeps it, the scent drives him into madness of the kind specified. If a foal loses its dam the other brood mares in the same herd rear the orphan. It is said that a foal is unable to reach the pound with its mouth within the first three days after birth. The greedier it is in drinking the deeper it dips its nostrils into the water. The Scythians prefer mares as chargers, because they can make water without checking their gallop.

67. It is known that in Lusitania in the neighbourhood of the town of Lisbon and the river Tagus mares when a west wind is blowing stand facing towards it and conceive the breath of life and that this produces a foal, and this is the way to breed a very swift colt, but it does not live more than three years. Also in Spain the Gallaic and Asturian tribes breed those of the horse kind that we call 'theldones,' though when more of a pony type they are designated 'cobs', which have not the usual paces in running but a smooth trot, straightening the near and offside legs alternately, from which the horses are taught by training to adopt an ambling pace.

The horse has nearly the same diseases as mankind, and is also liable to shifting of the bladder, as are all beasts of the draft class.

68. Marcus Varro states that an ass was Ass-bought for the senator Quintus Axius at 400,000 sesterees which perhaps beats the price paid for any other animal. The services of the ass kind are undoubtedly bountiful in ploughing as well, but especially in breeding mules. In mules also regard is paid to locality of originin Greece the Arcadian breed is esteemed and in Italy the Iteatine. The ass itself is very bad at enduring cold, and consequently is not bred in the Black Sea district; and it is not allowed to breed at the spring equinox like all other cattle, but at midsummer. The males make worse sires when not in work. The females breed at two and a half years old at earliest, but regularly from three; they can breed as many times as mares, and in the same months and in a similar way. But the womb cannot retain the genital fluid but discharges it, unless the animal is whipped into a gallop after coupling. It seldom bears twins. When about to bear a foal it shuns the sunlight and seeks the shadow, so as not to be seen by a human being. It breeds through all its lifetime, which is thirty years. It has a very great affection for its young, but a greater dislike for water: she-asses will go through fire to their foals, but yet if the smallest stream intervenes they are afraid of merely wetting their hooves. Those kept in pastures will only drink at springs they are used to, and where they can get to drink by a dry track; and they will not go across bridges with interstices in their structure allowing the gleam of the river to be seen through them; and, surprising to say, they may be thirsty and have to be forced or coaxed to drink, if the stream is not the one they are used to. Only a wide allowance of stall-room is safe for them to lie down in, for when asleep they have a variety of dreams and frequently let out with their hooves, which at once causes lameness by hitting timber that is too hard unless they have plenty of room to kick in. The profit made out of she-asses surpasses the richest spoils of war. It is known that in Celtiberia their foals have made 400,000 sesterces per dam, especially when mules are bred. They say that in she-asses the hair of the ears and the eyelids is an important point, for although the rest of the dam's body is all one colour, the foal reproduces all the colours that were in those places. Maecenas set the fashion of eating donkey foals at banquets, and they were much preferred to wild asses at that period; but after his time the ass lost favour as a delicacy. Animals of this genus very quickly flag when their sight begins to go.

69. A mare coupled with an ass after twelve-months bears a mule, an animal of exceptional strength for agricultural operations. To breed mules they choose mares not less than four or more than ten years old. Also breeders say that females of either genus refuse stallions of the other one unless as foals they were suckled by females of the same genus as the stallions; for this reason they stealthily remove the foals in the dark and put them to mares' or she-asses' udders respectively. But a mule is also got by a horse out of an ass, though it is unmanageable, slow and obstinate. Also all the foals from old mares are sluggish. It causes miscarriage for a mare in foal by a horse to be put to an ass, but not vice versa. It has been observed that female asses are best coupled six days after they have borne a foal, and that males couple better when tired. It is noticed that a female that does not conceive before she casts what are called her milk-teeth is barren, as is one that does not begin to produce foals from the first coupling. Male foals of an ass by a horse were in old days called hinnies, while the term mules was used for the foals of a mare by an ass. It has been noticed that the offspring of two different races of animals belong to a third kind and resemble neither parent; and that such hybrids are not themselves fertile: this is the case with all kinds of animals, and is the reason why mules are barren. A number of cases of reproduction by mules are recorded in our Annals, but these were considered portentous. Theophrastus states that mules breed commonly in Cappadocia, but that the Cappadocian mule is a peculiar species. A mule can be checked from kicking by rather frequent drinks of wine. It is stated in the records of a good many Greeks that a foal has been got from a mare coupled with a mule, called a ginnus, which means a small mule. She-mules bred from a mare and tamed wild-asses are swift in pace and have extremely hard hooves, but a lean body and an indomitable spirit. But as a sire the foal of a wild-ass and a domestic she-ass excels all others. The wild-asses in Phrygia and Lycaonia are pre-eminent. Africa boasts of their foals as an outstanding table delicacy; the vernacular word for them is lalisio. Records at Athens attest a mule's having lived 80 years; for the citizens were so delighted because after it had been put aside owing to old age it encouraged the teams by its company and assistance in their uphill work during the construction of a temple on the citadel, that they made a decree that the corn-dealers were not to keep it away from their stands.

70. Indian oxen are reported to be as tall as camels and to have horns with a span of four feet. In our part of the world the most famous are those of Epirus, having been so, it is said, ever since the attention given to them by King Pyrrhns. Pyrrhus achieved this result by not requisitioning them for breeding before the age of four; consequently his oxen were very large, and the remains of his breeds continue even today. But now yearling heifers are called upon for breeding, though they can stand it better at two years, while bulls are made to serve at four. Each bull serves ten cows in the same year. It is said that if the bulb after coupling go away towards the right hand side the offspring will be males, and if towards the left, females. Conception is effected by one coupling, and if this happens to miss, the female goes to a male again twenty days after. They bear the calf in the tenth month; one produced before is of no use. Some authorities say that they bear on the actual last day of the tenth month. They rarely produce twins. Coupling takes place in the thirty days following the rise of the Dolphin on January 4, and occasionally in the autumn also, though nations that live on milk spread it out so that there may be a supply of this nutriment at every season of the year. Bulls do not couple more than twice in one day. Oxen are the only animals that graze even while walking backward; indeed among the Garamantes that is their only way of grazing. The longest life of a cow is 15 years and of a bull 20; they grow to full strength at 5. Washing in hot water is said to fatten them, and also cutting a hole in the hide and blowing air into the flesh with a reed. Even the breeds less praised for their appearance are not to be deemed inferior: the Alpine cows which are the smallest in size give most milk, and do most work, although they are yoked by the head and not the neck. Syrian oxen have no dewlaps, but a hump on the back. Also the Carian breed in a district of Asia is said to be ugly in appearance, with a swelling that projects from the neck over the shoulders and with the horns displaced, but excellent in workalthough when black and white in colour they are said to be no good for ploughing; the bulls have smaller and thinner horns than the cows. Oxen should be broken when three years old; after that it is too late and before too early; the best way to train a young bullock is to yoke it with one already broken in. For we possess in this animal a partner in labour and in husbandry, held in such esteem with our predecessors that among our records of punishments there is a case of a man who was indicted for having killed an ox because a wanton young companion said he had never eaten bullock's tripe, and was convicted by the public court and sent into exile just as though he had murdered his farm-labourer.

Bulls have a noble appearance, a grim brow, bristly ears, and horns bared for action and asking for a fight; but their chief threat is in their fore feet: a bull stands glowing with wrath, bending back either fore foot in turn and splashing up the sand against his bellyit is the only animal that goads itself into a passion by these means. We have seen bulls, when fighting a duel under orders and on show for the purpose, being whirled round and caught on the horns as they fall and afterwards rise again, and then when lying down be lifted off the ground, and even stand in a car like charioteers with a pair of horses racing at full speed. It is a device of the Thessalian race to kill bulls by galloping a horse beside them and twisting back the neck by the horn; the dictator Caesar first gave this show at Rome. The bull supplies costly victims and the most sumptuous appeasement of the gods. In this animal only of all that have a comparatively long tail, the tail is not of the proper size from birth, as it is in the others; and with it alone the tail grows till it reaches right down to the feet. Consequently the test of victims for sacrifice in the case of a calf is that the tail must reach the joint of the hock; if it is shorter the offering is not acceptable. It has also been noted that calves are not usually acceptable if carried to the altars on a man's shoulders, and also that the gods are not propitiated if the victim is lame or is not of the appropriate sort, or if it drags itself away from the altar. It frequently occurs among the prodigies of old times that an ox spoke, and when this was reported it was customary for a meeting of the senate to be held in the open air.

71. In Egypt an ox is even worshipped in place of a god; its name is Apis. Its distinguishing mark is a bright white spot in the shape of a crescent on the right flank, and it has a knob under the tongue which they call a beetle. It is not lawful for it to exceed a certain number of years of life, and they kill it by drowning it in the fountain of the priests, proceeding with lamentation to look for another to put in its place, and they go on mourning till they have found one, actually shaving the hair off their heads. Nevertheless the search never continues long. When the successor is found it is led by 100 priests to Memphis. It has a pair of shrines, which they call its bedchambers, that supply the nations with auguries: when it enters one this is a joyful sign, but in the other one it portends terrible events. It gives answers to private individuals by taking food out of the hand of those who consult it; it turned away from the hand of Germanicus Caesar, who was made away with not long after. Usually living in retirement, when it sallies forth into assemblies it proceeds with lictors to clear the way, and companies of boys escort it singing a song in its honour; it seems to understand, and to desire to be worshipped. These companies are suddenly seized with frenzy and chant prophecies of future events. Once a year a cow is displayed to it, she too with her decorations, although they are not the same as his; and it is traditional for her always to be found and put to death on the same day. At Memphis there is a place in the Nile which from its shape they call the Goblet; every year they throw into the river there a gold and a silver cup on the days which they keep as the birthdays of Apis. These are seven; and it is a remarkable fact that during these days nobody is attacked by crocodiles, but that after midday on the eighth day the creature's savagery returns.

72. Sheep are also of great service either in respect of propitiatory offerings to the gods or in the use of their fleeces. As oxen improve men's diet, so the protection of their bodies is owed to sheep. They breed when two years old on both sides, till the age of nine, and in some cases even till ten. The lambs at the first birth are smaller. They all couple from the setting of Arcturus, that is May 13th, to the setting of Aquila, July 23rd; they carry their lambs 150 days. Lambs conceived after the date mentioned are weak; in old days those born later were called cordi. Many people prefer winter lambs to spring ones, holding that it is more important for them to be well-established before midsummer than before midwinter, and that this animal alone is advantageously born in winter. It is inbred in the ram to despise lambs as mates and to desire maturity in sheep; and the ram himself is better in old age, and also more serviceable when polled. His wildness is restrained by boring a hole in the horn close to the ear. If a ligature is put on the right testicle he gets females and if on the left males. Claps of thunder cause sheep to miscarry when solitary; the remedy is to herd them in flocks, so as to be cheered by company. They say that male lambs are got when a north wind is blowing and female when a south; and in this breed the greatest attention is given to the mouths of the rams, as the wool in the case of the progeny is of the colour of the veins under the tongue of the parent ram, and if these were of several colours the lamb is van-coloured. Also changing the water they drink varies their colour.

There are two principal breeds of sheep, jacketed sheep and farm sheep; the former are softer and the latter more delicate in their pasture, inasmuch as the jacketed sheep feeds on brambles. The best jackets for them are made of Arabian sheep's wool.

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73. The most highly esteemed wool is the Apulian and the kind that is called in Italy wool of the Greek breed and elsewhere Italian wool. The third place is held by the sheep of Miletus. The Apulian fleeces are short in the hair, and not of great repute except for cloaks; they have a very high reputation in the districts of Taranto and Canossa, as have the Laodicean fleeces of the same breed in Asia. No white fleece is valued above that from the district of the Po, and none has hitherto gone beyond the price of a pound. Sheep are not shorn everywherein some places the practice survives of plucking off the wool. There are several sorts of colour, in fact even names are lacking for the wools which are variously designated after their places of origin: Spain has the principal black wool fleeces, Pollentia near the Alps white, Asia the red fleeces that they call Erythrean, Baetica the same, Canossa tawny, Taranto also a dark colour of its own.. All fresh fleeces have a medicinal property. Istrian and Liburnian fleece is nearer to hair than wool, and not suitable for garments with a soft nap; and the same applies to the fleece that Salaeia in Lusitania advertises by its check pattern. There is a similar wool in the district of the Fishponds in the province of Narbonne, and also in Egypt, which is used for darning clothes worn by use and making them last again for a long period. Also the coarse hair of a shaggy fleece has a very ancient popularity in carpets: Homer a is evidence that they were undoubtedly in use even in very early times. Different methods of dyeing these fleeces are practised by the Gauls and by the Parthian races. Self-felted fleeces make clothing, and also if vinegar is added withstand even steel, nay more even fire, the latest method of cleaning them. In fact fleeces drawn from the coppers of the polishers serve as stuffing for cushions, I believe by a French invention: at all events at the present day it is classified under Gallic names. And I could not easily say at what period this began; for people in old times had bedding of straw, in the same way as in camp now. Frieze cloaks began within my father's memory and cloaks with hair on both sides within my own, as also shaggy body-belts; moreover weaving a broad-striped tunic after the manner of a frieze cloak is coming in for the first time now. Black fleeces will not take dye of any colour; we will discuss the dyeing of the other sorts in their proper places under the head of marine shellfish or the nature of various plants.

74. Marcus Varro informs us, on his own authority, that the wool on the distaff and spindle of Tanaquil (who was also called Gala Caecilia) was still preserved in the temple of Sancus; and also in the shrine of Fortune a pleated royal robe made by her, which had been worn by Servius Tullius. Hence arose the practice that maidens at their marriage were accompanied by a decorated distaff and a spindle with thread. Tanaquil first wove a straight tunic of the kind that novices wear with the plain white toga, and newly married brides. The pleated robe was the first among those most in favour; consequently the spotted robe went out of fashion. Fenestella writes that togas of smooth cloth and of Phrygian wool began in the latest times of the late lamented Augustus. Togas of closely woven poppy-cloth have a an older source, being noticed as far back as the poet Lucilius in the case of Torquatus. Bordered robes found their origin with the Etruscans. I find it recorded that striped robes were worn by the kings, and they had embroidered robes as far back as Homer, these being the origin of those worn in triumphs. Embroidering with the needle was discovered by the Phrygians, and consequently embroidered robes are called Phrygian. Gold embroidery was also invented in Asia, by King Attalus, from whom Attalic robes got their name. Weaving different colours into a pattern was chiefly brought into vogue by Babylon, which gave its name to this process. But the fabric called damask woven with a number of threads was introduced by Alexandria, and check patterns by Gaul. Metellus Scipio counts it among the charges against Capito that Babylonian coverlets were already then sold for 800,000 sesterces, which lately cost the Emperor Nero 4,000,000. The state robes of Servius Tullius, with which the statue of Fortune dedicated by him was draped, lasted till the death of Sejanus, and it was remarkable that they had not rotted away or suffered damage from moths in 560 years. We have before now seen the fleeces even of living animals dyed with purple, scarlet, crimson ... [with eighteen inch scales/pounds] as though luxury forced them to be born like that.

75. In the sheep itself breed is sufficiently shown by shortness of the legs and a well-clothed belly. Sheep with the belly bare used to be called 'misfits' and turned down. The sheep of Syria have tails 18 inches long, and a great deal of wool on that part. It is considered too soon for lambs to be gelt unless five months old.

In Spain, but particularly in Corsica, there is an animal not unlike the sheep, the moufflon, with hair nearer the goat's than the sheep's; these when crossed with sheep produce what in old days were called Umbrians. Sheep are very weak in the head, and consequently must be made to graze with their backs to the sun. The fleecy sheep is the stupidest of animals; if afraid to go into a place they will follow one of the flock that is taken by the horn. Their longest term of life is 10 years, in Ethiopia 13; goats in Ethiopia live 11 years, but in other parts of the world at most eight. In breeding with either kind to couple three times at most is sufficient.

76. Goats bear as many as four kids at once, but rather seldom; they carry their young for 5 months, like sheep. He-goats are made sterile by over-fattening. They are not very useful as sires till three years old, nor in old age, and they do not serve for more than four years. They begin when six months old and before they are weaned. Both sexes breed better with the horns removed. The first coupling in the day has no result, but the following and subsequent ones are more effectual. She-goats conceive in November so as to bear kids in March when the bushes arc buddingyearlings sometimes and two-year-olds always, but they are not of much use for breeding unless three years old. They go on bearing for eight years. They are liable to miscarriage from cold. A she-goat cures its eyes when bloodshot by pricking them on a rush, he-goats on a bramble. Mucianus has described a case of this animal's cleverness seen by himselftwo goats coming in opposite directions met on a very narrow bridge, and as the narrow space did not permit them to turn round and the length did not allow of backing blindly on the scanty passageway with a rushing torrent flowing threateningly below, one of them lay down and so the other one passed over, treading on top of it. People admire he-goats that are as snub-nosed as possible, with long drooping ears and extremely shaggy flanks. It is a mark of good breeding in she-goats to have two dewlaps hanging down from the neck; not all have horns, but in those that have there are also indications of their years furnished by the growths of the knobs; they give more milk when without horns; according to Archelaus they breathe though the ears, not the nostrils, and are never free from fever: this is perhaps the reason why they are more high-spirited than sheep and hotter in coupling. It is said that goats can see by night as well as they can in the daytime, and that consequently a diet of goat's liver restores twilight sight to persons suffering from what is called night-blindness. In Cilicia and the Syrtes region people wear clothes made of hair shorn from goats. They say that she-goats in the pastures when the sun is setting do not look at one another but lie down with their backs to each other, though at other times of the day they lie facing each other and take notice of one another. From the chin of all goats hangs a tuft of hair called their heard. If you grasp a she-goat by this and drag her out of the herd the others look on in amazement; this also happens as well when one of them nibbles a particular plant. Their bite kills a tree; they make an olive tree barren even by licking it, and for this reason they are not offered in sacrifice to Minerva.

77. Swine are allowed to breed from the beginning of spring to the vernal equinox, beginning at seven months old and in some places even at three months, and continuing to their eighth year. Sows bear twice a year, carrying their pigs four months: litters number up to 20, but sows cannot rear so many. Nigidius states that for ten days at midwinter pigs are born with the teeth already grown. Sows are impregnated by one coupling, which is also repeated because they are so liable to abortion; the remedy is not to allow coupling at the first heat or before the ears are pendulous. Hogs cannot serve when over three years old. Sows exhausted by age couple lying down; it is nothing out of the way for them to eat their litter. A pig is suitable for sacrifice four days after birth, a lamb in a week and a calf in a month. Coruncanius asserted that ruminant animals are not acceptable as victims before they grow their front teeth. It is thought that a sow that loses an eye soon dies, but that otherwise sows live to fifteen and in some cases even twenty years; but they become savage, and in any ease the breed is liable to diseases, especially quinsy and serofula. Symptoms of bad health in a sow are when blood is found on the root of a bristle pulled out of its back and when it holds its head on one side in walking. If too fat they experience lack of milk; and they have a smaller number of pigs in their first litter. The breed likes wallowing in mud. The tail is curly; also it has been noticed that it is easier to kill them for sacrifice when the tail curls to the right than when to the left. They take 60 days to fatten, but fatten better if feeding up is preceded by three days' fast. The pig is the most brutish of animals, and there used to be a not unattractive idea that its soul was given it to serve as salt. it is a known fact that some pigs carried off by thieves recognized the voice of their swineherd, crowded to one side of the ship till it capsized and sank, and swam back to shore. Moreover the leaders of a herd in the city learn to go to the market place and to find their way home; and wild hogs know how to obliterate their tracks by crossing marshy ground, and to relieve themselves when running away by making water. Sows are spayed in the same way as also camels are, by being hung up by the fore legs after two days without food and having the matrix cut out; this makes them fatten quicker. There is also a method of treating the liver of sows as of geese, a discovery of Marcus Apiciusthey are stuffed with dried fig, and when full killed directly after having been given a drink of mead. Nor does any animal supply a larger number of materials for an eating-house: they have almost fifty flavours, whereas all other meats have one each. Hence pages of sumptuary laws, and the prohibition of hog's paunches, sweetbreads, testicles, matrix and cheeks for banquets, although nevertheless no dinner of the pantomime writer Publius after he had obtained his freedom is recorded that did not include paunchhe actually got from this the nickname of Pig's Paunch.

78. But also wild boar has been a popular meat. luxury. As far back as Cato the Censor a we find his speeches denouncing boar's meat bacon. Nevertheless a boar used to be cut up into three parts and the middle part served at table, under the name of boar's loin. Publius Servilius Rullus, father of the Rullus who brought in the land settlement act during Cicero's consulship, first served a boar whole at his banquetsso recent is the origin of what is now an everyday affair; and this occurrence has been noted by historians, presumably for the improvement of the manners of the present day, when it is the fashion for two or three boars to be devoured at one time not even as a whole dinner but as the first course.

Fulvius Lippinus was the first person of Roman nationality who invented preserves for wild pigs and the other kinds of game: he introduced keeping wild animals in the district of Tarquinii; and he did not long lack imitators, Lucius Lucullus and Quintus Hortensius.

Wild pigs breed once a year. The boars are very rough when mating; at this period they fight each other, hardening their flanks by rubbing against trees and plastering their behinds with mud. The females are fiercer when with young, and this is more or less the same in every kind of wild animal. Male boats do not mate till one year old. In India they have curved tusks 18 in. long: two project from the jaw, and two from the forehead like a calf's horns. The wild boar's hair is a sort of copper colour; that of the other species is black. But the hog genus does not occur in Arabia.

79. In the case of no other kind of animal is it so easy to cross with the wild variety; the offspring of such unions in old days were called 'hybrids,' meaning half-wild, a term also applied as a nickname to human beings, for instance, to Cicero's colleague in the consulship Gaius Antonius. But not only in pigs but in all animals as well whenever there is any tame variety of a genus there is also found a wild one of the same genus, inasmuch as even in the case of man an equal number of savage races have been predicted to exist. Nevertheless the formation of the goat is transferred to a very large number of similar species: there are the goat, the chamois and the ibexan animal of marvellous speed, although its head is burdened with enormous horns resembling the sheaths of swords, towards which it sways itself as though whirled with a sort of catapult, chiefly when on rocks and seeking to leap from one crag to another, and by means of the recoil leaps out more nimbly to the point to which it wants to get. There are also the oryx, the only species according to certain authorities clothed with hair lying the wrong way, towards the head, and the antelope, the white-rumped antelope, the twisted-horn antelope and a great many other not dissimilar species. But the former we receive from the Alps, the latter from places across the sea.

80. The kinds of apes also which are closest to the human shape are distinguished from each other by the tails. They are marvellously cunning: people say that they use bird-lime as ointment, and that they put on the nooses set to snare them as if they were shoes, in imitation of the hunters; according to Mucianus the tailed species have even been known to play at draughts, are able to distinguish at a glance sham nuts made of wax, and are depressed by the moon waning and worship the new moon with delight: and it is a fact that the other four-footed animals also are frightened by eclipses. The genus ape has a remarkable affection for its young. Tame monkeys kept in the house who bear young ones carry them about and show them to everybody, and delight in having them stroked, looking as if they understood that they are being congratulated; and as a consequence in a considerable number of cases they kill their babies by hugging them. The baboon is of a fiercer nature, just as the satyrus is extremely gentle. The pretty-haired ape is almost entirely different in appearance: it has a bearded face and a tail flattened out wide at the base. This animal is said to be unable to live in any other climate but that of its native country, Ethiopia.

81. There are also several kinds of hare. In the Alps there are white hares, which are believed to eat snow for their fodder in the winter monthsat all events they turn a reddish colour every year when the snow meltsand in other ways the animal is a nurseling of the intolerable cold. The animals in Spain called rabbits also belong to the genus hare; their fertility is beyond counting, and they bring famine to the Balearic Islands by ravaging the crops. Their young cut out from the mother before birth or taken from the teat are considered a very great delicacy, served without being gutted; the name for them is laurer. It is an established fact that the peoples of the Balearics petitioned the late lamented Augustus for military assistance against the spread of these animals. The ferret is extremely popular for rabbit-hunting; they throw ferrets into the burrows with a number of exits that the rabbits tunnel in the ground (this is the derivation of their name cony) and so catch the rabbits when they are driven out to the surface. Archelaus states that a hare is as many years old as it has folds in the bowel: these are certainly found to vary in

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number. The same authority says that the hare is a hermaphrodite and reproduces equally well without a male. Nature has shown her benevolence in making harmless and edible breeds of animals prolific. The hare which is born to be all creatures' prey is the only animal beside the shaggy-footed rabbit that practises superfetation, rearing one leveret while at the same time carrying in the womb another clothed with hair and another bald and another still an embryo. Also the experiment has been made of using the fur of the hare for making clothes, although it is not so soft to the touch as it is when on the animal's skin, and the garments soon come to pieces because of the shortness of the hair.

82. Hares rarely grow tame, although they cannot properly be termed wild animalsfor in fact there are a good many creatures that are neither wild nor tame but of a character intermediate between each, for instance among winged things swallows and bees, in the sea dolphins. Many people have also placed in this class these denizens of our homes the mice, a creature not to be ignored among portents even in regard to public affairs; they foretold the war with the Marsians by gnawing the silver shields at Lanuvium, and the death of General Carbo by gnawing at the puttees that he wore inside his sandals. There are more varieties of mice in the district of Cyrene, some with broad and others with pointed heads, and others like hedgehogs with prickly bristles. Theophrastus states that on the island of Chiura when they had banished the inhabitants they even gnawed iron, and that they also do this by a sort of instinct in the iron foundries in the country of the Chalybes: indeed, he says, in gold mines because of this their bellies get cut away and their theft of gold is always detected, so fond are they of thieving. The Public Records relate that during the siege of Casilinum by Hannibal a mouse was sold for 200 francs, and that the man who sold it died of hunger while the buyer lived. The appearance of white mice constitutes a joyful omen. For we have our Records full of instances of the auspices being interrupted by the squeaking of shrews. Nigidius states that shrews themselves also hibernate as do dormice, which sumptuary legislation and Marcus Scaurus the Head of the State during his consulship ruled out from banquets just as they did shell-fish or birds imported from other parts of the world. The shrewmouse itself also is a half-wild animal, and keeping it alive in jars was originated by the same person as started keeping wild pigs. In this connexion it has been noticed that shrew-mice do not associate unless they are natives of the same forest, and if foreigners separated by a river or mountain are introduced they die fighting one another. They feed their parents when exhausted by old age with remarkable affection. Their old age comes to its end during the winter reposefor these creatures also hibernate, and renew their youth at the coming of summer. Dormice hibernate similarly.

83. In this connexion it is surprising that Nature has not only assigned different animals to different countries, but has also denied certain animals to some places in the same region. In the Mesian forest in Italy dormice of which we are now speaking are only found in one part. In Lycia the gazelles do not cross the mountains near the Sexi, nor the wild asses the boundary dividing Cappadocia from Cilicia. The stags on the Hellespont do not migrate into unfamiliar districts, and those in the neighbourhood of Arginusa do not go beyond Mount Elaphus, even those on the mountain having cleft ears. In the island of Pordoselene weasels do not cross a road. Similarly in Boeotia moles that undermine the whole of the fields in Orchomenus near by, when imported into Lebadea are shy of the very soil. We have seen counterpanes for beds made out of their skins: so powerless is even superstition to protect the miraculous against luxury. In Ithaca imported hares die on the very edge of the shore, as do rabbits in Iviza, although Spain and the Balearic Islands close by are teeming with them. At Cyrene the frogs were silent, and though croaking frogs have been imported from the mainland the silent breed goes on. Frogs are also silent in the island of Seriphus, but the same frogs croak when removed to some other place, which is also said to happen in the Siccanean Lake in Thessaly. The bite of the shrewmouse in Italy is venomous, but the venomous species is not found in the district beyond the Apennines. Also wherever it occurs it dies if it crosses the track of a wheel. There are no wolves on Mount Olympus in Macedon, nor in the island of Crete. In fact in Crete there are no wolves or bears either, and no noxious animal at all except a poisonous spider: we shall speak of this species in its place, under the head of spiders. It is more remarkable that in the same island there are no stags except in the district of Cydonea, and the same is the case with wild boars and francolins and hedgehogs, while in Africa there are neither wild boars nor stags nor wild goats nor bears.

84. Again, some animals harmless to natives of the country are deadly to foreigners, for instance some small snakes at Tiryns that are said to be born from the earth. Similarly serpents in Syria specially found about the banks of the Euphrates do not touch Syrians when asleep, or even if they bite them when trodden on are not felt to cause any evil effect, but they are maleficent to other people of whatever race, killing them voraciously and with torturing pain, on account of which the Syrians also do not kill them. On the other hand Aristotle [FR. 605 Rose] relates that the scorpions on Mount Latmos in Carla do not wound strangers but kill natives.

But we will also speak of the remaining kinds of land animals.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 9

1. We have indicated the nature of the species that we have designated land animals, as living in some kind of association with men. Of the remaining kinds it is agreed that birds are the smallest. We will therefore first speak of the creatures of the seas, rivers and ponds.

There are however a considerable number of these that are larger even than land animals. The obvious cause of this is the lavish nature of liquid. Birds, which live hovering in the air, are in a different condition. But in the sea, lying so widely outspread and so yielding and productive of nutriment, because the element receives generative causes from above and is always producing offspring, a great many actual monstrosities are found, the seeds and first principles intertwining and interfolding with each other now in one way and now in another, now by the action of the wind and now by that of the waves, so ratifying the common opinion that everything born in any department of nature exists also in the sea, as well as a number of things never found elsewhere. Indeed we may realize that it contains likenesses of things and not of animals only, when we examine the grape, the sword-fish, the saw-fish, and the cucumber-fish, the last resembling a real cucumber both in colour and scent; which makes it less surprising that in cockle-shells that are so tiny there are horses' heads projecting.

2. But the largest number of animals and those of the largest size are in the Indian sea, among them whales covering three acres each, and sharks 100 ells long: in fact in those regions lobsters grow to 6 ft. long, and also eels in the river Ganges to 300 ft. The monsters in the sea are mostly to be seen about the solstices. At those periods in that part of the world there are rushing whirlwinds and rainstorms and tempests hurtling down from the mountain ridges that upturn the seas from their bottom, and roll with their waves monsters forced up from the depths in such a multitude, like the shoals of tunnies in other places, that the fleet of Alexander the Great deployed its column in line of battle to encounter them, in the same way as if an enemy force were meeting it: it was not possible to escape them in any other manner. They are not scared by shouts or noises or uproar, but only by impact, and they are only routed by a violent collision. There is an enormous peninsula in the Red Sea called Cadara, the projection of which forms a vast bay which took King Ptolemy twelve days and nights of rowing to cross, as it does not admit a breath of wind from any quarter. In this tranquil retreat particularly the creatures grow to a huge motionless bulk. The admirals of the fleets of Alexander the Great have stated that the Gedrosi who live by the river Arabis make the doorways in their houses out of the monsters' jaws and use their bones for roof-beams, many of them having been found that were 60 ft. long. Also great creatures resembling sheep come out on to the land in that country and after grazing on the roots of bushes return; and there are some with the heads of horses, asses and bulls that eat up the crops.

3. The largest animals in the Indian Ocean are the shark and the whale; the largest in the Bay of Biscay is the sperm-whale, which rears up like a vast pillar higher than a ship's rigging and belches out a sort of deluge; the largest in the Gulf of Cadiz is the tree-polypus, which spreads out such vast branches that it is believed never to have entered the Straits of Gibraltar because of this. The creatures called Wheels from their resemblance to a wheel also put in an appearance, these radiating in four spokes, with their nave terminating in two eyes, one on each side.

4. An embassy from Lisbon sent for the purpose reported to the Emperor Tiberius that a Triton had been seen and heard playing on a shell in a certain cave, and that he had the well-known shape. The description of the Nereids also is not incorrect, except that their body is bristling with hair even in the parts where they have human shape; for a Nereid has been seen on the same coast, whose mournful song moreover when dying has been heard a long way off by the coast-dwellers; also the Governor of Gaul wrote to the late lamented Augustus that a large number of dead Nereids were to be seen on the shore. I have distinguished members of the Order of Knighthood as authorities for the statement that a man of the sea has been seen by them in the Gulf of Cadiz, with complete resemblance to a human being in every part of his body, and that he climbs on board ships during the hours of the night and the side of the vessel that he sits on is at once weighed down, and if he stays there longer actually goes below the water. During the rule of Tiberius, in an island off the coast of the province of Lyons the receding ocean tide left more than 300 monsters at the same time, of marvellous variety and size, and an equal number on the coast of Saintes, and among the rest elephants, and rams with only a white streak to resemble horns, and also many Nereids. Turranius has stated that a monster was cast ashore on the coast at Cadiz that had 24 feet of tail-end between its two fins, and also 120 teeth, the biggest 9 inches and the smallest 6 inches long. The skeleton of the monster to which Andromeda in the story was exposed was brought by Marcus Scaurus from the town of Jaffa in Judaea and shown at Rome among the rest of the marvels during his aedileship; it was 40 ft. long, the height of the ribs exceeding the elephants of India, and the spine being 1 ft. 6 inches thick.

5. Whales even penetrate into our seas. It is said that they are not seen in the Gulf of Cadiz before midwinter, but during the summer periods hide in a certain calm and spacious inlet, and take marvellous delight in breeding there; and that this is known to the killer whale, a creature that is the enemy of the other species and the appearance of which can be represented by no other description except that of an enormous mass of flesh with savage teeth. The killer whales therefore burst into their retreats and bite and mangle their calves or the females that have calved or are still in calf, and charge and pierce them like warships ramming. The whales being sluggish in bending and slow in retaliating, and burdened by their weight, and at this season also heavy with young or weakened by travail in giving birth, know only one refuge, to retreat to the deep sea and defend their safety by means of the ocean. Against this the killer whales use every effort to confront them and get in their way, and to slaughter them when cooped up in narrow straits or drive them into shallows and make them dash themselves upon rocks. To spectators these battles look as if the sea were raging against itself, as no winds are blowing in the gulf, but there are waves caused by the whales blowing and thrashing that are larger than those aroused by any whirlwinds. A killer whale was actually seen in the harbour of Ostia in battle with the Emperor Claudius; it had come at the time when he was engaged in completing the structure of the harbour, being tempted by the wreck of a cargo of hides imported from Gaul, and in glutting itself for a number of days had furrowed a hollow in the shallow bottom and had been banked up with sand by the waves so high that it was quite unable to turn round, and while it was pursuing its food which was driven forward to the shore by the waves its back projected far above the water like a capsized boat. Caesar gave orders for a barrier of nets to be stretched between the mouths of the harbour and setting out in person with the praetorian cohorts afforded a show to the Roman public, the soldiery hurling lances from the vessels against the creatures when they leapt up alongside, and we saw one of the boats sunk from being filled with water owing to a beast's snorting.

6. Whales have their mouths in their foreheads, and consequently when swimming on the surface of the water they blow clouds of spray into the air. It is universally admitted that a very few other creatures in the sea also breathe, those whose internal organs include a lung, since it is thought that no animal is able to breathe without one. Those who hold this opinion believe that the fishes possessing gills do not alternately expire and inspire air, and that many other classes even lacking gills do notan opinion which I notice that Aristotle a held and supported by many learned researches. Nor do I pretend that I do not myself immediately accept this view of theirs since it is possible that animals may also possess other respiratory organs in place of lungs, if nature so wills, just as also many possess another fluid instead of blood. At all events who can be surprised that this life-giving breath penetrates into water if he observes that it is also given back again from the water, and that it also penetrates into the earth, that much denser element, as is proved by animals that live always in underground burrows, like moles. Undoubtedly to my mind there are additional facts that make me believe that in fact all creatures in the water breathe, owing to the condition of their own naturein the first place a sort of panting that has often been noticed in fishes during the summer heat, and another form of gasping, so to speak, in calm weather, and also the admission in regard to fishes sleeping made even by those persons who are of the opposite opinionfor how can sleep occur without breathing?and moreover the bubbles caused on the surface of the water by air rising from below, and the effect of the moon in causing the bodies even of shellfish to increase in size. Above all there is the fact that it will not be doubted that fish have the sense of hearing and smell, both of which are derived from the substance of air: scent indeed could not possibly be interpreted as anything else than an infection of the air. Consequently it is open to every person to form whatever opinion about these matters he pleases. Whales do not possess gills, nor do dolphins. These two genera breathe with a tube that passes to the lung, in the case of whales from the forehead and in the case of dolphins from the back. Also sea-calves, called seals, breathe and sleep on land, as also do tortoises, about whom more shortly.

7. The swiftest of all animals, not only those of the sea, is the dolphin; it is swifter than a bird and darts faster than a javelin, and were not its mouth much below its snout, almost in the middle of its belly, not a single fish would escape its speed. But nature's foresight contributes delay, because they cannot seize their prey except by turning over on their backs.

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This fact especially shows their speed; for when spurred by hunger they have chased a fleeing fish into the lowest depths and have held their breath too long, they shoot up like arrows from a bow in order to breathe again, and leap out of the water with such force that they often fly over a ship's sails. They usually roam about in couples, husband and wife; they bear cubs after nine months, in the summer season, occasionally even twins. They suckle their young, as do whales, and even carry them about while weak from infancy; indeed they accompany them for a long time even when grown up, so great is their affection for their offspring. They grow up quickly, and are believed to reach their full size in 10 years. They live as much as 30 years, as has been ascertained by amputating the tail of a specimen for an experiment. They are in retirement for 30 days about the rising of the dog-star and hide themselves in an unknown manner, which is the more surprising in view of the fact that they cannot breathe under water. They have a habit of sallying out on to the land for an unascertained reason, and they do not die at once after touching earthin fact they die much more quickly if the gullet is closed up. The dolphin's tongue, unlike the usual structure of aquatic animals, is mobile, and is short and broad, not unlike a pig's tongue. For a voice they have a moan like that of a human being; their back is arched, and their snout turned up, owing to which all of them in a surprising manner answer to the name of 'Snubnose' and like it better than any other.

8. The dolphin is an animal that is not only friendly to mankind but is also a lover of music, and it can he charmed by singing in harmony, but particularly by the sound of the water-organ. It is not afraid of a human being as something strange to it, but comes to meet vessels at sea and sports and gambols round them, actually trying to race them and passing them even when under full sail. In the reign of the late lamented Augustus a dolphin that had been brought into the Lucrine Lake fell marvellously in love with a certain boy, a poor man's son, who used to go from the Baiae district to school at Pozzuoli, because fairly often the lad when loitering about the place at noon called him to him by the name of Snub-nose and coaxed him with bits of the bread he had with him for the journey,I should be ashamed to tell the story were it not that it has been written about by Maecenas and Fabianus and Flavius Alfius and many others,and when the boy called to it at whatever time of day, although it was concealed in hiding used to fly to him out of the depth, eat out of his hand, and let him mount on its back, sheathing as it were the prickles of its fin, and used to carry him when mounted right across the bay to Pozzuoli to school, bringing him back in similar manner, for several years, until the boy died of disease, and then it used to keep coming sorrowfully and like a mourner to the customary place, and itself also expired, quite undoubtedly from longing. Another dolphin in recent years at Hippo Diarrhytus on the coast of Africa similarly used to feed out of people's hands and allow itself to be stroked, and play with swimmers and carry them on its back. The Governor of Africa, Flavianus, smeared it all over with perfume, and the novelty of the scent apparently put it to sleep: it floated lifelessly about, holding aloof from human intercourse for some months as if it had been driven away by the insult; but afterwards it returned and was an object of wonder as before. The expense caused to their hosts by persons of official position who came to see it forced the people of Hippo to destroy it. Before these occurrences a similar story is told about a boy in the city of Iasus, with whom a dolphin was observed for a long time to be in love, and while eagerly following him to the shore when he was going away it grounded on the sand and expired; Alexander the Great made the boy head of the priesthood of Poseidon at Babylon, interpreting the dolphin's affection as a sign of the deity's favour. Hegesidemus writes that in the same city of Iasus another boy also, named Hermias, while riding across the sea in the same manner lost his life in the waves of a sudden storm, but was brought back to the shore, and the dolphin confessing itself the cause of his death did not return out to sea and expired on dry land. Theophrastus records that exactly the same thing occurred at Naupactus too. Indeed there are unlimited instances: the people of Amphulochus and Taranto tell the same stories about boys and dolphins; and these make it credible that also the skilled harpist Anon, when at sea the sailors were getting ready to kill him with the intention of stealing the money he had made, succeeded in coaxing them to let him first play a tune on his harp, and the music attracted a school of dolphins, whereupon he dived into the sea and was taken up by one of them and carried ashore at Cape Matapan.

9. In the region of Nismes in the Province of Narbonne there is a marsh named Latera where dolphins catch fish in partnership with a human fisherman. At a regular season a countless shoal of mullet rushes out of the narrow mouth of the marsh into the sea, after watching for the turn of the tide, which makes it impossible for nets to be spread across the channelindeed the nets would be equally incapable of standing the mass of the weight even if the craft of the fish did not watch for the opportunity. For a similar reason they make straight out into the deep water produced by the neighbouring eddies, and hasten to escape from the only place suitable for setting nets. When this is observed by the fishermenand a crowd collects at the place, as they know the time, and even more because of their keenness for this sportand when the entire population from the shore shouts as loud as it can, calling for 'Snubnose' for the denouement of the show, the dolphins quickly hear their wishes if a northerly breeze carries the shout out to sea, though if the wind is in the south, against the sound, it carries it more slowly; but then too they suddenly hasten to the spot, in order to give their aid. Their line of battle comes into view, and at once deploys in the place where they are to join battle; they bar the passage on the side of the sea and drive the scared mullet into the shallows. Then the fishermen put their nets round them and lift them out of the water with forks. None the less the pace of some mullets leaps over the obstacles; but these are caught by the dolphins, which are satisfied for the time being with merely having killed them, postponing a meal till victory is won. The action is hotly contested, and the dolphins pressing on with the greatest bravery are delighted to be caught in the nets, and for fear that this itself may hasten the enemy's flight, they glide out between the boats and the nets or the swimming fishermen so gradually as not to open ways of escape; none of them try to get away by leaping out of the water, which otherwise they are very fond of doing, unless the nets are put below them. One that gets out thereupon carries on the battle in front of the rampart. When in this way the catch has been completed they tear in pieces the fish that they have killed. But as they are aware that they have had too strenuous a task for only a single day's pay they wait there till the following day, and are given a feed of bread mash dipped in wine, in addition to the fish.

10. Mucianus's account of the same kind of fishing in the Iasian Gulf differs in thisthe dolphins stand by of their own accord and without being summoned by a shout, and receive their share from the fishermen's hands, and each boat has one of the dolphins as its ally although it is in the night and by torchlight. The dolphins also have a form of public alliance of their own: when one was caught by the King of Lana and kept tied up in the harbour a great multitude of the remainder assembled, suing for compassion with an unmistakable display of grief, until the king ordered it to be released. Moreover small dolphins are always accompanied by a larger one as escort; and before now dolphins have been seen carrying a dead comrade, to prevent its body being torn in pieces by sea-monsters.

11. The creatures called porpoises have a resemblance to dolphins (at the same time they are distinguished from them by a certain gloomy air, as they lack the sportive nature of the dolphin), but in their snouts they have a close resemblance to the maleficence of dogfish.

12. The Indian Ocean produces turtles such size that the natives roof dwelling-houses with the expanse of a single shell, and use them as boats in sailing, especially among the islands of the Red Sea. They are caught in a number of ways, but chiefly as they rise to the surface of the sea when the weather in the morning attracts them, and float across the calm waters with the whole of their backs projecting, and this pleasure of breathing freely cheats them into self-forgetfulness so much that their hide gets dried up by the heat and they are unable to dive, and go on floating against their will, an opportune prey for their hunters. They also say that turtles come ashore at night to graze and after gorging greedily grow languid and when they have gone back in the morning doze off to sleep on the surface of the water; that this is disclosed by the noise of their snoring; and that then the natives swim quietly up to them, three men to one turtle, and two turn it over on its back while the third throws a noose over it as it lies, and so it is dragged ashore by more men hauling from the beach. Turtles are caught without any difficulty in the Phoenician Sea; and at a regular period of the year they come of their own accord into the river Eleutherus in a straggling multitude.

The turtle has no teeth, but the edges of the beak are sharp on the upper side, and the mouth closing the lower jaw like a box is so hard that they can crush stones. They live on shell-fish in the sea and on plants when they come ashore. They bear eggs like birds' eggs numbering up to 100 at a time; these they bury in the ground somewhere ashore, cover them with earth rammed down and levelled with their chests, and sleep on them at night. They hatch the young in the space of a year. Some people think that they cherish their eggs by gazing at them with their eyes; and that the females refuse to couple till the male places a wisp of straw on one as she turns away from him. The Cavemen have homed turtles with broad horns twisted inward like those of a lyre but movable, which they use as oars to aid themselves in swimming; the name for this horn is chelium; it is of tortoise shell of exceptional quality, but it is seldom seen, as the very sharp rocks frighten the Turtle-eater tribe, while the Cavemen, on whose coasts the turtles swim, worship them as sacred. There are also turtles living on land, and consequently called in works on the subject the Terrestrial species; these are found in the deserts of Africa in the region of the driest and most arid sands, and it is believed that they live on the moisture of dew. No other animal occurs there.

13. The practice of cutting tortoise-shell into plates and using it to decorate bedsteads and cabinets was introduced by Carvilius Pollio, a man of lavish talent and skill in if producing the utensils of luxury.

14. The aquatic animals have a variety of coverings. Some are covered with hide and hair, for instance seals and hippopotamuses; others with hide only, as dolphins, or with shell, as turtles, or a hard flinty exterior, as oysters and mussels, with rind, as lobsters, with rind and spines, as sea-urchins, with scales, as fishes, with rough skin which can be used for polishing wood and ivory, as skates, with soft skin, as lampreys; others with no skin at all, as polyps.

15. The aquatic animals clad with hair are viviparousfor instance the saw-fish, the whale and the seal. The last bears its young on land; it produces afterbirth like cattle; in coupling it clings together as dogs do; it sometimes gives birth to more than two in a litter; it rears its young at the breast; it does not lead them down into the sea before the twelfth day, thereafter continually accustoming them to it. Seals are with difficulty killed unless the head is shattered. Of themselves they make a noise like lowing, whence their name 'sea-calves'; yet they are capable of training, and can be taught to salute the public with their voice and at the same time with bowing, and when called by name to reply with a harsh roar. No animal sleeps more heavily. The fins that they use in the sea also serve them on land as feet to crawl with. Their hides even when flayed from the body are said to retain a sense of the tides, and always to bristle when the tide is going out; and it is also said that the right fin possesses a soporific influence, and when placed under the head attracts sleep.

Two only of the hairless animals are viviparous, the dolphin and the viper.

16 There are 74 species of fishes, not including those that have a hard covering, of which there are thirty. We will speak of them severally in another place, for now we are dealing with the natures of specially remarkable species.

17. The tunny is of exceptional size; we are told of a specimen weighing a third of a ton and having a tail 3 ft. 4 in. broad. Fish of no less size also occur in certain rivers, the catfish in the Nile, the pike in the Rhine, the sturgeon in the Po, a fish that grows so fat from sloth that it sometimes reaches a thousand pounds; it is caught with a hook on a chain and only drawn out of the water by teams of oxen. And this monster is killed by the bite of a very small fish called the anchovy which goes for a particular vein in its throat with remarkable voracity. The catfish ranges about and goes for every living creature wherever it is, often dragging down horses when swimming. A fish very like a sea-pig is drawn out with teams of oxen, especially in the river Main in Germany, and in the Danube with weeding-hooks; an exceptionally large species with no internal framework of bones or vertebrae and very sweet flesh is recorded in the Dnieper. In the Ganges in India there is a fish called the platanista with a dolphin's beak and tail, but 24 ft. long. Statius Sebosus gives an extremely marvellous account of worms in the same river that have a pair of gills measuring 90 ft; they are deep blue in colour, and named from their appearance; he says that they are so strong that they carry off elephants coming to drink by gripping the trunk in their teeth.

18. Male tunnies have no fin under the belly. In spring time they enter the Black Sea from the Mediterranean in shoals, and they do not spawn anywhere else. The name of cordyla is given to the fry, which accompany the fish when they return to the sea in autumn after spawning; in the spring they begin to be called mudfish or pelamydes (from the Greek for 'mud'), and when they have exceeded the period of one year they are called tunny. These fish are cut up into parts, and the neck and belly are counted a delicacy, and also the throat provided it is fresh, and even then it causes severe flatulence; all the rest of the tunny, with the flesh entire, is preserved in salt: these pieces are called melandrya, as resembling splinters of oak-wood. The cheapest of them are the parts next the tail, because they lack fat, and the parts most favoured are those next the throat; whereas in other fish the parts round the tail are most in use. At the pelamys stage they are divided into choice slices and cut up small into a sort of little cube.

19. Fishes of all kinds grow up exceptionally fast, especially in the Black Sea; this is due to the fresh water carried into it by a large number of rivers. The name of scomber is given to a fish whose growth in size can be noticed daily. This fish and the pelamys in company with the tunny enter the Black Sea in shoals in search of less brackish feeding-grounds, each kind with its own leaders, and first of all the mackerel, which when in the water is sulphur-coloured, though out of water it is the same colour as the other kinds. These fill the fish-ponds of Spain, the tunny not going with them.

20. But no creature harmful to fish enters the Black Sea besides seals and small dolphins. The tunny enter it by the right bank and go out of it by the left; this is believed to occur because they can see better with the right eye, being by nature dim of sight in both eyes. In the channel of the Thracian Bosphorus joining the Sea of Marmora with the Black Sea, in the actual narrows of the channel separating Europe and Asia, there is a rock of marvellous whiteness that shines through the

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water from the bottom to the surface, near Chalcedon on the Asiatic side. The sudden sight of this always frightens them, and they make for the opposite promontory of Istanbul in a headlong shoal; this is the reason why that promontory has the name of the Golden Horn. Consequently all the catch is at Istanbul, and there is a great shortage at Chalcedon, owing to the 1000 yards of channel flowing in between. But they wait for a north wind to blow so as to go out of the Black Sea with the current, and are only taken a when entering the harbour of Istanbul. In winter they do not wander; wherever winter catches them, there they hibernate till the equinox. They are also frequently seen from the stern of vessels proceeding under sail, accompanying them in a remarkably charming manner for periods of several hours and for a distance of some miles, not being scared even by having a harpoon repeatedly thrown at them. Some people give the name of pilot-fish to the tunny that do this. Many pass the summer in the Sea of Marmora without entering the Black Sea; the same is the case with the sole, though the turbot does enter it. Nor does the sepia occur there, though the cattle-fish is found. Of rock-fish the sea-bream and whiting are lacking, as are some shell-fish, though oysters are plentiful; but they all winter in the Aegean. Of those entering the Black Sea the only kind that never returns is the bichia or sardineit will be convenient to use the Greek names in most cases, as different districts have called the same species by a great variety of namesbut these alone enter the Danube and float down from it by its underground channels into the Adriatic, and consequently there also they are regularly seen going down stream and never coming up from the sea. The season for catching tunny is from the rise of the Pleiades to the setting of Arcturus; during the rest of the winter time they lurk at the bottom of the water unless tempted out by a mild spell or at full moon. They get fat even to the point of bursting. The tunny's longest life is two years.

21. There is a small animal shaped like a scorpion, of the size of a spider. This attaches with a spike under the fin of both the tunny and the fish called sword-fish, which often exceeds the size of a dolphin, and torments them so painfully that they frequently jump out of the water into ships. This is also done on other occasions from fear of the violence of other fish, especially by mullet, which are so exceptionally swift that they sometimes leap right over ships that lie across their path.

22. In this department of nature also there are cases of augury; even fish have foreknowledge of events. During the Sicilian War when Augustus was walking on the shore a fish leapt out of the sea at his feet, a sign which the priests interpreted as meaning that although Sextus Pompeius was then adopting Neptune as his fatherso glorious were his naval exploitsyet those who at that time held the seas would later be beneath the feet of Caesar.

23. Female fish are larger than the males. In one kind there are no males at all, as is the case with red mullet and sea-perch, for all those caught are heavy with eggs. Almost every kind with scales is gregarious. Fish are caught before sunrise; at that of hour their sight is most fallible. In the night they repose, but on bright nights they can see as well as by day. People also say that scraping the bottom helps the catch, and that consequently more are caught at the second haul than at the first. Fish are fondest of the taste of oil, but next to that they enjoy and derive nourishment from moderate falls of rain: in fact even reeds although growing in a marsh nevertheless do not grow up without rain; and besides, fishes everywhere die when kept continually in the same water, if there is no inflow.

24. All fish feel a very cold winter, but most of all those that are believed to hate a stone in their head, for instance the bass, the chromis, the ombre and the phagrus. When the winter has been severe a great many are caught blind. Consequently in the winter months they lie hidden in eaves (like cases that we have recorded in the class of land-animals), particularly the hippuris and blackfish, which are not caught in winter except on a few regular days that are always the same, and also the lamprey and the orphus, the conger and perch and all rockfish. It is indeed reported that the electric ray, the plaice and the sole hide through the winters in the ground, that is, in a hole scraped out at the bottom of the sea.

25. Some fish again being unable to endure heat hide for 8 or 9 weeks during the heats of midsummer, for instance the grayling, the haddock and the gilt-bream. Of river fish the catfish has a stroke at the rise of the dog-star, and at other times is always made drowsy by lightning. This is thought to happen to the carp even in the sea. And beside this the whole sea is conscious of the rise of that star, as is most clearly seen in the Dardanelles, for seaweed and fishes float on the surface, and everything is turned up from the bottom.

26. It is an amusing trait in the mullet that when frightened it hides its head and thinks it is entirely concealed. The same fish is so incautious in its wantonness that in Phoenicia and in the Province of Narbonne at the breeding season a male mullet from the fishponds is sent out into the sea with a long line tied to its gills through its mouth and when it is drawn back by the same line the females follow it to the shore, and again the males follow a female at the laying season.

27. In old days the sturgeon was held to be the noblest of the fishes, being the only one with its scales turned towards the mouth, in the opposite direction to the one in which it swims; but now it is held in no esteem, which for my part I think surprising, as it is a fish seldom to be found. One name for it is the elops.

28. Cornelius Nepos and the mime-writer Laberius have recorded that at a later period the chief rank belonged to the bass and the haddock. The kind of bass most praised is the one called the woolly bass, from the whiteness and softness of its flesh. There are two kinds of haddockthe collyrus, which is the smaller, and the bacchus, which is only caught in deep water, and consequently is preferred to the former. But among bass those caught in a river are preferred.

29. Nowadays the first place is given to the wrasse, which is the only fish that is said to chew the cud and to feed on grasses and not on other fish. It is especially common in the Carpathian Sea; it never of its own accord passes Cape Lectum in the Troad. Some wrasse were imported from there in the principate of Tiberius Claudius by one of his freedmen, Optatus, Commander of the Fleet, and were distributed and scattered about between the mouth of the Tiber and the coast of Campania, care being taken for about five years that when caught they should be put back into the sea. Subsequently they have been frequently found on the coast of Italy, though not caught there before; and thus greed has provided itself with additional dainties by cultivating fish, and has bestowed on the sea a new denizenso that nobody must be surprised that foreign birds breed at Rome. The next place belongs at all events to the liver of the lamprey that strange to say the Lake of Constance in Raetia in the Central Alps also produces to rival the marine variety.

30. Of other fish of a good class the red mullet stands first in popularity and also in plentifulness, though its size is moderate and it but rarely exceeds 2 lbs. in weight, nor does it grow larger when kept in preserves and fishponds. This size is only produced by the northern ocean and in its westernmost part. For the rest, there are several kinds of mullet. For it feeds on seaweed, bivalves, mud and the flesh of other fish; and it is distinguished by a double beard on the lower lip. The mullet of cheapest kind is called the mud-mullet. This variety is always accompanied by another fish named sea-bream, and it swallows down as fodder mire stirred up by the sea-bream digging. The coast mullet also is not in favour. The most approved kind have the flavour of an oyster. This variety has the name of shoe-mullet, which Fenestella thinks was given it from its colour. It spawns three times a yearat all events that is the number of times that its fry is seen. The leaders in gastronomy say that a dying mullet shows a large variety of changing colours, turning pale with a complicated modification of blushing scales, at all events if it is looked at when contained in a glass bowl. Marcus Apicius, who had a natural gift for every ingenuity of luxury, thought it specially desirable for mullets to be killed in a sauce made of their companions, garumfor this thing also has procured a designationand for fish-paste to be devised out of their liver.

31. With a fish of this kind one of the proconsular body, Asinius Celer, in the principate of Gaius, issued a challengeit is not so easy to say who won the matchto all the spendthrifts by giving 8000 sesterces for a mullet. The thought of this sidetracks the mind to the consideration of the people who in their complaints about luxury used to protest that cooks were being bought at a higher price per man than a horse; but now the price of three horses is given for a cook, and the price of three cooks for a fish, and almost no human being has come to be more valued than one that is most skilful in making his master bankrupt. Licinius Mucianus has recorded the capture in the Red Sea of a mullet weighing 80 lbs.; what price would our epicures have paid for it if it had been found on the coasts near the city?

32. It is also a fact of nature that different fishes hold the first rank in different placesthe blackfish in Egypt, the John Dory (also called the carpenter-fish) at Cadiz, the stockfish in the neighbourhood of Iviza, though elsewhere it is a disgusting fish, and everywhere it is unable to be cooked thoroughly unless it has been beaten with a rod; in Aquitaine the river salmon is preferred to all sea-fish.

33. Some fish have numerous gills, others single ones, others double. With the gills they discharge the water taken in by the mouth. Hardening of the scales, which are not alike in all fishes, is a sign of age. There are two lakes in Italy at the foot of the Alps, named Como and Maggiore, in which every year at the rising of the Pleiades fish are found that are remarkable for close-set and very sharp scales, shaped like shoe-nails, but they are not commonly seen for a longer period than about a month from then.

34. Arcadia also has a marvel in its climbing perch, so called because it climbs out on to the land to sleep. In the district of the river Clitorius this fish is said to have a voice and no gills; the same variety is by some people called the Adonis fish.

35. The fish called the sea-mouse also comes out on to the land, as do the polypus and the lamprey; so also does a certain kind of fish in the rivers of India, and then jumps back againfor in most cases there is an obvious purpose in getting across into marshes and lakes so as to produce their offspring safe, as in those waters there are no creatures to devour their young and the waves are less fierce. Their understanding these reasons and their observing the changes of the seasons would seem more surprising to anybody who considers what fraction of mankind is aware that the biggest catch is made when the sun is passing through the sign of the Fishes.

36. Some sea-fish are flat, for instance the turbot, the sole and the flounder, which differs from the turbot only in the posture of its bodythe turbot lies with the right side uppermost and the flounder with the left; while other sea-fish are long, as the lamprey and the conger.

37. Consequently differences also occur in the fins, which are bestowed on fish instead of feet; none have more than four, some have three, some two, certain kinds none. In the Lago di Celano, but nowhere else, there is a fish that has eight fins to swim with. Long slippery fish like eels and congers generally have two fins, others have none, for instance, the lamprey which also has no gills. All this class use the sea as snakes do the land, propelling themselves by twisting their bodies, and they also crawl on dry land; consequently this class are also longer-lived. Some of the flat-fish too have not got fins, for example, the stingrayfor these swim merely by means of their breadthand the kinds called soft fish, such as polyps, since their feet serve them instead of fins.

38. Eels live eight years. They can even last five or six days at a time out of water if a north wind is blowing, but not so long with a south wind. But the same fish cannot endure winter in shallow nor in rough water; consequently they are chiefly caught at the rising of the Pleiades as the rivers are then specially rough. They feed at night. They are the only fish that do not float on the surface when dead. There is a lake called Garda in the territory of Verona through which flows the river Mincio, at the outflow of which on a yearly occasion, about the month of October, when the lake is made rough evidently by the autumn star, they are massed together by the waves and rolled in such a marvellous shoal that masses of fish, a thousand in each, are found in the receptacles constructed in the river for the purpose.

39. The lamprey spawns in any month, although all other fish have fixed breeding seasons. Its eggs grow very quickly. Lampreys are commonly believed to crawl out on to dry land and to be impregnated by copulating with snakes. Aristotle gives the name of zmyrus to the male fish which generates, and says that the difference is that the lamprey is spotted and feeble whereas the zmyrus is self-coloured and hardy, and has teeth projecting outside the mouth. In Northern Gaul all lampreys have seven spots on the right jaw arranged like the constellation of the Great Bear, which are of a bright golden colour as long as the fish are alive, and are extinguished when they are deprived of life. Vedius Pollio, Knight of Rome, a member of the Privy Council under the late lamented Augustus, found in this animal a means of displaying his cruelty when he threw slaves sentenced to death into ponds of lampreysnot that the wild animals on land were not sufficient for this purpose, but because with any other kind of creature he was not able to have the spectacle of a man being torn entirely to pieces at one moment. It is stated that tasting vinegar particularly drives them mad. Their skin is very thin, whereas that of eels is rather thick, and Verrius records that it used to be used for flogging boys who were sons of citizens, and that consequently it was not the practice for them to be punished with a fine.

40. There is a second class of flatfish that has gristle instead of a backbone, for instance rays, stingrays, skates, the electric ray, and those the Greek names for which mean 'ox,' 'sorceress,' 'eagle' and 'frog.' This group includes the squalus also, although that is not a flatfish. These Aristotle designated in Greek by the common name of selachians, giving them that name for the first time; but we cannot distinguish them as a class unless we like to call them the cartilaginea. But all such fish are carnivorous, and they feed lying on their backs, as we said in the case of dolphins; and whereas all other fish are oviparous, this kind alone with the exception of the species called the sea-frog is viviparous, like the creatures termed cetaceans.

41. There is a quite small fish that frequents rocks, called the sucking-fish. This is believed to make ships go more slowly by sticking to their hulls, from which it has received its name; and for this reason it also has an evil reputation for supplying a love-charm and for acting as a spell to hinder litigation in the courts, which accusations it counterbalances only by its laudable property of stopping fluxes of the womb in pregnant women and holding back the offspring till the time of birth. It is not included however among articles of diet. It is thought by some to have feet, but Aristotle denies this, adding that its limbs resemble wings.

Mucianus states that the murex is broader than the purple, and has a mouth that is not rough nor round and a beak that does not stick out into corners but shuts together on either side like a bivalve shell; and that owing to murexes clinging to the sides a ship was brought to a standstill when in full sail before the wind, carrying despatches from Periander ordering

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some noble youths to be castrated, and that the shell-fish that rendered this service are worshipped in the shrine of Venus at Cnidus. Trebius Niger says that it is a foot long and four inches wide, and hinders ships, and moreover that when preserved in salt it has the power of drawing out gold that has fallen into the deepest wells when it is brought near them.

42. The maena changes its white colour and. becomes blacker in summer. The lamprey also changes colour, being white all the rest of the time but variegated in spring. Also it is the only fish that lays its eggs in a nest, which it builds of seaweed.

43. The swallow-fish flies just exactly like a bird, and so does the kite-fish. The fish on this account called the lamp-fish rises to the surface of the sea, and on calm nights gives a light with its fiery tongue which it puts out from its mouth. The fish that has got its name from its horns raises these up about 18 inches out of the sea. The sea-snake, again, when caught and placed on the sand, with marvellous rapidity digs itself a hole with its beak.

44. We will now speak of the bloodless fishes. Of these there are three kinds: first those which are called soft fish, then those covered with thin rinds, and lastly those enclosed in hard shells. The soft are the cattle-fish, the sepia, the polyp and the others of that kind. They have the head between the feet and the belly, and all of them have eight little feet. In the sepia and cuttle-fish two of these feet are extremely long and rough, and by means of these they carry food to their months, and steady themselves as with anchors in a rough sea; but all the rest are feelers which they use for catching their prey.

45. The cuttle-fish even flies, raising itself out of the water, as also do the small scallops, like an arrow. The males of the genus sepia are variegated and darker in colour, and they are more resolute: when a female is struck with a trident they come to her assistance, whereas a female flees when a male is struck. But both sexes on perceiving they are being caught hold of pour out a dark fluid which these animals have instead of blood, so darkening the water and concealing themselves.

46. There are many sorts of polyp. The land kinds are larger than the marine. They use all their arms as feet and hands, but employ the tail, which is forked and pointed, in sexual intercourse. The polyps have a tube in their back through which they pass the seawater, and they shift this now to the right side and now to the left. They swim with their head on one side, this while they are alive being hard as though blown out. Otherwise they remain adhering with a kind of suction, by means of a sort of suckers spread over their arms: throwing themselves backward they hold on so that they cannot be torn away. They do not cling to the bottom of the sea, and have less holding-power when full-grown. They alone of the soft creatures go out of the water on to dry land, provided it has a rough surface: they hate smooth surfaces. They feed on the flesh of shellfish, the shells of which they break by enfolding them with their tentacles; and consequently their lair can be detected by the shells lying in front of it. And though the polyp is in other respects deemed a stupid animal, inasmuch as it swims towards a man's hand, it has a certain kind of sense in its domestic economy: it collects everything into its home, and then after it has eaten the flesh puts out the refuse and catches the little fishes that swim up to it. It changes its colour to match its environment, and particularly when it is frightened. The notion that it gnaws its own arms is a mistake, for this is done to it by the congers; but the belief that its tails grow again, as is the case with the gecko and the lizard, is correct.

47. But among outstanding marvels is the creature called the nautilus, and by others the pilot-fish. Lying on its back it comes to the surface of the sea, gradually raising itself up in such a way that by sending out all the water through a tube it so to speak unloads itself of bilge and sails easily. Afterwards it twists back its two foremost arms and spreads out between them a marvellously thin membrane, and with this serving as a sail in the breeze while it uses its other arms underneath it as oars, it steers itself with its tail between them as a rudder. So it proceeds across the deep mimicking the likeness of a fast cutter, if any alarm interrupts its voyage submerging itself by sucking in water.

48. One variety of the polypus kind is the stink-polyp, named from the disagreeable smell of its head, which causes it to be the special prey of the lamprey.

Polyps go into hiding for periods of two months. They do not live more than two years; but they always die of consumption, the females more quickly and usually as a result of bearing offspring.

We must also not pass over the facts as to the polyp ascertained when Lucius Lucullus was governor of Baetica, and published by one of his staff, Trebius Niger; he says that they are extremely greedy for shell-fish, and that these close their shells at a touch and cut off the polyp's tentacles, so retaliating by obtaining food from their would-be robber. Shell-fish do not possess sight or any other sense except consciousness of food and danger. Consequently the polyps lie in wait for the shell-fish to open, and placing a stone between the shells, not on the fish's body so that it may not be ejected by its throbbing, thus go to work at their ease, and drag out the flesh, while the shell-fish try to shut up, but in vain, as they are wedged open: so clever are even the most stupid of animals. Moreover Niger asserts that no animal is more savage in causing the death of a man in the water; for it struggles with him by coiling round him and swallows him with its sucker-cups and drags him asunder by its multiple suction, when it attacks men that have been shipwrecked or are diving. But should it be turned over, its strength gets feebler; for when polyps are lying on their backs they stretch themselves out. The rest of the facts reported by the same authority may possibly be thought to approximate to the miraculous. In the fishponds at Carteia a polyp was in the habit of getting into their uncovered tanks from the open sea and there foraging for salted fisheven the smell of which attracts all sea creatures in a surprising way, owing to which even fish-traps are smeared with themand so it brought on itself the wrath of the keepers, which owing to the persistence of the theft was beyond all bounds. Fences were erected in its way, but it used to scale these by making use of a tree, and it was only possible to catch it by means of the keen scent of hounds. These surrounded it when it was going back at night, and aroused the guards, who were astounded by its strangeness: in the first place its size was unheard of and so was its colour as well, and it was smeared with brine and had a terrible smell; who would have expected to find a polyp there, or who would recognize it in such circumstances? They felt they were pitted against something uncanny, for by its awful breath it also tormented the dogs, which it now scourged with the ends of its tentacles and now struck with its longer arms, which it used as clubs; and with difficulty they succeeded in despatching it with a number of three-pronged harpoons. They showed its head to Lucullusit was as big as a cask and held 90 gallons,--and (to use the words of Trebius himself) `its beards which one could hardly clasp round with both one's arms, knotted like clubs, 30 ft. long, with suckers or cups like basins holding three gallons, and teeth corresponding to its size. Its remains, kept as a curiosity, were found to weigh 700 lbs. Trebius also states that cuttlefish of both species of the same size have been driven ashore on that coast. In our own seas one kind is taken that measures 7 ft. in length and the other kind 3 ft. These fish also do not live more than two years.

49. Mucianus has stated that he has also seen in the Dardanelles another creature resembling a ship under sail: it is a shell with a keel like a boat, and a curved stern and beaked bow. In this (he says) the nauplius, a creature like the cuttlefish, secretes itself, merely by way of sharing the game. The manner in which this takes place is twofold: in calm weather the carrier shell strikes the water by dipping its flappers like oars, but if the breezes invite, the same flappers are stretched out to serve as a rudder and the curves of the shells are spread to the breeze. The former creature delights (he continues) to carry and the latter to steer, and this pleasure penetrates two senseless things at onceunless perhaps human calamity forms part of the motive, for it is an established fact that this is a disastrous omen for mariners.

50. In the bloodless class, the langouste is protected by a fragile rind. Langoustes stay in retirement for five months in each year; and likewise crabs, which go into hiding at the same season; and both species discard their old age at the beginning of spring in the same way as snakes do, by renewing their skins. All other aquatic species swim, but langoustes float about in the manner of reptiles; if no danger threatens they go forward in a straight course with their horns, which are buttoned by their own rounded ends, stretched out at their sides, but at a moment of alarm they advance slanting sideways with their horns held erect. They use their horns in fighting one another. The langouste is the only animal whose flesh is of a yielding texture with no hardness, unless it is boiled alive its hot water. Langoustes live in rocky places, whereas crabs live on soft mud. In winter they haunt sunny shores, but in summer they retire into the dim depths of the sea. All creatures of this class suffer in winter, but get fat in autumn and spring, and more so at full moon, because the moon mellows them with its warm glow by night.

51. The kinds of crab are the carabus, the crayfish, the spider-crab, the hermit-crab, the Heraclean crab, the lion-crab and other inferior species. The carabus differs from the other crabs by its tail; in Phoenicia it is called the horse-crab, being so swift that it is impossible to overtake it. Crabs are long-lived. They have eight feet, all curved crooked; the front foot is double in the female and single in the male. They also have two claws with denticulated nippers; the upper half of the forepart of these moves and the lower half is fixed. The right claw is the larger in every specimen. Sometimes crabs all collect together in a flock. They cannot make the mouth of the Black Sea against the current, and consequently when they are going out of it they travel round in a circle and appear to be following a beaten track. The one called the pea-crab is the smallest of the whole tribe, and consequently very liable to injury. It has the cunning to stow itself in empty bivalve shells and to shift into roomier ones as it grows bigger. When alarmed crabs can retreat backwards with equal speed. They fight duels with one another like rams; charging with horns opposed. They afford a remedy against snake-bite. It is related that when the sun is passing through the sign of Cancer the bodies of crabs also when they expire are transformed into scorpions during the drought.

The sea-urchin, which has spines instead of feet, belongs to the same genus. These creatures can only go forward by rolling over and over, and consequently they are often found with their prickles worn off. Those of them with the longest spines are called echinus cidaris, and the smallest are called cups. They have not all the same transparent colour: in the district of Torone some are born white, with a small spine. The eggs of all have a bitter taste; they are laid in clutches of five. Their mouths are in the middle of their body, on the under side. lit is said that they can forecast a rough sea and that they take the precaution of clutching stones and steadying their mobility by the weight: they do not want to wear away their spines by rolling about. When sailors see them doing this they at once secure their vessels with more anchors.

In the same family are water and land snails, that protrude out of their abode and shoot out and draw in two horns as it were. They have no eyes, and consequently explore the way in front of them with their little horns.

Sea-scallops are held to belong to the same class, which also retire into hiding at seasons of extreme cold and extreme heat; and piddocks, which shine as if with fire in dark places, even the mouth of persons eating them.

52. We now come to the purples and the varieties of shell-fish, which have a stronger shell. The latter display in great variety nature's love of sport: they show so many differences of colour, and also of shapebeing flat, hollow, long, crescent-shaped, circular, semi-circular, humped, smooth, wrinkled, serrated, furrowed; with the crest bent into the shape of a purple, the edge projecting into a sharp point, or spread outwards, or folded inwards; and again picked out with stripes or with flowing locks or with curls, or parted in little channels or like the teeth of a comb, or corrugated like tiles, or reticulated into lattice-work, or spread out slant-wise or straight, close-packed, diffused, curled; tied up in a short knot, or linked up all down the side, or opened so as to shut with a snap, or curved so as to make a trumpet. Of this species the Venus-shell sails like a ship, and projecting its hollow portion and setting it to catch the wind goes voyaging over the surface of the water. The scallop gives a leap and soars out of the water, and it also uses its own shell as a boat.

53. But why do I mention these trifles when their moral corruption and luxury spring from no other source in greater abundance than from the genus shell-fish? It is true that of the whole of nature the sea is most detrimental to the stomach in a multitude of ways, with its multitude of dishes and of appetizing kinds of fish to which the profits made by those who catch them spell danger. But what proportion do these form when we consider purple and scarlet robes and pearls! It had been insufficient, forsooth, for the seas to be stowed into our gullets, were they not carded on the hands and in the ears and on the head and all over the body of women and men alike. What connexion is there between the sea and our clothing, between the waves and waters and woollen fabric? We only enter that element in a proper manner when we are naked! Granted that there is so close an alliance between it and our stomach, but what has it to do with our backs? Are we not content to feed on dangers without also being clothed with them? Is it that the rule that we get most satisfaction from luxuries costing a human life to procure holds good for the whole of our anatomy?

54. The first place therefore and the topmost rank among all things of price is held by pearls. These are sent chiefly by the Indian Ocean, among the huge and curious animals that we have described as coming across all those seas over that wide expanse of lands from those burning heats of the sun. And to procure them for the Indians as well, men go to the islandsand those quite few in number: the most productive is Ceylon, and also Stoidis, as we said in our circuit of the world, and also the Indian promontory of Perimula; but those round Arabia on the Persian Gulf of the Red Sea are specially praised.

The source and breeding-ground of pearls are shells not much differing from oyster-shells. These, we are told, when stimulated by the generative season of the year gape open as it were and are filled with dewy pregnancy, and subsequently when heavy are delivered, and the offspring of the shells are pearls that correspond to the quality of the dew received: if it was a pure inflow, their brilliance is conspicuous but if it was turbid, the product also becomes dirty in colour. Also if the sky is lowering (they say) the pearl is pale in colour: for it is certain that it was conceived from the sky, and that pearls have more connexion with the sky than with the sea, and derive from it a cloudy hue, or a clear one corresponding with a brilliant morning. If they are well fed in due season, the offspring also grows in size. If there is lightning, the shells shut up, and diminish in size in proportion to their abstinence from food; but if it also thunders they are frightened and shut up suddenly, producing what are called 'wind-pearls,' which are only inflated with an empty, unsubstantial show: these are the pearls' miscarriages. Indeed a healthy offspring is formed

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with a skin of many thicknesses, so that it may not improperly be considered as a hardening of the body; and consequently experts subject them to a cleansing process. I am surprised that though pearls rejoice so much in the actual sky, they redden and lose their whiteness in the sun, like the human body; consequently sea-pearls preserve a special brilliance, being too deeply immersed for the rays to penetrate; nevertheless even they get yellow from age and doze off with wrinkles, and the rigour that is sought after is only found in youth. Also in old age they get thick and stick to the shells, and cannot be torn out of these except by using a file. Pearls with only one surface, and round on that side but flat at the back, are consequently termed tambourine pearls; we have seen them clustering together in shells that owing to this enrichment were used for carrying round perfumes. For the rest, a large pearl is soft when in the water but gets hard as soon as it is taken out.

55. When a shell sees a hand it shuts itself up and conceals its treasures, as it knows that it is sought for on their account; and if the hand is inserted first it cuts it off with its sharp edge, the most just penalty possiblefor it is armed with other penalties also, as for the most part it is found among rocks, while even in deep water it has sea-dogs a in attendanceyet nevertheless these do not protect it against women's ears. Some accounts say that clusters of shells like bees have one of their number, a specially large and old shell, as their leader, one marvellously skilful in taking precautions; and that these leader-shells are diligently sought for by pearl-divers, as when they are caught all the rest stray about and easily get shut up in the nets, subsequently a quantity of salt being poured over them in earthenware jars; this eats away all the flesh, and a sort of kernels in their bodies, which are pearls, fall to the bottom.

56. There is no doubt that pearls are worn away by use, and that lack of care makes them change their colour. Their whole value lies in their brilliance, size, roundness, smoothness and weight, qualities of such rarity that no two pearls are found that are exactly alike: this is doubtless the reason why Roman luxury has given them the name of 'unique gems,' the word not existing in Greece, and indeed among foreign races, who discovered this fact, the only name for them is margarita. There is also a great variety in their actual brilliance; it is brighter with those found in the Red Sea, whereas those found in the Indian Ocean resemble flakes of mica, though they excel others in size. The highest praise given to their colour is for them to be called alum-coloured. The longer ones also have a charm of their own. Those that end in a wider circle, tapering lengthwise in the shape of perfume-caskets, are termed 'probes.' Women glory in hanging these on their fingers and using two or three for a single-earring, and foreign names for this luxury occur, names invented by abandoned extravagance, inasmuch as when they have done this they call them 'castanets,' as if they enjoyed even the sound and the mere rattling together of the pearls; and now-a-days even poor people covet themit is a common saying that a pearl is as good as a lackey for a lady when she walks abroad! And they even use them on their feet, and fix them not only to the laces of their sandals but all over their slippers. In fact, by this time they are not content with wearing pearls unless they tread on them, and actually walk on these unique gems!

There used to be commonly found in our own sea, and more frequently on the coasts of the Thracian Bosphorus, small red gems contained in the shells called mussels. But in Acarnania there grows what is termed the sea-pen; which shows that pearls are not born in only one kind of shell, for Juba also records that the Arabs have a shell resembling a toothed comb, that bristles like a hedgehog, and has an actual pearl, resembling a hailstone, in the fleshy part; this kind of shell is not imported to Rome. And there are not found in Acamania the formerly celebrated pearls of an exceptional size and almost a marble colour. Better ones are found round Actium, but these too are small, and in sea-board Mauretania. Alexander the Encyclopaedist and Sudines think that they grow old and let their colour evaporate.

57. It is clear that they are of a fine substance, because no fall can break them. Also they are not always found in the middle of the flesh, but in a variety of places, and before now we have seen them even at the extreme edges, as though in the act of passing out of the shell; and in some cases we have seen four or five pearls in one shell. In weight few specimens have hitherto exceeded half an ounce by more than one scruple. It is established that small pearls of poor colour grow in Britain, since the late lamented Julius desired it to be known that the breastplate which he dedicated to Venus Genetrix in her temple was made of British pearls.

58. I have seen Lollia Paulina, who became the consort of Gaius, not at some considerable or solemn ceremonial celebration but actually at an ordinary betrothal banquet, covered with emeralds and pearls interlaced alternately and shining all over her head, hair, ears, neck and fingers, the sum total amounting to the value of 40,000,000 sesterces, she herself being ready at a moment's notice to give documentary proof of her title to them; nor had they been presents from an extravagant emperor, but ancestral possessions, acquired in fact with the spoil of the provinces. This is the final outcome of plunder, it was for this that Marcus Lollius disgraced himself by taking gifts from kings in the whole of the East, and was cut out of his list of friends by Gaius Caesar son of Augustus and drank poisonthat his granddaughter should be on show in the lamplight covered with 40,000,000 sesterces! Now let some one reckon up on one side of the account how much Curius or Fabricius carried in their triumphs, and picture to himself the spoils they displayed, and on the other side Lollia, a single little lady reclining at the Emperor's sideand would he not think it better that they should have been dragged from their chariots than have won their victories with this result? Nor are these the topmost instances of luxury. There have been two pearls that were the largest in the whole of history; both were owned by Cleopatra, the last of the Queens of Egyptthey had come down to her through the hands of the Kings of the East. When Antony was gorging daily at recherch banquets, she with a pride at once lofty and insolent, queenly wanton as she was, poured contempt on all his pomp and splendour, and when he asked what additional magnificence could be contrived, replied that she would spend 10,000,000 sesterces on a single banquet. Antony was eager to learn how it could be done, although he thought it was impossible. Consequently bets were made, and on the next day, when the matter was to be decided, she set before Antony a banquet that was indeed splendid, so that the day might not be wasted, but of the kind served every dayAntony laughing and expostulating at its niggardliness. But she vowed it was a mere additional douceur, and that the banquet would round off the account and her own dinner alone would cost 10,000,000 sesterces, and she ordered the second course to be served. In accordance with previous instructions the servants placed in front of her only a single vessel containing vinegar, the strong rough quality of which can melt pearls. She was at the moment wearing in her ears that remarkable and truly unique work of nature. Antony was full of curiosity to see what in the world she was going to do. She took one earring off and dropped the pearl in the vinegar, and when it was melted swallowed it. Lucius Plancus, who was umpiring the wager, placed his hand on the other pearl when she was preparing to destroy it also in a similar way, and declared that Antony had lost the battlean ominous remark that came true. With this goes the story that, when that queen who had won on this important issue was captured, the second of this pair of pearls was cut in two pieces, so that half a helping of the jewel might be in each of the ears of Venus in the Pantheon at Rome.

59. They will not carry off this trophy, and will be robbed even of the record for luxury! A predecessor had done this at Rome in the case of pearls of great value, Clodius, the son of the tragic actor Aesopus, who had left him his heir in a vast estate; so that Antony cannot take too much pride in his triumvirate when compared with one who was virtually an actor, and who had indeed been led on to this display not by any wagerwhich would make it more royalbut to discover by experiment, for the honour of his palate, what is the exact flavour of pearls; and when they proved marvellously acceptable, in order not to keep the knowledge to himself he gave his guests also a choice pearl apiece to swallow.

Fenestella records that they came into common use at Rome after the reduction of Alexandria under our sway, but that small and cheap pearls first came in about the period of Sulla which is clearly a mistake, as Aelius Stilo states that the distinctive name was given to large pearls just at the time of the wars of Jugurtha.

60. And nevertheless this article is an almost everlasting piece of propertyit passes to its owner's heir, it is offered for public sale like some landed estate; whereas every hour of use wears away robes of scarlet and purple, which the same mother, luxury, has made almost as costly as pearls.

Purples live seven years at most. They stay in hiding like the murex for 30 days at the time of the rising of the dog-star. They collect into shoals in springtime, and their rubbing together causes them to discharge a sort of waxy viscous slime. The murex also does this in a similar manner, but it has the famous flower of purple, sought after for dyeing robes, in the middle of its throat: here there is a white vein of very scanty fluid from which that precious dye, suffused with a dark rose colour, is drained, but the rest of the body produces nothing. People strive to catch this fish alive, because it discharges this juice with its life; and from the larger purples they get the juice by stripping off the shell, but they crush the smaller ones alive with the shell, as that is the only way to make them disgorge the juice. The best Asiatic purple is at Tyre, the best African is at Meninx and on the Gaetulian coast of the Ocean, the best European in the district of Sparta. The official rods and axes of Rome clear a path, and it also marks the honourable estate of boyhood; it distinguishes the senate from the knighthood, it is called in to secure the favour of the gods; and it adds radiance to every garment, while in a triumphal robe it is blended with gold. Consequently even the mad lust for the purple may be excused; but what is the cause of the prices paid for purple-shells, which have an unhealthy odour when used for dye and a gloomy tinge in their radiance resembling an angry sea?

The purple's tongue is an inch long; when feeding it uses it for piercing a hole in the other kinds of shell-fish, so hard is its point. These fish die in fresh water and wherever a river discharges into the sea, but otherwise when caught they live as much as seven weeks on their own slime. All shellfish grow with extreme rapidity, especially the purple-fish; they reach their size in a year.

61. But if having come to this point our exposition were to pass over elsewhere, luxury would undoubtedly believe itself defrauded and would find us guilty of remissness. For this reason we will pursue the subject of manufactures as well, so that just as the principle of foodstuffs is learnt in food, so everybody who takes pleasure in the class of things in question may be well-informed on the subject of that which is the prize of their mode of life. Shellfish supplying purple dyes and scarletsthe material of these is the same but it is differently blended--are of two kinds: the whelk is a smaller shell resembling the one that gives out the sound of a trumpet, whence the reason of its name, by means of the round mouth incised in its edge; the other is called the purple, with a channelled beak jutting out and the side of the channel tube-shaped inwards, through which the tongue can shoot out; moreover it is prickly all round, with about seven spikes forming a ring, which are not found in the whelk, though both shells have as many rings as they are years old. The trumpet-shell clings only to rocks and can be gathered round crags.

Another name used for the purple is 'pelagia.' There are several kinds, distinguished by food and the ground they live on. The mud-purple feeds on rotting slime and the seaweed-purple on seaweed, both being of a very common quality. A better kind is the reef-purple, collected on the reefs of the sea, though this also is lighter and softer as well. The pebble-purple is named after a pebble in the sea, and is remarkably suitable for purple dyes; and far the best for these is the melting-purple, that is, one fed on a varying kind of mud. Purples are taken in a sort of little lobster-pot of fine ply thrown into deep water. These contain bait, cockles that close with a snap, as we observe that mussels do. These when half-killed but put back into the sea gape greedily as they revive and attract the purples, which go for them with outstretched tongues. But the cockles when pricked by their spike shut up and nip the creatures nibbling them. So the purples hang suspended because of their greed and are lifted out of the water.

62. It is most profitable for them to be taken after the rising of the dog-star or before springtime, since when they have waxed themselves over with slime, they have their juices fluid. But this fact is not known to the dyers' factories, although it is of primary importance. Subsequently the vein of which we spoke is removed, and to this salt has to be added, about a pint for every hundred pounds; three days is the proper time for it to be steeped (as the fresher the salt the stronger it is), and it should be heated in a leaden pot, and with 50 lbs. of dye to every six gallons of water kept at a uniform and moderate temperature by a pipe brought from a furnace some way off. This will cause it gradually to deposit the portions of flesh which are bound to have adhered to the veins, and after about nine days the cauldron is strained and a fleece that has been washed clean is dipped for a trial, and the liquid is heated up until fair confidence is achieved. A ruddy colour is inferior to a blackish one. The fleece is allowed to soak for five hours and after it has been carded is clipped again, until it soaks up all the juice. The whelk by itself is not approved of, as it does not make a fast dye; it is blended in a moderate degree with sea-purple and it gives to its excessively dark hue that hard and brilliant scarlet which is in demand; when their forces are thus mingled, the one is enlivened, or deadened as the case may be, by the other. The total amount of dye-stuffs required for 1,000 lbs. of fleece is 200 lbs. of whelk and 111 lbs. of sea-purple; so is produced that remarkable amethyst colour. For Tyrian purple the wool is first soaked with sea-purple for a preliminary pale dressing, and then completely transformed with whelk dye. Its highest glory consists in the colour of congealed blood, blackish at first glance but gleaming when held up to the light; this is the origin of Homer's phrase, 'blood of purple hue.'

63. I notice that the use of purple at Rome dates from the earliest times, but that Romulus used it only for a cloak; as it is fairly certain that the first of the kings to use the bordered robe and broader purple stripe was Tullus Hostilius, after the conquest of the Etruscans. Cornelius Nepos, who died in the principate of the late lamented Augustus, says: 'In my young days the violet purple dye was the vogue, a pound of which sold at 100 denarii; and not much later the red purple of Taranto. This was followed by the double-dyed Tyrian purple, which it was impossible to buy for 1000 denarii per pound. This was first used in a bordered robe by Publius Lentulus Spinther, curule aedile, but met with disapproval, though who does not use this purple for covering dining-couches now-a-days?' Spinther was aedile in the consulship of Cicero, 63 BC. Stuff dipped twice over used at that time to be termed

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'double-dyed,' and was regarded as a lavish extravagance, but now almost all the more agreeable purple stuffs are dyed in this way.

64. In a purple-dyed dress the rest of the process is the same except that trumpet-shell dye is not used, and in addition the juice is diluted with water and with human urine in equal quantities; and only half the amount of dye is used. This produces that much admired paleness, avoiding deep colouration, and the more diluted the more the fleeces are stinted.

The prices for dyestuff vary in cheapness with the productivity of the coasts, but those who buy them at an enormous price should know that deep-sea purple nowhere exceeds 50 sesterces and trumpet-shell 100 sesterces per 100 lbs.

65. But every end leads to fresh starts, and men make a sport of spending, and like doubling their sports by combining them and re-adulterating nature's adulterations, for instance staining tortoiseshells, alloying gold with silver to produce amber-metal ware, and adding copper to these to make Corinthian ware. It is not enough to have stolen for a dye the name of a gem, 'sober-stone,' but when finished it is made drunk again with Tyrian dye, so as to produce from the combination an outlandish name and a twofold luxury at one time; and when they have made shell-dye, they think it an improvement for it to pass into Tyrian. Repentance must have discovered this first, the artificer altering a product that he disapproved of; but reason sprang up next, and a defect was turned into a success by marvellous inventions, and a double path pointed out for luxury, so that one colour might be concealed by another, being pronounced to be made sweeter and softer by this process; and also a method to blend minerals, and dye with Tyrian a fabric already dyed with scarlet, to produce colour. The kermes, a red kernel of Galatia, as we shall say when dealing with the products of the earth, or else in the neighbourhood of Merida in Lusitania, is most approved. But, to finish off these famous dyes at once, the kernel when a year old has a viscous juice, and also after it is four years old the juice tends to disappear, so that it lacks strength both when fresh and when getting old.

We have amply dealt with the method whereby the beauty of men and women alike believes that it is rendered most abundant.

66. The genus shell-fish also includes the fan-mussel. It occurs in marshy places, always in an upright position, and never without a companion which is called the pea-crab, or by others the sea-pen-protector: this is a small shrimp, elsewhere called a crab, its attendant at the feast. The sea-pen opens, presenting the dark inside of its body to the tiny fishes; these at once dart forward, and when their courage has grown by license, they fill up the sea-pen. Her marker having watched for this moment gives her a signal with a gentle nip. She by shutting up kills whatever she has enclosed, and bestows a share on her partner.

67. This makes me all the more surprised that some people have held the view that aquatic animals possess no senses. The torpedo knows her power, and does not herself possess the torpor she inflicts; she hides by plunging into the mud, and snaps up any fish that have received a shock while swimming carelessly above her. No tender morsel is preferred to the liver of this fish. The sea-frog called the angler-fish is equally cunning: it stirs up the mud and puts out the little horns that project under its eyes, drawing them back when little fishes frisk towards them till they come near enough for it to spring upon them. In a similar manner the skate and the turbot while in hiding put out their fins and wave them about to look like worms, and so also do the fish called rays. For the stingray acts as a freebooter, from its hiding place transfixing fish passing by with its sting, which is its weapon; there are proofs of this cunning, because these fish, though the slowest there are, are found with mullet, the swiftest of all fish, in their belly.

The scolopendra, which resembles the land animal called the centipede, when it has swallowed a hook vomits up the whole of its inwards until it succeeds in disgorging it, and then sucks them back again. Sea-foxes on the other hand in a similar emergency gulp down more of the line till they reach its weak part where they may easily gnaw it off. The fish called the catfish more cautiously nibbles at hooks from behind and strips them of the bait without swallowing them.

The sea-ram goes around like a brigand, and now hides in the shadow of the larger vessels riding at anchor and waits in case somebody may be tempted by the pleasure of a swim, now raises its head out of the water and watches for fishermen's boats, and secretly swimming up to them sinks them.

68. For my own part I hold the view that even those creatures which have not got the nature of either animals or plants, but some third nature derived from both, possess sense-perceptionI mean jellyfish and sponges.

Jellyfish roam about and change their place by night. These have the nature of a fleshy leaf, and they feed on flesh. The itch they cause has a biting power, just like that of the land nettle. Consequently this creature draws itself in as stiffly as possible and when a little fish swims in front of it spreads out its leaf and enfolding it devours it. In other cases it looks as if it were withering up, and allows itself to be tossed about by the waves like seaweed, and attacks any fish that touch it as they try to scrape away the itch by rubbing against a rock. The same creature by night hunts for scallops and sea-urchins. When it feels a hand approach it, it changes colour and draws itself together. When touched it sends out a burning sting, and if there is a moment's interval hides. It is reported to have mouths in its root and to evacuate its excretions by a narrow tube through its topmost parts.

69. We are informed that there are three kinds of sponge: a thick and very hard and rough one is called goat-thorn sponge, a less thick and softer one loose-sponge, and a thin one of close texture, used for making paintbrushes, Achilles sponge. They all grow on rocks, and feed on shells, fish and mud. These creatures manifestly possess intelligence, because when they are aware of a sponge-gatherer they contract and make it much more difficult to detach them. They do the same when much beaten by the waves. The tiny shells found inside them clearly show that they live by eating food. It is said that in the neighbourhood of Torone they can be fed on these shell-fish even after they have been pulled off the rocks, and that fresh sponges grow again on the rocks from the roots left there; also the colour of blood remains on them, especially on the African ones that grow on the sandbanks. Very large but very soft thin sponges grow round Lycia, though those in deep and calm water are softer; the rough kind grows in the Dardanelles, and the close-textured round Cape Malea. Sponges decay in sunny places, and consequently the best are found in deep pools. Live sponges have the same blackish colour as sponges in use have when wet. They do not cling to the rock with a particular part nor with their entire surface, for they have certain empty tubes, about four or five in number, running through them, through which it is believed that they take their food. They also have other tubes, but these are closed at the upper end; and it is understood that there is a sort of thin skin on the under side of their roots. It is established that they live a long time. The worst of all the species of sponge is one called in Greek the dirty sponge, because it cannot be cleaned; it contains large tubes, and the rest of it is of a very close texture.

70. The number of dog-fish specially swarming round sponges beset the men that dive for them with grave danger. These persons also report that a sort of 'cloud' thickens above their headsthis a live creature resembling flatfishpressing them down and preventing them from getting back, and that because of this they have very sharp spikes attached to cords, because the 'clouds' will not withdraw unless stabbed through in this waythis story being the result, as I believe, of darkness and fear; for nobody has ever heard of any such creature in the list of animals as the 'cloud' or 'fog,' which is the name the divers give to this plague. Divers have fierce fights with the dog-fish; these attack their loins and heels and all the white parts of the body. The one safety lies in going for them and frightening them by taking the offensive; for a dog-fish is as much afraid of a man as a man is of it, and so they are on equal terms in deep water. When they come to the surface, then the man is in critical danger, as the policy of taking the offensive is not available while he is trying to get out of the water, and his only safety Is in his comrades. These haul on the rope tied to his shoulders; this, as he carries on the duel, he shakes with his left hand to give a signal of danger, while his right hand grasps his dagger and is occupied in fighting. Most of the time they haul gently, but when he gets near the boat, unless with a quick heave they suddenly snatch him out of the water, they have to look on while he is made away with. And often when divers have already begun to be hauled up they are snatched out of their comrades' hands, unless they have themselves supplemented the aid of those hauling by curling up into a ball. Others of the crew of course thrust out harpoons, but the vast beast is crafty enough to go under the vessel and so carry on the battle in safety. Consequently divers devote their whole attention to keeping a watch against this disaster; the most reliable token of safety is to have seen some flatfish, which are never found where these noxious creatures areon account of which divers call them the holy fish.

71. It must be agreed that creatures enclosed in a flinty shell, such as oysters, have no senses. Many have the same nature as a bush, for instance the sea-cucumber, the sea-lung, the starfish. And to no such an extent is it the case that everything grows in the sea, that even the creatures found in inns in summertimethose that plague us with a quick jump or those that hide chiefly in the hairoccur there, and are often drawn out of the water clustering round the bait; and their irritation is thought to disturb the sleep of fish in the sea at night. Indeed on some kinds of fish these vermin actually breed as parasites; the herring is believed to be one of these.

72. Nor are there wanting dire poisons, as in the sea-hare which in the Indian Ocean infects even by its touch, immediately causing vomiting and laxity of the stomach, and in our own seas the shapeless lump resembling a hare in colour only, whereas the Indian variety is also like a hare in size and in fur, only its fur is harder; and there it is never taken alive. An equally pestiferous creature is the weaver, which wounds with the sharp point of its dorsal fin. But there is nothing in the world more execrable than the sting projecting above the tail of the stingray which our people call the parsnip-fish; it is five inches long, and kills trees when driven into the root, and penetrates armour like a missile, with the force of steel and with deadly poison.

73. We are not told that the various kinds of fish suffer from endemic diseases, as do all other even wild animals; but that individuals among them are liable to illness is proved by the emaciated condition of some fish contrasted with the extreme fatness of others. of the same kind when caught.

74. The curiosity and wonder of mankind does not allow us to postpone the consideration of these animals' method of reproduction. Fish couple by rubbing their bellies together so quickly as to escape the sight; dolphins and the rest of the large marine species couple in a similar manner, but with rather longer contact. At the coupling season the female fish pursues the male, nudging his belly with her nose, but directly after the eggs are born the males similarly pursue the females and eat their eggs. Copulation is not enough in itself to cause the birth of offspring, unless when the eggs are laid the males swim to and fro sprinkling them with life-giving milk. This is not achieved with all the eggs in so great a multitudeotherwise the seas and marshes would be completely filled, since the uterus of a single fish holds a countless number of eggs.

Fishes' eggs in the sea grow in size, some with extreme rapidity, for instance those of the murena, some a little more slowly. Flat fish not possessing a tail, and sting-ray and tortoises, cover the female in mating, polyps couple by attaching a single feeler to the female's nostrils, the two varieties of cuttle-fish with their tongues, linking their arms together and swimming in opposite directions; they also spawn through the mouth. But polyps couple with their head turned towards the ground, all the other soft fishes with their backs--for instance sea-dogs, and also langoustes and prawns; crabs with their mouth. Frogs cover the female, the male grasping her shoulder-blades with his forefeet and her buttocks with his hind feet. They spawn very small lumps of dark flesh that are called tadpoles, possessing only eyes and a tail; but soon feet are formed by the tail dividing into two hind legs. And strange to say, after six months of life they melt invisibly back into mud, and again in the waters of springtime are reborn what they were before, equally owing to some hidden principle of nature, as it occurs every year. Also mussels and scallops are produced by spontaneous generation in sandy waters; fish with harder shells, like the two varieties of purple-fish, are generated by a sticky juice like saliva, as gnats are by moisture turning sour; the anchovy by sea-foam growing warm when rain gets into it; but fish protected by a flinty covering, like oysters, are generated by rotting mud, or by the foam round ships that stay moored for some time, and especially round stakes fixed in the ground, and timber. It has recently been discovered in oyster-beds that a fertilizing moisture flows out of these fish like milk. Eels rub against rocks and the scrapings come to life; this is their only way of breeding. Different kinds of fish do not mate together, except the skate and the ray, the cross between which is like a ray in front, and bears in Greece a name derived from the names of both parents.

Some creatures are born at a fixed season of the year, water species as well as those on land: scallops of and slugs and leeches in the spring; these also pass away at a fixed season. Among fish the wolf-fish and the sardine breed twice a year, and so do all the rock-fish; some breed three times, for instance the herring; carp six times; sea-scorpions and twice, in spring and autumn: of the flat fish only the skate twice, in the autumn and at the setting of the Pleiades; most fish in the three months of April, May and June; the stockfish in the autumn, the aargus, the torpedo and the squalus at the season of the equinox; soft fish in the spring; the cuttlefish in all the monthsits eggs stick together with an inky gum like a bunch of grapes, and the male directs his breath upon them, otherwise they are barren. Polyps mate in winter and lay eggs in spring that cluster in a twisting coil; and they are so prolific that when they are killed the cavity of their head will not hold the multitude of eggs that they carried in it when pregnant. They lay them after seven weeks, many of them perishing because of their number. Langoustes rind the rest of the species with rather thin shells deposit their eggs underneath them and so hatch them; the female polyp now sits on the eggs and now forms a closed cavern with her tentacles intertwined in a lattice. The sepia lays on land among reeds or wherever there is seaweed growing, and hatches after a fortnight. The cuttlefish produces its eggs in deep water clustered together like those of the sepia. The purple-fish, the murex and their kind spawn in spring. Sea-urchins have eggs at the full moons in winter, and snails are born in the winter time.

75. The electric ray is found having broods numbering eighty; also it produces exceedingly small eggs inside it, shifting them to another part of the womb and emitting them there; and similarly all the species that we have designated cartilaginous: thus it comes about that these are the only fish

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kinds that are both viviparous and oviparous. With the catfish alone of all species the male guards the eggs, often for as long as 50 days at a time, to prevent their being eaten by other fish. The females of all the other species spawn in thee days if a male has touched them.

76. The horn-fish or garfish is the only fish so prolific that its matrix is ruptured when it spawns; after spawning the wound grows together, which is said to happen in the case of blindworms also. The sea-mouse digs a trench in the ground to lay its eggs in and covers it again with earth, and a month later digs the earth up again and opens the trench and leads its brood into the water.

77. The red mullet and the sea-perch are said to have wombs. The species called by the Greeks hoop-fish is said to practise self-impregnation. The offspring of all aquatic animals are blind at birth.

78. There has recently been sent to us a remarkable case of longevity in fishes. In Campania not far from Naples, there is a country house named Posilipo; Annaeus Seneca writes that in Caesar's fishponds on this property a fish thrown in by Polio Vedius had died after reaching the age of 60, while two others of the same breed that were of the same age were even then living. The mention of fishponds reminds me to say a little more on this topic before leaving the subject of aquatic animals.

79. Oyster ponds were first invented by Sergius Orata on the Gulf of Baiae, in the time of the orator Lucius Crassus, before the Marsian war his motive was not greed but avarice, and he made a great profit out of his practical ingenuity, as he was the first inventor of shower-bathshe used to fit out country houses in this way and then sell them. He was the first to adjudge the best flavour to Lucrine oystersbecause the same kinds of fish are of better quality In different places, for example wolf-fish in the Tiber between the two bridges, turbot at Ravenna, lamprey in Sicily, sturgeon at Rhodes, and other kinds likewisenot to carry out this census of the larder to its conclusion. The coasts of Britain were not yet in service when Orata used to advertise the fame of the products of the Lago Lucrino; but subsequently it was deemed worth while to send to the end of Italy, to Brindisi, for oysters, and to prevent a quarrel between the two delicacies the plan has lately been devised of feeding away in the Lago Lucrino the hunger caused by the long porterage from Brindisi.

80. In the same period the elder Licinius Murena invented fishponds for all the other sorts of fish, and his example was subsequently followed by the celebrated record of Philip and Hortensius. Lucullus had built a channel that cost more than a country house, by actually cutting through a mountain near Naples and letting in the sea; this was why Pompey the Great used to call him 'Xerxes in Roman dress.' After his decease the fish from this pond sold for 4,000,000 sesterces.

81. The first person to devise a separate pond for lampreys was Gaius Hirrius, who added to the triumphal banquets of Caesar lampreys to the number of 6000as a loan, because he would not exchange them for money or for any other commodity. His less than moderate country estate was sold by its fishponds for 4,000,000 sesterces. Subsequently affection for individual fishes came into fashion. At Baculo in the Baiae district the pleader Hortensius had a fishpond containing a lamprey which he fell so deeply in love with that he is believed to have wept when it expired. At the same country house Drusus's wife Antonia adorned her favourite lamprey with earrings, and its reputation made some people extremely eager to visit Baculo.

82. Ponds for keeping snails were first made by Fulvius Lippinus in the Trachina district a little before the civil war fought with Pompey the Great; indeed he kept the different kinds of snails separate, with different compartments for the white snails that grow in the Rieti territory and for the Illyrian variety distinguished for size, the African for fecundity and the Solitane for breed. Moreover he devised a method of fattening them with new wine boiled down and spelt and other kinds of fodder, so that gastronomy was enriched even by fattened oysters; and according to Marcus Varro this ostentatious science was carried to such lengths that a single snail-shell was large enough to hold 80 quarts.

83. Moreover some wonderful kinds of fish are reported by Theophrastus. He says that (1) where the rivers debouch around the water-meadows of Babylon a certain fish stays in caverns that contain springs and goes out from them to feed, walking with its fins by means of a repeated movement of the tail, and guards against being caught by taking refuge in its caves and remaining in them facing towards the opening, and that these fishes' heads resemble a sea-frog's and the rest of its parts a goby's, though the gills are the same as in other fish. (2) In the neighbourhood of Heraclea and Cromna and in many parts of the Black Sea there is one kind that frequents the water at the edge of rivers and makes itself caverns in the ground and lives in these, and also in the shore of tidal rivers when left dry by the tide; and consequently they are only dug up when the movement of their bodies shows that they are alive. (3) In the same neighbourhood of Heraclea at the outflow of the river Lycus fishes are born from eggs left in the mud that seek their fodder by flapping with their little gills, and this makes them not need moisture, which is the reason why eels also live comparatively long when taken out of the water, while eggs mature in a dry place, for instance tortoise's eggs. (4) In the same region of the Black Sea the fish most frequently caught in the ice is the goby, which is only made to reveal the movement of life by the heat of the saucepan. These accounts indeed, however marvellous, do nevertheless embody a certain principle. The same authority reports that in Paphlagonia earth-fish extremely acceptable for food are dug out of deep trenches in places where there is no overflow from streams; and after himself expressing surprise at their being propagated without coupling, he gives the view that at all events they have a supply of moisture in them similar to that in wellsbut as if fish were found in any wells! Whatever the fact is as to this, it certainly makes the life of moles, an underground animal, less remarkable, unless perhaps these fishes also possess the nature of earth-worms.

84. But credibility is given to all these statements by the flooding of the Nile, with a marvel that surpasses them all: this is that, when the river withdraws its covering, water-mice are found with the work of generative water and earth uncompletedthey are already alive in a part of their body, but the most recently formed part of their structure is still of earth.

85. Nor is it proper to omit the stories about the anthias fish that I notice to have won general acceptance. We have mentioned the Swallow Islands, situated off a promontory of Mt. Taurus in the rocky sea of Asia; this fish is frequent there, and is quickly caught, in one variety. A fisherman sails out a certain distance in a small boat, wearing clothes that match the boat in colour, and at the same time for several days running, and throws out bait; but if any alteration whatever be made, the prey suspects a trick and avoids the thing that has frightened it. When this has been done a number of times, at last one anthias is tempted by familiarity to try to get the bait. This one is marked down with careful attention as a foundation for hope and as a decoy for a catch; and it is not difficult to mark it, as for several days only this one ventures to come close. At last it finds others as well, and gradually enlarging its company finally brings shoals too big to count, as by this time all the oldest fish have got used to recognizing the fisherman and snatching the bait out of his hand. Then he throws a hook fixed in the bait a little beyond his fingers, and catches or rather rushes them one by one, snatching them with a short jerk away from the shadow of the boat so that the others may not notice it, while another man in the boat receives the catch in some rags so that no flapping or noise may drive away the others. It pays to know the decoy fish for this purpose, so that he may not be caught, as thenceforward the shoal will swim away. There is a story that a disaffected partner in a fishery lay in wait for the leader fish, which was very well known, and caught it, with malicious intent; Mucianus adds that it was recognized in the market by the partner who was being victimized, and that proceedings for damage were instituted and a verdict given for the prosecution with damages as assessed. Moreover it is said that when these fishes see one of their number hooked they cut the line with the sawlike prickles that they have on their back, while the one held by the line draws it taut so as to enable it to be severed. With the satgus kind however the captive itself rubs the line against the rocks.

85. Besides these eases I observe that authors renowned for their wisdom express surprise at there being a star in the sea: that is the shape of the fish which has rather little, flesh inside it but a rather hard rind outside. They say that this fish contains such fiery heat that it scorches all the things it touches in the sea, and digests all food immediately. I cannot readily say by what experiments this has been ascertained, and I should consider a fact that there is daily opportunity of experiencing to be much more worth recording.

87. The class shellfish includes the piddock, named finger-mussel from its resemblance to a human fingernail. It is the nature of these fish to shine in darkness with a bright light when other light is removed, and in proportion to their amount of moisture to glitter both in the mouth of persons masticating them and in their hands, and even on the floor and on their clothes when drops fall from them, making it clear beyond all doubt that their juice possesses a property that we should marvel at even in a solid object.

88. There are also remarkable facts as to their quarrels and their friendship. Violent animosity rages between the mullet and the wolf-fish, and between the conger and the lamprey, which gnaw each other's tails. The langouste is so terrified of the polyp that it dies if it merely sees one near to it, and so does the conger if it sees a langouste; while on the other hand congers tear a polyp to pieces. Nigidius states that the wolf-fish gnaws at the tail of the mullet, although they are friendly together in certain months, but that all the mullets with their tails amputated in this way continue to live. But on the other hand instances of friendship, in addition to the creatures whose alliance we have mentioned, are the whale and the sea-mouse: because the whale's eyes are overburdened with the excessively heavy weight of its brows the seamouse swims in front of it and points out the shallows dangerous to its bulky size, so acting as a substitute for eyes.

There will follow an account of the natures of birds.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 10

1. The next subject is the Nature of Birds. Of these the largest species, which almost belongs to the class of animals, the ostrich of Africa or Ethiopia, exceeds the height and surpasses the speed of a mounted horseman, its wings being bestowed upon it merely as an assistance in running, but otherwise it is not a flying creature and does not rise from the earth. It has talons resembling a stag's hooves, which it uses as weapons; they are cloven in two, and are useful for grasping stones which when in flight it flings with its feet against its pursuers. Its capacity for digesting the objects that it swallows down indiscriminately is remarkable, but not less so is its stupidity in thinking that it is concealed when it has hidden its neck among bushes, in spite of the great height of the rest of its body. The eggs of the ostrich are extremely remarkable for their size; some people use them as vessels, and the feathers for adorning the crests and helmets of warriors.

2. They say that Ethiopia and the Indies possess birds extremely variegated in colour and indescribable, and that Arabia has one that is famous before all others (though perhaps it is fabulous), the phoenix, the only one in the whole world and hardly ever seen. The story is that it is as large as an eagle, and has a gleam of gold round its neck and all the rest of it is purple, but the tail blue picked out with rose-coloured feathers and the throat picked out with tufts, and a feathered crest adorning its head. The first and the most detailed Roman account of it was given by Manilius, the eminent senator famed for his extreme and varied learning acquired without a teacher: he stated that nobody has ever existed that has seen one feeding, that in Arabia it is sacred to the Sun-god, that it lives 540 years, that when it is growing old it constructs a nest with sprigs of wild cinnamon and frankincense, fills it with scents and lies on it till it dies; that subsequently from its bones and marrow is born first a sort of maggot, and this grows into a chicken, and that this begins by paying due funeral rites to the former bird and carrying the whole nest down to the City of the Sun near Panchaia and depositing it upon an altar there. Manilius also states that the period of the Great Year coincides with the life of this bird, and that the same indications of the seasons and stars return again, and that this begins about noon on the day on which the sun enters the sign of the Ram, and that the year of this period had been 215, as reported by him, in the consulship of Publius Licinius and Gnaeus Cornelius. Cornelius Valerianus reports that a phoenix flew down into Egypt in the consulship of Quintus Plautius and Sextus Papinius; it was even brought to Rome in the Censorship of the Emperor Claudius, a.u.c. 800 and displayed in the Comitium, a fact attested by the Records, although nobody would doubt that this phoenix was a fabrication.

3. Of the birds known to us the eagle is the most honourable and also the strongest. Of eagles there are six kinds. The one called by the Greeks the black eagle, and also the hare-eagle is smallest in size and of outstanding strength; it is of a blackish colour. It is the only eagle that rears its own young, whereas all the others, as we shall describe, drive them away; and it is the only one that has no scream or cry. Its haunt is in the mountains. To the second kind belongs the white-rump eagle found in towns and in level country; it has a whitish tail. To the third the morphnos, which Homer also calls the dusky eagle, and some the plangos and also the duck-eagle; it is second in size and strength, and it lives in the neighbourhood of lakes. Phemonoe, who was styled Daughter of Apollo, has stated that it possesses teeth, but that it is mute and voiceless; also that it is the darkest of the eagles in colour, and has an exceptionally prominent tail. Boethus also agrees. It has a clever device for breaking tortoiseshells that it has carried off, by dropping them from a height; this accident caused the death of the poet Aeschylus, who was trying to avoid a disaster of this nature that had been foretold by the fates, as the story goes, by trustfully relying on the open sky. Next, the fourth class comprises the hawk-eagle, also called the mountain stork, which resembles a vulture in having very small wings but exceeds it in the size of its other parts, and yet is unwarlike and degenerate, as it allows a crow to flog it. It is always ravenously greedy, and keeps up a plaintive screaming. It is the only eagle that carries away the dead bodies of its prey; all the others after killing alight on the spot. This species causes the fifth kind to be called the' true eagle,' as being the genuine kind and the only pure-bred one; it is of medium size and dull reddish colour, and it is rarely seen. There remains the osprey, which has very keen eyesight, and which hovers at a great height and when it sees a fish in the sea drops on it with a swoop and cleaving the water with its breast catches it. The species that we made the third hunts round marshes for water-birds, which at once dive, till they become drowsy and exhausted, when it catches them. The duel is worth watching, the bird making for refuge on the shore, especially if there is a dense reed-bed, and the eagle driving it away from the shore with a blow of its wing; and when it is hunting its quarry in a lake, soaring and showing its shadow to the bird swimming under water away from the shore, so

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that the bird turns back again and comes to the surface at a place where it thinks it is least expected. This is the reason why birds swim in flocks, because several are not attacked at the same time, since they blind the enemy by splashing him with their wings. Often even the eagles themselves cannot carry the weight of their catch and are drowned with it. The sea-eagle only compels its still unfledged chicks by beating them to gaze full at the rays of the sun, and if it notices one blinking and with its eyes watering flings it out of the nest as a bastard and not true to stock, whereas one whose gaze stands firm against the light it rears. Sea-eagles have no breed of their own but are born from crossbreeding with other eagles; but the offspring of a pair of sea-eagles belongs to the osprey genus, from which spring the smaller vultures, and from these the great vultures which do not breed at all. Some people add a species of eagle which they call the bearded eagle, but which the Tuscans call an ossifrage.

4. The three first and the fifth kinds of eagle have the stone called eagle-stone (named by some gagites) built into their nests, which is useful for many cures, and loses none of its virtue by fire. The stone in question is big with another inside it, which rattles as if in a jar when you shake it. But only those taken from a nest possess the medicinal power referred to. They build their nests in rocks and trees, and lay as many as three eggs at a time, but they shut out two chicks of the brood, and have been seen on occasion to eject even three. They drive out the other chick when they are tired of feeding it: indeed at this period nature has denied food to the parent birds themselves as a precaution, so that the young of all the wild animals should not be plundered; also during those days the birds' talons turn inward, and their feathers grow white from want of food, so that with good reason they hate their own offspring. But the chicks thrown out by these birds are received by the kindred breed, the bearded eagles, who rear them with their own. However the parent bird pursues them even when grown up, and drives them far away, doubtless because they are competitors in the chase. And apart from this a single pair of eagles in order to get enough food requires a large tract of country to hunt over; consequently they mark out districts, and do not poach on their neighbours' preserves. When they have made a catch they do not carry it off at once, but first lay it on the ground, and only fly away with it after first testing its weight. They meet their end not from old age nor sickness but from hunger, as their upper mandible grows to such a size that it is too hooked for them to be able to open it. They get busy and fly in the afternoon, but in the earlier hours of the day they perch quite idle till the market-places fill with a gathering of people. If eagles' feathers have the feathers of any other birds mixed with them, they swallow them up. It is stated that this is the only bird that is never killed by a thunderbolt; this, is why custom has deemed the eagle to be Jupiter's armour-bearer.

5. The eagle was assigned to the Roman legions as their special badge by Gaius Marius in his second consulship. Even previously it had been their first badge, with four others, wolves, minotaurs, horses and boars going in front of the respective ranks; but a few years before the custom had come in of carrying the eagles alone into action, the rest being left behind in camp. Marius discarded them altogether. Thenceforward it was noticed that there was scarcely ever a legion's winter camp without a pair of eagles being in the neighbourhood.

The first and second kinds not only carry off the smaller four-footed animals but actually do battle with stags. The eagle collects a quantity of dust by rolling in it, and perching on the stag's horns sakes it off into its eyes, striking its head with its wings, until it brings it down on to the rocks. Nor is it content with one foe: it has a fiercer battle with a great serpent, and one that is of much more doubtful issue, even though it is in the air. The serpent with mischievous greed tries to get the eagle's eggs; consequently the eagle carries it off wherever seen. The serpent fetters its wings by twining itself round them in manifold coils so closely that it falls to the ground itself with the snake.

6. At the city of Sestos the fame of an eagle is celebrated, the story being that it was reared by a maiden and that it repaid its gratitude by bringing to her first birds and soon afterwards big game, and when finally she died it threw itself upon her lighted pyre and was burnt with her. On account of this the inhabitants made what is called a heroon in that place, which is named the Shrine of Jupiter and the Maiden, because the bird is assigned to that deity.

7. Of vultures the black are the strongest. No one has ever reached their nests, and consequently there have actually been persons who have thought that they fly here from the opposite side of the globe. This is a mistake: they make their nests on extremely lofty crags. Their chicks indeed are often seen, usually in pairs. The most learned augur of our age, Umbricius, states that they lay thirteen eggs, but use one of them for cleaning the remaining eggs and the nest and then throw it away; but that three days before they lay the eggs they fly to some place where there will be dead bodies.

8. There is great question among the Roman augurs about the sanqualis and the immnsulus. Some think that the immusulus is the chick of the vulture and the sanqualis of the bearded vulture. Masurius says that the sanqualis is a bearded vulture and the immusulus an eagle's chick before its tail turns white. Some persons have asserted that they have not been seen at Rome since the time of the augur Mucius, but for my own part I think it more probable that in the general slackness that prevails they have not been recognized.

9. Of hawks we find sixteen kinds, and among these the aegithus, which when lame in one foot is of very fortunate omen for marriage contracts and for property in cattle, and the triorchis, named from the number of its testicles, the bird to which Phemonoe gave primacy among auguries. The Roman name for it is buteo, which is also the surname of a family, assumed because one perched on an admiral's ship with good omen. The Greeks give the name of merlin to the only species that appears at every season, whereas all the others go away in winter. The varieties of hawks are distinguished by their appetite for food: some only snatch a bird off the pound, others only one fluttering round a tree, others one that perches high in the branches, others one flying in the open. Consequently even the doves know the risks that they run from hawks, and when They see one They alight, or else fly upward, safeguarding themselves by going counter to the hawk's nature. The hawks of the whole of Massaesylia lay their eggs on the ground in Cerne, an island of Africa in the Ocean, and they do not breed elsewhere, as they are accustomed to the natives of that island.

10. In the district of Thrace inland from Amphipolis men and hawks have a sort of partnership for fowling: the men put up the birds from woods and reed-beds and the hawks flying overhead drive them down again; the fowlers share the bag with the hawks. It is reported that when the birds have been put up the hawks intercept them in the air, and when it is time for a catch invite the sportsmen to take the opportunity by their screaming and their way of flying. Wolf-fish at the Maeotic Marsh act somewhat in the same way, for unless they get their share from fishermen they tear their nets when spread.

Hawks do not eat the hearts of birds. The night-hawk is called cybindis; it is rare even in forests, and cannot see very well in the daytime. It wages war to the death with the eagle, and they are often taken clinging together in each other's clutches.

11. The cuckoo seems to be made by changing its shape out of a hawk at a certain season of the year, as the rest of the hawks do not appear then, except on a very few days, and the cuckoo itself also after being seen for a moderate period of the summer is not observed afterwards. But the cuckoo is alone among the hawks in not having crooked talons, and also it is not like the other hawks in the head or in anything else but colour: it rather has the general appearance of the pigeon. Moreover a hawk will eat a cuckoo, if ever both have appeared at the same time: the cuckoo is the only one of all the birds that is killed by its own kind. And it also changes its voice. It comes out in the spring and goes into lung at the rising of the dog-star, between which dates it lays its eggs in the nests of other birds, usually wood-pigeons, for the most part one egg at a time, as does no other bird; it seldom lays two. Its reason for foisting its chicks on other birds is supposed to be that it knows itself to be hated by the whole of the birds, for even the very small birds attack it; consequently it thinks that a progeny will not be secured for its race unless it has escaped notice, for which reason it makes no nest; it is a timid creature in general. Therefore the brooding hen in the nest thus cuckolded rears the changeling. The young cuckoo being by nature greedy snatches the bits of food away from the rest of the chicks, and so gets fat and attracts the mother bird to itself by its sleek appearance. She delights in its beauty and admires herself for having borne such a child, while in comparison with it she convicts her own chicks of not belonging to her, and lets them be eaten up even under her own eyes, until finally the cuckoo, now able to fly, seizes the mother bird herself as well. At this stage no sort of bird will compare with a young cuckoo for savoury flavour.

12. Kites belong to the same genus as hawks but differ in size. It has been noticed in regard to this species. That though a most rapacious bird and always hungry it never steals any edible from the oblations at funerals nor from the altar at Olympia and not even out of the hands of the people bringing the offsprings except with a gloomy portent for the slaves performing the sacrifice. Also it seems that this bird by its manipulation of its tail taught the art of steersmanship, nature demonstrating in the sky what was required in the deep. Kites themselves also are not seen in the winter months, though not departing before the swallow; it is reported however that they suffer from gout even from midsummer onward.

13. The primary distinction between birds is established especially by the feet; for either they have hooked talons or claws or they are in the web-footed class like geese and water-fowl generally. If they have hooked talons they live for the most part only on flesh;

14. though crows eat other food as well, as if a nut is so hard that it resists their beak they fly up aloft and drop it two or more times on to rocks or roof-tiles, till it is cracked and they can break it open. The bird itself has a persistent croak that is unlucky, although some people speak well of it. It is noticed that from the rising of Arcturus to the arrival of the swallows it is rarely seen in groves and temples of Minerva and never at all elsewhere, as is the case at Athens; it is most unlucky at its breeding season, that is, after midsummer. Moreover this bird alone continues feeding its chicks for some time even when they can fly;

15. whereas all the other birds of the same class drive their chicks out of the nests and compel them to fly, as also do ravens. These not only feed on flesh themselves too, but also drive away their chicks when strong to a considerable distance. Consequently in small villages there are not more than two pairs of ravens, and in fact in the neighbourhood of Crannon in Thessaly there is one pair permanently in each place; the parents retire to make room for their offspring.

There are certain points of difference between this bird and the one mentioned above. Ravens breed before midsummer, also they have 60 days of ill-health, principally owing to thirst, before the figs ripen in the autumn; whereas the crow is seized with sickness from that day onward.

Ravens produce broods of five at most. There is a popular belief that they lay eggs, or else mate, with the beak (and that consequently if women with child eat a raven's egg they bear the infant through the mouth, and that altogether they have a difficult delivery if raven's eggs are brought into the house); but Aristotle says that this is not true of the raven, any more indeed than it is of the ibis in Egypt, but that the billing in question (which is often noticed) is a form of kissing, like that which takes place between pigeons. Ravens seem to be the only birds that have an understanding of the meanings that they convey in auspices; for when the guests of Medus were murdered, all the ravens in the Peloponnese and Attica flew away. It is a specially bad omen when they gulp down their croak as if they were choking.

16. Night birds also have hooked talons, for instance the little owl, the eagle-owl and the screech-owl. All of these are dim-sighted in the daytime. The eagle-owl is a funereal bird, and is regarded as an extremely bad omen, especially at public auspices; it inhabits deserts and places that are not merely unfrequented but terrifying and inaccessible; a weird creature of the night, its cry is not a musical note but a scream. Consequently when seen in cities or by daylight in any circumstances it is a direful portent; but I know several cases of its having perched on the houses of private persons without fatal consequences. It never flies in the direction where it wants to go, but travels slantwise out of its course. In the consulship of Sextus Palpellius Hister and Lucius Pedanius an eagle-owl entered the very shrine of the Capitol, on account of which a purification of the city was held on March 7th in that year.

17. There is also a bird of ill-omen called the fire-bird, on account of which we find in the annals that the city has often had a ritual purification, for instance in the consulship of Lucius Cassius and Gaius Marius, in which year the appearance of an eagle-owl also occasioned a purification. What this bird was I cannot discover, and it is not recorded. Some persons give this interpretation, that the fire-bird was any bird that was seen carrying a coal from an altar or altar-table; others call it a 'spinturnix,' but I have not found anybody who professes to know what particular species of bird that is. I also notice that the bird named by the ancients 'clivia' is unidentifiedsome call it 'screech-owl,' Labeo 'warning owl'; and moreover a bird is cited in Nigidius that breaks eagles' eggs. There are besides a number of kinds described in Tuscan lore that have not been seen for generations, though it is surprising that they should have now become extinct when even kinds that are ravaged by man's greed continue plentiful.

18. On the subject of the auguries of foreign races the writings of an author named Hylas are deemed to be the most learned. He states that the night-owl, eagle-owl, woodpecker, trygona and raven come out of the egg tail first, because the eggs axe turned the wrong way up by the weight of the heads and present the hinder part of the chicks' bodies to the mother to cherish.

19. Night-owls wage a crafty battle against other birds. When surrounded by a crowd that outnumbers them they lie on their backs and defend themselves with their feet, and bunching themselves up close are entirely protected by their beak and claws. Through a kind of natural alliance the hawk comes to their aid and takes part in the war. Nigidius relates that night-owls hibernate for 60 days every winter, and that they have nine cries.

20. There are also small birds with hooked claws, for instance the variety of woodpeckers called Birds of Mars that are important in taking auguries. In this class are the tree-hollowing woodpeckers that climb nearly straight upright in the manner of cats, hut also the others that cling upside down, which know by the sound of the bark when they strike it that there is fodder underneath it. They are the only birds that rear their chicks in holes. There is a common belief that when wedges are driven into their holes by a shepherd the birds by

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applying a kind of grass make them slip out again. Trebius states that if you drive a nail or wedge with as much force as you like into a tree in which a woodpecker has a nest, when the bird perches on it it at once springs out again with a creak of the tree. Woodpeckers themselves have been of the first importance among auguries in Latium from the time of the king a who gave his name to this bird. One presage of theirs I cannot pass over. When Aelius Tubero, City Praetor, was giving judgements from the bench in the forum, a woodpecker perched on his head so fearlessly that he was able to catch it in his hand. In reply to enquiry the seers declared that disaster was portended to the empire if the bird were released, but to the praetor if it were killed. Tubero however at once tore the bird in pieces; and not long afterwards he fulfilled the portent.

21. Many birds in this class feed also on acorns and fruit, but those that eat only flesh do not drink, excepting the kite, and for a kite to drink counts in itself as a direful augury. The birds having talons never live in flocks, and each hunts for itself. But they almost all except the night-birds among them fly high, and the bigger ones higher. All have large wings and a small body. They walk with difficulty. They rarely perch on rocks, as the curve of their talons prohibits this.

22. Now let us speak about the second class, which is divided into two kinds, songbirds and plumage-birds. The former kind are distinguished by their song and the latter by their size; so the latter shall come first in order also, and among them before all the rest will come the peacock class, both because of its beauty and because of its consciousness of and pride in it. When praised it spreads out its jewelled colours directly facing the sun, because in that way they gleam more brilliantly; and at the same time by curving its tail like a shell it contrives as it were reflexions of shadow for the rest of its colours, which actually shine more brightly in the dark, and it draws together into a cluster all the eyes of its feathers, as it delights in having them looked at. Moreover when it moults its tail feathers every year with the fall of the leaves, it seeks in shame and sorrow for a place of concealment until others are born again with the spring flowers. It lives for 25 years, but it begins to shed its colours at the age of three. The authorities relate that this creature is not only ostentatious but also spiteful, just as the goose is said to be modest--since some writers have added these characteristics also in that species, though I do not accept them.

23. The first person at Rome to kill a peacock for the table was the orator Hortensius, at the inaugural banquet of his priesthood. Fattening peacocks was first instituted about the time of the last pirate war by Marcus Aufidius Lurco, and he made 60,000 sesterces profit from this trade.

24. Nearly equally proud and self-conscious are also our Roman night-watchmen, a breed designed by nature for the purpose of awakening mortals for their labours and interrupting sleep. They are skilled astronomers, and they mark every three-hour period in the daytime with song, go to bed with the sun, and at the fourth camp-watch recall us to our business and our labour and do not allow the sunrise to creep upon us unawares, hut herald the coming day with song, while they herald that song itself with a flapping of their wings against their sides. They lord it over their own race, and exercise royal sway in whatever household they live. This sovereignty they win by duelling with one another, seeming to understand that weapons grow upon their legs for this purpose, and often the fight only ends when they die together. If they win the palm, they at once sing a song of victory and proclaim themselves the champions, while the one defeated hides in silence and with difficulty endures servitude. Yet even the common herd struts no less proudly, with uplifted neck and combs held high, and alone of birds casts frequent glances at the sky, also rearing its curved tail aloft. Consequently even the lion, the noblest of wild animals, is afraid of the cock. Moreover some cocks are born solely for constant wars and battlesby which they have even conferred fame on their native places, Rhodes or Tanagra; the fighting cocks of Melos and Chalcidice have been awarded second honoursso that the Roman purple confers its high honour on a bird full worthy of it. These are the birds that give the Most-Favourable Omens; these birds daily control our officers of state, and shut or open to them their own homes; these send forward or hold back the Roman rods of office, and order or forbid battle formation, being the auspices of all our victories won all over the world; these hold supreme empire over the empire of the world, being as acceptable to the gods with even their inward parts and vitals as are the costliest victims. Even their later and their evening songs contain portents; for by crowing all the nights long they presaged to the Boeotians that famous victory against the Spartans, conjecture thus interpreting the sign because this bird when conquered does not crow.

25. Cocks when gelt stop crowing; the operation is performed in two waysby searing with a glowing iron either the loins or the bottom parts of the legs, and then smearing the wound with potter's clay. This operation makes them easier to fatten. At Pergamum every year a public show is given of cocks fighting like gladiators. It is found in the Annals that in the consulship Marcus Lepidus and Quintus Catulus, at the country house of Oalerius in the Rimini district, a farmyard cock spokethe only occasion, so far as I know, on which this has occurred.

26. The goose also keeps a careful watch, as is evidenced by its defence of the Capitol during the time when our fortunes were being betrayed by the silence of the dogs; for which reason food for the geese is one of the first contracts arranged by the censors. Moreover there is the story of the goose at Aegium that fell in love with the supremely beautiful boy Amphilochus of Olenus, and also the goose that loved Glauce, the girl that played the harp for King Ptolemy, whom at the same time also a ram is said to have fallen in love with. These birds may possibly be thought also to possess the power of understanding wisdom: thus there is a story that a goose attached itself continually as a companion to the philosopher Lacydes, never leaving his side by night or day, either in public or at the baths.

27. Our countrymen are wiser, who know the goose by the excellence of its liver. Stuffing the bird with food makes the liver grow to a great size, and also when it has been removed it is made larger by being soaked in milk sweetened with honey. Not without reason is it a matter of enquiry who was the discoverer of so great a boonwas it Scipio Metellus the consular, or his contemporary Marcus Seius, Knight of Rome? But it is an accepted fact that Messalinus Cotta, son of the orator Messala, invented the recipe for taking from geese the soles of the feet and grilling them and pickling them in dishes with the combs of domestic cocks; for I will award the palm scrupulously to each man's culinary achievement. A remarkable feat in the case of this bird is its coming on foot all the way to Rome from the Morini in Gaul: the geese that get tired are advanced to the front rank, and so all the rest drive them on by instinctively pressing forward in their rear.

White geese yield a second profit in their feathers. In some places they are plucked twice a year, and clothe themselves again with a feather coat. The plumage closest to the body is softer, and that from Germany is most esteemed. The geese there are a bright white, but smaller; the German word for this bird is Gans; the price of their feathers is five-command of auxiliary troops frequently get into pence per pound. And owing to this officers in trouble for having sent whole cohorts away from outpost sentry duty to capture these fowls; and luxury has advanced to such a pitch that now not even the male neck can endure to be without goose-feather bedding.

28. The part of Syria called Commagene has made another discovery, goose-fat mixed with cinnamon in a bronze bowl, covered with a quantity of snow and steeped in the icy mixture, to supply the famous medicine that is called after the tribe Commagenum.

29. To the goose kind belong the sheldrake and the barnacle-goose, the latter the most sumptuous feast that Britain knows; both are rather smaller than the goose. The black grouse also makes a fine show with its gloss and its absolute blackness, with a touch of bright scarlet above the eyes. Another variety of these exceeds the size of vultures and also reproduces their colour, nor is there any bird except the ostrich that attains a greater weight of body, growing to such a size that it is actually caught motionless on the ground. They are a product of the Alps and the northern region. When kept in fishponds they lose their flavour, and obstinately hold their breath till they die. Next to these are the birds that Spain calls tardae and Greece otides, which are condemned as an article of diet, because when the marrow is drained out of their bones a disgusting smell at once follows.

30. The race of Pygmies have a cessation of hostilities on the departure of the cranes that, as we have said, carry on war with them. It is a vast distance, if one calculates it, over which they come from the eastern sea. They agree together when to start, and they fly high so as to see their route in front of them; they choose a leader to follow, and have some of their number stationed in turns at the end of the line to shout orders and keep the flock together with their cries. At night time they have sentries who hold a stone in their claws, which if drowsiness makes them drop it falls and convicts them of slackness, while the rest sleep with their head tucked under their wing, standing on either foot by turns; but the leader keeps a lookout with neck erect and gives warning. (The same birds when tamed are fond of play, and execute certain circles in a graceful swoop, even one bird at a time). It is certain that when they are going to fly across the Black Sea they first of all make for the straits between the two promontories of Ramsbrow and Carambis, and proceed to ballast themselves with sand; and that when they have crossed the middle of the sea they throw away the pebbles out of their claws and, when they have reached the mainland, the sand out of their throats as well. Cornelius Nepos, who died in the principate of the late lamented Augustus, when he wrote that the practice of fattening thrushes was introduced a little before his time, added that storks were more in favour than cranes, although the latter bird is now one of those most in request, whereas nobody will touch the former.

31. Where exactly storks come from or where they go to has not hitherto been ascertained. There is no doubt that they come from a distance, in the same manner as do cranes, the former being winter visitors and the latter arriving in summer. When about to depart they assemble at fixed places, and forming a company, so as to prevent any of their class being left behind (unless one captured and in slavery), they withdraw as if at a date fixed in advance by law. No one has seen a band of storks departing, although it is quite clear that they are going to depart, nor do we see them arrive, but only see that they have arrived; both arrival and departure take place in the night-time, and although they fly to and fro across the country, it is thought that they have never arrived anywhere except by night. There is a place in Asia called Snakesdorp with a wide expanse of plains where cranes meet in assembly to hold a palaver, and the one that arrives last they set upon with their claws, and so they depart; it. has been noticed that they have not frequently been seen there after the first fortnight of August. Some persons declare that storks have no tongue. They are held in such high esteem for destroying snakes that in Thessaly to kill them was a capital crime, for which the legal penalty was the same as for homicide.

32. Geese and swans also migrate on a similar principle, but the flight of these is seen. They travel in a pointed formation like fast galleys, so cleaving the air more easily than if they drove at it with a straight front; while in the rear the flight stretches out in a gradually widening wedge, and presents a broad surface to the drive of a following breeze. They place their necks on the birds in front of them, and when the leaders are tired they receive them to the rear. (Storks return to the same nest. They nourish their parents' old age in their turn.) A story is told about the mournful song of swans at their deatha false story as I judge on the strength of a certain number of experiences. Swans are cannibals, and eat one another's flesh.

33. But this migration of birds of passage over seas and lands does not allow us to postpone the smaller breeds as well that have a similar nature. For however much the size and strength of body of the kinds above mentioned may appear to invite them to travel, the quails always actually arrive before the cranes, though the quail is a small bird and when it has come to us remains on the ground more than it soars aloft; but they too get here by flying in the same way as the cranes; not without danger to seafarers when they have come near to land: for they often perch on the sails, and they always do this at night, and sink the vessels. Their route follows definite resting places. They do not fly in a south wind, doubtless because it is damp and rather heavy, yet they desire to be carded by the breeze, because of the weight of their bodies and their small strength (this is the reason for that mournful cry they give while flying, which is wrung from them by fatigue); consequently they fly mostly in a north wind, a landrail leading the way. The first quail approaching land is seized by a hawk; from the place where this happens they always return and try to get an escort, and the tongue-bird, eared-owl and ortolan are persuaded to make the journey with them. The tongue-bird takes its name from the very long tongue that it puts out of its beak. At the start the charm of travelling lures this bird to sail on eagerly, but in the course of the flight repentance comes to it, no doubt with the fatigue; but it does not like to return unaccompanied, and it goes on following, though never for more than one dayat the next resting place it deserts. But day after day the company find another one, left behind in a similar manner the year before. The ortolan is more persevering, and hurries on actually to complete the journey to the lands which they are seeking; consequently it rouses up the birds in the night and reminds them of their journey. The eared owl is smaller than the eagle-owl and larger than night-owls; it has projecting feathery ears, whence its namesome give it the Latin name 'axio'; moreover it is a bird that copies other kinds and is a hanger-on, and it performs a kind of dance. Like the night-owl it is caught without difficulty if one goes round it while its attention is fixed on somebody else. If a wind blowing against them begins to hold up a flight of these birds, they pick up little stones as ballast or fill their throat with sand to steady their flight. Quails are very fond of eating poison seed, on account of which our tables have condemned them; and moreover it is customary to spit at the sight of them as a charm against epilepsy, to which they arc the only living creatures that are liable besides man.

34. Swallows, the only flesh-eating bird among those that have not hooked talons, also migrate in the winter months; but they only retire to places near at hand, making for the sunny gulleys in the mountains, and they have before now been found there moulted and bare of feathers. It is said that they do not enter under the roofs of Thebes, because that city has been so often captured, nor at Bizye in Thrace on account of the crimes of Tereus. A man of knightly rank at Volterra, Caecina, who owned a racing four-in-hand, used to catch swallows and take them with him to Rome and despatch them to take the news of a win to his friends, as they returned to the same nest; they had the winning colour painted on them. Also Fabius Pictor records in his Annals that when a Roman garrison was besieged by the Ligurians a swallow taken from her nestlings was brought to him for him to indicate by knots

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made in a thread tied to its foot how many days later help would arrive and a sortie must be made.

35. Blackbirds, thrushes and starlings also migrate in a similar way to neighbouring districts; but these do not moult their plumage, and do not go into hiding, being often seen in the places where they forage for winter food. Consequently in Germany thrushes are most often seen in winter. The turtledove goes into hiding in a truer sense, and moults its feathers. Woodpigeons also go into retreat, though in their case also it is not certain exactly where. It is a peculiarity of the starling kind that they fly in flocks and wheel round in a sort of circular ball, all making towards the centre of the flock. The swallow is the only bird that has an extremely swift and swerving flight, owing to which it is also not liable to capture by the other kinds of birds. Also the swallow is the only bird that only feeds when on the wing.

36. There is a great difference in the seasons of birds; some stay all the year round, e.g. pigeons, some for six months, e.g. swallows, some for three months, e.g. thrushes and turtledoves and those that migrate when they have reared their brood, such as woodpeckers and hoopoes.

37. Some authorities state that every year birds fly from Ethiopia to Troy and have a fight at Memnon's tomb, and consequently they call them 'Memnon's daughters.' Cremutius records having discovered that every four years they do the same things in Ethiopia round the royal palace of Memnon.

38. The meleagridesa in Boeotia fight in a similar manner; this is a kind of hen belonging to Africa, hump-backed and with speckled plumage. This is the latest of the migratory birds admitted to the menu, because of its unpleasant pungent flavour; but the Tomb of Meleager has made it famous.

39. There is a species called birds of Seleucis for whose arrival prayers are offered to Jupiter by the migranta, inhabitants of Mount Cadmus when locusts destroy their crops; it is not known where they come from, nor where they go to when they depart, and they are never seen except when their protection is needed.

40. Also the people of Egypt invoke their ibis to guard against the arrival of snakes, and those of Ellis invoke the god Myiacores when a swarm of flies brings plague, the flies dying as soon as a sacrifice to this god has been performed.

41. But in the matter of the withdrawal of birds, it is stated that even night-owls go into retreat for a few days. It is said that this kind does not exist in the island of Crete and even that if one is imported there it dies off. For this also is a remarkable point of variety established by nature: to various places she denies various species of animals as well as of crops and shrubs. For those animals not to be born there is in the ordinary course of things, but their dying off when imported there is remarkable. What is the factor adverse to the health of a single genus that is involved, or what is the jealousy of nature that is indicated? Or what frontiers are prescribed for birds? Rhodes does not possess the eagle; Italy north of the Po gives the name of Como to a lake near the Alps graced with a wooded tract to which storks do not come; and similarly jays and jackdawsa bird whose unique fondness for stealing especially silver and gold is remarkablethough swarming in enormous numbers in the adjacent region of the Insubrians, do not come within eight miles of Lake Como. It is said that Mars's woodpecker is not found in the district of Taranto. The kinds of pie called chequered pies and distinguished for their long tail, though hitherto rare, have lately begun to be seen between the Apennines and Rome; this bird has the peculiarity of moulting its feathers yearly at the time when the turnip is sown. Partridges do not fly across the frontier of Boeotia into Attica; nor does any bird fly across the temple dedicated to Achilles on the island of the Black Sea where he is buried. In the district of Fidenae near Rome storks do not hatch chicks or make nests. But a quantity of pigeons every year fly from the sea to the district of Volterra. Neither flies nor dogs enter the temple of Hercules in the Cattle-market at Rome. There are many similar facts besides, which I am continually careful to omit in my account of the several kinds, to avoid being wearisomefor example Theophrastus states that even pigeons and peacocks and ravens are not indigenous in Asia. nor croaking frogs in Cyrenaica.

42. There is another remarkable fact about songbirds; they usually change their colour and note with the season, and suddenly become differentwhich among the larger class of birds only cranes do, for these grow black in old age. The blackbird changes from black to red; and it sings in the summer, and chirps in winter, but at midsummer is silent; also the beak of yearling blackbirds, at all events the cocks, is turned to ivory colour. Thrushes are of a speckled colour round the neck in summer but self-coloured in winter.

43. Nightingales pour out a ceaseless gush of song for fifteen days and nights on end when the buds of the leaves are swellinga bird not in the lowest rank remarkable. In the first place there is so loud a voice and so persistent a supply of breath in such a tiny little body; then there is the consummate knowledge of music in a single bird: the sound is given out with modulations, and now is drawn out into a long note with one continuous breath, now varied by managing the breath, now made staccato by checking it, or linked together by prolonging it, or carried on by holding it back; or it is suddenly lowered, and at times sinks into a mere murmur, loud, low, a bass, treble, with trills, with long notes, modulated when this seems goodsoprano, mezzo, baritone; and briefly all the devices in that tiny throat which human science has devised with all the elaborate mechanism of the flute, so that there can be no doubt that this sweetness was foretold by a convincing omen when it made music on the lips of the infant Stesichorus. And that no one may doubt its being a matter of science, the birds have several songs each, and not all the same but every bird songs of its own. They compete with one another, and there is clearly an animated rivalry between them; the loser often ends her life by dying, her breath giving out before her song. Other younger birds practise their music, and are given verses to imitate; the pupil listens with close attention and repeats the phrase, and the two keep silence by turns: we notice improvement in the one under instruction and a sort of criticism on the part of the instructress.

Consequently they fetch the prices that are given for slaves, and indeed larger prices than were paid for armour-bearers in old days. I know of one bird, a white one it is true, which is nearly unprecedented, that was sold for 600,000 sesterces to be given as a present to the emperor Claudius's consort Agrippina. Frequent cases have been seen before now of nightingales that have begun to sing when ordered, and have sung in answer to an organ, as there have been found persons who could reproduce the birds' song with an indistinguishable resemblance by putting water into slanting reeds and breathing into the holes or by applying some slight check with the tongue. But these exceptional and artistic trills after a fortnight gradually cease, though not in such a way that the birds could be said to be tired out or to have had enough of singing; and later on when the heat has increased their note becomes entirely different, with no modulations or variations. Their colour also changes, and finally in winter the bird itself is not seen. Their tongues do not end in a point like those of all other birds. They lay in early spring, six eggs at most.

44. It is otherwise with the fig-pecker, as it changes its shape and colour at the same time; it has this name in the autumn, but afterwards is called the blackcap. Similarly also the bird known as erithacus in winter is called redstart in summer.

The hoopoe also changes its appearance, as the poet Aeschylus records; it is moreover a foul-feeding bird, noticeable for its flexible crest, which it draws together and raises up along the whole length of its head.

45. The wheatear indeed actually has fixed days of retirement: it goes into hiding at the rising of the dog-star and comes out after its setting, doing both on the actual days, which is surprising. Also the golden oriole, which is yellow all over, is not seen in winter but comes out about midsummer. Blackbirds are born white at Cyllene in Arcadia, but nowhere else. The ibis is black only in the neighbourhood of Pelusium, being white in all other places.

46. Songbirds apart from some exceptions do not ordinarily breed before the spring equinox or after the autumn one; and their eggs laid before midsummer are doubtful, but those after midsummer are fertile.

47. Kingfishers are especially remarkable for this: the seas and those who sail them know the days when they breed. The bird itself is a little larger than a sparrow, sea-blue in colour and reddish only on the underside, blended with white feathers in the neck, with a long slender beak? There is another kind of kingfisher different in size and note; this smaller kind sings in beds of rushes. A kingfisher is very rarely seen, and only at the setting of the Pleiades and about midsummer and midwinter, when it occasionally flies round a ship and at once goes away to its retreat. They breed at midwinter, on what are called 'the kingfisher days' during which the sea is calm and navigable, especially in the neighbourhood of Sicily. They make their nests a week before the shortest day, and lay a week after it. Their nests are admired for their shape, that of a ball slightly projecting with a very narrow mouth, resembling very large sponges; they cannot be cut with a knife, but break at a strong blow, like dry sea-foam; and it cannot be discovered of what are constructed: people think they are made out of the spines of fishes' prickles, for the birds live on fish. They also go up rivers. They lay five eggs at a time.

48. Gulls nest on rocks, divers also in trees. They lay at most three eggs at a time, sea-mews laying in summer and divers at the beginning of spring.

49. The conformation of the kingfisher's nest reminds one of the skill of all the other birds as well; and the ingenuity of birds is in no other department, more remarkable. Swallows build with clay and strengthen the nest with straw; if ever there is a lack of clay, they wet their wings with a quantity of water and sprinkle it on the dust. The nest itself, however, they carpet with soft feathers and tufts of wool, to warm the eggs and also to prevent it from being hard for the infant chicks. They dole out food in turns among their offspring with extreme fairness. They remove the chicks' droppings with remarkable cleanliness, and teach the older ones to turn round and relieve themselves outside of the nest. There is another kind of swallow that frequents the country and the fields, which seldom nests on houses, and which makes its nest of a different shape though of the same materialentirely turned upward, with orifices projecting to a narrow opening and a capacious interior, and adapted with remarkable skill both to conceal the chicks and to give them a soft bed to lie on. In Egypt, at the Heracleotic Mouth of the Nile, they block the outflow of the river with an irremovable mole of contiguous nests almost two hundred yards long, a thing that could not be achieved by human labour. Also in Egypt near the town of Coptos there is an island sacred to Isis which they fortify with a structure to prevent its being destroyed by the same river, strengthening its point with chaff and straw when the spring days begin, going on for three days all through the nights with such industry that it is agreed that many birds actually die at the work; and this spell of duty always comes round again for them with the returning year. There is a third kind of swallows a that make holes in banks and so construct their nests in the ground. (Their chicks when burnt to ashes are a medicine for a deadly throat malady and many other diseases of the human body.) These birds do not build proper nests, and if a rise of the river threatens to reach their holes, they migrate many days in advance.

50. There is a species of titmouse that makes its nest of dry moss finished off in such a perfect ball that its entrance cannot be found. The bird called the thistle-finch weaves its nest out of flax in the same shape. One of the woodpeckers hangs by a twig at the very end of the boughs, like a ladle on a peg, so that no four-footed animal can get to it. It is indeed asserted that the witwall purposely takes its sleep while hanging suspended by the feet, because it hopes thus to be safer. Again, it is a common practice of them all carefully to choose a flooring of branches to support their nest, and to vault it over against the rain or roof it with a penthouse of thick foliage. In Arabiad a bird called cinnamolgus makes a nest of cinnamon twigs; the natives bring these birds down with arrows weighted with lead, to use them for trade. In Scythia a bird of the size of a bustard lays two eggs at a time in a hare-skin, which is always hung on the top boughs of trees. When magpies notice a person observing their nest with special attention, they transfer the eggs somewhere else. It is reported that in the case of these birds, as their claws are not adapted for grasping and carrying the eggs, this is effected in a remarkable manner: they place a sprig on the top of two eggs at a time, and solder it with glue from their belly, and placing their neck under the middle of it so as to make it balance equally on both sides, carry it off somewhere else.

51. Nor yet are those species less cunning which, because the weight of their body forbids their soaring aloft, make their nests on the ground. The name of bee-eater is given to a bird that feeds its parents in their lair; its wings are a pale colour inside and dark-blue above, reddish at the tip. It makes its nest in a hole dug in the ground to a depth often feet.

Partridges fortify their retreat with thorn and bush in such a way as to be completely entrenched against wild animals; they heap a soft covering of dust on their eggs. and they do not sit on them at the place where they laid them but remove them somewhere else, lest their frequently resorting there should cause somebody to suspect it. Hen partridges in fact deceive even their own mates, because these in the intemperance of their lust break the hens' eggs so that they may not be kept away by sitting on them; and then the cocks owing to their desire for the hens fight duels with each other; it is said that the one who loses has to accept the advances of the victor. Trogus indeed says this also occurs occasionally with quails and farmyard cocks, but that wild partridges are promiscuously covered by tame ones, and also new-corners or cocks that have been beaten in a fight. They are also captured owing to the fighting instinct caused by the same lust, as the leader of the whole flock sallies out to battle against the fowler's decoy, and when he has been caught number two advances, and so on one after another in succession. Again about breeding time the hens are caught when they sally out against the fowlers' hen to hustle and drive her away. And in no other creature is concupiscence so active. If the hens stand facing the cocks they become pregnant by the afflatus that passes out from them, while if they open their beaks and put out their tongue at that time they are sexually excited. Even the draught of air from cocks flying over them, and often merely the sound of a cock crowing, makes them conceive. And even their affection for their brood is so conquered by desire that when a hen is quietly sitting on her eggs in hiding, if she becomes aware of a fowler's decoy hen approaching her cock she chirps him back to her and recalls him and voluntarily offers herself to his desire. Indeed they are subject to such madness that often with a blind swoop they perch on the fowler's head. If he starts to go towards a nest, the mother bird runs forward to his feet, pretending to be tired or lame, and in the middle of a run or a short flight suddenly falls as if with a broken wing or damaged feet, and then runs forward again, continually escaping him just as he is going to catch her and cheating his hope, until she leads him away in a

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different direction from the nests. On the other hand if the hen thus scared is free and not possessed with motherly anxiety she lies on her back in a furrow and catches hold of a clod of earth with her claws and covers herself with it.

The life of partridges is believed to extend to as much as sixteen years.

52. Next to partridges the habits of pigeons are most noticeable for a similar reason. These possess the greatest modesty, and adultery is unknown to either sex; they do not violate the faith of wedlock, and they keep house in companyunless unmated or widowed a pigeon does not leave its nest. Also they say that the cock pigeon is domineering, and occasionally even unkind, as he is suspicious of adultery although not himself prone to it; in this state his throat is full of complaining and his beak deals savage pecks, and upon his satisfaction there follows billing and fawning with repeated twirlings of his feet during his entreaties for indulgence. Both partners have equal affection for their offspring; this also often gives occasion for chastisement, when the hen is too slack in coming home to the chicks. When she is producing a brood she receives comfort and attendance from the cock. For the chicks at first they collect saltish earth in their throat and disgorge it into their beaks, to get them into proper condition for food. It is a peculiarity of this species and of the turtledove not to raise the neck backward when drinking, and to take copious draughts like cattle.

We have authorities for saying that woodpigeons live to be thirty and in some cases forty years old, only with the single inconvenience of their clawsthis also a sign of old agewhich have to be cut to prevent damage. The cooing of all is alike and the same, composed of a phrase repeated three times and then a sigh at the close; in winter they are silent, but begin singing in spring. Nigidius thinks that a woodpigeon when sitting on her eggs under a roof will leave her nest in answer to her name. They lay after midsummer. Pigeons and turtledoves live eight years. On the other hand the sparrow, their equal in salaciousness, has a very small span of life: the cocks are said not to last longer than a year, the proof being that at the beginning of spring no black colouring is seen on their beak, which begins with summer; but the hens have a rather longer span of life. However pigeons actually possess a certain sense of vanityyou would fancy them to be conscious of their own colours and the pattern of their marking; indeed this can be inferred from their flightit is observed that they flap their wings in the sky and trace a variety of lines. During this display they expose themselves to the hawk as if fettered, folding their wings with a flapping noise that is only produced from the actual wing joints, though otherwise when flying freely they are much swifter. The highwayman hawk watches concealed in foliage, and seizes the exultant pigeon in the very act of showing off. For that reason the bird called kestrel must be classed with these; for it defends the pigeons, and scares the hawks by its natural powerfulness so much that they fly from sight and sound of it. For this reason woodpigeons have a special love for kestrels, and they say that if kestrels put in new jars with their mouths sealed up are hidden in the four corners of the dovecot the pigeons do not change their abode (a result that some people have also sought to obtain by cutting the joints of their wings with gold, the only way of making a wound that does no harm), although otherwise the pigeon is a bird much given to straying. For they have a trick of exchanging blandishments and enticing other pigeons and coming back with a larger company won by intrigue.

53. Moreover also they have acted as go-betweens in important affairs, when at the siege of Modena Decimus Brutus sent to the consuls' camp despatches tied to their feet; what use to Antony were his rampart and watchful besieging force, and even the barriers of nets that he stretched in the river, when the message went by air. Also pigeon-fancying is carried to insane lengths by some people: they build towers on their roofs for these birds, and tell stories of the high breeding and pedigrees of particular birds, for which there is now an old precedent: before Pompey's civil war Lucius Axius, Knight of Rome, advertised pigeons for sale at 400 denarii per braceso Marcus Varro relates. Moreover the largest birds, which are believed to be produced in Campania, have conferred fame on their native place.

54. The flight of these birds. prompts one to turn to the consideration of the other birds as well. All the rest of the animals have one definite and uniform mode of progression peculiar to their particular kind, but birds alone travel in a variety of ways both on land and in the air. Some walk, as crows; others hop, as sparrows and blackbirds; run, as partridges and black grouse; throw out their feet in front of them, as storks and cranes. Some spread their wings and at rare intervals let them droop and shake them; others do so more frequently, but also only the tips of the wings; others flap the whole of their sides; but there are some that fly with their wings for the greater part folded, and after giving one stroke, or others also a repeated stroke, are borne by the air: by as it were squeezing it tight between their wings, they shoot upward or horizontally or downward. Some you would think to be flung forward, or again in some cases to fall from a height and in other cases to leap upward. Only ducks and birds of the same kind soar up straight away, and move skyward from the start, and this even from water; and consequently they alone when they have fallen into the pits that we use for trapping wild animals get out again. Vultures and the heavier birds in general cannot fly upward except after a run forward or when launching from a higher eminence; they steer with their tail. Some birds turn their gaze round, others bend their necks; and some eat things they have snatched with their feet. Many do not fly without a cry, others on the contrary are always silent when in flight. They move upward, downward, slanting, sideways, straight forward, and some even with the head bent backward; consequently if several kinds are seen at the same time, they might be thought not to be travelling in the same element.

55. The greatest flyers are the species resembling swallows called (because they lack the use of feet) and by others 'cypseli.' They build their nests on crags. These are the birds seen all over the sea, and ships never go away from land on so long or so unbroken a course that they do not have apodes flying round them. All the other kinds alight and perch, but these never rest except on the nest: they either hover or lie on a surface.

56. Birds' dispositions also are equally varied, especially in respect of food. Those called goat-suckers, which resemble a rather large blackbird, are night thievesfor they cannot see in the daytime. They enter the shepherds' stalls and fly to the goats' udders in order to suck their milk, which injures the udder and makes it perish, and the goats they have milked in this way gradually go blind. There is a bird called the shoveller-duck which flies up to the sea-divers and seizes their heads in its bill till it wrings their catch from them. The same bird after filling itself by swallowing shells brings them up again when digested by the warmth of the belly and so picked out from them the edible parts, discarding the shells.

57. Farmyard hens actually have a religious ritual: after laying an egg they begin to shiver and shake, and purify themselves by circling round, and make use of a straw as a ceremonial rod to cleanse themselves and the eggs. The smallest of birds, the goldfinches, perform their leader's orders, not only with their song but by using their feet and beak instead of hands. One bird in the Arles district, called the bull-bird although really it is small in size, imitates the bellowing of oxen. Also the bird whose Greek name is 'flower,' when driven away from feeding on grass by the arrival of horses, imitates their neighing, in this way taking its revenge.

58. Above all, birds imitate the human voice, parrots indeed actually talking. India sends us this bird; its name in the vernacular is siptaces; its whole body is green, only varied by a red circlet at the neck. It greets its masters and repeats words given to it, being particularly sportive over the wine. Its head is as hard as its beak; and when it is being taught to speak it is beaten on the head with an iron rodotherwise it does not feel blows. When it alights from flight it lands on its beak, and it leans on this and so reduces its weight for the weakness of its feet.

59. A certain kind of magpie is less celebrated, because it does not come from a distance, but it talks more articulately. These birds get fond of uttering particular words, and not only learn them but love them, and secretly ponder them with careful reflexion, not concealing their engrossment. It is an established fact that if the difficulty of a word beats them this causes their death, and that their memory fails them unless they hear the same word repeatedly, and when they are at a loss for a word they cheer up wonderfully if in the meantime they hear it spoken. Their shape is unusual, though not beautiful: this bird has enough distinction in its power of imitating the human voice. But they say that none of them can go on learning except ones of the species that feeds on acorns, and among these those with five claws on the feet learn more easily, and not even they themselves except in the two first years of their life. All the birds in each kind that imitate human speech have exceptionally broad tongues, although this occurs in almost all species; Claudius Caesar's consort Agrippina had a thrush that mimicked what people said, which was unprecedented. At the time when I was recording these cases, the young princes a had a starling and also nightingales that were actually trained to talk Greek and Latin, and moreover practised diligently and spoke new phrases every day, in still longer sentences. Birds are taught to talk in private and where no other utterance can interrupt, with the trainer sitting by them to keep on repeating the words he wants retained, and coaxing them with morsels of food.

60. Let us also repay due gratitude to the ravens the gratitude that is their due, evidenced also by the indignation and not only by the knowledge of the Roman nation. When Tiberius was emperor, a young raven from a brood hatched on the top of the Temple of Castor and Pollux flew down to a cobbler's shop in the vicinity, being also commended to the master of the establishment by religion. It soon picked up the habit of talking, and every morning used to fly off to the Platform that faces the forum and salute Tiberius and then Germanicus and Drusus Caesar by name, and next the Roman public passing by, afterwards returning to the shop; and it became remarkable by several years' constant performance of this function. This bird the tenant of the next cobbler's shop killed, whether because of his neighbour's competition or in a sudden outburst of anger, as he tried to make out, because some dirt had fallen on his stock of shoes from its droppings; this caused such a disturbance among the public that the man was first driven, out of the district and later actually made away with, and the bird's funeral was celebrated with a vast crowd of followers, the draped bier being carried on the shoulders of two Ethiopians and in front of it going in procession a flute-player and all kinds of wreaths right to the pyre, which had been erected on the right hand side of the Appian Road at the second milestone on the ground called Rediculus's Plain. So adequate a justification did the Roman nation consider a bird's cleverness to be for a funeral procession and for the punishment of a Roman citizen, in the city in which many leading men had had no obsequies at all, while the death of Scipio Aemilianus after he had destroyed Carthage and Numantia not been avenged by a single person. The date of this was 28 March, AD 36, in the consulship of Marcus Servilius and Gaius Cestius. At the present day also there was in the city of Rome at the time when I was publishing this book a crow belonging to a Knight of Rome, that came from Sonthern Spain, and was remarkable in the first place for its very black colour and then for uttering sentences of several words and frequently learning still more words in addition. Also there was recently a report of one Crates surnamed Monoceros in the district of Eriza in Asia hunting with the aid of ravens, to such an extent that he used to carry them down into the forests perched on the crest's of his helmet and on his shoulders; the birds used to track out and drive the game, the practice being carried to such a point that even wild ravens followed him in this way when he left the forest. Certain persons have thought it worth recording that a raven was seen during a drought dropping stones into a monumental urn in which some rain water still remained but so that the bird was unable to reach it; in this way as it was afraid to go down into the urn, the bird by piling up stones in the manner described raised the water high enough to supply itself with a drink.

61. Nor will I pass by the birds of Diomede. Juba calls them Plungers-birds, also reporting that they have teeth, and that their eyes are of a fiery red colour but the rest of them bright white. He states that they always have two leaders, one of whom leads the column and the other brings up the rear; that they hollow out trenches with their beaks and then roof them over with lattice and cover this with the earth that they have previously dug from the trenches and in these they hatch their eggs; that the trenches of all of them have two doors, that by which they go out to forage facing east and that by which they return west; and that when about to relieve themselves they always fly upwards and against the wind. These birds are commonly seen in only one place in the whole world, in the island which we spoke of as famous for the tomb and shrine of Diomede, off the coast of Apulia, and they resemble coots. Barbarian visitors they beset with loud screaming, and they pay deference only to Greeks, a remarkable distinction, as if paying this tribute to the race of Diomede; and every day they wash and purify the temple mentioned by filling their throats with water and wetting their wings; which is the source of the legend that the comrades of Diomede were transformed into the likeness of these birds.

62. In a discussion of mental faculties it must not be omitted that among birds swallows and among land animals mice are unteachable, whereas elephants execute orders and lions are yoked to chariots, and in the sea seals and ever so many kinds of fish can be tamed.

63. Birds of the kinds that have long necks drink by suction, stopping now and then and so to speak pouring the water into themselves by bending their head back. Only the porphyrio drinks by beakfuls; it also eats in a peculiar way of its own, continually dipping all its food in water and then using its foot as a hand with which to bring it to its beak. The most admired variety of sultana-hen is in Commagene; this has a red beak and very long red legs.

64. The long-legged plover has the same, a much smaller bird although with equally long legs. It is born in Egypt. It stands on three toes of each foot. Its food consists chiefly of flies. When brought to Italy it lives only for a few days.

65. All the heavier birds feed also on grain, but the scaring species on flesh only, and so among aquatic birds the cormorants, who regularly devour what the rest disgorge.

66. Pelicans have a resemblance to swans, and would be thought not to differ from them at all were it not that they have a kind of second stomach in their actual throats. Into this the insatiable creature stows everything, so that its rapacity is marvellous. Afterwards when it has done plundering it gradually returns the things from this pouch into its mouth and passes them into the true stomach like a ruminant animal. These birds come to us from the extreme north of Gaul.

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67. We have been told of strange kinds birds in the Hereynian Forest of Germany whose feathers shine like fires at nighttime; but in the other forests nothing noteworthy occurs beyond the notoriety caused by remoteness. The most celebrated water-bird in Parthian Seleucia and in Asia is the phalaris-duck, the most celebrated bird in Colchis the pheasantit droops and raises its two feathered earsand in the Numidian part of Africa the Numidic fowl all of these are now found in Italy.

68. Apicius, the most gluttonous gorger of all spendthrifts, established the view that the flamingo's tongue has a specially fine flavour. The francolin of Ionia is extremely famous. Normally it is vocal, though when caught it keeps silent. It was once considered one of the rare birds, but now it also occurs in Gaul and Spain. It is even caught in the neighbourhood of the Alps, where also cormorants occur, a bird specially belonging to the Balearic Islands, as the chough, black with a yellow beak, and the particularly tasty willow-grouse belong to the Alps. The latter gets its name of 'hare-foot' from its feet which are tufted like a hare's, though the rest of it is bright white; it is the size of a pigeon. Outside that region it is not easy to keep it, as it does not grow tame in its habits and very quickly loses flesh. There is also another bird with the same name that only differs from quails in size, yellow-coloured, very acceptable for the table. Egnatius Calvinus, Governor of the Alps, has stated that also the ibis, which properly belongs to Egypt, has been seen by him in that region.

69. There also came into Italy during the battles of the civil war round Bedriacum north of the Po the `new birds' for so they are still calledwhich are like thrushes in appearance and a little smaller than pigeons in size, and which have an agreeable flavour. The Balearic Islands send the porphyrio, an even more splendid bird than the one mentioned above. In those islands the buzzard of the hawk family is also in repute for the table, and the vipio as wellthat is their name for the smaller crane.

70. The pegasus bird with a horse's head and the griffin with ears and a terrible hooked beakthe former said to be found in Scythia and the latter in Ethiopia judge to be fabulous; and for my own part I think the same about the bearded eagled attested by a number of people, a bird larger than an eagle, having curved horns on the temples, in colour a rusty red, except that its head is purple-red. Nor should the sirens obtain credit, although Dinon the father of the celebrated authority Clitarchus declares that they exist in India and that they charm people with their song and then when they are sunk in a heavy sleep tear them in pieces. Anybody who would believe that sort of thing would also assuredly not deny that snakes by licking the ears of the augur Melampus gave him the power to understand the language of birds, or the story handed down by Democritus, who mentions birds from a mixture of whose blood a snake is born, whoever eats which will understand the conversations of birds, and the things that he records about one crested lark in particular, as even without these stories life is involved in enormous uncertainty with respect to auguries. Homer mentions a kind of bird called the scops; many people speak of its comic dancing movements when it is watching for its prey, but I cannot easily grasp these in my mind, nor are the birds themselves now known. Consequently a discussion of admitted facts will be more profitable.

71. The people of Delos began the practice of fattening hens, which has given rise to the pestilential fashion of gorging fat poultry basted with its own gravy. I find this first singled out in the old interdicts dealing with feasts as early as the law of the consul Gaius Fannius eleven before the Third Panic War, prohibiting the serving of any bird course beside a single hen that had not been fatteneda provision that was subsequently renewed and went on through all our sumptuary legislation. And a way round so as to evade them was discovered, that of feeding male chickens also with foodstuffs soaked in milk, a method that makes them esteemed as much more acceptable. As for hens, they are not all chosen for fattening, and not unless they have fat skin on the neck. Subsequently came elaborate methods of dressing fowls, so as to display the haunches, so as to split them along the back, so as to make them fill the dishes by spreading them out from one foot. Even the Parthians bestowed their fashions on our cooks. And nevertheless with all this showing off, no entire dish finds favour, only the haunch or in other cases the breast being esteemed.

72. Aviaries with cages containing all kinds of birds were first set up by Marcus Laenius Strabo of the Order of Knighthood at Brindisi. From him began our practice of imprisoning within bars living creatures to which Nature had assigned the open sky. Nevertheless the most remarkable instance in this record is the dish belonging to the tragic actor Clodius Aesop, rated at the value of 100,000 sesterces, in which he served birds that sang some particular song or talked with human speech, which he acquired at the price of 6000 sesterces apiece, led by no other attraction except the desire to indulge in a sort of cannibalism in eating these birds, and not even showing any respect for that lavish fortune of his, even though won by his voicein fact a worthy father of a son whom we have spoken of as swallowing pearls, though not so much so as to make me wish to give a true decision in the competition in baseness between the two, unless in so far as it is a smaller thing to have dined on the most bounteous resources of Nature than on the tongues of men.

73. The reproductive system of birds appears to be simple, although even this possesses marvels of its own, since even four-footed creatures produce eggschamaeleons and lizards and those we have specified among aquatic species, and also snakes. But among feathered creatures those that have hooked talons are unfertile. Of these only the lesser kestrel produces more than four eggs at a time. Nature has bestowed on the bird kind the attribute that the species among them that are shy are more prolific than the brave ones; only ostriches, hens and partridges bear very numerous broods. Birds have two methods of coupling, the hen sitting on the ground as in the case of the domestic fowl or standing up as in the case of the crane.

74. The eggs are in some cases white, as with the dove and partridge, in others pale-coloured, as with waterfowl, in others spotted, as those of the guinea-hen, in others of a red colour, as in the case of the pheasant and the lesser kestrel. The inside of every bird's egg is of two colours; in that of the aquatic birds there is more yellow than white, and that yellow is brighter than with the other species. Fishes' eggs are of one colour, which contains no bright white. Birds' eggs are made easily breakable by heat, snakes' eggs are made flexible by cold, and fishes' eggs are softened by liquid. Aquatic species have round eggs, but almost all others oval-shaped ones. They are laid with their roundest part in front, the shell of whatever portions they emerge with being soft but becoming hard immediately after the process. Long-shaped eggs are thought by Horace to have a more agreeable flavour. Eggs of a rounder formation produce a hen chicken and the rest a cock. The navel in eggs is at the top end, projecting like a speck in the shell.

Some birds mate in any season, for instance the domestic fowl, and lay, except in the two midwinter months. Of these kinds the young hens lay more eggs than the old, but smaller ones, and in the same brood those laid first and last are the smallest. But they are so fertile that some even lay eggs sixty times, some lay daily, some twice daily, some so much that they die of exhaustion. Adria birds are most highly spoken of. Pigeons lay ten times a year, some even eleven times, while in Egypt they even lay in a midwinter month. Swallows and blackbirds and woodpigeons and turtledoves lay twice a year, all other birds as a rule only once. Thrushes build their nests of mud in an almost continuous mass on the tops of trees, and breed in retirement. The eggs grow to full size in the uterus in ten days from pairing, but in the case of the domestic fowl and the pigeon, if the hen is disturbed by having a feather torn out or by some similar damage, it takes longer. In all eggs the middle of the yolk contains a small drop of a sort of blood, which people think is the heart of birds, supposing that the heart is the first part that is produced in every body: in an egg undoubtedly this drop beats and throbs. The animal itself is formed out of the white of the egg, but its food is in the yolk. In all cases at the beginning the head is larger than the whole body, and the eyes, which are pressed together, are larger than the head. As the chick grows in size the white turns to the middle and the yolk spreads round it. If on the twentieth day the egg be moved, the voice of the chick already alive is heard inside the shell. At the same time it begins to grow feathers, its posture being such that it has its head above its right foot but its right wing above its head. The yolk gradually disappears. All birds are born feet first, the opposite way to the remaining animals. Some domestic hens lay all their eggs in pairs, and according to Cornelius Celsus occasionally hatch twin chicks, one larger than the other; though some assert that twin chicks are never hatched out. They lay down a rule that the hen should not be required to sit on more than 25 eggs at a time. Hens begin to lay at midwinter, and breed best before the spring equinox: chickens born after midsummer do not attain the proper size, and the later they are hatched the more they fall short of it.

75. It pays best for eggs to be sat on within ten days of laying; older or fresher ones are infertile. An odd number should be put under the hen. If three days after they began to be sat on the top of the eggs held in the tips of the fingers against the light shows a transparent colour of a single hue, the eggs are judged to be barren, and others should be substituted for them. They may also be tested in water: an empty egg floats, and consequently people prefer eggs that sink, that is, are full, to put under the hens. But they warn against their being tested by shaking, on the ground that if the vital veins are displaced the eggs are sterile. The ninth's day after a new moon is assigned for starting a hen's sitting, as eggs begun earlier do not hatch out. The chicks are hatched more quickly when the days are warm, and consequently eggs will hatch out in 18 days in summer but 24 in winter. If it thunders while the hen is sitting the eggs die, and if she hears the cry of a hawk they go bad. A remedy against thunder is an iron nail placed under the straw in which the eggs lie, or some earth from the plough. In some cases Nature hatches of her own accord even without the hen sitting, as on the dunghills of Egypt. We find a clever story about a certain toper at Syracuse, that he used to go on drinking for as long a time as it would take for eggs covered with earth to produce a hatch.

76. Moreover eggs can be hatched even by a human being. Julia Augusta in her early womanhood was with child with Tiberius Caesar by Nero, and being specially eager to a bear a baby of the male sex she employed the following method of prognostication used by girlsshe cherished an egg in her bosom and when she had to lay it aside passed it to a nurse under the folds of their dresses, so that the warmth might not be interrupted; and it is said that her prognostication came true. It was perhaps from this that the method was lately invented of placing eggs in chaff in a warm place and cherishing them with a moderate fire, with somebody to keep turning them over, with the result that all the live brood breaks the shell at once on a fixed day. It is recorded that a certain poultry-keeper had a scientific method of telling which egg was from which hen. It is related also that when a hen has died the cocks of the farmyard have been seen taking on her duties in turn and generally behaving in the manner of a broody hen, and abstaining from crowing. Above all things is the behaviour of a hen when ducks' eggs have been put under her and have hatched outfirst her surprise when she does not quite recognize her brood, then her puzzled sobs as she anxiously calls them to her, and finally her lamentations round the margin of the pond when the chicks under the guidance of instinct take to the water.

77. Marks of good breeding in hens are an upstanding comb, which is occasionally double, black feathers, red beak, and uneven claws, sometimes one lying actually across the four others. Fowls with yellow beak and feet seem not to be unblemished for purposes of religion, and black ones for the mystery rites. Even the dwarf variety is not sterile in the case of the domestic fowl, which is not the case in any other breeds of birds, though with the dwarf fowl reliability in laying is unusual, and sitting on the eggs is harmful to the hen.

78. But the worst enemy of every kind is the pip, and especially between the time of harvest and vintage. The cure is in hunger, and they must lie in smoke, at all events if it be produced from bay-leaves or savin, a feather being inserted right through the nostrils and shifted daily; diet garlic mixed with spelt, either steeped in water in which an owl has been dipped or else boiled with white vine seed, and certain other substances.

79. Pigeons go through a special ceremony of kissing before mating. They usually lay two eggs at a time, nature so regulating as to make some produce larger chicks and others more numerous. The woodpigeon and the turtledove lay at most three eggs at a time, and never more than twice in a spring, and keeping a rule that, if the former lay goes bad, even although they lay three eggs they never rear more than two chicks; the third egg, which is unfertile, they call a wind-egg. The hen woodpigeon sits from noon till the next morning and the cock the rest of the time. Pigeons always lay a male and a female egg, the male first and the female a day later. In this species both birds sit, the cock in the daytime and the hen at night. They hatch in about three weeks, and they lay four days after mating. In summer indeed they sometimes produce three pairs of chickens every two months, for they hatch on the 17th day and breed immediately; consequently eggs are often found among the chickens, and some are beginning to fly just when others are breaking the egg. Then the chicks themselves begin laying when five months old. However in the absence of a cock hen birds actually mate with one another indifferently, and produce unfertile eggs from which nothing is produced, which the Greeks call wind-eggs.

The peahen begins to lay when three months of old. In the first year it lays one egg or a second one, but in the following year four or five at a time, and in the remaining years twelve at a time, but not more, with intervals of two or three days between the eggs, and three times in the year, provided that the eggs are put under farmyard hens to sit on. The male peacock breaks the eggs, out, of desire for the female sitting on them; consequently the hen bird lays at night, and in hiding or when perching on a high placeand unless the eggs are caught on a bed of straw they are broken. One cock can serve five hens, and when there have been only one or two hens for each cock their fertility is spoiled by its salaciousness. The chickens are hatched in 27 days or at latest on the 29th.

Geese mate in the water; they lay in spring, or if they mated in midwinter, after midsummer; they lay nearly 40 eggs, twice in a year if the hens turn the first brood out of the nest, otherwise sixteen eggs at the most and seven at the fewest. If somebody removes the eggs, they go on laying till they burst. They do not turn strange eggs out of the nest. It pays best to put nine or eleven eggs for them to sit on. The hens sit only 30 days at a time, or if the days are rather warm, 25. The touch of a nettle is fatal to goslings, and not less so is their greediness, sometimes owing to their excessive gorging and sometimes owing to their own violence, when they have caught hold of a root in their beak and in their repeated attempts to tear it off break their own necks before they

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succeed. A nettle-root put under their straw after they have lain in it is a cure for nettle-sting.

There are three kinds of heron, the white, the speckled and the dark. These birds suffer pain, in mating, indeed the cocks give loud screams and even shed blood from their eyes; and the broody hens lay their eggs with equal difficulty. The eagle sits on her eggs for thirty days at a time, and so do the larger birds for the most part, but the smaller ones, for instance the kite and hawk, sit for twenty days. A kite's brood usually numbers two chicks, never more than three, that of the bird called the merlin as many as four, and the raven's occasionally even five; they sit for the same number of days. The hen crow is fed by the cock while sitting. The magpie's brood numbers nine, the blackcap's over twenty and always an odd number, and no other bird has a larger brood: so much more prolific are the small species. A swallow's first chicks are blind, as are those of almost all species that have a comparatively large brood.

80. Unfertile eggs, which we have designated wind-eggs, are conceived by the hen birds mating together in a pretence of sexual intercourse, or else from dust, and not only by hen pigeons but also by farmyard hens, partridges, peahens, geese and ducks. But these eggs are sterile, and of smaller size and less agreeable flavour, and more watery. Some people think they are actually generated by the wind, for which reason they are also called Zephyr's eggs; but wind-eggs are only produced in spring, when the hens have left off sitting: another name for them is addle-eggs. When steeped in vinegar eggs become so much softer that they can be passed through rings. It pays best to keep them in bean meal, or else chaff in winter and bran in summer; it is believed that keeping them in salt drains them quite empty.

81. The only viviparous creature that flies is the bat, which actually has membranes like wings; it is also the only flyer that nourishes its young with milk, bringing them to its teats. It bears twins, and flits about with its children in its arms, carrying them with it. The bat is mid to have a single hipbone. Gnats are its favourite fodder.

82. On the other hand among land animals, the snake is oviparous; we have not yet described this species. Snakes mate by embracing, intertwining so closely that they could be taken to be a single animal with two heads. The male viper inserts its head into the female viper's mouth, and the female is so enraptured with pleasure that she gnaws it off. The viper is the only land animal that bears eggs inside it; they are of one colour and soft like fishes' roe. After two days she hatches the young inside her uterus, and then bears them at the rate of one a day, to the number of about twenty; the consequence is that the remaining ones get so tired of the delay that they burst open their mother's sides, so committing matricide. All the other kinds of snakes incubate their eggs in a clutch on the ground, and hatch out the young in the following year. Crocodiles take turns to incubate, male and female. But let us give an account of the mode of reproduction of the remaining land animals as well.

83. Man is the only viviparous biped. Man is the only animal with which mating for the first time is followed by repugnance, which is doubtless an augury of life as sprung from regrettable source. All the other animals have fixed seasons of the year for mating, but man, as has been said, mates at every hour of the day and night. All the others experience satiety in coupling, but with man this is almost entirely absent. Claudius Caesar's consort Messalina, thinking that this would be a truly regal triumph, selected for a competition in it a certain maid who was the most notorious of the professional prostitutes, and beat her in a twenty-four hours' match, with a score of twenty-five. In the human race the males have devised every out-of-the-way form of sexual indulgence, crimes against nature, but the females have invented abortion. How much more guilty are we in this department than the wild animals! Hesiod has stated that men have stronger sexual appetites in winter and women in summer.

Species with the genital organs behind them, elephants, camels, tigers, lynxes, the rhinoceros the lion, the hairy-footed and the common rabbit couple back to back. Camels even make for deserts or else places certain to be secret, and one is not allowed to interrupt them without disaster; the coupling lasts a whole day, and this is the case with these alone of all animals. With the solid-hooved species in the quadruped class the males are excited by scenting the female. Also dogs, seals and wolves turn away in the middle of coupling and still remain coupled against their will. Among the above-mentioned species, of hares the females usually cover first, but with all the others the males; but bears, as was said, couple, like human beings, lying down, hedgehogs both standing up and embracing each other, eats with the male standing and the female lying beneath it, foxes lying down on their sides and the female embracing the male. Cows and does resent the violence of the bulls and stags, and consequently walk forward in pairing. Stags pass across to other hinds and return to the former ones alternately. Lizards like the creatures without feet practise intercourse by intertwining.

All animals are less fertile the larger they are in bulk. Elephants, camels and horses produce off-spring one at a time, but the thistle-finch, the smallest of birds, twelve at a time. Those that produce most young bear them most quickly; the larger the animal, the longer it takes to be shaped in the womb; the more long-lived ones are cared for longer by the mother. Also animals are not of an age suitable for procreation while they are still growing. Solidhoofed animals bear one child at a time, those with cloven hooves also bear two, but those whose feet are divided into separate toes also produce a larger number. But whereas all those above bear their offspring fully formed, these produce them unfinishedin this class being lionesses and bears; and a fox bears its young in an even more unfinished state than the species above-mentioned, and it is rare to see one in the act of giving birth. Afterwards all these species warm their offspring and shape them by licking them. Their litters number four at the most. Dogs, wolves, panthers and jackals bear their young blind.

There are several kinds of dogs. The Spartan hounds breed when both sexes are seven months old; the bitches carry for 60 days, and 63 at most. The bitches of the other breeds are willing to couple, even when six months old. They all conceive from a single coupling. Those that are bred from before the proper time have puppies that stay blind longer, and all of them for the same number of days. They are believed to raise the leg in making water when about six months old; this is a sign of fully matured strength. Bitches relieve themselves sitting. The most prolific have litters of twelve, but usually they have five or six, and sometimes only one: this is considered portentous, as are litters that are all males or all females. Male puppies are born first in each litter, whereas in all other animals the sexes come in turns. Bitches couple five months after their last litter. The Spartan hounds have litters of eight. The males of that breed are marked by keenness for work. Spartan dog hounds live ten years, bitches twelve; all the other breeds live fifteen years, some times even twenty. But they do not breed all their lives, ceasing usually at the age of twelve.

The cat and the mongoose resemble dogs in other respects, but their length of life is ten years. Rabbits breed in every month of the year, and superfetate, as do hares; after giving birth they pair again at once. They conceive although still suckling their previous litter, but the young are blind. Elephants, as we have said, bear one young one at a time, of the size of a three months old calf. Camels carry their young twelve months; they begin breeding at the age of three, in the spring, and mate again a year after giving birth. Mares on the other hand are believed not to be profitably sired till three years old, and not before a year after their last foaling; when they are unwilling, compulsion is used. It is believed that she-asses conceive quite easily even a week after delivery. It is said that mares' manes ought to be clipped to make them submit to allow coupling with asses, as having long manes makes them proud and high-spirited. Mares are the only animals that after coupling run in a northerly or southerly direction according as they have conceived a male or a female foal. Immediately afterwards they change the colour of their coat for a deeper red or a darker hue of whatever their colour is: this marks their ceasing to be able to couple, even if willing to do so. Some are not hindered from work by foaling, and are in foal without its being known. We find it on record that a mare in foal belonging to a Thessalian named Echecratides won a race at Olympia. It is stated by exceptionally careful authorities that horses, dogs and swine like mating in the morning, but that the females make approaches in the afternoon; that mares that have been broken are in heat 60 days sooner than those running with the herd; that swine only foam at the mouth when mating; that when a boar-pig has heard a sow in heat grunting it refuses food to the point of losing flesh entirely unless it]s admitted to her, while sows get so fierce that they will gore a human being, especially one wearing white clothes. This madness can be reduced by sprinkling the organs with vinegar. It is believed that desire for mating is also stimulated by articles of diet, for instance rocket in the case of a man and onions in the case of cattle. It is a remarkable fact that wild species when domesticated refuse to breed, for instance wild geese, and wild boars and stags do so reluctantly and only if they have been reared from infancy. Female animals refuse intercourse when pregnant, except the mare and the sow; but only the common rabbit and the hairy-footed rabbit allow superfetation.

84. All viviparous species produce their young head foremost, the embryo turning round shortly before delivery, but otherwise lying stretched at length in the womb. Four-footed species are carried with the legs stretched out to full length and folded against their own belly, but the human embryo curled up in a ball, with the nostrils placed between the two knees. It is thought that moon calves, about which we have spoken before, are produced when a woman has conceived not from a male but from herself alone, and that they do not come alive because they are not produced from two parents, and they possess the self-nourishing vitality that belongs to plants and frees. Of all the species bearing fully developed offspring pigs alone have litters that are numerous as well as developed, for it is against the nature of those with solid or cloven hoofs to produce several young.

85. The most prolific of all animals whatever is the mouseone hesitates to state its fertility, even though on the authority of Aristotle and the troops of Alexander the Great. It is stated that with it impregnation takes place by licking and not by coupling. There is a record of 120 being born from a single mother, and in Persia of mice already pregnant being found in the parent's womb; and it is believed that they are made pregnant by tasting salt. Accordingly it ceases to be surprising how so large an army of field-mice ravages the crops; and in the case of field-mice it is also hitherto unknown exactly how this vast multitude is suddenly destroyed: for they are never found dead, and nobody exists who ever dug up a mouse in a field in winter. Vast numbers thus appear in the Troad, and they have by now banished the inhabitants from that country. They appear during droughts. It is also related that when a mouse is going to die a worm grows in its head. The mice in Egypt have hard hair like hedgehogs, and also they walk on two feet, as also do the Alpine mice.When animals of a different kind pair, the union is only fertile when the two species have the same period of gestation. There is a popular belief that of the oviparous quadrupeds the lizard bears through the mouth, but this is denied by Aristotle. Lizards do not hatch their eggs, but forget where they laid them, as this animal has no memory; and consequently the young ones break the shell without assistance.

86. We have it from many authorities that a snake may be born from the spinal marrow of a human being. For a number of animals spring from some hidden and secret source, even in the quadruped class, for instance salamanders, a creature shaped like a lizard, covered with spots, never appearing except in great rains and disappearing in fine weather. It is so chilly that it puts out fire by its contact, in the same way as ice does. It vomits from its mouth a milky slaver, one touch of which on any part of the human body causes all the hair to drop off, and the portion touched changes its colour and breaks out in a tetter.

87. Consequently some creatures are born from parents that themselves were not born and were without any similar origin, like the ones mentioned above and all those that are produced by the spring and a fixed season of the year. Some of these are infertile, for instance the salamander, and in these there is no male or female, as also there is no sex in eels and all the species that are neither viviparous nor oviparous; also oysters and the other creatures clinging to the bottom of shallow water or to rocks are neuters. But self-generated creatures if divided into males and females do produce an offspring by coupling, but it is imperfect and unlike the parent and not productive in its turn: for instance flies produce maggots. This is shown more clearly by the nature of the creatures called insects, all of which are difficult to describe and must be discussed in a work devoted specially to them. Consequently the psychology of the before said creatures, and the remainder of the discussion, must be appended.

88. Among the senses, that of touch in man ranks before all the other species, and taste next; but in the remaining senses he is surpassed by many other creatures. Eagles have clearer sight, vultures a keener sense of smell, moles acuter hearingalthough they are buried in the earth, so dense and deaf an element of nature, and although moreover all sound travels upward, they can overhear people talking, and it is actually said that if you speak about them they understand and run away. Among men, when one is first of all denied hearing he also is robbed of the power of talking, and there are no persons deaf from birth who are not also dumb. The sea-oyster probably has no sense of hearing; but it is said that the razor-shell dives at a sound: consequently people fishing make a practice of silence.

89. Fish indeed have no auditory organs or passages, but nevertheless it is obvious that is they hear, inasmuch as it can be observed that in some fishponds wild fish have a habit of flocking together to be fed at the sound of clapping, and in the Emperor's aquarium the various kinds of fish come in answer to their names, or in some cases individual fish. Consequently it is also stated that the mullet, the wolf-fish, the stork-fish and the chromis hear very clearly, and therefore live in shallow water.

90. It is clearly obvious that fish possess a sense of smell, as they are not all attracted by the same food, and they smell a thing before they seize it. Some fish even when hiding in caves are driven out by a fisherman who smears the mouth of the crag with brine used in picklingthey run away as it were from the recognition of their own dead body; and they also flock together from the deep water to certain smells, for instance a burnt cuttlefish or polyp, which are thrown into wicker creels for this purpose. Indeed the stench of a ship's bilge makes them flee far away, but most of all the blood of fishes. The polyp cannot be dragged away from the bait; but when a sprig of marjoram is brought near to it, it at once darts away from the scent. Purple-fish also can be caught by means of things with a foul smell. As to the rest of the animal class who could have any doubt? Snakes are driven away by the stench of burnt stag's horn, but especially by that of styrax-tree gum;

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the scent of marjoram or lime or sulphur kills ants. Gnats seek for sour things and are not attracted by sweet things.

All creatures have the sense of touch, even those that have none of the others; it is possessed even by molluscs, and also, among land animals, by worms.

91. I am inclined to believe that all possess the sense of taste also; for why are different species attracted by different flavours? In the matter of taste nature's handicraft is outstanding: some creatures catch their prey with their teeth, others with their claws, others snatch their food with the curve of the beak, others root it up with the flat of the beak, others dig it out with the point; some suck it in, others lick it, sup it up, chew it, gulp it down. Nor is there less variety in the service rendered by their feet, in snatching, tearing asunder, holding, squeezing, hanging, or incessantly scratching the earth.

92. Wild goats and quails, the most peaceful of creatures, grow fat, as we have said, on poisons, but snakes batten on eggs, serpents having a remarkably skilful trickthey either gulp the eggs down whole, if their throats have grown large enough to hold them, and then break them inside them by rolling themselves up in a coil, and so cough out the bits of eggshell, or if they are young snakes as yet of too tender an age, they catch hold of the eggs in the ring of their coil and squeeze them so gradually and forcibly that part is cut off as if with a knife from the remainder which is held in their folds and then they stick it in. In a like manner they swallow birds whole and then with a heave bring up again the feathers and the bones.

93. Scorpions live on earth. Snakes are specially fond of wine when they have the chance, though otherwise they need little drink; they also need very little food, and almost none at all when they are kept shut up; just as do spiders also, which otherwise live by suction. Consequently no venomous creature dies of hunger or thirst; for they have neither heat nor blood, nor yet sweat, which increases appetite by its natural salt. All in this class are more deadly if they have eaten their own kind before they attack somebody. The class of dog-headed apes and orang-utans stores food in the recesses of the jawbones, and then gradually takes it out from there with its hands to chew itand what with ants is an annual ceremony is for these a daily or hourly practice. The only animal with toes that lives on grass is the hare; solid-hooved animals live on grass and corn, and among animals with cloven feet the pig eats all kinds of fodder and also roots. Rolling on the ground is peculiar to animals with solid hooves. All species with serrated teeth are carnivorous. Bears also eat grain, leaves, grapes and fruits and bees, and even crabs and ants. Wolves, as we have said, when hungry even eat earth. Cattle grow fat with drinking, and consequently salt is specially suitable for them. So also do beasts of burden, although they also fatten on corn and grass; in fact they eat in proportion to what they have drunk. Beside the ruminants already mentioned, of forest animals stags ruminate when they are kept by us; but they all ruminate lying down in preference to standing, and in winter more than in summer, for a period of about seven months. The mice of Pontus also remasticate their food in a similar manner.

94. In drinking, animals with serrated teeth lap, and so does our common mouse, though it really belongs to another class; those with teeth that touch suck for instance horses and cattle; bears do neither, but gulp water as well as food in bites. In Africa the greater part of the wild animals do not drink at all in summer, owing to lack of rains for which reason Libyan mice in captivity die if given drink. The perpetually dry parts of Africa produce the antelope, which owing to the nature of the region goes without drink in quite a remarkable fashion, for the assistance of thirsty people, as the Gaetulian brigands rely on their help to keep going, bladders containing extremely healthy liquid being found in their body.

In Africa also leopards crouch in the thick foliage of the trees and hidden by their boughs leap down on to animals passing by, and stalk their prey from the perches of birds. Then how silently and with what a light tread do cats creep up to birds! how stealthily they watch their chance to leap out on tiny mice! They scrape up the earth to bury their droppings, realizing that the smell of these gives them away.

95. Consequently it is easily manifest that there are also certain senses other than those mentioned above.

For animals have certain kinds of warfare and of friendships, and the feelings that result from them besides the various facts that we have stated about each species in their places. There are quarrels between swans and eagles; between the raven and the golden oriole when searching for one another's eggs by night; similarly between the raven and the kite when the former snatches the latter's food before he can get it; between crows and owls, the eagle and the gold-crestif we can believe it, as the eagle is called the king of birds; between owls and the other smaller birds; again birds with land animalsthe weasel and the crow, the turtle-dove and the pyrallis, ichneumon-flies and spiders; the water-birds brenthos and gull and goshawk and buzzard; shrew-mice and herons lying in wait for each other's young; that very tiny bird the titmouse with the ass, which by rubbing itself against thorns for the sake of scratching dislodges the nests of the titmouse, which is so scared that when it merely hears the sound of an ass braying it throws its eggs out of the nest, and the chicks themselves in fear fall out, and consequently the bird flies at the ass and hollows out its sores with its beak; foxes and kites; snakes and weasels and pigs. There is a small bird called the aesalon that breaks a raven's eggs, whose chicks are preyed upon by foxes, and it retaliates by pecking the fox-cubs and the vixen herself; when the ravens see this they come to their aid against the aesalon as against a common foe. Also the gold-finch lives in thorn-bushes and consequently it also hates asses that devour the flowers of the thorn; but the yellow wagtail hates the titmouse so bitterly that people believe that their blood will not mix, and consequently they give it a bad name as used for many poisons. The thos and the lion quarrel. Also the smallest animals quarrel as much as the largest: a tree infested with ants is hollowed out by caterpillars; a spider swings by a thread on to the head of a snake stretched out beneath the shade of its tree, and nips its brain with its jaws so violently that it at once gives a hiss and whirls giddily round, but cannot even break the thread by which the spider hangs, much less get away, and there is no end to it before its death.

96. On the other hand friendships occur between peacocks and pigeons, turtle-doves and parrots, blackbirds and turtle-doves, the crow and the little heron in a joint enmity against the fox kind and the goshawk and kite against the buzzard. Why, are there not signs of affection even in snakes, the most hostile kind of animals? we have mentioned the story that Arcady tells about the snake that saved his master's life and recognized him by his voice. Let us place to the credit of Phylarchus a marvellous tale about an asp: he relates that in Egypt, when it used to come regularly to be fed at someone's table, it was delivered of young ones, and that its hosts' son was killed by one of these; and that when the mother came back for its usual meal it realized the young one's guilt and killed it, and never came back to the house again afterwards.

97. The question of sleep does not involve any obscure conjecture. It is clear that among land animals all those that close the eyes sleep. That also water animals sleep at all events a little is held even by those who doubt about the other kinds; they do not infer this from the eyes, as these creatures have no eyelids, but merely by their quietness: they are seen reposing as if sunk in slumber, and only moving their tails, and waking up in alarm at any disturbance. It is affirmed with more confidence about tunny-fish, because they sleep close to banks or rocks; while flatfish sleep in shallow water, so that they are often taken out by hand. Dolphins and whales, in fact, are heard actually snoring. That insects also sleep is shown by their silence, and by their not even being roused by having lights brought near them.

98. Man when born is beset by sleep for some months, and then day by day his waking period gets longer. An infant begins to dream at once, for it wakes up in a fright, and also imitates sucking. But some children never dream, and with these we find instances in which their dreaming contrary to their usual habit was a sign of approaching death. Here an important topic invites us and one fully supplied with arguments on both sideswhether there are certain cases of foreknowledge present in the mind during repose, and what causes them, or whether it is a matter of chance like most things. If the question be argued by instances, these would doubtless be found to be equal on both sides. It is practically agreed that dreams occurring directly after drinking wine and eating food, and those that come in dozing off to sleep a second time, are false; but sleep is really nothing but the retirement of the mind into its innermost self. It is manifest that, beside human beings, horses, dogs, oxen, sheep and goats dream; it is consequently believed that, dreams also occur in all viviparous species. As to the oviparous creatures it is uncertain, but it is certain that they sleep.

But let us also pass to insects, for these remain creatures of immeasurably minute structure.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 11

1. There remain some creatures of immeasurably minute structure cm fact some authorities have stated that they do not breathe and also that they are actually devoid of blood. These are of great number and of many kinds; they have the habits of land-animals and of flying animals, some lacking wings, for instance centipedes, others winged, for instance bees, others of both kinds, for instance ants, some lacking both wings and feet; and all are rightly termed insects, from the incisions which encircle them in some cases in the region of their necks and in others of their chests and stomach and separate off their limbs, these being only connected by a thin tube, with some however the crease of the incision not entirely encircling them, but only at the belly or higher up, with flexible vertebrae shaped like gutter-tilesshowing a craftsmanship on the part of Nature that is more remarkable than in any other case: inasmuch as in large bodies or at all events the larger. ones the process of manufacture was facilitated by the yielding nature of the material, whereas in these minute nothings what method, what power, what labyrinthine perfection is displayed! Where did Nature find a place in a flea for all the senses?and other smaller creatures can be mentioned,but at what point in its surface did she place sight? where did she attach taste? implant that truculent and relatively very loud voice? with what subtlety she attached the wings, extended the legs that carry the feet, placed a ravenous hollow to serve as a stomach, kindled a greedy thirst for blood and especially human blood! Then with what genius she provided a sharp weapon for piercing the skin, and as if working on a large object, although really it is invisibly minute, created it with alternating skill so as to be at once pointed for digging and tubed for sucking! What teeth she attached to the wood-borer for boring through timber, with the accompanying sound as evidence and made its chief nutriment to consist of wood! But we marvel at elephants' shoulders carrying castles, and bulls' necks and the fierce tossings of their heads, at the rapacity of tigers and the manes of lions, whereas really Nature is to be found in her entirety nowhere more than in her smallest creations. I consequently beg my readers not to let their contempt for many of these creatures lead them also to condemn to scorn what I relate about them, since in the contemplation of Nature nothing can possibly be deemed superfluous.

2. Many people have asserted that insects do not breathe, also arguing in support of this from the fact that they do not possess the internal organs of a respiratory system, and saying that consequently, they live like plants and trees, whereas there is a very great difference between breathing and living; it is for the same reason, they argue, that they do not contain blood either, as this is found in no species lacking a heart and a liver; similarly, they say, things that have not got lungs do not breathe. This gives rise to a long list of questions. For the same people actually say that these creatures have not got a voice, in spite of all the buzzing of bees and chirping of tree-crickets, and make other statements the value of which will be judged in their places. For when I have observed Nature she has always induced me to deem no statement about her incredible; nor do I see why such creatures should be more able to live without breathing than to breathe without vital organs, which we have proved to occur even in the case of marine creatures in spite of the fact that their breath is barred by the density and depth of the water. At all events that any creatures fly and yet have no capacity of breathing in spite of their living in the very breath of the air, and that they have consciousness of nutrition, generation and work, and even interest in the future, and that although they have no organs to carry the senses as in a vessel, they nevertheless possess hearing, smell, taste, and those outstanding gifts of nature, intelligence, brain, science, into the bargainwho would easily believe this? I admit that they have not got blood, as even land animals have not all got blood of the same kind; but just as in the sea the black fluid of the cuttlefish takes the place of blood, as also does the famous juice of the genus purple-fish that supplies a dye, similarly also whatever is the life-giving fluid possessed by insects, this will be their blood. Finally let each man form his own opinion, but our purpose is to point out the manifest properties of objects, not to search for doubtful causes.

3. So far as is perceptible, insects do not appear to possess sinews or bones or spines or cartilage or fat or flesh, and not even a fragile rind, such as some sea creatures have, nor anything that can properly be termed a skin, but a substance of a nature intermediate between all of these, as it were dried up, softer in the sinew but harder or rather more durable in all the other parts. And this is all that they possess, and nothing else in addition; they have no internal organs except, in the case of quite a few, a twisted intestine. Consequently when torn asunder they display a remarkable tenacity of life, and the separate parts go on throbbing, because whatever their vital principle is it certainly does not reside in particular members but in the body as a wholeleast of all in the head, and this alone does not move unless it has been torn off with the breast. No other kind of creature has a greater number of feet, and of this species the ones that have more feet live longer when torn asunder, as we see in the case of the multipede. But they possess eyes, and also of the other senses touch and taste, and some have smell as well, and a few hearing also.

4. But among all of these species the chief place belongs to the bees, and this rightly is the species; chiefly admired, because they alone of this genus have been created for the sake of man. They collect honey, that sweetest and most refined and most health-giving of juices, they model combs and wax that serves a thousand practical purposes, they endure toil, they construct works, they have a government and individual enterprises and collective leaders, and, a thing that must occasion most surprise, they have a system of manners that outstrips that of all the other animals, although they belong neither to the domesticated nor to the wild class. Nature is so mighty a power that out of what is almost a tiny ghost of an animal she has created something incomparable! What sinews or muscles can we match with such efficacy and industry as that of the bees? What men, I protest, can we rank in rationality with these insects, which unquestionably excel mankind in this, that they recognize only the common interest? Not raising the question of breath, suppose we agree as to their possessing even blood; yet what a tiny quantity can there

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be in these tiny creatures! After these points let us estimate their intelligence.

5. In winter insects go into retirement for whence could they obtain strength to endure frost and snow and the blasts of the north wind?all species alike, no doubt, but not for so long a period the ones that hide in our house-walls .and are warmed earlier than others are. In regard to bees, either seasons or else climates have changed, or previous writers have been mistaken. They go into retirement after the setting of the Pleiades and remain in hiding till after their rise so not till the beginning of spring, as writers have saidand nobody in Italy thinks about hives before the bean is in flower. They go out to their works and to their labours, and not a single day is lost in idleness when the weather grants permission. First they construct combs and mould wax, that is, construct their homes and cells, then produce offspring, and afterwards honey, wax from flowers, bee-glue from the droppings of the gum-producing treesthe sap, glue and resin of the willow, elm and reed. They first smear the whole interior of the hive itself with these as with a kind of stucco, and then with other bitterer juices as a protection against the greed of other small creatures, as they know that they are going to make something that may possibly be coveted; with the same materials they also build wider gateways round the structure.

6. The first foundations are termed by experts commosis, the second pissoceros, the third propolis, between the outer cover and the wax, substances of great use for medicaments. Commosis is the first crust, of a bitter flavour. Pissoceros comes above it, as in laying on tar, as being more fluid than wax. Propolis is obtained from the milder gum of vines and poplars, and is made of a denser substance by the addition of flowers, and though not as yet wax it serves to strengthen the combs; with it all approaches of cold or damage are blocked, and besides it has itself a heavy scent, being in fact used by most people as a substitute for galbanum.

7. Besides these things a collection is made of which some people call sandarach and others bee-bread; this will serve as food for the bees while they are at work, and it is often found stored up in the hollows of the combs, being itself also of a bitter flavour, but it is produced out of spring dew of trees like the gums. It is obtained in fig treesblacker in colour when an east wind is blowing and of better quality and a reddish colour when north winds blowand in the largest quantity in Greek nut-trees. Menecrates says that it is a flower, but he is the only authority that makes that statement.

8. They make their wax from the flowers of all trees and plants except the sorrel and the echinopod; these are kinds of herbs. It is a mistake to say that esparto grass is also an exception, because a great deal of the honey obtained in the broom-thickets in Spain tastes of that plant. I also think that olives are wrongly excepted, as it is certain that the largest swarms are produced where olive-trees are growing. No harm is done to any kind of fruit. They do not settle even on dead flowers, let alone dead bodies. They work within a range of sixty paces, and subsequently when the flowers in the vicinity have been used up they send scouts to further pastures. If overtaken by nightfall on an expedition they camp out, reclining on their backs to protect their wings from the dew.

9. Nobody must be surprised that love for bees inspired Aristomachus of Soli to devote himself to nothing else for 58 years, and Philiscus of Thasos to keep bees in desert places, winning the name of the Wild Man; both of these have written about them.

10. Their work is marvellously mapped out on the following plan: a guard is posted at the gates, after the manner of a camp; they sleep till dawn, until one bee wakes them up with a double or triple buzz as a sort of bugle-call; then they all fly forth in a body, if the day is going to be finefor they forecast winds and rain, in case of which they keep indoors; and consequently men consider this inaction on the part of the bees as one of the prognostics of the weather. When the band has gone out to its tasks, some bring home flowers in their feet and others water in their mouth and drops clinging to the down all over their body. While the youthful among them go out to their tasks and collect the things mentioned above, the older ones work indoors. Those collecting flowers with their front feet load their thighs, which are covered with scales so as to serve this purpose, and with their beak load their front feet, and when fully loaded return bulging with their burden. Each is received by three or four others who relieve him of his load: for indoors also the duties are dividedsome build, others polish, others bring up material, others prepare food from what is brought to them; for they do not feed separately, so that there shall be no inequality of work or food or time. In building they begin with the vaulting of the hive, and they bring down as it were a web from the top of a loom, with two balks round each square of work, so that some may come in and others go out. The combs hang firmly attached to the upper part and also a little to the sides at the same time, but they do not reach to the floor of the hive; sometimes they are oblong and sometimes round, according as the shape of the hive requires, and occasionally also of both kinds, when two swarms whose members are friendly have different customs. They prop up combs that are inclined to fall, the party-walls between the pillars being arched from the ground level so as to supply access for the purpose of repairing. The first three rows or so are arranged empty, so that there may not be any obvious temptation to a thief; the last ones are filled fullest with honey; consequently the combs are taken out from the back of the hive. Carrier bees wait for favourable breezes. If a storm arises, they steady themselves with the weight of a little pebble held in their feet; some authorities say that it is placed on their shoulders.

However in a wind against them they fly close to the ground, carefully avoiding the brambles. They keep a wonderful watch on the work in hand; they mark the idleness of any who are slack and chastise them, and later even punish them with death. They are wonderfully clean: they remove everything out of the way and no refuse is left lying among their work; indeed the droppings of those working inside are heaped in one place so that they may not have to retire too far, and they carry them out on stormy days and when work is suspended. When evening approaches, the buzzing inside the hive grows less and less, till one bee flies round as though giving the order to take repose with the same loud buzz with which she woke them, and this in the manner of a military camp; thereupon they all suddenly become quiet.

They build homes for the commonalty first, and for the kings afterwards. If a specially large production of honey is expected, quarters are added for the drones as well; these are the smallest of the cells, but those for the worker-bees themselves are larger.

11. The drones have no stings, being so to say imperfect bees and the newest made, the incomplete product of those that are exhausted and now discharged from service, a late brood, and as it were the servants of the true bees, who consequently order them about, and drive them out first to the works, punishing laggards without mercy. And the drones are of service to the bees not only in work but also when breeding, as their crowd contributes much to their warmth: it is certain that the larger number of drones there has been, the larger production of swarms also occurs. When the honey has begun to ripen, the bees drive the drones away, and falling on them many to one kill them. Moreover this class of bee is only seen in spring. If a drone is stripped of its wings and afterwards thrown back into the hive it itself strips the wings off the others.

12. They build large and splendid separate palaces for those who are to be their rulers, in the bottom of the hive; these project with a protuberance, and if this be squeezed out, no offspring is born. All the cells are hexagonal, each side being made by one of the bee's six feet. None of these tasks are done at a fixed time, but they snatch their duties on fine days. They fill their cells with honey on one or at most two days.

Honey comes out of the air, and is chiefly formed at the rising of the stars, and especially when the Dog-star itself shines forth, and not at all before the rising of the Pleiades, in the periods just before dawn. Consequently at that season at early dawn the leaves of trees are found bedewed with honey, and any persons who have been out under the morning sky feel their clothes smeared with damp and their hair stuck together, whether this is the perspiration of the sky or a sort of saliva of the stars or the moisture of the air purging itself. And would it were pure and liquid and homogeneous, as it was when it first flowed down But as it is, falling from so great a height and acquiring a great deal of dirt as it comes and becoming stained with vapour of the earth that it encounters, and moreover having been sipped from foliage and pastures and having been collected into the stomachs of beesfor they throw it up out of their mouths, and in addition being tainted by the juice of flowers, and soaked in the corruptions of the belly, and so often transformed, nevertheless it brings with it the great pleasure of its heavenly nature.

13. It is always of the best quality where it is stored in the calyces of the best flowers. This takes place at Hymettus and Hybla in the region of Attica and of Sicily, which are sunny localities and also on the island of Calydna. But at the start it is honey diluted as it were with water, and in the first days it ferments like must and purifies itself, while on the twentieth day it thickens and then is covered with a thin skin which forms from the foam of the actual boiling. The best kind and that least stained with the foliage is sucked from the leaves of the oak and lime and of reeds.

14. Indeed it is constituted on a supreme principle of excellence, as we have said, in a variety of ways. In some places honeycombs distinguished for their wax are formed, as in Sicily and the Abruzzi, in other places for quantity of honey, as in Crete, Cyprus, Africa, in others for size, as in the northern countries, a comb having before now been seen in Germany that was 8 ft. long, and black in its hollow part. Yet in any region there are three kinds of honey. There is spring honey with the comb made from flowers, which is consequently called flower-honey. Some people say this ought not to be touched, so that a progeny made strong by plentiful nourishment may be produced; but others leave less of this honey than of any other kind for the bees, on the ground that a great profusion follows at the rising of the great stars, and also at the solstice, when thyme and grapevines begin to flower, the outstanding material for the cells. It is however necessary to practice economy in taking away the combs, as lack of food causes the bees to despair and die or fly away, and on the other hand a large supply brings sloth, and then the bees feed on the honey and not on bee-bread; consequently the more careful beekeepers leave a fifteenth part of this vintage to the bees. The day fixed for beginning by a sort of law of nature, if only men would know or keep it, is the thirtieth after the leading out of the swarm; and this vintage usually falls within the month of May.

The second kind of honey is summer honey, the Greek name for which consequently is 'ripe honey,' because it is produced in the most favourable season, when the dog-star is shining in its full splendour, about thirty days after midsummer. In respect of this, immense subtlety on the part of nature has been displayed to mortals, did not man's dishonesty spoil everything with its banefulness. For after the rising of each star, but particularly the principal stars, or of a rainbow, if rain does not follow but the dew is warmed by the rays of the sun, not honey but drugs are produced, heavenly gifts for the eyes, for ulcers and for the internal organs. And if this substance is kept when the dog-star is rising, and if, as often happens, the rise of Venus or Jupiter or Mercury falls on the same day, its sweetness and potency for recalling mortals' ills from death is equal to that of the nectar of the gods.

15. Honey is obtained more copiously at full moon, and of thicker substance in fine weather. In all honey the portion that has flowed by itself like must and olive oilit is called honey-vinegaris the most commendable. All summer honey is reddish, as it has been made in a comparatively dry period. White honey is not made where there is thyme, but honey made from thyme is thought most suitable for the eyes and for ulcersit is of a gold colour and has an extremely agreeable taste. The fat honey from violets and the thick kind from rosemary can be seen to condense, but honey that thickens is least praised. Honey from thyme does not condense, and when touched sends out very thin threads, which is the first proof of goodness; it is considered a mark of poor quality for the drops to break off at once and fall back. The next test is for it to have a fragrant scent and a sweet taste leaving a tang, and to be sticky and transparent. Cassius Dionysius holds that a tenth part of the summer honey-crop should be left to the bees, if the hives were full, and that if they were not, a proportionate amount should be left, or if they were empty, they should not be touched at all. The population of Attica have given the first ripening of the wild fig as the regnal for this vintage, but others say Vulcan's holy day.

A third, very little valued, kind of honey is wild honey, called heath-honey. It is collected after the first autumn rains, when only the heath is in flower in the woods, and consequently it resembles sandy honey. It is produced mostly by the rise of Arcturus after September 12. Some people advance the summer honey-making to the rise of Arcturus, since that leaves fourteen days to the autumnal equinox, and in the forty-eight days from the equinox to the setting of the Pleiades heath is most plentiful. The Athenian name for it is tetralice, and the Euboean sisyrus, and they believe it to be very acceptable to bees, perhaps because at that season there is no other supply for them. Consequently this honey-gathering is roughly in the period between the end of vintage and the setting of the Pleiades on November 13. Reason advises leaving two-thirds of the honey then procured for the bees, and always the parts of the combs that contain bee-bread. In the sixty days from midwinter to the rising of Arcturus they live on sleep, without any food; in the warmer period from the rising of Arcturus to the spring equinox they now keep awake, but still keep inside the hive and have recourse to the food kept for this time. But in Italy they do the same after the rising of the Pleiades, sleeping till then. Some people in taking out the honey weigh the hives, so separating the amount to be left behind. There is indeed a bond of equity even in the case of bees, and it is said that if the partnership is defrauded the hives perish. Consequently it is one of the first rules that people must wash themselves clean before they take the honey; also bees hate scurf, and women's menstruation. When honey is being removed it is very useful for the bees to be driven away by smoke, so that they may not get angry or greedily devour it themselves. Also denser smoke is employed to arouse their sloth to their tasks, for if they have not gone on incubating, the combs they make are discoloured. On the other hand excessive smoke kills them, as honey very quickly undergoes deterioration if turned sour by the least touch of moisture; and for this reason among the kinds of honey there is a special sort called by the Greek word meaning 'smokeless.'

16. There has been a great deal of minute enquiry among the learned as to the manner in which bees reproduce their species; for sexual on to. intercourse among them has never been observed. A majority of authorities have held the view that the offspring are formed in the mouth, by blending together blossoms of the reed and the olive; some think it is by copulation with a single male which in each swarm is called the king; and that this is the only male, and is of exceptional size, so as not to grow weary; and that consequently offspring

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is not produced without him, and the rest of the bees accompany him as women accompany a husband, not as their leader. This view, though probable on other grounds, is refuted by the production drones; for what reason can there be why the same act of union should engender some perfect offspring and others imperfect? The former opinion would be nearer to the truth, were it not that again another difficulty meets us: it is a fact that sometimes larger bees are born in the extremities of the combs which drive away all the rest. This mischievous creature is called a gadflybeing born in what possible manner if the female bees themselves shape it? One certain fact is that they sit on their eggs in the way that hens do. The offspring hatched at first looks like a white maggot, lying crosswise and sticking so closely to the wax that it seems to be part of it. The king is from the start of the colour of honey, as if made from a special blossom chosen out of the whole supply, and is not a maggot but has wings from the start. The remaining throng when they begin to take shape are called pupae, while the sham ones are called sirens or drones. If anybody takes the heads off specimens of either kind before they have wings, they serve as very acceptable food for their mothers. As time goes on they give them drops of food and sit on them, buzzing more than at any other time, with the object, it is thought, of producing the warmth needed for hatching out the grubs, until they break the membranes that enclose each of them like eggshells and the whole band emerges. This was observed at Rome on the suburban estate of a certain ex-consul, who had hives made of the transparent horn of a lantern. The brood grows up in about six weeks. In some hives what is called a wart is formed, a hard lump of bitter wax, when the bees have not produced offspring out of the comb, owing to disease or sloth or natural infertility; this is the bees' form of abortion. But as soon as they are hatched out they get to work with their mothers under some sort of tuition, and the youthful king is escorted by a retinue of his peers. Several kings are begun to be produced, so that there may not be a lack of them; but afterwards, when the offspring sprung from these has begun to be grown up, by a unanimous vote they kill the worst of them so that they may not divide up the forces. They are of two kinds, the better sort red and the inferior kind black or speckled. All of them are always exceptionally well-formed and twice as large as the others; their wings are shorter, their legs straight, their bearing more lofty, and they have a spot on their brow that shines white in a kind of fillet; they also differ from the common herd a great deal by their brilliant colour.

17. Now let somebody raise the questions whether Hercules was one person and how many Father Libers there were, and all the other puzzles buried beneath the litter of antiquity! Here on a trifling matter connected with our own country-houses, a thing constantly in evidence, there is no agreement among the authoritiesthe question whether the king bee alone has no sting and is armed only with the grandeur of his office, or whether nature has indeed bestowed one upon him but has merely denied him the use of it. It is a well established fact that the ruler does not use a sting. The commons surround him with a marvellous obedience. When he goes in procession, the whole swarm accompanies him and is massed around him to encircle and protect him, not allowing him to be seen. During the rest of the time, while the people are engaged in labour, he himself goes the circuit of the works inside, with the appearance of urging them on, while he alone is free from duty. He is surrounded by certain retainers and lictors as the constant guardians of his authority. He only issues abroad when the swarm is about to migrate; intelligence of this is given long before, as a buzzing noise has been going on for some days in the hive, a sign of their preparation while they are selecting a suitable day. If anybody should cut off one of his wings, the swarm would not run away. When they have started, each one wants to be next him and delights to be seen on duty; when he is tired they support him with their shoulders, and carry him entirely if he is more completely exhausted. Any bee that falls out from weariness or happens to stray from the main body, follows on by scent. Wherever the king alights is the camping place of the whole body.

18. Moreover they supply private and public portents when a cluster of them hangs suspended in houses and temples, portents that have often been expiated by great events. They alighted on the mouth of Plato even when he was still an infant, portending the charm of that matchless eloquence; and they alighted in the camp of General Drusus on the occasion of the very successful battle of Arbaloas there are certainly exceptions to the interpretation of the augurs, who invariably think this a direful portent. The capture of the leader holds up the whole body, and when they have lost him they separate and migrate to other lords; in any case they are unable to be without a king. But when the kings have become too numerous they reluctantly destroy them, and by preference they destroy their homes while they are being born. If a supply of honey is despaired of, then they even drive away the drones. Nevertheless I see that there is a doubt about these also, and that some persons think them to form a breed of their own, like the robber-bees, the largest in size among the drones but black and with a broad belly, which have this designation because they steal and devour the honey. It is certain that the drones are killed by the bees; at all events they do not have a king in the same way as the other bees do; but whether they are born without a sting is a doubtful point.

Bees breed better in a damp spring, but produce more honey in a dry one. If there is a dearth of food for some hives, they make a raid on their neighbours for the purpose of plunder; but the bees attacked form in line of battle to resist, and if the beekeeper is present whichever side thinks that he favours it does not attack him. They also often fight battles for other reasons, and form in two opposing lines under two commanders, the chief source of quarrel arising while they are collecting flowers, and each party calling out their friends; but the combat can be entirely scattered by some dust being thrown on it or by smoke, while a reconciliation can be effected by some milk or water sweetened with honey.

19. There are also wild and forest bees, which are of a bristly appearance, and are much more irascible but of superior industry and diligence. Domesticated bees are of two kinds; the best are short and speckled and of a compact round shape, and the inferior ones are long and have a resemblance to wasps, and also the worst among them are hairy. In Pontus there is a white kind that makes honey twice in a month; and in the neighbourhood of the river Thermodon there are two kinds, one that makes honey in trees and the other that makes it underground in a threefold arrangement of combs. and is most lavishly productive.

Nature has given bees a sting attached to the stomach, designed for a single blow; certain persons think that when they have planted their sting they at once die, while some hold that this only occurs if it is driven in so far that some of the gut follows it, but that afterwards the bees are drones and do not make honey, as though their strength had been castrated, and they cease at the same time both to hurt and to benefit. There is a case of a horse being killed by bees. Bees hate foul smells and flee far away from them, even those not due to natural causes; consequently they attack people scented with perfumes. They themselves are liable to injuries from very many creatures. Wasps and hornets which are degenerate species of the same nature attack them, as also do the species of gnat called mule-flies. Swallows and some other birds ravage them. Frogs lie in wait for them when they are getting water, which is their most important task at the period when they are producing offspring. And not only the frogs that beset ponds and rivers but also toads come of their own accord and crawling up to the doorways blow through them; thereupon the guard flies out and is immediately snapped up; and it is said that frogs do not feel a bee's sting. Sheep too are the enemies of bees, which with difficulty disentangle themselves from their wool. Also the smell of crabs being boiled near them is fatal to them.

20. Moreover bees suffer diseases due to their own nature. A symptom of these is a gloomy torpidity, both when they are brought out before the doorway into the warmth of the sun and food is served to them by others and when they die and the others carry them out and escort their obsequies in the manner of persons conducting a funeral. When this pestilence carries off the king the commons mourn with abject grief, not collecting food and not going out of the hive; they only mass themselves round his body with a sorrowful buzzing. Consequently the throng is separated and he is taken away from it; otherwise they keep gazing at his lifeless body and never stop mourning. Then also, unless help is brought to them, they die of hunger. Consequently their health is judged by their gaiety and brightness.

There are also diseases that affect their work: when they do not fill the combs full, it is called claron, and blapsigonia, if they do not bring their offspring to maturity.

21. Also an echo is detrimental to bees with its repercussion that alarms them by striking them with an alternating blow; fog too is detrimental. Also spiders are in the highest degree hostile; when they have succeeded in weaving a web over the combs they kill the grubs. Even the moth, that cowardly and ignoble creature that flutters up to lamps when they are lit, brings disaster, and not in one way only, for it both devours the combs itself and leaves excrement from which grubs are produced; also wherever it walks it weaves a covering of cobwebs chiefly made from the down on its wings. Moreover moths are born in the wood itself that specially attack the combs. And another bane is their greed for food, as their belly is moved, specially in the spring time, by their devouring a surfeit of flowers. Olive oil indeed kills not only bees but all insects, especially if they are placed in the sun after their head has been anointed. Sometimes also they themselves cause their own death, by greedily devouring honey when they perceive that it is being taken away, whereas normally they are extremely thrifty and make a practice of driving away wasteful and greedy bees just the same as lazy and slothful ones. Also their own honey is noxious to them, and if it is smeared on their backs they die. To so many foes and so many disastersand how small a fraction of them I am recounting!is this beneficent creature exposed. The remedies we will speak of in their proper places; for at present we are discussing their nature.

22. They delight in the clash and clang of bronze, and collect together at its summons; which shows that they also possess the sense of hearing. When their work is done and their brood reared, though they have accomplished all their duty they nevertheless have a ritual exercise to perform, and they range abroad in the open and soar on high, tracing circles in flight, and only when this is finished do they return to take food. Their life at longest, granted that hostile attacks and accidents are encountered successfully, lasts seven years. It is stated that the hives have never lasted in their entirety beyond ten years. Some people think that dead bees come to life again if they are kept indoors in winter and then exposed to the heat of the sun in spring and kept warm with hot fig-wood ashes;

23. but that when entirely lost they can be restored by being covered with fresh ox-paunches together with mud, or according to Virgil with the dead body of bullocks, just as wasps and hornets are brought to life from horses' bodies and beetles from those of asses, since nature can change some things from one kind into another. But all these creatures are seen to pair, and nevertheless their offspring possess almost the same nature as that of bees.

24. Wasps make their nests high up, of mud, and in them make cells of wax; hornets make them in caverns or underground; all of these have hexagonal cells, and make their combs of bark, like spiders' webs. The actual offspring are not uniform but varyone flies out while another is in the pupa and another in the grub; and all of these stages are in the autumn, not the spring. They grow chiefly at full moon. The wasps called ichneumon-fliesthey are smaller than the otherskill one kind of spider called phalangium and carry them to their nests and then smear them over, and from these by incubating produce their own species. Moreover they all feed on flesh, contrary to bees which never touch a body. But wasps hunt larger flies and after cutting off their heads carry away the rest of the body.

The forest variety of hornets live in hollow trees, hibernating in winter like the rest of insects; they do not live beyond the age of two. Their sting is rarely not followed by fever. Some authorities state that twenty-seven a hornet-stings will kill a human being. Another kind that seems less fierce has two classesworkers, smaller in size, which die in winter, and mothers, which last two years: these are not fierce at all. They make nests in spring, usually with four entrances, in which to breed the workers. When these have been reared, they then make other larger nests, in which they may now produce those who are to be mothers. Then the workers begin to function, and feed the mothers. The mothers are of a wider shape, and it is doubtful whether they possess stings, because they do not come out. These also have their drones. Some people hold the view that all these insects lose their stings towards winter. Neither the hornet nor the wasp kind have kings, nor do they swarm, but their numbers are continually renewed by offspring.

25. Among these is a fourth genus, the silk-moth, which occurs in Assyria; it is larger than the kinds mentioned above. Silk-moths make their nests of mud like a sort of salt; they are attached to a stone, and are so hard that they can scarcely he pierced with javelins. In these nests they make combs on a larger scale than bees do, and then produce a bigger grub.

26. These creatures are also produced in another way. A specially large grub changes into slit. a caterpillar with two projecting horns of a peculiar kind, and then into what is called a cocoon, and this turns into a chrysalis and this in six months into a silk-moth. They weave webs like spiders, producing a luxurious material for women's dresses, called silk. The process of unravelling these and weaving the thread again was first invented in Cos by a woman named Pamphile, daughter of Plateas, who has the undeniable distinction of having devised a plan to reduce women's clothing to nakedness.

27. Silk-moths are also reported to be born in the island of Cos, where vapour out of the ground creates life in the blossom of the cypress, terebinth, ash and oak that has been stripped off by rain. First however, it is said, small butterflies are produced that are bare of down, and then as they cannot endure the cold they grow shaggy tufts of hair and equip themselves with thick jackets against winter, scraping together the down of leaves with the roughness of their feet; this is compressed by them into fleeces and worked over by carding with their claws, and then drawn out into woof-threads, and thinned out as if with a comb, and afterwards taken hold of and wrapped round their body in a coiled nest. Then (they say) they are taken away by a man, put in earthenware vessels and reared with warmth and a diet of bran, and so a peculiar kind of feathers sprout out, clad with which they are sent out to other tasks; but tufts of wool plucked off are softened with moisture and then thinned out into threads with a rush spindle. Nor have even men been ashamed to make use of these dresses, because of their lightness in summer: so far have our habits departed from wearing a leather cuirass that even a robe is considered a burden! All the same we so far leave the Assyrian silk-moth to women.

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28. To these may be not ineptly joined the nature of spiders, which deserves even exceptional admiration. There are several kinds of spiders, but they need not be described, as they are so well known. The name of phalangium is given to a kind of spider that has a harmful bite and a small body of variegated colour and pointed shape, and advances by leaps and bounds. A second species of spider is black, with very long fore legs. All spiders have legs with two joints. Of the wolf-spiders the smallest do not weave a web, but the larger ones live in the ground and spin tiny ante-rooms in from of their holes. A third kind of the same species is remarkable for its scientific method of construction; it sets up its warp-threads, and its own womb suffices to supply the material needed for this considerable work, whether because the substance of its intestines is thus resolved at a fixed time, as Democritus holds, or because it has inside it some power of producing wool: with such careful use of its claw and such a smooth and even thread it spins the warp, employing itself as a weight. It starts weaving at the centre, twining in the woof in a circular round, and entwists the meshes in an unloosable knot, spreading them out at intervals that are always regular but continually grow less narrow. How skilfully it conceals the snares that lurk in its chequered net! How unintentional appears to be the density of the close warp and the plan of the woof, rendered by a sort of scientific smoothing automatically tenacious! How its bosom bellies to the breezes so as not to reject things that come to it! You might think the threads had been left by a weary weaver stretching in front at the top; but they are difficult to see, and, like the cords in hunting-nets, when the quarry comes against them throw it into the bosom of the net. With what architectural skill is the vaulting of the actual cave designed! and how much more hairy it is made, to give protection against cold! How distant it is from the centre, and how its intention is concealed, although it is really so roofed in that it is impossible to see whether somebody is inside or not! Then its strengthwhen is it broken by the winds? what quantity of dust weighs it down? When the spider is practising its art and learning to weave, the breadth of the web often reaches between two trees and the length of the thread stretches down from the top of the tree and there is a quick return right up the thread from the ground, and the spider goes up and brings down the threads simultaneously. But when a catch falls into the web, how watchfully and alertly it runs to it! although it may be clinging to the edge of the net, it always runs to the middle, because in that way it entangles the prey by shaking the whole. When the web is torn it at once restores it to a finished condition by patching it. And spiders actually hunt young frogs and lizards, first wrapping up their mouth with web and then finally gripping both lips with their jaws, giving a show worthy of the amphitheatre when it comes off. Also auguries are obtained from the spider: for instance, when the rivers are going to rise they raise their webs higher; also they weave their web in fine weather and reweave it in cloudy weather, and consequently a number of spiders' webs is a sign of rain. People think that it is the female that weaves and the male that hunts, and that thus the married pair do equal shares of service.

29. Spiders couple with the haunches, and produce grubs resembling eggsfor their mode of reproduction also must not be deferred, as insects have scarcely any other method; and they lay them all into their webs, but scattered, because they jump about and lay them in the process. The phalangium spiders only incubate in the actual cave a large number of grubs which when hatched out devour the mother, and often the father too, for he helps to incubate. They produce broods of as many as three hundred, whereas all the other kinds produce fewer; and they sit on the eggs three days. They take four weeks to become full-grown spiders.

30. Land scorpions also like spiders produce grubs resembling eggs and die in the same way as spiders; they are a horrible plague, poisonous like snakes, except that they inflict a worse torture by despatching the victim with a lingering death lasting three days, their wound being always fatal to girls and almost absolutely so to women, but to men only in the morning, when they are coming out of their holes, before they emit their yet unsated poison by some accidental stroke. Their tail is always engaged in striking and does not stop practising at any moment, lest it should ever miss an opportunity; it strikes both a sideway stroke and one with the tail bent up. Apollodorus states that these insects emit a white poison, and he divides them into nine kinds, chiefly by their colours, a superfluous task, since he does not let us know which he pronounces to be the least deadly. He says that some have a pair of stings, and that the males are fiercestfor he attributes coupling to these creaturesbut that they can be recognized by their long slender shape; and that all are poisonous at midday, when they have got hot from the warmth of the sun, and also that when they are thirsty they cannot have their fill of drinking. It is also agreed that those with six joints in the tail are more savagefor the majority have five. This curse of Africa is actually given the power of flight by a south wind, which supports their arms when they spread them out like oars; Apollodorus before mentioned definitely states that some possess wings. The Psylli tribe, who by importing the poisons of all the other countries for their own profit have filled Italy with foreign evils, have tried to bring these creatures here also, but they have proved unable to live this side of the climate of Sicily. Nevertheless they are sometimes seen in Italy, though these are harmless, and in many other places, for instance in the neighbourhood of Pharos in Egypt. In Scythia they kill even pigs, which normally are exceptionally immune to such poisons, black pigs indeed more quickly, if they plunge into water. For a human victim the ashes of the creatures themselves drunk in wine are thought to be a cure. It is thought that to be dipped in oil is a great disaster to geckoes as well as scorpions; but geckoes at least are harmless; these too are bloodless, and are shaped like a lizard; equally scorpions are believed to do no harm whatever to any bloodless creatures. Some think that they also devour their own offspring, and that only one is left, a specially clever one that by perching on his mother's haunches secures himself by this position against both her tail and her bite; and that this one is the avenger of the rest, as he finally kills their parent with a blow from above. They are produced in broods of eleven.

31. These geckoes in a certain manner have the nature of chameleons, living only on dew and on spiders as well.

32. The life-history of the cicada is similar. Of this there are two kinds: the smaller ones that come out first and perish latestthese however are mute; subsequent is the flight of those that sing: they are called Singers, and the smaller ones among them grass-hoppers, but the former are more vocal. The males in either class sing, but the females are silent. These creatures are used as food by the Eastward races, even the Parthians with their abundant resources; they prefer the males before mating and the females afterwards, being seduced by their eggs, which are white. They couple lying on their backs. They have a very sharp prickliness on the back, with which they hollow a place in the ground for their offspring. This is produced first as a grub, and then from this comes what is called the larva; at the period of the solstices they break the shell of this and fly out, always at night; at first they are black and hard. This is the only living creature actually without a mouth; they have instead a sort of row of prickles resembling tongues, this also being on the breast, with which they lick the dew. The breast itself forms a pipe; the singers use this to sing with, as we shall say. For the rest, there is nothing on the belly. When they are disturbed and fly away, they give out moisture, which is the only proof that they live on dew; moreover they are the only creatures that have no aperture for the bodily excreta. Their eyes are so dim that if anybody comes near to them contracting and straightening out a finger, they pass by as if it were a leaf flickering. Some people make two other classes of tree-crickets, the twig-cricket which is the larger, and the corn-cricket, which others call the oat-cricket, because it appears at the same time as the crops begin to dry. Tree-crickets do not occur where trees are scarceconsequently they are not found at Cyrenae except in the neighbourhood of the townnor in plains or in chilly or shady woods. These creatures also make some difference between localities; in the district of Miletus they occur in few places, but there is a river in Cephallania which makes a boundary with a few of them on one side and many on the other; again in the Reggio territory they are all silent but beyond the river in the region of Locri they sing. They have the same wing-structure as bees, but larger in proportion to the body.

33. Of insects some have two wings, for instance, flies, and some four, for instance bees. The tree-cricket also flies with its membranes. Those armed with a sting in the belly have four wings, but none having a weapon in the mouth has more than two wings to fly with, for the former have this weapon bestowed on them for the sake of vengeance but the latter for the purpose of greed. No insects' wings when torn off grow again. None that has a sting in the belly is two-winged.

34. In some species the wings are protected by an outer covering of shell, for instance beetles; in these species the wing is thinner and more fragile. They are not provided with a sting, but in one large variety of them there are very long horns, with two prongs and toothed claws at the point which close together at pleasure for a bite; they are actually hung round children's necks as amulets; Nigidius calls these Lucanian oxen. Another kind of them again is one that rolls up backwards with its feet vast balls of mud and nests its brood of little grubs in these against the rigour of winter. Others flutter about with a loud murmur or a shrill noise, and others giving out a buzz bore numerous holes in hearths and walls in the night. Glow worms shine like fires at night time owing to the colour of their sides and loins, now giving a flash of light by opening their wings and now darkened by closing them; they are not much seen before the crops are ripe or after they have been cut. The cockroaches' life on the contrary is a nurseling of the shadows, and they fly the light, being mostly produced in the damp warmth of bathhouses. The reddish and very large beetles of the same kind dig dry earth and mould combs that resemble a small porous sponge and contain poisoned honey. There is a small place near Olynthus in Thrace that is fatal to this animal, and is consequently called Beetle-bane. The wings of all insects have no cleft. None has a tail except the scorpion. This is the only insect that has arms, and also a spike in the tail; some of the rest have a sting, for instance the gadfly (or if you like, 'breeze'), and also the gnat and some flies, but with all of these it is in the mouth and settles as a tongue. With some these stings are blunt, and do not serve for pricking but for suctionfor instance with a sort of fly, in which the tongue is evidently a tube; and this sort of insect have no teeth. Others, for instance butterflies, have useless little horns projecting in front of their eyes. Some insects, for instance the centipede, have no wings.

35. Insects that have feet can move sideways. Of some, for instance locusts, the hind feet are longer and curve outward.

Locusts in the autumn season give birth to clusters of eggs, by lowering the tube of the prickle to the earth. The eggs last for the winter, but in the ensuing year at the end of spring send out small insects, that are blackish and have no legs, and crawl with their wing-feathers. Consequently spring rains kill the eggs, whereas in a dry spring there are larger broods. Others record that they have two breeding seasons and two seasons when they die offbearing at the rise of the Pleiades and then dying at the rise of the Dog-star, others being born in their place; some say that this second brood is born at the setting of Arcturus. It is certain that the mothers die when they have given birth to a brood, a maggot immediately forming inside them in the region of the throat that chokes them. The males die at the same time. And although dying for such a trifling reason a single locust when it likes can kill a snake by gripping its throat with its teeth. They are born only in places with chinks in them. There are said to be locusts in India three feet long, with legs and thighs that when they have been dried can be used as saws. They also have another way of dying: they are carried away in swarms by the wind and fall into the sea or a marsh. This happens purely by accident and not, as was believed by ancient writers, owing to their wings being drenched by the dampness of night. The same people indeed have also stated that they do not fly by night because of the coldnot being aware that they cross even wide seas, actually, which is most surprising, enduring several days' continuous hunger, to remedy which they know how to seek fodder abroad. This plague is interpreted as a sign of the wrath of the gods; for they are seen of exceptional size, and also they fly with such a noise of wings that they are believed to be birds, and they obscure the sun, making the nations gaze upward in anxiety lest they should settle all over their lands. In fact their strength does not fail, and as though it were not enough to have crossed the seas, they pass over immense tracts of land and cover them with a cloud disastrous for the crops, scorching up many things with their touch and gnawing away everything with their bite, even the doors of the houses as well.

Italy is infested by swarms of them, coming principally from Africa, the Roman nation having often been compelled by fear of dearth to resort to remedies prescribed by the Sibylline Books. In the district of Cyrene there is actually a law to make war upon them three times a year, the first time by crushing the eggs, then the grubs and last the fully grown insects, with the penalty of a deserter for the man who shirks. Also in the Island of Lemnos there is a rule prescribing a definite quantity of locusts killed that each man has to bring in to the magistrates. Also they keep jays for this purpose, which meet them by flying in the opposite direction, to their destruction. In Syria as well people are commandeered by military order to kill them. In so many parts of the world is this plague abroad; but with the Parthians even the locust is an acceptable article of diet.

The locust's voice appears to come from the back of the head: it is believed that in that place at the juncture of the shoulder-blades they have a sort of teeth, and that they produce a grating noise by rubbing them together, chiefly about the two equinoxes, as grasshoppers do about midsummer. Locusts couple in the same manner as all insects that pair, the female carrying the male with the end of her tail bent back to him, and with slow separation. In all this class the males are smaller than the females.

36. Most of the insects give birth to a maggot; ants for example produce in spring one that resembles an egg, these too sharing their labour as do bees, but bees make the food stuffs, whereas ants collect theirs. And if anybody compared the loads that ants carry with the size of their bodies, he would confess that no creatures have proportionally greater strength; they carry them held in their mouths, but they move larger loads with their hind feet, turning their backs to them and heaving against them with their shoulders. Ants also have a system of government, and possess memory and diligence. They nibble their seeds before they store them away, so that they may not sprout up again out of the earth and germinate; they divide the larger seeds so as to get them in; when they have been wetted by rain they bring them out and dry them. They even work at night when there is a full moon, although when there is no moon they stop. Again what industry and what diligence is displayed in their work! and since they bring their burdens together from opposite directions, and are unknown to one another, certain days are assigned for market

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so that they may become acquainted. How they flock together on these occasions! How busily they converse, so to speak, with those they meet and press them with questions! We see rocks worn by their passage and a path made by their labours, so that nobody may doubt how much can be accomplished in any matter by even a trifling amount of assiduity! They are the only living creatures beside man that bury their dead.Winged ants do not occur in Sicily.

The horns of an Indian ant fixed up in the Temple of Hercules were one of the sights of Erythrae. These ants carry gold out of caves in the earth in the region of the Northern Indians called the Dardae. The creatures are of the colour of cats and the size of Egyptian wolves. The gold that they dig up in winter time the Indians steal in the hot weather of summer, when the heat makes the ants hide in burrows; but nevertheless they are attracted by their scent and fly out and sting them repeatedly although retreating on very fast camels: such speed and such ferocity do these creatures combine with their love of gold.

37. Many insects however are born in other ways as well, and in the first place from dew. At the beginning of spring this lodges on the leaf of a radish and is condensed by the sun and shrinks to the size of a millet seed. Out of this a small maggot develops, and three days later it becomes a caterpillar, which as days are added grows larger; it becomes motionless, with a hard skin, and only moves when touched, being covered with a cobweb growthat this stage it is called a chrysalis. Then it bursts its covering and flies out as a butterfly.

38. In this way some creatures are generated from rain in the earth and some even in wood. For not only is the goatmoth caterpillar born in wood, but also the horse-fly springs from wood, and other creatures, wherever there is excessive damp,

39. just as tapeworms thirty feet in length, sometimes even more, grow inside a human being. Again worms are born in the flesh of dead bodies and also in the hair of living people, a foul growth that caused the death of the dictator Sulla and also of one of the most famous of Greece poets, Alernan. This indeed also infests birds, and actually kills pheasants unless they sprinkle themselves with dust; and of hairy animals it is believed that only the ass and sheep are immune from this evil. They also breed in one kind of clothing especially, woollen made from sheep that have been killed by wolves. Also I find in the authorities that some springs of water in which we bathe are specially productive of this kind of creature; inasmuch as even wax generates what is believed to be the smallest of animals. Others again are generated out of dirt by the rays of the sun, creatures that hop with a frisk of their hind legs, and others out of damp dust, that fly about in caves.

40. There is an animal belonging to the same season that always lives with its head fixed in the blood of a host, and consequently goes on swelling, as it is the only animal that has no vent for its food; with gorging to excess it bursts, so dying of its very nutriment. This creature never grows in carthorses but occurs frequently in oxen and occasionally in dogs in which all creatures breed, whereas this alone occurs in sheep and goats. Equally remarkable is the thirst for blood that is even felt by leeches in marshy water; for they too penetrate with the whole of their head. Dogs have a special pest of their own, a maggot that lances particularly, their ears, which they cannot protect by their bite.

41. Similarly, dust in woollens and in clothes breeds moths, especially if a spider is shut up with them; for being thirsty and sucking up all the moisture it increases the dryness. This is also noticed in papers. There is a kind of moths that carry their own coats in the same way as snails; but the moths have visible feet. If stripped of their coats they die, but if they grow up, they form a chrysalis. The wild fig-tree breeds fig-gnats; beetles are produced by the maggots of figs and of the pear tree, pine, dog-rose and rose. This poisonous creature brings its remedies with itthe wings have a healing power; but with these removed it is deadly. Again, other kinds, namely gnats, are bred by a substance growing sour, and in fact white ones are found even in snow, and also in snow that has been lying for some time maggots, which in a moderate depth of snow at all events are ruddyfor even snow itself turns reddish with lapse of time; these have shaggy hair and are of considerable size, and torpid.

42. Some creatures are generated also by the opposite natural element. Thus in the copper foundries of Cyprus even in the middle of the fire there flies a creature with wings and four legs, of the size of a rather large fly; it is called the pyrallis, or by some the pyrotocon. As long as it is in the fire it lives, but when it leaves it on a rather long flight it dies off.

43. The river Bug on the Black Sea at midsummer brings down some thin membranes that look like berries out of which burst a four-legged caterpillar in the manner of the creature mentioned above, but it does not live beyond one day, owing to which it is called the hemerobius. The rest of this sort of creatures have from start to finish seven-day periods, but the gnat and maggots have twenty-one-day, and those whose offspring are fully formed twenty-eight-day periods. Their changes and transformations into other shapes take place every three or every four days. The remaining kinds of this class possessing wings usually die in autumn of decay of the wings, but horseflies die of blindness also. When flies have been killed by damp they can be resuscitated by being buried in ashes.

44. Now let our investigation treat of the various parts of bodies besides the ones already mentioned, taking limb by limb.

All creatures that have blood have a head. On the head a few kinds, and these only birds, have crests, of different sorts it is truewith the phoenix it is a row of feathers spreading out from the middle of the head in a different direction, peacocks have bushy tufts, the bird of Stymphalus a crest, the pheasant little horns, as moreover has the small bird that was formerly named from this peculiarity the crested lark and subsequently was called by the Gallic word alauda and gave that name also to the legion so entitled. We have also said which bird has been endowed by nature with a folding crest. Nature has also bestowed a crest that slopes backwards from the beak down the middle of the neck on the coot species, and also a tufted crest on Mars's woodpecker and on the Balearic crane, but she has given the most distinguished decoration to the poultry-cockits fleshy, notched comb; and this cannot rightly be described as flesh or gristle or hard skin, but is a gift peculiar to it: for no one can be found who has ever seen serpents' crests.

45. Many of the water and marine and snake species are furnished in various ways with horns of a sort, but horns in the proper sense of the term only belong to the genus quadrupeds; for I deem the story of Actaeon, and also that of Cipus in the history of Latium, to be fabulous. And in no other field does nature allow herself more sport; with the weapons of animals she has made a gamedividing some into branches, for instance, the horns of stags; assigning simple horns to others, for instance, the species in the same genus called from this feature 'flute-stags,' spreading those of others into palms and making fingers shoot ont from these, the origin of the designation 'broad-horn.' To goats she has given branching but small horns, and these she has not made to be shed; to the ram class horns twisted into a crooked shape, as if providing them with weighted gauntlets for boxing; to bulls horns for attackingin this class indeed she has also bestowed horns on the females, although in many she only gives them to the males; to chamois horns curved over the back, to antelopes horns curved the opposite way; but to the crook-horn, the African name for which is addax, upright horns twisted with a coil of wrinkles and sharpened at the end into a smooth point, so as to make them suitable for lyres; also horns that are movable, like ears, to the cattle of Phrygia; horns pointing towards the ground to those belonging to the Cave-dwellers, which consequently graze with the neck bent sideways; to other creatures a single horn, and this placed in the middle of the head or between the nostrils, as we have said; moreover some have strong horns for charging, others for striking; some horns curved forward, some backward, some for tossing in various wayscurving backward, curving together, curving outward; all ending in a point; in one kind horns used instead of hands for scratching the body; with snails used for exploring the way in advancethese fleshy, as those of the homed snake; these creatures sometimes have one horn, snails always two, so as both to be stretched forward and to spring back.

The northern barbarians use the horns of the aurochs for drinking, and fill the two horns of a single head with wine; others point their spears with horn tips. With us horn is cut into transparent plates to give a wider diffusion to a light enclosed in it, and it is also applied to many other articles of luxury, sometimes dyed, sometimes painted, sometimes what is called from a certain kind of picture 'engraved.' All animals' horns are hollow and solid solely at the tip, but only stags have horns that are entirely solid and that are shed every year. Farmers heal the hooves of their oxen when worn by greasing the horn of the hoof with fat; and the substance of horn is so ductile that even the horns of living cattle can be bent with boiling wax, and they can be slit at birth and twisted in opposite directions, so as to produce four horns on one head.

The females usually have thinner horns, as is the case with many in the cattle class, but the females of sheep and of stags have none, nor have those of the animals with cloven hooves, nor any of those with solid hooves except the Indian ass that is armed with a single horn. Nature has bestowed two horns on the kinds with cloven hooves, but on no kind having front teeth in the upper jaw: but those who think that the material to form upper teeth is entirely used up in horns are easily refuted by the nature of does, which have no teeth that stags have not also and nevertheless have no horns. The horns of all other kinds are attached to the bones, but those of stags alone grow out of the hide.

46. The heads of fishes are very large in proportion to their bodies, perhaps so as to enable them to dive. The shell-fish kind have no heads, nor have sponges nor virtually any of the other creatures which only possess the sense of touch. Some kinds, for instance crabs, have the head not separated from the body.

47. Of all the animals man has most hair on the head: indeed this is the case indiscriminately with males and females, at all events with the races that do not cut the hair; and the Longhair tribes of the Alps and Gallia Comata have actually derived their names from this, though nevertheless there is in this respect some difference between countries: in fact the people of Mykoni are born devoid of hair, like the persons with an affection of the spleen at Caucus. (Also some kinds of animals are bald by nature, for instance ostriches and cormorants; the Greek name for the latter is derived from this peculiarity.) With these races loss of the hair is rare in the case of a woman and unknown in eunuchs, and never occurs in any case before sexual intercourse has taken place; and they are never bald below the brainpan or the crown of the head, or round the temples and the ears. Man is the only species in which baldness occurs, except in cases of animals born without hair, and only with human beings and horses does the hair turn grey, in the former case always starting at the forehead and only afterwards at the back of the head.

48. In human beings only a double-crowned skull occurs in some cases. The bones of the human skull are flat and thin and have no marrow; they are constructed with iuterlockings serrated like the teeth of a comb. When broken they cannot form again, but the removal of a moderate piece is not fatal, as its place is taken by a scar of flesh. The skull of the bear is the weakest and that of the parrot the hardest, as we have stated in the proper place.

49. All blooded animals have a brain, and so also have the sea-creatures that we have designated the soft species, although they are bloodless, for instance the polypus [octopus]. Man however has the largest brain in proportion to his size and the most moist one, and it is the coldest of all his organs; it is wrapped in two membranes above and below, the fracture of either of which is fatal. For the rest a man's brain is larger than a woman's. With all human beings it has no blood or veins, and in some cases no fat. The learned teach that it is distinct from marrow because boiling makes it hard. In the middle of the brain of all species there are tiny little bones. With man alone the brain throbs in infancy, and does not become firm before the child first begins to talk. The brain is the highest of the organs in position, and it is protected by the vault of the head; it has no flesh or blood or refuse. It is the citadel of sense-perception, and the focus to which all the flow of the veins converges from the heart and at which it stops; it is the crowning pinnacle, the seat of government of the mind. But the brain of all animals slopes forward, because our senses also stretch in front of us. It is the source of sleep and the cause of drowsy nodding; species without a brain do not sleep.

Stags are stated to have maggots to the number of twenty in the head beneath the hollow of the tongue and in the neighbourhood of the juncture of the head with the neck.

50. Only man is unable to move the ears. (The family surname Flabby comes from them.) Also women spend more money on their ears, in pearl earrings, than on any other part of their person; in the East indeed it is considered becoming even for men to wear gold in that place. Some animals have larger and others smaller ears; only stags have cleft and as it were divided ears; the shrewmouse has shaggy ears; but all species, at all events viviparous ones, have some ears, except the seal and dolphin, and those which we have designated a cartilaginous, and vipers: these have only holes in place of ears, except the cartilaginous species and the dolphin, although the latter is obviously able to hear; for dolphins are charmed even by music, and are caught while bewildered by the sound. Their precise method of hearing is a riddle. They also have no indications of smell, although they possess a very keen scent. Of feathered creatures only the eagle-owl and eared owl have feathers that serve as ears, the rest have apertures for hearing; and similarly with the scaly creatures and with snakes. In horses and every kind of cattle the ears display signs of their feelings, drooping when they are tired, twitching when they are frightened, pricked up when they are angry and relaxed when they are sick.

51. Only man has a face, all other animals have a muzzle or beak. Others also have a brow, but only with man is it an indication of sorrow and gaiety, mercy and severity. The eyebrows in man can be moved in agreement with it, either both together or alternately, and in them a portion of the mind is situated: with them we indicate assent and dissent, they are our chief means of displaying contempt; pride has its place of generation elsewhere, but here is its abode: it is born in the heart, but it rises to the eyebrows and hangs suspended therehaving found no position in the body at once loftier and steeper where it could be sole occupant.

52. Beneath the brows lie the eyes, the most precious part of the body and the one that distinguishes life from death by the use it makes of daylight. Not all animals have these organs: oysters have no eyes, and some of the shellfish doubtful ones, as scallops, if somebody moves his fingers towards them when they are open, shut up as though seeing them, and razor-shells hurry away from iron hooks brought near them. Of four-footed creatures moles have no sight, although they possess the semblance of eyes if one draws off the covering membrane.

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And among birds the variety of the heron class called in Greek white herons are said to lack one eye, and to be a very good omen when they fly North or South, as they tell that dangers and alarms are being dissipated. Nigidius says that also locusts and cicadas have no eyes. For snails their pair of horns all the place of eyes by feeling in front of them. Earth-worms also and worms in general have no eyes.

53. Man alone has eyes of various colours, whereas with all other creatures the eyes of each member of a species are alike. Some horses too have grey eyes; but in man the eyes are of extremely numerous variety and differencelarger than the average, medium, small; prominent, which are thought to be dimmer, or deep-set, which are thought to see most clearly, as are those with the colour of goats' eyes.

54. Moreover some people have long sight. but others can only see things brought close to them. The sight of many depends on the brilliance of the sun, and they cannot see clearly on a cloudy day or after sunset; others have dimmer sight in the day time but are exceptionally keen-sighted at night. We have already said enough about double pupils, or persons who have the evil eye. Blue-grey eyes see more clearly in the dark. It is stated that Tiberius Caesar alone of all mankind was so constituted that if he woke up in the night for a short time he could see everything just as in bright daylight, although darkness gradually closed over him. The late lamented Augustus had grey eyes like those of horses, the whites being larger than usual in a human being, on account of which he used to be angry if people watched his eyes too closely; Claudius Caesar's eyes were frequently bloodshot and had a fleshy gleam at the corners; the Emperor Gaius had staring eyes; Nero's eyes were dull of sight except when he screwed them up to look at objects brought close to them. In the training-school of the Emperor Gaius there were 20,000 gladiators, among whom there were only two that did not blink when faced by some threat of danger and were consequently unconquerable: s6 difficult it is for a human being to stare steadily, whereas for most people it is natural to keep on blinking, and these are traditionally supposed to be more cowardly. Nobody has eyes of only one colour: with everyone the general surface is white but there is a different colour in the middle. No other part of the body supplies greater indications of the mindthis is so with all animals alike, but specially with manthat is, indications of self-restraint, mercy, pity, hatred, love, sorrow, joy. The eyes are also very varied in their lookfierce, stern, sparkling, sedate, leering, askance, downcast, kindly: in fact the eyes are the abode of the mind. They glow, stare, moisten, wink; from them flows the tear of compassion, when we kiss them we seem to reach the mind itself, they are the source of tears and of the stream that bedews the cheek. What is the nature of this moisture that at a moment of sorrow flows so copiously and so promptly? Or where is it in the remaining time? In point of fact it is the mind that is the real instrument of sight and of observation; the eyes act as a sort of vessel receiving and transmitting the visible portion of the consciousness. This explains why deep thought blinds the eyes by withdrawing the vision inward, and why when the mind is clouded during an attack of epilepsy the eyes though open discern nothing. Moreover hares sleep with the eyes wide open, and so do many human beings while in the condition which the Greeks term 'corybantic.'

Nature has constructed them with thin and multiple membranes, and with outside wrappers that are callous against cold and heat, which she repeatedly cleanses with moisture from the tear-glands, and she has made the eyes slippery against objects that encounter them, and mobile.

55. The horny skin in the centre of the eye nature has furnished with the pupil as a window, the narrow opening of which does not allow the gaze to roam uncertain, but so to speak canalizes its direction, and easily averts objects that encounter it on the way; the pupil is surrounded with circles which with some people are coloured black, with others grey and with others blue, so that the light from the surrounding radiance both may be received in a suitable blend and having its reflexion moderated may not be jarring; and the efficacy of the mirror is made so perfect by these means that the small pupil can reflect the entire image of a human being. This is the reason why commonly birds when released from men's hands go first of all for their eyes, because they see their own likeness reflected in them and try to reach as it were a desired object that is akin to themselves. Beasts of burden only experience diseases at certain phases of the moon. Man alone is cured of blindness by the emission of fluid from the eye. Many have had their sight restored after 20 years of blindness; some have been blind at birth owing to no defect in the eyes; similarly, many have suddenly lost their sight without any previous injury. The most learned authorities state that the eyes are connected with the brain by a vein; for my own part I am inclined to believe that they are also thus connected with the stomach: it is unquestionable that a man never has an eye knocked out without vomiting. There is a solemn ritual custom among Roman citizens to close the eyes of the dying and to open them again on the funeral pyre, custom having established that it is not right for the eyes to be seen by a human being at the last moment and also wrong for them not to be displayed to the heavens. Man is the only animal whose eyes are liable to distortion, which is the origin of the family names Squint-eye and Blinky. From the eyes also came the name of One-eye that used to be given to persons born blind in one eye, and that of Eyelet given to persons both of whose eyes were small; the One-eye family a received the name of an injury done to one of them. The eyes of night-roaming animals like cats shine and flash in the dark so that one cannot look at them, and those of the wild-goat and the wolf gleam and shoot out light; the eyes of the sea-calf and of the hyena change frequently into a thousand colours; moreover those of many fishes shine out even in the dark, like oak-tree stumps when dry and rotten with age. We have stated that creatures that do not direct their gaze by slanting the eyes but by turning the head round do not wink. It is reported that the chameleon's eyes turn themselves entirely round. Crabs look sideways, having their eyes enclosed in a fragile shell. Lobsters and shrimps mostly have very hard eyes projecting under a protection of the same kind. Creatures with hard eyes have less keen sight than those whose eyes are moist. It is stated that if one removes the eyes of young snakes and swallow chicks, they grow again. The eyes of all insects and of creatures with a covering of shell move like the ears of quadrupeds. Those with fragile coverings have hard eyes. All such creatures, and also fish and insects, have no eyelids and do not close their eyes; withal the eye is covered with a membrane that is transparent like glass.

56. Human beings have eyelashes on both eyelids. Women actually have them dyed every day: such is their desire to achieve beauty that they colour even their eyes; but really the lashes were bestowed by nature for another purpose, as a sort of fence to the sight and a barrier projecting against insects meeting the eye, or other things accidentally falling into them. It is said that sexual excess causes them to drop off, not undeservedly. None of the other species have them excepting those with hair on the rest of the body as well, but quadrupeds have them only on the upper lid, birds on the lower, as also do creatures with a soft skin, for instance snakes, and oviparous quadrupeds, for instance lizards. The ostrich is the only bird with lashes on both eyelids like a human being.

57. Not all species have eyelids either, and also only viviparous creatures can wink. The heavier birds close the eye with the lower lid, and also wink with a skin that covers the eye from the corner. Pigeons and similar birds close the eyes with both lids. But oviparous quadrupeds, such as tortoises and crocodiles, do so only with the lower lid, without any winking because their eyes are extremely hard. The old name for the edge of the upper eyelid was cilium; hence our word for the brows. When the eyelid is cleft by a wound it does not grow together again, as is the case with a few other parts of the human body.

58. Only man has cheeks below the eyes (the old word for the cheeks was genae, used in the Twelve Tables in the prohibition of women's lacerating them). The cheeks are the seat of modesty: on them a blush is most visible.

59. The face between the cheekbones displays merriment and laughter, and higher up, but in man only, stands the nose, which modern fashion has made the organ of sly mockery. No other animal has projecting nostrils, birds, snakes and fishes only having apertures for smelling, without nostrils and this is the origin of the surnames Snubby and Pug. Seven-month children have frequently been born lacking the apertures of the ears and nostrils.

60. The viviparous species have lipswhence the surnames Lippy and Blubber-lipsand a well-shaped or rather harsh mouth. Instead of ups birds have pointed beaks of horn, which are hooked in birds of prey, straight in those that live by pecking, and broad in those that dig up grass and mud, like the snouts of the swine class. Cattle use their mouths instead of a hand for gathering fodder. Beasts that live by tearing up their prey have mouths that open wider.

No creature but man has a chin, any more than cheeks. The crocodile moves only the upper jaw; four-footed laud animals open the mouth in the same way as all other creatures and in addition move the lower jaw sideways.

61. There are three kinds of teethserrated or continuous or projecting: serrated teeth closing together like the teeth of a comb, so as not to be worn away by direct collision, as in snakes, fishes and dogs; continuous, as in man and the horse; projecting, as in the boar, hippopotamus and elephant. Of continuous teeth those that separate the food (incisors), are called the broad or sharp teeth, those that masticate it double teeth, and those between these dog-teeth. The latter are longest in creatures with serrated teeth. Continuous teeth are either in both jaws, as with the horse, or else there are no front teeth in the upper jaw, as with oxen and sheep and all the ruminants. The goat has no upper teeth except the pair in front. Species having serrated teeth have no projecting teeth, and a female rarely has them, and when she has them does not use them; consequently though boars gore, sows bite. No species with horns has projecting teeth, but all have curved ones; all the other species have solid teeth. All kinds of fish have serrated teeth except the parrot-fishthis is the only aquatic species that has level teeth. Many of them however have teeth on the tongue and all over the mouth, so as to soften by means of a multiplicity of wounds objects that they are unable to reduce by mastication. Many also have teeth on the palate [and also on the tail] and also turned further into the mouth, so as to prevent morsels of food from falling out, as they have no apparatus for retaining it.

62. The asp and serpent have similar teeth, but two extremely long ones on the right and left side of the upper jaw, perforated by a slender tube like the stings of the scorpion, which inject poison. The most accurate authorities write that this poison is nothing else than the serpents' gall, and that veins pass from the gall-bladder under the spine to the mouth; certain writers say that it is only one tooth, and that as it is hooked it is sloped backward when it has inflicted a bite; some authorities state that it then falls out and afterwards grows again, as it is very easy to dislodge, and that the snakes that we see handled lack this tooth; and that the scorpion has this tooth in its tailas according to most authorities it has three. The vipers' teeth are concealed in its gum. Their gum is charged with the same poison, and when squeezed by the pressure of the teeth pours out its venom into the bites inflicted. No winged creature except the bat has teeth. The camel is the only animal without horns that has not got front teeth in the upper jaw. No horned animal has serrated teeth. Even snails have teeth; this is proved by the fact that even the smallest of them gnaw vetches. But I wonder what possible ground there is for the view that among marine species shell-fish and cartilaginous fish have front teeth, and also that sea-urchins have five. Insects have stings instead of teeth. The monkey has teeth like those of a human being. The elephant has four inner teeth for masticating, and besides these the prominent tusks that are bent backward in the male and slope straight downward in the female. The sea-mouse that swims in front of the whale has no teeth, but instead of them its mouth inside and also its tongue and palate are set with bristles. Of land animals very small quadrupeds have two extremely long front teeth in each jaw.

63. All the other animals are born with teeth, but man grows them six months after birth. All the rest keep their teeth permanently, but man, the lion, the beasts of burden, dogs and ruminant animals shed them; with the lion and dog however this only applies to those called dog-teeth. The right dog-tooth of a wolf is held to be valuable as an amulet. No animal sheds its maxillary teeth, the ones next to the dog-teeth. In man those called wisdom-teeth grow latest, at about the age of twenty, and in many cases even at eighty, with females as well, but only in the case of persons who did not grow them in youth. It is certain that in old age they fall out and then grow again. Mucianus has stated that he saw a Samothracian named Zocles who grew a new set of teeth when 110 years old. For the rest, males have more teeth than females in the case of man, ox, goat and pig. Timarchus son of Nicocles at Paphos had two rows of maxillaries; his brother did not shed his front teeth, and consequently wore them down. There is a case of a person even growing a tooth in the palate. Any of the dog teeth lost by some accident never grow again. With all other species the teeth get red in old age, but in the horse alone they become whiter.

64. In beasts of burden the teeth are a sign of their age. A horse has forty teeth; when two-and-a-half years old it loses two front ones in each jaw, and in the following year the same number of the teeth next these, when they are replaced by those called grinders; at the beginning of its fifth year it looses two teeth, which grow again in its sixth year; in its seventh year it has all of its second teeth and also its permanent ones. A horse previously gelt does not shed its teeth. The ass family likewise looses teeth when two-and-a-half years old, and again six months later; those that have not foaled before they shed their last teeth are sure to be barren. Oxen change their teeth at the age of two. Pigs never shed theirs.

When this indication has come to an end, old age in horses and other beasts of burden is inferred from prominence of the teeth and greyness of the brows and hollows round them, when they are judged to be about sixteen years old.

Human teeth contain a kind of poison, for they dim the brightness of a mirror when bared in front of it and also kill the fledglings of pigeons. The rest of the facts about the teeth have been told in the passage dealing with human reproduction. Infants when cutting their teeth are specially liable to illnesses. The animals with serrated teeth have the severest pain in teething.

65. Not all species have tongues on the same plan. With snakes the tongue is extremely slender and three-forked, darting, black in colour, and if drawn out to full length extremely long; with lizards it is cleft in two and hairy, and with seals also it is double; but with the species above mentioned it is of the fineness of a hair. With the rest it is available for licking round the jaws, but with fish it adheres through a little less than its whole length, and with crocodiles the whole of it. In aquatic species on the other hand the fleshy palate serves instead of the tongue in tasting. With lions, leopards, and all the species of that genus, even cats, the tongue is rough and corrugated like a file, and can scrape

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away the human skin by licking, which provokes even those that have been tamed to madness when their saliva gets through to the blood. We have spoken of the tongues of the purple-fishes. In frogs the tip of the tongue is attached but the inner part is loose from the throat; it is with this that the males croak, at the time when they are called croakers; this happens at a fixed season, when they are calling the females to mate. In this process they just drop the lower lip and take into the throat a moderate amount of water and let the tongue vibrate in it so as to make it undulate, and a croaking sound is forced out; during this the curves of the cheeks are distended and become transparent, and the eyes stand out blazing with the exertion. Creatures with stings in their hinder part have teeth and a tongue as well, bees even a very long tongue, and cicalas also a projecting one; but those with a tubular sting in the mouth have neither tongue nor teeth. Some insects have a tongue inside the month, for instance ants; moreover, the elephant's tongue also is particularly little visible. With the rest of the animals according to theft kind the tongue is always quite free, but with man alone it is often so tightly bound by veins that they have to be cut. We find it recorded that the High Priest Metellus was so tongue-tied that he is believed to have suffered torture for many months while practising the formula to be spoken in dedicating the Temple of Wealth; but in all other cases of stammering the patient usually contrives to speak distinctly after reaching the age of six. Many people on the other hand are endowed with such skill in using the tongue that they can give imitations of the cries of birds and animals that are indistinguishable from the real thing.

With all the other species the tip of the tongue is the seat of taste, but with man this is also situated in the palate.

66. Man has tonsils, the pig glands. Man alone has what is called the uvula hanging from the back of the palate between the tonsils. No oviparous species possesses the lesser tongue below the uvula. Its functions are twofold, placed as it is between two, tubes. Of these the inner one called the windpipe stretches to the lungs and the heart; this the lesser tongue closes while food is being eaten, as breath and voice passes along it, lest if drink or food should pass into the wrong channel, it might cause pain. The other, the outer tube, is of course called the gullet, down which food and drink fall; this leads to the stomach, and the stomach to the abdomen. This passage the lesser tongue occasionally closes, when only breath or voice is passing, so that an untimely rising of the stomach may not interfere. The windpipe consists of gristle and flesh, the gullet of sinew and flesh.

67. No species except those possessing both windpipe and gullet have a nape; all the others, which have only a gullet, have a neck. But in those possessing a nape it is composed of a number of bones articulated in rings with jointed vertebrae, so as to be capable of bending to look round; only in the lion and wolf and hyena is it a stiff structure of a single straight bone. Moreover it is connected with the spine, and the spine with the loins, in a bony but rounded structure, the marrow passing down from the brain through the orifices in the vertebrae. It is inferred that the spinal cord is of the same substance as the brain for the reason that, if its extremely slender membrane is merely cut into, death follows immediately. Species with long legs also have long necks; as also have aquatic species even though they have short legs, and similarly if they have hooked claws.

68. Man and swine alone suffer from swollen throat, usually due to bad drinking water. The top part of the gullet is called the pharynx and the bottom part the stomach. This name denotes the cavity attached to the spine below the fleshy part of the windpipe, bulging out lengthwise and breadthwise like a flagon. Species without a pharynx, for instance fishes, have no stomach either, and no neck nor throat, and the mouth is joined to the abdomen. The sea tortoise has not got a tongue or teeth, but breaks up all its food with the point of its snout. Next comes the windpipe and the stomach, denticulated with ridges of thick skin like bramble-thorns for the purpose of grinding up the food, the interstices growing smaller in proportion as they are nearer to the abdomen: at the bottom it is as rough as a carpenter's rasp.

69. The heart with the other animals is in the middle of the chest, but in man alone it is below the left breast, with its conical end projecting forward. In fishes only it points towards the mouth. It is stated that at birth the heart is the first organ formed in the womb, and next the brain, just as the eyes develop latest, but that the eyes are the first to die and the heart the last. The heart is the warmest part. It has a definite beat and a motion of its own as if it were a second animal inside the animal; it is wrapped with a very soft and firm covering of membrane, and protected by the wall of the ribs and chest, so that it may give birth to the principle cause and origin of life. It provides the vital principle and the blood with their primary abodes inside it, in a winding recess which in large animals is three-fold and in all others without exception double; this is the dwelling-place of the mind. From this source two large veins run apart to the front and the back of the body, and diffuse the blood of life through other smaller veins with a spreading system of branches to all the limbs. The heart alone is not tortured by the defects of the inner organs; and it does not prolong the torments of life, and when wounded at once brings death. When the rest of the parts have been injured vitality continues in the heart.

70. The view is held that dull creatures are those whose heart is stiff and hard, bold ones those whose heart is small, and cowardly ones those in which it is specially large; but it is largest in proportion to their size in mice, the hare, the ass, the stag, the leopard, weasels, hyenas, and all the species that are either timid or rendered dangerous by fear. Partridges in Paphlagonia have two hearts. Bones are occasionally found in the heart of horses and oxen. The people of Egypt, who practise the custom of mummification, have a belief that the human heart grows larger every year and at the age of fifty reaches a weight of a quarter of an ounce, and from that point loses weight at the same rate; and that consequently a man does not live beyond a hundred, owing to heart failure. It is stated that some people are born with a hairy heart, and that they are exceptionally brave and resolutean example being a Messenian named Aristomenes who killed three hundred Spartans. He himself when severely wounded and taken prisoner for. the first time escaped through a cave from confinement in the quarries by following the routes by which foxes got in. He was again taken prisoner, but when his guards were fast asleep he rolled to the fire and burnt off his thongs, burning his body in the process. He was taken a third time, and the Spartans cut him open alive and his heart was found to be shaggy.

71. In victims whose organs are propitious there is a certain fatness on the top of the heart. But the heart was not always considered as one of the significant organs; it was after the 126th Olympiad, when Lucius Postumius Albinus, son of Lucius, was King of Sacrifices, after King Pyrrhus had evacuated Italy, that the augurs began to inspect the heart among the organs. On the day when Caesar as dictator first went in procession dressed in purple and took his seat on a golden throne, when he performed a sacrifice the heart was lacking among the organs; and this gave rise to much debate among the students of divination, as to whether the victim had been able to live without that organ or had lost it at the time. It is stated that at the cremation of persons who have died of heart disease the heart cannot be burnt, and the same is said of persons that have been killed by poison; undoubtedly there is extant a speech of Vitellius that employs this argument to prove Gnaeus Piso guilty of poisoning, and explicitly uses the evidence that it had been impossible to cremate the heart of Germanicus Caesar on account of poison. In reply Piso's defence was based on the nature of the disease.

72. Below the heart are situated the lungs, the breathing apparatus, drawing in and sending back the breath, and consequently spongy in substance and perforated with empty tubes. As has been said, few aquatic species possess lungs, and in the oviparous species they are small and contain froth, not blood; consequently these species do not experience thirst. The same cause makes it possible for frogs and seals to stay long under water. Also the lungs of the tortoise, although very large and spreading under the whole of its shell, are nevertheless devoid of blood. The speed of a creature's movement varies inversely with the size of its lungs. The chameleon's lungs are extremely large in proportion to its size, and it has no other internal organ.

73. The liver is on the right hand side; it contains what is called the head of the internal organs, which varies a great deal. Marcus Marcellus, near the time of his death, when he was killed by Hannibal, found the liver missing among the organs, but on the following day a double liver was discovered. The liver was also missing with Gaius Marius when he offered sacrifice at Utica, and also with the Emperor Gaius on January 1 at the commencement of his consulship in the year of his murder, and with his successor Claudius in the month in which he was poisoned. When the late lamented Augustus was sacrificing at Spoleto on the first day he was in power the livers of six victims were found with the bottom of their tissue folded back inward, and this was interpreted to mean that he would double his power within a year. It is also of gloomy omen when the head of the liver is accidentally cutexcept at a period of trouble and alarm, when it removes anxieties. Hares with two livers are found in the district of Briletum and Thames and in the Chersonese on the Sea of Marmara, and surprising to say, when the animals are moved to another place one of the two livers disappears.

74. The liver also contains the gall-bladder, but not all animals possess one. At Chalcis in Euboea the cattle have none, while at Naxos they have a very large double one, so that both facts seem portentous to a stranger. Horses, mules, asses, stags, wild goats, boars, camels and dolphins have not got one; some mice have. Among human beings few lack one; those who do are exceptionally strong in health and long-lived. Some think that the horse has a gall-bladder not indeed in the liver but in the belly, and that the stag has one in the tail or in the bowels, and that consequently they have such a bitter flavour that dogs will not touch them. But as a matter of fact it is only excrement, and because of this the substance of this part also contains the worst portion of the blood. Unquestionably only sanguineous animals possess a liver. The liver receives the blood from the heart with which it is connected, and passes it into the veins.

75. But with a human being black gall contains the cause of insanity, and when it is all excreted death follows. Hence the reproach made against a man's character under the term 'bile': so powerful a poison is contained in this part when it spreads to the mind. Moreover when it is diffused all over the body it takes away the colour even of the eyes, and indeed, when excreted, even from bronze vessels, which turn black when touched by itso that nobody need be surprised that snakes' gall is poison. (Animals in the Pontus that eat wormwood are free from bile.) Again the gall-bladder is connected with the kidneys and only on one side with the intestine in ravens, quails and pheasants, and in some only with the intestine, as in pigeons, the hawk, lampreys; and with a few birds it is in the liver. With snakes it is proportionally extremely copious, and so with fishes. But with birds it usually fills the whole intestine, as with the hawk and kite; moreover it is also in the liver, as in the case of all the large marine animals. Indeed in the case of seals it is in high repute for many purposes as well. From bulls' gall a golden colour is extracted. The augurs have consecrated the gall to Neptune and the power of the watery element, and the late lamented Augustus found a double gall-bladder on the day on which he won the battle of Actium.

76. It is said that the filaments in the tiny livers of mice correspond with the number of the days of the moon in the month, and are found to correspond with its degree of light; and also that they grow larger with winter. Rabbits are often found in Southern Spain with a double set of internal organs. One of the two filaments of toads ants do not touch, because of their poison, as is believed. The liver is extremely capable of enduring age, and has been proved by instances of sieges to last a hundred years.

77. Snakes and lizards have long internal organs. There is a record that when a person at Volterra named Caecina was performing a sacrifice, some snakes darted out from the internal organs of the victima joyful portent; and indeed it would seem nothing incredible to those considering that on the day on which King Pyrrhus died the heads of his victims when cut off crawled about licking up their own blood. In man the chief internal organs are separated from the lower part of the viscera by a membrane which is called the praecordia (diaphragm), because it is stretched prae (in front of) the cor (heart): the Greek word for it is phrenes. Indeed provident Nature has enclosed all the principal internal organs with special membranes serving as sheaths; but in the case of this membrane a special cause also was the proximity of the bowels, to prevent the food from pressing down on the vital principle. To this membrane unquestionably is due the subtlety of the intellect; it consequently has no flesh, but is of a spare sinewy substance. In it also is the chief seat of merriment, a fact that is gathered chiefly from tickling the armpits to which it rises, as nowhere else is the human skin thinner, and consequently the pleasure of scratching is closest there. On this account there have been cases in battle and in gladiatorial shows of death caused by piercing the diaphragm that has been accompanied by laughter.

78. In creatures possessing a stomach the abdomen is below it; it is single in the other species but double in the ruminants. Species without blood have no stomach, because in some, for instance the cuttlefish and the polyp, the intestine beginning at the month bends back to the same point. In man the abdomen is connected with the bottom of the stomach, like the dog's. These are the only animals in which it is narrower at the lower part, and consequently they are the only ones that vomit, because when the abdomen is full this narrowness prevents the food from passing, which cannot happen to those in which the roomy laxity of the abdomen passes the food on to the lower parts.

79. From this abdomen start in the sheep and in man the smaller intestines through which the food passes, and in the other species the entrails, from which the roomier intestines pass to the belly, and in the case of man in extremely winding coils. On this account species in which the distance from the belly is longer arc greedier for food; moreover those with a very fat abdomen are less clever. Birds also in some eases have two receptacles, one down which food just eaten passes to the throat, the other into which they pass the food from the throat when digestede.g. hens, ring-doves, pigeons and partridges. Almost all the other species in most cases have not got this, but make use of a more widely opened gullet, for instance jays, ravens and crows. Some species treat the food in neither manner, but have the abdomen very near; these are species that have specially long and narrow necks, for instance the sultana-hen. The abdomen of whole-hoofed annuals is rough and hard. In that of some land animals the roughness is denticulated, and in that of others it has a latticed bite. Species that are without teeth in both jaws and that do not ruminate digest their food here and pass it down from here into the belly. This in all species is attached at its middle to the navel; in man at its lower part it resembles the belly of a pig; the Greeks call it the colon; it is the seat of a great cause of pain. In dogs it is extremely narrow, and for this reason

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they can only relieve it with a violent effort and not without severe pain. The most ravenous animals are those in whom the food passes directly from the abdomen right down the gut; this is the case with lynxes, and among birds cormorants. The elephant has four abdomens, but its other parts resemble those of pigs; its lungs are four times as large as those of an ox. Birds have a fleshy and hard abdomen. In the abdomen of swallow chicks there are found white or red coloured pebbles, called swallow-stones; there are accounts of these in the treatises on magic. Also in the second abdomen of heifers is found a round ball of blackish tufa that weighs nothing; this is thought to be a sovereign remedy for difficulty in childbirth if it has never been allowed to touch the ground.

80. The abdomen and bowels except in the oviparous species are wrapped in a fat thin caul. To this is attached the spleen on the left side opposite the liver, with which it occasionally changes place, but this constitutes a portent. Some think that oviparous species contain a spleen, and also snakes a rather small one; this undoubtedly appears to be so in the case of the tortoise, the crocodile, lizards and frogs. It is certain that the goat's-head bird has not got a spleen, nor have the bloodless species. Sometimes it causes a peculiar impediment in running, owing to which runners who have trouble have an operation to reduce it. Also cases are reported of animals living after it has been removed by an incision. There are some who think that this operation deprives a man of the power of laughing, and that inability to control one's laughter is caused by enlargement of the spleen. It is said that in a district in Asia called Scepsis the cattle have extremely small spleens, and that remedies for the spleen have been imported from there.

81. All viviparous quadrupeds a have kidneys, but among oviparous ones only the tortoise, which has all the other internal organs also, but, as with man, its kidneys resemble those of the ox, and look like a cluster of several kidneys. But at Briletum and Thame stags have four kidneys while the species possessing feathers and scales have none. For the rest, they are attached to the top of the loins. In all cases the right kidney is higher, and not so fat, and drier; but with both the fat is discharged out of the middle, except in the seal. Animals accumulate fat most in the kidneys, sheep indeed with fatal results, because the fat solidifies round them. Occasionally stones are found in the kidneys.

82. Nature has surrounded the heart and the vital parts with the chest, a bony structure, but has made it stop at the abdomen which had to be allowed room to increase in size; no animal has bones round the abdomen. Man alone has a broad chest; with all the other animals it is keel-shaped, more so with birds, and among them most of all with the aquatic species. Man has eight ribs, pigs ten, horned animals thirteen and serpents thirty.

83. Below the belly in front is the bladder, which occurs in none of the oviparous kinds except the tortoise, in none devoid of lungs filled with blood, and in none without feet. Between the bladder and the belly are the tubes called the groin, stretching to the private parts. The bladder of the wolf contains a stone named syrites; but in some human beings there continually form terribly painful stones and bristly fibres. The bladder consists of a membrane that when wounded does not form a solid scar; it is not the same as the one that enfolds the brain or the heart, as there are several kinds of membrane.

84. Women have all the same organs, and in addition, joined to the bladder, a small sac, called from its shape the uterus or womb; another name for it is 'the parts,' and in the rest of the animals it is called the matrix. This in the viper and the viviparous species is double; in the oviparous ones it is attached to the diaphragm; and in women it has two recesses on either side of the flanks, and it causes death whenever it is displaced and interferes with the breathing. It is said that cows when pregnant only carry in the right cavity of the womb, even when carrying twins. Sow's paunch is a better dish after a miscarriage than after a successful delivery; in the former case it is called 'miscarryings' and in the latter 'farrowings.' That of a sow farrowing for the first time is best, and the contrary with those exhausted with breeding. After farrowing the paunch is a bad colour and lacking in fat, unless the sow was killed the same day; nor is that of young sows thought much of, except from those farrowing for the first time, and the paunch of old sows is preferable provided they are not quite worn out, and not killed on the actual day of farrowing or the day before or the day after. The paunch next best to miscarryings is that of a sow slaughtered the day after farrowing; also its paps are the best, provided it has not yet suckled the litter; the paps of a sow that has had a miscarriage are the worst. In old days people called it sow's abdomen before it got hard, as they used not to slaughter sows when they were with young.

85. Horned animals with teeth in one and those that have pastern-bones in the feet put on fat in the form of suet, but in those with cloven hooves or feet divided into toes, and without horns, it forms grease. This is of a solid substance and when it has cooled off can he broken up, and it is always where the flesh ends; whereas fat is between the flesh and the skin, and is moist and fluid. Some animals, for instance the hare and the partridge, do not grow fat. All fat animals are more liable to barrenness, in the case of both males and females; also excessively fat ones get old more quickly. All animals have some fat in the eyes. In all cases the greasy fat has no sensation, because it does not possess arteries or veins; and in most animals also fatness of condition causes insensitiveness, and it is recorded that because of this pigs have been gnawed by mice while still alive. It is also on record that the son of the consular Lucius Apronius had his fat removed by an operation and relieved his body of unmanageable weight.

86. Marrow also appears to consist of the same substance, being of a red colour in youth and turning white in old age. It is only found in hollow bones, and there is none in the legs of oxen or dogs, in consequence of which when they are fractured the bone does not join again, this being caused by the flow of marrow from a fracture. But the marrow is fat in the animals that contain lard, suety in those with horns, sinewy and only present in the spine in those without bones, like the fish kind; and bears have none, and the lion a rather small amount in a few of the bones of the thighs, and forelegs, while the other bones are so hard that fire can be struck from them as from a flint.

87. Also the animals that do not get fat have hard bones; those of asses are resonant enough to use as flutes. Dolphins being viviparous have bones and not spines, but snakes have spines. Soft aquatic species have no bones, but rings of flesh bound round the body, for instance the two kinds of cnttlefish. Insects also are said to be equally devoid of bones. The gristly aquatic species have marrow in the spine, and seals have gristle, not bones. Similarly with all that have ears and nostrils that just project these are soft and flexible, nature thus insuring them against fracture. When gristle is burst it does not join up, and when bones are amputated they do not grow again, except the bone between the hoof and the hock in beasts of burden. Human beings grow taller to the age of twenty-one and from then onward fill out; but more particularly at the period of puberty they are noticed to get free from a sort of impediment to their growth, and especially so in sickness.

88. The sinews starting from the heart, and in the ox actually wrapped round the heart, have a similar nature and explanation, being in all animals attached to the slippery bones and binding together the links of the bodily frame called joints, in some cases by coming between them, in others by surrounding them and in others by passing from one to another, being at one point rounded and at another flattened as the conformation of the joint requires in each case. The sinews also do not join again if cut, and, what is surprising, though extremely painful if wounded cause no pain at all if cut through. Some animals, for instance fishes, have no sinews, as they are held together by their arteries; although the soft species of the fish genus lack arteries as well. Where there are sinews, the inner ones contract the limbs and the ones on the surface reverse the movement.

89. Between the sinews lie the arteries, which are the passages for the breath, and on these float the veins, which are the channels for the blood. The pulse of the arteries being particularly evident at the extremity of the limbs is usually a sign of diseases; with remarkable scientific skill it has been reduced by that high priest of medicine, Herophilus, to definite rhythms and metrical rules throughout the periods of lifesteady or hurried or slow. This sign has been neglected because of its excessive subtlety, but yet really it supplies a rule for the guidance of life by observation of the pulse-beat, rapid or languid. The arteries have no sensation, for they even are without blood, nor do they all contain the breath of life; and when they are cut only the part of the body concerned is paralysed. Birds have not got either veins or arteries, nor yet have snakes, tortoises and lizards, and they have only a very small amount of blood.

The veins spread underneath the whole skin, finally ending in very thin threads, and they narrow down into such an extremely minute size that the blood cannot pass through them nor can anything else but the moisture passing out from the blood in innumerable small drops which is called sweat. The junction and meeting point of the veins is at the navel.

90. Creatures whose blood is copious and thick are hot-tempered. The blood of males is darker than that of females, and that of youth than that of old age; and it is thicker in the lower part of the body. The blood also contains a large proportion of vitality, and when shed it draws the breath with it; but it has no sense of touch. The animals with denser blood are braver, those with thinner blood wiser, and those with very little blood, or none at all, more timid. The blood of bulls coagulates and hardens most quickly (and consequently is noxious to drink); that of boars next quickly, but that of stags and goats and antelopes does not thicken at all. Asses have the thickest blood and man the thinnest. Species with more than four feet have no blood. Fat animals have a smaller supply of blood, because it is used up in the fat. In the human race alone a flux of blood occurs in the males, in some eases at one of the nostrils, in others at both, with some people through the lower organs, with many through the mouth; it may occur at a fixed period, as recently with a man of praetorian rank named Macrinus Viscus, and every year with the City Prefect Volusius Saturninus, who actually lived to be over 90. This alone of the bodily affections experiences an occasional increase, inasmuch as sacrificial victims bleed more copiously if they have previously drunk.

91. Those animals which we have specified as going into hiding at fixed seasons have not any blood at those periods except quite scanty drops in the neighbourhood of the head, by a marvellous contrivance of nature, just as in man she causes the blood-supply to alter at the smallest impulses, the blood not only being suffused with less matter by sleep but at each separate state of mind, by shame, anger, and fear, there being various ways of turning pale, and also of blushingas the blush of anger is different from that of modesty. For it is certain that in fear the blood retreats and is nowhere to be found, and that many creatures do not shed blood when stabbed, which happens only to a human being. For those which we have spoken of as changing their colour really assume the colour of some other object by a sort of reflexion; only man actually changes colour in himself. All diseases and death reduce the amount of blood.

92. There are persons who think that subtlety of mind is not due to thinness of the blood, but that animals are more or less brutish owing to their skin and bodily coverings, as for instance molluscs and tortoises; and that the hides of oxen and bristles of pigs obstruct the thinness of the air when being inhaled, and it is not transmitted pure and liquid; so also in man, when his skin being thicker or more callous shuts it outjust as if crocodiles did not possess both a hard hide and cunning.

93. The skin of the hippopotamus is so thick that it is used for the points of spears, and yet its mind possesses a certain medical ability. The hides of elephants also supply impenetrable bucklers (though nevertheless they are credited with the most outstanding mental subtlety of all quadrupeds); and consequently their skin itself is devoid of sensation, especially in the head. It does not heal up when wounded in any place where there is only skin and no flesh, as in the cheek and eyelid.

94. Viviparous species have bristles, but oviparous ones have feathers or scales, or shells like tortoises, or bare skin like snakes. Feathers in all cases have hollow stalks; when cut off they do not grow again, but when plucked out others grow in their place. Insects use fragile membranes to fly with, flying-fish fly over the sea with damp membranes and bats among houses with dry ones; the wings of bats also have joints.

Shaggy hair grows out of a thick skin, whereas women have finer hair; horses have abundant hair in the mane, lions on the shoulders, rabbits on the cheeks inside and also under the feet, hair in both places being also recorded in the case of the hare by Trogus, who infers from this example that among human beings also the hairy ones are more licentious: the hare is the shaggiest animal there is. Man alone grows hair on the private parts, and if this does not occur is sterile, this applying to both sexes. Human beings have some hair at birth and grow some later; the latter does not grow with men who have been castrated, though the hair they had at birth does not fall off; just as women also do not much lose their hair, although there have been cases of women afflicted with baldness, and also with down on the face, when menstruation has ceased. With some men the hair that comes after birth does not grow readily. Four-footed animals shed their hair and grow it again every year. With men the hair of the head grows fastest and next that of the beard. When the hair is cut it does not grow again from the incision, as plants and all other things do, but continues growing from the root. The hair grows longer in some diseases, especially consumption, and in old age too, and also on the bodies of the dead. Licentious people loose the hair they had at birth earlier and grow fresh hair more quickly. With four-footed animals the hair gets thicker with age and the wool thinner. Four-footed animals have shaggy backs and bare bellies.

Boiling ox-hide produces glue; bull's hide makes the best.

95. Man is the only species in which the male has teats; with the rest of the animals there are only the marks of teats. But with the females also only those have teats on the breast that are able to lift their offspring up to them. No oviparous species has teats; and only the viviparous have milk. Among flying species only the bat has milk, as I think the story about screech-owls, that they drop milk from their teats into the mouths of babies, is a fabrication. It is an acknowledged fact that even in old days the screech-owl was one of the creatures under a curse, but what particular bird is meant I believe to be uncertain.

With asses the teats are painful after foaling, and consequently they refuse to suckle their foals after five months, whereas mares give suck almost a whole year. Whole-hooved species that never have more than two foals all have two dugs, and these always between the thighs. Animals with cloven feet and horns have the dugs in the same place, cows having four and sheep and goats two. Those that bear large litters and that have toes on the feet have more dugs, and these in a double row the whole length of the bellyfor instance swine, of which the good breeds have twelve dugs and the common ones

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two less; similarly with dogs. Some species have four dugs in the middle of the belly, for instance leopards, others two, for instance lionesses. The elephant has only two dugs beneath the shoulders and not on the breast but close to it, concealed under the shoulder-blades. None of the species with toes have dugs beneath the thighs. Sows give their first dugs to the pigs born first in each litter, these being the dugs nearest to their throats, and each pig in the litter knows its own dug in the order in which it was born, and gets its food from that one and not at another. If its nurseling is taken away from it the dug at once goes dry and shrivels up, whereas if one out of the whole litter is left the dug that had been assigned to it at birth alone hangs down and does service. She-bears carry four dugs. Dolphins only have two nipples at the bottom of the belly, which are not prominent and project slightly sideways; and the dolphin is the only animal that gives suck while in motion. But whales and seals also suckle their young.

96. A woman's milk produced before the seventh month is of no use, but from that month, when the embryo is alive, it is healthy. With the females of most species milk flows from the whole of the dugs and even from the fold of the shoulder-blades. Camels have milk until they are in foal again; camel's milk is thought to be most agreeable if three parts of water are added to one of milk. A cow does not have milk before calving; and after the first calving there are always biestings, which condense into a sort of foam unless water is mixed with them. Asses in foal begin to give milk at once. Where the pasture is rich it is fatal for their foals to have tasted their mothers' milk in the two days after birth; the name for the illness is biestings-fever. Cheese is not made from species with teeth in both jaws, as their milk does not curdle. Camel's milk is the thinnest and mares' milk the next thin; asses' milk is thickest, so that it is used as a substitute for rennet. Asses' milk is actually thought to contribute something to the whiteness in women's skin; at all events Domitius Nero's wife Poppaea used to drag five hundred she-asses with foals about with her everywhere and actually soaked her whole body in a bathtub with ass's milk, believing that it also smoothed out wrinkles. All milk is made thicker by fire and turned into whey by cold. Cow's milk makes more cheese than goat's milk, almost as much again from the same quantity. Animals with more than four dugs are not serviceable for cheese, and those with two are better.

The curds of the roebuck, hare and goat are praised, but that of the rabbit is the best, and is even a cure for diarrhoeathe rabbit is the only animal with teeth in both jaws that has this property. It is remarkable that the foreign races that live on milk for so many centuries have not known or have despised the blessing of cheese, at most condensing their milk into agreeable sour curds and fat butter. Butter is a foam of milk of thicker and stickier substance than what is called whey; it must be added that it possesses the quality of oil and is used for anointing by all foreigners and by ourselves in the case of children.

97. Of cheese from the provinces the most highly praised at Rome, where the good things of all nations are estimated at first hand, is that of the district of Nimes, coming from the villages of La Lozre and Gvaudan; but it only wins approval for a short time and when fresh. The Alps prove the value of their pastures by two kinds of cheese: the Dalmatian Mountains send the Docleate and the Tarentaise the Vatusic. A larger number belong to the Apennines: these send Coebanum cheese from Liguria, chiefly made of sheep's milk, Sarsina cheese from Umbria, and Luni cheese from the borderland of Tuscany and Liguriathis cheese is remarkable for its size, in fact it is actually made up to the weight of 1000 pounds the cheese; but nearest to Rome is the Vestinian, and the kind from the Caedician Plain is the most approved. Herds of goats also have their special reputation for cheese, in the case of fresh cheese especially when smoke increases its flavour, as with the supremely desirable cheese made in the city itself; for the cheese of the Gallic goats always has a strong medicinal taste. But of cheeses from over seas the Bithynian is quite famous. That pastures contain salt, even where it is not visible, is chiefly detected from the fact that all cheese as it gets old turns saltish, just as cheeses steeped in vinegar and thyme undoubtedly return to their original fresh flavour. It is recorded that Zoroaster in the desert lived for twenty years on cheese that had been so treated as not to be affected by age.

98. Man is the only land two-footed animal, and the only one that has a throat, shoulders instead of forequarters like the others, and elbows. In animals possessing hands, the hands only have flesh inside, the outside consisting of sinews and skin.

99. Some people have six fingers on each hand. It has come down to us that the two daughters of a man of patrician family named Marcus Coranius were called the Miss Six-Fingers on this account, and that Voleatius Sedigitus was distinguished in poetry. The human fingers have three joints and the thumb two, and it bends in the opposite direction to all the fingers, stretching out by itself on a slant, and it is thicker than the others. The thumb is equal to the smallest finger in length, and two of the rest are equal to one another, between them the middle finger extending longest. The four-footed animals that live by plunder have five toes on the front feet and four on the others. Lions, wolves, dogs and the leopard have five claws on the hind feet as well, with the one next the joint of the leg hanging down; the other species, which are smaller, have five toes also.

100. Not all people's arms are a pair; it is known that a Thracian gladiator named Studiosus in Gaius Caesar's training-school had his right arm longer than his left. Some animals use the service of their front feet as hands, and sit moving their food to their mouth with them, for instance squirrels. In fact the monkey tribes have a perfect imitation of a human being in their face, nostrils, cars and eyelashesthey are the only four-footed animals with eyelasheson the lower lid as well, also paps on the breast, and arms and legs bending similarly in opposite directions, and nails on their hands, and fingers, and a longer middle finger. They differ a little from human beings in their feet, for these are very long like their hands, but make a foot-print like the palm of a hand. They also have a thumb and knuckles like a human being; and besides a genital organ, and this in the males only, they also have all internal organs to pattern.

101. It is believed that nails are the extremities at the end of sinews. All creatures have nails that also have fingers, but in the monkey they overlap like tiles, whereas in man they are broad (and they continue to grow after a man is dead); and they are crooked in beasts of prey but straight in the other animals, for instance dogs; excepting the nail that in most species hangs downward from the leg. All animals with feet have toes, except the elephant; for the elephant's toes are unshaped and though five in number yet undivided and only slightly separated, and resembling hooves, not nails, and the fore feet are larger, the joints of the hind feet being short, and also an elephant's knees bend inward like a man's, whereas the other animals bend the knees of the hind legs in the opposite direction to those of the forelegs; for viviparous animals bend their knees in front of them and the joints of the hocks backward.

102. In man the knees and elbows bend in opposite directions, and the same is the case with bears and the monkey tribe, which are consequently not at all swift. In the oviparous quadrupeds, the crocodile and the lizards, the front knees curve backward and the hind knees forward, but these species have legs that bend like the human thumb; and so also have the multipedes, except the hindermost legs of the species that jump. Birds curve their wings forward like the front legs of quadrupeds but their thigh backward.

103. The knees of a human being also possess a sort of religious sanctity in the usage of the nations. Suppliants touch the knees and stretch out their hands towards them and pray at them as at altars, perhaps because they contain a certain vital principle. For in the actual joint of each knee, right and left, on the front side there is a sort of twin hollow cavity, the piercing of which, as of the throat, causes the breath to flow away. There is a religious sanctity belonging to other parts also, for instance in the right hand: kisses are imprinted on the back of it, and it is stretched out in giving a pledge. It was a custom with the Greeks in early days to touch the chin in entreaty. The memory is seated in the lobe of the ear, the place that we touch in calling a person to witness; similarly behind the right ear is the seat of Nemesis (a goddess that even on the Capitol has not found a Latin name), and to it we apply the third finger after touching our mouths, the month being the place where we locate pardon from the gods for our utterances.

104. Varicose veins in the legs occur only in a man but rarely in a woman. Oppius records that Gaius Marius who was seven times consul was the only man who underwent an operation for the removal of varicose veins without lying down.

105. All animals start walking with the right foot and lie down on the left side. Whereas the other animals walk as they like, only the lion and the camel pace with one foot after the other, that is with the left foot not passing but following the right foot. Human beings have the largest feet; the females of all species have more slender feet; man alone has calves and legs that are fleshy. We find it stated in the authorities that a certain person in Egypt had no calves. Man alone has an arched sole to the foot (with some exceptionsa deformity that is the origin of the surnames Flatfoot, Broadfoot, Splayfoot, Swellfoot, just as from the legs come the names Knock-knee, Bowleg, Bandyleg, deformities that also occur in animals). Some animals without horns have solid hooves: consequently in place of horns a kick of the hoof is their weapon. And the same animals have no pastern-bone, but those with cloven hooves have one. Pastern-bones are also lacking in animals having toes, and no animal has them in the forefeet. The camel's pastern-bones resemble those of the ox but are a little smaller; for the camel's foot is divided in two by a very small cleft, and is fleshy at the tread like a bear's, for which reason a camel's feet are liable to split on too long a journey without shoeing.

106. Only with animals of the draught kind do the hooves grow again. In some places in Illyria pigs have solid hooves. Horned animals mostly have cloven hooves. No species has both solid hooves and two horns; the only animal with one horn is the rhinoceros, and the only one with one horn and cloven hooves the antelope. The rhinoceros is the only solid-hooved animal that has pastern-bones, for pigs are thought to belong to both classes, and consequently their pastern-bones are misshapen. Persons who have thought that a human being has pastern-bones have been easily refuted. Of the animals with toes only the lynx has something resembling a pastern-bone, and the lion a still more twisted one. But the true pastern-bone is at the ankle-joint, projecting with a hollow bulge and attached with a ligature onto the joint.

107. Some birds have toes, others are web-footed, and others intermediate, with separate toes but also broad feet; but all have four toes, three in front and one at the heelthe latter however absent in some long-legged species; the wry-neck alone has two toes on either side of the foot. The same bird has a tongue like a snake's which it stretches out a long way, and it turns its neck round towards its back; it has large claws like a jay's. Some of the heavier birds, though none of those with crooked talons, have spurs added on the legs. The long-legged birds fly with their legs extended towards their tail, but the short-legged ones draw them into their middle. Those who say that there is no bird without feet assert that black martins have specially short feet, and also the Alpine swift, a bird that is very rarely seen. Even snakes with the feet of geese have been seen before now.

108. The insects with hard eyes have the front feet longer, so that they may occasionally rub their feet eyes with their feet, as we observe in houseflies. Insects with long hind feet leap, for instance locusts. But all these have six feet. Some spiders have two very long feet in addition. Each foot has two joints. We have said that some marine species also have eight feet, octopuses, cuttlefish of both varieties, and crabs, which move their fore-feet in the opposite direction to the others and their hind-feet in a circle or slantwise; they are also the only animals with feet of a rounded shape. All the other species have two guiding feet, only crabs have four. Land species that exceed this number of feet, as most worms, have not less than twelve, and some as many as a hundred. No kind has an odd number of feet.

In the species with solid feet the legs are of the proper size at birth, afterwards more truly stretching out than growing. Consequently in infancy they scratch their ears with their hind feet, which when older they are unable to do, because length of time increases the size of only the surface of their bodies. For this reason at the early stages they can only feed by bending their knees, and this goes on till their neck reaches full growth.

There is a dwarf kind in all species of animals, and even among birds.

109. We have already specified the species of which the males have genital organs behind them. These organs are bony in wolves, foxes, weasels and ferrets, which also furnish sovereign remedies for stone in man. In the bear too it is said, these organs become horny as soon as the animal dies. The eastern peoples think that this organ in the camel makes a most reliable bowstring. There are also certain racial distinctions in connexion with it, and even varieties of ritual, the Galli, priests of the Mother of the Gods, practising amputation within the limits of injury. On the other hand in a few women there is a curious resemblance to the male organ, [clitoris?] as there is in hermaphrodites of either sex, a thing that I believe first occurred with the class of quadrupeds also in the principate of Nero: at all events Nero used to show off a team of hermaphrodite mares, that he had found in the Trier district in Gaul, harnessed to his chariot, apparently deeming it a very remarkable spectacle to see the Emperor of the World riding in a miraculous carriage.

110. The testicles in sheep and oxen hang down against the legs, but in pigs they are closely knit to the body. In the dolphin they are very long, and stowed away in the lower part of the belly, and in the elephant also they are concealed. In oviparous creatures they are attached to the loins on the inside, these animals being very rapid in copulation. Fishes and snakes have no testicles, but instead of them two passages from the kidneys to the genitals. Buzzards have three. In man only they may be crushed owing to an injury or from natural causes, and this forms a third class, in distinction from hermaphrodites and eunuchs, the impotent. In every species except leopards and bears the mares are the stronger.

111. Almost all species except man and monkeys, both the viviparous and the oviparous, have tails corresponding to the requirements of their bodies, bare with the hairy species, like boars, small with the shaggy ones, like bears, very long with the bristly, like horses. With lizards and snakes when cut off they grow again. The tails of fishes steer their winding courses after the manner of a rudder, and even serve to propel them like a sort of oar by being moved to the right and left. Actual cases of two tails are found in lizards. Oxen's tails have a very long stem, with a tuft at the end, and in asses it is longer than in horses, but it is bristly in beasts of burden. A lion's tail is shaggy at the end, as with oxen and shrew-mice, but not so with leopards; foxes and wolves have a hairy tail, as have sheep, with which it is longer. Pigs curl the tail, dogs of low breeds keep it between their legs.

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CXII. Aristotle thinks that only animals with lungs and windpipe, that is those that breathe, possess a voice; and that consequently even insects make a sound, but have not a voice, the breath passing inside them and making a sound when shut up there, and that some, as bees, give out a buzz, others, as grasshoppers, a brief hiss, because the breath is received in two hollows under the chest and encountering a movable membrane inside makes a sound by rubbing against it. He thinks that flies, bees and other similar creatures begin and cease to give an audible sound when they begin and cease to fly, as the sound is caused by friction and by the air inside them, not by breathing; and that locusts make a sound by rubbing their wings against their thighs. It is indeed believed that among aquatic creatures scallops similarly make a rushing sound when they fly, but that shell-fish and crustaceans have no voice nor sound of any kind. But the other fishes, although they lack lungs and windpipe, are not entirely devoid of any sound at allpeople advance the quibble that their hiss is made with the teethand the fish in the river Achelous called the boar-fish has a grunt, and so have others about which we have spoken. Oviparous species have a hisssnakes a long one, tortoises an abrupt one. Frogs have a special kind of voice, as has been said unless in their case also we are to allow some uncertainty, because 'voice' means a sound formed in the month, not in the chest. Still in the case of frogs the nature of the localities also makes a great deal of difference: the frogs in Macedonia are reported to be dumb, and also the boars. Among birds the smaller ones are more talkative, and particularly at the mating season. Some birds, e.g. quails, give a cry when fighting, others, e.g. partridges, before a fight, others, e.g. domestic fowls, when they have won. With the latter the cocks have a crow of their own, but with other birds, for instance the nightingale class, the hens also have the same note. Some birds sing all the year, some at certain seasons, as has been said in dealing with the species separately. The elephant squeezes out a sound like a sneeze from its actual mouth, not through the nostrils, but through the nostrils it emits a harsh trumpet sound. In oxen alone the lowing of the females is louder, but in every other kind of animal the females' voice is not so loud as that of the males, even (in the case of the human race) those that have been castrated. The infant gives no sound at birth until it emerges entirely from the womb. It begins to talk when a year old; but Croesus had a son who spoke at six months and while still at the rattle stage, a portent that brought the whole of that realm to downfall. Infants that began to speak quicker are slower in starting to walk. The voice gets stronger at fourteen, but it gets weaker in old age; and it does not alter more often in any other animal.

There are other facts besides about the voice that deserve mention. It is absorbed by the sawdust or sand that is thrown down on the floor in the theatre orchestras, and similarly in a place surrounded by rough walls, and it is also deadened by empty casks. Also it runs along a straight or concave surface of wall and carries words although spoken in a low tone to the other end, if no unevenness of the surface hinders it. In a human being the voice constitutes a large part of the external personality: we recognise a man by it before we see him just in the same way as we recognise him with our eyes; and there are as many varieties of voices as there are mortals in the world, and a person's voice is as distinctive as his face. This is the source of the difference between all the races and all the languages all over the world, and of all the tunes and modulations and inflexions, but before all things of the power of expressing the thoughts that has made us different from the beasts, and has also caused another distinction between human beings themselves that is as wide as that which separates them from the lower animals.

113. When animals are born with extra limbs are useless, as is always the case when a human being is born with a sixth finger. In Egypt it was decided to rear a monstrosity, a human being with another pair of eyes at the back of the head, though he could not sec with these.

114. For my own part I am surprised that Aristotle not only believed but also published his belief that our bodies contain premonitory signs of our career. But although I think this view unfounded, and not proper to be brought forward without hesitation lest everybody should anxiously seek to find these auguries in himself, nevertheless I will touch upon it, because so great a master of the sciences as Aristotle has not despised it. Well then, he puts down as signs of a short life few teeth, very long fingers, a leaden complexion and an exceptional number of broken creases in the hand; and on the other side he says that those people are long-lived who have sloping shoulders, one or two long creases in the hand, more than thirty-two teeth, and large ears. Yet he does not, I imagine, note all these attributes present in one person, but separately, trifling things, as I consider them, though nevertheless commonly talked about. In a similar manner among ourselves Trogus, himself also one of the most critical authorities, has added some outward signs of character which I will append in his own words: 'When the forehead is large it indicates that the mind beneath it is sluggish; people with a small forehead have a nimble mind, those with a round forehead an irascible mind'as if this were a visible indication of a swollen temper! 'When people's eyebrows are level this signifies that they are gentle, when they are curved at the side of the nose, that they are stern, when bent down at the temples, that they are mockers, when entirely drooping, that they are malevolent and spiteful. If people's eyes are narrow on both sides, this shows them to be malicious in character; eyes that have fleshy corners on the side of the nostrils show a mark of maliciousness; when the white part of the eyes is extensive it conveys an indication of impudence; eyes that have a habit of repeatedly closing indicate unreliability. Large ears are a sign of talkativeness and silliness,' thus far Trogus.

115. The lion's breath contains a severe poison and the bear's is pestilential: no wild animal will touch things that have come in contact with its vapour, and things that it has breathed upon go bad more quickly. Of the remaining species nature has willed that in man alone the breath shall be corrupted in a great many ways, even by bad food and bad teeth, but most of all by old age. The old man cannot feel pain, he lacks all touch and taste, without which there is no sensation at all; his breath comes and goes, constantly retiring from him, ultimately to depart from him and thereafter to be all that remains out of a human being. The breath was a draught drawn from heaven; yet for it also a penalty has been invented, so that even that which is the very means of living may not give us joy in life. This applies specially to the Parthian races, even from youth up, because of their lack of discrimination in diet, for even their mouths smell from too much wine. But their upper classes use as a remedy the seed of the citron-tree, which has a remarkably sweet aroma, adding it to their food.

The breath of elephants attracts snakes out of their holes, that of stags scorches them. We have mentioned the races of men that rid their bodies of snakes' poison by sucking it out. Moreover swine will eat snakes, and to other animals it is poison. The creatures we have designated insects can all be killed by sprinkling with oil; vultures are killed by ointment (they are attracted by the scent, which repels other birds), and beetles by a rose. A scorpion kills some snakes. In Scythia the natives poison their arrows with vipers' venom and human blood; this nefarious practice makes a wound incurableby a light touch it causes instant death.

116. We have said which animals feed on poison. Some otherwise harmless species after feeding on poisonous things become harmful themselves also. In Pamphylia and the mountain regions of Cilicia people who eat boars when these have devoured a salamander die, for there is no indication in the smell or taste; also water or wine when a salamander has died in it is fatal, and so is even drinking from a vessel out of which one has drunk; and similarly with the kind of frog called a toad! so full of traps is life! Wasps devour a snake greedily, and by so doing make their sting fatal. And so widely does diet vary that according to Theophrastus in a district where people live on fish the cattle also eat fish, but only live fish.

117. Simple food is the most serviceable for a human being an accumulation of flavours is unwholesome, and more harmful than sauces. But it is difficult completely to digest all the components contained in articles of food, all that is sharp or rough or unusual or varied, or excessive in quantity and swallowed greedily; and it is more difficult in summer than in winter, and in old age than in youth. The emetics that have been devised for digestive troubles have a chilling effect on the body, and are extremely bad for the eyes and the teeth.

To digest one's food while asleep is more conducive to corpulence than to strength, and consequently it is thought preferable for men in training to assist their digestion by taking a walk; at all events food is most thoroughly assimilated while keeping awake.

118. Sweet and fat foods and drinking add bulk, whereas dry and lean and cold foods and thirst reduce it. Some animals and also domestic cattle in Africa only drink once in three days. Starvation is not fatal to a human being after even five days; it is certain that a good many people have actually endured it more than ten days. Man is the only animal liable to the disease of a continuously insatiable appetite.

119. Again some things tasted in a very small quantity allay hunger and thirst and conserve the strength, for instance butter, mare's milk cheese, liquorice root. But anything in excess is exceedingly detrimental, even in all departments of life, but particularly to the body, and it pays better to reduce the quantity of what is in any manner burdensome.

But let us pass on to the remaining branches of Natural Science.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 12

1. Such are the generic and specific characteristics of all the animals about which it has been possible to obtain information. It remains to describe the things produced by the earth or dug up from itthese also not being devoid of vital spirit, since nothing lives without itand not to pass over in silence any of the works of nature.

The riches of earth's bounty were for a long time hidden, and the trees and forests were supposed to be the supreme gift bestowed by her on man. These first provided him with food, their foliage carpeted his cave and their bark served him for raiment; there are still races which practise this mode of life. This inspires us with ever greater and greater wonder that starting from these beginnings man has come to quarry the mountains for marbles, to go as far as China for raiment, and to explore the depths of the Red Sea for the pearl and the bowels of the earth for the emerald. For this purpose has been devised the fashion of making wounds in the ears, because forsooth it was not enough for jewels to be worn on the hands and neck and hair without making them even pierce through the body. Consequently it will be well to follow the biological order and to speak of trees before earth's other products, and to bring forward origins for our customs.

2. Once upon a time trees were the temples of the deities, and in conformity with primitive ritual simple country places even now dedicate a tree of exceptional height to a god; nor do we pay greater worship to images shining with gold and ivory than to the forests and to the very silences that they contain. The different kinds of trees are kept perpetually dedicated to their own divinities, for instance, the winter-oak to Jove, the bay to Apollo, the olive to Minerva, the myrtle to Venus, the poplar to Hercules; nay, more, we also believe that the Silvani and Fauns and various kinds of goddesses are as it were assigned to the forests from heaven and as their own special divinities. Subsequently it was the trees with juices more succulent than corn that gave mellowness to man; for from frees are obtained olive oil to refresh the limbs and draughts of wine to restore the strength, and in fine all the savours that come by the spontaneous generosity of the year, and the fruits that are even now served as a second course, in spite of the fact that battle must be waged with the wild beasts to obtain them and that fishes fattened on the corpses of shipwrecked mariners are in demand. Moreover, there are a thousand other uses for those trees which are indispensable for carrying on life. We use a tree to furrow the seas and to bring the lands nearer together, we use a tree for building houses; even the images of the deities were made from trees, before men had yet thought of paying a price for the corpses of huge animals, or arranged that inasmuch as the privilege of luxury had originated from the gods, we should behold the countenances of the deities and the legs of our tables made of the same ivory. It is stated that the Gauls, imprisoned as they were by the Alps as by a then insuperable bulwark, first found a motive for overflowing into Italy from the circumstance that a Gallic citizen from Switzerland named Helico, who had sojourned at Rome on account of his skill as an artificer, had brought with him when he came back some dried figs and grapes and some samples of oil and wine; and consequently we may pardon them for having sought to obtain these things even by means of war.

3. But who would not be justifiably surprised to hear that a tree has been procured from another clime merely for the sake of shade? This tree is the plane, which was first imported into the Ionian Sea as far as the island of San Domenico to plant over the tomb of Diomede, and which crossed from there to Sicily and was one of the first trees bestowed on Italy, and which has now travelled as far as Belgium and actually occupies soil that pays tribute to Rome, so that the tribes have to pay rent even for shade. The elder Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, imported plane-trees to the city of Rcggio as a marvel to adorn his palace, on the site where afterwards a gymnasium was built; and it is found in the authorities that these trees were not able to grow to full size, and that in all Italy there were no others except the 'Spania.'

4. This took place at about the period of the capture of Rome; and so much honour has since accrued to plane-trees that their growth is encouraged by having wine poured on them, as it has been found that this is of the greatest benefit to the roots, and we have taught even trees to be winebibbers!

5. Famous plane-frees are: (1) one that grew in the walks of the Academy at Athens, the roots of which were 50 feet long and spread wider than the branches; (2) at the present day there is a celebrated plane in Lycia, allied with the amenity of a cool spring; it stands by the roadside like a dwelling-house with a hollow cavity inside it 81 feet across, forming with its summit a shady grove, and shielding itself with vast branches as big as trees and covering the fields with its long shadows, and so as to complete its resemblance to a grotto, embracing inside it mossy pumice-stones in a circular rim of rocka tree so worthy to be deemed a marvel that Licinius Mucianus, who was three times consul and recently lieutenant-governor of the province, thought it worth handing down to posterity also that he had held a banquet with eighteen members of his retinue inside the tree, which itself provided couches of leafage on a bounteous scale, and that he had then gone to bed in the same tree, shielded from every breath of wind, and receiving more delight from the agreeable sound of the rain dropping through the foliage than gleaming marble, painted decorations or gilded panelling could have afforded. (3) Another instance is connected with the Emperor Caligula, who on an estate at Velletri was impressed by the flooring of a single plane-tree, and benches laid loosely on beams consisting of its branches, and held a banquet in the treehimself

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constituting a considerable portion of the shadow than a dining-room large enough to hold fifteen guests and the servants: this dining-room the emperor called his `nest.' (4) There is a single plane-free at the side of a spring at Gortyn in the island of Crete which is celebrated in records written both in Greek and Latin, as never shedding its leaves; and a typical Greek story about it has come down from early times, to the effect that underneath it Jupiter lay with Europajust as if really there were not another tree of the same species in the island of Cyprus! Slips from this tree, however, planted first in Crete itselfso eager is human nature for a noveltyreproduced the defect: for defect it was, because the plane has no greater recommendation than its property of warding off the sun in summer and admitting it in winter. During the principate of Claudius an extremely wealthy Thessalian eunuch, who was a freedman of Marcellus Aeserninus but had for the sake of obtaining power got himself enrolled among the freedmen of the emperor, imported this variety of plane-tree from Crete into Italy and introduced it at his country estate near Romeso that he deserves to be called another Dionysius! And these monstrosities from abroad still last on in Italy also, in addition, that is, to those which Italy has devised for herself.

6. For there is also the variety called the ground-plane, stunted in heightsince we have discovered the art of producing abortions even in trees, and consequently even in the tree class we shall have to speak of the unhappy subject of dwarfs. The ground-plane is produced by a method of planting and of lopping. Clipped arbours were invented within the last 80 years by a member of the Equestrian order named Gaius Matius, a friend of his late Majesty Augustus.

7. The cherry and the peach and all the trees with Greek or foreign names are also exotic; but those among them which have been naturalized here will be specified among the fruit-trees. For the present we will go through the real exotics, beginning with the one most valuable for health.

The citron or Assyrian apple, called by others the Median apple, is an antidote against poisons. It has the leaves of the strawberry-tree, but with prickles running among them. For the rest, the actual fruit is not eaten, but it has an exceptionally strong scent, which belongs also to the leaves, and which penetrates garments stored with them and keeps off injurious insects. The tree itself bears fruit at all seasons, some of the apples falling while others are ripening and others just forming. Because of its great medicinal value various nations have tried to acclimatize it in their own countries, importing it in earthenware pots provided with breathing holes for the roots (and similarly, as it will be convenient to record here so that each of my points may be mentioned only once, all plants that are to travel a specially long distance are planted as tightly as possible for transport); but it has refused to grow except in Media and Persia. It is this fruit the pips of which, as we have mentioned, the Parthian grandees have cooked with their viands for the sake of sweetening their breath. And among the Medes no other tree is highly commended.

8. We have already described the wool-bearing trees of the Chinese in making mention of that race, and we have spoken of the large size of the trees in India. One of those peculiar to India, the ebony, is spoken of in glowing terms by Virgil, who states that it does not grow in any other country. Herodotus, however, prefers it to be ascribed to Ethiopia, stating that the Ethiopians used to pay as tribute to the Kings of Persia every three years a hundred logs of ebony, together with gold and ivory. Nor also should we omit the fact, since that author indicates it, that the Ethiopians used to pay twenty large elephant tusks on the same account. So high was the esteem in which ivory was held in the 310th year of our city, the date at which that author composed his history at Thurii in Italy; which makes all the more surprising the statement which we accept on his authority, that nobody of Asia or Greece had hitherto been seen who had ever seen the river Po. The exploration of the geography of Ethiopia, which as we have said had lately been reported to the Emperor Nero, showed that over a space of 1,996 miles from Syene on the frontier of the empire to Meroe trees are rare, and there are none except of the palm species. That is possibly the reason why ebony was the third most important item in the tribute paid.

9. Ebony was exhibited at Rome by Pompey the Great on the occasion of his triumph over Mithridates. According to Fabius ebony does not give out a flame, yet burns with an agreeable scent. It is of two kinds: the better one, which grows as a tree, is rareit is of a smooth substance and free from knots, and of a shiny black colour that is pleasing to the eye even in the natural state without the aid of art; whereas the other grows as a shrub like the cytisus, and is spread over the whole of India.

10. In India there is also a thorn the wood of which resembles ebony, but can be detected even by the flame of a lantern, as the light at once shines through people.

11. The tree is called the pala, and the fruit ariena. It is most frequent in the territory of the Sydraci, which was the farthest point reached by the expeditions of Alexander.

12. There is also another tree resembling this one, the fruit of which is sweeter, but causes derangement of the bowels. Alexander issued an order in advance forbidding any member of his expedition to touch it.

13. The Macedonians have given accounts of kinds of trees that for the most part have no names. There is also one that resembles the terebinth in every other respect but the fruit of which is like an almond, though smaller, and is remarkably sweet, at all events when grown in Bactria. This tree has been considered by some persons to be a special kind of terebinth rather than another plant resembling it. The tree from which they make linen for clothing resembles a mulberry by its leaves, but the calyx of the fruit is like that of a dog-rose. It is grown in the plains, and no other plantations add more to the beauty of the landscape.

14. The olive-tree of India is barren, except for the fruit of the wild olive. But trees resembling our junipers that bear pepper occur everywhere, although some writers have reported that they only grow on the southern face of the Caucasus. The seeds differ from those of the juniper by being in small pods, like those which we see in the case of the kidney-bean; these pods when plucked before they open and dried in the sun produce what is called long pepper, but if left to open gradually, when ripe they disclose white pepper, which if afterwards dried in the sun changes colour and wrinkles up. Even these products, however, have their own special infirmity, and inclement weather shrivels them up and turns the seeds into barren husks, called bregma, which is an Indian word meaning 'dead.' Of all kinds of pepper this is the most pungent and the lightest, and it is pale in colour. Black pepper is more agreeable, but white pepper is of a milder flavour than either the black or the `long' pepper.

The root of the pepper-tree is not, as some people have thought, the same as the substance called ginger, or by others zinpiberi, although it has a similar flavour. Ginger is grown on farms in Arabia and Cave-dwellers' Country it is a small plant with a white root. The plant is liable to decay very quickly, in spite of its extreme pungency. Its price is six denarii a pound. It is easy to adulterate long pepper with Alexandrian mustard. Long pepper is sold at 15 denarii a pound, white pepper at 7, and black at 4. It is remarkable that the use of pepper has come so much into favour, as in the case of some commodities their sweet taste has been an attraction, and in Others their appearance, but pepper has nothing to recommend it in either fruit or berry. To think that its only pleasing quality is pungency and that we go all the way to India to get this! Who was the first person who was willing to try it on his viands, or in his greed for an appetite was not content merely to be hungry? Both pepper and ginger grow wild in their own countries, and nevertheless they are bought by weight like gold or silver. Italy also now possesses a pepper-tree that grows larger than a myrtle, which it somewhat resembles. Its grains have the same pungency as that believed to belong to myrtle-pepper, but when dried it lacks the ripeness that the other has, and consequently has not the same wrinkles and colouring either. Pepper is adulterated with juniper berries, which absorb its pungency in a remarkable manner, and in the matter of weight there are several ways of adulterating it.

15. There is also in India a grain resembling that of pepper, but larger and more brittle, called the carvophyllon, which is reported to grow on the Indian lotus-tree; it is imported here for the sake of its scent. There is also a thorn-bush bearing an extremely bitter fruit that has a resemblance to pepper; this shrub has small thickly clustering leaves like the cyprus; the branches are 4 feet long, the bark of a pale colour, and the root wide-spreading and woody, of the colour of box. This root boiled in water with the seed in a copper vessel produces the medicine called lycion. The thorn in question also grows on Mount Pelion, where it is used for mixing with a drug, as also are the root of the asphodel, ox-gall, wormwood, sumach and the lees of olive oil. The best lycion for medicinal purposes is the kind that makes a froth; this is imported from India in leather bottles made of camel skin or rhinoceros hide. The shrub itself is sometimes known in Greece under the name of Chiron's buckthorn.

16. Another substance imported from India is macir, the red bark of the large root of a tree of the same name, which I have been unable to identify. This bark boiled with honey is considered in medicine to be a valuable specific for dysentery.

17. Arabia also produces cane-sugar, but that grown in India is more esteemed. It is a kind of honey that collects in reeds, white like gum, and brittle to the teeth; the largest pieces are the size of a filbert. It is only employed as a medicine.

18. On the frontier of India is a race called the Arian, which has a thorn-bush that is valuable for the juice that it distils, resembling myrrh. It is difficult to get at this bush because it is hedged with thorns. In the same district there is also a poisonous bush-radish, with the leaf of a bay-tree, the smell of which attracts horses, and nearly robbed Alexander of his cavalry when he first entered the region. This also happened in Gedrosia as well, on account of the foliage of the bay-trees; and in the same district a thorn was reported the juice of which sprinkled on the eyes caused blindness in all animals. There was also a plant with a very strong scent, that was full of tiny snakes whose bite was instantly fatal. Onesicritus reports that in the valleys of Hyrcania there are trees resembling the fig, named occhustrees, which for two hours every morning drip honey.

19. Adjoining India is the Bactrian country, in which is produced the highly esteemed bdellium. The tree is black in colour, and the size of the olive; its leaf resembles that of the oak and its fruit that of the wild fig. The subsistence of the fruit is like gum; one name for it is brochos, another malacha, and another maldaeos, while a black variety which is rolled up into cakes has the name of hadrobolos. It ought to be transparent like wax, to have a scent, to exude grease when crumbled, and to have a bitter taste, though without acidity. When used in religions ritual it is steeped in wine, which makes its scent more powerful. This tree is native to Arabia and India, and also to Media and Babylon. Some people give to the bdellium imported from Media the name of peraticum; this kind is more brittle and also harder and more bitter than the others, whereas the Indian sort is moister, and gummy. Almonds are used to adulterate Indian bdellium, but all the other sorts are adulterated also with the bark of scordastum, that being the name of a tree that resembles the gum. But these adulterations can be detectedand it must be enough to state this once for all, to apply to all other perfumes as wellby smell, colour, weight, taste and the action of fire. The Bactrian bdellium is shiny and dry, and has a number of white spots like fingernails; and also it has a specific weight of its own and ought not to be heavier or lighter than this. The price of pure bdellium is 3 denarii a pound.

20. Adjoining the races above mentioned is Persia. On the Red Sea, which at this point we have called the Persian Gulf, the tides of which are carried a long way inland, the trees are of a remarkable nature; for they are to be seen on the coast when the tide is out, embracing the barren sands with their naked roots like polypuses, eaten away by the salt and looking like trunks that have been washed ashore and left high and dry. Also these trees when the tide rises remain motionless although beaten by the waves; indeed at high water they are completely covered, and the evidence of the facts clearly proves that this species of tree is nourished by the brackish water. They are of marvellous size, and in appearance they resemble the strawberry-tree, but their fruit is like almonds outside and contains a spiral kernel.

21. In the same gulf is the island of Tyros, which is covered with forests in the part facing east, where it also is flooded by the sea at high tide. Each of the trees is the size of a fig-tree; they have a flower with an indescribably sweet scent and the fruit resembles a lupine, and is so prickly that no animal can touch it. On a more elevated plateau in the same island there are trees that bear wool, but in a different manner to those of the Chinese as the leaves of these trees have no growth on them, and might be thought to be vine-leaves were it not that they are smaller; but they bear gourds of the size of a quince, which when they ripen burst open and disclose balls of down from which an expensive linen for clothing is made.

22. Their name for this tree is the gossypinus; it also grows in greater abundance on the smaller island of Tyros, which is ten miles distant from the other. Juba says that this shrub has a woolly down poring round it, the fabric made from which is superior to the linen of India. He also says that there is an Arabian tree called the cynas from which cloth is made, which has foliage resembling a palm-leaf. Similarly the natives of India are provided with clothes by their own trees. But in the Tyros islands there is also another tree with a blossom like a white violet but four times as large; it has no scent, which may well surprise us in that region of the world.

23. There is also another tree which resembles this one but has more foliage and a rose-coloured blossom, which it closes at nightfall and begins to open at sunrise, unfolding it fully at noon: the natives speak of it as going to sleep. The same island also produces palm-trees and vines, as well as figs and all the other kinds of fruit-trees. None of the trees there sheds its leaves; and the island is watered by cold springs, and has a considerable rainfall.

24. The country neighbouring on these islands, Arabia, calls for some detailed account of its productsinasmuch as the parts of trees that are utilized include the root, the trunk, the bark, the juice, the gum, the wood, the shoots, the blossom, the leaves and the fruit.

25. In India a root and a leaf are held in the highest value. The root is that of the costus, which has a burning taste and an exquisite scent, though in other respects the plant is of no use. In the island of Patale just in the mouth of the river Indus, there are two kinds of costus plant, the black and the white; the latter is the better; it sells at denarii a pound.

26. About the leaf, which is that of the nard, it is proper to speak at greater length, as it holds a foremost place among perfumes. The nard is a shrub, the root of which is heavy and thick but short and black, and although oily, brittle; it has a musty smell like the gladius, and an acrid taste; the leaves are small, and grow in clusters. The shoots of the nard sprout into ears, and consequently both the spikes and the leaves of the nard are famousa twofold product. Another kind of nard growing by the Ganges is entirely ruled out by its name, 'putrid nard,' having a poisonous smell. Nard is also

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adulterated with a plant called bastard nard, which grows everywhere, and has a thicker and broader leaf and a sickly colour inclining to white; and also by being mixed with its own root to increase the weight, and with gum and silver-spume or antimony and gladiolus or husk of gladiolus. Unadulterated nard can be detected by its light weight and its ruddy colour and sweet scent and particularly by its taste, which dries up the mouth and leaves a pleasant flavour.

The price of nard is 100 denarii a pound. The nard-leaf market is graded according to the size of the leaf: the kind called hadrosphaerum in larger pills costs 40 denarii; the smaller-leaved sort called mesosphaerum sells at 60 denarii; and the most highly spoken of, microsphaerum, is made of the smallest leaves and its price is 75 denarii. All the kinds have an agreeable scent, stronger when they are fresh. The better nard has a blacker colour, if it is old when gathered. In our part of the world the next most highly praised kind is the Syrian, then that from Gaul, and in the third place is the Cretan, which some call agrion and others phun; it has a leaf like that of alexanders, a stalk 18 inches long, knotted and coloured whitish purple, and a crooked hairy root resembling birds' claws. Wild nard is called valerian; we shall speak about it among flowers. All of these kinds of nard, however, are herbs except the Indian. Among them the Gallic kind is plucked `vith the root as well, and washed in wine, dried in a shady place, and done up with paper in small parcels; it does not differ much from the Indian nard, but it is lighter in weight than the Syrian. Its price is 3 denarii. In the case of these varieties the only way to test them is that the leaves must not be brittle and parched instead of merely dry. With Gallic nard there always grows the herb called little goat because of its offensive smell, like the smell of a goat; it is very much employed to adulterate nard, from which it is distinguished by having no stem and smaller leaves, and by its root, which is not bitter and also has no smell.

27. Hazelwort also has the property of nard, indeed some people actually call it 'wild nard.' It has the leaves of the ivy, only rounder and softer, a purple flower, the root of Gallic nard, and seed like grape-stones, which has a warm taste with a flavour of wine. On shady mountains it flowers twice a year. The best variety grows in Pontus, the next best in Phrygia and the third in Illyricum. When it begins to shed its leaves it is dug up and dried in the sun, as it quickly becomes mouldy and loses its strength. A plant has also lately been found in Thrace the leaves of which do not differ at all from the Indian nard.

28. The clustered arnomum is much in use; it is obtained from the Indian wild-vine, or as other people have supposed from a twisted shrub a hand high, and it is plucked with its root and then gently pressed together into bundles, as it is liable to break at once. The kind most highly spoken of is the one with leaves like those of the pomegranate and devoid of wrinkles, coloured red. The second best kind is of a pale colour; the grass-coloured one is not so good, and the white kind is the worst; it also goes white with age. The price of clustered amomum is 60 denarii a pound, but as dust it fetches only 48 denarii. It grows in the part of Armenia called Otene, and also in Media and in Pontus. It is adulterated with the leaves of the pomegranate and with liquid gum to make the leaves stick together and form a cluster like a bunch of grapes.

There is also another substance called amomis, which is not so full of veins and is harder and has less scent, showing that it is either a different plant or amomum that has been gathered unripe.

29. Resembling these substances both in name and in the shrub that produces it is cardamomum, the seeds of which are oblong in shape. It is gathered in Arabia, in the same manner as amomum. It has four varieties: one very green and oily, with sharp corners and awkward to crumblethis is the kind most highly spoken of the next sort a whitish red, the third shorter and of a colour nearer black, while an inferior kind is mottled and easily friable, and has little scentin the true kind the scent ought to be near to that of costus. Cardamomum also grows in the country of the Medes. The price of the best sort is 3 denarii a pound.

30. Next in affinity to cardamomum would have come cinnamomum, were it not convenient first to catalogue the riches of Arabia and the reasons that have given it the names of Happy and Blessed. The chief products of Arabia then are frankincense and myrrh; the latter it shares also with the Cave-dwellers' Country, but no country beside Arabia produces frankincense, and not even the whole of Arabia. About in the middle of that country are the Astramitae, a district of the Sabaei, the capital of their realm being Sabota, situated on a lofty mountain; and eight days' journey from Sabota is a frankincense-producing district belonging to the Sabaei called Sariba according to the Greeks the name means 'secret mystery.' The region faces north-east, and is surrounded by impenetrable rocks, and on the right hand side bordered by a seacoast with inaccessible cliffs. The soil is reported to be of a milky white colour with a tinge of red. The forests measure 20 schoeni in length and half that distance in breadth by the calculation of Eratosthenes a schoenus measures 40 furlongs, that is five miles, but some authorities have made the schoenus 32 furlongs. There are hills rising to a great height, with natural forests on them running right down to the level ground. It is generally agreed that the soil is clay, and that there are few springs and these charged with alkali. Adjacent to the Astramitae is another district, the Minaei, through whose territory the transit for the export of the frankincense is along one narrow track. It was these people who originated the trade and who chiefly practise it, and from them the perfume takes the name of Minaean; none of the Arabs beside these have ever seen an incense-tree, and not even all of these, and it is said that there are not more than 3000 families who retain the right of trading in it as a hereditary property, and that consequently the members of these families are called sacred, and are not allowed to be polluted by ever meeting women or funeral processions when they are engaged in making incisions in the trees in order to obtain the frankincense, and that in this way the price of the commodity is increased owing to scruples of religion. Some persons report that the frankincense in the forests belongs to all these peoples in common, but others state that it is shared out among them in yearly turns.

31. Nor is there agreement in regard to the appearance of the incense-tree itself. We have carried on operations in Arabia, and the arms of Rome have penetrated into a large part of it; indeed, Gaius Caesar, son of Augustus, won great renown from the country; yet no Latin writer, so far as I know, has described the appearance of this tree. The descriptions given by the Greeks vary: some have stated that it has the leaf of a pear-tree, only smaller and of a grass-green colour; others that it resembles the mastich and has a reddish leaf; some that it is a kind of terebinth, and that this was the view of King Antigonus, to whom a plant was brought. King Juba in his volumes dedicated to Gaius Caesar, son of Augustus, whose imagination was fired by the fame of Arabia, states that the tree has a twisted stem and branches closely resembling those of the Pontic maple and that it gives a juice like that of the almond; he says that trees of this description are to be seen in Carmania and in Egypt, where they were introduced under the influence of the Ptolemies when they reigned there. It is well known that it has the bark of a bay-tree, and some have said that the leaf is also like that of the bay; at all events that was the case with the tree when it was grown at Sardis for the Kings of Asia also interested themselves in planting it. The ambassadors who have come to Rome from Arabia in my time have made all these matters still more uncertain, which may well surprise us, seeing that even some sprigs of the incense-tree find their way to Rome, on the evidence of which we may believe that the parent tree also is smooth and tapering and that it puts out its shoots from a trunk that is free from knots.

32. It used to be the custom, when there were fewer opportunities of selling frankincense, to gather it only once a year, but at the present day trade introduces a second harvesting. The earlier and natural gathering takes place at about the rising of the Dog-star, when the summer heat is most intense. They make an incision where the bark appears to be fullest of juice and distended to its thinnest; and the bark is loosened with a blow, but not removed. From the incision a greasy foam spurts out, which coagulates and thickens, being received on a mat of palm-leaves where the nature of the ground requires this, but in other places on a space round the tree that has been rammed hard. The frankincense collected in the latter way is in a purer state, hut the former method produces a heavier weight; while the residue adhering to the tree is scraped off with an iron tool, and consequently contains fragments of bark. The forest is divided up into definite portions, and owing to the mutual honesty of the owners is free from trespassing, and though nobody keeps guard over the trees after an incision has been made, nobody steals from his neighbour. At Alexandria, on the other hand, where the frankincense is worked up for sale, good heavens! no vigilance is sufficient to guard the factories. A seal is put upon the workmen's aprons, they have to wear a mask or a net with a close mesh on their heads, and before they are allowed to leave the premises they have to take off all their clothes: so much less honesty is displayed with regard to the produce with them than as to the forests with the growers. The frankincense from the summer crop is collected in autumn; this is the purest kind, bright white in colour. The second crop is harvested in the spring, cuts having been made in the bark during the winter in preparation for it; the juice that comes out on this occasion is reddish, and not to be compared with the former taking, the name for which is carflathum, the other being called dathiathum. Also the juice produced by a sapling is believed to be whiter, but that from an older tree has more scent. Some people also think that a better kind is produced on islands, but Juba says that no incense grows on islands at all.

Frankincense that hangs suspended in a globular drop we call male frankincense, although in other connexions the term 'male' is not usually employed where there is no female; but it is said to have been due to religious scruple that the name of the other sex was not employed in this case. Some people think that male frankincense is so called from its resemblance to the testes. The frankincense most esteemed, however, is the breast-shaped, formed when, while a previous drop is still hanging suspended, another one following unites with it. I find it recorded that one of these lumps used to be a whole handful, in the days when men's eagerness to pluck them was less greedy and they were allowed to form more slowly. The Greek name for frankincense formed in this manner is 'drop-incense' or 'solid incense,' and for the smaller kind 'chick-pea incense'; the fragments knocked off by striking the tree we call manna. Even at the present day, however, drops are found that weigh as much as a third of a mina, that is 28 denarii. Alexander the Great in his boyhood was heaping frankincense on the altars in lavish fashion, when his tutor Leonides told him that he might worship the gods in that manner when he had conquered the frankincense-producing races; but when Alexander had won Arabia he sent Leonides a ship with a cargo of frankincense, with a message charging him to worship the gods without any stint.

Frankincense after being collected is conveyed to Sabota on camels, one of the gates of the city being opened for its admission; the kings have made it a capital offence for camels so laden to turn aside from the high road. At Sahota a tithe estimated by measure and not by weight is taken by the priests for the god they call Sabis, and the incense is not allowed to be put on the market until this has been done; this tithe is drawn on to defray what is a public expenditure, for actually on a fixed number of days the god graciously entertains guests at a banquet. It can only be exported through the country of the Gebbanitae, and accordingly a tax is paid on it to the king of that people as well. Their capital is Thomna, which is l487 miles distant from the town of Gaza in Judea on the Mediterranean coast; the journey is divided into 65 stages with halts for camels. Fixed portions of the frankincense are also given to the priests and the king's secretaries, but beside these the guards and their attendants and the gate-keepers and servants also have their pickings: indeed all along the route they keep on paying, at one place for water, at another for fodder, or the charges for lodging at the halts, and the various octrois; so that expenses mount up to 688 denarii per camel before the Mediterranean coast is reached; and then again payment is made to the customs officers of our empire. Consequently the price of the best frankincense is 6, of the second best 5, and the third best 3 denarii a pound. It is tested by its whiteness and stickiness, its fragility and its readiness to catch fire from a hot coal; and also it should not give to pressure of the teeth, and should rather crumble into grains. Among us it is adulterated with drops of white resin, which closely resemble it, but the fraud can be detected by the means specified.

33. Some authorities have stated that myrrh is the product of a tree growing in the same forests among the frankincense-trees, but the majority say that it grows separately; and in fact it occurs in many places in Arabia, as will appear when we deal with its varieties. A kind highly spoken of is also imported from islands, and the Sabaei even cross the sea to the Cave-dwellers' Country to procure it. Also a cultivated variety is produced which is much preferred to the wild kind. The plant enjoys being raked and having the soil round it loosened, as it is the better for having its roots cool.

34. The tree grows to a height of nearly eight feet; it has thorns on it, and the trunk is hard and twisted, and thicker than that of the frankincense-tree, and even thicker at the root than in the remaining part of it. Authorities state that the bark is smooth and resembles that of the strawberry-tree, and others that it is rough and prickly; and they say that the leaf is that of the olive, but more wrinkled and with sharp points though Juba says it is like that of the alexanders. Some say that it resembles the juniper, only that it is rougher and bristling with thorns, and that the leaf is rounder but tastes like juniper. Also there have been writers who have falsely asserted that the frankincense-tree produces myrrh as well as frankincense.

35. The myrrh-producing tree also is tapped twice a year at the same seasons as the frankincense-tree, but in its case the incisions are made all the way up from the root to those of the branches that are strong enough to bear it. But before it is tapped the tree exudes of its own accord a juice called staete, which is the most highly valued of all myrrh. Next after this comes the cultivated kind, and also the better variety of the wild kind, the one tapped in summer. No tithes are given to a god from myrrh, as it also grows in other countries; however, the growers have to pay a quarter of the yield to the king of the Gebbanitae. For the rest it is bought up all over the district from the common people and packed into leather bags; and our perfumiers have no difficulty in distinguishing the different sorts by the evidence of the scent and consistency. There are a great many varieties, the first among the wild kinds being the Cave-dweller myrrh, next the Minaean, which includes the Astramitic, Gebbanitic and Ausaritic from the kingdom of the Gebbanitae; the third quality is the Dianite, the fourth a mixture from various sources, the fifth the Sambracene from a seaboard state in the kingdom of the Sabaei, and the sixth the one called Dusirite. There is also a white kind found in one place only, which is brought into the town of Mesalum for sale. The Cave-dweller kind is

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distinguished by its thickness and because it is rather dry and dusty and foreign in appearance, but has a stronger scent than the other sorts. The Sambracene variety is advertised as surpassing other kinds in its agreeable quality, but it has not a strong scent. Broadly speaking, however, the proof of goodness is given by its being in small pieces of irregular shape, forming in the solidifying of the juice as it turns white and dries up, and in its showing white marks like fingernails when it is broken, and having a slightly bitter taste. The second best kind is mottled inside, and the worst is the one that is black inside; and if it is black outside as well it is of a still inferior quality.

The prices vary with the supply of buyers; that of staete ranges from 3 to 50 denarii a pound, whereas the top price for cultivated myrrh is 11 denarii and for Erythrean 16this kind is passed off as Arabianand for the kernel of Cave-dweller 16, but for the variety called scented myrrh 12. Myrrh is adulterated with lumps of lentisk and with gum, and also with cucumber juice to give it a bitter taste, as it is with litharge of silver to increase its weight. The rest of the impurities can be detected by taste, and gum by its sticking to the teeth. But the adulteration most difficult to detect is that practised in the case of Indian myrrh, which is collected in India from a certain thorn-bush; this is the only commodity imported from India that is of worse quality than that of other countriesindeed it is easily distinguished because it is so very inferior.

36. Consequently Indian myrrh passes over into mastich, which is also obtained from a thorn in India, and in Arabia as well; it is called laina. Of mastich also there are two kinds, since in Asia and Greece there is also found a plant sending out from its root leaves and a prickly head like an apple, full of seed and of juice which spurts out when an incision is made in the top, so that it can scarcely be distinguished from true mastich. Moreover, there is also a third kind in Pontus which is more like bitumen; but the kind most highly praised is the white mastich of Chios, which fetches a price of 10 denarii a pound, while the black kind costs 2 denarii. It is said that the Chian mastich exudes from the lentisk like a kind of gum. Like frankincense it is adulterated with resin.

37. Arabia also still boasts of her ladanum. A considerable number of writers have stated that this becomes aromatic entirely by accident and owing to an injury; goats, they say, an animal very destructive of foliage in general, but especially fond of scented shrubs, as if understanding the prices they fetch crop the stalks of the shoots, which swell with an extremely sweet fluid, and wipe off with the nasty shaggy hair of their beards the juice dropping from the stalks in a random mixture, and this forms lumps in the dust and is baked by the sun; and that is the reason why goats' hairs are found in ladanum; though they say that this does not take place anywhere else but in the territory of the Nabataei, a people from Arabia who border on Syria. The more recent of the authorities call this substance 'storbon,' and say that the trees in the Arabs' forests are broken by the goats when browsing, and so the juice sticks to their hairs; but that the true ladanum belongs to the island of Cyprusto mention the various kinds of scents incidentally even though not in the order of their localities of provenance. It is reported that the same thing takes place there too, and that there is a substance called oesypum which sticks to the beards and shaggy knees of the goats, but that it is produced by their nibbling down the flower of the ivy while they are browsing in the morning, when Cyprus is wet with dew; and that subsequently when the sun has driven away the mist the dust clings to their damp fleeces and thus ladanum can be combed out of them.

Some people call the plant in Cyprus from which ladanum is produced 'leda,' as in fact these call the scent 'ledanum'; they say that its fat juices sweat out, and consequently the plant is rolled up in bundles by tying strings round it, and so made into cakes. Therefore there are two varieties in each kind, the natural sort mingled with earth and the artificial; the earthy sort is friable, whereas the artificial sort is tough.

It is also stated that there is a ladanum shrub in Garmania and beyond Egypt, where plants of it were introduced through the agency of the Ptolemies, or, as others say, it is a throwback from the incense-tree; and that it is collected like gum by making a cut in the bark and received in goatskin sacks. The most highly approved kind is sold at a price of 40 asses a pound. It is adulterated with myrtle berries and with filth from the fleeces of other animals beside the goat. When genuine it ought to have a fierce scent, somehow suggesting the smell of the desert, and though looking dried up it should soften immediately to the touch, and when set light to flare up with an agreeable scent; but when adulterated with myrtle-berries it can be detected by its unpleasant smell, and it crackles in the fire. Moreover, the genuine ladannm has dust or rather bits of stone from the rocks clinging to it.

38. In Arabia there is also an olive endowed with a sort of tear out of which a medicine is made, called in Greek enhaemon, because of its remarkable effect in closing the scars of wounds. These trees grow on the coast and are covered by the waves at high tide without this doing any harm to the berry, although accounts agree that salt is left on the leaves.

These trees are peculiar to Arabia, and it also has a few in common with other countries, which we must mention elsewhere because in their ease it does not hold the first place. Also in Arabia there is a surprising demand for foreign scents, which are imported from abroad: so tired do mortals get of things that are their own, and so covetous are they of what belongs to other people.

39. Consequently they send to the Elymaei for the wood of the bratum, a tree resembling a spreading cypress, with very white branches, and giving an agreeable scent when burnt. It is praised in the Histories of Claudius Caesar as having a marvellous property: he states that the Parthians sprinkle its leaves into their drinks, and that it has a scent very like cedar, and its smoke is an antidote against the effects of other woods. It grows beyond the River Karun on Mount Scanchrus in the territory of the city of Sostrata.

40. They also import from Carmania the stobrus tree, to use for the purpose of fumigation; it is soaked in palm wine and then set alight. The vapour is thrown back from the ceiling to the floor; it has an agreeable scent, but it causes headache, which is not however severe enough to be painful: it is used as a soporific for invalids. For these trades they have opened up the city of Carrhac, which is the market town of these parts. From Carrhac everybody used formerly to go on to Gabba, a journey of twenty days, and to Palestine in Syria; but afterwards, according to Juba, they began to make for Charax and the Parthian kingdom for the sake of the perfume trade. But my own view is that they used to convey those commodities to the Persians even before they took them to Syria or Egypt, this being attested by Herodotus, who records that the Arabs used regularly to pay a yearly tribute of a thousand talents of incense to the kings of the Persians. From Syria they bring back styrax, which they burn on their hearths, for its powerful scent to dispel their dislike for their own scents. For the rest, no other kinds of wood are in use among them except those that are scented; and the Sabaei even cook their food with incense-wood, and other tribes with that of the myrrh-tree, so that the smoke and vapour of their towns and districts is just like that which rises from altars. In order therefore to remedy this smell they obtain styrax in goatskins and fumigate their houses with it: so true it is that there is no pleasure the continued enjoyment of which does not engender disgust. They also burn styrax to drive away the snakes which abound in the forests of perfume-producing trees.

41. These people have not got cinnamon or casia, and nevertheless Arabia is styled 'Happy'a country with a false and ungrateful appellation, as she puts her happiness to the credit of the powers above, although she owes more of it to the power below. Her good fortune has been caused by the luxury of mankind even in the hour of death, when they burn over the departed the products which they had originally understood to have been created for the gods. Good authorities declare that Arabia does not produce so large a quantity of perfume in a year's output as was burned by the Emperor Nero in a day at the obsequies of his consort Poppaea. Then reckon up the vast number of funerals celebrated yearly throughout the entire world, and the perfumes such as are given to the gods a grain at a time, that are piled up in heaps to the honour of dead bodies. Yet the gods used not to regard with less favour the worshippers who petitioned them with salted spelt, but rather, as the facts show, they were more benevolent in those days. But the title 'happy' belongs still more to the Arabian Sea, for from it come the pearls which that country sends us. And by the lowest reckoning India, China and the Arabian peninsula take from our empire 100 million sesterces every yearthat is the sum which our luxuries and our women cost us; for what fraction of these imports, I ask you, now goes to the gods or to the powers of the lower world?

42. In regard to cinnamomum and casia a fabulous story has been related by antiquity, and first of all by Herodotus, that they are obtained from birds' nests, and particularly from that of the phoenix, in the region where Father Liber was brought up, and that they are knocked down from inaccessible rocks and trees by the weight of the flesh brought there by the birds themselves, or by means of arrows loaded with lead; and similarly there is a tale of casia growing round marshes under the protection of a terrible kind of bats that guard it with their claws, and of winged serpentsthese tales having been invented by the natives to raise the price of their commodities. However, there goes with them a story that under the reflected rays of the sun at midday an indescribable sort of collective odour is given off from the whole of the peninsula, which is due to the harmoniously blended exhalation of so many kinds of vapour, and that the first news of Arabia received by the fleets of Alexander the Great was carried by these odours far out to seaall these stories being false, inasmuch as cinnamomum, which is the same thing as cinnamon, grows in Ethiopia, which is linked by intermarriage with the Cave-dwellers. The latter buy it from their neighbours and convey it over the wide seas in ships that are neither steered by rudders nor propelled by oars or drawn by sails, nor assisted by any device of art: in those regions only man and man's boldness stands in place of all these things. Moreover they choose the winter sea about the time of the shortest day, as an east wind is then chiefly blowing. This carries them on a straight course through the bays, and after rounding a cape a west-north-west wind brings them to the harbour of the Gebbanitae called Ocilia. On this account that is the port most resorted to by these people, and they say that it is almost five years before the traders return home and that many perish on the voyage. In return for their wares they bring back articles of glass and copper, clothing, and buckles, bracelets and necklaces; consequently that traffic depends principally on having the confidence of the women.

The actual shrub of the cinnamon is only about three feet high at the most, the smallest being only a span high, and four inches thick, and it throws out shoots as low as six inches from the ground; it has a dried up appearance, and while it is green has no scent; the leaf is like that of the wild marjoram; it likes a dry soil and is less fertile in wet weather; and it stands constant clipping. Though it grows on level ground, it flourishes among the thickest bushes and brambles, and is difficult to gather. It can only be cut 'with the leave of the god'which some understand to mean Jove, but the Ethiopian name for him is Assabinus. They sacrifice 44 oxen, goats and rams to obtain leave to cut it, though this does not include permission to do so before sunrise or after sunset. A priest divides the twigs with a spear, and sets aside a portion for the god, while the rest is packed up in clumps by the dealer. Another account is also given, that a share is assigned to the sun, and that the wood is divided into three portions, and then lots are cast twice to assign the shares, and the share that falls to the sun is left, and bursts out in flames of its own accord.

The finest quality with cinnamon belongs to the thinnest parts of the boughs, for about a span's length; the second best to the next pieces for a shorter length, and so on in order; the worst in quality is the part nearest to the roots, because it has the least amount of bark, which is the part most favoured, and consequently preference is given to the tops of the plants, where there is most bark. The actual wood, however, is held in no esteem, because it has the bitter taste of wild marjoram: it is called wood-cinnamon; it fetches 10 denarii a pound. Some writers mention two kinds of cinnamon, one lighter and the other darker in colour; and in former days the light kind was preferred, but now on the other hand the dark is praised, and even a mottled kind is preferred to the pure white. Still, the most certain test of value is that it must not be rough, and that when rubbed together it must crumble slowly. The lowest value is attached to it when it is soft or when the bark is falling of.

The right of controlling the sale of cinnamon is vested solely in the king of the Gebbanitae, who opens the market by public proclamation. The prices formerly were 1000 denarii a pound, but this was raised to half as much again after the forests had been burnt, so it is said, by infuriated barbarians; but it is not absolutely certain whether this was incendiarism provoked by injustice on the part of those in power or was due to accident, as we find it stated in the authorities that the south winds that blow there are so hot that they set lire to the forests in summer. His Majesty the emperor Vespasian was the first person to dedicate in the Temples of the Capitol and of Peace chaplets of cinnamon surrounded with embossed gold. We once saw in the Temple of the Palatine erected in honour of his late Majesty Augustus by his consort Augusta a very heavy cinnamon-root placed in a golden bowl, out of which drops used to distil every year which hardened into grains; this went on until the shrine in question was destroyed by fire.

43. Casia also is a shrub, and it grows close to the plains of cinnamon, but on the mountains; it has thicker stalks, and a thin skin rather than bark, which, in the opposite way to what we said in the case of cinnamon gains value when it falls off and thins away. This shrub grows to a height of 4 feet and it has three colours: when it first sprouts up, to the length of a foot it is white, then for the next six inches it is reddish, and beyond that point it is black. The black part is most highly esteemed, and next the part nearest to it, but the white part has no value at all. They cut the shoots to the length of two inches, and then sew them up in newly flayed hides of animals slaughtered for the purpose, so that as they rot maggots may gnaw away the wood and hollow out the whole of the bark, which is protected from them by its bitter taste. The bark is valued most highly when fresh, when it has a very pleasant smell and is hardly at all hot to the taste, and rather gives a slight nip with its moderate warmth; it must be of a purple colour, and though bulky weigh very little, and the pores of the outer coats should be short and not liable to break. This kind of casia is called by a foreign name, lada. Another kind is near-balsam, so called because it has a scent like that of balsam, but it has a bitter taste and consequently is more useful for medicinal purposes. just as the black kind is more employed for unguents. No substance has a wider range of pricethe best qualities sell at 50 denarii a pound and the others at 5. To these varieties the dealers have added one which they call Daphnis's casia, with the further designation of near-cinnamon, and they price it at 300 denarii. It is adulterated with styrax, and with very small sprigs of bay

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because of the similarity of the barks. It is also grown in our part of the world, and I have seen it on the extreme edge of our empire, where the Rhine washes our frontier, planted among beehives; but there it has not the scorched colour produced by the sun, and for the same reason also it has not the same scent as the southern product.

44. From the border of the casia and cinnamon district gum-resin and aloe-wood are also imported, but they come by way of the Nabataean Cave-dwellers, who are a colony from the Nabataei.

45. The same place is also a centre for the collection of serichatum and gabalium, the supply of which is used up by the Arabs in their own country, so that they are only known by name to our part of the world, although growing in the same country as cinnamon and casia. However, serichatum does occasionally get through to us, and is employed by some persons as an ingredient in unguents. It fetches up to 6 denarii a pound.

46. The Cave-dweller country and the Thebaid and Arabia where it separates Judea from Egypt all alike have the myrobalanum, which is grown for scent, as is shown by its name itself, which also indicates in addition that it is a nut; it is a tree with a leaf that resembles that of the heliotrope, which we shall describe among the herbaceous plants, and a fruit the size of a hazel-nut. The variety growing in Arabia is called the Syrian nut, and is white in colour, whereas the Thebaid kind is black; the former is preferred for the excellent quality of the oil extracted from it, but the Thebaic for its large yield. The Cave-dweller kind is the worst among the varieties. Some persons prefer to these the Ethiopian behen, which has a black oily nut and a slender kernel, but the liquid squeezed out of it has a stronger scent; it grows in level districts. It is said that the Egyptian nut is even more oleaginons and has a thicker shell of a reddish colour, and that though it grows on marshy ground the plant is shorter and drier, whereas the Arabian variety, on the contrary, is green in colour and also smaller in size and more compact in shape because it likes mountain regions; but the Petraean kind, coming from the town mentioned above, is a long way the bestit has a black rind and a white kernel. Perfumiers, however, only extract the juice from the shells, but medical men also crush the kernels, gradually pouring warm water on them while pounding them.

47. The palm-tree growing in Egypt called the adipsos is used in a similar way to the behen-nut in perfumery, and is almost as much in request; it is green in colour, with the scent of a quince, and has no kernel inside it. It is gathered in autumn, a little before it begins to ripen. If left on the tree longer, it is called the palm-nut, and it turns black and has the property of making people who eat it intoxicated. The behen-nut is priced at two denarii a pound. The retailers also give the name of behen to the dregs of the unguent made from it.

48. The scented reed which also grows in Arabia is shared with the Indies and Syria, the one growing in the latter country being superior to all the other kinds. About 17 miles from the Mediterranean, between Mount Lebanon and another range of no importancenot Counter-Lebanon as some have supposedthere is a moderately wide valley near a lake the shallow parts of which dry up in summer, where 3 miles from the lake the scented reed and scented rush grow. For clearly we may speak about the rush also, although I have devoted another volume to herbaceous plants, as here we are only dealing with plants that supply material for unguents. These plants then do not differ at all in appearance from the rest of their class, but the reed has a specially fine scent which attracts people even from a long way off, and is softer to the touch; the better variety is the one that is less brittle and that breaks in splinters rather than like a radish. Inside the tube there is a sort of cobweb which is called the flower; the plant containing most of this is the best. The remaining tests of its goodness are that it should be blackwhite varieties are thought inferiorthat it is better the shorter and thicker it is and if it is pliant in breaking. The price of the reed is one denarius and that of the rush 5 denarii a pound. It is reported that scented rush is also found in Campania.

We have now left the countries looking on the ocean to come to those that converge towards our seas.

49. Well, Africa, which lies below Ethiopia, in its sandy deserts distils tear-like drops of a substance called hammoniacum; this is also the origin of the name of the Oracle of Hammon, near to which this substance is produced from a tree called metopon, after the manner of resin or gum. There are two kinds of hammoniacum: one called thrauston (friable), which is like male frankincense and is the kind most approved, and the other, greasy and resinous, which they call phyrama (paste). It is adulterated with sand, which looks as if it has stuck to it while growing; consequently it is preferred in extremely small lumps and these as pure as possible. The price of the best hammoniacum is 40 asses a pound.

50. The sphagnos valued most highly is found in the province of Cyrenaica, south of these regions: others call it bryon. The second place is held by the Cyprian kind, and the third by the Phoenician. It is also said to grow in Egypt, and indeed in Gaul as well, and I am not prepared to doubt this; for there are grey tufts that bear this name growing on trees, resembling the growths that we principally see on the oak, but having a superior scent. The most highly esteemed are the whitest and most widely spreading mosses, and the bright red ones are in the second class, but no value at all is attached to the black variety; moreover, the mosses that grow on islands and on rocks are not esteemed, nor are all those that have the scent of palm-trees and not that of their own kind.

51. A tree found in Egypt is the cypros, which has the leaves of the jujube-tree and the white, scented seed of the coriander. Cypros-seed is boiled in olive oil and afterwards crushed, producing the cypros of commerce, which sells at 5 denarii a pound. The best is made from the tree grown at Canopus on the banks of the Nile, the second best at Ascalon in Judea, and the third quality on the island of Cyprus, which has a sort of sweet scent. The cypros is said to be the same as the thorn called privet in Italy.

52. In the same region grows the aspalathus, a white thorn of the size of a moderate-sized tree, with the flower of a rose; the root is in request for unguents. People say that any shrub over which a rainbow forms its arch gives out a scent as sweet as that of the aspalathus, but that if this happens in the case of an aspalathus a scent rises that is indescribably sweet. Some call this shrub red sceptre and others sceptre. The test of its genuineness lies in its fiery red colour, firmness to the touch and scent like that of beaver-oil. It is sold for 5 denarii a pound.

53. Cat-thyme also grows in Egypt, though not so good a kind as the Lydian variety, its leaves being larger and variegated; those of the Lydian are short and very small, and have a strong scent.

54. But every other scent ranks below balsam. The only country to which this plant has been vouchsafed is Judea. where formerly it grew in only two gardens, both belonging to the king; one of them was of not more than twenty ingera in extent and the other less. This variety of shrub was exhibited to the capital by the emperors Vespasian and Titus; and it is a remarkable fact that ever since the time of Pompey the Great even trees have figured among the captives in our triumphal processions. The balsam-tree is now a subject of Rome, and pays tribute together with the race to which it belongs; it differs entirely in character from the accounts that had been given of it by Roman and foreign writers, being more like a vine than a myrtle: it has quite recently been taught to grow from mallet-shoots tied up on trellises like a vine, and it covers whole hillsides as vineyards do. A balsam unsupported by a trellis and carrying its own weight is pruned in a similar manner when it puts oat shoots; the use of the rake makes it thrive and sprout rapidly, bearing in its third year. Its leaf is very near that of the tuber-apple, and it is an evergreen. The Jews vented their wrath upon this plant as they also did upon their own lives, but the Romans protected it against them, and there have been pitched battles in defence of a shrub. It is now cultivated by the treasury authorities, and was never before more plentiful; but its height has not advanced beyond three feet.

There are three varieties of balsam-tree: one with thin foliage like hair, called easy-to-gather; another with a rugged appearance, curving over, of a bushy growth and with a stronger scent they call this rough balsam, and the third tall balsam because it grows higher than the rest; this has a smooth bark. This last is the second best in quality, and the easy-to-gather kind is the lowest grade. Balsam-seed tastes very like wine, and has a red colour and a rather greasy consistency; that contained in a husk, which is lighter in weight and greener in colour, is inferior. The branch is thicker than of that of a myrtle; incision is made in it with a piece of glass or a stone, or with knives made of bone it strongly dislikes having its vital parts wounded with steel, and dies off at once, though it can stand having superfluous branches pruned with a steel knife. The hand of the operator making the incision has to be poised under skilful control, to avoid inflicting a wound going below the bark. The juice that oozes out of the incision is called opobalsamum; it is extremely sweet in taste, but exudes in tiny drops, the trickle being collected by means of tufts of wool in small horns and poured out of them into a new earthenware vessel to store; it is like rather thick olive-oil and in the unfermented state is white in colour; later on it turns red and at the same time hardens, having previously been transparent. When Alexander the Great was campaigning in that country, it was considered a fair whole day's work in summer to fill a single shell, and for the entire produce of a rather large garden to be six congii and of a smaller one congius, at a time moreover when its price was twice its weight in silver: whereas at the present day even a single tree produces a larger flow. The incision is made three times in every summer, and afterwards the tree is lopped. There is a market even for the twigs too; within five years of the conquest of Judea the actual loppings and the shoots fetched 800,000 sesterces. These trimmings are called wood of balsam; they are boiled down in perfumes, and in manufacture they have taken the place of the actual juice of the shrub. Even the bark fetches a price for drugs; but the tears are valued most, the seed coming second, the bark third and the wood lowest. Of the wood the sort resembling boxwood is the best, and also has the strongest scent; the best seed is that which is largest in size and heaviest in weight, which has a biting taste and is hot in the mouth. Balsam is adulterated with the ground-pine of Petra, which can be detected by its size, hollowness and long shape and by its weak scent and its taste like pepper. The test of tear of balsam is that it should be thinning out in consistency, and slightly reddish, and give a strong scent when rubbed. The second quality is white in colour, the next inferior is green and thick, and the worst kind black, inasmuch as like olive oil it deteriorates with age. Out of all the incisions the oil that has flowed out before the formation of the seed is considered the best. Also another mode of adulteration is by using the juice of the seed, and the fraud can be with difficulty detected by the greater bitterness of the taste; for the proper taste is smooth, without a trace of acidity, the only pungency being in the smell. It is also adulterated with oil of roses, of cyprus, of mastich, of behen-nut, of the turpentine-tree and of myrtle, and with resin, galbanum and wax of Cyprus, just as occasion serves; but the worst adulteration is with gum, since this dries up on the back of the hand and sinks in water, which is a double test of the genuine article pure tear of balsam ought to dry up likewise, but the sort with gum added to it turns brittle and forms a skin. It can also be detected by the taste; or when adulterated with wax or resin, by means of a hot coal, as it bums with a blacker flame. When mixed with honey, its quality alters immediately, as it attracts flies even when held in the hand. Moreover a drop of pure balsam thickens in warm water, settling to the bottom of the vessel, whereas when adulterated it floats on the top like oil, and if it has been tampered with by using almond-oil, a white ring forms round it. The best test of all is that it will cause milk to curdle and will not leave stains on cloth. In no other case is more obvious fraud practised, inasmuch as every pint bought at a sale of. confiscated property for 300 denarii when it is sold again makes 1000 denarii: so much does it pay to increase the quantity by adulteration. The price of wood-balsam is six denarii a pound.

55. The region of Syria beyond Phoenicia nearest to Judea produces styrax in the part round Gabala and Marathus and Mount Casius in Seleucia. The tree has the same name; it is similar to a quince. Its tears have a pleasant, almost pungent scent, and inside it resembles a reed, and is full of juice. About the rising of the Dog-star certain little maggots with wings flutter about this tree, gnawing away the wood, and consequently it is fouled with their scrapings. The styrax esteemed next to the above-named growths comes from Pisidia, Side, Cyprus and Cilicia, and that from Crete is rated lowest; that from Mount Amanus in Syria is valued by the medical profession, but even more by perfumiers. In every nation a red colour and a sticky consistency are preferred, and styrax that is brown and covered with white mould is considered inferior. It is adulterated with cedar resin or gum, and another way employs honey or bitter almonds; all these adulterations can be detected by their taste. The price of the best styrax is 17 denarii. It is also produced in Pamphylia, but this is a drier and less juicy kind.

56. Syria also supplies galbanum, which also grows on Mount Amanus; it comes from a kind of fennel which they call stagonitis, like the resin of the same name. The kind of galbanum most esteemed is cartilaginous, clear like hammonia-cuxa and free from all woody substance. Even so it is adulterated with beans or with sacopenium. Pure galbanum, if burnt, drives away snakes with its smell. It is sold at 5 denarii a pound.

57. Pure galbanum is only useful for medicinal purposes; but Syria produces all-heal which is used for guents as well. It also grows at Psophis in Arcadia and round the spring of Erymanthus, and in Africa and in Macedonia also. It has a peculiar stalk 7 feet long; this throws out first four leaves and then six lying on the ground, which are very large and of a round shape, but the leaves on the top of the plant are like those of the olive; the seed hangs in tufts like that of the fennel. The juice is got by means of incisions made in the stalk at harvest time and at the root in autumn. It is valued for whiteness when it coagulates, the next grade being assigned to juice of a pale colour, while the black is held of no value. The price of the best quality is two denarii a pound.

58. From this fennel the one called bear's-wort fennel differs only in the leaf, which is smaller, and has divisions like a plane-leaf. It only grows in shady places. Its seed, bearing the same name, resembles that of hart-wort; it is only useful for medicine.

59. Syria also supplies the malobathrum, a tree with a folded leaf, the colour of a leaf that has dried up; from it oil is pressed to use for unguents, Egypt also producing it in still greater quantity. But the kind that comes from India is valued more highly; it is said to grow there in marshes, like the lentil, with a scent stronger than that of saffron, a darkish rough appearance, and a sort of salt taste. The white variety is less highly spoken of; it very quickly acquires a musty smell with age. Malobathrurn when placed under the tongue ought to

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taste like nard; but its scent when it is put in slightly warmed wine surpasses any others. In point of price at all events it approaches the marvellous, the pound ranging from one denarius to four hundred, while the leaf itself reaches 60 denarii a pound.

60. There is also the oil of unripe berries, which is made in two varieties and by two processes, one kind being made from the olive and one from the vine. The olive is pressed while still white, or an inferior oil is obtained from the druppa which is the name given to an olive not yet ripe enough to eat but already beginning to change colourthe difference being that the inferior kind is green and the other white. It is made either from the psithian vine or from the vine of Aminaea. The vine is plucked when the grapes are the size of a chick-pea, before the rising of the Dog-star, when the first bloom is on them, and the unripe juice is obtained; after which the, remaining pulp is left to dry in the sunprecaution being taken against nocturnal dews, by storing the grapes in an earthenware vessel while the unripe juice is collected and at once also put to keep in a Cvprian bronze jar. The best kind is that which is red in colour and rather bitter and dry to the taste. Omphaeium sells at 6 denarii a pound. There is also another way of making it, by pounding up unripe grapes in mortars; the grapes are afterwards dried in the sun and divided up into lozenges.

61. To the same family also belongs bryon, obtained from the catkins of the white poplar. The best kind grows in the neighbourhood of Cnidus or Caria, in waterless districts or on dry rough ground, and a second best quality grows on the cedar in Lycia. To the same group also belongs oenanthe, obtained from the cluster of the wild vine. It is picked when it flowers, which is the time when it has the best scent, and it is dried in the shade on a linen sheet spread out for the purpose, and then put into casks to store. The best kind comes from Parapotamia, the second best from Antiochia and Laodicea in Syria, and the third best from the mountains in Media; the last kind is more useful for medicines. Some people prefer the kind that grows in the island of Cyprus to all of these. As for the oenanthe produced in Africa it is only used by the doctors, and is called massaris. But all the oenanthe obtained from the white wild vine is superior to that from the black.

62. There is also another tree that likewise serves for producing unguents, which is called by some people an elate the Latin for which is 'fir' and by others a palm and by others again a spatula. That of Hammonium is most highly spoken of, next the Egyptian variety, and then the Scythian. It only has a scent if it grows in regions devoid of water; it has tears of a greasy consistency, which are added to unguents to overcome the hardness of the oil.

63. Syria also produces the kind of cinnamon called comacum [Possibly nutmeg of the Moluccas, attributed to Syria because of the trade-route.]; this is a juice squeezed out of a nut, and is quite different from the juice of the true cinnamon, although it is almost equally agreeable. Its price is 40 asses a pound.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 13

1. This is the degree to which the forests are valuable in the matter of scents; and their various products were not sufficiently remarkable by themselves, and luxury took pleasure in mixing them all up together and making a single scent out of the combination: thus perfumes were invented. It is not recorded who first discovered them. In the days of the Trojan War they did not exist, and incense was not used when prayers were made to the gods: even in the rites of religion people only knew the scent of cedar and citrus wood, trees of their own country, or more truly the reek, as it rose in wreaths of smoke, though attar of roses had already been discovered, for it also is specified as an ingredient in commending olive oil. Perfume ought by right to be accredited to the Persian race: they soak themselves in it, and quench the odour produced from dirt by its adventitious attraction. The first case that I am able to discover was when a chest of perfumes was captured by Alexander among the rest of the property of King Darius when his camp was taken. Afterwards the pleasure of perfume was also admitted by our fellow-countrymen as well among the most elegant and also most honourable enjoyments of life, and even began to be an appropriate tribute to the dead; and consequently we will enlarge on the subject. Those among perfumes which are not the product of shrubs will for the present only be indicated by their names; however, an account will be given of their nature in their proper places.

2. Perfumes have received their names in some cases from their countries of origin, in others from the juices of which they are made, in others from trees, and in others front other causes; and the first thing proper to know about them is that their importance changes, quite often their fame having passed away. The perfume most highly praised in the old days was made on the island of Delos, but later that from the Egyptian town of Mendes ranked the highest. Nor was this only the result of the blending and combination of several scents, but the same juices gained supremacy or degenerated in various ways in different places. The sword-lily perfume of Corinth was extremely popular for a long time, but afterwards that of Cyzicus, and similarly the attar of roses made at Phaselis, but this distinction was later taken from it by Naples, Capua and Palestrina. Oil of saffron from Soli in Cilicia was for a long time praised most highly, but subsequently that of Rhodes; vine-flower scent made in Cyprus was preferred, but afterwards that from Adramytteum, and scent of marjoram made in Cos, but afterwards quince-blossom unguent from the same place, and cyprus-scent made in Cyprus, but subsequently that made in Egypt; at this point scent from Mendes and almond-oil suddenly became more popular, but later on Phoenicia appropriated these two scents and left the credit for cyprus-scent to Egypt. Athens has persistently maintained the credit of her 'all-Athenian' perfume. There was also once an unguent called panther-scent at Tarsus, even the recipe for compounding which has disappeared; narcissus-scent has also ceased to be made from the narcissus flower.

The recipe for making unguents contains two ingredients, the juice and the solid part, the former which usually consists of various sorts of oil and the latter of scented substances, the oils being called 'astringents' and the scents 'sweetenings.' Together with these there is a third factor that many people neglectthat of colour, for the sake of which cinnabar and alkanet should be added. A sprinkle of salt serves to preserve the properties of the oil, but to scents containing an admixture of alkanet salt is not added. Resin or gum are added to retain the scent in the solid part, as it evaporates and disappears very quickly if these are not added.

The unguent most quickly made and probably the first invented was made of bryon and behen-oil, of which we have spoken above. Later the Mendes scent came in, made of behen-oil, resin and myrrh, and at the present day metopium is even more popular; this is an oil made in Egypt, pressed out of bitter almonds, with the addition of omphacium, cardamom, rush, reed, honey, wine, myrrh, seed of balsam, galbanum and terebinth-resin. One of the commonest unguents indeedand at the present day it is consequently believed also to be one of the oldestis one made of myrtle-oil, reed, cypress, cyprus, mastic-oil and pomegranate rind. But I am inclined to believe that the scents most widely used are those made from the rose, which grows in great abundance everywhere; and so the simplest compound was for a long time that of oil of roses, though additional ingredients used are omphacium, rose and saffron blossoms, cinnabar, reed, honey, rush, flower of salt or else alkanet, and wine. A similar method also is used in the case of oil of saffron with the addition of cinnabar, alkanet and wine, and also a similar method in the case of oil of marjoram, by mixing in omphacium and reed; this is best in Cyprus and at Mitylene, where marjoram is very plentiful. Also cheaper kinds of oil are compounded out of myrtle and laurel with the addition of marjoram, lilies, fenugreek, myrrh, casia, nard, rush and cinnamon. There is also an oil made from the common quince and the sparrow-quince, as we shall say later; it is called melinum, and is used as an ingredient in unguents with a mixture of omphacium, oil of cyprus, oil of sesame, balsam, rush, casia and southernwood. The most fluid of them all is susinum, made of lilies, oil of behen-nut, reed, honey, cinnamon, saffron and myrrh; and next is oil of cyprus, made of cyprus, omphacium, cardamom, reed, rosewood and southernwood; some people also add oil of cyprus and myrrh and all-heal; the best is that made at Sidon and the next best in Egypt. But if oil of sesame is added, the mixture will last as long as four years; and its scent is brought out by the addition of cinnamon.

Unguent of fenugreek is made of fresh olive-oil, cyprus, reed, melilot, fenngreek, honey, cat-thyme amd scent of marjoram. This was much the most celebrated unguent in the time of Menander, the author of comedies; but afterwards its place was taken by megalium, so called because of its celebrity as this was made of behen-nut oil, balsam, reed, rush, wood-balsam, casia and resin. A peculiarity of this unguent is that it must be constantly stirred while boiling until it ceases to have any odour, and when it becomes cold it recovers its scent.

There are also some juices which separately produce famous perfumesin the first place cinnamon-leaf, then the Illyrian iris and the sweet marjoram of Cyzicus, both of the herb class. Some few other ingredients are united with these, different ones by different makers, those who use the most mixing with one or the other honey, flower of salt, omphacium, leaves of the agnus castus, all-heal, and all sorts of foreign substances. Also unguent of cinnamon fetches enormous prices; to cinnamon is added behennut oil, wood-balsam, reed, seeds of rush and balsam, myrrh and scented honey. This is the thickest in consistency of all the unguents; its prices range from 35 to 300 denarii. Spikenard or leaf-unguent is made of omphacium or else behen-nut oil, rush, costus, nard, amomum, myrrh and balsam.

Under this heading it will be suitable to recall that we mentioned nine species of plants that resemble the Indian nard: such a large supply of material is available for purposes of adulteration. They can all be rendered more pungent by the addition of costus and amomum, which have an extremely powerful scent, and thicker in consistency and sweeter by means of myrrh, while their utility for medicine is increased by adding saffron; but they will be rendered extremely penetrating in themselves by means of amomumthis actually causes headache. Some people hold it enough to add a sprinkle of the most expensive ingredients to the others after boiling them down, as an economy, but the mixture has not the same strength unless they are all boiled down together. Myrrh even when used by itself without oil makes an unguent, provided that the staete kind is usedotherwise it produces too bitter a flavour. Unguent of cyprus produces a green colour, lily unguent gives a greasy consistency, oil of Mendes makes the mixture black, attar of roses white, and myrrh gives a pale hue.

These are the kinds of perfumes invented in early times, and the subsequent pilferings of the factories. We will now speak of what is the very climax of luxury and the most important example of this commodity.

What then is called the 'royal' unguent, because it is a blend prepared for the kings of Parthia, is made of behen-nut juice, costus, amomum, Syrian cinnamon, cardamom, spikenard, cat-thyme, myrrh, cinnamon-bark, styrax-tree gum, ladanum, balm, Syrian reed and Syrian rush, wild grape, cinnamon-, serichatum, cyprus, rosewood, all-heal, saffron, gladiolus, marjoram, lotus, honey und wine. And none of the components of this scent is grown in Italy, the conqueror of the world, and indeed none in the whole of Europe excepting The iris in Illyria and nard in Gaulfor as to wine and roses and myrtle leaves and olive oil, they may be taken as belonging to pretty well all countries in common.

3. What are called sprinkling powders are made of dried scents, the dregs of unguents being termed 'magma.' Among all the scents employed the one added last is the most powerful. Unguents keep best in alabaster boxes, scents when mixed with oil, and the fatter it is, as for instance oil of almonds, the better it helps to preserve them for a long time; and the unguents themselves improve with age. Sunshine is detrimental to them, and therefore they are stored in the shade, in vessels made of lead. When being tested they are put on the back of the hand, to avoid their being damaged by the warmth of the fleshy part.

4. Perfumes serve the purpose of the most superfluous of all forms of luxury; for pearls and jewels do nevertheless pass to the wearer's heir, and clothes last for some time, but unguents lose their scent at once, and die in the very hour when they are used. Their highest recommendation is that when a woman passes by her scent may attract the attention even of persons occupied in something elseand their cost is more than 400 denarii per pound! All that money is paid for a pleasure enjoyed by somebody else, for a person carrying scent about him does not smell it himself. Still, if even these matters deserve to be graded after a fashion, we find in the works left by Marcus Cicero that unguents that have an earthy scent are more agreeable than those smelling of saffron, inasmuch as even in a class of things where corruption is most rife, nevertheless some degree of strictness in vice itself gives more enjoyment. But there are people who get most pleasure from unguent of a dense consistency, which they call thick essence, and who enjoy smearing themselves with perfume and not merely pouring it over them. We have even seen people put scent on the soles of their feet, a practice said to have been taught to the emperor Nero by Marcus Otho; pray, how could it be noticed or give any pleasure from that part of the body? Moreover, we have heard that somebody of private station gave orders for the walls of his bathroom to be sprinkled with scent, and that the Emperor Caligula had the bathtubs scented, and so also later did one of the slaves of Neroso that this must not be considered a privilege of princes! Yet what is most surprising is that this indulgence has found its way even into the camp: at all events the eagles and the standards, dusty as they are and bristling with sharp points, are anointed on holidaysand I only wish we were able to say who first introduced this custom! No doubt the fact is that our eagles were bribed by this reward to conquer the world! We look to their patronage forsooth to sanction our vices, so as to have this legitimation for using hair-oil under a helmet!

5. I could not readily say when the use of unguents first made its way to Rome. It is certain that in 189 BC the censors Puhlius Licinius Crassus and Lucius Julius Caesar issued a proclamation forbidding any sale of 'foreign essences'that being the regular name for them. But, good heavens! nowadays some people actually put scent in their drinks, and it is worth the bitter flavour for their body to enjoy the lavish scent both inside and outside. It is a well-known fact that Lucius Plotius, the brother of Lucius Plancus who was twice consul and censor, when proscribed by the Triumvirs was given away in his hiding-place at Salerno by the scent of the unguent he had been usinga disgrace that acquitted the entire proscription of guilt, for who would not consider that people of that sort deserved to die?

6. In other respects Egypt is of all the countries in the world the best adapted for the production of unguents, but Campania with its abundance of roses runs it close. But Judea is even more famous for its palm-trees, the nature of which will now be described. It is true that there are also palms in Europe, and they are common in Italy, but these are barren.

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In the coastal regions of Spain they do bear fruit, but it does not ripen, and in Africa the fruit is sweet but will not keep for any time. On the other hand in the east the palm supplies the native races with wine, and some of them with bread, while a very large number rely on it also for cattle fodder. For this reason, therefore, we shall be justified in describing the palms of foreign countries; there are none in Italy not grown under cultivation, nor are there in any other part of the earth except where there is a warm climate, while only in really hot countries does the palm bear fruit.

7. It grows in a light sandy soil and for the most part in one containing nitrates. It likes running water, and to drink all the year round, though it loves dry places. Some people think that dung actually does it harm, while a section of the Assyrians think that this happens if they do not mix the dung with water from a stream. There are several kinds of palm, beginning with kinds not larger than a shruba shrub that in some cases is barren, though in other districts it too bears fruitand having a short branch. In number of places this shrub-palm with its dome of leaves serves instead of plaster for the walls of a house, to prevent their sweating. Also the taller palms make a regular forest, their pointed foliage shooting out from the actual tree all round them like a combthese it must be understood are wild palms, though they also have a wayward fancy for mingling among the cultivated varieties. The other kinds are rounded and tall, and have compact rows of knobs or circles in their bark which render them easy for the eastern races to climb; they put a plaited noose round themselves and round the tree, and the noose goes up with the man at an astonishingly rapid speed. All the foliage is at the top of the tree, and so is the fruit, which is not among the leaves as in all other trees, but hanging in bunches from shoots of its own between the branches, and which has the nature of both a cluster and a single fruit. The leaves have a knife-like edge at the sides and are divided into two flanges that fold together; they first suggested folding tablets for writing, but at the present day they are split up to make ropes and plaited wickerwork and parasols.

The most devoted students of nature report that trees, indeed all the products of the earth and even grasses, are of both sexes, a fact which it may at this place be sufficient to state in general terms although in no trees is it more manifest than in the palm. A male palm forms a blossom on the shoot, whereas a female merely forms a bud like an ear of corn, without going on to blossom. In both male and female, however, the flesh of the fruit forms first and the woody core afterwards; this is the seed of the treewhich is proved by the fact that small fruits without any core are found on the same shoot. The seed is oblong in shape and not rounded like an olive-stone, and also it is split at the back by a bulging cleft, and in most cases shaped like a navel at the middle of the bulge: it is from here that the root first spreads out. In planting the seed is laid front-side downward, and a pair of seeds are placed close together with two more above them, since a single seed produces a weak plant, but the four shoots unite in one strong growth. This woody core is divided from the fleshy parts by a number of white coats, others clinging closely to its body; and it is loose and separate, only attached by a thread at its top end. The flesh takes a year to ripen, though in some places, for instance, Cyprus, it has a pleasant sweet flavour even though it does not reach maturity. In Cyprus the leaf is broader and the fruit rounder than it is elsewhere, though people there do not eat the body of the fruit, but spit it out after merely squeezing out the juice. Also in Arabia the palm is said to have a sickly sweet taste, although Juba states that he prefers the palm that grows in the territory of the Tent-dweller Arabs, which they call the dablas, to all other kinds for flavour. For the rest, it is stated that in a palm-grove of natural growth the female trees do not produce if there are no males, and that each male tree is surrounded by several females with more attractive foliage that bend and bow towards him; while the male bristling with leaves erected impregnates the rest of them by his exhalation and by the mere sight of him, and also by his pollen; and that when the male tree is felled the females afterwards in their widowhood become barren. And so fully is their sexual union understood that mankind has actually devised a method of impregnating them by means of the flower and down collected from the males, and indeed sometimes by merely sprinkling their pollen on the females.

8. Palms are also propagated by layering, the trunk for a length of three feet from the actual brain of the tree being divided by incisions and dug into the ground. Also a slip torn off from the root makes a hardy growth when planted, and so does one from the youngest of the branches. In Assyria the tree itself, too, is laid in a moist soil and throws out roots along its whole length, but these grow into shrubs and not into a tree; consequently the growers plant cuttings, and transplant the young trees when a year old and again when two years old, for they like a change of positionthis is done in the spring in other countries, but in Assyria about the rising of the Dog-star. Also there they do not touch the young trees with a knife, but tie back the leafy shoots to make them grow upward to a considerable height. When the trees are strong they prune them down so as to make them grow thicker, leaving the stumps of the branches six inches long; to lop them at any other point kills the mother tree. We have said above that palms like a salt soil; consequently in places where the ground is not of that nature they sprinkle salt on it, not at the roots of the trees but a little farther off. Some palms in Syria and Egypt divide into two trunks, and in Crete even into three, and some even into five. These begin to bear in three years, but the palms in Cyprus, Syria and Egypt bear when four years old, and others when five, the tree being then the height of a man; as long as the trees are young the fruit has no woody part inside, and consequently they are called 'eunuchs.'

9. Palm-trees are of many varieties. The barren kinds are used in Assyria and throughout the whole of palm. Persia for building timber and for the more luxurious articles of manufacture. Also there are forests of palms grown for timber which when felled send out shoots again from the root; the pith of these at the top, which is called their 'brain,' has a sweet taste, and after it has been removed the trees continue to live, which is not the case with other sorts of palm. The name of this tree is the chamaerops, and it has an exceptionally broad soft leaf which is extremely useful for wickerwork; it grows in large numbers in Crete, but even more in Sicily. Palm-wood makes charcoal that lasts a long time and burns slowly. In the palms that bear fruit the core of the fruit is shorter in some cases than in others and also softer; in some cases it is of a bony substance, and when polished with the edge of a file is used by superstition as a charm against witchcraft. The core is wrapped in several coats which in some cases vary in number and in others in thickness. Consequently there are forty-nine kinds of palm, if one cared to go through the names of them all, including those that have foreign names, and the varieties of wine that are extracted from them. The most famous of all is honoured by the name of the royal palm, because it used to be reserved for the kings of Persia alone; it grew only at Babylon in the Garden of Bagosthe Persian word for a eunuch, some of these having actually been kings in Persia. This garden was always kept within the precincts of the ruler's court.

In the southern part of the world the kind called in Greek the wild-boar date is held in the highest repute, and next to it ranks the Maldive nut date. The latter is a short, rounded fruit of a white colour, more like a grape than a Phoenician date, for which reason it has also received the name of pearl-date. It is said that only one palm-tree of this kind exists, at Chora, and the same is the case with the wild-boar date; and a remarkable story has come to us about this tree, to the effect that it dies off and then comes to life again of itselfa peculiarity which it shares with the phoenix, which is thought to have taken its name from the suggestion of this palm-tree: the tree was bearing fruit at the time when this book was published. The actual fruit is large, hard and prickly, and differs from all the other kinds by having a gamey sort of smell that is most noticed in wild boars, which is the reason for its name. The sandalis date, so called from its resemblance to a sandal, ranks fourth; of this kind again there are said to be at the most five trees in existence, on the border of Ethiopia, and they are as remarkable for the sweetness of their fruit as they are for their rarity. Next to these the most famous are the caryotae, which supply a great deal of food but also of juice, and from which the principal wines of the East are made; these strongly affect the head, to which the date owes its name. But not only are these trees abundant and bear largely in Judea, but also the most famous are found there, and not in the whole of that country but specially in Jericho, although those growing in the valleys of Arehelais and Phaselis and Livias in the same country are also highly spoken of. Their outstanding property is the unctuous juice which they exude and an extremely sweet sort of wine-flavour like that of honey. The Nicholas date belonging to this class is not so juicy but exceptionally large in size, four put end to end making a length of eighteen inches. The date that comes next in sweetness is less attractive to look at, but in flavour is the sister of the caryotae and consequently is called in Greek the sister-dates The third class among these, the pateta, has too copious a supply of juice, and the excess of liquor of the fruit itself bursts open even while on the parent tree, looking like dates that have been trodden on.

Of the many drier dates the finger-date forms a class of its own: it is a very long slender date, sometimes of a curved shape. The variety of this class which we offer to the honour of the gods is called ehydaeus by the Jews, a race remarkable for their contempt for the divine powers. All over the Thebaid and Arabia the dates are dry and small, with a shrivelled body, and as they are scorched by the continual heat their covering is more truly a rind than a skin. Indeed in Ethiopia itself the climate is so dry that the skin of these dates is rubbed into powder and kneaded to make loaves of bread like flour. This date grows on a shrub, with branches eighteen inches long, a rather broad leaf, and fruit of a round shape, but larger than the size of an apple. The Greek name for this date is koix; it comes to maturity in three years, and the shrub always has fruit on it. another date sprouting in place of one picked. The date of the Thebaid is packed into casks at once, before it has lost the aroma of its natural heat; if this is not done, it quickly loses its freshness and dries up unless it is warmed up again in an oven.

Of the rest of the date kind the Syrian variety, called sweetmeats, seem to be a low-class fruit; for those in the other part of Phoenicia and Cilicia have the local name of acorn-dates, also used by us. These too are of several kinds, differing in shape, some rounder and others longer, and also in colour, some being blacker and others reddish; indeed, they are reported to have as many varieties of colour as the fig! though the white ones are the most in favour. They also differ in size, many having reached half a yard in length while some are no larger than a bean. The best kinds for keeping are those that grow in salt and sandy soils, for instance in Judea and the Cyrenaic district of Africa; the dates in Egypt, Cyprus, Syria and Seleucia in Assyria do not keep, and consequently are used for fattening swine and other stock. It is a sign that the fruit is spoilt or old if the white excrescence by which the dates are attached to the cluster has fallen off. Soldiers of Alexander were choked by eating green dates; this effect was produced in the Gedrosi country by the quality of the fruit, and occurs elsewhere from eating it to excess, for fresh dates are so sweet that people will not stop eating them except because of the danger.

10. Syria has several trees that are peculiar to it beside this date; in the class of nuts the pistachio is well-known: it is reported that taken either in food or in drink it is a remedy for snakebite. In the fig class Syria has the Carians and smaller figs of the same class called cottana, also the plum that grows on Mount Damascus and the myxa, both now acclimated in Italy. In Egypt the myxa is also used for making wine.

11. Phoenicia has a small variety of cedar that resembles a juniper. It is of two kinds, the Lycian and the Phoenician, which have different leaves; the one with a hard, prickly, pointed leaf is called the oxycedros, while the other is a branchy tree and the wood is full of knots and has a better scent. They bear fruit the size of a myrtle-berry, with a sweet taste. The larger cedar also has two kinds, of which the flowering one bears no fruit, while the one that bears fruit does not flower, and in its case the previous fruit is replaced by a new one. Its seed is like that of the cypress. Some people call this tree the cedarpine. From it is obtained the resin held in the highest favour, while its actual timber lasts for ever, and consequently it has been the regular practice to use it even for making statues of the godsthe Apollo Sosianus in a shrine at Rome, which was brought from Seleucia, is made of cedar-wood. There is a tree resembling the cedar in Arcadia, and a shrub in Phrygia is called the cedrys.

12. Syria also has the turpentine-tree. Of this the male variety has no fruit, but the female has two kinds of fruit, one of them ruddy and the size of a lentil, while the other is pale, and ripens at the same time as the grape; it is no larger in size than a bean, has a rather agreeable scent, and is sticky to the touch. Round Mount Ida in the Troad and in Macedonia this is a low-growing shrub-like tree, but at Damascus in Syria it is big. Its wood is fairly flexible and remains sound to a great age; it is of a shiny black colour. The flower grows in clusters like the olive, but is crimson in colour, and the foliage is thick. It also bears follicles out of which come insects resembling gnats, and which produce a sticky resinous fluid which also bursts out from its bark.

13. Also the male sumach-tree of Syria is productive, the female being barren; the leaf is that of an elm only a little longer, covered with down, and the footstalks of the leaves always lying alternately in opposite directions; the branches are slender and short. The sumach is used for bleaching leather. The seed, which resembles a lentil, turns red at the same time as the grapes; it is called rhus and is required for certain drugs.

14. Egypt also has many kinds of trees not found anywhere else, before all a fig, which is consequently called the Egyptian fig. The tree resembles a mulberry in foliage, size and appearance; it bears its fruit not on the branches but on the trunk itself, and this is an exceedingly sweet fig without seeds inside it. There is an extremely prolific yield, but only if incisions are made in the fruit with iron hooks, otherwise it does not ripen; but when this is done, it can be plucked three days later, another fig forming in its place, the tree thus scoring seven crops of extremely juicy figs in a summer. Even if the incisions are not made new fruit forms under the old and drives out its predecessor before it is ripe four times in a summer. The wood of this fig is of a peculiar kind, and is one of the most useful there is. As soon as it is cut it is plunged into a marsh, and at first sinks to the bottom, but afterwards begins to float, and it is clear that moisture not belonging to it, which soaks into all other timber, drains the sap out of this. When it begins to float on the surface, this is its sign that the timber is ready for use.

15. A tree to some extent resembling the Egyptian fig is one in Crete called the Cyprian fig, as it also bears fruit on its actual trunk and on its branches when they have grown to thickness. But the Cyprian fig puts out a bud without any leaves, resembling a root. The trunk of the tree is like a poplar, and the leaf like an elm. It bears fruit four times a year, and

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also buds the same number of times, but its unripe figs will not ripen unless an incision is made in them to let out the juice. They have the sweet taste and the inside of the common fig, and are the size of a service-tree berry.

16. Another similar tree is the one called by the Ionians the ceronia, which also buds from the trunk, the fruit being a pod, which has consequently been called by some the Egyptian fig. But this is clearly a mistake, as it does not grow in Egypt but in Syria and Ionia, and also in the neighbourhood of Cnidus and on the island of Rhodes. It is always in full foliage, and it has a white flower with a powerful scent. It sends out shoots at the lower parts, and consequently is of a yellow colour above ground, as the suckers drain away the sap. If the fruit of the preceding year is picked about the rising of the Dog-star, it at once grows a second crop, after which it blossoms through the period of the Bear-ward, and the winter nourishes its fruit.

17. Egypt also possesses a tree of a peculiar kind called the persea which resembles a pear but is an evergreen. It bears fruit without intermission, as when it is plucked a fresh crop sprouts the next day, but its season for ripening is when the midsummer winds are blowing. The fruit is longer than a pear, and is enclosed in a shell like an almond and a rind the colour of grass, but where the almond has a kernel this has a plum, which differs from an almond kernel in being short and soft, and although temptingly sweet and luscious, is quite wholesome. The wood is just like that of the lotus for goodness and soundness and, also in its black colour, and it too has habitually been used for making statues. The timber of the tree we have mentioned called the acorn-date, although reliable, is not so highly valued, as a large proportion of it has a twisted grain, so it is only used for shipbuilding.

18. But on the contrary the wood of the cucus is in great esteem; this tree resembles a palm in that its leaves are also used for textiles, but it differs because it spreads out into branches like arms. The fruit is of a size that fills the hand; its colour is yellow and its juice has an attractive sweet taste, with a touch of astringency. It has a large and very hard shell inside, which is used by turners for making curtain-rings, and inside the shell is a kernel which has a sweet taste while fresh, but which when dried goes on getting continually harder and harder, so that it can only be eaten after being soaked in water for several days. The wood has a rather uneven grain that is most attractive, and it is consequently very much admired by the Persians.

19. Also thorn-wood is equally esteemed in the same country, that is, the wood of a black thorn, as it lasts without decaying even in water, and is consequently extremely serviceable for the ribs of ships; timbers made of a white thorn rot easily. It has sharp thorns even on the leaves, and seed in pods that is used instead of oak-galls in dressing leather. The blossom has a pleasing effect in garlands and also makes a valuable medicine; also the tree distils gum. But its most valuable property is that when cut down it shoots up again two years later. This thorn grows in the neighbourhood of Thebes, where oak, persea and olive are also found, in a forest region nearly 40 miles from the Nile, watered by springs that rise in it. This region also contains the Egyptian plum-tree, which is not unlike the thorn last mentioned; its fruit resembles a medlar, and ripens in the winter, and the tree is an evergreen. The fruit contains a large stone, but the fleshy part, owing to its nature and to the abundance in which it grows, provides the natives with quite a harvest, as after cleaning it they crush it and make it into cakes for storage. There was also once a forest region round Memphis with such huge trees that three men could not join hands round The trunks; and one of them was particularly remarkable, not because of its fruit or its utility for some purpose, but on account of the circumstance that it has the appearance of a thorn, but leaves resembling wings, which when somebody touches the branches at once fall off and afterwards sprout again.

20. It is agreed that the Egyptian thorn supplies the best kind of gum; it is of a streaked appearance, grey in colour, clean and free from bark, and it sticks to the teeth; its price is 3 denarii per pound. The gum produced from the bitter almond and the cherry is inferior, and that from plum-trees is the worst kind of all. A gum also forms in the vine which is extremely valuable for children's sores, and the gum sometimes found in the olive-tree is good for toothache; but the gun's also found in the elm on Mount Corycus in Gilicia and in the juniper are of no use for anything, indeed elm-tree gum there even breeds gnats. Also a gum exudes from the sarcocolla that is the name of the tree and also of the gumwhich is extremely useful both to painters and to medical men; it resembles incense dust, and for the purposes mentioned the white kind is better than the red; its price is the one mentioned above.

21. We have not yet touched on the marsh-plants nor the shrubs that grow by rivers. But before we leave Egypt we shall also describe the nature of papyrus, since our civilization or at all events our records depend very largely on the employment of paper. According to Marcus Varro we owe even the discovery of paper to the victory of Alexander the Great, when he founded Alexandria in Egypt, before which time paper was not used. First of all people used to write on palm-leaves and then on the bark of certain trees, and afterwards folding sheets of lead began to be employed for official muniments, and then also sheets of linen or tablets of wax for private documents; for we find in Homer that the use of writing-tablets existed even before the Trojan period, but when he was writing even the land itself which is now thought of as Egypt did not exist as such, while now paper grows in the Sebennytic and Saitic nomes of Egypt, the land having been subsequently heaped up by the Nile, inasmuch as Homer wrote that the island of Pharos, which is now joined to Alexandria by a bridge, was twenty-four hours' distance by sailing-ship from the land. Subsequently, also according to Varro, when owing to the rivalry between King Ptolemy and King Eumenes about their libraries Ptolemy suppressed the export of paper, parchment was invented at Pergamum; and afterwards the employment of the material on which the immortality of human beings depends spread indiscriminately.

22. Papyrus then grows in the swamps of Egypt or else in the sluggish waters of the Nile where they have overflowed and lie stagnant in pools not more than about three feet in depth; it has a sloping root as thick as a man's arm, and tapers gracefully up with triangular sides to a length of not more than about 15 feet, ending in a head like a thyrsus; it has no seed, and is of no use except that the flowers are made into wreaths for statues of the gods. The roots are employed by the natives for timber, and not only to serve as firewood but also for making various utensils and vessels; indeed the papyrus itself is plaited to make boats, and the inner bark is woven into sail-cloth and matting, and also cloth, as well as blankets and ropes. It is also used as chewing-gum, both in the raw state and when boiled, though only the juice is swallowed.

Papyrus also grows in Syria on the borders of the lake round which grows the scented reed already mentioned, and King Antiochus would only allow ropes made from this Syrian papyrus to be used in his navy, the employment of esparto not yet having become general. It has recently been realized that papyrus growing in the Euphrates near Babylon can also be used in the same way for paper; nevertheless up to the present the Parthians prefer to embroider letters upon cloths.

23. The process of making paper from papyrus is to split it with a needle into very thin strips made as broad as possible, the best quality being in the centre of the plant, and so on in the order of its splitting up. The first quality used to be called 'hieratic paper' and was in early times devoted solely to books connected with religion, but in a spirit of flattery it was given the name of Augustus, just as the second best was called 'Livia paper' after his consort, and thus the name 'hieratic' came down to the third class. The next quality had been given the name of 'amphitheatre' paper, from the place of its manufacture. This paper was taken over by the clever workshop of Fannius at Rome, and its texture was made finer by a careful process of insertion, so that it was changed from common paper into one of first-class quality, and received the name of the maker; but the paper of this kind that did not have this additional treatment remained in its own class as amphitheatre paper. Next to this is the Saitic paper named from the town where it is produced in the greatest abundance, being made from shavings of inferior quality, and the Taeneotic, from a neighbouring place, made from material still nearer the outside skin, in the case of which we reach a variety that is sold by mere weight and not for its quality. As for what is called 'emporitic' paper, it is no good for writing but serves to provide covers for documents and wrappers for merchandise, and consequently takes its name from the Greek word for a merchant. After this comes the actual papyrus, and its outermost layer, which resembles a rush and is of no use even for making ropes except those used in water.

Paper of all kinds is 'woven' on a board moistened with water from the Nile, muddy liquid supplying the effect of glue. First an upright layer is smeared on to the table, using the full length of papyrus available after the trimmings have been cut off at both ends, and afterwards cross strips complete the lattice-work. The next step is to press it in presses, and the sheets are dried in the sun and then joined together, the next strip used always diminishing in quality down to the worst of all. There are never more than twenty sheets to a roll.

24. There is a great difference in the breadth of the various kinds of paper: the best is thirteen inches wide, the hieratic two inches less, the Fannian measures ten inches and the amphitheatre paper one less, while the Saitic is still fewer inches across and is not as wide as the mallet used in making it, as the emporitic kind is so narrow that it does not exceed six inches. Other points looked at in paper are fineness, stoutness, whiteness and smoothness. The status of best quality was altered by the emperor Claudius. The reason was that the thin paper of the period of Augustus was not strong enough to stand the friction of the pen, and moreover as it let the writing show through there was a fear of a smudge being caused by what was written on the back, and the great transparency of the paper had an unattractive look in other respects. Consequently the foundation was made of leaves of second quality and the woof or cross layer of leaves of the first quality. Claudius also increased the width of the sheet, making it a foot across. There were also eighteen-inch sheets called 'maerocola,' but examination detected a defect in them, as tearing off a single strip damaged several pages. On this account Claudius paper has come to be preferred to all other kinds, although the Augustus kind still holds the field for correspondence; but Livia paper, having no quality of a first-class kind, but being entirely second class, has retained its position.

25. Roughness is smoothed out with a piece of ivory or a shell, but this makes the lettering apt to fade, as owing to the polish so given the paper does not take the ink so well, but has a shinier surface. The damping process if carelessly applied often causes difficulty in writing at first, and it can be detected by a blow with the mallet, or even by the musty smell if the process has been rather carelessly carried out. Spottiness also may be detected by the eye, but a bad porous strip found inserted in the middle of the pasted joins, owing to the sponginess of the papyrus, sucks up the ink and so can scarcely be detected except when the ink of a letter runs: so much opportunity is there for cheating. The consequence is that another task is added to the process of paper-weaving.

26. The common kind of paste for paper is made fine flour of the best quality mixed with boiling water, with a very small sprinkle of vinegar; for carpenter's paste and gum make too brittle a compound. But a more careful process is to strain the crumb of leavened bread in boiling water; this method requires the smallest amount of paste at the seams, and produces a paper softer than even linen. But all the paste used ought to be exactly a day oldnot more nor yet less. Afterwards the paper is beaten thin with a mallet and run over with a layer of paste, and then again has its creases removed by pressure and is flattened out with the mallet. This process may enable records to last a long time; at the house of the poet and most distinguished citizen Pomponius Secundus I have seen documents in the hand of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus written nearly two hundred years ago; while as for autographs of Cicero, of his late Majesty Augustus, and of Virgil, we see them constantly.

27. There are important instances forthcoming that make against the opinion of Marcus Varro in regard to the history of paper. Cassius Hemina, a historian of great antiquity, has stated in his Annals, Book 4, that the secretary Gnaeus Terentius, when digging over his land on the Janiculan, turned up a coffer that had contained the body of Numa, who was king at Rome, and that in the same coffer were found some books of histhis was in the consulship of Publius 181 BC. Cornelius Cethegus, son of Lucius, and of Marcus Baebius Tamphilus, son of Quintus, dating 535 years after the accession of Numa; and the historian says that the books were made of paper, which makes the matter still more remarkable, because of their having lasted in a hole in the ground, and consequently on a point of such importance I will quote the words of Hemina himself: 'Other people wondered how those books could have lasted so long, but Terentius's explanation was that about in the middle of the coffer there had been a square stone tied all round with waxed cords, and that the three books had been placed on the top of this stone; and he thought this position was the reason why they had not decayed; and that the books had been soaked in citrus-oil, and he thought that this was why they were not moth-eaten. These books contained the philosophical doctrines of Pythagoras'and Hemina said that the books had been burnt by the praetor Quintus Petilius because they were writings of philosophy [prob. an interpolation]. The same story is recorded by Piso the former Censor in his Commentaries, Book I, but he says that there were seven volumes of pontifical law and the same number of Pythagorean philosophy; while Tuditanus in Book 13 says that there were twelve volumes of the Decrees of Numa; Varro himself says that there were seven volumes of Antiquities of Man, and Antias in his Second Book speaks of there having been twelve volumes On Matters Pontifical written in Latin and the same number in Greek containing Doctrines of Philosophy; Antias also quotes in Book 3 a Resolution of the Senate deciding that these volumes were to be burnt. It is however universally agreed that the Sibyl brought three volumes to Tarquin the Proud, of which two were burnt by herself while the third was destroyed in the burning of the Capitol in the Sulla crisis. Moreover the Mucianus who was three times consul has stated that recently, when governor of Lycia, he had read in a certain temple a letter of Sarpedon written on paper at Troywhich seems to me even more remarkable if even when Homer was writing, Egypt did not yet exist: otherwise why, if paper was already in use, is it known to have been the custom to write on folding tablets made of lead or sheets of linen, or why has Homer stated that even in Lycia itself wooden tablets, and not letters, were given to Bellerophon? This commodity also is liable to dearth, and as early as the principate of Tiberius a shortage of paper led to the appointment from the senate of umpires to supervise its distribution, as otherwise life was completely upset.

28. Ethiopia, which is on the borders of Egypt, has virtually no remarkable trees except the wool- tree, like the one described among the trees of India and Arabia. However,

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the Ethiopian variety has a much woollier consistency, and a larger pod, like that of a pomegranate, and also the trees themselves resemble each other. Beside the wool-tree there are also palms of the kind which we have described. The trees and the scented forests of the islands round the coast of Ethiopia have been spoken of when those islands were mentioned.

29. Mount Atlas is said to possess a forest of a remarkable character, about which we have spoken. Adjoining Mount Atlas is Mauretania, which produces a great many citrus-treesand the tablemania which the ladies use as a retort to the men against the charge of extravagance in pearls. There till exists a table that belonged to Marcus Cicero for which with his slender resources and, what is more surprising, at that date, he paid half-a-million sesterces; and also one is recorded as belonging to Gallus Asinius that cost a million. Also two hanging tables were sold at auction by King Juba, of which one fetched 1,200,000 sesterces and the other a little less. A table that was lately destroyed in a fire came down from the Cethegi and had changed hands at 1,300,000 sestercesthe price of a large estate, supposing somebody preferred to devote so large a sum to the purchase of landed property. The size of the largest tables hitherto has been: one made by Ptolemy, king of Mauretania, out of two semicircular slabs of wood joined together, 4 ft. in diameter and 3 in. thickand the invisibility of the join makes the table more marvellous as a work of art than it could possibly have been if a product of nature--and a single slab bearing the name of Nomius a freedman of the Emperor which is 3 ft. 11 in. across and 11 in. thick. Under this head it seems proper to include a table that belonged to the Emperor Tiberius which was 4 ft. 2 in. across, and 1 in. thick all over, but was only covered with a veneer of citrus-wood, although the one belonging to his freedman Nomius was so sumptuous. The material is an excrescence of the root, and is very greatly admired when it grows entirely underground, and so is more uncommon than the knobs that grow above ground, on the branches as well as on the trunk; and the timber bought at so high a price is in reality a disease of the trees, the size and the roots of which can be judged from the circular tabletops. In foliage, scent and the appearance of the trunk these trees resemble the female cyprus, which is also a forest tree. A mountain called Ancorarius in Hither Mauretania provided the most celebrated citrus-wood, but the supply is now exhausted.

30. The outstanding merit of citrus-wood tables is to have wavy marks forming a vein or else little spirals. The former marking produces a longish pattern and is consequently called tiger-wood, while the latter gives a twisted pattern and consequently slabs of that sort are called panther-tables. Also some have wavy crinkled markings, which are more esteemed if they resemble the eyes in a peacock's tail. Besides the kinds previously mentioned, great esteem, though coming after these, belongs to those veined with a thick cluster of what look like grains, these slabs being consequently called parsley-wood, from the resemblance. But the highest value of all resides in the colour of the wood, the colour of meed being the most favoured, shining with the wine that is proper to it. The next point is size: nowadays tables made of whole trunks are admired, or several trunks mortised together in one table.

The faults in a table are woodinessthat is the name given to a dull patternless uniformity in the timber, or uniformity arranged like the leaves of a plane-tree, and also to a grain resembling the veining or colouring of the holm-oakand to flaws or hairy lines resembling flaws, a fault to which heat and wind have rendered the timber particularly liable; next comes a colour running across the wood in a black streak like a lamprey and marked with irregular raven-scratchings as on a poppy and in general rather approaching black, or blotches of various colours. The natives bury the timber in the ground while still green, giving it a coat of wax; but carpenters lay it in heaps of corn for periods of a week with intervals of a week between, and it is surprising how much its weight is reduced by this process. Also wreckage from ships has recently shown that this timber is dried by the action of sea water, and solidified with a hardness that resists decay, no other method producing this result more powerfully. Citrus-wood tables are best kept and polished by rubbing with the dry hand, especially just after a bath; and they are not damaged by spilt wine, as having been created for the purpose of wine-tables.

Few things that supply the apparatus of a more luxurious life rank with this tree, and consequently it seems desirable to dwell on it for a little as well. It was known even to Homerthe Greek name for it being thyon, otherwise thya. Well, Homer has recorded its being burut among unguents as one of the luxuries of Circe, whom he meant to be understood as a goddessthose who take the word thyon to mean perfumes being greatly in error, especially as in the same verse he says that cedar and larch were burnt at the same time, which shows that he was only speaking of trees. Already Theophrastus, who wrote immediately after the period of Alexander the Great, about 314 B.C., assigns a high rank to this tree, stating that it was recorded that the flooring of the old temples used to be made of it and that its timber when used in roofed buildings is virtually everlasting, being proof against all causes of decay; and he says that no wood is more marked with veins than the root, and that no products made of any other material are more valuable. The finest citrus, he says, is round the Temple of Hammon, but it also grows in the interior of Cyrenaica. He makes no mention, however, of tables made of citrus-wood, and indeed there is no older record of one before that of the time of Cicero, which proves their novelty.

31. There is another tree with the same name, bearing fruit which some people abhor for its scent and bitter taste while other people are fond of it; this wood is also used for decorating houses, but it does not need further description.

32. Africa also, where it faces in our direction, produces a remarkable tree, the lotus, called in the vernacular celthis, which also has been naturalized in Italy, though it has been altered by the change of soil. The finest lotus is found round the Syrtes and the district of the Nasamones. It is the size of a pear, although Cornelius Nepos states that it is a short fruit. The incisions in the leaf resemble those in the holm-oak, except that they are more numerous. There are several varieties of lotus, differing chiefly in their fruits. This one is the size of a bean and saffron-coloured, but it changes colour several times before it is ripe, like grapes. It grows in thick clusters on the branches like myrtle-berries and not like cherries as it does in Italy; in its own country it is so sweet to eat that it has even given its name to a race of people and to a land which is too hospitable to strangers who come there, making them forget their native land. It is reported that chewing this lotus prevents gastric diseases. The better kind has no stone inside it, those of the other variety having a kernel of a bony appearance. Also a wine is pressed from this fruit that resembles mead, which again according to Nepos will not keep for more than ten days; he states that the berries are chopped up with spelt and stored in casks for food. Indeed we are told that armies have been fed on this while marching to and fro through Africa. The wood is of a black colour, and is in demand for making melodious flutes, while out of the root are devised knife-handles and other short implements.

This is the nature of the lotus-tree in Africa. But the same name also belongs to a herbaceous plant, as well as to a colewort in Egypt belonging to the class of marsh-plants. This springs up when the flood waters of the Nile retire; it resembles a bean in its stalk and in its leaves, which grow in large, thick clusters, although they are shorter and more slender than the leaves of a bean. The fruit grows in the head of the plant and resembles the fruit of the poppy in its indentations and in every other way; it contains grains like millet-seeds. The natives pile these heads in heaps to rot, and then separate the seeds by washing and dry them and crush them, and use them to make bread. There is a further remarkable fact reported, that when the sun sets these poppies shut up and fold their leaves round them, and at sunrise open again, this going on till they ripen and the flower, which is white, falls off. A further point reported is that in the Euphrates both the head itself and the flower at the evening go on submerging till midnight, and disappear entirely into the depth so that they cannot be found even by plunging the hand in, and then return and by degrees straighten up again, and at sunrise come out of the water and open their flower, and still go on rising so that the flower is raised up quite a long way above the water. The lotus has a root of the size of a quince, enclosed in a black skin like the shell of a chestnut; inside it has a white body, agreeable to eat raw but still more agreeable when boiled in water or roasted in the ashes. Its peelings are more useful than any other fodder for fattening pigs.

33. The region of the Cyrenaica ranks the lotus below its own Christ's-thorn. This is more in the nature of a shrub, and its fruit is redder, and contains a kernel that is eaten by itself, as it is agreeable alone; it is improved by being dipped in wine, and moreover its juice improves wine. The interior of Africa as far as the Garamantes and the desert is covered with palms remarkable for their size and their luscious fruit, the most celebrated being in the neighbourhood of the temple of Ammon.

34. But the country in the neighbourhood of Carthage claims by the name of Punic apple what some call the pomegranate; this it has also split up into classes, by giving the name of apyrenum to the variety that lacks a woody kernel: the consistency of this is whiter than that of the others, and its pips have a more agreeable taste and the membranes enclosing them are not so bitter; but in other respects these apples have a special structure resembling the cells in a honeycomb, which is common to all that have a kernel. Of these there are five kinds, the sweet, the sour, the mixed, the acid and the vinous; those of Samos and of Egypt are divided into the red-leaved and the white-leaved varieties. The skin of the unripe fruit is specially used for dressing leather. The flower is called balaustium, and is serviceable for doctors and also for dyeing cloth; it has given its name to a special colour.

35. Shrubs growing in Asia and Greece are the epicactis, which others call emboline, with small leaves which taken in drink are an antidote against poisons, as those of the heath are against snakes, and the shrub that produces the grain of Cnidus, which some call flax, the name of the shrub itself being thymelaea, which others call ehamelaea, others pyros achne, some cnestor, others cneorum. It resembles the oleaster, but has narrower leaves, which when chewed have a gummy consistency; it is the size of a myrtle, and has a seed of the colour and shape of spelt, which is only used for medicinal purposes.

36. The goat-shrub only grows in the island of Crete; it resembles the terebinth in seed as well as in other respects; the seed is reported to be very efficacious against arrow wounds. The same island also produces a goat-thorn, which has the root of the white thorn, and is much preferred to the goat-thorn growing in the country of the Medes or in Achaia; its price is 3 denarii per pound.

37. Asia also produces the goat-plant or scorpio, a thorn without leaves and with reddish branches, used for medicinal purposes: Italy also has the myrica, which is there called the tamarisk, and Achaia the wild brya; a remarkable property of the brya is that only the cultivated kind bears fruit; this resembles a gall-nut. In Syria and Egypt this shrub is abundant, and we give the name of unlucky wood to its timber; yet some of the timbers of Greece are unluckier, for Greece grows a tree named the ostrys, another form of the name being ostrya, which grows by itself round rocks washed by water; it is like an ash in its bark and branches, and a pear in its leaf, though the leaves are a little longer and thicker and wrinkled with indentations running all across them; the seed resembles barley in colour as well as shape. The wood is hard and solid, and it is said that if it is brought into a house it causes difficulty in childbirth and painful deaths.

38. Equally unlucky is the tree on the island of Lesbos called the euonymus, which is not unlike the pomegranate treeits leaves are between pomegranate and bay-leaves in size, but have the shape and soft texture of the leaf of the pomegranateand which by the scent of its white blossom gives prompt warning of its pestilential qualities. It bears a pod like that of the sesame, with a coarse square-shaped grain inside it which is deadly for animals; and the leaf also has the same property, although sometimes an immediate evacuation of the bowels gives relief.

39. Alexander Cornelius mentions a tree called the hon-tree, the timber of which he says was used to build the Argo, which bears mistletoe resembling that on the oak, and which cannot be rotted by water or destroyed by fire, the same being the case with its mistletoe. This tree is, so far as I am aware, unknown to anyone else.

40. Andrachle is almost always rendered into Latin for the Greeks by the word 'purslain,' although purslain is a herbaceous plant and its Greek name is one letter different, andrachne: for the rest the andrachle is a forest tree, nor does it grow in level country. It resembles the arbutus, only it has a smaller leaf and is an evergreen; the bark, though not rough, might be supposed to have frozen round the tree, it has such a wretched appearance.

41. The sumach has a similar leaf, but is smaller in size. It has the peculiarity of clothing its fruit (which is called pappus) with downy fluff, a thing that occurs with no other tree. The apharce also resembles the andrachle, and like it bears twice a year; they produce a first crop of fruit just at the time when the grapes are beginning to ripen, and a second at the beginning of winter. What sort of fruit is produced on these two occasions is not reported.

42. It may be suitable to have the fennel giant mentioned among the exotics and assigned to the genus 'tree,' inasmuch as the structure of some plants, in the classification that we shall adopt, has the whole of the wood outside in place of bark and inside, in place of wood, a fungous pith like that of the elder, though some have an empty hollow inside like reeds. This fennel grows in hot countries over sea; its stalk is divided by knotted joints. It has two varieties, one called in Greek narthex, which rises to some height, the other narthecia, which always grows low. From the joints shoot out very large leaves, the larger the nearer to the ground; but in other respects it has the same nature as the anise, and the fruit is similar. No shrub supplies a wood of lighter weight, and consequently it is easy to carry, and supplies walking-sticks to be used by old gentlemen.

43. The seed of the fennel giant has been called by some thapsia, but these people are mistaken, since the thapsia, though no doubt it is a giant fennel, is one of a peculiar kind, having the leaves of a fennel and a hollow stalk not exceeding the length of a walking-stick; the seed is like that of the giant fennel, but the root is white. When an incision is made in the thapsia milk oozes out, and when pounded it emits a sweet juice; even the bark is not thrown away. All these parts of the tree are poisons; in fact it is injurious even to those engaged in digging it up if the slightest current of air blows from the shrub in their direction: their bodies swell up, and their face is attacked by erysipelasfor which reason before beginning they grease it with a solution of wax. The doctors however say that mixed with other ingredients the shrub is of use in treating certain diseases, and also for fox-mange, bruises and spottinessas if there really were any lack of remedies, forcing them to take in hand new enormities! But they cloak their noisome expedient with excuses of that sort, and such is their

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impudence that they ask us to believe that poison is among the resources of science!

The thapsia of Africa is the most violent of all. Some people make an incision in the stalk during harvest-time and make a hollow in the root itself for the juice to collect in, and when it has dried take it away; others pound the leaves and stalk and root in a mortar and after drying the juice hard in the sun cut it up into lozenges. The emperor Nero at the beginning of his reign gave this juice a famous advertisement, as when during his nocturnal escapades his face had sustained a number of bruises he smeared it with a mixture of thapsia, frankincense and wax and on the following day gave the lie to rumour by going about with a whole skin. It is a well-known fact that fire can be best kept alight in a fennel stalk, and that the fennels in Egypt are the best.

44. In Egypt also grows the caper-tree, a shrub with a rather hard wood; also its seed is well known as an article of food, and is usually gathered together with the stalk. Its foreign varieties should be avoided, inasmuch as the Arabian kind is poisonous and the African injures the gums, and that from Marmarica, is injurious to the womb. Also the Apulian caper-tree produces vomiting and diarrhoea by causing flatulence in all the organs. Some persons call this shrub 'dog-brier,' others 'snakevine'.

45. The saripha growing on the banks of the Nile also belongs to the shrub class. It is about 3 ft. high and the thickness of a man's thumb; its foliage is that of the papyrus, and it is chewed in a similar manner. The root is highly rated in workshops for use as fuel, because of its hardness.

46. Also we must not leave out a plant that at Babylon is grown on thorn-bushes, because it will not live anywhere elsejust as mistletoe grows on trees, but the plant in question will only grow on what is called the 'royal thorn.' It is a remarkable fact that it buds on the same day as it has been plantedthis is done just at the rising of the Dog-starand it very quickly takes possession of the whole of the tree. It is used in making spiced wine, and is cultivated for that purpose. This thorn also grows on the Long Walls at Athens.

47. There is also a shrub called cytisus, which has been remarkably praised by Amphilochus of Athens as a fodder for all kinds of cattle, and when dried for swine as well, and he guarantees a yearly return of 2,000 sesterces for an ingerum of it, even on only moderate soil. It serves the same purpose as vetch, but produces satiety more quickly, an animal being fattened by quite a moderate amountso much so that beasts of burden fed on it refuse barley. No other fodder produces a larger quantity or a better quality of milk, and above everything as a medicine for cattle it renders them immune from all diseases. He also recommends a potion made of cytisus dried and boiled in water to be given with wine to nursing women when their milk fails, and he says this will make the infants stronger and taller; also he advises giving it while in the green state to fowls, or if it has dried, after being steeped. Moreover, Democritus and Aristomachus promise that bees will never fail if there is cytisus available for them to feed on. No other fodder is less expensive. It is sown when barley is, or in the spring, like leek, if the seed is used; or else the stalk is planted in autumn before the winter solstice. If sown the seed is soaked, or, if there is a shortage of rain, it is watered after sowing. When the plants are 18 inches high they are replanted in a trench a foot deep. This planting is done through the equinoxes, while the shrub is still tender; it takes three years to mature, and it is cut at the spring equinox, when it has done floweringa job that can be done very cheaply even by a boy or an old woman. It is of a whitish colour to look at, and its appearance may be briefly described by saying that it looks like a trifoliated plant with a rather narrow leaf. It is always fed to stock only once in two days, but in winter as it has got dry it is moistened first; ten pounds make a sufficient feed for a horse, and for smaller animals in proportion. Incidentally, good results are got by sowing garlic and onions as catch-crops between the rows of cytisus.

The cytisus shrub was discovered in the island of Cythnus, and from there was transplanted to all the Cyclades and later to the Greek cities, greatly increasing the supply of cheese. Moreovera fact that makes me very much surprised that it is rare in Italyit is not afraid of damage from heat and cold and hail and snow, and, as Hyginus adds, not even from wood-grubs, as its wood has no attraction for them.

48. Shrubs and trees also grow at the bottom of the seathose in the Mediterranean being of smaller size, for the Red Sea and the whole of the Eastern Ocean are filled with forests. The Latin language has no name for what the Greeks call phycos, as our word alga denotes a herbaceous sea-plant, whereas the phycos is a shrub. It has a broad leaf and is coloured green; and it produces a growth one of the Greek names for which means 'leek-weed' and the other 'bind-weed.' Another variety of the same shrub has a hair-like leaf resembling fennel, and grows on rocks, while the one above grows in shallow water near the coast; both kinds shoot in springtime and die off in autumn. The phycos growing on rocks round the island of Crete is also used for a purple dye; the most approved kind being that growing on the northern side of the island, as is the case in regard to sponges. A third variety resembles a grass; its root is knotted, and so is its stalk, like the stalk of a reed.

49. Another group of shrubs is called bryon, which has the leaf of a lettuce only more wrinkled. This grows lower down than the one last mentioned; but in deep water grow a pine and an oak, each 18 inches high; they have shells clinging to their branches. The oak is reported to provide a dye for woollen fabrics, and some in deep water are actually said to bear acorns, these facts having been ascertained by shipwrecked persons and by divers. Also other very large marine trees are reported in the neighbourhood of Sicyonfor the sea-vine grows everywhere, but there is a sea-fig, which has no leaves and a red bark, and also the class of marine shrubs includes a sea-palm. Outside the Straits of Gibraltar grows a marine shrub with the leaf of a leek, and another with the foliage of a bay-tree and of thyme; both of these when thrown up ashore by the waves turn into pumice.

50. But in the East it is a remarkable fact that as soon as we leave Keft, passing through the desert we find nothing growing except the thorn called 'drythorn,' and this quite seldom; whereas in the Red Sea there are flourishing forests, mostly of bay and olive, both bearing berries and in the rainy season funguses, which when the sun strikes them change into pumice. The bushes themselves grow to the height of a yard and a half. The seas are full of sea-dogs, so much so that it is scarcely safe for a sailor to keep a lookout from the bowsin fact they frequently go for the actual oars.

51. The soldiers of Alexander who sailed from India gave an account of some marine trees the foliage of which was green while in the water but dried up in the sun as soon as it was taken out and turned into salt; they also reported that along the coasts there were bulrushes of stone which exactly resembled real ones, and out in deep water certain shrubs of the colour of cow-horn where they branched out and turning red at the top; they were brittle, like glass when handled, but turned red-hot in fire like iron, their proper colour coming back again when they had cooled off. In the same part of the earth also the rising tide submerges forests, although the trees are higher than the loftiest planes and poplars. Theft foliage is that of the bay-tree, and their blossom has the scent and colour of violets; the berries resemble olives, and these also have an agreeable scent; they form in the autumn and fall off in spring, whereas the leaves are never shed. The smaller of these trees are entirely covered by the tide, but the tops of the largest stand out and ships are moored to them, as well as to their roots when the tide goes out. We have been informed from the same sources that other trees also have been observed in the same sea which always keep their leaves and have a fruit resembling a lupine.

Juba relates that in the neighbourhood of the Cave-dwellers' Islands a bush grows at the bottom of the sea called 'hair of Isis,' which has no leaves and resembles coral, and that when it is lopped it changes its colour to black and turns hard, and when it falls it breaks; and so does another marine bush the Greek name for which means 'the Graces' eyelid,' which is a potent love-charm; he says women make bracelets and necklaces of it. He declares that when being taken the bush is aware of it and turns as hard as horn, blunting the edge of the knife, but that if it is cut before it is aware of the danger that threatens it, it turns into stone.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 14

1. So far we have been dealing mostly with foreigntrees that cannot be trained to grow elsewhere than in their place of origin and that refuse to be naturalized in strange countries. We may now speak of those common to various countries, of all of which Italy can be thought to be the special parent. Only it must be remembered by the student that for the present we are specifying their natures and not their modes of cultivation, although actually a very large factor in the nature of a tree is due to its cultivation. There is one thing at which I cannot sufficiently wonderthat of some trees the very memory has perished, and even the names recorded by authors have passed out of knowledge. For who would not admit that now that intercommunication has been established throughout the world by the majesty of the Roman Empire, life has been advanced by the interchange of commodities and by partnership in the blessings of peace, and that even things that had previously lain concealed have all now been established in general use? Still, it must be asserted, we do not find people acquainted with much that has been handed down by the writers of former days: so much more productive was the research of the men of old, or else so much more successful was their industry, when a thousand years ago at the dawn of literature Hesiod began putting forth rules for agriculture, and not a few writers followed him in these researches which has been a source of more toil to us, inasmuch as nowadays it is necessary to investigate not only subsequent discoveries but also those that had already been made by the men of old, because general slackness has decreed an utter destruction of records.

And for this fault who can discover other causes than the general movement of affairs in the world? The fact is that other customs have come into vogue, and the minds of men are occupied about other matters: the only arts cultivated are the arts of avarice. Previously a nation's sovereignty was self-contained, and consequently the people's genius was also circumscribed; and so a certain barrenness of fortune made it a necessity to exercise the gifts of the mind, and kings innumerable received the homage of the arts, and put these riches in the front place when displaying their resources, believing that by the arts they could prolong their immortality. This was the reason why the rewards of life and also its achievements were then so abundant. But later generations have been positively handicapped by the expansion of the world and by our multiplicity of resources. After senators began to be selected and judges appointed on the score of wealth, and wealth became the sole adornment of magistrate and military commander, after lack of children to succeed one began to occupy the place of highest influence and power, and legacy-hunting ranked as the most profitable profession, and the only delights consisted in ownership, the true prizes of life went to ruin, and all the arts that derived their name 'liberal' from liberty, the supreme good, fell into the opposite class, and servility began to be the sole means of advancement. This deity was worshipped by different men in different manners and in different matters, although every man's prayer was directed to the same end and to hopes of possessing; indeed even men of high character everywhere preferred to cultivate the vices of others rather than the good gifts that were their own. The consequence is, I protest, that pleasure has begun to live and life itself has ceased. We, however, will carry our researches even into matters that have passed out of notice, and will not be daunted by the lowliness of certain objects, any more than we were when dealing with the animals, although we see that Virgil, the prince of poets, was led by this consideration to make omissions among the resources of the garden and in those which he has recorded has only culled out the flower of his subject, happy and gracious as he is: he has only named fifteen kinds of grapes in all and three of olives and as many pears, and of apples only the Assyrian citron, neglecting all the rest.

2. But where can we better make a beginning than with the vine? Supremacy in respect of the vine is to such a degree the special distinction of Italy that even with this one possession she can be thought to have vanquished all the good things of the world, even in the department of scents, inasmuch as when the vine is in blossom all over the country it gives a scent that surpasses any other in fragrance.

Even on account of its size the vine used in early days rightly to be reckoned as belonging to the class of trees. In the city of Piombino is to be seen a statue of Jupiter made of a single vine-stalk that has resisted decay for many ages; and similarly a bowl at Marseilles; the temple of Juno at Metapontum has stood supported by pillars of vine-wood; and even at the present day we ascend to the roof of the temple of Diana at Ephesus by a staircase made from a single vine, grown it is said at Cyprus, inasmuch as vines grow to an exceptional height in that island. And no other timber lasts for longer ages.

But I am inclined to believe that the things mentioned were made of the wood of the wild vine. Our own vines are kept down by yearly pruning, and all their strength is drawn out into shoots, or else thrown downward into layers, and the only benefit these supply is that of their juice, obtained by means of a variety of methods adapted to the peculiarities of the climate and the qualities of the soil. In Campania the vines espouse the poplars, and embracing their brides and climbing with wanton arms in a series of knots among their branches, rise level with their tops, soaring aloft to such a height that a hired vintager expressly stipulates in his contract for the cost of a funeral and a grave! In fact they never stop growing; and I have before now seen entire country houses and mansions encircled by the shoots and clinging tendrils of a single vine. And a thing that was considered in the first degree worthy of record also by Valerianus Cornelius is that a single vine in the colonnades of Livia at Rome protects the open walks with its shady trellises, while at the same time it produces 12 amphorae of juice yearly.

Elms indeed are everywhere overtopped by vines, and there is a story that Cineas, the ambassador of King Pyrrhus, was surprised at the height to which the vines grew at La Riccia and made an amusing joke about the rather rough flavour of the wine, to the effect that the parent of it thoroughly deserved being hung on such a lofty gibbet! There is an Italian tree on the other side of the Po called the rumpotinus, or by another name the opulus, the broad circular stories of which are covered by vines which spread out with their bare snaky growth to where the tree forks and then throw out their tendrils along the upraised fingers of the branches. Also vines when propped up with stakes about as tall as a man of middle height make a shaggy growth and form a whole vineyard from a cutting, by the unconscionable creeping of their rods and the rambling of their tendrils over all the empty gaps, completely filling the middle of a courtyard. So many are the different varieties that even Italy alone harbours.

3. In some of the provinces the vine stands by itself without any prop, gathering its limbs together inward and providing

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nutriment for thick growth by means of their shortness. In other places this is prohibited by the wind, for instance, in Africa and in parts of the province of Narbonne, where vines are prevented from growing beyond their pruned stumps and always resemble plants that are hoed, straying across the fields like herbaceous plants and drinking up the juice of the soil with their grapes as they go; and consequently in the interior of Africa the clusters exceed the body of an infant child in size. In no other country are the vines harsher, but nowhere else have the grapes a more agreeable firmness, which is very possibly the source of the name 'hard grape.' As to varieties in respect of size, colour and flavours of the berry they are innumerable and they are actually multiplied by the varieties of wine: in one district they have a brilliant purple colour, in another a rosy glow or a glossy green tint; for grapes that are merely white and black are the common sorts. But the large-cluster grapes swell out like a breast and the finger-grapes have an exceptionally long berry. Also such is the sportiveness of nature that very large grapes have small grapes clinging to them as companions which rival them in sweetness: these are called in Greek 'small-berry' vines. Some grapes will last all through the winter if the clusters are hung by a string from the ceiling, and others will keep merely in their own natural vigour by being stood in earthenware jars with casks put over them, and packed round with fermenting grape-skins; others can be given a flavour by smoke, which also adds flavour to wines, and the authority of Tiberius Caesar has caused particular glory in regard to the efficiency of smoke in this respect to attach to the forges of Africa; before his time priority at the table belonged to the Ilaetic grapes from the territory of Verona. Moreover, raisins are called 'passi' from having 'endured' the sun. Grapes are also preserved in must, and so made drunk with their own wine, and some are made sweeter by being placed in must that has been boiled down; but others remain on the parent vine to await the coming of a new generation, acquiring a glassy transparency, and the astringency of pitch poured on the footstalk gives them the same durable hardness that it gives to wine in casks or jars. A vine has now been discovered that of itself produces a flavour of pitch in the wine: this vine gives celebrity to the territory of Vienne by the varieties of Monte Taburno and of the Sotani and Helvii; it has become famous only recently and was unknown in the period of the poet Virgil, who died 90 years ago. Add that the vine has been introduced into the camp, and in the hand of the centurions is the mainstay of supreme authority and command and with its rich reward it lures on the laggard ranks to the tardy eaglest and even in offences it confers honour on punishment itself. Moreover it was vineyards that suggested a method for siege-trains. As for medicines, grapes hold such an important place among them that they act as remedies in themselves, merely by supplying wine.

4. Democritus, who professed to know all the different kinds of vines in Greece, was alone in thinking it possible for them to be counted, but all other writers have stated that there is a countless and infinite number of varieties; and the truth of this will appear more clearly if we consider the various kinds of wines. We shall not mention all of them, but the most famous, inasmuch as there are almost as many wines as there are districts, so that it will be enough to have pointed out the most celebrated kinds of wine or the ones remarkable for some special property.

The highest rank is given to the vines of Aminaea, account of the body of that wine and its life, which undoubtedly improves with age. There are five varieties of these vines; of these the 'younger sister' with a smaller berry sheds its blossom better! and can stand rain and stormy weather, which is not the case with the 'elder sister,' though this is less liable to damage when trained on a tree than when on a frame. The 'twin sisters,' which have got this name because the bunches always grow in pairs, give a wine with a very rough flavour but of exceptional strength; the smaller of these 'twins' is damaged by a south wind, but the other winds give it nutriment, for instance on Mount Vesuvius and the hills of Sorrento, but in all other parts of Italy it only flourishes when trained on trees. The fifth kind is the 'woolly' grapefor, to prevent our being very much surprised at the Chinese or the Indians, it is covered with a coat of down. It ripens first of the Aminaean grapes, and decays the most quickly.

The next rank belongs to the vines of Mentana, the wood of which is red, in consequence of which some people have called them the 'ruddy vines.' These produce less wine, as they have too much husk and lees, but they are very strong in resisting frost, and they suffer worse from drought than rain and from heat than cold, and consequently they hold the first place in cold and damp localities. The variety with a smaller berry is more productive, and the one with a cleft leafless.

The 'bee-vine' is so called because bees are specially fond of it. It has two varieties, which also are covered with down in the young state; the difference between them is that one ripens more quickly than the other, although the latter also ripens fast. These vines do not object to cold situations, and nevertheless no others rot more quickly from rain. The wines made from them are sweet at first but acquire roughness in the course of years. In Tuscany this vine flourishes more than any other.

So far we assign the chief distinction to the vines peculiar and indigenous to Italy. The remaining kinds have come from abroad. From Chios or Thasos is imported a Greek light wine not inferior in quality to the Aminaean vintages; the vine has a very tender grape, and such small clusters that it does not pay to grow it except in a very rich soil. The eugenia, with its name denoting high quality, has been imported from the hills of Taormina to be grown only in the territory of Alba, as if transplanted elsewhere it at once degenerates: for in fact some vines have so strong an affection for certain localities that they leave all their reputation behind there and cannot be transplanted elsewhere in their full vigour. This occurs also with the Rhaetian and Allobrogian grapesthe latter the grape with the flavour of pitch which we mentioned abovewhich are famous at home but not worth recognition elsewhere. All the same, being good bearers they make up in quantity what they lack in quality, the eugenia grape in warm localities, the Raetic in those with a moderate climate and the Allobrogian in cold districts, as it ripens in frost and has a black colour. The wines made from the grapes so far mentioned, even from the black ones, turn to a white colour with age. The remaining vines are of no quality, although occasionally owing to the agency of climate or soil they are not disappointing when old, as in the case of the Faecenian vine, and that of which blossoms at the same time but has fewer grapes; their blossom is never liable to injury, as they do not come before the west wind of early spring and can withstand wind and rain, although they do better in cold places than in warm ones and in damp situations than in dry. The visulla bears clusters of large size rather than closely packed; it cannot stand changes of weather, but lasts well against a continuous spell of cold or heat. The smaller variety of this kind is the better one. It is difficult to please in choice of soil, as in a rich soil it decays and in a thin soil it does not come on at all; its fastidiousness requires an intermediate blend of soil, and that is why it is common in the Sabine hill country. Its grapes are not attractive to look at, but have an agreeable flavour; if they are not gathered as soon as they are ripe, they will fall off even before they decay. Its hardiness and the size of the leaves protect the grapes against hailstorms.

The grapes called helvolae again are remarkable for rather frequently varying in their colour, which is midway between the purple grapes and the black ones, and they have consequently been called by some people varianae. Among them the blacker kind is preferred; both kinds bear large crops every other year, though they make better wine when the crop is less abundant. Also the praecia vine has two varieties, distinguished by the size of the grape; these vines make a great deal of wood, and their bunches are most useful for storing in jars; the leaf resembles parsley. The people of Durazzo speak highly of the balisca vine, which the Spanish provinces call coccolobis; its grapes grow in rather scanty bunches and can stand hot weather and south winds; its wine is apt to go to the head, but the yield is abundant. The Spanish provinces distinguish two kinds of this vine, one having an oblong grape and the other a round one; they gather them last of all. The sweeter the coccolobis grape is, the better it is; but even if it has a rough taste it turns sweet with age, and one that was sweet turns rough; in the last state they are held to rival the wine of Alba. It is said that to drink the juice of this grape is very good for disorders of the bladder. The albuelis vine bears more fruit at the top of the trees that it is grown on, the visulla on the bottom branches; and consequently, when both are planted round the same trees, owing to this difference of habit they produce rich crops. One of the black grapes has been named 'the good-for-nothing,' though it might more properly be styled the sober, as the wine it produces is admirable, particularly when old, but though strong it has no ill effects: in fact this is the only vintage that does not cause intoxication. All the other kinds of vine have the recommendation of bearing freely, and chief among them the helvennaca. Of this there are two kinds, one larger, which some people call the long helvennaca, the other smaller, called emarcus; the latter is not so prolific but produces a wine of more agreeable flavour; it is distinguished by its rounded leaf, but both kinds have a slender growth. They require to he supported on forked props, otherwise they cannot support the weight of their abundant fruit. They like a sea breeze, and dislike damp dews. None of the vines love Italy less, for there it grows leafless and stunted and soon decays, and also the wine it produces will not keep beyond the summer; and no other vine is more at home in a thin soil. Graecinus, who has generally copied Cornelius Celsus, thinks that it is not the nature of this vine to which Italy is not friendly but the mode of cultivating it, as growers are too eager to make it put out shoots; the consequence of this, he says, is that it is used up by its own fertility, unless the bounty of the soil is so rich as to afford it support when it begins to droop. It is said that this vine never contracts carbuncle, which is a very valuable property, if indeed it is true that there is any vine that is exempt from the power of the climate.

The spionia, called by some the thorn-vine, is able to bear heat, and is ripened by rainy weather in autumn; what is more, indeed, it is the only vine that thrives from fog, on which account it is specially grown in the district of Ravenna. The venicula is one of the best vines that shed their flowers, and its grapes are particularly well suited for preserving in jars; the people of Campania prefer to call it by the name of surcula, and others by that of scapula, while the name for it at Tarracina is Numisiana; it has no strength of its own but is entirely conditioned by the strength of the soil; all the same, as far south as Vesuvius it is very potent if kept in earthenware jars from Sorrento. For at Vesuvius there is Murgentina, a very strong vine imported from Sicily, called by some Pompeiana, which only bears well in a rich soil, just as the horconia vine only flourishes in Campania. The opposite is the case with the arceraca, called in Virgil argitis, which has the property of imparting extra richness to the soil, while itself offering a very stout resistance to rain and to old age, though it will hardly produce wine every year, and its grapes are only valued for eating, but it bears exceptionally large crops. The mettica vine also stands the years, and faces all weather very strongly; it bears a black grape, and its wines acquire a reddish colour in old age.

The kinds of vine mentioned so far are grown everywhere, but those remaining belong to particular districts and places, or are crosses produced by grafting one of these on another: thus among the vines of Tuscany that of Todi is a special variety, and also they have special names, a vine at Florence being called sopina and some at Arezzo 'mole-vine' and 'seasonal vine' and 'crossed vine.' The mole-vine has black grapes and makes a white must; the seasonal vine is a deceptive plant, giving a more admirable wine the larger crop of grapes it bears, and, remarkable to say, coming to the end of its fertility and its good quality at the same time; the crossed vine has black grapes and makes a wine that does not keep at all long, but its grape keeps a very long time, and it is gathered a fortnight later than any other variety, bearing a large crop of grapes but only good for eating. The leaves of this vine, like those of the wild vine, turn a blood-red colour before they fall off; this also happens with some other vines, and is a sign of extremely inferior quality. The itriola is peculiar to Unibria and to the districts of Bevagna and Ancona, and the 'dwarf-vine' to that of San Vettorino. The same districts have the bananica, an unreliable vine, though people become fond of it. The people of Pompei give the name of their township to a grape, although it grows in greater quantity at Chiusi; the people of Tivoli also name a grape after their township, although they have lately discovered the 'olive-grape', so called from its resemblance to an olive: this is the latest grape introduced hitherto. The vinaciola grape is only known to the Sabines and the calventina to the people of Mount Gaurus. Vines transplanted from the Falernian territory are, I am aware, called 'Falernian,' but they very quickly degenerate everywhere. Some people also have made out a Sorrento variety, with a very sweet grape. The 'smoke-grape,' the 'mouthful' and the tharrupia, which grow on the hills of Thurii, are not picked before there has been a frost. Pisa rejoices in the vine of Paros, and Modena in the vine of Perugia, which has a black grape and makes a wine that within four years turns white. It is a remarkable fact that at Modena there is a grape that turns round with the sun and is consequently called in Greek the 'revolving grape'; and that in Italy a grape from Gaul is popular, but across the Alps that of Picenum. Virgil mentions a Thasian vine, a Maraeotid and a Lagean, and a number of other foreign kinds that are not found in Italy.

But again there are some vines which are distinguished for their grapes and not for their wine, for instance, among the hard-berry group the ambrosia grape, which needs no jars but will keep on the vine, so strong is its resistance to cold and heat and to bad weather, nor does it require a tree or stakes to support it, as it sustains its own weight, though this is not the case with the dactylis, the stalk of which is only the thickness of a finger; and among the vines with large bunches the pigeon-vine, and still more the purple 'double-bosomed' vine, so called because it does not bear clusters but only secondary bunches; and also the 'three-foot vine', named from its size, and also the 'rush vine' with its shrivelled grape and the vine called the Raetic vine in the Maritime Alps, which is quite unlike the famous vine of that name, because this is a short-stalked vine with closely packed clusters and producing a low class of wine; but it has the thinnest skin of any grape, and a single very small stone (called chium), and one or two grapes in each bunch are exceptionally large. There is also the black Aminean grape to which they give the name of 'Syrian grape', and also the Spanish grape, which is the most highly rated of the inferior kinds.

The kind called 'table-grapes,' one of the hard-berry group, are grown on trellisesthey are both white and blackand so are the 'cow's-udder' grapes, also of both colours, and those of Aegiurn and of Rhodes, not mentioned before, and the 'one-ounce' grape, apparently named from the weight of the berry, and also the 'pitch grape,' the darkest in colour of all the black grapes, and the 'garland grape', the clusters of which by

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a sport of nature are arranged in a wreath with leaves interspersed among the berries, and the grapes called 'market-grapes,' a very quick bearer that attracts buyers by its appearance and stands carriage well. On the other hand the ashy grape and the dusky grape and the donkey-grape are condemned even by their appearance, though this is less the case with the alopecis, which resembles a fox's brush. A grape growing in the vicinity of Phalacra is called the Alexandrian grape; it is a low-growing vine with branches only eighteen inches long and a black grape the size of a bean, with a soft and very small stone; the clusters hang aslant and are extremely sweet; the leaf is small and round, and has no clefts. Within the last seven years there has been discovered at Viviers in the province of Narbonne a vine whose blossoms wither in a day and which is consequently extremely immune to bad weather; it is called the 'charcoal-vine,' and is now grown by the whole province.

5. The elder Cato, who was exceptionally celebrated for his triumph and his censorship, though yet more for his literary distinction and for the precepts that he has given to the Roman nation upon every matter of utility, and in particular as to agriculturea man who by the admission of his contemporaries was a supremely competent and unrivalled agriculturalisthas dealt with only a few varieties of the vine, including some even the names of which are now extinct. His opinion deserves to be set out separately and handled at full length, to make us acquainted with the varieties which were the most famous in the whole of this class in the year 154 BC., about the time of the taking of Carthage and Corinth, the period of Cato's demiseand to show us how great an advance civilization has made in the subsequent 230 years. The following therefore are the remarks that he made on the subject of vines and grapes: 'In the locality pronounced to be best for the vine and fully exposed to the sun, you should plant the small variety of Aminian and the double eugenium, and also the small helvia. In a denser soil or a locality more liable to fog you should plant the larger Aminian or the Murgentine, the Apician, and the Lucanian. All the other varieties of vine, especially hybrids, are suited to any kind of land. The small Aminian grape and the larger one and the Apician are stored unstoned in a jar; they can also be kept in new wine boiled down and must, and properly in after-wine. The larger Aminian hard-berry grapes, which one you hang up, are properly kept, for instance at a blacksmith's forge, to make raisins. Nor are there any older instructions on this subject written in Latin, so near we are to the origin of things. The Aminian grape last mentioned is called by Varro the Scantian.

In our own period there have been few instances consummate skill in this field, but it is all the more proper on that account not to omit them, so as also to make known the rewards of success, which in every department attract the greatest attention. Well, the greatest distinction was achieved by Acilius Sthenelus, a plebeian, the son of a freedman, by his intensive cultivation of a vineyard of not more than 60 iugera, in the region of Mentana, which he sold for 400,000 sesterces. Also Vetulenus Aegialus, he too a freedman, gained a great reputation in the district of Liternum in Campania, and a still greater reputation in public esteem on account of his cultivating the estate which had been the place of exile of Africanus; but the greatest reputation, thanks to the activity of the same Sthenelus, attached to Remmius Palaemon, also famous for his treatise on grammar, who within the last 20 years bought a farm for 600,000 sesterces in the same region of Mentana, at the turning off the main road ten miles from Rome. The low price of property through all the districts just outside the city in every direction is notorious, but especially in the neighbourhood referred to, since Palaemon had bought farms that had also been let down by neglect and that were not above the average quality of soil even among those extremely poor estates. He undertook the cultivation of this property not from any high motive but at first out of vanity, for which he was known to be so remarkable; but he had the vineyards dug and trenched afresh under the superintendence of Sthenelus, and so, though only playing the part of a farmer, he finally got the estate into an almost incredibly wonderful condition, as within eight years, the vintage, while still hanging on the trees, was knocked down to a purchaser at a price of 400,000 sesterces; and everybody ran to see the piles of grapes in these vineyards, while the sluggish neighbourhood vindicated itself against this discredit by the excuse of his exceptionally profound studies, and recently Annaeus Seneca, the most learned person of the day, and eminent in power which ultimately grew to excess and came crashing about his earsa man who was at all events no admirer of frivolitieswas seized with such a passionate desire for this estate that he was not ashamed to concede this victory to one whom he otherwise hated and who was sure to make the most of this advertisement, by buying the vineyards in question at four times the price Palaemon had paid for it within hardly more than ten years of its being under his management. This was a method of cultivation which it would be profitable to apply to the farms of Caecubum and Setia, since even subsequently the estate has frequently produced seven sacks, that is 140 jars, of must to the iugerum. And to prevent anyone from supposing that the records of the days of old were beaten on this occasion, Cato also wrote that there were returns of 10 sacks to the iugerum, these instances conclusively proving that the merchant does not obtain more profit by rashly trespassing on the seas nor by going as far as the coast of the Red Sea or of the Indian Ocean to seek for merchandise, than is yielded by a diligently cultivated homestead.

6. The most ancient celebrity belongs to the wine of Maronea grown in the seaboard parts of Thrace, as we learn from Homer. However, we need not pursue the legendary or variously reported stories conceding its origin, except the statement that Aristaeus was the first person of all in the same nation who mixed honey with wine, because of the outstandingly agreeable quality of each of these natural products. Homer has recorded the mixing of Maronean wine with water in the proportion of 20 parts of water to one of wine. This class of wine in the same district still retains its strength and its insuperable vigour, inasmuch as one of the most recent authors, Mucianus, who was three times consul, ascertained when actually visiting that region that it is the custom to mix with one pint of this wine eight pints of water, and that it is black in colour, has a strong bouquet, and improves in substance with age.

The Pramnian wine as well, also celebrated by Homer, still retains its fame. It is grown in the territory of Smyrna, in the neighbourhood of the shrine of the Mother of the Gods.

Among the remaining wines no kind was particularly famous, but the year of the consulship of Lucius Opimius, when the tribune Gaius Gracchus was assassinated for stirring up the common people with seditions, was renowned for the excellence of its vintages of all kindsthe weather was so fine and bright (they call it the 'boiling' of the grape) thanks to the power of the sun, in the 633rd year 121 BC. from the birth of the city; and wines of that year still survive, having kept for nearly 200 years, though they have now been reduced to the consistency of honey with a rough flavour, for such in fact is the nature of wines in their old age; and it would not be possible to drink them neat or to counteract them with water, as their over-ripeness predominates even to the point of bitterness, but with a very small admixture they serve as a seasoning for improving all other wines. Assuming that by the valuation of that period their cost may be put at 100 sesterces per amphora, but that the interest on this sum has been adding up at 6 per cent. per annum, which is a legal and moderate rate, we have shown by a famous instance that in the principate of Gaius Caesar, son of Germanicus, 160 [A.D. 39] years after the consulship of Opimius, the wine cost that amount for onetwelfth of an amphorathis appears in our biography of the bard Pomponius Secundus and the banquet that he gave to the emperor mentioned: so large are the sums of money that are kept stored in our wine-cellars! Indeed there is nothing else which experiences a greater increase of value up to the twentieth yearor a greater fall in value afterwards, supposing that there is not a rise of price. Rarely indeed has it occurred hitherto and only in the case of some spendthrift's extravagance, for wine to fetch a thousand sesterces a cask. It is believed that the people of Vienne alone sell their wines flavoured with pitch, the varieties of which we have specified, for a higher price, though out of patriotism they only sell it among themselves; and this wine when drunk cold is believed to be cooler than all the other kinds.

7. Wine has the property of heating the parts of the body inside when it is drunk and of cooling them when poured on them outside. And it will not be out of place to recall here what the famous philosopher Androcydes wrote to Alexander the Great in an attempt to restrain his intemperance: 'When you are about to drink wine, O King, remember that you are drinking the earth's blood. Hemlock is poison to a human being and wine is poison to hemlock.' If Alexander had obeyed this advice, doubtless he would not have killed his friends in his drunken fits; so that in fact we are justified in saying that there is nothing else that is more useful for strengthening the body, and also nothing more detrimental to our pleasures if moderation be lacking.

8. Who can doubt, however, that some kinds of wine are more agreeable than others, or who does not know that one of two wines from the same vat can be superior to the other, surpassing its relation either owing to its cask or from some accidental circumstance? And consequently each man will appoint himself judge of the question which wine heads the list. Julia Augusta gave the credit for her eighty-six years of life to the wine of Pizzino, having never drunk any other. It is grown on a bay of the Adriatic not far from the source of the Timavus, on a rocky hill, where the breeze off the sea ripens enough grapes to make a few casks; and no other wine is considered more suitable for medicinal purposes. I am inclined to believe that this is the wine from the Adriatic Gulf which the Greeks have extolled with such marvellous encomiums under the name of Praetutian. His late Majesty Augustus preferred Setinum to all wines whatsoever, and so for the most part did the Emperors who came after him, owing to the verdict of experience that because injurious attacks of indigestion do not readily arise from this liquor. ... It grows just above Foro Appio. Previously Caecuban wine had the reputation of being the most generous of all; it was grown in some poplar woods on marshy ground on the Bay of Amyclae, but the vineyard has now disappeared owing to the neglect of the cultivator and the confined area of the ground, though in a greater degree owing to the ship canal from the lake of Baiae to Ostia that was begun by Nero.

The second rank belonged to the Falernian district, and in it particularly to the estate of Faustus in consequence of the care taken in its cultivation; but the reputation of this district also is passing out of vogue through the fault of paying more attention to quantity than to quality. The Falernian district begins at the Campanian bridge as you turn left to reach the Colonia Urbana of Sulla lately attached to Capua, and the Faustus estate begins about four miles from the village of Caedicium, which is about six miles from Sinuessa. No other wine has a higher rank at the present day. It is the only wine that takes light when a flame is applied to it. It has three varieties, one dry, one sweet and one a light wine. Some people distinguish three vintages as followsCaucinian growing on the tops of the hills, Faustian half-way up them, and Falernian at the bottom. It must also not be omitted that none of the grapes that produce the celebrated vintages are agreeable to eat.

The third prize is attained in various degrees by the vines of Alba in the neighbourhood of the city, which are extremely sweet and occasionally dry, and also by those of Sorrento which only grow in vineyards, and which are very highly recommended for convalescents because of their thinness and health-giving qualities. The Emperor Tiberius used to say that the doctors had made a corner to puff the Sorrento vintage, but that except for that it was only a generous vinegar, and his successor the Emperor Gaius called it best quality flat wine. Its place is contested by the vineyards of Monte Massico and the slopes of Monte Barbaro looking towards Pozzuoli and Baiae. For the Statana vineyards adjoining the Falernian territory unquestionably once reached the first place, and established the fact that each locality has its own period and its own rise and decline of fortune. The adjacent vintages of the Calenian hills used to be preferred to them, as were those of Fundi where the vines are grown on trellises or trained up small trees, and others from the vicinity of Rome, those of Castel del Volturno and Piperno. As for the wine produced at Segni, it counts as a medicine, being useful as a stomachic astringent owing to its excessive dryness.

For public banquets the fourth place in the race has been held from the time of his late Majesty Julius Caesar onwardfor he was the first person to bring them into favour, as appears from his lettersto the Mamertine vintages grown in the neighbourhood of Messina in Sicily; of these the Potitian, so called after the name of its original grower, is particularly highly spoken ofit grows in the part of Sicily nearest to Italy. In Sicily also is grown the Taormina vintage, which when bottled is constantly passed off for Mamertine.

Among the remaining wines there are, in the vicinity of the Adriatic and Ionian Sea, the Praetutian and those grown at Ancona and the vines called sprig-vines, because they were all struck from a single chance sprig; and in the interior the wines of Cezena and those called by the name of Maecenas; also in the district of Verona the wines of Tyrol, reckoned by Virgil inferior only to Falernian; and next at the top of the Adriatic the wines of Adria, and from the Lower Sea the Latiniensian, Graviscan and Statoniensian. Luna carries off the palm of Tuscany and Genoa that of Liguria. Between the Pyrenees and the Alps Marseilles has wine of two flavours, as it produces a richer variety, the local name for which is the `juicy' brand, which is also used for seasoning other wines. The importance of the wine of Beziers does not extend outside the Gallic provinces; and about the rest of the wines grown in the Province of Narbonne no positive statement can be made, inasmuch as the dealers have set up a regular factory for the purpose and colour them by means of smoke, and I regret to say also by employing noxious herbs and drugsinasmuch as a dealer actually uses aloe for adulterating the flavour and the colour of his wines.

But also the wines of Italy grown further away from the Ausonian Sea are not without note, those of Taranto and San Severino, and those grown at Cosenza and Tempsa and Ban, and the Lucanian vintages, which hold a better place than those of Thurii. But the wines of Lagara, grown not far from Grurnentum, are the most famous of them all, on the ground of their having restored the health of Messala Potitius. Campania, whether by means of careful cultivation or by accident, has lately excited consideration by some new namesboasting the Trebellian vintage four miles from Naples, the Cauline close to Capua, and the Trebulan when grown in the district of the same name (though otherwise it is always classed as a common wine), and the Trifoline. As for the wines of Pompei, their topmost improvement is a matter of ten years, and they gain nothing from age; also they are detected as unwholesome because of a headache which lasts till noon on the following day. These instances, if I am not mistaken, go to

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show that it is the country and the soil that matter, not the grape, and that it is superfluous to go on with a long enumeration of kinds, since the same vine has a different value in different places. In the Spanish provinces the vineyards of Lacetanum are famous for the quantity of wine they produce, while for choice quality the vineyards of Tarragon and Lauron and those of the Balearics among the islands challenge comparison with the first vintages of Italy. And I am not unaware that most people will think that many have been passed over, inasmuch as everybody has his own favourite, and wherever one may go one finds the same story currenthow that one of the freedmen of his late Majesty Augustus, who was the most skilful among them for his ,judgement and palate, in tasting wine for the emperor's table passed this remark to the master of the house where Augustus was visiting in regard to a wine of the district: 'The flavour of this wine is new to me, and it is not of a high class, but all the same I prophesy that the emperor will not drink any other.' I would not deny that other wines also deserve a high reputation, but the ones that I have enumerated are those on which the general agreement of the ages will be found to have pronounced judgement.

9. We will now in a similar manner specify the wines of countries overseas. The wines held in highest esteem subsequent to the great vintages of the Homeric age about which we have spoken above were those of Thasos and Chios, and of the latter the wine called Ariusian. To these the authority of the eminent physician Erasistratus, about four hundred and fifty years after the foundation of Rome, added Lesbian. At the present time the most popular of all is the wine of Clazomenae, now that they have begun to flavour it more sparingly with seawater. The wine of Lesbos by dint of its own nature smacks of the sea; and that of Mount Tmolus also is not esteemed as a wine to drink neat, but because being a sweet wine an admixture of it gives sweetness to the dry quality of the remaining vintages, at the same time also giving them age, as it at once makes them seem more mature. Next after these in esteem are the wines of Sicyon, Cyprus, Telmesus, Tripoli, Beyrout, Tyre and Sebennys. This last is grown in Egypt, being made from three famous kinds of grapes that grow there, the Thasian, the soot-grape and the pine-tree grape. Ranking after these are the wines of Hippodamas, of Mystus and of the canthareos Vine, the protropum of Cnidos, and the wines of the volcanic region in Mysia, of Petra and of Myconos. As for the vintage of Mesogis, it has been found to cause headache, and that of Ephesus has also proved to be unwholesome, because seawater and boiled must are employed to season it. Apamea wine is said to be particularly suitable for making mead, and so likewise is the Praetutian in Italyfor this too is a property peculiar to certain kinds of wine: two sweet wines do not generally go well together. Protagion also has quite gone out, a wine which the medical profession had put next to those of Italy. The physician Apollodorus in his pamphlet advising King Ptolemy what wines to drinkthe Italian vintages being even then unknownpraised the wine of Naspercene in Pontus, and next to it the Oretie, Oeneate, Leucadian, Ambraciote and Peparethian vintagesthe last he put before all the rest, but said it was less well thought of on account of its not being fit to drink before it was six years old. A sweet wine drawn off before treading the grapes.

10. Up to this point the goodness of a wine is credited to the countries of its growth. Among the Greeks, the wine they have called 'life' has justly won a very distinguished name, having been developed for the treatment of a great many maladies, as we shall show in the part of our work dealing with medicine. The process of making it is this: the grapes are picked a little before they are ripe and are dried in a fierce sun, being turned three times a day for three days, and on the fourth day they are put through the press and then left in casks to mature in the sun. The people of Cos mix in a rather large quantity of seawatera custom arising from the peculation of a slave who used this method to fill up the due measure, and this mixture is poured into white must, producing what is called in Greek 'white Coan.' In other countries a blend made in a similar way is called 'sea-flavoured wine,' and 'sea-treated' when the vessels containing the must have been thrown into the sea; this is a kind of wine that matures young. Also with us as well Cato exhibited a method of making Coan wine out of Italian, his most important instruction being that it must be left in the sun for four years to ripen. The Rhodes vintage resembles that of Cos, but the Phorinean is salter. All the overseas wines are thought to take seven years to reach the middle stage of maturity.

11. All sweet wine has less aroma; the thinner a wine is the more aroma it has. Wines are of four colours, white, brown, blood-red and black. Psithian and black psithian are kinds of raisin-wine with a peculiar flavour which is not that of wine; Scybelites is a kind of must produced in Galatia, and Aluntium another, produced in Sicily. Siraeum, by some called hepsema and in our country sapa, is a product of art, not of nature, made by boiling down must to a third of its quantity; must boiled down to only one-half is called defrutum. All these wines have been devised for adulterating with honey; but the wines previously mentioned are the product of the grape and of the soil. Next after the raisin-wine of Crete those of Cilicia and of Africa are held in esteem. Raisin-wine is known to be made in Italy and in the neighbouring provinces from the grape called by the Greeks psithia and by us 'muscatel,' and also scripula, the grapes being left on the vine longer than usual to ripen in the sun, or else being ripened in boiling oil. Some people make this wine from any sweet white grape that ripens early, drying them in the sun till little more than half their weight remains, and then they beat them and gently press out the juice. Afterwards they add to the skins the same quantity of well-water as they have pressed out juice, so as also to make raisin-wine of second quality. The more careful makers, after drying the bunches in the same manner, pick off the berries and soak them without their stalks in wine of good quality till they swell, and then press themand this kind of wine is the most highly praised of any; and then they repeat the process, adding more water, and make a wine of second quality.

Between the sirops and real wine is the liquor that the Greeks call aigleucosthis is our 'permanent must.' Care is needed for its production, as it must not be allowed to 'boil'that is the word they use to denote the passage of must into wine. Consequently, as soon as the must is taken from the vat and put into casks, they plunge the casks in water till midwinter passes and regular cold weather sets in. There is moreover another kind of raisin-wine known in the Province of Narbonne, and there particularly to the Vocoutii, under the name of 'sweet wine.' For the purpose of this they keep the grape hanging on the vine for an exceptional time, with the foot-stalk twisted. Some make an incision in the actual shoot as far as the pith and others leave the grapes to dry on tiled roofs, the grapes in all cases being those from the helvennaca vine. To these some add a wine called in Greek 'strained wine,' to make which the grapes are dried in the sun for seven days raised seven feet from the ground on hurdles, in an enclosed place where at night they are protected from damp; on the eighth day they are trodden out, and this process produces a wine of extremely good bouquet and flavour. Another wine of the sweet class is called honey-wine; it differs from mead because it is made from must, in the proportion of thirty pints of must of a dry quality to six pints of honey and a cup of salt, this mixture being brought just to the boil; this produces a dry-flavoured liquor. But among these varieties ought also to be placed the liquor called in Greek protropam, the name given by some people to must that flows down of its own accord before the grapes are trodden. This as soon as it flows is put into special flagons and allowed to ferment, and afterwards left to dry for forty days of the summer that follows, just at the rise of the Dog-star.

12. The liquors made from grape-skins soaked in water, called by the Greeks seconds and by Cato and ourselves after-wine, cannot rightly be styled wines, but nevertheless are counted among the wines of the working classes. They are of three kinds: one is made by adding to the skins water to the amount of a tenth of the quantity of must that has been pressed out, and so leaving the skins to soak for twenty-four hours and then again putting them under the press; another, by a method of manufacture that has been commonly employed by the Greeks, i.e. by adding water to the amount of a third of the juice that has been pressed out, and after submitting the pulp to pressure, boiling it down to one-third of its original quantity; while the third kind is pressed out of the wine-leesCato's name for this is 'lees-wine.' None of these liquors is drinkable if kept more than a year.

13. Among these topics, however, it occurs to me that while there are in the whole world about eighty notable kinds of liquor that can properly be understood as coming under the term 'wine,' two-thirds of this number belong to Italy, which stands far in front of all the countries in the world on that account; and further investigation going into this subject more deeply indicates that this popularity does not date back from the earliest times, but that the importance of the Italian wines only began from the city's six hundredth year.

14. Romulus used milk and not wine for libations, as is proved by the religious rites established by him which preserve the custom at the present day. The Postumian Law of King Numa runs: Thou shalt not sprinkle the funeral pyre with winea law to which he gave his sanction on account of the scarcity of the commodity in question, as nobody can doubt. By the same law he made it illegal to offer libations to the gods with wine produced from a vine that had not been pruned, this being a plan devised for the purpose of compelling people who were mainly engaged in agriculture and were slack about the dangers besetting a plantation, not to neglect pinning. We learn from Marcus Varro that Mezentius, king of Etruria, gave help to the Rutuli against the Latins at the price of receiving all the wine then in the territory of Latium. At Rome women were not allowed to drink wine. Among various instances we find that the wife of Egnatius Maetennus was clubbed to death by her husband for drinking wine from the vat, and that Romulus acquitted him on the charge of murder. Fabius Pictor has written in his Annals that a matron was starved to death by her relatives for having broken open the casket containing the keys of the wine-cellar; and Cato says that the reason why women are kissed by their male relations is to know whether they smell of 'tipple'that was then the word denoting wine, and also the word 'tipsy' comes from it. Judge Gnaeus Domitius once gave a verdict that a certain woman appeared to have drunk more wine that was required for the sake of her health without her husband's knowledge, and he fined her the amount of her dowry. And great economy in the use of this commodity prevailed for a long time. General Lucius Papirius before his decisive action against the Samnites vowed to give a small goblet of wine to Jupiter if he were victorious. Lastly among votive offerings we find mention of gifts of pints of milk but nowhere of wine. Moreover Cato, when sailing on his expedition to Spain, whence he returned with a triumph, drank no other wine than what was drunk by the crew of his galley, so little did he resemble the gentlemen who give even their guests other wines than those served to themselves, or else substitute inferior wines as the meal progresses.

15. The finest wines in early days were those spiced with scent of myrrh, as appears in the plays of Plautus, although in the one entitled The Persian he recommends the addition of sweet-reed also. Consequently some think that in old times people were extremely fond of scented wine; but Fabius Dossenuus decides the point in these verses:

I sent them a fine wine, one spiced with myrrh, and in his Acharistio:

Bread and pearl-barley and wine spiced with myrrh.

I also observe that Scaevola and Lucius Aelius and Ateius Capito were of the same opinion,

inasmuch as we find in Pseudolus:

A. But if he has to bring out a sweet wine
From that same cellar, has he got one?

B. Got one?
Myrrh-wine and raisin-wine and boiled-down must
And honey which shows that myrrh-wine was counted

not only among wines but also among sirops.

16. The existence of the Opimian wineItaly already understanding the blessing she enjoyed affords an undoubted proof that wine-lofts existed there and it was usual for wine to be racked off in the 633rd year of the city. Nevertheless the 21 B.C. vintages referred to were not yet celebrated; and accordingly all the wines grown in that year bear the name of the consul only. Similarly also afterwards wines imported from overseas held the field for a long time and right down to our grandfathers' day, indeed even after Falernian had already been discovered, as appears from the line of the comedy playwright:

I'll broach five casks of Thasian, two of Falernian.

In the year 665 from the foundation of the city the [89 BC] censors Publius Licinius Crassus and Lucius Julius Caesar promulgated an edict prohibiting 'the sale of Greek and Aminnian wine at a higher price than 8 asses for 6 gallons'those being the actual words of the edict. But Greek wine was so highly esteemed that only one cup was given to each guest at a banquet.

17. Marcus Varro records in the following words the wines that ranked highest in his own younger days: 'When Lucius Lucullus was a boy he never saw a full-dress banquet in his father's house at which Greek wine was given more than once, but when he himself came back from Asia he distributed more than 100,000 jars in largess; also Gaius Sentius, who was praetor in our time, used to say that the first time that Chian wine entered his house was when the doctor had prescribed it for him for heartburn; but Hortensins left over ten thousand jars [50 B.C] to his next-of-kin. So far Varro. And besides, did not Caesar also, when dictator, at the banquet in celebration of his triumph apportion to each table a flagon of Falernian and a jar of Chian? Caesar also gave Chian and Falernian at his triumph over Spain, [60 BC] but at a banquet during his third consulship he [46 BC] provided Falernian, Chian, Lesbian and Mamertine: this is known to be the first occasion on which four kinds of wine were served. It follows that all the rest of the vintages came into fame afterwards, and about 54 BC.

18. I am not surprised therefore that many centuries ago almost innumerable kinds of artificial wine have been invented, which we will now specify, all of them being used for medicinal purposes. In an earlier volume we stated the method of making omphacium, which is used for unguents. What is called vine-flower wine is made from the claret vine, that is the wild vine, by steeping two pounds of the flowers of this plant in a jar of must; 30 days afterwards they are changed. Beside this the root and the grape-skins of the claret-vine are used in dressing leather. These grape-skins, a little after the blossom has gone off, provide a remarkable specific for cooling attacks of feverish heat in cases of disease, being said to be of an extremely cold nature. A portion of these grapes die off from the heat before the restthese are called midsummer grapes; the whole of them never come to maturity, and if a bunch in an unripe state before it completely withers is fed to poultry it produces in them a distaste for stealing grapes.

19. The first of the artificial wines, which is called weak wine, is made from real wine in the following manner: ten

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quarts of white must and half that quantity of water are kept boiling till a considerable amount of the water is boiled away. Other people put in five quarts of seawater and the same amount of rainwater and leave the mixture in the sun for 40 days to evaporate. This drink is given to invalids for whom it is feared that wine may be harmful.

The next kind of artificial wine is made from ripe millet seed, by putting a pound and a quarter of the seed together with its straw to soak in 1 gallons of must and after an interval of seven months pouring off the liquor. It has already been stated where the varieties brewed from the lotus-tree, lotus-shrub and herbaceous lotus are made.

There are also wines, made from fruit, which we will specify, adding only the indispensable explanations: First the wine made from date-palms, which is used by the Parthians and Indians and by the whole of the East, a peck of the rather soft dates called in Greek 'common dates' being soaked in two and a quarter gallons of water and then pressed. Also fig syrup is made from figs by a similar process, other names for it being pharnuprium and trochis; or if it is not wanted to be sweet, instead of water is added the same quantity of grape-skin juice. Also excellent vinegar is made from the Cyprus fig, and an even better quality as well from that of Alexandria. Wine is also made from the Syrian carob, and from pears and all kinds of apples (one from pomegranates is called rhoites) as also from cornels, medlars, service berries, dried mulberries and fir-cones; the last are soaked in must before being pressed, but the juice of the preceding fruits is sweet of itself. We will indicate a little later instructions given by Cato as to how to make myrtle-syrup. The Greeks also employ another method: they boil tender sprigs of myrtle with the leaves on in salted must, and after pounding them boil down one pound of the mixture in 2 gallons of must until only 1 gallons are left. The beverage made by the same process from the berries of the wild myrtle is called myrtle wine; this stains the hands.

Among the plants grown in gardens, wine is made from the root of asparagus, and from cunila, wild-marjoram, parsley-seed, southernwood, wild mint, rue, eatmint, wild thyme and horehound; they put two handfuls of herb into a jar of must, together with a pint of boiled-down grape-juice and half a pint of seawater. A wine is made from the navew turnip by adding two drains' weight of navew to a quart of must, and in the same way from the root of the squill; and, among flowers, from pounded rose-leaves wrapped in a linen napkin and thrown into must with a small weight attached to make it sink, in the proportion of 50 drains of rose-leaves to 24 gallons of mustthey say the jar must not be opened for three monthsand also wine is made from Gallic nard and another from wild nard.

I also find that aromatic wine is constantly made from almost exactly the same ingredients as perfumesfirst from myrrh, as we have said, next also from Celtic nard, reed and aspalathus, cakes of which are thrown into must or sweet wine; and in other places, from reed, sweet rush, costus, Syrian nard, cardamom, bark and flowers of cinnamon, saffron, dates and foal-foot, similarly made up in the form of a cake; and among other people also from a mixture of half a pound of nard and cinnamon-leaf added to a gallon and a half of must; and this is also how at the present day what some people call savoury wines and others peppered wines are made by adding pepper and honey. We also find mention of nectar-wine, extracted from the plant which some call sunflower, others herb of Media, or symphyton or herb of Ida or Orestion or nectaria, the root of which is added in the proportion of 50 drains to 6 pints of must, after being similarly wrapped in a linen napkin. Of the remaining herbs, wormwood wine is made by boiling down a pound of Fontic wormwood in five gallons of must to one-third of its amount, or else by putting shoots of wormwood into wine. Similarly hyssop wine is made of Cilician hyssop by throwing three ounces of hyssop into a gallon and a half of wine, or, if the hyssop is first pounded, into three-quarters of a gallon. Each Of these wines may also be made in another way, by sowing the plant round the roots of vines. Also Cato shows how to make hellebore wine in the same way by using black hellebore; also the same method is used in making scammony wine, vines having a remarkable property of drawing into themselves the flavour of some other plant, which explains why the grapes plucked in the marshes of Padua actually have a flavour of willow. Similarly in Thasos also hellebore is planted among the vines, or else wild cucumber or scammony; the wine so obtained is called by a Greek name denoting miscarriage, because it produces abortion.

Wine is also made from herbs the nature of which will be described in their proper place; for instance from lavender and from gentian root and goat-marjoram and dittany, foal-foot, carrot, sage, all-heal, acorus, thyme, mandragora, and sweet rush. There is also mention of scyzinum and itaeomelis and lectisphagites, for which the recipe is now lost.

From the shrub and tree class, use is made of both kinds of cedar, the cypress, the laurel, the juniper, the terebinth, the reed and the mastic-tree, the berries or else the new wood being boiled down in must; and similarly is used the wood of the dwarf olive, the ground-pine, and the germander, and in the same way wine is also made from their blossom, by adding ten drains' weight of it to three quarters of a gallon of must.

20. A wine is also made of only water and honey. For this it is recommended that rainwater should be stored for five years. Some who are more expert use rain-water as soon as it has fallen, boiling it down to a third of the quantity and adding one part of old honey to three parts of water, and then keeping the mixture in the sun for 40 days after the rising of the Dog-star. Others pour it off after nine days and then cork it up. This beverage is called in Greek 'water-honey'; with age it attains the flavour of wine. It is nowhere rated more highly than in Phrygia.

21. Also honey used even to be mixed with vinegar, so exhaustive have been men's experiments in living. This mixture was called in Greek 'sour honey'; it was made with ten pounds of honey, 2 pints of old vinegar, one pound of sea salt and 5 pints of rainwater, heated to boiling ten times, after which the liquor was drawn off and so kept till it was old. All these wines are condemned by Themison, who is a very high authority; and, I vow, the employment of them does appear to be a tour de force, unless anybody believes that aromatic wine and wines pounded of perfumes are products of nature, or that nature gave birth to shrubs in order for them to be used for drink! Contrivances of this sort are amusing to learn of, owing to the ingenuity of the human mind that investigates everything. There can be no doubt that none of these wines will keep a year, except those which we have stated to be actually the products of age, and that the larger number of them will not keep even a month.

22. Even wine contains miraculous properties. One grown in Arcadia is said to produce ability to bear children in women and madness in men; whereas in Achaia, particularly in the neighbourhood of Carynia, there is a wine that is reported to prevent childbearing, and this even if women eat the grapes when they are pregnant, although these do not differ in taste from ordinary grapes. It is said that persons who drink the wine of Troezen cannot become parents. The people of Thasos are reported to make two different kinds of wine, a wine that brings sleep and another that banishes sleep. The same place has a vine called in Greek the 'wild-animal vine,' the wine made from which and also its grapes cure snakebites, and another the 'frankincense vine,' with a scent like that of incense, the wine from which is used for libations to the gods. That of the vine called 'unconsecrated,' on the contrary, is banned from the altars; also it is said that no bird will touch it. Egypt gives the name of 'wine of Thasos' to an extremely sweet native vintage which causes diarrhoea; while Lycia on the contrary has one that has an astringent effect on the bowels. Egypt also possesses a wine called in Greek 'delivery wine' which causes abortion. There are certain wines that, while stored in wine-lofts alter in quality at the rising of the Dog-star and afterwards change back again; the same is the case with wines shipped over sea, and it is observed that the effect of the motion on vintages that can stand it is merely to double their previous maturity.

23. And since life is upheld by religion it is considered sinful to pour libations to the gods, not only with wines made from a vine that has not been pruned, but from one that has been struck by lightning, or one in the neighbourhood of which a man has been hanged, or wine made from grapes that have been trodden out by someone with sore feet, or squeezed from grape-skins that have been cut round or have been soiled by something not quite clean dropping on them from above; and likewise Greek wines must not be used for libations, because they contain water. The vine itself is also eaten, the tops of the shoots being boiled; they are also pickled in vinegar and brine.

24. But it may also be proper to give an account of the method of preparing wine, as Greek authors have written special treatises on this subject and have made a scientific system for itfor instance Euphronius, Aristomachus, Commiades and Hicesius. The practice in Africa is to soften any roughness with gypsum, and also in some parts of the country with lime. In Greece, on the other hand, they enliven the smoothness of their wines with potter's earth or marble dust or salt or seawater, while in some parts of Italy they use resinous pitch for this purpose, and it is the general practice both there and in the neighbouring provinces to season must with resin; in some places they use the lees of older wine or else vinegar for seasoning. Moreover, medicaments for this purpose are also made from the must itself: it is boiled down so as to become sweeter in proportion to its strength, and it is said that must so reared does not last beyond a year's time. In some places they boil the must down into what is called sapa, and pour this into their wines to overcome their harshness. Still both in the case of this kind of wine and in all others they supply the vessels themselves with coatings of pitch, the method of making which will be described in the next volume.

25. Of the trees which distil a juice, some growing in the East and others in Europe produce pitch and resin, and the province of Asia, which lies between the two, has some of both sorts. In the East the best and finest resin is produced by the turpentine-tree, and next by the lentiskthe latter being also called gum-mastic; afterwards comes the juice of the cypress, which has a very sharp flavourall of these trees producing a liquid juice and merely a resin, whereas the juice of the cedar is thicker and suitable for making pitch. Arabian resin is white and has a sharp scent, stifling to a person engaged in boiling it; the resin of Judea dries harder and has a stronger scent than even that from the turpentine-tree; and Syrian resin has a resemblance to Attic honey. The resin of Cyprus excels all other kinds; it likewise is the colour of honey, and has a fleshy consistency. That of Colophon is yellower than the rest, but if ground up turns white; it has a rather oppressive scent, and consequently the perfumers do not make use of it. In Asia a very white resin is made from the pitch-pine; it is called psagdas. All resin can be dissolved in oil, and some people think that potter's chalk can also be so dissolved; and I am ashamed to confess that the chief value now set on resin is for use as a depilatory for men.

The method of seasoning wine is to sprinkle the must with pitch during its first fermentation, which is completed in nine days at most, so that the wine may be given the scent of pitch and some touches of its piquant flavour. It is thought that a more effective way of doing this is by means of raw flower of resin, this giving briskness to the smooth quality of the wine, while on the other hand resin-juice is believed to mitigate the excessive harshness of a wine and to conquer its asperity, or in the case of a thin, smooth, flat wine to add a touch of asperitythis is especially done with the musts of Liguria and the localities on the border of the river Po. The beneficial employment of resin-juice is adjusted in this way: a larger quantity of juice is put into strong, fiery wines, and it is used more sparingly with thin, flat ones. Some people advise using both resin-juice and pitch to season must; and in fact must has a certain pitchy quality and in some districts the fault of must is that it ferments a second time of its own accord, a disaster that destroys its flavour; this liquor is given the name of vappa, which is also applied as a term of opprobrium to human beings when their spirit has deteriorated. For the tartness of vinegar possesses a valuable quality useful for important purposes, and without which it is impossible to live in comparative comfort. For the rest, so much attention is given to the treatment of wines that in some places ashes are employed, as is gypsum elsewhere, and the methods that we have specified, for the purpose of improving their condition; but preference is given to ashes obtained from vine-clippings or from oakwood. Also it is recommended that seawater should be used for this purpose that has been obtained a long way out at sea at the spring equinox and then kept in store, or at all events that it should be taken up during the night at the time of the solstice and when a north wind is blowing, or if it is obtained about vintage time it should be boiled before being used.

The pitch most highly esteemed in Italy for vessels intended for storing wine is that which comes from the Bruttii; it is made from the resin of the pitch-pine. But the pitch obtained from the wild pine iu Spain is very little valued, as resin from that tree is bitter and dry and has a disagreeable smell. The varieties of pitch and the method of making it we shall set out in the next volume when we are dealing with forest trees. The defects in resin beside those already mentioned are acridity or else a smoky tang, while the fault of pitch is being over-burnt; but the test is if when it is broken up the pieces have a luminous appearance, and if they stick to the teeth with an agreeably tart taste. In Asia pitch from Ida is most popular, and in Greece that of Pieria, but Virgil gives the preference to the pitch of Naryse. The more careful makers mix with the wine black mastich, which is found in Pontus and which resembles bitumen, and also iris-root and oil. As for waxing the vessels it is found that this makes the wine turn sour; but it pays better to transfer the wine into vessels that have contained vinegar than into those which have contained sweet wine or mead. Cato recommends that wine should be 'adjusted'this is the word he uses ably adding lye-ashes boiled with boiled-down must in the proportion of a fortieth part to the wine skin, or else a pound and a half of salt, also occasionally some pounded marble; he also mentions sulphur, but he only puts resin near the end of the list. When the wine is beginning to mature he advises adding on the top of all some of the must which he calls 'squeezings,' which we take to mean that which is the very last pressed out. Also we know that for the sake of colouring the wine colours are added as a sort of pigment and that this gives the wine more body. So many poisons are employed to force wine to suit our tasteand we are surprised that it is not wholesome!

It is a proof that wine is beginning to go bad if a sheet of lead when dipped in it turns a different colour.

26. It is a peculiarity of wine among liquids go mouldy or else to turn into vinegar; and whole volumes of instructions how to remedy this have been published. Wine-lees when dried will catch fire, and go on burning of themselves without fuel being added; their ashes have the nature of nitre, and the same properties, with the addition that they are greasier to the touch.

27. Even in regard to wine already vintaged there is a great difference in point of climate. In the neighbourhood of the Alps they put it in wooden casks and close these round with tiles and in a cold winter also light fires to protect it from the

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effect of the cold. It is seldom recorded, but it has been seen occasionally, that the vessels have burst in a frost, leaving the wine standing in frozen blocksalmost a miracle, since it is not the nature of wine to freeze: usually it is only numbed by cold. Districts with a milder climate store their wine in jars and bury them in the ground entirely, or else up to a part of their position so protecting them against the atmosphere; but in other places people keep off the weather by building roofs over them. And they also give the following rules: one side of a wine-cellar or at least its windows ought to face north-east, or at all events east; dunghills and tree-roots must be a long way off, and all objects with a strong smell should be avoided, as it very easily passes into wineparticularly there must be no fig-trees or wild figs near; also spaces must be left between the jars, to prevent taints passing from one to the other, as wine is always liable to very rapid infection. Moreover (these instructions proceed) the shape of the jars is important: pot-bellied and broad ones are not so good. Immediately after the rising of the Dog-star they should be coated with pitch, and afterwards washed with seawater or water with salt in it, and then sprinkled with ashes of brushwood or else with potter's earth, and then rubbed clean and fumigated with myrrh, as should frequently be done with the wine-cellars also. Weak vintages should be kept in jars sunk in the ground, but jars containing strong wines should be exposed to the air. The jars must never be filled quite full, and the space above the surface of the wine must be smeared with raisin-wine or boileddown must mixed with saffron or sword-lily pounded up with boiled must. The lids of the jars should be treated in the same way, with the addition of mastich or Bruttian pitch. It is laid down that jars must not be opened at mid-winter except on a fine day, and not when a south wind is blowing, or at a full moon.

Flower of wine forming is thought to be a good sign if it is white, but a bad sign if it is red, unless it is a red wine; similarly it is a bad sign if the jars feel warm to the touch, or if the lids sweat. Wine that quickly begins to form a flower and to develop an odour is not going to keep. Also boiled-down must and must of new wine should be boiled when there is no moon, which means at the conjunction of that planet, and not on any other day; and moreover leaden and not copper jars should be used, and some walnuts should be thrown into the liquor, for those are said to absorb the smoke. The best way of treating the finest wines of Campania seems to be to set them out in casks in the open air, exposed to the sun, moon, rain and wind.

28. And if anybody cares to consider the matter more carefully, there is no department of man's life on which more labour is spentas if nature had not given us the most healthy of beverages to drink, which all other animals make use of, whereas we compel even our beasts of burden to drink wine! and so much toil and labour and outlay is paid as the price of a thing that perverts men's minds and produces madness, having caused the commission of thousands of crimes, and being so attractive that a large part of mankind knows of nothing else worth living for! Nay, what is more, to enable us to take more, we reduce its strength by means of a linen strainer, and other enticements are devised and even poisonous mixtures are invented to promote drinking, some men taking a dose of hemlock before they begin, in order that fear of death may compel them to drink, while others take powdered pumice and preparations which I am ashamed to teach the use of by describing them. The most cautious of these topers we see getting themselves boiled in hot baths and being carried out of the bathroom unconscious, and others actually unable to wait to get to the dinner table, no, not even to put their clothes on, but straight away on the spot, while still naked and panting, they snatch up huge vessels as if to show off their strength, and pour down the whole of the contents, so as to bring them up again at once, and then drink another draught; and they do this a second and a third time, as if they were born for the purpose of wasting wine, and as if it were impossible for the liquor to be poured away unless by using the human body as a funnel. This is the object of the exercises that have been introduced from foreign countries, and of rolling in the mud and throwing the neck back to show off the muscles of the chest. It is declared that the object of all these exercises is merely to raise a thirst! Then again, think of the drinking matches! think of the vessels engraved with scenes of adultery, as though tippling were not enough by itself to give lessons in licentiousness! Thus wine-bibbing is caused by licence, and actually a prize is offered to promote drunkennessheaven help us, it is actually purchased. One man gets a prize for tipsiness on condition of his eating as much as he has drunk; another drinks as many cups as are demanded of him by a throw of the dice. Then it is that greedy eyes bid a price for a married woman, and their heavy glances betray it to her husband; then it is that the secrets of the heart are published abroad: some men specify the provisions of their wills, others let out facts of fatal import, and do not keep to themselves words that will come back to them through a slit in their throathow many men having lost their lives in that way! and truth has come to be proverbially credited to wine. Meantime, even should all turn out for the best, drunkards never see the rising sun, and so shorten their lives. Tippling brings a pale face and hanging cheeks, sore eyes, shaky hands that spill the contents of vessels when they are full, and the condign punishment of haunted sleep and restless nights, and the crowning reward of drunkenness, monstrous licentiousness and delight in iniquity. Next day the breath reeks of the wine-cask, and everything is forgottenthe memory is dead. This is what they call 'snatching life as it comes!' when, whereas other men daily lose their yesterdays, these people lose tomorrow also. Forty years ago, during the rule of the Emperor Tiberius, the fashion set in of drinking on an empty stomach and preceding meals with a draught of wineyet another result of foreign methods and of the doctors' policy of perpetually advertising themselves by some novelty. This is the kind of prowess by which the Parthians seek fame and Alcibiades won his reputation in Greece, and to which among ourselves Novellius Torquatus of Milan even owed his surnamea man who held the offices of state from praetor right up to deputy consulby tossing off 2 gallons at one draught, which was actually the origin of his surname; this was shown off as a sort of mystery before the Emperor Tiberius in his old age, when he had become very strict and indeed cruel, though for the matter of that his own earlier years had been somewhat inclined to strong drink, and it was believed that what recommended Lucius Piso to Tiberius for selection as custodian of the city was that he had kept on carousing for two days and two nights without a break, at Tiberius's own house after he had become Emperor. And it was said that Drusus Caesar took after his father Tiberius in nothing more than in this. Torquatus had the unusual distinctionas even this science has its own code of rulesof never having stammered in his speech or relieved himself by vomiting or otherwise while he was drinking, but of having always turned up for duty with the morning guard without anything going wrong, and of having drunk the largest quantity on record at one draught and also added to the record by some more smaller draughts, of not having taken breath or spat while drinking (this on the best evidence), and of not having left any heeltaps to make a splash in the paved floorunder the elaborate code of rules to prevent cheating in drinking. Tergilla brings it up against Marcus Cicero that his son Cicero was in the habit of tossing off a gallon and a half at one draught, and that when tipsy he threw a goblet at Marcus Agrippa: these in fact are the usual results of intoxication. But no doubt young Cicero wanted to deprive his father's murderer, Mark Antony, of his fame in this department; for Antony had strained every effort to win the championship in this field before him, by actually publishing a book on the subject of his own drunken habits; and by venturing to champion his claims in this volume, to my mind he clearly proves the magnitude of the evils that he had inflicted on the world through his tippling. It was shortly before the battle of Actium that he vomited up this volume, so proving clearly that he was already drunk with the blood of his compatriots, and that that made him only the more thirsty for it. For in fact the inevitable result of this vice is that the habit of drinking increases the appetite for it, and it was a shrewd observation of the Scythian ambassador that the more the Parthians drank the thirstier they became.

29. The nations of the west also have their own intoxicant, made from grain soaked in water; there are a number of ways of making it in the various provinces of Gaul and Spain and under different names, although the principle is the same. The Spanish provinces have by this time even taught us that these liquors will bear being kept a long time. Egypt also has devised for itself similar drinks made from grain, and in no part of the world is drunkenness ever out of action, in fact they actually quaff liquors of this kind neat and do not temper their strength by diluting them, as is done with wine; yet, by Hercules, it used to be thought that the product of the earth in that country was corn. Alas, what wonderful ingenuity vice possesses! a method has actually been discovered for making even water intoxicated!

There are two liquids that are specially agreeable to the human body, wine inside and oil outside, both of them the most excellent of all the products of the tree class, but oil an absolute necessity, nor has man's life been slothful in expending labour upon it. How much more ingenious, however, man has been in respect of drink will be made clear by the fact that he has devised 185 kinds of beverages (or if varieties be reckoned, almost double that number), and so much less numerous kinds of oilabout which we shall speak in the following volume.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 15

1. One of the most celebrated Greek authors, Theophrastus, who flourished about 314 B.C., stated that the olive only grows at places within forty miles of the sea, while Fenestella says that in 581 BC., during the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, it was not found at all in Italy and Spain or in Africa; whereas at the present day it has penetrated even across the Alps and into the middle of the Gallic and Spanish provinces. Indeed in 249 BC., the year in which Appius Claudius the grandson of Appius Claudius Caecus and Lucius Junius were the consuls, olive-oil cost 10 asses for 12 lbs. and somewhat later, in 74 BC., the curule aedile Marcus Scius, son of Lucius, throughout the whole of his year of office supplied the Roman public with oil at the rate of an as for 10 lbs. These facts will seem less surprising to a person who knows that 22 years later in the third consulship of Gnaeus Pompeius Italy exported oil to the provinces. Also Hesiod, who thought that instruction in agriculture was a prime necessity of life, declared that no one had ever gathered fruit from an olive-tree of his own plantingso slow a business it was in those days, whereas now olive-trees bear even in the nursery-gardens, and after they have been transplanted olives are picked from them the next year.

2. Fabianus says that the olive will not grow in extremely cold places nor yet in extremely hot ones. Virgil said that there are three kinds of olive, the orchites, the shuttle-olive and the posia; he also stated that the olive-tree does not require raking or pruning or any attention. There is no doubt that even in the case of olives the soil and the climate are of very great importance; but nevertheless they are also pruned at the same time as the vine, and they like the ground to be raked between them as well. Olive-picking follows the vintage, and making olive-oil requires even more science than making wine, as the same olive-tree produces a variety of oils. The first oil of all is obtained from the raw olive and when it has not yet begun to ripenthis has the best flavour; moreover its first issue from the press is the richest, and so on by diminishing stages, whether the olives are crushed in wicker sieves or by enclosing the spray in narrow-meshed strainers, a method recently invented. The riper the berry is, the greasier and less agreeable in flavour is the juice. The best age for picking olives, as between quantity and flavour, is when the berry is beginning to turn black, at the stage when they are called druppae with us and drypetides by the Greeks. For the rest, it makes a difference at that stage whether the maturing of the berry takes place in the presses or on the boughs, and whether the tree has been watered or the berry has only been moistened by its own juice and has drunk nothing else but the dews of heaven.

3. It is not the same with olive-oil as with wineage gives it an unpleasant flavour, and at the end of a year it is already old. Herein, if one chooses to understand it, Nature shows her forethought, inasmuch as there is no necessity to use up wine, which is produced for the purpose of intoxicationrather indeed the attractive over-ripeness which it acquires with age tempts us to keep it; but she did not desire us to be sparing in the use of oil, she has made it universal even among common people because of the necessity of using it quickly. In the matter of this blessing also Italy has won the highest rank of all the world, particularly in the district of Venafro and the part of it which produces the Licinian oil, which causes the Licinian olive to be exceptionally famous. It is unguents that have given it this eminence, because its scent is so well adapted to them, but it has also been awarded to it by the palate with its more delicate judgement. Moreover no bird will touch the berries of the Licinian olive. The remainder of the competition is maintained between the territory of Istria and that of Baetica on equal terms, while for the rest the provinces have an approximately equal rank, with the exception of Africa, whose soil is adapted for grain. This territory Nature has yielded entirely to the Corn-goddess, having all but entirely grudged it oil and wine, and having given it a sufficiency of glory in its harvests. The remaining statements prevalent concerning the olive are full of error, which shall prove to be more prevalent in no other department of life.

4. An olive consists of a stone, oil, flesh and lees; the latter constituent is a bitter fluid, which forms out of water and consequently there is very little of it in dry situations but a large amount in wet ones. The oil is indeed a juice peculiar to the olive, and this can be specially learnt from olives in an unripe state, as we have shown when treating of unripe olive-juice and grape-juice. The oil continues to increase until the rising of the Bear-ward, that is till September 16; afterwards the increase is in the sire of the stones and the flesh. At this stage if rain follows in actually large quantities, the oil is spoiled and turns into lees. The colour of these lees makes the olive-oil turn black, and consequently when there is only a tinge of black beginning it contains very little lees, and before any blackness shows none at all. People are quite mistaken in supposing what is really the near approach of decay to be the beginning of ripening, and it is also a mistake to imagine that the amount of oil is increased by the growth of the flesh of the olive, since all the juice is then going into a solid form and the woody interior is getting bigger. It is on this account that olive-trees are watered most plentifully at this period, but watering, whether done intentionally or occurring from repeated falls of rain, uses up the oil, unless fine weather follows to diminish the solid part of the berry. For, as Theophrastus holds, the cause of oil as of other things is entirely warmth, and this is why steps are taken to produce warmth even in the presses and the cellars by lighting large fires. A third mistake is in over-economy, as owing to the cost of picking people wait for the olives to fall. Those who compromise on a middle course in this matter knock the fruit down with poles, so injuring the trees and causing loss in the

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following year; in fact there was a very old regulation for the olive harvest: 'Neither strip nor beat an olive-tree.' Those who proceed most carefully use a reed and strike the branches with a light sideway blow; but even this method causes the tree to produce fruit only every other year, as the buds get knocked off, and this is no less the case if people quantity of lees, to discover how much larger an amount is found in the same kind of olive with every day that is added. There is an entirely unconquerable and widely prevalent mistake which supposes that the swelling of the olive increases the amount of the oil, in spite of the fact that the absence of connexion between the size of the berry and its yield of oil is proved by the olives called 'royal olives,' and by some people 'large-size olives,' and by others 'babbiae'but anyhow a very large olive with very little juice, and also that the very fleshy olives in Egypt produce a scanty amount of oil, while the extremely small olives at Decapolis in Syria, not larger than a caper, nevertheless have an attractive flesh. It is on this account that imported olives are preferred for the table to those grown in Italy, in spite of their being inferior for making oil, and in Italy itself the olives of Picenum and the Sidicini are preferred to all the other kinds. Those olives are kept separate and steeped in salt, as well as in lees or boiled must like the rest, and also some of them are left floating in their own oil and clean, without any adventitious attractionthe kind called in Greek 'swimmers'; these olives are also crushed and then seasoned with a flavouring of green herbs. Olives however unripe are actually made to ripen early by pouring boiling water on them; and it is surprising how olives suck up a sweet juice and take on a flavour that does not belong to them. As with grapes, so also among olives there are purple varieties, the posia almost shading off into black. Beside the kinds already mentioned there is also the 'proud olive,' as well as the very sweet variety, which is merely dried by itself and is sweeter than a raisin; this last kind of olive is rather rare, and is grown in Africa and in the vicinity of Merida in Lusitania.

The actual oil can be guarded against the defect of thickening by the addition of salt. An aromatic scent can be given to the oil by making an incision in the bark of the tree; but any other mode of seasoning, like those used for wine, is no gratification to the palate. Nor are there so many varieties of olive-oil as there are of wine, there being at most three different grades of excellence. In fine oil the odour is more penetrating, though this is short-lived even in the best kind.

5. Olive-oil has the property of imparting warmth to the body and protecting it against cold, and also that of cooling the head when heated. Those parents of all the vices, the Greeks, have diverted the use of olive-oil to serve the purpose of luxury by making it a regular practice in their gymnasiums; the governors of those institutions a have been known to sell the scrapings of the oil for 80,000 sesterces. The majesty of Rome has bestowed great honour on the olive-tree by decorating our cavalry squadrons with wreaths of olive on July, and also when they are celebrating a minor triumph. Athens also crowns victorious athletes with olive wreaths, and Greece the victors at Olympia with wreaths of wild olive.

6. We will now state the rules given by Cato in respect of olives. In a warm and rich soil he recommends planting the larger radius olive, the Sallentine, the orchites, the posia, the Sergian, the Corninian and the wax-white, and he adds with remarkable wisdom that the one among these pronounced in the particular localities to be the best should be used; while he recommends planting the Licinian olive in a cold and thin soil, for the reason that rich or warm earth ruins its oil and the tree gets exhausted by its mere fertility, and moreover is attacked by moss and red rust. He advises that olive-yards should be in a position exposed to the sun and facing west, and he does not approve of any other arrangement. He says that the best way of preserving orchites and posia olives is either to put them in brine when they are green or to crush them and store them in mastic oil; the best olive-oil is made from the bitterest olive obtainable; for the rest the olives should be collected off the ground as soon as possible, and washed if they are dirty; it is enough to leave them to dry for three days, and if the weather is cold and frosty they must be pressed on the fourth day, and when pressed they should be sprinkled with salt. Olives kept on a boarded floor lose oil and it deteriorates in quality, and the same happens if the oil is left on the lees and the groundsthese are the flesh of the olive and produce the dregs; consequently it should be ladled several times a day, and moreover this must be done with a shell and into leaden caldrons, as copper spoils it. All these operations, he says, must be carried on with presses that have been heated and tightly closed, admitting as little air as possible, and therefore also no wood should be cut there (and consequently the most suitable fire is made with the stones of the olives themselves); the oil must be poured out of the caldrons into vats, so as to leave behind the grounds and the lees: for this purpose the vessels must be changed fairly frequently and the osier baskets wiped with a sponge, so that so far as possible complete cleanliness may be produced. It was a later discovery, he says, to wash the olives in absolutely boiling water, and at once put them whole into the pressfor that method crushes out the leesand then to crush them in oil-mills and put them under the press a second time. People do not approve of pressing more than a hundred pecks of olives at a time: this is called a 'batch,' and what is squeezed out first after the millstone is called the 'flower.' It is a fair amount for three batches to be pressed in twenty-four hours by gangs of four men using a double holder.

7. At that time there was no artificial oil, and that I take to be the reason why Cato says nothing about it. At the present time there are several varieties of it; and we will treat first of those kinds which are produced from trees, and among them before all from the wild olive. It is a thin oil, and has a much more bitter flavour than the oil obtained from the cultivated olive, and it is only useful for medicines. Very closely resembling this oil is the oil obtained from the ground-olive, a rock shrub not more than three inches high, with leaves and fruit like those of the wild olive. The next class of oil is that obtained from the cici, a tree growing in great abundance in Egyptothers call it the croton, others sibi, others wild sesamumand there, as well as not long ago in Spain also, it grows wild, shooting up as high as an olive-tree, with a stalk like that of the fennel, the leaf of a vine, and a seed-pod like a slender grape of a pale colour: our countrymen call it the tick, from the resemblance of the seed-pod to that insect. It is boiled in water and the oil floating on the surface is skimmed off. But in Egypt, where it abounds, fire and water are not employed, but salt is sprinkled on the pod and the oil is pressed out; for food it is disgusting, and it is of thin quality for burning in lamps. Amygdalinum, which some people call neopum, is pressed out of bitter almonds, dried and pounded into a cake that is sprinkled with water and then pounded again. An oil is also made from the bay-tree with an admixture of the oil of overripe olives; some people merely press the oil out of the berries, others use only the leaves, and some the leaf and the outer skin of the berries, and also add styrax gum and other scents. The best kind of bay-tree for this is the broad-leaved wild laurel with black berries. A similar oil also comes from the black myrtle, and the broad-leaved variety of this is the best. The berries are sprinkled with hot water and pounded, and then boiled down. Other people boil down the softest of the leaves in oil and press out the liquid, and others steep them in oil and allow them to mature in the sun before putting them in the press. The same method is also used in the ease of the cultivated myrtle, but the wild variety with a smaller pod is preferred, the kind which certain people call oxymyrsine, others ground-myrsine, and some aeorum because of its resemblance to that plant, as it grows low and bushy.

Oil is also made from the citrus and the cypress, from walnutsthis is called caryinum, from apples and from the cedar called pisselaeon; also from grain of Cnidus by cleaning and pounding the seed, and likewise from mastich. As for the method of making cypros-oil and also oil from an Egyptian berry for the purpose of scents, we have spoken of it already. The Indians are said to make oils from chestnuts and gingelly and rice, and the Fish-eater tribes from fish. Scarcity sometimes compels people to make oil for lamps even out of the berries of the plane-tree by steeping them in water and salt. There is also an oil made from the wild vinewe have spoken about the plant itself while dealing with perfumes. For gleucinum must is boiled in oil with a slow heat, but other makers do not use fire but leave the jar packed round with grape-skins for three weeks, stirring up the mixture twice a day, and the must becomes absorbed by the oil. Some people mix in not only marjoram but also more expensive scents, just as the oil used in the gymnastic schools is also perfumed with scents, though of a very poor quality. Oil is also made from aspalathus, reed, balsam, iris, cardamomum, melilot, Gallic nard, all-heal, marjoram, helenium, and cinnamomum root, by steeping all these plants in oil and then pressing out the juices. Similarly also rose-oil is made from roses, and rush-oil, which is very similar to oil of roses, from the sweet rush, and likewise oils are extracted from henbane and from lupins and narcissus. A very large amount is obtained in Egypt from radish seed or from the blade of the grass called chortinon, and likewise from gingelly and from the nettle called cnidinum. In other places also an oil is made from lilies, which is left in the open air to steep in the sunlight and moonlight and frost. On the border of Cappadocia and Galatia they make from native herbs an oil called Selgitic oil, of considerable value for the tendons; and the same oil is made in Italy by the people of Gubbio. From pitch is made an oil called pitch-oil; while the pitch is kept on the boil, fleeces are stretched above the steam rising from it and then wrung out. The most approved kind comes from the Bruttian land; the pitch there is very rich and full of resin.

The colour of pitch-oil is reddish yellow. There is an oil that grows of its own accord in the coastal parts of Syria called elaeomeli. It is a rich oil that trickles from trees, of a substance thicker than honey but thinner than resin, and having a sweet flavour; this also is used by the doctors. There is also a use of old olive-oil for certain kinds of diseases, and it is also deemed to be serviceable for preserving ivory from decay: at all events, the inside of the statue of Saturn at Rome has been filled with oil.

8. But it is above all to the lees of olive-oil that Cato has devoted his praises: he tells how vats and casks to hold oil are steeped in lees to prevent their soaking up the oil; how threshing-floors are given a dressing of lees to keep away ants and to prevent cracks; and moreover how the clay of the walls and the plaster and flooring of granaries, and even cupboards for clothes, are sprinkled with lees, and how seed-corn is steeped in them, as a protection against wood-worms and injurious insects. He speaks of its use as a remedy for diseases of animals and also of trees, and also as a specific against ulceration of the mouth in human beings. He says that reins and all leather articles, and shoes and the axles of wheels are greased with boiled lees, and so are copper vessels to keep off verdigris and to give them a more attractive colour, and all wooden utensils and earthenware jars used for keeping dried figs in, or it may be sprays of myrtle with their leaves and berries on them or anything else of a similar kind. Finally he states that logs of wood steeped in olive-lees will burn without any annoying smoke.

According to Marcus Varro an olive-tree which has been merely licked by the tongue of a she-goat or which she has nibbled when it was first budding goes barren.

So far in regard to the olive and olive-oil.

9. The rest of the fruits produced by trees can scarcely be enumerated by their appearance or shape, let alone by their flavours and juices, which have been so frequently modified by crossing and grafting.

The largest fruit and the one that hangs highest is that of pine-cones, which encloses inside it small kernels lying in fretted beds and clothed in another coat of rusty colour, showing the marvellous care that Nature takes to provide seeds with a soft place to lie in. A second class of pine-cones is that of the Taranto pine, which has a shell that can be broken in the fingers and which is rifled by the birds while on the tree. A third kind is that of the sappinia-cone which grows on the cultivated pitch-pine, the kernels of which have such a soft husk, or rather skin, that it is eaten with them. A fourth kind is called pityis, growing on wild pines, which provides an exceptionally good remedy against a cough when the kernels are boiled in honey; the people of Turin call them raviceli. The winners in the games at the Isthmus are crowned with a wreath of pine leaves.

10. The fruit next to these in size is the one that we call the quince and the Greeks cydoneum, which was introduced from the island of Crete. This fruit drags down the boughs in a curve and checks the growth of the parent tree. There are several kinds of quinces: the 'golden apple' is cleft with incisions and has a colour verging on gold, a brighter tinge of which gives a name to our native quince, and has an exquisite scent. The Naples quince is also highly esteemed. The smaller variety of the same kind, the sparrow-apple, gives out a rather pungent smell, and ripens late, whereas the must-quince ripens very early. Grafting the ordinary quince on the sparrow-apple has produced a special kind, the Mulvian quince, which is the only one of the quinces that is eaten even raw; these at the present day are kept shut up in gentlemen's reception-rooms, and are placed on the statues that share our nights with us. There is also a small wild quince, the scent of which is the most powerful next to that of the sparrow-apple and which grows in the hedges.

11. We give the name of apples, although they really belong to a different kind, to peaches and to pomegranates, of which we have specified nine kinds among the trees of Carthage. Pomegranates contain a kernel enclosed in a skin, but peaches have a hard stone inside them. Moreover one variety of pear called the pound pear asserts by its name the largeness of its weight. But the palm among peaches belongs to the nectarine: the Gallic and the Asiatic varieties are named after their nationalities. The Asiatic peach ripens at the end of autumn, though an early variety ripens in summerthese were discovered within the last thirty years, and were at first sold for a denarius apiece. The Adriatic peach comes from Samnium, but the common peach grows everywhere. It is a harmless fruit, in demand for invalids, and peaches have before now fetched thirty sesterees each, a price exceeded by no other fruitwhich may surprise us, because there is none which keeps worse: the longest time that it will last after being plucked is two days, and it compels you to put it on the market.

12. Afterwards comes a vast crowd of plums. There is the parti-coloured plum, partly black and partly white in colour, which is called the barley-plum because it ripens at barley harvest; and another plum of the same colour, which is later and is larger in size, called the donkey-plum from its inferior value. The wax-plum and the purple plum are smaller in size but more esteemed; and there is also the Armenian plum, imported from foreign parts, the only plum that recommends itself even by its scent. Plums grafted on a nut-tree show a remarkable effrontery, displaying the appearance of the parent tree and the juice of the adopted stock; they take their name from each, being called nut-plums. But both the nut-plum and the peach and the wax-plum and the wild plum, if stored in casks like grapes, will prolong their life till another crop begins to come into existence, but the remaining

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varieties, ripening quickly, speedily pass off. Recently in Boetica the name of apple-plum has begun to be given to plums grafted on apple-trees, and that of almond-plum to others grafted on almonds: the latter have the kernel of an almond inside their stone; and indeed no other fruit has been more ingeniously crossed. Among our foreign trees, we have already spoken of the damson, named from Damascus in Syria; it has been grown in Italy for a long time, though it has a larger stone and less flesh here than in its country of origin, and here it never dries into wrinkles, because it lacks its native sunshine. With it can be mentioned its fellow-countryman the myxa, which also has now begun to be grown at Rome by being grafted on the service-tree.

13. The Persian plum or peach, it is true, is shown by its very name to be an exotic even in Asia Minor and in Greece, and to have been introduced from Persia. But the wild plum is known to grow everywhere, which makes it more surprising that this fruit is not mentioned by Cato, especially as he pointed out the way of storing some wild fruits also. As for the peach-tree, it was only introduced lately, and that with difficulty, inasmuch as in Rhodes, which was its first place of sojourn after leaving Egypt, it does not bear at all. It is not true that the peach grown in Persia is poisonous and causes torturing pain, and that, when it had been transplanted into Egypt by the kings to use as a punishment, the nature of the soil caused it to lose its dangerous properties; for the more careful writers relate this of the persea, which is an entirely different tree, resembling the red myxa, and which has refused to grow anywhere but in the east. The sebesten also, according to the more learned authorities, was not introduced from Persia for punitive purposes, but was planted at Memphis by Perseus, and it was for that reason that Alexander, in order to do honour to his ancestor, established the custom of using wreaths of it for crowning victors in the games at Memphis. It always has leaves and fruit upon it, fresh ones sprouting immediately after the others. But it will be obvious that all our plums also have been introduced since the time of Cato.

14. Of the apple class there are a number varieties. We have spoken of citrons when describing the citron-tree; the Greeks, however, call them 'Medic apples,' after their native country. Equally foreign are the jujube-tree and the tuber-apple, which themselves also have only recently come into Italy, the former from Africa and the latter from Syria. Sextus Papinius, who was consul in our own day [AD 23], introduced each of them in the last years of the principate of his late Majesty Augustus, having grown them in his camp from slips; the fruit is more like a berry than an apple, but the trees make a particularly good decoration for terracesas nowadays we have whole forests of vegetation growing even over the roofs of our houses. There are two kinds of tuber-apple, the white and the red Syrian, so called from its colour. The fruit called wool-fruit, growing in the district of Verona but nowhere else in Italy, is virtually an exotic; it is covered with a woolly down, which grows also in very large quantities on the sparrow-quince and the peach, but which has given its name to this fruit in particular as it has no other remarkable property to recommend it.

15. Why should I hesitate to indicate by name the remaining varieties of fruit, seeing that they have prolonged the memory of those who established them for all time, as though on account of some outstanding achievement in life? Unless I am mistaken, the recital will reveal the ingenuity exercised in grafting, and will show that nothing is so trifling as to be incapable of producing celebrity. Well then, there are kinds of fruit that have their origin from Matius and Cestius, from Mallius, and likewise from Scaudius; and on the last a member of the Claudian family named Appius grafted the quince, producing the fruit called Appian; this has the smell of a quince, the size of a Scaudian apple, and a ruddy colour. And in order that nobody may imagine that it has gained its position by influence due to distinction and family, there is also a Sceptian apple named from a freedman who discovered it, which is remarkable for its round shape. Cato also mentions a Quirinian apple, and a Scantian which he says is stored in casks. But the apple naturalized here most recently of all is a small one with a most agreeable flavour named the Petisian. The Amerian and the Little Greek apples have advertised their places of origin, but all the rest have derived their name from definite reasons'twin' apples from their attachment of relationship, as they never grow singly, the 'Syrian red' from its colour, the pear-apple from its affinity; the must-apple was named from its quickness in ripening, but is now called the honey-apple from its honey flavour; the round apple from its shape, which forms an exact spherethe Greeks, who call this apple the Epirotic apple, prove that it was first produced in Epirns; the orthomastium is so called from its resemblance to a teat, and the eunuch-apple of the Belgians is named from its having no pips. The leaf-apple has a single leaf, or occasionally a pair of leaves, sprouting out from the middle of its side; the ragged-apple very quickly shrivels up into wrinkles; the lung-apple swells in a solid lump. Some apples are of the colour of blood, because they derive their origin from a graft of the mulberry; but all apples are red in the parts that have been turned towards the sun. There are also wild apples with little attraction of flavour and an even sharper scent; their special fault is that of horrible sourness, and it is so powerful that it will blunt the edge of a sword. Another apple is named 'flour-apple,' a very bad kind, although it is the earliest to come on and hastens to be picked.

16. The same charge in the case of pears is censured by the name of pride; this is a small pear, but ripens very quickly. Of all the varieties of pear, however, the Grustumian is the nicest. Next to this are Falernian pears, used for perry, as they contain such a large quantity of juicethis is called being 'milky'and among these are some others of a very dark colour, given us by Syria. The names of the remaining varieties are designated differently in various different localities; but pears that have advertised their producers by the accepted designations of Rome are the Decimian, and the offshoot from it called the Sham Decimian, the very long-stalked one called the Dolabellian, the kind of Pomponian called breast-shaped, the Licerian, the Sevian, and the Turranian, a variety sprung from the Sevian but differing in length of stalk, the Favonian, a red pear a little larger than the 'proud' pear, the Laterian and the Anician, which comes when autumn is over and has an agreeably acid flavour. One pear is called the Tiberian, which was a special favourite of the Emperor Tiberius; it is more coloured by the sun and grows to a larger size, but otherwise would be the same as the Licerian. Pears having the name of their place of origin are the Amerian, the latest of all kinds, the Picentine, the Numantine, the Alexandrian, the Numidian, the Greek, a variety of which is the Tarentine, and the Signine, which some people call the tile-pear from its colour, like the onyx-pear and the purple pear; while named from their scent are the myrrh-pear, the bay-leaf pear and the nardpear; named from its season the barley-pear; from its long neck, the bottle-pear; and the Coriolan and Bruttian pears are so-called because of their connexion with certain races, and the gourd-pear and the sourish pear because of their juice. Pears the reason for the names of which is uncertain are the barbarian, the variety of Venus pear called the coloured Venus, the royal pear called the squat pear because of its very short stalk, the patrician pear, and the vocimum, a green kind of an oblong shape. Virgil has also mentioned a warden pear, which he gets from Cato, who also specifies a 'seed-time pear' and a 'must-pear.'

17. This department of life has long ago arrived at its highest point, mankind having explored every possibility, inasmuch as Virgil speaks of grafting nuts on an arbutus, apples on a plane and cherries on an elm. And nothing further can be devisedat all events it is now a long time since any new kind of fruit has been discovered. Moreover, religious scruples do not permit us to cross all varieties by grafting; for instance, we must not graft upon a thorn, inasmuch as it is not easy to expiate thunderbolts when they have struck them, and it is declared that the same number of bolts will strike it in a single flash as the kinds of trees that have been grafted on it.

Pears have a more tapering shape than apples. The late kinds among them hang on the mother tree till winter and ripen with the frostthe Greek pear, the bottle pear, the bay-leaf pear; as also among apples do the Amerian and Scaudian varieties. Pears are put in storage like grapes, and in as many different ways, and are the only fruit kept in casks except plums. Of all the apple kind pears have the quality of wines, and like wine they are avoided by doctors in the treatment of the sick. Boiled in wine and water they make a sort of jam, as does no other fruit except the quince and the sparrow-apple.

18. In regard to keeping fruit it is universally recommended that fruit-lofts should be constructed in a cool and dry place, with boarded floors and windows facing north that are left open on a fine day, and with glazed windows to keep out south winds, the draught from a north-east wind also spoiling the appearance of the fruit by making it shrivelled; that apples should be gathered after the autumn equinox, and not before the 16th day of the moon nor later than the 28th, nor on a rainy day, nor till an hour after sunrise; that windfalls should be kept separate; that the fruit should have a bed of close-packed straw or of chaff underneath, and should be placed far apart so that the spaces between the rows may admit a uniform draught. It is said that the Ameria apple is the best keeper and the honey-apple the worst. It is recommended that quinces should be stored in a place kept shut up, from which all draughts are excluded, or else that they should be boiled or soaked in honey. Pomegranates should be hardened in boiling seawater and then dried in the sun for three days and hung up in such a way as to be protected from the dew at night, and when wanted for use they should be thoroughly washed in fresh water. Marcus Varro recommends keeping them in large jars of sand, and also while they are unripe covering them with earth in pots with the bottom broken out but with all air shut out from them and with their stalk smeared with pitch, as so kept they grow to an even larger size than they could possibly attain on the tree. He says that all other fruit of the apple kind should also be wrapped up separately in fig-leaves (but not leaves that have fallen off) and stored in wicker baskets or else smeared over with potters' earth. He says that pears should be stored in earthenware jars which should be covered with pitch and placed bottom upwards in a hole in the ground with earth heaped over them. He recommends gathering the Taranto pear very late; and keeping the Anician and also sorb-apples in raisin wine, and putting them in holes dug in the ground in a sunny place, with the lid of the jar plastered up and two feet of earth heaped on top of it, the vessels being placed bottom upward; and he also recommends hanging them together with their branches, like grapes, in large jars.

Some of the most recent writers examine deeper into the matter, and recommend that fruit and grapes should be picked early for the purpose of storage, when the moon is waning, after nine o'clock in the morning, in fine weather or with a dry wind blowing. Likewise they say that the fruit ought to be chosen from dry places and also before it is completely ripe, with the further condition that the moon must be below the horizon; and that the grapes with their hard hammer-shoot of stalk, after the rather rotten berries have been removed with a pair of scissors, should be hung up inside a fresh-tarred cask, with all air shut out by the lid and by plaster. They recommend the same method for storing sorb-apples and pears, the stalks of all having been smeared with pitch. They say that the casks must not be kept anywhere near water. Some people store them in this way together with the branch itself, with each of its ends stuck into a squill; others hang them in casks still containing wine, but taking care that the grapes do not touch the wine; some store apples floating in wine in earthenware dishes, by which method they think a scent is given to them by the wine. Some prefer to preserve all fruit of this kind in millet, but most people think it is best kept in a hole in the ground two feet deep with a layer of sand under the fruit and covered with an earthenware lid and then with soil. Some even smear grapes with potters' clay, dry them in the sun and hang them up, washing off the clay when they are required for use. In the case of fruits, they get rid of the clay by means of wine. By the same method they coat the finest kind of apples with plaster or wax, but if the fruit is not already ripe it breaks the coating by growing in size; but they always store the apples with their stalks downward. Other people pluck the apples together with the branches, the ends of which they thrust into elder pith and then bury, as described above. Others assign a separate clay vessel to each apple and pear, and after sealing up the opening of the vessels with pitch enclose them again in a cask; also some store the fruit, packed in flocks of wool, in cases which they smear with clay mixed with chaff; others follow the same plan using earthenware pans to put them in; and also some store them in a hole on a layer of sand, and so later cover them up with dry earth. There are some who give quinces a coat of Pontic wax and then dip them in honey. Columella recommends storing grapes in earthenware vessels that have been very carefully smeared with a coating of pitch, and sinking them into wells or cisterns. The part of seaboard Liguria nearest to the Alps dries its grapes in the sun, and wraps the raisins in bundles of rush and stores them in casks sealed np with plastered lime. The Greeks do the same, employing plane-tree leaves, the leaves of the vine itself or fig-leaves that have been dried for one day in a shady place, and putting grape-skins in the cask between the grapes; this is the method used for storing the grapes of Cos and of Beyrout, which are inferior to none in sweetness. Some people to make raisins dip the grapes in lye-ashes as soon as they have plucked them from the vines, and afterwards dry them in the sun and plunge the raisins into hot water and again dry them in the sun, and then wrap them up in leaves, making them into a tight bundle with grape-husks as described above. There are those who prefer to keep grapes in sawdust or in shavings of pine or poplar or ash wood; and there are some who advise hanging them in a granary, not near any apples, as soon as they are picked, because they say that the dust of the corn dries them best. A protection against wasps for bunches of grapes hung up is to sprinkle them with oil squirted out of the mouth. About palm-dates we have already spoken.

19. Of the rest of the apple class the fig is the largest, and some figs rival even pears in size. We have spoken about the marvels of the Egyptian and Cypriote fig among the figs of foreign countries.

That of Mount Ida is red, and is the size of an olive, only rounder in shape; it has the taste of a medlar. The local name of this tree is the Alexandrian fig; the trunk is eighteen inches thick and it spreads out in branches; it has a tough pliant wood, containing no juice, a green bark and a leaf like that of a lime but soft to the feel. Onesicritus reports that the figs in Hyrcania are much sweeter than ours and the trees more prolific, a single tree bearing 270 pecks of fruit. Figs have been introduced among us from other countries, for instance, Chalcis and Chiosof the latter there are several varieties, inasmuch as Lydian figs, which are purple, and breast-shaped figs have a resemblance to the Chian; also the 'pretty-sparrow' figs, which are superior in the flavour of their flesh and are the coolest of all figs. For in regard to the African fig, as many people prefer it to the whole of the other kinds, there is a great question, inasmuch as this kind has only quite recently crossed over into Africa. Also among black figs the

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Alexandrian is named from its country of originit has a cleft of a whitish colour, and it is called the luxury fig; among figs that ripen early those of Rhodes and of Tivoli are also black. Early figs also have the names of the persons who introduced themLivia, Pompey: the latter is the best for a fig to be dried in the sun for use throughout the year, together with the marsh fig and the fig with marks all over it shaped like a reed leaf. There are also the Herculaneum fig, the white-wax fig, and the white plough fig, with a very small stalk, a very flat-shaped kind. But the earliest fig is the purple fig, which has a very long stalk; it is accompanied by the worst of the very small kinds, called the people's fig. On the other hand the kind that ripens latest, just before winter, is the swallow fig. There are moreover figs that bear both late and early, yielding two crops, one white and one black, ripening with the harvest and with the vintage. There is also a late fig named from the hardness of its skin; some of the Chalcidic varieties of this kind bear three times a year. The extremely sweet fig called the ona grows only at Taranto. Cato makes the following remark about figs: 'Plant the marisca fig in a chalky or open place, but the African, Herculanean and Saguntine kinds, the winter fig and the black long-stalked Telanian in a richer soil or in one well manured.' Since his day so many names and varieties have arisen that a consideration of this alone is enough to show how our way of life has been transformed. Some provinces also have winter figs, for instance Moesia, but these are a product of art and not of nature. There is a small kind of fig-tree which is banked up with manure at the end of autumn and the figs on it are overtaken by winter while still unripe; and when milder weather comes the figs, together with the tree, are dug up again and restored to light; and just as if born again they greedily imbibe the warmth of the new sun, a different one from the sun through which they lived before, and begin to ripen along with the blossom of the coming crop, maturing in a year that does not belong to them; the region is an extremely cold one.

20. But the variety which even in his day Cato termed the African fig reminds us of his having employed that fruit for a remarkable demonstration. Burning with a mortal hatred of Carthage and anxious in regard to the safety of his descendants, at every meeting of the senate he used to vociferate 'Down with Carthage!' and so on a certain occasion he brought into the house an early ripe fig from that province, and displaying it to the Fathers he said, 'I put it to you, when do you think this fruit was plucked from the tree?' Everybody agreed that it was quite fresh; so he said, 'O well, it was picked the day before yesterday at Carthageso near is the enemy to our walls!' And they promptly embarked on the third Punic war, in which Carthage was brought down, although Cato had been taken from us the year after the incident narrated. What should we chiefly wonder at in this? ingenuity or chance coincidence? rapidity of transit or manly force of character? The crowning marvel, which I for my part think wonderful beyond parallel, is that so mighty a city, which for one hundred and twenty years had competed for the sovereignty of the world, was overthrown by the evidence of a single fruitan achievement which not Trebbia or Trasimene, not Cannae with the tomb of Rome's glory, not the Carthaginian camp pitched three miles from the city and Hannibal in person riding up to the Colline gate were able to achieve: so much nearer did Cato bring Carthage to us by means of a single fruit!

A fig-tree growing in the actual forum and meeting-place of Rome is worshipped as sacred because things struck by lightning are buried there, and still more as a memorial of the fig-tree under which the nurse of Romulus and Remus first sheltered those founders of the empire on the Lupercal Hillthe tree that has been given the name of Ruminalis, because it was beneath it that the wolf was discovered giving her rumis (that was the old word for breast) to the infantsa marvellous occurrence commemorated in bronze close by, as though the wolf had of her own accord passed across the meeting-place while Attus Naevius was taking the omens. And it is also a portent of some future event when it withers away and then by the good offices of the priests is replanted. There was also a fig-tree in front of the temple of Saturn, which in 404 BC., after a sacrifice had been offered by the Vestal Virgins, was removed, because it was upsetting a statue of Silvanus. A tree of the same kind that was self-sown lives in the middle of the forum, at the spot where, when the foundations of the Empire were collapsing in portent of disaster, Curtius had filled up the gulfs with the greatest of treasures, I mean virtue and piety and a glorious death. Likewise self-sown is a vine in the same locality, and there is an olive planted by the care of the populace for the sake of the shade; an altar in the forum was removed on the occasion of the gladiatorial show given by his late Majesty Julius, the most recent one that fought in the forum.

21. A remarkable fact about the fig is that this alone among all the fruits hastens to ripen with a rapidity due to the skill of nature. There is a wild variety of fig called the goat-fig which never ripens, but bestows on another tree what it has not got itself, since it is a natural sequence of causation, just as from things that decay something is generated. Consequently this fig engenders gnats which, being cheated out of nutriment in their mother tree, fly away from its decaying rottenness to the kindred tree and by repeatedly nibbling at the figsthat is by feeding on them too greedily they open their orifices and so make a way into them, bringing with them the sun into the fruit for the first time and introducing the fertilizing air through the passages thus opened. Then they consume the milky juicethis is the symptom of the fruit's infancywhich also dries up of its own accord; and because of this in fig-orchards a goat-fig is allowed to grow on the windward side, so that when a wind blows the gnats may fly off and be carried to the fig-trees. Then a plan was discovered of also bringing branches of the wild fig from somewhere else and throwing them tied together in bundles on to the fig-orcharda treatment which orchard figs do not require when planted in a thin soil with a northerly aspect, since they dry of their own accord owing to the situation of the place, and this cause by making them split open produces the same results as the action of the gnats; nor yet do they need screening where there is much dust, which occurs chiefly when a much frequented high road is adjacent, for dust also has the effect of drying them up and absorbing the milky juice. This method by means of the dust and the employment of the wild fig also serves the purpose of preventing the figs from falling off, by removing the juice which is soft and heavy, involving a certain liability to break. All figs are soft to the touch, and when ripe have grains inside them; also while in process of ripening they contain a milky juice, which when they are quite ripe is of the nature of honey. When left on the tree they grow old, and when quite aged they drip tears of gum. The figs that are highly approved arc given the distinction of being dried and kept in boxes, the best and largest growing in the island of Iviza and the next best in the district of Chicti; but in places where there is a very large supply of them, they are packed for storage in large jars in Asia, but in casks in the city of Ruspina in Africa, and when dry they serve the purpose of bread and other viands at the same time, inasmuch as Cato, as if laying down a law as to the proper rations for agricultural labourers, prescribes that they are to be reduced in quantity during the time when the figs are ripe. A plan has lately been devised to use a ftesh fig iustead of salt when eating cheese. To this class, as we have said, belong the Syrian and the Carian figs and the Caunean figs that, when Marcus Crassus was embarking to sail against the Parthians, gave him an omen by the voice of a man crying them for sale. All these varieties of fruit were imported from Syria to his country place at Alba by Lucius Vitellius, afterwards censor, when he was lieutenantgovernor in that province, in the latter part of the principate of the emperor Tiberius.

22. Fruits that must be included in the class of apples and pears are the medlar and the service-berry. There are three sorts of medlar, the anthedon, the setania, and the third an inferior kind yet rather like the anthedon, which is called the Gallic medlar. The fruit of the setania is larger and of a paler colour, with a softer pip; the others have smaller fruit but with a superior scent and keeping longer. The tree itself is one of the most widely spreading; its leaves turn red before they fall off; it has a great many roots, which go deep into the ground and consequently it is impossible to grub them up. In Cato's time this tree did not exist in Italy.

23. There are four varieties of service-berry, some of them round like an apple, and others of conical shape like a pear, while others look like an egg, as do some kinds of apple. This last variety are liable to be sour, but the round ones excel in scent and sweetness, and the rest have a flavour of wine; the best varieties are those which have their stalks surrounded with tender leaves. The fourth kind is called the colic apple and is only valued as a medicine; it is a steady bearer and has a very small fruit; the tree differs in appearance from the other kind, and the leaves are almost the same as those of the plane. None of the sorbs bear before their third year. Cato records that even sorbs can be preserved in must.

24. The walnut has won from the service-berry in point of size the place that it has yielded to it in popularity, although the walnut also accompanies the Fescennine songs sung at weddings. The whole nut is considerably smaller than a pine-cone, but the kernel is larger in the same proportion. Moreover the walnut has a distinction of structure that is peculiar to it, in that it is protected by a double covering, consisting first of a cushion-shaped cup and then of a woody shell. This is the reason why walnuts have become emblems consecrated to weddings [possibly as a fertility charm; these were thrown by the bridegroom to the boys carrying the torches], because their progeny is protected in so many waysa more likely explanation of the custom than that it is due to the rattling rebound which it makes when it falls on the floor. The Greek names for the walnut prove that it also was sent us from Persia by the kings, the best kind of walnut being called in Greek the Persian and the 'royal,' and these were their original names. It is generally agreed that the caryon walnut gets its name from the headache that it causes because of its oppressive scent. The shell of the walnut is used for dyeing wool, and the young nuts while just forming supply a red hair-dyethis was discovered from their staining the hands when handled. Age makes them oily. The only difference between the various kinds of walnuts consists in the hardness or brittleness of the shell and in its being thin or thick and full of recesses or uniform. It is the only fruit which nature has enclosed in a covering made of pieces fitted together; for the shell is divided into two boat-shaped pieces, and the kernel is further separated into four sections with a woody membrane running between them in all the other kinds of nut the whole is in one solid piece, as for instance in the hazel, itself also a sort of nut, the previous form of its name having been Abellina, after the name of its place of origin; but it came into Asia and Greece from Pontus and is consequently also called the Pontic nut. This nut also is protected by a soft beard, but the shell and the kernel are formed of one solid round piece. It also is roasted. The kernel has a navel in its centre. A third variety of the nut class is the almond, which has an outer integument like that of the walnut but thinner, and also a second covering consisting of a shell; but the kernel is unlike a walnut's in its breadth and its hard part is more bitter. It is doubtful whether this tree existed in Italy in the time of Cato, as he calls almonds 'Greek nuts,' a name which some people also retain in the class of walnuts. Beside these Cato adds a smooth, hard kind of hazel-nut, the Palestrina nut, which he praises very highly and says can be kept fresh and green by being potted and buried in the ground. At the present day the almonds of Thasos and Alba are famous, and two kinds grown at Taranto, one with a brittle shell and the other with a hard shell, which are very large in size and very little rounded in shape; also famous is the 'soft nut,' which breaks through its shell. Some interpret the word for walnut as honorific and say it means 'Jove's acorn.' I lately heard a man of consular rank declare that he owned some walnut trees that actually bore two crops a year. We have already spoken in the proper place of the pistachio, which is also a sort of nut. This also was likewise first brought into Italy by Vitellius at the same time, and it was simultaneously introduced into Spain by Pompeius Flaccus, Knight of Rome, who was serving with Vitellius.

25. We give the name of nut to the chestnut, also, although it seems to fit better into the acorn class. The chestnut has its armed rampart in its bristling shell, which in the acorn is only partly developed, and it is surprising that what nature has taken such pains to conceal should be the least valuable of things. Some chestnuts produce three nuts from one shell; and the skin is tough, but next to the body of the nut there is a membrane which both in the chestnut and the walnut spoils the taste if it is not peeled off. It is more agreeable as a food when roasted, provided it is ground up, and it supplies a sort of imitation bread for women when they are keeping a fast. They came first from Sardis, and consequently they are called nuts of Sardis among the Greeks, for the name of Zeus's nut was given them later, after they had been improved by cultivation. There are now several varieties of them. The Taranto chestnut is light and digestible to eat; it has a flat shape. The chestnut called the acorn-chestnut is rounder; it is very easy to peel, and jumps out of the shell quite clean of its own accord. The Salarian chestnut also has a flat shape, but that of Taranto is less easy to handle. The Corellian is more highly spoken of, and so is the variety produced from it by the method which we shall speak of in dealing with grafting, the Etereian, which its red skin renders more popular than the three-cornered chestnut and the common black ones called cooking chestnuts. The most highly commended chestnuts come from Taranto, and in Campania from Naples; all the other kinds are grown for pig-food; the pigs carefully chew up the shells as well, together with the kernels.

26. Also the extremely sweet carob may be thought to be not far remote from the chestnut, except that in the case of the carob the husk itself is eaten. It is not longer than a man's finger, and occasionally curved like a sickle, and it has the thickness of a man's thumb. Acorns cannot be counted among fruits, and consequently they will be dealt with among trees of their own kind.

27. The remaining fruits belong to the fleshy class, and they differ in their shape and in their flesh. Berries one kind of flesh, the mulberry another, the strawberry-tree another; and the grape, etc., have a substance between skin and juice different from that of the myxa plum and from that of berries such as the olive. The flesh of the mulberry contains a vinous juice, and the fruit has three successive colours, first white, then red, and when ripe black.

The mulberry is one of the latest trees to blossom, but among the first to ripen. The juice of ripe mulberries stains the hand, but the stain can be washed out with the juice of unripe ones. In the case of this tree the devices of the growers have made the least improvement of any, and the mulberry of Ostia and that of Tivoli do not differ from that of Rome by named varieties or by grafting or in any other way except in the size of the fruit. A similar but much firmer berry also grows on brambles.

28. The flesh of the ground strawberry is different from that of the strawberry-tree which is related to it, the strawberry being the only fruit that grows at the same time on a bush and on the ground. The tree itself is a sort of shrub; the fruit takes a year to mature, and the following crop flowers side by side

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with the earlier crop when it is ripening. Authorities disagree as to whether it is the male plant or the female that is unproductive. The fruit is held in no esteem, the reason for its name being that a person will eat only one. Nevertheless the Greeks call it by the two names of comaron and memaceylon, which shows that there are two varieties of the plant; and with ourselves it has another name, the arbutus. Juba states that in Arabia the strawberry-tree grows to a height of 75 feet.

29. There is also a great difference among the acinus classto begin with, between grapes themselves, which vary in respect of firmness, thinness or thickness of skin and the stone inside, which in some is specially small and in others actually double, the latter producing extremely little juice. Again, the berries of the ivy and the elder are very widely different, and the pomegranate differs greatly in shape also, being the only fruit that has corners; and there is no membrane for each separate grain, but only one wrapping for them all in common, which is white in colour. And these fruits consist entirely of juice and flesh, particularly the ones which contain only a small amount of woody substance.

There is also a great variety among the berries of the baca kind, those of the olive and the laurel being different, and that of the lotus differing in structure from that of the come and that of the myrtle from that of the lentisk; indeed the berries of the holly and the may contain no juice; and moreover the cherry forms a class intermediate between the baca kind of berries and the acinus kind: its fruit is at first white, as is that of almost all the bacae. At a later stage with some the berry turns green, e.g. the olive and the laurel; but in the case of the mulberry, the cherry and the cornel it changes to red, and then with the mulberry, cherry and olive it turns black.

30. Before the victory of Lucius Lucullus in the war against Mithridates, that is down to 74 BC., there were no cherry-trees in Italy. Lucullus first imported them from Pontus, and in 120 years they have crossed the ocean and got as far as Britain; but all the same no attention has succeeded in getting them to grow in Egypt. Of cherries the Apronian are the reddest, and the Lutatian the blackest, while the Caecilian kind are perfectly round. The Junian cherry has an agreeable flavour but practically only if eaten under the tree on which it grows, as it is so delicate that it does not stand carriage. The highest rank, however, belongs to the bigaroon cherry called by the Campanians the Plinian cherry, but in Belgium to the Lusitanian, and so also on the banks of the Rhine. This cherry has a third kind of colour, a blend of black, bright red and green, which looks as if the fruit were always not quite ripe. It is less than five years ago that what is called the laurel-cherry was introduced, which has a not disagreeable bitter flavour, and is produced by grafting a cherry on a bay-tree. There are also Macedonian cherries, grown on a tree of small size and rarely exceeding four and half feet in height, and ground-cherries, with a still smaller bush. The cherry is one of the earliest fruits to repay its yearly gratitude to the farmer. It likes a north aspect and cold conditions; moreover it can be dried in the sun and stored in casks like olives.

31. The same amount of care is also bestowed on the cornel, and even on the lentisk. So that nothing may not appear to have come into existence for the sake of man's appetite, flavours are blended and different ones are forced to gratify different persons; indeed even the regions of the earth and of the sky are blended: in one kind of food the aid of India is invoked, in another that of Egypt, Crete, Cyrene and every land in turn. Nor does our regimen stick at poisons, if only it may devour everything. This will become clearer when we come to the nature of herbaceous plants.

32. In the meantime we find that there are ten kinds of flavours that belong in common to the fruits and to all their juices; sweet, luscious, unctuous, bitter, rough, acrid, sham, harsh, acid and salt. Beside these there are three other flavours of a particularly remarkable nature: (1) one in which several tastes are discerned simultaneously, as in winesfor they contain both a rough and a sham and a sweet and a luscious taste, all of them different from each other; (2) another kind is that which contains both the flavour of something else and one that is its own and peculiar to itself, for instance milkinasmuch as milk contains a something which nevertheless cannot rightly be called sweet or unctuous or luscious, being possessed by a smoothness which of itself takes the place of a flavour; (3) water has no flavour at all and no flavouring constituent, yet still this very fact gives it some taste and makes it form a class of its own: at all events for water to have any perceptible taste or flavour is a defect. In all these flavours smell is of great importance and a great factor of affinity; in the case of water even smell is entirely absent, or if perceptible at all is a defect. It is a remarkable fact that the three chief natural elements, water, air and fire, have neither taste, smell, nor any flavour whatever.

33. Among juices, then, those with a vinous and flavour are the juices of the pear, the mulberry and the myrtle-berry, and surprising as it may seem, the juice of the grape least of all. The juice of the olive, laurel, walnut and almond is unctuous, that of grapes, figs and dates is sweet, and that of plums watery. There is also a great difference in the colour of juice: that of the mulberry, the cherry, the cornel and the black grape is blood-red; the juice of white grapes is of a light colour; fig juice is milky white in the part near the stalk but not in the body of the fruit; apple juice is the colour of foam; peach juice has no colour at all, in spite of the. fact that the hard peach has a large quantity of juice, but no one would say that this has any colour.

Smell also contains its own marvels. Apples have a pungent scent, peaches a weak one, and sweet fruits none at all; for even sweet wine has no smell, although thin wine has more aroma, and wines of that class become fit for use much sooner than those with more body. Fruits with a scent are not likewise agreeable to the palate, as scent and flavour do not go togetherso that citrons have a very penetrating smell and a very rough taste, and in some degree that is the case with quinces also; and figs have no smell.

34. And so much for the various classes and kinds of fruits. Their structures call for closer examination. Some fruits are characterized by their pods, which are themselves sweet and which enclose a seed that is bitter, since whereas in fairly many plants the seeds are agreeable, seeds contained in a pod are not approved of. Others are characterized by berries which have a hard kernel inside and flesh outside, for instance olives and cherries. Some have the berries inside and a hard shell outside, as is the ease with the fruit we spoke of that grows in Egypt. Fruits of the apple kind have the same structure as the berries: some have flesh inside and a hard ease outside, as in the case of nuts; while others have flesh outside and a hard stone inside, as is the ease with peaches and plums, which thus have the refuse part wrapped round with the fruit, whereas in other eases the fruit is shielded by the refuse part. Nuts are enclosed in a shell, chestnuts in a skin; with chestnuts the skin is removed, but in the ease of medlars it is eaten. Acorns are covered with a hard shell, grapes with a skin, pomegranates with an outer skin and an inner skin. Mulberries consist of flesh and juice, cherries of skin and juice. Some fruits separate from their woody part at once, for instance nuts and dates, but some adhere to it, for instance olives and laurel-berries; and one group has both properties, for example peaches, inasmuch as in the hard peach or nectarine the flesh adheres and cannot be torn away from the stone, whereas in all the other sorts it is easily separated. Some fruits have no stone inside and no shell outside, for instance the date class. Of some kinds the hard part itself is used and serves as fruit, for instance the cuci which we spoke of as growing in Egypt. Some fruits have a double refuse-covering, as in the case of chestnuts and almonds and walnuts. Some have a threefold structurethere is flesh and then shell and then again a seed inside the shellfor instance peaches. Some fruits grow in clusters, for instance grapes and sorbs, the latter clinging all round the branches and weighing them down, like grapes; but others hang separately, as in the case of the peach. Some fruits are contained in a matrix, for instance pomegranates; some hang down from a stalk, for instance pears, others hang in bunches, for instance grapes and dates, and others hang from a stalk and form hunches as well, for instance ivy-berries and elder-berries. Others are attached to a branch, like the berry on the laurel, while certain kinds hang in both ways, for instance olives, for they have both short stalks and long ones. Some consist of capsules, for instance the pomegranate, the medlar and the lotus in Egypt and on the Euphrates. Then again fruits have a variety of attractions to recommend them. Dates please us by their flesh, but the dates of the Thebaid by their hard skin; grapes and nut-dates by their juice, pears and apples by their firm flesh, mulberries by their substance, nuts by their solid interior, certain fruits in Egypt by their pips, Carian figs by their skin this is removed from green figs as refuse, but in dried figs it is very agreeable. In the case of the papyrus, the fennel-giant and the white thorn the stalk itself is the fruit, as are the stalks of the fig-tree, and in the shrub class the caper with its stalk; but in the carob the only part that is eaten is the woodwhile its seed has a property that must not be omitted: it cannot be called either flesh or wood or cartilage, and it would not be given any other name.

35. The nature of the juices produced is particularly remarkable in the case of the myrtle, because it is the only one among all the trees that gives two kinds of oil and of wine, beside the drink called myrtidanum, as we said. In former times another use was also made of the myrtle-berry, which held the place of pepper before pepper was discovered; in fact, in the case of one kind of savoury dish the name is derived from this, it being to this day called myrtle sausage. Also the flavour of wild boar is improved from the same source, as the pickle usually has myrtle-berries added to it.

36. The actual tree is recorded to have been seen for the first time on the hither side of Europe, beginning from the Ceraunian Mountains, on the grave of Elpenor at Circello, and it still keeps its Greek name, showing it to be an exotic. At the time of the foundation of Rome myrtles grew on the present site of the city, as tradition says that the Romans and Sabines, after having wanted to fight a battle because of the carrying off of the maidens, laid down their arms and purified themselves with sprigs of myrtle, at the place now occupied by the statues of Venus Cluacina, cluere being the old word meaning 'to cleanse.' And a kind of incense for fumigation is also contained in this tree, which was selected for the purpose on the occasion referred to because Venus the guardian spirit of the tree also presides over unions, and I rather think that it was actually the first of all trees to be planted in public places at Rome, fraught indeed with a prophetic and remarkable augury. For the shrine of Quirinus, that is of Romulus himself, is held to be one of the most ancient temples. In it there were two sacred myrtles, which for a long time grew in front of the actual temple, and one of them was called the patricians' myrtle and the other the common people's. For many years the patricians' tree was the more flourishing of the two, and was full of vigour and vitality; as long as the senate flourished this was a great tree, while the common people's myrtle was shrivelled and withered. But after the latter had grown strong while the patrician myrtle began to turn yellow, from the Marsian war onward [91-88 BC] the authority of the Fathers became weak, and by slow degrees its grandeur withered away into barrenness. Moreover there was also an old altar belonging to Venus Myrtea, whose modern name is Murcia.

37. Cato mentioned three kinds of myrtle, the black, the white and the 'union myrtle'perhaps named after marriage unionsdescended from the stock of the Cluacina myrtle mentioned above; but at the present day there is also another classification, which distinguishes the cultivated and the wild myrtle, and in each of these also a wide-leaved variety, while the variety called oxymyrsine occurs only in the wild kind. Varieties of the cultivated myrtle produced by landscape-gardeners are the Taranto myrtle with a very small leaf, the Roman myrtle with a broad leaf, and the 'six-row' myrtle with very thick foliage, the leaves growing in rows of six. The last is not much grown, being bushy and not lofty. I believe that the union-myrtle is now called the Roman myrtle. The myrtle with the most powerful scent belongs to Egypt. Cato taught how to make wine from the black myrtle, by drying it in the shade until no moisture remained and then putting it in must; he says that if the berries are not thoroughly dried, oil is produced. Afterwards a way was also discovered of making a white wine from the pale variety, by steeping a quart of pounded myrtle in a pint and a half of wine and then pressing out the liquor. The leaves are also dried by themselves till they go to a powder, which is used as a cure for sores on the human body, the powder being slightly corrosive and serving to cool off the perspiration. Moreover, the oil also curiously enough contains a certain flavour of wine, and at the same time has a greasy fluidity which makes it specially efficacious for improving wines if it is poured over the wine-strainers before they are used; this is because the oil retains the lees and only allows the pure liquor to pass through, and unites with the wine after it has been strained, greatly improving it. Sprigs of myrtle also merely by being carried by a traveller are beneficial when making a long journey on foot. Moreover, rings made of myrtle twigs which have never been touched by iron are a cure for swellings in the groin.

38. The myrtle has also claimed a part in matters of warfare, and Publius Postumius Tubertus, the first of all men who ever entered the city with an ovation, during his consulship celebrated a triumph [503 B.C.] over the Sabines, and because he had won the campaign easily, without bloodshed, he made his entry wearing a wreath made of the myrtle of Venus Vietrix, and so made that tree a coveted object even for our enemies. Subsequently a myrtle wreath was regularly worn by generals celebrating an ovation, with the exception of Marcus Crassus, who when celebrating his victory won from the runaway slaves and Spartacus, made his entry wearing a wreath of laurels. Masurius informs us that generals going in triumph in a chariot also used to wear a myrtle wreath. Lucius Piso records that Papirius Maso, the first general who held a triumph on the Alban Mount, in [71 B.C.] celebration of his victory over the Corsicans, was in the habit of wearing a wreath of myrtle when watching the games in the circus: he was the maternal grandfather of the second Africanus. Marcus Valerius wore two wreaths, one of laurel and one of myrtle, having made a vow to do so.

39. The laurel is especially assigned to triumphs, but it is extremely decorative for dwelling-houses, and guards the portals of the emperors and the high priests; there it hangs alone, adorning the mansions and keeping sentry-guard before the thresholds. Cato has recorded two species of laurel, the Delphic and the Cyprian. Pompeius Lenaeus added one which he called mustax, because it was placed underneath mustacean cakes: he said that this has a very large, pendulous leaf of a whitish colour, and that the Delphic laurel is a uniform greener colour, and has very large berries of a reddish green; and that this laurel is used to make wreaths for the winners at Delphi, as it is for generals going in triumph at Rome. He states that the Cyprus laurel is crinkly, with a short black leaf that curves up along the edges. Since his time varieties have been added: the tine treethis some take to be the wild laurel, but there are people who think that it is a separate kind of tree: indeed there is a difference of colour, the berry being bright blue. Another addition is the royal laurel, which has begun to be called the Augusta laurel, a very large tree with a very large leaf and berries without any rough taste. Some say that the royal laurel and the Augusta are not the

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same, and make out the royal to be a special kind, with longer and broader leaves. The same persons place in another class, under the name of hacalia, the laurel which is the, commonest of all and bears the largest number of berries, but much to my surprise give the name of triumphal laurel to one that has no berries, and say that this is the one used by persons celebrating a triumphunless the use of it began with his late Majesty Augustus, as we shall show, as sprung from the laurel which was sent down to him from heaven, which was a very low growing tree with a short, crinkled leaf, and very rarely met with. In ornamental gardening there is also the Thasos laurel, which has a tiny leafy fringe as it were growing out of the middle of the leaf, and the gelded laurel, without this fringe, which is remarkably able to stand lack of sun and which consequently fills the ground with its shoots in however shady a place. There is also the ground laurel, a shrub that grows wild, and the Alexandrine laurel, which some call the Idaean, others hypoglottion, others carpophyllon and others hypelatess This laurel spreads out branches 9 inches long from its root, and is useful for making wreaths; the leaf is more pointed than that of the myrtle, and softer, brighter in colour and larger; the seed, which lies between the leaves, is red; it grows in great abundance on Mount Ida and in the vicinity of Heraclea in Pontus, and it only occurs in mountain districts. Also the class of laurel called daphnoides is involved in a competition of nomenclature, as some call it the Pelasgian laurel, others the leafy laurel, others Alexander's crown. This also is a bushy shrub, with a thicker and softer leaf than the ordinary laurel, which leaves a burning taste in the mouth; the berries are a blackish red. The older writers noted that there was no variety of laurel that grew in Corsica; but it has now been introduced there with successful results.

40. The laurel itself is a bringer of peace, inasmuch as to hold out a branch of it even between enemy armies is a token of a cessation of hostilities. With the Romans especially it is used as a harbinger of rejoicing and of victory, accompanying despatches and decorating the spears and javelins of the soldiery and adorning the generals' rods of office. From this tree a branch is deposited in the lap of Jupiter the All-good and All-great whenever a fresh victory has brought rejoicing, and this is not because the laurel is continually green, nor yet because it is an emblem of peace, as the olive is to be preferred to it in both respects, but because it flourishes in the greatest beauty on Mount Parnassus and consequently is thought to be also dear to Apollo, to whose shrine even the kings of Rome at that early date were in the custom of sending gifts and asking for oracles in return, as is evidenced by the case of Brutus; another reason also is perhaps to supply a token, because it was there that Brutus won freedom for the people by kissing the famous plot of earth that bore the laurel, at the direction of the oracular utterance; and another possible reason is that the laurel alone of all the shrubs planted by man and received into our houses is never struck by lightning. I personally am inclined to believe that it is for these reasons that the place of honour has been assigned to it in triumphs, rather than because it was employed, as Masurius records, for the purpose of fumigation and purification from the blood of the enemy. And it is so strongly forbidden to pollute the laurel and the olive in profane uses, that they must not be employed even for kindling a fire at altars and shrines in propitiating the deities. The laurel indeed manifestly expresses objection to the application of fire by crackling and making a solemn protest, the timber actually giving a twist to the cracks in its intestines and sinews. It is stated that the emperor Tiberius used to put a wreath from this tree on his head when there was a thunder-storm as a protection against danger from lightning.

There are also occurrences related to the laurel that are worth recalling in connexion with his late Majesty Augustus. When Livia Drusilla, who afterwards received the name of Augusta on her marriage, had been betrothed to Caesar, while she was seated an eagle dropped into her lap from the sky a hen of remarkable whiteness, without hurting it; she regarded it with wonder, but undismayed, and there was a further miracle: it was holding in its beak a laurel branch bearing its berries. So the augurs ordered that the bird and any chickens it produced should be preserved, and that the branch should be planted in the ground and guarded with religious care. This was done at the country mansion of the Caesars standing on the banks of the river Tiber about nine miles out on the Flaminian road; the house is consequently called The Poultry, and the laurel grove so begun has thriven in a marvellous way. Afterwards the Emperor when going in a triumph held a laurel branch from the original tree in his hand and wore a wreath of its foliage on his head, and subsequently every one of the ruling Caesars did the same; and the custom was established of planting the branches which they had held, and groves of laurels distinguished by their names still survive; and it was perhaps in consequence of this that the change was made in the laurels worn in triumphs.

The laurel is the only tree the name of which is used in Latin as a man's name, and the only tree whose leaves have a special name applied to themwe call them bay-leaves. The name of the tree also survives as a place-name in Rome, as there is a locality on the Aventine called Loretto where there was once a laurel grove. Moreover, the laurel is employed in rituals of purification; and incidentally it should be stated that it can even be grown from a slip, as this has been doubted by Democritus and Theophrastus.

We will now describe the various forest trees.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 16

1. Among the trees already mentioned are included the fruit-trees and those which by their mellower juices first added the element of pleasure to food and taught us to mingle relishes with our necessary nutriment, whether they did so of their own accord or whether they learnt from mankind to acquire agreeable flavours by means of adoption and intermarriageand this is a service which we have also rendered to beasts and birds. Next would have come an account of the acorn-bearing trees which first produced food for mortal man and were the foster-mothers of his helpless and savage lot, if we were not compelled by a sense of wonder learnt from experience to turn first to the question, what is the nature and what are the characteristics of the life of people living without any trees or any shrubs.

We have indeed stated that in the east, on the shores of the ocean, a number of races are in this necessitous condition; but so also are the races of people called the Greater and the Lesser Chauci, whom we have seen in the north. There twice in each period of a day and a night the ocean with its vast tide sweeps in a flood over a measureless expanse, covering up Nature's age-long controversy and the region disputed as belonging whether to the land or to the sea. There this miserable race occupy elevated patches of ground or platforms built up by hand above the level of the highest tide experienced, living in huts erected on the sites so chosen, and resembling sailors in ships when the water covers the surrounding land, but shipwrecked people when the tide has retired, and round their huts they catch the fish escaping with the receding tide. It does not fall to them to keep herds and live on milk like the neighbouring tribes, nor even to have to fight with wild animals, as all woodland growth is banished far away. They twine ropes of sedge and rushes from the marshes for the purpose of setting nets to catch the fish, and they scoop up mud in their hands and dry it by the wind more than by sunshine, and with earth as fuel warm their food and so their own bodies, frozen by the north wind. Their only drink is supplied by storing rainwater in tanks in the forecourts of their homes. And these are the races that if they are nowadays vanquished by the Roman nation say that they are reduced to slavery! That is indeed the case: Fortune oft spares men as a punishment.

2. Another marvel arising from the forests: these crowd the whole of the remainder of Germany and augment the cold with their shadow, but the loftiest grow not far from the Chauci mentioned above, especially round two lakes. The actual shores of these are occupied by oaks, which grow with extreme eagerness, and these when undermined by the waves or overthrown by blasts of wind carry away with them vast islands of soil in the embrace of their roots, and thus balanced, float along standing upright, so that our fleets have often been terrified by the wide rigging of their huge branches, when they seemed to be purposely driven by the waves against the bows of the ships at anchor for the night, which thus were unavoidably compelled to engage in a naval battle with trees.

In the same northern region is the vast expanse of the Hereynian oak forest, untouched by the ages and coeval with the world, which surpasses all marvels by its almost immortal destiny. To omit other facts that would lack credence, it is well known that the collision of the roots encountering each other raises up hillocks of earth, or, where the ground has not kept up to them, their arches in their struggle with one another rise as high as the branches, and curve over in the shape of open gateways, so as to afford a passage to squadrons of cavalry.

They are practically all of the acorn-bearing class of oak, which is ever held in honour at Rome,

3. because from it are obtained the Civic Wreaths, that glorious emblem of military valour, but now for a long time past also an emblem of the emperors clemency, ever since, owing to the impiety of the civil wars, not to kill a fellow-citizen had come to be deemed meritorious. Below these rank mural crowns and rampart-crowns and also golden crowns, although surpassing them in cost, and below them likewise are beaked crowns, albeit down to the present supremely famous in the case of two persons, Marcus Varro who was given this honour by Pompey [67 B.C.] the Great as a result of the wars against the pirates, and likewise Marcus Agrippa who was awarded it is by Augustus after the Sicilian wars, which were also waged against pirates. Previously the forum was graced by the rams of ships fastened in front of the platform, like a wreath crowning the Roman nation. But later they began to be trampled on and polluted by the seditions of the tribunes, and power began to pass from public into private ownership, and to be sought for the advancement of individual citizens, and the sacrosanct tribunes began to make all things profane; and after this the Rams passed from underneath the feet of the speakers to the heads of the citizens; this Wreath of Rams Augustus bestowed upon Agrippa, but he himself received the Civic Wreath from the whole of mankind.

4. In olden times indeed no Civic Wreath was presented save to a deitythat is why Homer assigns a wreath only to heaven and to a whole battlefield, but to no man individually even in combatand it is said that Father Liber was the first to set a crown on his own head, a wreath of ivy. Afterwards persons performing sacrifices in honour of the gods assumed crowns, the victims being adorned with wreaths as well. Most recently of all they were also brought into use in ritual competitions, but in these and at the present day they are not bestowed on the winner, but an announcement is made that by him a wreath is conferred upon his native place; and from this has arisen the custom of also bestowing wreaths on victorious generals about to go in a triumphal procession, for them to dedicate as offerings in the temples, and also subsequently the practice of presenting wreaths at the games. To discuss who was the first Roman to receive each kind of wreath would be a lengthy matter, and not relevant to the plan of this work, and as a matter of fact the Romans were only acquainted with those given for military achievements; but it is a well-known fact that this one nation has a greater variety of wreaths than all the other nations put together.

5. Hostus Hostilius, who was the grandfather of King Tullus Hostilius, was crowned by Romulus with a garland of leaves for having been the first to enter Fidena. The elder Publius Decius, who was military tribune, received a garland of leaves from the army which he had saved from destruction in the war with the Samnites when the consul Cornelius Cossus was [343 B.C] in command of our army. The Civic Wreath was first made of the leaves of the holm-oak, but afterwards preference was given to a wreath from the winter oak, which is sacred to Jove, and also a variety was made with the common oak and the tree growing in the particular locality was given, only the honour awarded to the acorn being preserved! Strict and therefore exclusive conditions were further imposed, which may be compared with that supreme wreath of the Greeks which is bestowed beneath the tutelage of Zeus himself and for which the winner's native place in its rejoicing breaks a passage through its city walls; these conditions wereto save the life of a fellow-citizen; to kill one of the enemy; that the place where the exploit occurred must not be occupied by the enemy on the same day; that the person rescued must admit the factwitnesses otherwise are of no value;and that it must have been a Roman citizen: auxiliary forces, even though it is a king who is rescued, do not bestow this distinction. Nor is the same honour any greater if the rescued person is a general, because the founders of this institution wished the honour to be supreme in the case of any citizen. The receiver of the wreath may wear it for the rest of his life; when he appears at the games it is the custom for even the senate always to rise at his entrance, and he has the right to sit next to the senators; and he himself and his father and his paternal grandfather are exempt from all public duties. Siccius Dentatus, as we have mentioned at the proper place, won fourteen Civic Wreaths, and Capitolinus six, one in his case being actually for saving the life of his commanding officer Servilius. Scipio Africanus refused to accept a wreath for rescuing his father at the Trebbia. How worthy of eternity is a national character that rewarded exploits so distinguished with honour only, and whereas it enhanced the value of its other wreaths with gold, refused to allow the rescue of a citizen to be a thing of price, thus loudly proclaiming that it is wrong even to save the life of a human being for the sake of gain!

6. Acorns at this very day constitute the wealth of many races, even when they are enjoying peace. Moreover also when there is a scarcity of corn they are dried and ground into flour which is kneaded to make bread; beside this, at the present day also in the Spanish provinces a place is found for acorns in the second course at table. Acorns have a sweeter flavour when roasted in the ashes. Moreover it was provided by law in the Twelve Tables that it was permissible to gather up acorns falling on to another person's land. There are many kinds of acorns, and they differ in their fruit, habitat, sex and flavour, some having the shape of the beech-nut and others of the mast of the oak and the holmoak, and there are also differences within each of these varieties. Moreover some grow wild in forests and others are more tame, occupying cultivated ground. Then they are different in mountain regions and in the plains, as also they differ in sexmale and female, and likewise in flavour: the sweetest of them all is beech-mast, it being recorded by Cornelius Alexander that the people in the town of Chios actually held out against a siege by using it for food. It is not possible to distinguish its kinds by their names, which are different in different places, inasmuch as we see the hard-oak and the common oak growing everywhere, but the winter oak not in every region, and the fourth species of the same class, called the Turkey oak, is not known at all even to the greater part of Italy. We will therefore distinguish the varieties by their properties and natures, also using the Greek names when necessary.

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7. The acorn of the beech resembles a kernel, being enclosed in a triangular shell. The leaf, which is thin and one of the lightest that there are, resembles that of the poplar; it turns yellow very quickly, and on its upper side, usually at the middle, it grows a little green berry with a pointed end. Mice are extremely fond of the beech and consequently in places where it grows these animals abound; it also fattens dormice, and is good for thrushes, too. Almost all trees grow a good crop only every other year, but this is especially the case with the beech.

8. The trees that bear acorns in the proper sense of the term are the hard-oak, the common oak, the winter oak, the Turkey oak, the holm-oak and the cork tree. These trees carry their acorn enclosed in a bristly cup that embraces more or less of it according to their kinds. Their leaves with the exception of the holm-oak are heavy, fleshy and tapering, with wavy edges, and they do not turn yellow when they fall like beech leaves; they differ in length according to the variety of their kinds.

There are two classes of holm-oak. The Italian variety, called by some Greeks milax, has a leaf not very different from that of the olive, but the holmoak in the provinces is the one with pointed leaves. The acorn of both kinds is shorter and more slender than that of other varieties; Homer calls it akylon and distinguishes it by that name from the common acorn. It is said that the male holm-oak bears no acorns.

The best and largest acorn grows on the common oak, and the next best on the winter oak, as that of the hard-oak is small, and that of the Turkey oak a rough, bristly thing with a prickly cup like that of the chestnut. But also in the case of the oak in general the acorn of the female tree is sweeter and softer, while that of the male tree is more compact. In the most esteemed variety called descriptively the broad-leaved oak, the acorns differ among themselves in size and in the thinness of their shell, and also in that some have under the shell a rough coat of a rusty colour, whereas in others one comes to the white flesh at once. Those acorns are also esteemed the kernel of which at each extremity taken lengthwise has a stony hardness, those having this in the husk being better than those with it in the flesh of the nut, but in either case it only occurs with a male tree. Moreover in some cases the acorn is oval, in others round, and in others of a more pointed shape, just as the colour also is blacker or lighter, the latter being preferred. The ends of acorns are bitter and the middle parts sweet; also there is a difference in the shortness or length of the stalk.

In respect of the trees themselves the one that bears the largest acorn is called the hemeris; this is a comparatively low-growing oak which forms a circle of bushy foliage and which is frequently hollow at the spread of the branches. The wood of the common oak is stronger and less liable to decay; this variety also has many branches, but grows higher and has a thicker trunk; but the loftiest kind is the aegilops, which likes wild uncultivated country.

Next to this in height is the broad-leaved oak, but it is less useful for builders' timber and for charcoal, and when hewn with the axe is liable to split, on which account it is used in the unhewn state. As charcoal it only pays to use it in a copper-smith's workshop, because as soon as the bellows stop it dies down and has to be rekindled repeatedly; but it gives out a great quantity of sparks. A better charcoal is obtained from young trees. Piles of freshly cut sticks are fitted closely together and made into an oven with clay, and the structure is set fire to, and the shell as it hardens is prodded with poles and so discharges its moisture.

The worst kind both for charcoal and for timber is the one called in Greek the sea-cork oak, which has a very thick bark and trunk, the latter usually hollow and spongy; and no other variety of the oak class is so liable to rot, even while it is alive. Moreover it is very frequently struck by lightning, although it is not particularly lofty; consequently it is not thought right to use its wood for sacrifices either. Also it rarely bears acorns, and when it does they are bitter, so that no animal will touch them except swine, and not even these if they can get any other fodder. An additional reason among others for its being disregarded for religious ceremonies is that its charcoal goes out during the course of a sacrifice.

Beech-mast fed to pigs livens them up, and makes their flesh easy to cook and light and digestible whereas the acorns of the holm-oak make a pig thin, not a glossy, meagre. Acorns from the common oak make it heavy and lumpish, being themselves also the largest of nuts and the sweetest in flavour. According to Nigidius's account the next best to the common acorn is the acorn of the Turkey oak, and no other kind gives the pig more solid flesh, though hard. He says that holm-oak acorn is a trying feed for pigs, unless given to them in small quantities at a time; and that this is the latest acorn to fall. He adds that the acorn of the winter oak, hard-oak and cork-tree make a pig's flesh spongy.

9. All the acorn-bearing trees produce oak-apples. Oak galls as well, and acorns in alternate years, but the hemeris bears the best oak-apple and the one most suitable for dressing hides. The oak-apple of the broad-leaved oak resembles it, but is lighter in weight and much less highly approved. This tree also produces the black oak-applefor there are two varieties, this last being more useful for dyeing wool. The oak-apple begins to grow when the sun is leaving the sign of the Twins, and always bursts forth full-size in a night. The lighter-coloured variety grows in a single day, and if it encounters a spell of heat it dries up at once and does not attain its proper growth, that is, to have a kernel the size of a bean. The black oak-apple stays fresh and goes on growing for a longer period, so as sometimes to reach the size of an apple. The best kind comes from Commagene, and the worst is that produced by the hard-oak; it can be detected by the transparent hollows in it.

10. The hard-oak supplies a number of other products in addition to acorns; it also bears both kinds of oak-apples, and berries that are like mulberries except that they are dry and hard, also usually resembling a bull's head, which contain a fruit like the stone of an olive. There also grow on it little balls not unlike nuts, having inside them soft flocks of wool suitable for lamp-wicks, since they will keep burning even without oil, as is also the case with the black oak-apples. The hard-oak also bears another sort of little ball with hairs on it, which is of no use, though in spring-time it has a juice that is like bee-glue. Also in the hollows at the junction of its boughs grow little balls adhering bodily to the bark and not attached by a stalk, the point of attachment being white but the remainder speckled with black patches; inside they have a scarlet colour, but when opened they are bitter and empty. Sometimes also the hard-oak bears growths resembling pumice-stone, as well as little balls made of the leaves rolled up, and also on the veins of the leaves watery pustules of a white colour, and as long as they remain soft permeable to light, in which gnats are born. When they ripen they form a knot like the small smooth oak-apple.

11. Hard-oaks also bear catkins: that is the name of a small round ball used in medicine for its caustic property. It also grows on the fir, the larch, the pitch-pine, the lime, nut-trees and the plane, lasting on in the winter after the leaves have fallen. It contains a kernel resembling the kernel of pine-cones; this grows in winter and opens out in spring. When the leaves have begun to grow, the whole ball falls off. Such is the multiplicity of products in addition to the acorn that are borne by hard-oaks; but they also produce edible fungi and hog-mushrooms, the most recently discovered stimulants of the appetite, which grow round their roots; those of the common oak are the most esteemed, but those of the hard-oak and cypress and pine are harmful. Hard-oaks also produce mistletoe, and honey as well according to Hesiod, and it is an accepted fact that honey-dew falling from the sky, as we said, deposits itself on the leaves of no other tree in preference to the hard-oak; and it is well known that hard-oak wood when burnt produces a nitrous ash.

12. Nevertheless the holm-oak challenges all these products of the hard-oak on the score of its scarlet alone. This is a grain, and looks at first like a roughness on a shrub, which is the small pointed-leaf holmoak. The grain is called 'scolecium,' 'little worm'. It furnishes the poor in Spain with the means of paying one out of every two instalments of their tribute.

We have stated the use of this grain and the mode of preparing it when speaking of purple dye. It occurs also in Galatia, Africa, Pisidia and Cilicia, and the worst kind in Sardinia.

13. In the Gallic provinces chiefly the acorn-bearing trees produce agaric, which is a white fungus with a strong odour, and which makes a powerful antidote; it grows on the tops of trees, and is phosphorescent at night; this is its distinguishing mark, by which it can be gathered in the dark. Of the acorn-bearing tree the one called the aegilops alone carries strips of dry cloth covered with white mossy tufts; this substance not only grows on the bark but hangs down from the branches in streamers eighteen inches long, and it has a strong scent, as we miss. said when dealing with perfumes.

The cork is a very small tree, and its acorns are very bad in quality and few in number; its only useful product is its bark, which is extremely thick and which when cut grows again; when flattened out it has been known to form a sheet as big as 10 feet square. This bark is used chiefly for ships' anchor drag-ropes and fishermen's dragnets and for the bungs of casks, and also to make soles for women's winter shoes. Consequently the Greek name for the tree is 'bark-tree,' which is not inappropriate. Some people also call it the female holm-oak, and in places where the holm-oak does not grow, for instance in the districts of Elis and Sparta, use cork-tree timber instead of holm-oak, especially for wain-wright's carpentry. It does not grow all over Italy or anywhere in Gaul.

14. Also in the case of the beech, the lime, the fir and the pitch-pine the bark is extensively used by country people. They employ it for making panniers and baskets, and larger flat receptacles used for carrying corn at harvest-time and grapes at the vintage, and the roof-eaves of cottages. A scout writes reports to send to his officers by cutting letters on fresh bark from the sap; and also beech bark is used for ritual purposes in certain religious rites, but the tree from which it is stripped does not survive.

15. The most suitable roof-shingles are got from the hard-oak, and the next best from the other acorn-bearing trees and from the beech; those most easily obtained are cut from all the trees that produce resin, but these are the least good to last with the exception of those from the pine. Cornelius Nepos informs us that Rome was roofed with shingles right down to the war with Pyrrhus, a period of 470 years. At all events its different regions used to be denoted by designations taken from the woodsthe Precinct of Jupiter of the Beech Tree (which retains the name even to-day)where there was once a grove of beeches, Oak-forest Gate, Osier Hill, where people went to get osiers, and all the Groves, some even named from two sorts of trees. It was in Winter-oak Grove that Quintus Hortensius as dictator after the 287 BC. secession of the plebeians to the Janiculum Hill carried the law that an order of the plebs should be binding on all citizens.

16. The pine and the fir and all the trees that produce pitch were in those days considered exotics, because there were none in the neighbourhood of the capital. Of these trees we shall now speak, in order that the whole of the source from which flavouring for wine is produced may be known at once, after an account has been given of the trees in Asia or the East which produce pitch.

In Europe pitch is produced by six kinds of trees, all related to one another. Of these the pine and the wild pine have a very narrow long leaf like hair, with a sharp point at the end. The pine yields the smallest amount of resin, sometimes also produced from its nuts themselves, about which we have spoken, and scarcely enough to justify its classification as a resinous tree.

17. The pinaster is nothing else but a wild pine tree of smaller height throwing out branches from the middle as the pine does at the top. This variety gives a larger quantity of resin, in the manner which we shall describe. It grows in flat countries also. Most people think that trees called tibuli that grow along the coasts of Italy are the same tree with another name, but the tibulus is a slender tree and more compact than the pinaster, and being free from knots is used for building light gallies; it is almost devoid of resin.

18. The pitch-pine loves mountains and cold localities. It is a funereal tree, and is placed at the doors of houses as a token of bereavement and grown on graves; nevertheless nowadays it has also been admitted into our homes because of the ease with which it can be clipped into various shapes. This pine gives out a quantity of resin interspersed with white drops so closely resembling frankincense that when mixed with it they are indistinguishable to the eye; hence the adulteration is practised in the Seplasia. All these classes of trees have short leaves, but rather thick and hard like the leaf of the cypress. The branches of the pitch-pine are of moderate size and grow out almost immediately from the root of the tree, attached to its sides like arms.

Similarly the fir, which is in great demand for building ships, grows high up on mountains, as though it had run away from the sea; and its shape is the same as that of the pitch-pine. But it supplies excellent timber for beams and a great many of the appliances of life. Resin, which gives its value to the pitch-pine, is a defect in the fir, which occasionally exudes a small quantity when exposed to the action of the sun. The wood, on the contrary, which in the case of the fir is extremely beautiful, in the pitchpine only serves for making split roof-shingles and tubs and a few other articles of joinery.

19. The fifth kind of resinous tree has the same habitat and the same appearance; it is called the larch. Its timber is far superior, not rotting with age and offering a stubborn resistance to damp; also it has a reddish colour and a rather penetrating scent. Resin flows from this tree in rather large quantities, of the colour and stickiness of honey, and never becoming hard.

The sixth kind is the torch-pinea specially so called, which gives out more resin than the rest, but less, and of a more liquid kind, than the pitch-pine; and it is agree able for kindling fires and also for torchlight at religious ceremonies. These trees, at all events the male variety, also produce the extremely strong-smelling liquid called by the Greeks. It is a disease of the larch to turn into a torch-pine.

All these kinds of trees when set fire to make an enormous quantity of sooty smoke and suddenly with an explosive crackle send out a splutter of charcoal and shoot it to a considerable distanceexcepting the larch, which does not burn nor yet make charcoal, nor waste away from the action of fire any more than do stones. All these trees are evergreen, and are not easily distinguishable in point of foliage even by experts, so closely are they interrelated; but the pitch-pine is not so tall as the larch, which has a thicker and smoother bark and more velvety and oilier and thicker foliage, the leaf bending more softly to the touch, whereas the foliage of the pitch-pine is scantier and also drier and thinner and of a colder nature, and the whole tree is rougher and is covered with resin; the wood more resembles that of the fir. When the roots of a larch have been burnt it does not throw out fresh shoots, but the pitch-pine does, as happened on the island of Lesbos after the grove of the town of Pyrrha had been burnt. Moreover there

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is another difference within these species themselves in the matter of sex: the male tree is shorter and has harder leaves, while the female is taller and its leaves are more unctuous and not forked and not stiff; and the wood of the male is hard, and when used in carpentry splits crooked, while that of the female is softer, the manifestation of the difference resting with the axe, which in every variety detects the male, because it meets with resistance and falls with a louder crash and is pulled out of the wood with greater difficulty. With the male trees the wood itself is parched and blacker in colour. In the neighbourhood of Mount Ida in the Troad there is also another variation among the larches, the mountain larch and the coast larch being different. As for Macedonia and Arcadia and the neighbourhood of Elis, in these places the varieties exchange names and the authorities are not agreed as to which name to give to each species, though for our part we settle that sort of question by the verdict of Rome.

The biggest of the entire group is the fir, the female being even taller than the male, and its timber softer and more easily worked, and the tree rounder in shape, and with dense feathery foliage, which makes it impervious to rain; and in general it has a more cheerful appearance. From the branches of these species, with the exception of the larch, there hang nut-like growths resembling catkins, packed together like scales. Those of the male fir have kernels in their tips, though this is not the case with the female fir; but the nuts of the pitch-pine have kernels filling the whole of the catkins, which are smaller and narrower, the kernels being very small and black, owing to which the Greek name for the pitch-pine is a word meaning 'louse-tree.' Also in the pitch-pine the nut-growths are more closely packed in the male trees and less moist with resin.

20. Moreover, not to pass over any variety, resembling these trees in appearance is the yew, hardly green at all in colour and slender in form, with a gloomy, terrifying appearance; it has no sap, and is the only tree of all the class that bears berries. The fruit of the male yew is harmfulin fact its berries, particularly in Spain, contain a deadly poison; even wine-flasks for travellers made of its wood in Gaul are known to have caused death. Sextius says that the Greek name for this tree is milax, and that in Arcadia its poison is so active that people who go to sleep or picnic beneath a yew-tree die. Some people also say that this is why poisons were called 'taxic,' which we now pronounce 'toxic,' meaning 'used for poisoning arrows.' I find it stated that a yew becomes harmless if a copper nail is driven into the actual tree.

21. In Europe tar is obtained from the torch-pine by heating it, and is used for coating ships' tackle and many other purposes. The wood of the tree is chopped up and put into ovens and heated by means of a fire packed all round outside. The first liquid that exudes flows like water down a pipe; in Syria this is called 'cedar-juice,' and it is so strong that in Egypt it is used for embalming the bodies of the dead.

22. The liquor that follows is thicker, and now produces pitch; this in its turn is collected in copper cauldrons and thickened by means of vinegar, as making it coagulate, and it has been given the name of Bruttian pitch; it is only useful for casks and similar receptacles, and differs from other pitch by its viscosity and also by its reddish colour and because it is greasier than all the rest. It is made from pitch-resin caused to boil by means of red-hot stones in casks made of strong oak, or, if casks are not available, by piling up a heap of billets, as in the process of making charcoal. It is this pitch which is used for seasoning wine after being beaten up into a powder like flour, when it has a rather black colour. The same resin, if rather gently boiled with water and strained off, becomes viscous and turns a reddish colour; this is called 'distilled pitch.' For making this the inferior parts of the resin and the bark of the tree are usually set aside. Another mixing process produced 'intoxication resin': raw flower of resin is picked off the tree with a quantity of thin, short chips of the wood, and broken up small in a sieve, and then steeped in water heated to boiling. The grease of this that is extracted makes the best quality of resin, and it is rarely obtainable, and only in a few districts of Italy near the Alps. It is suitable for medical use: the doctors boil of a gallon of white resin in l gallons of rainwaterthough others think it pays better to boil it without water over a slow fire for a whole day, and to employ a vessel of white copper, or to boil resin from the turpentine-tree in a flat pan on hot ashes, as they prefer this to all the other kinds. The resin of the mastich is rated next.

23. We must not omit to state that with the name of 'live pitch' is to Greeks also the give pitch which has been scraped off the bottom of seagoing ships and mixed with waxas life leaves nothing untriedand which is much more efficacious for all the purposes for which the pitches and resins are serviceable, this being because of the additional hardness of the sea salt.

An opening is made in a pitch-tree on the side towards the sun, not by means of an incision but by a wound made by removing the bark, making an aperture at most two feet long, so as to be at least eighteen inches from the ground. Also the body of the tree itself is not spared, as in other cases, because the chips of wood are valuable; but the chips from nearest the surface are most esteemed, those from deeper in giving the resin a bitter flavour. Afterwards all the moisture from the whole tree flows together into the wound; and so also in the case of the torch-tree. When the liquid stops flowing, an opening is made in a similar manner out of another part of the tree and then another. Afterwards the whole tree is felled and the pith of the timber is burnt. In the same way in Syria also they strip the bark off the turpentine-tree, there indeed stripping it from the branches and roots as well, although the resin from these parts is not valued highly. In Macedonia they burn the whole of the male larch but only the roots of the female tree. Theopompus wrote that in the territory of the Apolloniates a mineral pitch is found that is not inferior to that of Macedonia. The best pitch is everywhere obtained from trees growing in sunny places with a north-east aspect, whereas that from shady places has a rougher appearance, and presents an offensive odour; and pitch in a cold winter is inferior in quality and less plentiful in quantity, and of a bad colour. Some people think that the liquid obtained in mountain regions is superior in quantity and colour and sweeter, and also has a more agreeable smell, so long as it remains in the state of resin, but that when boiled down it yields less pitch, because it goes off into a watery residue, and that the trees themselves are thinner than those in the plains, but that both the one and the other kinds are less productive in dry weather. Some trees yield a liberal supply in the year after they are cut, whereas others do so a year later and some two years later. The wound fills up with resin, not with bark or by a scab, as in this tree an incision in the bark does not join up.

Among these classes of trees some people have made a special variety of the sappinus fir, because under the name of this group of trees is grown the kind which we described among the nut-bearing kinds; and the lowest parts of the same tree are called pine-torches, although the tree in question is really only a pitch-pine with its wild character a little modified by cultivation, whereas the sappinus is a timber produced by the mode of felling used, as we shall explain.

24. For it is for the sake of their timber that Nature has created the rest of the trees, and the most productive of them all, the ash. This is a lofty, shapely tree, itself also having feathery foliage, and has been rendered extremely famous by the advertisement given it by Homer as supplying the spear of Achilles. The wood of the ash is useful for a great many purposes. The kind grown on Ida in the Troad so closely resembles cedar-wood that when the bark has been removed it deceives buyers. The Greeks have distinguished two kinds of ash-tree, a tall one without knots and the other a short tree with harder and darker wood and foliage like that of the bay-tree. In Macedonia there is a very large ash making very flexible timber, which has the Greek name of 'ox-ash.' Other people have distinguished the ash-tree by locality, as they say that the ash of the plains has a crinkly grain and the mountain ash is close-grained. Greek writers have stated that the leaves of the ash are poisonous to beasts of burden, though doing no harm to all the other kinds of ruminants; but in Italy they are harmless to beasts of burden also. Indeed, they are found to be serviceable as an exceptionally effective antidote for snakebites, if the juice is squeezed out to make a potion and the leaves are applied to the wound as a poultice; and they are so potent that a snake will not come in contact with the shadow of the tree even in the morning or at sunset when it is at its longest, so wide a berth does it give to the tree itself. We can state from actual experiment that if a ring of ash-leaves is put round a fire and a snake, the snake will rather escape into the fire than into the ash-leaves. By a marvellous provision of Nature's kindness the ash flowers before the snakes come out and does not shed its leaves before they have gone into hibernation.

25. In the lime-tree the male and the female are entirely different. Not only is the wood of the male lime hard and reddish and knotted and more scented, but also the bark is thicker, and when peeled off cannot be bent; nor does the male tree produce seed or a flower as the female does, and the female is thicker in the trunk and its wood is white and of superior quality. A remarkable fact in regard to the lime is that no animal will touch its fruit, whereas the juice of the leaves and bark has a sweet taste. Between the bark and the wood there are thin coats made by a number of layers of skin, made from which are the ropes called lime-withies, and the thinnest part of them provided limechaplets, famous for the ribbons of wreaths of honour in old times. Lime-wood is worm-proof, and it makes useful timber although the tree is of extremely moderate height.

26. The maple, which is of about the same size as the lime, is second only to the citrus in its elegance as a material for cabinet-making and in the finish it allows of. It is of several kinds: the white maple, an exceptionally light-coloured wood, is called Gallic maple, and grows in Italy north of the Po, and on the other side of the Alps; the second kind has blotches running in wavy lines, and in its finer variety has received the name of 'peacock maple' from its resemblance to a peacock's tail, the finest sorts growing in Istria and Tyrol; and an inferior variety is called the thick-veined maple. The Greeks distinguish the varieties by locality, saying that the maple of the plains is light-coloured and not wavythis kind they call glinonbut the mountain maple has a rather wavy grain and is harder, the wood of the male tree being still wavier and suitable for making more elegant articles; while a third kind is the hornbeam, a reddish wood that splits easily, with a rough bark of a pale colour. Others prefer to class tins as belonging to a special kind of tree, and give it the Latin name of carpinus.

27. But a very beautiful feature of the maple is the growth on it called bruscum, and yet much more remarkable the molluscum, both knots, the former veined in a twistier pattern, while the latter is covered with simpler markings, and if it were large enough for tables to be made of it would undoubtedly be preferred to citrus-wood; but as it is, except for writing-tablets and veneering on couches, it is seldom seen in use. Bruscum is also used for making tables, though they have a darkish colour. A similar growth is also found on the alder, but it is as far inferior to the others as the alder itself is to the maple. The male maple flowers before the female. It must be added that maples grown in dry places are preferred to those in marshes, as is also the case with ash-trees. North of the Alps grows a tree making timber that closely resembles the white ash; its Greek name is the cluster-tree, as it bears pods containing kernels, which taste like a hazel nut.

28. But a timber rated in the first rank is that of the box, which is rarely marked with wrinkles and only at the root, the rest of it being smooth; box-wood is esteemed for a certain toughness and hardness and for its pale colour, while the tree itself is valued in ornamental gardening. There are three kinds: the Gallic box, which is trained to shoot up into conical pillars and attains a rather large height; the oleaster, which is condemned for all purposes, and which gives out an unpleasant smell; and a third kind called our native box, a cultivated variety as I believe of the wild box, which spreads more than the others and forms a thick hedge; it is an evergreen, and will stand clipping. The box abounds in the Pyrenees and the Kidros mountains and in the Berecyntus district, and it grows thickest in Corsica, where it bears an objectionable blossom, which causes the bitter taste in Corsican honey; its seed arouses the aversion of all living creatures. The box on Mount Olympus in Macedonia makes as thick a growth as the Corsican, but it is of a low height. Box loves cold and rugged places; also in a fire it is as hard as iron, and is of no use for fuel or charcoal.

29. Among these and the fruit-bearing trees a place is given to the elm, because of its timber and the friendship between it and the vine. The Greeks are acquainted with two kinds of elm: the mountain elm which makes the larger growth, and the elm of the plains which grows like a shrub. Italy gives the name of Atinian elm to a very lofty kind (and among these values highest the dry variety, which will not grow in damp places); a second kind it calls the Gallic elm, a third, which has thicker foliage and more leaves growing from the same stalk, the Italian elm, and a fourth, the wild elm. The Atinian elm does not bear samarathat is the name for elm seedand all the elms are grown from shoots of the roots, but the other kinds also from seed.

30. The most notable trees having now been mentioned, some general facts must be pointed out concerning all trees. The cedar, the larch, the torchpine and the rest of the trees that produce resin love mountains, and so also do the holly, box, holmoak, juniper, turpentine-tree, poplar, mountain ash and hornbeam; on the Apennines there is also a shrub called the cotinus, famous for supplying a dye for linen cloth that resembles purple. The fir, hard-oak, chestnuts, lime, holm-oak and cornel like mountains and valleys. The maple, ash, service-tree, lime and cherry love mountains watered by springs. The plum, pomegranate, wild olive, walnut, mulberry and elder-trees are not generally found on mountains; and the cornel cherry, hazel, oak, mountain ash, maple, ash, beech, hornbeam come down from the mountains to level ground also, while the elm, apple, pear, bay, myrtle, red cornel, holm-oak and the broom, designed by Nature for dyeing cloth, spread up from the plains to mountain regions as well. The service-tree delights in cold places, but even more the birch. The latter is a Gallic tree, of a remarkable white colour and slenderness, a cause of terror as supplying the magistrates' rods of office; it is also easily bent to make hoops and likewise the ribs of small baskets, and the Gauls extract from it bitumen by boiling. These trees are accompanied into the same regions by the may also, the most auspicious tree for supplying wedding torches, because according to the account of Masurius it was used for that purpose by the shepherds who carried off the Sabine women; but at the present time the hornbeam and the hazel are most usually employed for torches.

31. The cypress, walnut, chestnut and laburnum dislike water. The last is another Alpine tree, and is not generally known; its wood is hard and white and its flower, which is half a yard long, bees will not touch. The shrub called Jupiter's beard, used in ornamental gardening and clipped into a round bushy shape, and having a silvery leaf, also dislikes water. Willows, alders, poplars, the silera and the privet, the last extremely useful for making tallies, will only

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grow in places where there is water, and the same is the ease with the whortleberry, grown in bird-snares in Italy, but in Gaul also to supply purple dye for slaves' clothes. All the trees that are common to the mountains and the plains grow larger and finer to look at when in flat country, but those on the mountains grow better fruit and make timber with a wavier grain, excepting the apples and pears.

32. Beside this, some trees shed their leaves but others are evergreenalthough before this difference another one has to be mentioned first: some trees are entirely wild, but some being more civilizedas these are the accepted names by which they are distinguished: the latter, kindly trees which render more humane aid by their fruit or some other property and by affording shade, may not improperly be called 'civilized.'

33. The trees of the latter class that do not shed their leaves are the olive, laurel, palm, myrtle, cypress, the pines, ivy, rhododendron and savinthough the last may be called a herbaceous plant. The rhododendron, as is shown by its name, comes from the Greeks (another Greek name given it being nerion, and another 'rose-laurel') it is an evergreen that resembles a rose-tree, and throws out shoots from the stems; it is poisonous for cattle and for goats and sheep, but for man it serves as an antidote against the poisons of snakes.

Trees of the forest class that do not shed their leaves are the fir, larch, wild pine, juniper, cedar, turpentine, box, holm-oak, holly, cork, yew, tamarisk. Between the evergreen and the deciduous classes are the andrachle growing in Greece and the arbutus in all countries, for they shed all their leaves except those on the top of the tree. In the class of shrubs also a kind of cedar, the bramble and the cane do not shed their leaves. In the territory of Thurii, where Sybaris once stood, there was a single oak that was visible from the actual city which never shed its leaves and which did not bud before midsummer; and it is surprising that this fact having been published by Greek authors has never subsequently been mentioned among ourselves. The fact is that the influence of some localities is so great that in the neighbourhood of Memphis in Egypt and at Elephantine in the Thebaid none of the trees shed their leaves, not even the vines.

34. All the rest of the trees except those already mentionedfor it would be a lengthy business to enumerate themshed their leaves; and it has been noticed that the leaves do not wither unless they are thin, broad and soft, whereas the leaves which do not fall off are thick and fleshy and narrow in shape. It is an erroneous classification to say that the trees which do not shed their leaves are those with a more unctuous juice; for who can detect that property in the case of the holm-oak? The mathematician Timaeus thinks that they fall when the sun is passing through Scorpio owing to the strength of that constellation and a certain poison in the air; but then we may justly wonder why the same influence is not operative against all these trees. Most trees shed their leaves in autumn, but some lose them later, and prolong the delay into the winter; and it makes no difference if they budded earlier, inasmuch as some trees are the first to bud and among the last to be stripped of their leaves, for instance almonds, ash-trees, elders, whereas the mulberry is the latest to bud and one of the first to shed its leaves. The soil also has a great influence in this matter: the leaves fall earlier on dry, thin soils, and earlier with an old tree, in many cases even before the fruit can ripen, for instance, in the case of the late fig and the winter pear and apple, and with the pomegranate the fruit is the only thing visible on the parent tree. But not even with the trees that always keep their foliage do the same leaves last on with others shooting up beneath themwhen this happens the old leaves wither away, this occurring mostly about the solstices.

35. Each of the trees in its own kind has a permanent uniformity of leaf, with the exception of the poplar, the ivy and the croton (which, as we have said, is also called the cici). There are three kinds of poplars, the white, the black and the one called the leaf and which is very famous for the mushrooms Libyan poplar, which has a very small and very dark that grow on it. The white poplar has a leaf of two colours, white on the upper side and green underneath. With this tree and the black poplar and the croton the leaves are exactly circular when young but project into angles when older; whereas the leaves of the ivy are angular at first but become round. From the leaves of the white poplar springs out a quantity of shiny white down, and when the foliage is specially thick the trees are white all over like fleeces. Pomegranate and almond trees have reddish leaves.

36. An exceptionally remarkable thing occurs in the case of the elm, lime, olive, white poplar and willow: after midsummer their leaves turn right round, and no other indication shows with greater certainty that the season is finished. Also their leaves contain in themselves a variation that is common to all foliage: the under surface, towards the ground, is of a bright grass-green colour, and on the same side they are comparatively smooth, while on their upper part they have sinews and hard skin and articulations, but creases underneath like the human hand. The leaves of the olive are whiter and not so smooth on the upper side, and ivy-leaves the same. But the leaves of all trees open out every day towards the sun, as if intending their under side to be warmed. The upper side of all leaves has however small an amount of down upon it, which in some countries serves for wool.

37. We have said that in the east palm-leaves are used for making strong ropes, and that these are made specially serviceable for use in water. Indeed with us also the leaves are plucked from the palms after harvest, the better ones being those that have no divisions in them, and are put to dry indoors for a period of four days and then spread out in the sun, being left out at night as well, until they dry a bright white colour, and afterwards they are split for use in manufacture.

38. The fig, vine and plane have very broad leaves and the myrtle, pomegranate and olive narrow ones; those of the pine and cedar are like hairs, those of the holly and one kind of holm-oak pricklyindeed the juniper has a spine instead of a leaf. The leaves of the cypress and tamarisk are fleshy, those of the alder extremely thick, those of the reed and willow are long and the leaves of the palm are also double; those of the pear rounded, those of the apple pointed, those of the ivy angular, those of the plane divided, those of the pitch-pine and fir separated like the teeth of a comb, those of the hard oak crinkly all round the edge, those of the bramble have a prickly skin. In some plants the leaves sting, for instance nettles; those of the pine, pitch-pine, fir, larch, cedar and the hollies are prickly; those of the olive and holm-oak have a short stalk, those of the vine a long one, those of the poplar a stalk that quivers, and poplars are the only trees on which the leaves rustle against one another. Again, in one kind of the apple class there are small leaves even on the fruit itself, shooting out from the middle of the apples, sometimes even pairs of leaves; and moreover with some trees the leaves shoot round the boughs, but with others also at the tip of the boughs, and with the hard oak also on the trunk. Also leaves grow either dense or thinly spread, and broad leaves are always scantier. In the case of the myrtle they are arranged regularly, with the box they curve over, on fruit trees they have no arrangement, on the apple and the pear several shoot from the same stalk; the leaves of the elm and the cytisus are covered with branching veins. With these Cato includes the leaves of the poplar and oak when they have fallen, advising that they should be given to animals before they have become quite dry, and indeed that the leaves of the fig and holm-oak and also ivy-leaves should be fed to oxen; they are also given the leaves of the reed and the laurel. The service-tree sheds its leaves all at once, but all the other trees lose them gradually.And so much on the subject of leaves.

39. The following is the order which Nature observes throughout the year. First comes fertilization, taking place when the west wind begins to blow, which is generally from February the 8th. This wind impregnates the creatures that derive life from the earthindeed in Spain even the mares, as we have stated: this is the generating breath of the universe, its name Favonius being derived, as some have supposed, from fovere, 'to foster.' It blows from due west and marks the beginning of spring. Country people call it the cubbing season, as Nature is longing to receive the seeds; and when she brings life to all the seeds sown, they conceive in a varying number of days and each according to its nature, some immediately, as is the case with animals, while some do so more slowly and carry their progeny for a longer period of gestation, and the process is consequently called 'germination.' When a plant flowers it may be said to give birth, and the flower produced makes its appearance by bursting the capsules; the process of its upbringing takes place in the fruit stage.

This and the process of budding are the trees' labour;

40. the blossom is the token of full spring and of the rebirth of the year.The blossom is the trees' rejoicing: it is then that they show themselves new creatures and transformed from what they really are, it is then that they quite revel in rivalling each other with the varied hues of their colouring. But to many of them this is denied, for they do not all blossom, and some of them are sombre and incapable of enjoying the delights of the seasons; the holmoak, the pitch-pine, the larch and the pine do not bedeck themselves with any blossom or announce the yearly birthdays of their fruit by a many-coloured harbinger, nor yet do the cultivated and the wild fig, for they produce their fruit straight away instead of a blossom, and in the case of the fig it is also remarkable that there are abortive fruits that never ripen. The juniper also does not blossomthough some writers record two kinds of juniper, one of which flowers but does not bear, and one which does not flower but does bear, its berries coming to birth immediately, which remain on the tree for two years; but this is a mistake, and all the junipers present the same gloomy aspect always. Similarly, the fortunes of many human beings also lack a flowering season.

41. All trees however produce buds, even those which do not blossom. There is also a great difference between localities, inasmuch as of the same kind of tree those growing in marshy places bud earlier, those on the plains next and those in woods last of all; but taking them separately the wild pear buds earlier than the rest, the cornel buds when the west wind begins to blow, next the laurel, and a little before the equinox the lime and maplewhile among the earliest trees to flower are the poplar, elm, willow, alder and the nuts; the plane also buds quickly. The other trees bud when spring is about to begin, the holly, terebinth, Christ's thorn, chestnut and the acorn-bearing trees, while the apple is a late budder, and the cork buds latest of all. Some trees bud twice, owing to excessive fertility of soil or the allurement of agreeable weather, and this occurs to a greater degree with the young blades of cereals, although in trees excessive budding tends to exhaust the sap; but some trees have other buddings by nature, in addition to that which takes place in spring, these being settled by their own constellations (an account of which will be given more appropriately in the next volume but one after this)a winter budding at the rising of Aquila, a summer one at the rising of the Dog-star and a third at the rising of Arcturus. Some people think that the two latter buddings are common to all trees, but that they are most noticeable in the fig, the vine and the pomegranate; and they explain this as due to the fact that those are the times when there is the most abundant crop of figs in Thessaly and Macedonia; although this explanation holds good most clearly in Egypt. Also whereas the rest of the trees, as soon as they have begun to bud, keep on budding continuously, the hard-oak, the fir and the larch divide the process into three parts and produce their buds in three batches; consequently they also shed scales of bark three times, a process which occurs in all trees during germination because the bark of the pregnant tree is burst open. But their first budding is at the beginning of spring and takes about a fortnight, while they bud for the second time when the sun is passing through the Twins, with the consequence that the first shoots are seen to be pushed up by those that follow, the growth being attached by a joint. The third budding period of the same trees, which starts from midsummer, is the shortest, and does not take more than a week; and on this occasion also the jointing on the tips as they grow out is clearly visible. Only the vine buds twice, first when it puts forth a cluster and then when it spreads it out. Those species which do not blossom only produce shoots and mature them. Some blossom at once during the process of budding, and are quick in the blossom but slow in ripening, for instance the vine; some blossom with a late budding and ripen quickly, for instance the mulberry, which buds the latest among cultivated trees and only when the cold weather is over, owing to which it has been called the wisest of the trees; but when its budding has begun it breaks out all over the tree so completely that it is completed in a single night with a veritable crackling.

42. Of the trees that we have spoken of as budding in winter at the rising of Aquila, the almond blossoms first of all, in the month of January, while in March it develops its fruit. The next to flower after the almond is the Armenian plum, then the jujube and the early peachthese exotic trees and forced; the first to flower in the order of nature are, of forest trees, the elder, which has a great deal of pith, and the male cornel, which has none; and of cultivated trees the apple, and a little afterwards, so that they can be seen blossoming simultaneously, the pear, the cherry and the plum. These are followed by the laurel, and that by the cypress, and then the pomegranate and the figs. When these are already flowering the vines and the olives also bud, and their sap rises at the rising of the Pleiadesthat is their constellation, whereas the vine flowers at midsummer, and also the olive, which begins a little later. All begin to shed their blossom not sooner than a week after flowering, and some more slowly, but none more than a fortnight later, and all well within the 8th of July, anticipated by the trade-winds.

43. In the case of some trees the fruit does not follow immediately. The cornel produces its fruit about midsummer; it is at first white and afterwards blood-red. The female of the same kind bears its berries after autumn; they are sour and no animal will touch them; also its wood is spongy and of no use, although the timber of the male tree is one of the strongest and hardest there is, so great is the difference caused by sex in the same kind of tree. The terebinth and also the maple and the ash produce their seed at harvest time, but nut-trees, apples and pears, excepting winter or early varieties, in the autumn, and the acorn-bearing trees still later, at the setting of the Pleiades, the winter oak only in autumn, while some kinds of apple and pear and the cork-tree fruit at the beginning of winter. The fir flowers with a saffron-coloured blossom about midsummer and produces its seed after the setting of the Pleiades; but the pine and the pitch-pine come before it in budding by about a fortnight, though they themselves also drop their seed after the Pleiades.

44. Citrus-trees and the juniper and the holm-oak are classed as bearing all the year round, and on these trees the new crop of fruit hangs along with that of the previous year. The pine, however, is the most remarkable, as it carries both fruit that is beginning to ripen and that which will ripen in the following year and also in the year after next. Also no tree reproduces itself with more eagerness: within a month of a cone being plucked from it another cone is ripening in the same place, an arrangement which ensures that there are cones ripening in every single month of the year. Pine-cones that split while still on the tree are called azaniae, and if they are not removed they injure the rest of the crop.

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45. The only trees that bear no fruitI mean not even seedare the tamarisk, which is of no use except for making brooms, the poplar, the alder, the Atinian elm and the alaternus, the leaves of which are between those of the holm-oak and the olive; but trees that never grow from seed nor bear fruit are considered to be unlucky and under a curse. Cremutius states that the tree from which Phyllis hanged herself is never green. People open gum-producing trees after they have budded, but the gum does not thicken until after the fruit has been removed.

46. Sapling trees have no fruit as long as they are growing. The trees most liable to lose their fruit before it ripens are the palm, the fig, the almond, the apple and the pear, and also the pomegranate, which excessive dew and frost cause to lose its flower as well. In consequence of this people bend down its branches, lest if they shoot straight upright they may receive and retain the moisture which is injurious to them. The pear and almond lose their blossom even if it does not rain but a south wind sets in or the sky is cloudy, and if that sort of weather has prevailed after they have shed their blossom, they lose their first fruit. But it is the willow that loses its seed most quickly, before it approaches ripeness at all. This is the reason why Homer gives it the epithet 'fruit-losing'; but succeeding ages have interpreted the meaning of the word in the light of its own wicked conduct, inasmuch as it is well known that willow seed taken as a drug produces barrenness in a woman. But Nature, showing her foresight in this matter also, has been rather careless about bestowing seed on a tree that is propagated easily even a planted sprig. It is said however that one variety of willow usually carries its seed till it ripens; this grows on the island of Crete just by the path coming down from the Cave of Jupiter; it has a hard woody seed of the size of a chick-pea.

47. Some trees are rendered barren by a fault in the locality, for instance the forest of Cende on Paros, which bears nothing; and the peach-trees on Rhodes only produce blossom. This peculiarity is also caused by sex, as in the kinds of trees of which the males do not bear; though some people reverse this and assert that it is the male trees that bear. Another cause of barrenness is thick growth of leaves.

48. Some trees producing fruit bear it both of on the sides and at the end of their branches, for instance the pear, the pomegranate, the fig and the myrtle. In other respects they have the same nature as cereal plants, for in their case also the ear grows at the tip of the stalks, whereas beans grow on the sides. The palm-tree alone, as has been stated, has its fruit, enclosed in spathes, hanging down in bunches.

49. The remaining trees have their fruit underneath their leaves for its protection, except the fig, the leaf of which is very large and gives a great deal of shade, and because of this the fruit hangs above the leaves. The fig is also the only tree whose leaf forms later than the fruit. A remarkable thing reported in the case of a certain kind of fig-tree found in Cilicia and Cyprus and on the mainland of Greece is that the figs grow underneath the leaves, but the abortive fruit that does not mature forms after the leaves have grown. The fig-tree also produces an early crop of fruit, called at Athens 'forerunners,' especially in the Spartan variety.

In the same class of fruit-trees there are some that bear two crops,

50. and on the island of Cos the wild figs bear three, the first eliciting a following crop and the following crop a third one. It is this last crop that is used in the process of caprification. But in the wild fig also the fruit grows at the back of the leaves. Among the apples and the pears there are some that bear two crops a year, as also there are some early varieties. The wild apple bears twice, its second crop coming after the rising of Arcturus, especially in sunny localities. There are indeed vines that actually bear three crops, which consequently people call 'mad vines,' because on these some grapes are ripening while others are just beginning to swell and other bunches are only in flower. Marcus Varro states that there once was a vine at the temple of the Mother of the Gods in Smyrna that bore three times a year, and an apple tree in the district of Cosenza that did the same. But this regularly occurs in the district of Tacupe in Africa (about which we shall say more in another place), such is the fertility of the soil. The cypress also bears three times, for its berries are gathered in January, May and September, and those of each crop are of a different size.

But also in the trees themselves, even when laden with fruit, there is a difference between different kinds: the arbutus and the oak bear more fruit in their upper part and the walnut and the marisca fig on their lower branches. All trees bear earlier the older they grow, and bear earlier in sunny places and on a thin soil; all wild trees are later, some of them never ripening their fruit at all. Similarly trees that have the earth underneath them ploughed or broken up ripen their fruit quicker than ones that are not attended to; those so treated also bear larger crops.

51. Moreover there is another difference, connected with age. Almond-trees and pears have the largest crops in their old age, as also do the acorn-bearing trees and one kind of fig, but all the other fruit-trees when young and when ripening more slowly; and this is especially noticeable in the case of vines, for the older vines make better wine and the young ones give a larger quantity. The apple however grows old very quickly and in its old age bears inferior fruit, as the apples it produces are smaller and liable to be worm-eaten, the worms being also generated on the tree itself. The fig is the only one of all the trees grown that is given a ding to assist its ripeningtruly a portentous thing, that greater prices are paid for fruit out of season. But all fruit-trees that bear their fruit before the proper time grow old prematurely; indeed some die at once when the weather has lured them to surrender their whole stock of fertility, a thing that happens most of all to vines. The mulberry, on the other hand, grows old very slowly, being very little exhausted by its crop; and also the trees whose timber has wrinkled markings age slowly, for instance the palm, the maple and the poplar. Also trees grow old more quickly when the earth under them is ploughed, whereas forest trees age very slowly. Consequently trees carefully tended blossom earlier and bud earlier, and are in advance of the season generally; and in general all attention adds fertility, while fertility advances old age, because every weakness is rendered more subject to the weather.

52. Many trees grow several products, as we said in the case of acorn-bearing trees. Among them, the laurel bears its own grapes, and especially the barren laurel, which produces nothing else, and which is consequently thought by some people to be the male tree. Hazels also bear catkins of a hard, compact shape, which are of no use for any purpose; but the holm-oak produces the greatest number of things, for it grows both its own seed and the grain called crataegus, and mistletoe grows on the north side of the tree and hyphear on the south sidewe shall say more about these a little laterand occasionally the trees have all four of these things together.

53. Some trees are of simple shape, having one stem rising from the root and a number of branches, as the olive, fig and vine; some belong to the bushy class, as the Christ's thorn and the myrtle, and also the hazelin fact this bears better and more abundant nuts when it spreads out into many branches. Some trees have no branches at all, for instance the box of the cultivated variety and the foreign lotus. Some trees are forked, and even branch out into five parts, some divide the trunk but have no branches, as is the case with the elder, and some are undivided and have branches, like the pitch-pines. Some have their branches in a regular order, for instance the pitch-pine, the fir, with others their arrangement is irregular, as with the oak, apple and pear. Also in the case of the fir the branching is nearly vertical and the boughs project upward towards the sky, and do not slope down sideways. It is a remarkable thing that this tree dies if the tops of the branches are lopped, but survives if they are cut off entirely from the trunk; also should the trunk be cut off below where the branches were, what remains lives, whereas if only the top be removed the whole tree dies. Some trees branch out from the root up, like the elm, others throw out boughs only at the top, like the pine and the Greek bean-tree, which at Rome they call the lotus because of the sweetness of its fruit, which although growing wild almost resembles cherries. The exuberance of its branches makes it specially in request for houses, as they grow on a short main stem and spread out with a very wide expanse of shade, often leaping across to the neighbouring mansions. No shady foliage is more short-lived, and the branches do not take away the sun, their leaves falling in winter. No trees have bark that is more agreeable or attractive to look at, and none have branches that are longer and stouter or more numerous, so that they might be described as being themselves so many trees. Their bark serves for staining hides and their root for dyeing wool. Apple trees have branches of a peculiar kind, resembling the muzzles of wild animals, several smaller boughs being attached to one very large one.

54. Some branches are without eyes and do not form buds, this being a natural consequence of their not having fully developed, or else a penalty when a scar inflicted in pruning has blunted their powers. In a vine the eye and in a reed the joint contain the same nature that trees which spread out have in their branch. With all trees the parts nearest the pound are thicker. The fir, the larch, the palm, the cypress, the elm and all the trees with a single trunk make their growth in the direction of height. Among the branching trees the cherry is found making timbers as much as 20 yards long and a yard thick for the whole length. Some trees spread out into branches at once, for example apples.

55. The bark of some trees is thin, as in the laurel and the lime, that of others thick, as in the oak; in some it is smooth, as in the apple and the fig, but it is rough in the oak and the palm, and in all trees it becomes more wrinkled in old age. With certain trees, for instance the vine, it bursts of its own accord, while certain others actually shed their bark, for instance the apple and the arbutus. The bark of the cork-tree and the poplar is fleshy, that of the vine and the reed is like a skin; in the cherry it resembles the layers of the papyrus; the skin of the vine, the lime and the fir consists of a number of coats, but in some cases it is a single layer, for instance in the fig and the reed.

56. There is also a great difference in the roots of trees: those of the fig, the hard-oak and the plane are abundant, those of the apple short and thin, those of the fir and larch single, as these trees are supported by a single root, although it throws out small fibres laterally. The roots of the laurel are rather thick and of uneven shape, and the same with the olive, the roots of which also form branches, but those of the hard-oak are fleshy. Hard-oaks drive their roots down deep, indeed the winter oak, at all events if we believe Virgil, goes down as deep with. its root as it projects upward with its trunk. The olive and apple and cypresses spread their roots through the top layer of the turf, in some cases shooting straight out, as with the laurel and olive, and in other cases winding about, as with the fig. This tree bristles with fine filaments, as also do the fir and a number of forest trees, from which the mountain people pluck extremely thin threads and plait them into handsome flasks and other vessels. Some people have stated that the roots of trees do not go down deeper than the warmth of the sun's heat can reach, and this according to the nature of the soil, whether rather thin or heavy; but I think that this is incorrect, as it is certainly found in the authorities that when a fir-tree was transplanted it measured four yards in depth, though it had not been dug up whole but had been broken off. The root of the citrus-wood tree is the largest in extent and abundance, and next to it those of the plane, the hard-oak and the acorn-bearing trees. Some trees have a root that is more tenacious of life than the part above ground, for instance the laurel; and accordingly, when it has withered in the trunk, if it is cut back it shoots again even more vigorously. Some people think that trees grow old more quickly owing to having short roots, but this is disproved by figtrees, which have very long roots and grow old very quickly. I also consider false a statement that has been made by some persons, to the effect that the roots of trees become smaller with age, for an aged oak when overturned by a violent storm has been seen to embrace a Roman acre of ground.

57. It is a common occurrence for fallen trees often to be replaced and to come back to life again owing to the earth forming a sort of scab over the wound. This is most common with plane trees, which hold a very large quantity of wind because of the density of their branches, which are lopped to relieve the trees of the weight and the trees are then replanted in their own hole; and this has before now also been done in the case of walnuts and olives and a number of other trees. There are also many cases of trees having fallen even without a storm or any other cause except one of a miraculous nature and having risen up again of their awn accord. This portent occurred to the citizens of the Roman nation during the Cimbrian wars in the case of an elm in the grove of Juno at Nocera, actually after its top had been lopped off because it was leaning forward right on to the altar; the tree was restored of its own accord so completely that it at once flowered, and from that date onward the majesty of the Roman people recovered, after having previously been ravaged by disasters in war. It is recorded that this also happened at Philippi with a willow that had fallen down and had been severed from its trunk, and at Stagira with a white poplar in the shrine of the Muses, all of these occurrences being of good omen. But most wonderful of all, a plane-tree at Antandros recovered of its own accord and was restored to life even after its sides had been rough-hewn all round, a tree 22 feet high and 6 feet thick.

58. Those trees which we owe to Nature grow in three ways, spontaneously or by seed or from a root. More numerous artificial methods have come into existence, about which we shall speak in the volume given to the subject; for at the present our whole discourse is about Nature, so memorable for her manifold and marvellous methods. In fact, we have shown that not all trees will grow in all places, or live if removed from one place to another; this is due in some cases to antipathy, in others to obstinacy, more frequently to the weakness of the specimens transplanted, because in some cases the climate is unfavourable and in others the soil is incompatible.

59. Balm of Gilead disdains to grow elsewhere, and a citron grown in Assyria will not bear elsewhere; and likewise the palm also will not grow everywhere or, even if it does grow, bear fruit, or else even when it has made a promise and a show of bearing, refuses to mature the fruit, seeming to have given birth to it against its will. The cinnamon shrub has not the strength to travel to the neighbourhood of Syria. The delicate perfumes of amomum and nard cannot endure to travel out of India and be conveyed by sea even as far as Arabiaan attempt to import them was made by King Seleueus. What is most surprising is that although the trees themselves can usually be persuaded to live and to bear transplantation, and occasionally even the soil will grant the request to nourish foreigners and give food to immigrants, the climate is absolutely unrelenting. The pepper-tree will live in Italy, and the casia-plant even in a northern region, and the incense-tree has been known to live in Lydia, but where are we to get the sunshine that sucks all the juice out of these plants or ripens the drops of essence that they shed? It is nearly as surprising

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that Nature may alter in the same localities and yet retain a hundred percent of her vigour. She had bestowed the cedar on the regions of torrid heat, but it in the mountains of Lycia and Phrygia. She had made cold unfriendly to but no tree is more frequent on Mount Olympus. In the city of Kertch in the neighbourhood of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, King Mithridates and the rest of the natives had toiled in every way to have the laurel and the myrtle, at all events for ritual purposes, but they did not succeed, although trees belonging to a mild climate abound there, pomegranates and figs, as well as apples and pears that win the highest praise. In the same region Nature has not produced the trees that belong to cold climatespine, fir and pitch-pine. And what is the point of our going abroad to the Black Sea? In the actual neighbourhood of Rome chestnuts and cherries only grow with reluctance, and the peachtree round Tusculum, and almonds are laboriously grown from graft, although Tarracina teems with whole woods of them.

60. The cypress is an exotic, and has been one of the most difficult trees to rear, seeing that Cato has written about it at greater length and more often than about all the other trees, as stubborn to grow, of no use for fruit, with berries that cause a wry face, a bitter leaf, and a pungent smell: not even its shade agreeable and its timber scanty, so that it almost belongs to the class of shrubs; consecrated to Dis, and consequently placed at the doors of houses as a sign of mourning. The female bears seed but the male is sterile. For a long time past merely owing to its pyramidal appearance it was not rejected just for the purpose of marking the rows in vineyards, but nowadays it is clipped and made into thick walls or evenly rounded off with trim slenderness, and it is even made to provide the representations of the landscape gardener's work, arraying hunting scenes or fleets of ships and imitations of real objects with its narrow, short, evergreen leaf. There are two kinds of cypress: the pyramid, tapering upward in a spiral, which is also called the female cypress, and the male cypress which spreads its branches outward from itself, and is pruned and used as a prop for a vine. Both the male and the female are allowed to grow up so as by having their branches lopped off to form poles or props, which after twelve years' growth sell for a denarius apiece, a grove of cypresses being a most profitable item in one's plantation account; and people in old days used commonly to call cypress nurseries a dowry for a daughter. The native country of this tree is the island of Crete, although Cato calls it Taranto cypress, no doubt because that place was where it was first imported. In the island of Ischia also, if cut down, it will shoot up again; but in Crete this tree is produced by spontaneous generation wherever anybody stirs the earth, and shoots out at once, in this case in fact even without any demand being made of the soil and of its awn accord, and especially in the mountains of Ida and those called the White Mountains, and in the greatest number on the very summits of the peaks that are never free from snow, which may well surprise us, as the tree does not occur elsewhere except in a warm climate and has a great dislike for snow.

61. Nor is only the nature of the soil important in relation to these trees, or the permanent character of the weather, but also a certain temporary influence that it exerts: showers of rain usually bring with them certain seeds, and seeds of a certain kind stream down, occasionally even some of an unknown kind, which happened in the district of Cyrenaica, when laser first grew there, as we shall say in the section dealing with herbaceous plants. Also near that city a shower of thick, pitchy rain caused a wood to grow up.

62. It is said that ivy now grows in Asia Minor. Theophrastus about 314 BC. had stated that it did not grow there, nor yet in India except on Mount Meros, and indeed that Harpalus had used every effort to grow it in Media without success, while Alexander had come back victorious from India with his army wearing wreaths of ivy, because of its rarity, in imitation of Father Liber; and it is even now used at solemn festivals among the peoples of Thrace to decorate the wands of that god, and also the worshippers' helmets and shields, although it is injurious to all trees and plants and destructive to tombs and walls, and very agreeable to chilly snakes, so that it is surprising that any honour has been paid to it.

There are two primary kinds of ivy, as of the rest of the plants, the male and the female. The male is said to have the larger stem and leaf, which also are harder and have more sap, and so it also has a larger flower, approaching purple in colour; but the flower of both male and female resembles the wild rose, except that it has no scent. These kinds each comprise three species, for ivy is white or black and a third species is called helix. Moreover these species divide into others, since one kind only has white fruit but another has a white leaf as well; also in some of those bearing white fruit the berry is closely packed and rather large, hanging in round bunches which are called 'clusters,' and also Silenici when the berry is smaller and the bunch less compactas similarly occurs in the black variety. Also one kind has a black seed and another a seed of the colour of saffron; the latter ivy is used by poets for their wreaths, and its leaves are not so dark in colour; some people call it Nysian ivy and others Bacchic ivy, and it has the largest clusters of all the black ivies. Some people among the Greeks also make two classes of this variety, depending on the colour of the berriesred-berry ivy and golden-fruit ivy.

But it is the helix which has most varieties of all, as it differs very greatly in leaf. The leaves are small and angular and of a rather elegant shape, whereas those of the remaining kinds are plain and simple. It differs also in the distance between the joints, but particularly in its infertility, as it does not bear any fruit. Some people think that this is a matter of age and not of kind, and that the plant begins as a helix and becomes an ivy when it gets old. This is seen to be a clear mistake on their part, inasmuch as we find several more kinds of helix, but three that are most noticeablethe grass-green helix which is the commonest, a second kind with a white leaf, and a third kind with a variegated leaf, which is called Thracian ivy. Moreover there is a grass-ivy with rather narrow and symmetrically arranged and rather thickly growing leaves, and in another variety all these points are different; also in the variegated ivy one variety has narrower leaves arranged in a similar way and clustering more thickly, and another variety entirely lacking these features, and also the leaves are either larger or smaller, and differ in the arrangement of their markings; and in the white ivy in some cases the leaves are whiter than in others. The grass-green ivy grows the longest shoots; but it is the white ivy that kills trees, and by taking from them all their sap grows so thick a stalk as itself to become a tree. Its characteristics are very large, very broad leaves, fat stiff buds, which in the other kinds are bent, and clusters standing up erect; and although in every kind of ivy the arms take root, yet this kind has the most spreading and powerful arms, those of the black ivy coming next. But it is a peculiarity of the white ivy that it throws out arms among the middle of its leaves, with which it always embraces things on either side, this being the case even on walls, although it is unable to go round them. Consequently even though it is cut apart at several places nevertheless it lives and lasts on, and it has as many points to strike root with as it has arms, which make it safe and solid while it sucks and strangles trees. There is also a difference in the fruit of the white and the black ivy, since in some cases it is so bitter that birds will not touch it.

There is also a stiff ivy, which is the only kind that will stand without a prop, and which consequently has the name in Greek of 'straight ivy'; while on the other hand the one called in Greek 'ground-ivy' is never found except creeping on the ground.

63. Resembling ivy is the plant called smilax, which first came from Cilicia, but is now more common in Greece; it has thick jointed stalks and thorny branches that make it a kind of shrub; the leaf resembles that of the ivy, but is small and has no corners, and throws out tendrils from its stalk; the flower is white and has the scent of a lily. It bears clusters of berries like those of the wild vine, not of the ivy; they are red in colour, and the larger ones enclose three hard black stones but the smaller a single stone. This plant is unlucky to use at all sacred rites and for wreaths, because it has a mournful association, a maiden named Smilax having been turned into a smilax shrub because of her love for a youth named Crocus. The common people not knowing this usually pollute their festivals with it because they think that it is ivy; just as in the case of the poets or Father Liber or Silenus, who wear wreaths made of who in the world knows what?

Smilax is used for making tablets; it is a peculiarity of this wood to give out a slight sound when placed to one's ear. It is said that ivy has a remarkable property for testing wines, inasmuch as a vessel made of its wood allows wine to pass through it, water that has been mixed with the wine stops in the vessel.

64. Among the plants that like cold conditions it may also be proper to have the aquatic shrubs mentioned. The primacy among these will be held by the reeds, which are indispensable for the practices of war and of peace and are also acceptable for our amusement. The northern peoples thatch their homes with reeds, and roofs of this kind last for ages, while in other parts of the world as well reeds also provide very light ceilings for rooms. And reeds serve as pens for writing on paper, especially Egyptian reeds owing to their kinship as it were with the papyrus; although the reeds of Cnidus and those that grow round the Anaetic lake in Asia are more esteemed. Those of our country have a more fungous substance underneath the surface, made of spongy cartilage which has a hollow structure inside and a thin, dry, woody surface, and easily breaks into splinters which always have an extremely sharp edge. For the rest it is of a slender appearance, jointed and divided with knots and tapering gradually off to the top with a rather thick tuft of hair, which also is not without value, as it either serves instead of feathers to stuff the beds of innkeepers, or in places where it grows very hard and woody in structure, as in Belgium, it is pounded up and inserted between the joints of ships to caulk the seams, holding better than glue and being more reliable for filling cracks than pitch.

65. The peoples of the East employ reeds in making war; by means of reeds with a feather added to them. They hasten the approach of death, and to reeds they add points which deal wounds with their barb that cannot be extracted, and if the weapon itself breaks in the wound, another weapon is made out of it. With these weapons they obscure the very rays of the sun, and this is what chiefly makes them want calm weather and hate wind and rain, which compel the combatants to keep peace between them. And if anybody should make a rather careful reckoning of the Ethiopians, Egyptians, Arabs, Indians, Scythians and Bactrians, and the numerous races of the Sarmatians and of the East, and all the realms of the Parthians, almost one-half of mankind in the whole world lives subject to the sway of the reed. It was outstanding skill in this employment of the reed in Crete that made her warriors famous; but in this also, as in all other things, Italy has won the victory, as no reed is more suitable for arrows than that which grows in the river at Bologna, the Reno, which contains the largest amount of pith and has a good flying weight and a balance that offers a sturdy resistance even to gusts of windan attraction which does not belong in the same degree to the shafts grown in Belgium. The reeds of Crete also have the same valuable property, although those from India are placed highest of all, some people believing that they belong to a different species, as with the addition of points they also serve the purpose of lances. The Indian bamboo indeed is of the size of a tree, as we see in the case of the specimens frequently found in our temples. The Indians say that in this plant also there is a difference between males and females, the male having a more compact body and the female a bulkier one. And a single length between knots, if we can believe it, will actually serve as a boat. The bamboo grows especially on the banks of the river Chenab.

Every kind of reed makes a great many stems from one root, and when it is cut down it grows again even more prolifically. The root is by nature very tenacious of life; it as well as the stem is jointed. Only the Indian bamboo has short leaves, but in all the reeds the leaves sprout from a knot and wrap the stem all round with coats of thin tissue, and at a point halfway between two knots usually cease to clothe the stems and droop forward. The reed and the cane though round have two sides, with a series of shoots thrown out above the knots alternately, so that one forms on the right side and then another at the next joint above on the left, turn and turn about. From these sometimes grow branches, which are themselves slender canes.

66. There are, however, several varieties of reed. One is rather compact and has joints closer together, with short spaces between them, while another has them farther apart with larger spaces between them, and is also thinner in itself. But another kind of cane is hollow for its whole length; its Greek name means the flute-reed, and it is very useful for making flutes because it contains no pith and no fleshy substance. The Orchomenus cane has a passage right through even the knots, and is called in Greek the pipe-reed; this is more suitable for flageolets, as the preceding kind is for flutes. There is another reed the wood of which is thicker and the passage narrow; this reed is entirely filled with spongy pith. Reeds are of various lengths and thickness. The one called the donax throws out most shoots; it only grows in watery placesinasmuch as this also constitutes a difference, a reed growing in dry places being much preferred. The reed used as an arrow is a special kind, as we have said, but the Cretan variety has the longest intervals between the knots, and when heated allows itself to be bent in any direction you please. Also differences are made by the leaves, which vary not only in number and length but also in colour. The Laconian reed has spotted leaves, and throws out a greater number at the bottom of the stalk, as is thought to be the case with reeds in general that grow round marshy pools, which are different from river reeds, being draped with long leaves climbing upward and embracing the stem for a considerable distance above the knot. There is also a slanting reed which does not shoot upward to any height but spreads itself out close to the ground like a shrub; it is very attractive to animals when young and tender, and is called by some people the cletia. Also in Italy there is a growth, found in marsh-reeds, only coming out of the outer skin just below the tuft, named adarca, which is very beneficial for the teeth, as it has the same pungency as mustard.

The admiration expressed in old days for the reed-beds of the Lake of Orchomenus compels me to speak about them in greater detail. The Greek name for a rather thick, stronger kind of reed used to be 'fence-reed,' and for a more slender variety 'plaiting reed,' the latter growing in islands floating on the water and the former on the banks overflowed by the lake. The third is the flageolet reed'pipe-reed' used to be the Greek name for it. This took eight years to grow, as the lake also regularly took that space of time in rising, it being thought to be a bad omen if ever it continued at its full height two years longer, a thing that was marked by the fatal Athenian battle at Chaeronea. Not far off is Lebadea ... is called the Cephisus flowing into it. When therefore the flooding has continued for a year, the reeds grow even to a size suitable for purposes of fowlink: these used to be called in Greek 'yoke-reeds'; on the other hand those growing when the

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flood goes down sooner were called 'silky reeds,' with a thin stalk, those with a broader and whiter leaf being distinguished by the name of 'female reeds,' and those with only a small amount of down or none at all being called 'eunuchs.' These supplied the instruments for glorious music, though mention must also not be omitted of the further remarkable trouble required to grow them, so that excuse may be made for the present-day preference for musical instruments of silver. Down to the time of the flautist Antigenides, when a simple style of music was still practised, the reeds used to be regarded as ready for cutting after the rising of Arcturus. When thus prepared the reeds began to be fit for use a few years later, though even then the actual flutes needed maturing with a great deal of practice, and educating to sing of themselves, with the tongues pressing themselves down, which was more serviceable for the theatrical fashions then prevailing. But after variety came into fashion, and luxury even in music, the reeds began to be cut before midsummer and made ready for use in three years, their tongues being wider open to modulate the sounds, and these continue to the present day. But at that time it was firmly believed that only a tongue cut from the same reed as the pipe in each ease would do, and that one taken from just above the root was suitable for a left-hand flute and one from just below the top for a right-hand flute; and reeds that had been washed by the waters of Cephisus itself were rated as immeasurably superior. At the present time the flutes used by the Tuscans in religious ritual are made of box-wood, but those for theatrical performances are made of lotus and asses' bones and silver. The reeds most approved for fowling come from Palermo, and those to make fishing-rods are from Abarsa in Africa.

67. In Italy the reed is chiefly employed to serve as a prop for vines. Cato recommends planting it in damp lands, after first working the soil with a double mattock, a space a yard wide being left between the shoots; and he says that at the same time also wild asparagus, from which garden asparagus is produced, associates in friendship with it, and so does willow when planted round itthe willow being the most useful of the water-plants, although vines like poplars and the Caecuban vines are trained up on them, and although alders in hedges give rather close a protection and, if planted together in water, stand sentry like banks to guard the country against the assaults of the rivers when they overflow, and when cut down they are useful because of the innumerable suckers that they produce as successors.

68. The uses made of willows are of several kinds. They send out rods of great length used for vine-trellises and at the same time provide strips of bark for withes, and some grow shoots of a yielding flexibility useful for tying, others extremely thin ones suitable for weaving into basketwork of an admirably fine texture, and other stronger ones for plaiting baskets and a great many agricultural utensils, while the whiter ones when the bark has been removed and they have been worked smooth do to make bottles more capacious than any that can be made of leather, and also are extremely suitable for luxurious easy chairs. The willow sprouts again after being lopped, and from the short stump, which is more like a fist than a branch, makes a thicker growth for cutting, the tree being in our opinion not one of the last to choose for cultivation, inasmuch as none yields a safer return or involves less outlay, and none is more indifferent to weather.

69. Cato attributes to the willow the third place in the estimation of the countryside, and puts it before the cultivation of the olive and before corn or meadowlandand this is not because other kinds of withes are lacking, inasmuch as the broom, the poplar, the elm, the blood-red cornel, the birch, the reed when split and the leaves of the reed, as in Liguria, and the vine itself and brambles after the thorns have been cut off serve as ties, and also the hazel when twistedand it is surprising that any wood should make stronger ties after being bruised by twisting; nevertheless it is the willow that has the properties specially required for this purpose. The Greek red willow is split, while the Amerian willow, which has a lighter colour but is a little more fragile, is consequently used as a tie without having been split. Three kinds are known in Asia: the black willow, which is more useful for ties, the white willow for agricultural purposes, and a third kind, which is the shortest, called the helix. With us also many people distinguish the same number of varieties by name; they call one 'plaiting willow' and also 'purple willow,' another, which is thinner, 'dormouse willow' from its colour, and a third, the thinnest, 'Gallic willow.'

70. The rush, having a fragile stalk and being a marsh plant, is not rightly to be reckoned in the class of bushes or of brambles or plants with stalks, nor yet among herbaceous plants, or in any other class except its own; it is used for making thatch and mats, and stripped of its outer coat serves for candles and funeral torches. In some places rushes are stronger and stiffer, for they are used to carry sails not only by boatmen on the Po but also at sea by the African fisherman, who hangs his sail in a preposterous fashion, between masts, and the Moors use them for roofing their cabins; and if one looks closely into the matter, rushes may appear to occupy the place held by the papyrus in the inner region of the world.

71. Among water-plants, in a class of their own but of a bushy nature, are also brambles, and so are elders, which are of a spongy nature, though in a different way from the giant fennel, as at all events the elder has more wood; a shepherd believes that a horn or trumpet of elder wood will be louder if the wood was cut in some place where the elder bush is out of hearing of the crowing of cocks. Brambles bear blackberries, and one variety, which is called in Greek the dog-bramble, a flower like a rose. A third kind the Greeks call the Ida bramble, from the place where it grows, a more slender variety than the others, with smaller and less hooked thorns; its blossom is used to make an ointment for sore eyes, and also, dipped in honey, for St. Anthony's fire, and also soaked in water it makes a draught to cure stomach troubles. Elder-trees have small black berries with a sticky juice, chiefly med for a hair dye; these also are boiled in water and eaten.

72. There is also a juice in the body of trees, which must be looked upon as their blood. It is not the same in all treesin figs it is a milky substance, which has the property of curdling milk so as to produce cheese, in cherries it is gummy, in elms slimy, sticky and fat, in apples, vines and pears watery. The stickier this sap is, the longer the trees live. And in general the bodies of trees, as of other living things, have in them skin, blood, flesh, sinews, veins, bones and marrow. The bark serves for a skin; it is a remarkable fact as regards the bark on a mulberry that when doctors require its juice they strike it with a stone two hours after sunrise in spring and the juice trickles out, but if a deeper wound is made the bark seems to be dry. Next to the bark most trees have layers of fatty substance, called from its white colour alburnum; this is soft and the worst part of the wood, rotting easily even in a hard oak and liable to woodworm, for which reason it will always be removed. Under this fat is the flesh of the tree and under the flesh the bones, that is the best part of the timber. Those trees which have a drier wood, for instance the olive, are more liable to bear fruit only every other year than trees whose wood is of a fleshy nature, like the cherry. And not all trees have a large amount of fat or flesh, any more than the most active among animals; there is no fat or flesh at all in the box, the cornel and the olive, nor any marrow, and only a very small quantity even of blood, just as the service-tree has no bones and the elder no fleshthough both have a great deal of marrownor have reeds for the greater part.

73. The flesh of some trees contains fibres and veins. It is easy to distinguish between them, the veins being broader and whiter than the fibre. Veins are found in wood that is easy to split, and consequently if you put your ear to one end of a beam of wood however great its length you can hear even taps made with a graver on the other end, the sound penetrating by passages running straight through the wood, and by this test you can detect whether the timber is twisted and interrupted by knots. In the ease of trees in which there are tuberosities resembling the glands in the flesh of an animal, these contain no vessels or fibres, but a kind of hard knot of flesh rolled up in a ball; in the citrus and the maple this is the most valuable part. The other kinds of wood employed for making tables are cut into circles by splitting the trees along the line of the fibre, as otherwise the vein cut across the round of the free would be brittle. In beech trees the grainings in the fibre run crosswise, and consequently even vessels made of beech-wood were highly valued in old days: Manius Curius declared on oath that he had touched nothing of the booty taken in a battle except a flask made of beech-wood, to use in offering sacrifices.

A log of timber floats more or less horizontally, each part of it sinking deeper the nearer it was to the root. Some timbers have fibre without veins, consisting of thin filaments merely; these are the easiest to split. Others have no fibre, and break more quickly than they split, for instance olives and vines. But on the other baud in the fig-tree the body consists entirely of flesh, while the holm-oak, eornel, hard oak, cytisus, mulberry, ebony, Lotus and the trees that we have stated to be without marrow, consist entirely of bone. The timber of all of these is of a blackish colour except the cornel, hunting spears made of which are bright yellow when notched with incisions for the purpose of decoration. The cedar, the larch and the juniper are red. The female larch contains wood called in Greek aegis, of the colour of honey; this wood when made into panels for pictures has been found to last for ever without being split by any cracks; it is the part of the trunk nearest to the pith; in the fir-tree the Greeks call this 'ilusson.' The hardest part of the cedar also is the part nearest the pithas the bones are in the bodyprovided the has been scraped off. It is reported that the inner part of the elder also is remarkably firm, and some people prefer hunting spears made of it to all others, as it consists entirely of skin and bones.

74. The proper time for felling trees that are to be stripped of their bark, for instance well-turned trees that are to be used for temples and other purposes requiring round pillars, is when they budat other times the bark is impossible to detach and decay is setting in under it and the timber is turning black; but the time for cutting beams and logs to be cleared of their bark by the axe is between midwinter and the period of westerly wind, or if we should be obliged to do it sooner, at the setting of Areturus and, before that, at the setting of the Lyreon the earliest calculation at midsummer: the dates of these constellations will be given in the proper place. It is commonly thought sufficient to take care that no tree is felled to be rough-hewn before it has born its fruit. The hard oak if cut in spring is liable to woodworm; if cut at midwinter it neither rots nor warps, but otherwise it is even liable to twist and to split, and this happens in the case of the cork-tree even if felled at the proper time. It is also of enormous importance to take account of the moon, and people recommend that trees should be felled only between the twentieth and thirtieth days of the month. It is universally agreed, however, that the most advantageous time for felling timber is when the moon is in conjunction with the sun, the date which some call the interlunar day and others the day of the moon's silence. At all events those were the limits fixed in advance by the Emperor Tiberius for felling larches in Raetia for the reconstruction of the deck of the Naval Sham Fight when it had been burnt down. Some people say that the moon ought to be in conjunction and below the horizon, a thing that can only happen in the night.

If conjunctions should coincide with the shortest day of the winter solstice, the timber produced lasts for ever; and the next best is when the conjunction coincides with the constellations mentioned above. Some people add the rising of the Dog-star also, and say that this was how the timber used for the Forum of Augustus was felled. But trees that are neither quite young nor old are the most useful for timber. Another plan not without value is followed by some people, who make a cut round the trees as far as the pith and then leave them standing, so that all the moisture may drain out of them. It is a remarkable fact that in old days in the first Punic War the fleet commanded by Duilius was on the water within 60 days after the timber left the tree, while, according to the account of Lucius Piso, the 220 ships that fought against King Hiero were built in 45 days; also in the second Punic war Scipio's fleet sailed on the 40th day after the timber had been felled. So effective is prompt action even in the hurry of an emergency.

75. Cato, the leading authority on timber in all its uses, adds the following advice: 'Make a press of black fir wood for choice. With elm, pine or walnut timber, when you are going to root up these or any other tree, take them up when the moon is waning, in the afternoon, when there is not a south wind. A tree will be ready for felling when its seed is ripe. And be careful not to haul a tree or trim it with the axe when there is a dew.' And the same writer later: 'Do not touch timber except at new moon, or else at the end of the moon's second quarter; with timber which you dig up by the roots or cut off level with the ground, the seven days next after full moon are the best for removing it. Beware absolutely of rough-hewing or cutting or touching any timber unless it is dry, and when it is frozen or wet with dew. Similarly the emperor Tiberius kept to the period between two moons even in having his hair cut. Marcus Varro advises the plan of having one's hair cut just after full moon, as a precaution against going bald.

76. When the larch and still more the white fir has been felled, a liquid flows from them for a long time. These are the tallest and the straightest of all the trees. For the masts and spars of ships the fir is preferred because of its light weight. A property shared by these trees and also by the pine is that of having veins running through the wood in four or in two divisions, or else only in one line. The interior in the four-veined kind is the best timber to cut up for inlaid wood-work and that in the twoveined the worst, and softer than the other kinds; experts can tell them at once from the bark. Fir wood from the part of the tree that was near the ground is free from knots. This timber after being floated in a river in the way which we have described is cleared of bulges, and when so treated is called sappinus, while the upper part which is knotted and harder is called club-wood. Moreover in the trees themselves the parts towards the north-east are stronger; and in general trees from damp and shady places are inferior and those from sunny places are closer grained and durable; on this account at Rome fir from the Tuscan coast is preferred to that from the Adriatic.

In trees of this class there is also a difference corresponding to their native countries. The most highly spoken of grow on the Alps and the Apennincs, on the Jura and Vosges mountains of Gaul, in Corsica, Bithynia, Pontus and Macedonia. The firs of Aenia and Arcadia are inferior, and those of Parnassus and Enboea the worst, because in those places they are branchy and twisted and the wood is apt to rot. As for the cedar, those in Crete, Africa and Syria are the most highly spoken of. Timber well smeared with cedar oil does not suffer from maggot or decay. The juniper has the same excellence as the cedar; this tree grows to a great size in Spain and especially in the territory of the Vaccaei; the heart of its timber is everywhere even more solid than that of the cedar. A general fault of all timber is what is called cross-grain, when the veins and knots have grown twisted. In some trees are found centres like those in marble, that is hard pieces like a

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nail, unkind to the saw; and there are some hardnesses due to accident, as when a stone, or the branch of another tree, has been caught in a hollow and taken into the body of the tree. It is said that stones found inside trees serve as a preventive against abortion. In the market-place at Megara long stood a wild olive tree on which brave warriors had hung their weapons; these in the course of time had been hidden by the bark growing round them; and on this tree depended the fate of the city, an oracle having prophesied that it would be destroyed when a tree gave birth to armswhich happened to this tree when it was cut down, greaves and helmets being found inside it.

What is believed to have been the largest tree ever seen at Rome down to the present time was one that Tiberius Caesar caused to be exhibited as a marvel on the deck of the Naval Sham Fight before mentioned; it had been brought to Rome with the rest of the timber used, and it lasted till the amphitheatre of the emperor Nero. It was a log of larchwood, 120 feet long and of a uniform thickness of two feet, from which could be inferred the almost incredible height of the rest of the tree by calculating its length to the top. Within our own memory there was also an equally marvellous tree left by Marcus Agrippa in the porticos of the Voting-booths, left over from the timber used for the ballot office; this was twenty feet shorter than the one previously mentioned, and 18 inches in thickness. An especially wonderful fir was seen in the ship which brought from Egypt at the order of the emperor Gaius the obelisk erected in the Vatican Circus and four shafts of the same stone to serve as its base. It is certain that nothing more wonderful than this ship has ever been seen on the sea: it carried one hundred and twenty bushels of lentils for ballast, and its length took up a large part of the left side of the harbour of Ostia, for under the emperor Claudius it was sunk there, with three moles as high as towers erected upon it that had been made of Pozzuoli cement for the purpose and conveyed to the place. It took four men to span the girth of this tree with their arms; and we commonly hear that masts for those purposes cost 80,000 sesterces and more, and that to put together the rafts usually runs to 40,000. But in Egypt and Syria for want of fir the kings are said to have used cedar wood for their fleets; the largest cedar is reported to have been grown in Cyprus and to have been felled to make a mast for a galley with rowers in teams of eleven belonging to Demetrius; it was one hundred and thirty feet long and took three men to span its girth. The pirates of Germany voyage in boats made of a single tree hollowed out, some of which carry as many as thirty people.

The most close-grained of all timber and consequently the heaviest is judged to be ebony and box, both trees of a slender make. Neither will float in water, nor will the cork-tree if its bark be removed, nor the larch. Of the remainder the most close-grained is the one called at Rome the lotus, and next the hard oak when the white sap-wood has been removed. The hard oak also has wood of a dark colour, and still darker is that of the cytisus, which appears to come very near to ebony, although people are to be found who assert that the turpentine-trees of Syria are darker. Indeed there is a celebrated artificer named Thericles who used to turn goblets of turpentine-tree wood, which is a highly valued material; it is the only wood that needs to be oiled, and is improved by oil. Its colour can be wonderfully counterfeited by staining walnut and wild pear wood and boiling them in a chemical preparation. All the trees that we have mentioned have hard close-grained wood. Next after them comes the cornel, though its wood cannot be given a shiny polish became of its poor surface; but cornel wood is hardly useful for anything else except the spokes of wheels or in case something has to be wedged in wood or fixed with bolts made of it, which are as hard as iron. There are also the holm-oak, the wild and cultivated olive, the chestnut, the hornbeam and the poplar. The last is also mottled like the mapleif only any timber could be any good when the branches of the tree are frequently lopped: this amounts to gelding the tree, and takes away all its strength. For the rest, most of these trees, but especially the hard oak, are so hard that it is not possible to bore a hole in the wood until it has been soaked in water, and even then when a nail has been driven right into it it cannot be pulled out. On the other hand cedar gives no hold to a nail. The softest of all woods is lime, and it is also apparently the hottest as well: it is adduced in proof of this that it turns the edge of adzes quicker than any other wood. Other hot woods are mulberry, laurel, ivy and all those used for making matches.

77. This has been discovered by experience in the camps of military scouting parties and of shepherds, because there is not always a stone at hand to strike fire with; consequently two pieces of wood are rubbed together and catch fire owing to the friction, and the fire is caught in a lump of dry tinder, fungus or dead leaves catching most readily. But there is nothing better than ivy wood for rubbing against and laurel wood for rubbing with; one of the wild vines (not the claret-vine), which climbs up a tree like ivy, is also spoken well of. The trees that have the coldest wood of all are all that grow in water; but the most flexible, and consequently the most suitable for making shields, are those in which an incision draws together at once and closes up its own wound, and which consequently is more obstinate in allowing steel to penetrate; this class contains the vine, agnus castus, willow, lime, birch, elder, and both kinds of poplar. Of these woods the lightest and consequently the most useful are the agnus castus and the willow; but they are all suited for making baskets and things consisting of flexible wicker-work. Also they are shiny and hard, and easy to use in carvings. Plane has flexibility, but of a moist kind, like alder; a drier flexibility belongs to elm, ash, mulberry, and cherry, but it is heavier. Elm retains its toughness most stoutly, and is in consequence the most useful wood for the hinges and frames of doors, because it is not liable to warp, only it should be put the other way up, so that the top of the tree is towards the lower hinge and the root above. The palm is ... and also cork-tree timber is similar; apple and pear are also close-grained, as well as maple, but maple is brittle, and so are any veined woods. In all trees the characteristics of each kind are carried further by wild specimens and by males; and barren trees have stronger wood than fertile ones, except in species where the male trees bear, for instance the cypress and the cornel.

78. The following trees do not experience decay and agecypress, cedar, ebony, lotus, box, yew, juniper, wild olive, cultivated olive; and of the remainder the slowest to age are the larch, hard oak, cork, chestnut and walnut. The cedar, cypress, cultivated olive and box do not split or crack of their own accord.

79. It is believed that ebony lasts an extremely long time, and also cypress and cedar, a clear verdict about all timbers being given in the temple of Diana at Ephesus, inasmuch as though the whole of Asia was building it it took 120 years to complete. It is agreed that its roof is made of beams of cedar, but as to the actual statue of the goddess there is some dispute, all the other writers saying that it is made of ebony, but one of the people who have most recently seen it and written about it, Mucianus, who was three times consul, states that it is made of the wood of the vine, and has never been altered although the temple has been restored seven times; and that this material was chosen by EndoeusMucianus actually specifies the name of the artist, which for my part I think surprising, as he assigns to the statue an antiquity that makes it older than not only Father Liber but Minerva also. He adds that nard is poured into it through a number of apertures so that the chemical properties of the liquid may nourish the wood and keep the joins togetheras to these indeed I am rather surprised that there should be anyand that the folding doors are made of cypress wood, and the whole of the timber looks like new wood after having lasted nearly 400 years. It is also worth noting that the doors were kept for four years in a frame of glue. Cypress was chosen for them because it is the one kind of wood which beyond all others retains its polish in the best condition for all time. Has not the statue of Vejovis in the citadel, made of cypress wood, lasted since its dedication in the year 561 [193 BC] after the foundation of Rome? Noteworthy also is the temple of Apollo at Utica, where beams of Numidian cedar have lasted for 1178 years just as they were when they were put in position at the original foundation of that city; and the temple of Diana at Saguntum in Spain, the statue of the goddess, according to the authority of Bocchus, having been brought there from Zaeynthus with the founders of the city 200 years before the fall of Troy; it is kept inside the town itselfHannibal from motives of religion spared itand its beams, made of juniper, are still in existence even now. Memorable above all is the temple of the same goddess at Aulis, built some centuries before the Trojan war; all knowledge of what kind of timber it was built of has entirely disappeared. Broadly speaking it can at all events be said that those woods have the most outstanding durability which have the most agreeable scent. Next in esteem after the timbers mentioned stands that of the mulberry, which even darkens with age. At the same time also some woods last longer when employed in certain ways than they do otherwise: elm lasts best exposed to the air, hard oak when used under ground, and oak when submerged under wateroak when above the ground warps and makes cracks in structures. Larch and black alder do the best in damp; hard oak is rotted by sea water. Beech and walnut are also well spoken of for use in water, these timbers indeed holding quite the first place among those that are used under the ground, and likewise juniper (which is also very serviceable for structures exposed to the air), whereas beech and Turkey oak quickly decay, and the winter oak also will not stand damp. The alder on the other hand if driven into the ground in marshy places lasts for ever and stands a load of any amount. Cherry is a strong wood, elm and ash are tough but liable to warp, although they are flexible; and they are more reliable if the trees are left standing and dried by ringing round the trunk. Larch is reported to be liable to woodworm when used in seagoing vessels, and the same with all woods except the wild and the cultivated olive; in fact some woods are more liable to faults in the sea and others in the ground.

80. There are four kinds of pests that attack timbers. Borer-worms have a very large head in proportion to their size, and gnaw away wood with their teeth; these worms are observed only in the sea, and it is held that they are the only ones to which the name of borer-worm properly applies. The land variety are called moths, but the name for those resembling gnats is thrips, and there is also a fourth kind belonging to the maggot class, of which some are engendered by the wood itself when its sap becomes putrid and others are produced by the worm called horned-wormas they are in treeswhich when it has gnawed away enough to be able to turn round, gives birth to another. The birth of these insects is prevented however in some trees, for instance the cypress, by the bitter taste of the wood, and in others, for instance the box, by its hardness. It is also said that the fir will not decay in water if about the time of budding and at the lunar period we stated it is stripped of its bark. The companions of Alexander the Great stated that on the island of Tylos in the Red Sea there are trees used for building ships, the timbers of which have been found continuing free from rot for two hundred years even though they were under water. They further reported that the same island contains a shrub growing only thick enough for a walking stick, marked with stripes like a tiger skin, heavy and liable to break like glass when it falls on to things of harder substance.

81. We have in our country some timbers liable to split of their own accord, and architects consequently recommend that they should be smeared with dung and then dried, so as to make them proof against the action of the atmosphere. Fir and larch are strong weight-carriers, even when placed horizontally, and whereas hard oak and olive bend and yield to a weight, the woods named resist it and are not readily broken, and they fail owing to rot before they fail in strength. The palm tree also is strong, for it curves in a different way to other trees: all the others curve downward, but the palm curves in the opposite direction, making an arch. Pine and cypress are the strongest to resist rot and woodworms. Walnut bends easilyfor this wood also is used for making beams; when it breaks it gives a warning in advance by a creaking noise, as happened for instance at Antandro, when people in the public baths took alarm at the sound and made their escape. Pines, pitch pines and alders are hollowed to form pipes for conveying water, and when buried underground will last a number of years; but they age quickly if not covered over, the resistance they offer being remarkably increased if their outside surface also is covered with moisture.

82. Fir wood is strongest in a vertical position; it is very suitable for door panels and any kinds of inlaid work desired, whether in the Greek or the Campanian or the Sicilian style of joinery; under brisk planing it makes pretty curly shavings, always twisting in a spiral like the tendrils of a vine; moreover, of all sorts of wood it is most adapted for being glued together, so much so that it will split at a solid place before it parts at a join.

83. Gluing also is important for veneering articles with thin sections of wood or otherwise. For use as veneer a thready veining is approved of (it is called fennel-pattern grain on account of the resemblance), because in every kind of wood pieces with gaps and twists in them do not take the glue; some woods cannot be joined by gluing either with wood of the same kind or with other woods, for example hard oak, and in general materials unlike in substance do not hold together, for instance if one tried to join stone and wood. The wood of the service-tree, the hornbeam and the box have a very strong dislike for cornel wood, and so to a smaller degree has lime. All of the woods we have described as yielding are easily bent for all purposes, and so besides are mulberry and wild fig; while those which are moderately moist are suitable for boring and sawing, since dry woods give way beyond the part which you bore or saw, whereas green woods except hard oak and box offer a more obstinate resistance, and fill up the teeth of saws in an ineffective even line; this is the reason why the teeth are bent each way in turn, so as to get rid of the sawdust.

84. Ash is the most compliant wood in work of any kind, and is better than hazel for spears, lighter than cornel, and more pliable than service-tree; indeed the Gallic ash even has the suppleness and light weight required for chariots. The elm would rival it were not its weight against it. Beech also is easily worked, although brittle and soft; also cut in thin layers of veneer it is flexible, and is the only wood suitable for boxes and desks. The holm-oak as well cuts into extremely thin layers, and also has a not unattractive colour, but it is most reliable for things subjected to friction, for instance the axles of wheels, for which ash is selected because of its pliancy, as also is holm-oak for its hardness and elm for both qualities. But wood is also used in small pieces for the operations of carpentry, and a remarkable fact stated is that the most serviceable holders for augers are made from wild olive, box, holm-oak, elm and ash, and the best mallets from the same woods and larger ones from pine and holm-oak. But with these timbers also seasonable felling is more conducive to strength than if done prematurely, inasmuch as hinges made of olive, a very hard wood, that have been left too long unmoved in doorways have been known to put out shoots like a growing plant. Cato recommends holly, laurel or elm for

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making levers, and Hyginus hornbeam, holm-oak or Turkey-oak for the hafts of agricultural implements.

The principal woods for cutting into layers and for using as a veneer to cover other kinds of wood are citrus, turpentine-tree, varieties of maple, box, palm, holly, holm-oak, the root of the elder, and poplar. Also the alder, as has been stated, supplies a tuberosity that can be cut into layers, as do the citrus and the maple; no other trees have tuberosities so much valued. The middle part of trees is more variegated, and the nearer the root the smaller and the more wavy are the markings. This first originated the luxury use of trees, covering up one with another and making an outside skin for a cheaper wood out of a more expensive one. In order that one tree might be sold several times over, even thin layers of wood have been invented. And this was not enough: the horns of animals began to be dyed and their tusks cut in slices, and wood to be inlaid and later veneered with ivory. Next came the fancy of ransacking even the sea for material: tortoise-shell was cut up to provide it, and recently, in the principate of Nero, it was discovered by miraculous devices how to cause it to lose its natural appearance by means of paints and fetch a higher price by imitating wood. A little time ago luxury had not thought wood good enough, but now it actually manufactures wood out of tortoiseshell. By these methods high prices are sought for couches and orders are given to outdo turpentine wood, make a more costly citrus, and counterfeit maple.

85. If one thinks of the remote regions of the world and the impenetrable forests, it is possible that some trees have an immeasurable span of life. But of those that the memory of man preserves there still live an olive planted by the hand of the elder Africanus on his estate at Liternum and likewise a myrtle of remarkable size in the same placeunderneath them is a grotto in which a snake is said to keep guard over Africanus's shadeand a lotus tree in the precinct of Lucina at Rome founded in 375 B.C., a year in which no magistrates were elected; how much older the tree itself is uncertain, but at all events there is no doubt that it is older, since it is from the grove in question that the goddess Lucina takes her name. This tree is now about 500 years old; still older, though its age is uncertain, is the lotus free called the Hair Tree, because the Vestal Virgins' offering of hair is brought to it.

86. But there is another lotus tree in the precincts of Vulcan founded by Romulus from a tithe of his spoils of victory, which on the authority of Masurius is understood to be of the same age as the city. Its roots spread right across the Municipal Offices as far as the Forum of Caesar. With this there grew a cypress of equal age, which about the closing period of Nero's principate fell down and was left lying.

87. But on the Vatican Hill there is a holmoak that is older than the city; it has a bronze tablet on it with an inscription written in Etruscan characters, indicating that even in those days the tree was deemed venerable. The people of Tivoli also date their origin far before the city of Rome; and they have three holm-oaks still living that date even earlier than their founder Tiburnus, the ceremony of whose installation is said to have taken place near them; but tradition relates that he was the son of Amphiaraus, who died in battle before Thebes a generation before the Trojan war.

88. Authorities say that there is a plane-tree at Delphi that was planted by the hand of Agamemnon, and also another at Caphya, a place in Arcadia. There are trees at the present day growing on the tomb of Protesilaus on the shore of the Dardanelles opposite the city of the Trojans, which in every period since the time of Protesilaus, after they have grown big enough to command a view of Ilium, wither away and then revive again; while the oaks on the tomb of Ilus near the city are said to have been planted at the date when the place first began to be called Ilium.

89. It is said that at Argos there still survives the olive to which Argus tethered Io after she had been transformed into a heifer. West of Heraclea in Pontus there are altars dedicated to Jupiter under his Greek title of Stratios, where there are two oak trees planted by Hercules. In the same region there is a port called Harbour of Amyeus, famous as the place where King Bebryx was killed; his tomb ever since the day of his death has been shaded by a laurel tree which they call the Mad Laurel, because if a piece plucked from it is taken on board ships, quarrelling breaks out until it is thrown away. We have mentioned the region of Aulocrene, traversed by the route leading from Apamea into Phrygia; in it travellers are shown the plane-tree from which Marsyas was hanged after losing his match with Apollo, and which was selected for the purpose on account of its size even then. Moreover at Delos may be seen a palm tree dating back to the time of the same deity, and at Olympia a wild olive from which was made the wreath with which Hercules was crowned for the first timeveneration for it is preserved even now. Also the olive tree produced by Minerva in the competition a is reported still to exist at Athens.

90. On the other hand pomegranates, the fig and the apple class are extremely short-lived; and among apples those that ripen early are more short-lived than those that ripen late and the sweet ones than the sour, and the same is the case with the sweeter variety among the pomegranates, and likewise among vines, and particularly the more fruitful ones. Graecinus states that there have been cases of vines living 600 years. It also appears that trees growing in water die more quickly. Laurels, apples and pomegranates age rapidly, it is true, but they put out shoots again from their roots. Consequently the hardiest trees to live are olives, seeing that it is generally agreed among the authorities that they last 200 years.

91. On a hill named Corne in the territory of Tusculum, near the city, there is a grove named Corne which has been held in reverence from early times by the district of Latium as sacred to Diana; it consists of a beech coppice the foliage of which has the appearance of having been trimmed by art. This grove contains one outstanding tree which in our generation excited the affection of the orator Passienus Crispus, who had twice been consul and who subsequently became still more distinguished by marrying Agrippina and becoming the stepfather of Nero; Crispus used regularly not merely to lie beneath the tree and to pour wine over it, but to kiss and embrace it. Close to this grove is a holm-oak which is also famous, as measuring thirty-four feet round the trunk, and sending out what look like ten separate trees of remarkable size and forming a wood of itself.

92. It is a well-known fact that trees are killed by ivy. Some people believe that a similar property noxious to trees, though operating more slowly, is also trees. contained in mistletoefor this plant also is recognised as by no means among the least remarkable on account of other properties beside its berries. For some varieties of plants cannot grow in the earth, and take root in trees, because they have no abode of their own and consequently live in that of others: instances of this are mistletoe and the plant in Syria called cadytas, which twines itself round not only trees but even brambles, and likewise in the district about Tempe in Thessaly the plant called polypodium, and also the dolichos and the serpyllum.

Also a plant that grows on a wild olive after it has been lopped is called phaunos, while one that grows on the fuller's teazel is called hippophaesturn; it has hollow stalks, small leaves and a white root, the juice of which is considered very useful for purgatives in epilepsy.

93. There are three kinds of mistletoe. One that grows as a parasite on the fir and the larch is called stelis in Euboea and hyphear in Arcadia, and the name of mistletoe is used for one growing on the oak, hard oak, holm-oak, wild pear, turpentine-tree, and indeed most other trees; and growing in great abundance on the oak is one which they call dryos hyphear. There is a difference in the case of every tree except the holm-oak and the oak in the smell and poison of the berry and the disagreeably scented leaf, both the berry and the leaf of the mistletoe being bitter and sticky. The hyphear is more useful than vetch for fattening cattle; at first it only acts as a purge, but it subsequently fattens the beasts that have stood the purging process, although they say that those with some internal malady cannot stand it. This method of treatment is employed for forty days in summer. An additional variety is said to be found in mistletoe, in that when it grows on deciduous trees it also sheds its leaves itself, but when growing on an evergreen tree it retains its leaves. But universally when mistletoe seed is sown it never sprouts at all, and only when passed in the excrement of birds, particularly the pigeon and the thrush: its nature is such that it will not shoot unless it has been ripened in the stomach of birds. Its height does not exceed eighteen inches, and it is evergreen and always in leaf. The male plant is fertile and the female barren, except that even a fertile plant sometimes does not bear.

94. Mistletoe berries can be used for making bird-lime, if gathered at harvest time while unripe; for if the rainy season has begun, although they get bigger in size they lose in viscosity. They are then dried and when quite dry pounded and stored in water, and in about twelve days they turn rottenand this is the sole case of a thing that becomes attractive by rotting. Then after having been again pounded up they are put in running water and there lose their skins and become viscous in their inner flesh. This substance after being kneaded with oil is bird-lime, used for entangling birds' wings by contact with it when one wants to snare them.

95. While on this subject we also must not omit the respect shown to this plant by the Gallic provinces. The Druidsthat is what they call their magicianshold nothing more sacred than mistletoe and a tree on which it is growing, provided it is a hard-oak. Groves of hard-oaks are chosen even for their own sake, and the magicians perform no rites without using the foliage of those trees, so that it may be supposed that it is from this custom that they get their name of Druids, from the Greek word meaning 'oak'; but further, anything growing on oak-trees they think to have been sent down from heaven, and to be a sign that the particular tree has been chosen by God himself. Mistletoe is, however, rather seldom found on a hard-oak, and when it is discovered it is gathered with great ceremony, and particularly on the sixth day of the moon (which for these tribes constitutes the beginning of the months and the years) and after every thirty years of a new generation, because it is then rising in strength and not one half of its full size. Hailing the moon in a native word that means 'healing all things,' they prepare a ritual sacrifice and banquet beneath a tree and bring up two white bulls, whose horns are bound for the first time on this occasion. A priest arrayed in white vestments climbs the tree and with a golden sickle cuts down the mistletoe, which is caught in a white cloak. Then finally they kill the victims, praying to God to render his gift propitious to those on whom he has bestowed it. They believe that mistletoe given in drink will impart fertility to any animal that is barren, and that it is an antidote for all poisons. So powerful is the superstition in regard to trifling matters that frequently prevails among the races of mankind.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 17

1. We have now stated the nature of the trees that grow of their own accord on land and in the sea; and there remain those which owe what is more truly described as their formation than their birth to art and to the ingenious devices of mankind. But it is in place first to express surprise at the way in which the trees that, under the niggardly system that we have recorded, were held in common ownership by the wild animals, with man doing battle with them for the fruit that fell to the ground and also with the birds for that which still hung on the tree, have come to command such high prices as articles of luxurythe most famous instance, in my judgement, being the affair of Lucius Crassus and Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus. Crassus was one of the leading Roman orators; he owned a splendid mansion, but it was considerably surpassed by another that was also on the Palatine Hill, belonging to Quintus Catulus, the colleague of Gaius Marius in the defeats of the Cimbrians; while by far the finest house of that period was by universal agreement the one on the Viminal Hill owned by Gaius Aquilius, Knight of Rome, who was even more celebrated for this property than he was for his knowledge of civil law, although nevertheless in the case of Crassus his mansion was considered a reproach to him. Crassus and Domitius both belonged to families of high distinction, and they were colleagues as consuls and afterwards, in 92 B.C., as censors: owing to their dissimilarity of character their tenure of the censorship was filled with quarrels between them. On the occasion referred to, Gnaeus Domitius, being a man of hasty temper and moreover inflamed by that particularly sour kind of hatred which springs out of rivalry, gave Crassus a severe rebuke for living on so expensive a scale when holding the office of censor, and repeatedly declared that he would give a million sesterces for his mansion; and Crassus, who always had a ready wit and was good at clever repartees, replied that he accepted the bid, with the reservation of half a dozen trees. Domitius declined to buy the place even for a shilling without the timber. 'Well then,' said Crassus, 'tell me pray, Domitius, am I the one who is setting a bad example and who deserves a mark of censure from the very office which I am myself occupyingI, who live quite unpretentiously in the house that came to me by inheritance, or is it you, who price six trees at a million sesterces?' The trees referred to were nettle-trees, with an exuberance of spreading, shady branches; Caecina Largus, one of the great gentlemen of Rome, in our young days used frequently to point them out in the mansion, of which he was then the owner, and they lastedas we have already also spoken of the limits of longevity in treesdown to the Emperor Nero's conflagration, [AD 64] thanks to careful tendance still verdant and vigorous, had not the emperor mentioned hastened the death even of trees. And let nobody suppose that Crassus's mansion was in other respects a poor affair, and that it contained nothing beside trees to attract this provoking bid from Domitius; on the contrary, he had already erected for decorative purposes in the court of the mansion six pillars of marble from Mt. Hymettus, which in view of his aedileship he had imported to embellish the stage of the theatreand this although hitherto there were no marble pillars in any public place: of so recent a date is luxurious wealth! And at that date so much greater distinction was added to mansions by trees that Domitius actually would not keep to the price suggested by a quarrel without the timber in question being thrown in.

In former generations people even got their surnames from trees: for instance Frondicius, the soldier who performed such remarkable exploits against Hannibal, swimming across the Volturno with a screen of foliage on his head, and the Licinian family of the Stolonesstolo being the word for the useless suckers growing on the actual trees, on account of which the first Stolo received the name from his invention of a process of trimming vines. In early days trees even were protected by the law, and the Twelve Tables provided that anybody wrongfully felling another man's trees should be fined 25 asses for each tree. What are we to think? That people of old who rated even fruit-trees so highly believed that trees would rise to the value mentioned above? And in the matter of fruit-trees no less marvellous are many of those in the districts surrounding the city, the produce of which is every year knocked down to bids of 2000 sesterces per tree, a single tree yielding a larger return than farms used to do in old days. It was on this account that grafting, and the practice of adultery even by trees, was devised, so that not even fruit

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should grow for the poor. We will now therefore state in what manner it chiefly comes about that such a large revenue is derived from these trees, going on to set forth the genuine and perfect method of cultivation, and for that purpose we shall not treat of the commonly known facts and those which we observe to be established, but of uncertain and doubtful points on which practical conduct chiefly goes wrong; as it is not our plan to give careful attention to superfluities. But first of all we will speak about matters of climate and soil that concern all kinds of trees in common.

2. Trees are specially fond of a north-east aspect, wind in that quarter rendering their foliage denser and more abundant and their timber stronger. This is a point on which most people make a mistake, as the props in a vineyard ought not to be placed so as to shelter the stems from wind in that quarter, and this precaution should only be taken against a north wind. What is more, exposure to cold at the proper season contributes very greatly to the strength of the trees, and they bud best under those circumstances, as otherwise, if exposed to the caresses of the winds from the south-west, they languish, and especially when in blossom. In fact if the fall of the blossom is followed immediately by rain, the fruit is entirely ruinedso much so that almonds and pears lose their crop of fruit if the weather should be only cloudy or a south-west wind prevail. Rain at the rising of the Pleiades indeed is extremely unfavourable for the vine and the olive, because that is their fertilizing season; this is the four-day period that decides the fate of the olives, this is the critical point when a south wind brings the dirty clouds we spoke of. Also cereals ripen worse on days when the wind is in the south-west, though they ripen faster. Cold weather only does damage when it comes with northerly winds, or not at the proper seasons; indeed for a north-east wind to prevail in winter is most beneficial for all crops. But there is an obvious reason for desiring rain in that season, because it is natural for the trees when exhausted by bearing fruit and also by the loss of their leaves to be famished with hunger, and rain is a food for them. Consequently experience inspires the belief that a mild winter, causing the trees the moment they have finished bearing to conceive, that is to bud, again, this being followed by another exhausting period of blossoming, is an extremely detrimental thing. Indeed if several years in succession should take this course, even the trees themselves may die, since no one can doubt the punishment they suffer from putting forth their strength when in a hungry condition; consequently the poet who told us to pray for finer winters was not framing a litany for the benefit of trees. Nor yet is wet weather over midsummer good for vines. It has indeed been said, thanks to the fertility of a vivid imagination, that dust in winter makes more abundant harvests; but, quite apart from this, it is the prayer of trees and crops in common that snow may he a long time. The reason is not only because snow shuts in and imprisons the earth's breath when it is disappearing by evaporation, and drives it back into the roots of the vegetation to make strength, but because it also affords a gradual supply of moisture, and this moreover of a pure and extremely light quality, owing to the fact that rime is the foam of the waters of heaven. Consequently the moisture from snow, not inundating and drenching everything all at once, but shedding drops as from a breast in proportion to the thirst felt, nourishes all vegetation for the very reason that it does not deluge it. In this way the earth also is made to ferment, and is filled with her own substance, not exhausted by seeds sown in her trying to suck her milk, and when lapse of time has removed her covering she greets the mild hours with a smile. This is the method to make corn crops fatten most abundantlyexcept in countries where the atmosphere is always warm, for instance Egypt: for there the unvarying temperature and the mere force of habit produce the same effect as management produces elsewhere; and in any place it is of the greatest benefit for there to be nothing to cause harm. In the greater part of the world, when at the summons of heaven's indulgence the buds have hurried out too early, if cold weather follows they are shrivelled up. This is why late winters are injurious, even to forest trees as well, which actually suffer worse, because they are weighed down by their own shade, and because remedial measures cannot help them, to clothe the tender plants with wisps of straw not being possible in the case of forest trees. Consequently rain is favourable first at the period of the winter storms, and next with the wet weather coming before the budding period; and. a third season is when the trees are forming their fruit, though not at the first stage but when the growth has become strong and healthy. Trees that hold back their fruit later and need more prolonged nourishment also receive benefit from late rains, for instance the vine, the olive and the pomegranate. These rains, however, are required in a different manner for each kind of tree, as they come to maturity at different times; consequently you may see the same storm of rain causing damage to some trees and benefiting others even in the same class of trees, as for example among pears, winter varieties require rain on one day and early pears on another, although they all alike need a period of wintry weather before budding. The same cause that makes a north-west wind more beneficial than a south-west wind also renders inland regions superior to places on the coastthe reason being that they are usually coolerand mountain districts superior to plains, and rain in the night preferable to rain by day, vegetation getting more enjoyment from the water when the sun does not immediately make it evaporate.

Connected with this subject is also the theory of the situation for vineyards and trees what aspect they should face. Virgil condemned their being planted looking west, but some have preferred that aspect to an easterly position, while most authorities, I notice, approve the south; and I do not think that any hard and fast rule can be laid down on this pointskilled attention must be paid to the nature of the soil, the character of the locality and the features of the particular climate. In Africa for vineyards to face south is bad for the vine and also unhealthy for the grower, because the country itself lies under the southern quarter of the sky, and consequently he who there chooses a westerly or northern aspect for planting will achieve the best blending of soil with climate. When Virgil condemns a western aspect, there seems no doubt that lie condemns a northern aspect also, although in Italy below the Alps it has generally been experienced that no vineyards bear better than those so situated. The wind also forms a great consideration. In the province of Narbonne and in Liguria and part of Tuscany it is thought to be a mistake to plant vines in a position directly facing a west-north-west wind, but at the same time to be a wise arrangement to let them catch the wind from that quarter sideways, because it moderates the heat of summer in those regions, although it usually blows with such violence as to carry away the roofs of houses. Some people make the question of aspect depend on the nature of the soil, letting vines planted in dry situations face east and north and those in a damp one south. Moreover, they borrow rules from the vines themselves, by planting early varieties in cold situations, so that their ripening may come before the cold weather, and fruit-trees and vines that dislike dew, with an eastern aspect, so that the sun may carry off the moisture at once, but those that like dew, facing west or even north, so that they may enjoy it for a longer time. But the rest, virtually following Nature's system, have recommended that vines and trees should be placed so as to face north-east; and Democritus is of opinion that the fruit so grown also has more scent. We have dealt in Book Two with positions facing north-east and the other quarters, and we shall give more meteorological details in the next Book. In the meantime a clear test of the healthiness of the aspect seems to lie in the fact that trees facing south are always the first to shed their leaves. A similar influence also operates in maritime districts: sea breezes are injurious in some places, while at the same time in most places they encourage growth; and some plants like having a distant view of the sea but are not benefited by being moved nearer to its saline exhalations. A similar principle applies also to rivers and marshes: they shrivel up vegetation by their mists or else they serve to cool excessively hot districts. The trees that we have specified like shade and even cold. Consequently the best course is to rely on experiment.

3. It comes next after the heavens to give an account of the earth, a subject no easier to deal with, inasmuch as the same land is not as a rule suited for trees and for crops, and the black earth of the kind that exists in Campania is not the best soil for vines everywhere, nor is a soil that emits thin clouds of vapour, nor the red earth that many writers have praised. The chalky soil in the territory of Alba Pompeia and a clay soil are preferred to all the other kinds for vines, although they are very rich, a quality to which exception is made in the case of that class of plants. Conversely the white sand in the Ticino district, and the black sand found in many places, and likewise red sand, even when intermingled with rich soil, are unproductive. The signs adduced in judging soil are often misleading. A soil in which lofty trees do brilliantly is not invariably favourable except for Those trees: for what grows higher than a silver fir? yet what other tree could have lived in the same place? Nor do luxuriant pastures always indicate a rich soil: for what is more famous than the pastures of Germany? but immediately underneath a very thin skin of turf there is sand. And land where plants grow high is not always damp, any more, I protest, than soil that sticks to the fingers is always richa fact that is proved in the case of clay soils. In point of fact no soil when put back into the holes out of which it is dug completely fills them, so as to make it possible to detect a close soil and a loose soil in this manner; and all soil covers iron with rust. Nor can a heavy or a light soil be detected by a standard of weight, for what can be understood to be the standard weight of earth? Nor is alluvial soil deposited by rivers always to be recommended, seeing that some plants do not flourish in a damp situation; nor does that much praised alluvial soil prove in experience to be beneficial for a long period, except for a willow. One of the signs of a good soil is the thickness of the stalk in corn, which incidentally in the famous Leborine plain in Campania is so large that they use it as a substitute for wood; but this class of soil is everywhere hard to work, and owing to this difficulty of cultivation puts almost a heavier burden on the farmer because of its merits than it could possibly inflict by reason of defects. Also the soil designated glowing-coal earth appears to be improved by marl; and in fact tufa of a pliable consistency is actually held by the authorities to be a desideratum. For vines Virgil actually does not disapprove of a soil in which ferns grow; and many plants are improved by being entrusted to salt land, as they are better protected against damage from creatures breeding in the ground. Hillsides are not denuded of their soil by cultivation if the digging is done skilfully, and not all level ground gets less than the necessary amount of sun and air; and some varieties of vine, as we have said, draw nourishment from frosts and clouds. All matters contain some deeply hidden mysteries, which each person must use his own intelligence to penetrate. What of the fact that changes often occur even in things that have been investigated and ascertained long ago? In the district of Larisa in Thessaly the emptying of a lake has lowered the temperature of the district, and olives which used to grow there before have disappeared, occur before; while on the other hand the city of Aenos, since the river Maritza was brought near to it, has experienced an increase of warmth a and the district round Philippi altered its climate when its land under cultivation was drained. On the other hand on land belonging to Syracuse a farmer who was a newcomer to the district by removing the stones from the soil caused his crops to be ruined by mud, until he carried the stones back again. In Syria they use a light ploughshare that cuts a narrow furrow, because the subsoil is rock which causes the seeds to be scorched in summer.

Again, immoderate heat and cold have a similar effect in certain places. Thrace owes its fertility in corn to cold, Africa and Egypt to heat. There is one place in the island of Chalcia belonging to Rhodes which is so fertile that they reap barley sown at its proper time and after carrying it at once sow the field again and reap a second crop of barley with the other harvest. In the district of Venufrum a gravel soil is found to be most suitable for olives, but in Baetica very rich soil. The vines of Pucinum bare scorched on rock, whereas those of Caecubum grow in the damp ground of the Pontine Marshes. So much variety and diversity obtains in the evidence of experience and in soil. Vopiscus Caesar when appearing in a case before the Censors spoke of the plains of Rosia as 'the paps of Italy', where stakes left lying on the ground the day before were hidden with grass; but these plains are only valued for pasture. Nevertheless Nature did not wish that we should be uninstructed, and has caused errors to be fully admitted even where she had not given clear information as to the good points; and accordingly we will first speak about soil defects.

A bitter soil is indicated by its black undergrown plants; shrivelled shoots indicate a cold soil, and drooping growths show a damp soil; red earth and damp clay are noted by the eyethey are very difficult to work, and liable to burden the rakes or ploughshares with huge clodsalthough what is an obstacle to working the soil is not also a handicap to its productivity; and similarly the eye can discern the opposite, an ash-coloured soil and a white sand; while a barren soil with its hard surface is easily detected by even a single stroke of a prong. Cato defines defects of soil briefly and in his customary style: 'Take care when the soil is rotten not to dent it either with a waggon or by driving cattle over it'. What do we infer from this designation to have been the thing that so much alarmed him that he almost prohibits even setting foot on it? Let us compare it with rottenness in wood, and we shall find that the faults of soil which he holds in such aversion consist in being dry, porous, rough, white, full of holes and like pumice-stone. He has said more by one striking word than could be fully recounted by any quantity of talk. For some soil exists which analysis of its vices shows to be not old in age, a term which conveys no meaning in the case of earth, but old in its own nature, and consequently infertile and powerless for every purpose. The same authority gives the view that the best land is that extending in a level plain from the base of a mountain range in a southerly direction, this being the conformation of the whole of Italy, and that the soil called 'dark' is 'tender'; consequently this will be the best land both for working and for the crops. We need only try to see the meaning of this remarkably significant expression 'tender', and we shall discover that the term comprises every desideratum. 'Tender' soil is soil of moderate richness, a soft and easily worked soil, neither damp nor parched; it is soil that shines behind the ploughshare, like the field which Homer, the fountainhead of all genius, has described as represented by a divine artist in a carving on a shield, and he has added the marvellous touch about the furrow showing black although the material used to represent it was gold; it is the soil that when freshly turned attracts the rascally birds which accompany the ploughshare and the tribe of crows which peck the very footprints of the ploughman.

In this place moreover may be quoted a dictum as to luxury that is also undoubtedly to the point. Cicero, that other luminary of learning, says 'Unguents with an earthy taste are better than those with the flavour of saffron'he preferred the word 'taste' to 'smell'. It is certainly the case that a soil which has a taste of perfume will be the best soil. And if we need an

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explanation as to what is the nature of this odour of the soil that is desiderated, it is that which often occurs even when the ground is not being turned up, just towards sunset, at the place where the ends of rainbows have come down to earth, and when the soil has been drenched with rain following a long period of drought. The earth then sends out that divine breath of hers, of quite incomparable sweetness, which she has conceived from the sun. This is the odour which ought to be emitted when the earth is turned up, and when found it will deceive no one; and the scent of the soil will be the best criterion of its quality. This is the kind of earth usually found in land newly ploughed where an old forest has been felled, earth that is unanimously spoken highly of. And in the matter of bearing cereals the same earth is understood to be more fertile the more often cultivation has been suspended and it has lain fallow; but this is not done in the case of vineyards, and consequently the greater care must be exercised in the selection of their site, so as not to justify the opinion of those who have formed the view that the land of Italy has by this time been exhausted. In other kinds of soil, it is true, ease of cultivation depends also on the weather, and some land cannot be ploughed after rain, as owing to excessive richness it becomes sticky; but on the other hand in the African district of Byzacium, that fertile plain which yields an increase of one hundred and fifty fold, land which in dry weather no bulls can plough, after a spell of rain we have seen being broken by a plough drawn by a wretched little donkey and an old woman at the other end of the yoke. The plan of improving one soil by means of another, as some prescribe, throwing a rich earth on the top of a poor one or a light porous soil on one that is moist and too lush, is an insane procedure: what can a man possibly hope for who farms land of that sort?

4. There is another method, discovered by the provinces of Britain and those of Gaul, the method of feeding the earth by means of itself, and the kind of soil called marl: this is understood to contain a more closely packed quality of richness and a kind of earthy fatness, and growths corresponding to the glands in the body, in which a kernel of fat solidifies. This also has not been overlooked by the Greeksindeed what have they left untested? They give the name of leucargillum to a white clay that they use on the land at Megara, but only where the soil is damp and chilly. The other substance brings wealth to the provinces of Gaul and Britain, and may suitably receive a careful description.

There had previously been two kinds of marl, but recently with the progress of discoveries a larger number have begun to be worked: there is white marl, red marl, dove-coloured marl, argillaceous marl, tufa marl and sand marl. It has a twofold consistency, rough or greasy, each of which can be detected by its feel in the hand. Its use is correspondingly double, to feed cereals only or to feed pasture-land as well. Tufa marl nourishes grain, and white marl, if it is found where springs rise, has unlimited fertilizing properties, but it is rough to handle, and if it is scattered in excessive quantities it scorches up the soil. The next kind is the red marl, which is known as acaunumarga, consisting of stone mingled with a thin, sandy earth. The stone is crushed on the land itself, and in the earliest years of its employment the fragments make the cornstalks difficult to cut; however, as it is extremely light it can be carried for only half of the cost charged for the other varieties. It is scattered on the land thinly; it is thought to contain a mixture of salt. With both of these kinds a single scattering serves for fifty years to fertilize either crops or pasture.

Of the marls that are greasy to the touch the chief one is the white. It has several varieties, the most pungent being the one mentioned above. Another variety of white marl is the chalk used for cleaning silver; this is obtained from a considerable depth in the ground, usually from pits made 100 feet deep, with a narrow mouth but with the shaft expanding in the interior, as is the practice in mines. This chalk is chiefly used in Britain. Its effect lasts for 80 years, and there is no case of anybody having scattered it on the same land twice in his lifetime. A third kind intermixed with a greasy earth, and it is a more effective, white marl is called glisomorga; this is fullers' chalk more dressing for pasture than for corn, so that, when a crop of corn has been carried, before the next sowing a very abundant crop of hay can be cut, although while growing corn the land does not produce any other plant. Its effect lasts 30 years; but if it is scattered too thickly it chokes the soil just as Segni plaster does. For dove-coloured marl the Gallic provinces have a name in their own language, eglecopaia; it is taken up in blocks like stone, and is split by the action of sun and frost so as to form extremely thin plates. This kind of marl is equally beneficial for corn and grass. Farmers use sandy marl if no other is available; but they use it on damp soils even if another sort is available. The Ubii are the only race known to us who while cultivating extremely fertile land enrich it by digging up any sort of earth below three feet and throwing it on the land in a layer a foot thick; but the benefit of this top-dressing does not last longer than ten years. The Aedui and the Pictones have made their arable land extremely fertile by means of chalk, which is indeed also found most useful for olives and vines. But all marl should be thrown on the land after it has been ploughed, in order that its medicinal properties may be absorbed at once; and it requires a moderate amount of dung, as at first it is too rough and is not diffused into vegetation; otherwise whatever sort of marl is used it will injure the soil by its novelty, even with dung it does not promote fertility in the first year. It also makes a difference what sort of soil the marl is required for, as the dry kind is better for a damp soil and the greasy kind for a dry soil, while either sort suits land of medium quality, either chalk-marl or dove-marl.

5. Farmers north of the Po are so fond of employing ash that they prefer it to dung, and they burn stable dung, which is the lightest kind, in order to get the ash. Nevertheless they do not use both kinds of manure indifferently in the same field, and do not use ashes in plantations of shrubs, nor for some kinds of crops, as we shall explain later. Some are of the opinion that dust helps the growth of grapes, and they sprinkle it on the fruit when it is forming and scatter it on the roots of the vines and the trees. It is certainly the case that in the Province of Narbonne a wind from west-north-west ripens vintage grapes, and in that district dust contributes more than sunshine.

6. There are several varieties of dung, and its actual employment dates a long way back; as far back as Homer an aged king in the poem is found thus enriching his land with his own hands. The invention of this procedure is traditionally ascribed to King Augeas in Greece, and its introduction in Italy to Hercules, though Italy has immortalized Stercutus son of Faunus on account of this invention. Marcus Varro gives the first rank to thrushes' droppings from aviaries, which he also extols for fodder of cattle and swine, declaring that no other fodder fattens them more quickly. If our ancestors had such large aviaries that they supplied manure for the fields, it is possible to be hopeful about our own morals! But Columella puts manure from dovecots first, and next manure from the poultry-yard, condemning the droppings of water birds entirely. The rest of the authorities advocate the residue of human banquets as one of the best manures, and some of them place even higher the residue of men's drink, with hair found in curriers shops soaked in it, while others recommend this liquor by itself, after water has been again mixed with it and even in larger quantity than when the wine is being drunk; the fact being that a larger amount of badness has to be overcome in the liquor when to the original poison of the wine the human factor has been added. These are contested questions; and they use man even for nourishing soil. Next to this kind of manure the dung of swine is highly commended Columella alone condemning it. Others recommend the dung of any quadruped that feeds on clover, but some prefer pigeons' droppings. Next comes the dung of goats, after that sheep's dung, then cow-dung and last of all that of beasts of burden.

These distinctions were recognized in early days, and at the same time I do not find modern rules for the use of dung, since in this matter also old times are more serviceable; and before now in some parts of the provinces there has been so large and valuable a supply of beasts that the practice has been seen of passing dung through a sieve, like flour, the stench and look of it being transformed by the action of time into something actually attractive. (It has lately been found that olives particularly thrive on ashes from a lime kiln.) To the rules given Varro adds the employment of the lightest kind of horse-dung for manuring cornfields, but for meadowland the heavier manure produced by feeding barley to horses, which produces an abundant growth of grass. Some people even prefer stable-manure to cow-dung and sheep's droppings to goat's, but they rate asses' dung above all other manures, because asses chew their fodder very slowly; but experience on the contrary pronounces against each of these. It is however universally agreed that no manure is more beneficial than a crop of lupiue turned in by the plough or with forks before the plants form pods, or else bundles of lupine after it has been cut, dug in round the roots of trees and vines; and in places where there are no cattle they believe in using the stubble itself or even bracken for manure.

Cato says: 'You can make manure of stable-litter, lupines, chaff, beanstalks and holm-oak or oak leaves. Pull up the dane-wort and hemlock out of the crop, and the high grass and sedge growing round osier beds; use this as litter for sheep, and rotten leaves for oxen.If a vine is making poor growth, make a bonfire of its shoots and plough in the ashes therefrom.' He also says: 'Where you are going to sow corn, give your sheep a free run on the land.'

7. Moreover Cato also says that there are certain crops which themselves nourish the land: 'Cornland is manured by grain, lupine, beans and vetches'; just as on the contrary: 'Chick-pea, because it is pulled up by the roots and because it is salt, barley, fenugreek, bitter vetch,these all scorch up a cornland, as do all plants that are pulled up by the roots. Do not plant stone-fruit in cornland.'Virgil holds the opinion that cornland is also scorched by flax, oats and poppies.

8. They recommend making dung-heaps in the open air in a hole in the ground made so as to collect moisture, and covering the heaps with straw to prevent their drying up in the sun, after driving a hard-oak stake into the ground, which will keep snakes from breeding in the dung. It pays extremely well to throw the manure on the ground when a west wind is blowing and during a dry moon; most people misunderstand this and think that it should be done when the west wind is just setting in, and only in February, whereas most crops require manuring in other months also. Whatever time is chosen for the operation, care must be taken to do it when the wind is due west and the moon on the wane and accompanied by dry weather. Such precautions increase the fertilizing effect of manure to a surprising degree.

9. Having begun by stating at considerable length the principles of climate and soil, we will now describe the trees that are produced by the care and skill of mankind. There are almost as many varieties of these as there are of those that grow wild, so bountifully have we repaid our debt of gratitude to Nature; for they are produced either from seed or from root-cuttings or by layering or tearing off a slip or from a cutting or by grafting in an incision in the trunk of a tree. As for the story that at Babylon they plant palm-leaves and produce a tree in that way, I am surprised that Trogus believed it. Some trees however can be grown by several of the above methods, and some by all of them.

10. And the majority of these methods were taught us by Nature herself, in particular that of sowing a seed, because when a seed fell from a tree and was received into the earth it came to life again. Indeed there are some trees that are not grown in any other way, for instance chestnuts and walnuts, with the exception, that is, of those intended for felling; but also some grown in other ways are grown from seed as well, though a different kind of seedfor instance vines and apples and pearsas with these a pip serves as a seed, and not the actual fruit, as in the case of the trees mentioned above. Also medlars can be grown from seed. All of these trees are slow in coming on, and liable to degenerate so as to have to be restored by grafting; and sometimes this happens even with chestnuts.

11. Some trees on the other hand have the property of not degenerating at all in whatever way they are propagated, for instance cypresses, the palm and laurelsfor the laurel also can be propagated in a variety of ways. We have stated the various kinds of laurel. Of these the Augusta, the berry laurel and the laurustinus are propagated in a similar manner: their berries are picked in January, after they have been dried by a spell of north-east wind, and are spread out separately, so as not to ferment by lying in a heap; afterwards some people treat them with dung in preparation for sowing and soak them with urine, but others put them in running water in a wicker basket, and stamp on them till the skin is washed away, which otherwise is attacked by stagnant moisture and does not allow them to bear. They are planted in a freshly dug trench a hand's breadth deep, about twenty in a cluster; this is done in March. These laurels can also be propagated by layering, but the laurel worn in triumphal processions can only be grown from a cutting. Myrtles of all varieties are grown from berries in Campania, but at Rome by layering. Democritus tells us that the Taranto myrtle is also grown in another way: the berries are taken, and after being crushed lightly so as not to break the pips are mixed into a paste with water and this is pounded up and smeared on a rope, which is then put in the ground; from this, he says, will grow up a remarkably thick hedge, from which slips can be transplanted. They also grow brambles for hedges in the same way, by smearing a rope of rushes with blackberries. In case of scarcity, laurel and myrtle seeds are ready for transfer at the end of three years.

Among the trees that are grown from seed, Mago deals elaborately with those of the nut class. He says that the almond should be sown in soft clay soil with a south aspect, but that it also does well in hard warm ground, but in a rich or damp soil it dies or does not bear. He recommends choosing for sowing almonds shaped as much as possible like a sickle, and picked from a young tree, and says they should be soaked for three days in diluted manure, or else on the day before sowing in water sweetened with honey; and that they should be put in the ground with their point downward and with their sharp edge facing north-east; that they should be sown in groups of three, placed four inches apart from each other in a triangular formation; and that they should be watered every ten days, until they begin to swell. Walnuts are sown lying on their sides with the join of the shell downward; and pine-cones are planted in groups of about seven, contained in pots with a hole in the bottom, or else in the same way as a laurel that is being grown from berries. The citron is grown from pips and from layers, and the sorb from seed or from a cutting from the root or from a slip; but the citron needs a warm situation, whereas the sorb requires a cool and damp one.

12. Nature has also taught the art of making nurseries, as from the roots of many trees there shoots up a teeming cluster of progeny, and the mother tree bears offspring destined to be killed by herself, inasmuch as her shadow stifles the disorderly throngas in the case of laurels, pomegranates, planes, cherries and plums; although with a few trees in this class, for instance elms and palms, the branches spare the young suckers. But

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young shoots of this nature are only produced by trees whose roots are led by their love of sun and rain to move about on the surface of the ground. All of these it is customary not to put in their own ground at once, but first to give them to a foster-mother and let them grow up in seed-plots, and then change their habitation again, this removal having a marvellously civilizing effect even on wild trees, whether it be the case that, like human beings, trees also have a nature that is greedy for novelty and travel, or whether on going away they leave their venom behind when the plant is torn up from the root, and like animals are tamed by handling.

13. Also Nature demonstrated another kind of propagation resembling the previous one, and suckers torn away from trees continued to live; in this procedure the slips are torn away with their haunch as well, and carry off with them some portion also from their mother's body with its fibrous substance. This is a method used in striking pomegranates, hazels, apples, sorbs, medlars, ash plants, figs, and above all vines; but the quince if struck in this way deteriorates in quality. From the same method a way was discovered of cutting off slips and planting these, a plan first adopted with elders, quinces and brambles, which were planted for the purpose of making a hedge, but later it was also introduced as a way of growing trees, for instance poplars, alders, and willow, which last is even planted with the cutting upside down. Suckers are planted out at once in the place chosen for them to occupy; however, before going on to other classes of plants it is desirable to speak of the management of a nursery.

14. For, with a view to a nursery it pays to chose soil of the highest quality, since it often comes about that a nurse is more ready to humour young things than a mother. Consequently the soil should be dry and sappy, and well worked with a double mattock so as to be hospitable to the new arrivals, and it should resemble as closely as possible the earth into which they are to be transplanted; and before all the plot must be cleared of stones, and fenced in well enough to protect it even from the inroads of poultry; and it should be as free from cracks as possible, so that the sun may not penetrate into it and scorch the roots. The seeds should be sown eighteen inches apart, as if the plants touch one another, besides other defects they get worm-eaten; and it pays to hoe them and weed them fairly often, and also to prune the seedlings themselves when they branch and accustom them to endure the knife. Cato also recommends erecting hurdles supported on forked sticks, the height of a man, to catch the sun, and thatching these with straw to keep off the cold; and he says that this is the method for rearing pear and apple seeds, and pine cones, and also cypresses, as even they can be grown from seed. Cypress seed consists of very small grains, some of them scarcely perceptible, and we must not remark on Nature's miracle of producing trees from so small seed when a grain of wheat or barley is so much larger, not to reckon a bean. What resemblance have apple seeds and pear seeds to their source of origin? To think that from these beginnings is born the timber that contemptuously rebuffs the axe, presses that are not overcome by immense weights, masts for sails, battering rams for demolishing towers and walls! Such is the force and such the potency of Nature. But the crowning marvel will be that there is something that derives its origin from a teardrop, as we shall mention in the proper place.

Well then, in the months that we have specified, the tiny seed-balls are gathered from the female cypressfor the male tree, as we have said, is barrenand are put to dry in the sun; and they burst open and emit their seed, which has a remarkable attraction for ants, a fact that actually increases the marvel, for the germ of such huge trees to be consumed for the food of such a small animal! The seed is sown in April, after the earth has been levelled by means of rollers or rammers; it is scattered thickly and a layer of earth a thumb deep is sprinkled upon it from sieves: it is not strong enough to rise up against a greater weight, and it twists back under the ground; on this account another method is merely to tread it into the earth. Every three days it is given a light watering, after sunset so as to soak in the moisture even, until the plants break out from the earth. They are transplanted after a year, when the seedling is nine inches long, regard being paid to the weather so that they may be planted under a bright sky and when there is no wind. And wonderful to say, on that day and that day only it is dangerous for them if there is the smallest sprinkle of rain or a breath of wind; whereas for the future the plants are continually safe and secure, and later on they have a dislike for humidity. Jujube-trees are also grown from seed sown in April. Tuber-apples are better grafted on the wild plum, the quince or the buckthorn bush, the last being a wild thorn. Any thorn also takes grafts of the sebesten-plum extremely well, and also takes the sorb-plum satisfactorily.

As for the recommendation to transfer plants from the nursery to some other place before they are planted out in the place assigned to them, I consider that this causes unnecessary trouble, albeit this process does guarantee the growth of leaves of a larger size.

15. Elm-seed should be collected about the first of March, before the tree is clothed with foliage, when the seed is beginning to turn yellow. Then it should be left in the shade to dry for two days, and afterwards thickly sown in ground that has been broken up, and a layer of earth sifted fine in a sieve should be sprinkled on it, of the thickness recommended in the case of cypresses; and if no rain comes to your assistance, it must be watered. A year afterwards the plants should be removed from the rows of the beds to the elm-grounds and planted at a distance of a foot apart each way. Atinian elms it pays better to plant in autumn, because they are grown from cuttings, having no seed. For a grove in the neighbourhood of the city they should be transplanted when they are five years old, or, as some hold, when they have reached a height of twenty feet. They should be set in what is called a 'nine-square-foot' trench, 3 ft. deep and 3 ft. broad and even larger. When they have been planted, mounds 3 ft. high from the ground level should be heaped round themthe name for these mounds in Campania is 'little altars'. The spacing must be settled according to the nature of the place: in level country it is suitable to plant the young trees wider apart. It is also proper to plant out poplars and ashes earlier, because they bud more quicklythat is, planting should start on the 13th of February: these frees also growing from cuttings. In spacing out trees and plantations and planning vineyards the diagonal arrangement of rows is commonly adopted and is essential, being not only advantageous in allowing the passage of air, but also agreeable in appearance, as in whatever direction you look at the plantation a row of trees stretches out in a straight line. In the case of poplars the same method of growing them from seed is used as with elms, and also the same method of transplanting them from nurseries or forests.

16. It is consequently of the first importance for shoots to be transplanted into similar or better toil, and not moved from warm or early ripening positions into cold or backward ones, nor yet from the latter to the former either; and to dig the trenches some time in advanceif possible, long enough before to allow the holes to get covered over with thick turf. Mago advises a year in advance, so as to let the holes absorb the sunshine and rain, or, if circumstances do not allow of this, he recommends making fires in the middle of the holes two months before, and only planting the seedlings in the holes so prepared just after rain has fallen. He says that in a clay soil or a hard soil the pits should measure 4 ft. 6 in. each way, 3 or 4 inches more on sloping sites, and he prescribes their being dug like an oven, narrower at the orifice; in black earth he advises a hole 3 ft. 4 in. deep, in the form of a square of the same dimensions. The authorities agree that the holes ought not to be more than 24 ft. deep or 2 ft. wide, but nowhere less than 18 in. deep. Because of the fact that in damp pound one gets through to the neighbourhood of water, Cato advises that if the place is damp the holes should be a yard wide at the orifice and 16 inches wide at the bottom, and 4 ft. deep, and that they should be floored with stones, or, if stones are not available, with stakes of green willow, or, if these are also not available, with brushwood, so as to reduce their depth by six inches. To us, after what has been said as to the nature of trees, it appears proper to add that those which are fond of the surface of the ground, for instance the ash and the olive, must be sunk deeper in; these and similar trees should be sunk four feet down, but for the others a depth of three feet will be enough. And there is no harm in trimming the parts that have become exposed: 'Lop clear that root there,' said General Papirius Cursor when to intimidate the chief magistrate of Palestrina he ordered the lictor to draw his axe. Some persons recommend putting at the bottom a layer of potsherdsothers prefer round stonesin order to hold in the moisture and also let some through, thinking that flat stones do not act in the same way and prevent the root from reaching the earth. A middle course between the two opinions would be to pave the bottom with a layer of gravel.

Some people recommend transplanting a tree when it is not less than two years old and not more than three, others when it is large enough round to fill the Cato's view a is that it ought to be more than five inches thick. The same authority would not have omitted, if it were important, to recommend making a mark in the bark on the south side, so that when trees were transplanted they might be set in the same directions as regards the seasons as those to which they were accustomed, to prevent their north sides from being split if set facing the midday sun and their south sides from being nipped if facing the north wind. Some people also follow the contrary plan in the case of a vine or a fig, replanting them turned the other way round, from the view that this makes them grow thicker foliage and afford better shelter to their fruit and be less liable to lose it, and that a fig-tree so treated also becomes strong enough to be climbed. Most people only take care to make the wound left where the end of a branch has been lopped face south, not being aware that this exposes it to cracks caused by excessive heat; I should prefer to let a lopped end point somewhat east of south or somewhat west of south. It is equally little known that care should be taken not to let the roots become dry owing to delay in replanting, and not to dig up trees when the wind is in the north or in any quarter between north and southeast, or at all events not to leave the roots exposed to the wind in these quarters; such exposure causes trees to die without the growers knowing the cause. Cato disapproves of wind in any quarter and of rain also during all the time while transplantation is going on. It will be a good precaution against wind and rain to leave as much as possible of the earth in which the trees have been living clinging to their roots, and to bind them all round with turf, though for this purpose Cato directs conveying the trees to the fresh place in baskets, no doubt most useful advice; and moreover be thinks it satisfactory for the top layer of soil to be put at the bottom of the hole. Some writers say that with pomegranates to lay stones at the bottom of the hole will prevent the fruit from bursting open on the tree. It is better to plant the roots in a bent position; and it is essential for the tree itself to be so placed as to be exactly in the middle of the hole. It is said that if a fig-tree is planted stuck in a squillthis is a kind of bulbit bears fruit very quickly, and is not liable to attacks of worm, a defect from which all other kinds of fruit trees planted in a similar way are exempt. Who can doubt that great care ought to be taken with the fibres of the roots, so that they may appear to have been taken, not torn, out of the ground? On this account we omit the remaining rules that are admitted, for instance that the earth round the roots should be rammed tight with a light mallet, which Cato thinks of primary importance in this matter, also advising that a wound made on the trunk should be plastered over with dung and bandaged with leaves.

17. A part of this topic is the question of the spaces between the trees. Some people have advised planting pomegranates, myrtles, and laurels rather close together, only three yards apart, apples a little wider apart, pears still wider, and almonds and figs wider again; although this matter will best be decided by taking account of the length of the branches and the dimensions of the places concerned, as well as of the shadow of each particular tree, since these too must be considered: even large trees throw only small shadows when their branches curve round into a circular shape, as in the ease of apples and pears, whereas cherries and laurels throw exceptionally wide shadows.

18. We turn now to certain special properties of the shade of different trees. That of walnut is heavy, and even causes headache in man and injury to anything planted in its vicinity; and that of the pine-tree also kills grass; but both the pine and the walnut withstand wind, as also their projecting branches shield them like penthouses. Very heavy raindrops fall from the pine oak and holm-oak, but none at all from the cypress, which throws a very small compact shadow around it; and fig-trees give only a light shadow, however much spread out, and consequently it is not necessary to make it a rule not to plant them between vines. Elms give a gentle shade which actually promotes the growth of any plants that it falls on, although Atticus holds the view that also the shade of elms is one of the most oppressive, nor do I doubt that it is so if they are allowed to shoot out into branches, although I do not think that the shade of the elm does any harm when the tree is kept within bounds. The shade of the plane also though dense is agreeable, as we may learn from the evidence of grass, which under no other tree covers the banks more luxuriantly. The poplar with its gaily quivering leaves gives no shade at all; the shade of the alder is dense but permits the growth of plants. The vine gives enough shade for itself, as its quivering foliage and constant tossing tempers the sunshine with shadow, while by the same means it affords shelter in a heavy shower of rain. Nearly all trees of which the leaves have long stalks afford only light shade.

Even this department of knowledge is not to be despised, nor put in the last class, inasmuch as to each kind of plant shade is either a nurse or else a stepmotherat all events for the shadow of a walnut tree or a stone pine or a spruce or a silver fir to touch any plant whatever is undoubtedly poison.

19. The question of raindrops falling from trees can be settled briefly. With all the trees which are so shielded by the spread of their foliage that the rainwater does not flow down over the tree itself the drip does cruel injury. Consequently in this enquiry it will make a great deal of difference over what space the soil in which we are going to plant causes the various trees to grow. In the first place, hillsides in themselves require smaller intervals between the trees. In places exposed to the wind, it pays to plant trees closer together, but nevertheless to give the olive very wide spacing, Cato's opinions for Italy being that olives should be planted 25 or at most 30 feet apart; but this varies with the nature of the sites. The olive is the largest of all the trees in Andalusia; in Africa, however, so it is statedthe guarantee for this statement will rest with the authorities who make itthere are a number of trees called 'thousand-pounders', from the weight of oil that they produce in a year's crop. Consequently Mago has prescribed a space of 75 feet all round, or in thin, hard soil exposed to the wind, 45 feet at least. Andalusia however reaps most abundant crops of corn grown between the olives. It will be agreed that it shows shameful ignorance to thin full-grown trees more than a proper amount and hasten them into old age, or to cut them down altogether, by doing which the persons who planted them frequently manifest their own incompetence. Nothing is more disgraceful for farmers than to do a thing and then have to be sorry for it, so that in fact it

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pays much better to err by leaving too much space between some trees are by nature slow growers, and in particular those that only grow from seed and that live a long time. Those on the other hand that are short-lived, for instance the fig, pomegranate, plum, apple, pear, myrtle and willow, grow quickly, and nevertheless they lead the way in producing their riches, for they begin to bear at three years old, making some show even before. Among these the pear is the slowest of all to bear, and the cypirus and the false cypirus bush the quickest, for this group flowers straight away and goes on to produce its seed. But all trees mature more quickly if the suckers are removed and the nourishing juices brought back into a single stem.

20. Nature has likewise also taught the art of reproducing from layers. Brambles curving over with their slender and also excessively long shoots plant their ends in the earth again and sprout afresh out of themselves, in a manner that would fill up the whole place if resistance were not offered by cultivation, so that it would be positively possible to imagine that mankind was created for the service of the earth. Thus a most evil and execrable circumstance has nevertheless taught the use of the layer and the quickset. Ivies also have the same property. Beside the vine, Cato gives instructions for layering the fig, olive, pomegranate, all kinds of apples, laurels, plums, myrtle, filberts and Palestrina nuts, and the plane.

21. There are two kinds of layer. A branch is bent down from the tree into a hole measuring four feet each way, and after two years is cut off at the bend, and three years later the growth is transplanted to another place; if it is desired to carry layers so struck a considerable distance, it is most suitable to plant them at once in baskets or earthenware pots, so that they may be carried to the fresh site in these. The other method is more elaborate; it is effected by inducing roots to grow on the tree itself by passing branches through earthenware pots or baskets and packing them round with earth, and so enticing roots to grow right among the fruit and at the ends of the branchesas branch-ends to form roots in this way are obtained at the top of the tree, by the daring device of creating another tree a long way off the groundand after the same interval of two years as in the previous method cutting off the layer and planting it together with the basket. Savine is grown from a layer and also from a slip; it is said that wine-lees or crushed brick from walls make it grow marvellously; and rosemary is reproduced by the same methods and also from a branch, since neither savine nor rosemary has a seed; the rhododendron is grown both by layering and from seed.

22. Nature has also taught the method of grafting by means of seed; a seed that has been hurriedly swallowed whole by a hungry bird and has become sodden by the warmth of its belly is deposited together with a fertilizing manure of dung in a soft bed in the fork of a tree, or else, as often happens, is carried by the wind into some crevice or other in the bark; a result of this we have seen a cherry tree growing on a willow, a plane on a laurel, a laurel on a cherry, and berries of different colours growing together. lit is also reported that the same thing may be caused by a jackdaw when it hides seeds in the holes that are its storehouses.

23. From this has been derived the process of inoculation, consisting in opening an eye in a tree by cutting away the bark with a tool resembling a shoemaker's punch and enclosing in it a seed that has been removed from another tree by means of the same tool. This was the method of inoculation used in old days in the case of figs and apples; but the method described by Virgil is to find a recess in a knot of bark burst open by a shoot and to enclose in this a bud obtained from another tree.

24. And so far Nature has herself been our instructor; but grafting was taught us by Chance, another tutor and one who gives us perhaps more frequent lessons, and this was how he did it: a careful farmer, making a fence round his house to protect it, put under the posts a base made of ivy-wood, so as to prevent them from rotting; but the posts when nipped by the bite of the still living ivy created life of their own from another's vitality, and it was found that the trunk of a tree was serving instead of earth. Continuing, the surface of the wood is levelled off with a saw and the trunk smoothed with a pruning-knife. Afterwards there is a twofold method of procedure; and the first method consists of inserting the graft between the bark and the wood, as people in former days were afraid of making a cleft in the trunk; although subsequently they ventured to bore right into the middle and adopted the plan of forcing the graft into the pith itself inside it, inserting only one graft as the pith would not take more. But subsequently a more elaborate method is for as many as six grafts to be added to reinforce their liability to die and their number, a cleft being carefully made through the middle of the trunk and being kept open by means of a thin wedge until the graft, the end of which has been pared into a point, goes right down into the crack.

In this process a great many precautions have to be observed. First of all we must notice what kind of tree will stand grafting of this nature, and what tree it will take a graft from. Also the sap is variously distributed, and does not lie under the bark in the same parts with all trees: in vines and figs the middle is drier, and generation starts from the top, shoots for grafting being consequently taken from the top of the tree, whereas in olives the sap is round the middle and grafts are also taken from there, the tops being parched up. Grafts and trunk grow together most easily when they have the same kind of bark and when they flower at the same time, so that they have the affinity of the same season and a partnership of juices; whereas it is a slow business when there is incompatibility between dry tissues and damp ones, and between hard and soft barks. The other points to be observed are not to make the cleft at a knot, as the inhospitable hardness repudiates a newcomer; to make it at the shiniest place; not to make it much more than three inches long, nor on a slant, nor so as to be transparent. Virgil says that grafts must not be taken from the top, and it is certain that the slips should be obtained from the shoulders of the tree that look north-east, and from trees that are good bearers and from a young shoot, unless the tree on which they are to be grafted is an old one, as in that case the slip must be stouter. A further point is that slips that are going to be grafted must be pregnant, that is, swelling with bud-formations, and in expectation of giving birth in that year, and they must be at all events two years old, and not thinner than the little finger. But grafts are also inserted the other way round a when the intention is for them not to grow so long but to spread out. Before all things it will be serviceable for them to have buds and to be glossy, as nothing shabby or shrivelled anywhere will gratify one's hopes. The pith of the slip grafted should be put touching the place in the mother tree where the wood and the bark meet, for that is more satisfactory than to place it level with the bark outside. The process of giving a point to the slip for grafting must not strip the pith quite bare, but only make it visible through a narrow aperture; the point must slope off in an even wedge not more than three inches long, which is most easily achieved by dipping the slip in water when paring it. It must not be exposed to wind while it is being pointed. The bark must not be allowed to become separated from the wood in either the graft or the trunk. The graft must be pressed right down to where its bark begins, but it must not be forced out of shape while it is being pressed home, nor have its bark folded back in wrinkles. Consequently shoots dripping with sap should not be used for grafting, no more, I swear, than ones that are dry, because in the former case excess of moisture causes the bark to slip, while in the latter owing to defective vitality it makes no moisture and does not incorporate with the trunk. Moreover there is a religious rule that a graft must be inserted while the moon is waxing; and that both hands must be used in pressing it home; and apart from that, to use both hands at once in this job requires less effort, as it involves combining their forces. Grafts pressed in too forcibly are slower in bearing but last more stoutly, while the contrary procedure has the opposite results. The crack must not gape too wide and afford a loose hold, nor yet not wide enough, so as to squeeze the graft out or to kill it by pressure; special care must be taken to avoid the latter in the trunk of a tree that takes the graft with an excessively powerful hold. In order that a cleft may be left in the middle, some people make a line of cleavage in the trunk with a pruning-hook and bandage the actual edge of the incision with a withe, and afterwards force it apart with a wedge, the bandage keeping it from gaping open too freely. Some slips are grafted on plants in a seed-plot and then are transplanted on the same day. If a rather thick stock is used for grafting, it is better to insert it between the bark and the wood, after using a wedge, preferably of bone, to loosen the bark, so as not to break it. Cherry-trees have their inner rind removed before the incision is made. They are the only trees that are grafted even after midwinter. After the bark has been removed they have a layer of a sort of down, and if this gets a hold on the graft it makes it decay. The most effective way of tightening the bandage is by driving a wedge into it; it suits best to insert it as close to the ground as the formation of the tree and the knots allows. Grafts ought not to project to a length of more than six inches.

Cato a recommends making a mixture of pounded white clay or chalk and cow-dung and so working it to a sticky consistency, and putting this into the fissure and smearing it round it. From his remarks on the subject it is easily seen that at that period they used to insert the graft between the wood and the bark and not otherwise, nor used they to put the slips more than two inches in. He advises grafting pear and apples during the spring and fifty days after midsummer and after the vintage, but olives and figs only in the spring and when a cloudless moon is shining, and moreover in the afternoon and not if there is a south wind blowing. It is remarkable that he is not content to have safeguarded the graft in the manner described, and to have protected it against rain and frost by means of turf and soft bundles of split osiers, but he says it must be covered with a layer of bugloisa species of plantas well, and that this should be tied on with a layer of straw; whereas nowadays they think it is very adequately packed with a wrapping of mud and chaff, the graft projecting two inches from the bark.

Those who do their grafting in spring are pressed for time, as the buds are just shooting, except in the case of the olive, the eyes of which are pregnant for a very long time, and it has a very small amount of sap under the bark, which when too abundant is injurious to the grafts. But with pomegranates and the fig and other trees of a dry nature it is far from beneficial to put off grafting till a late season. A pear-tree however may be grafted when actually in blossom, and the process may be carried forward even into May. If however cuttings of fruit trees have to be brought from a considerable distance, it is believed that they best preserve their sap if they are inserted in a turnip, and it is best to store them near a stream or a pond, packed between two hollow tiles blocked up at each end with earth; but it is thought that vine-cuttings are best stored in dry ditches, under a covering of straw, with earth then piled over them so as to let their tops protrude.

25. Cato has three ways of grafting a vine: he advises cutting the stock short and splitting it through the pith, and then inserting into it the shoots after sharpening them at the end in the manner stated above, and making the cambium of the two meet; the second method is, in case the vines are contiguous with one another, to pare down on a slant the side of each that faces the other and to tie them together with the cambiums joined; and the third is to bore a slanting hole in the vine down to the pith and insert slips a couple of feet long, and to tie the graft in that position and cover it up with a plaster of pounded earth, with the shoots upright. Our generation has improved on this method, so as to employ a Gallic auger which makes a hole in the tree without scorching it, because all scorching weakens it, and to select a slip that is beginning to bud, and not to let it protrude from the stock by more than two eyes, ... of an elm ... tied on with a withe put two round ... on two sides with a knife, so that the slime which is the greatest enemy of vines may chiefly exude through them, and then when the whips have made two feet of growth, to cut the tie of the graft, allowing its growth to make thickness. They have fixed the time for grafting vines from the autumn equinox till the beginning of budding. Cultivated plants are grafted on roots of wild ones, which are of a closer texture, whereas if slips of cultivated plants arc grafted on the trunks of wild ones they degenerate to the wild variety. The rest depends on the weather: dry weather is most favourable for grafts, because a remedy for its ill effects is to place earthenware pots of ashes on the stock and let a small amount of water filter through the ashes; but grafting by inoculation likes a light fall of dew.

26. Scutcheon grafting may itself also be thought to have sprung from grafting by inoculation, but it is most suited to a thick bark, such as that of fig-trees. The procedure is to prune all the branches so that they may not attract the sap, and then, at the most flourishing part of the tree and where it displays exceptional luxuriance, to remove a scutcheon, without allowing the knife to penetrate below the bark; and then to take a piece of bark of equal size from another tree, together with a protuberant bud, and press it into the place, fitting the join so closely that there is no room for a scar to form and a single substance is produced straight away, impervious to damp and to airthough all the same it is better to protect the splice by plastering it with mud and tying it with a bandage. People in favour of modern fashions make out that this kind of grafting was only recently invented, but it is found already in the old Greek writers and in Cato, who prescribed this method of grafting for the olive and the fig, in conformity with his invariable precision actually defining the proper measurement: he says that a piece of bark four inches long and three wide should be cut out with a knife, and so fitted to its place and smeared with that pounded mixture of his described above, in the same way as in grafting an apple. In the case of vines some people have combined with this kind of grafting the fissure method, removing a little square of bark on the side and then forcing in the shoot. We have seen beside the Falls of Tivoli a tree that has been grafted in all these ways and was laden with fruit of every kind, nuts on one branch, berries on another, while in other places hung grapes, pears, figs, pomegranates and various sorts of apples; but the tree did not live long. And nevertheless it is impossible for us by our experiments to attain to all the things found in Nature, as some cannot possibly come into existence except spontaneously, and these only occur in wild and uninhabited places. The tree most receptive of every kind of graft is believed to be the plane, and next to it the hard-oak, but both of these spoil the flavours of the fruit. Some trees, for instance the fig and the pomegranate, can be grafted in all the different methods, but the vine does not admit scutcheons, nor do trees that have a thin bark or one that peels off and cracks; nor do trees which are dry or contain only a little sap admit of inoculation. Inoculation is the most prolific of all methods of grafting, and grafting by scutcheon comes next, but both are very subject to displacement; and a graft that relies on the support of the bark only is very speedily dislodged by even a light breeze. Grafting by insertion is the firmest, and produces more fruit than a tree grown from planting.

We must not omit one extremely exceptional case. In the territory of Naples a Knight of Rome named Corellius, a native of Este, grafted a chestnut with a slip cut from the tree itself, and this is how the celebrated variety of chestnut tree

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named after him was produced. Subsequently his freedman Tereus grafted a Corellius chestnut again. The difference between the two varieties is this: the former is more prolific but the latter, the Tereus chestnut, of better quality.

27. It is mere accident that by its own ingenuity has devised the remaining kinds of reproduction; it taught us to break off branches from trees and plant them because stakes driven into the earth had taken root. This method is used to grow many frees, especially the fig, which can be grown in all the other ways except from a cutting; the best plan indeed is to take a comparatively large branch and point it at the end like a stake and drive it deep into the earth, leaving a small head above ground and covering up even this with sand. Pomegranates also are grown from a branch, the passage into the hole having first been widened with stakes; and so also the myrtle; in all of these a branch is used that is three feet long and not so thick as a man s arm, and the bark is carefully preserved and the trunk sharpened to a point at the end.

28. The myrtle is grown from cuttings as well as in other ways, and that is the only way used for the mulberry, because superstitious fear of lightning forbids its being grafted on an elm. Consequently we must now speak about the planting of cuttings. In this care must be taken above all that the cuttings are made from trees that bear well, that they are not bent in shape nor scabbed or forked, that they are thick enough to fill the hand and not less than a foot long, that they are planted without injury to the bark and always with the cut end and the part that was nearest the root downward, and during the process of budding the plant is kept heaped over with earth until it attains strength.

29. We shall best convey in Cato's own words the rules that he judged necessary to keep in looking after olives: 'Make the olive slips that you are going to plant in the hole a yard long, and handle them carefully so as not to damage the bark when cutting or trimming them. Make those you are going to plant in the nursery a foot long. Plant them thus: the place must be first dug over with a mattock and have the soil well loosened; when you put the slip in, press down the slip with your foot; if it does not go down far enough, drive it in with a mallet or a beetle, and be careful not to break the bark while you are driving it in. Do not make a hole beforehand with a dibble into which to put the slip: if you do not, it will live better. The slips do not mature till three years old, when the bark will turn. If you plant them in holes or in furrows, put them in groups of three and keep these apart. Cheek just by the eye that they do not project more than four fingers' breadth above the earth.In taking up an olive tree you should use great care and carry the roots with as much earth as possible; when you have well covered up the roots, tread them down well, so that nothing may injure them. If anyone asks what is the time for planting an olive, the answer is, where there is a dry soil, at seed-time, but where it is rich, in the spring.

30. Begin to prune an olive-yard a fortnight before the spring equinox; the six weeks from then onward will be the right time for pruning. Prune it in this way: in a really fertile place, remove all the parts that are dry and any branches broken by the wind; in a place that is not fertile, trim away more and reduce well and disentangle out and make the stocks smooth.In the autumn season turn up the earth round the olive-trees and add dung.The man who stirs over his olive-yard most often and deepest, will plough up the thinnest roots. If be ploughs badly, the roots will spread out on the top of the ground and will become thicker, and the strength of the olive-trees will go away into them.

We have already stated, in treating of olive-oil, what kinds of olive trees Cato tells us to plant and in what kind of soil, and what aspect he advises for olive-yards. Mago recommends that on sloping ground and in dry positions and in a clay soil they should be planted between autumn and the middle of winter, but in heavy or damp or watery soil between harvest and the middle of winterthough it must be understood that he gave this advice for Africa. Italy at any rate, at the present time, does its planting chiefly in spring, but if one chooses to plant in autumn as well, there are only four days of the forty between the equinox and the setting of the Pleiades on which it injures olives to be planted. It is peculiar to Africa that it grafts them on a wild olive, in a soft of everlasting sequence, as when they begin to get old the shoot next for engrafting is put in and so another young tree grows out of the same one and the process is repeated as often as is necessary, so that the same olive-yards go on for generations. The wild olive however is propagated both by grafting and by inoculation.

It is bad to plant an olive where an oak-tree has been dug up, because the worms called raucae breed in oak roots and go over to olives. It has been ascertained to pay better not to bury the cuttings in the ground or to dry them before they are planted. It has been found better for an old olive-yard to be raked over every other year between the spring equinox and the rising of the Pleiades, and also to have the moss scraped off the trees, but for them to be dug round every year just after midsummer with a hole a yard across and a foot deep, and to be manured with dung every third year.

Mago also tells us to plant almonds between the rising of Arcturus and the shortest day, and not to plant all kinds of pears at the same time, as they do not blossom at the same time either; he says that those with oblong or round fruit should be planted between the setting of the Pleiades and the shortest day, but the remaining kinds in midwinter after the setting of the Arrow, with an eastern or northerly aspect; and a laurel between the setting of the Eagle and the setting of the Arrow. For the rule as to the time for planting and that for grafting are connected: the authorities have decided that for the greater part grafting should be done in spring and autumn, but there is also another suitable season, about the rising of the Dog-star, known to fewer people because it is understood not to be equally advantageous for all localities, but as we are enquiring into the proper method not for a particular region but for the whole of nature we must not omit it. In the district of Cyrene they plant when the yearly winds are blowing, as they also do in Greece, and particularly the olive in Laconia. The island of Cos also plants vines at that season, but the rest of the farmers in Greece, though they do not hesitate to inoculate and to graft trees at that season, do not plant trees then. And the natural qualities of the localities carry very great weight in this matter; for in Egypt they plant in every month, and so in every country that has a summer rainfall, but in India and Ethiopia trees are necessarily planted later, in autumn. Consequently there are three regular periods for germination, spring and the rise of the Dog-star and that of Arcturus. For in fact not only do animals possess a strong appetite for copulation, but the earth and all vegetable growths have a much greater desire, the indulgence of which at the proper season is of the greatest importance for conception, and peculiarly so in the case of grafts, as both graft and stock share a mutual eagerness to unite. Those who approve of spring for grafting begin it immediately after the equinox, stating that the buds are just coming out, which facilitates the joining of the barks; but those who prefer autumn begin at the rising of Arcturus, because the grafts at once so to speak take root and are prepared when they reach springtime, and do not have their strength taken away immediately by budding. Some kinds of trees however have a fixed time of year everywhere, for instance cherries and almonds, which have to be planted or grafted about midwinter; but as to the greater number of trees the lie of the land will make the best decision, as cold and damp lands must be planted in spring, but dry and warm sites in autumn. The system general in Italy at all events assigns the times for planting in the following manner: for a mulberry from February 13 to the spring equinox; for a pear the autumn, provided it is not less than a fortnight before the shortest day; for summer apples and quinces, and also sorbs and plums, from midwinter to February 13; for the Greek carob and for peaches, right through autumn till midwinter; for the nuts, walnut and pine-cone and filbert and almond and chestnut, from March 1 to March 15; for the willow and broom about March 1. The broom is grown from seed in dry places and the willow from a slip in damp localities, as we have stated.

There is moreover a new method of graftingso that I may not wittingly pass over anything that I have anywhere discovereddevised by Columella, as he himself states, for the purpose of effecting a union even between trees of different natures and not easily combined, for example figs and olives. He gives instructions to plant a fig-tree near to an olive, with not too wide a space between for the fig at full spread to touch a branch of the olive, the most supple and pliant branch possible being chosen, and all the time during the process it must be trained by practice in curving; and afterwards, when the fig has gained full strength, which he says is a matter of three or at most five years, the top of it is cut off and the branch of the olive is itself also pruned and with its head shaved to a point in the way that has been stated is inserted in the shank of the fig, after having been secured with ties to prevent its escaping because of the bend in it. In this way, he says, by a sort of combination of layering and grafting, in three years the branch shared between the two mother trees grows together, and in the fourth year it is cut away and belongs entirely to the tree that has adopted it; this method however is not yet generally known, or at all events I have not yet obtained a complete account of it.

31. For the rest, the same account that has been given above about warm and cold and damp and dry substances has also demonstrated the method of trenching. In watery soils it will be suitable to make trenches neither broad nor deep, but the contrary in warm and dry ground, so that they may receive and retain water as much as possible. This is the method used in cultivating old trees as well, as in very warm localities growers heap earth over the roots in summer and cover them up, to prevent the heat of the sun from parching them. In other places they turn up the earth round them and give access to the air, but also in winter pile up earth to protect them from frost; whereas growers in hot climates open up the roots in winter and try to obtain moisture for the thirsty trees. Everywhere the rule is to dig a circular trench three feet in circumference round the tree, though this is not done in meadowland because the roots, owing to their love of sun and moisture, wander about on the surface of the groundAnd let these be our general observations in regard to planting and grafting trees for fruit.

32. It remains to give an account of those which are grown as supports for other trees, particularly for vines, and which are felled for timber. Among these the first place is taken by willows, which arc planted in a damp place, but in a hole dug two and a half feet deep, a truncheon or rod 18 inches long being used, the stouter the more serviceable. They should be set six feet apart. When three years old they are lopped off two feet from the ground to make them spread out wide and to enable them to be cut back without using ladders; for the willow is the more productive the nearer it is to the ground. It is advised that these frees also should be dug round every year, in April. This is the mode of cultivating the osier willow. The stake willow is grown both from a rod and from a truncheon, in a hole of the same depth. It is proper to cut rods from it in about three years; but these also fill up the place of trees that are growing old, by means of a layered new growth cut off after a year. A single acre of osier-willow will supply enough for 25 acres of vineyard. The white poplar is also grown for the same purpose, the hole being two feet deep and the cutting eighteen inches long and left two days to dry; the truncheons are planted one foot nine inches apart and a layer of earth a yard deep is thrown on the top of them.

33. The reed likes an even moister soil than osiers do. It is planted by putting the bulb of the root, which others call the 'eye' in a hole nine inches deep, two feet six inches apart; and it renews itself of its own accord when an old reed-bed has been rooted up, a method that has been found to pay better than thinning out, as used to be done previously, because the roots get twisted up together and are hilled by their mutual inroads. The time to plant is before the eyes of the reeds swell up, which is before the first of March. It goes on growing till midwinter, and stops when it is beginning to get hard, which is the indication that it is ready for cutting; though it is thought that the reed also requires digging round as often as the vine does. It is also planted in a horizontal position, not buried deep in the ground, and as many shoots spring up as there are eyes. It is also grown by being planted out in a hole a foot deep, with two eyes buried so that the third knot is just touching the earth, and with the head bent down so as not to hold the dew. It is cut when the moon is on the wane. For propping vines a reed dried in smoke is more serviceable than one still green.

34. The chestnut-tree is preferred to all other props because of the ease with which it is worked its obstinate durability, and because when cut it nuts again even more abundantly than the willow. It asks for a light yet not sandy soil, and especially a damp gravel or glowing-coal earth or even a powdery tufa, and it will grow in a site however shady, and facing north and extremely cold, or even in one on a slope; but at the same time it refuses dry gravel, red earth, chalk, and all rich fertile soils. We have said that it is grown from the nut, but it will only grow from very large ones, and only when they are planted five in a heap together. The soil underneath must be kept broken up from November to February, when the nuts detach themselves and fall from the tree and sprout in the ground underneath it. They should be planted in a hole measuring nine inches each way, with spaces of a foot between them. After two years they are transferred from this seed-plot to another and replanted two feet apart. People also grow them from a layer, which indeed is easier in their case than with any other tree: for the root is bared and the layer laid in the trench at full length, and then it throws out a new shoot from the top left above the earth and another from the root. When transplanted however it does not know how to make itself at home and dreads the novelty for almost two years, but afterwards it puts out shoots. Consequently plantations felled for timber are replenished by sowing nuts rather than by planting quicksets. The mode of cultivation is not different from that used for the trees a mentioned above: it is by loosening the soil and pruning the lower part for the next two years. For the rest the tree looks after itself, as its shadow kills off superfluous suckers. It is lopped before the end of the sixth year. The props provided by one acre are enough for twenty acres of vines, as they even grow forked in two from the root, and they last till after the next lopping of the plantation they come from.

The sessile-fruited oak is grown in a similar way, though later by three years in lopping, and less difficult to propagate in whatever soil it is sown; this is done in spring, with an acorn (but only a sessile-oak is grown from one) in a hole nine inches deep, with two foot spaces between the plants; the ground is lightly hoed four times a year. A sessile-oak grown as a prop is least liable to rot, and it makes new shoots when lopped most of any timber. Timber trees in addition to those we have mentioned are the ash, laurel, peach, hazel, apple, but these shoot more slowly and when fixed in the ground scarcely stand the action of the soil, not to mention the damp. The elder, on the contrary, which is very strong timber for a stake, is grown from cuttings like the poplar. About the cypress we have already said enough.

35. And now that a preliminary account has been given of what may be called the rigging that supports the vines, it

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remains to give a particularly careful description of the nature of the vines themselves.

The shoots of the vine, and of certain other trees that have a somewhat spongy inner substance, have stalks with knotted joints that make divisions across the pith. The actual lengths of cane are short, and get shorter towards the top, and they close up their pieces between the knots with joints at each end. The pith, or what is really the life-giving soul of the tree, stretches forward filling up the length in front of it, so long as the knots are open, with a tube that allows a passage; but when they have become solidified and prevent passage, the pith is thrown back and bursts out at its lowest part close to the previous knot with a series of alternate lateral forks, as has been stated in the case of the reed and of the giant fennel; with these the swelling from the bottom knot can be observed on the right and that at the next one on the left, and so on alternately. In the case of a vine, when this swelling makes a knob at the knot it is called a `germ', but before it makes a knob, in the hollow part it is called an 'eye' and at the actual top a 'germ'. This is the way in which the main shoots, side-shoots, grapes, leaves and tendrils are formed; and it is a remarkable fact that those growing on the right-hand side are the stronger.

Consequently when these slips are planted it is necessary to cut the knots in them across the middle, without letting the pith run out. And in the case of a fig nine-inch slips are planted in holes made in the ground with pegs, in such a way as to have the parts that were nearest to the tree sunk into the earth and two eyes projecting above the surface (the term 'eyes' in slips of trees properly denotes the points from which they send out shoots). It is because of this that even when bedded out the slips occasionally produce in the same year the fruit they were going to bear on the tree if they have been planted at the proper time when pregnant, and give birth in their other position to the progeny they had begun to conceive. Fig-trees struck in this way are easily transplanted two years later, as this tree in compensation for the rapidity with which it grows old is endowed with the property of coming to maturity very rapidly.

Vines give more numerous kinds of shoots for planting. The first point is that none of these are used for planting except useless growths lopped off for brush-wood, whereas any branch that bore fruit last time is pruned away. It used to be the custom to plant the shoot with a knob of the hard wood on each side of it, and this explains why it is still called a 'mallet-shoot'; but afterwards the practice began of pulling it off with its own heel, as is done in the case of the fig; and there is no kind of slip that grows better. A third kind has been added that strikes even quicker, which has the heel removed; these slips are called 'arrows' when they are twisted before being set out, 'three-bud slips' when they are cut off and set without being twisted. By this method several can be obtained from the same shoot. To plant from young leafy shoots is unproductive, and a slip for planting must only be taken from a shoot that has already borne fruit. A shoot that has few knots in it is deemed unlikely to bear, whereas a crowd of buds is a sign of fertility. Some people say that only shoots that have flowered should be planted. It does not pay so well to plant arrow-slips, because anything that is twisted easily gets broken in being moved. Shoots chosen for planting should be not less than a foot long, with five or six knots; that length of shoot will not possibly have less than three buds. It pays best to plant them on the same day as they are cut off, or if a considerable postponement cannot be avoided, to keep them well protected, as we have instructed, or at all events to be careful not to lay them down on the surface of the earth and let them be dried up by the sun and nipped by wind or frost. Shoots that have been left too long in a dry place should be soaked in water for several days to restore their freshness.

The soil whether in a nursery or a vineyard should be exposed to the sun and should he as soft as possible, and it should be tinned over with a two-pronged fork three feet down, and thrown back with a two-spit spade or mattock to swell naturally in ridges four feet high, so that each trench goes down two feet; and when dug the earth must be cleaned of weeds and spread out, so that no part may be left uncultivated, and it must be levelled accurately by measurement: unequal ridges show that the ground has been badly dug. The part of the ground lying between the banks must also be measured. Shoots are planted either in a hole or in a longer trench, and the finest possible layer of earth is heaped over them, although in a thin soil this is of no use unless a layer of richer soil is spread underneath. The earth should cover up not fewer than two buds and should just touch the third; it must be pressed down to the same level and compacted with the dibble; in the nursery plot there should be spaces eighteen inches broad and six inches longways between every two settings; and the mallet-shoots so planted should after two years be cut back to their bottom knot, if the knot itself is spared. From this point they throw out the substance of eyes, with which at the end of three years the quickset is planted.

There is also a luxury method of growing vinesto tie four mallet-shoots together at the bottom with a tight string and so pass them through the shank bones of an ox or else through earthenware pipes, and then bury them in the earth, leaving two buds protruding. This makes the shoots grow into one, and when they have been cut back they throw out a new shoot. Afterwards the pipe is broken and the root is left free to acquire strength and the vine bears grapes on all its constituent shoots. Under another method recently discovered a mallet-shoot is split down the middle and after the pith has been scraped out the actual lengths of stalk are tied together, every precaution being taken to avoid hurting the buds. The mallet-shoot is then planted in a mixture of earth and dung, and when it begins to throw out stalks, it is cut down and dug round several times. Columella guarantees that a vine so grown will bear grapes with no stones in them, although it is extremely surprising that the planted slips themselves will live after being deprived of their pith.

I think I ought not to omit to mention that trees will grow even from slips that have no joint in them; for instance box-trees come up if planted with five or six extremely slender slips tied together. It was formerly the practice to break off these slips from a box tree that had not been pruned, as it was believed that otherwise they would not live; but experience has done away with that notion.

After the management of the nursery follows the arrangement of the vineyards. These are of five kindswith the branches spreading about on the ground, or with the vine standing up of its own accord, or else with a stay but without a cross-bar, or propped with a single cross-bar, or trellised with four bars in a rectangle. It will be understood that the same system that belongs to a propped vine is that of one in which the vine is left to stand by itself without a stay, for this is only done when there is a shortage of props. A vineyard with the single cross-bar is arranged in a straight row which is called a canterius; this is better for wine, as the vine so grown does not overshadow itself and is ripened by constant sunshine, and is more exposed to currents of air and so gets rid of dew more quickly, and also is easier for trimming and for harrowing the soil and all operations; and above all it sheds its blossoms in a more beneficial manner. The crossbar is macin of a stake or a reed, or else of a rope of hair or hemp, as in Spain and at Brindisi. More wine is produced by a rectangle-frame vineyard (the name is taken from the rectangular openings in the roofs of the courts of houses); this is divided into compartments of four by the same number of cross-bars. The method of growing vines with this frame will be described, and the same account will hold good in the case of every sort of frame, the only difference being that in this case it is more complicated.

There are in fact three ways of planting a vine; the best is to use ground that has been dug over, the next best to plant in a furrow, and the last to plant in a hole. The method of digging over has been described; for a furrow a spade's breadth is enough, and for holes the breadth of a yard each way. In each method the depth must be a yard, and consequently the vine transplanted must be not less than a yard long, even so allowing two buds to be above the surface. It is essential to soften the earth by making very small furrows at the bottom of the hole and to mix dung with it. Sloping ground requires deeper holes, with their edges on the lower side banked up as well. Some of these holes will be made longer, so as to take two vines at opposite ends, and these will be called beds. The root of the vine should be in the middle of the hole, but the slip itself, bedded in firm soil, should be pointing due east, and at first it should be given supports made of reed. Vineyards should be bisected by a main path running east and west, six yards wide so as to allow the passage of carts going in opposite directions; and they should be intersected by other cross-paths ten feet wide running through the middle of each acre, or, if the vineyard is a specially large one, it should have a main cross-path north and south as many feet wide as the one east and west, but always be divided up by fifth-row cross-pathsthat is, so that each square of vines may be enclosed by every stay. Where the soil is heavy it should only be planted after being dug over several times, and only quickset should be planted, but in a thin, loose soil even a mallet-shoot may be set in a hole or a furrow. On hillsides it is better to drive furrows across the slope than to dig up the soil, so that the falling away of earth may be held up by the cross-banks formed by the furrows. In rainy conditions or dry soil when the weather is wet mallet-shoots are best planted in autumn, unless the character of the particular area requires otherwise: a dry and hot soil will call for autumn planting, but a damp and cold soil will need it as late as the end of spring. It is no good planting a quickset either in dry soil, nor is it much use to plant a mallet-shoot in dry soils either, except after rain, but in well watered soils a vine may properly be planted even when it is producing leaves, and right on to midsummer, as is the practice in Spain. It is most advantageous if there is no wind on the day for planting, and though many growers like a south wind, Cato disapproves of this.

The space between every two vines in a soil of medium density should be five feet, and in a rich soil four feet at least, and in a thin soil eight feet at mostgrowers in Umbria and Marsia leave a space of up to twenty feet to allow of ploughing between the rows, in the case of the vineyards for which the local name is `ridged fields'; vines should be planted further apart in a rainy and misty district but closer together in a dry one. Elaborate economy has discovered a way of saving space, when planting a vineyard on ground that has been well dug over, by making a nursery-bed at the same time, so that while the quickset is planted in the place it is to occupy, the mallet-shoot is also planted, so that it may be transplanted between the vines as well as between the rows of props; this plan gives about 16,000 quick-sets in an acre of ground, while it makes a difference of two years' fruit, as a planted quickset bears two years later than a transplanted mallet-shoot.

A quickset placed in a vineyard after two years is cut back right down to the ground, leaving only one eye above the surface; a stake is fixed close to the plant, and dung is added. In the following year also it is again lopped in a similar way, and it acquires and fosters within it sufficient strength to bear the burden of reproduction. Otherwise in its hurry to bear it would shoot up slim and meagre like a bulrush and unless it were restrained with the pinning described would spend itself entirely on growth. No tree sprouts more eagerly than the vine, and unless its strength is kept for bearing, it turns entirely into growth.

The best props for vine are those of which we have spoken, or else stakes from hard-oak and olive or if they are not available, props obtained from the juniper, cypress, laburnum or elder. Staves of all other kinds must be cut back every year. For the cross-bar, reeds tied together in bundles are best for the growth of the vine, and they last five years. When shorter branches are tied together with brush-wood so as to make a sort of rope, the arcades made of them are called rope-trellises.

In its third year a vine sends out a quick-growing strong sprig (which in time becomes a tree); and this leaps up to the cross-bar. Thereupon some growers 'blind' it by removing the eyes with a pruning-knife turned upward, with the object of making it grow longera most damaging practice, as the tree's habit of putting out shoots is more profitable, and it is better to trim off leafy shoots from the plant tied to the cross-bar to the point where it is decided to let it make strength. Some people forbid touching it in the year after it is transplanted, and do not allow it to be trimmed with a pruning-knife till after 5 years, but then advise cutting it back to three buds. Others prune it back even the next year, but so as to let it add three or four new joints every year, and finally bring it up to the level of the cross-bar in the fourth year. Both methods make the tree slow to fruit, and also shrivelled and knotty, with the growth natural to dwarfs. But it is best for the mother to be strong and for the new growth to strike out boldly. Also there is no safety in a shoot covered with scarsthat idea is a great mistake, due to inexperience: any growth of that sort arises from a blow, it is not due to the mother vine. She should possess her full strength while the new shoot is growing sturdy, and she will welcome her yearly progeny with her whole substance when it is permitted to be born: Nature engenders nothing piecemeal. When the new growth has become strong enough it will have to be put in position on a cross-bar at once, but if it is still rather weak it must be pruned back and put in a sheltered position directly under the bar. It is the strength of the stem and not its age that decides; it is rash to put a vine under control before it has reached the thickness of one's thumb. In the following year one branch or two according to the strength of the parent vine should be brought on, and the same shoots must be nursed in the following year also if lack of strength makes this necessary, and only in the third year should two more be added; nor should more than four branches ever be allowed to growin short no indulgence should be shown, and fertility should always be kept in check. Also Nature is such that she wants to produce offspring more than she wants to liveall that is subtracted from a plant's wood is added to the fruit; the vine on the contrary prefers its own growth to the production of fruit, because fruit is a perishable article; thus it luxuriates ruinously, and does not fill itself out but exhausts itself.

The nature of the soil will also provide advice: in a thin soil, even if the vine possesses strength, it must be pruned back and kept within the cross-bar, so that all its young growth may shoot underneath the bar. The gaps between will have to be very small, so that the vine may just touch the bar and hope to grasp it but not actually do so, and consequently may not recline upon it and spread itself out luxuriously. This restriction must be so carefully managed that the vine may still want to grow rather than to bear.

The main branch should have two or three buds below the cross-bar from which wood may be produced, and then it should be stretched out along the bar and tied to it, so as to be held up by it, not to hang down from it, and then after the third bud it should be fastened more tightly to it by means of a tie, because that also has the effect of restraining the outgrowth of the wood and causing a more abundant outburst of shoots short of the tie; but it is forbidden to tie the end of the main branch. The nature of the vine is that the part hanging down or bound with a ligature yields fruit, and most of all the actual curve of the branch, but that which is

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short of the ligature makes wood, I suppose because the vital spirit and the pith mentioned above meets an obstacle. The woody shoot so produced will bear fruit in the following year. Thus there are two kinds of main branches; the shoot which comes out of the hard timber and promises wood for the next year is called a leafy shoot a or else when it is above the scar a fruit-bearing shoot, whereas the other kind of shoot that springs from a year-old branch is always a fruit-bearer. There is also left underneath the cross-bar a shoot called the keeperthis is a young branch, not longer than three buds, which will provide wood next year if the vine's luxurious growth has used itself upand another shoot next to it, the size of a wart, called the pilferer, is also left, in case the keeper-shoot should fail.

A vine called on to produce fruit before it completes seven years from being planted as a slip turns into a rush-like growth and dies. Nor is it thought proper to allow an old main branch to shoot out to a great length and as far as a fourth prop, like the old growths called by some 'snake-branches' and by others 'cables', so as to make what are named male growths'. When a vine has become hard, it is very bad to bring it across on a trellis. When a vine is four years old the main branches themselves also are twisted over, and each throws out one growth of wood, first one and then the next ones, and the earlier shoots are pruned away. It is always better to leave a keeper-shoot, but this should be one next the vine, and not longer than the length that was stated; and if the main branches shoot too luxuriantly, to twist them back, so that the vine may produce only four growths of wood, or even only two if it is trained on a single cross-bar.

If the vine is to be trained by itself without a prop, at the beginning it will want some sort of support until it learns to stand and to rise up straight, while in all other respects it will need the same treatment from the start, except that it will need to have the pruned stumps distributed by pruning in a regular cluster all round, so that the fruit may not overload one side of the tree. Incidentally, the fruit weighing down the bough will prevent it from shooting right up high. With this vine a height of above a yard begins to bend over, but all the others start bending at five feet, only the height must not be allowed to exceed the average height of a man. Growers also put low cages round the vines that spread out on the ground, to restrict their spread, with trenches made round them, so that the straggling branches may not meet each other and fight; and the greater part of the world lets its vintage grapes lie on the ground in this manner, inasmuch as this custom prevails both in Africa and in Egypt and Syria and the whole of Asia and at many places in Europe. In these vineyards therefore the vine ought to be kept down close to the ground, nourishment being given to the root in the same way and at the same time as in the case of a vine trained on a cross-bar, care being always taken to leave merely the pruned stumps, with three buds on each in fertile land and two where the soil is thinner, and it pays better to have many of them than to have long ones. The properties of soil that we have spoken of will make themselves felt more powerfully the nearer the bunches of grapes are to the ground.

It pays best to keep the different kinds of vine separate and plant each plot with only one sort, for a mixture of different varieties spoils the flavour even in the wine and not only in the must; or if they are mixed, it is essential not to combine any but those that ripen at the same time. The richer the soil and the more level the ground the greater the height of the cross-bars required, and high crossbars also suit land liable to dew and fog and where there is comparatively little wind, whereas lower bars suit thin, dry and parched land and places exposed to the wind. The cross-bars should be tied to the prop as tightly as possible, but the vine should be kept together with an easy tie. We stated what kinds of vines should be grown and in what sort of soil and with what aspect when we were enumerating the natures of the various vines and wines.

The remaining points connected with the cultivation of the vine are vehemently debated. The majority of writers recommend digging over the vineyard after every fall of dew throughout the whole of the summer, but others forbid this while the vines are in bud, because the eyes get knocked off or rubbed by the drag of people going between the rows, and for this reason it is necessary to keep away all cattle, but especially sheep, as their fleeces most easily remove buds; they also say that raking does harm while bunches of grapes are forming; that it is enough for a vineyard to be dug over three times in a year, between the spring equinox and the rising of the Pleiades, at the rise of the Dog-star, and when the grapes are turning black. Some people give the following rules: to dig over an old vineyard once between vintage and midwinter (though others think it is enough to loosen the soil round the roots and manure it), a second time after April 13 but before the vines bud, that is before May 10, and then before the vine begins to blossom, and after it has shed its blossom, and when the bunch is changing colour; but more expert growers declare that if the ground is dug more often than necessary the grapes become so thin-skinned that they burst. It is agreed that when vineyards are dug it should be done before the hottest part of the day, and likewise that a mud-like wet soil ought not to be either ploughed or dug; and that the dust raised by digging is beneficial to the vine as a protection against sun and fog.

It is agreed that the spring trimming of foliage should take place within ten days from May 15, at all events before the vine begins to blossom, and that it should be done below the level of the cross-bar. As to the subsequent trimming opinions vary: some people think that it should take place when the vine has shed its blossom, others when the grapes are just beginning to ripen. But on this point the instructions of Cato shall decide; for we also have to describe the proper method of pruning.

This is set about directly after the vintage when the warmth of the weather allows; but even in warm weather on natural principles it never ought to be done before the rise of the Eagle, as we shall show when dealing with astronomical considerations in the following volume, nor yet when the wind is in the westinasmuch as excessive haste involves a double possibility of error. If a late snap of wintry weather should nip the vines while still suffering from wounds inflicted by recent treatment, it is certain that their buds will be benumbed by the cold and the wounds will open, and the eyes, owing to the juice dripping from them, will be nipped by the inclemency of the weather; for who does not know that frost makes them brittle? All this depends on calculations regarding labour on large estates, not on the legitimate acceleration of Nature's processes. Given suitable weather, the earlier vines are pruned, the larger amount of wood they make, and the later they are pruned, the more abundant supply of fruit. Consequently it will be proper to prune meagre vines earlier and strong ones last; and always to make the cut on a slant, so that rain may fall off easily, and turned towards the ground, with the lightest possible scar, using a pruning-knife with a well sharpened edge and giving a smooth cut; but always to prune between two buds, so as not to wound the eyes in the part of the shoot cut back. They think it a sign of damage for this to be black, and that it should be cut back till one comes to the sound part, since useful wood will not shoot from a bad stock. If a meagre vine has not got suitable branches, it is a very good plan to cut it back to the ground and get it to put out new branches, and in trimming it pays not to remove the shoots growing with a cluster of grapes, for that dislodges the grapes also, except in a newly planted vine. Shoots springing on the side of the branch and not from an eye are judged to be of no use, since moreover a bunch of grapes that springs from a hard branch is so stiff that the bunch can only be removed with a knife. Some people consider that it pays better for a prop to be set between two vines, and that method does make it easier to turn up the earth round them, and it is better for a vine on a single cross-bar, provided, that is, that the trellis itself is a strong one and the locality is not exposed to high winds. In the case of a vine supported by four cross-rails the stay ought to be as close as possible to the load, although to avoid interfering with digging over the soil it ought to be 18 inches away, not more; but they advise digging over before pruning.

The following are the instructions given by Cato on the whole subject of vine growing: 'Make the vine grow as high as possible, and tie it up well, only not binding it too tight. Treat it in the following manner: turn over the earth round the base of the vines during seed-time; after pruning a vine dig round it and begin to plough; drive continuous furrows to and fro; plant layers of young vines as soon as possible, and then harrow the ground. Prune old vines as little as possible; preferably, if necessary, layer them on the ground and cut off the layers two years later. The time for cutting back a young vine will be when it has gained strength. If a vineyard has become bare of vines, make furrows between the vines and plant a quickset in each; prevent any shade from falling on the furrows, and dig them over frequently. Plant ocinuma clover in an old vineyard if the soil is meagreforbear to sow anything that makes seedand put dung, chaff and grape husks or something of that sort round the feet. When a vine begins to show leaves, trim it. Fasten young vines with several ties, so that the stems may not get broken; and as soon as a vine begins to run out into a rod, tie down its young shoots lightly and stretch them out so as to be in the right position. When the grapes begin to become mottled, tie up the vines below. One season for grafting a vine is during spring, and another when the bunch blossoms: the latter is the best. If you want to transplant an old vine, you will only be able to do so if it is of the thickness of an arm. First prune it; do not leave more than two buds on the stem. Dig it well up from the roots, and be careful not to injure the roots. Place it in the hole or furrow just as it was before, and cover it up and tread it down well; and set up the vine and tie it and bend it over in the same direction as it was before; and dig the ground frequently.Ocinum, which Cato recommends planting in a vineyard, was the old name for a fodder-plant capable of standing shade, and refers to its rapid growth.

There follows the method of growing vines on a tree, which was condemned in a remarkable way by Saserna the elder and by his son, but highly spoken of by Scrofathese are the oldest writers on agriculture after Cato, and are very great authorities; and even Scrofa only allows it in Italy, although so long a period of time gives the verdict that high-class wines can only be produced from vines on trees, and that even so the choicer wines are made from the grapes at the top of the trees, while those lowest down give a large quantity: so beneficial is the effect of height. It is on this principle also that trees are selected: first of all the elm (excepting the Atinian variety because it has too many leaves), then the black poplar, for the same reason, it having less dense foliage; also the ash and the fig are not despised by most growers, and even the olive if it has not shady branches. The planting and cultivation of these trees has been abundantly treated. It is prohibited to touch them with the pruning-knife before they are three years old; alternate branches are kept, they are pruned every other year, and in their sixth year they are wedded to the vines. Italy north of the Po beside the trees mentioned above plants its vineyards with cornel, guelder rose, lime, maple, rowan, hornbeam, and oak, but the Venezia uses willow because of the dampness of the soil. Also the elm is lopped of its top and has its middle branches spread out on three levels, no tree as a rule being left more than twenty feet high. On hills and in dry lands the stages of the elms are spread out at a height of eight feet, and on plains and in damp localities at twelve feet.

The branching of the trunk should face south, and the boughs should spread up from the fork like fingers on the hand, and also have their shaggy growth of thin twigs shaved off, so as not to give too much shade. The proper space between the trees, if the soil is to be ploughed, is forty feet behind and in front and twenty at the sides, but if it is not to be ploughed, twenty feet every way. Growers often grow ten vines against each tree, great fault being found with a farmer who trains less than three on each. It damages any but strong trees to wed vines to them, as the rapid growth of the vines kills them off. It is essential to plant the vines in a trench three feet deep, with a space of a foot between them and the tree; this saves the need of a mallet-shoot and of turning over the ground and the expense of digging, inasmuch as this method of using a tree has the special advantage that for the same ground to carry corn actually benefits the vines, and moreover that the height of the vine looks after itself, and does not make it necessary, as in a vineyard, to guard it with a wall or hedge, or at all events by going to the expense of ditches, so as to protect it from injury by animals.

In growing vines on a tree the only method used among those already described is that of quicksets or of layers; and of layering there are two varieties, as we have said: that of using baskets projecting from the actual staging of the tree, the most approved method, as it is safest from cattle, and the other one by bending down a vine or a main branch at the side of its own tree or round the nearest to it not occupied. It is recommended that the part of the parent tree above the ground should be scraped, to prevent it from making shoots; and not less than four buds are covered up in the ground so as to take root, while two are left above ground on the head. A vine grown on a tree is set in a trench four feet long, three broad and two and a half deep. After a year a cut is made in the layer down to the cambium, so that it may gradually get used to its roots, and the stem is pruned back at its end down to two buds from the ground; and at the end of two years the layer is completely cut off from the stock and is put back deeper into the ground, so that it may not shoot from the place where it was cut off. As for a quickset, it should be removed immediately after the vintage.

A plan has recently been invented of planting a snake-branch near the treethat is our name for a veteran main branch that has grown hard with many years' service. The quickest plan in the case of a vine is to cut this old branch off as long as possible and scrape the bark off three-quarters of its length, down to the point to which it is to be buried in the groundfor this reason it is also called a scraped shootand then to press it down in the furrow, with the remaining part standing straight up against the tree. If the vine be meagre or the soil thin, it is customary to cut down the plant as close to the round as possible, until the root gets strong, and likewise not to plant it when there is dew on it, nor in a place exposed to a north wind; the vines themselves ought to face north-east, but their young shoots should have a southerly aspect.

There must be no hurry to prune a young vine, but at first the growth should be collected together into circular shapes, and no pruning should be applied except to a strong plant, a vine trained on a tree being about a year later in bearing fruit than one trained on a cross-bar. Some people forbid pruning altogether until the vine equals the tree in height. At the first pruning it should be cut back six feet from the ground, a shoot being left below and encouraged to grow by bending over the wood. It should have three buds and not more left when it has been pruned. In the following year the branches sent out from these should be spread out on the lowest stages of the trees and allowed to climb to the next higher level every year, one hard growth being always left at each stage, and one growing shoot left to mount up as high as it pleases. In addition, all the whips that have borne fruit last time should. be cut back by pruning, and fresh shoots should have their

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tendrils cut away all round and be spread out on the stages. Our Italian method of pruning drapes the tree with tresses of vines festooned along the branches and clothes the tresses themselves with bunches of grapes, but the Gallic method spreads out into growths passing from tree to tree, while the method used on the Aemilian Road spreads over supports consisting of Atinian elms, twining round them but avoiding their foliage.

An ignorant way of some growers is to suspend the vine by means of a tie beneath a bough of the tree, a damaging procedure which stifles it, as it ought to be held back with an osier withe, not tied tightly (indeed even people who have plenty of willows prefer to do it with a tie softer than the one which these supply, namely with the plant which the Sicilians call by the Greek name 'vine-tie', while the whole of Greece uses rush, galingale and sedge); also it ought to be released from its tie for some days and allowed to stray about and spread in disorder and lie down on the ground which it has been gazing at all the year through; for just as draft cattle when unyoked and dogs after a run like to roll on the ground, so even the vines' loins like a stretch when released; also the tree itself enjoys being relieved of the continual weight, like a man recovering his breath, and there is nothing in Nature's handiwork that does not desire some alternations of holiday, after the pattern of the days and nights. On this account pruning the vines directly after vintage and when they are still weary from producing fruit is disapproved of. When they have been pruned they must be tied to the tree again in another place, for unquestionably they feel annoyance at the marks made round them by the tie.

The cross-shoots of the Gallic method of growingtwo from each side if the pair of vines are forty feet apart, but four if twentywhen they meet are intertwined with each other and tied together in a single cluster, during the process being stiffened with the aid of wooden rods where they fail, or if the shoots themselves are too short to allow of this, they are stretched out to reach an unoccupied tree by means of a hook tied to them. lit used to be the custom to prune these cross-shoots every two years, as they make too heavy a weight when they grow old; but it is better to give them time to make a 'scraped' shoot, if their thickness is sufficient; otherwise it pays to supply nourishment to the knobs of the snake-branch about to form.

There is still one other method intermediate between this one and propagation by layeringthat of throwing down the whole vine on the earth and splitting it with wedges, and leading the shoots from a single vine into several trenches, reinforcing the slenderness of each shoot by tying it to a rod, and not lopping off the branches which run out from the sides. A farmer at Novara, not content with a multitude of shoots carried from tree to tree nor with an abundance of branches, also twines the main branches round forked props set in the ground; and thus beside the faults of the soil the wines are also made harsh by the method of cultivation. Another mistake is made with the vines near the city of La Riccia, which are pruned every other year, not because that is beneficial for a vine but because owing to the low price at which the wine sells the expenses might exceed the return. In the Casigliano district they follow an intermediate compromise, and by the plan of pruning away only the decayed parts of the vine and those beginning to wither, and leaving the rest to bear grapes relieved of superfluous weight, the scantiness of the injury inflicted serves instead of all nutriment; but except in a rich soil this method of cultivation degenerates into a wild vine.

The trees for training vines on require the ground to be ploughed as deep as possible, although the system of growing corn there does not need this. It is not customary for them to be trimmed of leaves, and this economizes labour. They are pruned together with the vine, light being let through the density of branches that are superfluous and consume nutriment. We have given the rule against leaving lopped ends facing north or south, and it is better not to let them face west either, as wounds facing in those directions too suffer for a long time and heal with difficulty, because of undergoing excessive cold or heat; there is not the same freedom as in the ease of the vine, since trees have fixed aspects, but it is easier to hide away the wounds of a vine and twist them in any direction you like. In pruning trees cup-like hollows should be made with a mouth sloping downwards, to prevent water from lodging in them.

36. Props should be placed against a vine which it may catch hold of and climb up if they are taller than it is. It is said that espaliers for vines of high quality should be cut about March l9th-23rd, and, if it is intended to keep the grapes for raisins, when the moon is on the wane, but that those cut between the old moon and the new are immune from all kinds of insects. Another theory holds the opinion that vines should be pruned by night at full moon when the moon is in the Lion or Scorpion or Archer or Bull; and in general that they should be planted when the moon is at full, or at all events is waxing. In Italy a gang of ten farmhands is enough for a hundred acres of vineyard.

37. And having treated of the planting and cultivation of trees with sufficient fullness, since we have said enough about palms and tree-medick among foreign trees, in order that nothing may be lacking a statement must be given of the other natural features of great importance in relation to all these matters. For even trees are liable to attacks of diseasesince what created object is exempt from these evils? But forest trees at all events are said not to have any deadly diseases and only to be liable to damage by hail when they are budding or in flower, and also to be nipped by heat or exceptionally cold wind coming out of season, for cold weather in its proper season actually does them good, as we have stated. 'What then?' it will be said. 'Does not frost kill even vines?' Well, that is how a fault of soil is detected, because it only happens on chilly ground. And consequently we approve of cold in winter time that is due to the climate and not to the soil. And it is not the weakest trees that are endangered by frost, but the largest ones, and when they are thus attacked it is their tops that dry away first, because the sap has been congealed and has not been able to get there.

Some diseases are common to all trees and some are peculiar to special kinds. Common to all are damage by worms and star-blight and pain in the limbs, resulting in debility of the various partsmaladies sharing even their names with those of mankind: we certainly speak of trees being mutilated and having the eyes of their buds burnt out and many misfortunes of a kind resembling our own. Accordingly they suffer both from hunger and from indigestion, maladies due to the amount of moisture in them, and some even from obesity, for instance all which produce resin owing to excessive fatness are converted into torch-wood, and when the roots also have begun to get fat, die like animals from excessive adipose deposit; and sometimes also they die of epidemics prevailing in certain classes of tree, just as among mankind diseases sometimes attack the slaves and sometimes the urban or the rural lower classes.

Particular trees are attacked by worm in a greater or smaller degree, but nearly all are liable, and birds detect worm-eaten wood by the hollow sound when they tap the bark. Nowadays indeed even this has begun to be classed as a luxury, and specially large wood-maggots found in oak-woodthe name for these is cossesfigure in the menu as a special delicacy, and actually even these creatures are fed with flour to fatten them for the table. The trees most liable to be worm-eaten are pears, apples, and figs; those that have a bitter taste and a scent are less liable. Of the maggots found in fig-trees some breed in the trees themselves, but others are produced by the insect called in Greek the horned insect; all of them however assume the shape of that insect, and emit a little buzzing sound. Also the service-tree is infected with red, hairy caterpillars, which eventually kill it; and the medlar as well is liable to the same disease when it grows old.

Star-blight depends entirely on the heavens, and consequently we must include among these causes of injury hail and carbuncle-blight, and also damage due to frost. The former when the plants are tempted by the warmth of spring to venture to burst out settles on them while they are fairly soft and scorches the milky eyes of the buds, the part which in the flower is called the carbuncle. Frost is of a more damaging nature, because when it has fallen it settles down and freezes, and is not dispelled even by any slight breeze, because it only occurs when the air is motionless and calm. A peculiarity however of star-blight at the rising of the Dog-star is a parching heat, when grafts and saplings die, especially figs and vines.

The olive besides suffering from worm, to which it is as liable as is the fig, is also affected by wart, or, as some prefer to call it, fungus or 'platter'; this is a scorch caused by the sun. Cato states that red scale is also injurious to the olive. Excessive fertility also usually injures vines and olive. Scab is common to all trees. Eruption and epidermic growths on the bark called 'snails' are maladies peculiar to figs, and that not in all districtsfor some diseases belong to particular localities.

But just as man is subject to affliction of the sinews, so also is a tree, and in two ways, as is the case with man: for the force of the disease either attacks its feet, that is the roots, or its knuckles, that is the fingers of the top branches, which project farthest from the whole body; with the Greeks there are special names for each of these diseases. Consequently they turn black, and first there is pain all over and then the parts mentioned also become emaciated and brittle, and lastly comes wasting consumption and death, the sap not entering or not permeating the parts affected. Figs are extremely liable to this disease, but the wild fig is immune from all the maladies we have so far specified. Scab is caused by gentle falls of dew occurring after the rising of the Pleiades; for if the dew has been more copious it gives the tree a good drenching, and does not streak it with scab, although the green figs fall off; but if there has been excessive rain a fig-tree is liable to another malady due to dampness of the roots.

In addition to worm-disease and star-blight vines suffer from a disease of the joints that is peculiar to them; it is due to three causesfirst, loss of buds owing to stormy weather, second, as noted by Theophrastus, pruning done with an upward cut, and third, damage caused by lack of skill in their cultivation; for all injuries to which vines are liable are felt in their joints. One kind of star-blight is dew-disease, when the grapevines shed their blossoms, or when the grapes shrivel up into a hard lump before they grow big. Vines are also sickly when they have been nipped by cold, the eyes being injured by frostbite after the branches have been pruned. This also happens owing to unseasonable hot weather, since everything depends on measure and on a fixed proportion. Defects may also be caused by the fault of the vine-dressers, when the vines are tied too tight, as has been said, or else when the digger trenching round them has injured them with a damaging blow, or even when a careless person ploughing underneath them has displaced the roots or scaled the bark off the trunk; also a contusion may be caused by pruning with too blunt a knife. All of these causes make it more difficult for a vine to bear cold or hot weather, since every harmful influence from outside makes its way into the sore. But the most delicate of all trees is the apple, and particularly any kind that bears sweet fruit. With some trees weakness causes barrenness but does not kill them, as is the case with a pine or a palm if you lop off their top, as they cease to bear but do not die. Sometimes also the fruit by itself is attacked by disease but not the tree, if there has been a lack of rain or of warm weather or wind at the times when they are needed, or if on the contrary they have been too plentiful, for the fruit falls off or deteriorates. The worst among all kinds of damage is when a vine or olive has been struck by heavy rain when shedding its blossom, as the fruit is washed off at the same time.

Heavy rain also breeds caterpillars, noxious creatures that gnaw away the foliage of olives, and others the flower too, as at Miletus, and leave the half-eaten tree shamefully disfigured. This pestilence is bred by damp sticky heat; and another one due to the same cause occurs if too keen a sun follows, and burns in the damage done by the damp and so alters its nature. There is in addition a malady peculiar to olives and vines, called cobweb, when the fruit gets wrapped up in a soft of webbing which stifles it. There are also certain currents of air which are specially blighting to olives, though they dry up other fruit as well. As to worm, in some trees even the fruits of themselves suffer from itapples, pears, medlars and pomegranates; but in the case of the olive an attack of worm has a twofold result, inasmuch as if they breed under the skin they destroy the fruit, while if they have been in the actual stone, gnawing it away, they make the fruit larger. Rain following the rising of Arcturus prevents their breeding; and also if this rain is accompanied by a south wind it breeds worms in overripe olives as well, which are then particularly liable to fall off when ripening. This happens particularly with olives in damp localities, making them very unattractive even if they do not drop off. There is also a kind of gnat troublesome to some fruits, for instance acorns and figs, which appears to be bred from the sweet juice a secreted underneath the bark at that season; and indeed these trees are usually sickly.

Some influences of seasons or localities cannot properly be called diseases, since they cause instantaneous death, for instance when a tree is attacked by wasting or blast, or by the effect of a special wind prevailing in a particular district, like the sirocco in Apulia or the Olympias wind in Euboea, which if it blows about midwinter shrivels up trees with dry cold so that no amount of subsequent sunshine can revive them. This kind of blight infests narrow valleys and trees growing by rivers, and particularly vines, olive and figs; and when this has occurred, it is at once detected at the budding season, though rather later in the case of olives. But it is a sign of recovery in all of them if they lose their leaves; failing that, the trees which one would suppose to have been strong enough to resist the attack die. Sometimes however the leaves dry on the tree and then come to life again. Other trees in the northern countries like the province of Pontus and Thrace suffer from cold or frost if they go on for six weeks after midwinter without a break; but both in that region and in the remaining parts of the world, a heavy frost coming immediately after the trees have produced their fruit kills them even in a few days.

Kinds of damage due to injury done by man have effects proportionate to their violence. Pitch, oil and grease are particularly detrimental to young trees. To strip off the bark all round trees kills them, except in the case of the cork tree, which is actually benefited by this treatment, because the bark thickening stifles and suffocates the tree; nor does it do any harm to purslane if care is taken not to cut into the body of the plant as well. Beside this, the cherry, the vine and the lime shed some bark, though not the layer next to the body which is essential to life, but the layer that is forced outward as another forms underneath it. The bark of some trees, for instance planes, is fissured by nature. That of the lime after it is stripped grows again almost in its entirety. Consequently with trees the bark of which forms a sear, the sears are treated with mud and dung, and sometimes they do the tree good, if the stripping is not followed by a period of exceptionally cold or hot weather. But some trees, for instance hard oaks and common oaks, die, but rather slowly, under this treatment. The time of year also matters; for instance if a fir or a pine is stripped of its bark while the sun is passing through the Bull

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or the Twins, when they are budding, they die at once, whereas if they undergo the same injury in winter they endure it longer; and similarly the holm-oak, the hard oak and the common oak. If only a narrow band of bark is removed, it causes no harm, as with the trees above mentioned, although with weaker trees at all events and in a thin soil to remove the bark even from only one part kills the tree. A similar effect is also produced by lopping the top of a spruce, prickly cedar or cypress, for to remove the top or to scorch it with fire is fatal to these trees; and the effect of being gnawn by animals is also similar. Indeed, according to Varro, as we have stated, an olive goes barren if merely licked by a she-goat. Certain trees die of this injury, but some only deteriorate, for instance almonds, the fruit of which is changed from sweet to bitter, but others are actually improved, for instance the pear called the Phocian pear in Chios. For we have mentioned trees that are actually benefited by having the top lopped off. Most trees die also when the trunk is split, excepting the vine, apple, fig and pomegranates, and some merely from a wound, though the pine and all the resinous trees despise this injury. For a tree to die when its roots are cut off is not at all surprising; most trees die even when deprived not of all their roots but of the largest ones or those among them that are essential to life.

Trees kill one another by their shade or the thickness of their foliage and by robbing each other nutriment; they are also killed by ivy binding them round, and mistletoe does them no good, and cytisus kills them, and they are killed by the plant called halimon by the Greeks. The nature of some plants though not actually deadly is injurious owing to its blend of scents or of juicefor instance the radish and the laurel are harmful to the vine; for the vine can be inferred to possess a sense of smell, and to be affected by odours in a marvellous degree, and consequently when an evil-smelling plant is near it to turn away and withdraw, and to avoid an unfriendly tang. This supplied Androcydes with an antidote against intoxication, for which he recommended chewing a radish. The vine also abhors cabbage and all sorts of garden vegetables, as well as hazel, and these unless a long way off make it ailing and sickly; indeed nitre and alum and warm seawater and the pods of beans or bitter vetch are to a vine the direst poisons.

38. Among the maladies of trees it is in place to speak also of prodigies. We find that figs have grown underneath the leaves of the tree, a vine and a pomegranate have borne fruit on their trunk, not on a shoot or a branch, a vine has borne grapes without having any leaves, and also olives have lost their leaves while the fruit remained on the tree. There are also marvels connected with accident: an olive has come to life again after being completely burnt up, also fig-trees in Boeotia gnawed down by locusts have budded afresh. Trees also change their colour and turn from black to white, not always with portentous meaning, but chiefly those that grow from seed; and the white poplar turns into a black poplar. Some people also think that the service-tree goes barren if transplanted to warmer localities. But it is a portent when sour fruits grow on sweet fruit-trees and sweet on sour, and figs on a wild fig-tree or the contrary, and it is a serious manifestation when trees turn into other trees of an inferior kind, from an olive into a wild olive or from a white grape or green fig into a black grape or a black fig, or as when a plane-tree at Laodicea changed into an olive on the arrival of Xerxes. Not to launch out into an absolutely boundless subject, the volume by Aristander teems with portents of this nature in Greece, as do the Notes of Gaius Epidius in our own country, including cases of trees that talked. An alarming portent occurred a little before the civil wars of Pompey the Great, when a tree in the territory of Cumae sank into the ground leaving a few branches projecting; and a statement was found in the Sibylline Books that this portended a slaughter of human beings, and that the nearer to the city the portent had occurred the greater the slaughter would be.

Another class of portent is when trees grow in the wrong places, as on the heads of statues or on altars, and when different kinds of trees grow on trees themselves. At Cyzicus before the siege a fig-tree grew on a laurel; and similarly at Tralles about the time of Caesar's civil wars a palm grew up on the pedestal of the dictator's statue. Moreover at Rome during the war with Perseus a palm-tree grew up on the altar of Jove on the Capitol, portending victory and triumphal processions; and after this tree had been brought down by storms, a fig-tree sprang up in the same place, this occurring during the censorship of Marcus Messala and Gaius Cassius, a period which according to so weighty an authority as Piso dates the overthrow of the sense of honour. A portent that will eclipse all those ever heard of occurred in our own day in the territory of the Marrucini, at the fall of the emperor Nero: an olive grove belonging to a leading member of the equestrian order named Vettius Marcellus bodily crossed the public highway, and the crops growing on the other side passed over in the opposite direction to take the place of the olive grove.

39. Now that we have set out the diseases of trees it is suitable also to state the remedies for them. Some of these are common to all trees and some peculiar to some of them. Remedies common to all are loosening the soil, banking it up, admitting air to the roots or covering them up, making a channel to give them water or to drain it away, dung refreshing them with its juice, pruning to relieve them of weight, also letting out the sap like a surgical blood-letting, scraping a ring of bark, stretching out the vine-sprays and checking the shoots, trimming off and as it were polishing up the buds if they have been shrivelled and roughened by cold weather. Some trees like these treatments more and others less, for example the cypress scorns both water and dung and hates being dug round and pruned and all kinds of nursing, in fact irrigation kills it, whereas it is exceptionally nourishing for vines and pomegranates. In the case of the fig irrigation nourishes the tree itself but makes the fruit decay. Almond-trees lose their blossom if the ground round them is made clean by being dug over. Also trees that have been grafted must not be dug round before they are strong and begin to bear fruit. Most trees however want to have their burdensome and superfluous growth pruned away, just as we have our nails and hair cut. Old trees are cut down entirely and spring up again from some sucker, but they will not all do this but only those whose nature we have stated to allow of it.

40. Irrigation is good for trees in the heat of summer but bad for them in winter; in the autumn its effect varies and depends on the nature of the soil, inasmuch as in the Spanish provinces the vintager picks the grapes when the ground is under water, whereas in the greater part of the world it pays to drain off the rain water even in autumn. Irrigation is most beneficial about the rising of the Dog-star, and even then not too much of it, because it hurts the roots when they are soaked to the point of intoxication. The age of the tree also controls the due amount; young saplings are not so thirsty. But those that require most watering are those that have been used to it, whereas those which have sprung up in dry places only need a bare minimum of moisture.

41. The harsher vines need to be watered, at all events in the Fabii district of the territory of Sulmo in Italy, where they irrigate even the plough-land; and it is a remarkable fact that in that part of the country water kills herbaceous plants but nourishes corn, and irrigation takes the place of a hoe for weeding. In the same district they irrigate the land round the vines at midwinter to prevent their suffering from cold, the more so if snow is lying or there is a frost; this process is there called 'warming' the vines, owing to the remarkable influence of the sun on the river, which in summer is almost unbearably cold.

42. We shall point out the remedies for glowing-coal-blight and mildew in the next Book. In the meantime the list of remedies includes a sort of scarification. The bark when rendered meagre by disease shrinks up and exerts an undue amount of compression on the vital parts of the tree; for this the vine-dressers holding a pruning knife with a very sharp edge in both hands press it into the trunk and make long incisions downwards, and as it were loosen its skin. It proves that this treatment has been beneficial if the scars widen out and fill up with new wood growing between their edges;

43. and to a large extent the medical treatment of trees resembles that of human beings, as the bones of trees also are treated by perforation. Bitter almonds are made into sweet ones if the stem of the tree has the earth dug away round it and a ring of holes pierced in it at the bottom, and then the gum exuding is wiped off. Also elms can be relieved of useless sap by having holes pierced in them above the level of the earth right into the cambium when they are getting old, or when they are observed to be receiving excessive nourishment. The sap is also discharged from the bark of figs when swollen by means of light cuts made on a slant; this treatment prevents the fruit from falling off. Fruit-trees that make buds but produce no fruit are treated by making a cleft in the root and inserting a stone in it, and this makes them bear; and the same result is produced in almonds by driving in a wedge of hard oak, and in pears and service-berries by means of a wedge of stone pine, and covering up the hole with ashes and earth. It also pays to cut round the roots of vines and figs when over-luxuriant and to put ashes on the cut parts. Late figs are produced if those of the first crop are picked off the tree still unripe, when they are a little larger than a bean, as a second crop grows which ripens later. Also fig-trees are made stronger and more productive if the tips of all the branches are docked when they begin to make foliage. The object of the process that employs the gall-insect from the wild fig is to ripen the fruit.

44. In the gall-insect process it is clear that the unripe figs give birth to gnats, since when these have flown away the fruit is found not to contain any seeds, which have obviously turned into the gnats; these are so eager to escape that most of them leave a foot or part of a wing behind them in forcing their way out. There is also another kind of gnat with a Greek name meaning 'sting-fly'; these resemble drone bees in their sloth and malice, and also in killing the genuine and serviceable insects; for the sting-flies kill the real gnats and themselves die with them. The seeds of figs are also infested by moths, a remedy against them being to bury a slip of mastich upside down in the same hole. But the way to make fig-trees bear very large crops is to dilute red earth with the lees from an olive-press, mix dung with it, and pour the mixture on the roots of the trees when they are beginning to make leaves. Of wild figs the black ones and those growing in rocky places are the most highly spoken of, because they contain the largest number of grains; the best times for the actual process of transference of the gall-insect from the wild fig is said to be just after rain has fallen.

45. But it is of the first importance to avoid allowing our remedies to produce other defects, which results from using remedial processes to excess or at the wrong time. To prune away branches is beneficial for trees, but to slaughter them every year without respite is extremely unprofitable. A vine only requires a yearly trimming, but myrtles, pomegranates and olives one every other year, because they produce shoots with great rapidity. All other trees should be trimmed less frequently, and none in autumn; and they must not even have their trunks scraped except in spring. Pruning must not be assault and battery: every part of the tree that is not actually superfluous is conducive to its vitality.

46. A similar method belongs to dung. Trees delight in it, but care must be taken not to apply it while the sun is hot, or while it is too fresh, or stronger than is necessary. Swine dung burns the vines unless used at intervals of five years, except if it is diluted by being drenched with water; and so will manure made from tanners refuse unless water is mixed with it, and also if it is used too plentifully: the proper amount is considered to be three modii for every ten square feet. Anyhow that will be decided by the nature of the soil.

47. Pigeon and swine manure are also used for dressing wounds in trees. If pomegranates produce sour fruit, it is advised to dig round the roots and apply swine's dung; then in that year the fruit will have a flavour of wine, but next year it will be sweet. Others are of opinion that pomegranates should be watered four times a year with human urine mixed with water, an amphora to each tree, or that the ends of the branches should be sprinkled with silphium diluted with wine; and that if the fruit splits on the tree, its stalk should be twisted; and that figs in any case should have dregs of olive oil poured on them, and other trees when ailing wine-lees, or else lupines should be sown round their roots. It is also good for the fruit to pour round the tree water in which lupines have been boiled. Figs are liable to fall off when it thunders at the Feast of Vulcan; a remedy is to have the ground round the trees covered with barley straw in advance. Cherries are brought on and made to ripen by applying lime to the roots; but with cherries also, as with all it is better to thin the crop, in order to make the fruit left on grow bigger.

Some trees are improved by severe treatment or stimulated by a pungent applicationfor instance the palm and the mastich, which get nutriment from salt water. Ashes also have the effect of salt, but it acts more gently; consequently they are sprinkled on figs and on rue, to prevent their getting maggotty or rotting at the roots. It is also advised to pour salt water on the roots of vines if they are too full of moisture, but if their fruit falls off, to sprinkle ashes with vinegar and smear them on the vines themselves, or ashes with sandarach if the grapes rot; but if the vines do not bear, to sprinkle and smear them with ashes mixed with strong vinegar; and if they do not ripen their fruit but let it dry up first, the vines should be lopped down to the roots and the wound and fibres of the wood drenched with strong vinegar and stale urine and covered up with the mud so produced, and repeatedly dug round. If olives give too little promise of fruit, growers bare their roots and expose them to the winter cold, and the trees profit by this drastic treatment. All these methods depend on the state of the weather in each year and sometimes are required later and sometimes more speedily. Also fire is beneficial for some plants, for instance reeds, which when burnt off grow up again thicker and more pliable. Cato moreover gives prescriptions for certain medicaments, also specifying quantityfor the roots of the bigger trees an amphora, for those of the smaller ones half that measure of olive-lees and water in equal amounts, and his instructions are first to dig round the roots and then to pour the liquid on them gradually. In the ease of an olive it should be used more copiously, straw having first been put round the stem, and the same with a fig; with a fig, especially in spring, earth should be heaped up round the roots, and this will ensure that the unripe fruit will not fall off and the tree will bear a larger crop and will not develop roughness of the bark. In a similar manner to prevent a vine from breeding leaf-rolling caterpillar he advises boiling down two gallons of lees of olive-oil to the thickness of honey, and boiling it again mixed with a third part of bitumen and a fourth part of sulphur, this second boiling being done in the open air because the mixture may catch fire indoors; and he says this preparation is to be smeared round the bases and under the arms of the vines, and that will prevent caterpillar. Some growers are content with submitting the vines for three days on end to the smoke from this concoction boiled to the windward of them. Most people think there is as much food value for the plants in urine as Cato assigns to wine-lees, provided it is mixed with an equal quantity of water, because it is injurious if used by itself.

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Some give the name of the 'fly' to a creature that gnaws away the young grapes; to prevent this they wipe the pruning-knives on a beaver skin after they have been sharpened and then use them for pruning, or smear them with bear's blood after pruning. Ants also are pests to trees; these are kept away by smearing the trunks with a mixture of red earth and tar, and also people get the ants to collect in one place by hanging up a fish close by, or they smear the roots of the tree with lupin pounded with oil. Many people kill ants and also moles with the dregs of olive oil, and to protect the tops of the trees against caterpillars and pests productive of decay they advise touching them with the gall of a green lizard, but as a protection against caterpillars in particular they say that a woman just beginning her monthly courses should walk round each of the trees with bare feet and her girdle undone. Also to prevent any creature from injuring the foliage by noxious nibbling they recommend sprinkling the leaves with cow-dung mixed with water every time there is a shower of rain, as the rain smears the poison of the mixture over the tree: so remarkable are some of the devices invented by human skill, inasmuch as most people believe that hailstorms can be averted by means of a charm, the words of which I would not for my own part venture seriously to introduce into my book, although Cato has published the words of a charm for sprained limbs which have to be bandaged to reed splints. The same author has allowed the felling of consecrated trees and groves after a preliminary sacrifice has been performed, the ritual of which and the accompanying prayer he has reported in the same volume.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 18

1. Our next subject is the nature of the various kinds of grain and of gardens and flowers and the other products of Earth's bounty beside trees or shrubs, the study of herbaceous plants being itself of boundless scope, if one considers the variety and number, the blossoms, scents and colours, and the juices and properties of the plants that she engenders for the health or the gratification of men. And in this section it is our pleasant duty first of all to champion Earth's cause and to support her as the parent of all things, although we have already pleaded her defence in the opening part of this treatise. Nevertheless, now that our subject itself brings us to consider her also as the producer of noxious objects, they are our own crimes with which we charge her and our own faults which we impute to her. She has engendered poisonsbut who discovered them except man? Birds and beasts are content merely to avoid them and keep away from them. And although the elephant and the ure-ox sharpen and whet their horns on a tree and the rhinoceros on a rock, and boars point the poniards of their tusks upon both trees and rocks, and even animals know how to prepare themselves for inflicting injury, yet which of them excepting man also dips its weapons in poison? As for us, we even poison our arrows and add to the destructive properties of iron itself; we dye even the rivers and the elemental substances of Nature, and turn the very means a of life into a bane. Nor is it possible for us to suppose that animals do not know of these things; for we have indicated the preparations that they make to guard against encounters with serpents and the remedies that they have devised to employ after the battle. Nor does any creature save man fight with poison borrowed from another. Let us therefore confess our guilt, we who are not content even with natural products, inasmuch as how far more numerous are the varieties of them made by the human hand! Why, are not even poisons actually the product of man's violence? Their livid tongue flickers like the serpent's, and the corruption of their mind scorches the things it touches, maligning all things as they do and like birds of evil omen violating even the darkness that is their own element and the quiet of the night itself with their groaning, the only sound they utter, so that like animals of evil omen when they even cross our path they forbid us to act or to be of service to life. And they know no other reward for their abhorred vitality than to hate all things. But in this matter also Nature's grandeur is the same: how many more good men has she engendered as her harvest! flow much more fertile is she in products that give aid and nourishment! We too then will continue to enrich life with the value we set on these things and the delight they give us, leaving those brambles of the human race to the consuming fire that is theirs, and all the more resolutely because we achieve greater gratification from industry than we do from renown. The subject of our discourse is indeed the countryside and rustic practices, but it is on these that life depends and that the highest honour was bestowed in early days.

2. Romulus at the outset instituted the Priests of the Fields, and nominated himself as the twelfth brother among them, the others being the sons of his foster-mother Acca Larentia; it was to this priesthood that was assigned as a most sacred emblem the first crown ever worn at Rome, a wreath of ears of corn tied together with a white fillet; and this dignity only ends with life, and accompanies its holders even into exile or captivity. In those days two acres of land each was enough for the Roman people, who assigned to no one a larger amountwhich of the persons who but a little time before were the slaves of the Emperor Nero would have been satisfied with an ornamental garden of that extent? They like to have fishponds larger than that, and it is a thing to be thankful for if someone does not insist on kitchens covering a greater area. Numa established worship of the gods with an offering of corn and winning their favour with a salted cake, and, according to Hemina, of roasting emmer wheat because it was more wholesome for food when roastedthough he could attain this only in one way, by establishing that emmer was not in a pure condition for a religious offering unless it had been roasted.

It was also Numa who established the Feast of Ovens, the holiday when emmer is roasted, and the equally solemn holiday dedicated to the boundary-marks of estates, these bounds being in those days particularly recognised as gods, with the goddesses Seia named from sowing the seed and Segesta from reaping the harvest, whose statues we see in the Circusthe third a of these divinities it is irreverent even to mention by name indoorsand people used not even to taste the produce of a new harvest or vintage before the priests had offered a libation of the first-fruits.

3. An area of land that one yoke of oxen could plough in a day used to be called an acre, and a distance which oxen could be driven with a plough in a single spell of reasonable length was called a furlong; this was 40 yards, and doubled longways this made an acre. The most lavish gifts bestowed on generals and valorous citizens were the largest area of land that a person could plough round in one day, and also a contribution from the whole people of one or two quarterns of emmer wheat a head. Moreover the earliest surnames were derived from agriculture: the name 'Pilumnus' belonged to the inventor of the 'pestle' for corn-mills, 'Piso' came from 'pounding' corn, and again families were named Fabius or Lentulus or Cicero according as someone was the best grower of some particular crop. One of the Junius family received the name of Bubulcus because he was very good at managing oxen. Moreover among religious rites none was invested with more sanctity than that of Communion in Wheat, and newly married brides used to carry in their hands an offering of wheat. Bad husbandry was judged an offence within the jurisdiction of the censors, and, as Cato tells us, to praise a man by saying he was a good farmer and a good hush and man was thought to be the highest form of commendation. That is the source of the word locyples, meaning 'wealthy', 'full of room', i.e. of land. Our word for money itself was derived from pecus, 'cattle', and even now in the censor's accounts all the sources of national revenue are termed 'pastures', because rent of pasture-land was for a long time the only source of public income. Moreover flues were only specified in terms of payment of sheep and oxen; nor must we omit the benevolent spirit of the law of early times, in that a judge imposing a fine was prohibited from specifying an ox before he had previously fined the offender a sheep. There were public games in honour of oxen, those conducting them being called the Bubetii. King Servius stamped first the bronze coinage with the likeness of sheep and oxen. Indeed the Twelve Tables made pasturing animals by stealth at night on crops grown under the plough, or cutting it, a capital offence for an adult, and enacted that a person found guilty of it should be executed by hanging, in reparation to Ceres, a heavier punishment than in a conviction for homicide; while a minor was to be flogged at the discretion of the praetor or sentenced to pay the amount of the damage or twice that amount. In fact the system of class and office in the state itself was derived from no other source. The rural tribes were the most esteemed, consisting of those who owned farms, whereas the city tribes were tribes into which it was a disgrace to be transferred, this stigmatizing lack of activity. Consequently the city tribes were only four, named from the parts of the city in which their members resided, the Suburan, Palatine, Colline and Esquiline. They used to resort to the city on market-days and consequently elections were not allowed to be held on market-days, so that the common people of the country might not be called away from their homes. Beds of straw were used for a siesta and for sleeping on. Finally the actual word 'glory' used to be 'adory', owing to the honour in which emmer was held. For my own part I admire even actual words used in their old signification; for the following sentence occurs in the Memoranda of the Priesthood: 'Let a day be fixed for taking augury by the sacrifice of a dog before the corn comes out of the sheath and before it penetrates through into the sheath.'

4. Accordingly these being the customs not only were the harvests sufficient for them without any of the provinces providing food for Italy, but even the market price of corn was unbelievably low. Manius Marcius when aedile of the plebs for the first time [456 B.C.] provided the people with corn at the price of an as a peck. Lucius Minucius Augurinus, who had procured the conviction of Spurius Maelius, when he was tribune of the people reduced the price of emmer to an as for a fortnight, and consequently had his statue erected outside the Triplets' Gate, the cost being met by public subscription. Titus Seius during his aedileship supplied the public with corn at an as a peck, on account of which he too had statues erected to him on the Capitol and the Palatine, and he himself at the end of his life was carried to his cremation on the shoulders of the populace. Then it is recorded that in the summer of the year in which the Mother of the Gods was carried to Rome there was a larger harvest than in the preceding ten years. Marcus Varro states that at the date when Lucius Metellus gave a procession of a very large number of elephants in his triumph, the price of a peck of emmer wheat was one as, as also was that of a gallon of wine, 30 pounds of dried figs, 10 pounds of oil and 12 pounds of meat. Nor was this the result of the large estates of individuals who ousted their neighbours, inasmuch as by the law of Licinins Stolo the limit was restricted to 500 acres, and Stolo himself was convicted under his own law because he owned a larger amount of land, held under his son's name instead of his own. Such was the scale of prices when the state had already some luxury. At any rate there is a famous utterance of Manius Curius, who after celebrating triumphs and making a vast addition of territory to 290 B.C. the empire, said that a man not satisfied with seven acres must be deemed a dangerous citizen; for that was the acreage assigned for commoners after the expulsion of the kings. What therefore was the cause of such great fertility? The fields were tilled in those days by the hands of generals themselves, and we may well believe that the earth rejoiced in a laurel-decked ploughshare and a ploughman who had celebrated a triumph, whether it was that those farmers treated the seed with the same care as they managed their wars and marked out their fields with the same diligence as they arranged a camp, or whether everything prospers better under honourable hands because the work is done with greater attention. The honours bestowed on Serranus found [297 B.C.] him sowing seed, which was actually the origin of his surname. An apparitor brought to Cincinnatus his commission as dictator when he was ploughing his four-acre property on the Vatican, the land now called the Quintian Meadows, and indeed it is said that he had stripped for the work, and the messenger as he continued to linger said, 'Put on your clothes, so that I may deliver the mandates of the Senate and People of Rome'. That was what apparitors were like even at that time, and their name itself a was given to them as summoning the senate and the leaders to put in an immediate appearance from their farms. But nowadays those agricultural operations are performed by slaves with fettered ankles and by the hands of malefactors with branded faces! although the Earth who is addressed as our mother and whose cultivation is spoken of as worship is not so dull that when we obtain even our farm-work from these persons one can believe that this is not done against her will and to her indignation. And we forsooth are surprised that we do not get the same profits from the labour of slave-gangs as used to be obtained from that of generals!

5. Consequently to give instructions for agriculture was an occupation of the highest dignity even with foreign nations, inasmuch as it was actually performed by kings such as Hiero, Attalus Philometor and Archelaus, and by generals such as Xenophon and also the Carthaginian Mago, on whom indeed our senate bestowed such great honour, after the taking of Carthage, that when it gave away the city's libraries to the petty kings of Africa it passed a resolution that in his ease alone his twenty-eight volumes should be translated into Latin, in spite of the fact that Marcus Cato had already compiled his book of precepts, and that the task should be given to persons acquainted with the Carthaginian language, an accomplishment in which Decimus Silanus, a man of most distinguished family, surpassed everybody. But we have given at the beginning a list of the philosophers of originality and the eminent poets and other distinguished authors whom we shall follow in this volume, although special mention must be made of Marcus Varro, who felt moved to publish a treatise on this subject in the eighty-first year of his life.

Vine-growing began among the Romans much later, and at the beginning, as of necessity, they only practised agriculture, the theory of which we will now deal with, not in the common method but, as we have done hitherto, by making an exhaustive research into both ancient practices and subsequent discoveries, and at the same time delving into causes and principles. We shall also treat of astronomy, and shall give the indubitable signs which the stars themselves afford as regards the earth, inasmuch as authors who have hitherto handled these subjects with some degree of thoroughness may be thought to have been writing for any class of people rather than farmers.

6. And first of all we will proceed for the most part by the guidance of oracular precepts, which in no other department of life are more numerous or more trustworthyfor why not assign oracular value to precepts originating from the infallible test of time and the supremely truthful verdict of experience?

We will borrow a commencement from Cato: 'The agricultural class produces the bravest men, the most gallant soldiers and the citizens least given to evil designs.' 'In buying a farm do not be too eager. In rural affairs do not be sparing of trouble, least of all in buying land'; a bad purchase is always repented. Those about to buy land should before all things give an eye to 'the water supply, the road, and the

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neighbour'. Each of these rules admits of an important and unquestionable interpretation. Cato advises that in regard to the neighbouring farmers further consideration should be given to the question how prosperous they look; 'for in a good district', he says, 'the people look in good condition'. Atilius Regulus who was twice consul during the Punic war a used to say that it is a mistake to buy unhealthy land in the most fertile districts or the most healthy land in districts that have been worked out. The healthy quality of the district is not always disclosed by the complexion of the inhabitants, because people can carry on even in very unhealthy localities when they are used to them. Moreover some districts are healthy during portions of the year, but no place is really salubrious unless it is healthy all the year round. 'Land with which the owner has a continual struggle is bad land.' Cato bids us as one of the first points to see that the land, if in the position stated above has a good quality of its own, that there is a supply of labour near, and a thriving town, routes for carrying produce away by water or by road, and that the farm is furnished with good buildings and has been well farmedit is in this that I notice most people make a mistake, as they think that the purchaser scores from slack farming on the part of the previous landlord, whereas nothing is a greater source of loss than a farm that has been neglected. For this reason Cato says that it is better to purchase from a good landlord, and that the lessons to be learnt from others should not be despised, and that it is the same with land as with a human beingit may make large profits, yet if it also involves large expenses, not much balance is left over. In Cato's opinion the most profitable in part of a farm is a vineyard--and not without reason, since above everything he has been cautious as to the matter of outlay of moneyand next he puts kitchen-gardens well supplied with water; and this is true, if they are near a townand the old word for 'meadows' means 'land ready to hand'. Cato moreover when asked what was the most reliable source of profit said, 'Good pasture', and when asked what was the next best, said, 'Fairly good pasture the most important point in considering profit being that the crop that was going to cost the smallest outlay in expenses was the crop most to be recommended. This is a question decided differently in different places, in accordance with the suitability of the various localities; and the same applies to Cato's dictum that a farmer ought to be a good seller; and that he should begin to plant his farm without delay, in his youth, but only build when the land is fully under cultivation, and even then go slowly (and the best course is, as the common saying was, to profit by the folly of other people provided however that keeping up houses is not allowed to be a burden on your estate); but that the owner who is well housed should nevertheless keep visiting his farm rather frequentlyand it is a true saying that 'the master's face does more good than the back of his head'.

7. The satisfactory plan is that the house shall not be inadequate to the farm nor the farm to the house, not as was done on adjacent estates by Lucius Lucullus and Quintus Scaevola, acting on opposite principles though at the same period, when Scaevola's farmhouse would not hold the produce of his farm and Lucullus's farm was not big enough for his housea sort of extravagance that occasioned the censor's rebuke that there was less ground to plough than floor-space to sweep. The proper arrangement requires a certain amount of technical skill. Quite recently Gaius Marius, who was seven times consul, built a country house in the district of Miseno, but he relied on the skill he had acquired in planning the layout of a camp, so that even Sulla the Fortunate declared that all the others had been blind men in comparison with Marius. It is agreed that a country house ought not to be put near a marsh nor with a river in front of italthough Homer has stated with the greatest truth that in any case there are always unhealthy currents of air rising from a river before dawn. In hot localities the house should look north, in cold ones south and in temperate situations due east.

As to proofs by which the quality of the land itself can be judged, we may possibly be thought to have spoken of these with sufficient fullness when discussing the best kind of soil, but nevertheless we will still supplement the indications we have given by some words of Cato more particularly: 'The danewort or the wild plum or the bramble, the small-bulb, trefoil, meadow grass, oak, wild pears and wild apple are indications of a soil fit for corn, as also is black or ash-coloured earth. All chalk land will scorch the crop unless it is an extremely thin soil, and so will sand unless it also is extremely fine; and the same soils answer much better for plantations on level ground than for those on a slope.'

In old times it was thought that to observe moderation in the size of a farm was of primary importance, inasmuch as the view was held that it was more satisfactory to sow less land and plough it better; and I observe that Virgil was of this opinion. And if the truth be confessed, large estates have been the ruin of Italy, and are now proving the ruin of the provinces toohalf of Africa was owned by six landlords, when the Emperor Nero put them to death; though Gnaeus Pompeius must not be cheated out of this mark of his greatness also: he never bought land belonging to a neighbouring estate. Mago's opinion that a landlord after buying a farm ought to sell his town housethat being the opening with which he begins the exposition of his instructionswas too rigorous, and not to the advantage of public affairs, though nevertheless it has the effect of showing that he laid stress on the need for constant oversight.

The next point requiring attention is the efficiency of bailiffs, and Cato has given many instructions with regard to these. Let it be enough for us to say that the bailiff ought to be as near as possible to his master in intelligence, and nevertheless not think so himself. Farming done by slave-gangs hired from houses of correction is utterly bad, as is everything else done by desperate men. It may appear rash to quote one dictum of the old writers, and perhaps it may be judged impossible to credit unless its value is closely examinedit is that nothing pays less than really good farming. Lucius Tarius Rufus, who, though of extremely humble birth, by his soldierly efficiency won a consulship, though in other respects a man of old-fashioned economy, spent the whole of the money he had accumulated through the generosity of his late Majesty Augustus, about 100 million sesterces, in buying up farms in Picenum and farming them with the purpose of making a name for himself, so that his heir refused to take over the estate. Is it our opinion then that this policy means ruin and starvation? Nay rather, I vow, it is that moderation is the most valuable criterion of all things. Good farming is essential, but superlatively good farming spells ruin, except when the farmer runs the farm with his own family or with persons whom he is in any case bound to maintain. There are some crops which it does not pay the landlord to harvest if the cost of the labour is reckoned, and olives are not easily made to pay; and some lands do not repay very careful farmingthis is said to be the case in Sicily, and consequently newcomers there find themselves deceived.

8. What then will be the most profitable of farming land? Presumably to follow the oracular dictum: By making good from bad. But it is only fair to justify our forefathers who laid down rules for conduct by their teachings; for the term 'bad lands' they meant to be understood to mean the cheapest lands, and the chief point in their economy was to keep down expenses to the minimum. For the sort of instructions in question were given by men who though they had headed triumphal processions deemed ten pounds of silver as part of one's furniture a criminal extravagance, who when their bailiff died insisted on leaving their victories and returning to their farms, and the cultivation of whose estates was taken over by the government and who commanded armies while the senate acted as their bailiff. Then come all those other oracular utterances: Whoever buys what his farm could supply him with is a worthless farmer; whoever does by day work that he could do by night, except during bad weather, is a bad head of a family, and he who does on working days things that he ought to do on holidays is a worse; and one who works indoors on a fine day rather than in the field is the worst farmer of all.' I cannot refrain from adducing one instance from old times which will show that it was customary to bring before the Commons even questions of agriculture, and will exhibit the kind of plea that men of those days used to rely on to defend their conduct. Gaius Furius Chresimus, a liberated slave, was extremely unpopular because he got much larger returns from a rather small farm than the neighbourhood obtained from very large estates, and he was supposed to be using magic spells to entice away other people's crops. He was consequently indicted by the curule aedile Spurius Albinus; and as he was afraid he would be found guilty, when the time came for the tribes to vote their verdict, he brought all his agricultural implements into court and produced his farm servants, sturdy people and also according to Piso's description well looked after and well clad, his iron tools of excellent make, heavy mattoeks, ponderous ploughshares, and well-fed oxen. Then he said: 'These are my magic spells, citizens, and I am not able to exhibit to you or to produce in court my midnight labours and early risings and my sweat and toil.' This procured his acquittal by a unanimous verdict. The fact is that husbandry depends on expenditure of labour, and this is the reason for the saying of our forefathers that on a farm the best fertilizer is the master's eye.

The remaining rules will be given in their proper places, according as they belong to the various kinds of agriculture. In the meantime we will not omit the principles of general application which occur to us, and particularly that most humane and most profitable advice of Cato to do your best to win the esteem of your neighbours. Cato gives reasons for this advice, but for our part we imagine that nobody can doubt what the reasons are. Also one of Cato's first pieces of advice is a warning to keep your farm hands in good condition. That in agriculture nothing must be done too late is a rule universally held, as is a second rule that each thing must be done at its own time, and a third that it is no use calling back lost opportunities. The maledictionuttered by Cato against rotten land has been pointed out at sufficient length; though he is never tired of declaring that whatever can be done by means of an ass costs the least money. Bracken dies in two years if you do not let it make leaf, the best way to kill it is to knock off the stalk with a stick when it is budding, as the juice trickling down out of the fern itself kills the roots. It is also said that ferns plucked up about midsummer do not spring up again, nor do those cut with a reed or ploughed up with a reed placed on the ploughshare. Similarly they also advise ploughing up reed with bracken placed on the ploughshare. A field grown over with rushes should be turned up with the spade after having been first broken with two-pronged forks. Brushwood is best removed by setting fire to it. When land is too damp it is very useful to cut ditches through it and drain it; and in clayey places to leave the ditches open, but in looser soil to strengthen them with hedges or let them have theft sides sloping and on a slant; and to block up some and make them run into other larger and wider ones, and, if opportunity offers, to pave them with flint or gravel; and to stay their mouths with two stones, one on each side, and roof them over with another stone on top.Democritus has put forward a method of clearing away forest by soaking lupin-flower for one day in hemlock juice and sprinkling it on the roots of the trees.

9. And now that the ground has been prepared, we shall proceed to describe the nature of the various kinds of grain. There are two primary varieties, the cereals, such as wheat and barley, and the legumina, such as the bean and chick-pea. The difference between them is too well known to need description.

10. There are also two varieties of corn itself distinguished by the different seasons at which they are sown: winter grains, which are sown about the setting of the Pleiades and get their nourishment through the winter from the earth, for instance wheat and barley, and summer grains, which are sown in summer before the rising of the Pleiades, for instance common and Italian millet, gingelly, clary and winter cress: at all events this is the method of Italy. In Greece and Asia however all grains are sown after the setting of the Pleiades, while in Italy some are sown at both dates, and some of these have a third sowing, in spring. Some persons give the name of spring grain to common millet, Italian millet, lentils, chick-pea and groatswheat, but term bread-wheat, barley, beans and turnip autumn-sowing grains. In the class of wheat one division consists of fodder sown for animals, such as mixed feed, and the same also in the leguminous plants, such as vetch; but lupine is grown for the use of animals and men in common.

All the leguminous plants except the bean have a single root, which has a woody substance because it is not divided into many branches; the chick-pea has the deepest root. Corn has a number of fibrous roots without ramifications. Barley bursts out of the ground seven days after it is first sown, leguminous plants on the fourth day, or at latest the seventh, beans from fifteen to twenty days; in Egypt leguminous plants emerge on the third day. In barley one end of the grain sends out a root and the other a blade, which flowers before the other corn; and the root shoots out from the thicker end of the grain and the flower from the thinner, whereas with all other seeds both root and flower come from the same end.

Corn is in the blade during winter; in the spring time corn of the winter variety shoots up into a stalk, but common and Italian millets into a knotted hollow straw, and sesame into a stalk like fennel. The fruit of all kinds of sown grain is either contained in ears, as in the case of wheat and barley, and is protected against birds and small animals by a fence of beard, or is enclosed in pods, as with leguminous plants, or in capsules, as with gingelly and poppy. Both millets are accessible also to small birds, in what can only be called joint ownership with the grower, inasmuch as they are contained in thin skins, leaving them unprotected. Panic, named from its panicles or tufts, has a head that droops languidly and a stalk that tapers gradually almost into a twig; it is heaped with very closely packed grains, with a corymb that is at its longest a foot in length. In millet the hairs embracing the seed curve over with a fringed tuft. There are also varieties of panic, for instance the full-breasted kind, clustered with small tufts growing out of the ear, and with a double point; moreover these grasses are of various colours, white, black, red and even purple. Bread of several kinds is made even from millet, but very little from panic; but there is no grain heavier in weight or that swells more in baking: they get sixty pounds of bread out of a peck, and a peck of porridge out of three-sixteenths of a peck soaked in water. A millet has been introduced into Italy from India within the last ten years that is of a black colour, with a large grain and a stalk like that of a reed. It grows to seven feet in height, with very large hairsthey are called the maneand is the most prolific of all kinds of corn, one grain producing three-sixteenths of a peck. It should be sown in damp ground.

Some kinds of grain begin to form the ear at the third joint of the stalk and some at the fourth, but it still remains concealed. Wheat a has four articulations in each stalk, emmer six and barley eight; but the ear does not begin to form before the above-mentioned number of articulations is complete; when this has given signs of occurring, in four or at latest five days they begin to blossom, and after the same number of days or a few more they finish flowering; but with barley this

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happens in seven days at latest. Varro states that the grains are fully formed in thirty-six days and are ready for reaping after eight months.

Beans shoot out into leaves and then throw out a stalk which is divided by no joints. The rest of the leguminous plants are tough and woody. Some of them are branchingthe chick-pea, the bitter vetch and the lentil. In some the stems spread along the ground if they are not propped up, but peas climb if given a prop, or else they deteriorate. The bean is the only one of the leguminous plants that has a single stem; the lupine also has only one but it does not stand up straight, all the others having branches with a very thin woody stalk, but all of them hollow. Some send out a leaf from the root, some from the top, for instance wheat and barley. Each of these and all the plants that make straw have one leaf at the topthough barley leaves are rough and those of the rest smoothwhereas the bean, the chick-pea and the pea are many-leaved. In corn the leaf is like that of a reed; those of the bean and a large part of the leguminous plants are round; those of the fitch and the pea rather long, that of calavance veined, that of sesame and winter cress the colour of blood. Only the lapin and the poppy shed their leaves. Leguminous plants remain longer in flower, and among them more particularly the fitch and the chick-pea, but longest of all the bean, which flowers for forty days, though the single stalks do not keep their flowers so long, since when one goes off another begins, nor does the whole crop flower at the same time, as with corn, but all the pods form on different days, the blossom starting first at the bottom and rising gradually.

When cereals have finished flowering, they gradually swell and ripen in 40 days at most, and the same is the case with the bean, but the chick-pea ripens in the fewest days, as it is completely ready in 40 days from sowing. Millet (common and Italian) and gingelly and all the summer grains ripen within 40 days of blossoming, although with considerable differences due to soil and weather; for in Egypt barley is reaped in the sixth month after sowing and wheat in the seventh, while in Greece barley is cut in the seventh month and in the Peloponnese in the eighth, and wheat even later. Grains growing on a stalk form ears with a texture like a tuft of hairs; in beans and leguminous plants the grains are in pods shooting on each side alternately. Cereals are stronger to withstand winter, but the leguminous plants provide a more substantial article of food.

In wheat the grain has several coats, but barley and good emmer wheat are largely naked, and the oat is especially so. Wheat has a taller stalk than barley, but barley has a more prickly ear. Hard wheat, common wheat and barley are threshed on a threshing floor; thus they are also sown without the husk, just as they are milled, because they are not dried first. On the other hand emmer wheat, and common and Italian millet cannot be freed of husk until they have been dried, and consequently these grains are sown unthreshed, with their husks on. People also keep emmer in its little husks for sowing, and do not dry it by heat.

11. Of these grains the lightest is barley, which rarely exceeds fifteen pounds to the peck, and beans twenty-two pounds. Emmer is heavier and wheat heavier still. In Egypt they make flour out of olyra, a third kind of corn that grows there. The Gallic provinces have also produced a special kind of emmer, the local name for which is brac, while with us it is called scandala; it has a very glossy grain. There is also another difference in that it gives about four corn used by the Roman nation for 300 years.

12. There are several kinds of wheat that have been produced by various races. For my own part I should not rank any of them with Italian wheat for whiteness and for weight, for which it is particularly distinguished. Foreign wheat can only be compared with that of the mountain regions of Italy; among foreign kinds Boeotia has obtained the first rank, then Sicily, and after that Africa. The third place for weight used to belong to Thracian and Syrian wheat and later also to Egyptian, by the vote of athletes in those days, whose capacity for cereals, resembling that of cattle, had established the order of merit that we have stated. Greece also gave praise to wheat from Pontus, which did not get through to Italy; but of all the varieties of grain Greece gave the preference to dracontias, strangias and the wheat of Scinnnte, recognized by the thickness of the straw, because of which it used to count these kinds as appropriate for a rich soil. For sowing in damp soils Greece prescribed spendias, a very light and extremely scanty-growing grain with a very thin stalk, because it required a great deal of nourishment. These were the opinions held in the reign of Alexander the Great, when Greece was most famous and the most powerful state in the whole world, although nevertheless about 145 years before his death the poet Sophocles in his play Triptolemus praised Italian corn before all other kinds, in the phrase of which a literal translation is 'And that happy Italy glows white with bright white wheat'; and also today the Italian wheat is especially distinguished for whiteness, which makes it more surprising to me that the later Greeks have made no mention of this corn.

At the present the lightest in weight among the kinds of wheat imported to Rome is the wheat Gaul, and that brought from the Chersonese, as they do not exceed twenty pounds a peck, if one weighs the grain by itself. Sardinian grain adds half a pound to this figure, and Alexandrian a third of a pound morethis is also the weight of Sicilian wheatwhile that of Southern Spain scores a whole pound more and that of Africa a pound and three-quarters. In Italy north of the Po the peck of emmer to my knowledge weighs 25 pounds, and in the Chiusi neighbourhood even 26 pounds. It is a fixed law of nature that in any kind of commissariat bread a third part is added in the making to the weight of the grain, just as that the best wheat is that which absorbs three quarts of water into the peck of grain kneaded. Some kinds of grain used by themselves give their full weight, for instance a peck of Balearic wheat produces 35 pounds of bread, but some only do so when blendedfor example, Cyprian wheat and Alexandrian, which used by themselves do not go beyond 20 pounds a peck. Cyprus wheat is of a dusky colour and makes black bread, and consequently the white Alexandrian is mixed with it, and that gives 25 pounds of bread to the peck. The wheat of the Thebaid in Egypt makes a pound more. To knead the flour with sea water, which they frequently do in seaside places for the sake of economizing salt, is extremely inexpedient, as there is nothing else that renders the body more liable to disease. When the corn of Gaul and Spain of the kinds we have stated is steeped to make beer the foam that forms on the surface in the process is used for leaven, in consequence of which those races have a lighter kind of bread than others. There is also a difference in the stalk, that of the better sort of grain being thicker. Thracian wheat is clothed with a great many husks, which is necessary for that region because of the excessive frosts. The same reason has also led to the discovery of a three-month wheat, because the snow holds back the ground; it is reaped about three months after sowing, at the same time as wheat is harvested in the rest of the world. This wheat is known all over the Alps, and in the provinces with cold climates no corn flourishes better than this; moreover it has a single stem and in no region holds much grain, and it is never sown except in a thin soil. There is actually a two-month variety in the neighbourhood of Aenus in Thrace, which begins to ripen six weeks after it is sown; and it is surprising that no corn weighs heavier, and that it produces no bran. It is also used in Sicily and Achaia, in both cases in mountain districts, and in Euboea in the neighbourhood of Garystus. So greatly is Columella mistaken in his opinion that even three-month wheat is not a distinct variety, although it is of extreme antiquity. The Greeks call it setanion. It is said that in Bactria the grains of wheat grow so large that a single grain is as big as our ears of corn.

13. The one sown first of all the cereals is barley. After explaining the nature of each variety we will also give the date for sowing. India has both cultivated and wild barley, and from it the natives make their best bread, and also porridge. Their favourite grain is however rice, of which they make a drink like the barley-water made by the rest of mankind. Rice leaves are fleshy, resembling leek but broader; the plant is 18 inches high, with a purple blossom and a root of a round shape like a precious stone.

14. Barley is the oldest among human foods, as is proved by the Athenian ceremony recorded by Menander, and by the name given to gladiators, who used to be called 'barley-men'. Also the Greeks prefer it to any other grain for porridge. There are several ways of making barley porridge: the Greeks soak some barley in water and then leave it for a night to dry, and next day dry it by the fire and then grind it in a mill. Some after roasting it more thoroughly sprinkle it again with a small amount of water and dry it before milling; others however shake the young barley out of the ears while green, clean it and while it is wet pound it in a mortar, and wash it of husk in baskets and then dry it in the sun and again pound it, clean it and grind it. But whatever kind of barley is used, when it has been got ready, in the mill they mix in three pounds of flax seed, half a pound of coriander seed, and an eighth of a pint of salt, previously roasting them all. Those who want to keep it for some time in store put it away in new earthenware jars with fine flour and its own bran. Italians bake it without steeping it in water and grind it into fine meal, with the addition of the same ingredients and millet as well.

15. Barley bread was much used in earlier days, but has been condemned by experience, and barley is now mostly fed to animals, although the consumption of barley-water is proved so conclusively to be very conducive to strength and health: Hippocrates, one of the most famous authorities on medical science, has devoted one whole book to its praises. Utica barley-water is of outstanding quality. There is a kind in Egypt made of the double-pointed grain. The kind of barley used for making this drink in Andalusia and Africa is called by Turranius smooth barley. The same authority is of opinion that alpaca and oryza (rice) are the same plant. The recipe for making barley-water is universally known.

16. Hulled-wheat grain is used in a similar way for making pap, at all events in Campania and in Egypt;

17. and starch is made from, every kind of wheat and common wheat, but the best from three-month wheat. For its discovery we are indebted to the island of Chios, and that is where the best kind comes from today. Its name is Greek, and means 'made without milling'. Next to the starch made from three-month wheat is the kind made of the lightest sort of wheat. This is soaked with fresh water in wooden tubs, with the grain completely covered, the water being changed five times in the course of a day, and preferably in the night time as well, so as to get it mixed up evenly with the grain. When it is quite soft but before it goes sour it is strained through linen or wicker baskets and poured out on a tiled surface that has been smeared with leaven, and left to thicken in the sun. Next to the starch of Chios that from Crete is most highly spoken of; and then comes the Egyptian kind. The test of its quality is smooth consistency and light weight, and the condition of being flesh. It has moreover been mentioned already by Cato among ourselves.

18. Barley meal is used as a medicine, and it is remarkable how in treating cattle pills made of it after it has been hardened by roasting at the fire and afterwards ground, sent down into the animal's stomach by the human hand, serve to increase the strength and enlarge the muscles of the body. Some ears of barley have two rows of grains and some more, up to as many as six. In the grain itself there are some varieties: it is longer and smoother or shorter and rounder, lighter or darker in colour, the kind with a purple shade being of a rich consistency for porridge; the light-coloured grain offers the weakest resistance to storms. Barley is the softest of all the grains. It likes to be sown only in a dry, loose soil, which must also be of rich quality. Its chaff is one of the best, indeed for straw there is none that compares with it. Barley is the least liable to damage of all corn, because it is harvested before the wheat is attacked by mildew (and so wise farmers only sow wheat for the larder, whereas barley is sown by the sack, as the saying is), and consequently it brings in a return very quickly; and the most prolific kind is the barley harvested at Carthage in Spain in the month of April. In Celtiberia this barley is sown in the same month, and there are two crops in the same year. All barley is cut sooner than any other grain, as soon as it first ripens, because the grain is carried on a brittle straw and contained in a very thin chaff. Moreover we are told that it makes better pearl-barley if it is lifted before its ripening has been completed.

19. Varieties of wheat are not the same everywhere, and where they are the same they do not always bear the same names. The most widely known of them and the most prevalent are emmer (the old name for which was adoreum), common wheat and hard wheatthese are common to most countries. Ariaca wheat which is indigenous in the Gallic provinces is also frequent in Italy; while zea, olyra, and 'rice' or tiphe are only found in Egypt, Syria, Cilicia and Asia and Greece. Egypt makes a prime flour out of its own wheat, but it by no means matches that of Italy. The places that use sea have not got our emmer. Zea also is found in Italy, particularly in Campania, and is called 'seed'; it has that name as being a remarkable thing, as we shall soon explain, which is the reason for Homer's expression zeidoros aroura, 'the tilth that gives us sea'it is not on account of its 'bestowing life', as some people think. Starch of a coarser quality than the kind mentioned before but otherwise identical is made from it. Emmer is the most hardy of every kind and the one that resists winter best. It stands the coldest localities and those that are under-cultivated or extremely hot and dry. It was the first food of the Latium of old times, a strong proof of this being found in the offerings of adoria, as we have said. It is clear however that for a long time the Romans lived on pottage, not on bread, since even today foodstuffs are also called 'pulmentaria', and Ennius, the oldest of our bards, describing a famine during a siege, recalls how fathers snatched away a morsel from their crying children. Even nowadays primitive rituals and birthday sacrifices are performed with gruel-pottage; and it appears that pottage was as much unknown to Greece as pearl-barley was to Rome.

20. No grain is greedier than wheat or draws more nourishment out of the soil. Common wheat may properly designate the choicest variety, whether in whiteness or goodness or weight. It is suitable for moist districts like those in Italy and Gallia Comata, but across the Alps it only keeps its character in the territory of Savoy and Reims, while in the other parts of that country it changes in two years into ordinary wheat. The cure for this is to select its heaviest grains for sowing. Common wheat flour makes bread of the highest quality and the most famous pastry. The top place in Italy is taken by a mixture of Campanian common wheat flour with that grown at Pisa, the former being reddish but the chalk-like Pisa variety whiter and heavier. A fair yield from the Campanian grain called 'bolted' is to give four sixteenths of fine flour to the peck, or from what is called common grain, not bolted, five sixteenths, as well as half a peck of fine flour and four sixteenths of the coarse meal called 'seconds', and the same amount of bran; whereas Pisa wheat should give four sixteenths of prime flour, while of the other kinds the yield is the same. The wheats of Chiusi and Arezzo give an additional sixteenth of prime flour, but in the remaining qualities they are on a level. If however it is wished to make special flour, the return is sixteen pounds of bread and three pecks of

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seconds and half a peck of bran. This depends on different methods of milling; for grain. ground when dry gives more flour, but if sprinkled with salt water it makes a whiter meal, but keeps more back in the bran. The name for flour, farina, is obviously derived from far, emmer. A peck of flour made of Gaulle conmion wheat gives 20 pounds of bread, that of the Italian kind two or three pounds more, in the case of bread baked in a tinfor loaves baked in the oven they add two pounds in either kind of wheat.

'Hard' flour is made from hard wheat, the most highly esteemed coming from Africa. A fair return is half a peck from a peck with five sixteenths of special flourthat is the name given in the case of hard wheat to what in common wheat is called the 'flower'; this is used in copper works and paper millsand in addition four sixteenths of second quality flour and the same amount of bran, but from a peek of 'hard' flour 22 pounds of bread and from a peck of flower of wheat 16 pounds. The price for this when the market rate is moderate is 40 asses a peek for flour, 8 asses more for 'hard' flour and twice as much for bolted common wheat. There is also another distinction, that when bolted a single time it gives 17 pounds of bread, when twice 18, when three times 19⅓, and 2 pounds of second quality bread, the same amount of shorts and six sixteenths of bran.

Common wheat never ripens evenly, and yet no corn crop is less able to stand delay as, owing to its delicacy of structure, the ears that have ripened shed their grain at once. But it is less exposed to danger in the straw than other cereals, because it always has the ear on a straight stalk and it does not hold dew to cause rust. Best emmer makes the sweetest bread; the grain itself is of closer fibre than ordinary emmer and the ear is at once larger and heavier: a peck of the grain seldom fails to make 16 pounds. In Greece it is difficult to thresh and consequently Homer speaks of it as being fed to cattlefor his word olyra means this grain; but on the other hand in Egypt it is easy to thresh and gives a good yield. Emmer has no beard, nor has common wheat, excepting the kind called Laconian. With these are also to be classed bromos and tragos, entirely foreign grains, resembling rice imported from the east. Tiphe itself also belongs to the same classthe grain from which a rice is produced in our part of the world. With the Greeks there is also zea, and according to their account that grain and tiphe degenerate and go back to wheat, if they are sown after being ground, though not at once, but two years later.

21. Nothing is more prolific than wheatNature having given it this attribute because it used to be her principal means of nourishing maninasmuch as a peck of wheat, given suitable soil like that of the Byzaciam plain in Africa, produces a yield of 150 pecks. The deputy governor of that region sent to his late Majesty Augustusalmost incredible as it seemsa parcel of very nearly 400 shoots obtained from a single grain as seed, and there are still in existence despatches relating to the matter. He likewise sent to Nero also 360 stalks obtained from one grain. At all events the plains of Lentini and other districts in Sicily, and the whole of Andalusia, and particularly Egypt reproduce at the rate of a hundredfold. The most prolific kinds of wheat are branched wheat and what they call hundred-grain wheat. Also a single beanstalk has before now been found laden with a hundred beans.

22. We have specified gingelly and common and Italian millets as summer grains. Gingelly comes from India, where it is also used for making oil; the colour of the grain is white. A grain that resembles it in Asia and Greece is erysimum, and the grain called with us irio would be identical with it were it not that it is more filled out, and is to be reckoned as a drug rather than a cereal. Of the same nature is also the irio called in Greece horminum, though it resembles cummin; it is sown with gingelly. No animal will eat either this or irio while green.

23. Not all grains are easy to crush, in fact Etruria pounds the ears of emmer, after it has been roasted, with a pestle shod with iron at the end, in a handmill that is serrated and denticulated inside with grooves radiating from a centre, so that if people put their weight into it while pounding the grains are only splintered up and the iron is broken. The greater part of Italy uses a bare pestle, and also wheels turned by moving water, and a millstone. As to the actual method of pounding corn we will put forward the opinion of Mago: he says that wheat should be steeped in a quantity of water beforehand, and afterwards shelled of husk and then dried in the sun and well pounded in a mortar; and barley should be treated in a similar way; of the latter, he says, 20 sixteenths should be wetted with two sixteenths of water. Lentils must be roasted first and then mixed with bran and lightly pounded, or with a fragment of unbaked brick and half a peck of sand added to each 20 sixteenths. Fitch to be treated in the same ways as lentils. Gingelly to be steeped in warm water and spread out, and then rubbed well and dipped in cold water so that the chaff may float to the top, and again spread out in the sun on a linen sheet; and if this is not done very quickly it turns musty with a livid colour. Also there are various methods of pounding the grains themselves which are cleaned of husk. When only the ear is pounded by itself, to be used by goldsmiths, it is called flakes, but if it is beaten out on a threshing-floor together with the straw it is called chaff; this in the larger part of the world is used as fodder for cattle. The refuse from millet, panic and gingelly is called apluda, and by other names in other places.

24. Millet flourishes particularly well in Campania, where it is used for making a white porridge; it also makes extremely sweet bread. Moreover the Sarmatian tribes live chiefly on millet porridge, and even on the raw meal, mixed with mare's milk or with blood taken from the weins in a horse's leg. Millet and barley are the only grains known to the Ethiopians.

25. The provinces of Gaul, and particularly Aquitaine, also use panic, and so also do the parts of Italy on the banks of the Po, though adding to it beans without water. The races of the Black Sea prefer panic to any other food. All the other kinds of summer corn flourish even better in land watered by streams than in rainy districts, but millet and panic are not at all fond of water, as it makes them to leaves. People advise not growing them among vines or fruit trees, as they believe that this crop impoverishes the soil.

26. Millet is specially used for making leaven; if dipped in unfermented wine and kneaded it will keep for a whole year. A similar leaven is obtained by kneading and drying in the sun the best fine bran of the wheat itself, after it has been steeped for three days in unfermented white wine. In making bread cakes made of this are soaked in water and boiled with prime flour of emmer and then mixed with the flour, this process being thought to produce the beat bread. The Greeks have decided that two-thirds of an ounce of leaven is enough for every two half-pecks of flour. Moreover though these kinds of leaven can only be made in the vintage season, it is possible at any time one chooses to make leaven from water and barley, making two-pound cakes and baking them in ashes and charcoal on a hot hearth or an earthenware dish till they turn brown, and afterwards keeping them shut up in vessels till they go sour; then soaked in water they produce leaven. But when barley bread used to be made, the actual barley was leavened with flour of bitter vetch or chickeling; the proper amount was two pounds of leaven to every two and a half pecks of barley. At the present time leaven is made out of the flour itself, which is kneaded before salt is added to it and is then boiled down into a kind of porridge and left till it begins to go sour. Generally however they do not heat it up at all, but only use the dough kept over from the day before; manifestly it is natural for sourness to make the dough ferment, and likewise that people who live on fermented bread have weaker bodies, inasmuch as in old days outstanding wholesomeness was ascribed to wheat the heavier it was.

27. As for bread itself it appears superfluous to give an account of its various kindsin some places bread called after the dishes eaten with it, such as oyster-bread, in others from its special delicacy, as cake-bread, in others from the short time spent in making it, as hasty-bread, and also from the method of baking, as oven bread or tin loaf or baking-pan bread; while not long ago there was even bread imported from Parthia, called water bread because by means of water it is drawn out into a thin spongy consistency full of holes; others call it just Parthian bread. The highest merit depends on the goodness of the wheat and the fineness of the bolter. Some use eggs or milk in kneading the dough, while even butter has been used by races enjoying peace, when attention can be devoted to the varieties of pastry-making. The Ancona country still retains the popularity it won in the invention of bread from using spelt as the material; this bread is steeped for nine days and on the tenth day they knead it up with raisin juice into the shape of a long roll and afterwards put it in earthenware pots and bake it in ovens, the pots breaking in the process. It is not used for food unless it has been soaked, for which chiefly milk or honey-water is employed.

28. There were no bakers at Rome down to the war with King Perseus, [171-168 BC] over 580 years after the foundation of the city. The citizens used to make bread themselves, and this was especially the task of the women, as it is even now in most nations. Plautus already speaks of bakers, using the Greek word, in his play named Aulularia, which has caused great debate among the learned as to the authenticity of the line, and it is proved by the expression occurring in Ateius Capito that it was in his day usual for bread to be baked for more luxurious people by cooks, and only those who ground spelt were called 'grinders'; nor used people to have cooks on their regular staff of servants, but they hired them from the provision market. The Gallic provinces invented the kind of bolter noade of horse-hair, while Spain made sieves and meal-sifters of flax, and Egypt of papyrus and rush.

29. But among the first things let us give a recipe for alica, a very excellent and healthy food, by means of which Italy has undoubtedly won the palm for cereals. It is no doubt also made in Egypt, but of a rather contemptible quality, whereas in Italy it occurs in a number of places, for instance in the districts of Verona and Pisa, but the most highly recommended variety in Campania. There beneath cloud-capped mountains lies a plain extending in all for about 40 miles on the level. The ground of this plain, to begin by stating the nature of the soil, being dusty on the surface but spongy underneath and also porous like pumice, what is a fault in mountain country turns into an advantage, as the earth allows the frequent rainfall to percolate and passes it through, and so as to facilitate cultivation has refused to become soaked or swampy, while at the same time it does not give back the moisture it receives by any springs, but warms it up inside itself to a moderate temperature and retains it as a kind of juice. The land is in crop all the year round, being sown once with Italian millet and twice with emmer wheat; and yet in spring the fields having had an interval of rest produce a rose with a sweeter scent than the garden rose, so far is the earth never tired of giving birth; hence there is a common saying that the Campanians produce more scent than other people do oil. But as the Campanian plain surpasses all the lands of the world, so in the same degree is Campania itself surpassed by the part of it called Leboriae, and by the Greeks the Phlegraean Plain. This district is bounded on either side by consular roads That run from Pozzuoli and from Cumae to Capua.Alica is made from 'zea' which we have already called by the name of 'seed'. Its grain is pounded in a wooden mortar so as to avoid the hardness of stone grating it up, the motive power for the pestle, as is well known, being supplied by the labour of convicts in chains; on the end of the pestle there is a cap of iron. After the grain has been stripped of its coats, the bared kernel is again broken up with the same implements. The process produces three grades of alicavery small, seconds, and the largest kind which is called in Greek 'select grade'. Still these products have not yet got their whiteness for which they are distinguished, though even at this stage they are preferable to the Alexandrian alica. In a subsequent process, marvellous to relate, an admixture of chalk is added, which passes into the substance of the grain and contributes colour and fineness. The chalk is found at a place called White Earth Hill, between Pozzuoli and Naples, and there is extant a decree of his late Majesty Augustus ordering a yearly payment of 200,000 sesterces from his privy purse to the people of Naples as rent for this hillthe occasion was when he was establishing a colony at Capua; and he added that his reason for importing this material was that the Campanians had stated that alica could not be made without that mineral. (In the same hill sulphur is also found, and the springs of the Araxus which issue from it are efficacious for improving the sight, healing wounds and strengthening the teeth.)

A spurious alica is manufactured chiefly from an inferior kind of sea growing in Africa, the ears of which are larger and blacker and on a short stalk. These are mixed with sand and pounded, and even so there is a difficulty in rubbing off the husks, and only half the quantity of naked grain is produced; and afterwards a quarter the amount of white lime is sprinkled into the grain, and when this has stuck together with it they bolt it through a flour-sieve. The grain that stays behind in the sieve is called residuary and is the largest in size. That which goes though is sifted again in a finer sieve, and is called seconds, and likewise the name of sieve-flour is given to that which in a similar manner stays behind in a third extremely fine sieve that only lets grains like sand through. There is another method of adulteration which is everywhere used: they pick out from wheat the whitest and largest grains, half boil them in pots and afterwards dry them in the sun to half their former size and then again lightly sprinkle them with water and crush them in a mill. A more attractive kind of groats called tragum is made from zea than from other wheat, although it is in fact merely a spurious alica; but it is given whiteness by an admixture of milk boiled in it instead of chalk.

30. The next subject is the nature of the leguminous plants, among which the highest place of honour belongs to the beau, inasmuch as the experiment has been made of using it for making bread. Bean meal is called lomentum, and it is used in bread made for sale to increase the weight, as is meal made from all the leguminous plants, and nowadays even cattle fodder. Beans are used in a variety of ways for all kinds of beasts and especially for man. With most nations it is also mixed with corn, and most of all with panic, for this purpose it is either used whole or broken up rather fine. Moreover in ancient ritual bean pottage has a sanctity of its own in sacrifice to the gods. It occupies a high place as a delicacy for the table, but it was thought to have a dulling effect on the senses, and also to cause sleeplessness, and it was under a ban with the Pythagorean system on that accountor, as others have reported, because the souls of the dead are contained in a bean, and at all events it is for that reason that beans are employed in memorial sacrifices to dead relatives. Moreover according to Varro's account it is partly for these reasons that a priest abstains from eating beans, though also because certain letters of gloomy omen are to be found inscribed on a bean-flower. There is also a special religious sanctity attached to the bean; at all events it is the custom to bring home from the harvest a bean by way of an auspice, this being consequently called the harvest-home bean. Also it is supposed to bring luck at auctions if a bean is included in a lot for sale. It is undoubtedly the case that the bean is the only grain that even when it has been grazed down by cattle fills out again

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when the moon is waxing. It cannot be thoroughly boiled in sea water or other water with salt in it.

The bean is sown first of the leguminous plants, before the setting of the Pleiades, so that it may get ahead of winter. Virgil advises sowing it all through the spring, as is the custom of Italy near the river Po, but the majority of people prefer bean crops of early sowing to the produce of three months' growth, for the pods and stalks of beans sown early make the most acceptable fodder for cattle. When the bean is in flower it particularly wants water, but when it has shed its blossom it only needs little. It serves instead of stable manure to fertilize the ground it is grown in; consequently in the districts of Macedon and Thessaly when it begins to blossom the farmers plough up the fields. It also grows wild in most places, for example the islands of the North Sea, for which our name is consequently the Bean Islands, and it also grows wild all over Mauretania, though this bean is very hard and incapable of being cooked. It also grows in Egypt, where it has a thorny stalk which makes the crocodiles keep away from it for fear of injuring their eyes. The stalk is two yards long at most and the thickness of a finger: if it had knots in it, it would be like a soft reed; it has a head like a poppy, is rose-coloured, and bears not more than thirty beans on each stalk; the leaves are large; the actual fruit is bitter even in smell, but the root is a very popular article of diet with the natives, and is eaten raw and cooked in every sort of way; it resembles the roots of reeds. The Egyptian bean also grows in Syria and Cilicia, and at the Lake of Torone in Chalcidice.

31. Vegetables sown in autumn or spring are the lentil and in Greece the pea. The lentil likes a thin soil better than a rich one, and in any case a dry climate. Egypt has two kinds of lentil, one rounder and blacker, the other the normal shape, which has given the name of lenticle applied to small flasks. I find it stated in writers that a lentil diet conduces to an equable temper. Peas must be sown in sunny places, as they stand cold very badly; consequently in Italy and in severer climates they are only sown in spring, in yielding soil that has been well loosened.

32. It is the nature of the chick-pea to contain an element of saltness, and consequently it scorches the soil, and ought not to be sown without having been soaked the day before. There are several varieties differing in size, colour, shape and flavour. One resembles a ram's head and so is called 'ram's chick-pea'; of this there is a black variety and a white one. There is also the dove-pea, another name for which is Venus's pea, bright white, round, smooth and smaller than the ram's chick-pea; it is used by religious ritual in watch-night services. There is also the chickling vetch, belonging to a diminutive variety of chick-pea, uneven in shape and with corners like a pea. But the chick-pea with the sweetest taste is one that closely resembles the bitter vetch; the black and red varieties of this are firmer than the white.

33. The chick-pea has round pods, whereas those of other leguminous plants are long, and broad to fit the shape of the seed; the pod of the pea is cylindrical. The pods of calavance are eaten with the seeds themselves. They may be sown in any ground you like from the middle of October to the beginning of November. Leguminous plants ought to be plucked as soon as they begin to ripen, because the seeds quickly jump out and when they have fallen on the ground cannot be found; and the same as regards lupine. Nevertheless it would be proper to speak first about the turnip,

34. (authors of our nation have only touched on it in passing, but the Greeks have dealt with it rather more carefully, although even they have placed it among kitchen-garden plants), if we are to follow the proper order, as the turnip should be mentioned directly after corn or at all events after the bean, since its utility surpasses that of any other plant. For to begin with it grows as fodder for all animals, nor is it the lowest in rank among herbs to satisfy the needs of the various kinds of birds as well, and the more so if it is well boiled in water. Cattle also are fond of its leaves, even man esteeming turnip tops when in season no less than cabbage sprouts, also liking them when they are yellow and have been left to die in barns even more than when green. But turnip itself keeps if left in the earth where it grows, and also afterwards if left spread out, almost till the next crop comes, and it serves as a precaution against scarcity of food. It ranks third after wine and corn among the products of the country north of the Po. It is not particular in its choice of soil, growing where almost nothing else can be grown. It actually thrives on mist and frost and cold, growing to a marvellous size: I have seen turnips weighing over 40 pounds. Among our own articles of diet it is popularized by several modes of dressing, and it holds the field for salads when subdued by the pungency of mustard, and is actually stained six different colours beside its own, even purple: indeed that is the only suitable colour served at table. The Greeks have produced two primary classes of turnip, the male and the female, and have shown a way of growing both from the same seed, as they turn male when sown more thickly, and also in difficult ground. The smaller the seed is the better its quality. The Greeks distinguish in all three kinds of turnip, as it either spreads out into breadth or makes a round ball, while a third kind they have named wild turnip, with a root running out to a great length like a radish, and an angular leaf with a rough surface and an acid juice which if extracted at harvest time and mixed with a woman's milk makes an eyewash and a cure for dim sight. They are believed to grow sweeter and bigger in cold weather; warm weather makes them run to leaves. The prize goes to turnip grown in the Norcia districtit is priced at a sesterce per pound, and at two sesterces in a time of scarcityand the next to those grown on Monte Compatri:

35. but the prize for navews goes to those grown at San Vettorino. Navews have almost the same nature as turnips: they are equally fond of cold places. They are sown even before the first of March, 4 sixteenths of a peck in an acre. The more careful growers recommend ploughing five times before sowing navew and four times for turnip, and manuring the ground in both cases; and they say that turnip grows a finer crop if the seed is ploughed in with some chaff. They advise that the sower should strip for the work, and should offer a prayer in the words, 'I sow for myself and my neighbours.' For both these kinds sowing is properly done between the holidays of two deities, Neptune and Vulcan, and as a result of careful observation it is said that these seeds give a wonderfully fine crop if they are sown on a day that is as many days after the beginning of the period specified as the moon was old when the first snow fell in the preceding winter. In warm and damp localities turnip and navew are also sown in spring.

36. The next most extensively used plant is the lupine, as it is shared by men and hoofed quadrupeds in common. To prevent its escaping the reapers by jumping out of the pod the best remedy is to gather it immediately after rain. And of all crops sown none has a more remarkable quality of sensitiveness to the heavenly bodies and the soil. In the first place it turns round every day with the sun, and tells the time to the husbandman even in cloudy weather. Moreover it blossoms three times and buds three times; all the same, it does not like to be covered with earth, and it is the only seed that is sown without the ground being ploughed. It requires most of all a gravelly and dry and even sandy soil, and in any case needs no cultivation. It has such a love for the earth that when it falls on soil however much overgrown with briars it penetrates among leaves and brambles and gets through with its root to the ground.

We have stated that fields and vineyards are enriched by a crop of lupines; and thus it has so little need for manure that it serves instead of manure of the best quality, and there is no other crop that costs no expenditure at allseeing that it does not require carrying to the spot even for the purpose of sowing: it sows itself directly from the crop, and does not even need to be scattered, falling on the ground of its own accord. And it is the earliest of all crops to be sown and the latest to be carried, both operations generally taking place in September, because if it does not grow ahead of winter it is liable to suffer from frost. Moreover it can be left just lying on the ground with impunity, as it is protected from all animals by its bitter flavour if a fall of rain does not occur immediately so as to cover it up; although nevertheless growers usually cover it up in a light furrow. Among thicker soils it likes red earth best; to enrich this it must be turned up after the plant has blossomed three times, but when planted in gravel the soil must be turned after every second blossoming. The only kinds of soil it positively dislikes are chalky and muddy soils, and in these it comes to nothing. It is used as a food for mankind as well after being steeped in hot water; as for cattle, a peck per head of stock makes ample and strength-giving feed, while it is also used medicinally for children as a poultice on the stomach. It suits the seed best to be stored in a smoky place, as in a damp place maggots attack the germ and reduce it to sterility. If lupine is grazed off by cattle while in leaf, the only thing to be done is to plough it in at once.

37. Vetch also enriches the soil, and it too vets. entails no labour for the farmer, as it is sown after only one furrowing, and it is not hoed or manured, but only harrowed in. There are three seasons for sowing itabout the time of the setting of Arcturus, so that it may provide pasture in Decemberat that date it is best sown for seed, for it bears seed just as well when grazed down; the second sowing is in January, and the last in March, which is the best crop for providing green fodder. Of all crops sown vetch is the one that is fondest of a dry soil; it does not dislike even shady localities. If it is picked when ripe, its grain supplies chaff that is preferred to all others. If sown in a vineyard planted with trees it takes away the juice from the vines and makes them droop.

38. The fitch also is not difficult to cultivate. This needs weeding more than the vetch; and it too has medicinal properties, indeed the fact that his late Majesty Augustus was cured by it stands on record in his own letters. Five pecks of seed are enough for one yoke of oxen in a day. It is said to be injurious to oxen if sown in March and to cause cold in the head if sown in autumn, but sowing it in early spring makes it harmless.

39. Silicia or fenugreek also is sown after a mere scratching of the ground, in a furrow not more than four inches deep, and the worse it is treated the better it comes ona singular proposition that there is something that is benefited by neglect; however the kinds called black spelt and cattle mash need harrowing, but no more.

40. The name for secale in the subalpine district of Turin is asia; it is a very poor food and only serves to avert starvation; its stalk carries a large head but is a thin straw; it is of a dark sombre colour, and exceptionally heavy. Wheat is mixed in with this to mitigate its bitter taste, and all the same, it is very unacceptable to the stomach even so. It grows in any sort of soil with a hundred-fold yield, and serves of itself to enrich the land.

41. Cattle-mash obtained from the refuse of wheat is sown very thick, occasionally with an admixture of vetch as well. In Africa the same mash is obtained from barley. All of these plants serve as fodder, and so does the throwback of the leguminous class, of plant called wild vetch, which pigeons are so fond of that they are said never to leave a place where they have been fed on it.

42. In old times there was a kind of fodder which Cato calls ocinum, used to stop scouring in oxen. This was got from a crop of fodder cut green before it seeded. Mamilius Sura gives another meaning to the name, and records that the old practice was to mix ten pecks of bean, two of vetch and the same of fitch for each acre of land and sow this mixture in autumn, preferably with some Greek oats mixed in as well, as this does not drop its seed; he says that the usual name for this mixture was ocinum, and that it used to be grown for cattle. Varro explains the name as due to its rapid growth, deriving it from the Greek word for 'quickly'.

43. Lucerne is foreign even to Greece, having been imported from Media during the Persian invasions under Darius [492-450 B.C.]; but so great a bounty deserves mention even among the first of the grains, since from a single sowing it will last more than thirty years. In stalk and leaf it resembles trefoil, being jointed, and as the stalk rises higher the leaves become narrower. Amphilochus devoted one volume to lucerne and tree-medick. The land for it to be sown in is broken in autumn after being cleared of stones and weeded, and is afterwards ploughed over and harrowed and then covered with chalk, the process being repeated a second and a third time at intervals of five days, and after the addition of manureit requires a dry and rich soil or else a well-watered oneand after the land has been thus prepared the seed is sown in May, as otherwise it is liable to damage from frost. It is necessary for the whole plot to be occupied with closely sown seed, and for weeds shooting up in between to be debarredthis is secured by sowing three modii to the acreand care must be taken that the sun may not scorch the seed up, and it ought to be covered over with earth immediately. If the soil be damp or weedy, the lucerne is overpowered and goes off into meadow; consequently as soon as it is an inch high it must be freed from all weeds, by hand in preference to hoeing. It is cut when it is beginning to flower and every time it flowers again: this happens six times, or at the least four times, in a year. It must be prevented from running to seed, because till it is three years old it is more useful as fodder. It must be hoed in springtime and rid of all other plants, and till the third year shaved down to the earth with weeding-hoes: this makes the rest of the plants die without damaging the lucerne itself, because of the depth of its roots. If weeds get the upper hand, the sole remedy is in the plough, by repeatedly turning the soil till all the other roots die. It must not be fed to cattle to the point of repletion, lest it should be necessary to let blood. Also it is more useful when green, as it dries into a woody state and finally thins out into a useless dust.

About tree-medick, which itself also is given a very high rank among fodder, we have spoken sufficiently among the shrubs. And now we have to complete our account of the nature of all the cereals, in one part of which we must also speak about diseases.

44. The first of all forms of disease in wheat is the oat. Barley also degenerates into oats, in such a way that the oat itself counts as a kind of corn, inasmuch as the races of Germany grow crops of it and live entirely on oatmeal porridge. The degeneration in question is principally due to dampness of soil and climate, but a subsidiary cause is contained in weakness of the seed, if it is held back too long in the ground before it shoots out. There is also the same explanation if it was rotten when it was sown. But it is recognizable the moment it breaks out of the ground, which shows that the cause is contained in the root. There is also another disease arising in close connection with oats, when after the grain has begun to fill out but its growth is not yet mature, before it makes a strong body it becomes hollow and empty owing to some noxious blast and fades away in the ear by a sort of abortion.

Wind is injurious to wheat and barley at three seasonswhen they are in flower or directly after they have shed their flower or when they are beginning to ripen; at the last stage it shrivels up the grain, while in the preceding eases its influence is to prohibit the seed from forming. Successive gleams of sun appearing out of cloud are also injurious. Also maggots breed in the root when after rains following seed-time a sudden spell of heat has enclosed the moisture in the ground. They also grow in the grain when heat following rain causes the ear to

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ferment. There is also a small beetle called the cantharis which gnaws away corn crops. When food fails, all these, creatures disappear. Olive oil, pitch and grease are detrimental to seeds, and care must be taken not to let seed come in contact with them before it is sown. Rain is beneficial to crops while in the stalk from the time of germination, but it damages wheat and barley when in blossom; although it does no harm to leguminous plants, excepting chick-pea. Corn crops when beginning to ripen are damaged by rain, and particularly barley. Also there is a white grass like Italian millet that springs up all over the fields, and is also fatal to cattle. As for darnel, caltrops, thistle and burdock, I should not count these any more than brambles among diseases of cereals, but rather among pestilences of the soil itself. One of the most harmful climatic maladies of corn crops and vines is rust. This is most frequent in a district exposed to dew and in shut-in valleys that have no current of air through them, whereas windy places and high ground on the contrary are free from it. Among the vices of corn is also overabundance, when the stalks fall down under the burden of fertility. But a vice common to all cultivated crops is caterpillars, which even attack chick-pea when rain makes it taste sweeter by washing away its saltness.

There is a weed that kills off chick-pea and fitch by binding itself round them, it is called orobanche; and in a similar way wheat is attacked by darnel, barley by a long-stalked plant called acgilops and lentils by an axe-leaved which the Greeks call axe-grass from its resemblance; these also kill the plants by twining round them. In the neighbourhood of Philippi they give the name of ateramum to a weed growing in rich soil that kills the bean plant, and the name teramum to one that has the same effect in thin soil, when a particular wind has been blowing on the beans when damp. Darnel has a very small seed enclosed in a prickly husk. When used in bread it very quickly causes fits of giddiness, and it is said that in Asia and Greece when the managers of baths want to get rid of a crowd they throw darnel seed on to hot coals. Also the phalangium, a little creature of the spider class, breeds in the fitch, if there is a wet winter. Slugs breed amongst vetch, and sometimes small snails which are produced from the ground and eat away the vetch in a surprising manner.These broadly speaking are the diseases of grain.

45. Such cures of these diseases as pertain to grain in the blade are to be found in the hoe, and when the seed is being sown, in ashes; but the diseases that occur in the seed and round the root can be guarded against by taking precautions. It is believed that seed steeped in wine before sowing is less liable to disease. Virgil recommends steeping bean in native soda and dregs from oil-presses, and also guarantees this as a method of increasing its size. Others however hold the view that it grows specially well if it is kneaded in a mixture of urine and water three days before sowing; and at all events that if the crop is hoed three times it will yield a peck of crushed beans from a peck of whole beans; and that the other kinds of seeds are not liable to maggots if mixed with crushed cypress leaves, and also if sown just before a new moon. As a cure for diseases of millet many recommend carrying a toad round the field at night before it is hoed and then burying it in the middle of the field, with a pot for a coffin; it is then prevented from being damaged by a sparrow or by worms; but it must be dug up before the field is sown, otherwise the land turns sour. They also say that seed is made more fertile if it is touched by the forequarters of a mole. Democritus advises soaking all seeds before they are sown in the juice of the plant that grows on roof-tiles, called in Greek aeizoon and by other people 'under-the-eaves', and in our language 'squat' or 'little finger'. But if damage is being done by blight and by worms adhering to the roots, a common remedy is to sprinkle the plant with pure olive oil lees, not salted, and then to hoe, and if the crop is beginning to shoot out into knots to weed it, so that weeds may not get the upper hand. I know for a fact that flights of starlings or sparrows, the plague of common and Italian millets, can be driven away from them by burying a plant, the name of which is unknown to me, at the four corners of the field, with the remarkable result that no bird whatever will enter it. Mice are driven away by sprinkling the seed with the ashes of a weasel or a cat dissolved in water or with water in which those animals have been boiled; but their poison makes an odour even in bread, and consequently it is thought more satisfactory to steep the seed in ox-gall. As for the greatest curse of corn, mildew, fixing branches of laurel in the ground makes it pass out of the fields into their foliage. Excessive luxuriance in corn-crops is corrected by grazing cattle on them, provided the corn is still in the blade, and although it is eaten down even several times it suffers no injury in the ear. It is absolutely certain that if the ears are lopped off even once the grain becomes longer in shape and hollow inside and worthless, and if sown does not grow. Nevertheless at Babylon they cut the corn twice and the third time pasture it off with cattle, as otherwise it would make only leaves. Even so the exceptional fertility of the soil returns crops with a fifty-fold increase, and to more industrious farmers even with a hundredfold. Nor is there any difficulty in the method of letting the ground be under water as long as possible, in order that its extremely rich and substantial fertility may be diluted. But the Euphrates and the Tigris do not carry mud on to the land in the same way as the Nile does in Egypt, nor does the soil itself produce vegetation; but nevertheless its fertility is so great that a second crop grows of its own accord in the following year from the seeds trodden in by the reapers. This extreme difference of soil prompts me to distribute my description of the various kinds of land among the different crops.

46. This then is the opinion of Cato: 'In thick and fertile land wheat should be sown; but if the same land is liable to fog, turnip, radishes, common and Italian millets. In cold or damp land sowing should be done earlier, but in warm land later. In a ruddle-soil or in dark or sandy soil, if it is not damp, sow lupine; in chalk and red earth and rather damp land, emmer wheat; in dry land that is free from grass and not overshaded, wheat; beans in strong soil, but vetch in the least damp and weedy soil; common and other bare wheats in an open and elevated locality that gets the warmth of the sun as long as possible; lentils in poor and ruddle-soil that is free from grass; barley in fallow land and also in land that can produce a second crop; three-month wheat where the land could not ripen an ordinary crop and which is rich enough to produce a second crop.

The following also is acute advice: 'In a rather thin soil crops should be sown that do not need much moisture, for instance tree-medick, and such of the leguminous plants, except chick-pea, as are gathered by being pulled up out of the ground and not by being cutwhich is the reason why they are called "crops", because that is how they are "cropped"but in rich land the plants that need greater nutriment, such as greens, wheat, common wheat, flax. Under this method consequently thin soil will be assigned to barley, as its root demands less nourishment, while more easily worked and denser earth will be allotted to wheat. In a rather damp place emmer will be sown in preference to other wheat, but in soil of medium quality this and also barley. Hillsides produce a stronger wheat but a smaller crop of it. Emmer and common wheat can do with both chalky and marshy soil.'

The only portent arising from grain crops that I for my part have come across occurred in the consulship of Publius Aelius and Gnaeus Cornelius, the year in which Hannibal was overcome: it is stated that on that occasion corn grew on trees.

47. And now that we have spoken fully about the kinds of grain and of soil, we will now speak about the method of ploughing, beginning with an account of the easy conditions prevailing in Egypt. In that country the Nile plays the part of farmer, beginning to overflow its banks at the new moon in midsummer, as we have said, at first gently and then more or violently, as long as the sun is in the constellation of the Lion. Then when the sun has passed over into the Virgin it slows down, and when the sun is in the Scales it subsides. If it has not risen more than 18 feet, there is certain to be a famine, and likewise if it has exceeded 24 feet; for it retires more slowly in proportion as it has risen in greater flood, and prevents the sowing of seed. It used to be commonly believed that the custom was to begin sowing after the subsidence of the Nile and then to drive swine over the ground, pressing down the seed in the damp soil with their footprints, and I believe that in former days this was the common practice, and that at the present day also the sowing is done without much heavier labour; but nevertheless it is certain that the seed is first scattered in the mud of the river after it has subsided and then ploughed in. This is done at the beginning of November, and afterwards a few men stub up the weedstheir name for this process is botanismusbut the rest of the labourers only visit the fields a little before the first of April, taking a sickle with them. However the harvest is completed in May, and the straw is never more than an ell long, as the subsoil is sand and the corn only gets its support from the mud. The district of the Thebaid has corn of better quality, because Egypt is marshy. Seleucia in Babylon has a similar method but greater fertility, owing to the overflow of the Euphrates and the Tigris, as there the amount of flooding is controlled by the hand of man. Syria also ploughs with a narrow furrow, whereas in Italy in many parts eight oxen strain panting at one ploughshare. In every department of agriculture but most of all in this one the greatest value attaches to the oracular precept: 'what the particular district will stand.'

48. Ploughshares are of several kinds. The coulter is the name for the part fixed in front of the share-beam, cutting the earth before it is broken up and marking out the tracks for the future furrows with incisions which the share sloping backward is to bite out in the process of ploughing. Another kind is the ordinary share consisting of a lever with a pointed beak, and a third kind used in easy soil does not present an edge along the whole of the share-beam but only has a small spike at the extremity. In a fourth kind of plough this spike is broader and sharper, ending off in a point, and using the same blade both to cleave the soil and with the sharp edge of the sides to cut the roots of the weeds. An invention was made not long ago in the Grisons fitting a plough of this sort with two small wheelsthe name in the vernacular for this kind of plough is plaumorati; the share has the shape of a spade. This method is only used for sowing in cultivated land and land that is nearly fallow; the breadth of the share turns the turves over; men at once scatter the seed on it and draw toothed harrows over the furrows. Fields that have been sown in this way do not need hoeing, but this method of ploughing requires teams of two or three pairs of oxen. It is a fair estimate for forty acres of easy soil and thirty of difficult to be rated as a year's work for one team of oxen.

49. In ploughing it is extremely important to obey the oracular utterance of Cato: 'What is good farming? Good ploughing. What is second best? Ploughing. What third? Manuring.' 'Do not plough a crooked furrow. Plough in good time.' In comparatively mild places breaking the ground should begin at midwinter, but in colder districts at the spring equinox; and it should begin earlier in a dry region than in a damp one, and earlier in a dense soil than a loose one and in a rich soil than in a poor one. Where the summers are dry and oppressive and the land chalky or thin, it pays better to plough between midsummer and the autumnal equinox, but in the middle of the hot weather in places where summer heat is moderate, rainfalls frequent and the soil rich and grassy. It is the rule to stir a deep heavy soil even in the winter, but a very thin and dry one a little before sowing.

Ploughing also has rules of its own: Do not touch a muddy soil. Plough with all your might. Break the ground before you plough. The value of the last process is that turning the turf kills the roots of the weeds. Some people recommend beginning to break the ground at all events at the spring equinox. Land ploughed once in spring is called 'springworked land', from the fact of the date; spring-working is equally necessary in the case of fallow landfallow is land sown every other year. Oxen when going to plough should be harnessed to the yoke as tightly as possible, to make them hold their heads up when ploughingthat makes them least liable to gall their necks; if the ploughing is in between trees and vines, they must wear basket-work muzzles to prevent their nibbling off the tenderest of the buds; a small billhook should be hung on the plough-tail to cut through roots withthis is better than letting the plough tear them up, which is a strain on the oxen; when ploughing finish the row and do not halt in the middle while taking breath. It is a fair day's work to break an acre with a nine-inch furrow and to plough over again an acre and a half, given an easy soil, but otherwise, to break half an acre and plough over one acre, since Nature has appointed laws even for the labour of animals. Every field must be worked with straight furrows and then with slanting furrows as well. Hilly ground is ploughed only across the slope of the hill, but with the share pointing now up hill and now down; a and man has such capacity for labour that he can actually perform the function of oxenat all events mountain races dispense with this animal and do their ploughing with hoes. Unless a ploughman bends his back to his work he goes crookedthe charge of 'prevarication' is a metaphorical term transferred to public life from ploughing: anyhow it must be avoided in the department of its origin. The share should be cleaned now and then with a stick tipped with a scraper. The ridges between two furrows should not be left untidy, so that clods of earth may not fall off them. A field that needs harrowing after the crop has been sown is badly ploughed: the ground will only have been worked properly where it is impossible to tell in which of two opposite directions the share went. It is also usual to make intermediate runnels by means of a larger furrow, if the place requires this, for these to draw off the water into the ditches.

After the cross-ploughing has been done there follows the harrowing of clods with a framework or a rake where circumstances require it, and, where local custom allows, this second breaking is also repeated after the seed has been sown, by means of a harrow-framework or with a board attached to the plough covering up the seedsthis process is called ridging; if they are not covered, this is 'unridging'the original use of the word that means 'raving'. Virgil when he said that the best crop is one that 'twice hath felt the sun and twice the cold', is understood to have desired a fourth ploughing before sowing. Where the soil is rather dense, as it usually is in Italy, it is better to plough five times before sowing, but in Tuscany nine times. With beans and vetch however it is a labour-saving plan involving no loss to dispense with preliminary breaking before sowing.

We will not omit one additional method of ploughing that has been devised in Italy north of the Po owing to damage caused by war. When the Salassi were devastating the farms lying below the Alps they made an attempt to destroy the crops of panic and millet that were just appearing above the ground: but after Nature proved contemptuous of their efforts, they ploughed in the crops; these however came up in multiplied abundance, and thus taught us the practice of ploughing inartrare as it is now called, that as I believe being the form at that time in use of the word aratrare. This is done either when the stem is beginning to grow or when it has already shot up as far as the second or third set of leaves. Nor will we withhold a recent instance that was ascertained two years ago in the Trier country: the crops having been nipped

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by an extremely cold winter, in March they actually sowed the fields again, and had a very bounteous harvest.

We will now give the remaining methods of cultivation corresponding to the various kinds of corn.

50. Common, emmer, hard naked and other emmer wheats and barley should be harrowed, hoed and stubbed on the days that will be stated; a single hand per acre will be enough for each of these kinds of grain. Hoeing loosens in the spring season the harshness of the soil that has been hardened by the rigour of winter, and lets in the fresh sunshine. One who is going to hoe must beware of digging underneath the roots of the corn. Naked and emmer wheats, barley and beans are better for two hoeings. Stubbing, when the crop has begun to make a joint, liberates the roots of the corn by pulling up useless weeds and disengages the crop from clods of turf. Of the legnminous plants chick-pea needs the same treatment as emmer; beans do not want much stubbing, as they overpower weeds; lupine is only harrowed; common and Italian millets are harrowed and hoed, but not hoed a second time and not stubbed; fenugreek and calavances are harrowed only. There are some kinds of ground the fertility of which necessitates combing the crop while in the bladethe comb is another kind of harrow fitted with pointed iron teethand even then they also afford pasture for cattle; and the crops that have been eaten down as pasture have to be resuscitated with the hoe. But in Bactria and Africa and at Cyrene all these operations are rendered superfluous by the indulgence of the climate, and after sowing they only go back into the fields at harvest, because the dry atmosphere prevents weeds, the crops depending for nourishment on the dew-fall at night. Virgil advises letting the fields 'lie fallow turn and turn about', and if the extent of the farm allows it, this is undoubtedly extremely useful; but if conditions forbid it, emmer wheat should be sown in ground which has borne a crop of lupines or vetch or beans, and plants that enrich the land. And another point to be noticed as of first importance is this, that some interim crops are sown for the sake of other crops if these have made an unsatisfactory return, as we have said in the preceding volumenot to repeat the same things too often; for the quality of each particular soil is of the greatest importance.

51. There is a city-state of Africa called Tacape, in the middle of the desert on the route to the Syrtes and Great Leptis, which has the exceptionally marvellous blessing of a well-watered soil. There is a spring that distributes water over a space of about three miles in every direction, giving a generous supply, but nevertheless it is distributed among the population only at special fixed periods of the day.

Here underneath palms of exceptional size there are olives, under the olives figs, under the figs pomegranates, and under those vines; and underneath the vines is sown corn, and later leguminous plants, and then garden vegetables, all in the same year, and all nourished in the shade of something else. A plot of soil there measuring four cubits either way, a cubit being measured not from the elbow to the fingertips but to the closed fist, is sold for four denarii. But the unique point is that there are two vintages a year, the vines bearing twice over; and if fertility were not exhausted by multiplied production, each crop would be killed by its own exuberance, but as it is, something is being gathered all the year round, and yet it is an absolute fact that this fertility receives no assistance from human beings.

There is also a great difference of quality in the water supplied to watered places. In the province of Narbonne there is a celebrated spring with the name of Orga, in which plants grow that are so much sought after by oxen that they put their whole heads under water in trying to get them; but it is a well-known fact that those plants though growing in water only get their nutriment from showers of rain. Consequently it is necessary for everybody to know the nature of the soil and of the water in his own district.

52. If the land is of the kind which we designated 'tender', after harvesting the barley it will be possible to sow millet, and when that has been got in turnip-seed, and when the millet and turnip have been harvested barley again, or else wheat, as is done in Campania; and land of that nature is sufficiently ploughed by being hoed. Another order of rotation is for ground where there has been a crop of emmer wheat to lie fallow during the four winter months and to be given spring beans; but it should not lie fallow before being sown with winter-beans. With a soil that is too rich it is possible to employ rotation, sowing a leguminous crop at a third sowing after the wheat has been carried; but a thin soil had better be left fallow till the year after next. Some people forbid sowing wheat except in land that has lain fallow the year before.

53. A very important part of this topic is occupied by the proper way of using dung, about which we have also spoken in the preceding volume. The one thing known to everybody is that the land must not be sown unless it has been manured, although even this matter has special rules applying to it. You must not sow millet, panic, turnip or navew except in ground that has been manured, but if the ground has not been manured, you should sow wheat in it rather than barley. Similarly also in the case of fallows, although it is held that in these beans should be sowed, in every case you must sow that crop after the soil has been manured as recently as possible. A person intending to sow something in the autumn should pile dung on the land in September, at all events after rain has fallen; but if intending to sow in the springtime, he should spread dung during the wintereighteen loads of dung is the proper amount to be given to an acre; but be careful not to spread it before ploughing. But after the seed has been sown, if this manuring has been neglected, the following stage is, before you weed, first to scatter like seed some dust of droppings obtained from hen-coops. But to fix a precise limit for this treatment also, the right amount is to get one load of manure per head of smaller animals and ten loads per head of oxen. If that be not forthcoming, it would look as if the farmer had been slack in providing litter for his stock. Some people think that manuring is best done by keeping the flocks and herds permanently out of doors penned up with netting. If the land is not manured it gets chilled, and if it is given too much manure it becomes burnt up; and it pays better to do the manuring frequently than to manure to excess. It stands to reason that the warmer the soil is the less manure it should be given.

54. The best seed is last year's; two-year old of seed is inferior, three-year old very poor, and beyond that it is barren; in fact all things have a limited period of fertility. The seed that falls to the bottom on the threshing-floor should be kept for sowing, as it is the best because the heaviest, and there is no other more efficient way of distinguishing it. An ear having its seeds separated by gaps will be discarded. The best grain is that which is reddish in colour and which when crushed by the teeth shows the same colour inside, and one that has more white inside is inferior. It is a well-known fact that some lands take more seed and others less, and this supplies farmers with a binding and primary augury: when the earth receives the seed more greedily, it is believed to be hungry and to devour the seed. The plan is for sowing to be done more quickly in damp places, to prevent the seed from being rotted by moisture, but later in dry places, so that the rainfalls may come afterwards to prevent the seed from lying for a long time without germinating and so withering away; and similarly when sowing is hurried on it pays to scatter the seed thickly, because it conceives slowly, but when sowing is late, to scatter it thin, because excessive closeness kills it. Also there is a certain science in scattering the seed evenly; at all events the hand must keep in time with the pace of walking, and always go with the right foot. Also it comes about by some not obvious method used by certain people that luck is kind to them and brings a good return. Seed should not be transferred from cold places to warm ones nor from early ripening districts to late ones, and nothing should be transferred in the contrary directions either, as some people out of mistaken ingenuity have advised.

55. The right amounts of seed per acre to sow in soil of medium quality are: bare or common wheat 5 pecks, emmer or seed (the kind of grain to which we give that name) 10; barley 6, beans a fifth more than in the ease of wheat, vetch 12, chick-pea, chickling vetch and peas 3, lupine 10, lentil 3 (but it is considered desirable to sow lentils mixed with dry dung), fitch 6, fenugreek 6, calavances 4, hay-grass 20, common and Italian millets a quarter of a peck, or more in a rich soil and less in a thin one. There is also another distinction to make: in thick or chalky or moist soil 6 pecks of bare or common wheat, but in loose and dry and fertile soil 4; for a meagre soil makes a small and empty ear unless it has the corn stalks far apart, whereas fields with a rich soil produce a number of stalks from a single seed and yield a thick crop from thinly scattered seed. Consequently the rule given is to sow between four and six pecks, adding or subtracting a fifth in accordance with the nature of the soil, and the same in a densely planted place or on sloping land as in thin soil. To this applies that oracular utterance, which it is so important to observe: 'Do not grudge the cornfield its seed.' To this Attius in his Praxidike added the advice to sow when the moon is in the constellations of the Ram, the Twins, the Lion, the Scales and Aquarius, but Zoroaster advised sowing when the sun has crossed 12 degrees of the Scorpion and the moon is in the Bull.

56. There follows the question postponed to this place, a question that needs very careful considerationthat of the proper date for sowing the crops; it is in a large degree connected with astronomy, and consequently we will begin by setting out the views of all authors in regard to it. Hesiod, the leader of mankind in imparting agricultural instruction, gave only one date for sowing, to begin at the setting of the Pleiades; for he wrote in the Greek country of Boeotia where, as we have said, that is the custom for sowing. It is agreed among the most careful observers that, as in the propagation of birds and animals, so with the earth, there exist certain impulses leading to conception; and the Greeks define this as the period when the earth is warm and moist. Virgil prescribes sowing bare and emmer wheats after the setting of the Pleiades, barley between the autumnal equinox and mid-winter, but vetch and calavances and lentils at the setting of Bootes; with the consequence that it is important to ascertain the exact dates of the rising and setting of these and other stars. There are some who advise sowing before the setting of the Pleiades, at all events in dry land and in the provinces with a warm climate, because the seed keeps safely, there being no damp to make them rot, and within a day after the next fall of rain they break out; while others recommend sowing immediately after the setting of the Pleiades, because about a week later rains follow; and some advise beginning to sow at the autumnal equinox in cold places, but later in warm districts, so that the crops may not be too far forward before winter. But it is universally agreed that sowing must not be done in the period of midwinter, for the convincing reason that winter seeds when sown before midwinter break out in a week, but if sown after it scarcely begin to appear in four weeks. There are some who hasten matters on and put forward the dictum that, while sowing in haste often proves deceptive, sowing late always does. Others on the opposite side think that sowing even in spring is preferable to sowing in a bad autumn, and that if this is necessary it should be done between the arrival of the west wind a and the spring equinox. Some people ignore nice points of meteorology and fix limits by the calendar: flax, oats and poppy in spring and up to the Feast of the Five Days, a practice even now observed in the districts north of the Po, beans and common wheat in November, emmer wheat at the end of September on to October 15, and others after that date on to November 1. Thus these latter writers pay no attention to Nature, while the previous set pay too much, and consequently their elaborate theorizing is all in the dark, as the issue lies between countrymen and literary, not merely astronomical, pundits! And it must be confessed that these matters do chiefly depend on the weatheras in fact Virgil enjoins first before all else to learn the winds and the habits of the stars, and to observe them just in the same way as they are observed for navigation. It is an arduous and a vast aspirationto succeed in introducing the divine science of the heavens to the ignorance of the rustic, but it must be attempted, owing to the vast benefit it confers on life. Nevertheless we must first submit to contemplation the difficulties of astronomy, which even experts have been conscious of, in order that subsequently our minds may more happily pass on from the study of the heavens and discern the actual events of the past whose future occurrence cannot be known in advance.

57. First of all it is almost impossible to explain the system of the actual days of the year and that of the movement of the sun, because to the 365 days an intercalary year adds a quarter of a day and of a night, and consequently definite periods of the stars cannot be stated. In addition to this there is the admitted obscurity of the facts, as sometimes the specification of the seasons runs in advance, and by a considerable number of days (the Greek term for this is προχειμάζειν), whereas at other times it comes behind (in Greek ἐπιχειμάζειν), and in general the influence of the heavens falls down to the earth in one place more quickly and in another place more slowly; this is the cause of the remark we commonly hear on the return of fine weather, that a constellation has been completed. Moreover although all these things depend on stars that are stationary and fixed in the sky, there intervene movements of stars and hailstorms and rain, these also having no inconsiderable effect, as we have shown, and they disturb the regularity of the expectation that has been conceived. And we must not think that this occurs only to ourselvesit also deceives the rest of the animals, which have greater sagacity about this matter, inasmuch as it is a thing on which their life depends; and the birds of summer are killed by exceptionally late or exceptionally early frosts, and those of winter by untimely spells of heat. This is why Virgil teaches the necessity of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the system of the planets also, warning us to watch the transit of the cold star Saturn. Some people think that butterflies are the most reliable sign of spring, on account of the extremely delicate structure of that insect; but in the very year in which I am writing this treatise it has been noticed that their supply has been three times annihilated by a return of cold weather, and that migratory birds arriving on January 27 brought a hope of spring that was soon dashed to the ground by a spell of very severe winter. The procedure is twofold: first of all it consists in trying to obtain a general principle from celestial phenomena, and then this principle has to be investigated by special signs. Above all there is the variation due to the convexity of the world and the terrestrial globe, the same star revealing itself to different nations at a different time, with the consequence that its influence is not operative everywhere on the same days. Additional difficulty has also been caused by authors through their observations having been taken in different regions, and because in the next place they actually publish different results of observations made in the same regions. But there were three main schools, the Chaldean, the Egyptian and the Greek; and to these a fourth system was added in our own country [46 BC] by Caesar during his dictatorship, who with the assistance of the learned astronomer Sosigenes brought the separate years back into conformity with the course of the sunand this theory itself was afterwards corrected (when an error had been

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found), so as to dispense with an intercalary day for a period of twelve successive years, for the reason that the year which had previously been getting in advance of the constellations had begun to lag behind in relation to them. Both Sosigenes himself in his three treatisesthough more careful in research than the other writers he nevertheless did not hesitate to introduce an element of doubt by correcting his own statementsand also other authors whose names we prefixed to this volume a have published these theories, although it is seldom that the opinions of any two of them agree. This is less surprising in the case of the rest, as they had the excuse of difference of localities; but as for those who have differed in their views in the same country, we will give one case of disagreement as an example: the morning setting of the Pleiades is given by Hesiodfor there is extant an astronomical work that bears his name alsoas taking place at the close of the autumnal equinox, whereas Thales puts it on the 25th day after the equinox, Anaximander on the 30th, Euctemon on the 44th, and Eudoxus on the 48th. We follow the observation of Caesar specially: this will be the formula for Italy; but we will also state the views of others, since we are not treating of a single country but of the whole of nature, though we shall not arrange them under the head of their authors, for that would be a lengthy matter, but of the regions concerned. Only readers should remember that, for the sake of brevity, when Attica is mentioned they must understand the Cyclades islands to be included; when Macedonia, Magnesia and Thrace; when Egypt, Phoenicia, Cyprus and Cilicia; when Boeotia, Locris and Phocis and the adjoining regions always as well; when the Dardanelles, the Galhpoli peninsula as far as Monte Santo; when Ionia, Asia and the islands belonging to it; when the Morea, Achaia and the lands lying to the west of it; and the term Chaldeans will indicate Assyria and Babylonia. That the names of Africa and the provinces of Spain and Gaul are not mentioned will cause no surprise, because none of those who have published accounts of the risings of the constellations have made observations in respect of those countries. Still it will not involve a difficult calculation to ascertain them in those countries as well, by means of the explanation of parallels which we have set out in Book 6, which indicates the astronomical relationship not only of nations but of individual cities as well. Therefore by taking the circular parallel belonging to the countries we have specified and applying it to those that the particular student is seeking, the risings of the constellations will be the same throughout the parts of all the parallels where shadows are of equal length. It is also necessary to point out that the seasons themselves have their own periods every four years, and that they too return without great variation under the system of the sun, but that they are also lengthened every eight years at the hundredth revolution of the moon.

58. The whole system however is based on three lines of observationthe rising and the setting of the constellations and the periods of the seasons themselves: there are two modes of observing the risings and settings, as the stars are either hidden by the arrival of the sun and cease to be visible, or they present themselves to the view on the sun's departure (so that custom would have done better to designate the latter as the stars' 'emergence' rather than 'rising', and the former as their 'occultation' rather than 'setting'); or by means of the following mode by the day on which the risings and settings of the stars begin or cease to be visible at the rising or setting of the sun, these being designated their morning or evening risings and settings according as each of them occurs at dawn or at dusk. They require intervals of at least three-quarters of an hour before sunrise or after sunset in order to be visible. Moreover there are some stars that rise and set twice; and all that is said here refers to the stars which we have stated to be fixed stars.

59. The divisions of the seasons are fixed by the fourfold distribution of the year corresponding with the increases and decreases of daylight. From midwinter onward this increases in length, and in 90 days 3 hours at the spring equinox the day becomes equal to the night. From then to the summer solstice, a period of 94 days 12 hours, the day is longer than the night ... until the autumn equinox, and then the night having become equal to the day goes on increasing from that point until midwinter, a period of 88 days 3 hours (in the present passage the term `hours' in each addition and subtraction denotes equinoctial hours and not the hours of any day in particular) and all these changes occur at the eighth degree of the signs of the zodiac, midwinter at the eighth degree of Capricorn, about December 26, the equinox at the eighth of the Ram, the summer solstice at the eighth of the Crab and the other equinox at the eighth of the Scaleswhich days themselves also usually give some indications of changes of weather. Again these periods are also divided by particular moments of time, all of them at middaysince between the solstice and the autumnal equinox the setting of the Lyre on the 46th day marks the beginning of autumn, and from that equinox to midwinter the morning setting of the Pleiades on the 44th day marks that of winter, and between midwinter and the equinox the prevalence of a west wind on the 45th day marks the period of spring, and the morning rising of the Pleiades on the 47th day from the spring equinox marks the beginning of summer. We will start from sowing-time of wheat, that is from the morning setting of the Pleiades; and we need not interrupt our explanation and increase the difficulty of the subject by mentioning the minor stars, inasmuch as it is at the same date that the stormy constellation of Orion sets after its extensive course.

60. Most people anticipate the times for sowing, and begin to sow corn at the eleventh day of the autumnal equinox, as for nine days after the rising of the Crown there is an almost certain expectation of rain. But Xenophon tells us not to begin before the Deity has given the signalthis our Roman author Cicero understood as being done by a fall of rain; although the true method is not to sow before the leaves have begun to fall. Some think that this occurs exactly at the setting of the Pleiades on November 10, as we have said, and even clothes-dealers go by that constellation, and it is very easy to identify in the sky; consequently dealers out to make money, who are careful to watch for chances, make forecasts as to the winter from its setting: thus by a cloudy setting it foretells a wet winter, and they at once raise their prices for cloaks, whereas by a fine weather setting it foretells a hard winter, and they screw up the prices of all other clothes. But our friend the farmer, not learned in astronomy, may find this sign of the weather among his hedgerows and merely by looking at his own land, when he has seen the leaves fall: in that way the year's weather can be estimated, as they fall later in some cases and earlier in others, for the weather is perceived as it is affected by the nature of the climate and the locality, and this method contains the advantage that while it is universal and worldwide it is also at the same time peculiar to each particular locality. This may surprise anyone who does not remember that the pennyroyal hung up in our larders blossoms exactly on midwinter day: so fully has Nature willed that nothing shall be hidden; consequently she has also given us this signal for sowing. This is the true account of the situation, bringing with it Nature's own proofs, inasmuch as she actually advises this mode of approaching the land and promises it will serve as a substitute for manure, and tells us that the land and the crops are shielded by herself against the rigours of frost, and warns us to make haste.

61. Varro has advised keeping this rule at all events in sowing beans. Others say that beans should be sown at a full moon, but lentils between the 25th and 30th day of the lunar month, and also vetch on the same days, that being the only way to keep them free from slugs. Some people advise that date for sowing for fodder, but recommend sowing in the spring to obtain seed.

There is also another more obvious method due to still more remarkable foresight on the part of Nature, under the head of which we will register the opinion of Cicero in his own words:

The lentisk, ever green and ever teeming,
Is wont to swell with thrice-repeated produce:
Thrice bearing fruit, she marks three ploughing seasons.

One of these seasons, this last one, is the same also for sowing flax and poppy. For poppy Cato gives the following rule: 'On land used for corn burn any twigs and brushwood left over from your utilization of them. Sow poppy in the place where you have burnt them'. Wild poppy boiled in honey is wonderfully serviceable for making throat-cures, and also cultivated poppy is a powerful soporific. So far as to winter sowing.

62. But correspondingly to complete a sort of summary of the whole subject of cultivation, it will be suitable at the same time to manure the trees, also to bank up the vinesone hand is enough to do an acreand where the nature of the locality will allow, to prune the trees and the vines, to prepare the ground with a double mattock for seed-plots, to open up the ditches, to drain water off the land, and to wash out and put away the wine-press. Do not put under the hens to hatch after November 1 until midwinter is past; all through the summer till that date give thirteen eggs to each hen, but fewer in winter, though not less than nine. Democritus thinks that the weather through the winter will be the same as it was on the shortest day and the three days round it, and he thinks so too in regard to the summer and the weather at the summer solstice.

In most cases the fourteen days round midwinter bring mild weather with calm winds for the sitting of the kingfishers. But in these and all other matters we shall have to conjecture the influence of the stars from the outcome of their indications, and at all events not expect changes of weather to answer to bail on dates fixed in advance.

63. Avoid attending to the vine at midwinter. Hyginus recommends straining the wine then, or even racking it off a week after the shortest day has passed, provided a week-old moon coincides with it; and planting cherries about midwinter. It is proper at that date to put acorns in soak as fodder for oxen, a peck per yokea larger quantity is injurious to their health; and it is said that whenever they are given this feed, if it is not fed to them for at least 30 days in succession, an outbreak of mange in the spring will cause you to repent. We have given this as the time for cutting timber; and the other kinds of work may be arranged chiefly in the night time, as the nights are so much longerweaving wicker baskets, hampers and rush baskets, cutting torches, preparing squared vine-props at the rate of thirty and rounded poles at the rate of sixty a day in daytime, and by artificial light five props and ten poles in an evening and the same number in the early morning.

64. From midwinter till the west wind blows the important stars that mark the dates, according to Caesar's observations, are the Dog-star setting at dawn on December 30, the day on which the Eagle is reported to set in the evening for Attica and the neighbouring regions; on January 4 according to Caesar's observations the Dolphin rises at dawn and the next day the Lyre, the Arrow setting in the evening on the same day for Egypt; likewise on January 8 the Dolphin before mentioned sets in the evening and there are some days of continuous wintry weather for Italy; and so also when the sun is seen to pass into Aquarius, which happens about January 17. On January 25 the star in the breast of the Lion called according to Tubero the Royal Star sets in the morning and the Lyre sets in the evening of February 4. In the concluding days of this period, whenever the weather conditions allow, the ground should be turned up with a double mattock for planting roses and vinesseventy hands ate enough for an acreand ditches should be cleaned or new ones made, and the time before daybreak should be used for sharpening iron tools, fitting handles, repairing broken vats, doing up the shelters used for sheep and cleaning the sheeps' fleeces by scraping them.

65. Between the period of west wind and the spring equinox, February 16 for Caesar marks three days of changeable weather, as also does February 22 by the appearance of the swallow and on the next day the rising of Arcturus in the evening, and the same on March 5Caesar noticed that this bad weather took place at the rising of the Crab, but the majority of the authorities put it at the setting of the Vintageron March 8 at the rising of the northern part of the Fish, and on the next day at the rising of Orion; in Attica it is noticed that the constellation Kite appears. Caesar also noted March 15the day that was fatal to himas marked by the setting of the Scorpion, but stated that on March 18 the Kite becomes visible in Italy and on March 21 the Horse sets in the morning.

This space of time is an extremely busy period for farmers and specially toilsome, and it is one as to which they are particularly liable to go wrongthe fact being that they are not summoned to their tasks on the day on which the west wind ought to blow but on which it actually does begin to blow. This must be watched for with sharp attention, and is a signal possessed by a day in that month that is observable without any deception or doubt whatever, if one gives close attention. We have stated in Volume Two the quarter in which that wind blows and the exact point from which it comes, and we shall speak about it rather more fully a little later. In the meantime, starting from the day, whichever it is, on which it begins to blownot however necessarily February 8, but whether before that date, when the spring is early, or afterwards, when winter goes on after that day, countrymen should find themselves torn between innumerable anxieties and should finish off all the primary tasks which cannot be postponed. Three-month wheat must be sown, vines pruned by the method we have stated, olives attended to, fruit-trees planted and grafted, vineyards dug over, seed-plots arranged and others restored, reeds, willows and brooms planted and cut, and elms, poplars and ash trees planted in the manner stated above. Then it is also suitable to weed the cornfields and hoe the winter crops, and especially emmer wheat; for the latter there is a definite rule, to hoe when it has begun to have four blades showing, but in the case of beans not before they have three leaves out, and even then they should be cleaned with a light hoe rather than dug over, and anyway when they flower they must not be touched during the first fortnight. You should only hoe barley in dry weather. You should have your pruning finished by the equinox. An acre of vineyard takes four hands to prune, and tying up the vines on a tree takes one hand for each fifteen trees. This is the time moreover for kitchen-gardens and rose-beds to be attended to, a subject which will be dealt with separately in the following Books, and it is also the time for landscape gardening; and then is the best occasion for making ditches. The ground is now opened for future operations, as Virgil in particular advises, to allow the sun thoroughly to dry the clods. The more useful opinion recommends ploughing only ground of medium quality in the middle of spring, because in a rich soil the furrows are at once seized on by weeds and in a thin soil the spells of heat that follow dry them up and take away all moisture from the seeds that are to come; there is no question that it is best to plough land of these sorts in the autumn.

The following are the rules given by Cato for operations in spring: 'to make ditches for the seed-plots, layer vine-nurseries, plant elms, figs, fruit-trees and olives in thick and damp soils, under a dry moon to manure meadows that are not going to be irrigated, and to protect them from westerly winds, and to clean them and root up noxious weeds; to prune fig-trees lightly, make new seed-beds and repair old onesthese

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operations to be done before you begin to dig over the vineyard.' Cato also says: 'You should begin to plough thin and sandy soils when the pear-tree blossoms, and afterwards plough the successively heaviest and wettest lands last of all.' Consequently there will be two signs for this ploughing, the sign of the mastich showing its first fruit and that of the pear blossoming. There will also be a third sign, that of the squill in the growing bulbs and that of the narcissus among the plants used for wreaths; for these also flower three times, marking the first ploughing by their first flowering, the second by the middle one and the last by the thirdinasmuch as things afford hints for other things different from them. And one of the first precautions to be taken is to prevent beans when in flower from coming in contact with ivy; for that season is a baneful and deadly one with ivy. Some plants however also have special signs of their own, for instance the fig: when a few leaves are sprouting from the top, like a vinegar-cup, that indicates that it is the best time for planting fig-trees.

66. The vernal equinox appears to end on March 25. Between that day and the morning rising of the Pleiades the first of April according to Caesar indicates bad weather. The Pleiades set on the evening of April 3 in Attica and on the day after in Boeotia, but for Caesar and the Chaldeans on April 5, when for Egypt Orion and his sword begin to set. The setting of the Scales on April 8 according to Caesar announces rain. In the evening The Little Pigs, a stormy constellation bringing boisterous weather on land and sea, sets for Egypt on April 18; it sets on April 16 for Attica and April 17 for Caesar, indicating four successive days of bad weather, but on the 20th for Assyria. This constellation is commonly called Parilicium, because April 21, the birthday of the city of Rome, on which fine weather usually returns, has given a clear sky for observing the heavens, although because of the clouds that it brings with it the Greek name for the constellation is Hyades, which our countrymen, owing to the similarity of the Greek name supposed in their ignorance to have been given it with reference to the word for 'pigs', and so have called the stars the Little Pigs. In Caesar's calendar April 24 is also a marked day. On April 25 the Kids rise for Egypt, and on April 26 the Dog sets in the evening and the Lyre rises in the morning for Boeotia and Attica. On April 27 Orion entirely disappears for Assyria, and on the 28th the Dog. On May 2 the Little Pigs rise in the morning for Caesar, and on May 8 the She-goat, portending rain, while the Dog sets for Egypt in the evening of the same day. That is a fairly precise account of the movements of the constellations down to May 10, which is the date of the rising of the Pleiades.

In this space of time the farmer must hurry on during the first fortnight with work which he has not had time to finish before the equinox, while realising that this is the origin of the rude habit of jeering at people pruning their vines by imitating the note of the visiting bird called the cuckoo, as it is considered disgraceful and deserving of reproach for that bird to find the pruning-hook being used on the vine; and consequently wanton jokes, though men are merely being made sport of in early spring, are thought to be objectionable as bringing bad luck. To such an extent on the land is every trifle set down as a hint given by Nature.

In the latter part of this period Italian and common millets are sown, the proper time for sowing them being when the barley has ripened. And the sign alike of the barley being ripe and for sowing these crops consists in the fields in the evening shining with glow-worms (that is what the country-people call those starlike flights of insects, the Greek name for which is lampyrides) thanks to Nature's unbelievable kindness.

67. She had already formed the remarkable group of the Pleiades in the sky; yet not content with these she has made other stars on the earth, as though crying aloud: 'Why gaze at the heavens, husbandman? Why, rustic, search for the stars? Already the slumber laid on you by the nights in your fatigue is shorter. Lo and behold, I scatter special stars for you among your plants, and I display them to you in the evening and as you unyoke to leave off work, and I stimulate your attention by a marvel so that you may not be able to pass them by: do you see how their fire-like brilliance is screened by their folded wings, and how they carry daylight with them even in the night? I have given you plants that mark the hours, and in order that you may not even have to avert your eyes from the earth to look at the sun, the heliotrope and the lupine revolve keeping time with him. Why then do you still look higher and scan the heavens themselves? Lo! you have Pleiades at your very feet.' Glow-worms do not make their appearance on fixed days or last a definite period, but certain it is that they are the offspring of this particular constellation. Consequently anybody who does his summer sowing before they appear 'will have himself to thank for labour wasted.' In this interval also the little bee comes forth and announces that the bean is flowering, and the bean begins to flower to tempt her out. We will also give another sign of cold weather being ended: when you see the mulberry budding, after that you need not fear damage from cold.

Well then, a list of things to be done: to plant olive-cuttings and rake over between the olive trees themselves; in the first days of the equinox to irrigate the meadows; when the grass has grown to a stalk, to shut off the water; to trim the vine (the vine too has a rule of its own: it must be trimmed when the shoots have made four inches in lengthone hand can trim an acre); to stir over the corn crops again (hoeing takes 20 days). It is thought that to start hoeing at the equinox injures both vines and corn. This is also the time for washing sheep.

After the rise of the Pleiades the weather is indicated for Caesar by the morning setting of Arcturus on the following day, the rise of the Lyre on May 13, the setting of the She-goat, and in Attica of the Dog, in the evening of May 21. On May 22, as observed by Caesar, Orion's Sword begins to set; in the evening of June 2, according to Caesar, and for Assyria also, the Eagle rises; on the morning of June 7 Arcturus sets for Italy, and on the evening of June 10 the Dolphin rises. On June 15 Orion's Sword rises, but in Egypt this takes place four days later. Moreover on June 21 Orion's Sword, as observed by Caesar, begins to set; while on June 24 the longest day and shortest night of the whole year make the summer solstice. In this interval of time the vines are pruned and care is taken to give an old vine one digging round and a new one two; sheep are sheared, lupins are ploughed in to manure the land, the ground is dug over, vetches are cut for fodder, beans are gathered and then threshed.

Meadows are mown about June 1. The cultivation of these is extremely easy for the farmer and involves very little outlay; it requires the following remarks to be made about it. Land should be left in grass where the soil is rich or damp or watered by streams, and the meadows should be watered by the rainfall or by a public aqueduct. If there are weeds, the best plan is to plough up the land and then harrow and hoe it, and sprinkle it with seed fallen out of the hay from haylofts and from mangers before the weeds are harrowed; and it is best not to irrigate the land in the first year, nor to use it for grazing before the second cutting of the hay, so that the grass may not be torn up by the roots or trodden down and weakened. Meadows go off with age, and need to be revived by sowing in them a crop of beans or turnip or millet, and afterwards in the following year corn, and in the third year they should again be left fallow; and moreover every time they are cut they should be gone over with the sickle, for the purpose of cutting all the growth that the mowers have passed over; for it is very detrimental indeed for any weeds to spring up that will scatter seeds. The best crop in meadow land is clover, the next best grass; money-wort is the worst, and it also bears a terrible pod; horse-hair, named from its resemblance to horses' hair, is also a hateful weed. The time for mowing is when the stalk has begun to shed its blossom and to grow strong; the grass must be cut before it begins to dry up. 'Do not mow your hay too late,' says Cato; 'cut it before the seed is ripe.' Some farmers irrigate the fields the day before mowing, but where there is no means of doing this it is better to mow when there are heavy falls of dew at night. Some parts of Italy mow after harvest. Mowing was also a more expensive operation in former days, when only Cretan and other imported whetstones were known, and these would only liven up the blade of a scythe with the help of olive oil; and consequently a man mowing hay used to walk along with a horn to hold the oil tied to his leg. Italy gave us whetstones used with water, which keep the iron in order instead of a file, though the water very soon makes them go green with rust. Of scythes themselves there are two kinds: the Italian kind is shorter, and handy to use even among brambles, whereas the scythe used on the large farms of the Gallic provinces are bigger, in fact they economize labour by cutting through the stalks of the grass in the middle and missing the shorter ones. An Italian mower holds the sickle with only his right hand. It is a fair day's work for one labourer to cut an acre of grass, or to bind 200 sheaves weighing four pounds each. After the grass is cut it must be turned towards the sun, and it must not be piled in shocks till it is dry; unless this rule is carefully kept, the shocks are certain to give off a sort of vapour in the morning and then to be set alight by the sun and to burn up. A hayfield should be irrigated again after it has been mown, so as to provide a crop of autumn hay called the aftermath. At Terni in Umbria even hayfields not irrigated are mown four times a year, but those with irrigation are in most places mown three times, and afterwards as much profit is made out of the pasture as from the hay. Accordingly keeping herds and breeding draft-animals will supply each farmer with his own policy, a most lucrative trade being breeding horses for chariot-racing.

68. We have said that the summer solstice comes round on June 24, in the eighth degree of the Crab. This is an important turning-point of the year, an important matter in the world. From midwinter to this point the days continually grow longer. The sun itself climbing northward for six months and having scaled the heights of heaven, from that goal begins to slope and to descend towards the south, proceeding for another six months to increase the length of the nights and to subtract from the measurement of the day. From this point onward is the time for plucking and collecting the various successive crops and for preparing against the fierce cruelty of winter, and to have this change marked with unmistakable signs was only Nature's duty; consequently she has placed such signs in the very hands of the farmers, and has bidden the foliage to turn round on that very day and to indicate that the heavenly body has completed its courseand not the leaves of the forests and of trees distant from human habitation, so compelling those seeking the signs to have to go into remote valleys and mountains, nor yet again the foliage of the trees of the city and those that are only grown by the ornamental gardener, albeit these may be seen at a country house as well; but Nature turns round the foliage of the olive that confronts us at every step, of the lime-tree which we employ for a thousand practical purposes, and even of the white poplar that is married to the vines. Nor is that yet sufficient. 'You have the elm,' she says, 'that is enriched with the vine; I will turn the foliage of this tree also. You strip its leaves for fodder, or prune them off: look at these, and you have a sign of the heavens, for they look towards another quarter of the sky than that towards which they faced yesterday. You use the willow to make withes for binding all thingsthe lowliest of trees, you yourself are a whole head taller: its leaves also I will turn round. Why complain that you are a mere peasant? It is not owing to me that you do not understand the heavens and know the things thereof. I will bestow a sign upon your ears also: only listen to the cooing of the ring-doves, and beware of thinking that midsummer is past until you have seen the dove sitting on her nest.'

Between the solstice and the setting of the Lyre, on June 26 by Caesar's reckoning, Orion rises, and Orion's Belt on July 4, in the region of Assyria, while in that of Egypt in the morning rises the scorching constellation of Procyon, which has no name with the Romans, unless we take it to be the same as the Little Dog; it has a great effect in producing hot weather as we shall show a little later. On July 4 the Crown sets in the morning for the people of Chaldea and for Attica the whole of Orion rises on that day. On July 14 Orion ceases rising for the Egyptians, on July 17 Procyon rises for Assyria, and then three days later the great constellation recognized almost everywhere among all people, which. we call the rising of the Dog-star, when the sun has entered the first quarter of the Lion: this occurs on the 23rd day after midsummer. Its rising influences both the seas and the lands, and indeed many wild animals, as we have said in the proper places; nor is this constellation less reverenced than the stars that are assigned to various gods; and it kindles the fire of the sun, and constitutes an important cause of the summer heat. On July 20 the Eagle sets in the morning for Egypt, and the breezes that herald the seasonal winds begin to blow, which in Caesar's opinion is perceived in Italy on July 23. The Eagle sets for Attica on the morning of that day, and the Royal Star in the breast of the Lion rises, according to Caesar, on the morning of July 30. On August 6 one-half of Arcturus disappears; and on August 11 the setting of the Lyre brings the beginning of autumn, according to Caesar's note, but a true calculation has discovered that the date of this is really August 8.

In this interval of time the crisis for the vines occurs, the constellation which we have called the Little Dog deciding the fate of the grapes, as it is the date at which they begin to be 'charred', as it is called, as though they had been scorched up by a blighting red-hot coal. Hail and stormy weather do not compare with this disaster, nor any of the disasters which have ever caused high market prices, inasmuch as these are misfortunes affecting single farms, whereas charring affects a wide expanse of country although the remedy would not be difficult if mankind did not prefer slandering Nature to benefiting themselves. The story goes that Democritus, who was the first person to realise and point out the alliance that unites the heavens with the earth, when the wealthiest of his fellow-citizens despised his devotion to these studies, foresaw, on the principle which we have stated and shall now explain more fully, that the rising of the Pleiades would be followed by an increase in the price of oil, which at the time was very cheap because of the crop of olives expected; and he bought up all the oil in the whole of the country, to the surprise of those who knew that the things he most valued were poverty and learned repose; and when his motive had been made manifest and they had seen vast wealth accrue to him, he gave back the money paid him for the olives to the anxious and covetous landlords, now repentant, being content to have given this proof that riches would be easily within his reach when he chose. A similar demonstration was later given by Sextius, a Roman student of philosophy at Athens. Such is the opportunity afforded by learning, which it is my intention to introduce, in treating of the operations of agriculture, as clearly and convincingly as I am able.

Most people have stated that rust in corn and glowing-coal blight in vines are caused by dew burnt into them by very hot sunshine, but I think. This is partly erroneous, and that all blight is caused by frost only, the sun being guiltless. Close attention to the facts will make this clear; for first of all blight is never found to occur except at night and before the sun gives any heat, and it depends entirely on the phases of the moon, since damage of this sort only takes place at the moon's conjunction or at full moon, that is, when the moon's influence is powerfulfor the moon is at the full at both phases,

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as we have often said, but at the point of its conjunction it reflects back to the sky all the light it has received from the sun. The difference between the two phases is great, but it is obvious: the moon is hottest in summer and cold in winter at the conjunction, whereas on the contrary when full it makes the nights cold in summer and warm in winter. The reason is clear, but it is not the one given by Fabianus and the Greek authors. During the moon's conjunction in summer she must necessarily run with the sun in an orbit very near to our earth, glowing with the heat that she receives from his fire close at hand, whereas in winter she must be further away at her conjunction, because the sun also withdraws, and likewise when at the full in summer she must retire a long way from the earth, being in opposition to the sun, whereas in winter the full moon comes towards us following the same orbit as in summer. Consequently, being herself naturally humid, whenever she is cold she freezes up the hoar-frosts falling at that season to an unlimited extent.

69. But before all things we ought to remember that there are two kinds of damage done by the heavens. One we entitle tempests, a term understood to include hailstorms, hurricanes and the other things of a similar nature, the occurrence of which is termed exceptionally violent weather; these take their origin from certain noxious constellations, as we have said more than once, for instance Arcturus, Orion, the Kids. The other are those that occur when the sky is quiet and the nights fine, nobody perceiving them except after they have taken place; these are universal, and widely different from the former ones, being termed by some people rust, by others burning and by others coal-blight, though sterility is a term universally applied to them. Of these last we will now speak, as they have never been treated by any writer before us; and we will begin by stating their causes.

These are two in number, in addition to that depending on the moon, and they are situated in only a few quarters of the heavens. For the Pleiades specially concern farm produce, inasmuch as their rising marks the beginning of summer and their setting that of winter, embracing in the six months' space between them the harvest and vintage and ripening of all vegetation. And the sky also contains the constellation called the Milky Way, which is also easily recognized a by observing two others, the Eagle in the northern region and in the southern the Little Dog, which we have mentioned in its proper place. The Milky Way itself passes through the Archer and the Twins, cutting the equinoctial orbit twice at the sun's centre-point, the intersections being marked by the Eagle on .one side and the Little Dog on the other. Consequently the influences of each of these constellations reach to all cultivated lands, inasmuch as these are the only points at which the centres of the sun and earth correspond. Consequently if on the dates of these constellations the atmosphere is clear and mild and transmits this genial milky juice to the lands of the earth, the crops grow luxuriantly; but if the moon scatters a dewy cold after the manner previously described, the admixture of bitterness, like sourness in milk, kills off the infant offspring. The measure of this injury in various countries is that occasioned in each part of earth's convex surface by the combination of each of these two causes, and so it is not perceived simultaneously in the whole of the world, as daybreak is not either. We have said that the Eagle rises in Italy on December 20, and Nature's system does not permit any of the crops sown to be of certain promise before that day; but if the moon happens then to be in conjunction, all the winter and early spring produce is bound to suffer damage.

The life of men in early times was rude and illiterate; but nevertheless it will be found that mere observation was not less ingenious among them than theory is now. There were three seasons which they had to fear for their crops, and on this account they instituted the holidays and festivals of Robigalia, Floralia and Vinaha. Numa in the eleventh year of his reign established the Feast of Robigalia, which is 710-672 B.C. now kept on April 25, because that is about the time when the crops are liable to be attacked by mildew. Varro has given this date as fixed by the sun occupying the tenth degree of the Bull, as theory then stated; but the true explanation is that on one or other (according to the latitude of the various observers) of the four days from the twenty-ninth day after the spring equinox to April 28 the Dog sets, a constellation of violent influence in itself and the setting of which is also of necessity preceded by the setting of the Little Dog. So the same people in 238 BC in obedience to the Sibyl's oracles, instituted the Floralia on April 23, in order that all vegetation might shed its blossom favourably. This day is dated by Varro at the sun's entering the 14th degree of the Bull; consequently if full moon falls within these four days, the crops and all the vegetation then in flower will inevitably suffer injury. The First Vinaliaf established in former days on April 23 for tasting the wines, has no reference to the fruits of the earth, nor yet have the festivals so far mentioned to the vines and olives, because their sprouting begins at the rise of the Pleiades, on May 10, as we have explained. This is another four-day period in which it is desirable that the fields may not be fouled by dewfor the cold constellation of Arcturus, setting the next day, nips themand much more is it desirable that a full moon may not come at this period. On June 2 the Eagle for a second time rises in the evening, and this is a critical day for olives and vines in blossom if a full moon coincides with it. For my own part I am also inclined to consider that June 24, the solstice, is in a similar case, and also the rising of the Dog 23 days after the solstice, though only if the moon's conjunction falls then, as harm is done by the extreme heat and the young grapes are ripened prematurely into a hard knob. Again, harm is done by a full moon on July 4, when the Little Dog rises for Egypt, or at all events on July 17 when it rises for Italy, and similarly between July 20, when the Eagle sets, and July 23. The festival of the Second Vinalia, kept on August 19, has no connexion with these influences. Varro fixes it at the time when the Lyre is beginning to set in the morning, which he holds to be the beginning of autumn and a holiday established for propitiating the weather; but at the present day observation shows that the Lyre sets on August 8.

Within these periods falls the sterilizing influence of the heavens, though I would not deny the possibility that it is liable to alteration by local climatic conditions, whether cold or hot. But it is enough for us to have demonstrated the principle, leaving the details to be ascertained by individual observation; at all events it will not be doubted that one or other of two things, full moon or the moon's conjunction, is responsible. And in this matter admiration for Nature's benevolence suggests itself, as to the fact that, in the first place, because of the fixed courses of the stars this disaster cannot possibly happen every year, and only on a few nights in the year, and that its occurrence is easy to forecast, and that, in order to prevent its being apprehended through all the months, it has also been foreseen by the law that governs the stars; that the moon's conjunctions are safe in summer except for a period of two days, and a. full moon safe in winter and only formidable in summer and when the nights are shortest, but they have not the same potency by day; moreover that this is so easily understood that that tiny creature the ant, at the moon's conjunction keeps quite quiet, but at full moon works busily even in the nights; that the bird called the parra disappears on the very day when Sirius rises, and remains concealed till it sets, while the oriole, on the contrary, comes out exactly on midsummer day; but that neither phase of the moon is harmful even at night except in fine weather and when there is not a breath of wind, because dews do not fall when it is cloudy or a wind is blowing, and even so there are remedies available.

70. When you have occasion for alarm, make bonfires about the vineyards and fields of trimmings or heaps of chaff and weeds and bushes that have been rooted up, and the smoke will act as a cure for them; smoke from chaff is also helpful against fogs, in places where fogs do damage. Some people advise burning three crabs alive among the trees to prevent the vines being injured by coalblight, others roasting the flesh of a sheat-fish in a slow fire to windward, so that the smoke may spread all through the vineyard. Varro gives the information that a vineyard suffers less damage from storms if, at the setting of the Lyre, which marks the beginning of autumn, a picture of a bunch of grapes is placed among the vines as a votive offering. Archibius in his letter to Antiochus, king of Syria, says that if a toad is buried in a new earthenware jar in the middle of a cornfield, the crop will not be damaged by storms.

71. The following arc the rural operations belonging to this interval: to turn up the ground again, to dig round the trees, or to bank them up where a hot locality calls for itexcept in a very rich soil crops just budding must not be dugto clean seed-plots with the hoe, to harvest barley, to prepare the threshing-floor for the harvest, in Cato's opinion by dressing it with olive-lees, and in Virgil's with chalk, a more laborious method. But for the most part people only level it and smear it with a rather weak solution of cow-dung; this appears to be enough to prevent dust.

72. There are various methods of actually getting in the harvest. On the vast estates in the provinces of Gaul very large frames fitted with teeth at the edge and carried on two wheels are driven through the corn by a team of oxen pushing from behind; the ears thus torn off fall into the frame. Elsewhere the stalks are cut through with a sickle and the ear is stripped off between two pitchforks. In some places the stalks are cut off at the root, in others they are plucked up with the root; and those who use the latter method explain that in the course of it they get the land broken, although really they are drawing the goodness out of it. There are also these differences: where they thatch the houses with straw, they keep it as long as possible, but where there is a shortage of hay, they require chaff for litter. Straw of Italian millet is not used for thatch; common millet stalks are usually burnt on the ground; barley stalks are kept as extremely acceptable to oxen. The Gallic provinces gather both millets ear by ear, with a comb held in the hand.

The ear itself when reaped in some places is beaten out with threshing-sledges on a threshing-floor, in others by being trodden on by mares, and in other places it is thrashed out with flails. Wheat is found to give a larger yield the later it is reaped, but to be of finer quality and stronger the earlier it is reaped. The most obvious rule is to reap it 'before the grain hardens and when it has begun to gain colour', but there is an oracular utterance, 'Better to do your reaping two days too soon than two days too late.' Common and bare wheats require the same method on the threshing-floor and in the granary. Emmer being difficult to thresh is best stored with its chaff, and only has the straw and the beard removed. The majority of countries use chaff for hay; the thinner and finer it is and the nearer to dust, the better, and consequently the best chaff is obtained from millet, the next best from barley, and the worst from wheat, except for beasts that are being worked hard. In rocky places they leave straw to dry and then break it up with a flail, to use it as litter for cattle, but if there is a shortage of chaff the straw also is ground for fodder. The method is as follows: it is cut rather early, and sprinkled with strong brine and then dried and rolled up into trusses, and so fed to oxen instead of hay. Some people also set fire to the stubble in the field, a process advertised by the high authority of Virgil; their chief reason however for this plan is to burn up the seed of weeds. The size of the crops and scarcity of labour cause various procedures to be adopted.

73. A connected subject is the method of storing corn. Some people recommend building elaborate granaries with brick walls a yard thick, and moreover filling them from above and not letting them admit draughts of air or have any windows; others say they should only have windows facing north-east or north, and that they should be built without lime, as lime is very injurious to corn: the recommendations made with regard to the dregs of olive-oil have been pointed out above. In other places, on the contrary, they build their granaries of wood and supported on pillars, preferring to let the air blow through them from all sides, and even from below. Others think the grain shrinks in bulk if laid on a floor entirely off the ground, and that if it lies under a tile roof it gets hot. Many moreover forbid turning over the grain to air it, as the weevil does not penetrate more than four inches down, and beyond that the grain is in no danger. Columella also advises a west wind when corn is harvested, at which I for my part am surprised, as generally it is a very dry wind. Some people tell us to hang up a toad by one of its longer legs at the threshold of the barn before carrying the corn into it. To us storing the corn at the proper time will seem most important, as if it is got in when insufficiently ripened and firm, or stored while hot, pests are certain to breed in it.

There are several causes that make grain keep: they are found either in the husk of the grain when this forms several coats, as with millet, or in the richness of the juice, which may be enough to supply moisture, as with gingelly, or in bitter flavour, as with lupine and chickling vetch. It is specially in wheat that grubs breed, because its density makes it get hot and the grain becomes covered with thick bran. Barley chaff is thinner, and also that of the leguminous plants is scanty, and consequently these do not breed grubs. A bean is covered with thicker coats, and this makes it ferment. Some people sprinkle the wheat itself with dregs of olive oil to make it keep better, eight gallons to a thousand pecks; others use chalk from Chalcis or Caria for this purpose, or even wormwood. There is also an earth found at Olynthus and at Cerinthus in Euboea which prevents grain from rotting; also if stored in the ear corn hardly ever suffers injury. The most paying method however of keeping grain is in holes, called ciri, as is done in Cappadocia and Thrace, and in Spain and Africa; and before all things care is taken to make them in dry soil and then to floor them with chaff; moreover the corn is stored in this way in the ear. If no air is allowed to penetrate, it is certain that no pests will breed in the grain. Varro states that wheat so stored lasts fifty years, but millet a hundred, and that beans and leguminous grain, if put away in oil jars with a covering of ashes, keep a long time. He also records that beans stored in a cavern in Ambracia lasted from the period of King Pyrrhus to Pompey the Great's war with the pirates, a period of about 220 years. Chick-pea is the only grain which does not breed any grubs when kept in barns. Some people pile leguminous seed in heaps on to jars containing vinegar, placed on a bed of ashes and coated with pitch, believing that this prevents pests from breeding in them, or else they put them in casks that have held salted fish and coat them over with plaster; and there are others who sprinkle lentils with vinegar mixed with silphium, and when they are dry give them a dressing of oil. But the speediest precaution is to gather anything you want to save from pests at the moon's conjunction. So it makes a very great difference who wants to store the crop or who to put it on the market, because grain increases in bulk when the moon is waxing.

74. Next in accordance with the division of the seasons comes autumn, from the setting of the Lyre to the equinox and then the setting of the Pleiades and the beginning of winter. In these periods important stages are marked by the Horse rising in the region of Attica and the Dolphin setting for Egypt and by Caesar's reckoning on the evening of August 12. On August 22 the constellation called the Vintager begins to rise at dawn for Caesar and for Assyria., announcing the proper time for the vintage; an indication of this will be the

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change of colour in the grapes. On August 28 the Arrow sets for Assyria and also the seasonal winds cease to blow. On September 5 the Vintager rises for Egypt, and in the morning Arcturus for Attica, and the Arrow sets at dawn. On September 9, according to Caesar, the She-goat rises in the evening, while half of Arcturus becomes visible on September 12, indicating very unsettled weather on land and at sea for five days. The account given of this is that if there has been rain while the Dolphin was setting it will not rain while Arcturus is visible. The departure of the swallows may be noted as the sign of the rise of that constellation, since if they are overtaken by it they are killed off. On September 16 the Ear of Corn held by the Virgin rises for Egypt in the morning and the seasonal winds cease; this also appears for Caesar on September 15 and for Assyria on September 19; and on September 21 for Caesar the knot in the Fishes setting and the Eqninoctial Constellation itself on September 24. Then there is general agreement, which is a rare occurrence, between Philippus, Callippus, Dositheus, Parmeniscus, Conon, Crito, Democritus and Eudoxus, that the She-goat rises in the morning of September 28 and the Kids on September 29. On October 2 the Crown rises for Attica at dawn, and the Charioteer sets for Asia and for Caesar in the morning of October 3. On October 4 the Crown begins to rise for Caesar, and in the evening of the next day the Kids set. On October 8 for Caesar the bright star in the Crown rises, and in the evening of October 10 the Pleiades; and on October 15 the whole of the Crown. In the evening of October 16 the Little Pigs rise. At daybreak on October 31 for Caesar Arcturus sets and the Little Pigs rise. In the evening of November 2 Arcturus sets. On November 9 Orion's Sword begins to set; and then on November 11 the Pleiades set.

The agricultural operations that come in these periods of time include sowing turnip and navew, on the days that we have stated. It is commonly thought by country people that it is a mistake to sow turnip after the departure of the stork; our own view however is that it should be sown in any case after the Feast of Vulcan, and the early kind when Italian millet is sown, but that the time for vetch and calavance and plants for fodder is after the setting of the Lyre; it is recommended that this should take place when the moon is silent. This is also the time for getting ready a store of leaves; to collect four leaf-baskets full is a fair day's work for one woodman. If they are stored when the moon is on the wane they do not decay; but they ought not to be dry when collected.

In old days the vines were never thought to be ripe for the vintage before the equinox, but nowadays I notice they are commonly pulled at any time; consequently we must also specify the times for this by their signs and indications. The rules are as follows: 'Do not pick a bunch of grapes when they are warm'that is during unbroken dry weather, with no rain in between; 'Do not pick a bunch of grapes if wet with dew', that is if there has been dew in the night, and not before it has been dispelled by the sun. 'Begin the vintage when the grape-shoot begins to droop down to the stem, or when after a grape has been removed from a cluster it has been clearly noticed that the gap does not fill up and that the grapes are no longer getting bigger.' It is a very great advantage for the vintage to coincide with a crescent moon. One pressing ought to fill twenty wine-skins: that is a fair basis. A single wine press is enough for twenty wine-skins and vats to serve twenty acres of vineyard. Some press the grapes with a single press-beam, but it pays better to use a pair, however large the single beams may be. It is length that matters in the case of the beams, not thickness; but those of ample width press better. In old days people used to drag down the press-beams with ropes and leather straps, and by means of levers: but within the last hundred years the Greek pattern of press has been invented, with the grooves of the upright beam running spirally, some makers fitting the tree with a star, but with others the tree raises with it boxes of stones, an arrangement which is very highly approved. Within the last twenty years a plan has been invented to use small presses and a smaller pressing-shed, with a shorter upright beam running straight down into the middle, and to press down the drums placed on top of the grape-skins with the whole weight and to pile a heap of stones above the presses. This is also the time for gathering fruit; one should watch when any falls off owing to ripeness and not because of windy weather. This is also the season for pressing out the lees of wine and for boiling down grape-juice, on a night when there is no moon, or, if done in the daytime, it should be at full moon, or on any other days either before the moon rises or after it sets; and the grapes should not be obtained from a young vine nor from one growing on marshy ground; and only a ripe bunch should be used. It is thought that if wood is brought in contact with the vessel, the liquor gets a burnt and smoky flavour. The proper time for the vintage is the period of 41 days from the equinox to the setting of the Pleiades; we meet with a wise saying of growers who hold that from that day onward it is no good at all to tar a cold wine-butt. Still, before now I have seen vintagers at work even on the first of January owing to shortage of vats, and must being stored in tanks, or last year's wine being poured out of the casks to make room for new wine of doubtful quality. This is not so often due to an overabundant crop as to slackness, or else to avarice lying in wait for a rise in prices. The public-spirited method of an honest head of a household is to use the output of each year as it comes; and this is also quite equally the most profitable plan. As for the other matters relating to wines enough has been said already, and also it has been stated that as soon as the vintage is done the olives must at once be picked; and we have given the facts concerning olive-growing and the operations that must be done after the setting of the Pleiades.

75. To these statements we will add what is necessary about the moon and winds and about weather forecasts, so as to complete our account of astronomic considerations. Virgil following the statement paraded by Democritus has even thought proper to assign particular operations to numbered days of the moon, but our own motive, in this section also of our work as in the whole of it, is the practical value of general rules.

All cutting, gathering and trimming is done with less injury to the trees and plants when the moon is waning than when it is waxing. Manure must not be touched except when the moon is waning, but manuring should chiefly be done at new moon or at half moon. Geld hogs, steers, rams and kids when the moon is waning. Put eggs under the hen at the new moon. Make ditches at full moon, in the night-time. Bank up the roots of trees at full moon. In damp land sow seed at the new moon and in the four. days round that time. They also recommend giving corn and leguminous grains an airing and storing them away towards the end of the moon, making seed-plots when the moon is above the horizon, and treading out grapes when it is below it, as well as felling timber and the other operations which we have specified in their proper places. Nor is the observation of the moon specially easy, and we have already spoken of it in Volume II; but to give what even countrymen may be able to understand: whenever the moon is seen at sunset and in the earlier hours of the night, she will be waxing and will appear to be cut in half, but when she rises at sunset opposite the sun, so that sun and moon are visible at the same time, then it will be full moon. When she rises with the sunrise and withholds her light in the earlier hours of the night and prolongs it into daytime, she will be waning and will again show only half; but when she has ceased to be visible she is in conjunction, the period designated 'between moons'. During the conjunction she will be above the horizon as long as the sun is and during the whole of the first day, on the second day ten and a quarter twelfths of an hour of the night, and then on the third day and on to the 15th with the same fractions of an hour added in progression. On the 15th day she will be above the horizon all night and also below it all day. On the 16th she will remain below the horizon ten and a quarter twelfths of the first hour of the night, and she will go on adding the same fraction of an hour every day in succession until the period of conjunction, and will add from the daytime to the last parts of the night above the horizon as much as she subtracts from its first parts when below the earth. She will complete thirty revolutions in alternate months but subtract one from that number every alternate month. This will be the theory of the course of the moon; that of the winds is somewhat more intricate.

76. After observing the position of sunrise on any given day, let people stand at midday so as to have the point of sunrise at their left shoulder: then they will have the south directly in front of them and the north directly behind them; a path running through a field in this way will be called a cardinal line. It is better then to turn round, so as to be able to see your own shadow, which will otherwise be behind you. So, having interchanged your flanks, so as to have the sunrise of that day at your right shoulder and the sunset at your left, it will be midday when your shadow directly in front of you becomes smallest. Through the middle of the length of this shadow you will have to draw a furrow with a hoe or make a line with ashes let us say 20 ft. long, and at the centre of this line, that is 10 ft. from each end, to draw a small circle, which may be called the umbilicus or navel. The part of the line towards the head of the shadow will be in the direction of the north wind. You who prune trees, do not let the cut ends of them face in that direction, nor should trees carrying vines or vines themselves do so except in the province of Africa, in the Cyrenaica and in Egypt; when the wind is in that quarter, do not plough or perform any of the other operations we shall mention. The part of the line towards the feet of the shadow, facing south, will indicate the south wind, the Greek name of which is as we said Notus: when the wind comes from that quarter, husbandman, do not deal with timber or the vine. For Italy this is a damp wind or else extremely hot,indeed for Africa it brings fiery heat together with fine weather. In Italy bearing branches should face in this direction, but not the pruned branches of trees or vines; and this wind in the four days of the Pleiades is to be dreaded for the olive, and avoided for their slips by the grafter or for their buds by those engaged in budding. It may be suitable to give some warnings as to the times of day in this region. Woodman, do not prune foliage at midday. Shepherd, when you perceive noon to be approaching as the shadow contracts, drive your flocks out of the sun into a shady place. When you are pasturing your flocks in summer, let them face west in the forenoon and east in the afternoon; otherwise it is harmful, as it is in winter and spring to lead them out into pasture wet with dew [and it has been said above that you must not let them feed facing north], as they go lame, and get blear-eyed from the wind, and die of looseness of the bowels. You must make the ewes face this wind when they are being covered, if you want them to have ewe lambs.

77. We have said that the umbilicus must be drawn at the middle of the line. Let another line run transversely through the middle of the umbilicus; this line will run due east and west, and a path that cuts across the land on this line will be called the 'decuman'. Then two other lines must be drawn obliquely to form an X, so as to run down from the right and left of the northern point to the left and right of the southern point. All these lines must run through the same umbilicus, and they must all be equal and the spaces between all of them must be equal. This system will have to be worked out once in each plot of land, or, if you mean to employ it frequently, a wooden model of it may be made consisting of rods of equal length fitted into a small but circular drum. Under the method I am explaining help must be afforded to the understanding even of persons unacquainted with the subject: the rule is to examine the position of the sun at noon, as that is always the same, whereas the sunrise is at a different point in the sky every day from where it was yesterday, so nobody must suppose that the right plan is to take a line on sunrise.

Having thus worked out a part of the heavens, the end of the line next to north on the east side of it will give the point of sunrise at the summer solstice, that is on the longest day, and the position of the north-east wind, the Greek name for which is Boreas. You should plant trees and vines facing this point; but beware of ploughing or sowing corn or scattering seed when this wind is blowing, for it nips and chills the roots of trees that yon will bring to plant. Be taught in advance: some conditions are good for strong full-grown trees and others for saplings. (Nor have I forgotten that the Greeks place in this quarter the wind they call Caecias; but Aristotle, a man of immense acuteness, who took that very view, also gives the earth's convexity as the reason why the north-east wind blows in the opposite direction to the African wind.) And nevertheless the farmer need not fear a north-east wind all the year round in the operations mentioned above; at midsummer it is softened by the sun, and changes its nameit is called Etesias. Consequently be on your guard when you feel the wind cold, and when a north easter is forecast, as it does so much more damage than a wind due north. North-east is the direction in which the trees and vines should face in Asia, Greece, Spain, the coastal parts of Italy, Campania and Apulia. Breeders who desire to get male stock should pasture their flocks exposed to this wind, so that it may thus fecundate the sire when coupling. The African wind, the Greek name for which is Libs, will blow from the south-west, directly opposite to Aquilo; when animals after coupling turn towards this quarter, you may be sure that they have got females.

The third line from the north, which we have drawn transversely to the shadow and have called the decuman, will have the sunrise at the equinoxes and the Subsolanus wind, called by the Greeks Apheliotes. This is the proper aspect for farm-houses and vineyards in healthy localities. This wind itself brings gentle rains; still Favonius, the wind in the opposite quarter, blowing from the equinoctial sunset, the Greek name for which is Zephyrus, is gentler and drier. This is the direction in which Cato recommended that olive-yards should face; this wind inaugurates the spring, and opens up the land, having a healthy touch of cold, and it will give the right time for pruning vines, tending crops, planting trees. grafting fruit-trees and treating olives; and its breeze will have a nutritive effect. The fourth line from the north, lying nearest the south on the eastern side, will have the sunrise at midwinter and the wind Volturnus, the Greek name for which is Eurus, which itself also is rather dry and warm; this is the proper aspect for beehives and for vineyards in Italy, and the provinces of Gaul. Directly opposite to Volturnus will blow Corus, from the point of sunset at midsummer, on the sunset side of north, its Greek name being Argestes; it also is one of the coldest winds, as are all those blowing from the north; it also brings hailstorms, and is quite as much to be avoided as the north wind. If Volturnus begins to blow from a clear part of the sky, it will not last till night, whereas Subsolanus goes on for the greater part of the night. Whatever the wind is, if it is felt to be hot it will last for several days. The earth suddenly drying up foretells a north-east wind, and if it becomes damp from no visible fall of moisture, a south wind.

78. The theory of the winds having now in fact been set out, in order to avoid repetition it is the best plan to pass on to the remaining means of forecasting the weather, since I see that this subject also appealed greatly to Virgil, inasmuch as he records that even in harvest time the winds often engage in battles that are ruinous to inexpert farmers. It is recorded that Democritus above mentioned when his brother Damasus was reaping his harvest, in extremely hot weather besought him to leave the rest of the crop and make haste to get what he had

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already cut under cover, his prophecy being confirmed a few hours later by a fierce storm of rain. Moreover it is also recommended only to plant reeds when rain is impending and to sow corn when a shower is about to follow. We therefore briefly touch on these subjects also, examining the most relevant facts, and we will take first weather forecasts derived from the sun.

A clear sunrise without burning heat announces a fine day, but a pale sunrise promises a wintry day with hail. If there was also a fine sunset the day before, the promise of fine weather is all the more reliable. If the sun rises in a vault of clouds it foretells rain, and likewise when the clouds are red before it rises it foretells wind, or if black clouds also mingle with the red, rain as well; when the rays of the rising or setting sun seem to coalesce, that means rain. If the setting sun is surrounded by red clouds, these guarantee fine weather the next day; but if at sunrise the clouds are scattered some to the south and some to the north, although the sky round the sun may be fine and clear, they will nevertheless indicate rain and winds, while if when the sun is rising or setting its rays appear shortened, that will be a sign of rain. If at sunset it rains or the sun's rays attract cloud towards them, they will denote stormy weather for the following day. When at sunrise the rays do not shoot out with great brilliance, although the sun is not surrounded by clouds, they will portend rain. If before sunrise clouds form in masses, they will foretell rough stormy weather, but if they are driven away from the east and go away westward, fine weather. If clouds form a ring round the sun, the less light they leave the more stormy will be the weather, but if even a double ring of cloud is formed, the storm will be all the more violent; and if this occurs at sunrise or sunset, so that the clouds turn red, that will be a sign of a very bad storm indeed. If the clouds do not surround the sun but hang over it they will presage wind in the quarter they come from, and if they arc from the south, rain as well. If the rising sun is surrounded with a ring, wind is to be expected in any quarter in which the ring breaks; but if the whole of it slips away equally, it will give flue weather. If the sun when rising stretches out its rays a long way through the clouds and the middle of its disk is free of cloud, it will be a sign of rain; if the sun's rays become visible before it rises this will mean rain and wind; if the setting sun has a white ring round it, it means a slight storm in the night; if mist, a more violent storm; if the sun when so surrounded is bright, wind; if the ring is very dark, there will be a strong wind in the quarter in which the ring breaks.

79. The prognostics of the moon must rightfully come next. Egypt pays most attention to the moon's fourth day. It is believed that if she rises bright and shines with clear brilliance, she portends fine weather, if red, wind, if dark, rain, for the next fortnight. The moon's horns being blunted are always a sign of rain, and when they shoot up threateningly, of wind, but particularly on the fourth day of the moon. If the upper horn points stiffly north it presages a north wind, if the lower horn a south wind; if both horns are upright, a windy night. If the moon on her fourth night is surrounded by a bright ring, this will be a warning of both wind and rain. Varro writes as follows: If on the fourth day of the moon her horns are upright, this will presage a great storm at sea, unless she has a circlet round her, and that circlet unblemished, since that is the way in which she shows that there will not be stormy weather before full moon. If the moon at full has half of her disk clear, this will be a sign of fine weather, but if it is red, that will mean wind, and if darkish, rain. If the moon is enclosed in mist or in a circle of clouds, it will signify wind in the quarter in which the circle breaks; if she is surrounded by two rings, it will mean stormier weather, and the more so if there are three rings or if the rings are dark, broken and torn apart. If the new moon at her birth rises with her upper horn blacked out, she will bring rain when she wanes, but if it is the lower horn, before she is full, and if the blackness is at her centre, she will bring rain at full moon. If when full she has a circle round her, it will denote wind in the quarter where the circle shines brightest, and if at her rising the horns are thicker, it will denote a terrible storm. If when there is a west wind blowing the moon does not make an appearance before her fourth day, she will be accompanied by wintry weather for the whole month. If on her sixteenth day she has a more violently flaming appearance, this will presage violent storms.

There are also eight periodic points of the moon herself, corresponding to her angles of incidence with the sun, and most observers only notice the moon's prognostics between those points; they are the 3rd, 7th, 11th, 15th, 19th, 23rd and 27th days of the moon, and the day of her conjunction.

80. In the third place must come the observation of the stars. These are sometimes seen to move to and fro, and this is immediately followed by wind in the quarter in which they have given this presage. When at the periodic points that we have set out the whole sky is equally brilliant, it will afford a fine and cold autumn. If spring and summer do not pass without a chilly period, they will cause a fine and misty autumn, with less wind. Fine weather in autumn makes a windy winter. When the brightness of the stars becomes suddenly obscured, and that not by cloud or mist, rain or heavy storms are threatened. If several shooting stars are seen, they will announce winds from the quarters in the direction of which they travel, making a white track, steady winds if the stars twinkle, but if this occurs in several parts of the sky, shifting winds and blowing from all quarters. If one of the planets is enclosed by a circle, it means rain. In the constellation of the Crab there are two small stars called the Little Asses, with a small gap between them containing a little nebula called the Manger; when this nebula ceases to be visible in fine weather, a fierce storm follows; but if the northern one of the two stars is obscured by mist, there is a southerly gale, and if the southern one, a gale from the north. A double rainbow foretells rain, or coming after rain, fine weather, but this is not so certain; a ring of clouds round certain stars is a sign of rain.

81. A thunderstorm in summer with more violent thunder than lightning foretells wind in that quarter, but one with less thunder than lightning is a sign of rain. If there are flickers of lightning and claps of thunder in a clear sky, there will be stormy weather, but this will be extremely severe when it lightens from all four quarters of the sky; lightning in the north-east only will portend rain for the next day, and lightning in the north a north wind. Lightning on a fine night in the south, west or north-west will indicate wind and rain from the same quarters. Thunder in the morning signifies wind, and thunder at midday rain.

82. When clouds sweep over the sky in fine weather, wind is to be expected in whichever quarter the clouds come from. If they mass together in the same place and when the sun approaches are scattered, and if this takes place from a northern direction, they will portend winds, but if from a southern, rain. If when the sun is setting clouds rise into the sky on either side of the sun, they will signify stormy weather; if they are more lowering in the east they threaten rain for the night, but if in the west, rain the next day. If a number of clouds spread like fleeces of wool in the east, they will presage rain lasting three days. When clouds settle down on the tops of the mountains, the weather will be stormy; but if the tops become clear, it will turn fine. When there is heavy white cloud, a hailstorm, a `white storm' as it is called, will be imminent. A patch of cloud however small seen in a fine sky will give a storm of wind.

83. Mists coming down from the mountains or falling from the sky or settling in the valleys will promise fine weather.

84. Next after these, signs are given by fires on the earth. When they are pallid and crackling they are perceived as messengers of storms; also it is a sign of rain if fungus forms in lamps, and if the flame is spiral and flickering. When the lights go out of themselves or are hard to light, they announce wind; and so do sparks piling up on the top of a copper pot hanging over the fire, or live coal sticking to saucepans when you take them off the fire, or if when the fire is banked up it sends out a scattering of ashes or emits a spark, or if cinders on the hearth cake together and if a coal fire glows with extreme brilliance.

85. Water also gives signs. If when the sea is calm the water in a harbour sways about or makes a splashing noise of its own, it foretells wind, and if it does so in winter, rain as well; if the coasts and shores re-echo during a calm, they foretell a severe storm, as also do noises from the sea itself in a calm, or scattered flakes of foam, or bubbles on the water. Jellyfish on the surface of the sea portend several days' storm. Often also the sea swells in silence, and blown up in unusually high waves confesses that the winds are now inside it.

86. And predictions are also given by in certain sounds occurring in the mountains and by moanings of the forests and leaves rustling without any breeze being perceptible; and by the down off poplars and thorns fluttering, and feathers floating on the surface of water, and also in bells a peculiar ringing sound foretelling a storm about to come.

87. Presages are also given by animals: for instance dolphins sporting in a calm sea prophesy wind from the quarter from which they come, and likewise when splashing the water in a billowy sea they also presage calm weather. A cuttlefish fluttering out of the water, shell-fish adhering to objects, and sea-urchins making themselves fast or ballasting themselves with sand are signs of a storm; so also frogs croaking more than usual, and coots making a chattering in the morning, and likewise divers and ducks cleaning their feathers with their beak are a sign of wind, and the other water-birds flocking together, cranes hastening inland, and divers and seagulls forsaking the sea or the marshes. Cranes flying high aloft in silence foretell fine weather, and so also does the night-owl when it screeches during a shower, but it prophesies a storm if it screeches in fine weather, and so do crows croaking with a sort of gurgle and shaking themselves, if the sound is continuous, but if they swallow it down in gulps, this foretells gusty rain. Jays returning late from feeding foretell stormy weather, and so do the white birds when they collect in flocks, and land birds when they clamour while facing a piece of water and sprinkle themselves, but especially a rook; a swallow skimming along so close to the water that she repeatedly strikes it with her wing; and birds that live in trees going to cover in their nests; and geese when they make a continuous clamouring at an unusual time; and a heron moping in the middle of the sands.

88. Nor is it surprising that aquatic birds or birds in general perceive signs of coming changes of atmosphere; sheep skipping and sporting with unseemly gambols have the same prognostications, and oxen sniffing the sky and licking themselves against the way of the hair, and nasty swine tearing up bundles of hay that are not meant for them, and bees keeping in hiding idly and against their usual habit of industry, or ants hurrying to and fro or carrying forward their eggs, and likewise earthworms emerging from their holes.

89. It is also a well-ascertained fact that trefoil bristles and raises its leaves against an approaching storm.

90. Moreover when we are at table during our meals vessels into which food is put foretell dreadful storms by leaving a smudge on the sideboard.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 19

1. An account of the constellations, seasons and weather has now been given that is easy even for non-experts to understand does not leave any room for doubt; and for those who really understand the matter the countryside contributes to our knowledge of the heavens no less than astronomy contributes to agriculture. Many writers have made horticulture the next subject; we however do not think the time has come to pass straight to those topics, and we are surprised that some persons seeking from these subjects the satisfaction of knowledge, or a reputation for learning, have passed over so many matters without making any mention of all the plants that grow of their own accord or from cultivation, especially in view of the fact that even greater importance attaches to very many of these, in point of price and of practical utility, than to the cereals. And to begin with admitted utilities and with commodities distributed not only throughout all lands but also over the seas: flax is a plant that is grown from seed and that cannot be included either among cereals or among garden plants; but in what department of life shall we not meet with it, or what is more marvellous than the fact that there is a plant which brings Egypt so close to Italy that of two governors of Egypt Galerius reached Alexandria from the Straits of Messina in seven days and Balbillus in six, and that in the summer [AD 55] 15 years later the praetorian senator Valerius Marianus made Alexandria from Pozzuoli in nine days with a very gentle breeze? or that there is a plant that brings Cadiz within seven days' sail from the Straits of Gibraltar to Ostia, and Hither Spain within four days, and the Province of Narbonne within three, and Africa within two? The last record was made by Gaius Flavius, deputy of the proconsul Vibius Crispus, even with a very gentle wind blowing. How audacious is life and how full of wickedness, for a plant to be grown for the purpose of catching the winds and the storms, and for us not to be satisfied with being borne on by the waves alone, nay that by this time we are not even satisfied with sails that are larger than ships, but, although single trees are scarcely enough for the size of the yardarms that carry the sails, nevertheless other sails are added above the yards and others besides are spread at the bows and others at the sterns, and so many methods are employed of challenging death, and finally that out of so small a seed springs a means of carrying the whole world to and fro, a plant with so slender a stalk and rising to such a small height from the ground, and that this, not after being woven into a tissue by means of its natural strength but when broken and crushed and reduced by force to the softness of wool, afterwards by this ill-treatment attains to the highest pitch of daring! No execration is adequate for an inventor in navigation (whom we mentioned above in the proper place), who was not content that mankind should die upon land unless he also perished where no burial awaits him. Why, in the preceding Book we were giving a warning to beware of storms of rain and wind for the sake of the crops and of our food: and behold man's hand is engaged in growing and likewise his wits in weaving an object which when at sea is only eager for the winds to blow! And besides, to let us know how the Spirits of Retribution have favoured us, there is no plant that is grown more easily; and to show us that it is sown against the will of Nature, it scorches the land and causes the soil actually to deteriorate in quality.

2. Flax is chiefly grown in sandy soils, and with a single ploughing. No other plant grows more quickly: it is sown in spring and plucked in summer, and owing to this also it does damage to the land. Nevertheless, one might forgive Egypt for growing it to enable her to import the merchandise of Arabia and India. Really? And are the Gallic provinces also assessed on such revenue as this? And is it not enough that they have the mountains separating them from the sea, and that on the side of the ocean they are bounded by an actual vacuum, as the term is? The Cadurci, Caleti, Ruteni, Bituriges, and the Morini who are believed to be the remotest of mankind, in fact the whole of the Gallic provinces, weave sailcloth, and indeed by this time so do even our enemies across the Rhine, and linen is the showiest dress-material known to their womankind. This reminds us of the fact

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recorded by Varro that it is a clan-custom in the family of the Serrani for the women not to wear linen dresses. In Germany the women carry on this manufacture in caves dug underground; and similarly also in the Alia district of Italy between the Po and the Ticino, where the linen wins the prize as the third best in Europe, that of Saetabis being first, as the second prize is won by the linens of Retovium near the Alia district and Faenza on the Aemilian Road. The Faenza linens are preferred for whiteness to those of Alia, which are always unbleached, but those of Retovium are supremely fine in texture and substance and are as white as the Faventia, hut have no nap, which quality counts in their favour with some people but puts off others. This flax makes a tough thread having a quality almost more uniform than that of a spider's web, and giving a twang when you choose to test it with your teeth; consequently it is twice the price of the other kinds.

And after these it is Hither Spain that has a linen of special lustre, due to the outstanding quality of a stream that washes the city of Tarragon, in the waters of which it is dressed; also its fineness is marvellous, Tarragon being the place where cambrics were first invented. From the same province of Spain Zola flax has recently been imported into Italy, a flax specially useful for hunting-nets; Zoel is a city of Gallaecia near the Atlantic coast. The flax of Comae in Campania also has a reputation of its own for nets for fishing and fowling, and it is also used as a material for making hunting-nets: in fact we use flax to lay no less insidious snares for the whole of the animal kingdom than for ourselves! But the Cumae nets will cut the bristles of a boar and even turn the edge of a steel knife; and we have seen before now netting of such fine texture that it could be passed through a man's ring, with running tackle and all, a single person carrying an amount of net sufficient to encircle a wood! Nor is this the most remarkable thing about it, but the fact that each string of these nettings consists of 150 threads, as recently made for Fulvius Lupus who died in the office of governor of Egypt. This may surprise people who do not know that in a breastplate that belonged to a former king of Egypt named Amasis, preserved in the temple of Minerva at Lindus on the island of Rhodes, each thread consisted of 365 separate threads, a fact which Mucianus, who held the consulship three times quite lately, stated that he had proved to be true by investigation, adding that only small remnants of the breastplate now survive owing to the damage done by persons examining this quality. Italy also values the Pelignian flax as well, but only in its employment by fullersno flax is more brilliantly white or more closely resembles wool; and similarly the flax grown at Cahors has a special reputation for mattresses: this use of it is an invention of the provinces of Gaul, as likewise is flock. As for Italy, the custom even now survives in the word used for bedding. Egyptian flax is not at all strong, but it sells at a very good price. There are four kinds in that country, Tanitic, Pelusiac, Butie and Tentyritie, named from the districts where they grow. The upper part of Egypt, lying in the direction of Arabia, grows a bush which some people call cotton, but more often it is called by a Greek work meaning 'wood': hence the name xylina given to linens made of it. It is a small shrub, and from it hangs a fruit resembling a bearded nut, with an inner silky fibre from the down of which thread is spun. No kinds of thread are more brilliantly white or make a smoother fabric than this. Garments made of it are very popular with the priests of Egypt. A fourth kind is called othoninum; it is made from a sort of reed growing in marshes, but only from its tuft. Asia makes a thread out of broom, of which specially durable fishing-nets are made, the plant being soaked in water for ten days; the Ethiopians and Indians make thread from apples, and the Arabians from gourds that grow on trees, as we said.

3. With us the ripeness of flax is ascertained by two indications, the swelling of the seed or its assuming a yellowish colour. It is then plucked up and tied together in little bundles each about the size of a handful, hung up in the sun to dry for one day with the roots turned upward, and then for five more days with the heads of the bundles turned inward towards each other so that the seed may fall into the middle. Linseed makes a potent medicine; it is also popular in a rustic porridge with an extremely sweet taste, made in Italy north of the Po, but now for a long time only used for sacrifices. When the wheat-harvest is over the actual stalks of the flax are plunged in water that has been left to get warm in the sun, and a weight is put on them to press them down, as flax floats very readily. The outer coat becoming looser is a sign that they are completely soaked, and they are again dried in the sun, turned head downwards as before, and afterwards when thoroughly dry they are pounded on a stone with a tow-hammer. The part that was nearest the skin is called oakumit is flax of an inferior quality, and mostly more fit for lamp-wicks; nevertheless this too is combed with iron spikes until all the outer skin is scraped off. The pith has several grades of whiteness and softness, and the discarded skin is useful for heating ovens and furnaces. There is an art of combing out and separating flax: it is a fair amount for fifteen ... to be carried out from fifty pounds' weight of bundles; and spinning flax is a respectable occupation even for men. Then it is polished in the thread a second time, after being soaked in water and repeatedly beaten out against a stone, and it is woven into a fabric and then again beaten with clubs, as it is always better for rough treatment.

4. Also a linen has now been invented that is incombustible, it is called 'live' linen, and I have seen napkins made of it glowing on the hearth at banquets and burnt more brilliantly clean by the fire than they could be by being washed in water. This linen is used for making shrouds for royalty which keep the ashes of the corpse separate from the rest of the pyre. The plants grows in the deserts and sun-scorched regions of India where no rain falls, the haunts of deadly snakes, and it is habituated to living in burning heat; it is rarely found, and is difficult to weave into cloth because of its shortness; its colour is normally red hut turns white by the action of fire. When any of it is found, it rivals the prices of exceptionally fine pearls. The Greek name for it is asbestinon, derived from its peculiar property. Anaxilaus states that if this linen is wrapped round a tree it can be felled without the blows being heard, as it deadens their sound. Consequently this kind of linen holds the highest rank in the whole of the world. The next place belongs to a fabric made of fine flax grown in the neighbourhood of Elis in Achaia, and chiefly used for women's finery; I find that it formerly changed hands at the price of gold, four denarii for one twenty-fourth of an ounce. The nap of linen cloths, principally that obtained from the sails of seagoing ships, is much used as a medicine, and its ash has the efficacy of metal dross. Among the poppies also there is a kind from which an outstanding material for bleaching linen is extracted.

5. An attempt has been made to dye even linen so as to adapt it for our mad extravagance in clothes. This was first done in the fleets of Alexander the Great when he was voyaging on the river Indus, his generals and captains having held a sort of competition even in the various colours of the ensigns of their ships; and the river banks gazed in astonishment as the breeze filled out the bunting with its shifting hues. Cleopatra had a purple sail when she came with Mark Antony to Actium, and with the same sail she fled. A purple sail was subsequently the distinguishing mark of the emperor's ship.

6. Linen cloths were used in the theatres as awnings, a plan first invented by Quintus Catulus when dedicating the Capitol. Next Lentulus Spinther is recorded to have been the first to stretch awnings of cambric in the theatre, at the games of Apollo. Soon afterwards Caesar when dictator stretched awnings [49-44 B.C.]. over the whole of the Roman Forum, as well as the Sacred Way from his mansion, and the slope right up to the Capitol, a display recorded to have been thought more wonderful even than the show of gladiators which he gave. Next even when there was no display of games Marcellus the son of Augustus's sister Octavia, during his period of office as aedile, in the eleventh consulship of his uncle, from the first of August onward fixed awnings of sailcloth over the forum, so that those engaged in lawsuits might resort there under healthier conditions: what a change this was from the stern manners of Cato the ex-censor, who had expressed the view that even the forum ought to be paved with sharp pointed stones! Recently awnings actually of sky blue and spangled with stars have been stretched with ropes even in the emperor Nero's amphitheatres. Red awnings are used in the inner courts of houses and keep the sun off the moss growing there; but for other purposes white has remained persistently in favour. Moreover as early as the Trojan war linen already held a place of honourfor why should it not be present even in battles as it is in shipwrecks? Homer testifies that warriors, though only a few, fought in linen corslets. This material was also used for rigging ships, according to the same author as interpreted by the more learned scholars, who say that the word sparta used by Homer means 'sown'.

7. As a matter of fact the employment of esparto began many generations later, and not before the first invasion of Spain by the Carthaginians. Esparto also is a plant, which is self-sown and cannot be grown from seed; strictly it is a rush, belonging to a dry soil, and all the blame for it attaches to the earth, for it is a curse of the land, and nothing else can be brown or can spring up there. In Africa it makes a small growth and is of no use. In the Cartagena section of Hither Spain, and not the whole of this but as far as this plant grows, even the mountains are covered with esparto grass. Country people there use it for bedding, for fuel and torches, for footwear and for shepherd's clothes; but it is unwholesome fodder for animals, except the tender growth at the tops. For other purposes it is pulled out of the ground, a laborious task for which gaiters are worn on the legs and the hands are wrapped in woven gauntlets, and levers of bone or holm-oak are used; nowadays the work goes on nearly into winter, but it is done most easily between the middle of May and the middle of June, which is the season when the plant ripens.

8. When it has been plucked it is tied up in bundles in a heap for two days and on the third day untied and spread out in the sun and dried, and then it is done up in bundles again and put away under cover indoors. Afterwards it is laid to soak, preferably in sea water, but flesh water also will do if sea water is not available; and then it is dried in the sun and again moistened. If need for it suddenly becomes pressing, it is soaked in warm water in a tub and put to dry standing up, thus securing a saving of labour. After that it is pounded to make it serviceable, and it is of unrivalled utility, especially for use in water and in the sea, though on dry land they prefer ropes made of hemp; but esparto is actually nourished by being plunged in water, as if in compensation for the thirstiness of its origin. Its quality is indeed easily repaired, and however old a length of it may be it can be combined again with a new piece. Nevertheless one who wishes to understand the value of this marvellous plant must realize how much it is employed in all countries for the rigging of ships, for mechanical appliances used in building, and for other requirements of life. A sufficient quantity to serve all these purposes will be found to exist in a district on the coast of Cartagena that extends less than 100 miles along the shore and is less than 30 miles wide. The cost of carriage prohibits its being transported any considerable distance.

9. We may take it on the evidence of the Greek word for a rush that the Greeks used to employ that plant for making ropes; though it is well known that afterwards they used the leaves of palm trees and the inner bark of lime trees. It is extremely probable that the Carthaginians imported the use of esparto grass from Greece.

10. Theophrastus states that there is a kind of bulb growing in the neighbourhood of river banks, which contains a woolly substance (between the outer skin and the edible part) that is used as a material for making felt slippers and certain articles of dress; but he does not state, at all events in the copies of his work that have come into my hands, either the region in which this manufacture goes on or any particulars in regard to it beyond the fact that the plant is called 'wool-bearing'; nor does he make any mention at all of esparto grass, although he has given an extremely careful account of all plants at a date 390 years before our time (as we have also said already in another place); which shows that esparto grass came into use after that date.

11. And now that we have made a beginning in treating of the marvels of nature, we shall proceed to take them in order, by far the greatest among them being that a plant should spring up and live without having any root. The growths referred to are called truffles; they are enveloped all round with earth and are not strengthened by any fibres or at least filaments, nor yet does the place they grow in show any protuberance or undergo cracks; and they themselves do not stick to the earth, and are actually enclosed in a skin, so that while we cannot say downright that they consist of earth, we cannot call them anything but a callosity of the earth. They usually grow in dry and sandy soils and in places covered with shrubs. They often exceed the size of a quince, even weighing as much as a pound. They are of two kinds, one gritty in texture and unkind to the teeth, and the other devoid of impurities; they also differ in their colour, which is red or black, and the inside is white. The African variety is the most highly spoken of. I do not think it can be easily ascertained whether they grow in size, or whether this blemish of the earthfor they cannot be understood as anything elseforms at once a ball of the size that it is going to be; nor whether they are alive or not, for they decay in the same way as wood does. We know for a fact that when Lartius Licinius, an official of praetorian rank, was serving as Minister of Justice at Cartagena in Spain a few years ago, he happened when biting a truffle to come on a denarius contained inside it, which bent his front teeth; this will clearly show that truffles are lumps of earthy substance balled together. One thing that is certain is that truffles will be found to belong to the class of things that spring up spontaneously and cannot be grown from seed.

12. There is also a similar plant the name of which in the province of Cyrene is which has a remarkably sweet scent and flavour, but is more fleshy than the truffle; and one in Thrace called iton, and one in Greece, ceraunion or 'thunder-truffle'.

13. Peculiarities reported about truffles are that they spring up when there have been spells of rain in autumn and repeated thunderstorms, and that thunderstorms bring them out particularly; that they do not last beyond a year; and that those in spring are the most delicate to eat. In some places acceptable truffles only grow in marshy places, for instance at Mytilene it is said that they only grow on ground flooded by the rivers, when the floods have brought down seed from Tiara: that is the place where most grow. The most famous Asiatic truffles grow round Lampsacus and Alopeconnesus, and the most famous Greek ones in the district of Elis.

14. The fungus class also includes those called by the Greeks pezicae, which grow without root or stalk.

15. Next after these we will speak about laser-wort, a remarkably important plant, the Greek name for which is silphium; it was originally found in the province of Cyrenaica. Its juice is called laser, and it takes an important place in general use and among drugs, and is sold for its weight in silver denarii. It has not been found in that country now for many years, because the tax-farmers who rent the pasturage strip it clean by grazing sheep on it, realizing that they make more profit in that way. Only a single stalk has been found there within our memory, which was sent to the Emperor

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Nero. If a grazing flock ever chances to come on a promising young shoot, this is detected by the indication that a sheep after eating it at once goes to sleep and a goat has a fit of sneezing. And for a long time now no laser-wort has been imported to us except what grows in Persia or Media and Armenia, in abundant quantity but much inferior quality to that of Cyrenaica, and even so adulterated with gum, sacopenium, or with crushed beans; this makes it even more necessary for us not to omit to state the facts that in the consulship of Gaius Valerius and Marcus Herennius, 30 pounds of laser-wort plant was imported to Rome by the government, and that during the dictatorship of Caesar, at the beginning of the civil war he produced out of the treasury together with gold and silver 1500 lbs. of laser-wort plant.

We find it stated in the most reliable authors of Greece that this plant first sprang up in the vicinity of the Gardens of the Hesperids and the Greater Syrtis after the ground had been suddenly soaked by a shower of rain the colour of pitch, seven years before the foundation of the town of Cyrenae, which was in the year of our city 143; that the effect of this rainfall extended over 500 miles of Africa; and that the laser-wort plant grew widely in that country as an obstinate weed, and if cultivated, escaped into the desert; and that it has a large thick root and a stalk like that of fennel and equally thick. The leaves of this plant used to be called maspetunt; they closely resembled parsley, and the seed was like a leaf, the actual leaf being shed off in spring. It used to be customary to pasture cattle on it; it first acted as a purgative, and then the beasts grew fat and produced meat of a marvellously agreeable quality. After the plant had shed its leaves the people themselves used to eat the actual stalk, cooked in all sorts of ways, boiled and roasted; with them also it operated as a purge for the first six weeks. The juice used to be obtained in two ways, from the root and from the stalk, and the two corresponding names for it were rizias and cazciias, the latter inferior to the former and liable to go had. The root had a black rind. The juice itself was adulterated for trade purposes by being put into vessels with a mixture of bran added and then shaken up till it was brought into ripe condition; without this treatment it went bad. A proof of its being ripe was its colour and dryness, the damp juice having completely disappeared. Other accounts say that the plant had a root more than 18 inches long, and that at all events there was an excrescence on it protruding above the surface of the ground; that when an incision was made in this, a juice resembling milk would flow out; and that there was a stalk growing above the excrescence which they called magydaris; that the plant had leaves of a golden colour which served as seed, being shed after the rise of the Dog-star when a south wind was blowing, and that out of these fallen leaves shoots of laser-wort used to spring, both root and stalk making full growth in the space of a year. These authors also stated that it was customary to dig round the roots of the plant; and that it did not act as a purge with cattle, but if they were ailing it cured them, or else they died at once, the latter not happening in many cases. The former view corresponds with the Persian variety of silphium.

16. There is another kind of laser-wort called magydaris, which is gentler and less violent in its effects, and has no juice; this grows in the neighbourhood of Syria, not being found in the Cyrenaica region. Also there is a plant growing in great abundance on Mount Parnassus that is called laserwort plant by some persons. All these varieties are used for adulteration, bringing discredit on a very salutary and useful commodity. The first test of the genuine article is in the colour, which is reddish, and white inside when the mass is broken; and the next test is if the juice that drips out is transparent and melts very quickly in saliva. It is employed as an ingredient in a great many medicaments.

17. There are also two kinds that are known only to the avaricious herd, as they are very profitable articles of trade. First comes madder, which is indispensable for dyeing woollens and leather; the most highly esteemed is the Italian, and especially that grown in the neighbourhood of Rome, and almost all the provinces teem with it. It grows of itself, but a variety that resembles fitch, but has prickly leaves and stalk, is also grown from seed. This plant has a jointed stem, with five leaves arranged in a circle round each joint. The seed is red and finally turns black, and the root red. Its medicinal properties we shall state in their proper place.

18. But the plant called the rootlet has a juice that is only used for washing woollens, contributing in a remarkable degree to their whiteness and softness. It can he grown anywhere under cultivation, but an outstanding self-sown variety occurs in Asia and Syria, on rocky and rugged ground, though the most highly esteemed grows beyond the Euphrates. Its stalk being slender resembles fennel; and it is much sought after by the natives to supply articles of food or perfumes, according to the ingredients with which it is boiled down. It has the leaf of an olive. The Greek name of this plant is 'little sparrow'. It flowers in summer, and the blossom is pretty to look at but has no scent. It is a thorny plant, with a stalk covered with down. It has no seed, but a large root, which is cut up for the purpose mentioned.

19. It remains to return from these plants to the cultivation of gardens, a subject recommended to our notice both by its own intrinsic nature and by the fact that antiquity gave its highest admiration to the garden of the Hesperids and of the kings Adonis and Alcinous, and also to hanging gardens, whether those constructed by Semiramis or by Syrus King of Assyria, about whose work we shall speak in another volume. The kings of Rome indeed cultivated their gardens with their own hands; in fact it was from his garden that even Tarquin the Proud sent that cruel and bloodthirsty message to his son. In our Laws of the Twelve Tables the word 'farm' never occursthe word 'garden' is always used in that sense, while a garden is denoted by 'family estate'. Consequently even a certain sense of sanctity attached to a garden, and only in a garden and in the Forum do we see statues of Satyrs dedicated as a charm against the sorcery of the envious, although Plautus speaks of gardens as being under the guardianship of Venus. Nowadays indeed under the name of gardens people possess the luxury of regular farms and country houses actually within the city. This practice was first introduced at Athens by that connoisseur of luxurious ease, Epicurus; down to his day the custom had not existed of having country dwellings in towns.

At Rome at all events a garden was in itself a poor man's farm; the lower classes got their market-supplies from a gardenhow much more harmless their fare was then! It gives more satisfaction, forsooth, to dive into the depth of the sea and seek for the various sorts of oysters at the cost of a shipwreck, and to fetch birds from beyond the river Rion, birds which not even legendary terrors can protectin fact these actually make them more prized! or to go fowling for other birds in Numidia and among the tombs of Ethiopia, or to fight with wild beasts, and, in hunting for game for someone else to devour, to be devoured oneself! But I protest, how little does garden produce cost, how adequate it is for pleasure and for plenty, did we not meet with the same scandal in this as in everything else! We could no doubt have tolerated that choice fruits forbidden to the poor because of their flavour or their size or their portentous shape should be grown, that wines should be kept to mature with age and robbed of their virility by being passed through strainers, and that nobody should live so long as not to be able to drink vintages older than himself, and that luxury should also have long ago devised for itself a malted porridge made from the crops and should live only on the marrow of the grain, as well as on the elaborations and modellings of the bakers' shopsone kind of bread for my lords and another for the common herd, the yearly produce graded in so many classes right down to the lowest of the lout: but have distinctions been discovered even in herbs, and has wealth established grades even in articles of food that sell for a single copper? The ordinary public declares that even among vegetables some kinds are grown that are not for them, even a kale being fattened up to such a size that there is not room for it on a poor man's table. Nature had made asparagus to grow wild, for anybody to gather at random; but lo and behold! now we see a cultivated variety, and Ravenna produces heads weighing three to a pound. Alas for the monstrosities of gluttony! It would surprise us if cattle were not allowed to feed on thistles, but thistles are forbidden to the lower orders! Even the water-supply is divided into classes, and the power of money has made distinctions in the very elements. Some people drink snow, others ice, and turn what is the curse of mountain regions into pleasure for their appetite. Coolness is stored up against the hot weather, and plans are devised to keep snow cold for the months that are strangers to it. Other people first boil their water and then bring even that to a winter temperature. Assuredly mankind wants nothing to be as nature likes to have it. Shall even a particular kind of plant be reared to serve only the rich man's table? Can nobody have been warned by the Sacred Mount or the Aventine Hill, and the secessions of the angry Commons? Doubtless the provision-market will level up persons whom money divides into classes. And so, I vow, no impost at Rome bulked larger than the market dues in the outcry of the common people, who denounced them before all the chiefs of state until the tax on this commodity was remitted, and it was discovered that there was no method of rating that was more productive or safer and less governed by chance as this payment is trusted to the poorest, the surety is in the soil, and the revenues lie in open daylight, just as does the surface of their land, rejoicing in the sky whatever be its aspect.

Cato sings the praises of garden cabbages; people in old days used to estimate farmers by their garden-produce and thus at once to give a verdict that there was a bad mistress in the house where the garden outside, which used to be called the woman's responsibility, was neglected, as it meant having to depend on the butcher or the market for victuals. Nor did people approve very highly of vegetables as they do now, since they condemned delicacies that require another delicacy to help them down. This meant economizing oil, since it was actually counted as a reproach to need a rich sauce. Those products of the garden were most in favour which needed no fire for cooking and saved fuel, and which were a resource in store and always ready; whence their name of salads, easy to digest and not calculated to overload the senses with food, and least adapted to stimulate the appetite. The fact that one set of herbs is devoted to seasoning shows that it used to be customary to do one's borrowing at home, and that there was no demand for Indian pepper and the luxuries that we import from overseas. Indeed the lower classes in the city used to give their eyes a daily view of country scenes by means of imitation gardens in their windows, before the time when atrocious burglaries in countless numbers compelled them to bar out all the view with shutters. Therefore let vegetables also have their need of honour and do not let things be robbed of respect by the fact of their being common, especially as we see that vegetables have supplied even the names of great families, and a branch of the Valerian family were not ashamed to bear the surname Lettuce. Moreover some gratitude may attach to our labour and research on the ground that Virgil also confessed how difficult it is to provide such small matters with dignified appellations.

20. There is no doubt that it is proper to have gardens adjoining the farm-house, and that they should be irrigated preferably by a river flowing past them, if it so happens, or if not, be supplied with water from a well by means of a wheel or windmills, or ladled up by swing-beams. The soil should be broken up in preparation for autumn a fortnight after the west wind sets in, and gone over again before midwinter. It will take eight men to dig over an acre of land, mix dung with the soil to a depth of three feet, mark it out in plots and border these with sloping rounded banks, and surround each plot with a furrowed path to afford access for a man and a channel for irrigation.

21. Some plants growing in gardens are valued for their bulb, others for their head, others for their stalk, others for their leaf, others for both, others for their seed, others for their cartilage, others for their flesh, or for both, others for their husk or skin and cartilage, others for their fleshy outer coats.

22. Some plants produce their fruits in the earth, others outside as well, others only outside. Some grow lying on the ground, for instance gourds and cucumbers; these also grow in a hanging position, though they are much heavier even than fruits that grow on trees, but the cucumber is composed of cartilage and flesh and the gourd of rind and cartilage; the gourd is the only fruit whose rind when ripe changes into a woody substance. Radishes, navews and turnips are hidden in the earth, and so in a different way are elecampane, skirret and parsnips. Some plants we shall call of the fennel class, for instance dill and mallow; for authorities report that in Arabia mallows grow into trees in seven months, and serve as walking-sticks. There is an instance of a mallow-tree on the estuary of the town of Lixus in Mauretania, the place where the Gardens of the Hesperids are said to have been situated; it grows 200 yards from the ocean, near a shrine of Hercules which is said to be older than the one at Cadiz; the tree itself is 20 ft. high, and so large round that nobody could span it with his arms. Hemp will also be placed in a similar class. Moreover there are also some plants to which we shall give the name of 'fleshy', for instance the spongy plants that grow in water-meadows. As to the tough flesh of funguses, we have mentioned it already in treating the nature of timber and of trees, and in the ease of another class, that of truffles, a short time ago.

23. Belonging to the class of cartilaginous plants and growing on the surface of the ground is the cucumber, a delicacy for which the emperor Tiberius had a remarkable partiality; in fact there was never a day on which he was not supplied with it, as his kitchen-gardeners had cucumber beds mounted on wheels which they moved out into the sun and then on wintry days withdrew under the cover of frames glazed with transparent stone. Moreover it is actually stated in the writings of early Greek authors that cucumber seed should be soaked for two days in milk mixed with honey before it is sown, in order to make the cucumbers sweeter. They grow in any shape they are forced to take; in Italy green ones of the smallest possible size are popular, but the provinces like the largest ones possible, and of the colour of wax or else dark. African cucumbers are the most prolific, and those of Moesia the largest. When they are exceptionally big they are called pumpkins. Cucumbers when swallowed remain in the stomach till the next day and cannot be digested with the rest of one's food, but nevertheless they are not extremely unwholesome. They have by nature a remarkable repugnance for oil, and an equal fondness for water; even when they have been cut from the stem, they creep towards water a moderate distance away, but on the contrary they retreat from oil, or if something is in their way or if they are hanging up, they grow curved and twisted. This may be observed to take place even in a single night, because if a vessel with water is put underneath them they descend towards it a hand's breadth before the next morning, but if oil is similarly near they will be found curved into crooked shapes. Also if their flower is passed down into a tube they grow to a remarkable length. Curious to say, just recently a new form of cucumber has been produced in Campania, shaped like a quince. I am told that first one grew

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in this shape by accident, and that later a variety was established grown from seed obtained from this one; it is called apple-pumpkin. Cucumbers of this kind do not hang from the plant but grow of a round shape lying on the ground; they have a golden colour. A remarkable thing about them, beside their shape, colour and smell, is that when they have ripened, although they are not hanging down they at once separate from the stalk. Columella gives a plan of his own for getting a supply of cucumbers all the year roundto transplant the largest blackberry bush available to a warm, sunny place, and about the spring equinox to cut it back, leaving a stump two inches long; and then to insert a cucumber seed in the pith of the bramble and bank up fine earth and manure round the roots, so that they may withstand the cold. The Greeks have produced three kinds of cucumbers, the Spartan, the Sevtalic and the Boeotian; of these it is said that only the Spartan variety is fond of water. Some people tell us to steep cucumber seed in the plant called cidia pounded up before sowing it, which will produce a cucumber having no seed.

24. The gourd is also of a similar nature, at all events in its manner of growing: it has an equal aversion for cold and is equally fond of water and manure. Both gourds and cucumbers are grown from seed sown in a hole dug in the ground eighteen inches deep, between the spring equinox and midsummer, but most suitably on the day of the Parilia. Some people however prefer to start sowing gourds on March 1 and cucumbers on March 7, and to go on through the Feast of Minerva. These two plants both climb upward with shoots creeping over the rough surface of walls right up to the roof, as their nature is very fond of height. They have not the strength to stand without supports, but they shoot up at a rapid pace, covering vaulted roofs and trellises with a light shade. Owing to this they fall into these two primary classes, the roof-gourd and the common gourd which grows on the ground; in the former class a remarkably thin stalk has hanging from it a heavy fruit which a breeze cannot move. The gourd as well as the cucumber is made to grow in all sorts of long shapes, mostly by means of sheathes of plaited wicker, in which it is enclosed after it has shed its blossom, and it grows in any shape it is compelled to take, usually in the form of a coiled serpent. But if allowed to hang free it has before now been seen three yards long. The cucumber makes blossoms one by one, one flowering on the top of the other, and it can do with rather dry situations; it is covered with white down, especially when it is growing.

There are a larger number of ways of using gourds. To begin with, the stalk is an article of food. The part after the stalk is of an entirely different nature; gourds have recently come to be used instead of jugs in bathrooms, and they have long been actually employed as jars for storing wine. The rind of gourd while it is green is thin, but all the same it is scraped off when they are served as food; and although it is healthy and agreeable in a variety of ways, it is nevertheless one of the rinds that cannot be digested by the human stomach, but swell up. The seeds that were nearest the neck of the plant produce long gourds, and so do those next to the bottom, though the gourds grown from them are not comparable with those mentioned above; the seeds in the middle grow into round gourds, and those at the sides into thick and shorter ones. The seeds are dried in the shade, and when they are wanted for sowing they are steeped in water. The longer and thinner gourds are, the more agreeable they are for food, and consequently those which have been left to grow hanging are more wholesome; and this kind contain fewest seeds, the hardness of which limits their agreeableness as an article of diet. Gourds kept for seed are not usually cut before winter; after cutting they are dried in smoke for storing seeds of garden plantsthe farm's stock in store. A plan has been invented by which they are preserved for food alsoand the same in the case of cucumbersto last almost until the next crops are available. This method employs brine; but it is reported that gourds can also be kept green in a trench dug in a shady place and floored with sand and covered over with dry hay and then with earth. There are also wild varieties of both cucumbers and gourds, as is the case with almost all garden plants; but these also only possess medicinal properties, and therefore they will be deferred to the Books devoted to them.

25. The remaining plants of a cartilaginous nature are all hidden in the ground. Among these, we might appear to have already spoken amply about the turnip, were it not that medical men class the round plants in this group as being of the male sex and the more spread out and curved ones as female, the latter being superior in sweetness and easier to store; though after being repeatedly sown they turn into male plants. The same authorities have made four classes of navews, the Corinthian, Cleonaean, Liothasian and Boeotian, the last also called merely the green turnip. Of these the Corinthian turnip grows to a very large size, with its root almost bare, for only this kind grows upward, not down into the ground as the others do. The Liothasian kind is by some called Thracian navew; it stands cold extremely well. The Boeotian navew is sweet, and also is remarkable for its short round shape, not being elongated like the Cleonaean variety. In fact, generally speaking, navews the leaves of which are smooth also themselves have a sweeter taste, and those with rough and angular and bristly leaves are more bitter. There is also a wild kind the leaves of which resemble colewort. At Rome the prize is given to the turnips of San Vettorino, and next to those of Norcia, and the third place to the local variety. The rest of the facts about growing navews have been stated in the passage dealing with turnips.

26. Radishes consist of an outer skin and a cartilage, and with many of them the skin is even thicker than the bark of some kinds of trees. They have an extremely pungent flavour, which varies in proportion to the thickness of the skin. The other parts as well are sometimes of a woody substance. They have a remarkable power of causing flatulence and eructation; consequently they are a vulgar article of diet, at all events if cabbage is eaten immediately after them, though if the radish itself is eaten with over-ripe olives, the eructation caused is less frequent and less offensive. In Egypt the radish is held in remarkable esteem because it produces oil, which they make from its seed. The people are very fond of sowing radish seed if opportunity offers, because they make more profit from it than from corn and have a smaller duty to pay on it, and because no plant there yields a larger supply of oil. The Greeks have made three kinds of radish, distinguished by difference of the leavesthe wrinkled a radish, the smooth radish and third the wild kind; though the last has smooth leaves, they are shorter and round, and numerous and bushy; the taste of this radish is however rough, and it acts like a drug with a purgative effect. Among the kinds mentioned before however there is also a difference arising from the seed, since some produce an inferior seed and some an extremely small one; but these defects only apply to the wrinkled-leaf variety. Our own people have made other classesthe Monte Compatri radish, named from its locality, a long and semi-transparent radish, and another shaped like a turnip which they call Syrian radish, about the sweetest and most tender of any, and exceptionally able to stand the winter. It appears however to have been imported from Syria only lately, since it is not found mentioned in the authorities; still, it lasts through the whole of the winter. There is also one wild variety, called by the Greeks cerais, in the Pontus country armor, or by other people leuce, and by our nation armoracia; this radish grows more leaves than root. But in testing the value of all kinds of radishes most attention is given to the stems, as those of a harsh flavour have stems that are rounded and thicker and grooved with long channels, and the leaves themselves are more crinkled and have prickly corners.

The radish likes to be sown in loose, damp soil. It dislikes dung and is content with a dressing of chaff; and it is so fond of cold that in Germany it grows as big as a baby child. Radish for the spring crop is sown after February 13, and the second sowing, which is a better crop, is about the Festival of Vulcan; but many also sow it in March and April and in September. When it begins to make growth, it pays to bank up every other leaf on each plant and to earth up the roots themselves, as a root that projects above the ground becomes hard and full of holes. Aristomachus advises stripping off the leaves during winter, and piling up earth round the plants to prevent muddy puddles forming round them; and he says that this will make them grow a good size in summer. Some authors have stated that if a hole is made by driving in a stake and covered at the bottom with chaff to a depth of six inches, and a seed is sown in it and dung and earth are heaped on it, a radish grows to the size of the hole. All the same they find saltish soils specially nourishing, and so they are even watered with salt water, and in Egypt, where they are remarkable for sweetness, they are sprinkled with soda. Also brackishness has the effect of entirely removing their pungency, and making them like radishes that have been boiled, inasmuch as boiling a radish sweetens it and turns it into something like a navew.

Medical men recommend giving raw radishes with salt for the purpose of concentrating the crude humours of the bowels, and they use this mixture to act as an emetic. They also say that radish juice is an essential specific for disease of the diaphragm, inasmuch as in Egypt, when the kings ordered post mortem dissections to be made for the purpose of research into the nature of diseases, it was discovered that this was the only dose that was capable of removing phtheiriasis attacking the internal parts of the heart. Also it is said that the radish was rated so far above all other articles of food that, such is the frivolity of the Greeks, in the temple of Apollo at Delphi, a radish modelled in gold was dedicated as a votive offering, though only a silver beetroot and a turnip of lead. You might be sure that Manius Curius was not a native of Delphi, the general who is recorded in our annals to have been found by the enemy's envoys roasting a turnip at the fire, when they came bringing the gold which he was going indignantly to refuse. Also the Greek author Moschion wrote a whole volume about the radish. Radishes are considered an extremely valuable article of food in winter time, though at the same time people think them to be always bad for the teeth, because they wear them down; at all events they can be used for polishing ivory. There is a great antipathy between radishes and vines, which shrink away from radishes planted near them.

27. The rest of the plants that we have placed in the cartilaginous class are of a woodier substance, and it is noticeable that they all have an extremely pungent taste. Among these there is one wild kind of parsnip that grows of its own accord, and another kind belonging to Greece that is grown from a root or from seed set at the beginning of spring or else in autumn, according to Hyginus, in February or in August or September or October, the ground having been dug over as deeply as possible. A root only a year old begins to be serviceable, but a two year old plant is more valuable; it is more agreeable in autumn, and especially for boiling in saucepans, and even so it has a pungency that cannot be got rid of. The marsh-mallow differs from the parsnip in being of a more slender shape; it is condemned as an article of diet, but is useful for medical purposes. There is also a fourth kind of plant that bears the same resemblance to a parsnip, which our people call the Gallic parsnip, but the Greeks, who have subdivided it also into four classes, call daucos; this will have to be mentioned among the medicinal plants.

28. The skirret also has been advertised by the emperor Tiberius's requisitioning an annual supply of it from Germany. There is a castle on the Rhine called Gelb where a specially fine kind of skirret grows, showing that cold localities suit it. It contains a core running through its whole length, which is drawn out when it has been boiled, though nevertheless a great part of its bitterness remains, which when it is used as a food is modified by adding wine sweetened with honey, and is actually turned into an attraction. The larger parsnip also contains a core of the same kind, though only when it is a year old. The time for sowing skirret is in the months of February, March, April, August, September and October.

29. Elecampane is shorter and more substantial than the roots described, and also more bitter; eaten by itself it disagrees violently with the stomach, but it is very wholesome when blended with sweet things. There are several ways of overcoming its acridity and rendering it agreeable: it is dried and pounded into flour and seasoned with some sweet juice, or it is boiled or kept in soak in vinegar and water, or steeped in various ways, and then mixed with boiled down grapejuice or flavoured with honey or raisins or juicy dates. Another method again is to flavour it with quinces or sorbs or plums, and occasionally with pepper or thyme, making it a tonic particularly salutary for a weak digestion; it has become specially stimulating from having been the daily diet of Julia the daughter of Augustus. Its seed is superfluous, as it is propagated like a reed, from eyes cut out of the root; it also, like the skirret and the parsnip, is planted at either season, spring or autumn, with large spaces left between the plantsfor elecampane not less than a yard, because it throws out shoots over a wide space. Skirret is better transplanted.

30. Next after these in natural properties are the bulbs, which Cato particularly recommends for cultivation, specially praising the Megarian kind. But the most famous bulb is the squill, although it naturally serves as a drug and is used for increasing the sourness of vinegar; and no other bulb is of larger size, just as also no other has a more powerful pungency. There are two kinds used for medicine, the male squill with white leaves and the female squill with dark leaves; and there is also a third kind, agreeable as an article of diet, called Epimenides's squillthis has a narrower leaf with a less pungent taste. All produce a very large quantity of seed, though they come up more quickly if grown from the bulbs that shoot out round their sides; and to make them grow bigger, the leaves, which in this plant are of a large size, are bent down in a circle round them and covered with soil, so causing the heads to draw all the juice into themselves. They grow wild in very large quantities in the Balearic Islands and Iviza, and throughout the Spanish provinces. The philosopher Pythagoras wrote a whole book about them, including an account of their medicinal properties, which we shall record in the next Volume. The remaining kinds of bulbs differ in colour and size and in flavour, some being eaten raw, for instance in the Crimea; next after these the ones that grow in Africa are most highly spoken of, and then those of Anulia. The Greeks have distinguished the following kindsbolbine, setanion, opition, cyix, aegilops and sisyrinchion; the last possesses the remarkable property that its bottom roots grow in winter, but in the springtime, when the violet has appeared, these diminish while the actual bulb, on the other hand, afterwards begins to swell out. Among the varieties of bulb there is also the one that in Egypt they call the arum, which is very near to the squill in size and to the sorrel in foliage, with a straight stalk a yard long of the thickness of a walking-stick, and a root of softer substance, which can even be eaten raw. Bulbs are dug up before the beginning of spring, or else they at once go off in quality; it is a sign that they are ripe then the leaves become dry at the lower end. The rather green ones are disapproved of, as also are the long and the small ones, whereas those of a reddish colour and rounder shape are praised, as also are those of the largest size. Usually their top has a bitter taste and the middle parts are sweet. Previous writers have stated that bulbs only grow from seed, but as a matter of fact they spring up of themselves in the plains near

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Palestrina, and also in unlimited quantity in the country round Reims.

31. Nearly all kitchen-garden plants have only a single root, for instance radish, beet, parsley mallow. Sorrel has the largest root, going as far as a yard and a half into the ground (the root of the wild sorrel is smaller), and its root is full of sap, and lives a long time even after being dug up. In some of these plants, however, for instance parsley and mallow, the root is fibrous, in some, for instance basil, woody, in others fleshy, as in beet or still more in saffron, and with some, for instance radish and turnip, the roots consist of rind and flesh, and the roots of some, for instance hay-grass, are jointed. Those which have not a straight root support themselves immediately with a great many hairy fibres, for instance orage and blite; but squill and the bulbs and onion and garlic only throw out straight roots. Some of the plants that grow self-sown have more root than leaf, for instance partridge-plant and crocus. Wild thyme, southernwood, turnips, radishes, mint and rue blossom all in a bunch. All other plants shed their blossom all at once as soon as they have begun to do so, but basil does so gradually, starting from the bottom, and consequently it flowers for a very long time. This also happens in the case of the heliotrope. Some plants have a white flower, others yellow and others purple. Wild marjoram and elecampane shed their leaves from the top down, and so sometimes does rue when it has been damaged by an accident. The onion and the leek have especially hollow leaves.

32. In Egypt people swear by garlic and onions as deities in taking an oath. Among the Greeks the varieties of onion are the Sardinian, Samothracian, Alsidenian, setanian, the split onion, and the Ascalon onion, named from a town in Judea. In all these the body consists entirely of coats of greasy cartilage; also they all have a smell which makes one's eyes water, especially the Cyprus onions, but least of all those of Cnidos. The smallest of all except the Tuscany onion is the setanian, though it has a sweet taste; but the split onion and the Ascalon onion need flavouring. The split onion is left with its leaves on in winter, these being pulled off in spring, and others grow in their place at the same divisions, from which these onions get their name. This has suggested the recommendation to strip the other kinds also of their leaves, so as to make them grow to heads rather than run to seed. Ascalon onions also have a peculiar nature, being in a manner sterile at the root, and consequently the Greeks have advised growing them from seed and not planting them, and moreover sowing them rather late, about springtime, but transplanting them when they are in bud; this method, they say, causes them to fill out and grow quickly, making up for the time lost. But in their case haste is necessary, because when ripe they quickly go rotten. If growls from roots they throw out a stalk and run to seed, and the bulb withers away. There is also a difference of colours, the whitest onions growing at Issus and at Sardis. Those of Crete are also esteemed, though the question is raised whether they are identical with the Ascalon variety, because when grown from seed they make large heads but run to stalk and seed when planted; they only differ from the Ascalon onions in their sweet flavour. In our country we have two principal varieties, one the kind of onion used for seasoning, the Greek name for which is getion-leek and the Latin 'pallaeana', which is sown in March, April or May, and the other the onion with a head, which is sown after the autumn equinox or when the west wind has begun to blow in the springtime. The varieties of the latter, in order of their degrees of pungency, are the African, the Gallic, and those of Tusculum, Ascalon and Amiternae. Those of the roundest shape are the best; also a red onion is more pungent than a white one, or a dry one than one still fresh, and a raw one than one that has been cooked, and also than one that has been kept in store. The Amitemum kind is grown in cold and damp places, and is the only one that grows with a head only, like garlic, all other varieties being grown from seed and next summer producing no seed but only a head which goes on growing in size; but in the following year just the contrary, seed is produced but the actual head goes rotten. Consequently every year there are two separate processes, seed being sown to produce onions and onions planted for seed. Onions keep best stored in chaff. The scallion has hardly any head at all, only a long neck, and consequently it all goes to leaf, and it is cut back several times, like common leek; consequently it also is grown from seed, not by planting. In addition, they recommend digging over the ground three times and weeding out the plant-roots before sowing onions; and using ten pounds of seed to the acre, with savoury mixed in, as the onions come up better; and moreover stubbing and hoeing the ground four times, if not more. Our farmers sow the Asealon onion in February. The seed of onions is harvested when they begin to turn black, before they get dry.

33. It may also be suitable to mention the leek in this family of plants, especially as importance has recently been given to the chive by the emperor Nero, who on certain fixed days of every month always ate chives preserved in oil, and nothing else, not even bread, for the sake of his voice. It is grown from seed sown just after the autumnal equinox; if it is for the purpose of chives, it must be sown rather thickly. It goes on being cut in the same bed till it gives out; and if it is being grown to make heads it is always well manured before it is cut. When it is fully grown, it is moved to another bed, after having the points of the leaves above the central part carefully trimmed off and the tips of the coats drawn back from the heads. Growers in former times used to broaden out the heads by putting them under a stone or a potsherd, and the same with bulbs as well; but now the practice is gently to pull the roots loose with a hoe, so that being bent they may feed the plant and not draw it apart. It is a remarkable fact that although the leek likes manure and a rich soil, it hates damp places. Nevertheless there is a connexion between the varieties and some peculiarity of the soil: the most highly esteemed kind belongs to Egypt, and the next to Ostia and to La Iticcia. There are two kinds of chive; one with grass-green leaves, with distinct markings on themthis is the chive used by druggistsand another kind with leaves of a yellower colour and rounder in shape, on which the markings are less prominent. There is a story that a member of the Order of Knights named Mela, when recalled from a deputy-governorship by the emperor Tiberius to be impeached for maladministration, in extreme despair swallowed a dose of leek-juice weighing three denarii in silver, and immediately expired without suffering any pain. A larger dose is said to have no injurious effect.

34. Garlic is believed to be serviceable for making a number of medicaments, especially those used in the country. It is enveloped in very fine skins in entirely separate layers, and then consists of several kernels in a cluster, each of these also having a coat of its own; it has a pungent flavour, and the more kernels there were the more pungent it is. Garlic as well as onions gives an offensive smell to the breath, though when boiled it causes no smell. The difference between the various kinds consists in the time they take to ripenthe early kind ripens in 60 daysand also in their size. Ulpicum also comes in this class, the plant called by the Greeks Cyprian garlic, or by others antiscorodon; it holds a high rank among the dishes of the country people, particularly in Africa, and it is larger than garlic; when beaten up in oil and vinegar it swells up in foam to a surprising size. Some people say that ulpiciim and garlic must not be planted in level ground, and advise placing it in little mounds a yard apart like a chain of forts; there must be a space of four inches between the grains, and as soon as three leaves have broken out the plants must be hoed over: they grow larger the oftener they are hoed. When they begin to ripen, their stalks are pressed down into the earth and covered up: this prevents their making too lush foliage. In cold soils it pays better to plant in the spring than in autumn. Moreover with all of these plants, to prevent their having an objectionable smell, it is advised to plant them when the moon is below the horizon and to gather them when it is in conjunction. The Greek writer Menander states that people eating garlic without taking these precautions can neutralize the smell by eating after it a beetroot roasted on the hot coals. Some people think that the best time for planting both garlic and ulpicum is between the Feast of the Crossways and the Feast of Saturn. Garlic can also be grown from seed, but it is a slow process, as the head only makes the size of a leek in the first year and divides into cloves in the second year, making full growth in the third year; and some people think that this variety of garlic is a finer kind. It must not be allowed to run to seed, but the stalks must be twisted up for purposes of propagation, so that it may form a stronger head. But if garlic or onions are wanted to keep for some time, their heads should be soaked in warm salt water; that will make them last longer and will render them better for use, though barren in seeding. Others are content to begin by hanging them up over burning coal, and think that this expedient is quite sufficient to prevent their sprouting, which it is well known that garlic and onions do even when out of the ground, and after enlarging their small stalk they wither away. Also some people think that garlic keeps best when stored in chaff. There is also another garlic called alum that grows self-sown in the fields, which, after having been boiled to prevent its shooting up again, is scattered about as a protection against the ravages of birds that eat up the seeds, and the birds that swallow it at once become stupefied, and if you wait a little, go completely unconscious and can be caught by hand. There is also a wild kind called bear's garlic, with a similar smell, which has a very small head and large leaves.

35. Of kitchen-garden plants the quickest to grow are basil, blite, rape and rocket; these break out of the ground two days after they are sown. Dill comes up in 3 days, lettuce 4, radish 9, cucumber 5, gourd even 6cucumber is earliercress and mustard 4, summer beet 5, winter beet 9, orage 7, onions 13 or 19, long onion 9 or 11; coriander is more obstinate, and indeed cunila and wild marjoram do not come up before 30 days, but the most difficult of all is parsley, for it comes up in 39 days at the quickest, and in the majority of cases in 49 days. Something also depends on the age of the seed, as fresh seed comes up more quickly in the case of leek, long onion, cucumber and gourd, but parsley, beet, cress, cunila, wild marjoram and coriander grow more quickly from old seed. There is a curious thing about beet seed that the whole of it does not germinate in the same year but some only in the year following, and some even two years later; and consequently a quantity of seed only produces a moderate crop. Some plants only produce seed in the same year as they are planted, but some more often, for instance parsley, leek and long onion, as these when once sown retain their fertility and come up several years running.

36. The seeds of most plants are round, but those of some oblong; in a few they are foliated and broad, for instance orage, in some narrow and grooved, for instance cummin. They differ in colour as well, dark or lighter, and also in woody hardness. The seeds of radishes, mustard and turnip are contained in a pod; the seed of coriander, dill, fennel and curnxnin has no cover, that of blite, beet, orage and basil is covered with a skin, while that of lettuces is wrapped in down. No seed is more prolific than basil; they recommend sowing it with curses and imprecations. to make it come up more abundantly; when it. is sown the earth is rammed down. Also people sowing cummin pray for it not to come up. It is difficult for seeds contained in a pod to get dry, particularly basil, and consequently they are all dried artificially to make them fertile. In any case plants grow better when the seed is sown in heaps than when it is scattered; indeed it is on that principle that they sow leek and parsley tied up in strips of rag, and also before sowing parsley they make a hole with a dibble into which they put dung. All plants grow either from seed or from slips, or some both from seed and from cuttings, as rue, wild marjoram, basilfor people lop off the top of this plant too when it has reached the height of a palm; and some plants grow both from seed and from a root, as onion, garlic, bulbs, and the perennials the roots of which stay alive. But with plants that grow from a root the root lives a long time and throws out shoots, for instance bulbs, long onions and squills. Others make shrubby growth and without heads, for instance parsley and beet. When the stalk is cut back, nearly all plants except those which have not got a rough stem throw out fresh shoots, indeed basil, radish and lettuce put out new shoots that can be used; lettuce is thought to be even sweeter if grown from a fresh sprouting. Anyway radish is more agreeable when its leaves have been stripped off before it runs to stalk. The same is also true in the case of turnips, for they likewise if banked up with earth after the leaves have been pulled off go on growing and last into summer.

37. Basil, sorrel, spinach, cress, rocket, orage, coriander and dill are plants of which there is Set., only one kind, as they are the same in every locality and no better in one place than another. It is a common belief that rue which you have stolen grows better, just as stolen bees are believed to do very badly. Wild mint, cat-mint, endive and pennyroyal spring up even without being sown. On the other hand plants which we have mentioned and are going to mention have several varieties, and particularly parsley. The parsley that grows wild in damp places has a Greek name meaning marsh-parsley; it has a single leaf and is not of shaggy growth; again, the Greek name of another, a many-leaved parsley resembling marsh-parsley, but growing in dry places, is horse-parsley; a third kind is called mountain-parsley in Greekit has the leaves of hemlock, a thin root, and seed like that of dill only smaller. Moreover cultivated parsley also has varieties in the leaf, which is bushy and crinkled or scantier and smoother, and also in the stalk, thinner or thicker, and in some plants the stalk is white, in others purple, in others mottled.

38. The Greeks have distinguished three kinds of lettuce, one with so broad a stalk that it is said that the wicket-gates of kitchen gardens are often made of them; these plants have leaves rather larger than those of the green garden-lettuce, and extremely narrow, the nutriment being apparently used up elsewhere; the second kind has a round stalk, and the third is a squat-growing plant, called the Spartan lettuce. Other people have classified lettuces by colour and season of sowing, saying that the black lettuce is the kind sown in January, the white in March and the red in April, and that all of these kinds can be transplanted at the end of two months. More precise authorities make a larger number of varieties, the purple, the crinkly, the Cappadocian, the Greekthe last with a smoother leaf and a broad stalk, and in addition the lettuce with a long and narrow leaf, which resembles endive; while the worst kind of all has been given the name in Greek of bitter lettuce, in condemnation of its bitter taste. There is moreover another variety of white lettuce the Greek name for which is poppy-lettuce, from its abundance of juice with a soporific property, although all the lettuces are believed to bring sleep; this was the only kind of lettuce in Italy in early times, which accounts for the Latin name for lettuce, derived from the Latin for milk. A purple lettuce with a very large root is called Caecilius's lettuce, while a round one with a very small root and broad leaves is called in Greek the anti-aphrodisiac, or otherwise the eunuch's lettuce, because this kind is an extremely potent check to amorous propensities. Indeed they all have a cooling quality, and consequently are acceptable in summer. They relieve the stomach of distaste for food and promote appetite. At all events it is stated that the late lamented Augustus in an illness, thanks to the sagacity of his doctor, Musa, was cured by lettuce, which had been

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refused him by the excessive scruples of his previous doctor, Gaius Aemilius; this was such a good advertisement for lettuces that the method was then discovered of keeping them into the months when they are out of season, pickled in honey-vinegar. It is also believed that lettuces increase the blood-supply.

There is also a variety called the goat-lettuce of which we shall speak among drugs; and only quite recently there has begun to be introduced among the cultivated lettuces a kind held in considerable esteem called the Cilician lettuce, which has the leaf of the Cappadocian kind, only crinkly and broader.

39. Endive cannot be said to belong either to the same class of plant as lettuce or to another class, being better able to endure the winter and having more acridity of flavour; but its stalk is equally agreeable. It is sown after the spring equinox, and the seedlings are bedded out at the end of the spring. There is also a wild endive called in Egypt succory, about which more will be said elsewhere. A method has been discovered of preserving all the stalks or leaves of lettuces by storing them in pots and boiling them in saucepans while fresh. Lettuces can be sown all the year round in favourable soil that is watered by streams and manured, with two months between sowing and bedding out and two between that and maturity. The regular plan, however, is to sow just after midwinter and to bed out when the west wind sets in, or else to sow then and bed out at the spring equinox. White lettuce stands the winter best. All garden plants are fond of moisture and manure, especially lettuce, and even more endive: indeed it pays to plant them with the roots smeared with dung and to loosen the ground round them and fill up with dung. Some use other means also of increasing their size, cutting them back when they have reached six inches high and giving them a dressing of fresh swine's dung. As for colour, it is thought that at all events lettuces grown from white seed can be blanched if as soon as they begin to grow sand from the sea-shore is heaped round them up to half their height and the leaves as they start sprouting are tied hack against the plants themselves.

40. Beet is the smoothest of the garden plants. The Greeks distinguish two kinds of beet also, according to the colour, black and whitishthey prefer the latter, which has a very scanty supply of seed, and call it Sicilian beet; indeed they prefer lettuce also with distinctive quality of whiteness. Our people distinguish two kinds of beet according to time of sowing, spring beet and autumn beet, although beet is also sown in June, and the plant transplanted in autumn. Beets also like even their roots to be smeared with dung, and have, a similar liking for a damp place. Beets are also made into a salad with lentils and beans, and are dressed in the same way as cabbages, the best way being to stimulate their insipidity with the bitterness of mustard. The doctors have pronounced beet to be more unwholesome than cabbage, on account of which there are persons who scruple even to taste beets when served at table; and consequently they are preferably an article of diet for people with strong digestions. Beets have a double structure, that of the cabbage, and, at the actual head of the root as it springs up, that of an onion. They are most valued for width, which is secured, as in lettuces, by placing a light weight on them when they have begun to assume their colour. No other garden plant grows broader: occasionally beets spread out to two feet across, the nature of the soil also contributing a great deal to this, inasmuch as the widest spreading beets grow in the territory of Circeii. Some people think that beets are best sown when the pomegranate is in blossom, and transplanted when they have begun to make five leaves; and that by a remarkable difference (if this really exists) white beet acts as a purge and black beet as an astringent; and that when the flavour of wine in a cask is getting spoiled by 'cabbage' it can be restored to what it was by plunging in some leaves of beet.

41. Cabbages and kales which now have pre-eminence in gardens, I do not find to have been held in honour among the Greeks; but Cato sings marvellous praises of the head of cabbage, which we shall repeat when we deal with medicine. He classifies cabbages as followsa kind with the leaves wide open and a large stalk, another with a crinkly leaf, which is called celery-cabbage, and a third with, very small stalks; the last is a smooth and tender cabbage, and he puts it lowest in value. Cabbage is sown all the year round, since it is also cut all the year round, but it pays best to sow it at the autumnal equinox; and it is transplanted when it has made five leaves. In the next spring after its first sowing it yields sprout-cabbage; this is a sort of small sprout from the actual cabbage stalks, of a more delicate and tender quality, though it was despised by the fastidious taste of Apicius and owing to him by Drusus Caesar, not without reproof from his father Tiberius. After the sprout-cabbage from the same stalk we get summer and autumn sprouts, and then winter ones, and a second crop of sprout-cabbage, as no kind of plant is equally productive, until it gets exhausted by its own fertility. The second sowing begins at. the spring equinox, and the seedling is bedded out at the end of spring, so that it may not bear in the sprout-cabbage stage before making cabbage-head; the third is about midsummer, and the produce of this is bedded out during the summer if the place is rather damp and in autumn if it is drier. It has a more agreeable taste if it has not had much moisture or manure, but makes a more abundant growth if they have been plentiful. Ass's dung makes the most suitable manure for it.

Growing cabbages is also one of the ways of supplying table luxuries, so it will not be out of place to pursue the subject at greater length. A way to produce a kale of outstanding flavour and size is if first of all you sow it in ground that has been dug, and next keep pace with the shoots breaking through the soil by earthing them up and when they begin to rise to a luxuriant height make another pile of earth against them by raising the bank so that not more than their head emerges. The kind so grown is called Tritian cabbage, and it may be estimated that it takes twice the usual outlay and trouble. There are quite a number of other varieties: Cumae cabbage, with its leaf close to the ground and a spreading head; La Riccia cabbage, no taller in height, with a leaf more plentiful than tenderthis kind is considered extremely useful because underneath almost all the leaves it throws out small sprouts of a peculiar kind; the Pompeii cabbage is taller, and has a thin stalk near the root but grows thicker between the leaves, these being scantier and narrower, but their tenderness is a valuable quality. This cabbage cannot stand cold, which actually promotes the growth of Bruttian cabbages with their extremely large leaves, thin stalk and sharp taste. The Sabellian cabbage has leaves that are quite remarkably crisp and so thick as to exhaust the stalk itself, but these are said to be the sweetest of all the cabbages. There have recently come into notice the Lacuturna cabbages from the valley of La Iticcia, which have a very large head and leaves too many to count; some of these cabbages are bunched together into a circular shape and others bulge out broadwise; and no other cabbages make more head, not counting the Tritian kind, which is sometimes seen with a head measuring a foot across, and which sprouts as early as any other sort. But with any kind of cabbages hoarfrosts contribute a great deal to their sweetness, although a frost after the cabbages have been cut does the plants a great deal of damage, unless the pith is safeguarded by using a slanting cut. Cabbages intended for seed are not cut. A peculiarly attractive kind is one that never exceeds the size of a young plant; they call these halmyridia, because they only grow on the seacoast. They say that these keep green even on a long voyage if as soon as they are cut they are prevented from touching the earth by being put into oil-jars that have been dried just before and are bunged up so as to shut out all air. Some people think that the plant will mature more quickly if in the process of transplanting some seaweed is placed under the foot-stalk, or else a pinch of pounded soda, as much as can be picked up with three fingers; and some have a plan of sprinkling the leaves with soda ground up with trefoil seed. Soda added in cooking also preserves the greenness of cabbages, as does also Apicius's a recipe for steeping them in oil and salt before they are boiled. There is a method of grafting vegetables by cutting short the shoots and inserting into the pith of the stalk seed obtained from other plants; this has even been done in the case of wild cucumber. There is also a kind of wild cabbage which has been made famous particularly by the songs and jests of the troops at the triumph of the late lamented Julius, as in capping verses they taunted him with having at the siege of Durazzo made them live on white charlockthis was a hit at the stinginess with which he rewarded their services. This is a wild cabbage sprout.

42. Of all cultivated vegetables asparagus needs the most delicate attention. Its origin from wild asparagus has been fully explained, and how Cato recommends growing it in reed-beds. There is also another kind less refined than garden asparagus but less pungent than the wild plant, which springs up in many places even in mountain districts; the plains of Upper Germany are full of it, the emperor Tiberius not ineptly remarking that in that country a plant very like asparagus grows as a weed. In fact the kind that grows wild in the island of Nisita off the coast of Campania is deemed far the best asparagus there is. Garden asparagus is grown from root-clumps, for it is a plant with a large amount of root and it buds very deep down. When the thin stem first shoots above ground the plant is green, and the shoot while making a longer stalk simultaneously tops off into grooved protuberances. It can also be grown from seed. No subject included by Cato is treated more carefully, and it is the last topic of his book, showing that it was a novelty just creeping in. His advice is to dig over a place with a damp or heavy soil and sow the seeds six inches apart each way, so as to avoid treading on them; and moreover to put two or three seeds in each hole, made with a dibble along a lineobviously at that time asparagus was only grown from seed. He recommends doing this after the vernal equinox, using plenty of dung, frequently cleaning with the hoe, taking care not to pull up the asparagus with the weeds, in the first year protecting the plants against winter with straw, uncovering them in spring and hoeing and stubbing the ground; and setting fire to the plants in the third spring. The earlier asparagus is burnt off, the better it thrives, and consequently it is specially suitable for growing in reed-beds, which burn speedily. He also advises not hoeing the beds before the asparagus springs up, for fear of disturbing the roots in the process of hoeing; next plucking off the asparagus heads close to the root, because if they are broken off, the plant runs to stalk and dies off; going on plucking them till they run to seed (which begins to mature towards springtime) and burning them off, and when the asparagus plants have appeared, hoeing them over again and manuring them. Nine years later, he says, when the plants are now old, they must be separated and the ground worked over and manured, and then they must be replanted with the tufts spaced out a foot apart. Moreover he expressly specifies using sheep's dung, as other manure produces weeds. No method of cultivation tried later has proved to be more useful, except that they now sow about February 13 by digging in the seed in heaps in little trenches, usually preparing the seed by soaking it in dung; as a result of this process the roots twine together and form tufts, which they plant out at spaces of a foot apart after the autumn equinox, the plants going on bearing for ten years. There is no soil that asparagus likes better than that of the kitchen-gardens at Ravenna, as we have pointed out. I find it stated that corruda (which I take to be a wild asparagus, called by the Greeks horminos or myacanthos as well as by other names) will also come up if pounded rams' horns are dug in as manure.

43. It might bethought that all the vegetables of value had now been mentioned, did not there still remain an extremely profitable article of trade, which must be mentioned not without a feeling of shame. The fact is it is well known that at Carthage and particularly at Cordova crops of thistles yield a return of 6000 sesterces from small plotssince we turn even the monstrosities of the earth to purposes of gluttony, and actually grow vegetables which all four-footed beasts without exception shrink from touching. Thistles then we grow in two ways, from a slip planted in autumn and from seed sown before March 7, the seedlings from which are planted out before November 13, or in cold localities about the season of the west wind. They are sometimes manured as well, if heaven so wills, and come up more abundantly. They are also preserved in honey diluted with vinegar, with the addition of laser-wort root and cummin, so that there may be no day without thistles for dinner.

44. A cursory description can suffice for the rest of the plants. The best time for sowing basil is said to be at the Feast of Pales, and some say in autumn also, advising that when it is sown for winter the seed should be moistened with vinegar. Also rocket and cress can be grown very easily either in summer or in winter. Rocket particularly thinks nothing of cold. Its properties are quite different from those of lettuce, and it acts as an aphrodisiac; consequently it is usually blended with lettuce in a salad, so that the excessive chilliness of the lettuce may be tempered and counterbalanced by being mingled with an equal amount of heat. Cress has got its Latin name from the pain that it gives to the nostrils, and owing to this the sense of vigorousness has attached itself to that word in the current expression as denoting a stimulant. It is said to grow to a remarkably large size in Arabia.

45. Rue also is sown when the west wind blows in spring, and just after the autumn equinox. It hates cold weather, damp and dung, and likes sunny, dry places and a soil containing as much brick-clay as possible; it requires to be manured with ashes, which are also mixed with the seed to banish caterpillars. Rue was held in special importance in old times: I find that honied wine flavoured with rue was given to the public by Cornelius, Quintus Flamininus's colleague in the consulship, after the election had been concluded. Rue is so friendly with the fig that it grows better under this tree than anywhere else. It can also be grown from a slip, preferably inserted into a hole made in a bean, which holds the slip firmly and nourishes it with its juice. It also reproduces itself by layering, since if the end of a branch curves over, when it touches the ground the plant at once strikes root. Basil also has the same properties, except that its seed dries with more difficulty. Stubbing rue is a process not without difficulty, because it causes itching ulcers, unless it is done with the hands protected by gloves or safeguarded by oiling. The leaves of rue are also preserved, being kept in bundles.

46. Parsley sowing begins at the vernal equinox, the seed being first gently pounded in a mortar: it is thought that the parsley is made crisper by this process, or if the seed is rolled or trodden into the earth after being sown. A peculiarity of parsley is that it changes its colour. Achaia it has the distinction of providing the wreath worn by the winners of the sacred contest at Neniea.

47. This is also the time for planting mint, using a shoot, or if it is not yet making bud, a matted tuft. Mint is equally fond of damp ground. It is green in summer and turns yellow in winter. There is a wild kind of mint called mentastrum; this is propagated by layering, like a vine, or by planting stalks end downwards. The name of mint has been altered in Greece because of its sweet scent; it used to be called mintha, from which our ancestors derived the Latin name, but now it has begun to be called by a Greek word meaning 'sweet-scented'.

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It is agreeable for stuffing cushions, and pervades the tables with its scent at country banquets. One planting lasts for a long period. It is closely related to pennyroyal, which has the property which we have spoken of more than once of flowering when it is in a larder. These other herbs, I mean mint and also pennyroyal and catmint, are kept in the same kind of way. Yet of all the seasonings which gratify a fastidious taste, cummin is the most agreeable. It grows on the surface of the ground, hardly adhering to the soil and stretching upward, and it should be sown in the middle of spring, in crumbly and specially warm soils. Another kind of cummin is the wild variety called country cummin, or by other people Thebaic cummin. For pounding up in water and using as a draught in cases of stomachache the most highly esteemed kind in our continent is that grown at Carpetania, though elsewhere the prize is awarded to Ethiopian and African cummin; however some prefer the Egyptian to the African.

48. A herb of exceptionally remarkable nature is black-herb, the Greek name for which is horse-parsley, and which others call zmyrnium. It is reproduced from the gum that trickles from its own stalk, but it can also be grown from a root. The people who collect its juice say that it tastes like myrrh, and Theophrastus states that it sprang first from sown myrrh seed. Old writers had recommended sowing horse-parsley in uncultivated stony ground near a garden wall; but at the present day it is sown in land that has been dug over and also after a west wind has followed the autumn equinox. The reason for the old plan was that the caper also is sown principally in dry places, after a plot has been hollowed out for deep digging and stone banks have been built all round it: otherwise it strays all over the fields and takes the fertility out of the soil. It blossoms in summer and continues green till the setting of the Pleiades; it is most at home in sandy soil. The bad qualities of the caper that grows over seas we have spoken of among the exotic shrubs.

49. The caraway is also an exotic, and bears a name derived from the country it belongs to; it is chiefly for the kitchen. It will grow in any country if cultivated in the same way as black-herb, though the kind most highly spoken of grows in Carla, and the next best in Phrygia.

50. Lovage grows wild in the mountains of its native Liguria, but is cultivated everywhere; the cultivated kind is sweeter but lacks strength. Some people call it panax, but the Greek writer Crateuas gives that name to cow-cunila, though all others call that conyra, which is really cunilago, while real cunila they call thymbra. With us cunila has another name also being called satureia and classed as a spice. It is sown in February; and it is a rival of wild marjoram, the two never being used as ingredients together, because they impart a similar flavour; but only the Egyptian wild marjoram is reckoned superior to cunila.

51. Pepperwort also was originally an exotic. It is sown after the spring west wind starts, and then, when it has begun to shoot, it is cut down close to the ground and afterwards hoed and manured. Subsequently the plant thus treated is serviceable for two years with the same shoots, provided it is not attacked by a severe winter, as it is very incapable of bearing cold. It grows to a height of as much as eighteen inches; it has the leaves of the bay-tree, but softer. It is always used mixed with milk.

52. Git is grown for use in bakeries, anise and dill for the kitchen and for doctors; sacopenium, employed for adulterating laserwort, is also grown as a garden plant, but only for medicinal purposes.

53. There are some plants that are sown in company with others, for instance the poppy, which is sown with cabbage and purslain, and rocket is sown with lettuce. There are three kinds of cultivated poppy: the white, the seed of which in old days used to be roasted and served with honey at second course; it is also sprinkled on the top crust of country loaves, an egg being poured on to make it stick, while celery and git are used to give the bottom crust a festival flavour. The second kind of poppy is the black poppy, from which a milky juice is obtained by making an incision in the stalk. The third kind is called by the Greeks rhoeas and in our country wild poppy; it does indeed grow uncultivated, but chiefly in fields sown with barley; it resembles rocket, and grows eighteen inches high, with a red flower which falls very quickly, and which is the origin of its Greek name. We shall speak of the remaining kinds of self-sown poppy under the head of drugs. That the poppy has always been in favour at Rome is indicated by the story of Tarquinius the Proud, who knocked off the heads of the tallest poppies in his garden and by means of this unspoken rebus conveyed to the envoys sent to him by his son that sanguinary answer of his.

54. Again there is another group of plants which are sown at the autumn equinoxcoriander, dill, orage, mallow, sorrel, chervil, the Greek name for which is lad's love, and mustard, which with its pungent taste and fiery effect is extremely beneficial for the health. It grows entirely wild, though it is improved by being transplanted: but on the other hand when it has once been sown it is scarcely possible to get the place free of it, as the seed when it falls germinates at once. It is also used to make a relish, by being boiled down in saucepans till its sharp flavour ceases to be noticeable; also its leaves are boiled, like those of all other vegetables. There are three kinds of mustard plant, one of a slender shape, another with leaves like those of turnip, and the third with those of rocket. The best seed comes from Egypt. The Athenian word for mustard is napy, those of other dialects thlaspi and lizard-herb.

55. Most mountains teem with thyme and wild mint, for instance the mountains of Thrace, and so people pluck off sprays of them there and bring them down to plant; and they do the same at Sicyon from mountains there and at Athens from Hymettus. Wild mint is also planted in a similar manner; it grows most abundantly on the walls of wells and round fish-pools and ponds.

56. There remain the garden plants of the fennel-giant class, for instance fennel, which snakes are very fond of, as we have said, and which when dried is useful for seasoning a great many dishes, and thapsia, which closely resembles it, of which we have spoken among foreign bushes, and then hemp, which is exceedingly useful for ropes. Hemp is sown when the spring west wind sets in; the closer it grows the thinner its stalks are. Its seed when ripe is stripped off after the autumn equinox and dried in the sun or wind or by the smoke of a fire. The hemp plant itself is plucked after the vintage, and peeling and cleaning it is a task done by candle light. The best is that of Arab-Hissar, which is specially used for making hunting-nets. Three classes of hemp are produced at that place: that nearest to the bark or the pith is considered of inferior value, while that from the middle, the Greek name for which is 'middles', is most highly esteemed. The second best hemp comes from Mylasa. As regards height, the hemp of Rosea in the Sabine territory grows as tall as a fruit-tree. The two kinds of fennel-giant have been mentioned above among exotic shrubs. In Italy its seed is an article of diet; in fact it is stored in pots and lasts for as much as a year. Two different parts of it are used as vegetables, the stalks and the branches. This fennel is called in Greek clump-fennel, and the parts that are stored, clumps.

57. Garden vegetables are also liable to disease, like the rest of the plants on earth. For instance basil degenerates with old age into wild-thyme and sisymbrium into mint, and old cabbage seed produces turnip, and so on. Also cummin is killed by broom-rape unless it is thoroughly cleaned: this is a plant with a single stalk and a root resembling a bulb, and it only grows in a thin soil. Another disease peculiar to cummin is scab. Also basil turns pale at the rising of the Dog-star. All plants indeed turn yellow when a woman comes near them at her monthly period. Also various insects breed on garden plantsspringtails in turnips, caterpillars and maggots in radish, and also on lettuces and cabbage, both of which are more infested by slugs and snails than radish; and the leek has special insects of its own, which are easily caught by throwing dung on the plants, as they burrow into it. According to Sabinus Tiro in his book On Gardening, which he dedicated to Maecenas, it is also bad for rue, savoury, mint or basil to come in contact with iron.

58. The same author has given an account of a remedy against ants, which are not the least destructive of pests in gardens not well supplied with water; the plan is to stop up the mouths of ant-holes with sea-slime or ashes. But the most effective thing for killing ants is the heliotrope plant; and some people also think that water in which an unbaked brick has been soaked is injurious to these insects. A protection for rapes is to sow some fitch with them, and similarly chick-pea for cabbages, as it keeps off caterpillars. If neglect of this precaution has led to the appearance of caterpillars, the remedy is to sprinkle them with a decoction of wormwood or of houseleek; we have mentioned this class of plant, which some call immortel. It is stated that if cabbage seed is soaked in the juice of houseleek before being sown, the cabbages will be immune from all kinds of insects; and it is said that caterpillars can be totally exterminated in gardens by fixing up on a stake the skull of an animal of the horse class, provided it is that of a female. There is also a story that a river crab hung up in the middle of a garden is a protection against caterpillars. Some people touch plants which they want to be immune from caterpillars with slips of blood-red cornel. Also gnats infest damp gardens, especially if there are any shrubs in them; these can be driven away by burning galbanum resin.

In regard to the deterioration of seeds, some keep longer than others, for instance coriander, beet, leek, cress, mustard, rocket, savory and the pungent seeds generally; while the seeds of orage, basil, gourd and cucumber do not keep so well, and summer seeds in general are not so strong as winter ones. The least lasting is long-onion seed. Of these however which keep best none is of any use after four years, at all events for sowing; they are fit for kitchen use even beyond that period.

59. There is a curative property specially effective for raffish, beet, rue and savory in salt water, which moreover also contributes a great deal to their sweetness and to their fertility. All other plants are benefited by being watered with fresh water, the most useful for the purpose being water from streams, which is extremely cool and very sweet to drink; water from a pond or brought by a conduit is not so useful, because it carries with it the seeds of weeds. However it is rain that nourishes plants best, as rainwater also kills insects that breed on them.

60. For gardens the times for watering are in the morning and the evening, so that the water may not be heated by the sun. It only suits basil to water it at midday as well; for it is thought that this plant even when first sown will break out most rapidly if at the first stage it is watered with water that is warm. All plants grow better and larger when transplanted, most of all leeks and navews. Also transplanting has a medicinal effect, and such plants as long onion, leek, radishes, parsley, lettuces, turnip and cucumber cease to suffer from injuries when transplanted. But almost all the wild varieties, for example savory, wild marjoram, rue, are smaller in leaf and stalk, and have a more acrid juice. Indeed sorrel is the only one of all the plants of which the wild variety is the better, the cultivated sorrel is called rumix, and it is the strongest of all the plants grown under cultivation or wild; at all events it is reported that when once it has been established it lasts on and is never overcome, and that it is specially everlasting when close to water. It is only used for the table mixed with pearl-barley, which gives it a softer and more agreeable flavour. The wild variety supplies a number of drugs. (And so careful has research been to overlook nothing, that I actually find it stated in a poem that if the seeds of leek, rocket, lettuce, parsley, endive and cress are planted enclosed in hollow pellets of goat's dung, each seed in a separate pellet, they come up wonderfully. With plants of which there is also a wild variety, the latter are thought to be more dry and acrid than the cultivated sort.)

61. Now we ought also to speak of the difference of the juices and flavours of herbs, this being even greater in their case than in fruits. The juice of savory, wild marjoram, cress and mustard has an acrid taste; the juice of wormwood and centaury is bitter, that of cucumbers, gourds and lettuces watery; that of thyme and cunilago pungent; that of parsley, dill and fennel pungent and scented. The only flavour not found in plants is the taste of salt, though occasionally it is present as a sort of external layer, like a dust, and this only in the case of the small chick-pea.

62. And to show how unfounded, as so frequently, is the view ordinarily held, all-heal has the taste of pepper, and still more so has pepperwort, which consequently is called pepper-plant; and grass of Lebanon has the scent of frankincense, and alexanders that of myrrh. About all-heal enough has been said already. Libanotis grows in thin powdery soil, and in places where there is a heavy dew; it has the root of olusatrum, exactly like frankincense; when a year old it is extremely wholesome for the digestion. Some people call it by another name, rosemary. Alexanders is a garden herb that grows in the same places, and its root has the taste of myrrh. Pepperwort grows in the same way. The remaining plants are peculiar in both scent and taste, for example anise; and so great is their diversity and their potency that not only is one of them modified by another but it is entirely counteracted: cooks use parsley to remove the tang of vinegar from their dishes, and parsley enclosed in bags is also employed by butlers to rid wine of disagreeable odour.

And so far we have spoken about garden plants merely as providing articles of diet. There still remains indeed a most important operation of nature in the same department, inasmuch as hitherto we have only treated of their produce and given certain summary outlines; whereas the true nature of each plant can only be fully understood by studying its medicinal effect, that vast and recondite work of divine power, and the greatest subject that can possibly be found. Due regard for method has led us not to combine with each object in succession the question of its medicinal value, because a different set of people are concerned with the requirements of medical practice, and either topic would have met with lone interruptions if we had mixed the two together. As it is, each subject will occupy its own section, and any who wish will be able to combine them.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 20

1. From this point we are going to deal with a most important work of nature, namely to tell man his proper foods, and to force him to acknowledge that his means of living are unknown to him. Nobody should be deceived by the meanness of the names into considering this a petty or trifling task. Herein will be told of Nature at peace or at war with herself, along with the hatreds and friendships of things deaf and dumb, and even without feeling. Moreover, to increase our wonder, all of them are for the sake of mankind. The Greeks have applied the terms 'sympathy' and 'antipathy' to this basic principle of all things: water putting out fire; the sun absorbing water while the moon gives it birth; each of these heavenly bodies suffering eclipse through the injustice of the other. Furthermore, to leave the more heavenly regions, the magnetic stone draws iron to itself while another kind of stone repels it; the diamond, the rare delight of wealth, unbreakable and invincible by all other force, is broken by goat's blood. Other marvels, equally or even more wonderful, we shall speak of in their proper place. I only ask pardon for

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beginning with trivial though healthful objects. First I shall deal with kitchen-garden plants.

2. We have said that there is a wild cucumber much smaller than the cultivated kind. From it is made the drug called elaterium by pressing the juice out of the seed. Unless, to prepare it, the cucumber be cut open before it is ripe, the seed spurts out, even endangering the eyes. After being gathered, the cucumber is kept for one night and then cut open on the next day with a reed. The seed too is kept in ash to prevent the juice from running away. This when pressed out is received in rain water, where it falls to the bottom. Then it is thickened in the sun, and made into lozenges for the great benefit of mankind, being good for dim vision, eye diseases and sores of the eyelids. It is said that if the roots of vines are touched by this juice the grapes are not attacked by birds. The root too when boiled in vinegar is used as ointment in cases of gout, and its juice cures toothache. Dried and mixed with resin it heals impetigo, itch, what are called psora and lichen, parotid swellings and superficial abscesses; it restores the natural colour to scars, while the juice of the leaves mixed with vinegar and poured by drops into the ears is a remedy for deafness.

3. The proper season to prepare elaterium is the autumn, and no drug keeps for a longer period. It begins to be potent when three years old; if it is desired to use it earlier, the lozenges must be made less harsh by warming them in vinegar in a new clay pot over a slow fire. The older it is the better, and it has been known to keep, so Theophrastus tells us, for two hundred years, and its power to put out the flame of a lamp it retains right up to the fiftieth year. Indeed, the test of genuine elaterium is whether its application makes a flame flicker up and down before putting it out. The pale smooth variety is better than the grass-green and rough, and is slightly bitter. lit is thought that conception is aided by cucumber seed if a woman keeps it fastened to her body without its having touched the ground; while labour is easier if, without her knowledge, the seed, wrapped in ram's wool, be tied to her loins; but it must be hastily carried out of the house immediately after delivery.

As to this cucumber itself, those who sing its praises tell us that the best variety grows in Arabia, and the next best in Arcadia; some report that in Cyrene grows a cucumber like the heliotrope, of the size of a walnut, appearing between the leaves and the branches; its seed is curled back like a scorpion's tail but white in colour. Moreover, some call this cucumber 'scorpion'; both its seed and elaterium are most effective antidotes to the sting of the scorpion. The regular dose as purge or emetic is from half to one obolus, according to the idiosyncrasy of the patient, a larger dose being fatal. Similar are the doses when taken in drink as a remedy for phthiriasis and dropsy. Mixed with honey or old olive oil it is used to cure quinsy and tracheal affections.

4. Many authorities hold that this cucumber is the same as that known among us as the serpentine, and by some as the stray cucumber, a decoction of which spread over things prevents mice from touching them. The same authorities say that a decoction of it in vinegar applied externally gives immediate relief to gout and to diseases of the joints; that lumbago is cured by the seed dried in the sun, then pounded, and administered in doses of twenty denarii in half a sextarius of water, and that sudden tumours are cured by a liniment made by mixing it with woman's milk. Elaterium promotes menstruation but causes abortion when taken by women with child. It is good for asthma and also for jaundice when I injected into the nostrils. Smeared in the sunshine on the face, it removes therefrom freckles and spots.

5. Many authorities assign all these qualities to the cultivated cucumbers, which even apart from cucumfret. them is of great importance. For instance, the seed too, a three-finger pinch of it, when pounded with cummin and taken in wine, is beneficial for coughs, for phrenitis when drunk in woman's milk, a dose of an acetabulum for dysentery, and with an equal weight of cummin for expectoration of pus. Taken in hydromel it is good for diseases of the liver. With sweet wine it is diuretic, while for kidney pain it is used with cumrnin as an enema.

6. The gourds called pepones make a very refreshing food, and are also laxative. Their pulp is used as an application for fluxes or pains of the eyes. The root is a cure for the hard sores, like honeycomb, which they call ceria. It also acts as an emetic; it is dried and pounded into flour, the dose being four oboli taken in hydromel, but after it has been drunk a walk of half a mile must be taken. This flour is also used as an ingredient in skin-smoothing cosmetics. The rind too serves as an emetic and clears the face of spots. The leaves also of any kind of cultivated gourd have when applied externally the same effect. The same, mixed with honey, also cure night rash and mixed with wine dog-bites and the bite of multipedes, an insect called seps by the Greeks. It is rather long, with hairy legs, and is particularly harmful to cattle. The bite is followed by swelling, the wound suppurating. The cucumber itself by its smell revives those who have fainted. When peeled and cooked in oil, vinegar and honey, cucumbers are, it is firmly held, more pleasant to the taste.

7. There is also found a wild gourd, called by the Greeks σομφός, hollow inside (whence its name), of the thickness of a finger, growing only in rocky soils. If it be chewed the juice is very beneficial to the stomach.

8. Another kind of wild gourd is called colocynthis. The fruit is smaller than the cultivated, and full of seed. The pale variety is more useful than the grass-green. Taken by itself when dried it is a drastic purge. Used also as an enema an injection is a remedy for all complaints of the bowels, of the kidneys, and of the loins, as well as for paralysis. After the seed has been picked out, hydromel is added and boiled down to one half, which gives a very safe strength for an injection of four oboli. The stomach is benefited also by taking pills made of the dry powder mixed with boiled honey. In jaundice seven seeds of it are taken, to be followed immediately by hydromel. The pulp added to wormwood and salt cures toothache, while its juice warmed with vinegar makes loose teeth firm. Rubbed on with oil it likewise relieves pains of spine, loins and hips. Moreover, wonderful to relate, an equal a number of its seeds, fastened to the body in a cloth, is said to reduce those fevers which the Greeks call periodic. The warmed juice, also, of the shredded cultivated colocynthis cures earache, and its inner pulp without the seed corns on the feet, as well as the suppurations called by the Greeks ἀποστήματα. The juice obtained by boiling down the whole pulp along with the seeds makes loose teeth firm and stops toothache, and a boiled mixture of it with wine stops inflammation of the eyes. An application of the pounded leaves with fresh cypress leaves, or of the fruit alone, roasted in a clay pot, reduced to powder and added to goose grease, is a cure for wounds. Moreover, when fresh, with shreds of its bark it cools gout and inflammations of the head, especially of babies, and erysipelas by the application to the part affected of the same shreds, or of the seeds. The juice from scrapings, mixed with rose-oil and vinegar, makes a liniment which cools the heat of fevers. The dust of the dried fruit applied to burns is wonderfully healing. Chrysippus the physician disapproved of gourds as food, but there is a general agreement that they are very beneficial to the stomach, and also for ulceration of the intestines and bladder.

9. The turnip too has its medicinal properties. A hot application cures chilblains, besides preventing the feet from being chilled. A hot decoction of it is good even for cold gout, and raw turnip, pounded and mixed with salt, for every ailment of the feet. The seed, made into liniment or drunk in wine, is said to protect against snake bites and poisons; many moreover hold that taken in wine and oil it serves as an antidote. Democritus entirely disapproved of the turnip as a food on the ground that it causes flatulence; Diocles, however, praised it highly, maintaining that it is also aphrodisiac. Dionysius agrees, holding that its effect is greater when it is seasoned with rocket, and that, when roasted and made into an ointment with grease, it is good for pain in the joints.

10. Wild turnip grows chiefly in fields; it is bushy, with a white seed, which is twice as big as that of the poppy. For smoothing the skin of the face or of the whole body it is used when mixed with equal parts of the meal of vetches, barley, wheat and lupins. The root is not good for anything.

11. The Greeks retain in pharmacology also two varieties of navews. The one with angular leaf-stalks, and a flower like that of dill, called bunion, is beneficial for the purgings of women, for the bladder and for the urine, in the form of a decoction, drunk in hydromel, or in a drachma of the juice; the seed, roasted and ground, taken in four cyathi of warm water, is good for dysentery. It checks urine, however, if a linseed drink be not taken with it. The other kind of navew is called bunias; it is like the radish and turnip, its seed being a splendid remedy for poisons, for which reason it is also used in antidotes.

12. We have said that there is also a wild radish. The most popular kind is found in Arcadia, although it also grows elsewhere. It is rather useful as a diuretic. This is its only merit, for in other respects it is heating. In Italy it is also called armoracia.

13. Cultivated radishes moreover, besides what has been said about them, purge the stomach, loosen phlegm, promote urine and bring away bile. In addition, a decoction of the skin in wine, drunk in the morning up to three cyathi, break up and eliminate gall-stones. A decoction of the same in vinegar and water is used as liniment for the bites of serpents. The radish too is good for a cough if taken with honey in the morning on an empty stomach; its seed too when roasted and chewed by itself. To use a radish as an amulet and to drink either a decoction of its leaves in water or its juice neat in doses of two cyathi is good for phthiriasis. Good for inflammation is a liniment of radishes crushed by themselves, and for a fresh bruise a liniment made from the skin with honey. Lethargic persons are benefited by eating them at their hottest, asthmatics by the seed, first roasted and then beaten up with honey. Radishes are also useful for poisons, counteracting the sting of the cerastes and of the scorpion. With hands rubbed with radish or its seed you may handle these creatures without fear, and a radish placed on scorpions kills them. Radishes too counteract the poisons of fungi and of henbane, and moreover, as Nicander tells us, the effects of drinking bull's blood. Both the physicians with the name of Apollodorus prescribe radishes to be given for mistletoe poisoning; but Apollodorus of Citium recommends the pounded seed in water, he of Tarentum the juice. Radishes also reduce the size of the spleen, and are good for the liver and pains in the loins; taken also with vinegar or mustard they are beneficial in cases of dropsy, lethargus, epilepsy and melancholia. Praxagoras would administer it to patients with iliac, and Plistonicus to those with coeliae disease. If eaten with honey they also cure ulcers of the intestines and suppurations of the chest. Some for these purposes prefer to cook them in mud; [Mayhoff's reading: 'to smear them over with mud before cooking.'] if so taken they promote, according to them, the menstrual discharge. Taken with vinegar or honey they bring away intestinal worms; a decoction of them boiled down to one third, drunk with wine, is good for intestinal hernia; so taken they draw off superfluous blood. For these purposes and for spitting of blood Medius prescribes that they should be given cooked, as well as to women lying-in to increase the supply of milk; Hippocrates that radishes should be rubbed on the head of women when the hair falls off, and that they should be placed on the navel for pains in the womb. They also bring scars back to the original colour of the skin. An application also of the seed soaked in water arrests ulcers called phagedaenae. Democritus thinks that as a food radishes are aphrodisiac; for this reason, perhaps, some have maintained that they are injurious to the voice. The leaves, but only those of the long radish, are said to improve the eyesight; should however too strong a dose of radish be applied as a remedy, they prescribe the immediate use of hyssop, for it is antipathetic. For deafness the juice of the radish is dropped into the ear. But, for those who would vomit, it is very useful to eat radishes after a meal.

14. Like the parsnip is the hibiscum, which some call the wild mallow, and others πλειστολοχεία; it is a cure for ulcers and for broken cartilages and bones. The leaves, taken in water, relax the bowels; they keep serpents away, and used as a liniment heal the stings of bees, wasps and hornets. Its root dug up before sunrise is wrapped in wool of the colour called natural, taken moreover from a ewe that has given birth to a ewe lamb, and bound on scrofulous sores, even when they have suppurated. Some think that when it is to be used for this purpose the root should be dug up with a tool of gold, care being taken not to let it touch the ground. Celsus too prescribes a decoction of the root in wine as a liniment for cases of gout without swelling.

15. Another kind is staphylinus, which they call stray parsnip. Its seed, crushed and taken in wine, soothes a swollen belly, and the hysterical chokings and pains of women, to such an extent that it restores the womb to normal, benefits their abdomen, moreover, if applied in raisin wine, benefiting men also when pounded with an equal part of bread and drunk in wine as a cure for bellyache. It is diuretic also, and if applied fresh with honey, or after being sprinkled dry on flour it stays phagedaenic ulcers. Its root, taken in hydromel, Dieuches prescribes against affections of the liver, spleen, loins and kidneys; Cleophantus in cases also of chronic dysentery. Philistion boils it in milk; for strangury he prescribes four ounces of the root, giving it in water for dropsy, likewise for those stricken by pitonitetanus, pleurisy and epilepsy. It is said that those who carry it are not bitten by serpents, and that those who have eaten of it, if bitten, receive no hurt; for bites it is applied with axlegrease, and its leaves are chewed as a remedy for indigestion. Orpheus said that there is in staphylinus a love-philtre, perhaps because it is a proved fact that when eaten it is an aphrodisiac; for which reason some have declared that by it conception is aided. For all other purposes the cultivated kind too is powerful, but the wild plant is more efficacious, especially that growing on rocky soils. The seed of the cultivated kind too is a cure for the sting of scorpions when taken in wine or vinegar and water. Its root used as a dentifrice is a cure for toothache.

16. In Syria very great pains are taken over kitchen-gardens; hence the Greek proverb: 'Syrians have plenty of vegetables.' They sow a vegetable called by some gingidion that is very like staphylinus, only it is slighter and more bitter, though its properties are the same. lit is eaten, cooked or raw, with great advantage to the stomach, for it dries up all its humours, however deep these may lie.

17. Wild (or stray) skirret is like the cultivated kind and has similar properties. It stimulates the appetite, banishing distaste for food, if taken in vinegar and silphium, or with pepper and honey wine, or if you like with fish sauce. It is both diuretic, as Ophion believes, and an aphrodisiac. Diocles too is of the same opinion, and moreover thinks that it acts as a cordial in convalescence, or is very useful after many vomitings. Heraclides prescribed it for mercury poisoning, for occasional impotence and in convalescence. Hicesius said that the reason why it appeared to be harmful to the stomach was that no one could eat three skirrets in succession; adding however that it was beneficial to convalescents who are beginning to take wine again. The juice, especially of the

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cultivated variety, checks looseness of the bowels if drunk with goats' milk.

18. Since most people confuse the two similar Greek names, σέσελι and σέσελι (σΐλι), we have added some account of sili or hartwort, though it is a plant generally known. The best is that of Massilia, for its seed is broad and yellow; the next best, the Aethiopian, is darker, and the Cretan has the strongest smell of all. The root has a pleasant smell, and the seed, it is said, even the vultures eat. When drunk in white wine it is beneficial to man for chronic cough, ruptures and convulsions; likewise for opisthotonic tetanus, affections of the liver, colic and strangury, in doses of two or three spoonfuls. The leaves also are useful because they aid parturition, even that of quadrupeds; it is said that does, when about to give birth, make this their special food. The leaves are also applied to erysipelas, and digestion is much helped if the leaf or seed be eaten after food. It arrests also looseness of bowels in quadrupeds, either pounded and mixed with their drink, or chewed up when they eat their food. It acts as a cure for diseases of oxen, if taken with salt or pounded and injected.

19. Elecampane too chewed by people fasting strengthens the teeth. If it is taken from the ground so as not to touch it, a confection of it is healing for a cough; the juice moreover of the boiled root expels worms, and dried in the shade its powdered form cures cough, convulsions, flatulence and affections of the trachea. It keeps off the bite of poisonous creatures. An application of the leaves steeped in wine is used for lumbago.

20. There are no wild onions. Cultivated onions, by the running caused by the mere smell, is a cure for feebleness of vision; an even better cure is to apply to the eye some of the juice. Onions are also said to induce sleep, and chewed with bread to heal sores in the mouth; fresh onions applied in vinegar, or dry with honey and wine, dog-bites, provided that the bandage is taken off three days after. Applied in the same way they also heal abrasions. An onion cooked in ash many have applied with barley flour to fluxes of the eyes, and to sores of the genitals. The juice of onions they used as ointment for eyesores, albugo and argema with honey for serpent bites and all kinds of ulcers, with woman's milk for sore ear-laps, and dropped it into them with goose grease or honey for singing or hardness of hearing. Diluted with water it was prescribed for those suddenly smitten with dumbness. In toothache it was poured by drops into the mouth to rinse the teeth; likewise on to wounds made by any wild beasts, especially to those of scorpions. In mange and itch crushed onions have been rubbed on the places affected. Boiled onions were given to eat to those affected by dysentery or lumbago; onion-peelings burnt to ash were applied in vinegar to serpent bites, and onions themselves in vinegar for those of the multipede. Apart from what has been said, there are remarkable differences of opinion among physicians. The latest opinion holds that they are injurious to the viscera and the digestion, causing, it is said, flatulence and thirst. The school of Asclepiades holds that, used as food, onions promote a healthy complexion, and, if they are eaten daily on an empty stomach, preserve a good state of health, are useful to the stomach, loosen the bowels by putting the air in motion, disperse haemorroids when used as a suppository, and the juice, added to that of fennel, is very beneficial in cases of incipient dropsy; added to rue and honey it is used for quinsy, and for dispelling lethargus. Varro is our authority that an onion steeped in salt and vinegar, and then dried, is not attacked by worms.

21. Cutleek stops bleeding at the nose if the nostrils be plugged with leek pounded, or mixed with gall-nut or mint; fluxes also after miscarriage are arrested by drinking the juice with woman's milk. It cures chronic cough, and affections of the chest and lungs. By an application of the leaves are healed pimples, burns and epinyctisis called a sore, also known as syce, in the corner of the eye and perpetually running; some give the same name to livid pustules causing restlessness at night a ... and other sores by leeks pounded with honey; the bites of beasts are treated by leek in vinegar, as are those of serpents and other poisonous creatures. Affections of the ears, however, are treated by leeks and goats, gall, or else leeks and mead in equal proportions. With woman's milk leeks are used for singing in the ears; for headache the juice is poured into the nostrils, or two tablespoons of juice with one of honey are poured into the ears at bedtime. The juice also is drunk with neat wine to counteract the bites of serpents and of scorpions, and a draught can be taken with half a sextarius of wine for lumbago. For spitting of blood, moreover, for consumption, and for chronic catarrhs the juice is beneficial, as is also the leek by itself eaten as food; for jaundice, dropsy and kidney pains an acetabulum of the juice mixed with barley-water. The same dose taken with honey purges the womb. Leek moreover is eaten to counteract the poisons of fungi; it is applied to wounds, is an aphrodisiac, quenches thirst, serves as a pick-me-up after drunkenness, but is said to dim the eyesight, and to cause flatulences which do no harm, however, to the stomach but relax the bowels. Leeks impart brilliance to the voice.

22. Headed leek has the same properties as cutleek, but they are stronger. Those who spit blood are given its juice along with ground gall-nut or frankincense, or with gum arabic. Hippocrates directs it also to be given without other ingredient, and is of opinion that a contracted womb opens under its influence; likewise that by its use as food the fertility of women is increased. Beaten up, with honey added, it cleanses sores. Cough, catarrh of the chest, and affections of the lungs and of the trachea are cured by it when given in a draught of barley-water or eaten raw, the head excepted, without bread; it must however be taken only on alternate days, even if pus be expectorated. Given thus it greatly benefits the voice, venery and sleep. The heads, boiled in water that is twice changed checks diarrhoea and chronic fluxes; a decoction of the skin serves as a dye for grey hair.

23. Garlic has powerful properties, and is of great benefit against changes of water and of residence. It keeps off serpents and scorpions by its smell, and, as some have maintained, every kind of beast. It cures bites when drunk or eaten, or applied as ointment, being particularly efficacious against the haemorrhoids when taken with wine and brought up by vomiting. Lest we be surprised that it is an antidote against the poisonous bite of the shrewmouse, it neutralizes aconite, which is also known by the name of pardalianehes ['Panther-strangler.'] as well as henbane and dog-bites; for the wounds of the latter it is made into an ointment with honey. For the bites of serpents it is very efficacious to roast it with its own leaves and make a liniment by adding oil; also for bruises on the body, even if they have swollen into blisters. Moreover, Hippocrates thinks that garlic fumigations bring away the afterbirth; by its ash mixed with oil he used to restore to health running sores on the head. To asthmatics it is given cooked, though some have given it raw. Diocles prescribed it wit centaury for dropsy, or in a split fig as a purge, a more efficient one being fresh garlic taken in neat wine with coriander; pounded garlic too has by some been given in milk to asthmatics. Praxagoras again mixed it with wine as a remedy for the jaundice, and with oil and pottage for passion; the latter prescription he also used as a liniment for scrofula. The ancients used also to give it raw to madmen, Diocles gave it well boiled for phrenitis. Pounded and, drunk with vinegar and water it is useful as a gargle for quinsy. By three pounded heads with vinegar toothache is relieved, as it is by rinsing the teeth with a decoction, and inserting garlic itself into the hollow teeth. Garlic juice, mixed with goose-grease, is also dropped into the ears. Garlic, in drink or injected with vinegar and soda, checks phthiriasis and scurf, catarrhs likewise if boiled with milk, also beaten up or mixed with soft cheese; it relieves hoarseness also if taken thus, or in gruel of peas or beans. On the whole, however, it is more useful cooked than raw, boiled than roasted. Thus prepared it is also more beneficial to the voice. When cooked in oxymel it expels tapeworms and other parasites of the intestines; in pottage it cures tenesmus. Well boiled it is used as ointment for pains in the temples; cooked, and then beaten up with honey, it makes an ointment for blisters. For a cough a decoction is taken with stale grease, or with milk; or if there be also spitting of blood or pus, it is roasted under live ashes and taken with an equal part of honey. For sprains and ruptures it is used with salt and oil. With fat, however, it cures suspected tumours. Mixed with sulphur and resin it draws the pus from fistulas, with pitch extracting even arrows. Leprous sores, lichen and freckly eruptions are cleansed and cured by it and wild marjoram, or by a liniment made out of its ash with oil and fish-sauce. Used in this way it is also good for erysipelas. Burnt to ash and mixed with honey it brings back to the original colour parts that are black-and-blue or livid. It is believed that epilepsy too is cured by garlic taken in food and drink, and that one head of it, taken in a dry wine with an obolus of silphium shakes off a quartan ague. Taken in another way, namely boiled in broken beans and eaten with food until health is restored, it cures a cough, and suppuration of the chest, however severe. It induces sleep also, and makes the body generally of a ruddier colour. It is believed to act as an aphrodisiac, when pounded with fresh coriander and taken in neat wine. Its drawbacks are that it dulls the sight, causes flatulence, injures the stomach when taken too freely, and creates thirst. In addition, mixed with emmerwheat and added to their food it is good for poultry to save them from the pip. Beasts of burden are said to pass urine without pain, if their parts are treated with pounded garlic.

24. The chief kind of lettuce growing wild is the one called goat-lettuce, which when thrown into the sea kills immediately all the fish in the neighbourhood. Its milk, or juice, when thickened and then added to vinegar, in doses of two oboli to one cyathus of water, is prescribed for dropsical patients. The crushed stalk and leaves, sprinkled with salt, cure a cut sinew. The pounded plant and vinegar, used as a mouthwash twice a month in the morning, keeps away toothache.

25. There is a second kind, called caesapon by the Greeks, the pounded leaves of which, made into an ointment with pearl-barley, heal sores. These two grow in the open fields. A third kind growing in woods is called ἰσάτις. Its leaves pounded up with pearl-barley are good for wounds. A fourth kind is used by dyers of wools. Its leaves would be like those of wild sorrel, were they not more numerous and darker. By its root or leaves it stanches bleeding, heals phagedaenic and putrefying ulcers, spreading ulcers, tumours before suppuration, and erysipelas. Taken in drink it is good even for the spleen. Such are the peculiar properties of the several kinds.

26. The characteristics, however, common to the wild kinds are whiteness, a stem occasionally a cubit long, and a roughness on the stalk and on the leaves. Of these kinds, one with round, short leaves is called by some hieracion (hawkweed), since hawks, by tearing it open and wetting their eyes with the juice, dispel poor vision when they have become conscious of it. The juice in all of them is white, in its properties, also, like that of the poppy; collected at harvest by cutting the stem, it is stored in new earthenware, being excellent for many purposes. With woman's milk it heals all eye-diseaseswhite ulcers, films, all wounds and inflammations, and especially dimness of sight. It is also applied to the eyes on wool for fluxes. The same juice purges the bowels if drunk in vinegar and water in doses not exceeding two oboli. Drunk in wine it heals snakebites, as do its leaves and stalks when pounded and drunk in vinegar. They are applied as ointment to a wound, especially for the stings of scorpions; for those, however, of venomous spiders wine and vinegar are added. They also neutralise other poisons, except those which kill by suffocation, or those which hurt the bladder, white lead also being an exception. They are applied to the belly with honey and vinegar to clear away troubles of the bowels. The juice corrects difficulty in making water. Cratenas prescribes it also for dropsy in doses of two oboli with vinegar and a cyathus of wine. Some collect the juice of the cultivated lettuce also, but it is less efficacious. The special properties of lettuces, besides those already mentioned a of causing sleep, checking sexual desire, cooling a heated body, cleansing the stomach and making blood, are not few; it breaks up flatulence, calms belching, aids digestion without ever itself causing indigestion. No other article of diet has a greater power of both increasing appetite and also of diminishing it. In either case moderation of the amount taken is the reason; thus an immoderate amount loosens the bowels, while a moderate amount binds them. Lettuces loosen thick phlegm, and, as some have put on record, clear the senses, being very useful to stomachs which are out of order. They are aided for these purposes by oboli of digestive, the mixer modifying the sharpness by the addition of a sweet wine until it is no greater than that of vinegar sauce, mixing with it, if the phlegm be thick, squill or wormwood wine; if a cough also be experienced, hyssop wine. Lettuces are given with wild endive for coeliac affections and for hardness in the abdomen. White lettuce in great quantity is given to melancholic patients and for bladder troubles. Praxagoras gave it also to patients with dysentery. It is good for fresh burns, if applied with salt before the blisters form. They cheek spreading ulcers, if applied at first with saltpetre, afterwards in wine. Pounded they are applied in cases of erysipelas. The pounded stalks, added to pearl-barley and applied with cold water, soothe cramps and sprains, and eruptions of pimples when applied with wine and pearl-barley. In cholera also they have been given cooked in a pan, for which purpose the most beneficial are the bitter ones with the largest stems. Some people too inject the lettuce milk. Their stalks thoroughly boiled are said to be very beneficial to the stomach; likewise for sleep the summer lettuce especially, and the milky, bitter kind, which we have called meconis. This milk added to woman's milk is prescribed also as very useful for clearness of vision if the eyes and the head are bathed in good time, and likewise for eye troubles caused by chill. I find much other extravagant praise of lettuce: that with Attic honey it is as good as southernwood for chest complaints; that menstruation is regulated by its use as food; that the seed of cultivated lettuce is given for scorpion stings; that the crushed seed taken in wine prevents libidinous dreams; that noxious waters do not harm those who eat lettuce. Some however have maintained that when eaten too often they impair the eyesight.

27. Not without healing properties is either kind of beet; the fresh root of either the white variety or of the dark, if soaked and hung on a cord is said to be efficacious against serpent bites; white beet boiled and taken with raw garlic against tapeworms. Dark roots boiled in water remove dandruff; the dark for all purposes is held to be the more efficacious. Its juice relieves headache and giddiness, noises in the ears if poured into them, and it is diuretic. Injected it is a remedy for dysentery and jaundice; the juice used as liniment relieves toothache, besides being an antidote for serpent bites, but only if extracted from the dark root. A decoction, moreover, of the beet itself relieves chilblains. White beet applied to the forehead allays fluxes of the eyes, and mixed with a little alum, erysipelas. Similarly applied, when beaten up without oil it also heals burns. It is also used for eruptions of pimples; again, when boiled, it is applied to spreading sores, likewise raw for mange, and for running sores on the head. Its

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juice applied with honey to the nostrils clears the head. It is gently boiled with lentils, with vinegar added, in order to relax the bowels. Boiled faster beet checks fluxes of the stomach and bowels.

28. There is also a wild beet, called by some limonium, by others neuroides, with leaves much smaller, thinner and closer together, often having eleven stalks. Its leaves, useful for burns, dry the mouth of those who taste them. Its seed, in doses of one acetabulum, is good for dysentery. The liquid moreover decocted from the root of the beet washes out, it is said, the stains on clothes as well as those on parchment.

29. Endives also are not without their value in medicine. Their juice with rose oil and vinegar relieves headache; moreover, drunk with wine, pains of the liver and bladder; it is also applied to fluxes from the eyes. The wild endive certain among us have called ambubaia. In Egypt they call the wild kind cichorium; the cultivated they call seris, a variety which is smaller and has more veins.

30. Chicory taken in food or applied as liniment cools gatherings. The juice of the boiled-down vegetable loosens the bowels, and benefits liver, kidneys and stomach. Again, if it is boiled down in vinegar it dispels pain of urination, jaundice also if taken in honey wine, provided that there is no fever. It helps the bladder. Boiled down in water it so helps the purgation of women as even to withdraw the dead unborn baby. The Magi add that those who have anointed themselves with the juice of the entire plant, mixed with oil, become more popular, and obtain their requests more easily. So great indeed are its health-giving properties that some call it chreston (useful) others pancration (almighty).

31. The wild kindsome call it hedypnois has a broader leaf; boiled, it acts as an astringent upon a relaxed stomach, and eaten raw it checks looseness of the bowels. It is beneficial in dysentery, more so when taken with lentils. Ruptures and cramps are relieved by both kinds, as also are those troubled with a diseased flux of sperm.

32. Seris also, itself very similar to lettuce, is of two kinds. The wild is the better; it is dark and grows in summer, while the winter variety, which is whiter, is not so good. Each is bitter, and very beneficial to the stomach, especially to one troubled by a humour. They are cooling when taken with vinegar in food, and when applied as liniment; they disperse other humours besides those in the stomach. With pearl-barley the roots of the wild variety are taken in a draught to benefit the stomach; for heartburn they are applied above the left breast; prepared with vinegar all these are useful for gout, for spitting of blood, and likewise for fluxes of sperm, a dose to be taken on alternate days. Petronius Diodotus, who wrote a medical Herbal, gives many arguments condemning seris altogether, but the opinion of all others is against him.

33. It would be a long task to make a list of all the praises of the cabbage, since not only did Chrysippus the physician devote to it a special volume, divided according to its effects on the various parts of the body, but Dieuches also, and Pythagoras above all, and Cato no less lavishly, have celebrated its virtues; the views of the latter it is meet to set forth all the more carefully for the sake of learning what medicine the Roman people used for six hundred years. The earliest Greeks divided cabbage into three varieties; (a) the curly, which they called selinas from the resemblance of its leaves to those of parsley, useful for the stomach and moderately laxative; (b) the helia, with broad leaves growing out of the stem, from which some have called it caulodes, of no importance in medicine; (c) the third, crambe properly so-called, with thinner leaves of plain shape and very close together, is more bitter but very beneficial. Cato thinks most highly of the curly variety, next after it approving the smooth cabbage with large leaves and big stem. He considers it good for headache, dimness of the eyes and sparks in them, for the spleen, the stomach and the hypochondria, when taken raw in the morning with oxymel, coriander, rue, mint and root of silphium, in doses of two acetabula, saying that their power is so great that he who pounds the ingredients together feels himself growing stronger. He therefore recommends that it should either be pounded with these herbs when taken in a draught, or at least be in sauce made from them; while for gout and rheumatic joints a liniment should be made with a dash of rue, coriander and salt, along with barley flour; he adds that its water, boiled down, is wonderfully beneficial for sinews and joints, if they are fomented with it. Wounds, whether fresh or old, and even cancerous sores, which can be healed by no other treatment, should, so he prescribes, first be fomented with hot water and then have pounded cabbage applied to them twice daily. Similar treatment he prescribes for fistulas also and sprains; for tumours too, both such as must be brought to a head and those that need to be dispersed. He says that boiled cabbage prevents dreams and sleeplessness, if you eat fasting as much as possible with oil and salt; gripings it relieves if after boiling it is boiled down again with the addition of oil, salt, cummin and pearl-barley. If when so prepared it is taken without bread, it will, he adds, be more beneficial. Among other things he tells us that bile is cleared away by drinking cabbage in dark wine; and what is more, he recommends that the urine of a person who has lived on a cabbage diet should be kept, because when warmed it is a cure for pains in the sinews. I will add his actual words to explain his thought: 'Little boys, if you bathe them with such urine, never become weak.' He also advises that the juice of cabbage should be poured warm into the ears, with wine added, and he insists that this treatment benefits those who are hard of hearing, and that impetigo by the same means is cured without ulceration.

34. Just because we have dealt with Cato it is well to put down now the views of the Greeks also, limiting ourselves to making good Cato's omissions. If not overcooked they think that cabbage brings away bile, also that it loosens the bowels, checking diarrhoea however if it be boiled twice. As cabbage is the enemy of the vine, they say that it opposes wine; that if taken in food beforehand it prevents drunkenness, taken after drinking it dispels its unpleasant effects. They hold that cabbage taken as food greatly brightens the vision, and that the benefit is very great indeed if the juice of raw cabbage and Attic honey merely touch the corners of the eyes. They add that cabbage is very easily digested, and that its use as food clears the senses. The school of Erasistratus loudly declares that nothing is more useful than cabbage for the stomach and sinews, and he therefore prescribes it for paralysis and palsy, as well as for spitting of blood. Hippocrates prescribed twice-boiled cabbage and salt for coeliac trouble and dysentery, also for tenesmus and kidney troubles, holding also that its use as food gave a rich supply of milk to lying-in women and benefited women's purgings. The stalk indeed eaten raw brings out the dead unborn baby. Apollodorus holds that its seed should be eaten, or its juice drunk, to counteract poisonous fungi; Philistion prescribes it to be taken in goat's milk, with salt and honey, for opisthotonic tetanus. I find that gout has been cured by eating cabbage and drinking cabbage water; the latter has been given with the addition of salt for heart-bum also and epilepsy, and with white wine for a period of forty days for diseases of the spleen, as well as for jaundice and phrenitis. For hoarseness he prescribes the juice of the raw cabbage as a gargle or drink, but for hiccoughs he recommends it to be taken in vinegar with coriander, dill, honey and pepper. An application of it is good for flatulence of the stomach, snake bite and putrid sores of long standing; if you like, the mere water may be used with barley meal, the juice in vinegar or with fenugreek. In this way some apply it to aching joints and gouty limbs. An application of it relieves epinyctis and every other kind of spreading eruption, and also sudden dimness of sight; the last too is benefited by eating it in vinegar, but for bruises and other livid marks the application should be of cabbage alone, for leprous sores and itch, of cabbage in vinegar with a ball of alum. Applied in this way it also prevents the hair from falling out. Epicharmus says that a local application of cabbage is very good for troubles of the testes and genitals, that cabbage and crushed beans are more efficacious still, and likewise for convulsions; that with rue it relieves high fever and stomach troubles, and with the seed of rue it brings away the afterbirth and cures the bite of the shrewmouse. The dried leaves when powdered purge by vomit or by stool.

35. Of all the varieties of cabbage the most pleasant-tasted is cyma, although it is thought to be unwholesome, being difficult of digestion and bad for the kidneys. Further, we must not forget that the water in which it has been boiled, though praised for its many uses, has a foul smell when poured out on the ground. The ash of dried cabbage-stalks is understood to be caustic, and with stale grease is used for sciatica, but with silphiurn and vinegar, applied as a depilatory, it prevents the growth of other hair in place of that pulled out. It is also taken lukewarm in oil, or boiled in water by itself, for convulsions, internal ruptures, and falls from a height. Has cabbage then no faults to be charged with? Nay, we find in the same authors that it makes the breath foul and harms teeth and gums. In Egypt too, because of its bitterness, it is not eaten.

36. Cato gives vastly higher praise to the wild, or stray, cabbage, so much so that he asserts that the mere powder of the dried vegetable, collected in a smelling-bottle, or the scent only, snuffed up the nostrils, removes nose-troubles and any offensive odour. Some call this variety rock-cabbage; it is strongly antipathetic to wine, so that the vine tries very hard to avoid it, or, if it cannot do so, dies. It has thin leaves, round, small, and smooth; though rather like the ordinary vegetable, it is both whiter and more hairy than the cultivated kind. Chrysippus tells us that it heals flatulence, biliousness and fresh wounds, if applied with honey and not removed till the seventh day; also that beaten up in water it cures scrofula and fistulas. Others moreover maintain that it checks running sores, called nomae, removes too excrescences, and smoothes away scars; that if it is chewed, or if cabbage water be used with honey as a gargle, sores in the mouth or on the tonsils disappear, as also do the itch and chronic leprous sores, if three parts of it and two of alum in strong vinegar be applied as a liniment. Epicharmus thought this cabbage a sufficient remedy if applied to the bite of a mad dog, and an even better one with the addition of silphium juice and strong vinegar; he also said that dogs are killed by it, if given with their meat. Its seed if roasted is a help against serpents, fungi, and bull's blood. The boiled leaves taken in food or applied raw with sulphur and soda relieves splenic diseases and also hardness of the breasts. The ash of its roots even by a mere touch cures a swollen uvula, reduces parotid swellings if applied with honey, and heals bites of serpents. Of the power of cabbage I will add but one proof, which is both striking and wonderful: let the scale form on the inside of any vessel in which water is boiled, so that it cannot be scraped away; yet it disappears if cabbage is boiled in them.

37. Among wild cabbages is also lapsana, which is a foot high, has hairy leaves, being like mustard, except that the flower is whiter. It is eaten cooked, and soothes and relaxes the bowels.

38. Of all the varieties, sea cabbage is the strongest purgative. On account of its pungency it is cooked with fat meat, and is very bad for the stomach.

39. The squill used in medicine is white (the dark squill is female), and the whiter it is the more beneficial. When the dried skin has been torn from it, what is left of the living a plant is cut up and hung on a cord at short distances. Afterwards the dry pieces are plunged still hanging into a jar of very strong vinegar, so as not to touch any part of the vessel. Then the jar, plastered with gypsum, is placed under tiles which receive the sun the whole day long. This is done forty-eight days before the solstice. After this number of days the vessel is removed and the squills taken out, the vinegar being poured into another vessel. This vinegar sharpens the vision, is beneficial for pains of the stomach and sides if taken for two days at a time. But so great is its strength that too copious a draught produces for a moment the appearance of death. Even when chewed by themselves squills are good for the gums and teeth. Taken in vinegar and honey they bring away tapeworm and other intestinal parasites. Fresh squills placed under the tongue prevent dropsical patients from suffering thirst. They are cooked in several ways: either in a pot lined with fat or clay, to be put into an oven or furnace, or else they are cut up and cooked in a stewpan. Raw squills too are dried, then cut up, boiled in vinegar and then applied to snake bites. Another way is to roast the squills and then clean them, after which the centre parts are again cooked in water. Thus prepared they are used for dropsy, as a diuretic, drunk with honey and vinegar in doses of three oboli, and also for diseases of the spleen and stomach, when food floats undigested, provided that no ulceration is felt, for griping pains, jaundice, and chronic cough with asthma. Scrofula is cleared away by squill leaves, if they are left on for four days; dandruff and running sores by an application of squills cooked in oil. Cooked too in honey squills are used as food, especially to promote digestion. So prepared they also purge the bowels. Cooked in oil and mixed with resin squills heal cracks in the feet. The seed mixed with honey is applied to relieve lumbago. Squills too, hung in a doorway, are said by Pythagoras to have power to keep off evil enchantments.

40. The other bulbs cure cuts on the face when used with vinegar and sulphur, contraction of the sinews too when pounded up and used by themselves, dandruff when mixed with wine, and the bites of dogs when mixed with honey; Erasistratus would mix them with pitch. The same authority holds that applied with honey they stop a flow of blood. Others add coriander and flour for bleeding at the nose. Theodorus treats lichen also with bulbs in vinegar, adding a dry wine or egg for eruptions on the head. The same authority applies them for eye-fluxes, and their centres for dry ophthalmia. Red bulbs in particular, applied in the sun with honey and soda, remove spots on the face, and freckles when applied with wine or with vinegar. They are wonderfully good too for wounds, either by themselves, or as Damion advises, with honey wine, if the application be allowed to remain for four days at least. By the same means he treats broken ear-laps and hydrocele, adding flour also for pains in the joints. Boiled in wine and applied to the belly they soften hardness abdomen. For dysentery they are given in diluted with rain-water, for internal spasms in the size of a bean compounded with silphium. sweating they are bruised and applied. They good for the sinews, and therefore are given to paralytics. Red bulbs, mixed with honey and salt, heal sprains of the foot very quickly. Megarian bulbs are a strong aphrodisiac; garden bulbs taken with concentrated must or raisin wine help delivery; wild bulbs compounded with silphium and swallowed in pills relieve intestinal wounds and affections. The seed of the last is taken in wine against the bite of venomous spiders. The bulbs themselves are applied in vinegar against the bites of serpents. The ancients used to give the seed in drink to persons raving mad. The flowers of bulbs pounded up remove spots on the legs and patches produced by fire. Diocles thinks that the eyes are weakened by them. He adds that when boiled they are less useful than roasted, and that according to the strength of every variety they are difficult of digestion.

41. The Greeks call bulbine a plant with leaves like those of leeks and with a red bulb. This is said to be wonderfully good for wounds, provided that they are recent. The bulb called the

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emetic from its effects has dark leaves, longer than those of other kinds.

42. Asparagus is reported to be one of the most beneficial foods to the stomach. Indeed if cummin is added it disperses flatulence of the stomach and colon; it improves vision also, moves the bowels gently, benefits pains in the chest and spine as well as intestinal trouble, wine being added when it is being cooked. For pains in the loins and kidneys asparagus seed is taken in drink in doses of three oboli, an equal quantity of cummin being added. It is aphrodisiac and very useful as a diuretic, except when the bladder has been ulcerated. Very many recommend that the root be pounded and taken in white wine, when it also disperses stone, and relieves pains of the loins and kidneys. Some also prescribe this root to be taken in sweet wine for pain in the womb. This root boiled down in vinegar is good for elephantiasis. If a man is rubbed with a mixture of pounded asparagus and oil it is said that he is never stung by bees.

43. Wild asparagus is called by some corruda, by others Libyan, by the Attics orminus. For all the purposes mentioned above its properties are more efficacious than those of the cultivated asparagus, and those of the whiter kind are the more powerful. Both relieve jaundice. As an aphrodisiac, the water in which it has been boiled is recommended to be drunk in doses up to a hemina. Its seed has the same effect mixed with dill and taken in doses of three oboli of each. A decoction of the juice is also given for the bites of serpents. Its root, mixed with the root of fennel, is among our most efficacious aids. In cases of haematuria the seed of asparagus, of parsley, and of cummin is prescribed by Chrysippus in doses of three oboli in two cyathi of wine. He goes on to say that thus prepared, although it is diuretic, yet it is bad for dropsy, as it is for venery, and also for the bladder unless it is boiled in water; that this water kills dogs if they drink it; that the juice of the root boiled in wine, if it be held in the mouth, cures toothache.

44. Parsley is universally popular, for sprigs of it are found swimming in draughts of milk everywhere in the country, and in sauces it enjoys a popularity all its own. Moreover applied with honey to the eyes, provided that they are also frequently fomented with a warm decoction, it is wonderfully beneficial, as also for other fluxes on the limbs, when applied pounded up, either by itself or with bread or pearl-barley. Fish also, if they are sickly in ponds, are revived by fresh parsley. But no other plant taken from the ground has caused such a variety of opinion among the learned. Parsley shows distinction of sex. Chrysippus says that female parsley has hard and curlier leaves, a thick stem and a sharp, hot taste, Dionysius that it is darker, has a shorter root and breeds grubs; both agree that neither should be classed among the foodsnay, that it is altogether a sin to eat parsley, because it is dedicated to the funeral feasts in honour of the dead, and that it is also bad for the eyesight. They say that the stem of female parsley breeds grubs, and because of this those who have eaten it, whether male or female, become barren, and actually that sucking babies become epileptic if their nurses have eaten parsley. The male plant however they say is the less injurious. This is why it is not classed among plants utterly taboo. The application of parsley leaves softens hardness of the breasts. To boil parsley in it makes water sweeter to drink. The juice of the root in particular added to wine relieves lumbago, and hardness of hearing if the same liquid be dropped into the ears. The seed is diuretic, aids the menses and the afterbirth, and restores bruises to their natural colour if they are fomented with a decoction of the seed. Applied with white of egg, or boiled in water and drunk, parsley cures kidney troubles, and ulcers in the mouth when pounded up in cold water. The seed with wine, or the root with old wine, breaks up stones in the bladder. The seed is also given, in white wine, to jaundice patients.

45. Hyginus gives the name of apiastrum to melissophyllum, but by general consent the Sardinian variety is condemned as poisonous; I must however include in the same class all plants so placed by Greek writers.

46. Olusatrum (alexanders), also called hipposelinum (horse parsley), is antipathetic to scorpions. Its seed taken in drink cures colic and intestinal worms. The seed too, boiled and drunk in honey wine, cures dysuria. Its root, boiled in wine, expels stone, besides curing lumbago and pains in the side. Taken in drink and applied as liniment it cures the bite of a mad dog. A draught of its juices warms those who have been chilled. A fourth kind of parsley is made by some authorities out of oreoselinum (mountain parsley), a straight shrub a palm high, with a seed like cummin, beneficial to the urine and the menses. Heleoselinum (marsh celery) is especially valuable for the bites of spiders; this variety and oreoselinum taken in wine promotes the menses.

47. Another kind of parsley, which grows on rocks, is called by some petroselinum (rock parsley); it is especially good for abscesses, two spoonfuls of the juice making a dose with one cyathus of juice of horehound and three cyathi of warm water. Other authorities have added to the parsleys buselinem (cow parsley), which differs from the cultivated kind in the shortness of its stalk and the redness of its root, although its properties are the same. They add that taken in drink or applied it is a powerful antidote against the bites of serpents.

48. Ocimuni (basil) too was severely condemned by Chrysippus as injurious to stomach, urine and eyesight, adding that it causes madness, lethargus and liver troubles, and that for this reason goats refuse to touch it, so that men also ought to avoid it. Certain authorities add that pounded ocimum, if covered by a stone, breeds a scorpion, and that ocimum chewed and left in the sun breeds worms; the Africans moreover hold that a man's life is lost if he is stung by a scorpion on the same day as he has eaten ocimum. Moreover, some hold that if a handful of ocimum be pounded up with ten sea or river crabs, all the scorpions in the neighbourhood are drawn to it. Diodorus in his Empirica says that the use of ocimum as a food breeds lice. The period that followed saw strong defenders of ocimum who said that goats do eat it, that no man's mind has been affected by it, and that in wine and a little vinegar it cures the stings of land scorpions and the venom of those in the sea. Experience also proves, they say, that ocimum if smelt in vinegar is good for fainting; also for lethargus, and to cool inflammations; for headache, too, if used as a liniment with rose oil or with myrtle oil or with vinegar, and for eye fluxes if applied in wine. It is said too, to be beneficial to the stomach, to disperse flatulence by belching if taken in vinegar, to check looseness of the bowels if applied externally, to be diuretic, applied thus to be good for both jaundice and dropsy, and to check even the diarrhoea of cholera. Philistion therefore prescribed ocimum even for coeliac complaints and when boiled for dysentery; some against the advice of Plistonicus prescribe it in wine for tenesmus, spitting of blood and hardness of the hypochondria. Applied to the breasts it checks the flow of milk. It is very beneficial, especially with goose grease, for the ears of babies. The pounded seed snuffed up the nostrils promotes sneezing, and used as a liniment the flow of mucus from the head; taken as food in vinegar it purges the womb. Mixed with cobbler's blacking it removes warts. Being aphrodisiac it is also administered to horses and asses at the time of service.

For all these purposes wild ocimum is of greater efficacy, particularly for the troubles caused by frequent vomitings and for abscesses of the womb, the root taken in wine being very efficacious for the bites of wild beasts.

49. Rocket seed cures the poisons of scorpions and of the shrewmouse; it keeps off all the little parasites breeding on the body, and removes spots on the skin of the face when applied with honey, freckles when applied with vinegar, reducing livid scars to whiteness when mixed with ox-gall. Taken in wine it is said to harden as it were the feeling of those about to be flogged. As a seasoning for dishes it imparts such a pleasant flavour that the Greeks have called it cuzomon (good broth). It is thought that if the eyes are fomented with slightly pounded rocket, clearness of vision is restored ... the coughing of babies is soothed. A decoction of its root in water extracts broken bones. We have already spoken of rocket as an aphrodisiac; if three leaves of wild rocket plucked with the left hand and pounded are drunk in hydromel, they so act.

50. On the other hand cress is antaphrodisiac, but as we have already said sharpens the senses. There are two varieties of it. The white acts as a purge, and carries bile away if one denarius by weight of it be taken in seven of water. It is an excellent cure for scrofula if applied with bean meal and covered with a cabbage leaf. The other kind, which is darker, purges away peccant humours of the head, clears the vision, calms if taken in vinegar troubled minds, and benefits the spleen when drunk in wine or eaten with a fig, or a cough if taken in honey, provided that the dose be repeated daily and administered on an empty stomach. The seed in wine expels all parasites of the intestines, more effectively however if there be added wild mint. Taken with wild marjoram and sweet wine it is good for asthma and cough, and a decoction in goat's milk relieves pains in the chest. Applied with pitch it disperses superficial abscesses; applied in vinegar it extracts thorns from the body and removes spots. When used for carcinoma white of egg is added. It is applied in vinegar to the spleen, but with babies it is best applied in honey. Sextius adds that burnt cress keeps away serpents, and neutralizes scorpion stings; that the pounded plant relieves headache, and mange, if mustard be added; that pounded and placed with fig on the ears it relieves hardness of hearing, and tooth ache if its juice be poured into the ears; and that dandruff and sores on the head are removed if the juice be applied with goose grease. Boils it brings to a head if applied with leaven. It makes carbuncles suppurate and break, and with honey it cleanses phagedaenic ulcers. With pearl barley it is applied in vinegar for sciatica and lumbago, likewise for lichen and rough nails, because its nature is caustic. The best kind, however, is the Babylonian; the wild variety for all the purposes mentioned is the more efficacious.

51. But among our chief medicinal plants is rue. The cultivated kind has the wider leaves and the more bushy branches; the wild variety is harsh in its effects and sharper in all respects. The juice is extracted by pounding with a moderate sprinkling of water, and is kept in a copper box. An overdose of this juice possesses poisonous qualities, especially in Macedonia near the river Aliaemon. Strangely enough, it is neutralized by the juice of hemlock; so there are actually poisons of poisons, and hemlock juice is good for the hands and face of those who gather rue. Further, rue, especially the Gallic variety, is one of the chief ingredients of antidotes. Any sort of rue, however, is even by itself a powerful antidote, the pounded leaves being taken in wine, especially against aconite and mistletoe; likewise, whether given in drink or in food, against poisonous fungi. In like manner it counteracts the bites of serpents, seeing that weasels, when about to fight with them, first protect themselves by eating rue. Rue is good for stings of scorpions and for those of spiders, bees, hornets and wasps, for injuries caused by cantharides and salamanders, and for the bites of mad dogs. The juice is drunk in wine in doses of one acetabulum, and the leaves pounded or chewed are applied with honey and salt, or after boiling with vinegar and pitch. It is said that any besmeared with its juice, and even those having it on their persons, are never stung by these poisonous creatures, and that serpents avoid the fumes that come from burning rue. Its most efficient form is the wild root taken with wine. Authorities add that this root is more efficacious if the draught be taken out of doors. Pythagoras divided rue also into (a) male, with smaller leaves and of a grass-green colour, and (b) female, with more luxuriant leaves and more colour. He also thought it injurious to the eyes, wrongly, since engravers and painters use rue as food, with bread or cress, for the sake of their eyes; wild goats also, they say, cat it to improve their vision. Many have dispelled dimness by anointing the eyes with its juice added to Attic honey or to the milk of a woman who has just borne a male child, or even by touching the corners of the eyes with the pure juice. Rue applied with pearl barley relieves fluxes from the eyes; taken in wine or applied with vinegar and rose oil, headaches likewise; if however the headache be chronic, barley flour and vinegar should be the other ingredients. The same plant soon relieves indigestion, flatulence and chronic pains of the stomach. It opens the womb, and corrects displacement of it, if applied in honey to the whole abdomen and chest; added to figs and boiled down to one half it is administered in wine in cases of dropsy. In this form it is also taken for pains in the chest, sides and loins, for coughs and asthma, for complaints of the lungs, liver and kidneys, and for cold shivers. To prevent the after-effects of drinking a decoction of the leaves is taken before indulgence in wine, It is beneficial as a food, raw, boiled or preserved, likewise for colic if boiled in hyssop and taken with wine. In this form it checks internal haemorrhage, and, if injected into them, bleeding nostrils; this form is also good for rinsing the teeth. The juice is also poured into the ears for earache, care being taken, as we have said, to inject only a moderate quantity if the wild variety is used; but for hardness of hearing and for singing in the ears there is added rose oil or bay oil, or else wine and honey. For phrenitis too the juice of pounded rue is poured in vinegar over the temples and cranium. Some have also added wild thyme and bay, rubbing with this mixture the head and the neck. Rue has been given in vinegar for sufferers from lethargus to smell, and a decoction of the juice for epileptics to drink in doses of four cyathi; it has been given before attacks of fever with unbearable chill, and also raw, as food, to sufferers from shivering fits. It is diuretic also, even when there is haematuria; it promotes too menstruation, and brings away the afterbirth and the foetus that has died before delivery, as Hippocrates holds, if it be taken in sweet, dark wine, or so applied locally. He also prescribes fumigation with rue to stimulate the womb. Diocles so applies it in vinegar and honey with barley meal for heartburn: for severe colic, the meal should be boiled in oil and spread over pieces of fleece. Many moreover also think that two drachmae of dried rue and one and a half drachmae of sulphur can be taken for purilent spittings, and for spitting of blood three sprays boiled in wine. Pounded and taken in wine with cheese it is also given to patients with dysentery. Crumbed into a draught it has also been given with bitumen for shortness of breath; for heavy falls three ounces of seed with one pound of oil and a sextarius of wine. The leaves boiled with oil ate applied to parts that have been bitten by frost. If it is diuretic, as Hippocrates holds, it is strange that some prescribe it as an antidiuretic drink for incontinence of urine. An application of rue, with honey and alum, heals itch and leprous sores; vitiligo also and warts, scrofula and similar complaints, with nightshade, lard and beef suet; in vinegar and oil, or white lead, erysipelas; in vinegar, carbuncles. Some prescribe the addition of silphium to the ointment, without using it, however, for the treatment of night pustules. A decoction of it is applied to swollen breasts, and with the addition of wax for outbursts of phlegm; for fluxes of the testicles, however, tender sprigs of laurel are added, and so extraordinary is the effect of these on the abdomen that, it is said, by an ointment of the wild variety with old axle-grease hernia is healed, as are also broken limbs by an application of the pounded seed and wax. The root of rue applied to the part affected restores to normal blood-shot eyes, and scars or spots on any part of the body. Of the other traditions about rue a remarkable one is that, although it is agreed that rue is by nature hot, yet a bunch of rue boiled in rose oil with one ounce of aloes checks the perspiration of

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those who have rubbed themselves with it, and that its use as food hinders the generative powers. Accordingly it is prescribed for spermatorrhoea and for frequent amorous dreams. Pregnant women must take care to exclude rue from their diet, for I find that the foetus is killed by it. Of all plants rue is the one most generally used for the diseases of quadrupeds also, whether it be difficulty of breathing or the bites of noxious creatures; it is injected through the nostrils in wine, or in vinegar if a bloodsucker has been swallowed; in any type of illness it is compounded as in the corresponding illness in man.

52. Mentastrum is wild mint, differing from the cultivated kind in the appearance of its leaves, which have the shape of those of ocimum and the smell of pennyroyal, for which reason some call it wild pennyroyal. If these leaves are chewed and applied, elephantiasis is cured, as was discovered in the time of Pompeius Magnus by the chance experiment of some one who for shame smeared his face with them. The same leaves are applied, or taken in drink, for the bites of serpents, in doses of two drachmae in two cyathi of wine, for the stings of scorpions with salt, oil and vinegar; for the wound of the scolopendra the juice of a decoction is used. The leaves are dried to a powder and kept as an antidote for all poisons. Spread out or burnt, the plant drives away even scorpions. Taken in drink it brings on menstruation, but it kills the foetus. For ruptures, spasms, orthopnoea, cholic and cholera it is very beneficial, and an external application is so for lumbago and gout. The juice is injected into ears that are infected with parasites. It is taken in drink for jaundice, and applied as ointment for scrofula; it prevents amorous dreams, and if taken in vinegar expels worms; for dandruff, vinegar with the plant in it is poured over the head in the sun.

53. The smell of mint by itself refreshes our spirits and its flavour gives a zest to food; for this reason it is a familiar ingredient in our sauces. By itself mint prevents milk from turning sour or curdled and thick; for which reason it is added to milk for drinking, and administered in water or in honey wine to such as are choked by a curdled draught. Through the same property it is believed to be a hindrance to generation by not allowing the genital fluids to thicken. Bleeding it checks in both men and women, and stays menstruation; violent disturbance of the bowels also, if taken in water with starch. Ulceration and abscess of the womb are healed by an external application, liver complaints by doses of three oboli in honey wine, spitting of blood by the same in broth. It is wonderfully good for curing sores on children's heads; it dries a wet and braces a dry trachea, in honey wine and water it clears away purulent phlegm, and benefits the voice, if its juice be taken just before a strain is put upon it, not otherwise; a gargle also of the juice added to rue and coriander in milk is good for a swollen uvula. With alum it is good for the tonsils, with honey for a rough tongue, and by itself for internal spasms and for lung complaints. With pomegranate juice, as Democritus tells us, it stops hiccough and vomitings. The juice of fresh mint, inhaled, is good for affections of the nostrils. Pounded by itself mint is good for cholera, taken in a draught of vinegar, for internal fluxes of blood, made into a plaster with pearl barley, for iliac trouble also and tension of the breasts. It is also applied to the temples for headache, and it is taken for the wounds caused by the scolopendra, sea scorpion and serpent. It is applied to fluxes of the eyes, to all eruptions on the head, and to rectal troubles. It prevents too chafing, even if only held in the hand. Added to honey wine it is poured into the ears. It is even said to cure splenic trouble if it be tasted in the garden, without plucking it, if he who bites it says on nine consecutive days that he is curing his spleen; also that a three-finger pinch of the dried powder taken in water relieves stomach ache, and that the same with a sprinkling of drink expels intestinal worms.

54. Pennyroyal and mint are strong allies in reviving people who have fainted, both being put, in whole sprays, into glass bottles full of vinegar. For this reason Varro declared that a garland of pennyroyal was more suited to our bedrooms than one of roses, for an application is said to relieve headache; moreover, its very smell protects the head, so it is reported, against injury from cold or heat, and from thirst, nor do they suffer from the heat who carry when they are in the sun two sprays of pennyroyal behind their ears. It is also applied with pearl barley and vinegar for pains. The female plant is the more efficacious. This has a mauve flower, but the male a white one. Taken in cold water with salt and pearl barley it checks nausea; in this form pains in the chest also, and in water by itself pains in the stomach. Likewise it checks gnawings and vomiting if taken with vinegar and pearl barley; in salt, vinegar and pearl barley it loosens the bowels. Boiled with honey and soda it cures complaints of the intestines; in wine it is diuretic, and if the wine be Aminean it disperses both stone and all internal pains. In honey and vinegar it relieves menstruation and the afterbirth, replaces displaced uterus and expels the dead foetus. Its seed is given to smell in cases of aphasia; to epileptics it is administered with vinegar in doses of one cyathus. If unwholesome water has to be drunk, pounded pennyroyal is sprinkled on it. It relieves physical tiredness if taken in wine; it is rubbed with salt and vinegar on the sinews, and when these are contracted, and with honey for opisthotonic tetanus. A decoction is drunk for serpent bites; pounded it is taken in wine for stings of scorpions, especially if the pennyroyal be grown on dry soil. It is supposed to be good for ulcerations of the mouth, and for cough. The flower of the freshly gathered plant, when burnt, kills fleas by its smell. Xenocrates includes in his prescriptions the administering of a sprig of pennyroyal wrapped in wool to be smelt by sufferers from tertian ague before an attack of fever, or its being placed under the bedclothes for the patient to lie on.

55. Wild pennyroyal has for the same purposes as I have mentioned yet more beneficial properties. It is like wild marjoram, has smaller leaves than cultivated pennyroyal, and by some is called dictamnos (dittany). Its taste incites sheep or goats to bleat; for this reason certain Greeks changing one letter only have named it bleehon. Its nature is so heating that it raises a blister on the parts of the body to which it is applied. It does a chill good for the patient to be rubbed with pounded pennyroyal before a bath, as well as before the shivering fit of attacks of ague. For convulsions and gripings of the bowels, and for gout, it is wonderfully efficacious; for cramps it is administered as a drink with honey and salt; in lung troubles it makes expectoration easier. Taken with salt it is beneficial for splenic trouble, bladder, asthma and flatulence; a decoction of it, quite as well as the juice, replaces displaced uterus, and is an antidote for the wound inflicted by scolopendra, whether land or sea variety, by scorpions, and especially for the bite of a man. Its root is most efficacious when fresh for spreading ulcers, but the dried root restores scars to their natural state.

56. There is likewise kinship between pennyroyal and catmint. Boiled down to one third in water they disperse chills, help menstruation and allay the heats of summer. Catmint also has power to counteract the poisons of serpents. The smoke and smell of burning catmint drives them away; so those about to sleep in fear of snakes had better place catmint under the bedclothes. The pounded plant is applied to lachrymal fistula, and the fresh plant with one third part of bread mixed in vinegar is used as a liniment for headache. The juice of it dropped into the nostrils when thrown back stops bleeding at the nose; the root likewise, which with myrtle seed makes in warm raisin-wine a gargle that heals quinsy.

57. There is also a wild cummin, a very slender plant with four or five serrated leaves, but, like the cultivated variety, of great use, especially as a remedy for stomach trouble. Pounded and taken with bread, or drunk in water and wine, it dispels phlegms and flatulence; pipings also and pains in the bowels. All cummin, however, produces paleness in those who drink the draughts. At least it is reported that the followers of Porcius Latro, a distinguished teacher of rhetoric, imitated by this means the pallor that had followed his close application to study; and not so long ago Julius Vindex, the famous supporter of freedom against Nero, flattered in this way the hopes of legacy-hunters. Applied in the form of lozenges or fresh in vinegar it arrests bleeding at the nose; applied by itself it is good for fluxes from the eyes, and applied with honey it is good for them when swollen. For babies it is sufficient for it to be placed upon the abdomen. For jaundice it is administered in white wine after bathing. Ethiopian cummin is given chiefly in vinegar and water, and in an electuary with honey. The African variety is thought to have the special quality of checking incontinence of urine. Cultivated cummin, parched, and beaten up in vinegar, is given for troubles of the liver, likewise for vertigo; pounded moreover it is given in sweet wine to those who smart from too acrid urine; for disorders of the womb, in wine, and besides with an application of the leaves wrapped up in wool; for swollen testes it is parched and pounded, and applied with honey or with rose oil and wax. For all these purposes wild cummin is more efficacious; moreover with oil it is so for bites of serpents, and for stings of scorpions and scolopendras. A three-finger pinch in wine checks vomiting and nausea. For colic also it is drunk, or applied hot in lint kept in its place by bandages. Taken in wine it opens up suffocations of the womb, the dose being three drachma of cummin in three cyathi of wine. It is poured into the ears with veal suet or honey, when there are noises or ringing in them. For bruises it is applied with honey, raisins and vinegar, for black freckles in vinegar.

58. There is a plant very like cummin which the Greeks call ami. Some authorities however consider that it is Ethiopian cummin. Hippocrates called it royal cummin, doubtless because he thought that it was more efficacious than the Egyptian. Most people think that it is of an entirely different nature from cununin, because it is thinner and whiter. Yet its use is similar to that of cummin, for it is put under loaves of bread at Alexandria and included among the ingredients of Alexandrian sauces. It dispels flatulence and griping, promotes urine and menstruation, relieves bruises and fluxes of the eyes, and taken in wine with linseed in doses of two drachmae it is good for the wounds of scorpions, and with an equal proportion of myrrh it is especially good for the bite of the cerastes. Like cummin it produces pallor in the complexion of those who drink it. A fumigation of it with raisins or resin acts as a purge upon the womb. It is believed that those women more easily conceive who smell the plant during sexual intercourse.

59. I have said enough about the caper in the treatment of foreign plants. The caper growing overseas is not to be used; that of Italy is less harmful. They say that those who eat capers daily run no risk of paralysis or of pains in the spleen. Its root, pounded and rubbed on the skin in the sun, removes white eruptions. The skin of the root is good for troubles of the spleen if it be taken in wine in doses of two drachmae, but the patient must give up the use of the bath; it is said that in thirty-five days by urine and by stools the whole spleen is brought away. It is given in drink for lumbago and paralysis. Toothache is eased by pounded caper-seed in vinegar, by a decoction of it, or by chewing the root. Boiled in oil it is injected for earache. The sores called phagedaenic are cured by leaves or freshly gathered root applied with honey. In this form the root removes scrofula; boiled In water it removes parotid tumours and worms. For pains in the liver it is pounded and applied with barley meal. It also cures diseases of the bladder. In vinegar and honey it is also given for tapeworm: A decoction in vinegar removes sores in the mouth. Authorities agree that the caper is harmful to the stomach.

60. Lovagesome call it panacesis good for the stomach, likewise for convulsions and flatulence. Some have called it ox cunila, but wrongly, as I have pointed out.

61. Besides the cultivated cunila there are several other kinds used in medicine. The one called ox cunila has a seed like that of pennyroyal which is curative if chewed and applied to wounds provided that the bandage is not taken off till the fifth day after. For the bites of serpents it is taken in wine and applied to the wound after being pounded. The bites made by serpents they rub ... likewise tortoises that are going to fight with serpents. Certain people call it panacea (all-heal) in this connection. It relieves tumours and troubles of the male organs, applied dry or after pounding the leaves; for every use it combines wonderfully well with wine.

62. There is another, called chicken cunila by Romans, Heracleotic marjoram by the Greeks. Pounded and with the addition of salt it is good for the eyes. It relieves a cough also and liver complaints, pains in the side when mixed into a broth with meal, oil and vinegar, but especially the bites of serpents.

63. There is a third kind, which the Greeks call male cunila, and the Romans cunilago; it has a foul smell, wood-like root and a rough leaf. Of all varieties of cunila it is said that this has the strongest qualities, that a handful of it thrown about attracts all the cockroaches in the whole house, that taken in vinegar and water it is a specific against scorpions, and that if a man be rubbed over with three a leaves in oil serpents are kept away.

64. On the other hand the cunila called soft has shaggier and prickly branches, and when pounded the smell of honey, the fingers sticking together at its touch; a second variety smells of frankincense, and we have called it libanotis. Either kind in wine or vinegar is an antidote against the bites of serpents; furthermore, pounded and scattered about in water both varieties kill fleas.

65. Cultivated cunila too has its uses. The juice with rose oil is good for the ear-laps, and it is taken by itself in drink for stings. From it grows the mountain variety, which is like wild thyme and efficacious against the bites of serpents. It is diuretic and cleanses after childbirth. Wild or cultivated it is a wonderful stimulus to digestion and to the appetite, or relieves indigestion taken fasting and sprinkled in a drink. Useful too for sprains, taken in barley meal with vinegar and water it is very useful for the stings of wasps and the like. Other kinds of libanotis will be dealt with in their proper place.

66. Piperitis, which I have also called siliquastrum, is taken in drink for epilepsy. Castor gave a further description of it: a red, long stem, with its knots close together; leaves like those of the bay; a white, small seed, with a taste like pepper; good for the gums, teeth, sweetness of breath and for belching.

67. Origanum, which rivals cunila in its wild flavour, as I have said has many varieties useful in medicine. One is onitis, called by some prasion, and not unlike hyssop. Its special use is to be taken in warm water for gnawings of the stomach and indigestion, and in white wine for the stings of spiders and scorpions, while it is applied on wool with vinegar and oil for sprains and bruises.

68. Goat origanum is more like wild thyme. Diuretic, it disperses tumours; if taken in drink it is most efficacious for poisoning by mistletoe or by viper bites, for acid belchings from the stomach and for the hypochondria. With honey it is also given for coughs, pleurisy and pneumonia.

69. Heraclium too has three varieties. The darker one with the broader leaf is glutinous; the second variety, with a more slender leaf, is more tender and not unlike sampsuchum, which some prefer to call prasion. There is a third kind, intermediate between the other two, but less efficacious than either. The best kind, however, is the Cretan, which also has a pleasant smell, the next best that of Smyrna, having less smell, and the Heracleotic, called onitis, is more useful for drinking.

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All kinds are used to keep away serpents, are given to eat boiled to those who have been bitten, are diuretic when taken in drink as above, cure with the root of all-heal ruptures and convulsions, dropsy with fig or with hyssop boiled down to one sixth in doses of one acetabulum, likewise itch, prurigo and psoriasis, if given on going down to the bath. Its juice, with woman's milk, is poured into the ears. It cures the tonsils also and uvula, as well as sores on the head. Boiled, and taken in wine with ashes it neutralizes the poison of opium and gypsum. A dose of one acetabulum loosens the bowels; it is applied to bruises, and also for toothache, importing whiteness to the teeth when used as a dentifrice with honey and soda. It checks bleeding at the nose. For parotid tumours it is boiled down with barley meal, for a rough trachea pounded with gall-nut and honey, and its leaves with honey and salt are good for the spleen. Boiled with vinegar and salt, and taken in small doses it loosens thick, black phlegm. Beaten up with oil it is poured into the nostrils for jaundice. Tired bodies are rubbed with it, care being taken not to touch the abdomen. With pitch it cures epinyctis; with a roasted fig it brings boils to a head. It is good for scrofulous swellings if applied with oil, vinegar and barley meal, if with fig, for pains in the side, pounded and applied in vinegar for fluxes of blood from the genitals, and also for bringing away more thoroughly the afterbirth.

70. Dittander (pepperwort) is considered to be one of the caustic plants. So it clears the complexion, but produces sores on the skin, which, however, are easily cured with wax and rose oil. Thus used, it always removes leprous sores and psoriasis easily, as well as the sores left by scars. It is said that in cases of toothache, if it be attached to the arm on the side where the pain is, this is diverted to it.

71. Git is by some Greeks called melanthium, by others, melaspermon. The best has the most pungent smell and the darkest colour. It cures the wounds of serpents and of scorpions. I find that it is applied in vinegar and honey, and that by burning it serpents are kept away. A dose of one drachma also is taken in drink for the wounds of spiders. Pounded, and smelt in a piece of linen it stops running from the nose, and headaches if applied in vinegar; poured into the nostrils with iris juice it cures fluxes and swellings of the eyes, toothache when boiled with vinegar, ulcers in the month when pounded or chewed; likewise leprous sores and freckles when added to vinegar, difficulty of breathing when taken in drink with soda, and indurations, chronic swellings and suppurations, when used as liniment. It increases the flow of women's milk if taken daily for a few days. Its juice is collected in a similar way to that of henbane, and like it is poisonous if taken in too large doses, a fact more remarkable because the seed actually makes a most pleasant seasoning for loaves of bread. It cleanses the eyes also, is diuretic and an emmenagogue. Moreover, I find that merely by tying thirty grains to the body in a piece of linen, the afterbirth is brought away. It is also said that pounded and applied in urine it cures corns on the feet, and that fumigation with it kills gnats as well as flies.

72. Anise too is taken in wine for the stings of scorpions, being one of the few remedies specially praised, whether raw or boiled, by Pythagoras. Green also or dried, it is valued for all such foods as require seasoning or sauce; it is also put under the bottom crust of a loaf. Placed with bitter almonds on the strainers it improves wine. Moreover, the breath is made more pleasant and bad odour removed if anise be chewed in the early morning along with alexanders and a little honey, the mouth being afterwards rinsed with wine, it makes the face look younger. It relieves sleeplessness if hung on the pillow, so that it may be smelt by the sleepers. It sharpens the appetite, to do which has been added to the arts by luxury, ever since the craving for food ceased to come from toil. For these reasons some have called anise anicetum.

73. The most esteemed variety is the Cretan; next comes the Egyptian. This in seasoning takes the place of lovage. To burn it and inhale the fumes through the nostrils relieves headache. Evenor recommends its pounded root to be applied to fluxes of the eyes; Iollas recommends a similar application of the plant itself with saffron and wine; by itself, with only pearl barley added, he prescribes it for violent fluxes and for extraction of anything which has got into the eyes. Applied in water it also removes a cancerous growth in the nostril. Used as a gargle with hyssop and honey in vinegar it relieves quinsies; it is poured with rose oil into the ears; phlegm in the chest is cleared away by parched anise taken with honey. For a cough it is better to pound up in honey fifty bitter almonds, peeled, with an acetabulum of anise. A remedy very easy indeed to make consists of three drachmae of anise and two of poppy mixed with honey and divided into pieces of the size of a bean, the dose being three daily. Its chief value, however, is to cause belching, and so it cures flatulence of the stomach, griping of the intestines and coeliac trouble. Boiled, and either smelt or drunk, it also stays hiccough. Its boiled leaves are a remedy for indigestion. To smell the juice of the plant boiled with celery a stops sneezing. Taken in drink it promotes sleep, disperses stone, stays vomiting and swelling of the hypochondria, besides being very useful for chest troubles and for the sinews with which the body is girt. It is good for headache also to pour in drops upon the head the juice of anise boiled with oil. Nothing is considered to be more beneficial to the belly and intestines, and so it is given roasted for dysentery and for tenesmus. Some add opium also, pills of the size of a lupine-seed being swallowed three times a day and washed down in a cyathus of wine. Dieuches used the juice also for lumbago; the pounded seed with mint he gave for dropsy and coeliac trouble; Evenor gave the root also for diseases of the kidneys. Dalion the herbalist prescribed a poultice of anise and parsley for women in labour, and also for pain in the womb; he recommended it to be taken with dill in drink by women in labour. It is applied also in cases of phrenitis, sometimes freshly gathered and with pearl barley; it is also so applied to babies suffering from epilepsy or convulsions. Pythagoras indeed declares that no epileptic fit occurs while anise is held in the hand, and for this reason advises that as much as possible be planted near the home. He also says that to smell it makes for easier childbirth, and that immediately after delivery it should be given in a draught with a sprinkling of pearl barley. Sosimenes used it in vinegar for all indurations and for fatigue, boiling it in oil after adding soda. He guaranteed travellers less fatigue if they took anise seed in drink. For flatulence of the stomach Heraclides gave in honey-wine a three-finger pinch of the seed with two oboli of beaver oil, and in like manner for flatulence in the belly or intestines and for orthopnoea a three-finger pinch of the seed, the same quantity of henbane, and asses' milk added. Many advise that those intending to take an emetic should during the dinner take it in water by acetabula of anise and ten pounded bay leaves. It relieves suffocation of the womb, if it be chewed and applied warm, or if it be taken with beaver-oil in oxymel. A dose of a three-finger pinch of cucumber seed and of the same quantity of linseed, in three cyathi of white wine, dispels vertigo after childbirth. For quartan agues Tlepolemus used a three-finger pinch of the seed of anise and fennel, taken in vinegar and one cyathus of honey. Applied with bitter almonds it relieves diseases of the joints. There are some who believe that its nature neutralizes the poison of asps. Diuretic, it quenches thirst, is an aphrodisiac, promotes with wine a gentle perspiration, and also protects clothes from moths. It is more efficacious always when fresh and the darker it is, yet it injures the stomach except when there is flatulence.

74. Dill too causes belching and relieves griping; it arrests diarrhoea. Its roots in water or wine are applied for fluxes from the eyes. To smell its seed when boiling checks hiccoughs. Taken in water it relieves indigestion. Its ash relieves an inflamed uvula, but weakens the eyes and the powers of generation.

75. The sacopenium which grows in our country is quite unlike that which comes from overseas. The latter, also called sagapemon, resembles ammoniac gum. It is good for pains in the sides and in the chest, for convulsions, for chronic coughs and expectoration, and for swellings of the hypochondria. It cures also vertigo, palsy, opisthotonic tetanus, diseases of the spleen and loins, and violent chills. It is given in vinegar to be smelt in cases of suffocation of the womb. In other cases it is both given in drink and with oil used as an embrocation. It is also useful as an antidote to harmful drugs.

76. Of the cultivated poppy I have mentioned three kinds a and I promised to describe other kinds, those of the wild poppy. Of the cultivated poppy the calyx itself of the white kind is pounded and is taken in wine to induce sleep. The seed cures elephantiasis. From the dark poppy a soporific is obtained by making incisions in the stalk, when the buds are forming (as Diagoras advises), or when the flowers are falling (as Iollas recommends), at the third hour of a clear day, that is to say, when the dew on the plant has dried up. They recommend that the incision be made beneath the head and calyx, and in no other variety either is an incision made into the head itself. Both this juice and that of any other plant is gathered in wool, or if there be but little, by scratching it off, as it is from lettuce, with the thumb nail, doing the same on the following day to any that has since become drier. Poppy juice however being copious thickens, and squeezed into lozenges is dried in the shade; it is not only a soporific, but if too large a dose be swallowed the sleep even ends in death. It is called opium. In this way, we are told, died at Bavilum in Spain the father of Publius Licinius Caecina, a man of praetorian rank, when an unbearable illness had made life hateful to him, and so also several others. For this reason a great controversy has arisen. Diagoras and Erasistratus have utterly condemned it as a fatal drug, forbidding its use moreover in injections on the ground that it is injurious to the eyesight. Andreas has added that the only reason why it does not cause instantaneous blindness is because it is adulterated at Alexandria. Afterwards, however, its use was not disapproved of in the form of the famous drug called διά κωδυών (diacodion). The seed too pounded into lozenges with milk is used to induce sleep, also with rose oil for headache; with rose oil too it is poured into the ears for earache. As a liniment for gout it is applied with woman's milk (the leaves by themselves are also so used), likewise in vinegar for erysipelas and wounds. I myself, however, should disapprove of its addition to eye salves, and much more to what are called febrifuges, digestives and coeliacs; the dark poppy, however, is given in wine for coeliac trouble. All kinds of cultivated poppy are larger than the wild. The heads are round, while those of the wild are long and small, though for all purposes more effective. The poppy is boiled and the liquid drunk for sleeplessness, with the same water the face is fomented. The best poppies grow on dry soils, and where the rainfall is slight. When the heads themselves and the leaves are boiled down, the juice is called meconium, and is much weaker than opium. The chief test of opium is its smell, that of pure opium being unbearable; the next best test is to put it in a lamp, when it should burn with a bright, clear flame, and smell only when it has gone out; adulterated opium does not behave in this fashion. Adulterated opium is also harder to light, and is continually going out. A further test of pure opium is by water, on which it floats as a light cloud, while the impure gathers into blisters. But especially wonderful is the fact that pure opium is detected by the summer sun. For pure opium sweats and melts until it becomes like freshly gathered juice. Mnesides thinks that opium is best kept by adding. the seed of henbane, others by putting it in beans.

77. Intermediate between the cultivated poppy and the wild is a third kind, for though growing on cultivated land it is self-sown; we have called it rhoeas or roving poppy. Some gather it and eat it straight away with the whole calyx. It acts as a purge; five heads boiled in three heminae of wine also induce sleep ...

78. Of the wild poppy one kind is called ceratitis. Black-seeded, a cubit high, with a thick root covered with a hard skin, it has a little calyx curved like a little horn. Its leaves are smaller and thinner than those of the other wild varieties. The seed is small, ripening at harvest; half an acetabulum of it, taken in honey wine, acts as a purge. The pounded leaves with oil cure eye-ulcers of beasts of burden. Its root, in the proportion of one acetabulum to two sextarii of water, boiled down to one half, is given for complaints of the loins and liver. Its leaves applied in honey are a cure for carbuncles. This variety is called glaucion by some and paralium by others, for it grows within reach of the sea breezes or in alkaline soils.

79. A second variety of wild poppy is called heradium, by others aphron, having leaves, if you look at it from a distance, that look like sparrows. Its roots are on the surface of the ground, and its seed is like foam. It is from the use of this plant that linen gets its shiny whiteness. In summer it is pounded in a mortar for epilepsy, the dose being an acetabulum in white wine; for it causes vomiting, and is very useful for the drug called diacodion and arteriace. This preparation however is made by steeping one hundred and twenty heads of this or any other wild poppy in three sextarii of rain water for two days; then they are thoroughly boiled in the same water, and after the whole has been dried it is again boiled down to one half with honey in a slow heat. More recently there has been added six drachmae of saffron, hypocisthis, frankincense and gum arabic, with a sextarius of Cretan raisin-wine. This however is just for show; this simple and old-fashioned remedy depends for its virtues entirely on the poppy and honey.

80. A third variety is tithymalon, called by some mecon, by others paralion, with a leaf like that of flax, a white flower, and a head of the size of a bean. It is gathered when the grape is at its best and then dried in the shade. Its seed, taken in half an acetabulum of honey wine, purges the bowels. But the head of any poppy, whether fresh or dried, if applied to the eyes relieves fluxes. Opium taken in nearly neat wine, if administered immediately, is an antidote for the stings of scorpions. Some give this property only to the dark variety, if its heads or leaves be pounded up.

81. There is also purslane, which is called peplis, being not much more beneficial than the cultivated variety, of which are recorded remarkable benefits: that the poison of arrows and of the serpents haemorrhoids and prester are counteracted if purslane be taken as food, and if it be applied to the wound, the poison is drawn out; likewise the poison of henbane if purslane be taken in raisin wine, after extraction of the juice. When the plant itself is not available, its seed has a similarly beneficial effect. It also counteracts the impurities of water, and if pounded and applied in wine it cures headache and sores on the head; other sores it heals if chewed and applied with honey. So prepared it is applied also to the cranium of infants, and to an umbilical hernia; for eye-fluxes in persons of all ages, with pearl bailey, to the forehead and temples, but to the eyes themselves in milk and honey; also, if the eyes should fall forwards pounded leaves are applied with bean husks, to blisters with pearl barley, salt and vinegar. Sores in the mouth and gumboils are relieved by chewing it raw; toothache likewise and sore tonsils by the juice of the boiled plant, to which some have added a little myrrh. But to chew it makes firm loose teeth, strengthens the voice and keeps away thirst. Pains at the back of the neck are relieved by it with equal parts of gall nut, linseed and honey, complaints of the breasts with honey or Cimolian chalk, while asthma is alleviated by a draught of the seed with honey. Taken in salad it strengthens the stomach. It is applied with pearl barley to reduce high

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temperature, and besides this when chewed it also cools the intestines. It arrests vomiting. For dysentery and abscesses it is eaten in vinegar or taken in drink with cummin, and for tenesmus it is boiled. Whether eaten or drunk it is good for epilepsy, for menstruation if one acetabulum be taken in concentrated must, for hot gout and crysipelas if applied with salt. A draught of its juice helps the kidneys and the bladder, expelling also intestinal parasites. For the pain of wounds it is applied in oil with pearl barley. It softens indurations of the sinews. Metrodorus, author of Compendium of Prescriptions from Roots, was of opinion that it should be given after delivery to aid the afterbirth. It checks lust and amorous dreams. A Spanish prince, father of a man of praetorian rank, because of unbearable disease of the uvula, to my knowledge carries except in the bath a root of purslane hung round his neck by a thread, being in this way relieved of all inconvenience. Moreover, I have found in my authorities that the head rubbed with purslane ointment is free from catarrh the whole year. It is supposed however to weaken the eyesight.

82. Coriander is not found among wild plants. The best, as is generally agreed, is the Egyptian. It is an antidote for the poison of one kind of serpent, the amphisbaena, both taken in drink and applied. It heals other wounds also, when pounded, besides night rashes and blisters; in this form too, with honey or raisins, all tumours and gatherings, though to treat the anus the pounded plant must be applied in vinegar. Some prescribe three grains of seed to be swallowed before the fit comes on by patients with tertian ague, or more than three to be applied in ointment to the forehead. There are some who believe that it is beneficial to place coriander before sunrise under the pillows. The fresh plant has great power to cool inflammations. Spreading sores also are healed by coriander with honey or raisins, likewise diseased testes, burns, carbuncles and sore ears, fluxes of the eyes too if woman's milk be added, while fluxes from belly or intestines are stayed by the seed taken in water. It is also taken in drink with rue for cholera. Intestinal parasites are expelled by coriander seed, taken with pomegranate juice and oil. Xenocrates records a great wonder, if it be a fact: that if women take in drink one grain of the seed the menses are retarded for one day, for two days if she takes two grains, and so on, one day's delay for each grain taken. M. Varro thinks that by slightly pounded coriander and cummin, with vinegar, meat of any kind can be kept sweet in the heat of summer.

83. Orache is also found wild, a vegetable accused by Pythagoras of causing dropsy, jaundice and pallor, and of being very hard indeed to digest; he adds as another drawback that not even in gardens does anything grow near it without drooping. Dionysius and Diocles have added that very many diseases arise from it, that it must never be boiled without changing the water often, that it is injurious to the stomach, and that it is the cause of freckles and pimples. I am at a loss to understand why Solon of Smyrna has stated that orache is difficult to grow in Italy. Hippocrates injects it with beet for complaints of the womb. Lycus of Naples prescribed it to be taken in drink for stings of the Spanish fly, and considered that it might be applied, scesses, incipient boils, and all indurations; with honey, vinegar and soda he used it in this way for erysipelas, and likewise gout. It is said to bring away scabrous nails without producing a sore. There are some who give its seed with honey for jaundice, add soda and rub the throat and tonsils, besides using it as a purge, boiled either by itself or with mallows or lentils. They also give it as an emetic. They use wild orache as a hair-dye as well as for the purposes mentioned above.

84. On the other hand, both kinds of mallow, the cultivated and the wild, are highly praised. The two lands of them are distinguished by the size of the leaf. Among cultivated mallows the larger is called by the Greeks malope; the other is called malache, the reason being, it is thought, because it relaxes the bowels. But of the wild kinds, the one with a large leaf and white roots, called althaea, has received from some the name of phstolochia, from the excellence of its properties. Mallows make richer every soil in which they are sown. They are efficacious against every sort of stings, especially those of scorpions, wasps and similar creatures, and those of the shrewmouse. Moreover, those who have been rubbed beforehand with oil and any one of the mallows pounded, or who carry it on their persons, are never stung. A leaf placed on a scorpion paralyses it. Mallows also counteract the poison of white lead. Raw mallow applied with saltpetre extracts splinters and thorns; taken moreover boiled with its root it counteracts the poison of the sea-hare, some adding that it must be brought back by vomiting. Other marvels are reported of the mallows, the most wonderful being that whoever swallows daily half a cyathus of the juice of any one of them will be immune to all diseases. Running sores on the head are cured by mallows that have rotted in urine, lichen and sores in the mouth by them and honey, dandruff and loose teeth by a decoction of the root. With the root of the single-stem plant they stab around an aching tooth until the pain ceases; the same plant a clears scrofula and parotid abscesses, and with the addition of human saliva superficial abscess also, and that without leaving a wound. The seed taken in dark wine clears away phlegm and nausea. The root attached as an amulet in dark wool stays troubles of the breasts; boiled in milk and taken like broth. it relieves a cough in five days. Sextius Niger says that mallows are injurious to the stomach; the Theban lady Olympias that with goose-grease they cause abortion, and others that a handful of their leaves taken in oil and wine assist the menstruation of women. It is agreed at any rate that women in labour are more quickly delivered if mallow leaves are spread under them, but they must be withdrawn immediately after delivery for fear of prolapsus of the womb. They give the juice to be drunk by women in labour; they must be fasting, and the dose is a hemina boiled down in wine. Moreover, they attach the seed to the arm of sufferers from spermatorrhoea, and mallows are so aphrodisiac that Xenocrates maintains that the seeds of the single-stem mallow, sprinkled for the treatment of women, stimulate their sexual desire to an infinite degree, and that three roots attached near to the part have a like effect. He says too that injections of mallow are very good for tenesmus and dysentery, and also for rectal troubles, or fomentations may be used. The juice is also given warm in doses of three cyathi to sufferers from melancholia, and in doses of four to those who are raving; for epilepsy the dose is a hemina of the decoded juice. This juice is also applied warm to patients with stone, and to sufferers from flatulence, griping and opisthotonusft. For both crysipelas and burns the leaves are applied boiled down to an oily paste, and they are applied raw with bread for painful wounds. The juice of a decoction is good for sinews, bladder and gnawings of the intestines. The paste soothes the womb whether taken by the mouth or injected; the decoction makes the passage pleasant. For all purposes mentioned above the root of althaea is more efficacious, especially for spasms and ruptures. Boiled in water it checks looseness of the bowels; taken in white wine it is good for scrofula, parotid abscesses and inflammation of the breasts, and an application of the leaves, boiled down in wine, removes superficial abscess. The same leaves dried and boiled down in milk cure very quickly the most racking cough. Hippocrates gave the juice of the boiled-down root to be drunk by wounded men who were thirsty through loss of blood, and applied the plant itself with honey and resin to wounds; likewise to bruises, sprains, and swellings; as above also to muscles, sinews and joints. He gave it to be taken in wine by patients suffering from cramp or dysentery. It is remarkable that water to which this root has been added thickens in the open air and congeals. The fresher it is also, the better.

85. Sorrel (lapathum) has similar properties. There is also a wild kind called by some oxalis, by our people rumex and by others gelding sorrel. It has a taste very like that of the cultivated kind, pointed leaves, the colour of white beet and a very small root, being when mixed with axle-grease very efficacious for scrofula. There is also another kind, generally called pointed sorrel, even more like the cultivated kind, but with a leaf more pointed and redder, growing only in marshy localities. There are some who speak of a water sorrel, growing in water, and yet another, horse sorrel, larger, paler and more compact than the cultivated kind. The wild sorrels heal the stings of scorpions and protect from stings those who carry them on their persons. The root, boiled down in vinegar, is good for the teeth, if the juice be used as a mouth wash, while to drink the same is good for jaundice. The seed cures inveterate stomach troubles. The root of horse sorrel, in particular, brings away scabrous nails; its seed taken in wine in doses of two drachmae cures dysentery. The seed of pointed sorret washed in rainwater, with the addition of a piece of gum arabic, of the size of a lentil, is good for spitting of blood. Most excellent lozenges are made from the leaves and root, with the addition of soda and a little frankincense. When wanted for use they are steeped in vinegar.

86. But the cultivated kind is applied to the forehead for fluxes from the eyes. With the root they treat lichen and leprous sores; it is boiled down in wine however for scrofula and parotid abscesses, taken in wine for stone, and applied as liniment for complaints of the spleen, being equally good for coelac troubles, dysentery and tenesmus. For all the same purposes the juice of sorrel is more efficacious; it causes belching, is diuretic, and dispels dimness of the eyes; put in the bottom of the bath, or rubbed on the body without oil before taking a bath, it also removes itching of the body. The root also chewed strengthens loose teeth. A decoction of it with wine checks looseness of the bowels; the leaves relax them. Solon has added (not to omit anything) another variety, ox sorrel, differing from the others only in the depth of the root, and by the efficacy of this root, when taken in wine, to cure dysentery.

87. Mustard, of which we have three kinds among the cultivated plants, Pythagoras judged to be chief of those whose pungent properties reach a high level, since no other penetrates further into the nostrils and brain. Pounded it is applied with vinegar to the bites of serpents and scorpion stings. It counteracts the poisons of fungi. For phlegm it is kept in the mouth until it melts, or is used as a gargle with hydromel. For toothache it is chewed, for the uvula it is used as a gargle with vinegar and honey. It is very beneficial for all stomach troubles. Taken with food it eases expectoration from the lungs, and is given to asthmatics, as well as for epileptic exhaustion a with the addition of juice of cucumber. lit clears the senses, and, by the sneezing caused by it, the head; it relaxes the bowels; it promotes menstruation and urine. Pounded with figs and cummin, each being one third of the whole, it is applied externally for dropsy. By its powerful smell when mixed with vinegar mustard revives those in epileptic swoons and women fainting with prolapsus, as well as those afflicted with lethargus. Tordylonthat is, the seed of hartwortis added, and if the lethargy be unusually deep, it is applied with fig in vinegar to the legs or even to the head. Long-standing pains of the chest, loins, hips, shoulders, and whatever deep-seated troubles in any part of the body have to be removed, are relieved by the caustic property of an external application, causing blisters; but when there is great hardness the application is made without the fig, or if too severe burning be feared, between a doubled cloth. They use it with red earth for mange, itch, leprous sores, phthiriasis, tetanus and opisthotonus. With honey they also use it as ointment for scabrous cheeks or dimness of vision, and the juice is extracted in three ways in an earthen pot, in which it is slightly warmed by the sun. There also exudes from the slender stem of the mustard plant a milky juice, which, when it has thus hardened, cures toothache. Seed and root, steeped in must, are pounded together, and a handful is swallowed to strengthen the throat, stomach, eyes, head and all the senses, as well as the lassitude of women, being a very wholesome medicine indeed. Taken in vinegar it also disperses stone. To livid places and bruises it is applied with honey and goose-grease, or else with Cyprian wax. From mustard-seed, steeped in olive oil and then compressed, there is extracted an oil, which is used for stiffness of the sinews, loins and hips, and for violent chills.

88. The same nature and properties as those of mustard are said to belong to adarca, mentioned in my account of wild plants, which grows on the bark of reeds right under the tuft.

89. Most authorities have placed among the especially valuable plants horehound, called by some Greeks prasion, by others linostrophon, by a few philopais or philochares, a plant too well known to need description. Its leaves and seed pounded together are good for the bites of serpents, pains in the chest and side, and chronic cough; and those who have been troubled with spitting of blood derive extraordinary benefit from its stalks, boiled in water with Italian millet to mellow the harshness of the juice. It is applied externally with grease for scrofula. There are some who prescribe for a cough a two-finger pinch of the fresh seed, boiled down with a handful of emmer to which a little oil and salt has been added, to be swallowed by the patients when fasting. Others consider incomparable for the same purpose an extract of horehound and fennel; three sextarii are extracted and boiled down to two; a sextarius of honey is added and the whole is again boiled down to two. The dose should be a spoonful a day swallowed in a cyathus of water. Pounded horehound with honey is remarkably good for maladies of the male genitals. It clears up lichen if applied in vinegar, and is healing for ruptures, spasms, cramp and the sinews. Taken with salt and vinegar it relaxes the bowels, also helping menstruation and the afterbirth. Dried and powdered it is very efficacious with honey for a dry cough, likewise for gangrene and hangnails. The juice moreover with honey is good for the ear-laps, nostrils, jaundice, and for lessening the secretion of bile; as an antidote for poisons it is among the few most effective. The plant itself with iris and honey purges the stomach, clears the lungs of phlegm, promotes urine, but should be avoided when there is an ulcerated bladder or the kidneys are affected. The juice is also said to improve the eyesight. Castor records two kinds of horehound, the dark and the white, the latter being preferred by him. He puts horehound juice into an empty eggshell, and then pours in the egg itself and honey in equal proportions; this mixture warmed he assures us brings abscesses to a head, cleanses them and heals them. Pounded also he applied horehound with old axle-grease to dog bites.

90. Wild thyme is thought to be so named from its being a creeping plant; this characteristic is to be found only in the wild kind, mostly in rocky districts; the cultivated does not creep, but grows up to be a palm in height. That growing spontaneously is a more luxuriant plant, with paler leaves and stalks, an efficacious antidote for serpent bites, particularly those of cenchris scolopendras, land or sea, and scorpions, the stalks and leaves being boiled in wine. When burnt it keeps away all such creatures by its smell, and is an especially potent antidote for the poison of marine creatures. For headache a decoction in vinegar is applied to the temples and forehead, rose oil being added; so also for phrenitis and lethargus. For griping and strangury, for quinsy and vomiting, four drachmae are taken in water. For liver complaints four oboli of the leaves are given, and the same in vinegar for splenic troubles. For spitting of blood it is pounded in two cyathi of oxymel.

91. Wild sisymbrium, called by some thymbraeum, grows no higher than a foot. The sisymbrium growing in watery districts resembles cress, and both are efficacious for the stings

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of such creatures as hornets; the kind growing on dry soil has a pleasant scent and is used for wreaths. The leaf is narrower. They both relieve headache as well as fluxes from the eyes, according to the testimony of Philinus. Some add bread, but others boil it in wine by itself. It heals night rashes and spots on women's faces within four days if applied at night and taken away during the day. Vomiting, hiccough, griping and fluxes of the stomach it checks whether taken in food or drunk as juice. It should not be eaten by pregnant women unless the foetus be dead, since even an application of it produces abortion. Taken with wine it is diuretic, the wild kind moreover even expels stone. Those who must remain awake are kept roused by an infusion in vinegar poured on the head.

92. Linseed is not only used in combination with other ingredients, but also by itself removes spots on women's faces, and its juice benefits the eyesight. With frankincense and water or with myrrh and wine it relieves fluxes from the eyes, parotid abscesses with honey or grease or wax, fluxes from the stomach when sprinkled in water like pearl barley, and quinsies when boiled in water and oil and applied externally with anise. It is roasted to check looseness of the bowels. For coeliac trouble and dysentery it is applied in vinegar. For pains of the liver it is eaten with raisins; for consumption electuaries are made from the seed with very useful results. Linseed meal, with soda or salt or ash added, softens indurations of the muscles, sinews, joints and nape of the neck, as well as the membranes of the brain. With a fig it also opens and brings to a head a parotid abscess; with the root moreover of wild cucumber it extracts bodies sticking into the flesh, including pieces of broken bone. Boiled in wine it prevents a sore from spreading, and with honey checks eruptions of phlegm. With an equal part of cress it cures scabrous nails, with resin and myrrh complaints of the testes and hernia, and in water gangrene. Stomach ache is cured by a decoction of one sextarius of linseed with an equal quantity of fenugreek in hydromel, and dangerous maladies of the intestines and lower trunk by an enema of linseed in oil or honey.

93. Blite seems to be an inactive plant, without flavour or any sharp quality, for which reason in Menander husbands use the name as a term of abuse for their wives. It is injurious to the stomach. It so disturbs the bowels as to cause in some persons. It is said however to be good for scorpion stings when drunk in wine, for corns on the feet when applied in a liniment, and also, with oil, for diseases of the spleen and for pain in the temples. Used as a food it is thought by Hippocrates to check menstruation.

94. Spignel is not grown in Italy except by medical men, and by very few of these. There are two kinds of it. The more famous is called Athamanticum or Athamanicum, because, as some think, it was discovered by Athamas, or according to others because the most esteemed variety is found in Athamania. Its leaves are like those of anise, the stem being sometimes two feet high; it has many roots, slanting, dark, and occasionally deep, the plant being less red than the other kind. The root, pounded or boiled and taken in water, is diuretic, and wonderfully good for dispersing flatulence of the stomach, and also for griping and troubles of the bladder and of the womb. With honey it is applied to the joints, and an application with celery to the lower abdomen is diuretic for babies.

95. Fennel has been made famous, as we have said, by serpents, which taste it to east off their old skin and with its juice improve their eyesight. Consequently it has been inferred that by fennel juice especially can dimness of human vision also be removed. This juice is collected when the stem is swelling to bud, dried in the sun and applied in honey as an ointment. The most esteemed is gathered in Spain from the teardrops of the plant. It is also made from fresh seed and from incisions in the root when germination has first begun.

96. There is in this class of plant a wild variety called hippomarathum, by some myrsineum, with larger leaves and a sharper taste, taller, as thick as a walking-stick, and with a white root. It grows in warm and rocky soils. Diocles has spoken of yet another kind of hippomarathum, with a long, narrow leaf, and a seed like that of coriander. The cultivated kind is used in medicine for the wounds of scorpions and serpents, the seed being taken in wine. The juice is also dropped into the ears, where it kills the worms infesting them. The plant itself is an ingredient of nearly all condiments, being especially suited for digestives. Moreover, it is placed under the crusts of loaves. The seed braces a relaxed stomach, even if taken in fevers, relieves nausea if pounded and taken in water, and is a highly praised remedy for complaints of the lungs and liver. It stays looseness of the bowels, if a moderate amount be taken; when taken for griping it is diuretic, and a decoction drunk when milk fails fills the breasts again. The root cleanses the kidneys when taken with barley water, or if the juice of the boiled-down root be drunk with wine. Taken in wine the root is also good for dropsy, likewise for spasms. The leaves are applied in vinegar to inflamed tumours, and they expel stones in the bladder. In whatever way it is taken it creates an abundance of seed, being very soothing to the privates, whether the root be boiled down with wine for a fomentation, or the plant be pounded up and applied in oil. Many also apply it with wax to bruises, and use the root in the juice or with honey for dog bites, and in wine for the sting of the multipede. Hippomarathum is for all purposes more drastic, expelling stone particularly well, and with a soft wine doing good to the bladder and to retarded menstruation. In this the seed is more efficacious than the root. The dose of either is a two-finger pinch, ground and added to drink. Petrichus who wrote Serpent-lore and Miecion, author of Prescriptions from Roots, thought nothing more efficacious than hippomarathum for serpent bites. Nicander indeed also has placed it far from last in his list of antidotes.

97. Hemp at first grew in woods, with a darker and rougher leaf. Its seed is said to make the genitals impotent. The juice from it drives out of the ears the worms and any other creature that has entered them, but at the cost of a headache; so potent is its nature that when poured into water it is said to make it coagulate. And so, drunk in their water, it regulates the bowels of beasts of burden. The root boiled in water eases cramped joints, gout too and similar violent pains. It is applied raw to burns, but is often changed before it gets dry.

98. Fennel-giant has a seed similar to that of dill. The kind with one stem divided at the top is supposed to be female. The stems are eaten boiled, and are made tasty with brine and honey, being good for the stomach. If however too many are eaten they cause headache. One denarius of the root in two cyathi of wine is taken for serpent bites, and the root itself is applied to them. So administered it also cures griping, and in oil and vinegar it checks profuse perspirations, even in fevers. To swallow the juice of fennel-giant, of the size of a bean in quantity, loosens the bowels. The pith from the fresh plant is good for the womb, and for all the complaints I have mentioned. To stop bleeding ten seeds are ground and taken in wine or with some pith. There are some who think that the seed should be given for epilepsy from the fourth day of the moon to the seventh, in doses of one spoonful. The nature of fennel-giant is very poisonous to the murena, a mere touch causing death. Castor thought that the juice of the root was also very beneficial to the eyesight.

99. We have also spoken in our description of garden plants of the cultivation of thistles, and so we should not put off a discussion of their medical value. Of wild thistles there are two kinds: one being more bushy as soon as it leaves the earth, the other is thicker, but has only one stem. Both kinds have only a few leaves, prickly and with pointed heads, but the latter puts forth in the middle of its points a purple flower, that quickly turns white and is gone with the wind; the Greeks call it σκόλυμος. If this kind be pounded and compressed before it flowers, an application of the juice restores skin and hair lost by mange. The root of any kind boiled in water is said to create thirst in those who are drunkards. It strengthens the stomach, and, if we may believe the report, it also affects the womb in such a way that male children are engendered. Glaucias, at any rate, who seems to have been a most careful student of thistles, put this statement on record. A gum-like mastich coming from thistles makes the breath sweet.

100. And now that I am about to leave garden plants, I have appended a very famous preparation from them which is used to counteract the poison of venomous animals. It is carved in verse upon a stone in the temple of Aesculapius in Cos. Take two denarii of wild thyme, and the same of opopanax and of spignel respectively, one denarius of trefoil seed, of aniseed, fennel-seed, ami and parsley, six denarii respectively, and twelve denarii of vetch meal. These are ground and passed through a sieve, and then kneaded with the best wine obtainable into lozenges, each of one victoriatus [A coin, stamped with a figure of Victory, was half a denarius in weight.]. One of these is given at a time mixed with three cyathi of wine. King Antiochus the Great is said to have used this preparation as an antidote for the poison of all venomous creatures except the asp.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 21

1. Cato bade us include among our garden plants chaplet flowers, especially because of the indescribable delicacy of their blossoms, for nobody can find it easier to tell of them than Nature does to give them colours, as here she is in her most sportive mood, playful in her great joy at her varied fertility. To all other things in fact she gave birth because of their usefulness, and to serve as food, and so has assigned them their ages and years; but blossoms and their perfumes she brings forth only for a dayan obvious warning to men that the bloom that pleases the eye most is the soonest to fade. Not even the painter's art, however, suffices to copy their colours and the variety of their combinations, whether two kinds are woven together alternately, and also more than two, or whether with separate festoons of the different kinds chaplets are run through chaplets to form a circle, or crosswise, or sometimes forming a coil.

2. Such ornaments were more meagre as used by the ancients, who called them stroppi, from which is derived our strophiolum. Moreover, a general word was itself slow in coming into use, as corona was confined to the ornaments used at sacrifices or as military honours. When however garlands came to be made of flowers, they were called serta, from serere or series. The Greeks too adopted this custom not so long ago.

3. For at first it was customary to make from branches of trees the chaplets used at sacred contests as prizes. Later on the custom arose of varying the colour by mixing flowers of different hues, in order to heighten the effect of perfumes and colours in turn. It began at Sicyon through the skill of Pausias the painter and of the garland-maker Glycera, a lady with whom he was very much in love; when he copied her works in his paintings, she to egg him on varied her designs, and there was a duel between Art and Nature. Pictures of this kind painted by that famous artist are still extant, in particular the one called Stephaneploeos, in which he painted the lady herself. This took place later than the hundredth Olympiad. Floral chaplets being now fashionable, it was not long before there appeared what are called Egyptian chaplets, and then winter ones, made from dyed flakes of horn at the season when earth refuses flowers. At Rome too gradually there crept in the name corollae, given at the first to chaplets because of their delicacy, and presently that of corollaria, after the chaplets presented as prizes began to be made of thin plates, bronze, gilt or silvered.

4. Crassus the Rich was the first to make artificial leaves of silver or gold, giving chaplets of them as prizes at his games, to which were also added ribbons. For these to be attached increased the honour of the bare chaplet; this fashion was due to the Etruscan chaplets, to which properly only golden ribbons were fastened. For a long time these ribbons were plain. The custom of engraving them originated with P. Claudius Pulcher, who also added gold-leaf to the inner bark of the lime tree.

5. Chaplets, however, even those won in sport, were always regarded as a dignity, for citizens would go down to the Circus in person to compete in the games, besides entering for events their own slaves and horses. This custom explains that law of the Twelve Tables, 'Whoso wins a chaplet in person or by his chattel, let it be given him on the ground of his worth.' No one has doubted that by the 'chaplet won by his chattel' the law means that earned by slaves or by horses. What then was the honour? It lay in the indefeasible right, on the death of the victor or of his parents, to have the chaplet laid on the body during the lying in state at home and when it was being carried out to burial. At other times not even chaplets won at the games were worn indiscriminately,

6. and on this matter extremely severe rules were enforced. In the second Punic War Fulvius, a banker, who was said to have looked out into the Forum from his veranda wearing in the daytime a chaplet of roses, was on the authority of the senate led away to prison, not being released before the end of the war. P. Munatius took a chaplet of flowers from a statue of Marsyas and placed it on his own head. Ordered by the Triumyin to be put in chains for this offence he appealed to the tribunes of the people, who refused to intervene. Very different was the custom at Athens, where young revellers a in the forenoon would resort even to the schools of the philosophers. Among us no other instance of this outrageous conduct has taken place except that of Julia, daughter of the late Augustus, who in her night frolics placed a chaplet on the statue of Marsyas, as a letter of that god deplores.

7. Flowers as a distinction have been given by the Roman people only to a Scipio. He was surnamed Serapio because of his likeness to a pig-dealer of that name. He died in his tribunate, being high in the esteem of the common people and worthy of the family of the Africani, but not leaving enough. estate to pay for his funeral. So the people contracted for his funeral, contributing their pence, and scattered flowers from every point of vantage along all the route.

8. Already by that time chaplets were used to honour the gods, the lares public and private, tombs and spirits of the dead; the highest distinction was the plaited chaplet, such as we find always used in ceremonies of the Saffi. Then they changed over to rose wreaths, and to such a height did luxuriousness rise that no chaplet was fashionable except those stitched together with genuine petals only, presently only those fetched from India or even beyond. In fact the chaplet deemed the smartest prize is made of nard leaves, or of multicoloured silk steeped in perfumes. Such is the latest form taken by the luxury of our women.

9. Among the Greeks indeed there have been written monographs on chaplets by Mnesitheus and Callimachus, physicians who specify what flowers are injurious to the head; for health is to a certain extent concerned even in this matter, because it is especially amid the gaiety of drinking parties that strong scents steal unawares to the head, witness the wicked cunning of Cleopatra. For in the preparation for the war that culminated at Actium, Antonius, fearing even the attentiveness of the queen herself, would not take food that had not been foretasted. She is said to have played on his terror by poisoning the tips of the flowers in his chaplet, and then to have laid it on his head. Presently, as the revelry grew wilder, she proposed as a challenge that they 'should drink their chaplets.' Who in such circumstances would suspect

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treachery? So having gathered the fragments of his chaplet into his cup he was beginning to drink, when she laid on him an arresting hand, with these words: 'Look, I am the woman, Marcus Antonius, against whom, with your new craze for foretasters, you are carefully on your guard. Such my lack of opportunity or means to act if I can live without you!' Then a prisoner was brought in and ordered by her to drink, who died on the spot. About flowers, besides the authors already mentioned, an account has been written by Theophrastus among the Greeks, and some of our own writers have composed books of Anthologica. Nobody has, however, followed up the subject of flowers fully, so far as I can discover. Nor shall I now, of course, put chaplets togetherfor that would be mere triflingbut I shall include everything about flowers that will seem worthy of record.

10. Our countrymen know among garden plants very few kinds of chaplet flowers, practically violets only and roses. The rose grows on what is not so much a shrub as a thorn, appearing also on a bramble; there too it has a pleasant though faint perfume. Every bud appears at first enclosed in a shell full of grains, which presently swells and, after sloping itself into a green cone like a perfume box, gradually reddens, splitting and spreading out into a cup, which encloses the yellow points that stand out of its center. To make chaplets is about the least of the uses of the rose. It is steeped in oil, a process known even at the time of the Trojan war, as Homer bears witness. Furthermore, it has made its way, as we have said, into ointments. By itself it possesses medicinal properties. It is an ingredient of plasters and of eye-salves by reason of its subtle pungency, even being used as a coating for the delicacies of our tables, being quite harmless. The most famous kinds of roses recognized by our countrymen are those of Praeneste and those of Campania. Some have added the Milesian rose, because of its brilliant fiery colour, though it never has more than twelve petals. Next after it is esteemed the Trachinian, of a less brilliant red, and then the Alabandian, less highly prized, with whitish petals; the least prized, having very many, but very small petals, is called the prickly rose. For roses differ in the number of their petals, in the smooth or rough nature of the stem, in colour and in perfume. Those with the fewest petals have five, but in other roses they are more numerous, since there is one kind called the hundred-petalled rose. In Italy this grows in Campania, but in Greece around Philippi, which however is not its native soil. Mount Pangaeus in the neighbourhood grows a rose with many but small petals. The natives transplant it, improving the variety by mere change of place. This kind, however, has not a very strong perfume, nor has any rose whose petal is very broad or large; in brief, an indie tion of the degree of perfume is the roughness of the bark. Caepio, who lived when Tiberius Caesar was Emperor, said that the hundred-petalled variety is never put into chaplets, except at the ends where these are as it were hinged together, since neither in perfume nor in appearance is it attractive. There is also the kind called the Grecian rose by our countrymen, and by the Greeks the lychnis (lamp rose), which appears only in moist localities? It never has more than five petals, is of the size of the violet, and has no perfume. Another kind is called Graecula (little Greek rose), the petals of which are rolled together into a bunch. It never opens unless forced by the hand, and is always like a bud; the petals are very broad. Another kind springs from a stem like that of the mallow, with leaves like olive leaves, called mucetum. Between these in size is an autumn rose, named coroniola (little chaplet); all of these are without perfume except coroniola and the rose growing on a bramble. In so many ways is spuriousness possible! In other districts too the genuine rose also depends to a very great extent upon the soil for its main characteristics. The rose of Cyrene has the finest perfume, for which reason the choicest ointment is to be obtained there. At Carthage in Spain there is an early rose that blossoms throughout the winter. Weather too makes a difference; for in certain years the rose grows with less perfume, and furthermore all roses have more perfume on dry soils than on moist. It likes to be grown on soils that are neither rich nor clayey nor irrigated, being content with a rubbly soil, and fond in particular of ground on which rubble has been spread. The Campanian rose is early, the Milesian late, but the one that continues to flower the latest is the Praenestine. The ground is dug deeper for roses than for crops, but shallower than for vines. They are very slow in growing from the seed, which is in the shell itself, right under the flower, and covered with down. For this reason it is preferred to graft shoots into an incision in the stem. And into the eyelets of the root, as with the reed, there is grafted one kind of rose that is pale, prickly, with very long twigs and five petals, the second among the Greek roses. Every rose however improves with pruning and burning; by transplanting also, as with vines, there is the best and quickest success if slips of the length of four fingers or more are planted after the setting of the Pleiades and then transplanted at intervals of one foot while the west wind is blowing, the earth being frequently turned over around them. Those who try to get their roses early, dig a trench a foot deep about the root, pouring in warm water as the cup is beginning to bud.

11. The lily [Devil's Garter] comes nearest to the rose in fame, and there is a certain relationship shown in the ointment and oil, which they call lilinum (oil of lilies). When blended with roses, also, the lily gives a grand combination, making its first appearance when the rose is in mid-season. No flower grows taller; sometimes it reaches three cubits, its neck always drooping under the weight of a head too heavy for it. The flower is of an exceeding whiteness, fluted on the outside, narrow at the bottom and gradually expanding in width after the fashion of a basket. The lips curve outwards and upwards all round; the slender pistil and stamens, the colour of saffron, standing upright in the centre, So the perfume of the lily, as well as its colour, is twofold, there being one for the corolla, and another for the stamens, the difference being slight. In fact when it is nsed to make ointment or oil the petals too are not despised. There is a flower not unlike the lily growing on the plant called the convolvulus, that springs up among shrubs. Without perfume and without the yellow anthers in the centre, it resembles the lily only in colour, being as it were a first attempt by Nature when she was learning to produce lilies. White lilies are propagated by all the means that roses are; more than this, by a peculiar tear-like gum of its own, as is also horse-parsley. No plant is more prolific, a single root often sending out fifty bulbs. There is also a red lily that the Greeks call crinon, some calling its blossom the dog-rose. The most esteemed kind grows at Antioch and at Laodicea in Syria, next to them comes that of Phaselis. The fourth place is held by the kind growing in Italy.

12. There is also a bright-red lily, having sometimes a double stem, and differing from other lilies only in having a fleshier root and a larger bulb, and that undivided. It is called the narcissus. Another variety of it has a white flower and a reddish bud. There is this further difference between the ordinary lily and the narcissus, that the leaves of the latter grow straight out of the root. The most popular sort is found on the mountains of Lycia. A third kind has all its characteristics the same as those of the other kinds, except that the cup is light green. All the narcissi blossom late, for the flower comes after the rising of Arcturus and during the autumnal equinox.

13. In lily-culture a strange means of dyeing the blooms has been invented by the wit of man. For in the month of July drying stems of the lily are tied together and hung in the smoke. Then, as the little knots bare themselves, these stems in March are steeped in the lees of dark wine or Greek wine, so that they take on the colour. In this state they are planted in little trenches, with a hemina of lees poured round each. In this way bright-red lilies are produced, and it is wonderful that a plant can be so dyed as to grow a bloom that is also dyed.

14. Next in esteem comes the violet, of which there are several kinds, the purple, the yellow, the white, all of them planted as are vegetables, from cuttings. Of these kinds however the purple, which comes up wild in sunny, poor soils, springs up with a broader, fleshy leaf, coming straight from the root. It is the only one to be distinguished from the others by a Greek name, being called ion, from which ianthine cloth gets its name. Of the cultivated violets, the most highly esteemed is the yellow variety. The kinds called Tusculan and marine have a slightly broader but less perfumed petals. The Calatian variety however is entirely without perfume and has a very small petal; it is a gift of autumn, but all other kinds bloom in spring.

15. Nearest to it comes the caltha, both in cawia. colour and in size. In the number of the petals it exceeds the marine violet, which never has over five. The same plant is surpassed in scent, that of the caltha being strong! No less strong is the scent of the plant which they call royal broom, though it is not the flowers that smell, but the leaves.

16. Baccar (valerian?) too, called by some field nard, has scent in the root only. That unguents used to be made by the ancients from this root we have a witness in Aristophanes, a poet of the Old Comedy. Whence some used to commit the error of calling it by a Greek name, baccaris. The scent is very like that of cinnamon. It grows on a thin dry soil. Very like it is the plant called combretum, taller than the baccar, and with leaves so thin that they are mere threads. These are only used as unguents. But the mistake of those also must be corrected who have called baccar field nard. For there is another plant with this surname, which the Greeks call asaron, whose shape and appearance we have described among the varieties of nard. Moreover, I find that the plant is styled asaron, because it is not used in the making of chaplets.

17. Wild saffron is better than any other. To grow it in Italy is most unprofitable, as a whole bed of saffron yields only a scruple of the essence. It is propagated from a bulb of the root. The cultivated saffron is broader, larger and more handsome, but much less potent; it is degenerating everywhere, and is not prolific even at Cyrene, where grows a saffron whose flowers have always been very famous. But the prime favourite is that of Cilicia, and in particular of Mount Corycus, then that of Mount Olympus in Lycia, and then that of Centuripa in Sicily. Some have given second place to the saffron of Thera. Nothing is adulterated as much as saffron. A test of purity is whether under the pressure of the hand it crackles as though brittle; for moist saffron, as saffron is when adulterated, makes no noise. Another test is whether it stings slightly the face and eyes if after the above test you bring the hand back to the face. There is a kind of cultivated saffron which is for its own sake very attractive to the general public, though it really is of moderate value, called dialeucon. That of Cyrene, on the other hand, has the defect of being darker than any other kind, and loses its quality very rapidly. The best everywhere is that having a very rich nature, and a short pistil; the very worst has an odour of decay. Mucianus is our authority for stating that in Lycia after six or seven years it is transplanted to a well-dug bed; in this way it recovers from its degeneration. It is nowhere used for chaplets, the plant having a leaf that is but little broader than the fibre. But with wine, especially with sweet wine, powdered saffron makes a wonderful mixture to spray the theatre. The saffron plant flowers for only a few days at the setting of the Pleiades and pushes off the flower with its leaves. It is green at the winter solstice, when it is gathered. It is dried in the shade; if in winter, so much the better. The root also is fleshy and longer-lived than that of any other plant. Saffron likes to be trodden on and trampled under foot; destroying it makes it grow better. For this reason it is most luxuriant near footpaths and fountains. Already at the time of the Trojan war it was held in high esteem. Homer, at any rate, praises three flowerslotus, saffron and hyacinth?

18. All spices and also the plants from which they come have different colours, perfumes and juices. It is rare for a thing that smells not to have a bitter taste; on the contrary sweet substances rarely have any smell; and so wines have more smell than must, and all wild plants than the cultivated. The smell of some plants is sweeter at a distance, becoming fainter as the distance is lessened; for instance, that of the violet. A freshly gathered rose smells at a distance, but a faded rose when nearer. All perfume however is stronger in spring, and in the morning; as the day draws near to noon it grows weaker. Young plants also have less perfume than old ones; the strongest perfume however of all plants is given out in middle age. The rose and the saffron have a stronger perfume when they are gathered in fine weather, as have all flowers in warm climates than those in cold. In Egypt however the flowers have very little perfume, the atmosphere being misty and full of dew owing to the wide expanse of river. The scent of some plants is sweet but oppressive. Some, while green, have no smell because of too much moisture, the buceras, for example, which is the same as fenugreek. Watery flowers have perfume not altogether independent of the essential juice, the violet for instance, the rose and the saffron; moreover, watery flowers without this juice always have an oppressive perfume, for example, both kinds of lily. Southernwood and sweet marjoram have pungent scents. Of some plants the flowers only are pleasant, the other parts being scentless, for example, those of the violet and of the rose. Of garden plants the strongest-scented are those that are dry, like rue, mint and parsley, and such as grow on dry soils. Some products have more scent when old, for example the quince, and these same have more when gathered than when growing in the ground. Some have scent only when broken or after being crushed, others only when the skin or bark has been stripped off, others indeed only when burnt, for example, frankincense and myrrh. Crushed flowers are all more bitter than when unbroken. A few, such as the melilot, keep their scent longer when dried. Some impart a scent to the place itself, as does the iris, which also affects the whole of any tree, the roots of which it happens to touch. The hesperis has a stronger scent at night, from which fact it gets its name. No animal has a smell, unless we believe what has been said about the panther.

19. This distinction too must not be forgotten, that many flowers, in spite of their perfume, are of no use for chaplets, for example, the iris and Celtic nard, although both have an exquisite perfume. But the iris is valued only for its root, being grown for unguents and for medicine. The most highly esteemed is found in Illyria, and even there not in the coastal districts, but in the woody parts near the Drinon and around Narona. Next after it comes the Macedonian iris, which is white, thin and very long. Third in estimation comes the African iris, which is the largest of all and the bitterest to the taste. The Illyrian moreover is of two kinds: raphanitis, so called from its likeness to the radish, which is the better kind, and rhizotomos. The best, which is reddish, causes sneezing if handled, and has an upright stem a cubit high. The flower is multicoloured, like the rainbow; hence the name 'iris'.

The Pisidian variety, too, is by no means despised. Those who are going to dig it up pour hydromel around it three months previously. This is as it were a libation to please the earth. Then they draw three circles round it with the point of a sword, gather it and at once raise it heavenwards. It is hot by nature, and when handled raises blisters like those of a burn. It is especially enjoined that those who gather it should be chaste. Not only when dried, but also when in the ground, it is very easily subject to worms. Previously the best iris oil used to be brought from Leucas and Elisfor it has been planted there a long timenow the best comes from Pamphylia,

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but the Cilician too is highly praised, as is also that coming from the northern parts.

20. Celtic nard has leaves that are rather short, and cannot be plaited. It is held together by its many roots, being really a grass rather than a flower, matted as though squeezed by hand; in short, it is a unique kind of turf. Pannonia grows it, and the sunny regions of Norieum and of the Alps, and, of the cities, Eporedia; such is its sweetness that it has begun to be 'a gold mine.' Very pleasant is it for this nard to be sprinkled between clothes,

21. as the Greeks do with hulwort, a plant extolled in the praises of Musaeus and Hesiod, who proclaim it to be useful for all things, and especially for winning reputation and honours, in fact as truly marvellous, if only it be true, as they assert, that its leaves are white to the eye in the morning, bright-red at midday, and sea-blue at sunset. There are two kinds of it: field hulwort, which is the larger, and wild hulwort, which is smaller. Some call the plant teutrion. The leaves are like the white hairs of a man, spring up straight from the root, and are never taller than a palm in height.

22. Enough has been said about scented flowers. In this sphere luxury, glad to have conquered nature with its unguents, has with its dyed fabrics gone on to challenge those flowers that are commended for their colour. I note that the principal colours are the three following: (1) red, as of the kermes-insect, which, from the loveliness of the dark rose, shades, if you look up at it in a bright light, into Tyrian purple, double-dyed purple and Laconian purple; (2) amethyst, which from violet itself passes into purple, and which I have called ianthine. I am discussing general types of colour, which shade off into many kinds. (3) The third belongs properly to the purple of the murex, but includes many kindred shades. One is the colour of the heliotrope, sometimes of a light, though usually of a deeper, tint; another is that of the mallow, shading into a purple; yet a third, seen in the late violet, is the most vivid of the murex tints. At the present day Nature and luxury are matched together and are fighting out a duel. I read that yellow was the earliest colour to be highly esteemed, but was granted as an exclusive privilege to women for their bridal veils, and that for this reason perhaps it is not included among the principal colours, that is, those common to men and women, since it is joint use that has given the principal colours their dignity.

23. Without a doubt no effort of ours can compete with the amaranth. Yet it is more truly a purple ear than a flower, and is itself without scent. A wonderful thing about it is that it likes to be plucked, growing again more luxuriant than ever. It comes out in August, and lasts into the autumn. The prize goes to the amaranth grown at Alexandria, which is gathered for keeping; in a wonderful way, after all flowers are over, the amaranth, if moistened with water, revives and makes winter chaplets. Its special characteristic is implied in its name, given to it because it will not wither.

24. The cyanus also declares its colour by its name, and so does the holochrysus. All these flowers however were not in use at the time of Alexander the Great, for writers immediately after his death were silent about them. This silence is clear proof that it was subsequently that they became popular. However, who could doubt that they were discovered by the Greeks, when Italy uses exclusively the Greek names in referring to them?

25. Butby heaven!Italy herself has given the petellium its name, an autumn flower growing near brambles and esteemed only for its colour, which is that of the wild rose. It has five small petals. A wonderful thing about this flower is that the head bends over, and from the joints grow curved petals inclosing yellow seed forming a small corolla of several colours. The bellio too is yellow, with fifty-five lozenge-shaped little beards. These meadow flowers are used for chaplets, but most of such flowers are of no use and therefore without names. Nay, these very flowers are differently named by different people.

26. The chrysocome (golden rod) or chrysitis has no Latin name. It is a palm in height, flowering in clusters of shining gold, with a harsh, tending-to-sweet root, which is dark, and it grows in rocky, shady places.

27. Having now nearly exhausted the subject also of the most popular colours, I ought to pass on to those chaplets that please only because of the variety in their make-up. They are of two kinds: some are made of flowers, others of leaves. Among the flowers I would include greenweedfor the yellow blossom of this too is gatheredalso the oleander, and the jujubes of the kind called Cappadocian, having a scent like that of olive flowers. Among brambles grows the cyclamen, about which I shall say more elsewhere. Its flower, Colossae purple in colour, is used to make up chaplets.

28. As foliage for chaplets smilax, ivy and their clusters provide the favourite material; about these I have spoken at length in my chapters on shrubs. There are other kinds also that can be indicated only by their Greek names, because our countrymen for the most part have paid no attention to this nomenclature. Though most of them grow in foreign lands, yet I must discuss them, because my subject is not Italy but Nature.

29. So among the leaves used to make chaplets are found those of melotrum, spiraea, wild marjoram, cneorum, that Hyginus calls cassia, conyza, which he calls cunilago, melissophyllum, known to us as apiastrum, and melilot, which we call Campanian garland. For in Italy the favourite kind grows in Campania, in Greece at Sunium, next in repute the melilot of Chalcidice and Crete, being found however everywhere only in wild, woody districts. That chaplets were in antiquity often made from the melilot is shown by the name sertula (garland), which it has adopted as its own. The scent is near to that of saffron, and so is the flower itself. The Campanian is very popular indeed, having very short and very fleshy leaves.

30. The leaves of trefoil also are used for chaplets. There are three kinds of it: the first is called by some Greeks minyanthes, by others asphaltion, having a larger leaf than the other kinds, which the garland makers use. The second kind, oxytriphyllon, has a pointed leaf. The third is the smallest of them all. Among these some have a sinewy stem, such as marathum, hippomarathum, myophonnm. They use also fennel-giant, the clusters of the ivy and a red flower classified in another kind of the ivies and resembles the wild rose. But in these too it is only the colour that pleases, as they have no perfume. There are also two kinds of cneorum, a dark and a white. The latter has perfume, and both are branchy. They blossom after the autumnal equinox. There are also two kinds of wild marjoram used for chaplets, one having no seed, and the other, which has perfume, being called Cretan.

31. There are two sorts of thyme, the pale and the darkish. Thyme blossoms about the solstices when too the bees sip from it, and a forecast can be made about the honey harvest. For the beekeepers hope for a bumper one if there be an abundance of blossom. Showers damage it and make the blossom fall off. The seed of thyme is imperceptible to sight, and yet that of wild marjoram, although very tiny, does not escape our eye. But what does it matter that Nature has hidden it? Reason tells us that the seed is in the flower itself, and if that be sown a plant grows from it. What have men left untried? Attic honey is thought more highly of than any in the whole world. Thyme therefore has been imported from Attica, and grown with difficulty, we are told, from the blossom. But a further hindrance arose through another peculiar characteristic of Attic thyme, which will not survive in the absence of sea breezes. The same view indeed was held of old about all kinds of thyme, and people believed that it was for this reason that it did not grow in Arcadia, while the olive too, they thought, is only found within three hundred stades from the sea. Yet thyme we know today covers even the stony plains of the province of Gallia Narbonensis, being almost the only source of revenue, thousands of sheep being brought there from distant regions to browse upon the thyme.

32. Of conyza also two kinds are used in chaplets, male and female. They differ in their leaves. That of the female is thinner, more compressed and narrower; the male, which is more branched, has a pantile-shaped leaf. Its blossom too is of a brighter colour; both blossom late, after Arcturus. The scent of the male is heavier, of the female, sharper; for which reason the female is more suited to counteract the bites of beasts. The leaves of the female have the smell of honey; the root of the male is called by some libanotis, about which I have already spoken.

33. Chaplets are also made from the leaves of the flower of Jupiter, sweet marjoram, day-lily, southernwood, Helenium, water-mint, wild thyme, all with woody stalks like those of the rose. The flower of Jupiter is pleasing only for its colour, as it has no scent; it is the same with the flower called in Greek phlox. Both the stalks however and the leaves of the plants just mentioned are fragrant, except those of wild thyme. Helenium is said to have sprung up from the tears of Helen, and therefore is very popular in the island of Helene. It is a shrub spreading over the ground with its nine-inch sprigs, the leaf being like wild thyme.

34. Southernwood, which blossoms in summer has a flower of a pleasant but heavy scent and of a golden colour. Left alone it grows of its own accord, reproducing itself by layers from the head. It is however grown from seed better than from the root or from slips; from seed too not without trouble. The seedlings are transplantedas is the adoniumboth in summer. For they are very chilly plants, yet liable to be injured by too much sun. But when they have grown strong, they sprout after the manner of rue. Like southernwood in scent is leucanthemum, with a white flower and abundant leaves.

35. Diocles the physician and the people of Sicily have called sweet marjoram the plant known in Egypt as sampsucum. It is reproduced by the two methods, from seed and from branch-cuttings, being longer-lived than the plants mentioned above and of a milder scent. Sweet marjoram produces as copious a quantity of seed as does southernwood, but the latter has one root penetrating deep into the earth, while the roots of the others cling lightly to the surface of the ground. The planting of the rest takes place generally in the beginning of autumn, and also, in some places, in spring, and they delight in shade, water and dung.

36. Nyctegreton was one of a few plants chosen for special admiration by Democritus; it is of a dark-red colour, with a leaf like a thorn, and not rising high from the ground; a special kind grows in Gedrosia. He reports that it is pulled up by the roots after the spring equinox and dried in the moonlight for thirty days; that after this it glows at night, and that the Magi and the kings of Parthia use the plant to make their vows. It is also called, he says, chenamyche, because geese are panic-stricken at the first sight of it, and by others nyctalops, because it gleams a long distance by night.

37. Melilot grows everywhere, the most popular kind, however, in Attica; everywhere moreover the freshly gathered is preferred, and not the white variety but that most resembling saffron, and that though in Italy the white is the more fragrant.

38. The first flower to herald the approach of spring is the white violet, which moreover in the warmer spots peeps out even in winter. Afterwards comes the violet which is called ion, and the mauve one, followed closely by the flame-coloured flower called phlox, but only the wild variety. The cyclamen blossoms twice in the year, in spring and in autumn; it shuns summer and Winter. A little later than those mentioned above come, overseas, the narcissus and the lily, which in Italy, as we have said, is after the rose. But in Greece comes later still the anemone. This however is a flower of the wild bulbs, and different from the plant to be spoken of among the medicinal herbs. It is followed by the oenanthe the melanium and the wild heliochrysus, then the other kind of anemone, which is called the meadow anemone, after which comes the gladiolus, together with the hyacinth. The last to bloom is the rose, which is also the first to fade, except the cultivated kind. Of the others, the hyacinth lasts longest in flower with the white violet and the oenanthe, but the last only if by repeated plucking it is prevented from running to seed. It grows in warm districts, and has the same scent as forming grapes: hence the name. The hyacinth is associated with two forms of a legend; one that it displays the mourning for that youth whom Apollo had loved, and the other that it sprang from the shed blood of Ajax, the veins of the flower being so arranged that on it is to be read Al inscribed in the form of Greek letters. Heliochrysus has a flower like gold, a slight leaf and also a slender but hard stem. The Magi think that to wear a chaplet of this plant, if unguents too be taken from a box of the gold called apyron, leads also to popularity and glory in life. These then are the flowers of spring.

39. After them come the summer flowers, lychnis, Jupiter's flower, a second kind of lily, the iphyon also and the amaracus surnamed Phrygian. But the most beautiful to the eye is the pothos. There are two kinds of it: one having the flower of the hyacinth, the other being white and commonly grown for graves, because it lasts well without fading. The iris also blooms in summer. But these too wither and pass away, to be followed again by others in autumna third kind of lily, the saffron crocus and the two kinds of orsinus, one without and one with perfume, all of them peeping out at the first showers. Garland-makers actually use the blossom even of the thorn, while the young stalks of the white thorn are preserved to be a delicacy of the table. This is the succession of flowers overseas. In Italy violets are followed by the rose, which is still in blossom when the lily appears. The rose is succeeded by the cyanus, the cyanus by the amaranth. But the vicapervica is an evergreen, surrounded by leaves at the joints after the manner of the scarecrow cord, a plant for the fancy garden, but at times filling the gap when other flowers fail. This plant is called chamaedaphne by the Greeks.

40. At the most the life of the white violet is three years. After that time it degenerates. The rose lasts even for five years if it is neither pruned down nor burned; for by these means it renews its youth. We have also said that the soil makes a great difference. For in Egypt all these flowers are without perfume, and the myrtle only has a remarkable one. In some places the buds of all form as much as two months before they do so elsewhere. Rose beds ought to be dug over immediately after the west wind begins and again at the solstice, and great care should be taken that in the interval the ground be kept clean and sweet.

41. But gardens and chaplet flowers are closely associated with apiaries and bees, bee-culture being a source of very great profit at slight expense, when circumstances are favourable. Therefore, for the sake of the bees you ought to plant thyme, apiastrum, roses, violets, lilies, tree-medick, beans, bitter vetches, cunila, poppies, conyza, casia, melilot, melissophyllum, cerintha. The last has a white leaf curving inwards, and is a cubit high, with a hollow head containing the honey juice. Of the blossom of these plants bees are very fond, as they are also of mustard, a strange thing to those familiar with the well-known fact that the blossom of the olive is not touched by them. For this reason it is better to keep olive trees away from them, while some trees it would be wise to plant as near the hives as possible, both to attract the swarms as they fly out, and to prevent their straying to too great a distance.

42. You must beware also of the cornel tree. If bees taste its blossom they die of diarrhoea. A remedy is to administer

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crushed sorb apples in honey to those affected, or human urine or that of oxen, or pomegranate seeds sprinkled with Aminean wine. But what they like most is to have greenweed planted round their hives.

43. Wonderful and worthy of record is what I have discovered about their food. Hostilia is a village on the bank of the Padus. When bee-fodder fails in the neighbourhood the natives place the hives on boats and carry them five miles upstream by night. At dawn the bees come out and feed, returning every day to the boats, which change their position until, when they have sunk low in the water under the mere weight, it is understood that the hives are full, and then they are taken back and the honey is extracted. In Spain too for a like reason they carry the hives about on mules.

44. The food of bees is of so much importance that even their honey may become poisonous. At Heraclia in Pontus the honey turns out in certain years very deadly, and that from the same bees. As the authorities have not said from what flowers this honey is extracted, I will myself put on record what I have ascertained. There is a plant which, from its deadly effect even on cattle, more particularly upon goats, is called aegolethron. From the blossom of this, when it withers in a rainy spring, bees take in a noxious poison. Thus it happens that it is not in all years that the danger is encountered. The signs of poisonous honey are that it does not thicken at all, its colour inclines to red, its smell is strange and at once causes sneezing, and it is heavier than harmless honey. Cattle which have eaten it throw themselves on the ground, seeking to cool themselves, for they actually drip with sweat.

Remedies are many, and I will give them in their proper place. But some should be given at once, as the danger is so insidious: there is old honey wine, made from the finest honey, with rue, and also salted fish, these to be repeated several times should the stomach reject them. It is an established fact that this poison, through the excreta, affects even dogs, which suffer similar torture. It is a fact, however, that honey wine made with poisonous honey is, after maturing, quite harmless, and that there is nothing better than this honey, mixed with costum, for improving the skin of women, or, mixed with aloes, for the treatment of bruises.

45. There is another kind of honey, found in the same district of Pontus among the people called Sanni, which from the madness it produces is called maenomenon. This poison is supposed to be extracted from the flowers of the oleanders which abound in the woods. Though these people supply the Romans with wax by way of tribute, the honey, because of its deadly nature, they do not sell. In Persis, too, and in Gaetulia of Mauretania Caesariensis, bordering on the Massaesyli, are found poisoned honeycombs, sometimes only in part such, a more deceptive limitation than anything else could be, were it not that the livid colour makes detection easy. What are we to think that Nature meant by these traps; that they should not occur every year, and not in the whole of the comb, and yet be due to the same bees? Was it not enough to have produced a substance in which it was very easy to administer poison? Did Nature also administer it herself in the honey to so many living creatures? What did she mean, except to make man more careful and less greedy? For had she not already bestowed upon the bees themselves a spear, and that a poisoned one, so that a cure for this poison must be given most assuredly without delay? Accordingly, it is healing to apply to the sting the juice of the mallow or of ivy leaves, or for the stung persons to take these in drink. Yet it is wonderful that the bees, carrying poison in their mouths and working it, do not themselves die, unless it be that the great Mistress of all things has given bees this immunity, as she has given immunity against snakebite to the Psylli and to the Marsi among men.

46. In Crete is found another wonderful honey. There Mount Carina has a circumference of nine miles, within which no flies are found, and nowhere do flies touch the honey coming from that place. By this test is selected a honey specially suited for medicines.

47. It is well for the apiaries to look due east, and to avoid the north wind as well as the west wind. The best hive is made of bark; the next best material is fennel-giant, and the third is osier. Many too have made hives of transparent stone, so that they might look on the bees working inside. It is very useful for the hives to be daubed all over with cow dung, and for a movable cover to be made at the back, that it may be brought forward if the hive be large or the working unproductive, lest the bees lose hope and cease to care; this cover should be gradually slid back so that they do not see how their work has grown. In winter cover the hives with straw, and fumigate them repeatedly, especially with cow dung. This being akin to the bees kills the insects that breed in the hivespiders, moths and wood worms, besides stimulating the bees themselves. To exterminate the spiders indeed is fairly easy. The moths, a greater plague, are destroyed in the spring by lamps, which are lighted before the hives when the mallow begins to ripen, on a night of the new moon when the sky is clear. Into the flame of these the moths fling themselves.

48. If it is felt that the bees are in need of food, it would be well to place at the door raisins or crushed dried figs, as well as carded wool soaked in raisin wine, boiled-down must or hydromel, as well as the hare flesh of poultry. In some summers also, when continued drought has deprived the bees of their food from flowers, the same kinds of food must be supplied to them. When the honey is taken out, the exit of the hive should be smeared with crushed melissophyllum or greenweed, or the middle should be lined with white vine, to prevent the bees from flying away. Honey pots and combs are recommended to be washed with water; this when boiled down is said to make a very wholesome vinegar.

49. Wax is made after the honey has been extracted from the combs, but these must be first cleaned with water and dried for three days in the dark; then on the fourth day they are melted in a new earthen vessel on the fire, with just enough water to cover them, and then strained in a wicker basket. The wax is boiled again with the same this to be cold, contained in vessels smeared all water in the same pot, and poured into other water, round inside with honey. The best is that called Punic wax; the next best is very yellow indeed, with the smell of honey, pure, but produced in Pontus, the region of the poisonous honies, which makes me surprised at its established reputation; next is Cretan wax, consisting in very great part of bee-glue, about which we have spoken in treating of the nature of bees. After these comes Corsican wax, which as it is made from honey got by bees from box, is supposed to have a certain medicinal quality. Punic wax is prepared in the following way. Yellow wax is exposed to the wind several times in the open, then it is heated in water taken from the open sea, to which soda has been added. Then they collect with spoons the 'flower,' that is, all the whitest parts, and pour into a vessel containing a little cold water. Then it is boiled again by itself a in seawater, after which they cool the vessel itself with water. When they have done this three times, they dry the wax in the open, by sunlight and by moonlight, on a mat of rushes. For the moon makes it white while the sun dries it; to prevent the sun from melting it, they cover it with a piece of thin linen cloth. The greatest whiteness, however, is obtained if after the exposure to the sun the wax is once more boiled again. Punic wax is the most useful for medicines. Wax becomes dark with the addition of paper ash, and red with an admixture of alkanet; by paints it is made to assume various colours for forming likenesses, for the innumerable uses of men, and even for the protection of walls and of weapons. The other details about honey and about bees have been described in my treatment of the nature of the bee. Of gardens indeed practically the whole account has been given.

50. There follow the plants that grow wild. Most peoples use these for food, especially the people of Egypt, a land very fruitful in crops, yet about the only one that could manage without them, so great an abundance of food does it get from plants. In Italy however we know few such, strawberries, wild vine, butcher's broom, samphire, and garden fennel, which some call Gallic asparagus; besides these there are meadow parsnip and willow wolf, though these are delicacies rather than foods.

51. In Egypt the most famous plant of this kind is the colocasia, called by some cyamos; they gather it out of the Nile. The stalk of the stem when boiled and chewed breaks up into spidery threads, but the stem itself is handsome, jutting out from leaves which, even when compared with those of trees, are very broad, similar to the leaves called personata which are found in Italian rivers. So much do the people of the Nile appreciate the bounty of their river that they plait colocasia leaves into vessels of various shapes, which they consider make attractive goblets. The colocasia is now grown in Italy.

52. In Egypt next in esteem after colocasia comes chicory, which I have spoken of as wild endive. It appears after the Pleiades and its parts bloom in succession. It has a tough root, so that it is even used to make binding ropes. Farther from the river grows anthalium, of the size and roundness use of a medlar, without kernel or peel, and with the leaf of the cyperus. They roast it at a fire and eat it. They eat too oetum, which has few and very small leaves, but a large root. Arachidne indeed and aracos, though they have manifold, branchy roots, have neither leaf nor any green, nor anything else at all above ground. The rest of the plants commonly included by the Egyptians among their foods are thus named:chondrylla, hypochoeris, caucalis, enthryscum, scandix, called by some tragopogon, which has leaves very like those of saffron, parthenium, trychnum, corchorus, aphace and achynops, the last two appearing just after the equinox. There is a plant called epipetron which never blossoms. But on the other hand aphace, as its flowers fade, puts forth continually others all the winter and all the spring, right on into summer.

53. The Egyptians have besides many plants of no repute, but they hold in the highest esteem one called cnecos; it is unknown in Italy and the Egyptians value it, not as a food, but for its oil, which they extract from the seed. The chief varieties are the wild and the cultivated. Of the wild there are two species. One is similar to the cultivated, but has a stiff a stem. This is why the women of old used the stem of this species as a distaff, for which reason it is called by some atractylis. Its seed is white, large and bitter. The other is rather prickly, with a more fleshy stem, which almost trails on the ground, the seed being very small. This belongs to the class of spinous plants, for I must classify also the various kinds of them.

54. Some plants then are prickly, while others are without prickles. Of prickly plants the species are many. Of nothing but prickle are asparagus and scorpio, for they have no leaves at all. Some prickly plants, however, have leaves, for instance thistle, erynge, glycyrrhiza and nettle. For all these have a sharp sting in their leaves. Some have foliage also along the prickly spine, as caltrop and rest-harrow. Some again have prickles not on the leaves but on the stem, as pheos, that some have called stoebe. Hippopheos has prickly joints. A peculiar characteristic of the caltrop is that it has also a prickly fruit.

55. Of all these kinds the best known is the nettle, often taller than two cubits, the cups of which in blossom pour out a purple down. There are several different kinds. There is the wild, also called female, and the cultivated. One of the wild varieties, called dog nettle, has a sharper sting, even the stem pricking, and fringed leaves. Another, which also gives out a smell, is called the Herculanean nettle. All nettles have a copious, black seed. It is a strange thing that, without any prickly points, the mere down is poisonous, and that only a light touch at once causes to arise itching and blisters like those from burns. The well-known remedy for nettle sting is olive oil. The stinging quality however does not come at once with the plant itself, but only when this has grown strong through the sun. When young indeed in the spring nettles make a not unpleasant food, which many eat in the further devout belief that it will keep diseases away throughout the whole year. The root too of the wild varieties makes more tender all meat with which it is boiled. The harmless nettle, which does not sting, is called lamium. About scorpio I shall speak when I come to deal with medicinal plants.

56. The thistle has both leaf and stem covered by a prickly down, and so have acorna, leucacanthos, chalceos, cnecos, polyacanthos, onopyxos, helxine, scolymos. The chamaeleon has no prickles on its leaves. There is however this difference also, that some of these plants have many stems and branches, the thistle for instance, while the cnecos has one stem and no branches. Some are prickly only at the head, the erynge for instance; some, like tetralix and helxine, blossom in summer. Scolymos too blossoms late and long. The acorna is distinguished (from cnecos) only by its reddish colour and richer juice. Atractylis too would be just the same, were it not whiter and did it not shed a blood-like juice that has caused some to call it phonos; it also has a bad smell, and its seed ripens latein fact not before autumn, though this can be said of all prickly plants. All of these however can be reproduced either from seed or from the root. Scolymus, one of the thistle group, differs from these in that its root is edible when boiled. It is a strange thing that in this group, without intermission throughout the whole summer, part blossoms, part buds, and part produces seed. As the leaves dry the prickles cease to sting. Helxine is not often seen, and not in all countries; it shoots out leaves from its root, out of the middle of which swells up as it were an apple, covered with foliage of its own. The top of its head contains a gum of pleasant flavour, called thorn mastich.

57. And cactos also grows only in Sicily; it too has peculiar properties of its own. Its stems, shooting out from the root, trail on the ground; the leaves are broad and prickly. The stems are called cacti, which make, even when preserved, a palatable food. One kind, however, has an upright stem called pternix, of the same pleasant flavour, but it will not keep. The seed is downy, the down being called pappus. When the seeds have been taken away and the rind, there remains something as tender as the brain of the palm. It is called ascalia.

58. Tribulus is found only in marshy places. A hard substance elsewhere, near the rivers Nile and Strymon it is used as food. It bends towards the water, has a leaf like that of the elm, and the stalk is long. But in other parts of the world there are two kinds; the one with leaves like those of the chickling-pea, the other with prickly leaves. The latter blossoms later, and tends to be common in the enclosures round country houses. Its seed is rounder, black, and in a pod; that of the other is like sand. Of prickly plants there is yet another kindrest-harrow. For it has prickles on the branches, to which are attached leaves like those of rue, the whole stem being covered with leaves so that it looks like a chaplet. It springs up on newly ploughed lands, is harmful to the crops and extremely long-lived.

59. The stems of some prickly plants trail along the ground, those for example of the plant called coronopus. On the other hand anchusa (alkanet), the root of which is used for dyeing wood and wax, stands upright, as do, of the cultivated kinds, anthemis, phyllanthes, anemone and aphace. Crepis and lotus have a foliated stem.

60. The leaves of these plants differ as do the leaves of trees: in shortness or length of stalk, in the narrowness of the leaf itself, in its size, and further in the corners, and indentations; smell and blossom differ also. The blossom lasts longer on

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some of them, which flower one part at a time, on ocimum for example, and on heliotropium, aphace and onochilis. Many of these plants, like certain trees, have leaves that never die, the chief being heliotropium, adiantum, hulwort.

61. Eared plants are yet another kind, to which belong achynops, alopecuros, stelephurosby some called ortyx, by others plantago, about which I shall speak more fully in the section on medicinal plantsand thryallis. Of these alopeeurus has a soft ear and thick down, not unlike the tail of a fox; hence too its name. Stelephuros is very like it, except that it blossoms bit by bit. Chicory and the plants like it have leaves near the ground, budding from the root after the Pleiades.

62. Perdicium is eaten by other peoples besides the Egyptians. The name is derived from the partridge, a bird very fond of pecking it out of the ground. It has very many thick roots. There is likewise ornithogala, with a tender white stem half a foot long, soft and with three or four offshoots and a bulbous root. It is boiled in pottage.

63. It is strange that the plant lotos and the aegilops do not germiuate from their own seed until a year has passed. Strange too is the nature of anthemis, because it begins to blossom from the top, while all other plants that blossom bit by bit begin to do so from their bottom part.

64. A remarkable thing about the burdock, which sticks to one's clothes, is that within it there grows a flower that does not show, but is inside and hidden; it produces seed within itself, as do the animals that bring to birth inside their own bodies. Around Opus is to be found a plant which is also pleasant for a man to eat, and remarkable in that from its leaf there grows a root whereby it reproduces itself.

65. Bindweed has only one petal, but folded in such a way that it seems more than one. Chondrylla is bitter, and in the root is an acrid juice. Aphace too is bitter, and so is the plant called picris, which also blossoms throughout the year. It is this bitterness which has given the plant its name.

66. It is a remarkable characteristic too of and the squill and of the crocus that, whereas all other plants put forth leaves first and only afterwards round into a stem, in these plants the stem is seen first, and after the stem the leaves. In the crocus however the blossom is pushed up by the stem; in the squill on the other hand the stem makes its appearance first, and then the blossom sprouts out of it. The plant blossoms, as I have said, three times a year, pointing to the three seasons for ploughing.

67. Some include among the class of bulbs the root of the cypiros, that is, of the gladiolus. It and makes a pleasant food, one which, when boiled, also renders bread more palatable, and also when kneaded with it more weighty. Not unlike it is the plant which is called thesium, and is acrid to the taste.

68. The other plants of the same kind differ in the leaf: asphodel has an oblong, narrow leaf; the squill one broad and flexible; the gladiolus one that its name suggests. Asphodel is used as food. Both the seed and the bulb are roasted, but the second in hot ashes; salt and oil are added. It is also pounded with figs, which Hesiod I thinks is a special delicacy. There is a tradition that if asphodel be planted before the gate of a country house it keeps away the evil influences of sorcery. Homer also mentioned asphodel. Its root is like a navew of moderate size, and no plant has more bulbs, eighty being often grouped together. Theophrastus and the Greeks generally, beginning with Pythagoras, have given the name of anthericus to its stem, a cubit and often two cubits long, with leaves like those of wild leek; it is the root, that is to say the bulbs, that they call asphodel. We of Italy call this plant albucus, and anthericus 'royal spear', the stem of which bears berries, and we distinguish two kinds. Albueus has a stalk a cubit long, large, without leaves and smooth, which Mago recommends should be cut at the end of March or the beginning of April, when the blossoming has ceased but before its seed has begun to swell; he adds that the stalks should be split, and brought out into the sun on the fourth day, and that of the material so dried bundles should be made. The same authority adds that the Greeks call oistos, the plant which we include among sedge and call arrow. lie recommends that from the fifteenth of May to the end of October it should be stripped of its skin and dried in mild sunshine, and also that the second kind of gladiolus, called cypiros, which too is a marsh plant, should be cut down to the root through out July, and on the third day dried in the sun until it turns white. Every day however before sunset it should be put back under cover, since night dews are harmful to marsh plants after they have been cut down.

69. Mago gives like instructions about the rush also that they call mariscus; for weaving mats he recommends that it too be gathered in June and up to the middle of July, giving the same instructions for drying it which I have mentioned in their proper place when dealing with sedge. He distinguishes another kind of rush, which I find is called the marine rush and by the Greeks oxyschoenos. There are three kinds of it: the pointed, barren rush, which the Greeks call the male, or oxys, while the other two are female, and bear a black seed. One of these, called by the Greeks melancranis, is thicker and more bushy than the first; the third, called holoschoenus, being even more so. Of these melancranis is found apart from other kinds of rush, but oxys and holoschoenus grow on the same turf. The most useful for wickerwork is holoschoenus, because it is pliant and fleshy; it bears a fruit like eggs sticking to one another. The rush we have called male is self-reproduced, the head being bent down into the earth, but melancranis is reproduced from its seed. Except for this, the roots of every kind of rush die every year. Rushes are used for fish-baskets, for the finer sort of wickerwork, and for the wicks of lamps, the pith being especially useful; and they grow to such a size near the maritime Alps that when the hollow is cut open they measure almost an inch across, while in Egypt some are as narrow as the holes in a sieve, and of a length not more useful than others. Some botanists also distinguish as a separate class a triangular rush, which they call cyperos, though many do not recognize a distinction because of the resemblance of the name to cypiros. I however shall keep each distinct. Cypiros is, as I have said, the same as gladiolus, and has a bulbous root. The most esteemed grows in the island of Crete, the next in Naxos and then comes that of Phoenicia. The Cretan is white, with a smell like that of nard; the Naxian has a more pungent smell, the Phoenician a faint one, and the Egyptian (for it grows there also) none at all. Cypiros dispels hard formations of the body, for we must now speak of remedies, as there is a wide use in medicine of flowers and perfumes generally. As for cypiros, I shall follow Apollodorus who said that it should never be taken in drink; yet he maintained its great efficacy for stones in the bladder, which by this means he tries to remove. He has no doubt that it causes miscarriage in women, and records the following strange account of it. Some foreign people, he says, take into the mouth smoke from this plant and thereby reduce the spleen, asserting that they do not leave their homes without inhaling this smoke, as the habit produces, even from day to day, increased briskness and greater strength. He adds that to apply cypiros as a liniment with oil is a certain cure for chafings, offensive armpits and abrasions.

70. Cyperos is a rush such as I have already described, with three corners, white next the ground, dark and fleshy at the head. The bottom leaves are more slender than those of leeks, the top ones being very small, with the seed between them. The root resembles that of the dark olive, which when it is oblong is called cyperis, being widely used in medicine. The most valued cyperos comes from the region round the temple of Hammon, the second in esteem from Rhodes, the third from Thera, the last from Egypt; as the cypiros also grows there, some confusion of thought results. But cypiros has a very hard root and scarcely any smell; the species of true cyperos have a smell that closely resembles that of nard. There is also a separate Indian plant called cypira, in shape resembling ginger, which when chewed tastes like saffron. The use of eyperos in medicine is to act as a depilatory. It makes an ointment for hang-nails, sores of the genitals and all sores that are in moisture, such as those in the mouth. Its root affords an effective remedy for the bites of snakes and stings of scorpions. The root taken in drink opens the passage of the uterus, but if taken in too strong doses its potency is great enough to cause prolapsus. It promotes urine and the passing of stone, and therefore is most useful to sufferers from dropsy. It is applied to spreading sores, but especially to those of the gullet, either in wine or in vinegar.

71. The root of the rush in three heminae of water, boiled down to one third, is a cure for coughs. The seed roasted and taken in water checks diarrhoea and excessive menstruation. The rush, however, called holoschoenus brings on headaches. The nearest parts to the root are chewed as a remedy for the bites of spiders. I find that there is also one other kind of rush, called euripice. Its seed is said to induce sleep, but the dose must be kept small, or coma will result.

72. Incidentally I will also mention medicines obtained from the scented rush, for one place where such a rush grows is in Coelesyria, as I have related in the appropriate place. The most esteemed, however, comes from Nabataea, known also as teuchitis; the next best is the Babylonian, and the worst comes from Africa, being without any scent. It is round, affecting the tongue with the stinging taste of sour wine. The genuine kind, on being rubbed, gives out a smell of roses, and the broken bits are red. Dispersing flatulence, it is good for the stomach, and for those who vomit bile. It allays hiccoughs, promotes belching, is diuretic, and a remedy for bladder troubles. For female complaints a decoction is made. With dry resin it is applied to sufferers from opisthotonic tetanus because of its warming properties.

73. The rose is both astringent and cooling. There are separate uses for its petals, flowers and heads. The parts of the petals which are white are called nails. In the flower, seed and filament are distinct, as are shell and calyx in the head. The petals are dried, or the juice is extracted from them by one of three methods. They may be treated by themselves, when the nails, in which there is most moisture, are not removed; or when what is left after removing the nails is steeped with oil or wine in glass vessels in the sunshine. Some add salt also, and a few alkanet or aspalathus or fragrant rush, because so prepared the essence is very beneficial for complaints of the uterus and for dysentery. With the nails removed the petals may also have their juice extracted by being pounded, and then strained through a thick linen cloth into a bronze vessel; the juice is then heated on a slow fire until it becomes as thick as honey. For this process only the most fragrant petals must be selected. How wine is made from roses I have described in my treatment of the various kinds of wine. Rose juice is used for the ears, sores in the month, the gums, as a gargle for the tonsils, for the stomach, uterus, rectal trouble, headachewhen due to fever either by itself or with vinegarto induce sleep or to dispel nausea. The petals are burned to make an ingredient of cosmetics for the eyebrows, and dried rose leaves are sprinkled on (chafed) thighs. Fluxes of the eyes also are soothed by the dried leaves. The flower induces sleep, checks menstrual, particularly white, discharges if taken in vinegar and water, as well as the spitting of blood; a cyathus of it in three cyathi of wine relieves stomach-ache. As to the seed, the finest is of a saffron colour, not more than a year old, and should be dried in the shade; the dark seed is harmful. It is used as a liniment for toothache, is diuretic, and may be applied to the stomach or in eases of erysipelas that is not of long standing. Inhaled by the nostrils it clears the head. Rose heads taken in drink cheek diarrhoea and haemorrhage. The nails of rose petals are healing for fluxes of the eyes, for eyesores discharge if the whole rose is applied, unless it is at the beginning of the flux, and then the rose must be dry and mixed with bread. The petals indeed taken internally are very good for gnawings of the stomach and for complaints of the belly or of the intestines, good also for the hypochondria, and they may be applied externally. They are also preserved for food, in the same way as sorrel. Care must be taken with rose petals, as mould quickly settles on them. Some use can be made of dried petals, or those from which the juice has been extracted. Powders, for example, are made from Them to cheek perspiration. These are sprinkled on the body after a bath and left to dry, being afterwards washed off with cold water. The little balls on the wild rose mixed with bears' grease are a remedy for mange.

74. Its roots bring great fame to the lily in many ways, being taken in wine for the bites of snakes and for poisoning by fungi. For corns on the foot they are boiled down in wine, and the plaster is not removed for three days. Boiled down with grease or oil they also make hair to grow again on bums. Taken in honey wine they carry off by stool extravasated blood; they are good for the spleen, for ruptures, spasms and the menstrual discharge; while if boiled down in wine and applied with honey they heal cuts of the sinews. They are healing for lichens and leprous sores, cure scurf on the face, and remove wrinkles from the skin. The petals, pickled in vinegar, are applied to wounds; if these are in the testes, it is better to add henbane and wheat flour. The seed is used as an application for erysipelas, flowers and leaves for chronic sores, and the juice extracted from the flower, called honey by some and syrium by others, as an emollient of the uterus, for inducing perspiration and for bringing boils to a head.

75. Of the narcissus there are two kinds used by physicians: one with a bright flower and the other with grass-green leaves. The latter is injurious to the stomach, so that it acts as an emetic and as a purge; it is bad for the sinews and causes a dull headache, its name being derived from the word naree, torpor, and not from the youth in the myth. The root of each variety has the taste of honey wine. In a little honey it is good for burns, and the same is beneficial for wounds and sprains. while for superficial abscesses honey should be added to darnel meal. This preparation also extracts bodies that have pierced the flesh. Beaten up in pearl barley and oil it heals bruises, and wounds caused by stones. Mixed with meal it cleans wounds and removes black psoriasis. From its flower is made narcissus oil, which is very useful for softening callosities, for warming parts of the body that have been chilled, and for the ears, but it also produces headache.

76. There are both wild and cultivated violets. The mauve ones are cooling and are applied to the stomach for inflammations, to the forehead also when the head bums, to the eyes especially for fluxes, for prolapsus of the anus and of the womb, and to abscesses. Placed on the head in chaplets, or even smelt, they disperse the after-effects of drinking and its headaches, as well as quinsies when taken in water. The mauve variety, taken in water, is a cure for epilepsy, especially in children. The seed of the violet neutralizes the stings of scorpions. On the other hand the flower of the white violet opens abscesses, and even disperses them. Both the white violet, however, and the yellow reduce the menstrual discharge and are diuretic. Freshly gathered they have less potency, for which reason they should be dried and not used until they are at least a year old. Half a cyathus of the yellow violet taken in three of water promotes menstruation. Its roots used with vinegar as a liniment soothe the spleen, and likewise gout, but for inflammations of the eyes myrrh and saffron should be added to them. The leaves with honey cleanse sores on the head. With wax ointment they heal cracks in the anus and such as are in moist parts of the body. Used with vinegar, however, they heal abscesses.

77. The Celtic valerian used in medicine is called 'perpressa' by some Roman authorities. It relieves serpent bites, aching

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and feverish heads, and likewise fluxes from the eyes. It is applied to breasts swollen after childbirth, to incipient fistulas of the eye and to erysipelas. The smell induces sleep. It is beneficial for a decoction of the root to be taken by sufferers from cramp, Violent falls, convulsions, asthma and also chronic cough. Three or four sprays of it are boiled down to one third. A draught of this is cleansing for women after miscarriage, and removes stitch in the side or stone in the bladder. It is pounded with lily petals to make dusting powders, and for the sake of the perfume is laid among clothes. Combretum, which I have said is similar to Celtic valerian, beaten up with axle-grease is a wonderful cure for wounds.

78. Hazelwort is said to be beneficial for liver complaints, an ounce being taken in a hemina of diluted honey wine. It purges the bowels after the manner of hellebore, and is good for dropsy, the hypochondria, the uterus and for jaundice. When added to must it makes a diuretic wine. It is dug up when the leaves are forming; it is dried and then stored up. In the shade it very quickly goes mouldy.

79. Since certain authorities, as I have said, have given to the root of Celtic valerian the name of rustic nard, I will now add the medicinal uses of Gallic nard also, which I mentioned when dealing with foreign trees, postponing fuller treatment to the present occasion. So for serpent bites it is useful in doses of two drachmae taken in wine, for flatulence of the colon in either water or wine, for troubles of the liver and kidneys, excessive bile, and dropsy, either by itself or with wormwood. It checks excessive attacks of menstruation.

80. The root of the plant that in the same place I have called phu is given, either in drink pounded, or else boiled, for suffocation of the womb, and for pains also of the chest or side. It is an emmenogogue and is taken with wine.

81. Saffron does not blend well with honey or with anything sweet, but it does so very easily with wine or water. It is very useful in medicine, and is kept in a horn box. It disperses all inflammations, but especially those of the eyes, taken internally a with egg; suffocation of the womb as well, and ulcerations of the throat, chest, kidneys, liver, lungs and bladder, being very useful indeed for inflammation in particular of these organs, as also for cough and for pleurisy. It removes itching also, and promotes urination. Those who take saffron first will not feel after-effects of wine and will become intoxicated with difficulty. Chaplets too made of it alleviate intoxication. It induces sleep, has a gentle action on the head, and is an aphrodisiac. Its blossom, with Cimolian chalk, is used as an application for erysipelas. The plant itself is used as an ingredient in numerous medicines, and there is one eye-salve to which it has actually given its name.

82. The lees too of the saffron extracted from saffron juice, which is called crocomagma, have their own uses for cataract and strangury. It is more warming than saffron itself. The best kind is that which, when put in the mouth, stains with the truest saffron colour the saliva and the teeth.

83. The red iris is better than the white one. It conduces to the health of babies to have this tied on them, especially when they are teething or suffering from cough, and to inject it into those troubled with tapeworms. Its other properties are not much different from those of honey. It cleanses sores on the head, especially abscesses of long standing. Taken in doses of two drachmae with honey it relaxes the bowels; taken in drink it relieves cough, griping and flatulence, in vinegar, complaints of the spleen. In vinegar and water it is an antidote against the bites of snakes and of spiders; against stings of scorpions two drachmae by weight are taken in bread or water; for dog-bites and abrasions it is applied in oil. So prepared it is also applied to aching sinews, but for lumbago and sciatica resin is added. Its nature is warming. Snuffed up through the nostrils it promotes sneezing and clears the head. For headache it is applied with quinces or with sparrow-apples. It dispels also the after-effects of wine and orthopnoea. Taken in doses of two oboli it acts as an emetic. Applied with honey it draws out splinters of broken bone. For whitlows its meal is used, wine being added for corns and warts, the plaster not being removed for three days. Chewed it sweetens foul breath and offensive armpits. Its juice softens all indurations. It induces sleep, but dries up the semen. It heals cracks in the anus and condylomata, and all excrescences on the body. Some authorities call the wild variety xyris. This disperses scrofulous sores, superficial abscesses and swellings in the groin. It is recommended that for these purposes it should be pulled up with the left hand, and the gatherers should utter the name of the patient and of the complaint for whose sake they are pulling it. While speaking of this plant also I will make known the dishonesty of herbalists. They keep back a part of it and of certain other plants, such as the plantain. If they think their pay insufficient and look for further employment, they bury in the same place the part they kept back, I suppose to make the complaints they have cured break out again. The root of Celtic valerian boiled down in wine checks vomiting and strengthens the stomach.

84. Musaeus and Hesiod bid those who are ambitious for honour and glory to rub themselves over with hulwort, and for hulwort to be handled, cultivated, carded on the person to neutralize poisons, to be placed under bedclothes to keep away snakes, to be burnt, to be boiled down, fresh or dry, in wine, and to be used as liniment or taken by the mouth. Physicians prescribe hulwort for splenic complaints in vinegar, for jaundice in wine, for incipient dropsy boiled down in wine, and so prepared also as a liniment for wounds. It brings away the afterbirth and the dead foetus; it relieves pains of the body and empties the bladder; it is applied as ointment for fluxes from the eyes. No other herb makes a more suitable ingredient for the antidote called alexipharmaeon. It is, however, injurious in my opinion to the stomach, and makes the head stuffy, besides causing miscarriage. Some deny this, and go on to add the superstition that, when found, it should for cataract at once be tied round the neck, care being taken not to let it touch the ground. The same state that its leaves resemble those of thyme, except that they are softer and of a more downy whiteness. If too it be pounded with wild rue in rain water it is said to lessen the danger of asp bites; and as well as the blue cornflower it binds and closes wounds, preventing them from spreading.

85. Holochrysos taken in wine cures strangury, and applied as liniment fluxes from the eyes; with burnt lees of wine and pearl barley it removes lichens. The root of chrysocome is warming and astringent. It is given in drink for complaints of liver and lungs, while a decoction in hydromel is prescribed for pains in the womb. It promotes menstruation, and if given raw reduces the water of dropsy.

86. If the hives are rubbed over with melissophyllum (balm), sometimes called melittaena, the bees will not fly away, for no flower gives them greater pleasure. With besoms made of this plant swarms are controlled with the greatest ease. It is also a most effective remedy for the stings of bees, wasps and similar insects, such as spiders and also scorpions; also with the addition of soda for suffocation of the womb, and in wine for griping of the bowels. Its leaves are applied to scrofulous sores, and with salt for affections of the anus. The juice of the boiled plant promotes menstruation, removes inflammations and heals sores. It alleviates diseases of the joints and the bites of dogs. It is beneficial to sufferers from chronic dysentery and to coeliac patients, asthmatics, and patients with splenic troubles or ulcers on the chest. It is thought excellent treatment to anoint weak eyes with its juice mixed with honey.

87. Melilot too is healing to the eyes when mixed with egg-yolk or linseed. With rose oil it also relieves pain in the jaws or head, and with raisin wine earache and swellings or eruptions on the hands; boiled down in wine or pounded and raw it is good for pains in the stomach. It has the same action on the womb; for the testes, however, prolapsus of the anus and other complaints of those parts it should be freshly gathered and boiled down in water or in raisin wine. With the addition of rose oil it makes an ointment for carcinoma. It is thoroughly boiled down in sweet wine, and is particularly effective in the treatment of the tumours called melicerides.

88. I know it is believed that trefoil is an antidote for the bite of snakes and scorpions, twenty grains of the seed being taken in a drink of wine or of vinegar and water, or leaves with the whole plant are boiled down to make a decoction; that snakes too arc never seen in trefoil; I know too that it is reported by famous authorities that twenty-five grains of the kind of trefoil I have called minyanthes serve as an antidote for all poisons, and that many other virtues besides are attributed to it as a remedy. But I am led to oppose their views by the authority of a very reliable man; for the poet Sophocles asserts that it is a poisonous, as does Simos also among the physicians, saying that the juice of the decocted or pounded plant, when poured upon the body, produces the same sensations of burning as those felt by persons bitten by a serpent, when this plant is applied to the wound. Wherefore I should be of opinion that it should not be used otherwise than as a counter-poison. For perhaps this is one of the many cases where one poison is poisonous to other poisons. I have likewise noted that the seed of that trefoil the leaves of which are very small is useful, when applied as face-ointment, for preserving the loveliness of women's skin.

89. Thyme ought to be gathered while it is in blossom, and to be dried in the shade. There are two kinds of thyme:one white, with a wood-like root, growing on hills and also the more highly valued; the other kind is darker and with a dark flower. Both kinds are supposed to be very beneficial for brightening the vision, whether taken as food or used in medicines, also for a chronic cough, to ease expectoration when used as an electuary with vinegar and salt, to prevent the blood from congealing when taken with honey, to relieve, applied externally with mustard, chronic catarrh of the throat, and also complaints of the stomach and bowels. They should be used, however, in moderation, since they are heating, and because of this property they are astringent to the bowels; should these become ulcerated, a denarius of thyme should be added to a sextarius of vinegar and honey, and the same for pain in the side, or between the shoulder-blades, or in the chest. They cure troubles of the hypochondria, taken in vinegar and honey, which draught is also given in cases of aberration of mind or of melancholy. Thyme is also administered to epileptics, who when attacked by a fit are revived by its smell. It is said too that epileptics should sleep on soft thyme. It is good also for asthma, difficult breathing, and delayed menstruation; or if the embryo in the womb be dead, thyme boiled down in water to one third proves useful, as thyme moreover does to men also, if taken with honey and vinegar, for flatulence, for swellings of the belly or testes, or for maddening pain in the bladder. An application in wine removes tumours and inflammations, and in vinegar callosities and warts. It is applied with wine for sciatica; pounded and sprinkled in oil on wool it is used for affections of the joints and for sprains, with lard it is applied to burns. It is also administered as a draught in the early stages of affections of the joints, three oboli of thyme in three cyathi of vinegar and honey; pounded, with the addition of salt, it is used for loss of appetite.

90. Hemerocalles has a soft leaf of a pale green, and a scented bulbous root, which applied with honey to the belly drives out watery humours and also harmful to blood. The leaves are applied for fluxes of the eyes and for pains in the breasts after childbirth.

91. Helenium, which had its origin, as I have said, in the tears of Helen, is believed to preserve physical charm, and to keep unimpaired the fresh complexion of our women, whether of the face or of the rest of the body. Moreover, it is supposed that by its use they gain a kind of attractiveness and sex-appeal. To this plant when taken in wine is attributed the power of stimulating gaiety, the power possessed by the famous nepenthes extolled by Homer of banishing all sorrow. It also has a very sweet juice. The root of it, taken in water fasting, is good for asthma; inside it is white and sweet. It is also taken in wine for snake bites. Pounded it is said further to kill mice.

92. Of southernwood authorities mention two kinds: the field and the mountain. The latter, they would have us understand, is female, the former male; both are as bitter as wormwood. The Sicilian is the most highly praised, next comes that of Galatia. While some use is made of the leaves, the seed is more useful for warming, for which reason it is good for sinews, cough, asthma, convulsions, ruptures, lumbago and strangury. Some handfuls are boiled down to one third, and given to drink in doses of four cyathi. The pounded seed also is given in water, a drachma at a time. It is also beneficial to the uterus. With barley meal it brings to a head superficial abscesses, and it is applied as a liniment for inflammation of the eyes, a quince being boiled with it. It keeps snakes away, and for their bites is either taken or applied with wine, being very effective against those creatures whose venom causes shivering and chills, scorpions for instance and poisonous spiders; taken in drink it is good for other poisons, taken in any way it is good for chill fits, and for withdrawing substances embedded in the flesh. It also forces out noxious things from the intestines. They say that a spray of it, laid under the pillow, acts as an aphrodisiac, and that the plant is a most effective countercheck of all magic potions given to produce sexual impotence.

93. Leucanthemum mixed with twice the quantity of vinegar is beneficial to asthmatics. Sampsuchum (otherwise amaraeum, sweet marjoram) of which the most valued, and the most fragrant, comes from Cyprus, counteracts the stings of scorpions, if applied in vinegar and salt. An application is also very beneficial for irregular menstruation. This plant has less efficacy when taken in drink. With pearl barley it also checks fluxes from the eyes. The juice of the boiled plant relieves gripings. The plant is useful for strangury and dropsy, and in a dry state excites sneezing. There is also made from it an oil, called sampsuchinum or amaraeinum, used for warming and softening the sinews, which also warms the uterus. The leaves too are good with honey for bruises and with wax for sprains.

94. Up to the present I have spoken only of the anemone used for chaplets; I shall now describe the kinds used in medicine. There are some who use the name phrenion. There are two kinds of it: one is wild, and the other grows on cultivated ground, though both prefer a sandy soil. Of the cultivated anemone there are several species; for it has either a scarlet flowerthis is also the most plentifulor a purple one, or one the colour of milk. The leaves of all these are like the leaves of parsley, and rarely does the plant exceed half a foot in height, the head resembling that of asparagus. The flower never opens except when the wind is blowing, a fact to which it owes its name. The wild anemone is the larger, and its leaves are broader, the flower being scarlet. Many have been misled into identifying the wild anemone with the argemone, others again with the poppy that I have called rhoeas. But there is a great difference between them, because these two blossom after the anemone, which does not yield a juice like theirs, has not their calyx, and there is no likeness except the head like asparagus. Anemones are good for headache and inflammations, for uterine complaints and for lacteal troubles. They also promote menstruation when taken with barley water or used on a wool pessary. The root chewed brings away phlegm, is healing to the teeth and when boiled down to fluxes of the I eyes and to scars. The Magi have attributed to the anemones a kind of mystic potency, recommending that the plant which is first seen should be taken up in that year

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with the utterance that it is being gathered as a remedy for tertian and quartan agues; after this the blossoms must be wrapped up in a red rag and kept in the shade, and so be used, should occasion arise, as an amulet. If the crushed root of the anemone bearing a scarlet flower be applied to the skin of any living creature, it produces a sore by reason of its astringent qualities, and for this reason it is employed for cleansing ulcerous sores.

95. The plant oenanthe grows on rocks, and has a leaf like that of parsnip and a large root, with several heads. Its stem and leaves taken with honey and dark wine make childbirth easy and bring away the afterbirth; taken in honey they are a cure for coughs, and also diuretic. The root also cures complaints of the bladder.

96. Heliochrysus is called by some chrysanthemon. It has sprigs of a shining white, and leaves of a dull whitish colour, like those of southernwood, with as it were clusters hanging down all round it, which glisten like gold when reflecting the light of the sun, and never fade. For this reason they make chaplets of it for the gods, a custom which Ptolemy king of Egypt very faithfully observed. It grows in shrubberies. Taken in wine it is diuretic and promotes menstruation. It disperses indurations and inflammations; for burns it is applied with honey. For snake bites and lumbago it is taken in drink. With honey wine it removes congealed blood in the belly or bladder. Three oboli by weight of its leaves, pounded and taken in white wine, check excessive menstruation. It protects clothes by its smell, which however is not unpleasant.

97. The hyacinth grows chiefly in Gaul. There they use it to impart a shade to the dye hysginum. The root is bulbous, and well known to slave-dealers, for applied in sweet wine it checks the signs of puberty, and does not let them develop. It relieves colic and counteracts the bites of spiders. It is diuretic. For snake bites, scorpion stings and jaundice its seed is given mixed with southernwood.

98 The seed of lychnis too, that flame-coloured flower, is crushed and taken in wine for snake bites and for the stings of scorpions, hornets and the like. The wild variety of this plant is injurious to the stomach. It loosens the bowels, in doses of two drachmae, bringing away bile most effectively, and is so hurtful to scorpions that the mere sight of it sends them into complete stupor. Its root is called bolites by the people of Asia; tied over the eye it is said to remove white film on the pupil.

99. The vicapervica, otherwise chamaedaphne, dried and crushed is given in water for dropsy in doses of a small spoonful, under which treatment the patient very quickly loses the water. A decoction of it in ash and sprinkled with wine dries tumours. Its juice cures complaints of the ears. An application to the belly is said to be very beneficial indeed for diarrhoea.

100. A decoction of the root of butcher's broom is given every other day for stone in the bladder, for painful urination, or for blood in the urine. The root ought to be dug up on one day and the decoction made on the morning of the next, a sextarius of it being mixed with two cyathi of wine. There are some also who take in water the pounded root raw, and it is considered that nothing is more wholly beneficial to the male genitals than its small stalks pound and used in vinegar.

101. Batis (sea-fennel) too relaxes the bowels. Crushed up it is used raw as a liniment for gout. The Egyptians sow acinos both for chaplets and for food; it would be just the same as ocimum were it not for its rougher branches and leaves, and for its very strong smell. It is both an emmenagogue and diuretic.

102. Colocasia, according to Glaucias, mellows the acrid humours of the body, and is beneficial to the stomach.

103. Anthalium is a food of the Egyptians, but I have been able to find no other use of it. There is however a plant called anthyllium by some and by others anthyllum, of which there are two kinds. One in leaves and branches is like the lentil, a palm in height, growing on sandy soils with plenty of sun, and slightly salt to the taste. The other kind is like the chamaepitys, but smaller and rougher, with a purple flower and a strong smell, and growing in rocky places. The former kind is very useful for uterine affections and for wounds, being applied with rose oil and milk. It is taken in drink for strangury and gravel of the kidneys in doses of three drachmae. The other kind is taken by the month with honey and vinegar in doses of four drachmae for indurations of the womb, gripings of the bowels, and epilepsy.

104. Parthenium is called leucanthes by some, and amaracum by others. Celsus, among the Latin writers calls it perdicium and muralis. It grows in the hedges of gardens, and has a white flower, the smell of an apple and a bitter taste. A decoction of this plant is used to make a sitsbath for induration and inflammation of the womb, and the dried plant is applied with honey and vinegar to bring away black bile. For this reason it is good for dizziness and stone in the bladder. It is used as an application for erysipelas, and also with old axle-grease for scrofulous sores. For tertian agues the Magi recommend us to gather it with the left hand without looking back, while saying for whose sake it is being gathered; then a leaf of it should be placed under the tongue of the patient to be swallowed presently in a cyathus of water.

105. Trychnos, spelt by some strychnos, I wish the Egyptian florists did not use for their chaplets; they are tempted to do so by the resemblance of the leaves of both kinds to those of ivy. One of these kinds, bearing in a seed-bag scarlet berries with a stone in them, is called halieacabos, by others eallion, and by our countrymen bladder-wort, because of its usefulness in cases of stone and other complaints of the bladder. It is a woody shrub rather than a plant, with large, broad, conical seed-bags, with a large stone inside, which ripens in November. A third kind has the leaves of basil, and should receive the briefest of descriptions from one who is dealing with remedies, not poisons, for a very small amount of the juice causes madness. Yet the Greek writers have actually made a jest of this property. For they have said that a dose of one drachma plays tricks with the sense of shame, speaking of hallucinations and realistic visions; that a double dose causes downright insanity; any addition moreover to the dose bringing instant death. This is the poison which in their innocence very unsophisticated writers have called dorycnion because spears before battle had their points dipped in it, as it grows everywhere. Those who censured it less severely gave it the name manicon; those who from evil motives tried to keep its nature secret called it erythron, or neuras, or (as a few did) perisson, but there is no need to go into more details even for the sake of giving a warning. There is besides another kind, with the name of halicacabos, which is soporific, and kills quicker even than opium, by some called morion and by others moly, yet praised by Diocles and Evenor, by Timaristus indeed even in verse, with a strange forgetfulness of harmless remedies, actually because it is, they say, a quick remedy for strengthening loose teeth to rinse them in wine and halicacabos. They added a proviso, that the rinsing must not go on too long, for delirium is caused thereby. Remedies should not be described the use of which involves the danger of a yet more serious evil. Accordingly, although a third kind of this plant is in favour as a food, and although its flavour is preferred to that of other garden produce, and although Xenocrates prescribes trychnos as being beneficial for every bodily ill, yet the genus is not so helpful that I consider it right on this account to give any more details, especially when the supply is so abundant of harmless remedies. The root of halicacabos is taken in drink by those who, to confirm superstitious notions, wish to play the inspired prophet, and to be publicly seen raving in unpretended madness. The remedy for it, which I am happier to mention, is a copious draught of hot hydromel. Nor will I pass over this: that balicacabos is so antipathetic to the nature of asps that if its root be brought near it stupefies that very power of theirs to kill by stupefaction. Therefore pounded and in oil it is a help to those who have been bitten.

106. Corchorum is a plant eaten at Alexandria. It has rolled up leaves, like those of the mulberry, and is beneficial, they say, to the hypochondria, for mange and for freckles. I find also that scab in cattle is very quickly healed by it, and that according to Nicander the bites of snakes also, if gathered before it blossoms.

107. Nor would it be right to describe fully the cnecos, otherwise atractylis, an Egyptian plant, were it not for the great help it affords against venomous creatures as well as against poisonous fungi. It is a well-known fact that so long as they hold this plant, those stung by scorpions feel no sharp pain.

108. The Egyptians plant pesoluta too in their gardens, using it for chaplets. There are two kinds, female and male; both, it is said, placed under the genitals, are antaphrodisiac, especially for men.

109. Since I have frequently to use Greek names when giving weights and measures, I will add at this place their equivalents, once and for all. The Attic drachma, for it is generally the Attic standard that physicians adopt, has the weight of a silver denarius, and the same makes six oboli, the obolus being ten chalci. The cyathus as a measure weighs ten drachmae; when the measure of an acetabulum is spoken of, it means the quarter of a hemina, that is fifteen drachmae. The mna, that our countrymen call the mina, weighs one hundred Attic drachmae.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 22

1. Nature and our earth might have filled the measure of our wonder at them in anyone who reviews even the preceding volume only, with all Nature's gifts in it, and all the kinds of plants created for the needs or pleasures of mankind. But how many more kinds remain, and how much more wonderful they are in their discovery! For of the plants mentioned already the greater number, owing to their excellence as food, perfume or ornament, have led to repeated experiments; of the rest it is their efficacy that proves that nothing is created by Nature without some more hidden reason than those just mentioned.

2. Now I notice that some foreign peoples use certain plants on their persons both to make themselves more handsome and also to keep up traditional custom. At any rate among barbarian tribes the women stain the face, using, some one plant and some another; and the men too among the Daci and the Sarmatae tattoo their own bodies. In Gaul there is a plant like the plantain, called glastum; with it the wives of the Britons, and their daughters-in-law, stain all the body, and at certain religious ceremonies march along naked, with a colour resembling that of Ethiopians.

3. Moreover we know that clothes are dyed with a wonderful dye from a plant, and, to say nothing of the fact that, of the berries of Galatia, Africa, and Lusitania, the 'coccum' is specially served to colour the military cloaks of our generals, Transalpine Gaul can produce with vegetable dyes Tyrian purple, oyster purple and all other colours. To get these nobody seeks the murex oyster in the depths, offering his person as bait to sea monsters while he hastens to snatch his booty, and exploring a bottom that no anchor yet has touched, merely to discover the means for a matron to charm her paramour more easily and for a seducer to ensnare another's wife. There one stands on land to harvest dyes as we harvest crops; and though there is a complaint that the dye washes out with use, except for this defect luxury could have bedecked itself in brighter colours, and certainly with less risk to life. It is not my intention now to treat this subject fully, but I shall not pass it over entirely, so that I may, by suggesting cheaper materials, curb luxury by expediency, and on another occasion I shall tell how walls are dyed instead of being painted in mosaics. Yet I should not have left out the craft of dyeing altogether, had it ever been included among the liberal arts. In the meantime I shall take a bolder line, and there shall be assigned even to dull, that is to say, lowly plants all the dignity that is their due, since it is a fact that the founders and enlargers of the Roman Empire derived from this source also an immense advantage, because it was from them that came the tufts used when the State needed cures, and also the vervains required in holy ceremonies and in embassies. At any rate both names mean the same thing, that is, a turf from the citadel pulled up with its own earth; and on every occasion when envoys were sent to the enemy to perform clarigatio, that is to demand in loud tones the restitution of plundered property, one in particular was called vervain bearer.

4. No crown indeed has been a higher honour than the crown of grass among the rewards for glorious deeds given by the sovereign people, lords of the earth. Jewelled crowns, golden crowns, crowns for scaling enemy ramparts or walls, or for boarding men-of-war, the civic crown for saving the life of a citizen, the triumph crownthese were instituted later than this grass crown, and all differ from it greatly, in distinction as in character. All the others have been given by individuals and personally by generals and commanders to their soldiers, or occasionally to their colleagues, or have been decreed in triumphs by a Senate freed from the anxiety of war and by a people enjoying peace; the grass crown has never been conferred except upon the leader of a forlorn hope, being voted only by the whole army and only to him who rescued it. The other crowns have been conferred by commanders, this alone on a commander by his soldiers. The same crown is called the siege crown when a whole camp has been relieved and saved from awful destruction.

But if the civic crown is deemed a glorious and hallowed distinction because the life has been saved of only one and even maybe the lowliest citizen, what, pray, ought to be thought of the preservation of a whole army by the courage of one man? This crown used to be made from green grass pulled up from the site where the besieged men had been relieved by some one. For in old times it was the most solemn token of defeat for the conquered to present grass to their conquerors, for to do so meant that they withdrew from their land, from the very soil that nurtured them and even from means of burial. This custom, I know, exists even today among the Germans.

5. L. Siccius Dentatus was presented with this crown but once, although he earned fourteen civic crowns and fought out one hundred and twenty battles, victorious in all. So much rarer a thing is it for a decoration to be conferred by rescued men upon the one man who rescued them. Certain commanders have even been decorated more than once, P. Decius Mus, for instance, when military tribune, once by his own army, and again by those who formed the relieved garrison. He showed by a devout act how great a dignity this distinction brought with it, seeing that after the presentation he sacrificed to Mars a white bull, as well as the hundred tawny ones which at the same time had been given to him by the relieved garrison in recognition of his courage. This Decius afterwards when consul with Emperiosus as his colleague sacrificed himself as a victim in order to secure victory. It was also given by the Senate and People of Romethe highest distinction in my opinion that a human being can attain toto that Fabius who 'restored the whole Roman State' by refusing to fight, not however on the occasion when he rescued the Master of the Horse and his army; it was then thought preferable for a crown and a new title, 'Father,' to be given him by those whom he had rescued. The unanimous vote I spoke of gave him the honour when Hannibal was driven from Italy, and the crown was the only one placed on the recipient's head by the hand of the State itself, anda special feature in the case of Fabiusit was the only one given by the whole of Italy.

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6. Besides these the distinction of the grass crown has been won for service in Sicily by M. Calpurnius Flamma, tribune of the soldiers, and in the war with the Cimbri by Cn. Petreius of Atina, the only centurion to receive it up to the present time. Serving as Head Centurion under Catulus, he harangued his legion when it was cut off by the enemy, killed his own tribune when he hesitated to break through the enemy camp, and brought the legion out. I find in my authorities that in addition to this honour the same man, with the consuls Marius and Catulus at his side, offered sacrifice, wearing the magisterial gown, on a brazier placed for the purpose, and to the music of the piper. Sulla the Dictator also has written that he too was presented by his army with this crown before Nola, when he was lieutenant-general in the Marsian war, and moreover had the scene painted in his Tusculan villa, afterwards the property of Cicero. If Sulla tells the truth, it would make me describe him as all the more detestable, because by his proscription he with his own hand tore the crown from his own head, so much fewer were the citizens he saved than those whom he afterwards slew. Let him also add to this distinction the proud surname of Felix, nevertheless he himself resigned to Sertorius this crown when he besieged the proscribed in every part of the world. Scipio Aemilianus also was, according to Varro, presented with the siege crown in Africa when Manilius was consul, having rescued three cohorts with three others led out to rescue them. Such is the story carved under Scipio's statue by Augustus, now in Heaven, in the Forum Augusti. Augustus himself, in the consulship of Marcus Cicero junior, was on the 13th September presented with the siege crown by the Senate; so inadequate was the civic crown thought to be. Nobody else at all, I find, has received this distinction.

7. There were therefore no special plants used in making this crown, but whatever plants had been found on the site of the peril, however lowly and mean, these gave the honour its nobility. That such ignorance about the composition of this crown is rife amongst us I consider less strange when I see the further indifference to the means of preserving health, of banishing physical pain and of warding off death. But who could not with justice censure modern ways? The cost of living has been increased by luxuries and extravagance; never has there been more zest for life or less care taken of it. We believe that care of our life is the duty of others, that others make it their business on instructions from us, and that physicians have already provided for our needs. The enjoyment of pleasures is our personal affair, but our lives we entrust to the charge of somebody else, thereby incurring what I personally hold to be the worst possible disgrace. Moreover, most people actually laugh at me for carrying on research in these matters, and I am accused of busying myself with trifles. It is, however, a great comfort to me in my vast toil to know that Nature too, not I alone, incurs this contempt, for I shall show that she at least has not failed us, having put remedies even into plants that we dislike, seeing that she has given healing properties even to those armed with prickles and thorns. For these remain to be discussed next after those plants I mentioned in the preceding book, as even in them we cannot sufficiently apprehend and admire the forethought of Nature. She had given already the soft plants I spoke of that make pleasant foods; she had coloured the remedies in flowers, and by the mere sight had attracted our attention, combining the helpful with what is actually delightful. Then she devised some so repellent to look at, so cruel to the touch, that we seem almost to hear the voice of Nature justifying herself as she fashions them, and saying that she so creates them lest any greedy animal browse on her own self, any wanton hands steal, any careless steps crush, or any perching bird break; by defending them with these thorns, by arming them with weapons, she is making a protection and safety for her remedies. This very thing then that we hate in them has been devised for the sake of mankind.

8. Especially famous among spinous plants is the erynge, or eryngion, that grows to counteract snake bites and all poisons. For stings and bites its root in doses of one drachma is taken in wine, or in water if (as usually happens) such injuries are also accompanied by fever. It is applied to the wounds, being a specific for those caused by amphibious snakes and frogs. Heraclides the physician is of opinion that boiled in goose broth it is more efficacious than any other remedy for aconite and other poisoning. Apollodorus would boil it with a frog a for poisoning, the other authorities say in water only. The plant itself is hardy, bushy, with prickly leaves and jointed stem, a cubit high or occasionally taller, partly palish in colour, partly dark, and with a fragrant root. While it is a cultivated plant it also grows wild on rough, stony ground and on the sea shore, when it is more hardy and darker, with a leaf like that of celery.

9. Of these the pale variety is called 'hundred heads' by our countrymen. All kinds have the same properties, and the Greeks make a food of the stem and the root, served in either way you like, boiled or eaten raw. Marvellous is the chnracteristic reported of it, that its root grows into the likeness of the organs of one sex or the other; it is rarely so found, but should the male form come into the possession of men, they become lovable in the eyes of women. This, it is said, is how Phaon of Lesbos too won the love of Sappho, there being much idle trifling on this subject not only among the Magi but also among the Pythagoreans. When used in medicine, however, besides the advantages mentioned above, it relieves flatulence, colic, affections of the heart, stomach, liver and hypochondria, if taken in hydromel, and the spleen if taken in vinegar and water. With hydromel again it helps the kidneys, strangury, opisthotonic tetanus, cramp, lumbago, dropsy, epilepsy, deficiency or excess in menstruation, and all affections of the uterus. With honey it draws out substances embedded in the flesh. Applied with salted axle-grease and wax ointment it heals scrofulous sores, parotid tumours, superficial abscesses, and the falling away of flesh from the bones; fractures also. Taken beforehand it keeps off the after-effects of wine, and checks looseness of the bowels. Some of our countrymen have recommended it to be gathered near the summer solstice and to be applied with rain water for all affections of the neck. Some have recorded that albugo also of the eyes is cured by using it as an amulet.

10. Some with eryngium class acanus also, a thorny, short and broad plant, with rather broad thorns. An application of it is said to be wonderfully good for checking haemorrhage.

11. Some have incorrectly thought that erynge is the same as liquorice, which therefore should come immediately after erynge in my discussion. The plant itself is undoubtedly among the spinous ones, with prickly, fleshy, gummy leaves, bushy, two cubits high, with a flower like the hyacinth, and fruit the size of the little balls of the plane tree. The finest grows in Cilicia, the next best in Pontus; it has a sweet root, the only part to be used. It is dug up at the setting of the Pleiades, and is as long as lycium root, the boxwood-coloured being superior to the dark and the pliant to the brittle. To be used as a suppository it is boiled down to one-third, for other purposes to the consistency of honey, though occasionally it is pounded, in which form it is applied to wounds and for all affections of the throat. Merely thickened and then placed under the tongue the juice is good for the voice; it is also good for the chest and liver. I have already stated that this root allays hunger and thirst, for which reason some have named it adipsos (thirst-quencher), and prescribed it for dropsy, in order to prevent thirst. Because of this property it is chewed as a mouth medicine, and it is often sprinkled on sores in the mouth and inflammatory swellings of the eyelids. It also cures irritation of the bladder, pains in the kidneys, tumours of the anus, and sores on the genitals. Some have prescribed it in a draught for quartan ague, in doses of two drachmae by weight, with pepper, to be taken in a hemina of water. Chewed, it checks the flow of blood from a wound. Some authorities have asserted that it also expels stone from the bladder.

12I. One kind of caltrop grows in gardens, the other only in rivers. From both the juice is collected to make eye medicines, for it is of a cooling nature and therefore useful for inflammations and abscesses. Mixed with honey it heals sores that break out of themselves, especially those in the mouth, and also sore tonsils. Taken in drink it breaks up stone in the bladder. The Thracians on the banks of the Strymon feed their horses on the leaves of the caltrop, themselves living on the kernel, out of which they make a very pleasant bread, and one to bind the bowels. The root, if gathered in chastity and purity, disperses scrofulous sores; the seed used as an amulet soothes painful varicose veins; pounded, moreover, and sprinkled in water it kills fleas.

13. Stoebe, which some call pheos, boiled in wine is specific for suppurating ears, as well as for black eyes. It is injected into the bowels for haemorrhage and dysentery.

14. Hippophaes grows on sandy soils and by the sea. It has pale thorns, and clusters, like those of ivy, with berries partly white and partly red. Its root is rich in a juice which is either dispensed by itself or made up into lozenges with vetch meal. An obolus by weight carries off bile, most healthfully if taken with honey wine. There is another hippophaes, consisting only of very small leaves without stem or flower. The juice of this also is wonderfully good for dropsy. They must be well suited to the constitution of horses too, and must also have received their name for this and no other reason. The fact is that certain plants are created to be remedies for the diseases of animals, the Deity being bounteous in producing protections for them, so that it is impossible to admire enough his wisdom, which arranges the aids according to the type of disease, the cause of it, and its season. Each period of the year has its own appropriate remedy, and scarcely can any be found that is without its safeguards.

15. What can be more hateful than the nettle? Yet this plant, to say nothing of the oil which I have said is made from it in Egypt, simply abounds in remedies. Nicander assures us that its seed counteracts hemlock, and also the poison of fungi and of mercury. Apollodorus says that with the broth of boiled tortoise it is good for salamander bites, and as an antidote for henbane, snake bites and scorpion stings. Moreover, its pungent bitterness itself, by the mere touch, forces to subside swollen uvulas, restoring prolapsus of the uterus, and of the anus of babies, besides waking up lethargus patients if it touches their legs or better still their forehead. The same plant with the addition of salt heals dog bites; pounded and inserted it arrests nose bleeding, the root proving even better. Mixed with salt it heals carcinoma and foul ulcers, likewise sprains, superficial abscesses, parotid abscesses and falling away of flesh from the bones. The seed taken with boiled must relieves suffocation of the uterus, and an application checks bleeding at the nose. Taken in hydromel after dinner in a dose of two oboli it makes vomiting easy, while one obolus in wine refreshes after fatigue. Uterine affections are relieved by an acetabulum of the roasted seed, and flatulence by taking it in boiled must. With honey it relieves asthma, clears the chest by the same made into an electuary, and with linseed cures pain in the side. Hyssop may be added and a little pepper. It is used as an application for the spleen; roasted and taken as food it loosens constipated bowels. Hippocrates declares that taken in drink it purges the uterus, that an acetabulum of it roasted and taken in sweet wine and applied with mallow juice relieves uterine pains, that intestinal worms are expelled if it be taken with hydromel and salt, and that a liniment made from its seed replaces disfiguring loss of hair. For affections of the joints and for gout most prescribe application of it with old oil or of the pounded leaves with bears' grease. The crushed root with vinegar is no less useful for the same purposes, and also for the spleen, and boiled in wine and mixed with old and salted axle-grease it disperses superficial abscesses. The same root dried is a depilatory. Phanias the naturalist has sung its praises, maintaining that either boiled or preserved it is a most useful food for the trachea, cough, bowel catarrh, the stomach, superficial abscesses, parotid swellings and chilblains, that with oil it is sudorific, boiled with shell-fish a laxative, that with barley-water it clears the chest and promotes menstruation, and that mixed with salt it arrests creeping sores. For the juice too a use is found. An extract applied to the forehead checks bleeding at the nose; a draught is diuretic, breaks up stone in the bladder, and used as a gargle reduces the uvula. The seed should be gathered at harvest time, that of Alexandria being most prized. For all these purposes, though the milder and tender nettles are efficacious, the well known wild variety is particularly so, and it has this further merit, when taken in wine, of removing leprous sores from the face. We are told that should an animal resist conception, its parts should be rubbed with a nettle.

16. That species of nettle which I have called lamium (dead-nettle), a very mild kind with leaves that do not sting, cures with a sprinkling of salt contusions, bruises, burns, scrofulous sores, tumours, gouty pains and wounds. The middle of the leaf is white, and cures erysipelas. Certain of our countrymen have distinguished nettles by their season, stating that the disease is cured if the root of the autumn nettle is used as an amulet for tertian ague, provided that when this root is dug up the names of the patients be uttered and it be said for what man it is taken up and who his parents are, the same method is effective in quartan agues The same authorities add that the root of the nettle with salt added, extracts bodies embedded in the flesh, that the leaves with axle-grease disperse scrofulous swellings, or, if they have suppurated, cause them to clear up and new flesh to be formed.

17. Association has given its name to the scorpion plant. For it has seed that resembles the tail of the scorpion, but only a few leaves. It has moreover power over the creature of the same name. There is also another kind, with the same name and properties, that is leafless, with the stem of asparagus, having on its head the sharp point which has given the plant its name.

18. Leucacantha, also called phyllos, ischas, or polygonatum, has a root like that of cypirus, which when chewed relieves toothache; pains also in the sides and loins, as Hicesius teaches, the seed or juice being taken in drink, and the dose being eight drachmae. The same plant is used for the cure of ruptures and convulsions.

19. Helxine, called by some perdicium (partridge plant) because partridges are particularly fond of eating it, by others sideritis, and by a few people parthenium, has leaves that resemble partly those of the plantain and partly those of horehound, stalks small, close together and reddish in colour, and, in bur-shaped heads, seeds that cling to the clothes. Hence is derived, some hold, the name helxine. The characteristics, however, of the genuine helxine I have described in the preceding book, but this helxine dyes wool, cures erysipelas, every kind of tumour or boil, burns and superficial abscesses. Its juice with white-lead cures also incipient swelling of the throat, and a draught of a cyathus cures chronic cough and all complaints in moist parts, like the tonsils; with rose oil it is good for the ears. It is also applied, with goat suet and Cyprian wax, to gouty limbs.

20. Perdieium or parthenium or, to give it yet another name, sideritis, is another plant, called by some of our countrymen urceolaris, by others astercoin. It has a leaf similar to that of basil, only darker, and it grows on tiles and among ruins. Pounded and sprinkled with a pinch of salt it cures the same diseases as dead-nettle, all of them, and is administered in the same way. The juice too taken hot is good for abscesses, and is remarkably good for convulsions,

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ruptures, bruises caused by slipping or by falling from a height, for instance, when vehicles overturn. A household slave, a favourite of Pericles, first citizen of Athens, when engaged in building the temple on the Acropolis, crawled on the top of the high roof and fell. He is said to have been cured by this plant, which in a dream was prescribed to Pericles by Minerva; therefore it began to be called parthenium, and was consecrated to that goddess. This is the slave whose portrait was cast in bronze, the famous Entrail Roaster.

21. The chamaeleon is called by some ixia. There are two kinds of it. The whiter has rougher leaves, and creeps along the ground raising its prickles as the hedgehog does his quills; it has a sweet root and a strong smell. In some districts it exudes a white viscous substance just where the leaves join the stem, especially about the time the Dog-star rises, in the way frankincense is said to form, and this is why it is also called ixia. Women use it as chewing-gum. The other name chamaeleon comes from the varied colour of its leaves; for it changes its colour with the soildark here, green there, in some places blue, in others saffron yellow, and of other colours elsewhere. A decoction of the root of the white variety cures dropsy, the dose being a drachma taken in raisin wine. Intestinal parasites also are expelled by a dose of an acetabulum of the same juice taken in a harsh wine with sprigs of wild marjoram. It is diuretic. Dogs too and pigs are killed by this juice in pearl barley with water and oil added. It attracts mice to itself, and kills them, unless they swallow water at once. Some people recommend that its root be cut up and kept suspended by cords, and be boiled in food against those fluxes which the Greeks call ρευματισμοί. Of the dark variety that with a purple flower is said by some to be the male plant, that with a violet flower the female. They grow together, with a stem a cubit high and of the thickness of a finger. Their roots, boiled with sulphur together with bitumen, cure lichen; chewed, moreover, or boiled down in vinegar, they tighten loose teeth, and the juice cures the scab in animals. It kills ticks on dogs, as well as bullocks, choking them as a quinsy does, for which reason some call it ulophonon, and it is also called, because of its offensive smell, cynozolon. These plants too produce a viscous substance, which is very good for sores. The roots too of all their kinds are an antidote to the sting of the scorpion.

22. Hartshorn is a longish plant with fissures. Sometimes it is cultivated, because its root, roasted in hot ashes, is a splendid remedy for coeliac complaints.

23. Alkanet too has a useful root, which is of the thickness of a finger. It is split into small divisions like the papyrus, and stains the hands the colour of blood; it prepares wool for costly colours. Applied in wax ointment it heals ulcerous sores, especially those of the aged, and also burns. Insoluble in water, it dissolves in oil, and this is the test of genuineness. A drachma of it is given to be taken in wine for pains in the kidneys, or if there be fever, in a decoction of behen nut; also for affections of the liver and spleen and for violent biliousness. It is applied in vinegar to leprous sores and freckles. The pounded leaves, with honey and meal, are applied to sprains, and doses of two drachmae in honey wine check looseness of the bowels. Fleas are said to be killed by a decoction of the root in water.

24. There is also another plant, which being like ilkanet is called bastard alkanet, though some call it echis or doris or by many other names; it is more downy than the other and less fleshy, the leaves are thinner and more flabby. The root in oil does not give out a red juice, by which test it is distinguished from true alkanet. The leaves or seed taken in drink are a very sure antidote to snake bite. The leaves are applied to stings and bites, and their strong smell keeps snakes away. A draught too is made from the plant for affections of the spine. The Magi recommend that a leaf of it should be gathered with the left hand, with a declaration for whom it is being taken, and used as an amulet for tertian fevers.

25. There is another plant also, the proper name of which is onochilon, called by some people anchusa, or archebion, or onochelis, or rhexia, and by many enchrysa. It has a short base, a purple flower, rough leaves and branches, a root blood-red at harvest time, though dark at other times, growing on sandy soils, an antidote to the bites of serpents, especially of vipers, both root and leaves being equally efficacious in food and in drink. Its properties are strongest at harvest time. Its leaves when pounded give out the smell of cucumber. It is given in doses of three cyathi for prolapsus of the uterus. With hyssop it also drives out tapeworms, and for pain of the kidneys or liver it is taken in hydromel, should there be fever, otherwise in wine. The root is applied locally for freckles and leprous sores. It is said that while having it on their person people are never bitten by serpents. There is also another plant similar to this, but smaller, with a red flower, which is also used for the same purposes. It is said that if this plant be chewed, and then spat out on a serpent, the serpent dies.

26. Chamomile is most highly praised by Asclepiades. Some call it white chamomile, others leucanthemum, others eranthemis, because it blossoms in spring, others ground-apple (chamemelon), because it has the smell of an apple. A few call it melanthion. Its three varieties differ only in their blossom; they are no taller than a span, with small leaves like those of rue, and with blossom that is white or apple-yellow or purple. It is gathered in spring on thin soils or near footpaths, and put by for making chaplets. At the same season physicians also make up into lozenges the pounded leaves, as well as the blossom and the root. All three are mixed and given in doses of one drachma for the bites of every kind of snake. Taken in drink they bring away the dead foetus, are emmenagogues and diuretic, as well as good for stone, flatulence, affections of the liver, for excessive secretion of bile and for fistula of the eye; chewed it heals running sores. Of all these kinds the most efficacious for stone in the bladder is that which has a purple flower, the leaves and stem of which arc of a rather larger size. Some people give the name eranthemis exclusively to this variety.

27. Those who think that the lotus is only a tree can be refuted even by the authority of Homer, who among the plants that grow up to serve the pleasure of the gods mentions the lotus first. Its leaves with honey cause to disappear scars on the eyes, films on the eyes and argema.

28. We have also the lotometra, a plant derived from the lotus. From its rotted seed, which is like millet, are made by the shepherds in Egypt loaves that they knead mostly with water or milk. It is said that no bread is more healthful or lighter than this, so long as it is warm, but when cold it becomes heavy and difficult of digestion. It is an established fact that those who live on it are never attacked by dysentery, tenesmus, or any other disease of the bowels. Accordingly it is considered to be one of the remedies for such ailments.

29. I have spoken more than once of the marvel of heliotropium, which turns round with the sun even on a cloudy day, so great a love it has for that, luminary. At night it closes its blue flower as though it mourned. There are two varietiestricoccum and helioscopium. The latter is the taller, although neither is more than half a foot in height, and sends out branches from a single root. Its seed, enclosed in a pod, is gathered at harvest time. It grows nowhere but in a rich, well cultivated soil, but tricoccum grows everywhere. I find it said that, boiled, it is an agreeable sauce, that in milk it is a gentle laxative, and that a draught of the decoction is a most drastic purge. The juice of the taller plant is collected in summer at the sixth hour; it is mixed with wine, which makes it keep longer. Mixed with rose oil it relieves headache. The juice from the leaf, with salt added, takes away warts; or which reason our countrymen have called it wart plant, although it is more worthy to have a name derived from its other properties. For taken in wine or hydromel it counteracts the poison of snakes and scorpions, according to the statements of Apollophanes and Apollodorus. An application of the leaves cures the infantile catarrhs that are called siriasis, and also convulsions, even though caused by epilepsy. It is very healthful, too, to wash out the mouth with a decoction. A draught of the same expels tape-worms and gravel; if cummin be added, it breaks up stone. A decoction should include the root, which with leaves and he-goat suet is applied to gouty limbs. The other kind, called by us tucoccum and having the further name of scorpiuron, has leaves which not only are smaller but also turn towards the ground. Its seed is shaped like a scorpion's tail, which accounts for its name. An application is of great efficacy against the poison of all venomous animals and spiders, but especially against that of scorpions. Those carrying it are never stung, and if with a sprig of heliotropium a circle be drawn on the ground round a scorpion, it is said that it never moves out, and moreover, that if the plant is put on a scorpion, or if a scorpion merely be sprinkled with the wet plant, it dies at once. Four grains of the seed taken in drink are said to be good for quartan ague, three grains however for tertian, or the plant itself may be carried three times round the patient and then placed under his head. The seed is also aphrodisiac, mixed with honey it disperses superficial abscesses. This heliotropium at any rate draws warts out by the root, as well as growths in the seat. Corrupt blood also about the spine or in the loins is withdrawn by an application of the seed, and by a draught or decoction of it in chicken broth, or with beet and lentils. The husk of the seed restores the natural colour to livid patches. The Magi recommend that the patient himself should tie on himself heliotropium, four pieces if the ague be quartan and three if it be tertian, and to say in prayer that he will untie the knots only when the fever has left him, and to lie in bed without taking the plant off.

30. Maidenhair too is remarkable, but in other ways. It is green in summer without fading in winter; it rejects water; sprinkled or dipped it is just like a dry plantso great is the antipathy manifestedwhence too comes the name given by the Greeks to what in other respects is a shrub for ornamental gardens. Some call it lovely hair or thick hair, both names being derived from its properties. For it dyes the hair, for which purpose a decoction is made in wine with celery seed added and plenty of oil, in order to make it grow curly and thick; moreover it prevents hair from falling out. There are two kinds: one is whiter than the other, which is dark and shorter. The larger kind, thick hair, is called by some trichomanes. Both have sprigs of a shiny black, with leaves like those of fern, of which the lower are rough and tawny, but all grow from opposite footstalks, close set and facing each other; there is no root. It is mostly found on shaded rocks, walls wet with spray, especially the grottoes of fountains, and on boulders streaming with waterstrange places for a plant that is unaffected by water! It is remarkably good for expelling stones from the bladder, breaking them up, the dark kind does so at any rate. This, I am inclined to believe, is the reason why it is called saxifrage (stone-breaker) rather than because it grows on stones. It is taken in wine, the dose being what can be plucked with three fingers. Diuretic, the maidenhairs counteract the venom of snakes and spiders; a decoction in wine checks looseness of the bowels; a chaplet made out of them relieves headache. An application of them is good for scolopendra stings, though it must be taken off repeatedly for fear of burns. The same treatment applies to fox-mange also. They disperse scrofulous sores, scurf on the face and running sores on the head. A decoction of them is beneficial for asthma, liver, spleen, violent biliousness and dropsy. With wormwood an application of them is used in strangury and to help the kidneys. They promote the afterbirth and menstruation. Taken in vinegar or blackberry juice they check haemorrhage. Sore places too on babies are treated by an ointment of maidenhair with rose oil, wine being applied first. The leaves steeped in the urine of a boy [or girl] not yet adolescent, if they be pounded with saltpetre and applied to the abdomen of women, prevent the formation of wrinkles. It is thought that partridges and cockerels become better fighters if maidenhair be added to their food, and it is very good for cattle.

31. Picris is so called because of its remarkable bitterness, as I have already stated, and has a round leaf. It is excellent for the removal of warts. Thesium too is of a like bitterness, but is a strong purgative, for which use it is pounded in water.

32. Asphodel is one of the most famous plants, so that some have styled it the plant of the heroes; Hesiod said that it also grows in woods, Dionysius that it may be male or female. It is agreed that its bulbs boiled down with barley water are very suitable for wasting bodies and consumptives, and that kneaded with meal they make a very wholesome bread. Nicander too prescribed for the poison of snakes and scorpions either the stalk which I have called anthericum, or the seed, or the bulbs, the dose being three drachmae taken in wine, and he would have them spread under the sleeping place, should there be any fear of venomous creatures. It is also prescribed for poisoning by sea creatures and by land scolopendras. It is strange how in Campania the snails seek its stalk and by sucking shrivel it up. The leaves too in wine are applied to the wounds of venomous creatures. The bulbs are pounded and applied with pearl barley to the sinews and joints. It is a good plan to chop them up and to rub in with them in vinegar; also to put them in water on putrescent sores, and on inflammations too of the breasts and testicles. Boiled down in lees of wine and dabbed on from below with a piece of lint, they cure fluxes of the eyes. In nearly every disease the bulbs are usually boiled before use, but for foul sores on the shins, and for cracks in any part of the body they are dried and reduced to powder. Autumn is the time they are gathered, when their power is at its best. The juice also extracted from crushed or boiled bulbs is, mixed with honey, good for an aching body; and the same, with dried iris and a little salt, helps those who are nicely particular about the odour of their persons. The leaves, boiled down in wine, cure both the complaints mentioned above and also scrofulous swellings, superficial abscesses and sores on the face. The ashes of the root are a remedy for fox-mange and for cracks on the feet or seat, and the juice of the root boiled in oil for chilblains and bums. This is poured into the ears for deafness, and for toothache into the ear opposite to the pain. A moderate dose, one drachma, of the root, taken in wine, is diuretic and an emmenagogue, besides being good for pain in the side, ruptures, convulsions and coughs. Chewing the root acts as an emetic; the seed if taken internally disturbs the bowels. Chrysermus treated parotid abscesses also by a decoction of the root in wine, and scrofulous swellings by the decoction added to cachry in wine. Some say that if, after applying the root, a part of it be hung in the smoke and not taken down before the fourth day, as the root dries up the scrofulous swelling subsides. Diocles used the root for gouty conditions in either way, boiled or raw, and for chilblains a decoction in oil. He prescribed it in wine for violent biliousness and for dropsy. It has also been held that it is aphrodisiac if, with wine and honey, it is used as an ointment or taken as a medicine. Xenocrates also says that a decoction of the root in vinegar removes lichen, itchscab and leprous sores, further that dried and mixed with henbane and melted pitch it does the same for unpleasant odour from armpits and thighs, and that the hair grows again more curly if the scalp be first shaved and then rubbed with this root; Simos says that a draught of the decoction in wine removes stone of the kidneys. Hippocrates holds that for attacks of the spleen it should be given in the form of seed. When beasts of burden too have sores or itch-scab, an application of the root or of a decoction

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of it restores the hair that has been lost. The root keeps away mice, which also die if their holes be closed up with it.

33. Some have thought that Hesiod means halimon when he speaks of asphodel, but this view I think is wrong. For halimon is a separate plant with a name of its own, which itself has been the cause of no small confusion among our authorities. For some describe it as a thick shrub, pale, free from thorns, with the leaves of an olive, only softer, saying that these are boiled to be used as food, and that the root, taken in hydromel, the dose being a drachma by weight, is good for colic, and also for ruptures and convulsions. Others have said that it is a salty vegetable of the seashore (hence its name), with long, rounded leaves, and highly esteemed as a food. They add that of the two kinds, wild and cultivated, both are good, taken with bread, for dysentery, even with ulceration, and also, in vinegar, for the stomach; that it is applied raw to chronic ulcers, soothes the smart of recent wounds and of sprained ankles, as well as pains of the bladder; that the wild kind has thinner leaves, but greater effects when used for the same purposes as the other, and in healing itch in both man and beast; moreover that the skin becomes clearer and the teeth whiter, its root be used to rub them with, and thirst is not felt by those who put the seed under their tongue; that this kind too is chewed, and both kinds preserved as well. Crateuas has mentioned a third kind also, with longer and more hairy leaves and the smell of cypress, as growing chiefly under ivy and being good for opisthotonic tetanus and cramp, the dose being three oboli to a sextarius of water.

34. There are two kinds of acanthus, a plant of the ornamental garden and of the city, which has a broad, long leaf, and covers the banks of borders and the flat tops of the raised portions of gardens. One is thorny and curled, which is the shorter; the other is smooth, and is called by some paederos, by others melamphyllum. Its roots are wonderfully good for burns, sprains, ruptures, convulsions, and those threatened with consumption; for which reason they are boiled for food, mostly in barley water. For gouty limbs too they are applied, pounded and hot.

35. Bupleuron is considered by the Greeks to be among the vegetables growing wild. It has a stem a cubit high, many and long leaves, and the head of dill. Hippocrates recommends it as a food, Glauco and Nicander as a medicine. Its seed counteracts the poison of serpents. The leaves or the juice they apply in wine for the removal of the afterbirth, and the leaves with salt and wine for scrofulous swellings. Its root is given in wine for snake bites and as a diuretic.

36. Buprestis the Greeks with great inconsistency went to the length of including among their praised foods, and yet they prescribed correctives of it as though it were poison, and the mere name implies that it is poison to oxen at any rate, which it is allowed burst when they taste it. Wherefore it is one of the plants about which I shall not speak at length. Is there indeed a reason why I should describe poisons when dealing with grass crowns, unless there be someone who thinks that for the sake of lust buprestis is desirable, which taken in drink is the most potent aphrodisiac known?

37. Elaphoboscon (wild parsnip) is a plant like fennel-giant, with a jointed stem of the thickness of a finger, the seed in clusters hanging down like hartwort, but not bitter, and with the leaves of olusatrum. This too has been praised as a foodin fact it is even preserved for future usebeing good as a diuretic, for soothing pains in the side, for curing ruptures and spasms, for dispersing flatulence and colic, and for the wounds of snakes and of all stinging creaturesin fact report has it that deer by eating it fortify themselves against snakes. Fistulas too are cured by the application of the root with saltpetre added, but when used in this way it must first be dried, so that it may not be soaking with its own juice, although the latter does not impair its efficacy as a remedy for snake bites.

38. Scandix (chervil) too is classed by the Greeks as a wild vegetable, as Ophion and Erasistratus report. A decoction of it too tones up loose bowels, its seed in vinegar immediately checks hiccough. It is applied to burns and is diuretic. The juice of the decoction is good for stomach, liver, kidneys, and bladder. This is the plant that Aristophanes uses to poke fun at the poet Euripides, implying that his mother had not been a seller of even proper vegetables, but only of scandix. It would be the same sort of plant as enthryscurn, were its leaves thinner and more fragrant. Its special merit is that it gives strength to a body exhausted by sexual indulgence, and revives sexual virility when flagging through old age. It checks leucorrhoea in women.

39. Iasine (bindweed?) too is considered to be a wild vegetable. It creeps on the ground, is full of milky juice, and bears a white flower called conchylium. This plant too has the same merit of exciting to sexual intercourse. Eaten raw in vinegar with food it brings also a rich supply of milk to nursing mothers. It is health-giving to those suffering from consumption. Applied to the head of babies it makes the hair grow, and the scalp more retentive of it.

40. Caucalis too is edible, a plant like fennel, with a short stem and a white flower. It is good for the heart; its juice too is taken as a draught, being especially good for the stomach and urine, for expelling stone and gravel, and for irritation of the bladder. It alleviates also catarrhs of the spleen, liver and kidneys. The seed promotes menstruation, and dries up bilious secretions after childbirth. It is also prescribed for seminal fluxes in men. Chrysippus is also of opinion that it greatly helps conception. It is taken in wine fasting. It is also applied to the wounds caused by poisonous sea creatures, as Petrichus points out in his poem.

41. With these is also classed sium, broader than celery, growing in water, rather thick and dark, with an abundance of seed and the taste of cress. It is good for the urine, kidneys, spleen, and for menstruation, whether it is taken as food, just as it is, or in the form of a decoction, or the seed may be given with wine, the dose being two drachmae. It breaks up stone, and neutralizes the water that causes them. An infusion is good for dysentery, and a liniment of it for freckles. An application at night removes spots from women's faces, while made into ointment it clears the skin, soothes hernia, and is a good dressing for scab in horses.

42. Syllibus, a plant like white chamaeleon, and equally prickly, is not thought to be worth boiling even in Cilicia or Syria or Phoenicia, the places where it grows, so troublesome is the cooking of it said to be. As a medicine it is of no use at all.

43. Scolymus too has been adopted as a food in the East, where it has the further name of limonia. It is a shrub never more than a cubit high, with tufts of leaves and a dark but sweet root; Eratosthenes too praises it as a valuable food for those of moderate means. It is said to be highly diuretic, to cure lichen and leprons sores when applied in vinegar, and according to Hesiod and Alcaens, to be an aphrodisiac when taken in wine. They have written that when it is in blossom the song of the cricket is shrillest, women are most amorous and men most backward in sexual unions, as though it were through Nature's providence that this stimulant is at its best when badly needed. Offensive odour from the armpits is corrected by an ounce of the root, without the pith, in three heminae of Falernian wine boiled down to one third, to be taken fasting after the bath and again after food, the dose being a cyathus at a time. Xenocrates assures us of a remarkable thing, that he has proved by experiment, that the offensive smell passes off from the armpits by way of the urine.

44. Sow-thistle too is edibleat any rate. Callimachus makes Hecale set it before Theseusboth the pale kind and the dark. Both are like lettuce, except that they are prickly, with a stem a cubit high, angular and hollow inside, which on being broken streams with a milky juice. The pale kind, which shines because of the milk in it, is good for asthma if taken with salad-dressing as is lettuce. Erasistratus informs us that it carries away stone in the urine, and that to chew it purifies foul breath. Three cyathi of the juice warmed in white wine and oil aid delivery, but the expectant mother must take a walk immediately after drinking it; it is also given in broth. A decoction of the stem itself makes the milk abundant in nurses and improves the complexion of the babies, being very useful to those women who are subject to curdling their milk. The juice is injected into the ears, and a cyathus of it is drunk warm for strangury, for gnawing pains of the stomach with cucumber seed and pine nuts. It is used also externally for abscesses at the anus. It is taken in drink for the poison of snakes and scorpions, but the root is used as an external application. Boiled in oil and in the skin of a pomegranate the root is also a remedy for complaints of the ears. All these preparations must be made from the white kind. Cleemporus says that the dark kind must not be eaten, because it causes diseases, but he agrees to the use of the white. Agathocles asserts that its juice counteracts even the poison of bull's blood, yet since it is agreed that the dark kind has cooling properties, pearl barley must therefore be added to the application. Zeno recommends the root of the white kind for strangury.

45. Condrion or condrille has leaves like those of endive, eaten away as it were round the edges, a stem less than a foot and moist with a bitter juice, and a root like a bean, occasionally manifold. Next to the ground it grows a gum, an excrescence the size of a bean, a pessary of which is said to promote menstruation. The whole with the roots is pounded and divided into lozenges as an antidote for snakebites, for which treatment good reason can be adduced, for field mice wounded by snakes are said to eat it. A decoction of the plant in wine checks looseness of the bowels. The same makes an excellent substitute for gum to keep the eyelashes tidy, however disordered these may be. Dorotheus declares in his verses that it is good for the stomach and the digestion. For the rest, it has been supposed to be bad for women, for the eyes, and for the virility of men.

46. Among the things which it is rash to eat I would include mushrooms, as although they make choice eating they have been brought into disrepute by a glaring instance of murder, being the means used to poison the Emperor Tiberius Claudius by his wife Agrippina, in doing which she bestowed upon the world, and upon herself in particular, yet another poisonher own son Nero. Some of the poisonous mushrooms are easily recognized by their being of a pale-red colour, of a putrid appearance and of a leaden hue inside; the furrows of the striated parts are mere chinks, with a pale rim all round the edge. Not all the poisonous kinds are like this, and there is a dry sort, similar to the genuine mushroom, which shows as it were white drops on the top, standing out of its outer coat. The earth in fact produces first a matrix for this purpose, and afterwards the mushroom itself in the matrix, like the yoke inside the egg; and the baby mushroom is just as fond of eating its coat as is the chick. The coat cracks when the mushroom first forms; presently, as the mushroom gets bigger, the coat is absorbed into the body of the foot-stalk, two heads rarely ever springing from one foot. The first origin and cause of mushrooms is the slime and the souring juice of the damp ground, or often of the root of acorn-bearing trees, and at first is flimsier than froth, then it grows substantial like parchment, and then the mushroom, as I have said, is born. How chancy a matter it is to test these deadly plants! If a boot nail, a piece of rusty iron, or a rotten rag was near when the mushroom started to grow, it at once absorbs and turns into poison all the moisture and flavour from this foreign substance. Who can be trusted to have detected the affected specimens except country-folk and those who actually gather them? Other infections even these cannot detect; for instance, if the hole of a serpent has been near the mushroom, or should a serpent have breathed on it as it first opened, its kinship to poisons makes it capable of absorbing the venom. So it would be well not to eat mushrooms until the serpent has begun to hibernate. Indications of this will be given by the many plants, trees, and shrubs, that are always green from the time that the serpent comes out from his hole to the time that he buries himself in it; or even the ash tree will serve, whose leaves do not grow after, nor fall before, the hibernating period. And of mushrooms indeed the whole life from beginning to end is not more than seven days.

47. The texture of fungi is rather flabby, and there are several kinds of them, all derived only from the gum that exudes from trees. The safest have firm red flesh less pale than that of the mushroom; next comes the white kind, the stalk of which is distinguished by its enduing in a kind of flamen's cap; a third kind, hog fungi, are very well adapted for poisoning. Recently they have carried off whole households and all the guests at banquets; Annaeus Serenus, for instance, Captain of Nero's Guards, with the tribunes and centurions. What great pleasure can there be in such a risky food? Some have classified fungi according to the kind of tree on which they grow, one class including those growing on the fig, fennel-giant, and the gum-exuding trees; inedible, as I have said, are those on the yew, the robur and the cypress. But who guarantees such things in the market? They all have a leaden colour. This will give an indication of poison, the closer it approximates to that of the bark of the tree. I have pointed out remedies for these poisonous fungi and shall do so again later on; in the meantime let me say that even this plant produces some remedies. Glaucias considers that mushrooms are good for the stomach. Hog fungi are hung up to dry, skewered on a rush as we see them come from Bithynia. These they use as a remedy for the fluxes of the belly that are called bowel catarrh, and for fleshy growths on the anus, which they reduce and in time cause to disappear; they do the like to freckles and spots on women's faces. They are also steeped in water, as lead is, to make an application for diseases of the eyes. They are applied to septic sores and to rashes on the head, and in water to dog bites. I should like also to give some pieces of advice about cooking all kinds of mushrooms, since they are the only kind of food that exquisites prepare with their own hands, feeding on them in anticipation, and handling amber knives and equipment of silver. Those I fungi will be poisonous which become harder in cooking; comparatively harmless will be those that are cooked with some soda addedat any rate if they are thoroughly cooked. They become safer when cooked with meat, or with pear stalks. Pears too are good to take immediately after them. The nature of vinegar too is opposed to them and neutralizes any poisonous action.

48. All these fungus growths spring up with showers, and silphium too, as has been mentioned, first grew with a shower. At the present day it is imported chiefly from Syria, this Syrian silphium being not so good as the Parthian, though better than the Median; the silphinm of Cyrene, as I have said, is now wholly extinct. The leaves of silphium are used in medicine to purge the uterus and to bring away the dead unborn baby; a decoction of them is made in white, aromatic wine, to be drunk after the bath in doses of one acetabulum. The root is good for soreness of the windpipe, and is applied to collections of extravasated blood; but it is hard to digest when taken as food, causing flatulence and belchings. It is injurious to the passing of urine, but with wine and oil most beneficial for bruises, and with wax for scrofulous swellings. Warts in the seat fall off if fumigated with it several times.

49. Laser, which is distilled from silphium in the way I have said, being reckoned one of the most precious gifts of Nature, is used as an ingredient in very many medical prescriptions; but by itself it warms after chills, and taken in drink it alleviates affections of the sinews. In wine it is given to women, and on soft wool is used as a pessary to promote menstruation.

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Mixed with wax it extracts corns from the feet after they have been cut round with the knife. A piece the size of a chick-pea, diluted, is diuretic. Andreas assures us that, though taken in copious doses, it causes no flatulence, and is a great aid to digestion for the aged and for women; also that it is more beneficial in winter than in summer, and even then more so b to teetotalers. Care, however, must be taken that there be no internal ulceration. Taken in the food it is a great help in convalescence; for given at the right time it possesses all the qualities of a caustic medicine, being even more beneficial to those accustomed to it than to those unfamiliar with it. Its employment externally provides sure proofs of its healing power. Taken in drink it neutralizes the poisons of weapons and of serpents; it is applied in water around such wounds, only for the stings of scorpions is oil added. For sores not yet coming to a head it is applied with barley meal or dried fig, for carbuncles with rue, or with honey, or by itself, smeared over with some sticky substance to make it adhere, and, similarly prepared, for dog bites; a decoction in vinegar with the rind of the pomegranate for growths around the anus; for corns commonly known as mortified corns some soda must be mixed with the laser. Mange should be first thoroughly treated with soda, and then the hair is restored by an application with wine, saffron or pepper, mouse dung, and vinegar. Chilblains are treated by fomentations of it with wine and by applications of the decoction in oil. It is used in like manner for callosities, and for corns on the feet, which must first be pared down. It is of especial value against bad waters, unhealthy districts or unhealthy weather, and is used for cough, affections of the uvula, chronic biliousness, dropsy, and hoarseness; for immediately clearing the throat it restores the voice. Diluted with vinegar and water and applied with a sponge it soothes gouty limbs. It is given in gruel to patients with pleurisy who are going to drink wine, and in pills the size of a chick pea, coated with wax, to sufferers from cramp and tetanus. For quinsy it is used as a gargle; for wheezing and chronic cough it is given with leek in vinegar, and with vinegar to those who have swallowed curdled milk. With wine it is given for tubercular affections of the hypochondria and for epilepsy, in hydromel for paralysis of the tongue. Boiled down with honey it is used as liniment for sciatica and lumbago. I should not approve of the advice of the authorities, who say that an aching hollow tooth should be plugged with a stopping of laser and wax, because of the startling proof provided by the man who, as a result of this, threw himself down from a height. The truth is that it enrages bulls to have their muzzles rubbed with it, and mixed with wine it makes serpents burst, so very greedy are they for the wine. For this reason I should not advise the teeth to be cleaned with it, although it is recommended to do so with laser and Attic honey. The uses of laser mixed with other ingredients it would be an endless task to record, and I am dealing with remedies each of one substance for in these their essential nature is manifest. In compounds, however, there is usually risk of misleading guessing, for nobody is sufficiently careful, in making mixtures, to observe the sympathies and antipathies of the essential natures of the ingredients. I shall go more into detail later.

50. The value of honey in popular esteem would be no less than that of laser, were not honey produced everywhere. Granted that Nature herself created the one, she yet created an insect, as I have said, to make the other for countless uses, if we try to reckon the compounds of which it is an ingredient. First there is bee-glue in the hives, about which I have spoken; it extracts stings and all substances embedded in the flesh, reduces swellings, softens indurations, soothes pains of the sinews, and heals sores when it seems hopeless for them to mend. Honey itself has a nature that prevents a body from decaying, with a pleasant and not harsh taste, essentially different from salt, very good for the throat, tonsils, quinsy, all complaints of the mouth, and for tongues parched by fever; moreover, the decoction is excellent for pneumonia and pleurisy, while for wounds, snake bites, poisons, fungi and paralysis, it is prescribed in honey wine, although that has peculiar virtues of its own. Honey and rose oil are injected into the ears, and kill nits and offensive parasites on the head. Honey is improved by being skimmed, but it causes flatulence, biliousness and nausea; some think it of itself injurious to the eyes, though there are others on the other hand who recommend that ulcers in the corners be touched with honey. How honey is produced, the different kinds of it, the countries famous for it and the signs of its value, I discussed when treating of the nature of bees and again when I came to flowers, since the plan of my work necessitated the division of things that have to be afterwards combined again by those who wish to learn thoroughly the works of Nature.

51. In dealing with the benefits of honey I must include those of hydromel. There are two kinds of it: one is made for the occasion and used fresh, and the other is the matured. Occasional hydromel, made from skimmed honey, is extremely useful as an ingredient of the light diet of invalids (that is strained wheat) for restoring the strength, for soothing the mouth and stomach, and for cooling feverish heat. For it is cold hydromel that is better to be given for loosening the bowels. My authorities state that it should be given to drink to persons subject to chill, and also to those of a poor, weak spirit, whom the same authorities called μικρόψυχοι in harmony with the very ingenious theory that had its origin in Plato. This says that the atoms of things, being smooth or rough, angular or round, are accordingly more or less adapted to the nature of different individuals, and that therefore the same things are not bitter or sweet to everybody; and so, when we are tired or thirsty we are more prone to anger. Therefore also this roughness of the mind, or rather I should say of the soul, is made smoother by a sweeter flavour, which soothes the windpipe and makes more gentle the passage of the breath, so that neither inhalation nor exhalation is violently broken. Each of us may make trial for himself. There is no one who does not find that by food can be softened his anger, grief, sadness, and every violent emotion of the mind. Accordingly I must take notice not only of things which give healing to our bodies, but also of those which heal our character.

52. Hydromel is also said to be useful for coughs, but when warmed it provokes vomiting. With oil it is beneficial in eases of white-lead poisoning, also with milk, especially asses' milk, for henbane, and, as I have said, for poisoning by halicacabum. It is poured into the ears, and into fistulas of the genitals. It is applied with soft bread to the uterus, to sudden swellings, to sprains and to all complaints needing soothing treatment. The use of matured hydromel has been condemned by recent authorities as being less harmless than water and keeping less well than wine. When however it has been kept for a long time, it turns into a wine which, as all are agreed, is most injurious to the stomach and bad for the sinews.

53. The best honey wine is always made with old wine, it and honey combining very easily, which never happens when the wine is sweet. Made out of dry wine it causes no flatulence in the stomach, nor does it do so when the honey is boiled, and the usual inconvenience with honey wine, a sense of fullness, is not experienced. It also revives a failing appetite. Drunk cold it relaxes the bowels; taken warm it binds them in most cases, and puts on flesh. Many have lived to a very great age on no other food but a mash made with honey wine, as in the well-known case of Pollio Itomilius. He was more than a century old when Augustus, now in Heaven, who was his host, asked him what was the chief means whereby he had kept such vigour of mind and body. His reply was: 'By honey wine within and by oil without.' Varro relates that the rainbow disease (jaundice) has been styled the royal disease because it is treated with the royal drink of honey wine.

54. How melitites used to be made out of must and honey I have set out in my account of wine. I believe that this kind of honey has not been made now for generations, so liable was it to cause flatulence. When well matured, however, it used to be given in fever because of its action on the bowels, and also to sufferers from gout and from feebleness of the sinews, and to women who are teetotallers.

55. Honey is by nature closely related to wax, the source of which, its virtues, and the districts that produce it, I have discussed in the proper places. All wax however is emollient, warming, and restorative of flesh; the fresher it is the better. It is given to sufferers from dysentery in their gruel, and the whole comb in a porridge of groats that has been previously roasted. Wax and milk are of opposite natures, and ten pills of wax, of the size of a grain of millet will, if swallowed, prevent milk curdling in the stomach. Should the groin swell, the application of white wax to the pubes is a remedy.

56. The uses that wax can be put to in combination with other substances would more than fill a pharmacopoeia, and the same is true of other materials that combine usefully with others. These, as I have said, are due to man's ingenuity. Wax salves, poultices, plasters, eye-salves, antidotes, were not made by the divine Mother who created the Universe: they are the inventions of the laboratory, or more correctly of human greed. Nature indeed brings forth her works absolutely perfect; a few ingredients arc chosen a with a purpose, not by guesswork, so that dry substances may be modified by some fluid to facilitate their passage, or moist things by a more substantial body to give the required consistency. But for a man to weigh out, scruple by scruple, the active ingredients that he gathers together and blends, is not human guesswork but human impudence. I myself shall not touch upon drugs imported from India and Arabia or from the outer world. Ingredients that grow so far away are unsatisfactory for remedies; they are not produced for us, nay, not even for the natives who in that case would not sell them. Let them be bought if you like to make perfumes, unguents and luxuries, or even in the name of religion, for we worship the gods with frankincense and costmary. But health I shall prove to be independent of such drugs, if only to make luxury all the more ashamed of itself.

57. But having discussed medicines from flowers, garland and garden, as well as herbs which are chewed, how can I possibly omit medicines from cereals? Indeed it would be fitting to mention these as well. In the first place it is a well known fact that those animals that feed on grain are the most intelligent. Grains of common wheat well roasted and then crushed, applied in Aminean wine to the eyes soothe fluxes; moreover, well roasted on an iron plate grains of naked wheat are a quick remedy for frostbite. The flour of naked wheat boiled in vinegar is good for cramp; the bran moreover and rose oil, dried figs and sebesten plums, all boiled down, make a good gargle for tonsils and throat. Sextus Pomponius, father of a man who was praetor, himself the most distinguished man in Nearer Spain, was superintending the winnowing in his barns when he was seized with the pains of gout. Burying himself above his knees into the wheat he was relieved of the pain, and the water in his feet dried up in a wonderful way, so that afterwards he adopted this procedure as a remedy. The absorbent power of wheat is so great that it dries up casks full of liquid. Experienced authorities also prescribe the chaff of wheat or barley to be applied warm for hernia, and the water in which it has been boiled to be used for fomentations. There is to be found in emmer-wheat a little worm like the woodworm. If this be plugged with wax into the hollow of a decayed tooth, it is said that the tooth comes out, or even if the affected part be rubbed with it. Olyra (two-grained wheat) is, as I have said, also called arinca. With a decoction of it a medicine is made which the Egyptians call athera, very beneficial for babies, though adults too use it as a liniment.

58. Barley meal, both raw and boiled, disperses abscesses and inflamed gatherings; it softens them and brings them to a head. At other times a decoction of it is made in hydromel or with dried figs, but for pains in the liver, when pus needs to be matured, it should be decocted in wine; when there is difficulty in deciding whether maturing or dispersal is necessary, then it is better for the decoction to be in vinegar, in lees of vinegar, or in boiled down quinces or pears. It is used with honey for multipede stings, in vinegar for snake bites and to stop suppuration, but for bringing away suppurating matter with diluted vinegar to which Gallic resin has been added. For maturing of abscesses, however, and for chronic sores it must be used with resin, for indurations with pigeons' dung or dried fig or ashes, for inflammations of the sinews or of the intestines or pains in the sides with poppies or melilot, and also when the flesh falls away from the bones, for scrofulous swellings with pitch and the urine of a boy below the age of puberty added to oil. With fenugreek it is prescribed for swellings of the hypochondria, and for fevers with honey or stale fat. For suppurations wheat flour is much more soothing. To sinews it is applied with juice of henbane, for freckles, in vinegar and honey. Meal of emmer-wheat, out of which as I have said alica is made, seems to be more efficacious even than barley meal, the three-month variety being the more soothing. It is used warm, in red wine, for the stings of scorpions, spitting of blood, and for tracheal affections. For a cough, goat-suet or butter is added. Fenugreek meal, the most soothing of all, boiled with wine and soda, cures running sores and scurf on the body, stomach ache, and affections of the feet and of the breasts. Darnel meal clears up chronic ulcers and gangrenes more than do the other kinds; for lichens radishes, salt and vinegar must be added, for leprous sores native sulphur, and for headache it should be applied with goose-grease to the forehead. Boiled in wine, with pigeons' dung and linseed, it matures scrofulous swellings and superficial abscesses.

59. About the various kinds of pearl barley I have said enough in the discussion of cereals. Physicians are of opinion that its difference from barley meal is due to its being roasted, which makes it wholesome for the stomach, it cheeks looseness of the bowels and inflamed swellings. Combined with mint or other cooling herb it is applied to sore eyes and aching heads, as well as to chilblains and to snake wounds, while for burns it is applied in wine, and it also checks pustules.

60. Flour reduced to fine powder has the power of drawing out moisture to such an extent that it extracts blood from bloodshot areas, even to soaking the bandages; if boiled must be added the application is still more efficacious. It is put on callosities and corns on the feet. But when boiled with old oil and pitch, and applied as hot as possible, fine flour is wonderful treatment for eondyloma and all other affections of the anus. Made into pottage it puts on flesh. The flour with which papyrus sheets are stuck together is effectively given in lukewarm drink to those who suffer from spitting of blood.

61. Alica is peculiarly Roman, and a discovery of recent date, or the Greeks would not have sung the praises of barley water in preference. It was in my opinion not yet used in the age of Pompey the Great, and for that reason scarcely anything about it has been written by the school of Asclepiades. Its extreme usefulness nobody doubts, whether it is given in hydromel after straining or boiled down to gruel or to thick pottage. For arresting looseness of the bowels alica is roasted, and then honeycomb wax is cooked with it, as I have said above. It is however specially useful for those who by long illness have been reduced to a consumptive condition; the dose is three cyathi put into a sextarius of water and gradually boiled down until all the water has evaporated, when a sextarius of sheep's or goats' milk is added, and the mixture taken daily; after a while honey also is added. By a course of this gruel decline is arrested.

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62. Common millet checks looseness of the common bowels and removes gripings, for which purposes it is first roasted. For pains of the sinews, and for other pains it is applied hot in a bag. No other application is more useful, for it is very light, very soothing and very retentive of heat. Accordingly it is much used in all cases where the application of heat is likely to prove beneficial. Millet meal and liquid pitch are applied to the wounds inflicted by snakes and multipedes.

63. Italian millet was called by the physician Diocles the honey of cereals. It produces the same results as common millet. Taken in wine it is good for dysentery. In like form it is applied hot where warm fomentations are called for. Looseness of the bowels is checked if a decoction in goats' milk is taken twice a day. In this form it is also good for gripings.

64. Sesame ground and taken in wine checks vomiting. It is applied to inflammation of the ears and to bums. It has the same effect even while it is in the blade. For this reason it is more copiously applied, decocted in wine, to the eyes. As a food it is injurious to the stomach and causes the breath to smell offensive. It neutralizes the bites of the gecko, and is beneficial to the sores known as malignant the oil made from it, as I have said, is good for the ears. Sesamoides has received its name from its likeness to sesame; it has a smaller leaf, and the grain is bitter. It grows on gravelly soils. Taken in water, it carries away bile. The seed is used as an application for erysipelas, and it disperses superficial abscesses.

There is also another sesamoides, which grows at Antieyra, and is therefore called by some Anticyricon. It has the seed of sesame, but in other respects is like the plant erigeron, about which I shall speak in the proper place. A three-finger pinch is given in sweet wine as a purge. There they mix with it also one and a half oboli of white hellebore, administering it principally as a purgative for melancholic madness, epilepsy and gouty pains. Taken by itself too in doses of one drachma it empties the bowels.

65. The best barley is the whitest. The juice from a rainwater decoction is worked up into lozenges to be used as suppositories for ulcerations of the intestines and of the uterus. Barley ash is applied to bums, to flesh that comes away from the bones, for eruptions of phlegm and for bites of the shrewmouse. The same added to honey and a sprinkling of salt makes the teeth white and the breath smell sweet. It is said that those who use barley bread never suffer from gout in the feet. They also say that, if a man, taking nine grains of barley, trace three times with each of them a circle round a boil, using the left hand, and then throw all the grains into the fire, the boil heals at once. There is also a plant, called phoenicea by the Greeks and mouse barley by our countrymen. This pounded and taken in wine is an excellent emmenagogue.

66. To ptisan, which is prepared from barley, Hippocrates devoted a whole volume, lavishing on it praises which today are all given instead to alica, a far more wholesome preparation. Hippocrates however praises ptisan for its merits as a broth, because (as he says) being lubricant it is easily swallowed, quenches thirst, does not swell in the belly, is easily evacuated, and is the only food that can be given twice a day to those fever patients who are in the habit of taking two meals, so different is Hippocrates from those, who treat their patients with a starvation diet. However he forbids the broth to be swallowed whole, or any part of it other than the juice; he says also that it must never be given so long as the feet are cold; indeed that then no drink of any kind should be given. Ptisan can also be made from wheat, when it is more viscous and more beneficial to an ulcerated trachea.

67. Starch dulls the eyes, and is injurious to the throat, though that is not the general belief. It also checks loose bowels, arrests fluxes from the eyes, healing ulcerations of them as well as pustules and flows of blood. It softens hard eyelids. With egg it is given to those who have spit blood; in pain of the bladder moreover half an ounce of starch with egg and three egg-shells of raisin wine are given lukewarm after the bath. Moreover, oatmeal boiled in vinegar removes moles.

68. The very bread which forms our staple diet has almost innumerable medicinal properties. Applied in water and oil or in rose oil it softens abscesses; in hydromel it is very soothing to indurations. In wine it is given to disperse or to compress as need may be, and, if greater strength be called for, in vinegar for those violent fluxes of phlegm which the Greeks call rheumatism, as well as for bruises and sprains. For all purposes, however, leavened bread, of the kind called autopyrus, is the more beneficial. In vinegar it is also applied to whitlows and to callosities on the feet. Stale bread or sailors' bread, pounded and then baked again, checks looseness of the bowels. For those anxious to improve the voice and for catarrhs it is very beneficial to eat dry bread at breakfast. Sitanins, that is bread made of three-month wheat, applied with honey is a very good cure for bruises on the face or scaly eruptions. White bread soaked in warm or cold water affords a very light food for invalids. In wine it is applied to swollen eyes, and in this form or with the addition of dried myrtle to pustules on the head. Persons with palsy are recommended to eat bread soaked in water, fasting, and immediately after the bath. Moreover, bread burnt in bedrooms removes the close smell, and put in the strainers any unpleasant odour in wine.

69. The bean too supplies helpful remedies. For roasted whole and thrown hot into strong vinegar it heals colic. Crushed in a sieve and boiled with garlic it is taken with the daily food for incurable coughs and suppurations of the chest; chewed in the mouth of one fasting it is also applied to ripen or disperse boils, and boiled down in wine for swellings of the testicles and for troubles of the genitals. In the form of meal too, boiled down in vinegar it ripens tumours and breaks them, besides healing contusions and burns. That it is good for the voice we are assured by M. Varro. The ashes too of beanstalks and of the pods are good for sciatica, and with old pigs' lard for chronic pains of the sinews. The husks by themselves boiled down to one third check looseness of the bowels.

70. Those lentils are best which are most easily boiled, and in particular those which absorb most water. Although they dull the sight and cause flatulence, yet taken with the food they check looseness of the bowels, especially when thoroughly boiled in rain water; lightly boiled however they relax the bowels. They break the pustules of sores; sores in the month they cleanse and dry up. An application of lentils soothes all abscesses, and especially those that are ulcerated and cracked, but for fluxes of the eyes melilot or quinces must be added. For suppurations lentils are applied with pearl barley. The juice of boiled-down lentils is applied to ulcerations of the mouth or of the genitals; for complaints of the anus rose oil or quinces must be added, and when a stronger remedy is called for pomegranate peel with a little honey as well. At this point, to prevent this mixture from drying quickly beet leaves also are added. Thoroughly boiled in vinegar they are applied also to scrofulous swellings, and to superficial abscesses whether mature or maturing; in hydromel to chaps and with pomegranate peel to gaagrenes; with pearl barley also to gouty feet, the uterus, kidneys, chilblains, and to sores that are slow in forming scars. For looseness of the stomach thirty grains of lentils are swallowed. In cholera too and dysentery lentils are more efficacious when boiled iu three waters; when so used it is always better to roast them first and pound them, that they may be administered in as fine a state as possible, whether by themselves or with quinces, or else with pears, or myrtle, or wild endive, or dark beet, or plantain. Lentils are injurious to the lungs, in headache, in all pains of the sinews and in biliousness, nor are they good for sleep; boiled in seawater however they are beneficial for pustules, erysipelas, and affections of the breasts, while boiled in vinegar they disperse indurations and scrofulous swellings. As a stomachic they are sprinkled in drinks as is pearl barley. They are good for burns if half-cooked in water and then pounded and passed through a sieve to remove the bran, honey being added presently as the burn heals. They are boiled in vinegar and water for sore throats. There is also a marsh lentil that grows wild in stagnant water. These lentils are of a cooling nature, and so are applied to abscesses and in particular to gouty feet, both by themselves and with pearl barley. They also close up prolapse of the intestines.

71. There is a wild lentil called elelisphacos by the Greeks [sphacos by others], smoother than the cultivated lentil, with a smaller, drier and more scented leaf. There is also another kind of it wilder still, and with a heavy smell. The other, the more cultivated variety, has leaves like those of a quince, but smaller and pale, which are boiled with the branches. It promotes menstruation and urine, and heals the wounds of the stingray, numbing the region affected. It is also taken in drink with wormwood for dysentery. With wine it also brings on delayed menstruation, while a draught of its decoction checks any excess. The plant applied by itself stanches the blood of wounds. It also cures snake bite, and if boiled down in wine allays pruritus of the testicles. Our modern herbalists call this plant elelisphacus in Greek and salvia in Latin, a plant like mint, hoary and aromatic. An application brings away the dead unborn baby, as well as worms in sores and ears.

72. There is also a wild chickpea, with leaves like the cultivated kind and a heavy smell. Too copious a dose relaxes the bowels, and causes flatulence and colic. Roasted it is supposed to be more healthy. The small chickpea is even more beneficial to the bowels. The meal of each kind heals running sores on the head, though the wild is more efficacious, as well as epilepsy, swollen liver and snake bites. It promotes, the grain in particular, menstruation and urine; it is good for lichen, inflammation of the testicles, jaundice and dropsy. All kinds of chickpea are injurious to ulcerated bladder and to the kidneys. They are more beneficial with honey for gangrenous sores, especially for those called malignant. Warts of every kind some treat by touching each wart with a single chickpea at the new moon; the chickpeas they tie in a linen cloth and throw behind them, believing that so the warts go away. Roman authorities recommend that ram's-head chickpeas be thoroughly boiled in water with salt, two cyathi of it to be taken at a time for strangury; they hold too that this treatment brings away stone from the bladder and cures jaundice. The water in which the leaves and stalks of the chickpea have been boiled, if used as hot as possible to foment the feet, soothe gouty pains, as does an application of the plant itself, pounded up and warmed. The water from boiled columbine chickpea is believed to lessen the rigors of tertian and quartan agues. The dark kind, however, pounded up with half a gall-nut and applied in raisin wine, cures ulcers of the eyes.

73. About the bitter vetch I have said a few things in my note concerning it, a pulse to which, applied in vinegar, old authorities attributed a power no less than that they did to cabbage for snake bites and for those of crocodiles and of men. If anybody eats it fasting every day, the spleen, according to very reliable authorities, is reduced in size. Its meal removes not only pimples from the face but also spots from the skin on all parts of the body. It does not allow sores to spread, being very efficacious when they are on the breasts. Applied in wine it makes carbuncles burst. Strangury, flatulence, affections of the liver, tenesmus, and atrophy, when food cannot be assimilated, are relieved by swallowing the roasted grain, held together by honey of the size of a filbert, and so are skin eruptions by a decoction in vinegar, allowed to remain on the affected part till the fourth day. An application in honey prevents superficial abscesses from suppurating. Fomentation with the water of a decoction cures chilblains and pruritus. Moreover it is thought that the whole body assumes a more healthy complexion if this decoction be taken daily on an empty stomach. At the same time this vetch makes unwholesome human food, causing vomiting, disturbing the bowels, and causing heaviness in the head and stomach, besides enfeebling the knees. Soaked, however, for several days it mellows, and is very good for cattle and beasts of burden. The pods of it, pounded green before they harden, with their own stalk and leaves, dye the hair black.

74. There are also wild lupins, with weaker properties than the cultivated in every respect except their bitterness. Of all the things that are eaten, none is less heavy or more useful than lupins when dried. They mellow when cooked in hot ash or in hot water. Taken frequently as food they freshen the human complexion; bitter lupins are an antidote for the wound of the asp. Dried lnpins, peeled and pounded, make new flesh on black ulcers if applied in a linen cloth. Boiled in vinegar they disperse scrofulous swellings and parotid abscesses. A decoction with rue and pepper is given to persons under thirty, even when feverish, to drive out intestinal worms, while in the case of children they are also applied to the bowels, the patient fasting; another method is to roast them, and to give them either in boiled must as a draught or else in honey. Lupins increase the appetite, and remove squeamishness. Their meal kneaded with vinegar and applied in the bath removes pimples and pruritus, and by itself dries up ulcers. It heals bruises, and, with pearl barley, soothes inflammations. Wild lupins are more efficacious than cultivated for weakness of the hips and loins. A decoction of the same removes freckles and improves the complexion of those who use it as a fomentation. If however they are boiled down to the consistency of honey, they cure even black eruptions and leprous sores. An application of cultivated lupins also causes carbuncles to break; boiled in vinegar they reduce or mature superficial abscesses and scrofulous swellings, and restore to scars the original white of the skin; if however they are thoroughly boiled in rain water, the decoction makes a detergent with which it is good to foment gangrenes, eruptions of rheum, and running ulcers; and it is also good to drink it for splenic affections and, with the addition of honey, for retarded menstruation. Pounded raw with dried fig they are applied in vinegar to the spleen. The root too boiled in water is diuretic. Lupins boiled with the herb chamaeleon cure sick cattle, the water being strained off into their drink. The itch on all quadrupeds is cured by lupins boiled in lees of olive oil, or by a mixture of the lees with a decoction of lupins. The smoke of burnt lupins kills gnats.

75. Irio I have said when dealing with cereals to be like sesame, and to be called by the Greeks erysimon. The Gauls call it vela. It is a bushy plant with leaves like those of rocket, but a little narrower, and with a seed like that of cress, being with honey very good for coughs and for expectoration of pus. It is also given for jaundice and for affections of the loins, for pleurisy, colic and coeliac troubles. It is applied moreover to parotid abscesses and to cancerous sores, in water or sometimes with honey to inflamed testicles, and is also very good for babies. With honey and figs it is used for cornplaints of the anus and for diseases of the joints, besides being when taken in drink efficacious against poisons. It also cures asthma, and fistulas also if mixed with old axle-grease, but care must be taken not to let the application touch the interior.

76. Horminum (clary) has a seed like cummin, as I have already said, but in other respects it is like the leek. Nine inches high it is of two kinds: one has a darker seed which is oblong, being used as an aphrodisiac and for white spots and films on the eyes.; the other has a paler and a rounder seed. Both when pounded draw thorns from the flesh, if applied by themselves in water; the leaves applied by themselves or with honey disperse superficial abscesses, as also boils before they come to a head, and all acrid humours.

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77. Moreover, the very pests of the crops are of use. Virgil called darnel unfruitful, and yet when ground and boiled in vinegar it cures impetigo, the quicker the more often the application is changed. It is also used with oxymel for gouty and other pains. The following is the prescription: in one sextarius of vinegar are melted two ounces of honey; the right proportion is to take three sextarii of this mixture and boil down with it two sextarii of darnel meal until it reaches a certain consistency, and then it should be applied warm to the painful limbs. Darnel meal is also used to draw out splinters of bone.

78. Miliaria is a plant so called because it kills millet. Pounded and poured with wine into a horn it is said to cure gouty pains in beasts of burden.

79. Bromos is the seed of an ear-bearing plant, growing among the weeds of the corn crop, in fact a species of oat, with leaves and stalk like those of wheat, and having as it were little locusts hanging down at the head. The seed is as useful for plasters as is that of barley and similar grain. A decoction is good for coughs.

80. Dodder I have mentioned as a plant that kills vetches and leguminous plants; some call it cynomorion from its likeness to a dog's genitals. Its stem is leafless, fleshy and red. It is eaten by itself or, when young, boiled in a saucepan.

81. There are poisonous insects, a species of venomous ant, that breed in leguminous plants, stinging the hand and endangering life. For these stings the same remedies are good as have been mentioned for spiders and the phalangium. These then are the cereals that are used in medicine.

82. From the cereals are also made beverages zythum in Egypt, caelia and cerea in Spain, cervesia and several other kinds in Gaul and in other provinces; the froth of all these is used by women as a cosmetic for the face. But to come to beverages themselves, it will be best to pass on to a discussion of wine, beginning with the vine our discussion of medicines from trees.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 23

1. The medicinal properties also of cereals have and now been described, as well as those of all plants that spring up from the face of the earth to give us food, flowers or perfume. Their rival in bounty is Pomona, who even to hanging fruits has given healing qualities, not being content to protect, and to nourish with the shade of her trees, the plants I have noted. Nay, it is as though she was vexed at the thought of there being more help in things further away from heaven and coming into use later. For the earliest food of man, she called to mind, had come from trees; in this way he had been led to gaze at the heavens, and he could still obtain his food from herself without recourse to the crops of the field.

2. And so, God be praised, she bestowed healing powers on the vine in particular, not being satisfied with having richly supplied it with delicious flavours, perfumes, and unguents, in its omphacium, its oenanthe, and its massaris, which I have described in the proper places. Man, she says, enjoys through me a very great amount of pleasure. It is I who create the juice of the grape and the oil of the olive, I who create dates and fruits in great variety. I am unlike Mother Earth, all of whose gifts must be earned by toilploughing by bulls, beating on threshing-floors, and then grinding between millstones, and all to produce food at some indefinite time and with immense labour. But my gifts are perfect before they leave me, and need no laborious preparation. They proffer themselves unasked, and if it be too much trouble to reach them, they actually fall of themselves. She has striven to outdo herself, in that she has created more for our benefit even than for our pleasure.

3. Headache and inflammations on the body are relieved by vine leaves and vine shoots combined with pearl barley, heartburn by the leaves alone in cold water, diseases of the joints, moreover, by the leaves mixed with barley meal. Vine shoots pounded and applied to any kind of tumour dry it up; an injection of their juice cures dysentery. The drops of the vine, which are a kind of gum, heal leprous sores, lichen, and itch, but these must first be treated with soda. They also act as a depilatory if the hair be repeatedly smeared with them and oil, and particularly those drops that exude from green vines when burnt, by which even warts are removed. An infusion of the shoots taken as a draught is good for the spitting of blood and for the fainting of women after conception. The bark and dried leaves of vines check the bleeding of wounds, and close up the wound itself. The juice of the white vine, extracted while the vine is still green, removes eruptions on the skin. The ash of the twigs of vines and of grape skins, applied in vinegar, heals condylomata and complaints of the anus; with rose oil, rue and vinegar added, it heals sprains, burns, and swollen spleen. This ash too, in wine but without oil, is sprinkled on parts affected by erysipelas or chafed, besides acting as a depilatory. The ash of the twigs sprinkled with vinegar is also given in drink as a cure for splenic complaints, the dose being two cyathi in lukewarm water, and the patient after taking the draught should lie down on his spleen. The very tendrils by which the vine climbs, pounded and swallowed in water, check habitual vomiting. The ash of vines with old axle grease is good for tumours, cleanses fistulas and in time heals them completely, as it does cramps, and pains in the sinews arising from chill; for bruises however it may be applied thus or with oil, for excrescences of flesh on bones it should be with vinegar and soda, for scorpion stings and dog bites, with oil. The ash of the bark by itself restores the hair on burns.

4. How omphacium is made, just before the grape begins to mature, I have already described in my section on unguents; will now notice its medicinal properties. It also cures sores in a moist part of the body, such as the mouth, tonsils or genitals. It is very helpful for clearness of vision and is good for scabrous eyelids, sores in the corners of the eyes, films on the eyes, running sores in any part of the body, flabby scars, and bones with a slimy pus on them. Its strength can be modified by adding honey or raisin wine. Omphacium is also good for dysentery, spitting of blood, and quinsy.

5. Closely related to omphacium is oenanthe, a product of the wild vine; I have spoken about it in my account of unguents. The most popular is to be found in Syria, in particular from the white vine around the mountains of Antioch and Laodicea. It is cooling and astringent, is sprinkled on wounds and applied to the stomach, being also useful as a diuretic, for pains in the liver or head, for dysentery, coeliac affections and cholera; for nausea a dose of one obolus is taken in vinegar. It dries up running eruptions on the head, and being very efficacious for affections in moist parts of the body is used with honey and saffron for sores in the mouth and for complaints of the genitals and anus. It checks looseness of the bowels, heals scabrous eyelids and running eyes; taken in wine it cures a disordered stomach, and in cold water the spitting of blood. Its ash is valued for eye-salves, and for cleansing sores, also for whitlows and pterygia. It is burned in an oven until a loaf would be thoroughly cooked. Massaris is produced only for use in perfumes, and all such preparations have been made famous by the greed of the human spirit in its haste to seize them before the proper season.

6. Of the grapes left to ripen, the dark have the stronger properties, and so the wine made from them is less agreeable; the white are the more pleasant, because air passes more readily through what is transparent. When fresh they disturb the stomach, and, by causing flatulence, the bowels. Accordingly for fever patients they are disapproved of, at any rate in large quantities; for they cause heaviness in the head and the disease called lethargus. Less injurious are those which after being gathered have been left to hang; this exposure to the air makes them actually beneficial to the stomach, and for sick persons, as they are slightly cooling and remove nausea.

7. Next after those that have been hung come in value those kept in chaff; but those kept in grape skins are injurious to the head, bladder and stomach, although they check looseness of the bowels and are very beneficial to those who spit blood. Those which have been preserved in wine or 'sweet wine' go to the head; when however they have been preserved in must they have an effect worse even than those preserved in grape skins. Concentrated must too makes them injurious to the stomach. Physicians hold that the most wholesome grapes are those kept in rain water, although they are the least pleasant to the taste; but their grateful character is felt by those suffering from heartburn, disordered liver, vomiting of bile, cholera, dropsy, and fever accompanied by high temperature. Those however kept in jars stimulate the palate, stomach and appetite, but they are thought to become rather heavy owing to the fumes from the skins. If chickens have eaten the flower of the vine among their food, they never torch the bunches on the vine.

8. Vine cuttings that have borne grapes have an astringent property, but are more efficacious if they have been kept in jars.

9. Grape stones have the same property. It is because of them that wine causes headache. Roasted and pounded they are beneficial to the stomach. Ground into meal they are sprinkled like pearl barley into drink and taken for dysentery, coeliac affections and a disordered stomach. It is also beneficial to foment with a decoction of them itch scab and pruritus.

10. Grape skins by themselves are less injurious to the head or bladder than are the stones. Pounded and applied with salt they are good for inflammation of the breasts. A decoction of them, whether taken as drink or used as a fomentation, relieves chronic dysentery and coeliac affections.

11. The theriac grape, about which I have spoken in its proper place, is eaten to counteract the poison from the bites of serpents. The young shoots, too, of this vine are recommended to be eaten and to be applied; wine and vinegar made from these grapes are useful for the same purpose.

12. The raisin, or astaphis as it is called, would injure stomach, belly and intestines, were it not that the stones in the fruit itself acts as a corrective. When these are removed raisins are held to be useful for the bladder and for coughs, those from white grapes being the more so, useful also for the trachea and kidneys, just as the wine made from stoned raisins is specific for the poison of the serpent called haemorrhois. For inflamed testicles raisins are applied with the meal of cummin or of coriander, while for carbuncles and diseases of the joints they are pounded without the stones with the addition of rue. Sores should be fomented beforehand with wine. Used with their stones they heal epinyctis, honeycomb ulcers and dysentery. Boiled in oil they are applied to gangrenes with radish skins and honey; for gouty pains and loose nails with heal-all. They are chewed by themselves for cleansing the mouth and with pepper for clearing the head.

13. Wild astaphis, otherwise staphis, wrongly called by some uva taminiafor that is a distinct plantwith dark, straight stalks and the leaves of the wild vine, bears what may be called more correctly pods rather than grapes, green and like chickpeas, with a three-cornered stone in them. It ripens at harvest time and grows dark, whereas we are familiar with the red grapes of the taminian vine, and also know that staphis grows on sunny sites, while the taminian vine is found only on shady spots. I should not recommend the use of these stones as a purge owing to the danger of choking, nor yet to dry phlegm in the mouth, because it is injurious to the throat. Pounded they rid the head of lice, as well as the rest of the body, and the more readily if sandarach be mixed with them, and also cure prnritus and itch scab. A decoction in vinegar is made for toothache, for affections of the ears, for fluxes from scars and for running ulcers. The pounded flowers are taken in wine to counteract the poison of serpents; the seed however I should reject because of its excessive heat. Some call the plant pituitaria. Serpent bites in particular are treated by applications of it.

14. Labrusca too produces oenanthe, already sufficiently described by me; it is called by the Greeks the wild vine, with thick whitish leaves, jointed stem and a bark covered with fissures. It bears grapes red like the scarlet berry, which clear the faces of women, removing blotches, while pounded and used with the leaves and juice they are good for sciatica and lumbago. A decoction of the root in water and drunk in two cyathi of Coan wine evacuates watery humour in the belly, and for this reason is prescribed for dropsy. I am inclined to believe that it is rather this plant that is popularly called uva taminia. It is used as an amulet, and also for the spitting of blood; only however as a gargle, and, to prevent any of it from being swallowed, there are added salt, thyme and oxymel. For this reason it is thought unsafe to use it as a purge.

15. There is a plant like this, but growing in willow-beds. It is therefore known by a distinct name, although it has the same uses; it is called salicastrum. This, pounded and applied with oxymel, is more efficacious in removing itch scab and pruritus whether in man or beast.

16. There is a white vine, which the Greeks call variously ampelos leuce, staphyle, melothron, psilotrum, archezostis, cedrosis, and madon. Its twigs are jointed and climbing, with long, thin interstices between the knots. The leaves, thick and bushy, are of the size of ivy leaves, and with jagged edges like those of vine leaves. The root is white, large, and like a radish at first. From it grow out stalks like asparagus. These, boiled and taken in food, are laxative and diuretic. The leaves and the stalks free the flesh from sores, and in particular are applied with salt to phagedaenic ulcers, to gangrenes, and to 'bad legs' The fruiting bunch hangs down in thinly scattered grapes, having a red juice, which turns later on to a saffron yellow. This fruit is well known to the curriers, who use it in the preparation of leather. It is applied to itch scab and leprous sores; if it is boiled with wheat, the decoction when drunk produces an abundance of milk in nurses. The root, famous for many uses, is pounded and taken in doses of two drachmae for snake bite. It removes spots and blotches on the face, freckles, bruises and scars; a decoction in oil is equally efficacious. It is given also in drink for epilepsy, as well as for nervous disorders and giddiness, the daily dose being a drachma by weight for a whole year. In larger doses, however, even the root itself sometimes disorders the senses. Its most remarkable property is that applied in water, as bryony is, it extracts splintered bones, for which reason some call it white bryony, the one they call black bryony being distinct. The addition of honey and frankincense makes it more effective for the same use. Incipient suppurations it disperses; those of long standing it matures and drains. It is an emmenagogue and diuretic. Out of it an electuary is made for asthma and pains in the sides, and for spasms and ruptures. Doses of three oboli taken in drink for thirty days eat up the spleen. In the form of an ointment it is also used with figs as a cure for hangnails. A pessary with wine brings away the afterbirth, and phlegm is brought away by a drachma dose taken in hydromel of the juice of the rootit ought to be dug up before the seed ripensand this juice used as an ointment either by itself or with vetches shows off the body with what I may call a brighter complexion as well as with a softer skin. It keeps snakes away. The root itself pounded with a plump fig removes wrinkles from the body, but a walk of a quarter of a mile should be taken immediately after the application; otherwise it will cause a burn unless immediately washed away in cold water. The dark vine produces this same effect more pleasantly, for the white vine causes itching.

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17. There is then also a dark vine, which is the one properly named bryony, called by some Chironia, by others gynaecanthe or apronia, similar to the preceding except for the colour; for that is, as I have said, dark. Diocles preferred its shoots to the real asparagus as a food for promoting urine and reducing the spleen. It is to be found growing mostly in shrubberies and reed beds. Its root is dark outside, but inside of the colour of box-wood. Splintered bones are extracted by it even more effectively than by the vine mentioned above; in other respects it has the same properties. It is a special feature of it that it is a specific for the sores that come on the necks of beasts of burden. It is said that if one grows it round a country house hawks keep away, and the poultry are kept safe. It also heals, in beast or man, if tied round the ankles, congestion of blood that may have settled there. So much then for the various kinds of vines.

18. The natural differences shown by musts are these. They are white, dark, or of a colour between the two: from some there can be made wine, from others raisin wine. Manufacture makes innumerable differences, so that the general survey that follows will have to suffice. All must is injurious to the stomach but comforting to the veins. If drunk rapidly after a bath without taking breath, death ensues. It is an antidote to the poisonous nature of cantharicles and to the bites of serpents, especially of haemorrhois and of the salamander. It causes headache, and is injurious to the throat, but good for kidneys, liver, intestines and bladder, for it makes these organs smooth. It is particularly efficacious against the buprestis, opium, curdled milk, hemlock, poisons and dorycninm; it should be taken in oil and brought up again by vomitings. For all purposes white must is the weaker; raisin must is more pleasant, besides causing less headache.

19. The varieties of wine, their very many differences, and most of the properties of each I have already described. There is no topic more difficult to handle, or more full of detail, seeing that it is hard to say whether wine does good to more people or harms them. Besides, a draught is fraught with great risk, it being uncertain whether it will immediately turn out to be a help or a poison. And indeed I shall confine my present remarks to the properties of wine as a medicine. Asclepiades composed one volume on its administration, a circumstance which gave him a nickname but his commentators on it afterwards composed an endless number of them. I, with Roman seriousness and with my appetite for the liberal arts, will carefully discuss the separate details, not as a physician, but to point out their effect on human health. But to treat of the various kinds of wine one by one is a vast and baffling task, because medical opinion is very divided.

20. In the past there was a strong preference for the wine of Surrentum, followed by one for Alban or Falernian; after that various choices have been popular, each manso unreasonable are we in our judgmentsdictating to everybody else a preference for what he himself finds most pleasant; and yet even with uniformity of opinion how small a part of mankind could make use of these kinds of wine. Today indeed not even our nobility ever enjoys wines that are genuine. So low has our commercial honesty sunk that only the names of the vintages are sold, the wines being adulterated as soon they are poured into the vats. Accordingly, strange indeed as the remark may seem, the more common a wine is today, the freer it is from impurities. Nevertheless, the opinions of the wines we have mentioned seem on the whole the best maintained. If anyone lays stress also on the test of age, that Falernian is wholesome which is neither new nor too old; its middle age begins when it is fifteen years old. Taken as a cold draught it is good for the stomach, but in hot water it is not. For chronic cough and likewise for quartan ague it is swallowed with benefit neat and on an empty stomach. No other wine quickens so much the action of the veins. Astringent to the bowels it puts flesh on the body. It is a firm belief that this wine injures the vision and is not beneficial to nerves or to the bladder. Alban wines are better for the nerves, the sweet ones less so to the stomach, while the dry are even more beneficial than the Falernian. They aid digestion less and tend to overload the stomach, but the wines of Surrentum have no such bad effects, nor do they go to the head, while they check catarrhs of the stomach and intestines. Caecuban wines are no longer produced.

21. Of the wines still produced, those of Setia ensure digestion; they have more body than Surrentine wine, more dryness than Alban and less potency than Falernian. Not much inferior to them will be found the Statan wines. It is a firm belief that the wines of Signia are very beneficial to disordered bowels.

22. The other considerations will be combined in a general description. By wine are improved men's strength, blood and complexion. Wine it is that distinguishes the middle or temperate zone from the two that lie on either side of it. All the strength produced by the cruel extremes we of the temperate clime derive from the juice of the grape. Bone is nourished by drinking milk, sinews by the beers, and flesh by water. Accordingly, the drinkers of such have a less ruddy complexion, less strength, and less power to endure toil. Wine in moderation strengthens the sinews; excess is injurious to them, as it is also to the eyes. Wine is a tonic to the stomach and a sharpener of the appetite; it dulls sorrow and anxiety, expels urine and chills, and induces sleep. In addition it checks vomiting, and pieces of wool, soaked in wine and applied externally, soften abscesses. Asclepiades asserted that the usefulness of wine is hardly exceeded by the power of the gods. Old wine is diluted with a larger proportion of water, and while being for this reason a more powerful diuretic quenches thirst less effectively. Sweet wine is less inebriating but floats in the stomach; but a dry wine is more easily digested. The lightest wine is that which matures most quickly. That wine is less injurious to the sinews that sweetens as it ages. Less beneficial to the stomach is the wine that is rich and dark; it is, however, more flesh-forming. A thin, dry wine is less flesh-forming, but is more nourishing to the stomach, and passes more rapidly by means of urine, going, however, all the more to the head; this remark may be taken once and for all to apply to every other intoxicating liquor. Wine matured by age and not by smoke is the most wholesome. Wine-dealers first discovered the device, adopted today also by householders as well, of adding age in the storeroom to wines before they have acquired cariosity naturally. By using the word cariosity the men of old gave sound enough advice, since smoke eats out cariosity even in timber, but we moderns on the contrary are convinced that the bitterness of smoke produces in wines the character of age. Wines that are of a very pale colour become unwholesome as they grow older. The more generous a wine is the thicker it becomes with age, contracting a bitter taste, which is very injurious to health, and to spice a less mature wine with it is also unwholesome. Each wine has its peculiar flavour, the presence of which is a sign of great purity each wine has an ageits middle agewhen it is most pleasant.

22. Those who want to put on flesh or to relax the bowels are benefited by drinking during meals; those on the other hand who are reducing weight and checking looseness of the bowels should not drink at all at meals and but sparingly after. To drink while fasting is a recent innovation that is very injurious to those absorbed in business and trying to keep their mind actively on the alert. In order to induce sleep, however, and to banish worries wine was so taken long ago, as we see from Homer's Helena, who served wine before food. So too it passed into a proverb that 'wine befogs the wits.' It is to wine that we men should attribute the fact that of animals we alone drink when we are not thirsty. To drink water at intervals during bouts is very helpful, as it is also to drink it after a prolonged bout. Intoxication indeed is immediately banished by a draught of cold water. Hesiod recommends the use of strong draughts of wine for twenty days before and twenty days after the rising of the Dog-star. Neat wine indeed is a remedy for poison by hemlock, coriander, henbane, mistletoe, opium, mercury, for the wounds of bees, wasps, hornets, spiders, snakes and scorpions, and for all poisons that harm by chilling, especially for those of the haemorrhois, the prester, and of tree fungi; also for flatulence and gnawings of the hypochondria, for violent vomitings from the stomach, and if the belly or intestines suffer from catarrh; for dysentery, and for sweats after prolonged coughing, while, for eye-fluxes the wine should be slightly diluted. For cardiac affections it is beneficial to apply to the left breast neat wine on a sponge; but for all these purposes the best to use is white wine that is growing old. It is also useful to foment the testicles with warm wine, and administered through a horn to beasts of burden it removes fatigue. Apes and quadrupeds with fingers are said to stop growing if they acquire the habit of drinking neat wine.

24. Now I shall discuss wines in relation to sickness. The most wholesome for gentry are the thinnest wines the common sort however may drink what each most fancies, provided that he is in robust health. Wines are most beneficial when all their potency has been overcome by the strainer. We must remember that wine is grape juice that has acquired strength by fermentation. A mixture of several sorts of wine is injurious to anybody. The most wholesome wine is that to which nothing has been added in the state of must, and it is better if not even the wine-vessels have been touched by pitch. As for wines treated with marble, gypsum or lime, who would not dread to touch them, however robust his health? Wine therefore prepared with seawater is particularly injurious to the stomach, to the sinews and to the bladder. Wines seasoned with resin are supposed to be beneficial to cold stomachs but unsuited to those inclined to vomit, just as boiled-down must, and raisin wine, so seasoned, are also unsuitable. New wine seasoned with resin is good for nobody, causing headache and fits of giddiness. For this reason it has been named crapula. The wines already mentioned are good for coughs and catarrhs, as also for coeliac troubles and dysentery, and for the menstruation of women. In this class the red or dark wine is more astringent and more heating. Less harmful is wine seasoned with pitch and with nothing else, but we ought to remember that pitch is nothing but the liquid from burnt resin. This kind of wine heats, digests, cleanses, is beneficial to chest and bowels, and also for pain in the uterus if there be no fever, for chronic catarrh, ulceration, rupture, spasms, abscesses, weak sinews, flatulence, cough, asthma, and for sprains if it be applied on unwashed wool. For all these purposes that wine is more beneficial which has naturally the flavour of pitch and is called pitchy wine in the Helvian district, although taken in excess it flies, as is generally agreed, to the head. As far as fevers are concerned, wine should undoubtedly not be given when fever is present unless the patient be old, and then only when the disease has passed the crisis; in acute diseases only when the patients experience undoubted remissions, and these by preference at nightthere is only half the danger for those who drink at night, that is, to induce sleepnor should it be taken after delivery or a miscarriage, nor by those ill through sexual excess, nor with headache, nor when exacerbations are attended with chill in the extremities, nor in feverish coughs, tremulousness, pains in the sinews or throat, or if the violence of the disease is felt in the region of the groin; nor is it suitable when there is induration of the hypochondria, violent throbbing of the veins, nor in opisthotonus or tetanus, nor in hiccoughs, nor if there be difficulty of breathing accompanied by fever; least of all if the eyes be rigid and staring, or weak and heavy, nor should it be given when the eyes of those who have closed them are full of light, or when the lids do not cover them, or when the same thing happens in sleep, or if the eyes be bloodshot or rheum should form in the corners; certainly not if the tongue be furred a and heavy, and speech is blurred from time to time; nor in dysuria, nor in sudden frights, nor to those who are in convulsions, or again comatose, nor if the seed be emitted in sleep.

25. In cardiac disease the one hope of relief lies undoubtedly in wine. Some however think that it should be given only during an attack, others only when there is a remission; the object of the former is to control the sweating, the latter think that there is increased safety when the disease is on the decline, most authorities, I notice, holding this view. It ought at any rate to be given only with food, not after sleep nor after another kind of drinkthat is, there must at any rate be thirstonly in the last resort and to a man rather than a woman, to an old man rather than to a young one, to a young man rather than to a boy, in winter rather than in summer, to those used to wine rather than to teetotallers. The dose to be taken depends upon the potency of the wine and also on the amount of water added. The general opinion is that a satisfactory mixture is one cyathus of wine to two of water. If the stomach be disordered, should the food not pass down, the wine must be given once more.

26. The artificial kinds of wines, the preparation of which I have mentioned, I think to be no longer made and their use superfluous, since I give instructions about the use of the ingredients themselves of which they are composed. In other respects the pretence of physicians about these had exceeded all bounds; for instance, they prescribed navew wine as beneficial for fatigue after military exercises or riding, and to pass over the others, they recommended even juniper wine. And who would prefer to use wormwood wine rather than wormwood itself? Among the rest let me omit also palm wine, which is injurious to the head, and only useful as a laxative and to relieve the spitting of blood. That wine cannot be considered artificial which I have called bion, for there is nothing artificial about it except the gathering of unripe grapes. It is good for a disordered stomach or a weak digestion, for pregnancy, faintness, paralysis, trembling, giddiness, colic, and sciatica. In time of plague too, and on travels, it is said to be a powerful aid.

27. Even when sour, wine still has uses as a remedy. Vinegar has very great cooling qualities, being equally efficacious, however, as a resolvent; earth in fact effervesces when vinegar is poured on it. I have often said, and shall often have to say, how often it is a beneficial ingredient with other things. Drunk by itself it removes nausea and checks hiccough, and to smell it stops sneezing. Kept in the mouth it moderates excessive heat in the bath. Further, drunk with water it is a useful digestive to many when they are convalescing, and a gargle of vinegar and water is a good thing after sunstroke, the eyes too being greatly benefited by fomentation with the same mixture. It is a remedy after swallowing a leech, as well as for leprous sores, scurf, running sores, dog bites, the wounds of scorpions, of the scolopendra and of the shrewmouse; it is also an antidote for the poison and irritation caused by all stinging animals and for the bite of the multipede. Applied warm on a sponge, with either two ounces of sulphur or a bunch of hyssop added to three sextarii of vinegar, it is also a remedy for troubles of the anus. For haemorrhage after excision of stone, or any other, it is applied externally on a sponge, and doses of two cyathi of the strongest vinegar are taken internally. It certainly disperses clotted blood. In the treatment of lichens it is used both internally and externally. Injected it checks looseness of the bowels and catarrh of the intestines, and it is similarly employed for prolapse of the anus and of the uterus. It arrests chronic cough, catarrh of the throat, orthopnoea, and looseness of the teeth. It is injurious to the bladder and to weak sinews. Its great efficacy as an antidote for asp bite was unknown to physicians, but recently a man who was bitten by an asp on which he trod while carrying a skin of vinegar felt

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the wound every time he put the skin down, but at other times it was as though he had never been bitten. He inferred that vinegar was an antidote and was relieved by taking a draught of it. And it is similarly with vinegar that those rinse out their mouth who suck poison from wounds. Its all-embracing potency is not confined to foods, but includes also very many things; poured on rocks it splits them when attempts to do so with fire have failed. No other sauce serves so well to season food or to heighten a flavour; when used for which purpose its effect is lessened by burnt bread or cummin, or heightened by pepper and laserwort, and without fail is kept in check by salt. On this point I must not pass over a striking illustration of the power of vinegar. In the last years of his life M. Agrippa was afflicted with grievous gout, and could not endure the pain. Guided by the wonderful skill of one of his physicians, and without informing the late Augustusso strong the urge to be rid of that pain even at the price of losing all power to use his feet and all sensation in themhe plunged his legs into hot vinegar when a paroxysm of the disease was at its worst.

28. Squill vinegar is supposed to improve with age. Besides the uses I have mentioned, it is good when foods turn sour on the stomach, a mere taste dispersing that inconvenience, and for those who vomit fasting, for it makes hard the skin of the throat and gullet; it removes offensive breath, braces the gums, strengthens the teeth and improves the complexion. By its use as a gargle it clears hardness of hearing, opening the ear passages. Incidentally it sharpens the eyesight, and is very beneficial for epilepsy, melancholia, giddiness, hysterical suffocations, blows or falls with clotted blood in consequence, weakness of the sinews, and affections of the kidneysbut it must be avoided when there is ulceration.

29. The ancients, as Dieuches tells us, prepared oxymel in the following manner. Ten minae of honey, five heminae of old vinegar, a pound and a quarter by weight of sea salt and five sextarii of water, were boiled together in a cauldron, but taken off the boil ten times, when it was poured off and put away to keep. Asclepiades condemned it, and did away with its use altogetherfor it used to be given even in feversyet he admits that it was beneficial for the bites of the serpent called seps, and for poisoning by opium or mistletoe. It made a warm gargle for quinsy, with benefit to the ears also and to the mouth and throat when affected. For all these purposes they now spray, getting better results, with oxyalme, that is, with salt and fresh vinegar.

30. Related to wine is sapa, which is must boiled down until one third remains. That made from white must is the better. It is used as an antidote to cantharides, buprestis, pine caterpillars, which are called pityocampae, salamanders, and to all poisonous bites. Taken in drink with onions it brings away the afterbirth and also the dead foetus. Fabianus states that it is poisonous if a man drinks it fasting just after a bath.

31. Next in order come the lees of these several liquids. The lees of wine then are so potent that they are fatal to any who go down into the vats. A lamp let down makes a good test; so long as it goes out danger is indicated. Unrinsed lees are an ingredient of medicines; moreover, with au equal weight of iris they make a liniment for phlegmatic eruptions; dry or moist they are applied to the stings of venomous spiders, to inflammation of testicles or breasts, or of any part of the body; or a decoction may be made in wine with barley meal and dust of frankincense. They are dried as well before being parched. The test of their being properly boiled is if, after cooling, a touch, seems to burn the tongue. If kept in an uncovered place wine lees very rapidly lose their power. Parching adds greatly to their potency. A decoction with fig is very efficacious for checking lichen and scaly eruptions. In this form they are applied also to leprous sores and running ulcers. Taken in drink they are an antidote to poisonous fungi, but a better one when crude. Boiled and rinsed they are used as an ingredient of eye salves. An application of them is healing to the testicles and genitals, but in wine they are taken for strangury. When too they have lost their strength, they are still useful for washing the person as well as clothes; for this purpose they take the place of gum arabic.

32. Lees of vinegar, their substance being of what it is, must be more acid and much more caustic. They check the spreading of suppuration, and are beneficial if applied locally to the stomach, the intestines and the belly. They check fluxes of those parts and also menstruation. They disperse superficial abscesses not yet come to a head, quinsies and, applied with wax, erysipelas. These lees also dry up breasts that do not restrain their milk, and remove scabrous nails. With pearl barley they are a very powerful antidote to the poison of the snake called horned, and with melanthium cure the bites of crocodiles and of dogs. These lees too increase their potency when parched. An application of them, so prepared, with the addition of mastic oil turns the hair red in one night. Applied as a pessary with water on a linen cloth they act as a detergent to the uterus.

3. Lees of concentrated grape-juice cure burns, the better if the down of reeds be added, and to drink a decoction of the same cures chronic coughs. A decoction made in a saucepan, with salt and fat, is used also for tumours of the jaws and of the neck.

34. Next in importance, as is generally recognized, comes the olive. The leaves are, to a very high degree, astringent, detergent and binding. Accordingly sores are healed if these leaves are chewed and applied, headache by a liniment of leaves and oil, by a decoction with honey parts which physicians have cauterized, inflammation of the gums too, whitlows and foul, putrefying sores; with honey, the decoction checks bleeding from sinewy parts of the body. The juice of the leaves is good for carbuncular sores and pustules around the eyes, and for prolapse of the pupil, being therefore a common ingredient of salves, as it heals chronic streaming from the eyes and sores that have eaten into the eyelids. Now the juice is extracted by crushing the leaves with wine and rain water, after which the whole is dried and worked into lozenges. A woollen pessary made from it arrests excessive menstruation, and it is useful for sores running with sanies, as well as for condylomata, erysipelas, spreading sores and epinyctis.

35. The flowers of the olive have the same properties. Stems are burnt that have blossoms on them, for the ash to serve as a substitute for spodium; wine is poured over this and it is again burned. Suppurations and superficial abscesses are treated by an application of this ash or of the leaves pounded with honey; for the eyes, however, pearl barley is added. The juice exuding from the wood, burnt while still green, heals lichen, eruptions of scurf, and running sores. As for the drops exuding from the tree itself, especially from the Ethiopian olive, one cannot but be surprised that some have been found to recommend its use as an application for toothache, while yet declaring that it is a poison, who even bid us procure it from the wild olive. The bark of olive root, taken from a tree as young as may be, scraped into honey and taken in frequent small doses, cures spitting of blood and purulent expectoration. The ash of the tree itself mixed with axle-grease cures tumours, withdraws morbid matter from fistulas and heals the fistulas themselves.

36. White olives are more useful to the stomach, less so to the belly. Fresh and eaten by themselves as food before they are preserved, they are of excellent use, curing gravel and improving teeth that have been worn or loosened by chewing meat. The dark olive is less useful to the stomach, better for the belly, but of no use to the head and eyes. Both sorts, applied after pounding, are good for burns; the dark, however, is chewed up, and if applied at once from the mouth to the affected part prevents the formation of pustules. Olives preserved in brine cleanse foul ulcers, but are bad for strangury.

37. About lees of oil I might seem to have said enough, as I have followed Cato, but their medicinal value must be dealt with. They are excellent for the gums, for sores in the mouth, for strengthening loose teeth, and, poured over the part affected, for erysipelas and spreading sores. For chilblains lees from the dark olive are the more useful, as well as for the fomentation of babies; but those from the white olive are used for a wool pessary. All lees of oil, however, are more beneficial after being boiled down. This is done to the consistency of honey in a copper vessel. They are used, with vinegar, old wine, or honey wine, as the particular case requires, for the treatment of the mouth, teeth, ears, running sores, the genitals and chaps. To wound they are applied on linen cloth, to sprains on wool. Used thus they are of great value, particularly when old, as a medicament, curing fistula. They are injected for ulceration of the anus, genitals, and uterus, but applied as liniment for incipient gout and diseases of the joints. If moreover they are reboiled with omphacium to the consistency of honey, they extract diseased teeth, and with a decoction of lupins and the plant chamaeleon are a wonderful healer of itch scab in beasts of burden. The crude lees are very beneficial as a fomentation for gout.

38. Wild-olive leaves have the same qualities. Spodium from the young branches act as a powerful check on catarrhs, reduce inflammations of the eyes, cleanse sores that have eaten into the flesh and restore it, while they gently cauterize those that swell outwards, dry them up and promote cicatrisation. In other respects the properties of wild and of cultivated olive are the same, except that the wild variety has this virtue of its own: a decoction of the leaves in honey is given in doses of three spoonfuls for spitting of blood. Only, wild-olive oil is sharper and more powerful, for which reason it is used to rinse the mouth in order to strengthen the teeth. The leaves with wine are applied to whitlows, to carbuncles, and to reduce any kind of gathering; with honey, however, to those that require cleansing. A decoction too of the leaves, with the juice of the wild olive, is used as an ingredient in remedies for the eyes. It is beneficial to inject it with honey into the ears, even though there is a discharge of pus. Flowers of the wild olive are applied to condylomata and to epinyctis with barley meal to the belly for catarrhs, and with oil to the head for headache. When the skin on the head detaches itself from the bone, the young branches, boiled down and applied with honey, bring them together again. These branches, when fully grown, taken in food check looseness of the bowels and when parched and beaten up with honey, they cleanse corroding sores and make carbuncles burst.

39. Of the nature and usefulness of olive oil I have already spoken at length. Here are the kinds that contribute to medicine: the most useful is omphacium, next comes green oil; moreover, it should be as fresh as possible (unless there is special need for the oldest oil), thin, with a pleasant odour and no pungent tastein fact the reverse of what we look for when it is used in food. Omphacium is good for the gums. If it be retained in the mouth it keeps the teeth white and strengthens loose ones. It checks perspirations.

40. Oil of oenanthe has the same qualities as rose of oil, though all oil makes the body supple, giving it vigour and strength. It is injurious to the stomach and makes worse the spreading of sores. It makes the throat sore, and tends to neutralize all poisons, especially white lead and gypsum, if taken in hydromel or a decoction of dried figs for opium poisoning, in water for the poison of cantharides, buprestis, salamander and pine caterpillar, and by itself as an emetic to get rid of any of the poisons mentioned above. It is a restorative after fatigue and severe chills. Six cyathi drunk warm, especially if boiled with rue, cure gripings and drive out worms from the intestines. A hemina-dose drunk with wine and warm water, or with barley water, loosens the bowels; useful to make plasters for wounds, it removes spots from the face. Injected into the nostrils of oxen until they belch, it relieves flatulence. It is more warming, however, to the body if it be old oil, disperses better profuse sweats, reduces better indurations, being of help in cases of lethargus and also when the disease is on the decline. With an equal portion of honey taken from the hive without smoke, it is of some use for improving the vision. It is a remedy for headache and with water reduces high fever. If old oil cannot be obtained, new is boiled down to hasten the properties of age.

41. Castor oil is taken with an equal quantity of warm water to open the bowels. It is said to act especially upon the hypochondria. It is good also for diseases of the joints, for all indurations, for the uterus, the ears and bums; with the ashes moreover of the murex shell for inflammation of the anus, and likewise for the itch. It improves the complexion, and through its fertilizing power it promotes the growth of the hair. The seed from which it is made no living creature will touch. The wicks made from the fibres give a brilliantly dear flame, but the oil burns with a dull light because it is much too thick. The leaves in vinegar are applied locally for erysipelas, but fresh leaves by themselves for diseases of the breasts and for eye-fluxes; a decoction of them in wine, with pearl barley and saffron, is used for inflammations, and applied by themselves for three days they clear the complexion.

42. Almond oil cleanses, makes the body supple, smoothes the skin, improves the complexion, and with honey removes spots on the face. A decoction also with rose oil or honey and pomegranate rind is good for the ears, kills the little worms in them, and dears away hardness of hearing, vague noises and singing, incidentally relieving headache and pains in the eves. Combined with wax it cures boils and sunburn. With wine it cleans away running sores and scaly eruptions; with melilot, eondylomata. Applied to the head moreover by itself it induces sleep.

43. Laurel oil is the more useful the fresher and greener it is. Its quality is heating, and therefore it is applied, warmed in pomegranate rind, for paralysis, convulsions, sciatica, bruises, headache, chronic catarrh and troubles of the ear.

44. Similar also is the method of using myrtle oil. It is astringent and hardens. With copper scales and wax it cures sore gums, toothache, dysentery, ulcerations of the uterus, bladder troubles, chronic or running sores, and also eruptions and burns. It heals abrasions, scaly eruptions, chaps, condylomata, and relaxed a joints, removing also offensive odours of the body. It is an antidote to cantharides, the buprestis, and noxious poisons too that injure by causing sores.

45. Oil of dwarf myrtle or prickly myrtle has at the same qualities. Oil of cypress has the same effects as oil of myrtle and as oil of citrus. On of walnuts, which we have called caryinum, is useful for mange, and is injected into the ears for hardness of hearing, and an application relieves headache; for the rest, it is sluggish and of a disagreeable taste; indeed, if there should be any rottenness in a kernel a whole peck is spoilt. The oil made from mezerium seed has the same property as castor oil. Oil of mastich is a very useful ingredient of acopum, and would be as profitable as rose oil were it not generally thought to be rather too hard. They use it also for profuse sweating and for the pimples caused by sweats. It is a very efficient cure for the itch in beasts of burden. Oil of behen nut clears away spots, boils and freckles, and heals the gums.

46. I have already described the nature of the cyprus and the method of extracting oil from it. Its properties are heating, and it softens the sinews. The leaves make an application for the stomach and for an irritated uterus; their juice too is made into a pessary. The fresh leaves are chewed and used as a remedy for running sores on the head, also for sores in the mouth, gatherings and condylomata. A decoction of the leaves is good for burns and sprains. The leaves themselves, pounded and applied with the juice of the sparrow apple turn

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the hair red. The blossom applied with vinegar soothes headache, and also, if burnt in a pot of unbaked clay and applied either alone or with honey, heals corroding sores and putrefying ulcers. The smell of the blossom and of the oil induces sleep. Oil of must is astringent and cooling in the same way as oil of oenanthe.

47. Oil of balsam is by far the most valuable of all oils, as I have said in my account of unguents. It is efficacious for all snake bites, improves very much clearness of vision, disperses films over the eves, and also eases difficulty of breathing and all kinds of gatherings and indurations. It prevents thickening of the blood and cleanses sores, being very beneficial for ear troubles, headache, palsy, convulsions and ruptures. Taken in milk it is an antidote to aconite, and rubbing the body with it reduces fevers that are accompanied by shivering. It must, however, be used in moderation, since it burns the flesh and aggravates complaints if there be any excess.

48. The nature of malobathrum also and the various kinds of it, have been described. It is diuretic; boiled in wine it makes a very useful application for fluxes of the eyes; applied to the forehead it induces sleep, more effectively if the nostrils also be smeared with it, or if it be taken in water. A leaf placed under the tongue improves the sweetness of the mouth and breath, and similarly, if placed among clothes it imparts a pleasant smell.

49. Oil of henbane is useful as an emollient but injurious to the sinews; indeed if drunk it causes derangement of the brain. Therminum, or oil of lupins, is emollient, being very similar in its effects to rose oil. Oil of narcissus was mentioned along with the flower. Oil of radishes removes phthiriasis caused by chronic illness and smoothes roughness of the skin on the face. Oil of sesame cures earache, spreading sores, and those called malignant. Oil of lilies, which I have also called Syrian oil, is very useful for the kidneys, for promoting perspiration, for softening the uterus, and for bringing internal abscesses to a head. Oil of Selga, I have said to be beneficial to the sinews, as is also the grass-green oil that the people of Iguvium sell along the Flaminian way.

50. Olive honey, which I have said exudes in Syria from the olive trees themselves, has a taste like honey, relaxes the bowels, though not without nausea, and brings away bile in particular if two cyathi be given in a hemina of water. Those who have drunk it become torpid and need to be roused at short intervals. Those about to take part in drinking bouts take a cyathus of it beforehand. Oil of pitch is used for cough, and for itch in cattle.

51. Next in honour to the vine and the olive and comes the palm. Fresh dates are intoxicating, though causing headache less when dried, and they are not, so far as can be seen, beneficial to the stomach. They relieve a cough and are flesh-forming food. The juice of boiled dates used to be given by the ancients to invalids instead of hydromel to restore their strength and to assuage thirst; for this purpose they used to prefer Thebaic dates, which are also useful, especially in food, for the spitting of blood. The dates called caryotae are applied with quinces, wax, and saffron to the stomach, bladder, belly and intestines. They heal bruises. The kernels of dates, if they are burnt in a new earthen vessel and the ashes washed, take the place of spodium, are an ingredient of eye-salves, and with the addition of nard make lotions for the eyebrows.

52. The palm which bears the myrobalanum, found in Egypt, is very highly esteemed. It has no stone in its dates, as other date-palms have. Taken in a dry wine it checks diarrhoea and excessive menstruation, and unites wounds!

53. The palm called date or spathe gives to medicine its buds, leaves, and bark. Its leaves are applied to the hypochondria, stomach, liver, and to sores that spread and refuse to form a scar. The tender bark of it, mixed with resin and wax, heals the itch in twenty days. A decoction of it also is used for diseases of the testicles. It darkens the hair, and fumigation with it brings away the foetus. It is given in drink for diseases of the kidneys, bladder and hypochondria, though it is injurious to the head and sinews. A decoction of it arrests fluxes of the uterus and of the belly; the ashes also cure colic, and taken in white wine are very beneficial for affections of the uterus.

54. Next come the various kinds of medicines to be obtained from apples. Of these, spring apples are sour and injurious to the stomach, derange the bowels and bladder, and do harm to the sinews; cooked, however, they are less harmful. Quinces are more pleasant when cooked; though when raw, provided they are ripe, they are good for spitting of blood, dysentery, cholera and coeliac disease. They are not of the same efficacy when cooked, for they lose the astringent power that resides in their juice; nevertheless, a decoction in rain water is made for the purposes I have mentioned above. For stomachache, moreover, they are applied, either raw or in a decoction, after the manner of a wax salve; also to the chest in attacks of high fever. The down on them heals carbuncles. Boiled in wine and applied with wax they restore the hair lost through mange. Raw quinces preserved in honey move the bowels. They add much to the pleasant taste of honey, and make it more beneficial to the stomach. Boiled quinces preserved in honey and beaten up with a decoction of roseleaves are given by some as food for the treatment of affections of the stomach. The juice of raw quinces is good for the spleen, difficulty of breathing, and dropsy, as well as for the breasts, condylomata and varicose veins, and the flowers, both fresh and dried, for inflammations of the eyes, spitting of blood, and to regulate menstruation. A soothing juice is also derived from quinces by pounding them with sweet wine, which is good for coeliac affections and the liver. A decoction of them is also used to foment prolapsus of the uterus and of the intestines. An oil also is extracted from them, which I have called melinum, provided that the fruit is not grown on wet soil. Hence the most useful are the quinces imported from Sicily; while the sparrow quince, although nearly related, is not so good. The root of the quince tree, after a ring has been drawn round it, is pulled up with the left hand, the person doing so being careful to state why he is pulling it, and for whom. An amulet from such a root cures scrofulous sores.

55. Honey apples and the other sweet kinds relax the stomach and bowels, cause thirst and heat, but do no injury to the sinews. Round apples arrest looseness of the bowels and vomitings, and act as a diuretic. Wild apples are like sour spring apples and arrest looseness of the bowels; indeed for this purpose they must be used while unripe.

56. Citrons, either the fruit or the pips, are taken in wine to counteract poisons. They make the breath pleasant if the mouth be washed with a decoction of them, or with the juice extracted from them. Their pips are prescribed to be eaten by women for the nausea of pregnancy, the fruit itself, moreover, is eaten for weakness of the stomach, but not very easily without vinegar.

57. It would be waste of time to go over again the nine varieties of pomegranates. The sweet ones, which I have also called apyrena, are considered to be injurious to the stomach; they cause flatulence, and do harm to the teeth and gums. Those however which resemble these closely in taste, called by me vinous pomegranates, have small pips and are understood to be a little more useful. They are astringent to the bowels and stomach, provided that moderation is observed and surfeit avoided. In fever even these are strictly forbidden, although no pomegranates at all ought really to be allowed, as neither pulp of the seeds nor the juice is anything but injurious. They are equally to be avoided when there is vomiting and bringing up of bile. In these nature has shown us a grape and, not mere must, but actually wine ready made. Both are enclosed in a rather rough skin, which in the case of the bitter fruit is much used. It is popular knowledge that skins are thoroughly tanned by it; hence physicians call it the leather apple. They tell us that it is diuretic, and that a decoction in vinegar with the addition of gall-nut strengthens loose teeth. It is in request for easing the nausea of women with child, since by a taste the foetus is quickened. The apple is divided and soaked in rain water for about three days. This infusion is drunk cold by sufferers from coeliac affections and spitting of blood.

58. From the bitter pomegranate is made a medicine which is called stomatice, and is very good for affections of the mouth, nostrils and ears, for dimness of vision, for sores on the eyelid, for the genitals, for so-called corroding sores and excrescences on ulcers, and to counteract the poison of the sea-hares. This is the mode of preparation. After the rind has been taken off the berries are crushed; the juice is boiled down to one-third with saffron, split alum, myrrh and Attic honey, a half-pound of each. Others prepare it also in the following way. Many acid pomegranates are pounded, and the juice is boiled in a new pot to the consistency of honey, for the treatment of lesions of the male genitals and anus, of all lesions treated by lycium, of purulent ears, of incipient fluxes from the eyes, and of red spots upon the hands. Branches of the pomegranate keep away snakes. The rind of the fruit boiled in wine and applied is a cure for chilblains. A pomegranate, pounded and boiled down to one heufina in three heminae of wine, cures griping and acts as a vermifuge. A pomegranate in a new earthen jar with the lid sealed, burnt in a furnace, well pounded and taken in wine, checks looseness of the bowels and cures griping.

59. The first bud of this fruit when it is beginning to blossom is called cytinus by the Greeks; it has a wonderful feature, which has come under the notice of many investigators. If a person, after freeing himself from every kind of bandgirdle, shoes, even his ringplucks one of these buds with two fingers, the thumb and the fourth finger, of his left hand, brushes his eyes with it, lightly touching them, and then swallows it without its touching any tooth, he will suffer, it is said, no eye-trouble during the same year. These same buds, dried and pounded, reduce fleshy excrescences, healing gums and teeth, even if they be loose, by the use of a decoction of the juice. The little buds, just as they are except for pounding, are applied to spreading, purulent sores, also to inflamed eyes and for inflammation of the intestines, and for nearly all the affections for which pomegranate rinds are used. They neutralize the stings of scorpions.

60. It is impossible sufficiently to admire the pains and care of the old inquirers, who have explored everything and left nothing untried. In this very cytinus are little blossoms, unfolding of course before the pomegranate itself forms, which I have said a is called balaustium. So these blossoms too they investigated, and discovered them to neutralize the stings of scorpions. Taken in drink they arrest excessive menstruation, and heal sores of the mouth, tonsils and uvula, spitting of blood, looseness of the bowels and stomach, disorders of the genitals, and running sores in any part of the body. They dried too these blossoms, to test their efficacy also when thus prepared, and found that reduced to powder they cure sufferers from dysentery even when on the point of death, checking the diarrhoea. Moreover, they have taken the trouble to try out the very pips of the pomegranate berry. Roasted and pounded they are good for the stomach, if taken in food or drink. They are taken by themselves in rain water to arrest looseness of the bowels. The root when boiled yields a juice which kills tapeworm, the dose being one victoriatus by weight. The same root, thoroughly boiled in water serves the same purposes as lycium.

61. There is also a wild pomegranate, so called because of its likeness to the cultivated tree. Its roots, which have a red skin, act as a soporific if taken in wine, a denarius by weight being the dose. Its seed taken in drink dries up water under the skin. If pomegranate rind be burned the smoke keeps off gnats.

62. All kinds of pears are indigestible food, even for men in health; and to the sick they are as strictly forbidden as wine. Cooked, however, they are remarkably wholesome and pleasant, especially those of Crustumium. All kinds of pears, however, if boiled down with honey are wholesome to the stomach. Out of pears are made plasters for dispersing flesh lesions, and they use a decoction of them for iudurations. By themselves they neutralize the poison of toadstools and tree-fungi, expelling it by their weight in addition to the counteracting effect of their juice. The wild pear is very slow in ripening. Sliced the pears are hung up and dried for checking looseness of the bowels, for which purpose a decoction also of them is efficacious, taken as drink. A decoction also of the leaves with the fruit is used for the same purposes. The ashes of pear wood are even more efficacious against the poison of tree-fungi. Apples and pears, even a small quantity, make a remarkably heavy load for beasts of burden. It is said that a remedy for this is to give them a few to eat, or at least to show some, before beginning the journey.

63. The milky juice of the fig has the nature of vinegar, and so like rennet it curdles milk. It is extracted before the fruit is ripe and dried in the shade for clearing up sores and promoting menstruation, the application being a pessary made with yoke of egg, or a draught with starch. With fenugreek meal and vinegar it makes a liniment for gout. It also serves as a depilatory, heals eruptions on the eyelids, as well as lichen and itch. It loosens the bowels. Fig juice has the property of counteracting the poison of hornets, wasps and similar creatures, especially scorpions. With axle-grease it also removes warts. The leaves and unripe figs make a liniment for scrofulous sores and for all sores requiring the use of emollients or resolvents; the leaves by themselves too have the same property. They are used as well for rubbing lichen, mange, and on all occasions where a caustic is called for. The young shoots of the branches are applied to the skin to render dog-bites harmless. The same shoots with honey are applied to the sores called honeycomb. With leaves of wild poppy they extract fragments of bone. Their leaves beaten up with vinegar render harmless the bites of mad dogs. The tender white shoots of the dark fig are applied to boils, and with wax to the bites of the shrewmouse, and the ash from their leaves to gangrenes and to reduce excrescences. Ripe figs are diuretic, laxative, sudorific, and bring out pimples; for this reason they are unwholesome in autumn, since a body perspiring because figs have been eaten becomes very chilled. They upset the stomach, although. only for a while, and they are understood to be bad for the voice. The last figs are more wholesome than the first; doctored a figs, however, are never wholesome. Figs increase the strength of youth; to age they give improved health and fewer wrinkles. They relieve thirst and cool the heat of the body; for this reason they are not to be rejected in the constrictive fevers called stegnae. Dried figs are injurious to the stomach, but wonderfully beneficial to the throat and pharynx. The nature of these is heating, and they cause thirst. They relax the bowels, but are injurious to bowel catarrhs and to the stomach. On all occasions they are beneficial for the bladder, for difficult breathing and for asthma. Likewise for complaints of the liver, kidneys and spleen. They are flesh-forming and strengthening, and therefore the earlier athletes used them as a staple food. It was the trainer Pythagoras who was the first to change their diet of figs for one of meat. A convalescent after a long illness finds them very beneficial, as do sufferers from epilepsy and dropsy. They are applied to all gatherings that need bringing to a head or dispersing, more effectively if combined with lime, soda or iris. Boiled with hyssop they clear the chest of phlegm and chronic cough; boiled with wine they clear away trouble at the anus and swellings of the jaws. A decoction of them makes an ointment for boils, superficial abscesses and parotid swellings. This decoction makes a useful fomentation for

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female complaints, and the same decoction, combined with fenugreek, is useful in pleurisy and pneumonia. Boiled with rue figs are good for colic; with red copper oxide for sores on the shins and for parotid swellings; with pomegranate for hangnails; with wax for burns and chilblains; for dropsy they are boiled in wine with wormwood and barley meal. If they are chewed with soda added they relax the bowels; beaten up with salt they make a liniment for scorpion stings. Boiled in wine and applied they bring carbuncles to a head. In cases of carcinoma, if there be no ulceration, it is almost specific to apply the richest fig possible, and the same is true of corroding ulcers. The ash from no other wood is more active as a cleanser, healer of wounds, former of new flesh, and as an astringent. It is also taken in drink to disperse blood that has coagulated, and likewise for bruises, violent falls, ruptures, and cramps, the dose being a cyathus to a cyathus of oil and water respectively. It is given to sufferers from tetanus and convulsions: in drink also or in an injection for coeliac trouble and for dysentery. With oil it makes an ointment which has warming properties. Kneaded into a paste with wax and rose oil it forms over burns the slightest of scars. Made into a paste with oil it cures short sight., and ailments of the teeth if used frequently as a dentifrice. It is said that, if anyone with upturned face draws a fig tree down, and a knot of it be bitten off without anybody seeing, to tie this round the neck by a string with a bag of fine leather and wear it as an amulet disperses scrofulous sores and parotid swellings. The crushed bark with oil heals ulcerations of the belly. Raw green figs with soda and meal added remove warts and warty excrescences? The ash of the bushy shoots from the root is a substitute for zinc oxide. After two washings, with white lead added it is worked into lozenges for the treatment of ulcers and scabs on the eyes.

64. The wild fig is even much more efficacious than the fig; a sprig of it also curdles milk into cheeses. It has less milk in it than the cultivated fig. This milk is collected and hardened by pressure, when it is rubbed on meat to keep it sweet. Diluted with vinegar it forms an ingredient of blistering preparations. It relaxes the bowels; with starch it opens the uterus; with the yolk of egg it promotes menstruation. With fenugreek meal it is applied to gouty limbs. It clears up leprous sores, itch, lichen and freckles, and similarly cures wounds made by venomous creatures and dog bites. Applied on wool this juice is also good for toothache, or hollow teeth may be plugged. The tender stalks and leaves mixed with vetches are a remedy for the poison of marine animals; wine also is added. Beef can be boiled soft with a great saving of fuel if the stalks be added to the water. An application of the unripe figs soften and disperse scrofulous sores and every kind of gathering; to a certain degree the leaves too do the same. The softest leaves with vinegar heal running sores, epinyctis and scurfy eruptions. With honey the leaves cure honeycomb sores and fresh dog bites, with wine corroding sores, and with poppy leaves they extract splinters of bone. Wild figs when green disperse flatulence by fumigationtaken in drink they are an antidote to bulls' blood that has been swallowed, to white lead and to curdled milkand boiled down in water they disperse when used as a liniment sores of the parotid glands. The young stalks or green fruit of the wild fig, plucked when as small as possible, are taken in wine to counteract scorpion stings. The milk, too, is poured into a wound and the leaves are applied to it, and the same treatment is employed for the bite of the shrewmouse. The ash of the young shoots soothes a sore uvula; the ash of the tree itself applied in honey cures chaps, and the root boiled down in wine cures toothache. The winter wild fig, boiled in vinegar and beaten up, clears up eczema. The branches with the bark removed are scraped to produce particles as fine as sawdust, which are used as an application. The wild fig too one miraculous medicinal property attributed to it; if a boy not yet adolescent break off a branch and tears off with his teeth its bark swollen with sap, the mere pith tied on as an amulet before sunrise keeps away, it is said, scrofulous sores. The wild fig, if a branch be put round the neck of a bull, however fierce, by its miraculous nature so subdues the animal as to make him incapable of movement.

65. A plant too, called erinos by the Greeks, must be described here because of the kinship of its name. It is a span high, and generally has five small stalks; it resembles basil, with a white flower and small black seed. Pounded and added to Attic honey this seed cures fluxes of the eyes, the proportions being two cyathi to four drachmae of Attic honey. When broken this plant distils much sweet milk, which with the addition of a little soda is very beneficial for earaches. The leaves are an antidote to poisons.

66. The leaves of the plum boiled in wine are good for tonsils, gums and uvula, the mouth being rinsed with this decoction occasionally. The fruit by itself relaxes the bowels, but is not very good for the stomach, though its effects are transitory.

67. Peaches are more wholesome, and so is their juice, which is also squeezed out and taken in wine or vinegar. No other food is more harmless than this fruit; nowhere do we find less smell or more juice, though the latter tends to create thirst. Peach leaves pounded and applied arrest haemorrhage. Peach kernels mixed with oil and vinegar make an application good for headache.

68. As for wild plums, their fruit or the skin of their root, boiled down in dry wine from one hemina to one third, checks looseness of the bowels and colic. A cyathus of the decoction at a time makes a sufficient dose.

69. Both on wild and on cultivated plum trees there forms a gummy substance called lichen by the Greeks and wonderfully beneficial for chaps and condylomata.

70. In Egypt and in Cyprus are mulberries of a unique sort, as I have already said. If the outer rind be peeled off they stream with copious juice; a deeper cut (so wonderful is their nature) finds them dry. The juice counteracts the poison of snakes, is good for dysentery, disperses superficial abscesses and all kinds of gatherings, heals wounds, and allays headache and earache. For diseases of the spleen it is taken by the mouth and used as a liniment, as also for violent chills. It very quickly breeds worms. We Romans use the juice quite as much. Taken in wine it neutralizes aconitc and the poison of spiders; it opens the bowels, expelling phlegm, tapeworm and similar intestinal parasites. The same effect also is produced by the pounded bark. The leaves boiled in rain water together with the bark of the dark fig and of the vine dye the hair. The juice of the fruit itself moves the bowels immediately; the fruit itself is for the time being good for the stomach, being cooling, though thirst-producing, and if no other food is taken afterwards, it swells up. The juice of unripe mulberries is constipating; there are marvels to be noticed about this tree, mentioned by me in my description of it, which suggest that it has some sort of soul.

71. There is made from the mulberry a mouthwash called panchrestos, or arteriace, in the following way. Three sextarii of the juice from the fruit are reduced by a gentle heat to the consistency of honey; then are added two denarii of dried omphacium, or one of myrrh, and one denarius of saffron. These are beaten up together and mixed with the decoction. There is no other remedy more pleasant for the mouth, the trachea, the uvula or the gullet. It is also prepared in another wax. Two sextarii of the juice and one sextarius of Attic honey are boiled down in the mariner I have described above.

There are besides marvels related of the mulberry. When it begins to bud, but before the leaves unfold, the fruit-to-be is plucked with the left hand. The Greeks call them ricini. These, if they have not touched the ground, when worn as an amulet stay a flow of blood, whether it flows from a wound, the mouth, the nostrils, or from haemorrhoids. For this purpose they are stored away and kept. The same effect is said to be produced if there be broken off at a full moon a branch beginning to bear; it must not touch the ground, and is specially useful when tied on the upper arm of a woman to prevent excessive menstruation. It. is thought that the same result is obtained if the woman herself breaks off a branch at any time, provided that it does not touch the ground before it is used as an amulet. Mulberry leaves pounded, or a decoction of dried leaves, are used as an application for snake bite, and it is of some benefit to take them in drink. The juice extracted from the skin of the root, and drunk in wine or diluted vinegar, counteracts the poison of scorpions. There must also be given a recipe of the ancients. The juice of the ripe fruit was mixed with that of the unripe, and the two boiled in a copper vessel to the consistency of honey. Some used to add myrrh and cypress and then to bake the mixture very hard in the sun, stirring it three times a day with a spatula. This was their stomatice, which they also used to help the formation of a scar on wounds. Another method was to squeeze the juice from dried fruit; this greatly improved the flavour of viands, and was moreover used in medicine for corroding sores, phlegm on the chest, and whenever astringent treatment of the bowels was called for. It was also used to rinse the teeth. A third kind of juice is to make a decoction of the leaves and root, to be applied in oil to burns. The leaves are also applied by themselves. An incision into the root at the time of harvest yields a juice admirably suited to relieve toothache, gatherings and suppurations, besides acting as a purge. Mulberry leaves soaked in urine remove hair from hides.

72. Cherries relax the bowels, but are injurious to the stomach; dried cherries arrest looseness of the bowels and are diuretic. I find it stated in my authorities that if anyone swallows cherries with their stones in the morning, when the dew is on them, the bowels are so relieved that the feet are freed from gout.

73. Medlars, except the setanian, which is nearer to the apple in its properties, act astringently upon the stomach and check looseness of the bowels. Likewise sorb apples when dried; but when fresh they are beneficial to the stomach and to disordered bowels.

74. Pine nuts, containing resin, if lightly crushed and boiled down to one half with a sextarius of water to each nut, cure spitting of blood when the decoction is taken in doses of two cyathi. A decoction of the bark of the pine in wine is prescribed for colic. The kernels of the pine nut allay thirst, heartburn, gnawings of the stomach and the peccant humours that settle there; they tone up the system, and are beneficial for the kidneys and bladder. They seem to relieve roughness of the throat or of a cough, and drive out bile when taken in water, wine, raisin wine or a decoction of dates. For severe gnawing pains of the stomach they are combined with cucumber seed and juice of purslane, and also for ulcerations of the bladder and affections of the kidneys, since they are also diuretic.

75. A decoction of roots of the bitter almond clears the complexion of spots and makes it of a more cheerful colour. Almonds themselves induce sleep and increase the appetite; they are diuretic and act as an emmenagogue. They are applied for headache, especially in fever; if the headache arises from wine, the application is with vinegar, rose oil and a sextarius of water. With starch and mint they arrest haemorrhage, and to anoint the head with the mixture is good for lethargus and epilepsy; mixed with old wine they heal epinyctis and purulent sores, with honey dog bites and, after preliminary fomentation, scaly eruptions on the face. Taken in water, too, they remove pains of the liver and kidneys, and they are often made also into an electuary for this purpose with resin from the turpentine tree. For stone and strangury they are beneficial taken in raisin wine, and for clearing the skin taken crushed in hydromel. In an electuary they are good for the liver, for a cough and for colic, if a little elelisphacus be added. The electuary is taken in honey, and is of the size if a filbert. It is said that if about five of these almonds are taken before a carouse drinkers do not become intoxicated, and that foxes die if they eat them without having water at hand to lap. Less efficacious as a remedy are sweet almonds, yet these two are purging and diuretic. Eaten fresh they lie heavy on the stomach.

76. Greek nuts taken in vinegar with wormwood seed are said to cure jaundice, applied by themselves affections of the anus, condylomata in particular, as well as coughs and spitting of blood.

77. Walnuts have received their name in Greek from the heaviness of the head which they because; the trees themselves, in fact, and their leaves give out a poison that penetrates to the brain. The kernels if they are eaten have the same effect, though the pain is less severe. Freshly gathered, however, they are more agreeable. The dried nuts are more oily, and injurious to the stomach, difficult digestion, productive of headache and bad for a cough; they are good, however, for those who intend to vomit fasting, for tenesmus and for colic, as they bring away phlegm? Taken in time these nuts deaden the effects of poisons, neutralize onions and make their flavour milder. They are applied to inflammation of the ears, with rue and a little honey to the breasts and to sprains, with rue and oil to quinsy, and with onion, salt and honey to the bites of dogs and of humans. By a walnut shell a hollow tooth is cauterized? If the shell be burnt and beaten up with the addition of oil or wine, to anoint a baby's head with the mixture is to promote the growth of hair, and this preparation is also used for mange. The more walnuts eaten, the easier it is to expel tapeworms. Very old walnuts are a cure for gangrenes and carbuncles, as also for bruises; the bark of walnuts cures lichen and dysentery, and the pounded leaves with vinegar cure earache. When the mighty king Mithridates had been overcome, Cn. Pompeius found in a private notebook in his cabinet a prescription for an antidote written in the king's own handwriting:two dried walnuts, two figs and twenty leaves of rue were to be pounded together with the addition of a pinch of salt; he who took this fasting would be immune to all poison for that day. The kernels of walnuts chewed by a fasting person and applied to the bite of a mad dog are said to be a sovereign remedy.

78. Filberts cause headache and flatulence of the stomach, and put more fat on the body than one would think at all likely. Parched they also cure catarrh, pounded too and taken in hydromel they cure chronic cough; some add grains of pepper, others take them in raisin wine. Pistachio nuts have the same uses as pine nuts, and are besides, whether eaten or taken in drink, beneficial for snake bites. Chestnuts cheek effectually fluxes of the stomach and belly; they encourage peristaltic action of the bowels, arrest haemoptysis, and increase the growth of flesh.

79. Fresh carobs, injurious to the stomach, relax the bowels; dried carobs are astringent and prove more beneficial to the stomach; they are diuretic. For pain in the stomach some persons boil down to one half three Syrian carobs in a sextarius of water, and drink this decoction. The sap that sweats from a branch of the cornel tree is caught on a red-hot iron plate without the wood touching it; the resulting rust is applied as a cure for incipient lichen. The arbutus or strawberry tree bears a fruit that is difficult of digestion and injurious to the stomach.

80. The bay-leaves, bark and berriesis of a heating nature; and so a decoction made from these, especially from the leaves, as is generally agreed, is good for the uterus and bladder. An application of the leaves, moreover, counteracts the poison of wasps, hornets and bees, as well as that of snakes, in particular of the seps, the dipsas band the viper. Boiled with oil the leaves are also good for menstruation; tender leaves pounded and mixed with pearl barley are good for

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inflammations of the eyes, with rue for those of the testicles, and with rose oil or iris oil for headache. Moreover three leaves, chewed and swallowed for three days in succession, free from cough; the same pounded and with honey free from asthma. The skin of the root is to be avoided by women with child. The root itself breaks up stone in the bladder, and three oboli taken in a draught of fragrant wine are good for the liver. The leaves taken in drink act as an emetic. The berries pounded and applied in a pessary or taken in drink act as an emmenagogue. Doses of two berries with the skin removed taken in wine cure chronic cough and difficulty of breathing. If fever also be present, the berries are given in water, or in a raisin-wine electuary, or boiled down in hydromet. Prepared in the same way they are good for phthisis and for all fluxes of the chest, for they both produce coctions of the phlegm and bring it up. For scorpion stings doses of four berries are taken in wine. Applied in oil the berries clear up epinyctis, freckles, running sores, sores in the mouth, and scaly eruptions; the juice of the berries clear scurf from the skin and phthiriasis; for pain or dullness of the ears it is injected with old wine and rose oil. Those anointed with it are shunned by all venomous animals; taken in drink also it is beneficial for wounds inflicted by them, especially the juice from the bay with very small leaves. The berries with wine are a prophylactic a against serpents, scorpions and spiders; with oil and vinegar they are applied also to the spleen and liver, with honey to gangrene. Further, when there is severe fatigue or chill, anointing with the juice of this berry, to which soda has been added, is beneficial. Some think that delivery is much hastened by taking in water an acetabulum by measure of bay root, fresh root being more efficacious than dried. Several authorities prescribe that ten berries be given in drink for scorpion stings; to cure relaxed uvula that a quarter of a pound of berries or leaves be boiled down to one-third in three sextarii of water, the decoction to be used as a warm gargle; and that to take away headache an uneven number of berries be pounded with oil and warmed. The pounded leaves of the Delphic bay, if smelt occasionally, keep off infection of plague, and the effect is greater if they are also burnt. Oil from the Delphic bay is useful for making wax salves and anodynes, for shaking off chills, for relaxing the sinews, and for the treatment of pain in the side and of the shivers of fever; warmed in the rind of a pomegranate it is also used for earache. The leaves boiled down in water to one-third, and used as a gargle, brace the uvula; taken by the mouth the decoction relieves pains in the bowels and intestines; the most tender leaves, pounded and applied in wine at night, remove pimples and itching. The other varieties of bay have very nearly the same properties. That of Alexandria, or Mt. Ida, taken in doses of three denarii of the root to three cyathi of sweet wine, hastens delivery; it also brings away the afterbirth and acts as an emmenagogue. Taken in drink in the same way, the wild bay, called daphnoides, or by the names already given to it, is beneficial; three drachmae of the leaves, fresh or dried, taken with salt in hydromel, relax the bowels. Chewed, this bay brings up phlegm and the leaves bring up vomit, being injurious to the stomach. In this way, too, the berries, fifteen at a time, are taken as a purge.

81. The white cultivated myrtle is less useful in medicine than the dark. Its berries cure haemoptysis, and are taken in wine to counteract poisonous tree-fungi. Even when chewed the day previously they make the mouth smell sweet, and so in Menander the women in Synaristosae [a comedy by Menander] eat them. A denarius of the same by weight is given in wine for dysentery. Made lukewarm they heal with wine obstinate sores on the extremities of the body. With pearl barley they are applied to the eyes for ophthalmia and to the left breast for cardiac disease. In neat wine they are applied to wounds inflicted by scorpions, and for affections of the bladder, headache, lacrimal fistulas before suppuration, and tumours; for pituitous eruptions the kernels are first taken out and then the berries are crushed in old wine. The juice of the berries settles the bowels and is diuretic. For eruptions of pimples and for those of phlegm an ointment is made of the juice and wax salve, and this is also used for the wounds of venomous spiders. The juice also darkens the hair. The oil from the same myrtle is milder than the juice, and so also is myrtle wine, which never intoxicates. When fully matured the wine settles the bowels and the stomach, cures colic and dispels squeamishness. The dried leaves, powdered and dusted over the body, check perspiration even in fever; it is useful also for coeliac trouble, prolapse of the uterus, affections of the anus, running sores, as a fomentation for erysipelas, for loss of hair, scaly eruptions, other eruptions also, and bums. The powder forms an ingredient in the plasters called liparae (emollient), for the same reason as the oil also is which is made from the leaves, for it is a very efficient application to the moist parts of the body, the mouth for instance and the uterus. The pounded leaves themselves are taken in wine as an antidote to the poison of tree-fungi, and moreover mixed with wax are used for diseases of the joints and for gatherings. A decoction of them in wine is prescribed to be taken by sufferers from dysentery and dropsy. They are dried to a powder which is dusted on sores and haemorrhages. They clear away freckles also, hangnails, whitlows, sores on the eyelid, condylomata, affections of the testicles, offensive sores, and also, with wax salve, burns. For pus in the ears they use both the burnt leaves and the juice as well as the decoction. The leaves are also burnt to afford material for antidotes; stalks too, plucked when in flower, are burnt in a furnace in a newly-made clay pot with the lid on and then pounded in wine. The ashes too of the leaves cure bums. If from a sore there be a swelling in the groin, it is a sufficient remedy merely to carry on the person a sprig of myrtle that has touched neither iron nor the ground.

82. I have described the preparation of myrtidanum. It is beneficial to the uterus, whether used as a pessary, a fomentation, or a liniment, being much more efficacious than the bark of the tree or the leaves or the berries. There is also extracted a juice from the leaves; the most tender are crushed in a mortar, a dry wine or sometimes rain water poured on them little by little, and the liquid now drawn off. It is used for sores in the mouth and of the anus, for those of the uterus, or of the intestines, for darkening the hair, for moisture at the armpits, for clearing away freckles, and whenever an astringent remedy is indicated.

83. The wild myrtle, oxymyrsine or chamaemyrsine, is distinguished from the cultivated by its red berries and small size. Its root is much esteemed. A decoction in wine is taken for pains in the kidneys and for strangnry, particularly when the urine is thick and of foul odour; for jaundice and purging the uterus it is pounded with wine. The young stalks also are cooked in ashes and taken as food in the same way as asparagus. The berries, taken with wine or with oil and vinegar, break up stone in the bladder; pounded also in vinegar and rose oil it relieves headache, and taken in drink the jaundice. Castor gave the name of ruscum [Butcher's broom] to the oxymyrsine, having leaves which are a myrtle's but prickly, from which in the country they make brooms; its medicinal properties are the same. So much for the medicines derived from cultivated trees of our cities; lei me pass on to the wild ones of the woods.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 24

1. Nor even the woods and the wilder face of Nature are without medicines, for there is no place where that holy Mother of all things did not distribute remedies for the healing of mankind, so that even the very desert was made a drug store, at every point occurring wonderful examples of that well-known antipathy and sympathy. The oak and the olive are parted by such inveterate hatred that, if the one be planted in the hole from which the other has been dug out, they die, the oak indeed also dying if planted near the walnut. Deadly too is the hatred between the cabbage and the vine; the very vegetable that keeps the vine at a distance itself withers away when planted opposite cyclamen or wild marjoram. Moreover, trees, it is said, that are now old and being felled are more difficult to cut down, and decay more quickly, if man's hand touch them before the axe. There is a belief that beasts of burden know at once when their load consists of fruit, and unless it is first shown to them straightway begin to sweat, however small their load may be. Fennel-giant makes very agreeable fodder for the ass; to other beasts of burden, however, it is a quick poison. For this reason the animal is sacred to Father Liber, as is also fennel-giant. Lifeless things also, even the most insignificant, have each their own special poisons. By means of linden bark and fine flour cooks extract excessive salt from food; salt reduces the sickliness of over-sweet things; water that is nitrous or bitter is sweetened by the addition of pearl barley, so that within two hours it is drinkable, and for this reason pearl barley is put into linen wine-strainers. The chalk of Rhodes and the potter's earth of our own country possess a similar property. Affinities show their power when pitch is taken out by oil, both being of a greasy nature. Oil alone mixes with lime, both hating water. Gum is more easily removed by vinegar, ink by water, and countless other examples besides will be carefully given in their proper place.

Hence sprang the art of medicine. Such things alone had Nature decreed should be our remedies, provided everywhere, easy to discover and costing nothingthe things in fact that support our life. Later on the deceit of men and cunning profiteering led to the invention of the quack laboratories, in which each customer is promised a new lease of his own life at a price. At once compound prescriptions and mysterious mixtures are glibly repeated, Arabia and India are judged to be storehouses of remedies, and a small sore is charged with the cost of a medicine from the Red Sea, although the genuine remedies form the daily dinner of even the very poorest. But if remedies were to be sought in the kitchen-garden, or a plant or a shrub were to be procured thence, none of the arts would become cheaper than medicine. It is perfectly true that owing to their greatness the Roman people have lost their usages, and through conquering we have been conquered. We are the subjects of foreigners, and in one of the arts they have mastered even their masters. But of this more elsewhere.

2. In their proper places I have already spoken of the plant called lotus, and also of the Egyptian plant called by the same name, sometimes known also as the tree of the Syrtes. The berries of this lotus, which by our countrymen is called the Greek bean, cheek looseness of the bowels. Shavings of the wood, boiled down in wine, are good for dysentery, irregular menstruation, giddiness and epilepsy. They also prevent the hair from falling out. It is strange that nothing is more bitter than these shavings or sweeter than Lotus fruit. From the sawdust also of the wood a medicine is prepared by boiling it down in myrtle water; it is then kneaded and cut into lozenges, which make a very useful medicine for dysentery, the dose being one vietoriatns to three cyathi of water.

3. Pounded acorns with salted axle-grease cure the indurations that are called malignant. More potent are those of the holm-oak, and in all acorns the more potent parts are the peel itself and the skin just under it. A decoction of the latter is good for coeliac affections. In cases of dysentery also even the acorn itself is applied. The same decoction is a remedy for snake bites, fluxes and suppurations. The leaves and berries, or the bark, or the liquid of a decoction, counteract poisons. A decoction of the bark in cows' milk is applied to snake bites, and the bark in wine is given for dysentery. The holmoak has the same properties.

4. The scarlet berry of the holm-oak is applied to fresh wounds in vinegar and to fluxes of the eyes in water; it is dropped into eyes that are blood-shot. There is also a kindred berry, found commonly in Africa and Asia, quickly turning into a little worm; for this reason it is called seoleeium, and is in low esteem. The main varieties of it I have already! given.

5. We have classified just as many varieties of gall-nutthe solid and the perforated, the white and the dark, the larger and the less. The properties of all are alike, although the best kind comes from Commagene. They remove excrescences of flesh, and are good for the gums, the uvula, and an ulcerated mouth. Burnt and then extinguished with wine they are applied for coeliac affections and dysentery, in honey to whitlows, scabrous nails, hangnails, running sores, eondylomata, and the sores called 'phagedaenie.' A decoction moreover in wine is dropped into the ears and also used as an application the eyes; with vinegar it is used for eruptions and superficial abscesses. The inner part of the nut when chewed relieves toothache, and also chafing of the skin and burns. Taken unripe in vinegar gall-nuts reduce a swollen spleen; then again, burnt and extinguished in salt and vinegar, they check excessive menstruation and prolapse of the uterus if used as a fomentation. All kinds of gall-nut blacken the hair.

6. I have already said that the choicest mistletoe is thought to come from the hard-wood oak, and I have given the way of preparing it. Some crush it and boil in water until none of it floats on the surface; others chew the berries and spit out the skins. The best birdlime from mistletoe is without any skin, and very smooth, yellow on the outside and leek-green within. Nothing is more sticky than this birdlime. It is emollient, disperses tumours, and dries up scrofulous sores; with resin and wax it softens superficial abscesses of every sort. Some add galbanum also, equal in weight to each of the other ingredients, and this mixture they use also for the treatment of wounds. The lime smoothes scabrous nails, but the application must be taken off every seven days and the nails washed with a solution of soda. Some superstitiously believe that the mistletoe proves more efficacious if it be gathered from the hard-wood oak at the new moon without the use of iron, and without its touching the ground; that so it cures epilepsy, helps women to conceive if they merely a carry it on their persons; that chewed and applied to sores it heals them most effectively.

7. The globules growing on the hardwood oak mixed with bear's grease restore hair lost through manges The leaves, bark and acorns of the Turkey oak dry up gatherings and suppurations, and check fluxes. Paralysed parts of limbs are strengthened by fomenting with a decoction of it, which as a sits bath is useful for drying and bracing these parts. The root of this tree counteracts the poison of scorpions.

8. The bark of the cork-tree, pounded and taken in hot water, arrests haemorrhage from either part of the body, and the ashes of the same taken in heated wine are highly praised as a cure for spitting of blood.

9. Beech leaves are chewed for affections of the leaves. gums and of the lips. The ashes of the beech nut make a liniment for stone in the bladder, and with honey for mange.

10. The pounded leaves of the cypress are applied to fresh wounds, and with pearl barley to the head in cases of sunstroke; they make an application also for hernia, for which too they are taken in drink. With wax they make an ointment also for swollen bread and kneaded in Amminean wine, soothe pains in the feet and sinews. The globules on this tree are taken in drink for snake bites or for the bringing up of blood, and used as an application for gatherings. Gathered while soft, and pounded with axle-grease and bean meal, they are also good for hernia. For the same purpose they are taken in drink. Mixed with meal they are applied to parotid tumours and to scrofulous sores. Pounded with the seed these globules yield a juice, which mixed with oil takes away films on the eyes. Taken too in doses of one victoriatus in wine and used as an ointment with a rich dried fig, from which the seeds have been

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removed, it cures affections of the testicles, disperses tumours, and with leaven heals scrofulous sores. Cypress root, pounded with the leaves and taken in drink, cures affections of the bladder and strangury, and counteracts the poison of spiders. The shavings taken in drink act as an emmenagogue, and neutralize the stings of scorpions.

11. The big cedrus, which they call cedrelate, yields a pitch which is called cedria, very useful for toothache; for it breaks the teeth and brings them out, easing the pain. I have already described how cedrus juice is extracted from the wood, of great use for book-rolls were it not for the headache it causes. It preserves dead bodies uncorrupted by time, but causes living ones to decaya strange inconsistency, to rob the living of their life and to give a quasi-life to the dead! It also makes clothes decay and kills animal life. For this reason I should not think it ought to be used as a remedy for quinsy, or for indigestion, as some have recommended, taken by the mouth. I should also be afraid to rinse the teeth with it in vinegar, when they ache, or to drop it into the ears for hardness of hearing or worms. Gossip records a miracle: that to rub it all over the male part before coition prevents conception. I should not hesitate to use it as an ointment for phthiriasis or for scurf. It is also recommended to take it in raisin wine to counteract the poison of the sea hare, but more readily it might be used as liniment for leprosy. For foul sores and excrescences in them, and for spots and films on the eyes, certain authorities have prescribed it as an ointment, and have directed that a cyathus of it be drunk for sores on the lung, as well as for tapeworm. There is prepared from it an oil also, which they call 'pisselaeoni' used for all the same purposes, but of greater potency. It is well ascertained that snakes are kept away by the sawdust of cedrus, and that to rub the body with the crushed berries mixed with oil has the same result.

12. Cedrides, that is the fruit of the cedrus, cure a cough, are diuretic, arrest looseness of the bowels, and are useful for ruptures, sprains, spasms, strangury and uterine affections, forming an ingredient of antidotes for the poison of sea hares and those poisons mentioned above, and being used for gatherings and inflammations.

13. About galbanum I have already spoken. The best kind is considered to be that which is neither moist nor dry, and such as I have indicated. It is taken in drink by itself for chronic cough, asthma, ruptures and sprains; it is used as an application for sciatica, pains in the sides, superficial abscesses, boils, separation of flesh from bones, scrofulous sores, knotty lumps at the joints, and tooth-ache. With honey too it makes an ointment for sores on the head. With rose oil or nard it is injected for pus in the ears. Its smell is beneficial for epilepsy, choking of the uterus, and for weakness of the stomach. A pessary or fumigation brings away the foetus when there is a miscarriage, and so will a branch of hellebore smeared with it and laid under the woman. I have said that snakes are kept off by the fumes caused by burning it; they do not come either near persons rubbed with galbanum. It heals also scorpion stings. A piece the size of a bean is taken in a cyathus of wine for difficult deliveries, and it reduces a displaced uterus; while with myrrh and wine it brings away a dead foetus. With myrrh and wine it also counteracts poisons, particularly those used on arrows. Mixed with oil and spondylium it kills snakes if it but touches them. It is supposed to make urination difficult.

14. Similar is the nature of ammoniacum and of its tear, which should be tested in the way I mentioned. It softens, warms, disperses, and dissolves. In eye salves it promotes clearness of vision. It removes itch, scars, and white spots on the eyes, and relieves toothache, more effectively when it has been set alight. It is good for difficulty of breathing, pleurisy, affections of the lungs and bladder, blood in the urine, diseases of the spleen, and sciatica, if it be taken in drink thus administered it also loosens the bowels and, boiled with an equal weight of pitch or wax and with rose oil, it makes a good ointment for diseases of the joints and for gouty pains. It brings superficial abscesses to a head, and extracts corns, when mixed with honeyso applied it also softens indurations and combined with vinegar and Cyprian wax or rose oil it makes a very effective application for diseases of the spleen. A rubbing with ointment made up of this gum, with vinegar, oil and a little soda, is a good remedy for fatigue.

15. The nature of storax also I have spoken of in my account of foreign trees. In addition to the qualities there mentioned, the most esteemed kind is very rich, unadulterated, and breaks up into white fragments. It cures coughs, affections of the throat, chest diseases, and obstructions or indurations of the uterus; by the mouth or as a pessary it acts as an emmenagogue; it loosens the bowels. I find in my authorities that a moderate dose dispels melancholy, but that a larger one causes it; that an injection cures singing in the ears, a local application scrofulous sores and knotty lumps on the sinews. It counteracts poisons that harm by chilling, and therefore, among others, hemlock.

16. Spondylium, which I described at the same time, is with old oil poured on the heads of sufferers from phrenitis, lethargus and headache of long standing. It is also taken in drink for affections of the liver, for jaundice, epilepsy, asthma, and choking of the uterus; for these fumigation is also beneficial. It loosens the bowels. With rue it is used as a liniment for spreading sores. The blossom is injected with good results into purulent ears, but the juice, when it is being extracted, must be covered over, since it has a wonderful attraction for flies and such-like insects. The shavings of the root inserted into fistulas eat away their callosities. They are also dropped with the juice into the ears. The root also itself is given for jaundice and for affections of the liver and of the uterus. If the head is rubbed with it; the hair becomes curly.

17. Sphagnos, or sphacos, or bryon, grows also, as I have pointed out, in Gaul. It is useful in the sits bath for uterine affections, and beaten up, and mixed with cress and salt water, it is also good for the knees and for swellings on the thighs. Taken in drink moreover, with wine and dry resin, it very quickly acts as a diuretic. Beaten up and drunk with wine and juniper berries, it drains off the water in dropsy.

18. The leaves and root of the turpentine-tree are applied locally to gatherings; a decoction of them strengthens the stomach. The seed is taken in wine for headache and strangury; it is a gentle aperient and an aphrodisiac.

19. The leaves of pitch-pine and of the larch pin crushed and boiled down in vinegar are good for toothache, and the ash of their bark for chafing and burns. Taken in drink it checks looseness of the bowels, is diuretic, and as a fumigation reduces a displaced uterus. The leaves of pitch-pine are specific for affections of the liver, the dose being a drachma by weight taken in hydromel. It is well known that woods consisting only of those trees from which pitch and resin arc scraped off are very beneficial to consumptives, or to those who cannot convalesce after a long illness, and that the air in districts so planted is more health-giving than a sea-voyage to Egypt, or than draughts of milk from cattle that have grazed along summer pastures in the mountains.

20. The ground-pine, the Latin name of which is abiga, because it causes abortion, and to some known as 'earth-incense,' has branches a cubit in length, with the flowers and the smell of the pine. A second species is shorter and bent, with leaves like those of aizollm. A third variety has the same smell, and therefore also the same name; it is rather small, with a stem as thick as a finger, and with rough, slender, pale leaves, growing on rocky soils. All three are plants, not trees, but should be considered here because their names are derived from that of the pine. They are good for the stings of scorpions, and also for the liver when applied with dates or quinces, as is a decoction of them with barley meal for the kidneys and bladder. Decoctions of them in water are taken also for jaundice and for strangury. The last mentioned kind mixed with honey counteracts the poison of serpents, and in this form too purges the uterus when used as a pessary. Taken as drink it draws away extravasated blood. Rubbing with it promotes perspiration, and it is particularly good for the kidneys. It is also made up into pills with figs for dropsy; these purge the bowels. In doses of one victoriatus by weight in wine it ends lumbago, and also coughs if taken in good time. A decoction in vinegar taken as a drink is said to expel at once the dead foetus.

21. For a like reason honourable mention shall be made of pityusa also, which some include in the same class as tithymalus. It is a shrub like the pitch-pine, with a small, purple flower. Bile and phlegm are earned off in the stools by a decoction of the root, the dose being one hemina, and by suppositories made of a spoonful of the seed. A decoction of the leaves in vinegar removes scaly eruptions on the skin and, mixed with a decoction of rue, is good for affections of the breasts, for griping pains, for snake bites and for gatherings in general in their early stages.

22. That resin is derived from the trees mentioned above, with its various kinds and native regions, I have stated in my account of wine, and afterwards when dealing with trees. The most general classes are twothe dry resin and the liquid. Dry resin comes from the pine and the pitch-pine, the liquid from the terebinth, larch, lentisk and cypress. For in Asia and Syria these last also produce it. They are mistaken who think that the same resin comes from the pitch-pine as comes from the larch. For the pitch-pine exudes a resin that is rich, and like frankincense in consistency, while the larch produces a thin resin with the colour of honey and a very offensive odour. Medical men use liquid resin only occasionally, generally that from the larch and administered in egg, for coughs and ulcerated bowels, nor is that from the pine much used; the others are only employed after boiling. The various ways of boiling I have fully explained. Of the various trees producing resin, the favourite is the terebinth, which yields one highly scented and very light; of the regions, Cyprus and Syria are most favoured; both resins are of the colour of Attic honey, but the Cyprian is thicker, with more body in it. In the dry kind the qualifies looked for are whiteness, purity and transparency; in every kind, however, that from a mountain soil is preferred to that from the plains, and a north-east aspect produces more highly esteemed resin than any other. Resin is dissolved in oil for the treatment of wounds and for poultices; by means of bitter almonds when used for draughts. Its medical properties are to close wounds, to act as a detergent, and to disperse gatherings; terebinth resin is also good for chest complaints. The last when warmed is used as an ointment for pains in the limbs; it is removed after a walk has been taken a in the sun. Slave-dealers especially are anxious to use this ointment for rubbing over the whole bodies of their slaves, with the object of correcting thinness; by walks afterwards they loosen the skin of every limb, and they have the further object of making possible the assimilation of a greater quantity of food. Next in popularity after terebinth resin comes that from the lentisk, which has an astringent quality and is more diuretic than the others. The rest of the resins loosen the bowels, cure indigestion, relieve chronic coughs, and also, when used as a fumigation, remove obstructions in the uterus. These are specific for the poison of mistletoe, and with beef suet and honey they heal superficial abscesses and similar affections. Lentisk resin is a most excellent remedy for turning outwards ingrowing eyelashes, and is also very useful for fractures and for pus in the ears, and also for irritation of the genitals. Pine resin is a very good remedy for wounds in the head.

23. Pitch too, its source and the methods of preparing it, I have already mentioned, as well as its two kinds, the thick and the thin. Of the thick pitches the most useful in medicine is the Bruttian, because being both very rich and very resinous it combines the useful properties of both, the yellow-red kind being of higher value than any other because of this combination. For the further opinion about pitch, that the male tree produces a better kind, cannot I think be entertained. The nature of pitch is to warm, and to fill out the flesh. Mixed with pearl barley it is a specific antidote for the bite of the horned viper, and with honey a good remedy for quinsy, catarrhs and sneezing caused by phlegm. Mixed with rose oil it is poured into the ears, and with wax it is compounded into an ointment. It heals lichen and relaxes the bowels; expectoration it eases if used as an electuary or applied to the tonsils in combination with honey. So used it also cleanses sores and fills them out. With raisins and axle-grease it cleanses carbuncles and festering sores; for creeping sores, however, it is combined with pine bark or sulphur. Some authorities have prescribed it in doses of one cyathus for consumption and chronic cough. It cures chaps in the seat, and on the feet, superficial abscesses, scabrous nails, indurations and displacements of the uterus, and lethargus by inhalation. Scrofulous sores it causes to suppurate if boiled with barley meal and the urine of a child not yet adolescent. Dry pitch is also used for mange; Bruttian pitch heated in wine, with wheat meal, is applied to the breasts of women, the applications being as hot as can be borne.

24. How liquid pitch and the oil called pisselaeon are made has been described already. Some boil it down twice and call it palimpissa. Liquid pitch is employed for painting quinsy internally. It is good for earache, for promoting clearness of vision, for use as a lip-salve, for asthmatics, the uterus, chronic cough, frequent expectoration, cramp, nervous tremors, opisthotonic tetanus, paralysis, pains in the sinews, and most effectively for itch-scab in dogs and beasts of burden.

25. There is also pissasphaltos, that is pitch combined with bitumen, found in a natural state in the territory of Apollonia; it is sometimes made artificially. It is a specific for itch-scab in cattle and for the sores caused by the young on the teats of their mothers. The best part of it is that which floats on the surface when it is boiled.

26. Zopissa, as I have said, is scraped off ships, wax being soaked in sea brine. The best is taken from ships after their maiden voyage. It is also added to poultices to disperse gatherings.

27. A decoction in vinegar of pitch pine makes an efficacious wash for aching teeth.

28. Of the lentisk tree the seed, bark and gum-drops are diuretic, and astringent to the bowels. A decoction of them is a useful fomentation for creeping sores. It makes a liniment for moist sores and also for erysipelas, and it rinses the gums. The leaves are rubbed on the teeth when they ache; loose teeth are rinsed with the decoction, which also dyes the hair. The gum-drops are good for troubles of the seat, when there is a call for a drying and warming remedy. The decoction too of the gum is useful for the stomach, being carminative and diuretic, and is also applied with pearl barley for headache. The tender leaves are applied to inflamed eyes. The mastic of the lentisk is applied for bending back the eyelashes, for filling out and smoothing the skin of the face, being also useful for spitting of blood, chronic cough, and in all cases where the medical properties of gum acacia are called for. Abrasions are treated by applying the oil made from the seed of lentisk mixed with wax, or a decoction of the leaves in oil; or they may be fomented with these preparations and water. I know for a fact that when the illness of Considia, daughter of Marcus Servilius, a consular, long a resisted all rigorous treatment, it was cured by the physician Democrites, who used the milk of goats which he fed on the lentisk.

29. The plane tree neutralizes the poison of the bat; its seed-globules taken in wine in a dose of four denarii act similarly on all poisons of serpents and scorpions, besides healing burns. Pounded moreover with strong vinegar, especially squill-

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seasoned vinegar, it checks all bleeding, and with the addition of honey removes freckles, cancerous sores and chronic pustules on the neck. The leaves moreover and bark make ointment for gatherings and suppurations, and so does a decoction of them; a decoction of the bark in vinegar is a remedy for sore teeth, but for the eyes a decoction of the most tender leaves in white wine must be made. The down of the flowers is harmful both to the ears and to the eyes. The ashes of the burnt globules heal burns and frost-bites. The bark in wine allays the stings of scorpions.

30. The power of the ash-tree to neutralize the poison of snakes I have already mentioned. The seed lies between its leaves which in wine are used for pains in the liver and sides, and draw off the subcutaneous water of dropsy. They lessen corpulence, gradually reducing the body to leanness. These leaves are also beaten up with wine in proportion to the strength of the body; for a child five leaves are soaked in three cyathi of wine, for stronger patients seven leaves in five cyathi. I must not forget the warning of some authorities, who declare that the shavings and sawdust of the ash are to be avoided.

31. The root of the maple crushed in wine makes a very efficacious application for pains of the liver.

32. The clusters of the white poplar, as I have already described, are used in making unguents. A draught made from the bark is good for sciatica and strangury, and the juice of the leaves, warmed, for earache. Those who hold in their hand a twig of poplar need not fear chafing between the legs. The black poplar that grows in Crete is considered the most efficacious; the seed in vinegar is good for epilepsy. It also discharges a small quantity of resin, which is used for poultices. A decoction of the leaves in vinegar is applied locally for gout. The moisture exuding from the hollows of the black poplar, and giving out an odour when applied with rubbing, removes warts and pimples. Poplars also produce on their leaves drops from which bees make bee-glue. With water these drops also have the same healing properties as bee-glue.

33. The leaves, bark and branches of the elm are styptic, and have the property of closing wounds. The inner bark in particular relieves leprous sores, as also does a local application of the leaves soaked in vinegar. One denarius of the bark, taken in a hemina of cold water, purges the bowels, being specific for carrying off phlegms and watery humours. Its tear is also applied locally to gatherings, wounds and burns, which it is good to foment with a decoction. The moisture forming in the pods of this tree brings a brightness to the skin and makes the looks more pleasing. The tips of the little stalks of the leaves boiled down in wine cure tumours and draw out the pus through fistulas. The same property is shown by the inner barks. Many hold that the bark when chewed is very good for wounds, and that the leaves, pounded and sprinkled with water, are so for swollen feet. An application of the moisture too, that exudes, as I have said, from the pith of the tree when lopped, restores hair to the scalp and prevents it from falling out.

34. The linden tree is good for practically the same purposes as the wild olive, but its action is milder. Only its leaves, however, are used both for babies' sores and for those in the mouth; they may be chewed or a decoction may be made of them; they are diuretic. Applied locally they check menstruation; taken in drink they draw off extravasated blood.

35. The elder has a second, a much smaller species, growing wilder and called by the Greeks chamaeacte, by others helion. A decoction in old wine of the leaves, seed, or root, of either species, taken as drink up to two cyathi for a dose, is bad for the stomach, though carrying off watery humours from the bowels. It also reduces inflammation, especially that of a recent burn, and a dog-bite is relieved by a poultice of its most tender leaves with pearl barley. An application of the juice softens gatherings on the brain, being specific when these are on the membrane that surrounds it. Its berries have weaker properties than the other parts. They dye the hair. A dose of one acetabulum taken in drink is diuretic. The softest of the leaves are eaten with oil and salt to bring away phlegm and bile. For all purposes the smaller kind is the more efficacious. A decoction of the root in wine, taken in doses of two cyathi, draws off the water of dropsy; it also softens the uterus, as does also sitting in baths of a decoction of the leaves. The tender stalks of the cultivated elder boiled in a saucepan relax the bowels; the leaves taken in wine also counteract the bites of snakes.

An application of young shoots with goat-suet is very good for gout; these are also steeped in water to kill fleas by sprinkling. If a place is sprinkled with a decoction of the leaves flies are killed. Boa is the name given to a disease when the body is red with pimples; beating with a branch of elder is administered as a remedy. The inner bark pounded and taken in white wine relaxes the bowels.

36. The juniper, even above all other remedies, is warming and alleviates symptoms; for the rest, it resembles the cedrus. Of it there are two species, one smaller than the other. Either kind when set on fire keeps off snakes. The seed is beneficial for pains in the stomach, chest and side, dispels flatulence and the feeling of chill, relieves coughs and matures indurations. Applied locally it checks tumours; the berries taken in dark wine bind the bowels, and a local application reduces tumours of the belly. The fruit is also an ingredient of antidotes and of digestive remedies, and is diuretic. It is also applied locally to the eyes for fluxes, and it is used for sprains, ruptures, colic, uterine disorders and sciatica, either in doses of four berries with white wine, or a decoction of twenty in wine. There are also some who smear the body with an extract of the seed as a protection against snakebite.

37. The fruit of the willow before maturity develops a kind of cobweb, but if it be gathered earlier it is good for the spitting of blood. Mixed with water, the ash from the burnt bark of the tips of the branches cures corns and callosities. It removes spots on the face, more thoroughly when mixed with willow juice. This juice, however, is of three kinds: one exudes like gum from the tree itself; the second flows from an incision, three fingers wide, made in the bark while the tree is in blossom. This sort is useful for clearing away humours that obstruct the eyes, also for thickening where that is necessary, for promoting urine and for draining outwards all gatherings. The third kind of juice is obtained by lopping off the branches, when it drips under the sickle. One, then, of these juices warmed in a pomegranate rind with rose oil is poured into the ears, or a local application is made of the boiled leaves beaten up with wax. For gout too it is most useful to foment the sinews with a decoction of the bark and leaves in wine. The blossom beaten up with the leaves removes scurf on the face. The leaves thoroughly pounded and taken in drink check over-lustful desire; too many doses produce absolute impotence. The seed of the black willow of Ameria with an equal weight of litharge, applied after the bath, acts as a depilatory.

38. The agnus castus is not very different from the willow, either for its use in wickerwork or in the appearance of its leaves, but it has a more pleasant smell. The Greeks call it lygos, sometimes agnos, because the Athenian matrons, preserving their chastity at the Thesmophoria, strew their beds with its leaves. There are two kinds of it. The larger grows up to be a tree like the willow; the smaller is branchy, with paler, downy leaves. The first bears pale blossom with some purple in it, and is called the white agnus; the other, which bears only purple blossom, is called the dark agnns. They grow on marshy plains. The seed taken in drink has a taste somewhat like wine; it is said to reduce fevers, to stimulate perspiration when applied as embrocation with oil, and also to dispel lassitude. The trees furnish medicines that promote urine and menstruation. They go to the head like winefor the smell too is similardrive flatulence into the lower bowels, check diarrhoea, and greatly benefit dropsy and splenic diseases. They encourage abundant rich milk, and neutralize the poisons of serpents, especially those that bring on chill. The smaller kind makes the more effective remedies for the bite of serpents; one drachma of the seed, or two of the most tender leaves, is taken in wine, or in vinegar and water. Either kind makes a liniment for the bites of spiders; mere smearing drives away poisonous creatures, as does fumigation also, or placing some of the plant under the bed. They check violent sexual desire, and for this reason in particular they act as antidotes to the venomous spider, the bite of which excites the genitals. The blossom and tender shoots mixed with rose oil clear away headache due to intoxication. The seed takes away by fomentation with a decoction the more severe type of headache, purges the uterus also by fumigation or a pessary, and the bowels if drunk with pennyroyal and honey. Boils and superficial abscesses that refuse to come to a head are softened by an application of it with barley meal. With saltpetre and vinegar the seed cures lichens and freckles, with honey sores of the month and of eruptions, those of the testes with butter and vine leaves, chaps in the seat when applied with water, dislocations when applied with salt, soda and wax. With the seed the leaves too are added to plasters for the relief of painful sinews and of gout. A decoction of the seed in oil is poured in drops on the head of sufferers from lethargus or phrenitis. It is said that those who keep a twig in their hand or in their girdle do not suffer from chafing between the thighs.

39. The Greeks call erice (heath) a shrub differing only a little from the agnus castus; it has the same colour and very nearly the same leaf as rosemary. Report says that it counteracts the poison of serpents.

40. Genista also is used for cords, and has a flower of which bees are very fond. I wonder whether this is the plant that Greek writers have called sparton, because, as I have mentioned, from it the Greeks are wont to make their fishing lines, and whether Homer had it in mind when he said that 'the ships' cords (sparta) were loosed.' It is certain that the Spanish or African esparto grass was not yet in use, and though ships were made with sewed seams, yet it was with flax that they were sewed and never with esparto. The seed of this plant, which the Greeks call by the same name, grows in pods like those of the cowpea, and purges instead of hellebore if a drachma and a half with four cyathi of hydromel are drunk on an empty stomach. The branches, together with the leaves, soaked in vinegar for several days and then beaten up, yield a juice beneficial for sciatica in doses of one cyathus. Some prefer to soak them in seawater and inject as an enema. The same juice with the addition of oil is used as an embrocation for sciatica. Some too use the seed for straugury. Pounded genista with axle-grease cures painful knees.

41. Lenaeus calls the myrice (tamarisk) erica (heath), comparing it to the brooms of Ameria. He says that boiled in wine, beaten up with honey, and applied to cancerous sores it heals them. Some authorities consider it to be the same as tamarice. But it is specific for splenic trouble if its juice is extracted and drunk in wine; so wonderful do they make out its antipathy to be to this internal organ, and to this only, that they affirm that if pigs drink out of troughs made of this wood they are found to be without a spleen. And for that reason they give to a man also, if he has an enlarged spleen, food and drink in vessels made of tamarisk. A respected medical authority, moreover, has asserted that a twig, broken off from it without its touching the ground or iron, relieves bellyache, if it be so applied as to be pressed to the body by the tunic and the girdle. The common people, as I have said, call this tree unlucky, because it bears no fruit and never is planted.

42. Corinth and the part of Greece around it call brya a tree of which they distinguish two kinds: the wild, which is absolutely barren, and the cultivated. The latter in Egypt and Syria bears, and that abundantly, large-stoned fruit bigger than a gall-nut and bitter to the taste, which physicians use instead of gall-nuts in the medical mixtures which they call antherae. The wood also, and the blossom, leaves and bark, are used for the same purposes, although they are less potent. The pounded bark is given for the spitting of blood and for excessive menstruation, also to sufferers from coeliac disease. An application of the same bark pounded checks all kinds of gatherings. From the leaves is extracted a juice employed for the same purposes. The leaves are also decocted in wine; but by themselves with honey added they are applied to gangrenous sores. A decoction of them taken in wine or the leaves themselves applied locally with rose oil and wax are soothing. So used they also cure epinyctis; a decoction of them is healing to toothache and earache; the root is similarly used for the same purposes. The leaves furthermore are applied with pearl barley to spreading ulcers. A drachma by weight of the seed is taken in drink for the poison of phalangia and other spiders; it is applied however with chicken fat to boils. It is an antidote also to the poison of serpents except that of the asp. It is also good for jaundice, phthiriasis and nits, if a decoction is used as a liniment, and this too checks excessive menstruation. The ash from the tree is good for all the same purposes. They say that if it is mixed with the urine of a castrated ox and taken in either drink or food it is antaphrodisiac. A burning coal of this wood is quenched with the urine mentioned and kept in the shade. This, when you want to light it, crumbles to powder. The Magi have recorded that the urine of a eunuch also has the same effect.

43. Nor is the red-twigged tree considered more lucky. Its inner bark opens scars which have healed too soon.

44. The leaves of siler applied to the forehead relieve headache. The seed of it too crushed in oil checks phthiriasis. Serpents keep away from this shrub also, and for this reason rustics carry a walking stick made of it.

45. Privet, if it is the same tree as the cypros of the East, has its own uses in Europe. Its juice benefits sinews, joints and chills; its leaves everywhere are used to treat chronic ulcer and, with a sprinkling of salt, sores in the mouth; the berries are employed for phthiriasis, and the berries or the leaves for chafing between the thighs. The berries also cure the pip in chickens.

46. The leaves of the alder in very hot water are a remedy for tumours.

47. I have pointed out twenty kinds of ivy. The medicinal properties of all are twofold in action. Ivy deranges the mind and also clears the head when taken too copiously in drink; taken internally it injures sinews, while an external application does them good. All kinds of ivy, being of the same character as vinegar, are of a cooling nature. They are diuretic when taken in drink; they relieve headache; especially beneficial to the brain and to the membrane enclosing it is an application of soft leaves pounded and boiled with vinegar and rose oil, more rose oil being added afterwards. They are also applied to the forehead, and a decoction of them is used to foment the mouth and to rub the head. They are good for the spleen whether taken in drink or used as liniment. They are also boiled or beaten up in wine for the shivers of ague and for outbursts of phlegm. Clusters also of ivy berries cure splenic trouble, either taken in drink or applied locally; for liver trouble, however, they must be applied. Pessaries of berries promote menstruation. Ivy juice, especially that of the white cultivated ivy, cures complaints and offensive smell of the nostrils. The same poured into the nostrils clears the head, more thoroughly if soda is added. It is also poured with oil into purulent or painful ears. It furthermore removes the ugly marks of scars. For troubles of the spleen the juice of the white kind warmed with hot iron is more efficacious. A sufficient dose is six berries taken in two cyathi of wine.

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Berries of white ivy taken three at a time in oxymel expel tapeworms, and in this treatment it is also beneficial to apply the berries to the belly. The ivy that I have called golden-berried a draws off in the urine the subcutaneous water of dropsy, if twenty of the golden berries are beaten up in a sextarius of wine and the mixture is drunk in doses of three cyathi. Erasistratus prescribed five berries of the same ivy, pounded in rose oil and warmed in the rind of a pomegranate, for toothache, the injection to be made drop by drop into the ear opposite to the pain. If the berries that have a saffron juice are taken in drink beforehand, they keep off the headache that follows drinking; they are likewise good for the spitting of blood and for colic. The whiter clusters of the dark ivy taken in drink make even men sterile. A decoction in wine of any kind of ivy is applied locally to every kind of ulcer, even if it is malignant. The tears of the ivy act as a depilatory and remove phthiriasis. The blossom of any sort of ivy, taken in dry wine twice a day, a three-finger pinch at a time, corrects dysentery and looseness of the bowels. With wax it is useful as an ointment for bums. The clusters turn the hair black. The juice of the root, taken in vinegar, is good for the bite of poisonous spiders. I find also that patients with diseases of the spleen are cured if they drink from a vessel made of this wood. They crush too the berries, then burn them, and in this way apply them to burns that have previously been bathed with warm water. There are also some who make incisions in ivy for the sake of the juice, which they use for decayed teeth; they say that the teeth break off, those nearest being protected by wax lest they should be injured. They obtain also a gum from ivy, which in vinegar is recommended as very useful for the teeth.

48. The Greeks give the name cisthos, which is very like cissos (ivy), to a shrub larger than thyme and with leaves like those of ocimum. There are two kinds of it; the flower of the male is rose-coloured, of the female, white. Both are good for dysentery and looseness of the bowels, the dose being as much of the blossom as can be taken in three fingers, this quantity to be swallowed in a dry wine twice a day; for chronic ulcers and for burns the blossom is applied with wax, and by itself for ulcers in the mouth. It is especially under these shrubs that there grows the hypocisthis, which I shall describe when I treat of herbs.

49. The plant called cissos erythranos by the Greeks is like ivy. Taken in wine it is good for sciatica and lumbago; so strong is the property of the berry that it brings away blood in the urine. Chamaecissos again is the name they give to an ivy that never rises from the ground. This too crushed in wine and taken in doses of an acetabulum cures splenic trouble; the leaves with axle-grease are applied to bums. The milax also, which has the further name of anthophoros (flower-bearer), has a likeness to the ivy, though the leaves are more slender. A chaplet of it made with an odd number of leaves is said to be a cure for headache. Some authorities have declared that there are two kinds of milax. One is very nearly everlasting, grows in shaded valleys, is a climber of trees, bears berries in luxuriant clusters, and is most efficacious against all poisonous things to such a degree that, if the juice of the berries is repeatedly administered in drops to babies, no poison will hereafter do them any harm. The other kind is said to be fond of cultivated ground and to grow there, having no medicinal value. The former milax they state to be the one the wood of which, we said, gives out a sound when placed close to the ear. Like it is the plant that some have called elematis, which climbs along trees and is itself jointed. Its leaves cleanse leprous sores; its seed loosens the bowels if an acetabulum of it is taken in a hemina of water or in hydromel. A decoction of it is administered for the same purpose.

50. I have pointed out twenty-eight kinds of reed, and nowhere is more obvious that force of Nature which I describe in these books one after another, if indeed the root of the reed, crushed and applied, draws a fern stem out of the flesh, while the root of the fern does the same to a splinter of reed. To increase the number of the various reeds there is that which grows in Judea and Syria and is used for scents and unguents; boiled down with grass or celery seed this is diuretic, and when made into a pessary acts as an emmenagogue. A cure for sprains, for troubles of the liver and of the kidneys, and for dropsy, is two oboli taken in drink; for a cough also inhalation is used, the addition of resin being an improvement; for scurf and running sores is used a decoction with myrrh. Its juice also is collected and made into a drug like elaterium. Of all reeds the parts nearest the root are the most efficacious, and the joints are more efficacious than other pads. The Cyprian reed, called donax, has a bark which, reduced to ash, is a remedy for mange and also for festering sores. Its leaves are used for extracting splinters, and are also good for erysipelas and for all gatherings. The common reed has the power to extract if freshly pounded, and not the root only, for many hold that the reed itself too has this property. The root applied in vinegar cures dislocations and pains of the spine; the same ground fresh and taken in wine is aphrodisiac. The down on reeds placed in the ears deadens the hearing.

51. Akin to the reed is a plant growing in Egypt, the papyrus, which, when it has been dried, is especially useful for expanding and drying fistulas, and, by swelling, for opening them to admit medicaments. The paper made from it is, when burnt, one of the caustic remedies. Its ash taken in wine induces sleep. The plant itself applied with water cures callosities.

52. Not even in Egypt does the ebony-tree grow, as I have stated, and in my medical research I omit foreign regions; yet I must not pass it by, as it is a great marvel. Its sawdust is said to be a sovereign remedy for the eyes; its wood, ground on the whetstone and mixed with raisin wine, to dispel dimness of vision; its root, applied however in water, to disperse white specks on the eyes; cough too to be cleared away if an equal measure of draeunculus root is added along with honey. Physicians include ebony among erosive remedies.

53. The rhododendros has not even found a Latin name among the Romans, names for it being rhododaphne or nerium. It is a strange fact that, while its leaves are poisonous to quadrupeds, to man on the other hand, if rue is added and the mixture taken in wine, they are a protection against the poison of snakes. Sheep too and goats, if they drink water in which these leaves have been steeped, are said to be killed by it.

54. Neither has rhus received a Latin name, although many uses are made of it. For it is both a wild plant with myrtle-like leaves and short stems, which expels tapeworms, and also the shrub called 'the tanner's', of a reddish colour, a cubit high, and of the thickness of a finger, the leaves of which when dried are used as is pomegranate rind in the tanning of leather. Physicians moreover use the leaves of rhus for bruises, likewise for coeliac trouble, sores in the seat and for what they call eating (phagedaenic) ulcers. Pounded with honey and applied with vinegar ... a decoction of them is dropped into suppurating ears. A decoction of the branches makes a mouthwash, which is used for the same purposes as that made from mulberries, but it is more efficacious when mixed with alum. This is also applied to dropsical swellings.

55. What is called rhus erythros (red sumach) is eryta, the seed of this shrub. It has astringent and cooling properties. It is sprinkled on viands instead of salt when the bowels have been relaxed, and with silphium added makes all meat sweeter. With honey it cures running sores, roughness of the tongue, and livid or excoriated bruises; applied in the same way it very quickly causes wounds on the head to cicatrize. Taken as food it checks excessive menstruation.

56. A different plant is erythrodanum, called by some ereuthodanum, and rubia by the Romans, which is used to dye wool and to tan leather. As a medicine it is diuretic, and taken in hydromel cures jaundice (lichen too if applied with vinegar), sciatica and paralysis if the patient bathes daily while taking the draught. The root and the seed are emmenagogues, check diarrhoea and disperse gatherings. The branches with the leaves are applied for snakebites. The leaves also dye the hair. I find in some authorities that jaundice is cured if this shrub is merely looked at while worn as an amulet.

57. The plant called alysson differs from the last only in having smaller leaves and branches. It has received its name because it prevents persons bitten by a dog from going mad if they take it in vinegar and wear it as an amulet. The authorities add the wonderful marvel that the mere sight of this shrub dries up sanies.

58. Radicula too prepares wools for the dyers; I have said that it is called struthion by the Greeks. It cures jaundice both when taken by itself in drink and in the form of a decoction, and likewise chest troubles; it promotes urine, loosens the bowels and purges the uterus, for which reason physicians call it `golden goblet'. With honey too it is a splendid remedy for a cough, and in doses of a spoonful for orthopnoea; but with pearl barley and vinegar it removes leprous sores. Again, with panaces and caper root it breaks up and expels stone in the bladder, and a decoction with barley meal and wine disperses superficial abscesses. It is used as an ingredient of poultices, and of eye-salves to improve the vision; it is especially useful for making the patient sneeze, and also for troubles of the spleen and liver. The same plant taken in hydromel in doses of one denarius by weight cures asthma and pleurisy and all pains in the side.

Dog's-bane is a shrub having a leaf like that of ivy but softer; the tendrils are shorter, and the seed is pointed, grooved, downy, and strong smelling. If given in their food this seed in water kills dogs and all other quadrupeds.

59. Rosemary has been mentioned already. There are two kinds of it; one is barren, and the other has a stalk and a resinous seed called cachrys. The leaves have the smell of frankincense. A local application of the fresh root heals wounds, prolapsus of the anus, condylomata, and haemorrhoids. The juice both of the shrub and of the root cures jaundice and such conditions as call for cleansing. It sharpens the eyesight. The seed is given in drink for chronic complaints of the chest and with wine and pepper for uterine trouble; it is an emmenagogue, and with darnel meal is applied locally for gout; an application also clears away freckles, and is used when a calorific or sudorific is called for, also for sprains; milk is increased when it, and when the root, is taken in wine. The herb itself is applied with vinegar to scrofulous sores, and with honey is good for a cough.

60. There are, as I have said, many kinds of eachrys. But the one growing on rosemary, the plant just described, is resinous if rubbed. It neutralizes poisons, and the venom of all creatures except snakes. It promotes perspiration, dispels colic, and produces a rich supply of milk.

61. Sabine herb, called brathy by the Greeks, is of two kinds. One has a leaf like that of the tamarisk, the other like that of the cypress, for which reason some have called it the Cretan cypress. Many use it instead of frankincense for fumigations; in medicines moreover a double dose is said to be equivalent in strength to a single dose of cinnamon. It reduces gatherings and checks corroding sores; an application cleanses ulcers, and used as a pessary or for fumigation it brings away the dead foetus. With honey it is used as an ointment for erysipelas and carbuncles; taken in wine it cures jaundice. By fumigation sabine herb is said to cure the pip in chickens.

62. Like this sabine herb is the plant called selago. It is gathered without iron with the right hand, thrust under the tunic through the left arm-hole, as though the gatherer were thieving. He should be clad in white, and have bare feet washed clean; before gathering he should make a sacrificial offering of bread and wine. The plant is carried in a new napkin. The Druids of Gaul have recorded that it should be kept on the person to ward off all fatalities, and that the smoke of it is good for all diseases of the eyes.

63. The same authorities have called samoius (brook-weed) a plant growing in moist regions, which (they say) is to be gathered with the left hand by fasting persons to keep off the diseases of swine and oxen. As one gathers it one must not look at it, nor place the plant anywhere except in the trough, where it should be crushed for the animals to drink.

64. I have mentioned a the different kinds of gums. The better the sort of each kind the more potent its effect. Gums are injurious to the teeth, coagulate blood and therefore benefit those who spit blood; they are also good for burns though bad for affections of the trachea; they promote urine and lessen the bitter taste in things. Gums generally are acrid, but the gum that comes from bitter almonds, and is more efficacious for giving astringency to the internal organs, possesses heating properties. The gums from plums, cherries and vines are less esteemed. An application of gum has drying and astringent properties, in vinegar moreover it cures lichens on babies, and four oboli taken in must are good for a chronic cough. Gums are believed to improve the complexion and also the appetite; they are good for stone when taken with raisin wine. They are especially useful for the eyes and for wounds.

65. The Arabian thornI have mentioned the merits of the Egyptian thorn in my section on scentseven by itself by its thickening nature checks all fluxes, spitting of blood and excessive menstruation, and there is even more potency in its root.

66. The seed of the white thorn is a help against the stings of scorpions, and a crown of it when worn lessens headache. Like it is the plant called acanthion by the Greeks, but this has much smaller leaves, which have prickly points and are covered with down like cobweb. In the East this is even gathered to make a silk-like cloth. The leaves by themselves, or the roots, are taken in drink as a cure for opisthotonic tetanus.

67. A gum also is produced in Egypt from the acacia-thorn, from a pale tree and a dark, and likewise from a green tree, which is far better than the former two. Gum is also produced in Galatia; it is very inferior, and comes from a more thorny tree than the others. The seed of all the trees is like the lentil, only both grain and pod are smaller. It is gathered in autumn; if gathered earlier, its tonic properties are too powerful. The pods are steeped in rainwater and then pounded in a mortar. The juice is then extracted from them by presses, and finally thickened into lozenges by exposure to the sun in basins. A juice is also extracted from the leaves, but it is less efficacious. For tanning leather they use the seed instead of gall-nuts. The juice of the leaves and of the Galatian acacia is very dark, and considered of little value, as is also the juice of the deep-red kind. The purple gum, the dun-coloured, and that which dissolves most easilythese have the highest tonic and cooling qualities these are particularly useful for eye-salves. For purposes the lozenges are washed by some, roasted by others and by others thoroughly burnt. They dye the hair, and cure erysipelas, creeping ulcers, moist complaints of the body, gatherings, bruised joints, chilblains and hangnails. They check excessive menstruation in women and are good for prolapsus of the uterus and anus, also for the eyes and for sores of the mouth and of the genitals.

68. Our common thorn also, from which the fullers' coppers are filled, has a root with uses. Throughout the Spains, many use it as a scent and as an ingredient of ointments, calling it aspalathus of this name in the East, white, and as big as an ordinary tree,

69. but it is also the name of a shrub, lower in height but equally thorny, that grows in the islands Nisyrus and Rhodes, called by some ervsisceptrum, by others sphagnos, and by the Syrians diaxylon. The best is that least like fennelgiant, of a red colour or inclining to purple when the bark has been removed. It grows in several regions, but not everywhere has

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it a perfume. I have described its powerful scent when the rainbow rests extended over the shrub. It cures foul ulcers in the mouth, polypus, ulcerated genitals and those with carbuncles, and also chaps; taken in drink it clears away flatulence and strangury. The bark is good for those who bring up blood, and a decoction of it checks looseness of the bowels. The wild shrub also is thought to have similar properties.

70. There is also a thorn with the name of appendix, because the bright red berries hanging from it are called appendixes. These, either raw by themselves or dried and boiled down in wine, check looseness of the bowels and colic. The berries of pyracantha are taken in drink for the bites of serpents.

71. Paliurus too is a species of thorn. Its seed the Africans call zura; it is very efficacious for scorpion sting, and likewise for stone and cough. The leaves have an astringent quality. The root disperses superficial abscesses, gatherings and boils; taken in drink it is diuretic. A decoction of it in wine checks looseness of the bowels and neutralizes the poison of serpents. The root especially is given in wine.

72. The leaves of the holly, crushed and with the addition of salt, are good for diseases of the joints, while the berries are good for menstruation, coeliac trouble, dysentery and cholera. Taken in wine they check looseness of the bowels. An application of the decocted root extracts objects embedded in the flesh, and is very useful for dislocations and swellings. A holly tree planted in a town house or country house keeps off magic influences. Pythagoras has recorded that by its blossom water is solidified, and that a holly stick, cast at any animal, even if through want of strength in the thrower it falls short of the quarry, of its own accord rolls nearer the mark, so powerful is the nature of this tree. The smoke of the yew tree kills rats and mice.

73. Not even brambles did Nature create for harmful purposes only, and so she has given them their blackberries, that are food even for men. They have a drying and astringent property, being very good for gums, tonsils and genitals. They counteract the venom of the most vicious serpents, such as the haemorrhois and prester; the bloom or the berry counteracts that of scorpions. They close wounds without any danger of gatherings. Their stalks are diuretic, being pounded when young and the juice extracted, which is then condensed in the sun to the thickness of honey, and is considered to be, whether taken by the month or used as ointment, a specific for affections of the mouth or eyes, for spitting of blood, quinsy, troubles of the uterus or anus, and for coeliae affections. For affections of the mouth, indeed, even the chewed leaves are efficacious, and they are used as ointment for running sores, or for any kind of sore on the head. Even prepared thus without other ingredient they are applied near a the left breast for heart-burn, also to the stomach for stomach-ache, and to the eyes for procidence. The juice of them is also dropped into the ears. Added to rose wax-salve it heals condylomata. A decoction in wine of its tender shoots is a quick remedy for affections of the uvula. The same shoots, eaten by themselves like cabbage sprouts, or a decoction of them in a dry wine, strengthen loose teeth. They check looseness of the bowels and discharges of blood, and are good for dysentery. They are dried in the shade and then burnt so that the ash may reduce a relaxed uvula. The leaves also dried and crushed are said to be useful for sores on draught animals. The blackberries which grow on them can furnish a better mouth-medicine than even the cultivated mulberry. Made up on the same prescription or with hypocisthis and honey only, they are taken in drink for cholera, for heart-burn, and for the stings of spiders. Among the medicines that are called styptics, there is none more effective than the root of a bramble bearing blackberries boiled down in wine to one third, so that sores in the mouth and the anus may be rinsed with the decoction and fomented; so powerful is it that the very sponges used become hard as stone.

74. A second kind of bramble, on which a rose grows, produces a little round growth like a chestnut, an excellent remedy for the stone. It is different from the dog-rose, about which I shall speak a in the next book.

The cynosbatos is called by some cynapanxis, by others neurospastos. It has a leaf like a man's foot-print. It also bears a black cluster, in the berry of which it has a string, whence the whole shrub is called neurospastos. It is different from the caper that the physicians have called cynosbatos. The stalk of this, pickled in vinegar, is chewed as a remedy for affections of the spleen and for flatulence. The string of it chewed up with Chian mastic cleanses the mouth. The rose-blossom of brambles with axle-grease clears away mange; the berries mixed with oil of unripe grapes dye the hair. The blossom of the blackberry is gathered at harvest-time. The white blossom taken in wine is excellent for pleurisy and also for coeliac affections. The root, boiled down to one-third, checks looseness of the bowels and haemorrhage; the decoction also makes a wash that strengthens the teeth. With the same juice are fomented sores of the anus and of the genitals. The ash from the root replaces a relaxed uvula.

75. The Idaean bramble was so called because no other grows on Mount Ida. It is, however, more delicate than other brambles and smaller, with the canes farther apart and less prickly; it grows under the shade of trees. The blossom of it with honey is applied to fluxes of the eyes and to erysipelas, and in water it is given as a drink to patients with disordered stomachs; its other properties are the same as those mentioned above.

76. Among the different kinds of brambles is one called rhamnos by the Greeks, paler, more bushy, throwing out branches with straight thorns, not hooked like those of other brambles, and with larger leaves. The other kind of it is wild, darker and inclining to red, bearing a sort of pod. A decoction of the root of this in water makes a drug called lycium. The seed of it brings away the afterbirth. The other, the paler kind, is more astringent, cooling, and more suitable for the treatment of gatherings and wounds. The leaves of either kind, raw or boiled, are made up into an ointment with oil.

77. A superior lycium is said to be made from the thorn which is also called chironian, a boxthorn, the characteristics of which I have described among Indian trees, for Indian lycium is considered by far the best. The pounded branches and roots, which are of extreme bitterness, are boiled in water in a copper vessel for three days; the woody pieces are then taken away and the rest boiled again until it is of the consistency of honey. It is adulterated with bitter juices, even with lees of olive oil and with ox gall. The froth, which may be called the flower of the decoction, is an ingredient of remedies for the eyes. The rest of the juice is used for clearing spots from the face and for the cure of itch, chronic fluxes of the eyes and corroding sores in their corners, pus in the ears, sore tonsils and gains, cough and spitting of blood. For these a piece the size of a bean is swallowed, or if there is discharge from wounds it is applied locally, as it is to chaps, ulcers of the genitals, excoriations, fresh, spreading and also festering ulcers, excrescences in the nostrils and suppurations. It is also taken in milk by women for excessive menstruation. The Indian variety is distinguished by the lumps being black outside and red inside, quickly turning black when they have been broken. This kind is very astringent, and bitter. It is useful for all the same purposes as are the other kinds, but especially for treating the genitals.

78. Some think that sarcocolla is the tear-like drop of a thorn. It is like powdered frankincense, sweet with a touch of harshness, and gummy. It checks fluxes, and is used especially as an ointment for babies. It too grows black with age, and the whiter it is the better its quality.

79. There is still one famous remedy, called oporice, to be included among the medicines that are obtained from trees. Used for dysentery and stomach troubles, it is made in the following way. In a congius of white grape-juice are boiled down over a slow heat five quinces, seeds and all, five pomegranates, one sextarius of sorb-apples, an equal quantity of what is called Syrian sumach, and half an ounce of saffron. The boiling continues until the consistency is that of honey.

80. To these remedies I will add those which, because the Greeks have given the same name to different objects, we might be led to suppose came from trees.

The chamaedrys ('ground oak') is a plant whose Latin name is trixago. Some have called it chamaerops, and others the Trojan plant. It has leaves of the same size as mint leaves, coloured and indented as are those of the oak. Some have called it 'saw-shaped,' saying that it gave rise to the invention of the saw; its blossom is almost purple. It is cropped in rocky localities and is full of juice, being a very efficacious remedy, either by the mouth or as an ointment, for the poison of serpents, and also for disordered stomach, chronic cough, phlegm collected in the throat, ruptures, sprains and pain in the side. It reduces the spleen, promotes menstruation, and is diuretic, being for this reason efficacious in incipient dropsy, a handful of its sprays being boiled down to one-third in a sextarius and a half of water. It is ground in water to make lozenges for the purposes mentioned above. With honey it also heals abscesses and chronic sores, even when foul. There is also made from it a wine, which is useful for troubles of the chest. The juice of the leaves with oil clears away dimness of vision; for the spleen it is taken in vinegar. Used also as embrocation it is warming.

81. The chamaedaphne ('ground bay') consists of a single small stem, about a cubit high; the leaves are more slender than those of the bay; the seed, of a red colour, is attached to the leaves. It is applied fresh to the head for headache, it cools feverishness, and for colic it is taken with wine. Its juice when taken by the mouth promotes menstruation and urine, and applied as a pessary in wool it makes easier difficult childbirth.

82. The chamelaea ('ground olive') has leaves which resemble those of the olivethey are bitter, however, and scentedgrowing in rocky places and not exceeding a span in height. It purges the bowels, and draws away phlegm and bile; a decoction is made of the leaves with twice the quantity of wormwood, this juice being drunk with honey.

An application of the leaves also cleanses ulcers. It is said that if anyone before sunrise says while plucking it that he does so 'to cure white spots in the eyes,' it disperses this affection if worn as an amulet; but that, in whatever way it is gathered, it is beneficial for the eyes of beasts of burden and of cattle.

83. The chamaesyce ('ground fig') has leaves like those of the lentil, and not rising above the ground. It is found in dry and rocky localities. Very useful for clearness of vision and for arresting cataract, an ointment prepared from it is also used most beneficially for scars, dimness of sight and films over the eyes. Applied as a pessary on a bit of linen it soothes pains of the uterus. Warts too of every kind are removed by an ointment made from it. It is also beneficial for orthopnoea.

84. The chamaecissos ('ground ivy') is a plant with ears like those of wheat, with about five little branches and many leaves. When in blossom it might be taken for the white violet. The root is slender. For sciatica three oboli of the leaves are taken in two cyathi of wine for seven days, but it is a very bitter draught.

85. The chamaeleuce ('ground poplar') is called by us Romans farfarum or farfugium. It grows by the side of rivers, and has leaves like those of the poplar, but larger. Its root is placed on live coals of cypress wood, and the fumes of it inhaled through a funnel for chronic cough.

86. The chamaepeuce ('ground larch') has leaf resembling that of the larch and is specific for lumbago and pains in the spine. The chamaecyparis ('wound cypress') taken in wine is a powerful antidote to the poisons of all serpents and scorpions. The ampeloprason ('vine leek') grows in vineyards, has the leaves of a leek, causes violent belching, but is an antidote for the bites of serpents. It promotes urine and menstruation. Taken in drink and applied externally it checks discharges of blood from the genital organ. It is also administered to women after child-birth and for the bites of dogs. That plant also which is called stachys bears a resemblance to the leek, but has longer and more numerous leaves, a pleasant smell and a colour verging on saffron yellow. It is a powerful emmenagogue.

87. Clinopodium also called cleopiceton, zopyrontion or oeimoides, is like wild thyme, ligneous, a span high, and found on rocky soils; the flowers are arranged in a round circuit, giving the appearance of the feet of a couch. It is taken in drink for sprains, ruptures, strangury and the bites of serpents; the juice of a decoction is likewise employed.

88. I shall now append some plants, wonderful indeed but not so well known, postponing more famous ones for succeeding books.

Roman authorities give the name centuneulus to a plant with leaves resembling the hood of a mantle, found lying on the ground in cultivated fields, and called by the Greeks elematis. Taken in a dry wine it is very good for arresting looseness of the bowels. Bleeding too is arrested by this plant pounded and taken in doses of one denarius by weight to five cyathi of oxymel or warm water; this prescription also helps the afterbirth.

89. But the Greeks have also other kinds of clematis, one of which some call aetites, others lagioe, and others the 'slender scammony.' It has branches two feet long, leafy, and not unlike those of scammony, except that the leaves are darker and smaller. It is found in vineyards and cultivated fields, is eaten as salad with oil and salt, and relaxes the bowels. With linseed it is also drunk in a dry wine by sufferers from dysentery. The leaves with pearl barley are applied to fluxes from the eyes, a damp rag being first placed underneath. An application draws scrofulous sores to suppuration, and then a further application with axle-grease completes the cure. With green oil also they are beneficial for haemorrhoids, and with honey for consumptives. Taken as a food they also promote an abundant supply of human milk, applied to the heads of babies they stimulate the growth of hair, and eaten with vinegar. They act as an aphrodisiac.

90. There is another clematis, called also the Egyptian, by some daphnoides and by others polygonoides, with a leaf like that of the bay; it is long and slender, and taken in vinegar is efficacious against the bite of serpents, being specific for that of asps.

91. It is Egypt especially that produces this clematis, and also the aron, which I have mentioned in my section on bulbs; about it and dracontium there has been sharp controversy, for some have asserted that the two are the same. Glaucias distinguished them by their mode of reproduction, declaring that dracontium is wild aron. Some have called the root aron, but the stem dracontium, though the latter is a totally different plant, if at least it is the same as that called by the Romans dracunculus. For the aron has a black root, broad and round, and much larger, large enough to fill the hand, but dracunculus a reddish one like a coiled snake, from which its name is derived.

92. The Greeks themselves moreover have put a wide difference between the two plants. They describe the seed of dracunculus as hot, with so foul a stench that the smell causes pregnant women to miscarry; aron they have lauded to the skies as an excellent food, preferring however the female plant, on the ground that the male is harder, and slower to cook, adding that it clears the chest of disorders, and that dried and sprinkled in drink or made into an electuary it is diuretic and an emmenagogue, as it is also when drunk in oxymel. They

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prescribed it to be drunk in sheep's milk for ulcerated stomach and bowels; cooked on hot ash and taken in oil they gave it for a cough. Others boiled it in milk for the decoction to be drunk. Thoroughly boiled it was applied by them to fluxes from the eyes, and likewise to bruises and to affected tonsils. Glaucias injected it in oil for troublesome piles, using it with honey as an ointment for freckles. He recommended it also as an antidote against poisons, and, prepared as for coughs, for pleurisy and pneumonia. The seed pounded up with olive oil or rose oil is injected for earache. Dieuches administered it, thoroughly mixed with the powder from a loaf, for coughs, asthma, orthopnoea, and the spitting of pus. Diodotus gave it in the form of an honey electuary for consumption and complaints of the lungs, and even used it as an application for broken bones. Applied round the sexual parts it helps delivery of all animals. Dimness of vision and disorders of the stomach are removed by the juice of the root with Attic honey, and cough by the broth of a decoction with the addition of honey. The juice is a wonderful remedy for ulcers of all kinds, whether corroding, cancerous, spreading, or polypus in the nostrils. The leaves, boiled in wine and oil, are good for bums. Taken in salt and vinegar they are a strong purge, boiled with honey they are good for dislocations, and also fresh or dried, with salt added, for gouty joints. Hippocrates applied them, fresh or dried, with honey locally to boils. As an emmenagogue two drachmae of the seed or root in two cyathi of wine are sufficient, and the same draught, if cleansing after delivery is not effected, also brings away the afterbirth. Hippocrates also used the root by itself as a pessary. It is said too that in times of plague it is healthful to take it in one's food. It dissipates the effects of drunkenness. The fumes arising from it when it bums keep away serpents, especially asps, or make them so tipsy that they are found in a state of torpor. Serpents are also kept off if the body is thoroughly rubbed with aron in oil of bay. For this reason it is also considered beneficial for snakebites if one takes aron in a draught of dark wine. It is said that cheese keeps very well if wrapped in leaves of aron.

93. The dracunculus I have referred to is dug up when the barley is ripening and the moon is crescent. Merely to have it on the person keeps away serpents. So beneficial a draught is it said to be to those who have been bitten; and its potency to be greater if iron does not touch the plant. Earache too is relieved by its juice.

That plant, however, which the Greeks call dracontium has been pointed out to me in three illustrations; the first has leaves like those of beet, a thyrsus and a purple flower; this is like the aron. Others have pointed out a kind with a long root, which is as it were stamped and knotted, and with three stems in all, prescribing a decoction of its leaves in vinegar for the bite of serpents. The third plant pointed out had a leaf larger than that of the cornel and a root like that of a reed, the knots on it being, they said, as many as the plant is years old, the leaves too being also equal in number. They prescribed this plant in wine or water for snakebite.

94. There is also a plant called the ails, which too is a native of Egypt. It is similar to the aron, only itself and its leaves are smaller, as is also the root in particular, though it is as big as a full-sized olive. The white kind puts out twin stems, the other kind one only. Either is good for running sores as well as for burns, and for fistula also if a suppository made of it be inserted. Corroding ulcers are arrested by an application of their leaves boiled in water and then beaten up with the addition of rose oil. But there is one great marvel connected with this plant: if it touches the sexual organs of any female animal she is driven to destruction.

95. The myriophyllon, which our people call millefolium, has a tender stem like that of fennel, with abundance of leaves, which have also given the plant its name. It is found in marshy districts, and with vinegar makes a splendid treatment for wounds. Iu drink it is taken for strangury, affections of the bladder, asthma, and falls from a height. It is also very efficacious for toothache. In Etruria the name is given to a slim meadow-plant, with many leaves at the sides like hair, and extremely beneficial for wounds; the people declare that applied with axle-grease it unites the tendons of oxen when cut by the ploughshare and closes the wound.

96. The pseudobunion has the leaves of the navew; it grows into a bush about a span in height, the most esteemed being found in Crete. For colic, strangury and pains in the sides or hypochondria doses of five or six sprays are taken in drink.

97. The myrris, also called myrriza or myrra, is very like hemlock in stem, leaves and flower, but smaller and more slender, and not unpleasant as a food. With wine it promotes menstruation and facilitates delivery. It is said that it is also healthful to take it in drink in time of plague. Given in broth it helps consumptives. It sharpens the appetite and allays the bite of poisonous spiders. Sores too on the face or head are cured by its juice obtained by steeping the plant in water for three days.

98. The oenobreches has leaves like those of the lentil, but a little longer, a red flower and a small, slender root. It grows round springs. Dried till it is like flour, and sprinkled in white wine, it stops strangury and checks looseness of the bowels. Rubbing with its juice mixed with oil causes perspiration.

99. My proposed task of discussing wonderful plants suggests that I also say a few words about those that are magical. For what plants are more wonderful than they? These were first brought to the notice of our part of the world by Pythagoras and Democritus, who followed as their authority the Magi. Pythagoras declares that water is congealed by the plants coracesia and calicia; but I find no mention of them in other authorities, nor does Pythagoras tell us anything else about them.

100. The same authority gives the name of minyas, or corinthia, to a plant of which, he says, the decocted juice, used as a fomentation, immediately heals the bites of serpents. He adds that if it is poured on the grass and a person happens to tread on it, or if by chance it is sprinkled on the body, inevitable death ensues; so absolutely devilish is the poison of this plant, except that it counteracts other poisons.

101. The same Pythagoras calls aproxis a plant whose root catches fire at a distance like naphtha; I have spoken about it in my section on the marvels of the earth. He also informs us that the symptoms of diseases which have attacked the human body when the cabbage a is in blossom, even though the patient has been cured, are felt to recur every time this plant blossoms; he speaks of a similar peculiarity following diseases which have attacked when wheat, hemlock or the violet is in flower. I am aware that this book of his is ascribed by some to the physician Cleemporus, but an ancient and unbroken tradition assigns it to Pythagoras. Were the author anyone else, the mere fact that he has considered the result of his labour worthy of that great thinker enhances the authority of a book; but who would believe that Cleemporus acted so, since he published other works, and that under his own name?

102. That Democritus was the author of the book called is a well-attested tradition; yet in it this famous scientist, the keenest student next to Pythagoras of the Magi, has told us of far more marvellous phenomena. For example, the plant aglaophotis, which received its name from men's wonder at its magnificent colour, being native, he says, to the marble quarries of Arabia on the Persian side, is therefore also called marmaritis. The Magi use it, he tells us, when they wish to call up gods.

The achaemenis, he reports, is of an amber colour, leafless and found among the Taradastili of India; criminals, according to him, if they drink it in wine, confess all their misdeeds because they suffer tortures from divers phantoms of spirits that haunt them; he also called it hippophobas, because mares have an intense aversion to it.

The theombrotion grows, says Democritus, thirty from the Choaspes, being like a peacock in its colourings and of a very fine scent. He goes on to state that the kings of Persia take it in drink for all bodily disorders and for instability of intellect and of the sense of justice, and that it is also called semnion from the majesty of its power.

Democritus goes on to mention another plant, the adamantis, a native of Armenia and Cappadocia; if it be placed, he says, near lions they lie on their backs and wearily yawn. The reason for the name is because the plant cannot be crushed, Ariana is given as the home of the arianis, a plant of the colour of fire. It is gathered, he says, when the sun is in Leo, and pieces of wood soaked in oil catch fire at its touch.

Democritus says that the therionarca, growing in Cappadocia and Mysia, makes all wild beasts become torpid, and that they cannot be revived unless sprinkled with the urine of a hyena.

He tells us that the aethiopis grows in Meroh, that therefore its other name is the merois, that it has the leaf of the lettuce and that it is very beneficial for dropsy if taken in honey wine.

The ophiusa he speaks of as growing in Elephantine, which also belongs to Ethiopia, a plant livid in colour and revolting to look at, to take which in drink causes such terrible visions of threatening serpents that fear of them causes suicide; wherefore those guilty of sacrilege are forced to drink it. An antidote is palm wine.

The thalassaegle we are told is found along the river Indus, and is therefore also called potamaugis to drink which causes men to rave, while weird visions beset their minds.

The theangehs Democritus says, grows on Mount Lebanon in Syria, on Mount Dicte in Crete, and in Babylon and Susa in Persia; the Magi take it in drink to gain power to divine.

The gelotophyllis grows in Bactria and along the Borysthenes. If this be taken in myrrh and wine all kinds of phantoms beset the mind, causing laughter which persists until the kernels of pine-nuts are taken with pepper and honey in palm wine.

According to the same authority the hestiateris is a Persian plant, so named from its promotion of good fellowship, because it makes the company gay; it is also called protomediap from its use to gain the highest position at Court; casignete, because it grows only in company with its own species, and not with any other plants; also dionysonymphas, because it goes wonderfully well with wine.

Helianthes is the name given to a plant with leaves like those of the myrtle, growing in the district of Themiscyra and on the mountains along the coasts of Cilicia. A decoction of it in lion's fat, with saffron and palm wine added, is used, he says, as an ointment by the Magi and the Persian kings to give to the body a pleasing appearance, and therefore it is also called heliocallis.

The same authority gives the name hermesias to a means of procreating children who shall be handsome and good. It is not a plant, but a compound of ground kernels of pine nuts with honey, myrrh, saffron and palm wine, with the later addition of theombrotion and milk. He prescribes a draught of it to those who are about to become parents, after conception, and to nursing mothers. This, he says, results in children exceeding fair in mind and body, as well as good. Of all these plants he adds also the magical names.

Apollodorus, a follower of Democritus, added to these plants one that he called aeschynomene, because on the approach of a hand it contracts its leaves, and another called crocis, whose touch, he declares, kills poisonous spiders; Crateuas added the onothuris, by the sprinkling of which in wine he asserted that the fierceness of all animals is calmed; and a little while ago a well-known grammarian added anacampseros, by the mere touch of which, he said, love was restored, even though the lovers parted in hatred. These few remarks are quite enough to have been said for the present about the wonderful powers ascribed to plants by the Magi, as I shall speak of them again on a more fitting occasion.

103. Many have described the eriphia. It has a me beetle running up and down inside its stem, making a noise like that of a kid; hence also comes its name. It is said that nothing is better than this plant for improving the voice.

104. The wool-plant given to fasting sheep produces an abundance of milk. Equally well known generally is the lactoris, plant full of milk taste of which produces vomitings. Some say that this is the same plant (others say one like it) as that called the military plant, because there is no wound made by iron which is not cured within five days by an application of it in oil.

105. Another plant highly popular among the Greeks is the stratiotes, but it grows only in Egypt when the Nile is in flood; it is like the aizoum, only its leaves are larger. It is wonderfully cooling, and applied in vinegar heals wounds, as well as erysipelas and suppurations. It also arrests haemorrhage of the kidneys in a marvellous way if taken in drink with male frankincense.

106. A plant that grows on the head of a statue, gathered into piece taken from some garment and tied on with red thread, is said to relieve headache immediately on being applied.

107. Any plant whatsoever, gathered before sunrise out of streams or rivers, provided that nobody sees the gatherer, if it is tied as an amulet to the left arm, is said to keep away tertian agues, provided that the patient does not know what is going on.

108. The plant called 'tongue' grows around springs. Its root, burnt and pounded with pig's fatthey add that the pig should be black and barrencures mange if the patients use it as embrocation in the sunshine.

109. If the plants that sprout up inside a sieve thrown away on a cross-path are plucked and used as an amulet, they hasten the delivery of lying-in women.

110. A plant growing on the top of country dung-heaps is, if taken in water, a very efficacious remedy for quinsies.

111. A plant near which dogs make water, if uprooted without the touch of iron, is a very quick remedy for dislocations.

112. In my account of vine-supporting trees the tree called rumpotinus received a notice. When it does not support a vine there grows near it a plant called by the Gauls rodarum. It has a stem with knots, like a twig of a fig-tree; the leaves are those of a nettle, whitish in the centre, but in course of time becoming red all over; the blossom is silvery. If the leaves are beaten up with old axle-grease, without being touched by iron, they are a sovereign remedy for tumours, inflammations and gatherings. After being rubbed with it the patient spits to his right three times. They say that the remedy is more efficacious if three persons of different nationalities do the rubbing from left to right.

113. What is called the unfilial plant is of a hoary white, in appearance like rosemary, clothed with leaves like a thyrsus and terminating in a head, from which sprout up little branches that also terminate each in a little head of its own. This is why the plant has been called unfilial, because the children out-top their parent. Others have thought that it has been so named rather because no animal touches it. Crushed between two stones this plant gives out an effervescing juice, which added to milk and wine is a sovereign remedy for pansies. Attributed to it is this wonderful property; that they who have tasted it are never attacked by quinsy. Accordingly, they say, it is also given to pigs, and those refusing to swallow the medicine are cut off by that complaint. There are some who think that a little of it is woven into birds' nests, and that this is why chicks are not choked by gulping their food too greedily.

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114. Venus' comb is so named from its resemblance to combs; its root pounded with mallows extracts all foreign bodies lodged in the flesh.

115. The plant called exedum dispels lethargy. The plant notia is well known under various names in the curriers' work-shops; I find that taken in wine or vinegar and water it is most efficacious for the sting of scorpions.

116. Philanthropos is a name which the Greeks in witty sarcasm give to a plant because it sticks to the clothes. A chaplet made out of it and placed on the head relieves headaches. But what is called dog-bur, if beaten up in wine with plantain and millefolium, heals cancerous sores, the plaster being taken off every third day. It also cures pigs, if dug up without iron; it is added to their swill before they go to feed, or else given them in milk and wine. Some add that as he is getting it up the digger should say: 'This is the plant argemon, which Minerva discovered to be a remedy for the pigs that shall taste of it.'

117. Some have said that tordylon is the seed of sili, others that it is itself a plant, which they have also called syreon. I find nothing recorded of it except that it grows on mountains, that burnt and taken in drink it promotes menstruation and expectoration, the root being even more efficacious, that its juice, swallowed in doses of three oboli, cures ill-orders of the kidneys, and that its root is also an ingredient of emollient plasters.

118. Grass, itself the very commonest of plants, trails its knotted blades along the ground, and from them and out of the head sprout many new roots. Its leaves in the rest of the world grow to a fine point, and only on Mount Parnassus sprout leaves thicker together than anywhere else, of the appearance of ivy, and with a white, scented flower. To draught-cattle no other plant is more attractive, whether fresh, or dried into hay and sprinkled with water when it is given them to eat. Its juice too, which is sweet, is said to be collected on Parnassus because of its richness. Over the rest of the world a decoction is used in its place to close cuts; the crushed plant by itself has the same effect and also prevents wounds from becoming inflamed. To the decoction are added wine and honey, by some, equal parts also of frankincense, pepper and myrrh, and the whole is again boiled in a bronze vessel to make a remedy for toothache and eye-fluxes. A decoction of the root in wine cures colic, strangury and sores of the bladder, breaking up stone. The seed causes a stronger flow of urine, and checks looseness of the bowels and vomiting. It is also specific for the bites of the draco. Some prescribe nine knots either from one plant or from two or three to make up that number of joints, rolled up in black wool with the grease still in it, as a remedy for scrofulous sores and superficial abscesses. The person gathering it, they add, ought to be fasting, and in this state he should proceed to the house of the patient while he is away, and on his appearance say three times: Fasting I give a cure to a fasting patient, and so fasten the nine joints as an amulet. This is to be done on three days running. The kind of grass that has seven spaces between knots makes a very effective amulet for headache. For severe pains in the bladder some authorities prescribe a decoction of grass in wine, boiled down to one half, to be drunk after the bath.

119. There are some who speak of three kinds of pointed grass. When on each head there are at most five points they call it fixiger grass.; These points plaited together they insert into the nostrils and draw them out again to cause bleeding. The second kind, which is like the aizotim, they use with axle-grease for whitlows, hangnails, and when flesh has grown over the nails, calling it finger grass, because it heals the fingers. There is a third kind of finger grass, but it is slender, growing on ruins or tiles. Its properties are caustic, and it checks creeping ulcers. Grass put round the head checks copious bleeding at the nose. It is said that in the district of Babylon camels are killed by the grass that grows by the side of the roads.

120. Held in no less honour is fenugreek, which is also called telis, carphos, bucerasp and aegoceras because its seed is shaped like small horns; the Roman name for it is silicia. The method of sowing it we have described in its proper place. Its properties are to dry, to soften and to dissolve. The juice of the decoction is of help in several ailments of women: whether it is hardness, swelling or contraction of the uterus, the treatment is fomentation and the sitz bath. Injections are also of value. It checks scaly eruptions on the face. Splenic troubles are cured by a local application of a decoction to which soda has been added; the decoction may also be made with vinegar. Such a decoction is also good for the liver. In cases of difficult childbirth Diocles prescribed an acetabulum of its crushed seed in nine cyathi of concentrated must; three-quarters were to be drunk, then the patients were to bathe in hot water, next, as they were sweating in the bath, he gave further half of what remained, and then the rest after the bath. In this way the maximum benefit was obtained. A decoction in hydromel of fenugreek meal with barley or linseed was used by the same physician to make a pessary for violent pains in the uterus; he combined this treatment with a plaster at the base of the abdomen. He treated leprous sores and freckles with equal parts of sulphur and fenugreek meal, the skin having been prepared beforehand with soda, applying the mixture several times a day and not allowing the patient to be rubbed with it. Theodorus treated leprous sores with fenugreek and one-fourth part of cleaned cress steeped in the strongest vinegar. Timon prescribed as an emmenagogue a draught of half an acetabulum of fenugreek seed with nine cyathi of concentrated must and water, and there is no doubt that a decoction of it is very good for ulcerated uterus and intestines, as the seed is for the joints and hypochondria. If, however, it is boiled down with mallows, and honey wine be afterwards added, a draught is praised as a pre-eminent remedy for troubles of the uterus and intestines, seeing that the steam also from the decoction is of the highest value; a decoction of fenugreek, too, removes offensive smells of the armpits. The meal with wine and soda quickly removes scurf and dandruff on the head. A decoction too of the meal in hydromel, mixed with axle-grease, cures complaints of the genitals, likewise superficial abscesses, parotid tumours, gouty affections of feet or hands, affections of the joints and the receding of flesh from the bones; but the meal is kneaded in vinegar for dislocations. A decoction of the meal in vinegar and honey only is used as a liniment for splenic trouble. Kneaded in wine it cleanses cancerous sores; if honey is afterwards added a complete cure is effected. A gruel also of this meal is taken for ulceration of the chest and for chronic cough. It is boiled down for a long time until the bitterness disappears; afterwards honey is added. I shall now proceed to the peculiar glory of plants.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 25

1. This peculiar glory of plants which I am now going to speak of, Mother Earth producing them sometimes for medicinal purposes only, rouses in one's mind admiration for the care and industry of the men of old; there was nothing left untried or unattempted by them, and furthermore nothing kept secret, nothing which they wished to be of no benefit to posterity. But we moderns desire to hide and suppress the discoveries worked out by these investigators, and to cheat human life even of the good things that have been won by others. Yes indeed, those who have gained a little knowledge keep it in a grudging spirit secret to themselves, and to teach nobody else increases the prestige of their learning. So far has custom departed from fresh research and assistance to life; the supreme task of our great minds has long been to keep within individual memory the successes of the ancients, so allowing them to be forgotten. But, heaven knows, there are some whom a single discovery has added to the number of the gods, whose life on earth at any rate has been made more glorious by their names being given to plants, so kind the thanks of a mindful posterity. This careful research of theirs is less wonderful when rewarded by plants of fascinating growth or attractive as food; but they have scoured also trackless mountain heights, unexplored deserts and all the bowels of the earth, finding out the power of every root and the uses to which can be put mere slim threads of vegetation, and turning to healthful purposes that which the very beasts refuse to touch as food.

2. This subject was less popular with our countrymen than it should have been considering their vast appetite for all things useful and good; the first student of it, and for a long time the only one, being that same Marcus Cato, the master of all excellent crafts, who merely touched briefly the subject, without neglecting even veterinary medicine. After him one only of our distinguished men has tried his hand at the subject, Gaius Valgius, an author of approved scholarship, who left unfinished a work dedicated to the late emperor Augustus, beginning also his preface with a devout prayer that his Imperial Highness should always, and above all others, be the healer of every human ill.

3. Before Valgius the only Roman who had written on this subject, as far as I can discover, was Pompeius Lenaeus, a freedman of Pompeius Magnus, in whose day, I find, scientific treatment of it first found a home among Roman students. For it was Mithridates, the greatest king of his time, whom Pompeius vanquished, that was, we know by evidence as well as by report, a more attentive investigator of life's problems than any of those born before him. By his unaided efforts he thought out the plan of drinking poison daily, after first taking remedies, in order that sheer custom might render it harmless; he was the first to discover the various antidotes, one of which is even known by his name; he also discovered the mixing with antidotes of the blood of Pontic ducks, because they lived on poison; addressed to him were treatises, still extant, written by the famous physician Asclepiades, who when urgently invited to come from Rome sent instructions instead; Mithridates alone of men is definitely known to have spoken twenty-two languages, and no man of his subject peoples was ever addressed by him through an interpreter during all the fifty-six years of his reign. He then, with his brilliant intellect and wide interests, was an especially diligent student of medicine, and collected detailed knowledge from all his subjects, who comprised a great part of the world, leaving among his private possessions a bookcase of these treatises with specimens and the properties of each. Pompeius however on getting possession of all the royal booty ordered his freedman Lenaeus, a man of letters, to translate these into Latin. This great victory therefore was as beneficent to life as it was to the State.

4. Besides these the subject has been treated by Greek writers, whom we have mentioned in their proper places; of these, Crateuas, Dionysius and Metrodorus adopted a most attractive method, though one which makes clear little else except the difficulty of employing it. For they painted likenesses of the plants and then wrote under them their properties. But not only is a picture misleading when the colours are so many, particularly as the aim is to copy Nature, but besides this, much imperfection arises from the manifold hazards in the accuracy of copyists. In addition, it is not enough for each plant to be painted at one period only of its life, since it alters its appearance with the fourfold changes of the year.

5. For this reason the other writers have given verbal accounts only; some have not even given the shape of the plants, and for the most part have been content with bare names, since they thought it sufficient to point out the properties and nature of a plant to those willing to look for it. To gain this knowledge is no difficult matter; 11 at least have enjoyed the good fortune to examine all but a few plants through the devotion to science of Antonius Castor, the highest botanical authority of our time; I used to visit his special garden, in which he would rear a great number of specimens even when he passed his hundredth year, having suffered no bodily ailment and, in spite of his age, no loss of memory or physical vigour. Nothing else will be found that aroused greater wonder among the ancients than botany. Long ago was discovered a method of predicting eclipses of the sun and moonnot the day or night merely but the very hour. Yet there still exists among a great number of the common people an established conviction that these phenomena are due to the compelling power of charms and magic herbs, and that the science of them is the one outstanding province of women. At any rate tales everywhere are widely current about Medea of Colchis and other sorceresses, especially Circe of Italy, who has even been enrolled as a divinity. This is the reason, I think, why Aeschylus, one of the earliest poets, declared that Italy abounds in potent herbs, and many have said the same of Circeii, where she lived. Strong confirmatory evidence exists even today in the fact that the Marsi, a tribe descended from Circe's son, are well-known snake-charmers. Homer indeed, the first ancestor of ancient learning, while expressing in several passages great admiration for Circe, gives the prize for herbs to Egypt, even though at that time the irrigated Egypt of today did not yet exist, for it was formed afterwards by the alluvial mud of the river. At any rate he says that Egyptian herbs in great number were given by the wife of the king to the Helen of his tale, including that celebrated nepenthes, which brought forgetfulness and remission of sorrow, to be administered especially by Helen to all mortals. But the first of all those known to tradition to publish anything about botany carefully was Orpheus; after him Musaeus and Hesiod, as we have said, expressed great admiration for the plant called polium; Orpheus and Hesiod recommended fumigations. Homer mentions by name other plants also, which I shall speak of in their appropriate places. After him the celebrated philosopher Pythagoras was the first to compose a book on the properties of plants, assigning their original discovery to Apollo, Aesculapius and the immortal gods generally: Democritus also composed a similar work. Both of them visited the Magi of Persia, Arabia, Ethiopia and Egypt, and so amazed were the ancients at these books that they positively asserted even unbelievable statements. Xanthus, who wrote books on history, relates in the first of them that a young snake, which had been killed, was restored to life by his father, who used a plant called by Xanthus balis, and that the same plant brought back to life one Tylo, whom the snake had killed. Juba too records that a man in Arabia was restored to life by means of a plant. Democritus said, and Theophrastus believed him, that there was a plant which, carried by the bird I have mentioned, forced out by its touch a wedge driven into a tree by shepherds. Although these tales are incredible, yet they fill us with wonder, and force us to admit that there is still much truth in them. Hence too I find that most authorities hold that there is nothing which cannot be achieved by the power of plants, but that the properties of most are still unknown. Among these thinkers was Herophilus, famous in medicine, who is reported to have said that certain plants are perhaps beneficial even when merely trodden on. It has been observed at any rate that wounds and diseases get worse on the arrival of people who have made a journey on foot.

6. Such was the condition of medicine in the old days, all of it finding its way into the dialects of Greece. But the reason why more herbs are not familiar is because experience of them is confined to illiterate country-folk, who form the only class living among them; moreover nobody cares to look for them when crowds of medical men are to be met everywhere. Many simples also, though their properties have been discovered,

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still lack names, for instance, the plant I mentioned when dealing with the cultivation of crops, which we know keeps all birds away if buried at the corners of the cornfield. The most disgraceful reason for this scanty knowledge is that even those who possess it refuse to teach it, just as though they would themselves lose what they have imparted to others. To this must be added that there is no sure method of discovery; for even of those we already know chance has sometimes been the finder; at other times, to speak the truth, the discoverer was a god. Down to recent years there has been no cure for the bite of a mad dog, a symptom of which is dread of water and aversion to drink of any kind. Recently the mother of a man serving in the praetorian guard saw in a dream how she sent to her son to be taken in drink the root of the wild rose, called cynorrhodon, which by its appearance had attracted her the before in a shrubbery. Operations were going on in Lacetania, the part of Spain nearest to Italy, and by chance it happened that the soldier, after being bitten by a dog, was beginning to show a horror of water, when a letter arrived from the mother, who begged him to obey the heavenly warning. So his life was unexpectedly saved, as was that of all who afterwards tried a similar remedy. Elsewhere among our authorities the only medicinal use of cynorrhodon to be found is that the ash of the spongy substance that forms in the middle of its thorns was mixed with honey to make hair grow on the head where mange had left it bare. In the same province, on the land of my host, I learned of a recent discovery there, a stalk called dracunculus, of the thickness of a thumb, with spots of many colours like those of a viper, which people said was a remedy for the bites of all creatures, a different plant from those I have called dracunculus in the preceding book. This one has a different shape, and is an amazing plant in other ways; for when snakes begin to cast their slough it springs up to the height of about two feet, and then buries itself in the ground when snakes do so, and while it is concealed no snake at all is anywhere to be seen. This by itself would be a kindly service of Nature, if it only warned us and pointed out the time of danger.

Nor is it beasts alone that are guilty of causing injury; at times waters also and regions do the same. When Germanicus Caesar had moved forward his camp across the Rhine, in a maritime district of Germany there was only one source of fresh water. To drink it caused within two years the teeth to fall out and the use of the knee-joints to fail. Physicians used to call these maladies stomacace and scelotyrbe. A remedy was found in the plant called britannica, which is good not only for the sinews and for diseases of the mouth, but also for the relief of quinsy and snakebite. It has dark, rather long leaves, and a dark root. Its juice is extracted even from the root. The blossom is called vibones; gathered before thunder is heard, and swallowed, it keeps away the fear of quinsy for a whole year. It was pointed out to our men by the Frisians, at that time a loyal tribe, in whose territory our camp lay. Why the plant was so called I greatly wonder, unless perhaps, living on the shore of the British ocean, they have so named the britannica because it is, as it were, a near neighbour of Britain. It is certain that the plant was not so named because it grew abundantly in that island: Britain was at that time an independent state.

7. It was one of the ambitions of the past to give one's name a to a plant, as we shall point out was done by kings. It was thought a great honour to discover a plant and be of assistance to human life, although now perhaps some will think that these researches of mine are just idle trifling. So paltry in the eyes of Luxury are even the things that conduce to our health. It is but right, however, to mention in the first place the plants whose discoverers can be found, with their properties classified according to the kinds of disease for which they are a remedy. To reflect indeed on this makes one pity the lot of man; besides chances and changes and the strange happenings that every hour brings, there are thousands of diseases that every mortal has to dread. To distinguish which are the most grievous of them might be considered almost an act of folly, since every man considers that the particular disease from which he is suffering at the moment is the most awful. On this point, however, the experience of time has concluded that the disease causing the sharpest agony is strangury from stone in the bladder; next comes disease of the stomach, and after that pains produced by diseases of the head; these being about the only diseases that are responsible for suicides.

I myself am amazed that the Greeks have described even harmful plants, and not the poisonous ones only, since the state of human life is such that death is frequently a harbour of refuge even for the most excellent of men, Marcus Varro relating that the Roman knight Servius Clodius, owing to the severe pain of gout, was forced to rub his legs all over with a poison, after which that part of his body was as free from sensation as it was from pain. But what excuse was there to point out the means of deranging the mind, of causing abortion, and of many similar crimes. I personally do not mention abortives, nor even love-philtres, remembering as I do that the famous general Lucullus was killed by a love-philtre, nor yet any other unholy magic, unless it be by way of warning or denunciation, especially as I have utterly condemned all faith in such practices. Enough pains, and more than enough, will have been taken if I point out plants healthful to life and discovered in order to preserve it.

8. The most renowned of plants is, according to Homer, the one that he thinks is called by the gods moly, assigning to Mercury its discovery and the teaching of its power over the most potent sorceries. Report says it grows today in Arcadia round Pheneus and on Cyllene; it is said to be like the description in Homer, with a round, dark root, of the size of an onion and with the leaves of a squill, and not difficult to dig up. Greek authorities have painted its blossom yellow, though Homer describes it as white. I have met a herbalist physician who said that the plant was also to be found in Italy, and that one could be brought for me from Campania within a few days, as it had been dug out there in spite of the difficulties of rocky ground, with a root thirty feet long, and even that not entire, but broken off short.

9. After moly the plant with the highest reputation they call the dodecatheon, as a compliment to the grandeur of all the twelve gods. It is said that taken in water it cures all diseases. Its leaves are seven, very like those of lettuce and sprouting from a yellow root.

10. The first plant to be discovered was the peony, which still retains the name of the discoverer; it is called by some pentorobon, by others glycyside, for an added difficulty in botany is the variety of names given to the same plant in different districts. It grows on shaded mountains, having a stem among the leaves about four fingers high, which bears on its top four or five growths like almonds, in them being a large amount of seed, red and black. This plant also prevents the mocking delusions that the Fauns bring on us in our sleep. They recommend us to uproot it at night-time, because the woodpecker of Mars, should he see the act, will attack the eyes in its defence.

11. The plant panaces by its very name promises to be a cure for every disease; it has many varieties, and to the gods have been ascribed the discovery of its properties. One variety in fact has the additional name of asclepion, after which Asclepius called his daughter Panacia. The juice of this plant when curdled is like that, already described, of fennelgiant, coming from a root with a thick and salty skin. When it has been pulled up it is a pious duty to fill in the hole with various cereals as an atonement to the earth. Where the juice is prepared, and how, and the most esteemed kind, I have already described in my account of exotic plants. The kind imported out of Macedonia they call bucolicon, because herdsmen collect the sap as it exudes of its own accord; this evaporates very rapidly. As to the other kinds, the least popular is the dark and soft, for these qualities are signs of adulteration with wax.

12. A second kind they call heracleon, and say that it was discovered by Hercules; others call it heracleotic or wild origanum, because it is like the origanum I have already described; the root is of no value.

13. A third kind of panaces has the surname chironium from Chiron the centaur who discovered it. Its leaf is like that of lapathum, but larger and more hairy. The blossom is golden and the root small. It grows in rich soils. The blossom of this kind is very efficacious, and therefore has a wider range of usefulness than that of the kinds mentioned above.

14. The fourth kind is the panaces discovered by the same Chiron and surnamed centaurion, but also phamaceon, a name derived from king Pharnaces, as there is a controversy whether he was, or was not, the discoverer. This kind is grown from seed, having longer leaves than the other kinds, and with serrated edges. Its scented root is dried in the shade, and adds a pleasing taste to wine. Some hold that there are two other kinds of panaces, one with a broad, the other with a slender, leaf.

15. Heracleon siderion ('ironwort') is yet another discovery of Hercules. It has a slender stem about four fingers high, a flower of a deep red and leaves like those of coriander. It is found near ponds and flyers, and heals very thoroughly all wounds inflicted by iron.

16. A discovery of Chiron's was the vine called chironia, which I have mentioned in my section on the vines I have also mentioned a plant, the discovery of which is attributed to Minerva.

17. To Hercules too they ascribe the plant which is called apollinaris by some, altercum by us Romans, but by the Greeks hyoscyamos ('pig's bean'). There are several kinds of it: one has black seed, with flowers that are almost purple, and a thorny calyx, growing in Galatia. The common kind, however, is whiter and more bushy; it is taller than the poppy. The seed of the third kind is like the seed of irio; but all kinds cause insanity and giddiness. A fourth kind is soft, downy, richer in juice than the others, with a white seed, and growing in places near the sea. This is a kind that medical men have adopted, as they have that with a red seed. Sometimes, however, the white seed turns red if gathered before getting ripe, and then it is rejected; and generally no kind is ever gathered before it has become dry. It has the character of wine, and therefore injures the head and brain. Use is made of the seed as it is or when the juice has been extracted from it. The juice is extracted separately also from the stems and leaves. They also use the root, but the drug is, in my opinion, a dangerous medicine in any form. In fact, it is well known that even the leaves affect the brain if more than four are taken in drink; yet the ancients used to take them in wine under the impression that fever was so brought down. An oil is made from the seed, as I have said, which by itself if poured into the ears deranges the brain. It is a wonderful thing that they have prescribed remedies for those who have taken the drink, which implies that it is a poison, and yet have included it among remedies; so unwearied have been researches in making every possible experiment, even to compelling poisons to be helpful remedies.

18. Linozostis or parthenion was discovered by Mercury, and so many among the Greeks call it 'Hermes' grass', but all we Romans agree in calling it mercurialis. There are two kinds of it, the male and the female, the latter having the more powerful properties. It has a stem which is a cubit high and sometimes branchy at the top, leaves narrower than those of ocimum, joints close together and many hollow axils. The seed of the female hangs down in great quantity at the joints; while that of the male stands up near the joints, less plentiful, short and twisted; the female seed is loose and white? The leaves of the male plant are darker, those of the female lighter; the root is quite useless and very slender. It grows in flat, cultivated country. A remarkable thing is recorded of both kinds: that the male plant causes the generation of males and the female plant the generation of females. This is effected if immediately after conceiving the woman drinks the juice in raisin wine, or eats the leaves decocted in oil and salt, or raw in vinegar. Some again decoct it in a new earthen vessel with heliotropium and two or three ears of corn until the contents become thick. They recommend the decoction to be given to women in food, with the plant itself on the second day of menstruation for three successive days; on the fourth day after a bath intercourse is to take place. Hippocrates has bestowed very high praise on these plants for the diseases of women; no medical man recognises its virtues after this fashion. He used them as pessaries for uterine troubles, adding thereto honey, or oil of roses or of iris or of lilies, also as an emmenagogue and to bring away the afterbirth. The same effects, he said, resulted from taking them in drink and from using them for fomentations. He dropped the juice into foul-smelling ears, and with the juice and old wine made an embrocation for the abdomen. The leaves he applied to fluxes from the eyes. A decoction of it with myrrh and frankincense he prescribed for strangury and bladder troubles. For loosening the bowels, however, or for fever, a handful of the plant should be boiled down to one half in two sextarii of water. This is drunk with the addition of salt and honey, and if the decoction has been made with a pig's foot or a chicken added, the draught is all the more beneficial. Some have thought that as a purge both kinds should be administered, either by themselves or with mallows added to the decoction. They purge the abdomen and bring away bile, but they are injurious to the stomach. Their other uses we shall give in the appropriate places.

19. Achilles too, the pupil of Chiron, discovered a plant to heal wounds, which is therefore called achilleos, and by it he is said to have cured Telephus. Some have it that he was the first to find out that copper-rust is a most useful ingredient of plasters, for which reason he is represented in paintings as scraping it with his sword from his spear on to the wound of Telephus, while others hold that he used both remedies. This plant is also called by some Heraclean panaces, by others siderites, and by us millefolia; the stalk is a cubit high, and the plant branchy, covered from the bottom with leaves smaller than those of fennel. Others admit that this plant is good for wounds, but say that the real achilleos has a blue stalk a foot long and without branches, gracefully covered all over with separate, rounded leaves. Others describe achilleos as having a square stem, heads like those of horehound, and leaves like those of the oak; they claim that it even unites severed sinews. Some give the name sideritis to another plant, which grows on boundary walls and has a foul smell when crushed, and also to yet another, like this but with paler and more fleshy leaves, and with more tender stalks, growing in vineyards; finally to a third, two cubits high, with thin, triangular twigs, leaves like those of the fern, a long foot-stalk and seed like that of beet. All are said to be excellent for wounds. Roman authorities call the one with the broadest leaf royal broom; it cures quinsy in pigs.

20. Teucer too in the same age discovered teucrion, called by some hemionion; it spreads out thin, rush-like twigs with small leaves, grows on rough localities, has a harsh taste, never flowers and never produces seed. It is a cure for splenic troubles, a property discovered, as is well known, in the following way; they say that when sacrificial entrails had been thrown on the plant, this stuck to the spleen and consumed it. On account of this the plant is called by some splenion. It is said that pigs which eat its root are found to be without a spleen. There are some who call by the same name a ligneous plant with branches like those of hyssop and leaves like those of the bean, and recommend it to be gathered when it is in flowerso these certainly hold that the plant has a flowerand

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they praise most highly the sort that comes from the mountains of Cilicia and Pisidia.

21. Melampus is well known for his skill in the arts of divination. From him one kind of hellebore is called melampodion. Some hold that the discovery is due to a shepherd called Melampus, who noticed that his she-goats were purged after browsing upon the plant, and by administering the milk of these goats cured the daughters of Proetus of their madness. Wherefore it is well to give here together an account of every kind of hellebore.

The chief kinds are two, the white and the black. This difference, most authorities say, applies only to the roots, others say that the leaves of black hellebore are like those of the plane but smaller, darker and with more indentations; that the leaves of white hellebore are like those of sprouting beet, but also darker and turning to red on the under side of its grooves, and that both have a stem a span high, resembling that of fennel-giant, wrapped up in skins like those of bulbs, and with a root fringed like that of onions. The black hellebore kills horses, oxen and pigs; so they avoid it, although they eat the white kind. The latter is said to be ripe at harvest, and it grows abundantly on Mount Oeta, and the best on one part of it, around the place called Pyra. The black kind is to be found everywhere, but the better sort grows on Helicon, a mountain celebrated also for other plants. Next after the white hellebore of Oeta that of Pontus is most approved; the third place is taken by that of Elea, which is said to grow among vines, and the fourth by hellebore of Parnassus, which is adulterated by hellebore from the neighbouring country of Aetolia. Of these the black kind they call melampodium; with it they fumigate and cleanse houses, sprinkling it on sheep, and adding a formal prayer. This kind is gathered with even greater formalities. First a circle is drawn round it with a sword; then the man who is going to cut it looks at the East with a prayer that the gods will grant him permission to do so. He also keeps on the lookout for a flying eaglefor generally one is present when men cutand if an eagle flies near, it is a sign that the gatherer will die in that year. The white too is not easy to gather: it is very oppressive to the head unless garlic is eaten beforehand, wine swallowed every now and then and the plant dug up quickly. Some call the black kind ectomon, others polyrrhizon. This purges by stool, but the white kind does so by vomiting, and carries away what might cause diseases; once regarded with horror it afterwards became so popular that most scholars took it regularly to sharpen their brains for their studies. It is well known that Carneades, when preparing to reply to the works of Zeno, purged himself with hellebore, and that Drusus among us, most illustrious of our tribunes of the people, who was cheered by all the commons standing before him but charged by the aristocrats with causing the Marsic War, was on the island of Anticyra cured of epilepsy by means of this medicine. For there it is very safe to take the drug because they add to it sesamoides, as I have already said. In Italy it is called veratrum.

Both hellebores when ground to powder, either by themselves or combined with that of radicula, with which I said wool is washed, cause sneezing, and both cause sleep. But the roots selected are the thinnest, short, and as it were cut off; only the bottom is used, for the top, which is very thick and like an onion, is given as a purge only to dogs. The old physicians used to choose the root with the most fleshy skin, thinking that the pithy part they obtained from such was more delicate. This they used to cover with moist sponges, and when it swelled they would split it lengthwise with a needle; then they would dry the thin strips in the shade, and so use them. Today they administer the shoots themselves, just as they are, that grow from roots with the heaviest skin. The best hellebore as a sharp, hot taste, and gives out dust when broken. It keeps, it is said, its efficacy for thirty years.

22. Black hellebore is a cure for paralysis, madness, dropsy without fever, chronic gout and diseases of the joints; it draws from the belly bile, phlegms and morbid fluids. For gently moving the bowels the maximum dose is one drachma; a moderate one is four oboli. Some have mixed scammony also with it, but to add salt is safer. A larger dose given in sweet substances is dangerous; used as a fomentation it disperses films over the eyes. Therefore some have also pounded it and made an eye salve. It matures and clears up scrofulous sores, suppurations and indurations; fistulas also if it be taken off on the third day. With copper scales and sandarach it removes warts. With barley meal and wine it is applied to the abdomen for dropsy. It cures phlegms in cattle and draught animals if a spray be passed across the ear and taken out at the same hour on the next day; with frankincense, wax and pitch, or with pisselaeon it cures itch in quadrupeds.

23. The best white hellebore is that which most quickly causes sneezing. It is, however, far more terrifying than the black sort, especially if one reads in our old authorities of the elaborate precautions, taken by those about to drink it, against shivering, choking, overpowering and unseasonable sleep, prolonged hiccough or sneezing, fluxes of the stomach, vomiting, too slow or too long, scanty or too excessive. In fact they usually gave other things to promote vomiting, and drove out the hellebore itself by medicine or enema, or more often d they used even bleeding. Furthermore, even when the hellebore proves successful, the various colours of the vomits are terrifying to see, and after the vomits comes the worry of watching the stools, of superintending the bath, of attention to the whole body, all these troubles being preceded by the great terror caused by its reputation, for it is said that meat, if boiled with it. is consumed. It was a fault of the ancient physicians that because of these fears they used to administer this hellebore in smallish doses, since the larger the dose the quicker it is eliminated. Themison gave doses of not more than two drachmae; his successors actually increased the amount to four, because of the fine testimonial given to hellebore by Herophilus, who compared it to a truly courageous general; having aroused all within, it itself marches out in the van. Moreover, a wonderful discovery has been made; hellebore cut with scissors, as we have described, is passed through a sieve; the skinwith which they empty the stomachremains behind, while the soft part passes through, and is given to stop the vomiting when the purging is too violent.

24. Care must be taken, even with happy treatment, not to administer hellebore on a cloudy day; for to do so is followed by unbearable torture.

Indeed, there is no doubt that summer is a better season to give it than winter. For seven days previously the body must be prepared by acid foods and by abstinence from wine; on the fourth and third days before, an emetic must be taken, and on the preceding day there should be abstinence from dinner. White hellebore is given even a in a sweet medium, although most suitably in lentils or pottage. Recently the method has been discovered of splitting radishes, inserting hellebore, and then pressing the radishes together again, so that the property of the purge penetrates them; the hellebore is thus administered in a modified form. Vomiting begins after about four hours, and the whole business is over in seven. Thus given hellebore is curative of epilepsy, as has been said, giddiness, melancholia, insanity, wild distraction, white leprosy, leprous sores, tetanus, palsy, gouty affections, dropsy and incipient tympanitis stomachic affections, spasmodic grins, sciatica, quartan fever that yields to no other treatment, chronic cough, flatulence and recurrent gripings.

25. Hellebore is never prescribed for old people or children, or for those who are soft and effeminate in body or mind, or for the thin or delicate; for women it is less suited than for men, unsuitable too for the nervous or when the hypochondria are ulcerated or swollen, very bad when there is spitting of blood, pain in the side, or sore throat. Applied externally with salted axle-grease it cures pituitous eruptionse on the body and also suppurations of long standing. Mixed with pearl barley it kills rats and mice. The Gauls when hunting dip their arrows in hellebore, and say that the meat when the flesh round the wound has been cut away tastes more tender. Flies too die if pounded white hellebore and milk are sprinkled about. Phthiriasis too is cured by the same preparation.

26. To Mithridates himself Crateuas ascribed one plant, called mithridatia. It has two leaves, like those of the acanthus, springing from the root, with a stem between them which supports a rose-pink flower.

27. A second plant was attributed to him by Lenaeus, scordotis or scordion, a description of it being in the hand of the King himself; it is one cubit high; its stem is quadrangular, its form is branchy, and the leaves, which are downy, are like oak leaves. It is found in Pontus on rich, moist plains, and is of a bitter taste. There is also another kind of it, with broader leaves and like wild mint, both kinds being useful for very many purposes, both by themselves and also with other ingredients to make antidotes.

28. Two kings have claimed to be the discoverer of polemonia; accordingly some call it by that name and some philetaeria, while the Cappadocians call it chiliodynamia. It has a thick root, thin branches with clusters hanging from the ends, and black seed. In other respects it is like rue, and it grows in mountainous districts.

29. Eupatoria too enjoys the prestige of a royal discoverer. It has a ligneous stem, dark, hairy, and a cubit or sometimes more in height; the leaves, arranged at intervals, are like those of cinquefoil or hemp, and have five indentations along the edge; they too are dark and feathery. The root is useless, but the seed taken in wine is a sovereign remedy in cases of dysentery.

30. Centaury is said to have been the treatment given to Chiron when an arrow fell on his foot as he was handling the arms of Hercules, who was his guest; for which reason some call it chironion. Its leaves are broad and longish, serrated all round the edge; thickly from the root grow jointed stems three cubits high. On these are heads like those of poppies. The root is enormous and reddish, soft and easily broken, up to two cubits in size, streaming with juice and bitter with something of sweetness in it. It grows on hills with a rich soil, the most esteemed in Arcadia, Elis, Messenia, Pholoe and on mount Lycaeus; on the Alps too and in very many other places. In Lycia indeed they also make a lycium from it. Its power to cure wounds is so strong that even pieces of meat, they say, coalesce if they are boiled with it. The part used is the root, the dose being for the patients for whom it will be prescribed two drachmae only. It should be pounded and taken in water if fever be present; those without fever should take it pounded but in wine. The juice of the decoction cures also the diseases of sheep.

31. There is a second centaury, surnamed lepton, a plant with small leaves; some call it libadion, because it grows along the side of springs. It is like origanum but with narrower and longer leaves; it has an angular, bushy stem a span high, a flower like that of lychnis, a slight root of no use in medicine, but with healing qualities in its juice. The plant itself is gathered in autumn, and the juice is extracted from the leaves. Some cut up and soak the stems, extracting the juice at the end of eighteen days. This centaury the Romans call the 'gall of earth' on account of its extreme bitterness, while the Gauls call it exacum, because a draught of it evacuates from the body by stool all harmful drugs.

32. There is a third, centauris surnamed triorchis. Those who cut it nearly always wound themselves. The juice it gives out is of the colour of blood. Theophrastus relates that it is defended by a species of hawk called triorchis, which attacks those who gather it. From this too it has received its name. The uninformed confuse these characteristics and assign them all to the first kind of centaury.

33. Clymenus is a plant called after the king of that name. It has leaves like those of ivy, many branches, a hollow stem girded with joints, a strong smell, and seed like that of ivy; it grows in wooded, hilly districts. I shall say later what diseases it cures if taken in drink; but at the moment I must point out that, while it cures, even men are made sterile by the draught. The Greeks have said that it is like the plantain, with a square stem and seed-bags intertwined like the tentacles of the polypus. The juice too is used in medicine, as it has very great powers of cooling.

34. It was a king of the Illyrians named Gentius who discovered gentian, which, though it grows everywhere, is most excellent when it grows in Illyria. The leaf is like that of the ash but of the size of a lettuce leaf; the stem is tender and of the thickness of a thumb, hollow and empty, with leaves at intervals, sometimes three cubits in height, and growing from a pliant root, which is darkish and without smell. It grows abundantly a on watery slopes near the foot of the Alps. The parts used are the root and the juice. The nature of the root is warming, but it should not be taken in drink by women with child.

35. Lysimachus too discovered a plant, still named after him, the praises of which have been sung by Erasistratus. It has green leaves like those of the willow, a purple flower, being bushy, with small upright branches and a pungent smell. It grows in watery districts. Its power is so great that, if placed on the yoke when the beasts of burden are quarrelsome it checks their bad temper.

36. Women too have been ambitious to gain this distinction, among them Artemisia, the wife of Mausolus, who gave her name to a plant which before was called parthenis. There are some who think that the surname is derived from Artemis Ilithyia, because the plant is specific for the troubles of women. It is also bushy, resembling wormwood, but with larger and fleshy leaves. Of the plant itself there are two kinds: one higher and with broader leaves, the other soft and with more slender leaves, growing only near the seaside. There are some who in inland districts call by the same name a plant with a single stem, very small leaves, abundant blossom bursting out when the grapes are ripening, and with a not unpleasant smell. The sort that some call botrys, and others ambrosia, grows in Cappadocia.

37. According to tradition nymphaea was born of a nymph who died of jealousy about Herculesfor this reason some call it heracleon, others rhopalon because its root is like a cluband therefore those who have taken it in drink for twelve days are incapable of intercourse and procreation. The most valued kind grows in the district of Orchomenos and at Marathon. The Boeotians call it mallon and eat the seed. It grows in watery places, with large leaves on the top of the water and others growing out of the root; the flowers are like the lily, and when the blossom is finished a head forms like that of the poppy; the stem is smooth. In autumn is cut the root, which is dark, and is dried in the sun. It reduces the spleen. There is another kind of nymphaea growing in the River Penius in Thessaly. It has a white root, and a yellow head of the size of a rose.

38. In the age too of our fathers King Juba discovered a plant to which he gave the name euphorbea, calling it after his own physician Euphorbus. This man was the brother of the Musa we have as the saviour of the life of the late Emperor Augustus. It was these brothers who first adopted the plan of bracing the body by copious douches of cold water after the bath. Before this the custom was to bathe in hot water only, as we find that it is also in Homer. But the treatise also of Juba on this plant is still extant, and it makes a splendid testimonial. He discovered it on Mount Atlas; it has the appearance of a thyrsus and the leaves of the acanthus. Its

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potency is so great that the juice, obtained by incision with a pole, is gathered from a distance; it is caught in receivers made of kids' stomachs placed underneath. Fluid and like milk as it drops down, when it has dried and congealed it has all the features of frankincense. The collectors find their vision improved. It is employed as treatment for snakebite. In whatever part of the body the bite may be, an incision is made in the top of the skull and the medicament inserted there. The Gaetulians who gather the juice adulterate it out of weary disgust by adding milk, but fire is a test of genuineness, for that which is adulterated emits a nauseating smell. Far inferior to the Atlas juice is that which in Gaul comes from the ground-olive, which bears a red berry like kermes. Broken it resembles hammoniacum, and even a slight taste leaves for a long time a burning sensation in the mouth; after a while this increases until it dries up even the throat.

39. The physician Themiso too has spread the fame of a common plant, the plantain, having published a treatise about it as though he were the discoverer. There are two kinds of it: the smaller, with narrower and darker leaves, resembles the tongue of a sheep; the stem is angular and bends downward. It grows in meadows. The other kind is larger and enclosed with leaves as it were with sides. Since these leaves are seven in number the plant is sometimes called heptapleuron. The stem too of this is a cubit high; when it grows on wet soils it is much more efficacious. It has a wonderful power to dry and brace the body, having a cauterizing property. There is nothing that checks so well the fluxes called by the Greeks rheumatismoi, that is, catarrhs.

40. Akin to the plantain is buglossos, which is like the tongue of an ox. The most conspicuous quality of this is that thrown into wine it increases the exhilarating effect, and so it is also called euphrosynum, the plant that cheers.

41. Akin too is cynoglossos, which is like a dog's tongue, and a most attractive addition to ornamental gardens. It is said that the root of the kind with three seed-bearing stems, if taken in water, is good for tertians, and that with four for quartans. There is also another plant like this which bears tiny bars. Its root taken in water neutralizes the poison of and snakes.

42. Another plant is buphthalmus, which is like the eyes of oxen, having leaves like those of fennel, a bushy plant growing around towns, with .... [tender?] stems that are boiled and eaten. Some call it calchas. This plant with wax added disperses fatty tumours.

43. Whole tribes too have discovered plants. Scythia first found out about the one called scythice, which grows round Lake Maeotis. One of its qualities is great sweetness, and it is very beneficial for the complaint called asthma. Another great merit of it is the freedom from hunger and thirst enjoyed by those who keep it in their mouths.

44. The same people find the same property in their hippace, which has the unique quality of affecting horses in the same way. It is said that on these two plants the Scythians can fast from food and drink even for as long as twelve days at a time.

45. Thrace found out about ischaemon, which is said to stanch bleeding when a vein has not merely been cut but even severed. It creeps along the ground as does millet the leaves are rough and downy. The kind that grows in Italy, stuffed into the nostrils, and also when used as an amulet, stanches bleeding.

46. The Vettones in Spain discovered the plant called vettonica in Gaul, serratula in Italy, and cestros or psychrotrophon by the Greeks, a plant more highly valued than any other. It springs up with an angular stem of two cubits, spreading out from the root leaves rather like those of lapathum, serrated, and with a purple fruiting-head. Its leaves are dried into a powder and used for very many purposes. From it are made a wine and a vinegar, good for the stomach and the eyesight. So great is its fame that the home in which it has been planted is considered to be safe from all dangers.

47. In Spain too was discovered cantabrica, found by the Cantabri in the period of the late Emperor Augustus. It grows everywhere, having a rush-like stem a foot in length, on which are small, longish flowers, shaped like a work-basket, in which are very tiny seeds. Nor have the Spains been backward in other search after plants; for example, even now today it is the custom at the more festive gatherings, to mix a drink, the 'hundredplant potion', by adding to honey wine a hundred plants, in the belief that such is both very healthful and very pleasant. Nobody, however, now knows the kinds of plants used and their exact number, although a definite number is given in the name.

48. Our own generation remembers the discovery of a plant among the Marsi. It grows also among the Aequicoli around the village of Nervesia, and is called consiligo. It is beneficial, as we shall point out in its own place, in desperate cases of consumption.

49. Servilius Democrates also, one of our foremost physicians, recently discovered the value of what he called hiberis, although in the verses he wrote on its discovery he assigned this to an imaginary person. It grows chiefly near old monuments, ruins, and the waste land beside highways. It is an evergreen, with leaves like cress, a stem a cubit high, and with seed that can scarcely be seen. The root has the smell of cress. It is used more efficaciously in summer, and only when freshly gathered will it serve. There is difficulty in pounding it. For sciatica and all complaints of the joints it is, with a little axle-grease added, very beneficial. The longest application is four hours for men and half as long for women; then the patient must go down to the hot water of the baths, and afterwards must be rubbed all over the body with wine and oil. The treatment should be repeated at intervals of twenty days, if any hint of pain persists. This treatment cures all hidden fluxes. The application is not made when inflammation is acute, but only when it has gone down.

50. Animals too have discovered plants, and among the chief is the chelidonia. For by means of it swallows cure the eyes of the chicks in the nest, and restore the sight, as some hold, even when the eyes have been torn out. There are two kinds of it. The larger kind is bushy, and its leaf is like that of the wild carrot, but bigger, the plant itself being two cubits high, the colour light and the blossom yellow. The smaller has leaves like those of ivy, rounder and less pale. The juice is like saffron juice and pungent; the seed resembles that of the poppy. Both plants blossom when the swallow arrives and wither when he departs. The juice is extracted while the plants are flowering, and is gently boiled down with Attic honey in a copper vessel over hot ashes, being a sovereign remedy for dimness of vision. The juice is used both by itself and in the eye-salves called chelidonia after the plant.

51. Dogs too have found a plant by which they cure loss of appetite, and eat it in our sight, but in such a way that it can never be identified, for it is seen only when chewed up. This animal shows yet greater spitefulness in its secrecy about another plant; for there is one by which it is said to cure itself when bitten by a snake, but it does not crop it when a human being is looking on.

52. With greater frankness deer have shown us elaphoboscon, about which we have written, and after yeaning have made known seselis and the black bryony, as we have pointed out;

53. dittany also by feeding on it when wounded, the weapons at once falling out. The latter grows nowhere except in Crete, with branches very slender; it resembles pennyroyal and is burning and harsh to the taste. Only the leaves are employed; it has no flower, no seed and no stem; its root is slender and without medicinal value. Even in Crete it does not grow widely, and the goats are wonderfully eager to hunt it out. A substitute for it is false dittany, which grows in many lands, like true dittany in leaf but with smaller branches, and called by some chondris.

It is recognised at once, as its properties are less potent, for the smallest quantity of true dittany, taken in drink, bums the mouth. Those who gather them store them in a piece of fennel-giant or reed, which they tie up at the ends, to prevent their losing efficacy. There are some who say that both plants grow in many places, but that while the inferior kinds are found on rich soils, true dittany is only seen on rough ground. There is also a third plant called dittany, unlike the others in appearance and properties; the leaves are those of sisymbrium and the branches are larger, but there is the established conviction that whatever simple grows in Crete is infinitely superior to any of the same kind to be found elsewhere, and that the next best herbs are those to be found on Mount Pamassus. Report says that simples grow besides on Mount Pelion in Thessaly, on Mount Telethrius in Euboea, and throughout Arcadia and Laconia, and that the Arcadians indeed use, not medicines, but milk in the spring season, because it is at this time chiefly that herbs are swollen with juices which, when the beasts graze, medicate their udders. But the milk they drink is cow's milk, since kine will feed on almost any kind of plant. The potency of plants becomes clear from two striking examples of their action even on quadrupeds: horses that have grazed around Abdera and what is called `the bounds of Diomedes' go raving mad, as do also the asses that graze around Potniae.

54. Among the most celebrated plants aristolochia received its name, as is clear, from women with child, because they considered it to be αρίστη λεχούσαις, that is, 'excellent for women in childbed.' Latin writers call it 'earth apple,' distinguishing four kinds of it: one with round tubers on the root, and with leaves partly like those of the mallow and partly like those of ivy, but darker and softer: the second is the male plant, with a long root of four fingers' length, thick as a walking-stick; the third is very long and as slender as a young vine, with especially strong properties, and is called by some clematitis and by others cretica. All kinds of this plant are of the colour of boxwood, and have small stems and purple blossom. They bear small berries like caper berries. Only the root has medicinal value. There is also a fourth kind, called plistolochia, more slender than the one last mentioned, with dense, hair-like masses for a root, and of the thickness of a. stoutish rush, which some surname polyrrhizos. All kinds have a drug-like smell, but that of the rather long and slender root is more agreeable; its fleshy outer skin in fact is even suitable for nard ointments. These plants grow on plains with a rich soil. The time to dig them up is at harvest; the earth is scraped off them before they are stored away. The most valued root, however, comes from Pontus, and in every case the heaviest specimens are preferred; for medicines the round is more suitable, for snake bites the longer kind, but its greatest fame is that, if only it is applied to the uterus in beef after conception, it forms according to report male offspring. The fishermen of Campania call the root that is round 'poison of the earth', and I have seen them scatter it over the sea, crushed and mixed with lime. The fish rush to it with wonderful greed, forthwith die, and float on the surface. The kind called polyrrhizos is reported to be very beneficial for sprains, bruises, and falls from a height, if the root is taken in water, for pleurisy and the sinews if the seed is used, and to be tonic and warming; it is reported to be the same plant as satyrion.

55. But we must mention also the properties and uses of these plants, and begin with snake bite, the worst ill of all. Cures then are: the plant britannica; the root of all kinds of panaces taken in wine; both flower and seed of chironium taken in drink or applied in wine and oil; what is called ox cunila, which is specific; polemonia or philetaeris, the dose being four drachmae of the root in neat wine; teucria, sideritis, and scordotis in wine, specific remedies for snake wounds, the juice or leaves or a decoction being taken in drink applied; the root of the greater centaury in doses of one drachma in three cyathi of white wine; gentian, particularly good, whether fresh or dried, for snake bites in doses of two drachmae taken with pepper and rue in six cyathi of wine. The smell too of lysimachia keeps snakes away. Those who have been bitten are given chelidonia in wine, and to the bites is applied in particular betony, the power of which is said to be so great that snakes enclosed in a circle of it lash themselves to death. For the bites is given its seed, the dose being a denarius with three cyathi of wine, or else it is ground and three drachmae of the powder are given in a sextarius of water; the powder is also applied locally. Cantabrica too is used, and dittany, and aristolochia, a drachma of the root in a hemina of wine, but the dose must be repeated several times. Aristolochia in vinegar also makes a useful application, and so does plistolochia, in fact the mere hanging of this above the hearth makes all snakes hurry from the house.

56. Argemonia too is good, a denarius of its root being taken in three cyathi of wine. It is proper for more details to be given about this plant, and about the others, when the first mention is made of them, and the first mention of each should be when I deal with that medical treatment where its use will prove most effective. It has leaves like those of the anemone, divided like those of celery, a head like that of the wild poppy upon a small stalk, the root also being like that of this poppy, and saffron-coloured juice that is pungent and sharp. It grows in cultivated fields. We Romans distinguish three kinds of it, and the one esteemed is that the root of which smells like frankincense.

57. An agaric grows as a white fungus on trees around the Bosporus. A dose is four oboli crushed and two cyathi of oxymel. The kind that grows in Gaul is considered of inferior strength; further, the male is firmer and more bitterthis kind causes headachesbut the female is softer, and at first its taste is sweet, but afterwards turns bitter.

58. Echios of either kind is like pennyroyal its foliage is used for chaplets. The dose is two drachmae in four cyathi of wine; likewise with the second kind, which is marked by a prickly down, and also has little heads like a viper's; this is taken in wine and vinegar. Some give the name echios to personata ('masked plant') whose leaf is broader than that of any kind, and which bears large burs. A decoction of the root of this is given with vinegar as a draught. Henbane crushed with the leaves on is given in wine, especially for the poison of asps.

59. No plant however is so renowned among the Romans as hiera botane ('sacred plant'). Some call it asistereon, and Latin writers verbenaca. This is the plant which I mentioned as carried to the enemy by envoys. With this the table of Jupiter is swept, and homes are cleansed and purified. There are two kinds of it; one has many leaves and is thought to be female, the other, the male, has fewer leaves. Each kind has several sprigs that are slender, a cubit long and angular; the leaves are smaller and narrower than those of the oak; the indentations too are deeper, the blossom is grey, and the root long and slender. It grows everywhere in flat, moist localities. Some authorities do not distinguish these two kinds but make of them one only, since both have the same properties. Both kinds are used by the people of Gaul in fortune-telling and in uttering prophecies, but the Magi especially make the maddest statements about the plant: that people who have been rubbed with it obtain their wishes, banish fevers, win friends and cure all diseases without exception. They add that it must be gathered about the rising of the Dog-star without the action being seen by moon or sun; that beforehand atonement must be made to Earth by an offering of honeycomb and honey; that a circle must be drawn with iron round the plant and then it should be pulled up with the left hand and raised aloft; that leaves, stem and root must be dried separately in the shade. They say too that if a dining-couch is sprinkled with water in which this plant has been soaked the

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entertainment becomes merrier. As a remedy for snake bites it is crushed in wine.

60. There is a plant like verbascum which is often taken for it in error, but the leaves are less pale, the stems are more numerous, and the blossom is yellow. When thrown away it attracts moths to itself, and for this reason at Rome it is called blattaria, or moth verbascum.

61. Molemonium exudes a milky juice which thickens like gum. It grows in moist localities, the dose being one denarius given in wine.

62. Cinquefoil is known to everyone, being popular for its actually producing strawberries. The Greeks call it pentapetes, pentaphyllon, or chamaezelon. When it is dug up it has a red root, which as it dries becomes black and angular. The name is derived from the number of the leaves. The plant itself buds and sheds its leaves with the vine. It is also used in purifying houses.

63. For snake bite is also given in white wine the root of the plant that is called sparganion.

64. Four kinds of daucus were distinguished by Petronius Diodotus. There is no point in giving the details of these, as there are but two species. The most highly valued grows in Crete, the next in Achaia and everywhere in dry districts; it resembles fennel, but has paler, smaller and hairy leaves, a straight stem a foot high, and a root with a very pleasant taste and smell. This kind grows on rocky soils that face the south. The other kinds grow everywhere on earthy hills and cross-paths, but only if the soil is rich; they have leaves like those of coriander, a stem a cubit high, round heads, often more than three, and a wood-like root, which when dry is worthless. Its seed is like that of cummin, while that of the first kind is like millet, white, sharp, and scented and hot in all kinds. The seed of the second kind is more powerful than that of the first, and for this reason should be used sparingly. If one really desires to add a third kind, there is one like staphylinus, called wild carrot, with longish seed and a sweet root. A quadruped, summer and winter, refuses to touch any of these plants except after miscarriage. Of the Cretan kind the root is used, chiefly for snake bites, of the other kinds the seed. The dose is one drachma taken in wine; it is given also to quadrupeds that have been bitten.

65. There is a therionarca, different from the magical plant, that grows in our part of the world, a bushy plant with greenish leaves, a rose-coloured flower, and fatal to serpents. This plant too benumbs any kind of wild creature it touches.

66. Persolata, a plant everybody knows, is called by the Greeks arcion; it has leaves larger, more hairy, darker and thicker even than those of a gourd, and a white, large root. This is taken in wine, the dose being two denarii by weight.

67. The root of cyclamen also is beneficial for the bites of any kind of snake. The plant has smaller, darker and thinner leaves than those of ivy, with no corners but with white spots; the stem is short and hollow, the blossom purple, the root so broad that it might be taken for that of the turnip, and having a dark skin. It grows in shaded spots, is called by our countrymen tuber terrae, and ought to be grown in every home if it is true that wherever it grows no evil spells do any harm. They call it 'amulet', and say that if it is added to wine intoxication comes at once. The root is also dried, cut up fine as is done with the squill, and then stored away. This is boiled down to the consistency of honey. It has however a poisonous quality of its own, and it is said that if a woman with child steps over this root she miscarries.

68. There is also another cyclamen with the surname of cissanthemos, differing from the preceding one in that it has jointed stems of no value, winds itself round trees, and bears berries like those of ivy, only soft, and a handsome, white flower; the root is of no value. The berries only are used these are sharp to the taste and sticky. They are dried in the shade, crushed, and cut up into lozenges.

69. A third kind of cyclamen has been pointed out to me with the surname of chamaecissos, which has only one leaf, and a branchy root fatal to fishes.

70. Among the most popular of plants is peucedanum, the most esteemed kind of which grows in Arcadia; next to this comes the one growing in Samothrace. Its stem is slender, long, like fennel, and leafy near the ground; the root is dark, thick, juicy, and with a strong smell. It grows on shaded mountains and is dug up at the close of autumn. The tenderest and deepest roots are the favourites. These are cut up with bone knives into strips four fingers long and pour out their juice in the shade, the cutters first rubbing their head and nostrils with rose oil lest they should feel vertigo. Another juice also is found sticking to the stems and dripping from incisions in it. It is considered good when it is of the consistency of honey, of a red colour, with a strong but pleasant smell, and hot to the taste. This is used for snake bite, as well as the root and a decoction of it, to make many remedies, the juice however being the most efficacious; it is made thinner by bitter almonds or rue and is taken in drink, while rubbing over the body with it and oil protects people from snakes.

71. The smoke of ebulum also, a plant known to everybody, drives snakes away.

72. The root of polemonia, even when merely attached as an amulet, is specific against scorpions, and also against poisonous spiders and the other smaller venomous creatures; aristolochia against scorpions, or four-oboli doses of agaric in four cyathi of wine stirred up with it, vervain too with wine, or vinegar and water, against poisonous spiders, so also cinquefoil or daucum.

73. Verbascum is called phlomos by the Greeks. There are two primary kinds of it: the pale, which is thought to be male; the other is dark and is regarded as female. There is a third kind, that is found only in woods. The leaves of verbascum are broader than those of cabbage, and hairy; the stem is upright, and more than a cubit high. The seed is black and of no use. The root is single, and of the thickness of a finger. The plants also grow in flat country. Wild verbascum has leaves like those of elelisphacus and tall, while the branches are of a woody texture.

74. There are also two sorts of phlomis, both shaggy and with round leaves, growing near the ground. A third is called lychnitis, by some thryallis; it has three or at most four leaves, which are thick and fleshy, and suitable for lamp wicks. It is said that, placed in the leaves of the kind we have called female, a fig does not even begin to go bad. It is almost superfluous to distinguish these various kinds, because they all have the same properties. A draught for the sting of scorpions is made from the root and rue in water, which is as efficacious as it is bitter.

75. Thelyphonon is a plant called scorpion some because its root has the shape of one. A mere touch of it kills scorpions, and so it is taken in drink for their stings. It is said that a dead scorpion, if smeared with white hellebore, comes to life again. Thelyphonon kills every kind of quadruped if its root be applied to the genitals, the leaf indeed, which is like that of cyclamen, does so before the end of the same day. The plant itself is jointed, and grows in shaded places. Good for scorpion bite is the juice of betony ore plantain.

76. Frogs too have their poisons, brambletoads a virulent one, and I have seen Psylli putting them to a contest loosed from heated pans, and that though their bite brings speedier death than the bite of asps. A helpful remedy is phrynion taken in wine, a plant that some call neuras, and others poterion, having small flowers and many fibrous roots with a pleasant scent.

77. Likewise alisma, which some call damasonion, others lyron. The leaves would be like those of the plantaisi were they not narrower, more jagged, and bent downwards; in other respects the two are alike, even in their many veins. It has a single, slender stem, a cubit high and like a thyrsus at the top, with many close-set roots, slender like those of black hellebore, acrid, scented and juicy. It grows in watery places. The other kind of tile same plant is found in woods; it is darker, and has larger leaves. The roots of both kinds are used for the poison of frogs and of the sea-hare, the dose being a drachma by weight taken in wine. Cyclamen is another remedy for the poison of sea-hares. The bites of a mad dog also have a highly venomous character, a remedy for which will be found in cvnorrhodum, of which I have spoken already, in the plantain, and for all bites of wild beasts in betony with old neat wine, taken as drink or applied locally.

78. Peristereos is the name of a plant with a tall stem covered with leaves and sprouting out other stems at the top. It is a great favourite with doves, whence too conies its name. It is said that dogs never bark at those who have this plant about them.

79. Next after these plagues come the poisons that men devise for themselves. Remedies for all these and for sorceries will be found in the famous moly of Homer, which is the best, next the antidotes of Mithridates, and also scordotis. Centaury too taken in drink evacuates by stool all poisonous drugs, as does the seed of betony taken in honey wine or in raisin wine, or drachma doses of the powder may be taken in four cyathi of old wine; but the patients must be made to vomit and take a second draught. It is said that those who take this powder every day will not be hurt by any noxious drugs. When poison has been drunk help is given by aristolochia, the dose being the same as for snake bites, by the juice of cinquefoil, and by agaric taken after previous vomiting, the dose being a denarius by weight in three cyathi of hydxomel.

80. Antirrinum or pararinon is the name given to wild lychnis, a plant like flax, having no root, a flower like that of the hyacinthus, and seed like the muzzle of a calf. The Magi hold that those rubbed with it improve in beauty and can be hurt by no noxious drug; likewise if anyone wear it on the arm as an amulet.

81. They say the same of the plant they call euplia, and maintain that those rubbed with it win a finer reputation. They also say that those carrying artemisia about them are not hurt by noxious drugs, or by any wild beast, and not even by the sun. This plant is also taken in wine to counteract the effects of opium. Seaweed is said to be a specific, and it is also taken in drink for the poison of frogs.

82. Pericarpum is a kind of bulb. There are two species of it; one has a red outer skin, the other is like the dark poppy, but its properties are stronger than those of the former; both however are warming. For this reason the plant is administered to counteract hemlock, as is also frankincense and panaces, and chironium in particular. The last is also used for poisoning by fungi.

83. But we will go on to add also the various kinds of remedies for each disease attacking the various parts of the body, beginning with the head. Mange is cured by the root of the Heraclian water-lily, ground up and applied, either with pitch or by itself. Polythrix differs from callithrix in having pale, rush-like shoots and more numerous and larger leaves. The main stem too is larger. It strengthens and makes to grow more thickly hair that tends to fall out.

84. Lingulaca too may be used, that grows around springs, the root of which, reduced to ashes, is beaten up mixed with the lard of a black sow, care being taken that it is one which has never farrowed; and then it is a great advantage if the application is made in the sunshine. The root of cyclamen is used in a similar way. Dandruff is removed by the root of hellebore boiled down in oil or in water. Headache is cured by the root of any kind of panaces crushed in oil, by aristolochia, by hiberis attached for an hour, or longer if the patient can stand it, a bath being taken at the same time. Daucum also is a cure. Cyclamen too with honey, if pushed into the nostrils, clears the head, sores on which are healed by the same used as ointment. Peristereos also is effective treatment.

85. Cacalia or leontice is the name of a plant with seeds like tiny pearls hanging down among large leaves, and mostly found on mountains. Fifteen grains of it are steeped in oil, and with this the head is rubbed in the contrary way to the hair.

86. From callithrix also is made a snuff. This plant has the leaves of the lentil; the stems are very slender rushes and the root is very small. It grows in shady, moist places, and has a hot taste.

87. Hyssop crushed in oil is good for phthiriasis and itch on the scalp. The best comes from Mount Taurus in Cilicia, the next best from Pamphylia and Smyrna. Upsetting the stomach, it purges by stool if taken with figs, by vomitings if taken with honey. Pounded with honey, salt, and cummin it is also supposed to counteract the poison of snake bites.

88. Lonchitis is not, as most people have thought, the same plant as xiphion or phasganion, although the seed is like a spear point; for it has leaves like those of the leek, reddish near the root and more numerous than on the stem, little heads like the masks of comedy, which put out a small tongue, and very long roots. It grows in thirsty soils.

89. Xiphion or phasganion on the other hand grows in moist soils. When it first leaves the ground it presents the appearance of a sword, has a stem two cubits high, and a fringed root like a filbert, which must be dug up before harvest and dried in the shade. The upper part of it, beaten up with frankincense and mixed with an equal quantity by weight of wine, extracts bone splinters from the head and all suppurating matter in the body, or any snake bones that have been trodden on; the plant also counteracts poisons. Headache is relieved by rubbing with hellebore beaten up and boiled down in oil or rose oil, or by peucedanum in oil or rose oil and vinegar. The latter made lukewarm is good for the pains generally felt on one side of the head, and also for giddiness. The body is rubbed over with the root to promote perspiration, for it has heating properties.

90. Psyllion is called by some cynoides, by others chrystallion, by others sicelicon, and by others cynomyia; it has a slender root of no use in medicine, numerous twigs with grains like beans at the point, leaves not unlike a dog's head and seed not unlike a flea: hence too its name. The seed is in berries, and the plant itself is to be found in vineyards. Its cooling and dispersing properties are very strong. The part used is the seed. For headache it is applied to the forehead and temples in vinegar and rose oil or in vinegar and water. For other purposes it is used as liniment. An acetabulum thickens and coagulates a sextarius of water; then it should be beaten up and the paste applied as liniment to any pain, gathering or inflammation. Wounds in the head are healed by aristolochia, which also brings away fragments of bone in other parts of the body, but especially in the head; the same with plistolochia. Thryselinum is not unlike celery. The root of it chewed clears away catarrhs of the head.

91. It is supposed that the sight is improved by the greater centaury if the eyes are fomented by an infusion of it in water; while by the juice of the lesser centaury with the addition of honey gnats are removed, cloudiness and films are dispersed, and scars smoothed out; also that albugo even of draught animals is made better by sideritis. But chelidonia is a wonderful cure for all the above-mentioned eye troubles. The root of panaces with pearl barley is applied to the eyes for fluxes. For checking such fluxes the seed of henbane is taken in wine in doses of an obolus with the same amount of poppy juice. Juice of gentian too is used as ointment, and it is also used instead of poppy juice as an ingredient of the more pungent eye salves. Euphorbeum too improves the vision of those whose eyes are anointed with it. The juice of the plantain is dropped into the eyes for ophthalmia. Films are

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dispersed by aristolochia, by hiberis attached to the head, and by cinquefoil. Fluxes and eye-diseases generally are made better by verbascum. To fluxes is applied peristereos in rose oil or vinegar. For cataract and film lozenges of cyclamen are dissolved and applied; the juice of peucedanum, as we have said, poppy juice and rose oil being added, is good for improving the vision and for films. Psyllion rubbed on the forehead arrests fluxes.

92. Some call the anagallis, acoron. There are two kinds of it: the male with a scarlet flower, and the female with a blue one; neither is more than a span in height, the stem being tender, and the leaves tiny, round and lying on the ground. They grow in gardens and on moist ground. The blue-flowered kind blossoms first. The juice of either kind, applied with honey, disperses film on the eyes, suffusions of blood from a blow, and reddish argema; the results are better if the ointment is made with Attic honey. It dilates the pupils, and so these are smeared with it before perforation for cataract. These plants also cure eye diseases in draught animals. The juice also clears the head if poured through the nostrils, but it must be rinsed out afterwards with wine. A drachma dose of the juice is also taken in wine for snake bites. It is a wonderful thing that cattle avoid the female plant, or if deceived by the resemblancefor the only difference is in the flowerthey have partaken of it, they at once seek as a remedy the plant called asyla. We Romans call it 'cat's-eye'. Some instruct the diggers to say nothing until they have saluted it before sunrise, and then to gather it and extract the juice, for so they say its efficacy is at its greatest. About the juice of euphorbea enough has been said. Ophthalmia, if there is swelling, will be benefited by wormwood beaten up with honey, and also by powdered betony.

93. Aegilops is cured by the plant of the same name, which grows among barley and has a leaf like that of wheat; either the seed may be reduced to powder, mixed with flour and applied, or the juice may be used. This is extracted from the stem and juicy leaves after taking away the ears, and then it is worked into lozenges with the flour of three-month wheat.

94. Some physicians used to employ the mandrake also; afterwards it was discarded as a medicine for the eyes. What is certain is that the pounded root, with rose oil and wine, cures fluxes and pain in the eyes. But the juice is used as an ingredient in many eye remedies. Some give the name eircaeon to the mandrake. There are two kinds of it: the white, which is also considered male, and the black, considered female. The leaves are narrower than those of lettuce, the stems hairy, and the roots, two or three in number, reddish, white inside, fleshy and tender, and almost a cubit in length. They bear fruit of the size of filberts, and in these are seeds like the pips of pears. When the seed is white the plant is called by some arsen, by others morion, and by others hippophlomos. The leaves of this mandrake are whitish, broader than those of the other, and like those of cultivated lapathum. The diggers avoid facing the wind, first trace round the plant three circles with a sword, and then do their digging while facing the west. The juice can also be obtained from the fruit, from the stem, after cutting off the top, and from the root, which is opened by pricks or boiled down to a decoction. Even the shoot of its root can be used, and the root is also cut into round slices and kept in wine. The juice is not found everywhere, but where it can be found it is looked a for about vintage time. It has a strong smell, but stronger when the juice comes from the root or fruit of the white mandrake. The ripe fruit is dried in the shade. The fruit juice is thickened in the sun, and so is that of the root, which is crushed or boiled down to one third in dark wine. The leaves are kept in brine, more effectively those of the white kind. The juice of leaves that have been touched by dew are deadly. Even when kept in brine they retain harmful properties. The mere smell brings heaviness of the head andalthough in certain countries the fruit is eatenthose who in ignorance smell too much are struck dumb, while too copious a draught even brings death. When the mandrake is used as a sleeping draught the quantity administered should be proportioned to the strength of the patient, a moderate dose being one cyathus. It is also taken in drink for snake bite, and before surgical operations and punctures to produce anaesthesia. For this purpose some find it enough to put themselves to sleep by the smell. A dose of two oboli of mandrake is also taken in honey wine instead of helleborebut hellebore is more efficaciousas an emetic and to purge away black bile.

95. Hemlock too is poisonous, a plant with a bad name because the Athenians made it their instrument of capital punishment, but its uses for many purposes must not be passed by. It has a poisonous seed, but the stem is eaten by many both as a salad and when cooked in a saucepan. This stem is smooth, and jointed like a reed, of a dark colour, often more than two cubits high, and branchy at the top; the leaves resemble those of coriander, but are more tender, and of a strong smell; the seed is coarser than that of anise, the root hollow and of no use. The seed and leaves have a chilling quality, and it is this that causes death; the body begins to grow cold at the extremities. The remedy lies in using the warming nature of wine before the vital parts are reached; but taken in wine hemlock is invariably fatal. A juice is extracted from the leaves and blossom, for the best time to do so is when the hemlock is in flower. A better juice is extracted from the crushed seed and thickened in the sun for making into lozenges. It causes death by thickening the bloodthis is its other outstanding propertyand for this reason spots are to be seen on the bodies of those who have been killed in this way. This juice is used instead of water as a solvent for drugs. There is also made from it a poultice to cool the stomach. Its chief use however is as a local application round the eyes to check summer fluxes and to allay pains in them. It forms an ingredient of eye salves, and it checks all catarrhs generally. The leaves also relieve every kind of swelling, pain or flux. Anaxilaus is responsible for the statement that if the breasts are rubbed with hemlock from adult maidenhood onwards they will always remain firm. What is certain is that an application of hemlock to the breasts of women in childbed dries up their milk, and to rub it on the testicles at the time of puberty acts as an antaphrodisiac. I should not like to give directions about remedies in which hemlock is recommended to be taken by the mouth. The most powerful hemlock grows at Susa in Parthia; the next in Laconia, Crete and Asia; in Greece however the strongest is found around Megara, after which comes that of Attica.

96. An application of wild cremnos to the removes rheum, and with the addition of pearl barley reduces swellings.

97. Molybdaena, that is plumbago, grows everywhere, even on cultivated land; it has a leaf like that of lapathum and is thick and hairy. If the eye is licked occasionally with this plant when chewed, there is removed the species of eye trouble called lead.

98. Capnos trunca, the popular name of which is chicken's feet, growing among ruins and on wall-banks, has very slender branches which are far apart, a purple flower and green leaves; its juice disperses films, and so it is an ingredient of eye salves.

99. Similar both in name and in its properties, though a different plant, is the bushy capnos, which is very delicate, and has the leaves of coriander, the colour of ashes, and a purple blossom. It grows in gardens and crops of barley. Used as ointment for the eyes it improves the vision and, like smoke, produces tears, and to this fact it owes its name. It also prevents eyelashes that have been pulled out from growing again.

100. Acoron has the leaves of the iris, only narrower and with a longer foot-stalk; it has dark roots and less veined, though in other respects these too are like those of the iris, pungent to the taste, with a not unpleasant smell, and carminative. The best come from Daspetost [place unknown, possibly misread by Pliny] in Galatia., then come Cretan roots, but they are found most abundantly in Colchis near the river Phasis and wherever there are watery districts. Fresh roots have a stronger smell than stale, and the Cretan are paler than those of Pontus. They, like the iris, are dried in the shade in slices a finger in length. There are to be found those who give the name of acoron to the root of oxymyrsine, and for this reason some prefer to call this plant acorion. It has powerful properties as a calorific and discutient, is good for cataract and dimness of the eyes, and its juice is taken internally for snake bites.

101. The cotyledon is a tiny plant on a tender little stem, with a very small fleshy leaf, which is concave like the hip joint. It grows in maritime and rocky places, fresh green in colour, and with a root that is oval like an olive. The juice is medicine for the eyes. There is another kind of cotyledon with dirty-green leaves, which are broader and closer together than those of the other, spread round the root as though it were an eye; the taste is very harsh, the stem longer than that of the other kind but very slender. It is used for the same purposes as the iris.

102. Of the aizoum there are two kinds, the larger of which is planted in earthen pots, and is sometimes called buphthalmos, zoophthalmos, tergethron (because it is useful for love-philtres), hypogeson (for it generally grows under eaves), although some prefer to call it ambrosia or amerimon; Italians call it great sedum, or eye, or little finger. The other kind is rather small, and is called erithales, trithales (because it flowers three times), erysithales, isoetes, sedum by Italians, and both are called aizoulm, because they are always green, or sempervivum. The greater aizom grows to even more than a cubit in height and is thicker than a thumb. At the point the leaves are like a tongue, fleshy, rich with copious juice, as broad as a thumb, some bent to the ground and others upright, so that the circle of them is like an eye in shape. The smaller aizoum grows on walls, ruins, and roof-tiles; it is bushy from the root and leafy to the top, with narrow, pointed and juicy leaves, and a stem a span high. The root is not used.

103. Resembling this is a plant that the Greeks call wild andraehle, the Italians inlecebra. It has very small leaves, but broader than those of aizoum, and the head is shorter It grows in rocky districts and is gathered for food. All these have the same properties; they are cooling and astringent. Fluxes of the eyes are cured by an application of the leaves or of the juice used as ointment. For it cleanses sores of the eyes, replaces lost tissue and makes them cicatrize; it unglues the eyelids when sticky. These plants also cure headaches if the temples are smeared with the juice or leaves; they neutralize the bite of venomous spiders; for aconite, however, an especially good antidote is the greater aizotim. It is also said that those who have this plant on their persons are not stung by scorpions. They also cure earache, as does the application of a moderate amount of juice of henbane, or of achillea, of the smaller centaury, of plantain, of peucedanum mixed with rose oil and poppy juice, and of acoron juice with rose leaves. But all these juices are warmed and injected with a strigil, cotyledon being good even for pus in the ears if warmed deer's marrow is added, or the juice of crushed root of ebulum strained through a cloth, then thickened in the sun and, when needed, diluted with rose oil and warmed. Vervain cures swollen parotid glands, as does the plantain, and sideritis with old axle-grease.

104. Polypus in the nose is treated successfully by aristolochia with cyperus.

105. For the teeth remedies are: chewed root of panaces, chewed root of chironia especially, the juice too if the teeth be rinsed with it, the root of henbane chewed with vinegar, and that of polemonia. The plantain is chewed, or the teeth are rinsed with the juice of the decoction in vinegar. To eat the leaves also is useful, even if the gums are purulent; or the seed of the same plant heals abscesses and gatherings in the gums. Mistolochia too strengthens gums and teeth, as does vervain chewed with its root, or the juice of a decoction in wine or vinegar used as a mouth-wash, and also that of the root of cinquefoil boiled down to one-third in wine or vinegar. Before it is boiled down it is washed in sea water or salt water, and the decoction should be kept in the mouth for a long time. Some prefer to use the ash of cinquefoil as a dentrifrice. The root of verbascum too is boiled down in wine to make a mouth-wash for the teeth, for which purpose also hyssop is employed and the juice of peucedanum with poppy juice; or the juice of auagallis roots, by preference of the female plant, is poured into the nostril opposite to where pain is felt.

106. Erigeron is called by us Romans senecio. If a line is traced round it with an iron tool before it is dug up, and if one touches a painful tooth with the plant three times, spitting after each touch, and replaces it into its original ground so as to keep it alive, it is said that the tooth will never cause pain thereafter. This plant has the appearance and softness of trixago, with small, reddish stems. It grows on tiled roofs and on walls. Its name was given to it by the Greeks, because it is of a hoary colour in spring. Its head is divided by many pieces of down, like those of a thorn, that grow out from between the divisions, which is why Callimachus gave it the name of acanthis, and others pappus. Apart from this, however, the Greeks are not in agreement about this plant. Some have said that it has the leaves of rocket, others of the oak but much smaller; some that the root is useless, others that it is good for the sinews, others that it chokes if taken in drink. On the other hand some have given it with wine for jaundice, and as a cure for all complaints of the bladder, heart, and liver. They have said that it brings away gravel from the kidneys. They prescribed for sciatica a drachma with oxynael after a walk, this dose being also very useful in raisin wine for colic; they recommended it also as a salad with vinegar for the internal organs a generally, and they planted it in gardens. There have been some who distinguished a second variety, but without pointing out its qualities, prescribing it to be taken in water for snake bite, and to be eaten by epileptics. I myself shall treat of it only in so far as the Romans have found out by experiment how to use it. Its down, with saffron and a little cold water, is applied crushed to eye fluxes and, roasted with a grain of salt, to scrofulous sores.

107. Ephemeron has the leaves of a lily, but smaller, a stem of the same length, a blue flower, a seed of no value, and a single root of the thickness of a thumb, a sovereign remedy for the teeth if it is cut up into pieces in vinegar, boiled down, and used warm as a month wash. And the root also by itself arrests decay if forced into the hollow of a decayed tooth. Root of chelidonia is crushed in vinegar and kept in the mouth, dark hellebore is plugged into decayed teeth, and loose teeth are strengthened by either of these boiled down in vinegar.

108. A plant that grows in rivers they call the bath of Venus. In it is a worm which is rubbed round the teeth or plugged with wax into the hollow of a tooth. Care must be taken that the plant does not touch the ground after being pulled up.

109. We call ranunculus a plant which the Greeks call batrachion. There are four kinds of it: one with fatter leaves than those of coriander and nearly as broad as those of mallows, of a leaden colour, with a tall, graceful stem and a whitish root. It grows on moist and shaded cross-paths. The second is more leafy, with more indentations in the leaves, and with taller stems. The third is the smallest, with a strong smell and a golden flower. The fourth is like it, but the flower is of the colour of milk. All have a caustic property; if leaves are applied raw, they raise blisters as does fire. Accordingly they

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are used for leprous sores and itch, and to remove scars on the skin; they are ingredients of all caustic preparations. They are applied to mange, but are removed quickly. The root if chewed up for toothache too long breaks off the teeth, and the dried root chopped flue makes a snuff. Roman herbalists call it strumus, because it cures scrofula and superficial abscesses, if a piece of it is hung up in the smoke. They believe that if it is replanted the maladies they have cured break out again, a similar criminal use being made of the plantain. Sores inside the mouth are cured by juice of plantain, and also by the chewed-up leaves and roots, even if the mouth is suffering from a flux; sores and bad breath are removed by cinquefoil, sores by psyllium.

110. I shall also give some prescriptions for offensive breath, which is a very embarrassing complaint. For this purpose myrtle leaves are taken and an equal weight of leaves of lentisk with half the quantity of Syrian gall-nuts. This compound, when beaten up and sprinkled with old wine, may with benefit be chewed in the morning, or one may be made of ivy berries, cassia and myrrh, in equal quantities, added to wine. If the nostrils are the seat of the trouble, even though a cancer-like growth is present, dracontium seed beaten up with honey is very useful. Bruises disappear under applications of hyssop, and scars on the face are removed by rubbing with mandrake.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 26

1. The face of man has also been afflicted with new diseases, unknown in past years not only to Italy but also to almost the whole of Europe, and even then they did not spread all over Italy, or through Illyricum, the Gauls, and the Spains to any great extent, or in fact anywhere except in and around Rome. Though they are painless and without danger to life, yet they are so disfiguring that any kind of death would be preferable.

2. The most severe of these they called by a Greek name lichens; in Latin, because it generally began on the chin, it was called mentagra, at first by way of a jokeso prone are many men to make a jest of the misfortunes of othersthe name passing presently into common use. The disease seized in many cases at least the whole of the face, with the eyes only unaffected, but passed down however also to the neck, chest and hands, covering the skin with a disfiguring, scaly eruption.

3. This plague was unknown to our fathers and forefathers. It first made its way into Italy in the middle of the principate of Tiberius Claudius Caesar, when a Roman knight of Perusia, a quaestor's secretary, introduced the infection from Asia Minor, where he had taken up his duties. Women were not liable to the disease, or slaves and the lower and middle classes, but the nobles were very much infected through the momentary contact of a kiss. The scar left on many who had been hardy enough to endure the treatment was more unsightly than the disease, for caustics were the method employed, and the loathsome complaint broke out afresh unless the flesh was burnt through right to the bones. There arrived from Egypt, the parent of such diseases, physicians who devoted all their attention to this complaint only, to their very great profit, since it is a fact that Manilius Cornutus, of praetorian rank and legate of the province of Aquitania, laid out two hundred thousand sesterces in getting himself treated for that disease. On the other hand, it has more usually happened that new kinds of disease on their first appearance have been epidemic. What can be found more marvellous than this, that some diseases should arise suddenly in a special part of the world, should attack special limbs of human beings or special ages, or even people of a special position in life, (just as if a plague chose its victims), one children, another adults, one making the nobility especially liable, another the poor.

4. It is noted in the Annals that it was in the censorship of Lucius Paullus and Quintus Marcius that there appeared for the first time in Italy the carbuncle, a disease peculiar to the province of Gallia Narbonensis. There died of it in the same year as I compose my work two men of consular rank, Julius Rufus and Laecanius Bassus, the former through the ignorance of his physicians, who tried lancing; the latter, however, through his own tearing out with a needle from his left thumb a splinter (boil) so small that it could scarcely be seen. The carbuncle forms in the most hidden parts of the body, and usually as a red hardness under the tongue, like a pimple but blackish at the top, occasionally of a leaden colour, spreading into the flesh but without swelling, pain, irritation, or any other symptom than sleep, overcome by which the patient is carded off in three days. Sometimes also the disease, bringing shivering, small pustules around the sore, and more rarely fever, has reached the oesophagus and pharynx, causing death very quickly.

5. I have said that leprosy did not occur in Italy before the time of Pompeius Magnus, and that though the plague usually begins on the face, a kind of freckle on the tip of the nose, yet presently the skin dries up over all the body, covered with spots of various colours, and uneven, in places thick, in others thin, in others hard as with rough itch-scab, finally however going black, and pressing the flesh on to the bones, while the toes and fingers swell up. This plague is native to Egypt. When kings were attacked, it was a deadly thing for the inhabitants, because the tubs in the baths used to be prepared with warm human blood for its treatment. This disease indeed quickly died out in Italy, as also did that called by the ancients gemursa, which appeared between the toes, the very name being now obsolete.

6. This itself is a wonderful fact, that some diseases should disappear from among us while others remain endemic, as for example colum. It was in the principate of Tiberius Caesar that this malady made its way into Italy. Nobody suffered from it before the Emperor himself, and the citizens were greatly puzzled when they read in his edict, in which he begged to be excused because of illness, a name they had never heard before. What are we to say that this means, what wrath of the gods? Were the recognised kinds of human disease, more than three hundred, too few, that they must be increased by new ones also to add to man's fears? No fewer either are the troubles which man brings upon himself by his own agency. These remedies that I record were those used by the ancients, Nature in a way making medicine herself, and their vogue was a long one. Certainly the works of Hippocrates, who was the first to put together, and that with great distinction, rules for medical practice, we find full of references to herbs, equally so the works of Diocles of Carystus, who comes next after Hippocrates in time and reputation, likewise those of Praxagoras and Chrysippus, and then comes Erasistratus of Ceos; while Herophilus indeed, although the founder of an over-subtle sect, we know recommended before all others this method of treatment. But little by little experience, the most efficient teacher of all things, and in particular of medicine, degenerated into words and mere talk. For it was more pleasant to sit in a lecture-room engaged in listening, than to go out into the wilds and search for the various plants at their proper season of the year.

7. However, the ancient system of medicine remained unshaken, and claimed as its own considerable remains of its once acknowledged sphere, until, in the time of Pompeius Magnus, one Asclepiades, a professor of rhetoric, who found his gains in that profession too small, but had a brain brilliant enough for success in other professions, suddenly abandoned rhetoric for medicine. A man who neither had practised it nor knew anything of remedies that call for sharp eyes and personal experience, but could attract by his eloquent and daily-practised oratory, was forced to reject all simples, and reducing the whole of medicine to the discovery of causes, made it a matter of guesswork. He recognised especially five principles of general application: fasting from food, in other cases abstinence from wine, massage, walking, and the various kinds of carnage-rides. Since every man realised that he could provide these things for himself, and since all applauded him as if the easiest things were also true, Asclepiades brought round to his view almost all the human race, just as if he had been sent as an apostle from heaven.

8. He used, moreover, to attract men's minds by the empty artifice of promising the sick, now wine, which he administered as opportunity occurred, while now he would prescribe cold water; and since Herophilus had anticipated him in inquiring into the causes of diseases, and Cleophantus among the ancient physicians had brought to prominent notice the treatment by wine, he preferred, according to Marcus Varro, to win for himself the surname of 'cold-water giver.' He devised also other attractive methods of treatment, such as suspended beds, so that by rocking them he could either relieve diseases or induce sleep; again, he organized a system of hydropathy, which appeals to man's greedy love of baths, and many other things pleasant and delightful to speak of, which won him a great professional reputation. His fame was no less great when, on meeting the funeral cortege of a man unknown to him, he had him removed from the pyre and saved his life. This incident I give lest any should think that it was on slight grounds that so violent a changes took place. One thing alone moves me to anger: that one man, of a very superficial race, beginning with no resources, in order to increase his income suddenly gave to the human race rules for health, which however have subsequently been generally discarded. The success of Asclepiades owed much to the many distressing and crude features of ancient medical treatment; for instance, it was the custom to bury patients under coverings, and to promote perspiration by every possible means, now to roast the body before a fire, or continually to make them seek sunshine in our rainy city, nay throughout rainy imperial Italy: then for the first time were used hot-air baths, heated from below, treatment of infinite attractiveness. Besides this he did away with the agonizing treatment employed in certain diseases; for example in quinsy, which physicians used to treat by thrusting an instrument into the throat. He rightly condemned emetics also, which were at that time employed unduly often. He disapproved also of administering draughts that are injurious to the stomach, a criticism which is to a great extent a sound one. That is why I always point out in the first place those remedies that are beneficial to the stomach.

9. Above all Asclepiades was helped by Magian deceits, which prevailed to such a degree that they were strong enough to destroy confidence in all herbal remedies. It was believed that by the plant aethiopis rivers and pools are dried up; that by the touch of onothuris all things shut are opened; that if achaemenis is thrown on the ranks of an enemy the lines turn their backs in panic; that latace was wont to be given by the Persian king to his envoys, so that wherever they went they might enjoy an abundant supply of everything, with much similar nonsense. Where then were these plants when the Cimbri and the Teutones raised their awful war yells, or when Lucullus with a few legions laid low so many kings of the Magi? Or why have Roman generals always made victualling a first care in their wars? Why did Caesar's soldiers at Pharsalia feel hunger, if abundant plenty could have been given them by the happy property of a single plant? Would it not have been better for Scipio Aemilianus to open the gates of Carthage by a plant than to shake the defences for so many years with battering-rams? Let the Pomptine marshes be drained today by the plant merois, and much land be recovered for Italy near Rome. But as for the medical prescription found in the same Democritus, to ensure the begetting of beautiful, good and lucky children, did it ever give such offspring to any Persian king? It would certainly be wonderful that the credulity of our forefathers, though it arose from most sound beginnings, reached the height it did, if in any matter man's wit knew moderation, and I were not about to show, in the appropriate place, that this very system of medicine invented by Asclepiades has surpassed even Magian nonsense. It is without exception the nature of the human mind that what begins with necessities is finally carried to excess. I shall therefore go on to describe the omitted properties of the plants I dealt with in the preceding book, adding any other plants that my judgment will suggest.

10. But of lichen, which is so disfiguring a disease, I shall amass from all sources a greater number of remedies, although not a few have been noticed already. Remedies, then, are pounded plaintain, cinqnefoil, root of asphodel in vinegar, shoots of the fig-tree boiled down in vinegar, and the root of hibiscus with bee-glue and strong vinegar boiled down to one quarter. The affected part is also rubbed with pumice, as a preparation for the application of rumex root pounded in vinegar, or of mistletoe scum kneaded with lime. A decoction too of tithymallus with resin is highly recommended; the plant lichen however is considered a better remedy than all these, a fact which has given the plant its name. It grows among rocks, has one broad leaf near the root, and one small stem with long leaves hanging down from it. This plant removes also marks of scars; it is pounded with honey. There is another kind of lichen, entirely clinging, as does moss, to rocks; this too is used by itself as a local application. It also stops bleeding if the juice is dropped into wounds, and applied locally it is good for gatherings. With honey also it cures jaundice, if the mouth and tongue are smeared with it. Patients undergoing this treatment are ordered to bathe in salt water, to be rubbed with almond oil, and to abstain from garden vegetables. To treat lichen is also used the root of thapsia pounded with honey.

11. For the treatment of quinsy argemonia is taken in wine, hyssop is boiled down with figs and used as a gargle, peucedanum is used with rennet of the seal in equal parts, and proserpinaca pounded with sprats-brine and oil, or else held beneath the tongue. Cinquefoil juice also, in doses of three cyathi. This also used as gargle is good for all affections of the throat; verbascum taken in water is specific for the tonsils.

12. For scrofulous sores are prescribed plantain, the great celandine with honey and axle-grease, cinquefoil, root of persollata also with axle-greasethe application is covered with the plant's leavesartemisia also and the root of mandrake in water. Broad-leaved sideritis dug up with a nail in the left hand is attached as an amulet, but the healed patients must guard it, lest herbalists wickedly plant it again, as I have said in certain places, and bring about a relapse, a danger against which I find those also are warned who have been cured by artemisia, and those too cured by plantain. Damasonium, which is also called alisma, is gathered at the solstice and applied in rainwater to the sores, the leaf being crushed, or the root pounded, with axle-grease, but the application must be covered with a leaf from the same plant. The same method is used for all pains in the neck and for tumours in any part of the body.

13. The daisy grows in meadows. It has a white flower, to a certain distance tinged with red. It is held that an application of it is more efficacious if artemisia is added.

14. Condurdum too is a plant blooming at the summer solstice, having a red flower. Hung round the neck it is said to arrest scrofula; the same is said of vervain with plantain. All complaints of the fingers and specifically whitlows are successfully treated with cinquefoil.

15. Of chest complaints quite the most distressing is cough. Remedies for it are: root of panaces taken in sweet wine, juice of henbane (even when there is spitting of blood; the fumes too of bnrning henbane help the cough), scordotis also mixed with cress and dry resin pounded with honeyeven by itself it makes expectoration easythe greater centaury too, even when there is spitting of blood, for which complaint the juice of the

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plantain also is a remedy, three oboli of betony in water for spitting of pus or blood, root of persollata in doses of one drachma with eleven pine seeds, juice of peucedanum. For pains in the chest acorum is a help, and for this reason it is a component of antidotes, a help too for cough are daucum and the Scythian herb. The last is helpful for all chest complaints. For cough and spitting of pus, the dose being three oboli in the same amount of raisin wine, the golden-flowered verbascum is a good remedy. The potency of this plant is so great that beasts of burden that are not only suffering from cough but also broken-winded, are relieved by a draught, and the same I find is true of gentian. The root of caccalia, soaked in wine and chewed, is good not only for cough but also for the throat. A decoction of five sprays of hyssop, two of rue, and three figs, clears the chest and soothes the cough.

16. Bechion is also called tussilago. There are two kinds of it. Wherever the wild kind grows it is believed that springs run under the surface, and the plant is considered a sign by the water-finders. The leaves are rather larger than those of ivy, numbering five or seven, whitish underneath and pale on the upper side. There is no stem, or flower, or seed, and the root is slender. Some think it is the same as areion, and chamaeleuce under another name. The smoke of this plant, dried with the root and burnt, is said to cure, if inhaled deeply through a reed, an inveterate cough, but the patient must take a sip of raisin wine at each inhalation.

17. The second kind is called by some salvia, being like verbascum. Finely ground, strained and warmed, it is taken in drink for a cough and pains in the side; this prescription is also a remedy for scorpion stings and the poison of the sea dragon. An embrocation also of the plant and oil is good for snakebites. For cough, pains in the side and in the chest, a decoction is made of a bunch of hyssop and a quarter of a pound of honey, and verbascum with rue is taken in water, or powdered betony in hot water.

18. The stomach is strengthened by the juice of scordotis, by centaury, by gentian taken in water, by plantain, either taken by itself in food or mixed with lentils or alica gruel. Although betony in general lies heavy on the stomach, yet taken in drink, or if the leaves are chewed, it cures its troubles; aristolochia also may be taken in drink or dry agaric chewed, neat wine being drunk after a while, and nymphaea heraclia or juice of pencedanum may be applied locally. Psyllion is applied to inflammations, or pounded cotyledon with pearl-barley, or aizom.

19. Molon has a striated stalk, soft small leaves, and a root four fingers long, at the end of which is a head like that of garlic. Some give it the name of syron. In wine it cures stomach troubles and difficulty of breathing, as do the greater centaury in an electuary, plantain, its juice or as food, pounded betony, in the proportion of one pound to half an ounce of Attic honey and taken daily in hot water, and aristolochia or agaric in doses of three oboli taken in hot water or ass's milk. Cissanthemus is given in drink a for orthopnoea, for that and for asthma hyssop, while for pains in the liver, chest, and side, if there is no fever, the juice of peucedanum. For spitting of blood also agaric is of help; a vietoriatus by weight is pounded and given in five cyathi of honey wine. For this complaint amomum is equally good. For liver complaints fresh teucria is specific, taken in the proportion of four drachmae to one hemina of vinegar and water, or betony, one drachma to three cyathi of hot water: the same amount of betony, in two cvathi of cold water, is given for heart affections. The juice of cinquefoil is a remedy for affections of the liver and lungs, for spitting of blood, and for all internal blood impurities. Both kinds of anagallis are wonderfully good for liver complaints. Those who have eaten the plant called capnos (smoke) pass bile in their urine. Acoron is a cure for liver diseases, and daucum for those of the chest and hypochondria.

20. Ephedra, called by some anabasis, grows generally in wind-swept regions, climbs trees and hangs down from their branches. It has no leaves, but numerous rush-like, jointed tufts, and a pale root. For cough, asthma and colic it is given pounded in a dark-red, dry wine; and it may be made into a gruel, to which wine should be added. Another remedy is gentian, thoroughly pounded after being steeped the day before, the dose being a denarius by weight in three cyathi of wine.

21. Geum has little roots, slender, blackish and with a pleasant smell. It not only is a cure for pains in the chest or side, but also dispels indigestion, having besides a pleasant taste. Vervain however is a cure for troubles of all the internal organssides, lungs, liver and chest. But especially good for the lungs, and for those attacked by pulmonary tuberculosis, is the root of the plant consiligo, which I have said was but recently discovered. It is a sovereign remedy indeed for lung trouble in pigs and in all cattle, even though it is merely placed across the ear-lap. It ought to be drunk in water and held continuously in the mouth under the tongue. Whether the part of this plant above ground is of any use is not yet agreed. The kidneys are benefited by plantain taken as food, by betony taken in drink, and by agaric taken in drink as is prescribed for cough.

22. Tripolion is found on coastal rocks washed by the waves, but neither in the sea nor on dry ground; the leaf is that of isatis only thicker, the stem a span high and divided at the end, and the root white, thick, with a strong smell and a hot taste. Cooked in emmer wheat it is prescribed for patients with liver complaint. This plant is thought by some to be the same as polium, about which I have spoken in its proper place.

23. Gromphaena, which has its leaves alternately green and rose-colour along the stem, taken. in vinegar and water cures spitting of blood;

24. and the plant malundrum cures troubles of the liver; it grows among the corn and in meadows, with a strong scent and a white flower. Its young shoot a is beaten up in old wine.

25. The plant calcetum likewise is crushed with grape-skins and applied locally. Betony root acts as a gentle emetic, administered as is hellebore, the dose being four drachmae taken in raisin wine or in honey wine. The same is true of hyssop beaten up with honey, the result being better if cress or irio is taken first. Another cure is molemouium in doses of one denarius by weight. The milky juice of sillybum also, which thickens into a gum, is taken with honey, the dose being as above, and is excellent for carrying off bile. On the other hand, vomiting is arrested by wild cummin, or by powdered betony, both taken in water. Distaste for food is banished and indigestion dispelled by daucum, by powdered betony in hydromel, and by plantain boiled down as are greens. Hemionion relieves hiccoughs, as also does aristolochia, and clymenus relieves asthma. For pleurisy and pneumonia the greater centaury, and likewise hyssop, are taken in drink, and for pleurisy is taken juice of peucedanum.

26. Halus also, which the Gauls call sil and the Veneti cotonea, cures pain in the side, as well as kidney troubles, sprains and ruptures. It is like ox-eunila, and the tops are like those of thyme. It is sweet and allays thirst. Its roots are in some districts light, in others dark.

27. The same good effect on pain in the sides is given by chamaerops, taken in wine, a plant with myrtle-like leaves around its twin stems, and with heads like those of a Greek rose. Agaric, taken in drink as for cough, relieves sciatica and pains in the spine, as does powdered stoechas or betony, taken in hydromel.

28. The greatest part however of man's trouble is caused by the belly, the gratification of which is the life's work of the majority of mankind. For at one time it does not allow food to pass, at another it will not retain it, at another it does not take it, at another it does not digest it; and so much have our customs degenerated that it is chiefly through his food that a man dies. This, the most troublesome organ in the body, presses as does a creditor, making its demands several times a day. It is for the belly's sake especially that avarice is so acquisitive; for its sake luxury uses spices, voyages are made to the Phasis, and the bottom of the ocean is explored. Nobody, again, is led to consider how base an organ it is by the foulness of its completed work. Therefore the tasks of medicine concerned with the belly are very numerous. Looseness of the bowels is checked by a drachma dose of fresh scordotis beaten up with wine, or by the same quantity taken in a decoction, by polemonia in wine, which is also given for dysentery, by root of verbascum in doses of two fingers' size taken in water, the seed of nymphaea heraclia taken with wine, the upper root of xiphium, the dose being a drachma by weight, taken in vinegar, the seed of plantain beaten up in wine, plantain itself boiled in vinegar, or groats taken in plantain juice, also the plant boiled with lentils, or the plant dried, powdered and sprinkled in drink with parched and pounded poppies, juice of plantain injected or drunk, or betony in wine made warm with hot iron. Betony is also administered in a dry wine for coeliac affections, for which hiberis also is applied locally in the way I have described. For tenesmus the root of nymphaea heraclia is taken in wine, psyllium in water, or a decoction of root of acoron. The juice of aizom checks looseness of the bowels and dysentery, and expels round worms. Root of symphytum taken in wine checks looseness of the bowels and dysentery, as does the root of daucum. Leaves of aizom thoroughly beaten up in wine arrest griping pains, as does dried alcima powdered and taken with wine.

29. Astragalus has long leaves with many slanting incisions, around the root three or four stems covered with leaves, blossom like that of the byacinthus, and roots that are hairy, matted, red and very hard. It grows on stony ground that is exposed to sunshine and also to falls of snow, like the ground around Pheneus in Arcadia. Its property is to brace the body. Its root, taken in wine, checks looseness of the bowels, a result of which is that it is diuretic by forcing back their fluid, as most things do that check looseness. It cures dysentery also when ground in light-red wine, but it is ground only with difficulty. Fomentation with the same plant is very good for gum-boils. It is gathered at the end of autumn, when it has lost its leaves, and is dried in the shade.

30. Looseness of the bowels is also checked by both kinds of ladanum; the one that grows in cornfields must be first crushed and passed through a sieve. It is taken in hydromel, or in wine of a good vintage. The name of lcdon is given to a plant from which in Cyprus is made the ladannm that clings to the beards of goats; a finer sort is prepared in Arabia. Today a kind is also found in Syria and in Africa, called toxicum. For they surround with pieces of wool strings fastened across a bow, and drag it over the plant; to this wool adhere the dew-like tufts of ladanum. I have said more about the plant in my section on unguents. This ladanum has a very strong smell and is very hard to the touch. In fact a great deal of earth sticks to it, while the most valued kind is clean, scented, soft, green and resinous. Its nature is to soften, to dry, to mature abscesses, and to induce sleep. It prevents the hair from falling off, and preserves its dark colour. It is poured into the ears with hydromel or rose-oil. With the addition of salt it cures scurf on the skin and running sores, and chronic cough when taken with stdrax; it is also a very effective carminative.

31. Looseness of the bowels is checked too by chondris, also called pseudodictamnum. Hypocisthis, called by some orobothron, which is like an unripe pomegranate, grows as I have said under the cisthus, and from this fact derives its name. Either kind of hypocisthis (there are two; the white and the red), dried in the shade and taken in dark-red, dry wine, checks looseness of the bowels. The part used is the juice, which braces and dries, and it is the red kind that arrests better stomach catarrhs, spitting of blood when three oboli are taken with starch in drink, and dysentery when taken in drink or injected; similarly vervain given in water, or in Aminnean wine if there is no fever, the dose being five spoonfuls added to three cyathi of wine.

32. Layer also, which grows in streams, when preserved and boiled cures gripings,

33. potamogiton, however, taken in wine, cures dysentery as well and coeliac affections. The latter is a plant with leaves like those of beet, only it is a smaller and more hairy plant, never rising more than a little above the surface of the water. Only the leaves are used. which have a cooling and bracing quality, being especially useful for bad legs, and, with honey or vinegar, for corroding ulcers. The plant known to Castor under this name was different; it had slender leaves like horsehair, a long, smooth stem, and grew in marshy districts. With its root Castor used to cure scrofulous sores and indurations. The crocodile has an antipathy a to potamogiton, so that crocodile hunters carry some of it on their persons. Achillea too checks looseness of the bowels. Statice also has the same properties, a plant that bears seven heads, like the heads of a rose, upon seven stems.

34. Ceratia, a plant with one leaf, and a large, knotted root, taken in food cures sufferers from coeliac disease and dysentery. Leontopodium, called by some leuceoron, by others dorypetron, by others thorybethron, is a plant the root of which, in doses of two denarii by weight added to hydromel, checks looseness of the bowels and carries off bile. It grows on flat land with a thin soil. Its seed, taken in drink, is said to cause nightmares. Lagopus taken in wine, or in water if there is fever, checks looseness of the bowels. It is also attached to the groin when there is swelling there. It grows in cornfields. Many recommend above all else for desperate cases of dysentery doses of a decoction in milk of the roots of cinquefoil, or aristolochia, a victoriatus by weight in three cyathi of wine. When the prescriptions mentioned above are to be taken warm, it will be found best to heat them with red-hot iron. On the other hand a drachma of the juice of the lesser centaury taken in a hemina of water with a little salt and vinegar purges the bowels and carries off bile; the greater centaury dispels griping pains. Betony acts as an aperient, four drachmae being added to nine cyathi of hydromel; so also euphorbeum or agaric, in doses of two drachmae with a little salt, taken in water or in three oboli of honey wine. Cyclamen too is an aperient, either taken in water or used as a suppository; the same in its action is a suppository of chamaecissos. A handful of hyssop, boiled down to one third with salt, or pounded in oxymel and salt, both carries off phlegm and expels worms from the intestines. Root of peucedanum carries off both phlegm and bile.

35. Both kinds of anagallis, taken in hydromel, are purgative, as is also epithymum, which is the blossom of the thyme like satureia. The only difference is that this has a grass-green flower, the other thyme a white one. Some call it hippopheos. Less beneficial to the stomach, it causes vomitings, but dispels colic and flatulence. As an electuary it is also taken with honey, and sometimes with iris, for chest troubles. From four to six drachmae with honey and a little salt and vinegar move the bowels. Others give a different account of epithymum: that it grows without a root, has a small head like a little hood, is red in colour and is dried in the shade, and a dose of half an acetabulnm, taken in water, carries off phlegm and bile, acting as a gentle aperient.

36. Nymphaea too in a dry wine loosens the bowels, as also does pycnocomon, which has leaves like rocket, but thicker and more acrid, a round root of a yellow colour and an earthy smell, a quadrangular stem, of moderate length and slender, and the blossom of basil. It is found on stony ground. Its root, taken in hydromel in doses of two denarii by weight, thoroughly purges the bowels of bile and phlegm. A drachma

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of the seed, taken in wine, causes wild dreams. Capnos trunca also carries away bile.

37. Of polypodium, a plant called by Romans filicula, being like a fern (filix), the root is medicinal, hairy, grass-green inside, as thick as the little finger, with indented edges so as to look like a polypus's arms, of a sweetish taste, and to be found in stony soils or under old trees. The juice is extracted from the root soaked in water, and chopped up fine the root itself is sprinkled on cabbage, beet, mallows and pickled fish, or else boiled with gruel to make a gentle aperient usable even in fever. It brings away bile and phlegm, although injurious to the stomach. Dried and reduced to powder it eats away polypus if pushed up the nostrils. There is no flower and no seed.

38. It is by relaxing the stomach that a scamonium too brings away bile and loosens the bowels, unless indeed to two oboli of it are added two drachmae of aloes. This is the juice of a plant with many branches at the root, fleshy, three-cornered, pale leaves, and a thick, wet, nauseating root. It grows in rich, pale soil. Near the rising of the Dog-star a hollow is made in this root, so that the juice may collect in it automatically; this is dried in the sun and worked into lozenges. The root itself or the skin is also dried. The kind most approved grows in the regions of Colophon, Mysia and Priene. This is shiny, as like as possible to bull glue, spongy with very fine cracks, quickly melting, with a poisonous smell, gummy, becoming like milk at a touch of the tongue, extremely light, and turning white when dissolved. This happens too with bastard scamonmm, which is made, generally in Judea, with flour of bitter vetch and juice of sea spurge, and even chokes those who take it. The bastard kind is detected by the taste, for the genuine burns the tongue. It is to be used when two years old, being of no use either before or after. It has been prescribed by itself in water or in hydromel and salt, the dose being four oboli, but most effectively with aloes, though honey wine must be taken as soon as purging begins. The root too is boiled down in vinegar to the consistency of honey, the decoction being applied to leprous sores, and with oil it is used as an ointment for the head when there is headache.

39. Tithymallus is called 'milky plant' by us Romans, sometimes 'goat lettuce.' It is said that, if letters are traced on the body with its milk and then allowed to dry, on being sprinkled with ash the letters become visible. And it is by this means, rather than by a letter, that some lovers have preferred to address unfaithful wives. The kinds of it are many, the first being surnamed characias, which is also considered the male plant. five or six branches, a cubit long, as thick as a finger, red and juicy; the leaves at the root are very like those of the olive, and on the top of the stem is a head a like that of the rush. It grows on rough ground near the sea. The seed is gathered in autumn together with the head; after being left to get dry in the sun it is pounded and stored away; as to the juice, as soon as down begins to form on fruit, twigs are broken off, and juice therefrom is caught on meal of bitter vetch or on figs and left to get dry with them. Five drops are enough to be caught on each fig, and it is reported that a dropsical patient on taking a fig has as many motions as the fig has caught drops of juice. When the juice is being collected care must be taken that it does not touch the eyes. A juice is also extracted from pounded leaves, but one less efficacious than the former. A decoction too is made from the branches. The seed is also used, boiled down with honey, to make purgative pills. The seed is also inserted with wax into hollow teeth. A decoction too of the root in wine or oil is used as a monthwash. The juice is applied locally for lichen; it is taken internally as a purge, being both an emetic and an aperient; apart from this it is bad for the stomach. Taken in drink with the addition of salt it brings away phlegm, but to bring away bile saltpetre must be added; if it is desired that the purging shall be by stool, the drink should be vinegar and water; if by vomiting, raisin wine or hydromel. A moderate draught is made up with three oboli. It is better taken on a fig, and after food. The juice burns the throat slightly; for it is of so heating a nature that, applied externally by itself to the body, it raises blisters as fire does, and so it is sometimes used as a cautery.

40. The second kind of tithymallus is called myrtites by some, and caryites by others, having leaves like those of the myrtle, pointed and prickly, but larger, and growing like the first kind in rough ground. Its heads are gathered when the barley is beginning to swell, dried in the shade for nine days and thoroughly dried in the sun. The fruit does not ripen all together, but a part in the following year. It is called the nut, and for this reason the Greeks have surnamed this tithymallus earyites. It is gathered when the harvest is ready, washed, and then dried. It is given with twice the amount of black poppy, the dose being one acetabulum altogether. It is a less violent emetic than the preceding, as are also the others. Some have given the leaf also in a similar dose, the nut however by itself in honey wine or raisin wine, or with sesame. It carries off phlegm and bile by stool. Sores in the mouth it cures, but for corroding ulcers in the mouth the leaf is eaten with honey.

41. The third kind of tithymallus is called paralius or tithymallis. It has a round leaf, a stem a span high, reddish branches, and a white seed, which is gathered when the grape begins to form, and after being dried and pounded is taken in doses of one acetabulum as a purgative.

42. The fourth kind of tithymallus is called helioscopios. It has the leaves of purslane, and four or five small branches standing out from the root, which are reddish, half a foot high and full of juice. This kind grows around towns, and has a white seed of which pigeons are very fond. The name helioscopios has been given to this plant because it moves its heads round to follow the sun. Bile it carries away by urine or stool when taken in doses of half an acetabulum in oxymel. Its other uses are the same as those of characias.

43. The fifth kind is called cyparittias, because its leaves are like those of cypress. It has a double or triple stem, and grows in fiat country. Its properties are the same as those of helioscopios or characias.

44. The sixth kind is called by some platyphyllos, by others corymbites, and by others amygdalites from its likeness to the almond tree. Its leaves are broader than those of any other. It kills fish. Root, leaves or juice are purgative if a dose of four drachmae is taken in honey wine or hydromel. It is specific for carrying away morbid fluids.

45. The seventh kind is surnamed dendroides, and is called by some cohios, and by others leptophyllos. It grows among rocks, and is the most thickly headed of all the kinds. It has very large, reddish stems, and an abundance of seed. The properties are the same as those of characias.

46. Apios ischas or raphanos agria spreads out on the ground two or three rush-like stalks of a reddish colour with leaves like those of rue. The root is like that of an onion, but bigger, and this is the reason why some call it the wild radish. Inside it has a white pap, outside, dark skins. It grows in rough, hilly spots, sometimes also in grass land. Dug up in spring, it is pounded and immersed in an earthen vessel. After throwing away what floats on the surface they use the juice that remains as a purge and emetic, the dose being an obolus and a half in hydromel. Prepared after this fashion a dose of an acetabulum is also given for dropsy. The dried root powdered is also sprinkled in a draught. They say that the upper part of it brings away the hues by vomiting, the lower part by stool.

47. Colic is cured by any kind of panaces, by betony, except when the cause is indigestion, by the juice of peucedanum, which also, being carminative, dispels flatulence, by the root of acoron, or by daucum, if it is taken as a salad like lettuce. Cyprian ladanum, taken in drink, is good for intestinal complaints, as also is powdered gentian, of the size of a bean, taken in warm water, or plantain taken in the morning, the dose being two spoonfuls with one of poppy in four cyathi of wine which is not old. It is also given before going to sleep with the addition of soda or pearl barley, provided that it is long after the last meal. For colitis a hemina of the juice is injected, even when fever is present.

48. Agaric taken in drink, the dose being three oboli in one cyathus of old wine, is good for disorders of the spleen, as is the root in honey wine of all kinds of panaces, but best of all is teneria, dried and taken in drink by boiling down to one hemina a handful of it with three heminae of vinegar. In vinegar it is also used as a liniment, or, if that cannot be borne, in figs or water. Polemonia is taken in wine, or a drachma of betony in three cyathi of oxymel, or aristolochia as used for snake bite. Argemonia, taken in food on seven consecutive days, is said to reduce the spleen, and so are two oboli of agaric in oxymel. It is reduced also by the root of nymphaea heraclia taken in wine or by itself. Cissanthemus, if a drachma is taken twice daily in two cyathi of white wine for forty days, is said to carry off the spleen gradually in the urine. Useful too is a decoction of hyssop with fig, or of the root of lonchitis before it sheds its seed, while a decoction of root of peucedannm is good for both spleen and kidneys. The spleen is reduced by the juice of acoron taken by the mouththe roots are very useful for trouble of the hypochondria and groinby the seed of clymenus taken in drink for thirty days, the dose being a denarius by weight in white wine, by powdered betony taken in honey and squill vinegar, and by root of lonchitis in water. Teucrium is used as liniment, likewise scordium with wax, or agaric with powdered fenugreek.

49. For diseases of the bladder and for the cure of stone, which causes as we have said the most severe torture, help is obtained from polemonia taken in wine, from agaric, from leaves or root of plantain taken in raisin wine, from betony as we prescribed it for the liver; this last, taken in drink and used as liniment, is good for hernia and wonderfully effective for strangury. Some recommend betony, vervain and millefolium, in equal parts and taken in water, as a sovereign remedy for stone. It is certain that strangury is cured by dittany also, and by cinquefoil boiled down to one third in wine. The latter preparation is very useful to be taken, and to be used locally as a liniment, by sufferers from intestinal hernia. The upper part of the root of xiphilum also is diuretic; it is given in water and applied locally as liniment for intestinal hernia in infants. For bladder troubles the juice of peucedanum is applied locally, and psyllion is so applied for hernia and umbilical rupture in infants. The two kinds of anagallis are diuretic, as is a decoction of root of acoron, or the root by itself pounded and taken in drink; these are good for all troubles of the bladder, for stone both cotyledon and its root, and also, for all inflammations of the genitals, equal parts by weight of the stem, of the seed, and of myrrh. Ebulum ground with its tender leaves and taken in wine expels stone, and applied locally cures complaints of the testicles. Erigeron too with powdered frankincense and sweet wine cures inflammation of the testicles. Root of symphytum used as liniment reduces intestinal hernia, and white hypocisthis is good for corroding ulcers of the genitals. Artemisia too in sweet wine is given for stone and for strangury; root of nymphaea heraclia in wine relieves pains of the bladder.

50. The same property is to be found in crethmos, a plant very highly praised by Hippocrates. It is also one of the wild plants that are eatenat any rate in Callimachus the peasant Hecale puts it on the tableand a species of garden elate. It has one stem a span high, and a hot seed, scented like that of libanotis, and round. When dried it bursts, and has inside a white kernel, which some call cachrys. The leaves are fleshy, and whitish like those of the olive only thicker, and salt to the taste; there are three or four roots, of the thickness of a finger. It grows in rocky places by the sea. It is eaten, raw or boiled, with cabbage, and has a pleasant, aromatic taste; it is also preserved in brine. It is especially useful for strangury, the leaves, stem, or root being taken in wine. The complexion also of the skin is improved by it, but too large a dose causes flatulence. A decoction relaxes the bowels, brings away urine and humours from the kidneys, as does the powder of dried alcima taken in wine, and relieves strangury, more efficaciously however if daucum is added. It is also good for the spleen, and is taken in drink for snake bites. Phlegm or strangury in draught animals also is relieved if crethsnos is sprinkled over their barley.

51. Anthyllion is very like the lentil, and taken in wine cures bladder troubles and arrests bleeding. A second plant, anthyllis, is like chamaepitys, and has a purple flower, a heavy scent, and a root like that of endive. It is even better treatment taken in oxymel for epilepsy.

52. Cepaea is like purslane, but has a darker root, which is of no value. It grows on sandy shores, and has a bitter taste. Taken in wine with root of asparagus it is very good indeed for the bladder.

53. The same properties are to be found in hypericonsome call it chamaepitys, others conssumwhich has the stem of a garden vegetable, thin, reddish, and a cubit high. The leaves are like those of rue and have a pungent smell. The seed, which is black, is in a pod, and it ripens at the same time as barley. This seed is of a bracing quality, checks diarrhoea and promotes urine; it is taken with wine for bladder troubles.

54. There is another hypericon, called by some caro, having a leaf like that of the tamariskit grows underneath itbut more fleshy and less red. It is scented, more than a span high, with a sweet and rather pungent taste. The seed is of a heating nature and therefore causes inflammation, but it is not injurious to the stomach; it is particularly good for strangury, if the bladder is not ulcerated. Taken in wine it is also good for pleurisy,

55. as moreover is callithrix for the bladder if beaten up with eummin and administered in white wine. Vervain too if boiled down with the leaves to one third, or its root in warm honey wine, expels stone from the bladder, as does also perpressa, which grows near Arretium and in Illyricum; it is taken in drink, boiled down in water from three heminae to one. Trefoil, taken in wine, and chrysanthemum, have the same effect. Stone is expelled also by anthemis, which has five small leaves growing from the root, two long stems and a rose-coloured flower. The roots pounded by themselves a layer, raw.

56. Silaus grows in running streams with gravelly bottoms; a cubit high it resembles celery. It is boiled as is an acid vegetable, and is very good for the bladder, which if it suffers from is cured by the root of panaces, a plant otherwise injurious to the bladder. Stone is expelled by the wild apple, a pound of the root being boiled down to one half in a congius of winea hemina of it is taken daily for three days, the rest is taken in wineby sea-nettle, by daucum, and by the seed of plantain in wine.

57. The plant of Fulvins, beaten up with wine, is another remedy for stone. It is one of the plants named after the discoverer, and is well known to botanists.

58. Scordion is diuretic; hyoscyamus reduces swollen testicles; the genitals are effectively treated by juice of pencedannm, and by its seed in honey; strangury by three-oboli doses of agaric in one cyathus of old wine, by two-drachmae doses of root of trefoil in wine, and by one-drachma doses of daucum or of its seed. Sciatica is cured by pounded seed and leaves of erythrodanus, by panaces taken in drink and rubbed on the affected part, by polemonia, and by a decoction of the leaves of aristolochia. Agaric indeed cures both the tendon called 'broad' and pain in the shoulders, the dose being three oboli taken in one cyathus of old wine. For sciatica cinquefoil is both taken in drink and applied, as is also a decoction of scammony with barley meal added. The

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seed of either kind of hypericum is taken in wine. Affections and chafings of the seat are cured very quickly by plantain, condylomata by cinquefoil; if however these have already become callous, by eyclamen root in vinegar. The blue anagallis pushes back prolapsus of the anus; the red anagallis on the contrary makes it worse. Cotyledon is wonderfully good treatment for condylomata and for piles; so is, for swollen testicles, the application of root of acoron, pounded and boiled down in wine. Cato says that those carrying on their persons Pontic wormwood never suffer from chafing between the thighs. Other authorities add pennyroyal to the list of remedies; this, gathered by a fasting man and tied behind him, prevents pains in the groin or relieves those which have begun already.

59. Inguinalis ('groin-wort'), called by some argemonion, a plant growing anywhere in briar patches, needs only to be held in the hand to be of benefit.

60. Superficial abscess is cured by panaces in honey, plantain with salt, cinquefoil, root of persollata administered as for scrofula; also by damasonium and by verbascum, pounded with its root, sprinkled with wine, wrapped round with its leaves, and heated, thus prepared, on embers, so that it may be applied hot. Those with experience have assured us that it makes all the difference if, while the patient is fasting, the poultice is laid upon him by a maiden, herself fasting and naked, who must touch him with the back of her hand and say: 'Apollo tells us that a plague cannot grow more fiery in a patient if a naked maiden quench the fire;' and with her hand so reversed she must repeat the formula three times, and both must spit on the ground three times. Other cures are mandrake root in water, a decoction of scammony root with honey, sideritis crushed with stale grease, marruvinm with stale axle-grease, or ehrysippiosanother plant named after its discovererwith plump figs.

61. Nymphaea heraelia, as I have said, takes away altogether sexual desire; a single draught of it does so for forty days; sexual dreams too are prevented if it is taken in drink on an empty stomach and eaten with food. Applied to the genitals the root also cheeks not only desire but also excessive accumulation of semen. For this reason it is said to make flesh and to improve the voice. Sexual desire is excited by the upper part of xiphium root given in wine as a draught; also by the plant called eremuos agrios and by ormenos agrios crushed with pearl barley.

62. But very high on the list of wonders is the plant orchis, or serapias, which has the leaves of leek, a stem a span high, and a purple flower. The root has two tubers, like testicles, so that the larger, or, as some put it, the thinner, taken in water excites desire; the smaller, or softer, taken in goat's milk checks it. Some say that this orchis has leaves like those of the squill, only smoother and smaller, and a prickly stem. The roots cure sores in the mouth and phlegm on the chest; taken in wine they are constipating. Satyrion is a sexual stimulant. There are two kinds of it: one with longer leaves thap those of the olive, a stem four fingers high, purple blossom, and a double root shaped like human testicles, which swells and subsides again in alternate years. The other kind has the further name of satyrios orehis, and is thought to be female. It is distinguished from the former kind by the spaces between the joints, by its more branchy, bushy shape, also by its root's being like a phallus. The plant is generally found near the sea.

This latter kind, if applied with pearl barley or by itself after being pounded, relieves swellings and affections of the privy parts. The root of the former kind, taken in the milk of a farmyard sheep, causes erections; taken in water, however, it makes them subside.

63. The Greeks speak of a satyrion that has leaves like those of the lily, but red, smaller, and springing from the ground not more than three in number, a smooth, bare stem a cubit high, and a double root, the lower, and larger, part favouring the conception of males, the upper, and smaller, the conception of females. Yet another kind of satyrion they call erythraicon, saying that its seed is like that of the vitex, but larger, smooth and hard; that the root is covered with a red rind, and contains a a white substance with a sweetish taste, and that the plant is generally found in hilly country. They tell us that sexual desire is aroused if the root is merely held in the hand, a stronger passion, however, if it is taken in a dry wine, that rams also and he-goats are given it in drink when they are too sluggish, and that it is given to stallions from Sarmatia when they are too fatigued in copulation because of prolonged labour; this condition is called prosedamum. The effects of the plant can be neutralized by doses of hydromel or lettuce. The Greeks indeed always, when they wish to indicate this aphrodisiac nature of a plant, use the name satyrion, so applying it to crataegis, thelygonon, and arrenogonon, the seeds of which resemble testicles. Again, those carrying on their persons the pith of tithymallus branches are said to become thereby more excited sexually. The remarks on this subject made by Theophrastus generally a weighty authority, are fabulous. He says that the lust to have intercourse seventy times in succession has been given by the touch of a certain plant whose name and kind he has not mentioned.

64. Tied to the part as an amulet sideritis reduces varicose veins and does its work without pain. Gout was a rarer disease within the memory, not only of our fathers and grandfathers, but also of our own generation. It is also itself a foreign complaint; had it existed in Italy in early times it would have received a Latin name. It must not be considered incurable, for many cases have been cured without treatment, and yet more with it. Useful remedies are roots of panaces with raisins, juice of henbane with meal, or the seed of henbane, scordion in vinegar, hiberis as already prescribed vervain beaten up with axle-grease, and the root of cyclamen, a decoction of which is also good for chilblains. Cooling applications for gouty pains are made from xiphion root, psyllion seed, hemlock with litharge or axle-grease, and aizotim for the first onset of red, that is hot, gout. Good for either kind however is erigeron with axle-grease, plantain leaves beaten up with a little salt added, and argemonia pounded with honey. Vervain too may be applied as a remedyor the feet may be soaked in the water in which it has been boiled

65. or the lappago that is like anagallis, but more branchy and leafy, and with a strong smell. This kind of plant is called mollugo; like it, but with rougher leaves, is asperugo. The juice of the former a is taken daily, the dose being one denarius by weight in two cyathi of wine.

66. The sovereign remedy, however, for this complaint is phycos the lassion, or seaweed, which is like lettuce, and is used as a ground-colour for the purple of the murex; it is sovereign, not for gout only, but for all diseases of the joints, if applied before it becomes dry. There are moreover three kinds of it: one is broad, the second is rather long and inclining to red, and the third, which has curly leaves, is used in Crete to dye cloth. They have all the same medicinal uses. Nicander gave these too in wine for snakebite. A further remedy is the seed, soaked in water, of the plant I have called psyllion: one hemina of such seed is compounded with two spoonfuls of Colophonian resin and one spoonful of frankincense. Another highly valued remedy is made from leaves of mandrake pounded with pearl barley. When however ankles swell, water-mud kneaded with oil makes a wonderfully good plaster; for the joints the juice of the smaller centaury is very beneficial, as it is also for the sinews; beneficial too is centauris. For the sinews running across the shoulder blades, for the shoulders, for the backbone and the loins, a good remedy is betony, taken as prescribed for the liver; for the joints an application of cinquefoil, leaves of mandrake with pearl barley, or its root pounded fresh with wild cucumber or boiled down in water; for chaps on the toes the root of polypodium; for the joints juice of henbane with axle-grease, the decocted juice of amomum, a decoction too of centunculus, or fresh moss soaked in water and bound round the part until the water dries off, and also root of lappa boaria taken in wine. Cyclamen boiled down in water is a good remedy for chilblains and for all other affections caused by cold; for chilblains cotyledon too with axle-grease, leaves of batrachion and the juice of epithymum. Corns are extracted from the feet by ladanum mixed with beaver-oil, and by vervain in wine.

67. Having now finished the complaints that affect separate limbs I shall go on to describe those that attack the whole body. Of remedies that are generally useful I learn that the best is dodecatheum, to be given in drink, a plant I have already described; next the roots of all kinds of panaces, especially good for long illnesses, and the seed is used for intestinal complaints; for general bodily pains however juice of seordion and also of betony, which taken in drink is specific for removing a leaden colour of the skin and restoring a more pleasing complexion.

68. Geranion is called by some myrris and by others myrtidas. It resembles hemlock, but with smaller leaves and shorter in the stem, round, and of a pleasant taste and smell. In this way it is described by our Roman authorities; but Greeks say that it has leaves a little lighter in colour than those of the mallow, thin stems, and downy, with branches at interval and two spans long; on them are the leaves, among which on the tips of the stems are miniature heads of cranes. A second kind has leaves like those of anemone, which are marked with rather long incisions, and a round root like an apple, sweet, and very beneficial to convalescents. The last seems to be the true geranion. It is taken in drink for consumption twice a day in doses of one drachma in three cyathi of wine; the same prescription is good for flatulence, and eaten raw the plant has the same effect. The juice of the root is good for ear trouble; for opisthotonic tetanus four-drachmae doses of seed are taken in drink with pepper and myrrh. Consumption is cured too by drinking plantain juice, and by plantain itself boiled and taken as food. Eaten with salt and oil on waking from sleep in the morning it is very refreshing. It is also given every other day to those who we say are wasting away, but to consumptives we give betony made up with honey into an electuary of the size of a bean, or agarie in raisin wine in two-oboli doses, or daucum with the greater centaury in wine. Cases of phagedaena, a word meaning bulimia as well as rodent ulcer, are treated by tithymallus with sesame.

69. Of the maladies that affect the whole body sleeplessness is the most common. As remedies for it are recommended panaces, clymenos, aristolochiaby the smell or by bathing the headaizoum, that is houseleek, wrapped in black cloth and placed under the pillow without the knowledge of the patient. Onothera also, that is onear, is soporific although exhilarating in wine, having leaves like those of the almond tree, rose-coloured blossom, a bushy shape and a long root, which when dried smells of wine, and given in their drink soothes even wild beasts. Indigestion causing nausea is relieved by betony; it also if taken in drink after dinner promotes digestion; in doses of one drachma by weight in three cyathi of oxymel it also removes the after-effects of drink, as does agaric too taken in hot water after food. Betony is said to cure paralysis and so does hiberis as prescribed previously. It is also good for numbness of the limbs; so also is argemonia, by removing all symptoms indicating that surgical treatment (i.e. venesection) may be necessary.

70. Epilepsy is cured by the root of the panaces. I have called heraclion taken in drink with seal's rennet; three quarters of the mixture must be panaces. Other cures are plantain in drink, doses of one drachma of betony or three oboli of agaric in oxymel, leaves of cinquefoil in water, and also archezostis, but the last must be taken in drink for a year. Other cures are dried root of baccar crushed to powder and taken in hot water in doses of three cyathi with one of coriander, pounded centunculus in vinegar or honey or hot water, vervain taken in wine, three crushed berries of hyssop taken in water for sixteen days, equal quantities of peucedanum and seal's rennet taken in drink, crushed leaves of cinquefoil taken in wine for thirty days, powdered betony in doses of three denarii by weight with a cyathus of squill vinegar and an ounce of Attic honey, scammony in doses of two oboli with four drachmae of beaver-oil.

71. The chills of fever are relieved by agaric taken in hot water, tertian fevers by sideritis with oil, by crushed ladanum, a plant found in grain fields, by plantain in hydromel taken in two-drachma doses within two hours before a paroxysm, juice of its root soaked or pounded, or by the root itself beaten up in water heated with hot iron. Some physicians have prescribed doses of three roots in three cyathi of water, changing three to four if the fever is quartan. If one takes, when bugloss is withering, the pith out of a stem and says that he does it to free so and so from fever, attaching to the patient seven leaves before a paroxysm begins, he is freed, it is said, from the fever. Another remedy is betony in doses of one drachma in three cyathi of hydromel, or agaric, especially in fevers attended with violent shivers. Some have prescribed doses of three cinquefoil leaves for tertians, of four for quartans, and of more for the other fevers; others prescribe for all three oboli with pepper in hydromel. Vervain in wine indeed is a remedy for fever even of beasts of burden, but for tertians the plant must be cut at the third joint, and for quartans at the fourth. For quartans and feverish shivers is taken in drink the seed of either kind of hypericum, powdered betony, which checks all shiverings, and panaces also, which is of such a heating nature that those about to travel through snow are recommended to take it in drink and to be rubbed with it. Violent chills are also checked by aristolochia.

72. Phrenitis is cured by sleep, which will be induced by pouring on the head an infusion of peucedanum in vinegar, or the juice of either anagallis. On the other hand it is difficult to awaken sufferers from lethargus; this is done by touching the nostrils with euphorbeum in vinegar, or with the juice of peucedanum. For delirium betony is taken in drink. Carbuncles are made to burst by panaces, and cured by powdered betony in water, or by cabbage and frankincense with frequent draughts of hot water; or the ash from a burning coal extinguished in the patient's presence may be picked up with a finger and applied. Other remedies are pounded plantain and tithymallus characites.

73. Remedies for dropsy are: panaces; plantain as food, after dry bread without any drink; two-drachma doses of betony in two cyathi of wine or honey wine; agaric, or lonchitis seed, two spoonfuls for a dose taken in water; psyllion in wine; juice of either anagallis; root of cotyledon in honey wine; root of fresh ebulum, shaken only and not washed, a two-finger pinch for a dose, taken in an emma of old wine and hot water; root of trefoil in wine, two drachmae for a dose; the tithymallus called platyphyllon; seed of the hypericum known as caros; acte, which some identify with ebulum, the root, if there is no fever, being crushed in three cyathi of wine, or the seed being taken in dark wine; vervain also, a good handful being boiled down in water to one half. The most efficacious remedy however is believed to be the juice of chamaeacte. An of phlegm is relieved by plantain, by cyclamen root in honey, and by pounded leaves of ebulum in old wine. An application of the last cures boa also, an eruption of red pimples, and the juice of strychnos applied as liniment cures itch.

74. Erysipelas is treated with aizoum, pounded leaves of hemlock, and root of mandrakeit is cut into slices as is cucumber, hung first over must, then in smoke, and finally pounded taken in wine or vinegar. It is beneficial too to

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foment with myrtle wine, or to use as an ointment two ounces of mint with one ounce of native sulphur beaten np together in vinegar, or soot mixed with vinegar. There are several kinds of erysipelas, among them one called zoster, which goes round the patient's waist, and is fatal if the circle becomes quite complete. Remedies are: plantain with Cimolian chalk, penstereos by itself and the root of persollata; as remedies for the creeping forms can be used root of cotyledon with honey wine, aizoum, and the juice of linozostis with vinegar.

75. Root of polypodinm made up into liniment is a remedy for dislocations, and the pain and swelling are taken away by seed of psyllion, plantain leaves beaten up with a little salt, ground seed of verbascum boiled in wine, and hemlock with axle-grease. The leaves of ephemeron are applied in the form of liniment to tumours and swellings that are still able to be dispersed.

76. The most striking symptom of jaundice is the effect upon the eyes; the bile penetrates even between the membranes, thin and close together as they are. Hippocrates says that if jaundice supervenes from the seventh day of a fever it is a fatal symptom. I however know of recoveries even from this desperate condition. But cases of jaundice occur without fever, and can be overcome by the greater centaury, taken in drink as I have prescribed, by betony, by three-oboli doses of agaric in a cyathns of old wine, and by three-oboli doses of vervain leaves taken for four days in a hemina of warmed wine. The quickest remedy however is juice of cinquefoil taken in doses of three cyathi with salt and honey. Three-drachmae doses of root of cyclamen are taken in drink while the patient is in a warm place protected from chilly draughtsthe medicine induces sweats full of galland good is done by leaves of tussilago in water, by seed of linozostis of either kind sprinkled in drink or boiled down with wormwood or chick peas, by hyssop berries taken with water, by the herb lichen, the patient during the treatment abstaining from all other vegetables, by polythrix administered in wine, and by struthion in honey wine.

77. A common complaint, affecting any part of the body, but especially an inconvenient part, is what are called boils, sometimes a fatal malady after surgical operations. Pounded leaves of pycnocomon with pearl barley are a remedy if the boil has not yet come to a head. Boils are also dispersed by applications of leaves of ephedron.

78. Fistulas also form in any part of the body through the careless use of the surgeon's knife. The lesser centaury, if suppositories made from it are inserted with boiled honey, is a help; so is plantain juice poured into them, cinquefoil with salt and honey, ladanum with beaver-oil, and cotyledon with deer's marrow warmed and applied; the pith of verbascum root, cut as slender as a suppository, is inserted into the fistula, or there may be used root of aristolochia or juice of tithymallus.

79. Gatherings and inflammations are cured by an application of argemonia leaves, all indurations and gatherings by vervain, or by cinquefoil boiled down in vinegar, by leaves or root of verbascum, by an application of hyssop in wine, by fomenting with a decoction of acoron root, and by aizotim; for bruises, indurations, and for pitted sores in the flesh the remedy is illecebra. All foreign bodies buried in the flesh may be extracted by leaves of tussilago, by daucum, or by seed of leontopodium beaten up in water with pearl barley. To suppurations are applied leaves, or seed, of pycnocomon beaten up with pearl barley, likewise orchis. For affections of the bones a very efficacious cure is said to be an application of satyrion root, and for corroding sores and gatherings of all kinds an application of seaweed used while it is still wet. Root of alcima too disperses gatherings.

80. Burns are healed by plantain, and by arctium so well that no scars are seen. A decoction in water of crushed arctium leaves is used as liniment for burns, and so are cyclamen roots with aizoum, and the plant itself of the hypericum I have called corissum.

81. Good for sinews and joints are plantain beaten up with salt and argemonia pounded in honey. Juice of peucedanum is rubbed all over those suffering from spasms or tetanus. For indurations of the sinews juice of aegilops is used as liniment, and for pains of the sinews erigeron (or epithymum) is so used in vinegar. Spasms and opisthotonic tetanus are benefited by thorough rubbing with seed of the hypericum known as caros, and this seed also benefits if taken in drink. Sinews even when severed are said to be healed by phrynion, beaten up or chewed, if it is applied immediately. Spasms, palsy, and opisthotonic tetanus are treated by root of alcima taken in hydromel. So taken it also warms rigors.

82. Haemorrhage is checked by the red seed of the plant paeoniathe root also is stypticbut by clymenus when blood is discharged from the mouth or nostrils, or when it flows from the bowels or the uterus; by lysimachia too taken in drink, or applied as liniment, or inserted into the nostrils, also by plantain seed, by cinquefoil taken in drink and applied, by hemlock seed beaten up in water and inserted into the nostrils should there be epistaxis, by aizoum and by root of astragalus. Ischaemon too and achillia check bleeding.

83. Equisaetum, called hippuris by the Greeks, and found fault with by me when I discussed meadow land, it is in fact hair of the earth resembling horse hairreduces the spleen of runners if as much as the pot will hold is boiled down to one third in new earthenware, and taken in drink for three days in doses of one hemina. There must be abstinence from fatty foods for at least one day previously. The Greeks hold various views about this plant; some under the same name speak of a dark plant with leaves like those of the pine, assuring us that, so wonderful is its nature, its mere touch stanches a patient's bleeding; some call it hippuris, others ephedron, others anabasis. Their account is that it grows near trees, which it climbs, and hangs down in many dark, rush-like hairs as if from a horse's tail; that its little branches are jointed, and its leaves few, slender and small; that the seed is round, resembling that of coriander, that its root is ligneous, and that it grows mostly in plantations. Its property is to brace the body. Its juice, kept in the nostrils, checks haemorrhage therefrom, and it also checks looseness of the bowels. Taken in a sweet wine, in doses of three cyathi, it is good for dysentery, promotes passing of urine, and cures cough and orthopnoea, ruptures also and spreading sores. The leaves are taken in drink for complaints of the bowels and bladder; the plant itself reduces intestinal hernia. The Greeks recognise yet another hippuris, which has shorter, softer and paler hairs, making a very useful application in vinegar d for sciatica, and also for cuts, as it stanches the flow of blood. Nymphaea also beaten up is applied to wounds from blows, and peucedanum with cypress seed is taken in drink if blood is brought up through the mouth or flows from the lower passages. Sideritis has such a powerful effect that if bandaged to a gladiator's wound, however recent, it stops the bleeding, as does also the ash or cinders of fennel-giant, though more efficacious still is the fungus that grows about its root.

84. For epistaxis however hemlock seed also beaten up in water and inserted into the nostrils is held to be efficacious, and so is stephanomelis in water. Ground betony taken in goat's milk checks haemorrhage from the breasts, as does crushed plantain. The juice of the latter is given to those who vomit blood. For sporadic bleeding however is recommended an application of persollata root with stale axle-grease.

85. For ruptures, sprains, and falls from a height remedies are: the greater centaury, gentian root beaten up or boiled down, or its juice, betony, and especially when the lesion is caused by straining the voice or sides, panaces, scordium, aristolochia in drink, agaric also for bruises and falls, the dose being two oboli taken in three cyathi of honey wine or, if there is fever, in hydromel, the verbascum with the golden flower, root of acoron, all the kinds of aizoum; the most efficacious preparation however being the juice of the greater aizoum, the broth too of symphytum or a decoction of the root, raw daucos, erysithalesthe flower is yellow, the leaves those of the acanthustaken in wine, chamaerops also and irio in soup, or any preparation of plantain, likewise.

86. Sulla the dictator perished from phthiriasis; in the very blood of the patient creatures come to life that will eat up his flesh? The disease is combated by rubbing the whole body with juice of the taminian grape, or with hellebore juice and oil. Taminian grapes indeed boiled down in vinegar remove this nuisance even from garments.

87. Ulcers are of many kinds, and the methods of treatment are many. To running sores is applied in warmed wine the root of any kind of panaces. A specific for drying them is the herb I have chironia; beaten up with honey it opens hard swellings, and affords relief to desperate cases of spreading ulcers; it is diluted with wine and combined with flower of copper, and seed, flower or root may be used indiscriminately. This plant with pearl barley is also good for old wounds, so too is heraclion siderion, apollinaris, psyllium and tragacantha. Scordotis with honey cleanses them; its powder consumes morbid excrescences of flesh, if sprinkled on them by itself. Polemonia heals ulcers that are called malignant; the greater centaury, whether sprinkled or applied as liniment, the tuft also of the lesser centaury, boiled down or beaten up, cleanses and thoroughly heals even chronic ulcers. The seed pods of clymenus are applied to fresh wounds. From gentian too is made a liniment for spreading ulcers; the pounded root is boiled down in water to the consistency of honey or the juice may be used; from gentian is made a lycium for wounds. Lysimachia is good treatment for fresh wounds, and plantain for ulcers of all kinds, especially for those of old men and babies. It is better when softened by fire, and with wax-salve cleanses the thickened lips of ulcers and arrests corrosive sores. The pounded plant when applied should be covered with its own leaves. Suppurations, gatherings and pitted ulcers are also dried up by chelidonia, wounds are healed so well that it is even used instead of spodium. It is also applied with axle-grease to sores that are already despaired of. Dittany taken in drink forces out arrows; an external application causes to fall out other kinds of weaponsthe dose for a draught is an obolus of the leaves in a cyathus of waterand bastard dittany is almost as effective; both too disperse suppurations. Aristolochia also eats away festering ulcers, with honey cleanses those that are foul, expels worms, the callosities also that form in ulcers and all things embedded in the flesh, especially with resin arrows and bone splinters; but the pits of ulcers it fills up by itself or with the addition of iris. For fresh wounds it is used in vinegar; for chronic ulcers vervain is used, or cinquefoil with salt and honey. The roots of persollata are applied to fresh wounds that have been inflicted by iron, and the leaves to old wounds, axle-grease being added to both with a covering of the plant's leaves. Other applications are damasonium, used as for serofula, and the leaves of verbascum in vinegar or wine. Peristereos is good for all kinds of ulcers, even when hard and festering. Running ulcers are cured by root of nymphaea heraclia, also by the root of cyclamen, by itself, in vinegar, or with honey. This last is also excellent for fatty tumours, as is hyssop for running ulcers, and peucedanum also, which when used for fresh wounds is so powerful as to exfoliate bones. The two kinds of anagallis also have this property, and check fluxes and the sores called nomae, being useful for fresh wounds, but especially for those on the flesh of the aged. Abscesses and foul ulcers may be treated with fresh leaves of mandrake and wax-salve, wounds with its root and honey or oil, or with hemlock added to wheat and neat wine. For herpes also, nomae and festering ulcers, aizoum may be used, as may erigeron for vermuinous sores, for fresh wounds root of astragalus, and for chronic ulcers either kind of hypocisthis, which cleanses them. The seed of leontopodium, beaten up in water and applied with pearl barley, extracts the heads of arrows, as does also the seed of pycnocomon. The juice of tithymallus characites heals gangrenes, phagedaenic sores and purulent ulcers, as does a decoction of the branches with pearl barley and oil; the roots of orchis moreover with honey cure even malignant sores, healing wounds without further addition, and whether dry or freshly gathered. Onothera heals ulcers that are becoming virulent. The Scythians treat wounds with scythice. For carcinoma argemonia applied with honey is very efficacious. For ulcers prematurely healed root of asphodel, boiled down as I have said, beaten up with pearl barley and applied, is good; but apollinaris is good for any kind of sore, and root of astragalus, beaten to powder, for ulcers that are running, and so is callithrix boiled down in water; specific however for sores caused by footwear is vervain, crushed lysimachia also, and dried nymphaea reduced to powder. But when these last have become chronic polythrix proves more useful.

88. Polycnemon is like ox cunila, and its seed resembles that of pennyroyal; it has a wood-like stem with many joints, and its clusters are scented, with a pungent but sweet smell. When chewed it is applied to cuts made by iron, but is taken off on the fifth day. Symphyton very quickly causes a scar to form, as also does sideritis, which is applied with honey. The seed and leaves of verbascum, boiled down in wine and beaten up, bring away everything embedded in the flesh, as do mandrake leaves with pearl barley, or cyclamen roots with honey. Trixago leaves crushed in oil are applied especially to spreading ulcers as is also seaweed beaten up in honey; betony, with the addition of salt, is used for carcinoma and chronic pustules on the neck.

89. Warts are removed by argemonia in vinegar, by root of batrachium, which also brings away scabrous nails, and by an application of the leaves or juice of either kind of linozostis. All kinds of tithymallus remove all kinds of warts, hangnails, and pimples on the face. Ladanum smoothes away scars and restores the colour. A traveller who has artemisia and elelisphacus tied on him does not, they say, feel any fatigue.

90. For diseases of women a very good general remedy is the black seed, taken in hydromel, of the plant paeonia; its root also has the same property. An emmenagogue is seed of panaces with wormwood, and a sudorific emmenagogue is scordotis, taken internally or applied locally. Betony in doses of one drachma to three cyathi of wine is taken for all uterine affections, and for those that result from childbirth. Excessive menstruation is checked by an application of achillia or a sitz bath in a decoction of it. To the breasts is applied henbane seed in winebut to the uterus henbane root in a plaster ... and also chelidonia. A pessary of panaces roots brings away retarded afterbirth or the dead foetus. The uterus is purged by panaces, taken by itself in wine, and by a pessary of it with honey. Polemonia taken in wine forces out the afterbirth, and the fumes of it when burnt correct the uterus. Juice of the lesser centaury taken in drink or used as a fomentation is an emmenagogue, and the root of the greater centaury, used in the same ways, is good for uterine pains, while if it is scraped and applied as a pessary it brings away a dead foetus. Plantain is applied as a pessary in wool for pain in the uterus; for hysterical suffocation it is taken in drink. But it is dittany that is of the greatest efficacy; it is an emmenagogue, and forces out the foetus when dead or lying transverselyan obolus of the leaves is taken in waterbeing so efficacious in these respects that it is not even introduced into the bedroom of pregnant women. Not only when taken in drink but also when used as embrocation or a fumigation it has medicinal power. Bastard dittany is very nearly as good, but for an emmenagogue it is boiled down with neat wine, the dose being one denarius by weight. Very many however are the ways in which aristolochia does good, for it is an

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emmenagogue, hastens the afterbirth, and brings away a dead foetus; myrrh and pepper being added it is taken in drink or used as a pessary. It also checks prolapsus of the uterus, whether used as fomentation, fumigation or pessary, especially the slender aristolochia. Hysterical suffocations and delayed menstruation are relieved by agaric taken in doses of three oboli to a cyathus of old wine, by a pessary of peristereos in fresh lard, and by antirrhinon with rose oil and honey. The root also of Thessalian nymphaea cures uterine pain when used as a pessary; taken in dark-red wine it checks excessive menstruation; on the contrary, root of cyclamen is an enxmenagogue if taken in drink or a used as a pessary; a sits bath in the decoction is a remedy for troubles of the bladder. Cissanthemos taken in drink forces out the afterbirth and heals the uterus. The upper part of the root of xiphium is an emmenagogue, the dose being a drachma taken in vinegar. Peucedanum calms hysterical suffocations by its smell when burnt; leucorrhoea is purged especially by psyllion in doses of one drachma to three cyathi of water. Seed of mandrake taken in drink purges the uterus; a pessary of its juice is an enimenagogue and brings away a dead foetus. Excessive menstruation again is checked by mandrake seed with live sulphur; on the contrary, menstruation is promoted by batrachium, taken in drink or food, a plant which, though when raw it has, as I have said, a burning taste, is made agreeable, when cooked, by salt, oil and cummin. Daucum in drink readily acts as an emmenagogue, and readily brings away the afterbirth; fumigation with ladanum corrects the uterus, and the plant is applied locally for pain there and ulceration. Scammony taken in drink or used as a pessary forces out a dead foetus. Either kind of hypericum, used as a pessary, acts as an eminenagogue; pre-eminently so, however, as Hippocrates believes, does crethmos, the seed, or the skin of the root, being taken in wine; it also brings away the afterbirth, and taken in water is helpful in hysterical suffocations, as is the root of geranion, which is specific for the afterbirth and for inflation of the uterus. Hippuris, taken in drink and applied as a pessary, purges the uterus, as does polygonus taken in drink. The root of alcima too is an enunenagogue, leaves of plantain a violent one, as is also agaric in hydromel. Artemisia beaten up is good for the uterus, applied as a pessary in iris oil or with fig or with myrrh. Its root taken in drink purges the uterus so violently that it expels a dead foetus. A sitz bath of a decoction of the branches is an enimenagogue, and also hastens the afterbirth; so too acts a drachma of the leaves taken in drink. For all the same purposes the leaves are also good when merely applied with barley meal to the base of the abdomen. Acoron too is beneficial for internal diseases of women, and so is either kind of conyza, and also crethmos. The two kinds of anthyllis, taken in wine, are very useful for uterine troubles, for griping pains there, and for delay of the afterbirth. Callithrix used for fomentations is healing to the uterus, removes albugo on the head, and beaten up in oil stains the hair. Geranion taken in a white wine, and hypocisthis taken in a red, check excessive menstruation. Hyssop relieves hysteria. The root of vervain, taken in water, is a sovereign remedy for all troubles at or after childbirth. Some physicians prescribe pencedanum in dark-red wine mixed with crushed cypress seed. But seed of psyllixun, boiled in water and taken while still warm, relieves all fluxes of the uterus. Symphyton beaten up in dark-red wine promotes menstruation. Scordotis taken in drink hastens delivery, the dose being a drachma of the juice in four cyathi of hydromel. Leaves of dittany given in water are excellent for this purpose. It is an established fact that a single obolus of them by weight immediately brings away the foetus, even if it is dead in the uterus, without any distress to the lying-in woman. Good in a similar way is bastard dittany, but slower, also cyclamen used as an amulet, cissanthemos taken in drink, and powdered betony in hydromel.

91. Arsenogonon and thelygonon are plants bearing clusters like the flowers of the olive, but paler, and a white seed like that of the poppy. It is said that thelygonon, taken in drink, causes the conception of a female; arsenogonon differs from it in having a seed like that of the olive, but in no other way; taken in drink this plant is said to cause the generation of males, if we care to believe it. Some hold that both plants are like basil, but that the seed of arsenogonon is double, resembling testicles.

92. For affections of the breasts the aizoum I have called a digitillum is an outstanding remedy. Erigeron in raisin wine makes the breasts richer in milk, as does soncum boiled with emmer wheat; the plant called mastos, however, is applied as liniment. The hairy affection appearing on the breasts at childbirth, brick-red spots on the face, and other skin tronbles, are removed by gentian, or by an application of nymphaea heraclia, and all kinds of spots by root of cyclamen. The grains of caccalia, mixed with melted wax, smooth the face, taking away the wrinkles, and all facial troubles are removed by root of acoron.

93. Lycinm juice dyes the hair flaxen; hypericum, also called corissum, dyes it black, as does ophrys, a plant like indented cabbage, but with only two leaves. Polemonia, too, boiled down in oil, imparts a black colour. Depilatories I myself indeed regard as a woman's cosmetic, but now today men also use them. But very efficacious is held to be archezostis, as also the tithymalli, the juice being applied frequently with oil either in the sun or when the hairs have been pulled out. Hyssop in oil heals the itch in quadrupeds, and sideritis is specific for the quinsy in swine. But I must go on to describe the remaining kinds of plants.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 27

1. The mere treatment of this subject undoubtedly increases the admiration that I at least feel for the men of old; the greater the number of plants waiting to be described, the more one is led to revere the careful research of the ancients and their kindness in passing on the results. Without a doubt even the bounteousness of Nature herself might seem to have been surpassed by them in this way if the discoveries had been the result of human endeavour. But as it is, it is clear that this bounteousness has been the work of the gods, or at least due to their inspiration, even when the actual discoverer was a man, and that the same Mother of all things both produced the herbs and made them known to us. This is the greatest miracle of life, if we care to admit the truth. To think that the Scythian plant, for example, is brought from the marshes of Maeotis, euphorbea from Mount Atlas and from beyond the pillars of Hercules, where the works of Nature actually begin to fail; on another side britannica, from islands in the ocean lying beyond the mainland, aethiopis too from the clime scorched by the constellations of heaven, and other plants moreover passing hither and thither from all quarters throughout the whole world for the welfare of mankind, all owing to the boundless grandeur of the Roman Peace, which displays in turn not men only with their different lands and tribes, but also mountains, and peaks soaring into the clouds, their offspring and also their plants. May this gift of the gods last, I pray, for ever! So truly do they seem to have given to the human race the Romans as it were a second Sun.

2. But who could revere enough the diligent research of the ancients? It is established that of all poisons the quickest to act is aeonite, and that death occurs on the same day if the genitals of a female creature are but touched by it. This was the poison that Marcus Caelius accused Calpurnius Bestia of using to kill his wives in their sleep. Hence the damning peroration of the prosecutor's speech accusing the defendant's finger. Fable has it that aeonite sprang out of the foam of the dog Cerberus when Hercules dragged him from the underworld, and that this is why it grows around Heraclea in Pontus, where is pointed out the entrance to the underworld used by Hercules. Yet even aconite the ancients have turned to the benefit of human health, by finding out by experience that administered in warm wine it neutralizes the stings of scorpions. It is its nature to kill a human being unless in that being it finds something else to destroy. Against this alone it struggles, regarding it as more pressing than the find. [This is the only fight, when the aconite discovers a poison in the viscera.] What a marvel! Although by themselves both are deadly, yet the two poisons in a human being perish together so that the human survives. Moreover even remedies used by wild beasts have been handed down by the ancients, who have shown how venomous a creatures also by themselves obtain healing. Scorpions, touched by aconite, become numbed, and are pale and stupefied, acknowledging their defeat. They find a help in white hellebore, its touch dispelling the torpor; the aconite yields to two evil foes, one peculiar to itself and one common to all creatures. If anyone believes that these discoveries could, by any chance, have been made by a man, he shows himself ungrateful for the gods' gifts. They touch flesh with aconite, and kill panthers by a mere taste of it, otherwise panthers would overrun the regions where they are found. For this reason some have called aconite pardalianehes, that is panther-strangler. But it has been proved that panthers are at once saved from this death by tasting human excrement; surely nobody doubts that this remedy has been found by Chance, and that on every occasion it is even today a new find, since wild animals have neither reason nor experience for results to be passed from one to another. This Chance therefore, this is that great deity who has made most of the discoveries that enrich our life, this is the name of him by whom is meant she who is at once the Mother and the Mistress of all creation. Either guess is equally likely, whether we judge that wild animals make these discoveries every day or that they possess a never-failing instinct. Again it is shameful that all animals except man know what is health-giving for themselves. Our ancestors however advertised the view that aconite is also a very health-giving ingredient of preparations for the eyes, openly declaring their belief that no evil a at all is without some admixture of good. It will therefore be right for me, who have described no poisons, to point out the nature of aconite, if only for the purpose of detecting it. It has leaves like those of cyclamen or of cucumber, not more than four, rising from the root and slightly hairy, and a root of moderate size, like a crayfish (cammarus), whence some have called it cammaran, and others thelyphonon, for the reason I have given already. The end of the root curves up a little like a scorpion's tail, whence some have called it also scorpion. There have been some who would prefer to call it myoctonos since at a distance, even a long distance, its smell kills rats and mice. The plant grows on bare crags which are called aeonae, and for that reason some have given it the name of aconite, there being nothing near, not even dust, to give it nourishment. This then is the reason for its name given by some; others have thought it was so named because it had the same power to cause rapid death as whetstones had to give an edge to an iron blade; no sooner was the stone applied than its rapid action was noticeable.

3. Aethiopis has leaves like those of phlomos, large, numerous and hairy, growing from the root. The stem is quadrangular, rough, like that of arction and hollowed by many axils. The seed is like that of vetch, white and geminate; the roots are numerous, long, fleshy, soft, and gluey to the taste. When dry these become black and hard, so that they might be taken for horns. This plant grows not only in Aethiopia, but also on Mount Ida in the Troad and in Messenia. The roots are gathered in autumn and dried in the sun for some days to prevent their growing mouldy. Taken in white wine they are a remedy for uterine troubles, and a decoction is given by the mouth for sciatica, pleurisy and rough throats. The Aethiopian kind, however, gives the greatest, and immediate, relief.

4. Ageraton resembles fennel-giant, is two spans high and like origanum, and the flowers are golden knobs. The fumes when the plant is burnt are diuretic and purge the uterus: used in a sits bath the plant does this more effectively. The reason for the name is [not this but] because it lasts for a long time without fading.

5. The aloe bears a resemblance to the squill, but it is larger, and has more fleshy leaves, and with slanting streaks. Its stem is tender, red in the centre, and not unlike anthericus; the root is single, as it were a stake sunk into the ground. It has an oppressive smell, and a bitter taste. The most valued kind is imported from India, but it also grows in the province of Asia. This kind is used only for wounds, the freshly gathered leaves, or the juice, having a wonderful power of uniting. For this reason it is planted in conical jars, as is the greater aizoum. Some, before the seed ripens, make an incision in the stem to get the juice; some do so in the leaves as well. Drops too form spontaneously on it, and adhere. Some therefore recommend that the ground where the aloe has been planted should be beaten down hard, so as to prevent absorption. Some have reported that in Judea beyond Jerusalem can be found mineral aloes. This however is the most inferior kind of all, and no other is darker or more moist. So the best aloes will he fatty and shiny, of a ruddy colour, friable, compact like liver, and easily melted. The kind to be rejected is dark and hard, gritty, and adulterated with gum and acacia, the adulteration being easily detected by the taste. The nature of an aloe is bracing, astringent! and gently warming. There are many uses for it, but the chief is to relax the bowels, for it is almost the only laxative that is also a stomach tonic, no ill effects whatever resulting from its use. A drachma is taken in drink, but for fluxes of the stomach a spoonful in two cyathi of warm or cold water is taken twice or three times a day at intervals, as circumstances require; but for purging the bowels the maximum dose is three drachmae, which is more effective if food is taken after the draught. With a dry wine it prevents the hair from falling out, the head being thoroughly rubbed in the contrary way to the hair. It relieves headache if it is applied in vinegar and rose oil to the temples and forehead, or a dilute solution may be poured over them. All eye troubles, it is agreed, are cured by the aloe, but it is specific for itch and scaliness of the eyelids; it is also good, applied with honey, especially with Pontic honey, for marks and bruises; for diseased tonsils or gums, for all sores in the mouth, and for spitting of blood, the dose is a drachma, taken in water if the spitting is not excessive, and in vinegar if it is. Haemorrhage due to wounds also, or to any other cause, it arrests if used by itself or in vinegar. In other ways too it is very useful for wounds, as it promotes cicatrisation. It is also sprinkled on ulcerated male genitals, condylomata and chaps of the anus, sometimes in wine, in raisin wine, or else dry by itself, according as the treatment may need mild measures or coercive. It also gently arrests excessive bleeding from haemorrhoids. For dysentery it is injected, and for indigestion it is taken in drink shortly after the evening meal. For jaundice the dose is three oboli in water; for internal purgings pills also are swallowed made up with boiled honey or turpentine resin. It removes hangnails; for eye preparations it is washed, to let the most gritty parts settle, or else it is roasted in an earthen vessel and occasionally stirred with a feather so that the roasting may be even throughout.

6. Alcea has leaves like those of the vervain called aristereon, three or four stems covered with leaves, flowers like a rose, and white roots, six at most, a cubit long, and slanting. It grows in a soil which is rich but not dry. The root is used in wine or water for dysentery, diarrhoea, ruptures and sprains.

7. Alypon is a small sprout with a soft head, and not unlike beet, sharp to the taste and viscous, very pungent and burning. In hydromel with a little salt added it loosens the bowels. The smallest dose is two drachmae, a moderate one four, the

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maximum being six. When given as a purge it is taken in chicken broth.

8. Alsine, which some call myosoton, is found in groves; hence its name. It begins to grow just after midwinter, and withers at midsummer. When it puts forth its leaves, they are like the ears of little mice. However, I shall describe another plant, to which more properly would be given the name myosotis. Alsine would be just the same as helxine, were it not that it is smaller and less hairy. It grows in gardens and especially on walls. When being bruised it smells like cucumber. It is used for gatherings and inflammations, and for all purposes for which helxine is employed, but with less efficacy. Especially is it applied to eye fluxes, and with barley meal to sore genitals and ulcers. Its juice is poured into the ears.

9. Androsaces is a whitish plant, bitter, leafless, with seed pods in hairy tufts. It grows especially along the sea coast of Syria. For dropsy are prescribed two-drachma doses of the plant pounded or boiled down in water, vinegar, or wine, for it is a powerful diuretic. It is also prescribed for dropsy and applied locally. The seed too has the same properties.

10. Androsaemon, or, as others have called it, ascyron, is not unlike hypericum, about which I have already spoken, but the stalks are larger, closer together, and redder. Its leaves are pale and shaped like those of rue; the seed resembles that of the dark poppy. The stalk tops when crushed give out a juice of the colour of blood. Their smell is resinous. It grows in vineyards; about the middle of autumn it is dug and hung up. When used as a purge it is pounded with the seed and taken early in the morning or after dinner, the dose being two drachmae in hydromel, wine, or plain water, and the whole draught a sextarius. It brings away bile, and is excellent for sciatica, but on the following day should be swallowed a drachma of caper root well mixed with resin. This dose should be repeated after an interval of four days. After the actual purging wine should be drunk by the stronger patients and water by the weaker. The plant is applied also to gouty limbs, to burns, and, as it stanches blood, to wounds.

11. Ambrosia, an indeterminate name loosely given to other plants, is the primary name of one in particular, which is branchy and close set, slender about three spans high, with a root one span less, and with leaves around the bottom of the stem resembling those of rue. The seed is on the twigs, hanging dawn in clusters, and has a vinous smell; and so the plant is called botrys by some, although others call it artemisia. The Cappadocians use it for chaplets. In medicine it is used as a discutient.

12. Anonis, which some prefer to call ononis, is branchy, and like fenugreek, except that it is more bushy and more hairy. It has an agreeable smell, and becomes prickly after spring. Preserved in brine it is also used as food, while the fresh plant cauterizes the edges of ulcers. The root is boiled down in vinegar and water for toothache, and taken in drink with honey it also expels stone from the bladder. For epilepsy it is given in oxymel boiled down to one half.

13. Anagyros, which some call acopon, is bushy, with a strong smell and a flower like that of cabbage. The seed grows in little horn-like pods of some length; it is kidney-shaped and becomes hard during the harvests. The leaves are placed on gatherings, and tied as an amulet on women in difficult labour, care being taken to remove them immediately after delivery. But if a dead foetus does not come away, or if the afterbirth or menstruation is retarded, the leaves are taken in raisin-wine, a dose being a drachma. Similar doses are given for asthma, and in old wine the leaves are given for the bites of poisonous spiders. The root is employed to disperse or mature boils; the seed chewed acts as an emetic.

14. Anonymus has found a name by not finding one. It is imported from Scythia. Hicesius, a physician of no small authority, spread its fame, as did Aristogiton; it is excellent for wounds if applied pounded in water; taken however in drink it is equally good for blows on the breasts or on the hypochondia, likewise for spitting of blood. Some authorities have held that wounded patients should take it in drink. The further statement I think fabulous, that if burnt fresh it acts as solder for iron or copper.

15. Aparine, called by some omphalocarpos, by others philanthrops, is branchy, hairy, and with five or six leaves arranged at intervals in a circle around the branches. The seed is round, hard, hollowed, and rather sweet. It grows in cornfields, or gardens, or meadows, and is so prickly as even to cling to the clothes. The seed, taken in drachma doses in wine, is efficacious against the bite of serpents and poisonous spiders. The leaves, applied locally, check excessive bleeding from wounds. The juice is poured into the ears.

16. Arction, which some prefer to call arcturns, has leaves like those of verbascum, except that they are more hairy. The stem is long and soft, and the seed like that of cummin. It grows on rocky soils, and has a tender root, whitish and sweet. A decoction of it in wine is given for toothache, hut it must be retained in the mouth. The decoction is drunk for sciatica and strangury. In wine the root is applied to burns and chilblains, which are also fomented with the seed pounded in wine with the root.

17. Asplenon, called by some hemionion, has many leaves four inches long, a slimy root, pitted as is a fern's, whitish and hairy. There is no stem, flower or seed. It grows on rocks and on shaded, damp walls, the most approved kind in Crete. A decoction of its leaves in vinegar, taken as a draught for thirty days, is said to reduce the spleen, the leaves being also applied locally. They relieve too hiccoughs. This plant, as it causes barrenness, must not be given to women.

18. Asclepias has leaves like those of ivy, bug branches, numerous roots that are slender and scented, stinking flowers, and a hatchet-shaped seed. It grows on hills. The roots cure colic and are used for snakebite; they are not only taken in drink but also applied locally.

19. Aster is called by some bubonion, because it is a sovereign remedy for affections of the groin. Its stem has two or three oblong leaves, and on the top are little heads with rays like stars. In drink it is also taken for snake bites. But as medicine for the groin it is enjoined to be plucked with the left hand, and to be tied as an amulet next the girdle. As an amulet it is also good for sciatica.

20. Ascyron and ascyroides are like one another and also like hypericon, but what is called ascyroides has larger branches, which are like fennel-giant, red and with small yellow heads. The seed, in little cups, is very small, black, and resinous. The hairy tufts when crushed cause stains like blood, and therefore some have called the plant androsaemon. Two-drachmae doses of the seed, taken in a sextarius of hydromel, are used for sciatica. It loosens the bowels, brings away bile, and is applied to burns.

21. Aphaca has very slender and tiny leaves. Taller than the lentil it also bears larger pods, in which are three or four seeds, darker and smaller than those of the lentil. It grows in cultivated fields, and has bracing qualities more powerful than those of the lentil, its other uses being the same. A decoction of the seed checks fluxes of the stomach and bowels.

22. In my authorities I have found no description of alcibium, but only that its pounded root and leaves are applied locally, and taken in drink, for snake bite; a handful of the pounded leaves with three cyathi of neat wine, or three drachmae by weight of the root with the same measure of wine.

23. Alectoros lophos, which we Romans call, 'comb' (crista), has several leaves like a cock's comb, a slender stem, and black seed in pods. Boiled with ground beans it is useful for cough, and with the addition of honey for film on the eyes. The seed is cast whole into the eye; it does no harm but attracts the film to itself. Changing colour it begins to turn from black to white, swells, and works out by itself.

24. We Romans call alum what the Greeks call symphyton petraeum. It is like ox cunila, with small leaves and three or four branches growing from the root, which have tips like those of thyme; a ligneous plant, scented, sweet to the taste, promoting saliva, and with a long, red root. It grows on rocks (hence its surname petraeum, 'rocky'), and is very useful for affections of the sides and kidneys, for colic, chest, lungs, spitting of blood, and sore throat. The root is pounded and taken in drink or boiled down in wine; sometimes too this is used as embrocation. Moreover, chewed it allays thirst, and is especially cooling to the lungs. It is also applied to dislocations and bruises, and it soothes the intestines. Cooked in hot ashes, pounded, after removal of the pods, with nine peppercorns and taken in water, it is binding to the bowels. So excellent is it for healing wounds that, added even to pieces of meat that are being boiled, it binds them together. Hence its Greek name symphyton. It is also good for broken bones.

25. Red seaweed for scorpion stings.

26. Actaea has leaves with an offensive smell, rough and jointed stems, black seed like that of ivy, and soft berries. It grows on shaded, rough, watery wound. In doses of a full acetabulum it is given for internal diseases of women.

27. Ampelos agria is a name given to a plant with hard leaves of an ashy colour, as I have described in my account of cultivated trees. It has long, hard-skinned twigs, of a red colour like the blossom we call flame of Jupiter. It bears in little clusters seed like pomegranate pips. Its root, boiled down in three cyathi of water with the addition of two cyathi of Coan wine, is a gentle aperient, and therefore is given to dropsical patients. The clusters remove the spots on women's faces. Sciatica too is relieved by this plant ground up with the leaves and applied with its own juice.

28. There are several kinds of wormwood. The Santonic comes from the state of the Santoni in Gaul, the Pontic from Pontus, where cattle fatten on it, and so are found to be without gall; there is no finer wormwood than this, the Italian being far more bitter, but the pith of Pontic wormwood is sweet. About its use there is general agreement, for it is a plant very easily found, and one of the most useful, being moreover especially honoured at the religious rites of the Roman people, seeing that at the Latin festival there is a race for four-horse chariots on the Capitoline Hill, the winner of which takes a draught of wormwood, our ancestors thinking, I believe, that health was a very grand prize to give. It strengthens the stomach and for this reason it is used, as I have said, to give a flavour to wines. A decoction in water, which is afterwards cooled in the open for a day and a night, is also taken; six drachmae of the leaves with their branches are boiled down in three sextarii of rain water; salt too should be added. When very old it can still be used. There is also administered an infusion of wormwood in water; for this preparation should be styled 'infusion,' and an essential of the infusion is that, whatever quantity of water is used, for three days the preparation should be wholly enclosed. Pounded wormwood is rarely employed; rarely too the extracted juice. It is extracted, however, as soon as the seed begins to swell, the plant being soaked in water for three days when fresh and for seven when dried; it is then boiled down to one third in a bronze vessel, ten heminae to forty-five sextarii of water; and after being strained to remove the solid pieces it is boiled down again to the thickness of honey, just like juice obtained from the lesser centaury. But this juice is injurious to the stomach and head, while the decoction I mentioned is very wholesome. For it is astringent to the stomach, and with sil, Gallic nard and a little vinegar, brings away bile, promotes urine, soothes the bowels, curing them when in pain, drives out worms from the belly, and removes nausea and flatulence. With rue, pepper and salt, it takes away the distaste for food, and aids digestion, bringing away undigested food. As a purge, the old custom was to give six drachmae of the seed, three of salt, and a cyathus of honey, in a sextarius of sea water kept for a time, the purge being more efficacious if the amount of salt is doubled. The pounding however must be carefully done, as it is a difficult task. Some have also given the aforesaid weight in pearl barley with the addition of pennyroyal; some the leaves in a dried fig to children, so that the bitter taste is not noticed. Taken with iris it purges the thorax. For jaundice it is taken raw in drink with celery or adiantum. For flatulence it is slowly sipped hot in water; for the liver it is taken with Gallic nard; for the spleen, with vinegar, pottage or fig. In vinegar it is an antidote to poisonous fungi, as also to mistletoe; in wine, to hemlock, the poison of the shrew mouse, sea weever and scorpions. It is a great aid to clear vision. With raisin wine it is applied to eye fluxes, and with honey to bruises. Ear trouble is cured by fumigation with the steam of the decoction, or when bloody pus exudes, by pounded wormwood with honey. Three or four twigs, with one root of Gallic nard and six cyathi of water, are diuretic and an emmenagogue; it is specific for faulty menstruation if taken with honey or applied as a pessary in wool. With honey and soda it is helpful for quinsy. In water it cures night rashes. Recent wounds it heals if applied before they have been touched with water; it cures, moreover, sores on the head. With Cyprian wax or with fig it makes an exceptionally good application for affections of the flanks. It also cures pruritus, but must not be given to feverish patients. Taken in drink on sea voyages it prevents nausea; worn under a belly-band, swellings of the groin. It induces sleep if inhaled through the nose or placed secretly under the sufferer's head. Put into clothes it keeps away moth. Rubbing the body all over with it in oil drives away gnats, as does the smoke of it when burnt. Writing ink mixed with the infusion protects the writing from mice. Ashes of wormwood mixed with ointment and rose-oil stain the hair black.

29. There is also a sea wormwood, called by some seriphum, the most approved growing at Taposiris in Egypt. At the ceremonies of Isis the priests carry a branch of it ritually before them. Narrower than the former, and less bitter, it is injurious to the stomach, but softens the bowels and expels intestinal worms. It is taken in drink with oil and salt, or infused into gruel of three-month wheat. A handful is boiled down in a sextarius of water to one-half.

30. Ballote has a second name, black leek, given to it by the Greeks. It is a bushy plant, with quadrangulate, dark stems, covered with hairy leaves, larger and darker than those of leek, and with an offensive smell. It proves an effective antidote to dog-bites, the pounded leaves being laid with salt on the wound; cooked also in hot ashes and wrapped in a cabbage leaf they are applied to condylomata. With honey the plant also cleanses foul ulcers.

31. Botrys is a bushy plant with yellow twigs. Seed grows all round them, and the leaves are like those of chicory. It is found on the banks of torrents, and is used as treatment for orthopnoea. The Cappadocians call it ambrosia, others artemisia.

32. Brabilla has an astringent property like the quince; apart from this my authorities tell me nothing about it.

33. Sea bryon is without doubt a plant; it has leaves like those of lettuce, wrinkled, and as it were crumpled. It has no stem, the leaves growing out of a single root. It grows more especially upon rocks and on shells sunk in the ground. Its special properties are to dry, astringency, and to reduce all gatherings and inflammations, in particular those of gout, and whenever there is need of cooling applications.

34. The seed of bupleuron I find is given for snakebite, and that wounds are fomented with a decoction of this plant to which has been added leaves of mulberry or of origanum.

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35. Catanance, Thessalian plant, it would be a waste of time for me to describe, since it is used only for love-potions. One thing it is quite pertinent to say in order to show up the fraud of sorcery: the plant was chosen for this purpose by soothsayers because as it withers it crumples up into the shape of the claws of a dead kite. For the same reason I shall say nothing about cemos.

36. There are two kinds of calyx. One is like arum, and grows on ploughed land. It is gathered before it withers, and has the same uses as aris. Its root is also taken in drink as a powerful aperient and emmenagogue, while its stalks, boiled down with the leaves in pulse, cures tenesmus.

37. The other kind of it is called by some anchusa, by others rhinoclia, having leaves like those of lettuce, but longer and downy, and a red root. This applied with the finest pearl barley cures erysipelas, and, taken in white wine, liver complaints.

38. Circaea is like cultivated trychnos, having a tiny, dark flower, small seed like that of millet forming in a sort of little horn, a six-inch root, generally triple or quadruple, whitish, scented, and with a hot taste. It grows on sunny rocks. An infusion of it in wine is taken for uterine pains and affections. Three ounces of the pounded root should be steeped for a night and a day in three sextarii of wine. The same draught also brings away the afterbirth. The seed taken in wine or hydromel reduces the supply of milk.

39. Cirsion is a tender, little sprout, two cubits high, triangular, and surrounded by prickly leaves, the prickles being soft. The leaves are like those of bugloss, but smaller, and whitish. At the tip are small, purple heads, which fall off as down. It is said that this plant, or its root, used as an amulet, cures the pain of varicose veins.

40. Crataegonon is like an ear of wheat, with many reed-like shoots, full of joints, springing from a single root. It is found in shaded places. The seed is like that of millet, with a very sharp taste. If three oboli of it in three cyathi of water are taken in wine before supper by the woman, and also by the man, for forty days before conception takes place, the child they say will be of the male sex. There is another crataegonos, which is called thelygonos; it is distinguished from the other by its mild taste. There are some who maintain that women who take the flower of crataegonos in drink conceive within forty days. These plants with honey also heal chronic black ulcers, fill up the pits of ulcers, add flesh to atrophied parts, thoroughly cleanse purulent sores, disperse superficial abscesses, and soothe gout and every kind of gathering, in particular those on the breasts. By crataegos or crataegon Theophrastus a would have us understand the tree which in Italy is called aquifolium.

41. Crocodileon is like black chamaeleon in shape, with a long root uniformly thick, and a pungent smell. It grows in sandy places. Taken in drink it causes copious epistaxis of thick blood; it is also said to reduce the spleen.

42. Cynosorchis, called by some orchis, has leaves like olive leaves, soft, three in number and lying on the ground to the length of half a foot. The root is bulbous, longish, and in two parts, the upper being harder and the lower softer. Found generally in vineyards these are boiled and eaten as are bulbs. If men eat the larger of these roots, male children are said to be conceived, but female if the smaller is eaten by women. In Thessaly men take in goat's milk the softer root as an aphrodisiac, but the harder as an antaphrodisiac. The one part neutralizes the other.

43. Chrysolachanum, growing in pine woods, is like lettuce. If applied at once it heals cut sinews. Elsewhere too is said to grow a kind of chrysolachanum with a golden flower and leaves like those of cabbage. It is eaten boiled as a soft vegetable. This plant, tied on as an amulet so that the patient can look at it, is said to cure jaundice. I know that this account of chrysolachanum is inadequate, yet I find no more detail given, for a further fault of which our modern herbalists, at least, are guilty is that they have described but briefly, and even by a mere name, plants well known to themselves just as if these were generally familiar. They say, for instance, that coagulum terrae (earth rennet) is constipating and diuretic if taken in water or wine, and that

44. the pounded leaves of eucullus with vinegar cure the bites of serpents and the stings of scorpions. Some give this plant another name, strumus, others the Greek name of strychnus. It has black berries; a cyathus of juice from these, with two of honey wine, is good treatment for lumbago, as also for headache if used with rose oil for bathing the brow, while for serofulous sores the plant itself is applied locally.

45. Couferva is peculiar to running streams, Alpine in particular, so named from confer-vamainare, to solder together. It is more like a freshwater sponge than a moss or vascular plant, being a hairy, dense, and porous mass. To my knowledge a man who, pruning a very high tree, fell and broke nearly all his bones, was treated with this plant. His entire body was enveloped in it; whenever it dried it was sprinkled with its native water but rarely taken off, only in fact for renewals when the plant lost its strength. The patient recovered in an almost incredibly short time.

46. The Cnidian grain has the colour of kermes-red, and in size is larger than a peppercorn. Its heating properties are so great that it is swallowed in bread, lest it should scorch the throat in its passage. A sovereign remedy for hemlock poisoning, it also checks looseness of the bowels.

47. Dipsacos has leaves like those of lettuce, with prickly knobs on the middle of their backs. The stem, two cubits long and rough with the same prickles, has joints enfolded by pairs of leaves, forming hollow axils in which collects a salt, dewy fluid. On the top of the stem are little heads, which bristle with prickles. The plant grows on watery ground. A decoction of the root in wine heals chaps of the anus; fistulas as well, but the decoction must be reduced to the consistency of wax, so that a suppository may be inserted into the fistula. It also removes warts of all kinds, for which purpose some apply the juice that is found in the axils which I mentioned above.

48. Dryopteris, which is like fern, grows on trees; it has sweetish leaves with a slight indentation and a hairy root. It has caustic properties, so that its crushed root is also used as a depilatory, for it is rubbed on until the skin sweats, and then again and a third time without washing the sweat away.

49. Drabe is a similar plant to phonos, with slender stalks a cubit high surrounded on either side by leaves the size of a thumb, similar to those of oxymyrsine, but whiter and softer. The blossom is white and like that of the elder. The stalks are eaten boiled, but its seed is used instead of pepper.

50. Elatine has leaves like those of cassia, very small, shaggy and round, with five or six little branches, half a foot long, which are covered with leaves right from the root. The plant grows among the corn, is harsh to the taste and therefore good for fluxes of the eyes; the leaves are pounded with pearl barley and applied, a napkin being placed underneath. The plant boiled with linseed makes a gruel that cures dysentery.

51. Empetros, called calcifraga by us Romans, is found on coastal mountains, generally on a rock. When it has grown near the sea it is salt, and taken in drink brings away bile and phlegms; when farther off and in deeper soil it tastes more bitter. It brings away fluid, and is taken in broth of some kind or in hydromel. When stale it loses its potency, but when fresh and boiled down in water or beaten up it is diuretic and breaks up stone in the bladder. Those who seek to win belief in this assurance assert that pebbles boiled with it are broken up.

52. Epicactis, called by some elleborine, is a small plant with tiny leaves; taken in drink it is very useful for liver complaints and to counteract poisons.

53. Epimedion is a stem, not large, with ten or even twelve leaves like ivy leaves. It never flowers, has a slender, blackish, evil-smelling root, and ...[an insipid taste?] This plant, which grows in damp soils, is one of those with bracing and cooling properties, and should be avoided by women. Its leaves, beaten up in wine, check the growth of maidens' breasts.

54. Enneaphyllon has nine long leaves, and is of caustic nature. When applied it is wrapped up in wool, lest it cauterize too far, for it raises blisters immediately. It is very good for the pains of lumbago and sciatica.

55. Ferns are of two kinds, neither having blossom or seed. Some Greeks call pteris, others blachnon, the kind from the sole root of which shoot out several other ferns exceeding even two cubits in length, with a not unpleasant smell. This is considered male. The other kind the Greeks call thelypteris, some nymphaea pteris. It has only one stem, and is not bushy, but shorter, softer and more compact than the other, and channelled with leaves at the root. The root of both kinds fattens pigs. In both kinds the leaves are pinnate on either side, whence the Greeks have named them pteris. The roots of both are long, slanting, and blackish, especially when they have lost moisture; they should, however, be dried in the sun. Ferns grow everywhere, but especially in a cold soil. They ought to be dug up at the setting of the Pleiades. The root must be used only at the end of three years, neither earlier nor later. Ferns expel intestinal worms, tapeworms when taken with honey, but for other worms they must be taken in sweet wine on three consecutive days; both kinds are very injurious to the stomach. Fern opens the bowels, bringing away first bile, then fluid. tapeworms better with an equal weight of scammony. To treat catarrhal fluxes two oboli by weight of the root are taken in water after fasting for one day, with a taste of honey beforehand. Neither fern should be given to women, since either causes a miscarriage when they are pregnant, and barrenness when they are not. Reduced to powder they are sprinkled over foul ulcers as well as on the necks of draught animals. The leaves kill lice and will not harbour snakes, so that it is well to spread them in suspected places; by the smell too when burnt they drive away these creatures. Among ferns also physicians have their preference; the Macedonian is the best, the next best comes from Cassiope?

56. Femur bubulum ('ox thigh') is the name given to a plant which, applied fresh and beaten up in. vinegar and salt, is one of the remedies beneficial for the sinews.

57. Galeopsis, called by some galeobdolon or galion, has stem and leaves like those of the nettle, but smoother, and giving off when beaten up an offensive smell; the flower is purple. It grows along hedges and lanes everywhere. Its leaves and stalks, beaten up in vinegar and applied, cure indurations and malignant growths, dispersing scrofulous sores, superficial abscesses and parotid swellings. It is also beneficial to use the juice of a decoction as a fomentation. With the addition of salt moreover it heals festering sores and gangrenes.

58. Glaux, called of old eugalacton, has leaves like those of cytisus and the lentil; they are whiter underneath. The branches, five or six in number, extremely slender and springing from the root, lie along the ground; on them form small, purple blossoms. It is found near the sea, and is boiled in similago porridge to stimulate a rich supply of milk; those who have drunk a dose should proceed to a bath.

59. Glaucion grows in Syria and Parthia, a low plant, with tightly packed leaves, rather like those of the poppy but smaller and dirtier looking; it has a foul smell and a bitter, astringent taste. The seed, of a saffron colour, is put into a pot lined with fuller's clay and heated in an oven. Then it is taken out, and a juice of the same name is extracted from it. Both the juice and beaten-up leaves are used for the fluxes that fall in streams from the whole eye. There is made from it a salve called by physicians diaglaucin. It also restores a rich supply of milk if this fails. When taken for this purpose, water is the medium.

60. Glycyside, called by some paeonia or pentorobon, has a stem two spans high; two or three others go with it. This stem is reddish, with bark like that of bay; the leaves resemble those of isatis, only more fleshy, rounder, and smaller. The seed is in pods, with some grains red, some black. There are however two kinds of the plant. The one to the roots of which are attached about six or eight rather long bulbs like acorns is regarded as female. The male has no more bulbs, since it is supported only by a single root, a span deep, white, and astringent to the taste. The leaves of the female smell of myrrh, and are closer together. The plants grow in woods. It is said that they should be dug up by night, because to do so in the daytime is dangerous, for the woodpecker called 'bird of Mars' assaults the eyes. That there is a danger, however, of prolapsus of the anus when a root is being dug up, I hold to be a very fraudulent lie, calculated to exaggerate the real facts. These plants are of manifold use. The red grains check red menstrual discharge, about fifteen being taken in dark-red wine. The black grains are healing to the uterus, the same number being taken in raisin or ordinary wine. The root in wine relieves all pains of the belly, opens the bowels, cures opisthotonic tetanus, jaundice, and complaints of the kidneys and bladder; for the trachea and the stomach however a decoction in wine is used, which also acts astringently on the bowels. It is eaten too as a food, but as a medicine four drachmae are enough. The black grains, taken in wine to the number mentioned, also prevent nightmares, while for stomach ache and for gnawing colic it is beneficial both to eat them and to apply them locally. Suppurations too are dispersed, recent by the black seed and old by the red. Both kinds are good for snakebites, and to cure stone in children when strangury is beginning.

61. Gnaphalium is called by some chamaezelon; its pale, soft leaves are used as flock; the two indeed are similar. It is given in a dry wine for dysentery, arrests fluxes of the belly and excessive menstruation, is injected for tenesmus and applied to festering ulcers.

62. Xenocrates calls gallidraga a prickly marsh-plant like leucacanthus, with a tall stem like fennel-giant, on the top of which is perched an egg-shaped ball. In this, he says, as summer advances, are bred maggots, which are kept in a box and attached with bread, as an amulet, to the arm on the same side as an aching tooth, and the pain disappears at once in a wonderful manner. These maggots, he says, retain their potency for not more than a year, and then only if they have not touched the ground.

63. Holcus grows on dry rocks. The plant is like barley that has grown again after cutting, with ears at the top of a slender straw. Tied round the head or round the arm this plant draws ears (orisias) from the flesh, for which reason some call it aristis.

64. Hyoseris is like endive, but smaller and rougher to the touch; crushed it is a splendid remedy for wounds.

65. Holosteon (all-bone) is a plant with nothing hard about it, the name being an antiphrasis coined by the Greeks, just as they call gall sweet. Its root is so slender as to look like hair. Four fingers long, the plant has narrow leaves like grass and an astringent taste, growing on hills with deep soil. Taken in wine for sprains and ruptures it also closes wounds, for it even fastens together pieces of meat when boiled with them.

66. Hippophaeston is to be found among the thorns out of which fullers' pots are made up, having no stem, no blossom, but only little, hollow heads and many small leaves of the colour of grass. Its little roots are whitish and soft. Their juice is extracted in summer; the dose to open the bowels is three oboli, being used especially in epilepsy, palsy, dropsy, and to treat giddiness, orthopnoea, and incipient paralysis.

67. Hypoglossa has leaves shaped like those of wild myrtle, concave, prickly, and on them as it were tongues, small leaves

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growing out of the leaves proper. A chaplet made from these and placed on the head relieves headache.

68. Hypecod grows in cornfields and has leaves like those of rue. Its properties are those of poppy juice.

69. The plant of Ida has leaves like those of oxymyrsine, and to them adhere as it were tendrils, which bear the blossom. The plant itself cheeks looseness of the bowels, menstruation, and all excessive bleeding, as it has astringent, and repressive properties.

70. Isopyron is called by some phaselion, because its leaf, which resembles that of anise, twists itself into the shape of the tendrils of the passeolus. At the top of the stem grow little heads, slender, full of seed like that of melanthium, and very efficacious, when taken with honey or hydromel, for cough, other chest complaints, and also those of the liver.

71. Lathyris has many leaves like those of lettuce, but slighter, and many buds, in which the seed is enclosed in envelopes as is that of the caper. When the buds are dry, the seeds, of the size of a peppercorn, are taken out; they are white, sweet, and easily shelled. Twenty of them in fresh water or hydromel cure dropsy, and also draw away bile. Those who wish for a more violent purge take the pods themselves with the seeds, but since they injure the stomach the plan has been devised of taking them with fish or chicken broth.

72. Leontopetalon, called by some rapadion, has leaves like cabbage leaves and a stem half a foot long. There are several side branches, and at the ends, in pods like those of chick-peas, is the seed. The root is like a turnip, large and blackish. It grows on cultivated ground. Taken in wine the root neutralises the poison of serpents of every kind [or 'of the bites of all serpents'], and no other remedy acts more quickly. It is also given to sufferers from sciatica.

73. Lycapsos has longer and coarser leaves than those of lettuce, a long stem, with many subsidiary others, hairy and a cubit long, and a small, purple flower. It grows in flat, meadowy land. With barley meal it makes a local application for erysipelas. The juice with hot water added promotes perspiration in fevers.

74. Among all plants nothing is more wonderful than lithospermum, called by some exonychon, by others 'Juppiter's corn,' and by others 'corn of Hercules.' The plant is about five inches high, with leaves twice as big as those of rue, and ligneous little branches of the thickness of a rush. Near the leaves it grows as it were little beards, which are single, and on their tops little stones, white and round as pearls, as big as a chick-pea but as hard as a stone. Where they are attached to pedicels these jewels have little holes, in which is the seed. The plant grows indeed in Italy, but the most highly valued in Crete, and I have never seen anything among plants that filled me with greater wonder. So charming the adornment that one might think that the jeweller's art had arranged gleaming white pearls symmetrically among the leaves; very exquisite and difficult the birth of a gem from a plant! The authorities say that it lies and spreads over the ground; have seen it only when gathered, not when so growing. It is indisputable that a drachma by weight of these jewels taken in white wine breaks up and brings away stone, and cures strangury. There is no other plant the medicinal property of which can be recognised with greater confidence; its very appearance is such that at once by a glance, even without being told, people can become aware of this property.

75. On ordinary stones near rivers grows a dry, hoary moss. One of them is rubbed with another one smeared with human spittle; with the latter stone is touched eczema, and he who touches says: 'Begone, cantharides, for a savage wolf seeks your blood.'

76. Limeum is the name given by the Gauls to a plant that they use to make a drug, called by them deer poison, with which when hunting they poison their arrows. As much of the plant as is usually used for one arrow is mixed with three bushels of saliva stimulant, and when cattle are sick this mash is forced down their throats. Afterwards they must be tied to their stalls until they are purgedfor they usually go wildand if sweating ensues cold water should be poured over them.

77. Leuce, a plant like mercurialis, has a reason for the name it bears, because a white line runs down the middle of the leaves, which is why some call it mesoleucion. Its juice heals fistulas; crushed, the plant itself cures malignant ulcers. Perhaps it is the same as the plant called leueas, which is a remedy for the poison of all sea creatures. My authorities do not report its appearance; they only say that the wild plant has the broader leaves, that this is the more efficacious, and has the more pungent seed.

78. A description of leucographis I have nowhere found in writing. I am the more surprised at this because in three-oboli doses with saffron it is considered useful for haemoptysis, and also for the coeliae disease; beaten up in water and applied as a pessary for excessive menstruation; useful too as an ingredient of eye salves, and for filling up ulcers that form on tender parts of the body.

79. Medion has leaves like those of cultivated seris; the stem is three feet long, on which is a large, purple, round flower, bearing tiny seeds; the root is half a foot long. The plant grows on shaded rocks. The root checks excessive menstruation, two-drachma doses, with honey, being taken in the form of an electuary for a few successive days. For the same purpose the seed too is given in wine.

80. Myosota or myosotis is a smooth plant with several stems growing from one root, these being red to a certain extent and hollow; narrow leaves grow at the bottom, longish, with a spine along the back, dark, carefully arranged in pairs at regular intervals. There are slender stalks growing from the axils, and the blossom is blue. The root, of the thickness of a finger, is fringed with many filaments like hairs. It has tseptic and ulcerating properties, and so heals lacrimal fistulas. The Egyptians say that if, on the twenty-eighth day of the month they call thoti (a day generally falling in our August), you rub yourself over in the morning with the juice of this plant before speaking to anyone, you will not in that year a suffer from ophthahnia.

81. Myagros is a plant like fennel-giant, with leaves like those of madder; it is three feet high. The seed is oily, and from it is extracted an oil. This juice, used as liniment, is good treatment for an ulcerated mouth.

82. The plant called nyma, with its three long leaves like those of endive, makes a liniment that restores the colour of a skin disfigured by scars.

83. Natrix is the name of a plant the root of which, when pulled up, gives out the foul smell of he-goats. In Picenum they use this plant to drive away from women what are, with a strange credulity, called Fatui. I myself should believe that it is the hallucination of minds delirious in this way that is helped by such a drugs.

84. Odontitis is classed as a hay with close-set stalks growing from the same root, jointed, triangular and dark. At the joints it has small leaves, longer however than those of polygonum, seed like barley in the axils, and a tiny, bright red flower. It grows in meadows. A decoction of its stalks, a handful in a dry wine, is a cure for toothache, but it must be kept in the mouth.

85. Othonna grows in Syria. It is like eruca, has leaves full of holes and a saffron flower. This is why some have called it anemone. Its juice is a suitable ingredient of eye salves, for it is slightly biting, warming, and astringent, because of its drying nature; it clears away scars, films and all obstructions. Some say that it is washed, and then, after drying, worked up into lozenges.

86. Onosma has long leaves up to about three fingers in length, lying on the ground like those of anchusa. It has no stem, no blossom and no seed. If a woman with child should eat it or step over it, she is said to miscarry.

87. Asses are said, if they have eaten onopradon, to break wind. It is diuretic and an emmenagogue, checks looseness of the bowels, and disperses suppurations and gatherings.

88. Osyris bears dark twigs, slender and pliant, on which are dark leaves like those of flax. The seed on the twigs is black to begin with, and then the colour changes to red. From them are made cosmetics for women. A decoction of the roots taken by the mouth cures jaundice. These roots also, if cut off before the seed ripens and dried in the sun, check looseness of the bowels; but, if dug up after the ripening and boiled down in gruel, they are good treatment for catarrhs of the belly, and by themselves they are beaten up and taken in rain water.

89. Oxys has three leaves. It is given for a relaxed stomach, and is also eaten by sufferers from intestinal hernia.

90. Polyanthemum, called by some batrachion, with its caustic property clears away scars and brings back a healthy colour. It also efaces psoriasis.

91. Polygonum is the name given by the Greeks to the plant we Romans call sanguinaria. It does not rise from the ground, has leaves like those of rue, and resembles grass. Its juice poured into the nostrils checks epistaxis, and taken with wine stays haemorrhage in any part of the body and the spitting of blood. Those who hold that there are several kinds of polygonum would have this to be considered the male plant, and to be so named because of the great number of its seeds or from its being a shrub with close-packed branches. Some call it polygonaton from its many joints, others thalattias or carcinothron or clema, many myrtopetalum. There are also to be found some who say that this kind is the female, and that the male is larger, less dark, with the joints closer together, and swelling with seed under all the leaves. However this may be, the property of these plants is to be astringent and to cool. Their seed relaxes the bowels, and taken in larger doses is diuretic; it checks catarrhs, and if these have not occurred it is of no uses The leaves are applied to a heated stomach, and also used to make liniment for a painful bladder and for erysipclas. The juice is also dropped into purulent ears and painful eyes. It used also to be given by itself in doses of two cyathi, before the paroxysms of agues, especially tertian and quartan, also for cholera, dysentery and a relaxed stomach. The third kind, called orion, grows on mountains and is like a tender reed. It has one stem with knots close together and fitted one into another, leaves resembling those of the pitch pine, and a root of no medicinal use. This kind is less efficacious than those already mentioned, and used especially for sciatica. The fourth kind is called wild polygonum, a shrub that is almost a tree; it has a ligneous root, a red trunk like that of the cedar, branches like those of spartum, two spans long, and with three or four dark, knotted joints. This kind too is of an astringent nature, and tastes like a quince. It is boiled down in water to one third, or dried and powdered for sprinkling on ulcerations of the mouth and excoriated bruises, but for sore gums the plant itself is chewed. It arrests corrosive ulcers, and all those that spread or are slow to heal; for frostbite however it is specific. Herbalists also use it for quinsy; for headache they make a chaplet of it which they place on the head; while to cure eye fluxes they put one round the neck. For tertian ague some pluck it with the left hand and attach it as an amulet, and for haemorrhage also. There is no other plant that they keep in a dry state more than they do polygonum.

92. Pancratium some prefer to call 'little squill.' It has leaves resembling those of the white lily, but longer and thicker, and a root like a large, red bulb. Its juice taken with retch flour relaxes the bowels and cleans ulcers. With honey it is given for dropsy and affections of the spleen. Others boil it down until the water becomes sweet, pour this off, pound the root, and work it into lozenges, which they dry in the sun and use afterwards for sores on the head and all other ailments that call for a detergent. Moreover, they give in wine a three-finger pinch for cough, and an electuary made of it for pleurisy or pneumonia. They also give it to be taken in wine for sciatica, for colic, and as an emmenagogue.

93. Peplis, called by some syce, by others meconion or meconaphrodes, grows into a shrub from one slender root, and has leaves like those of rue but a little broader. Under the leaves is a round seed, smaller than that of the white poppy. It is generally gathered among vines at harvest time, and is dried with its seed after a vessel has been placed beneath to catch this. Taken in drink it relaxes the bowels, bringing away bile and phlegm. A moderate dose is an acetabulum in three heminae of hydromel. It is sprinkled over foods and relishes to loosen the bowels.

94. Periclymenon too is a plant which grows into a shrub, having after an interval two leaves which are whitish and soft. And at the top among the leaves is a seed which is hard, and difficult to pluck. The plant grows in cultivated fields and in hedges, climbing round supports of any kind. Its seed is dried in the shade, pounded, and worked up into lozenges. These, dissolved in three cyathi of white wine, are given for thirty days to cure splenic affections, the spleen being reduced either by blood in the urine or through the bowels, as is plain immediately from the tenth day. The boiled leaves too are diuretic, and also beneficial to asthmatics; they aid delivery and bring away the afterbirth if taken in drink in a similar way.

95. Pelecinos I have said grows in cornfields. It makes a bushy plant with its stalks, and has leaves like those of the chick-pea. It bears seed, like git seed as we know it, in three or four pods curved like little horns. This seed is bitter, a good stomachic, and an ingredient of antidotes.

96. Polygala is a full span in height, with leaves, like those of lentil, on the top of the stem, and with an astringent taste. Taken in drink it promotes an abundant supply of milk.

97. Poterion, or as some call it, phrynion or neuras, is a spreading shrub, shrivelled and prickly, with thick down, small round leaves, long branches that are soft, flexible and slender, and a long flower of a grass-green colour. The seed is not used in medicine, but has a sham, aromatic taste. The plant is found on moist hills. It has two or three roots, two cubits in depth, sinewy, white and firm. It is dug np in autumn, and when the shrub has been cut away, the root yields a juice like gum. An application of the root is said to be a wonderful healer of wounds, especially of sinews even when they have been severed. A decoction of the root also, taken with honey, is good for relaxed, weak, or cut sinews.

98. Phalangitis is called by some phalangion, by others leucanthemum, or, as I find in some copies, leucacantha. It has little branches, never fewer than two, which grow in opposite directions; white flowers like the red lily in shape, a black, broad seed, of the shape of half a lentil, but much thinner, and a slender root of a grass-green colour. The leaves, flowers or seed of this plant are of help for the treatment of wounds inflicted by scorpions, poisonous spiders, and serpents; they are also good for griping colic.

99. To describe phyteuma is in my opinion a waste of time, because it is used only for love-philtres.

100. Phyllon is the name given by the Greeks to a plant that grows on rocky heights. The female is more grass-green in colour than the male, with a slender stem and a small root. The seed is like the round seed of a poppy. This kind causes births of its own sex, the male those of males, differing from the female merely in its seed, which resembles that of the olive when it is just beginning to form. Both kinds are taken in wine.

101. Phelandrion grows in marshy places, and has leaves resembling celery. Its seed is taken in drink for stone and troubles of the bladder.

102. Phaleris has a stalk which is long and slender as a reed; at the top is a drooping flower; the seed resembles sesame seed, and is one of the remedies that break up stone in the bladder,

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being taken in wine, vinegar, or with honey and milk; it also cures complaints of the bladder.

103. Polyrrhizon has leaves like those of myrtle, and many roots. These are pounded and given in wine for snake bite. They are also of benefit when quadrupeds are bitten.

104. Proserpinaca is a common plant, and an excellent remedy for scorpion stings. It also, they say, when thoroughly crushed and with the addition of brine and sprats oil, makes an excellent remedy for quinsy; moreover, however tired one may be, even so weary as to lose one's voice, to put it under the tongue is said to dispel the fatigue; also that to swallow it results in healthful vomiting.

105. Rhecoma is imported from the regions beyond Pontus. The root resembles dark costus, but is smaller and a little redder, without smell bnt with a hot, astringent taste. When pounded it also is of a wine-like colour, but inclining to saffron. Used as liniment it reduces gatherings and inflammations, and heals wounds; in raisin wine it relieves eye-fluxes; with honey it removes dark bruises, and in vinegar other livid marks. Powdered it is sprinkled over malignant sores; for spitting of blood a drachma by weight is taken in water; for dysentery too and coeliac disease, should no fever be present, it is given in wine, but where there is fever, in water. It is easier to pound if it is steeped the night before. Its decoction too is given, to be drunk in double doses, for ruptures, sprains, bruises, and tumbles from a height. Should there be pains in the chest, a little quantity of pepper and myrrh is added; should the stomach be relaxed, it is taken in cold water; so also for chronic cough and spitting of pus, likewise for liver complaints, spleen complaints, sciatica, kidney troubles, asthma, and orthopnoea. Roughness of the trachea is cured by three-oboli doses of it pounded and taken in raisin wine, or by its decoction. Lichen also is cleared away by an application of the root in vinegar. It is taken in drink for flatulence, chills, feverish shivers, hiccough, colic, herpes, heaviness of the head, bilious giddiness, tired pains, and sprains.

106. Around Ariminnm is well known the plant called reseda. It disperses all gatherings and inflammations. Those who use it in treatment add these words:

Reseda, allay diseases;

Dost know, dost know, what chick here uprooted thee?

May he have neither head nor feet.

They say these words three times, and spit three times on the ground.

107. Stoechas grows only in the islands of the same name, a fragrant plant with the foliage of hyssop and a bitter taste. Taken in drink it is an emmenagogue, and relieves pains in the chest. It is also an ingredient of antidotes.

108. Solanum according to Cornelius Celsus is called by the Greeks. It has repressive and cooling properties.

109. Smyrnion has a stem like that of celery, and rather broad leaves, which grow mostly about its many shoots, from the curve of which they spring; they are juicy, bending towards the ground, and with a drug-like smell not unpleasing with a sort of sharpness. The colour shades off to yellow; the heads of the stems are umbellate, as are those of celery; the seed is round and black. It withers at the beginning of summer. The root too has a smell, and a sharp, biting taste, being soft and full of juice. Its skin is dark on the outside, but the inside is pale. The smell has the character of myrrh, whence too the plant gets its name. It grows on rocky hills, and also on those with plenty of earth. It is used for warming and for reducing. Leaves, root, and seed are diuretic and emmenagogues. The root binds the bowels, and an application of it disperses gatherings and suppurations, if not chronic, as well as indurations; mixed with cachry, polium, or melissophyllum, it is also taken in wine to counteract the poison of spiders and serpents, but only a little at a time, for if taken all at once it acts as an emetic, and so is sometimes given with rue. Seed or root is a remedy for cough and orthopnoea, also for affections of thorax, spleen, kidneys or bladder, and the root is for ruptures and sprains; it also facilitates delivery and brings away the afterbirth. In wine with crethmos it is also given for sciatica. It promotes sweating and belching, and therefore dispels flatulence of the stomach. It causes wounds to cicatrize. There is also extracted from the root a juice useful for female ailments, and for affections of the thorax and of the hypochondria, for it is warming, digestive and cleansing. The seed is given in drink, especially for dropsy, for which the juice also is used as liniment. The dried skin is used in plasters, and also as a side-dish with honey wine, oil and garum, especially when the meat is boiled.

Sinon tastes very like pepper and aids digestion. It also is very good for pain in the stomach.

110. Telephion resembles purslane in both stem and leaves. Seven or eight branches from the root make a bushy plant with coarse, fleshy leaves. It grows on cultivated ground, especially among vines. It is used as liniment for freckles and rubbed off when dry; it makes liniment also for psoriasis, to be applied for about three months, six hours each night or day; afterwards barley meal should be applied. It is also good treatment for wounds and fistulas.

111. Trichomanes resembles adiantum, but is thinner and darker; the leaves are like those of the lentil, closely set, small, and opposite one another. The decoction, taken in white wine, with wild cummin added, cures strangury. Eaten as food it prevents hair falling off, or if it has already done so, restores it. Beaten up and applied in oil it makes a thick growth when there is mange. Sneezing too is provoked by the taste.

112. Thalictrum has coriander-like leaves, but a little more fleshy, and the stem of a poppy. It grows everywhere, but particularly in flat, meadowy country. The leaves with honey are good treatment for ulcers.

113. Thlaspi is of two kinds. One has narrow leaves, a finger in breadth and length, turned towards the ground, and divided at the tip. The stem is half a foot long, not without branches, and with seed enclosed in shield-like pods and shaped like a lentil, except thathence comes the nameit is indented. The blossom is white, and the plant grows in lanes and in hedges. The seed has a sharp taste and brings away bile and phlegm by both vomit and stools. The measure of a dose is an acetabnlum. Injections are good for sciatica, if continued until they draw blood. It is also an emmenagogue but kills the foetus. The other thlaspi is called by some Persicon napy; it has broad leaves and large roots, while the plant itself is useful to make an injection for sciatica. Both kinds are good for affections of the groin. The picker is recommended to say that he is taking it as a remedy for the groin, all kinds of gatherings, and wounds. He should lift it with one hand.

114. We are not told the nature of the plant trachinia. I think it untrue, and the assurance of Democritus fantastic, that used as an amulet it consumes the spleen in three days.

115. Tragonis, or tragion, grows only on the shores of the island of Crete, and resembles juniper in seed, leaf and branches. Its milky juice, hardened into gum, or its seed taken in drink, brings away sharp points embedded in the flesh. For use as liniment it is beaten up when fresh and applied with wine, or it is dried, powdered, and applied with honey. It also promotes abundance of milk, and is a specific for ailments of the breasts.

116. There is also another plant, tragos, called by some scorpion, half a foot high, bushy, without leaves, and bearing tiny red clusters with wheat-like seeds, and pointed at the extremity. This plant too grows in coastal districts. Ten or twelve extremities of clusters, pounded and taken in wine, are good for coeliac affections, dysentery, spitting of blood, and excessive menstruation.

117. There is also tragopogon, called by some come with a small stem, leaves like those of saffron, a long, sweet root, and at the top of the stem a broad, dark calyx. It grows on rugged soils, and is eaten but never used in medicine.

118. Such is all that I have been told or discovered worth recording about plants. At the close, I think it not out of place to add a warning that their properties vary with their age. As I have said, elaterium lasts longest, dark chamaeleon forty years, centaury not more than twelve, peucedanum and aristolochia up to six, and the wild vine one yearthat is, if they are kept in the shade. And of external animals indeed none attack the roots that I have mentioned except the sphondyle, a kind of creeping thing, which infests them all.

119. There is no doubt either that the potency and efficacy of all roots are lessened if the fruit ripens before they are dug, and it is the same with seeds if the root has been cut previously for the sake of the juice. The properties moreover of all plants are weakened by habit, and they cease to be beneficial when needed if they have been in daily use; similarly with harmful plants. All plants however have greater efficacy and potency when they grow in cold regions subject to north-east winds, and likewise those that grow in dry.

120. There are also considerable differences between races. I have heard for instance about tapeworms and maw-worms, that they infest the peoples of Aegypt, Arabia, Syria and Cilicia, while on the contrary they are never found at all among those of Thrace and Phrygia. This is less remarkable than their being found among the Thebans, but not among the Athenians, although Attica and Boeotia are adjoining territories. That thought brings me to the nature of animals themselves, and to the remedies for all diseases, of even greater reliability, that are implanted in them at birth. For again, the Mother of all creation both willed that no animal should be born merely to eat or to satisfy the appetites of others, implanting also healthful medicines in their vitals, because she was implanting them even in unconscious things, and she also willed that those outstanding aids to life should come from another life, a thought beyond all else most wonderful.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 28

1. I should have finished describing the character of all things growing between heaven and earth, leaving only whatever is dug out of the ground itself, if dealing with remedies derived from plants and shrubs did not make me digress to the wider sphere of medicines obtained from the very living creatures that themselves are healed. Well then, shall I, who have described plants and forms of flowers, including many rare things that are difficult to find, say nothing about the benefits to man that are to be found in man himself, nothing about the other kinds of remedies that live among us, especially as life itself becomes a punishment for those who are not free from pains and diseases? Surely I must, and I shall devote all my care to the task, although I realize the risk of causing disgust, since it is my fixed determination to have less regard for popularity than for benefiting human life. Furthermore, my investigations will include foreign things and even outlandish customs; belief here can appeal only to authority, although I myself also, when choosing my detail, have striven to find views almost universally believed, and I have stressed careful research rather than abundance of material. One thing it is very necessary to point out: I have already described the natures of living creatures and the discoveries we owe to each (for they did no less good by discovering medicines than they do by supplying them). I am now showing what help is to be found in the creatures themselves. I did not entirely leave out this then; so although the new matter is different, it is yet intimately connected with the old.

2. But I shall begin with man seeking aid for himself out of himself, and at the outset there meet us a most baffling puzzle. The blood too of gladiators is drunk by epileptics as though it were a draught of life, though we shudder with horror when in the same arena we look at even the beasts doing the same thing. But, by Heaven!, the patients think it most effectual to suck from a man himself warm, living blood, and putting their lips to the to drain the very life, although it is not the custom of men to apply their mouths at all to the wounds even of wild beasts. Others seek to secure the leg-marrow and the brain of infants. Not a few among the Greeks have even spoken of the flavour of each organ and limb, going into all details, not excluding nail parings; just as though it could be thought health for a man to become a beast, and to deserve disease as punishment in the very process of healing. And, by Heaven!, well deserved is the disappointment if these remedies prove of no avail. To look at human entrails is considered sin; what must it be to eat them? Who was the first, Osthanes, to think of such devices as yours? For it is you who must bear the blame, you destroyer of human rights and worker of horrors; you were their first founder, in order, I suppose, to perpetuate your memory. Who first thought of chewing one by one human limbs? What soothsaying guided him? What origin could your medical practices have had? Who made magic potions more innocent than their remedies? Granted that foreigners and barbarians had discovered the rites, did the Greeks also make these arts their own? There is extant a treatise of Democritus stating that one complaint is more benefited by bones from the head of a criminal, and other complaints by those of a friend or guest. Moreover, Apollonius put in writing that to scrape sore gums with the tooth of a man killed by violence is most efficacious, and Meletos that the gall of a human being cures cataract. Artemon treated epilepsy with draughts of water drawn from a spring by night and drunk out of the skull of a man killed but not cremated. From the skull of a man hanged Antaeus made pills to cure the bites of a mad dog. Even quadrupeds too have been cured by remedies taken from a man; to cure flatulence in oxen their horns have been pierced and human bones inserted; for sick pigs wheat has been given which had remained for a whole night where a man had been killed or cremated. Far from me and my writings be such horrors. I shall speak not of sins but of aids, such as when will prove an effective remedy the milk of lying-in women, or human saliva, or contact with a human body, and the like. I do not indeed hold that life ought to be so prized that by any and every means it should be prolonged. You holding this view, whoever you are, will none the less die, even though you may have lived longer through foulness or sin. Wherefore let every man consider that first among the remedies for his soul is this: that of all the blessings given to man by Nature none is greater than a timely death, and herein the brightest feature is that each man can have the power to bestow it on himself.

3. Of the remedies derived from man, the first raises a most important question, and one never settled: have words and formulated incantations any effect? If they have, it would be right and proper to give the credit to mankind. As individuals, however, all our wisest men reject belief in them, although as a body the public at all times believes in them unconsciously. In fact the sacrifice of victims without a prayer is supposed to be of no effect; without it too the gods are not thought to be properly consulted. Moreover, there is one form of words for getting favourable omens, another for averting evil, and yet another for a commendation. We see also that our chief magistrates have adopted fixed formulas for their prayers; that to prevent a word's being omitted or out of place a reader dictates beforehand the prayer from a script; that another attendant is appointed as a guard to keep watch, and yet another is put in charge to maintain a strict silence; that a piper plays so that nothing but the prayer is heard. Remarkable instances of both kinds of interference are on record: cases when the noise of actual ill omens has ruined the prayer, or when a mistake has been made in the prayer itself; then suddenly the head of the liver, or the heart, has disappeared from the entrails, or these have been doubled,

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while the victim was standing. There has come down to us a striking example of ritual in that with which the Decii, father and son, devoted themselves; extant too is the plea of innocence uttered by the Vestal Tuccia when, accused of unchastity, she carried water in a sieve, in the year of the City six hundred and nine. Our own generation indeed even saw buried alive in the Cattle Market a Greek man and a Greek woman, and victims from other peoples with whom at the time we were at war. The prayer used at this ceremony is wont to be dictated by the Master of the College of the Quindecimviri, and if one reads it one is forced to admit that there is power in ritual formulas, the events of eight hundred and thirty years showing this for all of them. It is believed today that our Vestal virgins by a spell root to the spot runaway slaves, provided they have not left the City bounds, and yet, if this view is once admitted, that the gods hear certain prayers, or are moved by any form of words, the whole question must be answered in the affirmative. Our ancestors, indeed, reported such wonders again and again, and that, most impossible of all, even lightning can be brought by charms from the sky, as I have mentioned on the proper occasion.

4. Lucius Piso in the first book of his Annals tells us that King Tullus Hostilius used the same sacrificial ritual as Numa, which he found in Numa's books, in an attempt to draw Jupiter down from the sky, and was struck by lightning because he made certain mistakes in the ceremony; many indeed assure us that by words the destinies and omens of mighty events are changed. During the digging of foundations for a shrine on the Tarpeian Hill there was discovered a human head. For an interpretation envoys were sent to Olenus of Cales, the most distinguished seer of Etruria. Perceiving that the sign portended glory and success, Olenus tried by questioning to divert the blessing to his own people. He first traced with his staff the outline of a temple on the ground iu front of him, and theu asked: 'Is this then, Romans, what you say? "Here will be the temple of Jupiter, All-good and Almighty; here we found the head?"' The Annals most firmly insists that the destiny of Rome would have passed to Etruria, had not the Roman envoys, forewarned by the seer's son, replied: 'Not exactly here, but it was in Rome that we say the head was found.' It is said that the same thing happened again when a clay four-horse chariot, designed for the roof of the same shrine, grew larger in the furnace, and once more in a similar way was the happy augury retained. Let these instances suffice to show that the power of omens is really in our own control, and that their influence is conditional upon the way we receive each. At any rate, in the teaching of the augurs it is a fundamental principle that neither evil omens nor any auspices affect those who at the outset of any undertaking declare that they take no notice of them; no greater instance of the divine mercy could be found than this boon. Again, in the actual laws of the Twelve Tables we find also these words: 'Whoever shall have bewitched the crops,' and in another place: 'whoever shall have cast an evil spell.' Verrius Flaccus cites trustworthy authorities to show that it was the custom, at the very beginning of a siege, for the Roman priests to call forth the divinity under whose protection the besieged town was, and to promise him the same or even more splendid worship among the Roman people. Down to the present day this ritual has remained part of the doctrine of the Pontiffs, and it is certain that the reason why the tutelary deity of Rome has been kept a secret is to prevent any enemy from acting in a similar way. There is indeed nobody who does not fear to be spellbound by imprecations. A similar feeling makes everybody break the shells of eggs or snails immediately after eating them, or else pierce them with the spoon that they have used. And so Theocritus among the Greeks, Catullus and quite recently Virgil among ourselves, have represented love charms in their poems. Many believe that by charms pottery can be crushed, and not a few even serpents; that these themselves can break the spell, this being the only kind of intelligence they possess; and by the charms of the Marsi they are gathered together even when asleep at night. On walls too are written prayers to avert fires. It is not easy to say whether our faith is more violently shaken by the foreign, unpronounceable words, or by the unexpected Latin ones, which our mind forces us to consider absurd, being always on the look-out for something big, something adequate to move a god, or rather to impose its will on his divinity. Homer said that by a magic formula stayed the haemorrhage from his wounded thigh; Theophrastus that there is a formula to cure sciatica; Cato handed down one to set dislocated limbs, Marcus Varro one for gout. The dictator Caesar, after one serious accident to his carriage, is said always, as soon as he was seated, to have been in the habit of repeating three times a formula of prayer for a safe journey, a thing we know that most people do today.

5. I should like to reinforce this part of my argument by adding an appeal to the personal feeling of the individual. Why on the first day of the year do we wish one another cheerfully a happy and prosperous New Year? Why do we also, on days of general purification, choose persons with lucky names to lead the victims? Why do we meet the evil eye by a special attitude of prayer, some invoking the Greek Nemesis, for which purpose there is at Rome an image of the goddess on the Capitol, although she has no Latin name? Why on mentioning the dead do we protest that their memory is not being attacked by us? Why do we believe that in all matters the odd numbers are more powerful, as is implied by the attention paid to critical days in fevers? Why at the harvest of the first-fruits do we say: 'These are old,' and pray for new ones to take their place? Why do we say 'Good health' to those who sneeze? This custom according to report even Tiberius Caesar, admittedly the most gloomy of men, insisted on even in a carriage, and some think it more effective to add to the salutation the name of the sneezer. Moreover, according to an accepted belief absent people can divine by the ringing in their ears that they are the object of talk. Attalus assures us that if on seeing a scorpion one says 'Two,' it is checked and does not strike. The mention of scorpions reminds me that in Africa nobody decides on anything without first saying 'Africa,' whereas among all other peoples a man prays first for the approval of the gods. But a when a table is ready it is a universal custom, we see, to take off one's ring, since it is clear that scrupulous actions, even without words, have their powers. Some people, to calm mental anxiety, carry saliva with the finger to behind the ear. There is even a proverb that bids us turn down our thumbs to show approval. In worshipping we raise our right hand to our lips and turn round our whole body, the Gauls considering it more effective to make the turn to the left. All peoples agree in worshipping lightning by clucking with the tongue. If during a banquet fires have been mentioned we avert the omen by pouring water under the table. It is supposed to be a most unlucky sign for the floor to be swept while a diner is leaving the banquet, or for a table or dumbwaiter to be removed while a guest is drinking. Servius Sulpicius, a noble Roman, has left an essay on why we should not leave the table; for in his day it was not the custom to have more tables than there were guests; for if a course or a table is recalled by a sneeze and nothing of it tasted afterwards, it is considered an evil portent, as is to eat nothing at all. These customs were established by those of old, who believed that gods are present on all occasions and at all times, and therefore left them to us reconciled even in our faults. Moreover, it has been remarked that a sudden silence falls on a banquet only when the number of those present is even, and that it portends danger to the reputation of each of them. Food also that fell from the hand used to be put back at least during courses, and it was forbidden to blow off, for tidiness, any dirt; auguries have been recorded from the words or thoughts of the diner who dropped food, a very dreadful omen being if the Pontiff should do so at a formal dinner. In any case putting it back on the table and burning it before the Lar counts as expiation. Medicines set down by chance on a table before being used are said to lose their efficacy.

To cut the nails on the market days at Rome in silence, beginning with the forefinger, is a custom many people feel binding on them; while to cut the hair on the seventeenth day of the month and on the twenty-ninth prevents its falling out as well as headaches. A country rule observed on most Italian farms forbids women to twirl their spindles while walking along the road, or even to carry them uncovered, on the ground that such action blights the hopes of everything, especially the hope of a good harvest. Marcus Servilius Nonianus, a leading citizen of Rome, who was not so long ago afraid of ophthalmia, used to tie round his neck, before he mentioned the disease himself or any one else spoke to him about it, a sheet of paper fastened with thread, on which were written the two Greek letters rho and alpha; Mucianus, three times consul, following the same observance, used a living fly in a white linen bag. Both avowed that by these remedies they themselves were kept free from ophthalmia. We certainly still have formulas to charm away hail, various diseases, and burns, some actually tested by experience, but I am very shy of quoting them, because of the widely different feelings they arouse. Wherefore everyone must form his own opinion about them as he pleases.

6. Persons possessed of powers of witchcraft and of the evil eye, along with many peculiar characteristics of animals, I have spoken of when dealing with marvels of the nations; it is superfluous to go over the ground again. Of certain men the whole bodies are beneficent, for example the members of those families that frighten serpents. These by a mere touch or by wet suction relieve bitten victims. In this class are the Psylli, the Marsi, and the Ophiogenes, as they are called, in the island of Cyprus. An envoy from this family, by name Evagon, was at Rome thrown by the consuls as a test into a cask of serpents, which to the general amazement licked him all over. A feature of this family, if it still survives, is the foul smell of its members in spring. Their sweat also, not only their saliva, had curative powers. But the natives of Tentyris, an island on the Nile, are such a terror to the crocodiles that these run away at the mere sound of their voice. All these peoples, so strong their natural antipathy, can, as is well known, effect a cure by their very arrival, just as wounds grow worse on the entry of those who have ever been bitten by the tooth of snake or dog. The latter also addle the eggs of a sitting hen, and make cattle miscarry; so much venom remains from the injury once received that the poisoned are turned into poisoners. The remedy is for their hands to be first washed in water, which is then used to sprinkle on the patients. On the other hand, those who have once been stung by a scorpion are never afterwards attacked by hornets, wasps or bees. He may be less surprised at this who knows that moths do not touch a garment that has been worn at a funeral, and that snakes are with difficulty pulled out of their holes except with the left hand. One of the discoveries of Pythagoras will not readily deceive you: that an uneven number of vowels in given names portends lameness, blindness, or similar disability, on the right side, an even number of vowels the same disabilities on the left. It is said that difficult labour ends in delivery at once, if over the house where is the lying-in woman there be thrown a stone or missile that has killed with one stroke each three living creaturesa human being, a boar, and a bear. A successful result is more likely if a light-cavalry spear is used, pulled out from a human body without the ground being touched. The result indeed is the same if the spear is carried indoors. So too, as Orpheus and Archelaus write, arrows drawn out of a body and not allowed to touch the ground act as a love-charm upon those under whom when in bed they have been placed. Moreover, add these authorities, epilepsy is cured by food taken from the flesh of a wild beast killed by the same iron weapon that has killed a human being. Some men have healing powers confined to parts of their body. We have mentioned the thumb of King Pyrrhus and at this there used to be shown a shoulder blade of Pelops, which was stated to be of ivory. Many men even today have scruples about cutting hair from moles on the face.

7. I have however pointed out that the best of all safeguards against serpents is the saliva of fasting human being, but our daily experience may teach us yet other values of its use. We spit on epileptics in a fit, that is, we throw hack infections In a similar way we ward off witchcraft and the bad luck that follows meeting a person lame in the right leg. We also ask forgiveness of the gods for a too presumptuous hope by spitting into our bosom; the same reason again accounts for the custom, in using any remedy, of spitting on the ground three times by way of ritual thus increasing its efficacy, and of marking early incipient boils three times with fasting saliva. It is surprising, but easily tested, that if one is sorry for a blow, whether inflicted by hand or by a missile, and at once spits into the palm of the hand that gave the wound, the resentment of the victim is immediately softened. Corroborative evidence is often seen in draught animals; when the animal has been flogged to lameness, after the remedy of spitting has been tried, it at once resumes its pace. Some persons indeed add force to their blows in a similar way by spitting into the hand before making their effort. Let us therefore believe that lichens too and leprous sores are kept in check by continual application of fasting saliva, as is also ophthalmia by using saliva every morning as eye ointment, carcinomata by kneading earth apple a with saliva, and pains in the neck by applying fasting saliva with the right hand to the right knee and with the left hand to the left knee; let us also believe that any insect that has entered the ear, if spat upon, comes out. It acts as a charm for a man to spit on the urine he has voided; similarly to spit into the right shoe before putting it on, also when passing a place where one has run into some danger. Marcion of Smyrna, who wrote on the virtues of simples, tells us that the sea scolopendra bursts if spat upon, as do also bramble and other toads. Offlius says that serpents too burst if one spits into their open mouths, and Salpe that sensation in any numbed limb is restored by spitting into the bosom, or if the upper eyelids are touched with saliva. If we hold these beliefs, we should also believe that the right course, on the arrival of a stranger, or if a sleeping baby is looked at, is for the nurse to spit three times at her charge. And yet the baby is further under the divine protection of Fascinus, guardian not only of babies but of generals, a deity whose worship, part of the Roman religion, is entrusted to the Vestals; hanging under the chariots of generals at their triumphs he defends them as a physician from jealousy, and the similar physic of the tongue bids them look back, so that at the back Fortune, destroyer of fame, may be won over.

8. The bite of a human being is considered to be a most serious one. It is treated with ear wax, and (let no one be surprised) this, if applied locally at once, is also good for the stings of scorpions and for the bites of serpents, being more efficacious if taken from the ears of the sufferer. Hangnails too are said to be cured in this way; the bite of serpents by a human tooth ground to powder.

9. The hair cut off first from a child's head, if tied round the affected part, is said to relieve attacks of gout, as does the application of the hair of all, generally speaking, who have not arrived at puberty. The hair of adult men also, applied with vinegar, is good for dog bites, with oil or wine for wounds on the head. If we believe it, the hair of a man torn from the cross is good for quartan ague; burnt hair is certainly good for carcinoma. The first tooth of a child to fall out, provided that it does not touch the ground, if set in a

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bracelet and worn constantly on a woman's arm, keeps pain away from her private parts. If the big toe is tied to the one next to it, swellings in the groin are relieved; if the two middle fingers of the right hand are lightly tied together with a linen thread, catarrhs and ophthalmia are kept away. Again, a stone voided by a sufferer from bladder trouble, if attached above the pubes, is said to relieve other similar patients as well as pains in the liver, and also to hasten childbirth. Granius adds that the stone is more effective for the last purpose if it has been cut out by an iron knife. If the man by whom a woman has conceived unties his girdle and puts it round her waist, and then unties it with the ritual formula: 'I bound, and I too will unloose,' then taking his departure, childbirth is made more rapid.

10. The blood let from any part of the patient himself makes, we are told by Orpheus and Archelaus, a very efficacious application for quinsy; efficacious too if applied to the mouth of those who have fainted in an epileptic fit, for they rise up immediately. Some say the big toes should be pricked and the drops of blood applied to the face, or that a virgin should touch it with her right thumb; hence their conclusion that epileptics should eat virgin meat. Aeschines the Athenian used the ash of excrements for quinsy, sore tonsils, sore uvula, and carcinomata.

This medicament he called botryon. Many kinds of illness are cleared up by the first sexual intercourse, or by the first menstruation; if they do not, they become chronic, especially epilepsy. Moreover, it is held that snake bites and scorpion stings are relieved by intercourse, but that the act does harm to the woman. They say that neither ophthalmia nor other eye troubles afflict those who, when they wash their feet, touch the eyes three times with the water they have used.

11. We are assured that the hand of a person carried off by premature death cures by a touch scrofulous sores, diseased parotid glands, and throat affections; some however say that the back of any dead person's left hand will do this if the patient is of the same sex. A piece bitten off from wood struck by lightning by a person with hands thrown behind his back, if it is applied to an aching tooth, is a remedy we are told for the pain. Some prescribe fumigation of the tooth with a human tooth from one of the same sex, and to use as an amulet a dog-tooth taken from an unburied corpse. Earth taken out of a skull acts, it is said, as a depilator for the eyelashes, while any plant that has grown in the skull makes, when chewed, the teeth fall out, and ulcers marked round with a human bone do not spread. Some mix in equal quantities water from three wells, pour a libation from new earthenware, and give the rest to be drunk, at the rise of temperature, by sufferers from tertian ague. These also wrap up in wool and tie round the neck of quartan patients a piece of a nail taken from a cross, or else a cord taken from a crucifixion, and after the patient's neck has been freed they hide it in a hole where the sunlight cannot reach.

12. Here are some lies of the Magi, who say that a whetstone on which iron tools have been often sharpened, if placed without his knowledge under the pillows of a man sinking from the effects of poisoning, actually makes him give evidence about what has been given him, where and when, but not the name of the criminal. It is certainly a fact that the victim of lightning, if turned upon the wounded side, at once begins to speak. Some treat affections of the groin by tying with nine or seven knots a thread taken from a web, at each knot naming some widow, and so attach it to the groin as an amulet. To prevent a wound's being painful they prescribe wearing as an amulet, tied on the person with a thread, the nail or other object that he has trodden on. Warts are removed by those who, after the twentieth day of the, month, lie face upwards on a path, gaze at the moon with hands stretched over their head, and rub the wart with whatever they have grasped. If a corn or callus is cut when a star is falling, they say that it is very quickly cured, and that applying to the forehead the mud obtained by pouring vinegar over a front door's hinges relieves headaches, as does also the rope used by a suicide if tied round the temples. Should a fish bone stick in the throat, they say that it comes out if the feet are plunged into cold water; if however it is another kind of bone, bits of bone from the same pot should be applied to the head; if it is a piece of bread that sticks, pieces from the same loaf must be placed in either ear.

13. Moreover, important remedies have been made by the profit-seeking Greeks even with human off-scouring from the gymnasia; for the scrapings from the bodies soften, warm, disperse, and make flesh, sweat and oil forming an ointment. This is used as a pessary for inflammation and contraction of the uterus. So used it is also an emmenagogue; it soothes inflammations of the anus and condylomata, likewise pains of the sinews, dislocations, and knotty joints. More efficacious for the same purposes are scrapings from the bath, and so these are ingredients of ointments for suppurations. But those that have wax salve in them, and are mixed with mud, are more efficacious only for softening joints, for warming and for dispersing, but for all other purposes they are less powerful. Shameless beyond belief is the treatment prescribed by very famous authorities, who proclaim that male semenis an excellent antidote to scorpion stings, holding on the other hand that a pessary for women made from the faeces of babies voided in the uterus itself is a cure for barrenness; they call it meconium. Moreover, they have scraped the very walls of the gymnasia, and these off-scourings are said to have great warming properties; they disperse superficial abscesses, and are applied as ointment to the sores of old people and children. as well as to excoriations and burns.

14. It would be all the less seemly to pass over the remedies that are in the control of a man's will. To fast from all food and drink, sometimes only from wine or meat, sometimes from baths, when health demands such abstinence, is held to be one of the most sovereign remedies. Among the others are physical exercise, voice exercises, anointing, and massage if carried out with skilled care; for violent massage hardens, gentle softens, too much reduces flesh and a moderate amount makes it. Especially beneficial however are walking, carriage rides of various kinds, horse riding, which is very good for the stomach and hips, a sea voyage for consumption, change of locality for chronic diseases, and self-treatment by sleep, lying down, and occasional emeties. Lying on the back is good for the eyes, on the face for coughs, and on either side for catarrhs. Aristotle and Fabianus tell us that dreaming is most common around spring and autumn, and especially when we lie on the back; when we lie on the face there are no dreams at all. Theophrastus says that quicker digestion results from lying on the right side, more difficult digestion from lying on the back. Sunshine too, best of remedies, we can administer to ourselves, we can the vigorous use of towels and scrapers. To bathe the head with hot water before the hot steam of the bath, and with cold water after it, is understood to be very healthful; so it is to drink cold water before a meal and at intervals during it, and to take a draught of the same before going to sleep, breaking your sleep, if you like, in order to drink. It should be observed that no animal except man likes hot drinks, which is evidence that they are unnatural. Experience plainly shows that it is good before sleeping to rinse the mouth with neat wine as a safeguard against offensive breath, and with cold water an uneven number of times in the morning to keep off toothache; that to bathe the eyes in vinegar and water prevents ophthalmia, and that general health is promoted by an unstudied variety of regimen. Hippocrates teaches that the habit of not taking lunch makes the internal organs age more rapidly; in this aphorism, however, he is thinking of remedies, not encouraging gluttony, for by far the greatest aid to health is moderation in food. L. Lucullus gave charge over himself to a slave to enforce control, and he, an old man who had celebrated a triumph, suffered the very deep disgrace of having his hand kept away from the viands even when feasting in the Capitol, with the added shame of obeying his own slave more readily than himself.

15. Sneezing caused by a feather relieves a cold in the head, and sneezing and hiccough are relieved by touching with the lips, it is said, the nostrils of a mule. For sneezing Varro advises us to scratch the palm of each hand with the other; most people advise us to transfer the ring from the left hand to the longest finger of the right, and to dip the hands into very hot water. Theophrastus says that old people sneeze with greater difficulty than others.

16. Sexual intercourse was disapproved of by Democritus, as being merely the act whereby one human being springs from another. Heaven knows, the less indulgence in this respect the better. Athletes, however, when sluggish regain by it their activity, and the voice, when it has lost its clearness and become husky, is restored. It cures pain in the loins, dullness of vision, unsoundness of mind and melancholia.

17. To sit in the presence of pregnant women, or when medicine is being given to patients, with the fingers interlaced comb-wise, is to be guilty of sorcery, a discovery made, it is said, when Alemena was giving birth to Hercules. The sorcery is worse if the hands are clasped round one knee or both, and also to cross the knees first in one way and then in the other. For this reason our ancestors forbade such postures at councils of war or of officials, on the ground that they were an obstacle to the transaction of all business. They also forbade them, indeed, to those attending sacred rites and prayers; but to uncover the head at the sight of magistrates they ordered, not as a mark of respect, but (our authority is Varro) for the sake of health, for the habit of baring the head gives it greater strength. When something has fallen into the eye, it does good to press down the other; when water gets into the right ear, to jump with the left leg, leaning the head towards the right shoulder; if into the left ear, to jump in the contrary way; if saliva provokes a cough, for another person to blow on the forehead; if the uvula is relaxed, for another to hold up the top of the head a with his teeth; if there is pain in the neck, to rub the back of the knees, and to rub the neck for pain in the back of the knees; to plant the feet on the ground for cramp in feet or legs when in bed; or if the cramp is on the left side to seize with the right hand the big toe of the left foot and vice versa; to rub the extremities with pieces of fleece to step shivers or violent nose-bleeding; with linen or papyrus the tip of the genitals and the middle of the thigh to check incontinence of urine; for weakness of the stomach to press together the feet or dip the hands into very hot water. Moreover, to refrain from talking is healthful for many reasons. Maecenas Melissus, we are told, imposed a three-year silence on himself because of spitting of blood after convulsions. But if any danger threatens those thrown down, climbing, or prostrate, and as a guard against blows, to hold the breath is an excellent protection, a discovery which, I have stated, we owe to an animal. To drive an iron nail into the place first struck by the head of an epileptic in his fall is said to be deliverance from that malady. For severe pain in the kidneys, Loins or bladder, it is supposed to be soothing if the patient voids his urine while lying on his face in the tub of the bath. To tie up wounds with the Hercules knot makes the healing wonderfully more rapid, and even to tie daily the girdle with this knot is said to have a certain usefulness, for Demetrius wrote a treatise in which he states that the number four is one of the prerogatives of Hercules, giving reasons why four cyathi or sextarii at a time should not be drunk. For ophthalmia it is good to rub behind the ears, and for watery eyes the forehead. From the patient himself it is a reliable omen that, as long as the pupils of his eyes reflect an image, a fatal end to an illness is not to be feared.

18. Our authorities attribute to urine also great power, not only natural but supernatural; they divide it into kinds, using even that of eunuchs to counteract the sorcery that prevents fertility. But of the properties it would be proper to speak of I may mention the following:the urine of children not yet arrived at puberty is used to counteract the spittle of the ptyas, an asp so called because it spits venom into men's eyes; for albugo, dimness, scars, argema, and affections of the eyelids; with flour of vetch for burns; and for pus or worms in the ear if boiled down to one half with a headed leek in new earthenware. Its steam too is an emmenagogue. Salpe would foment the eyes with urine a to strengthen them, and would apply it for two hours at a time to sunburn, adding the white of an egg, by preference that of an ostrich. Urine also takes out ink blots. Men's urine relieves gout, as is shown by the testimony of fullers, who for that reason never, they say, suffer from this malady. Old urine is added to the ash of burnt oyster-shells to treat rashes on the bodies of babies, and for all running ulcers. Pitted sores, burns, affections of the anus, chaps, and scorpion stings, are treated by applications of urine. The most celebrated midwives have declared that no other lotion is better treatment for irritation of the skin, and with soda added for sores on the head, dandruff, and spreading ulcers, especially on the genitals. Each person's own urine, if it be proper for me to say so, does him the most good, if a dog-bite is immediately bathed in it, if it is applied on a sponge or wool to the quills of an urchin that are sticking in the flesh, or if ash kneaded with it is used to treat the bite of a mad dog, or a serpent's bite. Moreover, for scolopendra bite a wonderful remedy is said to be for the wounded person to touch the top of his head with a drop of his own urine, when his wound is at once healed.

19. Urine gives us symptoms of general health: if in the morning it is clear, becoming tawny later, the former means that coction is still going on, the latter that it is complete. A bad symptom is red urine, a bad one also when it bubbles, and the worst of all when it is very dark. Thick urine, in which what sinks to the bottom is white, means that there is pain coming on about the joints or in the region of the bowels; if it is green, that the bowels are diseased. Pale urine means diseased bile, red urine diseased blood. Bad urine also is that in which is to be seen as it were bran, and cloudiness. Watery, pale, urine also is unhealthy, but thick, foul-smelling urine indicates death, as does thin, watery urine from children. The Magi say that when making urine one must not expose one's person to the face of the sun or moon, or let drops fall on anyone's shadow. Hesiod advises us to urinate facing an object that screens, lest our nakedness should offend some deity. Osthanes assured people that protection against all sorcerers' potions is secured by letting one's own morning urine drip upon the foot.

20. Some reported products of women's bodies should be added to the class of marvels, to say nothing from men; of tearing to pieces for sinful practices the limbs of stillborn babies, the undoing of spells by the menstrual fluid, and the other accounts given not only by midwives but actually by harlots. For example: that the smell of burnt woman's hair keeps away serpents, and the fumes of it make women breathe naturally who are choking with hysteria; this same ash indeed, from hair burnt in a jar, or used with litharge, cures roughness and itch of the eyes, as well as warts and sores on babies; that with honey it cures also wounds on the head and the cavities made by any kind of ulcer, with honey and frankincense, superficial abscesses and gout; that with lard it cures erysipelas and checks haemorrhage, and that when applied it cures also irritating rashes on the body.

21. As to the use of woman's milk, it is agreed that it is the sweetest and most delicate of all, very useful in long fevers and coeliac disease, especially the milk of a woman who has already weaned her baby. For nausea of the stomach, in fevers, and for gnawing pains, it is found most efficacious, also with frankincense for gatherings on the breasts. It is very beneficial

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to an eye that is bloodshot from a blow, in pain, or suffering from a flux, if it is milked straight into it, more beneficial still if honey is added and juice of narcissus a or powdered incense. For all purposes, moreover, a woman's milk is more efficacious if she has given birth to a boy, and much the most efficacious is hers, who has borne twin boys and herself abstains from wine and the more acrid foods. Mixed moreover with liquid white of eggs, and applied to the forehead on wool soaked in it, it checks fluxes of the eyes. But if a toad has squirted its fluid into the eye it is a splendid remedy; for the bite also of the toad it is drunk and poured in drops into the wound. It is asserted that one who has been rubbed with the milk of mother and daughter together never needs to fear eye trouble for the rest of his life. Affections of the ears also are successfully treated by the milk mixed with a little oil, or, if there is any pain from a blow, warmed with goose grease. If there is an offensive smell from the ears, as usually happens in illnesses of long standing, wool is put into them soaked in milk in which honey has been dissolved. When jaundice has left traces remaining in the eyes, the milk together with elaterium is dropped into them. A draught of woman's milk is especially efficacious against the poison of the sea-hare, of the buprestis, or, as Aristotle tells us, of dorycnium, and for the madness caused by drinking henbane. Combined with hemlock it is also prescribed as a liniment for gout; others make it up with the suint of wool and goose grease, in the form that is also used as an application for pains of the uterus. A draught also acts astringently upon the bowels, as Rabirius writes, and is an emmenagogue. The milk of a woman however who has borne a girl is excellent, but only for curing spots on the face. Lung affections also are cured by woman's milk, and if Attic honey is mixed with it and the urine of a child before puberty, a single spoonful of each, I find that worms a too are driven from the ears. The mother of a boy gives a milk a taste of which, they say, prevents dogs from going mad.

22. The saliva too of a fasting woman is judged to be powerful medicine for bloodshot eyes and fluxes, if the inflamed corners are occasionally moistened with it, the efficacy being greater if she has fasted from food and wine the day before. I find that a woman's breast-band tied round the head relieves headache.

23. Over and above all this there is no limit to woman's power. First of all, they say that hailstorms and whirlwinds are driven away if menstrual fluid is exposed to the very flashes of lightning; that stormy weather too is thus kept away, and that at sea exposure, even without menstruation, prevents storms. Wild indeed are the stories told of the mysterious and awful power of the menstruous discharge itself, the manifold magic of which I have spoken of in the proper place. Of these tales I may without shame mention the following: if this female power should issue when the moon or sun is in eclipse, it will cause irremediable harm; no less harm if there is no moon; at such seasons sexual intercourse brings disease and death upon the man; purple too is tarnished then by the woman's touch. So much greater then is the power of a menstruous woman. But at any other time of menstruation, if women go round the cornfield naked, caterpillars, worms, beetles and other vermin fall to the ground. Metrodorus of Scepsos states that the discovery was made in Cappadocia owing to the plague there of Spanish fly, so that women walk, he says, through the middle of the fields with their clothes pulled up above the buttocks. In other places the custom is kept up for them to walk barefoot, with hair dishevelled and with girdle loose. Care must he taken that they do not do so at sunrise, for the crop dries up, they say, the young vines are irremedially harmed by the touch, and rue and ivy, plants of the highest medicinal power, die at once. I have said much about this virulent discharge, but besides it is certain that when their hives are touched by women in this state bees fly away, at their touch linen they are boiling turns black, the edge of razors is blunted, brass contracts copper rust and a foul smell, especially if the moon is waning at the time, mares in foal if touched miscarry, nay the mere sight at however great a distance is enough, if the menstruation is the first after maidenhood, or that of a virgin who on account of age is menstruating naturally for the first time. But the bitumen also that is found in Judea can be mastered only by the power of this fluid, as I have already stated, a thread from an fluid. infected dress is sufficient. Not even fire, the all-conquering, overcomes it; even when reduced to ash, if sprinkled on clothes in the wash, it changes purples and robs colours of their brightness. Nor are women themselves immune to the effect of this plague of their sex; a miscarriage is caused by a smear, or even if a woman with child steps over it. Lais and Elephantis do not agree in their statements about abortives, the burning root of cabbage, myrtle, or tamarisk extinguished by the menstrual blood, about asses' not conceiving for as many years as they have eaten grains of barley contaminated with it, or in their other portentous or contradictory pronouncements, one saying that fertility, the other that barrenness is caused by the same measures. It is better not to believe them. Bithus of Dyrrhachium says that a mirror which has been tarnished by the glance of a menstruous woman recovers its brightness if it is turned round for her to look at the back, and that all this sinister power is counteracted if she carries on her person the fish called red mullet. Many however say that even this great plague is remedial; that it makes a liniment for gout, and that by her touch a woman in this state relieves scrofula, parotid tumours, superficial abscesses, erysipelas, boils and eye-fluxes. Lais and Salpe hold that the bite of a mad dog, tertians, and quartans are cured by the flux on wool from a black ram enclosed in a silver bracelet; Diotimus of Thebes says that even a bit, nay a mere thread, of a garment contaminated in this way and enclosed in the bracelet, is sufficient. The midwife Sotira has said that it is a very efficacious remedy for tertians and quartans to smear with the flux the soles of the patient's feet, much more so if the operation is performed by the woman herself without the patient's knowledge, adding that this remedy also revives an epileptic who has fainted. Icatidas, the physician, assures us that quartans are ended by sexual intercourse, provided that the woman is beginning to menstruate. All are agreed that, if water or drink is dreaded after a dog-bite, if only a contaminated cloth be placed beneath the cup, that fear disappears at once, since of course that sympathy, as Greeks call it, has an all-powerful effect, for I have said that dogs begin to go mad on tasting that blood. It is a fact that, added to soot and wax, the ash of the flux when burnt heals the sores of all draught-animals, but menstrual stains on a dress can be taken out only by the urine of the same woman, that the ash, mixed with nothing but rose oil, if applied to the forehead, relieves headache, especially that of women, and that the power of the flux is most virulent when virginity has been lost solely through lapse of time. This also is agreed, and there is nothing I would more willingly believe, that if doorposts are merely touched by the menstrual discharge, the tricks are rendered vain of the Magi, a lying crowd, as is easily ascertained. I will give the most moderate of their promises: take the parings of a patient's finger nails and toe nails, mix with wax, say that a cure is sought for tertian, quartan or quotidian fever, and fasten them before sunrise on another man's door as a cure for these diseases. What a fraud if they lie! What wickedness if they pass the disease on! Less guilty are those of them who tell us to cut all the nails, throw the parings near ant holes, catch the first ant that begins to drag a paring away, tie it round the neck, and in this way the disease is cured.

24. This is all the information it would be right for me to repeat, most of which also needs an apology from me. As the rest of it is detestable and unspeakable, let me hasten to leave the subject of remedies from man. Taking the other animals I shall try to find what is striking either in them or in their effects.

The blood of an elephant, particularly that of the male, checks all the fluxes that are called ivory shavings with Attic honey are said to remove dark spots on the face, and ivory dust whitlows. By the touch of the trunk headache is relieved, more successfully if the animal also sneezes. The right side of the trunk used as an amulet with the red earth of Lemnos is aphrodisiac. The blood too is good for consumption, and the liver for epilepsy.

25. Lion fat with rose oil preserves fairness of complexion and keeps the face free from spots; it also cures frostbite and swollen joints. The lying Magi promise those rubbed with this fat a readier popularity with peoples and with kings, especially when the fat is that between the brows, where no fat can be. Similar promises are made about the possession of a tooth, especially one from the right side, and of the tuft beneath the muzzle. The gall, used with the addition of water as a salve, improves vision, and if lion fat is added a slight taste cures epilepsy, provided that those who have taken it at once aid its digestion by running. The heart taken as a food cures quartans; the fat with rose oil cures quotidians. Wild beasts run away from those smeared with it, and it is supposed to protect even from treachery.

26. They say that a camel's brain, dried and taken in vinegar, cures epilepsy, as does the gall taken with honey, this being also a remedy for quinsy; that the tail when dried is laxative, and that the ash of the burnt dung makes the hair curl. This ash applied with oil is also good for dysentery, as is a three-finger pinch taken in drink, and also for epilepsy. They say that the urine is very useful to the fullers, and for running ulcersit is a fact that foreigners keep it for five years, and use heminadoses as a purgativeand that the tail hairs plaited into an amulet for the left arm cure quartan fevers.

27. The Magi have held in the highest admiration the hyena of all animals, seeing that they have attributed even to an animal magical skill and power, by which it takes away the senses and entices men to itself. I have spoken of its yearly change of sex and its other weird characteristics; now I am going to speak of all that is reported about its medicinal properties. It is said to be a terror to panthers in particular, so that a panther does not even attempt to resist an hyena; that a person carrying anything made of hyena leather is not attacked, and, marvellous to relate, if the skins of each are hung up opposite to one another the hairs of the panther fall off. When an hyena is running away from the hunter, any swerve it makes to the fight has for its object stepping in the man's tracks as he now goes in front. If it succeeds, the man is deranged and even falls off his horse. Should however the hyena swerve to the left, it is a sign of failing strength and a speedy capture; this will be easier however if the hunter tie his girdle with seven knots, and seven in the whip with which he controls his horse. The Magi go on to recommend, so cunning are the evasions of the fraudulent charlatans, that the hyena should be captured when the moon is passing through the constellation of the Twins, without, if possible, the loss of a single hair. They add that the skin of its head if tied on relieves headache; that the gall if applied to the forehead cures ophthalmia, preventing it altogether if an ointment is made of gall boiled down with three cyathi of Attic honey and one ounce of saffron, and that the same prescription disperses film and cataract. They say that clear vision is secured better if the medicament is kept till old, but it must be in a box of copper; the same is a cure for argema, scabbiness, excrescences and scars on the eyes, but opaqueness needs an ointment made with gravy from fresh roasted liver added to skimmed honey. They add that hyena's teeth relieve toothache by the touch of the corresponding tooth, or by using it as an amulet, and the shoulders relieve pains of the shoulders and arm muscles; that the animal's teeth (but they must be from the left side of the muzzle), wrapped in sheep skin or goat skin, are good for severe pains in the stomach, the lungs taken as food for coeliac disease, and their ash, applied with oil, for pain in the belly; that sinews are soothed by its spinal marrow with its gall and old oil, quartan fevers relieved by three tastes of the liver before the attacks, gout by the ash of the spine, with the tongue and right foot of a seal added to bull's gall, all being boiled together and applied on hyena skin. In the same disease the gall of the hyena (so they say) with the stone of Assos beneficial; adding that those afflicted with tremors, spasms, jumpiness, and palpitation, should eat a piece of the heart boiled, but the rest must be reduced to ash and hyena's brain added to make an ointment; that an application of this mixture or of the gall by itself removes hairs, those not wanted to grow again must first be pulled out; by this method unwanted eyelashes are removed; that for pains in the loins flesh of an hyena's loins should be eaten and used us an ointment with oil; that barrenness in women is cured by an eye taken in food with liquorice and dill, conception being guaranteed within three days. For night tenors and fear of ghosts one of the large teeth tied on with thread as an amulet is said to be a help. They recommend fumigation with such a tooth for delirium, and to tie one round in front of the patient's chest, adding fat from the kidneys, or a piece of liver, or of skin. A woman is guaranteed never to miscarry if, tied round her neck in gazelle leather, she wears white flesh from a hyena's breast, seven hyena's hairs, and the genital organ of a stag. A hyena's genitals taken in honey stimulate desire for their own sex, even when men hate intercourse with women; nay the peace of the whole household is assured by keeping in the home these genitals and a vertebra with the hide still adhering to them. This vertebra or joint they call the Atlas joint; it is the first. They consider it too to be one of the remedies for epilepsy. They add that burning hyena fat keeps serpents away; that the jawbone, pounded in anise and taken in food, relieves fits of shivering, and that fumigation with it is an emmenagogue. They lie so grossly as to declare that, if an upper tooth from the right side of the muzzle is tied to the arm of a man, his javelin will never miss its mark. They say too that the palate of a hyena, dried, and warmed with Egyptian alum, cures foul breath and ulcers in the month, if the mixture is renewed three times; that those however who carry a hyena's tongue in their shoe under the foot never have dogs bark at them; that if a part of the left side of the brain is smeared on patients' nostrils dangerous diseases are relieved, whether of man or quadruped; that the hide of the forehead averts the evil eye, and the flesh of the neck, whether eaten, or dried and taken in drink, is good for lumbago; that sinews from the back and shoulders should be used for fumigating painful sinews; that hairs from the muzzle, applied to a woman's lips, act as a love-charm; that the liver given in drink cures colic and stone in the bladder. But they add that the heart, taken either in food or in drink, gives relief from all pains of the body, the spleen from those of the spleen, the caul with oil from inflamed ulcers, and the marrow from pains of the spine and of tired sinews; that the kidney sinews taken with frankincense in wine restore fertility lost through sorcery; that the uterus with the rind of a sweet pomegranate given in drink is good for the uterus of women; that the fat from the loins, used in fumigation, gives even immediate delivery to women in difficult labour; that the spinal marrow used as an amulet is a help against hallucinations, and fumigation with the male organ against spasms, as well as ophthalmia; a that for ruptures and inflammations a help is the touch of an hyena's feet, which are kept for the purpose, of the left foot for affections on the right side, and of the right foot for affections on the left side; that the left foot, drawn across a woman in labour, causes death, but the right foot laid one her easy delivery. The Magi say that the membrane enclosing the gall, taken in wine or in the food, is of use in

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cardiac affections; that the bladder taken in wine relieves incontinence of urine, and the urine found in the bladder, drunk with oil, sesame, and honey added, relieves chronic acidity of the stomach; that the first or eighth rib, used in fumigation, is curative for ruptures, but the spinal bones are so for women in labour; the blood taken with pearl barley is good for colic, and if the doorposts are everywhere touched with this blood, the tricks of the Magi are made ineffective, for they can neither call down the gods nor speak with them, whether they try lamps, bowl, water, globe, or any other means; that to eat the flesh neutralizes the bites of a mad dog, the liver being still more efficacious. They add that the flesh or bones of a man found in the stomach of an hyena when killed relieve gout by fumigation; that if fingernails are found in them it is a sign of death for one of the hunters; that excrement or bones, voided when the beast is being killed, can prevail against the insidious attacks of sorcerers; that dung found in the intestines is, when dried, excellent for dysentery, and, taken in drink and applied with goose grease, gives relief anywhere in the body to the victims of noxious drugs; that for dog-bites, however, rubbing with the fat as ointment, and lying on the skin, are helpful; that on the other hand those rubbed with the ash of the left pastern bone, boiled down with weasel's blood, incur universal hatred, the same effect being produced by a decoction of the eye. Over and above all these things they assert that the extreme end of the intestine prevails against the injustices leaders and potentates, bringing success to petitions and a happy issue to trials and lawsuits if it is merely kept on the person; that the anus, worn as an amulet on the left arm, is so powerful a love-charm that, if a man but espies a woman, she at once follows him; that the hairs also of this part, reduced to ashes, mixed with oil, and used as ointment on men guilty of shocking effeminacy, make them assume, not only a modest character, but one of the strictest morality.

28. Almost as legendary is the crocodile, in its nature a alsoI mean the famous one, which is amphibious; for there are two kinds of crocodiles. His teeth from the right jaw, worn as an amulet on the right arm, are (if we believe it) aphrodisiac, while the dog teeth, stuffed with frankincense (for they are hollow), drive away the intermittent fevers if the sick man can be kept for five days from seeing the person who fastened them on. It is said that pebbles taken from his belly have a similar power to check feverish shivers as they come on. For the same reason the Egyptians rub their sick with its fat. The other kind of crocodile is similar to this, though much smaller in size, living only on land and eating very sweet-scented flowers. Its intestines therefore are much in demand, being hued with fragrant stuff called crocodilea, which with leek juice makes a very useful salve for affections of the eyes, and to treat cataract or films. Applied also with cyprus oil crocodile removes blotches appearing on the face, with water indeed all those diseases the nature of which is to spread over the face, and it also clears the complexion. It removes freckles, pimples, and all spots; two-oboli doses are taken in oxymel for epilepsy, and a pessary made of it acts as an emmenagogue. The best kind is very shiny, friable, and extremely light, fermenting when rubbed between the fingers. It is washed in the same way as white lead. They adulterate it with starch or Cimoliau chalk, but mostly with the dung of starlings, which they catch and feed on nothing but rice. We are assured that there is no more useful remedy for cataract than to anoint the eyes with crocodile's gall and honey. They say that fumigation with the intestines and the rest of its body is of benefit to women with uterine trouble, as it is to wrap them up in a fleece impregnated with its steam. Ashes from burning the skin of either kind of crocodile, applied in vinegar to the parts in need of surgery, or even the fumes, cause no pain to be felt from the lancet. The blood of either kind, if the eyes are anointed with it, improves the vision and removes eye scars. The body itself, boiled without the head and feet, is eaten for sciatica and cures chronic cough, especially that of children, as well as lumbago. Crocodiles also have a fat, a touch of which makes hair fall out. Used as embrocation this protects from crocodiles, and is poured by drops into their bites. The heart, tied on in the wool of a black sheep, the firstborn of its mother, the wool having no other colour intermixed, is said to drive away quartan fevers.

29. To these animals I will add others very like them and equally foreign, taking first the chamaeleon, thought by Democritus worthy of a volume to itself, each part of the body receiving separate attention. It afforded me great amusement to read an exposure of Greek lies and fraud. The chamaeleon is also as big as the crocodile just mentioned, differing only in the greater curve of the spine and in the size of its tail. People think it the most timid of animals, and that it is for this reason it continually changes its colour. Over the hawk family it has very great power, for as a hawk flies overhead, it is brought down to the chamaeleon, they say, and made an unresisting prey for other animals to tear. Democritus relates that its head and throat, if burnt on logs of oak, cause storms of rain and thunder, as does the liver if burnt on tiles. The rest of what he says is of the nature of sorcery, and although I think that it is untrue. I shall omit all, except where something must be refuted by being laughed at; examples are as follow. The right eye, plucked from the living animal and added to goat's milk, removes white ulcers on the eyes; the tongue, worn as an amulet, the perils of childbirth. The same eye, if in the house, is favourable to childbirth; if brought in, very dangerous. The tongue, taken from the living animal, controls the results of cases in the courts; the heart, tied on with black wool of the first shearing, overcomes quartan fevers. The right front foot, tied as an amulet to the left arm by hyena skin, is powerful protection against robbery and tenors of the night, and the right teat against fears and panic. The left foot however is roasted in a furnace with the plant that also is called chamaeleon, an unguent is added, and the lozenges thus made are stored away in a wooden vessel and, if we believe it, make the owner invisible to others. The right shoulder has power to overcome adversaries and public enemies, especially if a person throws away sinews of the same animal and treads on them. But as to the left shoulder, I am ashamed to repeat the grotesque magic that Democritus assigns to it; how any dreams you like be may sent to any person you like; how these dreams are dispelled by the right foot, just as the torpor caused by the right foot is dispelled by the left flank. In this way headache is cured by sprinkling on the head wine in which either side of a chamaeleon has been soaked. If sow's milk is mixed with the ash of the left thigh or foot, gout is caused by rubbing the feet with the mixture. It is practically a current belief that anointing the eyes for three days with the gall is a cure for opaqueness of the eye and cataract, that serpents run away if the gall is dropped into fire, that weasels run together when it is thrown into water, while hairs are removed from the body when it is rubbed therewith. Democritus relates that the same result comes from applying the liver with the lung of the bramble toad; that moreover the liver makes of no effect love charms and philtres, curing melancholy also if the juice of the herb helenium is drunk in a chamaeleon's skin; that the intestines and their content (although the animal lives without food) with the urine of apes, if smeared on the door of an enemy, brings on him the hatred of all men; that by its tail rivers and rushing waters are stayed and serpents put to sleep; that the tail also, if treated with cedar and myrrh and tied on to a twin palm-branch, divides the water struck with it, so that all within becomes plain. Would that Democritus had been touched with such a branch, seeing that he assures us that by it wild talk is restrained! It is clear that a man, in other respects of sound judgement and of great service to humanity, fell very low through his over-keenness to help mankind.

30. A similar animal is the scincosand indeed it has been styled the land crocodilebut it is paler, and with a thinner skin. The chief difference, however, between it and the crocodile is in the arrangement of the scales, which are turned from the tail towards the head. The Indian is the biggest scincos, next coming the Arabian. They import them salted. Its muzzle and feet, taken in white wine, are aphrodisiac, especially with the addition of satyrion and rocket seed, a single drachma of all three and two drachmae of pepper being compounded. One-drachma lozenges of the compound should be taken in drink. Two oboli of the flesh of the flanks by itself, taken in drink with myrrh and pepper in similar proportions, are believed to be more efficacious for the same purpose. It is also good for the poison of arrows, as Apelles informs us, if taken before and after the wound. It is also an ingredient of the more celebrated antidotes. Sextius says that more than a drachma by weight, taken in a hemina of wine, is a fatal dose, and that moreover the broth of a scincos taken with honey is antaphrodisiac.

31. There is a kind of relationship between the crocodile and the hippopotamus, for they both live in the same river and both are amphibious. The hippopotamus, as I have related, was the discoverer of bleeding, and is most numerous above the prefecture of Sais. His hide, reduced to ash and applied with water, cures superficial abscesses; the fat and likewise the dung chilly agues by fumigation, and the teeth on the left side, if the gums are scraped with them, aching teeth. The hide from the left side of his forehead, worn as an amulet on the groin, is an antaphrodisiac; the same reduced to ash restores hair lost through mange. A drachma of a testicle is taken in water for snake bite. The blood is used by painters.

32. The lynx too is a foreign animal, and has keener sight than any other quadruped. On the island of Carpathus all their nails, with the hide, make, it is said, a very efficacious medicine when reduced to ash by burning. They say that these ashes taken in drink by men check shameful conduct, and sprinkled on women lustful desire; that they also cure irritation of the skin and that the urine cures strangury. And so, as is said, the animal at once covers it with earth by scratching with his paws. This urine is also prescribed for pain in the throat.

33. Hitherto I have dealt with things foreign, but will now turn to the Roman world speaking first of remedies common to all animals and excellent in quality, such as milk and its uses. Mothers milk is for everybody the most beneficial. [It is very bad for women to conceive while nursing; their nurselings are called colostrati, the milk being thick like cheese. But colostra is the first milk given after delivery, and is thick and spongy.] But any woman's milk is more nourishing than any of hem kind the next being that of the goat; this perhaps is the origin of the story that Jupiter was nursed in this way. The sweetest milk after woman's is that of the camel, the most efficacious that of the ass. A big species or a big individual yields its milk more readily. Goat's milk is the most suited to the stomach, as the animal browses rather than grazes. Cow's milk is more medicinal, sheep's sweeter and more nourishing, although less useful for the stomach because of its greater richness. All spring milk, however, is more watery than that of summer, as is that from new pastures. The highest grade, however, is that of which a drop stays on the nail without falling off. Milk is less harmful when boiled, especially with sea pebbles. Cow's milk is the most relaxing, and any milk causes less flatulence when boiled. Milk is used for all internal ulcers, especially those of the kidneys, bladder, intestines, throat, and lungs, externally for irritation of the skin, and for outbursts of phlegm, but it must be drunk after fasting. And I have mentioned in my account of herbs, how in Arcadia cow's milk is drunk by consumptives, and by those in a decline or poor state of health. Cases too are quoted of patients who by drinking ass's milk have been freed from gout in feet or hands. To the various kinds of milk physicians have added another, named schiston, that is, divided. It is made in this way: milk, by preference goats milk, is boiled in new earthenware and stirred with fresh branches of a fig-tree, after adding as many cyathi of honey wine as there are heminae of milk. When it boils, to prevent its boiling over a silver cyathus of cold water is lowered into it so that none is spilled. Then taken off the fire it divides as it cools, and the whey separates from the milk. Some also boil down to one-third the whey itself, which is now very vinous indeed, and cool it in the open air. But the most efficacious way to drink it is a hemina at a time at intervals, five heminae in all on fixed days; it is better to take a drive afterwards. It is given for epilepsy, melancholia, paralysis, leprous sores, leprosy, and diseases of the joints. Milk is also injected for smarting caused by purges, or, for the swatting of dysentery, milk boiled down with sea pebbles or with barley gruel. For smarting intestines also cow's milk or sheep's is the more effective. Fresh milk too is injected for dysentery, and raw milk for colitis, uterus trouble, snake bite, swallowing pine-caterpillars, buprestis, the poison of Spanish fly or salamander, and cow's milk is specific when there has been taken in drink Colchicum, hemlock, doryenium, or sea hare, as ass's milk is for gypsum, white lead, sulphur, quicksilver, and constipation in fever. It also makes a very useful gargle for ulcerated throats, is drank by convalescents from weakening illness, said to be 'in a decline,' and also for fever which is without headache. To give to children before food a hemina of ass's milk, or failing that of goat's milk, and if the rectum smarted at stool, the ancients held to be one of their secrets. Better for orthopnoea than other remedies is whey of cow's milk with the addition of cress. The eyes also are bathed for ophthalmia with a hemina of milk to which have been added four drachmae of pounded sesame. Splenic diseases are cured by drinking goat's milk for three days without any other food, but the goats must fast for two days and then browse on ivy the third day. Drinking milk is generally bad for headache, complaints of the liver, spleen and sinews, for fevers, for giddiness except as a purge, and for a heavy cold, cough, and ophthalmia. Sheep's milk is very beneficial for tenesmus, dysentery, and consumption; there have been some who said that this milk is also the most wholesome for women.

34. The kinds of cheese I discussed when speaking of udders and the separate parts of animals. Sextius gives to cow's-milk cheese the same properties as he gives to that from mare's milk, which is called hippace. Beneficial to the stomach are those not salted, that is to say the fresh. Old cheeses bind the bowels and reduce flesh, being rather bad for the stomach; on the whole salty foods reduce flesh, soft foods make it. Fresh cheese with honey heals bruises, a soft cheese binds the bowels, and relieves gripes if lozenges of it are boiled in a dry wine and then roasted in a pan with honey. Coeliac affections are cured by the cheese that they call saprum, taken in drink after being pounded in wine with salt and dried sorb apples; carbuncles of the genitals by an application of pounded goat's-milk cheese. Sour cheese also with oxymel is applied in the bath alternately with oil to remove spots.

35. From milk is also made butter, among barbarian tribes accounted the choicest food, one that distinguishes the rich from the lower orders. Mostly cow's milk is used (hence the name), but the richest comes from sheep'sit is also made from goat'sbut in winter the milk is warmed, while in summer the butter is extracted merely by shaking it rapidly in a tall vessel. This has a small hole to admit the air, made just under the mouth, which is otherwise completely stopped. There is added a little water to make the milk turn sour. The part that curdles most, floating on the top, is skimmed off, and with salt added is called oxygala; the rest they boil down in pots. What comes to the surface is butter, a fatty substance. The stronger the taste, the more highly is butter esteemed. When

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matured it is used as an ingredient for several mixtures. It is by nature astringent, emollient, flesh-forming, and cleansing.

36. Oxygala is made in yet another way, by adding sour milk to the fresh that it is wished to turn sour. It is very good for the stomach; of its properties I shall speak in the appropriate places.

37. Of remedies common to animals the next in repute is fat, especially pig's fat, which to the men of old was not a little sacred. At any rate brides even today touch ritually the doorposts with it on entering their homes. Lard is matured in two ways, with salt or by itself; it is so much the more beneficial when matured. The name axungia (axlegrease) is the one adopted by the Greeks also in their writings. Nor is the cause of its properties a mystery, for the pig feeds on the roots of plants, so that there are very many uses even for its dung. Therefore I shall not speak of other grease than that of the pig. By far the more beneficial is that from a sow that has not littered, [but much snore excellent is that of boars]. Axle-grease then is used for softening, warming, dispersing, and cleansing. Certain medical men recommend for gout a mixture of it with goose grease, bull suet and suint; if however the pain should persist, they add wax, myrtle berries, resin, and pitch. Unsalted axle-grease is good for bums or frostbite; for chilblains add equal measures of barley-ash and gall nuts. It is also beneficial for chafed limbs, and relieves weariness and fatigue from a journey. Fresh axle-grease, three ounces in three cyathi of wine with honey added, is boiled down for chronic cough. Old grease taken in pills cures even consumption, but it must have matured without salt, for salt grease is not recommended at all except where cleansing is required and where there is no ulceration. Some boil down three ounces of axle-grease and of honey wine in three cyathi of wine to treat consumption, recommending that on every fourth day liquid pitch should be taken in egg. Poultices of it are applied to the sides, chest, and shoulders of consumptive patients, and so great is its power that even when fastened to the knees as an amulet the taste comes back to the mouth and they seem to be spitting it out. Fat from a sow that has not littered is used with very great advantage by women as a cosmetic, but for itch any kind is good, mixed with a third part of beef suet and pitch, all being warmed together. Unsalted axle-grease used as a pessary nourishes the foetus when there is the threat of a miscarriage. Mixed with white lead or litharge lard gives to scars the colour of the surrounding skin, and with sulphur cleans scabrous nails. It cures too the falling-out of hair, and with a quarter of a gall nut sores on the head of women; as a fumigant it is good for eyelashes. It is also given to consumptives, in doses of one ounce with a hemina of old wine boiled down until of the whole three ounces remain; some add also a little honey. With lime it is applied to superficial abscesses, also to boils and to indurations of the breasts. It cures ruptures, sprains, cramps, and dislocations; with white hellebore corns, chaps, and callosities; and parotid swellings with pounded earthenware that has contained salted food, the same being also good for scrofulous sores. Rubbing in the bath with this fat removes irritation and pimples, and administered in yet another way it is good for gout: mixed with old oil, crushed sarcophagus stone, and cinquefoil pounded in wine, or with lime, or with ash. A special plaster too is made of 75 denarii by weight of lard mixed with 100 of litharge, very useful for inflamed ulcers. They also think it useful to treat such sores with boar's grease, and to apply it with resin to those that spread. The men of old used lard in particular for greasing the axles of their vehicles, that the wheels might revolve more easily, and in this way it received its name. So also with that rust of the wheels it made a useful medicament for affections of the anus and of the male genitals. The old physicians valued most the fat taken from the kidneys: removing the veins they rubbed it briskly with rain water, boiled it down several times in new earthenware, and then finally stored it away. It is agreed that when salted it has increased power of softening, warming, and dispersing, and that it is more useful when washed with wine. Masurius tells us that the men of old gave the palm to wolf's fat; that, he said, was why new brides were wont to smear with it the door-posts to keep out all evil drugs.

38. Corresponding to fat in other animals is suet in ruminants; used in other ways it is of no less potency. All suet is prepared by taking out the veins, washing in seawater or salt water, and then pounding in a mortar with frequent sprinklings of seawater. Afterwards it is boiled until all smell disappears, and then by continual exposure to the sun it is bleached to a shining white. All suet from the kidneys is highly valued. But if stale suet is being put to use, it is recommended first to melt it, then wash it several times in cold water, and then to melt it after pouring on it wine with the most fragrant bouquet. They boil it in the same way again and again, until all the rankness disappears. Many recommend that in this way should be prepared the fat in particular of bulls, lions, panthers, and camels. Their use will be given in the appropriate places.

39. The various marrows too are all in use. All marrow is emollient, filling, drying, and warming. The most highly valued is that of deer, next of calves, and then of goats, male and female. Marrow is prepared before autumn; it should be fresh, washed, dried in the shade, then passed melted through a sieve, strained through a linen cloth, and then stored away in an earthenware vessel in a cool place.

40. But of all the parts common to animals gall by far the most efficacious. Its nature is warming, pungent, dissolvent, extractive, and dispersive. That of the smaller animals is understood to be more delicate, and so is thought to be more useful for eye medicaments. Bull's gall is particularly potent, staining even bronze and basins with a golden colour. All gall is prepared when fresh by tying with stout thread the mouth of the gall bladder, steeping it for half an hour in boiling water, then drying it out of the sun, and storing away in honey. That of horses alone is condemned as a poison. Therefore the sacrificial flamen is not allowed to touch a horse, although at the public sacrifices at Rome a horse is even offered as a victim.

41. Moreover the blood of horses has a corrosive power; the blood of mares also, except that of virgin animals. It cleans out ulcers and eats away their lips. Fresh bull's blood indeed is reckoned one of the poisons, except at Aegira. For there the priestess of Earth, when about to prophesy, drinks bull's blood before she goes down into the eaves. So strong is that famous sympathy I speak of that it sometimes becomes active under the influence of religions awe or of a place. Drusus, tribune of the people, is reported to have drunk goat's blood because he wished, by his pallor, to accuse his enemy Q. Caepio of having poisoned him, and so to arouse hatred against him. So great is the power of he-goats' blood that iron tools cannot in any other way be hardened to a finer edge, and roughness is smoothed more thoroughly by it than by a file. Accordingly blood cannot be included among the remedies common to animals, and so each kind of blood will be discussed according to its effects.

42. For I shall arrange remedies according to each malady, serpents' bites requiring very full treatment. Nobody is unaware that deer are their deadly enemies, in that they drag any they may find from their holes and eat them. Not only, however, when whole and alive are they the enemy of serpents; the parts of their body are so also. The fumes from their horns when burnt, as I have said, keep serpents away; but if the topmost bones of a stag's neck have been burnt, serpents are said to assemble. The skins of the same animal make a bed in which one may sleep without fear of snakes, and the rennet taken in vinegar prevents being bitten; if it is merely handled, in fact, on that day no serpent strikes. A stag's testicles dried, or the dried male organ, are in wine a salutary drink; so is that stomach which is called centipellio. Serpents keep away from those who have about them merely a stag's tooth, or have been rubbed with the marrow or suet of stag or fawn. As I have already pointed out, to sovereign remedies is preferred the rennet of a young stag cut from his mother's uterus. Stag's blood, if with it are burnt on a lentisk-wood fire dracontion, cunilago and anchusa, is said to collect serpents together; then they scatter, it is said, if in place of blood pyrethrum is added. In my Greek authorities I find mentioned an animal that they call ophion, smaller than a stag and like it only in its hair, which is found nowhere save in Sardinia. I believe that it is extinct today, and therefore I give no remedies from it. The brain and blood of a wild boar is another approved protection against serpents, as is its liver preserved and taken in wine with rue, likewise the fat with honey and resin, and given in the same way boar's liver and the fibre only of the gall-bladder, the dose being four denarii by weight, or the brain taken in wine. The horn or hair of she-goats, when burnt, is said to keep serpents away, and the ash from the horn, whether taken in drink or applied, to be efficacious for their bites; as are also draughts of their milk with taminian grapes, or of their urine with squill vinegar; so too an application of goat cheese with marjoram, or of goat suet with wax. Thousands of remedies besides from the goat are given in prescriptions, as will be pointed out; ibis is surprising to me, because it is said never to be free from fever. The potency of the wild-goatgoats are a very numerous species, as I have said is greater, but a he-goat too has a potency of its own. Democritus also holds that if a goat is the only one at a birth he supplies more efficacious remedies. An application also of she-goat's dung boiled down in vinegar is approved treatment for snake bite, and so is the ash of fresh dung boiled down in wine; speaking generally, slow convalescents from snake bite recover best in a goat's stable. Those who want more efficacious treatment apply immediately as a plaster a slaughtered she-goat's belly cut open, including any dung found inside. Others fumigate with fresh kid-meat, not taking away the hair, and with the same fumes drive snakes away. They also use a fresh kid-skin for the wound, or the flesh and dung of a horse fed by pasture and the rennet of a hare in vinegar; the same for scorpions and the shrewmouse. It is said that rubbing with hare's rennet protects froth being stung or bitten. Those stung by a scorpion are helped by she-goat's dung, more efficaciously if it is boiled down in vinegar; the fat and broth of the decoction, if drunk, helps those too who have swallowed a buprestis. Moreover, if anyone says in the ear of an ass that he has been stung by a scorpion, the mischief, it is said, at once passes over into the animal, all venomous creatures run away from an ass's burning lung, and those stung by a scorpion are benefited by fumigation with the dung of a calf.

43. Wounds made by the bite of a mad dog some cut round into the quick and apply veal, giving to drink veal broth, or else axle-grease pounded with lime, or he-goat's liver, an application of which is said to keep off entirely the dread of water. Approved treatment is also she-goat's dung applied in wine, and to drink a decoction of the dung of badger, cuckoo and swallow. For the other beast-bites dried goat's cheese with marjoram is applied and recommended to be taken in drink; to human bites is applied boiled beet boiled veal being more efficacious, if it is not taken off before the fifth day.

44. Sorceries are said to be counteracted by a wolf's preserved muzzle, and for this reason they hang one up on the gates of country houses. The same effect is supposed to be given by the whole fur from a wolf's neck, the legs included, for so great is the power of the animal that, besides what I have already stated, his footprints when trodden on by horses make them torpid.

45. Those who have swallowed quicksilver find a remedy in lard. By drinking ass's milk poisons are neutralized, especially if henbane has been swallowed, or mistletoe, hemlock, sea-hare, opocarpathum, pharicum, dorycnium, or if milk has done harm by curdling, for there is poison in the first coagulation of it. I shall give many other uses of ass's milk, but it should be remembered to use it when fresh, or nearly fresh and warmed, for no milk loses its power more rapidly. The bones too of the ass, crushed and boiled, are given for the poison of the sea-hare. All these remedies are more efficacious from the wild ass. About wild horses the Greeks have not written, because Greek lands did not breed them, but it must be inferred that all remedies from them are more potent than from the tame animal. By mare's milk are neutralized the poison of the sea-hare and arrow poisons. The Greeks had not the urus or the bison to try out, although the Indian jungles swarm with wild cattle. All the same remedies from them, however, it is reasonable to believe, are proportionally more efficacious. So cow's milk too is said to neutralize all poisons, especially those mentioned before, and if ephemerum has gone down the throat or Spanish fly administered, and to expel by vomiting all the noxious substances; goat broth also to act in the same way on Spanish fly. Those poisons however that cause fatal ulceration are relieved by veal-suet or beef-suet. But for leeches swallowed in drink butter, with vinegar warmed by hot iron, is a remedy, butter even by itself being beneficial against poisonink, for if one has no oil butter is a good substitute. It and honey together cure the bites of millipedes. Tripe broth and also veal suet are thought to neutralize the poisons mentioned above, especially however aconite and hemlock. Fresh goat-cheese is a remedy for those who have taken mistletoe in drink, as is goat's milk for Spanish fly, and with Taminian grapes for swallowing ephenserum. Goat's blood boiled with the marrow is taken for arrow poison, kid's for the other poisons, kid's rennet for mistletoe, white chamaeleon and bull's blood, for which another remedy is hare's rennet in vinegar; for the stingray however, and for the stings or bites of all sea creatures, hare's rennet or that of a kid or lamb, the dose being a drachma by weight in wine. Hare's rennet is also an ingredient of antidotes against poisons. The moth too that flutters to the lamplight is counted among noxious drugs; an antidote is goat's liver, as is its gall for sorcerer's potions made from the field weasel. At this point I shall return to the various kinds of diseases.

46. Bear's grease mixed with ladanum and adiantum prevents the hair from falling out, and cures mange, and scanty eyebrows, if mixed with the lamp-black from lamp wicks and the soot that collects in their nozzles. Mixed with wine it cures dandruff. Good too for the last is the ash of deer's horn in wine, good also to prevent verniin from breeding in the hair, likewise goat's gall with Cimolian chalk and vinegar, the mixture being allowed to dry a little on the head; sow's gall too, and the urine of a bull. If indeed it should be old, with the addition of sulphur it also cures dandruff. It is thought that a thicker growth of hair and prevention of greyness are given by an ass's genital organ reduced to ash; this should be pounded with oil iu a leaden mortar, and applied after shaving the head. They also think that thicker hair is encouraged by applying the urine of a young ass. Nard is mixed with it because of its nastiness. For mange is applied warmed bull's gall with Egyptian alum. Running sores on the head are healed efficaciously by bull's urine, also by stale human urine with the addition of cyclamen and sulphur, more efficaciously however by the gall of a calf, which warmed with vinegar also removes nits. For sores on the head calf's suet pounded with salt is very useful. Fox fat is also recommended, but especially cats' dung applied with an equal quantity of mustard; goat's horn, ground to powder or reduced to ash, a he-goat's being better, with the addition of soda, tamarisk seed, butter, and oil, the head being first shaved; this treatment is wonderful for preventing loss of hair, just as goat's meat, reduced to ash and applied with oil,

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darkens the eyebrows. Goat's milk is said to remove nits, the dung with honey to replace hair lost by mange, likewise the hoofs reduced to ash and added to pitch. Hare's flesh reduced to ash, with oil of myrtle, prevents hair from falling out. Headache is relieved by drinking the water left after an ox or ass has drunk, and also, if we care to believe it, by the genital organ of a male fox fastened round the head, and by a deer's horn reduced to ashes and applied in vinegar, rose oil, or iris oil.

47. To eye fluxes is applied beef suet boiled with oil; scabrous eyes are smeared with the same and deer's born reduced to ash, but the tips by themselves are thought to be more efficacious. Cataract is benefited by applying round the eyes the excrement of a wolf, dimness by smearing them with its ash and Attic honey, also with bear's gall, and epinyctis with wild boar's fat and rose oil. The ash of an ass's hoof smeared on the eyes with the same ass's milk removes scars and albugo. The marrow from the right front leg of an ox, pounded and added to soot, eyelashes, affections of the eyelids and of the corners of the eyes (the soot for this purpose is prepared as for a calliblepharum, best from a papyrus wick and sesame oil, the soot being wiped off with feathers into a new vessel), very efficiently however it prevents the hairs once pulled out there from growing again. From the gall of a bull with white of egg are made eye-salves, and dissolved in water they are applied for four successive days. Calf suet with goose-grease and juice of ochnum is very good for affections of the eyelids. Calf marrow, with equal weights of wax and of oil or rose-oil, with an egg added, is applied to indurations of the eyelids. Eye fluxes are relieved by an application in warm water of soft cheese made from goat's milk, or, if there is swelling, in honey; in both cases there should be fomentation with warm whey. Dry ophthalmia is cured by taking the small loins of pork, burning, pounding, and then placing them on the eyes. She-goats are said never to suffer from ophthalmia, because of certain herbs they eat, and likewise gazelles; for this reason it is recommended that at the new moon their dung should be swallowed, coated with wax. Since they see equally well at night, it is thought that those who have no night vision (the Greeks call them nyctalopes) are cured by the blood of a he-goat, but also by the liver of a she-goat boiled down in a dry wine. Some smear the eyes with the gravy from a she-goat's roasted liver, or with its gall; they prescribe its meat as a food, and fumigation of the eyes with the steam that arises from the cooking; they also consider it important for the animal to have been of a red colour. They also wish the eyes to be fumigated with the steam of the liver boiled in a clay pot; some say that it should he roasted. The gall indeed of goats is employed in many ways; with honey for dimness; with a third part of white hellebore for opaqueness of the lens; with wine for sears, albugo, dimness, pterygia, and argema; but with cabbage juice for affections of the eyelids, the hairs being first pulled out, and the application being left to dry; with human milk for rupture of the eye-coats. For all purposes preserved gall is thought to be more efficacious. Goat's dung with honey is a not unvalued ointment for eye fluxes, or the marrow for eye pains, or a hare's lung, and for dimness its gall with raisin wine or honey. Wolf's fat also or pig's marrow is prescribed as an ointment for ophthalmia. But it is said that those who carry a fox's tongue in a bracelet will never suffer from ophthalmia.

48. Pain in the ears and ear affections are cured by the urine of a wild boar kept in a glass vessel, by the gall of a wild boar, pig, or ox, with citrus oil and rose oil in equal proportions, but best of all by warm bull's gall with leek juice, or with honey should there be suppuration, and for foul odour the gall by itself warmed in a pomegranate rind. Ruptures in this region are thoroughly healed by the gall with woman's milk. Some hold that for hardness of hearing also the ears should be rinsed out with this wash, others add serpents' slough and vinegar (they insert the mixture on wool), the ears being first rinsed with warm water, or, if the hardness of hearing amounts to deafness, they pour in bull's gall with myrrh and rue warmed in pomegranate rind, also fat bacon; or fresh ass's dung with rose oil is inserted in drops, all being warmed. More useful is the foam of a horse, or fresh horse-dung reduced to ash and mixed with rose-oil, fresh butter, beef suet with goose grease, she-goat's or bull's urine, or that used by fullers, stale, and warmed until the steam rises up the neck of the jar (a third part of vinegar is added and little myrrh), the dung, mixed with the gall, of a calf that has not tasted grass added to the slough of snakes, the ears being first warmed; these medicaments are inserted into the ears on wool. Beneficial is also veal suet, with goose grease and juice of ocimum; the marrow of a calf mixed with rounded cummin and poured into the ear; and for tar pains the seminal fluid of a hog, caught as it drips from a sow before it can touch the ground; for fractures of the ears the glue made from the genitals of calves and melted in water; for other affections the fat of foxes, goat's gall with warm rose-oil or with leek juice, or, if any part of the ear has been ruptured, with woman's milk; if there is hardness of hearing, ox gall with the urine of a goat, male or female, or if there is pus. But whatever the use may be, it is thought that these remedies are more efficacious if they ate smoke-dried for twenty days in a goat's horn. Another approved treatment is a third of a denarius of hare's rennet and half a denarius of sacopenium in Ammincan wine. Parotid swellings are reduced by bear's grease with an equal weight of wax and bull suet (some add hypocisthis), and an application of butter by itself after previous fomentation with a decoction of fenugreek, more efficaciously with the addition of strychnos. Beneficial also are the testicles of foxes and bull's blood dried and pounded, she-goat's urine warmed and poured by drops into the ear, and an application of she-goat's dung with axle-grease.

49. Loose teeth are made tight by the ash of deer's horn, which relieves their pain, whether used as dentifrice or in a mouth wash. Some consider more efficacious for all the same purposes the unburnt horn ground to powder. Dentifrices are made in either way. A grand remedy too is a wolf's head reduced to ash. It is certain that bones are generally found in the excrements of wolves. Used as an amulet these have the same effect, and hare's rennet relieves toothache if poured through the ear. Hare's head reduced to ash makes a dentifrice, and with nard added corrects a bad odour from the mouth. Some prefer to add as well ash from the burnt heads of mice. There is found in the flank of a hare a bone like a needle, with Which they recommend aching teeth to be scraped. The ignited pastern bone of an ox, applied to teeth that are loose and aching, tightens them; the ash of the same with myrrh makes a dentifrice. The bones also of pigs' feet, when burnt, have the same effect, as have the bones from the sockets round which the hipbones move. It is well known that by these, when inserted into the throat of draught cattle, worms are cured, that by them, when burnt, teeth are tightened, as they are, when loosened through a blow, by ass's milk, by the ash of an ass's teeth, or by the lichen of a horse poured with oil through the ear. This lichen is not the same as hippomanes, which being pernicious on several grounds I omit, but an excrescence on the knees of homes and above their hoofs. Moreover, in the heart of horses is found a bone like very large canine teeth; with this they prescribe the painful tooth to be scraped, or with the tooth, corresponding to the place of the aching tooth, extracted from the jawbone of a dead horse. Anaxilaus has informed us that the fluid coming from mares when covered, if ignited on lamp wicks, shows weird appearances of horses' heads, and similarly with asses. But hippomanes has such virulent and magical properties that, added to the molten bronze for a figure of an Olympian mare, it maddens any stallions brought near with a raving sexual lust. Teeth are also healed by workman's glue boiled down in water, applied, and shortly after taken off, the teeth immediately to be rinsed in wine in which the rind of sweet pomegranates has been boiled. It is also thought efficacious to rinse the teeth in goat's milk or bull's gall. The ash from a freshly-killed she-goat's pastern bones makes a popular dentifrice, and, so that I need not repeat myself, the same is true of nearly all female farm quadrupeds.

50. It is thought that ass's milk removes wrinkles from the face, making the skin white and soft, and it is well known that some women every day bathe their cheeks in it seven times, keeping carefully to that number. Poppaea, wife of the Emperor Nero, began this custom, even preparing her bathtubs with the milk, and for this purpose she was always attended by troops of she-asses. Pituitous eruptions on the face are removed by the application of butter, the addition of white-lead being an improvement, but spreading sores by unmixed butter with a sprinkling of barley meal on top, and ulcers on the face by the membrane, still moist, that follows the birth of a calf. The following recipe may seem a trifle, but to satisfy the women I must not omit it: the pastern bone of a white bull-calf, boiled for forty days and nights until it melts to a jelly, and applied on a linen cloth, gives whiteness to the skin and smoothes away wrinkles. They say that bull's dung brings a rosy colour to the cheeks, though it is better to rub them with crocodilea, but before and after they must be bathed with cold water. Brick-red spots and discolorations of the skin are removed by calf dung kneaded by hand with oil and gum, sores and cracks in the mouth by veal suet or beef suet with goose grease and juice of ocimum. There is yet another compound, veal suet with deer's marrow and white-thorn leaves pounded together. The same effect is given by marrow with resin, even if it is cow marrow, and by the broth from cow beef. An excellent cure for facial lichens is the gluey substance made from the genitals of calves, dissolved in vinegar with native sulphur, stirred up with a fig branch and applied fresh twice a day, and the same boiled down in honey and vinegar for leprous sores, which are also removed by a warm application of he-goat's liver, as is leprosy by goat's gall. Moreover, leprous sores and scurf are removed by bull's gall with soda, or at the rising of the Dog-star by ass's urine; spots on the face by the gall of either animal broken up in water without addition; after the skin has come away sun and winds must be avoided. A similar effect is also obtained by bull's gall or veal gall, with the seed of cunila, and the ash of deer's horn burnt at the rising of the lesser Dog-star. By ass suet their natural colour is restored to scars, especially to those removed by he-goat's gall mixed with cheese, native left by lichen or leprous sores. Freckles too are sulphur, and sponge ash; the consistency of the mixture should be that of honey. Some have preferred to use matured gall, mixing one obolus of warm bran and four oboli of honey, the spots being first rubbed. An efficacious mixture is also he-goat's suet with melanthium, sulphur, and iris; for cracks in the lips the suet with goose grease, deer's marrow, resin, and lime. I find in my authorities that those with freckles are debarred from assisting at magic ritual.

51. Cow's milk or goat's is helpful for ulcerated tonsils or trachea. It is used as a gargle, of the usual warmth, either newly milked or heated. Goat's milk is more useful, boiled down with mallow and a little salt. For ulceration of the tongue or trachea a remedy is a gargle of tripe broth, while for tonsils are specific dried fox kidneys pounded with honey and applied, and for quinsy bull's or goat's gall with honey, or badger's liver in water. Butter remedies offensive breath and ulcerated mouth. If a pointed thing or anything else sticks in the throat, external rubbing with cat's dung is said either to bring it up or to make it pass down. Scrofulous sores are dispersed by a warm application of wild-boar's gall or ox gall (but hare's rennet, on a linen cloth with wine, is applied only when there is ulceration) or by the ash of the hoof of ass or horse applied in oil or water, the urine heated, the ash of an ox's hoof in water, the hot dung in vinegar, goat suet with lime or dung boiled in vinegar, or a fox's testicles. Soap is also good, an invention of the Gallic provinces for making the hair red. It is made from suet and ash, the best from beech ash and goat suet, in two kinds, thick and liquid, both being used among the Germans, more by men than by women.

52. For pains in the neck it should be rubbed with butter or bear's grease, and for stiffness with beef suet, which with oil is good for scrofulous sores. The rigid cramp, called opisthotonus, is relieved by she-goat's urine poured into the ears or by an application of the dung with bulbs, crushed nails by binding round them the gall of any animal, and whitlows by dried bull's gall dissolved in hot water. Some add sulphur and alum, all the ingredients being of equal weight.

53. Cough is cured by wolf's liver in warmed wine, by bear's gall mixed with honey, by the tips of the horns of ox or cow reduced to ash, by the saliva of a horse taken for three days (they say that the horse dies), by a deer's lung dried in smoke with the gullet, then pounded in honey and taken daily as an electuary, the species of deer more efficacious for this purpose being the subulo. Spitting of blood is cured by the ash of deer's horn, and by hare's rennet, the dose being one third part of a denarius, with Samian earth and myrtle wine. hare's dung reduced to ash and taken in wine in the evening cures night coughs, and inhaling the smoke of burning hare's fur brings up difficult expectorations. Purulent ulceration of the chest or lungs, and foul breath from the lungs, are very effectively relieved by butter boiled with an equal measure of Attic honey until it turns red, the dose being a spoonful taken in the morning; some instead of honey have preferred to add larch resin. For spitting of blood it is said to be beneficial to drink ox or cow blood, a moderate amount taken in vinegar. But to trust recommendations of bull's blood is hazardous; bull glue, however, in threeoboli doses is taken with warm water for chronic spitting of blood.

54. An ulcerated stomach is cured by drinking ass's milk or cow's milk; gnawings of the stomach by beef boiled in a mixture of vinegar and wine; catarrhs by the ash of deer's horn; spitting of blood by fresh kid's-blood taken hot, in doses up to three cyathi, with an equal amount of strong vinegar, or by one part of kid's rennet with two parts of vinegar;

55. pains of the liver by dried wolf's liver in honey wine; by dried ass's liver, with two parts of rock parsley and three nuts, pounded in honey and taken in food, and by he-goat's blood made suitable for food. For asthma, effective above all things is to drink the blood of wild horses, next to drink warm ass's milk, or cow's milk boiled, the part drunk being the whey only, with the addition for every three heminae of a cyathus of white cress steeped in water and then tempered with honey. A fox's liver or lung also in dark wine, or bear's gall in water, loosens the breath passage.

56. Pains in the loins and all other complaints needing emollients should be treated by rubbing with bear's grease, or the ash of wild boar's or pig's dried dung should be sprinkled in a draught of wine. [The Magi too add their usual lies: first of all, that the madness of he-goats is soothed if their beard is stroked, and if it is cut off, they do not stray to another herd.] For sciatica they apply cow-dung heated in leaves over hot embers. With this dung they mix goat's dung, prescribing that as much as it can contain should be held hot in the hollow of the hand, a linen cloth soaked in oil being placed underneath; if the left side aches the medicament should be held in the right hand, and vice versa; the dung for this purpose, they say, must be taken up with the point of a bronze needle. The treatment is continued until the warmth is felt to have reached the loins; afterwards they rub the hand with pounded leek, the loins also with the dung itself and honey. For this pain they also recommend sufferers to swallow a hare's testicles. For pain in the kidneys they prescribe the kidneys of a hare to be

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swallowed raw, or if boiled at least not to be touched by a tooth. Bowel pain indeed never, they say, afflicts those who carry about them the pastern bone of a hare.

57. The spleen is relieved by wild boar's or pig's gall taken by the mouth, by ash of deer's horn in vinegar, but most efficaciously by matured ass's spleen, with the result that benefit is felt within three days. The first dung passed by an ass's foal, called polea, is administered by the Syrians in oxymel. There is also administered in wine as a sovereign remedy the dried tongue of a horse, as Caecilius Bion reports that he learnt from foreigners. Spleen of ox or cow is administered in a similar way; if fresh it is roasted or boiled and taken in food. There are also applied for pains in the spleen twenty crushed heads of garlic in the bladder of an ox with a sextarius of vinegar. For the same purpose the Magi recommend a calf's spleen to be bought at the price asked, without any haggling, attention to this also affecting the efficacy of the ritual. This spleen should be divided lengthwise and attached to the patient's tunic on both sides. As he puts it on, the patient should allow the spleen to fall to his feet, then pick it up and dry in the shade. At the same time as this happens, the diseased spleen of the patient is said to shrink, and he himself to be freed from his complaint. Beneficial too is fox lung dried on embers and taken in water, and kids' spleen applied locally.

58. Binding to the bowels are stag's blood, stag's horn reduced to ash, wild boar's liver taken in wine, unsalted and fresh, the same liver roasted, pig's liver, he-goat's liver boiled down to one fifth in wine, hare's rennet of the size of a chick-pea in wine, or if there is fever, in watersome add a gall-nut, others are content with hare's blood by itselfboiled milk, horse dung reduced to ash in a draught of water, the root of an old horn of a bull reduced to ash and sprinkled on a draught of water, he-goat's blood boiled down over charcoal, the juice, taken by the mouth, of goat's skin boiled down with the hair on, horse rennet and goat's blood, marrow, or liver. The bowels are loosened by wolf's gall applied to the navel with elaterium, or by draughts of mare's milk, or of goat's milk with salt and honey, by she-goat's gall with juice of eyclamen and a little alumsome prefer to add both soda and waterbull's gall pounded with wormwood and used in the form of a lozenge as a suppository, and by large doses of butter. Those with coeliac disorder or dysentery are benefited by cow's liver, a three-finger pinch of the ash of deer's horn taken in a draught of water, by hare's rennet kneaded in bread, but in pearl barley if blood is brought away, and by ash of wild boar's, pig's, or hare's dung sprinkled on a draught of warm wine. It is also reported that veal broth is a popular remedy to relieve sufferers from coeliac disorder or dysentery. Ass's milk makes a more beneficial draught with the addition of honey, the dung, reduced to ash and taken in wine, is no less efficacious for either complaint, poke too, which I mentioned just now, horse's rennet, that some call hippace, even if blood is brought away, or the dung ash and crushed teeth of the same animal, a health-giving powder, and taken with boiled cow's milk. For dysentery is prescribed the addition of a little honey, and if there are griping pains to apply to the navel the ash of deer's horn or bull's gall mixed with cnmmin, and the fleshy parts of a gourd. New cheese made from cow's milk is injected for both complaints, so also four heminae of butter with two ounces of terebinth resin, or with a decoction of mallows, or with rose oil. There is administered also veal suet, beef suet, or the marrow (they are boiled with a little flour and wax, and with oil, so that to drink the mixture is possible, and the marrow is also kneaded in bread), and goat's milk boiled down to one half; if there is also griping, proiropum is added. It is thought by some that a sufficient remedy for griping is even a single dose of hare's rennet taken in warm wine; more careful people also apply as embrocation to the belly goat's blood with barley meal and resin. For all fluxes from the belly an application of soft cheese is recommended, but matured cheese powdered a is used for coeliac disorders and dysentery, the dose being a cyathus of cheese in three cyathi of ordinary wine. A decoction of goat's blood with goat's marrow is beneficial for dysentery, roasted she-goat's liver for coeliac complaints, or, better still, that of a he-goat boiled down in dry wine and drunk, or applied to the navel in myrtle oil. Some boil it down from three sextarii of water to one hemina with rue added. They also use the roasted spleen of a she-goat or he-goat with the suet of a he-goat in bread baked over hot ashes, the best suet being from the kidneys of a she-goat, which should be swallowed by itself, and be immediately followed by a draught of moderately cold water. Some prescribe also a decoction of the suet in water, made into a stew with other ingredientspearl barley, cummin, dill, and vinegar. They also rub the belly of sufferers from coeliac disorders with a decoction of honey and goat's dung. For both complaints they also use kid's rennet, of the size of a bean, taken in myrtle wine, or kid's blood made into a food, called 'blood pudding.' They also inject into dysentery patients bull glue dissolved in hot water. Flatulence is dispersed by calf dung boiled down in wine. Disorders of the intestines are greatly benefited by a decoction of deers' rennet with lentils and beet, and so taken in food, by the ash of hare's fur boiled down with honey, by a draught of goat's milk boiled down with mallows with the addition of a little salt; if goat's rennet too is added the beneficial effects will be much greater. The same is the effect of goat's suet in some kind of stew, to be immediately followed by a draught of cold water. A kid's hams also reduced to ash are said to be wonderfully healing to intestinal rupture, and the dung of a hare, boiled down with honey and taken daily in doses the size of a bean, to be so beneficial as they have cured desperate cases. Highly recommended also is the broth of a goat's head with the fur still on.

59. Tenesmus, that is a frequent and ineffectual desire to go to stool, is removed by drinking ass's milk, or cow's milk. Worms are expelled by ash of deer's horn, taken in drink. The bones that I have said are found in the excrements of a wolf, tied on to the arm as an amulet without touching the earth, are a cure for colitis. Polea also, mentioned above, is of great benefit if boiled down in sapa, likewise too powdered pig's dung and cummin in the water of a decoction of rue, and young deer's horn reduced to ash, mixed with African snails pounded with their shells and taken in a draught of wine.

60. The tortures of stone in the bladder are relieved by the urine of a wild boar and by his bladder itself taken as food; both remedies are more efficacious if first thoroughly smoked. The bladder should be eaten boiled, and be a sow's if the patient is a woman. There are also found in the liver of these animals little stones, or hard substances like stones, white, and like those found in the liver of the common pig. These, crushed and taken in wine, are said to expel stone. His own urine is such a burden to the boar himself that unless he has voided it he is not strong enough for flight, and is overcome as if spellbound. It is said that the urine dissolves the stone. Stone is also expelled by a hare's kidneys, dried and taken in wine. In the ham joints of pigs I have said there are bones the broth from which is beneficial for urinary disorders. The kidneys of an ass, dried, pounded, and given in neat wine, cure complaints of the bladder. The excrescences on the legs of horses, taken for forty days in wine or honey wine, expel stone. Beneficial too is the ash of a horse's hoof in wine or water, the dung also in honey wine of she-goats, that of wild goats being more efficacious, the ash also of goat's hair, while for carbuncles on the privates are used the brains and blood of a wild boar or pig. Creeping sores however in the same part are cured by the burnt liver of these animals, best if the fire is of juniper wood, mixed with paper and orpiment, by their dung reduced to ash, by ox gall with Egyptian alum and myrrh, kneaded to the consistency of honey, moreover by an application of beet boiled in wine, also by beef; but running ulcers by beef suet with the marrow of a calf boiled down in wine, by goat's gall with honey and blackberry juice, even if the sores are spreading. They say that goat's dung too with honey or vinegar is beneficial, and also butter by itself. Swelling of the testicles is reduced by veal suet with the addition of soda, or by calf's dung boiled down in vinegar. Incontinence of urine is checked by a wild-boar's bladder, if eaten roasted, by the ash of a wild-boar's or pig's hoofs sprinkled on a drink, by the bladder of a sow burnt and taken in drink, of a kid also, or by its lung, by the brain of a hare in wine, by a hare's roasted testicles, or the rennet, with goose grease in pearl barley, or by the kidneys of an ass pounded in neat wine and drunk. The Magi recommend that, after drinking in sweet wine a boar's genital organ reduced to ash, the patient should make water in a dog's bed and add a prayer, that he may not himself make water, as a dog does, in his own bed. On the other hand, the bladder of a pig is diuretic, if, without touching the ground, it is applied to the pubic part.

61. Complaints of the anus are greatly benefited by bear's gall and bear's fat; some add litharge and frankincense. Beneficial too is butter with goose grease and rose oil; the quantities are determined by circumstances; the mixture must be easy to apply. Greatly beneficial too is bull's gall in scraps of linen; it makes chaps to cicatrize. Swellings in that part of the body are reduced by veal suet, especially by that from the groin, with rue; other complaints are cured by goat's blood with pearl barley, condylomata by goat's gall by itself, or by wolf's gall in wine. Superficial and other abscesses in any part are dispersed by bear's blood, and likewise by bull's dried and powdered. The finest remedy, however, is said to be the stone which the wild ass is reported to pass in his urine when he is being killed; more fluid than it at first, it grows thick when on the ground. This stone fastened to the thigh as an amulet disperses all inflamed swellings and clears away any suppuration. It is found, however, rarely and not always in the wild ass, but it is wonderfully famous as a remedy. Beneficial also is the urine of an ass with melanthium, a horse's hoof reduced to ash and applied with oil and water, the blood of a horse, especially of a stallion, and the blood or gall of an ox or cow. Beef too has the same effect if applied hot, the ash of the hoof in water or honey, the urine of she-goats, the flesh too of he-goats boiled down in water or their dung boiled down with honey, a boar's gall, and a pigs' urine applied on wool. It is well known that riding on a horse chafes and galls the inner side of the thighs; most useful for all such troubles is to rub on the groin the foam from the mouth of a horse. The groin also swells because of sores; the remedy is to tie within the sore three horse hairs with three knots.

62. Gout is benefited by bear's grease and bull suet with an equal weight of wax as well; to which some add hypocisthis and gall nut. Others prefer he-goat suet with the dung of a she-goat and with saffron, mustard, pounded stalks of ivy, and perdicium or the blossom of wild cucumber. Highly praised also is ox dung with lees of vinegar and the dung of a calf that has not yet tasted grass, or, by itself, the blood of a bull, a fox boiled down alive until only the bones remain, or a wolf boiled alive in oil as though to make a wax-salve, he-goat's suet with an equal quantity of helxine, a third part of mustard, calcined goat's dung and axle-grease. Moreover, to put a burning-hot poultice of this dung under the big toes is said to be excellent for sciatica, and bear's gall very useful for diseases of the joints, as are also the feet of a hare worn as an amulet, while gouty pains are alleviated by a hare's foot, cut off from the living animal, if the patient carries it about continuously on the person. Chilblains and all chaps on the feet are healed by bear's grease, more efficaciously with the addition of alum, by goat suet, by a horse's teeth ground to powder, by the gall and fat of a wild boar or pig, by the lung applied to them even if they are chafed or broken by a knock, but if they are frost bites, by a hare's fur reduced to ash; if they are broken, by the lung of the same animal cut up or reduced to ash. Sunburns are most beneficially treated by ass suet, and also by suet of an ox or cow with rose oil. Corns, chaps, and calluses are cured by an application of fresh wild-boar's dung, or pig's, taken off on the third day, by their pastern bones reduced to ashes, by the lung of wild boar, pig, or deer; chafing from shoes by the application of an ass's urine with the mud made by it; corns by beef suet with powdered frankincense; chilblains, however, by burnt leather, if from an old shoe so much the better, sores from footwear by the ash of goat leather in oil. The pains of varicose veins are alleviated by the ash of calf's dung boiled down with the bulbs of a lily, with the addition of a little honey, and so are all inflamed places that threaten to suppurate. The same preparation is good for gout and diseases of the joints, especially if it is taken from a male calf, for chafed joints the gall of wild boars or of pigs applied in a heated linen cloth, the dung of a calf that has not tasted grass, also the dung of goats boiled down in vinegar with honey. Scabrous nails are cured by veal suet, also by goat suet mixed with sanderach. Warts however are removed by the ash of calf's dung in vinegar, or by the urine with its mud of an ass.

63. For epilepsy it is beneficial to eat a bear's testes or to take those of a wild boar in mare's milk or water, likewise wild-boar's urine in oxymel, with increased efficacy if it has dried in his bladder. There are also given the testicles of pigs dried and pounded in sow's milk, abstinence from wine preceding and following for ten days. There are also given the lungs of a hare preserved in salt, with a third part of frankincense, taken in white wine for thirty days; likewise a hare's rennet, an ass's brain in hydromel, first smoked on burning leaves, half an ounce a day for five days, or an ass's hoofs reduced to ash and two spoonfuls taken in drink for a whole month, likewise his testes preserved in salt and sprinkled on drink, preferably on ass's milk, or on water. The odour of the afterbirth of she-asses, especially if they have had a male foal, inhaled on the approach of a fit, repels it. There are some who recommend eating with bread the heart of a black jackass in the open air on the first or second day of the moon, some the flesh, others drinking for forty days the blood diluted with vinegar. Certain people mix an ass's urine with smithy water in which hot iron has been dipped, and use the same draught to treat delirious raving. To epileptics is also given mare's milk to drink, the excrescence on a horse's leg taken in oxymel; there is given too goat's flesh roasted on a funeral pyre, as the Magi would have it, goat suet boiled down with an equal weight of bull's gall stored in the gall bladder without touching the earth, and taken in water with the patient standing upright. The disease itself is detected by the fumes of burnt goat's horn or deer's horn. Rubbing with the urine of an ass's foal mixed with nard is said to be beneficial to the planet-struck.

64. Jaundice is cured within two days by deer's horn reduced to ash, by the blood of an ass, likewise by the dung of an ass's foal, the first to pass afterbirth, of the size of a bean and taken in wine. The first dung too of a young colt, administered in a similar way, has the same effect.

65. For broken bones a sovereign remedy is the ash of the jawbone of a wild boar or of a pig; likewise boiled bacon-fat, tied round the fracture, heals with marvellous rapidity. For broken ribs however the highest praise is given to goat's dung in old wine; it opens, extracts, and completely heals.

66. Fevers are kept away by the flesh of deer, as I have said, those indeed which return at fixed intervals by the salted right eye of a wolf worn as an amulet if we are to believe the Magi. There is a kind of fever called amphemerinos. It is said that he is freed from this who drinks three drops of blood from an ass's ear in two heminae of water. For quartans the Magi prescribe the excrement of a cat with the claw of a horned owl worn as an amulet, and to prevent a relapse the amulet should

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not be removed before the seventh periodic return. Who pray could have made this discovery? What sort of combination is this? Why was an owl's claw chosen rather than anything else? Some more moderate people have prescribed the salted liver of a cat killed when the moon is on the wane, to be taken in wine before the access of a quartan. The Magi also apply to the toes and fingers ox or cow dung reduced to ash and sprinkled with children's urine. They use the heart of a hare as an amulet, and give hare's rennet before each access. There is also given with honey fresh goat's cheese with the whey carefully pressed out.

67. A remedy for melancholia is calf's dung boiled down in wine. Victims of lethargy are amused by applying to the nostrils in vinegar the excrescence on the leg of an ass, by the fumes from goat's horns or goat's hair, and by wild boar's liver; accordingly it is also administered to the comatose. Consumptives are benefited by wolf's liver in thin wine, by the lard of a sow fed on herbs, and by ass's flesh taken in its gravy. This treatment for the complaint is very popular in Achaia. The smoke also from dried dung of an ox fed on green fodder, inhaled through a reed, is said to be beneficial, or the burnt tip of the horn of an ox, the dose being two spoonful, with the addition of honey, swallowed in pills. It is held by not a few authorities that by she-goat's suet in groat porridge consumption and cough are cured, or by fresh suet melted with honey wine, an ounce of suet added to a cyathus of wine and stirred with a spray of rue. An authoritative writer assures us that a despaired-of consumptive has recovered by being treated with a cyathus of mountain-goat suet and the same amount of the milk. Some have written that pig's dung reduced to ash, taken in misinwine, has proved of value, or the lung of a stag, especially a subulo, dried in smoke and pounded in wine.

68. Good for dropsy is urine from the bladder of a wild boar given little by little in the drink, that being more beneficial which has dried up with its bladder, the ash of bull's dung especially but also that of oxenherd animals I mean; it is called bolbitonthree spoonfuls in a hemina of honey wine, cow dung for women, bull dung for men (the Magi have made a sort of mystery of this distinction), the dung of a bull calf applied locally, ash of calf dung with staphylinus seed in equal proportions taken in wine, and goat's blood with goat's marrow. That of a he-goat is considered more beneficial, especially if he has browsed on lentisk.

69. There is applied for erysipelas bear's fat, especially that on the kidneys, fresh dung of calves or cattle, dried goat's cheese with leek, scrapings of deer's skin rubbed off with pumice and pounded in vinegar. For inflamed itch the foam of a horse or the ash of his hoof; for pituitous eruptions ass's dung reduced to ash with butter; for black pimples dried goat's cheese in honey and vinegar, applied in the bath, no oil being used, for pustules pig's dung reduced to ash and applied in water, or the ash of deer's horn,

70. for dislocations the freshdung of wild boar or of pig, or of calves, the fresh foam of a boar with vinegar, the dung of a goat with honey, an application of beef, and for swellings pig's dung warmed in an earthen pot and beaten up with oil. All indurations of the body are best removed by an application of wolf's fat. In the case of sores that need to break the most beneficial application is ox dung warmed on hot cinders or goat's dung boiled down in wine or vinegar, for boils beef suet with salt, or if there is pain melted with oil without salt, similarly with goat suet;

71. for burns bear's grease with lily roots, dried dung of wild boar or of pig, the ash of pig's bristles from plasterers' brushes beaten up with pig fat, the ash of the pastern bone of bull or cow with wax and deer marrow, bull's gall, hare's dung; but the dung of she-goats is said to heal without a scar. The finest glue is made from the ears and genitals of bulls, and there is no better remedy for burns, but it is more adulterated than any other, a decoction being made from any old skins and even from shoes. The most reliable glue comes from Rhodes, which is used by painters and physicians. The Rhodian too is the more approved the whiter it is; the dark and wood-like is rejected.

72. It is thought that for pains in the sinews, even if pus is present there, the most beneficial remedy is a decoction of goat's dung in vinegar with honey. Strains and injuries from a blow are treated with wild-boar's dung collected in spring and dried; the same remedy is also good for charioteers who have been dragged along, or wounded by a wheel, or bruised in any way, even if the dung is applied while fresh. There are some who think it more beneficial to boil the dung in vinegar. Moreover, they assure us that this dung, reduced to powder and taken in drink, is curative of ruptures and sprains; for falls from vehicles it should be taken in vinegar. The more recent authorities reduce it to ash and take in water, saying that even the Emperor Nero used to refresh himself with this draught, since he was ready even by this means to distinguish himself in the three-horse chariot-race. They think that the next most efficacious dung is that of pigs.

73. Bleeding is stayed by deer's rennet in vinegar, by hare's also, by the latter reduced to ash with the fur, also by the application of ass's dung reduced to ashthe effect is more powerful if the ass is male, vinegar mixed with the ash, and wool used for the application to any haemorrhage, horse dung being similarly used, by the head and thighs, or dung, of calves, reduced to ash and applied in vinegar, also by the ash in vinegar of goat's horn or dung. The sanies, however, exuding from he-goat's liver when cut up is more efficacious, as is the liver of goats of either sex, reduced to ash and taken in wine or applied to the nostrils in vinegar, or the leather of a he-goat, but only that of a wine bottle, reduced to ash and with an equal weight of resin, by which remedy bleeding is stayed and the wonnd closed. Kid's rennet also in vinegar and kid's thighs burnt to ash are reported to be similarly effective.

74. Ulcers on the shins or shanks arc healed by bear's grease mixed with ruddle, but spreading ulcers by wild boar's gall with resin and white lead, by the jawbones of wild boars or pigs reduced to ash, by the application of dried pigs'-dung, also by goat's dung, kneaded in vinegar and warmed. The other kinds of sores are cleansed and filled up by butter, by the ash of deer's horn or by deer's marrow, by bull's gall with cyprus oil or he-goat's dung. To wounds inflicted with iron is applied pigs' dung, either fresh or dried and powdered. Injected into phagedaenic ulcers and fistulas is bull's gall with juice of leek or woman's milk, or else dried blood with the herb cotyledon. Cancerous sores are treated with hare's rennet and an equal weight of caper sprinkled in wine, gangrenes by bear's gall applied with a feather, spreading ulcers by the ash of ass's hoofs sprinkled over them. Flesh is eaten away by the corrosive action of horse's blood and by the ash of dried horse-dung, but the ulcers coming under the class they call phagedaenic by the ash of ox-hide with honey. Veal prevents fresh wounds from swelling. Foul ulcers and those called malignant are healed by dung of ox or cow with honey, or by the ash of calf's dung in woman's milk, fresh wounds inflicted with iron by melted bull's glue, which is taken off on the third day. Ulcers are cleansed by dry goat's-cheese in vinegar and honey, while spreading ulcers are checked by goat suet with wax, and the addition of pitch and sulphur makes the cure complete. In a similar way malignant ulcers are improved by the ash of a kid's thighs in woman's milk, and for carbuncles are used a sow's brains, roasted and applied.

75. For itch in men the best cure is the marrow of the ass, or ass's urine applied with its own mud, butter likewise, which with warm resin also benefits itch in draught animals, bull glue melted in vinegar and with lime added, goat gall with the ash of alum; ox or cow dung is good for bovae, whence comes the name of the disease. Itch in dogs is cured by the fresh blood of ox or cow, applied again when it is dry, and on the following day washed off with lye ash.

76. Thorns and similar objects are extracted by a cat's excrements, also by a she-goat's in wine, by any kind of rennet but especially by hare's with powdered frankincense and oil, or else with an equal weight of mistletoe, or with bee glue. Black scars are brought back to the original colour by ass's suet, and made fainter by warmed calf's gall. Physicians add myrrh, honey and saffron, and keep in a bronze box; some add to the mixture flower of bronze.

77. The purgings of women are aided by bull's gall applied as a pessary in unwashed woolOlympias, a woman of Thebes added suint and sodaby ash of deer's horn taken in drink, and uterine troubles by an application also of this, and by twooboli pessaries of bull's gall and poppy juice. It is beneficial also to fumigate the uterus with deer's hair. It is reported that hinds, when they realise that they are pregnant, swallow a little stone which, found in their excrements or in the uterusfor it is found there alsoprevents miscarriage if worn as an amulet. There are also found in the heart and in the uterus little bones that are very useful to women who are pregnant or in child-bed. But about the pumice-like stone which in a similar way is found in the uterus of cows I have spoken when dealing with the nature of oxen. The uterus is softened by an application of wolf's fat, pains there by wolf's liver, but to have eaten the flesh of the wolf is beneficial for women near delivery, or at the beginning of labour the near presence of one who has eaten it, so much so that sorceries put upon the woman are counteracted. But for such a person to enter during delivery is a deadly danger. The hare is also of great use to women. The uterus is benefited by the dried lung taken in drink, fluxes by the liver taken in water with Samian earth, the afterbirth is eased by hare's rennetthe bath must be avoided the day beforeby the rennet applied also with saffron and leek juice; a pessary of it in raw wool brings away a dead foetus. If the uterus of the hare is taken in food, it is believed that males are conceived; that the same result is obtained by eating its testicles and rennet; that the foetus of a hare, taken from its uterus, brings a renewed fertility to women who are passed child-bearing. But the sanies of a hare is given by the Magi even to the male partner that conception may occur, and likewise to a maiden nine pellets of hare's droppings to make the breasts permanently firm. They also use for this purpose the rennet with honey as liniment, and the blood to prevent hairs plucked out from growing again. For inflation of the uterus it is beneficial to make with oil a liniment of wild boar's dung or pig's. More efficacious is the dried dung reduced to powder to sprinkle in the drink, even if the woman is suffering the pains of pregnancy or childbirth. By drinking sow's milk with honey wine childbirth is eased, while taken by itself it refills the drying breasts of nursing mothers. These swell less if rubbed round with a sow's blood. If they are painful they are soothed by drinking ass's milk, which taken with the addition of honey is also beneficial for the purgings of women. Ulcerations also of the uterus are healed by the dried suet of the same animal, which applied in raw wool as a pessary softens uterine indurations, while by itself either fresh or dried suet, applied in water, acts as a depilatory. Dried ass's spleen, applied in water to the breasts, produces an abundant supply of milk, and used in fumigation corrects displacement of the uterus. Fumigation with ass's hoofs hastens delivery, so that even a dead foetus is extracted; only then is the treatment applied, for it kills a living infant. Ass's dung applied fresh is said to be a wonderful reliever of fluxes of blood, as is also the ash of the same dung, an application which is also beneficial to the uterus. By horse's foam, applied for forty days before they first grow, hairs are prevented, also by a decoction of deer's horns, which is more beneficial if the horns are new. It is beneficial to wash out the uterus with mare's milk. But if the foetus is felt to be dead, it is expelled by taking in fresh water the excrescence from the leg of a mare, also by fumigation with the hoof or the dried dung. An injection of butter stays prolapsus of the uterus. A hardened uterus is opened by ox gall mixed with rose oil, with an external application of terebinth resin on unwashed wool. They say that prolapsus of the uterus is corrected also by fumigation with the dung of an ox, that delivery is aided, and conception also, by drinking cow's milk. It is certain that sterility may result from sufferings at childbirth. This kind of barrenness, we are assured by Olympias of Thebes, is cured by bull's gall, serpents' fat, copper rust and honey, rubbed on the parts before intercourse. Calf's gall also, sprinkled on the uterus during menstruation just before intercourse, softens even indurations of the bowels checks the flow if rubbed on the navel, and is generally beneficial to the uterus. The amount of gall prescribed is a denarius by weight; this and a third part of poppy juice, with as much almond oil as seems to be called for. The mixture is laid on unwashed wool. A bull-calf's gall beaten up with half the quantity of honey is stored away for uterine complaints. If women about the time of conception eat roasted veal with aristolochia, they are assured that they will bring forth a male child. A calf's marrow, boiled down in wine and water with calf's suet and applied to an ulcerated uterus, is beneficial, as is the fat of foxes with the excrement of cats, the last being applied with resin and rose oil. It is thought that to fumigate the uterus with goat's horn is very beneficial. The blood of wild she-goats with sea palm acts as a depilatory, while of other she-goats the gall softens callus of the uterus if sprinkled on it, and after a menstruation causes conception; such an application also acts as a depilatory; after the hairs are pulled out it is kept on for three days. Midwives assure us that a flux, however copious, is stayed by drinking the urine of a she-goat, or if an application is made of her dung. The membrane that covers the newborn offspring of she-goats, kept fill dry and taken in wine, brings away the afterbirth. To fumigate the uterus with the hairs of kids is thought to be beneficial, and it is so for a flux of blood if kid's rennet is taken in drink, or applied locally with seed of hyoscyamus. Osthanes says that if the loins of a woman are rubbed thoroughly with the blood of a tick from a black wild-bull, she will be disgusted with sexual intercourse, and also with her love if she drinks the urine of a he-goat, nard being added to disguise the foul taste.

78. For babies nothing is more beneficial than butter, either by itself or with honey, especially when they are troubled with teething, sore gums, or ulcerated mouth. The tooth of a wolf tied on as an amulet keeps away childish terrors and ailments due to teething, as does also a piece of wolf's skin. Indeed the largest teeth of wolves tied as an amulet even on horses are said to give them unwearied power of speed. Hare's rennet applied to the mothers' breasts checks the diarrhoea of babies. Ass's liver mixed with a moderate amount of panaces and let drip into the mouth protects babies from epilepsy and other diseases; the treatment, it is prescribed, should continue for forty days. Ass's hide laid on babies keeps them free from fears. The first teeth of horses to fall out make the cutting of teeth easy for babies who wear them as an amulet, a more efficacious one if the teeth have not touched the ground. Ox spleen in honey is administered internally and externally for painful spleen; for running sores with honey ... a calf's spleen boiled in wine, beaten up, and applied to little sores in the mouth. The brain of a she-goat, passed through a golden ring, is given drop by drop by the Magi to babies, before they are fed with milk, to guard them from epilepsy and other diseases of babies. Restless babies, especially girls, are quietened by an amulet of goat's dung wrapped in a piece of cloth. Rubbing the gums with goat's milk or hares' brains makes easy the cutting of teeth.

79. Cato thought that to take hare as food is soporific, and a popular belief is that it also adds charm to the person for nine days, a flippant pun, but so strong a belief must have some justification. According to the Magi the gall of a she-goatshe must be an animal sacrificedinduces sleep if applied to

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the eyes or placed under the pillow. Sweats are checked by rubbing the body with myrtle oil and ash of goat's horn.

80. Aphrodisiacs are: an application of wild-boar's gall, pig's marrow swallowed, or an application of ass's suet mixed with a gander's grease; also the fluid that Virgil too describes as coming from a mare after copulation, the testicles of a horse, dried so that they may be powdered into drink, the right testis of an ass taken in wine, or a portion of it worn as an amulet on a bracelet; or the foam of an ass after copulation, collected in a red cloth and enclosed, as Osthanes tells us, in silver. Salpe prescribes an ass's genital organ to be plunged seven times into hot oil, and the relevant parts to be rubbed therewith, Dalion the ash from it to be taken in drink, or the urine of a bull after copulation to be drunk, or the mud itself made by it applied to the pubic parts. On the other hand antaphrodisiac for men is an application of mouse's dung. Intoxication is kept away by the roasted lung of a wild boar or pig, taken in food the same day on an empty stomach, or the lung used may be that of a kid.

81. In addition, wonderful things are reported of the same animals: that if a horse casts his shoe, as often happens, and some one picks it up and puts it away, it is a cure of hiccoughs in those who remember where they have put it; that a wolf's liver is like a horse's hoof; that horses burst themselves which, carrying a rider, follow the tracks of wolves; that there is a kind of quarrelsome force in the pastern bones of pigs; that if, in case of fire, a little dung is brought out of the stables, sheep and oxen are more easily pulled out and do not run back; that the flesh of he-goats does not taste strong if on the day they are killed they have eaten barley bread or drunk diluted laser; that no meat, salted when the moon is on the wane, is eaten by maggots. So much care has been taken to leave nothing out, that I find that a deaf hare fattens more quickly, and that there are also medicines made for animals: it is prescribed that if draught cattle suffer from haemorrhage, there should be injected pig's dung in wine; and that for the diseases of oxen suet, native sulphur, and a decoction of wild garlic, should all be pounded and given in wine, or else fox fat; that horse flesh thoroughly boiled and taken in drink cures the diseases of pigs, while those of all quadrupeds are cured by a she-goat boiled whole with the hide and a bramble toad; that chickens are not touched by foxes if they have eaten dried fox-liver, or if the cocks have trodden the hens wearing a piece of fox skin round their necks; similarly with a weasel's gall; that the oxen in Cyprus eat human excrement to cure themselves of colic; that the hoofs of oxen are not chafed underneath if the bases of their horns are first rubbed with liquid pitch; that wolves do not enter a field if one is caught, his legs broken, a knife driven into the body, the blood sprinkled a little at a time around the boundaries of that field, and the body itself buried in that place at which the dragging of it began; or if the share, with which that year the first furrow of that field was cut, is knocked from the plough and burnt on the hearth of the Lares where the family assemble, a wolf will harm no animal in that field so long as the custom is kept up. We will now turn to animals in a peculiar class by themselves, which are not either tame or wild.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 29

1. The nature of remedies, and the great number of those already described or waiting to be described, compel me to say more about the art of medicine itself, although I am aware that no one hitherto has treated the subject in Latin, and that the judgement passed on all new endeavours is uncertain, especially on such as arc barren of all charm, and the difficulty of setting them forth is so great. But since it is likely to come into the minds of all students of the subject to ask why ever things ready to hand and appropriate have become obsolete in medical practice, the thought occurs at once that it is both a wonder and a shame that none of the arts has been more unstable, or even now more often changed, although none is more profitable. To its pioneers medicine assigned a place among the gods and a home in heaven, and even today medical aid is in many ways sought from the oracle. Then medicine became more famous even through sin, for legend said that Aesculapius was struck by lightning for bringing Tyndareus back to life. But medicine did not cease to give out that by its agency other men had come to life again, being famous in Trojan times, in which its renown was more assured, but only for the treatment of wounds.

2. The subsequent story of medicine, strange to say, lay hidden in darkest night down to the Peloponnesian War, when it was restored to the light by Hippocrates, who was born in the very famous and powerful island of Cos, sacred to Aesculapius. It had been the custom for patients recovered from illness to inscribe in the temple of that god an account of the help that they had received, so that afterwards similar remedies might be enjoyed. Accordingly Hippocrates, it is said, wrote out these inscriptions, and, as our countryman Varro believes, after the temple had been burnt, founded that branch of medicine called 'clinical.' Afterwards there was no limit to the profit from medical practice, for one of the pupils of Hippocrates, Prodicus, born in Selymbria, founded iatraliptice ('ointment cure'), and so discovered revenue for the anointers even and drudges of the doctors.

3. Changes from their tenets were made, with a flood of verbiage, by Chrysippus, and from Chrysippus also a violent change was made by his pupil Erasistratus, a son of the daughter of Aristotle. For curing King Antiochus he received a hundred talents from King Ptolemy, his son, to begin my account of the prizes also of the profession.

4. Another medical clique, calling themselves 'Empirics' because they relied on experience, arose in Sicily, where Acron of Agrigentum received support from Empedocles, the physical scientist.

5. These schools disagreed with each other, and were all condemned by Herophilus, who divided pulsation into rhythmic feet for the various periods of life. Then this sect also was abandoned, because it was necessary for its members to have booklearning, and that sect also was changed that afterwards had been founded, as I have related, by Asclepiades. He had a pupil called Themison, who at first followed his master, but then later in life he also changed his tenets, a further change being made by Antonius Musa, another pupil of Asclepiades, with the support of the late Emperor Augustus, whose life in a dangerous illness he had saved by reversing the treatment. I pass over many famous physicians, among them men like Cassius, Calpetanus, Arruntius and Rubrius. Two hundred and fifty thousand sesterces were their annual incomes from the Emperors. Q. Stertinius said that the Emperors were in his debt because he had been content with an income of five hundred thousand sesterces a year, proving by a counting of homes that his city practice had brought in six hundred thousand. A like fortune also was showered by Claudius Caesar upon his brother, and the estates, although exhausted by beautifying Naples with buildings, left to the heir thirty million, Arruntius alone in the same age leaving as much. Then there arose Vettius Valens, celebrated for his intrigue with Messalina, wife of Claudius Caesar, and equally so for his eloquence. Chancing to gain followers and power he founded a new sect. The same generation in the principate of Nero rushed over to Thessalus, who swept away all received doctrines, and preached against the physicians of every age with a sort of rabid frenzy. The wisdom and talent he showed can be fully judged even by one piece of evidence: on his monument on the Appian Way he described himself as iatronices, the conqueror of physicians. No actor, no driver of a three-horse chariot, was attended by greater crowds than he as he walked abroad in public, when Crinas of Massilia united medicine with another art, being of a rather careful and superstitious nature, and regulated the diet of patients by the motions of the stars according to the almanacs of the astronomers, keeping watch for the proper times, and outstripped Thessalus in influence. Recently he left ten millions, and the sum he spent upon building the walls of his native city and other fortifications was almost as much. These men were ruling our destinies when suddenly the state was invaded by Charmis, also from Massilia, who condemned not only previous physicians but also hot baths, persuading people to bathe in cold water even during the winter frosts. His patients he plunged into tanks, and we used to see old men, consulars, actually stiff with cold in order to show off. Of this we have today a confirmation even in the writings of Annaeus Seneca. There is no doubt that all these, in their hunt for popularity by means of some novelty, did not hesitate to buy it with our lives. Hence those wretched, quarrelsome consultations at the bedside of the patient, no consultant agreeing with another lest he should appear to acknowledge a superior. Hence too that gloomy 'inscription on monuments.' It was the crowd of 'physicians that killed me.' Medicine changes every day, being furbished up again and again, and we are swept along on the puffs of the clever brains of Greece. It is obvious that anyone among them who acquires power of speaking at once assumes supreme command over our life and slaughter, just as if thousands of peoples do not live without physicians, though not without physic, as the Roman people have done for more than six hundred years, although not slow themselves to welcome science and art, being actually greedy for medicine until trial led them to condemn it.

6. In fact this is the time to review the outstanding features of medical practices in the days of our fathers. Cassius Hemina, one of our earliest authorities, asserts that the first physician to come to Rome was Archagathus, son of Lysanias, who migrated from the Peloponnesus in the year of the city 535, when Lucius Aemilius and Marcus Livius were consuls. He adds that citizen rights were given him, and a surgery at the crossway of Acilius was bought with public money for his own use. They say that he was a wound specialist, and that his arrival at first was wonderfully popular, but presently from his savage use of the knife and cautery he was nicknamed 'Executioner,' and his profession, with all physicians, became objects of loathing. The truth of this can be seen most plainly in the opinion of Marcus Cato, whose authority is very little enhanced by his triumph and censorship; so much more comes from his personality. Therefore I will lay before my readers his very words.

7. I shall speak about those Greek fellows in can their proper place, son Marcus, and point out the result of my enquiries at Athens, and convince you what benefit comes from dipping into their literature, and not making a close study of it. They are a quite worthless people, and an intractable one, and you must consider my words prophetic. When that race gives us its literature it will corrupt all things, and even all the more if it sends hither its physicians. They have conspired together to murder all foreigners with their physic, but this very thing they do for a fee, to gain credit and to destroy us easily. They are also always dubbing us foreigners, and to fling more filth on us than on others they give us the foul nickname of Opici. I have forbidden you to have dealings with physicians.

8. And this Cato died in the 605th year of the City and the 85th of his own life, so that nobody can think that he lacked opportunities in public life, or length of years in private life, to gather experiences. What then? Are we to believe that he condemned a very useful thing? No, by heaven! For he adds the medical treatment by which he prolonged his own life and that of his wife to an advanced age, by these very remedies in fact with which I am now dealing, and he claims to have a notebook of recipes, by the aid of which he treated his son, servants, and household; these I rearrange under the diseases for which they are used. It was not medicine that our forefathers condemned, but the medical profession, chiefly because they refused to pay fees to profiteers in order to save their lives. For this reason even when Aesculapius was brought as a god to Rome, they are said to have built his temple outside the city, and on another occasion upon an island, and when, a long time too after Cato, they banished Greeks from Italy, to have expressly included e physicians. I will magnify yet further their wisdom. Medicine alone of the Greek arts we serious Romans have not yet practised; in spite of its great profits only a very few of our citizens have touched upon it, and even these were at once deserters to the Greeks; nay, if medical treatises are written in a language other than Greek they have no prestige even among unlearned men ignorant of Greek, and if any should understand them they have less faith in what concerns their own health. Accordingly, heaven knows, the medical profession is the only one in which anybody professing to be a physician is at once trusted, although nowhere else is an untruth more dangerous. We pay however no attention to the danger, so great for each of us is the seductive sweetness of wishful thinking. Besides this, there is no law to punish criminal ignorance, no instance of retribution. Physicians acquire their knowledge from our dangers, making experiments at the cost of our lives. Only a physician can commit homicide with complete impunity. Nay, the victim, not the criminal, is abused; his is the blame for want of self-control, and it is actually the dead who are brought to account. Panels of judges are tested according to custom by the censorial powers of the Emperor; their examination invades the privacy of our homes; to give a verdict on a petty sum a man is summoned from Cadiz and the Pillars of Hercules; indeed, before the penalty of exile can be inflicted forty-five selected men are given power to vote on it; yet on the judge himself what manner of men sit in consultation to murder him out of hand! We deserve it all, so long as not one of us cares to know what is necessary for his own good health. We walk with the feet of others, we recognise our acquaintances with the eyes of others, rely on others' memory to make our salutations, and put into the hands of others our very lives; the precious things of nature, which support life, we have quite lost. We have nothing else of our own save our luxuries. I will not abandon Cato exposed by me to the hatred of so vainglorious a profession, or yet that Senate which shared his views, and that without seizing, as one might expect, any chances of accusation against the profession. For what has been a more fertile source of poisonings? Whence more conspiracies against wills? Yes, and through it too adulteries occur even in our imperial homes, that of Eudemus with Livia, wife of Drusus Caesar, and that of Valens with the royal lady with whom his name is linked. We may grant that the blame for such sins may lie with persons, not with the medical profession; Cato, I believe, had no more fears for Rome about these matters than he had about the presence in Rome of royal ladies. Let me not even bring charges against their avarice, their greedy bargains made with those whose fate lies in the balance, the prices charged for anodynes, the earnest-money paid for death, or their mysterious instructions, that a cataract should be moved away and not pulled off. The result is that the brightest side of the picture is the vast number of marauders; for it is not shame but the competition of rivals that brings down fees. It is well known that the Charmis aforesaid exchanged one sick provincial for 200,000 sesterces by a bargain with Alcon the wound-surgeon; that Charmis was condemned and fined by the Emperor Claudius the sum of 1,000,000 sesterces, yet as an exile in Gaul and on his return from banishment he amassed a like sum within a few years. Let the blame for this sort of thing also be laid on persons. I must not accuse even the dregs of that mob or its ignorance: the irresponsibility of the physicians themselves, with their out-of-the-way use of

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hot water in sickness, their strict fasts for patients, who when in a fainting condition are stuffed with food several times a day, their thousand ways moreover of changing their minds, their orders to the kitchen, and their compound ointments; for none of life's seductive attractions have they refrained from touching. I am inclined to believe that our ancestors were displeased with imports from abroad and with the fixing of prices by foreigners, but not that Cato foresaw these things when he condemned the profession. There is an elaborate mixture called theriace, which is compounded of countless ingredients, although Nature has given as many remedies, anyone of which would be enough by itself. The Mithridatic antidote is composed of fifty-four ingredients, no two of them having the same weight, while of some is prescribed one sixtieth part of one denarius. Which of the gods, in the name of Truth, fixed these absurd proportions? No human brain could have been sharp enough. It is plainly a showy parade of the art, and a colossal boast of science. And not even the physicians know their facts; I have discovered that instead of Indian cinnabar there is commonly added to medicines, through a confusion of names, red lead, which, as I shall point out when I discuss pigments, is a poison. These things however concern the health of individuals; but those other practices, which Cato feared and foresaw, much less harmful and less regarded, such as the heads of that profession themselves admit about themselves, those, I say, have ruined the morals of the Empire, I mean the practices to which we submit when in healthwrestlers' ointments, as though they were intended to treat ill health, broiling baths, by which they have persuaded us that food is cooked in our bodies, so that everybody leaves them the weaker for the treatment, and the most submissive are carried out to be buried, the draughts taken fasting, vomitings followed by further heavy potations, effeminate depilations produced by their resins, and even the pubes of women exposed to public view. It is certainly true that our degeneracy, due to medicine more than to anything else, proves daily that Cato was a genuine prophet and oracle when he stated that it is enough to dip into the works of Greek brains without making a close study of them. Thus much must be said in defence of that Senate and those 600 years of the Roman State, against a profession where the treacherous conditions allow good men to give authority to the worst, and at the same time against the stupid convictions of certain people who consider nothing beneficial unless it is costly. For I feel sure that some will be disgusted at the animals I shall treat of, although Virgil did not disdain to speak quite unnecessarily of ants and weevils, and of:

'sleeping places heaped up by cockroaches that avoid the light.'

Nor did Homer disdain amid the battles of the gods to tell of the greed of the fly, nor yet did Nature disdain to create them because she creates man. Therefore let each take into account, not things themselves, but causes and results.

9. But I shall commence with admitted medical aids, that is, with wools and eggs, to give first honours to things of the first importance. Certain matters even out of their proper place it will be necessary to discuss, at least as incidental asides. Nor would material be wanting for rhetoric if it pleased me to pay attention to anything else than to making my work trustworthy, seeing that fable even says that among the first a medicines was one from the ashes and nest of the phoenix, just as though the story were fact and not myth. It is to joke with mankind to point out remedies that return only after a thousand years. The old Romans assigned to wool even supernatural powers, for they bade brides touch with it the doorposts of their new homes; and besides dress and protection from cold, unwashed wool supplies very many remedies if dipped in oil and wine or vinegar, according as the particular need is for an emollient or a pungent remedy, for an astringent or a relaxing one, being applied, and frequently moistened, for dislocations and aching sinews. For dislocations some add salt also; others apply with wool pounded rue and fat, likewise for bruises and swellings. To rub too the teeth and gums with wool and honey is said to make the breath more pleasant, and to fumigate with wool benefits phrenitis. Nose bleeding is checked by inserting wool and rose oil; another way is to put it into the ears and plug them rather firmly. It is applied moreover with honey to old sores. Wounds it heals if dipped in wine, or vinegar, or cold water and oil, and then squeezed out. A ram's fleece washed in cold water and soaked in oil, soothes inflammations of the uterus in women's complaints, and by fumigation reduces prolapsus. Unwashed wool applied or used as a pessary extracts a dead foetus; it also stays uterine fluxes. Plugged into the bites of a mad dog it is taken away after the seventh day. With cold water it cures hangnails. Again, dipped into a hot mixture of soda, sulphur, oil, vinegar and liquid pitch, all as hot as possible, and applied twice a day, wool relieves lumbago. Unwashed ram's wool also stays bleeding if bound round the joints of the extremities. The most highly esteemed wool is: all from the neck, and that from the districts of Galatia, Tareutum, Attica, and Miletus. Unwashed wool is applied to excoriations, blows, bruises, contusions, crushed parts, galling, falls, pains in the head and elsewhere, and with vinegar and rose oil to inflammation of the stomach. The ash of wool is applied to chafings, wounds, and burns. lit is added to medicaments for the eyes, and also used for fistulas and suppurating ears. For this purpose some take shorn wool, others wool plucked out, cut off the ends, dry, card, place in a vessel of unbaked clay, steep in honey, and burn. Others place under it a layer of pitch-pine chips, make several alternate layers, sprinkle with oil, and set on fire. The ash is rubbed by the hand into little pots, with water added, and then allowed to settle. The operation is repeated several times, with changes of water, until the ash becomes slightly astringent to the tongue without stinging it; then it is stored away. It has a caustic property that makes it an excellent detergent for the eyelids.

10. Moreover, even the greasy sweat of sheep that clings to the wool under the hollows of their flanks and forelegsit is called oesypum (suint)has uses almost innumerable. The most prized is that obtained from Attic sheep. There are several ways of preparing it, but the most approved is to take fresh-plucked wool from the parts mentioned, or first to gather the greasy sweat from any part, then warm it in a bronze pot over a slow fire, cool it again, collect in an earthen vessel the fat that floats on the top, and boil again the stuff originally used. Both the fats obtained are washed in cold water, strained through linen, heated in the sun until they become white and transparent, and then stored away in a box of stennum. The test of its purity is that it should retain the strong smell of the grease, and when rubbed with the hand in water, should not melt, but become white like white-lead. It is very useful for inflammations of the eyes and hard places on the eyelids. Some bake it in an earthen jar until it is no longer fatty, holding that in this condition it is a more useful remedy for sores that have eaten into the eyelids, for indurations there, and for watery itch at the corners. It heals, not only sores of the eyes, but also with goose grease those of the mouth and genitals. With melilot and butter it cures inflammations of the uterus, chaps in the anus, and condylomata. Its other uses I shall set out in order later on. The sweaty grease too that gathers into pills about the tail, dried by itself and ground to powder, is wonderfully beneficial if rubbed on the teeth, even when these are loose, and on the gums when they suffer from malignant, running sores. Furthermore, clean pieces of fleece are applied to blind pains, either by themselves or with sulphur added, and their ash to affections of the genitals, being so potent that they are even placed over medicinal applications. Wool is also the best of remedies for sheep themselves if they lose their appetite and will not pasture. For if their tails are tied as tightly as possible with wool plucked therefrom they at once begin to feed, and it is said that all the tail outside the knot dies off.

11. Wool has also a close affinity with eggs, the two being laid together on the forehead for eye fluxes. There is no need for the wool, when so used, to have been treated with radicula, or for anything else except to spread on it white of egg and powdered frankincense. White of egg by itself, poured into the eyes, checks fluxes and cools in laminations, although some prefer to add saffron, and eggs can take the place of water in eye salves. But for infant ophthahnia scarcely anything else is so remedial as egg mixed with fresh butter. Eggs beaten up with olive oil relieve erysipelas if beet leaves are tied on top. White of egg mixed with pounded gum ammoniac sets back eyelashes, and removes spots on the face with pine nuts and a little honey. The face itself if smeared with egg is not burnt by the sun. If scalds are at once covered with egg they do not blistersome add barley flour and a pinch of saltwhile sores from a burn are made wonderfully better by roasted barley with white of egg and pig's lard. The same treatment is used for affections of the anus, and even for procidence in the case of infants; for chaps on the feet the white of eggs is boiled down with two denarii by weight of white lead, an equal weight of litharge, a little myrrh, and then wine; for erysipelas is used the white of three eggs with starch. It is also said that white of egg closes wounds and expels stone from the bladder. The yolk of eggs, boiled hard, mixed with a little saffron and honey, and applied in woman's milk, relieves pains of the eyes; or it may be placed over the eyes on wool with rose oil and honey wine, or applied in honey wine with ground celery-seed and pearl barley. Swallowed liquid, without letting it touch the teeth, the yolk by itself is good for cough, catarrh of the chest, and rough throats. Applied externally or taken internally the raw yolk is specific for the bite of the haemorrhois. It is also good for the kidneys, and for irritation or ulceration of the bladder. For spitting of blood five yolks of egg are swallowed raw in a hemina of wine, and for dysentery they are taken with the ash of their shells, poppy juice, and wine. With the same weight of plump raisins and pomegranate rind yolk of egg is given in equal doses for three days to sufferers from coeliac affections. Another way is to take the yolks of three eggs, three ounces of old bacon fat and of honey, and three cyathi of old wine, beat them up until they are of the consistency of honey, and take in water when required pieces of the size of a filbert. Yet another way is to fry three eggs after steeping them whole the day before in vinegar, and to use them so for spleen diseases, but to take them in three cyathi of must for the spitting of blood. Eggs are used with bulbs and honey for persistent bruises. Boiled and taken in wine they also check menstruation; inflation too of the uterus if applied raw with oil and wine. They are useful too, with goose grease and rose oil, for pains in the neck; for affections of the anus also, if hardened over fire and applied while the additional benefit of the heat is still retained; for condylomata with rose oil; for burns they are hardened in water, then over hot coals; when the shells have been burned off, finally the yolks are applied in rose oil. Eggs become entirely yolk (they are then called sitista) when the hen has sat upon them for three days before they are taken up. The chicks found in eggs taken with half a gall nut settle a disordered stomach, but care must be taken to eat no other food for the next two hours. There are also given to dysentery patients chicks boiled in the egg itself and added to a hemina of dry wine and the same quantity of oil and pearl barley. The membrane peeled off the shell of a raw or boiled egg heals cracks in the lips. The shell reduced to ash and taken in wine cures discharges of blood. It must be burnt without the membrane. From this ash is also made a dentitrice. It also checks menstruation if applied with myrrh. The strength of the shells is so great that no force or weight will break them when the eggs are perpendicular, but only when the oval is slightly inclined. Childbirth is made easier by whole eggs, with rue, dill, and cummin, taken in wine. Itch and irritation of the skin are removed by a mixture of oil, cedar-resin, and eggs; running ulcers too on the head by eggs mixed with cyclamen. For spitting of pus or blood is swallowed a raw egg warmed with juice of cutleek and an equal amount of Greek honey. There are given to patients with a cough boiled eggs beaten up with honey, or raw eggs with raisin wine and an equal measure of oil. Eggs are also injected for complaints of the male organs, the dose being one egg with three cyathi of raisin wine and half an ounce of starch, given after the bath; for snake bite they are applied after boiling them and beating up with the addition of cress. How helpful in many ways eggs are as food is well known, for they pass a swollen throat and incidentally by their heat soothe it. There is no other food so nourishing in sickness without overloading the stomach, and it has the nature of both food and drink. I have said that the shell is softened of eggs steeped in vinegar. Eggs so prepared and kneaded into bread with flour give refreshment to patients with coeliac affections. Some think it more useful, after softening them in this way, to bake them in shallow pans; when so prepared they check not only diarrhoea but also excessive menstruation; or if the attack is specially severe they are swallowed raw with flour and water, or the yolks from these eggs by themselves are boiled hard in vinegar, and then roasted with ground pepper to check diarrhoea. There is also made for dysentery an excellent remedy by pouring an egg into a new earthen vessel, and so that there may be equal quantities of all the ingredients, in the shell of this egg are measured honey, then vinegar, and oil, which are mixed, and stirred many times. The more excellent the quality of these ingredients the more sovereign will the remedy be. Others substitute for oil and vinegar the same amounts of red resin and wine. There is yet another method of compounding: only the quantity of oil remains the same, and with it are boiled down together two sixtieths of a denarius of pine bark, one of the shrub I have called rhus, and five oboli of honey, but no other food must be taken until four hours have passed. Many also treat colic by beating up two eggs together with four heads of garlic, warming with a hemina of wine, and so giving the mixture as a draught. To omit no attractive feature of eggs, white of egg mixed with quicklime fastens together broken glass. So great indeed is its power that wood dipped in egg will not take fire, and not even cloth stained with it will burn. But I have been speaking only about farmyard hen's eggs; there remain also other birds, the eggs of which are of great utility; about them I shall speak on the proper occasions.

12. There is, moreover, a kind of egg which is very famous in the Gauls, but not mentioned by the Greeks. Snakes intertwined in great numbers in a studied embrace make these round objects with the saliva from their jaws and the foam from their bodies. It is called a 'wind egg.' The Druids say that it is tossed aloft by the snakes' hisses, and that it ought to be caught in a military cloak before it can touch the earth. The catcher, they say, must flee on horseback, for the serpents chase him until they are separated by some intervening river. A test of a genuine egg is that it floats against the current, even if it is set in gold. Such is the clever cunning of the Magi in wrapping up their frauds that they give out as their opinion that it must be caught at a fixed period of the moon, as if agreement between snakes and moon for this act depended upon the will of man. I indeed have seen this egg, which was like a round apple of medium size, and remarkable for its hard covering pitted with many gristly cup-hollows, as it were, like those on the tentacles of an octopus. The Druids praise it. highly as the giver of victory in the law-courts and of easy access to potentates. Herein they are guilty of such lying fraud that a Roman knight of the Vocontii, for keeping one in his bosom during a lawsuit, was executed by the late Emperor Claudius, and for no other reason. However, this

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embrace and fertile union of snakes seem to be the reason why foreign nations, when discussing peace terms, have made the herald's staff surrounded with figures of snakes; and it is not the custom for the snakes on a herald's staff to have a crest.

13. As in this Book I am going to treat of the very useful goose egg, and of the goose itself, our respects are due to the famous preparation called commagenum. It is made from goose grease, a very popular medicament everywhere, [and for this purpose especially in Commagene, a district of Syria] with cinnamon, cassia, white pepper, and the herb called cornmagene. The mixture is put into vessels and buried in snow; it has a pleasant smell, and is very useful for chills, sprains, blind or sudden pains, and for all the complaints treated by anodynes being equally good as an ointment and as a medicine. It is also prepared in Syria in another way. The grease of the birds is treated in the manner I shall describe, and there are added to it erysisceptrum, balsam-wood, ground palm, and also crushed reed, the same quantity of each as of the grease, the whole being warmed two or three times in wine. But it must be prepared in winter, for it will riot set in summer unless wax is added. There are many other remedies made from the goose, which surprise me as much as the many from the goat, for the goose and the crow are said to be afflicted with disease from the beginning of summer well into the autumn.

14. I have spoken of the fame won by the geese which detected the ascent of the Capitoline Hill by the Gauls. For the same reasons dogs are punished with death every year, being crucified alive on a cross of elder between the temple of Juventas and that of Sununanus. But the customs of the ancients compel me to say several other things about the dog. Sucking puppies were thought to be such pure food that they even took the place of sacrificial victims to placate the divinities. Genita Mana is worshipped with the sacrifice of a puppy, and at dinners in honour of the gods even now puppy flesh is put on the table. That it was commonly in fact a special dish at inaugural banquets there is evidence in the comedies of Plautus's Dog's blood is supposed to be the best remedy for arrow poison, and this animal seems also to have shown mankind the use of emetics. Other highly praised remedies from the dog I shall speak of on the appropriate occasions. I will now go on with my proposed plan.

15. For snake bites efficacious remedies are considered to be fresh dung of sheep boiled down in wine and applied, and mice cut in two and placed on the wound. The nature of mice is not to be despised, especially in their agreement, as I have said, with the heavenly bodies, for the number of their liver filaments becomes greater or less with the light of the moon. The Magi declare that if a mouse's liver in a fig is offered to pigs, that animal will follow the offerer, adding that it has a similar effect on a human being also, but that the spell is broken by drinking a cyathus of oil.

16. Of weasels there are two kinds, one wild and larger than the other, called by the Greeks ictis. The gall of both is said to be efficacious against asps, though otherwise poisonous. The other kind, however, which strays about our homes, and moves daily, as Cicero tells us, its nest and kittens, chases away snakes. Its flesh, preserved in salt and given in doses of one denarius by weight, is given in three cyathi of drink to those who have been bitten, or its stomach stuffed with coriander seed is kept to dry and taken in wine. A kitten of the weasel is even better still for this purpose.

17. Certain things, revolting to speak of, are so strongly recommended by our authorities that it would not be right to pass them by, if it is indeed true that medicines are produced by that famous sympathy and antipathy between things. The nature for instance of bugs, a most foul creature and nauseating even to speak of, is said to be effective against the bite of serpents, and especially of asps, as also against all poisons. As proof, they say that hens are not killed by an asp on the day they have eaten bugs, and that their flesh then is most beneficial to such as have been bitten. Of the accounts given the least disgusting is how they are applied to bites with the blood of a tortoise, how fumigation with them makes leeches loose their hold, and how they destroy leeches swallowed by animals if administered in drink. And yet some actually anoint the eyes with bugs pounded in salt and woman's milk, and the ears with bugs in honey and rose oil. Those which are field bugs and found in rnallows are burnt, and the ash mixed with rose oil is poured into the ears. The other virtues attributed to bugs, that they are cures for vomiting, quartans, and other diseases, although it is prescribed that they should be swallowed in egg, wax, or a bean, I hold to be imaginary and not worth repeating. Only as a remedy for lethargy are they employed with reason, for they overcome the narcotic poison of asps, and are given in doses of seven in a cyathus of water, and for children in doses of four. For strangury bugs have been inserted into the urethra. So true it is that the Universal Mother gave birth to nothing without very good reasons. Furthermore, a couple of bugs attached to the left arm in wool stolen from shepherds have been said to keep away night fevers, and day fevers when attached in a red cloth. On the other hand, the scolopendra is their enemy, and kills them by fumigation.

18. Asps kill those they strike by torpor and coma, inflicting of all serpents the most incurable bites. But their venom, if it comes into contact with the blood or a fresh wound, is immediately fatal, if with an old sore, its action is delayed. Apart from this, however much is drunk, it is harmless, having no corrosive property. And so the flesh of animals killed by their bite may be eaten with safety. I should hesitate to put forward a remedy obtained from these creatures, had not Marcus Varro, in the seventy-third year of his life, recorded that a sovereign remedy for asp bites is for the victim to drink his own urine.

19. The basilisk, which puts to flight even the very serpents, killing them sometimes by its smell, is said to be fatal to a man if it only looks at him. Its blood the Magi praise to the skies, telling how it thickens as does pitch, and resembles pitch in colour, but becomes a brighter red than cinnabar when diluted. They claim that by it petitions to potentates, and even prayers to the gods, are made successful; that it provides cures for disease and amulets against sorcery. Some call it Saturn's blood.

20. The dragon has no venom. Its head, buried under the threshold of doors after the gods have been propitiated by worship, brings, we are assured, good luck to a home; those rubbed with an ointment of his eyes, dried and beaten up with honey, are not panic-stricken, however nervous, by phantoms of the night; the fat of the heart, tied in the skin of a gazelle on the upper arm by deer sinew, makes for victory in lawsuits; the first vertebra smoothes the approach to potentates; and its teeth, wrapped in the skin of a roe and tied on with deer sinew, make masters kind and potentates gracious. But all these are nothing compared with a mixture that the lying Magi assert makes men invincible, composed of: the tail and head of a dragon, hair from the forehead of a lion and lion's marrow, foam of a victorious racehorse, and the claw of a dog, all attached in deer hide with deer sinew and gazelle sinew plaited alternately. To expose these lies will be no less worth while than to describe their remedies for snakebite, for these too are some of the sorceries of the Magi. Dragon's fat is shunned by venomous creatures, and so too, when burnt, is that of the ichneumon; they shun too those rubbed with nettles pounded in vinegar.

21. The head of a viper, placed on the bite, even though the same viper did not inflict it, is infinitely beneficial, as is the snake itself, held up on a stick in steamit is said to undo the harm doneor if the viper is burnt and the ash applied. But Nigidius asserts that a serpent instinctively comes back to the person it has bitten. Some split skilfully the head between the ears, in order to extract the pebble it is said to swallow when alarmed, but others use the entire head itself. From the viper are made the lozenges called by the Greeks theriaci. Lengths of three fingers are cut off from head and tail, the intestines drawn with the livid part that adheres to the spine, the rest of the body, with the vertebrae extracted and fine flour added, is thoroughly boiled in a pan of water with dill, and the mixture dried in the shade and made into lozenges, which are used in making many medicameats. We must note, it appears, that only from the viper can the preparation be made. Some take the fat from the body, cleaned as described above, boil down with a sectarius of oil to one-half, add three drops from it when necessary to oil, and use as ointment to keep off all harmful creatures.

22. Furthermore, it is well known that the application of the entrails of a serpent itself is a help for the bites however hard to cure of any of them, and that those who once have swallowed the boiled liver of a viper are never afterwards bitten by a serpent. A snake too is venomous only when during the month it is angered by the moon, and it is beneficial if a snake is caught alive, beaten up in water, and a bite fomented with the preparation. Moreover, many remedies are believed to be obtained from a snake, as I shall relate in their proper order, and this is why it is sacred to Aesculapius. Democritus indeed invents some weird stories about snakes, how for instance they make it possible to understand the language of birds. The Aesculapian snake [note: the word anguis is here used interchangeably with serpent] was brought to Rome from Bpidaurus, and a snake is commonly kept as a pet even in our homes; so that were not their eggs destroyed in fires there would be an incurable plague of them. The most beautiful snake in the world is the kind, called hydri, that is amphibious, no other snake being more venomous. Its liver when preserved does good to those who have been bitten. The scorpion when pounded up counteracts the poison of the spotted lizard, for there is made from these lizards an evil drug: if one has been drowned in wine it covers the face of those who drink it with an eruption of freckle-like spots. So women, plotting to spoil the beauty of rival courtesans, kill a spotted lizard in the ointment used by them. The remedy is yolk of egg, honey, and soda. The gall of this kind of lizard, beaten up in water, is said to attract weasels.

23. Of all venomous creatures the salamander is the most wicked, for while the others strike individuals, and do not kill several together, to say nothing (according to report) of their dying of remorse when they have bitten a man, and of earth's refusal to grant them further admission, the salamander can kill whole tribes unawares. For if it has crawled into a tree, it infects with its venom all the fruit, killing like aconite by its freezing property those who have eaten of it. Nay, moreover, if a slice of bread is placed upon wood or stone that has been touched by a salamander, or if one falls into a well, the bread and the water, like the fruit, are poisoned, while all the hair on the whole body falls off if its saliva has sprinkled any part whatever of the body, even the sole of the foot. Nevertheless, although it is so venomous a creature, some animals, such as pigs, eat it. Under the sway of that same antipathy between things it is likely that his venom is neutralized best of all by those who eat the salamander; but among approved remedies are cantharides taken in drink or a lizard taken in food. The other antidotes I have spoken of, and shall speak of, in the appropriate places. As to the power to protect against fires, which the Magi attribute to the animal, since according to them no other can put fire out, could the salamander really do so, Rome by trial would have already found out. Sextius tells us that as food the salamander, preserved in honey after entrails, feet, and head have been cut away, is aphrodisiac but he denies its power to put fire out.

24. Of birds, the chief protection against serpents is the vulture, and it has been noticed that there is less power in the black vulture. They say that the fumes of their burning feathers chase serpents away, and that those who carry about them a vulture's heart are protected not only from the attacks of serpents, but also from those of wild beasts, bandits, and angry potentates.

25. The flesh of chickens, torn away and applied warm to the bite, overcomes the venom of serpents, as will also a chicken's brain taken in wine. The Parthians prefer to put on the wound the brain of a hen. Chicken broth also, taken by the mouth, is a splendid remedy, being wonderfully good for many other purposes. Panthers and lions do not touch those rubbed over with this broth, especially if garlic has been boiled in it. A rather powerful purge is the broth of an old cock, which is also good for prolonged fevers, paralysed and palsied limbs, diseases of the joints, headaches, eye-fluxes, flatulence, loss of appetite, incipient tenesmus, complaints of liver, kidneys, and bladder, indigestion and asthma. And so instructions even are current for making it: they tell us that it is more effective boiled with sea-cabbage, or tunny-fish, or caper, or celery, or the herb mercury, with polypodium or dill, but most beneficial when three congii of water are boiled down to three heminae, with the above-mentioned herbs, cooled in the open air and administered, the best time being when an emetic has preceded. I will not pass over a marvel, though it has nothing to do with medicine: if the limbs of hens are stirred up in melted gold they absorb it all into themselves, so violent a poison of gold is chicken. But cocks themselves do not crow if they have a collar of wood shavings round their necks.

26. A help against snakebite is also flesh of doves or swallows freshly torn away, and the feet of a homed owl burnt with the herb plumbago. Speaking of this bird I will not omit a specimen of Magian fraud, for besides their other monstrous lies they declare that an horned owl's heart, placed on the left breast of a sleeping woman, makes her tell all her secrets, and that men carrying it into battle are made braver by it. From the horned owl's egg they prescribe recipes for the hair. Now who, I ask, could have ever looked at an horned owl's egg, when it is a portent to have seen the bird itself? Who in any case could have tried it, particularly on the hair? The blood, indeed, of a horned owl's chick is guaranteed even to curl the hair. Of much the same kind would seem to be also their stories about the bat: that if carried alive three times round the house and then fastened head downwards through the window, it acts as a talisman, and is specifically such to sheepfolds if carried round them three times and hung up by the feet over the threshold. Its blood also with thistle the Magi praise as one of the sovereign remedies for snakebite.

27. The phalangium is unknown to Italy and of several kinds. One is like the ant, but much larger, having a red head and the rest of the body black with white spots. Its wound is more painful than that of the wasp, and it lives especially near furnaces and mills. One remedy is to show to the bitten person another phalangium of the same kind; for this purpose are kept dead specimens. Their dry bodies are also found, which are pounded and taken as a remedy, as are a weasel's young prepared as I have described. Among classes of spiders the Greeks also include a phalangion which they distinguish by the name of 'wolf.' There is also a third kind of phalangium, a hairy spider with an enormous head. When this is cut open, there are said to be found inside two little worms, which, tied in deer skin as an amulet on women before sunrise, act as a contraceptive, as Caecilius has told us in his Commentarii. They retain this property for a year. Of all such preventives this only would it be right for me to mention, to help those women who are so prolific that they stand in need of such a respite. There is another phalangium called rhox, like a black grape, with a very small month under the abdomen, and very short legs as though not fully grown. Its bite is as painful as a scorpion's sting, forming in the urine as it were spider's webs The asterion is exactly like it, except that it is marked with

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white streaks. Its bite makes the knees weak. Worse than either is the blue spider; it is covered with black hair, and causes dimness of vision and vomit like spider's web. There is an even worse phalangium, which differs from the hornet only in having no wings. The bite from one of this kind also makes the body thin. The myrmecion in its head resembles the ant, with a black body marked by white spots, and a bite as painful as a wasp. There are two kinds of the phalanginm called tetragnathius, the worse of which has two white lines crossed on the middle of its head, and its bite makes the mouth swell; but the ash-coloured kind, which is whitish in its hind part, is less vicious. Least dangerous of all is the ash-coloured spider which spins its web all over our walls to catch flies. For the bites of all spiders remedial is a cock's brain with a little pepper taken in vinegar and water, five ants also taken in drink, the ash of sheep's dung applied in vinegar, or spiders themselves of any sort that have rotted in oil.

The bite of the shrewmouse is healed by lamb's rennet taken in wine, by the ash of a ram's hoof with honey, and by a young weasel, as I have prescribed for snakebite. If it has bitten draught-animals, a freshly killed mouse is applied with salt, or a bat's gall in vinegar. The shrew-mouse itself, torn asunder and applied, is a remedy for its own bite; but if a pregnant shrewmouse has bitten, it bursts open at once. It is best if the mouse applied is the one which gave the bite, but they preserve them for this purpose in oil, or enclosed in clay. Another remedy for its bite is earth from a wheel rut. For they say that it will not cross a wheel rut owing to a sort of natural torpor.

28. The stelio is said in its turn to be such a great enemy to scorpions that the mere sight of one strikes them with panic, and torpor with cold sweat. Accordingly they let it rot in oil and so smear on scorpion wounds. Some boil down that oil with litharge to make a sort of ointment which they thus apply. This lizard the Greeks call colotes, ascalabotes, or, galeotes. This kind is not found in Italy, for it is covered with spots, has a shrill cry, and feeds on spiders, all which characteristics are lacking in our stelios.

29. Beneficial too is ash of hen's dung applied, the liver of a python, a lizard or a mouse torn open, the scorpion laid on the wound it has itself inflicted, or roasted and taken in food or in two cyathi of neat wine. Scorpions are peculiar in that they do not sting the palm of the hand or touch any but hairy parts. A pebble of any kind, if the part next the ground is laid on the wound, relieves the pain, and a potsherd too is said to be a cure if a part covered with earth is applied just as it was taken upthose making the application must not look back, and must take care that the sun does not behold themand another cure is an application of pounded earthworms. Many other remedies are obtained from earthworms, so they are kept in honey for this purpose. The night owl is an enemy of bees, wasps, hornets, and leeches, and those are not stung by them who carry about their person a beak of the woodpecker of Mars. Hostile to them are also the smallest of the locusts, which are wingless and called attelebi. There is also a venomous kind of ant, not generally found in Italy. Cicero calls it solipuga and in Baetica it is called salpuga. A bat's heart is hostile to these, as it is to all ants. I have said that cantharides are hostile to salamanders.

30. But herein arises a much-disputed question, for the fly taken in drink is a poison, causing excruciating pain in the bladder. Cossinus, a Roman knight, well known for his friendship with the Emperor Nero, fell a victim to lichen. Caesar called in a specialist physician from Egypt, who decided on preliminary treatment with Spanish fly taken in drink, and the patient died. But there is no doubt that, with juice of taminian grapes, sheep suet, or that of a she-goat, an external application is beneficial. In what part of the Spanish fly itself the poison lies authorities disagree; some think in the feet and in the head, hut others say not. The only point agreed upon is that, wherever the poison lies, their wings help. The fly itself is bred from grub found in the sponge-like substance on the stalk of the wild rose especially, but also very plentifully on the ash. The third kind breeds on the white rose, but is less efficacious. The most potent flies of all are marked with yellow lines across their wings and are plump; much less potent are those that are small, broad and hairy; the least useful however are of one colour, and thin. They are stored away in an earthen pot, not lined with pitch, but the mouth closed with a cloth. They are covered with full-blown roses and hung over boiling vinegar and salt until the steam, passing through the cloth, suffocates them. Then they are stored away. Their property is to cauterise the flesh and to form scabs. Of the same character is the pine-caterpillar, which is found on the pitch-pine, and the buprestis, and they are prepared in a similar way. All these are very efficacious for leprous sores and lichen. They are also said to be emmenagogue and diuretic, and so Hippocrates used them also for dropsy. Spanish fly was the subject of a charge against Cato Uticensis that he had sold poison at an auction of royal property, for he had knocked some down for 60,000 sesterces. And I may remark in passing that at this sale there was sold for 30,000 sesterees ostrich suet, a far more useful fat for all purposes than goose-grease.

31. I have also mentioned a kinds of poisonous honey. To counteract it honey is used in which bees have died. The same honey is also a remedy for illness caused by eating fish.

32. If a person has been bitten by a mad dog, as protection from hydrophobia is given by an application to the wound of ash from the burnt head of a dog. Now all reduction to ash (that I may describe it once for all) should be carried out in the following way: a new earthen vessel is covered all over with clay and so put into a furnace. The same method is also good when the ash is to be taken in drink. Some have prescribed as a cure eating a dog's head. Others too have used as an amulet a worm from a dead dog, or placed in a cloth under the cup the sexual fluid of a bitch, or have rubbed into the wound the ash from the hair under the tail of the mad dog itself. Dogs run away from one who carries a dog's heart, and indeed do not hark if a dog's tongue is placed in the shoe under the big toe, or at those who carry the severed tail of a weasel which has afterwards been set free. Under the tongue of a mad dog is a slimy saliva, which given in drink prevents hydrophobia, but much the most useful remedy is the liver of the dog that bit in his madness to be eaten raw, if that can be done, if it cannot, cooked in any way, or a broth must be made from the boiled flesh. There is a little worm on the tongue of dogs which the Greeks call lytta (madness), and if this is taken away when they are baby puppies they neither go mad nor lose their appetite. It is also carried three times round fire and given to those bitten by a mad dog to prevent their going mad. The brains of poultry are an antidote, but to swallow them gives protection for that year only. They say that it is also efficacious to apply to the wound a cock's comb pounded up, or goose grease with honey. The flesh of dogs that have gone mad is also preserved in salt to be used for the same purposes given in food. Puppies too of the same sex as the bitten patient are immediately drowned and their livers swallowed raw. An application in vinegar of poultry dung, if it is red, is also of advantage, or the ash of a shrewmouse's tail (but the mutilated animal must be set free alive), an application in vinegar of a bit of earth from a swallow's nest, of the chicks of a swallow reduced to ash, or the skin or cast slough of snakes, pounded in wine with a male crab; for by it even when put away by itself in chests and cupboards they kill moths. So great is the virulence of this plague that even the urine of a mad dog does harm if trodden on, especially to those who are suffering from sores. A remedy is an application of horse dung sprinkled with vinegar and warmed in a fig. Less surprised at all this will be one who remembers that `a dog will bite a stone thrown at him' has become a proverb to describe quarrelsomeness. It is said that he who voids his own urine on that of a dog will suffer numbness in his loins. The lizard called seps by some and chalcis by others, if taken in wine is a cure for its own bites.

33. For sorcerers' poisons obtained from the wild weasel a remedy is a copious draught of chicken broth made from an old bird; it is specific for aconite poisoning, and there should be added a dash of salt. Hens' dung, provided it is white, boiled down in hyssop or honey wine, is used for poisonous fungi and mushrooms, as well as for flatulence and suffocationsa matter for wonder, because if any animal save man should taste this dung, it will suffer from colic and flatulence. Goose blood, with the same quantity of oil, is good for the poison of sea hares, also for all sorcerers' poisonsit is kept with red Lemnian earth and the sap of white thorn, and five drachmae of the lozenges should be taken as a dose in three cyathi of wateralso a baby weasel prepared as I have described. Lamb's rennet too is a powerful antidote to all sorcerers' poisons, as is the blood of Pontic ducks; and so when thickened it is also stored away and dissolved in wine. Some are of opinion that the blood of a female duck is more efficacious. In like manner general remedies for all poisons are the crop of storks, sheep's rennet, the broth of ram's flesh (which is specific for cantharides), likewise warmed sheep's milk, which is also good for those who have swallowed buprestis or aconite, the dung of wild doves (specific if quicksilver has been swallowed), and for arrow poisons the common weasel, preserved and taken in drink, two drachmae at a time.

34. Bald patches through mange are covered again with hair by an application of ash of sheep's dung with cyprus oil and honey, by the hooves, reduced to ash, of a mule of either sex, applied in myrtle oil; moreover, as our countryman Varro relates, by mouse dung, which he calls also muscerdae, or by the fresh heads of flies, but the patches must first be roughened with a fig leaf. Some use the blood of flies, others for ten days apply their ash with that of paper or nuts, but a third of the whole must be that of flies; others make a paste of fly ash, woman's milk, and cabbage, while some add honey only. No creature is thought to be less teachable or less intelligent than the fly; it is all the more wonderful that at the Olympic sacred games, after the bull has been sacrificed to the god they call Myiodes, clouds of flies depart from out Olympic territory. Hair lost by mange is restored by the ash of mice, their heads and tails, or their whole bodies, especially when this affliction is the result of sorcery; it is restored too by the ash of a hedgehog mixed with honey, or by its burnt skin with liquid pitch. The head indeed of this animal, reduced to ash, by itself restores the hair even to scars. But for this treatment the patches must first be prepared by shaving with a razor. Some too have preferred to use mustard in vinegar. All that will be said about the hedgehog will apply even more to the porcupine. Hair is also prevented from falling out by the ash of a lizard that, in the way I have described, has been burnt with the root of a fresh-cut reed, which must be chopped up fine so that the two may be consumed together, an ointment being made by the admixture of myrtle-oil. All the same results are given more efficaciously by green lizards, and with even greater benefit if there are added salt, bear's grease, and crushed onion. Some thoroughly boil ten green lizards at a time in ten sextarii of old oil, being content with one application a month. Vipers' skins reduced to ashes very quickly restore hair lost through mange, as does also an application of fresh hens' dung. A raven's egg, beaten up in a copper vessel and applied to the head after shaving it, imparts a black colour to the hair, but until it dries oil must be kept in the mouth lest the teeth too turn black at the same time; the application too must be made in the shade, and not washed off before three days have passed. Some use a raven's blood and brains added to dark wine; others thoroughly boil the raven itself and store it away at bed time in a vessel of lead. Some apply to patches of mange Spanish fly pounded with liquid pitch, first preparing the skin with sodathe application is caustic, and care must be taken not to cause deep soresand prescribe that afterwards to the sores so formed be applied the heads, gall, and dung of mice with hellebore and pepper.

35. Nits are removed by dog fat, snakes taken in food like eels, or by the cast slough of snakes taken in drink; dandruff by sheep's gall with Cimolian chalk rubbed on the head until it dries off.

36. Headaches have a remedy in the heads of snails, cut off from those that are found without shells, being not yet complete, and the hard stony substance taken from themit is of the width of a pebblewhich are used as an amulet, while the small snails are crushed, and rubbed on the forehead; there is also wool grease; the bones from the head of a vulture attached as an amulet, or its brain with oil and cedar resin, the head being rubbed all over and the inner part of the nostrils smeared with the ointment; the brain of a crow or owl boiled and taken in food; a cock penned up without food for a day and a night, the sufferer fasting with him at the same time, feathers plucked from the neck, or the comb, being tied round the head; the application of a weasel reduced to ash; a twig from a kite's nest placed under the pillow; a mouse's skin burnt and the ash applied in vinegar; the little bone of a slug found between two wheel ruts, passed through gold, silver and ivory, and attached in dog skin as an amulet, a remedy that always does good to most. Applied in oil and vinegar to a fractured skull, cobweb does not come away until the wound is healed. Cobweb also stops bleeding from a razor cut, but haemorrhage from the brain is stayed by pouring into the wound the blood of goose or duck, or the grease of these birds with rose oil. The head of a snail cut off with a reed as he feeds in the morning, by preference when the moon is full, is attached in a linen cloth by a thread to the head of a sufferer from headaches, or else made into an ointment for the forehead with white wax, and an amulet attached of dog's hair in a cloth.

37. A crow's brain taken in food is said to make eyelashes grow, and also wool grease and myrrh applied with a warmed probe. We are assured that the same result is obtained by taking the ash of flies and of mouse dung in equal quantities, so that the weight of the whole amounts to half a denarius, then adding two-sixths of a denarius of antimony and applying all with wool grease; or one may use baby mice beaten up in old wine to the consistency of an anodyne salve. When inconvenient hairs in the eyelashes have been plucked out they are prevented from growing again by the gall of a hedgehog, the fluid part of a spotted lizard's eggs, the ash of a salamander, the gall of a green lizard in white wine condensed by sunshine to the consistency of honey in a copper vessel, the ash of a swallow's young added to the milky juice of tithymallus and the slime of snails.

38. Opaqueness of the eye-lens is cured, say the Magi, by the brain of a seven-day-old puppy, the probe being inserted into the right side of the eye to treat the right eye and into the left side to treat the left eye; or by the fresh gall of the axio, a kind of owl whose feathers twitch like ears. Apollonius of Pitane preferred to treat cataract with honey and dog's gall rather than using hyena's, as he did also to treat white eye ulcers. The heads and tails of mice, reduced to ash and made into an ointment with honey, restore, they say, clearness of vision; much better the ash of a dormouse or wild mouse, or the brain of an eagle or the gall with Attic honey. The ash and fat of the shrewmouse, beaten up with antimony, is very good for watery eyeswhat antimony is I shall say when I speak of metalsthe ash of the weasel for cataract, likewise of the lizard, or the brain of the swallow. Pounded snails applied to the forehead relieve eye fluxes, either by themselves or with fine flour or with frankincense; so applied they are also good for sunstroke. To burn them alive also, and to use as ointment the

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ash with Cretan honey is very good for dimness of vision. For the eyes of draught animals the slough cast in spring by the asp makes with asp fat an ointment that improves their vision. To burn a viper alive in new earthenware, with addition of fennel juice up to one cyathus, and of one grain of frankincense, makes an ointment very good for cataract and dimness of vision; this prescription is called eckeon. An eye salve is also made by letting a viper rot in a jar, and pounding with saffron the grubs that breed in it. A viper is also burned in a jar with salt, to lick which gives clearness of vision, and is a tonic to the stomach and to the whole body. This salt is also given to sheep to keep them in health, and is an ingredient of an antidote to snakebite. Some use vipers as food. They prescribe that, first of all, as soon as the viper has been killed, salt should be placed in its mouth until it melts; then at both ends a length of four fingers is cut off and the intestines taken out; the rest they thoroughly boil in water, oil, salt and dill, and either eat at once, or mix in bread so that it can be used several times. In addition to what has been said above, the broth removes lice from any part of the body, as well as itching from the surface of the skin. Even by itself, the ash of a viper's head shows results; as ointment for the eyes it is very effective, and the same is true of viper's fat. I would not confidently recommend what is prescribed about a viper's gall, because, as I have pointed out in the appropriate place a serpent's poison is nothing but gall. The fat of snakes mixed with bronze rust heals ruptured parts of the eyes, and rubbing with their skin, or slough, cast in spring, gives clear vision. The gall of the boa afro is recommended for white ulcers, cataract, and dimness, and its fat similarly for clear vision.

The gall of the eagle, which, as I have said, tests its chicks for gazing at the sun, makes, when mixed with Attic honey, an ointment for film on the eyes, dimness of vision, and cataract. There is the same property also in vulture's gall with leek juice and a little honey, likewise in the gall of a cock, especially of a white cock, diluted with water and used for white specks, white ulcers, and cataract. The dung of poultry also, provided that it is red, is prescribed as an ointment for night blindness. The gall of a hen also, and in particular the fat, is recommended for pustules on the pupils, but of course hens are not fattened specially for this purpose. It is a wonderful help, combined with the stones schistos and haematites, for the coats of the eye when torn. The dung also of hens, provided it is white, is kept in old oil and horn boxes for white ulcers on the pupil; while on the subject I must mention the tradition that peacocks swallow back their own dung, begrudging men its benefits. A hawk boiled down in rose oil is thought to make a very efficacious liniment for all eye complaints, as is its dung reduced to ash and added to Attic honey. A kite's liver too is recommended, and also pigeons' dung, applied in vinegar for fistulas, similarly for white ulcers and for sears, goose's gall and duck's blood for bruised eyes, provided that afterwards they are treated with wool grease and honey; partridge gall can be used with an equal weight of honey, hut by itself for clear vision. It is on the supposed authority of Hippocrates that the further instruction is given to keep this gall in a silver box. Partridge eggs boiled down with honey in a bronze vessel cure ulcers on the eyes and opaqueness of the lens. The blood of pigeons, doves, turtle doves, or partridges, makes an excellent application for blood-shot eyes. Among pigeons, male birds are supposed to have the more efficacious blood, and a vein under a wing is cut for this purpose, because its natural heat makes it more useful. Over the application should be placed a plaster boiled in honey and greasy wool boiled in oil or wine. Night blindness is cured by the blood of the same birds and by the liver of sheep, as I said a when speaking of goats, with greater benefit if the sheep are tawny. With a decoction also of the liver it is recommended to bathe the eyes and to apply the marrow to those that are painful or swollen. We are assured that the eyes of the horned owl, reduced to ash and mixed with a salve, improves the vision. White ulcers are made better by the dung of a turtle dove, by snails reduced to ash, and by the dung of the cenchris, a bird considered by the Greeks to be a species of hawk. White specks are cured by all the above remedies applied with honey. The honey most beneficial for the eyes is that in which bees have died. He who has eaten the chick of a stork, it is said, will not suffer from ophthalmia for years on end, likewise he who carries about the head of a python. Its fat with honey and old oil is said to disperse incipient dimness. The chicks of swallows are blinded by the full moon, and when their sight is restored their heads are burnt and the ash used with honey to improve the vision and for pains, ophthalmia, and blows. Lizards too are employed in several ways for eye remedies. Some shut up a green lizard in new earthenware, and with them the pebbles called cinaedia, which are used as amulets for swellings on the groin, mark them with nine marks and take away one daily; on the ninth day they set the lizard free, but keep the pebbles for pains in the eyes. Others put earth under a green lizard after blinding it, and shut it in a glass vessel with rings of solid iron or gold. When they can see through the glass that the lizard has recovered its sight, they let it out, and use the rings for ophthalmia; others use the ash of the head instead of antimony for scabrous eyes. Some burn the green lizard with a long neck that is found in sandy places, and use it as ointment for incipient fluxes, as well as for opaqueness of the lens. They also say that when a weasel's eyes have been gouged out with a pointed tool, the sight. is restored, and they use the animal as they used the lizards and rings, saying also that a serpent's right eye worn as au amulet, is good for eye fluxes, if the serpent is set free alive. The ash of a spotted lizard's head makes with antimony an excellent remedy for continually streaming eyes. The web of a fly-spider, particularly its very lair, is said to be a marvellous cure for fluxes if laid in a plaster across the forehead from temple to temple; but it must be collected and applied by a boy before puberty, who waits three days before showing himself to the patient needing cure, during which days the latter must not touch the earth with bare feet. White ulcers also are said to be removed by the white spider with very long and very thin legs, which is pounded in old oil and used as ointment. The spider too, whose very coarse web is generally found in rafters, is said to cure fluxes if worn in cloth as an amulet. The green beetle has the property of sharpening the sight of those who gaze at it, and so the carvers of jewels gaze on one to rest their eves.

39. The ears are cleaned by sheep's gall with honey; pain is relieved by drops of bitch's milk; hardness of hearing by her fat with wormwood and old oil, also by goose grease. Some add the juice of onion and a like measure of garlic. They also use without addition ants' eggs, for this creature also has its use in medicine, and it is well known that bears when sick cure themselves by eating these eggs. The fat of geese and of all birds is prepared all the veins are taken out, and in a new earthenware pan with a lid it is melted in the sun with boiling hot water underneath, strained through linen strainers and set aside in new earthenware in a cool place; if honey is added the fat is less likely to go rancid. The ash of mice, either added to honey or boiled with rose oil, if dropped into the ears relieves pain. If some creature has crept into the ear, the sovereign remedy is mouse gall diluted with vinegar; if it is water that has got in, goose grease with the juice of an onion. A dormouse, skinned and the intestines taken out, is thoroughly boiled in honey in a new vessel. Physicians prefer it to be boiled down to one-third in nard, and so stored away, and then when needed poured into the ear in a warmed strigil. It is well ascertained that desperate ear complaints are cured by this remedy, or if a decoction of earthworms and goose grease is injected. The red worms also that are taken off trees, if pounded with oil, make excellent treatment for ulcerated or ruptured ears. Preserved lizards, with salt put into their mouths as they hang suspended, heal bruised ears that are suffering from a blow, most efficaciously those covered with spots of the colour of iron rust and also marked by streaks along the tail. The millipede, by some called centipede or multipede, is one of the earth worms; it is hairy, with many feet, moving sinuously its back as it crawls, drawing itself together when touched, and called by the Greeks oaiscos or jabs. It is said to be a good cure for ear pains if boiled down in pomegranate rind or leek juice. They add also rose oil, and pour it into the ear that is not painful. The kind however that does not move sinuously its back the Greeks call seps or scolopendra; it is smaller and very venomous. The snails that are edible are applied with myrrh or powdered frankincense, and the small, broad snails are made into an ointment with honey for fractured ears. The slough of serpents, burnt in a heated pot, is mixed with rose oil and dropped into the ears, efficacious indeed for all affections, but especially for offensive smell; if pus is present, vinegar is used, and it is better if there be added gall of goat, ox, or turtlethe slough, as some think, loses power if older than a year, or if soaked with rainthe gore of a spider on wool with rose oil, by itself, or with saffron; a cricket dug out with its earth and applied. Great efficacy is attributed to this creature by Nigidius, greater still by the Magi, just because it walks backwards, bores into the earth, and chirrups at night. They hunt it with an ant tied to a hair and put into the cricket's hole, first blowing the dust away lest it bury itself, and so when the ant has embraced it the cricket is pulled out. The lining of the crop of poultry, usually thrown away, if dried and pounded in wine, is poured warm into suppurating ears, likewise hens' fat and a kind of greasy substance coming from the black beetle if its head is pulled off. This, pounded with rose oil, is said to be wonderfully good for the ears, but the wool on which it is inserted must be taken out after a short time, for this grease very quickly turns into something alive, forming a grub. Some write that a dose of two or three of these beetles, boiled down in oil, make very good treatment for the ears, and that when these are bruised crushed beetles are placed in them in a piece of linen. This insect is one of the things that arouse disgust, but because Nature and the research of the ancients are so wonderful I must go fully into the matter here. They have made several classes of them: first the soft kind which, boiled down in oil, they found to make a good ointment for warts. The second kind they called mylvecos, because they are found commonly about mills. The instances they quoted include Musaeus the boxer, who cured leprous sores by this kind rubbed on without their heads. A third kind, one with a loathsome smell and a sharp-pronged tail-end, they say will cure, if applied with pisselaeum for twenty-one days, ulcers otherwise incurable, scrofulous sores and superficial abscesses; and without legs and wings bruises, contusions, even malignant sores, itch scab, and boils. Even to hear these remedies mentioned makes me feel sick; but, heaven help us! Diodorus says that he had given these beetles with resin and honey even in cases of jaundice and orthopnoea. So much power has the art of medicine to prescribe any medicament it may wish. The kindliest among physicians have thought that the ash of burnt black beetles should be kept for the purposes mentioned in a horn box, or that crushed they should be given in enemas to sufferers from orthopnoea or catarrh. It is a known fact at any rate that an application brings away things embedded in the flesh. The most suitable honey for the ears also is that in which bees have died. Parotid swellings are reduced by pigeon's dung either by itself or with barley meal or oatmeal, by the brain or liver of an owl, poured with oil into the ear on the side of the swelling, by a multipede with a third part of resin used as ointment, and by crickets, used as ointment or as amulets. Medicine for the remaining kinds of disease from the same animals or from animals of the same kind, I shall speak of in the next Book.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 30

1. In the previous part of my work I have often indeed refuted the fraudulent lies of the Magi, whenever the subject and the occasion required it, and I shall continue to expose them. In a few respects, however, the theme deserves to be enlarged upon, were it only because the most fraudulent of arts has held complete sway throughout the world for many ages. Nobody should be surprised at the greatness of its influence, since alone of the arts it has embraced three others that hold supreme dominion over the human mind, and made them subject to itself alone. Nobody will doubt that it first arose from medicine, and that professing to promote health it insidiously advanced under the disguise of a higher and holier system; that to the most seductive and welcome promises it added the powers of religion, about which even today the human race is quite in the dark; that again meeting with success it made a further addition of astrology, because there is nobody who is not eager to learn his destiny, or who does not believe that the truest account of it is that gained by watching the skies. Accordingly, holding men's emotions in a threefold bond, magic rose to such a height that even today it has sway over a great part of mankind, and in the East commands the Kings of Kings.

2. Without doubt magic arose in Persia with Zoroaster. On this our authorities are agreed, but whether he was the only one of that name, or whether there was also another afterwards, is not clear. Eudoxus, who wished magic to be acknowledged as the noblest and most useful of the schools of philosophy, declared that this Zoroaster lived six thousand years before Plato's death, and Aristotle agrees with him. Hermippus, a most studious writer about every aspect of magic, and an exponent of two million verses composed by Zoroaster, added summaries too to his rolls, and gave Agonaces as the teacher by whom he said that he had been instructed, assigning to the man himself a date five thousand years before the Trojan War. What especially is surprising is the survival, through so long a period, of the craft and its tradition; treatises are wanting, and besides there is no line of distinguished or continuous successors to keep alive their memory. For how few know anything, even by hearsay, of those who alone have left their names but without other memorialApusorus and Zaratus of Media, Marmarus and Arabantiphocus of Babylon, or Tarmoendas of Assyria? The most surprising thing, however, is the complete silence of Homer about magic in his poem on the Trojan War, and yet so much of his work in the wanderings of Ulysses is so occupied with it that it alone forms the backbone of the whole work, if indeed they put a magical interpretation upon the Proteus episode in Homer and the songs of the Sirens, and especially upon the episode of Circe and of the calling up of the dead from Hades, of which magic is the sole theme. And in later times nobody has explained how ever it reached Telmesus, a city given up to superstition, or when it passed over to the Thessalian matrons, whose surname a was long proverbial in our part of the world, although magic was a craft repugnant to the Thessalian people, who were content, at any rate in the Trojan period, with the medicines of Chiron, and with the War God as the only wielder of the thunderbolt? I am indeed surprised that the people over whom Achilles once ruled had a reputation for magic so lasting that actually Menander, a man with an unrivalled gift for sound literary taste, gave the name 'Thessala' to his comedy, which deals fully with the tricks of the women for calling down the moon. I would believe that Orpheus was the first to carry the craft to his near neighbours, and that his superstition grew from medicine, if the whole of Thrace, the home of Orpheus, had not been untainted by magic. The first man, so far as I can discover, to write a still-extant treatise on magic was Osthanes, who accompanied the Persian King Xerxes in his invasion of Greece, and sowed what I may call the seeds of this monstrous craft, infecting the

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whole world by the way at every stage of their travels. A little before Osthanes, the more careful inquirers place another Zoroaster, a native of Proconnesus. One thing is certain; it was this Osthanes who chiefly roused among the Greek peoples not so much an eager appetite for his science as a sheer mania. And yet I notice that of old, in fact almost always, the highest literary distinction and renown have been sought from that science. Certainly Pythagoras, Empedocles, Democritus and Plato went overseas to learn it, going into exile rather than on a journey, taught it openly on their return, and considered it one of their most treasured secrets. Democritus expounded Apollobex the Copt and Dardanus the Phoenician, entering the latter's tomb to obtain his works and basing his own on their doctrines. That these were accepted by any human beings and transmitted by memory is the most extraordinary phenomenon in history; so utterly are they lacking in credibility and decency that those who like the other works of Democritus deny that the magical books are his. But it is all to no purpose, for it is certain that Democritus especially instilled into men's minds the sweets of magic. Another extraordinary thing is that both these arts, medicine I mean and magic, flourished together, Democritus expounding magic in the same age as Hippocrates expounded medicine, about the time of the Peloponnesian War, which was waged in Greece from the three-hundredth year of our city. There is yet another branch of magic, derived from Moses, Jannes [an Egyptian magician], Lotapes [Iotape = Yahweh], and the Jews, but living many thousand years after Zoroaster. So much more recent is the branch in Cyprus. In the time too of Alexander the Great, no slight addition was made to the influence of the profession by a second Osthanes, who, honoured by his attendance on Alexander, travelled certainly without the slightest doubt all over the world.

3. Among Italian tribes also there still certainly exist traces of magic in the Twelve Tables, as is proved by my own and the other evidence set forth in an earlier Book? It was not until the 657th year of the City [97BC] that in the consulship of Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus and Publius Licinius Crassus there was passed a resolution of the Senate forbidding human sacrifice; so that down to that date it is manifest that such abominable rites were practised.

4. Magic certainly found a home in the two Gallic provinces, and that down to living memory. For the principate of Tiberius Caesar did away with their Druids and this tribe of seers and medicine men. But why should I speak of these things when the craft has even crossed the Ocean and reached the empty voids of Nature? Even today Britain practises magic in awe, with such grand ritual that it might seem that she gave it to the Persians. So universal is the cult of magic throughout the world. although its nations disagree or are unknown to each other. It is beyond calculation how great is the debt owed to the Romans, who swept away the monstrous rites, in which to kill a man was the highest religious duty and for him to be eaten a passport to health.

5. As Osthanes said, there are several forms of magic; he professes to divine from water, globes, air, stars, lamps, basins and axes, and by many other methods, and besides to converse with ghosts and those in the underworld. All of these in our generation the Emperor Nero discovered to be lies and frauds. In fact his passion for the lyre and tragic song was no greater than his passion for magic; his elevation to the greatest height of human fortune aroused desire in the vicious depths of his mind; his greatest wish was to issue commands to the gods, and he could rise to no nobler ambition. No other of the arts ever had a more enthusiastic patron. Every means were his to gratify his desirewealth, strength, aptitude for learningand what else did the world not allow! That the craft is a fraud there could be no greater or more indisputable proof than that Nero abandoned it; but would that he had consulted about his suspicions the powers of Hell and any other gods whatsoever, instead of entrusting these researches to pimps and harlots. Of a surety no ceremony, outlandish and savage though the rites may be, would not have been gentler than Nero's thoughts; more cruelly behaving than any did Nero thus fill our Rome with ghosts.

6. The Magi have certain means of evasion; for example that the gods neither obey those with freckles nor are seen by them. Was this perhaps their objection to Nero? But his body was without blemish; he was free to choose the fixed days, could easily obtain perfectly black sheep, and as for human sacrifice, he took the greatest delight in it. Mithridates the Magus had come to him bringing a retinue for the Annenian triumph over himself, thereby laying a heavy burden on the provinces. He had refused to travel by sea, for the Magi hold it sin to spit into the sea or wrong that element by other necessary functions of mortal creatures. He had brought Magi with him, had initiated Nero into their banquets; yet the man giving him a kingdom was unable to acquire from him the magic art. Therefore let us be convinced by this that magic is detestable, vain, and idle; and though it has what I might call shadows of truth, their power comes from the art of the poisoner, not of the Magi. One might well ask what were the lies of the old Magi, when as a youth I saw Apion the grammarian, who told me that the herb cynocephalia, called in Egypt osiritis, was an instrument of divination and a protection from all kinds of sorcery, but if it were uprooted altogether the digger would die at once, and that he had called up ghosts to inquire from Homer his native country and the name of his parents, but did not dare to repeat the answers which he said were given.

7. It should be unique evidence of fraud that they look upon the mole of all living creatures with the greatest awe, although it is cursed by Nature with so many defects, being permanently blind, sunk in other darkness also, and resembling the buried dead. In no entrails is placed such faith; to no creature do they attribute more supernatural properties; so that if anyone eats its heart, fresh and still beating, they promise powers of divination and of foretelling the issue of matters in hand. They declare that a tooth, extracted from a living mole and attached as an amulet, cures toothache. The rest of their beliefs about this animal I will relate in the appropriate places. But of all they say nothing will be found more likely than that the mole is an antidote for the bite of the shrewmouse, seeing that an antidote for it, as I have said, is even earth that has been depressed by cart wheels.

8. Toothache is also cured, the Magi tell us, by the ash of the burnt heads without any flesh of dogs that have died of madness, which must be dropped in cyprus oil through the ear on the side where the pain is; also by the left eye-tooth of a dog, the aching tooth being scraped round with it; by one of the vertebrae of the draco or of the enhydris, the serpent being a white male. With this eye-tooth they serape all round the painful one, or they make an amulet of two upper teeth, when the pain is in the upper jaw, using lower teeth for the lower jaw. With its fat they rub hunters of the crocodile. They also scrape teeth with bones extracted from the forehead of a lizard at a full moon, without their touching the earth. They rinse the mouth with a decoction of dogs' teeth in wine, boiled down to one-half. The ash of these teeth with honey helps children who are slow in teething. A dentifrice also is made with the same ingredients. Hollow teeth are stuffed with the ash of mouse dung or with dried lizards' liver. A snake's heart, eaten or worn as an amulet, is considered efficacious. There are among them some who recommend a mouse to be chewed up twice a month to prevent aches. Earthworms, boiled down in oil and poured into the ear on the side where there is pain, afford relief. These also, reduced to ash and plugged into decayed teeth, force them to fall out easily, and applied to sound teeth relieve any pain in them. They should be burnt, however, in an earthen pot. They also benefit if boiled down in squill vinegar with the root of a mulberry tree, so as to make a wash for the teeth. The maggot also, which is found on the plant called Venus' Bath, plugged into hollow teeth, is wonderfully good. But they fall out at the touch of the cabbage caterpillar, and the bugs from the mallow are poured into the ears with rose oil. The little grains of sand, that are found in the horns of snails, if put into hollow teeth, free them at once from pain. Empty snail shells, reduced to ash and myrrh added, are good for the gums, as is the ash of a serpent burnt with salt in an earthen pot, poured with rose oil into the opposite ear, or the slough of a snake with oil and pitch-pine resin warmed and poured into either earsome add frankincense and rose oiland if put into hollow teeth it also makes them fall out without trouble. I think it an idle talc that white snakes cast their slough about the rising of the Dog-star, since the casting has been seen in Italy before the rising, and in warm regions it is much less probable for sloughing to be so late. But they say that this slough, even when dry, combined with wax forces out teeth very quickly. A snake's tooth also, worn as an amulet, relieves toothache. There are some who think that a spider also is beneficial, the animal itself, caught with the left hand, beaten up in rose oil, and poured into the ear on the side of the pain. The little bones of hens have been kept hanging on the wall of a room with the gullet intact; if a tooth is touched, or the gum scraped, and the bone thrown away, they assure us that the pain at once disappears, as it does if a raven's dung, wrapped in wool, is worn as an amulet, or if sparrows' dung is warmed with oil and poured into the ear nearer the pain. This however causes unbearable itching, and so it is better to rub the part with vinegar and the ash of a sparrow's nestlings burnt on twigs.

9. They assert that the taste in the mouth is made agreeable if the teeth are rubbed with the ash of burnt mice mixed with honey; some add fennel root. If the teeth are picked with a vulture's feather, they make the breath sour. To pick them with a porcupine's quill conduces to their firmness. Sores on the tongue or lips are healed by a decoction of swallows in honey wine; chaps on them by goose grease or hen's grease, by oesypum with gall nut, by white webs of spiders, or by the small webs spun on rafters. If the mouth has been scalded by over-hot things, bitch's milk will give an immediate cure.

10. Spots on the face are removed by oesypum with Gorsican honey, which is considered the most acrid; scurf on the skin of the face by the same with rose oil on a piece of fleece; some add also butter. If however there is psoriasis, dog's gall is applied to the spots, which are first pricked with a needle; to livid spots and bruises rams' or sheep's lungs are applied hot and cut into thin slices, or else pigeon's dung. The skin of the face is preserved by goose grease or hen's. To lichen is also applied mouse dung in vinegar, or ash of the hedgehog in oil; for this treatment they prescribe that the face should first be fomented with soda and vinegar. Facial troubles are also removed by the ash with honey of the broad but small snails that are found everywhere. The ash indeed of all snails, such is its detergent property, thickens and warms; for that reason it is an ingredient of caustic preparations and used as a liniment for itch, leprous sores, and freckles. I find also that there are ants called Herculanean, which beaten up and with the addition of a little salt cure facial troubles. The buprestis is a creature rarely found in Italy, and very similar to a long-legged beetle. Oxen at pasture are very apt not to see ithence too its nameand should it be swallowed it causes such inflammation on reaching the gall that it bursts the animal. This insect applied with he-goat suet removes lichen from the face by its corrosive property, as I have already said. Vulture's blood, beaten up with cedar resin and the root of the white chamaeleon, a plant I have already mentioned, and covered with a cabbage leaf, heals leprous sores, as do the legs of locusts beaten up with he-goat suet. Pimples are cured by poultry fat kneaded with onion. Very useful too for the face is honey in which bees have died, but the best thing for clearing the complexion and removing wrinkles is swan's fat. Branded marks are removed by pigeon's dung in vinegar.

11. I find that a heavy cold clears up if the sufferer kisses a mule's muzzle. Pain in the uvula and in the throat is relieved by the dung, dried in shade, of lambs that have not yet eaten grass, uvula pain by applying the juice of a snail transfixed by a needle, so that the snail itself may be hung up in the smoke, and by the ash of swallows with honey. This also gives relief to affections of the tonsils. Gargling with ewe's milk is a help to tonsils and throat, as is a multipede beaten up, gargling with pigeon's dung and raisin wine, and also an external application of it with dried fig and soda. Sore throat and a running cold are relieved by snailsthey should be boiled unwashed and with only the earth taken off crushed and given to drink in raisin wine; some hold that the snails of Astypalaea are the most efficaciousby their ash, and also by rubbing with a cricket or if anybody touches the tonsils with hands that have crushed a cricket.

12. In quinsy very speedy relief is afforded by goose gall with elaterium and honey, by the brain of an owl, and by the ash of a swallow taken in hot water. The last prescription is on the authority of the poet Ovid. But more efficacious for all ailments for which swallows are prescribed are the young of wild swallows, which are recognised by the shape of their nests, but by far the most efficacious are the young of sand martins, for so are called the swallows that build their nests in holes on river banks. Many hold that a young swallow of any kind should be eaten to banish the fear of quinsy for a whole year. They wring their necks, burn them blood and all in a vessel, and give the ash with bread or in drink. Some add also to the prescription an equal quantity of weasel ash. These preparations are given daily in drink for scrofula and for epilepsy. Preserved in salt also swallows are taken for quinsy in drachma doses, for which complaint their nest also, taken in drink, is said to be a cure. It is thought that an application of millipedes is very efficacious for quinsy; some think that twenty, beaten up in a hemina of hydromel, should be given through a reed, because if the teeth are touched the draught is thought to be useless. They also tell us that a mouse, well boiled with vervain, makes a broth that is a remedy, as does a thong of dog leather wrapped three times round the neck, or dove's dung thoroughly mixed with wine and oil. For neck-sinews and opisthotonus a twig of agnus castus taken from the nest of a kite and worn as an amulet, is said to help, for ulcerated scrofula a weasel's blood, or the weasel itself boiled down in wine, but it is not applied to sores that have been lanced. They say also that eating weasel in food has the same effect, or the animal burned over twigs and the ash mixed with axle grease. A green lizard is attached as an amulet; after thirty days the weasel should be changed for another. Some keep a weasel's heart in a small silver vessel for scrofula in woman or man. An ointment is made of snails pounded with their shells, especially those that cling to shrubs, or there is applied the ash of asps with bull suet, snake's fat mixed with oil, or an ointment of snake's ash in oil or with wax. To eat also the middle part of a snake after cutting off either end is good for scrofula, as is to take in drink the ash of this middle burnt in new earthenware, with much greater benefit if the snakes have been killed between two wheel-ruts. They recommend also the application of a cricket dug up with its earth, also the application of dove's dung by itself, or with barley meal or oatmeal in vinegar, or of mole ash with honey. Some make an ointment of a mole's liver crushed between the hands, and do not wash it off for three days. They also assure us that the right foot of the animal is a remedy for scrofula. Others cut off the head, pound it with the earth of a mole-hill, work into lozenges in a pewter box, and use for all swellings, for what are called apostemata, and for affections of the neck; during the treatment the eating of pork is forbidden. There are earth beetles like ticks that are called 'bulls'a name given because of their little hornsand by some 'earth lice.' These too

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throw up earth that is applied to scrofulous and similar sores, and also to gouty parts, not being washed off for three days. The efficacy of this treatment lasts for a year. To these creatures are assigned all the properties I have mentioned when speaking of crickets. Some also use for this purpose the earth thrown up by ants, others tie as an amulet as many earth worms as there are sores, which dry up as the worms shrivel. Others about the time of the Dog-star cut off, as I have said, the ends of a viper, then burn the middle part and give a three-finger pinch of the ash to be taken in drink for thrice seven days, treating scrofulous sores in this way; some however do so by tying round them a linen thread by which a viper has been suspended by the neck until it died. They also use millipedes with a fourth part of terebinth resin, a medicament which they recommend for the treatment of all apostemata.

13. Good treatment for pains in the shoulder is weasel ash and wax. Rubbing with ants' eggs prevents hair in the armpits of children, and dealers, to delay growth of downy hair on adolescents, use blood that comes from the testicles of lambs when they are castrated. Applications of this blood after the hair has been pulled out also do away with the rank smell of the armpits.

14. Praecordia is a comprehensive name we use for the vital organs of the human body. When any one of them is in pain, the application of a sucking puppy pressed close to that part is said to transfer the malady to it; they add that, if the organs of the puppy are taken out and washed with wine, by the diseased aspect of those organs can be detected the source of the patient's pain; but the burial of an animal so used is an essential part of the ritual. Those puppies too that we call Melitaean relieve stomachache if laid frequently across the abdomen. That the disease is transferred to the puppy is seen by its sickening, usually even by its death. Lung complaints are also cured by mice, especially African; they are skinned, boiled down in oil and salt, and taken in food. The same preparation is also a cure for expectoration of pus or blood.

15. The best medicine, however, for the stomach is a diet of snails. They should be gently boiled in water, African snails by preference, with their bodies whole, then with nothing added grilled over a coal fire, and so taken in wine and garum. Recently this treatment has been found to benefit very many sufferers, who are also careful that the number of the snails taken is odd. Their rank juice, however, makes the breath foul. Pounded without their shells and taken in water they are also good for the spitting of blood. The most prized snails are the African, especially those of Iol, those of Astypalaea, moderate sized Sicilian (for the large are hard, and without juice), and those of the Baliaric islands, called cavaticae because they breed in caverns. Those from the islands and of Capreae are prized, but none whether preserved or fresh make pleasant eating. River snails and white snails have a rank taste; wood snails are not good for the stomach, relaxing the bowels, and so with all small snails. On the other hand sea snails are rather beneficial for the stomach, but of the prized snails the most efficacious for stomach-ache are said to be all that are swallowed alive in vinegar. Moreover, there are some snails called ἀκέρατοι, which are broad, and breed in many places; of these I shall speak in the appropriate places. The skin of the crop of poultry, sprinkled into the drink when dried, or roasted if fresh, relieves chest catarrhs and moist coughs. A cough is relieved by pounded raw snails swallowed in three cyathi of tepid water, running colds also by a piece of dog skin put round any finger. Partridge broth acts as a tonic on the stomach.

16. Pains in the liver are treated by the wild weasel, or its liver, taken in food, also by a ferret roasted as is a sucking pig; asthma by thrice seven multipedes, soaked in Attic honey and sucked through a reed, for every vessel they touch they turn black. Some roast a sextarius of them in a pan until they turn white, then they mix them with honey and recommend giving them in warm water. Snails in food have been given to those subject to fainting, aberration of the mind, or vertigo, a dose being one snail in three cyathi of raisin wine, pounded with the shell, warmed, and taken in drink for nine days at most; some have given one on the first day, two on the next, three on the third, two on the fourth, and one on the fifth. This treatment is also good for asthma and abscesses. Some hold that there is a creature like a locust, but without wings, called trixallis in Greek but without a name in Latin; some, and not a few authorities, maintain that it is what is called in Latin gryllus (cricket); twenty of these they recommend to be roasted and taken in honey wine for orthopnoea. A cure for spitting of blood are snails, if the patient pours protropum on them unwashed, or if he boils them down in seawater, and takes them in food, or if pounded with their shells they are taken with protropum; these preparations also cure a cough. Specific for abscesses is honey in which bees have died. For coughing up blood a vulture's lung burnt over vine wood, with half as much pomegranate blossom and the same quantity of quince blossom and of lilies, taken morning and evening in wine, if there is no fever, otherwise in water in which quinces have been boiled.

17. The fresh spleen of a sheep is placed, by a Magian prescription, over the painful spleen of a patient, the attendant saying that he is providing a remedy for the spleen. After this the Magi prescribe that it should be plastered into the wall of the patient's bedroom, sealed with a ring thrice nine times and the same words repeated. If a dog's spleen is cut out of the living animal and taken in food it cures splenic complaints; some bind it when fresh over the affected part. Others without the patient's knowledge give in squill vinegar the spleen of a two-days-old puppy, or that of a hedgehog, also the ash of snails with linseed, nettle seed, and honey, until there is a complete cure. Another remedy is a live green-lizard, hung up in a pot before the door of the bedroom of the patient, that he may touch it with his hand on going out and coming in, the ash of a horned owl's head with an unguent, honey in which bees have died, or a spider, especially that called 'wolf.'

18. The heart of a hoopoe is a prized remedy for pains in the side, as is the ash of snails boiled down in barley water; these are also used by themselves as a liniment. The skull of a mad dog is reduced to ash and sprinkled in drink. For lumbago an overseas spotted lizard, with head and intestines removed, is boiled down in wine with half an ounce by weight of black poppy, and this broth is drunk. Green lizards, with feet and head cut off, are taken in food, or three snails, beaten up with their shells and boiled down in wine with fifteen peppercorns. They break off, in the opposite way to the joint, the feet of an eagle, so that the right foot is attached as an amulet for pains in the right side, the left foot for those in the left side. The multipede too, that I have called oniscos, is another remedy, the dose being a denarius by weight taken in two cyathi of wine. The Magi prescribe that an earthworm should be placed upon a wooden plate that has been split beforehand and mended with a piece of iron, soaked in water that has been taken up in the dish, and buried in the place from which it was dug out. Then the water in the plate is to be drunk, which they say is a wonderful remedy for sciatica.

19. Dysentery is relieved by a leg of mutton boiled down with linseed, the broth of which is drunk, by old cheese made with ewe's milk, and by mutton suet boiled down in a dry wine. By this are also benefited ileos and chronic cough, and dysentery by a spotted lizard from overseas, boiled down with its intestines, head, feet, and skin removedit is as efficacious in food also as decoctedby two snails with egg, each beaten up with its shell, allowed to simmer in a new vessel with salt, two cyathi of raisin wine or date juice, and three cyathi of water; this preparation is taken in drink. Snails are also beneficial when burnt, and their ash taken in wine with a small piece of resin. Snails without shells, about which I have spoken they are found chiefly in Africaare very useful in dysentery; five are burnt and taken with half a denarius by weight of gum acacia; of this ash two spoonfuls are given in myrtle wine or any dry wine with an equal quantity of hot water. Some, using all African snails, administer according to this recipe; others prefer to inject the same number of African snails or broad snails, adding if the flux is severe gum acacia of the size of a bean. The cast slough of snakes is boiled down with rose oil for dysentery and tenesmus in a pewter vessel; if in any other kind of vessel, the application must be made with the help of pewter. Chicken broth is good for these two complaints, but broth made with an old cock, thoroughly salted, is purgative. A hen's crop, roasted and given in oil and salt, soothes the pains of coeliac troublesbut previously hen and patient must both abstain from cereals as does dove's dung roasted and taken in drink. The flesh of a wood-pigeon boiled in vinegar is good for dysentery and for coeliac troubles; for dysentery too a thrush roasted with myrtle berries, so are blackbirds and honey in which bees have died.

20. The most serious disease of the abdomen is ileos. It may be combated, they say, by tearing a bat apart and drinking its blood; it is also a help to rub the belly with it. Looseness of the bowels is checked by a snail prepared according to my prescription for asthma, and also by the ash, taken in a dry wine, of snails that have been burnt alive. Other remedies are: the roasted liver of cocks or the skin of their crop, usually thrown away, mixed with poppy juice if dried, while some roast it fresh to be given in wine, partridge broth and its crop pounded by itself in dark wine, also wild wood-pigeon boiled down in vinegar and water, spleen of a sheep roasted and beaten up in wine, pigeon's dung applied with honey, the gizzard of an osprey dried and taken in drink, very beneficial to those who cannot digest their food, even if they only hold it in their hand while eating. Some use it as an amulet for this purpose, but it must not be so used continuously, for it makes the body thin. Looseness is also checked by the blood of drakes. Flatulence is dispersed by a diet of snails, griping by the spleen of sheep, roasted and taken in wine, wild wood-pigeon boiled down in vinegar and water, the fat of a bustard in wine, the ash of an ibis burnt without the feathers and taken in drink. Another prescription for griping is of a marvellous character: it is said that if a duck is laid on the belly, the disease is transferred to the duck, which dies. Good for griping is also boiled honey in which bees have died. Colic is effectively cured by a crested lark, roasted and taken in food. Some recommend that it should be burnt with the feathers in a new vessel, ground to dust and taken in water, three spoonfuls daily for four days, others that a lark's heart should be tied as an amulet to the patient's thigh, and others that it should be swallowed while fresh and still warm. The Asprenates are a consular family in which one of two brothers was cured of colic by this bird taken in food and its heart worn in a golden bracelet, the other by performing a certain sacrifice in a shrine of unbaked bricks built in the shape of an oven, and when a certain rite was over blocking it up. The osprey has only one gut, which through its wonderful character digests everything that the bird eats; the end of it attached as an amulet is well known to be excellent for colic. There are some obscure diseases of the intestines, for which is prescribed a wonderful cure. If, before they can see, puppies are applied for three days especially to the stomach and chest of a patient, and suck milk from his mouth, the power of the disease is transferred to them; finally they die and dissection makes clear the patient's trouble; the puppies must be buried in the earth. The Magi indeed tell us that if the belly is touched with a bat's blood there is protection from colic for a whole year; should there be pain, it is sufficient if the patient can bring himself to drink the water in which he washes his feet.

21. Mouse dung rubbed on the belly is good for stone in the bladder. The flesh of a hedgehog is said to be pleasant to eat if it is killed by one blow on the head before it can void its urine on itself. The flesh of hedgehogs killed in this manner is a remedy for obstruction to the urine; another is fumigation with the same animal. Should however it have voided its urine on itself those who have eaten the flesh are said to be attacked by strangury. It is also recommended, in order to break up stone, to take earthworms in wine or raisin wine, or snails boiled down as for asthma; three snails taken from their shells, pounded, and given in a cyathus of wine, on the next day two, and on the third day one, for removing difficulty of urination; but the ash of the empty shells for expelling stone; the liver of a water snake or the ash of scorpions to be taken in drink or in bread, the grits to be found in the gizzard of poultry or in the crop of wood-pigeons to be crushed and sprinkled on drink, also the skin of the crop of poultry. When dried, or roasted when fresh, the dung too of wood-pigeons to be taken in beans for stone and other bladder trouble; the ash too of wild wood-pigeon's feathers in oxymel, three spoonful-doses of their intestines reduced to ash, a bit of earth from a swallow's nest diluted with warm water, the crop of an osprey dried, dung of a turtle-dove boiled down in honey wine, or the broth of the bird itself. To eat thrushes also with myrtle berries is good for the urine, cicadas roasted in a shallow pan, to take in drink the millipede oniscos, and for pains in the bladder the broth of lambs' trotters. Chicken broth too is laxative and softens acridities, laxative too is the dung of swallows with honey used as a suppository.

22. For complaints of the anus very efficacious are wool greasesome add pompholyx and rose oildog's head reduced to ash, a serpent's slough in vinegar, if there are chaps, the ash of white dog's-dung with rose oilit is said to have been a discovery of Aesculapius, removing warts also very efficaciouslyash of mouse dung, fat of a swan, fat of a boa. Prolapsus there is reduced by an application of snail juice extracted by pricks. Chafings are relieved by the ash of a field mouse with honey, the gall of a hedgehog with the brain of a bat and bitch's milk, by goose grease with goose brain, alum and wool grease, and by pigeon dung with honey; specific for condylomata is a spider rubbed on the place when the head and feet have been removed; to prevent the smart from acrid juices, apply goose grease with Punic wax, white lead, rose oil, and swan fat. This fat is said also to cure haemorrhoids. They say that beneficial for sciatica are raw snails, pounded with Aminnean wine and pepper and taken in drink, a green lizard taken in food, but with feet, bowels and head removed, also so treated a spotted lizard with the addition of three oboli of black poppy for ruptures and sprains, sheep's gall with woman's milk. Itching eruptions and warts on the privates are treated with the gravy from the roasted lung of a ram, other genital affections by the ash, applied with water, of raw, even unwashed, ram's wool, by the suet from the cad of a sheep, especially that of the kidneys, mixed with salt and the ash of pumice, by greasy wool in cold water, by the burnt flesh of sheep in water, by the ash of a she-mule's hoofs, by the tooth of a horse, ground to powder and dusted on the parts, and complaints of the testicles by the bones of a horse's head ground to powder without the flesh. If either testicle hangs down, we are told that a remedy is found in applying the slime of snails. Foul and running ulcers on these parts are relieved by the fresh ashes of a dog's head, by the small broad kind of snail beaten up in vinegar, by the slough of a snake or its ash in vinegar, by honey in which bees have died mixed with resin, by the shell-less kind of snail, which I have said a breeds in Africa, beaten up with powdered frankincense and white of eggs; the application is removed on the thirtieth day, and some add a bulb instead of frankincense. Hydrocele, they tell us, is wonderfully benefited by the spotted lizard: head, feet, and bowels are removed, and the rest of the body is

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roastedfrequent doses are given in foodin food too for incontinence of urine they prescribe dog fat with split alum in doses the size of a bean, African snails burnt with their flesh and shell, the ash being taken in drink, three roasted geese tongues taken in food. Sponsor for this treatment is Anaxilaus. But superficial abscesses are opened by mutton suet and roasted salt; they are dispersed by mouse dung mixed with powdered frankincense and sandarach, by ash of a lizard or the lizard itself, split and applied, also by multipedes pounded and mixed with one third part of terebinth resinsome add also red ochre of Sinopeby crushed snails by themselves, or by the ash of empty snail-shells mixed with wax. Power to disperse is possessed by pigeon's dung, applied by itself or with barley meal or with oatmeal. Cantharides mixed with lime remove superficial abscesses as well as the lancet; swelling of the groin is relieved by an application of small snails with honey.

23. To prevent varicose veins the legs of children are rubbed with lizard's blood, but both gout patient and rubber must be fasting. Gouty pains are soothed by ocsypum with woman's milk and white lead, by the dung of sheep that they pass liquid, by lungs of sheep, by ram's gall with ram's suet, by mice split and laid on the parts, by blood of a weasel applied with plantain and the ash of a weasel burnt alive with vinegar and rose oilthe remedy should be applied with a feather even a if wax and oil are made ingredientsby dog's gall, which must not be touched by hand but applied with a feather, by dung of hens, by ash of earthworms with honey, taken off on the third day. Some prefer to apply the worms in water, others prefer to rub the feet first with rose oil and then to apply without water an acctabulum of worms with three cyathi of honey. Snails of the broad kind taken in drink are said to banish pains of the feet and joints; the dose is two pounded in wine. They are also applied with juice of the plant helxine; some are content to beat them up in vinegar. Salt, burnt with a viper in a new jar and taken frequently, frees they say from gout, adding that it is also beneficial to rub the feet with viper fat. They assure us also that the kite is a remedy; it is dried, pounded, and a three-finger pinch taken in water, or the feet are rubbed with its blood. To the feet is also applied the blood of pigeons a with nettles, or their feathers may be used when they are just sprouting, beaten up with nettles. Moreover their dung is applied to painful joints, also the ash of a weasel or of snails, and with starch or tragacanth. Bruised joints are treated very effectively with spider's web; some prefer to use the ash of it, or else that of pigeon's dung with pearl barley and white wine. For dislocations a sovereign remedy is mutton suet with ash of woman's hair. For chilblains too is applied mutton suet with alum, or the ash of a dog's head or of mouse dung. But if they are clean, ulcers are brought to cicatrize by these with the addition of wax, or by the warm ash in oil of burnt dormice, also by that of field mice with honey, and by that of earthworms also with old oil and the snails that are found without shells. All sores of the feet are healed by the ash of those snails that have been burnt alive, by the ash of hens' dung, and ulcerations by the ash of pigeon's dung in oil. Chafings caused by foot-wear are healed by the ash of an old shoe, by the lung of a lamb and of a ram; for whitlows is specific a horse's tooth ground to powder; chafings under the feet of man or beast are healed by applying a green lizard's blood, corns on the feet by applying the urine of a mule, male or female, with the mud made by it, by the dung of sheep, by the liver or blood of a green lizard laid on a piece of wool, by earthworms in oil, by the head of a spotted lizard with an equal quantity of agnus castus beaten up in oil, by pigeon's dung boiled down in vinegar; all kinds of warts are cured by fresh dog's urine applied with its mud, by the ash of dog's dung with wax, by the dung of sheep, by the application of fresh mouse-blood, or of a mouse itself torn asunder, by the gall of a hedgehog, by the head or blood of a lizard or the ash of the whole creature, by the slough of snakes, or by the dung of a hen with oil and soda. Cantharides beaten up with Taminian grapes eat away warts, but when corroded in this way they must be treated by the other remedies I have prescribed for the complete healing of ulcers.

24. Now I will turn to those ills that threaten the whole body. The Magi say that the gall of a black male dog, if a house is fumigated or purified with it, acts as a talisman protecting all of it from sorcerers' potions; it is the same if the inner walls are sprinkled with the dog's blood or his genital organ is buried under the threshold of the front door. Those would wonder less at this who know how highly the Magi extol that very loathsome animal the tick, on the ground that it is the only creature that has no vent for its gorging, nor yet any end save at death, living longer if it starves; they tell us that so it lasts for seven days, but if they eat to satiety they burst in a shorter time. They add that a tick from the left ear of a dog, worn as an amulet, relieves all pains. They also consider the tick a prognostication of life or death, for if tile patient at the beginning of his illness makes reply when he who has brought in with him a tick, standing at his feet inquires about the illness, there is sure hope of recovery; should no reply be made the patient will die. They add that the tick must be taken from the left ear of a dog that is completely black all over. Nigidius has left it in writing that dogs run away for a whole day from the sight of one who has caught a tick on a pig. Again, the Magi tell us that sprinkling with mole's blood restores to their senses the delirious, while those who are haunted by night ghosts and goblins are freed from their terrors if tongue, eyes, gall, and intestines of a python are boiled down in wine and oil, cooled by night in the open air, and used as embrocation night and morning.

25. For feverish chills Nicander gives as a remedy a dead serpent, the amphisbaena, worn as an amulet, or even its skin; nay, he says that, if it is fastened to a tree that is being felled, the fellers feel no cold and do their business more easily. So much does this, alone of serpents, stand up to the cold, being the first of all serpents to make its appearance, even before the cry of the cuckoo. One wonderful thing about the cuckoo is, that if, on the spot where that bird is heard for the first time, the print of the right foot is marked round aud the earth dug out, no fleas breed wherever it is sprinkled.

26. For those warding off paralysis the fats of decocted dormice and shrew mice are said to be very beneficial, as also millipedes taken in drink as I have prescribed for quinsy; for consumptives a green lizard boiled down in three sextarii of wine to one cyathus, the daily dose being one spoonful until convalescence, or the ash of snails taken in wine;

27. for epilepsy wool-grease with a morsel of myrrh, diluted with two cyathi of wine, a piece the size of a hazel nut being taken in drink, after the bath, or the testicles of a ram dried and pounded, half a denarius by weight being taken in a hemina of water or of ass's milk; to drink wine is forbidden for five days before and after. Very highly praised also is the blood of sheep, taken by the mouth, the gall of sheep, especially of a lamb, with honey, sucking puppy taken in wine and myrrh after the head and feet have been cut off, the excrescence on the leg of a she-mule taken in three cyathi of oxymel, the ash of a spotted lizard from overseas taken in vinegar, the coat of a spotted lizard, which it casts in the same way as a snake, taken in drink. Some have also given in drink the lizard itself, gutted with a reed and dried, others in food the lizard roasted on wooden spits. It is worth while knowing how, when cast, the winter skin is hastily taken from the lizard, which otherwise devours it, for no living creature, they say, shows greater spite in cheating man, for which reason its name has been turned into a term of abuse. They note in the summer time its nest, which is in the cornices over doors and windows, or in vaults or tombs. Over against the nest in the beginning of spring they place cages like weels woven with split reeds, the narrow neck of which gives the creature actual delight, as thereby it casts off more easily the encumbrance of its covering, but when this has been left no return is possible. No remedy for epilepsy is preferred to this. A good one too is a weasel's brain dried and taken in drink, or a weasel's liver, testicles, uterus, or paunch, dried with coriander, as I have said; likewise its ash, or a wild weasel taken whole in food. All the same good qualities are praised in the ferret. A green lizard, with seasonings to banish any nausea, the feet and head being taken off, and an application of snails, reduced to ash, with linseed, nettle seed, and honey, are also cures. The Magi recommend the tail of a python attached as an amulet in gazelle skin by deer sinews, or the bits of stone from the crops of baby swallows fastened to the left upper arm; for swallows are said to administer a bit of stone to each chick when hatched. But if, at the first attack of epilepsy, the chick from the first egg laid is given to the patient in food, he is freed from that complaint; afterwards the treatment is swallows' blood with frankincense, or eating a fresh swallow's heart. Moreover, a little stone, taken from a swallow's nest and laid on the patient, is said to give immediate relief, and worn as an amulet permanent protection. Highly praised also is eating a kite's liver or a snake's slough, a vulture's liver pounded with its blood and taken in drink for thrice seven days, or the heart of a vulture's chick worn as an amulet. But they recommend also the vulture itself to be given in food, and that too when it has eaten its fill from a human corpse. Some are of opinion that a vulture's breast should be taken in drink in a cup made of Turkey-oak wood, or the testicles of a cock in water and milk, after abstinence from wine for five days; for this purpose the testicles are preserved. There have also been some who gave in drink twenty-one red flies, and that too from a corpse, but fewer to weak patients.

28. Jaundice is combated by dirt from the ears or teats of a sheep, the dose being a denarius by weight with a morsel of myrrh and two cyathi of wine, by the ash of a dog's head in honey wine, by a millipede in a hemina of wine, by earthworms in oxymel with myrrh, by drinking wine that has rinsed a hen's feetthey must be yellowafter they have been cleansed with water, by the brain of a partridge or eagle taken in three cyathi of wine, by the ash of the feathers or intestines of a wood-pigeon taken in honey wine up to three spoonfuls, or by the ash of sparrows burnt over twigs taken in two spoonfuls of hydromel. There is a bird called 'jaundice' from its colour. If one with jaundice looks at it, he is cured, we are told, of that complaint and the bird dies. I think that this bird is the one called in Latin 'galgulus.'

29. For brain-fever appears to be beneficial, a sheep's lung wrapped warm round the patient's head. But who could give to one delirious the brain of a mouse to be taken in water, or the ash of a weasel, or even the dried flesh of a hedgehog, even if the treatment were bound to be successful? As for the eyes of the horned owl reduced to ash, I should be inclined to count this remedy as one of the frauds with which magicians mock mankind, and it is especially in fevers that true medicine is opposed to the doctrines of these quacks. For they have actually divided the art according to the passing of the sun, and also that of the moon, through the twelve signs of the Zodiac. That the whole theory should be rejected I will show by a few examples. If the sun is passing through Gemini, they recommend the sick to be rubbed with the combs, ears, and claws of cocks, burnt and pounded with oil; if it is the moon, the cocks' spurs and wattles must be used. If either sun or moon is passing through Virgo, grains of barley must be used; if through Sagittarius, a bat's wings; if the moon is passing through Leo, leaves of tamarisk, and they add that it must be the cultivated shrub; if through Aquarius, boxwood charcoal, pounded. Of these remedies I shall include only those recognised, or at least thought probable: for example, to rouse the victims of lethargus by pungent smells, among which perhaps I would put the dried testicles of a weasel or the fumes of his burnt liver. For these patients also they consider it useful to wrap round the head the warm lung of a sheep.

30. In quartans ordinary medicines are practically useless; for which reason I shall include several of the magicians' remedies, and in the first place the amulets they recommend: the dust in which a hawk has rolled himself tied in a linen cloth by a red thread, or the longest tooth of a black dog. The wasp they call pseudosphex, that flies about by itself, they catch with the left hand and hang under the chin, and others use the first wasp seen in that year; a severed viper's head attached in a linen cloth, or the heart taken from the creature while still alive; the snout and ear tips of a mouse, wrapped in red cloth, the mouse itself being allowed to go free; the right eye gouged out of a living lizard; a fly in a bit of goat skin, with its head cut off; or the beetle that rolls little pellets. Because of this beetle the greater part of Egypt worships the beetle as one of its deities. Apion gives an erudite explanation: he infers that this creature resembles the sun and its revolutions, seeking to find an excuse for the religious customs of his race. But the Magi also make amulets of other beetles. There is one with bent-back little horns, which they take up in the left hand; a third kind, called fullo, with white spots, they cut in two and wear as an amulet on either upper arm; all the rest are worn on the left arm; the heart, taken out `with the left hand from a living snake; four joints of a scorpion's tail, with the sting, wrapped in black cloth, care being taken that the sick man does not see, for three days, either the scorpion when set free or him who attaches the amulet; after the third paroxysm he must hide it away. They tie a thread three times round a caterpillar in a linen cloth, and with three knots, the ministering attendant saying at each knot the reason for so doing. Other amulets are: a slug in a piece of skin, or four slugs' heads cut off with a reed, a multipede wrapped up in wool, the grubs from which gadflies are born, before they develop wings, or other hairy grubs found on thorny bushes. Some shut up four of these grubs in a walnut shell and attach as an amulet. Snails that are found without shells, or a spotted lizard shut up in a little box, they place under the patient's head and let out when the fever goes down. They also recommend the heart of a sea-diver, cut out without iron, dried and pounded, to be taken in warm water, or the hearts of swallows with honey; others swallows' dung in doses of one drachma in three cyathi of goat's or sheep's milk or in raisin wine, to be taken before the parozysms. Some hold that the entire swallow should be taken. An asp's skin, in doses of one sixth of a denarius by weight with an equal quantity of pepper, is taken by Parthian tribes as a cure for a quartan. Chrysippus the philosopher has told us that wearing a phryganion as an amulet is a cure for quartans: but what the animal is Chrysippus has left no account, and I have met nobody who knew. Yet a statement made by so great an authority it was necessary to mention, in case somebody's research should meet with better success. To eat the flesh of a crow or to apply its nest as a friction they think very beneficial in chronic diseases. In tertians too it may be worth while to try whether there is any benefit (so much does suffering delight in hoping against hope) in the spider called lycos (wolf) applied with its web in a small plaster of resin and the wax to both temples and to the forehead, or in the spider itself attached as an amulet in a reed, in which form it is also said to be beneficial for other fevers. A green lizard too may be tried, attached alive, in a vessel just large enough to contain it; by which method we are assured that recurrent fevers also are often banished.

31. For dropsy is given in drink wool grease in wine mixed with a little myrrh, in doses the size of a hazel nut. Some also add goose grease in myrtle-wine. The dirt from the udders of sheep has the same effect, as has the dried flesh of a hedgehog taken by the mouth. An application too of dogs vomit to the abdomen brings away, we are assured, the dropsical fluid.

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32. Erysipelas is benefited by wool grease with pompholyx and rose oil, by the blood of a tick, by earth-worms applied in vinegar, by a cricket crushed between the handshe who succeeds in doing this before the complaint shows itself is protected from an attack for the whole of that year, but the cricket must be lifted with iron along with the earth of its holeby goose grease, by the head of a viper, kept till dry, burnt, and then applied in vinegar, a serpent's slough applied in water with bitumen and lamb suet after a bath.

33. A carbuncle is removed by pigeon's dung, applied by itself or with linseed in oxymel, also by bees that have died in honey, applied and sprinkled with pearl barley. If a carbuncle or other sore is on the privates, the remedy is wool grease with lead scales in honey, and sheep dung for incipient carbuncles. Hard swellings and whatever needs to be softened are treated very efficaciously with goose grease, and equally good results are also given by the grease of cranes.

34. Boils are said to be cured by a spider, applied before its name has been mentioned and taken off on the third day, by a shrewmouse, killed and hung up so that it does not touch earth after death, and passed three times round the boil, both the attendant and the patient spitting the same number of times, by the red part of poultry dung, best applied fresh in vinegar, by a stork's crop boiled down in wine, by an odd number of flies rubbed on with the medical finger by dirt from the ears of sheep, by stale mutton suet with the ash of woman's hair, and by ram's suet with ash of burnt pumice and an equal quantity of salt.

35. Burns are treated with ash of a dog's head, the ash of dormice and oil, sheep dung and wax, the the ash of mice; with the ash of snails so well that not even a scar is to be seen, with viper fat, and with the ash of pigeon's dung applied in oil.

36. Hard lumps in the sinews are treated with the ash of a viper's head in cyprus oil, and by an application of earthworms and honey. Pains in the sinews are soothed by fat, by a dead amphisbaena attached as an amulet, by vulture's fat with its crop, dried and pounded with stale pig's fat, by the ash of a horned-owl's head taken in honey wine with the root of a lily, if we believe the Magi. For cramp in the sinews woodpigeon's flesh dried and taken in the food, for cramping spasms hedgehog's flesh, also the ash of a weasela serpent's slough attached as an amulet in a piece of bull's leather prevents such spasms for opisthotonic tetanus the dried liver of a kite, the dose being three oboli taken in three cyathi of hydromel.

37. Hangnails and whitlows that form on the fingers are removed by the ash of a dog's head, or by the uterus boiled down in oil, with a layer on top of butter from ewe's milk with honey, as also by the gall bladder of any animal; roughness of the nails by cantharides and pitch, taken off on the third day, or by locusts fried with he-goat suet, and by mutton suet. Some mix with the ingredients mistletoe and purslane, others flowers of copper and mistletoe, but remove the application on the third day.

38. Bleeding in the nostrils is arrested by inserting suet from the caul of a sheep, also by its rennet in water, especially by lamb's rennet, snuffed up or injected, even if other remedies do no good, by goose grease with an equal quantity of butter worked up into lozenges, by the earth off snails, but also by the actual snails themselves, taken from their shells; but when there is severe epistaxis it is stayed by snails beaten up and applied to the forehead, and also by spider's web; by the brain or blood of a cock are arrested fluxes from the brain, also by pigeon's blood; it is stored and congealed for this purpose.

If however there is violent haemorrhage from a wound, it is wonderfully arrested by an application of the ash of horse-dung burnt with egg shells.

39. Ulcers are healed by wool grease, barley ash, and copper rust, in equal parts; this is also equally efficacious for carcinomata and spreading sores. It cauterizes too the edges of ulcers, and levels out excrescences in the flesh; it also fills up hollows and forms scars. There is also great power to heal carcinomata in the ash of sheep's dung with soda added, or in the ash of a lamb's thigh bones, especially when ulcers refuse to cicatrize. There is great power too in the lungs, especially those of rams, which flatten out very efficaciously excrescences of flesh on ulcers; ewe dung too by itself, warmed under an earthen jar and kneaded, reduces swollen wounds, and cleans and heals fistulas and epinyctides. The greatest power, however, is in the ash of a dog's head, which cauterizes and thoroughly heals all excrescences as well as does spodium. These are cauterized too by mouse dung, and also by the ash of weasel's dung. Indurations in deep-seated ulcers and carcinomata are penetrated by multipedes pounded and mixed with terebinth resin and earth of Sinope. The same remedies are very useful for those ulcers that are threatened by worms. Moreover, the various kinds of worms themselves have wonderful uses. The larvae that breed in wood heal all ulcers; and nomae too if burnt with an equal weight of anise and applied in oil. Fresh wounds are united so well by earth worms that there is a general conviction that even severed sinews are by applying them made whole by the seventh day; accordingly it is thought that they should be preserved in honey. Their ash with liquid pitch or symphytum and honey removes too-hard edges of ulcers. Some dry them in the sun, use in vinegar to treat wounds, and do not take them off without an interval of two days. Used in the same way the earth too off snails is beneficial, and snails taken out whole, beaten up, and applied, unite fresh wounds and arrest nomae. There is also an insect called by the Greeks herpes, which is specific for all creeping ulcers. Snails also are good for them, beaten up with their shells; with myrrh indeed and frankincense they are said to heal even severed sinews. The fat of a python also, dried in the sun, is of great benefit, as is a cock's brain for fresh wounds. By viper's salt taken in food we are told that ulcers become more amenable to treatment and heal more rapidly. Indeed the physician Antonius after operating on ulcers without success gave vipers as food to bring about complete cures with wonderful rapidity. The ash of the trixallis with honey removes hard edges on ulcers, as does ash of pigeon's dung with arsenic and honey; these also remove all that needs a cautery. The brain of a horned owl with goose grease is said to unite wounds wonderfully, as, with woman's milk, does the ash of a ram's thighs the ulcers called malignant, but the cloths must be first carefully washed, or the screech owl boiled in oil, with which when melted down are mixed ewe butter and honey. The lips of ulcers that are too hard are softened by bees that have died in honey, and elephantiasis by the blood and ash of a weasel. Wounds and weals made by the scourge are removed by an application of fresh sheepskin.

40. For fractures of the joints a specific is the ash of a sheep's thighs with waxthis medicament is more efficacious if there are burnt with the thighs the sheep's jawbones and a deer's horn, and the wax is softened with rose oilspecific for broken bones is a dog's brain, spread on a linen cloth, over which is placed wool, occasionally moistened underneath (with oil). In about fourteen days it unites the broken parts, as does quite as quickly the ash of a field-mouse with honey, or that of earthworms, which also extracts fragments of bone.

41. Scars are restored to the natural colour by the lungs of sheep, particularly of rams, by their suet in soda, by the ash of a green lizard, by a snake's slough boiled down in wine, and by pigeon's dung with honey; the last in wine does the same for both kinds a of white vitiligo; for vitiligo cantharides also with two parts of rue leaves. These must be kept on in the sun until the skin is violently irritated; then there must be fomentation and rubbing with oil, followed by another application. This treatment should be repeated for several days, but deep ulceration must be guarded against. For vitiligo of all kinds they also recommend the application of flies with root of eupatoria, or the white part of hens' dung kept in old oil in a horn box, or bat's blood, or hedgehog's gall in water. Itch scab however is relieved by the brain of a horned owl with saltpetre, but best of all by dog's blood, and pruritus by the small, broad, kind of snail, crushed and applied.

42. Arrows, weapons, and everything that must be extracted from the flesh, are withdrawn by a mouse split and laid on the wound, but especially by a split lizard, or even its head only, crushed and laid on the wound with salt, by the snails that attack leaves in clusters, crushed and similarly laid on with the shells, and edible snails without them, but most efficaciously by the bones of snakes with hare's rennet. These bones also, with the rennet of any quadruped, show a good result by the third day. Cantharides too are highly recommended, beaten up and applied with barley meal.

43. For women's complaints the afterbirth of an ewe is of service, as I said when speaking of goats. The dung too of sheep has the same medicinal uses. Fumigation with lobsters is of the greatest help in strangury in women. If occasionally after conception a woman eats the testicles of a cock, males are said to be formed in the uterus. The foetus is retained by taking in drink the ash of porcupines, brought to maturity by drinking bitch's milk, and withdrawn by the afterbirth of a bitch, which must not touch the earth, laid on the loins of the woman in childbed. Mouse dung diluted with rain water reduces the breasts of women swollen after childbirth. Rubbing the woman all over with the ash of hedgehogs and oil prevents miscarriage. The delivery of those is easier who have swallowed goose a with two cyathi of water, or the liquids that flow from a weasel's uterus through its genitals. Applying earthworms prevents pains in the sinews of neck and shoulders, and taken in raisin wine bring away a sluggish afterbirth. These worms laid by themselves on the breasts also mature suppurations there, open them, draw out the pus, and make them cicatrize. Taken with honey wine they stimulate the flow of milk. There are also little worms found n grass; these, tied round the neck as an amulet, prevent a miscarriage, but they are taken off just before the birth, otherwise they prevent delivery, Care too must be taken not to lay them on the earth. Further, to cause conception five or seven at a time are given in drink. Snails taken in food hasten delivery, and conception too if applied with saffron. An application of snails in starch and tragacanth arrests fluxes. They are also good for menstruation if taken in food, and correct with deer's marrow displacements of the uterus; to one snail should be added a denarius by weight of marrow and cyprus oil. Inflation too of the uterus is dispersed by snails taken out of their shells and beaten up with rose oil. For these purposes the most preferred are snails of Astypalaea. African snails are prepared in a different way; doses of two are beaten up with a three-finger pinch of fenugreek, four spoonfuls of honey added, and the whole applied after rubbing the abdomen with iris juice. There are also found straying everywhere small snails with a white corslet. Dried in the sun on tiles, crushed to powder, and mixed with an equal quantity of bean meal, these impart both whiteness and smoothness to the skin. The desire to scratch is removed by the small, broad snails with pearl barley. If a woman with child step across a viper she will miscarry; similarly if she cross an amphisbaena, a dead one at least, but those that carry on their persons a live one in a box step across with impunity; even if it is a dead one and preserved it makes childbirth easy. In the case of a dead one, wonderful to relate, no harm is done should a pregnant woman cross it without a preserved one, if she at once crosses a preserved one. Fumigation with a dried snake assists menstruation.

44. A snake's slough, tied to the loins as an amulet, makes childbirth easier, but it must be taken off immediately after delivery. They also give it in wine to be taken with frankincense; in any other way it causes miscarriage. A stick with which a frog has been shaken from a snake helps lying-in women, and the ash of the trixallis, applied with honey, helps menstruation, as does a spider that is spinning a thread from a height. It should be caught in the hollow of the hand, crushed? and applied; but if it is caught as it ascends again, the same treatment will arrest menstruation. The stone aetites, found in the eagle's nest, protects a foetus from all plots to cause abortion. A vulture's feather, placed under their feet, helps lying-in women. It is certain that pregnant women must avoid a raven's egg, since if they step over it they will miscarry through the mouth. A hawk's dung taken in honey wine seems to make women fertile. Indurations and abscesses of the uterus are softened by goose grease or by swan's grease.

45. The breasts after delivery are safeguarded by goose grease with rose oil and a spider's web. The Phrygians and Lycaonians have found that the fat of bustards is beneficial for teats disordered by childbirth. For uterine suffocation beetles also are applied. Ash of partridge eggshells mixed with cadmia and wax keeps the breasts firm. They also think that breasts do not droop if circles are traced round them three times with the egg of partridge or quail, and that if this egg is swallowed it also produces fertility and an abundant supply of milk as well, that it lessens pains in the breasts if they are rubbed with it and goose grease, that it breaks up moles in the uterus, and that uterine itch is relieved if it is applied with crushed bugs.

46. Bats' blood is a depilatory, but an application to the armpits of boys is not enough unless copper rust or hemlock seed is spread over it afterwards; this treatment either removes the hair altogether or reduces it to down. They think that a bat's brain is equally efficaciousthis brain is double, red and white asome adding the bat's blood and liver. Others in three heminae of oil thoroughly boil a viper after taking out the bones, using the decoction as a depilatory after first plucking out the hairs they do not wish to grow again. The gall of a hedgehog is a depilatory, especially when mixed with a bat's brain and goat's milk, as is also the ash by itself. Parts rubbed with the milk of a bitch with her first litter, when the hairs have been plucked out or not yet grown, do not grow hair again. The same result is said to be produced by the blood of a tick plucked from a dog, by the blood or gall of a swallow, or by the eggs of ants. They say that eyebrows are made black by crushed flies; if however it is desired that the eyes of babies should be black, the expectant mother must eat a shrewmouse; hair is prevented from turning grey by the ash of earth-worms mixed with oil.

47. Babies that are troubled with curdled milk have a preventative in lamb's rennet taken in water or if the trouble has occurred with milk already curdled it is dispersed by this rennet given in vinegar. For dentition the brain of a sheep is very beneficial. The inflammation of babies called siriasis is cured by the bones found in dog's dung worn as an amulet, and hernia in babies by bringing a green lizard to bite them when asleep. Afterwards they fasten the lizard to a reed and hang it in smoke, and they say that as it dies the baby recovers. The slime of snails applied to the eyes of babies straightens the eyelashes and makes them grow. Hernia is cured by the ash of snails applied for thirty days with frankincense in white of egg. There are found in the little horns of snails sandy grits; worn as an amulet these make dentition easy. The ash of snail shells mixed with wax checks procidence of the end of the bowel, but the ash should be mixed with the discharge that exudes when the snails are pricked. A viper's brain tied on with a piece of his skin helps dentition. The same effect have also the largest teeth of serpents. The dung of a raven attached with wool as an amulet cures babies' coughs. Certain details can scarcely be included as serious items, but I must not omit them, since they have been put on record. As a remedy for hernia in babies they recommend a lizard; there should be taken a male, which can be recognised by its having one vent beneath the tail. The

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necessary ritual is: that it must bite the lesion through a gold or silver barrier; then it must be fastened in an unused cup and placed in smoke. Incontinence of urine in babies is checked by giving in their food boiled mice. The tall, indented horns of the beetle, fastened to babies, serves as an amulet. In the head of the boa is said to be a little stone, which is spit out by it when in fear of violent death; they add that dentition is wonderfully aided if the creature's head is cut off unawares, the stone extracted and worn as an amulet. The brain too of the same creature they recommend to be worn for the same purpose, or the stone or little bone found on the back of a slug. A splendid help also is the brain of a ewe rubbed on the gums, as for the ears is goose grease put in them with juice of ocimum. On prickly plants are grubs which are rough and downy. These worn by babies as an amulet are said to effect an immediate recovery when part of their food sticks in the throat.

48. Sleep is induced by wool grease with a morsel of myrrh diluted in two cyathi of wine, or else with goose grease and myrtle wine, by the cuckoo bird in a piece of hare's fur worn as an amulet or by a heron's beak worn as an amulet on the forehead in a piece of ass's hide. It is thought too that the beak of the heron by itself rinsed in wide has the same effect. Sleep is kept away, on the contrary, by a dried bat's head worn as an amulet.

49. A lizard drowned in a man's urine is antaphrodisiac to him who passed it, but the Magi claim that it is a love-philtre. Antaphrodisiac too are snails, and pigeon's dung taken with oil and wine. Aphrodisiac for men are the right parts of a vulture's lung, worn as an amulet in a piece of crane's skin; aphrodisiac also are the yolks of five pigeons' eggs mixed with a denarius by weight of pig fat and swallowed in honey, sparrows or their eggs in food, or the right testicle of a cock worn as an amulet in a piece of ram's-skin. They say that rubbing with ibis ash, goose grease and iris oil prevent miscarriage when there has been conception; that desire on the contrary is inhibited if a fighting cock's testicles are rubbed with goose grease and worn as an amulet in a ram s skin, as it also is if with a cock's blood any cock's testicles are placed under the bed. Women unwilling to conceive are forced to do so by hairs from the tail of a she-mule, pulled out during the animal copulation and entwined during the human. A man who passes his urine on a dog's is said to become Less sexually active. A wonderful thing again (if it is true) is told about the ash of the spotted lizard: if wrapped in a linen cloth and held in the left hand it is aphrodisiac; if transferred to the right hand it is antaphrodisiac. Another wonder: the blood of a bat, collected on a flock of wool and placed under the head of women, moves them to lust, as does the tongue of a goose, taken either in food or in drink.

50. The lice of phthiriasis even of the whole body are destroyed in three days by taking in drink the maggots, east slough of a snake, or by drinking, with a little salt, whey after the cheese has been taken out. They say that if the brain of a weasel is added to rennet, cheeses neither go rotten through age nor are touched by mice. If the ash too of a weasel is given to poultry or pigeons in their mash, they are said to be safe from weasels. Pains of draught animals in making urine are ended by a bat put on them as an amulet, and hots by a woodpigeon carried three times round their middle. Wonderful to relate, the woodpigeon on being set free dies, while the animal is at once freed from pain.

51. The eggs of an owl, given for three days in wine to drunkards, produce distaste for it. Drunkenness is kept away by taking early the roasted lung of sheep. A swallow's beak reduced to ash, beaten up with myrrh, and sprinkled on the wine that will be drunk, will free drinkers from fear of becoming tipsy. This is a discovery of Orus, king of Assyria.

52. In addition to all this there are some notable things about the animals that belong to this Book: the gromphena, a bird spoken of in Sardinia as like a crane, but now, I think, unknown even to the Sardinians. In the same province we have the ophion, a creature like deer only in its hair, and found nowhere else. The same authorities say that there is a creature called siralugum, but they have not told us what kind of an animal it is or where it is found. I do not indeed doubt that it once existed, since even medicines from it have been prescribed. Marcus Cicero tells us that there are animals called biuri which gnaw the vines in Campania.

53. There are still some wonders in the animals that I have mentioned: that a dog does not bark at a person having on him the membrane from the afterbirth of a bitch, or holding the dung or hair of a hare; included among gnats are mullones, which live only for a day; those taking honey from hives are not stung by the bees if they have on them the beak of a woodpecker; pigs follow those from whom they have received in their mash the brain of a raven; the dust in which a she-mule has wallowed, sprinkled on the body, lessens the fires of love. Shrew mice are put to flight if one of them is castrated and let go free; if a snake's skin, salt, emmer wheat, and wild thyme are pounded together and with wine poured down the throat of oxen when the grapes are ripening, they enjoy good health for a whole year, or if three young swallows are given at three meals in their mash; if dust is gathered from the track of a snake and sprinkled on bees, these return to their hives; if the right testicle of a ram is tied up he begets ewes only; those are not wearied by any toil who have on them sinews from the wings and legs of a crane; she-mules do not kick if they have drunk wine. The hoofs of she-mules are the only material discovered that is not rotted by the poisonous water of Styx, a notable fact discovered by Aristotle, to his great infamy, when Antipater sent a draught of it to Alexander the Great. Now I will pass to things found in water.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 31

1. There follow the medicinal benefits obtained from aquatic animals; Nature the Creator is not idle even among them, but puts forth her tireless strength on waves, billows, ebb and flow of tides, and the rapid currents of rivers; and nowhere with greater might, if we will but admit the truth, seeing that this element is lord over all the others. Water swallows up the land, destroys flames, climbs aloft claiming the sovereignty even of the sky, and by a blanket of clouds chokes the life-giving spirit, so forcing out thunderbolts, the world waging civil war with itself. What can be more wonderful than water seated in the sky? But as though it were a little thing to reach this great height, water sucks up thither with itself shoals of fish, and often even stones, carrying up aloft a weight other than its own. This element also falls again to become the source of all things that spring from the earth. Right wonderful action this on the part of Nature, if one considers it: in order that crops may grow, and that trees and shrubs may live, water soars to the sky and brings down thence even to plants the breath of life, so we are forced to admit that all the powers of earth too are part of the beneficence of water. Wherefore I shall first of all give examples of the might of water, for what mortal man could count them all?

2.. Everywhere in many lands gush forth beneficent waters, here cold, there hot, there both, as among the Tarbelli, an Aquitanian tribe, and in the Pyrenees, with only a short distance separating the two, in some places tepid and lukewarm, promising relief to the sick and bursting forth to help only men of all the animals. Water adds to the number of the gods by its various names, and founds cities, such as Puteoli in Campania, Statiellae in Liguria, and Sextiae in the province of Narbonensis. Nowhere however is water more bountiful than in the Bay of Baiae, or with more variety of relief: some has the virtue of sulphur, some of alum, some of salt, some of soda, some of bitumen, some are even acid and salt in combination; of some the mere steam is beneficial, of which the power a is so great that it heats baths and even makes cold water boil in the tubs. The water called Posidian in the region of Baiae, getting its name from a freedman of Claudius Caesar, cooks thoroughly even meat. In the sea itself too, steam rises from the water that belonged to Licinius Crassus, and there comes something valuable to health in the very midst of the billows.

3. To come now to the classes of water: some waters are good for sinews or feet, or for sciatica; others for dislocations or fractures; they purge the bowels; heal wounds; are specific for head, or for ears; while the Ciceronian are so for the eyes. It is worth while recording that there is a country seat on the coast as you go from Lake Avernus to Puteoli, with a famous portico and grove, which lvi. Cicero, copying Athens, called Academia. There he wrote the volumes called Academica, and in it he also erected memorials to himself, as though indeed he had not done so throughout the whole world. In the front part of this estate, when the owner was Antistius Vetus, a short time after Cicero's demise there burst out hot springs, very beneficial for eye complaints, which have been made famous by a poem of Laurea Tullus, who was one of Cicero's freedmen. From it we at once realize that even his servants drew inspiration from that mighty genius. For I will quote the actual poem, which deserves to be read, not only on this site, but everywhere.

'O famous champion of our Latin tongue, where grows with a fairer green the grove you bade rise, and the villa, honoured by the name of Academe, Vetus keeps in repair under a more careful tendance, here are also to be seen waters not revealed before, which with drops infused relieve wearied eyes. For indeed the site itself gave this gift as an honour to Cicero its master, when it disclosed springs with this healing power, so that, since he is read throughout the whole world, there may be more waters to give sight to eyes.'

4. In Campania too are the waters of Sinuessa, which are said to cure barrenness in women and insanity in men.

5. The waters in the island of Aenaria are said to cure stone in the bladder, as does also the water called Acidulait is a cold onefour miles from Teanum Sidicinum, that at Stabiae called Dimidia, and the water of Venafrum from the spring Acidulus. The same result comes from drinking the water of Lake Velia, also of the Syrian spring near Mount Taurus, according to Marcus Varro, and of the Phrygian river Gallus, according to Callimachus. But here moderation is necessary in drinking lest it drive people to madness, which Ctesias writes those suffer from who drink of the Red Spring in Ethiopia.

6. Near Rome the waters of Albula heal wounds. These are lukewarm, but those of Cutilia of the Sabines are very cold, penetrating the body with a sort of suction, so that they might seem almost to bite, being very healthful to the stomach, the sinews, and the whole body.

7. The spring at Thespiae causes women to conceive, as does the river Elatum in Arcadia, and the spring Linus, also in Arcadia, guards the embryo and prevents miscarriage. The river in Pyrrha, on the contrary, that is called Aphrodisium, causes barrenness.

8. The water of Lake Alphins removes psoriasis, Varro tells us, adding that Titius, an ex-praetor, as a result of this complaint had a face like that of a marble statue. The Cydnus, a river of Cilicia, cures gout, as appears from a letter of Cassius of Parma to M. Antonius. On the other hand, it is the fault of the water in Troezen that everyone there suffers from diseases of the feet. The Tungri, a state of Gaul, has a remarkable spring that sparkles with innumerable bubbles, with a taste of iron rust, which yet cannot be detected until the water has been drunk. It is a purgative, and cures tertian agues and stone in the bladder. This water also, if fire is brought near it, becomes turbid, and finally turns red. White Earth Springs, between Puteoli and Naples, is good for complaints of the eyes and for wounds. Cicero in his Book of Marvels alleges that only by marsh water of Reate are the hoofs of draught cattle hardened.

9. Eudicus tells us that in Hestiaeotis are two springs: Cerona, which makes black the sheep that drink of it, and Neleus, which makes them white, while they are mottled if they drink of each. Theophrastus says that at Thurii the Crathis makes oxen and sheep white, and the Sybaris makes them black.

10. He adds that men too are affected by this difference: that those who drink of the Sybaris are darker and more hardy, and with curly hair, while those who drink of the Crathis are fair, softer, and with straight hair. He also says that in Macedonia those who wish white young to be born lead their beasts to the Haliacmon, but to the Axius if they wish the young to be black or dark. The same authority adds that in certain places all produce grows to be dark, even grain and vegetables, as among the Messapii, and that in a certain spring at Lusi in Arcadia land mice live and dwell. At Erythrae the river Axios makes hair grow on the body.

11. In Boeotia by the temple of Trophonius near the river Hercynnus are two springs; one brings remembrance, the other forgetfulness; hence the names that have been given them.

12. In Cilicia near the town Cescum flows the river Nuus. Those that drink of it become, says Marcus Varro, of keener perception, but on the bland of Cea there is a spring that makes men dull, and at Zama in Africa is one that gives the drinkers a tuneful voice.

13. Disgust at wine, says Eudoxus, comes upon those who have drunk of Lake Clitorius, but Theopompus says that drunkenness is caused by the springs that I have mentioned, and Mucianus that at Andros, from the spring of Father Liber, on fixed seven-day festivals of this god, flows wine, but if its water is carried out of sight of the temple the taste turns to that of water.

14. Polyclitus says that with the river Liparis near Soli in Cilicia people are anointed, Theophrastus says this of a spring with the same name in Ethiopia, and Lycos that among the Oratae of India is a spring the water of which keeps lamps burning bright.

15. The same is said of one at Ecbatana. Theopompus says that among the people of Scotussa is a lake that heals wounds. Juba says that among the Trogodytae is a lake called Insanus, so named from its evil character, for three times a day and three times each night it becomes bitter, and then again fresh, full of white serpents twenty cubits long; he also says that in Arabia is a spring that bursts forth with such violence that it throws out everything, no matter how heavy, that is heaved into it.

16. Theophrastus tells us that a spring of Marsyas in Phygia, near the town of Celaenae, casts out rocks. Not far from it are two springs, named Claeon and Gelon, so called from the force of their Greek names. A spring at Cyzicus is called Cupid's Spring; those who drink of it, Mucianus believes, lose their amorous desires.

17. In Crannon is a hot spring which just falls short of boiling, the water of which with wine added remains in vessels a hot drink for three days. There are also in Germany across the Rhine the hot springs of Mattiaeum, a draught from which is boiling hot for three days; around the borders indeed the water forms pumice.

18. But if anybody thinks that some of these statements are incredible, he has to learn that in no sphere does Nature show greater marvels, although in the early parts of my work I have mentioned plenty of examples. Ctesias tells us that there is in India standing water called Silasp in which nothing floats but everything sinks to the bottom; Coelius says in our Avernus even leaves sink, and Varro that the birds that fly to it die. On the other hand, in the African lake Apuscidamus everything floats and nothing sinks; similarly in the Sicilian spring

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Phinthia, as Apion tells us, and among the Medes in the lake and well of Saturn. Again, the source of the river Limyra often crosses to neighbouring districts, indicating some portent, and a wonderful thing is that the fish cross with it. The inhabitants seek responses from them, offering food. To give a favourable answer the fish snap it up; but for an unfavourable one, they knock it away with their tails. The river Alcas in Bithynia flows by Bryazusthis is the name both of a god and of his templethe current of which perjured persons are said to be unable to endure, as it burns like a flame. In Cantabria the springs of the Tamaris are supposed to be prophetic. Three in number they are eight feet apart, uniting in one channel to form a vast river. Each one dries up for periods of twelve, occasionally of twenty days, without the slightest trace of water, although there is a copious spring near them that never dries up. It is an evil portent if those wishing to look at them find them not flowing, as recently Larcius Licinius, a legate pro-praetore discovered after seven days. In Judea is a stream that dries up every Sabbath.

19. On the other hand some other marvels are deadly. Ctesias writes that in Armenia is a spring in which are dark fish that, eaten as food, bring instant death, as I have heard do the fish also from the water around the rising of the Danube, until a spring is reached close to the main channel, where the fish of this sort go no further. At this point, therefore, report says is the real source of that river. They tell us that this same phenomenon occurs in Lydia in the marsh of the Nymphs. In Arcadia near the Pheneus there flows from the rocks a stream called Styx, which I have said proves instantly fatal to life, but Theophrastus tells us that in it are small fish equally deadly; no other kind of poisonous spring is like this. Theopompus also says that near Cychri in Thrace are deadly waters, Lycos that at Leontini is water that kills on the third day after drinking, and Varro that on Soracte is poisonous water in a spring four feet wide. At sunrise, he adds, this bubbles out as though it boiled, and birds that have tasted it lie dead close by. For certain waters have also this insidious property, that the very prospect is attractive; as at Nonacris in Arcadia, which has nothing at all about it to serve as a warning. They think that this water harms by its excessive cold, seeing that as it flows it itself turns to stone. It is otherwise around Tempe in Thessaly, for its poison is a terror to everyone, and they tell us that by the water there even bronze and iron are corroded. It flows, as I have pointed out, for only a short distance, and a marvellous thing is related of this spring: it is embraced by the roots of a wild carob always bearing purple blossom. And a unique kind of herb flourishes on the margins of the spring. In Macedonia, not far from the tomb of the poet Euripides, two streams join, one very wholesome to drink, the other a deadly poison.

20. At Perperena is a spring that turns to stone whatever land it irrigates, as do also the hot waters at Aedepsus in Euboea, for, whatever rocks the stream reaches increase in height. At Eurymenae chaplets, thrown into a spring, turn to stone. At Colossae is a river, and bricks when cast into it are of stone when taken out. In Scyros in the mine all the trees watered by the river are turned to rock, branches and all. Drops too dripping from the stone harden in certain caves, and hence these are concave in shape. But at Mieza in Macedonia the drops actually hang from the arched roofs, while in the Corinthian cave they petrify after falling; in certain caverns the stone forms in both ways and makes pillars, as at Phausia in the Chersonesus opposite to Rhodes in a huge cave, where the pillars are actually of different colours to look at. These examples must be enough for the present.

21. It is a question debated by the physicians what kinds of water are most beneficial. They rightly condemn stagnant and sluggish waters, holding that running water is more beneficial, as it is made finer and more healthy by the mere agitation of the current. For this reason I am surprised that some physicians recommend highly water from cisterns. But these physicians put forward a reason; the lightest water, they say, is rainwater, seeing that it has been able to rise and to be suspended in the atmosphere. Therefore they also prefer snow and ice even more than snow, as though its texture were rarefied to the utmost; for, they say, snow and ice are lighter than water, and ice much lighter. To refute this view is a matter that is important to all men. For first of all, this lightness of water can be discovered with difficulty except by sensation, as the kinds of water differ practically nothing in weight. Nor is it proof of the lightness of rain water that it rose to the sky, since even stones are seen to do the same, and as it falls it is infected with exhalations from the earth. Hence it comes about that rainwater is found to be full of dirt, for which reason this water becomes hot very quickly. That snow indeed and ice should be considered the finest form of that element makes me wonder, when I have before me the evidence of hailstones, to drink the water of which it is agreed is most unwholesome. Not a few physicians however themselves maintain that hail and snow on the contrary make very unhealthy drink, since there has been taken from it what was its thinnest part. Certainly it is found that every liquid becomes smaller when frozen, that too much dew brings blight, and hoar frost blast, effects caused by snow also being akin. Rainwater, it is agreed, becomes putrid very quickly, and it is the worst water to stand a voyage. Epigenes, however, says that water which has become putrid and been purified seven times becomes putrid no more. But cistern water even physicians admit is harmful to the bowels and throat because of its hardness, and no other water contains more slime or disgusting insects. Yet it must be admitted, they hold, that river water is not ipso facto the most wholesome, nor yet that of any torrent whatsoever, while there are very many lakes that are wholesome. What water then, and of what kind, is the best? It varies with the locality. The kings of Parthia drink only of the Choaspes and the Eulaeus; water from these rivers is taken with them even into distant regions. But it is clear that the water of these rivers does not find favour just because they are rivers, for the kings do not drink from the Tigris, Euphrates, or many other rivers.

22. Slime in water is bad. If however the same river is full of eels, it is held to be a sign of wholesomeness, as it is of coldness for worms to breed in a spring. But before all are condemned bitter waters, and those that give a full feeling immediately after drinking, as does the water at Troezen. But the nitrous and salty-acid streams that in the desert flow to the Red Sea are made sweet within two hours if pearl barley is added, and the barley itself they eat. Especially are condemned waters that have mud at their source, and those that give a bad colour to those who drink of them. It also makes a difference if water stains bronze vessels, or if it cooks greens slowly, if when gently filtered out it leaves a sediment of earth, or when boiled thickly encrusts the vessel. Not only too is fetid water bad, but also that which tastes of anything at all, though the taste may be pleasant and agreeable, or, as often happens, approaching that of milk. Wholesome water ought to be very like air. In the whole world one spring of water only is said to have a pleasant smell, and that is at Chabura in Mesopotamia; a reason is sought in the legend that with it Juno was bathed. Apart from this wholesome water should have no sort of taste or smell.

23. Some judge the wholesomeness of water by means of the balance. This is wasted carefulness, for it is very rare for one water to be lighter than another. A more reliable and a delicate test is that, other things being equal, a water is better that becomes warm and cool more quickly. Moreover we are told that if drawn in vessels [without being weighed, or without being warmed by the hand] and placed on the ground, the better water becomes warm. From what source then shall we obtain the most commendable water? From wells surely, as I see they are generally used in towns, but they should be those the water of which by frequent withdrawals is kept in constant motion, and those where due thinness is obtained by filtering through the earth. For wholesomeness so much suffices; for coolness both shade is necessary and that the well should be open to the air. One point above all must be observedand this is also important for a continuous flowwell water should issue from the bottom, not the sides. But coolness to the touch can also be obtained artificially, if the water is forced aloft or let fall from a height, beating and absorbing the air. In swimming indeed the same water is felt to be cooler by those who hold their breath. It was a discovery of the Emperor Nero to boil water and cool it in a glass vessel by thrusting it into snow. In this way is obtained a pleasant coolness without the injurious qualities of snow. At any rate it is agreed that all water is more serviceable when boiled, and that water which has been heated can be cooled to a greater degreea most clever discovery. It purifies bad water to boil it down to one half. Cold water taken internally checks bleeding, and to hold it in the mouth prevents overheating in the bath. Water that is very cold to swallow is not always so to the touch; this good quality alternates as many find out by personal experience.

24. The first prize for the coolest and most wholesome water in the whole world has been awarded by the voice of Rome to the Aqua Marcia, one of the gods' gifts to our city. This was once called the Aqua Aufeia, and the source itself Aqua Pitonia. It rises at the extreme end of the Paelignian range, crosses the country of the Marsi and the Fucine lake, plainly making straight for Rome. Next it sinks into the underground caves near Tibur, reappearing and completing its journey of nine more miles along an aqueduct. The first to begin the bringing of this water to Rome was one of the kings, Ancus Marcius; later, repairs were carried out by Quintus Marcius Rex in his praetorship, and again by Marcus Agrippa.

25. The same Agrippa also brought the Virgin Water to Rome from the byroad, eight miles away, that extends two miles along the road to Praeneste. Nearby is the stream of Hercules, and because the Virgin Water runs away from this it was so named. A comparison of these rivers illustrates the difference mentioned above; for the Aqua Marcia is as much superior to swallow as the Virgin is cool to touch. And yet Rome has long since lost the delights of each, for love of display and greed have diverted these means of public health to country seats and suburbs.

26. It would be pertinent to add the method of searching for water. It is found mostly in enclosed valleys, and what may be called the hinge of converging slopes, or at the foot of mountains. Many have thought that everywhere the northern are the watery slopes. On this matter it would be well to point out the variableness of Nature. In the Hyrcanian mountains it does not rain on the southern slope, and so only on the north side are there woods. But Olympus, Ossa, Parnassus, the Apennines, and the Alps, are everywhere covered with trees and watered by rivers; others are so only on the south side, as are the White Mountains in Crete. So in this matter there will be no unvarying rule to follow.

27. Signs of the presence of water are rushes, the plant about which I have spoken, and frogs squatting on their chest in great numbers for any one place. For wild willow, alder, vitex, reed, or ivy, which grow spontaneously and where there is a settling of rainwater flowing from higher regions to one lower down, are deceptive indications; one much more reliable is a misty steam, visible from a distance before sunrise, for which some water-finders watch from a height, lying prone with their chin touching the earth. There is also a special sign, known only to experts, which they look for in the hottest season and in the most blazing heat of the day, the nature of the reflection that shines from each locality. For if one spot looks moister while the earth around is parching, that is an infallible sign. But so great is the necessary strain on the eyes that pain results. To avoid this strain they have recourse to other tests. They dig a hole to the depth of five feet, covering it with jars of unbaked potters' clay, or else with a well-oiled bronze basin, and also a burning lamp arched over with foliage and earth on top; if the clay is found to be wet or broken, or if moisture covers the bronze, or the lamp goes out without any failure of oil, or perchance a flock of wool is wet, then the finding of water is assured. Some also light a fire first and dry the hole, making yet more conclusive the evidence of the vessels.

28. The earth however itself guarantees water by white spots or by being green all over. For in black earth the springs are generally not permanent. Potters clay always dashes hopes of water, and further well-digging ceases when it is observed that the earth's strata begin with black and go down in the order given above. Water in clay is always sweet, but cooler in tufa. For tufa too is commended, for it makes water sweet and very light; acting as a strainer it keeps back any dirt. Loam indicates scanty trickles with shine, gravel intermittent springs but of a good flavour, male loam or carbunculus-sand; continuous streams, steady and wholesome; red rock points to the certain presence of excellent water; the rocky bases of mountains, or flint, point to the same kind of water, with great coolness in addition. But as the diggers go deeper, the clods should prove continually moister, and the spades cut down more easily. When wells have been sunk deep, the well-diggers are killed if they meet with sulphurous or aluminous fumes. A test for this danger is to let down a lighted lamp and see if it goes out. If it does, vent-holes are sunk at the side of the well, on the right and on the left, to take off the oppressive gas. Apart from these injurious substances, mere depth makes the air oppressive; it is dissipated by continuous fanning with linen cloths. When water has been reached, walls are built from the bottom no cement being used lest the springs be dammed up. Some water, the source of which is not at a height, is cooler right from the beginning of springfor it is made up of winter rainsome is cooler after the rising of the Dog-star; in Macedonia at Pella are both kinds. For before the town there is a marsh stream that is cold at the beginning of summer; then in the higher parts of the town the water is very cold even in the height of summer. A similar phenomenon occurs in Chios also, the relative position of harbour and town being the same. At Athens, Enneacrunos in a cloudy summer is cooler than the well in the Garden of Juppiter, while this latter is very cold during summer droughts. Wells however generally run dry about Arcturus, not in the actual summer, and all sink low during the four days of its rising. Moreover many wells fail throughout the winter, as those around Olynthus, the water returning first in the spring. In Sicily indeed, in the region of Messana and Mylae, springs in winter dry up altogether, but in the actual summer overflow and form rivers. At Apollonia in Pontus a spring near the sea is flooded only in summer, and especially about the rising of the Dog-star, but less so if the summer is colder than usual. Certain lands become drier in rainy weather, as the region of Narnia; Marcus Cicero included this in his Marvels, saying that drought brings mud, and rain dust.

29. All water is sweeter in winter, in summer less so, in autumn least, and less during droughts. The taste of rivers is usually variable, owing to the great difference in river beds. For waters vary with the land over which they flow, and with the juices of the plants they wash. Therefore the same rivers are found in some parts to be unwholesome. Tributaries too alter the flavour of a river, as do those of the Borysthenes, and being absorbed are diluted. Some rivers indeed are also changed by rain. Three times it has happened in the Bosphorus that salt rains fell and ruined the crops, and three times rains have made bitter the inundations of the Nile, a great plague for Egypt.

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30. Springs arise often when woods have been cut down, being used up before as sustenance for the trees; this happened when Cassander was besieging the Gauls after the woods on Mount Haemus had been felled by them to make a rampart. Often indeed devastating torrents unite when from hills has been cut away the wood that used to hold the rains and absorbs them. It also improves the water supply for the earth to he dug and tilled, and for the hard surface crust to be broken up. It is at any rate reported that in Crete, when a town called Arcadia had been stormed, the many springs and rivers of that region went dry, and six years afterwards, when the town was rebuilt, they reappeared, as each piece of land came under cultivation. Earthquakes too make water break out or swallow it up, for example, as is well known, around Pheneus in Arcadia this has happened five times. Thus too on Mount Coryeus a river burst out, but afterwards came to be tilled ground. Any change is startling when no obvious reason for it is to be seen. In Magnesia for instance hot water became cold but its salty flavour remained unaltered; while in Caria, where the temple of Neptune is, a river which before had been sweet was changed to salt. The following phenomena too are very wonderful: the Arethusa at Syracuse smells of dung during the Olympian games, a likely thing, for the Alpheus crosses to that island under the bed of the seas. A spring in the Rhodian Chersonesus pours out refuse every ninth year. The colour too of water changes, for example at Babylon a lake in summer has red water for eleven days, and the Borysthenes at fixed intervals flows with a blue colour, although of all waters it is the thinnest, and for that reason flows above the Hypanis. Wherein is another marvel: when south winds blow the Hypanis goes above. But other evidence for the thinness of the Borysthenes is that it gives out no exhalation, not to say no mist. Those who wish to be thought careful enquirers into these matters say that water becomes heavier after the winter solstice.

31. For the rest, the best way for water to be brought from a spring is in earthenware pipes two fingers thick, the joints boxed together so that the upper pipe fits into the lower, and smoothed with quicklime and oil. The gradient of the water should be at least a quarter of an inch every hundred feet; should it come in a tunnel, there must be vent holes every two actus. When water is required to form a jet, it should come in lead pipes. Water rises as high as its source. If it comes from a long distance, the pipe should frequently go up and down, so that no momentum may be lost. The usual length for a piece of piping is ten feet; five-finger lengths should weigh 60 pounds, eight-finger lengths 100 pounds, ten-finger lengths 120 pounds, and so on in proportion. A ten-finger pipe is so called when the breadth of the strip before bending is ten fingers, and one half as large a five-finger pipe. At every bend of a hill where the momentum must be controlled, it is necessary to use a five-finger pipe; reservoirs must be made according as circumstances require.

32. I wonder that Homer made no mention of hot springs, and that though he frequently speaks of hot baths, the reason being that modern hydropathie treatment was not then a part of medicine. Sulphur waters, however, are good for the sinews, alum waters for paralysis and similar cases of collapse, waters containing bitumen and soda, such as that of Cutilia, are good for drinking and as a purge. Many people make a matter of boasting the great number of hours they can endure the heat of these sulphur watersa very injurious practice, for one should remain in them a little longer than in the bath, afterwards rinse in cool, fresh water, and not go away without a rubbing with oil. The common people find these details irksome, and so there is no greater risk to health than this treatment, because an overpowering smell goes to the head, which sweats and is seized with chill, while the rest of the body is immersed. Those make a like mistake who boast of the great quantity they can drink. I have seen some already swollen with drinking to such an extent that their rings were covered by skin, since they could not void the vast amount of water they had swallowed. So it is not good to drink these waters without a frequent taste of salt. The mud too of medicinal springs is used with advantage, but the application should be dried in the sun. We must not think, however, that all hot waters are medicinal; for there are those at Segesta in Sicily, at Larisa in the Troad, at Magnesia, in Melos and Lipara. Nor is the discoloration of bronze or silver a proof, as many have thought, of medicinal properties, since there are none in the springs of Patavium. Between medicinal and other water there is not even a difference of smell to be detected.

33. The same method of treatment will also apply to sea water, which is used hot for pains in the sinews, for joining fractured bones, and for bruised bones; also for drying the body, in which treatment cold sea water is also employed. There are besides many other uses, the chief however being a sea voyage for those attacked by consumption, as I have said, and for haemoptysis, such as quite recently within our memory was taken by Annaeus Gallio after his consulship. Egypt is not chosen for its own sake, but because of the length of the voyage. Moreover the mere seasickness caused by rolling and pitching are good for very many ailments of the head, eyes, and chest, as well as for all complaints for which hellebore is given. Sea water indeed by itself physicians think to be more efficacious for dispersing tumours, if with it a decoction is made of barley meal for parotid swellings. It is also an ingredient of plasters, especially white plasters and poultices. It is beneficially used too when poured over in frequent douches. It is also drunk, though not without harm to the stomach, for purging the body and for getting rid of black bile or clotted blood by vomit or stool. Some have also given it to be drunk in quartan agues, in tenesmus, and for diseased joints, keeping it for this purpose, for age takes away its injurious qualities. Some boil it; all draw it up out at sea, use it unspoiled by any addition of fresh water, and in using this remedy prefer that an emetic should precede the draught. Then also they mix with the water vinegar or wine. Those who have given it pure, recommend to eat afterwards radishes with oxymel to provoke further vomiting. Sea water warmed is also injected as an enema. Nothing is preferred to it for fomenting swollen testicles, or for bad chilblains before ulceration; similarly for itching, psoriasis, and the treatment of lichen. Nits too and foul vermin on the head are treated with sea water. It also restores the natural colour to livid patches. In this treatment it is of very great advantage to foment with hot vinegar after the sea water. It is moreover known to be healing for poisonous stings, as of spiders and scorpions, and for persons wetted by the spittle of the asp, but for these purposes it is employed hot. Steam from sea water and vinegar is beneficial for headaches. Colic too and cholera are relieved by warm enemas of seawater. Things warmed by it are harder to cool thoroughly. Swollen breasts, the viscera, and emaciation, are rectified by sea baths, deafness and headache by the vapour of boiling sea water and vinegar. Sea water removes very quickly rust from iron, heals too scab on sheep, and softens wool.

34. I am well aware that to inland dwellers these remarks may appear superfluous, but research has provided for this also by discovering a method whereby every man may make sea water for himself. In this method there is one strange feature: if more than a sextarius of salt is dropped into four sextarii of water, the water is overpowered, and the salt does not dissolve. However, a sextarius of salt and four sextarii of water give the strength and properties of the saltest sea. But it is thought that the most reasonable proportion is to compound the measure of water given above with eight cyathi of salt. This mixture warms the sinews without chafing the skin.

35. What is called thalassomeli is a mixture, kept till old, of sea water, honey, and rain water in equal proportions. For this purpose too the water is brought from out at sea, and the mixture is stored in an earthenware vessel lined with pitch. It is good especially for purges, does not disturb the stomach, and has a pleasant flavour and smell.

36. Hydromel too is a mixture once prepared from pure rainwater and honey, to be given as a less injurious drink to patients who craved for wine. It has been condemned now for many years a as having all the faults of wine with none of its advantages.

37. Because those at sea often suffer from the failure of fresh water, I shall describe ways meeting this difficulty. If spread around a ship, fleeces become moist by absorption of evaporated sea water, and from them can be squeezed water which is fresh. Again, hollow wax balls, let down into the sea in nets, or empty vessels with their mouth sealed, collect fresh water inside. But on land sea water is made fresh by filtering through clay. Dislocated limbs of both man and quadrupeds are very easily reset by swimming in any kind of water. Travellers too are sometimes afraid lest unknown water should endanger their health. A precaution against this danger is to drink the suspected water cold immediately on leaving the bath.

38. An application of moss that has grown in water is good for gout, and mixed with oil for painful and swollen ankles. Rubbing with foam of water removes warts, as does also sand of the sea shores, especially fine sand whitened by the sun; it is used in medicine as a covering for drying the bodies of patients suffering from dropsy or catarrhs. So much for waters; now for the products of water. I shall begin, as elsewhere, with the chief of them, that is, with salts and sponge.

39. All salt is artificial or native; each is formed in several ways, but there are two agencies, condensation or drying up of water. It is dried out of the Tarentine lake by summer sun, when the whole pool turns into salt, although it is always shallow, never exceeding knee height, likewise in Sicily from a lake, called Cocanicus, and from another near Gela. Of these the edges only dry up; in Phrygia, Cappadocia, and at Aspendus, the evaporation is wider, in fact right to the centre. There is yet another wonderful thing about it: the same amount is restored during the night as is taken away during the day. All salt from pools is fine powder, and not in blocks. Another kind produced from sea water spontaneously is foam left on the edge of the shore and on rocks. All this is condensation from drift, and that found on rocks has the sharper taste. There are also three different kinds of native salt; for in Bactra are two vast lakes, one facing the Scythians, the other the Arii, which exude salt, while at Citium in Cyprus and around Memphis salt is taken out of a lake and then dried in the sun. But the surface too of rivers may condense into salt, the rest of the stream flowing as it were under ice, as near the Caspian Gates are what are called 'rivers of salt,' also around the Mardi and the Armenians. Moreover, in Bactria too the rivers Ochus and Oxus bring down scrapings of salt from nearby mountains. There are also lakes in Africa, and that muddy ones, which carry salt. Indeed hot springs too carry it, such as those at Pagasae. So much for the different kinds of salt which come, as natural products, from waters. There are also mountains of natural salt, salt. such as Oromenus in India, where it is cut out like blocks of stone from a quarry, and ever replaces itself, bringing greater revenues to the rajahs than those from gold and pearls. It is also dug out of the earth in Cappadocia, being evidently formed by condensation of moisture. Here indeed it is split into sheets like mica; the blocks are very heavy, nicknamed by the people 'grains.' At Gerra, a town of Arabia, the walls and houses are made of blocks of salt cemented with water. Near Pelusium too King Ptolemy found salt when he was making a camp. This led afterwards to the discovery of salt by digging away the sand even in the rough tracts between Egypt and Arabia, as it is also found as far as the oracle of Hammon through the parched deserts of Africa, where at night it increases as the moon waxes. But the region of Cyrenaica too is famous for Hammoniac salt, itself so called because it is found under the sand. It is in colour like the alum called schiston, consisting of long opaque slabs, of an unpleasant flavour, but useful in medicine. That is most valued which is most transparent and splits into straight flakes. A remarkable feature is reported of it: of very little weight in its underground pits, when brought into the light of day it becomes incredibly heavy. The reason is obvious; the damp breath of the pits helps the workers by supporting the weight as does water. It is adulterated by the Sicilian salt I have said comes from the lake Cocanicus, as well as by Cyprian salt, which is wonderfully like it. In Hither Spain too at Egelesta salt is cut into almost transparent blocks; to this for some time past most physicians have given the first place among all kinds of salt. Every region in which salt is found is barren, and nothing will grow there. To speak generally, these remarks about the various kinds of native salt are comprehensive. Of artificial salt there are various kinds. The usual one, and the most plentiful, is made in salt pools by running into them sea water not without streams of fresh water, but rain helps very much, and above all much warm sunshine, without which it does not dry out. In Africa around Utica are formed heaps of salt like hills; when they have hardened under sun and moon, they are not melted by any moisture, and even iron cuts them with difficulty. It is also however made in Crete without fresh water by letting the sea flow into the pools, and around Egypt by the sea itself, which penetrates the soil, soaked as I believe it is, by the Nile. Salt is also made by pouring water from wells into salt pools. At Babylon the first condensation solidifies into a liquid bitumen like oil, which is also used in lamps. When this is taken away, salt is underneath. In Cappadocia too they bring water into salt pools from wells and a spring. In Chaonia there is a spring, from which they boil water, and on cooling obtain a salt that is insipid and not white. In the provinces of Gaul and Germany they pour salt water on burning logs.

40. (In one part of the provinces of Spain they draw the brine from wells and call it maria.) The former indeed think that the wood used also makes a difference. The best is oak, for its pure ash by itself has the properties of salt; in some places hazel finds favour. So when brine is poured on it even wood turns into salt. Whenever wood is used in its making salt is dark. I find in Theophrastus that the Umbrians were wont to boil down in water the ash of reeds and rushes, until only a very little liquid remained. Moreover, from the liquor of salted foods salt is recovered by reboiling, and when evaporation is complete its saline character is regained. It is generally thought that the salt obtained from sardine brine is the most pleasant.

41. Of sea salt the most in favour comes from Salamis in Cyprus, of pool salt that from Tarentum and that from Phrygia which is called Tattaean. The last two are useful for the eyes. The salt imported from Cappadocia in little bricks is said to impart a gloss to the skin. But the salt I have said comes from Citium a smoothes the skin better, and so after childbirth it is applied with melanthium to the abdomen. The saltest salt is the driest, the most agreeable and whitest of all is the Tarentine; for the rest, it is the whitest that is the most friable. All salt is made sweet by rainwater, more agreeable, however, by dew, but plentiful by gusts of north wind. It does not form under a south wind. Flower of salt forms only with north winds. Tragasaean salt and Acanthian, so named after towns, neither crackles nor sputters in a fire, nor does froth of any salt, or scrapings, or powder. Salt of Agrigentum submits to fire and sputters in water. The colour too of salt varies: blushing red at Memphis, tawny red near the Oxus, purple at Centuripae, it is of such brightness near Gela (also in Sicily) that it reflects an image. In Cappadoeia salt is quarried of a

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saffron colour, transparent, and very fragrant. For medicinal purposes the ancients used to favour most highly Tarentine salt, next, all kinds of sea salt, and of these especially that from foam, while for the eyes of draught animals and cattle salt of Tragasa and Baetica. To season meats and foods the most useful otter one melts easily and is rather moist, for it is less bitter, such as that of Attica and Euboea. For preserving meat the more suitable salt is sharp and dry, like that of Megara. A conserve too is made with fragrant additions, which is used as a relish, creating and sharpening an appetite for every kind of food, so that in innumerable seasonings it is the taste of salt that predominates, and it is looked for when we eat garum. Moreover sheep, cattle, and draught animals are encouraged to pasture in particular by salt; the supply of milk is much more copious, and there is even a far more pleasing quality in the cheese. Therefore, Heaven knows, a civilized life is impossible without salt, and so necessary is this basic substance that its name is applied metaphorically even to intense mental pleasures. We call them sales (wit); all the humour of life, its supreme joyousness, and relaxation after toil, are expressed by this word more than by any other. It has a place in magistracies also and on service abroad, from which comes the term 'salary' (salt money); it had great importance among the men of old, as is clear from the name of the Salarian Way, since by it, according to agreement, salt was imported to the Sabines. King Ancus Marcius gave a largess to the people of 6,000 bushels of salt, and was the first to construct salt pools. Varro too is our authority that the men of old used salt as a relish, and that they ate salt with their bread is clear from a proverb! But the clearest proof of its importance lies in the fact that no sacrifice is carried out without the mola salsa (salted meal).

42. Salt-pools have reached their highest degree of purity in what may be called embers of salt, which is the lightest and whitest of its kind. 'Flower of salt' is also a name given to an entirely different thing, with a moister nature and a saffron or red colour, a kind of salt rust; it has an unpleasant smell, like that of garum, and is different from salt, not only from foam salt. Egypt discovered it, and it appears to be brought down by the Nile. It also however floats on the surface of certain springs. The best kind of it yields a sort of oily fat, for there is, surprising as it may seem, a fat even in salt. It is adulterated too and coloured by red ochre, or usually by ground crockery; this sham is detected by water, which washes out the artificial colour, while the genuine is only removed by oil, and perfumers use it very commonly because of its colour. In vessels the whiteness is seen on the surface, but the inner part, as I have said, is moister. The nature of flower of salt is acrid, heating, bad for the stomach, sudorific, aperient when taken in wine and water, and useful for anodynes and detergents. It also removes hair from eyelids. The sediment is shaken up in order to restore the saffron colour. Besides these salines there is also what is called at the salt-pools salpugo, or sometimes salsilago. It is entirely liquid, differing from sea brine by its more salty character.

43. There is yet another kind of choice liquor, called garum, consisting of the guts of fish and the other parts that would otherwise be considered refuse; these are soaked in salt, so that garum is really liquor from the putrefaction of these matters. Once this used to be made from a fish that the Greeks called garos; they showed that by fumigation with its burning head the afterbirth was brought away. Today the most popular garum is made from the scomber in the fisheries of Carthago Spartariait is called garum of the alliesone thousand sesterces being exchanged for about two congii of the fish. Scarcely any other liquid except unguents has come to be more highly valued, bringing fame even to the nations that make it. The scomber is caught also in Mauretania and at Carteia in Baetica; the scomber enters the Mediterranean from the Atlantic, but it is used only for making garum. Clazomenae too is famous for garum, and so are Pompeii and Leptis, just as Antipolis and Thurii are for muria, and today too also Delmatia.

44. Allex is sediment of garum, the dregs, neither whole nor strained. It has, however, also begun to be made separately from a tiny fish, otherwise of no use. The Romans call it apua, the Greeks aphye, because this tiny fish is bred out of rain. The people of Forum Julii call lupus (wolf) the fish from which they make garum. Then allex became a luxury, and its various kinds have come to be innumerable; garum for instance has been blended to the colour of old honey wine, and to a taste so pleasant that it can be drunk. But another kind of garum is devoted to superstitious sex-abstinence and Jewish rites, and is made from fish without scales. Thus allex has come to be made from oysters, sea urchins, sea anemones, and mullet's liver, and salt to be corrupted in numberless ways so as to suit all palates. These incidental remarks must suffice for the luxurious tastes of civilized man. Allen however itself is of some use in healing. For allex both cures itch in sheep, being poured into an incision in the skin, and is a good antidote for the bites of dog or sea draco; it is applied on pieces of lint. By garum too are fresh burns healed, if it is poured over them without mentioning garum. It is also good for dog-bites and especially those of the crocodile, and for spreading or foul ulcers. For ulcers too or pains in mouth or ears it is wonderfully good. Muria too or the salsugo I spoke of is astringent, biting, reducing and drying, useful for dysentery, even if there is ulceration of the bowels. It is injected for sciatica and chronic coeliac disease. Among inland peoples it also takes the place of sea water for fomentations.

45. The nature of salt is of itself fiery, and yet it is hostile to fires, fleeing from them, corroding all things, but astringent to the body, drying it and binding, preserving corpses also from corruption so that they last for ages; in medicine however it is mordent, caustic, cleansing, reducing, and resolvent, injurious only to the stomach except in so far as it stimulates the appetite. For the bites of serpents it is used with origanum, honey, and hyssop, for the cerastes with origanum and cedar resin, or pitch, or honey. It is helpful for bite of the scolopendra if taken internally with vinegar, for scorpion stings if applied in oil or vinegar with a fourth part of linseed, but for hornets, wasps, and similar creatures, in vinegar only, for migraine, ulcers on the head, blisters, pimples, and incipient warts, with veal suet. It is also used in eye remedies, for excrescences of flesh there, and for pterygia anywhere on the body, but especially on the eyes, and so it is an ingredient of eye salves and plasters; for these purposes Tattaean salt or that of Cannus is the most approved. For eyes bloodshot from a blow, however, and for bruised eyes, it is used with an equal weight of myrrh and with honey, or with hyssop in warm water, and the eyes should be fomented with salsugo. For these purposes Spanish salt is chosen. For cataract it is ground in a little stone mortar with milk; for bruises a specific is salt wrapped in linen, dipped frequently in boiling water, and applied; for running ulcers in the mouth it is applied in lint; it is rubbed on swollen gums, and for roughness of the tongue it is broken and ground up fine. They say that teeth neither rot nor decay if one daily while fasting in the morning keeps a piece of salt under the tongue until it melts. It also cures leprous sores, boils, lichen and psoriasis, used with stoned raisons, beef suet origanum, and leaven or bread; for these purposes and for pruritus Theban salt is mostly chosen. For diseased tonsils and uvula salt with honey is beneficial. For quinsy any salt is good, but all the more when oil and vinegar are added, while at the same time salt and liquid pitch are applied externally to the throat. Mixed with wine salt also softens the belly, and taken in wine drives out harmlessly the various kinds of worms. Placed under the tongue salt enables convalescents to endure the heat of the bath. Pains of the sinews, especially in the region of the shoulders and kidneys, are relieved by salt in bags, kept hot by frequent dipping into boiling water; colitis, griping and sciatica by taking salt in drink and by hot applications in the same kind of bags; gout by salt pounded with flour, honey, and oil. Herein is especially applicable the saying that for the whole body nothing is more beneficial than salt and sun. Accordingly we see that the bodies of fishermen are horny, but the above remark should be applied especially to gout. It also removes corns on the feet and chilblains. It is applied to burns in oil or chewed. It cheeks blisters, but for erysipelas and for creeping ulcers vinegar or hyssop is added, for carcinomata taminian grapes, while for phagedaenic ulcers it is roasted with barley meal, a linen cloth being placed on top, soaked in wine. Sufferers from jaundice are helped by rubbing with salt, oil, and vinegar before a fire until they sweat; this relieves the itching caused by this disease. Oil should be used in cases of fatigue. Many have treated dropsy too with salt, rubbed with salt and oil hot feverish patients, stayed a chronic cough by licking it, injected salt enemas into sufferers from sciatica, applied it to swollen or festering ulcers, and treated crocodile bites by salt and vinegar in lint cloths, taking care first to flog `the sores with them. Salt is taken in oxymel for poisoning by poppy-juice, with flour and honey it is applied to dislocations, and also to tumours. Fomenting with salt and vinegar, or an application of salt and resin, is good for toothache. But for all purposes foam of salt is more pleasant and more beneficial. Salt however of any kind is added to anodynes for a warming effect, also to detergents for stretching and smoothing the skin. An application of salt removes itch-scab in sheep and oxen; salt is also given to be licked, and it is spit into the eyes of draught animals. This must suffice for my account of salt.

46. I must not put off describing the character of soda, which is very similar to salt; a more careful account must be given because it is plain that the physicians who have written about it were ignorant of its character, and that nobody has given a more careful description than Theophrastus. A little is formed in Media in valleys that are white through drought; they call it halmyrax. It is also found in Thrace near Philippi, but in less quantities and contaminated with earth; it is called agrium. But soda from burnt oak-wood was never made in large quantities, and the method has long been altogether abandoned. Alkaline water, however, is found in very many places, but the soda is not concentrated enough to solidify. At Clitae in Macedonia is found in abundance the best, called soda of Chalestra, white and pure, very like salt. There is an alkaline lake there with a little spring of fresh water rising up in the centre. Soda forms in it about the rising of the Dog-star for nine days, ceases for nine days, comes to the top again and then ceases. This shows that it is the character of the soil that produces soda, since it has been discovered that, when it ceases, neither sunshine is of any help at all nor yet rain. Another wonderful thing about the lake is that although the spring is always bubbling up it neither gets larger nor overflows. But if, on those days on which soda forms, has been rain, it makes the soda more salty, while north winds on those days, by stirring up the mud too vigorously, makes it inferior. This soda is natural, but in Egypt it is made artificially, in much greater abundance but of inferior quality, for it is dark and stony. It is made in almost the same manner as is salt, except that they pour seawater into the salt-beds but the Nile into the soda-beds. The latter as the Nile rises become dry; as it falls they are moist with liquid soda for forty days on end, and not as in Macedonia during fixed periods. If rain also has fallen, they add less river water, and gather at once the soda that has begun to solidify, lest it should melt back into the soda-bed. Thus too oily matter forms among the soda, useful for itch-scab on animals. Soda however, stored in heaps, lasts a long time. A wonder of Lake Ascanius and of certain springs around Chalcis is that the surface water is sweet and drinkable but underneath is alkaline. Of soda the best is the finest, and therefore froth of soda is superior, but for some purposes the impure is good, for example colouring purple cloths and all kinds of dyeing. Soda is of great use in the making of glass, as will be described in its proper place. The soda-beds of Egypt used to be confined to the regions around Naucratis and Memphis, the beds around Memphis being inferior. For the soda becomes stone-like in heaps there, and many of the soda piles there are for the same reason quite rocky. From these they make vessels, and frequently by baking melted soda with sulphur. For the bodies too that they wish to embalm this is the soda they use. In this region are soda-beds from which red soda also is taken owing to the colour of the earth. Foam of soda, which is very highly prized, the ancients said was formed only when dew had fallen on beds teeming with soda but not yet bringing it forth; accordingly, even if dew fell, soda did not form on beds in agitated action. Others have thought that foam is produced by fermentation of the heaps. The last generation of physicians said that in Asia was gathered aphronitrum oozing in soft cavesthey are called colligaeand then dried in the sun. The best is thought to be Lydian. The tests are that it should be the least heavy and the most friable, and of an almost purple colour. The last kind is imported in lozenges, but the Egyptian in vessels lined with pitch, lest it melt. These vessels too are finished off by being dried in the sun. The tests of soda are that it should be very fine and as spongy and full of holes as possible. In Egypt it is adulterated with lime, which is detected by the taste; for pure soda melts at once, but adulterated soda stings because of the lime, and gives out a strong odour. It is burnt in an earthen jar with a lid, lest it should crackle out; otherwise soda does not crackle in fire; it produces nothing and nourishes nothing, whereas in salt-pits grow plants, and in the sea so many animals and so much seaweed. But that the pungency of soda is greater is shown not only by this evidence but also by the fact that soda-beds at once consume shoes, but are otherwise healthful and good for clearness of vision. In the soda-beds nobody has ophthalmia; sores brought there heal very quickly, but those that form there heal slowly. Soda and oil also make to sweat those who are rubbed with the mixture, which softens the flesh. They use Chalestran soda for bread instead of salt, Egyptian soda for radishes; it makes them more tender, but meats white and inferior and vegetables greener. In medicine soda warms, alleviates, stings, braces, dries, and clears away ulcers, and is useful for conditions where there must be withdrawal, dispersal, and gentle stinging and alleviation, as with pimples and blisters. Some for this purpose set it on fire and put it out with a dry wine, and use it so prepared and ground in the bath without oil. Excessive sweats are checked by soda with dried iris and the addition of green oil; it also improves scars on the eyes and roughness of the lids if applied with fig, or boiled down to one half in raisin wine, a preparation too which is used for white ulcers and inflamed swellings on the eyes. Boiled down with raisin wine in a pomegranate rind, and applied with honey, it improves vision. Soda is good for toothache if a mouthwash is made by adding pepper and wine. Boiled down too with leek, and burnt to make a dentifrice, it restores the colour of blackening teeth. Insects and nits on the head it kills if applied in oil with Samian earth. Dissolved in wine it is poured into purulent ears; wax in the same organ it eats away in vinegar; noises and singing it stops if added dry. Applied in sunshine with vinegar and an equal weight of Cimolian chalk it cures the white kinds of psoriasis. It brings to a head boils, either mixed with resin or with white raisins, the pips being ground up with them. With axle-grease it combats inflammation of the testicles, and also outbursts of phlegm on the whole body; it is applied with vinegar, resin being added, to dog-bites. This preparation is used for snake bites; for phagedaenic, creeping, or festering ulcers, with lime and vinegar; for dropsy it is pounded with figs and administered by the mouth and externally. Griping pains too it allays if there is taken a drachma by weight boiled down

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with rue or dill or cummin. The pains of fatigue are removed by rubbing all over with soda, oil, and vinegar, while for chills and shivers it is of advantage to rub the hands and feet thoroughly with soda and oil. It also checks the itch of jaundice, especially when administered with vinegar while the patient is sweating. Taken in vinegar and water soda is beneficial against the poisons of fungi; if a buprestris has been swallowed it is taken in water; it is also a good emetic. It is given in laser to those who have drunk bull's blood. Ulcerations also on the face it heals with honey and cow's milk. It is applied to burns roasted until it turns black and crushed to powder. It is injected for pain in the and kidneys, or for rigors of the body, or for pains of the sinews. For paralysis of the tongue it is applied there with bread, and for asthma it is taken in barley gruel. Chronic cough is cured by flower of soda with galbanum mixed with terebrinth resin, all equal in weight, but the piece to be swallowed must be of the size of a bean. Soda, boiled and then combined with liquid pitch, is given to be swallowed by patients with quinsy. Flower of soda with oil of cyprus is also soothing if applied in the sun for pains in the joints. Jaundice also it alleviates taken in a draught of wine; this remedy relieves flatulence. It checks epistaxis if inhaled in the steam from boiling water. By soda mixed with alum is removed scurf, rank smell of the armpits by daily fomentation with soda and water, sores due to noserunning by soda mixed with waxa mixture also good for the sinewsand it is injected for the coeliac affection. Many have prescribed complete rubbing with soda and oil before the chills of fever come on, and so to use it for leprons sores and freckles; and they prescribe its use in the bath for gouty people. Soda baths are good for consnmptives, and for the victims of opisthotonus and other forms of tetanns. Salt and soda, when heated with sulphur, turn to stone.

47. Of the kinds of sponges I have spoken when describing the nature of marine creatures. Certain authorities classify them thus: some sponges, the males, have little holes, and are more compact and very absorbent; they are also dyed for the luxurious, sometimes even with purple; others, the females, have larger and uninterrupted holes; others, harder than the males, called tragi, have very small holes that are very close together. Sponges are whitened artificially. Fresh sponges, of the softest kind, are soaked in foam of salt throughout the summer, and then laid open to the moon and hoar-frosts upside down, that is, with the side uppermost that adhered to the rocks, so that they may drink in whiteness. I have said that sponges are animal, being even lined with a coating of blood. Some also declare that they are guided by a sense of hearing, and contract at a noise, sending out a great quantity of moisture; that they cannot be torn from the rocks, and therefore are cut off, bleeding sanies. Moreover, those growing exposed to the north-east they prefer to others, and physicians declare that nowhere else does their breath last for a longer time. Such too, they say, are beneficial to the human body, because they mix their breath with ours; therefore fresh sponges are the more beneficial, as are also the moist, but less beneficial are those soaked in hot water, or those that are oily, or laid on oily bodies, while compact sponges are less adhesive. The softest kind of sponge is that used for bandage-rolls. Applied in honey wine these relieve swollen eyes. They are also good for wiping away the rheum of ophthalmia, which they do most efficiently with water. They should be very fine and very soft. Sponges themselves are applied in vinegar and water for eye-fluxes, and in warm vinegar for headaches. For the rest, fresh sponges are dispersive, soothing, and emollient; old sponges do not close wounds. The uses of sponges are to be detergent, to foment, and after fomentation to cover until something else is applied. Applied also to wet ulcers of senile persons, sponges dry them, and they foment with the greatest benefit fractures and wounds. In surgery sponges quickly absorb the blood, so that treatment can easily be observed. Sponges themselves are applied to inflamed wounds, sometimes dry, at other times moistened with vinegar, or wine, or cold water; applied indeed in rainwater to fresh incisions they prevent their swelling. They are also laid on parts that are whole, but suffering from a hidden flux that has to be dispersed, and also on what are called apostemata, after rubbing them with boiled honey; on joints also, sometimes moistened with salted vinegar, sometimes with vinegar and water; should the complaint be attended with fever, water alone is to be used. With salt and water sponges are also applied to callosities, but with vinegar to scorpion stings. In the treatment of wounds sponges with salt and water also act as a substitute for greasy wool; the difference is that wools soften, but sponges are astringent and absorb quickly the diseased humours of ulcers. They are also bound round dropsical parts, either dry or with warm water or vinegar and water, whenever there is need to soothe, or cover a the skin, or dry it. They are applied also for such diseases as need a steamy heat, steeped in boiling water, and pressed between two boards. So applied they are also good for the stomach, and for the excessive burnings of fever; but for the spleen with vinegar and water, while for erysipelas they are with vinegar more efficacious than anything; they should be so placed that there is ample covering for the healthy parts. With vinegar or cold water they arrest haemorrhage, with hot salt and water, often changed, they remove fresh bruises caused by a blow, and with vinegar and water they cure swollen and painful testicles. For dog-bite are applied beneficially with vinegar, cold water, or honey, cut-off pieces of sponge, which must be thoroughly moistened every now and then. The ash of the African sponge, swallowed with the juice of cut-leek, is good for spitting of blood; for other complaints it should be taken in cold water. This ash also, applied to the forehead with oil or vinegar, cures tertian agues. African sponges are specific with vinegar and water for reducing swellings, and the ash of all sponges burnt with pitch arrest haemorrhage from wounds; for this purpose some burn with pitch only sponges of loose texture. For eye remedies sponges are burnt in an unbaked earthenware pot, this ash being very efficacious indeed for roughness or excrescences of the eyelids, and for any complaint in the region of the eyes that needs a remedy detergent, astringent, or expletive, but for this treatment it is better to rinse the ash. They also furnish a substitute for scrapers and towels when the body is diseased. Sponges protect also efficiently the head against the sun. In their ignorance physicians have reduced sponges to two classes: the African, which are firmer and harder, and the Ithodian, which are softer for fomentations. Today however a very soft sponges are found around the walls of Antiphellus. Trogus informs us that around Lycia very soft tent-sponges grow out at sea, in places where sponges have been taken away; Polybius that hung over a sick man these give more peaceful nights. Now I shall turn my attention to the creatures of the sea.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 32

1. The course of my subject has brought me to the greatest of Nature's works, and I am actually met by such an unsought and overwhelming proof of hidden power that inquiry should really be pursued no further, and nothing equal or similar can be found, Nature surpassing herself, and that in numberless ways. For what is more violent than sea, winds, whirlwinds, and storms? By what greater skill of man has Nature been aided in any part of herself than by mils and oars? Let there be added to these the indescribable force of tidal ebb and flow, the whole sea being turned into a river. All these, however, although acting in the same direction, are checked by a single specimen of the sucking fish, a very small fish. Bales may blow and storms may rage; this fish rules their fury, restrains their mighty strength, and brings vessels to a stop, a thing no cables can do, nor yet anchors of unmanageable weight that have been cast. It cheeks their attacks and tames the madness of the Universe with no toil of its own, not by resistance, or in any way except by adhesion. This little creature suffices in the face of all these forces to prevent vessels from moving. But armoured fleets bear aloft on their decks a rampart of towers, so that fighting may like place even at sea as from the walls of a fortress. How futile a creature is man, seeing that those rams, armed for striking with bronze and iron, can be checked and held fast by a little fish six inches long! It is said that at the battle of Actium the fish stopped the flagship of Antonius, who was hastening to go round and encourage his men, until he changed his ship for another one, and so the fleet of Caesar at once made a more violent attack. Within our memory the fish stayed the ship of the Emperor Gaius as he was sailing back from Astura to Antium. As it turned out, the little fish also proved ominous, because very soon after that Emperor's return to Rome on this occasion he was stabbed by his own men. This delay caused no long surprise, for the reason was immediately discovered; of the whole fleet the quinquereme alone making no progress, men at once dived and swam round the ship to trace the cause. They found this fish sticking to the rudder and showed it to Gaius, who was furious that it had been such a thing that was keeping him back and vetoing the obedience to himself of four hundred rowers. It was agreed that what astonished him in particular was how the fish had stopped him by sticking to the outside, yet when inside the ship it had not the same power. Those who saw the fish then or afterwards say that it is like a large slug. I have given the views of the majority in my account of water creatures, where I discussed the fish, and I do not doubt all this kind of fish have the same power, since there is a famous and even divinely sanctioned example in the temple of the Cnidian Venus, where snails too, we are forced to believe, have the same potency. Of the Roman authorities some have given this fish the Latin name of mora, and a marvel is told by some Greeks, who have related, as I have said, that worn as an amulet it arrests miscarriage, and by reducing procidence of the uterus allows the foetus to reach maturity; others say that preserved in salt and worn as an amulet it delivers pregnant women, this being the reason why another name, odiaolytes, is given to it. However these things may be, would anybody after this instance of staying a ship's course entertain doubts about any power, force, and efficacy of nature, to be found in remedies from things that grow spontaneously?

2. But surely, even without this example, evidence enough by itself could be found in the electric-ray, which also is a sea creature. Even at a distance, and that a long distance, or if it is touched with a spear or rod, to think that the strongest arms are numbed, feet as swift in racing as you like are paralysed. But if this example forces us to confess that there is a force which by smell alone, and by what I may call the breath from the creature's body, so affects our limbs, what limits are there to our hopes based on the potency of all remedies?

3. No less wonderful things are related of the sea-hare. To some it is poison if given in drink or food, to others if merely seen, since pregnant women, if they have but looked at one, the female, that is, of the species, at once feel nausea, show by regurgitation signs of a disordered stomach, and then miscarry. The remedy is a male specimen, specially hardened for this purpose with salt, to be worn in a bracelet. In the sea, however, it does not hurt, even by touch. There feeds on it without being killed one creature only, red mullet, which merely becomes flabby, more insipid, and coarser. Struck by it a human being smells of fish; this is the first symptom by which such poisoning is detected. Furthermore, the victims die in the same number of days as the hare has lived, and Licinius Macer is authority for saying that this poison has variable periods for its action. They say that in India a the sea-hare is never caught alive; and that inversely man is there poisonous to the hare that even a mere touch of a human finger in the sea is fatal to it; but that like all other animals the Indian variety is far larger.

4. In those volumes about Arabia which he dedicated to Gaius Caesar, the son of Augustus, Juba related that there are mussels there with shells holding three heminae; that a whale 600 feet long and 360 feet broad entered a river of Arabia; that merchants did a trade with its blubber; and that camels in that district are rubbed all over with the fat of any fish, so that gadflies may be kept away by the smell.

5. Wonderful too appear to me the characters of fishes given by Ovid in his book entitled Halieuticon: how the scarus, caught in a weel, does not burst out to the front, or thrust his head through the osiers that imprison him, but turns round, widens the gaps with repeated blows of his tail, and so creeps backwards. If by chance his struggles are seen by another scarus outside, he seizing the other's tail with his teeth helps the efforts to burst out. The basse, he says, when surrounded by a net, ploughs a hole in the sand with his tail, and so is buried until the net passes over him. He says too that the murena, knowing that his back is rounded and slippery, attacks the meshes themselves, and then by involved wriggling widens them until he escapes; that the polypus attacks the hook, grips it with his tentacles, not teeth, and does not let it go before he has nibbled round the bait, or been lifted out of the water by the rod. The mugil too knows that in the bait is a hook, and is quite aware of the trap; his greed however is so great that by lashing with his tail he knocks off the food. The basse has less cunning insight, but great strength when he realizes his mistake. For when caught on the hook he dashes about wildly, widening the wounds until the snare is torn out. The murena swallows more than the hook, applies the line to his teeth, and so gnaws it through. Ovid also relates that the anthias, when the hook catches, turns over, since on his back is a spine with a knife-edge, with which he cuts through the line.

Licinius Macer relates that the murena is female only, and conceives out of serpents, as I have said, and that therefore fishermen whistle in imitation of a serpent's call, and so catch the fish, and ... grow fat; that a club hurled at them does not kill, but fennel-giant kills at once. It is certain that the seat of life is in their tail, for if this is struck they very quickly die, but it is difficult to kill them by blows on the head. Those touched by the razor-fish smell of iron. It is a well-known fact that the hardest fish is the orbis, which is round, without scales, and all head?

6. Trebius Niger tells us that the xiphias, that is the swordfish, has a pointed beak, by which ships are pierced and sunk; in the open sea, off the place in Mauretania called Cottae, not far from the river Lixus, the same authority tells us that the lolligo flies out of the water in such numbers as to sink a vessel. Whenever the lolligo, he says, is seen flying out of the water a change of weather occurs.

7. In several country seats indeed of the Emperor fish eat out of the hand, butwhat our old writers have recorded with wonder as occurring in natural pools, not fishpondsat Helorus, a fortress of Sicily not far from Syracuse, and likewise in the spring of Jupiter of Lahraynda, the eels even wear earrings, as do the fishes in Chios near the Shrine of the Old Men, and in the spring Chabura also in Mesopotamia, about which I have spoken.

8. But at Myra in Lycia in the spring of Apollo called Curium, when summoned three times by the pipe the fishes come to give oracular responses. For the fish to snap at the meat thrown to them is a happy augury for enquirers, to cast it aside with their tails an augury of disaster. At Hieropolis in Syria the fish in the pond of Venus obey the voice of the temple ministers; they come at their call adorned with gold, fawning to be scratched, and offer gaping mouths to receive their hands. At Stabiae in Campania at the Rock of Hercules

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the melanuri in the sea seize the bread thrown to them, but they will not go near any food in which is a hook.

9. Nor are these the last among the marvels we know of fishes: that they are bitter near the island of Pele and near Clazomenae, over against the rock of Sicily, Leptis in Africa, Euboea, and Dyrrhachium; and again, so salt that they might be thought pickled, off Cephallania, Ampelos, Paros and the rocks of Delos; while in the harbour of Delos they are sweet. These differences depend without a doubt on the food. Apion tells us that the largest a of the fishes is the pig-fish, which the Lacedaemonians call onhagoriscus, saying that it grunts when it is caught. That this accident of nature, however (to increase our wonder), is also met with in certain localities, is suggested by a ready example, seeing that salted foods of every kind, as is well known, at Beneventum in Italy have to be resalted.

10. That sea fish were commonly eaten immediately after the foundation of Rome is told us by Cassius Hemina, whose very words on the subject I will quote here. Numa ordained that scaleless fish should not be provided at sacrificial meals, being induced by reasons of economy, so that provision could be more easily made for public and private banquets and for feasts of the gods, to prevent caterers on those sacred occasions from being extravagant and buying up the market.

11. Coral is as valuable among the Indians as Indian pearls, about which I have spoken in their proper place, are among the Romans, for cost varies with the demand of any particular people. Coral is also found in the Red Sea, but this is of a darker colour; also in the Persian Gulfthis is called lacethe most valued is in the Gallic Gulf around the Stoechades Islands, in the Sicilian Gulf around the Aeolian Islands, and around Drepana. Coral also grows at Graviseae and before Naples in Campania; but that at Erythrae, which is very red indeed, is soft and therefore thought worthless.

In shape coral is like a shrub, and its colour is green. Its berries are white under the water and soft; when taken out they immediately harden and grow red, being like, in appearance and size, to those of cultivated cornel. It is said that at a touch it immediately petrifies, if it lives; and that therefore it is quickly seized and pulled away in nets or cut off by a sharp iron instrument. In this way they explain its name 'coral.' The most valued coral is the reddest and most branchy, without being rough or stony, or again empty and hollow. Coral berries are no less valued by Indian men than are large Indian pearls by Roman women. Indian soothsayers and seers think that coral is a very powerful amulet for warding off dangers. Accordingly they take pleasure in it both as a thing of beauty and as a thing of religious power. Before the Indian love of coral became known, the Gauls used to ornament with coral their swords, shields, and helmets. At the present day it has become so scarce because of the price it will fetch that it is very rarely to be seen in the countries where it grows. Branches of coral, worn as an amulet by babies, are believed to be protective, and reduced to powder by fire and taken with water are helpful in gripings, bladder trouble and stone; similarly, taken in wine, or, if fever is present, in water, coral is soporific. Coral resists fire for a long time, but they say also that taken in drink repeatedly as medicine it consumes the spleen. The ash of coral branches is good treatment for bringing up or spitting of blood. It is a component of eye salves, for it is astringent and cooling, fills up the hollows of ulcers, and smoothes out scars.

12. As to the hostility between things, which the Greeks call antipathia, there is nowhere anything more venomous than the stingray in the sea, since we have said that by its ray trees are killed. The galeos however chases the stingray, and also indeed other fishes, but the sting-ray in particular, just as on land the weasel chases serpents, so great is its greed for the very poison itself. Those however stung by the sting-ray find good treatment in the galeos, as well as in red mullet and laser.

13. Equally remarkable is the might of Nature in those creatures also which are amphibious, such as the beaver, which they call castor and its testes castoreum. Sextius, a very careful inquirer into medical subjects, denies that the beaver himself bites off his own testes when it is being captured; he says that on the contrary these are small, tightly knit, attached to the spine, and not to be taken away without destroying the creature's life. Castoreum (beaver-oil) he says is however adulterated by beaver's kidneys, which are large, while the real testes are found to be very small. Moreover, they cannot even be the creature's bladders, for they are twin, and no animal has two bladders. In these pouches (he goes on) is found a liquid, which is preserved in salt. Accordingly one of the tests of fraud is whether two pouches hang down from one connection, while the liquid itself is adulterated by adding to it cummin and beaver blood or ammoniacum, because the testes ought to be of the colour of ammoniacum, coated with a liquid like waxy honey, with a strong smell, a bitter taste, and friable. The most efficacious castoreum comes from Pontus and Galatia, the next best from Africa. Doctors cause sneezing by its smell. It is soporific if the head is rubbed all over with beaver oil, rose oil, and peucedanum, or if by itself it is taken in water, for which reason it is useful in brain fever. It also arouses, by the smell of fumigation, sufferers from coma and hysterical, fainting women, the latter also by a pessary; it is an emmenagogue and brings away the afterbirth if two drachmae are taken in water with pennyroyal. It is also a remedy for vertigo, opisthotonus, palsied tremors, cramps, sinew pains, sciatica, stomach troubles, and paralysis; in all cases by rubbing all over, or ground to the consistency of honey with seed of vitex in vinegar and rose oil. In this form it is taken for epilepsy, but in drink for flatulence, griping and poisons. The only difference in its use for the various poisons lies in the ingredients with which it is mixed. For scorpion bites it is taken in wine; for the phalangium and other spiders in honey wine if it is to be vomited back or with rue if it is to be retained; for the chalcis a with myrtle wine; for the homed asp and prester with panaces or rue in wine; for the bites of other serpents with wine. Two drachmae are a sufficient dose, of the other ingredients one drachma. It is specific in vinegar for mistletoe poisoning, in milk or water for poisoning by aconite, for white hellebore in oxymel and soda. It also cures toothache if pounded with oil; it is poured into the ear on the side of the pain; for earache it is better mixed with poppy juice. Added to Attic honey and used as an ointment it improves the vision. In vinegar it checks hiccoughs. Beaver urine, too, counteracts poisons, and therefore is added to antidotes. It is however best preserved, as some think, in the beaver's bladder.

14. Like the beaver the tortoise is amphibious, and of the same medical properties, distinguished by the high price given for its use, and by its peculiar shape. So there are various kinds: tortoises that live on land, in the sea, in muddy water, and in fresh water. The last are called by some Greeks emydes.

The flesh of the land tortoise is reported to be especially useful for fumigations, to keep off magical tricks, and to counteract poisons. It is most common in Africa. There the flesh of this tortoise, with its head and feet cut off, is said to be given as an antidote, and taken in its broth as food to disperse scrofulous sores, to reduce the spleen, and to cure epilepsy. The blood clarifies the vision and arrests cataract. For the poisons of all serpents, spiders and similar creatures, and of frogs, it is of service; the blood is preserved in flour, made up into pills, and given in wine when necessary. It is beneficial to use the gall of tortoises with Attic honey as an eyewash for opaqueness of the lens, and to drop it into the wounds made by scorpions. The shell, reduced to ash and kneaded with wine and oil, heals chaps and sores on the feet. Shavings from the top of the shell and given in drink are antaphrodisiac. This is all the more surprising because the whole shell, reduced to powder, is said to incite to lust. The urine of this tortoise, I believe, is found only in the bladder of dissected animals, and this is one of the substances to which the Magi give supernatural virtues as being specific for the bites of asps; a more efficacious one, however, they say, if bugs are added. The eggs are applied hard boiled to scrofulous sores, frost bites and burns. They are swallowed for pains in the stomach.

The flesh of sea tortoises mixed with that of frogs is an excellent remedy for salamander bites, and nothing is more opposed to the salamander than the tortoise. Its blood is good treatment for the bare patches of mange, for dandruff, and for all sores on the head; it should be allowed to dry and then gently washed off. With woman's milk it is poured by drops into aching ears. For epilepsy it is taken with wheaten flour, but three heminae of blood are diluted with one hemina of vinegar. It is also given for asthma, but with a hemina of wine added; for this purpose also with barley flour, vinegar too being added, so that the dose to be swallowed is the size of a bean. One of these doses is given morning and evening; then after a few days a double dose is given in the evening. The mouths of epileptics are opened and the blood poured by drops into them; to those seized with a slight convulsion is given an enema of the blood and beaver oil. If teeth are rinsed with tortoise blood three times a year a they will become immune to toothache. It is a remedy too for shortness of breath and for what is called orthopnoea; when so used it is administered in pearl barley. Tortoise gall gives clearness of vision, effaces sears, relieves sore tonsils, quinsy, and all diseases of the mouth, being specific for malignant sores there and on the testicles. If the nostrils are smeared with it, epileptics are roused and made to stand up. The gall too with snakes' slough and vinegar is also a sovereign remedy for pus in the ears. Some mix ox gall with the broth of boiled tortoise-flesh, adding the same amount of snakes' slough, but they boil the tortoise in wine. An application of the gall with honey cures especially all affections of the eyes; cataract is also cured by the gall of sea tortoise with the blood of river tortoise and milk. Woman's hair is dyed by the gall. For salamander bites it is enough merely to drink the broth of a decoction.

A third kind of tortoise lives in mud and marshes. These have a level width, like that across the breast, over the back also; this is not rounded into a cup-like convexityindeed an unpleasant sight. Yet from this creature also a few remedies are obtained. For three are together thrown on burning brushwood, and when the shells separate they are at once taken off; the flesh is then torn away and boiled in a congius of water with a little salt added. The broth is boiled down to one third and taken for paralysis and diseases of the joints. The gall of this creature carries off phlegms and vitiated blood. This remedy taken in cold water acts astringently on the bowels.

There is a fourth kind of tortoise, which lives in rivers. The shells being torn off, the fats are beaten up with houseleek mixed with unguent and lily seed. If of a patient all the body except the head is rubbed with this preparation before the paroxysms come on, and he is then wrapped up and drinks hot water, he is cured, it is said, of quartan ague. This tortoise, they say, should be killed on the fifteenth of the moon, so that more fats may be obtained from it, but the patient should be rubbed on the sixteenth. The blood too of this kind of tortoise, poured in drops on the skull, relieves headache as well as scrofulous sores. There are some a who recommend tortoises to be laid on their backs, their heads chopped off with a bronze knife, and the blood caught in new earthenware; this blood is to be used as embrocation for all kinds of erysipelas, running sores on the head, and warts. The same authorities assure us that the dung of all tortoises disperses superficial abscesses; and others tell us (an incredible remark) that vessels travel more slowly if the right foot of a tortoise is on board.

15. From now on I will arrange water creatures according to diseases, not that I do not know that a complete account of each living thing is more attractive and more wonderful, but it is more useful to mankind to have remedies grouped into classes, since they vary with individuals, and are more easily found in one place than in another.

16. I have already said where poisonous honey is found. A remedy is the gilthead fish taken in food. But if pure honey should cause nausea, or indigestion that becomes very acute, an antidote is, according to Pelops, the decoction of a tortoise with the feet, head, and tail cut off; according to Apelles, a similar decoction of a scincus; I have said what a scincus is. Several times moreover I have said how poisonous is the menstrual fluid of women; against all forms of it, as I have said, the red mullet is a help, as it is against the stingray, land- and sea-scorpions, the weever fish, and poisonous spiders. It may be applied locally or taken in food. A fresh red mullet's head, reduced to ash, is an antidote to all poisons, being specific against poisonous fungi. They say that noxious charms cannot enter, or at least cannot harm, homes where a starfish, smeared with the blood of a fox, has been fastened to the upper lintel or to the door with a bronze nail.

17. By an application of tortoise flesh are healed the stings of weever fish, of scorpions, and also the bites of spiders. To sum up: the gravy of tortoise meat., that is, the broth obtained by boiling it down, is considered to be a most efficacious antidote for all poisons, whether conveyed in drink, by sting, or by bite. There are also remedies from preserved fish; to eat salted fish is good for the bites of snakes and of other venomous creatures, but now and then should be drunk enough neat wine to bring back by vomiting even the food whole; a the remedy is specially good for those bitten by the chalcis lizard, horned viper, what is called seps, elops, or dipsas. For scorpion stings a bigger dose of salted fish is beneficial, but not enough to cause the vomiting, or intolerable thirst; it is also good to lay salted fish on the wounds. Against the bites of crocodiles nothing else is considered to be a more sovereign remedy. The sarda is specific against the bite of the prester. Salted fish is also applied to the bite of a mad dog; even if the wound has not been cauterised with a hot iron, and the bowels emptied with a clyster, the fish by itself is enough. Salted fish is also applied with vinegar to the wound given by the weever fish. The tunny too has the same property. The weever fish indeed, if itself, or the whole of its brain, if applied to the poisoned wound caused by a blow of his own spine, makes a good remedy.

18. A decoction of sea frogs boiled down in wine and vinegar is drunk to counteract poisons, also that of the bramble toad and salamander; if the flesh of river frogs is eaten, or the broth drunk after boiling them down, it counteracts the poison of the sea-hare, of the snakes mentioned above, and of scorpions if wine is used in the preparation. Democritus indeed tells us that if the tongue, with no other flesh adhering, is extracted from a living frog, and after the frog has been set free into water, placed over the beating heart of a sleeping woman, she will give true answers to all questions.

The Magi add also other details, and if there is any truth in them, frogs should be considered more beneficial than laws to the life of mankind. They say that if frogs are pierced with a reed from the genitals through the mouth, and if the husband plants a shoot in his wife's menstrual discharge she conceives an aversion to adulterous lovers. It is certain that frogs' flesh placed in weds or on a hook makes excellent bait for the purple-fish. It is said that the liver of a frog is double, and should be thrown in the way of ants; that the part the ants attack is an antidote for all poisons. Some frogs there are that live only in brambles, and so they are called bramble-toads, as I have said, and by the Greeks φρύνοι. These are the largest of all frogs, have as it were a pair of horns, and are full of poison. Our authorities vie with one another in relating marvellous stories about the toad: that when brought into a meeting of the people silence reigns; that if the little bone

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found in its right side is let fall into boiling water, the vessel cools, and does not afterwards boil unless the bone is taken out; that it is found when a frog has been thrown to ants and the flesh gnawed away; that one at a time these bones are put into oil; that there is in a frog's left side a bone called 'dog's bane,' which dropped into oil gives the appearance of boiling; by it the attacks of dogs are repelled, and if it is put in drink love and quarrels brought about; that worn as an amulet it acts as an aphrodisiac; that the bone again on the right side cools boiling liquids; cures quartan and other fevers, but love is hat worn in fresh lamb's skin as an amulet this bone restrained. The spleen of these frogs is also a remedy for the poisons that come from them, while their liver is even more efficacious.

19. There is a snake, a colubra, that lives in the water. It is said that, if they have its fat or gall on their persons, crocodile hunters are helped wonderfully, as the brute dares not attack it at all; it is still more efficacious when combined with the plant potamogiton. Fresh river-crabs pounded and taken in water, their ash preserved, are good for all poisons, being specific for scorpion stings, if taken with asses milk, or failing that with goat's or any other milk; wine too should be added. Pounded with basil and applied to scorpions, river-crabs kill them. Their property avails also against the bites of all venomous creatures, being specific against the scytale, snakes, sea-hare, and bramble toad. Their ash preserved is good for those threatened with hydrophobia from the bite of a mad dog. Some add gentian and administer in wine, and if hydrophobia has already set in, prescribe lozenges made with the ash and wine to be swallowed. The Magi indeed assert that if ten crabs with a handful of basil are tied together, all the scorpions of the district will collect to the spot, and to those wounded by scorpions they apply with basil either crabs themselves or else their ash. For all these purposes sea crabs are less efficacious. Thrasyllus avows that no antidote for snakebite is as good as crabs; that pigs, when bitten, cure themselves by taking crabs as food; and that when the sun is in Cancer snakes are in torture. The stings of scorpions are counteracted also by the flesh of river snails, raw or cooked. Some too keep them for this purpose preserved in salt. They also apply them to the wounds themselves. Though the fish called coracini are peculiar to the Nile, I am giving this information for the benefit of all lands. Application of their flesh is good for scorpion stings. Among poisonous parts of fishes are the prickles on the back of the sea-pig, a wound from which causes severe torture. A remedy is the slime from the liquid part of the body of these fishes.

20. When the bite of a mad dog causes a dread of drink they rub the face with the fat of a seal, with more effect if there are mixed with it the marrow of a hyena, mastic oil, and wax. The bites of the murry are healed by the head of the murry itself, reduced to ash. For the wound of the stingray a remedy is the ash, of the same ray itself or of any other specimen, applied locally in vinegar. When the fish is used as food there should be taken from its back whatever is like saffron, and the whole head removed, while the ray, and all shell fish, when used as food, should not be over-washed, as to do so spoils the flavour. The poison of the sea-hare is counteracted by the seahorse taken in drink. Sea-urchins are very good as an antidote to dorycnium, as they are also for those who have drunk juice of carpathium, especially if they are taken in their broth. Effective against dorycnium is also considered a decoction of sea-crab, and indeed specific for the poison of the seahare.

21. The same poisons are counteracted also by oysters. About these it cannot appear that enough has been said, seeing that they have long been considered the prize delicacy of our tables. Oysters love fresh water, and where there is an inflow from many rivers; wherefore deep-sea oysters are small and far between. They also breed, however, in rocky districts and places where no fresh water in comes, such as around Grynium and Myrina. Their growth corresponds very closely to the increase of the moon, as I said a when dealing with water-creatures, but they grow most about the beginning of summer, and where sunshine makes its way into shallows, for then they swell with copious, milky, juice. This appears to be the reason why oysters found in deep water are rather small; darkness hinders their growth, and their gloom robs them of appetite.

Oysters vary in colour; red in Spain they are tawny in Illyricum, and black, both flesh and shell, in Circeii. In every country, however, those are most prized that are compact, not greasy with their own slime, remarkable for thickness rather than breadth, taken from water neither muddy nor sandy, but from that with a hard bottom, those whose meat is short and not fleshy, those without fringed edges, and lying wholly in the hollow of the shell.

Experts add a mark of distinction: if a purple line encircle the beard, they consider such oysters to be of a nobler type, and call them 'beautifully eyebrowed.' Oysters like to travel and be moved into strange waters. And so oysters of Brundisium that have fed in Lake Avernus are believed to retain their own flavour as well as acquire that of the oysters of Lake Lucrinus.

So much for their bodies. I will now speak of the countries that breed oysters, lest the shores should be cheated of their proper fame; but I shall do so in the words of another, one who was the greatest connoisseur of such matters in our time. These then are the words of Mucianus, which I will quote. Oysters of Cyzicus are larger than those of Lake Lucrinus, fresher than the British, sweeter than those of Medullae, sharper than the Ephesian, fuller than those of Ilici, less slimy than those of Coryphas, softer than those of Histria, whiter than those of Circeii.

It is agreed, however, that none are fresher or softer than the last. The writers of Alexander's expedition tell us that in the Indian sea are found oysters a foot long, and among ourselves a spendthrift has invented the nickname tridacna, wishing it to be used of oysters so large that they require three bites.

I shall give all their medical virtues at this point. Oysters are specific for settling the stomach, they restore lost appetite, and luxury has added coolness by burying them in snow, thus wedding the tops of the mountains to the bottom of the sea. They are a gentle laxative. They also, if boiled with honey wine, cure tenesmus if there is no ulceration. They also clean an ulcerated bladder. Boiled, unopened as gathered, in their shells, they are wonderfully good for streaming colds. Reduced to ash and mixed with honey oyster shells relieve troubles of the uvula and tonsils, similarly parotid swellings, superficial abscesses and indurations of the breasts. Applied with water the ash cures sores on the head and smoothes the skin of women. It is sprinkled on burns and is popular as a dentifrice. Applied also with vinegar it cures itch and eruptions of phlegm. The purple-fish too is a good antidote to poisons. Beaten up raw, oysters cure scrofulous sores and chilblains on the feet.

22. Seaweed too is said by Nicander to be an antidote. There are many kinds of it, as I have one with a long, red leaf, another with a broader leaf, and a third with a curly one. The most prized is the one growing near the ground in the island of Crete among the rocks, for this dyes even wool with a colour so fixed that it cannot be washed out afterwards. Nicander recommends it to be given in wine.

23. Hair lost through mange is restored by ashes of the sea-horse, either mixed with soda and pig's lard, or else by itself in vinegar; the skin however must be prepared for medicaments by the rind of the sepia cuttlefish ground to powder. It is restored also by the ash of the sea-mouse with oil, by that of the sea-urchin burnt with its flesh, by the gall of the sea-scorpion, also by the ash of three frogs with honey, better with liquid pitch, but the frogs must be burnt together alive in a jar. Leeches blacken the hair if they have rotted for forty days in a red wine. Others recommend that for the same number of days a sextarius of leeches be allowed to rot in a leaden vessel containing two sextarii of vinegar, and that then they should be applied in the sun. Sornatius tells us that they have such power that unless those who are going to dye keep oil in the mouth, the extract from the leeches blackens the teeth as well. To sores on the head are applied with honey beneficially shells of murex or purple-fish, reduced to ash; those of any shell-fish, ground to powder if not burned, and applied in water, are also beneficial. For headache use beaver-oil with pencedanum and rose-oil.

24. Of all fish, river or sea, the fats, melted in the sun and mixed with honey, are very good for clearness of vision, and so is beaver oil and honey. The gall of the star-gazer heals scars, and removes superfluous flesh about the eyes. No other fish has a greater abundance of gall; this opinion, Menander too expresses in his comedies. This fish is also called uranoscopos, from the eye which it has in its head. The gall of the coracinus too improves vision, and that of the red sea-scorpion with old oil and Attic honey disperses incipient cataract; it should be applied as ointment three times, once every other day. The same treatment removes albugo from the eyes. A diet of mullet is said to dull the eyesight. Though the sea-hare itself is poisonous, yet reduced to ash it prevents from growing again superfluous hair on the eyelids that has been plucked out. For this purpose the most useful specimens are the smallest; also small scallops, salted and pounded with cedar resin, frogs called diopetae or calamitae; their blood, with vine tear-gum, should be rubbed on the lids after plucking out the hair. Swellings and redness of the eyes are soothed by an application of sepia bone with woman's milk, and by itself it is good for roughness of the lids. In this cure they turn up the lids, taking off the ointment after a little time, treat the part with rose-oil and soothe with a bread-poultice. The bone is also good treatment for night-blindness, if ground to powder and applied in vinegar. Reduced to ash it brings away scales; with honey it heals scars on the eyes; with salt and cadmia, a drachma of each, it heals inflammatory swellings, and also albugo in cattle. They say that eyelids, if rubbed by its small bone, are healed. Urchins in vinegar remove night rashes. The Magi recommend the same to be burnt with vipers' skins and frogs, and the ash to be sprinkled into drinks; they assure us that clearer vision will result. Ichthyocolla is the name of a fish that has a sticky skin; the same name is given to the glue of the fish; this disperses night rashes. Some say that ichthyocolla is made from the belly and not from the skin, just as is bull glue. Pontic ichthyocolla is popular, being white, free from veins and scales, and melting very quickly. It ought, however, to be cut up and soaked in water or vinegar for a night and a day, and then to be pounded by sea-pebbles, to make it melt more readily. They assure us that it is useful both for headache and for all tetanus. The right eye of a frog hung round the neck in a piece of undyed cloth cures ophthalniia in the right eye; the left eve similarly tied cures ophthalmia in the left. But if the frog's eyes are gouged out when the moon is in conjunction, and worn similarly by the patient, enclosed in an egg-shell, it will also cure albugo. The rest of the flesh, if applied, quickly takes away bruises. An amulet of crabs' eyes also, worn on the neck, are said to cure ophthalniia. There is a small frog, found living especially in reed-beds and grasses, deaf, without a croak, and green, which, if it by chance is swallowed, swells up the bellies of oxen. They say that the fluid of its body, scraped off with a spatula and applied to the eyes, improves vision. The flesh by itself is placed over painful eyes. Some put together into a new earthen jar fifteen frogs, piercing them with rushes; to the fluid that thus exudes they add the gum of the white vine, and so treat eyelids; superfluous hairs are plucked out, and the mixture dropped with a needle into the holes made by the plucked-out hairs. Meges used to make a depilatory for the eyelids by killing frogs in vinegar and letting them putrefy; for this purpose he used the many spotted frogs that breed in the autumn rains. The same effect is thought to be produced by leeches reduced to ash and applied in vinegar; they must be burnt in a new vessel. The same effects too by the dried liver of a tunny, in doses of four denarii added to cedar oil and applied to the hairs for nine months.

25. Most beneficial to the ears is the fresh gall of the skate, but also when preserved in wine, the gall of grey mullet, which some call mizyene, and also that of the star-gazer with rose-oil poured into the ears, or beaver oil poured into the ears with poppy juice. There is a creature called the sea-louse, and they recommend sea-lice to be crushed and dropped into the ears in vinegar. Wool, both by itself and dyed with the purple fish, is very good for ear troubles; some moisten it with vinegar and soda. Some there are who recommend as a sovereign remedy for all ear troubles a cyathus of first-grade gamin, half as much again honey, with a cyathus of vinegar, to be boiled down in a new cup over a slow fire, every now and then wiping away the froth with feathers, and when the mixture has ceased to froth, to pour it into the ears when tepid. Should the ears be swollen, the same authorities prescribe that the swellings should be first reduced with juice of coriander. Frog fat dropped into the ears immediately takes away pains. The juice of river crabs with barley flour is most beneficial for wounds of the ears. The ash of murex shell with honey, or that of other shell-fish in honey wine, is good treatment for parotid swellings.

26. Toothache is relieved by scraping the gums with the bones of the weever fish, or by the brain of a dog-fish boiled down in oil and kept, so that the teeth may be washed with it once every year. To scrape the gums too with the ray of the stingray is very beneficial for toothache. This ray if pounded and applied with white hellebore brings out teeth without any distress. Salted fish also, reduced to ash in an earthen vessel and mixed with powdered marble, is another remedy. Old slices of tunny rinsed in a new vessel and then beaten up, are good for toothaches. Equally good are said to be the backbones of any salted fish, burnt, pounded, and applied. A single frog is boiled down in one hemina of vinegar, so that the teeth may be rinsed with the juice, which should be held in the mouth. Should the nasty taste be an objection, Sallustius Dionysius used to hang frogs by their hind legs so that the fluid from their mouths might drop into boiling vinegar, and that from several flogs. For stronger stomachs he prescribed the frogs themselves, to be eaten with their broth. It is thought that double teeth yield best to this treatment, when loose indeed the vinegar spoken of above is thought to make them firm. For the purpose some cut off the feet of two frogs and soak the bodies in a hemina of wine, and recommend loose teeth to be rinsed with the liquid. Some tie whole frogs on the jaws as an amulet; others have boiled down ten frogs in three sextarii of vinegar to one third the volume, in order to strengthen loose teeth. Furthermore they have boiled the hearts of 46 frogs under a copper vessel in one sextarius of old oil, to be poured into the ear on the side of the aching jaw. Others have boiled the liver of a frog, beaten it up with honey, and placed it on the teeth. All the above prescriptions are more efficacious if the sea frog is used. If the teeth are decayed and foul, they recommend whale's flesh to be dried for a night in a furnace, and then the same amount of salt to be added and the whole to be used as a dentifrice. The enhydris is a snake so-called by the Greeks and living in water. With four upper teeth of this creature they scrape the upper gums, when there is aching of the upper teeth, and with four lower teeth the lower gums when there is aching in the lower teeth. Some are content to use the canine tooth only of these creatures. They

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also use the ash of crabs, but the ash of the murex makes a dentifrice.

27. Lichens and leprous sores are removed by the fat of the seal, the ash of menae with three oboli of honey, the liver of the stingray boiled in oil, or the ash of the seahorse or dolphin applied with water. Ulceration should be followed by treatment, which results in a scar. Some roast dolphin fat a in an earthen jar until it flows like oil; this they use as ointment. The shell of murex or other shell-fish reduced to ash clears spots from the faces of women, remove wrinkles, and fill out the skin, if applied with honey for seven days, but on the eighth day there should be fomentation with white of egg. To the class murex belong the shell-fish called by the Greeks coluthia, by others coryphia, equally conical but smaller and much more efficacious, and they also keep the breath sweet. Fish-glue removes wrinkles and fills out the skin; prepared by boiling down in water for four hours and then kneading until liquid like honey. After being thus prepared it is stored away in a new vessel, and when used four drachmae of it, two of sulphur, two of alkanet, eight of litharge, are mixed, sprinkled with water, and pounded together. Applied to the face this mixture is washed off after four hours. Freckles too and the other facial affections are treated by the calcined bones of cuttlefish; they also remove excrescences of flesh and running sores. Itch-scab is removed by the decoction of a frog in five heminae of seawater: the boiling should continue until the consistency is that of honey. In the sea is found a substance called alcyoneum, some think out of the nests of the alcyon and the ceyx, others out of clotted sea-foam, others from the slime of the sea or from what might be called its down. There are four kinds of it: the first is ash-coloured, compact, and of a pungent smell; the second is milder in smell, which is almost that of seaweed; the third is in shape like a whitish grub; the fourth is rather like pumice, resembling rotten sponge. The best is almost purple, and is also called Milesian. The whiter alcyoneum is the less valuable it is. The property of alcyoneum is to ulcerate a and to cleanse. When used it is parched, and applied without oil. With lupins and two oboli of sulphur it removes wonderfully well leprous sores, lichens, and freckles. It is also used for scars on the eyes. Andreas used for leprous sores crabs reduced to ash and applied with oil, Attalus the fresh fat of the tunny.

28. Ulcers in the mouth are healed by the brine of menae, and by their heads reduced to ash and applied with honey. For scrofulous sores it is good to prick them, but not causing a wound, with the little bone from the tail of the fish called the seafrog. This should be done daily, until the cure is complete. The same property is possessed by the sting of the stingray and by the sea-hare, but the application must be quickly removed, with the shells of the urchin crushed and applied in vinegar, by the sea-scolopendra too applied in honey, and by river-crabs, crushed or burnt and applied in honey. Wonderfully good too are the bones of cuttlefish crushed with old axle-grease and applied. The same prescription is used for parotid swellings as well, as is the liver of the horse-mackerel, and even the crushed pieces of a jar in which fish have been salted, applied with old axle-grease; the ash of the murex is applied with oil for parotid swellings and scrofulous sores.

A stiff neck is softened by what are called sea-lice, the dose being a drachma taken in drink, by beaver oil mixed with pepper and taken in honey-wine, and by frogs boiled down in oil and salt for the liquor to be swallowed. This prescription is treatment for opisthotonus and tetanus. For spasms, however, pepper is added. Quinsy is cured by an application in honey of the heads of salted menae, and by the liquor of frogs boiled down in vinegar, which last is also good for diseased tonsils. River crabs pounded one by one in a hemina of water make a healing gargle for quinsy, or they may be taken in wine and warm water. Garum, placed beneath the uvula with a spoon, is good treatment for it. Fresh or salted silurus taken as food improve the voice.

29. Red mullet, preserved, crushed and taken in drink, is an emetic. For asthma is very beneficial beaver oil taken fasting in oxymel with a small quantity of sal ammoniac. This draught also calms stomach spasms when taken in warm oxymel. A cough is said to be cured by frogs boiled down in a pan as are fish in their own liquor. A prescription is: the frogs to be hung up by the feet, their saliva allowed to drip into a pan, and then, after being gutted, they are preserved after the entrails have been cast aside. There is a small frog that climbs trees and croaks loudly out of them. If a person with a cough spits into the mouth of one of these and lets it go, he is said to be cured of the complaint. For a cough with spitting of blood is prescribed the raw flesh of a snail beaten up and taken in warm water.

30. For liver pains are good: ... a sea scorpion drowned in wine, so that the liquor may be drunk, or the flesh of the long mussel taken in honey wine with an equal quantity of water, or if there is fever in hydromel. Pains in the side are relieved by eating the flesh of the sea-horse roasted, or the tethea, which resembles the oyster, taken in the food; sciatica is relieved by the brine of the silurus, injected as an enema. Mussels too are given for fifteen days in doses of three oboli soaked in two sextarii of wine.

31. The bowels are relaxed by the silurus, taken with its broth, by the torpedo, taken in food, by the sea-cabbage, which is like the cultivated kindit is bad for the stomach but readily purges the bowels, and owing to its pungency is boiled with fat meatand by the liquor of any boiled fish; the last is also diuretic, especially when taken in wine. The best is from the sea-scorpion, the wrasse, and the rock-fish, which are neither of a rank taste nor fatty. They should be boiled with dill, parsley, coriander, leeks, and with oil added and salt. Purgative too is stale tunny sliced, and it is specific for bringing away undigested food, phlegm and bile.

The myax also is purgative, and in this place shall be set forth all its characteristics. These animals form clusters, as does the murex, and live where seaweed lies thick, for which reason they are most delicious in autumn, and from regions where much fresh water mingles with salt, for which reason it is in Egypt that they are most esteemed. As the winter advances, they contract a bitter taste, and a red colour. Their liquor is said to be a thorough purge of belly and bladder, cleanses the intestines, is a universal aperient, purges the kidneys, and reduces blood and fat. Hence these shell-fish are very beneficial for dropsy, menstruation, jaundice, diseases of the joints, flatulence, obesity also, bilious phlegm, affections of lungs, liver, and spleen, and for catarrhs, Their only drawback is that they harm the throat and obstruct the voice. Ulcers that are creeping or need cleansing they heal, and also, if burnt as is the murex, malignant growths. With honey added they heal the bites of dogs and men, leprous sores, and freckles. Their ash, washed, is good for dim vision, roughness and white ulcers of the eyes, affections of the gums and teeth and outbursts of phlegm. Against dorycnium and opocarpathum they serve as an antidote. There are two inferior kinds: the mitulus, with a salty, strong taste; the myisca, different in its roundness, rather smaller and hairy, with thinner shell and sweeter flesh. The mitulus too like the murex has a caustic ash good for leprous sores, freckles, and spots. They are washed a also as is lead for thick eyelids, white ulcers, dim vision, dirty ulcers in other parts and pustules on the head. Their flesh makes an application for dog bites.

But clams relax the bowels, as does beaver oil in hydromel, the dose being two drachmae. Those who wish to use a more drastic laxative add a drachma of dried root of cultivated cucumber and two drachmae of saltpetre. Tethea cures griping and flatulence. It is found as a parasite on sea plants, more a kind of fungus rather than a fish. They also cure tenesmus and affections of the kidneys. There also grows in the sea apsinthium, which some call seriphum, found chiefly around Taposiris in Egypt, and is more slender than the land variety, it relaxes the bowels and brings away harmful creatures from the intestines. The cuttlefish too is a laxative. The apsinthium is given in food, being boiled with oil, salt, and flour. Salted menae applied to the navel with bull's gall relax the bowels. The liquor of fish boiled in a pan with lettuce cures tenesmus. River crabs beaten up and taken in water are constipating but diuretic in a white wine. If their legs are taken off they bring away stone, the dose being three oboli with a drachma each of myrrh and iris; iliac colic and flatulence are cured by beaver oil with daucus seed and of rock parsley as much as can be picked up in three fingers, taken in four cyathi of warm honey-wine; while for griping it should be taken with a mixture of dill and wine. The erythinus taken in food is constipating. Dysentery can be treated by frogs boiled with squills to make lozenges, or by their heart beaten up with honey, as Niceratus prescribes, jaundice by salted fish with pepper, but the patient must abstain from all other meat.

32. Splenic trouble is treated by the application of the fish sole, of the torpedo, or of the turbot, but the fish is then put back living into the sea. Bladder troubles and stone are cured by the sea scorpion killed in wine, by the stone which is found in the tail of the sea-scorpion, the dose being an obolus, taken in drink, by the liver of the enhydris, and by the ash of the blenny with rue. There are found too in the head of the fish bacchus as it were pebbles; these taken in water are excellent treatment for stone. It is said that the sea-nettle taken in wine is also good for it, and likewise the pulmo marinus boiled down in water. The eggs of the cuttlefish are diuretic and bring away phlegms from the kidneys. Ruptures and sprains are healed by river-crabs beaten up in milk, by preference asses' stone, however by sea-urchins, spines and all, crushed in wine and taken in doses of a hemina to each urchin, this amount being drunk until benefit is apparent; urchins are also beneficial generally for stone when taken as food. The bladder is cleansed by a diet of scallops. The male scallops are called by some σόνακες (reeds), by others αὐλοί (pipes); the female they call ὄνυχες (nails). The males are diuretic; the females are sweeter and of a uniform colour. [The eggs of the cuttlefish also are diuretic and cleanse the kidneys.]

33. For intestinal hernia is applied sea-hare beaten up with honey. The liver of the watercoluber, likewise that of the water-snake, beaten up and taken in drink, is good for stone. Sciatica is cured by the brine of pickled silurus, injected as an enema, after previous thorough cleansing of the bowels; chafing of the seat by the head of grey or red mullet reduced to ash. The fish are burnt in an earthen vessel and should be applied with honey. The heads too of menae, reduced to ash, are useful for chaps and condylomata, just as the heads of salted pelatnids, or sliced tunny, reduced to ash and applied with honey. An application of the torpedo to the intestinal region reduces a morbid procidence there. The ash of river-crabs in oil and wax heals cracks in that part; sea-crabs too have the same healing property.

34. The pickle of the coracinus disperses superficial abscesses, as do the burnt intestines and scales of the sciaena, or the sea-scorpion boiled down in wine for fomentation with that decoction. But the shells of sea-urchins crushed and applied with water are a remedy for these abscesses when incipient; the murex or purple-fish reduced to ash is beneficial for either purpose, whether it is necessary to disperse incipient abscesses or to mature them and make them discharge. Some make up the following prescription: wax and frankincense twenty drachmae, litharge forty drachmae, ash of the murex ten drachmae, old oil one hemina. By themselves are beneficial boiled salted-fish, and pounded river-crabs. For a pustules on the pudenda, ash of the head of menae, likewise their flesh boiled down and applied, similarly the ash of the head of salted perch, with honey added, ash of pelamids' heads, or the skin of burnt squatina. This skin is the one used, as I have said, to polish wood, for from the sea too come useful things for our craftsmen. Zmarides also are beneficial when applied, likewise with honey the shells of the murex or purple-fish reduced to ash, more effectively if burnt with their flesh. Boiled salted fish are specific for reducing carbuncles on the pudenda. It is recommended, if a testicle hangs down, that the froth of snails be applied.

35. Incontinence of urine is remedied by the sea-horse, roasted and taken often as food, by the ophidion, a little fish like the couger, with lily-root added, and by the tiny fish in the belly of the fish that has swallowed them, taken out and burnt for their ash to be taken in water. They also recommend African snails to be burnt with their flesh, and the ash to be given in Signian wine.

36. For gouty pains and for diseases of the joints oil is useful in which the intestines of frogs have been boiled down, and also the ash of bramble-toads mixed with stale grease. There are some who add to these also barley ash, taking equal weights of three ingredients. They recommend too a gouty foot to be rubbed with a fresh sea-hare, and the patient also to be shod with beaver skin, by preference that of the Pontic beaver, or else with seal skin, seal fat also being good for gout. Good also is bryon, about which I have spoken, a plant like the lettuce, but with more wrinkled leaves and without a stem. Its nature is styptic, and applied to the painful part it soothes the paroxysms of gout. Seaweed too is good, about which by itself also I have spoken. Care is taken with seaweed, not to apply it dry. An application of pulmo marinus is a cure for chilblains, and so is the ash of a sea-crab in oil, river-crabs too pounded and burnt, the ash also being kneaded with oil, and the fat of the silurus. In diseases of the joints paroxysms are soothed by applying fresh frogs every now and then; some recommend them to be cut up before being applied. Flesh is put on by the liquid of mussels and of shell-fish generally.

37. Epilepsy, as I have said, is treated by doses of seals' rennet with mares' or asses' milk, or with pomegranate juice; some prescribe it in oxymel. Some too swallow the rennet by itself, made up into pills. Beaver oil in three cyathi of oxymel is given on an empty stomach; those however frequently attacked are benefited wonderfully by a clyster; of the beaver oil there should be two drachmae, of honey and oil a sextarius, and the same quantity of water. If indeed persons have a momentary seizure it is beneficial to give the patients beaver oil and vinegar to smell. There is also given the liver of the sea-weasel, or of the sea-mouse, or the blood of tortoises.

38. Recurrent fevers are cured by a dolphin's liver, taken before the paroxysms. Seahorses are killed in rose-oil, to make ointment for those sick of chill fevers, and seahorses themselves are worn as an amulet by the patients. The little stones also that at a full moon are found in the head of the fish asellus, are tied on the patient in a linen cloth. Quartans are cured by the longest tooth of the river fish phagrus, tied with a hair on the patient as an amulet, but the patient must not discern the person who attached it for five days; also by rubbing with the grease of frogs boiled in oil at a place where three roads meet, the flesh being first thrown away. Some drown frogs in oil, attach secretly as an amulet, and rub the patient thoroughly with the oil. The heart of frogs attached as an amulet, and the oil in which their entrails have been boiled, relieve the chills of fevers. The best cure for quartans, however, is a frog, worn as an amulet with its claws taken off, or a bramble-toad, if its liver or heart is worn as an amulet in a piece of ash-coloured cloth. Rivercrabs, pounded in oil and water and thoroughly rubbed over the patient before the paroxysms, are beneficial in fevers; some add pepper also. Others prescribe them for quartans boiled down to a quarter in wine, to be taken after leaving the bath; some, however, the left eye to be swallowed. The Magi assure us that tertian fevers are driven away by crabs' eyes, attached as an amulet before sunrise to the patient, but the blinded crabs must be set free into water. The Magi also teach that crabs' eyes, tied on with

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the flesh of a nightingale in deer skin, drive away sleep and cause watchfulness. For those sinking into lethargus they prescribe that the patient smell the rennet of the whale or that of the seal. Others use as embrocation for lethargus the blood of a tortoise? It is also said that tertians are treated successfully by the vertebra of a perch worn as an amulet; quartans by fresh river snails taken as food. Some preserve them in salt for this purpose, to administer them, beaten up, in a draught.

39. Strombi rotted in vinegar rouse by the smell the victims of lethargus. They are also good for those with stomach complaints. Those in a decline, with a body seriously wasting away, find beneficial tethea with rue and honey. Dropsy is treated with melted dolphin fat taken with wine. The nauseating taste is neutralised by touching the nostrils with unguent or scents, or plugging them in any suitable way. The flesh of the strombus also, pounded and given in three heminae of honey wine and an equal measure of water, or should there be fever, in hydromel, benefit the dropsical; likewise the juice of river crabs with honey; water frogs too are boiled down in old wine and emmer wheat, and then taken as food but out of the same vessel as cooked; a tortoise a with feet, head, tail, and entrails taken out, the remaining flesh being so seasoned that it can be taken without nausea. River crabs taken in their juice are also reported to be beneficial to consumptives.

40. Burns are healed by the ash in oil of a sea crab or river crab; by fish glue, or by the ash of frogs, the scalds caused by boiling water; this treatment also restores the lost hair. They think that the ash of river crabs should be used with wax and bear's grease. Beneficial also is the ash of beaver pelts. Erysipelas disappears under the application of the bellies of live frogs; they recommend the frogs to be tied on upside down by their hind legs, so that their rapid breathing may be of benefit. They also use the ash in vinegar of the heads of salted siluri. Pruritus and itch-scab in quadrupeds as well as in man are relieved with great efficacy by the liver of the stingray boiled down in oil.

41. The hard operculum, with which the purple-fish shuts its body from view, when beaten up, unites cut sinews even when severed. Patients with tetanus are relieved by an obolus by weight of seal's rennet taken in wine; also by fish glue. The palsied obtain benefit from beaver oil, if they are thoroughly rubbed with it and olive oil. I find that red mullet as a food is injurious to the sinews.

42. They think that to eat fish causes bleeding, but that haemorrhage is stopped by crushing and applying the polypus, about which are current the following reports. It of itself gives out of itself brine, and therefore none should be added in cooking; it should be cut with a reed, for iron spoils it and leaves a taint, as the natures of the two quarrel. To stop bleeding they also apply the ash of frogs or their dried blood. Some recommend the blood or ash to come from the frog called by the Greeks calamites, because it lives among reeds and shrubs, the smallest and greenest of all frogs; some that the ash of frogs at their birth in water, while still tadpoles with a tail, and calcined in a new earthen vessel, should be stuffed into the nostrils of those with epistaxis. Opposite is the use of leeches, called sanguisugae, which are employed to extract blood. For these are supposed to have the same purpose as that of cupping-glasses, to relieve the body of blood and to open the pores of the skin; but an objection is that once applied they create a craving for the same treatment every year at about the same time. Many have been of opinion that leeches should be applied also for gout. When gorged leeches fall off, detached by the mere weight. of blood or by a sprinkle of salt; sometimes however they leave their heads stuck fast in the flesh, thus causing incurable wounds that have often proved fatal. An instance is Messalinus, a patrician of consular rank, who applied leeches to his knee, and the remedy turned to a virulent poison. It is especially red leeches that are so dreaded; so they cut them off with scissors while they are sucking, and the blood runs down as it were through tubes; as they die their heads little by little contract, and are not left in the bite. The nature of leeches is adverse to that of bugs, which are killed if fumigated with leeches. Beaver skins, burnt with liquid pitch and softened with leek juice, arrest discharges from the nostrils.

43. Weapons sticking in the flesh are drawn out by the ash in water of the shell of the cuttlefish, also of the shell of the purple-fish, by the flesh of salted fish, by river-crabs beaten up, by an application of the flesh of the river silurus (which is found in other rivers besides the Nile), whether fresh or preserved in salt. The ash of the same fish draws out sharp bodies; its fat and the ash of its backbone take the place of spodium.

44. Creeping ulcers and the excrescences that form in them are checked by ash of menae or of the silurus, carcinomata by heads of salted perch, with more effect if with their ash are mixed salt and headed cunila, and the whole kneaded with oil. The ash of a sea crab that has been burnt with lead checks carcinomata. For this purpose river crab too suffices with honey and fine lint. Some prefer to mix alum and honey with the ash. Phagedaenic ulcers are healed by silurus kept till stale and beaten up with sandarach; malignant ulcers, corrosive ulcers, and festering sores by old tunny sliced; the maggots that breed in them are removed by frogs' gall. Fistulas are opened and dried up by salted fish inserted with lint; within two days such fish remove all callus, festering sores, and creeping ulcers, if kneaded up as for a plaster and applied. Allex also applied in strips of lint cleans sores; likewise the shell of sea-urchins, reduced to ash. Carbuncles are dispersed if treated with salted coracinus. likewise with the ash of salted red mulletsome use the head only with honeyor with the flesh of coracinus. Ash of murex with oil removes swellings, and the gall of the sea scorpion sears.

45. Warts are removed by an application of the liver of the glanus, of menae ash beaten up with garlicfor thymion warts they use the materials rawby the gall of the red sea scorpion, by zmarides beaten up and applied, and by allex thoroughly boiled. Rough nails are smoothed by the ash of menae heads.

46. Milk in women is made plentiful by glauciscus taken with its liquor, by zmarides taken with barley water or boiled down with fennel. The breasts themselves are treated efficaciously by shells of murex or purple fish reduced to ash and combined with honey; by crabs too, river or sea, applied locally. The flesh of the murex if applied removes hair growing on the breasts. Squatinae applied prevent their swelling. Lint, smeared with dolphin's fat and then set alight, arouse women suffering from hysterical suffocations; likewise strombi rotted in vinegar. The ash of the heads of perch or menae, mixed with salt, cunsla, and oil, is healing to the uterus; by fumigation also it brings away the afterbirth. The fat of the seal melted in the fire is inserted into the nostrils of women swooning from hysterical suffocation, or else seal's rennet used as a pessary in a piece of fleece. The pulmo marinus, tied on, is an excellent promoter of menstruation, which is checked by living sea urchins pounded up and taken in a sweet wine or by river crabs beaten up and so taken. Siluri also, especially the African, are said to make easier the birth of children, crabs taken in water to arrest menstruation, taken in hyssop to promote it. If birth causes choking, the same medicament taken in drink is a help. Crabs, fresh or dried, are taken in drink to prevent miscarriage. Hippocrates a uses them to promote menstruation and to withdraw a dead foetus; five crabs, root of lapathum and of rue, with some soot, are beaten up, and given to drink in honey wine. Crabs, boiled in their liquor with lapathum and celery, hasten on the monthly flow and produce a plentiful supply of milk; in fever accompanied by pains in the head and palpitation of the eyes, are said to be good for women when given in a dry wine. Beaver oil taken in honey wine is good for menstruation, as also for troubles of the uterus if given to smell with vinegar and pitch, or made into tablets for a pessary. To bring away the afterbirth it is also useful to use beaver oil with panaces in four cyathi of wine, and three-obol doses for those suffering from chill. If, however, a pregnant woman steps over beaver oil or a beaver, it is said to cause a miscarriage, and a dangerous confinement if it is carried over her. What I find about the torpedo is also wonderful: that, if it is caught when the moon is in Libra and kept for three days in the open, it makes parturition easy every time afterwards that it is brought into the room. It is thought to be helpful too if the sting of the stingray is worn as an amulet on the navel, but it must be taken from a living fish, which itself must be cast into the sea. I find in some writers that there is a substance called ostraceum, called by some onyx that this by fumigation wonderfully counteracts severe pains of the uterus; that it has the smell of beaver oil, and is more efficacious if burnt with it; that the ash also of the same substance cures chronic or malignant ulcers. But carbuncles and cancerous sores on a woman's privates have, they say, a sovereign remedy in a female crab crushed up with flower of salt a after a full moon and applied in water.

47. Superfluous hair is removed by blood, gall, and liver of the tunny, whether fresh or preserved, by the liver too when beaten up, mixed with cedar oil, and stored in a leaden box. In this way slave boys were prepared for market by Salpe the midwife. The same property is found in the pulmo marinus, in the blood and gall of the sea hare, or this hare itself killed in oil. There is also used the ash of the crab or of the sea scolopendra with oil, the sea anemone beaten up in squill vinegar, or the brain of the torpedo applied with alum on the sixteenth day of the moon. The blood-like matter (sanies) given out by the small frog, that we have spoken of in the treatment of the eyes, is a most efficacious depilatory if applied fresh; and so is the frog itself, dried and pounded up, and then boiled down to one third in three heminae, or boiled down in oil in brazen vessels. Others make a depilatory out of fifteen frogs treated with the same proportions of liquid, as we mentioned when treating of the eyes. Leeches also, roasted in an earthen vessel and applied with vinegar, have the same effect in extracting hair. The fumes that come from those burning the leeches kill bugs. There are also found those who have used for several days as a depilatory rubbing with beaver oil and honey. Before using however any depilatory the hairs must first be pulled out.

48. The gums and the teething of infants are helped very much by a dolphin's teeth reduced to ash and added to honey, and also if the gums are touched with a tooth itself. As an amulet a dolphin's tooth removes a child's sudden terrors. The same also is the effect of a tooth of the canicula. The sores however that form in the ears or on any part of the body are cured by the juice of river crabs with barley meal. The other diseases too are relieved if the patients are thoroughly rubbed with river crabs pounded in oil. For siriasis in babies a very efficacious cure is a frog tied as an amulet back to front on the infant's skull moistened with a cold sponge. The sponge is said to be found dry afterwards.

49. Red mullet killed in wine, or the fish rubellio, or two eels, also a sea grape rotted in wine, brings a distaste for wine to those who have drunk of the liquor.

50. Antaphrodisiac are the echeneis, hide from the left side of the forehead of a hippopotamus attached as an amulet in lamb skin, or the gall of the torpedo, while it is still alive, applied to the genitals. Aphrodisiac is the flesh of river snails preserved in salt and given to drink in wine, erythini taken as food, the liver of the frog diopetes or calamites, attached as an amulet in a little piece of crane's skin, or the maxillary tooth of a crocodile tied to the forearm, or the hippocampus, or the sinews of a bramble toad worn as an amulet on the right upper arm. Love is killed by a bramble toad worn as an amulet in a fresh piece of sheep's skin.

51. Itch scab in horses is relieved by frogs boiled down in water until they can he used as ointment. It is said that a horse so treated is never attacked again afterwards. Saipe says that dogs do not bark a if a live frog has been put into their mess.

52. Among water creatures ought also to be mentioned calamochnus, the Latin name of which is adarca. It collects around thin reeds from the foam forming where fresh and sea water mingle. It has a caustic property, and is therefore useful for tonic pills and to cure cold shiverings. It also removes freckles on the face of women. At the same time reeds should be spoken of. The root of phragmites, pounded fresh, cures dislocations, and applied with vinegar pains in the spine; the Cyprian reed indeed, also called donax, has a bark which when calcined cures mange and chronic ulcers, and its leaves extract things embedded in the flesh, and help erysipelas. The flower of the reed panicula causes complete deafness if it has entered the ears. The ink of the cuttlefish has so great power that Anaxilaus reports that poured into a lamp the former light utterly vanishes, and people appear as black as Ethiopians. A bramble toad thoroughly boiled in water and given to drink cures pigs' diseases, as does the ash of any frog or toad. If wood is thoroughly rubbed with pulmo marinus it seems to be on fire, so much so that a walking-stick, so treated, throws a light forward.

53. Now that I have completed my account of the natural qualities of aquatic plants and animals, it seems to me not foreign to my purpose to point out that, throughout all the seas which are so numerous and spacious and come flooding into the landmass over so many miles and surround it outside to an extent which might be thought of as almost equal to that of the world itselfthere are one hundred and forty-four species in all; and that they can be included each under its own name, a thing which, in the case of creatures of the land and those which fly, cannot be done. For in fact we do not know all the wild animals and flying creatures of India and Ethiopia and Syria; while even of mankind itself the varieties which we have been able to discover are the greatest in number by far. Add to this Ceylon and various other islands of the ocean about which fabulous tales are told. Surely it will be agreed that not all the species can be brought under one general view for our consideration. On the other hand, upon my solemn word, in the sea, vast though it is, and in the ocean, the number of animals produced is known; andwe may well wonder at thiswe are better acquainted with the things which nature has sunk down in the deep.

To begin with large beasts, there are 'sea-trees,' blower-whales, other whales, saw-fish, Tritons, Nereids, walruses (?) so-called 'men of the sea,' 'wheels,' grampuses, 'sea-rams,' whalebone whales, and others having the shape of fishes, dolphins, and seals well known to Homer, tortoises on the other hand well known to luxury, beavers to medical people (of the class of beavers we have never found record, speaking as we are of marine animals, that otters anywhere frequent the sea); also sharks, 'drinones,' horned rays (?), sword-fish, saw-fish; hippopotamuses and crocodiles common to land, sea, and river; and, common to river and sea only, tunnies, other tunnies, 'shun,' `coracini,' and perches.

Belonging to the sea only are sturgeon, gilt-head, 'asellus,' 'acharne,' small fry, thresher-shark, eel, weever-fish, bogue, skate, grey mullet, angler-fish, garfish?fish which we call thorny, sea-acorn, 'sea-crow,' 'cithari' the worst esteemed of the turbot kind, shad (?), goby, 'callarias' of the 'aselli' kind were it not smaller, Spanish mackerel also known as the Parian and as Sexitan from its native land Baetica, the smallest of the mackerels, cybium (this is the name given, when it has been sliced, to the young tunny which returns from the Black Sea into Lake Maeotis after forty days), 'cordyla' (this too is a very small young tunny; it has this name

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when it goes out from Lake Maeotis into the Black Sea), black bream, the 'callionymus' or 'uranoscopus,' 'cinaedi'-wrassethe only fishes which are yellow, sea-anemone, which we call nettle, species of crab, furrowed clams, smooth clams, clams of the kind 'peloris,' differing in variety of roundness of their shells, 'glycymarides'-clams, which are larger than 'pelorides,' 'coluthia" or 'coryphia,' species of bivalves amongst which are also the pearl-bearers, 'cochloe' (to the class of these belong the 'five-fingered,' also 'helices' called by others 'actinophorae'), whose rays give a singing sound (outside these there are round shells used in dealing with oil), sea-cucumber, 'cynops,' shrimps, 'dog's right-hand,' weever-fish; (certain people want the 'little weever' to be regarded as a different animal; in fact it is like a large 'gerricula,' and has on its gills prickles which look towards the tail; and when it is lifted in the hand, it inflicts a wound like a scorpion), 'erythrinus,' sucking-fish, sea-urchin, black 'elephants' of the lobster kind, having four forked legs (they also have two arms, each with double joints and a single pair of pincers having a toothed edge), 'fabri' or 'zaei,' 'glauciseus,' catfish, conger eel, 'girres,' dogfish, 'garos,' runner-crab(?) 'horsetail,' flying-fish, jellyfish, seahorse, 'hepar,' flying gurnard(?), rainbow-wrasse(?) species of mackerel, fluttering squid, crawfishes, 'lantern-fish,' 'lelepris,' 'lamirns,' sea-hare, 'lion'-lobsters, whose arms are like crabs' and the rest is like the crawfish, red mullet, a wrasse highly praised amongst rock-fish, grey mullet, 'black-tail,' 'mena,' 'maeotes,' murry, 'mys'-mussel, mussel, bearded mussel(?), purple-mollusc, 'eyed' fish, eel(?), species of bivalves, sea-ear, large tunny (this is the largest of the pelamys kind and it never comes back to Lake Macotis; it is like the 'tritomum' and is best in its old age), globe-fish, 'orthagoriscus' 'phager,' 'phycis' one of the rock-fish, 'pelamys'-tunny, of which kind the largest is called 'choice piece,' tougher than the 'tritomus,' 'pig'-fish, sea-louse, plaice (?), stingray, species of octopus, scallops (the very large ones, and, among these, those which are very black in summer time, being the most highly esteemed; moreover, these are found at Mytilene, Tyndaris, Salonae, Altinum, the island of Chios, and Alexandria in Egypt), small scallops, purple-molluscs, 'pegrides'(?), pinna, hermit crab (or pinas-guard crab), angel-fish which we call 'squatus,' turbot, parrot-wrasse, which is of first rank today, sole, sargue, prawn (or shrimp), 'sarda' (this is the name given to an elongated pelamy-tunny which comes from the Ocean), mackerel, saupe, 'sorus,' two kinds of sculpin, two kinds of maigre, scolopendra-worm, 'smyrus,' cuttlefish, spiral molluscs, razor-shells variously called 'solen,' 'aulos', 'donax,' 'onyx,' and 'dactylus'; thorny oysters, picarels, starflshes, sponges, 'turdus'-wrasse famous amongst rock-fish, tunny, thranis which others call swordfish, 'thrissa,' electric ray, sea-squirt, 'tritomum' ('three-cut') belong to a large kind of tunny, from each of which three 'cybia' can be cut, 'veneria,' cuttle-egg (?) swordfish.

54. We will add to these some animals mentioned by Ovid, which are found in no other writer but which are perhaps native to the Black Sea where he began that unfinished book in the last days of his life: horned ray, 'cercyrus' which lives amongst rocks, 'orphus,' and red 'errthinus,' 'iulus,' tinted sea-breams and gilt-head of golden colour; and, besides these, perch, 'tragus,' black-tail with pretty tail, 'epodes' of the flat kind. Besides these remarkable kinds of fishes he records: that the sea-perch conceives of herself, that the 'glaucus' never appears in summer; and he mentions the pilot-fish as always accompanying ships on their course, and the 'chronlis' which makes its nest in the waves. He says that the 'helops' is unknown to our waters: from which it is clear that those who have believed that acipenser (sturgeoa) is the same are in error. Many people have given the first prize for taste to the helops among all fish.

Moreover, there are some fish named by no author. There is one barracuda called 'sudis' in Latin, 'sphyraena' in Greek, in its muzzle resembling its name ('stake'); it is in size amongst the largest; it is uncommon, and does not. degenerate by interbreeding. There are also shells (pinnas) of a kind for which the name 'perna' is given; they are abundant round the Pontiac islands.. They stand like pigs' hams fixed bolt upright in the sand; and, gaping not less than a foot wide where there is broad enough space, they lie in wait for food. They have, all round the edges of the shells, teeth set thick like those of a comb; inside is a large fleshy muscle. I once saw also a 'hyena'-fish (puntarzo) which was taken in the island Aenaria.

Besides all these creatures, certain off-scourings also come out of the sea; they are not worth a description and are to be counted amongst seaweeds and not amongst living creatures.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 33

1. Our topic now will be metals, and the actual resources employed to pay for commodities resources diligently sought for in the bowels of the earth in a variety of ways. For in some places the earth is dug into for riches, when life demands gold, silver, silver-gold and copper, and in other places for luxury, when gems and colours for tinting walls and beams are demanded, and in other places for rash valour, when the demand is for iron, which amid warfare and slaughter is even more prized than gold. We trace out all the fibres of the earth, and live above the hollows we have made in her, marvelling that occasionally she gapes open or begins to trembleas if forsooth it were not possible that this may be an expression of the indignation of our holy parent. We penetrate her inner parts and seek for riches in the abode of the spirits of the departed, as though the part where we tread upon her were not sufficiently bounteous and fertile. And amid all this the smallest object of our searching is for the sake of remedies for illness, for with what fraction of mankind is medicine the object of this delving? Although medicines also earth bestows upon us on her surface, as she bestows corn, bountiful and generous as she is in all things for our benefit! The things that she has concealed and hidden underground, those that do not quickly come to birth, are the things that destroy us and drive us to the depths below; so that suddenly the mind soars aloft into the void and ponders what finally will be the end of draining her dry in all the ages, what will be the point to which avarice will penetrate. How innocent, how blissful, nay even how luxurious life might be, if it coveted nothing from any source but the surface of the earth, and, to speak briefly, nothing but what lies ready to her hand!

2. Gold is dug out of the earth and in proximity to it gold-solder, which still retains in Greek a name derived from gold, so as to make it appear more precious. It was not enough to have discovered one bane to plague life, without setting value even on the corrupt humours of gold! Avarice was seeking for silver, but counted it a gain to have discovered cinnabar by the way, and devised a use to make of red earth. Alas for the prodigality of our inventiveness! In how many ways have we raised the prices of objects! The art of painting has come in addition, and we have made gold and silver dearer by means of engraving! Man has learnt to challenge nature in competition! The enticements of the vices have augmented even art: it has pleased us to engrave scenes of licence upon our goblets, and to drink through the midst of obscenities. Afterwards these were flung aside and began to be held of no account, when there was an excess of gold and silver. Out of the same earth we dug supplies of fluorspar and crystal, things which their mere fragility rendered costly. It came to be deemed the proof of wealth, the true glory of luxury, to possess something that might be absolutely destroyed in a moment. Nor was this enough: we drink out of a crowd of precious stones, and set our cups with emeralds, we take delight in holding India for the purpose of tippling, and gold is now a mere accessory.

3. And would that it could be entirely banished from life, reviled and abused as it is by all the worthiest people, and only discovered for the ruin of human lifehow far happier was the period when goods themselves were interchanged by barter, as it is agreed we must take it from Homer to have been the custom even in the days of Troy. That in my view was the way in which trade was discovered, to procure the necessities of life. Homer relates how some people used to make their purchases with ox-hides, others with iron and captives, and consequently, although even Homer himself was already an admirer of gold, he reckoned the value of goods in cattle, saying that Glaucus exchanged gold armour worth 100 beeves with that of Diomede worth 9 beeves. And as a result of this custom even at Rome a fine under the old laws is priced in cattle.

4. The worst crime against man's life was committed by the person who first put gold on his fingers, though it is not recorded who did this, for I deem the whole story of Prometheus mythical, although antiquity assigned to him also an iron ring, and intended this to be understood as a fetter, not an ornament. As for the story of Midas's ring, which when turned round made its wearer invisible, who would not admit this to be more mythical still? It was the hand and what is more the left a hand, that first won for gold such high esteem; not indeed a Roman hand, whose custom it was to wear an iron ring as an emblem of warlike valour.

As to the Roman kings I find it hard to make a statement. The statue of Romulus in the Capitol has nothing, nor has any other king's statue excepting those of Numa and Servius Tullius, and not even that of Lucius Brutus. I am especially surprised at this in the case of the Tarquins, who came originally from Greece, the country from which this fashion in rings came, although an iron ring is worn in Sparta even at the present day. But of all, Tarquinius Priscus, it is well known, first presented his son with a golden amulet when while still of an age to wear the bordered robe he had killed an enemy in battle; and from that time on the custom of the amulet has continued as a distinction to be worn by the sons of those who have served in the cavalry, the sons of all others only wearing a leather strap. Owing to this I am surprised that the statue of that Tarquin has no ring. All the same, I notice that there is a difference of opinion even about the actual word for a ring. The Greek name for it is derived from the word meaning a finger; with ourselves, in early days it was called 'ungulus,' but afterwards both our people and the Greeks give it the name of 'symbolum.' For a long period indeed, it is quite clear, not even members of the Roman senate had gold rings, inasmuch as rings were bestowed officially on men about to go as envoys to foreign nations, and on them only, the reason no doubt being that the most highly honoured foreigners were recognized in this way. Nor was it the custom for any others to wear a gold ring than those on whom one had been officially bestowed for the reason stated; and customarily Roman generals went in triumph without one, and although a Tuscan crown of gold was held over the victor's head from behind, nevertheless he wore an iron ring on his finger when going in triumph, just the same as the slave holding the crown in front of himself. This was the way in which Gaius Marius celebrated his triumph over Jugurtha, and it is recorded that he did not assume Jan.1, a gold ring till his third tenure of the consulship. Those moreover who had been given gold rings because they were going on an embassy only wore them in public, but in their homes wore iron rings; this is the reason why even now an iron ring and what is more a ring without any stone in it is sent a as a gift to a woman when betrothed. Indeed I do not find that any rings were worn in the Trojan period; at all events Homer nowhere mentions them, although he shows that tablets used to be sent to and fro in place of letters, and that clothes and gold and silver vessels were stored away in chests and were tied up with signet-knots, not sealed with signet-rings. Also he records the chiefs as casting lots about meeting a challenge from the enemy without using signet-rings; and he also says that the god of handicraft in the original period frequently made brooches and other articles of feminine finery like earringswithout mentioning finger-rings. And whoever first introduced them did so with hesitation, and put them on the left hand, which is generally hidden by the clothes, whereas it would have been shown off on the right hand if it had been an assured distinction. And if this might possibly have been thought to involve some interference with the use of the right hand, there is the proof of more modern custom; it would have also been more inconvenient to wear it on the left hand, which holds the shield. Indeed it is also stated, by Homer again, that men wore gold plaited in their hair and consequently I cannot say whether the use of gold originated from women.

5. At Rome for a long time gold was actually not to be found at all except in very small amounts. At all events when peace had to be purchased after the capture of the City by the Gauls, not more than [390 B.C.] a thousand pounds' weight of gold could be produced. I am aware of the fact that in Pompey's third consulship [52 BC] there was lost from the throne of Jupiter of the Capitol two thousand pounds' weight of gold that had been stored there by Camillus, which led to a general belief that 2000 pounds was the amount that had been accumulated. But really the additional sum was part of the booty taken from the Gauls, and it had been stripped by them from the temples in the part of the city which they had capturedthe case of Torquatus shows that the Gauls were in the habit of wearing gold ornaments in battle; therefore it appears that the gold belonging to the Gauls and that belonging to the temples did not amount to more than that total; and this in fact was taken to be the meaning contained in the augury, when Jupiter the God of the Capitol had repaid twofold.

Also, as we began on this topic from the subject of rings, it is suitable incidentally to point out that the official in charge of the temple of Jupiter of the Capitol when he was arrested broke the stone of his ring between his teeth and at once expired, so putting an end to any possibility of proving the theft. It follows that there was only 2,000 lbs. weight of gold at the outside when Rome was captured in its 364th year, although the census showed there were already 152,573 free citizens. From the same city 307 years later the gold that Gaius Marius [82 BC] the younger had conveyed to Palestrina from the conflagration of the temple of the Capitol and from all the other shrines amounted to 14,000 lbs., which with a placard above it to that effect was carried along in his triumphal procession by Sulla, as well as [81BC] 6,000 lbs. weight of silver. Sulla had likewise on the previous day carried in procession 15,000 lbs. of gold and 115,000 lbs. of silver as the proceeds of all the rest of his victories.

6. It does not appear that rings were in more common use before the time of Gnaeus Flavius son of Annius. It was he who first published the dates for legal proceedings, which it had been customary for tbe general public to ascertain by daily enquiry from a few of the leading citizens; and this won him such great popularity with the common peoplehe was also the son of a liberated slave and himself a clerk to Appius Caecus, at whose request he had by dint of natural shrewdness through continual observation picked out those days and published themthat he was appointed a curule aedile as a colleague of Quintus Anicius of Palestrina, who a few years previously had been an enemy at war with Rome, while Gaius Poetilius and Domitius, whose fathers had been consuls, were passed over. Flavius had the additional advantage of being tribune of the plebs at the same time. This caused such an outburst of blazing indignation that we find in the oldest annals 'rings were laid aside.' The common belief that the Order of Knighthood also did the same on this occasion is erroneous, inasmuch as the following words were also added: 'but also harness-bosses were put aside as well'; and it is

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because of this clause that the name of the Knights has been added; and the entry in the annals is that the rings were laid aside by the nobility, not by the entire Senate. This occurrence took place in the consulship of Publius Sempronius [305 BC] and Lucius Sulpicius. Flavius made a vow to erect a temple to Concord if he succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between the privileged orders and the people; and as money was not allotted for this purpose from public funds, he drew on the fine-money collected from persons convicted of practising usury to erect a small shrine made of bronze on the Graecostasis which at that date stood above the Assembly-place, and put on it an inscription engraved on a bronze tablet that the shrine had been constructed 204 years after the consecration of the Capitoline temple. This event took place in the 449th year from the foundation of the city, and [305 B.C.] is the earliest evidence to be found of the use of rings. There is however a second piece of evidence for their being commonly worn at the time of the Second Punic War, as had this not been the ease it would not have been possible for the three peeks of rings as recorded to have been sent by Hannibal to Carthage. Also it was from a ring put up for sale by auction that the quarrel between Caepio and Drusus began which was the primary cause of the war with the allies and the disasters that sprang from it. Not even at that period did all members of the senate possess gold rings, seeing that in the memory of our grandfathers many men who had even held the office of prietor wore an iron ring to the end of their livesfor instance, as recorded by Fenestella, Calpurnius and Manilius, the latter having been lieutenant-general under Gaius Marius in the war [112-106 BC] with Jugurtha, and, according to many authorities, the Lucius Fufidius to whom Scaurus dedicated his Autobiographywhile another piece of evidence is that in the family of the Quintii it was not even customary for the women to have a gold ring, and that the greater part of the races of mankind, and even of the people who live under our empire and at the present day, possess no gold rings at all. The East and Egypt do not seal documents even now, but are content with a written signature.

This fashion like everything else luxury has diversified in numerous ways, by adding to rings gems of exquisite brilliance, and by loading the fingers with a wealthy revenue (as we shall mention in our book on gems) and then by engraving on them a variety of devices, so that in one case the craftsmanship and in another the material constitutes the value. Then again with other gems luxury has deemed it sacrilege for them to undergo violation, and has caused them to be worn whole, to prevent anybody's imagining that people's finger-rings were intended for sealing documents! Some gems indeed luxury has left showing in the gold even of the side of the ring that is hidden by the finger, and has cheapened the gold with collars of little pebbles. But on the contrary many people do not allow any gems in a signet-ring, and seal with the gold itself; this was a fashion invented when Claudius Caesar was emperor. [AD. 41-5] Moreover even slaves nowadays encircle the iron of their rings with gold (other articles all over them they decorate with pure gold), an extravagance the origin of which is shown by its actual name to have been instituted in Samothrace.

It had originally been the custom to wear rings on one finger only, the one next the little finger; that is how we see them on the statues of Numa and Servius Tullius. Afterwards people put them on the finger next the thumb, even in the case of statues of the gods, and next it pleased them to give the little finger also a ring. The Gallic Provinces and the British Islands are said to have used the middle finger. At the present day this is the only finger exempted, while all the others bear the burden, and even each finger-joint has another smaller ring of its own. Some people put all their rings on their little finger only, while others wear only one ring even on that finger, and use it to seal up their signet ring, which is kept stored away as a rarity not deserving the insult of common use, and is brought out from its cabinet as from a sanctuary; thus even wearing a single ring on the little finger may advertise the possession of a costlier piece of apparatus put away in store. Some again show off the weight of their rings; others count it hard work to wear more than one; and others consider that filling the gold tinsel of the circle with a lighter material, in case of their dropping, is a safer precaution for their anxiety about their gems; others enclose poisons underneath the stones in their rings, as did Demosthenes, the greatest orator of Greece, and they wear their rings as a means of taking their own lives. Finally, a very great number of the crimes connected with money are carried out by means of rings. To think what life was in the days of old, and what innocence existed when nothing was sealed! Whereas nowadays even articles of food and drink have to be protected against theft by means of a ring: this is the progress achieved by our legions of slavesa foreign rabble in one's home, so that an attendant to tell people's names now has to be employed even in the case of one's slaves! This was not the way with bygone generations, when a single servant for each master, a member of his master's clan, Marcius's boy or Lucius's boy, took all his meals with the family in common, nor was there any need of precautions in the home to keep watch on the domestics. Nowadays we acquire sumptuous viands only to be pilfered and at the same time acquire people to pilfer them, and it is not enough to keep our keys themselves under seal: while we are fast asleep or on our death-beds, our rings are slipped off our fingers; and the prevailing system of our lives has begun to centre round that portable chattel, though when this began is doubtful. Still it seems we can realize the importance this article possesses abroad in the case of the tyrant of Samos, Polycrates, who flung his favourite ring into the sea and had it brought back to him inside a fish which had been caught: Polycrates himself was put to death about the 230th year of the city of Rome. Still the [523 BC] employment of a signet-ring must have begun to be much more frequent with the introduction of usury. This is proved by the custom of the lower classes, among whom even at the present day a ring is whipped out when a contract is being made; the habit comes down from the time when there was as yet no speedier method of guaranteeing a bargain, so we can safely assert that with us money began first and signet-rings came in afterwards. About money we shall speak rather later.

7. As soon as rings began to be commonly worn, they distinguished the second order from the commons, just as a tunic distinguished the senate from those who wore the ring, although this distinction also was only introduced at a late date, and we find that a wider purple stripe on the tunic was commonly worn even by heralds, for instance the father of Lucius Aelius Stilo Praeconiuus, who received his surname from his father's office. But wearing rings clearly introduced a third order, intermediate between the commons and the senate, and the title that had previously been conferred by the possession of a war-horse is now assigned by money rates. This however is only a recent introduction: when his late lamented Majesty Augustus made regulations for the judicial panels the majority of the judges belonged to the iron ring class, and these used to be designated not Knights but Justices; the title of Knights remained with the cavalry squadrons mounted at the public charge. Of the Justices also there were at the first only four panels, and in each panel scarcely a thousand names were to be found, as the provinces had not yet been admitted to this duty; and the regulation has survived to the present day that nobody newly admitted to citizenship shall serve as a justice on one of the panels. The panels themselves also were distinguished by various designations, as consisting of Tribunes of the Money, Selected Members and Justices. Moreover beside these there were those styled the Nine Hundred, selected from the whole body as keepers of the ballot-boxes at elections. And the proud adoption of titles had made divisions in this order also, one person styling himself a member of the Nine Hundred, another one of the Select, another a Tribune.

8. Finally in the ninth year in office of the Emperor Tiberius the Order of Knights was united [AD. 14-37] into a single body; and in the Consulship of Gaius [AD. 22]. Asinius Pollio and Gaius Antistius Vetus, in the 775th year since the foundation of Rome, a regulation was established authorizing who should wear rings; the motive for this, a thing that may surprise us, was virtually the futile reason that Gaius Sulpicius Galba had made a youthful effort to curry favour with the emperor by enacting penalties for keeping eating-houses and had made a complaint in the senate that peddling tradesmen when charged with that offence commonly protected themselves by means of their rings. Consequently a rule was made that nobody should have this right except one who was himself a free-born man whose father and father's father had been free-born also, and who had been rated as the owner of 400,000 sesterces and had been entitled under the Julian law as to the theatre to sit in the fourteen front rows of seats. Subsequently people began to apply in crowds for this mark of rank; and in consequence of the disputes thus occasioned the Emperor Gaius Caligula added [AD. 37-41] a fifth panel, and so much conceit has this occasioned that the panels which under his late lamented Majesty Augustus it had not been possible cases of men who are actually liberated slaves making to fill will not hold that order, and there are frequent a leap over to these distinctions, a thing that previously never occurred, since the iron ring was the distinguishing mark even of knights and judges.

And the thing began to be so common that during the censorship of the Emperor Claudius a member [AD 48] of the Order of Knighthood named Flavius Proculus laid before him information against 400 persons on this ground, so that an order intended to distinguish the holder from other men of free birth has been shared with slaves. It was the Gracchi who first instituted the name of Justices or Judges as the distinguishing name of that order of knightsseditiously currying favour with the people in order to humiliate the senate; but subsequently the importance of the title of Knight was swamped by the shifting currents of faction, and came down to be attached to the farmers of public revenues, and for some time these revenue officers constituted the third rank in the state. Finally Marcus Cicero, thanks to the Catilinarian affair, during his consulship [63 BC] put the title of knighthood on a firm footing, boasting that he himself sprang from that order, and winning its powerful support by methods of securing popularity that were entirely his own. From that time onward the Knighthood definitely became a third element in the state, and the name of the Equestrian Order came to be added to the formula 'The Senate and People of Rome.' This is the reason why it is even now written after 'People,' because it was the latest addition introduced.

9. Indeed the very name of the Knights has itself frequently been altered, even in the case of those who derived the title from the fact of their serving as cavalry. Under Romulus and the Kings they were called the Celeres, then the Flexuntes and afterwards the Trossuli, because of their having without any assistance from infantry captured a town of that name in Tuscany nine miles this side of Volsinii; and the name survived till after the time of Gaius Gracehus. At all events in the writings left by Junius, who owing to his friendship with Gaius Gracchus was called Gracehanus, these words occur: 'So far as concerns the Equestrian Order they were previously called the Trossuli, but are now simply designated the Cavalry, because people do not know what the word Trossuli means and many of them are ashamed of being called by that name.' He goes on to explain the reason above indicated, and says that they were even in his time still called Trossuli, though they did not wish to be.

10. There are some additional particulars in regard to gold which must not be omitted. For instance our authorities actually bestowed gold necklaces on foreign soldiers, but only awarded silver ones to Roman citizens, and what is more they gave bracelets to citizens, which it was not their custom to give to foreigners.

11. But at the same time, as is even more surprising, they gave crowns of gold even to citizens. Who was the first person to receive one I have not myself been able to ascertain, but Lucius Piso records who was the first person to bestow one, namely the dictator Aulus Postumius, who when the camp of the Latins at Lake Regillus had been [497 BC] taken by storm awarded a gold crown to the soldier who had been chiefly responsible for taking the place. In this case the crown which he bestowed was made of gold taken from the booty captured, and weighed two pounds. Also Lucius Lentulus as consul awarded a gold crown to Servius Cornelius Merenda after the taking of a town belonging to the Samnites, but Servius's crown weighed five pounds; while Piso Frugi bestowed on his son one weighing three pounds out of his personal resources, leaving it to him by will as a specific legacy.

12. As a mark of honour to the gods at sacrifices no other means has been devised but to gild the horns of the victims to be immolated, at all events of full-grown animals. But in military service also this form of luxury has grown to such dimensions that we find a letter of Marcus Brutus sent from the Plains of Philippi expressing his indignation at the brooches made of gold that were worn by the tribunes. Really I must protest! Why, even you, Brutus, did not mention the gold worn on their feet by women, and we accuse of crime the man who first conferred dignity on gold by using gold rings! Let even men nowadays wear gold braceletscalled 'Dardania' because the fashion came from the Dardanithe Celtic name for them is 'viriolae' and the Celtiberian 'viriae'; let women have gold in their bracelets and covering their fingers and on their neck, ears and tresses, let gold chains run at random round their waists; and let little bags of pearls hang invisible suspended by gold chains from their lady owners' neck, so that even in their sleep they may retain the consciousness of possessing gems: but are even their feet to be shod with gold, and shall gold create this female Order of Knighthood, intermediate between the matron's robe and the common people? Much more becomingly do we men bestow this on our page-boys, and the wealthy show these lads make has quite transformed the public baths! But nowadays even men are beginning to wear on their fingers a representation of Harpocrates and figures of Egyptian deities. In the time of the Emperor Claudius there was also [AD 41-54] another unusual distinction, belonging to those whose rights of free access to the presence had given them the privilege of wearing a gold likeness of the emperor on a ring, this affording a great opportunity for informations; but all of this was however entirely abolished by the opportune rise to power of the Emperor Vespasian, by making the [AD 69-79] emperor equally accessible to all. Let this suffice for a discussion of the subject of gold rings and their employment.

13. Next in degree was the crime committed by the person who first coined a gold denarius, a crime which itself also is hidden and its author unknown. The Roman nation did not even use a stamped silver coinage before the conquest of King [275 BC] Pyrrhus. The as weighed one poundhence the term still in use, 'little pound' and 'two pounder'; this is the reason why a fine is specified in 'heavy bronze,' and why in book-keeping outlay is still designated as 'sums weighed out,' and likewise interest as 'weighed on account' and paying as 'weighing down,' and moreover it explains the terms 'soldiers' stipend,' which means 'weights of heaped money,' and the words for accountants and paymasters that mean 'weighers' and 'poundweighers,' and owing to this custom in purchases that deal with all larger personal property, even at the present day, an actual pair of 'pound'-scales is introduced. King

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Servius was the first to stamp a design on bronze; previously, according to Timaeus, at Rome they used raw metal. The design stamped on the metal was an ox or a sheep, pecus, which is the origin of the term 'pecunia.' The highest assessment of one man's property in the reign of Servius was 120,000 as-pieces, and consequently that amount of property was the standard of the first class of citizens.

Silver was first coined in the 485th year of the city. [269-8 BC] in the consulship of Quintus Ogulnius and Gaius Fabius, five years before the first Punic War. It was decided that the value of a denarius should be ten pounds of bronze, that of a half-denarius five pounds, that of a sesterce two pounds and a half. The weight of a standard pound of bronze was however reduced during the first Punic War, when the state could not meet its expenditure, and it was enacted that the as should be struck weighing two ounces. This effected a saving of five sixths, and the national debt was liquidated. The design of this bronze coin was on one side a Janus facing both ways and on the other the ram of a battleship; the third of an as and the quarter as had a ship. The had previously been called a teruncius, as weighing three ounces. Subsequently when the presence of Hannibal was being felt, in the dictator [217 BC] ship of Quintus Fabius Maximus, asses of one ounce weight were coined, and it was enacted that the exchange-value of the denarius should be sixteen asses, of the half-denarius eight and of the quarter-denarius four; by this measure the state made a clear gain of one half. But nevertheless in the pay of soldiers one denarius has always been given for ten asses. The designs on silver were a two-horse and a four-horse chariot, and consequently the coins were called a pair of horses and a four-in-hand.

Next according to a law of Papirius asses [89 B.C.] weighing half an ounce were struck. Livius Drusus when holding the office of tribune of the plebs alloyed the silver with one-eighth part of bronze. The coin now named the victory coin was struck under the law of Clodius; previously a coin [c. 104 B.C.] of this name was imported from Illyria and was looked on as an article of trade. The design on it was a figure of Victory, which gives it its name. The first gold coin was struck 51 years later than [217 B.C.] the silver coinage, a scruple of gold having the value of twenty sesterces; this was done at 400 to the pound of silver, at the then rating of the sesterce. It was afterwards decided to coin denarii at the rate [49 B.C.] of 40 from a pound of gold, and the emperors gradually reduced the weight of the gold denarius, and most recently Nero brought it down to 45 denarii to [AD 54-68] the pound.

14. But from the invention of money came the original source of avarice when usury was devised, and a profitable life of idleness; by rapid stages what was no longer mere avarice but a positive hunger for gold flared up with a sort of frenzy, inasmuch as the friend of Gaius Graechus, Septumuleius, a price having been set on Gracchus's head to the amount of its weight in gold, when Gracchus's head had been cut off, brought it to Opimius, after adding to his unnatural murder by putting lead in the mouth of the corpse, and so cheated the state in addition. Nor was it now some Roman citizen, but King Mithridates who disgraced the whole name of Roman when he poured molten gold into the mouth of the General Aquilius whom he had taken prisoner? These are the things that the lust for possessions engenders! One is ashamed to see the new-fangled names that are invented every now and then from the Greek to denote silver vessels filigreed or inlaid with gold, niceties which make gilded plate fetch a higher price than gold plate, when we know that Spartacus issued an order to his camp forbidding anybody to possess gold or silver: so much more spirit was there then in our runaway slaves! The orator Messala has told us that the triumvir Antony used vessels of gold in satisfying all the indecent necessities, an enormity that even Cleopatra would have been so ashamed of. Till then the record in extravagance had lain with foreignersKing Philip sleeping with a gold goblet under his pillows and Alexander the Great's prefect Hagnon of Tees having his sandals soled with gold nails; but Antony alone cheapened gold by this contumely of nature. How he deserved to be proscribed! but proscribed by Spartacus!

15. It does indeed surprise me that the Roman nation always imposed a tribute of silver, not of gold, on races that it conquered, for instance on Carthage when conquered together with Hannibal, 800,000 [202 BC] pounds weight of silver in yearly instalments of 16,000 pounds spread over 50 years, but no gold. Nor can it be considered that this was due to the world's poverty. Midas and Croesus had already possessed wealth without limit, and Cyrus had already on conquering Asia Minor found booty consisting of 24,000 [546-5 BC] pounds weight of gold, besides vessels and articles made of gold, including a throne, a plane-tree and a vine. And by this victory he carried off 500,000 talents of silver and the wine-bowl of Semiramis the weight of which came to 15 talents. The Egyptian talent according to Marcus Varro amounts to 80 pounds of gold. Sadaces the descendant of Aectes had already reigned in Colchis, who is said to have come on a tract of virgin soil in the country of the Suani and elsewhere and to have dug up from it a great quantity of gold and silver, his realm being moreover famous for golden fleeces. We are also told of his gold-vaulted ceilings and silver beams and columns and pilasters, belonging to Sesostris King of Egypt whom Saulaces conquered, so proud a monarch that he is reported to have been in the habit every year of harnessing to his chariot individual kings selected by lot from among his vassals and so going in triumphal procession.

16. We too have done things to be deemed mythical by those who come after us. Caesar, the future dictator, was the first person in the office of aedile to use nothing but silver for the appointments of the arenait was at the funeral games presented in honour of his father; and this was the first occasion on which criminals made to fight with wild animals had all their equipment made of silver, a practice nowadays rivalled even in our municipal towns. Gaius Antonius gave plays on a silver stage, and so did Lucius Murena; and the emperor Gaius Caligula brought on a scaffolding is in the [AD. 37-41] circus which had on it 124,000 pounds weight of silver. His successor Claudius when celebrating a triumph after the conquest of Britain, advertised by placards [AD. 43] that among the gold coronets there was one having a weight of 7000 pounds contributed by Hither Spain and one of 9000 from Gallia Comata. His immediate successor Nero covered the theatre of [AD. 54-68] Pompey with gold for one day's purpose, when he was to display it to Tiridates King of Armenia. Yet how small was the theatre in comparison with Nero's Golden Palace which goes all round the city!

17. The gold contained in the national treasury of Rome in the consulship of Sextus Julius and Lucius Aurelius, seven years before the third Punic War, amounted to 17,410 lbs., the silver to 22,070 lbs., and in specie there was 6,135,400 sesterces; in the consulship of Sextus Julius and Lucius Marcius, that is to say, at the beginning of the war with the allies, there was ... lbs. of gold and 1,620,831 lbs. of silver. Gaius Julius Caesar, on first entering Rome during the civil war that bears [49 BC] his name, drew from the treasury 15,000 gold ingots, 30,000 silver ingots, and 30,000,000 sesterces in coin; at no other periods was the state more wealthy. Aemilius Paulus also after the defeat of King Perseus paid in to the treasury from the booty won in Macedonia 300 million sesterces; and from that date onward the Roman nation left off paying the citizens' property-tax.

18. At the present day we see ceilings covered with gold even in private houses, but they were first gilded in the Capitol during the censorship of Lucius Mummius after the fall of Carthage. [146 B.C.] From ceilings the use of gilding passed over also to vaulted roofs and walls, these too being now gilded like pieces of plate, whereas a variety of judgements were passed on Catulus by his contemporaries for having gilded the brass tilings of the Capitol.

19. We have already said in Book 7 [97] who were the people who first discovered gold, and almost all of the metals likewise. I think that the chief popularity of this substance has been won not by its colour, that of silver being brighter and more like daylight, which is the reason why it is in more common use for military ensigns because its brilliance is visible at a greater distance; those persons who think that it is the colour of starlight in gold that has won it favour being clearly mistaken because in the case of gems and other things with the same tint it does not hold an outstanding place. Nor is it its weight or its malleability that has led to its being preferred to all the rest of the metals, since in both qualities it yields the first place to lead, but because gold is the only thing that loses no substance by the action of fire, but even in conflagrations and on funeral pyres receives no damage. Indeed as a matter of fact it improves in quality the more often it is fired, and fire serves as a test of it goodness, making it assume a similar red hue and itself becomes the colour of fire; this process is called assaying. The first proof of quality in gold is however its being affected by fire with extreme difficulty; beside that, it is remarkable that though invincible to live coal made of the hardest wood it is very quickly made red hot by a fire of chaff, and that for the purpose of purifying it it is roasted with lead.

Another more important reason for its value is that it gets extremely little worn by use; whereas, with silver, copper and lead, lines may be drawn, and stuff that comes off them dirties the hand. Nor is any other material more malleable or able to be divided into more portions, seeing that an ounce of gold can be beaten out into 750 or more leaves 4 inches square. The thickest kind of gold leaf is called Palestrina leaf, still bearing the name taken from the faithfully gilded statue of Fortune in that place. The foil next in thickness is styled Quaestorian leaf. In Spain tiny pieces of gold are called scrapers. Gold more than all other metals is found unalloyed in nuggets or in the form of detritus. Whereas all other metals when found in the mines are brought into a finished condition by means of fire, gold is gold straight away and has its substance in a perfect state at once, when it is obtained by mining. This is the natural way of getting it, while another which we shall describe is artificial. More than any other substance gold is immune from rust or verdigris or anything else emanating from it that wastes its goodness or reduces its weight. Moreover in steady resistance to the overpowering effect of the juices of salt and vinegar it surpasses all things, and over and above that it can be spun into thread and woven into a fabric like wool, even without an addition of wool. Verrius informs us that Tarquinius Priscus celebrated a triumph wearing a golden tunic. We have in our own times seen the Emperor Claudius's wife Agrippina, at a show at which he was exhibiting a naval battle, seated at his side wearing a military cloak made entirely of cloth of gold. For a long period gold has been woven into the fabric called cloth of Attalus, an invention of Kings of Asia.

20. On marble and other materials incapable of being raised to a white heat gold is laid with white of egg; on wood it is laid with glue according to a formula; it is called leucophorum, white-bearing; what this is and how it is made we will explain in its proper place. The regular way to gild copper would be to use natural or at all events artificial quicksilver, concerning which a method of adulteration has been devised, as we shall relate in describing the nature of those substances. The copper is first subjected to the violence of fire; then, when it is red hot, it is quenched with a mixture of brine, vinegar, and alum, and afterwards put to a test, its brilliance of colour showing whether it has been sufficiently heated; then it is again dried in the fire, so that, after a thorough polishing with a mixture of pumice and alum, it is able to take the gold-leaf laid on with quicksilver. Alum has the same cleansing property here that we said is found in lead.

21. Gold in our part of the worldnot to speak of the Indian gold obtained from ants or the gold dug up by griffins in Scythia obtained in three ways: in the detritus of rivers, for instance in the Tagus in Spain, the Po in Italy, the Maritza in Thrace, the Sarabat in Asia Minor and the Ganges in India; and there is no gold that is in a more perfect state, as it is thoroughly polished by the mere friction of the current. Another method is by sinking shafts; or it is sought for in the fallen debris of mountains. Each of these methods must be described.

People seeking for gold begin by getting up segellumthat is the name for earth that indicates the presence of gold. This is a pocket of sand, which is washed, and from the sediment left an estimate of the vein is made. Sometimes by a rare piece of luck a pocket is found immediately, on the surface of the earth, as occurred recently in Dalmatia when Nero was emperor, one yielding fifty pounds [AD 54-68] weight of gold a day. Gold found in this way in the surface crust is called talutium if there is also auriferous earth underneath. The otherwise dry, barren mountains of the Spanish provinces which produce nothing else whatever are forced into fertility in regard to this commodity.

Gold dug up from shafts is called 'channelled' or 'trenched' gold; it is found sticking to the grit of marble, not in the way in which it gleams in the lapis lazuli of the East and the stone of Thebes and in other precious stones, but sparkling in the folds of the marble. These channels of veins wander to and fro along the sides of the shafts, which gives the gold its name; and the earth is held up by wooden props. The substance dug out is crushed, washed, fired and pound to a soft powder. The powder from the mortar is called the 'scudes' and the silver that comes out from the furnace the 'sweat'; the dirt thrown out of the smelting-furnace in the case of every metal is called 'scoria,' slag. In the case of gold the scoria is pounded and fired a second time; the crucibles for this are made of tasconium, which is a white earth resembling clay. No other earth can stand the blast of air, the fire, or the intensely hot material.

The third method will have outdone the achievements of the Giants. By means of galleries driven for long distances the mountains are mined by the light of lampsthe spells of work are also measured by lamps, and the miners do not see daylight for many months.

The name for this class of mines is arrugiae; also cracks give way suddenly and crush the men who have been at work, so that it actually seems less venturesome to try to get pearls and purple-fishes out of the depth of the sea: so much more dangerous have we made the earth! Consequently arches are left at frequent intervals to support the weight of the mountain above. In both kinds of mining masses of flint are encountered, which are burst asunder by means of fire and vinegar, though more often, as this method makes the tunnels suffocating through heat and smoke, they are broken to pieces with crushing-machines carrying 150 lbs. of iron, and the men carry the stuff out on their shoulders, working night and day, each man passing them on to the next man in the dark, while only those at the end of the hue see daylight. If the bed of flint seems too long, the miner follows along the side of it and goes round it. And yet flint is considered to involve comparatively easy work, as there is a kind of earth consisting of a sort of potter's clay mixed with gravel, called gangadict, which it is almost impossible to overcome. They attack it with iron wedges and the hammer-machines mentioned above; and it is thought to be the hardest thing that exists, except greed for gold, which is the most stubborn of all things. When the work is completely finished, beginning with the last, they cut through, at the tops, the supports of the arched roofs. A crack gives warning of a crash, and the only person who notices it is

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the sentinel on a pinnacle of the mountain. He by shout and gesture gives the order for the workmen to be called out and himself at the same moment flies down from his pinnacle. The fractured mountain falls asunder in a wide gap, with a crash which it is impossible for human imagination to conceive, and likewise with an incredibly violent blast of air. The miners gaze as conquerors upon the collapse of Nature. And nevertheless even now there is no gold so far, nor did they positively know there was any when they began to dig; the mere hope of obtaining their coveted object was a sufficient inducement for encountering such great dangers and expenses.

Another equally laborious task involving even greater expense is the incidental operation of previously bringing streams along mountain-heights frequently a distance of 100 miles for the purpose of washing away the debris of this collapse; the channels made for this purpose are called corrugi, a term derived I believe from coarivatio, a uniting of streams of water. This also involves a thousand tasks; the dip of the fall must be steep, to cause a rush rather than a flow of water, and consequently it is brought from very high altitudes. Gorges and crevasses are bridged by aqueducts carried on masonry; at other places impassable rocks are hewn away and compelled to provide a position for hollowed troughs of timber. The workman hewing the rock hangs suspended with ropes, so that spectators viewing the operations from a distance seem to see not so much a swarm of strange animals as a flight of birds. In the majority of cases they hang suspended in this way while taking the levels and marking out the lines for the route, and rivers are led by man's agency to run where there is no place for a man to plant his footsteps. It spoils the operation of washing if the current of the stream carries mud along with it: an earthy sediment of this kind is called urium. Consequently they guide the flow over flint stones and pebbles, and avoid urium. At the head of the waterfall on the brow of the mountains reservoirs are excavated measuring 200 ft. each way and 10 ft. deep. In these there are left five sluices with apertures measuring about a yard each way, in order that when the reservoir is full the stopping-barriers may be struck away and the torrent may burst out with such violence as to sweep forward the broken rock? There is also yet another task to perform on the level ground. Trenches are excavated for the water to flow throughthe Greek name for them means 'leads'; and these, which descend by steps, are floored with gorsethis is a plant resembling rosemary, which is rough and holds back the gold. The sides are closed in with planks, and the channels are carried on arches over steep pitches. Thus the earth carried along in the stream slides down into the sea and the shattered mountain is washed away; and by this time the land of Spain owing to these causes has encroached a long way into the sea. The material drawn out at such enormous labour in the former kind of mining is in this latter process washed out, so as not to fill up the shafts. The gold obtained by means of an arrugia does not have to be melted, but is pure gold straight away. In this process nuggets are found and also in the shafts, even weighing more than ten pounds. They are called palagae or else palacurnae, and also the gold in very small grains baluce. The gorse is dried and burnt and its ash is washed on a bed of grassy turf so that the gold is deposited on it. According to some accounts Asturia and Callaecia and Lusitania produce in this way 20,000 lbs. weight of gold a year, Asturia supplying the largest amount. Nor has there been in any other part of the world such a continuous production of gold for so many centuries. We have stated that by an old prohibiting decree of the senate Italy is protected from exploitation; otherwise no country would have been more productive in metals, as well as in crops. There is extant a ruling of the censors relating to the gold mines of Victumulae in the territory of Vercellae which prohibited the farmers of public revenues from having more than 5000 men engaged in the work.

22. There is moreover one method of making gold out of orpiment which is dug up in Syria for use by painters; it is found on the surface of the earth, and is of a gold colour, but is easily broken, like looking-glass stone. Hopes inspired by it had attracted the Emperor Gaius Caligula, who was [AD. 37-41] extremely covetous for gold, and who consequently gave orders for a great weight of it to be smelted; and as a matter of fact it did produce excellent gold, but so small a weight of it that he found himself a loser by his experiment that was prompted by avarice, although orpiment sold for 4 denarii a pound; and no one afterwards has repeated the experiment.

23. All gold contains silver in various proportions, a tenth part in some cases, an eighth in others. In one mine only, that of Callaecia called the Albnerara mine, the proportion of silver found is one thirty-sixth, and consequently this one is more valuable than all the others. Wherever the proportion of silver is one-fifth, the ore is called electrum; grains of this are found in 'channelled' gold. An artificial electrum is also made by adding silver to gold. If the proportion of silver exceeds one-fifth, the metal produced offers no resistance on the anvil. Electrum also held a high position in old times, as is evidenced by Homer who represents the palace of Menelaus as resplendent with gold, electrum, silver and ivory. There is a temple of Athena at Lindus of the island of Rhodes in which there is a goblet made of electrum, dedicated by Helen; history further relates that it has the same measurement as her breast. A quality of electrum is that it shines more brightly than silver in lamplight. Natural electrum also has the property of detecting poisons; for semicircles resembling rainbows run over the surface in poisoned goblets and emit a crackling noise like fire, and so advertise the presence of poison in a twofold manner.

24. The first gold statue of all that was made of solid metal and even before any was made of bronze, of the kind called 'made of solid beaten metal,' is said to have been erected in the temple of Anaitis, in the region of the earth where we have designated this name, that goddess' deity being held in the highest reverence by those races. This statue was taken as booty during the campaigns of [c. 36 B.C.] Antonius in Parthia, and a story is told of a witty saying of one of the veterans of our army who was being entertained as a guest at dinner by his late lamented Majesty Augustus at Bologna. He was asked whether it was true that the man who was the first to commit this sacrilege against that deity was struck blind and paralysed and so expired. His answer was that the emperor was at that very moment eating his dinner off one of the goddess's legs, and that he himself was the perpetrator of the sacrilege and owed his entire fortune to that piece of plunder. The first solid gold statue of a human being was one of himself set up by Gorgias of Leontini in the temple at Delphi about the 70th Olympiad. So great were the profits to be made by teaching the art of oratory!

25. Gold is efficacious as a remedy in a variety of ways, and is used as an amulet for wounded people and for infants to render less harmful poisonous charms that may be directed against them. Gold has itself however a maleficent effect if carried over the head, in the case of chickens and the young of cattle as well as human beings. As a remedy it is smeared on, then washed off and sprinkled on the persons you wish to cure. Gold is also heated with twice its weight of salt and three times its weight of copper pyrites, and again with two portions of salt and one of the stone called splittable. Treated in this way it draws poison out, when the other substances have been burnt up with it in an earthenware crucible while it remains pure and uncorrupted itself. The ash remaining is kept in an earthenware jar, and eruptions on the face may well be cleansed away by being smeared with this lotion from the jar. It also cures fistulas and what are called haemorrhoids. With the addition of ground pumice-stone it relieves putrid and foul-smelling ulcers, while boiled down in honey and git, and applied as a liniment to the navel it acts as a gentle aperient. According to Marcus Varro gold is a cure for warts.

26. Gold-solder is a liquid found in the shafts we spoke of, flowing down along a vein of gold, solder. with a slime that is solidified by the cold of winter even to the hardness of pumice-stone. A more highly spoken of variety of the same metal has been ascertained to be formed in copper mines, and the next best in silver-mines. A less valuable sort also with an element of gold is also found in lead mines. In all these mines however an artificial variety is produced that is much inferior to the natural kind referred to; the method is to introduce a gentle flow of water into the vein all winter and go on till the beginning of June and then to dry it off in June and July, clearly showing that gold-solder is nothing else than the putrefaction of a vein of metal. Natural gold-solder, known as 'grape,' differs very greatly from the artificial in hardness, and nevertheless it also takes a dye from the plant called yellow-weed. It is of a substance that absorbs moisture, like flax or wool. It is pounded in a mortar and then passed through a fine sieve, and afterwards milled and then sifted again with a finer sieve, everything that does not pass through the sieve being again treated in the mortar and then milled again. The powder is all along separated off into bowls and steeped in vinegar so as to dissolve all hardness, and then is pounded again and then rinsed in shells and left to dry. Then it is dyed by means of splittable alum and the plant above mentioned and so given a colour before it serves as a colour itself. It is important how absorbent it is and ready to take the dye; for if it does not at once catch the colour, scytanum and turbistum must be added as wellthose being the names of two drugs producing absorption.

27. When painters have dyed gold-solder, they call it orobitis, vetch-like, and distinguish two kinds, the purified which is kept for a cosmetic, and the liquid, in which the little balls are made into a paste with a liquid. Both of these kinds are made in Cyprus, but the most highly valued is in Armenia and the second best in Macedonia, while the greatest quantity is produced in Spain, the highest recommendation in the latter being the quality of reproducing as closely as possible the colour in a bright green blade of corn. We have before now seen at the shows given by the emperor Nero the sand of the circus sprinkled with gold-solder when the emperor in person was going to give an exhibition of chariot-driving wearing a coat of that colour. The unlearned multitude of artisans distinguish three varieties of the substance, the rough, which is valued at 7 denarii a pound, the middling, which is 5 denarii, and the crushed, also called the grass-green kind, 3 denarii. Before applying the sandy variety they put on a preliminary coating of black dye and pure white chalk: these serve to hold the gold-solder and give a softness of colour. As the pure chalk is of a very unctuous consistency and extremely tenacious owing to its smoothness, it is sprinkled with a coat of black, to prevent the extreme whiteness of the chalk from imparting a pale hue to the gold-solder. The yellow gold-solder is thought to derive its name from the plant yellow-weed, which is itself often pounded up with steel-blue and applied for painting instead of' gold-solder, making a very inferior and counterfeit kind of colour.

28. Gold-solder is also used in medicine, mixed with wax and olive oil, for cleansing wounds; likewise applied dry by itself it dries wounds and draws them together. It is also given in cases of quinsy or asthma, to be taken as an electuary with honey. It acts as an emetic, and also is used as an ingredient in salves for sores in the eyes and in green plasters for relieving pains, and drawing together scars. This kind of gold-solder is called by medical men remedial solder, and is not the same as orobitis.

29. The goldsmiths also use a special gold-solder of their own for soldering gold, and according to them it is from this that all the other substances with a similar green colour take the name. The mixture is made with Cyprian copper verdigris and the urine of a boy who has not reached puberty with the addition of soda; this is ground with a pestle made of Cvprian copper in mortars of the same metal, and the Latin name for the mixture is santerna. It is in this way used in soldering the gold called silvery-gold; a sign of its having been so treated is if the application of borax gives it brilliance. On the other hand coppery gold shrinks in size and becomes dull, and is difficult to solder; for this purpose a solder is made by adding some gold and one seventh as much silver to the materials above specified, and grinding them up together.

30. While speaking of this it will be well to annex the remaining particulars, so as to occasion all-round admiration for Nature. The proper solder for gold is the one described; for iron, potter's clay; for copper in masses, cadmea; for copper in sheets, alum; for lead and marble, resin. Black lead, however, is joined by means of white lead, and white lead to white lead by using oil; stagnum likewise with copper filings, and silver with stagnnm. For smelting copper and iron pine-wood makes the best fuel, though Egyptian papyrus can also be used; gold is best smelted with a fire made of chaff. Water sets fire to quicklime and Thracian stone, and olive-oil puts it out; fire however is most readily quenched by vinegar, mistletoe and eggs. Earth it is quite impossible to ignite, but charcoal gives a more powerful heat if it is burned till it goes out and then catches fire again.

31. After these details let us speak about the varieties of silver ore, the next madness of mankind. Silver is only found in deep shafts, and raises no hopes of its existence by any signs, giving off no shining sparkles such as are seen in the case of gold.

The ore is sometimes red, sometimes ash-coloured. It cannot be smelted except when combined with lead or with the vein of lead, called galena, lead ore, which is usually found running near veins of silver ore. Also when submitted to the same process of firing, part of the ore precipitates as lead while the silver floats on the surface, like oil on water.

Silver is found in almost all the provinces, but the finest is in Spain, where it, as well as gold, occurs in sterile ground and even in the mountains; and wherever one vein is found another is afterwards found not far away. This indeed also occurs in the ease of almost every metal, and accounts it seems for the word metals used by the Greeks. It is a remarkable fact that the shafts initiated by Hannibal all over the Spanish provinces are still in existence; they are named from the persons who discovered them; one of these mines, now called after Baebcio, furnished Hannibal with 300 pounds weight of silver a day, the tunnelling having been carried a mile and a half into the mountain. Along the whole of this distance watermen are posted who all night and day in spells measured by lanterns bale out the water and make a stream. The vein of silver nearest the surface is called the 'raw.' In early days the excavations used to stop when they found alum, and no further search made; but recently the discovery of a vein of copper under the alum has removed all limit to men's hopes. The exhalations from silver mines are dangerous to all animals, but specially to dogs. Gold and silver are more beautiful the softer they are. It surprises most people that silver traces black lines.

32. There is also a mineral found in these veins of silver which contains a humour, in round drops, that is always liquid, and is called quicksilver. It acts as a poison on everything, and breaks vessels by penetrating them with malignant corruption. All substances float on its surface except gold, which is the only thing that it attracts to itself; consequently it is also excellent for refining gold, as if it is briskly shaken in earthen vessels it rejects all the impurities contained in it. When these blemishes have been thus expelled, to separate the quicksilver itself from the gold it is poured out on to hides that have been well dressed, and exudes through them like a kind of perspiration and leaves the gold behind in a pure state. Consequently when also things made of copper

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are gilded, a coat of quicksilver is applied underneath the gold leaf and keeps it in its place with the greatest tenacity: hut if the gold-leaf is put on in one layer or is very thin it reveals the quicksilver by its pale colour. Consequently persons intending this fraud adulterated the quicksilver used for this purpose with white of egg; and later they falsified also hydrargyrum or artificial quicksilver, which we shall speak about in its proper place. Otherwise quicksilver is not to be found in any large quantity.

33. In the same mines as silver there is found what is properly to be described as a stone, made of white and shiny but not transparent froth; several names are used for it, stirni, stibi, alabastrum and sometimes larbasis. It is of two kinds, male and female. The female variety is preferred, the male being more uneven and rougher to the touch, as well as lighter in weight, not so brilliant, and more gritty; the female on the contrary is bright and friable and splits in thin layers and not in globules.

34. Antimony has astringent and cooling properties, but it is chiefly used for the eyes, since this is why even a majority of people have given it a Greek name meaning 'wide-eye,' because in beauty-washes for women's eyebrows it has the property of magnifying the eyes. Made into a powder with powdered frankincense and an admixture of gum it checks fluxes and ulcerations of the eyes. It also arrests discharge of blood from the brain, and is also extremely effective with a sprinkling of its powder against new wounds and old dog-bites and against burns if mixed with fat and litharge of silver, or lead acetate and wax. It is prepared by being smeared round with lumps of ox and burnt in ovens, and then cooled down with women's milk and mixed with rain water and pounded in mortars. And next the turbid part is poured off into a copper vessel after being purified with soda. The lees are recognized by being full of lead, and they settle to the bottom of the mortars and art thrown away. Then the vessel into which the turbid part was poured off is covered with a cloth and left for a night, and the next day anything floating on the surface is poured off or removed with a sponge. The sediment on the bottom is considered the choicest part and is covered with a linen cloth and put to dry in the sun but not allowed to become very dry, and is ground up a second time in the mortar and divided into small tablets. But it is above all essential to limit the amount of heat applied to it, so that it may not be turned into lead. Some people do not employ dung in boiling it but fat. Others pound it in water and strain it through three thicknesses of linen cloth and throw away the dregs, and pour off the liquor that comes through, collecting all the deposit at the bottom, and this they use as an ingredient in plasters and eyewashes.

35. The slag in silver is called by the Greeks the 'draw-off.' It has an astringent and cooling effect on the body, and like sulphuret of lead, of which we shall speak in dealing with lead, it has healing properties as an ingredient in plasters, being extremely effective in causing wounds to close-up, and when injected by means of syringes, together with myrtle-oil, as a remedy for straining of the bowels and dysentery. It is also used as an ingredient in the remedies called emollient plasters used for proud flesh of gathering sores, or sores caused by chafing or running ulcers on the head.

The same mines also produce the mineral called scum of silver. Of this there are three kinds, with Greek names meaning respectively golden, silvery and leaden; and for the most part all these colours are found in the same ingots. The Attic kind is the most approved, next the Spanish. The golden scum is obtained from the actual vein, the silvery from silver, and the leaden from smelting the actual lead, which is done at Pozzuoli, from which place it takes its name. Each kind however is made by heating its raw material till it melts, when it flows down from an upper vessel into a lower one and is lifted out of that with small iron spits and then twisted round on a spit in the actual flame, in order to make it of moderate weight. Really, as may be inferred from its name, it is the scum of a substance in a state of fusion and in process of production. It differs from dross in the way in which the scum of a liquid may differ from the lees, one being a blemish excreted by the material when purifying itself and the other a blemish in the metal when purified. Some people make two classes of scum of silver which they call 'scirerytis' and 'peumene,' and a third, leaden scum which we shall speak of under the head of lead.

To make the scum available for use it is boiled a second time after the ingots have been broken up into pieces the size of finger-rings. Thus after being heated up with the bellows to separate the cinders and ashes from it it is washed with vinegar or wine, and cooled down in the process. In the case of the silvery kind, in order to give it brilliance the instructions are to break it into pieces the size of a bean and boil it in water in an earthenware pot with the addition of wheat and barley wrapped in new linen cloths, until the silvery scum is cleaned of impurities. Afterwards they grind it in mortars for six days, three times daily washing it with cold water and, when they have ceased operations, with hot, and adding salt from a salt-mine, an obol weight to a pound of scum. Then on the last day they store it in a lead vessel. Some boil it with white beans and pearl-barley and dry it in the sun, and others boil it with beans in a white woollen cloth till it ceases to discolour the wool; and then they add salt from a salt-mine, changing the water from time to time, and put it out to dry on the 40 hottest days of summer. They also boil it in a sow's paunch in water, and when they take it out rub it with soda, and grind it in mortars with salt as above. In some cases people do not boil it but grind it up with salt and then add water and rinse it. It is used to make an eyewash and for women's skins to remove ugly scars and spots and as a hair-wash. Its effect is to dry, to soften, to cool, to act as a gentle purge, to fill up cavities caused by ulcers, and to soften tumours; it is used as an ingredient in plasters serving these purposes, and for the emollient plasters mentioned above. Mixed with rue and myrtle and vinegar, it also removes erysipelas, and likewise chilblains if mixed with myrtle and wax.

36. Minium or cinnabar also is found in silver mines; it is of great importance among pigments at the present day, and also in old times it not only had the highest importance but even sacred associations among the Romans. Verrius gives a list of writers of unquestionable authority who say that on holidays it was the custom for the face of the statue of Jupiter himself to be coloured with cinnabar. as well as the bodies of persons going in a triumphal procession, and that Camillus was so coloured in his triumph, and that under the same ritual it was usual even in their day for cinnabar to be added to the unguents used at a banquet in honour of a triumph, and that one of the first duties of the Censors was to place a contract for painting Jupiter with cinnabar. For my own part I am quite at a loss to explain the origin of this custom, although at the present day the pigment in question is known to be in demand among the nations of Ethiopia whose chiefs colour themselves all over with it, and with whom the statues of the gods are of that colour. On that account we will investigate all the facts concerning it more carefully.

37. Theophrastus states that cinnabar was discovered by an Athenian named Callias, 90 years before the archonship of Praxibulus at [405 B.C.] Athensthis date works out at the 349th year of our city, and that Callias was hoping that gold could by firing be extracted from the red sand found in silver mines; and that this was the origin of cinnabar, although cinnabar was being found even at that time in Spain, but a hard and sandy kind, and likewise in the country of the Colchi on a certain inaccessible rock from which the natives dislodged it by shooting javelins, but that this is cinnabar of an impure quality whereas the best is found in the Cilbian territory beyond Ephesus, where the sand is of the scarlet colour of the kermes-insect; and that this is ground up and then the powder is washed and the sediment that sinks to the bottom is washed again; and that there is a difference of skill, some people producing cinnabar at the first washing while with others this is rather weak and the product of the second washing is the best.

38. I am not surprised that the colour had an important rank, for as far back as Trojan times red ochre was highly valued, as evidenced by Homer, who speaks of it as a distinguished colour for ships, although otherwise he rarely alludes to colours and paintings. The Greek name for it is 'miltos,' and they call minium 'cinnabar.' This gave rise to a mistake owing to the name 'Indian cinnabar,' for that is the name the Greeks give to the gore of a snake crushed by the weight of dying elephants, when the blood of each animal gets mixed together, as we have said; and there is no other colour that properly represents blood in a picture. That kind of cinnabar is extremely useful for antidotes and medicaments. But our doctors, I swear, because they give the name of cinnabar to minium also, employ this minium, which as we shall soon show is a poison.

39. In old times 'dragon's-blood' cinnabar was used for painting the pictures that are still called monochromes, 'in one colour.' Cinnabar from Ephesus was also used for painting, but this has been given up because pictures in that colour were a great amount of trouble to preserve. Moreover both colours were thought excessively harsh; consequently painters have gone over to red-ochre and Sinopic ochre, pigments about which I shall speak in the proper places. Cinnabar is adulterated with goat's blood or with crushed service-berries. The price of genuine cinnabar is 50 sesterces a pound.

40. Juba reports that cinnabar is also produced in Carmania, and Timagenes says it is found in Ethiopia as well, but from neither place is it exported to us, and from hardly any other either except from Spain, the most famous cinnabar mine for the revenues of the Roman nation being that of Almaden in the Baetic region, no item being more carefully safeguarded: it is not allowed to smelt and refine the ore upon the spot, but as much as about 2000 lbs. per annum is delivered to Rome in the crude state under seal, and is purified at Rome, the price in selling it being fixed by law established at 70 sesterces a pound, to prevent its going beyond limit. But it is adulterated in many ways, which is a source of plunder for the company. For there is in fact another kind a of minium, found in almost all silver-mines, and likewise lead-mines, which is made by smelting a stone that has veins of metal running through it, and not obtained from the stone the round drops of which we have designated quicksilverfor that stone also if fired yields quicksilverbut from other stones found at the same time. These have no quicksilver and are detected only by their leaden colour, and only when they turn red in the furnaces, and after being thoroughly smelted they are pulverized by hammering. This gives a minium of second rate quality, which is known to very few people, and is much inferior to the natural sands we have mentioned. It is this then that is used for adulterating real minium in the factories of the company, but a cheaper kind is adulterated with Syrian: the preparation of the latter will be described in the proper place; but the process of giving cinnabar and red-lead a treatment of Syrian is detected by calculation when the one is weighed against the other. Cinnabar also, with red-lead, affords an opportunity for pilfering by painters in another way, if they wash out their brushes immediately when full of paint; the cinnabar or the red-lead settles at the bottom of the water and stays there for the pilferers. Pure cinnabar ought to have the brilliant colour of the scarlet kermes-insect, while the shine of that of the second quality when used on wall-paintings is affected by rust, although this is itself a sort of metallic rust. In the cinnabar mines of Almaden the vein of sand is pure, without silver. It is melted like gold; it is assayed by means of gold made red hot, as if it has been adulterated it turns black, but if genuine it keeps its colour. I find that it is also adulterated with lime, and this can be detected in a similar way with a sheet of red-hot iron if there is no gold available. A surface painted with cinnabar is damaged by the action of sunlight and moonlight. The way to prevent this is to let the wall dry and then to coat it with Punic wax melted with olive oil and applied by means of brushes of bristles while it is still hot, and then this wax coating must be again heated by bringing near to it burning charcoal made of plant-galls, till it exudes drops of perspiration, and afterwards smoothed down with waxed rollers and then with clean linen cloths, in the way in which marble is given a shine. Persons polishing cinnabar in workshops tie on their face loose masks of bladder-skin, to prevent their inhaling the dust in breathing, which is very pernicious, and nevertheless to allow them to see over the bladders. Cinnabar is also used in writing books, and it makes a brighter lettering for inscriptions on a wall or on marble even in tombs.

41. Of secondary importance a is the fact that experience has also discovered a way of getting hydrargyrum or artificial quicksilver as a substitute for real quicksilver; we postponed the description of this a little previously. It is made in two ways, not by pounding red-lead in vinegar with a copper pestle in a copper mortar, or it is put in an iron shell in flat earthenware pans, and covered with a convex lid smeared on with clay, and then a fire is lit under the pans and kept constantly burning by means of bellows, and so the surface moisture (with the colour of silver and the fluidity of water) which forms on the lid is wiped off it. This moisture is also easily divided into drops and rains down freely with slippery fluidity. And as cinnabar and red-lead are admitted to be poisons, all the current instructions on the subject of its employment for medicinal purposes are in my opinion decidedly risky, except perhaps that its application to the head or stomach arrests haemorrhage, provided that it does not find access to the vital organs or come in contact with a lesion. In any other way for my own part I would not recommend its employment.

42. At the present time silver is almost the only substance that is gilded with artificial quicksilver, though really a similar method ought to be used in coating copper. But the same fraudulence which is so extremely ingenious in every department of life has devised an inferior material, as we have shown.

43. With the mention of gold and silver goes a description of the stone called the touch stone, formerly according to Theophrastus not usually found anywhere but in the river Tmolus, but now found in various places. Some people call it Heraclian stone and others Lydian. The pieces are of a moderate size, not exceeding four inches in length and two in breadth. The part of these pieces that has been exposed to the sun is better than the part on the ground. When experts using this touchstone, like a file, have taken with it a scraping from an ore, they can say at once how much gold it contains and how much silver or copper, to a difference of a scruple, their marvellous calculation not leading them astray.

44. There are two points in which silver shows a variation. A shaving that remains perfectly white when placed on white-hot iron shovels is passed as good, while if it turns red it is of the next quality, and if black it has no value at all. But fraud has found its way even into this test; if the shovels are kept in men's urine the silver shaving is stained by it during the process of being burnt, and counterfeits whiteness. There is also one way of testing polished silver in a man's breathif it at once forms surface moisture and dissipates the vapour.

45. It has been believed that only the best silver is capable of being beaten out into plates and producing an image. This was formerly a sound test, but nowadays this too is spoiled by fraud. Still, the property of reflecting images is marvellous; it

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is generally agreed that it takes place owing to the repercussion of the air which is thrown back into the eyes. In a similar way, owing to the same force, in employing a mirror if the thickness of the metal has been polished and beaten out into a slightly concave shape the size of the objects reflected is enormously magnified: such a difference does it make whether the surface welcomes the air in question or flings it back. Moreover bowls can be made of such a shape, with a number of looking-glasses so to speak beaten outward inside them, that if only a single person is looking into them a crowd of images is formed of the same number as the facets in question. Ingenuity even devises vessels that do conjuring tricks, for instance those deposited as votive offerings in the temple at Smyrna: this is brought about by the shape of the material, and it makes a very great difference whether the vessels are concave and shaped like a bowl or convex like a Thracian shield, whether their centre is recessed or projecting, whether the oval is horizontal or oblique, laid flat or placed upright, as the quality of the shape receiving the shadows twists them as they come: for in fact the image in a mirror is merely the shadow arranged by the brilliance of the material receiving it. And in order to complete the whole subject of mirrors in this place, the best of those known in old days were those made at Brindisi of a mixture of stagnum and copper. Silver mirrors have come to be preferred; they were first made by Pasiteles in the period of Pompey the Great. But it has recently come to be believed that a more reliable reflection is given by applying a layer of gold to the back of glass.

46. The people of Egypt stain their silver so as to see portraits of their god Anubis in their vessels; and they do not engrave but paint their silver. The use of that material thence passed over even to our triumphal statues, and, wonderful to relate, its price rises with the dimming of its brilliance. The method adopted is as follows: with the silver is mixed one third its amount of the very line Cyprus copper called chaplet-copper and the same amount of live sulphur as of silver, and then they are melted in an earthenware vessel smeared round with potter's clay; the heating goes on till the lids of the vessels open of theft own accord. Silver is also turned black by means of the yolk of a hardboiled egg, although the black can be rubbed off with vinegar and chalk.

The triumvir Antony alloyed the silver denarius with iron, and forgers put an alloy of copper in silver coins, while others also reduce the weight, the proper coinage being 84 denarii from a pound of silver. Consequently a method was devised of assaying the denarius, under a law that was so popular that the common people unanimously district by district voted statues to Marius Gratidianus. And it is a remarkable thing that in this alone among arts spurious methods are objects of study, and a sample of a forged denarius is carefully examined and the adulterated coin is bought for more than genuine ones.

47. In old days there was no number standing for more than 100,000, and accordingly even today we reckon by multiples of that number, using the expression times 'ten times one hundred thousand' or larger multiples. This was due to usury and to the introduction of coined money, and also on the same lines we still speak of money owed as 'somebody else's copper.' Afterwards 'Dives,' 'Rich,' became a family surname, though it must be stated that the man who first received this name ran through his creditors' money and went bankrupt. Afterwards Marcus Crassus, who was a member of the Rich family, used to say that nobody was a wealthy man except one who could maintain a legion of troops on his yearly income. He owned landed property worth two hundred million sesterces, being the richest Roman citizen after Sulla. Nor was he satisfied without getting possession of the whole of the Parthians' gold as well; and although it is true he was the first to win lasting reputation for wealthit is a pleasant task to stigmatize insatiable covetousness of that sortwe have known subsequently of many liberated slaves who have been wealthier, and three at the same time not long before our own days in the period of the emperor Claudius, namely Callistus, Pallas and Narcissus. And to omit these persons, as if they were still in sovereign power, there is Gaius Caecilius Isidorus, the freedman of Gaius Caecilius who in the consulship of Gaius Asinius Gallus and Gaius Marcius Censorinus executed a will dated January 27 in which he declared that in spite of heavy losses in the civil war he nevertheless left 4116 slaves, 3600 pairs of oxen, 257,000 head of other cattle, and 60 million sesterces in cash, and he gave instructions for 1,100,000 to be spent on his funeral. But let them amass uncountable riches, yet what fraction will they be of the riches of the Ptolemy who is recorded by Varro, at the time when Pompey was campaigning in the regions adjoining Judea, to have maintained 6000 horse at his own charges, to have given a lavish feast to a thousand guests, with 1,000 gold goblets, which were changed at every course; and then what fraction would his own estate have been (for I am not speaking about kings) of that of the Bithynian Pythes, who presented the famous gold plane tree and vine to King Darius, and gave a banquet to the forces of Xerxes, that is 788,000 men, with a promise of five months' pay and corn on condition that one at least of his five children when drawn for service should be left to cheer his old age? Also let anyone compare even Pythes himself with King Croesus! What madness it is (damn it all!), to covet a thing in our lifetime that has either fallen to the lot even of slaves or has reached no limit even in the desires of Kings!

48. The Roman nation began lavishing donations in the consulship of Spurius Postumius and Quintus Marcius: so abundant was money at that date that they contributed funds for Lucius Scipio to defray the cost of games which he celebrated. As for the national contribution of one-sixth of an its per head for the funeral of Menenius Agrippa, I should consider this as a mark of respect and also a measure rendered necessary by Agrippa's poverty, and not a matter of lavish generosity.

49. Fashions in silver plate undergo marvellous variations owing to the vagaries of human taste, no kind of workmanship remaining long in favour. At one time Furnian plate is in demand, at another Clodian, at another Gratianfor we make even the factories feel at home at our tablesat another time the demand is for embossed plate and rough surfaces, where the metal has been cut out along the painted lines of the designs, while now we even fit removable shelves on our sideboards to carry the viands, and other pieces of plate we decorate with filigree, so that the file may have wasted as much silver as possible. The orator Calvus complainingly cries that cooking-pots are made of silver; but it is we who invented decorating carriages with chased silver, and it was in our day that the emperor Nero's wife Poppaea had the idea of even having her favourite mules shod with gold.

50. The younger Africanus left his heir thirty-two pounds weight of silver, and the same person paraded 4370 pounds of silver in his triumphal procession after the conquest of Carthage. This was the amount of silver owned by the whole of Carthage, Rome's rival for the empire of the world, yet subsequently beaten in the show of plate on how many dinner-tables! Indeed after totally destroying Numantia the same Africanus at his triumph gave a largess of seven denarii a head to his troopswarriors not unworthy of such a general who were satisfied with that amount! His brother Allobrogicus was the first person who ever owned 1000 lbs. weight of silver, whereas Livius Drusus when tribune of the people had 10,000 lbs. For that an old warrior, honoured with a triumphal procession, incurred the notice of the censors for possessing ten pounds weight of silverthat nowadays seems legendary, and the same as to Catus Aelius's not accepting the silver plate presented to him by the envoys from Aetolia who during his consulship had found him eating his lunch off earthenware, and as to his never till the last day of his life having owned any other silver but the two bowls given to him by his wife's father Lucius Paulus in recognition of his valour at the time when King Perseus was conquered. We read that the Carthaginian ambassadors declared that no race of mankind lived on more amicable terms with one another than the Romans, inasmuch as in a round of banquets they had found the same service of plate in use at every house! But, good heavens, Pompeius Paulinus the son of a Knight of Rome at Aries and descended on his father's side from a tribe that went about clad in skins, to our knowledge had 12,000 lbs. weight of silver plate with him when on service with an army confronted by tribes of the greatest ferocity;

51. while we know that ladies' bedsteads have for a long time now been entirely covered with silver plating, and so for long have banqueting-couches also. It is recorded that Carvilius Pollio, Knight of Rome, was the first person who had silver put on these latter, though not so as to plate them all over or make them to the Delos pattern, but in the Carthaginian style. In this latter style he also had bedsteads made of gold, and not long afterwards silver bedsteads were made, in imitation of those of Delos. All this extravagance however was expiated by the civil war of Sulla.

52. In fact it was shortly before this period that silver dishes were made weighing a hundred pounds, and it is well-known that there were at that date over 150 of those at Rome, and that many people were sentenced to outlawry a because of them, by the intrigues of people who coveted them. History which has held vices such as these to be responsible for that civil war may blush with shame, but our generation has gone one better. Under the Emperor Claudius his slave Drusillanus, who bore [AD. 41-54] the name of Rotundus, the Emperor's steward of Nearer Spain, possessed a silver dish weighing 500 lbs., for the manufacture of which a workshop had first been specially built, and eight others of 250 lbs. went with it as side-dishes, so that how many of his fellow-slaves, I ask, were to bring them in or who were to dine off them? Cornelius Nepos records that before the victory won by Sulla there were only two silver dinner-couches at Rome, and that silver began to be used for decorating sideboards within his own recollection. And Fenestella who died towards the end of the principate of Tiberius says that tortoiseshell sideboards also came into fashion at that time, but a little before his day they had been solid round structures of wood, and not much larger than tables; but that even in his boyhood they began to be made square and of planks mortised together and veneered either with maple or citrus wood, while later silver was laid on at the corners and along the lines marking the joins, and when he was a young man they were called 'drums,' and then also the dishes for which the old name had been magides came to be called basins from their resemblance to the scales of a balance.

53. Yet it is not only for quantities of silver that there is such a rage among mankind but there is an almost more violent passion for works of fine handicraft; and this goes back a long time, so that we of today may excuse ourselves from blame.

Gaius Gracchus had some figures of dolphins for which he paid 5000 sesterees per pound, while the orator Lucius Crassus had a pair of chased goblets, [140-91 BC] the work of the artist Mentor, that cost 100,000; yet admittedly he was too ashamed ever to use them. It is known to us that he likewise owned some vessels that he bought for 6000 sesterces per pound. It was the conquest of Asia that first introduced luxury into Italy, inasmuch as Lucius Scipio carried in procession at his triumph 1400 lbs. of chased silverware and vessels of gold weighing 1500 lbs.: this was in the 565th year from the foundation of the city of Rome. But receiving Asia also as a gift [189 BC] dealt a much more serious blow to our morals, and the bequest of it that came to us on the death of King Attaius was more disadvantageous than the victory of Scipio. For on that occasion all scruples entirely disappeared in regard to buying these articles at the auctions of the king's effects at Romethe date was the 622nd year of the city, and in the interval of 57 years our community had learnt not merely to admire but also to covet foreign opulence; an impetus having also been given to manners by the enormous shock of the conquest of Achaia, that victory itself also having during this interval of time introduced the statues and pictures won in the 608th year of the city. That nothing might be lacking, luxury came into being simultaneously, with the downfall of Carthage, a fatal coincidence that gave us at one and the same time a taste for the vices and an opportunity for indulging in them. Some of the older generation also sought to gain esteem from these sources. It is recorded that Gaius Marius after his victory over the Cimbrians drank from Bacchic tankards, in imitation of Father Liberhe, the ploughman of Arpino who rose to the position of general from the ranks!

54. The view is held that the extension of the use of silver to statues was made in the case of statues of his late lamented Majesty Augustus, owing to the sycophancy of the period, but this is erroneous. We find that previously a silver statue of Pharnaces the First, King of Pontus, was carried in the triumphal procession of Pompey the Great, as well as one of Mithridates Eupator, and also chariots of gold and silver were used. Likewise silver has at some periods even supplanted gold, female luxury among the plebeians having its shoe buckles made of silver, as wearing gold buckles would be prohibited by the more common fashion. We have ourselves seen Arellius Fuscus (who was expelled from the Equestrian order on a singularly grave charge) wearing silver rings when he sought to acquire celebrity for his school for youths. But what is the point of collecting these instances, when our soldiers' sword hilts are made of chased silver, even ivory not being thought good enough; and when their scabbards jingle with little silver chains and their belts with silver tabs, nay nowadays our schools for pages lust at the point of adolescence wear silver badges as a safeguard, and women use silver to wash in and scorn sitting-baths not made of silver, and the same substance does service both for our viands and for our baser needs? If only Fabricius could see these displays of luxurywomen's bathrooms with floors of silver, leaving nowhere to set your feetand the women bathing in company with menif only Fabricius, who forbade gallant generals to possess more than a dish and a saltcellar of silver, could see how nowadays the rewards of valour are made from the utensils of luxury, or else are broken up to make them! Alas for our present mannersFabricius makes us blush!

55. It is a remarkable fact that the art of chasing gold has not brought celebrity to anyone, whereas persons celebrated for chasing silver are numerous. The most famous however is Mentor of whom we spoke above. Four pairs of goblets were all that he ever made, but it is said that none of them now survive, owing to the burning of the Temple of Artemis of Ephesus and of the Capitol. Varro says in his writings that he also possessed a bronze statue by this sculptor. Next to Mentor the artists most admired were Acragas, Boethus and Mys. Works by all of these exist at the present day in the island of Rhodesone by Boethus in the temple of Athena at Lindus, some goblets engraved with Centaurs and Bacchants by Acragas in the temple of Father Liber or Dionysus in Rhodes itself, goblets with Sileni and Cupids by Mys in the same temple. Hunting scenes by Acragas on goblets also had a great reputation. After these in celebrity is Calamis, and Diodorus who was said to have placed in a condition of heavy sleep rather than engraved on a bowl a Slumbering Satyr for Antipater. Next praise is awarded to Stratonicus of Cyxicus, Tauriscus, also Ariston and Eunicus of Mitylene, and Hecataeus, and, around the period of Pompey the Great, Pasiteles, Posidonius of Ephesus, Hedys, Thracides who engraved battle scenes and men in armour, and Zopyrus who

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engraved the Athenian Council of Areopagus and the Trial of Orestes on two goblets valued at 12,000 sesterees. There was also Pytheas, one of whose works sold at the price of 10,000 denarii for two ounces: it consisted of an embossed base of a bowl representing Odysseus and Diomede in the act of stealing the Palladium. The same artist also carved some very small drinking cups in the shape of cooks known as 'The Chefs in Miniature,' which it was not allowed even to reproduce by casts, so liable to damage was the fineness of the work. Also Teucer the artist in embossed work attained celebrity, and all of a sudden this art so declined that it is now only valued in old specimens, and authority attaches to engravings worn with use even if the very design is invisible.

Silver becomes tarnished by contact with water from springs containing minerals and by the salt breezes, as happens also even in the interior regions of Spain.

56. In gold and silver mines also are formed the pigments yellow ochre and blue. Yellow ochre is strictly speaking a slime. The best kind comes from what is called Attic slime; its price is two denarii a pound. The next best is marbled ochre, which costs half the price of Attic. The third kind is dark ochre, which other people call Scyric ochre, as it comes from the island of Scyros, and nowadays also from Achaia, which they use for the shadows of a painting, price two sesterces a pound, while that called clear ochre, coming from Gaul, costs two asses less. This and the Attic kind they use for painting different kinds of light, but only marbled ochre for squared panel designs, because the marble in it resists the acridity of the lime. This ochre is also dug up in the mountains 20 miles from Rome. It is afterwards burnt, and by some people it is adulterated and passed off as dark ochre; but the fact that it is not genuine and has been burnt is shown by its acridity and by its crumbling into dust.

The custom of using yellow ochre for painting was first introduced by Polygnotus and Micon, but they only used the kind from Attica. The following period employed this for representing lights but ochre from Scyros and Lydia for shadows. Lydian ochre used to be sold at Sardis, but now it has quite gone out.

57. The blue pigment is a sand. In old days there were three varieties: the Egyptian is thought most highly of; next the Scythian mixes easily with water, and changes into four colours when ground, lighter or darker and coarser or finer; to this blue the Cyprian is now preferred. To these were added the Pozzuoli blue, and the Spanish blue, when blue sand-deposits began to be worked in those places. Every kind however undergoes a dyeing process, being boiled with a special plant and absorbing its juice; but the remainder of the process of manufacture is the same as with gold-solder.

From blue is made the substance called blue wash, which is produced by washing and grinding it. Blue wash is of a paler colour than blue, and it costs 10 denarii per pound, while blue costs 5 denarii. Blue is used on a surface of clay, as it will not stand lime. A recent addition has been Vestorian blue, called after the man Vestorius who invented it; it is made from the finest part of Egyptian blue, and costs 11 denarii per pound. Pozzuoli blue is employed in the same way, and also near windows; it is called cyanos. Not long ago Indian blue or indigo began to be imported, its price being 7 denarii; painters use it for dividing-lines, that is, for separating shadows from light. There is also a blue wash of a very inferior kind, called ground blue, valued at 5 asses.

The test of genuine Indian blue is that when laid on burning coal it should blaze; it is adulterated by boiling dried violets in water and straining the liquor through linen on to Eretrian earth. Its use as a medicament is to clean out ulcers; consequently it is employed as an ingredient in plasters, and also in cauteries, but it is extremely difficult to pound up. Yellow ochre used as a drug has a gently mordant and astringent effect, and fills up ulcers. To make it beneficial it is burnt in earthenware vessels.

We are not unaware that the prices of articles which we have stated at various points differ in different places and alter nearly every year, according to the shipping costs or the terms on which a particular merchant has bought them, or as some dealer dominating the market may whip up the selling price; we have not forgotten that, under the emperor Nero, Demetrius was prosecuted before the [AD. 54-68] Consuls by the entire Seplasia. Nevertheless I have found it necessary to state the prices usual at Rome, in order to give an idea of a standard value of commodities.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 34

1. Let our next subject be ores, etc., of copper and bronze the metals which in point of utility have the next value; in fact Corinthian bronze is valued before silver and almost even before gold; and bronze is also the standard of payments in money as we have said: hence it is embodied in the terms denoting the pay of soldiers, the treasury paymasters and the public treasury, persons held in debt, and soldiers whose pay is stopped. We have pointed out for what a long time the Roman nation used no coinage except bronze; and by another fact antiquity shows that the importance of bronze is as old as the city: the fact that the third corporation established by King Numa was the Guild of Coppersmiths.

2. The method followed in mining deposits of copper and purifying the ore by firing is that which has been stated. The metal is also got from a coppery stone called by a Greek name cadmea, a kind in high repute coming from overseas and also formerly found in Campania and at the present day in the territory of Bergamo on the farthest confines of Italy; and it is also reported to have been recently found in the province of Germany. In Cyprus, where copper was first discovered, it is also obtained from another stone also, called chalcitis, copper ore; this was however afterwards of exceptionally low value when a better copper was found in other countries, and especially goldcopper, which long maintained an outstanding quality and popularity, but which for a long time now has not been found, the ground being exhausted. The next in quality was the Sallustius copper, occurring in the Alpine region of Haute Savoic, though this also only lasted a short time; and after it came the Livia copper in Gaul: each was named from the owners of the mines, the former from the friend of Augustus and the latter from his wife. Livia copper also quickly gave out: at all events it is found in very small quantity. The highest reputation has now gone to the Marius copper, also called Cordova copper; next to the Livia variety this kind most readily absorbs cadmea and reproduces the excellence of gold-copper in making sesterces and double-as pieces, the single as having to be content with its proper Cyprus copper. That is the extent of the high quality contained in natural bronze and copper.

3. The remaining kinds are made artificially, and will be described in their proper places, the most distinguished sorts being indicated first of all. Formerly copper used to be blended with a mixture of gold and silver, and nevertheless artistry was valued more highly than the metal; but nowadays it is a doubtful point whether the workmanship or the material is worse, and it is a surprising thing that, though the prices paid for these works of art have grown beyond all limit, the importance attached to this craftsmanship of working in metals has quite disappeared. For this, which formerly used to be practised for the sake of gloryconsequently it was even attributed to the workmanship of gods, and the leading men of all the nations used to seek for reputation by this method alsohas now, like everything else, begun to be practised for the sake of gain; and the method of casting costly works of art in bronze has so gone out that for a long time now not even luck in this matter has had the privilege of producing art.

Of the bronze which was renowned in early days, the Corinthian is the most highly praised. This is a compound that was produced by accident, when Corinth was burned at the time of its capture; and there has been a wonderful mania among many people for possessing this metalin fact it is recorded that Verres, whose conviction Marcus Cicero had procured, was, together with Cicero, proscribed by Antony for no other reason than because he had refused to give up to Antony some pieces of Corinthian ware; and to me the majority of these collectors seem only to make a pretence of being connoisseurs, so as to separate themselves from the multitude, rather than to have any exceptionally refined insight in this matter; and this I will briefly show. Corinth was taken in the third year of the 158th Olympiad, which was the 608th year [146 BC] of our city, when for ages there had no longer been any famous artists in metalwork; yet these persons designate all the specimens of their work as Corinthian bronzes. In order therefore to refute them we will state the periods to which these artists belong; of course it will be easy to turn the Olympiads into the years since the foundation of our city by referring to the two corresponding dates given above. The only genuine Corinthian vessels are then those which your connoisseurs sometimes convert into dishes for food and sometimes into lamps or even washing basins, without nice regard for decency. There are three kinds of this sort of bronze: a white variety, coming very near to silver in brilliance, in which the alloy of silver predominates; a second kind, in which the yellow quality of gold predominates, and a third kind in which all the metals were blended in equal proportions. Besides these there is another mixture the formula for which cannot be given, although it is man's handiwork; but the bronze valued in portrait statues and others for its peculiar colour, approaching the appearance of liver and consequently called by a Greek name 'hepatizon' meaning 'liverish,' is a blend produced by luck; it is far behind the Corinthian blend, yet a long way in front of the bronze of Acgina and that of Delos which long held the first rank.

4. The Delian bronze was the earliest to become famous, the whole world thronging the markets in Delos; and hence the attention paid to the processes of making it. It was at Delos that bronze first came into prominence as a material used for the feet and framework of dining-couches, and later it came to be employed also for images of the gods and statues of men and other living things.

5. The next most famous bronze was the Aeginetan; and the island of Aegina itself became celebrated for it, though not because the metal copper was mined there but because of the compounding done in the workshops. A bronze ox looted from Aegina stands in the cattle-market at Rome, and will serve as a specimen of Aegina bronze, while that of Delos is seen in the Zeus or Jupiter in the temple a of Jupiter the Thunderer on the Capitol. Aegina bronze was used by Myron and that from Delos by Polyclitus, who were contemporaries and fellow-pupils; thus there was rivalry between them even in their choice of materials.

6. Aegina specialized in producing only the upper parts of chandeliers, and similarly Taranto made only the stems, and consequently credit for manufacture is, in the matter of these articles, shared between these two localities. Nor are people ashamed to buy these at a price equal to the pay of a military tribune, although they clearly take even their name from the lighted candles they carry. At the sale of a chandelier of this sort by the instructions of the auctioneer (named Theon) selling it there was thrown in as part of the bargain the fuller Clesippus a humpback and also of a hideous appearance in other respects besides, the lot being bought by a woman named Gegania for 50,000 sesterces. This woman gave a party to show off her purchases, and for the mockery of the guests the man appeared with no clothes on: his mistress conceiving an outrageous passion for him admitted him to her bed and later gave him a place in her will. Thus becoming excessively rich he worshipped the lamp-stand in question as a divinity and so caused this story to be attached to Corinthian lampstands in general, though the claims of morality were vindicated by his erecting a noble tombstone to perpetuate throughout the living world for all time the memory of Gegania's shame. But although it is admitted that there are no lampstands made of Corintlnan metal, yet this name specially is commonly attached to them, because although Mummius's victory destroyed Corinth, it caused the dispersal of bronzes from a number of the towns of Achaia at the same time.

7. In early times the lintels and folding doors of temples as well were commonly made of bronze. I find that also Gnaeus Octavius, who was granted a triumph after a sea-fight against King Perseus, constructed the double colonnade at the Flaminian circus which owing to the bronze capitals of its columns has received the name of the Corinthian portico, and that a resolution was passed that even the temple of Vests should have its roof covered with an outer coating of Syracusan metal. The capitals of the pillars in the Pantheon which were put up by Marcus [21 B.C.] Agrippa are of Syracusan metal. Moreover even private opulence has been employed in similar uses: one of the charges brought against Camillus [391 B.C.] by the quaestor Spurius Carvilius was that in his house he had doors covered with bronze.

8. Again, according to Lucius Piso dinner-couches and panelled sideboards and one-leg tables decorated with bronze were first introduced by Gnaeus Manlius at the triumph which he celebrated [187 B.C.] in the 567th year of the city after the conquest of Asia; and as a matter of fact Antias states that the heirs of Lucius Crassus the orator also sold a number of dinner couches decorated with bronze. It was even customary for bronze to be used for making the cauldrons on tripods called Delphic cauldrons because they used to be chiefly dedicated as gifts to Apollo of Delphi; also lamp-holders were popular suspended from the ceiling, in temples or with their lights arranged to look like apples hanging on trees, like the specimen in the temple of Apollo of the Palatine which had been part of the booty taken by Alexander the Great at the storming of Thebes and dedicated by him to the same deity at Cyme.

9. But after a time this art in all places came to be usually devoted to statues of gods. I find that the first image of a god made of bronze at Rome was that dedicated to Ceres and paid for out of the property of Spurius Cassius who was put to death [485 BC] by his own father when trying to make himself king. The practice passed over from the gods to statues and representations of human beings also, in various forms. In early days people used to stain statues with bitumen, which makes it the more remarkable that they afterwards became fond of covering them with gold. This was perhaps a Roman invention, but it certainly has a name of no long standing at Rome. It was not customary to make effigies of human beings unless they deserved lasting commemoration for some distinguished reason, in the first case victory in the sacred contests and particularly those at Olympia, where it was the custom to dedicate statues of all who had won a competition; these statues, in the case of those who had been victorious there three times, were modelled as exact personal likenesses of the winnerswhat are called iconicae, portrait statues. I rather believe that the first portrait statues officially erected at Athens were those of the tyrannicides Harmodius and Aristogeiton. This happened in the same year [510 BC] as that in which the Kings were also driven out at Rome. The practice of erecting statues from a most civilized sense of rivalry was afterwards taken up by the whole of the world, and the custom proceeded to arise of having statues adorning the public places of all municipal towns and of perpetuating the memory of human beings and of inscribing lists of honours on the bases to be read for all time, so that such records should not be read on their tombs only. Soon after a publicity centre was established even in private houses and in our own halls:

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the respect felt by clients inaugurated this method of doing honour to their patrons.

10. In old days the statues dedicated were simply clad in the toga. Also naked figures holding spears, made from models of Greek young men from the gymnasiumswhat are called figures of Achillesbecame popular. The Greek practice is to leave the figure entirely nude, whereas Roman and military statuary adds a breastplate: indeed the dictator Caesar gave permission for a statue wearing a cuirass to be erected in his honour in his Forum. As for the statues in the garb of the Luperci, they are modern innovations, lust as much as the portrait-statues dressed in cloaks that have recently appeared. Mancinus set up a statue of himself in the dress that he had worn when surrendered to the enemy. It has been remarked by writers that the poet Lucius Accius also set up a very tall statue of himself in the shrine of the Latin Muses, although he was a very short man. Assuredly equestrian statues are popular at Rome, the fashion for them having no doubt been derived from Greece; but the Greeks used only to erect statues of winners of races on horseback at their sacred contests, although subsequently they also erected statues of winners with two-horse or four-horse chariots; and this is the origin of our chariot-groups in honour of those who have celebrated a triumphal procession. But this belongs to a late date, and among those monuments it was not till the time of his late lamented Majesty Augustus that chariots with six horses occurred, and likewise elephants.

11. The custom of erecting memorial chariots with two horses in the case of those who held the office of praetor and had ridden round the Circus in a chariot is not an old one; that of statues on pillars is of earlier date, for instance the statue of honour of Gaius Maenius who had vanquished the Old Latins to whom the Roman nation gave by treaty a third part of the booty won from them. It was in the same consulship that the nation, after defeating the people of Antium, had fixed on the platform the beaked prows of ships taken in the victory over the people of Antium, in the 416th year of the city of Rome; and similarly the statue to Gaius Duillius, who was the first to obtain a naval triumph over the [260 BC] Carthaginiansthis statue still stands in the forum and likewise that in honour of the prefect of markets Lucius Minucius outside the Triplets Gate, defrayed by a tax of one-twelfth of an as per head. I rather think this was the first time that an honour of this nature came from the whole people; previously it had been bestowed by the senate: it would be a very distinguished honour had it not originated on such unimportant occasions. In fact also the statue of Attus Navius stood in front of the senate-housewhen the senate-house was set on fire at the funeral of Publius Clodius the base of the statue was burnt with it; and the statue of Hermodorus of Ephesus the interpreter of the laws drafted by the decemvirs, [451-450 BC] dedicated at the public cost, stood in the Assembly-place of Rome. There was different motive and another reasonan important onefor the statue of Marcus Horatius Codes, which has survived even to the present day; it was erected because he had single-handed barred the enemy's passage of the Bridge on Piles. Also, it does not at all surprise me that statues of the Sibyl stand near the Beaked Platform though there are three of themone restored by Sextus Pacuvius Taurus, aedile of the plebs, and two by Marcus Messalla. I should think these statues and that of Attus Navius, all erected in the period of Tarquinius Priscus, were the first, [616-579 BC] if it were not for the statues on the Capitol of the kings who reigned before him, among them the figures of Romulus and Tatius without the tunic, as also that of Camillus on the Beaked Platform. Also there was in front of the temple of the Castors an equestrian statue of Quintus Marcius Tremulus, wearing a toga; he had twice vanquished the Samnites, and by taking Anagni delivered the nation from payment of war-tax. Among the very old statues are also those at the Platform of Tullus Cloelius, Lucius Roscius, Spurius Nautius, and Gaius Pulcinius, all assassinated by the people of Fidenae when on an embassy to them. It was the custom for the state to confer this honour on those who had been wrongfully put to death, as among others Publius Junius and Titus Coruncanius, who had been killed by Teuta the Queen of the Illyrians. It would seem not to be proper to omit the fact noted by the annals that the statues of these persons, erected in the forum, were three feet in height, showing that this was the scale of these marks of honour in those days. I will not pass over the case of Gnaeus Oetavius also, because of a single word that occurs in a Decree of the Senate. When King Antiochus IV said he intended to answer him, Octavius with the stick he happened to be holding in his hand drew a line all round him and compelled him to give his answer before he stepped out of the circle. And as Octavius was killed while on this embassy, the senate ordered a statue to be erected to him 'in the spot most eyed' and that statue stands on the Platform. We also find that a decree was passed to erect a statue to a Vestal Virgin named Taracia Gaia or Fufetia 'to be placed where she wished,' an addition that is as great a compliment as the fact that a statue was decreed in honour of a woman. For the Vestal's merits I will quote the actual words of the Annals: 'because she had made a gratuitous present to the nation of the field by the Tiber.'

12. I also find that statues were erected to Pythagoras and to Alcibiades, in the corners of the Place of Assembly, when during one of our Samnite Wars Pythian Apollo had commanded the erection in some conspicuous position of an effigy of the bravest man of the Greek race, and likewise, one of the wisest man; these remained until Sulla the dictator made the Senate-house on the site. It is surprising that those illustrious senators of ours rated Pythagoras above Socrates, whom the same deity had put above all the rest of mankind in respect of wisdom, or rated Alcibiades above so many other men in manly virtue, or anybody above Themistocles for wisdom and manly virtue combined.

The purport of placing statues of men on columns was to elevate them above all other mortals; which is also the meaning conveyed by the new invention of arches. Nevertheless the honour originally began with the Greeks, and I do not think that any person ever had more statues erected to him than Demetrius of Phalerum had at Athens, inasmuch as they set up 360, at a period when the year did not yet exceed that number of days, statues however the Athenians soon shattered in pieces. At Rome also the tribes in all the districts set up statues to Marius Gratidianus, as we have stated, and likewise threw them down again at the entrance of Sulla.

13. Statues of persons on foot undoubtedly held the field at Rome for a long time; equestrian statues also however are of considerable antiquity, and this distinction was actually extended to women with the equestrian statue of Cloelia, as if it were not enough for her to be clad in a toga, although statues were not voted to Lucretia and Brutus, who had driven out the kings owing to whom Cloelia had been handed over with others as a hostage should have held the view that her statue and that of Codes were the first erected at the public expensefor it is probable that the monuments to Attus and the Sibyl were erected by Tarquin and those of the kings by themselveswere it not for the statement of Piso that the statue of Cloelia also was erected by the persons who had been hostages with her, when they were given back by Porsena, as a mark of honour to her; whereas on the other hand Annius Fetialis states that an equestrian figure which once stood opposite the temple of Jupiter Stator in the forecourt of Tarqninius Superbus's palace was the statue of Valeria, daughter of Publicola, the consul, and that she alone had escaped and had swum across the Tiber, the other hostages who were being sent to Porsena having been made away with by a stratagem of Tarquin.

14. Lucius Piso has recorded that, in the second consulship of Marcus Aemilius and Gaius Popilius, the censors Publius Cornelius Scipio and Marcus Popilius caused all the statues round the forum of men who had held office as magistrates to be removed excepting those that had been set up by a resolution of the people or the Senate, while the statue which Spurius Cassius, who had aspired to monarchy, had erected in his own honour before the temple of the Earth was actually melted down by cesisors: obviously the men of those days took precautions against ambition in the matter of statues also. Some declamatory utterances made by Cato during his censorship are extant protesting against the erection in the Roman provinces of statues to women; yet all the same he was powerless to prevent this being done at Rome also: for instance there is the statue of Cornelia the mother of the Graechi and daughter of the elder Scipio Africanus. This represents her in a sitting position and is remarkable because there are no straps to the shoes; it stood in the public colonnade of Metellus, but is now in Octavia's Buildings.

15. The first statue publicly erected at Rome by foreigners was that in honour of the tribune of the people Gaius Aelius, for having introduced a law against Sthennius Stallius the Lucanian who had twice made an attack upon Thuril; for this the inhabitants of that place presented Aelius with a statue and a crown of gold. The same people afterwards presented Fabricius with a statue for having rescued them from a state of siege; and various races successively in some such way placed themselves under Roman patronage, and all discrimination was so completely abrogated that even a statue of Hannibal may be seen in three places in the city within the walls of which he alone of its national foes had hurled a spear.

16. That the art of statuary was familiar to Italian Italy also and of long standing there is indicated by the statue of Hercules in the Cattle Market said to have been dedicated by Evander, which is called 'Hercules Triumphant,' and on the occasion of triumphal processions is arrayed in triumphal vestments; and also by the two-faced Janus, dedicated by King Numa, which is worshipped as indicating war and peace, the fingers of the statue being so arranged as to indicate the 355 days of the year, and to betoken that Janus is the god of the duration of time. Also there is no doubt that the so-called Tuscanic images scattered all over the world were regularly made in Etruria. I should have supposed these to have been statues of deities only, were it not that Metrodorus of Scepsis, who received his surname from his hatred of the very name of Rome, reproached us with having taken by storm the city of Volsinii for the sake of the 2000 statues which it contained. And it seems to me surprising that although the initiation of statuary in Italy dates so far back, the images of the gods dedicated in the shrines should have been more usually of wood or terracotta right down to the conquest of Asia which introduced luxury here. What was the first origin of representing likenesses in the round will be more suitably discussed when we are dealing with the art for which the Greek term is plastic, as that was earlier than the art of bronze statuary. But the latter has flourished to an extent passing all limit and offers a subject that would occupy many volumes if one wanted to give a rather extensive account of itfor as for a completely exhaustive account, who could achieve that?

17. In the aedileship of Marcus Scaurus there were 3000 statues on the stage in what was only a temporary theatre. Mummius after conquering Achaia filled the city with statues, though destined not to leave enough at his death to provide a dowry for his daughterfor why not mention this as well as the fact that excuses it? A great many were also imported by the Luculli. Yet it is stated by Mucianus who was three times consul that there are still 3000 statues at Rhodes, and no smaller number are believed still to exist at Athens, Olympia and Delphi. What mortal man could recapitulate them all, or what value can be felt in such information? Still it may give pleasure just to allude to the most remarkable and to name the artists of celebrity, though it would be impossible to enumerate the total number of the works of each, inasmuch as Lysippus is said to have executed 1500 works of art, all of them so skilful that each of them by itself might have made him famous; the number is said to have been discovered after his decease, when his heir broke open his coffers, it having been his practice to put aside a coin of the value of one gold denarius out of what he got as reward for his handicraft for each statue.

The art rose to incredible heights in success and afterwards in boldness of design. To prove its success I will adduce one instance, and that not of a representation of either a god or a man: our own generation saw on the Capitol, before it last went up in flames burnt at the hands of the adherents of Vitellius, in the shrine of Juno, a bronze figure of a hound licking its wound, the miraculous excellence and absolute truth to life of which is shown not only by the fact of its dedication in that place but also by the method taken for insuring it; for as no sum of money seemed to equal its value, the government enacted that its custodians should be answerable for its safety with their lives.

18. Of boldness of design the examples are innumerable. We see enormously huge statues devised, what are called Colossi, as large as towers. Such is the Apollo on the Capitol, brought over by Marcus Lucullus from Apollonia, a city of Pontus, 45 ft. high, which cost 500 talents to make; or the Jupiter which the Emperor Claudius dedicated in the Campus Martius, which is dwarfed by the proximity of the theatre of Pompey; or the 60 ft. high statue at Taranto made by Lysippus. The remarkable thing in the case of the last is that though it can be moved by the hand, it is so nicely balanced, so it is said, that it is not dislodged from its place by any storms. This indeed, it is said, the artist himself provided against by erecting a column a short distance from it to shelter it on the side where it was most necessary to break the force of the wind. Accordingly, because of its size, and the difficulty of moving it with great labour, Fabius Verrucosus left it alone when he transferred the Heracles from that place to the Capitol where it now stands. But calling for admiration before all others was the colossal Statue of the Sun at Rhodes made by Chares of Lindus, the pupil of Lysippus mentioned above. This statue was 105 ft. high; and, 66 years after its erection, was overthrown by an earthquake, but even lying on the ground it is a marvel. Few people can make their arms meet round the thumb of the figure, and the fingers are larger than most statues; and where the limbs have been broken off enormous cavities yawn, while inside are seen great masses of rock with the weight of which the artist steadied it when he erected it. It is recorded that it took twelve years to complete and cost 300 talents, money realized from the engines of war belonging to King Demetrius which he had abandoned when he got tired of the protracted siege of Rhodes. There are a hundred other colossal statues in the same city, which though smaller than this one would have each of them brought fame to any place where it might have stood alone; and besides these there were five colossal statues of gods, made by Bryaxis.

Italy also was fond of making colossal statues. At all events we see the Tuscanic Apollo in the library of the Temple of Augustus, 50 ft. in height measuring from the toe; and it is a question whether it is more remarkable for the quality of the bronze a or for the beauty of the work. Spurius Carvilius also made the Jupiter that stands in the Capitol, after defeating the Samnites in the war which they fought under a most solemn oath; the metal was obtained from their breastplates, greaves and helmets, and the size of the figure is so great that it can be seen from the temple of Jupiter Latiaris. Out of the bronze filings left over Carvilius made the statue of himself that stands at the feet of the statue of Jupiter. The Capitol also

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contains two much admired heads dedicated by the consul Publius Lentulus, one made by Chares above-mentioned and the other by Prodicus, who is so outdone by comparison as to seem the poorest of artists. But all the gigantic statues of this class have been beaten in our period by Zenodorus with the Hermes or Mercury which he made in the community of the Arverni in Gaul; it took him ten years and the sum paid for its making was 40,000,000 sesterces. Having given sufficient proof of his artistic skill in Gaul he was summoned to Rome by Nero, and there made the colossal statue, 106 ft. high, intended to represent that emperor but now, dedicated to the sun after the condemnation of that emperor's crimes, it is an object of awe. In his studio we used not only to admire the remarkable likeness of the clay model but also to marvel at the frame of quite small timbers which constituted the first stage of the work put in hand. This statue has shown that skill in bronze-founding has perished, since Nero was quite ready to provide gold and silver, and also Zenodorus was counted inferior to none of the artists of old in his knowledge of modelling and chasing. When he was making the statue for the Arverni, when the governor of the province was Dubius Avitus, he produced facsimiles of two chased cups, the handiwork of Calamis, which Germanicus Caesar had prized highly and had presented to his tutor Cassius Salanus, Avitus's uncle; the copies were so skilfully made that there was scarcely any difference in artistry between them and the originals. The greater was the eminence of Zenodorus, the more we realize how the art of working bronze has deteriorated.

Owners of the figurines called Corinthian are usually so enamoured of them that they carry them about with them; for instance the orator Hortensius was never parted from the sphinx which he had got out of Verres when on trial; this explains Cicero's retort when Hortensius in the course of an altercation at the trial in question said he was not good at riddles. 'You ought to be,' said Cicero, 'as you keep a figurine in your pocket.' The emperor Nero also used to carry about with him an Amazon which we shall describe later, and a little before Nero, the ex-consul Gaius Cestius used to go about with a sphinx, which he had with him even on the battlefield. It is also said that the tent of Alexander the Great was regularly erected with four statues as tent-poles, two of which have now been dedicated to stand in front of the temple of Mars the Avenger and two in front of the Royal Palace.

19. An almost innumerable multitude of artists have been rendered famous by statues and figures of smaller size; but before them all stands the Athenian Pheidias, celebrated for the statue of Olympian Zeus, which in fact was made of ivory and gold, although he also made figures of bronze. He flourished in the 83rd Olympiad, about the 300th year of our city, at which same period his rivals were Alcamenes, Critias, Nesiotes and Hegias; and later, in the 87th Olympiad there were Hagelades, Callon and the Spartan Gorgias, and again in the 90th Olympiad Polycleitus, Phradmon, Myron, Pythagoras, Scopas and Perellus. Of these Polycleitus had as pupils Argius, Asopodorus, Alexis, Aristides, Phryno, Dino, Athenodorus, and Demeas of Clitor; and Myron had Lycius. In the 95th Olympiad flourished Naucydes, Dinomenes, Canachus and Patroclus; and in the 102nd Polycles, Cephisodotus, Leochares and Hypatodorus; in the 104th. Praxiteles and Euphranor; in the 107th Aetion and Therimachus. Lysippus was in the 113th, the period of Alexander the Great, and likewise his brother Lysistratus, Sthennis, Euphron, Sophocles, Sostratus, Ion and Silaniona remarkable fact in the case of the last named being that he became famous without having had any teacher; he himself had Zeuxiades as his pupiland in the 121st Eutychides, Euthycrates, Laippus, Cephisodotus, Timarchus and Pyromachus. After that the art languished, and it revived again in the 156th Olympiad, when there were the following, far inferior it is true to those mentioned above, but nevertheless artists of repute: Antaeus, Callistratus, Polycles of Athens, Callixenus, Pythocles, Pythias and Timocles.

After thus defining the periods of the most famous artists, I will hastily run through those of outstanding distinction, throwing in the rest of the throng here and there under various heads. The most celebrated have also come into competition with each other, although born at different periods, because they had made statues of Amazons; when these were dedicated in the Temple of Artemis of Ephesus, it was agreed that the best one should be selected by the vote of the artists themselves who were present; and it then became evident that the best was the one which all the artists judged to be the next best after their own: this is the Amazon by Polycleitus, while next to it came that of Pheidias, third Cresilas's, fourth Cydon's and fifth Phradmon's.

Pheidias, besides the Olympian Zeus, which nobody has ever rivalled, executed in ivory and gold the statue of Athene that stands erect in the Parthenon at Athens, and in bronze, besides the Amazon mentioned above, an Athene of such exquisite beauty that it has been surnamed the 'Fair.' He also made the Lady with the Keys, and another Athene which Aemilius Paulus dedicated in Rome at the temple of Today's Fortune, and likewise a work consisting of two statues wearing cloaks which Catulus erected in the same temple, and another work, a colossal statue undraped; and Pheidias is deservedly deemed to have first revealed the capabilities and indicated the methods of statuary.

Polycleitus of Sicyon, a pupil of Hagelades, made a statue of the 'Diadumenos' or Binding his Haira youth, but soft-lookingfamous for having cost 100 talents, and also the 'Doryphoros' or Carrying a Speara boy, but manly-looking. He also made what artists call a 'Canon' or Model Statue, as they draw their artistic outlines from it as from a sort of standard; and he alone of mankind is deemed by means of one work of art to have created the art itself! He also made the statue of the Man using a Body-scraper ('Apoxyomenos') and, in the nude, the Man Attacking with Spear, and the Two Boys Playing Dice, likewise in the nude, known by the Greek name of Astragalizontes and now standing in the forecourt of the Emperor Titusthis is generally considered to be the most perfect work of art in existenceand likewise the Hermes that was once at Lysimachea; Heracles; the Leader Donning his Armour, which is at Rome; and Artemon, called the Man in the Litter. Polycleitus is deemed to have perfected this science of statuary and to have refined the art of carving sculpture, just as Pheidias is considered to have revealed it. A discovery that was entirely his own is the art of making statues throwing their weight on one leg, although Varro says these figures are of a square build and almost all made on one model.

Myron, who was born at Eleutherae, was himself also a pupil of Hagelades; he was specially famous for his statue of a heifer, celebrated in some well-known sets of versesinasmuch as most men owe their reputation more to someone else's talent than to their own. His other works include Ladas and a 'Diseobolos' or Man Throwing a Discus, and Perseus, and The Sawyers, and The Satyr Marvelling at the Flute and Athene, Competitors in the Five Bouts at Delphi, the All-round Fighters, the Heracles now in the house of Pompey the Great at the Circus Maximus. Erinna in her poems indicates that he even made a memorial statue of a tree-cricket and a locust. He also made an Apollo which was taken from the people of Ephesus by Antonius the Triumvir but restored to them by his late lamented Majesty Augustus in obedience to a warning given him in a dream. Myron is the first sculptor who appears to have enlarged the scope of realism, having more rhythms in his art than Polycleitus and being more careful in his proportions. Yet he himself so far as surface configuration goes attained great finish, but he does not seem to have given expression to the feelings of the mind, and moreover he has not treated the hair and the pubes with any more accuracy than had been achieved by the rude work of olden days.

Myron was defeated by the Italian Pythagoras of Reggio with his All-round Fighter which stands at Delphi, with which he also defeated Leontiscus; Pythagoras also did the runner Astylos which is on show at Olympia; and, in the same place, the Libyan as a boy holding a tablet; and the nude Man Holding Apples, while at Syracuse there is his Lame Man, which actually makes people looking at it feel a pain from his ulcer in their own leg, and also Apollo shooting the Python with his Arrows, a Man a playing the Harp, that has the Greek name of The Honest Man given it because when Alexander took Thebes a fugitive successfully hid in its bosom a sum of gold. Pythagoras of Reggio was the first sculptor to show the sinews and veins, and to represent the hair more carefully.

There was also another Pythagoras, a Samian, who began as a painter; his seven nude statues now at the temple of Today's Fortune and one of an old man are highly spoken of. He is recorded to have resembled the above mentioned Pythagoras so closely that even their features were indistinguishable; but we are told that Sostratus was a pupil of Pythagoras of Reggio and a son of this Pythagoras' sister.

Lysippus of Sicyon is said by Duris not to have been the pupil of anybody, but to have been originally a copper-smith and to have first got the idea of venturing on sculpture from the reply given by the painter Eupompus when asked which of his predecessors he took for his model; he pointed to a crowd of people and said that it was Nature herself, not an artist, whom one ought to imitate. Lysippus as we have said was a most prolific artist and made more statues than any other sculptor, among them the Man using a Body-scraper which Marcus Agrippa gave to be set up in front of his Warm Baths and of which the emperor Tiberius was remarkably fond. Tiberius, although at the beginning of his principate he kept some control of himself, in this case could not resist the temptation, and had the statue removed to his bedchamber, putting another one in its place at the baths; but the public were so obstinately opposed to this that they raised an outcry at the theatre, shouting 'Give us back the Apoxyomenos'Man using a Body-scraperand the Emperor, although he had fallen quite in love with the statue, had to restore it. Lysippus is also famous for his Tipsy Girl playing the Flute, and his Hounds and Huntsmen in Pursuit of Game, but most of all for his Chariot with the Sun belonging to Rhodes. He also executed a series of statues of Alexander the Great, beginning with one in [356-323 BC] Alexander's boyhood. The emperor Nero was so delighted by this statue of the young Alexander that he ordered it to be gilt; but this addition to its money value so diminished its artistic attraction that afterwards the gold was removed, and in that condition the statue was considered yet more valuable, even though still retaining scars from the work done on it and incisions in which the gold had been fastened. The same sculptor did Alexander the Great's friend Hephaestio, a statue which some people ascribe to Polycleitus, although his date is about a hundred years earlier; and also Alexander's Hunt, dedicated at Delphi, a Satyr now at Atheus, and Alexander's Squadron of Horse, in which the sculptor introduced portraits of Alexander's friends consummately lifelike in every ease. After the conquest of Macedonia this was removed to Rome by Metellus; he also executed Four-horse Chariots of various kinds. Lysippus is said to have contributed greatly to the art of bronze statuary by representing the details of the hair and by making his heads smaller than the old sculptors used to do, and his bodies more slender and firm, to give his statues the appearance of greater height. He scrupulously preserved the quality of `symmetry' (for which there is no word in Latin) by the new and hitherto untried method of modifying the squareness of the figure of the old sculptors, and he used commonly to say that whereas his predecessors had made men as they really were, he made them as they appeared to be. A peculiarity of this sculptor's work seems to be the minute finish maintained in even the smallest details.

Lysippus left three sons who were his pupils, the celebrated artists Laippus, Boddas and Euthycrates, the last pre-eminent, although he copied the harmony rather than the elegance of his father, preferring to win favour in the severely correct more than in the agreeable style. Accordingly his Heracles, at Delphi, and his Alexander Hunting, at Thespiae, his group of Thespiades, and his Cavalry in Action are works of extreme finish, and so are his statue of Trophonius at the oracular shrine of that deity, a number of Four-horse Chariots, a Horse with Baskets and a Pack of Hounds. Moreover Tisicrates, another native of Sicyon, was a pupil of Euthycrates, but closer to the school of Lysippusindeed many of his statues cannot be distinguished from Lysippus's work, for instance his Old Man of Thebes, his King Demetrius (Pohorcetes), and his Peucestes, the man who saved the life of Alexander the Great and so deserved the honour of this commemoration.

Artists who have composed treatises recording these matters speak with marvellously high praise of Telephanes of Phocis, who is otherwise unknown, since he lived at ... in Thessaly where his works have remained in concealment, although these writers' own testimony puts him on a level with Polycleitus, Myron and Pythagoras. They praise his Larisa, his Spintharus the Five-bout Champion, and his Apollo. Others however are of opinion that the cause of his lack of celebrity is not the reason mentioned but his having devoted himself entirely to the studios established by King Xerxes and King Darius.

Praxiteles although more successful and therefore more celebrated in marble, nevertheless also made some very beautiful works in bronze: the Rape of Persephone, also The Girl Spinning and a Father Liber or Dionysus, with a figure of Drunkenness and also the famous Satyr, known by the Greek title Peribostos meaning 'Celebrated,' and the statues that used to be in front of the Temple of Happiness, and the Aphrodite, which was destroyed by fire when the temple of that goddess was burnt down in the reign of Claudius, and which rivalled the famous Aphrodite, in marble, that is known all over the world; also A Woman Bestowing a Wreath, A Woman Putting a Bracelet on her Arm, Autumn, Harmodius and Aristogeiton who slew the tyrant the last piece carried off by Xerxes King of the Persians but restored to the Athenians by Alexander [331 BC] the Great after his conquest of Persia. Praxiteles also made a youthful Apollo called in Greek the Lizard-Slayer because he is waiting with an arrow for a lizard creeping towards him. Also two of his statues expressing opposite emotions are admired, his Matron Weeping and his Merry Courtesan. The latter is believed to have been Phryne and connoisseurs detect in the figure the artist's love of her and the reward promised him by the expression on the courtesan's face. The kindness also of Praxiteles is represented in sculpture, as in the Chariot and Four of Calamis he contributed the charioteer, in order that the sculptor might not be thought to have failed in the human figure although more successful in representing horses. Calamis himself also made other chariots, some with four horses and some with two, and in executing the horses he is invariably unrivalled: butthat it may not be supposed that he was inferior in his human figureshis Alcmena is as famous as that of any other sculptor.

Alcamenes a pupil of Pheidias made marble figures, and also in bronze a Winner of the Five Bouts, known by the Greek term meaning Highly Commended, but Polycleitus's pupil Aristides made four-horse and pair-horse chariots. Amphicrates is praised for his Leaena; she was a harlot, admitted to the friendship of Harmodius and Aristogeiton because of her skill as a harpist, who though put to the torture by the tyrants till she died refused to betray their plot

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to assassinate them. Consequently the Athenians wishing to do her honour and yet unwilling to have made a harlot famous, had a statue made of a lioness, as that was her name, and to indicate the reason for the honour paid her instructed the artist to represent the animal as having no tongue.

Bryaxis made statues of Asclepius and Seleucus, Boedas a Man Praying, Baton an Apollo and a Hera, both now in the Temple of Concord at Rome. Cresilas did a Man Fainting from Wounds, the expression of which indicates how little life remains, and the Olympian Pericles, a figure worthy of its title; indeed it is a marvellous thing about the art of sculpture that it has added celebrity to men already celebrated. Cephisodorus made the wonderful Athene at the harbour of Athens and the almost unrivalled altar at the temple of Zeus the Deliverer at the same harbour, Canachus the naked Apollo, surnamed Philesius, at Didyma, made of bronze compounded at Aegina; and with it he made a stag so lightly poised in its footprints as to allow of a thread being passed underneath its feet, the 'heel' and the 'toes' holding to the base with alternate contacts, the whole hoof being so jointed in either part that it springs back from the impact. He also made a Boys Riding on Racehorses. Chaereas did Alexander the Great and his father Philip, Ctesilaus a Man with a Spear and a Wounded Amazon, Demetrius Lysimache who was a priestess of Athene for 64 years, and also the Athene called the Murmuring Athenethe dragons on her Gorgon's head sound with a tinkling note when a harp is struck; he likewise did the mounted statue of Simon who wrote the first treatise on horsemanship. Daedalus (also famous as a modeller in clay) made Two Boys using a Body-Scraper, and Dinomenes did a Protesilaus and the wrestler Pythodemus. The statue of Alexander Paris is by Euphranor; it is praised because it conveys all the characteristics of Paris in combinationthe judge of the goddesses, the lover of Helen and yet the slayer of Achilles. The Athene, called at Rome the Catuliana, which stands below the Capitol and was dedicated by Quintus Lutatius Catulus, is Euphranor's, and so is the figure of Success, holding a dish in the right hand and in the left an ear of corn and some poppies, and also in the temple of Concord a Leto as Nursing Mother, with the infants Apollo and Artemis in her arms. He also made four-horse and two-horse chariots, and an exceptionally beautiful Lady with the Keys, and two colossal statues, one of Virtue and one of Greece, a Woman Wondering and Worshipping, and also an Alexander and a Philip in four-horse chariots. Eutychides did a Eurotas, in which it has frequently been said that the work of the artist seems clearer than the water of the real river. The Athene and the King Pyrrhus of Hegias are praised, and his Boys Riding on Racehorses, and his Castor and Pollux that stand before the temple of Jupiter the Thunderer; and so are Hagesias's Heracles in our colony of Parium, and Isidotus's Man Sacrificing an Ox. Lycius who was a pupil of Myron did a Boy Blowing a Dying Fire that is worthy of his instructor, also a group of the Argonauts; Leochares an Eagle carrying off Ganymede in which the bird is aware of what his burden is and for whom he is carrying it, and is careful not to let his claws hurt the boy even through his clothes, and Autolycus Winner of the All-round Bout, being also the athlete in whose honour Xenophon wrote his Banquet and the famous Zeus the Thunderer now on the Capitol, of quite unrivalled merit, also an Apollo crowned with a Diadem; also Lyciscus, the Slave-dealer, and a Boy, with the crafty cringing look of a household slave. Lycius also did a Boy Burning Perfumes. There is a Bull-calf by Menaechmus, on which a man is pressing his knee as he bends its neck back; Menaechmus has written a treatise about his own work. The reputation of Naucydes rests on his Hermes and Man throwing a Disc and Man Sacrificing a Ram, that of Naucerus on his Wrestler Winded, that of Niceratus on his Asclepius and his Goddess of Health, which are in the Temple of Concord at Rome. Pyromachus has an Alcibiades Driving a Chariot and Four; Polycles made a famous Hermaphrodite, Pyrrhus, a Goddess of Health and Athene, Phanis, who was a pupil of Lysippus, a Woman Sacrificing. Styppax of Cyprus is known for a single statue, his Man Cooking Tripe, which represented a domestic slave of the Olympian Pericles roasting inwards and puffing out his cheeks as he kindles the fire with his breath; Silanion cast a metal figure of Apollodorus, who was himself a modeller, and indeed one of quite unrivalled devotion to the art and a severe critic of his own work, who often broke his statues in pieces after he had finished them, his intense passion for his art making him unable to be satisfied, and consequently he was given the surname of the Madmanthis quality he brought out in his statue, the Madman, which represented in bronze not a human being but anger personified. Silanion also made a famous Achilles, and also a Superintendent Exercising Athletes; Strongylion made an Amazon, which from the remarkable beauty of the legs is called the Eucnemon, and which consequently the emperor Nero caused to be carried in his retinue on his journeys. The same sculptor made the figure rendered famous by Brutus under the name of Brutus's Boy because it represented a favourite of the hero of the battles at Philippi. Theodorus, who constructed the Labyrinth at Samos, cast a statue of himself in bronze. Besides its remarkable celebrity as a likeness, it is famous for its very minute workmanship; the right hand holds a file, and three fingers of the left hand originally held a little model of a chariot and four, but this has been taken away to Palestrina as a marvel of smallness: if the team were reproduced in a picture with the chariot and the charioteer, the model of a fly, which was made by the artist at the same time, would cover it with its wings. Xenocrates, who was a pupil of Tisicrates, or by other accounts of Euthycrates, surpassed both of the last mentioned in the number of his statues; and he also wrote books about his art.

Several artists have represented the battles of Attalus and Eumenes against the Gauls, Isigonus, Pyromachus, Stratonicus and Antigonus, who wrote books about his art. Boethus did a Child Strangling a Goose by hugging it, although he is better in silver. And among the list of works I have referred to all the most celebrated have now been dedicated by the emperor Vespasian in the Temple of Peace and his [AD. 75] other public buildings; they had been looted by Nero, who conveyed them all to Rome and arranged them in the sitting-rooms of his Golden Mansion.

Besides these, artists on the same level of merit but of no outstanding excellence in any of their works are: Ariston, who often also practised chasing silver, Callides, Ctesias, Cantharus of Sicyon, Dionysius, Diodorus the pupil of Critias, Deliades, Euphorion, Eunicus and Hecataeus the silver chasers, Lesbocles, Prodorus, Pythodieus, Polygnotus, who was also one of the most famous among painters, similarly Stratonicus among chasers, and Critias's pupil Scymnus.

I will now run through the artists who have made works of the same class, such as Apollodorus, Androbulus and Asclepiodorus, Aleuas, who have done philosophers, and Apellas also women donning their ornaments, and Antignotus also Man using a Body-scraper and the Men that Slew the Tyrant, above-mentioned, Antimachus, Athenodorus who made splendid figures of women, Aristodemus who also did Wrestlers, and Chariot and Pair with Driver, figures of philosophers, of old women, and King Seleucus; Aristodemus's Man holding Spear is also popular. There were two artists named Cephisodotus; the Hermes Nursing Father Liber or Dionysos when an Infant belongs to the elder, who also did a Man Haranguing with Hand Upliftedwhom it represents is uncertain. The later Cephisodotus did philosophers. Colotes who had co-operated with Pheidias in the Olympian Zeus made statues of philosophers, as also did Cleon and Cenchramis and Cailicles and Cepis; Chalcosthenes also did actors in comedy and athletes; Daippus a Man using a Scraper; Daiphron, Damocritus and Daemon statues of philosophers. Epigonus, who copied others in almost all the subjects already mentioned, took the lead with his Trumpet-player and his Weeping Infant pitifully caressing its Murdered Mother. Praise is given to Eubulus's Woman in Admiration and to Eubulide's Person Counting on the Fingers. Micon is noticed for his athletes and Menogenes for his chariots and four. Niceratus, who likewise attempted all the subjects employed by any other sculptor, did a statue of Alcibiades and one of his mother Demarate, represented as performing a sacrifice by torch-light. Tisicrates did a pair-horse chariot in which Piston afterwards placed a woman; the latter also made an Ares and a Hermes now in the Temple of Concord at Rome. No one should praise Perillus, who was more cruel than the tyrant Phalaris, for whom he made a bull, guaranteeing that if a man were shut up inside it and a fire lit underneath the man would do the bellowing; and he was himself the first to experience this torturea cruelty more just than the one he proposed. Such were the depths to which the sculptor had diverted this most humane of arts from images of gods and men! All the founders of the art had only toiled so that it should be employed for making implements of torture! Consequently this sculptor's works are preserved for one purpose only, so that whoever sees them may hate the hands that made them. Sthennis did a Demeter, a Zeus and an Athene that are in the Temple of Concord at Rome, and also Weeping Matrons and Matrons at Prayer and Offering a Sacrifice. Simon made a Dog and an Archer, the famous engraver Stratonicus some philosophers and each of these artists made figures of hostesses of inns. The following have made figures of athletes, armed men, hunters and men offering sacrifice: Baton, Euchir, Glaucides, Heliodorus, Hicanus, Jophon, Lyson, Leon, Menodorus, Myagrus, Polycrates, Polyidus, Pythocritus, Protogenes (who was also, as we shall say later, one of the most famous painters), Patrocles, Pollis and Posidonius (the last also a distinguished silver chaser, native of Ephesus), Periclymenus, Philo, Symenus, Timotheus, Theomnestus, Tiniarchides, Timon, Tisias, Thraso.

But of all Callimachus is the most remarkable, because of the surname attached to him: he was always unfairly critical of his own work, and was an artist of never-ending assiduity, and consequently he was called the Niggler, and is a notable warning of the duty of observing moderation even in taking pains. To him belongs the Laconian Women Dancing, a very finished work but one in which assiduity has destroyed all charm. Callimachus is reported to have also been a painter. Cato in his expedition to Cyprus sold all the statues found there except one of Zeno; it was not the value of the bronze nor the artistic merit that attracted him, but its being the statue of a philosopher: I mention this by the way, to introduce this distinguished instance also.

In mentioning statuesthere is also one we must not pass over in spite of the sculptor's not being knownthe figure, next to the Beaked Platform, of Heracles in the Tunic, the only one in Rome that shows him in that dress; the countenance is stern and the statue expresses the feeling of the final agony of the tunic. On this statue there are three inscriptions, one stating that it had been part of the booty taken by the general Lucius Lucullus, and another saying that it was dedicated, in pursuance of a decree of the Senate, by Lucullus's son while still a ward, and the third, that Titus Septimius Sabinus as curule sedile had caused it to be restored to the public from private ownership. So many were the rivalries connected with this statue and so highly was it valued.

20. But we will now turn our attention particularly to the various forms of copper, and its blends. In the case of the copper of Cyprus 'chaplet copper' is made into thin leaves, and when dyed with ox-gall gives the appearance of gilding on theatrical property coronets; and the same material mixed with gold in the proportion of six scruples of gold to the ounce makes a very thin plate called pyropus, 'fire-coloured' and acquires the colour of fire. Bar copper also is produced in other mines, and likewise fused copper. The difference between them is that the latter can only be fused, as it breaks under the hammer, whereas bar copper, otherwise called ductile copper, is malleable, which is the case with all Cyprus copper. But also in the other mines, this difference of bar copper from fused copper is produced by treatment; for all copper after impurities have been rather carefully removed by fire and melted out of it becomes bar copper. Among the remaining kinds of copper the palm goes to bronze of Campania, which is most esteemed for utensils. There are several ways of preparing it. At Capua it is smelted in a fire of wood, not of charcoal, and then poured into cold water and cleaned in a sieve made of oak, and this process of smelting is repeated several times, at the last stage Spanish silver lead being added to it in the proportion of ten pounds to one hundred pounds of copper: this treatment renders it pliable and gives it an agreeable colour of a kind imparted to other sorts of copper and bronze by means of oil and salt. Bronze resembling the Gampanian is produced in many parts of Italy and the provinces, but there they add only eight pounds of lead, and do additional smelting with charcoal because of their shortage of wood. The difference produced by this is noticed specially in Gaul, where the metal is smelted between stones heated red hot, as this roasting scorches it and renders it black and friable. Moreover they only smelt it again once whereas to repeat this several times contributes a great deal to the quality. It is also not out of place to notice that all copper and bronze fuses better in very cold weather.

The proper blend for making statues is as follows, and the same for tablets: at the outset the ore is melted, and then there is added to the melted metal a third part of scrap copper, that is copper or bronze that has been bought up after use. This contains a peculiar seasoned quality of brilliance that has been subdued by friction and so to speak tamed by habitual use. Silver-lead is also mixed with it in the proportion of twelve and a half pounds to every hundred pounds of the fused metal. There is also in addition what is called the mould-blend of bronze of a very delicate consistency, because a tenth part of black lead is added and a twentieth of silver-lead; and this is the best way to give it the colour called Grircanic after the Greek. The last kind is that called pot-bronze, taking its name from the vessels made of it; it is a blend of three or four pounds of silver-lead with every hundred pounds of copper. The addition of lead to Cyprus copper produces the purple colour seen in the bordered robes of statues.

21. Things made of copper or bronze get covered with copper-rust more quickly when they are kept rubbed clean than when they are neglected, unless they are well greased with oil. It is said that the best way of preserving them is to give them a coating of liquid vegetable pitch. The employment of bronze was a long time ago applied to securing the perpetuity of monuments, by means of bronze tablets on which records of official enactments are made.

22. Copper ores and mines supply medicaments in a variety of ways: inasmuch as in their neighbourhood all kinds of ulcers are healed with the greatest rapidity; yet the most beneficial is cadmea. This is certainly also produced in furnaces where silver is smelted, this kind being whiter and not so heavy, but it is by no means to be compared with that from copper. There are however several varieties; for while the mineral itself from which the metal is made is called cadmea, which is necessary for the fusing process but is of no use for medicine, so again another kind is found in furnaces, which is given a name indicating its origin. It is produced by the thinnest part of the substance being separated out by the flames and the blast and becoming attached in proportion to its degree of lightness to the roof-chambers and side-walls of the furnaces, the thinnest being at the very mouth of the

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furnace, which the flames have belched out; it is called 'smoky cadmea' from its burnt appearance and because it resembles hot white ash in its extreme lightness. The part inside is best, hanging from the vaults of the roof-chamber, and this consequently is designated 'grape-cluster cadmea,' this is heavier than the preceding kind but lighter than those that followit is of two colours, the inferior kind being the colour of ash and the better the colour of pumiceand it is friable, and extremely useful for making medicaments for the eyes. A third sort is deposited on the sides of furnaces, not having been able to reach the vaults because of its weight; this is called in Greek 'plaeitis,' 'caked residue,' in this case by reason of its flatness, as it is more of a crust than pumice, and is mottled inside; it is more useful for itch-scabs and for making wounds draw together into a scar. Of this kind are formed two other varieties, onychitis which is almost blue outside but inside like the spots of an onyx or layered quartz, and ostracitis shell-like residue which is all black and the dirtiest of any of the kinds; this is extremely useful for wounds. All kinds of cadmea (the best coming from the furnaces of Cyprus) for use in medicine are heated again on a fire of pure charcoal and, when it has been reduced to ash, if being prepared for plasters it is quenched with Amminean wine, but if intended for itch-scabs with vinegar. Some people pound it and then burn it in earthenware pots, wash it in mortars and afterwards dry it. Nymphodorus's process is to burn on hot coals the most heavy dense piece of cadmea that can be obtained, and when it is thoroughly burnt to quench it with Chian wine, and pound it, and then to sift it through a linen cloth and grind it in a mortar, and then macerate it in rainwater and again grind the sediment that sinks to the bottom till it becomes like white lead and offers no grittiness to the teeth. Iollas' method is the same, but he selects the purest specimens of native cadmea.

23. The effect of cadmea is to dry moisture, to heal lesions, to stop discharges, to cleanse inflamed swellings and foul sores in the eyes, to remove eruptions, and to do everything that we shall specify in dealing with the effect of lead.

Copper itself is roasted to use for all the same purposes and for white-spots and scars in the eyes besides, and mixed with milk it also heals ulcers in the eyes; and consequently people in Egypt make a kind of eye-salve by grinding it in small mortars. Taken with honey it also acts as an emetic, but for this Cyprian copper with an equal weight of sulphur is roasted in pots of unbaked earthenware, the mouth of the vessels being smeared round with oil; and then left in the furnace till the vessels themselves are completely baked. Certain persons also add salt, and some use alum instead of sulphur, while others add nothing at all, but only sprinkle the copper with vinegar. When burnt it is pounded in a mortar of Theban stone, washed with rainwater, and then again pounded with the addition of a larger quantity of water, and left till it settles, and this process is repeated several times, till it is reduced to the appearance of cinnabar; then it is dried in the sun and put to keep in a copper box.

24. The slag of copper is also washed in the same way, but it is less efficacious than copper itself. The flower of copper also is useful as a medicine. It is made by fusing copper and then transferring it to other furnaces, where a faster use of the bellows makes the metal give off layers like scales of millet, which are called the flower. Also when the sheets of copper are cooled off in water they shed off other scales of copper of a similar red huethis scale is called by the Greek word meaning husk and by this process the flower is adulterated, so that the scale is sold as a substitute for itthe genuine flower is a scale of copper forcibly knocked off with bolts into which are welded cakes of the metal, specially in the factories of Cyprus. The whole difference is that the scale is detached from the cakes by successive hammerings, whereas the flower falls off of its own accord. This another finer kind of scale, the one knocked off from the down-like surface of the metal, the name for which is 'stomoma.'

25. But of all these facts the doctors, if they will permit me to say so, are ignorantthey are governed by names: so detached they are from the process of making up drugs, which used to be the special business of the medical profession. Nowadays whenever they come on books of prescriptions, wanting to make up some medicines out of them, which means to make trial of the ingredients in the prescriptions at the expense of their unhappy patients, they rely on the fashionable druggists' shops which spoil everything with fraudulent adulterations, and for a long time they have been buying plasters and eye-salves ready made; and thus is deteriorated rubbish of commodities and the fraud of the druggists' trade put on show.

Both scale however and flower of copper are burnt in earthenware or copper pans and then washed, as described above, to be applied to the same purposes; the scale also in addition removes fleshy troubles in the nostrils and also in the anus and dullness of hearing if forcibly blown into the ears through a tube, and, when applied in the form of powder, removes swellings of the uvula, and, mixed with honey, swellings of the tonsils. There is a scale from white copper that is far less efficacious than the scale from Cyprus; and moreover some people steep the bolts and cakes of copper beforehand in a boy's urine when they are going to detach the scale, and pound them and wash them with rainwater. It is also given to dropsical patients in doses of two drains in half a sextarius of honey-wine; and mixed with fine flour it is applied as a liniment.

26. Great use is also made of verdigris. There are several ways of making it; it is scraped off the stone from which copper is smelted, or by drilling holes in white copper and hanging it up in casks over strong vinegar which is stopped with a lid; the verdigris is of much better quality if the same process is performed with scales of copper. Some people put the actual vessels, made of white copper, into vinegar in earthenware jars, and nine days later scrape them. Others cover the vessels with grape-skins and scrape them after the same interval, others sprinkle copper filings with vinegar and several times a day turn them over with spattles till the copper is completely dissolved. Others prefer to grind copper filings mixed with vinegar in copper mortars. But the quickest result is obtained by adding to the vinegar shavings of coronet copper. Rhodian verdigris is adulterated chiefly with pounded marble, though others use pumice-stone or gum. But the adulteration of verdigris that is the most difficult to detect is done with shoemakers' black, the other adulterations being detected by the teeth as they crackle when chewed. Verdigris can be tested on a hot fire-shovel, as a specimen that is pure keeps its colour, but what is mixed with shoemakers' black turns red. It is also detected by means of papyrus previously steeped in an infusion of plant-gall, as this when smeared with genuine verdigris at once turns black. It can also be detected by the eye, as it has an evil green colour. But whether pure or adulterated, the best way is to wash it and when it is dry to burn it on a new pan and keep turning it over till it becomes glowing ashes; and afterwards it is crushed and put away in store. Some people burn it in raw earthenware vessels till the earthenware is baked through; some mix in also some male frankincense. Verdigris is washed in the same way as cadmea. Its powerfulness is very well suited for eye-salves and its mordant action makes it able to produce watering at the eyes; but it is essential to wash it off with swabs and hot water till its bite ceases to be felt.

27. Hierax's Salve is the name given to an eye-salve chiefly composed of verdigris. It is made by mixing together four ounces of gum of Hammon, two of Gyprian verdigris, two of the copperas called flower of copper, one of misy and six of saffron; all these ingredients are pounded in Thasian vinegar and made up into pills, that are an outstanding specific against incipient glaucoma and cataract, and also against films on the eyes or roughnesses and white ulcerations in the eye and affections of the eyelids. Verdigris in a crude state is used as an ingredient in plasters for wounds also. In combination with oil it is a marvellous cure for ulcerations of the mouth and gums and for sore lips, and if wax is also added to the mixture it cleanses them and makes them form a cicatrix. Verdigris also eats away the callosity of fistulas and of sores round the anus, either applied by itself or with gum of Ilammon, or inserted into the fistula in the manner of a salve. Verdigris kneaded up with a third part of turpentine also removes leprosy.

28. There is also another kind of verdigris called from the Greek worm-like verdigris, made by grinding up in a mortar of true cyprian copper with a pestle of the same metal equal weights of alum and salt or soda with the very strongest white vinegar. This preparation is only made on the very hottest days of the year, about the rising of the Dog-star. The mixture is ground up until it becomes of a green colour and shrivels into what looks like a cluster of small worms, whence its name. To remedy any that is blemished, the urine of a young boy to twice the quantity of vinegar that was used is added to the mixture. Used as a drug, worm-verdigris has the same effect as santerna which we spoke of as used for soldering gold; both of them have the same properties as verdigris. Native worm-verdigris is also obtained by scraping a copper ore of which we shall now speak.

29. Chalcitis, copper-stone, is the name of an ore, that from which copper also, besides cadmea, is obtained by smelting. It differs from cadmea because the latter is quarried above ground, from rocks exposed to the air, whereas chalcitis is obtained from underground beds, and also because chalcitis becomes immediately friable, being of a soft nature, so as to have the appearance of congealed down. There is also another difference in that chalcitis contains three kinds of mineral, copper, and sori, each of which we shall describe in its place; and the veins of copper in it are of an oblong shape.

The approved variety of chalcitis is honey coloured, and streaked with fine veins, and is friable and not stony. It is also thought to be more useful when fresh, as when old it turns into sori. It is used for growths in ulcers, for arresting haemorrhage and, in the form of a powder, for acting as an astringent on the gums, uvula and tonsils. and, applied in wool, as a pessary for affections of the uterus, while with leek juice it is employed in plasters for the genitals. It is steeped for forty days in vinegar in an earthenware jar, covered with dung, and then assumes the colour of saffron; then an equal weight of cadmea is mixed with it and this produces the drug called psoricon or cure for itch. If two parts of chalcitis are mixed with one of cadmea this makes a stronger form of the same drug, and moreover it is more violent if it is mixed in vinegar than if in wine; and when roasted it becomes more effective for all the same purposes.

30. Egyptian sori is most highly commended, being far superior to that of Cyprus and Spain and Africa, although some people think that Cyprus son is more useful for treatment of the eyes; but whatever its provenance the best is that which has the most pungent odour, and which when ground up takes a greasy, black colour and becomes spongy. It is a substance that goes against the stomach so violently that with some people the mere smell of it causes vomiting. This is a description of the sori of Egypt. That from other sources when ground up turns a bright colour like adsy, and it is harder; however, if it is held in the cavities and used plentifully as a mouthwash it is good for toothache and for serious and creeping ulcers of the mouth. It is burnt on charcoal, like chalcitis.

31. Some people have reported that misy is made by burning mineral in trenches, its fine yellow powder mixing itself with the ash of the pine wood burnt; but as a matter of fact though got from the mineral above mentioned, it is part of its substance and separated from it by force, the best kind being obtained in the copper-factories of Cyprus, its marks being that when broken it sparkles like gold and when it is ground it has a sandy appearance, without earth, unlike chalcitis. A mixture of misy is employed in the magical purification of gold. Mixed with oil of roses it makes a useful infusion for suppurating ears and applied on wool a serviceable plaster for ulcers of the head. It also reduces chronic roughness of the eyelids, and is especially useful for the tonsils and against quinsy and suppurations. The method is to boil 16 drains of it in a twelfth of a pint of vinegar with honey added till it becomes of a viscous consistency: this makes a useful preparation for the purposes above mentioned. When it is necessary to make it softer, honey is sprinkled on it. It also removes the callosity of fistulous ulcers when the patients use it with vinegar as a fomentation; and it is used as an ingredient in eye-salves, arrests haemorrhage and creeping or putrid ulcers, and reduces fleshy excrescences. It is particularly useful for troubles in the sexual organs in the male, and it checks menstruation.

32. The Greeks by their name for shoemakers'-black have made out an affinity between it and copper: they call it chalcanthon, 'flower of copper'; and there is no substance that has an equally remarkable nature. It occurs in Spain in wells or pools that contain that sort of water. This water is boiled with an equal quantity of pure water and poured into wooden tanks. Over these are firmly fixed cross-beams from which hang cords held taut by stones, and the kind clinging to the cords in a cluster of glassy drops has somewhat the appearance of a bunch of grapes. It is taken off and then left for thirty days to dry. Its colour is an extremely brilliant blue, and it is often taken for glass; when dissolved it makes a black dye used for colouring leather. It is also made in several other ways: earth of the kind indicated is hollowed into trenches, droppings from the sides of which form icicles in a winter frost which are called drop-flower of copper, and this is the purest kind. Bat some of it, violet with a touch of white, is called lonchotoa, 'lance-headed.' It is also made in pans hollowed in the rocks, into which the slime is carried by rainwater and freezes, and it also forms in the same way as salt when very hot sunshine evaporates the fresh water let in with it. Consequently some people distinguish in twofold fashion between the mined flower of copper and the manufactured, the latter paler than the former and as much inferior in quality as in colour. That which comes from Cyprus is most highly approved for medical employment. It is taken to remove intestinal worms, the dose being one dram mixed with honey. Diluted and injected as drops into the nostrils it clears the head, and likewise taken with honey or honey-water it purges the stomach. It is given as a medicine for roughness of the eyes, pain and mistiness in the eyes, and ulceration of the mouth. It stops bleeding from the nostrils, and also haemorrhoidal bleeding. Mixed with henbane seed it draws out splinters of broken bones; applied to the forehead with a swab it arrests running of the eyes; also used in plasters it is efficacious for cleansing wounds and gatherings of ulcers. A mere touch of a decoction of it removes swellings of the uvula, and it is laid with linseed on plasters used for relieving pains. The whitish part of it is preferred to the violet kinds for one purpose, that of being blown through tubes into the ears to relieve ear-trouble. Applied by itself as a liniment it heals wounds, but it leaves a discoloration in the scats. There has lately been discovered a plan of sprinkling it on the mouths of bears and lions in the arena, and its astringent action is so powerful that they are unable to bite.

33. The substances called by Greek names meaning 'bubble' and 'ash' are also found in the furnaces of copper works. The difference between them is that bubble is disengaged by washing but ash is not washed out. Some people have given the name of 'bubble' to the substance that is white and very light in weight, and have said that it is the ashes of copper and

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cadmea, but that ash is darker and heavier, being scraped off the walls of furnaces, mixed with sparks from the ore and sometimes also with charcoal. This material when vinegar is applied to it gives off a smell of copper, and if touched with the tongue has a horrible taste. It is a suitable ingredient for eye medicines, remedying all troubles whatever, and for all the purposes for which 'ash' is used; its only difference is that its action is less violent. It is also used as an ingredient for plasters employed to produce a gentle cooling and drying effect. It is more efficacious for all purposes when it is moistened with whie.

34. Cyprus ash is the best. It is produced when cadmea and copper ore are melted. The ash in question is the lightest part of the whole substance produced by blasting, and it flies out of the furnaces and adheres to the roof, being distinguished from soot by its white colour. Such part of it as is less white is an indication of inadequate firing; it is this that some people call 'bubble.' But the redder part selected from it has a keener force, and is so corrosive that if while it is being washed it touches the eyes it causes blindness. There is also an ash of the colour of honey, which is understood to indicate that it contains a large amount of copper. But any kind is made more serviceable by washing; it is first purified with a strainer of cloth and then given a more substantial washing, and the rough portions are picked out by the fingers. When it is washed with wine it is particularly powerful. There is also some difference in the kind of wine used, as when it is washed with weak wine it is thought to be less serviceable for eye-salves, and at the same time more efficacious for running ulcers or for ulcers of the mouth that are always wet and more useful for all the antidotes for gangrene. An ash called Lanriotis is also produced in furnaces in which silver is smelted; but the kind said to be most serviceable for the eyes is that which is formed in smelting gold. Nor is there any other department in which the ingenuities of life are more to be admired, inasmuch as to avoid the need of searching for metals experience has devised the same utilities by means of the commonest things.

35. The substance called in Greek antispodos substitute ash is the ash of the leaves of the fig-tree or wild fig or myrtle together with the tenderest parts of the branches, or of the wild olive or cultivated olive or quince or mastic and also ash obtained from unripe, that is still pale, mulberries, dried in the sun, or from the foliage of the box or mock-gladiolus, or bramble or turpentine-tree or cenanthe. The same virtues have also been found in the ash of bull-glue or of linen fabrics. All of these are burnt in a pot of raw earth heated in a furnace until the earthenware is thoroughly baked.

36. Also 'smegma' is made in copper forges by adding additional charcoal when the copper has already been melted, and thoroughly fused, and gradually kindling it; and suddenly when a stronger blast is applied a sort of chaff of copper spurts out. The floor on which it is received ought to be strewn with charcoal-dust.

37. Distinguished from smegma is the substance in the same forges called by the Greeks diphryx, from its being twice roasted. It comes from three different sources. It is said to be obtained from a mineral pyrites which is heated in furnaces till it is smelted into a red earth. It is also made in Cyprus from mud obtained from a certain cavern, which is first dried and then gradually has burning brushwood put round it. A third way of producing it is from the residue that falls to the bottom in copper furnaces; the difference is that the copper itself runs down into crucibles and the slag forms outside the furnace and the flower floats on the top, but the supplies of diphryx remain behind. Some people say that certain globules of stone that is being smelted in the furnaces become soldered together and round this the copper gets red hot, but the stone itself is not fused unless it is transferred into other furnaces, and that it is a sort of kernel of the substance, and that what is called diphryx is the residue left from the smelting. Its use in medicine is similar to that of the substances already described; to dry up moisture and remove excrescent growths and act as a detergent. It can be tested by the tonguecontact with it ought immediately to have a parching effect and impart a flavour of copper.

38. We will not omit one further remarkable thing about copper. The Servilian family, famous in our annals, possesses a bronze as piece which it feeds with gold and silver and which consumes them both. Its origin and nature are unknown to me, but I will put down the actual words of the elder Messala on the subject. The family of the Servilii has a holy coin to which every year they perform sacrifices with the greatest devotion and splendour; and they say that this coin seems to have on some occasions grown bigger and on other occasions smaller, and that thereby it portends either the advancement or the decadence of the family.

39. Next an account must be given of the mines and ores of iron. Iron serves as the best and the worst part of the apparatus of life, inasmuch as with it we plough the ground, plant trees, trim the trees that prop our vines, force the vines to renew their youth yearly by ridding them of decrepit growth; with it we build houses and quarry rocks, and we employ it for all other useful purposes, but we likewise use it for wars and slaughter and brigandage, and not only in hand-to-hand encounters but as a winged missile, now projected from catapults, now hurled by the arm, and now actually equipped with feathery wings, which I deem the most criminal artifice of man's genius, inasmuch as to enable death to reach human beings more quickly we have taught iron how to fly and have given wings to it. Let us therefore debit the blame not to Nature, but to man. A number of attempts have been made to enable iron to be innocent. We find it an express provision included in the treaty granted by Porsena to the Roman nation after the expulsion of the kings that they should only use iron for purposes of agriculture; and our oldest authors have recorded that in those days it was customary to write with a bone pen. There is extent an edict of Pompey the Great dated in his third consulship at the time of the disorders accompanying the death of Clodius, prohibiting the possession of any weapon in the city.

40. Further, the art of former days did not fail to provide a more humane function even for iron. When the artist Aristonidas desired to represent the madness of Athamas subsiding in repentance after he had hurled his son Learchus from the rock, he made a blend of copper and iron, in order that the blush of shame should be represented by rust of the iron shining through the brilliant surface of the copper; this statue is still standing at Rhodes. There is also in the same city an iron figure of Heracles, which was made by Alcon, prompted by the endurance displayed by the god in his labours. We also see at Rome goblets of iron dedicated in the temple of Mars the Avenger. The same benevolence of nature has limited the power of iron itself by inflicting on it the penalty of rust, and the same foresight by making nothing in the world more mortal than that which is most hostile to mortality.

41. Deposits of iron are found almost everywhere, and they are formed even now in the Italian island of Elba, and there is very little difficulty in recognizing them as they are indicated by the actual colour of the earth. The method of melting out the veins is the same as in the case of copper. In Cappadocia alone it is merely a question whether the presence of iron is to be credited to water or to earth, as that region supplies iron from the furnaces when the earth has been flooded by the river Cerasus but not otherwise. There are numerous varieties of iron; the first difference depending on the kind of soil or of climatesome lands only yield a soft iron closely allied to lead, others a brittle and coppery kind that is specially to be avoided for the requirements of wheels and for nails, for which purpose the former quality is suitable; another variety of iron finds favour in short lengths and in nails for soldiers' boots; another variety experiences rust more quickly. All of these are called stricturae, 'edging ores,' a term not used in the case of other metals; it is, as assigned to these ores, derived from stringere aciem, 'to draw out a sharp edge.' There is also a great difference between smelting works, and a certain knurl of iron is smelted in them to give hardness to a blade, and by another process to giving solidity to anvils or the heads of hammers. But the chief difference depends on the water in which at intervals the red hot metal is plunged; the water in some districts is more serviceable than in others, and has made places famous for the celebrity of their iron, for instance Bambola and Tarragona in Spain and Como in Italy, although there are no iron mines in those places. But of all varieties of iron the palm goes to the Seric, sent us by the Seres with their fabrics and skins. The second prize goes to Parthian iron; and indeed no other kinds of iron are forged from pore metal, as all the rest have a softer alloy welded with them. In our part of the world, in some places the lode supplies this good quality, as for instance in the country of the Norici, in other places it is due to the method of working, as at Sulmona, and in others, as we have said, it is due to the water; inasmuch as for giving an edge there is a great difference between oil whetstones and water whetstones, and a finer edge is produced by oil. It is the custom to quench smaller iron forgings with oil, for fear that water might harden them and make them brittle. And it is remarkable that when a vein of ore is fused the iron becomes liquid like water and afterwards acquires a spongy and brittle texture. Human blood takes its revenge from iron, as if iron has come into contact with it, it becomes the more quickly liable to rust.

42. We will speak in the appropriate place about the lodestone and the sympathy which it has with iron. Iron is the only substance that catches the infection of that stone and retains it for a long period, taking hold of other iron, so that we may sometimes see a chain of rings; the ignorant lower classes call this 'live iron,' and wounds inflicted with it are more severe. This sort of stone forms in Biscaya also not in a continuous rocky stratum like the genuine lodestone alluded to but in a scattered pebbly formation or 'bubbling'that is what they call it. I do not know whether it is equally useful for glass founding, as no one has hitherto tested it, but it certainly imparts the same magnetic property to iron. The architect Timochares had begun to use lodestone for constructing the vaulting in the Temple of Arsinoe at Alexandria, so that the iron statue contained in it might have the appearance of being suspended in mid air; but the project was interrupted by his own death and that of King Ptolemy who had ordered the work to be done in honour of his sister.

43. Iron ore is found in the greatest abundance of all metals. In the coastal part of Biscaya washed by the Atlantic there is a very high mountain which, marvellous to relate, consists entirely of that mineral, as we stated in our account of the lands bordering on the Ocean.

Iron that has been heated by fire is spoiled unless it is hardened by blows of the hammer. It is not suitable for hammering while it is red hot, nor before it begins to turn pale. If vinegar or alum is sprinkled on it it assumes the appearance of copper. It can be protected from rust by means of lead acetate, gypsum and vegetable pitch; rust is called by the Greeks 'antipathia,' natural opposite to iron. It is indeed said that the same result may also be produced by a religious ceremony, and that in the city called Zeugma on the river Euphrates there is an iron chain that was used by Alexander the Great in making the bridge at that place, the links of which [331 BC] that are new replacements are attacked by rust although the original links are free from it.

44. Iron supplies another medicinal service besides its use in surgery. It is beneficial both for adults and infants against noxious drugs for a circle to be drawn round them with iron or for a pointed iron weapon to be carried round them; and to have a fence of nails that have been extracted from tombs driven in in front of the threshold is a protection against attacks of nightmare, and a light prick made with the point of a weapon with which a man has been wounded is beneficial against sudden pains which bring a pricking sensation in the side and chest. Some maladies are cured by cauterization, but particularly the bite of a mad dog, inasmuch as even when the disease is getting the upper hand and when the patients show symptoms of hydrophobia they are relieved at once if the wound is cauterized. In many disorders, but especially in dysenteric cases, drinking water is heated with red-hot iron.

45. The list of remedies even includes rust itself, and this is the way in which Achilles is stated to have cured Telephus, whether he did it by means of a copper javelin or an iron one; at all events Achilles is so represented in painting, knocking the rust off a javelin with his sword. Rust of iron is obtained by scraping it off old nails with an iron tool dipped in water. The effect of rust is to unite wounds and dry them and staunch them, and applied as a liniment it relieves fox-mange. They also use it with wax and oil of myrtle for scabbiness of the eyelids and pimples in all parts of the body, but dipped in vinegar for erysipelas and also for scab, and, applied on pieces of cloth, for hangnails on the fingers and whitlows. Applied on wool it arrests women's discharges and for recent wounds it is useful diluted with wine and kneaded with myrrh, and for swellings round the anus dipped in vinegar. Used as a liniment it also relieves gout.

46. Scale of iron, obtained from a sharp edge or point, is also employed, and has an effect extremely like that of rust only more active, for which reason it is employed even for running at the eyes. It arrests haemorrhage, though it is with iron that wounds are chiefly made! And it also arrests female discharges. It is also applied against troubles of the spleen, and it cheeks haemorrhoidal swellings and creeping ulcers. Applied for a brief period in the form of a powder it is good for the eyelids. But its chief recommendation is its use in a wet plaster for cleaning wounds and fistulas and for eating out every kind of callosity and making new flesh on bones that have been denuded. The following are the ingredients: six obols of bee-glue, six drains of Cimolo earth, two drams of pounded copper, two of scale of iron, ten of wax and a pint of oil. When it is desired to cleanse or fill up wounds, wax plaster is added to these ingredients.

47. The next topic is the nature of lead, of which there are two kinds, black and white. White lead (tin) is the most valuable; the Greeks applied to it the name cassheros, and there was a legendary story of their going to islands of the Atlantic ocean to fetch it and importing it in platted vessels made of osiers and covered with stitched hides. It is now known that it is a product of Lusitania and Gallaecia found in the surface-strata of the ground which is sandy and of a black colour. It is only detected by its weight, and also tiny pebbles of it occasionally appear, especially in dry beds of torrents. The miners wash this sand and heat the deposit in furnaces. It is also found in the goldmines called 'alutiae,' through which a stream of water is passed that washes out black pebbles of tin mottled with small white spots, and of the same weight as gold, and consequently they remain with the gold in the bowls in which it is collected, and afterwards are separated in the furnaces, and fused and melted into white lead. Black lead does not occur in Gallaecia, although the neighbouring country of Biscaya has large quantities of black lead only; and white lead yields no silver, although it is obtained from black lead. Black lead cannot be soldered with black without a layer of white lead, nor can white be soldered to black without oil, nor can even white lead be soldered with white without some black lead. Homer testifies that white lead or tin had a high position even in the Trojan period, he giving it the name of cassiteros. There are two different sources of black lead, as it is either found in a vein of its own and produces no other

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substance mixed with it, or it forms together with silver, and is smelted with the two veins mixed together. Of this substance the liquid that melts first in the furnaces is called stagnum; the second liquid is argentiferous lead, and the residue left in the furnaces is impure lead which forms a third part of the vein originally put in; when this is again fused it gives black lead, having lost two-ninths in bulk.

48. When copper vessels are coated with stagnum the contents have a more agreeable taste and the formation of destructive verdigris is prevented, and, what is remarkable, the weight is not increased. Also, as we have said, it used to be employed at Brindisi as a material for making mirrors which were very celebrated, until even servant-maids began to use silver ones. At the present day a counterfeit stagnum is made by adding one part of white copper to two parts of white lead; and it is also made in another way by mixing together equal weights of white and black lead: the latter compound some people now call 'silver mixture.' The same people also give the name of tertiary to a compound containing two portions of black lead and one of white; its price is 20 denarii a pound. It is used for soldering pipes. More dishonest makers add to tertiary an equal amount of white lead and call it 'silver mixture,' and use it melted for plating by immersion any articles they wish. They put the price of this last at 70 denarii for 1 lb.: the price of pure white lead without alloy is 80 denarii, and of black lead 7 denarii.

The substance of white lead has more dryness, whereas that of black lead is entirely moist. Consequently white lead cannot be used for anything without an admixture of another metal, nor can it be employed for soldering silver, because the silver melts before the white lead. And it is asserted that if a smaller quantity of black lead than is necessary is mixed with the white, it corrodes the silver. A method discovered in the Gallic provinces is to plate bronze articles with white lead so as to make them almost indistinguishable from silver; articles thus treated are called 'incoctilia.' Later they also proceeded in the town Alesia to plate with silver in a similar manner, particularly ornaments for horses and pack animals and yokes of oxen; the distinction of developing this method belongs to Bordeaux. Then they proceeded to decorate two-wheeled war-chariots, chaises and four-wheeled carriages in a similar manner, a luxurious practice that has now got to using not only silver but even gold statuettes, and it is now called good taste to subject to wear and tear on carriages ornaments that it was once thought extravagant to see on a goblet!

It is a test of white lead when melted and poured on papyrus to seem to have burst the paper by its weight and not by its heat. India possesses neither copper nor lead, and procures them in exchange for her precious stones and pearls.

49. Black lead which we use to make pipes and sheets is excavated with considerable labour in Spain and through the whole of the Gallic provinces, but in Britain it is found in the surface-stratum of the earth in such abundance that there is a law prohibiting the production of more than a certain amount. The various kinds of black lead have the following namesOviedo lead, Capraria lead, Oleastrum lead, though there is no difference between them provided the slag has been carefully smelted away. It is a remarkable fact in the case of these mines only that when they have been abandoned they replenish themselves and become more productive. This seems to be due to the air infusing itself to saturation through the open orifices, just as a miscarriage seems to make some women more prolific. This was recently observed in the Salutariensian mine in Baetica, which used to be let at a rent of 200,000 denarii a year, but which was then abandoned, and subsequently let for 255,000. Likewise the Antonian mine in the same province from the same rent has reached a return of 400,000 sesterces. It is also remarkable that vessels made of lead will not melt if they have water put in them, but if to the water a pebble or quarter-as coin is added, the fire burns through the vessel.

50. In medicine lead is used by itself to remove scars, and leaden plates are applied to the region of the loins and kidneys for their comparative chilly nature to check the attacks of venereal passions, and the libidinous dreams that cause spontaneous emissions to the extent of constituting a kind of disease. It is recorded that the pleader Calvus used these plates to control himself and to preserve his bodily strength for laborious study. Nero, whom heaven was pleased to make emperor, used to have a plate of lead on his chest when singing songs fartissimo, thus showing a method for preserving the voice. For medical purposes lead is melted in earthen vessels, a layer of finely powdered sulphur being put underneath it; on this thin plates are laid and covered with sulphur and stirred up with an iron spit. While it is being melted, the breathing passages should be protected during the operation, otherwise the noxious and deadly vapour of the lead furnace is inhaled: it is hurtful to dogs with special rapidity, but the vapour of all metals is so to flies and gnats, owing to which those annoyances are not found in mines.

Some people during the process of smelting mix lead-filings with the sulphur, and others use lead acetate in preference to sulphur. Another use of lead is to make a washit is employed in medicinepieces of lead with rainwater added being ground against themselves in leaden mortars till the whole assumes a thick consistency, and then water floating on the top is removed with sponges and the very thick sediment left when dry is divided into tablets. Some people grind up lead filings in this way and some also mix in some lead ore; but others use vinegar, others wine, others grease, others oil of roses. Some prefer to grind the lead with a stone pestle in a stone mortar, and especially one made of Thebes stone, and this process produces a drug of a whiter colour. Calcined lead is washed like antimony and cadmea. It has the property of acting as an astringent and arresting haemorrhage and of promoting cicatrisation. It is of the same utility also in medicines for the eyes, especially as preventing their procidence, and for the cavities or excrescences left by ulcers and for fissures of the anus or haemorrhoids and swellings of the anus. For these purposes lead lotion is extremely efficient, while for creeping or foul ulcers ash of calcined lead is useful; and the benefit they produce is on the same lines as in the case of sheets of papyrus. The lead is burnt in small sheets mixed with sulphur, in shallow vessels, being stirred with iron rods or fennel stalks till the molten metal is reduced to ashes; then after being cooled off it is ground into powder. Another process is to boil lead filings in a vessel of raw earth in furnaces till the earthenware is completely baked. Some mix with it an equal amount of lead acetate or of barley and grind this mixture, in the way stated in the case of raw lead, and prefer the lead treated in this way to the Cyprus slag.

51. The dross of lead is also utilized. The best is that which approximates in colour most closely to yellow, containing no remnants of lead or sulphur, and does not look earthy. This is broken up into small fragments and washed in mortars till the water assumes a yellow colour, and poured off into a clean vessel, and the process is repeated several times till the most valuable part settles as a sediment at the bottom. Lead dross has the same effects as lead, but to a more active degree. This suggests a remark on the marvellous efficacy of human experiment, which has not left even the dregs of substances and the foulest refuse untested in such numerous ways!

52. Slag is also made from lead in the same way as from Cyprus copper; it is washed with rain water in linen sheets of fine texture and the earthy particles are got rid of by rinsing, and the residue is sifted and then ground. Some prefer to separate the powder with a feather, and to grind it up with aromatic wine.

53. There is also molybdaeaa (which in another place we have called galena); it is a mineral compound of silver and lead. It is better the more golden its colour and the less leaden: it is friable and of moderate weight. When boiled with oil it acquires the colour of liver. It is also found adhering to furnaces in which gold and silver are smelted; in this case it is called metallic sulphide of lead. The kind most highly esteemed is produced at Zephyrium. Varieties with the smallest admixture of earth and of stone are approved of; they are melted and washed like dross. It is used in preparing a particular emollient plaster for soothing and cooling ulcers and in plasters which are not applied with bandages but which they use as a liniment to promote cicatrisation on the bodies of delicate persons and on the more tender parts. It is a composition of three pounds of sulphide of lead and one of wax with half a pint of oil, which is added with solid lees of olives in the case of an elderly patient. Also combined with scum of silver and dross of lead it is applied warm for fomenting dysentery and constipation.

54. 'Psimithium' also, that is cerussa or lead of acetate, is produced at lead-works. The most highly spoken of is in Rhodes. It is made from very fine shavings of lead placed over a vessel of very sour vinegar and so made to drip down. What falls from the lead into the actual vinegar is dried and then ground and sifted, and then again mixed with vinegar and divided into tablets and dried in the sun, in summertime. There is also another way of making it, by putting the lead into jars of vinegar kept sealed up for ten days and then scraping off the sort of decayed metal on it and putting it back in the vinegar, till the whole of it is used up. The stuff scraped off is ground up and sifted and heated in shallow vessels and stirred with small rods till it turns red and becomes like sandarach, realgar. Then it is washed with fresh water till all the cloudy impurities have been removed. Afterwards it is dried in a similar way and divided into tablets. Its properties are the same as those of the substances mentioned above, only it is the mildest of them all, and beside that, it is useful for giving women a fair complexion; but like scum of silver, it is a deadly poison. The lead acetate itself if afterwards melted becomes red.

55. Of realgar also the properties have been almost completely described. It is found both in goldmines and silver-mines; the redder it is and the more it gives off a poisonous scent of sulphur and the purer and more friable it is, the better it is. It acts as a cleanser, as a check to bleeding, as a calorific and a caustic, being most remarkable for its corrosive property; used as a liniment with vinegar it removes fox-mange; it forms an ingredient in eyewashes, and taken with honey it cleans out the throat. It also produces a clear and melodious voice, and mixed with turpentine and taken in the food, is an agreeable remedy for asthma and cough; its vapour also remedies the same complaints if merely used as a fumigation with cedar wood.

56. Orpiment also is obtained from the same substance. The best is of a colour of even the finest-coloured gold, but the paler sort or what resembles sandarach is judged inferior. There is also a third class which combines the colours of gold and of sandarach. Both of the latter are scaly, but the other is dry and pure, and divided in a delicate tracery of veins. Its properties are the same as mentioned above, but more active. Accordingly it is used as an ingredient in cauteries and depilatories. It also removes overgrowths of flesh on to the nails, and pimples in the nostrils and swellings of the anus and all excrescences. To increase its efficacy it is heated in a new earthenware pot till it changes its colour.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 35

1. We have now practically indicated the nature of metals, in which wealth consists, and of the substances related to them, connecting the facts in such a way as to indicate at the same time the enormous topic of medicine and the mysteries of the manufactories and the fastidious subtlety of the processes of carving and modelling and dyeing. There remain the various kinds of earth and of stones, forming an even more extensive series, each of which has been treated in many whole volumes, especially by Greeks. For our part in these topics we shall adhere to the brevity suitable to our plan, yet omitting nothing that is necessary or follows a law of Nature. And first we shall say what remains to be said about painting, an art that was formerly illustrious, at the time when it was in high demand with kings and nations and when it ennobled others whom it deigned to transmit to posterity. But at the present time it has been entirely ousted by marbles, and indeed finally also by gold, and not only to the point that whole party-walls are coveredwe have also marble engraved with designs and embossed marble slabs carved in wriggling lines to represent objects and animals. We are no longer content with panels nor with surfaces displaying broadly a range of mountains in a bedchamber; we have begun even to paint on the masonry. This was invented in the principate of Claudius, while in the time of Nero a plan was discovered to give variety to uniformity by inserting markings that were not present in the embossed marble surface, so that Numidian stone might show oval lines and Synnadic marble be picked out with purple, just as fastidious luxury would have liked them to be by nature. These are our resources to supplement the mountains when they fail us, and luxury is always busy in the effort to secure that if a fire occurs it may lose as much as possible.

2. The painting of portraits, used to transmit through the ages extremely correct likenesses of persons, has entirely gone out. Bronze shields are now set up as monuments with a design in silver, with a dim outline of men's figures; heads of statues are exchanged for others about which before now actually sarcastic epigrams have been current: so universally is a display of material preferred to a recognizable likeness of one's own self. And in the midst of all this, people tapestry the walls of their picture-galleries with old pictures, and they prize likenesses of strangers, while as for themselves they imagine that the honour only consists in the price, for their heir to break up the statue and haul it out of the house with a noose. Consequently nobody's likeness lives and they leave behind them portraits that represent their money, not themselves. The same people decorate even their own anointing-rooms with portraits of athletes of the wrestling-ring, and display all round their bedrooms and carry about with them likenesses of Epicurus; they offer sacrifices on his birthday, and keep his festival, which they call the eikas on the 20th day of every monththese of all people, whose desire it is not to be known even when alive! That is exactly how things are: indolence has destroyed the arts, and since our minds cannot be portrayed, our bodily features are also neglected. In the halls of our ancestors it was otherwise; portraits were the objects displayed to be looked at, not statues by foreign artists, nor bronzes nor marbles, but wax models of faces were set out each on a separate sideboard, to furnish likenesses to be carded in procession at a funeral in the clan, and always when some member of it passed away the entire company of his house that had ever existed was present. The pedigrees too were traced in a spread of lines running near the several painted portraits. The archive-rooms were kept filled with books of records and with written memorials of official careers. Outside the houses and round the doorways there were other presentations of those mighty spirits, with spoils taken from the enemy fastened to them, which even one who bought the house was not permitted to unfasten, and the mansions eternally celebrated a triumph even though they changed their masters. This acted as a mighty incentive, when every day the very walls reproached an unwarlike owner with intruding on the triumphs of another! There is extant an indignant speech by the pleader Messala protesting against the insertion among the likenesses of his family of a bust not belonging to them but to the family of the Laevini. similar reason extracted from old Messala the volumes he composed 'On Families,' because when passing through the hall of Scipio

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Pomponianus he had observed the Salvittones that was their former surnamein consequence of an act of adoption by will creeping into others' preserves, to the discredit of the Scipios called Africanus. But the Messala family must excuse me if I say that even to lay a false claim to the portraits of famous men showed some love for their virtues, and was much more honourable than to entail by one's conduct that nobody should seek to obtain one's own portraits!

We must not pass over a novelty that has also been invented, in that likenesses made, if not of gold or statues in silver, yet at all events of bronze are set up in the libraries in honour of those whose immortal spirits speak to us in the same places, nay more, even imaginary likenesses are modelled and our affection gives birth to countenances that have not been handed down to us, as occurs in the case of Homer. At any rate in my view at all events there is no greater kind of happiness than that all people for all time should desire to know what kind of a man a person was. At Rome this practice originated with Asinius Pollio, who first by founding a library made works of genius the property of the public.

Whether this practice began earlier, with the Kings of Alexandria and of Pergamum, between whom there had been such a keen competition in founding libraries, I cannot readily say. The existence of a strong passion for portraits in former days is evidenced by Atticus the friend of Cicero in the volume he published on the subject and by the most benevolent invention of Marcus Varro, who actually by some means inserted in a prolific output of volumes portraits of seven hundred famous people, not allowing their likenesses to disappear or the lapse of ages to prevail against immortality in men. Herein Varro was the inventor of a benefit that even the gods might envy, since he not only bestowed immortality but despatched it all over the world, enabling his subjects to be ubiquitous, like the gods. This was a service Varro rendered to strangers.

3. But the first person to institute the custom of privately dedicating the shields with portraits in a temple or public place, I find, was Appius Claudius, the consul with Publius Servilius in the 259th year of the city. He set up his ancestors in the shrine of the Goddess of War, and desired them to be in full view on an elevated spot, and the inscriptions stating their honours to be read. This is a seemly device, especially if miniature likenesses of a swarm of children at the sides display a sort of brood of nestlings; shields of this description everybody views with pleasure and approval.

4. After him Marcus Aemilius, Quintus Lutatius's colleague in the consulship, set up portrait-shields not only in the Basilica Aemilia but also in his own home, and in doing this he was following a truly warlike example; for the shields which contained the likenesses resembled those employed in the fighting at Troy; and this indeed gave them their name of clupet which is not derived from the word meaning 'to be celebrated,' as the misguided ingenuity of scholars has made out. It is a copious inspiration of valour for there to be a representation on a shield of the countenance of him who once used it. The Carthaginians habitually made both shields and statues of gold, and carried these with them: at all events Marcius, who took vengeance for the Scipios in Spain, found a shield of this kind that belonged to Hasdrubal, in that general's camp when he captured it, and this shield was hung above the portals of the temple on the Capitol till the first fire. Indeed it is [83 B.C.] noticed that our ancestors felt so little anxiety about this matter that in the 575th year of the city, when the consuls were Lucius Maulius and Quintus Fulvius, the person who contracted for the safety of the Capitol, Marcus Aufidius, informed the Senate that the shields which for a good many censorship periods past had been scheduled as made of bronze were really silver.

5. The question as to the origin of the art of painting is uncertain and it does not belong to the plan of this work. The Egyptians declare that it was invented among themselves six thousand years ago before it passed over into Greecewhich is clearly an idle assertion. As to the Greeks, some of them say it was discovered at Sicyon, others in Corinth, but all agree that it began with tracing an outline round a man's shadow and consequently that pictures were originally done in this wax, but the second stage when a more elaborate method had been invented was done in a single colour and called monochrome, a method still in use at the present day. Line-drawing was invented by the Egyptian Philocles or by the Corinthian Cleanthes, but it was first practised by the Corinthian Aridices and the Sicyonian Telephanesthese were at that stage not using any colour, yet already adding lines here and there to the interior of the outlines; hence it became their custom to write on the pictures the names of the persons represented. Ecphantus of Corinth is said to have been the first to daub these drawings with a pigment made of powdered earthenware. We shall show below that this was another person, bearing the same name, not the one recorded by Cornelius Nepos to have followed into Italy Demaratus the father of the Roman king Tarquinius Priscus when he fled from Corinth to escape the violence of the tyrant Cypselus.

6. For the art of painting had already been brought to perfection even in Italy. At all events there survive even today in the temples at Ardea paintings that are older than the city of Rome, which to me at all events are incomparably remarkable, surviving for so long a period as though freshly painted, although unprotected by a roof. Similarly at Lanuvium, where there are an Atalanta and a Helena close together, nude figures, painted by the same artist, each of outstanding beauty (the former shown as a virgin), and not damaged even by the collapse of the temple. The Emperor Caligula from lustful motives attempted to remove them, but the consistency of the plaster would not allow this to be done. There are pictures surviving at Caere that are even older. And whoever carefully judges these works will admit that none of the arts reached full perfection more quickly, inasmuch as it is clear that painting did not exist in the Trojan period.

7. In Rome also honour was fully attained by this art at an early date, inasmuch as a very distinguished clan of the Fabii derived from it their surname of Pictor, 'Painter,' and the first holder of the name himself painted the Temple of Health in the year 450 from the foundation of the City: the work survived down to our own period, when the temple was destroyed by fire in the principate of Claudius. Next in celebrity was a painting by the poet Pacuvius in the temple of Hercules in the Cattle Market. Pacuvius was the son of a sister of Ennius, and he added distinction to the art of painting at Rome by reason of his fame as a playwright. After Pacuvius, painting was not esteemed as handiwork for persons of station, unless one chooses to recall a knight of Rome named Turpilius, from Venetia, in our own generation, because of his beautiful works still surviving at Verona. Turpilius painted with his left hand, a thing recorded of no preceding artist. Titedius Labeo, a man of praetorian rank who had actually held the office of Proconsul of the Province of Narbonne, and who died lately in extreme old age, used to be proud of his miniatures, but this was laughed at and actually damaged his reputation. There was also a celebrated debate on the subject of painting held between some men of eminence which must not be omitted, when the former consul and winner of a triumph Quintus Pedius, who was appointed by the Dictator Caesar as his joint heir with Augustus, had a grandson Quintus Pedius who was born dumb; in this debate the orator Messala, of whose family the boy's grandmother had been a member, gave the advice that the boy should have lessons in painting, and his late lamented Majesty Augustus also approved of the plan. The child made great progress in the art, but died before he grew up. But painting chiefly derived its rise to esteem at Rome, in my judgement, from Manius Valerius Maximus Messala, who in the year 490 after the foundation of the city first showed a picture in public on a side wall of the Curia Hostilia: the subject being the battle in Sicily in which he had defeated the Carthaginians and hero. The same thing was also done by Lucius Scipio, who put up in the Capitol a picture of his Asiatic victory; this is said to have annoyed his brother Africanus, not without reason, as his son had been taken prisoner in that battle. Also Lucius Hostilius Mancinus who had been the first to force an entrance into Carthage incurred a very similar offence with Aemilianus by displaying in the forum a picture of the plan of the city and of the attacks upon it and by himself standing by it and describing to the public looking on the details of the siege, a piece of popularity-hunting which won him the consulship at the next election. Also the stage erected for the shows given by Claudius Pulcher won great admiration for its painting, as crows were seen trying to alight on the roof tiles represented on the scenery, quite taken in by its realism.

8. The high esteem attached officially to foreign paintings at Rome originated from Lucius Mummius who from his victory received the surname of Achaicus. At the sale of booty captured King Attaius bought for 600,000 denarii a picture of Father Liber or Dionysus by Aristides, but the price surprised Mummius, who suspecting there must be some merit in the picture of which he was himself unaware had the picture called back, in spite of Attaius's strong protests, and placed it in the Shrine of Ceres: the first instance, I believe, of a foreign picture becoming state-property at Rome. After this I see that they were commonly placed even in the forum: to this is due the famous witticism df the pleader Crassus, when appearing in a case Below The Old Shops; a witness called kept asking him: 'Now tell me, Crassus, what sort of a person do you take me to be?' 'That sort of a person,' said Crassus, pointing to a picture of a Gaul putting out his tongue in a very unbecoming fashion. It was also in the forum that there was the picture of the Old Shepherd with his Staff, about which the Teuton envoy when asked what he thought was the value of it said that he would rather not have even the living original as a gift!

9. But it was the Dictator Caesar who gave outstanding public importance to pictures by dedicating paintings of Ajax and Medea in front of the temple of Venus Genetrix; and after him Marcus Agrippa, a man who stood nearer to rustic simplicity than to refinements. At all events there is preserved a speech of Agrippa, lofty in tone and worthy of the greatest of the citizens, on the question of making all pictures and statues national property, a procedure which would have been preferable to banishing them to country houses. However, that same severe spirit paid the city of Cyzieus 1,200,000 sesterces for two pictures, an Ajax and an Aphrodite; he had also had small paintings let into the marble even in the warmest part of his Hot Baths; which were removed a short time ago when the Baths were being repaired.

10. His late lamented Majesty Augustus went beyond all others, in placing two pictures in the most frequented part of his forum, one with alikeness of War and Triumph, and one with the Castors and Victory. He also erected in the Temple of his father Caesar pictures we shall specify in giving the names of artists. He likewise let into a wall in the curia which he was dedicating in the comitium: a Nemea seated on a lion, holding a palm-branch in her hand, and standing at her side an old man leaning on a stick and with a picture of a two-horse chariot hung up over his head, on which there was an inscription saying that it was an encaustic designsuch is the term which he employedby Nicias. The second picture is remarkable for displaying the close family likeness between a son in the prime of life and an elderly father, allowing for the difference of age: above them soars an eagle with a snake in its claws; Philochares has stated this work to be by him showing the immeasurable power exercised by art if one merely considers this picture alone, inasmuch as thanks to Philochares two otherwise quite obscure persons Glaucio and his son Aristippus after all these centuries have passed still stand in the view of the senate of the Roman nation! The most ungracious emperor Tiberius also placed pictures in the temple of Augustus himself which we shall soon mention. Thus much for the dignity of this now expiring art.

11. We stated what were the various single colours used by the first painters when we were discussing while on the subject of metals the pigments called monochromes from the class of painting for which they are used. Subsequent a inventions and their authors and dates we shall specify in enumerating the artists, because a prior motive for the work now in hand is to indicate the nature of colours. Eventually art differentiated itself, and discovered light and shade, contrast of colours heightening their effect reciprocally. Then came the final adjunct of shine, quite a different thing from light. The opposition between shine and light on the one hand and shade on the other was called contrast, while the juxtaposition of colours and their passage one into another was termed attunement.

12. Some colours are sombre and some brilliant, the difference being due to the nature of the substances or to their mixture. The brilliant colours, which the patron supplies at his own expense to the painter, are cinnabar, Armenium, dragon's blood, gold-solder, indigo, bright purple; the rest are sombre. Of the whole list some are natural colours and some artificial. Natural colours are sinopis, ruddle, Paraetonium, Melinum, Eretrian earth and orpiment; all the rest are artificial, and first of all those which we specified among minerals, and moreover among the commoner kinds yellow ochre, burnt lead acetate, realgar, sandyx, Syrian colour m and black.

13. Sinopis was first discovered in Pontus, and hence takes its name from the city of Sinope. It is also produced in Egypt, the Balearic Islands and Africa, but the best is what is extracted from the caverns of Lemnos and Cappadocia, the part found adhering to the rock being rated highest. The lumps of it are self-coloured, but speckled on the outside. It was employed in old times to give a glow. There are three kinds of Sinopis, the red, the faintly red and the intermediate. The price of the best is 2 denarii a pound: this is used for painting with a brush or else for colouring wood; the kind imported from Africa costs 8 as-pieces a pound, and is called chick-pea colour; it is of a deeper red than the other kinds, and more useful for panels. The same price is charged for the kind called 'low toned' which is of a very dusky colour. It is employed for the lower parts of panelling; but used as a drug it has a soothing effect in lozenges and plasters and poultices, mixing easily either dry or moistened, as a remedy for ulcers in the humid parts of the body such as the mouth and the anus. Used in an enema it arrests diarrhoea, and taken through the mouth in doses of one denarius weight it checks menstruation. Applied in a burnt state, particularly with wine, it dries roughnesses of the eyes.

14. Some persons have wished to make out that Sinopis only consists in a kind of red-ochre of inferior quality, as they gave the palm to the red ochre of Lemnos. This last approximates very closely to cinnabar and it was very famous in old days, together with the island that produces it; it used only to be sold in sealed packages, from which it got the name of 'seal red-ochre.' It is used to supply an undercoating to cinnabar and also for adulterating cinnabar. In medicine it is a substance ranked very highly. Used as a liniment round the eyes it relieves defluxions and pains, and checks the discharge from eye-tumours; it is given in vinegar as a draught in cases of vomiting or spitting blood. It is also taken as a draught for troubles of the spleen and kidneys and for excessive menstruation; and likewise as a remedy for poisons and snake bites and the sting of sea serpents; hence it is in common use for all antidotes.

15. Among the remaining kinds of red ochre the most useful for builders are the Egyptian and the African varieties, as they

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are most thoroughly absorbed by plaster. Red ochre is also found in a native state in iron mines.

16. It is also manufactured by burning ochre in new earthen pots lined with clay. The more completely it is calcined in the furnaces the better its quality. All kinds of red ochre have a drying property, and consequently will be found suitable in plasters even for erysipelas.

17. Half a pound of sinopis from Pontus, ten pounds of bright yellow ochre and two pounds of Greek earth of Melos mixed together and pounded up for twelve successive days make 'leucophorum,' a cement used in applying gold-leaf to wood.

18. Paraetonium is called after the place pig of that name in Egypt. It is said to be sea-foam hardened with mud, and this is why tiny shells are found in it. It also occurs in the island of Crete and in Cyrene. At Rome it is adulterated with Cimolian clay which has been boiled and thickened. The price of the best quality is 50 denarii per 6 lbs. It is the most greasy of all the white colours and makes the most tenacious for plasters because of its smoothness.

19. Melinum also is a white colour, the best occurring in the island of Melos. It is found in Samos also, but the Samian is not used by painters, because it is excessively greasy. It is dug up in Samos by people lying on the ground and searching for a vein among the rocks. It has the same use in medicine as earth of Eretria; it also dries the tongue by contact, and acts as a depilatory, with a cleansing effect. It costs a sesterce a pound.

The third of the white pigments is ceruse or lead acetate, the nature of which we have stated in speaking of the ores of lead. There was also once a native ceruse found on the estate of Theodotus at Smyrna, which was employed in old days for painting ships. At the present time all ceruse is manufactured from lead and vinegar, as we said.

20. Burnt ceruse was discovered by accident, when some was burnt up in jars in a fire at Piraeiis. It was first employed by Nicias above mentioned. Asiatic ceruse is now thought the best; it is also called purple ceruse and it costs 6 denarii per lb. It is also made at Rome by calcining yellow ochre which is as hard as marble and quenching it with vinegar. Burnt ceruse is indispensable for representing shadows.

21. Eretrian earth is named from the country that produces it. It was employed by Nicomachus and Parrhasius. It has cooling and emollient effects and fills lip wounds; if boiled it is prescribed as a desiccative, and is useful for pains in the head and for detecting internal suppurations, as these are shown to be present if when it is applied with water it immediately dries up.

22. According to Juba sandarach or realgar and ochre are products of the island of Topazus in the Red Sea, but they are not imported from those parts to us. We have stated the method of making sandarach. An adulterated sandarach is also made from ceruse boiled in a furnace. It ought to be flame-coloured. Its price is 5 asses per lb.

23. If ceruse is mixed with red ochre in equal quantities and burnt, it produces sandyx or vermilionthough it is true that I observe Virgil held the view that sandyx is a plant, from the line:

Sandyx self-grown shall clothe the pasturing lambs.

Its cost per lb. is half that of sandarach. No other colours weigh heavier than these.

24. Among the artificial colours is also Syrian colour, which as we said is used as an undercoating for cinnabar and red lead. It is made by mixing sinopis and sandyx together.

25. Black pigment will also be classed among the artificial colours, although it is also derived from earth in two ways; it either exudes from the earth like the brine in salt pits, or actual earth of a sulphur colour is approved for the purpose. Painters have been known to dig up charred remains from graves thus violated to supply it. All these plans are troublesome and new-fangled; for black paint can he made in a variety of ways from the soot produced by burning resin or pitch, owing to which factories have actually been built with no exit for the smoke produced by this process. The most esteemed black paint is obtained in the same way from the wood of the pitch-pine. It is adulterated by mixing it with the soot of furnaces and baths, which is used as a material for writing. Some people calcine dried wine-lees, and declare that if the lees from a good wine are used this ink has the appearance of Indian ink. The very celebrated painters Polygnotus and Micon at Athens made black paint from the skins of grapes, and called it grape-lees ink. Apelles invented the method of making black from burnt ivory; the Greek name for this is elephantinon.

There is also an Indian black, imported from India, the composition of which I have not yet discovered. A black is also produced with dyes from the black florescence which adheres to bronze pans. One is also made by burning logs of pitch-pine and pounding the charcoal in a mortar. The cuttlefish has, a remarkable property in forming a black secretion, but no colour is made from this. The preparation of all black is completed by exposure to the sun, black for writing ink receiving an admixture of gum and black for painting walls an admixture of glue. Black pigment that has been dissolved in vinegar is difficult to wash out.

26. Among the remaining colours which because of their high cost, as we said, are supplied by patrons, dark purple holds the first place. It is produced by dipping silversmiths' earth along with purple cloth and in like manner, the earth absorbing the colour more quickly than the wool. The best is that which being the first formed in the boiling cauldron becomes saturated with the dyes in their primary state, and the next best produced when white earth is added to the same liquor after the first has been removed; and every time this is done the quality deteriorates, the liquid becoming more diluted at each stage. The reason why the dark purple of Pozzuoli is more highly praised than that of Tyre or Gaetulia or Laconia, places which produce the most costly purples, is that it combines most easily with hysginum and madder which cannot help absorbing it. The cheapest comes from Canosa. The price is from one to thirty denarii per lb. Painters using it put a coat of sandyx underneath and then add a coat of dark purple mixed with egg, and so produce the brilliance of cinnabar; if they wish instead to produce the glow of purple, they lay a coat of blue underneath, and then cover this with dark purple mixed with egg.

27. Of next greatest importance after this is indigo, a product of India, being a slime that adheres to the scum upon reeds. When it is sifted out it is black, but in dilution it yields a marvellous mixture of purple and blue. There is another kind of it that floats on the surface of the pans in the purple dye-shops, and this is the 'scum of purple.' People who adulterate it stain pigeons' droppings with genuine indigo, or else colour earth of Selinus or ring-earth with woad. It can be tested by means of a live coal, as if genuine it gives off a brilliant purple flame and a smell of the sea while it smokes; on this account some people think that it is collected from rocks on the coast. The price of indigo is 20 denarii per pound. Used medicinally it allays cramps and fits and dries up sores.

28. Armenia sends us the substance Azarite, etc. named after it Armenian. This also is a mineral that is dyed like malachite, and the best is that which most closely approximates to that substance, the colour partaking also of dark blue. Its price used to be rated at 300 sesterces per pound. A sand has been found all over the Spanish provinces that admits of similar preparation, and accordingly the price has dropped to as low as six denarii. It differs from dark blue by a light white glow which renders this blue colour thinner in comparison. It is only used in medicine to give nourishment to the hair, and especially the eyelashes.

29 There are also two colours of a very cheap class that have been recently discovered: one is the green called Appiah, which counterfeits malachite; just as if there were too few spurious varieties of it already! It is made from a green earth and is valued at a sesterce per pound.

30. The other colour is that called 'ring-white,' which is used to give brilliance of complexion in paintings of women. This itself also is made from white earth mixed with glass stones from the rings of the lower classes, which accounts for the name 'ring-white.'

31. Of all the colours those which love a dry surface of white clay, and refuse to be applied to a damp plaster, are purple, indigo, blue, Melian, orpiment, Appian and ceruse. Wax is stained with these same colours for encaustic paintings, a sort of process which cannot be applied to walls but is common for ships of the navy, and indeed nowadays also for cargo vessels, since we even decorate vehicles with paintings, so that no one need be surprised that even logs for funeral pyres are painted; and we like gladiators going into the fray to ride in splendour to the scene of their death or at all events of carnage. Thus to contemplate all these numbers and great variety of colours prompts us to marvel at former generations.

32. Four colours only were used by the illustrious painters Apelles, Action, Melanthius and Nicomachus to execute their immortal worksof whites, Melinum; of yellow ochres, Attic; of reds, Pontic Sinopis; of blacks, atramentumalthough their pictures each sold for the wealth of a whole town. Nowadays when purple finds its way even on to party-walls and when India contributes the mud of her rivers and the gore of her snakes and elephants, there is no such thing as high-class painting. Everything in fact was superior in the days when resources were scantier. The reason for this is that, as we said before, it is values of material and not of genius that people are now on the lookout for.

33. One folly of our generation also in the matter of painting I will not leave out. The Emperor Nero had ordered his portrait to be painted on a colossal scale, on linen 120 ft. high, a thing unknown hitherto; this picture when finished, in the Gardens of Maius, was struck by lightning and destroyed by fire, together with the best part of the Gardens. When a freedman of Nero was giving at Anzio a gladiatorial show, the public porticoes were covered with paintings, so we are told, containing life-like portraits of all the gladiators and assistants. This portraiture of gladiators has been the highest interest in art for many generations now; but it was Gaius Terentius Lucanus who began the practice of having pictures made of gladiatorial shows and exhibited in public; in honour of his grandfather who had adopted him he provided thirty pairs of gladiators in the forum for three consecutive days, and exhibited a picture of their matches in the Grove of Diana.

34. I will now run through as briefly as possible the artists eminent in painting; and it is not consistent with the plan of this work to go into such detail; and accordingly it will be enough just to give the names of some of them even in passing and in course of mentioning others, with the exception of the famous works of art which whether still extant or now lost it will be proper to particularize.

In this department the exactitude of the Greeks is inconsistent, in placing the painters many Olympiads after the sculptors in bronze and chasers in metal, and putting the first in the 90th Olympiad, although it is said that even Phidias himself was a painter to begin with, and that there was a shield at Athens that had been painted by him; and although moreover it is universally admitted that his brother Panaenus came in the 83rd Olympiad, who painted the inner surface of a shield of Athene at Elis made by Colotes, Phidias's pupil and assistant in making the statue of Olympian Zeus. And then, is it not equally admitted that Candaules, the last King of Lydia of the Heraclid line, who was also commonly known by the name of Myrsilus, gave its weight in gold for a picture of the painter Bularchus representing a battle 'with the Magnetes.' So high was the value already set on the art of painting. This must have occurred at about the time of Romulus, since Candaules died in the 18th Olympiad, or, according to some accounts, in the same year as Romulus, making it clear, if I am not mistaken, and that the art had already achieved celebrity, and in fact a perfection. And if we are bound to accept this conclusion, it becomes clear at the same time that the first stages were at a much earlier date and that the painters in monochrome, whose date is not handed down to us, came considerably earlierHygiaenon, Dinias, Charmadas and Eumarus of Athens, the last being the earliest artist to distinguish the male from the female sex in painting, and venturing to reproduce every sort of figure; and Cimon of Cleonae who improved on the inventions of Eumarus. It was Cimon who first invented `catagrapha,' that is, images in 'three-quarter,' and who varied the aspect of the features, representing them as looking backward or upward or downward; he showed the attachments of the limbs, displayed the veins, and moreover introduced wrinkles and folds in the drapery. Indeed the brother of Phidias Panaenus even painted the Battle at Marathon between the Athenians and Persians; so widely established had the employment of colour now become and such perfection of art had been attained that he is said to have introduced actual portraits of the generals who commanded in that battle, Miltiades, Callimachus and Cynaegirus on the Athenian side and Datis and Artaphernes on that of the barbarians.

35. Nay more, during the time that Panaenus flourished competitions in painting were actually instituted at Corinth and at Delphi, and on the first occasion of all Panaenus competed against Timagoras of Chalcis, being defeated by him, at the Pythian Games, a fact clearly shown by an ancient poem of Timagoras himself, the chronicles undoubtedly being in error.

After those and before the 90th Olympiad there were other celebrated painters also, such as Polygnotus of Thasos who first represented women in transparent draperies and showed their heads and covered with a parti-coloured headdress; and he first contributed many improvements to the art of painting, as he introduced showing the mouth wide open and displaying the teeth and giving expression to the countenance in place of the primitive rigidity. There is a picture by this artist in the Portico of Pompeius which formerly hung in front of the Curia which he built, in which it is doubtful whether the figure of a man with a shield is painted as going up or as coming down. Polygnotus painted the temple at Delphi and the colonnade at Athens called Painted Portico, doing his work gratuitously, although a part of the work was painted by Micon who received a fee. Indeed Polygnotus was held in higher esteem, as the Amphictyones, who are a General Council of Greece, voted him entertainment at the public expense. There was also another Micon, distinguished from the first by the surname of the Younger, whose daughter Timarete also painted.

36. In the 90th Olympiad lived Aglaophon, Cephisodorus, Erillus, and Evenor the father and teacher of Parrhasius, a very great painter (about Parrhasius we shall have to speak when we come to his period). All these are now artists of note, yet not figures over which our discourse should linger in its haste to arrive at the luminaries of the art; first among whom shone out Apollodorus of Athens, in the 93rd Olympiad. Apollodorus was the first artist to give realistic presentation of objects, and the first to confer glory as of right upon the paint brush. His are the Priest at Prayer and Ajax struck by Lightning, the latter to be seen at Pergamum at the present day. There is no painting now on view by any artist before Apollodorus that arrests the attention of the eyes.

The gates of art having been now thrown open by Apollodorus they were entered by Zeuxis of Heraclea in the 4th year of the 95th Olympiad, who led forward the already

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not unadventurous paintbrushfor this is what we are still speaking of--to great glory. Some writers erroneously place Zeuxis in the 89th Olympiad, when Demophilus of Himera and Neseus of Thasos must have been his contemporaries, as of one of them, it is uncertain which, he was a pupil. Of Zeuxis, Apollodorus above recorded wrote an epigram in a line of poetry to the effect that 'Zeuxis robbed his masters of their art and carried it off with him.' Also he acquired such great wealth that he advertised it at Olympia by displaying his own name embroidered in gold lettering on the checked pattern of his robes. Afterwards he set about giving away his works as presents, saying that it was impossible for them to be sold at any price adequate to their value: for instance he presented his Alcmena to the city of Girgenti and his Pan to Arehelaus. He also did a Penelope in which the picture seems to portray morality, and an Athlete, in the latter case being so pleased with his own work that he wrote below it a line of verse which has hence become famous, to the effect that it would be easier for someone to carp at him than to copy him. His Zeus seated on a throne with the gods standing by in attendance is also a magnificent work, and so is the Infant Heracles throttling two snakes in the presence of his mother Alemena, looking on in alarm, and of Amphitryon. Nevertheless Zeuxis is criticized for making the heads and joints of his figures too large in proportion, albeit he was so scrupulously careful that when he was going to produce a picture for the city of Girgenti to dedicate at the public cost in the temple of Laeinian Hera he held an inspection of maidens of the place paraded naked and chose five, for the purpose of reproducing in the picture the most admirable points in the form of each. He also painted monochromes in white. His contemporaries and rivals were Timanthes, Androeydes, Eupompus and Parrhasius. This last, it is recorded, entered into a competition with Zeuxis, who produced a picture of grapes so successfully represented that birds flew up to the stage-buildings; whereupon Parrhasius himself produced such a realistic picture of a curtain that Zeuxis, proud of the verdict of the birds, requested that the curtain should now be drawn and the picture displayed; and when he realized his mistake, with a modesty that did him honour he yielded up the prize, saying that whereas he had deceived birds Parrhasius had deceived him, an artist. It is said that Zeuxis also subsequently painted a Child Carrying Grapes, and when birds flew to the fruit with the same frankness as before he strode up to the picture in anger with it and said, I have painted the grapes better than the child, as if I had made a success of that as well, the birds would inevitably have been afraid of it. He also executed works in clay, the only works of art that were left at Arnbracia when Fulvius Nobilior removed the statues of the Muses from that place to Rome. There is at Rome a Helena by Zeuxis in the Porticoes of Philippus, and a Marsyas Bound, in the Shrine of Concord.

Parrhasius also, a native of Ephesus contributed much to painting, he was the first to give proportions to painting and the first to give vivacity to the expression of the countenance, elegance of the hair and beauty of the mouth; indeed it is admitted by artists that he won the palm in the drawing of outlines. This in painting is the high-water mark of refinement; to paint bulk and the surface within the outlines, though no doubt a great achievement, is one in which many have won distinction, but to give the contour of the figures, and make a satisfactory boundary where the painting within finishes, is rarely attained in successful artistry. For the contour ought to round itself off and so terminate as to suggest the presence of other parts behind it also, and disclose even what it hides. This is the distinction conceded to Parrhasius by Antigonus and Xenocrates who have written on the art of painting, and they do not merely admit it but actually advertise it. And there are many other pen-sketches a still extant among his panels and parchments, from which it is said that artists derive profit. Nevertheless he seems to fall below his own level in giving expression to the surface of the body inside the outline. His picture of the People of Athens also shows ingenuity in treating the subject, since he displayed them as fickle, choleric, unjust and variable, but also placable and merciful and compassionate, boastful and ...., lofty and humble, fierce and timidand all these at the same time. He also painted a Theseus which was once in the Capitol at Rome, and a Naval Commander in a Cuirass, and in a single picture now at Rhodes figures of Meleager, Heracles and Perseus. This last picture has been three times struck by lightning at Rhodes without being effaced, a circumstance which in itself enhances the wonder felt for it. He also painted a High Priest of Cybele, a picture for which the Emperor Tiberius conceived an affection and kept it shut up in his bedchamber, the price at which it was valued according to Deculo being 6,000,000 sesterces. He also painted a Thracian Nurse with an Infant in her Arms, a Philiscus, and a Father Liber or Dionysus attended by Virtue, and Two Children in which the carefree simplicity of childhood is clearly displayed, and also a Priest attended by Boy with Incense-box and Chaplet. There are also two very famous pictures by him, a Runner in the Race in Full Armour who actually seems to sweat with his efforts, and the other a Runner in Full Armour Taking off his Arms, so lifelike that he can be perceived to be panting for breath. His Aeneas, Castor and Pollux (Polydeuces), all in the same picture, are also highly praised, and likewise his group of Telephus with Achilles, Agamemnon and Odysseus. Parrhasius was a prolific artist, but one who enjoyed the glory of his art with unparalleled arrogance, for he actually adopted certain surnames, calling himself the 'Bon Viveur,' and in some other verses 'Prince of Painters,' who had brought the art to perfection, and above all saying he was sprung from the lineage of Apollo and that his picture of Heracles at Lindos presented the hero as he had often appeared to him in his dreams. Consequently when defeated by Timanthes at Samos by a large majority of votes, the subject of the pictures being Ajax and the Award of the Arms, he used to declare in the name of his hero that he was indignant at having been defeated a second time by an unworthy opponent. He also painted some smaller pictures of an immodest nature, taking his recreation in this sort of wanton amusement.

To return to Timantheshe had a very high degree of genius. Orators have sung the praises of his Iphigenia, who stands at the altar awaiting her doom; the artist has shown all present full of sorrow, and especially her uncle, and has exhausted all the indications of grief, yet has veiled the countenance of her father himself whom he was unable adequately to portray. There are also other examples of his genius, for instance a quite small panel of a Sleeping Cyclops, whose gigantic stature he aimed at representing even on that scale by painting at his side some Satyrs measuring the size of his thumb with a wand. Indeed Timanthes is the only artist in whose works more is always implied than is depicted, and whose execution, though consummate, is always surpassed by his genius. He painted a hero which is a work of supreme perfection, in which he has included the whole art of painting male figures; this work is now in the Temple of Peace in Rome.

It was at this period that Euxinidas had as his pupil the famous artist Aristides, that Eupompus taught Pamphilus who was the instructor of Apelles.

A work of Eupompus is a Winner in a Gymnastic Contest holding a Palm branch. Eupompus's own influence was so powerful that he made a fresh division of painting; it had previously been divided into two schools, called the Helladic or Grecian and the Asiatic, but because of Eupompus, who was a Sicyonian, the Grecian school was subdivided into three groups, the Ionic, Sicyonian and Attic. To Pamphilus belong Family Group, and a Battle at Phlius and a Victory of the Athenians, and also Odysseus on his Raft. He was himself a Macedonian by birth, but was brought up at Sicyon, and was the first painter highly educated in all branches of learning, especially arithmetic and geometry, without the aid of which he maintained art could not attain perfection. He took no pupils at a lower fee than a talent, at the rate of 500 drachmae per annum, and this was paid him by both Apelles and Melanthius. It was brought about by his influence, first at Sicyon and then in the whole of Greece as well, that children of free birth were given lessons in drawing on boxwood, which had not been included hitherto, and that this art was accepted into the front rank of the liberal sciences. And it has always consistently had the honour of being practised by people of free birth, and later on by persons of station, it having always been forbidden that slaves should be instructed in it. Hence it is that neither in painting nor in the art of statuary a are there any famous works that were executed by any person who was a slave.

In the 107th Olympiad Aetion and Therimachus also attained outstanding distinction. Famous paintings by Aetion are a Father Liber or Dionysus, Tragedy and Comedy and Semiramis the Slave Girl Rising to a Throne; and the Old Woman carrying Torches, with a Newly Married Bride, remarkable for her air of modesty.

But it was Apelles of Cos who surpassed all the painters that preceded and all who were to come after him; he dates in the 112th Olympiad. He is singly contributed almost more to painting than all the other artists put together, also publishing volumes containing the principles of painting. His art was unrivalled for graceful charm, although other very great painters were his contemporaries. Although he admired their works and gave high praise to all of them, he used to say that they lacked the glamour that his work possessed, the quality denoted by the Greek word charis, and that although they had every other merit, in that alone no one was his rival. He also asserted another claim to distinction when he expressed his admiration for the immensely laborious and infinitely meticulous work of Protogenes; for he said that in all respects his achievements and those of Protogenes were on a level, or those of Protogenes were superior, but that in one respect he stood higher. that he knew when to take his hand away from a picture aa noteworthy warning of the frequently evil effects of excessive diligence. The candour of Apelles was however equal to his artistic skill: he used to acknowledge his inferiority to Melanthius in grouping, and to Aselepiodorus in nicety of measurement, that is in the proper space to be left between one object and another.

A clever incident took place between Protogenes and Apelles. Protogenes lived at Rhodes, and Apelles made the voyage there from a desire to make himself acquainted with Protogenes's works, as that artist was hitherto only known to him by reputation. He went at once to his studio. The artist was not there but there was a panel of considerable size on the easel prepared for painting, which was in the charge of a single old woman. In answer to his enquiry, she told him that Protogenes was not at home, and asked who it was she should report as having wished to see him. 'Say it was this person,' said Apelles, and taking up a brush he painted in colour across the panel an extremely fine line; and when Protogenes returned the old woman showed him what had taken place. The story goes that the artist, after looking closely at the finish of this, said that the new arrival was Apelles, as so perfect a piece of work tallied with nobody else; and he himself, using another colour, drew a still finer line exactly on the top of the first one, and leaving the room told the attendant to show it to the visitor if he returned and add that this was the person he was in search; and so it happened; for Apelles came back, and, ashamed to be beaten, cut a the lines with another in a third colour, leaving no room for any further display of minute work. Hereupon Protogenes admitted he was defeated, and flew down to the harbour to look for the visitor; and he decided that the panel should be handed on to posterity as it was, to be admired as a marvel by everybody, but particularly by artists. I am informed that it was burnt in the first fire which occurred in Caesar's palace on the Palatine; it had been previously much admired by us, on its vast surface containing nothing else than the almost invisible lines, so that among the outstanding works of many artists it looked like a blank space, and by that very fact attracted attention and was more esteemed than every masterpiece there.

Moreover it was a regular custom with Apelles never to let a day of business to be so fully occupied that he did not practise his art by drawing a line, which has passed from him into a proverb. Another habit of his was when he had finished his works to place them in a gallery in the view of passers by, and he himself stood out of sight behind the picture and listened to hear what faults were noticed, rating the public as a more observant critic than himself. And it is said that he was found fault with by a shoemaker because in drawing a subject's sandals he had represented the loops in them as one too few, and the next day the same critic was so proud of the artist's correcting the fault indicated by his previous objection that he found fault with the leg, but Apelles indignantly looked out from behind the picture and rebuked him, saying that a shoemaker in his criticism must not go beyond the sandala remark that has also passed into a proverb. In fact he also possessed great courtesy of manners, which made him more agreeable to Alexander the Great, who frequently visited his studiofor, as we have said, Alexander had published an edict forbidding any other artist to paint his portrait; but in the studio Alexander used to talk a great deal about painting without any real knowledge of it, and Apelles would politely advise him to drop the subject, saying that the boys engaged in grinding the colours were laughing at him: so much power did his authority exercise over a King who was otherwise of an irascible temper. And yet Alexander conferred honour on him in a most conspicuous instance; he had such an admiration for the beauty of his favourite mistress, named Pancaspe, that he gave orders that she should be painted in the nude by Apelles, and then discovering that the artist while executing the commission had fallen in hive with the woman, he presented her to him, great minded as he was and still greater owing to his control of himself, and of a greatness proved by this action as much as by any other victory: because he conquered himself, and presented not only his bedmate but his affection also to the artist, and was not even influenced by regard for the feelings of his favourite in having been recently the mistress of a monarch and now belonged to a painter. Some persons believe that she was the model from which the Aphrodite Anadyomene (Rising from the Sea) was painted. It was Apelles also who, kindly among his rivals, first established the reputation of Protogenes at Rhodes. Protogenes was held in low esteem by his fellow-countrymen, as is usual with home products, and, when Apelles asked him what price he set on some works he had finished, he had mentioned some small sum, but Apelles made him an offer of fifty talents for them, and spread it about that he was buying them with the intention of selling them as works of his own. This device aroused the people of Rhodes to appreciate the artist, and Apelles only parted with the pictures to them at an enhanced price.

He also painted portraits so absolutely lifelike that, incredible as it sounds, the grammarian Apio has left it on record that one of those persons called 'physiognomists,' who prophesy people's future by their countenance, pronounced from their portraits either the year of the subjects' deaths hereafter or the number of years they had already lived. Apelles had been on bad terms with Ptolemy in Alexander's retinue. When this Ptolemy was King of Egypt, Apelles on a voyage had been driven by a violent storm into Alexandria. His rivals maliciously suborned the King's jester to convey to him an invitation to dinner, to which he came. Ptolemy was

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very indignant, and paraded his hospitality-stewards for Apelles to say which of them had given him the invitation. Apelles picked up a piece of extinguished charcoal from the hearth and drew a likeness on the wall, the King recognizing the features of the jester as soon as he began the sketch. He also painted a portrait of King Antigonus who was blind in one eye, and devised an original method of concealing the defect, for he did the likeness in 'three-quarter,' so that the feature that was lacking in the subject might be thought instead to be absent in the picture, and he only showed the part of the face which he was able to display as unmutilated. Among his works there are also pictures of persons at the point of death. But it is not easy to say which of his productions are of the highest rank. His Aphrodite emerging from the Sea was dedicated by his late lamented Majesty Augustus in the Shrine of his father Caesar; it is known as the Anadyomene; this like other works is eclipsed yet made famous by the Greek verses which sing its praises; the lower part of the picture having become damaged nobody could be found to restore it, but the actual injury contributed to the glory of the artist. This picture however suffered from age and rot, and Nero when emperor substituted another for it, a work by Dorotheus. Apelles had also begun on another Aphrodite at Cos, which was to surpass even his famous earlier one; but death grudged him the work when only partly finished, nor could anybody be found to carry on the task, in conformity with the outlines of the sketches prepared. He also painted Alexander the Great holding a Thunderbolt, in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, for a fee of twenty talents in gold. The fingers have the appearance of projecting from the surface and the thunderbolt seems to stand out from the picturereaders must remember that all these effects were produced by four colours; the artist received the price of this picture in gold coin measured by weighty not counted. He also painted a Procession of the Magabyzus, the priest of Artemis of Ephesus, a Clitus with Horse hastening into battle; and an armour-bearer handing someone a helmet at his command. How many times he painted Alexander and Philip it would be superfluous to recount. His Habron at Samos is much admired, as is his Menander. King of Caria, at Rhodes, likewise his Antaeus, and at Alexandria his Gorgosthenes the Tragic Actor, and at Rome his Castor and Pollux with Victory and Alexander the Great, and also his figure of Ware with the Hands Tied behind, with Alexander riding in Triumph in his Chariot. Both of these pictures his late lamented Majesty Augustus with restrained good taste had dedicated in the most frequented parts of his forum; the emperor Claudius however thought it more advisable to cut out the face of Alexander from both works and substitute portraits of Augustus. The Heracles with Face Averted in the temple of Diana is also believed to be by his handso drawn that the picture more truly displays Heracles' face than merely suggests it to the imaginationa very difficult achievement. He also painted a Nude Hero, a picture with which he challenged Nature herself. There is, or was, a picture of a Horse by him, painted in a competition, by which he carried his appeal for judgement from mankind to the dumb quadrupeds; for perceiving that his rivals were getting the better of him by intrigue, he had some horses brought and showed them their pictures one by one; and the horses only began to neigh when they saw the horse painted by Apelles; and this always happened subsequently, showing it to be a sound. test of artistic skill. He also did a Neoptolemus on Horseback fighting against the Persians, an Archelaus with his Wife and Daughter, and an Antigonus with a Breastplate marching with his horse at his side. Connoisseurs put at the head of all his works the portrait of the same king seated on horseback, and his Artemis in the midst of a band of Maidens offering a Sacrifice, a work by which he may be thought to have surpassed Homer's verses describing the same subject. He even painted things that cannot be represented in picturesthunder, lightning and thunderbolts, the pictures known respectively under the Greek titles of Bronte, Astrape and Ceraunobolia.

His inventions in the art of painting have been useful to all other painters as well, but there was one which nobody was able to imitate: when his works were finished he used to cover them over with a black varnish of such thinness that its very presence, while its reflexion threw up the brilliance of all the colours and preserved them from dust and dirt, was only visible to anyone who looked at it close up, but also employing great calculation of lights, so that the brilliance of the colours should not offend the sight when people looked at them as if through muscovy-glass and so that the same device from a distance might invisibly give sombreness to colours that were too brilliant.

Contemporary with Apelles was Aristides of Thebes. He was the first of all painters who depicted the mind and expressed the feelings of a human being, what the Greeks term ethe, and also the emotions; he was a little too hard in his colours. His works include on the capture of a town, showing an infant creeping to the breast of its mother who is dying of a wound; it is felt that the mother is aware of the child and is afraid that as her milk is exhausted by death it may suck blood; this picture had been removed by Alexander the Great to his native place, Pella. The same artist painted a Battle with the Persians, a panel that contains a hundred human figures, which he parted with to Mnason the Tyrant of Elatea on the terms of ten Chariots Racing, a Suppliant, who almost appeared speak, Huntsmen with Quarry, Leontion Epicurus's mistress, and Woman At Rest through per man. He also painted a Four-horse of her Brother; and likewise the Dionysus the Ariadne once on view in the Temple of Ceres at Rome, and the Tragic Actor and Boy in the Temple of Apollo, a picture of which the beauty has perished owing to the lack of skill of a painter commissioned by Marcus Junius as praetor to clean it in readiness for the festival of the Games of Apollo. There has also been on view in the Temple of Faith in the Capitol his picture of an Old Man with a Lyre giving lessons to a Boy. He also painted a Sick Man which has received unlimited praise; and he was so able an artist that King Attalus is said to have bought a single picture of his for a hundred talents.

Protogenes also flourished at the same time, as has been said. He was born at Caunus, in a community that was under the dominion of Rhodes. At the outset he was extremely poor, and extremely devoted to his art and consequently not very productive.

Who his teacher was is believed to be unrecorded. Some people say that until the age of fifty he was also a ship-painter, and that this is proved by the fact that when he was decorating with paintings, on a very famous site at Athens, the gateway of the Temple of Athene, where he depicted his famous Paralus and Hammonias, which is by some people called the Nausicaa, he added some small drawings of battleships in what painters call the 'side-pieces,' in order to show from what commencement his work had arrived at the pinnacle of glorious display. Among his pictures the palm is held by his Ialysus, which is consecrated in the Temple of Peace in Rome. It is said that while painting this he lived on soaked lupins, because he thus at the same time both sustained his hunger and thirst and avoided blunting his sensibilities by too luxurious a diet. For this picture he used four coats of paint, to serve as three protections against injury and old age, so that when the upper coat disappeared the one below it would take its place. In the picture there is a dog marvellously executed, so as to appear to have been painted by art and good fortune jointly: the artist's own opinion was that he did not fully show in it the foam of the panting dog, although in all the remaining details he had satisfied himself, which was very difficult. But the actual art displayed displeased him, nor was he able to diminish it, and he thought it was excessive and departed too far from realitythe foam appeared to be painted, not to be the natural product of the animal's mouth; vexed and tormented, as he wanted his picture to contain the truth and not merely a near-truth, he had several times rubbed off the paint and used another brush, quite unable to satisfy himself. Finally he fell into a rage with his art because it was perceptible, and dashed a sponge against the place in the picture that offended him, and the sponge restored the colours he had removed, in the way that his anxiety had wished them to appear, and chance produced the effect of nature in the picture!

It is said that Nealces also following this example of his achieved a similar success in representing a horse's foam by dashing a sponge on the picture in a similar manner, in a representation of a man clucking in his cheek to soothe a horse he was holding. Thus did Protogenes indicate the possibilities of a stroke of luck also.

It was on account of this Ialysus that King Demetrius, in order to avoid burning a picture, abstained from setting fire to Rhodes when the city could only be taken from the side where the picture was stored, and through consideration for the safety of a picture lost the chance of a victory! Protogenes at the time was in his little garden on the outskirts of the city, that is in the middle of the Camp of Demetrius, and would not be interrupted by the battles going on, or on any account suspend the works he had begun, had he not been summoned by the King, who asked him what gave him the assurance to continue outside the walls. He replied that he knew the King was waging war with the Rhodians, not with the arts. The King, delighted to be able to safeguard the hands which he had spared, placed guardposts to protect him, and, to avoid repeatedly calling him from his work, actually though an enemy came to pay him visits, and quitting his aspirations for his own victory, in the thick of battles and the battering down of walls, looked on at the work of an artist. And even to this day the story is attached to a picture of that date that Protogenes painted it with a sword hanging over him. The picture is the one of a Satyr, called the Satyr Reposing, and to give a final touch to the sense of security felt at the time, the figure holds a pair of flutes.

Other works of Protogenes were a Cydippe, Tlepolemus, a Philiscus the Tragic Poet in Meditation, an Athlete, a portrait of King Antigonus, and one of the Mother of Aristotle the philosopher. Aristotle used to advise the artist to paint the achievements of Alexander the Great, as belonging to history for all time. The impulse of his mind however and a certain artistic capriciousness led him rather to the subjects mentioned. His latest works were pictures of Alexander and of Pan. He also made bronze statues, as we have said.

In the same period there was also Aselepiodorus, who was admired by Apelles for his proportions. For a picture of the Twelve Gods the tyrant Mnaso paid him three hundred minae per god. The same patron paid Theomnestus twenty minae for each of the heroes in a picture.

To the list of these artists must also be added Nicomachus son and pupil of Aristides. He painted a Rape of Persephone, a picture formerly in the Shrine of Minerva on the Capitol, just above the Chapel of Youth; and there was also in the Capitol, where it was placed by General Planeus, his Victory hurrying her Chariot aloft. He was the first painter who represented Odysseus wearing a felt skull-cap. He also painted an Apollo and Artemis, and the Mother of the Gods seated on a Lion, and likewise a fine picture of Bacchants with Satyrs prowling towards them, and a Scylla that is now in the Temple of Peace in Rome. No other painter was ever a more rapid worker. Indeed it is recorded that he accepted a commission from the tyrant of Sicyon Aristratus to paint by a given date a monument that he was erecting to the poet Telestes, and that he only arrived not long before the date; the wrathful tyrant threatened to punish him, but in a few days he finished the work with a speed and an artistic skill that were both remarkable. Among his pupils were his brother Ariston and his son Aristides and Philoxenus of Eretria, who painted for King Cassander a picture that holds the highest rank, containing a battle between Alexander and Darius. He also painted a picture with a wanton subject showing three Sileni at their revels. Imitating the rapidity of his master he introduced some shorthand methods of painting, executed with still more rapidity of technique.

With these artists is also reckoned Nicophanes, an elegant and finished painter with whom few can be compared for gracefulness, but who for tragic feeling and weight of style is far from Zeuxis and Apelles. Perseus, the pupil to whom Apelles dedicated his volumes on the art of painting, had belonged to the same period. Aristides of Thebes also had as his pupils his sons Niceros and Ariston, the latter the painter of a Satyr Crowned with a Wreath and Holding a Goblet; and other pupils of Aristides were Antorides and Euphranor about the latter we shall speak later on.

37. For it is proper to append the artists famous with the brush in a minor style of painting. Among these was Piraeicus, to be ranked below few painters in skill; it is possible that he won distinction by his choice of subjects, inasmuch as although adopting a humble line he attained in that field the height of glory. He painted barbers' shops and cobblers' stalls, asses, viands and the like, consequently receiving a Greek name meaning 'painter of sordid subjects'; in these however he gives exquisite pleasure, and indeed they fetched bigger prices than the largest works of many masters. On the other hand 'a picture by Serapio,' says Varro, 'covered the whole of the Maenian Balconies at the place Beneath the Old Shops.' Serapio was a most successful scene-painter, but he could not paint a human being. On the contrary, Dionysius painted nothing else but people, and consequently has a Greek name meaning 'Painter of Human Beings.' Callicles also made small pictures, and so did Calates of subjects taken from comedy; both classes were painted by Antiphilus, who executed the famous picture of Hesion and an Alexander and a Philip with Athene which are now in the school in Octavia's Porticoes, and in Philippus' Portico a Father Liber or Dionysus, a Young Alexander, Hippolytus alarmed by the Bull rushing upon him, and in Pompey's Portico a Cadmus and Europa. He also painted a figure in an absurd costume known by the joking name of Gryllus, the name consequently applied to every picture of that sort. He was himself born in Egypt and a pupil of Ctesidemus.

It is proper also not to pass over the painter of the temple at Ardea, especially as he was granted the citizenship of that place and honoured with an inscription on the picture, consisting in the following verses:

One Marcus Plautius, a worthy man,
Adorned, with paintings worthy of this place,
The shrine of Juno, Queen of Spouse supreme,
This Marcus Plautius, as men know, was born
In Asia wide. Now, and hereafter always,
Ardea applauds him for this work of art.

These lines are written in the antique Latin script [Meaning a kind of script that still could be recognised of Phoenician origin; see Grand Bible, Image Plate No. 58, samples 39-44.]. Nor must Spurius Tadius also, of the period of his late lamented Majesty Augustus, be cheated of his due, who first introduced the most attractive fashion of painting walls with pictures of country houses and porticoes and landscape gardens, groves, woods, hills, fish-ponds, canals, rivers, coasts, and whatever anybody could desire, together with various sketches of people going for a stroll or sailing in a boat or on land going to country houses riding on asses or in carriages, and also people fishing and fowling or hunting or even gathering the vintage. His works include splendid villas approached by roads across marshes men tottering and

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staggering along carrying women on their shoulders for a bargain, and a number of humorous drawings of that sort besides, extremely wittily designed. He also introduced using pictures of seaside cities to decorate uncovered terraces, giving a most pleasing effect and at a very small expense.

But among artists great fame has been confined to painters of pictures only a fact which shows the wisdom of early times to be the more worthy of respect, for they did not decorate walls, merely for owners of property, or houses, which would remain in one place and which could not be rescued from a fire. Protogenes was content with a cottage in his little garden; Apelles had no wall-frescoes in his house; it was not yet the fashion to colour the whole of the walls. With all these artists their art was on the alert for the benefit of cities, and a painter was the common property of the world.

A little before the period of his late lamented Majesty Augustus, Arellius also was in high esteem at Rome, had he not prostituted his art by a notorious outrage, by always paying court to any woman he happened to fall in love with, and consequently painting goddesses, but in the likeness of his mistresses; and so his pictures included a number of portraits of harlots. Another recent painter was Famulus, a dignified and severe but also very florid artist; to him belonged a Minerva who faced the spectator at whatever angle she was looked at. Famulus used to spend only a few hours a day in painting, and also took his work very seriously, as he always wore a toga, even when in the midst of his easels. The Golden House was the prison that contained his productions, and this is why other examples of his work are not extant to any considerable extent. After him in esteem were Cornelius Pinus and Attius Priscus, who painted the temples of Honour and Virtue for the Emperor Vespasian's restoration of them; Priscus was nearer in style to the artists of old days.

38. In speaking of painting one must not omit the famous story about Lepidus. During his Triumvirate, when entertained by the magistrates of a certain place, he was given lodging in a house buried in trees; and the next day he complained to them in threatening language that he had been robbed of sleep by the singing of the birds however the authorities had a picture of a large snake made on an extremely long strip of parchment and fixed it up round the wood, and the story goes that this at once frightened the birds into silence, and that subsequently it was possible to keep them in check.

39. It is not agreed who was the inventor of painting in wax and of designs in encaustic. Some people think it was a discovery of Aristides, subsequently brought to perfection by Praxiteles, but there were encaustic paintings in existence at a considerably earlier date, for instance those of Polygnotus, and Nicanor and Mnasilaus of Paros. Also Elasippus of Aegina has inscribed on a picture enekan ('burnt in'), which he would not have done if the art of encaustic painting-had not been invented.

40. It is recorded also that Pamphilus, the teacher of Apelles, not only painted in encaustic but also taught it to Pausias of Sicyon, the first artist who became famous in this style. Pausias was the son of Bryetes, and started as his father's pupil. He himself also did some wall-painting with the brush at Thespiae, when some old paintings by Polygnotus were being restored, and he was deemed to come off very second best in comparison with the original artist, having entered into competition in what was not really his line. Pausias also first introduced the painting of panelled ceilings, and it was not customary before him to decorate arched roofs in this way. He used to paint miniatures, and especially children. His rivals explained this practice as being due to the slow pace of his work in painting; and consequently to give his work also the reputation of speed he finished a picture in a single day, a picture of a boy which was called in Greek Henieresios, meaning One-day Boy. In his youth he fell in love with a fellow-townswoman named Glycera, who invented chaplets of flowers, and by imitating her in rivalry he advanced the art of encaustic painting so as to reproduce an extremely numerous variety of flowers. Finally he painted a portrait of the woman herself, seated and wearing a wreath, which is one of the very finest of pictures; it is called in Greek Stephanoplocos, Girl making Wreaths, or by others Stephanopolis, Girl selling Wreaths, because Glycera had supported her poverty by that trade. A copy (in Greek apographoa) of this picture was bought by Lucius Lucullus at Athens for two talents; it had been made by Dionysius at Athens. But Pausias also did large pictures, for instance the Sacrifice of Oxen which formerly was to be seen in Pompey's Portico. He first invented a method of painting which has afterwards been copied by many people but equalled by no one; the chief point was that although he wanted to show the long body of an ox he painted the animal facing the spectator and not standing sideways, and its great size is fully conveyed. Next, whereas all painters ordinarily execute in light colour the parts they wish to appear prominent and in dark those they wish to keep less obvious, this artist has made the whole ox of a black colour and has given substance to the shadow from the shadow itself, with quite remarkable skill that shows the shapes standing out on a level surface and a uniform solidity on a broken ground. Pausias also passed his life at Sicyon, which was for a long period a native place of painting. But all the pictures there had to be sold to meet a debt of the community, and were removed from the ownership of the state to Rome by Scaurus as aedile.

After Pausias, Euphranor the Isthmian distinguished himself far before all others, in the 104th Olympiad; he has also appeared in our account of statuaries. His works included colossal statues, works in marble, and reliefs, as he was exceptionally studious and diligent, excelling in every field and never falling below his own level. This artist seems to have been the first fully to represent the lofty qualities of heroes, and to have achieved good proportions, but he was too slight in his structure of the whole body and too large in his heads and joints. He also wrote books about proportions and about colours. Works of his are a Cavalry Battle, the Twelve Gods, and a Theseus, in respect of which he said that Parrhasius's Theseus had lived on a diet of roses, but his was a beef-eater. There is a celebrated picture by him at Ephesus, Odysseus Feigning Madness and yoking an ox with a horse, with men in cloaks reflecting, and the leader sheathing his sword.

Contemporaries of Euphranor were Cydias, for whose picture of the Argonauts the orator Hortensius [114-50 BC] paid 144,000 sesterces, and made a shrine for its reception at his villa at Tusculum. Euphranor's pupil was Antidotus. Works by the latter are a Combatant with a Shield at Athens and a Wrestler and a Trumpeter which has been exceptionally praised. Antidotus himself was more careful in his work than prolific, and severe in his use of colours; his chief distinction was being the teacher of the Athenian Nicias, who was an extremely careful painter of female portraits. Nicias kept a strict watch on light and shade, and took the greatest pains to make his paintings stand out from the panels. Works of his are: a Nemea, brought to Rome from Asia by Silanus and deposited in the Senate-house as we have said, and also the Father Liber or Dionysus in the Shrine of Concord, a Hyacinthus with which Caesar Augustus was so delighted that when he took Alexandria he brought it back with himand consequently Tiberius Caesar dedicated this picture in the Temple a of Augustusand a Dana; while at Ephesus there is the tomb of a megabyzus or priest of Diana of Ephesus, and at Athens there is a Necyomantea of Homer. The last the artist refused to sell to King Attalus for 60 talents, and preferred to present it to his native place, as he was a wealthy man. He also executed some large pictures, among them a Calypso, an Io and an Andromeda; and also the very fine Alexander in Pompey's Porticoes and a Seated Calypso are assigned to him.

In drawings of animals he was most successful with dogs. It is this Nicias of whom Praxiteles used to say, when asked which of his own works in marble he placed highest, `The ones to which Nicias has set his hand'so much value did he assign to his colouring of surfaces. It is not quite clear whether it is another artist of the same name or this Nicias whom some people put in the 112th Olympiad. [332-329 BC].

With Nicias is compared Athenion of Maronea, and sometimes to the disadvantage of the former. Athenion was a pupil of Glaucion of Corinth; he is more sombre in his colour than Nicias and yet therewithal more pleasing, so that his extensive knowledge shines out in his actual painting. He painted a Cavalry Captain in the temple at Eleusis and at Athens the group of figures which has been called the Family Group, and also an Achilles Disguised in Female Dress detected by Odysseus, a group of six figures in a single picture, and a Groom with a Horse, which has specially contributed to his fame. If he had not died in youth, there would have been nobody to compare with him.

Heraclides of Macedon is also a painter of note. He began by painting ships, and after the capture of King Perseus he migrated to Athens, where at the same period was the painter Metrodorus, who was also a philosopher and a great authority in both fields. Accordingly when Lucius Paulus after conquering Perseus requested the Athenians to send him their most esteemed philosopher to educate his children, and also a painter to embellish his triumphal procession, the Athenians selected Metrodorus, stating that he was most distinguished in both of these requirements alike, as to which Paulus also held the same view. Timomachus of Byzantium the period of Caesar's dictatorship painted an Ajax and a Medea, placed by Caesar in the temple of Venus Genetrix, having been bought at the price of 80 talents (Marcus Varro rates the Attic talent at 6000 denarii). Equal praise is given to Timomachus's Orestes, his Iphigenia among the Tauri and his Gymnastic-Master Lecythion; also his Noble Family and his Two Men wearing the Pallium, whom he has represented as about to converse; one is a standing figure and the other seated. It is in his painting of a Gorgon however that his art seems to have given him most success.

Pausias's son and pupil Aristolaus was one of the painters of the very severe style; to him belong an Epaminondas, a Pericles, a Medea, a Virtue, a Theseus, a figure representing the Athenian People, and a Sacrifice of Oxen. Some persons also admire Nicophanes, who was likewise a pupil of Pausias, for his careful accuracy which only artists can appreciate, though apart from that he is hard in his colouring and lavish in his use of ochre. As for Socrates he is justly a universal favourite popular pictures by him are his group of Asclepius with his daughters Health, Brightness, All-Heal and Remedy, and his Sluggard, bearing the Greek name of Ocnos, Laziness, and represented as twisting a rope of broom which an ass is nibbling.

Having so far pointed out the chief painters in both branches, we will also mention those of the rank next to the first: Aristoclides who decorated the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, Antiphilus who is praised for his Boy Blowing a Fire, and for the apartment, beautiful in itself, lit by the reflection from the fire and the light thrown on the boy's face; and likewise for his Spinning-room, in which all the women are busily plying their tasks, and his Ptolemy Hunting, but, most famous of all, his Satyr with Leopard's Skin, called in Greek the Man Shading his Eyes. Aristophon did an Ancaeus Wounded by the Boar, with Astypale sharing his grief, and a picture crowded with figures, among them Priam, Helen, Credulity, Odysseus, Deiphobus, Craft. Androbius painted a Scyllus Cutting the Anchor-ropes of the Persian Fleet, Artemon a Danae admired by the Robbers, a Queen Stratdnice, and a Heracles and Deianira; but the finest of all his works, now in Octavia's Buildings, are his Heracles Ascending to Heaven with the consent of the Gods after his mortal remains were burnt on Mount Oeta in Doris, and the story of Laomedon in the matter of Heraeles and Posidon. Alcimachus painted Dioxippus, who won the All-round Bout at Olympia 'without raising any dust,' akoniti as the Greek word is. Coenus painted pedigrees.

Ctesilochus a pupil of Apelles became famous for a saucy burlesque painting which showed Zeus in labour with Dionysus, wearing a womans nightcap and crying like a woman, while goddesses act as midwives; Cleon for his Cadnsus, Ctesidemus for his Storming of Oechalia and his Laodamia. Ctesicles won notoriety by the insult he offered to Queen Stratonice, because as she did not give him an honourable reception he painted a picture of her romping with a fisherman with whom gossip said she was in love, and put it on exhibition at Ephesus Harbour, himself making a hurried escape on shipboard. The Queen would not allow the picture to be removed, the likeness of the two figures being admirably expressed. Cratinus painted the Comic Actors in the Processional Building at Athens, Eutychides a Chariot and Pair driven by Victory. Eudorus is famous for a scene-paintinghe also made bronze statuesand Hippys for his Posidon and his Victory. Habron painted a Friendship and a Harmony and figures of gods, Leontiscus an Aratus with the Trophies of Victory, and a Harpist Girl, Leon a Sappho, Nearchus Aphrodite among the Graces and the Cupids, and a Heracles in Sorrow Repenting his Madness, Nealces an Aphrodite. This Nealces was a talented and clever artist, inasmuch as when he painted a picture of a naval battle between the Persians and the Egyptians, which he desired to be understood as taking place on the river Nile, the water of which resembles the sea, he suggested by inference what could not be shown by art: he painted an ass standing on the shore drinking, and a crocodile lying in wait for it. Oenias has done a Family Group, Philiscus a Painter's Studio with a boy blowing the fire, Phalerion a Scylla, Simonides an Agatharchus and a Mnemosyne, Simus a Young Man Reposing, a Fuller's Shop Celebrating the Quinquatrus, and also a Nemesis of great merit; Theorus a Man Anointing Himself, and also Orestes killing his Mother and Aegisthus, and the Trojan War in a series of pictures now in Philippus' Porticoes at Rome and a Cassandra, in the Shrine of Concord, a Leontion Epicurus a mistress in Contemplation, a King Demetrius; Theon a Madness of Orestes, a Thamyras the Harper; Tauriscus a Man throwing a Quoit, a Clytaemnestra, a Young Pan, a Polynices Claiming the Sovereignty, and a Capaneus.

Among these artists the following remarkable case is not to be left out; the man who ground the colours for the painter Nealces, Erigonus, attained such proficiency on his own account that he actually left behind him a famous pupil, Pasias, the brother of the painter Aeginetas. It is also a very unusual and memorable fact that the last works of artists and their unfinished pictures such as the Iris of Aristides, the Tyndarus' Children of Nicomachus, the Medea of Timomachus and the Aphrodite of Apelles which we have mentioned, are more admired than those which they finished, because in them are seen the preliminary drawings left visible and the artists' actual thoughts, and in the midst of approval's beguilement we feel regret that the artist's hand while engaged in the work was removed by death.

There are still some artists who are not undistinguished but who only need be mentioned in passingAristocydes, Anaxander, Aristobulus of Syria, Arcesilas son of Tisicrates, Coroebus the pupil of Nicomachus, Charmantides, the pupil of Euphranor, Dionysodorus of Colophon, Dicaeogenes resident at the court of King Demetrius, Euthymides, the Macedonian Heraclides and Milon of Soli, pupils of Pyrornachus, the sculptor of the human figure, Mnasitheus of Sicyon, Mnasitimus the son and pupil of Aristonides, Nessus

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son of Habron, Polemo of Alexandria, Theodorus of Samos and Stadius, both pupils of Nicosthenes, Xenon of Sicyon, pupil of Neocles.

There have also been women artistsTimarete the daughter of Micon who painted the extremely archaic panel picture of Artemis at Ephesus, Irene daughter and pupil of the painter Cratinus who did the Maiden at Eleusis, a Calypso, an Old Man and Theodorus the Juggler, and painted also Alcisthenes the Dancer; Aristarete the daughter and pupil of Nearchus, who painted an Asclepius.

When Marcus Varro was a young man, Iaia of Cyzicus, who never married, painted pictures with the brush at Rome (and also drew with the cestrum or graver on ivory), chiefly portraits of women, as well as a large picture on wood of an Old Woman at Naples, and also a portrait of herself, done with a looking-glass. No one else had a quicker hand in painting, while her artistic skill was such that in the prices she obtained she far outdid the most celebrated portrait painters of the same period, Sopolis and Dionysius, whose pictures fill the galleries. A certain Olympias also painted; the only fact recorded about her is that Autobulus was her pupil.

41. In early days there were two kinds of encaustic painting, with wax and on ivory with a graver or cestrum (that is a small pointed graver); but later the practice came in of decorating battleships. This added a third method, that of employing a brush, when wax has been melted by fire; this process of painting ships is not spoilt by the action of the sun nor by salt water or winds.

42. In Egypt they also colour cloth by an exceptionally remarkable kind of process. They first thoroughly rub white fabrics and then smear them not with colours but with chemicals that absorb colour. When this has been done, the fabrics show no sign of the treatment, but after being plunged into a cauldron of boiling dye they are drawn out a moment later dyed. And the remarkable thing is that although the cauldron contains only one colour, it produces a series of different colours in the fabric, the hue changing with the quality of the chemical employed, and it cannot afterwards be washed out. Thus the cauldron which, if dyed fabrics were put into it, would undoubtedly blend the colours together, produces several colours out of one, and dyes the material in the process of being boiled; and the dress fabrics when submitted to heat become stronger for wear than they would be if not so heated.

43. Enough and more than enough has now been said about painting. It may be suitable to append to these remarks something about the plastic art. It was through the service of that same earth that modelling portraits from clay was first invented by Butades, a potter of Sicyon, at Corinth. He did this owing to his daughter, who was in love with a young man; and she, when he was going abroad, drew in outline on the wall the shadow of his face thrown by a lamp. Her father pressed clay on this and made a relief, which he hardened by exposure to fire with the rest of his pottery; and it is said that this likeness was preserved in the Shrine of the Nymphs until the destruction of Corinth by Mummius. Some authorities state that the plastic art was first invented by Rhoecus and Theodorus at Samos, long before the expulsion of the Bacchiadae from Corinth, but that when Damaratus, who in Etruria became the father of Tarquin king of the Roman people, was banished from the same city, [578 B.C.] he was accompanied by the modellers Euchir, Diopus and Eugrammus, and they introduced modelling to Italy. The method of adding red earth to the material or else modelling out of red chalk, was an invention of Butades, and he first placed masks as fronts to the outer gutter-tiles on roofs; these at the first stage he called prostypa, but afterwards he likewise made eciypa. It was from these that the ornaments on the pediments of temples originated. Because of Butades modellers get their Greek name of piastae.

44. The first person who modelled a likeness in plaster of a human being from the living face itself, and established the method of pouring wax into this plaster mould and then making final corrections on the wax cast, was Lysistratus of Sicyon, the brother of Lysippus of whom we have spoken. Indeed he introduced the practice of giving likenesses, the object aimed at previously having been to make as handsome a face as possible. The same artist also invented taking casts from statues, and this method advanced to such an extent that no figures or statues were made without a clay model. This shows that the knowledge of modelling in clay was older than that of casting bronze.

45. Most highly praised modellers were Damophilus and Gorgasus, who were also painters they had decorated the Shrine of Ceres in the Circus Maxfmus at Rome with both kinds of their art, and there is an inscription on the building in Greek verse in which they indicated that the decorations on the right hand side were the work of Damophilus and those on the left were by Gorgasus. Varro states that before this shrine was built everything in the temples was Tuscanic work; and that when this shrine was undergoing restoration the embossed work of the walls was cut out and enclosed in framed panels; and that the figures also were taken from the pediment and dispersed. Chalcosthenes also executed at Athens some works in unbaked clay, at the place named the Cerarnicus, Potters Quarter, after his workshop. Marcus Varro records that he knew at Rome an artist named Possis who made fruit and grapes in such a way that nobody could tell by sight from the real things. Varro also speaks very highly of Arcesilaus, who was on terms of intimacy with Lucius Lucullus, and says that his sketch-models of clay used to sell for more, among artists themselves, than the finished works of others; and that this artist made the statue of Venus Genetrix in Caesar's Forum and that it was erected before it was finished as there was a great haste to dedicate it; and that the same artist had contracted with Lucullus to make a statue of Happiness for 1,000,000 sesterces, which was prevented by the death of both parties; and that when a Knight of Rome Octavius desired him to make a wine-bowl he made him a model in plaster for the price of a talent. He also praises Pasiteles, who said that modelling was the mother of chasing and of bronze statuary and sculpture, and who, although he was eminent in all these arts, never made anything before he had made a clay model. He also states that this art had already been brought to perfection by Italy and especially by Etruria; that Vulca was summoned from Veii to receive the contract from Tarquinius Priscus for a statue of Jupiter to be consecrated in the Capitol, and that this Jupiter was made of clay and consequently was regularly painted with cinnabar; and that the four-horse chariots about which we spoke above on the pediment of the temple were modelled in clay; and that the figure of Hercules, which even today retains in the city the name of the material it is made of, was the work of the same artist. For these were the most splendid images of gods at that time; and we are not ashamed of those ancestors of ours for worshipping them in that material. For they used not formerly to work up silver and gold even for gods.

46. Statues of this kind are still to be found at various places. In fact even at Rome and in the Municipal Towns there are many pediments of temples, remarkable for their carving and artistic merit and intrinsic durability, more deserving of respect than gold, and certainly less baneful. At the present day indeed, even in the midst of our present rich resources the preliminary libation is made at sacrifices not from fluorspar or crystal vessels but with small ladles of earthenware, thanks to the ineffable kindness of Mother Earth, if one considers her gifts in detail, even though we omit her blessings in the various kinds of corn, wine. fruit, herbs and shrubs, drugs and metals, all the things that we have so far mentioned. Nor do our products even in pottery satisfy our needs with their unfailing supply, with jars invented for our wine, and pipes for water, conduits for baths, tiles for our roofs, baked bricks for our house-walls and foundations, or things that are made on a wheel, because of which King Numa established a seventh Guild, the Potters. Indeed moreover many people have preferred to be buried in earthenware coffins, for instance Marcus Varro who was interred in the Pythagorean style, in leaves of myrtle, olive and as black poplar; the majority of mankind employs earthenware receptacles for this purpose. Among table services Samian pottery is still spoken highly of; this reputation is also retained by Arezzo in Italy, and, merely for cups, Sorrento, Asti, and Pollenza, and by Saguntuni in Spain and Pergamum in Asia Minor. Also Tralles in Asia Minor and Modena in Italy have their respective products, since even this brings nations fame, and their products also, so distinguished are the workshops of the potter's wheel, are carried to and fro across land and sea. In a temple at Erythrae even today are on view two wine-jars which were dedicated on account of their fine material, owing to a competition between a master potter and his apprentice as to which would make thinner earthenware. The pottery of Cos is most famous for this, but that of Adria is most substantial; while there are also some instances of severity also in relation to pottery. We find that Quintus Coponius was found guilty of bribery because he made a present of a jar of wine to a person who had the right to a vote. And so that luxury also may contribute some importance to earthenware, the name of a service of three dishes, we are told by Fenestella, used to denote the most luxurious possible banquet: one dish was of lamprey, a second of pike and a third of a mixture of fish. Clearly manners were already on the decline, though nevertheless we can still prefer them even to those of the philosophers of Greece, inasmuch as it is recorded that at the auction held by the heirs of Aristotle seventy earthenware dishes were. sold. We have already stated when on the subject of birds that a single dish cost the tragic actor Aesop 100,000 sesterces, and I have no doubt that readers felt indignant; but, good heavens, Vitellius when emperor had a dish made that cost 1,000,000 sesterees, and to make which a special furnace was constructed out in open country, as luxury has reached a point when even earthenware costs more than vessels of fluorspar. It was owing to this dish that Mucianus in his second consulship, in a protest [AD. 70] which he delivered, reproached the memory of Vitellius for dishes as broad as marshes, although this particular dish was not more disgraceful than the poisoned one by which Cassius Severus when prosecuting Asprenas charged him with having caused the death of 130 guests. Artistic pottery also confers fame on towns, for instance Reggio and Cumae. The priests of the Mother of the Cods called Galli castrate themselves, if we accept the account of Marcus Caelius, with a piece of Samian pottery, the only way of avoiding dangerous results; and Cacius proposed as a penalty for an abominable offence that the guilty person should have his tongue cut out in the same way, just as if he were already himself inveighing against the same Vitellius in anticipation. What is there that experience cannot devise? For it employs even broken crockery, making it more solid and durable by pounding it up and adding what is called Segni lime, a kind of material used in a method which experience has also invented for making pavements.

47. But there are other inventions also that belong to Earth herself. For who could sufficiently marvel at the fact that the most inferior portion of the earth's substance, which is in consequence designated dust, on the hills of Pozzuoli, encounters the waves of the sea and as soon as it is submerged turns into a single mass of stone that withstands the attacks of the waves and becomes stronger every day, especially if it mixed with broken quarry-stone from Cumae? In the Cyzicus district also the nature of the earth is the same, but there not dust but the earth itself is cut out in blocks of any size wanted and plunged into the sea; and when drawn out, it is of the consistency of stone. The same is said to take place in the neighbourhood of Cassandreae and it is stated that in a fresh water spring at Cnidus earth becomes petrified in less than eight months. Or the coast from Oropus to Aulis all the earth that the sea touches is turned into rocks. The finest portion of the sand from the Nile is not very different from the dust of Pozzuoli, not to be used for an embankment against the sea and to act as a breakwater against waves, but for the purpose of subduing men's bodies for the exercises of the wrestling school. At all events it used to be imported from there for Patrobius, a freedman of the emperor Nero, and moreover I also find that this sand was carried with other military commodities for Alexander the Great's generals Craterus, Leonnatus and Meleager, though I shall not say more about this part of the subject any more than, by heaven, I shall mention the use of earth in making ointments, employed by our young men while ruining their vigour of mind by exercising their muscles.

48. Moreover, are there not in Africa and Spain walls made of earth that are called framed walls, because they are made by packing in a frame enclosed between two boards, one on each side, and so are stuffed in rather than built, and do they not last for ages, undamaged by rain, wind and fire, and stronger than any quarry-stone? Spain still sees the watchtowers of Hannibal and turrets of earth placed on the mountain ridges. From the same source is also obtained the substantial sods of earth suitable for the fortifications of our camps and for cmbankments against the violent flooding of rivers. At all events everybody knows that party-walls can be made by coating hurdles with clay, and are thus built up as if with raw bricks.

49. Bricks should not be made from a sandy or gravelly soil and far less from a stony one, but from a marly and white soil or else from a red earth; or even with the aid of sand, at all events if coarse male sand is used. The best time for making bricks is in spring, as at midsummer they tend to crack. For buildings, only bricks two years old are recommended; moreover the material for them when it has been pounded should be well soaked before they are moulded.

Three kinds of bricks are made: the 'didoron,' the one employed by us, eighteen inches long and a foot wide, second the 'tetradoron' and third the 'pentadoron,' doron being an old Greek word meaning the palm of the hand from which comes doron, meaning a gift, because a gift was given by the hand. Consequently the bricks get their names from four or five palms' length as the case may be. Their breadth is in all cases the same. In Greece the smaller kind is used for private structures and the larger in public buildings. At Pitana in Asia Minor as also in the city states of Maxima and Callet in Further Spain bricks are made which when dried will not sink in water, being made of pumice-like earth, which is an extremely useful material when it is capable of being worked. The Greeks preferred brick walls except in places permitting of a stone structure, as brick walls last for ever if built exactly perpendicular. Consequently that was how they built both public works and kings' palacesthe wall at Athens that faces towards Mount Hymettus, at Patrae the Shrines of Zeus and of Heracles (although the columns and architraves with which they surrounded these were of stone), and the royal palace of Attaius at Tralles and likewise the palace of Croesus at Sardis, which they converted into a house of elders, and that of Mausolus at Halicarnassus, buildings still standing. Murena and Varro in their aedileship had some plaster work on brick walls at Sparta cut away, and because of the excellence of its painting had it enclosed in wooden frames and brought to Rome to decorate the Assembly-place. It was in itself a wonderful piece of work, yet its transfer caused even more admiration. In Italy also there is a brick wall at Arezzo and at Mevania. Structures of this sort are not erected in Rome, because an eighteen inch wall will only carry a single storey, and there is a regulation forbidding any partition exceeding

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that thickness: nor does the system used for party-walls permit of it.

50. Let this be what we say about bricks. Among the other kinds of earth the one with the most remarkable properties is sulphur, which exercises a great power over a great many other substances. Sulphur occurs in the Aeolian Islands between Sicily and Italy, which we have said are volcanic, but the most famous is on the island of Melos. It is also found in Italy, in the territory of Naples and Campania, on the hills called the Leucogaei. It is there dug out of mineshafts and dressed with fire. There are four kinds: live sulphur, the Greek name for which means 'untouched by fire,' which alone forms as a solid massfor all the other sorts consist of liquid and are prepared by boiling in oil; live sulphur is dug up, and it is translucent and of a green colour; it is the only one of all the kinds that is employed by doctors. The second kind is called 'clod-sulphur,' and is commonly found only in fullers' workshops. The third kind also is only employed for one purpose, for smoking woollens from beneath, as it bestows whiteness and softness; this sort is called egula. The fourth kind is specially used for making lamp-wicks. For the rest, sulphur is so potent that when put on the fire it detects epilepsy by its smell. Anaxilaus even made a sport with it by putting some in a cup of wine and placing a hot coal underneath and handing it round at dinner-parties, when by its reflection it threw on their faces a dreadful pallor as though they were dead. Its property is calorific and concoctive, but it also disperses abscesses on the body, and consequently is used as an ingredient in plasters and poultices for such cases. It is also remarkably beneficial for the kidneys and loins if in cases of pain it is applied to them with grease. In combination with turpentine it also removes lichenous growths on the face and leprosy; so it is called harpax, owing to the speed with which it has to be applied, which is caused by the need for immediate removal. Used as an electuary it is good for cases of asthma, and also purulent expectoration after coughing and as a remedy for the sting of scorpions. Live sulphur mixed with soda and pounded in vinegar and used as a liniment removes cutaneous eruptions, and also eggs of lice, and in combination with vinegar mixed with realgar it is useful on the eyelids. Sulphur also has a place in religious ceremonies, for the purpose of purifying houses by fumigation. Its potency is also perceptible in hot springs of water, and no other substance is more easily ignited, showing that it contains a powerful abundance of fire. Thunderbolts and lightning also have a smell of sulphur, and their actual light has a sulphurous quality.

51. Near to the nature of sulphur is also that of bitumen. In some places it is a slime and others an earth, the shine being emitted, as we have said, from the lake of Judea and the earth being found in the neighbourhood of the seaside town of Sidon in Syria. Both of these varieties get thickened and solidify into a dense consistency [like rubber and plastic.]. But there is also a liquid sort of bitumen, for instance that of Zacynthus and the kind imported from Babylon; at the latter place indeed it also occurs with a white colour. The bitumen from Apollonia also is liquid, and all of these varieties are called by the Greeks pissasphalt, from its likeness to vegetable-pitch and bitumen. There is also an unctuous bitumen, of the consistency of oil, found in Sicily, in a spring at Girgenti, the stream from which is tainted by it. The inhabitants collect it on tufts of reeds, as it very quickly adheres to them, and they use it instead of oil for burning in lamps, and also as a cure for scab in beasts of burden. Some authorities also include among the varieties of bitumen naphtha about which we spoke in Book 2, but its burning property and liability to ignition is far removed from any practical use. The test of bitumen is that it should be extremely brilliant, and that it should be massive, with an oppressive smell; when quite black, its brilliance is moderate, as it is commonly adulterated with vegetable pitch. Its medical effect is that of sulphur, as it is astringent, dispersive, contractive, and agglutinating. Ignited it drives away snakes by us smell. Babylonian bitumen is said to be serviceable for cataract and film in the eye, and also for leprosy lichen and itch. It is also used as a liniment for gout; while all varieties of it are used to fold back eyelashes that get in the way of sight, and also to cure toothache, when smeared on with soda. Taken as a draught with wine it alleviates an inveterate cough and shortness of breath; and it is also given in the same way in cases of dysentery, and arrests diarrhoea. Drunk however with vinegar it dissolves and brings away coagulated blood. It reduces pains in the loins and also in the joints, and applied with barley-meal it makes a special kind of plaster that bears its name. It stops a flow of blood, closes up wounds, and unites severed muscles. It is employed also for quartan fevers, the dose being a dram of bitumen and an equal weight of wild mint pounded up with a sixth of a dram of myrrh. Burnt bitumen detects cases of epilepsy, and mixed with wine and beaver-oil its scent dissipates suffocations of the womb; its smoke when applied from beneath relieves prolapsus of the womb; and drunk in wine it hastens menstruation. Among other uses of it, it is applied as a coating to copper and bronze vessels to make them fireproof.

We have stated that it also used to be the practice to employ it for staining copper and bronze and coating statues. It has also been used as a substitute for lime, the walls of Babylon being cemented with it. In smithies also it is in favour for varnishing iron and the heads of nails and many other uses.

52. Not less important or very different is the use made of alum, by which is meant a salt exudation from the earth. There are several varieties of it. In Cyprus there is a white alum and another sort of a darker colour, though the difference of colour is only slight; nevertheless the use made of them is very different, as the white and liquid kind is most useful for dying woollens a bright colour whereas the black kind is best for dark or sombre hues. Black alum is also used in cleaning gold. All alum is produced from water and slime, that is, a substance exuded by the earth; this collects naturally in a hollow in winter and its maturity by crystallisation is completed by the sunshine of summer; the part of it that separates earliest is whiter in colour. It occurs in Spain, Egypt, Armenia, Macedonia, Pontus, Africa, and the islands Sardinia, Melos, Lipari and Stromboli; the most highly valued is in Egypt and the next best in Melos. The alum of Melos also is of two kinds, fluid and dense. The test of the fluid kind is that it should be of a limpid, milky consistency, free from grit when rubbed between the fingers, and giving a slight glow of colour; this kind is called in Greek 'phorimon' in the sense of 'abundant.' Its adulteration can be detected by means of the juice of a pomegranate, as this mixed with it does not turn it black if it is pure. The other kind is the pale rough alum which may be stained with oak-gall also, and consequently this is called 'paraphoron,' perverted or adulterated alum. Liquid alum has an astringent, hardening and corrosive property. Mixed with honey it cures ulcers in the mouth, pimples and eruptions; this treatment is carried out in baths containing two parts of honey to one of alum. It reduces odour from the armpits and perspiration. It is taken in pills against disorders of the spleen and discharge of blood in the urine. Mixed with soda and chamomile it is also a remedy for scabies.

One kind of solid alum which is called in Greek schiston, 'splittable,' splits into a sort of filament of a whitish colour, owing to which some people have preferred to give it in Greek the name of trichitis, 'hairy alum.' This is produced from the same ore as copper, known as copperstone, a sort of sweat from that mineral, coagulated into foam. This kind of alum has less drying effect and serves less to arrest the detrimental humours of the body, but it is extremely beneficial as an ear-wash, or as a liniment also for ulcers of the mouth and for the teeth, and if it is retained in the mouth with saliva; or it forms a suitable ingredient in medicines for the eyes and for the genital organs of either sex. It is roasted in crucibles until it has quite lost its liquidity. There is another alum of a less active kind, called in Greek strongyle, 'round alum.' Of this also there are two varieties, the fungous which dissolves easily in any liquid and which is rejected as entirely worthless, and a better kind which is porous and pierced with small holes like a sponge and of a round formation, nearer white in colour, possessing a certain quality of unctuousness, free from grit, friable, and not apt to cause a black stain. This is roasted by itself on clean hot coals till it is reduced to ash. The best a of all kinds is that called Melos alum, after the island of that name, as we said; no other kind has a greater power of acting as an astringent, giving a black stain and hardening, and none other has a closer consistency. It removes granulations of the eyes, and is still more efficacious in arresting defluxions when calcined, and in that state also it is applied to itchings on the body. Taken as a draft or applied externally it also arrests haemorrhage. It is applied in vinegar to parts from which the hair has been removed and changes into soft down the hair that grows in its place. The chief property of all kinds of alum is their astringent effect, which gives it its name in Greek. This makes them extremely suitable for eye troubles, and effective in arresting haemorrhage. Mixed with lard it checks the spread of putrid ulcersso applied it also dries ulcers in infants and eruptions in cases of dropsyand, mixed with pomegranate juice, it checks ear troubles and malformations of the nails and hardening of scars, and flesh growing over the nails, and chilblains. Calcined with vinegar or gallnuts to an equal weight it heals gangrenous ulcers, and, if mixed with cabbage juice, pruritus, or if with twice the quantity of salt, serpiginous eruptions, and if thoroughly mixed with water, it kills eggs of lice and other insects that infest the hair. Used in the same way it is also good for burns, and mixed with watery fluid from vegetable pitch for scurf on the body. It is also used as an injection for dysentery, and taken in the mouth it reduces swellings of the uvula and tonsils. It must be understood that for all the purposes which we have mentioned in the case of the other kinds the alum imported from Melos is more efficacious. It has been indicated how important it is for the other requirements of life in giving a finish to hides and woollens.

53. Next to these we will deal with the various kinds of earth which are connected with medicine. There are two sorts of Samos earth, called collyrium, 'eye-salve,' and star-earth. The recommendation of the former is that it must be fresh and very soft and sticky to the tongue; the second is more lumpy; both are white in colour. The process is to calcine them and then to wash them. Some people prefer the former kind. They are beneficial for people spitting blood, and for plasters made up for drying purposes, and they are also used as an ingredient in medicines for the eyes.

54. Earth of Eretria has the same number of varieties, as one is white and one ash-coloured, the latter preferred in medicine. It is tested by its softness and by its leaving a violet tint if rubbed on copper. Its efficacy and the method of using it as a medicine have been spoken of among the pigments.

55. All these earthswe will mention it in this placeare washed by having water poured over them and dried in the sun, and then after being put in water again ground up and left to stand, till they settle down and can be divided into tablets. They are boiled in cups that are repeatedly well shaken.

56. White earth of Chios is also among medicaments; its effect is the same as that of Samos earth. It is specially used as a cosmetic for the skin of women, and Selinunte earth is used in the same way. The latter is of the colour of milk, and it dissolves very quickly in water, and likewise dissolved in milk it is used for touching up the whitewash on plastered walls. Pnigitis, or suffocating earth closely resembles that of Eretria, only it is in larger lumps and is sticky. It produces the same effect as Cimolian earth, although it is less powerful. Arnpelitis or vine earth is very like bitumen. The test for it is whether it dissolves when oil is put in it, like wax, and whether when roasted it retains a blackish colour. It is used for an emollient and dissipant, and is added to drugs for these purposes, especially in the case of eyelash beautifiers and for hair dyes.

57. There are several sorts of white earth. Among them there are two sorts of Cimolian earth that concern doctors one bright white and one inclining to purple. Either is effective for dispelling tumours, and, with vinegar added, for stopping fluxes. They also check swellings and inflammation of the parotid glands, and applied as a liniment, troubles of the spleen and pimples; while if foam-soda and oil of cypros and vinegar are added, they cure swollen feet, provided the treatment is applied in the sun, and the application is washed off again with salt water six hours later. A mixture of this earth with oil of cypros and wax is good for swellings of the testicles. Cretaceous earth also possesses cooling properties, and applied in a liniment it stops immoderate sweating, and likewise taken in wine while in a bath it removes pimples. The kind from Thessaly is most esteemed, but it is also found in the neighbourhood of Bubo in Lycia. Another use also made of Cimolus earth is in regard to cloth. The kind called Sarda, which is brought from Sardinia, is only used for white fabrics, and is of no use for cloths of various colours; it is the cheapest of all the Cimolus kinds; more valuable are the Umbrian and the one called 'rock.' The peculiarity of the latter is that it increases in size when it is steeped in liquid; consequently it is sold by weight, whereas Umbrian is sold by measure. Umbrian earth is only employed for giving lustre to cloths. It will not be out of place to touch on this part of the subject also, as a Metilian law referring to fullers still stands, the law which Gaius Flamiuius and Lucius Aemilius as censors put forward to be carried in parliament: so careful about everything were our ancestors. The process then is this: the cloth is first washed with earth of Sardinia, and then it is fumigated with sulphur, and afterwards scoured with Cimolian earth provided that the dye is fast; if it is coloured with bad dye it is detected and turns black and its colour is spread by the action of the sulphur; whereas genuine and valuable colours are softened and brightened up with a sort of brilliance by Cimolian earth when they have been made sombre by the sulphur. The 'rock' kind is more serviceable for white garments, after the application of sulphur, but it is very detrimental to colour. In Greece they use Tymphaea gypsum instead of Cimolian earth.

58. There is another cretaceous earth called silversmiths' powder as used for polishing silver; but the most inferior kind is the one which our ancestors made it the practice to use for tracing the line indicating victory in circus-races and for marking the feet of slaves on sale that had been imported from overseas; instances of these being Publilius of Antioch the founder of our mimic stage and his cousin Manilius Antiochus the originator of our astronomy, and likewise Staberius Eros our first grammarian, all of whom our ancestors saw brought over in the same ship. But why need anybody mention these men, recommended to notice as they are by their literary honours? Other instances that have been seen on the stand in the slave market are Chrysogonus, freedman of Sulla, Amphion, freedman of Quintus Catulus, Hector, freedman of Lucius Lucullus, Demetrius, freedman of Pompey, and Auge, freedwoman of Demetrius, although she herself also was believed to have belonged to Pompey; Hipparchus freedman of Mark Antony, Menas and Menecrates freedmen of Sextus Pompeius, and a list of others whom this is not the occasion to enumerate, who have enriched themselves by the bloodshed of Roman citizens and by the licence of the proscriptions. Such is the mark set on these herds of slaves for sale, and the disgrace

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attached to us by capricious fortune persons whom even we have seen risen to such power that we actually beheld the honour of the praetorship awarded to them by decree of the Senate at the bidding of Claudius Caesar's wife Agrippina and all but sent back with the rods of office wreathed in laurels to the places from which they came to Rome with their feet whitened with white earth.

59. Moreover there are other kinds of earth with a special property of their own about which we have spoken already, but the nature of which must again be stated here: soil taken from the island of Galata and in the neighbourhood of Clupea in Africa kills scorpions, and that of the Balearic Islands and Iviza is fatal to snakes.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 36

1. It remains for us to deal with the nature of stones, or, in other words, the prime folly in our behaviour, to be considered as such even though no reference be made to gems, amber and vessels of rock-crystal and fluorspar. For everything that we have investigated up to the present volume may be deemed to have been created for the benefit of mankind. Mountains, however, were made by Nature for herself to serve as a kind of framework for holding firmly together the inner parts of the earth, and at the same time to enable her to subdue the violence of rivers, to break the force of heavy seas and so to curb her most restless elements with the hardest material of which she is made. We quarry these mountains and haul them away for a mere whim; and yet there was a time when it seemed remarkable even to have succeeded in crossing them. Our forefathers considered the scaling of the Alps by Hannibal and later by the Cimbri to be almost unnatural. Now these selfsame Alps are quarried into marble of a thousand varieties.

Headlands are laid open to the sea, and nature is flattened. We remove the barriers created to serve as the boundaries of nations, and ships are built specially for marble. And so, over the waves of the sea, Nature's wildest element, mountain ranges are transported to and fro, and even then with greater justification than we can find for climbing to the clouds in search of vessels to keep our drinks cool, and for hollowing out rocks that almost reach the heavens, so that we may drink from ice. When we hear of the prices paid for these vessels, when we see the masses of marble that are being conveyed or hauled, we should each of us reflect, and at the same time think how much more happily many people live without them. That men should do such things, or rather endure them, for no purpose or pleasure except to lie amid spotted marbles, just as if these delights were not taken from us by the darkness of night, which is half our life's span!

2. When we think of these things we feel ourselves blushing prodigiously with shame even for the men of former times. There exist the laws passed by Claudius in his censorship forbidding dormice and other trifles too insignificant to mention to be served at dinner. But no law was ever passed forbidding us to import marble and to traverse the seas for its sake. Perhaps it may be said 'Of course not. No marbles were being imported.' That suggestion at least is untrue. In the aedileship of Marcus Scaurus there was the spectacle of 360 columns being taken to the stage of an improvised theatre that was intended to be used barely for a month, and the laws were silent. Of course, it was the official pleasures of the community for which some allowance was being made by our laws. But why should this, of all excuses, have been made? Or what route is more commonly taken by vices in their surreptitious approach than the official one? How else have ivory, gold and precious stones come to be used in private life? Or what have we left entirely to the gods? Very well; some allowance was being made for the pleasures of the community. Were not the laws silent also when the largest of those columns, which were each fully 38 feet long and of Lucullean marble, were placed in the hall of Scaurus' house?

And there was no secrecy or concealment. A sewer contractor forced Scaurus to give him security against possible damage to the drains when the columns were being hauled to the Palatine. Would it not have been more expedient, therefore, when so harmful a precedent was being set, to afford some security for our morals? The laws were still silent when these great masses of marble were dragged to a private house past the earthenware pediments of temples!

3. Nor can we suppose that Scaurus surprised with an elementary lesson in vice a community that was untutored and unable to foresee the consequences of the mischief. It was before this that during a quarrel the orator Lucius Crassus, having been the first to install, also on the Palatine, columns of foreign marble, columns which were after all merely of Hymettus marble and not more than six in number or more than 12 feet each in length, was in consequence nicknamed by Marcus Brutus the Palatine Venus. Of course these matters were disregarded because morals had already lost the battle; and when it was seen that there was no effective way of banning what had been expressly forbidden, it seemed preferable to have no laws at all rather than laws that were of no avail. These events and those that have followed them in our time will show that we are better men. For who nowadays possesses a hall equipped with such large columns? However, before we speak of marbles, I am of the opinion that we should display the merits of the men who have worked in this material. First, then, we shall make a survey of artists.

4. The very first men to make a name as sculptors in marble were Dipoenus and Scyllis, who were born in the island of Crete while Media was still a great power and Cyrus had not yet come to the throne of Persia. Their date falls approximately in the 50th Olympiad. They made their way to Sicyon, which was for long the motherland of all such industries. The men of Sicyon had given them a contract in the name of the state for making statues of gods; but before these were finished the artists complained that they had been wronged and went away to Aetolia. Sicyon was instantly stricken with famine, barrenness and fearful affliction. When the people begged the oracle for relief, Apollo of Delphi replied that relief would come 'if Dipoenus and Scyllis completed the images of the gods.' This they were prevailed upon to do thanks to the payment of high fees and high compliments. The statues, incidentally, were those of Apollo, Diana, Hercules and Minerva, the last of which was later struck by lightning.

Before the time of Dipoenus and Scyllis there had already lived in the island of Chios a sculptor Melas, who was succeeded by his son Micciades and his grandson Archermus; and the sons of Archermus, named Bupalus and Athenis, were quite the most eminent masters of the art at the time of the poet Hipponax, who is known to have been alive in the 60th Olympiad. Now if we trace their lineage back to the time of their great-grandfather, we find that the beginnings of this art coincide in lime with the 1st Olympiad. Hipponax had a notoriously ugly face; and because of this they made impudent jokes much to the amusement of the groups of companions to whom they exhibited his likeness. This angered Hipponax, who rebuked them so violently in his mordant lampoons that he is believed by some to have driven them to hang themselves. But this is untrue because later they made several statues in neighbouring islands, for example in Delos; and to their pedestals they attached verses to the effect that 'Chios is esteemed not merely for its vines, but also for the works of the sons of Archermus.' Moreover the people of Iasos proudly display a Diana made by them. In Chios itself there is stated to be a face of Diana which is their work. It is set in a lofty posilion, and people entering the building imagine that her expression is stern, but when they leave they fancy that it has become cheerful. At Rome there are statues by them on the angles of the pediment of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine and on almost all the buildings for which the emperor Augustus of Revered Memory was responsible. There were works by their father too at Delos and in the island of Lesbos. As for Dipoenus, Ambracia, Argos and Cleonae were full of his productions.

All these artists used only white marble from the island of Paros, a stone which they proceeded to call 'lychnites,' since, according to Varro, it was quarried in galleries by the light of oil lamps. However, many whiter varieties have been discovered since their time, some indeed only recently, as is the case with the Luna quarries. As for the quarries of Paros, there is an extraordinary tradition that once, when the stone-breakers split a single block with their wedges, a likeness of Silenus was found inside.

We should not forget to mention that this art is much older than that of painting or of bronze statuary, both of which arose with Pheidias in the 83rd Olympiad, that is, about 332 years later. It is reported that Pheidias himself carved in marble and that the exceptionally beautiful Venus in Octavia's Buildings at Rome is his. What is certain is that a pupil of his was the Athenian Alcamenes, a particularly famous sculptor, several of whose works are to be seen at Athens in the temples, while outside the walls there is the celebrated statue of Venus, which in Greek is known as Aphrodite of the Gardens. Pheidias himself is said to have put the finishing touches to this. Another of his pupils was Agoracritus of Paros, who pleased him, moreover, because of his youthful good looks, and consequently Pheidias is said to have allowed him to pass as the author of several of his awn works. However that may be, the two pupils competed with each other in making a Venus, and Alcamenes won the contest, not indeed through his skill, but through the votes of his fellow-citizens, who supported their kinsman at the expense of his foreign rival. Consequently, Agoracritus is reported to have sold his statue under a proviso that it should not remain in Athens, and to have called it Nemesis. It was set up within Attica in the deme of Rhamnus, and Marcus Varro preferred it to any other statue. In the same township there is also a work by Agoracritus in the shrine of the Great Mother. That Pheidias is the most famous sculptor among all peoples who appreciate the fame of his Olympian Jupiter is beyond doubt, but in order that even those who have not seen his works may be assured that his praises are well-earned shall produce evidence that is insignificant in itself and sufficient only to prove his inventiveness. To do so, I shall not appeal to the beauty of his Olympian Jupiter or to the size of his Minerva at Athens, even though this statue, made of ivory and gold, is 26 cubits in height. But rather, I shall mention her shield, on the convex border of which he engraved a Battle of the Amazons, and on the hollow side Combats of Gods and Giants; and her sandals, on which he depicted Combats of Lapiths and Centaurs. So truly did every detail lend itself to his art. On the pedestal there is carved what is entitled in Greek the Birth of Pandora, with twenty gods assisting at the birth. Although the figure of Victory is especially remarkable, connoisseurs admire also the snake, as well as the bronze sphinx that crouches just beneath her spear. These are things which should be stated in passing with regard to an artist who has never been praised enough. At the same time, they make us realize that the grandeur of his notions was maintained even in small matters. Praxiteles is an artist whose date I have mentioned among those of the makers of bronze statues, but in the fame of his work in marble he surpassed even himself. There are works by him at Athens in the Ceramcicus; and yet superior to anything not merely by Praxiteles, but in the whole world, is the Venus, which many people have sailed to Cnidus to see. He had made two figures, which he put up for sale together. One of them was draped and for this reason was preferred by the people of Cos, who had an option on the sale, although he offered it at the same price as the other. This they considered to be the only decent and dignified course of action. The statue which they refused was purchased by the people of Cnidus and achieved an immeasurably greater reputation. Later King Nicomedes was anxious to buy it from them, promising so to discharge all the state's vast debts. The Cnidians, however, preferred to suffer anything but this, and rightly so; for with this statue Praxiteles made Cnidus a famous city. The shrine in which it stands is entirely open so as to allow the image of the goddess to be viewed from every side, and it is believed to have been made in this way with the blessing of the goddess herself. The statue is equally admirable from every angle. There is a story that a man once fell in love with it and hiding by night embraced it, and that a stain betrays this lustful act. In Cnidus there are also other marble figures by notable artists, a Father Liber by Bryaxis, a Father Liber and a Minerva by Scopas; but there is no greater proof of the excellence of Praxiteles' Venus than the fact that amidst these works it alone receives mention. To Praxiteles belongs also a Cupid, with which Cicero taunted Verres, the famous Cupid for the sake of which men visited Thespiae, and which now stands in Octavia's Rooms. To him belongs, moreover, another Cupid, which is naked, at Parium, the colony on the Sea of Marmara, a work that matches the Venus of Cnidus in its renown, as well as in the outrageous treatment which it suffered. For Alcetas, a man from Rhodes, fell in love with it and left upon it a similar mark of his passion. At Rome the works of Praxiteles are a Flora, a Triptolemus and a Ceres in the Gardens of Servilius, images of Success and Good Fortune on the Capitol, and likewise the Maenads, the so-called Thyiads and Caryatids and the Sileni in the Collection of Asinius Pollio, as well as an Apollo and a Neptune. The son of Praxiteles, Cephisodotus, inherited also his skill. His Persons Grappling at Pergamum is highly praised, being notable for the fingers, which seem genuinely to sink into living flesh rather than into dead marble. At Rome his works are the Latona in the temple of the Palatine Apollo, a Venus in the Collection of Asinius Pollio, and the Aesculapius and Diana in the temple of Juno within the Porticoes of Octavia.

These artists are rivalled in merit by Scopas. He made a Venus and a figure of Desire, which are worshipped with the most solemn rites in Samothrace. He was responsible also for the Apollo on the Palatine and the much praised Seated Vesta in the Gardens of Servilius, along with the two turning-posts on either side of her, of which there are facsimiles in the Collection of Asinius, where there is also his Girl Carrying a Sacred Basket. But most highly esteemed is his composition in the shrine built by Cn. Domitius in the Flaminian Circus. There is Neptune himself, and with him are Thetis and Achilles. There are Nereids riding on dolphins and mighty fish or on seahorses, and also Tritons, 'Phorcus' band,' swordfish and a host of other sea creatures, all by the hand of the one man, a magnificent achievement even if it had occupied his whole career. As it is, apart from the works mentioned above and those unknown to us, there is furthermore the colossal seated statue of Mars by the same artist in the temple built by Brutus Callaecus also in the Circus, as well as his naked Venus in the same place, a work that surpasses the Venus of Praxiteles and would have brought fame to any locality but Rome.

At Rome, indeed, the great number of works of art and again their consequent effacement from our memory, and, even more, the multitude of official functions and business activities must, after ally deter anyone from serious study, since the appreciation involved needs leisure and deep silence in our surroundings. Hence we do not know the maker even of the Venus dedicated by the emperor Vespasian [AD. 69-79] in the precincts of his temple of Peace, although it deserves to rank with the old masters. Equally there is doubt as to whether the Dying Children of Niobe in the temple of the Sosian Apollo was the work of Scopas or of Praxiteles. Similarly, we cannot tell which of the two carved the Father

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Janus which was dedicated in its rightful temple by Augustus after being brought here from Egypt; and now a covering of gilt has hidden its secret still more. Equally, there is a controversy about the Cupid Holding a Thunderbolt in the Hall of Octavia. Only one thing is stated with conviction, namely that the figure is that of Alcibiades the most handsome youth of that time. In the same salon there are many pleasing works of which the authors are unknown, for example, the Four Satyrs, of whom one is carrying on his shoulders Father Liber dressed in a robe and another is likewise carrying Ariadne, while a third stops a child crying and a fourth gives a drink to another child out of a mixing-bowl; and the Two Breezes, who are spreading their cloaks like sails. There is just as much dispute as to the makers of the Olympus and Pan and the Chiron With Achilles in the Voting Enclosure, even though their fame pronounces them to be so valuable that their keepers must answer for their safety with their lives.

The contemporaries and rivals of Scopas were Bryaxis, Timotheus and Leochares, whom we must discuss along with him because together with him they worked on the carvings of the Mausoleum. This is the tomb that was built by Artemisia for her husband Mausolus, the viceroy of Caria, who died in the second year of the 107th Olympiad. These artists were chiefly responsible for making the structure one of the seven wonders of the work. On the north and south sides it extends for 63 feet, but the length of the faades is less, the total length of the faades and sides being 440 feet. The building rises to a height of 25 cubits and is enclosed by 36 columns. The Greek word for the surrounding colonnade is 'pteron,' a 'wing.' The east side was carved by Scopas, the north by Bryaxis, the south by Timotheus and the west by Leochares; and before they completed their task, the queen died. However, they refused to abandon the work without finishing it, since they were already of the opinion that it would be a memorial to their own glory and that of their profession; and even today they are considered to rival each other in skill. With them was associated a fifth artist. For above the colonnade there is a pyramid as high again as the lower structure and tapering in 24 stages to the top of its peak. At the summit there is a four-horse chariot of marble, and this was made by Pythis. The addition of this chariot rounds off the whole work and brings it to a height of 140 feet. There is a Diana by Timotheus at Rome in the temple of the Palatine Apollo, a statue for which a head was made as a replacement by Avianius Evander.

The Hercules of Menestratus is greatly admired, and so too is the Hecate in the precinct behind the temple of Diana at Ephesus. In studying this statue people are warned by the sacristans to be careful of their eyes; so intense is the glare of the marble. As highly esteemed, too, are the Graces in the Propylaeum at Athens. These were the work of Socrates, who was not the same man as Socrates the painter, although some think that he was. As for the famous Myron, who is so highly praised for his bronzes, his Tipsy Old Woman at Smyrna is especially renowned.

Asinius Pollio, being an ardent enthusiast, was accordingly anxious for his collection to attract sightseers. In it are the Centaurs Carrying Nymphs by Arcesilas, the Muses of Helicon by Cleomenes, the Oceanus and Jupiter by Heniochus, the Nymphs of the Appian Water by Stephanus, the double busts of Hermes and Eros by Tauriscus (not the well-known worker in metal and ivory, but a native of Tralles), the Jupiter Patron of Strangers by Papylus, the pupil of Praxiteles, and a composition by Apollonius and Tauriseus which was brought from Rhodes, namely Zethus and Amphion, and then Dirce and the bull with its rope, all carved from the same block of stone. These two artists caused a dispute as to their parentage, declaring that their putative father was Menecrates and their real father Artemidorus. In the same galleries there is a Father Liber by Eutychides which is warmly praised, and close by the Portico of Octavia an Apollo by Philiscus of Rhodes standing in the temple of Apollo, and furthermore a Latona, a Diana, the Nine Muses, and another Apollo, which is naked. The Apollo With His Lyre in the same temple was made by Timarchides, and in the temple of Juno that stands within the Portico of Octavia the image of the goddess herself was made by Dionysius, although there is another by Polycles, while the Venus in the same place was executed by Philiscus and the other statues by Praxiteles. Polycles and Dionysius, who were the sons of Timarchides, were responsible also for the Jupiter in the adjacent temple, while in the same place the Pan and Olympus Wrestling, which is the second most famous grappling group in the world, was the work of Heliodorus, the Venus Bathing of Daedalsas, and the Venus Standing of Polycharmus. It is clear from the honour accorded to it that a work much esteemed was that of Lysias which Augustus of Revered Memory dedicated in honour of his father Octavius in a niche embellished with columns upon the arch on the Palatine. This work consists of a team of four horses with a chariot and Apollo with Diana all carved from one block of marble. In the Gardens of Servilius I find that works much admired are the Apollo by the eminent engraver Calamis, the Boxers by Dereylides, and the historian Callisthenes by Amphistratus. Beyond these men, there are not a great many more that are famous. The reputation of some, distinguished though their work may be, has been obscured by the number of artists engaged with them on a single task, because no individual monopolizes the credit nor again can several of them be named on equal terms. This is the case with the Laocoon in the palace of the emperor Titus, a work superior to any painting and any bronze. Laocoon, his children and the wonderful clasping coils of the snakes were caned from a single block in accordance with an agreed plan by those eminent craftsmen Hagesander, Polydorus and Athenodorus, all of Rhodes. Similarly, the imperial mansions on the Palatine were filled with excellent statues made by pairs of artists, Craterus and Pythodorus, Polydeuces and Hermolaus, another Pythodorus and Artemon, and individually by Aphrodisius of Tralles. The Pantheon of Agrippa was embellished by Diogenes of Athens; and among the supporting members of this temple there are Caryatids that are almost in a class of their own, and the same is true of the figures on the angles of the pediment, which are, however, not so well known because of their lofty position. A work that is without honour and stands in no temple is the Hercules, before which the Carthaginians were wont to perform human sacrifices every year. This stands at ground-level in front of the entrance to the Portico of the Nations. Formerly too there were statues of the Muses of Helicon by the temple of Prosperity, and a Roman knight, Junius Pisciculus, fell in love with one of them, according to Varro, who incidentally was an admirer of Pasiteles, a sculptor who was also the author of a treatise in five volumes on the World's Famous Masterpieces. He was a native of Magna Graecia and received Roman citizenship along with the communities of that region. The ivory Jupiter in the temple of Metellus at the approaches to the Campus Martius is his work. Once, he was at the docks, where there were wild beasts from Africa, and was making a relief of a lion, peering as he did so into the cage at his model, when it so happened that a leopard broke out of another cage and caused serious danger to this most conscientious of artists. He is said to have executed a number of but their titles are not recorded. Arcesilaus, highly praised by Varro, who states that he once possessed a work of his, namely Winged Cupids Playing with a Lioness, of whom some were holding it with cords, some were making it drink from a horn, and some were putting slippers on its feet, all the figures having been carved from one block. Varro relates also that it was Coponius who was responsible for the fourteen figures of the Nations that stand around Pompey's theatre. I find that Canachus, who was much admired as a maker of bronzes, also executed figures in marble. Nor should we forget Sauras and Batrachus, who built the temples that are enclosed by the Porticoes of Octavia. They were mere natives of Sparta. And yet, some people actually suppose that they were very rich and erected the temples at their awn expense because they hoped to be honoured by an inscription; and the story is that, although this was refused, they attained their object in another way. At any rate, on the moulded bases of the columns there are still in existence carvings of a lizard and a frog in token of their names. One of these temples is that of Jupiter, in which the subjects of the paintings and of all the other embellishments are concerned with women. For it had been intended as the temple of Juno; but, according to the tradition, the porters interchanged the cult-images when they were installing them, and this arrangement was preserved as a matter of religious scruple, in the belief that the gods themselves had allotted their dwelling-places in this way. Similarly, therefore, the embellishments in the temple of Juno are those that were destined for the temple of Jupiter.

Fame has been won in the making also of marble miniatures, namely by Myrmecides, whose Four-horse Chariot and Driver were covered by the wings of a fly, and by Callicratides, whose ants have feet and other parts too small to be discerned.

5. So much for the sculptors in marble and the artists who have achieved the greatest fame. In discussing this subject, however, I am reminded that in those times no value was attached to marble with markings. Apart from the marble of the Cyclades, sculptors worked in that of Thasos, which rivals it, and of Lesbos, which has a slightly more bluish tinge. Markings of various colours and decorations of marble in general are first mentioned by that most accurate exponent of the details of high living, Menander, and even he rarely alludes to them. Marble columns were certainly used in temples, not, however, as an embellishment, since embellishments as such were not yet appreciated, but merely because there was no way of erecting stronger columns. Thus they are a feature of the unfinished temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, from which Sulla brought columns to be used for temples on the Capitol. However, ordinary stone and marble were distinguished already in Homer, for he speaks of a man being struck by a piece of marble; but this is as far as he goes. He decorates even his royal palaces, however sumptuously, only with ivory, apart from metalsbronze, gold, electrum and silver. In my opinion, the first specimens of our favourite marbles with their parti-coloured markings appeared from the quarries of Chios when the people of that island were building their walls. Hence the witty remark made at the expense of this work by Cicero. It was their practice to show it as a splendid structure to all their visitors; and his remark to them was 'I should be much more amazed if you had made it of stone from Tibur.' And, heaven knows, painting would not have been valued at all, let alone so highly, had marbles enjoyed any considerable prestige.

6. The art of cutting marble into thin slabs may possibly have been invented in Carla. The earliest instance, so far as I can discover, is that of the palace of Mausolus at Halicarnassus, the brick walls of which were decorated with marble from the island of Marmara. He died in the second year of the 107th Olympiads and in the 403rd year after the founding of Rome.

7. The first man in Rome to cover with marble veneer whole walls in his house, which was on the Caelian Hill, was, according to Cornelius Nepos, Mamurra, a Roman Knight and a native of Formiae, who was Gaius (Julius) Caesar's chief engineer in Gaul. That such a man should have sponsored the invention is enough to make it utterly improper. For this is the Mamurra who was reviled by Catullus of Verona in his poems, the Mamurra whose house, as a matter of fact, proclaims more clearly than Catullus himself that he 'possesses all that Shaggy Gaul possessed.' Incidentally Nepos adds also that he was the first to have only marble columns in his whole house and that these were all solid columns of Carystus or Luna marble.

8. Marcus Lepidus, who was consul with Quintus Catulus, was the very first to lay down door-sills of Numidian marble in his house; and for this he was sharply criticized. He was consul in the 676th year after the founding of the city. This is the first indication that I can find of the importing of Numidian marble. The marble, however, was not in the form of columns or slabs, like that of Carystus mentioned above, but came in blocks to be used in the most sordid manneras door-sills! Four years after the consulship of this Lepidus came that of Lucius Lucullus, who gave his name, as is evident from the facts, to Lucullean marble. He took a great delight in this marble and introduced it to Rome, although it is in general black and all other marbles are favoured because of their markings or colours. It is found in the island of Chios and is almost the only marble to have derived its name from that of a devotee. Of these men, it was Marcus Scaurus, in my opinion, whose stage was the first structure to have marble walls, though I am not prepared to say whether these were of veneer or of solid polished blocks, as, for instance, is the case today with the walls of the temple of Jupiter the Thunderer on the Capitol. For I find no evidence of marble veneer in Italy that is as early as this.

9. But whoever first discovered how to cut marble and carve up luxury into many portions was a man of misplaced ingenuity. The cutting of the marble is effected apparently by iron, but actually by sand, for the saw merely presses the sand upon a very thinly traced line, and then the passage of the instrument, owing to the rapid movement to and fro, is in itself enough to cut the stone. The Ethiopian variety of this sand is the most highly esteemed; for, to make matters worse, material for cutting marble is sought from as far afield as Ethiopia; and, moreover, men go in search of it even to India, which it was once an affront to strict morality to visit even for pearls. The Indian is the next most highly praised, but the Ethiopian is finer and cuts without leaving any roughness. The Indian does not give the stone such a smooth surface. However, people engaged in polishing marble are strongly recommended to rub marble with it when it has been calcined. There is a similar fault in the Naxian sand and in that of Coptos, which is known as the Egyptian variety. These were the kinds used for cutting marble in early times. Later there was discovered an equally valuable sand from a sandbank in the Adriatic which is uncovered only at low tide. Consequently, its position is not easy to mark. Now also fraudulent craftsmen dare to cut slabs with any kind of sand from any river, a waste which very few clients perceive. For in fact the coarser the sand, the less accurate the sections it grinds, the more marble it wears away, and owing to the rough surfaces produced, the more work it leaves for those responsible for polishing the slabs. Hence the cut slabs are made thinner. Again, for polishing marble, sand from the Thebaid is suitable, as well as powder made from limestone or pumice.

10. For smoothing marble statues and also for en-paving and filing down gems the Naxian stone was for long the favourite. This is the name given to the whetstones found in the island referred to above. Later, those imported from Armenia were preferred.

11. It is not important to mention the colours and species of marbles when they are so well known, nor is it easy to list them when they are so numerous.

For there are few places for which a characteristic marble is not found to exist. Even so, the most famous kinds have already been mentioned, along with the peoples whose names they bear, in the course of our circuit of the world. Not all of them occur in quarries, but many are found scattered also beneath the earth's surface, some indeed being very valuable, like the green Lacedaemonian, which is brighter than any other marble, or the Augustean and, more recently, the

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Tiberian, which were found in Egypt for the first time during the principates of Augustus and acta Tiberius respectively! From serpentine, the markings of which resemble snakeshence its namethese stones differ in that their markings are grouped differently. Those of the Augustean curl over like waves so as to form coils, while the Tiberian has scattered greyish-white spots which are not rolled into coils. Another difference is that only quite small columns made of serpentine are to be found. It has two varieties: one is soft and white, the other hard and dark. When worn as amulets, both are said to relieve headaches and snakebites. Some authorities recommend the white variety as an amulet to be worn by sufferers from delirium or a coma. But as an antidote to snakebites some praise particularly the variety of serpentine known as 'tephrias' from its ashen colour. Another stone, named from its place of origin, is the Memphis stone, which is like a gem. The method of using this is to grind it to powder and to smear it mixed with vinegar on places which need to be cauterized or lanced; thus the body is numbed and feels no severe pain. In Egypt too there is red porphyry, of which a variety mottled with white dots is known as 'leptopsephos.' The quarries supply masses of any size to be cut away. Statues of this stone were brought from Egypt to the emperor Claudius in Rome by his official agent Vitrasius Pollio, an innovation that did not meet with much approval. No one at least has since followed his example. The Egyptians also discovered in Ethiopia what is called 'basanites,' a stone which in colour and hardness resembles iron: hence the name they have given it. No large specimen of this stone has ever been found than that dedicated by the emperor Vespasian in the temple of Peace, the subject of which is the Nile, with sixteen of the river-god's children playing around him, these denoting the number of cubits reached by the river in flood at its highest desirable level. Not unlike this, we are told, is the block in the shine of Serapis at Thebes chosen for a statue of what is supposed to be Memnon; and this is said to creak every day at dawn as soon as the sun's rays reach it.

12. Onyx marble was supposed by our old authorities to occur in the mountains of Arabia and nowhere else. Sudines, however, thought that it occurred in Carmania. At first only drinking-vessels were made of it, and then the feet of couches and the frames of chairs. Cornelius Nepos records that it was considered quite extraordinary when Publius Lentulus Spinther exhibited wine jars of onyx marble big enough to hold 9 Chian gallons, but that only five years later he himself saw columns 32 feet long. There were striking changes in the history of the stone even after this, for the four small columns placed by Cornelius Balbus in his theatre caused a sensation, whereas I have seen thirty quite large ones in the dining-room which the emperor Claudius' freedman, the notoriously powerful Callistus, built for himself. This stone is sometimes called 'alabastrites,' for it is hollowed out to be used also as unguent jars because it is said to be the best means of keeping unguents fresh. It is suitable too, when burnt, for plasters. It occurs in the neighbourhood of Thebes in Egypt and of Damascus in Syria. The latter variety is whiter than the rest, but that of Carmania is the most excellent. Next comes the Indian, and then of course there is that of Syria and the province of Asia, while the least valuable is the Cappadocian, which has no lustre whatsoever. The specimens most warmly recommended are the honey-coloured, marked with spirals, and opaque. A colour resembling that of horn, or else gleaming white, and any suggestion of a glassy look are serious faults in onyx marble.

13. Many people consider that for the preservation of unguents there is little to choose between onyx marble and the 'lygdinus,' which is found in Paros in pieces no larger than a dish or mixing bowl, although in earlier times it was normally imported only from Arabia. It is of an exceptionally brilliant whiteness. Two stones of a directly opposed character are also greatly esteemed. There is the coral stone found in the province of Asia in sizes not exceeding two cubits, with a white colour close to that of ivory and a certain resemblance to it in appearance. On the other hand, the stone named after Alabanda, its place of origin, although it occurs also at Miletus, is black. In appearance, however, this stone tends rather to have a reddish tinge. It can, moreover, be melted by fire and fused to serve as glass. The Thebaie stone mottled with gold spots is found in a part of Africa that has been assigned to Egypt and is naturally well adapted for use as stones on which to grind eye-salves. The granite of Syene is found in the neighbourhood of Aswan in the Thebaid and in earlier times was known as pyrrhopoecilos.

14. Monoliths of this granite were made by the kings, to some extent in rivalry with one another. They called them obelisks and dedicated them to the Sun-god. An obelisk is a symbolic representation of the sun's rays, and this is the meaning of the Egyptian word for it. [Tekhen = sunbeam/obelisk] The first of all the kings to undertake such a task was Mesphres [Menes?], who ruled at Heliopolis, the city of the Sun, and was commanded to do so in a dream. This very fact is inscribed on the obelisk; for those carvings and symbols that we see are Egyptian letters. Later, other kings also cut obelisks. Sesothes set up four of them in the city just mentioned, these being 48 cubits in height, while Rameses, who ruled at the time of the capture of Troy, erected one of 140 cubits. Rameses also erected another at the exit from the precinct where the palace of Mnevis once stood, and this is 120 cubits high, but abnormally thick, each side measuring 11 cubits. The completion of this work is said to have required 120,000 men. When the obelisk was about to be erected, the king feared that the scaffolding would not be strong enough for the weight, and in order to force an even greater danger upon the attention of the workmen, he himself tied his son to the pinnacle, intending that the stone should share the benefit of his deliverance at the hands of the labourers. This work was so greatly admired that when Cambyses was storming the city and the conflagration had reached the base of the obelisk, he ordered the fires to be put out, thus showing his respect for the mighty block when he had felt none for the city itself. There are also two other obelisks here, one set up by Zmarres, and the other by Phius: a both lack inscriptions and are 48 cubits in height. At Alexandria Ptolemy Philadelphus erected one of 80 cubits. This had been hewn uninscribed by King Neethebis, and it proved to be a greater achievement to carry it down the river and erect it than to have quarried it. According to some authorities, it was carried downstream by the engineer Satyrus on a raft; but according to Callixenus it was conveyed by Phoenix, who by digging a canal brought the waters of the Nile right up to the place where the obelisk lay. Two very broad ships were loaded with cubes of the same granite as that of the obelisk, each cube measuring one foot, until calculations showed that the total weight of the blocks was double that of the obelisk, since their total cubic capacity was twice as great. In this way, the ships were able to come beneath the obelisk, which was suspended by its ends from both banks of the canal. Then the blocks were unloaded and the ships, riding high, took the weight of the obelisk. It was erected on six stone baulks from the same quarries, and the deviser of the scheme received 50 talents for his services. The obelisk was once in the Arsinoeum, having been placed there by the king to whom we previously referred as a tribute to his affection for his wife and sister Arsinoe. From there, because it was in the way of the dockyards, it was moved to the market-place by a certain Maximus, a governor of Egypt, who cut off the point, intending to add a gilt pinnacle in its place, a plan which he later abandoned. There are two other obelisks at Alexandria in the precinct of the temple of Caesar near the harbour. These were cut by King Mesphres and measure 42 cubits.

Above all, there came also the difficult task of transporting obelisks to Rome by sea. The ships used attracted much attention from sightseers. That which carried the first of two obelisks was solemnly laid up by Augustus of Revered Memory in a permanent dock at Pozzuoli to celebrate the remarkable achievement; but later it was destroyed by fire. The ship used by the Emperor Gaius for bringing a third was carefully preserved for several years by Claudius of Revered Memory, for it was the most amazing thing that had ever been seen at sea. Then caissons made of cement were erected in its hull at Pozzuoli; whereupon it was towed to Ostia and sunk there by order of the emperor, so to contribute to his harbour-works. Then there is another problem, that of providing ships that can carry obelisks up the Tiber; and the successful experiment shows that the river has just as deep a channel as the Nile. The obelisk placed by Augustus of Revered Memory in the Circus Maximus was cut by King Psemetnepserphreus, who was reigning when Pythagoras was in Egypt, and measures 85 feet and 9 inches, apart from its base, which forms part of the same stone. The obelisk in the Campus Martius, however, which is 9 feet less, was cut by Sesothis. Both have inscriptions comprising an account of natural science according to the theories of the Egyptian sages.

15. The one in the Campus was put to use in a remarkable way by Augustus of Revered Memory so as to mark the sun's shadow and thereby the lengths of days and nights. A pavement was laid down for a distance appropriate to the height of the obelisk so that the shadow cast at noon on the shortest day of the year might exactly coincide with it. Bronze rods let into the pavement were meant to measure the shadow day by day as it gradually became shorter and then lengthened again. This device deserves to be carefully studied, and was contrived by the mathematician Novius Facundus. He placed on the pinnacle a gilt ball, at the top of which the shadow would be concentrated, for otherwise the shadow cast by the tip of the obelisk would have lacked definition. He is said to have understood the principle from observing the shadow cast by the human head. The readings thus given have for about thirty years past failed to correspond to the calendar, either because the course of the sun itself is anomalous and has been altered by some change in the behaviour of the heavens or because the whole earth has shifted slightly from its central position, a phenomenon which, I hear, has been detected also in other places. Or else earth-tremors in the city may have brought about a purely local displacement of the shaft or floods from the Tiber may have caused the mass to settle, even though the foundations are said to have been sunk to a depth equal to the height of the load they have to carry. The third obelisk in Rome stands in the Vatican Circus that was built by the emperors Gaius and Nero. It was the only one of the three that was broken during its removal. It was made by Nencoreus, the son of Sesosis; and there still exists another that belongs to him: it is 100 cubits in height and was dedicated by him to the Sun-god in accordance with an oracle after he had been stricken with blindness and had then regained his sight.

16. In Egypt too are the pyramids, which must be mentioned, if only cursorily. They rank as a superfluous and foolish display of wealth on the part of the kings, since it is generally recorded that their motive for building them was to avoid providing funds for their successors or for rivals who wished to plot against them, or else to keep the common folk occupied. Much vanity was shown by these kings in regard to such enterprises, and the remains of several unfinished pyramids are still in existence. There is one in the nome of Arsinoe, and there are two in that of Memphis, not far from the labyrinth, a work which also will be described. Two more stand in a position once occupied by Lake Moeris, which is merely a vast excavation, but is nevertheless recorded by the Egyptians as one of their remarkable and memorable achievements. The points of these pyramids are said to tower above the surface of the water. The other three pyramids, the fame of which has reached every part of the world, are of course visible to travellers approaching by river from any direction. They stand on a rocky hill in the desert on the African side of the river between the city of Memphis and what, as we have already explained, is known as the Delta, at a point less than 4 miles from the Nile, and 7 miles from Memphis. Close by is a village called Busiris, where there are people who are used to climbing these pyramids.

17. In front of them is the Sphinx, which rite deserves to be described even more than they, and yet the Egyptians have passed it over in silence. The inhabitants of the region regard it as a deity. They are of the opinion that a King Harmais is buried inside it and try to make out that it was brought to the spot: it is in fact carefully fashioned from the native rock. The face of the monstrous creature is painted with ruddle as a sign of reverence. The circumference of the head when measured across the forehead amounts to 102 feet, the length is 243 feet, and the height from the paunch to the top of the asp on its head is 61 feet.

The largest pyramid is made of stone from stone from the Arabian quarries. It is said that 360,000 men took 20 years to build it. The time taken to build all three was 88 years and 4 months. The authors who have written about them, namely Herodotus, Euhemerus, Duris of Samos, Aristagoras, Dionysius, Artemidorus, Alexander Polyhistor, Butmidas, Antisthenes, Demetrius, Demoteles and Apion, are not all agreed as to which kings were responsible for their construction, since chance, with the greatest justice, has caused those who inspired such a mighty display of vanity to be forgotten. Some of the writers mentioned record that 1600 talents were spent on radishes, garlic and onions alone. The largest pyramid covers an area of nearly 5 acres. Each of the four sides has an equal measurement from corner to corner of 783 feet; the height from ground-level to the pinnacle amounts to 725 feet, while the circumference of the pinnacle is 164 feet. As for the second pyramid, each of its sides from corner to corner totals 7574 feet. The third is smaller than those already mentioned, but on the other hand is far more splendid, with its Ethiopian stoned towering to a height of 363 feet along its sloping sides between the corners. No traces of the building operations survive. All around far and wide there is merely sand shaped like lentils, such as is found in most of Africa? The crucial problem is to know how the masonry was laid to such a great height. Some think that ramps of soda and salt were piled against the structure as it was raised; and that after its completion these were flooded and dissolved by water from the river. Others hold that bridges were built of mud bricks and that when the work was finished the bricks were allotted to individuals for building their own houses. For it is considered impossible that the Nile, flowing at a far lower level, could have flooded the site. Within the largest pyramid is a well 86 cubits deep, into which water from the river is supposed to have been brought by a channel. The method of measuring the height of the pyramids and of taking any similar measurement was devised by Thales of Miletus, the procedure being to measure the shadow at the hour at which its length is expected to be equal to the height of the body that is throwing it. Such are the wonders of the pyramids; and the last and greatest of these wonders, which forbids us to marvel at the wealth of kings, is that the smallest but most greatly admired of these pyramids was built by Rhodopis, a mere prostitute. She was once the fellow-slave and concubine of Aesop, the sage who composed the Fables; and our amazement is all the greater when we reflect that such wealth was acquired through prostitution.

18. Another towering structure built by a king is also extolled, namely the one that stands on Pharos, the island that commands the harbour at Alexandria. The tower is said to have cost 800 talents. We should not fail to mention the

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generous spirit shown by King Ptolemy, whereby he allowed the name of the architect, Sostratus of Cnidos, to be inscribed on the very fabric of the building. It serves, in connection with the movements of ships at night, to show a beacon so as to give warning of shoals and indicate the entrance to the harbour. Similar beacons now burn brightly in several places, for instance at Ostia and Ravenna. The danger lies in the uninterrupted burning of the beacon, in case it should be mistaken for a star, the appearance of the fire from a distance being similar. The same architect is said to have been the very first to build a promenade supported on piers: this he did at Cnidos.

19. We must mention also the labyrinths, quite the most abnormal achievement on which man has spent his resources, but by no means a fictitious one, as might well be supposed. One still exists in Egypt, in the nome of Heracleopolis. This, the first ever to be constructed, was built, according to tradition, 3600 years ago by King Petesuchis or King Tithoes, although Herodotus attributes the whole work to the 'twelve kings,' the last of whom was Psammetichus. Various reasons are suggested for its construction. Demoteles supposes it to have been the palace of Moteris, and Lyceas the tomb of Moeris, while many writers state that it was erected as a temple to the Sun-god, and this is the general belief. Whatever the truth may be, there is no doubt that Daedalus adopted it as the model for the labyrinth built by him in Crete but that he reproduced only a hundredth part of it containing passages that wind, advance and retreat in a bewilderingly intricate manner. It is not just a narrow strip of ground comprising many miles 'walks' or 'rides,' such as we see exemplified in our tessellated floors or in the ceremonial game played by our boys in the Campus Martius but doors are let into the walls at frequent intervals to suggest deceptively the way ahead and to force the visitor to go back upon the very same tracks that he has already followed in his wanderings. This Cretan labyrinth was the next in succession after the Egyptian, and there was a third in Lemnos and a fourth in Italy, all alike being roofed with vaults of carefully worked stone. There is a feature of the Egyptian labyrinth which I for my me part find surprising, namely an entrance and columns made of Parian marble. The rest of the structure is of Aswan granite, the great blocks of which have been laid in such a way that even the lapse of centuries cannot destroy them. Their preservation has been aided by the people of Heracleopolis, who have shown remarkable respect for an achievement that they detest.

The ground-plan and the individual parts of this building cannot be fully described because it is divided among the regions or administrative districts known as nomes, of which there are 21, each having a vast hail allotted to it by name. Besides these halls, it contains temples of all the Egyptian gods; and, furthermore, Nemesis placed within the 40 shrines several pyramids, each with a height of 40 cubits and an area at the base of 4 acres. It is when he is already exhausted with walking that the visitor reaches the bewildering maze of passages. Moreover, there are rooms in lofty upper storeys reached by inclines, and porches from which flights of 90 stairs lead down to the ground. Inside are columns of imperial porphyry, images of gods, statues of kings and figures of monsters. Some of the halls are laid out in such a way that when the doors open there is a terrifying rumble of thunder within: incidentally, most of the building has to be traversed in darkness. Again, there are other massive structures outside the wall of the labyrinth: the Greek term for these is 'pteron,' or a 'wing.' Then there are other halls that have been made by digging galleries underground. The few repairs that have been made there were carried out by one man alone, Chaeremon, the eunuch of King Necthebis 500 years before the time of Alexander the Great. There is a further tradition that he used beams of acacia boiled in oil to serve as supports while square blocks of stone were being lifted into the vaults.

What has already been said must suffice for the Cretan labyrinth likewise. The Lemnian which was similar to it, was more noteworthy only in virtue of its 150 columns, the drums of which were so well balanced as they hung in the workshop that a child was able to turn them on the lathe. The architects were Zmilis, Rhoecus and Theodorus, all natives of Lemnos. There still exist remains of this labyrinth, although no traces of the Cretan or the Italian now survive. For it is appropriate to call 'Italian,' as well as 'Etruscan,' the labyrinth made by King Porsena of Etruria to serve as his tomb, with the result at the same time that even the vanity of foreign kings is surpassed by those of Italy. But since irresponsible story-telling here exceeds all bounds, I shall in describing the building make use of the very words of Marcus Varro himself: 'He is buried close to the city of Clusiuni, in a place where he has left a square monument built of squared blocks of stone, each side being 300 feet long and 50 feet high Inside this square pedestal there is a tangled labyrinth, which no one must enter without a ball of thread if he is to find his way out. On this square pedestal stand five pyramids, four at the corners and one at the centre, each of them being 75 feet broad at the base and 150 feet high. They taper in such a manner that on top of the whole group there rests a single bronze disk together with a conical cupola, from which hang bells fastened with chains: when these are set in motion by the wind, their sound carries to a great distance, as was formerly the case at Dodona. On this disk stand four more pyramids, each 100 feet high, and above these, on a single platform, five more.' The height of these last pyramids was a detail that Varro was ashamed to add to his account; but the Etruscan stories relate that it was equal to that of the whole work up to their level, insane folly as it was to have courted fame by spending for the benefit of none and to have exhausted furthermore the resources of a kingdom; and the result, after all, was more honour for the designer than for the sponsor.

20. We read also of a hanging garden, and, more than this, of a whole hanging town, Thebes in Egypt. The kings used to lead forth their armies in full array beneath it without being detected by any of the inhabitants. Even so, this is less remarkable than would have been the ease had a river flowed through the middle of the town. If any of this had been true, Homer would certainly have mentioned it when he spoke so emphatically of the hundred gates at Thebes.

21. Of grandeur as conceived by the Greeks a real and remarkable example still survives, namely the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, the building of which occupied all Asia Minor for 120 years. It was built on marshy soil so that it might not be subject to earthquakes or be threatened by subsidences. On the other hand, to ensure that the foundations of so massive a building would not be laid on shifting, unstable ground, they were underpinned with a layer of closely trodden charcoal, and then with another of sheepskins with their fleeces unshorn. The length of the temple overall is 425 feet, and its breadth 225 feet. There are 127 columns, each constructed by a different king and 60 feet in height. Of these, 36 were carved with reliefs, one of them by Scopas. The architect in charge of the work was Chersiphron. The crowning marvel was his success in lifting the architraves of this massive building a into place. This he achieved by filling bags of plaited reed with sand and constructing a gently graded ramp which reached the upper surfaces of the capitals of the columns. Then, little by little, he emptied the lowest layer of bags, so that the fabric gradually settled into its right position. But the greatest difficulty was encountered with the lintel itself when he was trying to place it over the door; for this was the largest block, and it would not settle on its bed. The architect was in anguish as he debated whether suicide should be his final decision. The story goes that in the course of his reflections he became weary, and that while he slept at night he saw before him the goddess for whom the temple was being built: she was urging him to live because, as she said, she herself had laid the stone. And on the next day this was seen to be the case. The stone appeared to have been adjusted merely by dint of its own weight. The other embellishments of the building are enough to fill many volumes, since they are in no way related to natural forms.

22. At Cyzicus too there survives a temple; and here a small gold tube was inserted into every vertical joint of the dressed stonework by the architect, who was to place within the shrine an ivory statue of Jupiter with a marble Apollo crowning him. Consequently very fine filaments of light shine through the interstices and a gentle refreshing breeze plays on the statues. Apart from the ingenuity of the architect, the very material of his device, hidden though it may be, is appreciated as enhancing the value of the whole work.

23. In the same city is the so-called Runaway Stone, which the Argonauts used as an anchor and left there. This has frequently strayed from the Presidents' House (this being the name of the place where it is kept), and so it has been fastened with lead. In this city too, close to the so-called Thracian Gate, there are seven towers that repeat with numerous reverberations any sounds that strike upon them. The Greek term for this remarkable phenomenon is 'Echo.' It is caused of course by the configuration of the landscape and generally of deep valleys; but at Cyzicus it occurs by pure chance, while at Olympia it is produced artificially in a remarkable manner within the portico known as 'The Seven Voices,' so called because the same sound re-echoes seven times. At Cyzicus, moreover, there is a large building called the Council House, the rafters of which have no iron nails and are so arranged that beams can be removed and replaced without scaffolding. This is the case also with the Sublician Bridge in Rome, where there has been a solemn ban on the use of nails ever since it was torn down with such difficulty while Horatius Cocles was defending it.

24. But this is indeed the moment for us to pass on to the wonders of our own city, to review the resources derived from the experiences of 800 years, and to show that here too in our buildings we have vanquished the world; and the frequency of this occurrence will be proved to match within a little the number of marvels that we shall describe. If we imagine the whole agglomeration of our buildings massed together and placed on one great heap, we shall see such grandeur towering above us as to make us think that some other world were being described, all concentrated in one single place. Even if we are not to include among our great achievements the Circus Maximus built by Julius Caesar, three furlongs in length and one in breadth, but with nearly three acres of buildings and seats for 250,000, should we not mention among our truly noble buildings the Basilica of Paulus, so remarkable for its columns from Phrygia, or the Forum of Augustus of Revered Memory or the Temple of Peace built by his Imperial Majesty the Emperor Vespasian, buildings the most beautiful the world has ever seen? Should we not mention also the roof of Agrippa's Ballot Office, although at Rome long before this the architect Valerius of Ostia had roofed a whole theatre for Libo's games? We admire the pyramids of kings when Julius Caesar gave 100,000,000 sesterces merely for the ground on which his forum was to be built, and Clodius, who was killed by Milo, paid 14,800,000 sesterces (if references to expenditure can impress anyone now that miserliness has become an obsession) just for the house in which he lived. This amazes me for my part just as much as the mad schemes of kings; and therefore I regard the fact that Milo himself incurred debts amounting to 70,000,000 sesterces as one of the oddest manifestations of the human character. But at that time elderly men still admired the vast dimensions of the Rampart, the substructures of the Capitol and, furthermore, the city sewers, the most noteworthy achievement of all, seeing that hills were tunnelled and Rome, as we mentioned a little earlier, became a hanging city, beneath which men travelled in boats during Marcus Agrippa's term as aedile after his consulship. Through the city there flow seven rivers meeting in one channel. These, rushing downwards like mountain torrents, are constrained to sweep away and remove everything in their path, and when they are thrust forward by an additional volume of rain water, they batter the bottom and sides of the sewers. Sometimes the backwash of the Tiber floods the sewers and makes its way along them upstream. Then the raging flood waters meet head on within the sewers, and even so the unyielding strength of the fabric resists the strain. In the streets above, massive blocks of stone are dragged along, and yet the tunnels do not cave in. They are pounded by falling buildings, which collapse of their own accord or are brought crashing to the ground by fire. The ground is shaken by earth tremors; but in spite of all, for 700 years from the time of Tarquinius Priscus, the channels have remained well-nigh impregnable. We should not fail to mention an occasion that is all the more worthy of record because the best-known historians have overlooked it. Tarquinius Priscus was carrying out the work using the common folk as his labourers, and it became doubtful whether the toil was to be more notable for its intensity or for its duration. Since the citizens were seeking to escape from their exhaustion by committing suicide wholesale, the king devised a strange remedy that was never contrived except on that one occasion. He crucified the bodies of all who had died by their own hands, leaving them to be gazed at by their fellow-citizens and also torn to pieces by beasts and birds of prey. Consequently, the sense of shame, which is so characteristic of the Romans as a nation and has so often restored a desperate situation on the battlefield, then too came to their aid; but this time it imposed upon them at the very moment when they blushed for their honour, since they felt ashamed while alive under the illusion that they would feel equally ashamed when dead. Tarquin is said to have made the tunnels large enough to allow the passage of a waggon fully loaded with hay.

The works that we have so far mentioned amount in all to little; and before we touch upon fresh topics we will show that just one marvel by itself bears comparison with them all. Our most scrupulous authorities are agreed that in the consulship of Marcus Lepidus and Quintus Catulus as fine a house as any in Rome was that of Lepidus himself; but, I swear, within 35 years the same house was not among the first hundred. Confronted by this assessment, anyone who so wishes may count the cost of the masses of marble, the paintings, the regal budgets, the cost, in fact, of a hundred houses, each of which rivalled one that had been the finest and the most highly appreciated in its time, houses that were themselves to be surpassed by countless others right up to the present day. Fires, we may be sure, are punishments inflicted upon us for our extravagance; and even so, human nature cannot be made to understand that there are things more mortal than man himself.

However, all these houses were surpassed by two. Twice have we seen the whole city girdled by imperial palaces, those of Gaius and Nero, the latter's palace, to crown all, being indeed a House of Gold. Such, doubtless, were the dwellings of those who made this empire great, who went straight from plough or hearth to conquer nations and win triumphs, whose very lands occupied a smaller space than those emperors' sitting-rooms! Indeed, one begins to reflect how small in comparison with those palaces were the building-sites formally granted by the state to invincible generals for their private houses. The highest distinction that these houses displayed was one accorded, for example, after his many services to Publius Valerius Publicola, the first of our consuls along with Lucius Brutus, and to his brother, whoalso as consulinflicted two crushing defeats on the Sabines. I refer to the additional decree which provided that the doors of their houses should be made to open outwards so that the portals

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could be flung open on to the public highway. This was the most notable mark of distinction in the houses even of men who had celebrated a triumph.

I shall not allow these two birds of a feather, two Gaiuses or two Neros as you please, to enjoy unchallenged even renown such as this; and so I shall show that even their madness was outdone by the resources of a private individual, Marcus Scaurus, whose aedileship may perhaps have done more than anything to undermine morality, and whose powerful ascendancy may have been a more mischievous achievement on the part of his stepfather Sulla than the killing by proscription of so many thousands of people. As aedile he constructed the greatest of all the works ever made by man, a work that surpassed not merely those erected for a limited period but even those intended to last for ever. This was his theatre, which had a stage arranged in three storeys with 360 columns; and this, if you please, in a community that had not tolerated the presence of six columns of Hymettus marble without reviling a leading citizen. The lowest storey of the stage was of marble, and the middle one of glass (an extravagance unparalleled even in later times), while the top storey was made of gilded planks. The columns of the lowest storey were, as I have stated, each 38 feet high. The bronze statues in the spaces between the columns numbered 3000, as I mentioned earlier. As for the auditorium, it accommodated 80,000; and yet that of Pompey's theatre amply meets all requirements with seats for 40,000 even though the city is so many times larger and the population so much more numerous than it was at that time. The rest of the equipment, with dresses of cloth of gold, scene paintings and other properties was on so lavish a scale that when the surplus knick-knacks that could be put to ordinary use were taken to Scaurus' villa at Tusculum and the villa itself set on fire and burnt down by the indignant servants, the loss was estimated at 30,000,000 sesterces.

Thoughts of this wasteful behaviour distract our attention and force us to leave our intended course, since with this theatre they cause us to associate another, even more frenzied, fantasy in wood. Gaius Curio, who died during the Civil War while fighting on Caesar's side, could not hope, in the entertainment which he provided in honour of his father's funeral, to outstrip Scaurus in the matter of costly embellishments. For where was he to find a stepfather like Sulla or a mother like Metella, who speculated by buying up the property of the proscribed, or a father like Marcus Scaurus, who was for so long a leader in the government and acted for Marius and his cronies as their receiver of goods plundered from the provinces? Even Scaurus himself could no longer have matched his own achievement, for since he had collected his material from all parts of the world, he gained at any rate one advantage from that fire, namely that it was impossible in the future for anyone to emulate his madness. Curio, therefore, had to use his wits and devise some ingenious scheme. It is worth our while to be acquainted with his discovery, and so to be thankful for our modern code of morality and call ourselves 'elders and betters,' reversing the usual meaning of the term. He built close to each other two very large wooden theatres, each poised and balanced on a revolving pivot. During the forenoon, a performance of a play was given in both of them and they faced in opposite directions so that the two casts should not drown each other's words. Then all of a sudden the theatres revolved (and it is agreed that after the first few days they did so with some of the spectators actually remaining in their seats), their corners met, and thus Curio provided an amphitheatre in which he produced fights between gladiators, though they were less in chancery than the Roman people itself as it was whirled around by Curio. Truly, what should first astonish one in this, the inventor or the invention, the designer or the sponsor, the fact that a man dared to plan the work, or to undertake it, or to commission it? What will prove to be more amazing than anything is the madness of a people that was bold enough to take its place in such treacherous, rickety seats. Here we have the nation that has conquered the earth, that has subdued the whole world, that distributes tribes and kingdoms, that despatches its dictates to foreign peoples, that is heaven's representative, so to speak, among mankind, swaying on a contraption and applauding its own danger! What a contempt for life this showed! What force now have our complaints of the lives lost at Cannae! What a disaster it could have been! When the earth yawns and cities are engulfed, whole communities grieve. Here the entire Roman people, as if on board two frail boats, was supported by a couple of pivots, and was entertained with the spectacle of its very self risking its life in the fighting arena, doomed, as it was, to perish at some moment or other if the framework were wrenched out of place. And the aim, after all, was merely to win favour for the speeches that Curio would make as tribune, so that he might continue to agitate the swaying voters, since on the speaker's platform he would shrink from nothing in addressing men whom he had persuaded to submit to such treatment. For, if we must confess the truth, it was the whole Roman people that struggled for its life in the arena at the funeral games held at his father's tomb. When the pivots of the theatres were worn and displaced he altered this ostentatious display of his. He kept to the shape of the amphitheatre, and on the final day gave athletic displays on the two stages as they stood back to back across the middle of the arena. Then suddenly the platforms were swept away on either side, and during the same day he brought on those of his gladiators who had won their earlier contests. And Curio was not a king nor an emperor nor, indeed, was he particularly rich, seeing that his only financial asset was the feud that had arisen between the heads of state.

But we must go on to describe marvels which are unsurpassed in virtue of their genuine value. Quintus Marcius Rex, having been ordered by the senate to repair the conduits of the Aqua Appia, the Anio, and the Tepula, drove underground passages through the mountains and brought to Rome a new water-supply called by his own name and completed within the period of his praetorship. Agrippa, moreover, as aedile added to these the Aqua Virgo, repaired the channels of the others and put them in order, and constructed 700 basins, not to speak of 500 fountains and 130 distribution-reservoirs, many of the latter being richly decorated. He erected on these works 300 bronze or marble statues and 400 marble pillars; and all of this he carried out in a year. He himself in the memoirs of his aedileship adds that in celebration games lasting for 59 days were held, and the bathing establishments were Dio Cassius, thrown open to the public free of charge, all 170 of them, a number which at Rome has now been infinitely increased. But all previous aqueducts have been surpassed by the most recent and very costly work inaugurated by the Emperor Gaius and completed by Claudius, inasmuch as the Curtian and Caerulean Springs, as well as the Anio Novus, were made to flow into Rome from the 40th milestone at such a high level as to supply water to all the seven hills of the city, the sum spent on the work amounting to 350,000,000 sesterees. If we take into careful consideration the abundant supplies of water in public buildings, baths, pools, open channels, private houses, gardens and country estates near the city; if we consider the distances traversed by the water before it arrives, the raising of arches, the tunnelling of mountains and the building of level routes across deep valleys, we shall readily admit that there has never been anything more remarkable in the whole world. One of the most remarkable achievements of the same emperor, Claudius, neglected, though it was, by his malicious successor, is, in my opinion at least, the channel that he dug through a mountain to drain the Fucine Lake. This, I need hardly say, entailed the expenditure of an indescribably large sum of money and the employment for many years of a horde of workers because, where earth formed the interior of the mountain, the water channel had to be cleared by lifting the spoil to the top of the shafts on hoists and everywhere else solid rock had to be cut away, and operations underground (and how vast they were!) had to be carried out in darkness, operations which only those who witnessed them can envisage and no human utterance can describe. Incidentally, I must forbear to mention the harbour works at Ostia, and likewise the roads driven through hills in cuttings, the moles that were built to separate the Tyrrhenian Sea from the Lucrine Lake, and all the bridges erected at such great cost. Among the many marvels of Italy itself is one for which the accomplished natural scientist Papirius Fabianus vouches, namely that marble actually grows in its quarries; and the quarrymen, moreover, assert that the scars on the mountain sides fill up of their own accord. If this is true, there is reason to hope that there will always be marble sufficient to satisfy luxury's demands.

25. As we pass from marble to the other remarkable varieties of stone, no one can doubt that it is the magnet that first of all comes to mind. For what is more strange than this stone? In what field has Nature displayed a more perverse wilfulness? She has given to rocks a voice which, as I have explained, echoes that of Man, or rather interrupts it as well. What is more impassive than the stiffness of stone? And yet we see that she has endowed the magnet with senses and hands. What is more recalcitrant than the hardness of iron? We see that she has bestowed on it feet and instincts. For iron is attracted by the magnet, and the substance that vanquishes all other things rushes into a kind of vacuum and, as it approaches the magnet, it leaps towards it and is held by it and clasped in its embrace. And so the magnet is called by the Greeks by another name, the 'iron stone,' and by some of them the 'stone of Heracles.' According to Nicander, it was called 'magnes' from the name of its discover, who found it on Mount Ida. Incidentally, it is to be found in many places, including Spain. However, the story goes that Magnes discovered the stone when the nails of his sandals and the tip of his staff stuck to it as he was pasturing his herds. Sotacus describes five kinds of magnet: an Ethiopian; another from Magnesia, which borders on Macedonia and is on the traveller's right as he makes for Volos from Boebe; a third from Hyettus in Boeotia; a fourth from the neighbourhood of Alexandria in the Troad; and a fifth from Magnesia in Asia Minor. The most important distinction is between the male and female varieties, while the next lies in their colour. Those found in the Magnesia that is close to Macedonia are red and black, whereas the Boeotian have more red than black in them. Those found in the Troad are black and female, and therefore exert no force, while the most worthless kind is that of Magnesia in Asia Minor, which is white, has no power of attracting iron and resembles pumice. It has been ascertained that, the bluer a magnet is, the better it is. The palm goes to the Ethiopian variety, which in the market is worth its weight in silver. It is found in the sandy district of Ethiopia known as Zmiris. There, too, is found the haematite magnet, which is blood-red in colour and, when ground, produces not only blood-red but also saffron-yellow powder. But haematite has not the same property of attracting iron as the magnet. The test of an Ethiopian magnet is its ability to attract another magnet to itself. All magnets, incidentally, are useful for making up eye-salves if each is used in its correct quantity, and are particularly effective in stopping acute watering of the eyes. They also cure bums when ground and calcined. Also in Ethiopia and at no great distance is another mountain, (the ore from) which on the contrary repels and rejects all iron. Both of these properties have already been discussed by me on several occasions.

26. It is said that a stone from the island of Syros floats on the waves, but that it sinks when it has been broken into small pieces.

27. At Assos in the Troad we find the Sarcophagus stone, which splits along a line of cleavage. It is well known that corpses buried in it are consumed within a period of forty days, except for the teeth: Mucianus vouches for the fact that mirrors, scrapers, clothes and shoes placed upon the dead bodies are turned to stone as well. There are similar stones both in Lycia and in the East; and these, when attached even to living persons, eat away their bodies.

28. However, there are stones that are gentler in their effects in that they preserve a body without consuming it, for example, the 'chernites,' which closely resembles ivory and is said to be the material of which the coin of Darius is said to have been made, and, again, a stone called 'porus,' which is similar to Parian marble in whiteness and hardness, only not so heavy. Theophrastus is our authority also for a translucent Egyptian stone said by him to be similar to Chian marble. Such a stone may have existed in his time: stones cease to be found and new ones are discovered in turn.

The stone of Assos, which has a salty taste, relieves gout if the feet are plunged into a vessel hollowed out of it. Moreover, all affections of the legs are cured in the quarries where it is hewn, whereas in all mines the legs are attacked by ailments. Belonging to the same stone is what is called the efflorescence, which is soft enough to form powder and is just as effective as the stone for certain purposes. It looks, incidentally, like reddish pumice. Combined with Cyprian wax it cures affections of the breasts, and, if mixed with pitch or resin, disperses scrofulous sores and superficial abscesses. Taken as an electuary it is also good for consumption. When blended with honey, it causes scars to form over chronic sores, reduces excrescences of flesh and dries up matter discharging from a bite when it will not yield to other treatment. In cases of gout a plaster is made of it with an admixture of bean-meal.

29. Theophrastus, again, and Mucianus express the opinion that there are certain stones that give birth to other stones. Theophrastus states also that fossil ivory coloured black and white is found, that bones are produced from the earth and that stones resembling bones come to light.

In the neighbourhood of Munda in Spain, the place where Julius Caesar defeated Cn. Pompeius, occur stones containing the likeness of a palm branch, which appears whenever they are broken. There are also black stones, like that of Cape Matapan, that have come to be esteemed as much as any marble. Varro states that black stones from Africa are harder than the Italian, but that, on the other hand, the white stone of Cora is harder than that of Paros. He mentions too that Carrara stone can be cut with a saw, that Tusculan stone is split by fire and that the dark Sabine variety actually becomes bright if oil is poured on it. Varro also assures us that rotary querns have been found at Bolsena; and we find in records of miraculous occurrences that some querns have even moved of their own accord.

30. Nowhere are more serviceable millstones to be found than in Italy, for here they are proper stones and not lumps of rock. In certain provinces, however, they are not found at all. Some stones of this kind are quite soft and can be smoothed also with a whetstone, so that from a distance they may be mistaken for serpentine. No other stones are more durable than millstones; for, as with wood, it is characteristic of stones of one sort or another to be unable to stand rain, sun or wintry weather. Some are affected even by the moon, while others acquire a patina in course of time or lose their white colour when treated with oil.

Some people call a millstone 'pyrites,' or 'fire-stone,' because there is a great amount of fire in it. However, there is another 'pyrites' which is similar, only more porous, and yet another which resembles copper. It is claimed that in the mines near Acamas in Cyprus two kinds of pyrites are found, one having the colour of silver and the other of gold. There

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are several ways of roasting the mineral. Some roast it two or three times with honey until the moisture is consumed, whereas others roast it first on hot coals and then with honey. Afterwards, it is washed like copper. The varieties of pyrites are used in pharmacy for their warming, drying, dispersing and reducing effects, and also to cause indurations to discharge their matter. They are also used raw, in the form of powder, for treating scrofulous sores and boils. Some writers class as 'pyrites' yet another kind of stone that contains a great quantity of fire. Stones known as 'live stones' are extremely heavy and are indispensable to reconnaissance parties preparing a camp-site. When struck with a nail or another stone they give off a spark, and if this is caught on sulphur or else on dry fungi or leaves it produces a flame instantaneously.

31. The 'ostracites,' or 'potsherd stone,' resembles a potsherd and is used instead of pumice as a depilatory. Taken as a draught it arrests bleeding and applied as an ointment with honey cures sores and pains in the breasts. 'Amiantus,' which looks carysotne like alum, is quite indestructible by fire. It affords protection against all spells, especially those of the Magi.

32. Geodes receive their name in token of their earthy character, since earth is enclosed within them. They are of great use as ingredients of eye-salves and also in treating affections of the breasts and testicles.

33. The 'melitinus' stone exudes a liquid that is sweet and is like honey. When pounded and mixed with wax it cures acute catarrh, spots on the skin and sore throats, and removes sores on the eyelids; and if applied on a wool dressing it causes pains in the uterus to disappear.

34. Jet derives its name from a district and a river in Lycia known as Gages. It is said also to be washed up by the sea on the promontory of Leucolla and to be gathered at places up to a distance of a mile and a half. Jet is black, smooth, porous, light, not very different from wood, and brittle, and has an unpleasant smell when rubbed. Anything inscribed in it on earthenware is indelible. When it is burnt it gives off a smell like that of sulphur. What is remarkable is that it is ignited by water and quenched by oil. The kindling of jet drives off snakes and relieves suffocation of the uterus. Its fumes detect attempts to simulate a disabling illness or a state of virginity. Moreover, when thoroughly boiled with wine it cures toothache and, if combined with wax, scrofulous tumours. The Magi are said to make use of it in what they call divination by axes and they assert it will not burn away completely if a wish is destined to come true.

35. Sponge stones are found in sponges, and therefore belong to the sea. They are sometimes called in Greek stone-solvents because they cure affections of the bladder and break up stone in it if they are taken in wine.

36. Phrygian stone is so called from the people of that name and occurs as porous lumps. After being soaked in wine it is roasted, and bellows are used to fan it until it turns red, whereupon it is quenched with sweet wine, and the process is repeated three times on each occasion. It is of use only in dyeing garments.

37. 'Schistos' and haematite are closely related. Haematite is found in mines, and when roasted reproduces the colour of red-lead. It is roasted in the same way as the Phrygian stone, except that it is not quenched with wine. It can be counterfeited, but genuine haematite is distinguished by its occurrence as red veins and by its friable character. It is extraordinarily good for bloodshot eyes, and checks excessive menstruation if it is taken as a draught. It is drunk also, with pomegranate juice added, by patients who have brought up blood. A draught of it is an effective remedy for bladder trouble; moreover, if it is taken in wine it is an antidote for snakebites. All these properties exist, but in a weaker form, in the substance known as 'schistos.' Among its varieties, the more suitable is like saffron in colour. Mixed with human milk it is a specific for filling cavities left by sores. It is also admirable for reducing protruding eyes. Such is the consensus of opinion among the most recent writers.

38. Among the oldest authorities Sotacus records five kinds of haematite, apart from the magnet. Of these, the Ethiopian receives from him the first place, a variety which is very useful for making up eye-salves and what the Greeks call 'universal remedies,' as well as being effective for burns. The second is, according to him, known as man-tamer, black in colour and exceptionally heavy and hard: hence its name. It is found mainly in Africa and attracts silver, copper and iron. The method of testing it is to rub it on a whetstone of slate, when, if genuine, it gives off a blood-red smear. It is a capital remedy for affections of the liver. The third kind, according to Sotacus' reckoning, is the Arabian, which is similarly hard and produces scarcely any smear on a hone used with water although on occasion there is a saffron-coloured smear. The fourth kind, so he says, is known as 'liver ore' in its natural state, and as 'ruddle ore' when it is roasted. It is useful for treating burns and more useful than ruddle for any purpose. The fifth is 'schistos,' and this when taken as a draught reduces piles. Sotacus goes on to say that three drachms of any haematite pounded in oil should be swallowed on an empty stomach to counteract blood ailments. He also describes a 'schistos' different in kind from the haematite 'schistos' and known as anthracite. He states that it is a black stone found in Africa and that, when it is rubbed on a water hone, what was originally the lower end produces a black mark and the other end a saffron-coloured one. According to him, it is useful by itself for making up eye-salves.

39. Eagle stones have acquired a reputation owing to the associations aroused by the term. As I have already stated in Book 10, they are found in eagles' nests. It is said that they are found in pairs, a male and a female, and that without them the eagles in question cannot produce young: hence there is only a pair of stones. There are four kinds of eagle stones. One kind found in Africa is small and soft, and carries inside it, as though in a womb, a pleasing white clay. The stone itself is liable to crumble and is considered to be female, while a kind that occurs in Arabia and is hard, coloured like an oak gall or else reddish in appearance and containing a hard stone in its hollow centre, is regarded as a male. A third kind found in Cyprus is similar in colour to those of Africa, but is larger and elongated, the shape of all other kinds being spherical. It carries inside it an agreeable kind of sand and small nodules, while the stone itself is soft enough to be crumbled merely with one's fingers. The fourth kind, known as the Taphiusian, occurs not far from the island of Leucas in Taphiusa, a district that lies to the right as one sails to Lencas from Ithaca. It is found as a white, round stone in streams. In its hollow centre is a stone known as the 'callimus,' but no trace of earthy matter. Eagle stones, wrapped in the skins of animals that have been sacrificed, are worn as amulets by women or four-footed creatures during pregnancy so as to prevent a miscarriage. They must not be removed except at the moment of delivery: otherwise, there will be a prolapse of the uterus. On the other hand, if they were not removed during delivery no birth would take place.

40. There is also the stone of Samos, found in the island of that name, the earth from which we have already had occasion to praise. The stone is useful as a gold polish, while in pharmacy, if it is mixed with milk in the manner described above, it is good for ophthalmic ulcers and chronic watering of the eyes. When taken as a draught it also counteracts stomach ailments, relieves giddiness and corrects disturbances of the mind. Some doctors hold that it can be administered with benefit in cases of epilepsy and strangury. Moreover, it is mixed with other ingredients in embrocations to relieve fatigue. The test of its genuineness is based upon its weight and white colour. Worn as an amulet, it is claimed to prevent a miscarriage.

41. The Arabian stone, which resembles ivory, can, if calcined, be suitably used as a tooth powder. But, in particular, it cures piles if combined with lint or placed on a linen dressing locally applied.

42. We must not forget to discuss also the Pumice. characteristics of pumice. This name, of course, is given to the hollowed rocks in the buildings called by the Greeks Homes of the Muses, where such rocks hang from the ceilings so as to create an artificial imitation of a cave. But as for the pumice which is used as a depilatory for women, and nowadays also for men, and moreover, as Catullus reminds us, for books, the finest quality occurs in Melos, Nisyros, and the Aeolian Islands. The test of its quality is that it should be white, very light in weight, extremely porous and dry, and easy to grind, without being sandy when rubbed. In pharmacy it has a reducing and drying effect. It is calcined three times in a fire of pure charcoal and quenched the same number of times in white wine. It is then washed like cadmea, and having been dried is stored in a place as free from damp as possible. The powder is used mostly for eye-salves, since it gently cleanses ophthalmic ulcers and heals them, and removes the scars. Incidentally, some pharmacists, after calcining the pumice three times, prefer to let it cool rather than quench it, and then to pound it mixed with wine. It is added also to poultices, and is then most useful for treating sores on the head or the private parts. Tooth powders, too, are prepared from it. Theophrastus assures us that topers competing in drinking contests first take a dose of the powder, but states that they run a grave risk unless they fill themselves with wine at a single draught. He adds that the cooling properties of pumice are so powerful that new wine stops bubbling when pumice is added to it.

43. Our authorities have been interested also in stones used for making mortars; and I do not mean merely mortars used for pounding drugs or grinding pigments. Among such stones, they give the first place to the Etesian and the second to that of the Thebaid which I have already cited as the 'pyrrhopoecilos,' or 'the stone with the red spots,' and some people call 'psaros,' 'the speckled stone'.

The third place they award to the touchstone of rock resembling hail, or for medical purposes to one of siliceous slate. For this latter stone yields nothing from its own substance. Stones which produce a smear are considered to be useful for making up eye-salves: hence the Ethiopian is most highly valued for this purpose. The stone of Cape Matapan, the Phoenician stone and haematite are said to be good for preparing prescriptions that contain saffron. But mortars made of another stone from Cape Matapan, a black marble, or of Parian marble are not so useful to doctors, so we are told, better ones being made of onyx marble from Egypt or of white serpentine. For there is such a species of serpentine, and vessels and boxes also are made of it.

44. In the island of Siphnos there is a stone that is hollowed out and turned on the lathe so as to form cooking utensils or tableware; and this I myself know to be the case also with the green stone of Como in Italy. The Siphnian stone, however, has a peculiarity of its own in that when thoroughly heated with oil it becomes black and hard, whereas naturally it is very soft. Such are the divers properties to be found in one substance. Incidentally, exceptional instances of soft stones occur beyond the Alps. In the province of Belgic Gaul a white stone is said to be cut with a saw, just like wood, only even more easily, so as to serve as ordinary roof tiles and as rain tiles or, if so desired, as the kind of roofing known as 'peacock-style.'

45. These stones, then, can be cut with a saw. However, the specular stone (for even this substance ranks as a stone) has a far more amenable character which allows it to be split into plates as thin as may be wished. Formerly it was produced only in Hither Spain, and even then not in the whole of the province, but merely within an area of a hundred miles around the city of Priego. Nowadays supplies come too from Cyprus, Cappadocia, Sicily and, a recent discovery, from Africa. However, all these kinds are inferior to that of Spain: Cappadocia produces the largest pieces, but they lack transparency. Moreover, in the region of Bologna in Italy small streaks occur tightly embedded within hard rock; and yet they are large enough for their essential similarity to the rest to be unmistakable. In Spain the specular stone is dug at a great depth by means of shafts; and it is found too just beneath the surface enclosed in rock, in which case it has to be torn away or cut out; but for the most part its formation allows it to be dug, since it occurs in isolation as rough blocks. No piece exceeding five feet in length has hitherto been discovered. It is palpably obvious that we have here a liquid which, like rock-crystal, has been frozen and petrified by an exhalation in the earth, because when wild animals fall down the shafts just mentioned the marrow in their bones after a single winter takes on the appearance of this selfsame stone. On occasion a black variety of the stone is also found, but it is the bright kind, notoriously soft though it may be, that has a remarkable property of withstanding the effects of hot and cold weather. Moreover, provided that it escapes abuse, it does not deteriorate, although this is apt to happen even with blocks of many varieties of stone. A further use has been devised for the specular stone in the shape of the shavings and flakes strewn on the surface of the Circus Maximus during the Games to produce an attractively bright effect.

46. During Nero's principate there was discovered in Cappadocia a stone as hard as marble, white and, even where deep-yellow veins occurred, translucent. In token of its appearance it was called 'phengites' or the 'Luminary Stone.' Of this stone Nero rebuilt the temple of Fortune, known as the shrine of Sejanus, but originally consecrated by King Servius Tullius and incorporated by Nero in his Golden House. Thanks to this stone, in the daytime it was as light as day in the temple, even when the doors were shut; but the effect was not that of windows of specular stone, since the light was, so to speak, trapped within rather than allowed to penetrate from without. According to Juba, there exists in Arabia too a stone that is transparent like glass, and is used as window panes.

47. It is now high time to pass on to stones used in industry, and first of all to whetstones intended for sharpening iron. Of these there are many varieties. Cretan whetstones for long enjoyed the highest reputation, the second place being held by the Laconian from Mount Taygetus. Both kinds need to be lubricated with oil. Among those used with water the Naxiau came first in merit, and then the Armenian, both of which were mentioned earlier. Cilician whetstones are effective if used with oil and water mixed, and those of Arsinoee if used with water alone. In Italy too there have been discovered whetstones which, when used with water, extract a sharp edge and operate most keenly, as well as beyond the Alps, where they are known as 'passernices.' The fourth method of operation is that adopted for the hones which are so useful in barbers' shopslubrication by means of human saliva from Hither Spain are outstanding in this class.

48. Of the numerous stones that remain to rap. be considered, tufa is unsuitable for building construction because of its short life and its softness. However, some localities, for example Carthage in Africa have no other stone to offer. It is eaten away by evaporation from the sea, rubbed by wind. and lashed and scarred by rain. But the Carthaginians are careful to protect their house walls by coating them with pitch; for lime plaster is another thing that erodes tufa. Hence the witty remark that people there treat their buildings with pitch and their wine with lime, since that is how they temper their new wine. Other soft varieties are found near Rome in the neighbourhood of Fidenae and Alba. In Umbria and Venetia, moreover, there is a white stone that

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can be cut with a toothed saw. These stones, besides being easy to work, can also bear a heavy load, provided that they are under cover. When exposed to spray, frost or rime they break up into slabs, nor do they show much resistance to sea breezes. Travertine is split by heat, although it stands up to all other forces.

49. The best silexa is the black variety, although in certain localities it is the red that is best, and in several places even the white, as in the Anician quarries round Lake Bolsena near Trachina or, again, in the neighbourhood of Statonia, the stone from these two places being immune even to fire. The same two varieties are, moreover, used for sculpture on monuments, where they offer the added advantage of remaining untouched by the ravages of time. Of these stones are made the moulds in which bronze implements are cast. There is also a green stone that strongly resists fire, but it is nowhere plentiful and, where it is found, occurs in pieces and not in a mass. Of the remaining varieties, the pale silex can only occasionally be used for rough walling, while the rounded kind stands up to hard abuse, but is unreliable for building purposes unless it is bonded with large quantities of mortar. The silex found in rivers is no more reliable, always giving the impression of being thoroughly damp.

50. When stone is of doubtful quality the remedy is to quarry it in the summer and to lay it only after it has been subjected to weathering for at least two years. Those stones of this class that have been damaged by such treatment may be more profitably incorporated in masonry lying below ground-level, while those that have withstood weathering can be safely exposed even to the sky.

51. The Greeks build house-walls, as though they were using brick, of hard stone or silex dressed to a uniform thickness. When they follow this procedure the style of masonry is what they call 'isodomos,' or 'masonry with equal courses.' When the courses laid are of varying thickness the style is known as 'pseudisodomosi' a spurious variety of the former. A third style is the 'emplectos' or 'interwoven,' in which only the faces are dressed, the rest of the material being laid at random. It is essential that joints should be made to alternate in such a way that the middle of a stone covers the vertical joint in the course last laid. This should be done even in the core of the wall if circumstances permit, and failing this, at least on the faces. When the core of the wall is packed with rubble, the style is 'diatonieos,' 'with single stones stretching from face to face.' 'Network masonry,' which is very commonly used in buildings at Rome, is liable to crack. All masonry should be laid to rule and level, and should be absolutely perpendicular when tested with a plummet.

52. Cisterns should be made of five parts of clean, coarse sand to two of the hottest possible quicklime, together with pieces of silex each weighing not more than a pound. The floor and walls built of this material should all alike be beaten with iron bars. It is better to build cisterns in pairs so that impurities may settle in the first, and water pass through a filter purified into the adjoining one.

53. As for lime, Cato the censor disapproves of preparing it from variegated limestone, for white limestone produces a better quality. Lime made from a hard stone is more effective for walling, while that made from porous limestone is more suitable for plastering. Lime manufactured from silex is condemned for both purposes. Again, it is more serviceable if it is produced from quarried stone than from stones collected on the banks of rivers. A superior kind is made from stones used for querns, for they have a certain unctuous character. Lime possesses one remarkable quality: once it has been burnt, its heat is increased by water.

54. Of sand, there are three varieties: there is quarry sand, to which has to be added one-quarter of its weight in lime; and river or alternatively sea sand, to which must be added one-third. If one-third of crushed potsherds also is added, the material will be improved. No quarry sand is found from the Apennines as far as the Po, nor does it occur overseas.

55. The chief reason for the collapse of buildings in Rome is the purloining of lime, as the result of which the rough stones are laid on each other without any proper mortar. It is also a fact that the slurry improves with keeping. In the old building laws is to be found a regulation that no contractor is to use a slurry that is less than three years old. Consequently, old plaster work was never disfigured by cracks. Stucco never possesses the required brilliance unless three coats of sand mortar and two of marble stucco are laid on. Buildings exposed to damp or erected in a locality where they may be affected by moisture from the sea may with profit be given an undercoat of plaster made from pounded potsherds. In Greece sand mortar for plaster work is, furthermore, worked up in a trough with wooden poles before it is spread. The test for ascertaining that marble stucco has been worked to the correct consistency is that it should no longer stick to the trowel, while in whitewashing the test is that the slaked lime should stick like glue. Slaking should always be carried out when the lime is in lumps. At Elis there is a temple of Minerva in which, it is said, Panaenus, the brother of Pheidias, applied plaster that had been worked with milk and saffron. The result is that even today, if one wets one's thumb with saliva and rubs it on the plaster, the latter still gives off the smell and taste of saffron.

56. As for columns, identical ones appear to increase in thickness merely by being placed more closely together. There are four kinds of columns. Columns the height of which is six times their lower diameter are the so-called Doric. Those in which the height is nine times the lower diameter are the Ionic; and those in which it is seven times the Tuscan. Corinthian columns have the same proportions as the Ionic except that the height of the Corinthian capitals equals the lower diameter, so that they appear to be more slender than the Ionic, where the height of the capital is a third of the lower diameter. In ancient times a proportion observed was that the breadth of a temple should be three times the height of the columns. It was in the earlier temple of Diana at Ephesus that columns were for the first time mounted on moulded bases and crowned with capitals, and it was decided that the lower diameter of the columns should be one-eighth of their height, that the height of the moulded bases should be one-half of the lower diameter and that the lower diameter should exceed the upper diameter by a seventh. Another kind of column is that known as the Attic, which is quadrangular and equilateral.

57. Lime is commonly used also in pharmacy, preferably when freshly calcined and unslaked. It has caustic, dispersive and drawing effects, and checks an onset of ulcers which shows signs of spreading quickly. It brings about the formation of scars when it is mixed as a liniment with vinegar and rose oil and is later blended with wax and rose oil. It is a cure also for dislocations when applied with liquid resin or pork fat mixed with honey, and the same mixture, moreover, cures scrofulous sores.

58. Maltha is prepared from freshly calcined lime, a lump of which is slaked in wine and then pounded together with pork fat and figs, both of which are softening agents. Maltha is the most adhesive of substances and grows harder than stone. Anything that is treated with it is first thoroughly rubbed with olive oil.

59. There is an affinity between lime and gypsum, a substance of which there are several varieties. For it can be produced from a heated mineral, as in Syria and Thurii; it can be dug from the earth, as in Cyprus and Perrhaebia. There is also that of Tymphaea, which is stripped from the earth's surface. The mineral that is heated ought to be like onyx marble or crystalline limestone. In Syria the hardest stones possible are selected for the purpose and are heated along with cow dung so that the burning may be accelerated. However, it has been discovered that the best kind is prepared from specular stone a or from stone that flakes in the same way. Gypsum, when moistened, should be used instantly, since it coheres with great rapidity. However, there is nothing to prevent it from being pounded and reduced again to a fine powder. Gypsum is a serviceable whitewash and is used with pleasing effect for making moulded figures and festoons in architecture. A famous story carries with it something of a warning: we are told that Caius Proculeius, a man who could rest assured of his close friendship with the Emperor Augustus, committed suicide by swallowing gypsum when he was suffering from severe pains in the stomach.

60. Paved floors originated among the Greeks and were skilfully embellished with a kind of paint-work until this was superseded by mosaics. In this latter field the most famous exponent was Sosus, who at Pergamum laid the floor of what is known in Greek as 'the Unswept Room' because, by means of small cubes tinted in various shades, he represented on the floor refuse from the dinner table and other sweepings, making them appear as if they had been left there. A remarkable detail in the picture is a dove, which is drinking and casts the shadow of its head on the water, while others are sunning and preening themselves on the brim of a large drinking vessel.

61. The original paved floors, in my belief, were those now known to us as 'foreign' and 'indoor' floors. In Italy these were beaten with staves: at any rate, this is what the name itself may imply. At Rome the first floor with a diamond pattern was constructed in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus after the beginning of the Third Punic War; but tessellated pavements had already become common and extremely popular before the Cimbrian War, as is shown by the famous verse from Lucilius:

With paviour's skill and wavy inset stones.

62. Open-air flooring was an invention of the Greeks, who roof their houses in this way, an easy method to use in regions with a warm climate, but unreliable wherever there is heavy rainfall and frost. It is essential that two sets of joists should be laid across each other, and that their ends should be nailed down to avoid warping. To fresh rubble should be added a third of its weight in pounded potsherds; and then the rubble, mixed with two-fifths of its weight in lime, should be rammed down to a thickness of one foot. After this, a final coat 4 inches thick must be applied to the rubble and large square stones not less than 1 inches thick laid on it. A fall of 1 inches in 10 feet should be maintained and the surface carefully polished with grindstones. It is considered impracticable to lay the wood floor with oak planks, because they warp; and, furthermore, it is thought advisable to spread a layer of fern or straw below the rubble so that the worst effects of the quicklime may not reach the planks. It is essential also to lay a foundation of round pebbles under the rubble. Tiled floors with a herring-bone pattern are constructed in a similar fashion.

63. There is still one kind of floor that we must not fail to mention, namely the Graecanicum or 'Greek style.' The ground is well rammed and rubble or a layer of pounded potsherds laid on it. Then charcoal is trodden into a compact mass, and on top of this is spread a mixture of coarse sand, lime and ashes to a thickness of 6 inches. This is carefully finished to rule and level, and has the appearance of earth. But if it is smoothed with a grindstone it will pass for a black stone floor.

64. Mosaics came into use as early as Sulla's regime. At all events, there exists even today one made of very small cubes which he installed in the temple of Fortune at Palestrina. After that, ordinary tessellated floors were driven from the ground level and found a new home in vaulted ceilings, being now made of glass. Here too we have a recent invention. At any rate, Agrippa, in the baths that he built at Rome, painted the terracotta work of the hot rooms in encaustic and decorated the rest with whitewash, although he would certainly have built vaults of glass if such a device had already been invented or else had been extended from the walls of a stage, such as that of Scaurus which we have described, to vaulted ceilings. And so we must now proceed to explain also the nature of glass.

65. That part of Syria which is known as Phoenicia and borders on Judea contains a swamp called Candebia amid the lower slopes of Mount Carmel. This is supposed to be the source of the River Belus, which after traversing a distance of 5 miles flows into the sea near the colony of Ptolemais. Its current is sluggish and its waters are unwholesome to drink, although they are regarded as holy for ritual purposes. The river is muddy and flows in a deep channel, revealing its sands only when the tide ebbs. For it is not until they have been tossed by the waves and cleansed of impurities that they glisten. Moreover, it is only at that moment, when they are thought to be affected by the sharp, astringent properties of the brine, that they become fit for use. The beach stretches for not more than half a mile, and yet for many centuries the production of glass depended on this area alone. There is a story that once a ship belonging to some traders in natural soda put in here and that they scattered along the shore to prepare a meal. Since, however, no stones suitable for supporting their cauldrons were forthcoming, they rested them on lumps of soda from their cargo. When these became heated and were completely mingled with the sand on the beach a strange translucent liquid flowed forth in streams; and this, it is said, was the origin of glass.

66. Next, as was to be expected, Man's inventive skill was no longer content to mix only soda with the sand. He began to introduce the magnet stone also, since there is a belief that it attracts to itself molten glass no less than iron. Similarly, lustrous stones of many kinds came to be burnt with the melt and, then again, shells and quarry sand. Authorities state that in India glass is made also of broken rock-crystal and that for this reason no glass can compare with that of India. To resume, a fire of light, dry wood is used for preparing the melt, to which are added copper and soda, preferably Egyptian soda. Glass, like copper, is smelted in a series of furnaces, and dull black lumps are formed. Molten glass is everywhere so sharp that, before there is the least sensation, it cuts to the bone any part of the body on which it splutters. After being reduced to lumps, the glass is again fused in the workshop and is tinted. Some of it is shaped by blowing, some machined on a lathe and some chased like silver. Sidon was once famous for its glassworks, since, apart from other achievements, glass mirrors were invented there.

This was the old method of producing glass. Now, however, in Italy too a white sand which forms in the River Volturno is found along 6 miles of the seashore between Cuma and Literno. Wherever it is softest, it is taken to be ground in a mortar or mill. Then it is mixed with three parts of soda, either by weight or by measure, and after being fused is taken in its molten state to other furnaces. There it forms a lump known in Greek as 'sand-soda.' This is again melted and forms pure glass, and is indeed a lump of clear colourless glass. Nowadays sand is similarly blended also in the Gallic and Spanish provinces. There is a story that in the reign of Tiberius there was invented a method of blending glass so as to render it flexible. The artist's workshop was completely destroyed for fear that the value of metals such as copper, silver and gold would otherwise be lowered. Such is the story, which, however, has for a long period been current through frequent repetition rather than authentic. But this is of little consequence, seeing that in Nero's principate there was discovered a technique of glass-making that resulted in two quite small cups of the kind then known as 'petroti' or 'stoneware' fetching a sum of 6000 sesterces.

67. In our classification of glass we include also 'obsian' ware, so named from its resemblance to the stone found by

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Obsius in Ethiopia. This stone is very dark in colour and sometimes translucent, but has a cloudier appearance than glass, so that when it is used for mirrors attached to walls it reflects shadows rather than images. Gems are frequently made of it, and we have seen also the solid obsidian statues of Augustus of Revered Memory, for the substance can yield pieces bulky enough for this purpose. Augustus himself dedicated as a curiosity four elephants of obsidian in the temple of Concord, while the Emperor Tiberius for his part restored to the cult of the Sun-god at Heliopolis an obsidian statue of Menelaus which he found included in a legacy from one Scius who had been governor of Egypt. This statue proves that the origin of the stone, which is nowadays misrepresented because of its similarity to the glass, is of an earlier date. Xenocrates records that obsidian is found in India, in Italy within the territory of the Samnites and in Spain near the shores of the Atlantic. There is also the artificial 'obsian' glass which is used as a material for tableware, this being produced by a colouring process, as is also the case with a completely red, opaque glass called in Greek blood-red ware. There is, furthermore, opaque white glass and others that reproduce the appearance of fluorspar, blue sapphires or lapis lazuli, and, indeed, glass exists in any colour. There is no other material nowadays that is more pliable or more adaptable, even to painting. However, the most highly valued glass is colourless and transparent, as closely as possible resembling rock-crystal. But although for making drinking vessels the use of glass has indeed ousted metals such as gold and silver, it cannot bear heat unless cold fluid is first poured into it; and yet glass globes containing water become so hot when they face the sun that they can set clothes on fire. Pieces of broken glass can, when heated to a moderate temperature, be stuck together, but that is all. They can never again be completely melted except into globules separate from each other, as happens in the making of the glass pebbles that are sometimes nicknamed 'eyeballs' and in some cases have a variety of colours arranged in several different patterns. Glass, when boiled with sulphur, coalesces into the consistency of stone.

68. And now that we have described everything that depends upon Man's talent for making Art reproduce Nature, we cannot help marvelling that there is almost nothing that is not brought to a finished state by means of fire. Fire takes this or that sand, and melts it, according to the locality, into glass, silver, cinnabar, lead of one kind or another, pigments or drugs. It is fire that smelts ore into copper, fire that produces iron and also tempers it, fire that purifies gold, fire that burns the stone which causes the blocks in buildings to cohere. There are other substances that may be profitably burnt several times; and the same substance can produce something different after a first, a second or a third firing. Even charcoal itself begins to acquire its special property only after it has been fired and quenched: when we presume it to be dead it is growing in vitality. Fire is a vast, unruly element, and one which causes us to doubt whether it is more a destructive or a creative force.

69. Fire even by itself has a curative power. It is well established that epidemics caused by an eclipse of the sun are alleviated in many ways by the lighting of bonfires. Empedocles and Hippocrates have proved this in various passages of their writings. 'For abdominal cramp or bruises,' states Marcus Varro, and I quote his very words, 'your hearth should be your medicine chest. Drink lye made from its ashes, and you will be cured. One can see how gladiators after a combat are helped by drinking this. Moreover, anthrax, a disease which, as I have mentioned, lately carried off two ex-consuls, may be cured by means of oak charcoal ground and mixed with honey. So true is it that there is some benefit to be found even in substances that are utterly rejected and have ceased to have any true existence, as we see here and now with charcoal and ashes.

70. I must not forget to mention one instance of a hearth that is famous in Roman literature. It is said that during the reign of Tarquinius Priscus [616-579 BC] there suddenly emerged from the ashes on his hearth a male genital organ [see Dion. of Hal. 4.2,1 and Plutarch De Fortuna Romanorum 10], and that a captive girl who was sitting there, Ocresia, a maidservant of Queen Tanaquil, rose from there in a state of pregnancy. According to the story, this was how Servius Tullius, who succeeded to the throne, came to be born. Afterwards, and likewise in the king's house, it is said that flames blazed round the child's head as he slept, and that he was therefore believed to be then of the god who protected the household. Hence, we are told, he first founded the Festival of the Crossroads in honour of the gods who protect the community.

NATURAL HISTORY BOOK 37

1. In order that the work that I have undertaken may be complete, it remains for me to discuss gemstones. Here Nature's grandeur is gathered together within the narrowest limits; and in no domain of hers evokes more wonder in the minds of many who set such store by the variety, the colours, the texture and the elegance of gems that they think it a crime to tamper with certain kinds by engraving them as signets, although this is the prime reason for their use; while some they consider to be beyond price and to deft evaluation in terms of human wealth. Hence very many people find that a single gemstone alone is enough to provide them with a supreme and perfect aesthetic experience of the wonders of Nature.

The origin of the use of gemstones and the beginning of our present enthusiasm for them, which has blazed into so violent a passion, I have already discussed to some extent in my references to gold and to rings. According to the myths, which offer a pernicious misinterpretation of Prometheus' fetters, the wearing of rings originated on the crags of the Caucasus. It was of this rock that a fragment was for the first time enclosed in an iron bezel and placed on a finger; and this, we are told, was the first ring, and this the first gemstone.

2. Hence arose the esteem in which gemstones are held; and this soared into such a passion that to Polycrates of Samos, the overlord of islands and coasts, the voluntary sacrifice of a single gemstone seemed a sufficient atonement for his prosperity, which even he himself, the happy recipient, owned to he excessive. Thereby he hoped to settle his account with the fickleness of Fortune. Clearly he supposed that he would be fully indemnified against her ill-will if he, who was weary of unremitting happiness, suffered this one unhappy experience. Accordingly, he put out in a boat and threw the ring into deep water. The ring, however, was seized as bait by a huge fish, fit for a king, which restored the ring as an evil omen to its owner in his own kitchen, thanks to Fortune's treacherous intervention. The gem, it is agreed, was a sardonyx and is displayed in Rome (if we can believe that this is the original stone) in the temple of Concord, set in a golden horn. It was presented by the empress and is ranked almost last in a collection containing many gems that are valued more highly.

3. After this ring, the most renowned gemstone is that of another king, the famous Pyrrhus who [319-272 BC] fought a war against Rome. He is said to have possessed an agate on which could be seen the Nine Muses with Apollo holding his lyre. This was due not to any artistic intention, but to nature unaided; and the markings spread in such a way that even the individual Muses had their appropriate emblems allotted to them. Apart from these stones, my authorities can produce no gems famous enough to be specially recorded. They merely state that Ismenias the pipe-player was in the habit of wearing a large number of brilliant stones and that there is a story associated with his vanity. In Cyprus a 'smaragdus' with the figure of Amymone engraved upon it was offered for sale at a price of six gold pieces. Ismenias ordered the sum to be paid and, when two of the pieces were returned to him, he exclaimed, 'Heavens! I've been done. The stone has been robbed of much of its value.' It is Ismenias who appears to have brought in the fashion whereby all musical accomplishments came to be assessed partly in terms of this kind of lavish display. This was the case with his contemporary and rival Dionysodorus. Consequently, Ismenias seemed to be equalled through this very circumstance by a man who was only third among the musicians of the time. As for Nicomachus, he is said to have possessed merely large numbers of stones chosen without any discrimination.

But it is more or less accidentally that in prefacing the present volume I have quoted these instances as a criticism of those despicable people who in making such a display of their gems claim the right to show the world that their vanity and conceit is that of a piper.

4. And now to resume: the gemstone displayed as that of Polycrates is in its natural state, unmarked by engravings. In the time of Ismenias, many years later, it seems evident that it had become customary to engrave even 'smaragdi.' This impression is supported, moreover, by an edict of Alexander the Great forbidding his likeness to be engraved on this stone by anyone except Pyrgoteles, who was undoubtedly the most brilliant artist in this field. Next to him in fame have been Apollonides, Cronius and the man who made the excellent likeness of Augustus of Revered Memory which his successors have used as their seal, namely Dioscurides. Sulla as dictator always used a signet representing the surrender of Jugurtha. We learn from our authorities also that the native of Intercatia, whose father had been slain by Scipio Aemilianus after challenging him to single combat, used a. signet representing this fight. Hence the familiar witticism made by Stilo Praeconinus, who remarked, 'What would he have done if Scipio had been killed by his father?' Augustus of Revered Memory at the beginning of his career used a signet engraved with a sphinx, having found among his mother's rings two such signets which were so alike as to be indistinguishable. During the Civil Wars, one of these was used by his personal advisers, whenever he himself was absent, for signing any letters and proclamations which the circumstances required to be despatched in his name. The recipients used to make a neat joke saying 'the Sphinx brings its problems.' Of course, the frog signet belonging to Maecenas was also greatly feared because of the contributions of money that it demanded. In later years Augustus, wishing to avoid insulting comments about the sphinx, signed his documents with a likeness of Alexander the Great.

5. The first Roman to own a collection of gemstones (for which we normally use the foreign term 'dactyliotheca,' or 'ring cabinet') was Sulla's stepson Scaurus. For many years there was no other until Pompey the Great dedicated in the Capitol among his other offerings a ring cabinet that had belonged to King Mithridates. This, as Varro and other authorities of the period confirm, was far inferior to that of Scaurus. Pompey's example was followed by Julius Caesar, who during his dictatorship consecrated six cabinets of gems in the temple of Venus Genetrix, and by Marcellus, Octavia's son, who dedicated one in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine.

6. However, it was this victory of Pompey over Mithridates that made fashion veer to pearls and gemstones. The victories of Lucius Scipio and of Cnaeus Manlius had done the same for chased silver, garments of cloth of gold and dining couches inlaid with bronze; and that of Mummius for Corinthian bronzes and fine paintings. To make my point clearer, I shall append statements taken directly from official records of Pompey's triumphs. Thus, Pompey's third triumph was held on his own birthday, September 29th of the year in which Marcus Piso and Marcus Messala were consuls, to celebrate his [61 B.C.] conquest of the pirates, Asia, Pontui and all the peoples and kings mentioned in the seventh volume of this work. In this triumph, then, there was carried in the procession a gaming-board complete with a set of pieces, the board being made of two precious minerals and measuring three feet broad and four feet long. And in case anyone should doubt that our natural resources have become exhausted seeing that today no gems even approach such a size, there rested on this board a golden moon weighing 30 pounds. There were also displayed three gold dining couches; enough gold vessels inlaid with gems to fill nine display stands; three gold figures of Minerva, Mars and Apollo respectively; thirty-three pearl crowns; a square mountain of gold with deer, lions and every variety of fruit on it and a golden vine entwined around it; and a grotto of pearls, on the top of which there was a sundial. Furthermore, there was Pompey's portrait rendered in pearls, that portrait so pleasing with the handsome growth of hair swept back from the forehead, the portrait of that noble head revered throughout the worldthat portrait, I say, that portrait was rendered in pearls. Here it was austerity that was defeated and extravagance that more truly celebrated its triumph. Never, I think, would his surname 'the Great' have survived among the stalwarts of that age had he celebrated his first triumph in this fashion! To think that it is of pearls, Great Pompey, those wasteful things meant only for women, of pearls, which you yourself cannot and must not wear, that your portrait is made! To think that this is how you make yourself seem valuable! Is not then the trophy that you placed upon the summit of the Pyrenees a better likeness of yourself? This, to be sure, would have been a gross and foul disgrace were it not rather to be deemed a cruel omen of Heaven's wrath. That head, so ominously manifested without its body in oriental splendour, bore a meaning which even then could not be mistaken. But as for the rest of that triumph, how worthy it was of a good man and true! 200,000,000 sesterces were given to the State, 100,000,000 to the commanders and quaestors who had guarded the coasts and 6000 to each soldier. However, he merely made it easier for us to excuse the conduct of the Emperor Gaius when, apart from other effeminate articles of clothing, he wore slippers sewn with pearls, or that of the Emperor Nero, when he had sceptres, actors' masks and travelling couches adorned with pearls. Why, we seem to have lost even the right to criticize cups and other pieces of household equipment inlaid with gems or, again, rings with stones set in open bezels. For compared with Pompey's, there is no extravagance that can be considered to have been so harmful.

7. It was the same victory that brought myrrhine ware for the first time to Rome. Pompey was the first to dedicate myrrhine bowls and cups, which he set aside from the spoils of his triumphs for Jupiter of the Capitol. Such vessels immediately passed into ordinary use, and there was a demand even for display stands a and tableware. Lavish expenditure on this fashion is increasing every day ... an ex-consul, drank from a myrrhine cup for which he had given 70,000 sesterces, although it held just three pints. He was so fond of it that he would gnaw its rim; and yet the damage he thus caused only enhanced its value, and there is no other piece of myrrhine ware even today that has a higher price set upon it. The amount of money squandered by this same man upon the other articles of this material in his possession can be gauged from their number, which was so great that, when Nero took them away from the man's children and displayed them, they filled the private theatre in his gardens across the Tiber, a theatre which was large enough to satisfy even Nero's desire to sing before a full house at the time when he was rehearsing for his appearance in Pompey's theatre. It was at this time that I saw the pieces of a single broken cup included in the exhibition. It was decided that these, like the body of Alexander, should be preserved in a kind of catafalque for

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display, presumably as a sign of the sorrows of the age and the ill-will of Fortune. When the exconsul Titus Petronius was facing death, he broke, to spite Nero, a myrrhine dipper that had cost him 300,000 sesterces, thereby depriving the Emperor's dining-room table of this legacy. Nero, however, as was proper for an emperor, outdid everyone by paying 1,000,000 sesterces for a single bowl. That one who was acclaimed as a victorious general and as Father of his Country should have paid so much in order to drink is a detail that we must formally record.

8. Myrrhine vessels come to us from the East. There the substance is found in several otherwise unremarkable localities, particularly within the kingdom of Parthia. It is in Carmania, however, that the finest specimens exist. The substance is thought to be a liquid which is solidified underground by heat. In size the pieces are never larger than a small display stand, while in bulk they rarely equal the drinking vessels that we have discussed. They shine, but without intensity; indeed, it would be truer to say that they glisten rather than shine. Their value lies in their varied colours: the veins, as they revolve, repeatedly vary from purple to white or a mixture of the two, the purple becoming fiery or the milk-white becoming red as though the new colour were passing through the vein. Some people particularly appreciate the edges of a piece, where colours may be reflected such as we observe in the inner part of a rainbow. Others prefer thick veins (any trace of transparency or fading is always a fault) and also specks and spots. These spots do not protrude, but are usually flattened, like warts on the body. The smell of the substance is also a merit.

9. A cause contrary to the one mentioned is responsible for creating rock-crystal, for this is hardened by excessively intense freezing. At any rate, it is found only in places where the winter snows freeze most thoroughly; and that it is a kind of ice is certain: the Greeks have named it accordingly. Rock-crystal also comes to us from the East, for that of India is preferred to any other. It is found also in Asia Minor, where a very poor variety occurs around Alabanda and Orthosia and in the neighbouring districts, and likewise in Cyprus: in Europe excellent rock-crystal occurs in the ranges of the Alps. Juba assures us that it is to be found also on an island called Necron, or Island of the Dead, in the Red Sea facing Arabia, as well as on the neighbouring one which produces peridot: here, according to him, a piece measuring a cubit in length was dug up by Ptolemy's officer Pythagoras. Cornelius Bocchus mentions, furthermore, that rock-crystal of quite exceptional weight was found in Portugal, in the Ammacensian mountains, when wells were being sunk to water-level. The surprising remark is made by Xenocrates of Ephesus a that in Asia Minor and Cyprus rock-crystal is turned up by the plough, for previously it was not thought to occur in soil, but only amidst rocks. A more plausible statement made by the same Xenocrates is that it is also often carried down by torrents. Sudines maintains that it occurs only in places that face south. What is certain is that it is not found in well-watered localities, however cold the district may be, even if it is one where the rivers freeze down to the bed. The inevitable conclusion is that rock-crystal is formed of moisture from the sky falling as pure snow. For this reason, it cannot stand heat and is rejected except as a receptacle for cold drinks. Why it is formed with hexagonal faces cannot be readily explained; and any explanation is complicated by the fact that, on the one hand, its terminal points are not symmetrical and that, on the other, its faces are so perfectly smooth that no craftsmanship could achieve the same effect.

10. The largest mass of rock-crystal ever seen by us is that which was dedicated in the Capitol by Livia, the wife of Augustus: this weighs about 150 pounds. Xenocrates, just mentioned, records that as. he saw a vessel that could hold six gallons, and some authors mention one from India with a capacity of 4 pints. What I myself can unequivocally affirm is that among the rocks of the Alps it generally forms in such inaccessible places that it has to be removed by men suspended from ropes. Experts are familiar with the signs that indicate its presence. Pieces of rock-crystal are impaired by numerous defects, for example by rough, solder-like excrescences, cloudy spots, occlusions of moisture that are sometimes hidden within it, or hard yet brittle cores, and also what are known as 'salt-specks.' Some specimens display a bright red rust, and others fibres that look like flaws. These can be concealed by the engraver. Pieces, however, that have no defects are preferably left unengraved: these are known to the Greeks as 'acenteta,' or 'lacking a core,' and their colour is that of clear water, not of foam. Finally, the weight of a piece is a part of its value. I find that among doctors there is considered to be no more effective method of cauterizing parts that need such treatment than by means of a crystal ball so placed as to intercept the sun's rays. Rock-crystal provides yet another instance of a crazy addiction, for not many years ago a respectable married woman, who was by no means rich, paid 150,000 sesterces for a single dipper.

Nero, on receiving a message that all was lost, broke two crystal cups in a final outburst of rage by dashing them to the ground. This was the vengeance of one who wished to punish his whole generation, to make it impossible for any other man to drink from these cups. Once it has been broken, rock-crystal cannot be mended by any method whatsoever. Glass-ware has now come to resemble rock-crystal in a remarkable manner, but the effect has been to flout the laws of Nature and actually to increase the value of the former without diminishing that of the latter.

11 The next place among luxuries, although as yet it is fancied only by women, is held by amber. All the three substances now under discussion enjoy the same prestige as precious stones; but whereas there are proper reasons for this in the case of the two former substances, since rock-crystal vessels are used for cold drinks and myrrhine-warc for drinks both hot and cold, not even luxury has yet succeeded in inventing a justification for using amber.

Here is an opportunity for exposing the falsehoods of the Greeks. I only ask my readers to endure these with patience since it is important for mankind just to know that not all that the Greeks have recounted deserves to be admired. The story how, when Phaethon was struck by the thunderbolt, his sisters through their grief were transformed into poplar trees, and how every year by the banks of the River Eridanus, which we call the Po, they shed tears of amber, known to the Greeks as 'electrum,' since they call the sun 'Elector' or 'the Shining One'this story has been told by numerous poets, the first of whom, I believe, were Aeschylus, Philoxenus, Euripides, Nicander and Satyrus. Italy provides clear evidence that this story is false. More conscientious Greek writers have mentioned islands in the Adriatic named the Electrides, to which, they say, amber is carried along by the Po. It is quite certain, however, that no islands of this name ever existed there, and indeed that there are no islands so situated as to be within reach of anything carried downstream by the Po. Incidentally, Aeschylus says that the Eridanus is in Iberiathat is, in Spainand that it is also called the Rhone, while Euripides and Apollonius, for their part, assert that the Rhone and the Pu meet on the coast of the Adriatic. But such statements only make it easier to pardon their ignorance of amber when their ignorance of geography is so great. More cautious but equally misguided writers have described how on inaccessible rocks at the head of the Adriatic there stand trees which at the rising of the Dog-star shed this gum. Theophrastus states that amber is dug up in Liguria, while Chares states that Phaethon died in Ethiopia on an island the Greek name of which is the Isle of Arnmon, and that here is his shrine and oracle, and here the source of amber. Philemon declares that it is a mineral which is dug up in two regions of Scythia, in one of which it is of a white, waxy colour and is called 'electrum,' while in the other it is tawny and known as 'snaliternicum.' Demonstratus calls amber 'lyncurium,' or 'lynx-urine,' and alleges that it is formed of the urine of the wild beasts known as lyxnes, the males producing the kind that is tawny and fiery in colour, and the females, that which is fainter and light in colour. According to him, others call it 'langurium' and state that the beasts, which live in Italy, are 'languri.' Zenothemis calls the same beasts 'langes' and assigns them a habitat on the banks of the Po, while Sudines writes that a tree which produces amber in Liguria is called 'lynx.' Metrodorus also holds the same opinion. Sotacus believes that it flows from crags in Britain called the Electrides. Pytheas speaks of an estuary of the Ocean named Metuonis and extending for 750 miles, the shores of which are inhabited by a German tribe, the Guiones. From here it is a day's sail to the Isle of Abalus, to which, he states, amber is carried in spring by currents, being an excretion consisting of solidified brine. He adds that the inhabitants of the region use it as fuel instead of wood and sell it to the neighbouring Teutones. His belief is shared by Timaeus, who, however, calls the island Basilia. Philemon denies the suggestion that amber gives off a flame. Nicias insists on explaining amber as moisture from the sun's rays, as follows: he maintains that as the sun sets in the west its rays fall more powerfully upon the earth and leave there a thick exudation, which is later cast ashore in Germany by the tides of the Ocean. He mentions that amber is formed similarly in Egypt, where it is called 'sacal,' as well as in India, where the inhabitants find it more agreeable even than frankincense; and that in Syria the women make whorls of it and call it 'harpax,' or 'the snatcher,' because it picks up leaves, straws and the fringes of garments. Theochrestus holds that it is washed up on the capes of the Pyrenees by the Ocean in turmoil, a view which is shared by Xenocrates, the most recent writer on the subject, who is still living. Asarubas records that near the Atlantic is a Lake Cephisis, called by the Moors Electrum, which, when thoroughly heated by the sun, produces from its mud amber that floats upon the surface of its waters. Mnaseas speaks of a district in Africa called Sicyon and of a River Crathis flowing into the Ocean from a lake, on the shores of which live the birds known as Meleager's Daughters or Penelope Birds. Here amber is formed in the manner described above. Theomenes tells us that close to the Greater Syrtes is the Garden of the Hesperides and a pool called Electrum, where there are poplar trees from the tops of which amber falls into the pool, and is gathered by the daughters of Hesperus. Ctesias states that in India there is a River Hypobarus, a name which indicates that it is the bringer of all blessings. It flows from the north into the eastern Ocean near a thickly wooded mountain, the trees of which produce amber. These trees are called 'psitthacorae,' a word which means 'luscious sweetness.' Mithridates writes that off the coast of Carmania there is an island called Serita covered with a kind of cedar, from which amber flows down on to the rocks. Xenocrates asserts that amber in Italy is known not only as 'sucinum,' but also as 'thium'; and in Scythia as 'sacrium,' for there too it is found. He states that others suppose that it is produced from mud in Numidia. But all these authors are surpassed by the tragic poet Sophocles, and this greatly surprises me seeing that his tragedy is so serious and, moreover, his personal reputation in general stands so high, thanks to his noble Athenian lineage, his public achievements and his leadership of an army. Sophocles tells us how amber is formed in the lands beyond India from the tears shed for Meleager by the birds known as Meleager's Daughters. Is it not amazing that he should have held this belief or have hoped to persuade others to accept it? Can one imagine, one wonders, a mind so childish and naive as to believe in birds that weep every year or that shed such large tears or that once migrated from Greece, where Meleager died, to the Indies to mourn for him? Well then, are there not many other equally fabulous stories told by the poets? Yes; but that anyone should seriously tell such a story regarding such a substance as this, a substance that every day of our lives is imported and floods the market and so confutes the liar, is a gross insult to man's intelligence and an insufferable abuse of our freedom to utter falsehoods.

It is well established that amber is a product of islands in the Northern Ocean, that it is known to the Germans as 'glaesum' and that, as a result, one of these islands, the native name of which is Austeravia, was nicknamed by our troops Glaesaria, or Amber Island, when Caesar Germanicus was conducting operations there with his naval squadrons. To resume, amber is formed of a liquid seeping from the interior of a species of pine, just as the gum in a cherry tree or the resin in a pine bursts forth when the liquid is excessively abundant. The exudation is hardened by frost or perhaps by moderate heat, or else by the sea, after a spring tide has carded off the pieces from the islands. At all events, the amber is washed up on the shores of the mainland, being swept along so easily that it seems to hover in the water without settling on the seabed. Even our forebears believed it to be a 'sucus,' or exudation, from a tree, and so named it 'sucinum.' That the tree to which it belongs is a species of pine is shown by the fact that it smells like a pine when it is rubbed, and burns like a pine torch, with the same strongly scented smoke, when it is kindled. It is conveyed by the Germans mostly into the province of Pannonia. From there it was first brought into prominence by the Veneti, known to the Greeks as the Enetoi, who are close neighbours of the Pannonians and live around the Adriatic. The reason for the story associated with the River Po is quite clear, for even today the peasant women of Transpadane Gaul wear pieces of amber as necklaces, chiefly as an adornment, but also because of its medicinal properties. Amber, indeed, is supposed to be a prophylactic against tonsillitis and other affections of the pharynx, for the water near the Alps has properties that harm the human throat in various ways. The distance from Carnuntum in Pannonia to the coasts of Germany from which amber is brought to us is some 600 miles, a fact which has been confirmed only recently. There is still living a Roman knight who was commissioned to procure amber by Julianus when the latter was in charge of a display of gladiators given by the Emperor Nero. This knight traversed both the trade-route and the coasts, and brought back so plentiful a supply that the nets used for keeping the beasts away from the parapet of the amphitheatre were knotted with pieces of amber. Moreover, the arms, biers and all the equipment used on one day, the display on each day being varied, had amber fittings. The heaviest lump that was brought by the knight to Rome weighed 13 pounds. It is certain that amber is to be found also in India. Archelaus, who was king of Cappadocia, relates that it is brought from India in the rough state with pine bark adhering to it, and that it is dressed by being boiled in the fat of a sucking-pig. That amber originates as a liquid exudation is shown by the presence of certain objects, such as ants, gnats and lizards, that are visible inside it. These must certainly have stuck to the fresh sap and have remained trapped inside it as it hardened.

12. There are several kinds of amber. Of these, the pale kind has the finest scent, but, like the waxy kind, it has no value. The tawny is more valuable; and still more so if it is transparent, but the colour must not be too fiery: not a fiery glare, but a mere suggestion of it, is what we admire in amber. The most highly approved specimens are the 'Palernian,' so called because they recall the colour of the wine: they are transparent and glow gently, so as to have, moreover, the agreeably mellow tint of honey that has been reduced by boiling. However, it ought to be generally known also that amber can be tinted, as desired, with kid-suet and the root of alkanet. Indeed, it is now stained even with purple dye. To

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resume, when rubbing with the fingers draws forth the hot exhalation, amber attracts straw, dry leaves and linden-bark, just as the magnet attracts iron. Moreover, amber chippings, when steeped in oil, burn brighter and longer than the pith of flax. Its rating among luxuries is so high that a human figurine, however small, is more expensive than a number of human beings, alive and in good health; and as a result it is quite impossible for a single rebuke to suffice. In the case of Corinthian bronzes, we are attracted by the appearance of the bronze, which is alloyed with gold and silver; and in the case of chased metalwork, by artistry and inventiveness. Vessels of fluorspar and rock-crystal have beauties which we have already described. Pearls can be carded about on the head, and gems on the finger. In short, every other substance for which we have a weakness pleases us because it lends itself either to display or to practical use, whereas amber gives us only the private satisfaction of knowing that it is a luxury. Among the other portentous events of his career is the fact that Domitius Nero bestowed this name on the hair of his wife Poppaea, even going so far as to call it in one of his poems 'sucint' or 'amber-coloured,' for no defect lacks a term that represents it as an asset. From that time, respectable women began to aspire to this as a third possible colour for their hair.

However, amber is found to have some use in pharmacy, although it is not for this reason that women like it. It is of benefit to babies when it is attached to them as an amulet. Callistratus says that it is good also for people of any age as a remedy for attacks of wild distraction and for strangury, both taken in liquid and worn as an amulet. This writer also introduces a fresh distinction, giving the name 'chryselectrum,' or 'gold amber,' to a kind which is golden in colour and has a most delightful appearance early in the day, but which very easily catches fire and flares up in a moment when it is close to flames. According to Callistratus, this kind of amber cures fevers and diseases when worn as an amulet on a necklace, affections of the ears when powdered and mixed with honey and rose oil, as well as weak sight if it is powdered and blended with Attic honey, and affections even of the stomach if it is either taken as a fine powder by itself or swallowed in water with mastic. Amber plays an important part also in the making of artificial transparent gems, particularly artificial amethysts, although, as I have mentioned, it can be dyed any colour.

13. It is the obstinacy of our authorities that compels me to speak next of lyncurium, since, even when they refrain from asserting that this lyncurium is amber, they still claim that it is a gemstone, stating that it is formed indeed from the urine of the lynx, but also from a particular kind of earth. They say that the creature, bearing a grudge towards mankind, immediately conceals its urine, which forms a stone in the same place. The stone is said to have the same fiery colour as amber, to be capable of being engraved and to attract not merely leaves or straws, but also shavings of copper and iron, a belief which even Theophrastus accepts on the authority of a certain Diocles. I for my part am of the opinion that the whole story is false and that no gemstone bearing this name has been seen in our time. Also false are the statements made simultaneously about its medical properties, to the effect that when it is taken in liquid it breaks up stone in the bladder, and that it relieves jaundice if it is swallowed in ;vine or even looked at.

14. Now I shall discuss those kinds of gemstones that are acknowledged as such, beginning with the finest. And this shall not be my only aim, but to the greater profit of mankind I shall incidentally confute the abominable falsehoods of the Magi [This comment seem to refer to the bad relationship the Romans had with the Zoroastrian Persians whose teachers and priests were known as Magi (plural of Magus).], since in very many of their statements about gems they have gone far beyond providing an alluring substitute for medical science into the realms of the supernatural.

15 The most highly valued of human possessions, Adosse let alone gemstones, is the 'adamas,' which for long was known only to kings, and to very few of them. 'Adamas' was the name given to the 'knot of gold' found very occasionally in mines in association with gold and, so it seemed, formed only in gold. Our ancient authorities thought that it was found only in the mines of Ethiopia between the temple of Mercury and the island of Meroe, and stated that the specimens discovered were no larger than a cucumber seed and not unlike one in colour. Now, for the first time, as many as six kinds of 'adamas' are recognized. There is the Indian, which is not formed in gold and has a certain affinity with rock-crystal, which it resembles in respect of its transparency and its smooth faces meeting at six corners. It tapers to a point in two opposite directions and is all the more remarkable because it is like two whorls joined together at their broadest parts. It can be as large even as a hazel nut. Similar to the Indian, only smaller, is the Arabian, which is, moreover, formed under similar conditions. The rest have a silvery pallor and are liable to be formed only in the midst of the finest gold. All these stones can be tested upon an anvil, and they are so recalcitrant to blows that an iron hammer head may split in two and even the anvil itself be unseated. Indeed, the hardness of 'adamas' is indescribable, and so too that property whereby it conquers fire and never becomes heated. Hence it derives its name, because, according to the meaning of the term in Greek, it is the unconquerable force. One of these stones is called in Greek 'cenchros,' or millet seed, and is like a millet seed in size. A second is known as the Macedonian and is found in the goldmines of Philippi. This is equal in size to a cucumber seed. Next comes the so-called Cyprian, which is found in Cyprus and tends towards the colour of copper, but has potent medical properties, which I shall describe later. After this, there is the 'siderites,' or 'iron stone,' which shines like iron and exceeds the rest in weight, but has different properties. For it can not only be broken by hammering but also be pierced by another 'adamas.' This can happen also to the Cyprian kind, and, in a word, these stones, being untrue to their kind, possess only the prestige of the name they bear. Now throughout the whole of this work I have tried to illustrate the agreement and disagreement that exist in Nature, the Greek terms for which are respectively 'sympathia,' or 'natural affinity,' and 'antipathia,' or 'natural aversion.' Here more clearly than anywhere can these principles be discerned. For this 'unconquerable force' that defies Nature's two most powerful substances, iron and fire, can be broken up by goat's blood. But it must be steeped in blood that is fresh and still warm, and even so needs many hammer blows. Even then, it may break all but the best anvils and iron hammers. To whose researches or to what accident must we attribute this discovery? What inference could have led anyone to use the foulest of creatures for testing a priceless substance such as this? Surely it is to divinities that we must attribute such inventions and all such benefits. We must not expect to find reason anywhere in Nature, but only the evidence of will! When an ' 'adamas' is successfully broken it disintegrates into splinters so small as to be scarcely visible. These are much sought after by engravers of gems and are inserted by them into iron tools because they make hollows in the hardest materials without difficulty. The 'adamas' has so strong an aversion to the magnet that when it is placed close to the iron it prevents the iron from being attracted away from itself. Or again, if the magnet is moved towards the iron and seizes it, the 'adamas' snatches the iron and takes it away. 'Adamas' prevails also over poisons and renders them powerless, dispels attacks of wild distraction and drives groundless fears from the mind. For this reason the Greeks sometimes call it 'anancites,' or 'compulsive.' Metrodorus of Scepsis is alone, so far as I know from my awn reading, in stating that 'adamas' is found likewise in Germany, namely on the island of Basilia, which also produces amber, and in preferring this 'adamas' to that of Arabia. There can be no doubt that this statement is untrue.

16. Next in value in our estimation come the pearls of India and Arabia, which we discussed in Book 9 [106] among the products of the sea. The third rank among gemstones is assigned for several reasons to the 'smaragdus.' Certainly, no colour has a more pleasing appearance. For although we gaze eagerly at young plants and at leaves, we look at 'smaragdi' with all the more pleasure because, compared with them, there is nothing whatsoever that is more intensely green. Moreover, they alone of gems, when we look at them intently, satisfy the eye without cloying it. Indeed, even after straining our sight by looking at another object, we can restore it to its normal state by looking at a 'smaragdus'; and engravers of gemstones find that this is the most agreeable means of refreshing theft eyes: so soothing to their feeling of fatigue is the mellow green colour of the stone. Apart from this property, 'smaragdi' appear larger when they are viewed at a distance because they reflect their colour upon the air around them? They remain the same in sunlight, shadow or lamplight, always shining gently and allowing the vision to penetrate to their further extremity owing to the ease with which light passes through them, a property that pleases us also in respect of water. 'Smaragdi' are generally concave in shape, so that they concentrate the vision. Because of these properties, mankind has decreed that 'smaragdi' must be preserved in their natural state and has forbidden them to be engraved. In any case, those of Scythia and Egypt are so hard as to be unaffected by blows. When 'smaragdi' that are tabular in shape are laid flat, they reflect objects just as mirrors do. The Emperor Nero used to watch the fights between gladiators in a reflecting 'smaragdus.'

17. There are twelve kinds of 'smaragdus.' The most notable is the Scythian, so called from the nation in whose territory it is found. No kind is deeper in colour or more free from defects: it differs as widely in quality from the other 'smaragdi' as they from the other gems. Next to this in esteem, as also in locality, is the Bactrian. These stones are said to be gathered by the natives in the fissures of rocks when the Etesians blow. For at this season the ground is uncovered and the stones glitter here and there because the sands of the desert are shifted violently by these winds. These stones, however, are said to be much smaller than the Scythian. Third in order come those of Egypt, which are dug near Coptos, a city of the Thebaid, from mines in the hills.

The other kinds are found in copper-mines, and so the first place among them is held by the stones of Cyprus. Their special asset is their colour, which is limpid without being at all faint. On the contrary, it combines body and clarity, and, wherever one peers through the stones, reproduces the transparency of seawater, the stones being in an equal degree translucent and brilliant. In other words, they dissipate their colour and also allow the sight to penetrate within. There is a story that in this island there stood on the burial-mound of a prince named Hermias, not far from the tunny-fisheries, the marble statue of a lion, into which had been inserted eyes made of 'smaragdus'; and these, it is said, blazed so brightly, even far below the surface of the sea, that the tunnies fled in tenor, and the fishermen were long puzzled by this strange behaviour until finally they changed the gemstones in the eye-sockets.

18. But since high prices are so freely paid for these stones, it is only right that we should point out their defects, some of which are common to every kind, while others are regional peculiarities, as with human beings. Thus the Cyprian stones show various shades of sea-green, and these may be more or less intense in different parts of the same 'smaragdus,' so that the stones do not always maintain the familiar uniform deep colour of the Scythian variety. Moreover, some stones are traversed by a 'shadow'; this makes the colour dull, and the fainter the colour, the more serious the defect. In accordance with these defects, 'smaragdi' are divided into classes, some, which are called 'blind,' being opaque, while others, instead of being transparent to translucent, are sub-opaque. Some again are variegated, and some enveloped in a 'cloud.' This differs from the 'shadow' mentioned above. 'Cloud' is a defect belonging to a stone with a whitish hue in it, when the green appearance does not pervade the whole stone, but the vision is either blocked beneath the surface or intercepted at the surface by this white inclusion. Filaments, specks like salt and inclusions resembling lead are also defects; and these are common to nearly all varieties.

Next in esteem to the Cyprian 'smaragdi' come the Ethiopian, which, according to Juba, are found at a distance of twenty-five days' journeying from Coptos, and are bright green, although they are rarely flawless or uniform in Democritus includes in this class the Thermiaean and Persian stones! He states that the former are massive and convex, while the Persian stones, although they are not transparent, satisfy the eye with their agreeably uniform colour without allowing it to see within. He compares them to the eyes of cats and leopards, which likewise shine without being transparent, and mentions, moreover, that the stones are dimmed in sunlight, glisten in shadow and shine farther than other stones. All these varieties have a further defect in that their colour may be that of gall or rancid oil, so that they may be bright and clear, and yet not green. These faults are particularly noticeable in the Attic stones found in the silver-mines at a place called Thoricus. They are always less massive than the others, but are more handsome when seen at a distance. These stones too are often marred by lead-like inclusions, as a result of which they resemble lead when they are seen in sunlight. One peculiarity is that some of these stones show the effects of age as their green colour gradually fades away and, moreover, are damaged by exposure to the sun. After these come the Median stones, which show a great variety of tints and on occasion are even blended to some extent with lapis lazuli. These stones have undulating bands and contain inclusions resembling various objects, for example, poppy heads, birds, the young of animals or feathers. Such stones, in spite of their varied colours, seem to be green by nature, since they may be improved by being steeped in oil and there is no variety that displays larger specimens. The 'smaragdi' of Chalcedon have perhaps completely disappeared now that the copper-mines in the district have failed; and, in any case, they were always worthless and very small. Moreover, they were brittle and of a nondescript colour, this being more or less bright according to the angle at which it was viewed, like the green feathers in a peacock's tail or on a pigeon's neck. Furthermore, they were marked with veins and were scaly. They had also a characteristic defect called 'sarcion,' that is a kind of fleshy growth on the stone. There is a mountain known as Smaragdites, or Emerald Mountain, near Chalcedon, on which they used to be gathered. Juba states that a 'smaragdus' known as 'chlora,' or 'green stone,' is used as an inlay in decorating houses in Arabia; and likewise the stone which the Egyptians call 'alabastrites.' Several of our most recent authorities mention not only Laconian 'smaragdi,' which are dug on Mount Taygetus and resemble the Median variety, but also others that are found in Sicily.

19. Among the 'smaragdi' we include also a gem that comes from Persia known as the 'tanos,' which is of an ugly shade of green and is full of flaws within and another from Cyprus, the 'chalcosmaragdna,' or 'copper smaragdus,' which is clouded by veins resembling copper. Theophrastus records that in Egyptian records are to be found statements to the effect that to one of the kings a king of Babylon once sent as a gift a 'smaragdus' measuring four cubits in length and three in breadth; and that there existed in Egypt in a temple of Jupiter

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an obelisk made of four 'smaragdi' and measuring forty cubits in height and four cubits in breadth at one extremity and two at the other. He states, moreover, that at the time when he was writing there existed in the temple of Hercules at Tyre a large square pillar of 'smaragdus,' unless this was rather to be regarded as a 'false smaragdus'; for, according to him, this is another variety that is found.

He mentions also that there was once discovered in Cyprus a stone of which half was a 'smaragdus' and half an 'iaspis,' because the liquid matter had not yet been completely transformed. Apion, surnamed Plistonices, or 'the Cantankerous,' has lately left on record the statement that there still exists in the Egyptian labyrinth a large statue of Serapis, nine cubits high, made of 'smaragdus.'

20. Many people consider the nature of beryls to be similar to, if not identical with, that of emeralds. Beryls are produced in India and are rarely found elsewhere. All of them are cut by skilled craftsmen to a smooth hexagonal shape since their colour, which is deadened by the dullness of an unbroken surface, is enhanced by the reflection from the facets. If they are cut in any other way they lack brilliance. The most highly esteemed beryls are those that reproduce the pure green of the sea, while next in value are the so-called 'chrysoberyls.' These are slightly paler, but have a vivid colour approaching that of gold. A variety closely akin to these, but still a little paler and by some regarded as a special kind is the so-called 'chrysoprasus.' Fourth in order are reckoned the 'hyacinthizontes,' or 'sapphire-blue beryls,' and fifth the so-called 'aeroides,' or 'sky-blue' variety. After these come the 'waxy' and then the 'oily' beryls, that is, beryls coloured like olive oil. Finally, there are those that resemble rock-crystal. These beryls generally contain filaments and impurities, and besides are faint in colour; and all these features like are defects. The Indians are extraordinarily fond of elongated beryls and claim that they are the only precious stones that are preferably left without a gold setting. Consequently, they pierce them and string them on elephants' bristles. They are all agreed that a stone of perfect quality should not be pierced, and in this case they merely enclose the head of the stone in a convex gold cap. They prefer to shape beryls into long prisms rather than into gems simply because length is their most attractive feature. Some people are of the opinion that they are formed from the very start as prisms and also that their appearance is improved by perforation, when a white cloudy core is removed and there is, in addition, the reflection from the gold or, in any case, the thickness of the material through which the light must penetrate is reduced. Besides those already mentioned, beryls show the same defects as 'smaragdi,' and also spots like whitlows. In our part of the world beryls, it is thought, are sometimes found in the neighbourhood of the Black Sea. The Indians have found a way of counterfeiting various precious stones, and beryls in particulars by staining rock-crystal.

21. Beryls differ very little, and also very considerably, from opals, stones which yield precedence only to the 'smaragdus.' India, likewise, is the sole producer of these stones and combining, as they do, the brilliant qualities of the most valuable gems, they above all others description. They display the more subtle fires of the 'carbunculus,' the flashing purple of the amethyst and the sea-green tint of the 'smaragdus,' all combined together in incredible brilliance. For some people the vivid colours resemble in their general effect the pigment known as azurite; for others, the flames from burning sulphur or from a fire that has been kindled with olive oil. The size of the stone is that of a hazel nut. Even among us history makes it famous, since there still exists even today a precious stone of this variety which caused Antony to outlaw a senator, Nonius, the son of the Nonius Struma who made the poet Catullus so indignant when he saw him seated in the magistrate's chair, and the grandfather of Servilius Nonianus, who was consul in my time. This Nonius, when outlawed, fled, taking with him this ring alone of all his many possessions. There is no doubt that at that time the value of the ring was 2,000,000 sesterces; but how amazing was Antony's savagery and extravagant caprice in outlawing a man for the sake of a gemstone, and, equally, how extraordinary was the obstinacy of Nonius in clinging to his 'doom,' when even wild creatures are believed to buy their safety by biting off the member which, as they know, endangers their lives, and leaving it behind for their pursuers!

22. The defects of the opal are a colour tending towards that of the flower of the plant called heliotrope, or of rock-crystal or hail, as well as the occurrence of salt-like specks or rough places or dots that distract the eye. There is no stone which is harder to distinguish from the original when it is counterfeited, in glass by a cunning craftsman. The only test is by sunlight. When a false opal is held steadily between the thumb and finger against the rays of the sun there shines through the stone one unchanging colour which is spent at its source, whereas the radiance of the genuine stone continually changes and at different times scatters its colours more intensely from different parts of the stone, shedding a bright light on the fingers where it is held. Owing to its exceptional beauty, this stone is commonly known by the Greek term 'paederos,' or 'Favourite,' but those who regard the 'paederos' as a separate variety a say that the Indian name for it is 'sangenon.' The 'paederos' is said to be found in Egypt and Arabia, in Pontus, where the quality is very poor, and also in Galatia, Thasos and Cyprus. Exceptional specimens of these latter stones have the charm of an opal, but they shine more softly and rarely lack roughness. The dominant colour of the 'paederos' is a mixture of sky-blue and purple, and the green of the 'smaragdus' is absent. Those in which the brilliance is darkened by the colour of wine are superior to those in which it is diluted with a watery tint.

23. Up to this point there is agreement as to which stones are supreme, the question having been largely settled by a decree of our Women-councillors of State. There is less certainty regarding the stones about which men too pass judgement. In the case of men, it is an individual's caprice that sets a value upon an individual stone, and, above all, the rivalry that ensues. A case in point is that of the Emperor Claudius, when he took to wearing a 'smaragdus' or a sardonyx. But according to Demostratus, the first Roman to adopt a sardonyx was the elder Africanus, and hence arose the esteem which this gemstone enjoys at Rome. And so it is to this stone that I shall award the next place after the opal.

Formerly, as is clear from the very name, sardonyx meant a stone with a layer of carnelian resting on a layer of white, that is, like flesh superimposed on a human fingernail, both parts of the stone being translucent. Such is the character of the Indian sardonyx according to Ismenias, Demostratus, Zenothemis and Sotacus. The last two writers call such other varieties of the stone as are opaque 'blind sardonyx.' Those stones that have now usurped the name although they lack all trace of the carncian of the Indian stones come from Arabia; and the sardonyx has come to be recognized in the guise of several colours, the base being black or else having the colour of azurite, while the 'nail' above is coloured vermilion and is banded with a thick white line, not without a suggestion of purple where the white shades into vermilion. Zenothemis writes that the sardonyx was not held in high regard by the Indians, though it might be actually large enough to be commonly made into sword hilts. Indeed, as is generally known, in India the stone is exposed to view by the mountain streams. He states that in our part of the world, however, the sardonyx was popular from the beginning because it was almost the only gemstone which, when engraved as a signet, did not carry away the sealing wax with it. Later we persuaded the Indians to share our appreciation of it. There the common folk wear it pierced on a necklace; and this perforation is now a proof of Indian origin. The Arabian stones are remarkable for their whiteness, the band being brilliant and quite thick: it does not glimmer in the depths of the stone or on its sloping side, but shines on the convex surface of the gem and is, moreover, set off by a lower layer of the deepest black. In the Indian stones we find that this layer has the colour of azure or horn. Moreover, their white band can have a kind of iridescent shimmer, while the surface is red like the shell of a crawfish. Incidentally, if the stones are coloured like honey or wine lees (the latter term in itself implying a defect) they are condemned; and again, also, if the white band is blurred instead of being defined, and similarly if it contains an intrusive patch of some other colour. For no colour must be broken by another in its own layer. There is also an Armenian sardonyx which is acceptable in every respect apart from the faintness of its (white) band.

24. I must describe too the character of the onyx proper, which shares its name with the sardonyx. Elsewhere, this name is given to a stone, but here it is that of a gem. Sudines states that in onyx one finds a white band resembling a human fingernail, as well as the colour of the 'chrysolith,' the sard and the iaspis, while Zenothemis mentions that the Indian onyx has several different colours, fiery red, black and that of horn, surrounded by a white layer as in an eye, and in some cases traversed by a slanting layer. Sotacus records also an Arabian onyx which differs from the Indian in that the latter displays a small fiery red layer surrounded by one or more white bands (the arrangement being unlike that of the Indian sardonyx, where the top red layer is a circle, and not, as in this instance, a dot). On the other hand, the Arabian onyx, according to him, is found to be black with white bands. Satyrus states that there is an Indian onyx that is flesh-coloured, with a part of it resembling the 'carbunculus,' and a part, the 'chrysolith' and the amethyst. This kind he wholly rejects as spurious, asserting that a genuine onyx has several bands of different colours combined with others that are milk-white, the colours as the bands shade into each other being quite indescribable as they are reduced to a harmonious and delightfully agreeable unity.

We must not, however, postpone too long our discussion of the sard, which is similarly a separate component of the name it shares with the onyx; and as we make our way to this topic, we must describe the properties of all the other fiery red gemstones.

25. The first rank among these is held by 'carbunculi,' so-called because of their fiery appearance, although they are not affected by fire and are therefore sometimes known as 'acaustoe,' or 'incombustible' stones. Two kinds of 'carbunculi' are the Indian and the Garamantic: the latter was called in Greek the Carthaginian because it was associated with the wealth of Great Carthage. To these Varieties are added the Ethiopian and that of Alabanda, the latter being found, it is said, at Orthosia in Carla, but treated at Alabandai. Furthermore, in each Variety there are so-called 'male' and 'female' stones, of which the former are the more brilliant, while the latter have a weaker lustre.

Among the male stones, moreover, are to be observed some that are clearer than usual or of an unusually dark red glare, and some that shine from deep beneath their surface and blaze with exceptional brilliance in sunlight, while the best are the 'amethyst-coloured stones,' namely those in which the fiery red shade passes at the edge into amethyst-violet, and the next best, known as 'Syrtitae,' or 'Stones of Syrtis,' have a bright feathery lustre. All these stones are said to reveal themselves in ground where sunlight is reflected most powerfully. Satyrus asserts that Indian 'carbunculi' lack brilliance and look generally flawed, with a 'parched' lustre; and that the Ethiopian stones look greasy and shed no lustre at all, but burn with a fire that is compressed within them. Callistratus holds that a 'carbunculus' ought to east a brilliant, colourless refulgence, so that when placed on a surface it enhances the lustre of other stones that are clouded at the edges, thanks to its own glowing brilliance. Hence many people call such a stone the white 'carbunculus,' and the kind that shines more faintly the 'lignyzon,' or 'murky' stone. Callistratus adds that Carthaginian 'carbunculi' are much smaller than others, and that the Indian stones can be hollowed into vessels holding as much as a pint. Archelaus writes that the Carthaginian stones have a somewhat swarthy appearance, but light up more intensely than the rest when they are viewed by firelight or sunlight, and at an angle. He mentions also that they appear purple indoors in shadow, and flame-red in the open air; that they sparkle when they are held against the sun, and that, when they are used as signets, they melt the wax, even in a very dark place. Many writers state that the Indian stones arc brighter than the Carthaginian, and that conversely they become dull when viewed at an angle. They add that the male Carthaginian stones have a blazing star inside them, while the female stones shed all their radiance externally; and that the 'carbunculi' of Alabanda are darker than the rest, and rough. Around Miletus also, the earth produces stones of the same colour, which are not at all affected by fire. Theophrastus assures us that 'carbunculi' are found both at Orchomenos in Arcadia and in Chios, the former, of which mirrors are made, being the darker. According to him, there are variegated stones, interspersed with white spots, from Troezen, and likewise from Corinth although the white in these Corinthian stones is yellowish. He mentions that 'carbuneuli' are imported also from Marseilles. Bocchus writes that they are dug up too in the neighbourhood of Lisbon, but only with great difficulty, because the soil, which is clay, is baked hard by the sun.

26. Nothing is harder than the attempt to distinguish the varieties of this stone, so great is the scope that they afford for the exercise of cunning, when craftsmen force the opaque stones to become translucent by placing foil beneath them. The duller stones, it is said, when steeped in vinegar for fourteen days shine with a lustre that persists for as many months. 'Carbunculi' are counterfeited very realistically in glass, but, as with other gems, the false ones can be detected on a grindstone, for their substance is softer and brittle. Artificial stones containing cores are detected by using grindstones and scales, stones made of glass paste being less heavy. On occasion, moreover, they contain small globules which shine like silver.

27. There is also a stone called 'anthracitis,' which is dug up in Thesprotia and resembles charcoal. Statements that it is found in Liguria I consider to be false, unless it is a fact that it was found there when the statements were made. Among these stones there are said to be some that are surrounded by a white vein. The 'anthracitis' has the fiery colour of the stones previously mentioned, but it possesses one peculiar property: when it is touched its glow dies away and disappears, but when, on the other hand, it is soaked with water it blazes forth again.

28. A stone that is closely akin to 'carbonculi' is the 'sandastros,' sometimes known also as the Garamantic stone in virtue of its character. It occurs in a part of India that hears the same name, and is found also in Southern Arabia. Its chief merit is that its fiery brilliance, displayed, as it were, in a transparent casing, glitters with golden particles that shine like stars within the stone, and always inside its structure and never upon its surface. Furthermore, there are religious associations attached to these stones, and we are told of their affinity with the stars, which exists because the starry particles with which they are embellished generally conform in their numbers and arrangement to the constellations of the Pleiades and Hyades. For this reason, they are regarded by astrologers as ritual objects. Here too, the male stones may be distinguished by their deep colour and by a certain vitality, which imparts a tint to objects placed close to them. The

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Indian stones, it is said, even weaken the sight. The fire of the female stones is more mellow, and glows rather than kindles. Some prefer the Arabian stones to the Indian, and compare the former to the smoky 'chrysolithus.' Ismenias declares that because of its softness the 'sandastros' cannot be polished, and so fails to fetch a high price. Some people call the stone 'sandrisites.' What is universally agreed is that, the larger the number of starry particles, the higher the price. Sometimes misunderstanding is caused by the similarity of the term 'sandaresus,' applied to a stone which Nicander calls 'sandaserion' and others 'sandaresos,' although there are certain writers who actually call this stone 'sandastros,' and our former stone 'sandaresus.' This latter stone likewise is found in India and preserves the name of its place of origin. Its colour is that of a green apple or green oil, and it is generally despised!

29. To the same class of fiery red stones belongs the 'lychnis,' so called from the kindling of lamps, because at that time it is exceptionally beautiful. It is found around Orthosia and throughout Caria and the neighbouring regions, but occurs at its finest in India. 'Mild carbuncle' is the term sometimes applied to 'lychnis' of the second grade resembling the so-called 'Flower of Jove.' I find that there are other varieties as well, one of which has a purple and the other a scarlet sheen! These, when heated in the sun or by being rubbed between the fingers, are said to attract straws and papyrus fibres.

30. It is said that the same power is exerted by the Carthaginian stone, although it is far less valuable than those previously mentioned. It is formed in the mountain country of the Nasamones by rains of divine origin, as the inhabitants like to think. The stones are found when they reflect the moonlight, particularly at full moon, and in former times were exported to Carthage. Archelaus records that brittle stones, full of veins and resembling a dying ember, are found in Egypt near Thebes. I find that drinking vessels used commonly to be made from this stone and from 'lychnis.' All these varieties, however, obstinately resist engraving and, when used as signets, retain a portion of the wax.

31. On the contrary, sard, which shares a part of its name with sardonyx, is extremely useful for this purpose. The stone itself is a common one and was first discovered at Sardis, but the most valuable specimens are found near Babylon. When certain quarries are being opened up the stones come to light adhering to the rock like heart-wood. This mineral is said to be now exhausted in Persia, but sards are found in several other localities, for example in Paros and at Assos. In India it occurs in three varieties: there are red stones, those known as 'pioniae,' or 'fatty stones,' because of their greasy lustre, and finally a third kind that is backed with silver foil. The Indian stones are translucent, whereas the Arabian are somewhat opaque. Others are found also in Epirus near Leucas and in Egypt; and these are backed with gold foil. Among sards too there are male and female stones, of which the former shine the more intensely, while the latter are less lively and have a duller lustre. In ancient times no gemstone was more commonly used than the sardthis, at any rate, is the gem that is flaunted in the plays of Menander and Philemonand no other translucent gems lose their lustre less readily when they are covered with moisture: olive oil affects them more than any other liquid. Of these stones, the honey-coloured meet with disapproval, which is even stronger in the case of those that look like earthenware.

32. Peridot still preserves its special reputation. It is a greenish variety of its own and, when first discovered, was preferred to any other. Once some Troglodytes, or Cave-dwellers, who were pirates, came ashore, exhausted by hunger and stormy weather, on an Arabian island, the name of which was Cytis; and it so happened that, while they were digging up plants and roots, they unearthed a peridot. This, at least, is the account accepted by Archelaus. Juba states that Topazos is the name of an island situated in the Red Sea at a distance of some 35 miles from the mainland. According to him, the island is fog-bound: consequently sailors often have to search for it, and this is why it has acquired its name; for in the Troglodyte language topazin means 'to seek.' Juba records that the stone was first brought from here as a gift for Queen Berenice, the mother of Ptolemy the Second, by his governor [285-246 B.C.] Philo; and that, because the king greatly admired it, a statue 4 cubits high was later made of peridot in honour of this Ptolemy's wife, Arsinoe, and consecrated in the shrine which was named after her the Arsinoeum. Our most recent authorities assert that the stone is found also near Alabastrum, a town in the Thebaid, and divide it into two varieties, the 'prasoides,' or 'leek-like,' and the 'chrysopteros,' or 'golden-feathered,' of which the latter resembles the 'chrysoprasus.' In general, the colour tends to resemble the tints of the leek. Incidentally, the peridot is the largest of gemstones. Also, it is the only precious stone that is affected by an iron file, whereas all others have to be smoothed with Naxian stone and emery. Moreover, peridot is worn away by use.

33. With this stone is associated, but more closely in respect of similarity in appearance than of esteem, the pale-green 'callaina.' It occurs in the hinterland beyond India among the inhabitants of the Caucasus, the Hyrcani, Sacae and Dahae. It is of exceptional size, but is porous and full of flaws. A far purer and finer stone is found in Cannania. In both localities, however, 'callaina' occurs amidst inaccessible icy crags, where it is seen as an eye-shaped swelling loosely adhering to the rocks, as though it had been attached to them, rather than formed upon them. Thus tribes accustomed to riding on horseback and too lazy to use their feet find it irksome to climb in search of the stones; and they are also deterred by the risks. They, therefore, shoot at them from a distance with their slings and dislodge them, moss and all. This is the article that pays their taxes, this they acknowledge to be the most beautiful thing that can be worn on neck or fingers, from this they derive their wealth, this is their pride and joy as they boast of the number that they have shot down since their childhood, an operation in which success varies, seeing that some win fine stones with their first shot, while many reach old age without obtaining one. Such, then, is the way in which they hunt the 'callaina.' Subsequently, the stone is shaped by the drill, being in other respects an easy stone to deal with. The best stones have the colour of 'smaragdus,' so that it is obvious, after all, that their attractiveness is not their own. They are enhanced by being set in gold, and no gem sets off gold so well. The finer specimens lose their colour if they are touched by oil, unguents or even undiluted wine, whereas the less valuable ones preserve it more steadfastly. No gemstone is more easily counterfeited by means of imitations in glass. Some authorities say that 'callainae' are found in Arabia inside the nests of the birds known as 'melancoryphi,' or 'black caps.'

34. There are also many other kinds of green stones. A member of the commoner class is the prase. A second variety of this stone differs in respect of its blood-red spots, and a third, because it is sharply marked with three white streaks. Preference, however is given to the 'chrysoprasus,' or 'golden prase,' which likewise reproduces the tint of a leek, although in this case the tint veers slightly from that of peridot towards gold. This stone, moreover, may be large enough to be made even into small cups, and it is very commonly cut into cylinders.

35. India produces not only these stones, but also the 'nilios,' which differs from the 'chrysoprasus' in showing a weak lustre and one that is elusive when it is looked at closely. Sudines states that it is found also in the Siberus, a river in Attica. Its colour is that of smoky, or on occasion honey-coloured, peridot. Juba records that the stone is formed on the banks of the river known to us as the Nile, from which its name, according to him, is derived.

36. Malachite is an opaque stone of a rather deep green shade and owes its name to its colour, which is that of the mallow. It is warmly recommended because it makes an accurate impression as a signet, protects children, and has a natural property that is a prophylactic against danger.

37. A green stone that is often translucent is the 'iaspis,' which still preserves the reputation that it enjoyed in the past, even though it now yields to many others. Numerous countries produce it. India produces a variety resembling 'smaragdus,' Cyprus one that is hard and dull greyish-green in colour, and Persia one that is like the blue sky and is therefore called 'aeizusa,' or 'sky-blue.' A similar kind comes from the Caspian region. A deep-blue variety is found near the River Thermodon in Phrygia a purple one, and in Cappadocia another that is purplish-blue, sombre and without lustre. From Amisos comes a kind similar to the Indian, and from Chalcedon one that is cloudy. But it is not so important to distinguish countries of origin as excellences. The best stone is that which has a shade of purple, the next has one of rose, and the next again of 'smaragdus.' The Greeks have applied epithets to each kind in accordance with its character. The fourth variety is known among them as 'boria,' or 'north-wind iaspis,' because it is like the sky on an autumn morning. This will be identical with the kind that is called 'arizusa.' There is also the 'terebinthizusa,' or 'turpentine iaspis,' the epithet being inappropriate, in my opinion, because the stone is, as it were, compounded of many gems of the same variety, for it is not only like a sard, but also resembles in its colour a violet. There are just as many kinds that remain to be described, but all are blue to a fault, or else are like rock-crystal or a sebesten plum. Consequently the better specimens are set in an open bezel so that they may remain exposed on both faces, with only their edges clasped by the gold. A defect found in them is their weak lustre and failure to shine at a distance, and also specks resembling salt, as well as all the faults that occur in other gemstones. They too can be counterfeited in glass, and the deception becomes obvious when the brightness of a stone is scattered abroad instead of being concentrated within. The remaining varieties are called 'sphragides,' or 'signets,' the common Greek name for a gemstone being thus bestowed on these alone because they are excellent for sealing documents. However, all the peoples of the East are said to wear them as amulets. That variety of 'iaspis' which resembles 'smaragdus' is often surrounded in the middle by a slanting white line, and is therefore called 'monogrammos,' or 'single-lined': if there are several such lines the stone is 'polygrammos,' or 'many-lined.' In passing, it gives me pleasure to refute here, as elsewhere, the falsehoods of the Magi, who tell us that this stone is helpful to public speakers. There is also an 'iaspis' combined with onyx known as 'iasponyx,' or 'jasper onyx,' a stone that has a cloudy inclusion in it and specks on it that look like snow, and is spangled with red dots. There is also an 'iaspis' that resembles Megarian salt and is stained as though with smoke: hence it is called 'capnias,' or 'smoky.' I myself have seen a figure, representing Nero in a breastplate, that was made of this stone and was 16 inches high.

38. We shall now give a separate account of 'cyanus,' for a short time ago we applied this name to an 'iaspis' owing to its blue colour. The best kind is the Scythian, then comes the Cyprian and lastly there is the Egyptian. It is very commonly counterfeited by tinting other stones, and this is a famous achievement of the kings of Egypt, whose records also mention the name of the king who first tinted stones in this way 'Cyanus,' too, is divided into male and female varieties. Sometimes inside cyanus there is a golden dust, which, however, differs from that which occurs inside lapis lazuli; for there the gold glistens as dots.

39. Lapis lazuli also is blue and is only rarely tinged with purple. The best is found in Persia, but nowhere are there any transparent stones. Moreover, they are useless for engraving, because cores like rock-crystal interfere with this. Lapis lazuli which is of the colour of azurite is regarded as a male variety.

40. Next, we shall assign to another category purple stones or those varieties that deviate from them. Here the first rank is held by the amethysts of India, although amethysts are found also in that part of Arabia, known as Petra, which borders on Syria, as well as in Lesser Armenia, Egypt and Galatia, while the most imperfect and worthless specimens occur in Thasos and Cyprus. The name 'amethyst' has been explained by the supposed fact that the brilliant colour of the stone closely approaches that of wine, but stops short of absorbing it and ends in a violet shade. Others, again, offer the explanation that the characteristic purple colour contains an element that is not quite bright red, but fades into the colour of wine. However this may be, all amethysts are transparent and are of a handsome violent tint, and all are easy to engrave. The Indian amethyst has the perfect shade of Tyrian purple at its best, and it is this stone that the dye-factories aspire to emulate. The stone, when examined, sheds a gentle, mellow colour, which does not, like that of the 'carbunculus,' dazzle the eye. A second kind of amethyst deviates towards the sapphire. Its colour is known to the Indians as 'soeos,' and the variety of gem as 'soeondios.' A fainter variety of the same stone is called 'sapenos' and also, in the districts adjacent to Arabia, 'pharanitis' after the name of a tribe. A fourth kind has the colour of red wine, while a fifth degenerates nearly into rock-crystal, since its purple fades away towards colourlessness. This is the least valuable kind, since a fine stone should, when held up to the light, display in its purple colour a rosy tint shining forth gently as though from a 'carbuneulus.' Some people prefer to call such stones 'paederotes,' or 'favourites,' others 'anterotes,' or 'love requited,' and many 'eyelid of Venus.' The Magi falsely claim that the amethyst prevents drunkenness, and that it is this property that has given it its name. Moreover, they say that, if amethysts are inscribed with the names of the sun and moon and are worn hanging from the neck along with baboons' hairs and swallows' feathers, they are a protection against spells. Again, they assert that, however they are used, amethysts will assist people who are about to approach a king as suppliants, and that they keep off hail and locusts if they are used in conjunction with an incantation which they prescribe. Moreover, they have made similar claims on behalf of the 'smaragdus,' provided that it is engraved with an eagle or a scarab beetle. I can only suppose that in committing these statements to writing they express a derisive contempt for mankind.

41. There is a considerable difference between the amethyst and the 'hyacinthus,' which, however, shows only a slight deviation from a closely related tint. The difference lies in the fact that the brilliant violet radiance that is characteristic of the amethyst is here diluted with the tint of the hyacinth flower; and although at first sight the colour is agreeable, it loses its power before we can take our fill of it and, indeed, is so far from satisfying the eye that it almost fails to strike it and droops more rapidly than the flower of the same name.

42. Besides the 'hyacinthus,' the 'chrysolithus,' a bright golden, transparent stone, comes to us from Ethiopia. Preference over this variety, however, goes to the Indian and, if the colour is uniform, to the Tibarene stones! The worst stones are the Arabian, for these are murky and mottled, with their brilliance broken up by cloudy spots. Even the clear stones that have come to light are full of a kind of powder. The best specimens are those which, placed alongside gold, make it assume a white, silvery appearance. These stones are set in an open bezel so as to remain fully transparent, while the rest are backed with brass foil.

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43. Although they have now ceased to be used as gems, there are certain stones to be mentioned that are called 'chrysoelectri,' or 'golden amber.' Their colour passes into that of amber, but only in morning light. Those from Pontus are betrayed by their light weight. Some of these stones are hard and reddish, while some are soft and full of flaws. Bocchus assures us that they have been found also in Spain, in the place where, according to his previous account, rock-crystal is dug up from shafts sunk to water-level, and adds that he saw a 'chrysolithus' weighing twelve pounds.

44. There occur also 'leucochrysi,' or 'golden-white' stones, which are traversed by a bright white vein; and there is also the 'capnias,' or 'smoky stone' belonging to this class. There are, moreover, stones closely resembling those made of glass-paste, their colour being a kind of bright saffron-yellow. They can be so convincingly counterfeited in glass that the difference cannot be observed, although it may be detected by touch, since the glass-paste feels warmer.

45. In the same class is the 'melichrysus,' or 'honey-gold stone,' which looks like pure honey seen through a clear film of gold. This stone, a product of India, is brittle, although hard, but is by no means unpleasing. India produces also the 'xuthos' or 'brownish-yellow stone,' a gem regarded there as fit only for the common folk.

46. White stones are headed by the 'paederos,' or 'favourite,' although we may ask to which colour we should assign a stone bearing a name that is so often bandied about among beautiful objects of different kinds a that the mere term has become a guarantee of beauty. However, the species which the name claims as its very own likewise fulfils our great expectations. Here, indeed, with the transparency of the rock-crystal are associated a characteristic sky-green tint, along with a brilliant glint of purple and of golden wine, of which the last colour is always the last to be seen, but always has a purple halo. All these colours, both individually and collectively, seem to pervade the stone; and there is no gemstone that can match its clarity, which is delightfully agreeable to the eye. The most highly valued kind is found in India, where it is known as 'sangenon,' while the second-best occurs in Egypt, where the name used is 'tenites.' Third in order is a variety found in Arabia, but this kind is rough. Then there is the 'paederos' from Pontus, which has a weaker lustre, and the kind from Thasos, which is still weaker. Finally, there are the stones of Galatia, Thrace and Cyprus. The defects of the 'paederos' are faintness and the intrusion of uncharacteristic colours, as well as those that belong to all other gems.

47. Next among the bright colourless stones is the 'asteria,' or 'star stone,' which holds its high position owing to a natural peculiarity, in that a light is enclosed in it, stored in something resembling the pupil of the eye. This light is transmitted and, as the stone is tilted, is displayed successively in different places, as if capable of locomotion within. When it is held up to the sun the same stone reflects bright beams radiating as if from a star; and thus it has acquired its name. The stones found in India are difficult to engrave, and those from Carmania are preferred.

48. A similarly bright colourless stone is the 'astrion,' or 'little star,' which closely resembles rock-crystal, and occurs in India and on the coasts of Patalene. It has inside it at the centre a star shining brightly like the full moon. The name is sometimes explained by the fact that the stone, when held up to the stars, is supposed to catch their glitter and reflect it. It is said that the best variety is found in Carmania, and that no kind of gem is less liable to possess defects. We are told that there is also a variety known as 'ceraunia,' or 'thunder-stone,' which is inferior, and that the worst of all recalls the glimmer of a lantern.

49. Another stone that is much esteemed is the 'astriotes,' again a star stone. It is recorded that Zoroaster proclaimed the remarkable merits of this stone when used in the practice of magic.

50. The 'astolos' according to Sudines, resembles the eye of a fish and sheds brilliant white beams like the sun.

51. Among the bright colourless stones there is also the one called 'ceraunia' ('thunder-stone') which catches the glitter of the stars and, although in itself it is like rock-crystal, has a brilliant blue sheen. It is found in Carmania. Zenothernis admits that it is colourless, but describes it as 'containing a twinkling star.' He mentions that there are also to be found dull 'cerauniae' which if steeped in soda and vinegar for several days form such a star, which, however, fades away again after as many months. Sotacus distinguishes also two other varieties of the stone, a black and a red, resembling axe-heads. According to him, those among them that are black and round are supernatural objects; and he states that thanks to them cities and fleets are attacked and overcome, their name being 'baetuli,' while the elongated stones are 'cerauniae.' These writers distinguish yet another kind of 'ceraunia' which is quite rare. According to them, the Magi hunt for it zealously because it is found only in a place that has been struck by a thunderbolt.

52. The name that appears in these writers immediately after 'ceraunia' is that of the so-called 'iris,' or 'rainbow stone.' It is dug up on an island in the Red Sea 60 miles distant from the city of Berenice. In every other respect it is merely rock-crystal, and is sometimes called 'root of crystal' for this reason. It is known as 'iris' in token of its appearance, for when it is struck by the sunlight in a room it casts the appearance and colours of a rainbow on the walls near by, continually altering its tints and ever causing more and more astonishment because of its extremely changeable effects. It is agreed that it has hexagonal faces, like the rockcrystal, but some people assert that it has rough faces and unequal angles; and that in full sunlight it scatters the beams that shine upon it, and yet at the same time lights up adjacent objects by projecting a kind of gleam in front of itself. But, as I have said, it does not produce any colours except in a dark place; and even then, the effect is not as though the stone itself contained the colours, but rather as though it were forcing them to rebound from the wall. The best kind is that which produces the spectra that are the largest in size with the closest resemblance to a rainbow. There is also another 'rainbow stone,' the 'iritis,' which is similar to the former in every respect except that it is very hard. According to Orus, this when burnt and crushed to a powder cures ichneumon bites, but is actually found in Persis.

53. A stone that is similar in its appearance but different in its effects is the so-called 'leros,' or 'trifle,' in which there is a white and a black streak traversing the rock-crystal.

54. I have now discussed the principal gemstones, classifying them according to their colour, and shall proceed to describe the rest in alphabetical order.

The agate was once held in high esteem, but now enjoys none. It was first discovered in Sicily near the river of the same name, but was later found in many countries. Its size can be exceptional, and its varieties are very numerous. The descriptive terms applied to it vary accordingly. For example, it is given names like 'jasper-agate,' 'wax-agate,' 'emerald-agate,' 'blood-agate,' 'white agate,' 'tree-agate' (which is distinguished by marks resembling small trees), 'anti-agate' (which, when burnt, smells like myrrh) and 'coral-agate,' which is sprinkled with golden particles like those of lapis lazuli and is a variety that is very plentiful in Crete. Another name for it is 'sacred agate,' since it is thought to counteract the bites of spiders and scorpions. This I would in any ease believe to be true of the Sicilian stones, since the venom of scorpions is destroyed by a mere hint of a breeze from that province. The agates found in India are also effective in this way and have other very remarkable qualifies besides. For they exhibit the likenesses of rivers, woods and draught-animals; and from them also are made dishes, statuettes, horse-trappings and small mortars for the use of pharmacists, for merely to look at them is good for the eyes. Moreover, if placed in the mouth, they allay thirst. The Phrygian agates contain no green, while those found at Egyptian Thebes lack red and white veins, but these again are effective against scorpions. Those of Cyprus are similarly esteemed. Some people warmly approve of the transparent glassy portions of these last stones. Agates are found too in Trachis near Mount Oeta, on Parnassus, in Lesbos, in Messenia (where they look like flowers on a field-path) and in Rhodes. Other differences among agates arc found in the writings of the Magi. Stones are found that resemble a lion's skin, and these, they claim, are effective against scorpions. But in Persia, according to them, the fumes from these stones, when they are burnt, avert storms and waterspouts and stop the flow of rivers, the test of a genuine stone being that it should cool the water when placed in a cauldron that is on the boil. But they insist that, if the stones are to do good, they should be tied to hairs from a lion's mane. Incidentally, when attached to hairs from a hyena's mane, they avert discord in the household. According to the Magi, there is an agate of one single colour that makes athletes invincible. The method of testing such a stone is to throw it into a pot full of oil with various pigments: when it has been heated for no more than two hours it should have reduced all the pigments to a single shade of vermilion.

The 'acopos,' or 'reviver,' which in colour resembles soda, is porous and spangled with gold particles. Oil heated along with this stone and applied as an embrocation dispels fatigue, or so we are led to believe.

'Alabastritis,' which is found at Alabastrum in Egypt and at Damascus in Syria, is a white stone interspersed with various colours. When burnt with rock salt and pounded, it is said to alleviate bad breath caused by the mouth and teeth. 'Alectoriae,' or 'cock stones,' is the name given to stones found in the gizzards of cocks. In appearance they are like rock-crystal, and in size like beans; and it is claimed that Milo of Croton owes to his use of these stones his reputation as one who was never worsted in a contest. The 'androdamas,' or 'man tamer,' has a silvery glint, like 'adamas,' and always resembles small cubes. The Magi suppose that its name has been applied to it in virtue of the fact that it subdues violence and hot temper in men. Whether the 'argyrodamas,' or 'silver tamer,' is the same, or a different, stone, is not made clear by our authorities. 'Antipathes,' or the 'contrary stone,' is black and opaque. Its genuineness is tested by boiling it in milk, to which it gives the appearance of myrrh. One might perhaps be entitled to expect something prodigious of this stone; for there are many instances of 'antipathetic ` substances, and yet it has been granted exclusive possession of the name. The Magi claim that it helps to counteract witchcraft. The Arabian stone closely resembles ivory, and would pass for it if its hardness did not forbid this. According to the Magi, it helps its possessors when they have pains in their sinews. The 'aromatitis,' or 'aromatic stone,' is also found in Arabia, but likewise in Egypt near Philae. It is always stony and, since it has the colour and scent of myrrh, it is much used by queens. 'Asbestos,' which is found in the mountains of Arcadia, has the colour of iron. 'Aspisatis,' according to Democritus, occurs in Arabia and is of a fiery red colour. He recommends that sufferers from an enlarged spleen should wear it as an amulet with camel dung. However that may be, he states that it is found in the nests of Arabian birds, and that another stone bearing the same name and found in Arabia on Cape Leucopetra has a darting silvery lustre and is effective in counteracting attacks of wild distraction. The Atizoe, he writes, is found in India and on Mount Acidane in Persis. He describes it as shining brightly like silver, as being just over two inches in length with the shape of a lentil and an agreeable scent, and as being indispensable for the Magi at the installation of a king. The 'augitis' is supposed by many to be identical with the 'callaina.' 'amphidanes' is the stone otherwise known as 'chrysocolla.' It occurs in the region of India where gold is dug up by ants. The stone is found actually in the gold, being similar to gold and having the shape of a cube. Its nature is positively stated to be the same as that of the magnet, except that, according to tradition, it also causes gold to increase. The 'aphrodisiac' stone is red mixed with white. As for the 'apsyetos,' or 'uncooled stone,' it retains its warmth for seven days if it is thoroughly heated in a fire, and is black, heavy and marked with red veins. It is thought to counteract cold. By the 'Aegyptilla,' or 'little Egyptian stone,' Iaechus understands a stone in which the white layer is traversed by bands of carnelian and black, but the term is commonly applied where there is a black ground and an upper layer of blue. It is named after the country where it is found.

LV. As to the 'balanites,' or 'acorn-stone,' there are two varieties, of which one is greenish and the other like Corinthian bronze in its colour. The former comes from Coptos and the latter from the Cave-dwellers' country, and both are intersected through the middle by a bright red layer. The 'batrachites,' or 'frog-stone,' also comes from Coptos: one variety has a colour like that of a frog, a second is similar and also has veins, while a third is red mixed with black. The 'baptes,' or 'dipper,' has an exceptionally pleasant scent, but is otherwise an ordinary soft stone. The 'Eye of Baal' has a whitish ground surrounding a dark eye which sends out a golden gleam from its midst. Because of its appearance, the stone is consecrated to the holiest god of the Assyrians. There is another 'Baal stone,' as it is called, which, according to Democritus, is found at Arbela and is as large as a walnut, with a glassy appearance. 'Baroptenus,' also known as 'baripe,' is a black stone with blood-red and white nodules.

As an amulet it is rejected because it is liable to cause monstrous births. 'Botryitis,' or ”grape-cluster,' occurs in two varieties, of which one is dark and the other has the colour of a vine, and resembles a young grape. 'Bostrychitis' is the name given by Zoroaster to a stone that somewhat resembles the locks of a woman's hair. 'Bucardia,' resembling an ox-heart, is found only at Babylon. 'Brontea,' or 'thunder stone,' which is like the head of a tortoise, is supposed to fall from thunderclaps and to extinguish fires where lightning has struck, or so we are led to believe. The 'bolos,' or 'clod,' is found in the river Ebro and is like a clod of earth.

56. 'Cadmitis' is identical with the so-called 'ostracitis,' except that the latter is sometimes surrounded with blue globules. 'Callais` is similar to lapis lazuli, except that its colour is lighter, like that of the sea close inshore. 'Capnitis,' or 'smoke stone,' is regarded by some as a separate variety, but many people treat it as a smoky 'iaspis,' as I have described it in the appropriate place. The 'Stone of Cappadocia' occurs there and in Phrygia, and is like ivory. The 'callaica' is so called from its colour, which is that of a clouded 'callais,' and it is said that several of these stones are always found joined together. The 'catochitis,' or 'clinging stone,' belongs to Corsica and is larger than other precious stones, and more remarkable, if the reports are true, because, if the hand rests on it the stone sticks to it like gum. The 'catoptritis,' or 'mirror-stone,' which occurs in Cappadocia, reflects images from its bright colourless surface. The 'cepitis,' also known as 'cepolatitis,' is white, with lines of veins that meet at a single point. The 'ceramitis,' or 'pottery-stone,' has the colour of earthenware. or 'cinaedus stones,' are white, oblong stones found in the brain of the fish so named. They have a remarkable effect if only we can believe the statement that they predict conditions at sea, foretelling mist or calm as the case may be. 'Ceritis' reminds us of wax, 'circos' of a hawk, 'corsoides' of grey hair, and 'coralloachates,' or 'coral-agate,' of coral. This has markings like drops of gold. The 'corallis' resembles vermilion, and occurs in India and at Aswan. The 'erateritis,' or 'strong stone,' has a colour between that of

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yellow sapphire and of amber, and is very hard. The 'crocallis' reproduces exactly the appearance of the cells of a honeycomb. 'Cyitis,' or cyitts 'pregnant stone,' which is found in the neighbourhood of Coptos, is white and seems to be pregnant with another stone, the presence of which is in fact perceived by a rattling sound. The 'chalcophonos,' or 'brazen-voiced stone,' which is black, rings like bronze when it is dashed against anything; and actors of tragedies are urged to wear it. As to 'chelidoniae,' or 'swallow-stones,' there are two varieties, both of which are swallow-coloured with purple on one side, but in one variety the purple is interspersed with black markings. The 'chelonia,' Chelon, 'tortoise-stone,' is the eye of the Indian tortoise and, according to the false allegations of the Magi, is the most miraculous of all stones. For they claim that the stone, if it is placed on the tongue after the mouth has been rinsed with honey, confers powers of prophecyat full moon or new moon, during the whole of the day; when the moon is waning, before sunrise only; and at other times, from dawn to midday. There are also tortoise-stones which are the eyes of other tortoises and resemble the tortoise-stone previously mentioned; and according to their guidance the Magi often pronounce prophetic incantations in order to cause storms to subside. The variety, however, that is sprinkled with gold drops is said by them to generate storms if it is dropped into boiling water with a scarab beetle. The 'chloritis,' or 'greenstone,' which is of a grassy colour, is said by the Magi to be found as a congenital growth in the crop of the water-wagtail. They recommend that it should be set in an iron bezel so as to produce certain of their all too familiar miracles. The 'choaspitis,' which is named after the river Choaspes, is of a brilliant gold colour mixed with green. The 'chrysolampis,' or 'golden gleam,' which found in Ethiopia, is generally pale, but fiery by night. The 'chrysopis,' or 'golden face,' looks just like gold. The 'Cetionis' is found in Aeolis at Atarneus, now a village, but once a town. It is a transparent stone of many colours. The hue is sometimes that of glass, sometimes of rock-crystal and sometimes of 'iaspis,' but even the stones with flaws in them have so brilliant a lustre that they reflect an image as if they were mirrors.

57. The 'daphnea,' or 'laurel stone,' is prescribed by Zoroaster as a cure for epilepsy. The 'diadochos,' or 'substitute,' resembles beryl. The 'diphyes' is a stone of twofold character. It is subdivided into a black and a white, a male and a female variety, each of the two varieties bearing an outline that distinctively portrays the organ of its sex. The 'Dionysias,' or 'stone of Dionysus,' a hard stone, the colour of which is black intermingled with red spots, produces the flavour of wine when it is ground to powder and mixed with water, and is supposed to be an antidote to drunkenness. The 'draconitis,' otherwise known as 'dracontias,' the 'snake stone,' is obtained from the brains of snakes, but unless the head is cut off from a live snake, the substance fails to turn into a gem, owing to the spite of the creature as it perceives that it is doomed. Consequently, the beast's head is lopped off while it is asleep. Sotacus, who writes that he saw such a gem in the possession of a king, states that those who go in search of it ride in two-horsed chariots, and that when they see the snake they scatter sleeping-drugs and so put it to sleep before they cut off its head. According to him, the stone is colourless and transparent, and cannot subsequently be polished or submitted to any other skilful process.

58. The 'encardia,' or 'heart stone,' has been given the epithet 'enaristera,' or 'left-side,' and shows the likeness of a heart in high relief on a black ground. Another variety bearing the same name displays the likeness of a heart in green, and a third in black, the rest of the stone being white. The 'enorchis' is white, and when it is split up into pieces reproduces exactly the shape of the testicles. 'Exhebenus' is, according to Zoroaster, a handsome white stone which goldsmiths use for polishing gold. 'Erythallis,' although it is white, looks red when it is tilted. The 'erotylos,' or 'love stone,' otherwise known as 'amphicomos' and 'hieromnemon,' is praised by Democritus in virtue of its use in prophecy. The 'eumeces,' or 'tall stone,' which is found in Bactria, resembles hard limestone, and, when it is placed beneath the head like a pillow, produces dreams that have the force of an oracle. The 'eumitres,' or 'fine headdress,' is held in high regard by the Assyrians as the jewel of Baal, the most holy of their gods. Its colour is that of the leek, and it is much favoured in religious observances. The 'eupetalos,' or 'leafy stone,' has four colours, blue, fiery red, shaped like an olive stone, is fluted like a seashell, vermilion, and apple-green. 'Eureos,' which is but is not so white. 'Eurotias,' or 'mouldy stone,' looks as if its black surface were covered with mildew. 'Eusebes,' or 'reverent stone,' is the kind of stone of which a seat in the temple of Hercules at Tyre is said to have been made, this seat being the one from which only the pious could rise without difficulty. 'Epimelas,' or 'black-on-top,' is an instance of a white gemstone that is overlaid with black.

59. 'Galaxias,' or 'milk stone,' which is sometimes known as 'galactites,' is similar to the stones next mentioned, but is traversed by blood-red or white streaks. 'Galactitis' is entirely milk-white, and is known also as 'leucogaea' ('white earth'), 'leucographitis' ('white chalk'), and 'synechitis' ('cohesive earth'). It is noteworthy for the fact that when rubbed between the fingers it exhibits a milky smear and flavour, and in the rearing of children it ensures wet-nurses a plentiful flow of milk. Moreover, when it is tied to the necks of babies as an amulet, it is said to make their saliva flow, but we are told that when placed in the mouth it melts and also causes loss of memory. Two rivers, the Nile and the Achelous, produce this substance. Some people apply the term 'galactites' to a 'smaragdus' that is banded with white streaks. 'Gallaica' is similar to 'argyrodamas,' but is somewhat less pure. Two or three stones are found joined together. The 'gassinnades,' which comes from Media, has the colour of wild vetch and looks as if it were sprinkled with flowers. It is found also at Arbela. This is yet another gem that is said to conceive, and to betray the presence of the stone in its womb if it is shaken. The 'embryo,' we are told, takes three months to develop. 'Glossopetra,' or 'tongue stone,' which resembles the human tongue, does not, we are told, form in the ground, but falls from the sky during the waning of the moon, and is indispensable to the moon-diviner. Our scepticism with regard to this account is reinforced by the falseness of the claim made for the stone; for it is stated that it checks gales. The 'Gorgonia,' or 'Gorgon's stone,' is merely coral. The reason for its name is that it is transformed into the hardness of stone after being softened in the sea. It is said to keep off thunderbolts and whirlwinds. The 'goniaea,' or 'faceted stone,' is guaranteed just as falsely to bring about the punishment of one's private enemies.

60. The heliotrope, which is found in Ethiopia, Africa and Cyprus, is leek-green in colour, but is marked with blood-red streaks. The name is explained by the fact that, when the stone is dropped into a vessel of water and bright sunshine falls upon it, in reflecting the sunlight it changes it into the colour of blood. This is true especially of the Ethiopian variety. When it is out of water, the same stone catches the sunlight like a mirror and detects solar eclipses, showing the passage of the moon below the sun's disc. Here, moreover, we have quite the most blatant instance of effrontery on the part of the Magi, who say that when the heliotrope plant is joined to the stone and certain prayers are pronounced over them the wearer is rendered invisible. The 'Hephaestitis,' or 'Hephaestus stone,' is another that acts like a mirror in reflecting images, even though it is red. The test of its genuineness is that boiling water when poured over it should cool immediately; or, alternatively, that when placed in the sun it should immediately set fire to a parched substance. The stone is found at Corycus. The Hermuaedoeon, or 'sexual organ of Hermes,' is so called from its resemblance to the male organ, the gemstone on which the likeness appears being white or sometimes black, or pale yellow, and surrounded by a circular band of golden yellow. The 'hexecontalithos,' or 'sixty-stones-in-one,' contains many colours in a small compass, and so has appropriated its name. It is found in the Cave-dwellers' country. The 'hieracitis,' or 'kite stone,' is entirely covered with feathery scales, black ones alternating with others resembling a kite's feathers. 'Hammitis,' or 'sandy stone,' resembles fish roe, and there is another kind that looks as if it were composed of soda, but is otherwise just a very hard stone. 'Hammonis cornu,' or 'horn of Ammon,' which is among the most sacred stones of Ethiopia, has a golden yellow colour and is shaped like a ram's horn. The stone is guaranteed to ensure without fail dreams that will come true. The 'hormiscion,' or 'necklace stone,' which in its appearance is among the most pleasing of gemstones, reflects beams of gold from a fiery red ground, and these gold beams carry a white gleam at their tips. 'Hyaeniae,' or 'hyena stones,' are, it is said, obtained from the eyes of the hyena, which is actually attacked for the purpose. When the stones are placed under a man's tongue, they are alleged to foretell the future, if we are foolish enough to believe such a thing. 'Haematitis' of the finest quality occurs in Ethiopia, but the stone is found also both in Arabia and in Africa. It is blood-red in colour. We must not omit to mention the claims made for it, so that we may expose the treacherous frauds perpetrated by the Magi. Zachalias of Babylon, in the volumes which he dedicates to King Mithridates, attributes man's destiny to the influence of precious stones; and as for the 'haematitis,' he is not content to credit it with curing diseases of the eyes and liver, but places it even in the hands of petitioners to the king, allows it to interfere in lawsuits and trials, and proclaims also that to be smeared with an ointment containing it is beneficial in battle. There is another stone of the same kind which is sometimes called 'menui,' and sometimes 'xuthos,' or 'brownish-yellow' stone. This is the name given by the Greeks to stones that are. light brown.

61. 'Idaei dactyli,' or 'Fingers of Ida,' have the colour of iron and reproduce the shape of the human thumb. The 'icterias,' or 'jaundice stone,' is like the yellow skin of an apple, and is therefore considered to be beneficial in treating jaundice. There is also another stone of the same name, but of a more leaden colour. A third, resembling a leaf and flatter than the former varieties, is almost without weight and has dull yellow streaks. A fourth kind has dull yellow streaks spreading over a ground of a similar colour, but darker. 'Iovis gemma,' or 'Jupiter's gem,' is white, light in weight, and soft. It is known also as 'drosolithos,' or 'dew stone.' The 'Indica,' or 'Indian stone,' takes the name of its country of origin and is of a reddish hue, but when rubbed between the fingers exudes a purple liquid. Another stone of the same name is colourless and has a dusty appearance. The 'ion,' or 'violet stone,' is a violet-coloured stone found in India, but only rarely is its colour bright and deep.

62. The 'lepidotis,' or 'scaly stone,' mimics fish scales in various colours, while the 'Lesbias,' or 'stone of Lesbos,' resembles a clod of earth. It takes its name from its country of origin, but is found also in India. The 'leucophthalmos,' or 'white eye,' which is otherwise reddish, includes an eye-shaped layer which is white and black. The 'lencopoecilos,' or 'variegated white stone,' has a white ground marked with drops of vermilion mixed with gold. The 'libanochrus,' or 'colour-of-incense,' shows a resemblance to frankincense and gives off a honey-coloured streak. The 'limoniatis,' or 'meadow stone,' seems to be identical with the 'smaragdus.'

As for the 'liparea,' the only fact that is reported is that, when it is burnt, all beasts are flushed from their hiding-places by its fumes. The 'lysimachos' is similar to Rhodian marble with golden-yellow veins, and has to be considerably reduced in size by polishing so that its superfluous excrescences may be smoothed away. The 'leucochrysos,' or 'golden-white stone,' consists of a 'chrysolithos' interspersed with white.

63. No description of the 'Memnonia,' or 'stone of Memnon,' exists. As for the 'Media,' a black stone found by the Media who is so famous in legend, it has veins of a golden-yellow colour, exudes saffron-yellow moisture and reproduces the flavour of wine. The 'meconitis,' or 'poppy stone,' closely resembles the poppy. 'Mithrax' comes from Persia and the mountains of the Persian Gulf. It is a stone of many colours and reflects their changing tints in sunlight. `Morochthos' is leek-green in colour and exudes milky moisture. 'Mormorion,' a very dark translucent stone from India, is also known as 'promnion'; but it is called 'Alexandrion,' or 'Alexander stone,' when the colour of garnet is mingled with it, and 'Cyprium,' when that of carnelian is present. It is found also at Tyre and in Galatia and, according to Xenocrates, occurs as well close to the Alps. These are gems which are eminently suitable for cameo-engraving. The 'myrrhitis,' or 'myrrh stone,' has the colour of myrrh and an appearance quite unlike that of a gemstone. It smells like an unguent and, when rubbed, even like spikenard. The 'black myrmecias,' or 'wart stone,' has excrescences like warts, while the 'myrsinitis,' or 'myrtle stone,' is honey-coloured and has the scent of myrtle. A stone is 'mesoleucos,' or 'white in the middle,' when a white band marks the middle of the gem; and is 'mesomelas,' or 'black in the middle,' when a black layer intersects a gem of any colour in the middle.

64. The 'Nasamonitis,' or 'stone of the Nasamones,' is blood-red with black veins. The 'nebritis,' or 'fawn stone,' which is sacred to Father Liber, derives its name from its resemblance to a fawnskin, but there is another stone of the same kind that is black and white. 'Nipparene,' which gets its name from a city and tribe of Persia, is like the tooth of a hippopotamus.

65. The stone that bears the foreign name 'oica' is a pleasing mixture of black, reddish-brown, green and white. The 'ombria' ('rain stone'), otherwise known as 'notia' ('south-wind stone'), is said to fall, like the 'ceraurila' and the 'brontea,' in company with heavy rain and thunderbolts, and to have the same properties as these stones. But in addition, so we are told, it prevents offerings from being burnt away if it is placed on an altar. '`Onocardia,' or 'ass's heart,' is like the scarlet kermesinsect in colour, but we are told nothing further. 'Oritis,' or 'mountain stone,' sometimes known also as 'sideritis,' 'iron stone,' is spherical in shape and not affected by fire. 'Ostracias,' or 'sherd stone,' otherwise known as 'ostracitis,' resembles earthenware, but is harder than 'ceramitis.' It is like agate except that the latter has a greasy appearance when it has been polished. This 'ostracias' is so hard that other gemstones are engraved with pieces of it. The 'ostritis,' or 'oyster stone,' owes its name to its resemblance to an oyster-shell. 'Ophicardelos' is the foreign name for a black stone that is encircled by two white bands. Obsidian has already been discussed by me in an earlier book. There are also found gems bearing this same name and colour not merely in Ethiopia and India but also in Samnium and, as some people think, in Spain on the shores of the Atlantic.

66. The 'panchrus,' or 'stone of all colours,' is composed of almost every colour. 'Pangonus,' or all-angles, is no longer than a finger, and it is only its more numerous plane faces that prevent it from being taken for rock-crystal. As for the 'paneros,' or 'all-love,' Metrodorus does not describe it, but he as cites quite a tasteful poem on the stone composed by Queen Timaris and dedicated to Venus. In this poem it is implied that the stone helped her to bear children. Some people call it 'panerastos,' or 'loved-by-all.' The Pontic stone occurs in several varieties. It is spangled sometimes with blood-red, sometimes with golden spots, and is regarded as a supernatural object. One variety has, instead of stars,

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similarly coloured lines, and another, figures recalling mountains and deep valleys. The 'phloginos,' or 'flame-coloured stone,' which is also known as 'chrysitis,' or 'gold stone,' resembles the yellow ochre of Attica and is found in Egypt. The 'phoenicitis,' or 'date-palm stone,' is so called from its resemblance to a date, and the 'phycitis,' or 'seaweed stone,' from its similarity to seaweed. A stone is 'perileucos,' or 'white-around,' when a white line descends (in a spiral) from the margin to the very base of the stone. The 'paeanis,' or 'Apollo stone,' otherwise known as 'gaeanis,' the 'earth stone,' is said to become pregnant and to give birth to another stone, and so is thought to relieve labour pains. Its birthplace is in Macedonia, near the tomb of Tiresias, and its appearance is that of ice.

67. 'Solls gemma,' or 'gem of the sun,' is a bright colourless stone that sheds its beams in such a way as to resemble the sun's shining disc. 'Sagda' is the name given by the astrologers to a leek-green stone which they find, so they say, attached to ships' hulls. 'Samothrax,' or 'stone of Samothrace,' is produced in the island after which it is named, and is black, light in weight and like wood. The 'sauritis,' or 'lizard stone,' is stated to be found in the belly of a green lizard when it has been slit with a reed. The 'sarcitis,' or 'fleshy stone,' closely resembles ox-flesh. The 'selenitis,' or 'moonstone,' a transparent, colourless stone with a honey-coloured sheen, contains a likeness of the moon, and reproduces, if the report is true, the very shape of the moon as it waxes or wanes from day to day. It is thought to occur in Arabia. The 'sideritis,' or 'iron stone,' resembles iron and likewise causes some people to quarrel when it is brought to a dispute. It is found in Ethiopia. The 'sideropoecilos,' or 'mottled iron stone,' is a variety of this stone, mottled with specks. 'Spongitis,' or 'sponge stone,' is absolutely true to its name. The 'synodontitis' comes from the brain of the fish known as 'synodus.' The 'Syrtitis,' or 'stone of Syrtis,' is found on the shores of the Gulf of Sidra, and indeed, moreover, in Lucania. It is honey-coloured with a saffron-yellow sheen and contains faint starry spots inside it. 'Syringitis,' or 'pipe stone,' which resembles the length of a stalk between two of its joints, is hollow, with a tube running right through it.

68. The 'trichrus,' or 'three-coloured' stone, which comes from Africa, is black, but gives off streaks of three colours, black at the base, blood-red in the middle and yellow at the top. The 'thelyrrhizos,' or 'lady root,' is ashen or red in colour and is distinguished by its white base. The 'thelycardios,' or 'lady heart,' which displays the colour of a heart, gives great pleasure to the Persians, among whom it is found. Their name for it is 'mucul.' The 'Thracia,' or 'Thracian gem,' occurs in three varieties, emerald-green or alternatively paler, while the third has blood-red spots on it. 'Tephritis,' or 'ash stone,' displays a likeness of the new moon with curving horns, but on a ground that is the colour of ash. The 'tecolithos,' or 'solvent stone,' looks like an olive stone and has no value as a gem, but when sucked breaks up and disperses stone in the bladder.

69. 'Veneris crinis,' or 'the lock of Venus,' is a very dark, brilliant stone, which has an inclusion resembling a lock of red hair. The 'Veientana,' which is an Italian gemstone found at Veii, has a black ground defined by a white edge.

70. The 'zathenes,' according to Democritus, is an amber-coloured stone found in Media, and if it is ground with palm wine and saffron softens like wax and has a most agreeable smell. The 'zamilampis,' Zamilar which is found in the Euphrates, is like the marble from the island of Marmara, but is greyish-green in the centre. 'Zoraniscaea' is said to be a gem found in the river Indus and used by the Magi, but, apart from this, nothing is reported about it.

71. There is still another way of classifying precious stones, and it is one which I should like to employ, now that I have already from time to time varied my method of presenting my theme. For there are stones named after parts of the body, for example 'hepatitis' after the liver, and numerous past kinds of steatitis after the fat found in one animal or another. We find 'Adad's kidney,' 'Adad's eye' and 'Adad's finger,' Adad also being a god who is worshipped by the Syrians. Again, 'triophthalmos' is a variety of onyx that displays the likeness of three human eyes simultaneously.

72. Precious stones are named after animals; for example 'carcinias' takes its name from the colour of the crab, and 'echitis' from that of the viper. 'Scorpitis' is so named because it displays the colour or else the likeness of a scorpion, 'scaritis,' similarly, of a parrot-wrasse, and 'triglitis,' of a red mullet. 'Aegophthalmos' takes its name from a goat's eye, and another stone likewise from a pig's eye. 'Geranitis' owes its name to the crane's neck, 'hieracitis' to the kite and 'atitis' to the colour of the white-tailed eagle. 'Myrmecitis' displays a naturally formed likeness of a crawling ant, and 'cantharias' that of scarab beetles. 'Lycophthalmos' is a stone of four colours, red mixed with blood-red, while in the middle it has black encircled by white, like a wolf's eye. 'Taos' is like a peacock; and a stone which I find bearing the name 'timictonia' similarly resembles an asp in colour.

73. A resemblance to inanimate objects is found in 'ammochrysus,' or 'sand-gold,' which looks like gold mixed with sand; in 'cenchrites,' or 'millet stone,' which looks as if it were sprinkled with grains of millet; and in 'dryites,' or 'oak stone,' which resembles the trunk of an oak. Moreover, this stone burns like wood. The 'cissitis,' or 'ivy stone,' is a transparent, colourless stone in which ivy leaves are visible, and these cover the whole stone. 'Narcissitis' is marked with veins coloured like narcissus, and has also its scent. 'Cyarnias,' or 'bean stone,' is black, but when broken produces from its interior an object resembling a bean. The 'pyren' is so called because it is like an olive stone: sometimes it looks as if it contains fish bones. The 'phoenicitis' is like a date. 'Chalazias,' or 'hail stone,' has the whiteness arid the shape of hailstones, and is as hard as 'adamas,' so that even when it is placed in a lire it is said to retain its natural coolness. 'Pyritis,' or 'fire stone,' even though it is black, scorches the fingers when it is rubbed. 'Polyzonos,' or 'many-banded stone,' is marked with a number of white bands on a black ground, while the 'astrapaea,' or 'lightning stone,' on a colourless or blue ground is traversed in the centre by beams like lightning flashes. The 'phlogitis,' or 'flame stone,' seems to have burning inside it a flame which, however, is not released, while the 'anthracitis,' or 'carbuncle stone,' appears to have sparks running in different directions through it. The 'enhygros,' or 'stone with moisture inside it,' has a white, smooth ground, and is always perfectly round. When it is shaken, liquid moves to and fro inside it, as in an egg. The 'polythrix,' or 'hairy stone,' displays hairy streaks on a green ground, but, in spite of its appearance, is said to make one's hair fall out. There are also the so-called 'lion-skin' and 'leopard-skin' stones. Colours too have lent their names to stones. 'Drosolithos,' or 'dew stone,' takes its name from its grass-green tint, 'melichrus,' of which there are several kinds, from its honey colour, 'melichlorus,' or 'honey-yellow stone,' from two tints combined, because it is partly yellow and partly honey-coloured; while 'crocias' is sprinkled as if with saffron, 'polias' with a greyishwhite tint, and 'spartopolias' with markings of a greyish-white more dispersed. 'Rhoditis' is 'rose-coloured,' melitis 'apple-coloured,' 'chalcitis' copper coloured and 'sychitis' 'fig-coloured'. 'Bostrychitis' has white or blood-red leaves branching out on a black ground, while 'chernitis' presents the appearance of white hands clasping each other on stone. The 'anancitis,' or 'compulsive stone,' it is said, is used in divination by water to conjure up divine apparitions, while the 'synochitis,' or 'holding stone,' so we are told, holds the shades of the dead when they have been summoned from below. As for the white 'dendritis,' or 'tree stone,' it is said that if it is buried beneath a tree that is being felled the edges of the axes will not be blunted. There are many more stones that are even more magical; and these have received foreign names from men who have thus betrayed the fact that they are ordinary, worthless stones, and not precious stones at all. But I shall here remain content with having exposed the abominable falsehoods of the Magi.

74. New, unnamed precious stones come into existence quite unexpectedly, like one which, according to Theophrastus, was once found in the gold mines near Lampsacus and was sent to King Alexander owing to its great beauty. Moreover, 'Cochlides,' or 'shell stones,' are now very common, but are really artificial rather than natural. In Arabia they are found as huge lumps, and these are said to be boiled in honey without interruption for seven days and nights. Thus all earthy and other impurities are eliminated; and the lump, cleansed and purified, is divided into various shapes by clever craftsmen, who are careful to follow up the veins and elongated markings in such a way as to ensure the readiest sale. Formerly, these lumps were produced in such large sizes that in the East they were made into frontlets for kings' horses aud into pendants to serve as trappings for them. In general, all gems are rendered more colourful by being boiled thoroughly in honey, particularly if it is Corsican honey, which is unsuitable for any other purpose owing to its acidity. Cunning and talented artists succeed also in cutting away parts of variegated stones so as to obtain novelties; and in order that these selfsame stones may not bear their usual name, they call them 'physis,' or 'works of nature,' and offer them for sale as natural curiosities.

But there is no end to the names given to precious stones, and I have no intention of listing them in full, innumerable as they are, thanks to the wanton imagination of the Greeks. Now that I have mentioned the precious stones, and also some, indeed, that are common, I must be content with having given emphasis to the rarer varieties that deserve notice. One point only should be remembered, that, according to the different marks and excrescences that appear on the surface of stones, and according to the varied tracks and colours of the bands that traverse them, names are often altered when the material is commonly the same.

75. Now I shall make some general observations which concern our study of any precious stone; and here I shall adopt the notions of our authorities.

Concave or convex stones are considered less valuable than those with a plane surface. An elongated shape is the most valuable; then what is called the lenticular; and then a flat, round shape. Stones with sharp angles find the least favour.

To distinguish genuine and false gemstones is extremely difficult, particularly as men have discovered how to make genuine stones of one variety into false stones of another. For example, a sardonyx can be manufactured so convincingly by sticking three gems together that the artifice cannot be detected: a black stone is taken from one species, a white from another, and a vermilion-coloured stone from a third, all being excellent in their own way. And furthermore, there are treatises by authorities, whom I at least shall not deign to mention by name, describing how by means of dyestuffs emeralds and other transparent coloured gems are made from rock-crystal, or a sardonyx from a sard, and similarly all other gemstones from one stone or another. And there is no other trickery that is practised against society with greater profit.

76. I, on the other hand, am prepared to explain the methods of detecting false gems, since it is only fitting that even luxury should be protected against deception. Apart, then, from the details that I have given in describing the best stones of each class, it is recommended that transparent stones in general should be tested early in the morning or, if necessary, np to ten o'clock, but on no account later than this. Tests are made in many different ways: first by weight, because genuine stones are heavier; then by coolness, since genuine stones also feel colder in the mouth; and after this by structure. For artificial stones show globules deep below the surface, rough patches on the surface itself, filaments, an inconsistent lustre and a brightness that fails to strike the eye. The most effective test is to knock off a piece of the stone so that it can be baked on an iron plate, but dealers in precious stones not unnaturally object to this, and likewise to testing with a file. Flakes of obsidian will not scratch a genuine stone, but on a false stone every scratch leaves a white mark. Furthermore, there is a great difference as between one stone and another in that some cannot be engraved with an iron tool and some only with a blunt iron tool, although all can be worked with a diamond point. But what is most effective in working gemstones is the heat generated by the drill.

The rivers that produce gems are the Chenab and the Ganges, and of all the lands that produce them India is the most prolific.

77. For now that I have completed my survey of Nature's works, it is right that I should make a critical assessment of her products, as well of the lands that produce them. This, then, I declare: in the whole world, wherever the Vault of heaven turns, there is no land so well adorned with all that wins Nature's crown as Italy, the ruler and second mother of the world, with her men and women, her generals and soldiers, her slaves, her pre-eminence in arts and crafts, her wealth of brilliant talent, and, again, her geographical position and her healthy, temperate climate, the easy access which she offers to all other peoples, her shores with their many harbours, and the kindly winds that blow upon her. All these benefits accrue to her from her situationfor the land juts out in the direction that is most advantageous, midway between the East and the Westand from her abundant supply of water, her healthy forests, her mountains with their passes, her harmless wild creatures, her fertile soil and her rich pastures. Nowhere are the things that man is entitled to expect more excellentcrops, wine, olive oil, wool, flax, cloth and young cattle. Even the native breed of homes is preferred to any other on the training-ground. In ores, whether of gold, silver, copper or iron, no country surpassed her so long as it was lawful to work them. Now she keeps them within her womb, and all her bounty lies in the many different liquors and the diverse savours of crops and fruits that she lavishes upon us. Next to Italy, if we leave aside the fabulous marvels of India, I would place Spain, or at least the districts where Spain is bordered by the sea. For although the country is partly rough desert, yet all its productive regions are rich in crops, oil, wine, horses and every kind of ore. So far, Gaul is Spain's equal. But it is Spain's deserts that give her the advantage; for here we find esparto grass, selenite and even luxuryin the form of pigments; here is a place where there is an incentive to toil, where slaves can be schooled, where men's bodies are hard and their hearts passionately eager.

78. However, to return to products pure and simple, the most costly product of the sea is the pearl; of the earth's surface, rock-crystal; of the earth's interior, diamonds, emeralds, gemstones and vessels of fluorspar; of the earth's increase, the scarlet kermes-insect and silphium, with spikenard and silks from leaves, citrus wood from trees, cinnamon, cassia and amomum from shrubs, amber, balsam, myrrh and frankincense, which exude from trees or shrubs, and costus from roots. As for those animals which are equipped to breathe, the most costly product found on land is the elephant's tusk, and on sea the turtle's shell. Of the hides and coats of animals, the most costly are the pelts dyed in China and the Arabian she-goat's tufted beard which we call 'ladanum.' Of creatures that belong to both land and sea, the most costly products are scarlet and purple dyes made from shell-fish. Birds are credited with no outstanding contribution except warriors' plumes and the grease of the Commagene goose. We must not forget to mention that gold,

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for which all mankind has so mad a passion, comes scarcely tenth in the list of valuables, while silver, with which we purchase gold, is almost as low as twentieth.

Hail, Nature, mother of all creation, and mindful that I alone of the men of Rome have praised thee in all thy manifestations, be gracious unto me.

THE PERIPLUS OF THE ERYTHRAEAN SEA

The Voyage Around The Indian Ocean
The Voyage around the Erythraean Sea
Probable Authorship: Lucius Flavius Arrianus
Translation: Wilfred Harvey Schoff, 1912
Estimated Range of Dating: 1st century A.D.

(The Voyage around the Indian Ocean or The Voyage around the Erythraean Sea [also known as The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (Greek: Períplous tis Erythrás Thalássis, Latin: Periplus Maris Erythraei), is a Greco-Roman periplus [harbour guide] written in Greek. It was probably written by Lucius Flavius Arrianus (Arrian of Nicomedia) and it describes navigation and trading opportunities from Roman Egyptian ports like Berenice Troglodytica along the coast of the Red Sea, and others along Horn of Africa, the Persian Gulf, Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean, including the modern-day Sindh region of Pakistan and southwestern regions of India.

The Erythraean Sea (Greek: Erythre Thelassa, lit. "the Red Sea"; that is where the country name Eritrea comes from) was an ancient geographical designation that always included the Gulf of Aden between Arabia Felix and the Horn of Africa and was often extended—as in this periplus—to include the present-day Red Sea, Persian Gulf, and Indian Ocean as a single maritime area.

The text has been ascribed to different dates between the first and third centuries, but a mid-first century date is now the most commonly accepted. While the author is unknown, it is clearly a firsthand description by someone familiar with the area and is nearly unique in providing accurate insights into what the ancient Hellenic world knew about the lands around the Indian Ocean.

The Periplus Maris Erythraei (or 'Voyage around the Erythraean Sea') is an anonymous work from around the middle of the first century AD written by a Greek speaking Egyptian merchant. The first part of the work (sections 1-18) describes the maritime trade-routes following the north-south axis from Egypt down the coast of East Africa as far as modern day Tanzania. The remainder describes the routes of the East-West axis running from Egypt, around the Arabian Peninsula and past the Persian Gulf on to the west coast of India. From the vivid descriptions of the places mentioned it is generally held that the author himself traveled to nearly all the lands he describes. The final chapters describe the East Coast of India as far north as the mouth of the Ganges and include reports the author had heard of the uncharted lands beyond. The author's pattern is to describe the lengths and conditions of the routes, the key emporiums and anchorage points, the disposition of the locals, and the imports and exports of the region. Because the annual monsoon winds were the key factor in making the voyage to India the author will at times note the month (in both Greek and Egyptian) in which one should sail from Egypt.

Measures: 1 Greek stadion (pl. stadia) is equivalent to about 1 tenth of an English mile or 160 Metres.)

1. Of the designated ports on the Erythraean Sea, and the market-towns around it, the first is the Egyptian port of Mussel Harbour [= Myos Hormos]. To those sailing down from that place, on the right hand, after eighteen hundred stadia, there is Berenice. The harbours of both are at the boundary of Egypt, and are bays opening from the Erythraean Sea.

2. On the right-hand coast next below Berenice is the country of the Berbers [or Barbaroi, "foreigners": traditionally designating any non-Greek speaker]. Along the shore are the Fish-Eaters, living in scattered caves in the narrow valleys. Further inland are the Berbers, and beyond them the Wild-flesh-Eaters and Calf-Eaters [Casson: "shoot-eaters", from Greek mosxophagoi: translatable as either "calf" or "shoot, twig"], each tribe governed by its chief; and behind them, further inland, in the country toward the west, there lies a city called Meroe.

3. Below the Calf-Eaters there is a little market-town on the shore after sailing about four thousand stadia from Berenice, called Ptolemais of the Hunts, from which the hunters started for the interior under the dynasty of the Ptolemies. This market-town has the true land-tortoise in small quantity; it is white and smaller in the shells. And here also is found a little ivory, like that of Adulis. But the place has no harbour and is reached only by small boats.

4. Below Ptolemais of the Hunts, at a distance of about three thousand stadia, there is Adulis, a port established by law, lying at the inner end of a bay that runs in toward the south. Before the harbour lies the so-called Mountain Island, about two hundred stadia sea-ward from the very head of the bay, with the shores of the mainland close to it on both sides. Ships bound for this port now anchor here because of attacks from the land. They used formerly to anchor at the very head of the bay, by an island called Diodorus, close to the shore, which could be reached on foot from the land; by which means the barbarous natives attacked the island. Opposite Mountain Island, on the mainland twenty stadia from shore, lies Adulis, a fair-sized village, from which there is a three-days' journey to Coloe, an inland town and the first market for ivory. From that place to the city of the people called Auxumites there is a five days' journey more; to that place all the ivory is brought from the country beyond the Nile through the district called Cyeneum, and thence to Adulis. Practically the whole number of elephants and rhinoceros that are killed live in the places inland, although at rare intervals they are hunted on the seacoast even near Adulis. Before the harbour of that market-town, out at sea on the right hand, there lie a great many little sandy islands called Alalaei, yielding tortoise-shell, which is brought to market there by the Fish-Eaters.

5. And about eight hundred stadia beyond there is another very deep bay, with a great mound of sand piled up at the right of the entrance; at the bottom of which the opsian stone is found, and this is the only place where it is produced. These places, from the Calf-Eaters to the other Berber country, are governed by Zoscales, who is miserly in his ways and always striving for more, but otherwise upright, and acquainted [Casson: "well versed"; Greek: empeiros] with Greek literature.

6. There are imported into these places, undressed cloth made in Egypt for the Berbers; robes from Arsinoe; cloaks of poor quality dyed in colors; double-fringed linen mantles; many articles of flint glass, and others of murrhine, made in Diospolis; and brass, which is used for ornament and in cut pieces instead of coin; sheets of soft copper, used for cooking-utensils and cut up for bracelets and anklets for the women; iron, which is made into spears used against the elephants and other wild beasts, and in their wars. Besides these, small axes are imported, and adzes and swords; copper drinking-cups, round and large; a little coin for those comning to the market; wine of Laodicea and Italy, not much; olive oil, not much; for the king, gold and silver plate made after the fashion of the country, and for clothing, military cloaks, and thin coats of skin, of no great value. Likewise from the district of Ariaca across this sea, there are imported Indian iron, and steel, and Indian cotton cloth; the broad cloth called monache and that called sagimtogene, and girdles, and coats of skin and mallow-colored cloth, and a few muslins, and colored lac. There are exported from these places ivory, and tortoise-shell and rhinoceros-horn. The most from Egypt is brought to this market from the month of January, to September, that is, from Tybi to Thoth; but seasonably they put to sea about the month of September.

7. From this place the Arabian Gulf trends toward the east and becomes narrowest just before the Gulf of Avalites. After about four thousand stadia, for those sailing eastward along the same coast, there are other Berber market-towns, known as the "far-side" ports; lying at intervals one after the other, without harbours but having roadsteads where ships can anchor and lie in good weather. The first is called Avalites; to this place the voyage from Arabia to the far-side coast is the shortest. Here there is a small market-town called Avalites, which must be reached by boats and rafts. There are imported into this place, flint glass, assorted; juice of sour grapes from Diospolis; dressed cloth, assorted, made for the Berbers; wheat, wine, and a little tin. There are exported from the same place, and sometimes by the Berbers themselves crossing on rafts to Ocelis and Muza on the opposite shore, spices, a little ivory, tortoise-shell, and a very little myrrh, but better than the rest. And the Berbers who live in the place are very unruly.

8. After Avalites there is another market-town, better than this, called Malao, distant a sail of about eight hundred stadia. The anchorage is an open road-stead, sheltered by a spit running out from the east. Here the natives are more peaceable. There are imported into this place the things already mentioned, and many tunics, cloaks from Arsinoe, dressed and dyed; drinking-cups, sheets of soft copper in small quantity, iron, and gold and silver coin, not much. There are exported from these places myrrh, a little frankincense (that known as "far-side"), the harder cinnamon, duaca, Indian copal and macir, which are imported into Arabia; and slaves, but rarely.

9. Two days' sail, or three, beyond Malao is the market-town of Mundus, where the ships lie at anchor more safely behind a projecting island close to the shore. There are imported into this place the things previously set forth, and from it likewise are exported the merchandise already stated, and the incense calledmocrotu. And the traders living here are more quarrelsome [Greek sklêros: "tough"—i.e., shrewd traders].

10. Beyond Mundus, sailing toward the east, after another two days' sail, or three, you reach Mosyllum, on a beach, with a bad anchorage. There are imported here the same things already mentioned, also silver plate, a very little iron, and glass. There are shipped from the place a great quantity of cinnamon, (so that this market-town requires ships of larger size), and fragrant gums, spices, a little tortoise shell, and mocrotu, (poorer than that of Mundus), frankincense [from] the "far-side", ivory and myrrh in small quantities.

11. Sailing along the coast beyond Mosyllum, after a two days' course you come to the so-called Little Nile River, and a fine spring, and a small laurel-grove, and Cape Elephant. Then the shore recedes into a bay, and has a river, called Elephant, and a large laurel-grove called Acanna; where alone is produced the far-side frankincense, in great quantity and of the best grade.

12. Beyond this place, the coast trending toward the south, there is the Market and Cape of Spices, an abrupt promontory, at the very end of the Berber coast toward the east. The anchorage is dangerous at times from the ground-swell, because the place is exposed to the north. A sign of an approaching storm which is peculiar to the place, is that the deep water becomes more turbid and changes its color. When this happens they all run to a large promontory called Taba, which offers safe shelter. There are imported into this market-town the things already mentioned; and there are produced in it cinnamon, (and its different varieties, gizir, asypha, arebo, magla, and moto) and frankincense.

13. Beyond Taba, after four hundred stadia, there is the village of Pano. And then, after sailing four hundred stadia along a promontory, toward which place the current also draws you, there is another market-town called Opone, into which the same things are imported as those already mentioned, and in it the greatest quantity of cinnamon is produced, (the arebo and moto), and slaves of the better sort, which are brought to Egypt in increasing numbers; and a great quantity of tortoise-shell, better than that found elsewhere.

14. The voyage to all these far-side market-towns is made from Egypt about the month of July, that is Epiphi. And ships are also customarily fitted out from the places across this sea, from Ariaca and Barygaza, bringing to these far-side market-towns the products of their own places; wheat, rice, clarified butter, sesame oil, cotton cloth, (the monacheand the sagmatogene), and girdles, and honey from the reed called sacchari. Some make the voyage especially to these market-towns, and others exchange their cargoes while sailing along the coast. This country is not subject to a King, but each market-town is ruled by its separate chief.

15. Beyond Opone, the shore trending more toward the south, first there are the small and great bluffs of Azania; this coast is destitute of harbours, but there are places where ships can lie at anchor, the shore being abrupt; and this course is of six days, the direction being south-west. Then come the small and great beach for another six days' course and after that in order, the Courses of Azania, the first being called Sarapion and the next Nicon; and after that several rivers and other anchorages, one after the other, separately a rest and a run for each day, seven in all, until the Pyralae islands and what is called the channel; beyond which, a little to the south of south-west, after two courses of a day and night along the Ausanitic coast, is the island Menuthias, about three hundred stadia from the main-land, low and wooded, in which there are rivers and many kinds of birds and the mountain-tortoise. There are no wild beasts except the crocodiles; but there they do not attack men. In this place there are sewed boats, and canoes hollowed from single logs, which they use for fishing and catching tortoise. In this island they also catch them in a peculiar way, in wicker baskets, which they fasten across the channel-opening between the breakers.

16. Two days' sail beyond, there lies the very last market-town of the continent of Azania, which is called Rhapta; which has its name from the sewed boats (rhapton ploiarion) already mentioned; in which there is ivory in great quantity, and tortoise-shell. Along this coast live men of piratical habits, very great in stature, and under separate chiefs for each place. The Mapharitic chief governs it under some ancient right that subjects it to the sovereignty of the state that is become first in Arabia. And the people of Muza now hold it under his authority, and send thither many large ships, using Arab captains and agents, who are familiar with the natives and intermarry with them, and who know the whole coast and understand the language.

17. There are imported into these markets the lances made at Muza especially for this trade, and hatchets and daggers and awls, and various kinds of glass; and at some places a little wine, and wheat, not for trade, but to serve for getting the good-will of the savages. There are exported from these places a great quantity of ivory, but inferior to that of Adulis, and rhinoceros-horn and tortoise-shell (which is in best demand after that from India), and a little palm-oil.

18. And these markets of Azania are the very last of the continent that stretches down on the right hand from Berenice; for beyond these places the unexplored ocean curves around toward the west, and running along by the regions to the south of Aethiopia and Libya and Africa, it mingles with the western sea.

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19. Now to the left of Berenice, sailing for two or three days from Mussel Harbour eastward across the adjacent gulf, there is another harbour and fortified place, which is called White Village, from which there is a road to Petra, which is subject to Malichas, King of the Nabataans. It holds the position of a market-town for the small vessels sent there from Arabia; and so a centurion is stationed there as a collector of one-fourth of the merchandise imported, with an armed force, as a garrison.

20. Directly below this place is the adjoining country of Arabia, in its length bordering a great distance on the Erythraean Sea. Different tribes inhabit the country, differing in their speech, some partially, and some altogether. The land next the sea is similarly dotted here and there with caves of the Fish-Eaters, but the country inland is peopled by rascally men speaking two languages, who live in villages and nomadic camps, by whom those sailing off the middle course are plundered, and those surviving shipwrecks are taken for slaves. And so they too are continually taken prisoners by the chiefs and kings of Arabia; and they are called Carnaites. Navigation is dangerous along this whole coast of Arabia, which is without harbours, with bad anchorages, foul, inaccessible because of breakers and rocks, and terrible in every way. Therefore we hold our course down the middle of the gulf and pass on as fast as possible by the country of Arabia until we come to the Burnt Island; directly below which there are regions of peaceful people, nomadic, pasturers of cattle, sheep and camels.

21. Beyond these places, in a bay at the foot of the left side of this gulf, there is a place by the shore called Muza, a market-town established by law, distant altogether from Berenice for those sailing southward, about twelve thousand stadia. And the whole place is crowded with Arab ship-owners and seafaring men, and is busy with the affairs of commerce; for they carry on a trade with the far-side coast and with Barygaza, sending their own ships there.

22. Three days inland from this port there is a city called Saua, in the midst of the region called Mapharitis; and there is a vassal-chief named Cholaebus who lives in that city.

23, And after nine days more there is Saphar, the metropolis, in which lives Charibael, lawful king of two tribes, the Homerites and those living next to them, called the Sabaites; through continual embassies and gifts, he is a friend of the Emperors.

24. The market-town of Muza is without a harbour, but has a good roadstead and anchorage because of the sandy bottom thereabouts, where the anchors hold safely. The merchandise imported there consists of purple cloths, both fine and coarse; clothing in the Arabian style, with sleeves; plain, ordinary, embroidered, or interwoven with gold; saffron, sweet rush, muslins, cloaks, blankets (not many), some plain and others made in the local fashion; sashes of different colors, fragrant ointments in moderate quantity, wine and wheat, not much. For the country produces grain in moderate amount, and a great deal of wine. And to the King and the Chief are given horses and sumpter-mules, vessels of gold and polished silver, finely woven clothing and copper vessels. There are exported from the same place the things produced in the country: selected myrrh, and the Gebanite-Minaean stacte, alabaster and all the things already mentioned from Avalites and the far-side coast. The voyage to this place is made best about the month of September, that is Thoth; but there is nothing to prevent it even earlier.

25. After sailing beyond this place about three hundred stadia, the coast of Arabia and the Berber country about the Avalitic gulf now coming close together, there is a channel, not long in extent, which forces the sea together and shuts it into a narrow strait, the passage through which, sixty stadia in length, the island Diodorus divides. Therefore the course through it is beset with rushing currents and with strong winds blowing down from the adjacent ridge of mountains. Directly on this strait by the shore there is a village of Arabs, subject to the same chief, called Ocelis; which is not so much a market-town as it is an anchorage and watering-place and the first landing for those sailing into the gulf.

26. Beyond Ocelis, the sea widening again toward the east and soon giving a view of the open ocean, after about twelve hundred stadia there is Eudaemon Arabia, a village by the shore, also of the Kingdom of Charibael, and having convenient anchorages, and watering-places, sweeter and better than those at Ocelis; it lies at the entrance of a bay, and the land recedes from it. It was called Eudaemon [= “Prosperous”], because in the early days of the city when the voyage was not yet made from India to Egypt, and when they did not dare to sail from Egypt to the ports across this ocean, but all came together at this place, it received the cargoes from both countries, just as Alexandria now receives the things brought both from abroad and from Egypt. But not long before our own time Charibael destroyed the place.

27. After Eudaemon Arabia there is a continuous length of coast, and a bay extending two thousand stadia or more, along which there are Nomads and Fish-Eaters living in villages; just beyond the cape projecting from this bay there is another market-town by the shore, Cana [Kanê], of the Kingdom of Eleazus, the Frankincense Country; and facing it there are two desert islands, one called Island of Birds, the other Dome Island, one hundred and twenty stadia from Cana. Inland from this place lies the metropolis Sabbatha, in which the King lives. All the frankincense produced in the country is brought by camels to that place to be stored, and to Cana on rafts held up by inflated skins after the manner of the country, and in boats. And this place has a trade also with the far-side ports, with Barygaza and Scythia and Ommana and the neighbouring coast of Persia.

28. There are imported into this place from Egypt a little wheat and wine, as at Muza; clothing in the Arabian style, plain and common and most of it spurious; and copper and tin and coral and storax and other things such as go to Muza; and for the King usually wrought gold and silver plate, also horses, images [Greek andriantes: “male statuary”], and thin clothing of fine quality. And there are exported from this place, native produce, frankincense and aloes, and the rest of the things that enter into the trade of the other ports. The voyage to this place is best made at the same time as that to Muza, or rather earlier.

29. Beyond Cana, the land receding greatly, there follows a very deep bay stretching a great way across, which is called Sachalites; and the Frankincense Country, mountainous and forbidding, wrapped in thick clouds and fog, and yielding frankincense from the trees. These incense-bearing trees are not of great height or thickness; they bear the frankincense sticking in drops on the bark, just as the trees among us in Egypt weep their gum. The frankincense is gathered by the King's slaves and those who are sent to this service for punishment. For these places are very unhealthy, and pestilential even to those sailing along the coast, but almost always fatal to those working there, who also perish often from want of food.

30. On this bay there is a very great promontory facing the east, called Syagrus; on which is a fort for .the defense of the country, and a harbour and storehouse for the frankincense that is collected; and opposite this cape, well out at sea, there is an island, lying between it and the Cape of Spices opposite, but nearer Syagrus: it is called Dioscorida [=modern Socotra], and is very large but desert and marshy, having rivers in it and crocodiles and many snakes and great lizards, of which the flesh is eaten and the fat melted and used instead of olive oil. The island yields no fruit, neither vine nor grain. The inhabitants are few and they live on the coast toward the north, which from this side faces the continent. They are foreigners, a mixture of Arabs and Indians and Greeks, who have emigrated to carry on trade there. The island produces the true sea-tortoise, and the land-tortoise, and the white tortoise which is very numerous and preferred for its large shells; and the mountain-tortoise, which is largest of all and has the thickest shell; of which the worthless' specimens cannot be cut apart on the under-side, because they are even too hard; but those of value are cut apart and the shells made whole into caskets and small plates and cake-dishes and that sort of ware. There is also produced in this island cinnabar, that called Indian, which is collected in drops from the trees.

31. It happens that just as Azania is subject to Charibael and the Chief of Mapharitis, this island is subject to the King of the Frankincense Country. Trade is also carried on there by some people from Muza and by those who chance to call there on the voyage from Damirica [Casson: “Limyrikê”; i.e. Malabar Coast of south India] and Barygaza; they bring in rice and wheat and Indian cloth, and a few female slaves; and they take for their exchange cargoes, a great quantity of tortoise-shell. Now the island is farmed out under the Kings and is garrisoned.

32. Immediately beyond Syagrus the bay of Omana cuts deep into the coast-line, the width of it being six hundred stadia; and beyond this there are mountains, high and rocky and steep, inhabited by cave-dwellers for five hundred stadia more; and beyond this is a port established for receiving the Sachalitic frankincense; the harbour is called Moscha, and ships from Cana call there regularly; and ships returning from Damirica [=Limyrike] and Barygaza, if the season is late, winter there, and trade with the King's officers, exchanging their cloth and wheat and sesame oil for frankincense, which lies in heaps all over the Sachalitic country, open and unguarded, as if the place were under the protection of the gods; for neither openly nor by stealth can it be loaded on board ship without the King's permission; if a single grain were loaded without this, the ship could not clear from the harbour.

33. Beyond the harbour of Moscha for about fifteen hundred stadia as far as Asich, a mountain range runs along the shore; at the end of which, in a row, lie seven islands, called Zenobian. Beyond these there is a barbarous region which is no longer of the same Kingdom, but now belongs to Persia. Sailing along this coast well out at sea for two thousand stadia from the Zenobian Islands, there meets you an island called Sarapis, about one hundred and twenty stadia from the mainland. It is about two hundred stadia wide and six hundred long, inhabited by three settlements of Fish-Eaters, a villainous lot, who use the Arabian language and wear girdles of palm-leaves. The island produces considerable tortoise-shell of fine quality, and small sail-boats and cargo-ships are sent there regularly from Cana.

34. Sailing along the coast, which trends north-ward toward the entrance of the Persian Sea, there are many islands known as the Calaei, after about two thousand stadia, extending along the shore. The inhabitants are a treacherous lot, very little civilized.

35. At the upper end of these Calai islands is a range of mountains called Calon, and there follows not far beyond, the mouth of the Persian Gulf, where there is much diving for the pearl-mussel. To the left of the straits are great mountains called Asabon, and to the right there rises in full view another round and high mountain called Semiramis; between them the passage across the strait is about six hundred stadia; beyond which that very great and broad sea, the Persian Gulf, reaches far into the interior. At the upper end of this Gulf there is a market-town designated by law, called Apologus, situated near Charax Spasini and the River Euphrates.

36. Sailing through the mouth of the Gulf, after a six-days' course there is another market-town of Persia called Ommana. To both of these market-towns large vessels are regularly sent from Barygaza, loaded with copper and sandalwood and timbers of teakwood and logs of blackwood and ebony. To Ommana frankincense is also brought from Cana, and from Ommana to Arabia boats sewed together after the fashion of the place; these are known as madarata. From each of these market-towns, there are exported to Barygaza and also to Arabia, many pearls, but inferior to those of India; purple, clothing after the fashion of the place, wine, a great quantity of dates, gold and slaves.

37. Beyond the Ommanitic region there is a country also of the Parsidae, of another Kingdom, and the bay of Gedrosia [Casson: “Gulf of Terabdoi”], from the middle of which a cape juts out into the bay. Here there is a river affording an entrance for ships, with a little market-town at the mouth, called Oraea and back from the place an in-land city, distant a seven days' journey from the sea, in which also is the King's court; it is called ... (probably Rhambacia) [Casson notes the name was inadvertently admitted in the manuscript]. This country yields much wheat, wine, rice and dates; but along the coast there is nothing but bdellium.

38. Beyond this region, the continent making a wide curve from the east across the depths of the bays, there follows the coast district of Scythia, which lies above toward the north; the whole marshy; from which flows down the river Sinthus [=Indus River], the greatest of all the rivers that flow into the Erythraean Sea, bringing down an enormous volume of water; so that a long way out at sea, before reaching this country, the water of the ocean is fresh from it. Now as a sign of approach to this country to those coming from the sea, there are serpents coming forth from the depths to meet you; and a sign of the places just mentioned and in Persia, are those called graea. This river has seven mouths, very shallow and marshy, so that they are not navigable, except the one in the middle; at which by the shore, is the market-town, Barbaricum. Before it there lies a small island, and inland behind it is the metropolis of Scythia, Minnagara; it is subject to Parthian princes who are constantly driving each other out.

39. The ships lie at anchor at Barbaricum, but all their cargoes are carried up to the metropolis by the river, to the King. There are imported into this market a great deal of thin clothing, and a little spurious; figured linens, topaz, coral, storax, frankincense, vessels of glass, silver and gold plate, and a little wine. On the other hand there are exported costus, bdellium, lycium, nard, turquoise, lapis lazuli, Seric skins, cotton cloth, silk yarn, and indigo. And sailors set out thither with the Indian Etesian winds, about the month of July, that is Epiphi: it is more dangerous then, but through these winds the voyage is more direct, and sooner completed.

40. Beyond the river Sinthus there is another gulf, not navigable, running in toward the north; it is called Eirinon; its parts are called separately the small gulf and the great; in both parts the water is shallow, with shifting sandbanks occurring continually and a great way from shore; so that very often when the shore is not even in sight, ships run aground, and if they attempt to hold their course they are wrecked. A promontory stands out from this gulf, curving around from Eirinon toward the East, then South, then West, and enclosing the gulf called Baraca, which contains seven islands. Those who come to the entrance of this bay escape it by putting about a little and standing further out to sea; but those who are drawn inside into the gulf of Baraca are lost; for the waves are high and very violent, and the sea is tumultuous and foul, and has eddies and rushing whirlpools. The bottom is in some places abrupt, and in others rocky and sharp, so that the anchors lying there are parted, some being quickly cut off, and others chafing on the bottom. As a sign of these places to those approaching from the sea there are serpents, very large and black; for at the other places on this coast and around Barygaza, they are smaller, and in color bright green, running into gold.

41. Beyond the gulf of Baraca is that of Barygaza and the coast of the country of Ariaca, which is the beginning of the Kingdom of Nambanus and of all India. That part of it lying

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inland and adjoining Scythia is called Abiria, but the coast is called Syrastrene. It is a fertile country, yielding wheat and rice and sesame oil and clarified butter, cotton and the Indian cloths made therefrom, of the coarser sorts. Very many cattle are pastured there, and the men are of great stature and black in color. The metropolis of this country is Minnagara, from which much cotton cloth is brought down to Barygaza. In these places there remain even to the present time signs of the expedition of Alexander, such as ancient shrines, walls of forts and great wells. The sailing course along this coast, from Barbaricum to the promontory called Papica, opposite Barygaza, and before Astacampra, is of three thousand stadia.

42. Beyond this there is another gulf exposed to the sea-waves, running up toward the north, at the mouth of which there is an island called Bavones: at its innermost part there is a great river called Mais. Those sailing to Barygaza pass across this gulf, which is three hundred stadia in width, leaving behind to their left the island just visible from their tops toward the east, straight to the very mouth of the river of Barygaza; and this river is called Nammadus.

43. This gulf is very narrow to Barygaza and very hard to navigate for those coming from the ocean; this is the case with both the right and left passages, but there is a better passage through the left. For on the right at the very mouth of the gulf there lies a shoal, along and narrow, and full of rocks, called Herone, facing the village of Cammoni; and opposite this on the left projects the promontory that lies before Astacampra, which is called Papica, and is a had anchorage because of the strong current setting in around it and because the anchors are cut off, the bottom being rough and rocky. And even if the entrance to the gulf is made safely, the mouth of the river at Barygaza is found with difficulty, because the shore is very low and cannot be made out until you are close upon it. And when you have found it the passage is difficult because of the shoals at the mouth of the river.

44. Because of this, native fishermen in the King's service, stationed at the very entrance in well-manned large boats called trappaga and cotymba, go up the coast as far as Syrastrene, from which they pilot vessels to Barygaza. And they steer them straight from the mouth of the bay between the shoals with their crews; and they tow them to fixed stations, going up with the beginning of the flood, and lying through the ebb at anchorages and in basins. These basins are deeper places in the river as far as Barygaza; which lies by the river, about three hundred stadia up from the mouth.

45. Now the whole country of India has very many rivers, and very great ebb and flow of the tides; increasing at the new moon, and at the full moon for three days, and falling off during the intervening days of the moon. But about Barygaza it is much greater, so that the bottom is suddenly seen, and now parts of the dry land are sea, and now it is dry where ships were sailing just before; and the rivers, under the inrush of the flood tide, when the whole force of the sea is directed against them, are driven upwards more strongly against their natural current, for many stadia.

46. For this reason entrance and departure of vessels is very dangerous to those who are inexperienced or who come to this market-town for the first time. For the rush of waters at the incoming tide is irresistible, and the anchors cannot hold against it; so that large ships are caught up by the force of it, turned broadside on through the speed of the current, and so driven on the shoals and wrecked; and smaller boats are over-turned; and those that have been turned aside among the channels by the receding waters at the ebb, are left on their sides, and if not held on an even keel by props, the flood tide comes upon them suddenly and under the first head of the current they are filled with water. For there is so great force in the rush of the sea at the new moon, especially during the flood tide at night, that if you begin the entrance at the moment when the waters are still, on the instant there is borne to you at the mouth of the river, a noise like the cries of an army heard from afar; and very soon the sea itself comes rushing in over the shoals with a hoarse roar.

47. The country inland from Barygaza is inhabited by numerous tribes, such as the Arattii, the Arachosii, the Gandaraei and the people of Poclais, in which is Bucephalus Alexandria. Above these is the very war-like nation of the Bactrians, who are under their own king. And Alexander, setting out from these parts, penetrated to the Ganges, leaving aside Damirica [=Limyrike] and the southern part of India; and to the present day ancient drachma are current in Barygaza, coming from this country, bearing inscriptions in Greek letters, and the devices of those who reigned after Alexander, Apollodotus and Menander.

48. Inland from this place and to the east, is the city called Ozene, formerly a royal capital; from this place are brought down all things needed for the welfare of the country about Barygaza, and many things for our trade : agate and carnelian, Indian muslins and mallow cloth, and much ordinary cloth. Through this same region and from the upper country is brought the spikenard that comes through Poclais; that is, the Caspapyrene and Paropanisene and Cabolitic and that brought through the adjoining country of Scythia; also costus and bdellium.

49. There are imported into this market-town, wine, Italian preferred, also Laodicean and Arabian; copper, tin, and lead; coral and topaz; thin clothing and inferior sorts of all kinds; bright-colored girdles a cubit wide; storax, sweet clover, flint glass, realgar, antimony, gold and silver coin, on which there is a profit when exchanged for the money of the country; and ointment, but not very costly and not much. And for the King there are brought into those places very costly vessels of silver, singing boys, beautiful maidens for the harem, fine wines, thin clothing of the finest weaves, and the choicest ointments. There are exported from these places spikenard, costus, bdellium, ivory, agate and carnelian, lycium, cotton cloth of all kinds, silk cloth, mallow cloth, yarn, long pepper and such other things as are brought here from the various market-towns. Those bound for this market-town from Egypt make the voyage favorably about the month of July, that is Epiphi.

50. Beyond Barygaza the adjoining coast extends in a straight line from north to south; and so this region is called Dachinabades, for dachanos in the language of the natives means "south." The inland country back from the coast toward the east comprises many desert regions and great mountains; and all kinds of wild beasts--leopards, tigers, elephants, enormous serpents, hyenas, and baboons of many sorts; and many populous nations, as far as the Ganges.

51. Among the market-towns of Dachinabades there are two of special importance; Pathana, distant about twenty days' journey south from Barygaza; beyond which, about ten days' journey east, there is another very great city, Tagara. There are brought down to Barygaza from these places by wagons and through great tracts without roads, from Pathana carnelian in great quantity, and from Tagara much common cloth, all kinds of muslins and mallow cloth, and other merchandise brought there locally from the regions along the sea-coast. And the whole course to the end of Damirica [=Limyrike] is seven thousand stadia; but the distance is greater to the Coast Country.

52. The market-towns of this region are, in order, after Barygaza: Suppara, and the city of Calliena, which in the time of the elder Saraganus became a lawful Market-town; but since it came into the possession of Sandares the port is much obstructed, and Greek ships landing there may chance to be taken to Barygaza under guard.

53. Beyond Calliena there are other market-towns of this region; Semylla, Mandagora, Pala patma, Meligara, Byzantium, Togarum and Aurannohoas. Then there are the islands called Sesecrienae and that of the Aegidii, and that of the Caenitae, opposite the place called Chersonesus (and in these places there are pirates) and after this the White Island. Then come Naura and Tyndis, the first markets of Damirica [=Limyrike], and then Muziris and Nelcynda, which are now of leading importance.

54. Tyndis is of the Kingdom of Cerobothra; it is a village in plain sight by the sea. Muziris, of the same Kingdom, abounds in ships sent there with cargoes from Arabia, and by the Greeks; it is located on a river, distant from Tyndis by river and sea five hundred stadia, and up the river from the shore twenty stadia. Nelcynda is distant from Muziris by river and sea about five hundred stadia, and is of another Kingdom, the Pandian. This place also is situated on a river, about one hundred and twenty stadia from the sea.

55. There is another place at the mouth of this river, the village of Bacare; to which ships drop down on the outward voyage from Nelcynda, and anchor in the roadstead to take on their cargoes; because the river is full of shoals and the channels are not clear. The kings of both these market-towns live in the interior. And as a sign to those approaching these places from the sea there are serpents coming forth to meet you, black in color, but shorter, like snakes in the head, and with blood-red eyes.

56. They send large ships to these market-towns on account of the great quantity and bulk of pepper and malabathrum. There are imported here, in the first place, a great quantity of coin; topaz, thin clothing, not much; figured linens, antimony, coral, crude glass, copper, tin, lead; wine, not much, but as much as at Barygaza; realgar and orpiment; and wheat enough for the sailors, for this is not dealt in by the merchants there. There is exported pepper, which is produced in quantity in only one region near these markets, a district called Cottonara. Besides this there are ex-ported great quantities of fine pearls, ivory, silk cloth, spikenard from the Ganges, malabathrum from the places in the interior, transparent stones of all kinds, diamonds and sapphires, and tortoise-shell; that from Chryse Island, and that taken among the islands along the coast of Damirica [=Limyrike]. They make the voyage to this place in a favorable season who set out from Egypt about the month of July, that is Epiphi.

57. This whole voyage as above described, from Cana and Eudaemon Arabia, they used to make in small vessels, sailing close around the shores of the gulfs; and Hippalus was the pilot who by observing the location of the ports and the conditions of the sea, first discovered how to lay his course straight across the ocean. For at the same time when with us the Etesian winds are blowing, on the shores of India the wind sets in from the ocean, and this southwest wind is called Hippalus, from the name of him who first discovered the passage across. From that time to the present day ships start, some direct from Cana, and some from the Cape of Spices; and those bound for Damirica [=Limyrike] throw the ship's head considerably off the wind; while those bound for Barygaza and Scythia keep along shore not more than three days and for the rest of the time hold the same course straight out to sea from that region, with a favorable wind, quite away from the land, and so sail outside past the aforesaid gulfs.

58. Beyond Bacare there is the Dark Red Mountain, and another district stretching along the coast toward the south, called Paralia. The first place is called Balita; it has a fine harbour and a village by the shore. Beyond this there is another place called Comari at which are the Cape of Comari [=Cape Comorin] and a harbour; hither come those men who wish to consecrate themselves for the rest of their lives, and bathe and dwell in celibacy; and women also do the same; for it is told that a goddess once dwelt here and bathed.

59. From Comari toward the south this region extends to Colchi, where the pearl-fisheries are; (they are worked by condemned criminals); and it belongs to the Pandian Kingdom. Beyond Colchi there follows another district called the Coast Country, which lies on a bay, and has a region inland called Argaru. At this place, and nowhere else, are bought the pearls gathered on the coast thereabouts; and from there are exported muslins, those called Argaritic.

60. Among the market-towns of these countries, and the harbours where the ships put in from Damirica [=Limyrike] and from the north, the most important are, in order as they lie, first Camara, then Poduca, then Sopatma; in which there are ships of the country coasting along the shore as far as Damirica; and other very large vessels made of single logs bound together, called sangara: but those which make the voyage to Chryse and to the Ganges are called colandia, and are very large. There are imported into these places everything made in Damirica, and the greatest part of what is brought at any time from Egypt comes here, together with most kinds of all the things that are brought from Damirica and of those that are carried through Paralia.

61. About the following region, the course trending toward the east, lying out at sea toward the west is the island Palaesimundu, called by the ancients Taprobane. The northern part is a day's journey distant, and the southern part trends gradually toward the west, and almost touches the opposite shore of Azania. It produces pearls, transparent stones, muslins, and tortoise-shell.

62. About these places is the region of Masalia stretching a great way along the coast before the inland country; a great quantity of muslins is made there. Beyond this region, sailing toward the east and crossing the adjacent bay, there is the region of Dosarene, yielding the ivory known as Dosarenic. Beyond this, the course trending toward the north, there are many barbarous tribes, among whom are the Cirrhadae, a race of men with flattened noses, very savage; another tribe, the Bargysi; and the Horse-faces and the Long-faces, who are said to be cannibals.

63. After these, the course turns toward the east again, and sailing with the ocean to the right and the shore remaining beyond to the left, Ganges comes into view, and near it the very last land toward the east, Chryse. There is a river near it called the Ganges, and it rises and falls in the same way as the Nile. On its bank is a market-town which has the same name as the river, Ganges. Through this place are brought malabathrum and Gangetic spikenard and pearls, and muslins of the finest sorts, which are called Gangetic. It is said that there are gold-mines near these places, and there is a gold coin which is called caltis. And just opposite this river there is an island in the ocean, the last part of the inhabited world toward the east, under the rising sun itself; it is called Chryse; and it has the best tortoise-shell of all the places on the Erythraean Sea.

64. After this region under the very north, the sea outside ending in a land called This, there is a very great inland city called Thinae [i.e. China], from which raw silk and silk yarn and silk cloth are brought on foot through Bactria to Barygaza, and are also exported to Damirica [=Limyrike] by way of the river Ganges. But the land of This is not easy of access; few men come from there, and seldom. The country lies under the Lesser Bear [Ursa Minor], and is said to border on the farthest parts of Pontus and the Caspian Sea, next to which lies Lake Maeotis; all of which empty into the ocean.

65. Every year on the borders of the land of This there comes together a tribe of men with short bodies and broad, flat faces, and by nature peaceable; they are called Besata,, and are almost entirely uncivilized. They come with their wives and children, carrying great packs and plaited baskets of what looks like greengrape-leaves. They meet in a place between their own country and the land of This. There they hold a feast for several days, spreading out the baskets under themselves as mats, and then return to their own places in the interior. And then the natives watching them come into that place and gather up their mats; and they pick out from the braids the fibers which they call petri. They lay the leaves closely together in several layers and make them into balls,

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which they pierce with the fibers from the mats. And there are three sorts; those made of the largest leaves are called the large-ball malabathrum; those of the smaller, the medium-ball; and those of the smallest, the small-ball. Thus there exist three sorts of malabathrum, and it is brought into India by those who prepare it.

66. The regions beyond these places are either difficult of access because of their excessive winters and great cold, or else cannot be sought out because of some divine influence of the gods.

THE PERIPLUS OF THE EUXINE SEA

Lucius Flavius Arrianus' Voyage Round The Black Sea
also known as Arrian's Voyage Round the Euxine Sea
Greek: Periplous tou Euxeínou Pontou
Latin: Periplus Ponti Euxini
Translation: William Falconer, 1805
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd century A.D.

(A "periplus" or guidebook to the cities, harbours, and geographic features on the shores of the Black Sea. Flavius Arrianus wrote this guide in the Greek language and to the Roman Emperor Hadrian in form of a letter. Flavius Arrianus of Nicomedia, a Greek historian and governor of the Roman province of Cappadocia, whose northern borders built the southeastern shores of the Black Sea, in the 2nd century AD. When we think of a guide like this, we may have military operations of the Roman Navy or trading campaigns of trades people in mind. However these trading routes always have been used by those who wanted to spread a new religion on other shores. It is no coincidence that Christianity has a long history in Armenia, Georgia, and other regions that had shores on the Black Sea.)

TO THE EMPEROR CAESAR HADRIAN AUGUSTUS,
ARRIANUS WISHETH HEALTH AND PROSPERITY.

WE came in the course of our voyage to Trapezus, a Greek city in a maritime situation, a colony from Sinope, as we are informed by Xenophon, the celebrated Historian. We surveyed the Euxine sea with the greater pleasure, as we viewed it from the same spot, whence both Xenophon and Yourself had formerly observed it. Two altars of rough stone are still standing there; but, from the coarseness of the materials, the letters inscribed upon them are indistinctly engraven, and the Inscription itself is incorrectly written, as is common among barbarous people. I determined therefore to erect altars of marble, and to engrave the Inscription in well marked and distinct characters. Your Statue, which stands there, has merit in the idea of the figure, and of the design, as it represents You pointing towards the sea; but it bears no resemblance to the Original, and the execution is in other respects but indifferent. Send therefore a Statue worthy to be called Yours, and of a similar design to the one which is there at present, as the situation is well calculated for perpetuating, by these means, the memory of any illustrious person. A Fane or Temple is there constructed, built of vquared stone, and is a respectable edifice; but the Image of Mercury, which it contains, is neither worthy the Temple, nor the situation in which it stands. Wherefore, if You should think proper, send to me a Statue of Mercury of not more than five feet in height, as such a size seems well proportioned, and suitable to that of the building. I request also a Statue of Philesius of four feet in height; for it seems to me reasonable that the latter should have a temple and an altar in common with his Ancestor. Hence whilst some persons sacrifice to Mercury, and some to Philesius, and others to both, they will all do what is agreeable to both these Deities; to Mercury, as they honour his Descendant; to Philesius, as they honour his Ancestor. Wherefore I myself sacrificed an Ox there; not as Xenophon did in the port of Calpe, when he took an Ox from a waggon on account of the scarcity of victims; whereas here the Trapezuntines themselves furnished no contemptible sacrifice. We examined the entrails of the animals sacrificed, and performed our libations upon them. I need not mention to You in whove behalf we first offered our prayers, as You are well acquainted with our custom on such occasions, and as You must be conscious, that You deserve the prayers of all, and especially of those who are under less obligations of gratitude than myself.

Having then sailed from Trapezus, we arrived the first day at the port of Hyssus, and exercised the foot-soldiers, whom we found there. This body of men, as You know, consists of foot, although they have besides belonging to them twenty horsemen, who are designed for private services only. It has however been found necessary for these men sometimes to act in the capacity of those who throw javelins.

Thence we sailed, at first only with the breezes which blow early in the morning from the mouths of the rivers, using however oars at the same time. These breezes were indeed cool, as Homer expresses himself [in his Odyssee], but not sufficiently strong for us, who wished for a quick voyage. A calm soon followed, when we were reduced to depend upon our oars only. Soon after a cloud suddenly arising burst nearly in an easterly direction from us, and brought on a violent storm of wind, which was entirely contrary to the course that we held, and from the fatal effects of which we had a narrow escape. For it almost instantly produced such a swell of the sea, as to make it appear hollow to the view, and caused a deluge of water to break not only over that part of the ship where the benches of the rowers were placed, but also over the part which is between them and the poop. Our situation was then truly tragical, since as fast as we pumped out the water, so fast did it burst in upon us. The swell of the sea did not however bear upon the side of our'vessel; and from this circumstance we were enabled, although with great trouble and difficulty, to make use of our oars, and, after much distressful suffering, to arrive at Athenæ. For there is upon the Euxine sea a place so called, where there is a temple in the Grecian style, from which circumstance the place seems to have derived its name. There is a ruined castle at this place, and a port, which in the summer season cannot indeed contain many ships, but is sufficient to afford them a shelter from the South wind, and even from the South-East. Ships that put in there might indeed be safe from the North-East wind, but not from the North, nor from that wind, which is called in Pontus, Thrascias, but in Greece, Sciron. During the night there came on a violent storm of thunder and lightning; nor did the wind continue in the same quarter, but came about to the South, and soon after from the South to the South-West, which rendered the bay, or road, in which we lay, no longer a safe station. Therefore, before the sea had begun to rage violently, we drew up into the harbour of Athenæ as many of our ships as it would contain, excepting one trireme, which having found a convenient shelter under cover of a rock, rode there in safety. We thought proper also to send several of our veslels to the neighbouring shores to be drawn aground; which succeeded so well, that they all escaped safe, excepting one, which entering the bay exposed its side improperly to the wind, and the swell of the sea drove it ashore, where it was wrecked. Every thing on board however was saved, not the sails only, and the nautical instruments, but the bolts also, and the men. We also scraped off the wax, which is as necessary an article in ship-building as any, timber excepted; of which last material there is, as You know, a great quantity in the countries that border upon this sea. The storm continued two days, and necessarily detained us during that time. It would indeed have indicated a want of respect to have passed by Athenaæ, even the one of that name on the Pontic sea, as if it were some deserted and nameless port.

Setting sail thence early in the morning, we attempted to make our way with the waves, or swell of the sea, bearing upon the side of our ship; but as the day advanced, the North-East wind blowing gently calmed the sea, and rendered it altogether smooth and tranquil. Before noon we reached Apsarus, having sailed more than five hundred stadia. At this place five cohorts are stationed, to whom we delivered their pay, and inspected their arms, the walls, and the ditch, their sick, and their present stock of provisions. My report concerning these subjects has been already written in the Latin language. Apsarus, it is said, formerly bore the name of Apsyrtus, from the person who was murdered by Medea, and whose sepulchre is still shewn there. Its present name was corrupted by the Barbarians from the ancient one, as has taken place in many other instances. Thus they say, that Tyana in Cappadocia was called, about the time alluded to, Thoana, from Thoas, King of the Tauri; who, it is reported, came thither in pursuit of Pylades and Orestes, and their companions, and died there of some disease.

The rivers, which we passed since our departure from Trapezus, are as follows.

The Hyssus, from which the port of that name is called, is distant from Trapezus an hundred and eighty stadia.

The Ophis; which is distant from the port of Hyssus, at most, ninety stadia, and separates the country of Colchis from that of Thyana.

The Psychrus; distant from the Ophis about thirty stadia.

The Calus; distant from the Psychrus thirty stadia.

The Rhizius lies also in the neighbourhood of the Psychrus, and is distant from the Calus an hundred and twenty stadia.

From the Rhizius to the Ascurus the distance is thirty stadia.

From the Ascurus to the Adienus sixty stadia.

From the Adienus to Athenæ an hundred and eighty stadia.

The river Zagatis lies at most only seven stadia from Athenæ.

In sailing from Athenæ; we passed by Prytanis, a palace of Anchialus, which is distant from Athenæ forty stadia.

The river Pyxites is distant from Prytanis ninety stadia.

The distance from Pyxites to Archabis is also ninety stadia.

From Archabis to Apsarus sixty stadia.

When we set sail from Apsarus, we pasved by the river Acampsis in the night, at the distance of fifteen stadia from Apsarus. The river Bathys is seventy-five stadia distant from the Acampsis.

From the Bathys to the Acinasis ninety

From the Acinasis to the Isis ninety stadia. The Acampsis and the Isis are both of them navigable rivers, from whose mouths issue strong morning breezes.

Sailing from the mouth of the Isis, we passed by the Mogrus, which also is a navigable river, and at the distance of ninety stadia from the Isis. We then entered the Phasis, which is distant from the Mogrus ninety stadia. The water of this river is lighter in the balance, and more changeable in its colour, than any with which I am acquainted. Any person may satisfy himself of the superior lightness of this water by weighing it, or by observing that it floats on the surface of the sea without mingling with it. In the same manner Homer says, that the water of the river Titaresius floats upon the surface of the Peneus:

"Yet o'er the silver surface pure they flow,
"The silver stream unmix'd with streams below." Il. i. ver. 754.

The water of the Phasis, if you take it from the surface, is fresh; but if any one lets down a jar deep into the stream, he finds the water brackish. It must however be observed, that the Pontic sea is much less salt than the sea without the Hellespont, on account of the rivers which discharge themselves into the former, the number and size of which are beyond computation. We may bring as a proof of its freshness, if any proof can be necessary respecting what is the object of our senses, that all the people who live on its borders lead out their cattle to drink of the water of the sea, which they willingly do; and experience has shewn that they thrive better with this than with fresh water. The colour of the water of the Phasis resembles that of water impregnated with lead or tin; but on standing and depositing a sediment, it becomes perfectly pure. It is even provided by the law, that those who sail into the Phasis should not import any foreign water into the country; but as soon as they enter the stream, it is signified to them, that they should pour out what water is left in the ship; which if they neglect to do, the common opinion is that their future voyages will not be prosperous. The water of the Phasis does not corrupt by keeping, but continues free from any taint of this kind for more than ten years. The only change that takes place is, that it becomes sweeter than it was originally. The Statue of the Goddess Phasiana is placed to the left of the entrance into the Phasis; which Deity we may reasonably conjecture, from her figure and appearance, to be the same with Rhea, as she holds in her hands a cymbal, has lions under her throne, and is seated in the same manner as the Statue by Phidias in the temple of Cybele at Athens. An anchor, said to be of the ship Argo, is shewn here; but as it is of iron, it does not seem to be ancient; it differs indeed both in size and shape from those at prevent in use, but nevertheless appears to me to be of later date than the Argonautic period. They also shew there some fragments of an ancient stone anchor, which are more likely than the other to be the remains of the anchor of the Argo. No other monument is now to be found there of the fabulous history of Jason. The castle, in which four hundred lect men are stationed, seems to me very strong by situation, and conveniently situated for the protection of those that sail upon the river. It was surrounded with a ditch and a double wall, each of them very broad. The walls were formerly of earth, and the towers of wood; but at present both the wall and the towers are built of baked brick, the foundations of which are securely laid, and the whole furnished with warlike engines, and, in short, so fortified in every respect, as to afford no access to the Barbarians, nor to expose those who defend it to the danger of a siege. But as it is advisable that the port should be rendered safe for sea-faring people, and that other places should be secured which lie without the walls of the castle, and are inhabited by people who are now exempted from military service, or by persons engaged in commerce, I thought proper to carry from the double ditch, that sunrounds the wall, another ditch, as far as the river, which may include both the harbour, and the buildings, that lie beyond the walls of the fortifications.

Leaving the Phasis we passed by the Chariens, a navigable river, at the distance of ninety stadia from the Phasis. From the Chariens we sailed to the Chobus, which is ninety stadia distant from the Chariens. We here went into the harbour; but for what causes, and what business we transacted there, the Latin letters will explain. Proceeding from the Chobus we sailed by the Singamis, a navigable river, at the distance from the Chobus of two hundred and ten stadia at the utmost. Next to the Singamis, and at the distance of one hundred and ninety stadia, lies the river Tarsuras. From the Tarsuras to the Hippus is one hundred and fifty stadia. From Hippus to Astelephus is thirty stadia. In our course from the Chobus we passed by Astelephus, and got to Sebastopolis before noon; which last place is one hundred and twenty stadia from Astelephus. We spent the remainder of the day in distributing the pay to the soldiers, in reviewing the horses and the arms, and in observing the dextrous activity of the horsemen in leaping upon their horses; in viewing the sick, and in surveying the provision of corn, and the condition of the walls and of the ditch. The distance from the Chobus to Sebastopolis is six hundred and thirty stadia; but from Trapezus to Sebastopolis two thousand two hundred and sixty stadia. This place (Sebastopolis) was formerly called Dioscurias, and was a colony from Miletus. The nations which we sailed by on our voyage are as follows. The Colchians, who,

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as Xenophon observes, border on the Trapezuntines; as do the Drillæ, as he calls them, but who seem to me to be more properly called the Sanni; a people, whom he records to be of a warlike disposition, and very hostile to the Trapezuntines; both which characters they preserve to the present time. They dwell in strongly fortified places, and do not live under a monarchical government. They were formerly tributary to the Romans; but of late, being addicted to plunder, they do not pay the tribute regularly: however, now, by the Gods' assistance, we will either oblige them to be more punctual, or exterminate them. The Machelones and the Heniochi border on these people, the latter of whom have a King called Anchialus. Next to these lie the Sydretæ, subject to Pharasmanus; and adjoining to the Sydretæ are the Lazi, a people subject to King Malavsas, who holds his kingdom from You. Bordering on the Lazi are the Apsilæ, governed by King Julianus, who received his kingdom from your Father. The Abasci border on the Apsilæ, whose King, Rhesmagus, received his crown from You. The Sanigæ border on the Abasci. Sebastopolis is a city of the Sanigæ, who are subject to King Spadagas, who received his kingdom from You. As far as Apsarus our course lay Eastward, on the right side of the Euxine sea. Apsarus appears to me to terminate the Pontus, when we estimate its greatest

From thence our course was Northerly to the river Chobus, and from thence to Singames. From Singames we turned to the left side of the Pontus as far as the river Hippus; and from thence to Astelephus and Dioscurias, where we had a view of Mount Caucasus, the height of which is much the same with that of the Celtic Alps. The highest point of the mountain called Strobilus is visible here, where Prometheus is fabled to have been suspended by Vulcan, according to the commands of Jupiter.

The distances of the places from one another, that lie between the Thracian Bosporus and Trapezus, are as follows. The temple of Jupiter Urius is distant from Byzantium an hundred and twenty stadia. The Thracian Bosporus is, as You know, the narrowest of the mouths of the Pontus, through which it discharges itself into the Propontis. The river Rhebas lies on the right hand of those who sail from the temple above mentioned, and is at the divtance of ninety stadia from it. From the river Rhebas to Acra Melæna is one hundred and fifty stadia. From Acra Melæna to the river Artanes, where there is a harbour for small'vessels near a temple of Venus, is one hundred and fifty stadia. From the river Artanes to Psilis, where small'vessels may lie safely under the shelter of a projecting rock, not far from the mouths of the river, an hundred and fifty stadia. From Psilis to the port of Calpe two hundred and ten stadia.

Xenophon the elder has described at large the port and situation of Calpe, and informed us, that there is there a cool and pure spring, and woods of timber fit for building ships, and wild animals.

From the port of Calpe to Rhoe, a harbour for small vessels, twenty stadia. From Rhoe to Apollonia, a small island at a little distance from the Continent, twenty stadia. In this small island there is a port. From hence to Chelæ twenty stadia. From Chelæ to the place where the river Sangarius flows into the Pontus an hundred and eighty stadia. From thence to the mouths of the Hyppius an hundred and eighty stadia. From Hyppius to the mart of Lillium an hundred vtadia. From Lillium to Elæum sixty stadia. From Elæum to another mart called Cales an hundred and twenty stadia. From Cales to the river Lycus eighty stadia. From Lycus to Heraclea, a Dorian Greek city, a colony of the Megareans, twenty vtadia. Here there is a harbour for vhips. From Heraclea to a place called Metroum eighty vtadia. From Metroum to Pofidæum forty stadia. From Pofidæum to the Tyndaridæ forty-five vtadia. From the Tyndaridæ to Nymphæum fifteen stadia. From Nymphæum to the river Oxinas thirty stadia. From the river Oxinas to Sandaraca, a port for small'vessels, ninety stadia. From Sandaraca to Crenides fixty stadia. From Crenides to the mart of Pvylla thirty stadia. From Pvylla to Tios, an Ionian Greek city, situated on the sea, and a colony of the Milesians, ninety stadia. From Tios to the river Billæus twenty stadia. From Billæus to the river Parthenius an hundred stadia. The country so far is inhabited by the Thracian Bithynians, of whom Xenophon has made mention in his Memoirs, as the most warlike of the Asiatics, and from whom the army of the Greeks susffered much, after the Arcadians had separated themselves from the other division of the army, commanded by Chirsophus and Xenophon. Here commences the boundary of Paphlagonia. From the river Parthenius to Amastris, a Greek city, where there is a port for ships, ninety stadia . From thence to the Erythini sixty stadia. From the Erythini to Cromna sixty stadia. From Cromna to Cytorus, where there is a port, ninety stadia. From Cytorus to Ægialus sixty stadia. From Ægialus to Thymena ninety stadia. From Thymena to Carambis an hundred and twenty stadia. From Carambis to Zephyrium an hundred and sixty stadia. From Zephyrium to the fortress of Abonum, where there is a small city, one hundred and fifty stadia. The port here is not altogether safe; nevertheless, ships may lie here free from harm, if the tempest be not very violent. From the fortress of Abonum to Æginetis an hundred and fifty stadia. From Æginetis to the mart of Cinolis fixty stadia. In the summer season ships may lie here. From Cinolis to Stephanes, a safe port for ships, an hundred and eighty stadia. From Stephanes to Potamos an hundred and fifty stadia. From Potamos to Lepte Acra one hundred and twenty stadia. From Lepte Acra to Harmene sixty stadia. There is a port at Harmene. This place is mentioned by Xenophon. From Harmene to Sinope, a colony of the Milesians, forty stadia. From Sinope to Carufa, where there is an open road where ships lie, but no port, an hundred and fifty stadia. From Carusa to Zagora an hundred and fifty stadia. From Zagora to the river Halys three hundred stadia. This river was formerly the boundary between the kingdom of Crœfus and that of the Persians; but now it is in the Roman territory. Its course is not from the South, as Herodotus describes it, but from the East; and where it discharges itself into the Pontus, it forms the boundary between the Sinopians and the Amisenians. From the river Halys to Naustathmus, where there is a marsh, ninety stadia. From hence to Conopæum, where there is another marsh, fifty stadia. From Conopæm to Eusene an hundred and twenty stadia. From Eusene to Amisus an hundred and sixty stadia. Amisus lies upon the sea, is a Greek city, and an Athenian colony. From Amisus to the port of Ancon, where the river Iris empties itself into the sea, an hundred and twenty stadia. From the mouths of the Iris to the port of Heracleum three hundred and sixty stadia. From Heracleum to the river Thermodon forty stadia. This is the river Thermodon, on whose banks the Amazons are said to have dwelt. From the Thermodon to the river Beris ninety stadia. From the Beris to the river Thoaris sixty stadia. From Thoaris to Œnoe thirty stadia. From Œnoe to the river Phigamus forty stadia. From Phigamus to the fortress of Phadisana one hundred and fifty stadia. From Phadisana to the city of Polemonium ten stadia. From Polemonium to the promontory called the Jasonian an hundred and thirty stadia. From the Jasonian promontory to the island of the Cilices fifteen stadia. From this island to Boona, where there is a port for ships, seventy-five stadia. From Boona to Cotyora ninety stadia. Xenophon mentions Cotyora as a city, and says, that it was a colony of the Sinopians: at present it is no more than a village, and that not a large one. From Cotyora to the river Melanthius is, at the utmost, sixty stadia. From the Melanthius to the Pharmatenus, another river, an hundred and fifty stadia. From the Pharmatenus to Pharnacea an hundred and twenty stadia. Pharnacea was formerly called Cerasus, and was a colony from Sinope. From Pharnacea to the island Arrhentias thirty stadia. From Arrhentias to Zephyrium one hundred and twenty stadia. There is here a port for ships. From Zephyrium to Tripolis ninety stadia. From Tripolis to Argyria twenty stadia. From Argyria to Philocalea ninety stadia. From Philocalea to Coralla an hundred stadia. From Coralla to the sacred mountain (ἱερὸν ὄρος) an hundred and fifty stadia. From the sacred mountain to Cordyla forty stadia. Here there is a port for ships. From Cordyla to Hermonassa forty-five stadia. Here also is a port for ships. From Hermonassa to Trapezus sixty stadia. Here You are constructing a harbour, as there was formerly only a road or station, where ships might ride in safety during the summer season.

The distances between the places that lie between Trapezus and Dioscurias have been before let down, according to the intervals between the rivers. If these separate distances between Trapezus and Dioscurias, now called Sebastopolis, be collected, they will amount to two thousand two hundred and sixty stadia. This is the distance, if you sail on the right hand from Byzantium to Dioscurias, which place is the last in the Roman territory to those who keep to the right hand side in sailing into the Pontic sea. For as soon as I was informed of the death of Cotys, King of the Cimmerian Bosporus, I took care that You mould be made acquainted with the navigation of this sea as far as the Bosporus, that if You mould be inclined to interfere in the affairs of that country, You might execute your intentions with greater ease, by being acquainted with the navigation.

The first port to be met with after quitting Dioscurias is Pityus, at the distance of three hundred and fifty stadia. From Pityus to Nitica is one hundred and fifty stadia. This was formerly inhabited by a Scythian nation, of whom Herodotus, who is apt to relate improbable stories, has made mention, and spoken of them as eaters of lice; and indeed the same opinion of them prevails in the present age. From Nitica to the river Abascus is ninety stadia. From Abascus to Borgys an hundred and twenty stadia. From Borgys to Nesis, which includes the Herculean promontory, sixty stadia. From Nesis to Masaïtica ninety stadia. From Masaïtica to the river Achæus, which separates the Zicchi from the Sanichæ, sixty stadia. Satchempax is the King of the Zicchi, and received his kingdom from You. From Achæus to the Herculean promontory, where there is a station sheltered from the North-Westerly wind, called Thrascias, and from the North-Easterly wind called Boreas, an hundred and eighty stadia. From thence to a place called ancient Lazica an hundred and twenty stadia. From hence to ancient Achaia an hundred and fifty stadia. From thence to the port of Pagræ three hundred and fifty stadia. From the port of Pagræ to the port of Hierus (or the sacred port) an hundred and eighty stadia. From thence to Sindica three hundred stadia. From Sindica to the Bosporus, called Cimmerian, and to Panticapæum, a city of the Bosporus, five hundred and forty stadia. From Panticapæum to the river Tanais, which is said to divide Europe from Asia, sixty stadia. This river bursts forth from the Palus Mæotis, and empties itself into the Euxine sea. Æschylus however, in the tragedy of Prometheus Delivered, makes the Phasis the boundary between Europe and Afia. He there introduces the Titans speaking thus to Prometheus: "Hither are we come to see thy labours, O Prometheus! and the sufferings which thou undergoest in consequence of thy bonds:" and in specifying how large a space of ground they had passed over in their journey, they speak of the Phasis "as the twin-born offspring of the earth, and the great boundary of Europe and Asia." The circuit of the Palus Mæotis is said to be about nine thoufand stadia. From Panticapæum to a village called Cazeca, situated upon the sea, four hundred and twenty stadia. From Cazeca to Theodosia, a deserted city, two hundred and eighty stadia. This was formerly an Ionian Greek city, a colony from Miletus, the memory of which is preserved in the works of many writers. From Theodosia to a port of the Tauro-Scythæ, now deserted, two hundred stadia. From thence to Halmitis Taurica six hundred stadia. From Lampas to Symboli Portus, which is also a Tauric port, five hundred and twenty stadia. From Symbolus to Chersonesus Taurica a hundred and eighty stadia. From Chersonesus Taurica to Cercinetis six hundred stadia. From Cercinetis to Calos, a Scythian port, seven hundred stadia. From the port of Calos to Tamyraca three hundred stadia. Within the limits of Tamyraca there is a small lake. From Tamyraca to the place where the lake discharges itself, three hundred stadia. From the mouth of the lake to Eona three hundred and eighty stadia. From Eona to the river Borysthenes a hundred and fifty stadia. When you sail up the river you meet with a Greek city of the name of Olbia. From the Borysthenes to a small, deserted, name-less ivland, sixty stadia. From the desert island to Odessus, where there is a port for ships, eighty stadia. The port of the Istrians is the next place in order from Odessus, and lies at the distance of two hundred and fifty stadia. Next in order is a port of the Isiaci, at the distance of fifty stadia. From the port of the Isiaci to the mouth of the river Ister, called Psilon, one thousand two hundred stadia. The intermediate places are desert and nameless. Exactly over againvt this mouth there lies an island, vituated directly oppovite to the course of those who sail with a North wind. Some call this the island of Achilles; others call it the chariot of Achilles; and others Leuce, from its colour. Thetis is said to have given up this island to her son Achilles, by whom it was inhabited. There are now existing a temple, and a wooden statue of Achilles, of ancient workmanship. It is destitute of inhabitants., and pastured only by a few goats, which those, who touch here, are said to offer to the memory of Achilles. Many offerings are suspended in this temple, as cups, rings, and the more valuable gems. All these are offerings to the memory of Achilles. Inscriptions are also suspended, written in the Greek and Latin language, in praise of Achilles, and composed in different kinds of metre. Some are in praise of Patroclus, whom those, who are disposed to honour Achilles, treat with equal respect. Many birds inhabit this island, as sea-gulls, divers, and coots innumerable. These birds frequent the temple of Achilles. Every day in the morning they take their flight, and having moistened their wings, fly back again to the temple, and sprinkle it with the moisture; which having performed, they brush and clean the pavement with their wings. This is the account given by some persons. Those, who come on purpose to the island, carry animals proper for sacrifice with them in their vhips, some of which they immolate, and others they set at liberty in honour of Achilles. Even those, who are compelled by stress of weather to land upon the island, must consult the God himself, whether it would be right and proper for them to select for sacrifice any of the animals, which they should find feeding there; offering, at the fame time, such a recompense, as to them seems adequate to the value of the animal so selected. But if this should be rejected by the Oracle, for there is an Oracle in this temple, they must then add to their valuation; and if the increased valuation be still rejected, they must increase it again, till they find, from the assent of the Oracle, that the price they offer is deemed sufficient. When this is the case, the beast to be sacrificed stands still of its own accord, and makes no effort to escape. A confiderable treasure is laid up in this temple as the price of these victims. It is said that Achilles has appeared in time of sleep both to those who have approached the coast of this island, and also to such as have been sailing a short distance from it, and instructed them where the island was most lately accessible, and where the ships might best lie at anchor. They even say further, that Achilles has appeared to them not in time of sleep, or a dream, but in a visible form on the mast, or at the extremity of the yards, in the same manner as the Dioscuri have appeared. This distinction however must be made between the appearance of Achilles,

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and that of the Dioscuri, that the latter appear evidently and clearly to persons, who navigate the sea at large, and when so seen foretell a prosperous voyage; whereas the figure of Achilles is seen only by such as approach this island. Some also say, that Patroclus has appeared to them during their sleep. I have thus put down what I have heard concerning this island of Achilles, either from persons who had touched there themselves, or from others that had made the same enquiries; and indeed these accounts seem to me to be not unworthy of belief. I am myself persuaded, that Achilles was a hero, if ever man was, being illustrious by his noble birth, by the beauty of his person, by the strength of his mind and understanding, by his untimely death in the flower of youth, by his being the subject of Homer's poetry, and, lastly, by the force of his love, and constancy of his friendship, insomuch that he would even die for his friends.

From the mouth of the Ister called Psilon to the second mouth is sixty stadia. Thence to the mouth called Calon forty stadia. From Calon to Naracum, which last is the name of the fourth mouth of the Ister, sixty stadia. Hence to the fifth mouth a hundred and twenty stadia. Hence to the city of Istria five hundred stadia. From Istria to the city of Tomea three hundred stadia. From Tomea to the city of Callantra, where there is a port, three hundred stadia. From Callantra to the port of the Carians a hundred and eighty stadia. The district surrounding this port is called Caria. From the port of the Carians to Tetrisias a hundred and twenty stadia. Thence to Bizus, a deserted place, sixty stadia. From Bizus to Dionysopolis eighty stadia. From Dionysopolis to Odessus, where there is a road for ships, two hundred stadia. From Odessus to the borders of Mount Hæmus, which range of mountains is extended even into Pontus, three hundred and sixty stadia. From Hæmus to the city of Mesembria ninety stadia. Here there is a road for ships. From Mesembria to the city of Anchialus veventy stadia. From Anchialus to Apollonia a hundred and eighty stadia. These are all of them Greek cities, which lie on the left hand of those who sail into the Euxine sea. From Apollonia to Cherronesus sixty stadia. Here there is a road for ships. From Cherronefus to the fortress of Aulæon two hundred and fifty stadia. From Aulæon to Thynias a hundred and twenty stadia. From Thynias to Salmydessus two hundred stadia. Mention is made of this place by the elder Xenophon, who says, that the Grecian army, which he commanded himself, came so far in their march, when at the conclusion of the expedition he engaged his army in the service of Seuthes the Thracian. The same writer has described at length the dangers that accrue to ships at this place, from want of a good harbour; that ships forced hither by strevs of weather are apt to be lost; and that the Thracians who live in the neighbourhood quarrel about the plunder of the wreck. From Salmydevsus to Phrygia three hundred and thirty stadia. From Phrygia to the Cyanean ivlands three hundred and twenty stadia. These are the Cyanean islands, which the Poets have described as having been formerly moveable, and liable to change their situation. Between these the Argo, the first ship on record, and which carried Jason to Colchis, passed. From the Cyanean islands to the temple of Jupiter Urius, which stands at the mouth of the Euxine sea, is forty stadia. Thence to the port of Daphne, which is denominated the Insane, forty stadia. From Daphne to Byzantium eighty stadia.

Such are the observations which have occurred in the passage from the Cimmerian to the Thracian Bosporus, and to the city of Byzantium [the later Constantinople].

THE INDICA BY LUCIUS FLAVIUS ARRIANUS

Ancient India as described by Arrian
From: Arrian, "The Indica", in:
"Anabasis of Alexander", ch. 1-16, Bohn, 1893
Translation: E. J. Chinnock, 1893
Estimated Range of Dating: 120-140 A.D.

(One of the oldest surviving foreign descriptions of India comes from the Greco-Roman biographer of Alexander the Great, Flavius Arrianus. Arrian of Nicomedia (Greek: Arrianos; Latin name of his Roman citizenship: Lucius Flavius Arrianus, c. 86–160 AD.) was a Greek-Roman historian, public servant, military commander and philosopher.

Flavius Arrianus has traditionally been regarded as a reliable source. Since he has been a fervent supporter of the Roman Empire and the Flavian Dynasty in particular, to whom he owes his Roman citizenship, some of his texts may have the tendency to hagiography and apologia. His short book, The Indica, deals with the general description of India which seem to be correct. Arrian has used Greek sources, such as Niarchus and Megasthenes, which are now lost.)

1. The district west of the river Indus as far as the river Cophen is inhabited by the Astacenians and the Assacenians, Indian tribes. But they are not so tall in stature or so courageous as those who dwell east of the Indus; nor are they so swarthy as the majority of the Indians. These were in ancient times subject to the Assyrians, afterwards to the Medes and finally they submitted to the Persians, and paid tribute to Cyrus the son of Cambyses as ruler of their land. The Nysaeans are not an Indian race, but descended from the men who came into India with Dionysus--perhaps from those Greeks who were rendered unfit for service in the wars which Dionysus waged with the Indians. Perhaps also he settled with the Greeks those of the natives who were willing to join his colony. Dionysus named the city itself Nysa, and the land Nysaea, in honour of his nurse Nysa. The mountain near the city, at whose base Nysa was built, is called Meros (thigh) after the misfortune he experienced as soon as he was born. This is the story framed by the poets in regard to Dionysus, and let the writers of legends Grecian and foreign expound it. Among the Assacenians is Massaca, a large city, where also is the stronghold of the land of Assacia; and there is also another large city, Peucelaitis, not far from the Indus. These tribes have been settled west of the Indus as far as the Cophen.

2. Let me call the country east of the Indus India, and the people Indians. Towards the north of India lies Mount Taurus; but in this land it is no longer called Taurus. This range commences from the sea near Pamphylia, Lycia, and Cilicia and extends as far as the Eastern Sea, dividing the whole of Asia. It is called by various names in different districts; in one part it is called Parapamisus, in another Emodus, in a third Imaus, and probably it has several other names. The Macedonians who accompanied Alexander's expedition called it Caucasus. But this is quite a different Caucasus from that in Scythia. They called it by this name that the report might become current that Alexander had marched even beyond the Caucasus. The river Indus bounds India on the west as far as the Great Sea, into which it discharges its water by two mouths, not near each other like the five mouths of the Ister, but like those of the Nile, by which the Egyptian Delta is formed. Thus also the river Indus forms the Delta of India, which is not smaller than that of Egypt. This delta is called in the Indian tongue Pattala. On the south India is bounded by the Great Sea itself, and the same sea bounds it on the east. The part of the country towards the south near Pattala and the outlets of the Indus was seen by Alexander and the Macedonians and by many Greeks; but into the part towards the east Alexander did not penetrate further than the river Hyphasis. A few authors have described the country as far as the river Ganges, and where are the outlets of that river and near it Palimbothra, the largest city of the Indians.

3. I consider Eratosthenes the Cyrenaean the most trustworthy authority, because he is careful to trace the circumference of the country. This writer says that the side of India has a length of I,529 miles to one going from Mount Taurus, in which are the sources of the Indus, along that river itself as far as the Great Sea and the outlets of the Indus. And opposite this he makes another side from the same mountain to the Eastern Sea scarcely equal to this side; but he makes a peninsula stretch far into the sea to the extent of about 353 miles. Therefore according to him the side of India towards the east would extend I,882 miles. This he considers the breadth of India. The length from west to east as far as the city of Palimbothra he says was measured in schoeni [one schoenus equalled about 5 miles],' and he made a plan of it; for it was the royal road. He says that this extends to 1,176 miles. The districts beyond this have not been so accurately measured. But as many as have recorded rumours say that with the peninsula projecting into the sea it amounts to about I,200 miles. So that the length of India upward is about 2,353 miles. Ctesias the Cnidian says that India is equal to the rest of Asia, but he talks nonsense; and so does Onesicritus, saying that it is the third part of all the earth. Nearchus says that it is a journey of four months through the plain alone of India. To Megasthenes the distance from the east to the west is the breadth of India, which others make its length. He says that where it is shortest it extends 1882 miles, and that from north to south, which is its length according to him, it extends 2,624 miles, where it is narrowest.

In the whole of the rest of Asia there are not so many rivers as in India. The largest are the Ganges and the Indus, from the latter of which the country takes its name. Both of these are larger than the Egyptian Nile and the Scythian Ister, even if their waters came together into one. To me indeed it seems that even the Acesines is larger than the Ister or the Nile, where it falls into the Indus, after having taken up into its stream the Hydaspes, the Hydraotes, and the Hyphasis, so that at this place its breadth is three and one-half miles. Perhaps also many other larger rivers flow in India.

4. I cannot be sure of the accuracy of any statements about the country beyond the river Hyphasis, because Alexander did not advance further than that river. Of the two largest rivers themselves, the Ganges and the Indus, Megasthenes has stated that the former excels much in size; and so say all other writers who mention it. He says that it rises great from its sources, and that it receives into itself the Cainas, the Erannoboas, and the Cossoanus, all navigable rivers; then the Sonus Sittocatis, and Solomatis, which are also navigable; and besides these the Condochates, Sambus, Magon, Agoranis, and Omalis. A great river the Comminases, and the Cacouthis and Andomatis, which flows from the land of the Madyandinians, an Indian nation, fall into it. In addition to these the Amystis joins the Ganges, near the city of Catadoupe, as do the Oxymagis in the land of the people called Pazalaeans, and the Errenysis in that of the Mathaeans, an Indian nation. Megasthenes says that none of these is inferior to the Maeander, where that river is navigable. He says that the breadth of the Ganges in its narrowest part is about twelve miles; that in many places it forms lakes, so that the land opposite is not visible where it is flat and nowhere stands up in hills. The same is the case with the Indus. The Hydraotes, having received the Hyphasis in the land of the Astrybaeans, the Saranges from that of the Cecians, and the Neudrus from that of the Attacenians, falls into the Acesines in the land of the Cambistholians. The Hydaspes also falls into the Acesines in the land of the Oxydracians, taking with itself the Sinarus in the land of the Arispians. The Acesines joins the Indus in the land of the Mallians. The Toutapus also, a large river, falls into the Acesines. That river, with its water swollen by these, and giving its name to the united stream, itself falls into the Indus and surrenders its name to it. The Cophen falls into the Indus in the land called Peucelaitis, taking with itself the Malantus Soastus, and Garroeas. Below these the Parenus and Saparnus, not far apart, fall into the Indus. The Soanus also falls into it, coming void of any other river from the mountainous land of the Abissarians. Megasthenes says that most of these are navigable. Therefore we ought not to disbelieve that the Ister and the water of the Nile are not comparable with the Indus and the Ganges. We know, indeed, that no river falls into the Nile, but that canals have been cut from it through the land of Egypt. The Ister rises small from its sources, and though it receives many rivers, they are not equal in number to the Indian rivers which flow into the Indus and the Ganges. Very few of the tributaries of the Ister are navigable. Two of these, the Enus and Saus, I know, having seen them myself. The Enus mingles with the Ister on the confines of the country of the Noricans and Rhaetians, and the Saus in the territory of the Paeonians. The place where the Ister and Saus have their confluence is called Taurounus. Some one may know another navigable river which falls into the Ister, but he does not know many I am sure.

5. Whoever wishes to consider the cause of the number and size of the Indian rivers let him consider; it is sufficient for me to have recorded these statements as reports. For Megasthenes has recorded the names of many other rivers, which fall into the eastern and southern external sea, apart from the Ganges and Indus. He says that there are in all fifty-eight Indian rivers, all navigable. But even Megasthenes does not seem to me to have traversed much of the land of the Indians, though he visited more than those who went with Alexander the son of Philip. For he says that he was intimate with Sandracottus, a very great king of the Indians, and with Porus, still greater than he. This Megasthenes, indeed, says that neither do the Indians wage war with any other men, nor any other men with them; and that Sesostris the Egyptian, having subdued most part of Asia, and having marched with his army as far as Europe, returned back home without attacking India; that Idanthyrsus the Scythian started from Scythia, and subduing many nations in Asia, advanced even into the land of the Egyptians in his victorious career; that Semiramis the Assyrian undertook an expedition into the land the Indians, but that she died before she could complete her plans; and that Alexander alone led an invading army against the Indians. The tale is current that even before Alexander Dionysus led an expedition into India, and subdued the Indians. There is also a vague story about Herades to the same effect. Of the expedition of Dionysus, indeed, the city of Nysa is no mean monument, as also are the mountain Meros, the ivy which grows on this mountain, the Indians themselves also marching into battle to the sound of drums and cymbals, wearing speckled garments like the bacchanals of Dionysus. But of Heracles there are not many memorials. For the statement that Alexander forcibly subdued the rock of Aornus, because Heracles was not able to capture it, seems to me a piece of Macedonian boasting; just as they called the Parapamisus Caucasus, though it has no connection with it. And having observed a certain cave in the land of the Parapamisadians, they said that it was the famous cave of Prometheus, the son of the Titan, in which he was hung for the theft of the fire. And besides, in the land of the Sibians, an Indian race, because they saw the inhabitants clothed in skins, they said that the Sibians were those who had been left behind from the expedition of Heracles. The Sibians also carry cudgels, and the figure of a club was branded upon their oxen; this too they explained to be a commemoration of the club of Heracles. If anyone gives credit to these tales, this must have been another Heracles, neither the Theban, nor the Tyrian, nor the Egyptian; but some great king of a land situated in the interior not far from India

6. Let this be a digression on my part from the narrative, in order to show that what certain authors have recorded about the Indians on the other side of the Hyphasis does not appear credible; but those who took part in Alexander's expedition as far as the Hyphasis are not altogether unworthy of belief. For

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Megasthenes also says this about an Indian river, whose name is Silas, that it flows from a spring with the same name as itself through the land of the Silians, who derive their name from the river and the spring; that it supplies water of such a kind that there is nothing which it resists, that nothing either swims or floats upon it, but everything sinks to the bottom; and that water is weaker and more murky than any other. India is visited by rain in the summer, especially the mountains, Parapamisus, Emodus, and the Imaic range, and from these the rivers flow swollen and muddy. In the summer also the plains of India are visited by rain, so that a great part of them are covered with pools; and Alexander's army had to avoid the river Acesines in the middle of the summer, because the water overflowed into the plains. Wherefore from this it is possible to conjecture the cause of the similar condition of the Nile, because it is probable that the mountains of Aethiopia are visited by rain in the summer, and the Nile being filled from them overflows its banks into the Egyptian country. Therefore the Nile at this season flows in a muddy state, as it would not flow from the melting of snow, or if its water were driven back by the annual winds blowing in the season of summer. Besides, the mountains of Aethiopia would not be snow-beaten on account of the heat. It is not beyond the bounds of probability that Aethiopia is visited by rain as India is-for in other respects India is not unlike Aethiopia, and the Indian rivers produce crocodiles like the Aethiopian and Egyptian Nile. Some of them also produce fish and water-monsters besides, like those of the Nile, except the hippopotamus. Onesicritus says they produce even hippopotami. The looks of the people of India and Aethiopia are not entirely dissimilar. The Indians who live towards the south are more like the Aethiopians, they are black in their faces, and their hair is black; but they are not so flatnosed or so curly-headed as the Aethiopians. The more northern Indians would especially resemble the Egyptians in their bodies.

7. Megasthenes says that there are in all 118 Indian nations. I myself agree with him that there are many Indian nations; but I am not able to conjecture how he learned the exact number and recorded it, for he only visited a mere fraction of India, nor do many of the races have any intercourse with each other. He says that in ancient times the Indians were nomads, like that section of the Scythians who are not agriculturists, but wandering about on waggons, live at one time in one part of Scythia and at another time in another part, neither inhabiting cities nor consecrating temples to the gods. So the Indians had no cities or temples built for the gods. They clothed themselves in the skins of the wild beasts which they killed, and ate the inner bark of certain trees, which are called tala in the Indian language, and, as upon the tops of palm-trees, there grow upon them things like clews of wool. They also fed upon the flesh of the wild beasts which they caught, eating it raw, until Dionysus came into their country. But when Dionysus came and conquered them, he founded cities and made laws for them, and gave the Indians wine as he had given it to the Greeks. He also gave them seeds and taught them how to sow them in the earth; so that either Triptolemus did not come to this part when he was sent by Demeter to sow corn through the whole earth, or this Dionysus came to India before Triptolemus and gave to the inhabitants the seeds of cultivated crops. Dionysus first taught them to yoke oxen to the plough, and made most of them become husbandmen instead of being nomads, and armed them with martial weapons. He also taught them to worship the gods, and especially himself with the beating of drums and the clashing of cymbals. He taught the Indians the Satyr-dance which among the Greeks is called the cordax, and to let their hair grow long in honour of the god. He also showed them how to wear the turban, and taught them how to anoint themselves with unguents. Wherefore even to the time of Alexander the Indians still advanced into battle with the sound of cymbals and drums.

8. When Dionysus had arranged these affairs and was about to leave India, he appointed as king of the land Spatembas, one of his companions, the man most versed in the mysteries of Bacchus. When this man died his son Boudyas succeeded to his kingdom. The father reigned fifty-two years, and the son twenty years. Cradeuas, the son of Boudyas, succeeded to the throne. From this time for the most part the kingdom passed in regular succession from father to son. If at any time direct heirs were wanting, then the Indians appointed kings according to merit. The Heracles, who according to the current report came to India is said, among the Indians themselves, to have sprung from the earth. This Heracles is especially worshipped by the Sourasenians, an Indian nation, in whose land are two great cities, Methora and Cleisobora, and through it flows the navigable river Jobares. Megasthenes says, as the Indians themselves assert, that this Heracles wore a similar dress to that of the Theban Heracles. Very many male children, but only one daughter were born to him in India, for he married many women. The daughter's name was Pandaea, and the land where she was born, and over which Heracles placed her as ruler, was named Pandaea after her. From her father she received 500 elephants, 4,000 cavalry, and 130,000 infantry. Certain of the Indians tell the following story about Heracles, that when he had passed over every land and sea and had rid them of every evil beast, he found in the sea a woman's ornament, such as up to the present day those who bring wares from India to us still buy with zeal and carry away. In former times the Greeks and now the Romans who are fortunate and wealthy with still greater zeal buy what is called in the Indian tongue the marine pearl. The ornament seemed so fine to Heracles that he collected pearls like this from all the sea and brought them to India to be an adornment for his daughter. Megasthenes says that the mussel of it is caught in nets, and that many of them live in the sea at the same place, like bees, and that the pearl-mussels have a king or queen as bees have. Whoever has the good fortune to capture the king, easily throws the net around the rest of the swarm of pearlmussels, but if the king escapes the fishermen, the others are no longer to be caught by them. The men allow the flesh of those which are caught to rot, but they use the shell for ornament; for among the Indians the pearl is worth thrice its weight in refined gold. This metal is also dug up in India.

9. In this country, where the daughter of Heracles reigned, the women at seven years of age become marriageable, and the men live forty years at most. In regard to this the following story is told among the Indians. This girl was born to Heracles in his old age, when he perceived that his end was near. He could not find a man worthy to receive his daughter in marriage, and therefore he married her himself when she was seven years old, so that the family born from him and her might supply kings to the Indians. Heracles therefore made her marriageable at that age; and from that time all this race over which Pandaea ruled have this same gift from Heracles. To me it seems that if Heracles was able to accomplish such marvellous things, he would also have been able to make himself longer lived, so that he might marry his daughter at a mature age. But if these statements about the maturity of the girls of this country are correct, to me at any rate they seem to have some analogy with what is said about the age of the men, that the oldest of them do not live beyond forty years. For no doubt the flower of perfect manhood blooms sooner in proportion in those upon whom old age advances quicker, and death with old age; so that among them men of thirty years of age would be, I suppose, fresh, active old men, striplings of twenty years old would be past their early manhood, and the prime of early manhood would be about fifteen years of age. Reasoning from analogy the women would thus become marriageable at seven years of age. For this same Megasthenes has recorded that in this country the fruits ripen quicker than those elsewhere, and sooner waste away.

From Dionysus to Sandracottus the Indians reckoned 153 kings, and 6,042 years. During all these years they only twice asserted their freedom; the first time they enjoyed it for 300 years, and the second for 120. They say that Dionysus was earlier than Heracles by fifteen generations, and that no other ever invaded India for war, not even Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, though he marched against the Scythians, and in other matters was the most meddlesome of the kings of Asia. However they admit that Alexander came and overcame in battle all the nations whom he visited, and that he would have conquered them all if his army had been willing. But none of the Indians ever marched out of their own country for war, being actuated by a respect for justice.

10. This also is said, that the Indians do not construct monuments for the dead, for they think that the virtues of men are sufficient to perpetuate their memory after their death, as well as the songs which they sing in their honour. It would not be possible to record with accuracy the number of their cities on account of their multiplicity. Those which are situated near the rivers or the sea are built of wood; for if they were built of brick they could not long endure on account of the rain and because the rivers overflowing their banks fill the plains with water. But those which have been founded in commanding places, lofty and raised above the adjacent country, are built of brick and mortar. The largest city in India, named Palimbothra, is in the land of the Prasians, where is the confluence of the river Erannoboas and the Ganges, which is the greatest of rivers. The Erannoboas would be third of the Indian rivers, being also larger than those elsewhere. But it yields itself up to the Ganges when it has discharged its water into it. Megasthenes says that on one side where it is longest this city extends ten miles in length, and that its breadth is one and threequarters miles; that the city has been surrounded with a ditch in breadth 600 feet, and in depth 45 feet; and that its wall has 570 towers and 64 gates. This is a great thing in India, that all the inhabitants are free, not a single Indian being a slave. In this the Lacedaemonians and the Indians are alike. However the Helots are slaves to the Lacedaemonians and perform servile offices; but among the Indians no other Indian at any rate is a slave.

11. All the Indians have been divided into seven castes. Among them are the wise men, fewer in number than the others, but most esteemed in reputation and dignity. For no necessity is incumbent upon them to do any bodily labour; nor do they contribute anything to the commonwealth from the effects of their labour; nor in a word have they any compulsory duty except to offer sacrifices to the gods on behalf of the commonwealth of India. Whoever sacrifices in his private capacity has one of these wise men as a director of the sacrifice, since otherwise he does not offer acceptable sacrifice to the gods. These also are the only Indians skilled in divination; and it is not lawful for anyone to practise the art except for a man who is a wise man. They practise divination in regard to the seasons of the year, and if any calamity befalls the commonwealth. It is not their business to practise their art in regard to the private affairs of individuals, either because the art of divination does not extend to smaller matters, or because it is not worthy of them to labour about such things. Whoever has made three errors in his practise of divination receives no other punishment except that for the future he is compelled to be silent; and there is no one who can compel that man to speak, upon whom the judgment of silence has been passed. These wise men pass their lives naked; in the winter in the sun under the open sky, but in the summer, when the sun holds sway, they live in the meadows and in the marshes under great trees, the shadow of which Nearchus says extends 500 feet all round, and I0,000 men could be shaded under one tree. So large are these trees. They feed on the fruits of the seasons and the inner bark of trees, which is both pleasant and nutritious; not less so than dates.

After these the second caste are the agriculturalists, who are the most numerous class of Indians. These have no martial weapons, nor do they care for deeds of war, but till the soil. They pay dues to the kings or to those cities which are independent. If any war happens to break out among the Indians with each other it is not lawful for them to touch the tillers of the soil, or to lay waste the country itself by destroying the crops. But while others are waging war against each other and slaying each other as they find the chance, they are ploughing in peace and quietness near them, or are gathering in the vintage, or are pruning their vines, or are reaping their crops.

The third caste of Indians are the shepherds and the cowherds, who dwell neither in cities nor in villages; but are nomads and live up and down the mountains. They pay a tax from their flocks and herds. These men also catch birds and hunt wild beasts throughout the land.

12. The fourth caste is that of the artisans and retail tradesmen. These men perform public duties at their own cost, and pay a tax upon their work, except those who make weapons of war. These receive pay from the commonwealth. In this caste are the shipwrights and sailors who sail up and down the rivers.

The fifth caste of the Indians consists of the warriors, who in number come next to the husbandmen and enjoy very great freedom and good cheer. These men practise nothing but warlike exercises. Others make the weapons for them, others provide them with horses; and others serve them in the camp, who groom the horses for them, keep their weapons bright, manage the elephants, keep the chariots in order, and drive the horses. They themselves fight, as long as it is necessary to wage war; but when there is peace, they live with good cheer; and they receive such high pay from the state that they can easily support others from it.

The sixth caste of Indians consists of men who are called overseers. These supervise what is done throughout the country and in the cities, and make reports to the king, where the Indians are ruled by a king, or to the magistrates where the people have a democratic government. It is unlawful for these men to make false reports; but no Indian has incurred the charge of falsehood.

The seventh caste consists of those who assist the king in deliberating on public affairs, or assist the officials in the cities which enjoy a democratic government. This class is small in number, but in wisdom and justice excels all the others. From them are chosen their rulers, governors of provinces, deputies, treasurers, generals, admirals, controllers of expenditure, and superintendents of agriculture.

It is not lawful for anyone to marry a woman from another caste; for example, for husbandmen to marry from the class of artisans or the reverse. It is not lawful for the same man to exercise two trades, or to exchange from one caste into another; for instance, he may not cease to be a shepherd and become a husbandman, or cease to be an artisan and become a shepherd. Only a man from any caste is allowed by them to become a wise man, because the duties of the wise men are not easy, but the most severely laborious of all.

13. The Indians hunt other wild animals like the Greeks; but the way they hunt elephants is quite different from any other kind of hunting, because these animals are like no other beasts. They choose a place that is level and exposed to the sun's heat, large enough for a great army to encamp in. They then dig a trench all round it. They make the breadth of this trench about thirty feet, and the depth about twenty-four feet. The earth which they cast up from the ditch they heap up on each bank of the trench and use it in place of a wall. In the mound upon the outer bank of the trench they dig hiding-places for themselves, leaving holes in them, through which

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the light may enter for them, and to enable them to observe the beasts approaching and charging into the inclosure. There, within the inclosure, they place some three or four female elephants, who are especially tame in spirit, and leave only one entrance, made by bridging over the trench. They cover this with earth and thick turf, in order that the beasts may not notice the bridge and think some trick is being played them. The men, therefore, keep themselves out of the way, lurking in the hiding-places near the trench. The wild elephants by day do not approach inhabited places, but in the night they wander in all directions and graze in droves, following the largest and bravest of their number, just as cows follow the bulls. When they approach the inclosure they hear the noise of the females and discerning them by the scent, they run at full speed towards the inclosed place. Going quite round the bank of the trench, as soon as they light upon the bridge, they rush forward into the inclosure over this. When the men perceive the entrance of the wild elephants, some of them quickly remove the bridge, others run to the neighbouring villages and tell the people that the elephants are shut up in the inclosure. When they hear this they mount the bravest and most tractable of their elephants and drive them towards the inclosure. When they arrive they do not immediately join battle, but allow the wild elephants to be severely distressed with hunger and to be cowed by thirst As soon as they think they are in a weak state, they then place the bridge over again and advance into the inclosure. At first an obstinate battle is fought between the tame elephants and those that have been caught Soon, as might be expected, the wild ones are overcome, being severely depressed by loss of spirit and want of food. The men, dismounting from the elephants, tie together the feet of the wild ones, which are now exhausted. Then they order the tame ones to chastise them with many blows until they fall to the ground in their severe distress. Standing near them they throw nooses round their necks and mount upon them as they lie on the ground. And in order that they may not shake off their riders or do any other reckless thing, they cut their necks all round with a sharp knife and tie the noose round along the cut; so that on account of the wound they must keep their head and neck quiet; for if they should turn their head round through recklessness, their wound is chafed under the rope. Then at length they keep quiet, and changing their minds of their own accord, they are now led by the tame ones into imprisonment.

14. Those of them which are quite young, or through badness not worth possessing, are allowed to take themselves off to their own haunts The captives are led into the villages and at first some green reeds and grass are given them to eat. They refuse to eat anything from loss of spirit; and the Indians stand round them and lull them to sleep by singing songs, beating drums and clashing cymbals. For, of all animals, the elephant is most naturally intelligent. Some of them have of their own accord picked up their riders who have been killed in battle and carried them away for burial; others have held the shield over them when lying on the ground; and others have incurred danger on their behalf when they have fallen wounded. One, having killed his rider in a fit of passion died from remorse and dejection of spirit. I myself have seen an elephant playing the cymbals, while others danced. Two cymbals were fastened to the forelegs of the playing elephant, and another to the trunk. With his trunk he struck the cymbal alternately against each of his legs in regular time, and the others moved round him as in a dance. These also walked, raising and bending their front legs alternately in regular time, just as the one who played the cymbals directed them. The female elephant copulates in the season of spring, like the cow or mare, when the air-vents near the temples of the females being opened exhale an odour. She carries her young sixteen months at the least, and eighteen at the most, and brings forth one, like the mare. This she suckles till the eighth year. Those which live longest live for 200 years; but many of them die before that age from disease. If they die from old age they reach that age. When their eyes are sore they are cured by pouring into them cow's milk, and their other diseases by giving them dark-coloured wine to drink. Pork is roasted and the fat is sprinkled upon wounds to effect a cure. The Indians adopt these cures for them.

15. The Indians think the tiger much mightier than the elephant. Nearchus says he saw a tiger's skin, but not the tiger itself; but that the Indians assured him that it is as large as the largest horse, and that no other animal can compare with it in swiftness and strength. When the tiger comes into conflict with an elephant he leaps upon his head and easily strangles him. Those which we see and call tigers are only speckled jackals, but larger than the ordinary jackals. In regard to the ants, Nearchus says that he himself did not see one like those which some other authors have described as existing in India; but that he saw many skins of these animals which had been brought into the Macedonian camp. But Megasthenes asserts that the story of these ants is correct; that these were the animals who dig up gold, not for the sake of the metal itself; but they burrow under the ground from instinct, in order that they may lie hidden in their holes, just as our small ants burrow a little under the ground. These ants are larger than foxes and therefore they burrow a distance proportionate to their size, and throw up the soil. As this contains gold ore the Indians obtain their gold from it. Megasthenes only relates hearsay, and as I myself am unable to say anything more certain than this, I willingly dismiss the story of the ants. Nearchus relates as a wonder that parrots are bred in India, and describes what kind of a bird it is and how it utters human speech; but as I myself have seen many and I know others are acquainted with the bird I shall give no description of it as of a marvel. Nor shall I speak of the size of the monkeys, or how beautiful those of India are, nor how they are caught. For these things are well known, except that monkeys are beautiful anywhere. Nearchus also says speckled serpents are caught, though they are quick in movement; and that Peithon, son of Antigenes, caught one twenty-four feet long. The Indians themselves said that the largest serpents are much larger than this. None of the Greek physicians found any cure for any one who was bitten by an Indian serpent; but the Indians themselves healed those who had been smitten. Nearchus says, besides, that Alexander had collected around him all the Indians who were cleverest in the medical art, and had it proclaimed through the camp that whoever was bitten should come to the king's tent. These men were also curers of other diseases and infirmities. But among the Indians there are not many infirmities, because the seasons there are temperate. If anything worse than usual seized them they communicated with the wise men; who seemed to cure whatever was curable, not without the help of god.

16. The Indians use linen clothing, as says Nearchus, made from the flax taken from the trees, about which I have already spoken. And this flax is either whiter in colour than any other flax, or the people being black make the flax appear whiter. They have a linen frock reaching down halfway between the knee and the ankle, and a garment which is partly thrown round the shoulders and partly rolled round the head The Indians who are very well-off wear earrings of ivory; for they do not all wear them. Nearchus says that the Indians dye their beards various colours; some that they may appear white as the whitest, others dark blue; others have them red, others purple, and others green. Those who are of any rank have umbrellas held over them in the summer. They wear shoes of white leather, elaborately worked, and the soles of their shoes are many-coloured and raised high, in order that they may appear taller.

The Indians are not all armed in the same way; but their infantry have a bow equal in length to the man who carries it. Placing this downward to the ground and stepping against it with the left foot, they discharge the arrow, drawing the string far back. Their arrows are little less than four and one-half feet long; and nothing can withstand one shot by an Indian archer, neither shield nor breast-plate nor anything else that is strong. They carry on their left arms targets of raw ox-hide, narrower than the men who carry them, but not much inferior in length. Others have Javelins instead of arrows. All wear a sword which is broad, and not less than four and onehalf feet in length. When the battle is at close quarters, a thing which very rarely happens to be the case between Indians, they bring this sword down upon the antagonist with both hands, in order that the blow may be a mighty one. The cavalry have two darts like the darts called saunia, and a shield smaller than that of the infantry. Their horses are not saddled or bridled like those of the Greeks or Gauls; but a piece of raw ox-hide stitched is fastened right round the front of the horse's mouth, and in this there are brass or iron spikes not very sharp, turned inwards. The rich men have ivory spikes. In the mouth their horses have a piece of iron, like a spit, to which the reins are attached. When therefore they draw the rein, the spit curbs the horse and the spikes which are fastened to it prick him and do not allow him to do anything else than obey the rein.

17. The Indians are spare in body and tall and much lighter than other men. Most of the Indians ride camels, horses, and asses, and those who are well off, elephants. For among the Indians royal personages ride on elephants. Next to this in honour is the four-horsed chariot, third camels. It is no honour to ride on horseback. Their women who are very chaste and would not go astray for any other reward, on the receipt of an elephant have intercourse with the donor. The Indians do not think it disgraceful for them to prostitute themselves for an elephant, and to the women it even seems an honour that their beauty should appear equal in value to an elephant. They marry, neither giving or receiving any dowry, but the fathers bring forward the girls who are of marriageable age and station them in a public place for the man who wins the prize for wrestling, boxing or running, or who has been adjudged winner in any manly contest, to make his choice. The Indians are bread-eaters and agriculturalists, except those who live in the mountains. These live upon the flesh of wild animals.

18. I think I have given sufficient information about the Indians. I have copied the very well-known statements made by Nearchus and Megasthenes, two esteemed authors. As my design in compiling this book was not to describe the customs of the Indians, but to relate how Alexander's fleet was conveyed from India into Persia, let the preceding portion of it be considered a digression from my narrative.

WEI LUE - THE PEOPLES OF THE WEST

From: The San Guo Zhi, The Records of the Three Kingdoms
Recorded by Pei Songzhi and published in 429 AD
Author: Yu Huan, (Cao Wei or Three Kingdoms Period)
Translation: John E. Hill, 2004
Estimated Range of Dating: 239-265 A.D.

(The Weilüe (Chinese, lit. 'A Brief [History] of Wei') was a Chinese historical text written by Yu Huan between 239 and 265. Yu Huan was an official in the state of Cao Wei (220–265) during the Three Kingdoms period (220–280). Although not a formal historian, Yu Huan has been held in high regard among Chinese scholars. As per the texts, Roman (known to the Chinese as Daqin) travelers and traders of those times claimed that Roman elites were descendants of immigrants from ancient Chinese nobility and Parthian elites were descendants of ancient North Indian empires.

The original text of the Weilüe, or "Brief Account of Wei", by Yu Huan has been lost, but the chapter on the Xirong people was quoted by Pei Songzhi as an extensive footnote to volume 30 of the Records of the Three Kingdoms, which was first published in 429. Other than this chapter, only a few isolated quotes remain in other texts.

Yu Huan does not mention his sources in the text that has survived. Some of this new data presumably came to China via traders from the Roman Empire (Daqin). Land communications with the West apparently continued relatively uninterrupted to Cao Wei after the fall of the Eastern Han dynasty.

Yu Huan apparently never left China, but he collected a large amount of information on the countries to the west of China including Parthia, India, and the Roman Empire, and the various routes to them. Some of this information had reached China well before Yu Huan's time, and can also be found in the sections dealing with the 'Western Regions' of the Records of the Grand Historian, the Book of Han, and the Book of the Later Han. In spite of this repetition of earlier (and sometimes fanciful) information, the Weilüe contains new, unique, and generally trustworthy material, mostly from the late second and early third centuries. It is this new information that makes the Weilüe a valuable historical source. Most of the new information appears to have come from the Eastern Han dynasty, before China was largely cut off from the West by civil wars and unrest along its borders during the late second century.

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30. The Author's Comments

The Weilüe describes the routes to the Roman Empire and it is quite possible that some, or all, of the new information on the Roman Empire and Parthia came from foreign sailors. One such record which may have been available to Yu Huan is detailed in the Book of Liang of a merchant from the Roman Empire who in 226 arrived in Jiaozhi, near modern Hanoi, and was sent to the court of the Eastern Wu emperor Sun

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Quan, who asked him for a report on his native country and its people.

Yu Huan also includes a brief description of "Zesan", a vassal state of the Roman Empire. John E.Hill identified "Zesan" with Azania in East African coast, but this is unlikely, since later source like New Book of Tang told that "Zesan" located to the northeast of Roman Empire, therefore it could be Trebizond.

Weilue mentioned a kingdom named "Panyue" or "Hanyuewang", located to the southeast of India. Hill identified it with Pandya of Tamilakam and gave a translation:

The kingdom of Panyue (Pandya) is also called Hanyuewang. It is several thousand li to the southeast of Tianzhu (Northern India), and is in contact with Yi Circuit [in modern southern Yunnan]. The inhabitants are small; they are the same height as the Chinese. Traders from Shu (Western Sichuan) travel this far. The Southern Route, after attaining its most westernmost point, turns southeast until it reaches its end.

Translations: The section on Da Qin (Roman territory) from the Weilüe was translated into English by Friedrich Hirth in his pioneering 1885 volume, China and the Roman Orient. Hirth included translations of a wide range of other Chinese texts relating to Daqin and the Chinese text of each is included, making it an essential reference even today. In 2004, John E. Hill made a good translation that is easier to unterstand by the reader than the earlier versions.

Hill writes about the text: The Weilue fills in many gaps in our knowledge of the extensive international contacts and trade networks at this early period. The kingdom of Wei was one of the 'Three Kingdoms' (Wei, Wu and Shu) formed after the disintegration of the Han dynasty in 220 AD. Its capital remained at Luoyang [Loyang], which had also been the capital of the Later Han dynasty.

"The Wei controlled the north and north-west, being based essentially on the Yellow River valley with their capital at Loyang ; the Wu in the south and south-east ruled the Yangtze valley and the two Kuang provinces, while the Shu were based on the Szechuan basin in the east, but also commanded the hills of Kweichow and part of Yunnan." Needham (1978), p. 40.

The original text of the Weilue, or "Brief Account of the Wei Dynasty," by Yu Huan has, sadly, been lost. Fortunately, this chapter on the xirong, or 'Peoples of the West', was quoted in as extensive footnote to the Sanguozhi by Pei Songzhi, first published in 429 AD.

Unfortunately, Yu Huan does not mention his sources in the text that has survived. Some of this new data undoubtedly came to China via traders from Da Qin. Land communications with the West apparently continued relatively uninterrupted to the northern state of Wei after the fall of the Han dynasty.

Wei was the northernmost of the three kingdoms the Han empire had split into and it controlled access to Dunhuang and the main trade routes to the west. It was also, of course, the state that Yu Huan lived in. An entry of the "Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms" for the year 222 AD informs us:

There is information in the Weilue about the maritime routes to the Roman Empire and it is quite possible that some, or all, of the new information on the Roman Empire and Parthia came from foreign sailors. One record of information obtained from such sources (which may have been available to Yu Huan) is recorded in the Liangshu:

"During the 5th year of the Huangwu period of the reign of Sun Quan [= 226 AD] a merchant of Da Qin, whose name was Qin Lun came to Jiaozhi [Tongking]; the prefect [taishou] of Jiaozhi, Wu Miao, sent him to Sun Quan [the Wu emperor], who asked him for a report on his native country and its people. Qinlun prepared a statement and replied. At the time Zhuke [nephew to Zhuke Liang, alias Kun Ming] chastised Dan Yang [= Jiang Nan] and they had caught blackish coloured dwarfs. When Qin Lun saw them he said that in Da Qin these men were rarely seen. Sun Quan then sent male and female dwarfs, ten of each, in charge of an officer, Liu Xian of Huiji [a district in Zhejiang], to accompany Qin Lun. Liu Xian died on the road, whereupon Qin Lun returned direct to his native country." Adapted from Hirth (1885), pp. 47-48.

Note: In the name of the "Roman" merchant Qin Lun above, Qin, as is standard Chinese practice with foreign names, stands for 'from Da Qin' or the Roman Empire. The old pronunciation of the personal name Lun is reconstructed as: luen and may well have represented the Greek name of Leon.

Yu Huan apparently never left China, but he collected a large amount of information on the countries to the west of China including Parthia, India, and the Roman Empire, and the various routes to them. Some of this information had reached China well before Yu Huan's time, and can also be found in the sections dealing with the 'Western Regions' of the Shiji, the Hanshu, and the Hou Hanshu.

In spite of this repetition of earlier (and sometimes fanciful) information, the Weilue contains much new, unique, and generally trustworthy material. Most of it dates from the late second and early third centuries AD. It is this new information that makes the Weilue such a valuable source. Most of the new information appears to have come from the Later Han dynasty, before China was to a large extent cut off from the West by civil wars and unrest along its borders during the late 2nd century AD.

"The time of the Han dynasty, especially the Later Han, was one of the relatively important scientific periods in Chinese history. There were great advances in astronomy, improvements in the calendar, an outstanding development in the earth sciences, and foundations laid for methods of classifying plants and animals; alchemy flourished, and the first book ever written on the subject appeared (142 AD). A sceptical and rationalist way of thinking developed, particularly about A.D. 80 in the hands of Wang Chhung [Wang Chong]..., while there were two Han princes who also took part in active intellectual life. One, Tê of Ho-Chien, was a scholar and bibliophile who preserved the important 'Artificer's Record' section of the Chou Li (Records of the Rites of Chou), the other was the almost legendary Liu An of Huai-Nan, who gave his name to the Huai Nan Tzu, a compendium on all the science of the day and one of the most important monuments of ancient Chinese scientific thought. Indeed, bibliography as a whole received great stimulus, for the Han period marked the first systematic development of book lists; compiled by experts in astronomy, medicine, military science, history, magic and divination, these were incorporated into the Han histories and list some 700 works written on wooden or bamboo tablets, and on silk. Buddhism also entered China in Later Han times and the first sutras were translated into Chinese at the capital, Loyang.

In technology the Han age was marked by the invention and spread of the use of paper, by numerous developments in ceramics such as the first glazes and the introduction of a material that was the forerunner of porcelain, by advances in architectural techniques such as making decorated bricks and tiles, and by raising the level of textile technology to a stage not approached by Iran or Europe until centuries later. A large number of natural products new to China were also imported: alfalfa and the grape-vine from the west, oranges, lemons, betel nuts and lychees from the south and south-west. From the west also came improved breeds of horses, and from Khotan, possibly from Burma too, jade arrived in large quantities. Perhaps the greatest achievement of the Han people in nautical technology was the cardinal invention of the axial rudder at least as early as the first century A.D.

Towards the end of Later Han times, palace revolutions became increasingly frequent, and in 184 a farming crisis led to a peasant revolt guided, in this case, by the 'Yellow Turban' secret society. Although the revolt was suppressed, it left some of the army generals in positions of great power, and by 220 the central government found itself ineffective. The country became divided, and for the next half century remained fragmented into three independent kingdoms in a state of permanent mutual hostility." Needham (1978), pp. 39-40.

Along with these great scientific and technological exchanges came new ideas, philosophies and religions. Foreign ideas and religions spread incredibly quickly via the trade routes across the whole of Eurasia and much of Africa. The acceleration of information exchange was unprecedented. Buddhism became established in Central Asia well before the turn of the millennium and in China during the 1st century AD.

There is also some fairly convincing evidence that Christianity and Judaism had reached both China and India by the first century AD, and Christianity was definitely well-established in southern India at least by the second century AD. This rapid spread of religions was to continue in later centuries with Manichaeism, Nestorian Christianity and Islam. See: Appendix I: "The Spread of Ideas and Religions Along the Trade Routes."

About Measurements and Administrative Divisions: The basic units of measurement employed in the Weilue, were the li and the chi. They have varied considerably through the ages and from district to district. Fortunately, measurements remained stable over the Qin and Han periods, and an inscribed bronze standard measure, dated 9 AD, was discovered in 1924 at the Imperial Palace in Beijing. This has allowed accurate conversions to modern measurements. The Han chi, or 'foot' is given as equalling 0.231 metres (or 9.095 inches).

Section 1 – The Di Tribes

The Weilue's Chapter on the Western Rong ('Peoples of the West'), says: The Di have their own kings. They originally came from far away.

When the Han opened Yi zhou, and established Wudu Commandery, they drove back the people of this race who dispersed, and took refuge in the mountain valleys. Some were at Fulu,5 and others in the neighbourhood of Qian6 and Long.

They are not an homogenous race. They are said to be the descendants of Panhu.8 Some are called the Qing Di (Green Di), others the Bai Di (White Di), and others the Ran Di (Giant Python Di), referring to the class of reptiles in which they are placed.

The people of the Middle Kingdom name them according to the colour of their clothes, but they call themselves Hezhi.

Each (of their tribes) has its kings and chiefs who, in most cases, received their lands and titles from the Middle Kingdom, and are required by it to fulfil their responsibilities, or they are demoted.

During the Jianan period [196-220 AD], Angui, king of the Xingguo Di (Xing Kingdom Di), and Qianwan, king of the Baixiang Di (White Section Di), each had tribes of more than ten thousand men.

In the sixteenth year [= 211 AD – but should read 213 AD], they joined forces with Ma Chao and rebelled. After (Ma) Chao had been defeated [in 214], Angui was attacked and killed by Xiahou Yuan. Qianwan made his way to the southwest and entered Shu (Western Sichuan). His tribes were not able to get away and all submitted.

The (Chinese) government transported those who had taken a questionable stance during these events, to a separate place in Meiyang (in the Commandery) of Fufeng.

These are now the two tribes of Anyi (Peaceful Yi) and Fuyi (Governed Yi). A Military Protector manages the region.

As to those who behaved wisely, (the Chinese Government) left them their place on the borders of Tianshui19 and Nanan. These are the ones who are now dependants of Guangwei Commandery.

Their customs and language are not like those of the Middle Kingdom, but similar to those of the Qiang and several Hu peoples. Each person has a family name, like the family names of the Middle Kingdom. They prefer blue and deep red clothes.

They are commonly skilled at weaving cloth; they are good farmers; they breed and rear pigs, oxen, horses, donkeys, and mules.

When a woman marries, she wears a renlu that, in the way that it is trimmed and decorated, sometimes resembles the renlu of the Qiang, and sometimes the tunic of the Middle Kingdom. All braid their hair.

Many of them know the language of the Middle Kingdom because they have lived in the Middle Kingdom and mixed among the people. Nevertheless, when they return to their tribes they naturally speak the Di language.

Their marriage (customs) resemble those of the Qiang.

These are, in fact, the people who were previously called the Western Rong,1 and now live in Jie, Ji, and Huandao.

Although, at present, the fiefdoms are administered by the (Chinese) commanderies and kingdoms, previously they had their own kings and feudal princes living in (now) empty villages. They also had more than ten thousand (people) living in the region of Wudu, and in the neighbourhood of Yinping and Jie.

Section 2 – The Zilu Tribes

The Zilu1 originated among the Xiongnu. Zi is the name the Xiongnu used for slaves. Formerly, in the Jianwu period [25-55 AD], the Xiongnu became weak and dispersed. Their slaves fled and hid in the region of Jincheng, Wuwei, and Jiuquan (Commanderies), north to Hei Shui ('Black River') and Xi He ('Western River').

Wandering from east to west, they care for their flocks by leading them in search of water and pasture. They make raids on the territory of Liangzhou. Their tribes have progressively increased until they number several tens of thousands of men.

They are not the same as the eastern tribes, who are the Xianbi. They are not all of one race. There are Dahu, Dingling, and also quite a large number of Qiang living among them. This is because they were originally slaves of the Xiongnu.

During the period (at the end) of the Han and (the beginning) of the Wei [circa 220 AD], one of their great chiefs was named Tantuo. After he died, some great chiefs, descendants of his, were living to the south near the frontier of Lingju (Prefecture) in Guangwei (Commandery). There was Tugui who came (to invade our territory), and rebelled several times. He was killed by (the Prefect of) Liangzhou. Now there is (the chief named) Shaoti.

Sometimes these tribes come to submit, sometimes they withdraw in hiding. They often make trouble on the routes to the western provinces.

Section 3 – The Qiang Tribes

From Dunhuang in the Western Regions to the Chuo Qiang ('Disobedient Qiang') in the Nan Shan ('Southern Mountains'), and several thousand li west to the Congling (the Pamirs), are the remnants of the Yuezhi6 and the Congzi ('Brown Onion'), the Baima ('White Horse'), and the Huangniu Qiang ('Yellow Ox' Qiang).

Each of these peoples has its' own chief. They are bordered to the north by various kingdoms. Neither the distance (from China), nor the extent (of their territories), is known.

It is rumoured that the Huangniu Qiang ('Yellow Ox' Qiang) are of a separate race, and are born after a pregnancy of (only)

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six months. To the south, they border on the Baima Qiang ('White Horse' Qiang).

Section 4 – The three main overland routes to the Western Regions

It was at the beginning of the Han that the routes were opened leading to the kingdoms of Xiyu ('The Western Regions' – the countries of the Tarim Basin and adjoining areas).

At this time the kingdoms numbered thirty-six. Later they split into more than fifty. From the Jianwu period [25-55 AD] to our time, they have torn each other to pieces, and destroyed one another, and now they number twenty.

There were previously two roads, but now there are three, which go to the Western Regions from Dunhuang and the Yumen guan ('Jade Gate Frontier Post') :

Heading west from the Yumen ('Jade Gate') Frontier Post, and passing through (the territory of) the Chuo Qiang ('Disobedient Qiang'), one turns west to pass over the Congling (the Pamirs), and through the Xuandu (the 'Hanging Passages' in northern Hunza), to enter (the territory of) the Da Yuezhi (Kushans). – This is the Southern Route.

Heading west from the Yumen ('Jade Gate') Frontier Post, leaving the Dadu jing (The Protector General's Well), turning around the northern end of the Sanlongsha ('Three Sand Ridges'), one passes by the Julu cang ('Depot Dwellings'). Then, on leaving the Shaxi jing ('West-of-the-Sand Well'), and turning northwest, passing by the Longdui ('Dragon Dunes'), one arrives at ancient Loulan and, turning west, goes to Qiuci (Kucha), and on to the Congling (Pamir) mountains. – This is the Central Route.

Heading northwest from Yumen ('Jade Gate') Frontier Post, passing through Hengkeng ('East-West Gully' = the Bēsh-toghrak Valley), one avoids the Sanlongsha ('Three Sand Ridges')11 as well as the Longdui ('Dragon Dunes'), and emerges to the north of Wuchuan ('Five Boats') and arrives in the territory of Jushi at Gaochang (47 km southeast of Turfan), which is the residence of the Mao (Wu) and Ji Colonel (in charge of the agricultural garrisons). Then it turns to the west and rejoins the Central Route to Qiuci (Kucha). This is the New Route. [Note that there is also a 'New Route of the North' outlined below in Section].

Previous historians have already described the products of the Western Territories in detail; therefore, I will now be brief.

Section 5 – The Southern Route

The Southern Route1 heads west to:

• the kingdom of Qiemo (Cherchen), the kingdom of Xiaoyuan ('Little Yuan' – marches south of Qiezhi), the kingdom of Jingjue (Niya), the kingdom of Loulan (north of Lop Nor), which are all dependencies of Shanshan (Lop Nor and surrounds).

• the kingdom of Ronglu (marches south of Jingjue or Niya), the kingdom of Hanmi (Keriya), the kingdom of Qule (south of Keriya), and the kingdom of Pikang (modern Pishan or Guma), which are all dependencies of Yutian (Khotan).

• the kingdom of Jibin (Gandhāra- Kapisha), the kingdom of Daxia (Bactria), the kingdom of Gaofu (Kabul), and the kingdom of Tianzhu (Northern India), which are all dependencies of the Da Yuezhi (Kushans).

Section 6 – The Kingdom of Linni (Lumbini)

Regarding the kingdom of Linni (Lumbini), the Buddhist books say: "The king of this country fathered Futu (the Buddha). The Buddha was the heir apparent. His father was called Xietouye (Suddhodana). His mother was called Moye (Maya).

The Buddha wore yellow clothes. His hair was silky black. The hair on his chest was black; his complexion a coppery-red.

Initially Moye (Maya) dreamed of a white elephant and became pregnant. When the Buddha was born, he emerged from the left side of his mother. At his birth, he had a topknot (the ushnisha) of hair. As soon as he touched ground, he was able to take seven steps."

This kingdom is in the centre of the towns of Tianzhu (Northern India). Also, there was another holy man named Shalü (Sāriputra) in Tianzhu (Northern India).

Previously, in the first Yuanshou year (2 BC), during the reign of Emperor Ai of the Han dynasty, the National University Student, Jing Lu, received verbal instructions from Yicun, the envoy of the king of the Da Yuezhi (Kushans), on the Buddhist sūtras which say this man (the Buddha) is the one who is reincarnated.

The Buddhists mention linpusai (upâsaka – a male lay disciple), sangmen (śramaṅa – monks, ascetics), bowen, shuwen (śrāvaka – 'a hearer', a follower of the Hīnayāna), baishuwen ('white' or 'pure' or 'elder' śrāvaka'), biqiu (bhiksu – an ordained monk), chenmen ('Guardian of the Gate'), which are all terms for disciples.

The Buddha's [teachings] are related to, but different than, the scriptures of Lao Zi of the Middle Kingdom. Indeed, it is believed (by the Taoists) that Lao Zi left the passes and, heading west, crossed the Western Regions to Tianzhu (Northern India), where he taught the Hu (Westerners).

There are, altogether, twenty-nine titles for disciples of the Buddha, which I am not able to give in detail, so I have summarised them as above.

Section 7 – The Kingdom of Juli (or, rather, Dongli)

The kingdom of Juli (should read 'Dongli' = 'Eastern Division' of the Kushan Empire1) is also called Liweite (Ayodhyā), and Peiliwang.

It is more than 3,000 li (1,247 km) to the southeast of Tianzhu (Northern India). This country is low, humid, and very hot.

The king rules from the town of Shaji (or Shaqi = Sakēta). There are several tens of other towns.

The people are cowardly and weak. The Yuezhi (Kushans) and Tianzhu (Northwestern India) attacked and conquered them.

This territory is several thousand li from east to west, and north to south. The men and women of this nation are all eighteen chi tall [mistake for 8 chi = 1.85 metres, or just over 6 feet, as in the Hou Hanshu]. They ride elephants and camels into battle. Currently they provide military service and taxes to the Yuezhi (Kushans).

Section 8 – The Kingdom of Panyue (Pandya)

The kingdom of Panyue (Pandya) is also called Hanyuewang. It is several thousand li to the southeast of Tianzhu (Northern India), and is in contact with Yi Circuit. The inhabitants are small; they are the same height as the Chinese. Traders from Shu (Western Sichuan) travel this far.

The Southern Route, after attaining its most westernmost point, turns southeast until it reaches its end.

Section 9 – The Central Route

The Central Route goes west to:

• the kingdom of Weili (near modern Korla), the kingdom of Weixu (Hoxud = Chokkur), the kingdom of Shanwang (in the western Kuruk mountains), which are all dependencies of Yanqi (Karashahr).

• the kingdom of Gumo (south of modern Aksu), the kingdom of Wensu (Uqturpan), the kingdom of Weitou (Karaqi), which are all dependencies of Qiuci (Kucha).

• the kingdom of Zhenzhong (Arach?), the kingdom of Suoju (Yarkand), the kingdom of Jieshi, the kingdom of Qusha, the kingdom of Xiye (Khargalik), the kingdom of Yinai (Tashkurghan), the kingdom of Manli (modern Karasul), the kingdom of Yire (Mazar – also known as Tágh Nák and Tokanak), the kingdom of Yuling, the kingdom of Juandu ('Tax Control' – near Irkeshtam), the kingdom of Xiuxiu ('Excellent Rest Stop' – near Karakavak), and the kingdom of Qin, which are all dependencies of Shule (Kashgar).

Leaving there (Kashgar), and going west, you reach Dayuan (Ferghana), Anxi (Parthia), Tiaozhi (Characene and Susiana), and Wuyi (Arachosia and Drangiana – capital, Kandahar). Wuyi is also called Paizhi. These four kingdoms succeed each other to the west. These are kingdoms that existed previously and have not been modified.

Section 10 – Previous Misconceptions

In earlier times, it was mistakenly thought that Tiaozhi (Characene and Susiana) was west of Da Qin (Roman territory). Now it is known to be to the east.

In earlier times it was also mistakenly thought to be more powerful than Anxi (Parthia), but it has been changed into a dependency said to mark the western frontier of Anxi (Parthia).

In earlier times it was also mistakenly thought that the Ruo Shui ('Weak River') was west of Tiaozhi (Characene and Susiana). Now it is (thought to be) west of Da Qin (Roman territory).

In earlier times, it was also mistakenly thought that if you left Tiaozhi (Characene and Susiana), and travelled more than two hundred days to the west, you reached the place where the sun goes down. Now, (it is thought that) you travel west from Da Qin (Roman territory) to reach the place where the sun sets.

Section 11 – Da Qin (Roman territory/Rome)

The kingdom of Da Qin (Rome) is also called Lijian. It is west of Anxi (Parthia) and Tiaozhi (Characene and Susiana), and west of the Great Sea.

From the city of Angu (Gerrha), on the frontier of Anxi (Parthia), you take a boat and cut directly across to Haixi ('West of the Sea' = Egypt). With favourable winds it takes two months; if the winds are slow, perhaps a year; if there is no wind, perhaps three years.

The country (that you reach) is west of the sea (haixi), which is why it is called Haixi (literally: 'West of the Sea' = Egypt). There is a river (the Nile) flowing out of the west of this country, and then there is another great sea (the Mediterranean). The city of (Wu) Chisan (Alexandria) is in Haixi (Egypt).

From below this country you go north to reach the city of Wudan (Tanis?). You (then) head southwest and cross a river (the Sebannitus branch of the Nile?) by boat, which takes a day. You head southwest again, and again cross a river (the Canopis branch of the Nile?) by boat, which takes another day. There are, in all, three major cities [that you come to].

Now, if you leave the city of Angu (Gerrha) by the overland route, you go north to Haibei ('North of the Sea' – the lands between Babylonia and Jordan), then west to Haixi (Egypt), then turn south to go through the city of Wuchisan (Alexandria). After crossing a river, which takes a day by boat, you circle around the coast (to the region of Apollonia, the port of Cyrene). (From there, i.e. the region of Apollonia) six days is generally enough to cross the (second) great sea (the Mediterranean) to reach that country (Da Qin = Rome).

This country (the Roman Empire) has more than four hundred smaller cities and towns. It extends several thousand li in all directions. The king has his capital (that is, the city of Rome) close to the mouth of a river (the Tiber). The outer walls of the city are made of stone.

This region has pine trees, cypress, sophora, catalpa, bamboo, reeds, poplars, willows, parasol trees, and all sorts of plants. The people cultivate the five grains [traditionally: rice, glutinous and non-glutinous millet, wheat and beans], and they raise horses, mules, donkeys, camels and silkworms. (They have) a tradition of amazing conjuring. They can produce fire from their mouths, bind and then free themselves, and juggle twelve balls with extraordinary skill.

The ruler of this country is not permanent. When disasters result from unusual phenomena, they unceremoniously replace him, installing a virtuous man as king, and release the old king, who does not dare show resentment.

The common people are tall and virtuous like the Chinese, but wear hu ('Western') clothes. They say they originally came from China, but left it.

They have always wanted to communicate with China but, Anxi (Parthia), jealous of their profits, would not allow them to pass (through to China).

The common people can write in hu ('Western') script. They have multi-storeyed public buildings and private; (they fly) flags, beat drums, (and travel in) small carriages with white roofs, and have a postal service with relay sheds and postal stations, like in the Middle Kingdom (China).

From Anxi (Parthia) you go around Haibei ('North of the Sea' – the lands between Babylonia and Jordan) to reach this country.

The people (of these countries) are connected to each other. Every 10 li (4.2 km) there is a ting (relay shed or changing place), and every 30 li (12.5 km) there is a zhi (postal station). There are no bandits or thieves, but there are fierce tigers and lions that kill those travelling on the route. If you are not in a group, you cannot get through.

This country (the Roman Empire) has installed dozens of minor kings. The king's administrative capital (the City of Rome) is more than 100 li (42 km) around.25 There is an official Department of Archives.

The king has five palaces at 10 li (4.2 km) intervals. He goes out at daybreak to one of the palaces and deals with matters until sunset and then spends the night there. The next day he goes to another palace and, in five days makes a complete tour. They have appointed thirty-six leaders who discuss events frequently. If one leader does not show up, there is no discussion. When the king goes out for a walk, he always orders a man to follow him holding a leather bag. Anyone who has something to say throws his or her petition into the bag. When he returns to the palace, he examines them and determines which are reasonable.

They use glass to make the pillars and table utensils in the palaces. They manufacture bows and arrows.

They divide the various branch principalities of their territory into small countries such as that of the king of Zesan (Azania?), the king of Lüfen (Leucos Limen), the king of Qielan (Wadi Sirhan), the king of Xiandu (Leukê Komê), the king of Sifu (Petra), (and that of) the king of Yuluo (Karak). There are so many other small kingdoms it is impossible to give details on each one.

Section 12 – Products of Da Qin (the Roman Empire)

This country produces fine linen. They make gold and silver coins. One gold coin is equal to ten silver coins.

They have fine brocaded cloth that is said to be made from the down of 'water-sheep'. It is called Haixi ('Egyptian') cloth. This country produces the six domestic animals, which are all said to come from the water.

It is said that they not only use sheep's wool, but also bark from trees, or the silk from wild cocoons, to make brocade, mats, pile rugs, woven cloth and curtains, all of them of good quality, and with brighter colours than those made in the countries of Haidong ("East of the Sea").

Furthermore, they regularly make a profit by obtaining Chinese silk, unravelling it, and making fine hu ('Western') silk damasks. That is why this country trades with Anxi

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(Parthia) across the middle of the sea. The seawater is bitter (salty) and unable to be drunk, which is why it is rare for those who try to make contact to reach China.

The mountains (of this country) produce nine-coloured jewels (fluorite) of inferior quality. They change colour on different occasions from blue-green to red, yellow, white, black, green, purple, fiery red, and dark blue. Nowadays nine-coloured stones of the same type are found in the Yiwu Shan (a mountain range east of Hami).

In the third Yangjia year (134 AD), the king of Shule (Kashgar), Chen Pan [who had been made a hostage at the court of the Kushan emperor, for some period between 114 and 120, and was later placed on the throne of Kashgar by the Kushans], offered a blue (or green) gem and a golden girdle from Haixi (Egypt).

Moreover, the Xiyu Jiutu ('Ancient Sketch of the Western Regions') now says that both Jibin (Kapisha-Gandhāra) and Tiaozhi (Characene and Susiana) produce precious stones approaching the quality of jade.

(Product List) Da Qin (the Roman Empire) has plenty of:

1. gold [jin; Roman gold coins were found in India, Southeast Asia, China; they were so beloved that even Chinese emperors took them into their tombs for the afterlife]; 2. silver [yin; Silver has always been in rather short supply in most of China requiring imports from the south (modern Yunnan) or overseas]; 3. copper [In China there was a customary ratio between gold and (copper) cash (10,000 cash to 1 catty of gold, 130 to 1).” Dubs (1958), p. 515.]; 4. iron [tie. Pliny the Elder (23-79 AD) makes a brief reference (Natural History, Book 34, Chapter144) to the production of iron with a high carbon content (steel) to provide hard edges for blades. He pointed out that the Chinese ('Seres') produced the best iron and that it was imported into the Roman Empire]; 5. lead [was used to make water pipes, roofs, etc. it was costly]; 6. tin [to make bronze, it was much more costly than copper]; 7. 'divine tortoises' [tortoises used for divination]; 8. white horses with red manes; 9. fighting cocks; 10. rhinoceroses; 11. sea turtle shell; 12. black bears; 13. 'red hornless or immature dragons' [which produced the famous “dragons' blood” resin]; 14. 'poison-avoiding rats' [mongooses]; 15. large cowries; 16 mother-of-pearl; 17. carnelian; 18. 'southern gold'; 19. kingfisher feathers; 20. ivory; 21 coloured veined jade; 22. 'bright moon' pearls; 23. luminescent 'pearls' [or pearl-like jewels probably large diamonds]; 24. genuine white pearls; 25. yellow amber; 26. red coral; 27. ten varieties of glass: [red, white, black, green, yellow, blue-green, dark blue, light blue, fiery red, purple]; 28. a magnificent jade; 29. white carnelian [more likely: gladioli, lily, narcissi]; 30. rock crystal [meaning: transparent glass]; 31. various semi-precious gems; 32. realgar; 33. orpiment; 34. nephrite; 35. multicoloured jade or gemstone; 36. ten sorts of wool rugs: yellow, white, black, green, purple, fiery red, deep red, dark blue, golden yellow, light blue and back to yellow; 37. finely patterned multicoloured wool carpets; 38 nine colours of multicoloured lower quality wool carpets [kilims rather than knotted carpets]; 39. gold threaded embroidery; 40. polychrome warp twill fine silk or chiffon; 41. woven gold cloth; 42. purple chi cloth; 43. falu cloth; 44. purple chiqu cloth; 45. asbestos cloth; 46. fine silk [gauze cloth]; 47. shot silk ['clinging cloth' or 'cloth with swirling patterns']; 48. dudai cloth; 49. cotton-wool cloth; 50. multicoloured tao cloth; 51. crimson curtains woven with gold; 52. multicoloured 'spiral curtains'; 53. yiwei; 54. myrrh; 55. storax, 56 diti.; 57. rosemary; 58. probably dhuna [an incense made from the resin of the Indian Sal tree]; 59. bai fuzi – lit. 'white aconite' – but it is not clear what plant this refers to]; 60. frankincense; 61. turmeric, [saffron or tulips]; 62. rue oil; 63. Oriental lovage [Lysimachia foenum-graecum Hance]. Altogether (they have) twelve types of aromatic plants.

Section 13 – The Sea Route to Da Qin (the Roman Empire)

As well as the overland route from Da Qin (Roman territory) through Haibei ('North of the Sea' – the lands between Egypt and Parthia), one can also follow the sea south along the seven commanderies of Jiaozhi (stretching down the north Vietnamese coast), which are in contact with foreign countries. Nearby (or 'North') is a waterway (the Red River) which leads to Yongchang in Yizhou (a commandery in present-day southern Yunnan). That's why rare items come from Yongchang. In early times only the maritime routes (to Da Qin = the Roman Empire) were discussed because they did not know there were overland routes.

Section 14 – Roman Dependencies

Now, (the Roman Empire) can be summed up as follows: the number of people and families cannot be given in detail. It is the biggest country west of the Bai Congling ('White Pamir Mountains'). They have installed numerous minor kings so only the bigger dependencies are noted here:

Section 15 – The Kingdom of Zesan (Azania)

The king of Zesan (Azania*) is subject to Da Qin (Rome). His seat of government is in the middle of the sea. To the north you reach Lüfen (Leukê Komê). It can take half a year to cross the water, but with fast winds it takes a month. (Zesan) is in close communication with Angu city (Gerrha) in Anxi (Parthia). You can (also) travel (from Zesan) southwest to the capital of Da Qin (Ostia which is southwest of Rome), but the number of li is not known. [* At the Southeast Africa coast, extending from Somalia and Kenya to Tanzania, was dotted with posts and harbours that built the link between Roman trade with India and China; this line went to the North via Eritraea, Yemen and the western coastline of the Red Sea straight into Egypt, through the Canal of the Pharaohs (also called the Ancient Suez Canal or Necho's Canal), down the River Nile into the Mediterranean Sea directly to Ostia, the port of Rome]

Section 16 – The Kingdom of Lüfen = Leukê Komê or modern Al Wajh

The king of Lüfen (Leukê Komê) is subject to Da Qin (Rome). It is 2,000 li (832 km) from his residence to (the nearest) major city (= Daphnae) of Da Qin (the Roman Empire). From the city of Lüfen (Leukê Komê, Nabataean port city at the northern end of the Red Sea) going west to Da Qin (alongside the Butic Canal*), you cross over the sea by an 'elevated bridge*' 230 li (96 km) long; then you take the sea route southwest, travelling around the sea (coast), and then head west (to reach Da Qin). [* Pliny the Elder wrote: . . . Next comes the Tyro tribe and, on the Red Sea, the harbour of the Daneoi (the canal), from which Sesostris, king of Egypt, intended to carry a ship-canal to where the Nile flows into what is known as the Delta; this is a distance of over 60 miles (96 kilometres). Later, the Persian king Darius had the same idea, and yet again Ptolemy II, who made a trench 100 feet wide, 30 feet deep and about 35 miles long, as far as the Bitter Lakes.]

Section 17 – The Kingdom of Qielan (Wadi Sirhan)

The king of Qielan (Wadi Sirhan)1 is subject to Da Qin (Rome). From the kingdom of Sitao (Istakhr, Stakhr) you go south, cross a river (the Rūd-i Kor), then head west 3,000 li (1,247 km) to go to Qielan (Wadi Sirhan). The route leaves south of the river (the Rūd-i Kor), only then do you head west.

From Qielan (Wadi Sirhan) you again travel west 600 li (250 km) to the kingdom of Sifu (Petra). The Southern Route joins (this east-west route) at Sifu (Petra). Also, (a route) goes southwest to the kingdom of Xiandu ('Aynūnah).

Due south from Qielan (Wadi Sirhan) and Sifu (Petra) is Jishi ('Rock Piles'). To the south of Jishi ('Rock Piles') there is a big sea (the Red Sea) which produces coral and pearls.

North of Qielan (Wadi Sirhan), Sifu (Petra), Sibin (Susa) and Aman (Ariana) there is a mountain range (the Taurus mountains) running east to west.

East of both Da Qin (Roman territories) and Haixi (= Egypt) there is a mountain range (the Jibāl ash Sharāh Range or Mount Seir) running north to south.

Section 18 – The Kingdom of Xiandu ('Aynūnah = Leukos Limên)

The king of Xiandu ('Aynūnah = Leukos Limên) is subject to Da Qin (Rome). From his residence it is 600 li (250 km) northeast to Sifu (Petra).

Section 19 – The Kingdom of Sifu (Petra)

The king of Sifu (Petra) is subject to Da Qin (Rome). From his residence northeast to Yuluo (Karak), you go 340 li (141 km), and cross over a sea (mistake for 'river' = the Wadi al-Ḥesa).

Section 20 – The Kingdom of Yuluo (Karak)

Yuluo (Karak) is subject to of Da Qin (Rome). The seat of government is northeast of Sifu (Petra) across a river (the Wadi al-Ḥesa). From Yuluo (Karak) you go northeast, and again cross over a river (River Arnon).

Section 21 – The Kingdom of Siluo (Sura)

Northeast of Siluo (Sura)1 you again cross over a river (the Euphrates). The kingdom of Siluo (Sura) is subject to Anxi (Parthia), and it borders on Da Qin (Roman territory).

Section 22 – The Far West

West of Da Qin (Rome) is sea water. West of the sea water are rivers. West of the rivers there are big mountains running south to north. West (of this) is the Chi Shui ('Red River' = Kāshgar-daryā?). West of the Chi Shui ('Red River' = Kāshgar-daryā?) are the Baiyu shan ('White Jade Mountains').

In the Baiyu Shan ('White Jade Mountains') lives Xi Wangmu ('Spirit-Mother of the West'). West of Xi Wangmu are the long Liusha ('Shifting Sands').

To the west of the Liusha ('Shifting Sands') is the kingdom of Daxia (Bactria), the kingdom of Jiansha ('Stable Sands'), the kingdom of Shuyao (Sogdiana), and the kingdom of the Yuezhi (Kushans).

West of these four kingdoms is the Hei Shui ('Black River'), which is as far west as I have heard of.

Section 23 – The New Route of the North

The New Route of the North goes west reaching the kingdom of Eastern Jumi (near modern Dashito), the kingdom of Western Jumi (near modern Mulei), the kingdom of Danhuan, the kingdom of Bilu, the kingdom of Pulu, and the kingdom of Wutan, which are all dependencies of the king of the Further Jushi Section (near Jimasa).

The king has his capital in the city of Yulai. The Wei (dynasty) conferred the title of 'Probationary Wei Palace Attendant' on Yiduoza, the king, with the honorific name of 'Great Defender of the Wei'. He received the 'Seal of King (appointed by the) Wei'.

The (New Northern) Route then turns northwest to reach Wusun (Issyk-kol and Semirechiye), and Kangju (Tashkent plus the Chu, Talas, and middle Jaxartes basins). These kingdoms existed previously and have neither grown nor shrunk.

Section 24 – The Kingdom of Northern Wuyi (Khujand – Alexandria Escharte)

Northern Wuyi (modern Khujand)1 is a distinct kingdom in the northern part of Kangju.

Section 25 – The Kingdom of Liu (Turkestan? Kzyl-Orda?), Yan (north of Yancai), and Yancai (= the Alans between the Black and Caspian Seas).

Then there is the kingdom of Liu (between Kangju and Yancai?),1 the kingdom of Yan (to the north of Yancai), and the kingdom of Yancai (between the Black and Caspian Seas), which is also called Alan. They all have the same way of life as those of Kangju.

To the west, they border Da Qin (Roman territory), to the southeast they border Kangju (Tashkent plus the Chu, Talas, and middle Jaxartes basins).

These kingdoms have large numbers of their famous sables. They raise cattle and move about in search of water and fodder. They are close to a big marsh (to the northeast and north of the Aral Sea). Previously they were vassals of Kangju (Tashkent plus the Chu, Talas, and middle Jaxartes basins). Now they are no longer vassals.

Section 26 – The Kingdom of Hude

The kingdom of Hude is north of the Congling (the Pamirs), northwest of Wusun (Issyk-kol and Semirechiye), northeast of Kangju (Tashkent plus the Chu, Talas, and middle Jaxartes basins). They have more than 10,000 men able to bear arms. They follow their cattle. They produce excellent horses, and have sables.

Section 27 – The Kingdom of Jiankun (Kirghiz)

The kingdom of Jiankun (Kirghiz)1 is northwest of Kangju (Tashkent plus the Chu, Talas, and middle Jaxartes basins). They have more than 30,000 men able to bear arms. They follow their cattle and have lots of sables and excellent horses.

Section 28 – The Kingdom of Dingling (Around Lake Baikal and on the Irtish River)

The kingdom of Dingling is north of Kangju (Tashkent plus the Chu, Talas, and middle Jaxartes basins). They have 60,000 men able to bear arms. They produce famous sable pelts, as well as white and blue Arctic fox pelts.

Of these three states Jiangun (the Kirghiz – in the region of Omsk?), is the central one. It is 7,000 li (2,911 km) from the court of the Chanyu (Shah) of the Xiongnu (which was close to modern Ulan Bator) on the Anxi River (Juul Gol?).

It is 5,000 li (2,080 km) south to the six kingdoms of Jushi;6 3,000 li (1,247 km) southwest to go to the frontier of Kangju (Tashkent plus the Chu, Talas, and middle Jaxartes basins); 8,000 li (3,326 km) west to go to the capital of the king of Kangju.

It was thought that perhaps these Dingling were the Dingling to the north of the Xiongnu (around Lake Baikal), but the Northern Dingling are west of Wusun (and north of Kangju), and it seems they are of another race. Furthermore, north of the Xiongnu (near modern Ulan Bator) is the kingdom of Hunyu, the kingdom of Qushi, the kingdom of Dingling, the kingdom of the Gekun, and the kingdom of the Xinli.

It is known that if you go south from Bei Hai ('Northern Sea' = Lake Baikal) you find the Dingling again. They are not the same as the Dingling to the west of the Wusun (Issyk-kol and Semirechiye).

The Wusun elders say that north of the Dingling is the kingdom of Majing ('Horses Shanks'). These men make sounds like startled wild geese. From above the knee, they have the body and hands of a man, but below the knees, they grow hair, and have horses' legs and hooves. They don't ride horses as they can run faster than horses. They are brave, strong, and daring fighters.

Section 29 – The Kingdom of Duanren ('Short Men')

The kingdom of Duanren ('Short Men')1 is northwest of Kangju (Tashkent plus the Chu, Talas, and middle Jaxartes

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basins). The men and women are all three chi tall [0.693 metres or 2.27 feet]. They are very numerous.

It is a long way from Yancai (at the mouth of the Syr Darya near the Aral Sea) and the other kingdoms. The elders of Kangju (Tashkent plus the Chu, Talas, and middle Jaxartes basins) say that merchants frequently cross this kingdom. It is possibly more than 10,000 li (4,158 km) from Kangju (Tashkent plus the Chu, Talas, and middle Jaxartes basins).

Section 30 – Yu Huan's Comments

Yu Huan (the author) observes: It is commonly believed that a fish living in a little stream does not know the size of the Qiang (Yangtze River) and the sea. The mayfly, for that matter, does not know of the changing of the four seasons. Why is this so? Because one lives in a small place, and the other's life is short.

I am, at the moment, intensively examining Da Qin (the Roman Empire) and all the other foreign kingdoms. Still, it seems to me that I am neglecting to (fully) instruct the uninformed.

Moreover, as to the speculations of Zou Yan, or the hypotheses of the Dayitai xuan, "The Great Mystery of the Noble Yi-jing", alas, I am limited to travelling by foot, and living in the puddle left in the hoof print of an ox. Besides, I don't have the longevity of Peng Zu.

It has not been my fate to see things first hand, travelling with the rapid winds, or enlisting swift horses to view distant vistas. Alas, I have to strain to see the three heavenly bodies [the sun, moon, and stars] but, oh, how my thoughts fly to the eight foreign regions!

FAXIAN - A RECORD OF BUDDHISTIC KINGDOMS

Faxian's Foguo Ji
Transliteration: Pinyin (without tone marks)
Translation: James Legge, 1886
Estimated Range of Dating: 414-422 A.D.

(Faxian (also Fa-Hien or Fa-hsien, 337–422 AD) was a Chinese Buddhist monk [theologian may be a better word] and translator who traveled by foot from China to India, visiting sacred Buddhist sites in Central Asia, the Indian subcontinent and Southeast Asia between 399-412 to acquire Buddhist texts. He described his journey his travelogue Foguo Ji, "A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms."

In 399, Faxian set out with nine others to locate sacred Buddhist texts. He visited India in the early fifth century. He is said to have walked all the way from China across the icy desert and rugged mountain passes. He entered India from the northwest and reached Pataliputra [Patna]. He took back with him Buddhist texts and images sacred to Buddhism. He saw the ruins of the city when he reached Pataliputra.

When he had finished his novitiate and taken on him the obligations of the full Buddhist orders, his earnest courage, clear intelligence, and strict regulation of his demeanor were conspicuous; and soon after, he undertook his journey to India in search of complete copies of the Vinaya-pitaka. What follows this is merely an account of his travels in India and return to China by sea, condensed from his own narrative, with the addition of some marvelous incidents that happened to him, on his visit to the Vulture Peak near Rajagriha.

It is said, in the end, that after his return to China, he went to the capital (evidently Nanking), and there, along with the Indian Sramana Buddha-bhadra, executed translations of some of the works which he had obtained in India; and that before he had done all that he wished to do in this way, he removed to Jingzhou (in the present Hubei province), and died in the monastery of Sin, at the age of eighty-eight, to the great sorrow of all who knew him. It is added that there is another larger work giving an account of his travels in various countries.

Such is all the information given about our author, beyond what he himself has told us. Faxian was his clerical name, and means "Illustrious in the Law," or "Illustrious master of the Law." The Shi which often precedes it is an abbreviation of the name of Buddha as Sakyamuni, "the Sakya, mighty in Love, dwelling in Seclusion and Silence," and may be taken as equivalent to Buddhist. It is sometimes said to have belonged to "the eastern Jin dynasty (266–420 AD), and sometimes to "the Song," that is, the Song dynasty of the House of Liu (420-479 AD). If he became a full monk at the age.... of twenty, and went to India when he was twenty-five, his long life may have been divided pretty equally between the two dynasties.

Faxian's visit to India occurred during the reign of Chandragupta II. He is also renowned for his pilgrimage to Lumbini, the birthplace of Gautama Buddha (modern Nepal). However, he mentioned nothing about Guptas. Faxian claimed that demons and dragons were the original inhabitants of Sri Lanka.

On Faxian's way back to China, after a two-year stay in Ceylon, a violent storm drove his ship onto an island, probably Java. After five months there, Faxian took another ship for southern China; but, again, it was blown off course and he ended up landing at Mount Lao in what is now Shandong in northern China, 30 kilometres (19 mi) east of the city of Qingdao. He spent the rest of his life translating and editing the scriptures he had collected.

Faxian wrote a book on his travels, filled with accounts of early Buddhism, and the geography and history of numerous countries along the Silk Road as they were, at the turn of the 5th century AD. He wrote about cities like Taxila, Patliputra, Mathura, and Kannauj in Middle India. He also wrote that inhabitants of Middle India also eat and dress like Chinese people. He declared Patliputra as a very prosperous city.

He returned in 412 and settled in what is now Nanjing. In 414 he wrote (or dictated) Foguo Ji (A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms; also known as Faxian's Account). He spent the next decade, until his death, translating the Buddhist sutra he had brought with him from India.

Faxian's story is interesting from three aspects. (1st) There is, of course, all the information he brings home from and about Buddhist lands and people after the Hindu priests had destroyed most Buddhist structures in India [because the upper Hindu priest caste lost its power and privilege in the era of Ashoka's Buddhist Empire]. Buddhism does not care about a caste system that suppresses millions of people. In Buddhism everyone is treated equally. The promotion of Buddhism by the Buddha himself, his disciples, and Emperor Ashoka, was therefore a highly political act. (2nd) The other aspect that Faxian's story shows is how difficult it was at the times before the invention of Gutenberg's printing system to get any required scripture. Theologians had to travel thousands of miles to get them, this includes every civilisation that streches out to far away lands, such as Phoenicians and Jews [who went to the west of the Mediterranean, the Greeks and Jews who went east to India or even China, or the Christians who went to Egypt, to Nubia [Sudan], down south as far as Ethiopia and beyond. (3rd) In Chapter 23 of the Foguo Ji there is an account mentioning the tomb of the Buddha. There might have been the possibility that the translation of this work into English called "A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms" and first translated by the Rev. Samuel Beal in 1869, then by Herbert A. Giles in 1877, and another by James Legge in 1886. Each of them has its charm and was popular. There is the possibility that William Claxton Peppe has read either of them before he went out on a hunt of the tomb of the Buddha. In 1889, at Piprahwa, nearby his residence, he excavated a large stupa and found Buddha's tomb in it. See "The Questions of Milinda."

GLOSSARY

Names of characters of persons, Other Terms

This page is intended as a reference for use with "A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms." Since there is considerable variation in the ways in which Indian terms have been rendered into Chinese, this page does not always agree with the glossary provided for use with "The Life of the Buddha As Seen From China" (link).

Page Outline:

1. Buddhist Monks
2. Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Arhats, Devas
3. Disciples, Supporters, & Enemies of the Buddha
4. Miscellaneous Buddhist Terms

1. Buddhist Monks

• Faxian = A monk who set out from the city of Chang'an (modern Xi'an in Shaanxi Province) to India in quest of vinaya (discipline) texts.

• Baoyun = A monk and noted translator of scriptures who joins Faxian's group in chapter 1 as it passes through in Gansu province. (He leaves again in chapter 12.)

• Daozhěng = One of Faxian's initial companions. (In chapter 36 he resolves never to leave India.)

• Huida = A monk who joins Faxian's group somewhere near the southwestern edge of the Gobi Desert in chapter 3.

• Huijian = A monk who joins Faxian's group in chapter 1 as it passes through in Gansu 甘肃 province

• Huijing = One of Faxian's initial companions. (He dies in chapter 14.)

• Huiwei = One of Faxian's initial companions. (He dies in chapter 14.)

• Huiying = One of Faxian's initial companions. (He dies in chapter 12.)

• Sengjing = A monk who joins Faxian's group in chapter 1 as it passes through in Gansu province. (He leaves again in chapter 12.)

• Sengshao = A monk who joins Faxian's group in chapter 1 as it passes through in Gansu province. (He leaves again in chapter 4.)

• Zhiyan = A monk who joins Faxian's group in chapter 1 as it passes through in Gansu province.

2. Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Arhats, Devas

• Sakyamuni Buddha [Shijiamouni Fo] = The historical Buddha, Siddhartha Gautama, who probably lived to about the age of eighty somewhere between about 600 and about 500 BC. In this text he is sometimes referred to as the Buddha [Fo], sometimes by a name, and occasionally by the term bodhisattva [Pusa]. He is regarded as the fourth tathagata, q.v.

• Avalokitesvara [Guanshiyin] = A bodhisattva particularly associated with compassion.

• Dipamkara ("Lamplighter") Buddha [Dingguang Fo or Randeng Fo] = The immediate predecessor of Sakyamuni Buddha in the succession of teaching buddhas.

• Guanshiyin - See Avalokitesvara.

• Manjusri [Wenshu-shili] = A bodhisattva often worshiped with the Buddha]

• Mara [Mowang] = The lord of the devas or demons and an enemy of the Buddha.

• Mara Pisuna ("Mara of the Lusts") [Boxun] = A deva and an enemy of Buddhism.

• Muchilinda [Wenlin] = A king among the nagas (snakes) who encircled the meditating Buddha and protected him for seven days.

• Sakra [Tiandi Shi] = Ruler of the devas (q.v.), opposed to the Buddha

3. Disciples, Supporters, & Enemies of the Buddha

• Ambapali [Anpoluo] = A woman of mixed character during many reincarnations who was won over by the Buddha and became one of his disciples.

• Ananda [Enanta] = A disciple of the Buddha and his favorite companion.

• Anuruddha [Enalü] = A cousin and disciple of the Buddha

• Ashoka, king [Eyu wang]
Indian king and ardent supporter of Buddhism.

• Devadatta [Diaoda] = Cousin and rival of the Buddha who often sought to harm him during his time on earth.. (In the biography on this website, he is called Tipo-daduo.)

• Kasyapa [Dajiaye] = A disciple of the Buddha.

• Maha-kasyapa [Dajiaye] = A disciple of the Buddha.

• Maha-prajapati [Da'aidao] = The Buddha's wet nurse and his first female convert]

• Maudgalyayana [Mulian] = a disciple of the Buddha, renowned for his filial piety.

• Shariputtra [Shelifu or Zhihui] = A disciple of the Buddha, renowned for his wisdom.

• Subhadra [Xuba] = The last of the Buddha's converts before his peri-nirvana, q.v.

• Upali [Youboli] = A low-caste disciple of the Buddha

• Upasena [Anbi] = A disciple of the Buddha.

• Utpala [Youboluo] = A disciple of the Buddha.

4. Miscellaneous Buddhist Terms

• abhidharma [epitan] = Part of the Buddhist canon

• anagamin [enahan] = The third class of sainthood, likely to be reborn as devas rather than people; lower than arhat, but higher than a srotapanna, q.v.

• arhat [luohan or eluohan] = (1) A disciple of the Buddha. (2) The highest class of Buddhist "saint," likely to be reborn to become a bodhisattva.

• arhats [luohan] = Disciples of the Buddha.

• bhikshu [biqiu] = a male religious mendicant

• bhikshuni [biqiuni] = A female mendicant.

• bodhisattva [pusa] = An enlightened person who needs to pass through only one more incarnation to become a buddha. Many believers explain that a bodhisattva defers full entry into nirvana in order to share great religious merit with struggling humanity.

• Chandalas [zhantuluo] = The caste of untouchables in ancient India.

• deva [tipo] = Any of the gods of Hinduism, some of them seen as envious of the Buddha and opposed to his saving mission.

• gatha [ji] = Stanza, the shortest unit of a Buddhist scripture.

• Hinayana ("Lesser Vehicle") [Xiaocheng] = Southern schools of Buddhism, such as those found in Sri Lanka and in Southeast Asia. (Today normally called Theravada because the term Hinayana is deemed demeaning.)

• li = A Chinese unit of distance, sometimes called a "Chinese mile," equal to about a third of an English mile, now defined as 0.5 km.

• lokajyechtha ("world-honoured one") [shizun] = A title applied to any buddha.

• Mahasanghika ("Great Assembly") rules [Mohe Senchi Zhonglü] = A portion of the Vinaya (q.v.) containing the rules observed in the first Great Council, while the Buddha was still in the world.

• Mahayana ("Greater Vehicle") [Dacheng] = Northern schools of Buddhism, such as those found in Tibet, China, Korea, and Japan

• Maitreya [Mile] = The buddha of the future, successor to Shakyamuni, normally referred to by the title buddha, but sometimes by the title bodhisattva.

• naga [long] = a broad term for large snakes, especially boas and cobras. In Buddhism they may be enemies of humans or benevolent water divinities. In southern Buddhist sculpture a pious, often multi-headed naga is represented as a guardian of the meditating Buddha.

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• nirvana [nihuan or niepan] = A state of liberation from the cycles of birth and death and from the misunderstandings that lead to human misery.

• pancha parishad [wŭ nian dahui] = a great Buddhist assembly held at five year intervals assembly.

• paramita [boluomiduo or Liudu] = one of the six of passing to nirvana, most importantly the sixth, the Prajna-paramita [Banruo-boluomi], basis of the brief and frequently translated Heart Sutra.

• pari-nirvana [ban nihuan] = The physical death of a person who has already attained nirvana.

• patra ("tree of reflection") [beiduo shu] or bo (bodhi "wisdom") tree [puti shu] = A type tree under which the Buddha sat in meditation when he attained enlightenment. It is said that past buddhas have attained, and all to come must attain, to perfect wisdom beneath such a tree. Legge describes this as a kind of evergreen palm (borassus flabellifera), but most authors refer to it as a kind of fig.

• pratyeka buddhas [pizhi fo] = A euphemistic term for religious hermits.

• sangharama [seng qielan] = a monastery

• Sanskrit [Fanyŭ or Fanwen] = A language of ancient India in which Hindu scriptures are written. One dialect of it, Pali, is the language of many Indian Buddhist scriptures.

• sraman or sramana (Sanskrit: shramana, Pali: samana) [shamen] = A monk who has left his family, whether or not he is a Buddhist. (The Chinese transcription shamen unfortunately is also used as the modern anthropological Chinese term for a shaman, an unrelated type of religious practitioner.)

• srotapanna [xutuohuan] = The first and lowest of four classes of sainthood.

• sutra [jing] = A kind of scripture containing teachings of the Buddha. Part of the Buddhist canon.

• ta = (1) stupa. (2) pagoda.

• tathagata ("rightful buddha") [rulai] = a title given to buddhas. The Sakyamuni Buddha is considered to be the fourth tathagata [rulai or "rightful buddha"] of the present or Maha-bhadra period (kalpa). The other three were: (1) Krakuchandra (Jilouqin Fo), "he who readily solves all doubts"; (2) Kanakamuni (Junashe-mouni Fo), "body radiant with the color of pure gold"; (3) Kasyapa (Jiaye Fo), "swallower of light".

• Three Precious Ones [sanbao] = the Buddha, the Dharma (Buddhist teachings), and the Sangha (the Buddhist clergy).

• Traiyatrimsas Heaven [Daoli Tian] = The heaven of the beings of the ancient Indian scriptures. Often confounded with the Tushita Heaven in Chinese Buddhism.

• Tushita Heaven [Doulŭ Tian] = A celestial realm where bodhisattvas are reborn before their appearance on earth.

• vihara [jingshĕ] = (1) A wood or park used by Buddhists as a dwelling place. (2) A monastery and its grounds.

• vinaya [jielŭ or lŭ] = Books of discipline in the Chinese Buddhist Canon. It includes the Mahasanghika, q.v. Faxian's mission was largely to find copies of such materials and bring them home in hope of bettering the activities of Buddhist clerics in China.

• yojana [youyan] = An ancient Indian unit of distance, equal to about three miles.

• zhou ("elbow") = An ancient unit of measure based on the length of the forearm. Legge reckons it at 3/5 of an English cubit, the difference presumably accounted for by the inclusion in the English cubit of the hand itself as well as the forearm.)

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 1

From Chang'an to the Sandy Desert

1. Faxian had been living in Chang'an. Deploring the mutilated and imperfect state of the collection of the Books of Discipline [in the Chinese Buddhist Canon], in the second year of the period [of the warlord] Hongshi [399-414], being the jihai year of the [60-year] cycle, he entered into an engagement with [the monks] Huijing, Daozheng, Huiying, and Huiwei that they should go to India and seek for the Disciplinary Rules.

2. After starting from Chang'an, they passed through Long [in western Shaanxi province], and came to the kingdom of Qiangui, where they stopped for the Summer Retreat [required of Buddhist monks for extended meditation].

3. When that was over, they went forward to the kingdom of Rutan [one of several usurping warrior states in the tumultuous late Jin period], crossed the mountain of Yanglou, and reached the emporium of Zhangye [in Gansu province].

4. In Zhangye they found the country so much disturbed that traveling on the roads was impossible for them.

5. Its king, however, was very attentive to them, kept them in his capital, and acted the part of their danapati [or patron].

6. Here they met with Zhiyan, Huijian, Sengshao, Baoyun [the noted translator], and Sengjing; and in pleasant association with them, as bound on the same journey with themselves, they passed the Summer Retreat of that year together, resuming after it their traveling, and going on to Dunhuang [in Gansu province, at the end of the great wall], the chief town in the frontier territory of defence extending for about 80 li from east to west, and about 40 from north to south.

7. Their company, increased as it had been, halted there for some days more than a month, after which Faxian and his four friends started first in the suite of an envoy, having separated for a time from Baoyun and his associates.

8. Li Hao, the prefect of Dunhuang, had supplied them with the means of crossing the desert in front of them, in which there are many evil demons and hot winds.

9. Travelers who encounter them perish all to a man. There is not a bird to be seen in the air above, nor an animal on the ground below.

10. Though you look all round most earnestly to find where you can cross, you know not where to make your choice, the only mark and indication being the dry bones of the dead left upon the sand.

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 2

On to Shanshan

From Shanshan to Yutian

1. On to Shanshan

After traveling for seventeen days, a distance we may calculate of about 1500 li, the pilgrims reached the kingdom of Shanshan [probably near Lake Lop Nor at the east end of the Tarim Basin], a country rugged and hilly, with a thin and barren soil.

2. The clothes of the common people are coarse, and like those worn in our land of Han [i.e., China], some wearing felt and others coarse serge or cloth of hair; this was the only difference seen among them.

3. The king professed our Law, and there might be in the country more than four thousand monks, who were all students of the Hinayana [= Theravada].

4. The common people of this and other kingdoms in that region, as well as the sramans [monks], all practise the rules of India, except that the latter do so more exactly, and the former more loosely. [A sramana (Pali: samana) is a monk who has left his family, whether or not he is a Buddhist. The Chinese transcription is shamen, which unfortunately is also the modern anthropological Chinese term for a shaman.] The travelers found the same thing in all the kingdoms through which they went on their way from this place westward, except that each had its own peculiar barbarous speech.

5. The monks, however, who had quit their families, were all students of Indian books and the Indian language.

6. Here they stayed for about a month, and then proceeded on their journey, fifteen days walking to the north-west bringing them to the country of Wuyi [unidentified].

7. In this also there were more than four thousand monks, all students of the Hinayana.

8. They were very strict in their rules, so that sramans [like Faxian] from the territory of Qin [i.e., China] were all unprepared for their regulations.

9. Faxian, through the management of Fu Gongsun, the uddesika or maitre d'hôtellerie, was able to remain [with his company] for more than two months, and here they were rejoined by Baoyun and his friends, [whom they had left behind at Dunhuang].

10. From Shanshan to Yutian

At the end of that time the people of Wuyi neglected the duties of propriety and righteousness, and treated the strangers in so stingy a manner that Ziyan, Huijian, and Huiwei went back towards Gaochang [probably near modern Turpan or Tulufan, southeast of Urumqi or Wulumuqi in Xinjiang], hoping to obtain there the means of continuing their journey.

11. Faxian and the rest, however, through the liberality of Fu Gongsun, managed to go straight forward in a southwest direction. They found the country uninhabited as they went along.

12. The difficulties which they encountered in crossing the streams and on their route, and the sufferings which they endured, were unparalleled in human experience. But in the course of a month and five days they succeeded in reaching Yutian (or Khotan) [probably near modern Hetian or Yutian on the southwestern edge of the Gobi Desert].

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 3

Yutian [Khotan]

Processions of Images

The King's New Monastery

1. Yutian

Yutian is a pleasant and prosperous kingdom, with a numerous and flourishing population. The inhabitants all profess our Law, and join together in its religious music for their enjoyment.

2. The monks amount to several myriads, most of whom are students of the Mahayana. They all receive their food from the common store. [See chapters 6 and 39.]

3. Throughout the country the houses of the people stand apart like separate stars, and each family has a small stupa constructed in front of its door. The smallest of these may be twenty cubits high, or rather more.

4. In the monasteries they make rooms for monks from all quarters, the use of which is given to traveling monks who may arrive, and who are provided with whatever else they require.

5. The lord of the country lodged Faxian and the others comfortably, and supplied their wants, in a sangharama or monastery called Gomati ["rich in cows," Qumodi], of the Mahayana school.

6. Attached to it there are three thousand monks, who are called to their meals by the sound of a bell. When they enter the refectory, their demeanour is marked by a reverent gravity, and they take their seats in regular order, all maintaining a perfect silence. No sound is heard from their alms-bowls and other utensils.

7. When any of these pure men require food, they are not allowed to call out for it, but only make signs with their hands.

8. Huijing, Daozheng, and [a monk named] Huida set out in advance towards the country of Jiecha [possibly Kashmir]. But Faxian and the others, wishing to see the procession of images, remained behind for three months.

9. Processions of Images

There are in this country four great monasteries, not counting the smaller ones.

10. Beginning on the first day of the fourth month, they sweep and water the streets inside the city, making a grand display in the lanes and byways.

11. Over the city gate they pitch a large tent, grandly adorned in all possible ways, in which the king and queen, with their ladies brilliantly arrayed, take up their residence for the time.

12. The monks of the Gomati monastery, being Mahayana students, and held in great reverence by the king, took precedence of all others in the procession.

13. At a distance of three or four li from the city, they made a four-wheeled image car, more than thirty cubits high, which looked like the great hall of a monastery moving along.

14. The seven precious substances [gold, silver, lapis lazuli, rock crystal, rubies, diamonds or emeralds, and agate] were grandly displayed about it, with silken streamers and canopies hanging all around.

15. The chief image [of Sakyamuni (Lord of the Sakya clan, meaning Siddharta Gautama Buddha) himself] stood in the middle of the car, with two Bodhisattvas in attendance upon it, while devas [Brahmanic deities] were made to follow in waiting, all brilliantly carved in gold and silver, and hanging in the air.

16. When the car was a hundred paces from the gate, the king took off his crown of state, changed his dress for a fresh suit, and with bare feet, carrying in his hands flowers and incense, and with two rows of attending followers, went out at the gate to meet the image.

17. With his head and face bowed to the ground, he did homage at its feet, and then scattered the flowers and burnt the incense. When the image was entering the gate, the queen and the brilliant ladies with her in the gallery above scattered far and wide all kinds of flowers, which floated about and fell promiscuously to the ground. In this way everything was done to promote the dignity of the occasion.

18. The carriages of the monasteries were all different, and each one had its own day for the procession. The ceremony began on the first day of the fourth month, and ended on the fourteenth, after which the king and queen returned to the palace.

19. The King's New Monastery

Seven or eight li to the west of the city there is what is called the King's New Monastery, the building of which took eighty years, and extended over three reigns.

20. It may be 250 cubits in height, rich in elegant carving and inlaid work, covered above with gold and silver, and finished throughout with a combination of all the precious substances.

21. Behind the stupa there has been built a Hall of the Buddha, of the utmost magnificence and beauty, the beams, pillars, venetianed doors, and windows being all overlaid with gold-leaf.

22. Besides this, the apartments for the monks are imposingly and elegantly decorated, beyond the power of words to express.

23. Of whatever things of highest value and preciousness the kings in the six countries on the east of the Cong ("onion") or Karakoram range of mountains are possessed, they contribute the greater portion to this monastery, using but a small portion of them themselves.

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 4

Through the Cong or "Onion" Mountains to Jiecha (Sargodha?)

1. When the processions of images in the fourth month were over, Sengshao, by himself alone, followed a Tartar who was an earnest follower of the Law, and proceeded towards Jibin or Kophene [Kabul, Afghanistan].

2. Faxian and the others went forward to the kingdom of Zihe [unidentified], which it took them twenty-five days to

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reach. Its king was a strenuous follower of our Law, and had around him more than a thousand monks, mostly students of the Mahayana.

3. Here the travelers abode fifteen days, and then went south for four days, when they found themselves among the Congling ["Onion"] mountains, and reached the country of Yuhui [unidentified], where they halted and kept their Retreat.

4. When this was over, they went on among the hills for twenty-five days, and got to Jiecha [possibly modern Sargodha in Pakistan], there rejoining Huijing and his two companions [who had left them earlier].;

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 5
Great Quinquennial Assembly of Monks
Relics of the Buddha
Productions of the Country

1. Great Quinquennial Assembly of Monks

It happened that the king of the country was then holding the pancha parishad, that is, in Chinese, the great quinquennial assembly.

2. When this is to be held, the king requests the presence of the sramans from all quarters of his kingdom. They come as if in clouds; and when they are all assembled, their place of session is grandly decorated.

3. Silken streamers and canopies are hung out in, and water-lilies in gold and silver are made and fixed up behind the places where the chief of them are to sit.

4. When clean mats have been spread, and they are all seated, the king and his ministers present their offerings according to rule and law. The assembly takes place, in the first, second, or third month, for the most part in the spring.

5. After the king has held the assembly, he further exhorts the ministers to make other and special offerings.

6. The doing of this extends over one, two, three, five, or even seven days; and when all is finished, he takes his own riding-horse, saddles, bridles, and waits on him himself, while he makes the noblest and most important minister of the kingdom mount him.

7. Then, taking fine white woolen cloth, all sorts of precious things, and articles which the sramans require, he distributes them among them, uttering vows at the same time along with all his ministers; and when this distribution has taken place, he again redeems (whatever he wishes) from the monks.

8. The country, being among the hills and cold, does not produce the other cereals, and only the wheat gets ripe.

9. After the monks have received their annual portion of this, the mornings suddenly show the hoar-frost, and on this account the king always begs the monks to [use their powers to] make the wheat ripen before they receive their portion.

10. Relics of the Buddha

There is in the country a spitoon which belonged to the Buddha, made of stone, and in colour like his alms-bowl.

11. There is also a tooth of the Buddha, for which the people have reared a stupa, connected with which there are more than a thousand monks and their disciples, all students of the Hinayana.

12. Productions of the Country

To the east of these hills the dress of the common people is of coarse materials, as in our country of Qin 秦, but here also there were among them the differences of fine woolen cloth and of serge or haircloth. The rules observed by the sramans are remarkable, and too numerous to be mentioned in detail.

13. The country is in the midst of the Onion range. As you go forward from these mountains, the plants, trees, and fruits are all different from those of the land of Han, excepting only the bamboo, pomegranate, and sugar-cane.

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 6
On Towards North India
Image of Maitreya Bodhisattva

1. On Towards North India

From this the travelers went westwards towards North India, and after being on the way for a month, they succeeded in getting across and through the range of the Onion mountains.

2. The snow rests on them both winter and summer. There are also among them venomous dragons, which, when provoked, spit forth poisonous winds, and cause showers of snow and storms of sand and gravel.

3. Not one in ten thousand of those who encounter these dangers escapes with his life. The people of the country call the range by the name of "The Snow mountains."

4. When the travelers had got through them, they were in North India, and immediately on entering its borders, found themselves in a small kingdom called Tuoli [unidentified*], where also there were many monks, all students of the Hinayana. [* There was a kingdom of Darel on the western bank of the Indus, but Faxian appears to be on the eastern bank and to cross only in the next chapter.]

5. Image of Maitreya Bodhisattva

In this kingdom there was formerly an arhat [a kind of perfected Buddhist destined for nirvana] who by his supernatural power took a clever artificer up to the Tushita heaven [where bodhisattvas are reborn before their appearance on earth], to see the height, complexion, and appearance of Maitreya Bodhisattva [the buddha of the future], and then return and make an image of him in wood.

6. First and last, this was done three times, and then the image was completed, eighty cubits in height, and eight cubits at the base from knee to knee of the crossed legs.

7. On fast-days it emits an effulgent light. The kings of the (surrounding) countries vie with one another in presenting offerings to it. Here it is, to be seen now as of old.

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 7
Crossing of the Indus
When Buddhism First Crossed the River for the East

1. Crossing of the Indus

The travelers went on to the south-west for fifteen days at the foot of the mountains, and following the course of their range. The way was difficult and rugged, running along an exceedingly precipitous bank, which rose up there, a hill-like wall of rock, 10,000 cubits from the base.

2. When one approaches the edge of it, his eyes become unsteady; and if he wished to go forward in the same direction, there was no place on which he could place his foot; and beneath were the waters of the river called the Sindhu (Xintou): the Indus.

3. In former times men had chiseled paths along the rocks, and distributed ladders on the face of them, to the number altogether of 700, at the bottom of which there was a suspension bridge of ropes, by which the river was crossed, its banks being there eighty paces apart.

4. The place and arrangements are to be found in the Records of the Nine Interpreters [of the invading Chinese armies under Emperor Wu [reign 06b-6] during the early Han dynasty], but neither Zhang Qian [Emperor Wu's minister] nor Gan Ying [sent in AD 88 on an embassy that failed to reach Rome] had reached the spot.

5. When Buddhism First Crossed the River for the East

The monks of the place asked Faxian if it could be known when the Law of the Buddha first went to the east.

6. He replied, "When I asked the people of those countries about it, they all said that it had been handed down by their fathers from of old that, after the setting up of the image of Maitreya Bodhisattva, there were sramans of India who crossed this river, carrying with them Sutras and Books of Discipline.

7. "Now the image was set up rather more than 300 years after the nirvana of the Buddha, which may be referred to the reign of king Ping of the Zhou dynasty [reign 770-719 BC, considered too early a date].

8. "According to this account we may say that the diffusion of our great doctrines in the east began from the setting up of this image.

9. "If it had not been through that Maitreya, the great spiritual master who is to be the successor of the Sakyamuni Buddha, who could have caused the 'Three Precious Ones' — the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha— to be proclaimed so far, and caused the people of those border lands to know our Law?

10. "We know of a truth that the opening of the way for such a mysterious propagation is not the work of man; and so the dream of the emperor Ming of Han [reign 57-75 AD], [the traditional story of the introduction of Buddhism into China,] had its proper cause."

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 8
Wuchang
Monasteries and Their Ways
Traces of the Buddha

1. Wuchang

After crossing the river, the travelers immediately came to the kingdom of Wuchang], which is indeed a part of North India [probably a territory along the Swat River in northern Pakistan].

2. The people all use the language of Central India, "Central India" being what we should call the "Middle Kingdom." The food and clothes of the common people [of Wuchang] are the same as in that Central Kingdom.

3. Monasteries and Their Ways

The Law of the Buddha is flourishing [in Wuchang]. They call the places where the monks stay for a time or reside permanently Sangharamas [monasteries]; and of these there are in all 500, the monks being all students of the Hinayana.

4. When stranger bhikshus [mendicants] arrive at one of them, their wants are supplied for three days, after which they are told to find a resting-place for themselves.

5. Traces of the Buddha

There is a tradition that when the Buddha came to North India, he came at once to this country, and that here he left a print of his foot, which is long or short according to the ideas of the beholder on the subject. It still exists, and the same thing is true about it, at the present day.

6. Here [along the Swat River] also are still to be seen the rock on which he dried his clothes, and the place where he converted the wicked dragon.

[Chinese long translates Sanskrit naga, a broad term for large snakes, especially boas and cobras. In Buddhism they may be enemies of humans or benevolent water divinities. In southern Buddhist sculpture a pious, often multi-headed naga is represented as a guardian of the meditating Buddha.]

7. The rock is fourteen cubits high, and more than twenty broad, with one side of it smooth.

8. Huijing, Huida, and Daozheng went on ahead towards the place of the Buddha's shadow in the country of Nagara (Najie) [on the southern bank of the Kabul River, about 30 miles west of Jalalabad, in eastern Afghanistan]; but Faxian and the others remained in Wuchang, and kept the Summer Retreat. That over, they descended south, and arrived in the country of Suheduo [unidentified, possibly Swastene between the Indus and the Swat Rivers in Pakistan].

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 9
Suheduo and a Legend of the Buddha.

1. In that country [Suheduo] also Buddhism is flourishing.

2. There is in it the place where Sakra, Ruler of Devas, in a former age, tried the Bodhisattva, by producing [or becoming] a hawk in pursuit of a dove, when the Bodhisattva cut off a piece of his own flesh, and with it ransomed the dove.

3. After the Buddha had attained to perfect wisdom, and in traveling about with his disciples arrived at this spot, he informed them that this was the place where he ransomed the dove with a piece of his own flesh.

4. In this way the people of the country became aware of the fact, and on the spot reared a stupa, adorned with layers of gold and silver plates.

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 10
Gandhara and Legends of the Buddha

1. The travelers, going downwards from this towards the east, in five days came to the country of Gandhara (Jiantuowei*), the place where Dharma-vivardhana (Fayi), the son of [the famed monarch] Ashoka (Eyu, 304-232 BC), ruled.

2. When the Buddha was a Bodhisattva, he gave his eyes also for another man here; and at the spot they have also reared a large stupa, adorned with layers of gold and silver plates. The people of the country were mostly students of the Hinayana.

CHAPTER 11 - Takshasila's Legends
The Four Great Stupas

1. Takshasila's Legends

Seven days' journey from this to the east brought the travelers to the kingdom of Takshasila (Zhushashiluo) [unidentified], which means "the severed head" in the language of China.

2. Here, when the Buddha was a Bodhisattva, he gave away his head to a man; and from this circumstance the kingdom got its name.

3. Going on further for two days to the east, they came to the place where the Bodhisattva threw down his body to feed a starving tigress.

4. The Four Great Stupas

In these two places also large stupas have been built, both adorned with layers of all the precious substances.

5. The kings, ministers, and people of the kingdoms around vie with one another in making offerings at them. The trains of those who come to scatter flowers and light lamps at them never cease.

6. The nations of those quarters call those [and the other two mentioned before] "the four great stupas."

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER CHAPTER 12
Purushapura
Prophecy About King Kanishka and His Stupa
The Buddha's Alms-Bowl
Death of Huiying

1. Purushapura

Going southwards from Gandhara, the travelers in four days arrived at the kingdom of Purushapura (Fulousha) [Peshwar, in northern Pakistan].

2. Prophecy About King Kanishka and His Stupa

Formerly, when the Buddha was traveling in this country with his disciples, he said to his disciple Ananda,

3. "After my pari-nirvana [the physical death of one who has already attained nirvana], there will be a king named Kanishka (Jiniga), who shall build a stupa on this spot."

4. This Kanishka [king of the historic Tartars who conquered much of northern India] was afterwards born into the world; and once, when he had gone forth to look about him, Sakra, Ruler of Devas, wishing to excite the idea in his mind, assumed the appearance of a little herd-boy, and was making a stupa right in the king's way, who asked what sort of thing he was making.

5. The boy said, "I am making a stupa for the Buddha." The king said, "Very good;" and immediately, right over the boy's stupa, he (proceeded to) rear another, which was more than four hundred cubits high, and adorned with layers of all the precious substances.

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6. Of all the stupas and temples which the travelers saw in their journeyings, there was not one comparable to this in solemn beauty and majestic grandeur. There is a current saying that this is the finest stupa in Jambudvipa (Yanfu, i.e., India).

7. When the king's stupa was completed, the little stupa of the boy came out from its side on the south, rather more than three cubits in height.

8. The Buddha's Alms-Bowl

The Buddha's alms-bowl is in this country. Formerly, a king of the Xiao Yuezhi [in the Greek kingdom of Bactria that would become the Yuezi kingdom of Kanishka, and included today's Afghanistan, Pakistan, up to Fergana in the north.] raised a large force and invaded this country, wishing to carry the bowl away.

9. Having subdued the kingdom, as he and his captains were sincere believers in the Law of the Buddha, and wished to carry off the bowl, they proceeded to present their offerings on a great scale.

10. When they had done so to the Three Precious Ones, he made a large elephant be grandly caparisoned, and placed the bowl upon it. But the elephant knelt down on the ground, and was unable to go forward.

11. Again he caused a four-wheeled wagon to be prepared in which the bowl was put to be conveyed away. Eight elephants were then yoked to it, and dragged it with their united strength; but neither were they able to go forward.

12. The king knew that the time for an association between himself and the bowl had not yet arrived, [for his merit was still insufficient,] and was sad and deeply ashamed of himself.

13. Forthwith he built a stupa at the place and a monastery, and left a guard to watch [the bowl], making all sorts of contributions. There may be there more than seven hundred monks.

14. When it is near midday, they bring out the bowl, and, along with the common people, make their various offerings to it, after which they take their midday meal.

15. In the evening, at the time of incense, they bring the bowl out again [which legend says was made of four presented by the Buddha's four guardian deities].

16. It may contain rather more than two pecks, and is of various colours, black predominating, with the seams that show its fourfold composition distinctly marked. Its thickness is about the fifth of an inch, and it has a bright and glossy lustre.

17. When poor people throw into it a few flowers, it becomes immediately full, while some very rich people, wishing to make offering of many flowers, might not stop till they had thrown in hundreds, thousands, and myriads of bushels, and yet would not be able to fill it.

18. Baoyun and Sengjing here merely made their offerings to the alms-bowl, and (then resolved to) go back. Huijing, Huida, and Daozheng had gone on before the rest to Nagara (near Jalalabad) to make their offerings at the places of the Buddha's shadow, tooth, and the flat-bone of his skull.

19. Death of Huiying

There Huijing fell ill, and Daozheng remained to look after him, while Huida came alone to Purushapura, and saw the others, and then he with Baoyun and Sengjing took their way back to the land of Qin [China].

20. [While Huijing was ill in Nagara,] Huiying came to his end in the monastery of the Buddha's alms-bowl, and on this Faxian went forward alone towards the place of the flat-bone of the Buddha's skull.

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 13

Nagara
Festival of the Buddha's Skull-Bone
Other Relics and His Shadow

1. Nagara

Going west for sixteen yojanas [an Indian measure of distance, possibly about five miles], he came to the city Xiluo [probably Hida, west of Peshawar, south of Jalalabad] in the borders of the country of Nagara, where there is the flat-bone of the Buddha's skull, deposited in a vihara or "pure house," adorned all over with gold-leaf and the seven sacred substances.

2. The king of the country, revering and honouring the bone, and anxious lest it should be stolen away, has selected eight individuals, representing the great families in the kingdom, and committed to each a seal, with which he should seal the shrine and guard the relic.

3. Festival of the Buddha's Skull-Bone

At early dawn these eight men come, and after each has inspected his seal, they open the door.

4. This done, they wash their hands with scented water and bring out the bone, which they place outside the vihara, on a lofty platform, where it is supported on a round pedestal of the seven precious substances, and covered with a bell of lapis lazuli, both adorned with rows of pearls.

5. Its colour is of a yellowish white, and it forms an imperfect circle twelve inches round, curving upwards to the centre.

6. Every day, after it has been brought forth, the keepers of the vihara ascend a high gallery, where they beat great drums, blow conchs, and clash their copper cymbals.

7. When the king hears them, he goes to the vihara, and makes his offerings of flowers and incense.

8. When he has done this, he (and his attendants) in order, one after another, (raise the bone), place it (for a moment) on the top of their heads, and then depart, going out by the door on the west as they entered by that on the east.

9. The king every morning makes his offerings and performs his worship, and afterwards gives audience on the business of his government. The chiefs of the Vaisya [merchant] caste also make their offerings before they attend to their family affairs.

10. Every day it is so, and there is no remissness in the observance of the custom.

11. When all the offerings are over, they replace the bone in the vihara, where there is a vimoksha [liberation] stupa, of the seven precious substances, and rather more than five cubits high, sometimes open, sometimes shut, to contain it.

12. In front of the door of the vihara, there are parties who every morning sell flowers and incense, and those who wish to make offerings buy some of all kinds.

13. The kings of various countries are also constantly sending messengers with offerings.

14. The vihara stands in a square of thirty paces, and though heaven should shake and earth be rent, this place would not move.

15. Other Relics and His Shadow

Going on, north from this, for a yojana, (Faxian) arrived at the capital of Nagara, the place where the Bodhisattva once purchased with money five stalks of flowers, as an offering to the Dipamkara Buddha, his predecessor.

16. In the midst of the city there is also the stupa of the Buddha's tooth, where offerings are made in the same way as to the flat-bone of his skull.

17. A yojana to the north-east of the city brought him to the mouth of a valley, where there is the Buddha's pewter staff [made of sandal-wood but decorated with a head and rings of pewter]; and a vihara also has been built at which offerings are made.

18. The staff is made of Gosirsha Chandana [sandalwood from Cow's Head Mountain], and is quite sixteen or seventeen cubits long.

19. It is contained in a wooden tube, and though a hundred or a thousand men were to try to lift it, they could not move it.

20. Entering the mouth of the valley, and going west, he found the Buddha's Sanghali [robe], where also there is reared a vihara, and offerings are made.

21. It is a custom of the country when there is a great drought, for the people to collect in crowds, bring out the robe, pay worship to it, and make offerings, on which there is immediately a great rain from the sky.

22. South of the city, half a yojana, there is a rock-cavern, in a great hill fronting the south-west; and here it was that the Buddha left his shadow.

23. Looking at it from a distance of more than ten paces, you seem to see the Buddha's real form, with his complexion of gold, and his characteristic marks in their nicety clearly and brightly displayed.

24. The nearer you approach, however, the fainter it becomes, as if it were only in your fancy.

25. When the kings from the regions all around have sent skilful artists to take a copy, none of them have been able to do so.

26. Among the people of the country there is a saying current that, "The thousand Buddhas must all leave their shadows here."

27. Rather more than four hundred paces west from the shadow, when the Buddha was at the spot, he shaved his hair and clipped his nails, and proceeded, along with his disciples, to build a stupa seventy or eighty cubits high, to be a model for all future stupas; and it still exists.

28. By the side of it there is a monastery, with more than seven hundred monks in it. At this place there are as many as a thousand stupas of arhats and "Pratyeka Buddhas" [i.e., hermits].

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 14

Death of Huijing in the Little Snowy Mountains.
Rohi & Bannu: Crossing the Indus to the East.

1. Death of Huijing in the Little Snowy Mountains

Having stayed there till the third month of winter, Faxian and the two others [Daozheng and Huijing], proceeding southwards, crossed the Little Snowy mountains [probably Safeid Koh towards the Kohat pass].

2. On them the snow lies accumulated both winter and summer. On the north side of the mountains, in the shade, they suddenly encountered a cold wind which made them shiver and become unable to speak.

3. Huijing could not go any farther. A white froth came from his mouth, and he said to Faxian, "I cannot live any longer. Do you immediately go away, that we do not all die here."

4. And with these words he died. Faxian stroked the corpse, and cried out piteously, "Our original plan has failed; it is fate (ming 命). What can we do?"

5. Rohi & Bannu: Crossing the Indus to the East

He then again exerted himself, and they succeeded in crossing to the south of the range, and arrived in the kingdom of Luoyi [Rohi, i.e., Afghanistan, although only one kingdom of it is here intended], where there were nearly three thousand monks, students of both the Mahayana and Hinayana.

6. Here they stayed for the Summer Retreat, and when that was over, they went on to the south, and ten days' journey brought them to the kingdom of Bana [Bannu District, in Punjab], where there are also more than three thousand monks, all students of the Hinayana.

7. Proceeding from this place for three days, they again crossed the Indus, where the country on each side was low and level.

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 15

Bhida: Sympathy of Monks With the Pilgrims

1. After they had crossed the river, there was a country named Pitu [Bhida in Punjab], where Buddhism was very flourishing, and the monks studied both the Mahayana and Hinayana.

2. When the local monks saw their fellow-disciples from Qin [China] passing along, they were moved with great pity and sympathy, and expressed themselves thus:

3. "How is it that these men from a border land should have learned to leave their families [i.e., become monks], and come for the sake of our doctrines from such a distance in search of the Law of the Buddha?"

4. They supplied them with what they needed, and treated them in accordance with the rules of the Law.

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 16

On to Muttra
Condition and Customs of Central India
Of Monks, Viharas, and Monasteries

1. On to Muttra

From this place they traveled some 80 yojanas to the southeast, passing by a succession of very many monasteries, with a multitude of monks, who might be counted by myriads.

2. After passing all these places, they came to a country named Muttra ("The Peacock City" [and birthplace of Krishna], Motouluo).

3. They still followed the course of the Puna river [probably the Jumna or Yamuna], on the banks of which, left and right, there were twenty monasteries, which might contain three thousand monks; and here the Law of the Buddha was still more flourishing.

4. Condition and Customs of Central India

Everywhere, from the Sandy Desert, in all the countries of India, the kings have been firm believers in that Law.

5. When they make their offerings to a community of monks, they take off their royal caps, and along with their relatives and ministers, supply them with food with their own hands.

6. That done, the king has a carpet spread for himself on the ground, and sits down in front of the chairman; they dare not presume to sit on couches in front of the community.

7. The laws and ways, according to which the kings presented their offerings when the Buddha was in the world, have been handed down to the present day.

8. All south from this is named the Middle Kingdom [in Pali the Majjhima-desa]. In it the cold and heat are finely tempered, and there is neither hoarfrost nor snow.

9. The people are numerous and happy; they have not to register their households, or attend to any magistrates and their rules; only those who cultivate the royal land have to pay [a portion of] the grain from it.

10. If they want to go, they go; if they want to stay on, they stay.

11. The king governs without decapitation or other corporal punishments. Criminals are simply fined, lightly or heavily, according to the circumstances of each case.

12. Even in cases of repeated attempts at wicked rebellion, they only have their right hands cut off.

13. The king's body-guards and attendants all have salaries.

14. Throughout the whole country the people do not kill any living creature, nor drink intoxicating liquor, nor eat onions or garlic [regarded as too stimulating to the senses for monastic Buddhists].

15. The only exception is that of the Chandalas [the untouchable caste]. That is the name for those who are held to be wicked men, and live apart from others.

16. When they enter the gate of a city or a market-place, they strike a piece of wood to make themselves known, so that men know and avoid them, and do not come into contact with them.

17. In that country they do not keep pigs and fowls, and do not sell live cattle; in the markets there are no butchers' shops and no dealers in intoxicating drink.

18. In buying and selling commodities they use cowries. Only the Chandalas are fishermen and hunters, and sell flesh meat.

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19. Of Monks, Viharas, and Monasteries

After the Buddha attained to pari-nirvana, the kings of the various countries and the heads of the Vaisyas [or merchant castes] built viharas for the priests, and endowed them with fields, houses, gardens, and orchards, along with the resident populations and their cattle, the grants being engraved on plates of metal, so that afterwards they were handed down from king to king, without any daring to annul them, and they remain even to the present time.

20. When any monk stops here, he does not want for bedding, food, or clothing. All are provided.

21. The regular business of the monks is to perform acts of meritorious virtue, and to recite their Sutras and sit in meditation.

22. When stranger monks arrive at any monastery, the old residents meet and receive them, carry for them their clothes and alms-bowl, give them water to wash their feet, oil with which to anoint them, and the liquid food permitted out of the regular hours [something prohibited to resident monks].

23. When the stranger has enjoyed a very brief rest, they further ask the number of years that he has been a monk, after which he receives a sleeping apartment with its appurtenances, according to his regular order, and everything is done for him which the rules prescribe.

24. Where a community of monks resides, they erect stupas to Shariputtra [Shelifu or Zhihui, a disciple of the Buddha, renowned for his wisdom], to Maha-maudgalyayana [Mulian, a disciple of the Buddha, renowned for his filial piety], and to Ananda [Enanta, the favourite disciple of the Buddha], and also stupas (in honour) of the Abhidharma [Epitan, part of the Buddhist canon], the Vinaya [lü, part of the Buddhist canon], and the Sutras [jing , part of the Buddhist canon].

25. A month after the annual season of rest, the families which are looking out for blessing stimulate one another to make offerings to the monks, and send round to them the liquid food which may be taken out of the ordinary hours.

26. All the monks come together in a great assembly, and preach the Law; after which offerings are presented at the stupa of Shariputtra, with all kinds of flowers and incense.

27. All through the night lamps are kept burning, and skillful musicians are employed to perform.

28. When Shariputtra was a great Brahman, he went to the Buddha, and begged to be permitted to quit his family and become a monk.

29. The great Mugalan and the great Kasyapa [Dajiaye, a disciple of the Buddha] also did the same.

30. The bhikshunis [nuns] for the most part make their offerings at the stupa of Ananda, because it was he who requested the World-honoured one to allow females to quit their families and become nuns.

31. The sramaneras [novices, male or female, who have still taken only partial vows] mostly make their offerings to Rahula [Luoyun, the Buddha's son and disciple, patron novices].

32. The professors of the Abhidharma make their offerings to it; those of the Vinaya to it.

33. Every year there is one such offering, and each class has its own day for it.

34. Students of the Mahayana present offerings to the Prajna-paramita [Banruo-boluomi, one of the six or ten paramitas, or ways of passing to nirvana], to Manjusri [Wenshu-shili, a bodhisattva often worshiped with the Buddha], and to Guanshiyin [a bodhisattva sometimes referred to as the "goddess of mercy"].

35. When the monks have done receiving their annual tribute from the harvests, the heads of the Vaisyas and all the Brahmans bring clothes and other such articles as the monks require for use, and distribute among them.

36. The monks, having received them, also proceed to give portions to one another.

37. From the nirvana of the Buddha, the forms of ceremony, laws, and rules, practised by the sacred communities, have been handed down from one generation to another without interruption.

38. From the place where the travelers crossed the Indus to Southern India, and on to the Southern Sea, a distance of forty or fifty thousand li, all is level plain. There are no large hills with streams among them; there are simply the waters of the rivers.

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 17

Sankasya

The Buddha's Ascent to and Descent From the Trayastrimsas Heaven

Other Legends

1. Sankasya

From this they proceeded south-east for eighteen yojanas, and found themselves in a kingdom called Sankasya [Sengjiashi, including Samkassam village some forty-five miles northwest of modern Canouge], at the place where the Buddha came down, after ascending to the Trayastrimsas heaven [of Indra], and there preaching for three months his Law for the benefit of his mother [who died seven days after his birth and became a male deva].

2. The Buddha's Ascent to and Descent From the Trayastrimsas Heaven

The Buddha had gone up to this heaven by his supernatural power, without letting his disciples know.

3. But seven days before the completion (of the three months) he laid aside his invisibility, and [his cousin] Anuruddha [Enalü], with his heavenly eyes, saw the World-honoured one, and immediately said to the honoured one, the great [disciple] Mugalan [Mulian], "Do you go and salute the World-honoured one."

4. Mugalan forthwith went, and with head and face did homage at the Buddha's feet.

5. They then saluted and questioned each other, and when this was over, the Buddha said to Mugalan, "Seven days after this I will go down to Jambudvipa [Yanfuti]," and thereupon Mugalan returned.

6. At this time the great kings of eight countries with their ministers and people, not having seen the Buddha for a long time, were all thirstily looking up for him, and had collected in clouds in this kingdom to wait for the World-honoured one.

7. Then the bhikshuni Utpala [Youboluo] thought in her heart, "Today the kings, with their ministers and people, will all be meeting and welcoming the Buddha. I am but a woman; how shall I succeed in being the first to see him?"

8. The Buddha immediately, by his spirit-like power, changed her into the appearance of a holy Chakravartti [i.e., a holy military] king, and she was the foremost of all in doing reverence to him.

9. As the Buddha descended from his position aloft in the Trayastrimsas heaven, when he was coming down, there were made to appear three flights of precious steps.

10. The Buddha was on the middle flight, the steps of which were composed of the seven precious substances.

11. The king of Brahma-loka [i.e., Brahma] also made a flight of silver steps appear on the right side, where he was seen attending with a white chowry in his hand.

12. Sakra, Ruler of Devas, made a flight of steps of purple gold on the left side, where he was seen attending and holding an umbrella of the seven precious substances.

13. An innumerable multitude of the devas followed the Buddha in his descent. When he had come down, the three flights all disappeared in the ground, excepting seven steps, which continued to be visible.

14. Afterwards king Ashoka, wishing to know where their ends rested, sent men to dig and see.

15. They went down to the yellow springs [deep below the earth] without reaching the bottom of the steps, and from this the king received an increase to his reverence and faith, and built a vihara over the steps, with a standing image, sixteen cubits in height, right over the middle flight.

16. Behind the vihara he erected a stone pillar, about thirty zhou 肘 [fifty cubits] high, with a lion on the top of it. [It was still visible in the XIXth century. The figure on top was an elephant with a broken trunk and tail, looking like a lion from the ground.]

17. Let into the pillar, in niches on each of its four sides, there is an image of the Buddha, inside and out shining and transparent, and pure as if it were of lapis lazuli.

18. Some teachers of another doctrine [Hinduism] once disputed with the sramanas about the right to this as a place of residence, and the latter were having the worst of the argument, when they took an oath on both sides on the condition that, if the place did indeed belong to the sramanas, there should be some marvellous attestation of it.

19. When these words had been spoken, the lion on the top gave a great roar, thus giving the proof; at which time their opponents were frightened, bowed to the decision, and withdrew.

20. Other Legends

Because of the Buddha having for three months partaken of the food of heaven, his body emitted a heavenly fragrance, unlike that of an ordinary man.

21. He went immediately and bathed; and afterwards, at the spot where he did so, a bathing-house was built, which is still extant.

22. At the place where the bhikshuni Utpala was the first to do reverence to the Buddha, a stupa has now been built.

23. At the places where the Buddha, when he was in the world, cut his hair and nails, stupas are erected; and where the three Buddhas that preceded Sakyamuni Buddha and he himself sat; where they walked, and where images of their persons were made — at all these places stupas were built, and still exist.

24. At the place where Sakra, Ruler of the Devas, and the king of the Brahma-loka followed Buddha down (from the Trayastrimsas heaven) they have also raised a stupa.

25. At this place the monks and nuns may be a thousand, who all receive their food from the common store, and pursue their studies, some of the Mahayana and some of the Hinayana.

26. Where they live, there is a white-eared dragon, which acts the part of danapati [charity] to the community of these monks, causing abundant harvests in the country, and the enriching rains to come in season, without the occurrence of any calamities, so that the monks enjoy their repose and ease.

27. In gratitude for the dragon's kindness, they have made for it a dragon-house, with a carpet for it to sit on, and appointed for it a diet of blessing, which they present for its nourishment.

28. Every day they set apart three of their number to go to its house, and eat there.

29. Whenever the Summer Retreat is ended, the dragon straightway changes its form, and appears as a small snake, with white spots at the side of its ears.

30. As soon as the monks recognise it, they fill a copper vessel with cream, into which they put the creature, and then carry it round from the one who has the highest seat at their tables to him who has the lowest, when it appears as if saluting them. When it has been taken round, immediately it disappears; and every year it thus comes forth once.

31. The country is very productive, and the people are prosperous, and happy beyond comparison. When people of other countries come to it, they are exceedingly attentive to them all, and supply them with what they need.

32. Fifty yojanas northwest from the monastery there is another, called "The Great Heap" [Dafen]

33. Great Heap was the name of a wicked demon, who later was converted by the Buddha, and men subsequently at this place raised a vihara.

34. When the the place was being given over to an arhat by pouring water on his hands, some drops fell on the ground. They are still on the spot, and however they may be brushed away and removed, they continue to be visible, and cannot be made to disappear.

35. At this place there is also a stupa to the Buddha, where a good spirit constantly keeps (all about it) swept and watered, without any labour of man being required.

36. A king of corrupt views once said, "Since you are able to do this, I will lead a multitude of troops and reside there till the dirt and filth has increased and accumulated, and (see) whether you can cleanse it away or not."

37. The spirit thereupon raised a great wind, which blew the filth away, and made the place pure.

38. At this place there are a hundred small stupas, at which a man may keep counting a whole day without being able to know their exact number.

39. If he be firmly bent on knowing it, he will place a man by the side of each stupa. When this is done, proceeding to count the number of men, whether they be many or few, he will still not get to know the number.

40. There is a monastery, containing perhaps 600 or 700 monks, in which there is a place where a Pratyeka Buddha [i.e., a hermit] used to take his food.

41. The nirvana ground (the place where he was burned after death) is as large as a carriage wheel; and while grass grows all around, on this spot there is none.

42. The ground also where he dried his clothes produces no grass, but the impression of them, where they lay on it, continues to the present day.

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 18

Kanyakubja

Buddha's Preaching

1. Kanyakubja

Faxian stayed at the Dragon vihara till after the Summer Retreat [probably in the year 405], and then, traveling to the southeast for seven yojanas, he arrived at the city of Kanyakubja (Canouge) [Jiraoyi, "the city of humbacked maidens,"], lying along the Ganges [Hengshui].

2. There are two monasteries in it, the inmates of which are students of the Hinayana.

3. At a distance from the city of six or seven li, on the west, on the northern bank of the Ganges, is a place where the Buddha preached the Law to his disciples.

4. Buddha's Preaching

It has been handed down that his subjects of discourse were such as "The bitterness and vanity of life as impermanent and uncertain," and "The body is as a bubble or foam on the water." At this spot a stupa was erected, and still exists.

5. Having crossed the Ganges, and gone south for three yojanas, the travelers arrived at a village named Heli [unidentified], containing places where the Buddha preached the Law, where he sat, and where he walked, at all of which stupas have been built.

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 19

Shachi: Legend of Buddha's Danta-Kashtha

1. Going on from this to the southeast for three yojanas, they came to the great kingdom of Shachi 沙祇 (or Shazhi) [possibly Saket, modern Ayodhya].

2. As you go out of the city of Shachi by the southern gate, on the east of the road is the place where the Buddha, after he had chewed his willow branch [to clean his teeth], stuck it in the ground, when it forthwith grew up seven cubits, at which height it remained, neither increasing nor diminishing.

3. The Brahmans with their contrary doctrines became angry and jealous. Sometimes they cut the tree down, sometimes they plucked it up, and cast it to a distance, but it grew again on the same spot as at first.

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4. Here also is the place where the four Buddhas walked and sat, and at which a stupa was built that still exists.

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 20
Kosala and Sravasti
The Jetavana Vihara
Sympathy of the Monks With the Pilgrims
Other Memorials and Legends of the Buddha
1. Kosala and Sravasti

Going on from this to the south, for eight yojanas, the travelers came to the city of Sravasti [Shewei, Singhalese Sewet, probably on the south bank of the Rapti river about 58 miles north of Ayodya or Oude] in the kingdom of Kosala [Jusaluo, in modern Oudh], in which the inhabitants were few and far between, amounting in all only to a few more than two hundred families.

2. It is the city where king Prasenajit [Bosini, Singhalese: Pasenadi] ruled, and the place of the old vihara of Maha-prajapati [Da'aidao, the Buddha's wet nurse and his first female convert]; of the well and walls of (the house of) the [famously generous] (Vaisya) head Sudatta [Xuda]; and where the [former member of an assassination-centered sect called] Angulimalya became an arhat, and his body was afterwards burned on his attaining to pari-nirvana.

3. At all these places stupas were subsequently erected, which still exist in the city.

4. The Brahmans, with their contrary doctrines, became full of hatred and envy in their hearts, and wished to destroy them, but there came from the heavens such a storm of crashing thunder and flashing lightning that they were not able in the end to effect their purpose.

5. As you go out from the city by the south gate, and 1,200 paces west of from it, the (Vaisya) head Sudatta built a vihara, facing the east.

6. When the door was open, on each side of it there was a stone pillar, with the figure of a wheel on the top of the one on the left, and the figure of an ox on the top of the one on the right.

7. The Jetavana Vihara

On the left and right of the building the ponds of water clear and pure, the thickets of trees always luxuriant, and the numerous flowers of various hues, constituted a lovely scene, the whole forming what is called the Jetavana [Zhihuan] vihara [park, a favourite residence of the Buddha, named after a prince Jeta, who had sold the land to a Buddhist patron named Anatha-pindika].

8. When the Buddha went up to the Trayastrimsas heaven, and preached the Law for the benefit of his mother, (after he had been absent for) ninety days,

9. Prasenajit, longing to see him, caused an image of him to be carved in Gosirsha Chandana wood, and put in the place where he usually sat.

10. When the Buddha on his return entered the vihara, the Buddha said to it, "Return to your seat.

11. After I have attained to pari-nirvana, you will serve as a pattern to the four classes of my disciples," and on this the image returned to its seat.

12. This was the very first of all the images of the Buddha, and that which men subsequently copied.

13. The Buddha then moved, and dwelt in a small vihara on the south side of the other, a different place from that containing the image, and twenty paces distant from it.

14. The Jetavana vihara [monastery] was originally of seven storeys.

15. The kings and people of the countries around vied with one another in their offerings, hanging up about it silken streamers and canopies, scattering flowers, burning incense, and lighting lamps, so as to make the night as bright as the day. This they did day after day without ceasing.

16. It happened that a rat, carrying in its mouth the wick of a lamp, set one of the streamers or canopies on fire, which caught the vihara, and the seven storeys were all consumed.

17. The kings, with their officers and people, were all very sad and distressed, supposing that the sandalwood image had been burned; but lo! after four or five days, when the door of a small vihara on the east was opened, there was immediately seen the original image.

18. They all greatly rejoiced, and co-operated in restoring the vihara. When they had succeeded in completing two storeys, they moved the image back to its former place.

19. Sympathy of the Monks With the Pilgrims

When Faxian and Daozheng first arrived at the Jetavana monastery and thought how the World-honoured one had formerly resided there for twenty-five years, painful reflections arose in their minds.

20. Born in a border land, along with their like-minded friends, they had traveled through so many kingdoms; some of those friends had returned to their own land, and some had died, proving the impermanence and uncertainty of life; and today they saw the place where the Buddha had lived now unoccupied by him.

21. They were melancholy through their pain of heart, and the crowd of monks came out, and asked them from what kingdom they were come.

22. "We are come," they replied, "from the land of Han."

23. "Strange," said the monks with a sigh, "that men of a border country should be able to come here in search of our Law!" Then they said to one another, "During all the time that we, preceptors and monks, have succeeded to one another, we have never seen men of Han, followers of our system, arrive here."

24. Other Memorials and Legends of the Buddha

Four li to the north-west of the vihara there is a grove called "The Getting of Eyes."

25. Formerly there were five hundred blind men, who lived here in order that they might beg near the vihara. The Buddha preached his Law to them, and they all got back their eyesight.

26. Full of joy, they stuck their staves in the earth, and with their heads and faces on the ground, did reverence.

27. The staves immediately began to grow, and they grew to be great. People made much of them, and no one dared to cut them down, so that they came to form a grove.

28. It was in this way that it got its name, and most of the Jetavana monks, after they had taken their midday meal, went to the grove, and sat there in meditation.

29. Six or seven li north-east from the Jetavana, mother Vaisakha [Pishequ, the wife of Anatha-pindika, who had bought the Jetavana land from prince Jeta] built another vihara, to which she invited the Buddha and his monks, and which still exists.

30. To each of the great residences for monks at the Jetavana vihara there were two gates, one facing the east and the other facing the north.

31. The park containing the whole was the space of ground which the [Vaisya] head Sudatta [Xuda] purchased by covering it with gold coins. The vihara was exactly in the centre.

32. Here the Buddha lived for a longer time than at any other place, preaching his Law and converting men.

33. At the places where he walked and sat they also subsequently reared stupas, each having its particular name; and here was the place where [a heretical Brahmin named] Sundari [Suntuoli 孙陀利] murdered a person and then falsely charged the Buddha with the crime.

34. Outside the east gate of the Jetavana, at a distance of seventy paces to the north, on the west of the road, the Buddha held a discussion with the advocates of the ninety-six schemes of erroneous doctrine, when the king and his great officers, the householders, and people were all assembled in crowds to hear it.

35. Then a woman belonging to one of the erroneous systems, by name Chanchamana [Zhanzhemona], prompted by the envious hatred in her heart, and having put on (extra) clothes in front of her person, so as to give her the appearance of being with child, falsely accused the Buddha before all the assembly of having acted unlawfully towards her [i.e., of making her pregnant].

36. On this, Sakra, Ruler of Devas, changed himself and some devas into white mice, which bit through the strings about her waist; and when this was done, the extra clothes which she wore dropt down on the ground. The earth at the same time was rent, and she went (down) alive into hell.

37. This also is the place where Devadatta [Diaoda], trying with poisoned claws to injure the Buddha, went down alive into hell. Men subsequently set up marks to show where both these events took place.

38. Further, at the place where the discussion took place, they reared a vihara rather more than sixty cubits high, having in it an image of the Buddha in a sitting posture.

39. On the east of the road there was a devalaya [Brahanic temple] of one of the contrary systems, called "The Shadow Covered," right opposite the vihara on the place of discussion, with only the road between them, and also rather more than sixty cubits high.

40. The reason why it was called "The Shadow Covered" was this: When the sun was in the west, the shadow of the vihara of the World-honoured one fell on the devalaya of the contrary system; but when the sun was in the east, the shadow of that devalaya was diverted to the north, and never fell on the vihara of the Buddha.

41. The wrong-believers regularly employed men to watch their devalaya, to sweep and water all about it, to burn incense, light the lamps, and present offerings; but in the morning the lamps were found to have been suddenly removed, and in the vihara of the Buddha.

42. The Brahmans were indignant, and said, "Those sramanas take out lamps and use them for their own service of the Buddha, but we will not stop our service for you!"

43. On that night the Brahmans themselves kept watch, and they saw the deva spirits which they served take the lamps and go three times round the vihara of the Buddha and present offerings. After this ministration to the Buddha they suddenly disappeared.

44. The Brahmans, thereupon knowing how great was the spiritual power of the Buddha, forthwith left their families, and became monks.

45. It has been handed down, that, near the time when these things occurred, around the Jetavana vihara there were ninety-eight monasteries, in all of which there were monks residing, excepting only in one place which was vacant.

46. In this Middle Kingdom [central India or possibly only Kosala], there are ninety-six sorts of views, all erroneous and different from our system, all of which, however, recognise this world and the future world [and the connexion between them]. Each has its multitude of followers, and they all beg their food: only they do not carry the alms bowl.

47. They also, moreover, seek (to acquire) the blessing (of good deeds) on unfrequented ways, setting up houses of charity on the roadside, where rooms, couches, beds, and food and drink are supplied to travelers, and also to monks, coming and going as guests, the only difference being in the time (for which those parties remain).

48. There are also companies of the followers of Devadatta [Diaoda] still existing. They regularly make offerings to the three previous Buddhas, but not to Sakyamuni the Buddha.

49. Four li south-east from the city of Sravasti [Shewei], a stupa has been erected at the place where the World-honoured one encountered king Virudhaha [or Vaidurya, who destroyed Kapilavastu [Sheyi or Jiaweiluowei, the city of the Shakya dynasty into which Shakyamuni had been born] when he wished to attack the kingdom of Kapilavastu, and took his stand before him at the side of the road [possibly near Tadwa, a village nine miles west of Sahara-mahat].

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 21
The Three Predecessors of Sakyamuni in Buddhaship.

[In this chapter, Faxian refers to three predecessors of the Sakyamuni the Buddha, who was considered to be the fourth tathagata (rulai or "rightful buddha") of the present or Maha-bhadra period (kalpa). They were:

1. Krakuchandra (Julouqin Fo), "he who readily solves all doubts"

2. Kanakamuni (Junashe-mouni Fo), "body radiant with the color of pure gold"

3. Kasyapa (Jiaye Fo), "swallower of light".]

1. Fifty li to the west of the city bring the traveler to a town named Duwei, the birthplace of the Kasyapa Buddha [the third]. [The place is identified with Tadwa, just west of Sahara-mahat, but that may be an error, since the traditional birthplace of theKasyapa the Buddha is Benares.]

2. At the place where he and his father met [after his enlightenment], and at the place where he attained to pari-nirvana, stupas were erected.

3. Over the entire relic of the whole body of him, the Kasyapa Tathagata, a great stupa was also erected.

4. Going on south-east from the city of Sravasti (Shewei) for twelve yojanas, the travelers came to a town named Nabhiga (Napiga, the birthplace of the Krakuchanda Buddha [the first]. [Tradition holds that he was born at Mekhala or at Anhe, which may be the same place.]

5. At the place where he and his father met, and at that where he attained to pari-nirvana, stupas were erected.

6. Going north from here less than a yojana, they came to a town which had been the birthplace of Kanakamuni the Buddha [the second].

7. At the places where he and his father met, and where he attained to pari-nirvana, stupas were erected.

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 22
Kapilavastu and Its Desolation
Legends of Buddha's Birth
Other Incidents in Connexion With It
1. Kapilavastu and Its Desolation

Less than a yojana to the east from this brought them to the city of Kapilavastu (Jiaweiluowei) [where the Shakyamuni the Buddha was born]; but in it there was neither king nor people. [The site is said to be north-west of modern Toruckpoor, on the banks for the Rohini river, now called the Kohana.]

2. All was mound and desolation. Of inhabitants there were only some monks and a score or two of families of the common people.

3. Legends of Buddha's Birth

At the spot where stood the old palace of king Suddhodana [the "White and Pure King" (Baijing wang), father of the the Buddha] there have been made images of the prince (the young Shakyamuni the Buddha) and his mother.

4. And at the places where that son appeared mounted on a white elephant when he entered his mother's womb, and where he turned his carriage round on seeing the sick man after he had gone out of the city by the eastern gate, stupas have been erected.

5. The places (were also pointed out) where Eyi [Asita, or Kala Devala, a elderly mendicant who before seeking a religious life as a rishi or mendicant had served as a minister of King Suddhodana's father's court] inspected the marks of Buddhaship on the body of the infant heir-apparent;

6. and where, when he was in company with [his half-brother] Nanda (Nantuo) and others, and an elephant and been struck down and drawn to one side, he tossed it away [with supernatural strength];

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7. and where [as a young prince] he shot an arrow to the south-east, and it went a distance of thirty li, then entering the ground and making a spring to come forth, which men subsequently fashioned into a well from which travelers might drink;

8. and where, after he had attained to Wisdom, the the Buddha returned and saw the king, his father;

9. and where five hundred Sakyas quitted their families and did reverence to [the low-caste disciple] Upali (Youboli) while the earth shook and moved in six different ways;

10. and where the Buddha preached his Law to the devas, and the four deva kings and others kept the four doors (of the hall), so that (even) the king, his father, could not enter;

11. and where the Buddha sat under a nyagrodha (nijulü) [fig] tree, which is still standing, with his face to the east, and [his aunt] Maja-prajapati (Da'ai-daobu) presented him with a Sanghali robe;

12. and where king Vaidurya (Liuli) slew the seed of the Sakya clan, and they all in dying became Srotapannas [saints].

13. A stupa was erected at this last place [where all this happened], which still exists.

14. Several li northeast from the city was the king's field, where [the future the Buddha as] the heir-apparent sat under a tree, and looked at the ploughers.

15. Fifty li east from the city was a garden, named Lumbini (Lunmin, Buddha's place of birth.), where the queen entered the pond and bathed.

16. Having come forth from the pond on the northern bank, after walking twenty paces, she lifted up her hand, laid hold of a branch of a tree, and, with her face to the east, gave birth to the heir-apparent [and future Buddha].

17. When he fell to the ground, he immediately walked seven paces. Two dragon-kings appeared and washed his body.

18. At the place where they did so, there was immediately formed a well, and from it, as well as from the above pond, where [the queen] bathed [or where the water poured down to bathe the child], the monks even now constantly take the water, and drink it.

19. Other Incidents in Connexion With It

There are four places of regular and fixed occurrence in the history of all Buddhas:

20. First, the place where they attained to perfect Wisdom and became Buddhas; second, the place where they turned the wheel of the Law;

21. third, the place where they preached the Law, discoursed of righteousness, and discomfited the advocates of erroneous doctrines;

22. and fourth, the place where they came down, after going up to the Trayatrimsas heaven (Daoli tian) to preach the Law for the benefit of their mothers.

23. Other places in connexion with them became remarkable, according to the manifestations which were made at them at particular times.

24. The country of Kapilavastu is a great scene of empty desolation. The inhabitants are few and far between. On the roads people have to be on their guard against white elephants and lions, and should not travel incautiously.

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 23

Rama and Its Stupa.

1. East from the Buddha's birthplace, and at a distance of five yojanas [1 yojana = 7 km / 4.5 mi x 5 = 35 km / 22.5 mi.], there is a kingdom called Rama (Lanmo) [or Ramagrama, between Kapilavastu and Kusanagara].

2. The king of this country, having obtained one portion [in the eightfold division] of the relics of the Buddha's body, returned with it and built over it a stupa, named the Rama stupa.

3. By the side of it there was a pool, and in the pool a dragon, which constantly kept watch over the stupa, and presented offerings to it day and night.

4. When king Ashoka (Eyu) came forth into the world, he wished to destroy the eight stupas* over the relics, and to build instead of them 84,000 stupas [one for each atom of the the Buddha's skeleton]. [* one of the 8 stupas has been found by Willian Claxton Peppe in 1898. It is in Piprahwa (India), only 20 km / 12 mi southwest of Buddhas birthplace Lumbini, Nepal. Five urns with ash, burnt bones and jewels were in a massive sarcophagus, and the Brahmi inscription reads ...salilanidhane Budhasa Bhagavate... "...Relics of the Buddha Lord...".]

5. After he had torn down the seven other stupas, he wished next to destroy this stupa.

6. But then the dragon showed itself, and took the king into its palace.

7. And when the king had seen all the things provided for offerings, it said to him, "If you are able with your offerings to exceed these, you can destroy the stupa, and take it all away. I will not contend with you."

8. The king, however, knew that such appliances for offerings were not to be had anywhere in the world, and thereupon returned without carrying out his purpose.

9. Afterwards, the ground all about became overgrown with vegetation, and there was nobody to sprinkle and sweep about the stupa; but a herd of elephants came regularly, which brought water with their trunks to water the ground, and various kinds of flowers and incense, which they presented at the stupa.

10. Once there came from one of the kingdoms a devotee to worship at the stupa. When he encountered the elephants he was greatly alarmed, and screened himself among the trees.

11. But when he saw them go through with the offerings in the most proper manner, the thought filled him with great sadness that there should be no monastery here, with residents that might serve the stupa; but instead the elephants had to do the watering and sweeping.

12. Forthwith he gave up various great prohibitions which he had vowed to follow and resumed the status of a sramanera [lowly novice].

13. With his own hands he cleared away the grass and trees, put the place in good order, and made it pure and clean.

14. By the power of his exhortations, he prevailed on the king of the country to form a residence for monks. When that was done, he became head of the monastery.

15. At the present day there are monks residing in it. This event is of recent occurrence; but in all the succession from that time till now, there has always been a sramanera as head of the establishment.

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 24

Where Buddha Finally Renounced the World and Where He Died.

1. East from here three yojanas, there is the place where the heir-apparent sent back [his charioteer] Chandaka (Cheni), with his white horse [Kanthaka, when he abandoned his life as prince]; and there also a stupa was erected.

2. Four yojanas to the east from this, the travelers came to the Charcoal Stupa [over the place of the the Buddha's cremation], where there is also a monastery.

3. Going on twelve yojanas, still to the east, they came to the city of Kusanagara (Juyinajie) [near modern Kusiah, about 90 miles east of Kapilavastu], on the north of which, between two trees, on the bank of the Nairanjana (Xilianchan) river, is the place where the World-honoured one, with his head to the north, attained to pari-nirvana (and died).

4. There also are the places where Subhadra (Xuba), the last of his converts, attained to wisdom and became an arhat;

5. and where, in his coffin of gold, they made offerings to the World-honoured one for seven days [as though he had been a king],

6. and where the Vajrapani (Jingang lishi, "diamond scepter holder") laid aside his golden club, and where the eight kings divided the relics of the burnt body.

7. At all these places were built stupas and monasteries, all of which still exist.

8. In the city [of Kusanagara] the inhabitants are few and far between, comprising only the families belonging to the different societies of monks.

9. Going from this to the south-east for twelve yojanas, they came to the place where the Lichchhavis (liche) [chiefs of Vaisali (Pisheli), early converts to Buddhism] wished to follow the Buddha to the place of his pari-nirvana,

10. and where, when he would not listen to them and they kept cleaving to him, unwilling to go away, he made to appear a large and deep ditch which they could not cross over, and gave them his alms-bowl, as a pledge of his regard, thus sending them back to their families.

11. There a stone pillar was erected with an account of this event engraved upon it.

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 25

Vaisali

The Stupa Called "Weapons Laid Down"

The Council of Vaisali

1. Vaisali

East from this city ten yojanas, the travelers came to the kingdom of Vaisali [Pisheli].

2. North of the city so named is a large forest, having in it the double-galleried vihara where the Buddha dwelt, and the stupa over half the body of [his favourite disciple] Ananda.

3. Inside the city the woman Ambapali [Anpoluo, who had been of mixed character during many reincarnations but was won over by the Buddha and had became an arhat] built a vihara in honour of the Buddha, which is still standing as it was at first.

4. Three li south of the city, on the west of the road, is the garden which the same Ambapali presented to the Buddha, in which he might reside.

5. When the Buddha was about to attain to his pari-nirvana, as he was quitting the city by the west gate, he turned round, and, beholding the city on his right, said to them, "Here I have taken my last walk [in meditation]." Men subsequently built a stupa at this spot.

6. The Stupa Called "Weapons Laid Down"

Three li north-west of the city there is a stupa called, "Bows and weapons laid down."

7. The reason why it got that name was this: The inferior wife of a king, whose country lay along the river Ganges, brought forth from her womb a ball of flesh.

8. The superior wife, jealous of the other, said, "You have brought forth a thing of evil omen," and immediately it was put into a box of wood and thrown into the river.

9. Farther down the stream another king was walking and looking about, when he saw the wooden box floating in the water. He had it brought to him, opened it, and found a thousand little boys, upright and complete, and each one different from the others.

10. He took them and had them brought up. They grew tall and large, and very daring, and strong, crushing all opposition in every expedition which they undertook.

11. By and by they attacked the kingdom of their real father, who became in consequence greatly distressed and sad. His inferior wife asked what it was that made him so.

12. He replied, "That king has a thousand sons, daring and strong beyond compare, and he wishes with them to attack my kingdom; this is what makes me sad."

13. The wife said, "You need not be sad and sorrowful. Only make a high gallery on the wall of the city on the east; and when the thieves come, I shall be able to make them retire."

14. The king did as she said; and when the enemies came, she said to them from the tower, "You are my sons; why are you acting so unnaturally and rebelliously?"

15. They replied, "Who are you that you say you are our mother?"

16. "If you do not believe me," she said, "look, all of you, towards me, and open your mouths."

17. She then pressed her breasts with her two hands, and each sent forth 500 jets of milk, which fell into the mouths of the thousand sons.

18. The thieves thus knew that she was their mother, and laid down their bows and weapons.

19. The two kings, the fathers, thereupon fell into reflection, and both became Pratyeka Buddhas [hermits]. The stupa of the two Pratyeka Buddhas still exists.

20. In a subsequent age, when the World-honoured one had attained to perfect Wisdom and become a Buddha, he said to is disciples, "This is the place where I in a former age laid down my bow and weapons." [This suggests he had been one of the thousand little boys.]

21. It was thus that subsequently men got to know the fact, and raised the stupa on this spot, which in this way received its name.

22. The thousand little boys were the thousand Buddhas of this Bhadra-kalpa [or age of stability].

23. It was by the side of the "Weapons-laid-down" stupa that the Buddha, having given up the idea of living longer, said to Ananda, "In three months from this time I will attain to pavi-nirvana;"

24. But king Mara [the lord of demons] had so fascinated and stupefied Ananda, that he was not able to ask the Buddha to remain longer in this world.

25. Three or four li east from this place there is a stupa (commemorating the following occurrence):

26. The Council of Vaisali

A hundred years after the pari-nirvana of the Buddha, some bhikshus of Vaisali [Pisheli] went wrong in the matter of the disciplinary rules in ten particulars, and appealed for their justification to what they said were the words of the Buddha.

27. Hereupon the arhats and bhikshus observant of the rules, to the number in all of 700 monks, examined afresh and collated the collection of disciplinary books [now known as the Vinaya-pitaka]. [This was the second great council, held in about 300 BC.] 28. Subsequently men built at this place the stupa in question, which still exists.

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 26

Remarkable Death of Ananda.

1. Four yojanas on from this place to the east brought the travelers to the confluence of the five rivers. [The place, probably near Patna, is unidentified.]

2. When Ananda was going from Magadha [Mojie, in the southern part of modern Bihar] to Vaisali [Pisheli], wishing his pari-nirvana to take place there, the devas informed king Ajatasatru (Edushi) of it. [Ajatasatru, who killed his father and once opposed Buddhism, had then converted and had become famous for his generosity in its support.]

3. The king immediately pursued him, in his own grand carriage, with a body of soldiers, and had reached the river.

4. At the same time, the Lichchhavis ["strong heroes," i.e., community chiefs] of Vaisali had heard that Ananda was coming to their city, and they on their part came to meet him.

5. In this way, they all arrived together at the river, and Ananda considered that, if he went forward, king Ajatasatru would be very angry, while, if he went back, the Lichchhavis would resent his conduct.

6. He thereupon in the very middle of the river burnt his body in a fiery ecstasy of Samadhi [self-immolation while meditating], and his pari-nirvana was attained.

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7. He divided his body thus into two, leaving half of it on each bank, so that each of the two kings got one half as a relic, and took it back (to his own capital), and there raised a stupa over it.

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 27
Pataliputtra, in Magadha
King Ashoka's Spirit-Built Palace and Halls
The Buddhist Brahman, Radha-Sami
Dispensaries and Hospitals
1. Pataliputtra, in Magadha

Having crossed the river, and descended south for a yojana, the travelers came to the town of Pataliputtra (Balianfu , "the city of flowers"; modern Patna), in the kingdom of Magadha, the city where king Ashoka ruled [in the latter part of his reign and where he convened the Third Great Council].

2. King Ashoka's Spirit-Built Palace and Halls

The royal palace and halls in the midst of the city, which exist now as of old, were all made by spirits which he employed, and which piled up the stones, reared the walls and gates, and executed the elegant carving and inlaid sculpture-work, in a way which no human hands of this world could accomplish.

3. King Ashoka had a younger brother who had attained to be an arhat, and resided on Gridhra-kuta ["Vulture"] Hill, finding his delight in solitude and quiet.

4. The king, who sincerely reverenced him, wished and begged him to come and live in his family, where he could supply all his wants.

5. The other, however, because of his delight in the stillness of the mountain, was unwilling to accept the invitation, and so the king said to him, "Only accept my invitation, and I will make a hill for you inside the city."

6. Accordingly, he provided the materials of a feast, called to him the spirits, and announced to them, "Tomorrow you will all receive my invitation; but as there are no mats for you to sit on, let each one bring his own seat."

7. Next day the spirits came, each one bringing with him a great rock, like a wall, four or five paces square, for a seat.

8. When their sitting was over, the king made them form a hill with the large stones piled on one another, and also at the foot of the hill, with five large square stones, to make an apartment, which might be more than thirty cubits long, twenty cubits wide, and more than ten cubits high.

9. The Buddhist Brahman, Radha-Sami

In this city there had resided a great Brahman named Radha-sami (Luotai-simi), a professor of the Mahayana, of clear discernment and much wisdom, who understood everything, living by himself in spotless purity.

10. The king of the country honoured and reverenced him, and served him as [though he were the king's] teacher.

11. If he went to inquire for and greet him, the king did not presume to sit down alongside of him; and if, in his love and reverence, he took hold of his hand, as soon as he let it go, the Brahman made haste to pour water on it and wash it.

12. He might be more than fifty years old, and all the kingdom looked up to him.

13. By means of this one man, the Law of the Buddha was widely made known, and the followers of other doctrines did not find it in their power to persecute the body of monks in any way.

14. By the side of the stupa of Ashoka, there has been made a Mahayana monastery, very grand and beautiful; there is also a Hinayana one; the two together containing six or seven hundred monks. The rules of demeanour and the arrangements for schooling in them are worthy of observation.

15. Shamans of the highest virtue from all quarters, and students, inquirers wishing to find out truth and the grounds of it, all resort to these monasteries.

16. There also resides in this monastery a Brahman teacher, whose name also is Manjusri [Wenshu-shili, like that of the famous bodhisattva], whom the shamans of greatest virtue in the kingdom, and the Mahayana bhikshus honour and look up to.

17. The cities and towns of this country are the greatest of all in the Middle Kingdom. The inhabitants are rich and prosperous, and vie with one another in the practice of benevolence and righteousness.

18. Every year on the eighth day of the second month they celebrate a procession of images.

19. They make a four-wheeled car, and on it erect a structure of four storeys by means of bamboos tied together. This is supported by a king-post, with poles and lances slanting from it, and is rather more than twenty cubits high, having the shape of a stupa.

20. White and silk-like cloth of hair [cashmere?] is wrapped all round it, which is then painted in various colours.

21. They make figures of devas, with gold, silver, and lapis lazuli grandly blended and having silken streamers and canopies hung out over them.

22. On the four sides are niches, with a Buddha seated in each, and a Bodhisattva standing in attendance on him.

23. There may be twenty cars, all grand and imposing, but each one different from the others.

24. On the day mentioned, the monks and laity within the [country's] borders all come together; they have singers and skilful musicians; they pay their devotion with flowers and incense.

25. The Brahmans come and invite the Buddhas to enter the city. These do so in order, and remain two nights in it.

26. All through the night they keep lamps burning, have skilful music, and present offerings. This is the practice in all the other kingdoms as well.

27. Dispensaries and Hospitals

The Heads of the Vaisya families in them establish in the cities houses for dispensing charity and medicines.

28. All the poor and destitute in the country, orphans, widowers, and childless men, maimed people, and cripples, and all who are diseased, go to those houses, and are provided with every kind of help, and doctors examine their diseases.

29. They get the food and medicines which their cases require, and are made to feel at ease; and when they are better, they go away of themselves.

30. When king Ashoka destroyed the seven stupas, intending to make eighty-four thousand [in chapter 23], the first which he made was the great stupa, more than three li to the south of this city.

31. In front of this there is a footprint of the Buddha, where a vihara has been built.

32. The door of it faces the north, and on the south of it there is a stone pillar, fourteen or fifteen cubits in circumference, and more than thirty cubits high, on which there is an inscription, saying,

33. "Ashoka gave the jambudvipa [yanfuti] to the general body of all the monks, and then redeemed it from them with money. This he did three times."

34. North from the stupa 300 or 400 paces, king Ashoka built the city of Nili [unidentified].

35. In it there is a stone pillar, which also is more than thirty feet high, with a lion on the top of it.

36. On the pillar there is an inscription recording the things which led to the building of Nili, with the number of the year, the day, and the month.

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 28
Rajagriha, New and Old
Legends and Incidents Connected With It
1. Rajagriha, New and Old

The travelers went on from this to the southeast for nine yojanas, and came to a small solitary rocky hill [near the modern village of Giryek on the bank of the Panchana river], at the head or end of which was an apartment of stone, facing the south

2. This is the place where the Buddha sat, when Sakra, Ruler of Devas [Tiandi Shi], brought the deva-musician Pancha-[sikha] [Banzhe] to give pleasure to him by playing on his lute.

3. Sakra then asked the Buddha about forty-two subjects, tracing them out with his finger one by one on the rock.

4. The prints of his tracing are still there; and also there is a monastery.

5. A yojana southwest from this place brought them to the village of Nala [Naluo, modern Baragong], where [the disciple] Shariputtra [Shelifu] was born, and to which also he returned, and attained here his pari-nirvana. Over the spot (where his body was burned) there was built a stupa, which still exists.

6. Another yojana to the west brought them to New Rajagriha ["city of royal palaces," southwest of modern Behar] —the new city which was built by king Ajatasatru [Edushi]. There were two monasteries in it.

7. Three hundred paces outside the west gate, king Ajatasatru, having obtained one portion of the relics of the Buddha, built over them a stupa, high, large, grand, and beautiful.

8. Leaving the city by the south gate, and proceeding south four li, one enters a valley, and comes to a circular space formed by five hills, which stand all round it, and have the appearance of the suburban wall of a city.

9. Legends and Incidents Connected With It

Here was the old city of king Bimbisara [Pingsha, the first member of the line of Magadha kings of which Ashoka was a member]; from east to west it is about five or six li, and from north to south seven or eight.

10. It was here that [the disciples] Shariputtra [Shelifu 舍利弗] and Maudgalyayana [Mulian] first saw [the disciple] Upasena [Anbi] [who led them to the Buddha].

11. And it was here that the Nirgrantha [Nijianzi, a kind of erroneous teacher who wore no clothes and taught severe fasting] made a pit of fire and poisoned the rice, and then invited the Buddha to eat with him.

12. It was here also that king Ajatasatru [moved by Devadatta, lord of demons] made a black elephant intoxicated with liquor, wishing him to injure the Buddha [although instead the elephant bowed down before him].

13. And it was at the northeast corner of the city in a large curving space that [the physician] Jivaka [Qijiu] built a vihara in the garden of [his mother] Ambapali [Anpoluo], and invited the Buddha with his 1250 disciples to it, that he might there make his offerings to support them.

14. These places are still there as of old, but inside the city all is emptiness and desolation; no man dwells in it.

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 29
Gridhra-Kuta Hill and Its Legends
Faxian passes a Night on It
His Reflections
1. Gridhra-Kuta Hill and Its Legends

Entering the valley, and keeping along the mountains on the southeast, after ascending fifteen li, the travelers came to mount Gridhra-kuta [Gubo Shan]"Vulture Hill," also called Indra-sila-guha, "Cavern of Indra"]. Three li before you reach the top, there is a cavern in the rocks, facing the south, in which the Buddha sat in meditation.

2. Thirty paces to the northwest there is another, where Ananda [Enan] was sitting in meditation, when the deva Mara Pisuna [Boxun, "Mara of the Lusts"], having assumed the form of a large vulture, took his place in front of the cavern, and frightened the disciple.

3. Then the Buddha, by his mysterious, supernatural power, made a cleft in the rock, introduced his hand, and stroked Ananda's shoulder, so that his fear immediately passed away.

4. The footprints of the bird and the cleft for the Buddha's hand are still there, and hence comes the name of "The Hill of the Vulture Cavern" [Diaojiu Kushan].

5. In front of the cavern there are the places where the four Buddhas sat. There are caverns also of the arhats, one where each sat and meditated, amounting to several hundred in all.

6. At the place where in front of his rocky apartment the Buddha was walking from east to west in meditation, and Devadatta [Diaoda], from among the beetling cliffs on the north of the mountain, threw a rock across, and hurt the Buddha's toes, and the rock is still there. [It is fourneen or fifteen cubits high and thirty paces around.]

7. The hall where the Buddha preached his Law has been destroyed, and only the foundations of the brick walls remain. On this hill the peak is beautifully green, and rises grandly up; it is the highest of all the five hills.

8. Faxian passes a Night on It

In the New City Faxian bought incense-sticks, flowers, oil, and lamps, and hired two bhikshus, long resident at the place, to carry them to the peak. When he himself got to it, he made his offerings with the flowers and incense, and lighted the lamps when the darkness began to come on.

9. His Reflections

He felt melancholy, but restrained his tears and said, "Here the Buddha delivered the Surangama Sutra [Shoulengyan].

10. I, Faxian, was born when I could not meet with the Buddha; and now I only see the footprints which he has left, and the place where he lived, and nothing more."

11. With this, in front of the rock cavern, he chanted the Surangama Sutra, remained there over the night, and then returned towards the New City.

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 30
The Srataparna Cave, or Cave of the First Council
Legends
Suicide of a Bhikshu
1. The Srataparna Cave, or Cave of the First Council

Out from the old city, after walking over 300 paces, on the west of the road, the travelers found the Karanda [Jialantuo] Bamboo garden [a park presented to the Buddha by King Bimbisara]. The old vihara is still in existence, and a company of monks keep the grounds swept and watered.

2. North of the vihara two or three li there was the Smasanam, which name means in Chinese "the field of graves into which the dead are thrown" [rather than being cremated as proper Buddhists do].

3. As they kept along the mountain on the south, and went west for 300 paces, they found a dwelling among the rocks, named the Pippala [Binpoluo] cave, in which the Buddha regularly sat in meditation after taking his midday meal.

4. Going on still to the west for five or six li, on the north of the hill, in the shade, they found the cavern called Srataparna [Chedi], the place where, after the [pari-]nirvana of the Buddha, [senior disciples called a great council to settle the rules and doctrines, and where] 500 arhats collected the Sutras.

5. Legends

When they brought the Sutras forth, three lofty seats had been prepared and grandly ornamented. [The Arhat] Shariputtra [Shelifu] occupied the one on the left, and [the Arhat] Maudgalyayana [Mulian] the one on the right.

6. Of the number of five hundred one was wanting. Mahakasyapa [Dajiaye] was president on the middle seat.

7. Amanda [Enan] was then outside the door, and could not get in. At the place there was subsequently raised a stupa, which still exists.

8. Along the sides of the hill, there are also a very great many cells among the rocks, where the various Arhans sat and meditated.

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9. As you leave the old city on the north, and go down east for three li, there is the rock dwelling of Devadatta, and at a distance of fifty paces from it there is a large, square, black rock.

10. Suicide of a Bhikshu

Formerly there was a bhikshu, who, as he walked backwards and forwards upon it, thought with himself: "This body is impermanent, a thing of bitterness and vanity, which cannot be looked on as pure. I am weary of this body, and troubled by it as an evil." 11. With this he grasped a knife, and was about to kill himself. But he thought again: "The World-honoured one laid down a prohibition against one's killing himself."

12. Further it occurred to him: "Yes, he did; but I now only wish to kill three poisonous thieves." Immediately with the knife he cut his own throat.

13. With the first gash into the flesh he attained the state of a Srotapanna [xutuohuan, the first and lowest of four classes of sainthood]; when he had gone half through, he attained to be an Anagamin [Enahan, the third class of sainthood, likely to be born as devas rather than people]; and when he had cut right through, he was an arhat, and attained to pari-nirvana [and died].

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 31

Gaya

Sakyamuni's Attaining to Buddhaship

Other Legends

1. Gaya

From this place, after traveling to the west for four yojanas, the pilgrims came to the city of Gaya [Jiaye, in Magadha, northwest of modern Gayah, where Sakyamuni lived for seven years after quitting his family and before attaining Buddhaship]; but inside the city all was emptiness and desolation.

2. Going on again to the south for twenty li, they arrived at the place where the Bodhisattva for six years practised painful austerities. All around was forest.

3. Three li west from here they came to the place where, when the Buddha had gone into the water to bathe, a deva bent down the branch of a tree, by means of which he succeeded in getting out of the pool [and was thus not drowned].

4. Two li north from this was the place where the Gramika [Mijia] girls presented to the Buddha the rice-gruel made with milk [by which he was saved from dying of his austerities]; and two li north from this again was the place where, seated on a rock under a great tree, and facing the east, he ate the gruel.

5. The tree and the rock are there at the present day. The rock may be six cubits in breadth and length, and rather more than two cubits in height. In Central India the cold and heat are so equally tempered that trees will live in it for several thousand and even for ten thousand years.

6. Sakyamuni's Attaining to Buddhaship

Half a yojana from this place to the northeast there was a cavern in the rocks, into which the Bodhisattva entered, and sat cross-legged with his face to the west.

7. As he did so, he said to himself, "If I am to attain to perfect wisdom and become a Buddha, let there be a supernatural attestation of it." On the wall of the rock there appeared immediately the shadow of a Buddha, rather more than three feet in length, which is still bright at the present day.

8. At this moment heaven and earth were greatly moved, and devas in the air spoke plainly, "This is not the place where any Buddha of the past, or he that is to come, has attained, or will attain, to perfect Wisdom. Less than half a yojana from this to the southwest will bring you to the patra [beiduo] tree , where all the past Buddhas have attained, and all to come must attain, to perfect Wisdom." [The patra is a borassus flabellifera, a kind of evergreen palm. The name patra means "tree of reflection."]

9. When they had spoken these words, they immediately led the way forwards to the place, singing as they did so. As they thus went away, the Bodhisattva arose and walked after them.

10. At a distance of thirty paces from the tree, a deva gave him the kusa grass of lucky omen, which he received and went on.

11. After he had proceeded fifteen paces, 500 green birds came flying towards him, went round him thrice, and disappeared. The Bodhisattva went forward to the patra tree, placed the kusa grass at the foot of it, and sat down with his face to the east.

12. Then king Mara sent three beautiful young ladies, who came from the north, to tempt him, while Mara himself came from the south to do the same.

13. The Bodhisattva put his toes down on the ground, and the demon soldiers retired and dispersed, and the three young ladies were changed into [sexually unappealing] old grandmothers.

14. At the place mentioned above of the six years of painful austerities, and at all these other places, people subsequently reared stupas and set up images, which all exist at the present day.

15. Other Legends

Where the Buddha, after attaining to perfect wisdom, for seven days contemplated the tree, and experienced the joy of vimukti [liberty];

16. where, under the patra tree, he walked backwards and forwards from west to east for seven days; where the devas made a hall appear, composed of the seven precious substances, and presented offerings to him for seven days;

17. where the blind dragon [and naga king] Muchilinda [Wenlin] encircled him [and protected him] for seven days; where he sat under the nyagrodha tree, on a square rock, with his face to the east, and Brahma-deva [the god Brahma] came and made his request to him [that he begin to teach the Law];

18. where the four deva kings brought him their alms-bowls [which he made to appear as but a single one]; where the 500 merchants presented to him the roasted flour and honey;

19. and where he converted the brothers Kasyapa [Dujiaye] and their thousand disciples; —at all these places stupas were reared.

20. At the place where the Buddha attained to perfect Wisdom, there are three monasteries, in all of which there are monks residing. The families of their people around supply the societies of these monks with an abundant sufficiency of what they require, so that there is no lack or stint.

21. The disciplinary rules are strictly observed by them. The laws regulating their demeanour in sitting, rising, and entering when the others are assembled, are those which have been practised by all the saints since the Buddha was in the world down to the present day.

22. The places of the Four Great Stupas have been fixed, and handed down without break, since the Buddha attained to nirvana.

23. Those Four Great Stupas are those at the places where the Buddha was born; where he attained to Wisdom; where he began to move the wheel of his Law; and where he attained to pari-nirvana.

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 32

Legend of King Ashoka in a former Birth and His Naraka

1. When king Ashoka, in a former birth, was a little boy and played on the road, he met the Kasyapa Buddha walking. The stranger begged food, and the boy playfully took a handful of earth and gave it to him.

2. The Buddha took the earth, and returned it to the ground on which he was walking; but because of this the boy received the recompense of becoming a king of the iron wheel [i.e., military conqueror and monarch of the whole world] to rule over Jambudvipa (Yanfuti).

3. Once when he was making a judicial tour of inspection through Jambudvipa, he saw, between the iron circuit of the two hills, a naraka [i.e., an "earth prison" or court of hell] for the punishment of wicked men.

4. When he asked his ministers what sort of a thing it was, they replied, "It belongs to Yama, king of demons, for the punishing of wicked people."

5. The king thought within himself: "If even the king of demons is able to make a naraka in which to deal with wicked men; why should not I, who am the lord of men, make a naraka in which to deal with wicked men?"

6. He forthwith asked his ministers who could make for him a naraka and preside over the punishment of wicked people in it.

7. They replied that it was only a man of extreme wickedness who could make it; and so the king sent officers to seek everywhere for such a bad man.

8. They saw by the side of a pond a man tall and strong, with a black countenance, yellow hair, and green eyes, hooking up the fish with his feet, while he called to him birds and beasts, and, when they came, then shot and killed them, so that not one escaped.

9. Having got this man, they took him to the king, who secretly charged him, "You must make a square enclosure with high walls. Plant in it all kinds of flowers and fruits; make good ponds in it for bathing; make it grand and imposing in every way, so that men shall look to it with thirsting desire; make its gates strong and sure.

10. When anyone enters, instantly seize him and punish him as a sinner, not allowing him to get out. Even if I should enter, punish me as a sinner in the same way, and do not let me go. I now appoint you master of that naraka."

11. Soon after this a bhikshu, pursuing his regular course of begging his food, entered the gate of the place. When the lictors of the naraka saw him, and they were about to subject him to their tortures. He was frightened and but begged them to allow him a moment in which to eat his midday meal.

12. Immediately after, there came in another man, whom they thrust into a mortar and pounded till a red froth overflowed. As the bhikshu looked on, there came to him the thought of the impermanence, the painful suffering, and the emptiness of this body, and how it is but as a bubble and as foam; and instantly he attained to arhatship.

13. Immediately afterward, the lictors seized him, and threw him into a caldron of boiling water. There was a look of joyful satisfaction, however, in the bhikshu's countenance. The fire was extinguished, and the water became cold. In the middle of the caldron there rose up a lotus flower, with the bhikshu seated on it.

14. The lictors at once went and reported to the king that there was a marvellous occurrence in the naraka, and wished him to go and see it. But the king said, "I formerly made such an agreement that now I dare not go to the place."

15. The lictors said, "This is not a small matter. Your majesty ought to go quickly. Let your former agreement be altered." The king thereupon followed them, and entered the naraka, when the bhikshu preached the Law to him, and he believed, and was made free of all illusion.

16. Forthwith he demolished the naraka, and repented of all the evil which he had formerly done. From this time he believed in and honoured the Three Precious Ones, and constantly went to a patra tree, repenting under it, with self-reproach, of his errors, and accepting the eight rules of abstinence. [most likely a reference to the Noble Eightfold Path]

17. The queen asked where the king was constantly going to, and the ministers replied that he was constantly to be seen under such and such a patra tree.

18. She watched for a time when the king was not there, and then sent men to cut the tree down. When the king came, and saw what had been done, he swooned away with sorrow, and fell to the ground. His ministers sprinkled water on his face, and after a considerable time he revived. He then built up the area all round the stump with bricks, and poured a hundred pitchers of cows' milk on the roots; and as he lay with his four limbs spread out on the ground, he took this oath:

19. "If the tree does not live, I will never rise from here." When he had uttered this oath, the tree immediately began to sprout from the roots, and it has continued to grow till now, when it is nearly 100 cubits in height.

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 33

Mount Gurupada, Where the Kasyapa Buddha's Entire Skeleton Is

1. The travelers, going on from this three li to the south, came to a mountain named Gurupada (Jizu) ["Fowl's-foot Hill," the three peaks of which resemble the foot of a chicken, located seven miles southeast of Gaya], inside which Maha-Kasyapa (Dajiaye) even now is. [Maha-Kasyapa or Great Kasyapa probably refers to the preserved bones of the Kasyapa Buddha and not to one of Sakyamuni's disciples of the same name.]

2. He had made a cleft, and had gone down into it, though the place where he entered would not now admit a man. Having gone down very far, there was a hole on one side, and there the complete body of Kasyapa still lies.

3. Outside the hole at which he entered is the earth with which he had washed his hands. If the people living thereabouts have a sore on their heads, they plaster on it some of the earth from this, and feel immediately easier.

4. On this mountain, now as of old, there are arhats abiding. Devotees of our Law from the various countries in that quarter go year by year to the mountain, and present offerings to Kasyapa.

5. To those whose hearts are strong in faith there come arhats at night, and talk with them, discussing and explaining their doubts, and disappearing suddenly afterwards.

6. On this hill hazels grow luxuriously; and there are many lions, tigers, and wolves, so that people should not travel incautiously.

CHAPTER 34 - On the Way Back to Patna

Varanasi, or Benares

Sakyamuni's First Doings After Becoming a Buddha

1. On the Way Back to Patna

Faxian returned from here towards Pataliputtra (Balianfu) [modern Patna —see chapter 27], keeping along the course of the Ganges and descending in the direction of the west. After going ten yojanas he found a vihara, named "The Wilderness" (Kuangye), a place where the Buddha had dwelt, and where there are monks now. [I think that Daozheng may have remained at Patna after their first visit to it. JL]

2. Varanasi, or Benares

Pursuing the same course, and going still to the west, he arrived, after twelve yojanas, at the city of Varanasi (Boluonai, i.e. Benares) in the kingdom of Kasi (Jiashi).

3. Rather more than ten li to the northeast of the city, he found the vihara in the park of "The Rishi's Deer Wilderness" (Xianren Luye)

4. In this park there formerly resided a pratyeka buddha [a hermit] with whom the deer were regularly in the habit of stopping for the night.

5. When the World-honoured one was about to attain to perfect Wisdom, the devas sang in the sky, "The son of king Suddhodana, having quit his family and studied the Path of Wisdom, will now in seven days become the Buddha."

6. The pratyeka buddha heard their words, and immediately attained to nirvana; and hence this place was named "The Rishi's Deer Wilderness." After the World-

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honoured one had attained to perfect Wisdom, men build the vihara in it.

7. Sakyamuni's First Doings After Becoming a Buddha

The Buddha wished to convert [his maternal uncle] Kaundinya (Julin) and his four companions; but they, being aware of his intention, said to one another, "This sramana Gotama (Qutan) for six years continued in the practice of painful austerities, eating daily only a single hemp-seed, and one grain of rice, without attaining to the Path of Wisdom.

8. How much less will he do so now that he has entered again among men, and is giving the reins to the indulgence of his body, his speech, and his thoughts! What has he to do with the Path of Wisdom? Today, when he comes to us, let us be on our guard not to speak with him."

9. At the places where the five men all rose up, and respectfully saluted the Buddha, when he came to them; where, sixty paces north from this, he sat with his face to the east, and first turned the wheel of the Law, converting Kaundinya and the four others;

10. and where, twenty paces further to the north, he delivered his prophecy concerning [the future buddha] Maitreya (Mile); and where, at a distance of fifty paces to the south, the dragon Elapattra (Yiluobo) asked him, "When shall I get free from this naga [snake's] body?" —at all these places stupas were reared, and still exist.

11. In the park there are two monasteries, in both of which there are monks residing.

12. When you go northwest from the vihara of the Deer-Wilderness park for thirteen yojanas, there is a kingdom named Kausambi (Jushanmi) [possibly Kusia, near Kurrah, possibly Kosam on the Jumna about thirty miles above Allahabad].

13. Its vihara is named Ghochiravana (Qushiluo), a place where the Buddha formerly resided. Now, as of old, there is a company of monks there, most of whom are students of the Hinayana.

14. East from there, when you have traveled eight yojanas, is the place where the Buddha converted the evil demon.

15. There, and where he walked in meditation and sat at the place which was his regular abode, there have been stupas erected. There is also a monastery, which may contain more than a hundred monks.

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 35

Dakshina and the Pigeon Monastery

1. South from this 200 yojanas, there is a country named Dakshina (Dachen, probably Deccan), where there is a monastery dedicated to the bygone Kasyapa Buddha, and which has been hewn out from a large hill of rock.

2. It consists in all of five storys; the lowest, having the form of an elephant, with 500 apartments in the rock; the second, having the form of a lion, with 400 apartments;

3. the third, having the form of a horse, with 300 apartments; the fourth, having the form of an ox, with 200 apartments; and the fifth, having the form of a pigeon, with 100 apartments.

4. At the very top there is a spring, the water of which, always in front of the apartments in the rock, goes round among the rooms, now circling, now curving, till in this way it arrives at the lowest storey, having followed the shape of the structure, and flows out there at the door.

5. Everywhere in the apartments of the monks, the rock has been pierced so as to form windows for the admission of light, so that they are all bright, without any being left in darkness.

6. At the four corners of the tiers of apartments, the rock has been hewn so as to form steps for ascending to the top of each.

7. The men of the present day, being of small size, and going up step by step, manage to get to the top; but in a former age, they did so at one step. Because of this, the monastery is called Paravata (Boluoyue), that being the Indian name for a pigeon. There are always arhats residing in it.

8. The country about is a tract of uncultivated hillocks without inhabitants. At a very long distance from the hill there are villages, where the people all have bad and erroneous views, and do not know the sramanas of the Law of the Buddha, Brahmanas, or devotees of any of the other and different schools.

9. The people of that country are constantly seeing men on the wing, who come and enter this monastery. On one occasion, when devotees of various countries came to perform their worship at it, the people of those villages said to them,

10. "Why do you not fly? The devotees whom we have seen hereabouts all fly;" and the strangers answered, on the spur of the moment, "Our wings are not yet fully formed."

11. The kingdom of Dakshina (Dachen) is out of the way, and perilous to traverse. There are difficulties in connexion with the roads; but those who know how to manage such difficulties and wish to proceed should bring with them money and various articles, and give them to the king.

12. He will then send men to escort them. These will at different stages pass them over to others, who will show them the shortest routes.

13. Faxian, however, was after all unable to go there. But having received the above accounts from men of the country, he has narrated them.

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 36

In Patna

Faxian's Labours in Transcription of Manuscripts and Indian Studies for Three Years

1. In Patna

From Varanasi (Boluonai, i.e. Benares) the travelers went back east to Pataliputtra (Balianfu).

2. Faxian's original object had been to search for copies of the Vinaya. In the various kingdoms of North India, however, he had found one master transmitting the rules orally to another, but no written copies which he could transcribe.

3. He had therefore traveled far and come on to Central India. Here, in the Mahayana monastery [mentioned in chapter 27], he found a copy of the Vinaya, containing the Mahasanghika rules (Mohe Senchi Zhonglü "Great Assembly"), those which were observed in the first Great Council, while the Buddha was still in the world.

4. The original copy was handed down in the Jetavana (Zhihuan) vihara. As to the other eighteen schools, each one has the views and decisions of its own masters.

5. Those agree with this one in the general meaning, but they have small and trivial differences, as when one opens and another shuts. This copy of the rules, however, is the most complete, with the fullest explanations. [Faxian later translated it into Chinese. J. Legge]

6. He further got a transcript of the rules in six or seven thousand gathas [stanzas], being the sarvastivadah rules (sapoduo zhenglü), those which are observed by the communities of monks in the land of Qin [China]; which also have all been handed down orally from master to master without being committed to writing.

7. In the community here, moreover, he got the Samyuktabhi-dharma-hridaya-(sastra) (Za'e Pitan Xin), containing about six or seven thousand gathas.

8. He also got a Sutra of 2500 gathas; one chapter of the Parinir-vana-vaipulya Sutra (Fangdeng Bannihuan Jing), of about 5000 gathas; and the Mahasan-ghikah Abhidharma (Mohesengchi Epitan).

9. Faxian's Labours in Transcription of Manuscripts and Indian Studies for Three Years

In consequence [of this success in his quest] Faxian stayed here for three years, studying Sanskrit books and the Sanskrit speech, and writing out the Vinaya rules.

10. When Daozheng arrived in the Central Kingdom, and saw the rules observed by the sramanas, and the dignified demeanour in their societies which he remarked under all occurring circumstances, he sadly called to mind in what a mutilated and imperfect condition the rules were among the monkish communities in the land of Qin.

11. He made the following aspiration: "From this time forth till I come to the state of the Buddha, let me not be reborn in a frontier land [i.e., outside of India]." He remained accordingly in India, and did not return to the land of Han.

12. Faxian, however, whose original purpose had been to secure the introduction of the complete Vinaya rules into the land of Han, returned there alone.

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 37

To Champa and Tamalipti

His Stay and Labours There for Three Years

Faxian Takes a Ship to Singhala, or Ceylon

1. To Champa and Tamalipti

Following the course of the Ganges, and descending eastwards for eighteen yojanas, he found on the southern bank the great kingdom of Champa (Zhanbo) [probably modern Champanagur near Baglipur], with stupas reared at the places where the Buddha walked in meditation by his vihara, and where he and the three Buddhas, his predecessors, sat. There were monks residing at them all.

2. His Stay and Labours There for Three Years

Continuing his journey east for nearly fifty yojanas, he came to the country of Tamalipti (Molidi) [a major trading center, modern Tamluk in West Bengal], the capital of which is a seaport [near the mouth of the Hooghly River].

3. In the country there are twenty-two monasteries, at all of which there are monks residing. The Law of the Buddha is also flourishing in it. Here Faxian stayed two years, writing out his scriptures, and drawing pictures of images.

4. Faxian Takes a Ship to Singhala, or Ceylon

After this he embarked in a large merchant-vessel, and went floating over the sea to the southwest. It was the beginning of winter, and the wind was favourable; and, after fourteen days, sailing day and night [along the eastern coast of India], they came to the country of Singhala (Shizi Guo, i.e. Ceylon / Sri Lanka). The people said that it was distant from Tamalipti about 700 yojanas.

5. The kingdom is on a large island, extending from east to west fifty yojanas, and from north to south thirty. Left and right from it there are as many as 100 small islands, distant from one another ten, twenty, or even 200 li; but all subject to the large island.

6. Most of them produce pearls and precious stones of various kinds. There is one which produces the pure and brilliant "mani" (moni, "stainless") pearl, an island which would form a square of about ten li. [The mani pearl is taken as a symbol of the Buddha and is used for making the finest roasaries.]

7. The king employs men to watch and protect it, and requires three out of every ten such pearls, which the collectors find.

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 38

Ceylon: Rise of the Kingdom

Feats of the Buddha

Stupas and Monasteries

Statue of the Buddha in Jade

Bo Tree

Festival of Buddha's Tooth

1. Ceylon: Rise of the Kingdom

The country originally had no human inhabitants, but was occupied only by spirits and nagas [serpents], with which merchants of various countries carried on a trade.

2. When the trafficking was taking place, the spirits did not show themselves. They simply set forth their precious commodities, with labels of the price attached to them; while the merchants made their purchases according to the price; and took the things away.

3. Through the coming and going of the merchants in this way, when they went away, the people of their various countries heard how pleasant the land was, and flocked to it in numbers till it became a great nation.

4. The climate is temperate and attractive, without any difference of summer and winter. The vegetation is always luxuriant. Cultivation proceeds whenever men think fit: there are no fixed seasons for it.

5. Feats of the Buddha

When the Buddha came to this country [which historians doubt], he wished to transform the wicked nagas. By his supernatural power he planted one foot at the north of the royal city, and the other on the top of a mountain, the two being fifteen yojanas apart.

[This is probably Adam's Peak, which has a hollow at the top regarded as the footprint of Siva by Hindus, of Adam by Muslims, or, as here, of the Buddha.]

6. Over the footprint at the north of the city the king built a large stupa, 400 cubits high, grandly adorned with gold and silver, and finished with a combination of all the precious substances.

7. Stupas and Monasteries

By the side of the top he further built a monastery, called the Abhayagiri (Wuwei Shan, "Fearless Hill," where there are now five thousand monks.

8. Statue of the Buddha in Jade

There is in it a hall of the Buddha, adorned with carved and inlaid works of gold and silver, and rich in the seven precious substances, in which there is an image of the Buddha in green jade, more than twenty cubits in height.

9. It glitters all over with those substances, and has an appearance of solemn dignity which words cannot express. In the palm of the right hand there is a priceless pearl.

10. Several years had now elapsed since Faxian left the land of Han. The men with whom he had been in intercourse had all been of regions strange to him; his eyes had not rested on an old and familiar hill or river, plant or tree.

11. His fellow-travelers, moreover, had been separated from him, some flowing off in different directions, some having died. No face or shadow was now with him but his own, and a constant sadness was in his heart.

12. Suddenly one day, when by the side of this image of jade, he saw a merchant presenting as his offering a fan of white silk [and hence obviously Chinese]; and the tears of sorrow involuntarily filled Faxian's eyes and fell down.

13. Bo Tree

A former king of the country had sent to Central India and got a slip of the patra or bo tree under which the Buddha was enlightened, which he planted by the side of the hall of the Buddha, where a tree grew up to the height of about 200 cubits.

14. As it bent on one side towards the southeast, the king, fearing it would fall, propped it with a post eight or nine spans round.

15. The tree began to grow at the very heart of the prop, where it met the trunk, a shoot pierced through the post, and went down to the ground, where it entered and formed roots, that rose to the surface and were about four spans round.

16. Although the post was split in the middle, the outer portions kept hold of the shoot, and people did not remove them. Beneath the tree there has been built a vihara, in which there is an image (of the Buddha) seated, which the monks and commonalty reverence and look up to without ever becoming wearied.

17. Festival of Buddha's Tooth

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In the city there has been erected also the vihara of the Buddha's tooth, on which, as well as on the other, the seven precious substances have been employed.

18. The king practises the Brahmanical purifications, and the sincerity of the faith and reverence of the population inside the city are also great. Since the establishment of government in the kingdom there has been no famine or scarcity, no revolution or disorder.

19. In the treasuries of the monkish communities there are many precious stones, and the priceless "manis" [mentioned in chapter 37]. One of the kings once entered one of those treasuries, and when he looked all round and saw the priceless pearls, his covetous greed was excited, and he wished to take them to himself by force.

20. In three days, however, he came to himself, and immediately went and bowed his head to the ground in the midst of the monks, to show his repentance of the evil thought.

21. As a sequel to this, he informed the monks of what had been in his mind, and desired them to make a regulation that from that day forth the king should not be allowed to enter the treasury and see what it contained, and that no bhikshu should enter it till after he had been in orders for a period of full forty years.

22. In the city there are many Vaisya-caste elders and Sabaean (Sabo) merchants [from Yemen], whose houses are stately and beautiful. The lanes and passages are kept in good order.

23. At the heads of the four principal streets there have been built preaching halls, where, on the eighth, fourteenth, and fifteenth days of the month, they spread carpets, and set forth a pulpit, while the monks and commoners from all quarters come together to hear the Law.

24. The people say that in the kingdom there may be altogether sixty thousand monks, who get their food from their common stores. The king, besides, prepares elsewhere in the city a common supply of food for five or six thousand more.

25. When any want, they take their great bowls, and go to the place of distribution, and take as much as the vessels will hold, all returning with them full.

26. The tooth of the Buddha is always brought forth in the middle of the third month. Ten days beforehand the king grandly caparisons a large elephant, on which he mounts a man who can speak distinctly, and is dressed in royal robes, to beat a large drum, and make the following proclamation:

27. "The Bodhisattva, during three asankhyeya-kalpas [i.e., macro-kalpas] manifested his activity, and did not spare his own life. He gave up kingdom, city, wife, and son.

28. He plucked out his eyes and gave them to another and cut off a piece of his own flesh to ransom the life of a dove (chapter 9). He cut off his head and gave it as an alms, and gave his body to feed a starving tigress (chapter 11).

29. He grudged not his marrow and his brains. In many such ways as these did he undergo pain for the sake of all living beings.

30. And so it was, that, having become the Buddha, he continued in the world for forty-five years, preaching his Law, teaching and transforming, so that those who had no rest found rest, and the unconverted were converted. When his connexion with the living was completed, he attained to pari-nirvana (and died).

31. Since that event, for 1497 years, the light of the world has gone out, and all living beings have had long-continued sadness.

32. Behold! Ten days after this, the Buddha's tooth will be brought forth, and taken to the Abhayagiri-vihara.

33. Let all and each, whether monks or laics, who wish to amass merit for themselves, make the roads smooth and in good condition, grandly adorn the lanes and by-ways, and provide abundant store of flowers and incense to be used as offerings to it."

34. When this proclamation is over, the king exhibits, so as to line both sides of the road, the five hundred different bodily forms in which the Bodhisattva has in the course of his history appeared:

35. here as Sudana (Xudana) Buddha, and transformed as Sama (Shan); now as the king of elephants;and then as a stag or a horse.

36. All these figures are brightly coloured and grandly executed, looking as if they were alive.

37. After this the tooth of the Buddha is brought forth, and is carried along in the middle of the road. Everywhere on the way offerings are presented to it, and thus it arrives at the hall of the Buddha in the Abhayagiri-vihara.

38. There monks and laics are collected in crowds. They burn incense, light lamps, and perform all the prescribed services, day and night without ceasing, till ninety days have been completed, when the tooth is returned to the vihara within the city.

39. On fast-days the door of that vihara is opened, and the forms of ceremonial reverence are observed according to the rules.

40. Forty li to the east of the Abhayagiri-vihara there is a hill, with a vihara on it, called the Chaitya (Zhiti) [near modern Mihintale], where there may be 2000 monks.

41. Among them there is a sramana of great virtue, named Dharma-gupta (Damo Qudi), honoured and looked up to by all the kingdom.

42. He has lived for more than forty years in an apartment of stone, constantly showing such gentleness of heart, that he has brought snakes and rats to stop together in the same room, without doing one another any harm.

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 39

Cremation of an Arhat

Sermon of a Devotee

1. Cremation of an Arhat

South of the city seven li there is a vihara, called the Maha-vihara (Mohe-piheluo), where 3000 monks reside.

2. There had been among them a sramana, of such lofty virtue, and so holy and pure in his observance of the disciplinary rules, that the people all surmised that he was an arhat.

3. When he drew near his end, the king came to examine into the point; and having assembled the monks according to rule, asked whether the bhikshu had attained to the full degree of Wisdom.

4. They answered in the affirmative, saying that he was an arhat. The king accordingly, when he died, buried him after the fashion of an arhat, as the regular rules prescribed.

5. Four or five li east from the vihara there was reared a great pile of firewood, which might be more than thirty cubits square, and the same in height. Near the top were laid sandal, aloe, and other kinds of fragrant wood.

6. On the four sides of the pile they made steps by which to ascend it. With clean white hair-cloth, almost like silk, they wrapped the body round and round. They made a large carriage-frame, in form like our funeral car, but without the dragons and fishes.

7. At the time of the cremation, the king and the people, in multitudes from all quarters, collected together, and presented offerings of flowers and incense.

8. While they were following the car to the burial ground, the king himself presented flowers and incense. When this was finished, the car was lifted on the pile, all over which oil of sweet basil was poured, and then a light was applied.

9. While the fire was blazing, every one, with a reverent heart, pulled off his upper garment, and threw it, with his feather-fan and umbrella, from a distance into the midst of the flames, to assist the burning. When the cremation was over, they collected and preserved the bones, and proceeded to erect a stupa. Faxian had not arrived in time to see the distinguished shaman alive, and only saw his burial.

10. At that time the king [probably Maha-nana], who was a sincere believer in the Law of the Buddha and wished to build a new vihara for the monks, first convoked a great assembly. After giving the monks a meal of rice, and presenting his offerings on the occasion, he selected a pair of first-rate oxen, the horns of which were grandly decorated with gold, silver, and the precious substances.

11. A golden plough had been provided, and the king himself turned up a furrow on the four sides of the ground within which the building was supposed to be.

12. He then endowed the community of the monks with the population, fields, and houses, writing the grant on plates of metal, to the effect that from that time onwards, from generation to generation, no one should venture to annul or alter it.

13. Sermon of a Devotee

In this country Faxian heard an Indian devotee, who was reciting a Sutra from the pulpit, say: "The Buddha's alms-bowl was at first in Vaisali (Pisheli), and now it is in Gandhara(Jiantuowei). [Faxian saw it in Purushapura, capital of ancient Gandhara. See chapter 12.]

14. After so many hundred years" —he gave, when Faxian heard him, the exact number of years, but he has forgotten it— "it will go to Western Tukhara (Xi Yuezhi),

15. after so many hundred years, to Yutian, after so many hundred years, to Kharachar (Quci) [north of Bosteng Lake], after so many hundred years, to the land of Han,

16. after so many hundred years, it will come to Sinhala (Shizi Guo), and after so many hundred years, it will return to Central India.

17. After that, it will ascend to the Tushita heaven; and when the Bodhisattva Maitreya sees it, he will say with a sigh, 'The alms-bowl of Sakyamuni the Buddha is come;' and with all the devas he will present to it flowers and incense for seven days.

18. When these have expired, it will return to Jambudvipa (Yanfuti), where it will be received by the king of the sea nagas, and taken into his naga palace.

19. When Maitreya shall be about to attain to perfect Wisdom and become a buddha, it will again separate into four bowls, which will return to the top of mount Anna, whence they came.

20. After Maitreya has become the Buddha, the four deva kings will again think of the Buddha [with their bowls as they did in the case of the previous the Buddha].

21. The thousand Buddhas of this Bhadra-kalpa, indeed, will all use the same alms-bowl; and when the bowl has disappeared, the Law of the Buddha will go on gradually to be extinguished. After that extinction has taken place, the life of man will be shortened, till it is only a period of five years.

22. During this period of a five years' life, rice, butter, and oil will all vanish away, and men will become exceedingly wicked. The grass and trees which they lay hold of will change into swords and clubs, with which they will hurt, cut, and kill one another.

23. Those among them on whom there is blessing will withdraw from society among the hills; and when the wicked have exterminated one another, they will again come forth, and say among themselves:

24. 'The men of former times enjoyed a very great longevity; but through becoming exceedingly wicked, and doing all lawless things, the length of our life has been shortened and reduced even to five years.

25. Let us now unite together in the practice of what is good, cherishing a gentle and sympathising heart, and carefully cultivating good faith and righteousness.

26. When each one in this way practises that faith and righteousness, life will go on to double its length till it reaches 80,000 years.

27. When Maitreya appears in the world, and begins to turn the wheel of his Law, he will in the first place save those among the disciples of the Law left by the Sakya who have quit their families, and those who have accepted the three Refuges, undertaken the five Prohibitions and the eight Abstinences, and given offerings to the three Precious Ones.

28. Secondly and thirdly, he will save those who past karma merits it.'"

29. Faxian wished to write all this down as a portion of scripture; but the man said, "This is taken from no Sutra, it is only the utterance of my own mind."

FAXIAN FOGUO JI CHAPTER 40

After Two Years Faxian Takes Ship for China

Disastrous Passage to Java and Thence to China

Faxian Arrives at Shandong and Goes to Nanjing

Faxian's Summing Up

Conclusion or l'Envoi by Another Writer

1. After Two Years Faxian Takes Ship for China

Faxian abode in this country two years; and, in addition [to his earlier acquisitions in Patna], he succeeded in getting a copy of the Vinaya-pitaka (Lüzangben) of the Mahisasakah (Mishasai, "Transformed Earth") school, the Dirgh-agama (Ehan) and Samyukt-agama (Za Ehan) scriptures, and also the Samyukta-sanchaya-pitaka (Zazang). All were works unknown in the land of Han.

2. Having obtained these Sanskrit works, he took passage in a large merchantman, on board of which there were more than 200 men, and to which was attached by a rope a smaller vessel, as a provision against damage or injury to the large one from the perils of the navigation.

3. With a favourable wind, they proceeded eastwards for three days, and then they encountered a great wind. The vessel sprang a leak and the water came in.

4. The merchants wished to go to the small vessel; but the men on board it, fearing that too many would come, cut the connecting rope. The merchants were greatly alarmed, feeling their risk of instant death.

5. Afraid that the vessel would fill, they took their bulky goods and threw them into the water. Faxian also took his pitcher and washing-basin, with some other articles, and cast them into the sea.

6. Fearing that the merchants would cast overboard his books and images, he could only think with all his heart of the bodhisattva Guanshiyin, and commit his life to the protection of the church of the land of Han, saying in effect:

7. "I have traveled far in search of our Law. Let me, by your dread and supernatural power, return from my wanderings, and reach my resting-place!"

8. In this way the tempest continued day and night, till on the thirteenth day the ship was carried to the side of an island, where, on the ebbing of the tide, the place of the leak was discovered, and it was stopped, on which the voyage was resumed.

9. On the sea hereabouts there are many pirates, to meet with whom is speedy death.

10. Disastrous Passage to Java and Thence to China

The great ocean spreads out, a boundless expanse. There is no knowing east or west; only by observing the sun, moon, and stars was it possible to go forward. If the weather were dark and rainy, the ship went as she was carried by the wind, without any definite course.

11. In the darkness of the night, only the great waves were to be seen, breaking on one another, and emitting a brightness like that of fire, with huge turtles and other monsters of the deep all about.

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12. The merchants were full of terror, not knowing where they were going. The sea was deep and bottomless, and there was no place where they could drop anchor and stop.

13. But when the sky became clear, they could tell east and west, and the ship again went forward in the right direction. If she had come on any hidden rock, there would have been no way of escape.

14. After proceeding in this way for rather more than ninety days, they arrived at a country called Java-dvipa (Yepoti), where various forms of error and Brahmanism are flourishing, while Buddhism in it is not worth speaking of.

15. After staying there for five months, Faxian again embarked in another large merchant vessel, which also had on board more than 200 men. They carried provisions for fifty days, and commenced the voyage on the sixteenth day of the fourth month.

16. Faxian kept his Retreat on board the ship. They took a course to the northeast, intending to reach Guangzhou. After more than a month, when the night-drum had sounded the second watch, they encountered a black wind and tempestuous rain, which threw the merchants and passengers into consternation.

17. Faxian again with all his heart directed his thoughts to Guanshiyin and the monkish communities of the land of Han; and, through their dread and mysterious protection, was preserved to daybreak.

18. After daybreak, the Brahmans deliberated together and said, "It is having this sramana on board which has occasioned our misfortune and brought us this great and bitter suffering. Let us land the bhikshu and place him on some island-shore. We must not for the sake of one man allow ourselves to be exposed to such imminent peril."

19. A patron of Faxian, however, said to them, "If you land the bhikshu, you must at the same time land me; and if you do not, then you must kill me.

20. If you land this sramana, when I get to the land of Han, I will go to the king, and inform against you. The king also reveres and believes the Law of the Buddha, and honours the bhikshus."

21. The merchants hereupon were perplexed, and did not dare immediately to land Faxian.

22. At this time the sky continued very dark and gloomy, and the sailing-masters looked at one another and made mistakes. More than seventy days passed [from their leaving Java], and the provisions and water were nearly exhausted.

23. They used the salt water of the sea for cooking, and carefully divided the fresh water, each man getting two pints. Soon the whole was nearly gone, and the merchants took counsel and said,

24. "At the ordinary rate of sailing we ought to have reached Guangzhou, and now the time is passed by many days; must we not have held a wrong course?"

25. Faxian Arrives at Shandong and Goes to Nanjing

Immediately they directed the ship to the northwest, looking out for land; and after sailing day and night for twelve days, they reached the shore on the south of mount Lao [now written], on the borders of the prefecture of Changguang [modern Qingdao in Shandong [province] and immediately got good water and vegetables. [The travelers were nearly 1400 miles off course.]

26. They had passed through many perils and hardships, and had been in a state of anxious apprehension for many days together; and now suddenly arriving at this shore, and seeing those well-known vegetables, the li ["lambs-quarters," a kind of edible green] and huo [a kind of hyssop used in medicine], they knew indeed that it was the land of Han.

27. Not seeing, however, any inhabitants nor any traces of them, they did not know whereabouts they were. Some said that they had not yet got to Guangzhou, and others that they had passed it. Unable to come to a definite conclusion, some of them got into a small boat and entered a creek, to look for some one of whom they might ask what the place was.

28. They found two hunters, whom they brought back with them, and then called on Faxian to act as interpreter and question them. Faxian first spoke assuringly to them, and then slowly and distinctly asked them, "Who are you?"

29. They replied, "We are disciples of the Buddha." He then asked, "What are you looking for among these hills?" They began to lie [because true Buddhists would be vegetarians, not hunters], and the said, "Tomorrow is the fifteenth day of the seventh month. We wanted to get some peaches to sacrifice (la) to the Buddha."

[But true Buddhists would not use this term].

30. He asked further, "What country is this?" They replied, "This is the border of the prefecture of Changguang, a part of Qingzhou under the ruling Jin Dynasty."

31. When they heard this, the merchants were glad, immediately asked for a portion of their money and goods, and sent men to Changguang city.

32. The prefect Li Yi was a reverent believer in the Law of the Buddha. When he heard that a sramana had arrived in a ship from across the sea, bringing with him books and images, he immediately came to the seashore with an escort to meet the traveler, and receive the books and images, and took them back with him to the seat of his government.

33. On this the merchants went back in the direction of Yangzhou 扬州 [possibly in Jiangsu province] but when Faxian arrived at Qingzhou, the prefect there begged him to remain with him for a winter and a summer. After the Summer Retreat was ended, Faxian, having been separated for a long time from his fellow masters, wished to hurry to Chang'an.

34. But the business which he had in hand was important, so he went south to the capital [probably Nanjing by this time]; and at an interview with the masters there exhibited the Sutras and the collection of the Vinaya which he had procured.

35. Faxian's Summing Up

After Faxian set out from Chang'an, it took him six years to reach Central India. His stop there extended over another six years. And on his return it took him three years to reach Qingzhou.

36. The countries through which he passed were a few under thirty. From the sandy desert westwards on to India, the beauty of the dignified demeanour of the monkhood and of the transforming influence of the Law was beyond the power of language fully to describe.

37. Reflecting how our masters had not heard any complete account of them, he therefore went on without regarding his own poor life, or [the dangers to be encountered on] the sea upon his return, thus incurring hardships and difficulties in a double form.

38. He was fortunate enough, through the dread power of the three Honoured Ones, to receive help and protection in his perils; and therefore he wrote out an account of his experiences, that worthy readers might share with him in what he had heard and said.

39. Conclusion or l'Envoi by Another Writer

It was in the jiayin year [414 AD], the twelfth year of the Yixi period [416 AD] of the Eastern Jin dynasty, the year-star being in Virgo-Libra, in the summer, at the close of the period of Retreat, that I met the devotee Faxian.

[In addition to the conflict between these two dates, if we count through the text, Faxian would have arrived in Qingzhou in 413.]

40. On his arrival I lodged him with myself in the winter study, and there, in our meetings for conversation, I asked him again and again about his travels.

41. The man was modest and complaisant, and answered readily according to the truth. I thereupon advised him to enter into details where he had at first only given a summary, and he proceeded to relate all things in order from the beginning to the end.

42. He said himself, "When I look back on what I have gone through, my heart is involuntarily moved, and the perspiration flows forth. That I encountered danger and trod the most perilous places, without thinking of or sparing myself, was because I had a definite aim, and thought of nothing but to do my best in my simplicity and straightforwardness.

43. Thus it was that I exposed my life where death seemed inevitable, if I might accomplish but a ten-thousandth part of what I hoped."

44. These words affected me in turn, and I thought: "This man is one of those who have seldom been seen from ancient times to the present.

45. Since the Great Doctrine flowed on to the East there has been no one to be compared with Faxian in his forgetfulness of self and search for the Law.

46. Henceforth I know that the influence of sincerity finds no obstacle, however great, which it does not overcome, and that force of will does not fail to accomplish whatever service it undertakes.

47. Does not the accomplishing of such service arise from disregarding what is generally considered as important, and attaching importance to what is generally forgotten?

THE XIYU JUAN

The Western Regions according to the Hou Hanshu
The Xiyu Juan, "Chapter on the Western Regions"
from Hou Hanshu, Volume 88
Translation: John E. Hill, 2003
Estimated Range of Dating: 5th century A.D.

(Notes on the Text: The Hou Hanshu, also known as The Book of the Later Han or The History of the Later Han, is one of the Twenty-Four Histories and covers the history of the Han dynasty from 6 to 189 AD, a period known as the Later or Eastern Han. The book is a 120-Volume-work compiled by Fan Ye and others in the 5th century during the Liu Song dynasty, using a number of earlier histories and documents as sources. Volume 88, also known as Xiyu Juan or "Chapter on the Western Regions", is one of the most valuable books on Chinese-Foreign relationships in Antiquity. It covers mainly the following regions and peoples: Yutian [Kingdom of Khotan, Xinjiang, China]; Tiaozhi [Seleucid Empire, Persia]; Anxi [the Pathian Empire, Persia]; Da Qin [the Roman Empire]; Yuezhi [Province Ganzu, China]; Tianzhu [India]; Yancai [the Alans]; Shule [Kashgar, Xinjiang, China]; Yanqi [Karasahr, Xinjiang, China]; Jushi [Turfan, Xinjiang, China].

Fan Ye (398–446), courtesy name Weizong, the chief compiler of the Hou Hanshu, was a Chinese historian and politician of the Liu Song dynasty during the Southern and Northern dynasties period. He was the compiler of the historical text Book of the Later Han. The son of Fan Tai, Fan Ye was born in present-day Shaoxing, Zhejiang, but his ancestral home was in Nanyang, Henan. He was a noted atheist who heavily criticised Buddhism as religion, Yin and Yang, and the concept of the Mandate of Heaven. In January 446 AD, Fan was awaiting execution for plotting against Emperor Wen of Liu Song. Fan has a biography in the Book of Song.

For compiling the Hou Hanshu, Fan Ye used a number of earlier histories, including the Shiji by Sima Qian and the Hanshu by Ban Gu plus many others (including some that were also entitled Hou Hanshu), most of which have not survived intact.

Fan Ye, himself, briefly describes in the text his main sources for the Chapter on the Western Regions in his Commentary at the end of the chapter:

"Ban Gu has recorded in detail the local conditions and customs of each kingdom in the Hanshu [History of the Former Han Dynasty].

Now, the events of the jianwu period (25-55 AD) onward have been revised for this Section on the Western Regions, using those that differ from earlier records, as reported by Ban Yong at the end of the reign of Emperor An (107-125 AD)."

A quick examination of the texts will show that Fan Ye, as he indicates, has borrowed much from the accounts of the Western Regions in the Hanshu, but there is also a considerable amount of interesting additional material. Fan Ye specifies that much of his information comes from the account of General Ban Yong, presented to the Emperor in 125 AD.

Ban Yong not only had his own extensive first-hand experiences in the west to draw on, but also those of his famous father, Ban Chao, who did so much to extend Chinese power to the west. These included the reports of his father's envoy, Gan Ying, who reached the shores of the Persian Gulf in 97 AD, and gathered what information he could on the Roman Empire.

Fan Ye has added a few updates for the period after 125 AD on the regions under direct Chinese control. The new information in this chapter on the Western Regions based, as it is, mainly on first-hand military reports, offers us a unique, and unusually accurate view of the countries, peoples, and events of the time.

Significant History: By about 6,000 years ago horses had been domesticated by the nomads of the vast Eurasian steppe-lands. This was soon followed by the domestication of the dromedary and the Bactrian camel. This resulted in vastly increased mobility and the capacity to carry heavy loads which, in turn, led to the development of rapidly expanding trade and cultural exchanges between widely separated populations.

Grasslands stretch like a vast highway just north of the main agricultural regions and urban centres from the shores of the Pacific all the way to Africa, and deep into the heart of Europe. This provided ideal conditions for movements of both mounted warriors and caravans. The joining together of a multitude of local routes led to the development of long-distance networks right across the vast Afro-Eurasian landmass by about 2,000 BC.

The earliest long-distance road, the 'Persian Royal Road,' may have been in use as early as 3,500 BC. By the time of Herodotus, (c. 475 BC) it ran some 2,857 km from the city of Susa on the lower Tigris to Smyrna near the Aegean Sea. It was maintained and protected by the Achaemenian empire and had postal stations and relays at regular intervals. By having fresh horses and riders ready at each relay, royal couriers could carry messages the entire distance in 9 days, though normal travellers took about three months.

This 'Royal Road' linked in to many other routes – some of them, such as the routes to India and Central Asia, were also protected by the Achaemenids, ensuring regular contact between India, Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean.

Another very ancient series of routes linked Badakhshān in northeastern Afghanistan – the only known source of lapis lazuli in the ancient world – with Mesopotamia and Egypt by the second half of the fourth millennium BC, and by the third millennium with the Harappan civilisation in the Indus valley.

By the second millennium nephrite jade was being traded from mines in the region of Yarkand and Khotan to China. Significantly, these mines were not very far from the lapis lazuli and spinel ('Balas Ruby') mines in Badakhshān and, although separated by the formidable Pamir, routes across them were, apparently, in use from very early times.

Alexander's successors, the Ptolemies, inherited control of Egypt, and actively promoted trade with Mesopotamia, India,

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and East Africa through their ports on the Red Sea coast, as well as overland. Soon after the Roman conquest of Egypt in 30 BC, regular communications and trade between China, Southeast Asia, India, Sri Lanka, the Middle East, Africa and Europe suddenly blossomed to a scale never seen before. A vast network of local overland and maritime trade routes were fully linked and novel products, technologies and ideas began to spread right across the continents of Europe, Asia and Africa.

Intercontinental trade and communications became regular, organised, and protected by the 'Great Powers' of the day. These exchanges were critical not only for the development and flowering of the great civilisations of Rome, China and India, but they laid the foundations of our modern world.

Several of the most important Chinese texts relating to the early development of the "Silk Routes" were never available in full in English translation. These include The Xiyu Juan, the 'Chapter on the Western Regions', plus several biographies of the main Chinese generals who expanded Chinese power to the west from the Hou Hanshu (covering the period from 25-220 AD), and a geographical text from the 3rd century AD called the "Weilue". We shall present here both texts, the Xiyu Juan and the Weilue in the excellent translation by John E. Hill.

Modern Publication of the Texts: The portion of this chapter on the Western Regions dealing with Da Qin (the Roman Empire), was first published in English by Friedrich Hirth in 1875 and is available in his very useful book, China and the Roman Orient, republished recently by Ares Publishers in Chicago. This book contains many other texts of interest, and the Chinese originals of each, accompanied by excellent, though somewhat dated, notes.

The whole of the 'Chapter on the Western Regions,' other than the section on Da Qin, was translated into French and richly annotated by the famous sinologue, Édouard Chavannes, in "Les pays d'Occident d'après le Heou Han chou" in T'oung pao 8 (1907), pp. 149-221. He added to it three short biographies of Chinese generals and the Chinese text. Most of Chavannes' copious notes are still relevant but, of course, like Hirth's, many of them have needed updating.

Hirth's pioneering work on the texts relating to the 'Roman Orient' is supplemented by the recent and useful The Roman Empire in Chinese Sources by D. D. Leslie and K. H. J. Gardiner, Bardi Editore, Roma, 1996. This work contains translations of almost all of the relevant texts relating to the Roman Empire and copious notes but, unfortunately, is rather hard to find, and does not include the Chinese originals. It does, however, contain material unavailable elsewhere in English and is a useful reference.

As the Chinese text is quite ancient, there are some passages that are difficult, or even impossible, to translate with confidence. There are particular problems with the identification of many places and products, as terms have fallen out of use over time. Some of my identifications are fairly speculative and often differ from the suggestions of other scholars. Identifications that are generally accepted have been included with minimal comments and notes.

Readers looking for further information are referred to the works mentioned above and the excellent and indispensable annotated translation of Chapters 61 and 96 of the Hanshu by A. F. P. Hulsewé, and M. A. N. Lowe in their China in Central Asia, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1979 (including detailed notes on the identification of many place-names also found in the Hou Hanshu), and the very readable Records of the Grand Historian of China: Translated from the Shih chi of Ssu-ma Ch'ien by Burton Watson, Columbia University Press, New York and London, 1961, especially Chapter 123: The Account of Ta-yüan, on pp. 264-289.

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Measurements: The basic units of measurement employed in the Hou Hanshu, the "Li" and the "Chi", have varied considerably through the ages and, at times, from district to district. Fortunately, however, they remained stable over the Qin and Han periods and a bronze standard measure, dated 9 AD, has been preserved at the Imperial Palace in Beijing. This has allowed accurate conversions to modern measurements.

The li was calculated by Dubs to be 415.8 metres (1955): 160, n. 7. See also Chapter IV, Appendix I, Standard Weights and Measures of Han Times, ibid., 276-280. In most cases, I have given the exact equivalents to the nearest kilometre based on this measurement, even when the number of li given is obviously an approximation (e.g. 8,000 or 10,000 li). For relatively short distances (less than 100 li), I have calculated to the nearest tenth of a kilometre.

Most, though not all, of the distances between places given in the Hou Hanshu, which I have been able to check have proved to be surprisingly accurate, especially in areas controlled by the Chinese. At other times, however, there are what seem to be obvious mistakes in the text. Sometimes this may be because it is not clear which of several alternative routes was used. Occasionally, especially over longer distances, and in the case of places far from China, the figures given are wildly out.

I have based all other conversions of Chinese measurements on the values calculated by Wan Kuo-ting for the Qin and Han periods as described by A. F. P. Hulsewé, in T'oung pao Archives, Vol. XLIX, Livre 3, 1961: 206-207. The Han chi, or 'foot' is given here as equalling 0.231 metres (or 9.095 inches).

I have converted distances mentioned in quotes from Western Roman and Greek authors as follows: the Greek stadium as 201.5 metres, the Roman stadium as 185 metres, and the Roman mile as 1,482 metres.)

Section 1 – Historical Background

In the period of Emperor Wu ["Han Wudi", 140-87 BC], the Western Regions1 were under the control of the Interior [China]. They numbered thirty-six kingdoms. The Imperial Government established a Commandant of Imperial Envoys there to direct and protect these countries. Emperor Xuan [73-49 BC] changed this title [in 59 BC] to Protector General. Emperor Yuan [40-33 BC] installed both a Mao and a Ji Commandant to take charge of the State Farms on the frontier of the king of Nearer Jushi (Turfan).

During the time of Emperor Ai [6 BC-1 AD] and Emperor Ping [1-5 AD], the principalities of the Western Regions split up and formed fifty-five kingdoms. Wang Mang, after he usurped the Throne [in 9 AD], demoted their kings to marquesses. Following this, the Western Regions became resentful, and rebelled. They, therefore, broke off all relations with the Middle Kingdom and, all together, submitted to the Xiongnu again.

The Xiongnu collected oppressively heavy taxes. The kingdoms were not able to support their demands. In the middle of the jianwu period [25-55 AD], they each sent envoys to ask if they could submit to the Middle Kingdom, and to express their desire for a Protector General. Emperor Guangwu [25-57 AD], deciding that they had not really come for the sake of the security of the Empire, and that he had no time for outside affairs, flatly refused his consent.

In the meantime, the Xiongnu became weaker. The king of Suoche (Yarkand), named Xian, wiped out several kingdoms. After Xian's death, they began to attack and fight each other. Xiao Yuan, Jingjue (Niya), Ronglu (south of Niya), and Qiemo (Charchan) were annexed by Shanshan (the region of Lop Nor, with the capital near modern Ruoqiang or Kharghalik). Qule (south of Keriya) and Pishan (modern Pishan or Guma) were conquered by Yutian (Khotan), which completely occupied them. Yuli, Danhuan, Guhu, and Wutanzili (along the route north of the Tianshan mountains) were wiped out by Jushi (Turfan/Jimasa). Later these kingdoms were re-established.

During the Yongping period [58-75 AD], the Northern Savages (i.e., the Northern Xiongnu) forced several countries to help them plunder the commanderies and districts of Hexi. The gates of the towns stayed shut in broad daylight.

In the sixteenth year [73 AD], Emperor Ming ordered his generals to lead an expedition north against the Xiongnu. They took the territory of Yiwulu (Hami) and established a Commandant in Charge of Crops there to set up a State Farm. Communications with the Western Regions followed these events. Yutian (Khotan) and the other kingdoms all sent sons to serve [the Emperor]. Relations with the Western Regions had been cut for sixty-five years [9-73 AD] before they were restored. A Protector General and Mao and Ji Commandants were established in the following year [74 AD].

When Emperor Ming died, Yanqi (Karashahr) and Qiuci (Kucha) attacked and killed the Protector General Chen Mu [75 AD] and all who were with him. The Xiongnu and Jushi (Turfan/Jimasa) besieged the Mao and Ji Commandants.

In the spring of the first jianchu year [76 AD], the Governor of Jiuquan (one of the four commanderies of Hexi, centred near the modern town of the same name in the Gansu corridor), Duan Peng, soundly defeated Jushi (Turfan-Jimasa) near the town of Jiaohe (Yarkhoto, 20 li west of Turfan).

Emperor Zhang [76-88 AD], not wishing to exhaust and ruin the Middle Kingdom in the affairs of the Yi and Di, sent for the Mao and Ji Commandants to return, and did not appoint another Protector General. In the second year [77 AD], he abolished the State Farms at Yiwu (Hami). After that, the Xiongnu sent soldiers to supervise Yiwu (Hami). At the same time Division Commander Ban Chao stayed at Yutian (Khotan), pacifying and reuniting all the kingdoms.

In the first Yongyuan year [89 AD], during the reign of Emperor He, the General-in-Chief Dou Xian had a great victory over the Xiongnu. In the second year [90 AD], (Dou) Xian sent Deputy Commandant Yan Pan, at the head of more than 2,000 cavalry, on a surprise attack against Yiwu (Hami), which he conquered.

In the third year [91 AD], Ban Chao finally succeeded in pacifying the Western Regions. (Ban) Chao was then given the title of Protector General and stationed at Qiuci (Kucha). The Mao and Ji Commandants were re-established and, commanding five hundred soldiers, were stationed with the Nearer Jushi tribe within the walls of Gaochang (Karakhoja – 70 li or 29 km southeast of Turfan). In addition, a Mao Troop Captain was established and stationed with the Further Jushi (Jimasa). The Captain was 500 li (208 km) from the town [of Gaochang].

In the sixth year [94 AD], Ban Chao again attacked and defeated Yanqi (Karashahr). Following this, more than fifty kingdoms presented hostages, and submitted to the Empire. The kingdoms such as Tiaozhi (Characene and Susiana, Elam, Persia), Anxi (Parthia, Persia), and all the kingdoms as far as the shores of the sea more than 40,000 li (16,632 km) away, all offered tribute, using several successive interpreters to communicate.

In the ninth year [97 AD], Ban Chao sent his Subaltern Gan Ying, who probed as far as the Western Sea, and then returned. Previous generations never reached these regions. The Shanjing gives no details on them. No doubt he prepared a report on their customs and investigated their precious and unusual [products]. After this, distant kingdoms [such as] Mengqi and Doule all came to submit, and sent envoys offering tribute.

Following the death of Emperor Xiaohe [in 105 AD], the Western Regions rebelled. In the first yongchu year [107 AD], of the reign of Emperor An, the Protectors General Ren Shang and Duan Xi, and others, were surrounded and attacked several times. The Imperial Government proclaimed that the post of Protector General should be abolished because these regions were remote, difficult, and dangerous to reach. From this time, therefore, the Western Regions were abandoned. The Northern Xiongnu immediately took control and united all the kingdoms again. They [the Northern Xiongnu] raided the frontier with their cooperation, for more than ten years. The Governor of Dunhuang, Cao Zong, was concerned about their violence and killings.

Then, in the sixth yuanchu year [119 AD], the Emperor sent the Acting Aide Suo Ban to take more than a thousand men with him to garrison and pacify Yiwu (Hami). After this, the king of Nearer Jushi (Turfan) and the king of Shanshan (Charkhlik) came to submit.

Several months later the Northern Xiongnu resumed control over the king of the tribe of Further Jushi. Together they attacked and killed (Suo) Ban and others. Then they attacked the king of the Nearer [Jushi], forcing him to flee. Shanshan (Charkhlik) sent an urgent request to Cao Zong for assistance. (Cao) Zong therefore requested that troops be sent to attack the Xiongnu, and avenge the outrage against Suo Ban. He wanted to keep forging ahead again in the Western Regions. However, the Dowager Empress Deng did not give her consent. She merely ordered the establishment of a Lieutenant Colonel at Dunhuang to protect the Western Regions. A camp of three hundred soldiers was re-established to keep them under control, and they then ended [their rampages].

Later, the Northern Savages (Northern Xiongnu) joined with the Jushi (Turfan/Jimasa) to invade Hexi (west of the Huang He). The Imperial Government was unable to prevent it. After discussions, it was decided to shut the Yumen and Yang frontier-passes to prevent disasters.

In the second Yanguang year [123 AD], the Governor of Dunhuang, Zhang Dang presented a report setting out three plans:

"I believe that the king of the Huyan [clan] of the Northern Savages (the Northern Xiongnu) frequently circulates on inspection between Pulei (Barkol) and Lake Qin. He has

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imposed his rule on the Western Regions and united them to raid and pillage. We should assemble more than 2,000 officers and soldiers taken from Jiuquan (Suzhou) and its dependent kingdoms at the Gunlun frontier-pass.

They should immediately attack the Huyan [clan's] king, and cut him off from his base. Therefore, 5,000 soldiers should be sent from Shanshan (Charkhlik) to restrain the tribe of Further Jushi (Jimasa). This is the best plan.

If we cannot send an army, a Division Commander with five hundred officers and men supplied with farm draft cattle, grain, and provisions by the four commanderies [of Hexi], should occupy Liuzhong (Lukchun). This is the middle-ranking plan.

If even that can't be done, then the town of Jiaohe (Yarkhoto, 20 li west of Turfan) must be abandoned, and [the people of] Shanshan (Charkhlik), and other places, be gathered together and taken within the Barrier. This is the worst plan."

The Imperial Government put this project under consideration. The Imperial Secretary Chen Zhong presented a memorial to the Emperor saying:

"Your subject has heard that, of all the ravages committed by the eight [groups of] southern barbarians, none are as bad as those of the Northern Savages (Northern Xiongnu).

When the Han came to power, Emperor Gaozi [206-195 BC] was surrounded at Pingcheng, and put in great danger. Emperor Taizong [179-157 BC] was forced to submit to the humiliation of presenting tribute.

Emperor Xiaowu [141-87 BC] was indignant about this. He thought deeply to work out long-term strategies. He sent brave soldiers to navigate the (Yellow) River, and go right across the deserts, to destroy the Savages' (Xiongnu) court.

During this expedition, the Black Heads (Chinese) fell to the north of Langwang and treasure was destroyed in the ravines of Lu Mountain.53 The treasury was exhausted. The shuttles and reeds of the looms were empty. Measures were taken to tax [at 2%] boats and wagons, and even the six types of domestic animals [horses, cattle, sheep, chickens, dogs, and pigs].

However, through these long-term strategies [the Emperor] managed to open the four commanderies west of the (Yellow) River which cut off the Southern Qiang, and gathered in the thirty-six kingdoms [of the Western Regions], cutting off the right arm of the Xiongnu. The Chanyu (Khan) had to scurry far away alone like a frightened rat.

Then, during the reigns of Emperors Xuan [73-49 BC] and Yuan [48-33 BC], (China) was successfully protected against the Fan vassals [Xiongnu],56 the frontier-posts were not shut, and urgent war summons 57 no longer circulated.

Examination of these facts shows that the Rong and Di [peoples to the west and north of China] can be subdued by force, but it is difficult to transform them.

The Western Regions have, in the course of time, come to make their submission. Humbly, they are looking to the east, knocking on our frontier gates until they shake. They do not like the Xiongnu and they admire and imitate the Han.

Now, the Northern Savages (Northern Xiongnu) have already defeated Jushi (Turfan-Jimasa). They will inevitably head south to attack Shanshan (Charkhlik). If we abandon the latter without help, all the kingdoms will follow them. If that happens, the wealth of the Savages (Xiongnu) will increase; their audacity and strength will be multiplied; their fearful reputation will cause the Southern Qiang to join them.

Then the four commanderies to the west of the (Yellow) River will definitely be endangered. Now, when the area west of the (Yellow) River is endangered; it will be very difficult to assist them. Expeditions will therefore increase a hundredfold and there will not be enough funds to pay for them.

In the discussions, only the extreme remoteness of the Western Regions and the numerous expenses involved have been considered. There has been no notice taken of the suggestions of earlier generations to follow their hearts and work hard.

In addition, the frontier regions are currently not very well prepared to guard and defend (themselves). In the interior commanderies military preparations have not been made. Dunhuang is isolated and in danger. It is a long way to send for help and return. If we do not help them, there will be nothing to console the officials and people of the interior.

In the external regions, we will be unable to make a show of our might before the many barbarian tribes. The Classics clearly forbid advocating the reduction of the Empire.

I, your humble servant, am of the opinion that we ought to install a Commandant at Dunhuang, as they did in former times, to reinforce the military colonies in the four commanderies [west of the Yellow River] and, by this means, to control all the kingdoms to the west, so as to smash the enemy's offensive over 10,000 li, and terrorize the Xiongnu."

The Emperor accepted this advice. He then gave the title of Aide of the Western Regions to Ban Yong [in 123 AD] so that he could lead five hundred freed convicts west to garrison Liuzhong (Lukchun). (Ban) Yong then conquered and pacified Jushi (Turfan/Jimasa).

From the Jianwu period [25-55 AD] to the Yanguang period [122-125 AD], communications with the Western Regions were cut three times, and then restored.

In the second Yongjian year [127 AD] of the reign of Emperor Shun, (Ban) Yong once again attacked and subdued Yanqi (Karashahr); and then Qiuci (Kucha), Shule (Kashgar), Yutian (Khotan), Suoche (Yarkand), and other kingdoms, seventeen altogether, came to submit. Following this, the Wusun (Issyk-kol and Semirechiye), and the countries of the Congling (Pamirs), put an end to their disruptions to communications to the west.

Because Yiwu (Hami) had since time immemorial provided fertile land bordering on the Western Regions which the Xiongnu were able to plunder for supplies, the Emperor, in the sixth year [131 AD], ordered the re-establishment of a State Farm like the one of the Yongyuan period [89-105 AD], when a 'Commander of Hami' was installed.

Following the Yangjia period [132-136 AD], the reputation of the Imperial Court gradually declined. The kingdoms [of the Western Regions] became arrogant and negligent. They oppressed and attacked each other.

In the second Yuanjia year [152 AD], the Aide Wang Jing was put to death by Yutian (Khotan). In the first yongxing year [153 AD], the king of the tribe of Further Jushi (Jimasa) again launched a counterattack against the garrison of the military colony. Although their chiefs had submitted, they were not punished and made to reform, so they became negligent.

Ban Gu has recorded in detail the local conditions and customs of each kingdom in the former book [Hanshu or 'History of the Former Han Dynasty']. Now, the events of the jianwu period [25-56 AD] onward have been revised for this Chapter on the Western Regions, using those that differ from earlier records as reported by Ban Yong at the end of the reign of Emperor An [107-125 AD].

Section 2 – Geographical Background

The kingdoms of the Western Regions subject to the Interior (China) stretch more than 6,000 li (2,495 km) from east to west, and more than 1,000 li (416 km) from south to north. At the extreme east are the Yumen and Yang frontier-passes. To the west, they stretch to the Congling (Pamirs). To the northeast, they border on the Xiongnu and Wusun (Issyk-kol and Semirechiye).

To the north and south are high mountains. In the centre is a river [the Tarim]. The Nanshan (the Qilianshan mountain range) runs east from Jincheng (Lanzhou fu), and joins the Han Nanshan (the Qinling shan range).

As for the river [the Tarim Basin], it has two sources: one of them flows east from the Congling (Pamir Mountains). The other [the River Khotan] flows from the Yutian Nanshan [now known as the Karakax Shan] to the north. It joins with the river [the River Yarkand] coming from the Congling (Pamirs), and they flow together to the east. They empty into Lake Puchang (Lop Nor). Lake Puchang (Lop Nor) is also called the 'Salt Swamp,' and is more than 300 li (125 km) from the Yumen frontier-pass.

Heading west from Dunhuang via the Yumen and Yang frontier-passes, you pass through Shanshan (the region of Lop Nor).

[Alternatively, heading] north [from Dunhuang] leads to Yiwu (Hami) after more than 1,000 li (416 km). Leaving Yiwu (Hami), and going 1,200 li (499 km) north leads to the fortress of Gaochang (Turfan), in the territory of the Nearer Jushi. Departing from the fortress of Gaochang (Turfan) and going 500 li (208 km) north leads to the town of Jinman (near Guchen) of the Further [Jushi] Headquarters. These places are the doors of the Western Regions, which is why the Mao and Ji Commandants and their respective functionaries were garrisoned there.

The region of Yiwu (Hami) is favourable for the five types of grain [rice, two kinds of millet, wheat and beans], mulberry trees, hemp, and grapes. Further north is Liuzhong (Lukchun). All these places are fertile. This is why the Han have constantly struggled with the Xiongnu over Jushi (Turfan/Jimasa) and Yiwu (Hami), for the control of the Western Regions.

How does one go from Shanshan (capital near modern Ruoqiang or Charklik) and across the Congling (Pamirs) to emerge in the kingdoms to the west? There are two routes:

[The one which runs] parallel to the northern slope of the southern mountains, from Hexi to Suoche (Yarkand) is the Southern Route. This Southern Route crosses west over the Congling (Pamirs), and emerges into the [territory of the] Da Yuezhi (Kushans), and Anxi (Parthia).

[The other route which runs] from the Royal Court of Nearer Jushi (Turfan) and, skirting the slopes of the northern mountains (the Tianshan), follows the river west to Shule (Kashgar), is the Northern Route. This Northern Route crosses west over the Congling (Pamirs), and emerges into Dayuan (Ferghana), Kangju (Tashkent plus the Chu, Talas, and middle Jaxartes basins), and Yancai (the Alans).

Section 3 – The Kingdom of Jumi (modern Keriya or Yutian)

Leaving Yumen (frontier-pass), and passing through Shanshan (Charklik), Qiemo (Cherchen) and Jingjue (Niya), you reach Jumi (Keriya) after more than 3,000 li (1,247 km).

The main centre of Jumi (the Keriya oasis) is Ningmi.2 It is 4,900 li (2,037 km) from Liuzhong (Lukchun), the residence of the Aide [of the Western Regions], and 12,800 li (5,325 km) from Luoyang. It controls 2,173 households, 7,251 individuals, and 1,760 people able to bear arms.

During the reign of Emperor Shun, in the fourth Yongjian year [129 AD], Fang Qian, the king of Yutian (Khotan), killed the king of Jumi (Keriya), Xing. He installed his son as the king of Jumi (Keriya). Then he sent an envoy to offer tribute to Han. However, the Governor of Dunhuang, Xu You, sent a report to the Throne to ask that he be punished. The Emperor pardoned the crime of [the king of] Yutian (Khotan), ordering him to hand back the kingdom of Jumi. Fang Qian refused.

In the first Yangjia year [132 AD], Xu You sent the king of Shule (Kashgar), Chen Pan,3 who with 20,000 men, attacked and defeated Yutian (Khotan). He beheaded several hundred people, and released his soldiers to plunder freely. He replaced the king [of Jumi] by installing Cheng Guo from the family of [the previous king] Xing, and then he returned.

In the fourth Xiping year [175 AD], during the reign of Emperor Ling, An Guo, the king of Yutian (Khotan), attacked Jumi, and defeated it soundly. He killed the king and many others. The Maoji Commandant and the Aide of the Western Regions, each sent soldiers to support Ding Xing, who was the son [of the king of Jumi] and had been a hostage with the Emperor, and place him on the throne. At that time, the population had been reduced to a thousand people. This kingdom borders on Yutian (Khotan), which is 390 li (162 km) to the west.

Section 4 – The Kingdom of Yutian (Khotan, Xinjiang, China)

The main centre of the Kingdom of Yutian (Khotan) is the town of Xicheng ('Western Town' = Yotkan).2 It is 5,300 li (2,204 km) from the residence of the Aide [in Lukchun], and 11,700 li (4,865 km) from Luoyang. It controls 32,000 households, 83,000 individuals, and more than 30,000 men able to bear arms.

At the end of the Jianwu period [25-56 AD], Xian, the powerful and prosperous king of Suoche (Yarkand), attacked and annexed Yutian (Khotan). He transferred Yu Lin, its king, to become the king of Ligui.

During the Yongping period [58-76 AD], in the reign of Emperor Ming, the usurper4 Xiu Mo, a Khotanese general, rebelled against Suoche (Yarkand), and made himself king of Yutian (Khotan). On the death of the usurper Xiu Mo, Guang De, son of his elder brother, assumed power and then [in 61 AD] defeated Suoche (Yarkand). His kingdom became very prosperous after this. From Jingjue (Niya) northwest, as far as Shule (Kashgar), thirteen kingdoms submitted to him. Meanwhile, the king of Shanshan (the Lop Nor region, capital Charklik) had also begun to prosper. From then on, these two kingdoms were the only major ones on the Southern Route in the whole region to the east of the Congling (Pamirs).

In the sixth Yongjian year [131 AD], during the reign of Emperor Shun, Fang Qian, the king of Yutian (Khotan), sent one of his sons to serve and offer tribute at the Imperial Palace.

In the first Yuanjia year [151 AD], the Chief Scribe Zhao Ping was in Yutian (Khotan) and died there from a carbuncle. (Zhao) Ping's son left to search for his body. On his way, he passed through Jumi (Keriya). Now, Cheng Guo, the king of Jumi (Keriya), had had disagreements for some time with Jian, the king of Yutian (Khotan). He said to (Zhao) Ping's son: "The king of Yutian (Khotan) ordered a Western (hu) doctor to put a poisonous drug in the wound, which caused [your father's] death." (Zhao) Ping's son believed this story. When he returned to the frontier region, he informed Ma Da, the Governor of Dunhuang.

The following year [152 AD], Wang Jing was named Chief Scribe in place [of the late Zhao Ping]. (Ma) Da ordered (Wang) Jing to make a thorough secret investigation into the affair. (Wang) Jing first passed through Jumi. Cheng Guo again said: "The people of Yutian (Khotan) want to have me as king. Now, you should kill Jian because of the crime he is guilty of. Yutian (Khotan) will certainly agree."

(Wang) Jing was eager to acquire merit and glory for himself and, besides, he believed what Cheng Guo had said to him. Before reaching Yutian (Khotan), he prepared to receive Jian, [then] invited him, and secretly made a plan. Someone had warned Jian of Wang Jing's plot. He didn't believe it and said: "I am innocent. Why would the Chief Scribe Wang (Jing) want to kill me?" The following morning Jian, with an escort of several tens of officials, came to pay a visit to (Wang) Jing. When this happened, Jian got up to serve the wine. (Wang) Jing then ordered his retinue in a menacing tone to seize him but, as none of the officers and soldiers wanted to kill Jian, all the officials suddenly fled.

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At this point, Qin Mu, Cheng Guo's Registrar, following (Wang) Jing, drew his sword and said, "The main issue has already been decided. Why are we still hesitating?" He immediately advanced and beheaded Jian. Then the Khotanese Noble-General, Shu Po, and some others, joined up again with the soldiers and attacked (Wang) Jing who took Jian's head, climbed a tower, and proclaimed: "The Son of Heaven has assuredly sought out Jian and punished him!"

The Khotanese Commandant-Leader, Shu Po, then set the camp buildings on fire killing the officials and soldiers. He climbed the tower and beheaded (Wang) Jing and hung his head in the marketplace. Shu Po wanted to make himself king, but the people of the country killed him, and put An Guo, the son of Jian, on the throne.

When Ma Da was informed of what had happened, he wanted to put himself in charge of the troops of several commanderies, and head through the frontier regions to attack Yutian (Khotan), but Emperor Huan [147-167 AD] did not allow it. He recalled (Ma) Da and substituted Song Liang, the Governor of Dunhuang. When (Song) Liang arrived, he appealed to the people of Yutian (Khotan), asking them to behead Shu Po. By then, Shu Po had already been dead for more than a month, so they sent the head of a dead man to Dunhuang without saying what had really happened. (Song) Liang was informed of this trickery but, finally, he could not get the troops to go. Encouraged by this, Yutian (Khotan) became arrogant.

Heading on from Yutian (Khotan), you pass through Pishan (modern Pishan or Guma) reaching Xiye (Karghalik), Zihe (Shahidulla), and Dere.

Section 5 – The Kingdom of Xiye (Karghalik)

The kingdom of Xiye (Karghalik) is also called Piaosha ('Drifting Sands'). It is 14,400 li (5,988 km) from Luoyang. It has 2,500 households, more than 10,000 people, and 3,000 men able to bear arms. The region produces baicao ('white grass' – a species of aconite), which is poisonous. The inhabitants extract a drug from it that is used on arrow points and kills immediately. The Hanshu [History of the Former Han Dynasty] wrongly stated that Xiye (Karghalik) and Zihe (Shahidulla) was one kingdom. Each now has its own king.

Section 6 – The Kingdom of Zihe (Shahidulla)

The Kingdom of Zihe (Shahidulla) is the Hujian Gorge,2 1,000 li (416 km) from Shule (Kashgar). It controls 350 households, 4,000 people, and 1,000 men able to bear arms.

Section 7 – The Kingdom of Dere

The Kingdom of Dere controls more than 100 households, 670 individuals, and 350 men able to bear arms. On the east, it is 3,530 li (1,468 km) to the residence of the Chief Scribe [at Lukchun]. It is 12,150 li (5,052 km) from Luoyang. It borders on Zihe (Shahidulla), and their way of life is the same.

Section 8 – The Kingdom of Wuyishanli (Arachosia and Drangiana)

Southwest of Pishan (modern Pishan or Guma), you pass through Wucha (Ghujak Bai), cross over Xuandu (the 'Hanging Passages' = Hunza/Gilgit), cross Jibin (Kapisha-Peshawar) and, at the end of more than 60 days march, you arrive at the Kingdom of Wuyishanli (Arachosia and Drangiana). (Wuyishanli) extends for several thousand li. Now its name has changed to Paizhi [or Paite in some accounts]. Going southwest more than a hundred days further on horseback, you reach Tiaozhi (Characene and Susiana):

Section 9 – The Kingdom of Tiaozhi (Characene and Susiana; Elam, Persia).

In the Kingdom of Tiaozhi (Characene and Susiana) there is a town on the top of a hill that is more than 40 li (16.6 km) in circumference (the City of Susa). It borders on the Western Sea, and the seawater winds around it on the south, east, and north. Thus, access is blocked on three sides. It is only to the northwest that there is communication by road on firm ground.

This region is hot and humid. It produces lions, rhinoceroses, zebu cattle, peacocks, and giant birds [ostriches]. The giant birds have eggs as big as water jars. If you turn north, and then towards the east, riding by horse for more than 60 days, you reach [the old capital of] Anxi (Parthia). Later on, (Anxi) conquered, and subjugated Tiaozhi (Characene and Susiana). They have, in fact, installed a Senior General there to supervise all the small towns.

Section 10 – The Kingdom of Anxi (the Parthian [Persian] Empire)

The main centre of Anxi (Parthia) is the town of Hedu (Hecatompylos) . It is 25,000 li (10,395 km) from Luoyang. On the north, it is bordered by Kangju (Tashkent plus the Chu, Talas, and middle Jaxartes basins), and on the south joins Wuyishanli (Kandahar). It is several thousand li across. There are several hundred small towns. The households, people, and men able to bear arms are extremely numerous. On its eastern frontier is the town of Mulu (Merv), which is also called Little Anxi, and is 20,000 li (8,316 km) from Luoyang.

n the first zhanghe year [87 AD], during the reign of Emperor Zhang, this kingdom sent an envoy to offer lions and fuba (Persian gazelle). The fuba looks like a female unicorn but it does not have a horn.

In the ninth yongyuan year [97 AD], during the reign of Emperor He, the Protector General Ban Chao sent Gan Ying to Da Qin (the Roman Empire). He reached Tiaozhi (Characene and Susiana) next to a large sea. He wanted to cross it, but the sailors of the western frontier of Anxi (Parthia) said to him:

"The ocean is huge. Those making the round trip can do it in three months if the winds are favourable. However, if you encounter winds that delay you, it can take two years. That is why all the men who go by sea take stores for three years. The vast ocean urges men to think of their country, and get homesick, and some of them die."

When (Gan) Ying heard this, he gave up his plan.

In the thirteenth year [101 AD], the king of Anxi (Parthia) named Manqu [= Manchihr I of Persis?] again offered lions, and some of the large birds of Tiaozhi (Characene and Susiana), which people call 'Anxi birds' [ostriches].

From [the eastern frontier of] Anxi (Parthia), if you travel 3,400 li (1,414 km) west, you reach the Kingdom of Aman (Herat). Leaving Aman and travelling 3,600 li (1,497 km), you reach the Kingdom of Sibin (Susa). Leaving Sibin (Susa) and travelling south you cross a river, then going southwest, you reach the Kingdom of Yuluo (Charax Spasinou) after 960 li (399 km). This is the extreme western frontier of Anxi (Parthia). Leaving there, and heading south, you embark on the sea and then reach Da Qin (Roman territory). In these territories, there are many precious and marvellous things from Haixi ('West of the Sea' = Egypt).

Section 11 – The Kingdom of Da Qin (the Roman Empire)

The Kingdom of Da Qin (the Roman Empire) is also called Lijian. As it is found to the west of the sea, it is also called the Kingdom of Haixi (Egypt). Its territory extends for several thousands of li. It has more than four hundred walled towns. There are several tens of smaller dependent kingdoms. The walls of the towns are made of stone.

They have established postal relays at intervals, which are all plastered and whitewashed. There are pines and cypresses, as well as trees and plants of all kinds. The common people are farmers. They cultivate many grain crops and silkworm-mulberry trees. They shave their heads, and their clothes are embroidered. They have screened coaches (for the women) and small white-roofed one-horse carts. When carriages come and go, drums are beaten and flags and standards are raised.

The seat of government (Rome) is more than a hundred li (41.6 km) around. In this city are five palaces each ten li (4.2 km) from the other. Moreover, in the rooms of the palace the pillars and the tableware are really made of crystal. The king goes each day to one of the palaces to deal with business. After five days, he has visited all of them. A porter with a sack has the job of always following the royal carriage. When somebody wants to discuss something with the king, he throws a note in the sack. When the king arrives at the palace, he opens the bag, examines the contents, and judges if the plaintiff is right or wrong.

There is a government department of archives. [A group of] thirty-six leaders has been established to meet together to deliberate on affairs of state. Their kings are not permanent. They select and appoint the most worthy man. If there are unexpected calamities in the kingdom, such as frequent extraordinary winds or rains, he is unceremoniously rejected and replaced. The one who has been dismissed quietly accepts his demotion, and is not angry.

The people of this country are all tall and honest. They resemble the people of the Middle Kingdom and that is why this kingdom is called Da Qin [literally, Great Qin meaning 'Great China'].

Section 12 – The Products of Da Qin (the Roman Empire)

This country produces plenty of gold, silver, and precious jewels, luminous jade, 'bright moon pearls,' fighting cocks, rhinoceroses, coral, yellow amber, opaque glass, whitish chalcedony, red cinnabar, green gemstones, drawn gold-threaded and multi-coloured embroideries, woven gold-threaded net, delicate polychrome silks painted with gold, and asbestos cloth.

They also have a fine cloth which some people say is made from the down of 'water sheep,' but which is made, in fact, from the cocoons of wild silkworms. They blend all sorts of fragrances, and by boiling the juice, make storax. [They have] all the precious and rare things that come from the various foreign kingdoms. They make gold and silver coins. Ten silver coins are worth one gold coin. They trade with Anxi (Parthia) and Tianzhu (Northwestern India) by sea. The profit margin is ten to one.

The people of this country are honest in business; they do not have two prices. Grain and foodstuffs are always in good supply. The resources of the state are abundant. When envoys from a neighbouring kingdom arrive at their border, they use the courier stations to get to the royal capital, and when they arrive, they give them gold coins.

The king of this country always wanted to send envoys to the Han, but Anxi (Parthia), wishing to control the trade in multi-coloured Chinese silks, blocked the route to prevent [the Romans] getting through [to China].

In the ninth yanxi year [166 AD], during the reign of Emperor Huan, the king of Da Qin (the Roman Empire), Andun (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus), sent envoys from beyond the frontiers through Rinan (Commandery on the central Vietnamese coast), to offer elephant tusks, rhinoceros horn, and turtle shell. This was the very first time there was [direct] communication [between the two countries]. The tribute brought was neither precious nor rare, raising suspicion that the accounts [of the 'envoys'] might be exaggerated.

It is said that to the west of this kingdom is Ruoshui (the 'Weak River') and Liusha (the 'Shifting Sands') which are close to the place where Xiwangmu ('Spirit-Mother of the West') lives, and which go almost as far as the place where the sun sets.

The Hanshu says: "Leaving Tiaozhi (Characene and Susiana), if you head west for more than two hundred days, you approach the place where the sun sets." This does not agree with the books of today. [The reason is that] the Han envoys under the first [Han] dynasty all returned after reaching Wuyi (Arachosia and Drangiana), and none of them went as far as Tiaozhi (Characene and Susiana).

It is said, leaving Anxi (Parthia) by the land route, you circle through Haibei ('North of the Sea'), and come into Haixi (Egypt), to reach Da Qin (Roman territory). The population there is dense. Each ten li (4.2 km) there is a postal stage, and each thirty li (12.5 km) a postal station. Finally, there is no trouble with bandits, but there are many ferocious tigers and lions on the road that obstruct and kill travellers. If the caravans do not have more than a hundred men carrying arms, they will be devoured.

Also, it is said that there is a raised bridge, several hundred li long, which crosses over to Haibei ('North of the Sea'). They [the vassal kingdoms of Da Qin] produce curious gems and so many other peculiar and bizarre things that I will not record what is reported.

Section 13 – The Kingdom of the Da Yuezhi (the Kushans)

The main centre of the Da Yuezhi (Kushan) kingdom1 is the town of Lanshi (Bactra/Balkh). To the west it borders Anxi (Parthia), which is 49 days march away. To the east, it is 6,537 li (2,718 km) from the seat of the Chief Scribe [in Lukchun], and 16,370 li (6,807 km) from Luoyang. There are 100,000 households, 400,000 individuals, and more than 100,000 men able to bear arms.

Formerly, the Yuezhi were defeated by the Xiongnu. They then moved to Daxia (Bactria) and divided up this kingdom between five xihou ('Allied Princes'), which were those of Xiumi (Western Wakhān and Zibak), Shuangmi (Shughnān), Guishuang (Badakhshān and the adjoining territories north of the Oxus), Xidun (the region of Balkh), and Dumi (the region of Termez).

More than a hundred years later, the xihou ('Allied Prince') of Guishuang (Badakhshān and the adjoining territories north of the Oxus), named Qiujiu Que (Kujula Kadphises), attacked and exterminated the four other xihou ('Allied Princes'). He set himself up as king of a kingdom called Guishuang (Badakhshan). He invaded Anxi (Parthia) and took the Gaofu (Kabul) region. He also defeated the whole of the kingdoms of Puta (Parthuaia, 55 AD), and Jibin (Kapisha-Peshawar). Qiujiu Que (Kujula Kadphises) was more than eighty years old when he died.

His son, Yan Gaozhen (Vima Taktu), became king in his place. He returned and defeated Tianzhu (Northwestern India) and installed a General to supervise and lead it. The Yuezhi then became extremely rich. All the kingdoms call [their king] the Guishuang (Kushan) king, but the Han call them by their original name, Da Yuezhi.

Section 14 – The Kingdom of Gaofu (Kabul)

The Kingdom of Gaofu (Kabul) is southwest of the Da Yuezhi (Kushans). It is also a large kingdom. Their way of life is similar to that of Tianzhu (Northwestern India), but they are weak and easy to subdue. They are excellent traders and are very wealthy. They have not always been ruled by the same masters. Whenever one of the three kingdoms of Tianzhu (Northwestern India), Jibin (Kapisha-Peshawar), or Anxi (Parthia) became powerful, they took control of it; when weakened, they lost it.

Gaofu (Kabul) was never previously dependent on the Yuezhi. The Hanshu was wrong when it included it among the five xihou ('Allied Princes'). It was a dependency of Anxi (Parthia). It was only after the Yuezhi defeated Anxi (Parthia) that they took Gaofu.

Section 15 – The Kingdom of Tianzhu (Northwestern India)

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The kingdom of Tianzhu (Northwestern) India is also called Juandu (India). It is several thousand li southeast of the Yuezhi (Kushans). Their way of life is similar to that of the Yuezhi (Kushans), but the country is low, humid, and hot. This kingdom is beside a great river [the Indus]. The people ride elephants into battle. They are weaker than the Yuezhi (Kushans). They practice the Buddhist Way, not to kill, or wage war.

From the Yuezhi (Kushan) and the kingdom of Gaofu (Kabul), and heading southwest, you reach the Western Sea. To the east, you reach the kingdom of Panqi (Vanga in Bengal), which is part of Juandu (India). Juandu (India) has several hundred other towns. A Chief is placed in each town.

There are scores of other kingdoms [in Juandu]. Each kingdom has its own king. Although the kingdoms differ slightly, they are all still called Juandu (India). Now they are all subject to the Yuezhi (Kushans). The Yuezhi (Kushans) killed their kings and installed Generals to govern them.

This region produces elephants, rhinoceroses, turtle shell, gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, and tin. To the west, it communicates with Da Qin (the Roman Empire). Precious things from Da Qin can be found there, as well as fine cotton cloths, excellent wool carpets, perfumes of all sorts, sugar loaves, pepper, ginger, and black salt.

During the reign of Emperor He [89-105 AD], they sent several envoys carrying tribute and offerings. Later, the Western Regions rebelled, and these relations were interrupted. Then, during in the second and the fourth yanxi years in the reign of Emperor Huan [159 and 161 AD], and frequently since, foreigners have arrived at the frontiers of Rinan (Commandery south of Jiaozhi) to present offerings.

There is a current tradition that Emperor Ming dreamed that he saw a tall golden man the top of whose head was glowing. He questioned his group of advisors and one of them said: "In the West there is a god called Buddha. His body is sixteen chi high (3.7 metres or 12 feet), and is the colour of gold." The Emperor, to discover the true doctrine,11 sent an envoy to Tianzhu (Northwestern India) to inquire about the Buddha's doctrine, after which paintings and statues [of the Buddha] appeared in the Middle Kingdom.

Then Ying, the king of Zhu [a dependent kingdom which he ruled 41-71 AD], began to believe in this path [c. 65 AD] and, because of this, the Middle Kingdom received it respectfully. Later on, Emperor Huan [147-167 AD] devoted himself to sacred things and often sacrificed to the Buddha and Laozi. People gradually began to accept it [Buddhism] and, later, they became numerous.

Section 16 – The Kingdom of Dongli – The 'Eastern Division' (of the Kushan Empire)

The main centre of the kingdom of Dongli ('Eastern Division') is the town of Shaqi (Śāketa).2 It is more than 3,000 li (1,247 km) southeast of Tianzhu (Northwestern India). It is a big kingdom. Its products are similar to those of Tianzhu (Northwestern India). There are several dozen major towns whose rulers take the title of king. The Da Yuezhi attacked and subdued it. The men and women are all eight chi tall (about 1.85 metres or 6 feet), but are cowardly. They ride elephants and camels when travelling to neighbouring kingdoms. When invaded, they ride elephants to wage war.

Section 17 – The Kingdom of Liyi (Sogdiana)

The kingdom of Liyi (Sogdiana) is a dependency of Kangju (Tashkent plus the Chu, Talas, and middle Jaxartes basins). It produces famous horses, cattle, sheep, grapes, and all sorts of fruit. The water and soil of this country are excellent, which is why its grape wine is so famous.

Section 18 – The Kingdom of Yan

The kingdom of Yan is to the north of Yancai ('Vast Steppe' – now 'Alanliao' – see Section 19 below) and is a dependency of Kangju (Tashkent plus the Chu, Talas, and middle Jaxartes basins). It produces small animal pelts, which it uses to pay its tribute to that country (Kangju).

Section 19 – The Kingdom of Alanliao (the Alans)

The Kingdom of Yancai ('Vast Steppe') has changed its name to the kingdom of Alanliao. Its capital is the town of Di. It is a dependency of Kangju (Tashkent plus the Chu, Talas, and middle Jaxartes basins). The climate is mild. Wax trees, pines, and 'white grass' (aconite) are plentiful. Their way of life and dress are the same as those of Kangju.

Section 20 – The Kingdom of Suoche (Yarkand)

Going west from the kingdom of Suoche (Yarkand), and passing through the countries of Puli (Tashkurghan) and Wulei (Sarhad), you arrive among the Da Yuezhi (Kushans). To the east, it is 10,950 li (4,553 km) from Luoyang.

The Chanyu (Khan) of the Xiongnu took advantage of the chaos in the Western Regions caused by Wang Mang [9-24 AD]. Only Yan, the king of Suoche (Yarkand), who was more powerful than the others, did not consent to being annexed. Previously, during the time of Emperor Yuan [48-33 BC], he had excelled in the service of the Emperor in the capital. He admired and loved the Middle Kingdom and extended the rules of Chinese administration to his own country. He ordered all his sons to respectfully serve the Han dynasty throughout their lives, and to never turn their backs on it. Yan died in the fifth tianfeng year [18 AD]. He was awarded the posthumous title of 'Faithful and Martial King'. His son, Kang, succeeded him on the throne.

At the beginning of Emperor Guangwu's reign [25-57 AD], Kang led the neighbouring kingdoms to resist the Xiongnu. He escorted, and protected, more than a thousand people including the officers, the soldiers, the wife and children of the former Protector General.4 He sent a letter to Hexi (Chinese territory west of the Huang He) to inquire about the activities of the Middle Kingdom, and personally expressed his attachment to, and admiration for, the Han dynasty.

In the fifth jianwu year [29 AD] the General-in-Chief of Hexi, Dou Rong, following Imperial instructions, bestowed on Kang the titles of: "King of Chinese Suoche, Performer of Heroic Deeds Who Cherishes Virtue [and] Commandant-in-Chief of the Western Regions." The fifty-five kingdoms were all made dependencies [of China].

In the ninth year [33 AD] Kang died. He was awarded the posthumous title of "Fully Accomplished King." His younger brother, Xian, succeeded him on the throne. Xian attacked and conquered the kingdoms of Jumi (Keriya) and Xiye (Karghalik). He killed both their kings, and installed two sons of his elder brother, Kang, as the kings of Jumi and Xiye.

In the fourteenth year [38 AD], (Xian) together with An, the king of Shanshan (the Lop Nor region), sent envoys to the Imperial Palace to offer tribute. Following this, the Western Regions were (again) in communication with China. All the kingdoms to the east of the Congling (Pamirs) were dependent on Xian.

In the seventeenth year [41 AD], Xian again sent an envoy to present offerings [to the Emperor], and to ask that a Protector General be appointed. The Son of Heaven questioned the Grand Minister of Works Dou Rong about this. He was of the opinion that Xian, and his sons and brothers who had pledged to serve the Han were truly sincere. Therefore, [he suggested that] it would be appropriate to give him higher rank to maintain order and security.

The Emperor then, using the same envoy that Xian had sent to him, bestowed upon him the seal and ribbon of "Protector General of the Western Regions," and gave him chariots, standards, gold, brocades and embroideries.

Pei Zun, the Governor of Dunhuang, wrote saying that foreigners should not be allowed to employ such great authority and that these decrees would cause the kingdoms to despair. An Imperial decree then ordered that the seal and ribbons of "Protector General" be recovered, and replaced with the seal and ribbon of "Great Han General." Xian's envoy refused to make the exchange, and (Pei) Zun took them by force.

Consequently, Xian became resentful. Furthermore, he falsely named himself "Great Protector General," and sent letters to all the kingdoms. They all submitted to him, and bestowed the title of Chanyu6 on him. Xian gradually became arrogant making heavy demands for duties and taxes. Several times he attacked Qiuci (Kucha) and the other kingdoms. All the kingdoms were anxious and fearful.

In the winter of the twenty-first year [45 AD], eighteen kings, including the king of Nearer Jushi (Turfan), Shanshan (the Lop Nor region), Yanqi (Karashahr), and others, sent their sons to enter the service of the Emperor and offered treasure. As a result, they were granted audience when they circulated weeping, prostrating with their foreheads to the ground, in the hope of obtaining a Protector General. The Son of Heaven, considering that the Middle Kingdom was just beginning to return to peace and that the northern frontier regions were still unsettled, returned all the hostage princes with generous gifts.

At the same time, Xian, infatuated with his military power, wanted to annex the Western Regions, and greatly increased his attacks. The kingdoms, informed that no Protector General would be sent, and that the hostage princes were all returning, were very worried and frightened. Therefore they sent a letter to the Governor of Dunhuang to ask him to detain their hostage sons with him, so that they could point this out to the [king of] Suoche (Yarkand), and tell him that their young hostage sons were detained because a Protector General was to be sent. Then he [the king of Yarkand] would stop his hostilities. Pei Zun sent an official report informing the Emperor [of this proposal], which he approved.

In the twenty-second year [46 AD] Xian, aware that no Protector General was coming, sent a letter to An, king of Shanshan (the Lop Nor region), ordering him to cut the route to the Han. An did not accept [this order], and killed the envoy. Xian was furious and sent soldiers to attack Shanshan. An gave battle but was defeated and fled into the mountains. Xian killed or captured more than a thousand men, and then withdrew.

That winter [46 AD], Xian returned and attacked Qiuci (Kucha), killed the king, and annexed the kingdom. The hostage princes of Shanshan, and then Yanqi (Karashahr) and the other kingdoms, were detained a long time at Dunhuang and became worried, so they fled and returned [to their kingdoms].

The king of Shanshan (the Lop Nor region) wrote a letter to the Emperor expressing his desire to return his son to enter the service of the Emperor, and again pleaded for a Protector General, saying that if a Protector General were not sent, he would be forced to obey the Xiongnu. The Son of Heaven replied:

"We are not able, at the moment, to send out envoys and Imperial troops so, in spite of their good wishes, each kingdom [should seek help], as they please, wherever they can, to the east, west, south, or north."

Following this, Shanshan (Lop Nor region), and Jushi (Turfan/Jimasa) again submitted to the Xiongnu.

Meanwhile, Xian became increasingly violent. The king of Guisai, reckoning that his kingdom was far enough away, killed Xian's envoy. Xian then attacked and killed him. He appointed a nobleman from that country, Si Jian, king of Guisai. Furthermore, Xian appointed his own son, Ze Luo, to be king of Qiuci (Kucha). Xian, taking account of the youth of Ze Luo, detached a part of the territory from Qiuci (Kucha) from which he made the kingdom of Wulei (Yengisar). He transferred Si Jian to the post of king of Wulei (Yengisar), and appointed another noble to the post of king of Guisai.

Several years later, the people of the kingdom of Qiuci (Kucha), killed Ze Luo and Si Jian, and sent envoys to the Xiongnu to ask them to appoint a king to replace them. The Xiongnu established a nobleman of Qiuci (Kucha), Shen Du, to be king of Qiuci (Kucha), making it dependent on the Xiongnu .

Because Dayuan (Ferghana) stopped paying tribute and taxes, Xian personally took command of several tens of thousands of men taken from several kingdoms, and attacked Dayuan (Ferghana). Yan Liu, the king of Dayuan (Ferghana), came before him to submit. Xian took advantage of this to take him back to his own kingdom. Then he transferred Qiao Saiti, the king of Jumi (Keriya), to the post of king of Dayuan (Ferghana). Then Kangju (Tashkent plus the Chu, Talas, and middle Jaxartes basins) attacked him there several times and Qiao Saiti fled home [to Keriya] more than a year later. Xian appointed him king of Jumi (Keriya) and sent Yan Liu back to Dayuan (Ferghana), ordering him to bring the customary tribute and offerings.

Xian also banished the king of Yutian (Khotan), Yu Lin, to be king of Ligui and set up his younger brother, Weishi, as king of Khotan.

More than a year later Xian became suspicious that the kingdoms wanted to rebel against him. He summoned Weishi, and the kings of Jumi (Keriya), Gumo (Aksu), and Zihe (Shahidulla), and killed them all. He didn't set up any more kings, he just sent generals to maintain order and guard these kingdoms. Rong Wang, the son of Weishi, submitted to the Han, who named him: "Probationary Military Prince." A general from Suoche (Yarkand), named Prince De, had been posted to Yutian (Khotan), and tyrannised the people there who became indignant.

In the third yongping year [60 AD], during the reign of Emperor Ming, a high official of this country, called Dumo, had left town when he saw a wild pig. He wanted to shoot it, but the pig said to him: "Do not shoot me, I will undertake to kill Prince De for you." Following this, Dumo plotted with his brothers and killed Prince De. However, another high official, the usurper Xiu Mo, plotted, in his turn, with a Chinese man, Han Rong, and others, to kill Dumo and his brothers, then he named himself king of Yutian (Khotan). Together with men from the kingdom of Jumi (Keriya), he attacked and killed the Suoche (Yarkand) general who was at Pishan (modern Pishan or Guma). He then returned with the soldiers.

Then Xian sent his Heir Apparent, his Counselor-delegate, and generals, leading 20,000 soldiers from several kingdoms, to attack the usurper Xiu Mo. The usurper came to meet them and gave battle, defeating the soldiers of Suoche (Yarkand) who fled, and more than 10,000 of them were killed. Xian again fielded several tens of thousands of men from several kingdoms, and personally led them to attack the usurper Xiu Mo. The usurper was again victorious and beheaded more than half of the enemy. Xian escaped and fled, returning to his kingdom. The usurper Xiu Mo advanced and encircled Suoche (Yarkand), but he was hit and killed by an arrow, and his soldiers retreated to Yutian (Khotan).

Suo Yule, Counselor-delegate [of Khotan], appointed Guang De, the son of the usurper Xiu Mo's elder brother, king. The Xiongnu, with Qiuci (Kucha) and the other kingdoms, attacked Suoche (Yarkand), but were unable to take it.

Later Guang De assumed responsibility for Suoche (Yarkand) in light of its exhaustion, and sent his younger brother, the Bulwark Marquis of State Ren, commanding an army to attack Xian. Xian sent a company of armoured troops as envoys to make peace with Guang De. Guang De's father had previously been detained for several years in Suoche (Yarkand). Xian returned Guang De's father and also

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gave his daughters in marriage to Guang De and his brother(s), who withdrew their soldiers and left.

In the following year [61 AD], Qie Yun, the Administrator of Suoche (Yarkand), and others, worried by Xian's arrogance, plotted to get the town to submit to Yutian (Khotan). Guang De, the king of Yutian (Khotan), then led 30,000 men from several kingdoms to attack Suoche (Yarkand). Xian stayed in the town to defend it and sent a messenger to say to Guang De: "I have given you your father and a wife. Why are you attacking me?" Guang De replied to him: "O king, you are the father of my wife. It has been a long time since we met. I want us to meet, each of us escorted by only two men, outside the town wall to make an alliance."

Xian consulted Qie Yun about this. Qie Yun said to him: "Guang De is your son-in-law, you should go out to see him to make a suitable alliance between the families." Xian then rashly went out. Guang De advanced and captured him. In addition, Qie Yun and his colleagues let the soldiers of Yutian (Khotan) into the town to capture Xian's wife and children. (Guang De) annexed his kingdom. He put Xian in chains, and took him home with him. More than a year later, he killed him.

When the Xiongnu heard that Guang De had defeated Suoche (Yarkand), they sent five generals leading more than 30,000 men from fifteen kingdoms including Yanqi (Karashahr), Weili (Korla), and Qiuci (Kucha), to besiege Yutian (Khotan). Guang De asked to submit. He sent his Heir Apparent as a hostage and promised to give felt padding each year. In winter, the Xiongnu ordered soldiers to take Xian's son, Bu Juzheng, who was a hostage with them, to appoint him king of Suoche (Yarkand). Guang De again attacked and killed [the new king], and put his own son, Qi Li, on the throne. It was then the third yuanhe year [86 AD] of Emperor Zhang.

While this was going on the Aide Ban Chao put the soldiers of several kingdoms on campaign to attack Suoche (Yarkand). He soundly defeated it. From this time on Suoche (Yarkand) was subject to the Han. These things have already been described in the biography of Ban Chao. Leaving Suoche (Yarkand) towards the northeast [should read 'northwest'] you reach Shule (Kashgar).

Section 21 – The Kingdom of Shule (Kashgar)

The Kingdom of Shule (Kashgar) is 5,000 li (2,079 km) from the residence of the Aide (Lukchun), and 10,300 li (4,283 km) from Luoyang. It controls 21,000 households, and has more than 30,000 men able to bear arms.

In the sixteenth yongping year of Emperor Ming [73 AD], Jian, the king of Qiuci (Kucha), attacked and killed Cheng, the king of Shule (Kashgar). Then he appointed the Qiuci (Kucha) Marquis of the Left, Dou Ti, king of Shule (Kashgar).

In winter [73 AD], the Han sent the Division Commander Ban Chao who arrested Dou Ti, and tied him up. He appointed Zhong, the son of the elder brother of Cheng, to be king of Shule (Kashgar). Zhong later rebelled. (Ban) Chao attacked and beheaded him. These things have already been described in the biography of (Ban) Chao.

During the yuanchu period [114-120 AD] in the reign of Emperor An, An Guo, the king of Shule (Kashgar), exiled his maternal uncle Chen Pan to the Yuezhi (Kushans) for some offence. The king of the Yuezhi became very fond of him. Later, An Guo died without leaving a son. His mother directed the government of the kingdom. She agreed with the people of the country to put Yi Fu (literally, 'Posthumous Child'), who was the son of a younger brother of Chen Pan, and born of the same mother as him, on the throne as king of Shule (Kashgar). Chen Pan heard of this and appealed to the Yuezhi (Kushan) king, saying:

"An Guo had no son. The men of his mother's family are young and weak. I am Yi Fu's paternal uncle; it is I who should be king."

The Yuezhi (Kushans) then sent soldiers to escort him back to Shule (Kashgar). The people had previously respected and been fond of Chen Pan. Besides, they dreaded the Yuezhi (Kushans). They immediately took the seal and ribbon from Yi Fu and went to Chen Pan, and made him king. Yi Fu was given the title of Marquis of the town of Pangao [90 li or 37 km from Shule].

Then Suoche (Yarkand) continued to resist (Khotan), and put themselves under Shule (Kashgar). Shule (Kashgar) thus became very powerful and hostile to Qiuci (Kucha) and Yutian (Khotan), even attacking these kingdoms.

In the second yongjian year [127 AD], during Emperor Shun's reign, Chen Pan sent an envoy to respectfully present offerings. The Emperor bestowed on Chen Pan the title of Great Commandant-in-Chief for the Han.5 Chen Xun, who was the son of his elder brother, was appointed Probationary Commander of the Kingdom.

In the fifth year [130 AD], Chen Pan sent his son to serve the Emperor and, along with envoys from Dayuan (Ferghana) and Suoche (Yarkand), brought tribute and offerings. In the second yangjia year [133 AD], Chen Pan again made offerings (including) a lion and zebu cattle.

Then, during Emperor Ling's reign, in the first jianning year [168 AD], the king of Shule (Kashgar) and Commandant-in-Chief for the Han (Chen Pan), was shot while hunting by the youngest of his paternal uncles, He De. He De named himself king.

In the third year [170 AD], Meng Tuo, the Regional Inspector7 of Liangzhou, sent the Retainer Ren She, commanding five hundred soldiers from Dunhuang, with the Maoji Commander Cao Kuan, and Aide of the Western Regions, Zhang Yen, and with troops from Yanqi (Karashahr), Qiuci (Kucha), and the Nearer and Further Tribes of Jushi (Turfan and Jimasa), altogether numbering more than 30,000, to punish Shule (Kashgar). They attacked the town of Zhenzhong but, having stayed for more than forty days without being able to subdue it, they withdrew. Following this, the kings of Shule (Kashgar) killed one another repeatedly while the Imperial Government was unable to prevent it.

Northeast [from Shule] you pass through Weitou (Akqi), Wensu (Wushi or Uch Turfan), Gumo (Aksu), Qiuci (Kucha), and arrive at Yanqi (Karashahr).

Section 22 – The Kingdom of Yanqi (Karashahr)

The king of the Kingdom of Yanqi (Karashahr) lives in the town of Nanhe ('South River'),2 which is 800 li (333 km) from the residence of the Aide (Lukchun), and is 8,200 li (3,410 km) east of Luoyang. It has 15,000 households, 52,000 individuals, and more than 20,000 men able to bear arms. It has high mountains on all four sides. There are hazardous passes on the route to Qiuci (Kucha) that are easy to defend. The water of a lake winds between the four mountains, and surrounds the town for more than 30 li (12.5 km).

At the end of the yongping period [58-75 AD], Yanqi (Karashahr) and Qiuci (Kucha) attacked, and killed the Protector General Chen Mu and Vice Commandant Guo Xun, and more than 2,000 officers and soldiers.

In the sixth yongyuan year [94 AD] the Protector General Ban Chao put the soldiers of the various kingdoms on campaign to punish the kingdoms of Yanqi (Karashahr), Weixu (Hoxud), Weili (Korla), and Shanguo (in the western Kuruk mountains). He then sent the heads of the two kings of Yanqi (Karashahr) and Weili (Korla) to the capital where they were hung in front of the residences of the Man and Yi princes in the capital. (Ban) Chao then appointed Yuan Meng, who was the Yanqi (Karashahr) Marquis of the Left, king (of Kashgar). The kings of Weili (Korla), Weixu (Hoxud), and Shanguo (in the western Kuruk mountains) were all replaced. Then, during the reign of Emperor An [106-125 AD], the Western Regions rebelled.

During the yanguang period [122-126 AD] (Ban) Yong, (Ban) Chao's son, was appointed Chief Scribe of the Western Regions. He punished and pacified the various kingdoms once again. [Only] Yuan Meng, and [the kings of] Weili (Korla) and Weixu (Hoxud) refused to submit. In the second yongjian year [127 AD], (Ban) Yong, with Zhang Lang, the Governor of Dunhuang, attacked and defeated them. Yuan Meng sent his son then to the palace with offerings.

Section 23 – The Kingdom of Pulei (transported from Barkol)

he Kingdom of Pulei is west of the Tianshan Mountains, in the Shuyu ('Scattered Elms') Valley. On the southeast, it is 1,290 li (536 km) from the residence of the Aide [in Lukchun]. It is 10,490 li (4,362 km) from Luoyang. It has more than 800 households, more than 2,000 individuals, and there are more than 700 men able to bear arms. The people of this country live in tents. They tend to move about in search of water and pasture and cultivate some fields. They have cattle, horses, camels, sheep, and other domestic animals. They know how to make bows and arrows. This country produces good horses.

Pulei was originally a large kingdom [near Lake Barkol] but when the Western Regions were subject to the Xiongnu, the king of Pulei offended the Chanyu. The Chanyu was angry and had more than 6,000 people from Pulei deported to a place called the Awu region of the right [or western] section of the Xiongnu. That is why this kingdom was called the kingdom of Awu. To the south it is more than 90 days ride by horse to the tribe of Further Jushi (Jimasa). It is said that [some of] the poor, miserable people fled into the mountain valleys where they settled and established a kingdom [here at Pulei].

Section 24 – The Kingdom of Yizhi (Barkol).

The Kingdom of Yizhi ('Transplanted Branch') is in the Pulei (Lake Barkol) region. It has more than 1,000 households, more than 3,000 individuals, and more than 1,000 men able to bear arms. These people are brave and hardy in combat. Robbery and pillage are their normal occupations. They all have dishevelled hair. They follow their flocks in search of water and pasture. They know nothing of agriculture. Their products are the same as those of Pulei (Lake Barkol region).

Section 25 – The Kingdom of Eastern Qiemi

To the east of the Kingdom of Eastern Qiemi, it is 800 li (333 km) to the residence of the Aide (Lukchun).1 It is 9,250 li (3,846 km) from Luoyang. There are more than 3,000 households, more than 5,000 individuals, and more than 2,000 men able to bear arms. The people live in tents. They go in search of water and pasture. They farm a bit. The produce is the same as Pulei. They are nomads.

Section 26 – The Kingdom of Nearer [i.e. Southern] Jushi (Turfan)

The king of Nearer Jushi (Turfan) lives in the town of Jiaohe (Yarkhoto, 20 li west of Turfan). A river divides into two and surrounds the town, which is why it is called Jiaohe ('River Junction'). It is 80 li (33 km) from Liuzhong (Lukchun), the residence of the Chief Scribe. To the east it is 9,120 li (3,792 km) to Luoyang. He [the king] controls more than 1,500 households, more than 4,000 individuals, and 2,000 men able to bear arms.

Section 27 – The Kingdom of Further [i.e. Northern] Jushi (Jimasa)

The Further [Jushi] King lives in the Wutu Valley, which is 500 li (208 km) from the seat of the Aide [in Lukchun], and 9,620 li (4,000 km) from Luoyang. He controls more than 4,000 households, more than 15,000 individuals, and more than 3,000 men able to bear arms.

The Nearer and Further Tribes (Turfan and Jimasa), with Eastern Qiemi, Beilu, Pulei, and Yizhi ('Transplanted Branch') make up the 'Six Kingdoms of Jushi'. They are bordered by the Xiongnu to the north. The Nearer Tribe (Turfan) communicates to the west with Yanqi (Karashahr) via the Northern Route. The Further Tribe (Jimasa) [also] communicates to the west with the Wusun (Issyk-kol and Semirechiye).

In the twenty-first jianwu year [45 AD], [the king of Further Jushi] with [the kings of] Shanshan (Lop Nor region), and Yanqi (Karashahr), sent their sons to enter the service of the Emperor. Emperor Guangwu sent them back, and then [these kings] submitted to and joined the Xiongnu.

In the sixteenth yongbing year [73 AD] of Emperor Ming, the Han took Yiwu (Hami) so they could communicate with the Western Regions.

Jushi (Turfan / Jimasa) then began to be dependant on the Empire again but the Xiongnu sent soldiers to attack it, and it renewed its submission to the Northern Savages (Northern Xiongnu).

In the second yongyuan year of Emperor He [90 AD], the General-in-Chief, Dou Xian, conquered the Northern Xiongnu. Jushi (Turfan/Jimasa) trembled in terror. Both the Nearer and the Further kings sent one of their sons with tribute to enter into the service of the Emperor. Seals and ribbons, gold, and lengths of silk were bestowed on these two kings.

In the eighth year [96 AD], the Maoji Commandant, Suo Jun [or Suo Yun], was about to depose Zhuo Di, who was king of the Further Tribe, and put Xi Zhi, the 'Conqueror of the Savages Marquis,' on the throne. Zhuo Di was angry that the Nearer King had betrayed him, so he retaliated by taking the offensive against Wei Beida, king of the Nearer Tribe. He captured his wife and son(s).

The following year [97 AD], the Han ordered the Aide-Commander, Wang Lin, to put the soldiers of the six commanderies subject to Liangzhou on campaign, plus more than 20,000 Qiang and Hu to search for Zhuo Di. They killed more than a thousand Savages (Xiongnu). Zhuo Di sought refuge on the territory of the Northern Xiongnu, but the Han army followed, attacked, and beheaded him. Nong Qi, the younger brother of Zhuo Di was appointed king.

In the first yongning year [120 AD], Jun Jiu, the king of the Further Tribe, and his mother, Sha Ma, rebelled. They killed the Regional Commander6 who arrived to handle matters for Dunhuang. In the fourth yenguang year [125 AD], during Emperor An's reign, the Aide Ban Yong, attacked Jun Jiu, defeated him soundly, and beheaded him.

In the first yongjian year [126 AD], during Emperor Shun's reign, (Ban) Yong led the sons of Nong Qi, king of the Further Tribe, Jia Tenu, Ba Hua, and others on campaign with some elite troops to attack the king of the Huyan [clan] of the Northern Savages (Northern Xiongnu), and defeated him. (Ban) Yong installed Jia Tenu as the king of the Further Tribe. Ba Hua was named 'Marquis of the Further Tribe Allied to the Han.'

In summer of the third yangjia year [134 AD], the Commander of the Further Tribe of Jushi (Jimasa) led Jia Tenu and 1,500 men to launch an attack against the Northern Xiongnu in the Changwulu Valley. He destroyed their dwellings and camps and beheaded several hundred [men]. He captured the mother and aunt [wife of his youngest paternal uncle] of the Chanyu and a hundred other women. He took more than 100,000 oxen and sheep, more than a thousand carts, and a huge number of arms and other things.

In spring of the fourth year [135 AD], the king of the Huyan [clan] of the Northern Xiongnu led troops to invade

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[the territory of] the Further Tribe (Jimasa). Because the Six Kingdoms of Jushi bordered on the Northern Savages (Northern Xiongnu), and protected the Western Regions, the Emperor ordered the Governor of Dunhuang to send out troops from all the kingdoms as well as the Captain of the Yumen frontier-pass, and the Commander of Yiwu (Hami), altogether 6,300 cavalrymen, in a surprise attack on the Northern Savages near Leshan ('Le Mountain'). The Chinese army was not successful. That autumn, the king of the Huyan [clan] again led 2,000 men to attack the Further Tribe (Jimasa) and defeated them.

In the first yuanjia year [151 AD], the king of the Huyan [clan] led more than 3,000 cavalrymen to invade Yiwu (Hami). Mao Kai, the Commander of Yiwu (Hami), sent five hundred officers and soldiers to the east of Lake Pulei (Lake Barkol). They fought the king of the Huyan [clan], but were all killed there. Following this, the Huyan king attacked the garrison town of Yiwu (Hami).

In the summer, Commander Da, Governor of Dunhuang, was sent at the head of more than 4,000 officers and troops recruited from Jiuquan (Suzhou), Zhangye (Ganzhou), and the vassal kingdoms, to go to the aid of (Yiwu). He left the frontier regions and arrived at Lake Pulei (Lake Barkol), but the Huyan king, warned of his coming, had already retreated. The Chinese army could not attack him and returned.

In the first yongxing year [153 AD], Aluoduo, king of the Tribe of Further Jushi, and Yan Hao, Captain of the Mao Troop, had a disagreement. The king became angry and rebelled. He besieged and attacked the State Farm at the town of Qiegu, killing and wounding [some of] the officers and men. Tan Zhe, the Captain of the Further Tribe, led the rest of the people [of the Further Tribe who had stayed behind] to rebel against Aluoduo, and proceed to the Chinese officials to submit. Aluoduo hurriedly took his mother, wife, and children away with him and, with more than a hundred cavalrymen, fled to the Northern Xiongnu. Song Liang, the Governor of Dunhuang, installed Bei Jun, the son of the former king of the Further Tribe (of Jushi), Jun Jiu, who had been a hostage at the Chinese Court, as king of the Further Tribe.

Later, Aluoduo returned from among the Xiongnu and struggled with Bei Jun for control of his kingdom. Quite a few of the people supported him. The Mao Commander Yan Xiang was worried that he would attract the Northern Savages (Northern Xiongnu) causing disturbances in the Western Regions. He, therefore, informed him that he would authorize him to be king again. Aluoduo therefore went to (Yan) Xiang to submit. He was given the seal and ribbon that had been bestowed on, and then taken away from, Bei Jun, and Aluoduo was made king.

As before, Bei Jun was taken to Dunhuang. Three hundred tents of people from the Further Tribe guarding the frontiers were put under his control to provide revenue for him, as is done in China with households.

Section 28 – Commentary

The Commentary [by Fan Ye, 398-445 AD] says:

"The natural conditions and customs of the Western Regions were not known in ancient times. In the Han era, Zhang Qian conveyed (our) goodwill to remote regions – through his astuteness. Ban Chao deployed all his energy and earned a Marquisate – through his ambition. In the end, they were able to accomplish glorious deeds in the far West, restraining and subduing foreign kingdoms.

The reputation of our soldiers made them submit. Rich gifts were sent to win them over to us. None of them neglected to present the marvellous products of their countries in homage, and with sincere affection. With bared heads, they walked towards the east on their [knees and] elbows before the Imperial Court and the Son of Heaven. Therefore mao and ji officials were established to share responsibility for these affairs. The Protector General and an army corps were put in control to exercise authority.

Those who yielded early were rewarded with baskets of gold, and button seals in the form of tortoises and seal ribbons were granted to pacify them. Those who submitted late had their heads hung at the Northern Gate [of the Capital, Luoyang], which was rubbed with their blood.

State Farms were created in the fertile regions. Relay stations were established in strategic positions allowing orders to travel quickly between the main postal stations at all seasons. Hu ('Western') merchants coming to trade, and travellers, arrived at the frontier regions every day.

Later [in 97 AD], Gan Ying travelled to Tiaozhi (Characene and Susiana), crossing Anxi (Parthia), to the Western Sea (the Persian Gulf), observing Da Qin (the Roman Empire) from a distance. Beyond the Yumen and Yang frontier-passes, for more than 40,000 li (16,632 km), there is no country he did not cross.

As regards their territories, customs, temperaments, their excellent and vast wisdom; the sorts of things they produce; the obstructive narrows of the mountain torrents and rivers as far as their sources, the differences of climate and temperature, the routes across the mountains by hanging footpaths and by rope [bridges] across the valleys, and across the sandy desert; the suffering from fevers, rheumatic aches, plagues, demons, and disasters as far as the frontiers [of China] – I have tried to record the true situation by examining authentic sources.

Regarding the Buddhist Way of transforming the soul – it arose in Juandu (India). Nevertheless, the two Han monographs [the Hanshu and Hou Hanshu] say nothing about it.

Zhang Qian noted only that: 'this country is hot and humid. The people ride elephants into battle.' Although Ban Yong explained that they revere the Buddha, and neither kill nor fight, he has recorded nothing about the excellent texts, virtuous Law, and meritorious teachings and guidance.

As for myself, here is what I have heard: This kingdom is even more flourishing than China. The seasons are in harmony. Saintly beings descend and congregate there. Great Worthies6 arise there. Strange and extraordinary marvels occur such that human reason is suspended. By examining and exposing the emotions, one can reach beyond the highest heavens.

Meanwhile, (Zhang) Qian and (Ban) Yong heard nothing of this. It is unfortunate that the Way was previously closed, only to be opened towards the end of the period, but that is how it was. Why make inflated and false claims?

It was from the time of [Liu] Ying, [the king] of Zhu, [c. 65 AD] during the Han, that fasting rather than killing and sacrificing animals became popular for the first time; and then Emperor Huan [147-167 AD] prepared a canopy to adorn [a statue of the Buddha]. Subtle concepts were not examined – only the folk deities.

To examine and comment upon [the Buddhist texts] it is necessary to purify the heart and cultivate 'emptiness' while dismissing the [various] sects. The Taoist books follow the same line. Moreover, to cherish unselfish love and loathe killing, to purify oneself and honour virtue is the way the Superior Man demonstrates morality and really conveys the Dharma to others.

[However, the Buddhists] have become boastful without any foundation, and speak in endless monstrous parables. Even Zou Yan's discussions on heaven, and the dissertations of Zhuang Zhou on the tentacles of a snail, are not a ten-thousandth part [of the Buddhist extravagances]. Also, [the Buddhist doctrines on] the origin and extinction of souls, and the relationship between cause and effect are obscure and difficult to understand, which is why many people doubt them. It is really not the way to guide the common people. To reach everybody, one should take that which all the doctrines agree on, and thus deal with people's doubts. Then the Great Dao will certainly be transmitted."

Section 29 – Epilogue

The Western Hu are far away.
They live in an outer zone.
Their countries' products are beautiful and precious,
But their character is debauched and frivolous.
They do not follow the rites of China.
Han has the canonical books.
They do not obey the Way of the Gods.
How pitiful!
How obstinate!

ZHUFAN ZHI

(Wade-Giles: Chu-fan-chi)
Author: Zhao Rukuo (Wade-Giles: Chau Ju Kua)
A Chinese Gazetteer of Foreign Lands, 1225 A.D.
Siku Quanshu Edition
Translation: Shao-yun Yang, 2021
Estimated Range of Dating: 1224-1225 A.D.

(Zhu Fan Zhi (Wade–Giles: Chu-fan-chi), variously translated as A Description of Barbarian Nations, Records of Foreign People, or other similar titles, is a 13th-century Song Dynasty work by Zhao Rukuo. The work is a collection of descriptions of countries and various products from outside China, and it is considered an important source of information on the people, customs and in particular the traded commodities of many countries in South East Asia and around the Indian Ocean during the Song Dynasty.

The author, a Southern Song official named Zhao Rukuo (or Zhao Rugua, 1170-1231), gathered from earlier Chinese sources and from foreign merchants whom he had interviewed.

Background: The author Zhao Rukuo (1170-1231) was a member of the Song Dynasty imperial clan. He was posted to Fujian as a supervisor of the maritime trade in Quanzhou. He had never traveled out of south China, but was stationed in the major port city of Quanzhou as a supervisor of maritime trade. While working in Fujian, he had the opportunity to meet merchants from various countries from whom he gathered information on various countries around the world. He also took note of the various products traded, studied the maps of the period, and together with the information he had learnt. He composed this text in 1224-1225 based on the information he got. Zhao wrote: "Assigned to this post recently, I spend all day reading various maps... I listed names of these countries and their customs... I removed hearsay and kept facts. I thus name this book Zhu Fan Zhi."

Many entries of the Zhu Fan Zhi take information from other older works, such as Zhu Yu's Pingzhou Ketan from 1116, Duan Chengshi's 9th century Miscellaneous Morsels from Youyang, and other works. In particular it borrowed heavily from the 1178 work Lingwai Daida by another geographer, Zhou Qufei (Wade–Giles: Chou Ch'ü-fei). Nevertheless, the book contains valuable information on various countries and traded products of the 13th century to modern scholars.

Though the original book was lost, extracts were found in other compilations and annals, and its content was also incorporated into the 15th century Yongle Encyclopedia. Extracts from the Yongle Encyclopedia were then recompiled by Li Diaoyuan for inclusion in his collection known as Han Hai in 1781.

This is a very comprehensible and complete translation of Part 1 of the Zhufan Zhi (Gazetteer of Foreign Lands), an early thirteenth-century ethnographic and geographical description of nearly sixty foreign countries known to the Chinese through maritime trade relations, as well as a couple of imaginary countries that appear to be based on Arab myths. Some of the many repetetitious annotations had to be shortened or omitted; instead we have added some modern names and explanations needed.

Content: The first volume gives a description of various countries and the customs of the local people, the second volume provides information on trade goods available from those countries. 58 countries and regions are given. The countries recorded include places and kingdoms in South East Asia, such as Jiaozhi (northern Vietnam), Champa, Zhenla (Cambodia), Langkasuka, Sanfoqi (Srivijaya), Java, Bagan (Pagan, Burma), and Mayi (the Philippines). Japan, Korea and Taiwan in East Asia, and countries in the Indian subcontinent such as Huchala (Gujarat, northwestern India), Nanpi (Malabar, southwest India) and Zhunian (Chola) are also mentioned. It also gives more information than previously available in Chinese sources on the Islamic world and their products. The country of Dashi (the Arabs) is described as an extensive realm covering many territories (24 given in the book) with its capital in Egypt, and included Baida (Baghdad); Wengman (Oman); Majia (Mecca); Jilani (Ghazni) and others. The furthest western state described is Mulanpi (Al-Murabitun) which included southern Spain. The Mediterranean island of Sicily (Sijialiye) is also mentioned.

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Translations: The only full translation of the text into English to date was published in 1911: Friedrich Hirth and William Woodville Rockhill trans., Chau Ju-kua: His Work On The Chinese And Arab Trade In The Twelfth And Thirteenth Centuries, Entitled Chu-fan-chï. The Hirth-Rockhill translation has been very valuable to scholars studying the pre-modern history of Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean world. However, it contains errors of interpretation and many of its annotations have been superseded by later scholarship. This is especially so in the case of Part 1 of the text, as our knowledge of the history and historical geography of many of the relevant countries has grown considerably since 1911.

For a recent study of the background and ideological ramifications of the Hirth-Rockhill translation, see Huei-Ying Kuo, "Charting China in the Thirteenth-Century World: The First Translation of Zhu fan zhi and Its Recipients in China in the 1930s," in Knowledge in Translation: Global Patterns of Scientific Exchange, 1000-1800 AD, eds. Patrick Manning and Abigail Owen (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2018).

We present here the new annotated translation of Volume 1, which shows Chinese names in the modern Pinyin Romanisation and gives information on errors of older translations. It was published digitally by Shao-yun Yang in 2020. Part 2 is not translated. It is a kind of supplement that describes foreign trade commodities mentioned in Part 1 and ends with a description of Hainan island, which was under Chinese rule but still regarded as a semi-barbaric frontier region.)

SECTION 1. PREFACE by Zhao Rukuo

The "Tribute of Yu" records that the Yi barbarians of the islands came [to Yu], dressed in clothing woven from hemp, and presented baskets of silk woven with seashell patterns. From this we know that the barbarians have traded with the Central Lands (Zhongguo = Qin = Chin = China) since ancient times. From the Han dynasty on, the presentation of precious tribute from foreign lands has never ceased. In the Tang dynasty, Maritime Trade Commissioners were first appointed to attract traders, and since then the way of commerce has expanded further. In our time (the Song dynasty, 960–1279 AD), sage emperors have reigned successively and viewed humaneness and frugality as their greatest treasures. Wherever their civilizing influence has extended, foreign countries have presented their prized products, their envoys' languages so unintelligible to us that they must go through multiple stages of indirect translation. Therefore, our emperors established offices at Quanzhou and Guangzhou to manage the trade. This was only due to a desire to lessen the people's burden and support our dynasty's governance – in no way can this be likened to valuing exotic goods and indulging in extravagance.

I, Rukuo, was appointed to this post [as Maritime Trade Supervisor at Quanzhou, in 1224] and happened to look at a map of foreign countries on a free day. On it were marked such treacherous marine features as the Stone Beds and Long Sands, as well as barriers like the Jiao[zhi] Ocean and the Bamboo Islands (Pulau Aur and Pulau Dayang). But when I looked up written accounts, there was no mention of them. So I inquired with foreign merchants and asked them to list out the names of their countries and describe their customs and geographical features, as well as the length of the routes between them, the connections between those routes, and the livestock and produce of their mountains and marshes. I translated their words into Chinese and deleted the dross, retaining whatever was true. I titled this Gazetteer of Foreign Lands. Beyond the sea are tens of thousands of countries ringing the edge of the ocean. Of their precious and exotic products, such as southern gold, ivory, rhinoceros horn, pearls, aromatics, and tortoiseshell, generally all that are traded with the Central Lands can be found in this book.

Alas! We already have the Guideway to Mountains and Seas and the Comprehensive Account of Things. But since a superior man considers it shameful to be ignorant of even one thing, there was good reason indeed for this account to be written. This preface was composed by Zhao Rukuo, Grand Master for Closing Court and Supervisor of Maritime Trade in Fujian Circuit, on a day of the ninth month of the first year of the Baoqing era (1225 AD).

SECTION 2. JIAOZHI (Dai Viet, northern Vietnam)

Jiaozhi (Dai Viet), which in ancient times was Jiaozhou prefecture, has the sea to its southeast and borders on Zhancheng (Champa, southern Vietnam) by land. To the west, it is connected to the Baiyi (White-Clothed) Man barbarians [of Yunnan, Chinese province that borders Burma, Laos, and Vietnam]. To the north, it extends as far as Qinzhou Prefecture (southern China, near the border with Vietnam). Past dynasties maintained a prefecture here continuously, but the tax revenue from it was meager while the cost of defending it was highly burdensome. Our august dynasty, which cherishes the army and puts the people's welfare first, did not wish to continue deploying troops in this miasmic region to guard a useless piece of territory. It therefore allowed Jiaozhi to be "bridled and haltered" (jimi) [as a tributary state] after its ruler submitted peacefully. [This face-saving explanation for Dai Viet's independence glosses over the Song dynasty's failed attempt at reconquering it in 981. The Hirth-Rockhill translation identifies the Baiyi Man as the former Western Cuan or White Man people of Yunnan, while Yang Bowen identifies them as the White Tai of Vietnam and Laos. Fan Chengda's Guihai yuheng zhi lists the Baiyi as one of several groups living in the Yunnan-Guizhou-Guangxi frontier, suggesting that Hirth and Rockhill are correct. The Baiyi Man may have an ancestral connection to the modern Bai people of Yunnan. [Find: The Guihai Yuheng Zhi, translation by James Hargett, 2011.]

The king of Jiaozhi has a Chinese (Tang) surname. [The Lý dynasty, which began in 1009 and ended in 1226, used the common Chinese surname Li. The Guihai yuheng zhi reports that the dynasty's founder was a Chinese man from Min (Fujian); recent research suggests that he was the son of a Chinese immigrant from Fujian.]

The people's clothing and diet are roughly the same as those of the Central Lands, the only significant difference being that men and women all go barefoot. Every year on the fourth day of the first month, [the ruler] slaughters oxen and feasts with his officials. They celebrate the fifteenth day of the seventh month as a major festival in which families exchange presents and officials present livestock to the chieftain (i.e., the king). On the sixteenth day, the chieftain holds a banquet to thank them. [Note: Much of the above information is taken from the Guihai yuheng zhi, which however dates the festival as the fifth day of the seventh month. [On New Year's Day, they make offerings to the Buddha, but not to their ancestors. On that same day, they will not take medicine if ill, nor will they light lamps at night. [It means that the New Year's Day and that the abstinence from medicine and lamp-lighting pertained only to that one day.]

When they perform music, the instruments in the front row (i.e., the best ones) are covered in python skin. They are unable to make paper and writing brushes, so they buy these from the territory under the jurisdiction [of our Guangnan West Circuit].

This land produces agarwood, Penglai agarwood, gold, silver, iron, cinnabar, pearls, cowries, rhinoceros horn, ivory, kingfisher feathers, giant clams, salt, lacquer, and kapok.

They present tribute to our emperor annually. Our empire's merchants do not trade with this country, but it is listed first in our account to indicate that we begin it from the countries closest by. After roughly ten or more days of sailing from here, one reaches Zhancheng (Champa). [Zhao Rukuo's claim that Chinese merchants did not trade with Dai Viet is technically incorrect, but he probably meant that private maritime trade with Dai Viet was not allowed. For strategic reasons, the Song government consistently excluded Dai Viet from most of its maritime trade system by prohibiting Chinese merchants from sailing to Dai Viet and restricting Vietnamese merchants to two ports in Guangxi (Qinzhou and Lianzhou).]

SECTION 3. ZHANCHENG (Champa, southern Vietnam)

Zhancheng (Champa) is connected to Guangzhou by sea to the east. To the west it adjoins Yunnan, to the south it extends to Zhenla (Cambodia), and to the north it reaches to Jiaozhi (Dai Viet) and through it is connected to Yongzhou (Nanning). Sailing from Quanzhou to this country takes more than twenty days with a favorable (monsoon) wind. Its territory spans 700 li from east to west and 3,000 li from south to north. Its capital is called the New Prefecture (Vijaya) and it has administrative divisions called counties and towns. They build city walls out of brick and reinforce them with stone towers.

The king, when traveling outside his palace, rides either an elephant or a cloth hammock litter (cáng) borne by four men. He wears a headdress of gold and adorns his body with strings of jewels. When the king comes out of his palace and sits to hold court, he is encircled by thirty female attendants who carry swords and shields or betel nuts. Officials attending an audience make one prostration at the beginning and, after all reports are concluded, make one more prostration before leaving. Women and men perform the same forms of prostration and salutation.

In cases of adultery, both the man and the woman are put to death. Thieves are punished by having their fingers and toes cut off. In battle, they form squads of five men, and if any of them flee, then all men in the squad are executed for it. If a Chinese (Tang) man is murdered by a native, the murderer will be hunted down and killed for his crime.

The people are fond of cleanliness and bathe three to five times a day. They rub their bodies with a fragrant mixture of camphor and musk, and perfume their clothes with the fumes of several aromatics burned together.

The climate is warm and temperate throughout the year, without extreme cold or hot seasons.

Every New Year's Day they lead an elephant through the streets and then drive it out of the city walls, calling this ritual "expelling evil." In the fourth month, they row boats out into the river for entertainment and crowds gather to watch the boatmen catching fish.

They consistently take the fifteenth day of the eleventh month to be the winter solstice. On that day, the prefectures and counties present local products and cloth to the king.

The people typically plough their fields with two water buffaloes. Among the various kinds of grains they have no wheat, but they have millet, hemp, and beans. They do not cultivate tea, neither do they know how to make rice wine. They only make and drink coconut wine (toddy). As for fruits, they have lotus roots, sugar cane, bananas, and coconuts. The country also produces ivory, the jian, chen, and su varieties of agarwood, beeswax, ebony, white rattan, kapok, patterned cloth, silk textiles, muslin, cotton matting, peacock feathers, rhinoceros horn, and red parrots.

The government supervises people who go into the mountains to cut aromatic wood and collects the wood as tax. This is called the aromatic wood poll tax and resembles the salt poll tax in the Central Lands. Once the government has met its tax quota, it permits the people to trade aromatic wood freely on the private market. They do not use money but simply barter their goods for rice wine and foodstuffs. By this means they meet all their needs for the year.

When one of the people goes into the mountains and is eaten by a tiger, or is eaten by a crocodile when traveling by river, his family submits the case to the king. The king then orders the high priest to use magic, reciting incantations and writing out talismans that are scattered about at the place where the person was killed. Then the tiger or crocodile comes by itself to the spot and turns itself in to await justice. It is then killed.

If a false and libelous accusation is made, and the officials cannot ascertain its veracity, they order both the accuser and the accused to pass through a crocodile pool. The crocodiles come out and eat whoever is lying, but will stay away from one who has told the truth, even if that person goes through the pool more than ten times. [A similar system of "trial by crocodile" is described in the much earlier Liangshu account of Funan: "They keep crocodiles in ditches in the city and ferocious wild beasts in pens outside the city gates. If someone is charged with a crime, he is fed to the beasts and crocodiles. If he is not eaten within three days, he is declared innocent and released."]

They buy people as slaves. Each male is priced at three taels of gold or the equivalent value in aromatic wood.

On the arrival of a trading ship in this country, officials are sent on board with a book made of folded slips of black leather. On this they write out in white [powder] the quantities of the goods. After an inventory has been taken, the cargo may be landed. 20% of it is claimed as tax, and the rest may be traded privately. If it is discovered that any items were hidden away during the customs check, the whole cargo will be confiscated.

Foreign merchants who come to this country can trade with camphor, musk, sandalwood, grass matting, parasols, spun silk, fans, lacquerware, porcelain ware, lead, tin, rice wine, and sugar.

Vassal states of this country include: the Old Prefecture (Indrapura), Wuli (Hue), Rili (the Nhật Le River, Dong Hoi), Yueli (possibly southern Quảng Tri province), Weirui (unidentified), Bintonglong (Panduranga), Wuma (possibly Amaravati = Quảng Nam province), Banong (unidentified), Rongpuluogan (Yan Po Nagar = Kauthara), Guliang (unidentified), and Baopiqi (Vijaya).

In earlier dynasties, this country rarely had contact with the Central Lands. In the Xiande era (954-960) of the Later Zhou dynasty, it sent a tribute mission for the first time. It sent its local products as tribute to our dynasty during the Jianlong (960-963) and Qiande (963-968) eras. In the sixth year of the Taiping Xingguo era (981), Lê Hoàn of Jiaozhi (Dai Viet) reported that he wished to offer up ninety-three prisoners of war from the country [of Zhancheng] to be presented at our capital. Emperor Taizong ordered the authorities in Guangzhou to hold on to the prisoners and provide them with

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care. Since then, Zhancheng has presented tribute without pause, and our dynasty has rewarded its admiration for our emperors' sagely transforming influence by granting it generous gifts of ritual vessels, jade, and silk. Le Hoan defeated a Song invasion but immediately sought reconciliation with the Song emperor. He invaded Champa in 982 and sacked its capital, taking many captives, but the Cham prisoners presented to the Song in 981 must have been taken in an earlier battle. According to the Songshi account (SS 489.14080), Taizong ordered the Guangzhou authorities to give the prisoners clothes and food and send them back to Champa with a friendly message for their king.]

After five to seven days of sailing south from this country, one reaches Zhenla (the Khmer Empire).

SECTION 4. BINTONGLONG (Panduranga, an ancient Cham kingdom in Vietnam)

The ruler of the country of Bintonglong (Panduranga) wears the same kind of hand ornaments and clothing as the ruler of Zhancheng (Champa). They make roofs for their houses with the leaves of palm trees and erect wooden palisades for defense. They present an annual tribute of local products to Zhancheng. [Panduranga corresponds to modern Phan Rang in Vietnam. It was a semi-independent polity at the southern end of the Cham cultural zone. Song ethnographers considered Panduranga to be a vassal state of Champa, whereas modern historians now generally interpret Champa as an alliance of ethnoculturally Cham polities with a shifting centre and fluid boundaries (the mandala model).]

There is a Buddhist arhat named the Venerable Bintoulu (Pindola), and his name probably refers to this land. "Bintonglong" is a corruption of the original name (Bintoulu). Some say that the foundations of Mulian's (Maudgalyayana's) home are still preserved there. In the fourth year of the Yongxi era (987), a mission from this country arrived together with one from Dashi (the Arab world), bearing a tribute of local products. [Panduranga means "white god" in Sanskrit (the Cham-language version was Pandaran) and is one of the names of the Hindu deity Vithoba. The etymology of the Indian name Pindola is unknown, but it is unlikely to be linked to Panduranga. The identification of Panduranga as the site of Maudgalyayana's home was first made in Zhou Qufei's Lingwai daida (1178) and is repeated in several later Chinese ethnographic texts, but is wholly mythical. Some Chinese scholars have suggested that the myth originated from similarity between the Chinese name for Maudgalyayana, Mulian, and the term Mukhalinga. It is possible that a Chinese visitor mistook a Mukhalinga for a remnant of a stone house and misunderstood the term as a reference to Mulian.]

SECTION 5. ZHENLA (the Khmer Empire or Angkor Empire)

Zhenla (the Khmer Empire, also known as Empire of Angkor) is connected by land to the southern part of Zhancheng (Champa). To the east it extends to the sea, to the west it extends to Pugan (Pagan), and to the south it extends to Jialoxi (Grahi = Chaiya, Thailand). Sailing from Quanzhou to this country takes more than a month with a favourable (monsoon) wind. Its territory spans roughly seven thousand li square or more. Its capital is called Lugu (Nokor = Angkor, lit. capital city, also known as Yasodharapura. Angkor Wat is the vernacular form of Nokor Vat which comes from the Sanskrit / Prakrit name Nagara Vata meaning "capital city enclosure"). There are no cold seasons in this country [meaning: they could have 2 or 3 rice harvests per year]. Its king's clothing is generally the same as that of the king of Zhancheng, but his entourage is larger. When he goes out, his carriage is drawn by two horses or by oxen.

The country's administrative division into counties and towns is no different from that of Zhancheng. The officials and common people all live in houses of bamboo and thatched roofs. Only the king lives in a palace of stone. It has a beautiful granite-sided pond filled with lotuses and spanned by a golden bridge over three hundred feet long. The palace is magnificent and extremely opulent. The king sits on a throne made of five types of aromatic wood and seven types of gemstone. It is topped with a jeweled baldachin held aloft by poles of carved wood, and the screen behind the throne is of carved ivory. [This description of the Zhenla king's throne is copied from the seventh-century Suishu description of Zhenla. Zhao Rugua presumably did not meet any foreign merchants who had seen the king's throne room. He thus had to rely on an outdated source.]

When the ministers have an audience with the king, they first make three prostrations at the foot of the dais. They then ascend the steps, kneel, and sit with their hands crossed over their chests in a ring around the king. When they have finished discussing affairs of state, they kneel and prostrate themselves again before leaving. [This description of court protocol is also lifted from the Suishu, but is likely to have remained valid in the thirteenth century.]

In the southwestern corner of the city (of Angkor) is a bronze terrace on which stand twenty-four bronze* towers and eight bronze* elephants, each weighing four thousand catties (about 25 metric tons). [* This refers to laterite ashlars containing ferric oxides which gives this tropic stone material its bronze-like look; the ashlars made of sandstone also look like bronze but with a bronze-like patina. The text is generally believed to be a description of the Baphuon.

Explanation: The Baphuon is a massive temple pyramid that measures 120 metres east-west by 100 metres north-south at its base and stands 34 meters tall without its tower, which would have made it roughly 50 meters tall. The Baphuon is in the northwest quarter of Angkor Thom. Right between Angkor Thom and the Eastern Baray was another temple pyramid like Baphuon; it is called Ta Keo and it is slightly larger. Its first terrace is 122 m by 106 m. The Ta Keo is a step pyramid of 5 terraces. There are 5 tower temples on the upper platform of which the central tower reaches a height of 45 meters.

To make the geography of Angkor visible we need to describe her main structures. With about 1,000 square kilometres (390 sq mi) in size and perhaps 1-2 million inhabitants, Angkor was probably the largest city on earth at the time. Angkor Thom, is a square-shaped area [c. 4 km x 3.6 km] surrounded by a wide canal. Today it is located in the centre of Angkor. However, at the time of the visitor, it was the western part of Angkor because the today's west-part of Angkor with the Western Baray was built later. A baray is a large man-made water reservoir. East of Angkor Thom was the Eastern Baray. The Eastern Baray reaches a size of 7.8 km by 1.7 km. The Western Baray reaches a size of 8 km by 2 km. With Angkor Thom between them; these two large barays spread to the West and to the East like the open wings of a bird. The Eastern Baray is the older one. At its northwest corner was the smaller Preah Khan Baray. The oldest structures of Angkor were built around Angkor Thom, the little Preak Khan Baray, and the Eastern Baray.

At the southwest of all these eastern stuctures, right outside and south of Angkor Thom is only one other structure that has been built already at the time of the visitor: Angkor Wat. And Angkor Wat is really worthwhile to be mentioned as it is one of the largest temples in the world. In fact, it is the largest temple complex in the world by land area, measuring 162.6 hectares (1.626 km2; 402 acres).

The initial design and construction of the Angkor Wat temple took place in the first half of the 12th century, during the reign of King Suryavarman II (ruled c. 1113–1150). The basis of that giant temple pyramid measures 215 m (705 ft) by 187 m (614 ft), it has 5 steps and on its upper platform stand 5 tower temples of which the central one reaches a height of 65 m (213 ft). Considering the archaeological findings, there is a high likelihood that the vistitor did not refer to the Baphuon but to Angkor Wat.]

The country has nearly 200,000 war elephants. It also has many horses, but they are small in size.

They are very devout Buddhists and use daily shifts of more than 300 women to dance and present rice offerings to the Buddha. They call these women A'nan, which means "courtesan."

Their custom is to be sexually promiscuous. Adultery is not punished, while theft is punished by cutting off a hand or a foot or by branding the chest with fire.

Their Buddhist monks' incantations are extremely efficacious. Monks robed in yellow live in their own homes, while those robed in red live in monasteries and observe the vinaya strictly. Their Daoist (i.e., Hindu) priests clothe themselves with tree leaves and have a god named Poduoli (Bhadra = Shiva) to whom they sacrifice very conscientiously. [Most of this passage is taken from the Lingwai daida, except for the mention of Poduoli, which is derived from the Suishu. The Suishu claims that the king of Zhenla sacrificed human beings to Poduoli once a year.]

The people of this country regard the right hand as clean and the left hand as unclean, so they simply mix meat broth and rice together, scoop it up with their right hand, and eat it.

The soil is fertile and the fields are not divided by boundary markers. Each family simply farms as much land as it can manage. Rice and other grains are cheap; one can buy two bushels of rice with just a tael of lead. The land produces ivory, fine zhan or su agarwood, coarse shu agarwood, beeswax, kingfisher feathers (of which this country has the largest supply), dammar gum and crystals, foreign oil, ginger peel, benzoin, sappanwood, raw silk, and cotton. Foreign merchants who come to this country can trade with gold, silver, porcelain ware, false brocade, parasols, skin-covered drums, rice wine, sugar, and fermented fish sauce.

Vassal states of this country include: Dengliumei (Tambralinga = Nakhon Si Thammarat), Bosilan (possibly Sóc Trăng), Luohu (Lavo), Sanpo ("Three Lakes," unidentified), Zhenlifu (possibly Chanthaburi), Maluowen (possibly the Kraburi River), Luyang (unidentified), Tunlifu (unidentified), Pugan (Pagan), Wali (possibly Myeik), Xipeng (unidentified), Duhuai (possibly Dawei), and Xunfan (possibly Chumphon).

This country used to have friendly relations with Zhancheng and presented it with an annual tribute of gold taels. But on the fifteenth day of fifth month of the fourth year of the Chunxi era (1177), the ruler of Zhancheng attacked this country's capital with a naval fleet. The king of Zhenla asked for a peace treaty but was refused and killed. [The Lingwai daida section on Champa (published in 1178) claims that in 1173, a junior officer in the Song military was sailing to Hainan to take up a post but was blown off course to Champa. He observed that both Champa and Cambodia fought battles using war elephants and were evenly matched, so he convinced the king of Champa to use horse-archers. With the Chinese officer's help, Champa bought several tens of horses from Hainan and gained an edge over Cambodia in cavalry. However, a second horse-buying expedition to Hainan in 1174 was unsuccessful as Song officials refused to sell more horses to Champa. The Song huiyao jigao repeats the Lingwai daida account but corrects the date of the Song officer's arrival in Champa to 1171. It adds a record from 1175 that explains the context for the failed Cham horse-buying expedition: Song law prohibited the export of horses, so in 1175 the Hainan officials responsible for the sale of horses to Champa in 1171 were arrested for violating the law. The Song court also demanded that the Cham king hand over a number of Chinese captives whom his men had taken from Hainan as retaliation for the Song officials' intransigence in 1174. See Xu Song, Song Huiyao Jigao (Taipei: Xin wenfeng chuban gongsi, 1976), 197.7741.]

Zhenla (Angkor) thus had a mortal enmity with Zhancheng (southern Vietnam) and swore to avenge itself. In the Jiwei year of the Qingyuan era (1199), they invaded Zhancheng in full force, captured its king, slaughtered his ministers, and massacred almost the entire population. They installed a man of Zhenla as king of Zhancheng, so Zhancheng is now also a vassal of Zhenla. [The Cambodians placed on the throne of Vijaya a Cham prince who had defected to them, intending to use him as a puppet king. He later attempted to break free of Cambodian overlordship with assistance from the Vietnamese, but was captured and exiled in 1203. The Cambodians ended their occupation of Champa in 1220.]

This country first made contact with the Central Lands in the Wude era (618-626) of the Tang dynasty. In the second year of the Xuanhe era (1120) of our dynasty, it sent a tribute mission to us. To the south, it adjoins Jaluoxi (Grahi = Chaiya), a vassal state of Sanfoqi (Srivijaya).

SECTION 6. DENGLIUMEI (Tambralinga = Nakhon Si Thammarat)

The country of Dengliumei (Tambralinga; today a part of Thailand) is to the west of Zhenla. Its ruler ties his hair up in a mallet-shaped topknot and wears hairpins shaped like flowers. He wears a red cloak over a white inner garment. He holds audiences in the open on a raised platform, as they have never had palaces. When dining, they use palm leaves as bowls and do not use spoons or chopsticks, instead relying on their fingers to scoop up food.

They have a mountain called Wunong (bnaṃ, "mountain" in Old Khmer) on which stands a bronze statue of the Buddha entering Nirvana.

This land produces white cardamom, the jian, chen, and su varieties of agarwood, beeswax, and flame of the forest resin.

SECTION 7. PUGAN (Pagan, Bagan; today Burma)

In the country of Pugan (Pagan), the officials and common people all tie their hair into a knot on their foreheads with a piece of colored silk. But the ruler wears a crown of gold. This country has many horses, which they ride without saddles. By custom they are especially devout Buddhists, and their monks all wear yellow robes. When their ruler holds morning court, the officials all bring him offerings of flowers and the monks chant in Sanskrit to wish him long life. They adorn the ruler's head with flowers, and the flowers left over are given to the Buddhist monasteries as offerings to the Buddha. This country has a temple to Zhuge Liang. [Most of the above passage is taken from the Lingwai Daida, but the mention of a temple to Zhuge Liang is a new addition by Zhao Rukuo. There is no other evidence of this temple's existence, but a late sixteenth-century Chinese ethnographer.]

In the first year of our dynasty's Jingde era (1004), it sent a mission to present tribute together with missions from Sanfoqi (Srivijaya) and Dashi (Arabia), and the ambassadors were granted the privilege of attending the Lantern Festival. In the fifth year of the Chongning era (1106), they again presented tribute.

SECTION 8. SANFOQI (Srivijaya, Sumatra; Indonesia)

Sanfoqi (Srivijaya) is located between Zhenla (Cambodia) and Shepo (Java) and rules over fifteen prefectures. It lies due south of Quanzhou. In the winter months, with a favorable (monsoon) wind one arrives at Lingyamen only after more than a month of travel by sea. Visiting merchants [must sell off] a third [of their goods at Lingyamen] before entering the country [of Sanfoqi].

Many of the people in this country have the surname Pu. [Pu, probably a short form of Abu, is attested as a Chinese surname used by Arab or Iranian Muslim merchants in Song

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China. Hirth was the first to recognize this usage, and he and Rockhill interpreted the surname's existence in Srivijaya as evidence of Muslim immigration.]

Their city is surrounded by a brick wall and is several tens of li across. The king travels in and out out of his palace on a boat. He wraps his body in a length of plain cloth (man), and is shaded by a silk parasol and guarded by men wielding golden javelins. [Yang Bowen argues that Zhao Rukuo uses the word "man" to transliterate the Javanese term kemben (or kemban). This is unlikely, however, as the kemben was strictly female attire and men would have worn the sarong instead.]

The common people live scattered outside the city walls or on rafts on the river that are made of wooden boards covered with reeds. They do not pay taxes to the state.

The people are skilled in naval and land warfare. Troops are called up on an ad hoc basis when a punitive expedition is needed and chieftains are appointed to lead them. Each soldier brings his own weapons and food. In battle, they are fearless of death and this has allowed them to gain hegemony over their region.

They do not mint strings of coins and merely use cut pieces of silver for trade. Their climate is primarily hot and seldom cold. Their domesticated animals are quite similar to those of the Central Lands. They have wine made from flowers, coconuts, and areca nuts and honey. None of these are made with fermentation starter, but one can still get drunk from drinking them.

For official documents, they use a foreign script and the king's ring serves as a seal. They are also literate in Chinese script and use it when submitting memorials to our court.

The laws of this country are strict and in cases of adultery, both the man and the woman are subject to the maximum penalty (i.e., death). When a king dies, the people mourn by shaving their heads. His attendants all willingly follow him in death by leaping into the flames of the funeral pyre. They call this "living and dying together."

They worship a Buddha called the Mountain of Gold and Silver, whose image is cast in gold. Whenever a new king is about to be enthroned, an image of him is first cast in gold as a substitute for his real body. Offerings in gold vessels are made to the image with great devotion. Both the golden images of the kings and the gold vessels are carved with inscriptions warning later generations not to destroy them.

When anyone in this country is perilously ill, he donates his weight in silver to the poor and needy of the country, believing he can thereby delay his death.

By custom, they call their king a dragon spirit (nāga?). They dare not feed him grains and only serve him sago, as they fear that otherwise there will be drought that year and grain will become expensive. They also bathe him in rosewater, believing that there will be a great flood if they bathe him in water. There is a gold crown with a hundred jewels that is extremely heavy. Whenever there is a grand audience at court, only the king has the ability to wear it; anyone else cannot bear the weight. When the king wishes to abdicate the throne, he assembles all his sons and hands the crown over to them, and whoever is able to bear its weight becomes the next king.

There is an old legend that in this country, the earth cracked open and a cave appeared, out of which came tens of thousands of cattle. They rushed into the mountains in large herds, and the people vied to hunt and eat them. Later, people planted bamboo to block the cave and the cattle stopped coming out.

This country produces tortoiseshell, camphor, chen, su, and zhan agarwood, coarse shu agarwood, lakawood, cloves, sandalwood, and cardamom. In addition, it imports pearls, frankincense, rosewater, champak flowers, civet oil, myrrh, aloe, asafoetida, costus, storax oil, ivory, coral trees (i.e., red coral), cat's eye gems, amber, foreign (cotton) textiles, and foreign swords. All these come from Dashi (the Arab world) and other foreign countries and are gathered in this country through trade. Foreign merchants who come to this country can trade with gold, silver, porcelain ware, brocade, twill damask, resist-dyed silk, sugar, iron, rice wine, rice, dried galangal, rhubarb, and camphor.

This country lies on the sea and controls a strait used by foreign ships. In ancient times, they used an iron chain as a barrier to guard against pirate raids. It could be raised or lowered with a mechanism. If a merchant ship arrived, then it would be allowed to pass. For many years, there has been peace, so the chain has been taken away and wound up at the water's edge. The local people revere it as if it were a Buddha, and when merchant ships arrive, their crews also make offerings to it. When it is rubbed with oil, it shines as if new. Even crocodiles dare not cross over it to attack people. If a merchant ship passed by without stopping to trade, then the people send out ships to attack it and fight to the death. This is why this country is a hub for maritime shipping.

The vassal states of this country include: Pengfeng (Pahang), Dengyanong (Terengganu), Lingyasijia (Langkasuka = Pattani), Jilandan (Kelantan), Foluoan (possibly Phatthalung), Riluoting (possibly Cherating), Qianmai (possibly Lhokseumawe, Aceh), Bata (possibly the Batak people), Danmaling (Tambralinga = Nakhon Si Thammarat), Jialuoxi (Grahi = Chaiya), Balinpeng (Palembang), Xintuo (Sunda), Jianbi (possibly Kampar), Lanwuli (Lamuri), and Xilan (Sri Lanka).

Malay polities in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula during the early Srivijaya period. Note that Tarumanagara in Java split into two kingdoms (Sunda and Galuh) after 670.

This country has had diplomatic contact with the Central Lands since the Tianyou era (904-907) of the Tang dynasty. [As Yang Bowen notes, Srivijaya's contact with the Tang began in 670, but it was known to the Tang as Shilifoshi and did not switch to using Sanfoqi as the Chinese form of its name until 904. Zhao Rukuo's statement reflects the fact that he and other Song-era ethnographers did not recognize Sanfoqi and Shilifoshi as the same state. In fact, the early history of Srivijaya was forgotten even by Sumatrans until a hundred years ago, when George Cœdès reconstructed it using Tang-Song Chinese sources and Old Malay inscriptions and demonstrated that Shilifoshi, Sanfoqi, and Srivijaya were the same polity.]

In the Jianlong era (960-963) of our dynasty, its ruler presented tribute three times. In the third year of the Chunhua era (992), its ruler reported that it had been invaded by Shepo (the Medang kingdom in Java) and requested that the emperor issue an edict to the country (Srivijiaya) [pledging his support]. The emperor granted this request. In the sixth year of the Xianping era (1003), its ruler reported that he had built a Buddhist temple in his country to pray for a long life for the emperor. He asked the emperor to bestow a name and a bell on the temple. The emperor commended his good intent, named the temple Chengtian wanshou (Receiving Ten Thousand Years of Life from Heaven), and granted it a bell. In the Jingde (1004-1007), [Dazhong] Xiangfu (1008-1016), Tianxi (1017-1021), Yuanyou (1086-1094), and Yuanfeng (1078-1085) eras, this country regularly presented tribute without fail, and the emperors would immediately issue edicts to commend and acknowledge its loyalty. [The break in tribute missions after 1021 was due to the Chola invasion of Srivijaya in 1025 and its effect of weakening Srivijaya's regional power for decades.]

To the east, this country is connected to Rongyalu (Original note: Also written as Zhongjialu).

SECTION 9. DANMALING (Tambralinga, Nakhon Si Thammarat)

The country of Danmaling (Tambralinga; Sukhothai Kingdom, western Thailand) addresses its ruler as Xianggong (His Excellency). They have a city wall made of a wooden palisade six or seven feet thick and over twenty feet high. It is strong enough to fight on. The people ride water buffaloes, tie their hair up into a chignon, and go barefoot. The officials' houses are made of wood, and the common people's are made of bamboo poles, with partitions made from leaves. The poles and leaves are tied together with rattan.

This land produces beeswax, lakawood, su agarwood, ebony, camphor, ivory, and rhinoceros horn. Foreign merchants who come to this country can trade with silk parasols, umbrellas, silk resist-dyed in the lily pond pattern, rice wine, rice, salt, sugar, porcelain ware, basins and bowls and other such bulky goods, and plates made of gold and silver. Similar trading conditions exist in Riluoting (possibly Cherating), Qianmai (possibly Lhokseumawe, Aceh), Bata (possibly the Batak), and Jialuoxi (Grahi = Chaiya). This country gathers the gold and silver vessels that it gets through trade, combines them with those from Riluoting and the other countries, and presents them all to Sanfoqi (Srivijaya) as tribute. [Zhao Rukuo appears to have mistaken Dengliumei and Danmaling as two different countries, but most scholars now believe they were variant transliterations of the name Tambralinga. If Tambralinga was indeed responsible for collecting tribute from other countries for Srivijaya, this suggests that it had become dominant on the Malay Peninsula by this time. In the 1240s and 1250s, King Chandrabhanu of Tambralinga was even militarily strong enough to lead a fleet to the Indian Ocean and invade Sri Lanka. He conquered the kingdom of Jaffna but was eventually killed fighting the stronger Pandyan dynasty of South India.]

SECTION 10. LINGYASIJIA (Langkasuka = Pattani)

Lingyasijia (Langkasuka; southern Thailand) can be reached by sea from Danmaling (Tambralinga) in six days and nights, but there is also an overland connection. The local ruler wraps himself in plain cloth and goes barefoot. The people cut their hair and also wrap themselves in plain cloth. The land produces ivory, rhinoceros horn, su and zhan agarwood, sheng agarwood, and camphor. Foreign merchants who come to this country can trade with rice wine, rice, silk resist-dyed in the lily pond pattern, and porcelain ware. They must first calculate the value of their product in gold and silver, and then engage in barter at fixed rates. For example, one deng of rice wine is worth a tael of silver and two gold coins; two deng of rice is worth a tael of silver, and ten deng is worth a tael of gold; and so on.

This country presents tribute to Sanfoqi (Srivijaya) yearly.

SECTION 11. FOLUOAN (possibly Phatthalung, southern Thailand)

The country of Foluoan can be reached by sea in four days from Lingyasijia (Langkasuka), but one can also go by land.

It has two Buddha images that are claimed to have flown there; one has six arms and the other four. When enemy ships try to enter this country, they are always blown back by the wind, and the local people say this is due to the power of the Buddhas. The Buddhist temple is roofed with bronze tiles and decorated with gold. They celebrate the fifteenth day of the sixth month as the Buddha's birthday, holding large processions with music and cymbals. Foreign merchants participate in these processions too.

The land produces su and zhan agarwood, lakawood, sandalwood, and ivory. Foreign merchants who come to this country can trade with gold, silver, porcelain, iron, lacquer ware, rice wine, rice, sugar, and wheat. This country sends tribute to Sanfoqi once a year. Its neighboring countries, Pengfeng (Pahang), Dengyanong (Terengganu), and Jilandan (Kelantan) are similar.

SECTION 12. XINTUO (Sunda; the western-most fourth of Java; Indonesia)

The country of Xintuo (Sunda) has a harbour with a depth of sixty feet. Ships come in and out of the harbor, and people live in homes on both sides of it. [now part of Jakarta or nearby. Either Jakarta Bay or Banten Bay would fit the description of a deep harbour.]

The people also engage in agriculture. They build all their houses using wooden piles and make the roofs with palm tree bark. The flooring is made with wooden boards, and the partitions are made of woven rattan. Both the men and women go naked except for a cotton garment wrapped around the waist, and cut their hair short to a length of half an inch.

The mountains in this country produce black pepper. The peppercorns are small but heavy and are superior to those in Daban (Tuban). The land produces wax gourds, sugar cane, calabash, and eggplants. However, since there is no proper government in this country, the people are given to pillage and robbery, and foreign merchants seldom go there to trade. [Both Sunda Kelapa and Banten were under the authority of the Sunda Kingdom, but this kingdom's political centre was located inland and its governance on the coast seems to have been weak at this time, as it relied on agriculture rather than foreign trade for its revenue.]

SECTION 13 JIANBI (possibly Kampar, eastern Sumatra, Indonesia)

The country of Jianbi is at an intersection of trade routes, so many merchant ships anchor there. It can be reached by sail from Sanfoqi (Srivijaya) within half a month. It used to belong to Sanfoqi, but later because of war, it installed its own king.

The land produces tin, ivory, and pearls. [The Lingwai daida mentions that merchants from Jianbi exported elephants and water buffaloes to Gulin (Kollam/Quilon) every year.]

The people of this country like archery, and those who have killed many men wear tallies to flaunt their achievement and impress one another. From here, one can reach Lanwuli (Lamuri) by sea in five days. [Exact location uncertain]

SECTION 14. LANWULI (Lamuri)

The country of Lanwuli (Lamuri or Lambri was a kingdom in northern Sumatra, Indonesia) produces sappanwood, ivory, and rattan. Its people are warlike and often use poisoned arrows.

SECTION 15. XILAN (Ceylon; Sri Lanka)

Sailing with a north (monsoon) wind for twenty days or more [from Lanwuli (Lamuri)], one arrives at the country of Xilan (Sri Lanka), which is under the authority of Nanpi (Kodungallur). When one sails to this country from Lanwuli (Lamuri) and is about to arrive, one always sees flashing lightning and knows from this that it is Xilan.

The king of this country has black skin and curly hair. He leaves his head uncovered and wears no clothes apart from a wrapping of five-colored cotton cloth and red leather sandals laced with gold thread. He travels on an elephant or a hammock litter. He chews betel nuts all day and melts pearls down into powdery ash (for consumption). [As of 1225 AD, Sri Lanka was divided between two major rulers, Kalinga Magha and Vijayabahu III. It is unclear which ruler is described here, but the wealth described in the next passage would seem to fit Kalinga Magha better.]

His palace is decorated with cat's eye gems, blue and red jewels, agate, and other assorted precious stones. Even the floor he walks on is thus decorated. The palace has eastern and western halls, in each of which stands a golden tree. The trunk and branches are all made of gold, while the flowers, fruits, and leaves are cat's eye gems and blue and red jewels. Under each is a golden throne with opaque glass screens. The king holds court in the eastern hall in the morning and the western hall in the afternoon. Where he sits, he is often

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surrounded by a bright glow, presumably because the sunlight reflects off the glass and onto the jeweled trees, creating a shimmering light like the afterglow of sunrise or sunset. The king is always followed by two attendants with golden plates to collect the betel nut dregs that he spits out. The two attendants pay a fee of one yi (twenty taels) of gold to the state treasury every month in return for keeping the betel nut dregs, because these dregs contain plum-flower camphor and other priced substances.

The king holds in his hand a jewel five inches in diameter that stays cool even when burned in fire. In the night, it glows like a flame. The king rubs his face with it daily, and though he is more than ninety years old, his complexion is like a child's. [Marco Polo's description of Sri Lanka also claims that its king owned an extremely beautiful ruby, a royal heirloom that was "about a palm long, and every bit as thick as a man's arm." See Marco Polo, trans. Sharon Kinoshita, The Description of the World (Indianopolis, IN: Hackett), 156.]

The people of this country have very black skins and wrap themselves in plain cloth. They leave their heads uncovered and go barefoot. They scoop rice with their hands when eating and eat from bronze vessels. They have a mountain called Xilundie (Serendib) that has a giant's footprint on its peak, over seven feet long. Another such footprint is found in shallow water three hundred or more li from the mountain. On the mountain are forests where the trees, big or small, all bend toward the footprint as if to reverence it.

This land produces cat's eye gems, red glass, camphor, and blue and red jewels. It also produces white cardamom, magnolia skin, and both coarse and fine aromatics. Foreign merchants passing through can trade with sandalwood, cloves, camphor, gold, silver, porcelain ware, horses, elephants, and silk.

This country sends tribute to Sanfoqi (Srivijaya) once a year. [We have no written evidence of either the Jaffna kingdom or the Dambadeniya kingdom paying tribute to Srivijaya.]

SECTION 16. SHEPO (Java, Indonesia)

The country of Shepo (Java) is also called Pujialong (Pekalongan). [This section is probably a composite description of the kingdom of Kediri in central Java and its successor, the Singhasari kingdom, which had conquered it in 1222. Pekalongan was the political centre of neither kingdom, but may have been the primary seaport, leading foreign merchants to apply its name to the kingdom as a whole.]

It lies in the bingsi direction (south-southeast) from Quanzhou. Departing Quanzhou in the winter months, one can take advantage of the north (monsoon) wind and reach this country within a month of sailing with the wind by both day and night. Heading east by land from this country, one gets to a sea where the water surface gradually inclines downward. The Country of Women* is there. Heading further east, one gets to the weilü (tail door), where the water in the ocean drains out. One is then no longer in the realm of human beings.

[* Zhao Rukuo describes the mythical Country of Women later in the text. Zhao's mention of the Weilü is derived from Zhou Qufei's Lingwai daida, which contains a more detailed (albeit wholly imaginary) account of the oceans beyond Southeast Asia: "To the south of Sanfoqi (Srivijaya) is the Great Southern Ocean. There are over ten thousand islands in this sea, with people living permanently on them. The areas further south are unreachable. To the east of Shepo (Java) is the Great Eastern Ocean. The water surface gradually inclines downward, and the Country of Women is there. Yet further east is the weilü (tail door), where the water in the ocean drains out. One is then no longer in the realm of human beings. Heading slightly northeast, one gets to Goryeo and Baekje (i.e., Korea)."

Sailing on the sea from here for half a month takes one to the country of Kunlun. [Since Zhao Rukuo does not describe this country, one cannot know with certainty what place he means. Hirth and Rockhill identified it as Côn Sơn island (also called Côn Lôn island), which is the Kunlun of the Daoyi zhilue, or perhaps more generically the lands of the Malays (whom they believed the Chinese called Kunlun). In fact, in medieval China the label Kunlun was applied to all peoples perceived to have dark skin and curly hair; this included various Southeast Asian peoples and also East Africans.

"Kunlun" may be the country of Kunlun Cengqi described later in the text, which is "on the southwestern sea" and has been identified with the Swahili coast. But it takes more than two weeks to sail from Java to East Africa, and the text implies that "Kunlun" was to the east of Java and even further east than the Country of Women and the weilü. Yang Bowen therefore interprets "Kunlun" as the Maluku Islands, where in the seventeenth century, local rulers were known as kolano. However, Maluku appears to be named as Wunugu in the subsequent section in Sujidan ("Sukadana"). Zhao Rukuo was not always consistent in his transliterations, but it is unlikely that he would use two completely different names (i.e., Maluku and Kolano) for Maluku. The translators suggest four possible locations of "Kunlun": New Guinea (Borneo Island), Maluku (the Moluccas, Indonesia), Con Son Island (known as Con Lon, southern Vietnam), Swahili coast (Mozambique). The first three may be possible while the Swahili coast seems unlikely. However, there is a fith candidate before Swahili coast, and that is Madagascar.

The key to this report lies, as so often, in language, geography, climate, as well as in superior technology. The native language of the people on the southeast Asian 'Ocean Islands' [that is Taiwan, Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, and all the smaller islands nearby] is "Austronesian". Perhaps, the northern coast of Mozambique sounds interesting but any Austronesian invaders would have been wiped out by the Swahili just as the Viking invaders have been killed by the hands of the American natives.

Now, the surprise is that Austronesian is also the native language of Madagascar which lies right before the coast of Mozambique. The question is, as usual: Why? - The only possible because logical answer is: the Austronesian people came to Madagascar by boat. The distance between Indonesia and Madagascar is roughly 4,000 miles or 6,000 km. The next question would be: How fast can a boat sail per hour? - The answer here depends on two factors: (1st) the average speed of wind and (2nd) the speed of the "Ocean Surface Current".

The ocean surface current depends on the geography under the ocean water as well as the rotation speed of the Earth. The Earth has a circumference of circa 40,000 km. Any location on Earth, nearby the Equator, rotates from west to east, 40,000 km divided by 24 hours, at a relative speed of circa 1,660 km per hour! This speed will not swirl the ocean water out of their ocean basins due to the Earth's gravitation, it has however a measurable effect and the ocean water makes roughly 0.02 m/s. Due to different tempertures of ocean waters, the South Equatorial Gyre (stream, current) can reach a westward speed even of 0.16 m/s (average 0.11 m/s); and the Northern Equatorial counter gyre can reach an eastward speed of 0.12 m/s (average 0.08 m/s). So at a stream speed of only 0.10 m/s such a stream makes only 8 km per day. That is not much, but it is of considerable help in a large distance of 6,000 km! Most navigators in Antiquity knew the fastest streams and the best season to catch a stream of 0.60 m/s.

Besides the factors speed of wind and the speed of the ocean surface current, the Austronesian travellers found a 3rd factor: technology. So what is the average speed of a sailboat? Most sailboats cruise at a speed of 4-6 knots (4.5-7 mph / 7.2-11.2 km/h), with a top speed of 7 knots (8 mph or 12.8 km/h). Due to their extensive sailing experience, the Austronesian boat builders came up with the 3rd factor in determining the speed, and that is the technology or more precisely the shape of a boat's hull. There are two rules of thumb. 1st: The less of the boat is under water, the faster it goes and 2nd: The longer the boat is, the faster it goes. Each sailboat has a maximum hull speed, which it cannot exceed (in theory). The hull speed is determined by the length of the boat (while retaining the hull's width and depth). In numbers, it looks like this: 1st: A boat with a hull of 26 ft (8 m) in length can make 6.8 knots (7.8 mph / 12.6 km/h); 2nd: A boat with a hull of 65 ft (20 m) in length can make 10.8 knots (12.4 mph / 20 km/h); 3rd: A boat with a hull of 144 ft (44 m) in length can make even 16 knots (18.4 mph / 29.6 km/h).

In consequence, the Austronesian peoples invented the catamaran (a boat with two slim hulls connected with planks on their top). This enabled the Austronesians' expansion to the islands of the Pacific Ocean and even the Indian Ocean up to the eastern African coast. A catamaran type of boat could increase its speed to another 20% or more. So, a "normal-sized" catamaran of 20 m in length with a medium jouney speed of 300 km per day could manage a 6,000 km trip in 20 days, if the wind is good at all times, the crew works in shifts day and night, and the sail is as large as possible. Even only half the speed and a journey time of 40 days could be considered a great success. So, some of the here reported short journey times are surely an exaggeration, but long and speedy journeys were a common Austronesian activity. This is why their culture spanned half the globe from the Easter Islands to Madagascar.]

Heading south by land from this country (Shepo), one reaches the sea in three days and can get to the country of Dashi (the Arab world) after sailing the sea for five days. [Zhao Rukuo's information on the sailing time from Java to Arabia was way off. Later in the text, Zhao noted (using information from the Lingwai daida) that it took sixty or more days with a favorable monsoon wind to sail from Lamuri (Banda Aceh) to Dashi.]

Going west by land from this country (Shepo), one reaches the sea in forty-five days. Going north by land, one reaches the sea in four days. Sailing northwest on the sea for fifteen days, one reaches the country of Boni (Borneo). After another ten days, one reaches Sanfoqi (Srivijaya). After sailing another seven days, one reaches the country of Guluo (Kalah). After sailing [in another direction from Sanfoqi] for seven days, one reaches Chailiting (possibly Cherating). From there, one can arrive in Jiaozhi or Guangzhou.

This country has two temples, one called "Holy Buddha" and one called "Self-sacrifice."

There is a mountain where parrots are abundant, and it is called Parrot Mountain.

The king of this country ties his hair in a mallet-shaped topknot and wears golden bells on his head. He wears a brocade robe and leather shoes and sits on a square-shaped throne. His officials report to him daily and prostrate three times before leaving. When he leaves his palace, he rides an elephant or a litter, attended by five to seven hundred armed warriors. The people of this country sit down when they see the king and stand up only after he has passed.

Three of the princes are appointed as assistant kings. There are officials with the titles simajie (unidentified) and luojielian (rakryan). They manage state affairs together like chief ministers in the Central Lands, but have no regular salary, being rewarded with native produce and other items on an ad hoc basis. Below them are three hundred or more scribes to whom are delegated the administration of the cities, state treasury, granaries, and army. The military commanders are paid twenty taels of gold a year. The army has 30,000 troops who are also paid varying amounts of gold each year.

The custom of this land is to contract marriages without using matchmakers. The man's family simply makes a gift of gold to the woman's family to take her in marriage.

They do not set penalties for most crimes. The guilty party simply redeems himself by paying a fine in gold, the amount of which depends on the seriousness of the crime. Only robbery is punished with death.

In the fifth month, they go on boating excursions. In the tenth month, they go on excursions into the mountains either on hill ponies or on cloth hammock litters. Their musical instruments include tranverse flutes, drums, and clappers, and they are also skilled dancers.

There are many monkeys in the mountains, and they have no fear of humans. When people call them with the sound "xiao, xiao" (i.e., whistling), they immediately come out. When fruits are thrown to them, then the biggest monkey comes out first. The locals call it the Monkey King. When it has finished eating, the other monkeys eat what it leaves behind.

In this country there are bamboo gardens where they hold cockfights and wild boar fights.

Their houses are grand and decorated with gold and jade. Visiting merchants are housed in guesthouses. Their diet is rich and attentive to cleanliness. The locals wear their hair loose and untied; their clothing is wrapped around the chest and goes down to the knees. [The Lingwai daida has a different description of the Javanese hairstyle, "The people shave their heads and leave their hair short."]

When ill, they do not take medicine but only pray to gods and Buddhas. The people have given names but not surnames.

They are impetuous and war-like and have a longrunning feud with Sanfoqi (Srivijaya); the two countries attack one another frequently.

In the twelfth year of the Yuanjia era (435) of the Liu-Song dynasty, this country once made contact with the Central Lands, but after that, it stopped sending missions. In the third year of the Chunhua era (992) of our dynasty, it resumed presenting tribute. [A Javanese kingdom (based in Pekalongan) did continue sending diplomatic missions to China during the Tang dynasty, but the Chinese usually identified it not as Shepo but as Heling, a transliteration of Kallingga. In the eleventh century, the editors of the Xin Tangshu recognised Shepo and Heling as the same country, but this knowledge seems to have been lost in the Southern Song period.]

This country's land is flat and well-suited for agriculture. It produces rice, hemp, millet, and beans but no wheat. They use water buffaloes for ploughing. The people pay a tenth of their produce as tax. They make salt by boiling sea water. The land abounds in fish, soft-shelled turtles, chickens, ducks, and goats. The people also slaughter horses and water buffaloes for food. Their fruits include big gourds (or melons), coconuts, bananas, sugar cane, and taro. They produce ivory, rhinoceros horn, pearls, camphor, tortoiseshell, sandalwood, fennel, cloves, cardamom, cubeb, lakawood, patterned matting, foreign-style swords, black pepper, betel nuts, sulfur, saffron, sappanwood, and white parrots. They also practice sericulture and have colored embroidered silk, kapok, and cotton damask.

This land does not produce tea or rice wine. Their wine comes from coconut palms and from the Xianao Dan tree, which no Chinese person has seen. They also ferment wine from sugar palm sap and areca nuts, and it is quite refreshing and sweet-smelling. [This passage expands on information in the Lingwai daida, which reads, "They make wine out of the sap of the coconut palm and the ta tree." The etymology of ta is unclear but it may a transliteration of tuak, which is in fact the Indonesian name for coconut palm wine.]

Their cane sugar is red or white and very sweet. They mint coins out of an alloy of copper, silver, unsmelted copper ore, and tin. Sixty coins are worth a tael of gold and thirty-two are worth half a tael of gold.

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Foreign merchants who come here trade with a mixture of gold and silver, as well as gold and silver vessels, five-colored resist-dyed silk, black damask, chuanxiong, angelica, cinnabar, melanterite, alum, borax, arsenic frost, lacquer ware, iron tripods, and blue and white porcelain ware.

This foreign country exports large amounts of black pepper. Chinese maritime merchants, drawn by the prospect of big profits, often violate our government's law against the export of copper cash and smuggle it out for trading purposes. The imperial court has therefore repeatedly issued prohibitions on trade with this country, but the foreign merchants have craftily changed its name and now call it Sujidan (Sukadana).

SECTION 17. SUJIDAN ("Sukadana")

(This is a rather confusing section since the first half of it is effectively a continuation of the preceding section on Shepo (Java), but based on information about Shepo supplied by merchants falsely claiming it to be a different country called Sujidan (Sukadana). There was presumably a real country of Sukadana at this time, but it is unclear where it was located. There are two Sukadanas in Indonesia today, one in Borneo and one in Sumatra. The second half of the section digresses into a description of Tuban and the piratical inhabitants of the archipelagos east of Java. The translator has split this off into two separate sections for clarity.)

Sujidan is a subsidiary country of Shepo (Java). To the west it adjoins Xintuo (Sunda), and to the east it adjoins Daban (Tuban). It has a towering mountain called Baolaoan. Before they arrive, foreign ships always sight the mountain's five lofty peaks, which sometimes are covered with clouds.

The king of this country wears a turban of five-colored cloth and goes barefoot. When walking outdoors he is shaded by a black or white parasol and followed by more than five hundred attendants, all carrying spears, swords, or javelins. The attendants wear hats of various shapes, some resembling the heads of tigers or deer, and others like the heads of water buffalos, sheep, chickens, elephants, lions, and monkeys. Small flags, made of five-colored resist-dyed silk, are stuck into the sides of these hats. Among the local people, the men cut their hair and the women tie it into chignons. They all go bare-chested and barefoot, with only a cotton cloth wrapped around the waist.

When the people trade with one another, they use different grades of silver cut into dice-shaped coins. On the coins are carved the seals of their officials. Sixty-four such coins are worth a tael of trade-quality gold, and each coin can be exchanged for thirty or even forty to a hundred sheng of rice (100 sheng = 17-18 gallons). They use these coins in all other forms of trade and call it "Shepo gold." From this we can see that this country is none other than Shepo.

Their house architecture is like that of Xintuo (Sunda). The land produces much rice and other cereals, and their richest families have as much as ten thousand or more piculs in their storehouses (a picul is a hundred sheng, or 17-18 gallons). They have a tree called the boluo mi (jackfruit). Its fruits are like wax gourds, but their skins are [spiny] like chestnut cupules. The flesh is in segments like the mandarin orange and its flavor is extremely sweet and delicious. They also have lychees, bananas, and sugar cane, all of which are similar to those in the Central Lands. The only differences are that their lychees, when dried, can be used to treat dysentery, their bananas are one chi long (12 inches), and their sugar canes are one zhang long (10 feet). When the sugar cane juice is blended with medicine and fermented into wine, its flavour is superior to that of coconut palm wine.

The products of this land are roughly the same as those in Shepo.

Its supply of black pepper is the largest anywhere. At the right season, and in good years, twenty-five taels of trade-quality silver can buy ten to twenty bags of their black pepper, each bag containing fifty sheng (8.5-9 gallons). In bad years, or when there have been enemy raids, the same amount of silver can only buy half that amount. The pepper-pickers are often afflicted with headaches due to the acrid fumes they inhale, and these can be cured with doses of chuanxiong. The local women use cinnabar in their cosmetics, to paint their nails, and to dye their clothing. Therefore foreign merchants generally use chuanxiong and cinnabar as the primary commodities of trade. Merchants are treated very well here and are not charged expenses for lodging and food.

This land is connected to Baihuayuan (possibly Pakuan Pajajaran = Bogor), Madong (possibly Medang = Madiun), Daban (Tuban), Xining (unidentified), Rongyalu (Hujung Galuh = Janggala = Surabaya), Dongzhi (unidentified), Dagang (unidentified), Huangmazhu (possibly Labuan Bajo), Mali (Bali), Niulun/Gulun (probably Gorom), Danrong Buluo (Tanjung Pura, location unclear), Diwu (Fujian dialect: Timat=Timor), Pingya Yi (possibly Banggai), and Wunugu (Fujian dialect: Matnuku=Maluku). These are all vassal states of Shepo.

SECTION 18. DABAN (Tuban; north coast of Java, Indonesia)

The country of Daban (Tuban) is connected in the east to Da Shepo (Greater Java), also called Rongyalu (Original note: Also written as Zhongjialu). [Rongyalu is probably Hujung Galuh, a port that was once the capital of the Janggala kingdom. It is now a part of Surabaya city and is indeed slightly to the east of Tuban.]

The inhabitants of this country (Daban) build houses similar to those of the Central Lands. Its land is flat and it has a harbor frequented by merchant ships. It produces blue salt (sea salt), sheep, and parrots. Its headman (fanguan 番官) is a brave warrior who made marriage alliances with pirate states to the east. Those pirates use the pretext of visiting their kin to come here and raid, and many foreign ships have suffered the fate of being plundered. The pirates have even taken foreign merchants as prisoners and sold them as an exotic commodity, each captive selling for two or three taels of gold. For this reason, trade with this country has come to a stop. (Original note: The pirate states are Danrong Buluo [Tanjung Pura], Pali [Bali], Sunta, and Gulun [Gorom].)

SECTION 19. PIRATE STATES

The countries of Dagang (unidentified), Huangmazhu (possibly Labuan Bajo), Mali (Bali), Niulun (probably Gorom), Danrong Wuluo (Tanjong Pura), Diwu (Timor), Pingya Yi (possibly Banggai), and Wunugu (Maluku) are all on islands in the sea. Each has its own ruler and communicates with other countries by boat. Their lands are mostly uncultivated and have many old trees, the insides of which produce sago. Sago is shaped like wheat flour. The natives mix water in it to shape it into round pellets the size of peas. These are dried in the sun, put into bags, and stored as a food supply.

They also use fish or other meat to make a broth. They are fond of sugar cane and bananas. They crush sugar cane, add a medicine to the juice, and ferment it into wine. They also have the weiba tree (nipa palm); when you extract its pith and squeeze out the juice, it can also be made into wine.

The local men are strong and ferocious. Their skin is dark and reddish, and they go naked and tattoo their bodies. They cut their hair and go barefoot. They do not use vessels for eating and drinking, and instead fashion dishes by tying tree leaves together and then discard them upon finishing a meal.

When the people trade among themselves, they only use sago measured in units of sheng and dou. They are illiterate and innumerate. They erect wooden piles to make platforms twenty or more feet above the ground. On top of these they build houses, the partitions and roofing of which are the same as those in Xintuo (Sunda, i.e., woven rattan partitions and palm bark roofs).

These lands produce sandalwood, cloves, cardamom, patterned matting, foreign cloth, iron swords, and other weapons.

Of these places, Mali (Bali) and Danrong Wuluo (Tanjong Pura) are the largest in area, have the most soldiers and horses, and have some literacy and numeracy. [Mali] produces lakawood, beeswax, fine aromatics, and tortoiseshell, and Danrong Wuluo has these as well. They generally do not make an honest living but prefer to go out to sea in boats and engage in piracy. That is why foreign merchants rarely go there.

SECTION 20. NANPI (Kodungallur; Malabar Coast in Thrissur district of Kerala, southwestern India)

The country of Nanpi is in the far southwestern corner of the world. It can be reached in a month or more from Sanfoqi (Srivijaya) with a favorable monsoon wind. Its capital is called Mie'amo, which can be translated into the Tang (Chinese) language as "priest" (lisi).

Its ruler usually goes naked and barefoot except for a turban on his head and a garment around his waist, both of white cotton cloth, but he sometimes also wears a white cotton shirt with narrow sleeves. When leaving his palace, he rides an elephant and wears a golden hat draped with pearls and jewels. He wears gold bangles on his arms and gold anklets at his feet. His entourage has a banner decorated with peacock feathers, with silver and vermilion streamers hanging from the staff. Twenty or more men surround and guard it, followed by a procession of about five hundred or more women chosen for their strong physique. The women in front go along dancing, and all are naked and barefoot except for a cotton cloth wrapped around the waist. The women in the rear ride horses with saddles and have cloth wrapped around their waists and their hair tied up; they wear pearl necklaces and gold bangles and anklets. They rub their bodies with camphor, musk, and other aromatics and are shaded by parasols made of peacock feathers. The officials in the entourage ride on hammocks made of white foreign cotton, known as "cotton hammock litters." These litters are carried using poles coated in gold or silver, and go in front of the dancing women.

This country has much sandy ground, so when the king wishes to go out, he first sends out an official and over a hundred soldiers with water to sprinkle on the ground to prevent strong winds from blowing sand on his entourage.

The king has a very refined diet and eats from hundreds of dishes that are changed once a day. They have officials called hanlin in charge of the king's meals, who observe how much the king eats from each dish and regulate the amount to prevent him from over-eating. If the king falls ill from eating too much of anything, these officials taste his feces and prescribe treatment based on whether it is sweet or bitter.

The people of this country have a purple (dark brown) complexion and their ear lobes hang down to their shoulders.

They are skilled archers and also good with swords and spears. They are a warlike people and ride elephants in battle, wearing patterned silk turbans. They are particularly devout Buddhists. [Zhao Rukuo confuses Hinduism with Buddhism in this passage.]

This land is warm and has no cold season. It has plentiful food supplies of rice, hemp, beans, wheat, millet, taro, and vegetables, and food is cheap. They use cut pieces of various grades of silver as money and inscribe the seals of officials on them; the people use these for trade.

The land produces pearls, foreign cloth in various colours, and Tula cotton. [Tula is the Sanskrit word for cotton.]

This country has a brackish water river with many tributaries. The river is extremely broad and has cliffs on its sides above which stars often appear. The fine qi of the stars coalesces to produce small stones like cat's eye gems. Their color is translucent and they lie buried in holes in the cliffs. Every so often, there is a flood on the cliffs and they are washed out. The officials then send people on small boats to collect them. The people of this country prize them highly.

Vassal states of this country include Gulin (Kollam/Quilon), Huchala (Gujarat), Ganpayi (Kanbayat/Cambay), Bilisha (Bharugachha/Bharuch), Maluohua (Malwa), Fengyaluo (Mangalore), Malimo (malimat in Fujian dialect, possibly Mahim = Mahikawati), Dunuhe (Thana/Thane), Yaliruo (possibly Aluva), and Aoluoluoli (possibly Amreli).

This country is very far away and foreign merchant ships rarely go there. A father and son, Shiluoba (Quanzhou dialect: Silopa) and Zhiligan (Quanzhou dialect: Tilatkan), who currently live south of the city walls of Quanzhou, are people from this country. [Since the original text lacked punctuation, Shiluoba zhiligan could also be a family name shared by both father and son. The original Malayalam form of these names has not been reconstructed.]

The land's products are exported to Jiluo (unidentified), Danong (unidentified), and Sanfoqi (Srivijaya). Merchants going to those places can barter for them using silk resist-dyed in the lily pond pattern, porcelain ware, camphor, rhubarb, huanglian, cloves, sandalwood, cardamom, and chen agarwood.

SECTION 21. GULIN (Kollam / Quilon, Kerala, India)

(Kollam is an old seaport and city on the Laccadive Sea coast of the state of Kerala, southwestern India. It is situated 66 kilometers north of the state capital Trivandrum. The city is on the banks of Ashtamudi Lake. Kollam has a strong commercial reputation since the days of the Phoenicians and Romans.)

Sailing from Nanpi (Kodungallur) with a favorable wind, one can arrive at Gulin (Kollam/Quilon) in five days. Ships from Quanzhou take more than forty days to sail to Lanwuli (Lamuri), spend the winter there [waiting for the monsoon to change], and set sail again in the following year. They take another month to arrive at Gulin.

The local customs are mostly similar to those of Nanpi. The land produces coconuts and sappanwood. Their wine is made of fermented honey and coconut flower juice. They are fond of archery and wear resist-dyed silk turbans over their chignons in battle. They use gold and silver coins for trade, each gold coin being worth twenty silver coins. The land is warm, without a cold season.

Every year, ships from countries like Sanfoqi (Srivijaya), Jianbi (possibly Kampar), and Jituo (Kedah) come here to trade, using the same commodities as at Nanpi. Many Dashi (Arab) people reside in this country. After bathing, the people smear their bodies with wild turmeric, probably to imitate the Buddha's golden body.

SECTION 22. HUCHALA (Gujarat; northwestern India)

The country of Huchala (Gujarat) rules over more than a hundred prefectures and its capital has four layers of walls. [At this time, Gujarat was ruled by the Chaulukya dynasty. Its capital, Nahrwara or Anhilwara (modern Patan), is the subject of a separate section on "Nannihualuo," mostly copied from the Lingwai daida. Presumably, Zhao Rukuo learned of Gujarat from his informants but failed to recognise it as the same country as "Nannihualuo."]

The people are fair-skinned (baijing). [The Gujaratis, as north Indians, are typically fairer in complexion than the peoples of south India.]

Men and women alike pierce their ears and wear multiple earrings on each ear. They wear close-fitting shirts and wrap themselves in plain cotton cloth. They also wear white ear muffs and red leather shoes.

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The people are forbidden to eat meat. They have four thousand Buddhist temples housing about 20,000 courtesans who sing and present rice and flowers to the Buddhas twice a day. The flowers are tied together in round bunches with kapok thread, and about three hundred catties (about 418 pounds) of them are used a day. [This describes the Devadasi [female ritual dancers] of southern India, a Hindu rather than Buddhist institution.]

They have more than four hundred war elephants and about 100,000 troops. The king rides an elephant when he leaves his palace and wears a crown on the top of his head, while his attendants ride horses and carry swords.

This land produces large quantities of indigo, as well as flame of the forest resin, black myrobalan (hezi), and foreign cotton cloth of various colors. These products are exported to Dashi (the Arab world) for sale every year.

SECTION 23. MALUOHUA (Malwa)

The country of Maluohua (Malwa) is connected to Huchala (Gujarat). It rules over more than sixty prefectures and can be reached by land [from Huchala]. Its clothing and customs are like those of Huchala. It produces large quantities of white cotton cloth. Every year, about two thousand or more cattle are used to transport cloth by land routes to other countries for sale. [At this time, the Malwa region was ruled by the Paramara dynasty.]

SECTION 24. ZHUNIAN (the Later [Tamil] Chola dynasty, southern India)

(The Chola dynasty was a Tamil thalassocratic empire of southern India, one of the longest-ruling dynasties in the world's history. The earliest datable references to the Chola are in inscriptions from the 3rd century BC left by the Buddhist emperor Ashoka, of the Maurya Empire (Ashoka Major Rock Edict No.13). As one of the Three Crowned Kings of Tamilakam, along with the Chera and Pandya, the dynasty continued to govern over varying territory until the 13th century AD. Despite these ancient origins, the period when it is appropriate to speak of a "Chola Empire" only begins with the medieval Cholas in the mid-9th century AD.)

The Indian (Xitian) country of Zhunian (the Later Chola dynasty) is in south India (Nan Yindu). To the east it is five li from the sea, and to the west it is 1,500 li from west India (Xi Tianzhu). To the south it is 2,500 li from Xilan (Sri Lanka), and to the north it is 3,000 li from Duntian. [Yindu and Tianzhu are Classical Chinese names for India, both of which transliterate Hindu.]

Since antiquity, it has never traded with us. The travel distance by sea from there to Quanzhou is about 411,400 li. To get to this country, one should change ships at Gulin (Kollam) and continue on, but some say one can also get there from Pugan (Pagan, Burma). [The last sentence is taken from the Lingwai daida, and is partly inaccurate since Kollam was even further from China than the Chola lands. It is indeed possible to get to south India from Burma (Myanmar) by crossing the Bay of Bengal, but this route was not known to the Chinese due to their limited understanding of Myanmar's geography.]

This country has a capital city with seven layers of walls, each seven feet in height. They span twelve li from north to south and seven li from east to west. The walls are a hundred paces apart. Four of them are made of bricks, two of them are of earth, and the innermost wall is made of wood. All have flowers, fruit trees, and other plants growing on them. The two outermost walled areas enclose the dwellings of the common people and are surrounded by small moats. The third and fourth walled areas are for court officials. The fifth walled area is for the king's four sons. The sixth walled area is for Buddhist temples where the monks live. The seventh and innermost walled area is the place where the king lives, and there are more than four hundred houses in it. [This description of Gangaikonda Cholapuram, the Chola capital, is probably largely imaginary. Archaeological excavations at the city's ruins indicate that there were two layers of fortification, not seven. See S. Vasanthi, "Excavation at Gangaikondacholapuram, the Imperial Capital of Rajendra Chola, and Its Significance," in Nagapattinam to Suvarnadwipa: Reflections on the Chola Naval Expeditions to Southeast Asia, eds. Hermann Kulke, K. Kesavapany, and Vijay Sakhuja (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2009), 96-101.]

This country rules thirty-one clans (buluo). There are twelve in the west: Zhiduni, Shiyaluni, Luopilibiepayi, Bulinpabuni, Gutanbulinpudeng, Guli, Poluncen, Bentijieti, Yanlichili, Nabuni, Zhegulin, and Yalizhelin. There are eight in the south: Wuyajialimalan, Meigulikudi, Shelini, Miduoluomo, Qielanpudeng, Mengqielinqielan, Palipaliyou, and Yalinchimengqielan. There are twelve in the north: Boluoye, Wumolijiang, Zhulin, Jialimengqielan, Qijiemalan, Wozhemengqielan, Pilinqielan, Pulinghelan, Baopalai, Tianzhuli, Lusuoluo, and Mimengqielan. [There are actually thirty-two clan names on this list, which is presumably based on clan names or toponyms given by Zhao Rukuo's foreign merchant informants and is reproduced (with only two slight variations) in the Songshi section on the Chola dynasty. No commentator has succeded in reconstructing these names conclusively into Tamil or Sanskrit, and even the punctuation is conjectural. However, building on suggestions made by Hirth and Rockhill, pudeng can be reconstructed as pattanam or patam (city), qielan can be reconstructed as kulam (family), and mengqielan can be reconstructed as mangalam (auspicious). Therefore, "Mengqielinqielan" might be Mangalam Kulam, "Wozhemengqielan" might be Rajamangalam, and so on.]

Whenever a commoner commits a crime, a court official is appointed to oversee the penalty. Light crimes are punished by tying the offender to a wooden frame and flogging him fifty, seventy, or up to a hundred times. Severe crimes are punished by beheading or by being trampled by an elephant.

When banqueting, the king and four court officials first prostrate themselves at the foot of the throne and then play music and dance together. They do not drink wine but do eat meat. Their custom is to wear clothing made of cotton. They also eat bread. For serving food to the tables and entertaining guests, the king employs over ten thousand courtesans who serve in rotating daily shifts of three thousand.

When arranging a marriage, they first use a gold or silver ring as a token, and a female matchmaker takes it to the woman's family. Three days later, the woman's family meets with the man's to agree upon the amount of farmland, livestock, areca nut wine, and other such items to be given as a bride price. The woman's family in return gives a dowry of gold and silver rings, yuenuo cotton cloth, and brocade clothing to be worn by the bride. If the man decides to break the engagement, he dares not ask for the bride price to be returned, and if the woman breaks the engagement, then she must pay back twice the dowry. This country taxes trade heavily, so merchants seldom go there.

It fights wars with the various other states of India. The government has 60,000 war elephants, each seven or eight feet in height. In battle, the elephant carries warriors in a house on its back. These warriors use arrows at long range and spears at close range. When the army wins a battle, even the elephants are given titles to recognize their merit. The people of this country are impetuous and unafraid of death. They will even duel with swords in front of the king, fighting to the death without regrets. Fathers and sons and brothers do not cook their food in the same cooking pot and do not eat from the same dish. Nonetheless, they are very mindful of familial duty. [The Chinese author mentions this custom as it has been customary for Chinese families to share dishes communally as a sign of their familial bond.]

The land produces pearls, ivory, coral, clear glass, betel nuts, cardamom, opaque glass, colored cotton-silk, and kapok. Its animals include goats and cattle. Its birds include pheasants and parrots. Its fruits include the Indian gooseberry, wisteria flower, date, coconut, ganluo, kunlun plum, and jackfruit.

Its flowers include the white jasmine, the sansi ("scattered silk"), the sheqi ("snake navel"), the hibiscus, the liqiu ("beautiful autumn"), the blue, yellow, and green sal, the yaolian ("jade lotus"), the chanzi ("cicada purple"), and the shuijiao ("water plantain"). [Many of these flowers remain unidentified. Their names may be transliterations from Tamil, but the individual characters seem to carry meaning as well.] For grains it has green and black beans, wheat, and rice. Bamboo also grows well there.

In the past, it never presented tribute. In the eighth year of the Dazhong xiangfu era (1015), its ruler sent an ambassador with a tribute of pearls and other items. The translator summarized his message as, "With these, I wish to express my desire for your civilizing influence in this distant land." The emperor issued an edict commanding Shi Youzhi, the Audience Usher, to accompany them as a host and to accord them a protocol for receptions equal to that of the ambassador from Kucha. It happened to be the emperor's birthday, so the ambassador was given the privilege of attending the birthday celebration at the Qisheng Monastery and offering wishes for the emperor's longevity. [The Audience Usher was an official responsible for guiding and presenting foreign envoys at imperial court audiences. The first part of this passage is based on the Lingwai daida. The second part is based on other sources and is significantly elaborated in the Songshi section on the Chola dynasty, including a full translation of the Chola ruler's letter to the Song emperor and an exaggerated account of the Chola ambassador's journey to China (which, he claims, took 1,150 days). A translation of the Songshi account by Noboru Karashima can be found at Nagapattinam to Suvarnadwipa: Reflections on the Chola Naval Expeditions to Southeast Asia, eds. Hermann Kulke, K. Kesavapany, and Vijay Sakhuja (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2009), 297-299. Note that the Songshi states the Chola ruler's name as Luochaluozha, which corresponds to the great Chola king Rajaraja I. Rajaraja died in 1014 but presumably despatched the mission to China before his death.]

In the tenth year of the Xining era (1077), they again sent tribute. Emperor Shenzong sent a eunuch palace attendant to welcome them.

SECTION 25. WANGSHECHENG (Rājagṛiha / Rajgir; Bihar, northeastern India)

(Rajgir (historically known as Girivraj) is an ancient city and a municipal council in Nalanda district in the Indian state of Bihar, the land of Mahavira and Buddha. The city of Rajgir (ancient Rajagṛha; Pali: Rajagaha) was the first capital of the kingdom of Magadha, a state that would eventually evolve into the Mauryan Empire. The city finds mention in India's greatest literary epic, the Mahabharata, through its king Jarasandha. Its date of origin is unknown, although ceramics dating to about 1000 BC have been found in the city. The 2,500-year old Cyclopean Wall is located in the city. This area is also notable in Jainism and Buddhism. It was the birthplace of the 20th Jain Tirthankar Munisuvrata, and is closely associated with Mahavira and Gautama Buddha. Both Mahavira and Buddha taught their beliefs in Rajgir during the 6th and 5th century BC, and the Buddha was offered a forest monastery here by king Bimbisara. As such, the city of Rajgir became one of the Buddha's most important preaching locations.)

As for countries like Nannihualuo (Nahrwara/Patan), there are no less than a hundred that are called by the name "India" (Xitian). Then there is the so-called Wangshecheng ("City of the King's Abode," Rājagṛiha/Rajgir). It is said that it takes no more than forty days to get there by traveling north from Jiaozhi (Dai Viet) to Dali (Yunnan), then traveling west from Dali to Wangshe cheng. Jia Dan's Account of Routes Taken by Imperial Ambassadors to the Barbarians (Huanghua sida ji) does state that there is an overland route from Annan (north Vietnam) to Tianzhu (India). However, Bodhidarma came by sailing on the sea to Guangzhou. Was this not because the land route is circuitous and not as fast and convenient as the sea route?

Zhou Qufei claimed that he had heard of the forty-day land route from Jiaozhi to Wangshecheng via Dali, but did not identify his informant. The Chinese knew of the existence of overland trade routes between north India and Yunnan as early as the Han dynasty, but unfamiliarity with the mountainous terrain had prevented Chinese merchants and ambassadors from making much use of this "southwestern Silk Route." The Song dynasty's cool relations with the Dali and Dại Viet kingdoms only made the route even more impractical. Travel by sea may have been slower, but it was probably safer (albeit still risky) and allowed the transportation of larger quantities of goods.

SECTION 26. PENGQIELUO (Bengal)

The Indian (Xitian) country of Pengqieluo (Bengal) has a capital called Chanaji (Lakhnauti), the walls of which stretch over a circuit of 120 li. The people are combative and competitive and devote themselves to banditry. They grind white conch shells into coins. The land produces jeweled swords and Tula cotton. Some say that Buddhism began here, and that the Tang Tripiṭaka Master Xuanzang once came here in search of Buddhist scriptures. [The Buddha is not known to have lived in or traveled to the Bengal region, so Zhao Rukuo is misinformed here. But Xuanzang did go to Bengal during his famous travels in India, and his description of the region remains a very important source for its early history. Xuanzang (fl. 602 – 664), born Chen Hui / Chen Yi, was a Chinese Buddhist scholar, traveler, translator, and monk who traveled to India in the 7th century and described the interaction between Chinese Buddhism and Indian Buddhism during the reign of Harsha. During the journey he visited many sacred Buddhist sites in what are now India, Nepal, Pakistan and Bangladesh.]

SECTION 27. NANNIHUALUO (Nahrwara / Patan)

(Patan was established in 8th century as "Anahilapataka" by Vanraja Chavada, a king of the Chavda dynasty (c. 690–942), who ruled Gujarat from c. 746 AD to c. 780 AD. During 10th-13th century, the city served as the capital of the Cha(u)lukya dynasty (c. 940–1244 AD), who supplanted the Chavdas. Patan is built on this ancient city or nearby and was the tenth-largest city in the world in the year 1000 AD, with a population of approximately 100,000. The Mohammedan general and later Sultan of Delhi Qutb-ud-din Aybak sacked the city between 1200 and 1210, and it was destroyed by the Allauddin Khilji in 1298.)*

The Indian (Xitian) country of Nannihualuo (Nahrwara / Patan) has a capital city with three layers of walls. The people take baths in the morning and the evening and rub wild turmeric powder on their bodies to imitate the Buddha's golden body. [Much of Zhao Rukuo's section on Nannihualuo is adapted from the Lingwai daida; he was unaware that Nahrwara was the capital of the Chaulukya state of Gujarat and therefore did not require its own section. On the use of wild turmeric as a cosmetic treatment, misinterpreted by Zhou Qufei and Zhao Rukuo as a Buddhist ritual, see the section on Gulin (Kollam/Quilon) above.]

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Many of the people call themselves Brahmins and consider themselves true descendants of the Buddha. [This again reflects a Chinese tendency to conflate Buddhism and Hinduism when interpreting Indian culture. The Brahmins of Gujarat include the Sompura and Sachora castes.]

They smear the walls of their houses and their sitting mats with cow dung, seeing it as an exalted and purifying substance. In their houses, they erect altars three feet tall that are approached by climbing three steps. Every morning, they burn incense and place flowers on the altar, calling them offerings to the Buddha. [The Lingwai daida notes that the home altars or shrines are also smeared with cow dung each morning.]

When Dashi (Arab) foreigners come to this country, they are made to sit outside the door, housed in separate quarters, and provided with their own bedding and eating utensils. [This was probably due to Brahmin concerns about ritual pollution.]

When their women are found committing adultery, they are killed immediately, and the government does not get involved.

The land produces high-quality costus and fine white flower-pistil cotton cloth. The people mostly eat butter (ghee), rice, beans, and vegetables, and rarely eat fish or meat.

This country is connected to the Western Regions (Central Asia) by land routes. When light cavalry from the Western Regions suddenly come raiding, the people of this country simply close the city gates and hold out. After several days, the raiders run out of supplies and withdraw.

[* Since the 7th century AD, when the first Muslim hordes arrived from Arabia at the borders of the Indian kingdoms, the states Gujarat, Rajastan, Punjab, and Kashmir were at the forefront in the fight against Islam and its doctrine of world hegemony and subjugation*. In 654, Abdulrehman ibn Samrah, governor of Sistan and the newly emerged Rashidun caliphate at the expense of Sassanid Persia and the Byzantine Empire, sent an Islamic army to crush a revolt in Zaranj, which is now in southern Afghanistan. After conquering Zaranj, a column of the army pushed north, conquering Kabul and Ghazni, in the Hindu Kush mountain range, while another column moved through Quetta District in north-western Balochistan and conquered the area up to the ancient cities of Dawar and Qandabil (Bolan). It is documented that the major settlements, falling within today's province, became in 654 controlled by the Rashidun caliphate, except for the well-defended mountain town of QaiQan which is now Kalat.

The Muslims launched several campaigns in eastern Balochistan between 661–681 AD, four Arab commanders were killed during the campaigns, but Sinan b. Salma managed to conquer parts of Makran including the Chagai area, and establish a permanent base of operations in 673 AD. Rashid b. Amr, the next governor of Makran, subdued Mashkey in 672 AD, Munzir b. Jarood Al Abadi managed to garrison Kikan and conquer Buqan by 681 AD, while Ibn Harri Al Bahili, conducted several campaigns to secure the Arab hold on Kikan, Makran and Buqan by 683 AD. Zunbil saw off Arab campaigns in 668, 672 and 673 AD by paying tribute, although Arabs occupied the areas south of Helmand in 673 AD permanently Zunbil defeated Yazid b. Salm's army in 681 AD at Junzah, and Arabs had to pay 500,000 dirhams to ransom their prisoners, but the Arabs defeated and killed Zunbil in Sistan in 685. The Arabs, however, were defeated in Zabul in next invaded Zabul in 693 AD. During the caliphate of Ali, a revolt broke out in southern Balochistan's Makran region. In 663, during the reign of Umayyad Caliph Muawiyah I, his Muslim rule lost control of north-eastern Balochistan and Kalat when Haris ibn Marah and a large part of his army died in battle against a revolt in Kalat.

Junaid b. Abd Al Rahman Al Marri became the governor of Sindh in 723 AD. Secured Debal, then defeat and killed Jai Singh secured Sindh and Southern Punjaband stormed Al Kiraj (Kangra valley) in 724 AD. Junaid next attacked a number of Hindu kingdoms in what is now Rajasthan, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh aiming at permanent conquest, but the chronology and area of operation of the campaigns during 725–743 AD is difficult to follow because accurate, complete information is lacking. The Arabs moved east from Sindh in several detachments and probably from attacked from both the land and the sea, occupying Mirmad (Marumada, in Jaisalmer), Al-Mandal (perhaps Okhamandal in Gujarat) or Marwar, and Dahnaj, not identified, al-Baylaman (Bhilmal) and Jurz (Gurjara country—north Gujarat and southern Rajasthan). and attacking Barwas (Broach), sacking Vallabhi. Gurjara king Siluka repelled Arabs from "Stravani and Valla", probably the area North of Jaisalmer and Jodhpur, and the invasion of Malwa but were ultimately defeated by Bappa Rawal and Nagabhata I in 725 AD near Ujjain. Arabs lost control over the newly conquered territories and Sindh due to Arab tribal infighting and Arab soldiers deserting the newly conquered territory in 731 AD.

When the Abbasid Revolution overthrew the Umayyads in 750 AD after the Third Fitna, Sindh became independent and was captured by Musa b. K'ab al Tamimi in 752 AD. Zunbil had defeated the Arabs in 728 AD, and saw off two Abbasid invasions in 769 and 785 AD. Abbasids attacked Kabul several times and collected tribute between 787 and 815 AD and extracted tribute after each campaign. Abbasid Governor of Sindh, Hisham (7 in office 768–773 AD) raided Kashmir, recaptured parts of Punjab from Karkota control, and launched naval raids against ports of Gujarat in 758 and 770 AD, which like other Abbasid Naval raids launched of 776 and 779 AD, gained no territory. Arabs occupied Sindian (Southern Kutch) in 810 AD, only to lose it in 841 AD. Civil war erupted in Sindh in 842 AD, and the Habbari dynasty occupied Mansurah, and by 871, five independent principalities emerged, with the Banu Habbari clan controlling in Mansurah, Banu Munabbih occupying Multan, Banu Madan ruling in Makran, with Makshey and Turan falling to other rulers, all outside direct Caliphate control.

Under Sabuktigin, Ghaznavid Empire found itself in conflict with the Kabul Shahi Raja Jayapala in the east. When Sabuktigin died and his son Mahmud ascended the throne in 998, Ghazni was engaged in the North with the Qarakhanids when the Shahi Raja renewed hostilities in east once again. In the early 11th century, Mahmud of Ghazni launched seventeen expeditions into Indian subcontinent. In 1001, Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni defeated Raja Jayapala of the Hindu Shahi Dynasty of Gandhara (in modern Afghanistan), in the Battle of Peshawar and marched further west of Peshawar (in modern Pakistan) and, in 1005, made it the centre for his forces. Al Biruni (973–1051 AD, an Iranian scholar) reported (in c. 1030 AD) on the devastation caused during the conquest of Gandhara and much of northwest India by Mahmud of Ghazni following his defeat of Jayapala in the Battle of Peshawar at Peshawar in 1001.

Muslim conquests in the Indian subcontinent mainly took place from the 12th to the 16th centuries. After the capture of Lahore and the end of the Ghaznavids, the Ghurid Empire ruled by Muhammad of Ghor and Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad laid the foundation of Muslim rule in India. In 1206, Bakhtiyar Khalji led the Muslim conquest of Bengal, marking the easternmost expansion of Islam at the time.

Informed about civil war in South Asia, Timur began a trek starting in 1398 to invade the reigning Sultan Nasir-u Din Mehmud of the Tughlaq Dynasty in the north Indian city of Delhi. His campaign was politically pretexted that the Muslim Delhi Sultanate was too tolerant toward its "Hindu" subjects, but that could not mask the real reason being to amass the wealth of the Delhi Sultanate. Timur bin Taraghay Barlas, known in the West as Tamerlane or "Timur the lame", was a ruthless Muslim warlord of Turco-Mongol descent, conqueror of much of western and central Asia. Timur crossed the Indus River at Attock (now Pakistan) on 24 September. In Haryana, his soldiers each killed 50 to 100 Hindus.

To Timur's irritation, his invasion did not go unopposed and he did meet resistance during his march to Delhi, most notably with the Sarv Khap coalition in northern India, and the Governor of Meerut. Although impressed and momentarily stalled by the valour of Ilyaas Awan, Timur was able to continue his relentless approach to Delhi, arriving in 1398 to combat the armies of Sultan Mehmud, already weakened by an internal battle for ascension within the royal family. The Sultan's army was easily defeated on 17 December 1398. Timur entered Delhi and the city was sacked, destroyed, and left in ruins. Before the battle for Delhi, Timur executed more than 100,000 Hindu captives, this includes also Buddhists, Jainists, and even Muslims whom he considered to be too lenient towards the Indian population. This incident is not an exception but has been the common practice in Jihad against non-Muslims.

Islamic battles in Rajastan fought against Hindus and other non-Muslims, against "lenient" Muslims, against the French and the British:

First Arab Invasion Attempts in 711 AD; Umayyad campaigns in India, 740; Battle of Kasahrada, 1178; Battle of Kasahrada, 1178; Siege of Ranthambore, 1226; Siege of Ranthambore, 1236; Siege of Ranthambore, 1248; Siege of Ranthambore, 1253; Siege of Ranthambore, 1259; Siege of Ranthambore, 1283; Battle of Ranthambore, 1290; Siege of Jaisalmer, 1294-1295; Siege of Ranthombore, 1301; Siege of Chittor, 1303; Siege of Siwana, 1308; Battle of Jalore, 1310–11; Battle of Chittor, 1321; Battle of Singoli, 1336; Battle of Sirohi, 1434; Siege of Mandalgarh, 1435-6; Battle of Sarangpur, 1437; Battle of Mandalgarh and Banas, 1442-1446; Siege of Gagron, February 1444; Siege of Mandore, 1454; Battle of Abu, 1455; Battle of Nagaur, 1456; Battle of Mandalgarh, 1456; Siege of Mandalgarh, December 1456-October 1457; Siege of Kumbalgarh, 1458-9; Battle of Mandalgarh, 1467; Battle of Peepar, 1492; Battle of Khatoli, 1518; Battle of Dholpur, 1519; Battle of Gagron, 1519; Siege of Mandsaur, 1520; Battle of Bayana, 1527; Battle of Khanwa, 1527; Battle of Sohaba, 1542; Battle of Sammel, 1544; Battle of Jodhpur, July 1545; Battle of Harmada, 1557; Battle of Ajmer, 1559; Battle of Merta, 1562; First Mughal Invasion of Marwar, 1562-1583; Siege of Chittorgarh, 1567; Siege of Ranthambore, 1568; Siege of Siwana, 1572; Battle of Haldighati, 1576; Battle of Dewair, 1582; Battle of Dewair, 1606; Second Mughal Invasion of Marwar, 1679-1707; Battle of Udaipur, 1680; Battle of Aravalli hills, 1680; Battle of Jodhpur, 1707; Annexation of Amer, January 1708; Battle of Merta, February 1708; Rajput Rebellion, September 1708-10; Battle of Kama, 1708;, October 4–7, 1708; Battle of Sambhar, 1709; Jai Singh II's campaign against the Jats, 1718-1722; Battle of Gangwana, 1741; Battle of Rajmahal, 1747; Battle of Bagru, 1748; Battle of Raona, 1750; Battle of Luniawas, 1750; Battle of Ajmer, 1752; Battle of Kakkor, 1759; Battle of Mangrol, 1761; Battle of Maonda and Mandholi, 1767; Battle of Kama, 1768; Battle of Tunga or Battle of Lalsot, 1787; Battle of Patan, 1790; Battle of Merta, 1790; Battle of Fatehpur, 1799; Battle of Malpura, 1800; Siege of Mehrangarh, 1806; Battle of Auwa, 8 September 1857; Siege of Auwa, 1857-1858.]

SECTION 28. DA QIN (the Roman Empire)

The country of Daqin (also known as Lijian) is the greatest city among the countries of India (Xitian). All the foreign merchants from Dashi (Arabia and Egypt) gather here. [This is copied word for word from the Lingwai daida. The Chinese knew the Roman Empire, including its eastern ("Byzantine") half, as Daqin (Great Qin meaning "Greater China" due to Rome's vast size), Lijian (probably derived from Alexandria), or Fulin (from Frum, the Sogdian name for Rome). They generally identified the political centre of Daqin as Syria, rather than Rome or Constantinople.]

Its king is called Maluofu and he rules from the city of Andu (Antioch). He wears a silk turban with words embroidered in gold, and the throne on which he sits is covered with a silken rug. [The writer was clearly unaware that as of 1178, Antioch was the capital of a Crusader state and not part of the Byzantine empire. "Maluofu" may be a transliteration of Syriac Mar Aba (venerable father), and could refer to the Syriac Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch. 1. Aba I (fl. 540–552), Patriarch of the Church of the East from 540 to 552; 2. Archdeacon Mar Aba Qozma (c.570–632), coadjutor of the Church of the East; 3. Aba II (fl. 741–751), Patriarch of the Church of the East. The term "Church of the Church" refers to the Nestorian Church or Syriac Christianity. This Church had nothing to do with the Roman Church led from Rome and Constantinople. Continuing as a dhimmi community after the Muslim conquest of Persia (633–654), the Church of the East played a major role in the history of Christianity in Asia. Between the 9th and 14th centuries it represented the world's largest Christian denomination in terms of geographical extent. It established dioceses and communities stretching from the Mediterranean Sea and today's Iraq and Iran, to India (the Saint Thomas Christians), the Mongol kingdoms in Central Asia, and China during the Tang dynasty (7th to 9th centuries). In the 13th and 14th centuries the church experienced a final period of expansion under the Mongol Empire, where influential Church of the East clergy sat in the Mongol court.]

The description of the king of Daqin in the Lingwai daida and Zhufan zhi had a lasting influence in China. For example, it is quoted and given a fanciful illustration in a late Ming encyclopedia, the Sancai tuhui (1609).

This country has a walled city with markets, wards, and lanes. The king's palace has pillars made of crystal and uses plaster in place of roof tiles. It has many curtains and tapestries. The wall has seven gates, each guarded by thirty men. When other countries present tribute to the king, they prostrate themselves at the foot of the steps to the throne, wish the king a long life, and then leave.

The people of this country are tall, good-looking, and fair-skinned, much like those of the Central Lands. That is why it is called Daqin (Great Qin). [This passage is taken from the Tongdian, but the idealised image of the Romans as very similar to the Chinese goes back to third-century sources.]

They have government ministries and written records, written in a "western" (Hu) script. The people all leave their hair long. They wear embroidered gowns and also use small (one-horse) carriages with white roofs and banners. Every ten li they have a ting, and every thirty li they have a beacon tower. There are many lions in this land that prey on travelers, who are likely to be eaten unless they go in armed groups of a hundred or more. [Most of this information is taken from the Tongdian*, which in turn draws on the third-century Weilue and fifth-century Hou Hanshu, good annotated translations from which can be found here and here. However, the Hou Hanshu described the Daqin hairstyle as "shaved heads". Through mistranscription, the author of the Tongdian changed this to the opposite, "long hair". * The Tongdian (Wade–Giles: T'ung-tien; lit. 'Comprehensive Institutions') is a Chinese institutional history and encyclopedia text. The book was written by Du You from 766 to 801. It contains 200 volumes and about 1.7 million words, and is at times regarded as the most representative contemporary texts of the Tang Dynasty.]

Under the palace, there is an underground passage connected to the worship hall about one li away. The king seldom goes out and only chants scriptures and makes offerings to the Buddha. Every seventh day, he uses the underground passage to go to the worship hall and worship the Buddha, accompanied by fifty or more people. The people

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of this country rarely see the king's face. [This passage is from the Lingwai daida and seems to be inspired by Byzantine stories about secret tunnels leading from the imperial palace to Hagia Sophia.]

If the king does go out, he rides on a horse and uses a parasol. The top of the horse's head is decorated with gold, jade, pearls, and jewels.

Every year, a king of the country of Dashi (the Arab world), called the Su-dan (Sultan), sends people to present tribute to this king. If there is an emergency (i.e., a revolt) in this country, they command Dashi to organise an army to put it down. [This passage may be a reference to the treaty between the Roman emperor Manuel I Comnenus and the Islamic Sultan of Rum [of Rome], Kilig Arslan II, in 1162-1175. The treaty collapsed and the Seljuks defeated the Roman army at Myriokephalon in 1176.

Their diet consists mainly of rice, bread, and meat. They do not drink wine. They use gold and silver dishes and eat from them with spoons. Upon finishing a meal, they wash their hands with water held in a gold basin. The land produces opaque glass, coral, gold ore, flowery brocade, plain cotton cloth, red agate, and pearls. It also produces haiji rhinoceros horn, which is the same as tongtian rhinoceros horn.

At the beginning of the Yanjia (mistranscription: should be Yanxi) era of the [Eastern] Han, the ruler of this country sent an ambassador across the frontier at Rinan (central Vietnam) to present a tribute of rhinoceros horns, ivory, and turtle shell. This was the beginning of its diplomatic contact with the Central Lands. Nothing of greater value was presented, so some suspected that the ambassador was concealing treasures. In the Taikang era (280-289) of the [Western] Jin, they presented tribute again.

It is said that to the west of this country there are the Weak River and the Shifting Sands, which are close to the dwelling place of the Queen Mother of the West (Xiwangmu). That is nearly where the sun goes down.

It should be noted that Du Huan's Account of My Travels (Jingxing ji) contains the following: "The country of Fusang (mistranscription: should be Fulin) is to the west of the country of Shan (Sham=Syria) and is also called Daqin. The people have ruddy complexions and the men wear plain clothing, while the women wear pearls and brocade. They like drinking wine and eating dry bread. They have many skilled artisans and are good at weaving. This country's territory stretches a thousand li across. It has more than 10,000 troops who guard the country against Dashi (the Arab world). In the western sea there is a market where buyers and sellers agree that if one comes the other will leave. The seller lays out his goods, and the buyer than puts down the amount he is willing to pay next to the product. After the seller has taken the payment [and left], then the buyer may come and take what he purchased. This is called the 'ghost market.'" [Zhao Rukuo's attempt at padding the Lingwai daida account with outdated material from the Tongdian reflects how little new information about the Roman empire was available to the Song Chinese. Embassies from "Fulin" arrived in the Northern Song in 1081 and 1091, but they apparently claimed that they had never previously sent tribute to China, and the information on local geography and customs that they supplied seemed different from those described in Tang sources. The late thirteenth-century historian Ma Duanlin therefore suspected this "Fulin" to be a different country from the Fulin (formerly Daqin) of Tang times. There was no diplomatic contact between the Romans and the Southern Song. And this had a reason.

Since the death of Mohammed, his successor relentlessly conquered one Roman Province after another. Syria and the Holy Land fell first, then Egypt, Persia, and North Africa, the "bread basket" of the Roman Empire. By conquering the Mediterranean Sea, Islam strangled the Romans and the rest of Europe almost to death. The trading routes between Rome and China were cut off. And the Muslims made sure that no information or goods went through their blockade of the Silk Road. The Muslims were now the masters of the Middle East, North Africa, the Mediterranean Sea, India, Central Asia, and they subjugated Spain and the Balkans in Europe. The Franks had stopped their appetite for conquest at the Battle of Tours [Poitiers, 732 AD] and Vikings shocked them one century later with even greater brutality. By beginning of the 13th century, the Muslims had fought about 500 battles to destroy and subjugate the Classical Civilisations of Greece and Rome; they had fought another 500 battles in Persia, India, Central Asia, and China. They were now about to wipe out the non-Muslim population in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Northern India, Indonesia, Malaysia, and others.

The stragulation of Europe by Islam had enormous economic consequences. Additionally, Christians were fighting each other. In April 1204, the Fourth Crusade captured and plundered the enormous wealth of Constantinople. The Eastern Roman empire had effectively ceased to exist due to the conquest of Constantinople by. The former territory of the empire was divided between a number of Crusader states and three Roman rump states until one of the three, the Nicene empire, reconquered Constantinople and reestablished the Roman empire in 1261. Finally, Constantinople, and the rest of the Roman Empire, fell by the hand of the Muslim invaders on 29 May 1453.]

SECTION 29. TIANZHU (India)

(Note: This section is a mishmash of information from various sources, both old and recent, that Zhao Rukuo could not connect to a specific state in India.)

The country of Tianzhu (India) is under the authority of Daqin* (the Roman/Byzantine empire), and its rulers are all selected and appointed by Daqin. [* This bizarre claim is probably derived from the Lingwai daida section on Daqin, which identified Tianzhu as a vassal state of Daqin. The translator also mentioned other speculations to explain this claim.

The truth is much more mundane. When the Muslim Turks smashed the Arab caliphates, their Sultans build their own Turkish caliphate, their own Islamic empire, and when they marched into Asia Minor, Anatolia, the heartland of the Roman Empire, they declared themselves to be "Emperor of Rum," Roman Emperor that is.

It was Malik Shah [r. 1110 and 1116], a minor Islamic ruler of Anatolia, who called himself the "Sultan of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum." Following rulers called themselves also Kayser-i Rum (which is Turkish for "Caesar of Rome") and from 1453, following the defeat of Constantinople, it was even one of the titles used by the Seljuk Ottoman Sultans.

The Seljuk empire was founded by Tughril Beg (990–1063) and his brother Chaghri Beg (989–1060) in 1037. From their homelands near the Aral Sea, the Seljuks advanced first into Khorasan and then into mainland Persia, before eventually capturing Baghdad and conquering eastern Anatolia. Here the Seljuks won the battle of Manzikert in 1071 and conquered most of Anatolia from the Byzantine Empire, which became one of the reasons for the First Crusade (1095–1099). Starting from 1140s, the Seljuk empire declined, and was eventually replaced by the Khwarazmian Empire [also of Turkic origin] in 1194. At its greatest extent, the Seljuk Empire controlled a vast area stretching from western Anatolia to the borderland of India in the east, and from Central Asia to the Persian Gulf in the south. All these Islamic Turkish rulers viewed themselves as legal successors of the Roman Empire, and they told this to everyone. So, there is no wonder that the Chinese also viewed the Turkish caliphate as Romans, and suddenly the following descriptions make sense.]

By custom, they all tie their hair in pigtails that hang down from the temples and crown, while covering the rest with a silk turban. They use plaster instead of tiles in their houses, and have walled cities. The king wears wool brocade and has a topknot coiled on the top of his head. He cuts the rest of his hair short. When coming out to hold court in the morning, he sits on a deng skin (original note: deng is the name of an animal) decorated with red wax in images of all kinds of animals. His subjects all prostrate themselves and wish him a long life.

When the king goes out, he rides a horse with chains of gold-copper alloy and silver hanging from its saddle and bridle. He has three hundred men in his entourage, all bearing spears, swords, and other such weapons. His consorts wear red gowns with gold embroidery and big sleeves. He comes out of the palace once a year and distributes much wealth as charity to the poor.

There is a kind of holy water in this country that can cause winds and waves to subside. Foreign merchants store large amounts of it in opaque glass bottles. When they meet a storm at sea, they sprinkle it on the waves and the storm ends. [The Lingwai daida placed this holy water in Daqin, but after a sentence claiming that Tianzhu was a vassal state of Daqin. This means regions ruled by the Seljuk Turks.]

In the reign of Emperor Xuanwu of the Later (Northern) Wei, this country once sent an ambassador to present a fine horse as tribute. He said that his country produces lions, sables, leopards, camels, rhinoceroses, elephants, tortoiseshell, gold, copper, iron, lead, tin, golden wool tapestries with gold embroidery, cotton, and wool rugs (tadeng). They have a precious purple stone like mica that when cracked is as thin as cicada wings, but when accumulated looks like silk gauze or crepe. They also have diamonds, which look like amethysts and do not melt even when heated in the fire a hundred times. They are hard enough to cut jade. They have sandalwood and other aromatics, sugar cane and jaggery, and various kinds of fruits. They trade yearly with Daqin and Funan, using cowries as money. Their custom is to be skilled in the arts of magic. They have bows and arrows, armor, and lances, as well as techniques for building siege towers, siege tunnels, and wooden oxen and rolling horses (i.e., wheelbarrows). However, they are cowardly in battle. They are skilled in the astronomical and calendrical sciences, and all study a book called Siddham Learning (Siddhirastu)... [there is a lacuna of seven characters] and use palm leaves (beiduo=patra) as paper.

In the Zhenguan (627-649) and Tianshou (690-692) eras of the Tang dynasty, this country sent ambassadors to present tribute.

In the Yongxi era (984-988) [of our dynasty], a Buddhist monk named Luohuna came here [to Quanzhou] by sea and said that he was a man of the country of Tianzhu. The foreign merchants, seeing that he was a western (Hu) monk, vied with one another to bring him donations of gold, silk, and jewels. He did not keep any of it for himself but bought a piece of vacant land to build a Buddhist temple to the south of Quanzhou's city walls. This is today known as the Baolin temple.

SECTION 30. DASHI (the Islamic Arab Empire)

Dashi lies to the northwest of Quanzhou but is separated from it by a very great distance. Foreign ships have great difficulty getting there directly. After sailing from Quanzhou for forty or more days, they reach Lan(wu)li (Lamuri) and spend the winter there. The next year, they set out again and reach this country (Dashi) after sixty more days of sailing with a favorable wind. The products of this country are primarily exported to Sanfoqi (Srivijaya) for trade, and are then bought there by merchants who bring them to the Central Lands. [In Tang and Song times, the Chinese referred to the Arab Muslim caliphate and its various sultanates and emirates as Dashi, derived from the Middle Persian word for "Arab," tazik.]

This country is militarily strong and its territory is large. The people are the most extravagant among all foreign countries. The climate is usually cold and snow accumulates to a height of two or three feet. That is why they prize felt rugs. [In reality, snow is very rare in the arid Arabian region. If this passage refers to the Islamic Arab Empire, then the Taurus Mountains in southern Anatolia have been its northern borderland, and there is snow.]

The capital city is called Mixuli (original note: also known as Maluoba). It occupies a strategic position among foreign countries. [Mixuli could refer to Misr, the Arabic name for Egypt, suggesting Cairo as a location. In a later section of the Zhufan zhi, also containing information on Egypt, the same name is transliterated as Wusili. "Maluoba" must be the Maliba / Maluoba mentioned in the Lingwai daida. It is most likely Mirbat (also transliterated in the Zhufan zhi as Maluomo and Wuba).

The king wears a turban of cotton brocade. At the new moon and full moon (i.e., the first and fifteenth days of the lunar month), he wears an eight-sided flat-topped crown of pure gold, decorated with the finest jewels in the world. He wears a brocade robe, a jade belt, and golden shoes. His palace has pillars of agate, walls of lugan (original note: a stone as transparent as water), roof tiles of crystal, bricks of malachite (lushi), and mortar of "living" stone (huoshi). The curtains and screens are made of hundred-flower brocade, which is woven from real gold thread and five colours of silk thread. The king's throne is decorated with pearls and jewels, its steps gilded with pure gold. His eating utensils, cooking cauldron, and hearth and made of different grades of gold and silver. There is a curtain made of strings of pearls that he sits behind during court audiences.

Among the officials of this country there are chancellors who wear gold armor and helmets, carry jeweled swords, and stand on the king's left and right to protect him. The other officials are called grand marshals (taiwei). Each commands more than 20,000 troops. Their horses are seven feet tall and have iron shoes. The soldiers are valorous and their martial prowess is unmatched.

The city's streets are more than fifty feet wide. In the middle of each street is a roadway twenty feet wide and four feet deep that is used for camels, horses, and oxen carrying goods. On either side are sidewalks paved with bluish-black stone slabs of exquisite quality; these are for the convenience of pedestrians. The people's homes are like those of the Central Lands, except for their roofs, which are made of thin stone slabs rather than tiles. The people's staple food is rice and other grains, but they are fond of mutton steamed with thin strips of dough. The poor eat fish, vegetables, and fruits; their fruits are all sweet, not sour. They use grape juice to make wine. They also make sisu wine, which is grape wine heated with sugar and spices, and a very warming wine called meisidahua (Latin: mistura, "mixture") that is made with honey and spices. The richest families use measuring cups, not scales, when buying things with gold and silver. The marketplaces are noisy and crowded, filled with gold, silver, damask, brocade, and the like. Their artisans are all extremely skilled in their respective arts.

The king, his ministers, and the common people all worship Heaven, as well as a Buddha called Maxiawu (Cantonese dialect pronunciation: Mahamat, meaning Mohammed). Every seven days, they cut their hair and fingernails. They fast and recite scriptures for a month at the beginning of the year, and worship Heaven five times a day.

The peasants in this country can plant crops without any fear of floods or droughts. There is a river running down from the mountains whose water suffices for irrigation; its source is unknown. Outside the growing season, the water level stays even with the two banks, but when planting is about to begin, the water gradually begins to rise day by day. An official is

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then assigned to observe the water. When it has reached its widest spread, he calls the people to start plowing and planting. When they have had enough water to use, the water recedes to its original level. [This is believed to be the earliest Chinese description of the flooding of the Nile.]

This country has a great harbour with a depth of more than two hundred feet. It opens to the sea on the southeast and has canals connected to the country's different regions. People live on both shores of the harbor and hold market fairs daily that draw in people by both land and sea. Hemp, wheat, millet, beans, sugar, flour, oil, firewood, chickens, sheep, geese, ducks, fish, prawns, date cakes, grapes, and other fruits are all sold there. [Various locations for this harbour in Egypt have been suggested by commentators. Hirth and Rockhill proposed Kolzum (Suez), while Yang Bowen proposed El Qoseir.]

The products of this land include pearls, ivory, rhinoceros horn, frankincense, ambergris, costus, cloves, nutmeg, benzoin, aloe, myrrh, dragon's blood, asafetida, civet oil, borax, opaque glass, transparent glass, giant clams, coral trees (i.e., red coral), cat's eye gems, champak flowers, rosewater, oak nut galls, beeswax, soft brocade with gold weave, camel-hair cloth, Tūla cotton, and exotic satin. The foreign merchants who trade in them export them to Sanfoqi (Srivijaya) and Foluoan (Phatthalung) for sale.

Vassal states of this country include: Maluomo (Mirbat), Shihe (al-Shihr), Nufa (Dhofar), Yasibaoxian (Isfahan), Luoshimei (Khwarazm), Mujulan (Makran), Qieliji (Qalhat), Pinuoye (Ifriqiya or Barqah), Yilu (Iraq), Baida (Baghdad), Silian (possibly Siraf), Bailian (Al-Bahrain=Eastern Arabia), Jiji (possibly Tikrit), Ganmei (probably Khambhat), Puhualuo (Bukhara), Cengba (Zanzibar), Bipaluo (Berbera), Wuba (Mirbat), Wengli (mistranscription: should be Wengman=Oman), Jishi (Kish Island), Majia (Mecca), Bisiluo (Basra), Jicini (Ghazni), and Wusili (Mosul).

The people of this country were originally a branch of the Bosi (Persians). In the Daye era (605-618) of the Sui dynasty, a miscreant Bosi (Persian) found an inscribed stone in a cave and interpreted it as an auspicious sign. He then built an army of followers to engage in pillage. As the number of his followers grew large, he set himself up as a king and occupied the western territory of the country of Bosi (Persia). [This garbled narrative of the rise of the Prophet Mohammed is adapted from the Jiu Tangshu account of Dashi, which reads: "In the Daye era, a Persian man was herding camels at the mountain Jufen Modena (Jabal Madinah). Suddenly, a lion spoke to him in human speech, saying, 'There are three caves west of this mountain. In them are many weapons that you may take for yourself. In them there is also a black stone with white writing, and if you read it, you will become king.' The man followed these instructions and indeed found very many spears and swords in the caves, as well as a stone written with words teaching him how to rebel. He then gathered an army of fugitives, crossed the Henghe river, and began robbing trade caravans. His army grew large and he occupied the western territory of Bosi (Persia) , setting himself up as a king." [This account may be based on Sassanid informants from the mid-to-late seventh century.]

This country has repeatedly presented tribute since the Yonghui era (650-655) of the Tang dynasty. Of its kings, those from the Pengni Mohuan (Banu Marwan=Marwanids) and before are known as the White-robed Dashi. Those from Apoluoba (Abu al-'Abbās) onwards are known as the Black-robed Dashi. [The Tang dynasty referred to the Umayyad caliphate as the "White-robed Dashi" and the Abbasid caliphate as the "Black-robed Dashi." The official colour of the Abbasids was black, as reflected by the robes worn by its officials.

In the fourth year of the Qiande era (966) of our dynasty, the Buddhist monk Xingqin made a journey to the Western Regions. The emperor had him bring a letter to the king [of Dashi] inviting him to render submission. [According to other sources, Xingqin was one of 157 Buddhist pilgrims whom the recently-founded Song dynasty allowed to travel to "the Western Regions" (Central Asia, India, and the Middle East) in 966, in search of Buddhist sutras. Each pilgrim was granted 30,000 copper coins. See Songshi 2.23, 490.14104, 14118.]

In the first year of the Kaibao era (968), they sent an ambassador to present tribute. In the fourth year (971), they joined the countries of Zhancheng (Champa) and Shepo (Java) in presenting gifts to Li Yu of Jiangnan (i.e., the Southern Tang state). Li Yu dared not accept their gifts and sent an envoy to report the situation to [the Song emperor], who then issued an edict ordering him not to send such items as tribute in future (literally, "an edict that from now on, do not use them as tribute"). In the fourth year of the Chunhua era (993), they sent the vice-ambassador Li Yawu (Cantonese: Li Amat=Ali Ahmad?) to present tribute. He was granted an audience in the Chongzheng Hall [of the imperial palace], in which he said that his country is neighbors with the country of Daqin (the Roman/Byzantine empire) and that it produces ivory and rhinoceros horn. Emperor Taizong asked him what method was used to capture rhinoceroses and elephants. He answered, "To capture an elephant, we use tame elephants as a bait to lure it closer. We then simply use a long rope to bridle (lasso) it. As for rhinoceroses, we have men climb tall trees and lie in wait for them with bows and arrows. When they pass by, the men shoot and kill them. But small rhinoceroses can be caught without the use of bows and arrows." The emperor granted him a set of robes, a cap, and a belt, as well as gold to the value of the tribute presented. ["Li Yawu," whose Arabic name may have been Ali Ahmad, came to Song court as the deputised representative of a maritime merchant (a "ship master") named "Pu Ximi" (Abu Hamid), who had sailed from Arabia to Guangzhou but was supposedly too sick to continue on to Kaifeng. A letter from Pu Ximi to the Song emperor, delivered by Li Yawu on this occasion, has been preserved in the Songshi and shows that the tribute presented consisted of "fifty elephant tusks, 1,800 jin (catties) of frankincense, seven hundred jin of wrought iron, a roll of red-threaded cotton, four rolls of five-colored flowered foreign silk, two rolls of white yuenuo cloth, a glazed bottle, an unusual stone, and one hundred rosewater bottles." The letter was recently translated and analyzed by John Chaffee in Muslim Merchants of Premodern China, 69-71. In the section on elephant ivory in Part 2, Zhao Rukuo states that Maluomo (Mirbat) is the largest producer of ivory in Dashi, and that the people there hunt elephants with poisoned arrows.]

In the third year of the Yongxi era (986), their ambassador came to the imperial court with the ambassador from Bintonglong (Panduranga). In the sixth year of the Xianping era (1003), they sent Mani and other envoys to present a tribute of pearls, requesting that the emperor not grant presents in return. Emperor Zhenzong did not want to go against their wishes, but he sent them off with great honours.

In the first year of the Jingde era (1004), their ambassador was in our capital with the ambassadors from Sanfoqi (Srivijaya) and Pugan (Pagan). They were allowed to stay behind and watch the Lantern Festival. All were granted copper coins and permitted to drink wine to their heart's content. [This event is also mentioned in the earlier section on Pugan (Pagan).]

In the fourth year (1007), their ambassador came to present tribute with the ambassador from Zhancheng (Champa). They were given the best lodging and food and allowed to tour the Buddhist and Daoist temples in the capital and the imperial gardens.

In the Dazhong Xiangfu era (1008-1017), when the emperor [Zhenzong] traveled east [in 1008] to perform the Feng and Shan sacrifices [to Heaven], their leader Tuopoli submitted a letter expressing his desire to bring a tribute of local products to Mount Tai. The emperor granted this request. In the fourth year of the same era (1011), when the emperor was going to perform sacrifices [to Earth] at Fenyin, [Tuopoli] came [to the court] again. The emperor issued an edict ordering him to follow the court.

In Guangzhou there were stories of a man from the country of Dashi, Wuxihuluhua (Cantonese pronunciation: Mousaifatlouwa), who was a hundred and thirty years old. His ears had two helixes and he had an extremely impressive appearance. He said that he had been drawn from afar to the emperor's transforming influence and had come here by ship from the country of Guluo (Kalah). The emperor issued an edict to reward him with a brocade robe, a silver belt, and bundles of silk. [The Songshi version of this story dates it to 1012.]

This country sent ambassadors to our court with tribute in the Yuanyou (1086-1094) and Kaixi (1205-1208) eras.

There was a foreign merchant named Shinawei, a man from Dashi, who resided as a sojourner in the southern outskirts of Quanzhou. He was generous and charitable with his wealth, in a manner characteristic of western lands. He built a cemetery outside the southeastern corner of the city walls to bury the bodies of western (Hu) merchants who die [in Quanzhou]. The maritime trade inspector Lin Zhiqi recorded this truthfully.

SECTION 31. MAJIA (Mecca, Makka, Maka)

After traveling westward by land for eighty or more days from Maluoba (Mirbat), one reaches the country of Majia (Cantonese dialect pronunciation: Magaa=Mecca).

This is the birthplace of the Buddha Maxiawu (Cantonese: Mahamat=Muhammad). His former home is built with bricks of jade in five colors. Every year, on the anniversary of this Buddha's death, people from the various countries of Dashi (the Arab/Islamic world) all come here to pay their respects, vying with each other to bring offerings of gold, silver, and jewels. On that day, they also cover the Buddha's home in brocade. Behind the house is the Buddha's tomb. It emits a bright glow both day and night, and no one can get close to it [without being blinded]. All passersby have to close their eyes [to protect their sight]. People on their deathbeds rub dirt taken from the tomb mound onto their chests, believing that they will be reincarnated as human beings (chaosheng) through the Buddha's power. [This entire passage is adapted from the Lingwai daida. Zhou Qufei most likely sought information about Mecca from Muslim informants, but misunderstood much of what he heard. He interpreted the Kaaba as Mohammed's "former home*," (* which could be an allusion to Maka in Paran, Petra, Jordan, which could, according to Dan Gibson, have been Mohammed's former home as the Black Stone have been brought from Petra to the today's Mecca.] and the Hajj as an annual pilgrimage to commemorate Muhammad's death. Muhammad's tomb is not in Mecca but in Medina. The tomb adjacent to the Kaaba is believed to be that of Ismail/Ishmael.

SECTION 32. CENGBA (Zanzibar; off the coast of Tanzania)

The country of Cengba (Zanzibar) is on islands in the sea south of Huchala (Gujarat). It adjoins a great mountain to the west. Its people are all clans of the Dashi (Arab) people and follow the Dashi religion. [The islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, Mafia are to 98% Islamised; Tanzania's population today has already 35% Muslims, 65% are Christians. Cengba is probably a transliteration of Persian zangbar, a compound of Zang ("black") + bar ("coast"). Zhao Rukuo's claim that Zanzibar lies south of Gujarat is geographically incorrect but probably reflects his poor understanding of the position of east Africa in relation to Arabia and India. There is the suggesttion that Cengba was not Zanzibar but perhaps another Islamic island south of it: Kilwa Kisiwani. Here was the powerful Kilwa sultanate.]

They wrap themselves in blue cotton cloth and wear red leather shoes. Their daily diet consists of rice, flour dumplings, baked flatbread, and mutton. Their villages are nestled deep in hills and forests. The weather is warm, with no cold season.

The land produces ivory, gold ore, ambergris, and yellow sandalwood. Every year, the coastal regions of Huchala (Gujarat) and Dashi (the Arab world) send ships to trade with this country, using white cotton cloth, porcelain ware, red copper (gold-copper alloy), and red kapok.

SECTION 33. BIPALUO (Somaliland and possibly Djibouti)

The country of Bipaluo has four prefectures. The rest of the country is made up of villages ruled by local strongmen. [Hirth and Rockhill tentatively identified the four prefectures as the cities of Berbera and Zeila in northern Somalia and Mogadishu and Barawa in the south. Bipaluo (Cantonese: Patpalo) is probably a transliteration of the Arabic term Barbara, a name for the Somali region as a whole. However, both Bipaluo and Zhongli (which has a separate section in the Zhufan zhi) seem to have been in northern Somalia, with Bipaluo corresponding to modern Somaliland. In that case, the four prefectures of Bipaluo may have included Berbera, Zeila, and all or part of modern Djibouti.]

They worship Heaven and do not worship the Buddha.

This land has many camels and sheep. One of their popular dishes is camel meat with camel milk and baked flatbread.

They produce ambergris, the tusks of large elephants, and the horns of large rhinoceroses. Some of the elephant tusks weigh more than a hundred catties (about 140 lbs) and the rhinoceros horns weigh more than ten catties (about 14 lbs).

They also have large amounts of costus, liquid storax gum, and myrrh, and exceptionally thick tortoiseshell. Merchants from every country go there to trade for tortoiseshell.

They also have an animal called the camel-crane, which stands at a height of six to seven feet with its neck fully stretched. It has wings and can fly, but not to a great height.

They have an animal called the cula(Cula is derived from the Arabic zarafah, which is also the root of the English word "giraffe."). It resembles a camel in shape and an ox in size and has a yellow color. Its front legs are five feet long and its hind legs are three feet long. Its head is elevated to a great height and points upwards, and its hide is an inch thick.

They also have mules with alternating red, white, and black patterns resembling warp threads (i.e., vertical stripes). These are all wild beasts of the mountains and plains and are typically variant types of camel. The people of this country like hunting and sometimes hunt these with poisoned arrows.

SECTION 34. WUBA (Mirbat)

The country of Wuba (Mirbat) is by the sea and also has land routes leading to Dashi (inland Arabia and Egypt?). The king has a purplish-brown complexion, and wears a turban and a shirt. He follows the religion of Dashi (Islam).

SECTION 35. ZHONGLI (Puntland and Socotra)

(Zhongli is a loose transliteration of Warsangali, a leading Somali clan that founded a sultanate in northeastern Somalia in the late thirteenth century. The mention in this section of this country being connected to Bipaluo (Somaliland) by a sparsely inhabited area of mountains suggests a location that includes Puntland and Socotra. The mountains would then most likely be the Cal Madow range.)

The people of the country of Zhongli go bare-headed and barefoot. They wrap their bodies with cotton cloth but dare not wear shirts. Only chief ministers and the king's attendants wear shirts and turbans to distinguish themselves from the common people.

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The king's palace is made of brick walls, while ordinary people's houses are thatched with palm leaves and grass. Their daily meals consist of baked flour flatbread, sheep milk, and camel milk. They have extremely many cattle, sheep, and camels.

In Dashi (the Arab world), only this country produces frankincense.

This country has many sorcerers who can transform into animals or sea creatures to amaze and bewilder the ignorant. If they have a grudge against a foreign merchant ship passing through, they cast a magic spell and the ship cannot control (literally "cannot know") whether it is moving forward or backward. Only after the dispute is mediated will the sorcerer release the ship. The country has a very strict ban on such practices.

Once every year, a large flock of migratory birds makes a stop in the outskirts of the city. There are so many that they cannot be counted. By sunrise they are all gone; not one can be seen. The people of this country set up nets to catch and eat them; they are extremely delicious. They come only in late spring, and by the time summer begins, they leave to return at the same time the following year.

When a person in this country dies and he is laid in a coffin to await burial, both his close kin and his distant relatives will come and offer their condolences. Each one comes into the house waving his sword and asking the mourners about the cause of the man's death: "If he was killed by another man, we will avenge him by killing that man with our swords!" The mourner replies that the deceased was not murdered and that his death was Heaven's will, upon which the questioner throws his sword down and begins to wail.

Every year there are frequently big fish who die and drift onto the shore. These fish are a hundred or more feet in length and twenty or more feet across in diameter. The people of this country do not eat their flesh but only cut out the brain and eyes to use as oil. They can collect up to three hundred or more deng of it from one fish. They mix the oil with lime to caulk their ships, or use it to light lamps. The poorer people use the fish's ribs as beams in the roofs of their houses, use the backbone to make doors, and make large mortars out of individual joints. [These "big fish" are evidently beached whales.]

For a good discussion of the use of whale bones as building material in Norway and the Indian Ocean world, see Vicki Ellen Szabo, Monstrous Fishes and the Mead-Dark Sea : Whaling in the Medieval North Atlantic (Brill, 2008), 205-209.

his country has mountains that form its boundary with Bipaluo (Somaliland). They extend four thousand li across and are for the most part uninhabited. These mountains produce dragon's blood and aloe.

The surrounding waters produce tortoiseshell and ambergris. The source of this ambergris is unknown, but one will suddenly see a lump of it, maybe three or five catties or even ten catties (about 14 lbs) in weight, drifting onto the shore. The local people hasten to divide it up among themselves. Sometimes, a ship at sea comes across one such piece and the crew pick it up.

SECTION 36. WENGMAN (Oman)

The people and animals of the country of Wengman (Oman) are like those of Wuba (Mirbat). Their ruler wears a turban and wraps himself with a cotton cloth; he wears no shirt or shoes. His servants go bareheaded and barefoot and wrap their entire bodies in cotton cloth. [The ruler mentioned here was a king of the Nabhani dynasty, who ruled the northern and inland areas of Oman from Bahla.]

The diet consists of baked flour flatbread, mutton, sheep's milk, fish, and vegetables. The land produces very many dates. The coastal region produces pearls, while horses are raised in very large numbers in the hills. Merchants from other countries buy only horses, pearls, and dates from this country, trading cloves, cardamom, and camphor for them.

SECTION 37. JISHI (Kish Island)

The country of Jishi (Kish Island) is on an island in the sea, within sight of Dashi, the distance between them being half a day's travel. [Here, "Dashi" is probably to be understood as the mainland of Iran rather than the Arabian peninsula.]

It rules over only a small number prefectures. When the king leaves his palace, he rides a horse and is shaded by a black parasol, with over a hundred men in his entourage.

The people of this country are fair-skinned and tall, growing to a height of up to eight feet. They tie their hair into braids eight feet long, half of which are coiled on the head and half of which hang down the back. They wear foreign-style shirts, wrap themselves with cotton cloth, and wear red leather shoes.

They use gold and silver coins. Their diet consists of wheat bread, mutton, fish, and dates; they do not eat rice. The land produces pearls and fine horses.

Every year, the Dashi (Arabs) load camels with rosewater, champak, mercury, cupronickel, silver ore, cinnabar, madder, and fine cotton cloth. These camels are put on ships and taken to this country, which then sells their cargo to other countries.

SECTION 38. BAIDA (Baghdad)

The country of Baida (Baghdad) is a great city of the Dashi (Arab) countries. One reaches it from Maluoba (Mirbat) after about 130 days of travel by land across more than fifty prefectures. This country is extremely powerful, with a very large and well-equipped army. Its king is a direct descendant of the Buddha Maxiawu (Mahamat=Muhammad). His family has held the throne for twenty-nine generations, over the course of six to seven hundred years. Although the various Dashi countries attack one another, none of them dares to invade his territory. [The Abbasid caliphate had ruled for less than five hundred years at this time. The caliph who died in 1225, Al-Nasir, was the thirty-fourth in the Abbasid dynasty, not the twenty-ninth. The caliphate had lost its political and military dominance over the Islamic world since the tenth century, but Al-Nasir achieved a brief military revival and was able to regain control in Iraq during his reign.]

When the king leaves his palace, he is shaded by a black canopy with a gold handle and a jade lion on its crown. On its back is a large golden [crescent] moon that gleams like a star and can be seen from a distance. In their cities, the streets and homes are lavishly decorated with precious objects and expensive textiles.

This country is scarce in rice, fish, and vegetables. The people eat bread, meat, and butter. The land produces gold, silver, high-grade opaque glass engraved with flowers, white yuenuo cotton cloth, and liquid storax.

The people of this country are fond of using fine snow-white cotton as turbans and clothing. They cut their hair and nails once every seven days, and worship Heaven five times a day. They follow the Dashi religion and because their rulers are descendants of the Buddha [Mohammed], the other [Dashi] countries submit to them out of respect. [The description of Muslim practices here is similar to the one in the earlier section on Dashi.]

SECTION 39. BISILUO (Basra)

The lord of the country of Bisiluo (Basra) goes in and out of his palace with an entourage of more than a thousand mounted guards all dressed in iron armor. The generals wear chain mail. This country is under the authority of Baida (Baghdad, i.e., the Abbasid caliphate).

The people eat baked flour flatbread and mutton. Their cold and hot seasons are fairly regular, but their lunar months are of irregular length. The land produces camels, sheep, and dates. Merchants from Jishi (Kish Island) and Wengman (Oman) go to this country to trade every year.

SECTION 40. JICINI (Ghazni)

(Ghazni, historically known as Ghaznin or Ghazna, is a city in the East of Afghanistan strategically located at the main road between Kabul and Kandahar for thousands of years. During the pre-Islamic period, the area was inhabited by various tribes who practiced different religions including Zoroastrianism, Buddhism and Hinduism. Arab Muslims forced Islam onto the Ghazni populace in the 7th century and were followed in the 9th century by the Islamic Saffarids. Sabuktigin (c. 942–997 AD) made Ghazni the capital of the Ghaznavid Empire in the 10th century.)

The country of Jicini (Ghazni) is about one hundred and twenty days' travel from Maluoba (Mirbat). This land lies in the northwest and is extremely cold, so cold that the snow from winter does not melt in spring. The country is surrounded by tall mountains and they have cut a city out of the mountains, measuring two hundred or more li across. The city is surrounded by a moat of water. [Most of this information is from the Lingwai daida, but the distance from Mirbat is an addition by Zhao Rukuo and leads to some confusion, since Ghazni lies far to the northeast of Mirbat. Presumably, when Zhou Qufei described Ghazni as oriented to the northwest, he meant this in relation to China or more likely to India. The Indian culture was prevalent in this region before Islam destroyed Hinduism and Buddhism there.]

At the time of the Lingwai daida, Ghazni was the capital of the Ghurid empire, which had captured it from the declining Ghaznavids. By the time of the Zhufan zhi, the Ghurids had fallen to the Khwarezmian empire, which was in turn falling to the Mongols.

This country has more than two hundred halls of worship. Both officials and common people go to worship in these halls, calling such worship chumie (Jumuʿah). [These are evidently mosques.]

Many of the people are wealthy and live in many-storied houses, with as many as five to seven levels. They have large herds of camels and horses. The people eat bread, meat, and yogurt and lack fish and rice. When they do want to eat rice, they mix it with cow milk and water and drink it down.

This country's king has arms that reach down to below his knees. He has a hundred war horses, each more than six feet in height, and several tens of mules, each three feet in height. When leaving his palace, he alternates between riding a horse and riding a mule. His bow has a draw weight of several piculs, and even five to seven ordinary men pulling together cannot draw it. On horseback he wields an iron mace weighting more than fifty catties (70 lbs). The countries of Dashi (the Arab world) and India (Xitian) all fear him.

The land produces gold and silver, yuenuo cotton cloth, brocade with gold weave, five-coloured camel skin cloth, opaque glass engraved with flowers, liquid storax, wumingyi (literally "the unnamed rarity"), and bezoar stones. [This follows the Lingwai daida word for word. Wumingyi was a kind of cobalt-bearing iron ore that has been tentatively identified as limonite. It was used in medicine and also for coloring blue and white porcelain.]

SECTION 41. WUSILI (Mosul)

The country of Wusili (Mosul) is on land that has many rocky mountains. In autumn there falls a heavy dew that congeals under sunlight into a form like powdered sugar icing. The people gather it as food. It is refreshing and tasty and is probably real "sweet dew."

There is a kind of tree that grows wild in these mountains. In its first year, it produces chestnuts called pulu. In its second year, it produces nut galls.

This land produces asbestos cloth (huohuan bu, literally "cloth that can be washed with fire") and coral.

SECTION 42. LUMEI (possibly Constantinople or the Kingdom of Georgia)

The country of Lumei is also called Meilugu. One reaches it only after more than three hundred days of land travel westwards from Maluoba (Mirbat). The walls of its capital are irregular-shaped and seven-layered. They are made of large, shining black stones and each layer of the wall is a thousand paces from the next. There are over three hundred foreign towers, one of which is eight hundred feet tall and has three hundred and sixty rooms. It is large enough for four horses to ascend abreast. [Most of this passage, except for the two sentences in red, is adapted from the Lingwai daida section on a country called Meilugudun. Hirth and Rockhill identified Lumei as a transliteration of Rûm (Rome), the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish name for the Roman empire and by extension, Anatolia. There are plenty of speculations as to for the location. Scholars considered Konya (the capital of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rûm) and Damascus or Merv as possible locations for the city described. However, a building with 360 rooms was most likely to be found in Constantinople.]

The people of this country all wear turbans with caved-in tops (tading) and wear clothes made of coloured wool.

Their diet consists of meat and bread, and they use gold and silver coins. They have forty thousand households whose profession is to weave brocade. The land produces sea silk, yuenuo cotton cloth embroidered with gold words, brocade with alternating threads of gold and silk, bezoar stones, oak nut galls, rosewater, champak flowers, liquid storax, borax, and high-grade opaque glass with engraved flowers. The local households like breeding camels, horses, and dogs.

SECTION 43. MULANPI (the Almohad caliphate)

To the west of Dashi (the Arab world) there is a big sea, and to the west of that are countless countries. The only one of these that is accessible to large ships from Dashi is the country of Mulanpi (a transliteration of Al-Murābiṭūn, an Arabic name used by the Almoravid dynasty in Morocco and Spain.). A ship that sets sail from the country of Tuopandi in Dashi will arrive in this country after more than a hundred days of sailing due west. [Hirth and Rockhill identified Tuopandi as the port of Damietta, and subsequent commentators have accepted this. The big sea between Dashi and Mulanpi is evidently the Mediterranean.]

Each of these ships can hold several thousand people (exaggerated description) and contains taverns and restaurants, weaving looms, and other such amenities. Among ships, there are none as large as those from Mulanpi.

The products of this country are amazing indeed. Each grain of wheat is three inches long; each melon is six feet around and can feed twenty to thirty people. The pomegranates weigh five catties (about 7 lbs), the peaches weigh two catties (2-3 lbs), the citrons weigh more than twenty catties (28 lbs), and a bunch of lettuce weighs more than ten catties (14 lbs) and has leaves three to four feet long.

They store their rice and wheat in underground pits for several tens of years without spoiling. [Grain storage in subterranean silos has a long history in the Mediterranean region. This was, however, alien to the Chinese, who typically built above-ground granaries.]

They produce a breed of western (Hu) sheep that stands several feet tall and has a large tail shaped like a fan. In the spring, they slit the sheep bellies open and extract several tens of catties of fat. Then they sew the bellies back up and the sheep survive. If they do not take the fat out, however, the sheep will swell up and die.

After one travels across this country by land for two hundred days, the days shorten to just six hours. There, in the autumn months, the west wind suddenly rises and both people

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and animals must quickly find water to drink in order to survive. If they are just slightly too slow, they will die of thirst.

SECTION 44. WUSILI (Egypt)

The country of Wusili is under the authority of the country of Baida (Baghdad, i.e., the Abbasid caliphate). [Wusili is written with characters homophonous to those earlier used for Wusili (Mosul). Hirth and Rockhill identified it as a transliteration of Miṣr, the Arabic name for Egypt, which Zhao Rukuo transliterated as Mixuli in the section on Dashi. This section, like much of the Dashi section, is therefore based on reports about Ayyubid Cairo. The Ayyubids pledged their formal allegiance to the Sunni Abbasid caliphate, unlike the Shia Fatimid caliphate that they had displaced in 1171.]

The king of this country is fair-skinned and wears a turban, a foreign-style shirt, and black boots. When he leaves his palace, he rides a horse and is preceded by three hundred outriders, their saddles and bridles ornamented with gold and jewels. There are ten tigers in his entourage, leashed with iron chains. They are accompanied by a hundred tiger tamers and fifty men to hold the chains. There are also a hundred men carrying clubs, thirty men with hunting falcons on their arms, a thousand cavalrymen in escort, and three hundred trusted slaves with armor and swords. Two royal arms-bearers go before the king, while behind him ride a hundred drummers. The entire entourage is very grand.

The people of this country eat only bread and meat, not rice.

This country is prone to drought. It has sixteen prefectures, covering an area equivalent to more than sixty days' travel. When there is rain, it destroys the people's crops by washing them away, rather than watering them. There is a river there whose water is extremely clear and sweet-tasting. No one knows its source, but in years of drought, the rivers in all other countries in the region will dry up, whereas this river's water level remains unchanged. It provides ample water for farming, and the peasants rely on it for irrigation year after year. There are people in this country who have lived to the age of seventy or eighty without ever seeing rain. [This is a description of the Nile River, the annual flooding of which was also described in the section on Dashi.]

There is an old story there that the third-generation descendant of one Puluohong (Ibrahim/Abraham), named Shisu (Yusuf/Joseph), once ruled this country. Because there was no rain, he feared that droughts would occur. He therefore selected land near the river and set up three hundred and sixty villages, all of which planted wheat. Every year, these villages provided food for the people's daily needs, each village supplying the wheat for one day. In this way, these three hundred and sixty villages produced enough food for a year. [Zhao Rukuo probably heard this distorted version of Joseph's career as vizier of Egypt from a Muslim informant, perhaps as an explanation for the origin of the Faiyum oasis.]

This country has a prefecture called Qiye (Cantonese pronunciation: Hei-ia=al-Qāhirah=Cairo) by the banks of the river. Every two or three years, an old man emerges from the river's waters; his hair is black and short, while his beard is all white. He sits on a rock in the river, showing only his upper body, scooping water up to wash his face and clipping his fingernails. The people of this country, seeing him and recognizing him as a magical being, approach him and respectfully inquire as to whether they will have good or ill fortune this year. If the old man says nothing but appears to smile, then the year will be a bountiful one and the people will not suffer from plagues. If he frowns and knits his brows, however, then there will surely be a bad harvest or a plague either that year or the year after. After sitting there for a long time, he disappears back into the water.

In the river, there live water camels (rhinoceros?) and water horses (hippotamus) who occasionally go up onto the banks to eat grass. Upon seeing people, they dive back into the river.

SECTION 45. EGENTUO (Alexandria)

The country of Egentuo is a vassal of Wusili (Egypt). [Hirth and Rockhill identified Egentuo (Fujian dialect pronunciation: Atkento) as a transliteration of al-ʾIskandariyya, the Arabic name for Alexandria.]

They have a legend that an ancient times, an extraordinary man named Cugeni built a great tower by the sea. At its base, he had two vaults dug and reinforced strongly with bricks. One of these vaults is used to store grain, and the other to store weapons. The tower is two thousand feet tall and wide enough for four horses to ascend abreast up to two thirds of its height. In the tower's centre is a big well that is connected to the great river (i.e., the Nile) by canals to [supply water to the defenders] in the event of a foreign invasion. The whole country's population can retreat into the tower to resist the enemy. From top to bottom, the tower can hold twenty thousand people, with some defending it and some going out to fight. On the tower's summit, there used to be a very large mirror. If a fleet from another country came to invade, the mirror reflected their image in advance and the people could then begin preparing to defend themselves. In recent years, a foreigner came to serve this tower as a cleaner. Several years passed and people ceased to have any suspicions about him. One day, he suddenly found an opportunity to steal the mirror, threw it into the sea, and left. ["Cugeni" (Cantonese: Tsougotnei) is a loose transliteration of Dhu al-Qarnayn, the legendary Islamic figure often identified with Alexander the Great. This passage is based on Arab legends about the Lighthouse of Alexandria, which in reality was about 380 ft. tall.]

SECTION 46. YANTUOMAN (the Andaman Islands)

When sailing from Lanwuli (Lamuri) to Xilan (Sri Lanka), if the wind is not in one's favor, one's ship may drift to a place called Yantuoman (the Andaman Islands). It is a big archipelago in the sea with two islands, one big and one small. The smaller island is completely uninhabited, while the larger one covers an area of seventy li and has people living in it. Their bodies are as dark as black lacquer and they are cannibals who eat people alive. Sailors thus do not dare to anchor their ships at this shore. [Marco Polo's account of the Andaman Islands was even more terrifying: "Now know in all truth that all the men of this island have heads like dogs and teeth and eyes like dogs; for I tell you that they are all like the heads of great mastiffs. They have a lot of spices; they are a very cruel people; they eat as many men as they can catch, if they are not their people." (trans. Kinoshita, 155) The Andamanese probably were no cannibals, but their tendency to kill all intruders gave rise to the belief that they were.]

The island has no iron deposits at all, so the natives use sharpened pieces of giant clam and clam shell as knives. On the island is a sacred relic: a bed of pure gold on which lies a dead person whose body has not decayed for generations. It is guarded at all times by a giant snake with fur two feet long. No human being dares to come near to it.

There is a well there that overflows twice a year; when the water runs into the sea, any sand or rock touched by it turns into gold. All the people of this island make offerings to this well. If any copper, lead, iron, or tin is heated in the fire until it is red hot, and then cooled with this water, it immediately turns into gold.

There is an old story about a merchant ship that was wrecked; some of the sailors clung on to pieces of bamboo or wood and drifted to this island. After discovering that there was this sacred water there, they secretly filled bamboo tubes with it and then used a raft to drift on the waves to the country of Nanpi (Kozhikode/Calicut). They offered the water to the king of Nanpi, who tested it and found that it worked. The king then raised an army with the intention of conquering this island. But before the ship [carrying this army] could get to the island, it met with a violent storm and was blown back. Sailors from the ship who were washed overboard drifted to this island and were all eaten by the barbarians. One can presume that because this island has the golden bed with the strange person on it, it is protected by invisible spirits who will not allow people from outside to get close to it.

SECTION 47. KUNLUN CENGQI (the Swahili Coast)

(This entire section is based on information from the Lingwai daida. Cengqi transliterates Zangi, a Persian term (the Arabic form was Zanj) of uncertain origin applied most commonly (but not exclusively) to the Swahili Coast and its "black" Bantu-speaking inhabitants. Kunlun was a label applied to black-skinned people by the Chinese, so "Kunlun Cengqi" literally means the "black Zangi." The large island mentioned here may be Madagascar, but it could also be another island like Pemba.)

The country of Kunlun Cengqi is in the southwestern sea and adjacent to a large island.

[On that island], one often sees a big peng bird so large that it blocks out the sun for a time when it flies. There are wild camels there and when the big peng bird sees them, it swallows them whole. Some people pick up the peng bird's feathers and cut off the hollow shafts to use as buckets for water.

This land produces large elephant tusks and rhinoceros horns.

To the west [of this country] there are islands (or "an island") in the sea that have many wild people. Their bodies are as dark as black lacquer and their hair is curly. [Slavers] lure them out with food and capture them to sell to the country of Dashi (the Arab world) as slaves*; they fetch a very high price. These slaves are entrusted with the keys to doors, since it is believed that they have no kinship* ties left [and therefore would not betray their masters].

[* because the Islamic slave hunters usually killed everyone in the raided village 'who was not needed'. Slavery and the killing of Kafirs (non-Muslims) is principaly not forbidden in the Koran but allowed "in the cause of Allah". When people discuss slavery these days, they always have in mind the one obvious end of slave trade, which are the 'evil' European or Western nations who have bought the slaves during the 16th to the 19th centuries; the other end of slave trade, and those have been the Muslims, the ones who have sold the slaves to the Europeans, are usually not mentioned, out of hypocrite political correctness. As the Koran is the Umm al-Kitab, the mother of books, considered by Muslims perfect and eternal, this part of Sharia law, as any other part of the Koran, cannot be altered or deleted; one of the reasons why Boko Haram, ISIS, and other Jihad groups do not act against the law but according to it.

Due to al-Taqiyya, the sacred lie, the word 'abd' or 'raqiq' (slave) is rarely used in Islam, being more commonly replaced by some periphrasis, and the most common term in the Koran to refer to slaves is the expression ma malakat aymanukum, meaning "that which your right hands own" or "those whom your right hands possess". This term is found in 15 Koranic passages, making it the most common term for slaves. (Jonathan E. Brockopp (2006). "Slaves and slavery". In Jane Dammen McAuliffe (ed.). Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an. 5. Brill. pp. 57–58.)

Surah 23, Al-Muminun, of the Quran in verse 6 and Surah 17, Al-Maarij, in verse 30 both, in identical wording, draw a distinction between spouses and "those whom one's right hands possess", saying "their spouses or what their right hands possess"), while clarifying that sexual intercourse with either is permissible. Sayyid Abul Ala Maududi, one of the most revered mainstream Islamic scholars, explains that "two categories of women have been excluded from the general command of guarding the private parts: (1st) wives, (2nd) women who are legally in one's possession". Islamic law, using the term Ma malakat aymanukum ("what your right hands possess") considered sexual relations with female slaves as lawful. Islam permits sexual relations between a male master and his female slave outside marriage. This is referred to in the Quran as ma malakat aymanukum or "what your right hands possess". (See Tahfeem ul Qur'an by Sayyid Abul Ala Maududi, Vol. 2 pp. 112-113 footnote 44; Also see commentary on verses [Quran 23:1]: Vol. 3, notes 7-1, p. 241; 2000, Islamic Publications). There are some restrictions on the master; he may not co-habit with a female slave belonging to his wife, neither can he have relations with a female slave if she is co-owned, or already married to a Muslim.

It is estimated that up to 90% of the native population of Zanzibar was enslaved. Roughly half the population of Madagascar was enslaved. During the Middle Ages, around 1 to 2 million Europeans were abducted as slaves by Muslims; and when the Muslim Turks blocked the pilgrims from safely visiting their holy sites in the Holy Land, it did not come as a surprise that the Pope ordered the launch of the Crusades.]

SECTION 48. SHAHUAGONG (Zamboanga)

(This section is based entirely on information from the Lingwai daida. Hirth and Rockhill identified the Shahuagong people as the Orang Laut of the Malacca Straits region, while Feng Chengjun suggested that Shahuagong was Sebuku island off Borneo and Yang Bowen suggested a location in Sabah. Other suggestions have included Sarawak, the Salabanka Islands or Simatang Island off Sulawesi, and the Zamboanga Peninsula of Mindanao [See wikipedia: Melanau people, 12th-13th century].)

Many of the people of the country of Shahuagong go out into the open sea on (Islamic*) pirate raids. When they take captives, they bind them and sell them to Shepo (Java) [as slaves].

[* The history of arrival and spread of Islam in Indonesia is unclear. There is the possibility that the first Muslims arrived directly from Arabia before the 8th or the 9th century. From the time of the third caliph of Islam, Uthman (644-656 AD), Muslim emissaries and merchants were arriving in China who must have passed through Indonesia sea routes from the Islamic world. It would have been through this contact that Arabic emissaries between 904 and the mid-12th century are thought to have become involved in the Sumatran trading state of Srivijaya.

The earliest accounts of the Indonesian archipelago date from the Abbasid Caliphate (1261–1517 AD). According to those early accounts, the Indonesian archipelago was famous among early Muslim sailors and pirates, mainly due to its abundance of precious spice trade commodities such as nutmeg, cloves, galangal and many other spices.

The most reliable evidence of the early spread of Islam in Indonesia comes from inscriptions on tombstones and a limited number of travellers' accounts. The earliest legibly inscribed tombstone is dated 475 AH (1082 AD), although as it belongs to a non-Indonesian Muslim, there is doubt as to whether it was transported to Java at a later time.

The first evidence of Indonesian Muslims comes from northern Sumatra; Marco Polo, on his way home from China in 1292, reported at least one Muslim town; and the first evidence of a Muslim dynasty is the gravestone, dated 696 AH (1297 AD), of Sultan Malik al Saleh, the first Muslim ruler of Samudera Pasai Sultanate, with further gravestones indicating continued Islamic rule.

Admiral Zheng He, being a Muslim himself, is credited to have settled Chinese Muslim communities in Palembang and along the shores of Java, the Malay Peninsula, and the Philippines. These Muslims allegedly followed the Hanafi school in the Chinese language. This Chinese Muslim

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community was led by Hajji Yan Ying Yu, who urged his followers to assimilate and take local names.

Zheng He (1371–1433 or 1435), originally named Ma He, was a Hui (Muslim) court eunuch, explorer, diplomat, and fleet admiral during China's early Ming dynasty. As a favourite of the Yongle Emperor, whose usurpation he assisted, he rose to the top of the imperial hierarchy. Zheng commanded 7 expeditionary voyages to Southeast Asia, South Asia, Western Asia, and East Africa from 1405 to 1433. His larger ships stretched 400 feet in length (Columbus's Santa Maria, for comparison, was 85 feet). These carried hundreds of sailors on four tiers of decks. A trilingual stele left by the navigator was discovered on the island of Ceylon (Sri Lanka) shortly thereafter.]

SECTION 49. THE MALUONU (possibly the Maranao)

Further southeast [of Shahuagong] there are uncultivated islands inhabited by barbarian bandits called Maluonu. When a merchant ship is blown off course to this country, these bandits assemble in large numbers and capture the crew, tie them between large bamboo sticks, cook them over a fire, and eat them. The chiefs of these bandits bore holes in their teeth and decorate the holes with gold. They use the tops of human skulls as eating and drinking vessels. The deeper one goes into these islands, the more cruel the bandits are. [This section, too, is from the Lingwai daida. In Zhou Qufei's version, the first sentence reads, "Further southeast there is the country of Jinfo (jinfo guo), which has many uncultivated islands inhabited by barbarian bandits called Maluonu." Based on Shao-yun Yang's identification of Shahuagong as Zamboanga, the Maranao would seem to be the best fit, with the island of Mindanao misinterpreted as a number of islands separate from the Zamboanga Peninsula. But the Maranao are not known to have practiced headhunting or cannibalism in pre-Islamic times, and it is unclear whether the ethnonym Maranao was used as early as the twelfth century. The identity of the Maluonu thus remains uncertain.]

SECTION 50. COUNTRIES OF WOMEN

Even further southeast is the country of women, where the water [in rivers?] constantly flows eastward. Every few years, the water overflows, and sometimes it carries with it lotus seeds that are more than a foot in length and peach stones that are two feet in length. People who find these present them to the female king. In the past whenever a ship drifted to this country, the women took the crew back to their homes. Within a few days, not one of them would be left alive. Finally, one clever man stole a boat in the night and fled. He thus escaped and was able to tell this tale. When the south wind blows at full force, the women of this country strip naked and are impregnated by the wind, always bearing only daughters. [This part of the section is taken directly from the Lingwai daida. Countries of women had appeared in Chinese ethnographic writing for centuries, but this particular story appears to be based on an Arabic model found in the tenth-century Ajaib al-Hind (The wonders of India), attributed to Buzurg Ibn Shahriyar of Ramhormuz.]

There is also a country of women in the western sea. In that land, three girls are born for every five boys. The king is a woman and the civil officials are all women; only the soldiers are men. Women are considered superior and have male attendants, whereas men are not allowed to have female attendants. When sons are born, they take their mother's family name. The climate is mostly cold and the people feed themselves by hunting with bows and arrows. They travel out to trade with Daqin (the Roman/Byzantine empire) and Tianzhu (India), earning very large profits. [This description of another country of women is based on the Tongdian rather than the Lingwai daida. The Tongdian in turn draws its account primarily from the Suishu. These sources only named India as a trade partner of the country of women; they also specified salt as the highly profitable commodity produced and traded. Both sources located the country of women south of the Pamirs, rather than in the "western sea," and stated the ruling family's name as Supi, which modern scholars have identified with the Sumpa kingdom of northeastern Tibet.]

SECTION 51. BOSI (possibly Mombasa, southern Kenya)

(Mombasa is a harbour city in southeast Kenya at the Indian Ocean. The founding of Mombasa is associated with two rulers: Mwana Mkisi and Shehe Mvita. According to legend, Mwana Mkisi is the original ancestor of Mombasa's oldest lineages within Thenashara Taifa (or Twelve Swahili Nations). Families associated with the Twelve Nations are still considered the original inhabitants of the city and the keepers of local traditions. The exact founding date of the city is unknown, but it has a long history. Kenyan school history books place the founding of Mombasa as 900 A.D. It must have been already a prosperous trading town in the 12th century, as the Arab geographer al-Idrisi mentions it in 1151. The oldest stone mosque in Mombasa, Mnara, was built c. 1300.)

The country of Bosi is situated in the southwestern sea. Its people have very black skin and curly hair down to their temples. They wrap their bodies with flower-patterned blue cloth and wear a golden bangle on each arm. They do not have walled cities. Their king holds court in the morning sitting cross-legged on a stool covered with a tiger skin. His subjects prostrate themselves before leaving his presence. When he goes out of his palace, he is either carried on a hammock litter or rides an elephant. He has an entourage of more than a hundred men carrying swords to protect him. The people eat bread, meat, and rice from porcelain vessels, picking their food up with their hands. [This ethnographic section is taken from the Lingwai daida. Since Zhou Qufei also described Kunlun Cengqi (the Swahili Coast) as situated "in the southwestern sea," Shao-yun Yang suggests that Bosi should be interpreted as transliterating the name of a location in East Africa, perhaps Mombasa.]

SECTION 52. CHABISHA (Jabulsa)

The capital of the country of Chabisha covers an area of over one thousand li square. Its king wears a military robe with a gold belt. He wears a gold crown and black boots. The women wear shirts made with pearls. This land produces very large amounts of gold and jewels. The people live in seven-storied homes, with each floor housing one family.

This country is filled with light and is where the sun goes down. In the evening, when the sun enters the city, it makes a rumbling sound louder than thunder. So they always station a thousand men at the city gates to blow trumpets and beat gongs and drums to drown out the noise of the sun. If not, then pregnant women and small children would die of fright upon hearing the sun. [Hirth and Rockhill identified Chabisha as the mythical city of Jabulsa from Shia Muslim lore. Jabulsa was believed to be at the western end of the world, while its twin Jabulqa was at the eastern end. Both cities were associated with the legendary Mount Qaf and the Hidden Imam of Twelver Shiism. In the early Basa'ir al-darajat, these cities were inhabited by archetypal believers who are waiting for the appearance of the Qa'im. In the Kitab al-haft wa-l-azilla (8th–11th century AD), transmitted by Nasayri Shi'a, the sixth Imam al-Sadiq states that the Qa'im will live in these cities. Each city has 12,000 gates, each of which is guarded by 12,000 men until the Day of Resurrection, when the Qa'im will appear.

Zhao Rukuo's version of the myth seems to be indirectly adapted from Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari (839-923 AD (224-310 AH), who attributed the following teachings to the Prophet Muhammad: "These are two cities, one in the East and one in the West. Djaboulqa is in the East and Djaboulsa in the West. These cities are of emerald and both are linked to the mountain Qaf. They are both twelve thousand parasang in length and twelve thousand parasang in width."

SECTION 53. SIJIALIYE (Sicily)

The country of Sijialiye (Sicily) is near the border of Lumei. It is an island in the sea, a thousand li across. Its clothing, customs, and spoken language are the same as those of Lumei (the Latin / Roman language of the Roman Empire) [This is the first description of Sicily, indeed of any part of Italy, in a Chinese source. Zhao Rukuo probably based it on information provided by Arab merchants. Hirth and Rockhill understood "Lumei" in this section to be referring to either the Byzantine Empire or the city of Rome; Yang Bowen believed it to be Rome. Since in 1225 Constantinople was ruled by the Latin Empire (which also used the name "Rome"), Zhao Rukuo's informant may have been referring to cultural and linguistic affinity between the Crusaders and the Norman elite of Sicily. In 1225, Sicily was under the rule of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II.

In this country there is a very deep cave that spews out fire in all four seasons. From afar one can see it emitting smoke in the morning and fire in the evening. When one gets closer, then one can feel how hot the flames are. Groups of people in this country use poles to carry large stones weighing five hundred to a thousand catties (700-1,400 lbs) to the mouth of the cave and throw them in. In just a short time, there is an explosion and fragments of stone fly out like pumice. Once every five years, fire flows out of the stone [of the cave], running down to the coast and then turning back. The forests that it passes through do not catch fire, but the stones that it touches burn up and become like ashes. [This is a description of the active volcano Mount Etna.]

SECTION 54. MOQIELIE (the Maghreb, North Africa)

In the country of Moqielie (Cantonese: Makgalip = the Maghreb; that is al-Maghrib al-Arabi, "The Barbary coast" meaning North Africa without Egypt, Sudan or Ethiopia), the king chants scriptures and worships Heaven daily. He wears a turban, a woolen shirt, and red leather shoes. Their religion is the same as that of Dashi (the Arab world). The king rides a horse whenever he goes out from his palace, preceded by a camel that bears on its back a box containing the Buddhist sutras of Dashi. [This is another example of how Zhao Rukuo interpreted Islam as a form of Buddhism.]

This country rules over more than five hundred prefectures, each of which has a city. It has 10,000 troops who all travel on horseback. The people eat bread and meat; they grow wheat but not rice. Their land abounds in cattle, sheep, camels, and fruits. The sea off their coast goes down to a depth of two hundred feet and produces coral trees (red coral). [Whereas the earlier section on Mulanpi (the Almohad caliphate) seems to have focused on Morocco, the part of the Maghreb described here may be Ifriqiya, ruled by Almohad governors of the Hafsid family who would declare an independent sultanate at Tunis in 1229.]

SECTION 55. BONI (Borneo)

(Johannes Kurz has published a translation of this section in "Boni in Chinese Sources: Translations of Relevant Texts from the Song to the Qing Dynasties," Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre Working Paper Series No. 4 (2011). Shao-yun Yang's interpretation of the text differs from Kurz's in some places.)

Boni (Borneo) lies to the southeast of Quanzhou, forty-five days' travel from Shepo (Java), forty days' travel from Sanfoqi (Srivijaya), and thirty days' travel from Zhancheng (Champa) and Mayi (Mindoro). These travel times are based on sailing with a favourable wind*.

[* A good explanation for the discrepancy in travel times between Java and Borneo, in comparison with the travel time from Java or Sumatra to East Africa, may be that the Java-Borneo travel times refer to journeys with a Chinese Junk, as against the high travel speed from Indonesia to East Africa, which was contucted not by Junks (whose hulls are much wider or bulkier) but with Austronesian catamarans (whose hulls are very slim and therefore allow a jouney speed thst is several times faster than the speed of a bulky junk).

Just for consideration: The last tea clippers, also known as China clippers, were acknowledged as the fastest sail vessels. When fully rigged and riding a tradewind, they had peak average speeds of over 16 knots (30 km/h). The origin of the word "clipper" derived, of course, from the verb "to clip", meaning "cut off time."

A journey from Hongkong to London reached the average of 125 days (4 months) journey time in 1868; that was before the Suez Canal opened in 1869 giving steamships a route about 3,000 nautical miles (5,550 km) shorter than that taken by sailing ships round the Cape of Good Hope.

So, while a heavy sailing ship in the 17th century might develop an average speed of 6 knots (8.25 km/h), and make 144 nautical miles (266 km) in a day, a steamer of the 19th century would manage an average of 9 knots (16.5 km/h) and travel 216 nautical miles (399 km). A tea clipper of the 19th century, however, was faster still and had an average speed of 15 knots and could travel over 300 nautical miles (550 km); the records were 18 knots (33 km/h), and over, and so making over 400 nautical miles (740 km) in one day. See: 16. Shepo (Java, Indonesia).]

This country has a capital city with walls made of wooden boards. The city has over ten thousand inhabitants and rules over fourteen prefectures. [This information is from the Taiping huanyu ji, which mentions "fourteen kingdoms of small mountain prefectures".]

The king's residence is roofed with palm leaves, while those of the common people are thatched with grass. The king's clothing is colored in imitation of that of the Central Lands, but if he goes naked and barefoot, then he wears golden bangles on his arms and golden chains on his wrists and wraps his body with a cotton cloth. He sits on a bed woven with rope. When going out, he sits by himself on a large cotton cloth carried by his attendants; they call this a ruannang.

The king's entourage has more than five hundred men. Those in front carry swords and other weapons; those behind carry gold plates filled with camphor and betel nuts. The king is also protected by over a hundred warships (or war canoes). In battle, the soldiers wield swords and wear armor cast from bronze in the shape of large tubes. They fit the armor over their bodies to protect both the front and the back. Their household vessels are mostly made of gold.

This land has no wheat. It has hemp and rice, and they use sago as their staple food. (Original note: On sago, see the section on Huangmazhu.) They also have sheep, chickens, and fish. They do not have silkworms and instead use kapok fibers to weave cotton cloth.

They have the nipa palm, the jiameng (sugar) palm, and the coconut palm; they draw sap from the hearts of all these trees to make wine.

Their women from rich families wrap patterned brocade or silk with gold threads around their waists. When arranging a marriage, they first exchange gifts of wine, then betel nuts, then rings, and finally kapok cloth or the equivalent value in gold and silver to complete the rites. They use coffins for their dead, but instead of burying them, they carrying them into the mountains on biers made of bamboo and leave them there. When they begin ploughing in the second month of the year, they make offerings to the deceased. After seven years have passed, they cease to do so. They celebrate the New Year on the seventh day of the twelfth month. The climate in this land is usually hot. When the people hold banquets, they make music by beating drums, blowing flutes, striking gongs, and singing and dancing. They do not use vessels for eating; rather,

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they weave bamboo leaves and palm leaves into cups and throw these away as soon as they have finished their meals.

This country is next to the country of Dimen. [Hirth and Rockhill identified this as Timor (which may be the "Diwu" mentioned in the Sujidan section); Yang Bowen identified it as Tioman Island. Neither theory is ideal, but Timor is much more likely. In Fujian dialect, Dimen would be Timung.]

It has a tree used for medicine. One digs out its root, cooks it into a paste, and ingests it or smears it on one's body. This allows one to survive being cut with bladed weapons. [The plant described here is likely to be Eurycomia Longifolia, known locally by various names including tongkat ali; another plant that could be meant is Liquorice (British English) or Licorice (American English) which is the common name of Glycyrrhiza Glabra. The roots of either plant has their aromatic flavour extracted for medical use.]

This land produces camphor of the plum flower, su, gold foot, and rice grain varieties, as well as beeswax, lakawood, and tortoiseshell. Foreign merchants who come here to trade can use trade-quality gold, trade-quality silver, false brocade, Jianyang brocade, five-colored spun silk, five-colored silk velvet, opaque glass beads, opaque glass bottles, white (refined) tin, black lead, fishing net weights, ivory bangles, rouge, lacquered bowls and plates, and blue porcelain ware. [The Taiping huanyu ji lists the local products of Boni as camphor, tortoiseshell, sappanwood, betel nuts, cloves, and ebony. Zhao Rukuo presumably obtained his list from merchants, as the two lists share only two items in common.]

Three days after a foreign ship arrives at these shores, the king and his family lead the "big men" (Original note: The king's attendants are called "big men," daren) to the ship to welcome its passengers. The ship's crew covers the gangplank with brocade to receive these visitors and serves them fine wine, while handing out presents of gold and silver vessels, fine robes, straw mats, and parasols according to rank. When the merchants have disembarked and gone ashore, they do not immediately speak of matters pertaining to trade. Instead, every day they offer to the king food and drink made in the style of the Central Lands. That is why any ship that sails to Foni (i.e., Boni) must bring one or two good cooks along.

On the first and fifteenth day of every lunar month, the merchants go together to offer their greetings to the king. After a month or more has passed, the merchants finally invite the king and his "big men" to negotiate prices. Once the terms of trade have been decided, drums are beaten to inform people near and far that they may now come and trade. Anyone who engages in clandestine trade before the prices are fixed is punished under the law. Their custom is to treat merchants with respect; any merchant who commits a capital offense is let off with a lighter sentence. On the day of the ship's departure, the king serves wine and has a water buffalo slaughtered to give the merchants a farewell feast. He gifts them camphor and cotton cloth in equal proportion to the presents he received from them. Even though the trade has concluded, the ship always waits until the Buddhist festival on the fifteenth day of the sixth month has passed; only then does it leave the harbour. Otherwise, it is sure to meet with perilous storms at sea. [No major Buddhist festival coincides with the fifteenth day of the sixth lunar month. Since Zhao Rukuo was apt to interpret every foreign religion as Buddhism, it is likely that the festival mentioned here was actually a Hindu Purnima festival.]

They make no images* of the Buddha whom they worship. Instead, they have a thatched hut with several floors, built like a pagoda, and on the first floor is a shrine containing two pearls that they call the Sacred Buddhas. The local people say, "These pearls were small in the beginning, but they have gradually grown to the size of thumbs." On a Buddhist festival, the king himself makes offerings of flowers and fruit to the pearls for three days. All the people of this country, both men and women, come to pay their respects to them. [* This statement sounds more like Islam in which, like in Judaism, it is forbidden to make "graven images of God."

In 1521, Antonio Pigafetta visited Brunei and heard that the local king had two pearls the size of hen's eggs that he had captured from the king of Sulu. Hirth and Rockhill wondered whether these were the same pearls mentioned by Zhao Rukuo, and some later historians have assumed that they were, but this seems doubtful given the gap of three centuries separating the accounts.

In the second year of the Taiping Xingguo era (977), this country sent the envoy Pu Yali (Abu Ali) and others to present a tribute of camphor, tortoiseshell, ivory, and sandalwood. The letter from this country's ruler was sealed in multiple wrappers and written on paper that resembled thin bark. The paper was glossy and smooth and slightly greenish in hue. It was several feet long, about an inch wide, and when rolled up could be held in just one hand. The writing on it was thin and small and read horizontally. Translated into Chinese, it read: "I, the king of Boni, Xiangda, prostrate myself before you. May you, O Emperor, live for thousands and thousands of years!" It also read: "I have sent tribute every year, but it is easily blown off course to Zhancheng (Champa). I beg you to issue an edict commanding Zhancheng to stop detaining my tribute missions from this point onward." The envoys were given lodging in the Foreign Relations Office and sent home with generous gifts. In the fifth year of the Yuanfeng era (1082), they sent another tribute mission. [This passage includes information from the Taiping huanyu ji but adds other details. Fuller accounts of the Boni mission of 977, including a full transcript of the king's letter, are found in the fourteenth-century Wenxian tongkao and Song shi. Johannes Kurz has translated both sources in Kurz, "Boni in Chinese Sources."]

The countries of Xilonggong (possibly Selingaan Island), Shimiao, Rili (possibly Jelai), Hulumantou, Suwu, Lima, Danyu, and Manuo (possibly Berau) are located on islands in the sea. Their people travel to and fro in small boats, and their clothing and diet are the same as those of Boni. They produce sheng agarwood, lakawood, beeswax, and tortoiseshell. Merchants can trade for these with white porcelain ware, wine, rice, coarse salt, white spun silk, and trade-quality gold. [Many toponyms have probably fallen out of use over the centuries and have gone unrecorded in other sources. Mantou (Fujian dialect: Bantau) may be the place name Bandar (port), derived from Persian, that occurs for example in Bandar Seri Begawan, the capital of Brunei. Yang also proposed the following reconstructions: Xilonggong = Sarawak; Shimiao = Sambas; Rili = the River Jelai-Bila; Hulumantou = the Karimata Islands; Suwuli = Suai, Sarawak; Madanyumanuo = Banjarmasin (Yang argues that the last character is mistranscribed and should read xi.) Of these, only the identification of Rili seems plausible to me from a linguistics perspective, and I have adapted it by identifying Rili as Jelai.]

SECTION 56. MAYI (Mindoro or Bay)

The country of Mayi is to the north of Boni (Borneo). More than a thousand families live in a single settlement on both sides of a river.

The local people wear either a sheet of cotton cloth like a cloak, or just a cotton loincloth. There are bronze statues of the Buddha scattered in fields of grass, but no one knows where they are from.

There are few bandits in this country. Upon arriving at its shores, a merchant ship will enter its harbor and moor in front of the official marketplace, where all trade in this country takes place. The local people board the ship and mix freely with the crew. The chiefs here use white parasols daily, so merchants always present such parasols to them as parting gifts. Trading starts with the barbarian merchants coming in large groups and carrying the goods away on bamboo rafts (pili; or "carrying baskets"?).

Initially, the Chinese merchants do not understand what is going on, and only gradually do they come to recognize the faces of the men carrying the goods. Yet there is never any loss of goods through theft. The barbarian merchants take the goods to other islands and sell them; they usually return after about eight or nine months and pay the ship-merchants their share of the profit. Some return later than expected, and that is why ships that go to Mayi to trade take the longest to come back.

Vassal states of this country include: the Three Islands (Palawan and the Calamian Islands), Baipuyan (the Babuyan Islands), Pulilu (Pollilo Island), Liyin Dong (possibly Lingayen Gulf), Liuxin (possibly Luzon), and Lihan (possibly Lian).

This land produces beeswax, kapok, pearls, tortoiseshell, betel nut mixed with aromatics, and yuda cloth. Foreign merchants trade for them using porcelain ware, trade-quality gold, iron cauldrons, black lead, five-coloured opaque glass beads, and iron needles.

SECTION 57. THE THREE ISLANDS (Palawan and the Calamian Islands)

The Three Islands are vassal states of Mayi (Mindoro or Bay). They are called Jiamayan (Calamian), Balaoyou (Palawan), and Bajinong (possibly Busuanga). Each has its own peoples living scattered among the islands. When merchant ships arrive, they come out to trade. They are collectively called the Three Islands. [Calamian Islands or Calamianes, Province of Palawan, western Philippines: Most commentators have interpreted the Three Islands as Palawan and the Calamian island group, although the identification of Bajinong (Fujian dialect: Pakitlong) as Busuanga remains somewhat uncertain on phonetic grounds. It may render a defunct name for another island in the area.]

Their customs are essentially the same as those of Mayi. Each settlement includes about a thousand families. The terrain is very mountainous, with range after range of steep cliffs like walls. The local people live on high and inaccessible ground for safety, building houses out of rushes. There is no water in the mountains, so the women balance two or three stacked pitchers on their heads to get water from the rivers. When they go back up into the mountains [with their jugs filled], they walk as surely as if on level ground.

In the remote valleys of these islands, there live another kind of people called the Haidan (Aeta). They are small in stature, with round yellow eyes, curly hair, and prominent teeth. They live in nests in the treetops. Sometimes they form bands of three to five and wait in ambush in the undergrowth to shoot arrows at people passing through. Many people have been thus killed by them. But if one throws a porcelain bowl at them, they will stoop down, pick it up, and run away, leaping and shouting with joy.

Whenever foreign merchants arrive at a settlement, they dare not go ashore immediately. Instead, they weigh anchor in mid-stream and beat drums to attract the locals. Barbarian merchants than race to the ship in small canoes, bringing with them kapok, beeswax, native cloth, and coir matting to trade with the foreign merchants.

If they cannot agree on a price, then the chief of the merchants comes himself to negotiate. The foreign merchants give him presents of silk parasols, porcelain vessels, and rattan baskets. One or two local men remain on the ship as hostages, while the foreign merchants go ashore to trade. Once the trading is concluded, the hostages are handed over. Every merchant ship only stops for three or four days before moving on to another settlement. The barbarians live all along the shores of the Three Islands and every settlement is independent of the others.

Their mountains (or islands) run in a northeastern direction, and when the south[west] wind blows in, great waves dash against the mountains (or islands). The breakers roll so fast that ships cannot anchor there securely. For that reason, merchants coming to trade in the Three Islands usually (shuai) prepare to make their return voyage in the fourth or fifth lunar month. [The ships left the islands around May or June before the easterly amihan wind shifted to the southwest monsoon (habagat), which would threaten to dash ships against the islands.]

When trading in this country, merchants use porcelain ware, black damask, resist-dyed silk, five-colored "burned" beads, lead fishnet weights, and refined tin.

SECTION 58. PULILU (Polillo Island,)

(Polillo is an island in the northeastern region of the Philippines. It is the largest island and the namesake of the Polillo Islands. It is separated from the large Luzon Island by the Polillo Strait and forms the northern side of Lamon Bay.)

Pulilu is connected to the Three Islands, and its settlements are slightly larger. Many of its people are fierce and violent, given to pillaging and banditry.

There are many coral reefs in the sea in these parts, their undulating surfaces looking like withered tree trunks or knife blades. The reefs are sharper than swords and halberds, and ships passing by them must be prepared to maneuver sharply to avoid them. This place produces blue langgan coral and coral trees (red coral), but these are extremely hard to obtain. The local customs and trade goods are the same as those of the Three Islands.

SECTION 59. LIUQIU (Taiwan or Okinawa)

(This section is almost entirely adapted from the seventh-century Suishu, which describes a country of "Liuqiu " that a Sui military expedition briefly invaded in 610. Liuqiu, rendered with the slightly different characters, became the standard Chinese name for the Ryukyu Kingdom in Ming and Qing times. But "Ryukyu" was not an indigenous Okinawan toponym as of the early Ming. Rather, it was a new name for the newly unified Okinawan kingdom that the Ming court conferred around 1430, apparently based on a belief that Okinawa was the "Liuqiu" described in Chinese sources since the Sui dynasty.)

The country of Liuqiu is to the east of Quanzhou and is five or six days' travel [from Quanzhou] by sea.

Its king's family name is Huansi and the local people address him as Kelao. The king's residence is called Boluotan Cave. It has three layers of moats and fences and is surrounded by rivers and briar patches. The halls of the palace are carved with many images of animals. [After the king refused to submit to Chinese suzerainty and attacked the Sui expedition, the expedition sacked and burned his palace, killed him, and left with thousands of his subjects as prisoners. The palace had sixteen rooms with carved animal images and, according to a different part of the account, was also decorated with heaps of human skulls. Taiwan did originally not belong to the Chinese civilisation. The native inhabitants of Taiwan have been Austronesians who are related to the people of the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Madagascar.]

The men and women tie their hair up with rope made of white ramie fiber, coiling it into a knot on the back of the head. They also make clothes of varying styles out of different types of ramie cloth and fur. They weave hats out of rattan and decorate them with bird feathers. Their weapons include single-edged swords, lances, bows and arrows, double-edged swords, and drums. They join pieces of bear and leopard skin together into armor.

They ride carriages carved in the shape of animals, with only several tens of men in an entourage.

They do not have regular taxation; when there is a need, then they tax everyone equally. They do not have calendars

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and simply keep track of the passing of time by observing the waxing and waning of the moon. Fathers and sons sleep in the same bed. They boil seawater to make salt and ferment rice to make wine. When they come across a rare delicacy, they offer it first to their respected elders. For meat, they have bears, jackals, and wolves. They have particularly large numbers of pigs and chickens, but no cattle, sheep, donkeys, or horses.

The soil in this country is fertile. They first use fire to burn [the forest] and then channel water to irrigate the land. Finally, they hoe the land to a depth of just a few inches and plant their crops. [The Suishu lists these crops as rice, millet, hemp, and several varieties of beans.]

They have no particularly appealing products and are very fond of banditry; for these reasons, merchants do not go there to trade. The local people take their beeswax, local gold, water buffalo tails, and leopard meat jerky to the Three Islands for sale. Their neighboring countries include Pisheye (the Visayans) and Tanmayan.

SECTION 60. THE PISHEYE (the Visayans or Bisayans)

The Pisheye speak a language incomprehensible to us [which is not surprising as Bisayan is an Austronesian language that has nothing to do with Chinese], and our merchants do not go to their country. They go around naked, in a state of primitive savagery, as if they were animals. Off Quanzhou there is an island in the sea, called Penghu, which is under the jurisdiction of Jinjiang county. This island is so near to the country of the Pisheye that the smoke from their fires can be seen. The Pisheye occasionally come on pillaging raids, without any warning, and many people [of Penghu] have been eaten alive by them. This is a source of great misery for them. During the Chunxi era (1174-1189), the chiefs of this country often led several hundreds of their followers on sudden raids on villages near Quanzhou, including Shui'ao and Weitou. They indulged in violence and brutality, killing countless people; the women were raped before being killed. They are fond of iron implements and spoons and chopsticks. People could escape from them by shutting their doors, as they would simply cut off the iron door knockers and leave. If one threw [iron] spoons and chopsticks at them, they would stoop to pick these up, and that would slow them down a little [and allow one to escape]. When our troops came to apprehend them, they saw our cavalry clad in iron armor and rushed forward to cut the armor off; all were then killed by our troops, showing no sign of regret [for their recklessness]. In battle, they use javelins to which they tie ropes more than a hundred feet long; they use the rope to retrieve a thrown javelin, presumably because they value iron so much that they cannot bear to throw it away. They do not use ships or boats and instead rely on bamboo rafts. These rafts can be folded up like a folding screen, so when they need to retreat in a hurry, the entire group swims away carrying their folded rafts. [In 1887, Terrien de Lacouperie identified these Pisheye people, by their Austronesian language, as closely related to people in the Philippines. As we know now, they belong to a huge group of humans whom we call today "Austronesians." The history of these islands began much earlier. Fossilised remains of Homo erectus, also known as the "Java Man", suggest that the Austronesian Islands [also called the "Southeast Asian archipelago," today Indonesia, Malaysia, Taiwan, and the Philppines] were inhabited two million to 500,000 years ago. Homo sapiens reached the region around 43,000 BC. Austronesian peoples, who form the majority of the modern population, migrated to Southeast Asia probably from what is now Taiwan. They arrived in the archipelago around 2,000 BC and confined the native Melanesian peoples to the far eastern regions as they spread east. Ideal agricultural conditions and the mastering of wet-field rice cultivation as early as the eighth century BC allowed villages, towns, and small kingdoms to flourish by the first century AD. During the first millenium AD, they spread farther to Melanesia, parts of Australia, Polynesia, Hawaii, New Zealand, Easter Islands, Madagascar. Basically, they spread by boat in an area from East Africa to South America, around half the globe - an amazing success story of colonisation.]

SECTION 61. XINLUO (Korea)

(Zhao Rukuo refers to Korea by the obsolete name Silla rather than by the name of the Goryeo (Koryŏ) kingdom that replaced Silla in 935. The identification of Silla as descended from the Byeonhan confederacy comes from the Jiu Tangshu and Xin Tangshu and is probably an error. The Liangshu, Beishi, and Tongdian instead identify Silla's ancestors as the Jinhan / Chinhan confederacy.

The Korean language has nothing to do with Chinese but is an Altaic language like Japanese and Turkic. It is an agglutinative and synthetic language, meaning: the words have lots of different endings according to their grammatical needs.

Since the 1st century BC, three Kingdoms ruled in Korea: Goguryeo in the North; 37 BC–668 AD; Baekje in the Southwest: 18 BC–660 AD; Silla in the Southeast: 57 BC–935 AD.

Silla or Shilla, was the main ruler of the South of Korea for about 1,000 years while Goguryeo (also Koguryo; "Gaogouli" in Chinese) ruled over the North of Korea and parts that are now the Northeast of China beyond the River Yalu. In 3 AD, the second ruler of Goguryeo, King Yuri [38 BC–18 AD, r. 19 BC–18 AD), moved the state's capital from Jolbon to Gungnae (Korean) or Guonei (Mandarin), which is in modern Ji'an City, Jilin Province, northeast China, and established the mountain fortress Hwando nearby to defend it. Hwando was sacked by Wei State in 244 AD during the Goguryeo–Wei War. In 342 AD, Hwando was destroyed and thousands of people captured by the Murong Xianbei, after which Goguryeo focussed on expanding south and east. Finally, in 427 AD, the eleventh ruler of Goguryeo, King Jangsu [394–491, r. 413–491], moved the capital to Pyongyang. Gungnae's ruins, with its extensive area of pyramid tombs, just outside of present day Ji'an City, known as "Capital Cities and Tombs of the Ancient Koguryo Kingdom," have been listed as part of a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

Goryeo (also Koryo, a shortened form of Goguryeo / Koguryo, was adopted as the official name in the 5th century, and is the origin of the English name "Korea".) was a new Korean kingdom founded in 918 AD, during a time of national division called the Later Three Kingdoms period, that unified and ruled the Korean Peninsula until 1392 AD. Goryeo unified the Later Three Kingdoms and also incorporated much of the ruling class of the northern kingdom of Balhae, who had origins in Goguryeo of the earlier Three Kingdoms of Korea.)

The people of the country of Xinluo (Silla) are descended from the Bian-Han (Byeonhan / Pyŏnhan). [Zhao Rukuo refers to Korea by the obsolete name Silla rather than by the name of the Goryeo (Koryo) kingdom that replaced Silla in 935 AD.]

This country faces the mouth of Quanzhou harbour directly. But because of the customary taboos based on diviners' theories of north (zi) and south (wu), merchants must first go to Siming (Ningbo) and then embark [for Korea]. Some say that near Quanzhou, the water level gradually inclines downward, so one must pass through Siming [when going to Korea]. [The information here is drawn from the Jiu Tangshu and Xin Tangshu but is outdated and inaccurate. The Suishu, Tongdian, Jiu Tangshu, and Xin Tangshu all record the name of the king invested by the Tang (and before this the Sui) as Jin Zhenping (Kim Jinpyeong), not Zhenjin. The Kim family did rule in Silla for centuries, but the last four monarchs of Silla were from the Pak clan. By 1225, moreover, the Wang clan of Goryeo had ruled Korea for nearly three centuries.]

They have two aristocratic clans: the Jin (Kim) and the Pu (Pak). In the Wude era (618-627) of the Tang, its ruler Zhenjin received investiture as Prince of Lelang Commandery, and his descendants have ruled since then.

During the Kaiyao era (681-682), this country sent an envoy to the Tang court to request copies of its ritual code and other texts. This request was granted. [This is based on the Xin Tangshu, which conflates the date of the embassy with the date of the Silla king Munmu's death. The Jiu Tangshu correctly records the embassy's date as 686. Empress Wu, then ruling the Tang as regent, granted Silla a copy of the ritual code for weddings and funerals and fifty scrolls of didactic literature selected from the Wenguan cilin anthology.]

Their architecture, implements, clothing, and official ranks are all roughly modeled on those of the Central Lands. Their laws are severe for the sake of ensuring obedience from the people. For that reason, few commit crimes and people are so honest that they will not even pick up lost items on the road. When arranging a marriage, they do not use betrothal gifts. The people are literate and fond of learning; even slaves and servants exert themselves in study. They have village schools with placards on the front that read jutang (bureau hall). Unmarried young men live in these schools and learn reading, writing, and archery. They hold civil service examinations every three years, including a presented scholar (Chinese jinshi, Korean jinsa) examination and a mathematics examination. That is why this country is known as the Country of Noble Men (junzi). [Jutang may be a misreading of shutang (seodang), the name for village schools in Goryeo. The first recorded instance of Silla being called a Country of Noble Men is in the Jiu Tangshu and Xin Tangshu accounts of Xing Shu's embassy to Silla in 737. Tang Xuanzong is quoted saying to Xing Shu, "Silla is known as the Country of Noble Men; its people are quite literate and numerate and are similar to the Chinese." Hirth and Rockhill (who Romanise Xing Shu's name as Hing Shou) incorrectly attribute the quote to Xing Shu himself.]

This land is suited to rice cultivation. It has camels* and water buffaloes. The people do not use coins and simply barter with rice. The common people make all their household implements out of copper. They have two kinds of music, called Storehouse Music (kuyue) and Folk Music (xiangyue, Korean: hyangak). [* This passage is based on information provided to the Song court by a Goryeo envoy in 1015 (and recorded in Songshi 487.14043-14044), but it makes at least one error. The envoy actually said that Goryeo did not have sheep, rabbits, camels, water buffaloes, and donkeys. Goryeo did not have a functioning coinage system as of 1015, but it began minting copper and silver coins around 1100. As of 1225, the silver currency was much more popular but coexisted with the use of unofficial units of silver.]

During the Kaiyuan era (713-742), the Tang court sent Xing Shu to this country as an envoy to convey the emperor's condolences.

During the Tongguang (923-926) and Changxing (930-934) eras of the Five Dynasties, this country sent envoys to present tribute. In the second year of our dynasty's Jianlong era (961), it sent an envoy to present tribute. It did so again in the second year of the Taiping Xingguo era (977). [Tongguang and Changxing were reign eras of the Later Tang dynasty. These tribute missions were sent by Wang Geon, the founder of Goryeo. Zhao Rukuo omits mention of tribute missions from Goryeo after 977, but the Northern Song did maintain regular diplomatic contact with Goryeo until the 1030s. After a forty-year interruption, contact resumed in the 1070s and grew increasingly frequent until the eve of the Jurchen invasion. Contact was only sporadic under the Southern Song and ceased entirely after the 1160s, perhaps because of the prolonged instability in Goryeo resulting from the military seizure of power in 1170.]

The people of this country believe in ghost and spirits and have many taboos. When an ambassador from the Central Lands arrives, they must first pick an auspicious day before they can receive our emperor's edict with the proper protocol. In response to an imperial edict, [their king] always writes a letter of thanks in a fairly good literary style.

The land produces ginseng, mercury, musk, pine nuts, hazelnuts, disk abalone, pine cones, siler (fangfeng), giant typhonium (baifuzi), poria (fuling), cotton cloth of various sizes, ramie fiber cloth, bronze chimes, porcelain ware, grass matting, and brushes made with mouse whiskers. Merchant ships use five-colored resist-dyed silk and printed books from Jianyang to trade for them.

SECTION 62. WO (Japan)

(This section is a mixture of information from three different categories of sources: 1. Pre-Song ethnographic accounts of Japan from the Sanguo zhi, the Liangshu, and the Jiu Tangshu; 2. Information provided to the Song court by the visiting Japanese Buddhist monk Chōnen in 984 [See Wang Zhenping, "Chōnen's Pilgrimage to China, 983-986." Asia Major, Third Series, 7, no. 2 (1994): 63-97]; 3. Information that Zhao Rukuo gathered from his own informants.)

The country of Wo (Japanese: Wa) is to the northeast of Quanzhou and is now called Riben (Japanese: Nippon = Japan). It is thus named because it is near where the sun rises. But some say that it renamed itself because it disliked the old name. [The renaming of Japan from Wo / Wa to Riben / Nippon is believed to have occurred around 670. The Jiu Tangshu reflects Tang historians' confusion as to why this renaming occurred: "The country of Riben is an offshoot of the country of Wo. It is called Riben ("the sun's origin") because it is close to the rising sun. Some say that the country of Wo disliked its name, finding it inelegant, and so renamed itself as Riben. And yet others say that Riben was originally a small country that conquered the country of Wo. People from this country who come to our court tend to exaggerate its greatness rather than tell the truth. That is why the Central Lands is uncertain [as to where its name comes from]." By Song times, the Chinese recognized that Wo and Riben were names for the same country, but the reasons for the name change remained unclear. Even Japanese sources do not explain it.]

This country measures several thousand li across from east to west and north to south. To the southwest, it extends to the sea. To the northeast, it borders on tall mountains, beyond which is the land of the Hairy Men (Emishi). [This passage is based on the Jiu Tangshu. By Song times, it was out of date, as the Japanese state had completed its conquest of Emishi lands in Honshu (modern Hokkaido). Chōnen's description, quoted in the Songshi (491.14131), reflects the post-Tang situation: "The country's eastern border adjoins an island in the sea that is inhabited by barbarians (yiren; now called "Ainu") who have thick hair on their bodies and faces."]

It has five metropolitan prefectures (Ji), seven circuits (Dao), three outer islands (Dao), 3,772 villages (Xiang), 414 courier stations (Yi), and more than 883,000 adult men (Ding). [This is based on written information provided by Chonen in 984. The Songshi version (SS 491.14134) has 3,772 cities (Du) and 883,329 adult men (Keding).]

This land has many mountains and forests and no good arable land. The people like eating seafood. By custom, many of them tattoo their bodies; they claim to be descendants of Taibo. They also say that in distant antiquity, their envoys came to the Central Lands, calling themselves dafu. In the distant past, a son of King Shaokang of the Xia dynasty was enfeoffed at Kuaiji (or Guiji) [as ruler of Yue]; he cut his hair and tattooed his body to protect himself from scaly dragons in

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the rivers. Today, the people of Wo also tattoo their bodies to ward off sea creatures when diving to catch fish. Based on the route taken [by their envoys], this country is directly to the east of Kuaiji (Guiji). [All of this information is copied from the seventh-century Jinshu, which in turn took nearly all of it from the third-century Sanguo zhi account of Wo, the first written description of Japan in any language.]

Their seasons are largely similar to the Central Lands. Their king uses the surname Wang and his family has ruled continuously for more than seventy generations. Their civil and military posts are all hereditary. The men wear strips of cloth wound horizontally around their bodies and tied together rather than sewn. The women wear dresses made of a large sheet of fabric with an opening in the centre for the head. Each dress typically uses two or three pieces of thin silk. Men and women all wear their hair loose and go barefoot.

They also have Chinese books, such as the Five Classics and the Collected Works of Bai Letian (Bai Juyi (also Bo Juyi or Po Chü-i; 772–846 AD). They acquired copies of all of these from the Central Lands. Their soil is suited to growing grains, but wheat is scarce. They use copper coins with the inscription "Qianwen Dabao," correct form "Kangen Daiho,"

They have water buffaloes, donkeys, sheep, rhinoceroses, and elephants. [This is supposedly written due to clerical error; in fact, there were no water buffaloes, donkeys, sheep, rhinoceroses, and elephants in Japan.]

They also have gold, silver, fine silk, and patterned cloth. They have many shan (sugi) trees and luo trees that grow to a height of 140 to 150 feet, with trunks four or more feet in girth. The local people split them into planks and use large ships to transport them here to Quanzhou for sale. But people of Quanzhou seldom go to their country.

For [court] music, they have two kinds: one from the Central Lands and one from Goryeo. They use swords, shields, bows, and arrows with iron arrowheads. In archery their arrows do not fly far, and when asked the reason, they say it is because they are unused to war in their country. They have houses in which father, mother, and brothers all sleep in separate rooms. They eat from implements resembling our sacrificial vessels and do not use money or silk as betrothal gifts. They place their dead in coffins, but without an outer coffin, and their tombs consist of earthen mounds. At the beginning of mourning, they wail and weep and abstain from meat, but once the deceased is buried, the whole family goes for a bath in the river to purify itself from bad luck. In important matters, they divine the future by heating bones. They do not know how to measure the beginning of years and seasons but simply count a year from one harvest to the next. Their people tend to live long, typically up to eighty or ninety years. Their women are not sexually promiscuous or jealous. They do not have lawsuits. Severe crimes are punished by executing the offender's entire clan; light crimes are punished by enslaving his wife and children.

They pay their taxes in gold and silver. These are produced by Aozhou (Ōshū, i.e., Mutsu province) in the east and other islands.

This country has had contact with the Central Lands (China) since the Later Han (i.e., Eastern Han). Throughout the Wei, Jin, Liu-Song, Sui, and Tang dynasties, it sent envoys to present tribute. In the first year of the Yongxi era (984) in our dynasty, a Buddhist monk from this country, Diaoran (Chōnen), arrived by sea with five or six disciples. He presented more than ten bronze vessels, all of exquisite workmanship, to our court. Taizong invited him to an audience and had him lodged in the Taiping Xingguo Temple. He presented Diaoran with a purple monk's robe and treated him very generously. Upon hearing that a single royal dynasty had ruled this country for its entire history, and that the ministers were all hereditary, he sighed with wonder and said to his chief ministers Song Qi and Li Fang: "These people are only island barbarians, yet they have maintained a single dynasty for this long, and their ministerial posts, too, have been passed down through generations of the same families. That is the way of the ancients!" That a country of island barbarians could stir such a sigh of admiration in Taizong was surely due to the lingering legacy of Taibo using Chinese ways to change the barbarians, was it not? [In the Songshi version, Taizong goes on to claim that his efforts at achieving good governance are meant to ensure that the Song dynasty will endure forever and with it, the fortunes of its senior ministers' families. "Using Chinese ways to change the barbarians" was a standard ethnocentric term for a "civilising" process of "Sinicisation," taken from Mencius 3A.4: "I have heard of using Chinese ways to change the barbarians, but never of Chinese ways being changed by those of the barbarians." The term "Chinese ways" is still used in China today.]

THE ITINERARY OF BENJAMIN OF TUDELA

Sefer ha-Masa'ot, The Book of Travels
Masa'ot Binyamin , The Travels of Benjamin of Tudela
The Wanderings of Benjamin of Tudela
BM, a MS. in the British Museum No. 27,089.
Roman MS., Casanatense library at Rome No. 216
Translation: Marcus Nathan Adler, 1907
Estimated Range of Dating: 1165-1173 A.D.

(Benjamin of Tudela (1130–1173 AD) was a medieval Jewish traveler who visited Europe, Asia, and Africa in the 12th century. Little is known of his early life, apart from the fact that he was from Tudela, Kingdom of Navarre, and died in Castile, both places are in what is now Spain. His vivid descriptions of western Asia preceded those of Marco Polo by a hundred years. With his broad education and vast knowledge of languages, Benjamin of Tudela is a major figure in medieval geography and Jewish history.

We may ask what induced Tudela to undertake his travels? What object or mission was he carrying out? We can find the answer by reading this document. Tudela was searching and recording information of his own people, the Jews. The Travels of Benjamin is an important work not only as a description of the Jewish communities, but also as a reliable source about the geography and ethnography of the Middle Ages. Some modern historians credit Benjamin with giving accurate descriptions of everyday life in the Middle Ages. Originally written in Hebrew, his itinerary was translated into Latin and later translated into most major European languages. It received much attention from Renaissance scholars in the 16th century. His journeys reveal the concurrent interconnectedness and diversity of Jewish communities during this time period.

There is no consensus among scholars as to Benjamin of Tudela's exact route, although most scholars believe from his itinerary that he travelled on a popular route frequented by travelers at the time. Benjamin set out on his journey from the northeast Iberian Peninsula around 1165, in what may have begun as a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. It has been suggested he may have had a commercial motive as well as a religious one. Several times the subject shows an interest in the coral trade, perhaps as a professional gem-merchant. On the other hand, he may have intended to catalog the Jewish communities en route to the Land of Israel to provide a guide where hospitality could be found for Jews traveling to the Holy Land, or for those fleeing oppression elsewhere. He stopped frequently, meeting people, visiting places, describing occupations, and giving a demographic count of Jews in each town and country that he visited. Benjamin provided his own evaluations of various cultures he encountered and, sometimes, drew parallels between customs he encountered.

His journey began in Zaragoza, further down the valley of the Ebro to Tarragona, Barcelona, and Girona, whence he proceeded north to France, then set sail from Marseilles. After visiting Genoa, Lucca, Pisa, and Rome, he went to Greece and Constantinople, then set off across Asia. He visited Syria, Lebanon, the Land of Israel, and northern Mesopotamia (which he called Shinar) before reaching Baghdad. From there he went to Persia, then cut back across the Arabian Peninsula to Egypt and North Africa, returning to the Iberian Peninsula in 1173. In his travels, he described a significant Jewish community somewhere around modern-day Ethiopia. While it appears clear that such a community exists, scholars still struggle to decide where in Africa he actually visited—a lack of uniform spelling makes it hard to distinguish what places Benjamin and other contemporary writer travel writers are actually referencing.

His visit to the ruins outside Mosul is one of the earliest accurate descriptions of the site of ancient Nineveh. He visited 300 cities in all, including many of importance in Jewish history, such as Susa, Sura, and Pumbedita. In addition, he gathered information on many more areas that he heard about in his travels, including India, China and Tibet. He recorded details on cultures such as that of Al-Hashishin, the Persians, and Western Europeans.

He described his years abroad in a book, The Travels of Benjamin (Masa'ot Binyamin, also known as Sefer ha-Masa'ot, The Book of Travels), which describes the countries he visited, with an emphasis on the Jewish communities, including their total populations and the names of notable community leaders. He also described the customs of the local population, both Jewish and non-Jewish, with an emphasis on urban life. In his accounts, Benjamin of Tudela describes Baghdad with great enthusiasm, making particular note of the virtuosity of the Caliph. He often writes of the respect and intermingle that he encounters between Judaism and Islam. He gave detailed descriptions of sites and landmarks passed along the way, as well as important buildings and marketplaces. Although Benjamin is noted for citing sources and is generally regarded by historians as trustworthy, some of his claims are faulted as relying on earlier writers. For instance, Benjamin's identification of Laish (Tel Dan) with Baniyas along with Philostorgius, Theodoret, and Samuel ben Samson is incorrect. Eusebius of Caesarea, conversely, locates Dan/Laish more accurately in the vicinity of Paneas at the fourth mile on the route to Tyre.

"The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela," prepared and published by A. Asher, is the best edition of the diary of that traveller. The first volume appeared in 1840, and contained a carefully compiled Hebrew text with vowel points, together with an English translation and a bibliographical account.

In addition to twenty-three several reprints and translations enumerated by Asher, various others have since appeared from time to time, but all of them are based upon the two editions of the text from which he compiled his work. These were the Editio Princeps, printed by Eliezer ben Gershon at Constantinople, 1543, and the Ferrara Edition of 1556, printed by Abraham Usque, the editor of the famous "Jews" Bible in Spanish.

Asher had to rely on those prints as he had no original manuscript. The translator of this version, Marcus Nathan Adler, had access to several manuscripts which are:—

1. BM, a MS. in the British Museum (No. 27,089). It is bound up with some of Maimonides' works, several Midrashic tracts, a commentary on the Hagadah by Joseph Gikatilia, and an extract from Abarbanel's commentary on Isaiah; it forms part of the Almanzi collection, which curiously enough was purchased by the British Museum from Asher & Co. in October, 1865, some twenty years after Asher's death.

2. R, or the Roman MS., in the Casanatense library at Rome, and numbered No. 216 in the Catalogue Sacerdote. This MS. occupies the first twenty-seven leaves of Codex 3097, which contains fifteen other treatises, among them a text of Eldad Hadani, all written by the same scribe, Isaac of Pisa, in 5189 A.M

3. E, a MS. now in the possession of Herr Epstein of Vienna, who acquired it from Halberstamm's collection. The only reliable clue as to the date of this MS. is the license of the censor: "visto per me fra Luigi da Bologna Juglio 1599." Herr Epstein considers it to have been written at the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century. The MS. is on paper and in "Italian" handwriting. It contains seventy-four quarto pages of from 19-20 lines each. Speaking generally it is analogous to the edition of Ferrara, 1556, which was used by Ashor as the groundwork of his text (Asher, p. 3), but the spelling of persons and places in E often differs from that in the text of Asher.

4. O, in the Oppenheim collection of the Bodleian Library (MS. Opp. add. 8° 36; ff. 58-63; Neubauer 2425), is a fragment. Its first three leaves are continuous, beginning at p. 61 of Asher's edition and ending at p. 73. After this there is a lacuna of four leaves, and the fragment, which recommences at p. 98 of Asher's edition, is then continuous to the end of the book.

5. B, also in the Oppenheim collection of the Bodleian Library (MS. Opp. add. 8°, 58; fol. 57; Neubauer 2580). This fragment begins at p. 50 of Asher's edition. The date of this fragment is probably much later than that of O, and may well be as late as the eighteenth century. It appears to be written in an oriental hand.)

HEBREW INTRODUCTION.

This is the book of travels, which was compiled by Rabbi Benjamin, the son of Jonah, of the land of Navarre—his repose be in Paradise.

The said Rabbi Benjamin set forth from Tudela*, his native city, and passed through many remote countries, as is related in his book. [* Tudela was called in Benjamin of Tudela's time Tuteila. Nowadays, Tudela is als used as his kind of surname to distinguish him from other persons with the name Benjamin.] In every place which he entered, he made a record of all that he saw, or was told of by trustworthy persons—matters not previously heard of in the land of Sepharad [Hebrew for Spain]. Also he mentions some of the sages and illustrious men residing in each place. He brought this book with him on his return to the country of Castile, in the year 4933 (1173 AD). The said Rabbi Benjamin is a wise and understanding man, learned in the Law and the Halacha, and wherever we have tested his statements we have found them accurate, true to fact and consistent; for he is a trustworthy man.

His book commences as follows:—I journeyed first from my native town to the city of Saragossa*, and thence by way of the River Ebro to Tortosa. [* Saragossa was called in Benjamin's time Sarakosta (= Caesar-Augusta). Charisi, in Tachkemoni, 46, refers to some of the Rabbis.] From there I went a journey of two days to the ancient city of Tarragona with its Cyclopean and Greek buildings. The like thereof is not found among any of the buildings in the country of Sepharad. It is situated by the sea, and two days' journey from the city of Barcelona, where there is a holy congregation, including sages, wise and illustrious men, such as R. Shesheth, R. Shealtiel, R. Solomon, and R. Abraham, son of Chisdai. This is a small city and beautiful, lying upon the sea-coast. Merchants come thither from all quarters with their wares, from Greece, from Pisa, Genoa, Sicily, Alexandria in Egypt, Palestine, Africa and all its coasts. Thence it is a day and a half to Gerona*, in which there is a small congregation of

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Jews. [* The ancient name of Gerona was Gerunda.] A three days'journey takes one to Narbonne, which is a city pre-eminent for learning; thence the Torah (Law) goes forth to all countries. Sages, and great and illustrious men abide here. At their head is R. Kalonymos, the son of the great and illustrious R. Todros of the seed of David, whose pedigree is established. He possesses hereditaments and lands given him by the ruler of the city, of which no man can forcibly dispossess him. Prominent in the community is R Abraham*, head of the Academy: also R. Machir and R. Judah, and many other distinguished scholars. At the present day 300 Jews are there. [* R. Abraham ben Isaac (Rabad II) was author of the Rabbinic code; Ha-Eshkol, and was one of the intermediaries between the Talmudists of France and the Scholars of Spain. He died 1178.]

Thence it is four parasangs* to the city of Beziers, where there is a congregation of learned men. [* A parasang is about 3-2/5 English miles, c. 5.5 km, and the distance from Narbonne to Beziers is correctly given. 10 parasangs make a day's journey.] At their head is R. Solomon Chalafta, R Joseph, and R. Nethanel. Thence it is two days to Har Gaash which is called Montpellier. This is a place well situated for commerce. It is about a parasang from the sea, and men come for business there from all quarters, from Edom, Ishmael, the land of Algarve [The Algarve (from Arabic: al-gharb, Algarbe, lit. 'the west') is the southernmost region of continental Portugal.], Lombardy, the dominion of Rome the Great, from all the land of Egypt, Palestine, Greece, France, Asia and England. People of all nations are found there doing business through the medium of the Genoese and Pisans. In the city there are scholars of great eminence, at their head being R. Reuben, son of Todros, R. Nathan, son of Zechariah, and R. Samuel, their chief rabbi, also R. Solomon and R. Mordecai. They have among them houses of learning devoted to the study of the Talmud. Among the community are men both rich and charitable, who lend a helping hand to all that come to them.

From Montpellier it is four parasangs to Lunel, in which there is a congregation of Israelites, who study the Law day and night. Here lived Rabbenu Meshullam the great rabbi, since deceased, and his five sons, who are wise, great and wealthy, namely: R. Joseph, R. Isaac, R. Jacob, R. Aaron, and R. Asher, the recluse, who dwells apart from the world; he pores over his books day and night, fasts periodically and abstains from all meat. He is a great scholar of the Talmud. At Lunel live also their brother-in-law R. Moses, the chief rabbi, R. Samuel the elder, R. Ulsarnu, R. Solomon Hacohen, and R. Judah the Physician, the son of Tibbon, the Sephardi. The students that come from distant lands to learn the Law are taught, boarded, lodged and clothed by the congregation, so long as they attend the house of study. The community has wise, understanding and saintly men of great benevolence, who lend a helping hand to all their brethren both far and near. The congregation consists of about 300 Jews—may the Lord preserve them.

From there it is two parasangs to Posquières, which is a large place containing about forty Jews, with an Academy under the auspices of the great Rabbi, R. Abraham, son of David, of blessed memory, an energetic and wise man, great as a talmudical authority. People come to him from a distance to learn the Law at his lips, and they find rest in his house, and he teaches them. Of those who are without means he also pays the expenses, for he is very rich. The munificent R. Joseph, son of Menachem, also dwells here, and R. Benveniste, R. Benjamin, R. Abraham and R. Isaac, son of R. Meir of blessed memory. Thence it is four parasangs to the suburb (Ghetto?) Bourg de St. Gilles, in which place there are about a hundred Jews. Wise men abide there; at their head being R. Isaac, son of Jacob, R. Abraham, son of Judah, R. Eleazar, R. Jacob, R. Isaac, R. Moses and R. Jacob, son of rabbi Levi of blessed memory. This is a place of pilgrimage of the Gentiles who come hither from the ends of the earth. It is only three miles from the sea, and is situated upon the great River Rhone, which flows through the whole land of Provence. Here dwells the illustrious R. Abba Mari, son of the late R. Isaac; he is the bailiff of Count Raymond [The Jews of Beaucaire, and the neighbourhood, enjoyed the patronage of Raymond V, Count of Toulouse].

Thence it is three parasangs to the city of Arles, which has about 200 Israelites, at their head being R. Moses, R. Tobias, R. Isaiah, R. Solomon, the chief rabbi R. Nathan, and R. Abba Mari, since deceased.

From there it is two days' journey to Marseilles, which is a city of princely and wise citizens, possessing two congregations with about 300 Jews. One congregation dwells below on the shore by the sea, the other is in the castle above. They form a great academy of learned men, amongst them being R. Simeon, R. Solomon, R. Isaac, son of Abba Mari, R. Simeon, son of Antoli, and R. Jacob his brother; also R. Libero. These persons are at the head of the upper academy. At the head of the congregation below are R. Jacob Purpis, a wealthy man, and R. Abraham, son of R. Meir, his son-in-law, and R. Isaac, son of the late R. Meir. It is a very busy city upon the sea-coast.

From Marseilles one can take ship and in four days reach Genoa, which is also upon the sea. Here live two Jews, R. Samuel, son of Salim, and his brother, from the city of Ceuta, both of them good men. The city is surrounded by a wall, and the inhabitants are not governed by any king, but by judges whom they appoint at their pleasure. Each householder has a tower to his house, and at times of strife they fight from the tops of the towers with each other. They have command of the sea. They build ships which they call galleys, and make predatory attacks upon Edom and Ishmael and the land of Greece as far as Sicily, and they bring back to Genoa* spoils from all these places [The meaning is that the Genoese pillage Christian and Mohammedan places alike.]. They are constantly at war with the men of Pisa. Between them and the Pisans there is a distance of two days' journey.

Pisa is a very great city, with about 10,000 turreted houses for battle at times of strife. All its inhabitants are mighty men. They possess neither king nor prince to govern them, but only the judges appointed by themselves. In this city are about twenty Jews, at their head being R. Moses, R. Chayim, and R. Joseph. The city is not surrounded by a wall. It is about six miles from the sea; the river which flows through the city provides it with ingress and egress for ships.

From Pisa it is four parasangs* to the city of Lucca, which is the beginning of the frontier of Lombardy. In the city of Lucca are about forty Jews. It is a large place, and at the head of the Jews are R. David, R. Samuel, and R. Jacob. [* The parasang is an ancient Persian unit of walking distance, the length of which varied according to terrain, speed of travel, and physical ability of the walker. The European equivalent is the league. In numbers, a pasang covers the distance of about 3 to 3 and a half English miles (4.8 to 5.6 km). That equals roughly to 10,000 marching paces or cubits in about one hour; a pace or cubit typically measures one and a half feet or 44 to 53 cm each.]

Thence it is six days' journey to the great city of Rome. Rome is the head of the kingdoms of Christendom, and contains about 200 Jews, who occupy an honourable position and pay no tribute, and amongst them are officials of the Pope Alexander, the spiritual head of all Christendom. Great scholars reside here, at the head of them being R. Daniel, the chief rabbi, and R. Jechiel, an official of the Pope. He is a handsome young man of intelligence and wisdom, and he has the entry of the Pope's palace; for he is the steward of his house and of all that he has. He is a grandson of R. Nathan, who composed the Aruch [the Talmudical Dictionary, completed in 1101 AD.] and its commentaries. Other scholars are R. Joab, son of the chief rabbi R. Solomon, R. Menachem, head of the academy, R. Jechiel, who lives in Trastevere, and R. Benjamin, son of R. Shabbethai of blessed memory. Rome is divided into two parts by the River Tiber. In the one part is the great church which they call St. Peter's of Rome. The great Palace of Julius Caesar was also in Rome.

There are many wonderful structures in the city, different from any others in the world. Including both its inhabited and ruined parts, Rome is about twenty-four miles in circumference. In the midst thereof there are eighty palaces belonging to eighty kings who lived there, each called Imperator, commencing from King Tarquinius down to Nero and Tiberius, who lived at the time of Jesus the Nazarene, ending with Pepin, who freed the land of Sepharad from Islam, and was father of Charlemagne.

There is a palace outside Rome (said to be of Titus). The Consul and his 300 Senators treated him with disfavour, because he failed to take Jerusalem till after three years, though they had bidden him to capture it within two [This is Josippon's story.].

In Rome is also the palace of Vespasianus, a great and very strong building; also the Colosseum, in which edifice there are 365 sections, according to the days of the solar year; and the circumference of these palaces is three miles. There were battles fought here in olden times, and in the palace more than 100,000 men were slain, and there their bones remain piled up to the present day. The king caused to be engraved a p.10representation of the battle and of the forces on either side facing one another, both warriors and horses, all in marble, to exhibit to the world the war of the days of old.

In Rome there is a cave which runs underground, and catacombs of King Tarmal Galsin and his royal consort who are to be found there, seated upon their thrones, and with them about a hundred royal personages. They are all embalmed and preserved to this day. In the church of St. John in the Lateran there are two bronze columns taken from the Temple, the handiwork of King Solomon, each column being engraved "Solomon the son of David." The Jews of Rome told me that every year upon the 9th of Ab they found the columns exuding moisture like water. There also is the cave where Titus the son of Vespasianus stored the Temple vessels which he brought from Jerusalem. There is also a cave in a hill on one bank of the River Tiber where are the graves of the ten martyrs. In front of St. John in the Lateran there are statues of Samson in marble, with a spear in his hand, and of Absalom the son of King David, and another of [Flavius] Constantinus the Great, who built Constantinople and after whom it was called. The last-named statue is of bronze, the horse being overlaid with gold [This is the statue of Marcus Aurelius now before the Capitol in Rome.]. Many other edifices are there, and remarkable sights beyond enumeration.

From Rome it is four days to Capua, the large town which King Capys built. It is a fine city, but its water is bad, and the country is fever-stricken [from malaria.]. About 300 Jews live there, among them great scholars and esteemed persons, at their heads being R. Conso, his brother R. Israel, R. Zaken and the chief rabbi R. David, since deceased. They call this district the Principality.

From there one goes to Pozzuoli which is called Sorrento the Great, built by Zur, son of Hadadezer, when he fled in fear of David the king. The sea has risen and covered the city from its two sides, and at the present day one can still see the markets and towers which stood in the midst of the city. A spring issues forth from beneath the ground containing the oil which is called petroleum. People collect it from the surface of the water and use it medicinally. There are also hot-water springs to the number of about twenty, which issue from the ground and are situated near the sea, and every man who has any disease can go and bathe in them and get cured. All the afflicted of Lombardy visit it in the summer-time for that purpose.

From this place a man can travel fifteen miles along a road under the mountains, a work executed by King Romulus who built the city of Rome. He was prompted to this by fear of King David and Joab his general. He built fortifications both upon the mountains and below the mountains reaching as far as the city of Naples. Naples is a very strong city, lying upon the sea-board, and was founded by the Greeks. About 500 Jews live here, amongst them R. Hezekiah, R. Shallum, R. Elijah Hacohen and R. Isaac of Har Napus, the chief rabbi of blessed memory.

Thence one proceeds by sea to the city of Salerno, where the Christians have a school of medicine. About 600 Jews dwell there. Among the scholars are R. Judah, son of R. Isaac, the son of Melchizedek, the great Rabbi, who came from the city of Siponto; also R. Solomon (the Cohen), R. Elijah the Greek, R. Abraham Narboni, and R. Hamon. It is a city with walls upon the land side, the other side bordering on the sea and there is a very strong castle on the summit of the hill. Thence it is half a day's journey to Amalfi, where there are about twenty Jews, amongst them R. Hananel, the physician, R. Elisha, and Abu-al-gir, the prince. The inhabitants of the place are merchants engaged in trade, who do not sow or reap, because they dwell upon high hills and lofty crags, but buy everything for money. Nevertheless, they have an abundance of fruit, for it is a land of vineyards and olives, of gardens and plantations, and no one can go to war with them.

Thence it is a day's journey to Benevento, which is a city situated between the sea-coast and a mountain, and possessing a community of about 200 Jews. At their head are R. Kalonymus, R. Zarach, and R. Abraham. From there it is two days' journey to Melfi in the country of Apulia, which is the land of Pul, where about 200 Jews reside, at their head being R. Achimaaz, R. Nathan, and R. Isaac. From Melfi it is about a day's journey to Ascoli, where there are about forty Jews, at their head being R. Consoli, R. Zemach, his son-in-law, and R. Joseph. From there it takes two days to Trani on the sea, where all the pilgrims gather to go to Jerusalem; for the port is a convenient one. A community of about 200 Israelites is there, at their head being R. Elijah, R. Nathan, the expounder, and R. Jacob. It is a great and beautiful city.

From there it is a day's journey to Colo di Bari, which is the great city which King William of Sicily destroyed. Neither Jews nor Gentiles live there at the present day in consequence of its destruction. Thence it is a day and a half to Taranto, which is under the government of Calabria, the inhabitants of which are Greek. It is a large city, and contains about 300 Jews, some of them men of learning, and at their head are R. Meir, R. Nathan, and R. Israel.

From Taranto it is a day's journey to Brindisi, which is on the sea coast.p.15 About ten Jews, who are dyers, reside here. It is two days' journey to Otranto, which is on the coast of the Greek sea. Here are about 50 Jews, at the head of them being R. Menachem, R. Caleb, R. Meir, and R. Mali. From Otranto it is a voyage of two days to Corfu, where only one Jew of the name of R. Joseph lives, and here ends the kingdom of Sicily.

Thence it is two days' voyage to the land of Larta (Arta), which is the beginning of the dominions of Emanuel, Sovereign of the Greeks. It is a place containing about 100 Jews, at their head being R. Shelachiah and R. Hercules. From there it is two days to Aphilon [Achelous; The river Achelous falls into the Ionian Sea opposite to Ithaca.], a place in which reside about thirty Jews, at their head being R. Sabbattai. From there it takes half a day to Anatolica, which is situated on an arm of the sea [Anatolica is now known as Aetolicum.].

From there it takes a day to Patras [the ancient Patrae.], which is the city which Antipater, King of the Greeks, built. He was one of the four successors of King Alexander. In the city there are several large old buildings, and about fifty Jews live here, at their head being R. Isaac, R. Jacob, and R.

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Samuel. Half a day's journey by way of the sea takes one to Kifto [Naupaktos (or Nafpaktos), was an important Athenian naval station between the Peloponnes and the Greek mainland, better known by its Venetian name Lepanto, It is situated on a bay on the north coast of the Gulf of Corinth, 3 km (2 mi) west of the mouth of the river Mornos.], where there are about 100 Jews, who live on the sea-coast; at their head are R. Guri, R. Shallum, and R. Abraham. From there it is a journey of a day and a half to Crissa, where about 200 Jews live apart. They sow and reap on their own land; at their head are R. Solomon, R. Chayim, and R. Jedaiah. From there it is three days' journey to the capital city of Corinth; here are about 300 Jews, at their head being R. Leon, R. Jacob, and R. Hezekiah.

Thence it is two days' journey to the great city of Thebes, where there are about 2,000 Jews. They are the most skilled artificers in silk and purple cloth throughout Greece. They have scholars learned in the Mishnah and the Talmud, and other prominent men, and at their head are the chief rabbi R. Kuti and his brother R. Moses, as well as R. Chiyah, R. Elijah Tirutot, and R. Joktan; and there are none like them in the land of the Greeks, except in the city ofp.17 Constantinople. From Thebes it is a day's journey to Egripo*, which is a large city upon the sea-coast, where merchants come from every quarter. [Chalcis, the capital of Euboea or Negroponte, is even now called Egripo. It is situated on the Straits of Euripus.] About 200 Jews live there, at their head being R. Elijah Psalteri, R. Emanuel, and R. Caleb.

From there it takes a day to Jabustrisa, which is a city upon the sea-coast with about 100 Jews, at their head being R. Joseph, R. Elazar, R. Isaac, R. Samuel, and R. Nethaniah. From there it is a day's journey to Rabonica, where there are about 100 Jews, at their head being R. Joseph, R. Elazar, and R. Isaac.

From there it is a day's journey to Sinon Potamo, where there are about fifty Jews, at their head being R. Solomon and R. Jacob. The city is situated at the foot of the hills of Wallachia. The nation called Wallachians live in those mountains. They are as swift as hinds, and they sweep down from the mountains to despoil and ravage the land of Greece. No man can go up and do battle against them, and no king can rule over them. They do not hold fast to the faith of the Nazarenes, but give themselves Jewish names. p.18 Some people say that they are Jews, and, in fact, they call the Jews their brethren, and when they meet with them, though they rob them, they refrain from killing them as they kill the Greeks. They are altogether lawless.

From there it is two days' journey to Gardiki, which is in ruins and contains but a few Greeks and Jews. From there it is two days' journey to Armylo, which is a large city on the sea, inhabited by Venetians, Pisans, Genoese, and all the merchants who come there; it is an extensive place, and contains about 400 Jews. At their head are the chief rabbi R. Shiloh Lombardo, R. Joseph, the warden, and R. Solomon, the leading man. Thence it is a day's journey to Vissena, where there are about 100 Jews, at their head being the chief rabbi R. Sabbattai, R. Solomon, and R. Jacob.

From there it is two days' voyage to the city of Salonica, built by King Seleucus, one of the four successors who followed after King Alexander. It is a very large city, with about 500 Jews, including the chief rabbi R. Samuel and his sons, who are scholars.p.19 He is appointed by the king as head of the Jews. There is also R. Sabbattai, his son-in-law, R. Elijah, and R. Michael. The Jews are oppressed, and live by silk-weaving.

Thence it is two days' journey to Demetrizi, with about fifty Jews. In this place live R. Isaiah, R. Machir, and R. Alib. Thence it is two days to Drama, where there are about 140 Jews, at the head of them being R. Michael and R. Joseph. From there it is one day's journey to Christopoli, where about twenty Jews live.

A three days' voyage brings one to Abydos, which is upon an arm of the sea which flows between the mountains, and after a five days' journey the great town of Constantinople is reached. It is the capital of the whole land of Javan, which is called Greece. Here is the residence of the King Emanuel the Emperor. Twelve ministers are under him, each of whom has a palace in Constantinople and possesses castles and cities; they rule all the land. At their head is the King Hipparchus, the second in command is the Megas Domesticus, the third Dominus, and the fourth is Megaa Ducas, and the fifth is Oeconomus Megalus; the others bear names like these. The circumference of the city of Constantinople is eighteen miles; half of it is surrounded by the sea, and half by land, and it is situated upon two arms of the sea, one coming from the sea of Russia, and one from the sea of Sepharad.

All sorts of merchants come here from the land of Babylon, from the land of Shinar, from Persia, Media, and all the sovereignty of the land of Egypt, from the land of Canaan, and the empire of Russia [The Grand Duchy of Kieff / Kiev was called Russia.], from Hungaria, Patzinakia [in Dacia], Khazaria [or Khazar Khaganate, which was a Jewish Empire north of Persia from the 7th to the 10th century AD (c. 650–969 AD)], and the land of Lombardy and Sepharad. It is a busy city, and merchants come to it from every country by sea or land, and there is none like it in the world except Bagdad, the great city of Islam. In Constantinople is the church of Santa Sophia, and the seat of the Pope of the Greeks, since the Greeks do not obey the Pope of Rome. There are also churches according to the number of the days of the year. A quantity of wealth beyond telling is brought hither year by year as tribute from the two islands and the castles and villages which are there. And the like of this wealth is not to be found in any other church in the world. And in this church there are pillars of gold and silver, and lamps of silver and gold more than a man can count. Close to the walls of the palace is also a place of amusement belonging to the king, which is called the Hippodrome, and every year on the anniversary of the birth of Jesus the king gives a great entertainment there. And in that place men from all the races of the world come before the king and queen with jugglery and without jugglery, and they introduce lions, leopards, bears, and wild asses, and they engage them in combat with one another; and the same thing is done with birds. No entertainment like this is to be found in any other land.

This King Emanuel built a great palace for the seat of his Government upon the sea-coast, in addition to the palaces which his fathers built, and he called its name Blachernae. He overlaid its columns and walls with gold and silver, and engraved thereon representations of the battles before his day and of his own combats. He also set up a throne of gold and of precious stones, and a golden crown was suspended by a gold chain over the throne, so arranged that he might sit thereunder. It was inlaid with jewels of priceless value, and at night time no lights were required, for every one could see by the light which the stones gave forth. Countless other buildings are to be met with in the city. From every part of the empire of Greece tribute is brought here every year, and they fill strongholds with garments of silk, purple, and gold. Like unto these storehouses and this wealth, there is nothing in the whole world to be found. It is said that the tribute of the city amounts every year to 20,000 gold pieces, derived both from the rents of shops and markets, and from the tribute of merchants who enter by sea or land.

The Greek inhabitants are very rich in gold and precious stones, and they go clothed in garments of silk with gold embroidery, and they ride horses, and look like princes. Indeed, the land is very rich in all cloth stuffs, and in bread, meat, and wine. Wealth like that of Constantinople is not to be found in the whole world. Here also are men learned in all the books of the Greeks, and they eat and drink every man under his vine and his fig-tree.

They hire from amongst all nations warriors called Loazim (Barbarians) to fight with the Sultan Masud, King of the Togarmim (Seljuks), who are called Turks; for the natives are not warlike, but are as women who have no strength to fight.

No Jews live in the city, for they have been placed behind an inlet of the sea. An arm of the sea of Marmora shuts them in on the one side, and they are unable to go out except by way of the sea, when they want to do business with the inhabitants [Ibn Verga or Salomón ben Verga (c. 1460 – 1554) was a Spanish historian, physician, and author of the Shevet Yehudah (Hebrew for "The Twelve Tribes of Judah" or "The Scepter of Judah"). He states in the Shevet Jehuda, 25, that a predecessor of the Emperor Manuel Comnenus issued an edict prohibiting the Jews from residing elsewhere than in Pera, and restricting their occupation to tanning and shipbuilding.]. In the Jewish quarter are about 2,000 Rabbanite Jews and about 500 Karaïtes, and a fence divides them. Amongst the scholars are several wise men, at their head being the chief rabbi R. Abtalion, R. Obadiah, R. Aaron Bechor Shoro, R. Joseph Shir-Guru, and R. Eliakim, the warden. And amongst them there are artificers in silk and many rich merchants. No Jew there is allowed to ride on horseback. The one exception is R. Solomon Hamitsri, who is the king's physician, and through whom the Jews enjoy considerable alleviation of their oppression. For their condition is very low, and there is much hatred against them, which is fostered by the tanners, who throw out their dirty water in the streets before the doors of the Jewish houses and defile the Jews' quarter (the Ghetto). So the Greeks hate the Jews, good and bad alike, and subject them to great oppression, and beat them in the streets, and in every way treat them with rigour. Yet the Jews are rich and good, kindly and charitable, and bear their lot with cheerfulness. The district inhabited by the Jews is called Pera.

From Constantinople it is two days' voyage to Rhaedestus [modern Rodosto], with a community of Israelites of about 400, at their head being R. Moses, R. Abijah, and R. Jacob. From there it is two days to Callipolis (Gallipoli), where there are about 200 Jews, at their head being R. Elijah Kapur, R. Shabbattai Zutro, and R. Isaac Megas, which means "great" in Greek. And from here it is two days to Kales. Here there are about fifty Jews, at their head being R. Jacob and R. Judah. From here it is two days' journey to the island of Mytilene, and there are Jewish congregations in ten localities on the island. Thence it is three days' voyage to the island of Chios, where there are about 400 Jews, including R. Elijah Heman and R. Shabtha. Here grow the trees from which mastic is obtained. Two days' voyage takes one to the island of Samos, where there are 300 Jews, at their head being R. Shemaria, R. Obadiah, and R. Joel. The islands have many congregations of Jews. From Samos it is three days to Rhodes, where there are about 400 Jews, at their head being R. Abba, R. Hannanel, and R. Elijah. It is four days' voyage from here to Cyprus, where there are Rabbanite Jews and Karaïtes; there are also some heretical Jews called Epikursin, whom the Israelites have excommunicated in all places. They profane the eve of the sabbath, and observe the first night of the week, which is the termination of the sabbath. From Cyprus it is four days' journey to Curicus (Kurch), which is the beginning of the land called Armenia, and this is the frontier of the empire of Thoros, ruler of the mountains, and king of Armenia, whose dominions extend to the province of Trunia [The several MSS. give different readings. The kingdom reached to the Taurus mountains and the Sultanate of Rum or Iconium.], and to the country of the Togarmim or Turks. From there it is two days' journey to Malmistras, which is Tarshish, situated by the sea; and thus far extends the kingdom of the Javanim or Greeks [Malmistras is forty-five miles from Tarsus. Both had been recaptured by Manuel in 1155. Josippon, I, chap. i, identifies Tarshish with Tarsus.].

Thence it is two days' journey to Antioch the Great, situated on the river Fur (Orontes), which is the river Jabbok, that flows from Mount Lebanon and from the land of Hamath. This is the great city which Antiochus the king built. The city lies by a lofty mountain, which is surrounded by the city-wall. At the top of the mountain is a well, from which a man appointed for that purpose directs the water by means of twenty subterranean passages to the houses of the great men of the city. The other part of the city is surrounded by the river. It is a strongly fortified city, and is under the sway of Prince Boemond Poitevin, surnamed le Baube. Ten Jews dwell here, engaged in glass-making, and at their head are R. Mordecai, R. Chayim, and R. Samuel. From here it is two days' journey to Lega, or Ladikiya, where there are about 100 Jews, at their head being R. Chayim and R. Joseph.

Thence it is two days' journey to Gebal (Gebela, Gebal is the Gabala of ancient geographers.), which is Baal-Gad, at the foot of Lebanon. In the neighbourhood dwells a people called Al-Hashishim [The Hashishim were a Nizari Isma'ili sect of Shia Islam who lived in the mountains of Persia and in Syria between 1090 and 1275. They committed acts of Jihad killing anyone they considered non-Islamic, pretty much like the Jewish Sicarii a thousand years earlier. They put willingly their own life on the line due to the Koranic promise they would join the Huriya (Houris or Nymphs; Koran: 52:20; 55:56; 55:74) in a very sensual Paradise immediately. The Hashishim as organisation were crushed by the Mongols and afterwards by inner-Islamic civil wars. The modern term "Assassin" is based on the name Hashishim.]. They do not believe in the religion of Islam [which is a wrong conclusin on the part of Tudela], but follow one of their own folk, whom they regard as their prophet, and all that he tells them to do they carry out, whether for death or life. They call him the Sheik Al Hashishim, and he is known as their Elder. At his word these mountaineers go out and come in. Their principal seat is Kadmus, which is Kedemoth in the land of Sihon. They are faithful to each other, but a source of terror to their neighbours, killing even kings at the cost of their own lives. The extent of their land is eight days' journey. And they are at war with the sons of Edom who are called the Franks, and with the ruler of Tripolis, which is Tarabulus el Sham. At Tripolis in years gone by there was an earthquake, when many Gentiles and Jews perished, for houses and walls fell upon them. There was great destruction at that time throughout the Land of Israel, and more than 20,000 souls perished.

Thence it is a day's journey to the other Gebal (Gubail), which borders on the land of the children of Ammon, and here there are about 150 Jews. The place is under the rule of the Genoese, the name of the governor being Guillelmus Embriacus. Here was found a temple belonging to the children of Ammon in olden times, and an idol of theirs seated upon a throne or chair, and made of stone overlaid with gold. Two women are represented sitting one on the right and one on the left of it, and there is an altar in front before which the Ammonites* used to sacrifice and burn incense [* people from Amman, Jordan. They formed a Jewish state in Antiquity.]. There are about 200 Jews there, at their head being R. Meir, R. Jacob, and R. Simchah. The place is situated on the sea-border of the land of Israel. From there it is two days' journey to Beirut, or Beeroth, where there are about fifty Jews, at their head being R. Solomon, R. Obadiah, and R. Joseph. Thence it is one day's journey to Saida, which is Sidon, a large city, with about twenty Jews. Ten miles therefrom a people dwell who are at war with the men of Sidon; they are called Druses, and are pagans of a lawless character. They inhabit the mountains and the clefts of the rocks; they have no king or ruler, but dwell independent in these high places, and their border extends to Mount Hermon*, which is a three days' journey [* Har Hermon is a mountain cluster constituting the southern end of the Anti-Lebanon mountain range. Its summit straddles the border between Syria and Lebanon and,

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at 2,814 m (9,232 ft) above sea level, is the highest point in Syria.]. They are steeped in vice, brothers marrying their sisters, and fathers their daughters. They have one feast-day in the year, when they all collect, both men and women, to eat and drink together, and they then interchange their wives. They say that at the time when the soul leaves the body it passes in the case of a good man into the body of a newborn child, and in the case of a bad man into the body of a dog or an ass. Such are their foolish beliefs. There are no resident Jews among them, but a certain number of Jewish handicraftsmen and dyers come among them for the sake of trade, and then return, the people being favourable to the Jews. They roam over the mountains and hills, and no man can do battle with them.

From Sidon it is half a day's journey to Sarepta (Sarfend), which belongs to Sidon. Thence it is a half-day to New Tyre (Sūr), which is a very fine city, with a harbour in its midst. At night-time those that levy dues throw iron chains from tower to tower, so that no man can go forth by boat or in any other way to rob the ships by night. There is no harbour like this in the whole world. Tyre is a beautiful city. It contains about 500 Jews, some of them scholars of the Talmud, at their head being R. Ephraim of Tyre, the Dayan, R. Meir from Carcassonne, and R. Abraham, head of the congregation. The Jews own sea-going vessels, and there are glass-makers amongst them who make that fine Tyrian glass-ware which is prized in all countries.

In the vicinity is found sugar of a high class, for men plant it here, and people come from all lands to buy it. A man can ascend the walls of New Tyre and see ancient Tyre [Tyre, a Phoenician capital city before, was noted for its glass-ware and sugar factories up to 1291, when it was abandoned by the Crusaders, and destroyed by the Moslims.], which the sea has now covered, lying at a stone's throw from the new city. And should one care to go forth by boat, one can see the castles, market-places, streets, and palaces in the bed of the sea. New Tyre is a busy place of commerce, to which merchants flock from all quarters.

One day's journey brings one to Acre, the Acco of old, which is on the borders of Asher; it is the commencement of the land of Israel. Situated by the Great Sea, it possesses a large harbour for all the pilgrims who come to Jerusalem by ship. A stream runs in front of it, called the brook of Kedumim [This name is applied to the Kishon.]. About 200 Jews live there, at their head being R. Zadok, R. Japheth, and R. Jonah. From there it is three parasangs to Haifa, which is Hahepher [Gath-Hepher, the birthplace of Jonah, near Kefr Kenna, in the territory of Zebulon (Joshua 19:13), is not here referred to, but the land of Hepher, I Kings 4:10 is probably meant.] on the seaboard, and on the other side is Mount Carmel, at the foot of which there are many Jewish graves. On the mountain is the cave of Elijah, where the Christians have erected a structure called St. Elias. On the top of the mountain can be recognized the overthrown altar which Elijah repaired in the days of Ahab. The site of the altar is circular, about four cubits remain thereof, and at the foot of the mountain the brook Kishon flows. From here it is four parasangs to Capernaum, which is the village of Nahum, identical with Maon, the home of Nabal the Carmelite.

Six parasangs from here is Caesarea, the Gath* of the Philistines [*In the time of the Crusaders Gath was supposed to be near Jamnia], and here there are about 200 Jews and 200 Cuthim. These are the Jews of Shomron, who are called Samaritans. The city is fair and beautiful, and lies by the sea. It was built by Caesar, and called after him Caesarea. Thence it is half a day's journey to Kako [It lies between Caesarea Maritima and Lydda.], the Keilah of Scripture. There are no Jews here. Thence it is half a day's journey to St. George, which is Ludd [Lydda], where there lives one Jew, who is a dyer. Thence it is a day's journey to Sebastiya, which is the city of Shomron (Samaria), and here the ruins of the palace of Ahab the son of Omri may be seen. It was formerly a well-fortified city by the mountain-side, with streams of water. It is still a land of brooks of water, gardens, orchards, vineyards, and olive groves, but no Jews dwell here. Thence it is two parasangs to Nablous, which is Shechem on Mount Ephraim, where there are no Jews; the place is situated in the valley between Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal, and contains about 1,000 Cuthim, who observe the written law of Moses alone, and are called Samaritans. They have priests of the seed (of Aaron), and they call them Aaronim, who do not intermarry with Cuthim, but wed only amongst themselves. These priests offer sacrifices, and bring burnt-offerings in their place of assembly on Mount Gerizim, as it is written in their law—"And thou shalt set the blessing on Mount Gerizim." They say that this is the proper site of the Temple. On Passover and the other festivals they offer up burnt-offerings on the altar which they have built on Mount Gerizim, as it is written in their law—"Ye shall set up the stones upon Mount Gerizim, of the stones which Joshua and the children of Israel set up at the Jordan." They say that they are descended from the tribe of Ephraim. And in the midst of them is the grave of Joseph, the son of Jacob our father, as it is written—"and the bones of Joseph buried they in Shechem [The small square building known as Joseph's tomb lies a short distance north of Jacob's well, at the eastern entrance to the vale of Nablous.]." Their alphabet lacks three letters, namely He, Heth, and Ain. The letter He is taken from Abraham our father, because they have no dignity, the letter Heth from Isaac, because they have no kindliness, and the letter Ain from Jacob, because they have no humility. In place of these letters they make use of the Aleph, by which we can tell that they are not of the seed of Israel, although they know the law of Moses with the exception of these three letters. They guard themselves from the defilement of the dead, of the bones of the slain, and of graves; and they remove the garments which they have worn before they go to the place of worship, and they bathe and put on fresh clothes. This is their constant practice. On Mount Gerizim are fountains and gardens and plantations, but Mount Ebal is rocky and barren; and between them in the valley lies the city of Shechem.

From the latter place it is a distance of four parasangs to Mount Gilboa, which the Christians call Mont Gilboa; it lies in a very parched district. And from there it is five . . . . . [The Manuscripts are defective here.], a village where there are no Jews. Thence it is two parasangs to the valley of Ajalon, which the Christians call Val-de-Luna. At a distance of one parasang is Mahomerie-le-Grand, which is Gibeon the Great; it contains no Jews.

From there it is three parasangs to Jerusalem, which is a small city, fortified by three walls. It is full of people whom the Mohammedans call Jacobites, Syrians, Greeks, Georgians and Franks, and of people of all tongues. It contains a dyeing-house, for which the Jews pay a small rent annually to the king [King Baldwin III died in 1162, and was succeeded by his brother Almaric.], on condition that besides the Jews no other dyers be allowed in Jerusalem. There are about 200 Jews who dwell under the Tower of David in one corner of the city. The lower portion of the wall of the Tower of David, to the extent of about ten cubits, is part of the ancient foundation set up by our ancestors, the remaining portion having been built by the Mohammedans. There is no structure in the whole city stronger than the Tower of David. The city also contains two buildings, from one of which—the hospital—there issue forth four hundred knights; and therein all the sick who come thither are lodged and cared for in life and in death [The Knights of the Hospital of St. John and the Templars are here referred to.]. The other building is called the Temple of Solomon; it is the palace built by Solomon the king of Israel. Three hundred knights are quartered there, and issue therefrom every day for military exercise, besides those who come from the land of the Franks and the other parts of Christendom, having taken upon themselves to serve there a year or two until their vow is fulfilled. In Jerusalem is the great church called the Sepulchre, and here is the burial-place of Jesus, unto which the Christians make pilgrimages.

Jerusalem has four gates—the gate of Abraham, the gate of David, the gate of Zion, and the gate of Gushpat, which is the gate of Jehoshaphat, facing our ancient Temple, now called Templum Domini. Upon the site of the sanctuary Omar ben al Khataab erected an edifice with a very large and magnificent cupola, into which the Gentiles do not bring any image or effigy, but they merely come there to pray. In front of this place is the western wall, which is one of the walls of the Holy of Holies. This is called the Gate of Mercy, and thither come all the Jews to pray before the wall of the court of the Temple. In Jerusalem, attached to the palace which belonged to Solomon, are the stables built by him, forming a very substantial structure, composed of large stones, and the like of it is not to be seen anywhere in the world. There is also visible up to this day the pool used by the priests before offering their sacrifices, and the Jews coming thither write their names upon the wall. The gate of Jehoshaphat leads to the valley of Jehoshaphat, which is the gathering-place of nations. Here is the pillar called Absalom's Hand, and the sepulchre of King Uzziah [Azariah.].

In the neighbourhood is also a great spring, called the Waters of Siloam, connected with the brook of Kidron. Over the spring is a large structure dating from the time of our ancestors, but little water is found, and the people of Jerusalem for the most part drink the rain-water, which they collect in cisterns in their houses. From the valley of Jehoshaphat one ascends the Mount of Olives; it is the valley only which separates Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives. From the Mount of Olives one sees the Sea of Sodom, and at a distance of two parasangs from the Sea of Sodom is the Pillar of Salt into which Lot's wife was turned; the sheep lick it continually, but afterwards it regains its original shape. The whole land of the plain and the valley of Shittim as far as Mount Nebo are visible from here.

In front of Jerusalem is Mount Zion, on which there is no building, except a place of worship belonging to the Christians. Facing Jerusalem for a distance of three miles are the cemeteries belonging to the Israelites, who in the days of old buried their dead in caves, and upon each sepulchre is a dated inscription, but the Christians destroy the sepulchres, employing the stones thereof in building their houses. These sepulchres reach as far as Zelzah in the territory of Benjamin. Around Jerusalem are high mountains.

On Mount Zion are the sepulchres of the House of David, and the sepulchres of the kings that ruled after him. The exact place cannot be identified, inasmuch as fifteen years ago a wall of the church of Mount Zion fell in. The Patriarch commanded the overseer to take the stones of the old walls and restore therewith the church. He did so, and hired workmen at fixed wages; and there were twenty men who brought the stones from the base of the wall of Zion. Among these men there were two who were sworn friends. On a certain day the one entertained the other; after their meal they returned to their work, when the overseer said to them, "Why have you tarried to-day?" They answered, "Why need you complain? When our fellow workmen go to their meal we will do our work." When the dinner-time arrived, and the other workmen had gone to their meal, they examined the stones, and raised a certain stone which formed the entrance to a cave. Thereupon one said to the other, "Let us go in and see if any money is to be found there." They entered the cave, and reached a large chamber resting upon pillars of marble overlaid with silver and gold. In front was a table of gold and a sceptre and crown. This was the sepulchre of King David. On the left thereof in like fashion was the sepulchre of King Solomon; then followed the sepulchres of all the kings of Judah that were buried there. Closed coffers were also there, the contents of which no man knows. The two men essayed to enter the chamber, when a fierce wind came forth from the entrance of the cave and smote them, and they fell to the ground like dead men, and there they lay until evening. And there came forth a wind like a man's voice, crying out: "Arise and go forth from this place!" So the men rushed forth in terror, and they came unto the Patriarch, and related these things to him. Thereupon the Patriarch sent for Rabbi Abraham el Constantini, the pious recluse, who was one of the mourners of Jerusalem, and to him he related all these things according to the report of the two men who had come forth. Then Rabbi Abraham replied, "These are the sepulchres of the House of David; they belong to the kings of Judah, and on the morrow let us enter. I and you and these men, and find out what is there." And on the morrow they sent for the two men, and found each of them lying on his bed in terror, and the men said: "We will not enter there, for the Lord doth not desire to show it to any man." Then the Patriarch gave orders that the place should be closed up and hidden from the sight of man unto this day. These things were told me by the said Rabbi Abraham.

From Jerusalem it is two parasangs to Bethlehem, which is called by the Christians Beth-Leon, and close thereto, at a distance of about half a mile, at the parting of the way, is the pillar of Rachel's grave, which is made up of eleven stones, corresponding with the number of the sons of Jacob. Upon it is a cupola resting on four columns, and all the Jews that pass by carve their names upon the stones of the pillar. At Bethlehem there are two Jewish dyers. It is a land of brooks of water, and contains wells and fountains.

At a distance of six parasangs is St. Abram de Bron, which is Hebron; the old city stood on the mountain, but is now in ruins; and in the valley by the field of Machpelah lies the present city. Here there is the great church called St. Abram, and this was a Jewish place of worship at the time of the Mohammedan rule, but the Gentiles have erected there six tombs, respectively called those of Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebekah, Jacob and Leah. The custodians tell the pilgrims that these are the tombs of the Patriarchs, for which information the pilgrims give them money. If a Jew comes, however, and gives a special reward, the custodian of the cave opens unto him a gate of iron, which was constructed by our forefathers, and then he is able to descend below by means of steps, holding a lighted candle in his hand. He then reaches a cave, in which nothing is to be found, and a cave beyond, which is likewise empty, but when he reaches the third cave behold there are six sepulchres, those of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, respectively facing those of Sarah, Rebekah and Leah. And upon the graves are inscriptions cut in stone; upon the grave of Abraham is engraved "This is the grave of Abraham"; upon that of Isaac, "This is the grave of Isaac, the son of Abraham our Father"; upon that of Jacob, "This is the grave of Jacob, the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham our Father"; and upon the others, "This is the grave of Sarah," "This is the grave of Rebekah," and "This is the grave of Leah." A lamp burns day and night upon the graves in the cave.

One finds there many casks filled with the bones of Israelites, as the members of the house of Israel were wont to bring the bones of their fathers thither and to deposit them there to this day.

Beyond the field of Machpelah is the house of Abraham; there is a well in front of the house, but out of reverence for the Patriarch Abraham no one is allowed to build in the neighbourhood.

From Hebron it is five parasangs to Beit Jibrin, which is Mareshah, where there are but three Jews. Three parasangs further one reaches St. Samuel of Shiloh. This is the Shiloh which is two parasangs from Jerusalem. When the Christians

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captured Ramlah, the Ramah of old, from the Mohammedans, they found there the grave of Samuel the Ramathite close to a Jewish synagogue. The Christians took the remains, conveyed them unto Shiloh, and erected over them a large church, and called it St. Samuel of Shiloh unto this day [Shiloh, at the time of the Crusaders, was considered to occupy the site of Mizpeh, the highest mountain near Jerusalem, where the national assemblies were held at the time of the Judges. The present mosque is dilapidated, but the substructure, which dates from the Frank period, is beautifully jointed. The apse is raised. The reputed tomb of Samuel is on the western side of the church. It is still called Nebi Samwil, venerated alike by Jew and Moslem].

From there it is three parasangs to Mahomerie-le-petit [Crusaders' churches.], which is Gibeah of Saul, where there are no Jews, and this is Gibeah of Benjamin. Thence three parasangs to Beit Nuba, which is Nob, the city of priests. In the middle of the way are the two crags of Jonathan, the name of the one being Bozez, and the name of the other Seneh. Two Jewish dyers dwell there.

Thence it is three parasangs to Rams, or Ramleh, where there are remains of the walls from the days of our ancestors, for thus it was found written upon the stones. About 300 Jews dwell there. It was formerly a very great city; at a distance of two miles there is a large Jewish cemetery.

Thence it is five parasangs to Yāfa or Jaffa, which is on the seaboard, and one Jewish dyer lives here. From here it is five parasangs to Ibelin or Jabneh, the seat of the Academy, but there are no Jews there at this day. Thus far extends the territory of Ephraim.

From there it is five parasangs to Palmid, which is Ashdod of the Philistines, now in ruins; no Jews dwell there. Thence it is two parasangs to Ashkelonah or New Askelon, which Ezra the priest built by the sea. It was originally called Bene Berak. The place is four parasangs distant from the ancient ruined city of Askelon. New Askelon is a large and fair place, and merchants come thither from all quarters, for it is situated on the frontier of Egypt. About 200 Rabbanite Jews dwell here, at their head being R. Zemach, R. Aaron, and R. Solomon; also about forty Karaïtes, and about 300 Cuthim. In the midst of the city there is a well, which they call Bir Abraham; this the Patriarch dug in the days of the Philistines.

From there it is a journey of a day to St. George of Ludd [The cathedral at Lydda with the tomb of St. George was destroyed by Muslims when Saladin captured the place in 1191.]: thence it is a day and a half to Zerin or Jezreel, where there is a large spring. One Jewish dyer lives here. Three parasangs further is Saffuriya or Sepphoris. Here are the graves of Rabbenu Hakkadosh, of Rabban Gamaliel, and of R. Chiya, who came up from Babylon, also of Jonah the son of Amittai; they are all buried in the mountain. Many other Jewish graves are here.

Thence it is five parasangs to Tiberias, which is situated upon the Jordan, which is here called the Sea of Chinnereth. The Jordan at this place flows through a valley between two mountains, and fills the lake, which is called the Lake of Chinnereth; this is a large and broad piece of water like the sea. The Jordan flows between two mountains, and over the plain which is the place that is called Ashdoth Hapisgah, and thence continues its course till it falls into the Sea of Sodom, which is the Salt Sea. In Tiberias there are about fifty Jews, at their head being p.45 R. Abraham the astronomer, R. Muchtar, and R. Isaac. There are hot waters here, which bubble up from the ground, and are called the Hot Waters of Tiberias. Near by is the Synagogue of Caleb ben Jephunneh, and Jewish sepulchres. R. Johanan ben Zakkai and R. Jehudah Halevi are buried here. All these places are situated in Lower Galilee.

From here it is two days to Tymin or Timnathah, where Simon the Just [Simeon (Simon) the Just or Simeon the Righteous (Kever Shimon haTzadik), 310–291 BC. The common belief is that Simon the Just was buried near Jerusalem, on the road to Nablous, about a mile from the Damascus Gate.] and many Israelites are buried, and thence three parasangs to Medon or Meron. In the neighbourhood there is a cave in which are the sepulchres of Hillel and Shammai. Here also are twenty sepulchres of disciples, including the sepulchres of R. Benjamin ben Japheth, and of R. Jehudah ben Bethera. From Meron it is two parasangs to Almah, where there are about fifty Jews. There is a large Jewish cemetery here, with the sepulchres of R. Eleazar ben Arak, of R. Eleazar ben Azariah, of Chuni Hamaagal, of Raban Simeon ben p.46Gamaliel, and of R. Jose Hagelili.

From here it is half a day's journey to Kades, or Kedesh Naphtali, upon the Jordan. Here is the sepulchre of Barak the son of Abinoam. No Jews dwell here.

Thence it is a day's journey to Banias, which is Dan, where there is a cavern, from which the Jordan issues and flows for a distance of three miles, when the Arnon, which comes from the borders of Moab, joins it. In front of the cavern may be discerned the site of the altar associated with the graven image of Micah, which the children of Dan worshipped in ancient days. This is also the site of the altar of Jeroboam, where the golden calf was set up. Thus far reaches the boundary of the land of Israel towards the uttermost sea.

Two days' journey brings one to Damascus, the great city, which is the commencement of the empire of Nur-ed-din, the king of the Togarmim, called Turks. It is a fair city of large extent, surrounded by walls, with many gardens and plantations, extending over fifteen miles on each side, and no district richer in fruit can be seen in all the world. From Mount Hermon descend the rivers Amana and Pharpar; for the city is situated at the foot of Mount Hermon. The Amana flows through the city, and by means of aqueducts the water is conveyed to the houses of the great people, and into the streets and market-places. The Pharpar flows through their gardens and plantations. It is a place carrying on trade with all countries. Here is a mosque of the Arabs called the Gami of Damascus; there is no building like it in the whole world, and they say that it was a palace of Ben Hadad. Here is a wall of crystal glass of magic workmanship, with apertures according to the days of the year, and as the sun's rays enter each of them in daily succession the hours of the day can be told by a graduated dial. In the palace are chambers built of gold and glass, and if people walk round the wall they are able to see one another, although the wall is between them. And there are columns overlaid with gold and silver, and columns of marble of all colours. And in the court there is a gigantic head overlaid with gold and silver, and fashioned like a bowl with rims of gold and silver. It is as big as a cask, and three men can enter therein at the same time to bathe. In the palace is suspended the rib of one of the giants, the length being nine cubits, and the width two cubits; and they say it belonged to the King Anak of the giants of old, whose name was Abramaz. For so it was found inscribed on his grave, where it was also written that he ruled p.48over the whole world. Three thousand Jews abide in this city, and amongst them are learned and rich men. The head of the Academy of the land of Israel resides here. His name is R. Azariah, and with him are his brother, Sar Shalom, the head of the Beth Din: R. Joseph, the fifth of the Academy: R. Mazliach, the lecturer, the head of the order: R. Meir, the crown of the scholars: R. Joseph ben Al Pilath, the pillar of the Academy: R. Heman, the warden: and R. Zedekiah, the physician. One hundred Karaïtes dwell here, also 400 Cuthim, and there is peace between them, but they do not intermarry.

It is a day's journey to Galid, which is Gilead, and sixty Israelites are there, at their head being R. Zadok, R. Isaac, and R. Solomon. It is a place of wide extent, with brooks of water, gardens, and plantations. Thence it is half a day to Salkat, which is Salchah of old.

Thence it is half a day's journey to Baalbec, which is Baalath in the plains of Lebanon, and which Solomon built for the daughter of Pharaoh. The palace is built of large stones, each stone having a length of twenty cubits and a width of p.49twelve cubits, and there are no spaces between the stones. It is said that Ashmedai alone could have put up this building. From the upper part of the city a great spring wells forth and flows into the middle of the city as a wide stream, and alongside thereof are mills and gardens and plantations in the midst of the city. At Tarmod (Tadmor) in the wilderness, which Solomon built, there are similar structures of huge stones. The city of Tarmod is surrounded by walls; it is in the desert far away from inhabited places, and is four days' journey from Baalath, just mentioned. And in Tarmod there are about 2,000 Jews. They are valiant in war and fight with the Christians and with the Arabs, which latter are under the dominion of Nur-ed-din the king, and they help their neighbours the Ishmaelites. At their head are R. Isaac Hajvani, R. Nathan, and R. Uziel.

From Baalbec to KarjatÎn, which 1s Kirjathim, is a distance of half a day; no Jews live there except one dyer. Thence it is a day's journey to Emesa, which is a city of the Zemarites, where about twenty Jews dwell. Thence it is a day's journey to Hamah, which is Hamath. It lies on the river Jabbok at the foot of Mount Lebanon. Some time ago there was a great earthquake in the city, and 25,000 souls perished in one day, and of about 200 Jews but seventy escaped. At their head are R. Eli Hacohen, and the Sheik Abu Galib and Mukhtar. Thence it is half a day to Sheizar [The ancient Larissa.], which is Hazor, and from there it is three parasangs to Dimin (Latmin).

Thence it is two days to Haleb (Aleppo) or Aram Zoba, which is the royal city of Nur-ed-din. In the midst of the city is his palace surrounded by a very high wall. This is a very large place. There is no well there nor any stream, but the inhabitants drink rainwater, each one possessing a cistern in his house. The city has 5,000 Jewish inhabitants, at their head being R. Moses el Constantini and R. Seth. Thence it is two days to Balis, which is Pethor on the river Euphrates, and unto this day there stands the turret of Balaam, which he built to tell the hours of the day. About ten Jews live here. Thence it is half a day to Kalat Jabar, which is Selah of the wilderness, that was left unto the Arabs at the time the Togarmim took their land and caused them to fly into the wilderness. About 2,000 Jews dwell there, at their head being R. Zedekiah, R. Chiya, and R. Solomon.

Thence it is one day's journey to Rakka*, or Salchah, which is on the confines of the land of Shinar, and which divides the land of the Togarmim from that kingdom. [*Rakka is on the left bank of the Euphrates. It was an important city of Upper Mesopotamia, commanding the Syrian frontier. Salchah is in the Hauran. On the right bank of the Euphrates, nearly opposite to Rakka, was Thapsacus. Here Cyrus forded the river, and here Alexander crossed in pursuit of Darius.] In it there are 700 Jews, at their head being R. Zakkai and R. Nedib, who is blind, and R. Joseph. There is a synagogue here, erected by Ezra when he went forth from Babylon to Jerusalem. At two days' distance lies ancient Harrān, where twenty Jews live. Here is another synagogue erected by Ezra, and in this place stood the house of Terah and Abraham his son. The ground is not covered by any building, and the Mohammedans honour the site and come thither to pray.

Thence it is a journey of two days to Ras-el-Ain [Probably Rhesaina.], whence proceeds the river El Khabur—the Habor of old—which flows through the land of Media, and falls into the river Gozan. Here there are 200 Jews. Thence it is two days to Geziret Ibn Omar, which is surrounded by the river Hiddekel (Tigris), at the foot of the mountains of Ararat.

It is a distance of four miles to the place where Noah's Ark rested, but Omar ben al Khataab took the ark from the two mountains and made it into a mosque for the Mohammedans. Near the ark is the Synagogue of Ezra to this day, and on the ninth of Ab the Jews come thither from the city to pray. In the city of Geziret Omar are 4,000 Jews, at their head being R. Mubchar, R. Joseph and R. Chiya.

Thence it is two days to Mosul, which is Assur the Great, and here dwell about 7,000 Jews, at their head being R. Zakkai the Nasi of the seed of David, and R. Joseph surnamed Burhan-al-mulk, the astronomer to the King Sin-ed-din, the brother of Nur-ed-din, King of Damascus. Mosul is the frontier town of the land of Persia.

It is a very large and ancient city, situated on the river Hiddekel (Tigris), and is connected with Nineveh by means of a bridge. Nineveh is in ruins, but amid the ruins there are villages and hamlets, and the extent of the city may be determined by the walls, which extend forty parasangs to the city of Irbil [Arbela which is two days' journey from Mosul.]. The city of Nineveh is on the river Hiddekel. In the city of Assur (Mosul) is the synagogue of Obadiah, built by Jonah; also the synagogue of Nahum the Elkoshite.

Thence it is a distance of three days to Rahbah, which is on the river Euphrates. Here there are about 2,000 Jews, at their head being R. Hezekiah, R. Tahor and R. Isaac. It is a very fine city, large and fortified, and surrounded by gardens and plantations.

Thence it is a day's journey to Karkisiya which is Carchemish, on the river Euphrates. Here there are about 500 Jews, at their head being R. Isaac and R. Elhanan. Thence it is two days to El-Anbar which is Pumbedita in Nehardea. Here reside 3,000 Jews, and amongst them are learned men, at their head being the chief rabbi R. Chen, R. Moses and R. Jehoiakim. Here are the graves of Rab Jehuda and Samuel, and in front of the graves of each of them are the synagogues which they built in their lifetime. Here is also the grave of Bostanai the Nasi, the head of the Captivity, and of R. Nathan and Rab Nachman the son of Papa.

Thence it takes five days to Hadara, where about 15,000 Jews dwell, at their head being R. Zaken, R. Jehosef and R. Nethanel.

Thence it takes two days to Okbara, the city, which Jeconiah the King built, where there are about 10,000 Jews, and at their head are R. Chanan, R. Jabin and R. Ishmael.

Thence it is two days to Bagdad, the great city and the royal residence of the Caliph Emir al Muminin al Abbasi of the family of Mohammed. He* is at the head of the Mohammedan religion, and all the kings of Islam obey him; he occupies a similar position to that held by the Pope over the Christians [Tudela here refers to the Caliph El Mostanshed]. He has a palace in Bagdad three miles in extent, wherein is a great park with all varieties of trees, fruit-bearing and otherwise, and all manner of animals. The whole is surrounded by a wall, and in the park there is a lake whose waters are fed by the river Hiddekel. Whenever the king desires to indulge in recreation and to rejoice and feast, his servants catch all manner of' birds, game and fish, and he goes to his palace with his counsellors and princes. There the great king, Al Abbasi the Caliph (Hafiz) holds his court, and he is kind unto Israel, and many belonging to the people of Israel are his attendants; he knows all languages, and is well versed in the law of Israel. He reads and writes the holy language (Hebrew). He will not partake of anything unless he has earned it by the work of his own hands. He makes coverlets to which he attaches his seal; his courtiers sell them in the market, and the great ones of the land purchase them, and the proceeds thereof provide his sustenance. He is truthful and trusty, speaking peace to all men. The men of Islam see him but once in the year. The pilgrims that come from distant lands to go unto Mecca which is in the land El-Yemen, are anxious to see his face, and they assemble before the palace exclaiming "Our Lord, light of Islam and glory of our Law, show us the effulgence of thy

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countenance," but he pays no regard to their words. Then the princes who minister unto him say to him, "Our Lord, spread forth thy peace unto the men that have come from distant lands, who crave to abide under the shadow of thy graciousness," and thereupon he arises and lets down the hem of his robe from the window, and the pilgrims come and kiss it, and a prince says unto them "Go forth in peace, for our Master the Lord of Islam granteth peace to you." He is regarded by them as Mohammed and they go to their houses rejoicing at the salutation which the prince has vouchsafed unto them, and glad at heart that they have kissed his robe.

Each of his brothers and the members of his family has an abode in his palace, but they are all fettered in chains of iron, and guards are placed over each of their houses so that they may not rise against the great Caliph. For once it happened to a predecessor that his brothers rose up against him and proclaimed one of themselves as Caliph; then it was decreed that all the members of his family should be bound, that they might not rise up against the ruling Caliph. Each one of them resides in his palace in great splendour, and they own villages and towns, and their stewards bring them the tribute thereof, and they eat and drink and rejoice all the days of their life. Within the domains of the palace of the Caliph there are great buildings of marble and columns of silver and gold, and carvings upon rare stones are fixed in the walls. In the Caliph's palace are great riches and towers filled with gold, silken garments and all precious stones. He does not issue forth from his palace save once in the year, at the feast which the Mohammedans call El-id-bed Ramazan, and they come from distant lands that day to see him. He rides on a mule and is attired in the royal robes of gold and silver and fine linen; on his head is a turban adorned with precious stones of priceless value, and over the turban is a black shawl as a sign of his modesty, implying that all this glory will be covered by darkness on the day of death. He is accompanied by all the nobles of Islam dressed in fine garments and riding on horses, the princes of Arabia, the princes of Togarma and Daylam (Gilān) and the princes of Persia, Media and Ghuzz, and the princes of the land of Tibet, which is three months' journey distant, and westward of which lies the land of Samarkand. He proceeds from his palace to the great mosque of Islam which is by the Basrah Gate. Along the road the walls are adorned with silk and purple, and the inhabitants receive him with all kinds of song and exultation, and they dance before the great king who is styled the Caliph. They salute him with a loud voice and say, "Peace unto thee, our Lord the King and Light of Islam!" He kisses his robe, and stretching forth the hem thereof he salutes them. Then he proceeds to the court of the mosque, mounts a wooden pulpit and expounds to them their Law. Then the learned ones of Islam arise and pray for him and extol his greatness and his graciousness, to which they all respond. Afterwards he gives them his blessing, and they bring before him a camel which he slays, and this is their passover-sacrifice. He gives thereof unto the princes and they distribute it to all, so that they may taste of the sacrifice brought by their sacred king; and they all rejoice. Afterwards he leaves the mosque and returns alone to his palace by way of the river Hiddekel, and the grandees of Islam accompany him in ships on the river until he enters his palace. He does not return the way he came; and the road which he takes along the river-side is watched all the year through, so that no man shall tread in his footsteps. He does not leave the palace again for a whole year. He is a benevolent man.

He built, on the other side of the river, on the banks of an arm of theEuphrates which there borders the city, a hospital consisting of blocks of houses and hospices for the sick poor who come to be healed. Here there are about sixty physicians' stores which are provided from the Caliph's house with drugs and whatever else may be required. Every sick man who comes is maintained at the Caliph's expense and is medically treated. Here is a building which is called Dar-al-Maristan, where they keep charge of the demented people who have become insane in the towns through the great heat in the summer, and they chain each of them in iron chains until their reason becomes restored to them in the winter-time. Whilst they abide there, they are provided with food from the house of the Caliph, and when their reason is restored they are dismissed and each one of them goes to his house and his home. Money is given to those that have stayed in the hospices on their return to their homes. Every month the officers of the Caliph inquire and investigate whether they have regained their reason, in which case they are discharged. All this the Caliph does out of charity to those that come to the city of Bagdad, whether they be sick or insane. The Caliph is a righteous man, and all his actions are for good.

In Bagdad there are about 40,000 Jews and they dwell in security, prosperity and honour under the great Caliph, and amongst them are great sages, the heads of Academies engaged in the study of the law. In this city there are ten Academies. At the head of the great Academy is the chief rabbi R. Samuel, the son of Eli. He is the head of the Academy Gaon Jacob. He is a Levite, and traces his pedigree back to Moses our teacher. The head of the second Academy is R. Hanania his brother, warden of the Levites; R. Daniel is the head of the third Academy; R. Elazar the scholar is the head of the fourth Academy; and R. Elazar, the son of Zemach, is the head of the order, and his pedigree reaches to Samuel the prophet, the Korahite. He and his brethren know how to chant the melodies as did the singers at the time when the Temple was standing. He is head of the fifth Academy. R. Hisdai, the glory of the scholars, is head of the sixth Academy. R. Haggai is head of the seventh Academy. R. Ezra is the head of the eighth Academy. R. Abraham, who is called Abu Tahir, is the head of the ninth Academy. R. Zakkai, the son of Bostanai the Nasi, is the head of the Sium. These are the ten Batlanim, and they do not engage in any other work than communal administration; and all the days of the week they judge the Jews their countrymen, except on the second day of the week, when they all appear before the chief rabbi Samuel, the head of the Yeshiba Gaon (Jacob), who in conjunction with the other Batlanim judges all those that appear before him. And at the head of them all is Daniel the son of Hisdai, who is styled "Our Lord the Head of the Captivity of all Israel." He possesses a book of pedigrees going back as far as David, King of Israel. The Jews call him "Our Lord, Head of the Captivity," and the Mohammedans call him "Saidna ben Daoud," and he has been invested with authority over all the congregations of Israel at the hands of the Emir al Muminin, the Lord of Islam.

For thus Mohammed commanded concerning him and his descendants; and he granted him a seal of office over all the congregations that dwell under his rule, and ordered that every one, whether Mohammedan or Jew, or belonging to any other nation in his dominion, should rise up before him (the Exilarch) and salute him, and that any one who should refuse to rise up should receive one hundred stripes.

And every fifth day when he goes to pay a visit to the great Caliph, horsemen, Gentiles as well as Jews, escort him, and heralds proclaim in advance, "Make way before our Lord, the son of David, as is due unto him," the Arabic words being "Amilu tarik la Saidna ben Daud." He is mounted on a horse, and is attired in robes of silk and embroidery with a large turban on his head, and from the turban is suspended a long white cloth adorned with a chain upon which the cipher of Mohammed is engraved. Then he appears before the Caliph and kisses his hand, and the Caliph rises and places him on a throne which Mohammed had ordered to be made for him, and all the Mohammedan princes who attend the court of the Caliph rise up before him. And the Head of the Captivity is seated on his throne opposite to the Caliph, in compliance with the command of Mohammed to give effect to what is written in the law—"The sceptre shall not depart from Judah nor a law-giver from between his feet, until he come to Shiloh: and to him shall the gathering of the people be." The authority of the Head of the Captivity extends over all the communities of Shinar, Persia, Khurasan and Sheba which is El-Yemen, and Diyar Kalach (Bekr) and the land of Aram Naharaim (Mesopotamia), and over the dwellers in the mountains of Ararat and the land of the Alans [Central Asia], which is a land surrounded by mountains and has no outlet except by the iron gates which Alexander made, but which were afterwards broken. Here are the people called Alani. His authority extends also over the land of Siberia, and the communities in the land of the Togarmim unto the mountains of Asveh and the land of Gurgan, the inhabitants of which are called Gurganim who dwell by the river Gihon, and these are the Girgashites* who follow the Christian religion. [*Probably the Oxus, called by the Arabs "Gaihun." Rabad I, a contemporary of Benjamin, speaks of the land of Gurgan in his Sefer Hakabalah. The Nestorian Christians are probably here referred to.] Further it extends to the gates of Samarkand, the land of Tibet, and the land of India. In respect of all these countries the Head of the Captivity gives the communities power to appoint Rabbis and Ministers who come unto him to be consecrated and to receive his authority. They bring him offerings and gifts from the ends of the earth. He owns hospices, gardens and plantations in Babylon, and much land inherited from his fathers, and no one can take his possessions from him by force. He has a fixed weekly revenue arising from the hospices of the Jews, the markets and the merchants, apart from that which is brought to him from far-off lands. The man is very rich, and wise in the Scriptures as well as in the Talmud, and many Israelites dine at his table every day.

At his installation, the Head of the Captivity gives much money to the Caliph, to the Princes and the Ministers. On the day that the Caliph performs the ceremony of investing him with authority, he rides in the second of the royal equipages, and is escorted from the palace of the Caliph to his own house with timbrels and fifes. The Exilarch appoints the Chiefs of the Academies by placing his hand upon their heads, thus installing them in their office. The Jews of the city are learned men and very rich.

In Bagdad there are twenty-eight Jewish Synagogues, situated either in the city itself or in Al-Karkh on the other side of the Tigris; for the river divides the metropolis into two parts. The great synagogue of the Head of the Captivity has columns of marble of various colours overlaid with silver and gold, and on these columns are sentences of the Psalms in golden letters. And in front of the ark are about ten steps of marble; on the topmost step are the seats of the Head of the Captivity and of the Princes of the House of David. The city of Bagdad is twenty miles in circumference, situated in a land of palms, gardens and plantations, the like of which is not to be found in the whole land of Shinar. People come thither with merchandise from all lands. Wise men live there, philosophers who know all manner of wisdom, and magicians expert in all manner of witchcraft.

Thence it is two days to Gazigan which is called Resen. It is a large city containing about 5,000 Jews. In the midst of it is the Synagogue of Rabbah—a large one. He is buried close to the Synagogue, and beneath his sepulchre is a cave where twelve of his pupils are buried.

Thence it is a day's journey to Babylon*, which is the Babel of old. The ruins thereof are thirty miles in extent. The ruins of the palace of Nebuchadnezzar are still to be seen there, but people are afraid to enter them on account of the serpents and scorpions. Near at hand, within a distance of a mile, there dwell 3,000 Israelites who pray in the Synagogue of the Pavilion of Daniel, which is ancient and was erected by Daniel. It is built of hewn stones and bricks. Between the Synagogue and the Palace of Nebuchadnezzar is the furnace into which were thrown Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, and the site of it lies in a valley known unto all. [* The Babel of Bible times was captured by Sennacherib; after stopping up a dam of the Euphrates, the country was placed under water and the city destroyed. Nebuchadnezzar restored the city; he also erected a magnificent palace for himself—the Kasr—also the Temple of Bel. Herodotus, Book I, chaps. 178-89, fully describes these edifices, and dwells upon the huge extent of the metropolis, which was estimated to have a circuit of fifty miles. Xerxes destroyed the city. Alexander the Great contemplated the restoration of Bel's Temple, but as it would have taken two months for 10,000 men merely to remove the rubbish, he abandoned the attempt. The ruins have been recently explored by Germans. The embankments which regulated the flow of the Euphrates and Tigris have given way, and at the present time the whole region round Babylon is marshy and malarious. In the words of Jeremiah, li. 43, "Her cities are a desolation, a sterile land, and a wilderness, a place wherein no man dwelleth."]

Thence it is five parasangs to Hillah, where there are 10,000 Israelites and four Synagogues: that of R. Meir, who lies buried before it; the Synagogue of Mar Keshisha, who is buried in front of it; also the Synagogue of Rab Zeiri, the son of Chama, and the Synagogue of R. Mari; the Jews pray there every day.

Thence it is four miles to the Tower* of Babel, which the generation whose language was confounded built of the bricks called Agur. The length of its foundation is about two miles, the breadth of the tower is about forty cubits, and the length thereof two hundred cubits. At every ten cubits' distance there are slopes which go round the tower by which one can ascend to the top. One can see from there a view twenty miles in extent, as the land is level. There fell fire from heaven into the midst of the tower which split it to its very depths. [* Bereshith Rabba, chapter 38, says the tower was at Borsippa, and the ruins here spoken of are probably those of the Birs Nimroud, fully described by Layard, Nineveh and Babylon, chap, xxii, p. 496. He says: "The mound rises abruptly to the height of 198 feet, and has on its summit a compact mass of brickwork 37 feet high by 28 broad.... On one side of it, beneath the crowning masonry, lie huge fragments torn from the pile itself. The calcined and vitreous surface of the bricks, fused into rock-like masses, show that their fall may have been caused by lightning. The ruin is rent almost from top to bottom. No traces whatever now remain of the spiral passage spoken of by the Jewish traveller." Cf. Professor T. K. Cheyne's article, "The Tower of Babel," in the new Biblical Cyclopaedia. Nebuchadnezzar, in his Borsippa inscription, records that the tower, which had never originally been completed, had fallen into decay, and that the kiln-bricks had split. These are the Agur bricks mentioned by Benjamin; cf. Isaiah xxvii. 9. Al-ajur is the word still used by the Arabs for kiln-burnt bricks.]

Thence it is half a day to Kaphri, where there are about 200 Jews. Here is the Synagogue of R. Isaac Napcha, who is buried in front of it. Thence it is three parasangs to the Synagogue of Ezekiel, the prophet of blessed memory, which is by the river Euphrates. [Niebuhr, vol. II, 216, gives a full account of his visit to the tomb. Layard, speaking of Birs Nimroud, says: "To the south-west in the extreme distance rise the palm-trees of Kifil, casting their scanty shade over a small dome, the tomb of Ezekiel. To this spot occasionally flock in crowds, as their forefathers have done for centuries, the Jews of Bagdad, Hillah, and other cities of Chaldea.... It is now but a plain building, despoiled of the ornaments and Manuscripts which it once appears to have contained" (Nineveh and Babylon, p. 500). Alcharizi composed a beautiful ode when visiting this tomb (chapyer 35, also chap. 50).]

It is fronted by sixty turrets, and between each turret there is a minor Synagogue, and in the court of the Synagogue is the ark, and at the back of the Synagogue is the sepulchre of

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Ezekiel. It is surmounted by a large cupola, and it is a very handsome structure. It was built of old by King Jeconiah, king of Judah, and the 35,000 Jews who came with him, when Evil-merodach brought him forth out of prison. This place is by the river Chebar on the one side, and by the river Euphrates on the other, and the names of Jeconiah and those that accompanied him are engraved on the wall: Jeconiah at the top, and Ezekiel at the bottom. This place is held sacred by Israel as a lesser sanctuary unto this day, and people come from a distance to pray there from the time of the New Year until the Day of Atonement. The Israelites have great rejoicings on these occasions. Thither also come the Head of the Captivity, and the Heads of the Academies from Bagdad. Their camp occupies a space of about two miles, and Arab merchants come there as well. A great gathering like a fair takes place, which is called Fera, and they bring forth a scroll of the Law written on parchment by Ezekiel the Prophet, and read from it on the Day of Atonement. A lamp burns day and night over the sepulchre of Ezekiel; the light thereof has been kept burning from the day that he lighted it himself, and they continually renew the wick thereof, and replenish the oil unto the present day. A large house belonging to the sanctuary is filled with books, some of them from the time of the first temple, and some from the time of the second temple, and he who has no sons consecrates his books to its use. The Jews that come thither to pray from the land of Persia and Media bring the money which their countrymen have offered to the Synagogue of Ezekiel the Prophet. The Synagogue owns property, lands and villages, which belonged to King Jeconiah, and when Mohammed came he confirmed all these rights to the Synagogue of Ezekiel. Distinguished Mohammedans also come hither to pray, so great is their love for Ezekiel the Prophet; and they call it Bar (Dar) Melicha (the Dwelling of Beauty). All the Arabs come there to pray.

At a distance of about half a mile from the Synagogue are the sepulchres of Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, and upon their sepulchres are large cupolas; and even at times of disturbance no man would dare touch the Mohammedan or Jewish servants who attend at the sepulchre of Ezekiel.

Thence it is three miles to the city of Kotsonath, where there are 300 Jews. Here are the sepulchres of Rab Papa, Rab Huna, Joseph Sinai, and Rab Joseph ben Hama; and before each of them is a Synagogue where the Israelites pray every day. Thence it is three parasangs to Ain Siptha, where there is the sepulchre of the prophet Nahum the Elkoshite. Thence it is a day's journey to Kefar Al-Keram, where are the sepulchres of Rab Chisdai, R. Azariah, R. Akiba, and R. Dosa. Thence it is a half-day's journey to a village in the desert, where there are buried R. David and R. Jehuda and Abaji, R. Kurdiah, Rab Sechora, and Rab Ada. Thence it is a day's journey to the river Raga, where there is the sepulchre of King Zedekiah. Upon it is a large cupola. Thence it is a day's journey to the city of Kufa, where there is the sepulchre of King Jeconiah. Over it is a big structure, and in front thereof is a Synagogue. There are about 7,000 Jews here. At this place is the large mosque of the Mohammedans, for here is buried Ali ben Abu Talib, the son-in-law of Mohammed, and the Mohammedans come hither....

Thence it is a day and a half to Sura, which is Mata Mehasya, where the Heads of the Captivity and the Heads of the Academies dwelt at first. Here is the sepulchre of R. Sherira, and of R. Hai his son of blessed memory, also of R. Saadiah Al-Fiumi, and of Rab Samuel the son of Hofni Hacohen, and of Zephaniah the son of Cushi the son of Gedaliah, the prophet, and of the Princes of the House of David, and of the Heads of the Academies who lived there before the destruction of the town.

Thence it is two days to Shafjathib. Here is a Synagogue which the Israelites built from the earth of Jerusalem and its stones, and they called it Shafjathib, which is by Nehardea.

Thence it is a day and a half's journey to El-Anbar, which was Pumbedita in Nehardea. About 3,000 Jews dwell there. The city lies on the river Euphrates. Here is the Synagogue of Rab and Samuel, and their house of study, and in front of it are their graves.

Thence it is five days to Hillah. From this place it is a journey of twenty-one days by way of the deserts to the land of Saba, which is called the land El-Yemen*, lying at the side of the land of Shinar which is towards the North. [* In the following paragraphs, Tudela gives large numbers of the Jewish population. Some scholars doubt those numbers. However, when we read the Sirat Rasul Allah carefully, "Life of Allah's Messenger" (translated by Alfred Guillaume), then we get the idea that those numbers might reflect the reality. At that time, the Jews, who were descendants of the militant Messianic Movement who had to flee from the Holy Land as Vespasians Roman legions crushed their armies in the First Roman-Jewish War 66-73 AD. Most of the survivors fled to Arabia where they started a new life. When Mohammed grew up, the Jews had many Arabian cities like Petra and Mada'in Saleh under their control, last but not least due to their large numbers. They even spread to Yemen. Mohammed was angry about the Jews because they fought epic battles against him.]

Here dwell the Jews called Kheibar, the men of Teima. And Teima is their seat of government where R. Hanan the Nasi rules over them. It is a great city, and the extent of their land is sixteen days' journey. It is surrounded by mountains—the mountains of the north. The Jews own many large fortified cities. The yoke of the Gentiles is hnot upon them. They go forth to pillage and to capture booty from distant lands in conjunction with the Arabs, their neighbours and allies. These Arabs dwell in tents, and they make the desert their home. They own no houses, and they go forth to pillage and to capture booty in the land of Shinar and El-Yemen. All the neighbours of these Jews go in fear of them. Among them are husbandmen and owners of cattle; their land is extensive, and they have in their midst learned and wise men. They give the tithe of all they possess unto the scholars who sit in the house of learning, also to poor Israelites and to the recluses, who are the mourners of Zion and Jerusalem, and who do not eat meat nor taste wine, and sit clad in garments of black. They dwell in caves or underground houses, and fast each day with the exception of the Sabbaths and Festivals, and implore mercy of the Holy One, blessed be He, on account of the exile of Israel, praying that He may take pity upon them, and upon all the Jews, the men of Teima, for the sake of His great Name, also upon Tilmas the great city, in which there are about 100,000 Jews. At this place lives Salmon the Nasi, the brother of Hanan the Nasi; and the land belongs to the two brothers, who are of the seed of David, for they have their pedigree in writing. They address many questions unto the Head of the Captivity—their kinsman in Bagdad—and they fast forty days in the year for the Jews that dwell in exile.

There are here about forty large towns and 200 hamlets and villages. The principal city is Tanai, and in all the districts together there are about 300,000 Jews. The city of Tanai is well fortified, and in the midst thereof the people sow and reap. It is fifteen miles in extent. Here is the palace of the Nasi called Salmon. And in Teima dwells Hanan the Nasi, his brother. It is a beautiful city, and contains gardens and plantations. And Tilmas is likewise a great city; it contains about 100,000 Jews. It is well fortified, and is situated between two high mountains. There are wise, discreet, and rich men amongst the inhabitants. From Tilmas to Kheibar it is three days' journey. People say that the men of Kheibar belong to the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh, whom Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, led hither into captivity. They have built strongly-fortified cities, and make war upon all other kingdoms. No man can readily reach their territory, because it is a march of eighteen days' journey through the desert, which is altogether uninhabited, so that no one can enter the land.

Kheibar is a very large city with 50,000 Jews. In it are learned men, and great warriors, who wage war with the men of Shinar and of the land of the north, as well as with the bordering tribes of the land of El-Yemen near them, which latter country is on the confines of India. Returning from their land, it is a journey of twenty-five days to the river Virae, which is in the land of El-Yemen, where about 3,000 Jews dwell, and amongst them are many a Rabbi and Dayan. [Tudela speaks of Aden as being in India, "which is on the mainland." It is well known that Abyssinia and Arabia were in the Middle Ages spoken of as "Middle India." It sounds like a confusion, but it has its reasons as those regions had prominent trade ports that were directly connected to trade ports in Sinth (Pakistan), Gujarat (northwest India), as well in Malabar (southwest India). And all these places had a large Jewish population as well.]

Thence it takes five days to Basra (Bassorah) which lies on the river Tigris. Here there are 10,000 Jews, and among them are scholars and many rich men. Thence it is two days to the river Samara, which is the commencement of the land of Persia. 1,500 Jews live near the sepulchre of Ezra, the priest, who went forth from Jerusalem to King Artaxerxes and died here. In front of his sepulchre is a large synagogue. And at the side thereof the Mohammedans erected a house of prayer out of their great love and veneration for him, and they like the Jews on that account. And the Mohammedans come hither to pray. Thence it is four days to Khuzistan, which is Elam. This province is not inhabited in its entirety, for part of it lies waste. In the midst of its ruins is Shushan (Susa), the capital, the site of the palace of King Ahasuerus. Here are the remains of a large structure of great antiquity. The city contains about 7,000 Jews and fourteen synagogues.

In front of one of the synagogues is the sepulchre of Daniel of blessed memory. The river Tigris divides the city, and the bridge connects the two parts. On the one side where the Jews dwell is the sepulchre of Daniel. Here the market-places used to be, containing great stores of merchandise, by which the Jews became enriched. On the other side of the bridge they were poor, because they had no market-places nor merchants there, only gardens and plantations. And they became jealous, and said "All this prosperity enjoyed by those on the other side is due to the merits of Daniel the prophet who lies buried there." Then the poor people asked those who dwelt on the other side to place the sepulchre of Daniel in their midst, but the others would not comply. So war prevailed between them for many days, and no one went forth or came in on account of the great strife between them. At length both parties growing tired of this state of things took a wise view of the matter, and made a compact, namely, that the coffin of Daniel should be taken for one year to the one side and for another year to the other side. This they did, and both sides became rich. In the course of time Sinjar Shah-ben-Shah, who ruled over the kingdom of Persia and had forty-five kings subject to his authority, came to this place.

He is called Sultan-al-Fars-al-Khabir in Arabic (the mighty Sovereign of Persia), and it is he who ruled from the river Samara unto the city of Samarkand, and unto the river Gozan and the cities of Media and the mountains of Chafton [As for the river Gozan see p. 33, n. 3, and p. 58, n. 4. The mountains of Chafton, referred to also in pp. 54, 55, would seem to include not only the Zagros range, but also the highlands of Kurdistan.]. He ruled also over Tibet, in the forests whereof one finds the animals from which the musk is obtained [Marco Polo, book 2, chapter 45, says of Tibet: "In this country there are many of the animals that produce musk. The Tartars have great numbers of large and fine dogs which are of great service in catching the musk-beasts, and so they procure a great abundance of musk."]. The extent of his Empire is a journey of four months. When this great Emperor Sinjar, king of Persia, saw that they took the coffin of Daniel from one side of the river to the other, and that a great multitude of Jews, Mohammedans and Gentiles, and many people from the country were crossing the bridge, he asked the meaning of this proceeding, and they told him these things. He said, "It is not meet to do this ignominy unto Daniel the prophet, but I command you to measure the bridge from both sides, and to take the coffin of Daniel and place it inside another coffin of crystal, so that the wooden coffin be within that of crystal, and to suspend this from the middle of the bridge by a chain of iron; at this spot you must build a synagogue for all comers, so that whoever wishes to pray there, be he Jew or Gentile, may do so." And to this very day the coffin is suspended from the bridge. And the king commanded that out of respect for Daniel no fisherman should catch fish within a mile above or a mile below.

Thence it takes three days to Rudbar where there are about 20,000 Israelites, and among them are learned and rich men. But the Jews live there under great oppression. Thence it is two days to Nihawand, where there are 4,000 Israelites. Thence it is four days to the land of Mulahid. Here live a people who do not profess the Mohammedan religion, but live on high mountains, and worship the Old Man of the land of the Hashishim. And among them there are four communities of Israel who go forth with them in war-time. They are not under the rule of the king of Persia, but reside in the high mountains, and descend from these mountains to pillage and to capture booty, and then return to the mountains, and none can overcome them. There are learned men amongst the Jews of their land. These Jews are under the authority of the Head of the Captivity in Babylon. Thence it is five days to Amadia where there are about 25,000 Israelites. This is the first of those communities that dwell in the mountains of Chafton, where there are more than 100 Jewish communities. Here is the commencement of the land of Media. These Jews belong to the first captivity which King Shalmanezar led away; and they speak the language in which the Targum is written. Amongst them are learned men. The communities reach from the province of Amadia unto the province of Gilan, twenty-five days distant, on the border of the kingdom of Persia. They are under the authority of the king of Persia, and he raises a tribute from them through the hands of his officer, and the tribute which they pay every year by way of poll tax is one gold amir, which is equivalent to one and one-third maravedi. [This tax has to be paid by all males in the land of Islam who are over the age of fifteen.] At this place (Amadia), there arose this day ten years ago, a man named David Alroy of the city of Amadia. He studied under Chisdai the Head of the Captivity, and under the Head of the Academy Gaon Jacob, in the city of Bagdad, and he was well versed in the Law of Israel, in the Halachah, as well as in the Talmud, and in all the wisdom of the Mohammedans, also in secular literature and in the writings of magicians and soothsayers. He conceived the idea of rebelling against the king of Persia, and of collecting the Jews who live in the mountains of Chafton to go forth and to fight against all the nations, and to march and capture Jerusalem. He showed signs by pretended miracles to the Jews, and said, "The Holy One, blessed be He, sent me to capture Jerusalem and to free you from the yoke of the Gentiles." And the Jews believed in him and called him their Messiah. When the king of Persia heard of it he sent for him to come and speak with him. Alroy went to him without fear, and when he had audience of the king, the latter asked him, "Art thou the king of the Jews?" He answered, "I am." Then the king was wrath, and commanded that he should be seized and placed in the prison of the king, the place where the king's prisoners were bound unto the day of their death, in the city of Tabaristan which is on the large river Gozan. At the end of three days, whilst the king was sitting deliberating with his princes concerning the Jews who had rebelled, David suddenly

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stood before them. He had escaped from the prison without the knowledge of any man. And when the king saw him, he said to him, "Who brought thee hither, and who has released thee?" "My own wisdom and skill," answered the other; "for I am not afraid of thee, nor of any of thy servants." The king forthwith loudly bade his servants to seize him, but they answered, "We cannot see any man, although our ears hear him." Then the king and all his princes marvelled at his subtlety; but he said to the king "I will go my way"; so he went forth. And the king went after him; and the princes and servants followed their king until they came to the river-side. Then Alroy took off his mantle and spread it on the face of the water to cross thereon. When the servants of the king saw that he crossed the water on his mantle, they pursued him in small boats, wishing to bring him back, but they were unable, and they said, "There is no wizard like this in the whole world." That self-same day he went a journey of ten days to the city of Amadia by the strength of the ineffable Name, and he told the Jews all that had befallen him, and they were astonished at his wisdom.

After that the king of Persia sent word to the Emir Al-Muminin, the Caliph of the Mohammedans at Bagdad, urging him to warn the Head of the Exile, and the Head of the Academy Gaon Jacob, to restrain David Alroy from executing his designs. And he threatened that he would otherwise slay all the Jews in his Empire. Then all the congregations of the land of Persia were in great trouble. And the Head of the Captivity, and the Head of the Academy Gaon Jacob, sent to Alroy, saying, "The time of redemption is not yet arrived; we have not yet seen the signs thereof; for by strength shall no man prevail. Now our mandate is, that thou cease from these designs, or thou shalt surely be excommunicated from all Israel." And they sent unto Zakkai the Nasi in the land of Assur (Mosul) and unto R. Joseph Burhan-al-mulk the astronomer there, bidding them to send on the letter to Alroy, and furthermore they themselves wrote to him to warn him, but he would not accept the warning. Then there arose a king of the name of Sin-ed-din, the king of the Togarmim, and a vassal of the king of Persia, who sent to the father-in-law of David Alroy, and gave him a bribe of 10,000 gold pieces to slay Alroy in secret. So he went to Alroy's house, and slew him whilst he was asleep on his bed. Thus were his plans frustrated. Then the king of Persia went forth against the Jews that lived in the mountain; and they sent to the Head of the Captivity to come to their assistance and to appease the king. He was eventually appeased by a gift of 100 talents of gold, which they gave him, and the land was at peace thereafter.

From this mountain it is a journey of twenty days to Hamadan, which is the great city of Media, where there are 30,000 Israelites. In front of a certain synagogue, there are buried Mordecai an Esther.

From thence (Hamadan) it takes four days to Tabaristan [Or Tabarestan was the name applied to a mountainous region located in the Caspian coast of northern Iran. It corresponded to the present-day province of Mazandaran, which became the predominant name of the area from the 11th-century onwards.], which is situated on the river Gozan. Some [four] thousand Jews live there. Thence it is seven days to Ispahan the great city and the royal residence. It is twelve miles in circumference, and about 15,000 Israelites reside there. The Chief Rabbi is Sar Shalom, who has been appointed by the Head of the Captivity to have jurisdiction over all the Rabbis that are in the kingdom of Persia. Four days onward is Shiraz, which is the city of Fars, and 10,000 Jews live there. Thence it is seven days to Ghaznah the great city on the river Gozan, where there are about 80,000 Israelites. It is a city of commercial importance; people of all countries and tongues come thither with their wares. The land is extensive.

Thence it is five days to Samarkand, which is the great city on the confines of Persia. In it live some 50,000 Israelites, and R. Obadiah the Nasi is their appointed head. Among them are wise and very rich men.

Thence it is four days' journey to Tibet, the country in whose forests the musk is found. Thence it takes twenty-eight days to the mountains of Naisabur by the river Gozan. And there are men of Israel in the land of Persia who say that in the mountains of Naisabur four of the tribes of Israel dwell, namely, the tribe of Dan, the tribe of Zebulun, the tribe of Asher, and the tribe of Naphtali, who were included in the first captivity of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, as it is written (2 Kings xviii. 11): "And he put them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan and in the cities of the Medes."

The extent of their land is twenty days' journey, and they have cities and large villages in the mountains; the river Gozan forms the boundary on the one side. They are not under the rule of the Gentiles, but they have a prince of their own, whose name is R. Joseph Amarkala the Levite. There are scholars among them. And they sow and reap and go forth to war as far as the land of Cush by way of the desert. [It should be remembered that Cush in ancient Jewish literature does not always signify Ethiopia [Nubia, that is Napata and Meroe.], but also denotes parts of Arabia, especially those nearest to Abyssinia [Ethiopia]. The name Cush is also applied to countries east of the Tigris, meaning even east of Persia. The Hindu Kush (Dari, Pashto: Killer of the Indians, or Hindu-Killer in Persian) is an 800-kilometre-long (500 mi) mountain range that stretches through Afghanistan, from its centre to Northern Pakistan and into Tajikistan. The range forms the western section of the Hindu Kush Himalayan Region and is the westernmost extension of the Pamir Mountains, the Karakoram and the Himalayas. It divides the valley of the Amu Darya (the ancient Oxus) to the north from the Indus River valley to the south. The range has numerous high snow-capped peaks, with the highest point being Tirich Mir or Terichmir at 7,708 metres (25,289 ft) in the Chitral District of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. It is a region near the point where the borders of China, Pakistan and Afghanistan meet. It got its horrible name due to its high altitude and extreme cold temperatures even in summer.]

They are in league with the Kofar-al-Turak, who worship the wind and live in the wilderness, and who do not eat bread, nor drink wine, but live on raw uncooked meat. They have no noses, and in lieu thereof they have two small holes, through which they breathe. They eat animals both clean and unclean, and they are very friendly towards the Israelites. Fifteen years ago they overran the country of Persia with a large army and took the city of Rayy*; they smote it with the edge of the sword, took all the spoil thereof, and returned by way of the wilderness. [* Shahr-e Rey (Persian: "City of Ray") or simply Ray is the capital of Ray County in Tehran Province, Iran. Formerly a distinct city, it has now been absorbed into the metropolitan area of Greater Tehran as the 20th district of municipal Tehran, the capital city of the country. Historically known as Rhages, Rhagae and Arsacia, Ray is the oldest existing city in Tehran Province.] Such an invasion had not been known in the land of Persia for many years. When the king of Persia heard thereof his anger was kindled against them, and he said, "Not in my days nor in the days of my fathers did an army sally forth from this wilderness. Now I will go and cut off their name from the earth." A proclamation was made throughout his Empire, and he assembled all his armies; and he sought a guide who might show him the way to their encampment. And a certain man said that he would show him the way, as he was one of them. And the king promised that he would enrich him if he did so. And the king asked him as to what provisions they would require for the march through the wilderness. And he replied, "Take with you bread and wine for fifteen days, for you will find no sustenance by the way, till you have reached their land." And they did so, and marched through the wilderness for fifteen days, but they found nothing at all. And their food began to give out, so that man and beast were dying of hunger and thirst. Then the king called the guide, and said to him, "Where is your promise to us that you would find our adversaries?" To which the other replied, "I have mistaken the way." And the king was wroth, and commanded that his head should be struck off. And the king further gave orders throughout the camp that every man who had any food should divide it with his neighbour. And they consumed everything they had including their beasts. And after a further thirteen days' march they reached the mountains of Naisabur, where Jews lived. They came there on the Sabbath, and encamped in the gardens and plantations and by the springs of water which are by the side of the river Gozan. Now it was the time of the ripening of the fruit, and they ate and consumed everything. No man came forth to them, but on the mountains they saw cities and many towers.

Then the king commanded two of his servants to go and inquire of the people who lived in the mountains, and to cross the river either in boats or by swimming. So they searched and found a large bridge, on which there were three towers, but the gate of the bridge was locked. And on the other side of the bridge was a great city. Then they shouted in front of the bridge till a man came forth and asked them what they wanted and who they were. But they did not understand him till an interpreter came who understood their language. And when he asked them, they said, "We are the servants of the king of Persia, and we have come to ask who you are, and whom you serve." To which the other replied: "We are Jews; we have no king and no Gentile prince, but a Jewish prince rules over us." They then questioned him with regard to the infidels, the sons of Ghuz of the Kofar-al-Turak, and he answered: "Truly they are in league with us, and he who seeks to do them harm seeks our harm." Then they went their way, and told the king of Persia, who was much alarmed. And on a certain day the Jews asked him to join combat with them, but he answered: "I am not come to fight you, but the Kofar-al-Turak, my enemy, and if you fight against me I will be avenged on you by killing all the Jews in my Empire; I know that you are stronger than I am in this place, and my army has come out of this great wilderness starving and athirst. Deal kindly with me and do not fight against me, but leave me to engage with the Kofar-al-Turak, my enemy, and sell me also the provisions which I require for myself and my army." The Jews then took counsel together, and resolved to propitiate the king on account of the Jews who were in exile in his Empire. Then the king entered their land with his army, and stayed there fifteen days. And they showed him much honour, and also sent a dispatch to the Kofar-al-Turak their allies, reporting the matter to them. Thereupon the latter occupied the mountain passes in force with a large army composed of all those who dwelt in that desert, and when the king of Persia went forth to fight with them, they placed themselves in battle array against him. The Kofar-al-Turak army was victorious and slew many of the Persian host, and the king of Persia fled with only a few followers to his own country. [The legend of Prester John drew strongly from earlier accounts of the Orient and of Westerners' travels there. Particularly influential were the stories of Saint Thomas the Apostle's proselytizing in India, recorded especially in the 3rd-century work known as the Acts of Thomas. This text inculcated in Westerners an image of India as a place of exotic wonders and offered the earliest description of Saint Thomas establishing a Christian sect there (the Malabar Christians at the west coast of India.), motifs that loomed large over later accounts of Prester John. Similarly, distorted reports of the Church of the East's movements in Asia informed the legend as well. This church, also called the Nestorian church and centred in Persia, had gained a wide following in the Eastern nations and engaged the Western imagination as an assemblage both exotic and familiarly Christian. Particularly inspiring were the Nestorians' missionary successes among the Mongols and Turks of Central Asia.]

Now a horseman, one of the servants of the king of Persia, enticed a Jew, whose name was R. Moses, to come with him, and when he came to the land of Persia this horseman made the Jew his slave. One day the archers came before the king to give a display of their skill and no one among them could be found to draw the bow like this R. Moses. Then the king inquired of him by means of an interpreter who knew his language, and he related all that the horseman had done to him. Thereupon the king at once granted him his liberty, had him clad in robes of silk, gave him gifts, and said to him, "If thou wilt embrace our religion, I will make thee a rich man and steward of my house," but he answered, My lord, I cannot do this thing." Then the king took him and placed him in the house of the Chief Rabbi of the Ispahan community, Sar Shalom, who gave him his daughter to wife. This same R. Moses told me all these things.

Thence one returns to the land of Khuzistan which is by the river Tigris, and one goes down the river which falls into the Indian Ocean unto an island called Kish [In the Middle Ages the island of Kish or Kis was an important station on the trade route from India to Europe. Le Strange writes, p. 257, that in the course of the twelfth century it became the trade centre of the Persian Gulf. A great walled city was built in the island, where water-tanks had been constructed, and on the neighbouring sea-banks was the famous pearl-fishery. Ships from India and Arabia crowded the port.]. It is a six days' journey to reach p.89this island. The inhabitants neither sow nor reap. They possess only one well, and there is no stream in the whole island, but they drink rain-water. The merchants who come from India and the islands encamp there with their wares. Moreover, men from Shinar, El-Yemen and Persia bring thither all sorts of silk, purple and flax, cotton, hemp, worked wool, wheat, barley, millet, rye, and all sorts of food, and lentils of every description, and they trade with one another, whilst the men from India bring great quantities of spices thither. The islanders act as middlemen, and earn their livelihood thereby. There are about 500 Jews there.

Thence it is ten days' journey by sea to Katifa, where there are about 5,000 Jews. Here the bdellium is to be found [Katifa or El-Katif lies on the Persian Gulf, on the East coast of Arabia, near Bahrein. Bochart is of opinion that this part of Arabia is the land of Havilah, where, according to Genesis 2:11 and 12, there is gold, "bdellium", and the onyx stone. Jewish authorities are divided in opinion as to whether it is a jewel, a pearl, or the fragrant gum exuded by a species of balsam-tree. Tudela used the word here for pearls. Masudi is one of the earliest Arabic writers who gives us a description of the pearl-fisheries in the Persian Gulf, and it very much accords with Benjamin's account. See Sprenger's translation of Masudi's Meadows of Gold, p. 344.]. On the twenty-fourth of Nisan rain falls upon the water, upon the surface of which certain small sea-animals float which drink in the rain and then shut themselves up, and sink to the bottom. And about the middle of Tishri men descend to the bed of the sea by ropes, andp.90 collect these shell-fish, then split them open and extract the pearls. This pearl-fishery belongs to the King of the country, but is controlled by a Jewish official.

Thence it is seven days' journey to Khulam* which is the beginning of the country of the Sun-worshippers [Hindus who worship Indra-Vishnu.]. [* Kollam, known by its former name Quilon or as Desinganadu, is an old seaport and city on the Laccadive Sea coast of the Indian state of Kerala. Kollam has a strong commercial reputation since the days of the Phoenicians and Romans. Fed by the Chinese trade, it was mentioned by Ibn Battuta in the 14th century as one of the five Indian ports he had seen during the course of his twenty-four-year travels. Desinganadu's rajas exchanged embassies with Chinese rulers while there was a flourishing Chinese

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settlement at Kollam. In the 9th Century, on his way to Canton, China, Persian merchant Sulaiman al-Tajir found Kollam to be the only port in India visited by huge Chinese ships. Marco Polo visited Kollam and other towns on the west coast in his capacity as a Chinese mandarin (government official). Since Antiquity Kollam has also been home to Jewish traders and settlers as well as to the St Thomas Christians.] These are the sons of Cush**, who read the stars [Meaning: they were good astronomers.], and are all black in colour. They are honest in commerce. When merchants come to them from distant lands and enter the harbour, three of the King's secretaries go down to them and record their names, and then bring them before the King, whereupon the King makes himself responsible even for their property which they leave in the open, unprotected. There is an official who sits in his office, and the owner of any lost property has only to describe it to him when he hands it back. This custom prevails in all that country. From Passover to New Year, that is all during the summer, no man can go out of his house because of the sun, for the heat in that country is intense, and from the third hour of the day onward, everybody remains in his house till the evening. Then they go forth and kindle lights in all the market places and all the streets, and then do their work and business at night-time. For they have to turn night into day in consequence of the great heat of the sun. Pepper is found there. They plant the trees thereof in the fields, and each man of the city knows his own plantation. The trees are small, and the pepper is as white as snow. And when they have collected it, they place it in saucepans and pour boiling water over it, so that it may become strong. They then take it out of the water and dry it in the sun, and it turns black. Calamus and ginger and many other kinds of spice are found in this land.

[** Cush or Kush was, according to the Bible, the eldest son of Ham, a son of Noah. He was the brother of Canaan (land of Canaan), Mizraim (Egypt) and Phut (Somalia), and the father of the biblical Nimrod mentioned in the "Table of Nations" in Genesis 10:6 and I Chronicles 1:8. Cush is traditionally considered the eponymous ancestor of the people of the "Land of Cush," an ancient territory that is believed to have been located on either side or both sides of the Red Sea, called the "Erythraean Sea" in Antiquity. As such, "Cush" is alternately identified in scripture with the Kingdom of Kush or ancient Ethiopia. (See: Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, Grand Bible, Artefacts and Historical Documents.) Closely connected to this region is the Land of Punt (Egyptian: Pwente, Pwnt or Pwenet.) which was an ancient kingdom and an important trading partner trading partner of Ancient Egypt. Punt was known for producing and exporting gold, aromatic resins, blackwood, ebony, ivory and wild animals which it got from Africa and India. It is possible that it corresponds to Opone in Somalia, as later known by the ancient Greeks, while it is also identified with the biblical land of Put or Havilah. Details: Phut or Put (Hebrew; Septuagint Greek: Phoud) is the third son of Ham (one of the sons of Noah), in the biblical Table of Nations (Genesis 10:6; cf. 1 Chronicles 1:8). The name Put (or Phut) is used in the Bible for the people of the Kingdom of Aksum (Ethiopia), but the Land of Punt known from Ancient Egyptian annals could also be meant. Havilah (Hebrew: Hawilah, mentioned in Genesis 2:10–11) refers to both a land and people in several books of the Bible; and it seems to be a synonym denoting a location in Africa and mentioned in Genesis 10:7.]

The people of this country do not bury their dead, but embalm them by means of various spices, after which they place them on chairs and cover them with fine linen. And each family has a house where it preserves the embalmed remains of its ancestors and relations. The flesh hardens on the bones, and the embalmed bodies look like living beings, so that every man can recognise his parents, and the members of his family for many years. They worship the sun, and they have high places everywhere outside the city at a distance of about half a mile. And every morning they run forth to greet the sun, for on every high place a solar disc is made of cunning workmanship and as the sun rises the disc rotates with thundering noise, and all, both men and women, offer incense to the sun with censers in their hands. Such are their superstitious practices. And throughout the island, including all the towns there, live several thousand Israelites. The inhabitants are all black, and the Jews also. The latter are good and benevolent. They know the law of Moses and the prophets, and to a small extent the Talmud and Halacha.

Thence it is twenty-three days by sea to Ibrig*, and the inhabitants are fire-worshippers, and are called Duchbin. [* The British Museum text has Ibrig, and the Casanatense has Ibriag: neither can be identified. The printed editions have "the islands of Candig", which Asher thinks may be taken to refer to Ceylon, having regard to the name of the capital, Kandy. It was not the capital in Benjamin's time. The difficulty still remains that it does not take twenty-three days, but about four days, to reach Ceylon from Quilon. Renaudot states that in the tenth century a multitude of Jews resided in the island, and that they took part in the municipal government as well as other sects, as the King granted the utmost religious liberty. See Pinkerton's Travels, volume 7, p.217. A full description is also given of the ceremonial when any notability proceeds to immolate himself by committing himself to the flames.] Among them are about 3,000 Jews, and these Duchbin have priests in their several temples who are great wizards in all manner of witchcraft, and there are none like them in all the earth. In front of the high place of their temple there is a deep trench, where they keep a great fire alight all the year, and they call it Elahutha. And they cause their sons and daughters to pass through the fire, and even their dead they throw into it. Some of the great men of the country make a vow to die by fire. In such cases the man communicates his intention to the members of his household and his relations, and says:—"I have vowed to throw myself in the fire whilst I am yet alive," then they answer, saying: "Happy art thou." And when the day of the performance of his vow arrives, they prepare for him a grand banquet, and if he is rich he rides on horseback, if poor he goes on foot to the border of the trench and throws himself into the fire. And all the members of his family shout to the accompaniment of timbrels and dancing until the body is entirely consumed. At the end of three days two of their high priests come to his house and to his children and say unto them: "Arrange the house, for this day your father will come to give his last directions as to what ye shall do." And they bring witnesses from the city. Then Satan is made to appear in the likeness of the deceased, and when his widow and children ask him how he fares in the other world he answers: "I went to my companions, but they would not receive me until I had discharged my obligations to the members of my house and to my neighbours." p.94Then he makes his will and divides his property among his children, and gives directions that all his creditors should be paid and that his debts should be collected. Then the witnesses write out the will, and he goes his way and is seen no more. And by means of this trickery and witchcraft which these priests practise, the people are confirmed in their errors and assert that there is none in all the land like their priests.

Thence to cross over to the land of Zin (China) is a voyage of forty days. Zin is in the uttermost East, and some say that there is the Sea of Nikpa (Ning-po?), where the star Orion predominates and stormy winds prevail*. [* Tudela's statements as to India and China are of course very vague, but we must remember he was the first European who as much as mentions China. Having regard to the full descriptions of other countries of the old World by Arabic writers of the Middle Ages, and to the fact that the trade route then was principally by sea on the route indicated by Benjamin, it is surprising that we have comparatively little information about India and China from Arabic sources. In none of their records is the Sea of Nikpa named, and it is not improbable that Benjamin coined this name himself which occurs in the Bible four times; in the Song of Moses (Exod. 15:8): "The depths were curdled in the heart of the sea" (not "congealed" as the Version has it), Job 10:10: "curdled me like cheese"; and in Zeph. 1:12 and Zech. 14:6. The term "the curdling sea" would be very expressive of the tempestuous nature of the China Sea and of some of its straits at certain seasons of the year.] At times the helmsman cannot govern his ship, as a fierce wind drives her into this Sea of Nikpa, where she cannot move from her place; and the crew have to remain where they are till their stores of food are exhausted and then they die. In this way many a ship has been lost, but men eventually discovered a device by which to escape from this evil place. The crew provide themselves with hides of oxen.p.95 And when this evil wind blows which drives them into the Sea of Nikpa, they wrap themselves up in the skins, which they make waterproof, and, armed with knives, plunge into the sea. A great bird called the griffin spies them out, and in the belief that the sailor is an animal, the griffin seizes hold of him, brings him to dry land, and puts him down on a mountain or in a hollow in order to devour him. The man then quickly thrusts at the bird with a knife and slays him. Then the man issues forth from the skin and walks till he comes to an inhabited place. And in this manner many a man escapes. [Marco Polo has much to say about the bird "gryphon" when speaking of the sea-currents which drive ships from Malabar to Madagascar. He says, volume 2, book 3, chapter 33: "It is for all the world like an eagle, but one indeed of enormous size. It is so strong that it will seize an elephant in its talons and carry him high into the air and drop him so that he is smashed to pieces; having so killed him, the gryphon swoops down on him and eats him at leisure. The people of those isles call the bird 'Rukh'."]

Thence to Al-Gingaleh is a voyage of fifteen days, and about 1,000 Israelites dwell there. Thence by sea to Chulan is seven days; but no Jews live there. From there it is twelve days to Zebid, where there are a few Jews. From there it is eight days' journey to India which is on the mainland, called the land of Aden, and this is the Eden which is in Thelasar. [Neither Al-Gingaleh nor Chulan can be satisfactorily identified. Benjamin has already made it clear that to get from India to China takes sixty-three days, that is to say twenty-three days from Khulam to Ibrig, and thence forty days to the sea of Nikpa. The return journey, not merely to India but to Zebid, which Abulfeda and Alberuni call the principal port of Yemen, seems to take but thirty-four days. Ibn Batuta says about Aden: "It is situated on the sea-shore and is a large city, but without either seed, water, or tree. They have reservoirs in which they collect the rain for drinking. Some rich merchants reside here, and vessels from India occasionally arrive." A Jewish community has been there from time immemorial. Jacob Saphir devotes volume 2, chapters, 1-10 of his Eben Saphir, to a full account of the Jews of Aden.] The country is mountainous. There are many Israelites here, and they are not under the yoke of the Gentiles, but possess cities and castles on the summits of the mountains, from which they make descents into the plain-country called Lybia, which is a Christian Empire. These are the Lybians of the land of Lybia, with whom the Jews* are at war. The Jews take spoil and booty and retreat to the mountains, and no man can prevail against them. Many of these Jews of the land of Aden come to Persia and Egypt. [We must take Tudela's statements here to mean that the independent Jews who lived in the mountainous country in the rear of Aden crossed the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb and made war against the inhabitants of the Plains of Abyssinia (Ethiopia). This could be an indication that we do not see an account about Rabbinic or modern Jews who had been pacified by the Romans through editing the Jewish law texts. We rather see here the behaviour of Messianic Jews whose unedited texts we have found at the shores of the Dead Sea in Qumran. In these scrolls the Messianists promoted an apocalyptic war on all non-Jews pretty much like Islam does still today. Islam is the true heir of the militant Messianism the Romans under Vespasian had to deal with.]

Thence to the land of Assuan is a journey of twenty days through the desert. This is Seba on the river Pishon (Nile) which descends from the land of Cush [Assuan, according to Makrizi, was a most flourishing town prior to 1403, when more than 20,000 of its inhabitants perished. Seba cannot be identified. No doubt our author alludes to Seba, a name repeatedly coupled in Scripture with Egypt, Cush and Havilah.]. And some of these sons of Cush have a king whom they call the Sultan Al-Habash. There is a people among them who, like animals, eat of the herbs that grow on the banks of the Nile and in the fields. They go about naked and have not the intelligence of ordinary men. They cohabit with their sisters and any one they find. The climate is very hot. When the men of Assuan make a raid into their land, they take with them bread and wheat, dry grapes and figs, and throw the food to these people, who run after it. Thus they bring many of them back prisoners, and sell them in the land of Egypt and in the surrounding countries. And these are the black slaves, the sons of Ham.

From Assuan it is a distance of twelve days to Heluan where there are about 300 Jews. Thence people travel in caravans a journey of fifty days through the great desert called Sahara, to the land of Zawilah, which is Havilah in the land of Gana [Heluan is the present Helwan, fourteen miles / 22 km from Cairo, which was greatly appreciated by the early Caliphs for its thermal sulphur springs. Heluan is situated on the right bank of the Nile. One would have thought that the caravans proceeding to the interior of Africa through the Sahara Desert would have started from the left bank of the Nile; but we must remember that ancient Memphis, which stood on the left bank and faced Heluan, had been abandoned long before Tudela's time.]. In this desert there are mountains of sand, and when the wind rises, it covers the caravans with the sand, and many die from suffocation. Those that escape bring back with them copper, wheat, fruit, all manner of lentils, and salt. And from thence they bring gold, and all kinds of jewels. This is in the land of Cush which is called Al-Habash on the western confines [This sentence is out of place, and should follow the sentence in the preceding paragraph which speaks of the Sultan Al-Habash.]. From Heluan it is thirteen days' journey to Kutz which is Kūs, and this is the commencement of the land of Egypt. At Kutz there are 300 Jews [Kutz, the present Kus, is halfway between Keneh and Luxor.]. Thence it is 300 miles to Fayum, which is Pithom, where there are 200 Jews; and unto this very day one can see ruins of the buildings which our forefathers erected there.

[The Fayum, or Marsh-district, owes its extraordinary fertility to the Bahr Yussuf (Joseph's Canal). The Bahr Yussef (Arabic for "the waterway of Joseph") is a canal which connects the Nile River with Fayyum in Egypt. It was also known as "the Great canal" or "the canal of Moeris". The modern Arabic name refers to the prophet Yusuf, the Koranic counterpart of the Biblical Joseph. In prehistoric times, the canal was a natural offshoot of the Nile which created a lake to the west during high floods. Beginning with the 12th dynasty, the waterway was enlarged and the Fayyum was developed to enlarge Lake Moeris. The canal was built into the natural incline of the valley, creating a channel 15 km long and 5 m deep that sloped into the Fayyum depression. The canal was controlled by the Ha-Uar Dam, which was actually two dams that regulated the flow into the lake and out of the Nile. As the surrounding area changed at about 230 BC, the Bahr Yussef eventually became neglected, leaving most of Lake Moeris to dry up creating the depression that

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exists today and the modern province of Al Fayyum. The Bahr Yussef still exists today, feeding water northwards into the Birket Qarun, parallel with the Nile. The Egyptians did not only built this canal.

In 1799, Napoleon Bonaparte and his engineers discovered remnants of an ancient west–east canal through the ancient Egyptian cities of Bubastis, Pi-Ramesses, and Pithom. Initially, we know about a canal from texts by ancient historians. The legendary Sesostris (likely either Pharaoh Senusret II or Senusret III of the Twelfth dynasty of Egypt) might have started work on an ancient canal joining the Nile with the Red Sea (1897–1839 BC), when an irrigation channel was constructed around 1850 BC that was navigable during the flood season, leading into a dry river valley east of the Nile River Delta named Wadi Tumilat.

The reliefs of the Punt expedition under Hatshepsut, 1470 BC, depict seagoing vessels carrying the expeditionary force returning from Punt. This suggests that a navigable link existed between the Red Sea and the Nile. Recent excavations in Wadi Gawasis may indicate that Egypt's maritime trade started from the Red Sea and did not require a canal. However, the Canal of the Pharaos might have been a source of constant revenue like the modern Suez Canal. As transport on water was ten to twenty times faster than on land, the link between the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean was lucrative, no doubt.

A pink granite stele found 30 kilometers from Suez near Kabret in 1866 confirmed the canal building project. It was discovered by Charles de Lesseps, Ferdinand de Lesseps's son. The monument, also known as the Chalouf stele (or Shaluf Stele), records the construction of a forerunner of the modern Suez Canal by the Persians, a canal through Wadi Tumilat, connecting the easternmost, Bubastite, branch of the Nile with Lake Timsah which was connected to the Red Sea by natural waterways. The stated purpose of the canal was the creation of a shipping connection between the Nile and the Red Sea, between Egypt, Persia and India.

The stele was erected by Darius the Great (522 to 486 BC), who ruled over Ancient Egypt after it had been conquered by his predecessor Cambyses II. Darius's canal Inscriptions were texts written in Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian and Egyptian on five monuments erected in Wadi Tumilat, commemorating the opening of the "Canal of the Pharaohs", between the Nile and the Bitter Lakes stating: "King Darius saith: I am a Persian. Setting out from Persia, I conquered Egypt. I ordered this canal dug from the river called the Nile that flows in Egypt, to the sea that begins in Persia. When the canal had been dug as I ordered, ships went from Egypt through this canal to Persia, even as I intended." Today we know that Darius completed Necho's project and commemorated his achievement with a number of granite stelae that he set up on the Nile bank, including one near Kabret, and a further one a few miles north of Suez.

According to the Histories of the Greek historian Herodotus (c. 484 – c. 425 BC), about 600 BC, Necho II (sometimes Nekau, Neku, Nechoh, or Neko, reigned 610–595 BC) of Egypt was a king of the 26th Dynasty undertook to dig a west–east canal through the Wadi Tumilat between Bubastis and Heroopolis, and perhaps continued it to the Gulf of Heroonopolis and the Red Sea. Regardless, Necho is reported as having never completed his project. Necho's war with Nebuchadnezzar II of Babylon most probably prevented the canal's continuation. According to Herodotus, Darius's canal was wide enough that two triremes could pass each other with oars extended, and required four days to traverse.

In his book Meteorology, Aristotle (384–322 BC) wrote: "One of their kings tried to make a canal to it (for it would have been of no little advantage to them for the whole region to have become navigable; Sesostris is said to have been the first of the ancient kings to try), but he found that the sea was higher than the land. So he first, and Darius afterwards, stopped making the canal, lest the sea should mix with the river water and spoil it."

Strabo (64 BC – 24 AD) wrote that Sesostris started to build a canal, and Pliny the Elder wrote: "Next comes the Tyro tribe and, the harbour of the Daneoi, from which Sesostris, king of Egypt, intended to carry a ship-canal to where the Nile flows into what is known as the Delta; this is a distance of over 60 miles. Later the Persian king Darius had the same idea, and yet again Ptolemy II, who made a trench 100 feet wide, 30 feet deep and about 35 miles long, as far as the Bitter Lakes."

In the second half of the 19th century then, French cartographers discovered the remnants of an ancient north–south canal past the east side of Lake Timsah and ending near the north end of the Great Bitter Lake. This proved to be the celebrated canal made by the Persian king Darius I, as his stele commemorating its construction was found at the site. (This ancient, second canal may have followed a course along the shoreline of the Red Sea when it once extended north to Lake Timsah.) In the 20th century the northward extension of this ancient canal was discovered, extending from Lake Timsah to the Ballah Lakes. This was dated to the Middle Kingdom of Egypt by extrapolating the dates of ancient sites along its course. Today, the ancient canal is still visible from space as a green line of vegetation leading from the River Nile eastward to the Red Sea.]

Thence to Mizraim is a journey of four days. This Mizraim is the great city situated on the banks of the Nile, which is Pison or Al-Nil. The number of Jewish inhabitants is about 7,000. Two large synagogues are there, one belonging to the men of the land of Israel and one belonging to the men of the land of Babylon. The synagogue of the men of the land of Israel is called Kenisat-al-Schamiyyin, and the synagogue of the men of Babylon is called Kenisat-al-Irakiyyin. Their usage with regard to the portions and sections of the Law is not alike; for the men of Babylon are accustomed to read a portion every week, as is done in Spain, and is our custom, and to finish the Law each year; whilst the men of Palestine do not do so, but divide each portion into three sections and finish the Law at the end of three years. The two communities, however, have an established custom to unite and pray together on the day of the Rejoicing of the Law, and on the day of the Giving of the Law [meaning the laws of Moses and the 613 Mitzvot.]. Among the Jews is Nethanel the Prince of Princes and the head of the Academy, who is the head of all the [Jewish] congregations in Egypt; he appoints Rabbis and officials, and is attached to the court of the great King, who lives in his palace of Zoan el-Medina, which is the royal city for the Arabs. Here resides the Emir al Muminin, a p.99descendant of Abu Talib. All his subjects are called "Alawiyyim*," because they rose up against the Emir al Muminin al Abbasi (the Abbaside Caliph) who resides at Bagdad. And between the two parties there is a lasting feud, for the former have set up a rival throne in Zoan (Egypt). [* This term (which is not given in the printed editions) means that the people were followers of Ali, the son-in-law of Mohammed, founder of the Shiite sect.]

Twice in the year the Egyptian monarch goes forth, once on the occasion of the great festival, and again when the river Nile rises. Zoan is surrounded by a wall, but Mizraim has no wall, for the river encompasses it on one side. It is a great city, and it has market-places as well as inns in great number. The Jews that dwell there are very rich. No rain falls, neither is ice or snow ever seen. The climate is very hot.

The river Nile rises once a year in the month of Elul; it covers all the land, and irrigates it to a distance of fifteen days' journey. The waters remain upon the surface of the land during the months of Elul and Tishri, and irrigate and fertilize it.

The inhabitants have a pillar of marble, erected with much skill, in order to ascertain the extent of the rise of the Nile. It stands in the front of an island in the midst of the water, and is twelve cubits high. When the Nile rises and covers the column, they know that the river has risen and has covered the land for a distance of fifteen days' journey to its full extent. If only half the column is covered, the water only covers half the extent of the land. And day by day an officer takes a measurement on the column and makes proclamation thereof in Zoan and in the city of Mizraim, proclaiming: "Give praise unto the Creator, for the river this day has risen to such and such a height"; each day he takes the measurement and makes his proclamation. If the water covers the entire column, there will be abundance throughout Egypt. The river continues to rise gradually till it covers the land to the extent of fifteen days' journey. He who owns a field hires workmen, who dig deep trenches in his field, and fish come with the rise of the water and enter the trenches. Then, when the waters have receded, the fish remain behind in the trenches, and the owners of the fields take them and either eat them or sell them to the fishmongers, who salt them and deal in them in every place. These fish are exceedingly fat and large, and the oil obtained from them is used in this land for lamp-oil. Though a man eat a great quantity of these fish, if he but drinkp.101 Nile water afterwards they will not hurt him, for the waters have medicinal properties.

People ask, what causes the Nile to rise? The Egyptians say that up the river, in the land of Al-Habash (Abyssinia), which is the land of Havilah, much rain descends at the time of the rising of the river, and that this abundance of rain causes the river to rise and to cover the surface of the land. [The inundations are brought about purely by the excessive rains in the highlands of Abyssinia, which cause the flooding of the Blue Nile and the Atbara in June and July and of the lower Nile in August and September.] If the river does not rise, there is no sowing, and famine is sore in the land. Sowing is done in the month of Marheshwan, after the river has gone back to its ordinary channel. In the month of Adar is the barley-harvest, and in the month of Nisan the wheat-harvest.

In the month of Nisan they have cherries, pears, cucumbers, and gourds in plenty, also beans, peas, chickpeas, and many kinds of vegetables, such as purslane, asparagus, pulse, lettuce, coriander, endive, cabbage, leek, and cardoon. The land is full of all good things, and the gardens and plantations are watered from the various reservoirs and by the river-water.

The river Nile, after flowing past (the city of) Mizraim, divides into four heads: one channel proceeds in the direction of Damietta, which is Caphtor, where it falls into the sea. The second channel flows to the city of Reshid (Rosetta),p.102 which is near Alexandria, and there falls into the sea; the third channel goes by way of Ashmun, where it falls into the sea; and the fourth channel goes as far as the frontier of Egypt. Along both banks of these four river-heads are cities, towns and villages, and people visit these places either by ship or by land. There is no such thickly-populated land as this elsewhere. It is extensive too and abundant in all good things.

From New Mizraim unto Old Mizraim is a distance of two parasangs. The latter is in ruins, and the place where walls and houses stood can be seen to the present day. The store-houses also of Joseph of blessed memory are to be found in great numbers in many places. They are built of lime and stone, and are exceedingly strong. A pillar is there of marvellous workmanship, the like of which cannot be seen throughout the world.

Outside the city is the ancient synagogue of Moses our master, of blessed memory, and the overseer and clerk of this place of worship is a venerable old man; he is a man of learning, and they call him Al Sheik Abu al-Nazr. The extent of Mizraim, which is in ruins, is three miles. Thence to the land of Goshen is eight parasangs; here is Bilbais There are about 300 Jews in the city, which is a large one. Thence it is half a day's journey to Ain-al-Shams or Ramses, which is in ruins. Traces are there to be seen of the buildings which our fore-fathers raised, namely, towers built of bricks. From here it is a day's journey to Al Bubizig, where there are about 200 Jews. Thence it is half a day to Benha, where there are about 60 Jews. Thence it takes half a day to Muneh Sifte, where there are 500 Jews. From there it is half a day's journey to Samnu, where there are about 200 Jews. Thence it is four parasangs to Damira, where there are about 700 Jews. From there it is five days to Lammanah, where there are about 500 Jews. Two days' journey takes one to Alexandria of Egypt, which is Ammon of No; but when Alexander of Macedon built the city, he called it after his own name, and made it exceedingly strong and beautiful. The houses, the palaces, and the walls are of excellent architecture. Outside the town is the academy of Aristotle, the teacher of Alexander. This is a large building, standing between other academies to the number of twenty, with a column of marble between each. People from the whole world were wont to come hither in order to study the wisdom of Aristotle the philosopher. The city is built over a hollow by means of arches. Alexander built it with great understanding. The streets are wide and straight, so that a man can look along them for a mile from gate to gate, from the gate of Reshid to the gate by the sea.

Alexander also built for the harbour of Alexandria a pier, a king's highway running into the midst of the sea. And there he erected a large tower, a lighthouse, called Manar al Iskandriyyah in Arabic. On the top of the tower there is a glass mirror. Any ships that attempted to attack or molest the city, coming from Greece or from the Western lands, could be seen by means of this mirror of glass at a distance of twenty days' journey, and the inhabitants could thereupon put themselves on their guard. It happened once, many years after the death of Alexander, that a ship came from the land of Greece, and the name of the captain was Theodoros, a Greek of great cleverness. The Greeks at that time were under the yoke of Egypt. The captain brought great gifts in silver and gold and garments of silk to the King of Egypt, and he moored his ship in front of the lighthouse, as was the custom of all merchants.

Every day the guardian of the lighthouse and his servants had their meals with him, until the captain came to be on such friendly terms with the keeper that he could go in and out at all times. And one day he gave a banquet, and caused the keeper and all his servants to drink a great deal of wine. When they were all asleep, the captain and his servants arose and broke the mirror and departed that very night. From that day onward the Christians began to come thither with boats and large ships, and eventually captured the large island called Crete and also Cyprus, which are under the dominion of the Greeks. [The other Manuscripts add here: Ever since then, the men of the King of Egypt have been unable to prevail over the Greeks.] To this day the lighthouse is a landmark to all seafarers who come to Alexandria; for one can see it at a distance of 100 miles by day, and at night the keeper lights a torch which the mariners can see from a distance, and thus sail towards it. [Titus Flavius Josephus, who had the opportunity of seeing the Pharos before it was destroyed, must likewise have exaggerated when he said that the lighthouse threw its rays a distance of 300 stadia. Strabo describes the Pharos of Alexandria, which was considered one of the wonders of the world. As the coast was low and there were no landmarks, it proved of great service to the city. It was built of white marble, and on the top there blazed a huge beacon of logs saturated with pitch. Abulfeda alludes to the large mirror which enabled the lighthouse keepers to detect from a great distance the approach of the enemy. He further mentions that the trick by which the mirror was destroyed took place in the first century of Islamism, under the Caliph Valyd, the son of Abd-almalek.]

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Alexandria is a commercial market for all nations. Merchants come thither from all the Christian kingdoms: on the one side, from p.106the land of Venetia and Lombardy, Tuscany, Apulia, Amalfi, Sicilia, Calabria, Romagna, Khazaria, Patzinakia, Hungaria, Bulgaria, Rakuvia (Ragusa?), Croatia, Slavonia, Russia, Alamannia (Germany), Saxony, Danemark, Kurland? Ireland? Norway (Norge?), Frisia, Scotia, Angleterre, Wales, Flanders, Hainault? Normandy, France, Poitiers, Anjou, Burgundy, Maurienne, Provence, Genoa, Pisa, Gascony, Aragon, and Navarra, and towards the west under the sway of the Mohammedans, Andalusia, Algarve, Africa and the land of the Arabs: and on the other side India, Zawilah, Abyssinia, Lybia, El-Yemen, Shinar, Esh-Sham (Syria); also Javan, whose people are called the Greeks, and the Turks. And merchants of India bring thither all kinds of spices, and the merchants of Edom buy of them. And the city is a busy one and full of traffic. Each nation has an inn of its own.

By the sea-coast there is a sepulchre of marble on which are engraved all manner of beasts and birds; an effigy is in the midst thereof, and all the writing is in ancient characters, which no one knows now. Men suppose that it is the sepulchre of a king who lived in early times before the Deluge. The length of the sepulchre is fifteen spans, and its breadth is six spans. There are about 3,000 Jews in Alexandria.

Thence it is two days' journey to Damietta which is Caphtor, where there are about 200 Jews, and it lies upon the sea. Thence it is one day's journey to Simasim; it contains about 100 Jews. From there it is half a day to Sunbat; the inhabitants sow flax and weave linen, which they export to all parts of the world [Simasin or Timasin is doubtless near Lake Timsah. Sunbat is spoken of by Arabic writers as noted for its linen manufactures and trade.]. Thence it is four days to Ailam, which is Elim. It belongs to the Arabs who dwell in the wilderness. Thence it is two days' journey to Rephidim where the Arabs dwell, but there are no Jews there. A day's journey from thence takes one to Mount Sinai. On the top of the mountain is a large convent belonging to the great monks called Syrians. At the foot of the mountain is a large town called Tur Sinai; the inhabitants speak the language of the Targum (Syriac). It is close to a small mountain, five days distant from Egypt. The inhabitants are under Egyptian rule. At a day's journey from Mount Sinai is the Red Sea, which is an arm of the Indian Ocean. We return to Damietta. From there it is a day's journey to] Tanis, which is Hanes, where there are about 40 Jews. It is an island in the midst of the sea. [Tanis, now called San, was probably the Zoan of Scripture, but in the Middle Ages it was held to be Hanes, mentioned in Isa. xxx. 4. It was situated on the eastern bank of the Tanitic branch of the Nile, about thirty miles south-west of the ancient Pelusium. The excavations which have been made by M. Mariette and Mr. Flinders Petrie prove that it was one of the largest and most important cities of the Delta.] Thus far extends the empire of Egypt.

Thence it takes twenty days by sea to Messina, which is the commencement of Sicily and is situated on the arm of the sea that is called Lipar*, which divides it from Calabria. [* The straits of Messina were named Faro. Lipar has reference, no doubt, to the Liparian Islands, which are in the neighbourhood.] Here about 200 Jews dwell. It is a land full of everything good, with gardens and plantations. Here most of the pilgrims assemble to cross over to Jerusalem, as this is the best crossing. Thence it is about two days' journey to Palermo, which is a large city. Here is the palace of King William. Palermo contains about 1,500 Jews and a large number of Christians and Mohammedans. It is in a district abounding in springs and brooks of water, a land of wheat and barley, likewise of gardens and plantations, and there is not the like thereof in the whole island of Sicily. Here is the domain and garden of the king, which is called Al Harbina (Al Hacina; [Hacina is the Arabic for a fortified or enclosed place.]), containing all sorts of fruit-trees. And in it is a large fountain. The garden is encompassed by a wall. And a reservoir has been made there which is called Al Buheira [Buheira is the Arabic word for a lake.], and in it are many sorts of fish. Ships overlaid with silver and gold are there, belonging to the king, who takes pleasure-trips in them with his women. [King William II, was sixteen years old when Benjamin visited Sicily in 1170.] In the park there is also a great palace, the walls of which are painted, and overlaid with gold and silver; the paving of the floors is of marble, picked out in gold and silver in all manner of designs. There is no building like this anywhere. And this island, the commencement of which is Messina, contains all the pleasant things of this world. It embraces Syracuse, Marsala, Catania, Petralia, and Trapani, the circumference of the island being six days' journey. In Trapani coral is found, which is called Al Murgan[210].

Thence people pass to the city of Rome in ten days. And from Rome they proceed by land to Lucca, which is a five days' journey. Thence they cross the mountain of Jean de Maurienne, and the passes of Italy. It is twenty days' journey to Verdun, which is the commencement of Alamannia, a land of mountains and hills. All the congregations of Alamannia are situated on the great river Rhine, from the city of Cologne, which is the principal town of the Empire, to the city of Regensburg, a distance of fifteen days' journey at the other extremity of Alamannia, otherwise called Ashkenaz. And the following p.110 are the cities in the land of Alamannia, which have Hebrew congregations: Metz, Treves on the river Moselle, Coblenz, Andernach, Bonn, Cologne, Bingen, Münster, Worms, [All Israel is dispersed in every land, and he who does not further the gathering of Israel will not meet with happiness nor live with Israel. When the Lord will remember us in our exile, and raise the horn of his anointed, then every one will say, "I will lead the Jews and I will gather them." As for the towns which have been mentioned, they contain scholars and communities that love their brethren, and speak peace to those that are near and afar, and when a wayfarer comes they rejoice, and make a feast for him, and say, "Rejoice, brethren, for the help of the Lord comes in the twinkling of an eye." If we were not afraid that the appointed time has not yet arrived nor been reached, we would have gathered together, but we dare not do so until the time for song has arrived, and the voice of the turtle-dove (is heard in the land), when the messengers will come and say continually, "The Lord be exalted." Meanwhile they send missives one to the other, saying, "Be ye strong in the law of Moses, and do ye mourners for Zion and ye mourners for Jerusalem entreat the Lord, and may the supplication of those that wear the garments of mourning be received through their merits." In addition to the several cities which we have mentioned there are besides] Strassburg, Würzburg, Mantern, Bamberg, Freising, and Regensburg at the extremity of the Empire [The Holy Roman Empire of German Nations.]. In these [German] cities there are many Israelites, wise men and rich.

Thence extends the land of Bohemia, called Prague. This is the commencement of the land of Slavonia, and the Jews who dwell there call it Canaan, because the men of that land (the Slavs) sell their sons and their daughters to the other nations. These are the men of Russia, which is a great empire stretching from the gate of Prague to the gates of Kieff, the large city which is at the extremity of that empire. It is a land of mountains and forests, where there are to be found the animals called vair [a species of marten], ermine, and sable. No one issues forth from his house in winter-time on account of the cold. People are to be found there who have lost the tips of their noses by reason of the frost. Thus far reaches the empire of Russia.

The kingdom of France, which is Zarfath, extends from the town of Auxerre [The Roman name Antiossiodorum became converted into Alciodorum, then Alcore, and finally into Auxerre.] unto Paris, the great city—a journey of six days. The city belongs to King Louis. It is situated on the river Seine. Scholars are there, unequalled in the whole world, who study the Law day and night. They are charitable and hospitable to all travellers, and are as brothers and friends unto all their brethren the Jews. May God, the Blessed One, have mercy upon us and upon them!

Finished and completed.

THE JOURNEY OF FRIAR JOHN OF PIAN DE CARPINE TO THE COURT OF KUYUK KHAN, 1245-1247

As Narrated By Himself.

(Including: The Letters of Innocent IV and Kuyuk Khan, meaning Güyük Khan)

Also known as Ystoria Mongalorum

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(Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, variously rendered in English as John of Pian de Carpine, John of Plano Carpini or Joannes de Plano (ca 1185–1252), was a medieval Italian diplomat, archbishop and explorer and one of the first Europeans to enter the court of the Great Khan of the Mongol Empire. He is the author of the earliest important Western account of northern and central Asia, Rus, and other regions of the Mongol dominion. He was the Primate of Serbia, based in Antivari, from 1247 to 1252.

Carpine was an Italian, may be a native of Umbria. His surname was derived from Pian del Carpine (literally "Hornbeam Plain"), an area known later as Magione, between Perugia and Cortona. Highly-esteemed within the Franciscan order, Giovanni had a prominent role in the propagation of its teachings in northern Europe, holding in succession the offices of warden (custos) in Saxony and provincial (minister) of Germany. He may also have held positions in Barbary and Cologne, and been provincial of Spain.

Carpine was provincial of Germany at the time of the great Mongol invasion of eastern Europe and the Battle of Legnica (modern Legnickie Pole) on 9 April 1241. The defeat of European forces at Legnica led almost to Ögedei, Khan of the Mongol Empire, controlling most of Eastern Europe.

Prelude

The Seljuk Empire, was a high medieval Turko-Persian Sunni Muslim empire, originating from the Qiniq branch of Oghuz Turks. The Seljuk empire was founded in 1037 by Tughril Beg (990–1063) and his brother Chaghri Beg (989–1060). The Islamic Seljuk Turks had begun their own conquest spree from their homelands near the Aral Sea. The Seljuks advanced first into Khorasan and then into mainland Persia, before eventually conquering Baghdad and eastern Anatolia. The Seljuks won the battle of Manzikert in 1071, and then conquered most of the rest of Anatolia, wresting it from the deminished Roman Empire. The Seljuk Turks systematically disrupted Christian pilgrimage routes, harrassing, raping, subjugating and killing non-Muslims, particularly in the Holy Land and in Anatolia. This breach of the status quo between Arabs and Christians became one of the major factors triggering the First Crusade (1095–1099).

At the time of its greatest extent, the Seljuk Empire controlled a vast area, stretching from western Anatolia and the Levant in the west to the Hindu Kush in the east, and from Central Asia in the north to the Persian Gulf in the south. The Seljuk empire began to decline in the 1140s, and by 1194 had been supplanted by the Khwarazmian Empire. Lots of Islamic Turks joined the Mongol armies when Genghis Khans troops arrived Turkish-held areas pilaging, raping and killing Christians in Armenia and Georgia. Ögedei Khan ordered Batu Khan to conquer Rus in 1235. The main force, headed by Jochi's sons, and their cousins, Möngke Khan and Güyük Khan, arrived at Ryazan in December 1237. The attack on Europe was planned and executed by Subutai, who achieved perhaps his most lasting fame with his victories there. Having devastated the various Rus principalities, he sent spies into Poland and Hungary, and as far as eastern areas in the Holy Roman Empire in Austria, in preparation for an attack into the heartland of Europe. The Mongols invaded Central Europe with three armies. One army defeated an alliance which included forces from fragmented Poland and their allies, led by Henry II the Pious, Duke of Silesia in the Battle of Liegnitz. A second army crossed the Carpathian mountains and a third followed the Danube. On 9 April 1241, Mongol detachments entered Meissen and Lusatia following a decisive Mongol victory at the Battle of Liegnitz in Poland. The Mongol light reconnaissance units, led by Orda Khan, pillaged through Meissen and burned most of the city of Meissen to the ground. The Annales sancti Pantaleonis records these attacks. The armies re-grouped and crushed Hungary in 1241, defeating the Hungarian army at the Battle of Mohi on April 11, 1241. The devastating Mongol invasion killed half of Hungary's population. The armies swept the plains of Hungary over the summer, and in early 1242 regained impetus and extended their control into Dalmatia and Moravia.

The subjugation of Hungary opened a pathway for the Mongol Horde to invade Vienna. Using similar tactics during their campaigns in previous Eastern and Central European countries, the Mongols first launched small squadrons to attack isolated settlements in the outskirts of Vienna in an attempt to instill fear and panic among the populace. In 1241 the Mongols raided Wiener Neustadt and its neighbouring districts, located south of Vienna. Wiener Neustadt took the brunt of the attack and, like previous invasions, the Mongols committed horrible atrocities on the relatively unarmed populace. The city of Korneuburg, just north of Vienna, was also pillaged and destroyed. The Duke of Austria, Frederick II, had previously engaged the Mongols in Olomouc and in the initial stages of the Battle of Mohi. Unlike in Hungary however, Vienna under the leadership of Duke Frederick and his knights, together with their foreign allies, managed to rally quicker and annihilate the small Mongolian squadron. After the battle, the Duke estimated that the Mongols lost 300 up to 700 men, while the defending Europeans lost 100. Austrian knights also subsequently defeated the Mongols at the borders of the River March in the district of Theben [Devín, a borough of Bratislava.]. After the failed initial raids, the rest of the Mongols retreated after learning of the Great Khan Ögedei's death in December 1241. On hearing the news, all the "Princes of the Blood," against Subotai's recommendation, went back to Mongolia to elect the new Khan.

Diplomatic Missions

Islam was attacking Europe for a long time, coming close to achieving its main goal: the total destruction of Western Civilisation. Then from the 1220s to the 1240s, Europe came under attack by the Mongols, but the Muslims too. Pope Innocent IV (Latin: Innocentius IV; c. 1195–1254), became head of the Catholic Church and ruler of the Papal States in 1243 from 25 June 1243. The new Pope immediately saw the chance to weaken Islam by getting allied with the Mongols against the aggressive Islamic doctrines. The following persons became involved in his project of a Western-Monglian alliance that lasted for over half a century. In the 13th century, there were quite a lot of people travelling from the West to the East, not only the famous Marco Polo and Rabban Bar

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Sauma whe travelled from the East to the West at about the same period of time. Unfortunately, most of these explorers, such as Lawrence of Portugal (an envoy sent by Pope Innocent IV to the Mongols in 1245), Ascelin of Lombardia (met with the Mongol general Baiju, and then returned to Europe with a message and Mongol envoys in 1248, Simon of St Quentin or Andrew of Longjumeau, left us no records. And those explorers, who left us their accounts, reported astonishing details. They were Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, the Friar Benedict the Pole, Willem van Rubroeck, Rabban Bar Sauma, Marco Polo. They mainly were in service of the Pope or the Khan or both.

André de Longjumeau (also known as Andrew of Longjumeau in English) was such a person. He was a Dominican missionary and diplomat and one of the most active Occidental diplomats in the East in the 13th century. He led two embassies to the Mongols: the first carried letters from Pope Innocent IV and the second bore gifts and letters from Louis IX of France to Güyük Khan. Well acquainted with the Middle-East, he spoke Arabic and Aramaic.

We only know of Longjumeau through references in other writers (See: William of Rubruck's in Recueil de voyages, 4. (Paris, 1839), pp. 261, 265, 279, 296, 310, 353, 363, 370; Joinville, ed. Francisque Michel (1858), pp. 142; Jean Pierre Sarrasin, in same vol., pp. 254–235; Guillaume de Nangis (died 1300, also known as William of Nangis, French chronicler) in Recueil des historiens des Gaules, 20. 359–367; Charles de Rémusat, Mémoires sur les relations politiques des princes chrétiens… avec les… Mongols (1822), p. 52.)

Longjumeau 's first mission to the East was when he was asked by the French king Louis IX to go to Constantinople to obtain the Crown of Thorns which had been sold to him by the Latin Emperor Baldwin II in 1238, who was anxious to obtain support for his empire. André was accompanied on this mission by a Dominican friar, brother Jacques.

Papal mission to the Mongols (1245–1247): André of Longjumeau led one of four missions dispatched to the Mongols by Pope Innocent IV. He left Lyon in the spring of 1245 for the Levant. He visited Muslim principalities in Syria and representatives of the Nestorian and Jacobite churches in Persia, finally delivering the papal correspondence to a Mongol general near Tabriz. In Tabriz, André de Longjumeau met with a monk from the Far East, named Simeon Rabban Ata, who had been put in charge by the Khan of protecting the Christians in the Middle-East.

Second mission to the Mongols (1249–1251): At the Mongol camp near Kars, Longjumeau had met a certain David, who in December 1248 appeared at the court of King Louis IX of France in Cyprus. Longjumeau, who was now with the French King, interpreted David's, a real or pretended offer of alliance from the Mongol general Eljigidei, and a proposal of a joint attack upon the Islamic powers of Syria. In reply to this the French sovereign dispatched André as his ambassador to Güyük Khan. Longjumeau went with his brother Jacques (also a Dominican) and several others – John Goderiche, John of Carcassonne, Herbert "Le Sommelier", Gerbert of Sens, Robert (a clerk), a certain William, and an unnamed clerk of Poissy. The party set out on 16 February 1249, with letters from King Louis and the papal legate, and rich presents, including a chapel-tent lined with scarlet cloth and embroidered with sacred pictures. From Cyprus they went to the port of Antioch in Syria, and thence traveled for a year to the Khan's court, going ten leagues (55.56 kilometers) per day. Their route led them through Persia, along the southern and eastern shores of the Caspian Sea, and certainly through Talas, north-east of Tashkent. On arrival at the supreme Mongol court – either that on the Imyl river (near Lake Alakol and the present Russo-Chinese frontier in the Altai), or more probably at or near Karakorum itself, south-west of Lake Baikal – Longjumeau found Güyük Khan dead, poisoned, as the envoy supposed, by Batu Khan's agents. The regent-mother Oghul Qaimish (the "Camus" of William of Rubruck) seems to have received and dismissed him with presents and a dismissive letter for Louis IX. But it is certain that before the friar had left "Tartary", Möngke, Güyük's successor, had been elected. André's report to his sovereign, whom he rejoined in 1251 at Caesarea in Palestine, appears to have been a mixture of history and fable; the latter affects his narrative of the Mongols' rise to greatness, and the struggles of their leader Genghis Khan with the mythical Prester John, and in the supposed location of the Mongols' homeland, close to the prison of Gog and Magog. On the other hand, the envoy's account of Mongol customs is fairly accurate, and his statements about Mongol Christianity and its prosperity, though perhaps exaggerated (e.g. as to the 800 chapels on wheels in the nomadic host) are likely factual.

Mounds of bones marked his road, witnesses of devastations which other historians record in detail. He found Christian prisoners from Germany in the heart of "Tartary" (at Talas), and was compelled to observe the ceremony of passing between two fires, as a bringer of gifts to a dead Khan, gifts which were treated by the Mongols as evidence of submission. This insulting behaviour, and the language of the letter with which André reappeared, marked the mission a failure: King Louis, says Joinville, "se repenti fort" ("felt very sorry").

Involved Persons on the Mongilian side: General Subutai (Sübedei; c. 1175–1248) was a Mongolian general and the primary military strategist of Genghis Khan and Ögedei Khan. He directed more than 20 campaigns and won 65 pitched battles, during which he conquered or overran more territory than any other commander in history as part of the expansion of the Mongol Empire, the largest contiguous empire in human history; General Chormaqan (also Chormagan or Chormaqan Noyan) (died c. 1241) was one of the most famous generals of the Mongol Empire under Genghis Khan and Ögedei Khan; General Bayju Noyan or Baichu (Chinese: Baizhu; in European sources: Bayothnoy; fl. 1228-1260) was a Mongol commander in Persia, Anatolia and Georgia appointed by Ögedei Khan to succeed General Chormagan; Genghis Khan (born Temüjin; c. 115–1227 AD); Ögedei Khan (or Ogodei; Chinese: Woguodai; c. 1186–1241); Batu Khan (c. 1205–1255), was a Mongol ruler (1227–1255) and founder of the Golden Horde (self-designated as Ulug Ulus, lit. 'Great State'), a constituent of the Mongol Empire. Batu was a son of Jochi, thus a grandson of Genghis Khan.; Güyük Khan (or Kuyuk; Chinese: Guiyou; c. 1206–1248), up to now, the Khans followed monotheistic Tengrism; the following Khans favoured Buddhism. They all had sympathies for Christianity and they employed Christians for various positions. Möngke Khan (Chinese: Meng ge; 1209–1259), he made Buddhism quasi official; Kublai Khan (Hubilai; Chinese: Hubilie; 1215–1294), Temür Öljeytü Khan (or Timur, Chinese: Tiemu-er, also: Yuan Chengzong, Wanze Duhan 1265–1307), Külüg Khan (Chinese: Yuan Wuzong; 1281–1311)

When Pope Innocent IV decided to dispatch the first formal Catholic mission to the Mongols, in Europe, dread of the "Tatars" (Turks and Mongols) was still widespread. The missionaries were sent partly in protest at the Mongol invasion of Christendom and partly to gain information regarding the Khan's intentions and military strength. The following documents tell us something about the attitude of the leaders.

THE LETTERS

Giovanni da Pian del Carpine (John of Pian de Carpine), carried with him a letter from Pope Innocent IV to the newly elected Mongol emperor Güyük Khan. He was also able to deliver the reply from Güyük Khan to the Pope. Here are the two letters:

CUM NON SOLUM, 13th March, 1245 A.D.
by Pope Innocent IV
Language: Latin
Translation: Wikisource
Date: 13th March, 1245 A.D.

(Cum non solum was a letter written by Pope Innocent IV to the Mongols on 13th March, 1245. This message was carried by the Franciscan John of Plano Carpini, who successfully reached the Mongol capital of Karakorum, where he attended the election of the new Khan Güyük on 24th August, 1246.

One of the first communications from the Papacy to the Mongols, the letter appeals to the Mongols to desist from attacking Christians and other nations, and inquires as to the Mongols' future intentions. Innocent also expresses a desire for peace. Possibly unaware that in the Mongol vocabulary, "peace" is a synonym for "subjection." The confusion is based on the Arabic word root s-l-m which refers to peace "Salam" as well as to subjugation "Islam.")

Text:

Since not only men but also irrational animals and even the very elements of the world machine have been connected by a certain unity of natural affinity on the model of the heavenly spirits, whose hosts God the creator of the universe has established in the unending stability of a peaceful order, we are strongly compelled – not without cause – to be astonished that you, as we have heard, having invaded so many regions of the Christians as well as those of other peoples, laid waste to these with a terrible devastation; and that up to this time you, not ceasing to send pillaging bands in your continuous anger into further regions, with the restraint of natural reason broken and making no exception for age or sex, you have raged against all indifferently with the sword of your anger.

We therefore, desiring to live together by the example of the Pacific King in the unity of peace under the fear of God, warn, request, and advise your unity intently: desist completely from further attacks of this kind and especially from the persecution of Christians, and through the satisfaction of a fitting penance placate the anger of Divine Majesty which on account of so many and such great offenses you most certainly have provoked through these incitements. You ought not accordingly take up the audacity of ravaging further, because, as the sword of your power rages against others, the all-powerful Lord has so far permitted diverse nations to be laid low before you; but He in our age frequently passes over chastening the proud until the right time, so that if they neglect to become humble of their own accord, He may not hesitate to punish their wickedness in time and may exact more serious retribution in the future.

And behold, a chosen son Brother and his colleagues the bearers of letters, men conspicuous in religion, distinguished by honesty, and gifted with knowledge of the Holy Scripture, we have led to you concerning this matter. I ask you to receive these men generously and treat honorably as you would us by trusting them in those things they will say to you from us and holding fruitful conversation with them about the things mentioned above and especially those matters pertaining to peace. Tell us fully through these brothers what has moved you to the extermination of other peoples and what further you intend; and look after these in their coming and going through a secure conduct and other necessary things, so that they may return safe to our presence.

GÜYÜK KHAN TO POPE INNOCENT IV,
11 November 1246
Author: Güyük Khan, Mongol Emperor
Medium: ink on paper, Persian version
Brought to Europe by John de Carpini.
Dimensions: Height 16.5 cm, Width 97 cm.
Collection: Vatican Secret Archives
Accession number: Inv. no. A. A., Arm. I-XVIII
Date: 11th November 1246

We, by the power of the eternal heaven, Khan of the great Ulus, Our command:

This is a version sent to the great Pope that he may know and understand in the Muslim tongue [Persian.] what has been written. The petition of the assembly held in the lands of the Emperor for our support has been heard from your emissaries. If he reaches you with his own report, thou, who art the great Pope, together with all the princes, "Come in person to serve us. At that time I shall make known all the commands of the Yasa. [The Basic Law of the Mongols.]

You have also said that supplication and prayer have been offered by you, that I might find a good entry into baptism. This prayer of thine, I have not understood. Other words which thou has sent me, I am surprised that thou hast seized all the lands of the Magyar and the Christians, tell us what their fault is? These words of thine, I have also not understood.

The eternal God has slain and annihilated these lands and people because they have neither adhered to Gengis Khan nor to the Khargan, both of whom have been sent to make known God's command, nor to the command of God. Like thy words, they also were impedent. They were proud. And they slew our messenger emissaries. How could anybody sees or kill by his own power contrary to the command of God?

Though thou likewise sayest that I should become a trembling Nestorian Christian, worship God and be an ascetic. How knowest thou whom God absolves in truth to whom he shows mercy? How dost thou know that such words as thou speakest are with God's sanction? From the rising of the Sun to its setting, all the lands have been made subject to me. Who could do this contrary to the command of God?

Now, you should say with a sincere heart: "I will submit and serve you! Thou, thyself at the head of all the princes come at once to serve and wait upon us! At that time, I shall recognise your submission. If you do not observe God's command, and if you ignore my command, I shall know you as my enemy. Likewise I shall make you understand if you do otherwise. God knows what I know.

Sent to You at the end of Jamadi, the last year of Arbaeen and Satma [11 November 1246.].

TWO OTHER LETTERS FROM THE POPE

The Cum non solum letter was not the only letter written to the Mongol emperor who was also ruling over China. Other documents in the same vein were discovered in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, the Secret Vatican Archive. Their names: Dei Patris Immensa (1245) and Viam agnoscere veritatis (1248). Who the original letters delivered to the Mongol leaders, we do not know.

DEI PATRIS IMMENSA (5th March, 1245)
by Pope Innocent IV
Language: Latin
Translation: Wikisource
Date: 5th March, 1245

(Dei patris immensa was a letter written by Pope Innocent IV to the Mongols (the Pope also wrote other letters to the Mongols, which are known as Cum non solum and Viam agnoscere veritatis). It was written on March 5, 1245, was an exposition of the Christian faith, and urged Mongols to accept baptism. It was intended to be carried by the Franciscan friar and papal envoy Laurentius of Portugal. However, nothing more is known about Laurentius' embassy, and it is possible that he never actually left.

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Dei Patris Immensa (sometimes Dei Patris Inmensa) was a letter written by Pope Innocent IV to the Mongols on March 5, 1245. It was an exposition of the Christian faith, and urged Mongols to accept baptism. Other documents in the same vein were Cum non solum (1245) and Viam agnoscere veritatis (1248)

"...to the king and people of the Tartars [that they may] acknowledge the way of truth.

The immense benevolence of God the father, considering with ineffable piety the fall of mankind, which came to ruin by the sin of the first man, and wishing with great love to mercifully revive him whom diabolic envy has made prostrate by deceitful suggestion, has sent his only-begotten son, sharing the same nature with him, from the highest throne of heaven to the lowest dirt of the world, he who, conceived in the womb of the pre-elected virgin by the grace of the Holy Spirit and endowed there with the clothing of human flesh, thenceforth appeared to all, having exited from the enclosed gate of his mother's virginity.

For human nature, although it was reasonable, ought to have been fed with the eternal truth as its best meal; but having been detained in mortal chains by the penalty of sin, it was reduced from decreasing to this, so that through interpretations of visible things it tried to understand the invisible matters of the reasonable meal.

The creator of that creature became visible in our fashion not without a change of nature, so that, made visible, he might recall those following visible things to himself while invisible, informing men with his teachings of salvation, and, showing them the way of perfect life with his teaching as proof, after his examples of sacred conversation and his speeches of evangelical instruction, he deigned to suffer death under the torture of the harsh cross, so that, with a penalty being the end of the present life, he might put an end to the penalty of perpetual death, which the descendants of the first man had incurred by their sin, and so that man might drink the sweetness of eternal life from the bitter chalice of his temporal life.

For it was necessary to have a mediator crossing between us and God and between mortality and permanent blessedness, so that through that which crosses over, he might join together with those about to die, and might transfer us from the dead to that which is permanent.

Therefore putting himself forward as a sacrifice for the redemption of mankind, with the enemy of man's salvation made prostrate, he rescued it from the shame of servitude to the glory of freedom, by opening the gate of the heavenly nation for it; and finally rising again from the dead and ascending into heaven, he left behind a vicar for mankind on earth, to whom the constancy of his love, proven by the evidence of his three-fold profession, committed the care of souls, so that he might vigilantly be attentive and attentively be vigilant to their salvation, for which he had humbled his loftiness, handing over to him the keys of the kingdom of heaven, through which he and his successors through him might obtain the power of opening and closing the gate of the same kingdom for everyone.

Whence we the aforementioned vicars, with God appointing, although we have been made successors undeservedly, concerning everything which is incumbent from the duty assigned to us, direct the glance of our intention to your salvation and the salvation of others, we fix the disposition of our mind especially to this, carefully vigilant concerning it with diligent zeal and zealous diligence, so that we would be well to educate those erring on the path of truth, and to make everyone a profit for God, with his grace cooperating with us.

But because, with the nature of the human condition resisting, we cannot be present face to face in many places at the same time, lest we seem to neglect anything while absent, we send to them honest and discreet men in our place, carrying out by their ministry the debt of apostolic servitude for them; because of which we have led to you our beloved son brother Lawrence of Portugal, and his associates, bearers of the present letters, of the Order of the Friars Minor, men conspicuous in religion, decorous in honesty and gifted with knowledge of sacred scripture, determined that recognizing Jesus Christ himself as the son of God in their teachings of salvation, you may worship his glorious name in observation of the Christian faith.

And therefore we warn, ask and urge all of you attentively, that kindly receiving those same brothers for our reverence and for divine reverence, or rather receiving us in them, and treating them honestly, you should wish to apply undoubted faith to them concerning these things, which they will tell you on our behalf, and having a fruitful treaty with them about the aforementioned things, you should provide secure conduct for the same men and other things necessary for coming and going, so that, when they wish, they may be able to return safely to our presence.

We led the aforementioned brothers, whom we chose before among others as long-proven under the observance of their rule and fully instructed in the sacred scriptures, to be sent to you because we believed they would be very useful to you, as followers of the humility of our saviour, and if we had thought that there were more fruitful and kinder men for you, we would have sent either some prelates of the church or other powerful men.

Written at Lyon, on 5th March, in the second year of our reign (1245).

VIAM AGNOSCERE VERITATIS (22nd November 1248)
by Pope Innocent IV
Language: Latin
Translation: Wikisource

(Viam Agnoscere Veritatis (sometimes Viam Cognoscere Veritatis) was a letter written by Pope Innocent IV on 22nd November, 1248. It was Pope Innocent's reply to a message from Mongol commander Baiju. The letter is closely linked to Ascelin of Lombardy.

Ascelin of Lombardy (also Lombardia), also known as Nicolas Ascelin or Ascelin of Cremona, was a 13th-century Dominican friar whom Pope Innocent IV sent as an envoy to the Mongols in March 1245. Lombardy met with the Mongol ruler Baiju, and then returned to Europe with a message and Mongol envoys in 1248.

Prior to the First Council of Lyon in March 1245, Innocent IV dispatched four embassies to the Mongols, one of which included Ascelin. He was accompanied by Simon of St Quentin, who wrote the account of the mission in his Historia Tartarorum; two unknown men, Alberic and Alexander; and the Dominican friar Guichard of Cremone, who had already been stationed for 5 years in Tiflis. Ascelin met with the Mongol ruler Baiju at his camp in the valley of the Arax River in 1247.

Lombardy is generally described as stubborn and unflexible in character. He did not bring gifts to the Mongols, and refused to show them respect by genuflection unless they would accept baptism, thereby angering them to a considerable extent. The Mongols replied indignantly "that they could not care about becoming Christians and dogs as they were, that the Pope was a dog, and that they were dogs themselves." Lombardy reportedly barely escaped death, owing only to the respect which the Mongols traditionally granted to envoys.

During his mission, he also met with Muslim princes such as the uncle of the prince of Aleppo, and the brother of the prince of Mossul, who were on their way to pay their own respects to the Khan. The princes invited Ascelin to travel further east with them to meet the Great Khan in Karakorum, Mongolia, but he declined the offer.

Lombardy carried Baiju's reply, a missive which demanded the submission of the Pope, back to Europe. He was accompanied by two Mongolian envoys, Aïbeg and Serkis, who traveled with him back to Lyon and met with Innocent in 1248. In response, the pope issued the papal bull Viam agnoscere veritatis, which appealed to the Mongols that they should stop killing Christians. The envoys returned to their realm with the pope's letter on November 22, 1248.

Other documents in the same vein were Cum non solum and Dei Patris Immensa (1245) — Excerpted from Viam agnoscere veritatis (1248) on Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. The following is a basic summary, rather than a word-for-word translation:)

Text:
To king Baiju Noyan, princes, and barons of the Tartar army: viam cognoscere veritatis.

We have received your messengers and understood what they had to say.

Because of the responsibility placed on us, we look after the salvation of all peoples, so that all rational beings may know their Creator, follow him in faith and deed, and be with him after they die.

So that we may not appear to neglect you, since you live so far away, we have sent messengers to explain the true faith and advise you about salvation.

But since you are not yet Christians and are ignorant, knowing little of the Creator and Jesus Christ; as much as we are troubled, we know that a more serious danger threatens your souls, especially since you have heard about the faith and cannot be excused before God on account of ignorance. Nor ought you be glorified on the grounds of the strength through which, with the Lord permitting, you have conquered many nations.

Better that you humble yourself before Him, face to face, and recognize His forbearance, Who for so long has endured your destructive actions; that in waiting, you may be turned from errors to truth, and be able to fear Him, lest He provoked for too long a time should threaten you, since you do not recognize His omnipotence.

And so we advise you, warn you, and beseech you, at long last, listening to our advice and thinking about the perfection of your soul, leave the ways leading to destruction and approach the right way through which one comes to joy after death.

And that you may make more unencumbered progress towards belief in the Creator of everything, cease at once to exercise the sword of persecution in the slaughter of people, especially Christians. By abstaining from such things, which offend the eyes of God, you will more easily find His grace and mercy.

Lyon, 22nd November 1248.

LATER LETTERS

The find of two other Mongol letters reveal an astonishing fact: The correspondence between the Papacy and Mongol leaders lasted for at least half a century!

1st Mongol Document:

Arghun Letter To Philippe Le Bel, in Mongolian language and script, Extract, 1289 ink on parchment 185 × 25 cm (72.8 × 9.8 in)

Translation: "Under the power of the Eternal Heaven. Under the majesty of the Khan (Kublai Khan). Arghun our word. To the Rey da France (King of France). Last year you sent your ambassadors led by Mar Bar Sauma telling us: "if the soldiers of the Il-Khan ride in the direction of Misir (Egypt) we ourselves will ride from here and join you", which words we have approved and said (in reply) "praying to Tengri (Heaven) we will ride on the last month of winter on the year of the Tiger [in the Chinese calendar system.] and descend on Dimisq (Damascus) on the 15th of the first month of spring." Now, if, being true to your words, you send your soldiers at the appointed time and, worshipping Heaven, we conquer those citizens (of Damascus together), we will give you Orislim (Jerusalem). How can it be appropriate if you were to start amassing your soldiers later than the appointed time and appointment? What would be the use of regretting afterwards? Also, if, adding any additional messages, you let your ambassadors fly (to us) on wings, sending us luxuries, falcons, whatever precious articles and beasts there are from the land of the Franks, the Power of Tengri and the Majesty of the Khan only knows how we will treat you favorably. With these words we have send Muskeril (Buscarello) the Khorchi. Our writing was written while we were at Khondlon on the sixth khuuchid of the first month of summer on the year of the Ox [in the Chinese calendar system.]."

Red seal imprints with the same six seal script in Chinese characters. Translation: Fǔ guó ān mín zhī bǎo ("Precious seal of the upholder of the State and the purveyor of peace to the People."

2nd Mongol Document:

Letter from Arghun, Khan of the Mongol Ilkhanate, to Pope Nicholas IV, 1290. Ink on paper. Original size: 84 cm x 97 cm. Archivio Segreto Vaticano. Original document preserved in the Vatican Archive.

The letter is in the Mongolian language, in handwritten Mongolian script, the seals are in Chinese. French translation in Mostaert/Cleaves, "Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes vaticanes", in Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, 15, 1952.

Translation: "[previous words in manuscript are damaged]... you have sent [a message] saying: 'The other peoples of the universe, whoever they are, [being] people who pray according to their own religion and scriptures (Buddhists, Muslims etc.), are praying falsely. The religion of Misiqa (Messiah, the Christ) adores Heaven and is true. May the Ilkhan now adopt the religion of Misiqa.' Saying that our good father - because the religion of Misiqa is the right one - as well as our good grandmother had also received silam ("baptism"-Syrian loanword), you have also again and again made communications, sent ambassadors and bearers of urgent oral messages who said 'May nothing bad be committed against the Christians!' Your saying 'May [the Ilkhan] receive silam' is legitimate. We say: 'We the descendants of Genghis Khan, keeping our own proper Mongol identity, whether some receive silam or some don't, that is only for Eternal Tengri (Heaven) to know (decide).' People who have received silam and who, like you, have a truly honest heart and are pure, do not act against the religion and orders of the Eternal Tengri and of Misiqa. Regarding the other peoples, those who, forgetting the Eternal Tengri and disobeying it, are lying and stealing, are there not many of them? Now, you say that we have not received silam, you are offended and harbor thoughts of discontent. [But] if one prays to Eternal Tengri and carries righteous thoughts, it is as much as if he had received silam. We have written our letter in the year of the Tiger, the fifth of the new moon of the first summer month (May 14th, 1290), when we were in Urumi."

Red seal imprints with the same six seal script in Chinese characters. Translation: Fǔ guó ān mín zhī bǎo ("Precious seal of the upholder of the State and the purveyor of peace to the People.")

Carpine's travels

Pope Innocent IV chose Carpine to head this mission, and apparently was in charge of nearly everything in the mission.

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As a papal legate, he bore a letter from the Pope to the Great Khan, Cum non solum. "At the age of sixty-three Carpine embarked from Lyon," where the Pope then resided, on Easter day (16 April 1245), accompanied by another friar, Stephen of Bohemia, who broke down at Kaniv near Kyiv and was left behind. After seeking counsel of an old friend, Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, Carpine was joined at Wrocław by another Franciscan, Benedykt Polak, appointed to act as interpreter.

The route passed by Kiev, entered the Tatar posts at Kaniv, and then ran across the Nepere to the Don and Volga. Carpine is the first Westerner to give us the modern names for these rivers. On the Volga stood the Ordu, or camp, of Batu, the famous conqueror of eastern Europe and supreme Mongol commander on the western frontiers of the empire. He was one of the most senior princes of the house of Genghis Khan. Here the envoys, with their presents, had to pass between two fires to remove possible injurious thoughts and poisons, before being presented to the prince (beginning of April 1246).

Batu ordered them to proceed to the court of the supreme Khan in Mongolia. On Easter day once more (8 April 1246), they started on the second and most formidable part of their journey. They were "so ill", writes the legate, "that we could scarcely sit a horse; and throughout all that Lent our food had been nought but millet with salt and water, and with only snow melted in a kettle for drink". Their bodies were tightly bandaged so they could endure the excessive fatigue of this enormous ride, which took them across the Jaec or Ural River, and north of the Caspian Sea and the Aral to the Jaxartes or Syr Darya (quidam fluvius magnus cujus nomen ignoramus, "a big river whose name we do not know"), and the Muslim cities that then stood on its banks. Then they went along the shores of the Dzungarian lakes until, on the feast of St Mary Magdalene (22 July), they reached the imperial camp called Sira Orda (i.e., Yellow Pavilion), near Karakorum and the Orkhon River. Carpine and his companions rode an estimated 3000 miles in 106 days.

Since the death of Ögedei Khan, the imperial authority was in interregnum and Güyük, Ögedei's eldest son, was designated to the throne. His formal election in a great Kurultai, or diet of the tribes, took place while the friars were at Sira Orda, which entailed the gathering of 3000 to 4000 envoys and deputies from all parts of Asia and eastern Europe, bearing homage, tribute and presents. On 24 August they witnessed the formal enthronement at another camp in the vicinity called the Golden Ordu, after which they were presented to the new emperor.

The great Khan, Güyük, refused the invitation to become Christian, and demanded rather that the Pope and rulers of Europe should come to him and swear allegiance to him. The Khan did not dismiss the expedition until November. He gave them a letter to the Pope—written in Mongol, Arabic, and Latin—that was a brief imperious assertion of the Khan's office as the scourge of God. They began a long winter journey home. Often they had to lie on the bare snow, or on ground scraped bare of snow with a foot. They reached Kiev on 10 June 1247. There, and on their further journey, the Slavonic Christians welcomed them as risen from the dead, with festive hospitality. Crossing the Rhine at Cologne, they found the Pope still at Lyon, and delivered their report and the Khan's letter.

Not long afterward, Carpine was rewarded with the archbishopric of Primate of Serbia in Antivari in Dalmatia, and was sent as legate to Louis IX of France. He lived only five years following the hardships of his journey. He died, according to the Franciscan Martyrology and other authorities, on 1 August 1252.)

The Ystoria Mongalorum

Ystoria Mongalorum is a report, compiled by Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, of his trip to the Mongol Empire. Written in the 1240s, it is the oldest European account of the Mongols. Giovanni was the first European to try to chronicle Mongol history. Carpine recorded the information he collected in a work, variously entitled in the manuscripts, Ystoria Mongalorum quos nos Tartaros appellamus ("History of the Mongols, which we call Tartars"), and Liber Tartarorum, or Liber Tatarorum ("Book of the Tartars [or Tatars]"). This treatise has nine chapters. The first eight describe the Tartar's country, climate, manners, religion, character, history, policy, and tactics, and on the best way to oppose them. The ninth chapter describes regions he passed through.

The title is significant, as it emphasises that the Mongols were not identical to the Tatars. In fact, the author points out that Mongols were quite offended by such a label: they vanquished Tatars in several campaigns around 1206, after which the Tartars ceased to exist as an independent ethnic group. The report gives a narrative of his journey, what he had learned about Mongol history, as well as Mongol customs of the time.

Carpine, as the first European at the time to have visited Mongolia and returned to talk about it, became somewhat of a celebrity upon returning to Europe. He gave what would be called today a lecture tour across the continent. Two redactions of the Ystoria Mongalorum are known to exist: Giovanni's own and another. An abridgement of the First Redaction can be found in the Turin National Library. The Tartar Relation is an expanded version of the second redaction. The standard scholarly edition of Ystoria is by Anastasius Wyngaert, in Sinica Franciscana, vol. 1 (Quaracchi, 1929), pp. 3–130.).

Contents

Like some other famous medieval itineraries, it shows an absence of a traveler's or author's egotism, and contains, even in the last chapter, scarcely any personal narrative. Giovanni was not only an old man when he went on this mission, but was, according to accidental evidence in the annals of his order, a fat and heavy man (vir gravis et corpulentus), insomuch that, contrary to Franciscan precedent, he rode a donkey between his preachings in Germany. In his narrative, however, he never complains.

His book, as to personal and geographical detail, is inferior to one a few years later by a younger brother of the same order, William of Rubruck or Rubruquis—who was Louis IX's most noteworthy envoy to the Mongols. In spite of these defects—and the credulity he shows in the Oriental tales, which is sometimes childishly absurd—Friar Giovanni's Ystoria is, in many ways, the chief literary memorial of European overland expansion before Marco Polo. Among his innovative recommendations was development of light cavalry to combat Mongol tactics.

It first revealed the Mongol world to Catholic Christendom. The account of Tatar manners, customs and history is perhaps the best treatment of the subject by any Christian writer of the Middle Ages. He provided four lists: of nations conquered by the Mongols, nations that had (as of 1245–1247) successfully resisted, the Mongol princes, and witnesses to his narrative, including various Kiev merchants. All these catalogues, unrivaled in Western medieval literature, are of great historical value.

The translator frequently refers to his main source D'Avezac, ed. (Paris, 1839), which is a large collection of documents. Full French title: Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires publié de la Société de Geographie (Published in 7 volumes), Vol 4.)

CARPINE BOOK 1

OF THE ROUTE WE WENT, AND OF THE COUNTRIES THROUGH WHICH WE PASSED.

1. When therefore we had arranged, as has been already stated elsewhere, to set out for the (land of the) Tartars we (left Lyons on the 16th April, 1245, and after travelling through Germany) came to the King of Bohemia [Wenceslaw I, born in 1205, reigned from 1240 to 1253. After having been a friend of the Emperor Frederic, he had gone over to the Pope's party, and become the leader of the German league against him.]. And having asked his advice, for we were personally acquainted with this lord from of old, which was the best road for us to go by, he answered that it were best, it seemed to him, to go by Poland and Ruscia [An old spelling of Russia.]: for he bad relatives in Poland, with whose aid we could enter Kuscia; so having given us his letters and a good escort to take us through Poland, he caused also money to be given us to defray our travelling expenses through his lands and cities as far as (the court of) Boleslas, Duke of Selesia [Silecia.], his nephew, with whom we were personally acquainted. [He resided at Lignitz (d'Avezac, 481). Karamsin, 4:21, says he was Conrad's son.]

2. The latter also gave us his letters and an escort and money for our expenses in his towns and cities, as far as Conrad, Duke of Lenczy. At that time, through God's special grace, the Lord Vassilko, Duke of Ruscia, had come there, from whom we learnt more accurately of the Tartars: for he had sent his ambassadors to them, who had come back to him and to his brother Daniel, bearing to the lord Daniel a safe conduct to go to Bati [Daniel, Duke of Galitch. He had fought against the Mongols in the great battle of the Kalka, 31 May, 1223. Karamsin says Daniel only undertook this journey to Batu's camp in order to deceive him, and inspire the Mongols with confidence in him, the better to be able to prepare means for delivering his country from their yoke. It was for ihis purpose also that he sought the aid of the Church of Rome. and expressed the wish to march against the Mongols under the Papal flag. Pope Innocent IV gave him the title of King of Gallicia: But Daniel informed him that he wanted troops, not a title. Negotiations were finally broken off between Rome and Daniel in 1240 (Karamsin, 3: 288, 323; 4, 21ff.).]. And he told us that if we wanted to go to them we must have rich presents to give them, for they, were in the habit of asking for them most importunately, and if they were not given them (and this is quite true), an ambassador could not conduct his business satisfactorily with them; and that furthermore he was looked upon as a mere nothing. Not wishing that the affairs of the Lord Pope and of the Church should be obstructed on this account, with some of that which had been given us in charily, so that we should nor be iv. want and for use on our journey, we bought some skins of beavers and of some other animals. Duke Conrad (he Duchess of Cracow [Krakov; The duchess was called Grimslava, the dukes son, Lesko (d'Avezac, 482). Furs were used as curency in Russia at the time; see Rubruck.], some Knights and the bishop of Cracow, hearing of this, gave us some more of these skins Furthermore Duke Conrad, his son, and the Bishop of Cracow besought most earnestly Duke Vassilko to help us as much as he could in reaching the Tartars; and he replied that he would do so willingly.

3. So he took us with him to his country; and as he kept us for some days as his guests that we might rest a little, and had called thither his bishops at our request, we read them the letters of the Lord Pope, in which he admonished them to return to the unity of holy mother Church; we also advised and urged them as much as we could, as well the Duke as the Bishops, and all those who had met there, to that same end. But as at the very time when this duke had come to Poland, his brother, Duke Daniel, had gone to Bati and was not present, they could not give a final answer, but must wait his return before being able to give a full reply.

4. After that the Duke sent one of his servants with us as far as Kiew [Kiev. On the Dnieper. It had been captured by Batu in 1238, when nearly the whole population was massacred and the city totally destroyed (Karamsin, 4, 10ff.).]. Nevertheless we travelled ever in danger of our lives on account of the Lithuanians, who often committed undiscovered outrages as much as possible in the country of Ruscia, and particularly in these places through which we had to pass; and as the greater part of the men of Ruscia had been killed by the Tartars or taken off into captivity, they were unable to offer them the least resistance; we were safe, however, from the Ruthenians* on account of this servant. Thence then, by the grace of God having been saved from the enemies of the Cross of Christ, we came to Kiew, which is the metropolis of Ruscia**. [* The word Ruthenia originated as a Latin designation of the region whose people originally called themselves the Rus. During the Middle Ages, writers in English and other Western European languages applied the term to lands inhabited by Eastern Slavs. Russia itself was called Great Ruthenia or White Ruthenia until the end of the 17th century. ** The word Ruscia is related it Ruthenia.] And when we came there we took counsel with the Millenarius, and the other nobles who were there, as to our route. They told us that if we took into Tartary the horses which we had, they would all die, for the snows were deep, and they did not know how to dig out the grass from under the snow like Tartar horses, nor could anything else be found (on the way) for them to eat, for the Tartars had neither straw nor hay nor fodder. So, on their advice, we decided to leave our horses there with two servants to keep them ; and we had to give the Millenarius presents, that he might be pleased to give us pack-horses and an escort. Before we reached Kiew, when in Danilov [Unidentified place.] I was ill to the point of death; but I had myself carried along in a cart in the intense cold through the deep snow, so as not to interfere with the affairs of Christendom,

5. Having settled then all these matters at Kiew, on the second day after the feast of the Purification of Our Lady (February 4, 1246), we started out from Kiev for other barbarous peoples, with the horses of the Millenarius and an escort. We came to a certain town which was under the direct rule of the Tartars and is called Canov [The present town of Kaniew on the Dneiper, about 75 miles below Kiev.]; the prefect of the town gave us horses and an escort as far as another town in which was a certain Alan prefect who was called Micheas [Whose Mongol title was probably Daruga.], a man full of all malice and iniquity, for he had sent to us to Kiew some of his bodyguard, who lyingly said to us, as from the part of Corenza [The name of this Mongol general is variously written Choranza, Curoniza, and Karancha.], that we being ambassadors were to come to him; and this he did, though it was not true, in order that he might extort presents from us. When, however, we reached him, he made himself most disagreeable, and unless we promised him presents, would in no wise agree to help us. Seeing that we would not otherwise be able to go farther, we promised to give him some presents, but when we gave him what appeared to us suitable, he refused to receive them unless we gave more; and so we had to add to them according to his will, and something besides he subtracted from us deceitfully and maliciously.

6, After that we left with him on the second day of Quinquagesima (19th February), and he led us as far as the first camp of the Tartars, and on the first Friday after Ash Wednesday (23rd February), while we were stopping for the night as the sun went down, the Tartars broke in oa us in arms m horrible fashion asking who we were.

We answered them that we were envoys of the Lord Pope, and then tiaving accepted some food from us, they left at once. Starting again at morn, we had only gone a little way when their chiefs who were in the camp came to us, and inquired of us why we came to them, and what was our business. We answered them that we were the envoys of the Lord Pope, who was the lord and father of Christians; that he had sent us to the King as well as to the princes and all the Tartars, because

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he desired that all Christians should be friends of the Tartars and at peace with them. Moreover, as he wished that they should be mighty with God in heaven, he, the Lord Pope, advised them as well through us as by his letters, that they should become Christians and receive the faith of Our Lord Jesus Christ for otherwise they could not be saved. He told them furthermore that he was astonished at the slaying of human beings done by the Tartars, and especially of Christians and above all of Hungarians, Moravians and Poles, who were his subjects, when they had injured them in nothing nor attempted to injure them; and as the Lord God was gravely offended at this, he cautioned them to abstain henceforth from such acts, and to repent them of thvjse they had done. Furthermore we said that the Lord Pope requested that they should write to him hat they would do and what was their intention; and that they would give answer to him to all the above points in their letters. Having heard our motives, and understood and noted them down, they said that, in view of what we had said, they would give us pack-horses as far as Corenza, and supply a guide; and at once they asked for presents, which we gave them, for we must needs do their will.

7. Having given them the presents, and taken as packliorses some from which they got off, we started under their guidance for Corenza; but they sent ahead a swift messenger to this chief with what we had told them. This chief is lord of all those (Tartars) who are encamped facing the peoples of the West, lest they suddenly and unexpectedly attack them. This chief has under him, we were told, sixty thousand armed men. When we reached him, he made us put our tents far from him, and sent us his slave stewards^ who asked us with what we wanted to bow to him, that is to say wlicther wc would make him presents. We replied that the Lord Pope had not sent any presents, for he was not sure we could reach them: and that furthermore we had had to pass through very dangerous places, exposed to the Lithuanians, who make raids along the roads from Poland to near the Tartars, over which we had had to travel; but nevertheless with what we were carrying with us, by the grace of God and of our Lord the Pope, and for our personal use, we would show him our respect as well as we could. But when we had given him a number of things, they were not enough for him, and he asked for more through intermediaries, promising to have us conducted most honourably if we complied with his request, which we had to do since we wished to live and carry out satisfactorily the order of the Lord Pope.

8. Having received the presents they led us to his orda or tent, and we were instructed to bend three times the left knee before the door of his dwelling, aud to be very careful not to put our feet on the threshold of the door; and this we were attentive to observe, for sentence of death is on those who knowingly tread upon the threshold of a chiefs dwelling. After we had entered we were obliged to repeat on bended knee before the chief and all the other nobles, who had specially been convened there for that purpose, what has been previously said. We presented to him also the letters of the Lord Pope; but as our interpreter, whom we had brought with us from Kiew, was not able to translate them for him, nor was there any one else competent to do so, they could not be interpreted. After this, horses were given us, and three Tartars, two of whom were chiefs over ten, atid the other a man (homo) of Bati, guided us with all speed to that latter chief. This Bati is more powerful than all the other Tartar princes save the Emperor, whom he is held to obey.

9. We started (for Bati's camp) on the Monday after the first Sunday of Quadragesima (26th February), and riding as fast as horses could go trotting, for we had fresh horses three or four times nearly every day, we rode from morning to night, and very often even at night, and it was not before VVednc^sday in Holy Week (4th April) that we could get to him. [The mission left Kiev on February 4th, 1246, reached Curenza's camp on or near the west bank of the Dnieper somewhere about the 22nd, and probably crossed the river between Yekaterinoslav or Alexandrovsk, where it makes a south-westerly bend.] We crossed the whole country of the Comans*, which is all a plain, and has four great rivers. [* The Cumans (or Kumans), also known as Polovtsians or Polovtsy, were a Turkic nomadic people comprising the western branch of the Cuman–Kipchak confederation north of the Black Sea and Iran. After the Mongol invasion (1237), many sought asylum in the Kingdom of Hungary, as many Cumans had settled in Hungary, the Second Bulgarian Empire playing an important role in the development of the state, and Anatolia before the Mongol invasion.] The first is called the Neper, along which, on the side of Ruscia, roams Corenza, and on the other side through those plains, Mauci, who ismightier than Corenza. Secondly, the Don, along which roams a certain prince called Catan, who has^ wife Bati's sister. The third is the Volga, a very big river, along which goes Bati. [Friar John is the first western writer to call the Dnieper, Don, and Volga by these names; even Rubruck does not use them. This is explained by the fact that the former had a Russian interpreter, accustomed, like all his countrymen, to use these terms; the latter got his information fron the Mongols, and where that failed used the classical terms. Mauci appears to be the Mauchy of Abulghazi; he was the second son of Chagatai. Catan is, I think, the same as Rubruck's Scatai. It must not be confounded with Katan, mentioned in a subsequent passage. See also Benedict's narratue, infra p. 34.] The fourth is called Jaec, along which go two Millenarii, one along one side of the river, the other along the other. All these (chiefs) descend in winter time to the sea, and in summer go up the courses of these rivers to the mountains Now this sea is the Mare-Magnum from which goes out the arm of Saint George which goes to Constantinople. We went along for many days on the ice on the Neper. These rivers are big, very full of fish, esperially the Volga, and they fall into the sea of Greece which is called Mare-Magnum. We went for many days along the shore of this sea, which on account of the ice was very dangerous in several places; for it freezes along the coast quite three leagues out.^ But before we came to Bati, two of our Tartars went ahead to tell him all we had said at Corenza's. [We may feel surprise at the geographical ignorance of the friar, who, though he might have known the truth by the testimony of his own eyes, remained imbued with ancient errors, and confounds in a single sea the Pontus, the Palus Maeotis, the Caspian sea, or sea of the Khazars, and also the great lake of Aral. Rubruck's geographical knowledge was mtich superior on all these points. He does not mention the Aral lake, and may have taken it to be part of the Caspian; I am inclined to think however, that he passed some distance north of it.]

10. When then we came to Bati on the borders of the Comans' country, we were made to camp a good league from their tents*, and before we were taken to his court we were told we would have to pass between two fires, which we refused to do under any consideration. [* Stationes which the friar says were "rotundas in modum tentorii." (A traditional yurt [in Turkic] or ger [in Mongolian] is a portable, round tent covered with skins or felt and used as a dwelling by several distinct nomadic groups in the steppes of Central Asia, e.g. Kirgistan, Mongolia, and Kazakhstan.) In another part of his work Friar John says that he found at Batu's camp the son of the Duke of Yaroslaw, who had with him a Russian knight called Sangor, a Coman by birth, but then a Christian. The friar's interpreter at Batu's camp was a Russian from Susdal] But they told us: "Fear not, we only make you pass between these two fires lest perchance you think something injurious to our lord, or if you carry some poison, for the fire will remove all harm." We answered them: "Since it is thus we will pass through, so that we may not be suspected of such things." When we came to the orda we were questioned by his procurator, who is called Eldegai, as to what we wanted to make our obeisance with, that is to say, what gifts we desired to give him; we answered him as we had previously answered Corenza, that the Lord Pope had sent no presents, but that we ourselves, of those things which we had by the grace of God and the Lord Pope for our expenses, desired to show him our respect as best wo could. Presents having been given and accepted, the procurator called Eldegai questioned us as to our coming; and to him we gave the same reasons as we had previously given to Corenza.

11. Having been informed of our reasons, they led us into the dwelling, after having made a bow, and heard the caution about the threshold, which has been mentioned. Having entered then we said what we had to say on bended knees, and then we presented him the letters (of the Pope), and requested that interpreters be given us able to translate them. These were given us on Good Friday (6th April), and wc carefully translated the letters into the Ruthenian, Saracenic, and Tartar languages, and this latter interpretation was given to Bati, who read it and noted it carefully. After that we were taken back to our dwelling, but no food was given us, save once on the night of our arrival a little millet in a bowl.

12. This Bati holds his court right magnificently, for he has door-keepers and all the other officials like unto their Emperor. He sits also in a raised place, as on a throne, with one of his wives; but every one else (of his family), as well his brothers and his sons as others of lesser degree, sit lower down on a bench in the middle (of the tent) All the other people sit behind them on the ground, the men to the right, the women to the left. He has tents made of linen (pannis lineis). They are large and quite handsome, and used to belong to the King of Hungary. And no outsider save a servant dare enter the tent, no matter how great and mighty he may be, unless he is called, unless perchance he knows he is wanted. When we had stated our object, we took a seat to the left*, for thus do all ambassadors in going, but on coming back from the Emperor they always placed us on the right. [* With the women, placing them in a position of inferiority; the women sat on the right of the chief, the traveller's left when facing him. The left side of the host is the place of honour in China, but not so in Mongolia and Tibet, where guests sit to the right of the host.] In the middle of the dwelling near the door is a table, on which is placed drink in gold and silver vases; and Hati never drinks, nor does any prince of the Tartars, especially when they are in public, without there being singing and guitar playing. And when he rides out, there is always carried over his head on a pole an umbrella or little awning; and all the very great princes of the Tartars do likewise. This Bati is kind enough to his own people, but he is greatly feared by them. He is, however, most cruel in fight; he is very- shrewd and extremely crafty in warfare, for he has been waging war for a long time.

13. On Holy Saturday (7th April) we were called to his tent and that same procurator of Bati's came out to us, and told us from him that we were to go to the Emperor Cuyuc in their country, and that some of our party would be kept there (with Bati) in the expectation that they would want to send them back to the Lord Pope. We gave them letters concerning all we had done to carry back (to the Pope), but when they had got as far as Mauci, he detained them until our return. As for ourselves, on the day of the Resurrection of the Lord (8th April), having said mass and settled everything, accompanied by the two Tartars who had been detailed to us at Corenza's, we started out most tearfully, not knowing whether we were going to life or death. [Benedict (infra 35) says they started on Tuesday after Easter, i.e. loth April.] We were furthermore so feeble that we could hardly ride; during the whole of that lent our only food had been millet with salt and water; and likewise on the other fast (lays; nor had we anything else to drink but snow melted in the kettle.

14. Comania hath to the north of it, immediately after Ruscia, the Moiduins, the Jailers, or Great Bulgaria, the liascarts or great Hungary; after the Bascarts, the Parrosits and the Samogeds, after the Samogeds those who are said to have dog-faces, who live in the deserts along the coasts of the Ocean. To the south it (i.e., Coniania) has the Alans, the Circasses, the Gazars, Greece and Constantinople; also the land of the Ibers, the Cachs, the l^rutaches, who are said to be Jews, and who shave their heads, the country of the Zicci, of the Georgians and of the Armenians, and the country of the Turks. [The Bilers are the Belar of mediaeval Mahommedan writers, the Bulgars of the Volga; Schiltberger speaks of the city of Bolar. The country of the Bascarts is Rubruck's Pascatir; Friar John uses the Russian form of the name, Bashkurt. The Parossits are the Borassyts of Edrisi, the Permiaks of modern writers. The Samogeds are the Samoyeds, the inhabitants of "the country of darkness" of Mohammedan mediaeval writers; Rubruck refers to them, but does not name them. Friar John, in another part of his work, says "the Samogeds live by the chase, and make their dwellings and clothing of the skins of animals." The dog-faced people, or Cynocephalae as Benedict calls them, are a classical reminiscence. King Heythum of Armenia speaks of a country beyond Khatai, where the men were shaped like dogs (Dulaurier, 472). On the Alans, Circasses (or Kerkis) and Gazars. On the Ibers, or Georgians. In another passage of his work Pian de Carpine identities the Georgians with the Obesi the Abazes or Abkhases (d'Avezac, 497). Friar John's Cachs appear to be the people of Kakhethi in Georgia (d'Avezac, 495). The Brutaches may be the inhabitants of the Berdas of mediaeval Mohammedan writers (d'Avezac, 496). Rubruck refers to Jews living in this district. On the Zicci, a western branch of the Cherkess, see infra 45, note 4.] To the west it has Hungary and Ruscia. And this country (of Comania) is extremely long, for we were riding through it at great speed, having every day fresh horses, five or seven times a day, except, as I have said, when we were riding through desert tracts when we got better and stronger horses able to stand more work, and we kept this up from the beginning of lent to the eighth day after Easter (16th April). The Tartars (meaning Muslims) killed these Comans; some fled from before them, and others were reduced to slavery. Most of those who fled have come back to them.

15. After that we entered the country of the Cangitae, which in many places uffers from a great scarcity of water, and in which but few people remain on account of this deficiency of water. And so it happened that the men of leroslav, Duke of Ruscia, who were going to join him in the country of the Tartars, lost some of their number who died of thirst in this desert. In this country and also in Comania, we found many human skulls and bones scattered about on the ground like cattle-dung.^ We travelled through this country (of the Cangitae) from the eighth day after Easter to nearly the Ascension of our Lord.*

These people are pagans, and the Comans as well as the Cangitae do not till the soil, but only live on the produce of their animals; nor do they build houses, but live in tents. The Tartars have also annihilated them, and now occupy their country; those of them who were left they have reduced to slavery.

16. Leaving the country of the Cangitae we entered that of the Bisermins. [Bisermin is a corrupt form of Mussulman, Muslim. Anthony Jenkinson says it means circumcised. Pusuman Guo, Chinese for "country of the Pusuman," occurs in Chinese works of the Mongol period. In the Russian annals the name Bussurnian is also found (Bretschneider, med. Travel, 33). Basically, it was used to designate Muslim Central Asia.] These people used to speak the Coman language, and do still speak it; but they hold the religion of the Saracens [Islam]. We found in that country innumerable ruined cities, overthrown villages, and many deserted towns. There is a

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great river in that country whose name I do not know, and on which stands a city called Ianckint, and also another called Barchin, and still another called Ornas, and many more whose names I do not know*.

[The "great river" is the Syrdaria. The traveller must have followed it up from its mouth to perhaps Chimkent, which may be the town of Lemfinc he mentions in another part of his work. D'Avezac, and Bretschneider identify Ianckint with

Yenguikend, and Barchin with the Pa-er-chen of the Chinese, the Barkhalikend of the Persians. As to Ornas, Fraehn (Ibn Fozlan, 162) thinks it is Urghendj; d'Avezac, (505-511) tries to prove that it was the ancient Tanais, the mediaeval Tana at the mouth of the Don. I accept, as much more probable Bretschneider's suggestion [Med. Geng., 236) that it was Otrar, the ruins of which famous place have been found on the right bank of the Syr daria, to the east of Fort Perowsky. In another part of his work (672-674), Friar John says that after the election of Ogodai as Emperor, Batu was sent agamst the Alti-Soldan and the country of the Bisermins' (i.e., the Khorazan Shah and the Khorazmian empire; Khorasan comprised the present territories of northeastern Iran, parts of Afghanistan and southern parts of Central Asia.). In the latter country "a certam city called

Barchin resisted them for a long time . . . . But the people of another city called Ianckint hearing (of the capture of Barchun), went out and surrendered themselves into his hands, and so their city was not destroyed . . . . And then they (i.e., the Mongols) marched against a city called Ornas (also written in some MSS. Orfiac and Orpor), and this city was a very populous one, for there were there not only many (kinds of) Christians—Gazars, Kuthenians, and Slavs, and others — but also Saracens [Muslims, who use well-aimed immigration as weapon of demography.], and these latter had dominion over the city. And this city was full of riches, for it is situated on a river which flows by Ianckint and the land of the Bisermins, and which flows into a sea (o lake, mare) so it is as it were a (sea) port, and all the other Saracens had a very great market in that city. And as (the Mongols) could not capture it otherwise, they cut the river which flowed by the town, and flooded it with all its things and people." It is quite true that these details of the siege of Ornas agree with what Mohammedan writers tell us of the siege of Urghendj by the Mongols in 1221 (see d'Ohsson, 2:265ff.), and for that matter with what Vincent of Beauvais (Book 29, chapter 89) says of the siege of Bagdad in 1258: but the siege of Otrar in 1219 was also one of the longest and most difficult the Mongols had undertaken in this famous campaign, and the inundating of Urghendj may have been done on account of the success of this expedient in the siege of Ornas. As to the identity of Ornas with Tana, we have no knowledge even that the latter place existed in the 13th century; in fact, we learn from Rubruck that in his time the trade of the Sea of Azow was carried on at Matriga, and that only small flat boats went to the mouth of the Don for fish and salt. Had any trading port existed there at the time, he would surely have mentioned it. The Russian bishop Peter (1245) speaks of a very great city called Ernac or Ornachi which had been captured by Bathatarcan (Matth. Paris, Op. cit. 4:387). Mohammedan mediaeval writers say that Juchi in 1219 captured Ozkend, Barkhalikend and Eschnars (d'Ohsson, 1:222). It is just possible that Eschnars, where ever it was on the Syrdaria, is Peter's Ernas or Ornachi and that this place is the same as Friar John's Ornas and Benedict's Ornarum. Sir John Maundevile (Mandeville) refers to the city of Octorar.]

This country used to have a lord who was called the Great Soldan*, and he was put to death by the Tartars with all his progeny, but I am ignorant of his name. [* Altisoldanus: in some MS. Altisoldam and Alti-Soldamus. I have followed d'Avezac in translating it as if it were Altus Soldanus. The Sultan here referred to is Alayeddin Mohammed. According to Mohammedan writers, he died a fugitive from the Mongols, in a little island in the Caspian Sea, in 1220 (d'Ohsson, 2:255).] The country has very high mountains; to the south of it is Jerusalem, Baldach, and the whole country of the Saracens. Near its borders are stationed the chiefs Burin and Cadan who are uterine brothers. [Burin is the same as Rubruck's Buri; Kadan, according to Rashideddin, was not a son of Chagadai, as Friar John states, but of Ogodai] To the north of it is a part ofthe country of the Black Kitayans and an Ocean, and in that quarter is stationed Sitan, a brother of Bati. [Sitan is the Schiban of Mohammedan writers. Friar John says that he and Batu were sons of Tossuc-can, by which name he designates Juchi, the eldest son of Chingis, meaning Gengis, Temujin.] We travelled through this country from the feast of the Ascension (17th May) to about eight days before the feast of Saint John the Baptist (24th June).

17. After that we entered the country of the Black Kitayans, in which they (i.e., the Mongols) have built anew, as it were, a city called Omyl, in which the Emperor has erected a house where we were invited to drink; and he who was there on the part of the Emperor made the nobles of the town and also his own two sons clap their hands before us (when we drank).

[See: Rubruck, 225. The original town of Imil, on the river which still bears that name, and which flows into the Ala Kul, passing south of the town of Chuguchak, was built by the Kara-Khitai somewhere about 1125. Imil was Kuyuk's appanage (ulus) (Bretschnieder, Mediaeval Geography 109, 221, 305). In another passage, Friar John says that Ogodai rebuilt the city. He adds that "to the south of it lies a great desert (evidently the Taklamakan), in which it is credibly asserted that wild men live (may be empoverished and degenerated Tocharians). They have no speech, nor joints in their limbs. If they fall down they cannot get up without assistance. They have, however, enough instinct (discretionem) to make felt of camels' wool, with which they clothe themselves and make shelters against the wind. If any Tartars chase them and wound them with arrows, they put grass in the wound and flee swiftly before them." The presence of wild men somewhere in the deserts of Central Asia has been reported by many travellers, from Heythum, of Armenia, to Sir Douglas Forsyth and P. K. Kozloff, of Roborowsky's expedition in 1893-95. The latter heard of them living in the valley of the Urungur (not far from Omyl, by the way)—see Rockhill, Land of the Lamas, 150, 256; also his Diary 144, and Geogr. Jour. 9:554. Chinese annals of the 6th century make mention of a race or tribe called Ko-lan, living probably between Sa-chou and the Lobnor, which they describe as the most degraded and unsightly of all savage tribes. They could not distinguish colours or sounds; they were stupid and weak, knew not how to fight, or even quarrel; in every respect they were like brute beasts (Ma Tuan-lin [in Wade–Giles], Book 334:4; Ma Duanlín [in Pinyin] (1245–1322) was a Chinese historical writer and encyclopaedist. In 1317, during the Yuan Dynasty, he published the comprehensive Chinese encyclopedia Wenxian Tongkao in 348 volumes.).]

Leaving this place we found a not very large lake, and as we did not ask its name, we do not know it. On the shore of this lake was a little hill, in where there is said to bean opening, whence in winter there issue out such great tempests of wind that people can barely and at great danger pass by*, In summer, however, though one always hears the sound of the winds, but little comes out of the opening, according to what the inhabitants told us. [* Either the traveller's memory served him badly, or else the text is here wrong. The lake, it would seem, is the Ala Kul, and the wind, that which blows through the Ala Tau coming from the Ebinor and the desert beyond. If this be the case, he cannot have come to the lake after leaving Omyl, but must have passed it before getting there, or else he passed it on his return journey. If the text is at fault, the only correction necessary would be to change the first word " leaving," and read "before reaching." That he passed the Ala Kul on his way east, seems clear from the fact that he states, a few lines further on, that he travelled along it, "having it on his left."]

We travelled along the shore of this lake for several days; it has several islands in it, and it lay upon our left hand. This country has great abundance of streams, not large ones, however; on cither bank of these rivers are woods, but of no great width. [Rubruck says this of the country of the Kara-Khitai.] Ordu lives in this country* he is older than Bati, in fact, older than any of the other chiefs of the Tartars, and the

orda or court is that of one of his wives who rules over it. [* Urda or Orda of Mohammedan writers. Little is said of this prince in the works to which I have had access. He took part in the great wars in Europe and Asia, and seems to have been a faithful adherent of Kuyuk, as it was he who made the report to that Emperor on Ujugen's conspiracy to seize the throne before Kuyuk's election (d'Ohsson, 2:194, 203).]

For it is a custom among the Tartars that the courts of their princes and nobles are not broken up (on their death), but some women are always appointed who govern them, and the came proportion of presents are given them thai their lord had been in the habit (during his life) of allowing them. After this we came to the first orda of the Emperor*, in which was one of his wives; but as we had not yet seen the Emperor they would not invite us nor let us come into her orda, though they had us well served in our own tent, according to Tartar [here a synonym for Mongol.] fashion; and they kept us there for a

whole day, so that we might rest. [* Rubruck says the Naiman were Christians. Supposing they professed the Uigur creed, which Rubruck states to ha\e been a jumble of Manichaeism and Buddhism, with perhaps a slight tinge of Nestorianism, they might be classed among his idolaters (as he, in fact, sometimes does the Uigurs), or among Christians. See: Nay Elias (Tarikhi-rashidi, 290), where, translating from Jiwani, he speaks of the Naiman as Tarsuy which he renders by "Christians." (The term Naiman may well have been a corruption from the Aramaic Nazorean ("keeper of the Law [of Moses].") or from the Arabic Nazran.]

18. Proceeding thence on the eve of the feast of Saint Peter (25th June), we entered the country of the Naiman, who are pagans.* On the day of the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul (29th June) there fell in that place a great snow, and we experienced great cold. This country is exceptionally mountainous and cold, and there is very little plain in it. These two nations [i.e., the Kara-Khitai and the Naiman, the Christians.] do not till the soil, but like the Tartars live in tents. These latter have nearly exterminated them. We travelled through this country many days.

19. After that we entered the ccuntry of the Mongols, whom we call Tartars. And we journeyed through that country for three weeks, I think riding hard, and on the day of the feast of blessed Mary Magdalen (22nd July) we arrived at Cuyuc's, the present emperor. Along all this (part of the) route we travelled very fast, for our Tartars had been ordered to take us quickly to the solemn court which had already been convened for several years for the election of an emperor*, so that we might be present at it. [* Ogodai died in 1241, but the parliament (Kuriltai) which elected Kuyuk, only met in the spring of 1246 (d'Ohsson, 2:195ff).]

So we had to rise at dawn and travel till night without a stop; often we arrived so late that we did not eat at night, but that which we should have eaten at night was given us in the morning; and we went as fast as the horses could trot, for there was no lack of horses, having usually fresh horses during the day, those which we left being sent back, as I have stated previously; and in this fashion we rode rapidly along without interruption.

CARPINE BOOK 2

CONCERNING THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE EMPERORS COURT AND OF HIS PRINCES.

1. When we reached Cuyuc's camp, he caused us to be given a tent and allowances such as the Tartars are in the habit of giving; but they treated us better than they did the other ambassadors. We were not called (before Cuyuc) however, for he had not yet been elected, nor had they settled about the succession; the translation of the letters of the Lord Pope, and what else we had said (to Corenza and Batu), had been sent him by Bati. And when we had been there five or six days, he sent us to his mother [The Empress Turakina who was Regent from the time of Ogodai's death to the election of Kuyuk.], where the solemn court was being held. When we got there they had already erected a great tent (a yurt) made of white purple (design), which in our opinion was large enough to hold more than two thousand persons; and around it a wooden paling had been made, and it was ornamented with divers designs.

2. On the second or third day we went with the Tartars (Mongols) who had been assigned to guard us (to this tent); and all the chiefs met there, and each one was riding around in a circle over hill and dale with his men. On the first day they were all dressed in white purple; on the second day, cind then it was that Cuyuc came to the tent, they were dressed in red (purple); on the third day they were all in blue purple, and on the fourth day in the finest baldakins. [See: Benedicts account (p. 37), and Rubruck; also d'Avezac. Purple "purpura" refers to a material and its design rather than colour. It may have been a velvet or brocade stuff, but its meaning remains uncertain.] In the paling near the tent were two big gates: one through which only the Emperor could pass, and at which there was no guard though it was open, for no one would dare to go in or out by it; and the other way by which all those who had admittance went in, and at this one were guards with swords, bows and arrows, and if anyone came near the tent outside of the set bounds, he was beaten if

caught, or shot at" with headless arrows if he ran away. The horses were kept at about two arrow-flights, I should say, from the tent. The chiefs went about everywhere with a number of their men all armed; but nobody, unless a chief. could go to the horses, without getting badly beaten for trying to do so. And many (of the horses) there were which had on their bits, breast-plates, saddles and cruppers quite twenty marks worth of gold [Equivalent to a month income today.] I should think. And so the chiefs held counsel beyond the tent [Or "outside the paling," in the space reserved for them, and which is called a little farther on magnum forum or "great square."], and discussed the election, while all the rest of the people were far away from the tent. And there they remained till about noon, when they began drinking mare's milk, and they drank till evening so plentifully that it was a rare sight.

3. They called us inside (the tent), and gave us mead, for we Would not drink mare's milk at all; and this was a great honor they showed us; and they kept on urging us to drink, but not being in the habit of it, we could not do so, and we let them see that it was distasteful to us, so they stopped pressing us. In the great square was the Duke Jeroslav of Susdal in Ruscia, and several princes of the Kitayans and Solanges, also two sons of the King of Georgia*, a soldan [sultan], the ambassador of the Calif of Baldach [Baghdad], and more than ten other soldans of the Saracens [Muslims], I believe, and as we were told by the procurators. [* These two Christian princes were David, son of Giorgi Lascha, and David, son of Queen Rusudan, his cousin. Kuyuk decided that the latter should succeed the former on the throne of Georgia on his death (Dulaulier, 451).] For there were more than four thousand envoys, as well those bringing tribute as those offering presents, soldans and other chiefs who had come to present themselves in person, those who had been sent by their

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(rulers), and those who were governors of countries. All these were put together outside the paling, and drink was given to them at the same time; as for ourselves and the duke Jeroslav, whenever we were outside with them they always gave us a higher place. I think, if I remember rightly, that we were at that place for a good four weeks; and I am under the impression that the electfon was made, there, though.

It was not proclaimed. It was for the following reason that it was generally believed (that Cuyuc had been chosen): whenever Cuyuc came out of the tent, they sang to him, and as long as he remained outside of it they inclined before him certain fine staffs on the ends of which were (tufts of) red wool, which was done to no other chief. They called this tent (statio) of court the Sira-Orda. [Simon of St. Quentin (Vincent of Beauvais, book 31, chapter 32, 452a) describes 'as follows the ceremonial of raising a new Mongol emperor to the throne. It may well be that he got the details from Benedict the Pole: "All the Barons being assembled, they placed a gilded seat in their midst, and made this Gog (Chan, i.e., Khakan, Khan) sit on it, and they put a sword before him and said, "We want, we beg, and we connnand that you shall have dominion over all of us." And he said to them: "If you want me to reign over you, are you ready ^ach one of you to do what I shall command, to come whenever I call, to go wherever I may choose to send you, to put to death whomsoever I shall command you?" They replied that they were. Then he said to them, "My command shall be my sword." To this they all agreed. They then placed a piece of felt on the ground, and put him on it, saying: "Look upwards and recognise God, and downward and see the felt on which you sit. If you reign well over your kingdom, if you make largess, and rejoice in justice, and honour each of your Princes according to his rank, you shall reign in glory, all the world shall bow to your rule, and God will give you everything your heart can desire. But if you do otherwise, you shall be miserable, lowly, and so poor that this felt on which you sit shall not even be left you." After saying this, the Barons made the wife of Gog sit on the felt; and with both of them seated there, they lifted them up from the ground, and proclaimed them with a loud voice and cries- Emperor and Empress of all the Tartars."]

4. Coming out of the tent, we all rode together to another place some three or four leagues distant, where therewas a fine large plain near a river* flowing between mountains, where another tent was set up, and it is called by them the Golden Orda; and here it was that Cuyuc was to have been placed on the throne on the day of the Assumption ot our Lady (15th August); but it was deferred on account of the hail which fell, to which I have referred previously. [This river must be the Orkhon, unless we identify the Sira Orda, or Ormektua, with the modern Urmukhtin, about 60 miles south of Kiakhta, on the road to Urga, in which case the river would he the Shara ossu In Mongol, "Golden Orda" is Altan ordu.] This tent rested on pillars covered with gold plates, fastened with gold nails and other woods, and the top and sides of it were covered with baldakins; the outside, however, being of other kinds of stuff Here we remained until the feast of Saint Bartholomew (24th August), when there assembled a great multitude and they all stood with their faces turned to the south, some of them a stone's throw from others, going ever farther and farther away, making genuflexions towards the south. As for us, not knowing whether they were making incantations or bending tht;ir knees to God or what else we would not make any genuflexions*, After doing this for a long while they went back to the tent, and placed Cuyuc on the imperial seat, and the chiefs knelt* before him; arid after that the whole people did likewise, except ourselves who were not his subjects. [As shown in the next paragraph, the friar made the prescribed genuflexion to the living emperor. It is interesting to note that in 981 AD the Chinese envoy, Wang Yende, sent to the Uigur Prince of Kao-chang, refused to make genuflexions (pai) to him, as being contrary to the established usages as regards envoys. The prince and his family, however, on receiving thc envoy, all faced eastward (towards Beijing) and made an obeisance (pai) on receiving the imperial presents (shou tzu) (Ma Duanlin, Book 336, 13).]

Then they began drinking, and as is their custom, they kept on drinking till evening. After that they brought in carts of cooked meat, without salt, and to each four or five they gave a quarter to those who were inside the tent; they gave meat and salted broth for sauce; and in this fashion they passed days in feasting.

5. It was at this place (the Golden Orda) that we were called into the Emperor's presence; after that Chingay the prothonotary had written down our names and the names of those who had sent us, and also those of the chief of the Solanges and of the others, he repeated them all, shouting with a loud voice before the Emperor and all the chiefs. When this had been done each of us had to bend the left knee four times, and they cautioned us not to touch the threshold, and having searched us carefully for knives, and not having found any, we entered the door on the east side, for no one dare enter that on the west side save the Emperor; and the same rule applies if it is the tent of a chief; but those of low rank pay little attention to such matters. And when we entered his tent, it was the first occasion since he had been made Emperor (that he had given an audience). He received likewise the ambassadors, but very few persons entered his tent. Here also such great quantities of presents were given him by the ambassadors, silks, samites, purples, baldakins, silk girdles worked in gold, splendid furs and other things, that it was a marvel to see. Here also it was that a kind of umbrella or awning that is carried over the Emperor s head was presented to him, and it was all covered with precious stones. [One of the insignia of royalty in the East from the earliest times. Such umbrellas are called, chattra in Sanskrit, chatta Pali and were of silk set with precious stones.] Here also a certain governor of a province brought to him many camels covered with baldakin and with saddles on them, and a kind o(arrangement inside of which people could sit, I think there were forty or fifty of them; and (he also gave him) many horses and mules covered with armour, some of hide, others of iron.' They asked us if we wished to make any presents; but we had already used up nearly everything we had, so we had nothing at all to give him. It was while here that on a hill some distance from the tent there were more than five hundred carts, all full of gold and silver and silken gowns, all of which was divided up between the Emperor and the chiefs; and the various chiefs divided their shares among their men as they saw fit.

6. Leaving this place, we came to another where there was a wonderful tent, all of red purple, a present of the Kitayans. We were taken into it aho, and here again when we entered they gave us mead or wine to drink, and offered us cooked meat, if we wanted it. There was a high platform of boards- in it, on which was the Emperor's throne; and the throne was of ebony, wonderfully sculptured; and there were also (on it) gold, and precious stones, and, if I remember rightly, pearls ; and one went up to it by steps, and it was rounded behind. There were benches placed arouuvl the throne, on which the ladies sat in rows on the left side; on the right side -no one sat on raised seats, but the chiefs sat on seats of lesser height placed in the middle (o(the tent), and the other people sat behind them and the whole day there came there a great concourse of ladies. These three tents of which I have spoken were very big; but his wives had other tents of white felt, and they were quite large and handsome. It was here also that they separated: the mother of the Emperor went in one direction, the Emperor in another, for the purpose of rendering justice. The paternal aunt of the Emperor was in prison, for she had killed his father in the time when their army was in Hungary, and it was for this that the army had retreated from those countries. She and a number of others were tried for this, and put to death.

7. At this same time Jeroslav, grand-duke in a part of Ruscia called Susdal, died at the Emperor's orda. It happened that he was invited by the mother of the Emperor (to her tent), and she gave him to eat and drink with her own hand, as if to honour him; and he went back to his lodgings straightway and fell ill, and after seven days he was dead, and all his body became iivid in strange fashion; so that everyone believed that he had been poisoned, that they might get free and full possession of his lands. As an argument in favour of this (supposition, the Empress) sent at once, without the knowledge of any of her people who were there, an envoy in all haste to his son Alexander in Ruscia to come to her, for she wished to give him his father's lands: but he would not go, but remained there (at home); in the meanwhile (the Empress) sent also letters for him to come and receive his father's lands. It was believed by all that he would be put to death if he should come, or imprisoned perpetually. [Yaroslaw II, Vsevolodvitch, Grand Duke of Russia, reigned from 1238 to 1247. He went to the Mongol Court in 1245 or 1246. Karansin refers to the rumour that he had been poisoned there, but dismisses it as highly improbable. He says that the Duke died on his way back to Russia, and that his body was carried back to Vladimir. Alexander did visit the Mongol Court, with his brother Andrew, but was lucky enough to get back to Russia in 1249. This Alexander is the famous St. Alexander Nevsky.]

8. It was after this death (of Jeroslav) that our Tartars took us to the Emperor, if I remember correctly the time; and when the Emperor heard from our Tartars that we had come to him, he ordered us to go back to his mother, for he wanted two days after that to unfurl his standard against the whole of the western world, as was emphatically told us by those who knew, as has been previously stated, and he wished us not to know it. When we had returned (to the Empress), we remained there a few days, when we were sent back again to him; and we remained with him for quite a month, in such hunger and thirst that we were barely able to keep alive, for the allowances which they gave the four of us were scarcely enough for one; and we could find nothing to buy, the market being too far away. Had not the Lord sent us a certain Ruthenian called Cosmas, a goldsmith*, and a great favourite of the Emperor, who helped us a little, I verily believe we should have died, unless the Lord had helped us in some other way. [Rubruck's best friend at the Court of Mangu was the French goldsmith, Guillaume Buchier.] He showed us before putting it in place the throne of the Emperor which he himself had made, and also the seal he had manufactured for him, and he told us the superscription on his

seal. [In another passage he says, the seal of the Emperor bore the words: "God in Heaven, and Kuyuc-Khan on earth. Might of God. The seal of the Emperor of all men." The letter of Kuyuk to Pope Innocent IV begins by "Dei fortitudo Kuyuk Khan ominuum hominum imperator" which in Mongol would be Möngkä Tängui Kuchundur Kuyuk Khakhan. "By the power of eternal Heaven, Kuyuk, Khakhan." This, I take it. was the inscription on the seal, which in all probability was written in Mongol and in Chinese seal characters (see: Deveria. Notes d'epigraphie Mongole, 31, and Sir John Mandeville, 231).] We also learnt many private details (secreta) about the Emperor, from those who had come with other chiefs, several Ruthenians and Hungarians who knew Latin and French, also Ruthcnian clerks and others who had been with them, some as long as thirty years, in war and in other events, and who knew all about them as they understood the language, having been continually with them some twenty, others ten years, more or less. From these we were able to learn about everything: they told us most freely of all things without our having to question them, for they knew of our desire.

9. After these things had happened the Emperor sent his prothonotary Chingay to tell us to write down what we had to say and our business, and to give it to him; this we did, writing down all we had previously said at Bati's, as has been stated above. After an interval of several days, he had us again called, and told us, through Kadac, the procurator of the whole empire, and in the presence of the prothonotaries Bala and Chingay, and of many others of his secretaries, to say all we had to say , and this we did right willingly. Our interpreter on that occasion, as well as on the other, was Temer, a knight of Jeroslav's, now a clerk with him, and another clerk of the Emperor's. And he (i.e., Kadac) asked us on the latter occasion if there were an)' persons with the Lord Pope who understood the written languages of the Ruthenians* or Saracens (Muslims) or Tartars (Central Asians; this term has been used rather carelessly. It might refer to a Central Asian ethnicity as well as to Muslim Turks, but it can also include Tengrist, Christian or Buddhist Mongols.) [* Old Ruthenian (Old Ukrainian, Old Belarusian) was the group of varieties of Balto-Slavic or East Slavic spoken in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. The written form is also called Chancery Slavonic by Lithuanian and Western European linguists. It was the colloquial language used in Kievan Rus' (10th–13th centuries) and developed into modern Belarusian, Rusyn and Ukrainian languages.] We replied that we did not use either the Ruthenian, Tartar, or Saracenic writing, and that though there were Saracens in the country, they were far distant from the Lord Pope. We added that it appeared to us the best plan for them to write in Tartar, and to have it translated to us. and that we would carefully write it down in our Language, taking both the (original) letter and the translation to the Lord Pope. On this they left us and went back to the Emperor.

10. On the feast of Saint Martin (11th November) we were again summoned, and Kadac, Chingay, Bala and several others of the secretaries came to us, and the letter was translated to us word for word and as we translated it into Latin (D'Avezac, ed. Paris, 1839) they made us explain each phrase, wishing to ascertain if we had made a mistake in any word; and when the two letters were written they made us read them together and separately for fear we had left out anything, and they said to us: "Be sure you understand it all, for it must not be that you do not understand everything, when you have reached such very distant lands."

And having told them: "We understand it all," they re-wrote the letter in Saracenic, so that it might be read to the Lord Pope if he could find any one in our part of the world able to do so.

11. It is the custom of the Emperor of the Tartars never to address in person a stranger, no matter how great he may be; he only listens, and then answers through the medium of someone, as I have explained. Whenever they explain any business to Kadac, or listen to an answer of the Emperor, those who are under him (i.e., his own subjects), remain on their knees until the end of the speech, no matter how great they may be. One may not, for it is not the custom, say anything more about any question after it is disposed of by the Emperor. This Emperor has a procurator, prothonotaries and secretaries, and also all the other officers for public as well as private affairs, except advocates, for they carry out without a murmur all judgements according to the Emperor's decision. The other princes of the Tartars do in like manner as regards those things which pertain to their offices.

12. This Emperor may be forty or forty-five years or more old; he is of medium stature, very prudent and extremely shrewd, and serious and sedate in his manners; and he has never been seen to laugh lightly or show any levity, and of this wc were assured by Christians who were constantly with him. We were also assyred by Christians who were of his household that they firmly believed that he was about to become a

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Christian. As signal evidence of this ho keeps Christian clerks and gives them allowances, and he has always the chapel of the Christians in front of his great tent, and (these priests) chant publicly and openly and beat (a tablet) according to the fashion of the Greeks at appointed hours, just like other Christians, and though there may be ever so great a multitude of Tartars and of other people. And the other chiefs do not have this.

13. Our Tartars who were to come back with us told us that the Emperor proposed sending his ambassadors with us. He wished, however, I think, that we should ask him to do so, for one of our Tartars, the elder of the two, told us to ask it; but it not seeming to us good that they should come, we replied that it was not for us to ask it, but that if the Emperor of his own will sent them, we would with God's help guide them safely. There were various reasons, however, for which it seemed to us inexpedient that they should come. The first reason was that we feared they would see the dissensions and wars among us, and that it would encourage them to march against us. The second reason was that we feared they were intended to be spies. The third reason was that we feared lest they be put to death, as our people for the most part are arrogant and hasty: thus it was that when the servants who were with us at the request, of the Cardinal Legate [Hugh of Santocaro.] in Germany were going back to him in Tartar dress*, they came near being stoned by the Germans on the road, and were forced to leave off that dress.

[* The Tatars (otherwise spoken and spelled Tartar; Chinese: Dadan, Dandan and Rouran, but commonly called Mongu meaning "Mongols") is an umbrella term for different Turkic ethnic groups bearing the name "Tatar". The word Tatar is derived from the Proto-Turkic language word Tata which means in Altaic etymology 1. to become angry, 2. irascible, and it has in Central Asian languages still the same meaning. The "Book of Song" and "Book of Liang" connected Rourans to the earlier Xiongnu (Huns) while the "Book of Wei" traced the Rouran's origins back to the Donghu. Although the Tatars originally spoke a Turkic language, after many of them entered the armies of Genghis Khan, a fusion of Mongol (mainly Tengrist) and Turkic (some Muslim) elements took place. In the early 13th-century, these Turkic-Mongol invaders became known and hated as "Tatars" or "Turks" to Europeans and "Mongols" to Asians due to the rapes and genocidal murders they inflicted onto the invaded populace.]

And it is the custom of the Tartars {Mongols.] never to make peace with those who have killed their envoys till they have wreaked vengeance upon them. The fourth reason was that we feared they would carry us off, as was once done with a Saracen (Muslim) prince, who is still a captive, unless he is dead. The fifth reason was that there was no need for their coming, for they had no other order or authority than to bring the letters of the Emperor to the Lord Pope and the other princes (of Christendom), which we (already) had, and we believed that evil might come of it. Therefore it pleased us not that they should come. The third day after this, which was the feast of Saint Brice (13th November), they gave us permission to leave (licentiam) and a letter of the Emperor signed with his seal, and then they sent us to the Emperor's mother, who gave to each of us a fox-skin gown with the fur outside and wadding inside, and also a piece of purple—of which our Tartars stole a palm's length from each, and also more than half of another piece which was given to our servant; but though it was no secret to us, we did not choose to make any ado over it.

CARPINE BOOK 3.

CONCERNING THE ROUTE WE TRAVELLED IN COMING BACK.

1. So we started on our way back, and we were travelling the whole winter, resting most of the time in the snow in the desert, save when in the open plain where there were no trees we couid scrape a bare place with our feet; and often when the wind drifted it we would find (on waking) our bodies all covered with snow [which is common in a mountainous winter camp]. And so we travelled along till we came to Bati, on the Ascension of our Lord (9th May), and to him we told what (the Einperor) had answered the Lord Pope. He replied that he had nothing to ask other than what the Emperor had written; but he said that we must carefully tell the Lord Pope and the other lords everything the Emperor had written. Safe conducts having been given us we left him, and reached Mauci on the Saturday after the octaA e of Pentecost (2nd June), where were our companions and servants who had been detained, and whom we caused to be brought back to us. Thence we went to Corenza, who again begged presents of us, but not having (anything) we gave nothing. He gave us two Comans, who were accounted of the Tartars, as far as Kiev in Ruscia. Our own Tartar did not leave us till we had left the last Tartar [Mongol.] camp. The others who had been given us by Corenza led us in six days from the last camp to Kiew.

2. We reached (Kiew) fifteen days before the feast of Saint John the Baptist (9th June). The Kiewians who had heard of our arrival all came out to meet us rejoicing, and congratulated us as if we had risen from the dead, and so they did to us throughout Ruscia, Poland and Bohemia. [He notes that he met at Kiew a number of Constantinople traders who had come there through the Tartar country; all of them were Italians. He mentions among others Michel of Genoa, Manuel of Venice, and Nicolas of Pisa.] Daniel and Vassilko his brother received us with great rejoicing, and kept us, against our will, for quite eight days; during which time they held counsel between themselves and the bishops and other notables about those things on which we had spoken to them when on our way to the Tartars. And they answered us jointly, saying, that they wished to have the Lord Pope for their particular lord and father, and the holy Roman Church as their lady and mistress, and confirming^ likewise all they had previously transmitted on the matter through their abbot; and after that they sent with us to the Lord Pope their letters and ambassadors.

The End

THE YASA - MONGOL LAWS AND PRECEPTS

Authors: Genghis Khan, Shikhikhutag, Chagatai Khan
Reconstruction: François Pétis de la Croix
Source: Genghis Khan the Man of all Men,
Carpine, Rubruck, Marco Polo, Vardan Arewelci, a.o.
Translation: Harold Lamb, 1928
Estimated Range of Dating: 1206-1240 A.D.

(The Yasa (alternatively: Yassa, Yasaq, Jazag, Zasag, Mongolian: Их засаг, Ikh Zasag) was the oral law code of the Mongols declared in public by Genghis Khan de facto law of the Mongol Empire. The word yasa or yassa exists in both Mongolic and Turkic languages. It is believed that the word comes from the Mongolian verb zas- or yas- which means "to set in order". Tsereg zasakh is a phrase commonly found in old Mongolian texts like the Secret History that means "to set the soldiers in order" in the sense of rallying the soldiers before a battle. The supreme executive body of the present-day Mongolian government is called the Zasag-in gazar, which means the "place of Zasag", the "place of order". Zasag during the Qing dynasty referred to native provincial governors in Mongolia. The local office called Zasag-in gazar served as a court of the first instance and included secretaries and other officials. The verb zasaglakh means "to govern" in Mongolian. The Turkic verb yas-, which means "to spread", probably originated in Uighur Turkic and was firstly used by Uighur Turks.

Origin

The Yasa seems to have its origin as wartime decrees, which were later codified and expanded to include cultural and lifestyle conventions. It was an oral law code. Even before Genghis Khan, the tribes of Mongolia had a common law. The law was unwritten, and had showed variations for the various tribes. As Genghis Khan grew in power and influence, a need arose for laws that the whole empire could use. The Yasa was a written record of ancestral traditions, customs, laws, and Genghis Khan's ideas, which were added constantly during his lifetime. Anything that was written in the Yasa had to be followed exactly. This resulted in strong discipline, which determined how the Mongols lived and interacted. Genghis Khan was able to use obedience demanded from the Yasa to influence the morality of his people. He could also influence the mentality of his people with his decisions. The greatness that was achieved under his command resulted in the Mongols gaining self pride. In 1246, the Franciscan monk Giovanni da Pian del Carpine visited Mongolia and was impressed with how much discipline the Mongols had. He claimed that the Mongols showed more obedience than there was in clergy of Europe. When in the presence of Genghis Khan, you were not allowed to exercise any power. The only way that you could, was if you were his representative.

There is no surviving manuscript of the Yasa today and there is no certainty as to what was really written. There are, however, a few fragments written about the Yasa by Persian, Arabian, and Syrian historians after Genghis Khan's death. Yet it is probable that none of these historians actually did see a copy of the Yasa, which was written in the Uighur script.

Even though the Yasa was started in 1206, it had to be added too to accommodate the needs of the growing Asian Empire. It is believed that the Yasa was supervised by Genghis Khan himself and his stepbrother Shikhikhutag, then the high judge of the Mongol Empire. Genghis Khan appointed his second son, Chagatai (later Chagatai Khan), to oversee the laws' execution. The high cultural standard in China showed a heavy influence on the primitive tribes. The expansion into China probably affected matters of law and order. The Mongols were tolerant when it came to religious matters, and had no rules governing the slaughter of animals. The ritual killing performed by the Muslims, therefore continued because a lack of a standard method. Laws that were set up in Russian, Chinese, and Persian areas remained valid. But the governors of the regions had to take into account the contents of the Yasa.

There were many different punishments that the Mongols knew how to use, most of which were nothing more than torture. When someone from the Golden Family (Genghis' Family) or someone from another princely house was condemned to death, no blood would be allowed to flow. Some of the things that would be used in these situations was strangulation by bowstring or asphyxiation under a pile of carpet. When convicted, the entire family of the accused, including women and children were executed, considered accessories to the crime.

The daily life of the citizens were greatly impacted because of the harshness of the Yasa. Among many of the tribes, adultery, robbery, plunder, and murder were very rare, unlike times before Genghis Khan, when crimes such as these were common. Genghis Khan's intentions were to make the Yasa inviolable. In order to uphold the Yasa, he gave his son Chaghatai, the responsibility of guarding it. Genghis was smart by choosing this son of his because Chaghatai was stubborn, and a severe supported of the principles of his father's system. The Yasa, however did not survive for long with the nomadic tribes. By the end of the thirteenth century, the influence, which once was so powerful, began to diminish. The destruction of these laws came faster with the disintegration of the Empire

Historicity

Historical certainty about the Yasa is weak compared to the much older Instructions of Shuruppak (26th century BC), the Code of Hammurabi (18th century BC), or the Edicts of Ashoka, (3rd century BC) which were written on terracotta tablets or carved on stone stelae. The Yasa, which is thought to be written in the Uighur Mongolian script and written on scrolls, was preserved in secret archives and known only to and read only by the royal family.

Whether the Yasa decrees were comprehensive and specific can be assumed. There are indications that the Yassa may have included philosophical, spiritual and mystical elements and so may have been thought of as a quasi-sacred or magic text. However, there are records written by Carpine, Rubruck, Marco Polo, Vardan Arewelci, Makrizi, and ibn Batuta, that tell us roughly what the Yasa was about.

Aspects

It seems that the Yasa laws were outlined for various members of the Mongol community such as soldiers, officers, doctors and common people. The Yassa aimed at three things: obedience to Genghis Khan, a binding together of the nomad clans and the merciless punishment of wrongdoing. It concerned itself with people, not property. Unless a man actually confessed, he was not judged guilty. The purpose of many decrees was probably to eliminate social and economic disputes among the Mongols and future allied peoples. Among the rules were no stealing of livestock from other people, the required sharing food with travelers, no abduction of women from other families and no defection among soldiers. It represented a day-to-day set of rules for people under Mongol control that was strictly enforced. The Yasa also addressed and reflected Mongol cultural and lifestyle norms. Death via decapitation was the most common punishment unless the offender was of noble blood, when the offender would be killed by way of back-breaking, without shedding blood. Even minor offenses were punishable by death. For example, a soldier would be put to death if he did not pick up something that fell from the person in front of him. Those favoured by the Khan were often given preferential treatment within the system of law and were allowed several chances before being punished.

Reconstruction of Mongol Laws

The can be no doubt that Mongol laws did not come out of nowhere. They seem to be a set of rules needed on the plains. However, Genghis Khan seem to have consulted teachers of religions, such as Jewish rabbis, Christian priests, and most surely Buddhist scholars, in compiling his law codex. Many sources allow is a critical reconstruction of the original reading of the actual laws of the Yasa. The Yasa was so influential that other cultures appropriated and adapted portions of it or reworked it for ends of negative propaganda. (For instance, the number of offenses for which the death penalty was given was well-known by contemporaries.) However, Harold Lamb's "Genghis Khan - The Man of All Men" quotes a translation by François Pétis de la Croix. Although unable to come upon a complete list of the laws, he compiled several from Persian and Arabic chroniclers, such as Giovanni da Pian del Carpine and Willem van Rubroeck. Verkhovensky reports that the Yassa begins with an exhortation to honour men of all nations based on their virtues. The pragmatic admonition is borne out by the ethnic mixture created by Genghis Khan in the Mongolian medieval army for purpose of unity (Ezent Gueligen Mongolyn), the United Mongol Warriors.) Those recorded and reconstructed laws of Genghis Khan are listed down below.)

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THE YASA - GENGHIS KHAN'S LAWS

"If the great, the military leaders and the leaders of the many descendants of the ruler who will be born in the future, should not adhere strictly to the Yasa, then the power of the state will be shattered and come to an end, no matter how they then seek Genghis Khan, they shall not find him." -- Genghis Khan

The People's Precepts

Just like in the Five Precepts of Buddhism or the second half of the Ten Commandments of Jews and Christians, Mongols followed the same kind of ethical laws. Murder, theft, sexual misconduct, false witness, treason, and "infamous vices" was viewed as crime as they caused the worst fights within society:

• In cases of murder (punishment for murder) one could ransom himself by paying fines: for a Mohammedan - 40 golden coins (Balysh); and for a Chinese - one donkey. [Mirhod or Mirkhwand]

• Abduction of women and sexual assault and or abuse of women are punishable by death.

• Adultery is to be punished by death, and those guilty of it may be slain out of hand. [al-Makrizi] (An adulterer is to be put to death without any regard as to whether he is married or not. The Yasa prescribes these rules: to love one another, not to commit adultery, not to steal, not to give false witness, not to be a traitor, and to respect old people and beggars. Whoever violates these commands is put to death. [Mahak'ia] Here are the laws of God which they call Iasax which were given to them [g288]: first, that they love one another; second, that they not commit adultery; not steal; not bear false witness; not betray anyone; and that they honor the aged and the poor. And should perpetrators of such crimes be found among them, they should be killed.") [Grigor of Akanc]

• Whoever is guilty of sodomy is also to be put to death [al-Makrizi]

• Men guilty of the theft of a horse or steer or a thing of equal value will be punished by death and their bodies cut into two parts. For lesser thefts the punishment shall be, according to the value of the thing stolen, a number of blows of a staff seven, seventeen, twenty-seven, up to seven hundred. But this bodily punishment may be avoided by paying nine times the worth of the thing stolen.

• The man in whose possession a stolen horse is found must return it to its owner and add nine horses of the same kind. If he is unable to pay the fine, his children must be taken instead of the horses, and if he has no children, he himself shall be slaughtered like a sheep. [al-Makrizi] In the versions in which the provisions appear, the method of execution is likened to sheep and so it may be presumed for the law for the slaughter of animals (it is unclear in another version as of when their bodies should be cut in two parts). For lesser thefts the punishment shall be, according to the value of the thing stolen, a number of blows of a staff-seven, seventeen, twenty-seven, up to seven hundred. The bodily punishment may be avoided by paying nine times the worth of the thing stolen. (Another older version mentions no punishment for thefts under the value mentioned but is not so specified.)

• Spies, false witnesses, all men given to infamous vices, and sorcerers are condemned to death.

• It was forbidden to show preference to a sect or to put emphasis on a word. When talking to someone, do not speak to them with a title, calling them by their name. That applies to even the Khan himself. [al-Makrizi]

Political Laws

These are laws needed to run the Mongol state properly:

• Genghis Khan ordered his son Chagatai to see that the Yasa was observed. [al-Makrizi]

• The Khan established a postal system so that he might quickly learn about the empire's news.

• No subject of the empire may take a Mongol for servant or slave. Every man, except in rare cases, must join the army.

• It is forbidden to make peace with a monarch, a prince or a people who has not submitted. [It is apparent that they presented certain proposals to the different states or kingdoms that existed that they should participate with them.]

• Officers and chieftains who fail in their duty, or do not come at the summons of the Khan are to be slain, especially in remote districts. If their offence be less grave, they must come in person before the Khan.

• It is forbidden chieftains of nations and clans subject to the Mongols to hold honorary titles.

• It is forbidden under penalty of death that anyone, whoever he be, shall be proclaimed emperor unless he has been elected previously by the princes, khans, officers and other Mongol nobles in a general council.

• At the beginning of each year, all of the people must present their daughters to the 32 Khan so that he may choose some of them for himself and his children. [al-Makrizi]

• (A list of privileges and immunities assured to the chieftains and officers of the new empire.)

Armed Forces

The warrior was the backbone of Mongol society and income. Everyone had to take part in this business:

• Every man who does not go to war must work for the empire, without reward, for a certain time.

• Genghis Khan ordered that soldiers be punished for negligence and hunters who let an animal escape during a community hunt he ordered to be beaten with sticks and, in some cases, to be put to death. [Mirhond or Mirkhwand] (may appear excluded from some accounts, can be a more restricted Siberian-originating practice, but seems genuine).

• To keep the men of the army exercised, a great hunt shall be held every winter. On that account, it is forbidden for any man of the empire to kill from March to October deer, bucks, roe-bucks, hares, wild ass and some birds.

• The ruling that divides men of the army into tens, hundreds, thousands, and ten thousands is to be maintained. This arrangement serves to raise an army fast and to form the units of commands. (Genghis Khan put leaders, such as generals, commanders, princes, chiefs, knights, at the head of the troops and appointed commanders of thousands, hundreds, and tens.) [al-Makrizi]

• The moment that a campaign begins, each soldier must receive his arms from the hand of the officer who has them in charge. The soldier must keep them in good order and have them inspected by his officer before a battle. He ordered his successors to personally examine the troops and their armament before going to battle, to supply the troops with everything they needed for the campaign and to survey everything even to needle and thread. If any of the soldiers lacked a necessary thing, that soldier was to be punished. [al-Makrizi]

• It is forbidden, under death penalty, to pillage the enemy before the general commanding gives permission, but after that permission is given, the soldier must have the same opportunity as the officer and must be allowed to keep what he has carried off if he has paid his share to the receiver for the emperor.

• Minors not taller than a cart wheel may not be killed in war.

• Whoever gives food or clothing to a captive without the permission of his captor is to be put to death. Any man who meets an escaped slave and does not bring him back to his master will be punished in the same manner. [al-Makrizi]

• Whoever finds a runaway slave or captive and does not return him to the person to whom he belongs is to be put to death. [al-Makrizi] (The word translated as "slave" means "captive taken for labour", the opponents of the Mongols who were usually regarded by them as facing a punishment for resisting the universal principles, the Mongol system, or what it aspired to via its codes and measures, the concept was passed on also to their descendants, based on the concepts of sedentary populations that degrade the people and criminal tribes, criminal often simply by their concept of resisting to the above-referred Mongol system.

Religious Laws

Religion was not used as a unifying political tool. Therefore, religion was treated relatively tolerant. As Genghis Khan had set up an institution that ensured complete religious freedom, people under his rule were free to worship as they pleased if the laws of the Yasa were observed. Only actions aimed against the state and the Mongol leadership were punishable:

• Chingis-Khan ordered that all religions were to be respected and that no preference was to be shown to any of them. All this he commanded in order that it might be agreeable to Heaven. (al-Makrizi)

• It is ordered to believe that there is only one God, creator of heaven and earth, who alone gives life and death, riches and poverty as pleases Him—and who has over everything an absolute power. [A different version states that there was liberty to worship God in whatever way suitable (Plantagenet Somerset Fry).]

• Leaders of a religion, lawyers*, physicians*, scholars*, preachers, monks, persons who are dedicated to religious practice, the criers of mosques* (Muezzin), physicians and those who bathe the bodies of the dead are to be freed from public charges. (Al-Makrizi) (* These are not in the translation by François Pétis de la Croix, they may to be from the later period, perhaps a Muslim interpolation to promote Sharia; Al-Makrizi was a Muslim)

• Whoever intentionally lies or practices sorcery, or spies upon the behavior of others or intervenes between the two parties in a quarrel to help the one against the other is also to be put to death. [al-Makrizi] (Intentional liars being included in this section in one of the versions, but it is not as definable in practice and may refer to methodical lying, which also appears in areas of earlier Asiatic influence in Europe but becomes particularly defined together with a Germanic version, which may have legal undertones, and a Latin practicality. It is a version intended to cause grievous harm to people and damage them and further particularly as a means of sabotage, but it is not completely clear. It can also have an aspect of those who practice lying with frivolous purposes.)

Marriage

Making marriage a strong institution was another tool to keep the society at peace. Mongols seem to have focussed on keeping family groups together, thus a man was allowed the marry two sisters, but marriage between the first and second degrees of kinship was forbidden.

• If two families wish to be united by marriage and have only young children, the marriage of these children is allowed, if one be a boy and the other a girl. If the children are dead, the marriage contract may still be drawn up.

• The law of marriage orders that every man shall purchase his wife, and that marriage between the first and second degrees of kinship is forbidden. A man may marry two sisters, or have several concubines. The women should attend to the care of property, buying and selling at their pleasure. Men should occupy themselves only with hunting and war. Children born of slaves are legitimate as the children of wives. The offspring of the first woman shall be honoured above other children and shall inherit everything.

• The law required the payment of a bride price. Though not mentioned in other sources, it may be that ir is a dowry reference since the bride price is usually a custom restricted to specific Mongol tribes (but that may have appeared later). This may have been practiced earlier, but Genghis Khan himself had never followed this custom, and it was little (if at all) referred to in the Nuvs Tobchaan Mongolyn. The bride price might have been considered as a useful deterrent to trade in women or simply a modernising experimental inversion from a dowry, but the Tatars' neighbours traded in women, which was prohibited, as was reported, by the Yasa and that marriage between the first and second degrees of kinship is forbidden. A man may marry two sisters or have several concubines, but under Buddhism and shamanism there was a progressive tendency for a marriage ceremony. Some Buddhist forms revived some casualty without marriage. The women should attend to the care of property, buying and selling at their pleasure, in another version, "Os Mongóis", by a Portuguese publisher of summarised histories of culture, the law is quoted as defining trade as their sphere. There is no exclusion from military participation, but ir was reported more popular among Tatars as according to Islamic law, which was possible to follow only via Sufiism. Men should occupy themselves only with hunting and war.

• Children born of a concubine are to be considered as legitimate and to receive their share of the heritage according to the disposition of it made by the father. The distribution of property is to be carried out on the basis of the senior son receiving more than the junior, the younger son inheriting the household of the father. The seniority of children depends upon the rank of their mother; one of the wives must always be the senior, to be determined chiefly by the time of her marriage. After the death of his father, a son may dispose of the father's wives except his mother. He may marry them or give them in marriage to others. All except the legal heirs are strictly forbidden to make use of any of the property of the deceased. [Vermadsky]

Cleanliness

Chinese despised Mongols because they never bathed. However, bathing or even washing oneself was almost impossible on the wide steppes and in the vast deserts where water was a priceless commodity for drinking only:

• Urinating in water or ashes is punishable by death. [al-Makrizi]

• It was forbidden to wash clothing until completely worn out. [al-Makrizi]

• It is forbidden to bathe or wash garments in running water during thunder.

• One may not dip their hands into water and must instead use a vessel for the drawing of water. [al-Makrizi]

Food

Mongols despised Muslims for their radical intolerance toward other religions. This was probably why Halal slaughter was forbidden:

• Forbidden, to cut the throats of animals slain for food; they must be bound, the chest opened and the heart pulled out by the hand of the hunter. (Then, its meat may be eaten, but if anyone slaughters an animal after the Mohammedan fashion, he is to be himself slaughtered. Women were not supposed to slaughter animals this way, possibly due to being weaker, there is no prohibition in the Yasa.) [al-Makrizi]

• It is permitted to eat the blood and entrails of animals though this was forbidden before now.

• When the wayfarer passes by a group of people eating, he must eat with them without asking for permission, and they must not forbid him in that. [al-Makrizi]

• He forbade his people to eat food offered by another until the one offering the food tasted of it himself even though one is a prince and the other a captive. He forbade them to eat anything in the presence of another without having invited him to partake of the food. Genghis Khan forbade any man to eat more than his comrades and to step over a fire on which

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food was being cooked or a dish from which people were eating. [al-Makrizi]

THE MISSION OF FRIAR JOHN OF PIAN DE CARPINE

Narrated by Friar Benedict the Pole.
First published by d'Avezac
Document MS. No. 2477, Language: Latin
Colbert Collection in the Bibliotheque Nationale at Paris
Printed for the Hakluyt Society, London
Translation: William Woodville Rockhill, 1900
Estimated Range of Dating: 1247-1252 A.D.

(The full title of this account is "A Narrative Of Friar John Of Pian De Carpine's Mission; Derived From An Oral Statement Of His Companion, Friar Benedict The Pole." The text was published for the first time by d'Avezac (op. cit. 774 779). It was found in MS. No. 2477 of the Colbert Collection in the Bibliotheque Nationale at Paris.)

1. In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and forty-five, Friar John of the order of Minor Friars, and of Pian de Carpine, despatched by the Lord Pope to the Tartars in company with another friar [Stephen of Bohemia was his name, as we learn from Wadding (Scriptores, 221).], left Lyons in France, where the Pope was, on Easter day (16th April), and having arrived in Poland he took at Breslau a third friar of the same order, Benedict by name, a Pole by nationality, to be the companion of his labour and tribulations and to act as his interpreter.

Through the assistance of Conrad, Duke of the Poles, they reached Kiew, a city of Ruscia, now under the dominion of the Tartars. The headman of the city gave them an escort for a distance of six days thence to the first camp of the Tartars, near the border of Comania. [Apparentlv the town governed by the greedy Alan Micheas, mentioned by Plan de Carpine.]

2. When the chiefs of this camp heard that they were envoys of the Pope they asked for and received presents from them. Friars John and Benedict, having by their order left behind the third friar, who was too feeble, also their horses and the servants they had brought with them, set out for a second camp on the Tartars' own horses and with pack animals provided by them; and so, after changing horses at several camps, they came on the third day to the chief of an army of eight thousand men [Plan de Carpine refers to this camp as the "first camp of the Tartars."], and his attendants (ministri), having asked for and received presents, conducted them to their chief Curoniza. He questioned them as to the motive of their journey and the nature of their business. This having been stated, he gave them three of his Tartars [Mongols], who got them supplied with horf^es and food (expensis) from one army to another, till finally they came to a prince, Bati by name, who is one of the greatest princes of the Tartars, and the same that ravaged Ungaria [Hungary.].

3. On the route thither they crossed the rivers called Nepere and Don. They spent five weeks and more on the road, to wit, from the Sunday, Invocavit, to the Thursday, Cetiae Domini, on which day they reached Bati [The Sunday, Invocabit, is the first Sunday in Lent (26th February, 1246). Thursday, Coena Domini is Holy Thursday, i.e., 5th April, 1246. Friar John says they reached Batu's on the 4th April. Friar John says they reached Batu's on the 4th April.], finding him beside the great river 'Ethil, which the Ruscians call Volga, and which is believed to be the Tanais. [All classical geographers believed that the River Volga joined the River Don not far from its mouth, and that the combined streams flowed into the sea of Azow. Even Ptolemy appears to have held this view. See: Rubruck who gives the course of the Volga correctly.] The attendants of Bati having asked for and received presents, consisting of forty beaver skins and eighty badger skins these presents were carried between two consecrated fires; and the Friars were obliged to follow the presents, for it is a custom among the Tartars to purify ambassadors and gifts by fire. Beyond the fires there was a cart with a golden statue of the Emperor, which it is likewise customary to worship. But the Friars refusing positively to worship it, were nevertheless obliged to bow their heads (before it). Bati, having heard the letter of the Pope (legatione), and examined ev.ery word of it, sent them after five days, that is to say on the Tuesday after Easter [April l0th, 1246. Pian de Carpine states they left Batu's camp on April 8th.], together with his letters which he gave to one of their own Tartar guides, to the son of the great Emperor [Ogodai, son of Chingis Khan (Genghis Khan, died in 1241); his son Kuyuk was only elected in 1246.], which son's name is Kuyuc Khan, in the fatherland of the Tartars.

4. Leaving therefore Prince Bati, (the Friars), having wrapped their legs with bandages, so as to be able to bear the fatigue of riding, left Comania behind after two weeks. In this country they found a great deal of wormwood (absincium) for this country was once called Pontus, and Ovidius says of Pontus: "Tristia per vacuos horrent absinthia campos."

While the Friars were travelling through Comania they had oil their riglu the coutitry of the Saxi whom we believe to be Goths and who are Christians; after them the Gazars who are Christians. [Contemporary Mohammedan writers state that the Ghozz or Khazar Turks lived to the east of the sea of Tabaristan or Caspian (Ibn Khaldun, Not et extr. 19:1, pt. 1:156). They may have occupied the country around the Lake Aral, which the Kankali (the friars' Cangitae or Cangle) had evacuated in the early part of the 13th century (d'Ohsson, 1:196). The Khazars were mostly Jews, but Christians and Mohammedans were also numerous amongst them.] In this country is the rich city of Ornarum [Carpine calls it Ornas], which was captured by the Tartars by means of inundations of water. After that the Circasses, and they are Christians; after that the Georgians, and they too are Christians. Prior to that, while in Ruscia, they had the Morduans on their left, and they are pagans, and for the most part they shave the backs of their heads. After them were the Bylers, and they are pagans; and after that the Bascards, who are the ancient Ungari; then the Cynocephales, who have dogs' heads; and then the Parocitae*, who have a small narrow mouth, who can masticate nothing, but who live on liquids and sustain themselves on the odours of meats and fruits. [* Solinus (op. cit., 207) speaks, on the authority of Megasthenes, of a dog-headed people of India, without speech, and also of a people which fed solely on the odour of wild apples (see: Pliny 7:2, 282, 283; McCrindle, Ancient India, 83 p. 12, note; and Schiltberger, 35). The Chinese annals of the 6th century (Liung Shu, book 54; Nan Shih, book 79) tell of a kingdom of dogs (Kou kuo) in some remote corner of north-eastern Asia. The men had human bodies but dogs' heads, and their speech sounded like barking. The women were like the rest of their sex in other parts of world.]

5. On the border of Comania they crossed a river called Jaiac, and there begins the country of the Kangitae.

They travelled through this for twenty days, and they found few people there, but many swamps and vast salt marshes and salt rivers, which we take to be the Maeotide swamp.

[Salsas, et flumina salsa. The salt marshes and lakes near the River Ural (Jaiac), the largest of which is the Indersky, into which flow two salt springs. There are some thirty salt lakes in the Ural province. The remark that these swamps may be the Maeotide swamps is probably the editor's. Benedict and his companion did not, however, know of the existence of the Aral, nor did William of Rubruck, nor Marco Polo either, for that matter. Friar William passed probably a considerable distance to the north of it; the two first-named took it for a part of the Caspian, which in turn they believed to be a portion of the Black Sea.]

For eight days they went through a vast desert, barren and sandy. After the country of the Kangitae they came to Turkya, where they for the first time^ found a big city (called) Janckynt, and they travelled for about ten days in this Turkya. [The part of Turkestan (Turkya) through which they travelled was the valley of the Syrdaria. They probably went from near Yenguikend or Yanikent (Janckynt) Plan de Carpine's lanckint) to near the modern town of Turkestan, or perhaps considerably to the east of it (see: Schuyler, 1:401).] Now Turkya professes the religion of Mohammed. After Turkya they entered a country called Kara-Kytai, which meaneth Black Kytai; and these people are pagans, and they found no town there. These were once the masters of the Tartars.^ After that they entered the country of the Tartars on the feast of Mary Magdalen.

6. They found the Emperor in that country in a great tent which is called Syra-Orda, and here they remained for four months, and they were present at the election of Cuyuc Kan, their Emperor. And the same Friar Benedict the Pole told us orally that he and the other friar saw there about five thousand great and mighty men, who on the first day of the election of the king all appeared dressed in baldakin; but neither on that day nor on the next, when they appeared in white samites, did they reach an agreement.

But on the third day, when they wore red samites, they came to an agreement and made the election. This same friar declared also that about three thousand envoys, coming from different parts of the world, were present at that same court with messages, letters, tribute or presents of divers kinds and in great numbers. These same friars, who were counted among them, had to put on, as of necessity bound, baldakin over their gowns, for no ambassador may appear in the presence of the chosen and crowned sovereign unless he be properly dressed.

7. Having been taken into the Syra-Orda, that is to say, the tent (statio), of the Emperor, they saw him there crowned and gorgeous in splendid attire seated on a raised dais (tabulatum) richly ornamented with gold and silver, and above it was trellis-work (cancellatuvi), and around the edge four separate flights of steps led up to the platform.

Three of these flights were in front of the dais; by the middle one the Emperor alone goes up or comes down, by the two side ones the nobles and others (pass), but by the fourth, which is behind (the Emperor), his mother, his wife, and his relatives ascend. The Syra-Orda had three openings in guise of doors; the middle one, which far exceeded the others in size, was always left without any guard, the King alone entering by it. And if anyone else should have entered by it, he would have been without a doubt put to death. The two other side doors were closed with silk (hangings), and had very rigid guards, who watched them in arms, and through these everyone else passed with signs of reverence for fear of the established punishment.

8. On the third day the letter of the Lord Pope was carefully listened to and gone over through (the medium of) officials and interpreters. After that the Friars were sent to the mother of the Emperor, whom they founl in another locality, seated in like fashion, in a large and most beautiful tent. After receiving them with great courtesy and friendliness, she sent them back to her son. While they were stopping there, they used frequently to have with them some of the Georgians living among the Tartars. They are quite respected by the Tartars, because they are a strong and warlike people. They. are called Georgians because Saint George aids them in their fights; and he is their patron and they honour him above all other saints. They use the Greek idiom in their Holy Scriptures, and they have crosses over their tents and carts. The customs of the Greeks are observed in divine service among the Tartars.

9. The business on which the Friers had come having been settled, they took their leave of the Emperor, carrying back with them letters of hh signed with his seal to the Lord Pope; and they went their way back, travelling westward with the ambassadors o(the soldan [sultan] of Babylon [The Ayubite Sultan of Egypt, whose capital, Cairo, was then called Babyion.], who after accompanying them for fifteen days then left them and turned southward. The Friars continued on their journey westward, and after passing the Rhine at Cologne, got back to the Lord Pope in Lyons, and presented to him the letters of the Emperor of the Tartars [Mongols.].

WILLIAM OF RUBRUCK'S ACCOUNT OF THE MONGOLS

The Journey of William of Rubruck (Willem van Rubroeck)
to the Eastern Parts of the World, 1253-1255,
Document Language: Latin
Printed for the Hakluyt Society, London
Translation: William Woodville Rockhill, 1900
Estimated Range of Dating: 1247-1252 A.D.

(William of Rubruck (Dutch: Willem van Rubroeck; Latin: Gulielmus de Rubruquis; c. 1215 – 1270 AD, also known as Willem van Ruysbroeck, Guillaume de Rubrouck, or Willielmus de Rubruquis), was a Franciscan missionary and explorer from Flanders. Rubruck had participated in the crusade of King Louis IX of France to Palestine and there heard about the Mongols from friar Andrew of Longjumeau, a Dominican who had been involved in papal diplomacy aimed at trying to enlist the Mongols in the Christian crusade against the Muslims. Rubruck then decided to undertake his own mission to the Mongols primarily in the hope of promoting their conversion to Christianity. In 1253 he set out through the lands of the western part of their empire (what we know as the Golden Horde)--that is starting out through the southern steppes of what is now Ukraine and Russia. His roundtrip journey lasted the better part of three years. William had the distinction of being the first European to visit the Mongol capital of Karakorum on the Orhon River and return to write about it. He provides a unique description of the Khan's palace there and abundant detail about the individuals of various ethnicities and religions whom he encountered. Understandably, he was particularly interested in the Nestorian Christians. His account of his travels is one of the masterpieces of medieval geographical literature, comparable to those of Marco Polo and Rabban Bar Sauma. With great precision, he describes Mongol traditional culture, many features of which have survived amongst the herders one may observe today in inner Asia. The text (Full English title: "The journey of William of Rubruck to the eastern parts of the world, 1253-55, as narrated by himself") is the translation by William Woodville Rockhill.

Mission

William was born in Rubrouck, Flanders. In 1248, he accompanied King Louis IX of France on the Seventh Crusade. On 7 May 1253, on Louis' orders, he set out on a missionary journey to convert the Tatars to Christianity. He first stopped in Constantinople to confer with Baldwin of Hainaut, who had recently returned from a trip to Karakorum, the capital of the Mongol Empire, on behalf of Baldwin II, Latin Emperor. There, William received letters to some of the Tatar chiefs from the emperor.

William then followed the route of the first journey of the Hungarian Friar Julian, and in Asia that of the Italian Friar Giovanni da Pian del Carpine. With William's party were Bartolomeo da Cremona, an attendant called Gosset, and an interpreter named in William's report as Homo Dei, meaning "man of God", perhaps representing the Arabic Abdullah, "servant of God". William of Rubruck's was the fourth European mission to the Mongols: previous ones had been led by Giovanni da Pian del Carpine and Ascelin of Lombardia in

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1245 and André de Longjumeau in 1249. The King had been encouraged to send another mission by reports of the presence of Nestorian Christians at the Mongolian court, but because of an earlier rebuff he declined to send a formal mission.

Travels

After reaching the Crimean town of Sudak [Greek: Sougdaia, Soldaia, Sudagh, south coast of the Crimean Peninsula.], the city to which also Marco Polo's father Niccolo came at the very same time, William continued his trek with oxen and carts. Nine days after crossing the River Don, he met Sartaq Khan, ruler of the Kipchak Khanate. The Khan sent William on to his father, Batu Khan, at Sarai near the Volga River. Five weeks later, after the departure from Sudak, he reached the encampment of Batu Khan, Mongol ruler of the Volga River region. Batu refused conversion but sent the ambassadors on to the Great Khan of the Mongols, Möngke Khan.

William and his travelling companions set off on horseback on 16 September 1253 on a 9,000-kilometre (5,600 mi) journey to the court of the Great Khan at Karakorum. Arriving in late December they were received courteously, and he was given an audience on 4 January 1254. William's account provided an extensive description of the city's walls, markets and temples, and the separate quarters for Muslim and Chinese craftsmen among a surprisingly cosmopolitan population. He also visited the court of the Vastacius (Empire of Nicaea) during the feast day of Felicitas and met Nicaean envoys during his travels. Among the Europeans he encountered were the nephew of an English bishop, a woman from Lorraine who cooked William's Easter dinner, and a French silversmith who was making ornaments for the Khan's women and altars for the Nestorian Christians. Guillaume Boucher was the Frenchman.

William stayed at the Khan's camp until 10 July 1254, when they began their long journey back home. After spending two weeks in late September with Batu Khan, and Christmas at Nakhchivan in present-day Azerbaijan, he and his companions reached the County of Tripoli on 15 August 1255.

BACKGROUND - A FRANCO-MONGOL ALLIANCE

After 500 years of Islamic conquest, some European leaders began to understand that Islam was not just a temporary storm in the water glass but was based on a firm ideology of migration, infiltration, conquest, exploitation, subjugation and and annihilation which all were prescribed in the Islamic scripture, mainly the Koran, the Sira, and the Hadith. They understood by now, due to the cry for help from the Eastern Roman Emperors to the Papacy in Rome, that the situation was serious. This was magnified by the just recently Islamised Turks who began to curtail access of the Christian pilgrims to the places of worship in the Holy Land. The Turks were replacing the Arab rulers (who just had been crushed by the Mongols), and showed immediately their attitude towards non-Muslims (who were realising that they would be the next victim on the Turkish-Islamic conquest spree).

Europe had seen invasion attempts of the Huns in the 4th century, of the Avars in the 6th century, and of the Mongols from the 1220s into the 1240s. With the Mongols arrived also the first Turks in the remnants of the Roman Empire in the Anatolian Peninsula [Asia Minor]. The Turks, understanding that the Mongols would not be able to stay for long, sneaked in some of their freshly conquered territorries in the Near East and built caliphates.

The Franks and Mongols shared a common enemy in the Muslims. Several attempts at a Franco-Mongol alliance against the Islamic caliphates, their common enemy, were made by various leaders among the Frankish Crusaders and the Mongol Empire in the 13th century. Such an alliance might have seemed an obvious choice: the Mongols were already sympathetic to Christianity, given the presence of many influential Nestorian Christians in the Mongol court. Between the Franks and the Mongols, the Islamic Turks could be crushed. The Franks (Western Europeans and those in the Crusader States of the Levant) were open to the idea of support from the East, in part owing to the long-running legend of the mythical Prester John, an Eastern king in an Eastern kingdom who many believed would one day come to the assistance of the Crusaders in the Holy Land. However, despite many messages, gifts, and emissaries over the course of several decades, the often-proposed alliance never came to fruition.

Contact between Europeans and Mongols began around 1220, with occasional messages from the Papacy and European monarchs to Mongol leaders such as the Great Khan, and subsequently to the Ilkhans in Mongol-conquered Persia. Communications tended to follow a recurring pattern: the Christian Church leaders of Europe arrogantly asked the Mongols to convert to Western Christianity, while the Mongols responded with demands for submission under their overlordship and tribute. The Mongols had already conquered many Christian and Muslim nations in their advance across Asia, and after destroying the Nizaris of Alamut and the Muslim Abbasid and Ayyubid dynasties, for the next few generations fought the remaining Islamic power in the region, the Egyptian Mamluks. Hethum I, king of the Christian nation of Cilician Armenia, had submitted to the Mongols in 1247, and - knowing that the Mongols would not demand to give up Christianity - strongly encouraged other monarchs to engage in a Christian–Mongol alliance, but was only able to persuade his son-in-law, Prince Bohemond VI of the Crusader state of Antioch, who submitted in 1260. Other Christian leaders such as the Crusaders of Acre were more mistrustful of the Mongols, perceiving them as the most significant threat in the region. The Barons of Acre therefore engaged in an unusual passive alliance with the Muslim Mamluks, allowing Egyptian forces to advance unopposed through Crusader territory to engage and defeat the Mongols at the pivotal Battle of Ain Jalut in 1260. With this short-sighted action, the Christians in the eastern Mediterranean lost any chance to be free from Islamic subjugation and exploitation by the Islamic Jizya tax imposed on all non-Muslims.

Due to the Turkish advance in Christian Armenia and Georgia, European attitudes began to change in the mid-1260s, from perceiving the Mongols as enemies to be feared, to potential allies against the Muslims. The Mongols sought to capitalise on this, promising a re-conquered Jerusalem to the Europeans in return for cooperation. Attempts to cement an alliance continued through negotiations with many leaders of the Mongol Ilkhanate in Persia, from its founder Hulagu through his descendants Abaqa, Arghun, Ghazan, and Öljaitü, but without success. The Mongols invaded Syria several times between 1281 and 1312, sometimes in attempts at joint operations with the Franks, but the considerable logistical difficulties involved meant that forces would arrive months apart, never able to coordinate activities in any effective way. The Mongol Empire eventually dissolved into civil war, and the Egyptian Mamluks successfully recaptured all of Palestine and Syria from the Crusaders. After the fall of Acre in 1291, the remaining Crusaders retreated to the island of Cyprus. They made a final attempt to establish a bridgehead at the small island of Ruad off the coast of Tortosa, again in an attempt to coordinate military action with the Mongols, but the plan failed, and the Muslims responded by besieging the island. With the Fall of Ruad in 1302, the Crusaders lost their last foothold in the Holy Land.

Account

On his return, William presented to King Louis IX a very clear and precise report, entitled Itinerarium fratris Willielmi de Rubruquis de ordine fratrum Minorum, Galli, Anno gratiae 1253 ad partes Orientales. William's report is divided into 40 chapters. Chapters 1–10 relate general observations about the Mongols and their customs, while chapters 11–40 give an account of the course and the events of William's voyage.

In the report, he described the peculiarities of the Mongol Empire as well as many geographical observations. There were also anthropological observations, such as his surprise at the presence of Islam in Inner Asia. William was critical of the Hellenic traditions he encountered among the Christians of the former Roman Empire, including the Nicaean celebration of a feast day for Felicitas, which he reports was known to John III Doukas Vatatzes through the alleged possession of the second half of Ovid's incomplete Book of Days.

William also answered a long-standing question in demonstrating by his passage north of the Caspian Sea that it was an inland sea and did not flow into the Arctic Ocean; although earlier Scandinavian explorers like Ingvar the Far-Travelled had extensive knowledge of the region, William was the first to answer the question in written form.

The report of William of Rubruck is one of the great masterpieces of medieval geographical literature, comparable to that of Marco Polo, although they are very different. William was a good observer and an excellent writer. He asked many questions along the way and did not take folk tales and fables as literal truth. He showed a great facility with language, noting the similarities between those he encountered and those European languages he already knew.

In May 1254, during his stay among the Mongols, William entered into a famous competition at the Mongol court, as the khan encouraged a formal theological debate between the Christians, Buddhists, and Muslims, in order to determine which faith was correct, as determined by three judges, one from each faith. A Chinese participated with William in the competition.

Roger Bacon, William's contemporary and fellow-Franciscan, cited the traveller copiously in his Opus Majus, and described him as "Brother William through whom the lord King of France sent a message to the Tartars [Mongols.] in 1253 AD . . . who traveled to regions in the east and north and attached himself to the midst of these places, and wrote of the above to the illustrious king; which book I carefully read and with his permission expounded on".[a] After Bacon, however, Rubruck's narrative seems to have dropped out of sight until Richard Hakluyt's publication now described.

Editions

The Latin text of an incomplete manuscript containing only the first 26 chapters, together with an English translation by Richard Hakluyt was published in 1599. A critical edition of the complete Latin text prepared by the French historian Francisque Michel and the English antiquarian Thomas Wright was published in 1839. An English translation by William Woodville Rockhill, The Journey of William of Rubruk to the Eastern Parts, was published by the Hakluyt Society in 1900, and an updated translation by Peter Jackson in 1990.

***List of manuscripts** (Manuscript, Date, Notes)*

A. Corpus Christi, Cambridge, MS 181, pp. 321–398; Last quarter of the 13th century; Oldest and the basis of Van den Wyngaeret's 1929 critical edition.

B. Corpus Christi, Cambridge, MS 66A, ff. 67r–110r; First third of 14th century; Contains a historiated initial at the beginning of the text and includes some chapter titles in the margins.

C. Corpus Christi, Cambridge, MS 407, ff. 37r–66r; Beginning of 15th century; Ends after Chapter 26 paragraph 8.

D. British Library, MS Royal 14 C XIII ff. 255r–236r; 15th century; Ends after Chapter 26 paragraph 8. Used by Richard Hakluyt for his 1599 translation.

E. Yale University Library, New Haven, Beinecke MS 406 ff. 93r–142v; 15th century)

THE JOURNEY OF WILLIAM OF RUBRUCK
(Willem van Rubroeck) to the Eastern Parts
of the World, 1253-1255.

RUBRUCK CHAPTER 1.
INTRODUCTION TO KING LOUIS IX

O the most excellent lord and most Christian Louis, by the grace of God illustrious King of the French, from Friar William of Rubruck, the meanest in the order of Minor Friars, greetings, and may he always triumph in Christ. It is written in Ecclesiasticus of the wise man: "He shall go through the land of foreign peoples, and shall try the good and evil in all things." This, my lord King, have I done, and may it have been as a wise man and not as a fool; for many do what the wise man doth, though not wisely, but most foolishly; of this number I fear I may be. Nevertheless in whatever way I may have done, since you commanded me when I took my leave of you that I should write you whatever I should see among the Tartars [Mongols.], and you did also admonish me not to fear writing a long letter, so I do what you enjoined on me, with fear, however, and diffidence, for the proper words that I should write to so great a monarch do not suggest themselves to me.

Be it known then to your Sacred Majesty that in the year of our Lord one thousand two hundred and fifty-three, on the Nones of May (7th May), I entered the Sea of Pontus, which is commonly called Mare Majus, or the Greater Sea, and it is one thousand four hundred miles in length, as I learnt from merchants, and is divided as it were into two parts. For about the middle of it there are two points of land, the one in the north and the other in the south. That which is in the south is called Sinopolis, and is a fortress and a port of the Soldan of Turkia [the Seljuk sultan of Rum]; while that which is in the north is a certain province now called by the Latins Gazaria [Khazaria; the modern Crimea], but by the Greeks who inhabit along its sea coast it is called Cassaria, which is Cesaria. And there are certain promontories projecting out into the sea to the south toward Sinopolis; and there are three hundred miles between Sinopolis and Cassaria, and so there are seven hundred miles from these points to Constantinople in length and breadth, and seven hundred to the east, which is Hyberia [Iberia], that is to say, the province of Georgia.

So we made sail for the province of Gazaria, or Cassaria, which is about triangular in shape, having on its west side a city called Kersona [Cherson; modern Sevestopol], where Saint Clement was martyred. And as we were sailing past it we saw an island on which is a temple said to have been built by angelic hands. In the middle, at the summit of the triangle as it were, on the south side, is a city called Soldaia, which looketh across towards Sinopolis: and thither come all the merchants arriving from northern countries, and likewise those coming from Roscia [Russia] and the northern countries who wish to pass into Turkia. The latter carry vair and minever, and other costly furs: the others (the former) carry cloths of cotton or bombax, silk stuffs and sweet-smelling spices. To the east of this province is a city called Matrica, where the river Tanais [River Don] falls into the sea of Pontus [Black Sea], through an opening twelve miles wide. For this river, before it enters the sea of Pontus, forms a kind of sea to the north which has a width and breadth of seven hundred miles, with nowhere a depth of over six paces, so large vessels do not enter it, but the merchants of Constantinople who visit the said city of Matrica send their barks as far as the River Tanais to buy dried fish, such as sturgeon, barbell and tench

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[shad (and) eel-pout], and other fishes in infinite varieties. The said province of Cassaria is therefore encompassed by the sea on three sides: to wit, on the west, where is Kersona, the city of Clement, and to the south where is the city of Soldaia, to which we were steering, and which makes the apex of the province, and to the east by the sea of Tanais [J adds: where the city of Matrica and the mouth of the Sea of Tanais are situated]. Beyond this opening is Zikuia, which does not obey the Tartars [which is not subject to the Tartars, Mongols], and to the east (of that) are the Suevi and Hiberi, who do not obey the Tartars. After that, to the south, is Trapesund [Trebizond], which hath its own lord, Guido by name, who is of the family of the emperors of Constantinople, and he obeyeth the Tartars. After that is the country of Vastacius, whose son is called Ascar after his maternal grandfather, and who is not subject (to them). From the opening (of the sea) of Tanais to the west as far as the Danube all is theirs (i.e., the Tartars'), even beyond the Danube towards Constantinople, Blakia [Wallachia], which is the land of Assan [Asên, the ruling dynasty of Bulgaria], and minor Bulgaria as far as Sclavonia, all pay them tribute; and besides the regular tribute, they have taken in the past few years from each house one axe and all the iron which they found unwrought.

We arrived then in Soldaia on the 12th of the calends of June (21st May), and there had preceded us certain merchants of Constantinople, who had said that envoys from the Holy Land were coming who wished to go to Sartach [the son of the ruler of the Mongols' western forces, Batu (died 1255/6)]. I had, however, publicly preached on Palm Sunday (12th / 13th April) in Saint Sophia that I was not an envoy, neither yours nor anyone's, but that I was going among these unbelievers according to the rule of our order. So when I arrived these said merchants cautioned me to speak guardedly, for they had said that I was an envoy, and if I said I was not an envoy I would not be allowed to pass [if I denied I was an envoy I should not be provided with safe-conduct]. So I spoke in the following way to the captains ["prefects" (Lat. capitaneos)] of the city, or rather to the substitutes of the captains, for the captains had gone to Baatu during the winter bearing the tribute, and had not yet returned : " We have heard say in the Holy Land that your Lord Sartach is a Christian, and greatly were the Christians rejoiced thereat, and chiefly so the most Christian lord the King of the French, who has come thither on a pilgrimage and is fighting against the Saracens [Muslims] to wrench the holy places from out their hands: it is for this I wish to go to Sartach, and carry to him the letters of the lord king, in which he admonisheth him of the weal of all Christendom." And they received us right favorably, and gave us lodgings in the episcopal church. And the bishop of this church had been to Sartach, and he told me much good of Sartach, which I later on did not discover myself.

Then they gave us the choice whether we would have carts with oxen to carry our effects, or sumpter horses. And the merchants of Constantinople advised me to take carts, and that I should buy the regular covered carts such as the Ruthenians [Russians] carry their furs in, and in these I could put such of our things as I would not wish to unload every day; should I take horses it would be necessary to unload them at each stopping-place and to load other horses; and furthermore I should be able to ride more slowly following the gait of the oxen. Then I accepted their advice, unfortunately, however, for I was two months on the way to Sartach, which I might have traveled in one had I gone with horses.

I had brought with me from Constantinople, on the advice of merchants, fruits, muscadel wine and dainty biscuits to present to the first captains (of the Tartars), so that my way might be made easier, for among them no one is looked upon in a proper way who comes with empty hands. All these things I put in one of the carts, since I had not found the captains of the city, and I was told they would be most acceptable to Sartach if I could carry them to him that far. We set out on our journey about the calends of June (1st June [1253]) with our four covered carts and two others which were lent us by them and in which was carried bedding to sleep on at night. And they gave us also five horses to ride, for us five persons, myself, and my companion Friar Bartholomew of Cremona, and Gosset the bearer of the presents [the bearer of this letter.] (Near the end of the narrative we learn that Rubruck was detained in Acre in Palastine and sent the narrative to King Loius via Gosset), and the boy Nicholas whom I had bought at Constantinople by means of your charity. They gave us also two men who drove the carts and looked after the oxen and horses.

Now from Kersona all the way to the mouth of the Tanais there are high promontories along the sea, and there are forty hamlets between Kersona and Soldaia, nearly every one of which has its own language; among them were many Goths, whose language is Teutonic.

Beyond these mountains to the north is a most beautiful forest, in a plain full of springs and rivulets, and beyond this forest is a mighty plain which stretches out for five days to the border of this province to the north, where it contracts, having the sea to the east and the west, so that there is a great ditch from one sea to the other. In this plain used to live Comans before the Tartars came, and they forced the cities referred to and the forts to pay them tribute; but when the Tartars came such a multitude of Comans entered this province, all of whom fled to the shore of the sea, that they ate one another, the living the dying, as was told me by a certain merchant who saw it, the living devouring and tearing with their teeth the raw flesh of the dead, as dogs do corpses. Toward the end of this province are many and large lakes, on whose shores are brine springs, the water of which as soon as it enters the lake is turned into salt as hard as ice. And from these brine springs Baatu and Sartach derive great revenues, for from all Ruscia they come thither for salt, and for each cartload they give two pieces of cotton worth half an yperpera. There come there also by sea many ships for salt, and all contribute according to the quantity (they take).

After having left Soldaia we came on the third day across the Tartars, and when I found myself among them it seemed to me of a truth that I had been transported into another century. I will describe to you as well as I can their mode of living and manners.

RUBRUCK CHAPTER 2.

YURTS AND THEIR FURNISHINGS

Nowhere have they fixed dwelling-places, nor do they know where their next will be [Nowhere have they any 'lasting city'; and of 'the one to come' they have no knowledge (cf. Heb. 13:14)]. They have divided among themselves Cithia [Scythia], which extendeth from the Danube to the rising of the sun ; and every captain, according as he hath more or less men under him, knows the limits of his pasture land and where to graze in winter and summer, spring and autumn. For in winter they go down to warmer regions in the south: in summer they go up to cooler towards the north. The pasture lands without water they graze over in winter when there is snow there, for the snow serveth them as water. They set up the dwelling in which they sleep on a circular frame of interlaced sticks converging into a little round hoop on the top, from which projects above a collar as a chimney, and this (framework) they cover over with white felt. Frequently they coat the felt with chalk, or white clay, or powdered bone, to make it appear whiter, and sometimes also (they make the felt) black. The felt around this collar on top they decorate with various pretty designs. Before the entry they also suspend felt ornamented with various embroidered designs in color [they hang up in front of the entrance felt patchwork in various patterns] . For they embroider the felt, colored or otherwise, making vines and trees, birds and beasts.

And they make these houses so large that they are sometimes thirty feet in width. I myself once measured the width between the wheel-tracks of a cart twenty feet, and when the house was on the cart it projected beyond the wheels on either side five feet at least. I have myself counted to one cart twenty-two oxen drawing one house, eleven abreast across the width of the cart, and the other eleven before them. The axle of the cart was as large as the mast of a ship, and one man stood in the entry of the house on the cart driving the oxen.

Furthermore they weave light twigs into squares of the size of a large chest, and over it from one end to the other they put a turtle-back [carapace] also of twigs, and in the front end they make a little doorway; and then they cover this coffer or little house with black felt coated with tallow or ewe's milk, so that the rain cannot penetrate it, and they decorate it likewise with embroidery work. And in such coffers they put all their bedding and valuables, and they tie them tightly on high carts drawn by camels, so that they can cross rivers (without getting wet). Such coffers they never take off the cart.

When they set down their dwelling-houses, they always turn the door to the south' and after that they place the carts with coffers on either side near the house at a half stone's throw, so that the dwelling stands between two rows of carts as between two walls. The matrons make for themselves most beautiful (luggage) carts, which I would not know how to describe to you unless by a drawing, and I would depict them all to you if I knew how to paint. A single rich Mo'al or Tartar has quite one hundred or two hundred such carts with coffers. Baatu has twenty-six wives, each of whom has a large dwelling, exclusive of the other little ones which they set up after the big one, and which are like closets, in which the sewing girls live, and to each of these (large) dwellings are attached quite two hundred carts. And when they set up their houses, the first wife places her dwelling on the extreme west side, and after her the others according to their rank, so that the last wife will be in the extreme east ; and there will be the distance of a stone's throw between the iurt of one wife and that of another. The ordu of a rich Mo'al seems like a large town, though there will be very few men in it. One girl will lead twenty or thirty carts, for the country is flat, and they tie the ox or camel carts the one after the other, and a girl will sit on the front one driving the ox, and all the others follow after with the same gait. Should it happen that they come to some bad piece of road, they untie them, and take them across one by one. So they go along slowly, as a sheep or an ox might walk.

When they have fixed their dwelling, the door turned to the south, they set up the couch of the master on the north side. The side for the women is always the east side, that is to say, on the left of the house of the master, he sitting on his couch his face turned to the south. The side for the men is the west side, that is, on the right. Men coming into the house would never hang up their bows on the side of the woman.

RUBRUCK CHAPTER 3.

THE MONGOLS' SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS; CELEBRATIONS

And over the head of the master is always an image of felt, like a doll or statuette, which they call the brother of the master: another similar one is above the head of the mistress, which they call the brother of the mistress, and they are attached to the wall: and higher up between the two of them is a little lank one (macilenta), who is, as it were, the guardian of the whole dwelling. The mistress places in her house on her right side, in a conspicuous place at the foot of her couch, a goat-skin full of wool or other stuff, and beside it a very little statuette looking in the direction of attendants and women. Beside the entry on the woman's side is yet another image, with a cow's tit for the women, who milk the cows: for it is part of the duty of the women to milk the cows. On the other side of the entry, toward the men, is another statue with a mare's tit for the men who milk the mares.

And when they have come together to drink, they first sprinkle with liquor this image which is over the master's head, then the other images in order. Then an attendant goes out of the dwelling with a cup and liquor, and sprinkles three times to the south, each time bending the knee, and that to do reverence to the fire; then to the east, and that to do reverence to the air; then to the west to do reverence to the water; to the north they sprinkle for the dead. When the master takes the cup in hand and is about to drink, he first pours a portion on the ground. If he were to drink seated on a horse, he first before he drinks pours a little on the neck or the mane of the horse. Then when the attendant has sprinkled toward the four quarters of the world he goes back into the house, where two attendants are ready, with two cups and platters to carry drink to the master and the wife seated near him upon the couch. And when he hath several wives [as he has more than one wife], she with whom he hath slept that night sits beside him in the day, and it becometh all the others to come to her dwelling that day to drink, and court is held there that day, and the gifts which are brought that day are placed in the treasury of that lady. A bench with a skin of milk, or some other drink, and with cups, stands in the entry.

In winter they make a capital drink of rice, of millet, and of honey, ; it is clear as wine : and wine is carried to them from remote parts. In summer they care only for kumiss. There is always kumiss near the house, before the entry door, and beside it stands a guitar-player with his guitar. Lutes and vielles [i.e. guitars] such as we have I did not see there, but many other instruments which are unknown among us. And when the master begins to drink, then one of the attendants cries with a loud voice, "Ha!" and the guitarist strikes his guitar, and when they have a great feast they all clap their hands, and also dance about to the sound of the guitar, the men before the master, the women before the mistress. And when the master has drunken, then the attendant cries as before, and the guitarist stops. Then they drink all around, and sometimes they do drink right shamefully and gluttonly [Then they all drink in turn, men and women alike, and at times compete with one another in quaffing in a thoroughly distasteful and greedy fashion]. And when they want to challenge anyone to drink, they take hold of him by the ears, and pull so as to distend his throat, and they clan and dance before him. Likewise, when they want to make a great feasting and jollity with someone, one takes a full cup, and two others are on his right and left, and thus these three come singing and dancing towards him who is to take the cup, and they sing and dance before him ; and when he holds out his hand to take the cup, they quickly draw it back, and then again they come back as before, and so they elude him three or four times by drawing away the cup, till he hath become well excited and is in good appetite [has a good thirst], and then they give him the cup, and while he drinks they sing and clap their hands and strike with their feet [. . . they give him the goblet, singing and clapping and stamping their feet until he is drunk].

RUBRUCK CHAPTER 4.

MORE ON FOOD

Of their food and victuals you must know that they eat all their dead animals without distinction, and with such flocks and herds it cannot be but that many animals die. Nevertheless, in summer, so long as lasts their kumiss, that is to say mare's milk, they care not for any other food. So then if it happens that an ox or a horse dies, they dry its flesh by cutting it into narrow strips and hanging it in the sun and the wind, where at once and without salt it becomes dry without any evidence of smell. With the intestines of horses they make sausages better than pork ones, and they eat them fresh. The

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rest of the flesh they keep for winter. With the hides of oxen they make big jars [bags], which they dry in admirable fashion in the smoke. With the hind part of the hide of horses they make most beautiful shoes. With the flesh of a single sheep they give to eat to fifty men or a hundred; for they cut it up very fine in a platter with salt and water, for they make no other sauce; and then with the point of a knife or a fork which they make for the purpose, like that which we used to eat coddled pears or apples, they give to each of the bystanders a mouthful or two according to the number of the guests. Prior to this, before the flesh of the sheep is served, the master takes what pleases him; and furthermore if he gives to anyone a special piece, it is the custom, that he who receives it shall eat it himself, and he may not give it to another; but if he cannot eat it all he carries it off with him, or gives it to his servant if he be present, who keeps it; otherwise he puts it away in his captargac, which is a square bag which they carry to put such things in, in which they store away bones when they have not time to gnaw them well, so that they can gnaw them later and that nothing of the food be lost.

RUBRUCK CHAPTER 5.

KUMISS (FERMENTED MARE'S MILK, CALLED "COSMOS" BY RUBRUCK).

This kumiss, which is mare's milk, is made in this wise. They stretch a long rope on the ground fixed to two stakes stuck in the ground, and to this rope they tie toward the third hour the colts of the mares they want to milk. Then the mothers stand near their foal, and allow themselves to be quietly milked; and if one be too wild, then a man takes the colt and brings it to her, allowing it to suck a little; then he takes it away and the milker takes its place. When they have got together a great quantity of milk, which is as sweet as cow's as long as it is fresh, they pour it into a big skin or bottle, and they set to churning it with a stick prepared for that purpose, and which is as big as a man's head at its lower extremity and hollowed out; and when they have beaten it sharply it begins to boil up like new wine and to sour or ferment, and they continue to churn it until they have extracted the butter. Then they taste it, and when it is mildly pungent, they drink it. It is pungent on the tongue like râpé wine [i.e., a wine of inferior quality] when drunk, and when a man has finished drinking, it leaves a taste of milk of almonds on the tongue, and it makes the inner man most joyful and also intoxicates weak heads, and greatly provokes urine. They also make cara kumiss that is "black kumiss," for the use of the great lords. It is for the following reason that mare's milk curdles not. It is a fact that (the milk) of no animal will curdle in the stomach of whose fetus is not found curdled milk. In the stomach of mares' colts it is not found, so the milk of mares curdles not. They churn then the milk until all the thicker parts go straight to the bottom, like the dregs of wine, and the pure part remains on top, and it is like whey or white must. The dregs are very white, and they are given to the slaves, and they provoke much to sleep. This clear (liquor) the lords drink, and it is assuredly a most agreeable drink and most efficacious. Baatu has thirty men around his camp at a day's distance, each of whom sends him every day such milk of a hundred mares, that is to say every day the milk of three thousand mares, exclusive of the other white milk which they carry to others. As in Syria the peasants give a third of their produce, so it is these (Tartars) must bring to the ordu of their lords the milk of every third day. As to cow's milk they first extract the butter, then they boil it down perfectly dry, after which they put it away in sheep paunches which they keep for that purpose; and they put no salt in the butter, for on account of the great boiling down it spoils not. And they keep this for the winter. What remains of the milk after the butter they let sour as much as can be, and they boil it, and it curdles in boiling, and the curd they dry in the sun, and it becomes as hard as iron slag, and they put it away in bags for the winter. In winter time, when milk fails them, they put this sour curd, which they call gruit, in a skin and pour water on it, and churn it vigorously till it dissolves in the water, which is made sour by it, and this water they drink instead of milk. They are most careful not to drink pure water.

RUBRUCK CHAPTER 6.

ANIMALS IN THE MONGOLS' DIET

The great lords have villages in the south, from which millet and flour are brought to them for the winter. The poor procure (these things) by trading sheep and pelts. The slaves fill their bellies with dirty water, and with this they are content. They catch also rats, of which many kinds abound here. Rats with long tails they eat not, but give them to their birds. They eat mice and all kinds of rats which have short tails. There are also many marmots, which are called sogur, and which congregate in one hole in winter, twenty or thirty together, and sleep for six months; these they catch in great numbers. There are also conies, with a long tail like a cat's, and on the end of the tail they have black and white hairs. They have also many other kinds of small animals good to eat, which they know very well how to distinguish. I saw no deer there. I saw few hares, many gazelles. Wild asses I saw in great numbers, and these are like mules. I saw also another kind of animal which is called arcali[a wild sheep], which has quite the body of a sheep, and horns bent like a ram's, but of such size that I could hardly lift the two horns with one hand, and they make of these horns big cups. They have hawks and peregrine falcons in great numbers, which they all carry on their right hand. And they always put a little thong around the hawk's neck, which hangs down to the middle of its breast, by which, when they cast it at its prey, they pull down with the left hand the head and breast of the hawk, so that it be not struck by the wind and carried upward. So it is that they procure a large part of their food by the chase. When they want to chase wild animals, they gather together in a great multitude and surround the district in which they know the game to be, and gradually they come closer to each other till they have shut up the game in among them as in an enclosure, and then they shoot them with their arrows.

RUBRUCK CHAPTER 7.

CLOTHING

Of their clothing and customs [clothing and appearance] you must know, that from Cataia [China], and other regions of the east, and also from Persia and other regions of the south, are brought to them silken and golden stuffs and cloth of cotton, which they wear in summer. From Ruscia, Moxel, and from Greater Bulgaria [a region in the middle Volga, not to be confused with minor Bulgaria mentioned above] and Pascatir [a region between the upperl Volga and Ural R.], which is greater Hungary, and Kerkis [Kerghiz], all of which are countries to the north and full of forests, and which obey them, are brought to them costly furs of many kinds, which I never saw in our parts, and which they wear in winter. And they always make in winter at least two fur gowns, one with the fur against the body, the other with the fur outside exposed to the wind and snow; these latter are usually of the skins of wolves or foxes or papions [lynx]; and while they sit in the dwelling they have another lighter one. The poor make their outside (gowns) of dog and kid (skins).

They make also breeches with furs. The rich furthermore wad their clothing with silk stuffing, which is extraordinarily soft, light and warm. The poor line their clothes with cotton cloth, or with the fine wool which they are able to pick out of the coarser. With this coarser they make felt to cover their houses and coffers, and also for bedding. With wool and a third of horse hair mixed with it they make their ropes. They also make with felt covers [both] saddle-cloths and rain cloaks; so they use a great deal of wool. You have seen the costume of the men.

The men shave a square on the tops of their heads, and from the front corners (of this square) they continue the shaving to the temples, passing along both sides of the head. They shave also the temples and the back of the neck to the top of the cervical cavity, and the forehead as far as the crown of the head, on which they leave a tuft of hair which falls down to the eyebrows. They leave the hair on the sides of the head, and with it they make tresses which they plait together to the ears.

And the dress of the girls differs not from the costume of the men, except that it is somewhat longer. But on the day following her marriage, (a woman) shaves the front half of her head, and puts on a tunic as wide as a nun's gown, but everyway larger and longer, open before, and tied on the right side. For in this the Tartars differ from the Turks; the Turks tie their gowns on the left, the Tartars always on the right. Furthermore they have a head-dress, which they call bocca, made of bark, or such other light material as they can find, and it is big and as much as two hands can span around, and is a cubit and more high, and square like the capital of a column. This bocca they cover with costly silk stuff, and it is hollow inside, and on top of the capital, or the square on it, they put a tuft of quills or light canes also a cubit or more in length. And this tuft they ornament at the top with peacock feathers, and round the edge (of the top) with feathers from the mallard's tail, and also with precious stones. The wealthy ladies wear such an ornament on their heads, and fasten it down tightly with an amess [a fur hood], for which there is an opening in the top for that purpose, and inside they stuff their hair, gathering it together on the back of the tops of their heads in a kind of knot, and putting it in the bocca, which they afterwards tie down tightly under the chin. So it is that when several ladies are riding together, and one sees them from afar, they look like soldiers, helmets on head and lances erect. For this bocca looks like a helmet, and the tuft above it is like a lance. And all the women sit their horses astraddle like men. And they tie their gowns with a piece of blue silk stuff at the waist and they wrap another band at the breasts, and tie a piece of white stuff below the eyes which hangs down to the breast. And the women there are wonderfully [astonishingly] fat, and she who has the least nose is held the most beautiful. They disfigure themselves horribly by painting their faces. They never lie down in bed when having their children.

It is the duty of the women to drive the carts, get the dwellings on and off them, milk the cows, make butter and gruit, and to dress and sew skins, which they do with a thread made of tendons. They divide the tendons into fine shreds, and then twist them into one long thread. They also sew the boots, the socks and the clothing. They never wash clothes, for they say that God would be angered thereat, and that it would thunder if they hung them up to dry. They will even beat those they find washing them [they thrash anyone doing laundry and confiscate it]. Thunder they fear extraordinarily; and when it thunders they will turn out of their dwellings all strangers, wrap themselves in black felt, and thus hide themselves till it has passed away. Furthermore, they never wash their bowls, but when the meat is cooked they rinse out the dish in which they are about to put it with some of the boiling broth from the kettle, which they pour back into it. They also make the felt and cover the houses.

The men make bows and arrows, manufacture stirrups and bits, make saddles, do the carpentering on (the framework of) their dwellings and the carts; they take care of the horses, milk the mares, churn the kumiss or mare's milk, make the skins in which it is put; they also look after the camels and load them. Both sexes look after the sheep and goats, sometimes the men, other times the women, milking them.

They dress skins with a thick mixture of sour ewe's milk and salt. When they want to wash their hands or head, they fill their mouths with water, which they let trickle on to their hands, and in this way they also wet their hair and wash their heads.

As to their marriages, you must know that no one among them has a wife unless he buys her; so it sometimes happens that girls are well past marriageable age [are very mature] before they marry, for their parents always keep them until they sell them. They observe the first and second degrees of consanguinity, but no degree of affinity; thus (one person) will have at the same time or successively two sisters. Among them no widow marries, for the following reason: they believe that all who serve them in this life shall serve them in the next, so as regards a widow they believe that she will always return to her first husband after death. Hence this shameful custom prevails among them, that sometimes a son takes to wife all his father's wives, except his own mother; for the ordu of the father and mother always belongs to the youngest son, so it is he who must provide for all his father's wives who come to him with the paternal household, and if he wishes it he uses them as wives, for he esteems not himself injured if they return to his father after death. When then anyone has made a bargain with another to take his daughter, the father of the girl gives a feast, and the girl flees to her relatives and hides there. Then the father says: "Here, my daughter is yours: take her wheresoever you find her." Then he searches for her with his friends till he finds her, and he must take her by force and carry her off with a semblance of violence to his house.

As to their justice you must know that when two men fight together no one dares interfere, even a father dare not aid a son ; but he who has the worse of it may appeal to the court of the lord, and if anyone touches him after the appeal, he is put to death. But action must be taken at once without any delay, and the injured one must lead him (who has offended) as a captive. They inflict capital punishment on no one unless he be taken in the act or confesses. When one is accused by a number of persons, they torture him so that he confesses. They punish homicide with capital punishment, and also co-habiting with a woman not one's own. By not one's own, [I] mean not his wife or bondwoman, for with one's slaves one may do as one pleases. They also punish with death grand larceny, but as for petty thefts, such as that of a sheep, so long as one has not repeatedly been taken in the act, they beat him cruelly, and if they administer a hundred blows they must use a hundred sticks: I speak of the case of those beaten under order of authority [those who have been sentenced to a beating by the court]. In like manner false envoys, that is to say persons who pass themselves off as ambassadors but who are not, are put to death. Likewise sorcerers, of whom I shall however tell you more, for such they consider to be witches.

RUBRUCK CHAPTER 8.

FUNERAL PRACTICES

When anyone dies, they lament with loud wailing, then they are free, for they pay no taxes for the year. And if anyone is present at the death of an adult, he may not enter the dwelling even of Möngke Khan for the year. If it be a child who dies, he may not enter it for a month. Beside the tomb of the dead they always leave a tent if he be one of the nobles, that is of the family of Chingis, who was their first father and lord. Of him who is dead the burying place is not known. And always around these places where they bury their nobles there is a camp with men watching the tombs. I did not understand that they bury treasure with their dead. The Comans raise a great tumulus over the dead, and set up a statue to him, its face to the east, and holding a cup in its hand at the height of the navel. They make also pyramids to the rich, that is to say, little pointed structures, and in some places I saw great tiled covered towers, and in others stone houses, though there were no stones thereabout. Over a person recently dead I saw hung on long poles the skins of sixteen horses, four facing each quarter of the world; and they had placed also kumiss for him

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to drink, and meat for him to eat, and for all that they said of him that he had been baptized. Farther east I saw other tombs in shape like great yards covered with big flat stones, some round, some square, and four high vertical stones at the corners facing the four quarters of the world. When anyone sickens he lies on his couch, and places a sign over his dwelling that there is a sick person therein, and that no one shall enter. So no one visits a sick person, save him who serves him. And when anyone from the great ordu [someone from one of the great house holds] is ill, they place guards all round the ordu, who permit no one to pass those bounds. For they fear lest an evil spirit or some wind should come with those who enter. They call, however, their priests, who are these same soothsayers.

RUBRUCK CHAPTER 9.

RUBRUCK RESUMES HIS TRAVEL NARRATIVE

When therefore we found ourselves among these barbarians, it seemed to me, as I said before, that I had been transported into another world. They surrounded us on their horses, after having made us wait for a long while seated in the shade under our carts. The first question was whether we had ever been among them before. Having answered that we had not, they began to beg most impudently for some of our provisions. We gave them some of the biscuit and wine that we had brought with us from the city, and when they had drunk one flagon they asked for another, saying that a man enters not a house with one foot only; but we gave it not, excusing ourselves on the score of the smallness of our stock. Then they asked whence we came and where we wanted to go. I told them what I have already said: that we had heard that Sartach was a Christian, and that I wanted to go to him, for I had your letters to deliver to him [*The Rockhill edition consistently renders the plural while Jackson renders singular. I have changed the number to singular throughout the remainder of the narrative]. They made most diligent inquiry whether I was going of my own free will, or whether I was sent. I answered that no one forced me to go, nor would I go if I did not want to, so I was going of my own free will, and also of the will of my superior. I was most careful never to say that I was your ambassador. Then they asked me what was in the carts, whether it was gold or silver or costly clothing that I was taking to Sartach. I answered that Sartach would see for himself what we were bringing to him when we reached him, but that it was none of their business to ask: they should have me shown to their captain, and that he, if it so pleased him, should have me taken to Sartach, otherwise I would go back.

Now there was in that province a relative of Baatu, a captain by the name of Scatay [Scacatai], to whom the lord emperor of Constantinople was sending (by me) letters that I be allowed to pass. So they agreed (to do as I asked), supplying us with horses and oxen, and two men to guide us ; and those who had brought us went back. Before, however, giving us all this, they kept us waiting for along time, begging of our bread for their little ones, admiring everything they saw on our servants, knives, gloves, purses and belts, and wanting everything. I excused myself [I refused] on the plea that we had a long journey before us, and that we could not at the start deprive ourselves of necessary things. Then they called me an impostor. It is true that they took nothing by force; but they beg in the most importunate and impudent way for whatever they see, and if a person gives to them, it is so much lost, for they are ungrateful. They consider themselves the masters of the world, and it seems to them that there is nothing that anyone has the right to refuse them: if he refuses to give, and after that has need of their service, they serve him badly. They gave us to drink of their cow's milk, from which the butter had been taken ; it was very sour, and is what they call aira. And thus we left them, and it seemed to me that we had escaped from the midst of devils [clutches of demons]. On the next day we came to their captain.

For two months, from the time we left Soldaia to when we came to Sartach, we never slept in a house or tent, but always in the open air or under our carts; and we never saw a city, but only Comans' tombs in very great numbers.

That evening the man who was guiding us gave us kumiss to drink, and at the taste of it I broke out in a sweat with horror and surprise, for I had never drunk of it. It seemed to me, however, very palatable, as it really is.

In the morning then we came across the carts of Scatay carrying the dwellings, and it seemed to me that a city was coming towards me. I was also astonished at the size of the herds of oxen and horses and flocks of sheep, though I saw but few men to manage them. So I asked how many men (Scatay) had under him, and I was told that there were not over five hundred, of whom we had passed half at another camp. Then the man who guided us began telling me that I must give something to Scatay [that he ought to give something to Scatay], and he made us stop while he went ahead to announce our coming. It was already past the third hour, so they set down their dwellings near some water, and (Scatay's) interpreter came to us, and as soon as he learnt that we had never been among them before he begged of our provisions, and we gave him some. He wanted also a gown, for he was to act as translator of our words in the presence of his master. We excused ourselves. He asked what we were bringing to his master, so we got a flagon of wine and filled a small basket with biscuits and a plate with apples and other fruit, but he was not pleased because we were not taking some costly tissue [cloth]. However we went with this in fear and trembling. (Scatay) was seated on his couch, with a little guitar in his hand, and his wife was beside him; and in truth it seemed to me that her whole nose had been cut off, for she was so snub-nosed that she seemed to have no nose at all; and she had greased this part of her face with some black unguent, and also her eyebrows, so that she appeared most hideous to us. Then I spoke to him in the terms previously used, for it was essential that we should everywhere say the same thing; out this we had been well cautioned by those who had been among them, never to change what we said. Then I begged him to be pleased to accept these trifles of us, excusing myself, being a monk and not allowed by my Order [i.e. the Franciscans] to own gold or silver or costly robes: so I had nothing of the sort to give him, only of our food to offer him for a blessing. Then he had the things accepted, and once distributed among his men who had gathered there to drink. I also gave him the letter from the emperor of Constantinople. This was on the octave of Ascension (5th June [1253]). He at once sent them to Soldaia, to be translated there, for they were in Greek, and had no one with him who knew the Greek language. He asked us if we would drink kumiss, or mare's milk; for the Christians, Ruthenians, Greeks and Alans who live among them, and who wish to follow strictly their religion, drink it not ; for of a truth they consider themselves to be no longer Christians if they drink it, and the priests have to bring them back into the fold as if they had denied the faith of Christ. Then I made answer that we had had enough of our own to drink so far, but that if that liquor should give out, we should have to drink what he gave us. He asked about the contents of the letter we were sending [the letter you were sending] to Sartach. I told him that the sealed ones were our bulls [I said that your letter was sealed] but that there was naught in them but good and friendly words. He then asked what we would say to Sartach. I answered: "Words of the Christian faith." He asked which, for he would be pleased to hear them ['What are they?' he inquired, since he was eager to hear them]. Then I expounded to him as well as I could through my interpreter, who was neither over intelligent nor fluent, the symbol [creed] of the faith. When he had heard it, he remained silent, but wagged his head. Then, having made choice of two men to watch over us, and over the horses and oxen, he made us drive about with him until the return of the messenger whom he had sent to have the letter of the emperor translated, and we went about with him until the day after Pentecost (8th June [9th June]).

On Pentecost eve (6th June [7th June]) there came to us certain Alans, who are there called Aas, and they are Christians according to the Greek rite, and use the Greek writing and have Greek priests. They are not however schismatics like the Greeks, for without any respect to persons they honor all Christians. And they brought us cooked meats, begging us to eat of their food, and to pray for one of theirs who had died. Then I told them that it was the eve of a great festival, and that on that day we did not eat meat, and I told them of the festival, at which they were much pleased, for they were in ignorance of what concerned the Christian rite, the name of Christ alone excepted. And they and many other Christians, Ruthenians and Hungarians asked whether they could be saved, for they had to drink kumiss and eat carrion and beasts slaughtered by Saracens [Muslims.] and infidels, which those Greek and Ruthenian priests consider about the same as carrion, or sacrifices to idols; and because they did not know the facts, neither could they keep them if they did know. Then I explained to them as well as I could, teaching them and comforting [strengthening] them in the faith. The meat which they had brought we kept for the feast day, for we could find nothing to buy with gold and silver, but only with linen or other tissues, and of those we had none. When our servants showed the yperpera [a Byzantine gold coin], they rubbed them with their fingers, and put them to their noses to smell if they were copper. Neither did they (i.e., the Mongols) give us food, but only cow's milk, very sour and bad-smelling. Our wine was about exhausted [Our wine had by now run out], and the water was so muddy from the horses that it was not drinkable; had it not been for the biscuits we had, and God's mercy, we should probably have perished.

On the day of Pentecost (7th June [8th June]) a certain Saracen [Muslim.] came to us, and while in conversation with us, we began expounding the faith, and when he heard of the blessings of God to man in the incarnation, the resurrection of the dead and the last judgment, the washing away of sins in baptism, he said he wished to be baptized; but while we were making ready to baptize him he suddenly jumped on his horse saying he had to go home to consult with his wife. And the next day talking with us he said he could not possibly venture to receive baptism, for then he could not drink kumiss. For the Christians of these parts say that no true Christian should drink, but that without this drink it were impossible to live in these deserts. From this opinion I could not possibly turn him. So you will see how far they are astray from the true faith through this opinion, which has been implanted among them by the Ruthenians, of whom there are great numbers there.

On this same day this captain (Scatay) gave us a man to guide us to Sartach, and two to take us to a camp which was five days off, as oxen travel. And they gave us also a goat for food, and several skins of cows, milk, but only a little kumiss, for it is held very precious among them. And so we set out due north, and it seemed to me that we had passed through one of the gates of hell. The men who conducted us began robbing us in the most audacious manner, for they saw that we took but little care. Finally, after losing a number of things, vexation made us wise.

We came finally to the end of this province (of Gazaria), which is closed by a ditch (running) from one sea to the other, and outside of it was the camp of these (Mongols); and when we came among them they were such horrible looking creatures that they seemed like lepers. They were stationed there to collect the tax from those who get sail from the salt lakes [salt springs] of which I have already spoken. From this point we should have to travel fifteen days, they said without seeing anyone. We drank kumiss with them, and gave them a basket full of biscuits; and they gave the eight of us a goat for the whole long journey, and I know not how many skins of cow's milk. So having changed horses and oxen we set out, and in ten days covered the distance to the next camp; and along whole route we only found water in holes made in hollows with the exception of two small streams. And we were traveling due east from the time we left this province of Gazaria, having the sea to the south and a vast wilderness to the north, which extends in places over thirty days in breadth; and in it is neither forest, nor hill, nor stone, but only the finest pasturage. Here the Comans, who are called Capchat, used to pasture their flocks; the Teutons, however, call them Valans, and the province Valania. It is stated however by Isidorus [Isidore (died c. 636 AD): bishop of Seville who's varied works included histories of the Goths, Vandals and Sueves] that Alania extends from the river Tanais to the Palus Maeotis and the Danube; and this country which extends from the Danube to the Tanais (which is the boundary between Asia and Europe), and which it takes two months hard riding, as ride the Tartars, to cross, was all inhabited by the Capchat Comans, as was also that beyond the Tanais [River Don] to the Etilia [River Volga], between which two rivers are ten good days. To the north of province lies Ruscia, which is everywhere covered with forests, and extends from Poland and Hungary to the Tanais, and it was all ravaged by the Tartars, and is still being ravaged every day. For the Tartars prefer the Saracens [Muslims.] to the Ruthenians, who are Christians, and when the latter can give no more gold or silver they drive them off to the wilds, them and their little ones, like flocks of sheep, there to herd their cattle. Beyond Ruscia to the north is Pruscia, which has all been recently conquered by the Teutonic knights; and of a truth they might readily acquire Ruscia, if they would put their hand to it, for should the Tartars hear that the great priest, that is the Pope, was about to make a crusade against them, they would all flee to their deserts.

We traveled eastward, seeing nothing but the sky and the earth, only now and then to our right the sea which is called Sea of Tanais, and tombs of Comans visible two leagues off, on account of the custom of burying the whole of a family in one spot. As long as we were in the desert; it fared well with us, but such misery as I had to suffer when we came to inhabited places, words fail me to express. For our guide wanted me to meet every captain with a present, but our supplies sufficed not for that, for daily we were eight persons eating our bread, without counting those who came by hazard, who all wanted to eat with us. There were five of us, and the three who were conducting us, two driving the carts and one going with us to Sartach. The meat they had given us was insufficient, and we could find nothing to buy with money. To add to this, when we were seated in the shade under our carts, for the heat was intense at that season, they pushed in most importunately among us, to the point of crushing us, in their eagerness to see all our things. If they were seized with a desire to void their stomachs, they did not go away from us farther than one can throw a bean: they did their filthiness right beside us while talking together, and much more they did which was vexatious beyond measure. Above all this, however, I was distressed because I could do no preaching to them; the interpreter would say to me: "You cannot make me preach, I do not know the proper words to use." And he spoke the truth; for after awhile, when I had learned something of the language, I saw that when I said one thing, he said a totally different one, according to what came uppermost in his mind. So, seeing the danger of speaking through him, I made up my mind to keep silence.

We traveled along then in great distress from stage to stage [camp to camp] till a few days before the feast of blessed Mary Magdalen (22nd June) we came to the great river Tanais, which separates Asia from Europe, just as the river of Egypt divides Asia from Africa. At the place where we came to it

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Baatu and Sartach had established a village of Ruthenians on the east bank, who ferried envoys and merchants across on small boats. They first passed us across, then the carts; putting one wheel in one boat and the other in another and tying the boats together they rowed them across. At this place our guide did a most foolish thing; thinking that the people had to supply us with horses, he sent back to their owners from the near bank the animals which had brought us; but when we asked for animals they replied that they were exempted by Baatu from any other service than ferrying across those who came and went. From merchants even they collect much money. So we remained there on the river bank for three days. The first day they gave us a big barbell [eel-pout] just out of the water, the second day some rye bread and a little meat which the headman of the village collected from the different houses; the third day we got dried fish, of which they have great quantities here. That river at this point was as broad as the Seine at Paris. And before we came there, we passed many fine sheets of water full of fish, but the Tartars do not know how to catch them, nor do they care for fish unless they can eat it as they would mutton. This river is the eastern boundary of Ruscia, and takes its rise in the Moeotide fens, which extend to the ocean in the north. The river, however, flows southward, forming a big sea of seven hundred miles before it reaches the Sea of Pontus, and all the streams we passed flow also in that direction. This same river has a forest on its west bank. Beyond this point the Tartars go no farther north, for at that season, about the beginning of August, they commence going back southward ; so there is another village lower down (the river), where envoys pass over in winter. We found ourselves here in great straits, for we could procure neither horses nor oxen for money. Finally when I had proved to them that we were working for the common good of all Christendom, they obliged us with oxen and horses; but we ourselves had to go on foot.

It was the season when they were cutting the rye. Wheat thrives not there; but they have great abundance of millet.. The Ruthenian women arrange their heads as among us, but their outside gowns they trim from the feet to the knee with vaire or minever. The men wear capes like the Germans; on their heads they wear felt caps, pointed and very high.

We trudged along for three days without seeing anyone, and just as we and the oxen were well worn out, and unable to find any Tartars [we had no idea in what direction we might meet up with the Tartars], two horses came running towards us; we took them with great delight, and our guide and the interpreter got on them, in the hope of being able to find some people. Finally on the fourth day we found some people, and we were as happy as shipwrecked mariners on reaching port. Then we got horses and oxen and went along from stage to stage till we reached the camp of Sartach on the second day of the Calends of August (31st July).

The country beyond the Tanais is most beautiful, with rivers and forests. To the north are great forests, inhabited by two races of men: to wit, the Moxel, who are without any religion, a race of pure pagans [have no law and are exclusively heathen]. They have no towns, but only little hamlets in the forest. Their chief and the greater part of them were killed in Germany; for the Tartars took them with them to the borders of Germany, and so they have formed a high opinion of the Germans, and they hope that through them they may finally be freed of the Tartar yoke. If a trader comes among this people, he with whom he first puts up must provide for him as long as he sees fit to stay among them. If one sleeps with another's wife the husband cares not, unless he sees it with his own eyes; so they are not jealous. They have swine, honey and wax, precious furs and hawks.

After them are the others called Merdas, whom the Latins call Merdinis, and they are Saracens [Muslims.]. Beyond them is the Etilia, the largest river I have ever seen, and it comes from the north, from Greater Bulgaria and flows south, and it falls into a certain lake which has a circumference of four months journey, and of it I shall tell you later. So these two rivers, the Tanais and the Etilia, in, the north where we crossed them, are only distant the one from the other ten days; but to the south they are far remote from one another. For the Tanais flows down into the Sea of Pontus, while the Etilia forms with many other rivers which flow into it from Persia, this sea or lake [Caspian Sea]. To the south we had very high mountains, inhabited, on the side facing this desert, by the Kerkis and the Alans or Aas, who are Christians and still fight the Tartars. Beyond them, along the sea or lake of Etilia, live certain Saracens [Muslims.] called Lesgi, who likewise owe them no allegiance. Beyond them are the Iron Gates, which Alexander made to keep the barbarous nations out of Persia; of these I shall tell you later, for I passed through this place on my way back, and between these two rivers in this country through which we were traveling used to live Comans Capchac before the Tartars occupied it.

So we found Sartach three days from the Etilia, and his ordu seemed to us very big, for he has six wives, and his eldest son who was beside him had two or three, and every one of them had a big dwelling and perhaps two hundred carts. Our guide went to a certain Nestorian, Coiac by name, who is one of the most important men of his ordu. This latter made us go a long way to an officer who is called the Jamiam* [iam], for thus they call him whose duty it is to receive envoys [* The iam or yamwas the Mongol postal service.]. In the evening this Coiac had us told to come to him. Then our guide asked us what we were going to take to him, and he was greatly scandalised when he saw that we were getting nothing ready to take to him. We stood in front of him seated in all his glory, striking a guitar and making people dance before him [while he had a guitar played and people dancing in front of him]. Then I repeated what I had previously said elsewhere as to the reason for which we had come to his master, begging him to assist us that his lord might see your letter. I also excused myself, being a monk, for neither having, receiving nor carrying with me gold or silver or any precious thing, but only books and the chapel [liturgical items], with which we served God, so we were not offering presents to either him or his lord, for having put away all worldly goods I could not be the bearer of those of others. Then he replied right pleasantly that I did well, being a monk, to keep my vows; that he did not want of our things, but would rather give us of his own if we were in want; and he caused us to sit down and drink of his milk, and after awhile he besought us to say a blessing for him, which we did. He also asked us who was the greatest lord among the Franks. I said, "The Emperor, if his land were in peace" ["if he held his territory unchallenged" (*Emperor Fredrick had been deposed and excommunicated by the pope and was vying for power with his competitors).]. "No," he said, "it is the King of France." For he had heard of you from Messire Baldwin of Hainaut. I also found there one of the companions of David, who had been in Cyprus (with him), and who had told him of all he had seen. Then we went back to our lodgings.

The next day (1st August) I sent him (Coiac) a flagon of muscadel wine, which had kept perfectly good during the whole long journey, and a hamper of biscuits which pleased him very much; and that evening he kept our servants with him. The next day he sent me word to come to the court, bringing with me the king's letter, the vestments and the church ornaments and the books, for his master wished to see them. We did accordingly, putting in one cart the books and the chapel, and in another bread, wine and fruit. Then he caused us to explain all about the books and vestments, and many Tartars and Christians and Saracens [Muslims.] looked on seated on their horses. When he had finished examining them, he asked if I would give all these things to his master. When I heard this I was shocked, and his words displeased me. Dissimulating, however, I replied: "My lord, we beg that your lord will deign receive this bread, wine and fruit, not as a present, for it is too trifling, but for a blessing, and so that we appear not before him with empty hands. He shall see the letter of the lord King, and by them he shall know why we come to him, and then we will await his pleasure, we and all our belongings. As to these vestments they are holy, and may not be touched except by Friar priests." Then he told us to put them on to go in unto his lord, and this we did. I put on the most costly of the vestments, with a most beautiful cushion (pulvinar) against my breast, and took the Bible which you had given me, and the beautiful Psalter which my lady the Queen had presented me with, and in which were right beautiful pictures. My companion took the missal and the cross, while the clerk (Gosset) put on a surplice and took the censer. And so we came before his (i.e. , Sartach's) dwelling, and they raised the felt which hung before the entry, so that he could see us. Then they made the clerk and the interpreter to bow the knee (three times): of us they did not demand it. Then they enjoined us earnestly to be most careful in going in and coming out not to touch the threshold of the dwelling, and also to chant some blessing for him. So we went in chanting, "Salve, regina!" [went in singing the Salve Regina] In the entry of the dwelling there was a bench with kumiss and cups, and all Sartach's wives had come thither and the Mo'al came crowding in around us.

Then this Coiac handed him the censer with the incense, and he examined it, holding it in his hand most carefully. After that he handed him the Psalter, at which he took a good look, as did the wife who was seated beside him. Then he handed him the Bible, and he asked if the Gospels [Gospel] were in it. I said that it contained all the Sacred writings. He also took in his hand the cross, and asked if the image on it were that of Christ. I replied that it was. Those Nestorians and Hermenians [Armenians] never make the figure of Christ on their crosses; they would thus appear to entertain some doubt of the Passion, or to be ashamed of it. Then he caused the bystanders to withdraw [draw back] so that he could better see our ornaments. Then I presented to him your letter, with translations in Arabic and Syriac, for I had had them both translated and written in these languages at Acon [Acre in Palestine]. And there were there (at Sartach's camp) Hermenian priests who knew Turkish and Arabic, and that companion of David who knew Syriac, Turkish, and Arabic. Then we went out and took off our vestments, and some scribes and this Coiac came, and they translated the letters (into Mongol). When he (Sartach) had heard them, he caused our bread and wine and fruit to be accepted, and our vestments and books to be carried back to our lodgings. All this took place on the Feast of Saint Peter in Chains (1st August).

The next morning (2nd August) came to us a priest, the brother of that Coiac, who begged for a little vase with holy oil, for Sartach wanted to see it, he said, and we gave it to him. Toward vespers Coiac called us, and said to us: "The lord King hath written good words to my lord; but they contain certain difficulties, concerning which he would not venture to do anything without the advice of his father: so you must go to his father. And the two carts which you brought here, with the vestments and books, leave them to me, for my lord wishes to examine them carefully." I at once suspected evil of his greed, and said to him: "My lord, not only these, but the two other carts which we have, will we leave under your care." "No," he said; "leave these, but do what you wish with the others." I told him this was quite impossible, but that we would give everything over to him. Then he asked us if we wished to remain in the country. I said: "If you have well understood the letter of the lord King, you can see that that is the case." Then he said that we must be very patient and humble; and with this we left him that evening.

The next morning he (Coiac) sent a Nestorian priest for the carts, and we brought all four of them. Then the brother of this Coiac came up, and separated all our belongings from the things which we had taken the day before to the court, and these, to wit the books and the vestments, he took for himself; notwithstanding that Coiac had ordered us to take with us the vestments we had worn before Sartach, so that, should occasion arise, we might put them on before Baatu; but the priest took them from us by force, saying: "What, you have brought these to Sartach, and now you want to take them to Baatu!" And when I sought to reason with him, he answered me: "Say no more, and be off with you." So I had to bear it in patience, for we were not allowed to go in unto Sartach, nor was there anyone to do us justice. I was afraid also of the interpreter, lest he say something differently from what I should speak, for he used to be eager for us to make presents to everyone [as he would have quite liked us to make a gift of everything]. I had one comfort; as soon as I discerned their greed, I abstracted the Bible from among the books, also the sentences and the other books of which I was specially fond. I did not dare abstract the Psalter of my lady the Queen, for it had been too much noticed on account of the gilded pictures in it. And so we were sent back with the two remaining carts to our lodgings. Then came he who was to guide us to Baatu, and he wanted to start at once. I told him that on no account would I take the carts, and this he reported to Coiac, who ordered that we should leave them and our servant with him [leave them with the iam], and this we did.

Traveling then due east toward Baatu, we came on the third day (5th August) to the Etilia, and when I saw its waters, I wondered from where away up in the north so much water could come down.

Before we left Sartach, the above mentioned Coiac and a number of scribes of the court said to us: "You must not say that our lord is a Christian. He is not a Christian, but a Mo'al." For the name of Christian seems to them that of a nation [for they regard the name Christendom as the name of a people]. They have risen so much in their pride, that though they may believe somewhat in the Christ, yet will they not be called Christians, wishing to exalt their own name of Mo'al above all others, nor will they be called Tartars. The Tartars were another people of whom I have heard as follows.

RUBRUCK CHAPTER 10.
NESTORIANS

At the time when the Franks took Antioch the sovereignty of these northern regions belonged to a certain Con cham [Coir Khan]. Con was his proper name, cham his title, which means the same as soothsayer. All soothsayers are called cham and so all their princes are called cham, because their government of the people [control over the people] depends on divination. Now we read in the history of Antioch, that the Turks sent for succor against the Franks to King Con cham; for from these parts came all the Turks. That Con was of Caracatay. Now Cara means black, and Catay is the name of a people, so Caracatay is the same as "Black Catay." And they are so called to distinguish them from the Cathayans [Chinese] who dwell by the ocean in the east, and of whom I shall tell you hereafter. Those Caracatayans lived in highlands (alpibus) through which I passed, and at a certain place amidst these alps dwelt a certain Nestorian, a mighty shepherd and lord over a people called Nayman, who were Nestorian Christians. When Con cham died, that Nestorian raised himself to be king (in his stead) and the Nestorians used to call him King John, and to say things of him ten times more than was true. For this is the way of the Nestorians who come from these parts: out of nothing they will make a great story, just as they have spread abroad that Sartach is a Christian, and so of Möngke Khan and Keu Chan [Chingis's grandson Güyük Khan (1206–1248).], because they show more respect to Christians than to other people; though of a

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truth they are not Christians. So great reports went out concerning this King John; though when I passed through his pasture lands, no one knew anything of him save a few Nestorians. On those pasture lands lived Keu Chan, to whose court went Friar Andrew, and I also passed through them on my way back. This John had a brother, also a mighty shepherd, whose name was Unc [Ong Khan]; and he lived beyond the alps of the Caracatayans, some three weeks journey from his brother, and he was lord of a little town called Karakorum [Qaraqorum], and the people he had under his rule were called Crit and Merkit, and they were Nestorian Christians. But that lord of theirs had abandoned the worship of Christ, and had taken to idolatry, having about him priests of the idols, who are all invokers of demons and sorcerers. Beyond those pasture lands, some ten or fifteen days, were the pasture lands of the Mo'al, who were very poor people, without a chief and without religion except sorcery and soothsaying, such as all follow in those parts. And next to the Mo'al were other poor people, who were called Tartars. Now King John being dead without an heir, his brother Unc was brought in (ditatus est), and caused himself to be proclaimed Chan, and his flocks and herds were driven about as far as the borders of the Mo'al. At that tune there was a certain Chingis, a blacksmith, among the people of Mo'al, and he took to lifting the cattle of Unc Chan whenever he could, so that the herdsmen complained to their lord Unc Chan. So he got together an army, and made a raid into the land of the Mo'al, seeking for this Chingis, but he fled among the Tartars and hid himself there. Then this Unc Chan having got great booty from the Mo'al and the Tartars went back. Then that Chingis spoke to those Tartars and to those Mo'al, saying, " 'Tis because we are without a chief, that our neighbors oppress us." And they made him chief and captain of the Tartars and the Mo'al. Then he secretly got together an army and fell upon Unc Chan and defeated him, so that he fled to Cathay. And it was there that his daughter was captured, and Chingis gave her to wife to one of his sons, who by her had Möngke [Mönke Khan (1209–1259)] who now reigneth.

Now this Chingis used to dispatch the Tartars in every direction, and so their name spread abroad, for everywhere was heard the cry: "The Tartars are coming!" But through the many wars they have been nearly all killed off, and now these Mo'al would like to extinguish even the name and raise their own in its stead. The country in which they first lived, and where is still the ordu of Chingis Chan, is called Onankerule. But because Karakorum is the district where their power first began to spread, they hold it their royal city, and near there they elect their Chan.

Of Sartach I know not whether he believes in the Christ or not. This I do know, that he will not be called a Christian, and it even seemed to me that he mocked the Christians. For he is on the road of the Christians, to wit, of the Ruthenians [Russians], Blacs [Vlachs], Bulgarians of Minor Bulgaria, Soldaians, Kerkis [Circassians] and Alans, all of whom pass by him hen going to his father's ordu carrying presents to him, so he shows himself most attentive to them. Should, however, Saracens [Muslims.] come along carrying more presents than they, they are sent along more expeditiously. He has Nestorian priests around him who strike a board and chant their offices.

And there is another one called Berka [Berke Khan (d.1267)], a brother of Baatu, who has his pasture lands toward the Iron Gate, where passes the road followed by all the Saracens [Muslims.] coming from Persia and Turkia, and going to Baatu, and who when passing through bring him presents; and he has made himself a Saracen [a Muslim.], and he does not allow pork to be eaten in his ordu. When we came back Baatu had ordered him to move from that place to beyond the Etilia to the east, not wanting Saracens [Muslims.] to pass by where he was, it appearing to him harmful [since he (Batu) viewed it as detrimental to his own interests]. During the four days we were at Sartach's ordu, we were not once furnished with food, and only once with a little kumiss.

On the road between him and his father we were in great fear, for the Ruthenians, Hungarians and Alans, their [the Mongols'] slaves, of whom there are very great numbers among them, are in the habit of banding together twenty or thirty in number, and run off at night (armed) with arrows and bows, and whomsoever they find at night they kill. During the day they hide, and when their horses are tired, they come by night to the herds of horses in the pastures and change their horses, and take one or two with them to eat when necessary. Our guide greatly feared some adventure with them. On this part of the road we should have died of hunger, had we not carried with us a small supply of biscuit.

RUBRUCK CHAPTER 11.
CROSSING THE VOLGA

So we came to the Etilia, the greatest of rivers, for it is four times greater than the Seine, very deep, coming from Greater Bulgaria, which is in the north, flowing southward, and emptying into a certain lake, or sea, which is now called Sea of Sirsan [Shirwan: a city in NW Persia], from a certain city on its coast in Persia. Isidorus, however, calls it the Caspian sea, for it has the Caspian mountains and Persia to the south, the Mulihec mountains, that is the mountains of the Axasins [Assassins: a Muslim sect based in Northern Iran] to the east, which touch the Caspian mountains; to the north is this wilderness in which are now the Tartars, though at first there were here certain Comans called Cangle [Qangli]. And on that side (i.e., the north) it receives the Etilia, which rises [floods] in summer as does the Nile of Egypt. To the west of it are the mountains of the Alans, the Lesgians, the Iron Gate and the mountains of the Georgians. So this sea has mountains on three sides, but on the north it has this plain. Friar Andrew went himself along two sides of it, the southern and the eastern, and I along the other two, the northern in going from Baatu to Möngke Khan, and again in coming back; and along the western side in coming back from Baatu to Syria. One can go around it in four months , and it is not true, as stated by Isidorus, that it is a gulf of the Ocean. It nowhere reaches the Ocean, but is everywhere surrounded by land.

All this country on the west side of this sea, from where are the Iron Gates of Alexander and the mountains of the Alrans, to the northern Maeotide marshes where rises the Tanais, used to be called Albania. Isidorus says of it that it has dogs in it so big and fierce that "they seize bulls and kill lions": the truth is, as I have heard tell, that toward the Northern ocean they make dogs to drag carts like oxen, so great is their size and strength.

At this place where we reached Etilia, the Tartars have made a new village with a mixed population of Ruthenians and Saracens [Muslims.], and they ferry across the envoys going to and coming from the ordu of Baatu; for Baatu is on the farther bank to the east, neither does he go beyond this point we had reached when he comes north in summer, and he had begun moving southward (when we arrived). From January to August he goes up to the cool country, as do all of them, and in August they begin moving back.

RUBRUCK CHAPTER 12.
AT KHAN BATU'S COURT

So we went down the river in a boat from this village to his (Baatu's) ordu, and from that place to the cities of Greater Bulgaria to the north there are five days. I wonder what devil carried this religion of Mohammed [Islam.] thither. From the Iron Gate, which is the door out of Persia, there are more than thirty days through the desert, going up along the Etilia, to this Bulgaria, along which route there is no city, only some villages near where the Etilia falls into the sea; and these Bulgarians are the worst kind of Saracens [Muslims.], keeping the law of Mohammed as no others [and adhere more strictly ... than do any of the others].

When I saw the ordu of Baatu, I was astonished, for it seemed like a great city stretched out about his dwelling, with people scattered all about for three or four leagues. And as among the people of Israel, where each one knew in which quarter from the tabernacle he had to pitch his tents, so these know on which side of the ordu they must place themselves when they set down their dwellings. A court (curia) is orda in their language, and it means "middle," for it is always in the middle of the people, with the exception, however, that no one places himself right to the south, for in that direction the doors of the court open. But to the right and left they may spread out as they wish, according to the lay of the land, so long as they do not bring the line of tents down right before or behind the court.

We were first taken to a certain Saracen [Muslim.], who gave us no food. The next day we were taken to the court, and they had a great awning spread, for the dwelling could not hold all the men and women who had come thither. Our guide cautioned us to say nothing until Baatu should have bid us speak, and then to speak briefly. He asked also whether you had already sent ambassadors to the Tartars. I said that you had sent to Keu Khan, but that you would not even have sent envoys to him and [a] letter to Sartach if you had not believed that they were Christians. Then they led us before the pavilion, and we were warned not to touch the ropes of the tent, for they are held to represent the threshold of the door. So we stood there in our robes and barefooted, with uncovered heads, and we were a great spectacle unto ourselves [presented quite a spectacle for them]. Friar John of Policarp had been there; but he had changed his gown, fearing lest he should be slighted, being the envoy of the lord Pope. Then we were led into the middle of the tent, and they did not require us to make any reverence by bending the knee, as they are used to do of envoys. We stood before him the time to say: "Miserere mei, Deus," the Miserere mei Deus (i.e., Pslam 50, or 51 in the authorized version)] and all kept profound silence. He was seated on a long seat as broad as a couch, all gilded, and with three steps leading up to it, and a lady was beside him. Men were seated about on his right, and ladies on his left: and where the room on the women's side was not taken up by them, for there were only present the wives of Baatu, men occupied it. A bench with kumiss and big cups of gold and silver, ornamented with precious stones, was in the entry of the tent. He looked at us intently, and we at him, and he seemed to me to be about the height of my lord John de Beaumont, may his soul rest in peace. And his face was all covered at that time with reddish spots. Finally he bid me speak, and our guide told us to bend the knee and speak. I bent one knee as to a man, but he made sign to me to bend both, which I did, not wishing to dispute over it. Then he bid me speak, and I, thinking I was praying God, having both knees bent, began my speech by saying reflecting to myself that I could be at prayer, seeing I was on both knees, I took my first words from a collect, saying...]: "Oh lord, we pray God from whom proceedeth all good things, and who gave you these worldly goods, to give you hereafter celestial ones, for the former without the latter are vain." And as he listened attentively, I added : "You must know for certain that you shall not have the celestial goods unless you have been a Christian ; for God saith: 'He who shall have believed and have been baptized, shall be saved, but he who shall not have believed shall be condemned'." At this he quietly smiled, and the other Mo'als began clapping their hands, laughing at us, and my interpreter stood dumbfounded, and I had to reassure him that he be not afraid. Then silence being reestablished, I said: "I came to your son, because we had heard that he was a Christian, and I brought him [a] letter from the lord King of the French. He (i.e., Sartach) it is who has sent me here to you. You must know the reason why." Then he caused me to rise, and he asked your name and mine, and that of my companion and of the interpreter, and he had it all written down, and he also asked against whom you were waging war, for he had heard that you had left your country with an army. I replied: "Against the Saracens [Muslims.] who are profaning Jerusalem, the house of God." He also asked whether you had ever sent envoys to him. "To you," I said, "never." Then he made us sit down, and had us given of his milk to drink, and they hold it to be a great honor when anyone drinks kumiss with him in his dwelling. While sitting there I was looking down, but he bid me turn my face up, either wishing to see me better, or on account of their sorcery, for they hold it to be a bad omen or sign, or as portending evil, if one sits before them with face turned down as if in sorrow, and especially so if he rest his chin or his cheek in his hand. Then we went out, and after a little while our guide came to us, and while conducting us to our lodging said to me: "The lord King requests that you remain in this country, but Baatu may not do this without the permission of Möngke Khan. So you and your interpreter must go to Möngke Khan. As to your companion and the other man, they will go back to Sartach, where they will await your return." Then the interpreter Homo Dei began to lament, deeming himself lost, and my companion to declare that they might sooner cut off his head than separate him from me; and I said that without a companion I could not go, and moreover that we really required two servants, for should one happen to fall ill, I could not be left alone. So he went back to the court and told Baatu what I had said. Then he commanded; "Let the two priests and the interpreter go, and the clerk return to Sartach." He came back and told us the decision; but when I wanted to speak about the clerk, that he might come with us, he said: "Say no more about it, for Baatu has settled it, and I dare not go again to the court." The clerk Gosset had twenty-six yperpera of your alms and no more; of these he kept ten for himself and the boy, and he gave the sixteen others to Homo Dei for us; and so we parted from each other with tears, he going back to Sartach, and we remaining there.

On the eve of the Assumption (14th August [1253]) he (Gosset) reached the ordu of Sartach, and the next day the Nestorian priests were dressed in our vestments in the presence of Sartach. As for us, we were taken to another host who was to provide us with lodgings, food and horses, but as we had nothing to give him he did it all meanly. We drove about with Baatu for five weeks, following the Etilia down its course. Sometimes my companion was so hungry that he would say to me, almost with tears in his eyes: "It seems to me I shall never get anything to eat I feel as if I have never eaten]." The market always follows the ordu of Baatu, but it was so far away from us that we could not get there, for from lack of horses we had to travel afoot. Finally some Hungarians who had been clerks found us out, and one of them still knew how to sing with much expression to chant many things by heart], and was looked upon by the other Hungarians almost as a priest, and was called to the burial of their dead; and another of them was well versed in grammar had received a competent training in grammar], for he understood accurately all we said to him, though he could not reply. These men were a great consolation to us, bringing us kumiss to drink and sometimes meat to eat. I was greatly distressed when they asked me for some books, as I had none to give them, having only a Bible and a breviary. So I said to them: "Bring us tablets (cartas), and I will write for you as long as we are here." And this they did, and I wrote on both sides of them the hours of the Blessed Virgin and the office for the dead. One day a Coman joined us, who saluted us in Latin, saying: "Salvite, domine!" Much astonished, I returned his salutation, and asked him who had taught it him. He said that he had been baptized in Hungary by the brethren of our order, who had taught it to him. He said, furthermore, that Baatu

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had asked him a great deal about us, and that he had told him of the condition rules] of our Order.

I saw Baatu riding with all his horde (turba); and all the heads of families were riding with him, but according to my estimate there were not over five hundred men. At last, about the feast of the Elevation of the Holy Cross (14th September), there came a rich Mo'al to us, whose father was a chief of a thousand, which is a high rank among them, and he said: "I am to take you to Möngke Khan. The journey is a four months one, and it is so cold on it that stones and trees are split by the cold. Think it over whether you can bear it." I answered him: "I trust that, by the grace of God, we may be able to bear what other men can bear." Then he said : "If you cannot bear it, I shall abandon you on the road." I replied: "That is not right; we are not going of ourselves, but are sent by your lord, so, being entrusted to your care, you should not abandon us." Then he said: "All will be well." After that he made us show him all our clothing, and what seemed to him of little use he made us leave with our host. The next day they brought each of us a sheepskin gown, breeches of the same material, boots according to their fashion, felt stockings, and hoods such as they use. The day after the Elevation of the Holy Cross (15th September) we started on our ride, with two pack horses for the three of us, and we rode constantly eastward until the feast of All Saints [November 1st]. And through all that country and beyond, the Cangle used to live, and they were a branch (parentela) of the Comans. To the north of us was Greater Bulgaria, and to the south the Caspian Sea.

After traveling twelve days from the Etilia, we found a great river which they call Jagac [Iagac, the modern Ural R.], and it comes from the country of Pascatir in the north, and falls into this previously-mentioned sea (i.e., the Caspian). The language of Pascatir is the same as that of the Hungarians, and they are shepherds without any towns whatever, and on the west this country confines on Greater Bulgaria. From this country eastward, and on that side to the north, there are no more towns; so Greater Bulgaria is the last country with towns. 'Twas from this country of Pascatir that went forth the Huns, who were afterward the Hungarians; hence it is the same as Greater Bulgaria. Isidorus says that with their fleet horses they crossed the barriers which Alexander had built among the rocks of the Caucasus to confine the savage tribes, and that as far as Egypt all the country paid them tribute. They ravaged all the world as far as France, so that they were a greater power than are now the Tartars. With them also came the Blacs, the Bulgars and the Vandals. For from that Greater Bulgaria come the Bulgars, who are beyond the Danube near Constantinople. And beside Pascatir are the Illac, which is the same word as Blac, but the Tartars do not know how to pronounce (the letter) B, and from them come those who are in the land of Assan. They call both of them Illac, the former and the latter. The language of the Ruthenians, Poles, Bohemians and Sclavons is the same as that of the Vandals, and the hand of all of them was with the Huns, as now is that of the greater part of them with the Tartars, whom God has raised up out of the remote parts of the earth, a mighty people but a stupid race, according to what the Lord saith: "I will move them to jealousy (that is, those who do not keep his law) with those which are not a people; I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation." This is fulfilled to the letter as to all the nations who do not keep the law of the Christ. That which I have told of and of Pascatir I know from the preaching friars who went there before the advent of the Tartars, but since then it has been subjugated by the neighbouring Saracen [Muslim.] Bulgars, and some of the people have become Saracens. The rest may be learned from the chronicles, for it is a well established fact that those provinces from Constantinople (westward) and which were called Bulgaria, Blackia end Sclavonia were provinces of the Greeks, and that Hungary was Pannonia.

So we rode through the country of the Cangle from the feast of the Holy Cross (15th September [14th Sept.]) to the feast of All Saints (1st November), and nearly every day we went, as well as I could estimate, about the distance from Paris to Orleans, and sometimes more, according to the supply of horses. For sometimes we changed horses two three times in a day, while at others we went for two or three days without finding anyone, so we had to go slower. Out of twenty or thirty horses we, as foreigners, always got the worst, for they invariably took their pick of horses before us. They always gave me a strong horse, on account of my great weight; but I dared not inquire whether he rode easily or not, nor did I venture to complain if he proved hard, but I had to bear it all with equal good grace. Consequently we used to have to endure extreme hardships. Oft times the horses were tired out before we had reached the stage, and we had to beat and whip them, put our clothing on other pack horses, change our saddle horses for pack horses, and sometimes even the two of us ride one horse.

Sometimes out of number There is no counting the times] we were hungered and athirst, cold and wearied. They only gave us food in the evening; in the morning we had something to drink or millet gruel while in the evening they gave us meat, a shoulder and ribs of mutton, and some pot liquor. When we had our fill of such meat broth, we felt greatly invigorated; it seemed to me a most delicious drink and most nourishing. On Fridays I fasted without drinking anything till evening, when I was obliged, though it distressed me sorely, to eat meat. Sometimes we had to eat half-cooked or nearly raw meat, not having fuel to cook it; this happened when we reached camp after dark, and we could not see to pick up ox or horse dung. We rarely found any other fuel, save occasionally a few briars. In a few spots along the banks of some of the streams were woods, but such spots were rare. At first our guide showed profound contempt for us, and was disgusted at having to guide such poor folk; but after awhile, when he began to know us better, he would take us to the yurts (curia) of rich Mo'al, where we had to pray for them, and if I had had a good interpreter, I [would of] had opportunities for bringing about much good. This Chingis, the first Chan, had four sons, whose descendants are very numerous; and these all have big ordus, and they- multiply daily and are scattered all over this vast sea-like desert. Our guide took us to many of these, and they would wonder greatly at our not receiving gold, silver, or costly clothing. They inquired also of the great pope, if he were as old as they had heard, for they had heard that he was five hundred years old. They asked about our countries, if there were many sheep, cattle and horses there. As to the Ocean sea, they were quite unable to understand that it was endless, without bounds.

The eve of All Saints (31st October) we left the road to the east, for the people had already moved a good deal to the south, and we made our way by some alps due south continually for eight days. In that desert I saw many asses called culam, and they greatly resemble mules; our guide and his companion chased them a great deal, but without getting one, on account of their great fleetness. The seventh day we began to see to the south some very high mountains, and we entered a plain irrigated like a garden, and here we found cultivated land. On the octave of All Saints (8th November) we entered a certain town of Saracens [Muslims.] called Kinchat [Kenjek], and its captain [i.e., governor] came out of the town to meet our guide, bearing mead (cervisia) ale] and cups. For it is their custom that in all towns subject to them, they come out to meet the messengers of Baatu and Möngke chap with food and drink. At that season of the year there was ice on the roads in those parts, and even earlier, from the date of the feast of Saint Michel (29th September) we had had frost in the desert. I inquired the name of this province; but as we had already passed into another territory, they were unable to tell me anything beyond the name of the town, which was a very small one. And there came a big river down from the mountains, which irrigated the whole country wherever they wanted to lead the water, and it flowed not into any sea, but was absorbed in the ground, forming many marshes. There (at Kinchat) I saw vines, and twice did I drink wine.

The next clay we came to another village nearer the mountains, and I inquired concerning these mountains, which I understood to be those of the Caucasus [*actually the Kirgizskii range], which confine at either extremity on the sea, from the west to the east, and which we had already crossed at the sea previously mentioned into which the Etilia flows. I asked also concerning the town of Talas in which were Teuton [German] slaves of Buri, of whom Friar Andrew had spoken (to me), and concerning whom I had made much inquiry at the ordus of Sartach and Baatu. I was unable to learn anything concerning them, only the following circumstances of the death of their master Buri. Not finding his pasture lands good, one day while drunk he spoke to his men, saying: "Am I not of the race of Chingis Chan as well as Baatu? (for he was the nephew or brother of Baatu) Why should I not go to the banks of the Etilia like Baatu, to graze there?" Now these words were reported to Baatu, and he wrote to Buri's men, telling them to bring him their lord in chains, and this they did. Then Baatu asked if he had spoken such words, and he confessed that he had, though he sought to excuse himself as being drunk, for they usually condone the offences of drunken men. But Baatu replied: "How dare you mention my name in your drunkenness!" and he had his head cut off.

As to those Teutons I was unable to learn anything concerning them all the way to until I reached] Möngke Khan's ordu, but in the village just referred to I gathered that Talas was beyond us in the direction of the mountains, vi days' travel. When I reached the ordu of Möngke Khan I gathered that Möngke had transported these Teutons, with Baatu's permission, the distance of a month's travel to the east of Talas, to a certain town called Bolat, where they are digging for gold and manufacturing arms, so I could neither go nor come back their way. However, in going I passed quite near that town (of Bolat), perhaps three days from it, but I was unaware of it, nor could I have turned from my route if I had known it.

From the village I have mentioned we went eastward, close to the mountains above referred to, and from that point we entered among the subjects of Möngke Khan, who everywhere sang and clapped their hands before our guide, because he was an envoy of Baatu. For they show each other this mark of honor; the subjects of Möngke receive in this fashion the envoys of Baatu, and those of Baatu the envoys of Möngke. The subjects of Baatu, however, are the stronger, so they do not observe the custom so carefully Baatu's people, however, give themselves rather more airs and are not as careful to observe the practice]. A few days later we entered the alps in which the Caracatai used to live, and there we found a great river which we had to pass in a boat. After that we entered a valley, where we saw a ruined camp fort], whose walls were nothing but mud, and the soil was cultivated there. And after that we found a goodly town, called Equius, in which were Saracens [Muslims.] speaking Persian, though they were a very long way off from Persia. The next day, having crossed these alps which project from the high mountains in the south, we entered a beautiful plain with high mountains to the right, and a sea or lake which is twenty-five days [fifteen days (*according to Rockhill, the Manuscripts differ on this point)] in circumference to the left. And all this plain is well watered by the streams which come down from the mountains, and all of which flow into this sea. In the summer time we came back along the north shore of this sea, and there likewise were great mountains. In this plain there used to be many towns, but most of them were destroyed, so that the Tartars might graze there, for there were most excellent pasturages in that country. We found there a big town called Cailac [Qayaligh], where there was a market, and many traders frequented it. Here we rested twelve days, waiting for a certain secretary of Baatu, who was to be associated with our guide in the matters to be settled at Möngke's ordu. This country used to be called Organum [Urgench, the region's capitol city], and the people used to have a language and letters of their own [Sogdian]; but now it is all occupied by Turcomans. Moreover, the Nestorians of those parts used to perform their services in that language, and write books in those letters, and perhaps it was by them that those people were called Organa on account, as was told me, of their having been excellent guitar players (or organiste). 'Twas here I first saw idolaters [Buddhists], of whom you must know there are many sects in the east.

RUBRUCK CHAPTER 13.

BUDDHISTS AND BUDDHISM

The first are the Iugurs, whose country confines on this said country of Organum, being situated among the mountains to the east of it; and in all their towns is found to mixture of Nestorians and Saracens [Muslims.], and they are also scattered about towards Persia in the towns of the Saracens [Muslims.]. In the said city of Cailac they had three idol temples, two of which I entered to see their foolishness. In the first one I found a person who had a little cross in ink on his hand, whence I concluded he was a Christian, and to all that I asked him he replied that he was a Christian. So I asked him: "Why have you not here the Cross and the figure of Jesus Christ?" And he replied: "It is not our custom." So I concluded that they were Christians, but had omitted this through some doctrinal error. I noticed there behind a chest which served in the place of altar and on which they put lamps and offerings, a winged image like Saint Michel, and other images like bishops holding their fingers as if blessing. That evening I could find out nothing more, for the Saracens [Muslims.] shun these (idolaters, Buddhists.) so much that they will not even speak of them, and when I asked Saracens concerning the rites of these people, they were scandalised. The day following was the first of the month and the Easter of the Saracens, and I changed my host and was lodged near another idol temple, for the people entertain envoys each as he may and according to his ability. Going into this idol temple I found the priests of the idols there, for on the first of the month they throw open the temples and put on their sacerdotal vestments, offer (incense, hang up lamps and offer) the oblations of bread and fruit of the people. Now, in the first place, I will tell you of the rites common to all idolaters, and after that of those of the Iugurs, who form as it were a sect distinct from the others. They all worship to the north, with joined hands, prostrate themselves to the ground with bended knees, placing their foreheads on their hands. As a result of this, the Nestorians in those parts never join their hands in praying, but pray with their hands held extended before the breast.

They (the idolaters) place their temples east and west; on the north side they make an alcove projecting out like a choir, or sometimes, if the building is square, it is in the middle of the building. So they shut off on the north side an alcove in place of a choir [if the building is square, they partition off an alcove inside, in the middle of the north side, corresponding to the choir], and there they put a coffer as long and as broad as a table, and after [i.e., behind] that coffer to the south they place the chief idol, and that which I saw at Karakorum was as large as we paint Saint Christopher. And a Nestorian who had come from Cathay told me that in that country there is an idol so big that it can he seen from two days off. And they place other idols around about (the principal one), all most beautifully gilt. And on that coffer, which is like a table, they put lamps and offerings. Contrary to the custom of the Saracens, all the doors of the temples open to the south. They

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also have big bells like ours: 'tis for this reason, I think, that the eastern Christians do not have any. The Ruthenians, however, have them, and so do the Greeks in Gazaria.

All the priests (of the idolaters, Buddhists) shave their heads [and beards completely], and are dressed in saffron colour, and they observe chastity from the time they shave their heads, and they live in congregations of one or two hundred. On the days when they go into the temple, they place two benches, and they sit in the region of the choir but opposite the choir they put down two benches and sit on the ground opposite one another in facing rows like choirs], with books in their hands, which they sometimes put down on these benches; and they keep their heads uncovered as long as they are in the temple, reading in silence and keeping silence. And when I went into one of their temples at Karakorum, and found them thus seated, I tried every means of inducing them to talk, but was unable to do so. Wherever they go they have in their hands a string of one or two hundred beads, like our rosaries, and they always repeat these words, on mani baccam, which is, "God, thou knowest," as one of them interpreted it to me, and they expect as many rewards from God as they remember God in saying this. Around their temple they make a fine courtyard well surrounded by a wall, and in the side of this facing the south, they make the main gate where they sit and talk. And over this gate they set up a long pole, which, if it be possible, rises above the whole city, and by this pole it may be known that this building is an idol temple. This practice is common to all idolaters. When I went into the idol temple I was speaking of, I found the priests seated in the outer gate, and when I saw them with their shaved faces they seemed to me to be Franks, but they had barbarian miters on their heads but the mitres they were wearing on their heads were of paper]. These Iugur priests have the following dress: wherever they go they are always dressed in rather tight saffron-colored tunics, over which is a girdle like the Franks, and they have a stole (pallium) over their left shoulder, passed round the chest and the back to the right side, like the chasuble (casula) worn by a deacon in Lent.

The Tartars have adopted their (i.e., the Uigurs') letters Their alphabet has been adopted by the Tartars]. They begin writing at the top, and run the line downward; and in like manner they read it, and they make the lines to follow each other from left to right. They make great use of drawings and letters for their sorcery [they make frequent use of characters written on paper in their witchcraft], so their temples are full of short sentences hung up there.The letter with [which] Möngke Khan sends us is in the Mo'al language, but in their script.

They burn their dead according to the custom of the ancients, and put the ashes in the top of pyramids.

When then I had sat down beside these priests, after having been in the temple and seen their many idols, great and small, I asked them what they believed concerning God. They answered: "We only believe that there is one God." Then I asked: "Do you believe he is a spirit, or something corporeal?" "We believe that he is a spirit," they said. "Do you believe that he has never taken upon him human nature?" They said: "Never." "Then," said I, "if you believe that he is one and a spirit, why do you make him bodily images, and so many? Furthermore, if you do not believe that he became man, why do you make him in human shape rather than in that of some animal?" Then they replied: "We do not make these images to (of) God [for God], but when some rich person among us dies, his son, or wife, or someone dear to him, has made an image of the deceased, and puts it here, and we revere it in memory of him." Then I said: "Then you only make these out of flattery for man." "Only," they said, "in remembrance." Then they asked me, as if in derision: "Where is God ? "To which I said: "Where is your soul?" "In our body," they said. I replied: "Is it not everywhere in your body, and does it not direct the whole of it, and, nevertheless, is invisible? So God is everywhere, and governs all things, though invisible, for He is intelligence and wisdom." Then, just as I wanted to continue reasoning with them, my interpreter got tired, and would no longer express my words, so he made me stop talking my interpreter, who was tired and incapable of finding the right words, made me stop talking].

The Mo'al or Tartars who are of this sect, though they believe in one God, make nevertheless images of their dead in felt, and dress them in the richest stuffs, and put them in one or two carts, and no one dare touch these carts, which are under the care of their soothsayers, who are their priests, and of whom I shall tell you further on. These soothsayers are always before the ordu of Möngke and of other rich people, for the poor have none, but only those of the family of Chingis. And when they are on the march, these (soothsayers) precede them as the pillar of a cloud did the children of Israel, and they decide where to pitch the camp, and when they have set down their dwellings, all the ordu follows them. And when a feast day comes about, or the first of the month, they take their images and arrange them in a circle in their house. Then the Mo'al come, enter the house, and bow before the images and do them reverence. And no stranger may enter that house. I tried to force my way into one hut, but was most rudely treated was given a very sharp reprimand].

Those Iugurs who live interspersed with the Christians and Saracens [Muslims.], through frequent disputations, as I believe, have reached the point of having no belief but that in a single God. These Iugurs used to inhabit the cities which first obeyed Chingis Chan, who therefore gave his daughter to their king. And Karakorum is as it were in their territory, and all the land of the king of the Prester John and of Unc his brother, was round about this country, though they occupied the pasture lands to the north, while the Iugurs lived amidst the mountains to the south. So it happened that the Mo'al adopted their letters, and they are their best scribes, and nearly all the Nestorians know their letters. Beyond them to the east among those mountains are the Tanguts, most valiant men, who captured Chingis in war; and he, peace being made, and once freed by them, subdued them. These people have very strong cattle, with very hairy tails like horses, and with bellies and backs covered with hair. They are lower on their legs than other oxen, but much stronger. They draw the big dwellings of the Mo'al, and have slender, long, curved horns, so sharp that it is always necessary to cut off their points. The cows will not let themselves be milked unless sung to. They have also the temper of the bull, for if they see a man dressed in red they throw themselves on him to kill him.

Beyond these are the Tebet, a people in the habit of eating their dead parents, so that for piety's sake they should not give their parents any other sepulcher than their bowels. They have given this practice up, however, as they were held an abomination among all nations. They still, however, make handsome cups out of the heads of their parents, so that when drinking out of them they may have them in mind in the midst of their merry-making. This was told me by one who had seen it. These people have much gold in their country, so that when one lacks gold he digs till he finds it, and he only takes so much as he requires and puts the rest back in the ground; for if he put it in a treasury or a coffer, he believes that God would take away from him that which is in the ground. I saw many misshapen individuals of this people. Of the Tanguts I have seen big men, but swarthy. The Iugurs are of medium size, like us. Among the Iugurs the Turkie Coman language has its source and root. After Tebet are Longa and Solanga [possibly NE Manchuria and Korea], whose envoys I saw at court, and they had brought with them more than ten big carts, each of which was drawn by six oxen. They are little men and swarthy like Spaniards, and they wear tunics like the chasuble (supertunicale) of a deacon, except with narrower sleeves. On their heads they wear a miter like a bishop's, except that in front it is slightly lower than behind, and it does not terminate in a point, but is square on top, and is of stiff black buckram, and so polished that it shines in the sun's rays like a mirror or a well-burnished helmet. And at the temples are long strips of the same stuff, which are fastened to the miter, and which stand out in the wind like two horns projecting from the temples. When the wind strikes it too violently, they fold them up across the miter over the temples, where they remain like a hoop across the head; and a right handsome ornament it is. And whenever the principal envoy came to court he carried a highly-polished tablet of ivory about a cubit long and half a palm wide. Every time he spoke to the Khan or some great personage, he always looked at that tablet as if he found there that he had to say, nor did he look to the right or the left, nor in the face of him with whom he was talking. Likewise, when coming into the presence of the lord, and when leaving it, he never looked at anything but his tablet.

Besides these people there is another, as I was assured, called Muc, who have towns, but who take no animals for themselves. There are, however, many herds and flocks in their country, but no one herds them; when anyone wants some, he goes to a hill and calls, and all the animals hearing the call come around him, and let him treat them as if they were tame. If an ambassador or any foreigner come to that country, they put him in a house, and give him all he requires, until his business has been settled; for should a foreigner go about the country, his odor would cause the animals to run away and they would become wild.

There is also great Cathay, whose people were anciently I believe, called Seres. From among them come the best silk stuffs (which are called seric by that people), and the people get the name of Seres from one of their cities. I was given to understand that in that region there is a city with walls of silver and towers of gold. In that land are many provinces, the greater number of which do not yet obey the Mo'al, and between them and India there is a sea. These Cathayans are small men, who in speaking aspirate strongly through the nose, and in common with all Orientals, have small openings for the eyes. They are most excellent artisans in all manners of crafts, and their doctors know full well the virtues of herbs, and diagnose very skillfully the pulse; but they do not use diuretics, nor do they know anything about the urine [but they do not employ urine samples, not knowing anything about urine]: this I have seen myself. There are a great many of them at Karakorum, and it is their custom for all sons to follow the same trade as their fathers. 'Tis for this reason that they pay such a great tribute; for they give the Mo'al daily a thousand five hundred iascots or kumiss [lacks "or kumiss"; an iascot is a piece of silver weighing ten marks; so this is fifteen thousand marks, exclusive of the silk tissues and the provisions which they receive from them, and the other servitudes which are put on them.

All these nations are in the mountains of the Caucasus, but on the north side of these mountains, and (they extend) as far as the eastern Ocean, and (this is) also to the south of that Sithia which the pastoral Mo'als inhabit, and whose tributaries they all are. And all of them are given to idolatry, and tell fables of a host of gods, and of deified human beings, and of the genealogy of the gods, as do our poets.

RUBRUCK CHAPTER 14.

MORE (ON) NESTORIANS

Living mixed among them, though of alien race [alien status] (tanquam advene), are Nestorians and Saracens [Muslims.] all the way to Cathay [China.]. In fifteen cities of Cathay there are Nestorians, and they have an episcopal see in a city called Segin [Hsi-king], but for the rest they are purely idolaters. The priests of idols of the nations spoken of all wear wide saffron-colored cowls. There are also among them, as I gathered, some hermits who live in forests and mountains and who are wonderful by their lives and austerity [leading lives that are extraordinarily ascetic] . The Nestorians there know nothing. They say their offices, and have sacred books in Syrian, but they do not know the language, so they chant like those monks among us who do not know grammar, and they are absolutely depraved. In the first place they are usurers and drunkards; some even among them who live with the Tartars have several wives like them. When they enter church, they wash their lower parts like Saracens [Muslims.]; they eat meat on Friday, and have their feasts on that day in Saracen [Muslim.] fashion. The bishop rarely visits these parts, hardly once in fifty years. When he does, they have all the male children, even those in the cradle, ordained priests, so nearly all the males among them are priests. Then they marry, which is clearly against the statutes of the Fathers, and they are bigamists, for when the first wife dies these priests take another. They are all simoniacs, for they administer no sacrament gratis. They are solicitous for their wives and children, and are consequently more intent on the increase of their wealth than of the faith. And so those of them who educate some of the sons of the noble Mo'al, though they teach them the Gospel and the articles of the faith, through their evil lives and their cupidity estrange them from the Christian faith, for the lives that the Mo'al themselves and the Tuins [Buddhists, from Chinese T'ao-yen: "man of the path." The term properly refers only to priests but Rubruck applies it here to all Buddhists] or idolaters lead are more innocent than theirs.

On the feast of Saint Andrew (30th November) we left this city (of Cailac), and at about three leagues from it we found a village entirely of Nestorians. We entered their church, singing joyfully and at the tops of our voices: "Salve, regina!" [the Salve Regina] for it had been a long time since we had seen a church. Proceeding thence three days we came to the head of that province, at the head of the said sea [probably L. Ala Köl, east of L. Balkhash], which seemed to us as tempestuous as the ocean. And we saw a big island in it. My companion approached its shore and moistened a cloth in it, and tasted the water, which was brackish, though drinkable. There opened a valley which came from out high mountains in the south-east, and there amidst the mountains was visible another big sea, and a river came through that valley from that sea into the first one, and there blows nearly continuously such a wind through that valley, that persons cross it with great danger, lest the wind should carry them into the sea. So we crossed this valley, following a northerly direction towards great mountains covered with deep snow, which then covered the ground. On the feast of Saint Nicholas (6th December) we began greatly accelerating our speed, for we already found no one, only those iams, that is to say those men who are stationed a day apart to look after ambassadors, for in many places in the mountains the road is narrow and the grazing bad, so that from dawn to night we would cover the distance of two iams, thus making of two days one, and we traveled more by night than by day. It was extremely cold, so we turned our sheepskins with the wool outside [so they lent us goatskins with the wool turned outside].

On the second Sunday Saturday] in Advent (13th December) in the evening, while we were passing through a certain place amidst most terrible rocks, our guide sent me word begging me to say some prayers (bona verba),by which the devils could be put to flight, for in this gorge devils were wont suddenly to bear men off, and no one could tell what they might do. Sometimes they seized the horse, and left the rider; sometimes they tore out the man's bowels and left the body on the horse, and many such things happened there frequently. So we chanted in a loud voice "Credo in unum Deum," when by the mercy of God the whole of our company passed thorough. From that time they began asking me to write cards (cartas)

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for them, to carry on their heads, and I would say to them: "I will teach you a phrase to carry in your hearts, which will save your souls and your bodies for all eternity." But always when I wanted to teach them, my interpreter failed me. I used to write for them, however, the "Credo in Deum" and the "Pater noster," saying: "What is here written is what one must believe of God, and the prayer by which one asks of God whatever is needful for man; so believe firmly that this writing is so, though you cannot understand it, and pray God to do for you what is written in this prayer, which He taught from His own mouth to His friends, and I hope that He will save you." I could do no more, for it was very dangerous, not to say impossible, to speak on questions of the faith through such an interpreter, for he did not know how.

After that we entered the plain in which was the ordu of Keu Khan, and which used to be the country of the Naiman, who were the real subjects of that Prester John. I did not at that time see this ordu, but on my way back. I will tell you, however, what befell his family, his son, and his wives. When Keu Khan died, Baatu wanted Möngke to be Khan. As to the death of this Keu I could learn nothing definite. Friar Andrew says that he died from some medicine which was given him, and that it was supposed that Baatu had had this done. I, however, heard another story. He had called upon Baatu to come and do him homage, and Baatu had started in great state. He was in great fear, however, he and his men, so he sent ahead one of his brothers, Stican [Shiban, son of Jochi Khan] by name, and when he came to Keu, and had to present him the cup, a quarrel arose, and they killed each other. The widow of this Stican detained us a whole day, to go to her dwelling and bless it; that is, that we might pray for her. So this Keu being dead, Möngke was elected by the will of Baatu, and had already been elected when Friar Andrew was there.

Keu had a brother called Siremon [Shiremün, Güyük's nephew], who on the advice of the wife of Keu and her vassals, went in great state toward Möngke as if to do him homage. In truth, however, he intended to kill him, and to exterminate all his ordu. And when he had already got to within a day or two of Möngke, he had to leave on the road one of his carts which broke down; and while the carter was fixing it, there came along one of Möngke's men who helped him; and he asked so much about their journey that the carter revealed to him what Siremon proposed doing. Then the other, leaving him as if he did not care about it, went to a herd of horses, and taking the strongest horse he could pick in it, rode day and night in great haste till he came to Möngke's ordu, and told him what he had heard. Then Möngke promptly called all his men, and caused to be made three [four] circles of men-at-arms around his ordu, so that no one could come in. The rest he sent against this Siremon, and they captured him, for he did not suspect that his designs had become known, and led him with all his men to the ordu. When Möngke charged him with the crime, he at once confessed. Then he was put to death, he and the elder son of Keu Chan, and with them three hundred of the greatest men among the Tartars. And they sent also for their ladies, that they all might be whipped with burning brands to make them confess. And when they had confessed, they were put to death. A young son of Keu, too small to take part in or to know of the plot, was alone left alive, and to him reverted his father's ordu with all that belonged thereto in men and animals. And on our way back we passed by it, but my guides did not dare, either when going or when coming back, to turn off to it, for "the mistress of nations sat in sorrow, and there was no one to console her."

Again we ascended mountains, going always in a northerly direction. Finally, on the day of the Blessed Stephen (26th December) we entered a plain vast as a sea, in which there was seen no hillock, and the following day, on the feast of St. John the Evangelist (27th December), we arrived at the ordu of the great lord. When we were five days from it, an iam at whose (station) we were sleeping, wanted to send us by a round about road, over which we should have had to plod for more than fifteen days. And this, as I learnt, so that we might pass by Onankerule, which is at it were their original home, and in which is the ordu of Chingis Chan. Others, however, said that they had wanted to make the journey longer, so as to magnify their importance; and they are in the habit of doing this to persons who come from countries not subject to them. And it was with great difficulty that our guide obtained that we should travel the direct road, after they had detained us over this matter from dawn to the third hour. It was on this part of the journey that that secretary, the one we had waited for at Cailac, told me that in the letter that Baatu was sending to Möngke, it was stated that you asked for troops and aid from Sartach against the Saracens [Muslims.]. At this I was much astonished and also annoyed, for I knew the tenor of your letter, and that there was no such request in them, only that you advised him to be the friend of all Christians, to exalt the Cross, and to be the enemy of al1 the enemies of the Cross. (I feared) that as those who had interpreted (your letters) were Hermenians from Greater Hermenia [Hungarians.]--great haters of the Saracens [Muslims.] --they had perhaps through hatred and for the discomfiture of the Saracens, gratuitously translated as had suited their fancy they had given a more forceful rendering]. I remained silent, saying nothing for or against this, for I feared to contradict Baatu's words lest I should be accused of trickery without reasonable cause. So we came on the day I have mentioned to the said ordu. To our guide was assigned a big dwelling, but to us to the three of us] there was given a very small hut in which we could barely store our things, make our beds, and a little fire. Many came to see our guide, and there was brought him rice wine in long narrow-necked flagons, and I could not discern any difference between it and the best Auxerre wine, save that it had not the perfume of wine. We were called and closely questioned as to the business which had brought us. I replied : "We have heard that Sartach was a Christian: we came to him. The King of the French sent him a sealed letter by us; he sent us to his father, his father sent us here. He must have written the reason why." They asked if you wanted to make peace with them. I replied "He sent to Sartach letters as to a Christian, and if he had known that he was not a Christian, he would never have sent him letters. As to making peace, I tell you that he never did you any harm. If he had done something for which you had to make war on him or his people, he would willingly, as a just man, make apology and ask for peace. If you without motive should want to wage war against him, or his people, we trust that God, who is just, would aid them." And they always wondered, repeating: "But why did you come, if you did not come to make peace?" For they are already so puffed up in their pride, that they believe that the whole world must want to make peace with them. Of a truth, if it were allowed me, I would, to the utmost of my power, preach throughout the world war against them. I did not, however, wish to clearly explain the reason of my coming, lest I should say something contrary to what Baatu had stated; and so I gave as the only reason for my coming there that he (Baatu) had sent me.

RUBRUCK CHAPTER 15.

CHRISTIANS AT THE COURT OF THE KHAN

The next day we were conducted to court, and I thought I could go barefooted, as in our own countries, so I left my shoes. Now, those who come to the court get off their horses about an arrow's flight from the dwelling of the Khan, and there the horses and the servants keeping the horses remain. So when we had alighted there, and while our guide went to the dwelling of the Khan, there came an Hungarian servant, who recognized us--that is our Order, and as they surrounded us and gazed at us as if we were monsters, especially because we were barefooted, and they asked us if we had no use for our feet, because they supposed that we would at once lose them, this Hungarian gave them the reason, telling them of the rules of our Order. Then came the grand secretary, who was a Nestorian Christian, and whose advice they nearly always follow, to look at us: and he examined us carefully, and called that Hungarian, of whom he made many inquiries. Then we were told to go back to our lodgings; and, as we were going back, I saw before the east end of the ordu, the distance of two crossbow shots from it, a dwelling with a little cross over it. Greatly pleased, and imagining there was something Christian there, I boldly went in, and found an altar right beautifully decked. For there was embroidered on a cloth of gold an image of the Savior, of the Blessed Virgin, of John the Baptist and of two angels, and the lines of the body and of the garments were marked out with pearls, and there was a great silver cross with gems in the angles and the middle, and many, other church ornaments, and an oil lamp having eight lights was burning before the altar ; and there was seated there an Hermenian monk, swarthy and lank, and he was dressed in a tunic of the roughest hair-cloth reaching halfway down to his shins, and over it he had a stole of black silk lined with vaire, and under his hair-cloth garment he wore an iron girdle. As soon as we entered, and even before saluting the monk, we sang on our knees: "Ave regina coelorum," [the Ave regina coelorum] and he arose and prayed with us. Then, having saluted him, we sat down beside him, and he had a dish with some fire in it before him. We told him the cause of our coming, and he began encouraging us greatly, telling us to speak boldly, for we were the envoys of God, who is greater than any man. After that he told us of his coming there, saying that he had preceded us by a month, and that he had been a hermit in the country of Jerusalem, and that God had appeared to him three times, enjoining on him to go to the Prince of the Tartars. But as he neglected going, God threatened him the third time, striking him down to the ground, and saying that he should die if he did not go; and that he should say to Möngke Khan that if he would become a Christian, all the world would come under his rule, and that the Franks and the great Pope would obey him; and then he admonished me to speak in a like way. Then I answered "Brother, I will willingly advise him to become a Christian; for I have come to preach that to all men. I will promise him also that the French and the Pope will rejoice greatly, and will have him for a brother and a friend. But that they would become his slaves, and pay him tribute as these other nations, that will I never promise, for I should be speaking against my conviction." At this he remained silent. When we went to our lodgings, we found it cold and we had eaten nothing that day. We cooked a little meat, and a little millet with the broth of the meat to drink. Our guide and his companions had got drunk at the court and had little care of us. [At that time there were near to us] envoys of Vastacius [John III Ducas Vatatzes, Emperor of Nicaea] but we did not know it. At dawn (the next day) some men from the court made us get up in all haste. I went with them bare-footed a little way to the dwelling of these envoys, and they asked them if they knew us. Then a Greek knight, recognizing our Order, and also my companion, whom he had seen at the court of Vastacius with Friar Thomas our provincial, he and all the envoys bore great testimony of us. Then they asked if you were at peace or at war with Vastacius. "Neither at peace," I answered, "nor at war," and they enquired how that could be. "Because," I said, "their countries are remote from each other, and they have nothing to do with each other." Then the envoy of Vastacius said that there was peace, and this made me cautious, and I kept silence.

That morning the tips of my toes were frozen, so that I could not thereafter go bare-footed. The cold in these regions is most intense, and from the time it begins freezing it never ceases till May; even in the month of May there was frost every morning, though during the day the sun's rays melted it. But in winter it never thawed, but with every wind it continued to freeze. And if there were wind there in winter as with us, nothing could live; but the atmosphere is always calm till April, then the wind arises. And when we were there, the cold that came on with the wind about Easter killed an infinite number of animals. But little snow fell there during the winter, but about Easter, which was at the end of April, there fell so much that all the streets of Karakorum were full, and they had to carry it off in carts. They brought us from the ordu of the first (wife) sheepskin gowns and breeches and shoes, which my companion and the dragoman took; for my part I did not think I was in need of them, for it seemed to me that the fur gown I had brought with me from Baatu's sufficed me.

On the Octave of the Innocents (3rd January [4th Jan.], 1254) we were taken to court; and there came certain Nestorian priests, whom I did not know to be Christians, and they asked me in what direction I prayed. I said "to the east." And they asked that because we had shaved our beards, at the suggestion of our guide, so as to appear before the Khan according to the fashion of our country. 'Twas for this that they took us for Tuins, that is idolaters. They also made us explain the Bible. Then they asked us what kind of reverence we wanted to make the Khan, according to our fashion, or according to theirs. I replied to them: "We are priests given to the service of God. Noblemen in our country do not, for the glory of God, allow priests to bend the knee before them. Nevertheless, we want to humble ourselves to every man for the love of God. We come from afar: so in the first place then, if it please you, we will sing praises to God who has brought us here in safety from so far, and after that we will do as it shall please your lord, this only excepted, that nothing be required of us contrary to the worship and glory of God." Then they went into the house, and repeated what I had said. It pleased the lord, and so they placed us before the door of the dwelling, holding up the felt which hung before it; and, as it was the Nativity, we began to sing: "A solis ortus cardine Et usque terre limitem Christian canamus principem Natum Maria virgine"

When we had sung this hymn, they searched our legs and breasts and arms to see if we had knives upon us. They had the interpreter examined, and made him leave his belt and knife in the custody of a door-keeper. Then we entered, and there was a bench in the entry with kumiss, and near by it they made the interpreter stand. They made us, however, sit down on a bench near the ladies. The house was all covered inside with cloth of gold, and there was a fire of briars and wormwood roots--which grow here to great size--and of cattle dung, in a grate in the center of the dwelling. He (Möngke) was seated on a couch, and was dressed in a skin spotted and glossy, like a seal's skin. He is a little man, of medium height, aged forty-five years, and a young wife sat beside him; and a very ugly, full-grown girl called Cirina, with other children sat on a couch after them. This dwelling had belonged to a certain Christian lady, whom he had much loved, and of whom he had had this girl. Afterwards he had taken this young wife, but the girl was the mistress of all this ordu, which had been her mother's.

He had us asked what we wanted to drink, wine or terracina, which is rice wine (cervisia; quite a strong alcoholic beverage), or carakumiss, which is clarified mare's milk, or bal, which is honey mead. For in winter they make use of these four kinds of drinks. I replied : "My lord, we are not men who seek to satisfy our fancies about drinks; whatever pleases you will suit us." So he had us given of the rice drink, which was clear and flavored like white wine, and of which I tasted a little out of respect for him, but for our misfortune our interpreter was standing by the butlers, who gave him so much to drink, that he was drunk in a short time. After this the Khan had brought some falcons and other birds, which he took on his hand and looked at, and after a long while he bade us speak. Then we

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had to bend our knees. He had his interpreter, a certain Nestorian, who I did not know was a Christian, and we had our interpreter, such as he was, and already drunk. Then I said: "In the first place we render thanks and praise to God, who has brought us from so far to see Möngke Khan, to whom God has given so much power on earth. And we pray Christ, by whose will we all live and die, to grant him a happy and long life." For it is their desire, that one shall pray for their lives. Then I told him: "My lord, we have heard of Sartach that he was a Christian, and the Christians who heard it rejoiced greatly, and principally my lord the king of the French. So we came to him, and my lord the king sent him a letter by us in which were words of peace, and among other things he bore witness to him as to the kind of men we were, and he begged him to allow us to remain in his country, for it is our office to teach men to live according to the law of God. He sent us, however, to his father Baatu, and Baatu sent us to you. You it is to whom God has given great power in the world. We pray then your mightiness to give us permission to remain in your dominion, to perform the service of God for you, for your wives and your children. We have neither gold, nor silver nor precious stones to present to you, but only ourselves to offer to you to serve God, and to pray to God for you. At all events give us leave to remain here till this cold has passed away, for my companion is so feeble that he cannot with safety to his life stand any more the fatigue of traveling on horse-back."

My companion had told me of his infirm condition, and had adjured me to ask for permission to stay, for we supposed that we would have to go back to Baatu, unless by special grace he gave us permission to stay. Then he began his reply: "As the sun sends its rays everywhere, likewise my sway and that of Baatu reach everywhere, so we do not want your gold or silver." So far I understood my interpreter, but after that I could not understand the whole of any one sentence: 'twas by this that I found out he was drunk, and Möngke himself appeared to me tipsy. His speech, it seemed to me, however, showed that he was not pleased that we had come to Sartach in the first place rather than to him. Then I, seeing that I was without interpreter, said nothing, save to beg him not to be displeased with what I had said of gold and silver, for I had not said that he needed or wanted such things, but only that we would gladly honor him with things temporal as well as spiritual. Then he made us arise and sit down again, and after awhile we saluted him and went out, and with us his secretaries and his interpreter, who was bringing up [foster-father to] one of his daughters. And they began to question us greatly about the kingdom of France, whether, there were many sheep and cattle and horses there, and whether they had not better go there at once and take it all. And I had to use all my strength to conceal my indignation and anger; but I answered: "There are many good things there, which you would see if it befell you to go there."

Then they appointed someone to take care of us, and we went to the monk. And as we were coming out of there to go to our lodgings, the interpreter I have mentioned came to me and said: "Möngke Khan takes compassion on you and allows you to stay here for the space of two months: then the great cold will be over. And he informs you that ten days hence there is a goodly city called Karakorum. If you wish to go there, he will have you given all you may require; if, however, you wish to remain here, you may do so, and you shall have what you need. It will, however, be fatiguing for you to ride with the court." I answered: " May the Lord keep Möngke Khan and give him a happy and long life! We have found this monk here, whom we believe to be a holy man and come here by the will of God. So we would willingly remain here with him, for we are monks, and we would say our prayers with him for the life of the Khan." Then he left us without a word. And we went to a big house, which we found cold and without a supply of fuel, and we were still without food, and it was night. Then he to whom we had been entrusted gave us fuel and a little food.

Our guide being about to return to Baatu, begged of us a carpet or rug which we had left by his order in Baatu's ordu. We gave it him, and he left us in the most friendly manner, asking our hand, and saying that it was his fault if he had let us suffer from hunger or thirst on the journey. We pardoned him, and in like manner we asked pardon of him and all his suite if we had shown them an evil example in anything.

A certain woman from Metz in Lorraine, Paquette [or Pascha] by name, and who had been made a prisoner in Hungary, found us out, and she gave us the best food she could. She belonged to the ordu of the Christian lady of whom I have spoken, and she told me of the unheard-of misery she had endured before coming to the ordu. But now she was fairly well off. She had a young Ruthenian husband, of whom she had had three right fine looking boys, and he knew how to make houses, a very good trade among them. Furthermore, she told us that there was in Karakorum a certain master goldsmith, William by name, a native of Paris: and his family name was Buchier, and the name of his father was Laurent Buchier.

She believed that he had still a brother living on the Grand Pont, called Roger Buchier. She also told me that he supported a young man whom he considered as his son, and who was a most excellent interpreter. But as Möngke Khan had given this said master three hundred iascot, that is three thousand marks, and fifty workmen to do a certain work, she feared he would not be able to send his son to me. She had heard people in the ordu saying: "The men who have come from your country are good men, and Möngke Khan would be pleased to speak with them, but their interpreter is worth nothing." 'Twas for this that she was solicitous about an interpreter. So I wrote to this master of my coming, asking him if he could send me his son; and he replied that in that month [during that moon] he could not, but the following he would have finished his task and then he would send him to me.

We were stopping then with the other envoys [So, then, we were quartered with the other envoys]; for they do differently as regards envoys at the court of Baatu and the court of Möngke. At Baatu's court there is an Iam on the west side who receives all those who come from the west; and it is arranged in like fashion for the other quarters of the world. But at the court of Möngke all are under one Iam, and may visit and see each other. At the court of Baatu they do not know each other, and one knows not whether another is an envoy, for they know not each other's lodgings, and only see each other at court. And when one is summoned, another perhaps is not: for they only go to court when summoned.

We found there a certain Christian from Damascus, who said he had come for the Soldan of Mont Real and of Crac [Karak], who wished to become the tributary and friend of the Tartars. Furthermore, the year before I arrived there, a certain clerk had come there from Acon, who called himself Raymond, but whose name was in truth Theodolus. He had started out from Cyprus with Friar Andrew, and had gone with him as far as Persia, and he brought certain instruments from Ammoric there in Persia, and he remained there after Friar Andrew. When Friar Andrew had gone back, he went on with his instruments and came to Möngke Khan, who asked him why he had come; and he said that he was with a certain holy bishop to whom God had sent a letter from heaven written in letters of gold, and had ordered to send it to the lord of the Tartars, for he would become the lord of the whole world, and he must persuade men to make peace with him. Then Möngke said to him: "If thou hast brought these letters which have come from heaven and letters of your lord, then thou art welcome." He replied that he had been bringing letters, but that they and his other things being on an unbroken pack-horse, it had run away through forests and over hills, and he had lost everything. Now it is a truth that such accidents frequently do occur, so one must be very careful to hold one's horse when obliged to get off it.

Then Möngke asked the name of the bishop. He said that he was called Oto. And he went on to tell him of Damascus and of master William, who was clerk of the lord legate and thus it was that he told the man from Damascus and Master William that he had been a clerk of the lord Legate]. Then the Khan asked him in whose kingdom he dwelt. And he answered that he was under a certain king of the Franks, who was called King Moles. For he had before that heard of what happened at Mensura, and he wanted to say that he was one of your subjects. Furthermore, he said to the Khan that the Saracens were between the Franks [Germans and French.] and him blocking the way: that if the road were open they would send envoys and would gladly make a peace with him. Then Möngke Khan asked if he would take envoys to that king and that bishop. He replied that he would, and also to the Pope. Then Möngke had made a very strong bow that two men could hardly string, and two arrows with silver heads full of holes, which whistled like a pipe when they were shot. And he told the Mo'al whom he was to send with this Theodolus: "Go to the king of the Franks, to whom this man shall take you, and offer him these from me. And if he will have peace with us, and we conquer the land of the Saracens [Muslims.] as far as his country, we will leave him all the rest of the earth to the west. If not, bring back the bow and the arrows to us, and tell him that with such bows we shoot far and hit hard."

Then he made this Theodulus leave his presence, and his interpreter was the son of master William, and he heard (the Khan) saying to the Mo'al : "Go with this man; examine well the roads, the country, the towns, the men and their arms." Then this young man upbraided Theodulus, saying that he did wrong to take envoys of the Tartars with him, who only went to spy. Then he answered that he would put them to sea, so that they would not be able to know whence they came nor how they had come back.

Möngke also gave the Mo'al his bull, which is like a plate of gold a palm broad and a half cubit long, and on it is written his order. He who bears it can command what he pleases, and it shall be done without delay. So when this Theodulus had come as far as Vastacius, and was wishing to pass on to the Pope, to deceive the Pope as he had deceived Möngke Khan, Vastacius asked him if he had letters of the Pope, since he was an ambassador and had to lead envoys of the Tartars. And when he was unable to show any letters, he seized him and took away from him all that he had got together, and threw him into prison. As to the Mo'al, he fell ill and died there. Vastacius, however, sent back to Möngke Khan by the attendants of the Mo'al the bull of gold, and I passed them on the road at Arseron (Erzerum) on the border of Turkie, and they told me what had befallen this Theodulus. Such adventurers wandering through the world, the Mo'al put to death when they can lay hands on them.

Then the feast of the Epiphany (6th January [1254]) was nigh, that Hermenian monk called Sergius told me that he would baptize Möngke Khan on that feast. And I begged him to do all in his power that I might be present, and be an eye-witness to it. And this he promised me. The feast came, but the monk did not call me; however, at the sixth hour [Noon] I was called to court, and I saw the monk with the priests coming back from the court bearing his cross, and the priests had a censer and the Gospels. Now on that same day Möngke Khan had had a feast, and it is his custom on such days as his diviners tell him are holy, or the Nestorian priests say for some reason are sacred, for him to hold court, and on such days first come the Christian priests with their apparel, and they pray for him and bless his cup. When they have left, the Saracen priests come and do likewise. After them come the priests of idols, doing the same thing. The monk told me that (Möngke) believed only in the Christians but he wanted all to pray for him. But he lied for he believes in none, as you shall learn hereafter, and they all follow his court as flies do honey, and he gives to all, and they all believe that they are his favorites, and they all prophesy blessings to him.

So we sat for a long time before his ordu and they brought us meat to eat, but I told them that we would not eat there, but that if they wished to provide us with food they should give it to us in our dwelling. Then they said: "Go then to your dwelling, for you have only been called to eat." So we went back by way of the monk's, ashamed of the lie he had told us, and to whom I would not therefore speak of that matter. Some of the Nestorians, however, wanted to assure me that he (Möngke) had been baptized; I told them that I would never believe it, nor say so to others, for I had not seen it.

We came to our cold and empty dwelling. They had supplied us with couches and bed covering, and brought us fuel, and given to the three of us the flesh of one poor, thin sheep for food for six days. Daily they gave us a bowl full of millet and a quart of millet mead, and they borrowed for us a kettle and a tripod to cook our meat; and when it was cooked we boiled the millet in the pot liquor. This was our diet; and it would have been quite sufficient, if they had let us eat in peace. But there were so many suffering from want of food, who as soon as they saw us getting our meal ready, would push in on us, and who had to be given to eat with us. Then I experienced what martyrdom it is to give in charity when in poverty.

At that time the cold began to grow intense, and Möngke Khan sent us three gowns of papion skins, which they wear with the fur outside, and these we received in thankfulness. They inquired also whether we had all the food we required. I told them that a little food sufficed us, but that we had no house in which we could pray for Möngke Khan; for our hut was so small that we could not stand up in it, nor open our books as soon as we lit the fire. So they reported these words to him, and he sent to the monk to know whether he would like our company, and he replied cheerfully that he would. From then on we had a better dwelling, living with the monk before the ordu, where no one lodged except ourselves and their diviners; but these latter were nearer and in front of the ordu of the first lady, while we were on the extreme eastern end, before the ordu of the last lady. This was on the day before the octave of the Epiphany (12th January). The next day, that is on the octave of the Epiphany, all the Nestorian priests assembled before dawn in the chapel, beat the board, and solemnly sang Matins; then they put on their church vestments, and prepared a censer and incense. And as they thus waited in the court of the church, the first wife, called Cotota Cater (cater is the same as "lady," Cotota is a proper name), entered the chapel with several other ladies, and her first-born son called Baltu, and some others of her children; and they prostrated themselves, the forehead to the ground, according to the fashion of the Nestorians, and after that they touched all the images with their right hand, always kissing their hand after touching them; and after this they gave their right hands to all the bystanders in the church. This is the custom of the Nestorians on entering church. Then the priests sang a great deal, putting incense in the lady's hand; and she put it on the fire, and then they incensed her. After that when it was already bright day, she began taking off her headdress, called bocca, and I saw her bare head, and then she told us to leave, and as I was leaving, I saw a silver bowl brought in. Whether they baptized here or not, I know not: but I do know that they do not celebrate mass in a tent, but in a substantial [permanent] church. And at Easter (12th April), I saw them baptise and consecrate fonts with great ceremony, which they did not do then.

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And as we were going back to our dwelling, Möngke Khan came, and entered the church or oratory, and they brought him a gilded couch, on which he sat beside his lady, facing the altar. Then they summoned us, who did not know of the arrival of Möngke, and the door-keeper searched us, lest we had knives on us. I entered the oratory, with my Bible and breviary in my bosom. First I bowed to the altar, and then to the Khan, and passing to the other side, we stood between the monk and the altar. Then they made us intone a psalm according to our fashion and chant. "We chanted this prose: "Veni, Sancte, Spiritus."

The Khan had brought him our books, the Bible and the breviary, and made careful inquiry about the pictures, and what they meant. The Nestorians answered as they saw fit, for our interpreter had not come with us. The first time I had been before him, I had also the Bible in my bosom, and he had it handed him, and looked at it a great deal. Then he went away, but the lady remained there and distributed presents to all the Christians who were there. To the monk she gave one iascot, and to the archdeacon of the priests another. Before us she had placed a nasic, which is a piece of stuff as broad as a coverlid and about as long, and a buccaran [an expensive cotton cloth]; but as I would not accept them, they were sent to the interpreter, who took them for himself. The nasic he carried all the way to Cyprus, where he sold it for eighty bezants of Cyprus, though it had been greatly damaged on the journey. Then drink was brought, rice mead and red wine, like wine of La Rochelle, and kumiss. Then the lady, holding a full cup in her hand, knelt and asked a blessing, and the priests all sang with a loud voice, and she drank it all. Likewise, I and my companion had to sing when she wanted to drink another time. When they were all nearly drunk, food was brought consisting of mutton, which was at once devoured, and after that large fish which are called carp, but without salt or bread; of these I ate [of this I partook sparingly]. And so they passed the day till evening. And when the lady was already tipsy, she got on her cart; the priests singing and howling, and she went her way. The next Sunday, when we read the "Nuptie facte sunt in Chana," [There was a marriage in Cana (see: John 2).] came the daughter of the Khan, whose mother was a Christian, and she did likewise, though with not so much ceremony; for she made no presents, but only gave the priests to drink till they were drunk, and also parched millet to eat.

Before Septuagesima Sunday, the Nestorians fast three days, which they call the fast of Jonah, that he preached to the Ninivites; and then also the Hermenians fast for five days, which they call the fast of Saint Serkis, who is one of the greater saints among them, and who the Greeks say was a canon model for saints]. The Nestorians begin the fast on the third day of the week, and end it on the fifth, so that on the sixth day they eat meat. And at that time I saw that the Khancellor, that is the grand secretary of the court, Bulgai by name, gave them a present of meat on the sixth day; and they blessed it with great pomp, as the Pascal lamb is blessed. He himself, however, did not eat (meat on Friday), and this is also the principle of master William the Parisian, who is a great friend of his. The monk directed Möngke to fast during the week, and this he did, as I heard say. So on the Sunday of Septuagesima (8th February), which is as it were the Easter of the Hermenians Septuagesima Saturday (Feb. 8th), which for the Armenians is on a level with Easter], we went in procession to the dwelling of Möngke, and the monk and we two, after having been searched for knives, entered into his presence with the priests. And as we were entering a servant came out carrying some sheep's shoulder-blades, burnt to coals, and I wondered greatly what he could do with them. When later on I enquired about it, I learnt that he [the Khan] does nothing in the world without first consulting these bones; he does not even allow a person to enter his dwelling without first consulting them. This kind of divination is done as follows. When he wishes to do anything, he has brought him three of these bones not previously charred, and holding one, he thinks of the thing about which he wishes to consult it, whether he shall do it or not; and then he hands it to a servant to burn. And there are two little buildings beside the dwelling in which he lives, in which they burn these bones, and these bones are looked for diligently every day through-out the whole camp. When they have been charred black, they are brought back to him, and then he examines whether the bones have been split by the heat throughout their length. In that case the way is open for him to act. If, however, the bones have been cracked crosswise, or round bits have been started out of them, then he may not act. For this bone always splits in the fire, or there appear some cracks spreading over it. And if out of the three he finds one satisfactory, he acts and should one out of the three be split cleanly he acts].

When then we were going into his presence, we were cautioned not to touch the threshold. The Nestorian priests carried incense to him, and he put it in the censer and they incensed him. They then chanted, blessing his drink ; and after them the monk said his benison, and finally we had to say ours. And seeing us carrying Bibles before our breasts, he had them handed him to look at, and he examined them very carefully. When he had drunk, and the highest of the priests had served him his cup, they gave the priests to drink. After this we went out, and my companion who had turned his face toward the Khan bowing to him, and following us in this fashion hit the threshold of the dwelling; and as we were proceeding in all haste to the house of Baltu, his son, those who were guarding the threshold laid hands on my companion, stopped him, and would not allow him to follow us; and calling someone, they told him to take him to Bulgai, who is the grand secretary of the court, and who condemns persons to death. But I was in ignorance of all this. When I looked back and did not see him coming, I thought they had detained him to give him lighter clothing, for he was feeble, and so loaded down with furs that he could scarcely walk. Then they called our interpreter, and made him stay sit] with him.

We on our side We for out part] went to the house of the eldest son of the Khan, who has already two wives, and who lodges on the right side of his father's ordu ; and as soon as he saw us coming, he got up from the couch on which he was seated, and prostrated himself to the ground, striking the ground with his forehead, and worshipping the cross. Then getting up, he had it placed on high in the most honored place beside him. He had as a master a certain Nestorian priest, David by name, a great drunkard, who was teaching him. Then he made us sit down, and had given the priests to drink. And he also drank, after having been blessed by them.

Then we went to the ordu of the second lady, who is called Cota [Qotai], and who is an idol follower, and we found her lying ill in bed. The monk obliged her to get up from her bed, and made her worship the cross with bended knees and prostrations, the forehead on the ground, he standing with the cross on the west side of the dwelling, and she on the east side. When this was done, they changed places, and the monk went with the cross to the east side, and she to the west; and he commanded her boldly, though she was so feeble she could scarcely stand on her feet, to prostrate herself three times, worshipping the cross facing the east, in Christian fashion: and this she did. And he showed her how to make the sign of the cross before her face. After that, when she had lain down again on her bed, prayers having been said for her, we went to a third house in which the Christian lady used to live. On her death she was succeeded by a young girl who, together with the daughter of the lord (Möngke?), received us joyfully, and all they in this house worshipped the cross most devoutly; and she had it placed in a high place on a silk cloth, and had food brought, to wit, mutton, and it was placed before the master (mistress?), who caused her to distribute it to the priest. I and the monk, however, took neither food nor drink. When the meat had been devoured and a great deal of liquor drunk, we had to go to the apartment of that damsel Cherina, which was behind the big ordu which had been her mother's; and when the cross was brought in she prostrated herself to the ground, and worshipped it right devoutly, for she had been well instructed in that, and she placed it in a high place on a piece of silk ; and all these pieces of stuff on which the cross was put belonged to the monk.

A certain Hermenian who had come with the monk had brought this said cross from Jerusalem, as he said. It was of silver, weighing perhaps four marks, and had four gems in the angles and one in the center; and it did not have the image of the Savior, for the Hermenians and Nestorians are ashamed to show the Christ fixed to the Cross. And they had presented it to Möngke Khan, and Möngke asked him what he wanted. Then he said he was the son of an Hermenian priest, whose church had been destroyed by the Saracens [Muslims.], and he asked his help to restore this church. Then (Möngke) asked him with how much it could be rebuilt, and he said two hundred iascot-that is two thousand marks. And he ordered that he should be given letters to him who receives the tribute in Persia and Greater Hermenia, to pay him this sum of silver. The monk carried this cross with him everywhere, and the priests seeing how he profited thereby began to envy him.

So we were in the dwelling of this damsel, and she gave the priests much to drink. Thence we went to a fourth house, which was the last as to its position and its importance. For he (i.e., Möngke) did not frequent that lady, and her dwelling was old, and she herself little pleasing; but after Easter the Khan made her a new house and new carts. She, like the second, knew little or nothing of Christianity, but followed the diviners and idolaters. However, when we went in she worshipped the Cross, just as the monk and priests had taught her. There again the priests drank; and thence we went back to our oratory, which was near by, the priests singing with great howling in their drunkenness, which in those parts is not reprehensible in man or in woman.

Then my companion was brought in and the monk chided him most harshly, because he had touched the threshold. The next day came Bulgai, who was the judge, and he closely inquired whether anyone had warned us to be careful about touching the threshold, and I answered "My lord, we had no interpreter with us; how could we have understood?" Then he pardoned him, but never thereafter was he allowed to enter any dwelling of the Khan.

It happened after this that the lady Cota, who had fallen ill about the Sunday of Sexagesima (15th February), fell sick even unto death, and the sorcerers of the idolaters could do nothing to drive it out. Then Möngke sent to the monk, asking him what could be done for her, and the monk rashly replied that if she did not get well he could cut off his head. Having made this promise the monk called us, telling us of the affair with tears, and begging us to keep vigils with him that night in the oratory; this we did. And he had a certain root called rhubarb, and he chopped it up till it was nearly powder, and put it in water with a little cross which he had, and on which was a raised image of the Savior [on which had been set in relief an effigy of the savior], and by which he said he could find out whether a sick person would recover or die. If he was to escape, it stuck on the sick person's breast as if glued there; if not, it did not stick. And I thought that this rhubarb was something holy which he had brought from Jerusalem in the Holy Land. And he was in the habit of giving this water to drink to all sick persons, and it could not be but their bowels were stirred up by such a bitter draught. But they considered this movement in their bodies something miraculous.

Then I said to him, as he was preparing it, to make the potion with holy water as is done in the Church of Rome, for it has great virtue in expelling devils, for we supposed that she was beset of a devil; and at his request we made him holy water, and he mixed rhubarb in it, and put the cross to soak in it the whole night. I told him also that if he was a priest, the sacerdotal order had great power in expelling devils. And he said he was; but he lied, for he had taken no orders, and did not know a single letter, but was a cloth weaver, as I found out in his own country, which I went through on my way back.

The next day then we went to this lady, the monk, I, and two Nestorian priests, and she was in a little (tent) behind her larger dwelling. When we went in, she got up from her couch, worshipped the Cross, put it reverently beside her on a silk cloth, drank some holy water and rhubarb, and washed her breast (with it); and the monk requested me to read the Gospel over her. I read the Passion of the Lord according to John. Finally she revived and felt better, and she caused to be brought four iascot of silver, which she first put at the foot of the Cross, and then gave one to the monk, and she held out one to me, which I would not receive. Then the monk held out his hand and took it. And to either of the priests she gave one; so she gave that time forty marks. Then she had wine brought, and gave the priests to drink, and I also had to drink three times at her hand in honour of the Trinity. She also began to teach me the language, joking with me because I was silent, not having an interpreter with me making fun of me because my lack of an interpreter made me dumb].

The next day we again went back to her, and Möngke Khan, hearing that we had passed that way, made us come in unto him, because he had heard that the lady was better; and we found him with a few of his attendants, and he was drinking what looked like liquid mud, a dish made of paste [sipping liquid tam, which is a food made from dough] for the comforting of the head, and charred sheep's shoulder-blades lay before him, and he took the Cross in his hand; but whether he kissed it or worshipped it I did not notice, but he looked at it, asking I know not what [seeking something or other].

Then the monk asked permission to carry the Cross on high on a lance, for he had previously spoken to the monk about this, and Möngke replied: "Carry it as you like best." Then, having saluted him, we went to the said lady, and we found her well and bright, and she drank again of the holy water, and we read the Passion over her. But these miserable priests had never taught her the faith, nor advised her to be baptized. I sat there, however, silent, unable to say a word, so she again taught me some of the language.

The priests do not condemn any form of sorcery; for I saw there four swords half way out of their scabbards, one at the head of the lady's couch, another at the foot, and one of the other two on either side of the entry. I also saw there a silver chalice, of the kind we use, which had perhaps been stolen in some church in Hungary, and it was hung on the wall full of ashes, and on the ashes was a black stone; and these priests never teach that such things are evil. Even more, they themselves do and teach such things.

We visited her (i.e., Cota) on three days, so that she was completely restored to health. After that the monk made a banner covered with crosses, and got a reed as long as a spear, and we used to carry the Cross on high. I showed him the respect I would to my bishop I showed him the deference due to a superior], because he knew the language. He did, however, many things which did not please me. Thus he had made for himself a folding-chair, such as bishops are wont to have, and gloves and a cap of (with) peacock feathers, and on it a little gold cross, which, so far as the cross went, pleased me well. He had rough claws, which he tried to improve with unguents. He showed himself most presumptuous in his speech. Furthermore these Nestorians used to recite I know not what verses, of a psalm according to them, over two twigs which were joined together while held by two men. The monk stood by during the operation; and other vanities appeared in him which displeased me. Nevertheless, we kept to his company for

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the honor of the Cross; for we used to carry the cross on high throughout the whole camp, singing the "Vexilla regis prodeunt," at which the Saracens were greatly astonished.

From the time when we reached the court of Möngke, he never moved his carts (bigavit) but twice toward the south; and then he began going back northward, which was toward Karakorum. One thing I remarked throughout the whole journey, which agreed with what I had been told by Messire Baldwin of Hainaut in Constantinople, who had been there, that the one thing that seemed extraordinary was that he ascended the whole way in going, without ever descending. For all the rivers flowed from east to west, either directly, or indirectly--that is to say, deflecting north or south. And I questioned priests, who had come from Cathay, who bore witness to it, that from the place where I had found Möngke Khan to Cathay was twenty days journey between south and east; while to Onan Kerule, which is the true country of the Mo'al, and where is the ordu of Chingis, was ten days due east, and that all the way to these eastern parts there was no city. There were, however (they said), people called Su-Mo'al, which is "Mo'al of the waters;" for su is the same as "water." They live on fish and by the chase, for they have no flocks, no herds. Likewise to the north there is no city, but a people raising flocks, and called Kerkis [Kirghiz]. There are also the Oengai [Uriyangqai], who tie polished boned under their feet, and propel themselves over the frozen snow and on the ice, with such speed that they catch birds and beasts. And there is a number of other poor peoples to the north as far as they can extend on account of the cold, and they confine to the west on the land of Pascatir, which is Greater Hungary, of which I have spoken to you previously. The northern end of the angle is unknown, on account of the great cold. For there is eternal snow and ice there.

I asked (these same priests) about the monsters, or human monstrosities, of which Isidorus and Solinus speak. They told me they had never seen such, which astonished me greatly, if it be true but (I) was told that such things had never been sighted, which makes us very much doubt whether (the story) is true]. All of these said nations, no matter how miserable they may be, must serve (the Mo'al) in some manner. For it was a commandment of Chingis, that no one man should be free from service, until he be so old that he cannot possibly work any more.

One day a priest from Cathay [China.] was seated with me, and he was dressed in a red stuff of the finest hue, and I asked whence came such a color; and he told me that in the countries east of Cathay there are high rocks, among which dwell creatures who have in all respects human forms, except that their knees do not bend, so that they get along by some kind of jumping motion; and they are not over a cubit in length, and all their little body is covered with hair, and they live in inaccessible caverns. And the hunters (of Cathay) go carrying with them mead, with which they can bring on great drunkenness, and they make cup-like holes in the rocks, and fill them with this mead. (For Cathay [China] has no grape wine, though they have begun planting vines, but they make a drink of rice.) So the hunters hide themselves, and these animals come out of their caverns and taste this liquor, and cry "Chin, chin," so they have been given a name from this cry, and are called Chinchin. Then they come in great numbers, and drink this mead, and get drunk, and fall asleep. Then come the hunters, who bind the sleeper's feet and hands. After that they open a vein in their necks, and take out three or four drops of blood, and let them go free; and this blood, he told me was most precious for colouring purples. They also told me as a fact (which I do not, however, believe), that there is a province beyond Cathay, and at whatever age a man enters it, that age he keeps which he had on entering.

Cathay is on the ocean. And master William told me that he had himself seen the envoys of certain people called Caule [Kao-li: Korea] and Manse [Man-tze: southern China, still ruled by the Song], who live on islands the sea around which freezes in winter, so that at that time the Tartars can make raids thither; and they had offered (them) thirty-two thousand tumen of iascot a year, if they would only leave them in peace. A tumen is a number containing ten thousand.

The common money of Cathay [China.] is a paper of cotton, in length and breadth a palm, and on it they stamp lines like those on the seal of Möngke. They (i.e., the Chinese].) write with a brush such as painters paint with, and they make in one figure [a Chinese character, a logogram, also called Hanzi] the several letters containing a whole word [Many Hanzi logograms are squeezed into a square with 2 logograms in which normally is only one character.]. The Tebet write as we do, and have characters [letters based on Phoenician / Aramaic] quite like ours. The Tanguts write from right to left like the Arabs, but they repeat the lines running upwards; the Iugur, as previously said (write) up and down. The ordinary money of the Ruthenians are skins of vaire and minever.

When we came (to live) with the monk, he advised us, in all kindliness, to abstain from meat; that our servant would get meat with his servants; and that he would provide us with flour and oil or butter. This we did, though it greatly incommoded my companion on account of his weakness. Consequently, our diet consisted of millet with butter, or dough cooked in water with butter, or sour milk and unleavened bread, cooked in a fire of cattle- or horse-dung.

When came Quinquagesima (23rd February [22nd Feb.]), which is the Carnival of all Eastern (Christians) when all Eastern Christians abstain from meat], the great lady Cotata and her company fasted that week and she came every day to our oratory, and gave food to the priests and to the other Christians, of whom a great multitude gathered there that first week to hear the services; and she gave me and my companion each of us a tunic and trousers of grey samite, lined with silk wadding, for my companion had complained greatly of the weight of his fur gown. These I received for the sake of my companion, though I excused myself for not wearing such clothes. I gave what belonged to me to my interpreter.

The gate-keepers of the court seeing such a crowd pressing toward the church, which was just beyond the bounds of the court, the warders of the court sent one of their number to the monk, to tell him they would not have such a great multitude congregating there just beyond the court limits. Then the monk replied roughly that he wanted to know if they gave this as the order of Möngke, adding also some threats, as if he would make complaint of them to Möngke. So they forestalled him and accused him to Möngke, saying that he talked too much, and that too great a multitude met together at his talks.

After that, on Quadragesima Sunday (1st March) we were called to court, and when the monk had been so shamefully searched to see whether he had a knife that he of his own accord took off his shoes, we entered into the Khan's presence, and he had a charred sheep's shoulder-blade in his hand, and was inspecting it; and then, as if reading on it, he began to reprimand the monk, asking why, since he was a man who ought to pray to God, he talked so much to men. I was standing behind with uncovered head, and the Khan said to him: "Why do you not uncover your head, when you come into my presence, as this Frank does?" [J adds: And he had me called nearer.] Then the monk in great confusion took off his hat, against the custom of the Greeks and Hermenians; and when the Khan had said many harsh things to him, we went out. And then the monk handed me the Cross to carry to the oratory, for such was his confusion that he did not want to carry it.

After a few days he made his peace with the Khan, promising that he would go to the Pope, and that he would bring all the nations of the west to owe him obedience. When he came back to the oratory after this conversation with the Khan, he began inquiring about the Pope, whether I believed he would see him, if he came to him on the part of Möngke, and if he would furnish him with horses as far as Saint James [Santiago in N. Spain, a major pilgrimage site]. He inquired also concerning you, if I believed that you would send your son to Möngke. Then I warned him to be careful not to make lying promises to Möngke, for he would be making a new mistake more serious than the first, and that God did not want lies from us, or that we should speak deceitfully.

At this time there arose a controversy between the monk and a certain priest called Jonas, a well-read man, whose father had been archdeacon, and whom the other priests looked upon as a teacher and archdeacon. For the monk said that man had been made before paradise, and that the Gospel said so. Then I was called upon to decide this question. I, without knowing that they were arguing on the subject, replied that the paradise had been made the third day, when also all the trees were; and that man had been made on the sixth day. Then the monk began to say: "Did not the devil on the first day bring earth from the four parts of the world, and having made mud of it, did he not make the human body, and did not God breathe a soul into it?" Hearing the Manichean heresy, and he thus publicly and impudently proclaiming it, I upbraided him sharply, telling him to put his finger on his mouth, since he did not know the Scriptures, and to be careful not to tell the reason of his fault. But he began to scoff at me, because I did not know the language. So I left him and went to our dwelling.

After that it happened that he and the priests went in procession to the court, without telling me, for the monk was not speaking to me on account of this scolding, and he did not want to take me with him as he used to do. So when they came into the presence of Möngke, and he did not see me among them, he inquired where I was, and why I had not come with them. But the priests were afraid, and excused themselves the priests were alarmed and offered excuses]. When they came back they told me what Möngke had said, and complained of the monk. After that the monk made his peace with me, and I with him, begging him to help me with the language, and that I would help him with the Sacred Scriptures. For "the brother who is aided by the brother is like a strong city."

After the first week of the fast, the lady ceased to come to the oratory and to give the food and mead we were accustomed to get. The monk did not allow (any food) to be brought, saying that mutton tallow was used in preparing it. He only very rarely gave us oil. Consequently, we had nothing save bread cooked on the ashes, and dough boiled in water, so that we could have soup to drink, as the only water we had was melted snow or ice, and was very bad. Then my companion began to complain greatly; so I told our necessity to that David, who was the teacher of the eldest son of the Khan, and he reported my words to the Khan, who had us given wine and flour and oil. The Nestorians will not eat fish during Lent, neither will the Hermenians; so they gave us a skin of wine. The monk said he only ate on Sunday, when this lady sent him a meal of cooked dough with vinegar to drink. But he had beside him, under the altar, a box with almonds and raisins and prunes, and many other fruits, which he ate all through the day whenever he was alone. We ate once a day, and then in great misery; for it was known that Möngke Khan had given us wine, so they pushed their way in on us like dogs in the most impudent manner, both the Nestorian priests, who were getting drunk all day at court, and the Mo'al, and the servants of the monk. Even the monk himself, when someone came to him to whom he wished to give drink, would send to us for wine. So it was that that wine brought us more vexation than comfort, for we could not refuse to give of it without causing scandal; if we should give it, we would want it; nor would we dare ask for more from the court, when that was done.

Toward the middle of Lent [22nd March], the son of master William arrived bringing a beautiful crucifix, made in French style, with a silver image of the Christ fixed on it. Seeing it, the monks and priests stole it [the monks and the priests removed it], though he was to have presented it from his master to Bulgai, the grand secretary of the court; when I heard of this I was greatly scandalized. This young man also informed Möngke Khan that the work he had ordered to be done was finished; and this work I shall here describe to you.

RUBRUCK CHAPTER 16.

THE KHAN'S PALACE AT KARAKORUM

Möngke had at Karakorum a great palace, situated next to the city walls, enclosed within a high wall like those which enclose monks' priories among us. Here is a great palace, where he has his drinkings twice a year: once about Easter, when he passes there, and once in summer, when he goes back (westward). And the latter is the greater (feast), for then come to his court all the nobles, even though distant two months journey; and then he makes them largess of robes and presents, and shows his great glory. There are there many buildings as long as barns, in which are stored his provisions and his treasures. In the entry of this great palace, it being unseemly to bring in there skins of milk and other drinks, master William the Parisian had made for him a great silver tree, and at its roots are four lions of silver, each with a conduit through it, and all belching forth white milk of mares. And four conduits are led inside the tree to its tops, which are bent downward, and on each of these is also a gilded serpent, whose tail twines round the tree. And from one of these pipes flows wine, from another cara kumiss, or clarified mare's milk, from another bal, a drink made with honey, and from another rice mead, which is called terracina; and for each liquor there is a special silver bowl at the foot of the tree to receive it. Between these four conduits in the top, he made an angel holding a trumpet, and underneath the tree he made a vault in which a man can be hid. And pipes go up through the heart of the tree to the angel. In the first place he made bellows, but they did not give enough wind. Outside the palace is a cellar in which the liquors are stored, and there are servants all ready to pour them out when they hear the angel trumpeting. And there are branches of silver on the tree, and leaves and fruit. When then drink is wanted, the head butler cries to the angel to blow his trumpet. Then he who is concealed in the vault, hearing this blows with all his might in the pipe leading to the angel, and the angel places the trumpet to his mouth, and blows the trumpet right loudly. Then the servants who are in the cellar, hearing this, pour the different liquors into the proper conduits, and the conduits lead them down into the bowls prepared for that, and then the butlers draw it and carry it to the palace to the men and women.

And the palace is like a church, with a middle nave, and two sides beyond two rows of pillars, and with three doors to the south, and beyond the middle door on the inside stands the tree, and the Khan sits in a high place to the north, so that he can be seen by all; and two rows of steps go up to him: by one he who carries his cup goes up, and by the other he comes down. The space which is in the middle between the tree and these steps by which they go up to him is empty; for here stands his cup-bearer, and also envoys bearing presents; and he himself sits up there like a divinity. On (his) right side, that is to the west, are the men, to the left the women. The palace extends from the north (southward). To the south, beside the pillars on the right side, are rows of seats raised like a platform, on which his son and brothers sit. On the left side it is arranged in like fashion, and there sit his wives and daughters. Only one woman sits up there beside him, though not so high as he.

When then he heard that the work was finished, he ordered the master to put it in place and fix it well to install it in

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position and to assemble it properly], and then toward Passion Sunday (29th March [1254].) he started out with his light tents, leaving the big ones behind him. And the monk and we followed him, and he sent us another skin of wine. And on the way we passed between mountains where there was excessive wind and cold and much snow fell. So toward the middle of the night he sent to the monk and us, asking us to pray God to temper this cold and wind, for all the animals in the caravan were in danger, particularly as they were then heavy with young and bringing forth. Then the monk sent him incense, telling him that he himself should put it on coals and offer it to God. I know not whether he did this, but the tempest, which had already lasted two days, abated when the third day of it was already beginning.

On Palm Sunday (5th April) we were near Karakorum. At early dawn we blessed some boughs, on which no signs of budding had yet appeared. And toward the ninth hour we entered the city, with raised Cross and banner, and passed through the Saracen [Muslim.] quarter, where there is a square and a market, to the church. And the Nestorians came to meet us in a procession. Going into the church, we found them ready to celebrate mass; and when it was celebrated they all communicated and inquired of me whether I wished to communicate [i.e., take the Eucharist]. I replied that I had already drunk, and could not receive the sacrament except fasting. When the mass had been said it was already after noon, so master William took us with great rejoicing to his house to dine with him; and he had a wife who was a daughter of Lorraine [of a Lorrainer], but born in Hungary, and she spoke French and Coman well. We found there also another person, Basil by name, the son of an Englishman, and who was born in Hungary, and who also knew these languages. We dined with great rejoicing, and then they led us to our hut, which the Tartars had set up in an open space near the church, with the oratory of the monk.

The next day the Khan entered his palace, and the monk and I and the priests went to him, but they did not allow my companion to go because he had trod upon the threshold. I had pondered much within myself what I should do, whether I should go or not; but I feared the scandal if I withdrew from the other Christians, and it pleased the Khan, and I feared it might interfere with the good I hoped to do; so I decided to go, though I saw that their sect was full of sorceries and idolatries [superstition and idolatry]. But I did nothing else while there but pray with a loud voice for the whole church, and also for the Khan, that God might guide him in the way of everlasting salvation.

So we entered the court, which is right well arranged; and in summer little streams are led all through it by which it is watered. After that we entered a palace all full of men and women, and we stood in the Khan's presence, with the tree of which I have spoken behind us, and it and the bowls (at its base) took up a large part of the palace. The priests had brought two little loaves of blessed bread, and fruit in a platter, which they presented to him, after saying grace. And a butler took it to him where he was seated on a right high and raised place; and he forthwith began to eat one of the loaves, and the other he sent to his son and to one of his younger brothers, who was being brought up by a certain Nestorian, and he knows the gospel, and had also sent for my Bible to look at it.

After the priests, the monk spoke his orison, and I mine after the monk. Then he (Möngke) promised that he would come the next day to the church, which is rather large and fine, and the whole ceiling is covered with a silken stuff interwoven with gold. The next day, however, he went his way, telling the priests in excuse that he did not dare come to the church, for he understood that they carried the dead there. We remained, however, with the monk at Karakorum, together with the other priests of the court, to celebrate Easter there.

Holy Thursday and Easter were nigh, and I did not have our vestments, and I was considering the manner of doing of the Nestorians [I was observing the way the Nestorians consecrated], and was greatly worried about what I should do, whether I should receive the sacrament from them, whether I should say mass in their vestments, with their chalice and on their altar, or whether I should wholly abstain from the sacrament. Then came a great number of Christians, Hungarians, Alans, Ruthenians, Georgians, Hermenians, all of whom had not seen the sacrament since their capture, for the Nestorians would not admit them into their church, so they said, unless they were re-baptized by them. However (the Nestorians) had not told us anything of all this; on the contrary, they confessed that the Roman Church was the head of all churches, and that they should receive their patriarch from the Pope, if the roads were open. And they offered us freely their sacrament, and made us stand in the entry of the choir to see their way of doing, and, on Easter eve (11th April), beside the font to see their mode of baptizing. They said that they had some of the ointment with which Mary Magdalen anointed the feet of the Lord, and they always pour in oil to the amount they take out, and they knead it into their bread. For all the Eastern (Christians) put grease into their bread instead of yeast, or else butter or sheep's tail fat or oil. They also say that they have some of the flour with which was made the bread that the Lord consecrated, and they put back in it as much as they take out; and they have a room beside the choir, and an oven where they bake the bread, which they must consecrate with great devotion.

So they make a loaf of bread a palm broad with this oil, and then they divide it first into twelve pieces according to the number of the Apostles, and after that they divide these portions according to the number of the people, and a priest gives to each the body of Christ in his hand, and the person takes it from his hand devoutly, and touches the top of his head with his hand.

Then I made them confess through the interpreter as well as I could, stating the ten commandments and the seven mortal sins, and the others which one should shun and publicly confess. They excused themselves for theft, saying that without thieving they could not live, for their masters did not provide them with either clothing or victuals. So, considering that they and their belongings had been carried off without just cause [At this I reflected that they (the Mongols) had carried off goods and livestock without justification], I said that it was permissible for them to take of their master's things what was necessary for them, and I was ready to say so to Möngke Khan's face. Furthermore, certain among them were soldiers, who excused themselves for being obliged to go to wars, for otherwise they would be put to death. I strongly forbad them to go against Christians, or to injure them they should rather let themselves be killed, for then they would become martyrs; and I said that if anyone wished to charge me to Möngke Khan with this teaching, I was ready to preach this in his hearing. The Nestorians from the court had approached while I was teaching, and I suspected that they might inform against us.

Then master William had made for us an iron to make wafers, and he had some vestments which he had made for himself; for he had some little scholarship, and conducted himself like a clerk. He had made after the French fashion a sculptured image of the Blessed Virgin, and on the windows surrounding it he had sculptured the Gospel history right beautifully, and he made also a silver box to put the body of Christ in, with relics in little cavities made in the sides of the box. He had also made an oratory on a cart, finely decorated with sacred scenes. I accepted his vestments and blessed them, and we made right fine wafers after our fashion, and the Nestorians gave me the use of their baptistery, in which was an altar. Their patriarch had sent them from Baldach a quadrangular skin for an antimensium, and it had been anointed with chrism; and this they used instead of a consecrated stone. So I celebrated mass on Holy Thursday (9th April) with their silver chalice and paten, and these vases were very large; and likewise on Easter day. And we made the people communicate, with the blessing of God, as I hope. As for them [the Nestorians] they baptized on Easter eve (11th April) more than sixty persons in very good order, and there was great rejoicing generally among all the Christians.

Then it happened that master William fell grievously ill; and, as he was convalescing, the monk, while visiting him, gave him rhubarb to drink, so that he nearly killed him. So when I called on him I found him in this distressing condition, and I asked him what he had eaten or drunk. And he told me how the monk had given him this drink, and how he had drunk two bowls full, thinking it was holy water. Then I went to the monk and said to him: " Either go as an apostle doing real miracles by the grace of the Word [prayer] and the Holy Ghost, or do as a physician in accordance with medical art. You give to drink to men not in a condition for it, a strong medicinal potion, as if it were something holy; and in so doing you would incur great shame, should it become known among men." From this he began fearing me, and warding himself from me.

It happened also at this time that the priest who was a sort of archdeacon of the others fell ill, and his friends sent for a certain Saracen [Muslim.] diviner, who said to them: "A certain lean man, who neither eats, nor drinks, nor sleeps in a bed, is angered with him. If he can get his blessing, he may get well." So they understood that this referred to the monk, and toward the middle of the night the wife of the priest and the sister and the son came to the monk, begging him to come and give him his blessing. They aroused us also to ask the monk. And as we asked him he said: "Let him alone, for he and three others who go also in evil ways, have formed the project to go to court, to obtain of Möngke Khan that you and I be driven out of these parts."

Now there had been a dispute among them, for Möngke and his wives had sent on Easter eve four iascot and pieces of silk to the monk and the priests to be distributed among them, and the monk had kept one iascot as his share, and of the remaining three one was counterfeit, for it was of copper; so it seemed to the priests that the monk had kept too large a share for himself; and it may therefore well have been that they had had some talk among themselves, which had been repeated to the monk.

When it was daylight I went to the priest, who had a very sharp pain in his side and was spitting blood, whence I imagined that it was an abscess. I advised him to recognize the Pope as the father of all Christians, which he at once did, vowing that if God should give him health he would go throw himself at the Pope's feet, and would ask in all good faith that the Pope should send his blessing to Möngke Khan. I advised him also to make restitution, if he had anything belonging to another. He said he had nothing. I spoke to him also of the sacrament of extreme unction. He replied: "We have not that custom, nor do our priests know how to do it; I beg that whatever you do for me, you do it according as you know how to do." I told him also of confession, which they do not make. He spoke a few words in the ear of a priest, one of his associates; after that he began to grow better, and he asked me to go to the monk. I went. At first the monk would not come; finally, on hearing that he was better, he went with his cross; and I went carrying the body of Christ in the box of master William, having kept it from Easter day at his request. Then the monk began to stamp upon him with his feet, and the other kissed his feet in all humility [The monk then began to trample on (the bed of) the priest, who meekly embraced his ankles]. Then I said to him: "It is a custom of the Roman Church that sick persons partake of the body of Christ, as a viatic and protection against all the toils of the enemy. Here is the body of Christ which I have kept from Easter day. You must confess and desire it." Then he said with great faith: "I desire it with all my heart." And as I was about to expose it, he said with great earnestness: "I believe that this is my Creator and Saviour, who gave me life, and will give it me again after death at the general resurrection." And so he received the body of Christ made by me, after the fashion of the Church of Rome.

The monk remained with him after this, and gave him, while I was away, I know not what potion. The next day he began to suffer unto death. So taking some of their oil, which they say is holy, I anointed him according to the fashion of the Church, as he had asked me. I had not any of our oil, for the priests of Sartach had kept everything. And as we were about to repeat the prayers for the dying, and I wanted to be present at his death, the monk sent me word to go away, for if I should be present I could not enter Möngke Khan's house till the year was up. When I mentioned this to his friends, they told me it was true, and they besought me to leave, so as not to interfere with the good I could promote.

When he was dead, the monk said to me: "Care not about it; I have killed him with my prayers. He was the only scholar, and was opposed to us. The others know nothing. However, all of them, Möngke Khan included, will come to our feet." Then he told me the above related answer of the diviner, which I did not believe, so I asked priests, friends of the deceased, if it were true. They said that it was; but whether he had been told beforehand, or not, they did not know.

After this I discovered that the monk had called this said Saracen diviner into his chapel with his wife, and had had dust sifted and had them divine for him by it. He had also a Ruthenian deacon with him who divined for him. When I had learned this, I was horrified at his ignorance, and I told him: "Brother, a man who is full of the Holy Ghost, who teaches all things, should not seek answers or advice from diviners; all such things are forbidden, and those who are given to them are excommunicated." Then he began to excuse himself, saying that it was not true that he sought such things. I was not, however, able to leave him, for I had been lodged there by order of the Khan, and I could not go elsewhere without his special order.

RUBRUCK CHAPTER 17.

DESCRIPTION OF KARAKORUM

Of the city of Karakorum you must know that, exclusive of the palace of the Khan, it is not as big as the not as fine as the] village of Saint Denis, and the monastery of Saint Denis is ten times larger than the palace [is worth ten of the palace]. There are two quarters in it; one of the Saracens in which are the markets, and where a great many Tartars gather on account of the court, which is always near this (city), and on account of the great number of ambassadors; the other is the quarter of the Cathayans, all of whom are artisans. Besides these quarters there are great palaces, which are for the secretaries of the court. There are there twelve idol temples of different nations, two mahummeries [mosques] in which is cried the law of Mohammed, and one church of Christians in the extreme end of the city. The city is surrounded by a mud wall and has four gates. At the eastern is sold millet and other kinds of grain, which, however, is rarely brought there; at the western one, sheep and goats are sold; at the southern, oxen and carts are sold; at the northern, horses are sold.

We arrived there following the court on the Sunday before Ascension (7th May May 17th]). The next day we, the monk and all his household, were summoned by Bulgai, who is the grand secretary and judge, and all the envoys and foreigners who were in the habit of frequenting the monk's house; and we were separately called into Bulgai's presence, first the monk, and we after him; and they inquired most minutely whence we were, why we had come, what was our business. And this inquiry was made because it had been reported to

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Möngke Khan that forty Hacsasins four hundred Assassins (*the sect mentioned above)] had entered the city under various disguises to kill him. About this time the lady of whom I have spoken I had a relapse, and sent for the monk, but he was unwilling to go and said: "She has called back the idolaters around her; let them cure her if they can. I shall go there no more."

On the eve of the Lord's Ascension (20th May) we went into all the houses of Möngke Khan; and I noticed that when he was about to drink, they sprinkled kumiss on his felt idols. Then I said to the monk: "What is there in common between Christ and Belial? What share has our Cross with these idols?"

Furthermore, Möngke Khan has eight brothers; three uterine, and five by the father. One of the uterine ones he sent to the country of the Hacsasins, whom they call Mulidet Mulihet], and he ordered him to put them all to death. Another came toward Persia and has already entered, it is believed, the land of Turkie, and will thence send an army against Baldach and against Vastacius. One of the others he sent into Cathay, against those who do not yet obey him. His youngest uterine brother, Arabuccha [Arigh Böke (died 1264).] by name, he keeps near him, and he holds the ordu of their mother, who was a Christian, and William is his slave. For one of his own brothers by the father had captured him in Hungary, in a city called Belgrade, where was also a Norman Bishop from Belevile near Rouen, with the nephew of a bishop, whom I saw in Karakorum. And he gave master William to Möngke's mother, for she insisted greatly on having him; and when she died, master William became the property of this Arabuccha, together with all the other things belonging to the ordu of his mother, and through him he became known to Möngke Khan, who after the completion of the work of which I have spoken, gave this master one hundred iascot, that is a thousand marks.

The day before Ascension (20th May), Möngke Khan said he wanted to visit his mother's ordu, for it was quite near; and the monk said he wanted to go with him and bestow his blessing on the soul of his mother. The Khan gave his approval. In the evening of Ascension day (21st May) the before-mentioned lady (i.e., Cota) grew a great deal worse, so that the chief of the diviners sent to the monk ordering him not to beat his board. The next day, when we left with all the court, the ordu of this lady remained behind. When we came to the place for pitching camp, the monk received orders to go farther away from the court than he was wont, which he did. Then Arabuccha came out to meet his brother the Khan, and the monk and we perceiving that he would have to pass beside us, advanced toward him with the cross. He recognized us, for he had been previously to our oratory, and held out his hand and made the sign of the cross at us like a bishop. Then the monk got on a horse and followed him, carrying some fruit with him. He (Arabuccha) alighted before the ordu of his brother, to wait for him until he should return from the chase. Then the monk got down too, and offered him his fruit, which he accepted. And there were seated beside him two men of high rank at the court of the Khan, and they were Saracens. Arabuccha, who knew of the enmity which exists between the Christians and Saracens [Muslims.], asked the monk if he knew these Saracens. He replied: "I know that they are dogs; why have you got them beside you?" "Why," the latter asked, "do you insult us, when we have said nothing to you?" The monk said to them: " It is true what I say, you and your Mohammed are low hounds." Then they began to blaspheme against Christ, but Arabuccha stopped them saying: "You must not speak so, for we know that the Messiah is God." In that very same hour there suddenly arose such a violent wind throughout the whole country, that it seemed as if devils were running through it; and after a little while there came reports that that lady (Cota) was dead.

The next day (22nd May) the Khan went back to his court (at Karakorum) by another way than that by which he had come; for it is one of their superstitions never to come back by the same road by which they go. And furthermore, wherever he sets his camp, after his departure no one may pass through the place where he has been, neither on horseback nor on foot, so long as there are any traces of the fire which has been made there.

That day some Saracens joined the monk on the road, provoking and disputing with him; and they, having the better of him, and he not knowing how else to defend his arguments, wanted to strike them with the whip he had in his hand. He behaved so that his words and actions were reported to the court, and orders were given us to get down (to camp) with the other ambassadors, and not in front of the court as we were in the habit of doing.

I had been constantly hoping that the king of Hermenia would come. Moreover, there had arrived about Easter a person from Bolat, where are those Germans, whom I had nearly gone there to see, and he had told me that a German priest was about coming to court; for these reasons I did not make any inquiries of Möngke about our remaining or leaving, though he had only given us permission in the first place to stay there two months, and four months had already gone by, not to say five. For these things took place about the end of May, and we had been there during the whole of January, February, March, April, and May. Not hearing, however, any news of the king (of Hermenia) or of this priest, and fearing lest we be obliged to go back in winter, the severity of which we had experienced, I had inquiry made of Möngke Khan what he wanted to do with us, for we would willingly remain there permanently, if it pleased him; if, however, we must go back, it would be less trying for us to do so in summer than in winter. He at once sent me word not to absent myself, for he wanted to speak to me; he would send for the son of master William [to speak with me the following day. I relpied that if he wished to speak with me he should send for Master Williams' son], for my dragoman was not competent. He who was speaking with me was a Saracen, and had been an envoy to Vastacius. And he, having been bribed [dazzled] with presents, had advised Vastacius to send ambassadors to Möngke Khan, and that in the meanwhile time would pass; for Vastacius believed that they (i.e., the Mongols) were about to invade his country at once. He sent, and when he had come to know them, he heeded them little, nor did he make a peace with them, nor have they yet entered his country; nor could they do so, so long as he dares defend himself. For they have never conquered any country by force of arms, but only by deceit; and it is because men make peace with them, that they work their ruin under cover of this peace. Then (this Muslim) inquired a great deal about the Pope and the king of the French, and concerning the roads leading to them. The monk, hearing this, cautioned me, unobserved, not to answer him, for he wanted to get himself sent as ambassador; so I was silent, and would answer him nothing. And he spoke to me I know not what injurious terms, for which the Nestorian priests wished to bring a charge against him, and he would have been put to death or soundly beaten; but I would not have it.

RUBRUCK CHAPTER 18.

RELIGIOUS DEBATE AT THE KHAN'S COURT

The next day, which was Sunday before Pentecost (24th May [1254]), they took me to court; and the grand secretaries of the court came to me, and one was the Mo'al who handed the Khan his cup, and the others were Saracens, and they inquired on the part of the Khan why I had come. Then I repeated what has previously been said; how I had come to Sartach, and from Sartach to Baatu, and how Baatu had sent me thither; then I said to him: "I have nothing to say from the part of any man. (This he must have known from what Baatu had written to him.) I have only to speak the words of God, if he wishes to hear them." They interrupted me, asking what words of God I wished to speak, thinking that I wanted to foretell some piece of good fortune to him, as many others do. I replied to them: "If you want me to speak the words of God to him, procure for me the interpreter." They said: "We have sent for him; but speak (now) through this one as well as you can; we understand you very well." And they urged me greatly that I should speak. So I said: "Of him unto whom much has been given much [more] shall be required. And furthermore, of him to whom much has been given much love is required [He to whom more hath been given must love the more]. By these words of God I teach Möngke, for God hath given him great power, and the riches which he has were not given him by the idols of the Tuins, but by Almighty God, who made heaven and earth, in whose hand are all kingdoms, and who removes it (i.e., power) from one nation to another on account of the sins of men. So if he shall love Him, it shall be well with him; if otherwise, he must know that God will require all things of him to the last farthing." Then one of the Saracens [Muslims.] said: "Is there anyone who does not love God?" I replied: "God says: 'If one love me, he keepeth my commandments; and he who loveth me not keepeth not my commandments.' So he who keepeth not the commandments of God loveth not God." Then he said: "Have you been to heaven, that you know the commandments of God?" "No," I replied, "but He has given them from heaven to holy men, and finally He descended from heaven to teach us, and we have them in the Scriptures, and we see by men's works when they keep them or not." Then he said: "Do you wish, then, to say that Möngke Khan does not keep the commandments of God?" I said to him: "Let the dragoman come, as you have said, and I will, in the presence of Möngke, if it pleases him, recite the commandments of God, and he shall judge for himself whether he keeps them or not." Then they went away, and told him that I had said that he was an idolater [Buddhist.], or Tuin, and that he did not keep God's commandments [which is a wrong conclusion, typical for Jews, Christians and Muslims; see: The Yasa in which are precepts descriped that are similar to the Ten Comandments, and the Five Precepts of Buddhists and Daoists.].

The next day (25th May) (the Khan) sent his secretaries to me, who said: "Our lord sends us to you to say that you are here Christians, Saracens and Tuins [Tengrists.]. And each of you says that his doctrine is the best, and his writings--that is, books--the truest. So he wishes that you shall all meet together, and make a comparison [and hold a conference], each one writing down his precepts, so that he himself may be able to know the truth." Then I said: "Blessed be God, who put this in the Khan's heart. But our Scriptures tell us, the servant of God should not dispute, but should show mildness to all; so I am ready, without disputation or contention, to give reason for the faith and hope of the Christians, to the best of my ability." They wrote down my words, and carried them back to him. Then it was told the Nestorians that they should look to themselves, and write down what they wished to say, and likewise to the Saracens [Muslims.], and in the same way to the Tuins [Tengrists.].

The next day (26th May) he again sent secretaries, who said: "Möngke Khan wishes to know why you have come to these parts." I replied to them: "He must know it by Baatu's letters." Then they said: "The letters of Baatu have been lost, and he has forgotten what Baatu wrote to him; so he would know from you." Then feeling safer I said: "It is the duty of our faith to preach the Gospel to all men. So when I heard of the fame of the Mo'al people, I was desirous of coming to them; and while this desire was on me, we heard that Sartach was a Christian. So I turned my footsteps toward him. And the lord king of the French sent him a letter containing kindly words, and among other things he bore witness to what kind of men we were, and requested that he would allow us to remain among the men of Mo'al. Then he (i.e., Sartach) sent us to Baatu, and Baatu sent us to Möngke Khan; so we have begged him, and do again beg him, to permit us to remain." They wrote all these things down, and carried it back to him on the morrow.

Then he again sent them to me, saying: "The Khan knows well that you have no mission to him, but that you have come to pray for him, like other righteous priests; but he would know if ever any ambassadors from you have come to us, or any of ours gone to you." Then I told them all about David and Friar Andrew, and they, putting it all down in writing, reported it back to him.

Then he again sent them to me, saying: "You have stayed here a long while; (the Khan) wishes you to go back to your own country, and he has inquired whether you will take an ambassador of his with you." I replied to them: "I would not dare take his envoys outside his own dominions, for there is a hostile country between us and you, and seas and mountains; and I am but a poor monk; so I would not venture to take them under my leadership." And they, having written it all down, went back.

Pentecost eve came (30th May). The Nestorians had written a whole chronicle from the creation of the world to the Passion of Christ; and passing over the Passion (correcting Rockhill): and they went beyond the passion], they had touched on the Ascension and the resurrection of the dead and on the coming to judgment, and in it there were some censurable statements, which I pointed out to them. As for us, we simply wrote out the symbol of the mass, "Credo in unum Demn." Then I asked them how they wished to proceed. They said they would discuss in the first place with the Saracens. I showed them that that was not a good plan, for the Saracens agreed with us in saying that there is one God: "So you have (in them) a help against the Tuins." They agreed with this. Then I asked them if they knew how idolatry had arisen in the world, and they were in ignorance of it. Then I told them, and they said: "Tell them these things, then let us speak, for it is a difficult matter to talk through an interpreter." I said to them: "Try how you will manage against them; I will take the part of the Tuins, and you will maintain that of the Christians. We will suppose I belong to that sect, because they say that God is not; now prove that God is." For there is a sect there which says that whatever spirit (anima) and whatever virtue whatever soul or any power] is in anything, is the God of that thing, and that God exists not otherwise. Then the Nestorians were unable to prove anything, but only to tell what the Scriptures tell. I said: "They do not believe in the Scriptures; you tell me one thing, and they tell another [if you tell them one story, they will quote you another]." Then I advised them to let me in the first place meet them, so that, if I should be confounded, they would still have a chance to speak; if they should be confounded, I should not be able to get a hearing after that. They agreed to this.

We were assembled then on Pentecost eve at our oratory, and Möngke Khan sent three secretaries who were to be umpires, one a Christian, one a Saracen [Muslim.], and one a Tuin [Tengrist.]; and it was published aloud: "This is the order of Möngke, and let no one dare say that the commandment of God differs from it. And he orders that no one shall dare wrangle or insult any other, or make any noise by which this business shall be interfered with, on penalty of his head." Then all were silent. And there was a great concourse of people there; for each side had called thither the most learned of its people, and many others had also assembled.

Then the Christians put me in the middle, telling the Tuins to speak with me. Then they--and there was a great congregation of them--began to murmur against Möngke Khan, for no other Chan had ever attempted to pry into their secrets. Then they opposed to me one who had come from Cathay, and who had his interpreter; and I had the son of

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master William. He began by saying to me: "Friend, if you think you are going to be hushed up (conclusus), look for a more learned one than yourself." I remained silent. Then (the Tuin) inquired by what I wished to begin the discussion, by the subject how the world was made, or what becomes of the soul after death. I replied to him: "Friend, this should not be the beginning of our talk. All things proceed from God. He is the fountain-head of all things; so we must first speak of God, of whom you think differently from us, and Möngke Khan wishes to know who holds the better belief." The umpires decided that this was right.

He wished to begin with these questions, as they consider them to be the weightiest; for they all hold this heresy of the Manichaeans [they all belong to the Manichaean heresy], that one half of things is evil, and the other half good, and that there are two (elemental) principles; and, as to souls, they believe that all pass from one body into another. Thus a most learned priest among the Nestorians questioned me (once) concerning the souls of animals, whether they could escape to any place where, after death, they would not be forced to labor. In confirmation furthermore of this error, as I was told by master William, there had been brought from Cathay a boy who, from the size of his body, was not more than twelve years old [three years old], but who was capable of all forms of reasoning, and who said of himself that he had been incarnated three times; he knew how to read and write.

So I said to the Tuin: "We believe firmly in our hearts and we confess with our mouths that God is, and that there is only one God, one in perfect unity. What do you believe?" He said : "Fools say that there is only one God, but the wise say that there are many. Are there not great lords in your country, and is not this Möngke Khan a greater lord? So it is of them, for they are different in different regions."

I said to him: "You choose a poor example, in which there is no comparison between man and God; according to that, every mighty man can call himself god in his own country." And as I was about to destroy the comparison, he interrupted me, asking: "Of what nature is your God, of whom you say that there is none other?" I replied: "Our God, besides whom there is none other, is omnipotent, and therefore requires the aid of none other, while all of us require His aid. It is not thus with man. No man can do everything, and so there must be several lords in the world, for no one can do all things. So likewise He knows all things, and therefore requires no councilor, for all wisdom comes of Him. Likewise, He is the supreme good, and wants not of our goods. But we live, move, and are in Him. Such is our God, and one must not consider Him otherwise."

"It is not so," he replied. "Though there is one (God) in the sky who is above all others, and of whose origin we are still ignorant, there are ten others under him, and under these latter is another lower one. On the earth they are in infinite number." And as he wanted to spin (texere) some other yarns, I asked him of this highest god, whether he believed he was omnipotent, or whether (he believed this) of some other god. Fearing to answer, he asked: "If your God is as you say, why does he make the half of things evil?" "That is not true," I said. " He who makes evil is not God. All things that are, are good."

At this all the Tuins were astonished, and they wrote it down as false or impossible. Then he asked: "Whence then comes evil?" "You put your question badly," I said. "You should in the first place inquire what is evil, before you ask whence it comes. But let us go back to the first question, whether you believe that any god is omnipotent; after that I will answer all you may wish to ask me."

He sat for a long time without replying, so that it became necessary for the secretaries who were listening on the part of the Khan to tell him to reply. Finally he answered that no god was omnipotent. With that the Saracens burst out into a loud laugh. When silence was restored, I said: "Then no one of your gods can save you from every peril, for occasions may arise in which he has no power. Furthermore, no one can serve two masters: how can you serve so many gods in heaven and earth?" The audience told him to answer, but he remained speechless. And as I wanted to explain the unity of the divine essence and the Trinity to the whole audience, the Nestorians of the country said to me that it sufficed, for they wanted to talk. I gave in to them, but when they wanted to argue with the Saracens, they [the Saracens] answered them: "We concede your religion is true, and that everything is true that is in the Gospel: so we do not want to argue any point with you." And they confessed that in all their prayers they besought God to grant them to die as Christians die.

There was present there an old priest of the Iugurs, who say there is one god, though they make idols; they (i.e., the Nestorians) spoke at great length with him, telling him of all things down to the coming of the Antichrist into the world [the coming of Christ in judgement], and by comparisons demonstrating the Trinity to him and the Saracens. They all listened without making any contradiction, but no one said: "I believe; I want to become a Christian." When this was over, the Nestorians as well as the Saracens sang with a loud voice; while the Tuins kept silence, and after that they all [everyone] drank deeply.

RUBRUCK CHAPTER 19.

FINAL AUDIENCE WITH THE KHAN

On Pentecost day (31st May) Möngke Khan called me before him, and also the Tuin with whom I had discussed; but before I went in, the interpreter, master William's son, said to me that we should have to go back to our country, and that I must not raise any objection, for he understood that it was a settled matter. When I came before the Khan I had to bend the knees, and so did the Tuin beside me, with his interpreter. Then (the Khan) said to me: "Tell me the truth, whether you said the other day, when I sent my secretaries to you, that I was a Tuin." I replied: "My lord, I did not say that; I will tell you what I said, if it pleases you." Then I repeated to him what I had said, and he replied: "I thought full well that you did not say it, for you should not have said it; but your interpreter translated badly." And he held out toward me the staff on which he leaned, saying: "Fear not." And I, smiling, said in an undertone: "If I had been afraid, I should not have come here." He asked the interpreter what I had said, and he repeated it to him. After that he began confiding to me his creed: "We Mo'al," he said, "believe that there is only one God, by whom we live and by whom we die, and for whom we have an upright heart." Then I said: "May it be so, for without His grace this cannot be." He asked what I had said; the interpreter told him. Then he added: "But as God gives us the different fingers of the hand, so he gives to men divers ways [several paths]. God gives you the Scriptures, and you Christians keep them not. You do not find (in them, for example) that one should find fault with another [abuse another], do you?" "No, my lord," I said; "but I told you from the first that I did not want to wrangle with anyone." "I do not intend to say it," he said, "for you [I am not referring to you]. Likewise you do not find that a man should depart from justice for money." "No, my lord," I said. "And truly I came not to these parts to obtain money; on the contrary I have refused what has been offered me." And there was a secretary present, who bore witness that I refused an iascot and silken cloths. "I dare not say it," he said, "for you. God gave you therefore the Scriptures, and you do not keep them; He gave us diviners, we do what they tell us, and we live in peace."

He drank four times, I believe, before he finished saying all this. And I was listening attentively for him to say something else of his creed, when he began talking of my return journey, saying: "You have stayed here a long while; I wish you to go back. You have said that you would not dare take my ambassadors with you; will you take my words, or my letter?" And from that time I never found the opportunity nor the time when I could show him the Catholic Faith. For no one can speak in his presence but so much as he wishes, unless he be an ambassador; for an ambassador can say whatever he chooses, and they always ask if he wishes to say something more. As for me, it was not allowed me to speak more; I had only to listen to him, and reply to his questions. So I answered him that he should make me understand his words, and have them put down in writing, for I would willingly take them as best I could. Then he asked me if I wanted gold or silver or costly clothing. I said: "We take no such things; but we have no traveling money, and without your assistance we cannot get out of your country." He said: "I will have you given all you require while in my possessions; do you want anything more?" I replied; "That suffices us." Then he asked: "How far do you wish to be taken?" I said: "Our power extends to the country of the King of Hermenia; if we were (escorted) that far, it would suffice me." He answered: "I will have you taken that far; after that look out for yourself." And he added: "There are two eyes in the head; but though there be two, they have but one sight, and when one turns its glance there goes the other. You came from Baatu, and so you must go back by way of him." When he had said this, I asked permission of him to speak. "Speak," he said. Then I said: "My lord, we are not men of war. We wish that those should have dominion over the world who rule it most justly, in accordance with the will of God. Our office is to teach men to live after the will of God. For that we have come here, and willingly would we remain here if it pleased you. Since it pleases you that we go back, that must then be. I will go back, and I will carry your letter as well as I can, as you have ordered. I would ask of your majesty that since I shall carry your letters, I may also come back to you with your consent; principally because you have poor slaves at Bolat, who are of our tongue, and who have no priest to teach them and their sons their religion, and willingly would I remain with them." Then he replied: "If your masters should send you back to me (you will be welcome)." I said: "My lord, I know not the will of my masters; but I have their permission to go wherever I wish, where it is needful to preach the word of God; and it seems to me that it is very needful in these parts; so whether he sends back envoys by us or not, if it pleases you I will come back."

Then he remained silent and sat for a long time as if thinking, and the interpreter told me to speak no more. So I waited anxiously for what he would reply. Finally he said: "You have along way to go, comfort yourself with food, so that you may reach your country in good health." And he had me given to drink, and then I went out from before him, and after that I went not back again. If I had had the power to work by signs and wonders like Moses, perhaps he would have humbled himself.

RUBRUCK CHAPTER 20.

RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS

Their diviners are, as (Möngke Khan) confessed to me, their priests; and whatever they say must be done is executed without delay. I will tell you of their office, as well as I could learn about it from master William and others who used to speak truthfully to me. They are very numerous and always have a captain, like a pontiff, who always places his dwelling before the principal house of Möngke Khan, at about a stone's throw from it. Under his custody are, as I have previously said, the carts in which the idols are carried. The others come after the ordu in positions assigned to them; and there come to them from various parts of the world people who believe in their art. Some among them know something of astronomy, particularly the chief, and they predict to them the eclipses of the sun and moon; and when one is about to take place all the people [stockpile] their food, for they must not go out of the door of their dwelling. And while the eclipse is taking place, they sound drums and instruments, and make a great noise and clamor. After the eclipse is over, they give themselves to drinking and feasting, and make great jollity. They predict lucky and unlucky days for the undertaking of all affairs; and so it is that they never assemble an army nor begin a war without their assent, and long since (the Mo'al) would have gone back to Hungary, but the diviners will not allow it.

All things which are sent to the court they take between fires, and for this they retain a certain portion of them [and for this they keep the due share of it]. They also cleanse all the bedding of deceased persons by taking them between fires. For when anyone dies, they put aside all that belongs to him, and they are not allowed to the other people of the ordu until they have been purified by fires. This I saw in connection with the ordu of that lady who died while we were there. On account of this (custom) there was a double reason why Friar Andrew and his companion should have gone between fires; they bore presents, and they were destined for one who was already dead, Keu Chan. Nothing of the sort was required of me, because I brought nothing. If any animal or any other thing falls to the ground while passing between the fires, it is theirs it is the property of the soothsayers]."

On the ninth day of the month of May, they get together all the white horses of the herds, and consecrate them. And the Christian priests are obliged to come to this with their censer. Then they sprinkle new kumiss on the ground and hold a great feast on that day, for they consider that they then first drink new kumiss, just as in some places among us is done with wine at the feast of Bartholomew or Syxtus, and with fruit at the feast of James and Christopher.

They (i.e., the Kam) are also called in when a child is born, to tell its fortune; and when anyone sickens they are called, and they repeat their incantations, and tell whether it is a natural malady or one resulting from witchcraft. And in this connection that woman of Metz, of whom I have spoken, told me a most remarkable thing.

Once some valuable furs were presented, which were to be deposited in the ordu of her mistress, who was a Christian, as I have previously said; and the diviners carried them between fires, and took of them more than they should have done. A certain servant-woman who had charge of the treasure of this lady, accused them of this to her mistress; so the lady reproved them. Now it happened after this that this lady fell ill, and had shooting pains through her limbs. The diviners were called, and they, while seated at a distance, ordered one of the maids to put her hand on the painful spot, and to pull out whatever she should find. So she arose and did this, and she found they told her to put it on the ground; when it was put there it began to wriggle like some live animal. Then it was put into water, and it became like a leech, and they said: "Lady, some sorceress has done you this harm with her sorceries." And they accused her who had accused them about the furs. And she was taken outside the camp into the fields, and for seven days she was beaten and tried with other torments, so that she should confess. And in the meanwhile the lady died. When she heard of this she said to them: " I know that my mistress if dead; my kill me, that I may go after her, for I never did her wrong." And as she would confess nothing, Möngke commanded that she be allowed to live; and then those diviners accused the nurse of the daughter of the lady of whom I have spoken; and she was a Christian, and her husband was [the] most respected among all the Nestorian priests. And she was taken to the place of execution with one of her maids, to make her confess; and the maid confessed that her mistress had sent her to speak to a horse, to get an answer from it. The woman (i.e., the nurse) also confessed that she had done something to make herself liked by her master (i.e., Möngke ?), so that he should show her favor, but she had

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never done anything which could have injured him. She was asked whether her husband knew what she had done. She made excuse for him, having burnt characters and letters she had made herself. So she was put to death; and Möngke sent her husband, this priest, to the bishop who was in Cathay, to try him, though he had not been found guilty.

In the meanwhile it happened that the first wife of Möngke Khan bore a son; and the diviners were called in to tell the child's fortune, and they all foretold it good luck, saying that it would live long and become a great lord. But after a few days it happened that the child died. Then the mother in a rage called the diviners, saying: "You told me that my son would live, and here he is dead." Then they replied: "Lady, here we see the witchcraft of the nurse of Chirina, who the other day was put to death. She killed your son, and now we see her carrying him off [we can see the witch, Chirina's nurse, who was put to death the other day: it is she who has killed your son, and look!--there she is, making off with him!]." There still lived a grown-up son and daughter of this woman in the camp, and the lady in a fury sent for them, and caused a man to kill the youth, and a woman the daughter, in revenge for her son, who the diviners had said had been killed by their mother. After this the Khan dreamed of these children, and on the morrow he asked what had been done with them. His servants were afraid to tell him; but he inquired the more solicitously where they were, for they had appeared to him in a vision of the night. Then they told him; and he forthwith sent to his wife, and asked her where she had found out that a wife could pass a death sentence, leaving her husband in ignorance (of what she had done); and he had her shut up for seven days, with orders that no food be given her. As to the man who had killed the youth, he had him decapitated, and had his head hung around the neck of the woman who had killed the young girl, and he caused her to be beaten with burning brands through the camp, and then put to death. And he would have put his own wife to death had it not been for the children he had had of her; but he left her ordu [but he left his residence (*presumably to avoid any lingering evil from his dream of the dead)], and did not go back there for a month.

These same diviners disturb the atmosphere with their incantations; and when it is so cold from natural causes that they can bring no relief, they pick out some persons in the camps whom they accuse of having brought about the cold, and they are put to death at once.

A short time before I left there, there was one of the concubines who was ill, and she had languished for a long time; so they said incantations over a certain German female slave of hers, who went to sleep for three days. And when she came back to herself they asked her what she had seen; (and she said) she had seen a great many persons, all of whom they declared would soon die; but she had not seen her mistress among them, so they declared that she would not die of her complaint. I saw the girl, who had still a good deal of pain in her head from her sleep.

Some among them evoke devils, and assemble at night in their dwelling those who want to have answers from the devil, and they place cooked meat in the center of the dwelling; and the cham who does the invocation begins repeating his incantations, and strikes violently the ground with a drum [tambourine] he holds. Finally he enters into a fury, and causes himself to be bound. Then comes the devil in the dark, and gives him the meat to eat, and he gives answers.

Once, as I was told by master William, a certain Hungarian hid himself among them; and the devil who was on top of the dwelling [and the demon made his appearance on top of the dwelling and] cried that he could not come in, for there was a Christian among them. Hearing this, he fled in all haste, for they set about looking for him. This and many other things they do, which it would take too long to tell of.

RUBRUCK CHAPTER 21.

THE KHAN'S LETTER TO THE KING OF FRANCE

With the feast of Pentecost (31st May [1254]) they began preparing the letter which he (the Khan) was to send you. In the meanwhile he came back to Karakorum, and held his great ceremony on the octave of Pentecost (7th June), and he wanted all the ambassadors to be present the last day of it. He sent also for me; but I had gone to the church to baptize three children [sons] of a poor German I had found there. Master William was the chief butler at this feast, for he it was who had made the drink-flowing tree; and everyone poor and rich was singing and dancing and clapping hands before the Khan. Then he spoke to them, saying: "I have sent my brothers away, and have exposed them to danger among foreign nations. Now, let it be seen what you will do, when I shall want to send you to increase our realm." Each day during these four days, they changed their raiment, which was given them each day all of one color from their boots to their turbans (tyaram). At this time I saw there the envoy of the Caliph of Baldach, who used to be brought to court in a litter between two mules, and some said of him that he would make [he had made] a peace with them, in view of which he was to give him [he gave] ten thousand horse soldiers for his army. Others said that Möngke had said that he would not make a peace unless they destroyed all their fortresses, and that the envoy had replied: "When you bring [remove] all the hoofs of your horses, we will destroy all our fortresses." I saw also the envoy of a certain Soldan of India, who had brought eight leopards and ten greyhounds taught to sit on horses' backs, as leopards sit. When I asked them concerning India, in what direction it was from that place, they pointed to the west. And these envoys went back with me for nearly three weeks, always going westward. I saw there also envoys of the Soldan of Turkia, who had brought him rich presents; and he (i.e., Möngke) had answered them, as I heard, that he did not want gold or silver, but men; so he wanted to be given troops. On the feast of Saint John [24th June] he held a great drinking bout, and I counted an hundred and five carts and ninety horses loaded with mare's milk; and on the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul [29th June] likewise.

Finally, the letter he sends you being finished, they called me and interpreted it to me. I wrote down its tenor, as well as I could understand through an interpreter, and it is as follows: "The commandment of the eternal God is, in Heaven there is only one eternal God, and on Earth there is only one lord, Chingis Khan. This is word of the Son of God, Demugin, (or) Chingis 'sound of iron.' " (For they call him Chingis, 'sound of iron,' because he was a blacksmith; and puffed up in their pride they even say that he is the son of God). "This is what is told you. Wherever there be a Mo'al, or a Naiman [Whosoever we are, whether a Mo'al or a Naiman], or a Merkit or a Musteleman, wherever ears can hear, wherever horses can travel, there let it be heard and known; those who shall have heard my commandments and understood them, and who shall not believe and shall make war against us, shall hear and see that they have eyes and see not [For the moment they hear my order and understand it but place no credence in it and wish to make war against us, you shall see that though they have eyes they shall be without sight]; and when they shall want to hold anything they shall be without hands, and when they shall want to walk they shall be without feet: this is the eternal command of God.

"This, through the virtue of the eternal God, through the great world of the Mo'al, is the word of Möngke Khan to the lord of the French, King Louis, and to all the other lords and priests and to all the great realm of the French, that they may understand our words. For the word of the eternal God to Chingis Chan has not reached unto you, either through Chingis Chan or others who have come after him.

"A certain man by the name of David came to you as the ambassador of the Mo'al, but he was an impostor; and you sent back with him your envoys to Keu Chan. After the death of Keu Chan your ambassadors reached this court. And Camus his wife sent you nasic stuffs and a letter. But as to affairs of war and of peace and the welfare and happiness of a great realm [and subduing the wide world and discerning how to act for the best], what could this woman, who was viler than a dog, know about them?" (For Möngke told me with his own lips that Camus was the worst kind of a witch, and that she had destroyed her whole family by her witchcraft.)

"These two monks, who have come from you to Sartach, Sartach sent to Baatu; but Baatu sent them to us, for Möngke Khan is the greatest lord of the Mo'al realm. Now then, to the end that the whole world and the priests and monks may be in peace and rejoice, and that the word of God be heard among you, we wanted to appoint Mo'al envoys (to go back) with these your priests. But they replied that between us and you there is a hostile country, and many wicked people, and bad roads; so they were afraid that they could not take our envoys in safety to you; but that if we would give them our letter containing our commandments, they would carry them to King Louis himself. So we do not send our envoys with them; but we send you in writing the commandments of the eternal God by these your priests: the commandments of the eternal God are what we impart to you. And when you shall have heard and believed, if you will obey us, send your ambassadors to us; and so we shall have proof whether you want peace or war with us. When, by the virtue of the eternal God, from the rising of the Sun to the setting, all the world shall be in universal joy and peace, then shall be manifested what we are to be. But if you hear the commandment of the eternal God, and understand it, and shall not give heed to it, nor believe it, saying to yourselves: 'Our country is far off, our mountains are strong, our sea is wide,' and in this belief you make war against us, you shall find out what we can do. He who makes easy what is difficult, and brings close what is far off, the eternal God He knows."

They had in the first place called us in the letter your ambassadors. So I told them: "Call us not ambassadors, for I explained thoroughly to the Khan that we were not the ambassadors of King Louis." They then went to him and told him. But they came back to me and said that (though) he had used it as a great compliment [he had taken it in a very good part], he had directed that they should write as I should tell them. I told them, nevertheless, to strike out the word 'ambassador,' and to call us monks or priests. While this was being done, my companion, hearing that we would have to go back to Baatu by way of the desert, and that a Mo'al would guide us, ran, without my knowing it, to Bulgai, the grand secretary, and intimated to him by signs that he would die if he went that way; and so when the day arrived on which we were to take our leave, to wit, a fortnight after the feast of saint John, when we were called to court, the secretaries said to my companion: "Now Möngke Khan wants your companion to go back by way of Baatu, and you say that you are ill, as is evident you are. So Möngke says, if you want to go with your companion, go. But it rests with you; for perhaps you may be left in some Iam, and you will not be looked after, and you will be a burden on your companion. If you choose to stay here, he will provide you with everything necessary, till some other ambassadors come with whom you can go back leisurely and along a road on which towns are found." The friar replied: "God bless the Khan. I will stay." But I said to the friar: "Brother, see to it what you do. I will not leave you." "You," he said, "will not be leaving me; but I leave you; for should I go with you, I can see danger of death to my soul and body; for it cannot bear such terrible hardships."

Now they were holding in their hands three gowns or tunics, and they said to us: "You will not accept gold or silver, and you have stayed here a long time praying for the Khan. He begs that each of you will accept at least a plain gown, so that you go not away empty-handed." So we had to accept them through respect for him, for they hold it very bad that one should scorn their gifts. At first he used to make inquiries as to what we wanted, and we always replied in the same way, so that the Christians used to abuse the idolaters for wanting nothing else than gifts. And these made answer that we were foolish, for if he (i.e., the Khan) wanted to give them his whole ordu, they would take it with pleasure and do wisely. Having taken the gowns, they asked us to say an orison for the Khan, and this we did; and having been granted leave, we went back to Karakorum.

It happened, however, on a day (before that) when we were with the monk and the other ambassadors some distance from the court, that the monk beat the board so loudly that Möngke Khan heard it, and asked what it was. And they told him. Then he asked why he was so far from the court. They told him that it was troublesome to send him daily horses and oxen (to come) to court, and they added that it would be better if he remained in Karakorum beside the church and there did his praying. So the Khan sent to him to say that if he would go to Karakorum and remain there by the church, he would give him all he required. The monk, however, replied: "I came here from Jerusalem, in the Holy Land, by the command of God, and I left a city in which there were a thousand churches better than that in Karakorum. If he wants me to remain here and pray for him, as God commanded me, I will stay; otherwise I will go back whence I came." That very same evening oxen harnessed to carts were brought him, and the next morning he went back to the place he had been in the habit of occupying in front of the ordu.

A little while before we left there, a certain Nestorian monk [*some Manuscripts lack "monk"] arrived, and he seemed to be a wise man. Bulgai, the grand secretary, established him in front of the ordu; and the Khan sent him his books to bless [and the Khan sent him his children to bless].

RUBRUCK CHAPTER 22.

RETURN JOURNEY

We returned then to Karakorum; and while we were in the house of master William, my guide came, bringing ten iascot, five of which he placed in the hand of master William, telling him to spend them on the part of the Khan for the wants of the friar; the other five he put in the hands of Homo Dei, my interpreter, with directions to spend them on the journey for my wants. Master William had told them to do this, without our knowing it. I at once caused one (iascot) to be sold, and distributed the Khange among the poor Christians who were there, all of them having their eyes fixed upon us [all of whom looked to us]; another we spent in buying what was necessary for us in clothing and in other things; with the third, Homo Dei bought a few things on which he could make a small profit, which he did. The balance we also expended, for from the time we entered Persia they never gave us enough of what we needed, nor did they ever even among the Tartars [since in no locatlity from the time we entered Persia were we given enough for our needs, nor for that matter among the Tartars]; but there we rarely found anything to buy.

Master William, once your subject, sends you a girdle ornamented with a precious stone, such as they wear against lightning and thunder; and he sends you endless salutations, praying always for you; and I cannot sufficiently express to God or to you the thanks I owe him. In all I baptised six persons there.

So we separated with tears, my companion remaining with master William, and I alone with my interpreter going back with my guide and one servant, who had an order by which we were to receive every four days one sheep for the four of us.

In two months and ten days we came to Baatu, and (on the way there) we never saw a town, nor the trace of any building save tombs, with the exception of one little village, in which

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we did not eat bread; neither did we ever take a rest in those two months and ten days, except for one day only, when we could not get horses. We came back for the most part of the way through the same peoples, though generally through different districts; for we went in winter and came back in summer by parts farther to the north, fifteen days excepted, when both in going and in coming back we had to keep along a river between mountains, where there is no grass except close to the river. We had to go for two days-sometimes for three days-without taking any other nourishment than kumiss. Sometimes we were in great danger, not being able to find any people, at moments when we were short of food, and with worn-out horses.

When I had ridden twenty days I got news of the King of Hermenia; he had passed there at the end of August, going to meet Sartach, who was on his way to Möngke Khan with his flocks and herds, his wives and children; though his big dwellings had been left behind between the Etilia and the Tanais.

I paid my respects (to Sartach) and told him that I would right willingly stay in his country, but that Möngke Khan wished me to go back and carry his letter. He replied that one must do the bidding of Möngke Khan. Then I asked Coiac about our servants. He replied that they were in Baatu's ordu, carefully looked after. I reminded him also of our vestments and books: he replied: "Did you not bring them to Sartach?" I brought them to Sartach, but I did not give them to him, as you know; " and I repeated to him what I had replied when he had asked whether I would give them to Sartach. Then he answered: "You speak the truth, and no one can resist the truth. I left your things at my father's, who stays near Sarai, the new town that Baatu is making on the Etilia; but our priests have some of your vestments here with them." "As to the vestments," I said, "keep what you want of them, so long as my books given back to me." Then he said that he would tell Sartach what I said." I must have," I said, "a letter for your father, so that he will give me back all my things." As they were then just on the point of starting, he said: "One of the ordu of the ladies is following us closely; stop there, and I will send you by this man here the answer of Sartach." I was anxious that he should not deceive me; but I could not wrangle with him. The man he had pointed out to me came in the evening, bringing with him two tunics, which I took for a whole piece of uncut silk stuff, and he said to me: "Here are two tunics: Sartach sends you one, and the other, if you see fit, you may present to the King from him." I replied: "I do not make use of such clothes; I will present both to the King for the honor of your lord." "No," he said, "do as you choose with them." Now it pleases me to send them both to you, and I do so by the bearer of these presents. He gave me also a letter to the father of Coiac, to return to me all that belonged to me, for he wanted nothing of mine.

We reached the ordu of Baatu the same day we had left it a year previously, the second day after the Elevation of the holy Cross (16th September [15th Sept. 1254].), and I found with pleasure our servants in safety, but suffering from great poverty, as Gosset told me; and had it not been for the King of Hermenia, who had comforted them greatly and recommended them to Sartach, they would have been lost, for they thought that I was dead; and the Tartars were already inquiring of them if they knew how to herd cattle or milk horses. For had I not come back, they would have been made their slaves.

After that, Baatu caused me to come into his presence, and had interpreted to me the letter Möngke Khan sends you. For Möngke had written to him that if he wished to add, strike out, or alter anything in them, he was to do so. Then he said to me: "Take this letter and make it understood." He asked me also which road I wanted to take, by sea or by land. I told him the sea route was closed, for it was winter, so I would have to go by land. I still thought at that time that you were in Syria, and I took the road toward Persia. If I had imagined that you had crossed over into France, I should have gone to Hungary and should have come sooner to France; and by that road I should have traveled with less trouble than in Syria.

We drove about for a month with him (i.e., Baatu) before we could get a guide. Finally they appointed an Iugur, who, understanding that I would not give him anything, though I told him that I wanted to go straight to Hermenia, had letters given him to take me to the Soldan of Turkie, hoping to receive a present from the Soldan and make more [profit] along that road.

So we started fifteen days before the feast of All Saints (i.e., 16th October [18th Oct.]) in the direction of Sarai, going due south, and descending along the Etilia, which divides below there into three great branches, each of which is nearly twice as large as the river of Damietta. The rest (of the river) forms four minor branches, so that we crossed that river in seven places by boat. On the middle branch is a town called Summerkeur, which is without walls; but when the river is in flood it is surrounded by water. For eight years the Tartars were around it before they got it. And there were Alans in it, and Saracens. We found there a German with his wife, and he was a right worthy man, with whom Gosset had stopped; for Sartach had sent him there to rid his ordu of him. Round about these parts Baatu is on one side of the river and Sartach on the other about Christmas time; and they go not down any farther. And it happens that the whole river freezes over, and then they pass across. About here there is very great plenty of pasturage, and (the Tartars) live among the reeds till the ice begins to thaw.

When the father of Coiac received the letter of Sartach, he gave me back my vestments, excepting three albs, an amice embroidered in silk, a stole, a girdle, a gold-fringed altar cloth and a surplice; he gave me back also the silver vases, excepting a censer and a little vase in which was holy oil, all of which latter things the priests who were with Sartach had kept. He gave me back the books, with the exception of the Psalter of my lady the queen, which he kept with my consent; I could not refuse it him, for he said it would please Sartach greatly [or: for he said that Sartach had been very much taken with it]. He also asked me, in case I should come back that way, to bring a man knowing how to make parchment. He was making, by order of Sartach, a big church and a new village on the west bank of the river, and wanted, he said, to make books for Sartach's use. I know, however, that Sartach cares not for such things [or: though I myself am aware that Sartach has no time for such things]. Sarai and the palace of Baatu are on the eastern shore, and the valley through which flow these branches of the river is more than seven leagues wide, and there is a great quantity of fish there. The versified Bible and a book in Arabic, worth thirty bezants, and several other things, I did not get back.

Leaving it (i.e., Sarai) then on the feast of All Saints (1st November), and going constantly south, we reached by the feast of Saint Martin (15th December [13th Dec.].) the mountains of the Alans. Between Baatu and Sarai, for fifteen days we found no one save one of his (i.e., Baatu's) sons preceding him (south) with his hawks and hawkers, who were very numerous. From the feast of All Saints for fifteen [five] days we found no one, and there were two days [a day and a night] on which we nearly died of thirst: for a whole day and a night, and a day following to the third hour, we did not find any water.

The Alans in these mountains still hold out against (the Tartars), so Sartach has had to send two out of every ten men to hold the mouths of the defiles [i.e., passes], lest they come out and lift their cattle in the plains. Between them, the Alans and the Iron Gate, which is two days thence, and where begins the plain of Arcacc. Between the sea and the mountains are Saracens called Lesgi, (who live) in the mountains and who also withstand (the Tartars) [Between these Alans and the Iron Gate, which lay two days journey away from there, at the point where the plan begins to narrow between the sea and the mountains, there are Saracens called the Lesgi living among the peaks]; so the Tartars at the foot of the mountains of the Alans had to give us twenty men to escort us beyond the Iron Gate. And this pleased me much, for I hoped to see them under arms; for I had never been able to see their arms, though most anxious to. When we came to a dangerous passage, out of the twenty (only) two had [breastplates]. I asked them how they came by them, and they said they had got them from the Alans, who are good makers of such things, and excellent artisans. So it seems to me that they have few arms except arrows and bows and fur gowns. I saw given to them iron plates and iron caps from Persia, and I also saw two who had come to present themselves before Möngke, armed with jackets of convex pieces of hard leather, which were most unfit and unwieldy.

Before we reached the Iron Gate, we came to a walled hamlet (castellum) of the Alans, which was Möngke Khan's, he having conquered that (part of the) country. Here we found grape-vines for the first time and drank wine. The next day we came to the Iron Gate, which Alexander the Macedonian made; and it is a town whose eastern end is on the sea-shore, and there is a small-sized plain between the sea and the mountains across which this town stretches to the top of the mountain adjoining it on the west; so it is that there is no road higher up, on account of the steepness of the mountain, nor any lower down by the sea, but only straight through the town where is the iron gate from which the town takes its name.

The town is more than a mile long, and on the top of the mountain is a strong fort; its width, however, is but a stone's throw. It has very strong walls without moats, and towers of great dressed (politis) stones; but the Tartars have destroyed the tops of the towers and the parapets of the walls, making the towers even with the walls. Below this town the country used to be a real paradise.

Two days thence we found another town called Samaron, in which were many Jews; and when passing through it we noticed walls coming down from the mountains to the sea. Leaving the road by the sea at these walls, for at that point it turned eastward, we went uphill toward the south.

The next day we crossed a valley, where we saw the foundations of walls running from one mountain to another, and along the tops of the mountains there was no road. These were once the barriers of Alexander, shutting out the wild tribes, that is the desert nomads, so that they could not get in on the cultivated lands and the towns. There are other barriers within which are Jews [or: which shut out the Jews], but I could learn nothing precise concerning them; however, there are many Jews in all the towns of Persia.

The next day we came to a big city called Samag [Shamakhi, capital of the Shamakhi District of Islamic country of Azerbaijan.]; and the day after that we entered a vast plain called Mo'al, through which flows the Cur, from which the Curges, whom we call Georgians, take their name. It flows through the middle of Tefilis [Tbilisi, Tebilisi, Tiflis, capital of the Republic of Armenia.], which is the capital city of the Curges, coming straight from the west and flowing eastward into that sea, and it has most excellent salmon. In that plain we again found Tartars. The Araxes also flows through this plain, coming out of Greater Hermenia from due south-west, out of what is called the Ararat country, which is Hermenia; thus it is that in the book of Kings it is said of the sons of Senacherib, that their father having been killed they fled into the country of the Hermenians; while in Isaiah it is said that they fled into the country of Ararat.

To the west of this beautiful plain is Curgia, and the Crosminians [Khwarazmians] used to be in this plain; and there at the base of the mountains is a great city called Ganges [Ganja, Gyandzha, Gandzak], which used to be their capital, and which prevented the Curges from coming down into the plain.

So we came to a bridge of boats held by great iron chains stretched across the river, there where the Cur and the Araxes fall into each other. Here the Araxes loses its name. From this point we ascended continually along the Araxes, of which it is said . . . pontem dedignatur Araxes, leaving Persia on our left to the south, and the Caspian mountains and Greater Curgia on our right to the north, and going toward Africa to the south-west.

We passed through the camp of Baachu, who is the chief of the army there on the Araxes, and who has conquered the Curges, the Turks and the Persians. There is another (chief) at Tauris in Persia, who superintends the tribute, and whose name is Argun; and Möngke has recalled both of them to give their places to his brother who is coming to these countries. This country I am describing to you is not Persia proper, but that which used to be called Hircania.

I was in the house of Baachu, and he gave me wine to drink; he himself drank kumiss, which I should have preferred to drink if he had given it to me. Though the wine was new and good, kumiss satisfies better a famished man.

So we ascended along the Araxes from the feast of saint Clement (23rd November) to the second Sunday of Quadragesima (15th February [21st Feb.].) till we reached the head of the river. And beyond the mountain in which it rises is a goodly city, called Aarserum, which is the Soldan of Turkie's, and near these to the north, at the foot of the mountains of the Curges, rises the Eufrates. I would have gone to its source, but there was so much snow that no one could go outside the beaten path. On the other side, to the south of the mountains of the Caucasus, the Tigris takes its rise.

When we left Baachu, my guide went to Tauris to speak with Argun, taking my interpreter with him. But Baachu had me taken to a certain city called Naxua [Nakhchavan], which used to be the capital of a great kingdom, and was a large and beautiful city; but the Tartars have reduced it to nearly a desert. And there used to be in it eighty Hermenian churches; but there are only two small ones now, for the Saracens [Muslims.] have destroyed them. In one of these I kept the Christmas feast as well as I could, with our clerk. The next day the priest of the church died, and a bishop and twelve monks from the mountains came to his funeral. All the bishops of the Hermenians are monks, as are those of the Greeks for the most part. This bishop told me that near there was the church in which blessed Bartholomew and also blessed Judas Thaddeus were martyred; but the road was impassable on account of the snow.

He told me also that they have two prophets: the first is Methodius the martyr, who was of their race, and he prophesied concerning the Ysmaelites, which prophecy has been fulfilled in the Saracens. The other prophet is called Acatron, who on his death-bed prophesied concerning the race of Archers to come from the north, saying that they would acquire possession of all the countries of the Orient, and that (God) would spare the Eastern kingdom so as to deliver unto them the kingdom of the West; but our brethren, like the Catholic Franks, would not believe in them, and they (i.e., the Archers) would occupy the earth from the north even unto the south, and would come to Constantinople, and would occupy the port of Constantinople; and one of them, who would be called a sage, would enter the city, and seeing the churches and the ceremonies of the Franks would be baptized, and he would tell the Franks how to kill the lord of the Tartars, and how to confound them. On learning this the Franks of the center of the world, that is Jerusalem, would fall upon the Tartars in their borders, and with the help of our people, that is the Hermenians, would pursue them, so that the King of the Franks would place his royal throne in Tauris

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in Persia, and then all the Orientals and all the infidels would be converted to the faith of Christ, and there would be such peace on earth that the living would say to the dead: "Woe is you, unfortunate ones, why lived ye not to these times?"

I had read this prophecy in Constantinople, brought there by the Hermenians who live there, but had paid no particular attention to it; when I had had this conversation, however, with the bishop, it came back vividly to my memory; and throughout Hermenia they hold this prophecy as sure as the Gospel. They used also to say to me [He (the bishop] used to say to me]: "As the souls in limbo expect the coming of Christ for their liberation, so we look to your coming to deliver us from this bondage in which we have so long been."

Near this city are mountains in which they say that Noah's ark rests; and there are two mountains, the one greater than the other; and the Araxes flows at their base; and there is a town there called Cemanum [Thamanin (*actually Arabic for eighty, not eight)], which interpreted means "eight," and they say that it was thus called from the eight persons who came out of the ark, and who built it on the greater mountain. Many have tried to climb it, but none has been able. This bishop told me that there had been a monk who was most desirous (of climbing it), but that an angel appeared to him bearing a piece of the wood of the ark, and told him to try no more. They had this piece of wood in his church, they told me. This mountain did not seem to me so very high, that men could not ascend it. An old man gave me quite a good reason why one ought not to try to climb it. They call the mountain Massis, and it is of the feminine gender in their language. "No one," he said, "ought to climb up Massis; it is the mother of the world."

In that city (of Naxua) Friar Bernard of Catalogna, of the Order of Preaching Friars [Dominicans], found me; he had remained in Georgia with a certain prior of the Holy Sepulcher, who had large holdings in land there; and he had learned a little Tartar, and had been with a certain friar from Hungary to Argun at Tauris, to ask leave to go through to Sartach. When they came there they were refused entry, and the Hungarian friar went back by way of Tefilis with a servant; but Friar Bernard had remained at Tauris with a German lay brother, whose language he did not understand.

We only left this city (of Naxua) on the Octave of the Epiphany (13th January), for we were kept there a long while on account of the snow. In four days we came to the country of Sahensa [Shanshé or Shahan Shah: "king of kings"], once the most powerful Curgian prince, but now tributary to the Tartars, who have destroyed all its fortified places. His father, Zacharias by name, had got this country of the Hermenians, for delivering them from the hands of the Saracens [Muslims.]. And there are very fine villages there, all of Christians and having churches, just like the French; and every Hermenian has in his home, in the most honored spot, a hand of wood holding a cross, and he places a burning lamp before it; and what we do with holy water to drive away the evil spirit, they do with incense. For every evening they burn incense, carrying it to every corner of the house to drive out every kind of evil.

I took a meal with this Sahensa; and he showed me great politeness, as did his wife and his son called Zacharias, a very fine and prudent young man, who asked me, whether if he should come to you, you would keep him with you; for so heavily does he bear the domination of the Tartars, that though he has abundance of all things, he would prefer to wander in foreign lands to bearing their domination. Moreover, they told me that they were sons of the Roman Church; and if the lord Pope would send them some assistance, they would themselves subject all the neighboring countries to the Church.

In fifteen days from that city (of Naxua?) we entered the country of the Soldan of Turkie on the (second) Sunday of Quadragesima (15th February [14th Feb.]), and the first town we found was called Marsengen. All the people in the burg were Christians: Hermenians, Curges and Greeks. The Saracens had only the lordship. The castellan said that he had received orders not to give provisions to any Frank, or to ambassadors of the king of Hermenia or of Vastacius; so from this place, which we reached on the (second) Sunday of Quadragesima, all the way to Cyprus, which I entered eight days before the feast of saint John the Baptist (16th June) we had to buy our provisions. He who was guiding me procured us horses; he received also money for our provisions, but he put it in his purse. When we came to some field and saw a flock, he would carry off a sheep by force, and give it to his followers to eat, and was greatly astonished because I would not eat of his theft.

On the (feast of the) Purification (2nd February) I was in a town called Aini, belonging to Sahensa, the position of which is very strong; and there are in it a thousand churches of Hermenians and two synagogues of Saracens. The Tartars have placed a bailiff [commisioner] in it. Five preaching friars found me there. Four of them had come from the Province of France, and the fifth had joined them in Syria; and they had only one infirm servant, who knew Turkish and a little French; and they had letters from the lord Pope to Sartach, to Möngke Khan and to Buri, like those you gave me, requesting that they be allowed to stay in his country, and to preach the word of God, etc. When I had told them what I had seen, and how they had received me, they took the road to Tefilis, where are some of their friars, to hold council with them as to what they should do. I told then that, thanks to those letters, they could get through if they chose, but that they must provide themselves well with patience and with reasons for their coming, for having no other mission than preaching, they would show them scant courtesy, especially as they had no interpreter. What they did after this, I know not.

So on the second Sunday after Quadragesima (15th February [21st Feb.]) we came to the head of the Araxes, and after crossing a mountain, we came to the Eufrates, along which we descended for eight days, going always westward till we came to a certain fort called Camath [Kamakh]. Here the Eufrates turns southward toward Halapia [Aleppo]. We crossed the river, continuing westward through very high mountains and deep snow. That same year there was such an earthquake there that in one city called Arsengen [Arzijan] ten thousand persons known by name were lost, exclusive of the poor, of whom there was no record. During three days' ride we saw a rent in the ground as if split in the commotion, and masses of earth which had slid down from the mountains and filled the valleys: had the earth been shaken a little more, what Isaiah said would have been fulfilled to the letter: "Every valley shall be filled up, and every mountain and hill shall be made low."

We crossed the valley in which the Soldan of Turkie had been defeated by the Tartars. It would take too long to write how he had been defeated, but a servant of my guide, who had been with the Tartars (in the battle), said that there were not over ten thousand Tartars in all; and a Curgian slave of the Soldan's said that there were with the Soldan two hundred thousand, all on horses. In that plain in which that fight and that rout occurred, a large lake burst out in the earthquake; and I said to myself that that whole country had opened its mouth to drink in the blood of the Saracens.

We were in Sebaste [Sivas] in Lesser Hermenia in the Greater Week [during the Hol Week (21-27th March).], and we visited there the sepulcher of the Forty Martyrs. There is at that place a church of Saint Blaise, but I could not go there, for it was up in the citadel. On the Octave of Easter (4th April) we came to Cesarea of Capadocia, where there is a church of saint Basil the Great. After that in fifteen days (i.e., 19th April), we came to Iconium, traveling by short stages and resting in many places, for we could not get horses very quickly. And my guide used to do this trick: he would sell in every town his requisition on it for three days. I was much worried over this; but I dared not speak, for he could have sold or killed me or our servants; there would have been no one to say him nay. I found several Franks in Iconium, and a Genoese trader from Acon, Nicholas by name, from Santo Siro, who with his partner, a Venetian called Benefatius de Molendino, had monopolized all the alum in Turkie, so that the Soldan could sell none of it to any save these two; and they resold it so dear that what used to be sold for fifteen besants is sold for fifty.

My guide presented me to the Soldan. The Soldan said he would be pleased to have me taken to the sea of Hermenia or of Silicia. But this trader (Nicholas) knowing that the Saracens would take little care of me, and that I was wearied beyond measure with my guide's company, who pestered me daily for presents, had me taken to Curta [Gorighos], a port of the king of Hermenia. Here I arrived the day before the Ascension (5th May), and remained to the day after Pentecost (17th May). Then I heard that messengers had come from the king (of Hermenia) to his father, so I put our things in a ship to be carried to Acon, and I myself went at once to the king's father, to learn whether he had received any news from his son. I found him at Assissi with all his sons, save one called Barunusin [Baron Oshin (d. 1264).], who was having a castle built; and he had received messengers from his son (saying) he was coming back, and that Möngke Khan had greatly reduced the tribute for him, and that he had granted him the privilege that no ambassadors should enter his country; on account of this the old man with all his sons and all his people were holding a great feast. He had me taken to the sea, to a port called Auax [Ayas]; and from there I passed over into Cyprus, and at Nicosia I found your Provincial, who the same day took me with him to Antioch, which is in a most dilapidated condition. We were there for the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul (29th June). Thence we came to Tripoli, where we held our chapter on the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (15th August); and the Provincial ordered me to remain at Acon [to teach in Acre], not allowing me to come to you, directing me to write you whatever I had to say by the bearer of these presents [ordering me to send in writing, by the bearer (of the letter), what I wished to say]. Not daring to disregard my vow of obedience; I did as best I could and have written; and I beg grace from your great kindness for what is said either too much or too little, or injudiciously or foolishly, as it comes from a man with little ability, and not accustomed to composing such long stories.

May the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your heart and mind.

I would gladly see you and those particular friends I have in your kingdom; so if it displeases not Your Majesty, I would beg you to write to the Provincial that he allow me to come to you, to return after a little while to the Holy Land.

You must know of the Turks that not one man out of ten (among them) is a Saracen ; nearly all are Hermenians and Greeks, and (the country) is governed by children. For the Soldan [Sultan.] who was defeated by the Tartars (as I have related) had as a legitimate wife an Iberian woman, by whom he had one son, a weakling [an invalid], who he ordered should be Soldan (after him). By a Greek concubine, whom he gave (later on) to a certain powerful emir, he had another; and he had yet another by a Turk; and a lot of Turks and Turkemans conspired with this one to kill the sons of the Christian (women). They arranged, as I was told, that when they had gained the victory they would destroy all the churches, and put to death all those who would not become Saracens* [Muslims.] (* A correct observation on Islamic doctrine described in the Koran, the Sira, and the Hadith.). He was, however, defeated, and many of his followers were killed. A second time he got together an army, and that time he was made prisoner, and is still kept in chains. Pacaster, the son of the Greek woman, has arranged with his half-brothers that he shall be Soldan, for the latter is delicate [The stepfather of the son by the Greek woman contrived for his stepson to be sultan since other son was an invalid], and they have sent him to the Tartars; and this has angered his relatives on the side of his mother, the Iberian or Georgian woman [the Iberians and Georgians]. So it is that a child governs in Turkie without a treasure, with few soldiers and many enemies. The son of Vastacius is delicate, and is at war with the son of Assan [Tsar of Bulgaria], who likewise is a youth, and under the yoke of the Tartars; so if the army of the Church mere to come to the Holy Land, it would be very easy to conquer or to pass through all these countries. The King of Hungary has not at most thirty thousand soldiers. From Cologne to Constantinople is not over forty days in a cart. From Constantinople it is not so far as that to the country of the King of Hermenia. In times past valiant men passed through these countries, and succeeded, though they had most powerful adversaries, whom God has since removed from the earth. Nor should we (if the followed this road) be exposed to the dangers of the sea or to the mercies of the sailor men, and the price which would have to be given for a fleet would be enough for the expenses of the (whole) land journey. I state it with confidence, that if your peasants--I speak not of the princes and noblemen--would but travel like the Tartar princes, and be content with like provisions, they would conquer the whole world.

It seems to me inexpedient to send another friar to the Tartars, as I went, or as the preaching friars go; but if the Lord Pope, who is the head of all Christians, wishes to send with proper state a bishop, and reply to the foolishness they have already written three times to the Franks (once to Pope Innocent the Fourth of blessed memory [7th Dec, 1254], and twice to you: once by David, who deceived you, and now by me), he would be able to tell them whatever he pleased, and also make them reply in writing. They listen to whatever an ambassador has to say, and always ask if he has more to say; but he must have a good interpreter--nay, several interpreters--abundant traveling funds, etc.

The End

THE (NESTORIAN) MONKS OF KUBLAI KHAN EMPEROR OF CHINA

Or: The History of the Life and Travels
of Rabban bar Sauma (in Syriac-Aramaic)
Source: British Museum Manuscript Orient No. 3636
Translation: E. A. Wallis Budge, 1928
Estimated Range of Dating: 1288-1294 A.D.

(Rabban Bar Şawma (c. 1220–1294; Syriac Aramaic), also known as Rabban Şawma or Rabban Çauma (Chinese, Pinyin: Labin Saowuma), was a Turkic (Uyghur or Ongud) monk working as diplomat of the "Nestorian" Church of the East in China. He is known for embarking on a pilgrimage from Mongol-controlled China to Jerusalem with one of his disciples, Rabban Markos. Due to all sorts of war activities along the way, they did not reach their destination straight away, but instead spent many years in Ilkhanate-controlled Baghdad.

The younger Markos was eventually elected Yahballaha III, Patriarch of the Church of the East and later suggested his teacher Rabban Bar Sauma be sent on another mission, as Mongol ambassador to Europe. The elderly monk met with many of the European monarchs, as well as the Pope, in attempts to arrange a Franco-Mongol alliance. The mission bore no fruit, but in his later years in Baghdad, Rabban Bar Sauma documented his lifetime of travel. His written account of his journeys is of unique interest to modern historians, as it gives a picture of medieval Europe at the close of the Crusades,

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painted by a keenly-intelligent, broadminded, and statesmanlike observer. Bar Sauma's travels occurred prior to the return of Marco Polo to Europe, and his writings give a reverse viewpoint, of the East looking to the West.

Early life: Rabban ("Master"; from Hebrew "Rabbi" in Judaism) Bar Sauma was born c. 1220 in or near modern-day Beijing, known then as Zhongdu, later as Khanbaliq under Mongol rule. According to Bar Hebraeus he was of Uyghur origin. Chinese accounts describe his heritage as Öngüd, a Turkic people classified as members of the "Mongol" caste under Yuan law. The name bar Ṣawma is Aramaic for "Son of Fasting" though he was born to a wealthy family. He was a follower of the "Nestorian" faith (see: Church of the East in China), and became an ascetic monk around the age of 20 and then a religious teacher for decades.

Pilgrimage to Jerusalem: In his middle age, Rabban Bar Sauma and one of his younger students, Rabban Markos, embarked on a journey from Yuan China to make pilgrimage to Jerusalem. They traveled by way of the former Tangut country, Khotan, Kashgar, Taraz in the Syr Darya valley, Khorasan (now Afghanistan), Maragha (now Azerbaijan) and Mosul, arriving at Ani in the Kingdom of Georgia. Warnings of danger on the routes to southern Syria turned them from their purpose, and they traveled to Mongol-controlled Persia, the Ilkhanate, where they were welcomed by Patriarch Denha I of the Church of the East. The Patriarch requested the two monks to visit the court of the Mongol Ilkhanate ruler Abaqa Khan, to obtain confirmation letters for Mar Denha's ordination as Patriarch in 1266. During the journey, Rabban Markos was declared a "Nestorian" bishop. The Patriarch then attempted to send the monks as messengers back to China, but military conflict along the route delayed their departure, and they remained in Baghdad. When the Patriarch died, Rabban Markos was elected as his replacement, Yahballaha III, in 1281. The two monks traveled to Maragheh to have the selection confirmed by Abaqa, but the Ilkhanate khan died before their arrival, and was succeeded by his son, Arghun.

It was Arghun's desire to form a strategic Franco-Mongol alliance with the Christian Europeans against their common enemy, the Muslim Mamluk Sultanate at Cairo. A few years later, the new patriarch Yahballaha III suggested his former teacher Rabban bar Sauma for the embassy, to meet with the Pope and the European monarchs.

Ambassador to Europe: In 1287, the elderly Bar Sauma embarked on his journey to Europe, bearing gifts and letters from Arghun to the Eastern Roman emperor, the Pope, and the European kings. He followed the embassy of another "Nestorian", Isa Kelemechi, sent by Arghun to Pope Honorius IV, in 1285.

Rabban Bar Sauma traveled with a large retinue of assistants, and 30 riding animals. Companions included the Church of the East Christian (archaon) Sabadinus; Thomas de Anfusis (or Tommaso d'Anfossi), who helped as interpreter and was also a member of a famous Genoese banking company; and an Italian interpreter named Uguetus or Ugeto (Ughetto). Bar Sauma likely did not speak any European languages, though he was known to be fluent in Chinese, Turkish, and Persian. Europeans communicated to him in Persian.

He traveled overland through Armenia to either the Empire of Trebizond or through the Sultanate of Rum to the Simisso on the Black Sea, then by boat to Constantinople, where he had an audience with Andronicus II Palaeologus. Bar Sauma's writings give a particularly enthusiastic description of the beautiful Hagia Sophia. He next traveled to Italy, again journeying by ship. As their course took them past the island of Sicily, he witnessed and recorded the great eruption of Mount Etna on 18 June 1287. A few days after his arrival, he also witnessed a naval battle in the Bay of Sorrento on St. John's Day, 24 June 1287, during the conflict of the Sicilian Vespers. The battle was between the fleet of Charles II (whom he calls Irid Shardalo, i.e. "Il re Charles Due"), who had welcomed him in his realm, and James II of Aragon, king of Sicily (whom he calls Irid Arkon, i.e. "Il re de Aragon"). According to Bar Sauma, James II was victorious, and his forces killed 12,000 men.

He next traveled to Rome, but too late to meet Pope Honorius IV, who had recently died. So Bar Sauma instead engaged in negotiations with the cardinals, and visited St. Peter's Basilica.

Bar Sauma next made stops in Tuscany (Thuzkan) and the Republic of Genoa, on his way to Paris. He spent the winter of 1287–1288 in Genoa, a famous banking capital. In France (Frangestan), he spent one month with King Philip the Fair, who seemingly responded positively to the arrival of the Mongol embassy, gave him numerous presents, and sent one of his noblemen, Gobert de Helleville, to accompany Bar Sauma back to Mongol lands. Gobert de Helleville departed on 2 February 1288, with clercs Robert de Senlis and Guillaume de Bruyères, as well as l'arbalétrier (crossbowman) Audin de Bourges. They joined Bar Sauma when he later returned through Rome, and accompanied him back to Persia.

In Gascony in southern France, which at that time was in English hands, Bar Sauma met King Edward I of England, probably in the capital of Bordeaux. Edward responded enthusiastically to the embassy, but ultimately proved unable to join a military alliance due to conflict at home, especially with the Welsh and the Scots.

Upon returning to Rome, Bar Sauma was cordially received by the newly elected Pope Nicholas IV, who gave him communion on Palm Sunday, 1288, allowing him to celebrate his own Eucharist in the capital of Latin Christianity. Nicholas commissioned Bar Sauma to visit the Christians of the East, and entrusted to him a precious tiara to be presented to Mar Yahballaha (Rabban Bar Sauma's former student, Markos). Bar Sauma then returned to Baghdad in 1288, carrying messages and many other gifts from the various European leaders.

The delivered letters were in turn answered by Arghun in 1289, forwarded by the Genoese merchant Buscarello de Ghizolfi, a diplomatic agent for the Il-khans. In the letter to Philip IV, Arghun mentions Bar Sauma:

"Under the power of the eternal sky, the message of the great king, Arghun, to the king of France..., said: I have accepted the word that you forwarded by the messengers under Saymer Sagura (Rabban Bar Sauma), saying that if the warriors of Il Khaan invade Egypt you would support them. We would also lend our support by going there at the end of the Tiger year's winter [1290 AD], worshiping the sky, and settle in Damascus in the early spring [1291 AD].

If you send your warriors as promised and conquer Egypt, worshiping the sky, then I shall give you Jerusalem. If any of our warriors arrive later than arranged, all will be futile and no one will benefit. If you care to please give me your impressions, and I would also be very willing to accept any samples of French opulence that you care to burden your messengers with.

I send this to you by Myckeril and say: All will be known by the power of the sky and the greatness of kings. This letter was scribed on the sixth of the early summer in the year of the Ox at Ho'ndlon." — (France, Royal Archive)

The exchanges towards the formation of an alliance with the Europeans ultimately proved fruitless, and Arghun's attempts were eventually abandoned. However, Rabban Bar Sauma did succeed in making some important contacts which encouraged communication and trade between the East and West. Aside from King Philip's embassy to the Mongols, the Papacy also sent missionaries such as Giovanni da Montecorvino to the Mongol court.

Later years: After his embassy to Europe, Bar Sauma lived out the rest of his years in Baghdad. It was probably during this time that he wrote the account of his travels, which was published in English in 1928 as The Monks of Kublai Khan, Emperor of China or The History of the Life and Travels of Rabban Sauma, Envoy and Plenipotentiary of the Mongol Khans to the Kings of Europe, and Markos Who as Mar Yahbh-Allaha III Became Patriarch of the Church of the East in Asia, translated and edited by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge. The narrative is unique for its observations of medieval Europe during the end of the Crusading period, through the eyes of an observant outsider from a culture thousands of miles away. Rabban Bar Sauma died in 1294, in Baghdad.)

PREFACE (Budge)

The present. volume contains a complete translation of the Syriac History of the two Nestorian Chinese monks, Bar Sauma of Khan Balik (Pekin) and Markos (Mark) of Kawshang. This remarkable document is of great interest and importance, for it contains a mass of information about the Il-Khans of Persia and their dealings with the Mongol Christians which is found nowhere else. It describes very fully the events which brought about the downfall of the Nestorian Church in China, Central Asia and 'Irak al-Ajami, and as the statements in it are those of a contemporary eye-witness of the events which he describes, they are of very special value. It may be noted,' too, that it supplies us with an example of serendipity, which is far more remarkable than any mentioned in the old Persian story of the three princes of Sarendib (Ceylon).1 Saul the Benjamite set out to find his father's asses; he failed to find the asses but he found a kingdom. The two Chinese monks set out to go to Jerusalem to pray at the Tomb of Our Lord in Jerusalem, where they hoped to obtain the remission of their sins and to obtain peace in their souls. They never reached Jerusalem, but the younger monk, Mark, found himself made first a Metropolitan Bishop and later Patriarch and Catholicus of the Nestorian Church, the dominions of which extend from China in the East to Palestine in the West, and from Siberia in the North to Ceylon in the South. The elder monk found himself appointed first Visitor-General of the Nestorian Church throughout Asia, and later Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of 'Argh6n Khan to the King of Byzantium, the Pope of Rome, the King of France, and Edward I, King of England. The History of these monks well illustrates the workings of Divine Providence in the destinies of the men who are selected to be its instruments.

The Syriac text of our History is, on the whole, good, and the translation of it given herein has been made as literal as possible: there are, however, a few passages in which the text is either defective or garbled, and these have been carefully pointed out. The translator of the original Persian text into Syriac assumed that his readers would be well acquainted with the general history of the period, and therefore did not trouble to supplement his work with the details which the occidental reader needs to understand the narrative. I have therefore collected a number of the most essential facts, both historical and archaeological, and grouped them in the series of paragraphs which form the Introduction, instead of printing them at the foot of the page in the usual way. This arrangement will enable the reader to peruse the translation uninterruptedly. It seemed to me to be unnecessary to annotate the passages which deal with the relics of the saints, and their resting places, for the credulity of many Christian peoples in the 13th century is too well known to need mention. It is surprising to find our author solemnly recording that he was shown the stone on which Peter the Apostle was sitting when the Cock crew!

INTRODUCTION (Budge)

According to the Ecclesiastical Chronicle of Bar Hebraeus (ed. Abbeloos and Lamy, tome iii, Col. 451) two monks, of Uighur origin, were sent from China "by the command of the great Mongol king Kublai Khan and ordered to go and worship in Jerusalem." 2 It is not clear whether the word I translate by "command" (pukdana) is to be understood here as a mere permit to travel westwards from Pekin, or as an Imperial Edict ordering the monks to go to Jerusalem. But it is well known that the Mongol Khans wished to gain possession of Jerusalem, and there can be no doubt that the two monks were sent to the West as propagandists, and to obtain the help of the Christian kings of Eastern Europe. The ease with which they travelled shows that they were emissaries of Kublai Khan, and that they were armed with proofs of his authority.

Bar Hebraeus goes on to say that the Uighur monks arrived in Kurdistan, but were unable to proceed further west because fighting was going on and all the roads were blocked. They turned aside at Maraghah, where Mar Denha, who owed his appointment as Patriarch to Dokuz Khatun, the wife of Hulagu Khan, was staying, and made themselves known to him as members of the Nestorian Church. After some conversation with them the Patriarch, for reasons of his own, consecrated one of the monks, whom he called Yahbh-AllAha, Metropolitan of China. When Mar Denha. died (1281) Yahbh-Allaha was elected Patriarch of the East, and Bar Hebraeus, though admitting that the new Patriarch was not a learned man, testifies to the goodness of his disposition, the soundness of his belief, and his friendship for the Jacobites. But he tells us nothing about Yahbh-Allaha's fellow-monk, or what became of him, and as Bar Hebraeus died in 1286, his Chronicle does not contain any account of the Patriarchate of Yahbh-Allaha, which lasted until 1317. On these and many other interesting points ",'dealing with the history of that period scholars remained without information until 1887.

In March, 1887, Mr. Salomon, a Lazarist Chaldean of kurdistan, saw in the hands of a young Turkish Nestorian in Tekhama, a Syriac manuscript which he borrowed from him and read, and then had a copy of it made at Urmiyah. The contents of the manuscript turned out to be a narrative of the histories and travels of the two Uighur monks who are mentioned by Bar Hebraeus. Mr. Salomon sent his copy to Father Bedjan, who found that it contained many mistakes, and he noted the omission of words in several places, and many passages in which the readings were doubtful. Having corrected the spellings of proper names throughout, and added correct vowels and notes in Syriac on the heresy of one of the monks, he printed an edition of the text, and the eminent Syriac scholar Rubens Duval read the proof-sheets. This edition appeared at Paris in 1888. In the same year (November 29), the British Museum purchased from the Rev. J. H. Shedd, of the American Mission, Urmiyah, a well-written Syriac manuscript of seventy folios containing a good text of this narrative which Bedjan had published a few months earlier in the year. This MS. is Oriental 3636, and a facsimile of a page of it forms the frontispiece (Plate I) of this book.

Soon after this Bedjan had access to other copies of the Syriac narrative in London and elsewhere, and in 1895 he published a revised edition of this work entitled Histoire de May Jab Alaha, Patriarch, et de Raban Sauma, at Paris and Leipzig. According to Baumstark (Geschichte der Syr. Lit., p. 326) most of the MSS. used by Bedjan were copied from the MS. in the possession of Rabban Yonan, the Nestorian Patriarch of Tekhama, which came from the village of Minganish in Kurdistan: The account of the joint travels of Rabban Sauma and Yahbh-Allaha was written by the former in Persian, but the author of the abridgment in Syriac and the Life of Mar Yahbh-Allaha in Syriac is unknown. He was an eye-witness of many of the events in the Patriarch's life which he describes, and he probably wrote in the first half of the XIVth century. A short biography of Yahbh-Allaha was published in Arabic, with a Latin translation, by Gismondi, Amri et Slibae de Patriarchis Nestorianorum commentaria, 2 vols., Rome, 1896.

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Now the History of the two Uighur monks which Bedjan has published is one of the most important Syriac works known to us, for it contains a mass of historical information which is found nowhere else. It throws great light on the history of the Dynasty of the Il-Khans of Persia and their dealings with the Christians who were their subjects in the XIIIth century, and supplies us with a description of the events that brought about the downfall of the Nestorian Church in Persia, and Central Asia, and Mesopotamia. The narrative of the travels of the two monks. is of unusual interest, and parts of it remind us of the fabulous stories of adventurers and their successes which are found in many Oriental books. In it we see two humble Christian monks setting out on a perilous journey of some thousands of miles, across waterless deserts and difficult mountains, apparently with the sole idea of visiting Jerusalem that they might pray at the Holy Places there and obtain pardon for their sins and absolution. Fate decreed that they should never reach Jerusalem and forced them to halt at Maraghah, several hundreds of miles from the Holy City. But it ordered events in such a way that the younger monk, Mark, became first a Metropolitan bishop and then Patriarch of the East, and the spiritual head of all the Nestorians in China, Central Asia, India, Persia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Syria, and the elder became Visitor-General of the Nestorian congregations in the East, and the ambassador of Arghon, the Mongol king, to the Pope and to the kings of Byzantium, France, and England.

According to ancient and wide-spread traditions Christianity was first preached to the Medes and Parthians and Indians by THOMAS, or, as he is sometimes called, "Judas Thomas or the Twin "(Didymos), one of the Twelve Apostles. Though exact historical evidence in support of these traditions is wanting, there seems to be no good reason for doubting that the Apostle actually made his way into the countries to the east of Assyria and Babylonia, and died or was martyred in one of them. The literary facts are summarized by Lipsius, Apostelgeschichte, Bd. i, p. 224 ff. . . . .

Thomas went on a special mission to Malabar and converted the people there. The Brahmans, jealous of his success, put him to death about A.D. 52 at a place called Kelamini, where he was buried; his remains were translated to Edessa by Bishop Eulogius (387-96). The most recent and fullest edition of his life and acts is by Bedjan, Acta Martyrum, vol. iii, Paris, 1892, pp. 1-175; and see Bar Hebraeus, Chron. Eccles., sect. ii, Paris, 1877, cols. 3-12.

The work of Thomas in India is said to have been continued by ADDAI, one of the seventy-two disciples of our Lord. He visited Edessa in the reign of ABGAR, whom he converted, and having built churches for this king, he and two disciples called MARI and AGGAI set out and preached the Gospel in the East. On his return to Edessa, he was put to death by the king, a son of ABGAR, whom he succeeded. . . . . The Syriac text of the "Doctrine of Addai" in its most complete form; and an English translation, is given by Phillips, The Doctrine of Addai the Apostle, London, 1876.

NESTORIUS (Henfield)

Nestorius (Greek: Nestorios; c. 386–450) was Archbishop of Constantinople from 10 April 428 to August 431, when Emperor Theodosius II confirmed his condemnation by the Council of Ephesus on 22 June. Nestorius story is a good example as to how the Roman Church silenced anyone who had an opinion on Christian teachings than the Church doctrine propagated. Power politics was an important part of the struggle.

His teachings included a rejection of the long-used title of Theotokos, "Mother of God", for Mary, mother of Jesus, and they were considered by many to imply that he did not believe that Christ was truly God. That brought him into conflict with other prominent churchmen of the time, most notably Cyril of Alexandria, who accused him of heresy. Nestorius sought to defend himself at the First Council of Ephesus in 431 AD but instead found himself formally condemned for heresy by a majority of the bishops and was subsequently removed from his see. On his own request, he retired to his former monastery, in or near Antioch. In 435, Theodosius II sent him into exile in Upper Egypt, where he lived on until 450, strenuously defending his orthodoxy. His last major defender within the Roman Empire, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, finally agreed to anathematize him in 451 during the Council of Chalcedon.

From then on, he had no defenders within the empire, but the Church of the East never accepted his condemnation. That led later to western Christians giving the name Nestorian Church to the Church of the East where his teachings were deemed Orthodox and in line with its own teachings. Nestorius is revered as among three "Greek Teachers" of the Church (in addition to Diodorus of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia). The Church of the East's Eucharistic Service, which is known to be among the oldest in the world, incorporates prayers attributed to Nestorius himself.

The Second Council of Constantinople of AD 553 confirmed the validity of the condemnation of Nestorius, refuting the letter of Ibas of Edessa which claimed that Nestorius was condemned without due inquiry.

The discovery, translation and publication of his Bazaar of Heracleides at the beginning of the 20th century have led to a reassessment of his theology in western scholarship. It is now generally agreed that his ideas were not far from those that eventually emerged as orthodox, but the orthodoxy of his formulation of the doctrine of Christ is still controversial.

Sources place the birth of Nestorius in either 381 or 386 in the city of Germanicia in the Province of Syria, Roman Empire (now Kahramanmaraş in Turkey).

He received his clerical training as a pupil of Theodore of Mopsuestia in Antioch. He was living as a priest and monk in the monastery of Euprepius near the walls, and he gained a reputation for his sermons that led to his enthronement by Theodosius II, as Patriarch of Constantinople, following the 428 AD death of Sisinnius I.

Shortly after his arrival in Constantinople, Nestorius became involved in the disputes of two theological factions, which differed in their Christology. Nestorius tried to find a middle ground between those that emphasized the fact that in Christ, God had been born as a man and insisted on calling the Virgin Mary Theotokos (Greek: Θεοτόκος, "God-bearer") and those that rejected that title because God, as an eternal being, could not have been born. Nestorius suggested the title Christotokos (Χριστοτόκος, "Christ-bearer"), but he did not find acceptance on either side.

"Nestorianism" refers to the doctrine that there are two distinct hypostases in the Incarnate Christ, the one Divine and the other human. The teaching of all churches that accept the Council of Ephesus is that in the Incarnate Christ is a single hypostasis, God and man at once. That doctrine is known as the Hypostatic union.

Nestorius's opponents charged him with detaching Christ's divinity and humanity into two persons existing in one body, thereby denying the reality of the Incarnation. It is not clear whether Nestorius actually taught that.

Eusebius, a layman who later became the bishop of the neighbouring Dorylaeum, was the first to accuse Nestorius of heresy but the most forceful opponent of Nestorius was Patriarch Cyril of Alexandria. This naturally caused great excitement at Constantinople, especially among the clergy, who were clearly not well disposed to Nestorius, the stranger from Antioch.

Cyril appealed to Celestine of Rome to make a decision, and Celestine delegated to Cyril the job of excommunicating Nestorius if he did not change his teachings within 10 days.

Nestorius had arranged with the emperor in the summer of 430 for the assembling of a council. He now hastened it, and the summons had been issued to patriarchs and metropolitans on 19 November, before the pope's sentence, delivered though Cyril of Alexandria, had been served on Nestorius.

Emperor Theodosius II convoked a general church council, at Ephesus, itself a special seat for the veneration of Mary, where the Theotokos formula was popular. The Emperor and his wife supported Nestorius, but Pope Celestine supported Cyril.

Cyril took charge of the First Council of Ephesus in 431, opening debate before the long-overdue contingent of Eastern bishops from Antioch arrived. The council deposed Nestorius and declared him a heretic.

While the council was in progress, John I of Antioch and the eastern bishops arrived and were furious to hear that Nestorius had already been condemned. They convened their own synod, at which Cyril was deposed. Both sides then appealed to the emperor.

Initially, the imperial government ordered both Nestorius and Cyril to be deposed and exiled. Nestorius was made to return to his monastery at Antioch, and Maximian was consecrated Archbishop of Constantinople in his place. Cyril was eventually allowed to return after bribing various courtiers.

Later events: In the following months, 17 bishops who supported Nestorius's doctrine were removed from their sees. Eventually, John I of Antioch was obliged to abandon Nestorius, in March 433. On August 3, 435, Theodosius II issued an imperial edict that exiled Nestorius from the monastery in Antioch in which he had been staying to a monastery in the Great Oasis of Hibis (al-Khargah), in Egypt, securely within the diocese of Cyril. The monastery suffered attacks by desert bandits, and Nestorius was injured in one such raid. Nestorius seems to have survived there until at least 450 (given the evidence of The Book of Heraclides), but the date of his death is not known.

Writings: Very few of Nestorius' writings survive. There are several letters preserved in the records of the Council of Ephesus, and fragments of a few others. About 30 sermons are extant, mostly in fragmentary form. The only complete treatise is the lengthy defence of his theological position, The Bazaar of Heraclides, written in exile at the Oasis, which survives in Syriac translation. It must have been written no earlier than 450, as he knows of the death of the Emperor Theodosius II (29 July 450).

Bazaar of Heracleides: In 1895, a 16th-century book manuscript containing a copy of a text written by Nestorius was discovered by American missionaries in the library of the Nestorian patriarch in the mountains at Konak, Hakkari. This book had suffered damage during Muslim conquests, but was substantially intact, and copies were taken secretly. The Syriac translation had the title of the Bazaar of Heracleides.[10] The original 16th-century manuscript was destroyed in 1915 during the Turkish massacres of Assyrian Christians. Edition of this work is primarily to be attributed to the German scholar, Friedrich Loofs, of Halle University.

In the Bazaar, written about 451, Nestorius denies the heresy for which he was condemned and instead affirms of Christ "the same one is twofold"—an expression that some consider similar to the formulation of the Council of Chalcedon. Nestorius' earlier surviving writings, however, including his letter written in response to Cyril's charges against him, contain material that has been interpreted by some to imply that at that time he held that Christ had two persons. Others view this material as merely emphasising the distinction between how the pre-incarnate Logos is the Son of God and how the incarnate Emmanuel, including his physical body, is truly called the Son of God.

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Though Nestorius had been condemned by the church, there was a faction loyal to him and his teachings. Following the Nestorian Schism and the relocation of many Nestorian Christians to Persia, Nestorian thought became ingrained in the native Christian community, known as the Church of the East, to the extent that it was often known as the "Nestorian Church".

In modern times, the Assyrian Church of the East, a modern descendant of the historical Church of the East, reveres Nestorius as a saint, but the modern church does not subscribe to the entirety of the Nestorian doctrine, as it has traditionally been understood in the West. Parts of the doctrine were explicitly repudiated by Patriarch Mar Dinkha IV, on the occasion of his accession in 1976.

During the process of restoration of the Syro-Malabar Rite in 1957, Pope Pius XII of Rome requested the restoration of the Anaphorae of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius. The Syro-Malabar Church had historically made use of the Anaphora of Nestorius until it was forcibly latinized by the Portuguese in the Synod of Diamper in 1599 against the expressed will of the Pope.

Advised by the Oriental Congregation, the Syro-Malabar Church now restored all three Anaphorae:

1. Addai and Mar Mari, the Apostles of the East
2. Theodore of Mopsuestia
3. Nestorius of Constantinople

These three Anaphorae, or quddashas, are among the oldest in Christendom. That of Nestorius is reserved for five days in a liturgical year: Denha (Epiphany), the first Friday after Denha (John the Baptist), the fourth Friday of the Denha (the Greek Fathers), the Thursday of Pes'ha (Maundy Thursday) and the Wednesday of the Ascension of Our Lord. That of Theodore is used from the first Sunday of the Weeks of Annunciation to Oshana Sunday (Palm Sunday). On all the other days that of Addai and Mari is used.

In the Roman Empire, the doctrine of Monophysitism developed in reaction to Nestorianism. The new doctrine asserted that Christ had but one nature, his human nature being absorbed into his divinity. It was condemned at the Council of Chalcedon and was misattributed to the non-Chalcedonian Churches. Today, it is condemned as heresy in the modern Oriental Orthodox churches.

PROGRESS OF NESTORIANISM (Budge)

In the first half of the VIIth century the Muslims began their far-reaching conquests, and the Nestorians, of whom Mohammed knew very little, welcomed the success of his arms. The Patriarch Isho-yahbah II, who sat from 628-44, seeing that the downfall of the Persian Empire was imminent came to terms with Mohammed, or Abu Bakr, through the intervention of Sayyid, Governor of Najran, and Isho, the bishop of that town. For the terms of the agreement, which was ratified by 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, see Bar Hebraeus, Chron. Eccles., ii, col. 117, and Assemani, Bibl. Orient., ii, p. 418; III, i, p. 108, col. is The Patriarch stipulated that the Christians should be protected from the attacks of their foes; that the Arabs should not make them go to war with them; that they should not compel them to change their manners and laws; that they should help them to repair their old churches; that the tax on the poor should not exceed four zuze; that the tax on merchants and wealthy men should be ten zuze per man; that a Christian woman servant should not be

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compelled to change her faith, nor to neglect fasting and prayer, etc. The Arabs, like the Persians, admired the Nestorians for the simplicity of their Faith, their common sense and practical mindedness, their energy and power of work and, above all, their learning. The Nestorians studied at Edessa, not only theology, but medicine as taught by the Greeks, and logic, philosophy, elocution and grammar, and their intellectual activity was very great. Unlike the Jacobites or Monophysites, and Melchites, the Nestorians obstinately adhered to the old Peshitta, or "Simple" version of the Scriptures, the Syriac Vulgate, which seems to have been a product of the Christians of Edessa in the IInd century (Wright, Syr. Lit., p. 3).

THE CREED AND DOCTRINE OF THE NESTORIANS

Mention has already been made of the doctrines of Apollinaris and Cyril of Alexandria with reference to the Nature, or Natures, of Christ; and we may now summarize briefly the views of the Nestorians generally on the Persons and Natures of Christ. It is very difficult to find out exactly what Nestorius thought and said about them, because we have only the statements of his enemies to judge by. But it is quite clear that he, following Diodorus of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia, attributed to Christ two Natures; the one Divine and the other human, but he held them to be so entirely distinct that to all intents and purposes he made Christ a double person. Origen and other Fathers had called Mary "Theotokos," or "Mother of God," and Mary was, at the end of the IVth century, commonly called "Theotokos." Nestorius: preached that Mary was not the Mother of God, but of Christ, or the Lord, and that the creature did not, and could not, bear the Creator. Christ died, but God could not die. And God could not have a mother. He who was formed in the womb of Mary, was not himself God, but a human being whom God placed there, and with whom He covered Himself. Nestorius separated the Natures, but united the worship.

From first to last Nestorius insisted on the absolute completeness of the HUMANITY Of Christ. But, as already said, it is difficult, if not impossible, to draw up any comprehensive statement of the belief of Nestorius, and it is equally difficult to state exactly what his followers believed, or what the Nestorians of the present day believe, for no recognised formula of their creed exists. The nearest approach to a confession of faith is the treatise on the truth of Christianity by Mar Abhd Isho, Metropolitan of Nisibis and Armenia, 1298 A.D., entitled the Book of the Pearl (Kethabha dhe Marghanitha). This work is held in high esteem, but it is not considered by many Nestorians to be a true or complete exposition of the doctrines held by their community. Many manuscripts of this composition are extant (see Baumstark, Syr. Lit., p. 324) and an English rendering of it was published by Badger in his Nestorians and their Rituals, vol. ii, Appendix B, p. 380 ff. But the Church Rituals contain much information about the Nestorian creed, and as these are regarded everywhere as the highest authority, from which there is no appeal, a few of them may be quoted here; for fuller details see Badger's work, vol. ii, p. 30 ff.

THE IL-KHANS OF PERSIA

The Il-Khans with whom Mir Yahbh-Allaha came in contact were:--

1. ABGA, ABGHA, or ABAGHA, the eldest son of Hulagu Khan, who reigned from 1265-81. He married Mary, a natural daughter of the Emperor Michael Paleologus who had been sent to marry Hulagu, who died before her arrival.

He corresponded with the Pope and with Edward I, King of England, and a letter from the latter to him is printed by Sykes, History of Persia, vol. ii, p. 100. During his reign Marco Polo made his. journey through Persia to China.

2. AHMAD TAKUDAR OGHLU, a brother of Abhgha, reigned from 1281-84. He was baptised when a child and given the name of Nicholas, but as soon as he succeeded to the throne he declared himself to be a Muslim. Arghon, son of Abhgha, rebelled, and was at first defeated, but the army declared for him and Ahmad fled; he was soon captured, and he was put to death in Mongol fashion by having his back broken.

3. ARGHON, the son of Abhgha, reigned from 1284-91. He sent a mission to the Pope in 1285; another in 1287-88, a third in 1289-90, and a fourth in 1290-91. The texts of the Pope's letters to him, and translations of his letters to the Pope are given by Chabot in Appendix I of his work. Arghon proposed a joint attack on the Muslims in the Holy Land, but though every king and the Pope were willing to attack, no attack was made

4. KAIKHATO was the son of Abhgha and reigned from 1291-95. He was reckless and extravagant and indulged in excesses of every kind; the army abandoned him and he was strangled.

5. BAIDU, the cousin of Kaikhato, reigned for a few months during the summer of 1295. His army deserted him and went over to Kazan who ordered him to be murdered.

6. KAZAN, the son of Arghon reigned from the end of n2g5 to I3o4. One of his first acts was to declare himself a Muslim, and to repudiate the suzerainty of the Kakhans, because they were pagans. He supported the Muslims in all their excesses, and permitted his people to destroy churches and synagogues everywhere. He invaded Syria in I299 and defeated the Egyptians at Horns, but on his second invasion of that country in I3o3 he was defeated. He corresponded with European kings and the Pope who, strangely enough, believed that he was a Christian at heart. King Edward I of England sent Geoffrey de Langley on a mission to him, and he brought back a leopard in a cage. Kazan effected many great reforms in his country, and tried to rule with wisdom and justice. He was a great builder, and he built at Tabhriz a splendid mosque, a mausoleum, colleges, and a library, and a hospital and an observatory. He gathered together a number of learned men to staff these institutions, and they received good salaries, and the royal endowments were sufficient to provide for the upkeep of the buildings and the maintenance of a considerable body of students. He was the greatest of the fl-Khans.

7. MOHAMMED KHUDABANDA, commonly known as ULJAITO, i.e. "the Fortunate " or "Lucky One," was the brother of Kazan and reigned from 1304-16. Though he was brought up as a Christian he embraced the tenets of Islam, but the sovereigns of Europe believed that his sympathies were entirely Christian.

8. ABU SA'ID, the son of Khudabanda reigned from 1316-35. He came to the throne when a boy of twelve, and though Mar Yahbh-Allaha did not die until the following year, it is very doubtful if the Patriarch had any communication with this king: Many of the nobles rebelled during the reign of Abu Said, who was a feeble ruler, and when he died a period of anarchy set in. One of the greatest nobles of the time was Husen Jalair, who had married a daughter of Arghon, and he and other Amirs set up one Khan after another, e.g. Mohammed (1336-38), Tugha Timur (1338-51), Jahan Timur (I339-41)~ Sati Beg (1339), Suleman (1339-43), Nushirwan (1344), etc. Jalair and his successors reigned from 1336-I411.

THE DECLINE OF CHRISTIANITY IN CENTRAL ASIA AND CHINA

Christianity received no support from the feeble Il-Khans of the XIVth century, and though details are wanting, it is quite certain that the Nestorians were cruelly persecuted; the goods of their merchants were confiscated, their churches were destroyed, and those who refused to accept Islam and could not escape were slain. It is probable that large numbers became Muslims, and excused themselves for so doing by saying that it was better to accept a religion which proclaimed God and His Unity, than to revert to paganism and idolatry. Before the end of the XIVth century Nestorianism had practically ceased to be in Persia, Central Asia, and China but Patriarchs of the East were still consecrated at Seleucia-Ctesiphon, and there were many Nestorians in Baghdad and in the districts near Baghdad.

In 1392-93 Tamerlane (Timur-i-Leng, or the Lame Tim-hr) captured Baghdad, and nameless atrocities were perpetrated in the city by his soldiers; the Christians who managed to escape fled for their lives to the mountains of Kurdistan and the districts near Mosul. The power of the Nestorian Church had departed. About 1551, on the death of Simon VII, Patriarch of the East, a dispute broke out at Baghdad as to his successor, and some of the Nestorians appealed to Pope Julius III, and asked him to consecrate a Patriarch for them. There were two candidates for the throne, Simon bar-Mama and Sulaka; the latter went to Rome, had an audience of the Pope and was consecrated Patriarch by him in:1553. The Nestorians who were under the jurisdiction of Sulaka, or John Sulaka, were known as "Chaldeans," as are their descendants at the present day. Thus the Nestorians divided themselves into two sections, each having its own Patriarch, and quarrels between the two Patriarchs were not of rare occurrence.

Some of the Nestorian Patriarchs and bishops wished to join themselves to the Roman Church, and Elias II, Bishop, or "Patriarch" of Mosul sent two embassies, in 1607 and 1610, to solicit the friendship of Pope Paul IV; but nothing carne of it. Elias III, also Bishop of Mosul, in 1657 made proposals for union with the Church of Rome, and in his letter to Rome said he was ready to join the Church if the Pope would let the Nestorians have a place of worship of their own in the city, and would make no attempt to alter the doctrine or discipline of that sect. Naturally his proposals were rejected. The mountain Nestorians to the present day maintain that their Mar Shim'un is entitled to be regarded as the Patriarch of the Nestorians, as being a descendant of the Mar Shim'un, who was Patriarch in 1450. A list of the Nestorian and Chaldean Patriarchs will be found in Bar Hebraeus, Chron. Eccles., ed. Abbeloos and Lamy, tome iii, col. 566 ff.; and see Badger, Nestorians and their Rituals, vol. i, p. 145. The heads of the Nestorian communities at Diyar Bakr, Mosul and Wan are always called Yusuf, Elias, and Shim'un respectively. The last named resides at Kudshanis, near Julamerk. A good description of the village and the country round about will be found in Earl Percy's Highlands of Asiatic Turkey, London, 1901, p. 168 ff.

THE PROGRESS OF MOHAMMEDANISM IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The religion of Mohammed the Prophet began to decay in Persia, Syria and Palestine, and Eastern Europe as soon as the Mongols began their campaigns in the West. The Mongols destroyed every person and thing that opposed their progress, and they turned the regions over which they passed into wastes; the Muslims suffered greatly as being in Mongol eyes the enemies of God and man. The Christian princes and kings of Eastern Europe, and the Popes of Rome, endeavoured to make treaties and alliances with the Mongols, and sent many Missions to them, but none of these potentates realized that the Mongols only wished to gain possession of Jerusalem because they wanted to destroy the Arabs who were in Syria and in Palestine, and to massacre their Saljuk supporters. When the Mongol Kakhans and Khans saw that there was no military assistance to be gained from Europe, their Christian zeal began to abate, and the Western Mongols began to fraternize with Syrian and Egyptian Muslims, and Islam began to make progress among them. At length Takudhar (died 1284), the son of Hulagu by his wife Kuthai Khatun, embraced the Faith of the Children of Hagar (Hagarenes), even whilst he was showing the greatest kindness to the Christians, for he reduced their taxes, and made splendid gifts to the churches and monasteries. He was also known as "Ahmad," but whether he adopted this Arab name to indicate his conversion to Islam, or whether it was given him by his family and people is not certain. (For his reign, see Bar Hebraeus, ibid., p. 546.) The astute generals of the Arab armies in Western Asia made no great effort to destroy Christianity among the Mongols during the lifetime of Kublai Khan, for it was he who had given the Patriarch Yahbh-Allaha III, when a young man, permission to go to Jerusalem, and had furnished him and his companion with a "Yarlikh," or "Pulkdana," i.e. a written document which showed all whom it might concern that they had his authority to travel. But when Kublai Khan died in 1294, the Muslims began to rebel against the Mongols, and very soon the Arabs everywhere rose against the Christians. The last of the Il-Khans were lazy and feeble men, and were '-powerless to stay the inroads of the Arabs from the South and West. Churches and monasteries were looted and burnt, and if they escaped this fate they were turned into mosques; the Christians were attacked by Mongols and Arabs alike, and their possessions were carried off, and their houses be burnt. The young men were sold as slaves, the 'young women were drafted into harims, and the aged, both male and female, died of disease and starvation in the streets. The. Arabs hated the Mongols both as men and as Christians, and their memories of the atrocities committed at Baghdad by Hulagu, nerved them to fight to the death, sparing none.)

Text:

THE PRAYER OF THE SYRIAN TRANSLATOR

By the Power of our Lord Jesus Christ I begin to write the History of the Father of Fathers, and Governor (Mara) and Head of Pastors, Mar Yahbh Allaha Catholicus and Patriarch of the East, and of Rabban Sauma, the Visitor-General of the Eastern (i.e. Nestorian) Turks. O our Lord, help me, and in Thy mercy bring me to the end of the work. Amen.

PREFACE BY THE SYRIAN TRANSLATOR.

God, the Lord of the Universe, the Merciful and Gracious, in the superabundance of His grace hath brought all this (i.e. the visible universe) into being. And that the race of mankind might be perfected in the knowledge of the truth, and in good works, for the leading of the doers of good, and directing in the right way those who could step upwards, He sent His only-begotten Son down to earth, and He put on human flesh and hid His glory, and from behind His human covering He made to shine forth the rays of His light. He hath annulled the laws which were brutal, defective, and coarse, and hath spread abroad in their place commandments that are spiritual, perfect, and refined. He hath done away the sacrifices of animals by offering as a sacrifice His Body and His Blood, and He hath made the whole world rich by the wisdom of His knowledge. He hath spread out the net of His life-giving Gospel, by means of His holy disciples in every country and quarter of the and He hath cast the good seed of His preaching in all the earth. And the four quarters of the universe were illumined by their disciples after them, and they were also lighted up by the Orthodox Faith, and by the glory of the Royal Trinity, and were made to be glorious by good (or beautiful) actions and works that were perfect.

For the Word can neither be rejected nor made to be of no effect, for the Framer of the Law hath established it and sealed it, saying, "Behold, I Myself am with you all the days, to the end of the world,"(Matthew 28:20). Now to the beginning (var., promise), cleaveth the reward. Little by little, work (i.e. realisation) followeth the word until at length it maketh those who were without the Law sons of God. For the Indians (Henduwaye), and the Chinese (Sinaye), and other Oriental

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nations from various countries, became restrained and submitted to the bridle of the fear of God, and their emotions and their understandings were anointed by the Spirit. For a good disposition availeth nothing if the mind and the actions do not agree with the virtues, and the gift [of the Spirit] is not withheld when good actions and healthy intentions are coupled with a blame-worthy disposition. In what cloth it profit the Jews, who are of the seed of Abraham, seeing that they have become aliens to the household of God? And in what way do the Gentiles suffer [through not being of the seed of Abraham] seeing that they have received the Spirit and have become members of the household of God? To-day the Turks (Turkaye) have bowed their necks under the yoke of the lordship of God, and they believe and hold firmly the word of the Lord with their whole heart. Every man who will not forsake father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, and take up his Cross and come after Me is not worthy to be my disciple (Luke 14:26, 27).

Now the hearing of this perfect commandment straightway made the men to marvel, the two warriors about whom the narrative is ready to speak, and they cast away their longings, rejected parents and children, and in short, renounced all the dominion (i.e. influence) of their bringing up. And, like swift eagles, they renewed the youth of their minds in works of toil and laborious lives until they attained their true Hope, and from those labours which they had planted, they received for their perfect sustenance the delicious fruits for which they longed.

Now therefore we will speak about the race of each of them separately, and about [their] country, and the different way in which each was brought up, and how they dwelt together, and the mode of life of each. And in the midst of their history we will write down some account of the things which happened in their time,. to themselves, and by means of them, and on account of them, and we will describe thing by thing as it took place.

RABBAN BAR SAUMA CHAPTER 1

The History Of Rabban Sauma

There was a certain man who was a believer, and he was a nobleman and a fearer of God. He was rich in the things of this world, and he was well endowed with the qualities of nature; he belonged to a famous family and a well-known tribe. His name was Shiban the Sa'ora (i.e. the Inspector or Visitor--Periodeutes). He dwelt in the city which is called Khan Baligh or Khan Balik (i.e. Beijing), that is to say the royal city in the country of the East. He married according to the law a woman whose name was Keyamta. And when they had lived together for a long time, and they had no heir, they prayed to God continually and besought Him with frequent supplications not to deprive them of a son who would continue their race. And He who giveth comfort in His gracious mercy received their petition, and He showed them compassion. For it is His wont to receive the entreaty of those who are broken of heart, and-to hearken unto the groaning of those who make supplications and petitions [to Him]. "Everyone who asketh receiveth; and he who seeketh findeth, and to him that knocketh it is opened to him "(Matthew 7:8), He said, confidently concerning the certain hope. And behold, this is performed for both orders (i.e. sexes), namely, men and women, when petitions are presented with a right intention. For behold, Hanna, the wife of Halkana was not prohibited, seeing that she made entreaty with a right object (1 Samuel 1:10 ff.), and the wife of Menokh (Manoah) was not rejected, and she received the angel readily in her chamber (Judges 13:2 f.).

Now God made the spirit of conception to breathe upon the woman Keyamta, and she brought forth a son, and they called his name "Sauma"[i.e. the son who was obtained by fasting; his full name was "Bar Sauma,"i.e.; the "son of the fast."]. And they rejoiced with a great joy, neighbours of his family and his relations rejoiced at his birth.

And when they had brought him (after a praiseworthy system of education) to the period when he was capable of receiving instruction, they handed him over to a worthy teacher, and before him (i.e. under his direction) they trained him diligently in ecclesiastical learning; and they betrothed him to a maiden and rejoiced in him. He was held to be worthy to receive the grade of priest, and he was numbered among the ranks of the clergy, and he became Keeper in the church of above-mentioned city. He led a life of strict chastity and humility, and he devoted himself with great diligence to the acquisition of spiritual excellences, and he struggled to make himself fit for the things of the world which is to come. And when he was twenty years of age the divine fire was kindled in his heart, and it burned up the brambles (or thorny growth) of sin, and cleansed his chaste soul from impurity and contamination of every kind. For he preferred more than any other thing whatsoever the love of his Lord, and, grasping the plough, he was unwilling to look behind him (Luke 9:62). He cast away forthwith the shadow of the world, and renounced straightway the desirable things thereof. He esteemed dainty meats as things which had no existence, and he rejected wholly the drinks which make a man drunk.

Now when his parents perceived this, great pain overtook them, and acute sorrow cleaved to them, because their only son was separating himself from them. They rose up and with broken hearts made supplication to him, and brought before him promises of things of this world, saying, "Why, O our precious son, is separation from us beloved by thee? How is it that our affliction is desired by thee? Why is our mourning sweet in thy sight? Consider now. To whom will our wealth revert? Think, who is our heir? Ponder well who will be the master of the produce of our toil? How can it possibly be pleasing to thee for our seed and name to be blotted out? Why doth the thought of thy heart suggest that strangers should be our heirs?"And having persuaded him with tears in this manner, and having stirred up grief in him by their lamentation and talk similar to that given above, he hearkened to them outwardly, and dwelt with them as far as his body was concerned, but very unwillingly. And during the three years in which he ministered to his parents according to the body, he never ceased from his toil, and he contended continually in his laborious career.

And when his parents saw that their exhortations were of no avail, and that, in comparison with the love of Christ, their words were accounted as nothing, they left him to perform his desire. Then he divided all his possessions, that is to say, his apparel and his clothing generally (or furniture), among the poor, and took the garb of the monk; and he received the tonsure from the holy and pious father, Mar Giwargis (George) the Metropolitan. And he began to toil in the vineyard of his Lord with the hope of the kingdom which is to come, and the confidence the possession of heavenly happiness, and that he would receive the whole dinar as his wages. (Matt. 20:1-16). He set apart a cell for himself and he shut himself up therein seven years; and after that period he decided to remove himself from the children of men, and to practice himself in the ascetic life in the mountain, in a place which was wholly isolated, so that he might rest there [undisturbed] in his life as a recluse. Then he set out and went a journey of one day from their [i.e. his parents'] city, and he elected to dwell there. And he found a certain place where there was a cave, and there was by the side of it in that mountain a spring of water. And he dwelt there peacefully and thanked his Lord, which held him to be so worthy that at length the report of him went forth in that region, and men used to gather together about him to hear his words, and honour was set apart for him (i.e. ascribed to him) by every man.

RABBAN BAR SAUMA CHAPTER 2

The History Of Mar Yahbh-Allaha, The Catholicus And Patriarch Of The East

In the foreknowledge of God everything is known. And the thoughts of the children of men, whether they belong to the right hand (i.e. be good), or whether they belong to the left hand (i.e. be bad), all of them, even before they are formed in the breast, are revealed unto Him. He therefore, in accordance with their character, elects and makes righteous if they be good, and because of them if they be bad He chastiseth and punisheth. Now unto Moses it was said, "Behold, I have given thee [as] God to Pharaoh."(Exodus 7:1). And his election maketh known concerning the good disposition of Moses and the hardness of the heart of Pharaoh. For even before Pharaoh existed, it was known [to God] that he would be hard: of heart, and he was rejected. For unto Jeremiah God said, "Before I had formed thee in the belly I knew thee, 'and before thou didst go forth from the womb I sanctified thee and gave thee to be a prophet to the nations"(Jeremiah 1:5). And Paul said, "God hath not cast aside His people who from the very beginning were known to Him"(Romans 11:1, 2), because assuredly, of [their] good will and pure thoughts. Now, certain characteristics of election make themselves visible in the person of him that is elected, and certain radiances shine forth from him which makes known that he is worthy of grace. The man who hath an enlightened mind perceiveth these, but the man who hath not an understanding mind knoweth them not. Since the person about whom we are going to speak was elected because of his superior discipline (or, exalted life), it is necessary for us to describe the manner of his election, and show how of a certainty it contributed to the perfect will.

There was, in the city of Kawshang, of the country of the East, a certain righteous and believing man, pure and spotless, who served God continually in His church, and observed His laws strictly and carefully. (The city of Kawshang, i.e. Kung-Tschang lay between Pekin and Tangut, and was about fifteen days' journey from the former city. Chabot would identify it with Ho-tchung-fu in the province of Shan-si.) His name was Bayniel; he was an archdeacon and he had four sons. The youngest of them (who was born in the year of our Lord 1245 AD) was called Markos (Mark), and he was trained in ecclesiastical learning more than all his brethren. . . . .

[The text is defective here, or some words have been omitted.]

. . . and they admonished (or exhorted) him concerning these and much like matters, and it seemed to them that they might be talking rather to a statue than to a rational man. But even after suffering affliction in many ways he did not turn back from his course, and his mind did not resist from its quest. On the contrary he made straight his aim, and after fifteen days of great labour he arrived at the place where Rabban Sauma was. And he gave the salutation of peace to Rabban Sauma, who rejoiced in him and received him gladly.

And after Mark had rested and was refreshed Rabban Sauma asked him, saying, "My son, whence comest thou? And how did it happen to thee that thou hast come to this mountain? In what city do thy kinsfolk dwell? Who is thy father, and whose son art thou?"

And Mark answered him, saying, "I am the son of Bayniel the archdeacon of the city of Kawshang, and I am called 'Mark.' "

And Rabban Sauma said unto him, "What is thy reason for coming to me with such labour and fatigue?"And Mark said unto him, "I wish to become a monk (or anchorite). Because I heard the report of thee I dropped everything and have sought thee; deprive me not of my desire."And Rabban Sauma said unto him, "O our brother, this path is difficult. Even the old [and experienced] monks endure the hardness thereof with the greatest difficulty; shall I permit youths and children to Journey on it?"And having besought him for many reasons to return to his parents, and Mark having refused to do so, Rabban Sauma admitted him [to his cell] and taught him; and he clothed him in a woollen garment, and made him to labour in the ascetic life. After three years Mark received the tonsure, that is to say the garb of the monk, from the pious Metropolitan Mar Nestoris (Nestorius) on the first day of the week, or the Sunday [when the prayer beginning] "Rukha Paraklita"is said. And he continued to perform many ascetic labours and kept the fasts which lasted all day until the evening. And [the monks] in that mountain used to toil in the cultivation of purity and holiness, and they were comforted by God unto Whom they had committed their souls.

RABBAN BAR SAUMA CHAPTER 3

Rabban Sauma And Rabban Markos Wish To Go To Jerusalem

One day they meditated, saying, "It would be exceedingly helpful to us if we were to leave this region and set out for the West, for we could then [visit] the tombs of the holy martyrs and Catholic Fathers and be blessed by them. And if Christ, the Lord of the Universe, prolonged our lives, and sustained us by His grace, we could go to Jerusalem, so that we might receive complete pardon for our offences, and absolution for our sins of foolishness. Now although Rabban Sauma opposed Rabban Mark, and tried to frighten him with the toil of the journey, and the fatigue of travelling, and the terror of the ways, and the tribulations that would beset him in a foreign country, Rabban Mark burned to set out on the road. His mind seemed to reveal to him that there were treasures laid up for him in the West, and he pressed Rabban Sauma with his words, and importuned him to depart. And the two of them having agreed together that neither of them should be separated from his companion, even if one of them might have to submit to what was evil for his sake, they rose up and distributed their furniture, and the objects which they used in everyday life, among the poor, and they went to that city (i.e. Beijing) so that they might take companions for the journey [i.e. join a caravan] and provide themselves with food for the way.

Now when the Christians who were living there became acquainted with them, and knew their intention, they gathered together about them so that they might make them abandon their plan. And they said [unto them}, "Peradventure ye do not know how very far off that region is to which ye would go? Or, perhaps ye have not the least idea in your minds, or have forgotten, how difficult it will be for you to travel over the roads, and that ye will never reach there? Nay, sit ye down here, and strive to perform the works whereunto ye have been called. For it is said, 'The kingdom of heaven is within you'"(Luke 17:21). And Rabban Sauma and Rabban Mark replied, "It is a long time since we put on the garb of the monastic life, and we have renounced the world; we consider ourselves to be dead men in respect of it. Toil doth not terrify us, neither doth fear disturb us. There is, however, one thing which we ask of you: for the love of Christ pray for us. And ye shall cast away the word which would produce doubt (or hesitation), and shall make supplication to God that our desire may be fulfilled." And the Christians of that city said, "Depart in peace."And they kissed each other, and parted with bitter tears and distressful words, saying, "Depart in peace. And may our Lord, Whom ye seek, be with you, and may He allot to you that which is pleasing to Him, and will be of help to you! Amen."

And Rabban Sauma and Rabban Mark came to the city of Kawshang. And when the people of the city and the parents of Rabban Mark heard that these two monks had come there, they went out to meet them with joy, and they welcomed them with gladness and delight, and they escorted them into the church with great honour. And they enquired of them how they had come to make the journey thither. Now they thought

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that the two monks were going to tarry with them, and that Rabban Mark had done so in order that he might be near the people of his family. And when they knew of a certainty that they were going to Jerusalem, and that they had made their plan to travel to the West, they suffered greatly and were sorely afflicted.

And the report of the arrival of the two monks reached the lords of that city, Konbogha (i.e. Sun-worshipper) and Ifogha (or Ibogha) (i.e. Moon-worshipper), the sons-in-law of the King of Kings, Kublai Khan, and as soon as they heard the report they sent messengers and had the two monks brought to the Camp. And they received them with gladness, and the fire of love for them burned in their breasts. And when the Lords knew that they were "going to flee from us,"they began to say unto them, "Why are ye leaving this country of ours and going to the West? For we have taken very great trouble to draw hither monks and fathers from the West. How can we allow you to go away?"Rabban Sauma said unto them, "We have cast away the world. And as long as we live in the society of men there will be no peace to us. Therefore it is right that we should flee because of the love of Christ, Who gave Himself unto death for our redemption. Whatsoever is in the world we have cast behind us. Although your love moveth us not to depart, and your gracious goodness would hold us fast, and your alms are bestowed upon us lavishly; and although it is grateful to us to sojourn with you, we remember the Lord's word which saith, 'What shall it profit a man if he possess the whole world and lose his soul? And what shall a man give as a substitute for his soul?' (Matt. xvi. 26). We earnestly desire the separation, but wherever we shall be we shall always remember, according to our feebleness, both by night and by day, your kingdom in [our] prayers."

And when the Lords of the city saw that their words had no effect upon them, and that they would not yield to their persuasion, they selected for them gifts, namely, beasts on which to ride, and gold, and silver, and wearing apparel [and rugs]. Then the two monks said, "We have no need of any of these things. For what can we do with these possessions? And how can we possibly carry such a weight as this?"And the kings mentioned above replied, "Ye have no knowledge of the length of this journey, and the expenses which it demands. We, however, do know, and we advise you not to set out empty [handed]; if ye do ye will be unable to arrive at the place which ye have decided to be your destination. Accept then these gifts from us as a loan (or trust), and if some occasion of necessity should befall you, spend what ye need from them; if, on the other hand, the necessity does not arise, and ye arrive safe and sound, distribute them among the monasteries and habitations of the monks which are there, and the Fathers (i.e. Bishops), so that we may enjoy association with our Western Fathers. For it is said, 'Let your superfluity be [a supply] for those who are in want' "(2 Cor. viii. 13). Then the two monks, seeing that the kings were giving with a sincere heart, accepted what they gave to them. And they bade farewell to them sorrowfully, and they shed tears wherewith joy was mingled.

And they came from thence to the city of Tangoth [i.e. Tangkut, or Tangat, or Thangchu, a country in Central Asia; its capital was Hiatcheu, or Ning-Hia-Fu]. When the people of that city heard that Rabban Sauma and Rabban Mark had come there in order to go to Jerusalem, they went forth eagerly to meet them, that is to say, old men and women, young men and youths, and boys and young children, for the people of Tangoth were ardent believers, and their minds were pure. And they loaded the two monks with gifts of every kind, and they received their blessings, and a crowd escorted them on their way, and shed tears, saying, "The Lord Who hath elected you to the honour of His service shall Himself be with you. Amen."

And from there they went to the country of Loton (Khotan, or Ho-Thian, or Yuthian, a city between Tangoth and Kashgar), a toilsome and fatiguing journey of two months; the region was a bare and barren desert and it was without inhabitants, because its waters were bitter, and no crops are sown there. And on the whole journey there were only eight days when, with the greatest difficulty, was sweet water found which the travellers could carry with them.6 And in the days when they arrived at Loton it happened that a war was raging between the King of Kings Kublai Khan and King Oko [O-'ho, Commander-in-chief of the army of Mien?]. And Oko had fled from him and had entered this country, and destroyed thousands of men therein. The caravan roads and ways had been cut, and grain was scarce and could not be found; and many died of hunger and perished through want.

And after six months the two monks went forth from that place and came to the country of Kashkar [or Kashgar, a city on the frontiers of China and Turkestan]. And they saw that the city was empty of its inhabitants, because it had been already plundered by the enemy. And because the aim of the monks was right, and they pleased God with all their hearts, He delivered them from every affliction, and no suffering attacked them, and He saved them from obstructions by highway robbers and thieves.

And they came to the place where King Kaido (a nephew of Kublai Khan) was encamped by the Teleos (i.e. Talas). And they went into his presence, and prayed that his life would be preserved, and they blessed his kingdom, and they asked him for a written order so that no man in his country might do them harm. And with the greatest difficulty and in a state of exhaustion whereto fear was added, they arrived at Khorasan, [a province of north-eastern Persia, which lay between Persian 'Irak and Afghanistan]. Having lost the greater part of what they had on the road, they went to the monastery of Saint Mar Sehyon, which was in the neighbourhood of the city of Tus [the capital of Khorasan], and they were blessed by the bishop who lived therein and by the monks. And they thought (i.e. felt) that they had been born into the world anew, and they gave thanks unto God in Whom they had trusted; they had placed their hope in Him, and had been delivered, for He is the sustainer and helper of every one who maketh entreaty unto Him.

And having enjoyed the conversation of those brethren they set out to go to Adhorbijan [a frontier province of Persia, on the north-west], so that they might travel from there to Baghdad, to Mar Denha, the Catholicus [he succeeded Makika A. GR. I577 = 1266 A.D., according to Bar Hebraeus, Chron. Eccles., sect. ii, p. 439]. Now; it happened that Mar Catholicus had come to Maraghah (a town of Adhorbijan, in Iranian Azerbeijan, the capital of Hulagu Khan), and they met him there. And at the sight of him their joy grew great, and their gladness was increased, and their minds were made to be at peace, and their anxious thoughts were set at rest. And they fell down on the ground before him, and they wept as they did homage to him and they behaved as if they saw our Lord Jesus Christ in the person of Mar Denha, the Catholicus. May his memory be for blessing! And they said unto him, "The mercies of God shown to us are many, and His grace is poured out abundantly upon us since we have seen the glorious and spiritual face of our General Father."And when he asked them, "Whence [come] ye?"they replied, "From the countries of the East, from Khan Balik, the city of the King of Kings Kublai Khan. We have come to be blessed by you, and by the Fathers (i.e. Bishops), and the monks, and the holy men of this quarter of the world. And if a road openeth to us, and God hath mercy upon us, we shall go to Jerusalem.

And when the Catholicus saw their tears, and that they were moved with gladness at their meeting with him, his mercy showed itself unto them, and he comforted them and said unto them, Assuredly, O my sons, the Angel of Providence shall protect you on this difficult journey, and he shall be a guide unto you until the completion of your quest. Let not your toil make you sad, for it is said in the Prophet 'Those who sow in tears, shall reap in joy' (Psalms 126:5). That for which ye hope ye shall attain, and in return for the sufferings and tribulations which ye will have to bear, ye shall receive a perfect recompense and wages twofold in this world, and never-failing good things and never-ending delights in the world which is to come."And they did homage to him, and gave thanks to him.

And having enjoyed intercourse with him for a few days they brought forward [the following] request: "If we have found mercy (i.e. favour) in the eyes of Mar our Father, let him permit us to go to Baghdad, in order that we may receive a blessing from the holy sepulchres (or relics?) of Mar Mari [the disciple of Saint Addai, Bar Hebraeus, Chron. Eccles., section 2, page 15], the Apostle, the teacher of the East, and those of the Fathers that are there. And from there we would go to the monasteries that are in the countries of Beth Garmai and in Nisibis that we may be blessed there also, and demand assistance."

And when the Catholicus saw the beauty of their object, and the innocence of their minds, and the honesty of their thoughts, he said unto them, "Go ye, my sons, and may Christ, the Lord of the Universe, grant unto you your petition from His rich and overflowing treasury, and may He grant you a full measure of His grace, and may His compassion accompany you whithersoever ye go. And he wrote for them a pethikha (i.e. a letter of introduction) to these countries so that they might be honourably entreated whithersoever they went; and he sent with them a man to show them the way, and to act as guide along the roads.

And they arrived in Baghdad, and thence they went to the Great Church of Koke [at Ctesiphon wherein every Catholicus was consecrated]. And they went to the monastery of Mar Mari, the Apostle, and received a blessing from the sepulchers (or relics?) of that country. And from there they turned back and came to the country of Beth Garmai, and they received blessings from the shrine (or tomb) of Mar Ezekiel the prophet, near Dakok, which was full of helps and healings. And from there they went to Arbil, and thence to Mawsil (i.e. Mosul on the Tigris). And they went Shigar (Sinjar), and Nisibis, and Merda (Mardin); and were blessed by the shrine [containing] the bones of Mar Awgin, the second Christ. And thence they went to Gazarta of Beth Zabhdai, and they were blessed by all the shrines and monasteries, and the religious houses, and monks, and the Fathers (i.e. Bishops) in their dioceses. And they paid the vows which they had laid upon themselves, and they spread tables of food wherefrom all might eat, and they gave alms and oblations wherever they went. And they turned back and came to the holy monastery of Mar Michael of Tar'il. And they bought a cell, and both of them were received by the monks who were there. And the thought which made them toil through the journey had rest, although they had not arrived at the end of their expectation.

Now when Mar Denha or Denkha, the Catholicus, heard of their manner of life, he sent and asked them to go to him; and they went forthwith and gave him the customary salutation. And he said unto them, "We have heard that ye have been received into a monastery. This however, doth not please us. For whilst the two of you sojourn in the monastery ye will be able to make perfect your own peace (or rest), and that is all that ye will do, but if ye abide with us ye will bring benefit and peace (or rest) to the whole community. Therefore stay ye with us, and support the Door of the Kingdom [compare Sublime Porte] in whatever manner cometh to your hands."And they said unto him, "Whatsoever thou commandest, O our Father, we will do." And the Catholicus said unto them, "Ye shall go to King Abgha (or Abagha Khan, or Abaka Khan, the son and successor of Hulagu Khan, and great grandson of Chingiz Khan, who ascended the throne of Persia as the second Mongol Khan in 1265 AD), and obtain for us Pukdane (i.e. written orders, or letters patent confirming his appointment as Catholicus)."And the two monks said unto him, "Thus shall it be, but let Mar our Father send with us a man who shall take the Pukdana [from the king] and give it to him (i.e. the Catholicus), and we will go on from there to Jerusalem."And the Catholicus granted them this [request], and gave them blessings on their journey.

And when the two monks went to the Blessed Camp, the Amirs brought them in before the King, and he asked them about the object of their coming, and what their native country was; and they made a reply to him which revealed unto him their object. And Abhgha Khan commanded the nobles of his kingdom to fulfil their petition, and to give them the written orders (Pukdane) which they had asked for. And the two monks sent the written order which Mar Catholicus had demanded to him by the hands of his messenger, and they and their companions set out for Jerusalem.

And when they arrived at the city of Animto [i.e. Ani, the ancient capital of Christian Armenia, situated on an affluent of the river Araxes], and saw the monasteries and the churches therein, they marvelled at the great extent of the buildings and at their magnificence. And thence they went towards Beth Gurgaye (i.e. the country of Georgia), so that they might travel by a clear (or safe) road, but when they arrived there they heard from the inhabitants of the country that the road was cut because of the murders and robberies which had taken place along it.

RABBAN BAR SAUMA CHAPTER 4

Rabban Mark Is Ordained Metropolitan, And Is Called Mar Yahbh-Allaha, And Rabban Sauma Becomes Visitor-General

And the two monks turned back and came to Mar Catholicus, who rejoiced at the sight of them, and said unto them, "This is not the time for a journey to Jerusalem. The roads are a disturbed state, and the ways are cut. Now behold, ye have received blessings from all the Houses of God, and the shrines (or relics) which are in them, and it is my opinion that when a man visits them with a pure heart, the service thus paid to them is in no way less than that of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. I am now going to counsel you with a council which is appropriate, and it is meet that ye should hearken unto it. I have decided to appoint Mark Metropolitan, and to bestow upon him the apostolic gift. As for thee Rabban Sauma, I am going to make thee Visitor-General, and I am going to send the two of you, each back to his own country."And those monks said unto him, "The word of Mar our Father is from the command of Christ, and he who does not carry it out committeth transgression of the command; nevertheless we will reveal our thought, and show forth what is hidden in our heart.

"We have not come from that country (i.e. China) in order to turn back and go again thither, and we do not intend to endure a repetition of the hardship which we have already suffered. For the man who is tripped up twice by the same stone is a fool. And moreover, we declare that we are unworthy of this gift, and for defective creatures like ourselves, a responsibility of this kind is too difficult. What we are seeking after is this: to dwell in a monastery and to serve Christ until we die."Then Catholicus said unto them, "This gift is suitable for you, and the responsibility befits your modesty."And when the two monks saw that their excuse was unavailing, they said, "The will of our Father be done."And the Catholicus said, "Hitherto no man hath called Rabban Mark 'Mar Mark,' but I wish to call him by this name. And, moreover, I have thought out a plan for doing so. We will write down on slips of paper a number of names, and lay them upon the altar. And whichever name shall go forth [from among them] with some clearly recognisable indication, that we will call Mark." And he did this, and the name of Yahbh-Allaha came forth, and the Catholicus said, "This is from the

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blessed Lord, blessed be He!"And they were each worthy of honour. And Rabban Mark received the rank of Metropolitan of the See of Kati [i.e. Kathay, or Northern China], and Ong [i.e. Wang, or Huang], from Mar Denha, the Catholicus, when he was thirty-five years of age [in the year 1280 AD]. And Rabban Sauma also received a blessing from him, and was named "Visitor-General."And they both took letters of introduction; each man's letter being drawn up according to the requirements of his service.

And after a few days a report came to the effect that the road by which they had travelled there was wholly cut off, and that it was impossible for any man to use it, for the hearts of the kings of the two frontiers were changed [i.e. were hostile to each other and they were fighting], namely, the king on the one side of the river Gihon (i.e. the Oxus), and the king of the other side. And therefore the luminaries (i.e. Rabban Sauma and Mark the Metropolitan) returned to the monastery of Mar Michael of Tar'il, and they sat down in their cell for two years, more or less.

And one night when Mar Yahbh-Allaha was sleeping he saw a dream, and it seemed to him that he went into a great church, and that there were in the church images of the saints, and that in the midst of them there was the Cross. And he stretched out his right arm in order to receive a blessing from it, and as he stretched forward his arm, the Cross receded from him, and it ascended until it came to the top (roof?) of the temple, where he grasped it and kissed it, and then he went out of the church. And he saw lofty trees that were laden with different kinds of hard fruits, and various soft fruits, and he began to pluck and to eat them, and he gave [some of them] to the crowd of people who were gathered together, and fed them therewith. And when he woke up he showed the dream to Rabban Sauma, saying, "I have seen a dream and it troubleth me."And Rabban Sauma said unto him, "Relate thy dream to me."And when he had related it to him Rabban Sauma interpreted it, saying, "That thy arm extended itself after thou hadst stretched it out to be blessed by the Cross and by the images of the saints, showeth that thou wilt attain to the great stature [i.e. the highest rank] of the Fathers (or Bishops). And that thou didst eat of the fruit of the trees, and didst give of them to the people to eat, showeth that thou wilt thyself enjoy the heavenly gift which resteth upon thee, and that thou wilt also make many people enjoy that same gift."

And again, on another night, Mar Yahbh Allaha saw another vision. It seemed him as if he were sitting upon a high throne and that many people were gathered together round about him, and he was teaching [them] And as he was speaking his tongue became long and longer until the greater part of it went forth from his mouth; and then it became divided into three portions, and there appeared on the tip of each portion something which was like unto fire. And the people who were there marvelled and glorified God. And when he awoke he again related his dream to Rabban Sauma, who said unto him, "This is no dream, for it is a revelation and it resembleth a revelation; and it differeth in no way from the revelation of the Spirit which in the form of tongues of fire rested upon the Apostles (Acts 2:3). And assuredly the Holy Spirit resteth upon thee, and the patriarchal throne shall be given into thy hands, so that thou mayest complete His service, and minister to its operation".

RABBAN BAR SAUMA CHAPTER 5

Yahbh-Allaha Is Elected Patriarch

Now whilst these things were taking place, Mar Denha, the Catholicus, was still alive, but he had been suffering from sickness for a long time in Baghdad. And many of the monks and Fathers (i.e. Bishops) had been seeing visions which resembled those [described above]. And after a few days there arose in Mar Yahbh-Allaha the thought that he would go to the Catholicus in Baghdad so that he might receive from him a blessing, and the birona (i.e. pontifical cloak Bippiov) and pastoral staff that they might go with him to his country. And when he arrived in the neighbourhood of Baghdad, a certain man who was an acquaintance of his met him, and said unto him, "The Catholicus is dead, but peradventure if thou wilt urge on thy caravan thy wilt arrive before he is buried."Then, with great anguish and a sorrowful heart, Mar Yahbh-Allaha set out and pressed on quickly until he came to the door of the church; and when he had gone inside he saw some groups of people weeping and some groups praying. And he went up to the bier, and cast aside his turban, and rent his garments, and wept so bitterly and with such anguish that at length he fell down upon the ground like a dead man. After a time the people lifted him up, and put his turban on him, and spake words of consolation to him. And when the prayers for the dead were ended the Catholicus was buried [on February 24, 1281 AD]--may his memory be for blessing! And the Fathers returned to the Cell [which was actually a palace] of the Catholicus.

And on the following day the Fathers gathered together to elect a person suitable to sit on the patriarchal Throne. There were present the following: first and foremost there was Maran-'Ammeh, Metropolitan of Elam. Another was the Metropolitan of Tangoth in China; another was the Metropolitan of Tirahan near Samarra in 'Irak; and another was the Metropolitan of Ture [i.e. Tur 'Abhdin]. And with these were the nobles, and governors, and scribes, and lawyers, and physicians of Baghdad. And one said, "this man shall be Patriarch,"and another said, "that man shall be Patriarch,"until at length they all agreed that Mar Yahbh-Allaha should be the head and governor of the Throne of Seleucia and Ctesiphon. The reason for his election was this: The kings who held the steering poles of the government of the whole world were Muglaye (Mongols), and there was no man except Mar Yahbh-Allaha who was acquainted with their manners and customs, and their policy of government, and their language. And when [the nobles of Baghdad] said these things to him he made excuses and demurred to their statements, saying, "I am deficient in education and in ecclesiastical doctrine, and the member of my tongue halteth. How can I possibly become your Patriarch? And moreover, I am wholly ignorant of your language, Syriac, which it is absolutely necessary for the Patriarch to know." And having pressed upon him their quest, he agreed to their opinion and accepted [the office]. And all the aged men, and priests, and nobles, and scribes, and also the physicians, gave their support to him.

And Mar Yahbh-Allaha rose up and came to the holy monastery of Mar Michael of Tar'il, where Rabban Sauma was. Now the monks had already heard of the death of the holy Father, Mar Denha, and when Mar Yahbh-Allaha arrived, they received him with gladness, and comforted him; and they [told] him that they approved of his being elected Catholicus. It was a divine movement, and an act which proceeded from God, and which all creation was compelled to carry out. And when he talked to Rabban Sauma, the Rabban said unto him, "This is a divine matter, from which thou canst not possibly ask for release; therefore let us go forthwith to King Abhgha (or Abaga), and if he consents thereto we shall receive the conclusion."

And they rose up and set out for Adhorbijan together with the aged and venerable men, and Fathers (i.e. Bishops), and monks who accompanied them, for at that time the kings used to pass the summer in that place. And they arrived at the place where the king was at Black Mountain, which is known in Persian as Sia Kuh, and the Amirs introduced them, and put forward their request. And the monks said unto the king, "May the king live for ever! The Catholicus is dead, and all the Christians wish and have agreed together that this Metropolitan who hath come from the countries of the East to go to Jerusalem should stand in his place. What doth the king command?"And Abhgha replied, "This purity (or sincerity) of thoughts and conscience (36) is worthy of admiration. And God is with those who seek Him and do His will. This man and his companion have come from the East to go to Jerusalem; this hath happened to them through the wish of God. We also will minister to the Divine Will and the entreaty of the Christians; he shall stand for them as their head and shall sit upon the Throne."

And he took Mar Yahbh-Allaha by the hand and said unto him, " Be strong and rule, and may God be with thee and support thee."And he covered his head with a cloak, for a cloak was lying on his shoulders, and he gave him his own chair of state (sandali) which was a small throne. And he gave him also a parasol (shather), which is called in Mongolian sukor, and this is raised up above the heads of kings and queens, and their children, and it is sufficient to keep away from them the strength of the sun and rain; but on most occasions parasols are spread over them to do them honour. And the king gave him also a Paiza of gold, which is the sign (or symbol) of these kings, and the customary Pukdane, that is to say, written commands, which authorized him to have dominion over every one, and the great seal which had formerly belonged to the Catholicus, his predecessor. And he allotted to him the large sum of money which was necessary to pay the expenses of the laying on of hands.

Then Rabban Sauma and Mar Yahbh-Allaha rose up and came to Baghdad. And they went to the Great Church of Koke, and Mar Yahbh-Allaha received the Xeipotovia, that is to say, the laying on of hands, to hold the steering poles of the government of the Oriental Church. And he sat on the throne of Seleucia and Ctesiphon through the offices of the holy Father, Maran 'Ammeh, Metropolitan of Elam, the disposer and keeper of the Apostolic Throne, and through the Fathers who were present there, and who were:-

Mar Isho Zekha, Metropolitan of Subha (Nisibis) and of Armenia.

Mar Moses, Metropolitan of Arbil.

The Monks Of Kublai Khan:

Mar Gabriel, Metropolitan of Mosul and Ninevah.

Mar Elijah, Metropolitan of Dakuk and Beth Garmai.

Mar Abraham, Metropolitan of Tripolis and Jerusalem.

Mar Jacob, Metropolitan of Samarkand.

Mar John Metropolitan of Adhorbijan.

And the other Bishops, twenty-four in number, among whom were: -

[Mar Joseph, Bishop of Salamis.

Mar Abraham, Bishop of Ushnuk.

Mar John, Bishop of Shushtar.]

This laying on of hands took place in the month of the second Teshri, on the first Sunday of the "Consecration of the Church,"in the year one thousand five hundred and ninety-three of the Greeks [i.e. in November, 1281 AD], in the seven and thirtieth year of his age.

Now it happened that in the winter of that year King Abhgha came down to Baghdad, and Mar Yahbh-Allaha, the Catholicus, went to him on the Sabbath which came before the Lord's Fast (i.e. Lent). And he explained to him the affairs of the Christians [i.e. their actual condition], and found mercy (i.e. sympathy) in his sight. And the king bestowed upon him large gifts, and gave him a written authority (pukdana) to levy a tax each year on behalf of the churches, and monasteries, and monks, and priests, and deacons, thirty thousand dinars (nearly £15,000) or one hundred and eighty thousand white zuze. (The silver zuza = about 20d. = denarii / pennies). And the Catholicus sent out [men] to exact a gift from the various countries equivalent to this amount. Now when King Abhgha departed this temporary life the gift was withheld.

RABBAN BAR SAUMA CHAPTER 6

The False Accusations Which Mar Yahbh Suffered In The Days Of Ahmad The King

About the events which immediately followed we will not prolong our discourse. [In short] after Abhgha there rose up as king, his brother, Ahmad who is also known as Nekudar, or Takudar, who was baptised and was called Nikaleos, or Nicholas, the son of Hulagu. He lacked education and knowledge, and he persecuted the Christians greatly because of his association with the Hagaraye [i.e. the descendants of Hagar, the Mohammedans], towards whose religion he leaned, and because of two of the envious old men (i.e. bishops}, who found the opportunity to fulfil their desire. They went into the king's presence through the help of certain erring men, one of whom was called Shams Ad-Din, the lord of the Diwan (the son of Behai Ad-Din Mohammed) that is to say, chief of the scribes of the dumasion (= the State or Treasury), and the other was the Shakh Abd Ar-Rahman. And they calumniated Mar Yahbh-Allaha the Catholicus, and Rabban Sauma, and made accusations against them to the king, saying, "The hearts of these men are with Arghon, the son of Abhgha, and they have written treasonable things against thee, O King, to the King of Kings Kublai Khan. And the Amir if Shamot is a participator in the treason."The latter had been a monk and an ascetic, and was then the Eparch of the city of Mosul and its district.

Now these two men used Ahmad as a tool in fulfilling their desire through the two old men who have already been mentioned, that is to say Isho'-Sabhran, Metropolitan of Tangoth, and Simon, Bishop of Arni (or Arna, in the diocese of Akra). These two bishops had plotted together and agreed that the one of them should become the Catholicus, and the other Metropolitan and Visitor-General. And this plan having, through the counsel of the Adversary, entered their minds they contrived this scheme of theirs as we have described.

Now the king who lacked understanding, inasmuch as he had cast God aside, did not ponder in his mind, saying, "These men can have no benefit in this matter, why should they bring themselves to make false accusations?" but he believed the words of the crafty ones. And by his command Mar Yahbh-Allaha, the Catholicus, and Rabban Sauma and the Amir Shamot were brought up into the Great House. After the written authorisations (Pukdane) which he had given to them, he took away the house of Mar Catholicus, and the Paiza [. . . . . ; some words omitted]. And when Mar Yahbh-Allaha and Rabban Sauma had gone into the Hall of Judgment, they did not know what was required of them, and they remained there stupefied, saying, "What have we done?"And the messenger who had brought them into the Hall of Judgment said unto them, "Your holy men, and the scribes, and the men of your Communion have made accusations against you before the king."

And the great Amirs, that is to say the judges said unto the Catholicus, "What evil thing hast thou seen in the king that thou shouldst lie concerning him, and shouldst send calumnies about him to the King of Kings, Kublai Khan saying, 'This man hath abandoned the way of his fathers and hath become a Mohammedan. And the Catholicus replied, "I do not understand."And the judges said unto him, "Thy scribes have declared these things against thee."And the judges brought the scribes, and when each one of them had been questioned by himself, every one of them stated that which he knew. And Mar Catholicus said, "O Amirs, why do ye weary yourselves? Fetch back that messenger, with whom are the letters, and examine them. If this accusation which hath been made against me is proved true, I will die ungrudgingly an in my own blood. But if it be [proved] to a false, it rests with you to judge and to take vengeance on my behalf."

And the Amirs accepted this proposal, and they made it known to the king, and the king sent after the messenger, and took back from him all the letters in the neighbourhood of

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Khorasan. And when the letters had been opened and read, there was found in them nothing which any way resembled the accusations. But the judges said nothing about this to the accusers of the Catholicus, and therefore we know that they had taken the letters as a pretext.

And the Catholicus remained in prison for forty days, more or less, in great anxiety, and bitter suffering and anguish all day long, until God in His mercy visited him, and he as saved from death. Now King Ahmad as exceedingly wroth with him, and as the thirsty man longeth for cool waters, even so did the king thirst to shed his blood. And would have done so had it not been for the Angel of Providence who governs this holy throne, and who wrought upon the mother of the king Kutui Khatun, and upon the Amirs, and prevented him from carrying into effect the thought which he had devised. And further, through the word of those whom we have mentioned, the Catholicus found mercy in the sight of the king, and he gave him [back] the Letter of Authority (Pukdana) and the Paiza, and he made his heart happy and sent him back.

Then Mar Yahbh-Allaha said farewell to the king and went to the city of Urmi. And he saw a vision (or dream) in the church of Mart Maryam, and he knew that he would never see the king again. And after some days he arrived in the city of Maraghah, he and the bishops who had made accusations against him. And King Ahmad and his troops went to Khorasan in order to seize King Arghon, the son of King Abhgha. And he had made a pact with the two persons who have been mentioned above, and with the chiefs of the Arabs, that when he had seized that prince (Arghon) he should slay the rest of the royal children, and that he should become Khalifah in Baghdad, and put an end to the life of the Catholicus also. But his thought returned empty, and his plan had no result, for the Lord setteth aside the thoughts of the children of men, and establisheth His design. He dismisseth kings and maketh kings to pass away, but His kingdom standeth for ever. And the armies of Ahmad were scattered--now, the greater number of the troops took the side of Arghon and Ahmad was captured and killed [in the year 1284 AD].

One night, before he had heard of what had happened to Ahmad the king, Mar Yahbh-Allaha had a dream. And it seemed to him that a young man of handsome appearance came to him carrying a dish, which was covered over with a napkin, in his hands, and he said unto the Catholicus, "Stand up, and eat what is laid on the dish."And when he drew back the cloth he found a boiled head [of a man] in the dish, and he ate the whole head leaving nothing except he bones of the jaw. And the young man said unto him, "Dost thou know what thou hast eaten?"And the Catholicus said unto him, "No."And the young man said unto him, "This was the head of King Ahmad"; and the Catholicus awoke straightway and was frightened. And a few days later the report of the murder of the king, which hath already been mentioned, arrived, and the news that King Arghon was reigning. And the joy of the Catholicus was great, not because of the death of Ahmad, but because Arghon had become king.

And there and then the Catholicus, and the old men and the monks went to offer their congratulations to King Arghon, and to pay the homage which the Christians were in duty bound to pay to their kings according to the apostolic commandment, "Let every soul be in subjection to the supreme powers who are in authority, for there is no authority existing which is not from God" (Romans 13:1). And having seen King Arghon and congratulated him, the Catholicus prayed for the permanence of his kingdom. And Arghon paid him very great honour, and magnified his grade when he heard what had happened to him through the king, his predecessor. And when he knew how the two holy bishops, who we have mentioned above, had served the Catholicus he commanded them to be destroyed. Then Mar Yahbh-Allaha, the Catholicus, said unto him, "O King, live for ever! We Christians have laws, and everyone who doth not fulfil them is called a transgressor of the law. Our law doth not demand the slaying of a man, but only the condemnation of [his] guilt; and behold, there are many kinds of punishment which those who discipline offenders can apply to him. By our law the sentence of death cannot be passed on these reverend men, but only the sentence of complete dismiss from that grade with the ministration which they have been entrusted."And this [advice] was pleasing in the eyes of the king, and he sent away the Catholicus in great honour, and he returned to his cell in great gladness. And when the venerable Fathers had gathered together to the Catholicus to salute him and to comfort him, a discussion (or enquiry) took place concerning the action of the old men who have already been mentioned. And after much debating, and after those old men had confessed their offence, they came to a decision and excommunicated both the bishops, and they were expelled from every ecclesiastical office which they held.

RABBAN BAR SAUMA CHAPTER 7

On The Departure Of Rabban Sauma To The Country Of The Romans In The Name Of King Arghon And Of The Catholicus Mar Yahbh-Allaha

Now Mar Yahbh-Allaha, the Catholicus, increased in power, and his honour before the King and Queens grew greater daily. He pulled down the church of Mar Shalita which was in Maraghah, and he rebuilt it at very great expense. And instead of using the old beams and making a single roof he made the new church with two naves (haikili); and by the side of it he built a cell in which to live. For his affection for the house of King Arghon was very warm, because Arghon loved the Christians with his whole heart. And Arghon intended to go into the countries of Palestine and Syria and to subjugate them and take possession of them, but he said to himself, "If the Western Kings, who are Christians, will not help me I shall not be able to fulfil my desire." Thereupon he asked the Catholicus to give him a wise man, "one who is suitable and is capable of undertaking an embassy, that we may send him to those kings." And when the Catholicus saw that there was no man who knew the language except Rabban Sauma, and knowing that he was fully capable of this, he commanded him to go on the embassy.

The Journey Of Rabban Sauma; To The Country Of The Romans In The Name Of King Arghon And Of The Catholicus Mar Yahbh-Allaha

Then Rabban Sauma said, "I desire this embassy greatly, and I long to go." Then straightway King Arghon wrote for him "Authorities"(pukdane) to the king of the Greeks, and the king of the Perogaye (Franks) that is to say Romans, and Yarlike [i.e. the "Ordinances"of the Mongolian kings], and letters, and gave him gifts for each of the kings addressed by him. And to Rabban Sauma he gave two thousand mathkale (£1,000?) of gold, and thirty good riding animals, and a Paiza. And Rabban Sauma came to the cell of the Catholicus to obtain letter from Mar Yahbh-Allaha (literally: His Holiness "Yahweh Allah"), and to say farewell to him. The Catholicus gave his permission to depart, but when the time for his departure arrived, it did not please the Catholicus to permit him to go. For he said unto Rabban Sauma, "How can this possibly take place? Thou hast been the governor of my cell, and thou knowest that through thy departure my affairs will fall into a state of utter confusion."And having said such words as these they said farewell to each other, weeping as they did so. And the Catholicus sent with him letters, and gifts which were suitable for presentation to Mar Papa (the Pope), and gifts [i.e. offerings] according to his ability.

RABBAN SAUMA IN CONSTANTINOPLE

And Rabban Sauma set out on his journey, and there went with him a number of excellent men from among the priests and deacons of the Cell of the Catholicus. And he arrived at Beth Rhomaye (i.e. the territory of the Romans) on the borders of the Sea of Meka (the Black Sea), he saw the church that was there, and then went down [i.e. embarked] in a ship and his companions were with him. Now there were more than three hundred souls in the ship, and each day he consoled them with his discourse on the Faith. Now the greater number of those who dwelt in the ship were Romans (i.e. Roman Greeks), and because of the savour of his speech they paid him honour in no small degree.

And after some days he arrived at the great city of Constantinople, and before they went into it he sent two young men to the Royal gate (Sublime Porte) to make known there that an ambassador of King Arghon had come. Then the king commanded certain people to go forth to meet them, and to bring them in with pomp and honour. And when Rabban Sauma went into the city, the king allotted to him a house, that is to say, a mansion in which to dwell. And after Rabban Sauma had rested himself, he went to visit the king Andronicus II and after he had saluted him, the king asked him, "How art thou after the workings of the sea and the fatigue of the road?"And Rabban Sauma replied, "With the sight of the Christian king fatigue hath vanished and exhaustion hath departed, for I was exceedingly anxious to see your kingdom, the which may our Lord establish!"

And after they had enjoyed food and drink Rabban Sauma asked the king to be allowed to see the churches and the shrines [or tombs] of the Fathers [i.e. Patriarchs], and the relics of the saints that were therein. And the king handed Rabban Sauma over to the nobles of his kingdom and they showed him everything that was there.

First of all he went unto the great church of , [i.e. the Church of Divine Wisdom], which has three hundred and sixty doors [i.e. pillars] all made of marble. As for the dome of the altar it is impossible for a man to describe it adequately to one who hath not seen it, and to say how high and how spacious it is. There is in this church a picture of the holy Mary which Luke, the Evangelist, painted. He saw there also the hand of Mar John the Baptist, and portions of the bodies of Lazarus, and Mary Magdalene, and that stone which was laid on the grave of our Lord, when Joseph the brought Him down from the Cross. Now Mary wept on that stone, and the place hereon her tears fell is wet even at the present time; and however often this moisture is wiped away the place becometh wet again. And he saw also the stone bowl in which our Lord changed the water into wine at Katne (Cana) of Galilee; and the funerary coffer of one of the holy women which is exposed to public view every year, and every sick person who is laid under it is made whole; and the coffer of Mar John of the Mouth of Gold (Chrysostom). And he saw also the stone on which Simon Peter was sitting when the cock crew; and the tomb of King Constantine, the Conqueror, which was made of red stone (porphyry); and also the tomb of Justinian, which was built of green stone; and also the Beth Kawma (resting place) of the Three Hundred and Eighteen orthodox Bishops who were all laid in one great church; and their bodies have not suffered corruption because they had confirmed the True Faith. And he saw also many shrines of the holy Fathers, and many amulets of a magical character (talismata) and images in bodily form made of bronze and stone (eikon; icon, cameo).

And when Rabban Sauma went back to King Arghon said, “May the king live for ever! I give thanks unto our Lord that I have been held worthy to see these things. And now, if the king will permit me, I will go and fulfil the command of King Arghon, for the command to me was to enter the territory of the Progaye [i.e. Franks]." Then the king entreated him with great kindness, and gave him gifts of gold and silver.

RABBAN SAUMA IN ITALY AND IN GREAT ROME

And he departed from Constantinople and went down to the sea. And he saw on the sea-shore a monastery of the Romans, and there were laid up in its treasure-house two funerary coffers of silver; in the one was the head of Mar John Chrysostom, and in the other that of Mar Papa who baptised Constantine. And he went down to the sea [i.e. embarked on a ship] and came to the middle thereof, where he saw a mountain from which smoke ascended all the day long and in the night time fire showed itself on it. And no man is able to approach the neighbourhood of it because of the stench of sulphur proceeding therefrom. Some people say that there is a great serpent there. This sea is called the "Sea of Italy."Now it is a terrible sea, and very many thousands of people have perished therein. And after two months of toil, and weariness, and exhaustion, Rabban Sauma arrived at the sea-shore, and he landed at the name of which was Napoli (Naples); the name of its king was Irid Shardalo [= Il Re Sharl Du or, the King Charles II]. And he went to the king and showed him the reason why they had come; and the king welcomed him and paid him honour. Now it happened that there was war between him and another king, whose name was Irid Arkon (= the King of Aragon, James II). And the troops of the one had come in many ships, and the troops of the other were ready, and they began to fight each other, and the King of Aragon conquered King Charles II, and slew twelve thousand of his men, and sunk their ships in the sea. (According to Chabot this naval engagement took place in the Bay of Sorrento on St. John's Day, June 24, 1287 AD, and the great eruption of Mount Etna on June 18). Meanwhile Rabban Sauma and his companions sat upon the roof the mansion in which they lived, and they admired the way in which the Franks waged war for they attacked none of the people except those who were actually combatants.

And from that place they travelled inland on horses, and they passed through towns and villages and marvelled because they found no land which was destitute of buildings. On the road they heard that Mar Papa (Pope Honorius IV who died in 1287) was dead.

After some days they arrived in Great Rome. And Rabban Sauma went into the church of Peter and Paul, for the Cell (Vatican) of the throne of Mar Papa was situated therein. Now after the death of Mar Papa, twelve men who were called "Kaltunare" (Cardinals) administered the papal throne. And whilst they were taking counsel together in order to appoint a new Pope, Rabban Sauma sent a message to them saying, "We who are ambassadors of King Arghon and of the Catholicus of the East have arrived"; and the Cardinals ordered them to come in. And the Franks who accompanied Rabban Sauma [and his companions] informed them that when they were going into the Cell (Vatican) of Mar Papa (the Holy Father = the Pope) they would find there an altar at which they must bow (or kneel down), land then they must go in and salute the Cardinals. And thus they did, and their act was pleasing to those Cardinals. And when Rabban Sauma went into their presence no man stood up before him, for by reason of the honourable nature of the Throne, the twelve Cardinals were not in the habit of doing this. And they made Rabban Sauma sit down with them, and one of them asked him, " How art thou after all the fatigue of the road ? And he made answer to him, " Through your prayers I am well and rested." And the Cardinal said unto him, "For what purpose hast thou, come hither?" And Rabban Sauma said unto him, "The Mongols and the Catholicus of the East have sent me to Mar Papa concerning the matter of Jerusalem; and they have sent letters with me." And the Cardinals said unto him, "For the present rest thyself, and we will discuss the matter together later"; and they assigned to him a mansion and caused him to be taken down thereto

Three days later the Cardinals sent and summoned Rabban Sauma to their presence. And when he went to them they began to ask him questions, saying, "What is thy quarter of

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the world, and why has thou come?"And he replied in the selfsame words he had already spoden to them. And they said unto him, "Where doth the Catholicus live? And which of the Apostles taught the Gospel in thy quarter of the world? "And he answered them, saying, "Mar Thomas, and Mar Addai, and Mar Mari taught the Gospel in our quarter of the world, and we hold at the present time the canons or statutes which they delivered unto us."The Cardinals said unto him, "Where is the Throne of the Catholicus?" He said to them, "In Baghdad."They answered, What position hast thou there?" And he replied, "am a deacon in the Cell of the Catholicus, and the director of the disciples, and the Visitor-General." The Cardinals said, "It is a marvellous thing that thou who art a Christian, and a deacon of the Throne of the Patriarch of the East has come upon an embassy from the king of the Mongols." And Rabban Sauma said unto them, "Know ye, O our Fathers, that many of our Fathers have gone into the countries of the Mongols, and Turks, and Chinese and have taught them the Gospel, and at the present time there are many Mongols who are Christians. For many of the sons of the Mongol kings and queens have been baptised and confess Christ. And they have established churches in their military camps, and they pay honour to the Christians, and there are among them many who are believers. Now the king [of the Mongols], who is joined in the bond of friendship with the Catholicus, hath the desire to take Palestine, and the countries of Syria, and he demandeth from you help in order to take Jerusalem. He hath chosen me and hath sent me to you because, being a Christian, my word will be believed by you. "And the Cardinals said unto him, "What is thy confession of faith? To what 'way' art thou attached? Is it that which Mar Papa holdeth to-day or some other one?"Rabban Sauma replied, "No man hath come to us Orientals from the Pope. The holy Apostle whose names I have mentioned taught us the Gospel, and to what they delivered unto us we have clung to the present day." The Cardinals said unto him, "How dost thou believe? Recite thy belief, article by article."Rabban Sauma replied to them, saying:--

The Belief Of Rabban Sauma, Which The Cardinals Demanded From Him

"I believe in One God, hidden, everlasting, without beginning and without end, Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit: Three Persons, coequal and indivisible; among Whom there is none who is first, or last, or young, or old: in Nature they are One, in Persons they are three: the Father is the Begetter, the Son is the Begotten, the Spirit proceedeth.

"In the last time one of the Persons of the Royal Trinity, namely the Son, put on the perfect man, Jesus Christ, from Mary the holy virgin; and was united to Him Personally (parsopaith), and in him saved (or redeemed) the world. In His Divinity He is eternally of the Father; in His humanity, He was born a Being in time of Mary; the union is inseparable and indivisible for ever; the union is without mingling, and without mixture, and without compaction. The Son of this union is perfect God and perfect man, two Natures (keyanin), and two Persons (kenomin)--one parsopa.

The Cardinals said unto him, “Doth the Holy Spirit proceed from the Father or from the Son, or is it separate? Rabban Sauma replied, “Are the Father, and the Son, and the Spirit associated in the things which appertain to the Nature (keyana) or separate?" The Cardinals answered, "They are associated in the things which concern the Nature (keyana) but are separate in respect of individual qualities." Rabban Sauma said, "What are their individual qualities?" The Cardinals replied, "Of the Father, the act of begetting: of the Son the being begotten: of the Spirit the going forth (proceeding). Rabban Sauma said, "Which of Them is the cause of that Other?" And the Cardinals replied, "The Father is the cause of the Son, and the Son is the cause of the Spirit." Rabban Sauma said, "If they are coequal in Nature (keyana), and in operation, and in power, and in authority (or dominion), and the Three Persons (kenome) are One, how is it possible for one of Them to be the cause of the Other? For of necessity the Spirit also must be the cause of some other thing; but the discussion is extraneous to the Confession of faith of wise men. We cannot find a demonstration resembling this statement of yours.

"For behold, the soul is the cause both of the reasoning power and the act of living, but the reasoning power is not the cause of the act of living. The sphere of the sun is the cause of light and heat, and heat is not the cause of light. Thus we think that which is correct, namely, that the Father is the cause of the Son and the Spirit, and that both the Son and the Spirit are causations of His. Adam begot Seth, and made Eve to proceed from him, and they are three; because in respect there is absolutely no difference between begetting and making to go forth (or proceed)."

Then the Cardinals said unto him, "We confess that the Spirit proceedeth from the Father and the Son, but not as we said, for we were only putting thy modesty (piety or religious belief) to the test. "And Rabban Sauma said, "It is not right that to something which is one, two, three, or four causes should be assigned; on the contrary I do not think that this resembleth our Confession of Faith. "Now though the Cardinals restrained his speech by means of very many demonstrations, they held him in high esteem because of his power of argument.

Then Rabban Sauma said unto them, "I have come from remote countries neither to discuss, nor to instruct men in matter of the Faith, but I came that I might receive a blessing from Mar Papa, and from the shrines of the saints and to make known the words of King [Arghon] and the Catholicus. If it be pleasing in your eyes, let us set aside discussion, and do ye give attention and direct someone to show us the churches here and the shrines of the saints; if ye will do this ye will confer a very great favour on your servant and disciple."

Then the Cardinals summoned the Amir of the city and certain monks and commanded them to show him the churches and the holy places that were there; and they went forth straightway and saw the places which we will now mention. First of all they went into the church of Peter and Paul. Beneath the Throne is a naos, and in this is laid the body of Saint Peter, and above the throne is an altar. The altar which is in the middle of that are, temple has four doorways, and in each of these two folding doors worked with designs in fro; Mar Papa celebrates the Mass at this altar, and no person besides himself may stand on the bench of that altar. Afterwards they saw the Throne of Mar Peter whereon they make Mar Papa to sit when they appoint him. And the also saw the strip of fine or thin linen on which our Lord impressed His image and sent to King Abhgar of Urhai (Edessa). Now the extent of that temple and its splendour cannot be described; it stands on one hundred and eight pillars. In it is another altar at which the King of their Kings receives the laying on of hands [i.e. is consecrated and crowned], and is proclaimed "Ampror (Emperor) King of Kings," by the Pope. And they say that after the prayer Mar Papa takes up the Crown with his feet and clothes the Emperor with it, that is to say, places it upon his own head to show, as they say, that priesthood reigneth over sovereignty or kingship.

And when they had seen all the churches and monasteries that were in Great Rome, they went outside the city to the church of Mar Paul the Apostle, where under the altar is his tomb. And there, too, is the chain wherewith Paul was bound when he was dragged to that place. And in that altar there are also a reliquary of gold herein is the head of Mar Stephen the Martyr, and the hand of Mar Khananya (the High Priest Ananias of Jersalem) who baptised Paul (Saul of Tarsos). And the staff of Paul the Apostle is also there. And from that place they went to the spot where Paul the Apostle, was crowned with martyrdom. They say that when his head was cut off it leaped up thrice into the air, and at each time cried out Christ! Christ! And that from each of the three places on which his head fell there came forth waters which were useful for healing purposes, and for giving help to all those who were afflicted. And in that place there is a great shrine wherein are the bones of martyrs and famous Fathers, and they were blessed by them.

And they went also to the Church of my Lady Maryam, and of Mar John the Baptist, and saw therein the seamless tunic of our Lord. And there is also in that church the tablet (or slab) on which our Lord consecrated the Offering and gave it to His disciples. And each year Mar Papa consecrates on that tablet the Paschal Mysteries. There are in that church four pillars of copper (bronze or brass), each of which is six cubits in thickness; these, they say, the kings brought from Jerusalem. They saw also there the vessel in which Constantine, the victorious king, was baptised; it is made of black stone (basalt) polished. Now that church is very large and broad, and there are in the nave (haikla) one hundred and forty white marble pillars. They saw also the place where Simon Kipa [i.e. Simon Petrus, the Rock] disputed with Simon Magus, and where the latter fell down and his bones were broken.

From that place they went into the church of Mart Maryam, and the priests brought out for them reliquaries made of beryl (crystal, a gem), wherein was the apparel of Mart Maryam, and a piece of wood on which our Lord had lain when a child. They saw also the head of Mattheh the Apostle, in a reliquary of silver. And they saw the foot of Philip, the Apostle, and the arm of James, the son of Zabhda! (Zebedee}, in the Church of the Apostles, which was there. And after these sights they saw buildings which it is impossible to describe in words, and as the histories of those buildings would make any description of them very long I abandon the attempt.

After this Rabban Sauma and his companions returned to the Cardinals, and thanked them for having held him to be worthy to see these shrines and to receive blessings from them. And Rabban Sauma asked from them permission to go to the king who dwelleth in Rome; and they permitted him to go, and said, "We cannot give thee an answer until the new Pope is elected."

And they went from that place to the country of Tuszkan (Tuscany), and were honourably entreated, and thence they went to Ginoh (Genoa). Now the latter country has no king, but the people thereof set up to rule over it some great man with whom they are pleased.

And when the people of Genoa heard that an ambassador of King Arghon had arrived, their Chief went forth with a great crowd of people, and they brought him into the city.

And there was there a great church with the name of Saint Sinalornia (San Lorenzo), in which was the holy body of Mar John the Baptist, in a coffer of pure silver. And Rabban Sauma and his companions saw also a six-sided paten, made of emerald, and the people there told them that it was off this paten from which our Lord ate the Passover with His disciples, and that it was brought there when Jerusalem was captured. And from that place they went to the country of Onbar, (according to Bedjan, Lombardy) and they saw that the people there did not fast during the first Sabbath of Lent. And when they asked them, "Wherefore do ye do thus, and separate yourselves from all other Christians", they replied, "This is our custom. When we were first taught the Gospel our fathers in the Faith were weakly and were unable to fast. Those who taught them the Gospel commanded them to fast forty days only."

RABBAN SAUMA IN FRANSA OR FRANGESTAN (France)

Afterwards they went to the country of Pariz (Paris), to king Fransis [i.e. Philippe IV le Bel]. And the king sent out a large company of men to meet them, and they brought them into the city with great honour and ceremony. Now the territories of the French king were in extent more than a month's journey. And the king of France assigned to Rabban Sauma a place wherein to dwell, and three days later sent one of his Amirs to him and summoned him to his presence. And when he had come the king stood up before him and paid him honour, and said unto him, "Why hast thou come? And who sent thee?"And Rabban Sauma said unto him, "King Arghon and the Catholicus of the East have sent me concerning the matter of Jerusalem."And he showed him all the matters which he knew, and he gave him the letters which he had with him, and the gifts, that is to say, presents which he had brought. And the king of France answered him, saying, "If it be indeed so that the Mongols, though they are not Christians, are going to fight against the Arabs for the capture of Jerusalem, it is meet especially for us that we should fight with them, and if our Lord willeth, go forth in full strength."

And Rabban Sauma said unto him, "Now that we have seen the glory of thy kingdom, and have looked upon the splendour of your strength with the eye of flesh, we ask you to command the men of the city to show us the churches and the shrines, and the relics of the saints, and everything else which is found with you, and is not to be seen in any other country, so that when we return we may make known in the [various] countries what we have seen with you."Then the king commanded his Amirs, saying, "Go forth and show them all the wonderful things which we have here, and afterwards I myself will show them what I have." And the Amirs went out with them.

And Rabban Sauma and his companions remained for a month of days in this great city of Paris, and they saw everything that was in it. There were in it thirty thousand scholars [i.e. pupils] who were engaged in the study of ecclesiastical books of instruction, that is to say of commentaries and exegesis of all the Holy Scriptures, and also of profane learning; and they studied wisdom, that is to say philosophy and the art of speaking (rhetoric, oratory), and the art of healing, geometry, arithmetic, and the science of the planets and the stars; and they engaged constantly in writing theses, and all these pupils received money for subsistence from the king. And they also saw one Great Church wherein were the funerary coffers of dead kings, and statues of them in gold and in silver were upon their tombs. And five hundred monks were engaged in performing commemoration services in the burial-place [i.e. mausoleum] of the kings, and they all ate and drank at the expense of the king. And they fasted and prayed continually in the burial-place of those kings. And the crowns of those kings, and their armour, and their apparel were laid upon their tombs. In short Rabban Sauma and his companions saw everything which was splendid and renowned.

And after this the king sent and summoned them, and they went to him in the church, and they saw him standing by the side of the altar, and they saluted him. And he asked Rabban Sauma saying, "Have you seen what we have? And doth there not remain anything else for you to see?"Then Rabban Sauma thanked him and said "There is not". Forthwith he went up with the king into an upper chamber of gold, which the king opened, and he brought forth from it a coffer of beryl wherein was laid the Crown of Thorns which the Jews placed upon the head of our Lord when they crucified Him. Now the Crown was visible in the coffer, which, thanks to the transparency of the beryl, remained unopened. And there was also in the coffer a piece of the wood of the Cross. And the king said to Rabban Sauma and his companions, "When our fathers took Constantinople, and sacked Jerusalem, they brought these blessed objects from it."And we blessed the king and besought him to give us the order to return. And he said unto us, "I will send with you one of the great Amirs whom I have here with

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me to give an answer to King Arghon"; and the king gave Rabban Sauma gifts and apparel of great price.

Rabban Sauma Goes To The King Of England [i.e. Edward I]

And they went forth from that place, that is to say, from Paris, to go to the king of England, to Kasonia (Gascony). And having arrived in twenty days at their [capital] city Bordeaux, the inhabitants of the city went forth to meet them, and they asked them, "Who are ye?"And Rabban Sauma and his companions replied, "We are ambassadors, and we have come from beyond the eastern seas, and we are envoys of the King, and of the Patriarch, and the Kings of the Mongols."And the people made haste and went to the king and informed him [of their arrival], and the king welcomed them gladly, and the people introduced them into his presence. And those who were with Rabban Sauma straightway gave to the king the Pukdana [i.e. letter of authorisation] of King Arghon, and the gifts which he had sent to him, and the Letter of Mar Catholicus. And [King Edward] rejoiced greatly, and he was especially glad when Rabban Sauma talked about the matter of Jerusalem. And he said, "We the kings of these cities bear upon our bodies the sign of the Cross, and we have no subject of thought except this matter. And my mind is relieved on the subject about which I have been thinking, when I hear that King Arghon thinketh as I think."And the king commanded Rabban Sauma to celebrate the Eucharist, and he performed the Glorious Mysteries; and the king and his officers of state stood up, and the king partook of the Sacrament, and made a great feast that day.

Then Rabban Sauma said unto the king, "We beseech thee, O king, to give [thy servants] in order to show us whatever churches and shrines there are in this country, so that when we go back to the Children of the East we may give them descriptions of them."And the king replied, "Thus shall ye say to King Arghon and unto all the Orientals: We have seen a thing than which there is nothing more wonderful, that is to say, that in the countries of the Franks there are not two Confessions of Faith, but only one Confession of Faith, namely, that which confesseth Jesus Christ; and all the Christians confess it."And King Edward gave us many gifts and money for the expenses of the road.

RABBAN SAUMA RETURNS TO ROME

And from that place we came to the city of Genoa, in order to pass the winter there. And when we arrived there we saw a garden which resembled Paradise; its winter was not too cold, and its summer is not too hot. Green foliage is found therein all the year round, and trees, the leaves of which do not fall, and which are not stripped of their fruit. There is in the city a kind of vine which yields grapes seven times a year, but the people do not press out wine from them.

At the end of the winter there came from the country of Almadan (Allemagne?) a man of high degree, who was the.., i.e. "Visitor"of Mar Papa, and who was on his way to Rome.8 And when he heard that Rabban Sauma was there, he went to visit him and salute him. And when he entered his house they gave each other "Peace!"and they kissed each other in the love of Christ. And the Visitor said unto Rabban Sauma, "I have come to see thee. For I have heard concerning thee, that thou art a good and wise man, and also that thou hast the desire to go to Rome."And Rabban Sauma said unto him, "What shall I say unto thee, O beloved and noble man? I have come on an embassy from King Arghon, and the Catholicus of the East to Mar Papa on the subject of Jerusalem. Behold I have been a year of days since I came, and a Pope hath not sat. When I go back what shall I say and what answer can I make to the Mongols? Those, whose hearts are harder than flint, wish to take the Holy City, and those to whom it belongeth never allow the matter to occupy their minds, and moreover, they do not consider this thing to be of any importance whatsoever! We shall go and say we know not." Then the Visitor said unto him, "Thy words are true. I myself will go and show in their integrity the Cardinals all the words which thou hast spoken, and will urge them to appoint a Pope."

And that Visitor departed from him and went to Rome, and he explained the matter to the king, that is to say Mar Papa, and that same day the Pope sent a messenger to Rabban Sauma and his companions bidding them to go to him. And as soon as ever the messenger had arrived, they set out for Rome with the greatest readiness and they arrived there in fifteen days. And they asked, "Who is this Pope whom they have appointed?"And the people said, "It is the bishop who held converse with you when ye came here the first time, and his name is Nikalios [i.e. Nicholas IV, who was elected Pope in February, 1288 AD]." And Rabban Sauma and his companions rejoiced greatly.

And when they arrived Mar Papa sent out a Metropolitan bishop and a large company of men to meet them. And starightway Rabban Sauma went into the presence of Mar Papa, who was seated on his throne. And he drew nigh to the Pope, bowing down to the ground as he did so, and he kissed his feet and his hands, and he withdrew walking backwards, with his hands clasped [on his breast]. And he said to Mar Papa, "May thy throne stand for ever, O our Father! And may it be blessed above all kings and nations! And may it make peace to reign in thy days throughout the Church to the uttermost ends of the earth! Now that I have seen thy face mine eyes are illuminated, and I shall not go away brokenhearted to the countries [of the East]. I give thanks to the goodness of God who hath held me to be worthy to see thy face."Then Rabban Sauma presented unto him the gift of King Arghon and his Letters, and the gift of Mar Yahbh-Allaha the Catholicus, that is to say a blessing [i.e. gift] and his Letter. And Mar Papa rejoiced and was glad, and he paid more honour to Rabban Sauma than was customary, and he said unto him, "It will be good if thou wilt keep the festival with us, for thou wilt see our use."Now that day marked the half of our Lord's Fast [i.e. Mid-Lent]. And Rabban Sauma made answer, "Your command is high and exalted." And Mar Papa assigned to him a mansion in which to dwell, and he appointed servants to give him everything he might require.

Some days later Rabban Sauma said to Mar Papa, "I wish to celebrate the Eucharist so that ye might see our use"; and the Pope commanded him to do as he had asked. And on that day a very large number of people were gathered together in order to see how the ambassador of the Mongols celebrated the Eucharist. And when they had seen they had rejoiced and said, "The language is different, but the use is the same."Now the day on which he celebrated was the Sunday on which the prayer beginning "ainaw asya" [i.e. Who is the physician"] is recited. And having performed the mysteries, he went to Mar Papa and saluted him. And the Pope said unto Rabban Sauma, "May God receive thy offering, and bless thee, and pardon thy transgressions and sins."Then Rabban Sauma said, "Besides the pardon of my transgressions and sins which I have received from thee, O our Father, I beseech thy Fatherhood, O our holy Father, to let me receive the Offering from thy hands, so that the remission of my sins may be complete."And the Pope said, "So let it be!"

And on the following First Day of the Week, which was the Festival of Hosannas [i.e. Palm Sunday], from the break of day onwards, countless thousands and tens of thousands of people gathered together before the papal throne, and brought branches of olives, which the Pope blessed and gave to the Cardinals, and then to the Metropolitans and then to the Bishops, and then to the Amirs, and then to the nobles, and then he cast them among all the people. And he rose up from the throne, and they brought him into the church with great ceremony. And he went into the apse of the altar and changed his apparel, and he put on a red vestment with threads of gold [running through it], and ornamented with precious stones, and jacinths, and pearls down to the soles of his feet, that is to say, sandals. And he went to the altar, and then went forth to the pulpit, and addressed the people and admonished them. And he consecrated the Mysteries and gave the Eucharist Mystery to Rabban Sauma first of all--he having confessed his sins--and the Pope pardoned his transgressions and his sins and those of his fathers. And Rabban Sauma rejoiced greatly in receiving the Eucharistic Mystery from the hand of Mar Papa. And he received it with tears and sobs, giving thanks to God and meditating upon the mercies which had been poured out upon him.

Afterwards, on the day of the Holy Passover (Thursday) Mar Papa went to the church of Mar John the Baptist, when a large number of people had gathered together. He went up into a great furnished and decorated chamber which was there--and before this chamber there was a large open space--and the Cardinals, and the Metropolitans, and the Bishops went with him; and they began to recite a prayer. And when the prayer was ended, Mar Papa addressed and admonished the congregation, according to custom; and by reason of the great multitude of people that was there not one word could be heard except "Amen." And when "Amen" was uttered, the ground shook through the outcries of the people. Then Mar Papa came down from that place and [stood] before the altar, and he consecrated the oil of Muron, that is to say, the oil of anointing. And afterwards he consecrated the Mysteries which bestow pardon, and gave the Eucharistis Mystery to the people. And he went forth from that place and entered the great temple (nave), and gave to each of his reverend Fathers two gold tarpe [i.e. "leaves" or sheets] and thirty silver parpare [i.e. silver coins], and then went out. And Mar Papa gathered together the people of his Cell [i.e. his palace household], and he washed their feet, and he wiped [them] with a napkin which he had wrapped around his loins, to the end. And when he had finished all the services of the Passover, at mid-day he made a great table [i.e. feast], and the servants placed before every man his portion of food. Now those who reclined [i.e. sat at meat] were two thousand, more or less. And when they removed the bread from the table only three hours of the day were left.

And on the following day, which was the Passion of our Redeemer, Mar Papa put on a black cloak, and all the reverend Fathers did likewise. And they went forth barefooted and walked to the church of my Lord, the Adorable Cross; and Mar Papa did homage to it, and kissed it, and gave it to each one of the reverend Fathers. And when crowds of people saw it they uncovered their heads, and they knelt down on their knees and did homage before it (i.e. adored it]. Then Mar Papa addressed and admonished the people, and at the same time he mde the sign of the Cross over the four quarters of the world. And when the service of prayer was concluded, he brought some of the Paschal Offering, and set wine with it, and Mar Papa partook by himself of that Offering (now it is not customary for Christians to offer up the Offering on the day of the Passion of our Redeemer), and went back to his Cell [i.e. palace].

And on the day of the Sabbath of Light Mar Papa went to the church, and they read the Books of the Prophets, and the prophecies concerning the Messiah. And he placed in position the Wazna, i.e. baptismal font, and arranged branches of myrtle round about it, and Mar Papa consecrated the baptism-water and baptised three children, and signed them with the sign of the Cross. Then he went to the apse and changed his apparel of the Passion, and he put on his ceremonial vestments, to state the price of which is beyond the power of words, and he celebrated the Holy Mysteries.

And on the day of the Sunday of the Resurrection Mar Papa went to the holy church of my Lady Mary. And he and the Cardinals, and the Metropolitans, and the Bishops, and the members of the congregation saluted each other, and they kissed each other on the mouth, and he celebrated the Mysteries, and they receive Eucharistic Mystery, and then he returned to his Cell [i.e. palace]. And he made a great feast, and there was infinite gladness. And on the following Sunday Mar Papa performed the laying on of hands, and he consecrated three bishops And Rabban Sauma and his companions saw the use followed, and they celebrated the blessed festivals with them.

And when these things had taken place Rabban Sauma asked Mar Papa for his command to return. And Mar Papa said unto him, "We wish thee to remain with us, and to abide with us, and we will guard thee like the pupil of our eye."But Rabban Sauma replied, "O our Father, I came on an embassy for your service. If my coming had been the result of my personal wish, l would willingly bring to an end the days of this my useless life in your service at the outer door of your palace. But I must return, and believe that when I go back and show the show who are there the benefits which thou hast conferred upon my poor person, that the Christians will gain great content thereby. Now I beseech our Holiness to bestow upon me some of the relics of the saints which ye have with you."

And Mar Papa said, "If we had been in the habit of giving away these relics to the people [who come] in myriads, even though the relics were as large as the mountains, they would have come to an end long ago. But since thou hast come from a far country, we will give thee a few."And he gave to Rabban Sauma a small piece of the apparel of our Lord Christ, and a piece of the cape, that is to say, kerchief of my Lady Mary, and some small fragments of the bodies of the saints that were there. And he sent to Marr Yahbh-Allaha a crown for his head which was of fine gold and was inlaid with precious stones; and sacred vestments made of red cloth through which ran threads of gold; and socks and sandals on which real pearls were sewn; and the ring from his finger; and a "Pethikha" or Bull which authorised him to exercise Patriarchal dominion over all the Children of the East. And he gave to Rabban Sauma a "Pethikha" which authorized him to act as Visitor-General over all Christians. And Mar Papa blessed him and he caused to be assigned to him for expenses on the road one thousand, five hundred mathkale of red gold. And to King Arghon he sent certain gifts. And he embraced Rabban Sauma and kissed him and dismissed him. And Rabban Sauma thanked our Lord who had held him to be worthy of such blessings as these.

The Return Of Rabban Sauma From Rome And From Mar Papa, The Catholicus Patriarch Of The Romans And Of All Westerns

And Rabban Sauma returned. He crossed the seas which he crossed when he came, and he arrived in peace at the place where King Arghon was, sound in body, and with soul safely kept. And he gave to him the Letter of Blessings, and the gifts which he had brought from Mar Papa and from all the kings of the Franks. And he showed him how they had welcomed him with love, and how they had hearkened gladly to the Pukdane (or Royal Dispatches) which he had carried [to them], and he related the wonderful things which he had seen, and the power of their kingdom[s]. And King rejoiced, and was glad, and thanked him, and said unto him; "We have made thee to suffer great fatigue, for thou art an old man. In future we shall not permit thee to leave us; nay, we will set up a church. at the Gate of our Kingdom (i.e. palace), and thou shaft minister therein and recite prayers."And Rabban Sauma said, "If my lord the king would command Mar Yahbh-Allaha, the Catholicus, to come and receive the gifts which have been sent to him by Mar Papa, and the sacred vestments which he destined for him, he could set up the church which the king is going to set up at the Door of his Kingdom, and consecrate it."And these things took place in this way. Now because it

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was not our intention to relate and set out in order all the unimportant things which Rabban Sauma did and saw, we have abridged very much of what he himself wrote in his narrative in Persian. And even the things which are mentioned here have been abridged or amplified, according to necessity.

RABBAN BAR SAUMA CHAPTER 8

The Good Acts Of King Arghan, And His Death

In the year one thousand five hundred and ninety-eight [read one thousand six hundred of the Greeks [= 1288 A.D.], King Arghon gave the command to transport Mar Yahbh-Allaha to the Camp, even as Rabban Sauma had asked. And for the honour of the Catholicus, and also to support (or sustain) the hearts of all the Christians who confessed Christ, and to increase the love for Him among them, he set up a church so close to the Door of the Throne, that the ropes of the curtains of the church intermingled with those of his house (The church was a tent / tabernacle). And he made a great feast which lasted three days, and King Arghon himself brought food to the Catholicus, and handed the cup of drink to him and to all the members of his company. And the king took care that reverend men, and holy Fathers (i.e. bishops) and priests, and deacons, and monks, should keep vigil in the church and recite the offices and that the beater of the board which summed men to prayer should never be idle in that church And thus the glory (or praise) of the Christians, both Orientals and Occidentals, increased until at length with one mouth they cried out, "Blessed is the Lord Who hath made us rich! The Lord hath visited His people, and hath made for it redemption!"And when the Camp moved, the priests moved the church and all that belonged to it. And Rabban Sauma became the director of that church, and its chief, and steward, and he distributed food and the things necessary for the priests, and deacons, and visitors, and caretakers of the church. And King Arghon commanded by reason of his great affection for Rabban Sauma, that the recital of the Eucharistic Office for his benefit, and of prayers said on his behalf, should never cease.

And in the following year, which is the year of the Greeks, one thousand five hundred and ninety-nine (read one thousand six hundred and one = 1289 AD); in the month of Ilul (September), King Arghon went to the Cell (i.e. palace) in the city of Maragha to see Mar Catholicus. He had had his son Kharbande born in 1281, baptised in the month of Abh (August), and he commanded him to receive the Mysteries which gave pardon. And thus the Preaching of Life increased, and the Gospel (or glad tidings) of the kingdom of heaven spread throughout the world, until at length people ere gathered together from all parts to the Patriarchal mansion to obtain help therefrom. And it was not only the Christians of the Faith who thronged there to be assisted by Mar Catholicus in the fulfillment of the requests. (Text defective: translation doubtful).

Now when the state of affairs which we have mentioned had remained thus for a short time, God the Lord of the Universe, the Lord of death and of going forth, removed King Arghon to the seat of joys and to the Abrahamic bosom. And at his departure grief fettered the whole Church which is under the heavens, because the things which were done before his time and were done badly were rightly straightened in his time. And who was there who did not suffer by the change of sovereignty? For how could it be otherwise? Behold it is a matter of difficulty for every man, and hard to describe especially when a man knoweth the nobles of the King and all the members of the royal household, to say nothing of the king of the time himself.

RABBAN BAR SAUMA CHAPTER 9

King Kaikhato And Mar Yahbh-Allaha

Now the Church passed some days with matters in this state, when suddenly, a younger brother of the dead king, who was called Irnaghin Tonghin, burst forth, and was crowned king under the name of Kaikhato; he took the sceptre of the kingdom and sat upon the throne of his brother. He [began to] rule in the year of the Greeks, one thousand six hundred and two [= 1291 AD] in the month of Abh (August) of that year All creation was at peace, rebellion died and hid itself, the light of righteousness rose and made itself visible, for Kaikhato, the blessed king, did not turn aside from the way of his fathers. He established in his position every one of those who followed divers cults, he paid honour to the leaders of all religions, whether Christians, or Arabs, or Jews, or Pagans. He considered the face of no man [i.e. he was strictly impartial] and he neither turned aside nor swerved from justice, gold being accounted as dross in his sight. His alms were boundless, and there was no end to his gifts in charity. For every one who asked from him received, even as it is written (Luke 11:10), and he who sought, found; and experience showed that this was literally true.

Now he came to reign in the month of the year which has been mentioned above. On the day of the festival of the commemoration of Saint Maryam (the Virgin My Lady Mary)--may her prayer be upon (i.e. protect) the world!--which is celebrated in the middle of the month of Abh, he went into the church which Tawus (Dokuz) Khaton the first wife of Hulago had set up in the blessed Camp. Now they were at that time in the mountain called Alatak (Ala Dagh). When our Father the Catholicus celebrated the Mysteries, the king was glad and rejoiced greatly; and he gave gifts to the Catholicus, twenty thousand dinars (£10,000) and nine gorgeous dibage, i.e. vestments made of silk with gold threads interwoven. On that day the sons of the kings and the daughters of the queens, and the Amirs, and the nobles, and the troops were gathered together there. And the glory of the Holy Catholic Church became as great, nay greater, than it was before. And the hearts of the Christians gained courage and waxed strong, when they knew the mind of the victorious king and heard his words, for his good qualities and his gracious acts could be felt with hands. And from day to day the glory increased, and the splendour of their Church grew apace, and this took place through the great care and foresight, and the wise rule of Mar Catholicus, [in which] he used his under standing for the glorification of the children of the kingdom (i.e. the Royal Family) .

Now because Rabban Sauma had already become an old man, the hard life of the Mongols, and the prolonged sojourning in desert places, became intolerable to him. And he caused the victorious King Kaikhato to promulgate an order for him to build a church in the city of Maraghah, and to place therein the vessels and the vestments for the service of the church, which the dead King Arghon had set up in the Camp. And his request was granted by the king. And as soon as he received this permission he at once set out for city of Maraghah, taking with him the vessels and vestments for the service of Mar Catholicus. And he laid. the foundations and built a fine church in the names of Mar Mari and Mar George, the glorious martyr. And there were placed in it the relics of forty martyrs, of Mar Stephen the protomartyr, and Mar James, who was cut into pieces (by the order of Warharan V, king of Persia 421 A.D.), and Mar Demetrius, the martyr. He furnished it with costly vessels and vestments for the service of every kind, and he founded a series of endowments from which the things which would be required for it could be always provided and maintained. And this [he did] with the help of the illustrious Mar Yahbh-Allaha, the Catholicus. And in the summer of the following year the victorious King Kaikhato came twice to the Cell which was in Maraghah, and he sojourned with Mar Catholicus for three days, and rejoiced with an exceeding great joy. And he gave great gifts and presents to Mar Catholicus, viz., a Paiza of gold, that is to say, the tablet which is called "Sunkor", and seven thousand diners (£3,500).

RABBAN BAR SAUMA CHAPTER 10

The Death Of Rabban Sauma And Of The Kings Kaikhato And Baidu

Rabban Sauma toiled by night and by day in the church which he had built, and he arranged everything in it in a perfect manner. And the expenses incurred in building the church, and in providing the endowment, that is to say, Wakf, which was assigned to it, amounted to (94) one hundred and five thousand zuze (about £8,250?)) more or less. And he performed the service and recited the Offices regularly, and he was exceedingly zealous in performing the Eucharistic Service, which he had established in that church, continually. And he had great repose in the Cell which he had built by the side of the church, of which until now he himself is the ornament, and prayers and celebrations of the Eucharist are constant therein. May our Lord give him as the reward of his labour the happiness of the heavenly kingdom, and a portion with the saints in the exalted regions of highest heaven. And having finished the church which we have described above, Rabban Sauma came down in the service of Mar Catholicus to Baghdad, in the year of the Greeks, one hundred six hundred and five, in the month of the first Teshri (October) of that year [1293 A.D.].

And King Baidar (read Baido), the son of the brother of King Abhgha, made a great feast in a place called Sirzur (Shaharzur, in Kurdistan) in honour of the Catholic and he gathered together all the officials of his Court to the banquet. And Rabban Sauma rose up with his temperament disordered and he fell down, being seized with fever. On the following day he bade farewell to King Bidar (Baidu), and he arrived in the city of Arbil to settle urgent affairs, and enjoy the kindness of the church folk. And the sickness of Rabban Sauma increased, and he was seized with severe pains, but he prolonged his life until the Catholicus arrived in the city of Baghdad. And his disease waxed heavy, healing took to flight, his life was despaired of, and he departed from this world of nothingness and tribulation to the world of holiness and to the City of the Saints, Jerusalem which is in the heavens, on the night of the first Sunday after Epiphany when the prayer beginning "Le'edtakh lukdam" (i.e. "to Thy Church") is said, on the tenth day of the month Kanon' Khrai (January) of that same year (1294 A.D.). And his holy body was buried in the Darath Rhomaye, on the north side of the altar, outside the inner court, on the south side (96) of the house of prayer. May his portion be with the Patriarchal Fathers among whom he was laid! And may our Lord give him rest and set him on His right hand on the great Day of Retribution wherein, with the reward of justice and the Scales of Truth, He will reward every man according to his labour!

Now Mar Ahbh-Allaha, the Catholicus, suffered very great affliction at the death of Rabban Sauma, and his weeping reached the heavens; he mourned with the people in their grief so that none might say that he constrained himself to mourn apart from them. And the nobles and chiefs, that is to say governors, and all the Fathers of the city of Baghdad came to offer him consolation, and he received consolation only with the greatest difficulty on the third day, when he returned to his Throne. And it was meet that he should suffer, and the law of nature commanded it, for the deceased was a man of courage, for he was the strong arm and support of the Gate of the Patriarchal Cell (i.e. palace), not only of the Catholicus himself but of every Christian who came to him.

And the Catholicus passed that winter in Baghdad. On the day of the great festival he set out, and met the victorious King Kaikhato at Ala Tak, where the royal Camp was. And the king honoured him with many gifts, that is to say he gave him a cloak of great price, and two splendid riding mules, and he assigned to him a "Sukur," that is to say, a parasol, and he gave him sixty thousand zuze [£2,500 or 5,000 dinars]. He refused nothing which Mar Catholicus asked for whenever he open his mouth. Then Mar Catholicus returned from the Camp of the victorious king, and he laid foundations of the holy monastery of Saint Mar John the Baptist, on the north side of the city of Maraghah, at a distance of about [two] thirds of a parasang, more or less [about two miles] from the city, in the year mentioned (1294 A.D.), at the end of the month of Khaziran (June). He built up the wall nearly to the top and the nave up as far as the spring of the roof.

Then suddenly storms broke, and the waves of confusion rose high in the kingdom; the Amirs acted treacherously towards the king and the tempests of suffering waxed strong on the world, and turmoil fell on creation. And men were slain without sufficient cause, and very many villages were looted by the soldiery with violence. And in the winter of the year one thousand six hundred and six, according to the Era of Yawan [1295 AD], the road from Adhorbijan to Baghdad and to Diarbakr were cut, and the fighters did not cease from the quarrels which they had set afoot, and at length they destroyed King Kaikhato by violent death, and delivered the kingdom to King Baido. This unhappy [prince] only accepted the kingdom through fear for his life. He remained on the throne from the 24th day of the month of Nisan (April) until the 25th day of the month of Ilul (September) of the same year, more or less. He governed and reigned in a state of perturbation, and prolonged his days in perpetual fear. Now without making over long [our] narrative, and making our History, which has a definite object, become somewhat different, it is impossible to describe completely the plots, and the trickeries, and the crafty devices, and the treacherous works which the enemies of the kingdom set on foot during the five months of the struggle which went on between Baido and the victorious King Kazan, the son of the deceased King Arghon. To speak briefly the murderers of the blessed King Khaikato, plotted the murder of his successor Baidu. Then division fell (i.e. took place), and the world was in turmoil. The peoples of the Arabs roused themselves to take vengeance on the Church and its children for the destruction which the father of these kings had inflicted upon them. Then suddenly, on the Sunday of the prayer "la-mese puma,"(i.e. "the mouth is unable") of that year (1295 A.D.), on the 25th day of the month of Ilul (September), a rumour was heard of the flight of King Baidu and of his destruction, and with it came the proofs, that in very truth the abandonment of the Church by God had taken place.

RABBAN BAR SAUMA CHAPTER 11

The Persecution Of Mar Yahbh-Allaha And The Christians In Maraghah

And a certain man, one of the Amirs, who was called Nawriz, and who feared not God bestirred himself, and sent letters by the hands of envoys, and he made to fly to the four quarters of the dominions of this kingdom, an order to this effect:--"The churches shall be uprooted and the altars overturned, and the celebrations of the Eucharist shall cease, and the hymns of praise, and the sounds of calls to prayer shall be abolished; and the heads (or chiefs) of the Christians, and the heads of the congregations [i.e. synagogues] of the Jews, and the great men among them shall be killed."

And that same night the Arabs seized Mar Catholicus in his Cell (i.e. palace) in Maraghah, and outside the building no man knew anything about the seizure of him until the day broke. And from the morning of that day, which was the second day of the week (Monday) they went into his Cell and plundered. everything that was in it, both that which was old and that which was new, and they did not leave even a nail in the walls.

And the night of the third day of the week (Tuesday) following, which was the 27th day of Ilul (September), the

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Catholicus was buffeted the whole night long by those who had seized him. And in respect of the venerable men who were with him, the Arabs tied some of them up naked with ropes; others cast aside their apparel and took to flight, and others cast themselves down from high places and perished. And they suspended the Catholicus by a rope head downwards, and they took a cloth used for cleaning, that is to say, a duster, and they put ashes in it, and tied it over his mouth, and one prodded him in the breast with skewer (bukshina) saying, "Abandon this Faith of thine that thou perish not; become a Hagaraya (Mohammedan) and thou shalt be saved."And the Catholicus, weeping, answered them never a word. And they smote him with a stick on the thighs and seat (i.e. posterior). And they also took him up on to the roof of the Cell, saying, "Give us gold and we will let thee go; point out to us they treasures, show us the things which thou had hidden away, and reveal to us thy hiding things and we will let thee go."

And Mar Catholicus because he was clothed with a body feeble and sensitive to pain, was afraid of death. And he began to cry out on the roof, "Where are the disciples? How is it that those whom I have brought up have betaken themselves to flight? Of what use are possessions (or riches) to us? Come ye and buy me back from those who would sell me wrongfully, redeem your master. "Now the people, men, and women, and youths, and children, in the darkness of midnight were crying out with bitter tears, but no man was able to approach the Catholicus because of his fear. Nevertheless they received help from their weeping, and took refuge in [their] prayer, saying, "Yea, ye mountains fall upon us! O ye hills cover us" (Luke 29:30). And thus was fulfilled the prophecy of the prophet of the Syrians Aphrem Syrus, who said "Because we have despised the way, and have regarded it with great contempt, God hath made us a reproach to those who are outside; that we may drink from them mockery. The filthy ones have ruined our churches, because we have not prayed in them in a right manner; they have defiled the altar which is before Him because we have not ministered thereto with pure service. (Bedjan's note in Syriac reads, "Mar Aphrem. Reading I. Section II. Fourth day of Rogation Week in the first half of the Reading.")

Finally, not to make our narrative too long, some of the disciples of the Patriarch's palace went and incurred a debt of fifteen thousand zuze (either £2,500 or £7,500) and gave the money little by little to the Arabs, with the hope of redeeming the Catholicus. And when those who had seized the Catholicus had received the sum of five thousand dinars, and the chalices, and the eucharistic patens, and everything that was in the palace, and that debt [i.e. the money which the disciple had undertaken to pay], they went forth from the palace at mid-day of the third day of the week.

And then a great tumult took place, and the peoples of the Arabs came with a great rush to destroy the great church of Mar Shalita, the holy martyr, and they destroyed it. And they took everything that was in it, the veils (or hangings), and the vessels and other objects used in the service. And the uproar made by their outcries, and the storm of their shoutings shook almost the earth itself and the inhabitants thereof. Peradventure the reader of this history, since he was not caught in the middle of that storm, may think that the writer is telling a fabulous story; but to speak the real truth, he who stateth what is here written calleth God to witness, that it is impossible for even one of the events which took place to be adequately described and written!

Then King Khetam (or Hathom), Takpur (Takawor) of the Arimnaye (Armenians), came down into that church which Rabban Sauma had built, and by means of the greatness of his gifts (i.e. bribes), and by his soldiers, saved it from destruction. And the Catholicus having made his escape from the hands of those who had seized him, fled to it and hid himself therein that night. In the morning of the following day, which was the fourth day of the week (Wednesday), a certain Amir, who was one of the envoys of the Nawruz mentioned above came and brought certain letters ordering the murder of the Catholicus. And he seized many of the men, among whom were some belonging to the Takpur, i.e. king, [and said unto them "Show me the Catholicus, for I have certain business with him." When Mar Catholicus heard this his heart quaked and he fled from the church and left Takpur; and King Takpur appeased the Amir with certain gifts which he gave to him, and he departed from Maraghah.

After a few days, King Takpur himself went to Tabhriz, and Mar Catholicus changed all his apparel, and went forth by himself in the guise of one of the servants, and he accompanied Takpur as far as the city of Tabhriz, where King Kazan had arrived. And the Catholicus kept himself hidden for seven days, until Takpur had been able to go unto the presence of King Kazan, and make his story known to him, then Takpur asked him to go and see the king. Now, since the men who were in the regular service in the palace of the Catholicus were scattered, there remained with the Catholicus a certain number of poor young men who cleaved to him, and these went into the presence of King Kazan with him. And the king did not know him. And when he had saluted him he asked him two questions: "Whence comest thou?"and "What is thy name?"and that was all. And the Catholicus answered him in a word, (i.e. briefly) and blessed him, and then went forth, trembling having entered his bones. But this was not due to his fear of death, but to his seeing to what a pass the children of baptism (i.e. the Christians) had come! And because of the angel who consoled him, and his wakeful mind admonished him, saying, "No temptation hath come to you except that which is of the children of men" (1 Corinthians 10:13), he still kept up his courage with weeping and groaning, saying, "Who gave my head water, and my eyes fountains of tears, that I should weep by day and by night over the breaking of the daughter of my people? " (Jeremia 9:1). Thus did these things happen.

Now it was cold in those days, and the Camp was removed to the winter station of Mughan; and Nawruz, the accursed one, was at Tabhriz. And the Catholicus, without money for expenses, and without a beast to ride, and without any baggage-animal, returned to Maraghah. He remained a few days in his Cell, and then other men came seeking for him, but he escaped from their hands by flight, but, though with considerable risk, he went back there day after day. Now it was well known that all glory which is of this world bringeth upon itself in the end the humiliation which is from God, and that glory attaches in the end only to the abject humiliation which is endured for God's sake. That winter the Catholicus sent to the Camp [of the king] one of his disciples so that he might effect a change in the orders, and make known to the king how matters were. And he returned as one fleeing for his life, for there was no one who would espouse the cause of the Christians, or who would show compassion on those who were broken-hearted. This disciple only escaped with the greatest difficulty from the hands of a man who was an unbeliever, and who had abandoned his Faith and had become a Hagaraya (i.e. Mohammedan).

After the Feast of the Nativity of the year of the Greeks, one thousand six hundred and seven (1295 A.D.), on the Sunday when the prayer beginning "Mare kul kadh badhemutha" (i.e. "the Lord of all in the Image") is said, messengers of Nawruz, the accursed one, again came down against the Catholicus. They bore in their hands orders which said, "Give us, O Catholicus, the ten thousand dinars which thou didst receive in the time of King Kaikhato. Behold the 'Tamgha,' that is to say the document which is sealed with the seal of the Amir, and contains the order for giving them back."Now the treasury of the palace of the Catholicus was empty, for it had been plundered long ago. When the servants of the palace heard this they straightway dispersed and sought refuge in flight, and the Catholicus remained in the hands of the Mongols who had become Mohammedans and those who had brought them. And fear fell upon the sons of the Church (How sad wouldst thou say. How sad!), and even the reverend old men who were in the palace fled, Mar Catholicus remained alone in the hands of those accursed and impudent men. That night he promised to give them a village, but they would accept nothing but gold. And when straightway, they threatened to beat him, he began to borrow money and to give it to them, and throughout that day, which was the first of the week (Sunday), until towards the evening they took from him two thousand dinars.

Then certain of his disciples took counsel with Mar Catholicus in order to help him to flight, and to deliver him from the hands of those impudent men. He was afraid at first of this, but when they pressed him he harkened (i.e. consented). And at cock crow they brought him out through a small opening in the chamber in which he was imprisoned. Now the size of the opening was so small that a person would think that not even a child could come out through it, and they lowered him down and he went to other places and kept himself hidden.

And when the day dawned the Muslim Mongols were sorely vexed and they did not know what they were to do. And they were also afraid lest someone should take vengeance on them, saying, "Ye have destroyed the Catholicus."Thereupon they straightway went forth from the city, and made their way to Baghdad.

And whilst these men were in the act of parting, another messenger arrived, an evil man who was more wicked than Nawruz, the accursed. And there was with him a Christian who had become a Mohammedan, and he brought with him another Order to the effect that thirty-six thousand dinars (£18,000) should be given by the Catholicus. And because Mar Catholicus was in hiding, those impudent messengers seized certain of the disciples in the palace, and by means of many blows and tortures they reduced the bodies of the disciples to a state of helplessness. And they hung them up head downwards [in the open air] during the days of frost and snow when the cold was more intense than any which had ever before been experienced. And after all the people in the city had been gathered together to obtain their release, the disciples were only delivered from the hands of these wicked men with the greatest difficulty by paying sixteen thousand dinars (£8,000). And the Catholicus and all those who cleaved to him, whether venerable old men, or monks, or members of the laity, were persecuted by every man, and were obliged to hide themselves in the houses of the laity. And when the persecutors knew that they were in a certain house [those who were hidden therein] straightway departed to other houses. And this state of affairs lasted until the great Feast of the Resurrection [1296 A.D.].

RABBAN BAR SAUMA CHAPTER 12

King Kazan Pays Honour To Mar Yahbh-Allaha

Now when the sun had descended into the sign of the Ram, and creation was warmed a little, the Catholicus sent one of the monks of the Cell to the victorious King Kazan, to the place called Mughan, the winter station of all the Mongol Kings, to bless him and to inform him concerning the events that had happened to him. And when that monk arrived at the Camp, and he had taken care to see all the Amirs, they introduced him into the presence of the victorious king, and he declared unto him in their entirety all the words which Mar Catholicus had spoken to him saying, "Blessed is thy throne, O king, and it shall stand firm forever, and thy seed shall be surely seated thereon for ever."And the king asked, "Why did not the Catholicus come to us?" and the monk replied, "Because of the confused state of his mind. He was hung up, and cruelly beaten and his head touched the earth. Through the severe pain which hath been roused in him, he was unable to come to do homage to the king, and it is for this reason that he hath sent me to pronounce his blessing upon thee, O my lord, the king. But when the victorious king shall arrive in peace at Tabhriz, whether the Catholicus is sick or whether he be well, he will come to salute thee and do homage to thee."

And God caused these words to find mercy in the eyes of the king, and he gave to the Catholicus a Pukdana, according to custom, in which it was laid down that poll-tax,9 should not be exacted from the Christians; that none of them shall abandon his Faith; that the Catholicus shall live in the state to which he hath been accustomed; that he shall be treated with the respect due to his rank; that he shall rule over his Throne; and shall hold the staff of strength over his dominion [i.e. that he shall wield his sceptre with vigour and determination]. And he promulgated an Edict throughout all countries, and addressed it to all the Amirs by their names, and to the soldiers, ordering them to give back everything which they had taken from the Catholicus or from the holy old men by force, and to give back to him what those men of Baghdad and their envoys, whom we have mentioned above, had taken. Moreover, he allotted and despatched to the Catholicus five thousand dinars (£2,500) for his expenses, saying, "These will serve him as a supply until he cometh to us."

Because Christ doth not forsake His Church, He bindeth up the brokenhearted, He redeemed those who are humble in spirit, He is the refuge of the poor, and is their Helper in times of tribulation. God chastiseth in mercy, and in order to possess the sinner He maketh him suffer. His rebuke is for the man who hath understanding, and teacheth him that he is not a stranger to God. And He doth not leave him that is tempted to be tempted more than his strength will bear. And again he envelopeth him with His mercies, and, sustaineth him; and He gathered him into the fold of life after He hath tried him. God--may His honour be adored!--turned the heart of the king towards His people, "for the heart of a king is set in His hands like a fountain of water; He turneth it about in whatever direction He pleaseth," (Proverbs 21:1).

And from that day the rays of salvation began to shine on the whole Church. In the districts of Arbil the churches were laid waste long ago. In Tabhriz and Hamadan they were entirely destroyed, and their foundations had been uprooted from the earth. In Mawsil (Mosul) and its provinces, and in Baghdad, the churches had been ransomed at very large prices and tens of thousands of darics. But the Church which the Catholicus Makikha (1257-1263 AD) built in Baghdad by the command of Hulabhu (Hulagu), the victorious king, and Tukos Khatun, the believing queen, and the Cell of the Catholicus were taken, and the palace which had belonged to the Arab kings. When Hulabhu the father of these kings (i.e. the Mongols) had taken and looted Baghdad he gave that palace to Mar Makikha, the Catholicus, in order that he might establish in it services of prayer on behalf of himself and his seed for ever. Now this was not sufficient, for those who took this church and the Cell of the Catholicus to set up [mosques upon it], but they compelled the Christians to eject from it even the bones of the two Patriarchal Fathers Mar Makikha and Mar Denha, and those of the holy old men, and monks, and believers who had been buried therein. And these things were carried out by the command of that son of perdition, that accursed and damned man Nawruz, the hater of justice, the enemy of the truth, and the lover of falsehood.

And when that monk whom Mar Catholicus had sent to the king returned, and brought with him the Pukdana, [i.e. the royal Edict which restored to him his authority], and showed him the affection of the Amirs, and the greatness of the victorious king's goodwill towards him, the door of the Cell was opened, and the Catholicus took his seat upon his Throne, and gathered together his scattered adherents, and brought nigh to him the members of his household who had betaken

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themselves afar off. And the Pukdane (Edicts) were read in the Diwan (judical assembly) and every man brought that which he had taken. From that sum of money the Catholicus took what was necessary for travelling to King Kazan. And he went forth from Maraghah in the month of Tammuz (July) of that year, which fell in the month of Ramadhan, and was the year of the Greeks one thousand six hundred and seven (1296 A.D.), to the place which is called Ughan (or Oghan).

Two days after his arrival he went into the presence of the king with appropriate state and ceremony. And the king burned incense according to custom and made the Catholicus to sit on his right hand, and the attendants brought wine, and the king took the cup and presented it to the Catholicus, and also to all the holy men who were with him. And from that time he began to treat him with affection. And in proportion as the king, little by little, was increasing the honour which he paid to the Catholicus, the hatred which was in the, hearts of the enemies of the Catholicus increased, and they forged evil plots, and they sent information about everything which took place to that son of perdition, that accursed man Nawruz

RABBAN BAR SAUMA CHAPTER 13

Further Pillage And Murder In Maraghah

And in the year of the Greeks one thousand six hundred and eight (1296-1297 A.D.), the victorious king came down to pass the winter in the city of Baghdad, and Mar Catholicus remained in Maraghah. And it fell out that a certain man, who was called by the name of Shenakh El-Tamur (or Shaing El-Taimur, or Shakh El-Taimur) came into Maraghah, and he cast about a report that he had with him an Edict ordering that every one who not abandon Christianity and deny his Faith should be killed. And he added many threats and magnified the severity of the Edict, and inserted various penalties which had never before been heard of in the world. Now when the people of the Arabs heard this they became like savages and they stirred themselves up to fight, and their hearts became bold and cruel, and in the fierceness of their strength the whole of their people rushed to the Cell, and plundered everything which they found there. This took place during the Fast of Lent, on the fourth day of the week (Wednesday) following the Sunday on which the prayer beginning "Tau naudhe waneshabbah" (i.e. "come ye, let us praise and glory") is said.

And when the story went forth that this impudent fellow had done this without any royal command, and had acted solely because of the evil of his disposition, and the intensity of is wickedness, the Amirs and the governors who were in Maraghah gathered together, and took counsel, and decided to perform judgement on a following Sunday and to restore to the Cell the various valuable objects which those impudent men had carried off from it. Now these objects were of very great price, among them being the gold seal which the King of Kings Mangu Khan the eldest son of Tului Khan and grandson of Genghis Khan--May our Lord give rest to his soul, and make his portion to be with the saints!--had given to the Patriarchal Cell, and that crown which Mar Papa (the Pope) had given to the Cell, and another seal, made of silver, which the deceased King Arghon had given to Catholicus.

And then on the following Sunday the people of the Arabs were assembled before the Amirs and Judges, and the rods for the punishment of the evil doers had been brought [and they began] to beat them, straightway with one voice they all uttered loud cries [of protest]. And they took stones in their hands, and, shut their ears, and chased the Amirs and the governor every man to his house. And every Christian who fell into their hands they smote and belaboured pitilessly. In the impetuosity of their attack they came to the Cell, and they pulled down all the buildings as far as the beams of the of the roof. And they smashed in with stones the heads of the monks who were in the Cell, and of the young men who had gone up to the roof to hide themselves. When one of the disciples saw these things taking place, he hurled [the stones] back on the Arabs and wounded some of them. Thereupon the Arabs became more infuriated and one of them went up behind that disciple and smote him with [his] sword and cut off his head, and threw it down to the ground. Then the monks who were there cast themselves down from the roof, and there were some of them whose bones were broken. And one of the Christians, seeing that the monks had cast themselves down in order to save their lives, stretched out his hand for the knife, and smote that monk and killed him. Certain believing men grasped the other monks and dragged them into their houses. And the treasury of the holy church of Mar George, which Rabban Sauma had built, was broken open and everything that was in the Cell, the vessels of copper and iron, the carpets, and the chests of stores, which had escaped a previous looting, were all taken and carried off at the same time. But by the looting of those things the church itself was saved and delivered from pulling down and destruction. Those impudent men had fully intended to destroy the church, but God in His mercy on that church prevented them from doing this by means of the objects which they looted.

And to speak briefly this last looting was so much worse than the first looting which took place at the beginning of the persecution, that neither the tongue is capable of describing it, nor the pen of the skilled scribe able to write any account of it. If God had not shown mercy and the believing woman Queen Burgesin Argi had not hidden the Catholicus and the holy men in her house, and, with the help of God which supported her, protected them, all that was left for the Church to do was to bow her head, and veil her face, for those turbulent men were determined to make a massacre.

After five days they departed to a place which is called Shakato, and thence they removed themselves to the mountain which is called Siya Kuh, until the king returned from Baghdad to Hamadan. And in the neighbourhood of this city the Catholicus went to him, and when the king saw him he was sorry for him, and for his broken condition. And he issued a Pukdana (Edict) and sent a messenger and gave orders that all the people of the city of Maraghah should be seized, and bound with fetters, and beaten with stripes until they gave up what they had robbed from the Cell, and also that they should rebuild the churches and restore them to their former condition, And after great toil, and the beatings and tortures which they were made to suffer, they had produced a very small part of what they had stolen. and the rest remained with them.

RABBAN BAR SAUMA CHAPTER 14

Rebellions And Fightings In The Fortress Of Arbil

Now this calamity which overtook the Cell did not suffice, for the believing folk of the Fortress of Arbil fell into a disaster which was even greater than that. For when the natives of the city, who were Arabs, were wishing to overthrow the Church there, through the agency of the Kartewaye (or Kurdaya, i.e. Kurds), it happened that certain of the soldiers of the king, who were Christians and were called Kayajyeh or Kaijaye), that is to say, "those who go up into the mountains and their hills,"shot arrows at them and killed a certain well-known man (or nobleman). And fighting and hatred followed, and revolt increased, and even grew, and fury and bitter hatred flourished in both parties, namely, in both the Christians and the Arabs. And they laid ambushes each party for the other, and they fought pitched battles, and the bridge of the Fortress was cut. Now this did not happen in the ordinary course of events, but because that son of perdition Nawruz, the accursed, had gone to Khorasan, and wished to rebel against the kingdom and to seize it for himself. And he stationed allies in every place, and men who belonged to his party in every district, until God revealed his plans and laid bare his crafty designs. And whilst the Arabs were pressing in on (i.e. beleaguering) that Fortress, the brother of that impudent man, and his wives and children were captured, and the victorious King Kazan--may his life be preserved!--put them to death on the Sunday of the prayer "Ainau asya"(i.e. "what physician"), during the Redeeming Fast (i.e. Lent) of the yea of the Greeks one thousand six hundred and eight (1297 A.D.). And, straightway, rebellion arose afresh. The highways and roads were cut (i.e. blocked) by the keepers of the guard who were stationed upon them, for that son of perdition' Nawruz, had escaped, and the troops of the king went forth to search for him; and were longing to catch him.

And whilst they were in pursuit of him, the Christians in the Fortress of Arbil were to being pushed (i.e. attacked) by those who were outsiders; they cast up embankments and set up battering rams, and fixed machines for castings (maghenas), and they made fierce war against the Fortress. And the Metropolitan of Arbil, whose name was Mar Abraham, and who was an old and feeble man, was captured, together with many priests who ministered in the church, and the clerics and believing men; and some of them were killed and some of them were sold as slaves for very high prices. And the Fortress remained in the possession of the soldiers, some of them being Mongols in the service of that Amir who had brought this result about, and others, men belonging to various tribes of the Kartewaye (i.e. Kurds). To state the matter briefly, men came from every country to plunder the Christians; and for this reason many murders took place, and carryings off of men and women into captivity which cannot be described. And even among the Arabs many died by the mouth (i.e. edge) of the sword. And matters continued to be thus from the second day of the week (Monday) of the Prayer of the Ninevites until the Feast of My Lord the Adorable Cross, of the year which has been mentioned (1297 A.D.). Thus were these things.

Now the soldiers of the victorious King Kazan, and a great Amir, who was with him, at length confined that son of perdition Nawruz, the accursed, in one of the fortresses of Khorasan, and the men of the fortress acted treacherously in respect of him, and put him in fetters and delivered him, bound, to those soldiers. And then and there they cut off his head and sent it to the victorious king. And the messenger who brought the head arrived and came to the victorious king on the twenty-fifth day of Abh (August) of this year, when he was in a place which is called Sharekhanah (or Sharapkhanah), and is in the neighbourhood of Ala Tak. And the king had rest from the waves of his (i.e. Nawruz's) wickedness and from the storm of his cunning desires and crafty deceits. May his portion be with Satana, his counsellor and fellow-servant!

Now the accusations (or complaints) against the Fortress of Arbil and the believers who were therein increased steadily, and the tumult because of them waxed strong in the Great Camp. It was said:--"These men have killed a large number of Arabs. They have revolted against the Government. Every Ishmaelite (i.e.Hagaraya or Mohammedan) they meet they kill without pity. Enmity increased, threats were multiplied, until at length they succeeded in making the reports enter the ears of the victorious king, and they were repeated before his throne. Now as we have said before in writing of these Mongol kings, God gave the Christians favour in the eyes of the king, and he knew that they were cruelly oppressed. But although he had turned aside from the way of his fathers, and had inclined to dogma which maketh bitter the soul, he had not changed his good disposition in respect of them.

As his answer to those men who had made him hear the accusations against the Fortress when Mar Catholicus set out with a following for the Royal Camp at Ala Tak, through the force of the circumstances which lay upon him, for there remained not to him one place in which to lay his head, the victorious king sent to him two of the nobles who [stood] before him. One of these was called Khwaja Rashid Ad Din, and with him was Tarmadadh, an Amir. And they said unto him, "The king commandeth; let Mar Catholicus hear his command!"And Mar Catholicus replied, "Most certainly, who is there that would not receive the command of the king--may he live for ever!"And the nobles said, "The king commandeth, saying "If the king were to make the Christians evacuate that Fortress, and give them land, and water, and houses, and protect them from everyone who attempted to injure them, and bring them here, and release them from every burden of tax and duty, how would [this] plan work out, and how doth it appear in thy opinion? For the enmity between these two religions of the Arabs and the Syrians hath increased. If the matter be left in the state in which it now is, very grievous injuries will overtake the kingdom through it; if these men are left as they are, many other revolts will spring into existence. What now doth the Catholicus say to the matter, and the manner in which it is to be carried out?"

And the Catholicus made answer to them. When he heard this his eyes became filled with and his mouth showed forth his suffering, and with a bitter choking of his voice he said, "I have heard the command of my lord, the king, and there is no one who can evade it or change the character thereof. If only I could remember what hath happened to me, and show it forth the heavens and the earth would be forced to weep. If it pleaseth you, since ye demand of me an answer to declare to the victorious king, I will speak. I had a Cell in Baghdad, and a church and endowments which were settled upon me; they have been taken [from me]. The church and the Cell that were in Maraghah have been torn up by their roots and cast down, and everything which was in them hath been plundered, as ye are well aware. I have escaped being murdered, and my state is manifest. As for the church and the Cell which were in Tabhriz, there remaineth only a flat plot of ground with no building upon it, and everything that was in them hath been plundered. The places whereon the Cell and the church stood in the city of Hamadhan it is wholly impossible to point out. There remain now the Cell and the church in the Fortress of Arbil and one hundred souls, and do ye wish to scatter them also and to plunder them? What is the good of life to me? Let my lord the king command either that I return to the East, whence I came, or that I go to the country of the Perogaya (Franks) and bring my life to an end there."

When the envoys heard this they were sorrowful, and their eyes also were filled with tears. And they rose up straightway and went in haste to the victorious king, and placed before him these answers, word for word. And forthwith the king--may he live for ever!--gave the command, "The Christians shall not be ejected from the Fortress, and if they are in want of food let it be given to them at the expense of the Diwan until the soldiers can come down on the approach of winter."

And a certain Amir, who was a hateful man, prevented [this order being carried out] for he wrote and acted in another manner. The matter, however, which was most necessary, was the rescue of the oppressed men and prisoners, who were shut up in the Fortress. And after much labour and constant going to and fro an Edict appeared; and envoys were permitted to go to Arbil and release the men in the Fortress And the Catholicus sent with them to the Fortress a certain holy man (a bishop?) that perhaps through his intervention the envoys would be able to open the gates of the Fortress more easily, and that the people would devote themselves to concluding an arrangement for peace.

And the Catholicus said farewell to the envoys and the holy men (bishops?) who were with them, and they arrived at Arbil on the 14th day of the month of 'Ilul (September of the year already mentioned [1297 A.D.]. They tied together the [parts of the] bridge of the Fortress, and they went in and released the men in the Fortress, and after much labour and tribulation of spirit, and suffering of the heart, they made them to be friends with the Arabs. And the expense incurred

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by the Catholicus and the Christians who were there was not small, for it was about ten thousand dinars (£5,000) in addition to what was given from the Cell to the Amir who effected this with them, and this amounted to about fifteen hundred dinars more. The chief of the Arabs confirmed (i.e. signed or sealed) the agreement on the oars of the Arabs to keep the peace, and the Metropolitan of the Christians confirmed (i.e. signed or sealed their agreement with the Arabs to keep the peace; and one of the Amirs carried away both documents and exhibited them before the victorious king.

And another Edict was promulgated ordering that the Fortress should belong to the Christians who were empowered to demand the restoration of everything which had gone from them. Thus wickedness ceased, and peace (or goodwill) increased by the help of God and the outpouring of His mercies upon His creatures.

But in spite of all this the Arabs did not cease from evil, and they found means of attacking and doing harm to the Christians as they have always done. And a certain man among them was a lord of the Diwan whose name was Nasir Ad-Din, obtained an Edict from the king ordering the Christians to pay the poll tax, and to tie girdles round themselves when they were walking about in the market-places.Now this calamity was the most difficult of all calamities to endure. And many of the Christians were slain in the "City of Peace" (i.e. Baghdad). And without any delay the gezitha, that is to say, the poll tax, was dragged from them, and their loins were bound round with girdles; now, to speak the truth the gezitha was not a tax but absolute plundering. And when the Christians were walking in the markets, and among the houses, the Arabs would scoff at them, and revile them and make a mock ol them saying, "See what ye look like in these girdles, O wretched people!"And there was nothing which they could do to afflict them they that did not do to them, until at length God had mercy upon them, and lightened all the burdens that rested upon them, and removed far from them the trials which had overtaken them and which had surrounded them on all sides.

RABBAN BAR SAUMA CHAPTER 15

Mar Yahbh-Allaha Flourisheth And Finishes Building The Monastery Of Maraghah

And that winter the Catholicus went with the victorious king to Mughan, which was the winter quarters of them [i.e. the Mongols]; from there he came with them to there Tabhriz, and passed the summer in the royal Camp. This he did thinking that perhaps he might be able discreetly to supply the things necessary both for the Church and himself, and also that he might turn back the violence and strength of the opposition of his enemies, and cool their anger. Whilst things were thus, the victorious king commanded and a seal was made like unto that great seal' which had been stolen from the Catholicus, and engraved with the same inscription, that was upon it, and a sukur, that is to say ashater (i.e. parasol) was given to him. Thus the sparks of love were beginning to flash forth from him.

And the Catholicus passed the winter of the year of the Greeks, one thousand six hundred and ten [1299 A.D.] in the Fortress of Arbil, for from the year which we have mentioned that is, one thousand six hundred and five, he had not seen the people thereof. He rejoiced at the sigh! of them, and passed the winter happily among them. The joy of the father in his children increased, and also that of the children in their father, for they were emerging from labours, that is to say, trials, and were freeing themselves from a great disaster and from stark suffering.

And when the winter had passed, the Catholicus set out in the month of Nisan (April) for the Royal Camp, and he went to Mughan where the kings passed the summer. And the king rejoiced in him greatly and paid him honour, and commanded that whatever happened, he should enter Maraghah again. And in accordance with the [king's] command he went to the city and arrived there on the Sunday of the prayer "haw dabhithutheh" (i.e. "He who in His being"). And he passed that summer in [his]Cell, with great content, in Maraghah.

And in the month of the first Teshri, (October) of the year of the Greeks, one thousand six hundred and eleven [1299 A.D.], he went down again with the victorious King Kazan to the countries of Arbil and Mawsil (Mosul). Now the object of the victorious king was to conquer the countries of Palestine and Syria. And the Catholicus wintered in the Fortress of Arbil, and during the whole of that winter, he devoted himself to getting ready the money for [the building of the monastery of which he was laying the foundations. And when the victorious king returned from Palestine and Syria, having conquered and broken their armies, and plundered them, and scattered, and slain and carried of the inhabitants into captivity--for he hd actually carried out what he had determined to do10--the Catholicus went up again with him to Adhorbijan. And he began to build the monastery, and he devoted his whole care and energy to the work until he completed it.

And in the month of 'Ilul (September) of the year [1300 A.D.], Kazan, the victorious king came to Mar Catholicus at Maraghah, and he remained with him for three days. And the joy of the Christians waxed great, and the kin showed great love towards them, for he knew well that they were simple and guileless, and innocent of wickedness. And he departed with a joyful heart from the Catholicus, who had ministered unto him exceedingly well.

And the king turned and went down again to the countries of Arbil and Mawsil in the winter of the year of the Greeks, one thousand six hundred and thirteen [read 1612 = 1300-1301 A.D.]. And the Catholicus also went down with him and accompanied him to a place which was nigh unto the region of Shighar (Sinjar). Then he went back and passed the winter in the citadel of Arbil,until the victorious king returned, when he again went up with him. And during the going up the Kartewaya (Kurds) made an ambush for Mar Catholicus, and as he was passing on the road, they sent arrows at him, and an arrow hit one of his fingers and wounded him slightly. The victorious king was enraged at this and he swore the full Mongol oath, saying, "I will take vengeance of those Kurds".

And when the Catholicus arrived at Maraghah he went up to the monastery of Mar John The Baptist, which he had founded, and he took with him the monks whom he had gathered together. His intention was to finish that building, and he said:, "If God hath mercy upon me, and I am able to finish it and to consecrate it, this would be a great act of grace on His part towards me."And God--may His honour be adored!--helped him, and, his object, according as he wished, was accomplished. And that building was finished with everything that was beautiful, and the ornamentations thereof were such that words cannot describe their great excellence.

The buildings were handsome, the doors were things to be admired, and its superstructure was raised above on worked slabs (or pillars?), and its foundations of dressed stones were truly laid. Thus it was, he made its doors of dressed slabs, ornamented. with designs, and its stairways were also of dressed stone. What wards can describe its majesty adequately? And the site on which the edifice was built possesseth great consolation [i.e. charm], and is full of splendour. The veils [i.e. curtains] that are before the door of the altar, and in front of the tombs and the sacristy, are most wonderful and marvellous. They are made of a woven fabric, with designs in hollow work, and have threads of fine gold running through them. Its wall is so high that its height preventeth the attainment of the scaling of it. As for the water supply of the monastery, water flowed through all the cells of the monks, and carried outside it by means of channels (or drains) every impurity. Recently a cell for the Patriarch has been built in the monastery, and the Throne is therein to-day, for the Patriarch doth not go out therefrom. And the greater number of the layings on of hands [i.e. ordinations] take place therein, and the decrees, that is to say, ecclesiastical cannons are confirmed therein.

There too are fixed [i.e. deposited] the relics of the saints, whose names we will mention presently and healings descend upon all those who take refuge in them. And although, strictly speaking the monastery was built in the name of Mar John, the Baptist, there have, nevertheless been gathered together therein the relics of many other saints, with a care and diligence which surpasses. And these have been laid up there for the help of believers, and as a refuge for the afflicted, and the relief of those oppressed with pain, and the consolation of those who are troubled. The holy shrine, containing relics are arranged in order and are placed near each other.

The length of the temples (i.e. the two naves and aisles of the monastery, together with the altar is, according to those who have measured them say, sixty cubits (about 100 feet, 33 metres), and the width of the middle nave is twelve cubits (about 20 feet, 6.3 metres). The altar, and the chamber of the holy of holies, and the treasury are very spacious. The whole of the outside of the dome of the altar is inlaid with green glazed (kashani) tiles, and on the top of it is placed a cross. The names of the saints' relics and portions of whose bodies are preserved in it are: Of the blessed Mother, my Lady Mary, a small piece of her head-cloth which the deceased Rabban Sauma had brought from the countries of the Perogaye, Franks); Mar John the Baptist; the holy Apostles Peter and Paul--may their prayers be with the community!; Mar Thomas the Apostle; and Mar George; Mar Addai and Mar Mari, the Apostles, and preachers of the Gospel in the regions of the East (Bactria, India); Mar Stephen the Protomartyr; Mar Cyrihacus, the martyr who was martyred at Tarsus, 301 A.D.], and the Forty Martyrs [who were slain by Sapor II (Shapur II the Great, reigned 309–379 AD), 356 A.D.]; Mar Simon Bar-Sabba'e, martyred by Sapor II at Ledan]; Mar John of Dailem; Mar Sergius and Mar Bachus, (martyred by Maximian; Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus Herculius, reigned c. 286–305 AD); Mar Shalita; Mar Sabha the martyr; Mar Hanan Isho; Mar Samuel; Mar James, who was cut in pieces; Mar Selibha, Mar Iisho'-Sabhran, Mar Elisha, the tried martyr; the holy daughter of Ma'yo (Manyo); and Shamoni and her sons who were slain by Antiochus Epiphanes (either Gaius Julius Antiochus IV Epiphanes, last king of Commagene, reigned 38–72 AD, or his son Prince Antiochus Epiphanes who knew Titus Flavius Josephus and the Herod family of Judaea and Armenia, and served the Flavian Dynasty of Rome,). May their prayers help the world, and may it preserve the inhabited portion of it from every harm!

And the Catholicus consecrated the church and set the stone of its altar in its place on the day of the holy festival of Mar (i.e. my.Lord) the Adorable Cross on the 13th day of Ilul (September) in the year of the Greeks one thousand six hundred and twelve (1301 A.D.). And on the day of its consecration there were gathered together all blessed believers of Adhorbijan, and they flocked thither bearing votive offerings and tithes, each one according to his ability, and every man according to his position and rank. And they rejoiced with exceedingly great joy. And Mar Catholicus made a great feast, and he gathered together to it men of every shade of religious belief and opinion. And he took the cup and presented it to all of them, and made them to enjoy the feast. And he blessed them even as did Solomon the king when he had completed that great house of God (2 Chronicles 6) and blessed the people of the Lord.

And the amount of money which the Catholicus spent on the monastery before he finished it was four hundred and twenty thousand zuze [i.e. between £40,000 and £50,000]. And he gave apparel to the holy men (bishops) and monks, and architects, that is to say, the carpenters and the handicraftsmen, and every one had toiled on the building, to each according to his rank, and according to the service he had rendered. Behold, services of prayer, and celebrations of the Eucharist take place therein continually; it is a spectacle (or public show) for all the Orientals, and a refuge which dispenseth help. The Catholicus gave to this holy monastery a village called Dhabhi, which lay in the eastern parts of Maraghah, and which he had bought for eleven thousand dinars. He made the village "Wakf," that is to say, he settled it as a permanent endowment for the monastery. And he settled other properties upon it, such as gardens, vineyards, plantations, fields,and other things, so that, the income from them, that is to say, from [the sale of] the crops which they produced, would sustain the life of the monks and provide food for them, and for lamps and candles, and defray the cost of the repairs and the upkeep of that holy place. And he called that holy monastery, "Malka dhe Umre," i.e. the "King of Monasteries." May he receive from our Lord his reward and may He grant him the wages of his weary toil, namely, the happiness which is in the kingdom of heaven, and a sojourning with the saints, the lovers of our Lord Jesus Christ; and may our Lord place on his right hand every one who hath laboured with Mar Catholicus and been associated with him in this work! Amen.

RABBAN BAR SAUMA CHAPTER 16

The Love Of King Kazan For Mar Yahbh-Allaha, And His Death

And after the completion of this monastery, and the consecration of it, Mar Catholicus went to Tabhriz, to the victorious King Kazan. And the king welcomed him gladly, and looked on him joyfully, and paid him honour more than was customary, and magnified him in an unusual manner. And he asked questions about his building [and the progress of his work, and when Mar Catholicus said that it was entirely finished, the victorious king rejoiced and was glad; and Mar Catholicus blessed him before those who were reclining there. And the king himself set out for Mughan to pass the winter there, but he commanded Mar Catholicus to dwell in his monastery throughout the winter, saying, "It is a new building, and it will be agreeable and convenient for its master to be there, because of the great labour which he hath expended on it."

And at the return of the year [probably in 1302], when the king came back from Mughan, the Catholicus again went to see him, and to pronounce blessings upon him; now this meeting was exceptionally joyful to each, and the sight of each other was most grateful to them. The king set apart for him a seat of honour on his right hand, and gave him many gifts, that is to say a Paiza and costly royal apparel, and he manifested towards the Catholicus the sincere love which cometh from a very pure heart. And Mar Catholicus thanked him, and then returned to Arbil in the year of the Greeks, one thousand six hundred and fourteen [1302 A.D.], that he might go from there to Baghdad. Now it was a long time, in fact a nine years since he had been to that Great Throne, and the chief reason for his journey thither was the determination of the victorious king to go there.

He set out from Arbil on the day of the Friday after the Festival of the Nativity of that year (1303 A.D.], arid he entered Baghdad on the night of the holy Epiphany. And he made a festival in Darath Rhomaye, and all the congregation rejoiced in him, and his own gladness was exceedingly great. And after twenty days he departed from Baghdad, and went to the city of Hillah (which lieth by the side of Babil (Babylon), which Nebuchadnezzar, the Chaldean king, built), that he might see King Kazan. When the Catholicus arrived there he went to the king on the day of the "White Festival"

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[i.e. the Festival of the New Year when men and women alike wore white clothes], which the Mongols were celebrating. And the victorious king welcomed him more gladly than words can say, and he asked him questions and why he had taken the trouble to visit him; and Mar Catholicus replied to him in appropriate words.

Now the king had determined to go to Palestine and Syria a second time, and to subdue and conquer those countries a second time. And when after some days Mar Catholicus went to see the king, so that he might obtain permission to return to Baghdad, the king gave him five splendid vestments of great price, which were usually worn by kings, and he concluded all the matters of business which the Catholicus had to do with him according to his request. Then the king went to those countries of Palestine and Syria, and the Catholicus went to Baghdad, and lodged in Darath Rhomaye. And he dwelt there for the whole of that winter, and hoped that at the end of the Lenten Fast he might go up again to Adhorbijan, and take up his abode in the monastery which he had built.

And on the 10th day of the month of Nisan (April) of that year [1303 A.D.] he departed from Baghdad., the City of the Throne, and on the 13th day of the month of 'Iyar (May) he arrived at the city of Maraghah, and he rested in peace in the monastery which he had founded. Later, on the 10th day of the month of Haziran (June), the victorious king himself came to this monastery, and Mar Catholicus met him and welcomed him with pomp and ceremony. And as was befitting, he made a great feast for him and the kings, and the Amirs, and the nobles of his kingdom. And the king paid him very great honour, and he made his rank to be higher, than that of everyone else; and he made him great and excellent promises, and taking off the cloak of his body, he arrayed him therein, and all the believers rejoiced with an exceeding great joy.

And the king passed the night in the monastery. And that night, whilst he was sleeping, he saw in his dream three angels standing above him, the apparel of one of them was red, and the two others were clad in shining green garments. And they spake words of consolation to him, and gave him reason to hope that the disease in his toes would be healed. And on the following morning, the king brought out a splendid cross made of fine gold, wherein rare stones of very great price were set, and in it was a fragment of the adorable wood of the Cross of our Vivifier which had been sent to the king as a mark of honour by Mar Papa of the Romans, and he gave it as a gift to Mar Catholicus. And the king related his dream before all those who were seated there, and confessed (or declared), saying "Through the blessings of this holy hothouse I have got healing."And he remained there all that day praising and magnifying Mar Catholicus. Then he set out for that place wherein he used to pass the summer, that is to say 0ghan. And on the 20th day of Haziran (June) of this year the king--may he live with victory!--sent to Mar Catholicus, by his own courier, a famous horse, on which he himself rode, and a rich and splendid robe, with salutations to Mar Catholicus, and promises of future favours of all kinds. Later in this year, in the month of Abh, the victorious king sent to Mar Catholicus vases of crystal, and vases of glazed porcelain (kashani, in Persian djini) with designs on them in gold. The king had brought handicraftsmen from the city of Darmasuk (Damascus) and from Kashan on the Tehran road. By the dispatch of these vessels the king showed great love for Mar Catholicus..

Any whilst the king remained in the city of Tabhriz, Mar Catholicus went down to pass the winter, according to his wont, in the Fortress of Abril. In the month of the latter Teshri (November), in the year of the Greeks, one thousand six hundred and fifteen [1303 A.D.], all the Fathers and the Christian nobles who were there gathered together to him, and after the great festival of the Resurrection of our Lord [1304 A. D.], the great Amir, to whom was entrusted the direction of the affairs of the Government of Diarbakr, came to visit Mar Catholicus, who went up with him quietly (or slowly) in great state to the monastery which he had built. And he arrived there on the night of the Feast of Pentecost. Five days later there came to him the bitter, horrible and truly evil report of the death of the victorious King Kazan. He died on the Sunday of Pentecost, at the turn of the day (i.e. towards the evening) on the border of the city of Sahand in Adhorbijan. And all the inhabitants of the countries of his great dominions mourned for him. His coffin was brought to the city of Tabhriz, on the Sunday of the prayer "Kul medem sa'ar,"i.e. "He doeth everything,"and was placed in the great vault which the deceased king himself had built.

RABBAN BAR SAUMA CHAPTER 17

King Uljaito And Mar Yahbh-Allaha

And because the great Amirs, who held the steering oars of the Government of the kingdom of the deceased king, ruled firmly, no rebellion broke out, and no confusion took place in any place whatsoever. They sent straightway for the brother of the deceased king on his father's side, who was called Uljaito, who was in the countries of Khorasan (Iran), and they brought him and made him king on the 12th day of the month Tammuz (July) of this year [1304 A.D.]. Oljaito was the third son of Arghon and was born in 1281. At birth he was called Oljai-Buka, and later Kharbande, i.e. the "Muleteer,"which was changed to"Khudabende,"i.e. "Servant of God."His mother was the daughter of Prince Saruji, the brother of Queen Dokuz Khatun. And because he had been baptised, when he was a child, in the time of his father, King Arghon, he used to run in and out often to see Mar Catholicus with his mother Urgau (Argau) Khatun, who was a Christian queen. And he enjoyed free and friendly intercourse with him, and loved him with a boundless affection. And the Catholicus rejoiced greatly at his accession to the throne, and he thought and said, "This king will honour the congregation more than his father and his brother when he hath seen and learned the honour in which they held it, and their love towards it."And he did not perceive that voluntary motions vanquish and overcome those which are habitual and natural, especially when they take root and flourish. Now the king had become a Hagaraya (i.e. Mohammedan) in those regions and he had acquired another kind of instruction (or education?) which had made him to forget all the things that appertained to the first. And through the numerous discussions which he had heard there, was found in him a kind of hatred of the Christians.

And when Mar Catholicus went to him--now he met him on two occasions--the king paid him due honour, though not heartily; but he received him with a little courtesy, which was due to his venerable position. He gave a mighty hand and a strong arm to the Mohammedans in everything--in gifts, and Pukdane (Edicts), and honours, and permission to build mosques--and because of this they treated the churchmen with contempt. And forthwith their wickedness grew strong, and they came at length to sow (i.e. whisper) in the ears of King Uljaito that they should take the monastery which Mar Catholicus had built, and make the church of the town of Tabhriz into a mosque, and that its wakf. that is to say the endowments thereof should become the property of the mosque. And this proposal was all but carried into effect, and the evil would certainly have been committed, if God's help and God's grace had not stirred up the excellent Amir Irinjin--may his life be preserved! --the uncle of the king, who restrained their audacity and curtailed their impudence. Irinjin was the son of Prince Saruji, and the nephew of Dokuz Khatun; he gave his daughter, Kutluk-shah to Oljaito in marriage. Also they wanted to take possession of the monastery which the Catholicus had built.

And the winter of the year of the Greeks, one thousand six hundred and sixteen (1304-1305 A. D.) Mar Catholicus passed in the town of Eshnok [in Adhorbijan]. And when.there he escaped with the greatest difficulty from the hands of the rebels, and came to the monastery which he had built. And he set out from there for the Royal Camp at Oghan, and went with the king to Tabhriz, and he struggled to make prosperous the affairs of the Church, and received from the king a Pukdana (Edict), and returned to the monastery. From there he set out to pass the winter in the Fortress of Abril and as soon as he arrived there, at the beginning of the year of the Greeks, one thousand six hundred and seventeen [October, 1305 A.D.), he laid the foundation of a great Cell in the Fortress, and he built it of limestone and mortar, and he finished it and furnished it with every kind of beautiful thing. And at the beginning of the month of 'Iyar of that same year [1396 A.D.], he went up to the monastery which he had built and passed the summer there. When heard that the king had begun to levy the poll-tax on the Christians, he went again to Oghan, and he met the king, but gained no advantage therefrom.

And the king began to build a city in the neighbourhood of the borders of Kazwan (Kazwin, Qaza An), and he finished it and called it "Sultaniyah." And he collected there handi-craftsmen from all the countries of his kingdom, and he adorned it with splendid buildings, and in a manner which it is impossible to describe.

And since Mar Catholicus was without an income from any source whatsoever, and his expenses were very great, he went again to the Cell which he had built in the Fortress of Abril, and he passed there the winter of the year of the Greeks one thousand six hundred and eighteen [1306-1307 A. D.], and the summer also, and the winter of the year of the Greeks, one thousand six hundred and nineteen [1308 A. D.]. At the beginning of the month of Iyar he went up to Adhorbijan (Adurbadagan or Aturpatakan [Atropatene in Greek, Atrpatakan in Armenian], northern Iran, today Iranian Azerbaijan) and visited the king in the city of Ughan. And the king paid him the honour which was usually paid to him.

And the king rode forth to the chase, and he came to the holy monastery which Mar Catholicus had built. And the monks went out to meet him, and they brought him in with pomp and ceremony. And when he went in to the cell of the director of the monastery, that director found mercy in his eyes, and he asked him questions about the Mysteries of the Christians. And the director replied to the king in noble words and most eloquently, and the king was well pleased with the same. Then he went into the Cell of the Catholicus, and sat upon the patriarchal Throne, and he made the monks to come there, and he rejoiced with them, and gave them five pieces of beautiful and valuable cloth. Thereupon the director of the monastery mentioned the poll-tax, and the king promised that he would not again levy it. And he laid no burden of any kind on the monastery (i.e. his visit cost the monks nothing].

And when the king had departed on the following day, the Catholicus having heard of his visit came to the monastery, and he grieved greatly that he had not been present in the monastery. And he followed the king, and overtook him by the waters of the river which is called Gakto in Mongolian and Wakyarod in Persian, and the holy men (bishops) and the director of the monastery were with him, And the king paid Mar Catholicus very great honour, and permitted to be written for him, and for the Christians, the great Pukdana of the Pukdane an Edict conferring very great privileges on the holders, ordering that throughout the whole dominion of his kingdom no man should demand the poll-tax from the holy men, and the monks, and the elders, and the deacons. And when he returned to the monastery, he sent after him (the Catholicus) to Tabhriz, and he gave him one of his riding mules and a rich robe of honour. From the time when the king entered the monastery the fetter which bound his heart was loosed, and God threw mercy into his heart. And he commander, Catholicus to pass the winter in his monastery, and he himself went into winter quarters at Ughan; now the Mongols call the place "Mughan."

And the Catholicus passed both the winter and the summer of the year of the Greeks, one thousand six hundred and twenty [1308-1309 A.D.] in the monastery. And the king showed great mercy in the favourable Edicts which he issued and he allotted to the Catholicus the whole of the poll-tax of Arbil, and commanded the poll-tax should never again be levied on the Christians. And immediately the Catholicus went to the Fortress of Arbil in the month of the latter Teshri (November) of the year of the Greeks, one thousand six hundred and twenty-one [1309 A.D.], he fell sick on the road of a deadly, disease, but our Lord healed him, and he went to the Fortress of Abril in great state and all the people of the city came out before him and brought him in with great honour.

RABBAN BAR SAUMA CHAPTER 18

The Massacre Of The Christians At Arbil

Now because the divine decrees must of necessity be fulilled, and these decrees would never be carried out but for the causes (or works) of the marvellous government of God, He made in olden time in the mountains certain men who are called "Kayadjaye,"that it to say, "those who ascend the height of the mountains,"and who quarrel with each other. And certain of these men went to the king and made accusations against their Amir Zayn Ad-Din Balo, into whose hands was committed the duty of feeding and paying an army of three thousand men. And the king was wroth with him and shut him up in prison for one year. And because of him the victorious king sent to the Fortress of Arbil a certain Arab, who was called Nasir, and who was evil by nature and of a bitter disposition. It was he who was the cause of the carrying into effect of that plan of the Arabs, which he began to put into execution already in the year of the Greeks, one thousand six hundred and eight [1297 A.D.]. And all the sons of Hagar (i.e. the Mohammedans), great and small, high and low, Amirs and soldiers, scribes and lawyers, governors and councilors made a plan secretly to take the Fortress of Arbil from the Christians, and to destroy, its inhabitants.

It is meet, however, to state the truth, namely that the hearts of the inhabitants of the Fortress, and of those who were with them, had become hard. They had forsaken the way of Christianity; they had treated wholly with contempt the divine laws, and scoffed at recluses, and the priests, and robbed each other, and they had broken through the fences of the laws of our Lord; neither to admonition nor instruction did there remain a place with them. Hatred had waxed great among them, envy had seized their hearts, they brought accusations against each other, and they oppressed and smote, and persecuted, and defrauded, and plundered. And they formed themselves into companies and invaded the houses of their chiefs and to speak briefly, they gave themselves place [i.e. took the opportunity] to perform wickedness of every kind. And no one let the matter enter his mind, and no one feared the fierce anger and the punishment which was to come.

Although actions such as these are divine, it is Providence that, seizing upon the causes, maketh them complete. As, for example, the cause of the death which God decreed for Adam was the transgression of a command; it was because He had hardened the heart of Pharaoh that He could bring punishment, and others like unto them are mentioned as figures. But the object of Providence was obvious, from that which was said to Pharaoh, "I established thee for this purpose, that I might show forth my power on thee, and that my Name might be proclaimed in all the earth"; and in another passage it is said, "The Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh, that he might not know Him, so that He might

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show forth His great works and mighty deeds upon the earth" (Exodus 4:17).

These things happened in the hearts of the dwellers in the mountain who are called Kayadjaye. The dwellers in the Fortress of Arbil hardened [their hearts], and were therefore forsaken by divine help, so that the mighty deeds of Providence might be made known, and a hidden things of its glorious nature might be learned. Now although God--may His honour be adored!--knew before He brought man into being, to what object his nature would incline, in establishing him He admonished him, according to what His foreknowledge knew and provided.

Now this man Nasir, whom we have mentioned above, as soon as he had gone into the Fortress, took up his abode in a tower close to the gate, and never went forth from it. He caused to be brought up there, secretly, weapons and munitions of war and soldiers, and he sent a message to the Camp saying, "These men are Yaghaye, that is to say, enemies of the king, because their Amir is shut up in prison". And the more he did this the more the inhabitants of the Fortress were making manifest their wickedness. But as for him there was no way in which anyone could do him an injury, for, with the exception of a very few, he had all the people on his side, and the gold of all the Mashlemanutha (i.e., Mohammedans). As for them, there was no opportunity for one of them to help his fellow, even with a shamuna (farthing). Nasir possessed the Ahitophelian counsels (see 1 Chronicles 27:33) of all the scribes and of all the chiefs, whilst they (i.e. the people of Arbil) had no man to give them counsel, because they were drunk with wine and had passed beyond the limits of their minds [i.e. had gone mad], either because of the absolute abandonment of them by God, or because of the evil works which they performed. And they did not fear the just and righteous judgements of the Lord. And what happened through this? The envoys of the king were coming and going, and they said, "Rise up, and get ye down from the Fortress, O Christians." But they had made up their minds absolutely, to refuse to obey, and to rebel. And in proportion as they acted in this manner, the people of the Arabs rejoiced and were glad, for they knew well that their object would be fulfilled and make itself plain."

And when the condition of things grew worse, there went forth a royal Edict addressed to the Amir, a man who was called Suti, who was at that time in the regions about Diyar Bakr, and [to] another man who was called Hajji Dalkandi, who was a brother of the above-mentioned Nasir, who had taken up his abode in the Fortress. And the Edict ordered that, "If the Kayadjaye are not going down from the Fortress, and if they will not go, let it be assaulted and reduced by force, and let the troops of the king be gathered together to fight a pitched battle."

Now the Catholicus, because of his love for the kingdom (or Government), did not believe that this would be done in the Fortress whilst he was dwelling in it, and he did not think that the Christians would be treated in this way as long as he was with them. And all [the Christians] neglected to do what they ought to have done, and they were too careless to make a journey to Royal Camp, and show [the king] what had happened to them. And they continued in the sleep of negligence until there overtook them certain events which they never thought could possibly take place.

On the 9th, the fourth day of the week (Wednesday) in the month of Adhar (March) of that year [1310 A.D.], during the Lenten Fast, the son of the Amir whom we have mentioned, and three Amirs of thousands (Chiliarchs) went up to the Catholicus to bring him down, and it was ordered that if he would not come down with them he was to be put in prison. On the following day he came down, being forced to do so, and from the that moment fear and weeping fell on the Fortress; and evil signs made themselves manifest. And they brought the Catholicus to the monastery of Mar Michael of Taril. And the Amir Suti came to him, and the soldiers who were with him were from the Amirs of thousands, and others, and he showed him great affection. In times past he had often visited the cell, and was a first favorite with Mar Catholicus, and had been held in high honour by him in the time of the deceased Kazan. And he said to the Catholicus, "The Edict of the king orders that the Mountaineers (Kayadjaye) shall come down from the Fortress, and that the others shall remain [there]. These will not go forth except at thy bidding, therefore thou shalt send one of thine own men to make them go down."

On the morning of the following day, which was the Eve (i.e. Friday), the Patriarch brought oxen, and lambs, and wine to the house of the Amir mentioned above, [and he made a feast], and placed the wine-cup in his hands, according to the custom of the Mongols, and he mounted him on a good horse in order to confuse his senses. (In other words the Catholicus bribed the Amir.) And the Arabs who were there, Hajji Dalkandi, an the old man (Shekh) Mohammed, who ruled in Arbil, and his brother who was called Ahmad, were complaining bitterly against the Christians, and also against the Catholicus, and saying, "Besides thyself there is no one who can bring those men down from the Fortress. "But the emir, thinking only of the bribe which had been given to him by the Catholicus, paid no heed to them.

Then they agreed to send messengers to the Mountaineers to advise them to come down. The Catholicus sent one of the holy men who were with him, and who was called Mar Abhd Isho Bishop of Hanitha, and the Amir sent one of the Amirs of thousands, who was called Sati Bag, to talk to them and bid them come down. And when they went and talked to them in very gentle words, which were coupled with promises of benefits, the Mountaineers would neither receive them nor hearken to them; so the envoys turned back and arrived from them on the Sabbath (Saturday), the 14th day of the month of Adhar. And immediately the Amir Suti heard this, he came to the Catholicus, and held converse with him, saying, "These are Yajaye, that is to say, enemies of the government; thou must send a messenger to them O Catholicus, a second time."And Mar Catholicus himself wrote an exhortation to those men to go down, and he sent it by the hands of the bishops, Mar Isho'-Sabhran, the Metropolitan, and the aforementioned Mar Abhd-Isho, and the monks Rabban Dawid, the anchorite, and Rabban Denha, the director of the monastery of Mar Michael of Taril. And they departed on the night of the Sunday of the prayer "Enhu dhe-te'ol" (i..e. "If Thou wilt enter"), and when the day dawned they went into the Fortress and held converse with the dwellers therein, and they submitted and undertook to go down.

And when Nasir heard this, he straightway hoisted the signal which had been agreed upon between himself and the inhabitants of the city, namely, that when he hoisted the signal on the roof of the tower in which he dwelt, they were to rush up to him and set the battle in array. Now when these wretched men who had been counselled to go down into the church they saw the swords which flashed and the sharp arrows that were falling down upon them, they made haste to leave the church and went with the greatest difficulty to the door of the Fortress, and they too made war from the fourth hour of the day until the evening, and the whole night long. Three of the Arabs were killed, and twelve Christians, and if they (i.e. the Christians) had not hurled fire under the tower all night long, they would all have been slain to a man.

And when the Amir Suti and the soldiers that were with him heard [of this] they made haste and went and surrounded the Fortress, and they carried the Catholicus, who wept, along with them by force. That same day they went below the Fortress, saying to him as they went, "Do-not allow them to take part in the fight."On the night of the second day of the week (Monday) certain men went down from the Fortress, and God delivered them; but they and the Catholicus, and the clergy who were with him, were cast into prison. And from daybreak or, the second day of the week (Monday), the Amir Suti, and those who were with him, urged Mar Catholicus to send an envoy to them telling them to let Nasir go down with everything that he had; and he sent the bishop Isho'-Sabhran and Rabban Dawid, the anchorite. And when the Arabs saw them, they killed Rabban Dawid the anchorite without mercy, and they smote Isho'-Sabhran with swords and staves, but God rescued him from their hands, and he fled and came back.

And the evil condition of things became worse, because punishment had arrived, and the Arabs and the Mongol troops began to throw up mounds and to construct machines of various kinds and to wage war systematically. From the moment when Nasir hoisted that evil signal, the Christians who were in the city were slain in the streets (or bazars), and in the market-places of the city. Many of them fled and went into the houses of the Muslims, but even these were dragged out from them through informers; and on the second day of the week (Monday), they died cruel deaths, no mercy being shown to them. The people who belonged to them who were in the prison of the Kadhi, were brought out and beaten cruelly until they received death. The young women were stripped of their apparel, and were made to walk about naked through the streets of the city. And also the women who were with child were ripped open, and the soldiers slew the unborn children, and cast their bodies before the gate of the Fortress.

And men were in the habit of going to the Amir Suti, and saying, "O Amir, send a messenger, and see how the Christians are killing the Muslims, and casting their bodies at the of the Fortress"And he, in his simplicity believed them, and he gave the order, and the four churches, which were on the plain were pillaged (or destroyed). Two of these, that which was the name of Isho'-Sabhran, the glorious martyr, and that which was built in the name of Man'o, belonged to us. The church of the Jacobites, which was built in the name of my Lady Mary, and the church of the Armenians, were razed to the ground, and also all the houses and buildings of the Christians, and the Cell of the Metropolitan Throne.

And the Amir sent through all the country, and collected men to fight, and he brought down the Kartewaye (Kurds) from the mountains. And the Christians from all the villages, because they were unable to go to the city, gave no small amount of money for weapons of iron and food for the soldiers. And the war waxed strong against the Fortress, which was attacked on all four of its sides by night and by day. And many were killed, both those who were below (i.e. the attackers) and those who were above (i.e.the defenders), and many of the Kurds and Arabs; but few of the Mongols were slain, because they did not come near the Fortress, but were content to shoot arrows from a distance. And the roads were cut to the Christians in that country and everywhere else, and wherever the people saw them they killed them without pity, and said, "Ye are from the Fortress,"or "These men are fugitives."And the stupefaction of death seized every man.

As for the Catholicus, no helper remained to him against those who had seized upon him as far as deeds were concerned, and very few even in the matter of words. In the night season they watched him from near, and in the daytime from afar; and he did not know what was going to happen to him. His thoughts were in a tumult, both through fear for himself and fear for the Fortress. And only with the greatest difficulty did he find an opportunity to write a letter to the Metropolitan of Arbil who, was a fugitive in the village of Beth Sayyadhe. This man who because he was wroth with the people of the Fortress, for they had not hearkened unto him, had betaken himself to Beth Sayyadhe, together with everything else that he had and settled himself down in that place. The Catholicus wrote to him, saying, "What will thy escape profit thee if thou dost not go to the Royal Camp? "And two days later the Amir Suti sent guards with the Catholicus, and they brought him to Beth Sayyadhe.

Thereupon the Metropolitan set out on the night on which the letter reached him, and in four days he arrived in Baghdad, together with the young men who were with him. And he went to the Royal Camp, and made known there what had happened to the Catholicus and the Christians. Now the Amirs who were in the Camp had already heard of everything that had happened in full detail, because the Amir Suti had sent messengers there to report what was being done by him. And the Catholicus also wrote a letter and sent it by a messenger to one of the servants of the Cell saying what had happened to him; and that servant went and made it known to the Amirs and the councillors, and explained the case to them, and also informed them about the massacre which had taken place. And the hearts of the Amirs who had no knowledge whatsoever of this event were utterly stupefied, for those who had committed this deed had held their peace. Following on this also quickly came the Metropolitan, and he repeated the story before all the Amirs. And a royal Edict was written and sent by a messenger to the Amir Suti, saying, "Thou hast explained to us the matter in this wise, but the Catholicus in other wise; which of you are we to believe and hold as true?"Thus the course of the evil was restrained somewhat.

When the Amir Suti heard of this thing, he was exceedingly grieved and became furiously angry. And he sent for the Catholicus and had him brought to him, [and he said to him], "Hast thou written thus and thus? "And all the people of the Arabs were shouting abuse at the Catholicus, and each man was crying out what he wanted to do with him. And the Catholicus said, "I have written nothing, but a certain Metropolitan belonging to the district went and spake on behalf of his house and his flock"And they (the Amirs) said, "'Now make these rebels to come down, according to the royal Edict, and if thou wilt not do that, write thy declaration that they are Yaghaye (i.e. enemies) "Then the Catholicus sent to the Metropolitan of Mawsil (Mosul), and some of the young men of the Cell, and exhorted them [to come down], but they were afraid do so.

Now there were among them certain men who were really rebels, and they, fearing to be massacred, were strengthening the others in their rebellion so that they might not go down, Thereupon the Amir Suti and those of his party gained an advantage over the Catholicus, and they pressed him saying, "Thou must give us thy writing (i.e. certificate) that those men are Yaghaye (i.e. enemies), that we may send a messenger to inform the king."And they seized upon and carried off everything that he had with him. Some of those men who had come down with him they killed, some they sold as slaves. And by force they obtained a certificate from the Catholicus, and the holy men who were with him, which was worded as they wished.

On that day the Amir sent Hajji Dalkandi to the king. Now he was a kinsman of the king and on his arrival he exhibited the matter [i.e. the certificate of the Catholicus]. And one of the Amirs, who was called Asan Kutlok, rebuked him severely, and reproved his impudence because he knew the truth, and perceived that the certificate had been obtained by force; and he wished to smite Hajji Dalkandi, who removed himself. And the aforementioned Amir, and all the councillors, went to the king and explained the matter. And the king issued an Edict ordering that the men in the Fortress and the Arabs should make peace, and that on neither side should reprisals be made, and that no man should fight again. This Edict was promulgated only after many exertions, and troubles and anxieties on the part of the Metropolitan and his companions, and it was committed to the care of certain of the sons of the kingdom (princes?) that they might carry it to Abril. And Hajji Dalkandi went back in disgrace, and his face was covered with shame. With the Edict there came two of the disciples of the Cell, and they arrived at Abril on the day of

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the Eve of the Confessors (i.e. the Friday after Easter). And straightway they tied (i.e. rejoined) the bridge which had been burnt, and they made peace, and many came down from the Fortress to the plain.

Now, as has been already said, the Mohammedans gave to Nasir, and to his brother, as much gold as they wished to expend in bribes, and thus they were able to satisfy the cupidity of the messengers who had brought the Edict; and they suggested to them to go up into the Fortress. And when they had gone up no man spread a cushion for them to sit upon, and they were not offered food, not even a crust of bread, and no man gave them any money, not even a shamuna (i.e. farthing). Then those messengers repented concerning the peace, forsooth! which they had made, and they reverted to their evil and bitter disposition. And they wished to inflict some injury on the young men of the Cell who were with them, but one of them fled from the them secretly by the door of the Fortress to the village of Bath and they pursued him but he was not to be found. Then they seized his companion and put him under restraint. And the messengers [of the king] pursued the other and came to the village of Beth Sayyadhe, and they brought back the Catholicus, and repeated the words, "These men will not come down except at thy word; come, hearken to the Edict."

And when he (the Catholicus) arrived at Arbil, all the people gathered together to Suti, and began to use violent language towards the Catholicus; but he, because of the great reliance which he placed in the Government, made answer to them in bold words. Then the Catholicus sent a message by the Amir Suti, and ordered the men in the Fortress a second time to come down. And they were to swear by the Gospel that they would do no harm to Nasir, and he also was to swear [to do no harm] to them, and thus there would be peace between them. And many came down and swore that they would do him no harm, and that they would be subservient to him according as he wished. And it being ascertained that of a surety he had gone up with three hundred men, the gate of the Fortress was shut, because their hearts were full of guile. When Suti saw that it was thus, he seized those who had come down and slew them.

And the companion of the young man of the Cell who had fled was questioned closely about his fellow-disciple, and beaten severely; only with the greatest difficulty did the Catholicus save his life. Then they seized the horses and mules of the Cell, and everything which the young men and the holy men had who came with the Catholicus, and they carried off even their clothes. And after this they said with deceit to the Catholicus, "We will take thee up to the street (or market) below the Fortress, and bring the chief men of the city to thee there, so that no man may quarrel again or be stirred up to make war until we can inform the victorious king." The Catholicus in his simplicity agreed, and went up into the Fortress, but he did not know of the trap which the Muslims had made (i.e. laid) to kill him.

On that same day there came to the Amir Suti a messenger from his houses (i.e. home), who said, "The soldiers of the Palestinians have invaded thy domains, and if thou dost delay in coming peradventure even thy house (i.e. wife and family will be carried off into captivity." And forthwith [he and] all the soldiers who were with him set out, although he was very ill and suffering from a serious sickness. And at the foot of the Fortress there remained only the Kurds and the natives of the city. On the following day war broke out again, and on both sides massacres took place. The roads were cut, and there was none who went out or went in, and no one who carried out or took in news. Famine waxed strong in the Fortress. And every one who went out either to flee or to fetch in food for his house, was killed without mercy. Catholicus, and the three clerics who were with him, and the young men who remained with him, were imprisoned in the Fortress without a covering, without a cushion to lie on, without sustenance and without food. And the punishment became more severe, ruin increased terror waxed strong, and there remained neither a helper, nor a place of refuge, nor any one who was able to utter a word which would help [them].

As for those messengers, they returned to Camp with Hajji Dalkandl, and they explained to the king that [the people in the Fortress] were enemies, that the Catholicus stirred them to revolt, that he had given a bribe and gone up into the Fortress, and had opened the places of treasure, and distributed gold, and had produced for them stores of wheat, and weapons of war and ropes and machines for fighting, and had strengthened their intention to carry on the war.

Thereupon evil ruled supreme in the hearts of the king and his nobles, and again Edicts were promulgated, thirteen in number, and addressed to all the Amirs, by name, to each of the Amirs of the Kurds by name, to each of the four Amirs of the King of the Mongols by name, and one to the whole country of Arbil. [In these it was ordered] that if any man sendeth up food to the Fortress, or giveth it to the men there, his village shall be looted and [his people] slain, and any estate belonging to.him in the district shall be taken from him, and shall become the property of the king absolutely; and it was ordered that [the Amirs] were to prosecute the war with the armour of strength, and to bring it to a triumphant end for the sake of the Ishrnaelite Faith.

And [the king] sent a separate Edict addressed to the Catholicus by name, in which it was set forth the following: "We and our fathers have paid thee honour so that thou shouldst pray for us, and give us thy blessing: but now that thou hast acted otherwise, know thou that that which is coming upon thee is due to thyself and not to us."And they handed the Edicts over to one of the men who were at the Door of the Kingdom (i.e. the palace or Camp), who was called Toghain and to Hajji Dalkandi, both being in very truth, enemies of all Christendom, that they might go to Arbil and work their will.

Now the Metropolitan of Arbil remained in the Camp for three days after those messengers had been sent, with the two young men of the Cell, to make peace. And he pondered, saying, "If the natives of the Fortress and the Arabs make peace, there is nothing to be gained staying in the Camp, but if they go on fighting, it is impossible for me to speak without the advice of the Catholicus."And straightway he rose up and came in haste to the village Beth Sayyadhe, but on his arrival he found that the Catholicus had been carried off that very day, together with the holy men who were with him, even as has been shown above, and had been imprisoned in the Fortress. And all the Christians, were in a state of acute suffering, and they grieved sorely, their grief being from the heart, and not on the eyebrows and eyelids as is the case with certain people. And it dissolved the flesh and rent asunder the bones, because they did not know what was going to happen to them at the hands of the Arabs, and whether they would be delivered from this persecution or not. And they were like those who have suffered shipwreck, and are being buffeted by waves and tempests, for they were afraid of sinking through the destruction of the persecution.

Now the aforementioned Metropolitan was not able to endure [this uncertainty]. He thought that he would go back to the Camp, but was in doubt about it, because for one thing the roads were cut, and he had no companions of any kind with him, and there would remain no opportunity of taking counsel with the Catholicus. On the other hand, if he dwelt in the Cell, whilst the Catholicus and the holy men were suffering affliction and tribulation, and the Christians being put to the torture, he would be condemned by the canon of truth and the law of Christ, which saith, "Whether it be shepherd or whether it be friend, it is meet for him to lay down his life, and to give himself to death, and to think scorn of his life, and to bear tortures of all kinds for the love of Christ."(Cf. 1 John 3:16.) And he became emboldened, and took with him the young men of the Cell, who had fled and were in hiding, and they went forth from the village of Beth Sayyadhe in the evening of the sixth day of the month 'iyar (May) of that year [1310 A.D.]. And they marched all night and all day long, over mountains, and across plains, and hills, and barren rocks, being in fear and terror of ambushes by the enemy, without any place in which to shelter, and with not enough food to satisfy [them]. And by the help of God they arrived in the city of Halmadhan in ten days, for they had heard that the king was there.

And when they had gone into the city [they found that] the victorious king had departed that day, and had gone to the royal city of the Mongols. On the following day the Metropolitan and the young men departed, and went to Sultaniyah and they heard [there] that those Edicts had been given to the two men who have been mentioned above, namely Toghan and Hajji Dalkandi, and that they were preparing to set out and go to Arbil. On hearing [this] their hands dropped helplessly, their knees tottered, and their eyes dripped with tears over the breaking up of the Church, and what had happened to her children. And they took counsel with certain men who were friends of the Catholicus, and certain churchmen, as to what they should do And answer was made to them, saying, "If ye hesitate to spend your own moneys, and those of the Cell, the Catholicus will perish and ye yourselves also, and the churches will be pillaged, and also the Wakf (i.e. endowments) of the Christians will disappear because of the Catholicus."

Then straightway the Metropolitan took with him a certain sum of money, and he went to one of the Amirs, who was a near kinsman of the king. And they took him into the presence of the Amir, who treated him with honour, and listened to his speech about the Catholicus and also about the Christians. And the Amir took from him a copy, written by the hand of the Metropolitan, of everything that he had said, and showed it to the [other] Amirs and to the king, victorious in God!, as will be shown afterwards. And the Amir delivered him over to three men who were close friends of his, so that they might take him to each one of the Amirs and Wazirs, who [stand] before the king, that he might say with his mouth what he had written. And those men brought him to an Amir who was called Asan (Hasan) Kutlok, and to Khawaja Said Ad-Din, the chief of the scribes, and to the Wazir Khwaja Raschid Ad-Din.

And the Metropolitan spake boldly the following address: "Mar Catholicus saluteth you, saying. Ye know, O Amirs, that it is this day five and thirty years since I came from the East; and that I have been made to sit on this Throne of the East by the Will of God; and that I have served and blessed seven kings in all long suffering, and in the fear of God, and especially the father of the present victorious king, the deceased Arghon, and his mother the believing Queen Urgho (sic) Khaton. I have deceived no man. I have coveted none of the property of the Government, and if certain gifts have been bestowed upon me by them (i,e. the kings), I have spent them again on their behalf. Although I was a young man once, I am now an old man; and I have no wife, no children, no relatives, and no kinsfolk. Am I likely to rebel against the king for the sake of the love of the world? Or shall I think of snatching away from him anything that is his? Why then should the words which mine enemies [speak] against me be believed? Moreover, I have never experienced any evil thing from the present victorious king in God, and God forbid [that I should]! But even supposing that it could happen and that he wrought evil upon me--which God forbid! I am commanded by the Holy Gospel, the Book which I confess, to return good for evil, for it saith, 'Pray for your enemies, and bless him that curseth you, and do what is good to him that hateth you,' (Matthew 5:44). And it is impossible for me to abandon that which I have been commanded by God, through Christ, for transgression of the command maketh a man, whoever he may be, a stranger to Him that laid down the command. I beseech you. If the king is convinced in his heart that I have committed evil, let him bring me to the Door of the Kingdom and inform me accurately what I have done; and then, supposing I deserve death, he will be guiltless of my blood. But let him not leave me in the hands of my enemies."This was the speech of the Catholicus.

[And the Metropolitan spake saying]: "All Christians who are in the Fortress say, 'We are not rebels against the victorious king. But are terribly afraid of our enemies the Kurds and the Arabs, who kill us unsparingly; and we have no one who will have pity upon us, and will make known to the king the state of affliction in which we live. We are the servants of the king and subject unto him, and at all times we pay the tribute and taxes at which we are assessed. Now if the king commandeth us to bring down these Kayadjaye, on whom the king's heart rests, have we strength enough? But if he commandeth us ourselves to come down from the Fortress, let him send to us one who will deliver us from the hands of these tyrants, and let him [then] command us to go whithersoever he wisheth. We do not dwell here because of the pleasantness of the place but because of our great fear of the Palestinians and the Kurds. Behold, our sons and our daughters have been carried off into captivity, and the greater number of [our] men have been slain. And, O Amirs, all of you are well acquainted with these [facts], and I, the Metropolitan, your servant, pledge myself by what I have said in the document which I have written and given [to you]."

Then the Amirs accepted the statement, and showed it to the victorious and merciful king. And the king commanded that the Amir of the Amirs Djopan should know the matter, and should bring the Metropolitan to him that he might hold converse with him. And when they had brought him he spake all the things which have been recounted [above] and added, "It is through thee that all these things have been done to us."Now some bond existed between him and the Amir of the Kayadjae-, who was called Balu. And he received the statement unhesitatingly, and stopped the journey of Hajji Dalkandi to Arbil, and made promises of good things to come. And he selected men to go as envoys besides those who had been first [chosen].

Notwithstanding these things, and not to make [our] narrative too long, Hajji Dalkandi neither slumbered nor slept, and he gave no sleep to his eyes, and all the people of the Arabs were with him. And they gave huge bribes to the Amirs, and the nobles, and the small men, and the soldiers, and that proverb which says, "The bribe blindeth the eyes of the wise in judgement "(Eccles. xx.1) was fulfilled, and they went back on the agreement and conditions arranged. The Metropolitan was seized secretly and was handed over to Toghan, so that he might go and bring down the Catholicus and the Christians from the Fortress, and if he did not he was to be slain without pity. And they brought him by night outside the city to a mountain which was close by, and no man whatsoever had any knowledge of him. The suffering of all the Christians, of every sect, who were gathered together there in the city, waxed sore, and all the young men of the Cell fled and were scattered. And there remained none, to help them or to care for them except the adorable mercy of God, who worketh according to His grace, and provideth according to his mercy.

Now the Metropolitan had a younger brother, and. he fled and went to the Amir Djopan--may his life be preserved!-and he showed him what had been done, saying, "The servant of the Amir of the Amirs, the Metropolitan, who came to him yesterday on account of the Fortress of Arbil, hath by guile and force been carried off to Arbil."And the Amir was exceedingly angry, and he sent a messenger and brought back the Metropolitan from out of the hands of the accursed ones. And he brought him into the presence of the victorious king,

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sand repeated to him the statements which the Metropolitan had made concerning the Catholicus and the Christians. And the king commanded that the Catholicus should be brought to the Camp, and that the Christians should come down from the Fortress, and that no harm should be done to them. And the king had Todjain (sic) brought and gave him orders about these matters, and also commanded him to go to Arbil.

And the great Amir of the Amirs, the head of the Diwan, Djopan, took the Metropolitan to his house. And he wrote for him many letters to all the Amirs of the Mongols who had gone to reduce the Fortress, and to the Amir Gaidjak, a son-in-law 11 of the deceased king Hulagu, the father of all the Mongol kings, asking them to bring down the Catholicus with suitable honour, according to the royal Edict, and also to let the Christians come down unharmed. And he delivered it to the enemy, saying, "If any man streteheth out his hand against the Christians, thou shalt not bring them down."And he sent away the Metropolitan with due honour, and handed him over to the royal messenger, saying, "If the Arabs and Kurds will not obey this, tarry with the Catholicus and the Christians, and send me a message, and let me know."

And the Metropolitan and the messenger came first of all to the Amir Gaijak and showed him the decree of Djopan, the Amir of Amirs, and Gaijak and his wife(1) rejoiced in the deliverance of the Catholicus and the Christians. And the Amir Gaidjak sent one hundred of his Mongol horsemen, besides those who had already gone to the Fortress, to assist in this operation, and he also wrote to eight hundred Kurdish foot-soldiers, over whom he ruled, to bring down the Catholicus. Now three days before the arrival of the Metropolitan and the messenger who was with him, Todjain (sic) arrived, and he sent a messenger to the Catholicus, and showed him the command that he was to come down. And the Catholicus without any hesitation came down, and the holy men and the priests who were with him on the day of the Eve (i.e. Friday) on the sixth and twentieth day of the month of Haziran (June) [1310 A.D.]. And [thus] he heard (i.e. obeyed) the Edict.

And Todjain persuaded him to go up again to the Fortress and bring down the Christians. In the simplicity of his heart the Catholicus went up, and commanded them to come down, and those wretched folk hearkened [i.e. were obedient] in [their] simplicity to the command of the King and the Father (i.e. Catholicus). And they went down at daybreak on the Sabbath, with their sons, and daughters, and wives, one hundred and fifty men more or less, besides women and children, without any weapon, and without a sword, and without a knife. And when the wicked people of the Arabs saw that they had come down, they were filled with fierce passion, and worked themselves up into a rage, and they drew their swords, and slew them, from the greatest of them to the least, without pity and without fear. And the women and children they carried into captivity. And the Arabs took as their excuse, "They shot arrows at us from the Fortress."But all this was only that they might make the Catholicus afraid to go down, and that the accusation which had been made against him before the king might be held by the king to be true, and that peradventure he might be wroth, and command that the Catholicus and all the Christians should be massacred.

Then the Catholicus, with his hope in Christ, with weeping and sighs, and bitterness of soul came to go down. He held the sword in contempt thinking within himself, "If I die of hunger in the Fortress the name of rebel will go forth concerning me, and that would be an evil thing; it is far better for me to obey to the death. I will go down. If my Lord saveth me, it will be a glorious victory for me; and if He doth not, I am ready to accept the crown of martyrdom for the sake of the name of Christ."And the Christians fell down at his feet weeping and saying, "We will not let thee go down" and thus also [spake] the holy men (i.e. bishops who were with him. And the Catholicus made answer, saying, "There is nothing else for me to do except to go down, but I do not urge anyone whatsoever to go down with me; but the man who wisheth to be a participator in my suffering I will not prevent from doing so."And he said farewell to them.

And the three bishops who were with him clave to him, and the young men of the Cell and certain monks and priests. And they went down in (or by) the wall, treading, as they went upon those who had been killed and butchered, and who without offence had been hacked in pieces. And the Catholicus himself saw his sons with their bodies ripped open, and their entrails dragging loose upon the ground, and there was none to bury them or to wrap them up for the grave. He had trusted in the word of Todjain (sic) and thought that he was a friend, whereas in truth he was a false friend.

And then, with [the words of] the prophet in his heart, he said, "I cried to my friends, and they have deceived me. My priests and my elders have come to an end in my midst. They sought food for themselves that they might have their souls (or lives), and they are not to be found. See, O Lord, that I am sorely afflicted, and my bowels are troubled. My heart hath turned back within me, because I have complained bitterly. Outside the sword hath destroyed, and death him that was in the house. Hearken for I am groaning, and there is none to console me. All mine enemies have heard of my calamity, and they have rejoiced because it is Thou who hast prepared it for me. Bring the day that Thou hast called, and they shall become ever as I am. And all the wickedness of the Hagaraya (i.e. Mohammedans) shall come before Thee. Trouble Thou them with the trouble with which Thou hast, because of my sins, troubled me, and which Thou hast shown, through me, to my children, and those who are precious to me. And because my groanings are many and my heart is sick." [Lamentations 1:19-22; but the Syriac text is; defective].

What next? Todjain (sic) came before the Catholicus, laughing like a man who had done nothing, and he brought him to his tent, and paid him honour, and presented the cup to him kneeling on his knees. And the Catholicus said unto him, "Is this the form which thy promises take? And is this the way in which the royal Edict which thou didst read to me yesterday is carried out? In that it was commanded that every man who went down was not to be harmed, and that not even the blood of his nose was to be made to flow."

Todjain replied, "They shot arrows from the Fortress, and wounded two men and they are dead."And the Catholicus said, "Those who shot the arrows ought to have been killed, and not those who obeyed the royal Edict and came down"; and Todjain held his peace and answered never a word.

Now although the accursed peoples of the Arabs had taken counsel in order to destroy the Catholicus, Todjain and Nasir, the brother [Hajji] Dalkandi pretended that they knew nothing about it, so that [their ignorance] might be for them an excuse. But the Lord hath pleasure in His chosen ones, and He sendeth to them deliverance whence they know not, and with out their perceiving how [it cometh]. Now the Metropolitan pondered in his mind, and said to the Amir Gaidjak, "O Amir, thou knowest well what manner of man this Todjain is. He hath arranged for us to go to Arbil, but I am afraid that he will work [some] wickedness before we arrive [there]. It will be a good thing if the Amir will send [on in advance] one of his own men, and one of the companions of the messenger who is with me."And this the Amir did without any delay (or hesitation), and he sent on one of his own men, and one of the men who were with the messenger. And [they] arrived on the day of the Sabbath mentioned above, at the turn of the day (i.e. in the evening), after the wretched people had been massacred. And they came and saluted the Catholicus and Todjain, and they showed him the copy of the Edict of the king which the Amir of the Amirs, had written on the subject of the Catholicus. And when Todjain and Nasir heard it the light of the face of Todjain became clouded, and the face of Nasir became green (or yellow), and they began whispering to each other. There remained to them no means [of exculpation], for the men who had come had seen the Catholicus. And when the darkness fell Nasir and Todjain rode with him (the messenger?) a mile. And he went to the village of Amkabha [near Arbil].

And the Metropolitan, and the messenger who was with him, arrived on the morning of Sunday, the seven and twentieth day of the month of Haziran (June) and they saw what had happened; and they were sorely grieved, and their suffering was great, but they were somewhat relieved that the Catholicus and the clergy who were with him were saved. And straightway they went to the Catholicus, and showed him the instructions of the great Amir, and the character of the royal Edict concerning him; and the Catholicus rejoiced and blessed them and the Amir.

And in the morning of the following day the messenger went to Todjain and asked permission to go up to the Fortress, but Todjain would not permit him [saying], "These men, who are Yaghaye [i.e. enemies, or rebels] would kill thee."The messenger said, "Whether they kill me or leave me [alive], I am going up to them."And when he went up Todjain would not let any food or drink whatsoever go up with him [saying], "Thou hast come to save the Christians, who are haters of our Confession (i.e. Faith), and are also enemies of our people. And since the Christians do not obey the royal Edicts, we will not obey the command of thy Amir."The messenger, however, paid no heed to him, and he went up to the Fortress, and showed [the Christians] the decree of the Amir; and they agreed to go down, and all were obedient. And the messenger came down in the evening, and he brought down three men with him; one of these they (i.e. the Arabs) snatched from his hands and slew, and the other two they carried off as prisoners. The messenger brought with him the keys of the Fortress, which he delivered to Todjain, and then he came to the Catholicus sadly, and they took counsel together as to what he should do.

[And the messenger said], "Those who are at the foot of the Fortress are many and powerful. In the Fortress there is not food enough for a single day, and they stopped me from taking anything up. And if I bring them down the Arabs will seize them and massacre them. I have no one here to help me, and what to do I know not. But I can gather together the men who have come with me, and the one hundred horsemen of the Amir Gaidjak. They can bring down the women and children first of all, and carry them into the villages. And as for the men who can fight, they, and I, and the men who are with me can pass away and make our escape in the night. And if any man putteth out his hand against us, we can put out [our hands also]." And the Catholicus said, "Thou knowest [best what to do]; according as God giveth thee [knowledge] that do."

On the third day of the week (Tuesday) the messenger went up to the Christians, and he gathered them together about him and held converse with them; and the greater number of them hearkened to his counsel, but, as the proverb saith, "Out of the bone cometh the worm." 12 Now certain of the people of the Fortress had long acted deceitfully, and had made themselves confederates of Nasir Ad-Din. And every day they sent messengers to him, and made him acquainted with everything that took place in the Fortress. And when these men saw that the greater number had decided to go down, they went and informed Nasir. And straightway he wrote [saying], "The dwellers in the Fortress, with the exception of the Mountaineers [Turaye] shall give nothing to any man, and they shall not come down from the Fortress, but they shall make their hearts happy. The Mountaineers shall give the messengers money for the way, and, if they wish, they may come down."At this decision the people in the Fortress broke up into two parties, and some of them went down to him (i.e. Nasir), both they and their houses (i.e. families); and they were unharmed, and were allowed to depart, and they came to the village of Amkabha. And after one day they (i.e. the Arabs) came and took them away from that place, and they were massacred.

From that time onward there remained in the Fortress no chief, no governor, no counsellor, and no man who knew [affairs]. The messenger remained by himself in the Cell of the Catholicus, but finally he went down, and left them without a helper in bitter weeping and anguished groanings. Alas for that hour full of injury! Alas for that season of affliction which brought forth tribulations! Supposing they dwelt [there]--no strength remained in any man even to draw water, and who was there to do the fighting? Famine (or hunger) vanquished them completely! The, wheat was already finished, and was sold at eight zuze the litya (i.e. pound). As for salt, who could find any? They had already finished the asses, the dogs, and the ferrets, and no old leather objects were left. They filled themselves with the husks of the seed of the cotton plant ('mar-kubha). Widows stretched out their hands [helplessly] and wept, and there was none to bind up what was broken. And there was absolutely no one to bury the dead. Who was there who had strength enough to dig a grave? Who was there who could show pity and affection? Who was there to give alms? Orphans died on the dung heaps. Others fell down [dead] in their houses and dried up, and others hurled themselves down from the wall, and those who were below received them on their swords, and hacked them in pieces.

Alas for the men of honour whom the Lord hath spurned! Alas for the men of honour whom the Lord hath rejected! Alas for the nation for whom there remaineth none to show pity, and none to extend help to it! See, O ye who hear, how violent is the punishment of our Lord of those who do not turn back (i.e. repent)! How cruel is Thy rod, O our God! How injurious is Thy stroke, O Thou who careth for us! How cruel are Thy beatings, O Thou who bindest us up! Thou hast turned Thy face backwards, and the crown of their heads hath fallen, and their rejoicings have been turned back into sorrow (Lamentations 5:15,16). They have wept by day and by night, their tears have furrowed their cheeks, and among all their friends there is not one to offer consolation. They all heave sighs and demand bread (Lamentations 1:11). Their eyes have become darkened through tears, their bowels are in a turmoil, and their honour has been turned back on the ground, through the breaking of their Fortress. Children and, babes say to their mothers, "Where is the bread? Where is the oil?"And they collapse before them, like the slain (Lamentations 2:11,12) whilst asking for bread; and there is none to break it and give it to them.

Behold, those who once fed sumptuously now lie in the streets; and behold, those who were reared in purple apparel, now lie down on the dung heaps (Ibid. 4:4, 5). Their visages are blacker than ashes, and they cannot be recognised. Their skins have shrunk on their bones, and have dried up, and become like wood. Far happier are those who have been slain with the sword than those who have been slain by hunger. The women eat their own fruit, and loving hands cook their children who become their food (Ibid. 4:8-10). Children and old men lie together on the ground, and virgins and young men have suffered disgrace. The men have been butchered, and the Lord hath not had pity on them (Ibid. 2:21); and arrows have penetrated their kidneys. And they have become a laughing stock among all the nations (Ibid. 3:13, 14), for the Lord hath fulfilled His wrath, and hath poured out the wrath of His anger (Ibid. 10, 11), because those who have observed for them (the bishops) have observed vainly (Ibid. 4:16). They cry out with the Prophet [Jeremiah] saying, "Our sins you have roused themselves up against us, our strength hath become sick (or weak), for the Lord hath handed us over into the hand of one against whom we can do nothing (Ibid. 1:14); righteous, is the Lord against Whom we have rebelled."

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Hear, O all ye nations, and look on our affliction. Our virgins and young men have gone into captivity (Ibid. 1:18), and our strong young men and men of war have been slain. What are we to say? That our priests have led us astray, and have not laid bare before us our sins? (Ibid. 2:14). God forbid! They exhorted, and we did not hearken; they rebuked us, and we did not incline our ears. We despised them, and showed no favour to their persons. We have shown no affection to our old men, we have oppressed the widows, and we have persecuted the poor and needy. Our iniquity is greater than that of Jerusalem, and the wickedness which is in our days surpasseth that [of the days] of Noah. Because of this the Lord hath performed that which He meditated, and He hath fulfilled His word according to what He commanded in the days of old. He hath swept us away pitilessly, and hath girded us about with enemies, and hath raised up the horn of our oppressors (Ibid. 2:17). All our enemies have opened their mouths against us, they have hissed and gnashed their teeth at us. They have sold our children into a far country, they have defiled our virgins before us, and they have mocked our women before our very eyes (Ibid. 5:11) saying, "We will swallow you up. This is the day which we expected, and we have found it, and seen it " (Ibid. 2:16).

And the people of the Arabs went up to the Fortress with Todjain and Nasir on the fourth day of the week (Wednesday), the first day of Tammuz (July), in the year of the Greeks, one thousand six hundred and twenty-one [1310 A.D.], and they conquered it. And they slew everyone they found in it, and spared none, and everyone they saw they carried off into captivity; and they looted the treasures, and pillaged what was laid up there. And those who remained there of the Turaye Kayadjaye (i.e. the Mountaineers) they hurled from the top of the wall, and those who were down below received them on their swords until they had made an end of all of them. They sold [some of] the women and virgins, and they gave [the others] to everyone who came to them, and made gifts of them. In short, they brought into daylight all the evil that was hidden in their hearts. And we also, with that same Prophet say, "Exult ye, O men of Arbil, for the cup hath come unto you, and Ye shall be confounded and broken with troubles (Ibid. 4:21), and there is none to save you. But the Lord will be mindful of what hath happened to His people, and how His inheritance hath been plundered (Ibid. 5:1). The Lord is good to him that awaiteth Him, and to the soul that seeketh Him (Ibid. 3:25). He will return reward, according to the work of your hands. And He will give to you sorrow of heart, and His stroke shall follow after you. In His anger He will destroy you, and He will blot you out from under the heavens (Ibid. 3:65, 66), because ye have swept away His churches, and have hacked in pieces the sheep of His pasture. Those who pass on the road shall smite together their hands at you, and shall hiss, and wag their heads, and say, "This is Arbil [the city] which God hath cursed!" (Ibid. 2:15).

RABBAN BAR SAUMA CHAPTER 19

The Death Of Mar Yahbh-Allaha

Then the Catholicus, and the Mongols, and the clergy who were with him, who had come from the Amir Gaidjak to bring him, went to the village of Beth Sayyadhe, but with great fear, and terror, and great anguish and affliction. And they stayed in the village for.a few days until they had collected some money, which they gave to the messenger of the Amir Djopan, and to the one hundred men who had come from the Amir Gaidjak, and to the Kurds, who were with them. Then they departed and went to the Camp, on the 8th day of the month Tammuz (July) of this year (1310 A.D.).

And the Catholicus visited the princess, the wife of the Amir Gaidjak, and she paid him great honour and also sent men with him to the Camp. When he arrived he went straightway to visit the great Amir Djopan, who saw him, and paid him the honour which was his due, and thence he went to the city; and all the Amirs were well acquainted with his history. And he went to the victorious king and blessed him according to custom, and placed the cup in his hands, and the king likewise gave him the cup, but neither of them spake a word with the other. And sorely afflicted, the Catholicus went forth from the presence, for he had intended if the king had questioned him to make known to him all that had happened to himself and to his flock. At this treatment his heart was broken grievously, and he sat down there for a month of days, hoping that, peradventure, some new thing might happen, or that some one would ask him about what had happened. And when certain necessary business connected with the Cell and the Christians had been accomplished, he went back and came to the; monastery which he had built by the side Maraghah. And he made up his mind that he would never again go to the Camp, saying, "I am wearied (or disgusted) with the service the Mongols."

And in the year of the Greeks one thousand six hundred and twenty-two (A.D. 1310-1311) he passed the winter in the monastery In the summer he went to the city of Tabhriz because he heard that the Amir Irnadjin--may our Lord preserve his life!--had arrived there; and the Catholicus having come thither met him straightway. And Irnadjin paid him great honour, and he and his wife [Kekhshek], the daughter of King Ahmad, the son of the deceased King Hulagu, gave him gifts and presents. And the princess [Kekhshek] was greatly honoured in the kingdom, because the victorious King [Uljaito] had taken her daughter [Kutlukshah Khatun] to wife, and she was then the greatest of his wives. The amount of money which the Amir Irnadjin and his wife gave to the Catholicus was ten thousand [dinars], which are [equal to] sixty thousand zuze (£5,000) and two riding horses. And the Amir also gave a village to the church Mar Shalita, the holy martyr, for his dead father was laid therein, and his mother and his wives were buried therein.

The Catholicus passed the winter of the year of the Greeks one thousand six hundred and twenty-three (1311-1312 A.D.) in the monastery and the summer also. And when his case was represented to the king by the Council he bestowed upon him five thousand dinars (£2,500) which came to him for his maintenance every year. And the king also gave him villages [in the neighbourhood' of the city of Baghdad.

Now up to this year the number of the Fathers, Metropolitans and Bishops which he has ordained for flocks by layings on of hands, is seventy-five. Thus are they. He lived in the monastery which he had built until the year of the Greeks, ne e thousand six hundred and twenty-nine [1317 A.D.]. He died on the night of the [Saturday preceding] the Sunday [of the prayer] "Ma shebhih mashkenakh "How glorious is Thy habitation"), the 15th day of the month the latter Teshri (November), and was laid in the monastery which he had built. May his memory be for blessing! And may the prayers of Mar Yahbh-Allaha, the Catholicus, and Rabban Sauma be upon us, and upon the world, to the uttermost limit thereof, and upon the Holy Church and her children.

And to God be glory, and honour, and praise, and worship, for ever and ever. Amen and Amen.

Here endeth this "History of Mar Yahbh-Allaha, the Catholicus and Patriarch of the East, and of Rabban Sauma, the Visitor-General." And to God be constant glory, and to the sinner who wrote these lines, may there be forgiveness of debts, and remission of sins in the terrible Hall of judgement! Amen.

THE BOOK OF THE MARVELS OF THE WORLD

The travels of Marco Polo / Il Milione
Franco-Venetian title: Devisement du Monde
Authors: Marco Polo and Rustichello da Pisa
Source: French National Library, Code Fr. 2810
Translation: Manuel Komroff, 1926
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 1298–1299 A.D.

(Prelude

From the late 11th century, Western, Roman Catholic merchants, primarily from the city-states of Venice, Genoa and Pisa in Italy, had started appearing in the Greek-speaking and Orthodox East. A large bulk of them settled in Constantinople, the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire. The Eastern Romans called these Italians "the Latins." The Venetians, who had secured large-scale trading concessions from Roman emperor Alexios I Komnenos. Subsequent extensions of these privileges and Rome's own naval impotence at the time resulted in a virtual maritime monopoly and stranglehold over the Empire by the Venetians. This caused strong resentment among the Romans of Constantinople against the about 60,000 Italians.

A large-scale massacre of the Roman Catholic Italian inhabitants by the Greek Orthodox population of the city followed in April 1182. Almost all Italian communities were wiped out or forced to flee. The Genoese and Pisan communities especially were decimated, and some 4,000 survivors were sold as slaves to the (Islamic Turkish) Sultanate of Rum (Rome, meaning Anatolia). The massacre worsened the image of the Orthodox Romans in the West, and although regular trade agreements were soon resumed between Constantinople and the Latin (Roman Catholic, Italian) states in Italy, the underlying hostility would remain, leading to a spiraling chain of hostilities: a Norman expedition under William II of Sicily in 1185 sacked Thessalonica, the Roman Empire's second largest city, and the German emperors Frederick Barbarossa and Henry VI both threatened to attack Constantinople. The worsening relationship culminated with the brutal sack of the city of Constantinople by the 4th Crusade in 1204, which led to the permanent alienation of Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholics. The 4th Crusade dealt an irrevocable blow to the Roman Empire, contributing to its decline and fall. Although the Nicaean Empire eventually recovered Constantinople and restored the Eastern Roman Empire in 1261, the 4th Crusade is considered to have solidified the East–West Schism.

These events were followed by the fragmentation of the Roman Empire into three states centered in Nicaea, Trebizond and Epirus. The Crusaders then founded several new Crusader states, in the territory of the weakened Roman Empire. The largest of them was called the Latin Empire of Constantinople. The presence of the Latin Crusader states almost immediately led to war with the Roman successor states and with the Bulgarian Empire. In the meantime, the Islamic Turks took advantage of the weaknesses of any Christian faction. From the 1220s to the 1240s came a conqueror who crushed with its extreme mobile warfare the Islamic states as well as some Christian states in Europe: the Mongols! And this is also the time when the Polo family appears in around 1250 in Constantinople.

The Polo Family

The history of Marco Polo (1254–1324) begins with his father and the uncle. Niccolò Polo (c. 1230–before 1300) and Maffeo Polo (real name name Matteo; c. 1230–before 1318) were Venetian traveling merchants best known as the father and uncle, respectively, of the explorer Marco Polo. The brothers went into business before Marco's birth, established trading posts in Constantinople, and then in Sudak in Crimea, and in a western part of the Mongol Empire in Asia. As a duo, they reached modern-day China before temporarily returning to Europe to deliver a message to the Pope. Taking Niccolò's son Marco with them, the Polos then made a second journey through Asia, which became the subject of Marco's account The Book Of The Marvels Of The World.

First voyage: Leaving Niccolò's infant son Marco behind, Niccolò and Maffeo left Venice for Constantinople, where they resided for several years. The two brothers lived in the Venetian quarter of Constantinople [c. 2 km northwest of the Hagia Sophia.], where they enjoyed diplomatic immunity, political chances and tax relief because of their country's role in establishing the Latin Empire in the Fourth Crusade of 1204. However, the family judged the political situation of the city precarious, so they decided to transfer their business northeast to Soldaia, a city in Crimea, and left Constantinople in 1259 or 1260. Their decision proved wise. Constantinople was recaptured in 1261 by Michael Palaeologus, the ruler of the Empire of Nicaea, who promptly burned and razed the Venetian quarter [due to their treacherous actions.] and reestablished the Eastern Roman Empire. Captured Venetian citizens were blinded, while many of those who managed to escape died aboard overloaded refugee ships fleeing to other Venetian colonies in the Aegean Sea.

As their new home in the north of the Black Sea, Soldaia [Today: Sudak, south coast of the Crimean Peninsula.] had been frequented by Venetian traders since the 12th century. When the Polos reached it, it was part of the newly formed Mongol state known as the Golden Horde. Searching for better profits, the Polos continued their journey to Sarai, where the court of Berke Khan [also Böke or Bärkä Khan.], the ruler of the Golden Horde, was located. At that time, the city of Sarai was no more than a huge encampment, and the Polos stayed for about a year. The Polo brothers became merchant partners of Berke to sell wares entrusted to them. Finally, they decided to avoid Crimea, because of a civil war between Berke and his cousin Hulagu or perhaps because of the bad relationship between Berke Khan and the Roman Empire. Instead, they moved further east to Bukhara, in modern-day Uzbekistan, where the family lived and traded for three years.

In 1264, Niccolò and Maffeo joined up with an embassy sent by the Ilkhanate ruler Hulagu to his brother Kublai Khan, both grandsons of Genghis Khan. In 1266, they reached the seat of Kublai Khan, the leader of the Mongol Yuan dynasty, at Dadu, present day Beijing, China. In his book, The Travels of Marco Polo, Marco explains how Kublai Khan officially received the Polos and sent them back with a Mongol named Koeketei as an ambassador to the pope. They brought with them a letter from the Khan requesting 100 educated people to come and teach Christianity and Western customs to his people and oil from the lamp of the Holy Sepulcher. The letter also contained the paiza, a golden tablet a foot long and 3 inches (7.6 cm) wide, allowing the holder to acquire and obtain lodging, horses and food throughout the Kublai Khan's dominion. Koeketei left in the middle of the journey, leaving the Polos to travel alone to Ayas in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia. From that port city, they sailed to Saint Jean d'Acre, capital of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

The long sede vacante between the death of Pope Clement IV, in 1268, and the election of the new pope in 1271 delayed the Polos' attempts to fulfil Kublai's request. As suggested by Theobald Visconti, then papal legate for the realm of Egypt, in Acre for the Ninth Crusade, the two brothers returned to Venice in 1269 or 1270, waiting for the nomination of the new pope. Here Niccolò met up once again with his son Marco, now fifteen or sixteen, who had been living with his aunt and another uncle in Venice since the death of his mother at a young age.

Second voyage: As soon as he was elected in 1271, Pope Gregory X (the former Theobald Visconti) received the letter from Kublai Khan, remitted by Niccolò and Maffeo. Kublai Khan was asking for the dispatch of a hundred missionaries,

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and some oil from the lamp of Jerusalem. The two Polos (this time accompanied by the 17-year-old Marco Polo) returned to Mongolia, accompanied by two Dominican friars, Niccolò de Vicence and Guillaume de Tripoli. The two friars did not finish the voyage due to fear, but the Polos reached Kanbaliq and remitted the presents from the Pope to Kublai in 1274. It is usually said that the Polos used the Northern Silk Road although the possibility of a southern route has been advanced. The Polos spent the next 17 years in China. Kublai Khan took a liking to Marco, who was an engaging storyteller. He was sent on many diplomatic missions throughout his empire. Marco carried out diplomatic assignments but also entertained the Khan with interesting stories and observations about the lands he traveled. According to Marco's travel account, the Polos asked several times for permission to return to Europe but the Great Khan appreciated the visitors so much that he would not agree to their departure.

Only in 1291 did Kublai entrust Marco with his last duty, to escort the Mongol princess Koekecin (Cocacin in Il Milione) to her betrothed, the Ilkhan Arghun. The party traveled by sea, departing from the southern port city of Quanzhou and sailing to Sumatra, and then to Persia, via Sri Lanka and India (where his visits included Mylapore, Madurai and Alleppey, which he nicknamed Venice of the East). In 1293 or 1294 the Polos reached the Ilkhanate, ruled by Gaykhatu after the death of Arghun, and left Koekecin with the new Ilkhan. Then they moved to Trebizond and from that city sailed to Venice.

Marco Polo [1254–1324] was a Venetian merchant, explorer, and writer who travelled through Asia along the Silk Road between 1271 and 1295. His travels are recorded in The Book of the Marvels of the World (also known as The Travels of Marco Polo and Il Milione, c. 1300), a book that described to Europeans the then mysterious culture and inner workings of the Eastern world, including the wealth and great size of the Mongol Empire and China in the Yuan Dynasty, giving their first comprehensive look into China, Persia, India, Japan and other Asian cities and countries.

Born in Venice, Marco learned the mercantile trade from his father and his uncle, Niccolò and Maffeo, who travelled through Asia and met Kublai Khan. In 1269, they returned to Venice to meet Marco for the first time. The three of them embarked on an epic journey to Asia, exploring many places along the Silk Road until they reached Cathay (China). They were received by the royal court of Kublai Khan, who was impressed by Marco's intelligence and humility. Marco was appointed to serve as Khan's foreign emissary, and he was sent on many diplomatic missions throughout the empire and Southeast Asia, such as in present-day Burma, India, Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Vietnam. As part of this appointment, Marco also traveled extensively inside China, living in the emperor's lands for 17 years and seeing many things that had previously been unknown to Europeans. Around 1291, the Polos also offered to accompany the Mongol princess Kököchin to Persia; they arrived around 1293. After leaving the princess, they travelled overland to Constantinople and then to Venice, returning home after 24 years. At this time, Venice was at war with Genoa; Marco was imprisoned and dictated his stories to Rustichello da Pisa, a cellmate. He was released in 1299, became a wealthy merchant, married, and had three children. He died in 1324 and was buried in the church of San Lorenzo in Venice.

Polo noted in his book that he knew four languages, and their alphabets and ways of writing. But he did not specify which these four languages. Which lanuages Marco Polo could deal with is unknown, however, due to the words and names he used in his book, and the fact that he needed to communicate somehow as a jewellery merchant and as a Mongol administrator, we can make a fair assumption.

Marco Polo was brought up by his extended family due to the early death of his mother and the duties his father had to follow up abroad. The young Polo had a good education. As a native of Venice, Marco Polo spoke Venetian, which was a Romance language and, at that time, still pretty close to other Italian, Romanian, and French dialects; therefore he could communicate somehow in any of them. He learned little or no Latin. but he might have been able to deal with the form of Greek, which was widely used by merchants in the East.

Marco Polo said, he visited hundreds of churches and saw thousands of Christians in the East. The churches that were there at that time followed the Syriac (Nestorian) Christianity, using an Aramaic translation of the Bible called "the Peshitta." Aramaic was still one of the major languages on the Silk Road. So Polo probably learned to speak and read this language.

Polo visited Islamic Persia in which Arabic script was in use, so it is very likely he spoke Persian, and could read its Arabic script, which was an offshoot of Aramaic. In his book, he referred to Chinese place names in the Persian language. That he could speak and read Arabic is almost certain due to his expertise on Islamic doctrine.

Kublai Khan, at that time also Emperor of China, was originally from Mongolia where the Mongolian language was known as "Eastern Turki," Mongolian was written with an Old Turkic alphabet which also was based on Aramaic. Almost certainly Polo spoke and wrote this language when communicating with the Mongol rulers. He might have spoken some Chinese for daily use, but it is unlikely that he spoke it professionally for the simple fact that one has to study for about 15 years in order to learn the 15,000 most essential characters, their meaning and correct pronunciation.

Marco Polo accompanied his father and uncle (both of whom had been to China previously), though neither of them published any known works about their journeys. Neither Marco Polo, nor his father or uncle, were the first European to reach China (see The Grand Bible, the previous books of this section called "Artefacts ..."). Polo, however, was the first who gained wide-spread attention in the Age of Discovery. His account of the Orient provided the Europeans with a clear picture of the East's geography and ethnic customs and was the first Western record of porcelain, coal, gunpowder, paper money, and some Asian plants and exotic animals. Polo's account inspired travellers such as Henry de Navigator, Bartolomeu Dias, Vasco da Gama and Christopher Columbus or Italian cartographer Fra Mauro (c.1400–1464) from the Republic of Venice who created the most detailed map of the world up until that time, the Fra Mauro map.

The Book of the Marvels of the World

The later title "The travels of Marco Polo" is misleading because it implies that Polo only narrates his own experiences. In reality Polo's book contains his experiences as well as those of others, including information from Chinese archieves. This kind of collected information was similarly published in other travel guides as well. Therefore the original title "The Book of the Marvels of the World" is correct.

Scholars who take the newer title literal, accuse Polo of "never have been in China" or "being a liar" because he reports about places where he most likely has never been. In fact, that he reports about places like Malabar or Madagascar, makes sure that his stay in China was real. He was quoting from Chinese books that extensively dealt with those places. The books he quoted were avaiable only in China and only in Chinese; they were for example books like the Xiyu Juan, the Wei Lue, and the Zhufan Zhi [See Artefacts, Grand Bible.]

The Book of Marvels was a collaboration written in 1298–1299 between Polo and a professional writer of romances, Rustichello of Pisa. Polo could read and write but he was a merchant, not a poet. It is believed that Polo related his memoirs orally to Rustichello da Pisa while both were prisoners of the Genova Republic. The idea probably was to create a handbook for merchants, essentially a text on weights, measures and distances.

Rustichello wrote Devisement du Monde in Franco-Venetian. Franco-Venetian or Franco-Lombard, also known as Franco-Italian, was a literary language used in parts of northern Italy, from the mid-13th century to the end of the 14th century. It was employed by writers including Brunetto Latini and Rustichello da Pisa and was presumably a written, not a spoken language. Absent a standard form for literary works of the Italian language at the time, writers in genres including the romance employed a hybrid language strongly influenced by Old French (at this period, a language group called langues d'oïl). They sometimes described this type of literary Franco-Italian simply as French.

There is no authoritative version of Marco Polo's book, for the early manuscripts differ significantly, and the reconstruction of the original text is a matter of textual criticism. A total of about 150 copies in various languages are known to exist. Before the availability of printing press, errors were frequently made during copying and translating, so there are many differences between the various copies.

Apparently, from the very beginning, Marco Polo's story aroused contrasting reactions, as it was received by some with a certain disbelief. The Dominican father Francesco Pipino was the author of a translation into Latin, Iter Marci Pauli Veneti in 1302, just a few years after Marco's return to Venice. Francesco Pipino solemnly affirmed the truthfulness of the book and defined Marco as a "prudent, honoured and faithful man". In his writings, the Dominican brother Jacopo d'Acqui explains why his contemporaries were skeptical about the content of the book. He also relates that before dying, Marco Polo insisted that "he had told only a half of the things he had seen".

According to some recent research of the Italian scholar Antonio Montefusco, the very close relationship that Marco Polo cultivated with members of the Dominican Order in Venice suggests that local fathers collaborated with him for a Latin version of the book, which means that Rustichello's text was translated into Latin for a precise will of the Order. Since Dominican fathers had among their missions that of evangelising foreign peoples (cf. the role of Dominican missionaries in China and India), it is reasonable to think that they considered Marco Polo's book as a trustworthy piece of information for missions in the East. The diplomatic communications between Pope Innocent IV and Pope Gregory X with the Mongols were probably another reason for this endorsement. At the time, there was open discussion of a possible Christian-Mongul alliance with an anti-Islamic function. In fact, a Mongol delegate was solemnly baptised at the Second Council of Lyon. At the Council, Pope Gregory X promulgated a new Crusade to start in 1278 in liaison with the Mongols.

Versions

The book was translated into many European languages in Marco Polo's own lifetime, but the original manuscripts are now lost. During copying and translating many errors were made, so there are many differences between the various copies. According to the French philologist Philippe Ménard, there are six main versions of the book: the version closest to the original, in Franco-Venetian; a version in Old French; a version in Tuscan; two versions in Venetian; two different versions in Latin.

Version in Franco-Venetian: The oldest surviving Polo manuscript is in Franco-Venetian, which was a variety of Old French heavily flavoured with Venetian dialect, spread in Northern Italy in the 13th century; for Luigi Foscolo Benedetto, this "F" text is the basic original text, which he corrected by comparing it with the somewhat more detailed Italian of Ramusio, together with a Latin manuscript in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana.

Version in Old French: A version written in Old French, titled "Le Livre des merveilles" (The Book of Marvels). This version counts 18 manuscripts, whose most famous is the Code Fr. 2810. Famous for its miniatures, the Code 2810 is in the French National Library. Another Old French Polo manuscript, dating to around 1350, is held by the National Library of Sweden. A critical edition of this version was edited in the 2000s by Philippe Ménard.

Version in Tuscan [northwest Italian]: A version in Tuscan (Italian language) titled "Navigazione di messer Marco Polo" was written in Florence by Michele Ormanni. It is found in the Italian National Library in Florence. Other early important sources are the manuscript "R" (Ramusio's Italian translation first printed in 1559).

Version in Venetian [northeast Italian]: The version in Venetian dialect is full of mistakes and is not considered trusthworthy.

Versions in Latin: One of the early manuscripts Iter Marci Pauli Veneti was a translation into Latin made by the Dominican brother Francesco Pipino in 1302, which means only three years after Marco's return to Venice. This testifies the deep interest the Dominican Order towards the book. According to some recent research of the Italian scholar Antonio Montefusco, the very close relationship Marco Polo cultivated with members of the Dominican Order in Venice suggests that Rustichello's text was translated into Latin for a precise will of the Order, which had among its missions that of evangelising foreign peoples (cf. the role of Dominican missionaries in China and in the Indies). This Latin version is conserved by 70 manuscripts.

Another Latin version called "Z" is conserved only by one manuscript, which is to be found in Toledo, Spain. This version contains about 300 small curious additional informations about religion and ethnography in the Far East. Experts wondered whether these additions were due to Marco Polo himself.

Englisg versions: The first English translation is the Elizabethan version by John Frampton published in 1579, The most noble and famous travels of Marco Polo, based on Santaella's Castilian translation of 1503 (the first version in that language).

The published editions of Polo's book rely on single manuscripts, blend multiple versions together, or add notes to clarify, for example in the English translation by Henry Yule which is so overloaded with notes that Polo's narrative accounts for just a third of the entire two-volume work.

Manuel Komroff, made a good and comprehensible translation in 1930 which we use here. The 1938 English translation by A. C. Moule and Paul Pelliot is based on a Latin manuscript found in the library of the Cathedral of Toledo in 1932, and is 50% longer than other versions. The popular translation published by Penguin Books in 1958 by R. E. Latham works several texts together to make a readable whole.

Contents

The Travels is divided into four books. Book One describes the lands of the Middle East and Central Asia that Marco encountered on his way to China. Book Two describes China and the court of Kublai Khan. Book Three describes some of the coastal regions of the East: Japan, India, Sri Lanka, South-East Asia, and the east coast of Africa. Book Four describes some of the then-recent wars among the Mongols and some of the regions of the far north, like Russia. Polo's writings included descriptions of cannibals and spice-growers.)

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The Narrative

The book opens with a preface describing his father and uncle travelling to Bolghar where Prince Berke Khan lived. A year later, they went to Ukek and continued to Bukhara. There, an envoy from the Levant invited them to meet Kublai Khan, who had never met Europeans. In 1266, they reached the seat of Kublai Khan at Dadu, present-day Beijing, China. Kublai received the brothers with hospitality and asked them many questions regarding the European legal and political system. He also inquired about the Pope and Church in Rome. After the brothers answered the questions he tasked them with delivering a letter to the Pope, requesting 100 Christians acquainted with the Seven Arts (grammar, rhetoric, logic, geometry, arithmetic, music and astronomy). Kublai Khan requested also that an envoy bring him back oil of the lamp in Jerusalem. The long sede vacante between the death of Pope Clement IV in 1268 and the election of his successor delayed the Polos in fulfilling Kublai's request. They followed the suggestion of Theobald Visconti, then papal legate for the realm of Egypt, and returned to Venice in 1269 or 1270 to await the nomination of the new Pope, which allowed Marco to see his father for the first time, at the age of fifteen or sixteen.

In 1271, Niccolò, Maffeo and Marco Polo embarked on their voyage to fulfil Kublai's request. They sailed to Acre, and then rode on camels to the Persian port of Hormuz. The Polos wanted to sail straight into China, but the ships there were not seaworthy, so they continued overland through the Silk Road, until reaching Kublai's summer palace in Shangdu, near present-day Zhangjiakou. In one instance during their trip, the Polos joined a caravan of travelling merchants whom they crossed paths with. Unfortunately, the party was soon attacked by bandits, who used the cover of a sandstorm to ambush them. The Polos managed to fight and escape through a nearby town, but many members of the caravan were killed or enslaved. Three and a half years after leaving Venice, when Marco was about 21 years old, the Polos were welcomed by Kublai into his palace. The exact date of their arrival is unknown, but scholars estimate it to be between 1271 and 1275. On reaching the Yuan court, the Polos presented the sacred oil from Jerusalem and the papal letters to their patron.

Marco knew four languages, and the family had accumulated a great deal of knowledge and experience that was useful to Kublai. It is possible that he became a government official; he wrote about many imperial visits to China's southern and eastern provinces, the far south and Burma. They were highly respected and sought after in the Mongolian court, and so Kublai Khan decided to decline the Polos' requests to leave China. They became worried about returning home safely, believing that if Kublai died, his enemies might turn against them because of their close involvement with the ruler. In 1292, Kublai's great-nephew, then ruler of Persia, sent representatives to China in search of a potential wife, and they asked the Polos to accompany them, so they were permitted to return to Persia with the wedding party—which left that same year from Zaitun in southern China on a fleet of 14 junks. The party sailed to the port of Singapore, travelled north to Sumatra, and around the southern tip of India, eventually crossing the Arabian Sea to Hormuz. The two-year voyage was a perilous one—of the six hundred people (not including the crew) in the convoy only eighteen had survived (including all three Polos).[80] The Polos left the wedding party after reaching Hormuz and travelled overland to the port of Trebizond on the Black Sea, the present-day Trabzon.)

THE BOOK OF THE MARVELS OF THE WORLD
PREFACE

MARCO POLO - PROLOGUE

The emperor's kings Dukes, Marquises, Earls, and Knights, and all other people desirous of knowing the diversities of the races of mankind, as well as the diversities of kingdoms, provinces, and regions of all parts of the East, read through this book; and ye will find in it the greatest and most marvellous characteristics of the peoples especially of Armenia, Persia, India, and Tartary, as they are severally related in the present work by Marco Polo, a wise and learned citizen of Venice, who states distinctly what things he saw and what things he heard from others. For this book will be a truthful one.

It must be known, then, that from the creation of Adam to the present day, no man, whether Pagan, or Saracen*, or Christian, or other, of whatever progeny or generation he may have been, ever saw or inquired into so many and such great things as Marco Polo above mentioned. [* Ancient word for Muslim or Mohammedan. It does not denote a nation or tribe. Other words that express the same are Turk, Turkey, sometimes Tartar, Tartary, although this term rather denotes "Mongols," regardless their religious allegiance.] Who, wishing in his secret thoughts that the things he had seen and heard should be made public by the present work, for the benefit of those who could not see them with their own eyes, he himself being in the year of our Lord 1298 in prison at Genoa, caused the things which are contained in the present work to be written by master Rustigielo, a citizen of Pisa, who was with him in the same prison at Genoa and he divided it into three parts. [* A truce between Genoa and Venice, signed in July 1299, undoubtedly released both Marco Polo and his scribe Rustigielo. T Baldwin II. reigned from 1237 to 1261.]

MARCO POLO - PREFACE CHAPTER 1

HOW THE TWO BROTHERS POLO SET FORTH FROM CONSTANTINOPLE TO TRAVERSE THE WORLD

It should be known to the reader that, at the time when Baldwin II. was emperor of Constantinople, where a magistrate representing the doge of Venice then resided, and in the year of our Lord 1260, Nicolo Polo, the father of the said Marco, and Maffeo, the brother of Nicolo, respectable and well-informed men, embarked in a ship of their own, with a rich and varied cargo of merchandise, and reached Constantinople in safety. After mature deliberation on the subject of their proceedings, it was determined, as the measure most likely to improve their trading capital, that they should prosecute their voyage into the Euxine or Black Sea. With this view they made purchases of many fine and costly jewels, and taking their departure from Constantinople, navigated that sea to a port named Soldaia, from whence they travelled on horseback many days until they reached the court of a powerful chief of the Western Tartars, named Barka, who dwelt in the cities of Bolgara and Sarra, and had the reputation of being one of the most liberal and civilized princes hitherto known amongst the tribes of Tartary. He expressed much satisfaction at the arrival of these travellers, and received them with marks of distinction. In return for which courtesy,when they had laid before him the jewels they brought with them, and perceived that their beauty pleased him, they presented them for his acceptance. The liberality of this conduct on the part of the two brothers struck him with admiration; and being unwilling that they should surpass him in generosity, he not only directed double the value of the jewels to be paid to them, but made them in addition several rich presents.

The brothers having resided a year in the dominions of this prince, they became desirous of revisiting their native country, but were impeded by the sudden breaking out of a war between him and another chief, named Alau, who ruled over the Eastern Tartars. In a fierce and very sanguinary battle that ensued between their respective armies, Alau was victorious, in consequence of which, the roads being rendered unsafe for travellers, the brothers could not attempt to return by the way they came; and it was recommended to them, as the only practicable mode of reaching Constantinople, to proceed in an easterly direction, by an unfrequented route, so as to skirt the limits of Barka's territories. Accordingly they made their way to a town named Oukaka, situated on the confines of the kingdom of the Western Tartars. Leaving that place, and advancing still further, they crossed the Tigris [Another name for the Volga in that time.], one of the four rivers of Paradise (Genesis 2:10-14; The Rivers Gichon [Nile], Perat [Euphrates], Chidekel [Tigris], and Pishon [Indus].), and came to a desert, the extent of which was seventeen days' journey, wherein they found neither town, castle, nor any substantial building, but only Tartars with their herds, dwelling in tents on the plain. Having passed this tract they arrived at length at a wellbuilt city called Bokhara, in a province of that name, belonging to the dominions of Persia, and the noblest city of that kingdom, but governed by a prince whose name was Barak. Here, from inability to proceed further, they remained three years.

It happened while these brothers were in Bokhara, that a person of consequence and gifted with eminent talents made his appearance there. He was proceeding as ambassador from Alau before mentioned, to the Great Khan* supreme chief of all the Tartars, named Kublai, whose residence was at the extremity of the continent, in a direction between north-east and east. [* Khan = Lord. Kublai was also called the Great Kaan. Kaan — Supreme Sovereign (Lord of Lords). Polo always referred to Kublai in writing as the Great Kaan and to lesser princes as Khan.] Not having ever before had an opportunity, although he wished it, of seeing any natives of Italy, he was gratified in a high degree at meeting and conversing with these brothers, who had now become proficients in the Tartar language; and after associating with them for several days, and finding their manners agreeable to him, he proposed to them that they should accompany him to the presence of the Great Khan, who would be pleased by their appearance at his court, which had not hitherto been visited by any person from their country; adding assurances that they would be honourably received, and recompensed with many gifts. Convinced as they were that their endeavours to return homeward would expose them to the most imminent risks, they agreed to this proposal, and recommending themselves to the protection of the Almighty, they set out on their journey in the suite of the ambassador, attended by several Christian servants whom they had brought with them from Venice.

The course they took at first was between the northeast and north, and an entire year was consumed before they were enabled to reach the imperial residence, in consequence of the extraordinary delays occasioned by the snows and the swelling of the rivers, which obliged them to halt until the former had melted and the floods had subsided. Many things worthy of admiration were observed by them in the progress of their journey, but which are here omitted, as they will be described by Marco Polo, in the sequel of the book.

MARCO POLO - PREFACE CHAPTER 2

HOW THE GREAT KHAN SENT THE TWO BROTHERS AS HIS ENVOYS TO THE POPE

Being introduced to the presence of the Great Khan, Kublai, the travellers were received by him with the condescension and affability that belonged to his character, and as they were the first Latins who had made their appearance in that country, they were entertained with feasts and honoured with other marks of distinction. Entering graciously into conversation with them, he made earnest inquiries on the subject of the western parts of the world, of the Emperor of the Romans, and of other Christian kings and princes. He wished to be informed of their relative consequence, the extent of their possessions, the manner in which justice was administered in their several kingdoms and principalities, how they conducted themselves in warfare, and above all he questioned them particularly respecting the Pope, the affairs of the Church, and the religious worship and doctrine of the Christians. Being well instructed and discreet men, they gave appropriate answers upon all these points, and as they were perfectly acquainted with the Tartar language, they expressed them selves always in becoming terms; insomuch that the Great Khan, holding them in high estimation, frequently commanded their attendance.

When he had obtained all the information that the two brothers communicated with so much good sense, he expressed himself well satisfied, and having formed in his mind the design of employing them as his ambassadors to the Pope, after consulting with his ministers on the subject, he proposed to them, with many kind entreaties, that they should accompany one of his Barons, named Khogatal, on a mission to the See of Rome.

His object, he told them, was to make a request to his Holiness that he would send to him a hundred men of learning, thoroughly acquainted with the principles of the Christian religion, as well as with the seven arts [The seven arts of the time were: Rhetoric, Logic, Grammar, Arithmetic, Astronomy, Music, and Geometry.] and qualified to prove to the learned of his dominions by just and fair argument, that the faith professed by Christians is superior to, and founded upon more evident truth than, any other; that the gods of the Tartars and the idols worshipped in their houses were only evil spirits, and that they and the people of the East in general were under an error in reverencing them as divinities.f He, moreover, signified his pleasure that upon their return they should bring with them, from Jerusalem, some of the Holy Oil from the lamp which is kept burning over the Sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom he professed to hold in veneration and to consider as the true God. Having heard these commands addressed to them by the Great Khan they humbly prostrated themselves before him, declaring their willingness and instant readiness to perform, to the utmost of their ability, whatever might be the royal will. Upon which he caused letters, in the Tartarian language, to be written in his name to the Pope of Rome, and these he delivered into their hands.

He likewise gave orders that they should be furnished with a golden tablet displaying the imperial cipher, according to the usage established by his majesty; in virtue of which the person bearing it, together with his whole suite, are safely conveyed and escorted from station to station by the governors of all places within the imperial dominions, and are entitled, during the time of their residing in any city, castle, town, or village, to a supply of provisions and everything necessary for their accommodation.

Being thus honourably commissioned they took their leave of the Great Khan, and set out on their journey, but had not proceeded more than twenty days when the officer, named Khogatal, their companion, fell dangerously ill, and unable to proceed further, he halted at a certain city. In this dilemma it was determined, upon consulting all who were present, and with the approbation of the man himself, that they should leave him behind. In the prosecution of their journey they derived essential benefit from being provided with the royal tablet, which procured them attention in every place through which they passed. Their expenses were defrayed, and escorts were furnished. But notwithstanding these advantages, so great were the natural difficulties they had to encounter, from the extreme cold, the snow, the ice, and the flooding of the rivers, that their progress was unavoidably tedious, and three years elapsed before they were enabled to reach a sea-port town in the lesser Armenia, named Laiassus.

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Departing from thence by sea, they arrived at Acre in the month of April, 1269, and there learned, with extra concern, that Pope Clement the Fourth was recently dead. A legate whom he had appointed was at this time resident in Acre, and to him they gave an account of what they had in command from the Great Khan of Tartary. He advised them by all means to wait the election of another pope, and when that should take place, to proceed with the object of their embassy. Approving of this counsel, they determined upon employing the interval in a visit to their families in Venice. They accordingly embarked at Acre in a ship bound to Negropont, and from thence went on to Venice, where Nicolo Polo found that his wife, whom he had left with child at his departure was dead, after having been delivered of a son, who received the name of Marco, and was now of the age of fifteen years. This is the Marco by whom the present work is composed and who will give therein a relation of all those matters of which he has been an eye-witness.

MARCO POLO - PREFACE CHAPTER 3

HOW THE TWO BROTHERS AGAIN DEPARTED FROM VENICE ON THEIR WAY BACK TO THE GREAT KHAN — AND THEY TOOK WITH THEM MARCO THE SON OF MESSER (Mister) NICOLO

In the meantime the election of a pope was retarded by so many obstacles, that they remained two years in Venice, continually expecting its accomplishment; when at length, becoming apprehensive that the Great Khan might be displeased at their delay, or might suppose it was not their intention to revisit his country, they judged it expedient to return to Acre; and on this occasion they took with them young Marco Polo. Under the sanction of the legate they made a visit to Jerusalem, and there provided themselves with some of the Oil belonging to the Lamp of the Holy Sepulchre, conformably to the directions of the Great Khan. As soon as they were furnished with his letters addressed to that Prince bearing testimony to the fidelity with which they had endeavoured to execute his commission, and explaining to him that the Pope of the Christian Church had not as yet been chosen, they proceeded to the before-mentioned port of Laiassus.

Scarcely however had they taken their departure, when the legate received messengers from Italy, despatched by the college of cardinals, announcing his own elevation to the Papal Chair; and he thereupon assumed the name of Gregory the Tenth. Considering that he was now in a situation that enabled him fully to satisfy the wishes of the Tartar sovereign, he hastened to transmit letters to the King of Armenia, communicating to him the event of his election, and requesting, in case the two ambassadors who were on their way to the court of the Great Khan should not have already quitted his dominions, that he would give directions for their immediate return. These letters found them still in Armenia, and with great alacrity they obeyed the summons to repair once more to Acre; for which purpose the King furnished them with an armed galley; sending at the same time an Ambassador from himself, to offer his congratulations to the Sovereign Pontiff [Pontifex Maximus,, the "great bridge builder," meaning the chief minister (a post bestowed to the chief consul and later the emperor) of the Roman Imperial Cult, the Roman Ministery of Religion, one of the great sources of tax for the Roman Empire.].

Upon their arrival, his Holiness received them in a distinguished manner, and immediately despatched them with letters Papal, accompanied by two friars of the Order of Preachers, who happened to be on the spot; men of letters and of science, as well as profound theologians. One of them was named Friar Nicholas of Vicenza, and the other, Friar William of Tripoli. To them he gave licence and authority to ordain priests, to consecrate bishops, and to grant absolution as fully as he could do in his own person. He also charged them with valuable presents, and among these, several handsome vases of crystal, to be delivered to the Great Khan in his name, and along with his benediction. Having taken leave, they again steered their course to the port of Laiassus, where they landed, and from thence proceeded into the country of Armenia.

Here they received intelligence that the Soldan [Ancient word for Sultan.] of Babylonia, named Bundokdari, had invaded the Armenian territory with a numerous army, and had overrun and laid waste the country to a great extent. Terrified at these accounts, and apprehensive for their lives, the two friars determined not to proceed further, and delivering over to the Venetians the letters and presents entrusted to them by the Pope, they placed.themselves under the protection of the Master of the Temple, and with him returned directly to the coast. ["But this abortive mission was only one of a number of attempts to communicate, and always they were feeble and feeble-spirited attempts, with nothing of the conquering fire of the earlier Christian missions." H. G. Wells, The Outline of History, 1920.]

Nicolo, Maffeo, and Marco, however, undismayed by perils or difficulties—to which they had long been inured—passed the borders of Armenia, and prosecuted their journey. After crossing deserts of several days' march, and passing many dangerous defiles, they advanced so far, in a direction between north-east and north, that at length they gained information of the Great Khan, who then had his residence in a large and magnificent city named Clemeinfu [Shangtu]. Their whole journey to this place occupied no less than three years and a half; but, during the winter months, their progress had been inconsiderable. The Great Khan having notice of their approach whilst still remote, and being aware of how much they must have suffered from fatigue, sent forward to meet them at the distance of forty days' journey, and gave orders to prepare in every place through which they were to pass, whatever might be requisite to their comfort. By these means, and through the blessing of God, they were conveyed in safety to the Royal Court.

MARCO POLO - PREFACE CHAPTER 4

HOW MESSER NICOLO AND MESSER MAFFEO POLO AND MARCO PRESENTED THEMSELVES BEFORE THE GREAT KHAN

Upon their arrival they were honourably and graciously received by the Great Khan, in a full assembly of his principal officers. When they drew nigh to his person, they paid their respects by prostrating themselves on the floor. He immediately commanded them to rise, and to relate to him the circumstances of their travels, with all that had taken place in their negotiation with his Holiness the Pope. To their narrative, which they gave in the regular order of events, and delivered in perspicuous language, he listened with attentive silence. The letters and the presents from Pope Gregory were then laid before him, and, upon hearing the former read, he bestowed much commendation on the fidelity, the zeal, and the diligence of his ambassadors; and receiving with due reverence the Oil from the Holy Sepulchre, he gave directions that it should be preserved with religious care. [* Kublai later became an ardent Buddhist, and lost a good deal of his tolerance, for, while he paid honours to Confucius he caused, in 1281, all Daoist literature to be burnt. See: A Chinese Biographical Dictionary, Herbert Allen Giles, 1898.] Upon his observing Marco Polo, and inquiring who he was, Nicolo made answer, "This is your servant, and my son"; upon which the Great Khan replied, "He is welcome, and it pleases me much," and he caused him to be enrolled amongst his attendants of honour. And on account of their return he made a great feast and rejoicing and as long as the said brothers and Marco remained in the court of the Great Khan, they were honoured even above his own courtiers. Marco was held in high estimation and respect by all belonging to the court.

He learnt in a short time and adopted the manners of the Tartars, and acquired a proficiency in four different languages, which he became qualified to read and write. Finding him thus accomplished, his master was desirous of putting his talents for business to the proof, and sent him on an important concern of State to a city named Karazan, situated at the distance of six months' journey from the Imperial Residence; on which occasion he conducted himself with so much wisdom and prudence in the management of the affairs entrusted to him, that his services became highly acceptable. On his part, perceiving that the Great Khan took a pleasure in hearing accounts of whatever was new to him respecting the customs and manners of people, and the peculiar circumstances of distant countries, he endeavoured, wherever he went, to obtain correct information on these subjects, and made notes of all he saw and heard, in order to gratify the curiosity of his master.

In short, during seventeen years that he continued in his service, he rendered himself so useful, that he was employed on confidential missions to every part of the empire and its dependencies; and sometimes also he travelled on his own private account, but always with the consent, and sanctioned by the authority, of the Great Khan. Under such circumstances it was that Marco Polo had the opportunity of acquiring a knowledge, either by his own observation, or what he collected from others, of so many things, until his time unknown, respecting the eastern parts of the World, and which he diligently and regularly committed to writing, as in the sequel will appear. And by this means he obtained so much honour, that he provoked the jealousy of the other officers of the Court.

MARCO POLO - PREFACE CHAPTER 5

HOW MESSES. NICOLO — MESSER MAFFEO — AND MESSER MARCO — ASKED LEAVE OF THE GREAT KHAN TO GO THEIR WAY

Our Venetians having now resided many years at the imperial court, and in that time having realized considerable wealth, in jewels of value and in gold, felt a strong desire to revisit their native country, and, however honoured and caressed by the Sovereign, this sentiment was ever predominant in their minds. It became the more decidedly their object, when they reflected on the very advanced age of the Great Khan, whose death, if it should happen previously to their departure, might deprive them of that public assistance by which alone they could expect to surmount the innumerable difficulties of so long a journey, and reach their homes in safety; which on the contrary, in his lifetime, and through his favour, they might reasonably hope to accomplish.

Nicolo Polo accordingly took an opportunity one day, when he observed him to be more than usually cheerful, of throwing himself at his feet, and soliciting on behalf of himself and his family to be indulged with his Majesty's gracious permission for their departure. But far from showing himself disposed to comply with the request, he appeared hurt at the application, and asked what motive they could have for wishing to expose themselves to all the inconveniences and hazards of a journey in which they might probably lose their lives. If gain, he said, was their object, he was ready to give them the double of whatever they possessed, and to gratify them with honours to the extent of their desires; but that, from the regard he bore to them, he must positively refuse their petition.

It happened, about this period, that a queen named Bolgana, the wife of Argon, Sovereign of India, died, and as her last request—which she likewise left in a testamentary writing—conjured her husband that no one might succeed to her place on his throne and in his affections, Who was not a descendant of her own family, now settled under the dominion of the Great Khan, in the country of Cathay [Cathay is an alternative European historical name for China. During the early modern period, Europeans thought of Cathay as a completely separate and distinct culture from China. As knowledge of East Asia increased, Cathay came to be seen as the same polity as China. The term "Cathay" became a poetic name for China. The name Cathay originates from the word Khitan (Chinese: Qidan), the name of a nomadic people who founded the Liao dynasty which ruled much of today's Northern China from 916 to 1125. An alternative name for Japan was Zipangu which is derived from the Chinese term Riben Guo which sounds roughly like "jipen guo," meaning "Japan Land."]. Desirous of complying with this solemn entreaty, Argon deputed three of his Barons, discreet men, whose names were Ulatai, Apusca, and Goza, attended by a numerous retinue, as his ambassadors to the Great Khan, with a request that he might receive at his hands a maiden to wife, from among the relatives of his deceased queen. The application was taken in good part, and under the directions of his Majesty, choice was made of a damsel aged seventeen, extremely handsome and accomplished, whose name was Kogatin, and of whom the ambassadors, upon her being shown to them, highly approved. When everything was

arranged for their departure, and a numerous suite of attendants appointed, to do honour to the future consort of King Argon, they received from the Great Khan a gracious dismissal, and set out on their return by the way they came. Having travelled for eight months, their further progress was obstructed and the roads shut up against them, by fresh wars that had broken out amongst the Tartar Princes. Much against their inclinations, therefore, they were constrained to adopt the measure of returning to the court of the Great Khan, to whom they stated the interruption they had met with.

About the time of their reappearance, Marco Polo happened to arrive from a voyage he had made, with a few vessels under his orders, to some parts of the East Indies, and reported to the Great Khan the intelligence he brought respecting the countries he had visited, with the circumstances of his own navigation, which, he said, was performed in those seas with the utmost safety. This latter observation having reached the ears of the three Barons, who were extremely anxious to return to their own country, from whence they had now been absent three years, they presently sought a conference with our Venetians, whom they found equally desirous of revisiting their home; and it was settled between them that the former, accompanied by their young Queen, should obtain an audience of the Great Khan, and represent to him with what convenience and security they might effect their return by sea, to the dominions of their master; whilst the voyage would be attended with less expense than the journey by land, and be performed in a shorter time; according to the experience of Marco Polo, who had lately sailed in those parts.

Should his Majesty incline to give his consent to their adopting that mode of conveyance, they were then to urge him to suffer the three Europeans, as being persons well skilled in the practice of navigation, to accompany them until they should reach the territory of King Argon. The Great Khan upon receiving this application showed by his countenance that it was exceedingly displeasing to him, averse as he was to parting with the Venetians. Feeling nevertheless that he could not with propriety do otherwise than consent, he yielded to their entreaty. Had it not been that he found himself constrained by the importance and urgency of this peculiar case, they would never otherwise have obtained permission to withdraw themselves from his service.

He sent for them, however, and addressed them with much kindness and condescension, assuring them of his regard, and requiring from them a promise that when they should have resided some time in Europe and with their own family, they

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would return to him once more. With this object in view he caused them to be furnished with two golden tablets which contained his orders for their having free and safe conduct through every part of his dominions, with the needful supplies for themselves and their attendants. He likewise gave them authority to act in the capacity of his ambassadors to the Pope, the Kings of France and Spain, and the other Christian Princes. [The French manuscript translated by Yule also mentions the King of England.]

MARCO POLO - PREFACE CHAPTER 6

HOW THE TWO BROTHERS AND MESSER MARCO TOOK LEAVE OF THE GREAT KHAN — AND RETURNED TO THEIR OWN COUNTRY

At the same time preparations were made for the equipment of fourteen ships, each having four masts, and capable of being navigated with nine sails, the construction and rigging of which would admit of ample description but it is for the present omitted. Among these vessels there were at least four or five that had crews of two hundred and fifty or two hundred and sixty men. On them were embarked the Barons, having the Queen under their protection, together with Nicolo, Maffeo, and Marco Polo, when they had first taken their leave of the Great Khan, who presented them with many rubies and other handsome jewels of great value. Pie also gave directions that the ships should be furnished with stores and provisions for two years.

After a navigation of about three months, they arrived at an island which lay in a southerly direction, named Java, where they saw various objects worthy of attention, of which notice shall be taken in the sequel of the work. Taking their departure from thence, they employed eighteen months in the Indian seas before they were enabled to reach the place of their destination in the territory of King Argon; and during this part of their voyage also they had an opportunity of observing many things, which shall, in like manner, be related hereafter. But here it may be proper to mention, that between the day of their sailing and that of their arrival, they lost by deaths, of the crews of the vessels and others who were embarked, about 600 persons; and of the three Barons, only one, whose name was Goza, survived the voyage; whilst of all the ladies and female attendants one only died.

Upon landing they were informed that King Argon had died some time before, and that the government of the country was then administered, on behalf of his son, who was still a youth, by a person of the name of Kiacatu. From him they desired to receive instructions as to the manner in which they were to dispose of the Princess, whom, by the orders of the late King, they had conducted thither. His answer was, that they ought to present the lady to Kasan, the son of Argon, who was then at a place on the borders of Persia, which has its denomination from the Arbor Secco, where an army of sixty thousand men was assembled for the purpose of guarding certain passes against the irruption of the enemy.

This they proceeded to carry into execution, and having effected it, they returned to the residence of Kiacatu, because the road they were afterwards to take lay in that direction. Here, however, they reposed themselves for the space of nine months. When they took their leave he furnished them with four golden tablets, each of them a cubit in length, five inches wide, and weighing three or four marks of gold. Their inscription began with invoking the blessing of the Almighty upon the Great Khan, that his name might be held in reverence for many years, and denouncing the punishment of death and confiscation of goods to all who should refuse obedience to the mandate.

It then proceeded to direct that the three ambassadors, as his representatives, should be treated throughout his dominions with due honour, that their expenses should be defrayed, and that they should be provided with the necessary escorts. All this was fully complied with and from many places they were protected by bodies of two hundred horse; nor could this have been dispensed with as the government of Kiacatu was unpopular, and the people were disposed to commit insults and proceed to outrages, which they would not have dared to attempt under the rule of their proper sovereign. In the course of their journey our travellers received intelligence of the Great Khan Kublai having departed this life; which entirely put an end to all prospect of their revisiting those regions. Pursuing, therefore, their intended route, they at length reached the city of Trebizond, from whence they proceeded to Constantinople, then to Negropont, and finally to Venice, at which place, in the enjoyment of health and abundant riches, they safely arrived in the year 1295.

On this occasion they offered up their thanks to God, who had now been pleased to relieve them from such great fatigues, after having preserved them from innumerable perils. The foregoing narrative may be considered as a preliminary chapter, the object of which is to make the reader acquainted with the opportunities Marco Polo had of acquiring a knowledge of things he describes, during a residence of so many years in the eastern parts of the world.

MARCO POLO BOOK 1

ACCOUNT OF REGIONS VISITED OR HEARD OF ON THE JOURNEY FROM THE LESSER ARMENIA TO THE COURT OF THE GREAT KHAN AT CHANDU.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 1

ARMENIA MINOR — THE PORT OF LAIASSUS — AND OF THE BOUNDARIES OF THE PROVINCE

In commencing the description of the countries which Marco Polo visited in Asia, and of things worthy of notice which he observed therein, it is prqper to mention that we are to distinguish two Armenias, the Lesser and the Greater. The king of the Lesser Armenia dwells in a city called Sebastoz, and rules his dominions with strict regard to justice. The towns, fortified places, and castles are numerous. There is abundance of all necessaries of life, as well as of those things which contribute to its comfort. Game, both of beasts and birds, is in plenty. It must be said, however, that the air of the country is not remarkably healthy. In former times its gentry were esteemed expert and brave soldiersj but at the present day they are great drinkers, mean-spirited, and worthless.

On the sea-coast there is a city named Laiassus, a place of considerable traffic. Its port is frequented by merchants from Venice, Genoa, and many other places, who trade in spices and drugs of different sorts, manufactures of silk and of wool, and other rich commodities. Those persons who design to travel into the interior of the Levant, usually proceed in the first instance to this port of Laiassus. The boundaries of the Lesser Armenia are, on the south, the Land of Promise, now occupied by the Saracens*; on the north, Karamania, inhabited by Turkomans; towards the north-east lie the cities of Kaisariah, Sevasta, and many others subject to the Tartars; and on the western side it is bounded by the sea, which extends to the shores of Christendom.

[* The Latin term Saraceni is of Aramaic origin. It is based on the 3-letter word root s-r-q "to steal, rob, plunder", and as noun sariq, pl. sariqin [sariqim], which means "thief, marauder, plunderer". Typical for Semitic languages, it is part of a doublet of which the other part is sh-r-q "east" and sh-r-kt "tribe, confederation". Just like with S-l-m [Salam], which means "peace" and -s-l-m [Islam], the Semites, who do not write separate vowels, play word games with such similar-sounding letter triplets. In the early centuries of the Christian Era, Greek and Latin writings used the term to refer to the people who lived in desert areas in and near the Roman province of Arabia Petraea [Petra, Maka in Paran], and in the Arabia Deserta. Ptolemy's 2nd-century Greek work, "Geography," is one of these texts. It is the first that describes Sarakene as a region in the northern Sinai Peninsula. Ptolemy also mentions a people called the Sarakenoí living in the the Northeast of Sinai and the Northwest of the Arabian Peninsula (a north-south-going mountain ridge called "Araba."). Therefore the term Saracene may well refer to Mohammed's robbing activities after his expulsion from Makka (Mecca) due to his subversive behaviour after the deaths of his wife and his protecting uncle. The oldest known source mentioning Saracens in relation to Islam dates to the 7th century. It was found in the Doctrina Jacobi, a commentary that discussed the Muslim conquest of the Middle East (see Grand Bible.). Since the Islamic conquest, the term "Saracens" was primarily used to name Arab Muslims, but also Turks or other Muslims as referred to by Christian writers in Europe during the Middle Ages, including Marco Polo.]

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 2

OF THE PROVINCE CALLED TURKOMANIA — WHERE ARE THE CITIES OF KOGNI — KAISARIAH — AND SEVASTA — AND OF ITS COMMERCE

The inhabitants of Turkomania may be distinguished into three classes. The Turkomans, who reverence Mohammed and follow his law, are a rude people, and dull of intellect. They dwell amongst the mountains and in places difficult of access, where their object is to find good pasture for their cattle, as they live entirely upon animal food. There is here an excellent breed of horses which has the appellation of Turki, and fine mules which are sold at high prices. The other classes are Greeks and Armenians, who reside in the cities and fortified places, and gain their living by commerce and manufacture. The best and handsomest carpets in the world are wrought here, and also silks of crimson and other rich colours. Amongst its cities are those of Kogni, Kaisariah [Kayseri, Anatolia], and Sevasta, in which last Saint Blaise obtained the glorious crown of martyrdom. They are all subject to the Great Khan, Emperor of the Oriental Tartars, who appoints governors to them. We shall now speak of the Greater Armenia.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 3

OF ARMENIA MAJOR — IN WHICH ARE THE CITIES OF ARZINGAN — ARGIRON — AND DARZIZ — OF THE MOUNTAIN WHERE THE ARK OF NOAH RESTED — AND OF A REMARKABLE FOUNTAIN OF OIL

Armenia Major [Greater Hermenia.] is an extensive province, at the entrance of which is a city named Arzingan, where there is a manufacture of very fine cotton cloth called bombazines, as well as of many other curious fabrics, which it would be tedious to enumerate. It possesses the handsomest and most excellent baths of warm water, issuing from the earth, that are anywhere to be found. Its inhabitants are for the most part native Armenians, but under the dominion of the Tartars [a term that was used as name for Muslims.]. In this province there are many cities, but Arzingan is the principal, and the seat of an archbishop; and the next in consequence are Argiron and Darziz. It is very extensive, and, in the Summer season, the station of a part of the army of the Eastern Tartars [Mongols.], on account of the good pasture it affords for their cattle; but on the approach of Winter they are obliged to change their quarters, the fall of snow being so very deep that the horses could not find subsistence, and for the sake of warmth and fodder they proceed to the southward. Within a castle named Paipurth, which you meet with in going from Trebizond to Tauris, there is a rich mine of silver.

In the central part of Armenia stands an exceedingly large and high mountain, upon which, it is said, the Ark of Noah rested, and for this reason it is termed the Mountain of the Ark [Mount Ararat, a snow-capped and dormant strato-volcano; altitude: 16,854 feet / 3,896 m.] The circuit of its base cannot be compassed in less than two days. The ascent is impracticable on account of the snow towards the summit, which never melts, but goes on increasing by each successive fall. In the lower region, however, near the plain, the melting of the snow fertilizes the ground, and occasions such an abundant vegetation, that all the cattle which collect there in summer from the neighbouring country, meet with a never-failing supply.

Bordering upon Armenia, to the southwest, are the districts of Mosul and Maredin, which shall be described hereafter, and many others too numerous to particularise. To the north lies Georgiania, near the confines of which there is a fountain of oil which discharges so great a quantity as to furnish loading for many camels. The use made of it is not for the purpose of food, but as an unguent for the cure of cutaneous distempers in men and cattle, as well as other complaints; and it is also good for burning. In the neighbouring country no other is used in their lamps, and people come from distant parts to procure it.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 4

OF THE PROVINCE OF GEORGIANIA AND ITS BOUNDARIES OF THE PASS WHERE ALEXANDER THE GREAT CONSTRUCTED THE GATE OF IRON — AND OF THE MIRACULOUS CIRCUMSTANCES ATTENDING A FOUNTAIN AT TEFLIS [Tiflis.]

In Georgiania the king is usually styled David Melik, which in our language signifies David the King. [Georgia was annexed by Russia in 1801 but until then had nine reigning princes and all named David..] One part of the country is subject to the Tartars, and the other part, in consequence of the strength of its fortresses, has remained in the possession of its native princes. It is situated between two seas, of which that on the northern [western] side is called the Greater Sea [The Euxine or Black Sea.], the other on the eastern side, is called the Sea of Abakii [The Caspian Sea]. This latter is in circuit two thousand eight hundred miles, and partakes of the nature of a lake, not communicating with any other sea. It has several islands, with handsome towns and castles, some of which are inhabited by people who fled before the Grand Tartar, when he laid waste the kingdom or province of Persia, and took shelter in these islands or in the fastnesses of the mountains, where they hoped to find security. Some of the islands are uncultivated. This sea produces abundance of fish, particularly sturgeon and salmon at the mouths of the rivers, as well as others of a large sort. The general wood of the country is the box-tree. I was told that in ancient times the kings of the country were born with the mark of an eagle on the right shoulder. The people are well made, bold sailors, expert archers, and fair combatants in battle. They are Christians, observing the ritual of the Greek Church, and wear their hair short, in the manner of the Western clergy.

This is the province into which, when Alexander the Great attempted to advance northwards, he was unable to penetrate, by reason of the narrowness and difficulty of a certain pass, which on one side is washed by the sea, and is confined on the other by high mountains and woods, for the length of four miles; so that a very few men were capable of defending it against the whole world. Disappointed in this attempt, Alexander caused a great wall to be constructed at the entrance of the pass, and fortified it with towers, in order to restrain those who dwelt beyond it from giving him molestation. From its uncommon strength the pass obtained the name of the Gate of Iron, and Alexander is commonly said to have enclosed the Tartars between two mountains. It is not correct, however, to call the people Tartars, which in those days they were not, but of a race named Cumani, with a mixture of other nations. In this province there are many towns and castles; the necessaries of life are in abundance; the

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country produces a great quantity of silk, and a manufacture is carried on of silk interwoven with gold. Here are found vultures of a large size, of a species named avigi. The inhabitants in general gain their livelihood by trade and manual labour. The mountainous nature, of the country, with its narrow and strong defiles, has prevented the Tartars from effecting the entire conquest of it.

At a convent of monks dedicated to Saint Lunardo, the following miraculous circumstances are said to take place. In a salt-water lake, four days' journey in circuit, upon the border of which the Church is situated, the fish never make their appearance until the first day of Lent, and from that time to Easter-eve they are found in vast abundance; but on Easter-day they are no longer to be seen, nor during the remainder of the year. It is called the Lake of Geluchalat. Into the before-mentioned Sea of Abaku, which is encompassed with mountains, the great rivers Herdil, Geihon, Kur, and Araz, with many others, disembogue. The Genoese merchants have recently begun to navigate it, and they bring from thence the kind of silk called ghellie. In this province there is a handsome city named Teflis, around which are suburbs and many fortified posts. It is inhabited by Armenian and Georgian Christians, as well as by some Mohammedans and Jews; but these last are in no great numbers. Manufactures of silks and of many other articles are carried on there. Its inhabitants are subjects of the great king of the Tartars. Although we speak only of a few of the principal cities in each province, it is to be understood that there are many others, which it is unnecessary to particularise, unless they happened to contain something remarkable; but should the occasion present itself, these will be hereafter described. Having spoken of the countries bordering on Armenia to the north, we shall now mention those which lie to the south and to the east.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 5

OF THE PROVINCE OF MOSUL AND ITS DIFFERENT INHABITANTS — OF THE PEOPLE NAMED KURDS — AND OF THE TRADE OF THIS COUNTRY

Mosul is a large province inhabited by various descriptions of people, one class of whom pay reverence to Mohammed, and are called Arabians. The others profess the Christian faith, but not according to the Canons of the Church, which they depart from in many instances, and are denominated Nestorians, Jacobites, and Armenians. They have a patriarch whom they call Jacolit, and by him Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots are consecrated and sent to all parts of India, to Baudas, or to Cathay, just as the Pope of Rome does in the Latin countries.

All those cloths of gold and of silk which we call muslins are of the manufacture of Mosul, and all the great merchants termed Mossulini, who convey spices and drugs, in large quantities, from one country to another, are from this province.

In the mountainous parts there is a race of people named Kurds, some of whom are Christians and others Mohammedans. They are all an unprincipled people, whose occupation it is to rob the merchants. In the vicinity of this province there are places named Mus and Maredin, where cotton is produced in great abundance, of which they prepare the cloths called boccasini, and many other fabrics. The inhabitants are manufacturers and traders, and are all subjects of the king of the Tartars. We shall now speak of the city of Baudas.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 6

OF THE GREAT CITY OF BAUDAS [Baghdad.] — ANCIENTLY CALLED BABYLON — AND OF THE VARIOUS SCIENCES STUDIED IN THAT CITY AND HOW IT WAS TAKEN

Baudas (Baghdad) is a large city, heretofore the residence of the Calif or Pontiff of all the Saracens [another synonym for Muslims.], as the Pope is of all Christians. A great river flows through the midst of it, by means of which the merchants transport their goods to and from the Sea of India; the distance being computed at seventeen days' navigation, in consequence of the windings of its course. Those who undertake the voyage, after leaving the river, touch at a place named Kisi, from whence they proceed to sea: but previously to their reaching this anchorage they pass a city named Balsara, in the vicinity of which are groves of palm-trees producing the best dates in the world.

In Baudas there is a manufacture of silks wrought with gold, and also of damasks, as well as of velvets ornamented with the figures of birds and beasts. Almost all the pearls brought to Europe from India have undergone the process of boring, at this place. The Mohammedan law is here regularly studied, as are also magic, physics, astronomy, geomancy, and physiognomy. It is the noblest and most extensive city to be found in this part of the world.

The Calif, who is understood to have amassed greater treasures than had ever been possessed by any other sovereign, perished miserably under the following circumstances. At the period when the Tartar princes began to extend their dominion, there were amongst them four brothers, of whom the eldest, named Mangu, reigned in the roval seat of the family. Having subdued the country of Cathay, and other districts in that quarter, they were not satisfied, but coveting further territory, they conceived the idea of Universal Empire, and proposed that they should divide the world amongst them. With this object in view, it was agreed that one of them should proceed to the east, that another should make conquests in the south, and that the other two should direct their operations against the remaining quarters.

The Southern portion fell to the lot of Alau, who assembled a vast army, and having subdued the provinces through which his route lay, proceeded in the year 1255 to the attack of this city of Baudas. Being aware, however, of its great strength and the prodigious number of its inhabitants, he trusted rather to stratagem than to force for its reduction, and in order to deceive the enemy with regard to the number of his troops, which consisted of a hundred thousand horse, besides foot soldiers, he posted one division of his army on the one side, another division on the other side of the approach to the city, in such a manner as to be concealed by a wood. Then placing himself at the head of a third, advanced boldly to within a short distance of the gate. The Calif made light of a force apparently so inconsiderable, and confident in the efficacy of the usual Mohammedan ejaculation, thought of nothing less than its entire destruction, and for that purpose marched out of the city with his guards. But as soon as Alau perceived his approach, he feigned retreat before him, until by this means he had drawn him beyond the wood where the other divisions were posted. By the closing of these from both sides, the army of the Calif was surrounded and broken, and he was made prisoner, and the city surrendered to the conqueror. Upon entering it, Alau discovered, to his great astonishment, a tower filled with gold. He called the Calif before him, and after reproaching him with his greediness, that prevented him from employing his treasures in the formation of an army for the defence of his capital against the powerful invasion with which it had long been threatened, gave orders for his being shut up in this same tower, without sustenance; and there, in the midst of his wealth, he soon finished a miserable existence.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 7

HOW THE CALIF OF THE BUDAS TOOK COUNSEL TO SLAY ALL THE CHRISTIANS IN HIS LAND

I judge that our Lord Jesus Christ herein thought proper to avenge the wrongs of his faithful Christians, so abhorred by this Calif. From the time of his accession in 1225, his daily thoughts were employed on the means of converting to his religion those who resided within his dominions, or, upon their refusal, in forming pretences for putting them to death. Consulting with his learned men for this purpose, they discovered a passage in the Gospel where it is said: "If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain,—Remove hence to yonder place, and it shall remove," and being rejoiced at the discovery, persuaded as he was that the thing was utterly impossible, he gave orders for assembling all the Nestorian and Jacobite Christians who dwelt in Baghdad, and who were very numerous.

To these the question was propounded, whether they believed all that is asserted in the text of their Gospel to be true, or not. They made answer that it was true. "Then," said the Calif, "if it be true, let us see which of you will give the proof of his faith; for certainly if there is not to be found one amongst you who possesses even so small a portion of faith in his Lord, as to be equal to a grain of mustard, I shall be justified in regarding you, henceforth, as a wicked, reprobate, and faithless people. I allow you therefore ten days, before the expiration of which you must either, through the power of Him whom you worship, remove the mountain now before you, or embrace the law of our prophet. In either of which cases you will be safe; but otherwise you must all expect to suffer the most cruel deaths."

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 8

HOW THE CHRISTIANS WERE IN GREAT DISMAY BECAUSE OF WHAT THE CALIF HAD SAID

The Christians, acquainted as they were with his merciless disposition, as well as his eagerness to despoil them of their property, upon hearing these words, trembled for their lives; but nevertheless, having confidence in their Redeemer, that He would deliver them from their peril, they held an assembly and deliberated on the course they ought to take. None other presented itself than that of imploring the Divine Being to grant them the aid of his mercy.

To obtain this, every individual, great and small, prostrated himself night and day upon the earth, shedding tears profusely, and attending to no other occupation than that of prayer to the Lord. When they had thus persevered during eight days, a divine revelation came at length, in a dream, to a Bishop of exemplary life, directing him to proceed in search of a certain cobbler—whose name is not known—having only one eye, whom he should summon to the mountain, as a person capable of effecting its removal, through Divine Grace.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 9

HOW THE ONE-EYED COBBLER PRAYED FOR THE CHRISTIANS

Having found the cobbler and made him acquainted with the revelation, he replied that he did not feel himself worthy of the undertaking, his merits not being such as to entitle him to the reward of such abundant Grace. Importuned, however, by the poor terrified Christians, he at length assented. It should be understood that he was a man of strict morals and pious conversation, having his mind pure and faithful to his God, regularly attending the celebration of the Mass and other divine offices, fervent in works of charity, and rigid in the observance of fasts.

It once happened to him, that a handsome young woman who came to his shop in order to be fitted with a pair of slippers, in presenting her foot, accidentally exposed a part of her leg, the beauty of which excited in him momentary sinful thoughts. Calling to mind the words of the Gospel, where it is said, "If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee} for it is better to enter the kingdom of God with one eye, than having two eyes, to be cast into Hell Fire," he immediately, with an instrument of his trade, scooped out his right eye. By this act you can judge the excellence of his Faith.

The appointed day being arrived, Divine service was performed at an early hour, and a solemn procession was made to the plain where the mountain stood, the Holy Cross being borne in front. The Calif likewise, in the conviction of its proving a vain ceremony on the part of the Christians, chose to be present, accompanied by a number of his guards, for the purposing of destroying them in the event of failure.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 10

HO IF THE PRAYER OF THE ONE-EYED COBBLER CAUSED THE MOUNTAIN TO MOVE

Here the pious artisan, kneeling before the Cross, and lifting up his hands to heaven, humbly besought his Creator that he would compassionately look down upon earth, and for the glory and excellence of his name, as well as for the support and confirmation of the Christian faith, would lend assistance to his people in the accomplishment of the task imposed upon them, and thus manifest his power to the revilers of his law. Having concluded his prayer, he cried with a loud voice: "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I command thee, O mountain, to remove thyself!"

Upon these words being uttered, the mountain moved, and the earth at the same time trembled in a wonderful and alarming manner. The Calif and all those by whom he was surrounded, were struck with terror, and remained in a state of stupefaction. Many of the latter became Christians, and even the Calif secretly embraced Christianity, always wearing a cross concealed under his garment, which after his death was found upon him; and on this account it was that they did not entomb him in the shrine of his predecessors. In commemoration of this singular grace bestowed upon them by God, all the Christians, Nestorians, and Jacobites, from that time forth have continued to celebrate in a solemn manner the return of the day on which the miracle took place; keeping a fast also on the vigil.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 11

OF THE NOBLE CITY OF TAURIS — IN IRAK [Iraq] — AND OF ITS COMMERCIAL — AND OTHER INHABITANTS

Tauris [Tabriz, Iran] is a large and very noble city belonging to the province of Irak, which contains many other cities and fortified places, but this is the most eminent and most populous. The inhabitants support themselves principally by commerce and manufactures, which latter consist of various kinds of silk, some of them interwoven with gold, and of high price. It is so advantageously situated for trade, that merchants from India, from Baudas [Baghdad.], Mosul, Cremessor, as well as from different parts of Europe, resort thither to purchase and to sell a number of articles. Precious stones and pearls in abundance may be procured at this place.

The merchants concerned in foreign commerce acquire considerable wealth, but the inhabitants in general are poor. They consist of a mixture of various nations and sects, Nestorians, Armenians, Jacobites, Georgians, Persians, and the followers of Mohammed, who form the bulk of the population, and are those properly called Taurisians. Each description of people have their peculiar language. The city is surrounded with delightful gardens, producing the finest fruits.

The Mohammedan inhabitants are treacherous* and unprincipled. According to their doctrine*, whatever is stolen or plundered from others of a different faith*, is properly taken, and the theft is no crime; whilst those who suffer death or injury by the hands of Christians, are considered as martyrs. If, therefore, they were not prohibited and restrained by the powers who now govern them, they would commit many outrages. These principles are common to all the Saracens [Muslims.]. When they are at the point of death, their priest

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attends upon them, and asks whether they believe that Mohammed was the true apostle of God. If their answer be that they do believe, their salvation is assured to them; and in consequence of this facility of absolution, they have succeeded in converting to their faith a great proportion of the Tartars.

[* Polo analysed the behaviour of the Muslims correctly, and it is still the very same problem today because the Islamic doctrine is based on the Koran the Sira, and the Hadith. These scriptures command Muslims to act accordingly. The actual word the Koran uses for non-Muslims is "Kafir" in most cases. It is usually translated as unbeliever, disbeliever, infidel, etc., but that translation is wrong. In Islam, Christians and Jews are both, "People of the Book" and "Kafirs"; Hindus and Buddhists are polytheists, idolaters, and pagans. In fact, ALL non-Muslims are considered "Kafirs." The word "Kafir" which is used by Muslims for any non-Muslim means "the vile Islam rejectors" and this has political consequences in the way Muslims treat the Christian, Jew, Hindu, Buddhist, animist, atheist, agnostic, secularist, and humanist. What is done to a pagan can be done to a Christian, atheist or any other Kafir. The Koran is very clear about the "doctrine" that Polo mentions, and therefore defines the treatment of any Kafir in the following ways:

A Muslim is not the friend of a Kafir: Believers should not take Kafirs as friends in preference to other believers. Those who do this will have none of Allah's protection and will only have themselves as guards. Allah warns you to fear Him for all will return to Him.—Koran 3:28.

The Kafir is hated: They (Kafirs) who dispute the signs [Koran verses] of Allah without authority having reached them are greatly hated by Allah and the believers. So Allah seals up every arrogant, disdainful heart.—Koran 40:35.

A Kafir can be plotted against: They plot and scheme against you (Mohammed), and I plot and scheme against them. Therefore, deal calmly with the Kafirs and leave them alone for a while.—Koran 86:15.

A Kafir can be made war on and humiliated: Make war on those who have received the Scriptures (Jews and Christians) but do not believe in Allah or in the Last Day. They do not forbid what Allah and His Messenger have forbidden. The Christians and Jews do not follow the religion of truth until they submit and pay the poll tax [jizya], and they are humiliated.—Koran 9:29.

A Kafir is cursed: They (Kafirs) will be cursed, and wherever they are found, they will be seized and murdered. It was Allah's same practice with those who came before them, and you will find no change in Allah's ways.—Koran 33:61.

A Kafir can be terrorised: Then your Lord spoke to His angels and said, "I will be with you. Give strength to the believers. I will send terror into the Kafirs' hearts, cut off their heads and even the tips of their fingers!"—Koran 8:12.

A Kafir can be beheaded: When you encounter the Kafirs on the battlefield, cut off their heads until you have thoroughly defeated them and then take the prisoners and tie them up firmly.—Koran 47:4.]

From Tauris to Persia is twelve days' journey.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 12

OF THE MONASTERY OF SAINT BARSAMO IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF TAURIS

Not far from Tauris is a monastery that takes its name from the holy Saint Barsamo [Mar Bar Sauma.], and is eminent for devotion. There is here an Abbot and many Monks, who resemble the Order of Carmelites in the fashion of their dress. That they may not lead a life of idleness, they employ themselves continually in the weaving of woollen girdles, which they place upon the altar of their Saint during the celebration of divine service, and when they make the circuit of the provinces, soliciting alms—in the same manner as do the brethren of the Order of the Holy Ghost—they present these girdles to their friends and to persons of distinction; being esteemed good for rheumatic pains, on which account they are devoutly sought for by all ranks.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 13

OF THE PROVINCE OF PERSIA

Persia was anciently a large and noble province, but it is now a great part destroyed by the Tartars [Mongols.].

In Persia there is a city which is called Saba, from whence were the three Magi* who came to adore Christ in Bethlehem; and the three are buried in that city in a fair sepulchre, and there are all three entire with their beards and hair. One was called Balthasar, the second Jaspar, and the third Melchior. Marco inquired often in that city concerning the three Magi, and nobody could tell him anything about them, except that the three Magi were buried there in ancient times. After three days' journey you come to a castle which is called Cala Ataperistan, which means the Castle of the Fire-Worshippers [Zoroastrians.]; and it is true that the inhabitants of that castle worship fire, and the following is given as the reason. [* Plural of Magos / Magus; it means wise man, teacher, priest in Persian.]

The men of that castle say, that anciently three kings of that country went to worship a certain Prophet who was newly born, and carried with them three offerings, namely, Gold, Frankincense, and Myrrh; in order to ascertain whether that Prophet were God, or an earthly King or a Physician. For, said they, if he take the Gold, then he is an earthly King; if he take the Incense he is God; if he take the Myrrh, he is a Physician.

When these Magi* were presented to Christ, the youngest of the three adored him first, and it appeared to him that Christ was of his stature and age. The middle one came next, and then the eldest, and to each he seemed to be of their own stature and age. Having compared their observations together, they agreed to go all to worship at once, and then he appeared to them all of his true age.

[* The Magi where put into that Christ story to give a hint as to some origins of Christianity. When the oldest canonical gospels were written in around 70 AD, many Romans, and in particular a large part of the Roman Army, worshipped Mithra, an ancient yazata (a venerated or angelical) divinity from Zoroastrianism. One of the centre pieces of the Roman Mithras cult was salvation through the blood sacrifice of a bull (supposedly slain by Mithras) and a eucharist in which that sacrificed cattle was eaten. The place where this kind of sacrifice was performed was called Mithraeum, the Mithras temple. Most Mithraea can be dated between 100 BC and 300 AD, mostly in the Roman Empire. Many mithraea that follow this basic plan are scattered over much of the Roman Empire's former territory, particularly where the legions were stationed along the frontiers (such as Britain). Others may be recognised by their characteristic layout, even though converted as crypts beneath Christian churches. They all were build underground to imitate the cave of Mithras. It basically means that Mithraists and Christians had worshipped their god together: Mithras by the (1-3 dozen) Roman officers downstairs, and Jesus by the (more numerous) common soldiers upstairs. Archaeological evidence of over 1,000 Mithraea have been found on territories of the Roman Empire, and at least 650 in Rome itself. From the structure of the Mithraea it is possible to surmise that worshippers would have gathered for a common meal, the eucharist, along the reclining couches lining the walls. It is remarkable that many of the oldest churches were build over a Mithras temple while the Mithaeum was still in use, such as the Mithraeum under the Basilica of San Clemente in Rome or the Santa Prisca church in Rome where on a wall can be seen a faded inscription saying "And thou hast saved us through the shedding of the eternal blood." Mithras sacrificed the bull and spills its blood, corresponding to the Christian concept of Jesus offering his own blood to save mankind. But similarities did not stop there. Mithras' birthday was the Roman winter Solstice which was on the 25th of December, Jesus' alleged birthday. And just as Jesus died and was resurrected, so was the earlier Mithras resurrected. Even the appearance of Mithras and Jesus in iconography, both with longer hair and halo round the head, is pretty much the same. Mithraism is embedded in the gospels themselves through the three Magi. We can find depictions of Magi on the Arch of Constantine depicting sculptures of 8 Magi with Phrygian hats (a soft conical cap with the apex bent over to the front, it was the official hat of the Zoroastrian priesthood in Persia) as well as a wall painting in the Basilica of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna; Search for: Jacobovici: The Deception of Constantine, 2018.]

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 14

WHAT BEFELL WHEN THE THREE MAGI RETURNED TO THEIR OWN COUNTRY

When they went away, the infant gave them a closed box, which they carried with them for several days, and then becoming curious to see what he had given them, they opened the box and found in it a stone. This was intended for a sign that they should remain as firm as a stone in the faith they had received from him. When, however, they saw the stone, they marvelled, and thinking themselves deluded, they threw the stone into a certain pit, and instantly fire burst forth in the pit.

When they saw this, they repented bitterly of what they had done, and taking some of the fire with them they carried it home. And having placed it in one of their churches, they keep it continually burning, and adore that fire as a god, and make all their sacrifices with it. And if ever it happen to be extinguished, they go for more to the original fire in the pit where they threw the stone, which is never extinguished, and they take of none other fire. And therefore the people of that country worship fire.

Marco was told all this by the people of the country; and it is true that one of those kings was of Saba [Savah], and the second was of Dyava [Avah], and the third was of the castle where they still worshipped fire. [* The ruins of this castle are said to exist in a place about twenty miles from Kashan in which city fire is still worshipped by a small sect. See monograph on The Magi in Marco Polo by Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson. Journal of the Am. Oriental Soc, 1905.] Now we will treat of the people of Persia and of their customs.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 15

OF THE NAMES OF THE EIGHT KINGDOMS THAT CONSTITUTE THE PROVINCE OF PERSIA — AND OF THE BREED OF HORSES AND ASSES FOUND THEREIN

In Persia, which is a large province, there are eight kingdoms, the names of which are as follows:—The first which you meet with upon entering the country is Kasibin; the second, lying towards the south is Kurdistan; the third is Lor; towards the north, the fourth is Suolistan; the fifth, Spaan; the sixth, Siras; the seventh, Soncara; the eighth, Timochain, which is at the extremity of Persia. All these kingdoms lie to the south, excepting Timochain, and this is to the north, near the place called Arbor Secco.

The country is distinguished for its excellent breed of horses, many of which are carried for sale to India, and bring high prices, not less in general than two hundred livres tournois. [A trifle less thin £200 sterling.] It produces also the largest and handsomest breed of asses in the world, which sell—on the spot—at higher prices than the horses, because they are more easily fed, are capable of carrying heavier burthens, and travel further in the day than either horses or mules, which cannot support an equal degree of fatigue. The merchants, therefore, who in travelling from one province to another are obliged to pass extensive deserts and tracts of sand, where no kind of herbage is to be met with, and where, on account of the distance between wells or other watering places, it is necessary to make long journeys in the course of the day, are desirous of providing themselves with asses in preference, as they get sooner over the ground and require a smaller allowance of food. Camels also are employed here, and these in like manner carry great weights and are maintained at little cost, but they are not so swift as the asses. The traders of these parts convey the horses to Kisi, to Ormus, and to other places on the coast of the Indian Sea, where they are purchased by those who carry them to India. In consequence, however, of the greater heat of that country, they do not last many years, being natives of a temperate climate.

In some of these districts, the people are savage and bloodthirsty, making a common practice of wounding and murdering each other. They would not refrain from doing injury to the merchants and travellers, were they not in terror of the Eastern Tartars, who cause them to be severely punished. A regulation is also established, that in all roads where danger is apprehended, the inhabitants shall be obliged, upon the requisition of the merchants, to provide active and trusty conductors for their guidance and security, between one district and another} who are to be paid at the rate of two or three groats for each loaded beast, according to the distance. They are all followers of the Mohammedan religion.

In the cities, however, there are merchants and numerous artisans, who manufacture a variety of stuffs of silk and gold. Cotton grows abundantly in this country, as do wheat, barley, millet, and several other sorts of grain; together with grapes and every species of fruit.

Should any one assert that the Saracens do not drink wine, being forbidden by their law, it may be answered that they quiet their consciences on this point by persuading themselves that if they take the precaution of boiling it over the fire, by which it is partly consumed and becomes sweet, they may drink it without infringing the commandment; for having changed its taste, they change its name, and no longer call it wine, although it is such in fact.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 16

Ot THE CITY OF YASDI AND ITS MANUFACTURES — AND OF THE ANIMALS FOUND IN THE COUNTRY BETWEEN THAT PLACE AND KIERMAN

Yasdi is a considerable city on the confines of Persia, where there is much traffic. A species of cloth of silk and gold manufactured there is known by the appellation of Yasdi, and is carried from thence by the merchants to all parts of the world. Its inhabitants are of the Mohammedan religion.

Those who travel from that city, employ eight days in passing over a plain, in the course of which they meet with only three places that afford accommodation. The road lies through extensive groves of the date-bearing palm, in which there is abundance of game, as well beasts as partridges and quails; and those travellers who are fond of the amusements of the chase, may here enjoy excellent sport. Wild asses are likewise to be met with, very numerous and handsome. At the end of eight days you arrive at a kingdom named Kierman.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 17

OF THE KINGDOM OF KIERMAN — BY THE ANCIENTS NAMED KARMANIA — OF ITS FOSSIL AND MINERAL PRODUCTIONS — ITS MANUFACTURES — ITS FALCONS — AND OF A GREAT DESCENT OBSERVED UPON PASSING OUT OF THAT COUNTRY

Kierman [Kirman] is a kingdom on the eastern confines of Persia, which was formerly governed by its own monarchs, in hereditary succession; but since the Tartars have brought it under their dominion, they appoint governors to it at their pleasure. In the mountains of this country are found the

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precious stones that we call turquoises. There are also veins of steel and of antimony in large quantities. They manufacture here in great perfection all the articles necessary for warlike equipment, such as saddles, bridles, spurs, swords, bows, quivers, and every kind of arms in use amongst these people. The women and young persons work with the needle, in embroideries of silk and gold, in a variety of colours and patterns, representing birds and beasts, with other ornamental devices. These are designed for the curtains, coverlets, and cushions of the sleeping places of the rich; and the work is executed with so much taste and skill as to be an object of admiration.

In the mountainous parts are bred the best falcons that anywhere take wing. They are smaller than the Peregrine falcon; reddish about the breast, belly, and under the tail; and their flight is so swift that no bird can escape them. Upon leaving Kierman, you travel for seven days along a plain, by a pleasant road, and rendered still more delightful by the abundance of partridges and other game. You also meet frequently with towns and castles, as well as scattered habitations; until at length you arrive at a mountain whence there is a considerable descent, which occupies two days. Fruit trees are found there in great numbers; the district having formerly been peopled, though at present without inhabitants, except herdsmen alone, who are seen attending the pasturing of their cattle. In that part of the country which you pass before you reach the descent, the cold is so severe that a man can with difficulty defend himself against it by wearing many garments and pelisses.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 18

OF THE CITY OF KAMANDU^AND THE DISTRICT OF REOBARLE — OF CERTAIN BIRDS FOUND THERE — OF A PECULIAR KIND OF OXEN — AND OF THE KARA UN AS — A TRIBE OF ROBBERS

At the end of the descent of this mountain, you arrive at a plain that extends, in a southern direction, to the distance of five days' journey; at the commencement of which there is a town named Kamandu, formerly a very large place and of much consequence, but not so at this day, having been repeatedly laid waste by the Tartars. The neighbouring district is called Reobarle. The temperature of the plain is very warm. It produces wheat, rice, and other grains.

On that part of it which lies nearest to the hills, dates, pomegranates, quinces, and a variety of other fruits, grow, amongst which is one called Adam's apple, not known in our cool climate. Turtle-doves are found here in vast numbers, attracted by the plenty of small fruits which supply them with food, but they are not eaten by the Mohammedans, who hold them in abomination. There are likewise many pheasants and francolins, which latter do not resemble those of other countries, their colour being a mixture of white and black with red legs and beak.

Among the cattle also there are some of an uncommon kind, particularly a species of large white oxen, with short, smooth coats—the effect of a hot climate—horns short, thick, and obtuse, and having between the shoulders a gibbous rising or hump, about the height of two palms. They are beautiful animals, and being very strong are made to carry great weights. Whilst loading, they are accustomed to kneel down like the camel, and then to rise up with the burthen. We find here also sheep that are equal to the ass in size, with long thick tails, weighing thirty pounds and upwards, which are fat and excellent to eat.* [* Yule quotes many explorers who say this is no exaggeration. See also evidence in the additional volume of Notts and Addenda to Ser Marco Polo by the distinguished French scholar Henri Cordier.]

In this province there are many towns encompassed with lofty and thick walls of earth, for the purpose of defending the inhabitants against the incursions of the Karaunas, who scour the country and plunder every thing within their reach. In order that the reader may understand what people these are, it is necessary to mention that there was a prince named Nugodar, the nephew of ZagataT, who was brother of the Great Khan Oktai, and reigned in Turkestan. This Nugodar, whilst living at Zagatai's court, became ambitious of being himself a sovereign, and having heard that in India there was a province called Malabar, governed at that time by a king named As-idin Sultan, which had not yet been brought under the dominion of the Tartars, he secretly collected a body of about ten thousand men, the most profligate and desperate he could find, and separating himself from his uncle without giving him any intimation of his designs, proceeded through Balashan to the kingdom of Kesmur, where he lost many of his people and cattle, from the difficulty and badness of the roads, and at length entered the province of Malabar. Coming thus upon As-idin by surprise, he took from him by force a city called Dely, as well as many others in its vicinity, and there began to reign. The Tartars whom he carried thither, and who were men of light complexion, mixing with the dark Indian women, produced the race to whom the appellation of Karaunas is given, signifying, in the language of the country, a mixed breed; and these are the people who have since been in the practice of committing depredations, not only in the country of Reobarle, but in every other to which they have access.

In India they acquired the knowledge of magical and diabolical arts, by means of which they are enabled to produce darkness, obscuring the light of day to such a degree, that persons are invisible to each other, unless within a very small distance. Whenever they go on their predatory excursions, they put this art in practice, and their approach is consequently not perceived. [Travellers in upper India have observed this phenomenon and call it Dry Fog which olten is combined with the Dust Storm. See Yule's quotations from Major Sykes and other explor.] Most frequently this district is the scene of their operations; because when the merchants from various parts assemble at Ormus, and wait for those who are on their way from India, they send, in the winter season, their horses and mules, which are out of condition from the length of their journey, to the plain of Reobarle, where they find abundance of pasture and become fat. The Karaunas, aware that this will take place, seize the opportunity of effecting a general pillage, and make slaves of the people who attend the cattle, if they have not the means of ransom.

Marco Polo himself was once enveloped in a factitious obscurity of this kind, but escaped from it to the castle of Konsalmi. Many of his companions, however, were taken and sold, and others were put to death. These people have a king named Corobar.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 19

OF THE CITY OF ORMUS — OF ITS COMMERCIAL IMPORTANCE — AND OF THE HOT WIND THAT BLOWS THERE

At the extremity of the plain before mentioned as extending in a southern direction to the distance of five days' journey, there is a descent for about twenty miles, by a road that is extremely dangerous, from the multitude of robbers by whom travellers are continually assaulted and plundered. This downward path conducts you to another plain, very beautiful in its appearance, two days' journey in extent, which is called the plain of Ormus. Here you cross a number of fine streams, and see a country covered with datepalms, amongst which are found the francoline partridge, birds of the parrot kind, and a variety of others unknown to our climate. At length you reach the border of the ocean, where, upon an island, at no great distance from the shore, stands a city named Ormus, whose port is frequented by traders from all parts of India, who bring spices and drugs, precious stones, pearls, gold tissues, elephants' teeth [tusks.], and various other articles of merchandise. These they dispose of to a different set of traders, by whom they are dispersed throughout the world. This city, indeed, is eminently commercial, has towns and castles dependent upon it, and is esteemed the principal place in the kingdom of Kierman. Its ruler is named Rukmedin Achomak, who governs with absolute authority, but at the same time acknowledges the king of Kierman as his liege lord. When any foreign merchant happens to die within his jurisdiction, he confiscates the property, and deposits the amount in his treasury.

During the summer season, the inhabitants do not remain in the city, on account of the excessive heat, which renders the air unwholesome, but retire to their gardens along the shore or on the banks of the river, where with a kind of ozier-work they construct huts over the water. These they enclose with stakes, driven in the water on the one side, and on the other upon the shore, making a covering of leaves to shelter them from the sun. Here they reside during the period in which there blows, every day, from about the hour of nine until noon, a land-wind so intensely hot as to impede respiration, and to occasion death by suffocating the person exposed to it. None can escape from its effects who are overtaken by it on the sandy plain. As soon as the approach of this wind is perceived by the nhabitants, they immerge themselves to the chin in water* and continue in that situation until it ceases to blow.

In proof of the extraordinary degree of this heat, Marco Polo says that he happened to be in these parts when the following circumstance occurred. The ruler of Ormus having neglected to pay his tribute to the king of Kierman, the latter took the resolution of enforcing it at the season when the principal inhabitants reside out of the city, upon the main land, and for this purpose despatched a body of troops, consisting of sixteen hundred horse and five thousand foot, through the country of Reobarle, in order to seize them by surprise. In consequence, however, of their being misled by the guides, they failed to arrive at the place intended before the approach of night, and halted to take repose in a grove not far distant from Ormus; but upon recommencing their march in the morning, they were assailed by this hot wind, and were all suffocated; not one escaping to carry the fatal intelligence to his master. When the people of Ormus became acquainted with the event, and proceeded to bury the carcases, in order that their stench might not infect the air, they found them so baked by the intenseness of the heat, that the limbs, upon being handled, separated from the trunks [* Many travellers, including Burton, have described similar conditions in this country oue to this strange heat wind.], and it became necessary to dig the graves close to the spot where the bodies lay.

The vessels built at Ormus are of the worst kind, and dangerous for navigation, exposing the merchants and others who make use of them to great hazards. Their defects proceed from the circumstance of nails not being employed in the construction; the wood being of too hard a quality, and liable to split or to crack like earthenware. When an attempt is made to drive a nail, it rebounds, and is frequently broken. The planks are bored, as carefully as possible, with an iron auger, near the extremities; and wooden pins or trenails being driven into them, they are in this manner fastened. After this they are bound, or rather sewed together, with a kind of rope-yarn stripped from the husk of the Indian nuts, which are of a large size, and covered with a fibrous stuff like horse-hair. This being steeped in water until the softer parts putrefy, the threads or strings remain clean, and of these they make twine for sewing the planks, which lasts long under water. Pitch is not used for preserving the bottoms of vessels, but they are smeared with an oil made from the fat of fish, and then caulked with oakum. The vessel has no more than one mast, one helm, and one deck. When she has taken in her lading it is covered over with hides, and upon these hides they place the horses which they carry to India. They have no iron anchors, but in their stead employ another kind of ground-tackle; the consequence of which is, that in bad weather,—and these seas are very tempestuous,—they are frequently driven on shore and lost.

The inhabitants of the place are of a dark colour, and are Mohammedans. They sow their wheat, rice, and other grain in the month of November, and reap their harvest in March. The fruits also they gather in that month, with the exception of the dates, which are collected in May. Of these, with other ingredients, they make a good kind of wine. When it is drunk, however, by persons not accustomed to the beverage, it occasions an immediate flux; but upon their recovering from its first effects, it proves beneficial to them, and contributes to render them fat.

The food of the natives is different from ours; for were they to eat wheaten bread and flesh meat their health would be injured. They live chiefly upon dates and salted fish, such as the thunnus, cepole, and others which from experience they know to be wholesome. Excepting in marshy places, the soil of this country is not covered with grass, in consequence of the extreme heat, which burns up everything. Upon the death of men of rank, their wives loudly be wail them, once in the course of each day, during four successive weeks; and there are also people to be found here who make such lamentations a profession, and are paid for uttering them over the corpses of persons to whom they are not related.* [* Professional mourners arc still employed by many Eastern races including Jews in all parts of the world.]

Having spoken of Ormus [Hormus.], I shall for the present defer treating of India, intending to make it the subject of a separate Book, and now return to Kierman in a northerly direction. Leaving Ormus, therefore, and taking a different road to that place, you enter upon a beautiful plain, producing in abundance every article of food; and birds are numerous, especially partridges. But the bread, which is made from wheat grown in the country, cannot be eaten by those who have not learned to accommodate their palates to it, having a bitter taste derived from the quality of the waters, which are all bitter and salsuginous. On every side you perceive warm, healing streams, applicable to the cure of cutaneous and other bodily complaints. Dates and other fruits are in great plenty.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 20

OF THE GREAT DESERT COUNTRY BETWEEN KIERMAN AND KOBIAM — AND OF THE BITTER QUALITY OF THE WATER

Upon leaving Kierman and travelling three days, you reach the borders of a desert extending to the distance of seven days' journey, at the end of which you arrive at Kobiam. The first three days but little water is to be met with, and that little is impregnated with salt, green as grass, and so nauseous that none can use it as drink. Should even a drop of it be swallowed, frequent calls of nature will be occasioned; and the effect is the same from eating a grain of the salt made from this water. In consequence of this, persons who travel over the desert are obliged to carry a provision of water along with them. The cattle, however, are compelled by thirst to drink such as they find, and a flux immediately ensues. In the course of these three days not one habitation is to be seen. The whole is arid and desolate. Cattle are not found there, because there is no subsistence for them.

On the fourth day you come to a river of fresh water, but which has its channel for the most part under ground. In some parts however there are abrupt openings, caused by the force of the current, through which the stream becomes visible for a short space, and water is to be had in abundance. Here the wearied traveller stops to refresh himself and his cattle after the fatigues of the preceding journey. The circumstances of the

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latter three days resemble those of the former, and conduct him at length to the town of Kobiam.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 21

OF THE TOWN OF KOBIAM — ITS MANUFACTURES

Kobiam is a large town, the inhabitants of which observe the law of Mohammed. They have plenty of iron and other metals. Here they make mirrors of highly polished steel, of a large size and very handsome. Much antimony or zinc is found in the country, and they procure tutty which makes an excellent collyrium [eye-salve], together with spodium, by the following process. They take the crude ore from a vein that is known to yield such as is fit for the purpose, and put it into a heated furnace. Over the furnace

they place an iron grating formed of small bars set close together. The smoke or vapour ascending from the ore in burning attaches itself to the bars, and as it cools becomes hard. This is the tutty; whilst the gross and heavy part, which does not ascend, but remains as a cinder in the furnace, becomes the spodium.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 22

OF THE JOURNEY FROM KOBIAM TO THE PROVINCE OF TIMOCHAIN ON THE NORTHERN CONFINES OF PERSIA — AND OF A PARTICULAR SPECIES OF TREE

Leaving Kobiam you proceed over a desert of eight days' journey exposed to great drought; neither fruits nor any kind of trees are met with, and what water is found has a bitter taste. Travellers are therefore obliged to carry with them so much as may be necessary for their sustenance. Their cattle are constrained by thirst to drink such as the desert affords, which their owners endeavour to render palatable to them by mixing it with flour.

At the end of eight days you reach the province of Timochain, situated towards the north, on the borders of Persia, in which are many towns and strong places. [Timochain (Tun-o-kain), Henri Cordier, Major Sykes, and Sven Hedin support Yule's theory that Marco Polo traversed a portion of this perilous Salt Desert. In Overland to India, Sven Hedin devotes a chapter to the probable route Marco Polo took through this region.] There is here an extensive plain remarkable for the production of a species of tree called the tree of the sun, and by Christians Arbre Sec, the dry or fruitless tree. Its nature and qualities are these:—It is lofty, with a large stem, having its leaves green on the upper surface, but white or bluish on the under. It produces husks or capsules like those in which the chestnut is enclosed, but these contain no fruit. The wood is solid and strong, and of a yellow colour resembling the box. There is no other species of tree near it for the space of a hundred miles, excepting in one quarter, where trees are found within the distance of about ten miles. It is reported by the inhabitants of this district that a battle was fought there between Alexander, king of Macedonia, and Darius.

The towns are well supplied with every necessary and convenience of life, the climate being temperate and not subject to extremes either of heat or cold. The people are of the Mohammedan religion. They are in general a handsome race, especially the women, who, in my opinion, are the most beautiful in the world.

Chapter 23

OF THE OLD MAN OF THE MOUNTAIN — OF HIS PALACE AND GARDENS

Having spoken of this country, mention shall now be made of the old man of the mountain. The district in which his residence lay obtained the name of Mulehet, signifying in the language of the Saracens, the place of heretics, and his people that of Mulehetites, or holders of heretical tenets; as we apply the term of Patharini to certain heretics amongst Christians. The following account of this chief, Marco Polo testifies to having heard from sundry persons.

He was named Aloadin, and his religion was that of Mohammed. In a beautiful valley enclosed between two lofty mountains, he had formed a luxurious garden, stored with every delicious fruit and every fragrant shrub that could be procured. Palaces of various sizes and forms were erected in different parts of the grounds, ornamented with works in gold, with paintings, and with furniture of rich silks. By means of small conduits contrived in these buildings, streams of wine, milk, honey, and some of pure water, were seen to flow in every direction.

The inhabitants of these palaces were elegant and beautiful damsels, accomplished in the arts of singing, playing upon all sorts of musical instruments, dancing, and especially those of dalliance and amorous allurement. Clothed in rich dresses they were seen continually sporting and amusing themselves in the garden and pavilions, their female guardians being confined within doors and never suffered to appear. The object which the chief had in view in forming a garden of this fascinating kind, was this: that Mohammed having promised to those who should obey his will the enjoyments of Paradise, where every species of sensual gratification should be found, in the society of beautiful nymphs, he was desirous of its being understood by his followers that he also was a prophet and the compeer of Mohammed, and had the power of admitting to Paradise such as he should choose to favour.

In order that none without his licence might find their way into this delicious valley, he caused a strong and inexpugnable castle to be erected at the opening of it, through which the entry was by a secret passage. At his court, likewise, this chief entertained a number of youths, from the age of twelve to twenty years, selected from the inhabitants of the surrounding mountains, who showed a disposition for martial exercises, and appeared to possess the quality of daring courage. To them he was in the daily practice of discoursing on the subject of the paradise announced by the prophet, and of his own power of granting admission. And at certain times he caused opium to be administered to ten or a dozen of the youths; and when half dead with sleep he had them conveyed to the several apartments of the palaces in the garden.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 24

HOW THE OLD MAN USED TO TRAIN HIS ASSASSINS

Upon awakening from the state of stupor, their senses were struck with all the delightful objects that have been described, and each perceived himself surrounded by lovely damsels, singing, playing, and attracting his regards by the most fascinating caresses, serving him also with delicate foods and exquisite wines; until intoxicated with excess of enjoyment amidst actual rivulets of milk and wine, he believed himself assuredly in Paradise, and felt an unwillingness to relinquish its delights.

When four or five days had thus been passed, they were thrown once more into a drugged state, and carried out of the garden. Upon their being introduced to his presence, and questioned by him as to where they had been, their answer was, "In Paradise, through the favour of your highness": and then before the whole court, who listened to them with eager curiosity and astonishment, they gave a circumstantial account of the scenes to which they had been witnesses.

The chief thereupon addressing them, said: "We have the assurances of our prophet that he who defends his lord shall inherit Paradise, and if you show yourselves devoted to the obedience of my orders, that happy lot awaits you." Animated to enthusiasm by words of this nature, all deemed themselves happy to receive the commands of their master, and were forward to die in his service.

The consequence of this system was, that when any of the neighbouring princes, or others, gave offence to this chief, they were put to death by these his disciplined assassins; none of whom felt terror at the risk of losing their own lives, which they held in little estimation, provided they could execute their master's will. On this account his tyranny became the subject of dread in all the surrounding countries.

He had also constituted two deputies or representatives of himself, of whom one had his residence in the vicinity of Damascus, and the other in Kurdistan; and these pursued the plan he had established for training their young dependents. Thus there was no person, however powerful, who, having become exposed to the enmity of the Old Man of the Mountain, could escape assassination.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 25

HOW THE OLD MAN CAME BY HIS END

His territory being situated within the dominions of Alau, the brother of the Great Khan Mangu, that prince had information of his atrocious practices, as above related, as well as of his employing people to rob travellers in their passage through his country, and in the year 1252 sent one of his armies to besiege this chief in his castle. It proved, however, so capable of defence, that for three years no impression could be made upon it; until at length he was forced to surrender from the want of provisions, and being made prisoner was put to death. His castle was dismantled, and his garden of Paradise destroyed. And from that time there has been no Old Man of the Mountain. [The story is far from fiction. The fortress of Alamut in Persia was obtained by stratagem by Hassan, in 1090, who escaped from his many enemies in Egypt. He was the supreme ruler or Sheik-al-Jabal, or translated: Old Man of the Mountains, and the first of the sect of Assassins. The word assassin [Hashishin] comes from the drug Hashish, which was used to intoxicate the young men. The last Old Man of the Mountains was slain in 1255 and the fortress invaded in the year following when, "1,200 Assassins were massacred and their power in Persia was completely broken." Small bodies of this tribe "lingered about the mountains of Syria, and are believed still to exist there." See: Encyclopedia Britannica.]

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 26

OF A FERTILE PLAIN OF SIX DAYS' JOURNEY — SUCCEEDED BY A DESERT OF EIGHT — TO BE PASSED IN THE WAY TO THE CITY OF SAPURGAN

Leaving this castle, the road leads over a spacious plain, and then through a country diversified with hill and dale, where there is herbage and pasture, as well as fruits in great abundance, by which the army of Alau was enabled to remain so long upon the ground. This country extends to the distance of full six days' journey. It contains many cities and fortified places, and the inhabitants are of the Mohammedan religion. A desert then commences, extending forty or fifty miles, where there is no water; and it is necessary that the traveller should make provision of this article at his outset. As the cattle find no drink until this desert is passed, the greatest expedition is necessary, that they may reach a watering place.

At the end of the sixth day's journey, he arrives at a town named Sapurgan, which is plentifully supplied with every kind of provision, and is particularly celebrated for producing the best melons in the world. These are preserved in the following manner. They are cut spirally, in thin slices, as the pumpkin with us, and after they have been dried in the sun, are sent in large quantities, for sale, to the neighbouring countries; where they are eagerly sought for, being sweet as honey. Game is also in plenty there, both of beasts and birds. Leaving this place, we shall now speak of another named Balach; a large and magnificent city.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 27

OF THE CITY OF BALACH

Balach was formerly still more considerable, but has sustained much injury from the Tartars [Mongols.], who in their frequent attacks have partly demolished its buildings. It contained many palaces constructed of marble, and spacious squares, still visible, although in a ruinous state. It was in this city, according to the report of the inhabitants, that Alexander took to wife the daughter of King Darius. The Mohammedan religion prevails here also.

The dominion of the Lord of the Eastern Tartars extends to this place; and to it the limits of the Persian empire extend, in a north-eastern direction.

Upon leaving Balach and holding the same course for twelve days, you traverse a country that is destitute of every sign of habitation, the people having all fled to strong places in the mountains, in order to secure themselves against the predatory attacks of lawless marauders, by whom these districts are overrun. Here are extensive waters, and game of various kinds. Lions are also found in these parts, very large and numerous. Provisions, however, are scarce in the hilly tract passed during these twelve days, and the traveller must carry with him food sufficient both for himself and his cattle.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 28

OF THE CASTLE NAMED THAIKAN — AND OF THE SALT-HILLS — ALSO OF THE PROVINCE OF SCASSEM

After those twelve days' journey you reach a castle named Thaikan, where a great market for corn is held, it being situated in a fine and fruitful country. The hills that lie to the south of it are large and lofty. They all consist of white salt, extremely hard, with which the people, to the distance of thirty days' journey round, come to provide themselves, for it is esteemed the purest that is found in the world; but it is at the same time so hard that it cannot be detached otherwise than with iron picks. The quantity is so great that all the countries of the earth might be supplied from thence. Other hills produce almonds and pistachio nuts, in which articles the natives carry on a considerable trade.

Leaving Thaikan and travelling three days, still in a north-east direction, you pass through a well-inhabited country, very beautiful, and abounding in fruit, corn, and vines. The people are Mohammedans, and are blood-thirsty and treacherous. They are given also to debauchery, and to excess in drink, to which the excellence of their sweet wine encourages them. On their heads they wear nothing but a cord, about ten spans in length, with which they bind them round. They are keen sportsmen, and take many wild animals, wearing no other clothing than the skins of the beasts they kill, of which materials their shoes also are made. They are all taught to prepare the skins.

During a journey of three days there are cities and many castles, and at the end of that distance you reach a town named Scassem, governed by a chief whose title is equivalent to that of our barons or counts; and amongst the mountains he possesses other towns and strong places. Through the midst of this town runs a river of tolerable size. Here are found porcupines, which roll themselves up when the hunters set their dogs at them, and with great fury shoot out the quills or spines with which their skins are furnished, Wounding both men and dogs.

The people of this country have their peculiar language. The herdsmen who attend the cattle have their habitation amongst the hills, in caverns they form for themselves; nor is this a difficult operation, the hills consisting, not of stone, but only of clay.

Upon departing from this place you travel for three days without seeing any kind of building, or meeting with any of the necessaries required by a traveller, excepting water; but for the horses there is sufficient pasture. You are therefore obliged to carry with you every article for which there may be

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occasion on the road. At the end of the third day you arrive at the province of Balashan.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 29

OF THE PROVINCE OF BALASHAN — OF THE PRECIOUS STONES FOUND THERE AND WHICH BECOME THE PROPERTY OF THE KING — AKD OF THE DRESS WITH WHICH THE WOMEN ADORN THEIR PERSONS

In the province of Balashan, the people are Mohammedans, and have their peculiar language. It is an extensive kingdom, being in length full twelve days' journey, and is governed by princes in hereditary succession, who are all descended from Alexander, by the daughter of Darius, king of the Persians. All these have borne the title in the Saracenic tongue of Zulkarnen, being equivalent to Alexander; and this out of regard for Alexander the Great.

In this country are found the precious stones called Balass Rubies, of fine quality and great value, so called from the name of the province. They are imbedded in the high mountains, but are searched for only in one, named Sikinan. In this the king causes mines to be worked, in the same manner as for gold or silver; and through this channel alone they are obtained; no person daring under pain of death, to make an excavation for the purpose, unless as a special favour he obtains his majesty's licence.

Occasionally the king gives them as presents to strangers who pass through his dominions, as they are not procurable by purchase from others, and cannot be exported without his permission. His object in these restrictions is, that the rubies of his country, with which he thinks his credit connected, should preserve their estimation and maintain their high price; for if they could be dug for indiscriminately, and every one could purchase and carry them out of the kingdom, so great is their abundance, that they would soon be of little value. Some he sends as complimentary gifts to other kings and princes; some he delivers as tribute to his superior Lord; and some also he exchanges for gold and silver. These he allows to be exported.

There are mountains likewise in which are found veins of lapis lazuli, the stone which yields the azure colour ultramarine, here the finest in the world. The mines of silver, copper, and lead, are likewise very productive. It is a cold country.

The horses bred here are of a superior quality, and have great speed. Their hoofs are so hard that they do not require shoeing. The natives are in the practice of galloping them on declines where other cattle could not or would not venture to run. They asserted that not long since there were still found in this province horses of the strain of Alexander's celebrated horse Bucephalus, which were all foaled with a particular mark in the forehead. The whole of the breed was in the possession of one of the king's uncles, who, upon his refusal to yield them to his nephew, was put to death. The widow then, exasperated at the murder, caused them all to be destroyed; and thus the race was lost to the world.

In the mountains there are falcons of the species called Saker, which are excellent birds, and of strong flight; as well as plenty of Lanners. There are also goshawks of a perfect kind, and sparrow hawks. The people of the country are expert at the chase both of beasts and birds. Good wheat is grown there, and a species of barley without the husk. There is no oil of olives, but they express it from certain nuts, and from the grain called sesame, which resembles the seed of flax, excepting that it is light-coloured ; and the oil this yields is better, and has more flavour than any other. It is used by the Tartars and other inhabitants of these parts.

In this kingdom there are many narrow passes, and strong situations, which diminish the apprehension of any foreign power entering it with a hostile intention. The men are good archers and excellent sportsmen; generally clothing themselves with the skins of wild animals; other materials for the purpose being scarce. The mountains afford pasture for an innumerable quantity of sheep, which ramble about in flocks of four, five, and six hundred, all wild; and although many are taken and killed, there does not appear to be any diminution.

These mountains are exceedingly lofty, insomuch that it employs a man from morning till night to ascend to the top of them. Between them there are wide plains clothed with grass and with trees, and large streams of the purest water precipitating themselves through the fissures of the rocks. In these streams are trout and many other delicate sorts of fish. On the summits of the mountains the air is so pure and so salubrious, that when those who dwell in the towns, and in the plains and valleys below, find themselves attacked with fevers or other inflammatory complaints, they immediately remove to the hills, and remaining for three or four days in that situation, recover their health. Marco Polo affirms that he had experience in his own person of its excellent effects; for having been confined by sickness, in this country, for nearly a year, he was advised to change the air by ascending the hills; when he presently got well.

A peculiar fashion of dress prevails amongst the women of the superior class, who wear below their waists, in the manner of drawers, a kind of garment, in the making of which they employ, according to their means, eighty, or sixty ells of fine cotton cloth. This they gather or plait, in order to increase the apparent size of their hips; those being accounted the most handsome who are the most bulky in that part.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 30

OF THE PROVINCE OF BASCIA LYING TO THE SOUTH — OF THE GOLDEN ORNAMENTS WORN BY THE INHABITANTS IN THEIR EARS — AND OF THEIR MANNERS

Leaving Balashan and travelling in a southerly direction for ten days, you reach the province of Bascia, the people of which have a peculiar language. They worship idols; are of a dark complexion, and of evil disposition; and are skilled in the art of magic, and the invocation of demons, a study to which they continually apply themselves. They wear in their ears pendent rings of gold and silver, adorned with pearls and precious stones. The climate of the province is in some parts extremely hot. The food of the inhabitants is meat and rice.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 31

OF THE PROVINCE OF KESMUR SITUATED TOWARDS THE SOUTH-EAST — OF ITS INHABITANTS WHO ARE SKILLED IN MAGIC — AND OF A CLASS OF HERMITS

Kesmur [Kashmir] is a province distant from Bascia seven days' journey. Its inhabitants also have their own peculiar language. They are adepts beyond all others in the art of magic; insomuch that they can compel their idols, although by nature dumb and deaf, to speak. They can likewise obscure the day, and perform many other miracles.* [* Conjurers from this province were employed in the Court of Kublai Khan, Tibetan Buddhism. Kesmur [.Kashmir] was at one time a centre from which the Monaries radiated and where many of the sacred books were translated.] They are pre-eminent amongst the idolatrous nations, and from them the idols, worshipped in other parts.

From this country there is a communication by water with the Indian Sea.

The natives are of a dark complexion, but by no means black j and the women, although dark, are very beautiful. Their food is flesh, with rice and other grains; yet they are in general of a spare habit. The climate is moderately warm. In this province, besides the capital, there are many other towns and strong places. There are also woods, desert tracts, and difficult passes in the mountains, which give security to the inhabitants against invasion. Their king is not tributary to any power.

They have amongst them a particular class of devotees, who live in communities, observe strict abstinence in regard to eating, drinking, and the intercourse of the sexes, and refrain from every kind of sensual indulgence, in order that they may not give offence to the idols whom they worship. These persons live to a considerable age.

They have several monasteries, in which certain superiors exercise the functions of our abbots, and by the mass of the people they are held in great reverence. The natives of this country do not deprive any creature of life, nor shed blood, and if they are inclined to eat flesh-meat, it is necessary that the Mohammedans who reside amongst them should slay the animal. The article of coral brought from Europe is sold at a higher price than in any other part of the world.

If I were to proceed in the same direction, it would lead me to India; but I have judged it proper to reserve the description of that country for a third book; and shall therefore return to Balashan, intending to pursue from there the straight road to Cathay [China], and to describe, as has been done from the commencement of the work, not only the countries through which the route immediately lies, but also those in its vicinity, to the right and left.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 32

OF THE PROVINCE OF VOKHAN — OF AN ASCENT FOR THREE DATS — LEADING TO THE SUMMIT OF A HIGH MOUNTAIN — OF THE EFFECT ON THE GREAT ELEVATION UPON FIRES

Leaving the province of Balashan, and travelling in a direction between north-east and east, you pass many castles and habitations on the banks of the river, belonging to the brother of the king of that place, and after three days' journey, reach a province named Vokhan; which itself extends in length and width to the distance of three days' journey. The people are Mohammedans, have a distinct language, are civilized in their manners, and accounted valiant in war. Their chief holds his territory as a fief dependent upon Balashan.

They practise various modes of taking wild animals. Upon leaving this country, and proceeding for three days, still in an east-north-east course, ascending mountain after mountain, you at length arrive at a point of the road, where you might suppose the surrounding summits to be the highest lands in the world. Here, between two ranges, you perceive a large lake, from which flows a handsome river, that pursues its course along an extensive plain, covered with the richest verdure. Such indeed is its quality that the leanest cattle turned upon it would become fat in the course of ten days.

In this plain there are wild animals in great numbers, particularly sheep of a large size, having horns, three, four, and even six palms in length. Of these the shepherds form ladles and vessels for holding their victuals; and with the same materials they construct fences for enclosing their cattle, and securing thern against the wolves, with which, they say, the country is filled, and which, likewise destroy many of these wild sheep or goats. Their horns and bones being found in large quantities, heaps are made of them at the sides of the road, for the purpose of guiding travellers at the season when it is covered with snow.

For twelve days the course is along this elevated plain, which is named Pamer [Pamir Plateau], and as during all that time you do not meet with any habitations, it is necessary to make provision at the outset accordingly. So great is the height of the mountains, that no birds are to be seen near their summits; and however extraordinary it may be thought, it was affirmed, that from the keenness of the air, fires when lighted do not give the same heat as in lower situations, nor produce the same effect in cooking food.

After having performed this journey of twelve days, you have still forty days to travel in the same direction, over mountains, and through valleys, in perpetual succession, passing many rivers and desert tracts, without seeing any habitations or the appearance of verdure. Every article of provision must therefore be carried along with you. This region is called Beloro. Even amidst the highest of these mountains, there live a tribe of savage, ill-disposed, and idolatrous people, who subsist upon the animals they can destroy, and clothe themselves with the skins.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 33

OF THE CITY OF KASHCAR — AND OF THE COMMERCE OF ITS INHABITANTS

AT length you reach a place called Kashcar [Kashgar], which, it is said, was formerly an independent kingdom, but it is now subject to the dominion of the Great Khan. [Kashgar still remains the most westerly city of China. It was under Russian rule from 1165 to 1877. These industries continued until 1865 when the city fell under Russian rule. Their manners have not improved. See Ancient Khotan, Sir Aurel Stein.] Its inhabitants are of the Mohammedan religion. The province is extensive, and contains many towns and castles, of which Kashcar is the largest and most important. The language of the people is peculiar to themselves. They subsist by commerce and manufacture, particularly works of cotton. They have handsome gardens, orchards, and vineyards. Abundance of cotton is produced there, as well as flax and hemp. Merchants from this country travel to all parts of the world; but in truth they are a wretched, sordid race, eating badly and drinking worse. Besides the Mohammedans there are amongst the inhabitants several Nestorian Christians, who are permitted to live under their own laws, and to have their churches. The extent of the province is five days' journey.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 34

OF THE CITY OF YARCAN — AND OF THE MIRACULOUS COLUMN IN THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

Yarcan [Yarkand] is a noble city, adorned with beautiful gardens, and surrounded by a plain, in which are produced all the fruits that man can desire. The inhabitants, who are partly Christians and partly Mohammedans, are subject to the dominion of a nephew of the Great Khan, with whom, however, he is not upon amicable terms, but on the contrary there is perpetual strife and frequent wars between them. This city lies in the direction of north-east. A miracle is said to have taken place there, under the following circumstances. Not long ago, a prince named Zagatai," who was own brother to the then reigning Great Khan, became a convert to Christianity. This greatly delighted the Christian inhabitants of the place, who under the favour and protection of the prince, proceeded to build a church, and dedicated it to St. John the Baptist.

It was so constructed that all the weight of the roof, being circular, should rest upon upon a column in the centre, and beneath this, as a base, they fixed a square stone, which, with the permission of the prince, they had taken from a temple belonging to the Mohammedans, who dared not to prevent them from so doing. But upon the death of Zagata'i, his son who succeeded him showing no disposition to become a Christian, the Mussulmans had influence enough to obtain from him an order that their opponents should restore to them the stone they had appropriated; and although the latter offered to pay them a compensation in money, they refused to listen to the proposal, because they hoped that its removal would occasion the church to tumble down.

In this difficulty the afflicted Christians had no other resource than with tears and humility to recommend themselves to the protection of the glorious St. John the Baptist. When the day arrived on which they were to make

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restitution of the stone, it came to pass that through the intercession of the Saint, the pillar raised itself from its base to the height of three palms, in order to facilitate the removal of the stone j and in that situation, without any kind of support, it remains to the present day.

Enough being said of this, we shall now proceed to the province of Karkan.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 35

OF THE PROVINCE OF KARKAN — THE INHABITANTS OF WHICH ARE TROUBLED WITH SWOLLEN LEGS AND WITH GOITRES

Departing from thence you enter the province of Karkan [Yarkand], which continues to the distance of five days' journey. Its inhabitants, for the most part Mohammedans, with some Nestorian Christians, are subjects of the Great Khan. Provisions are here in abundance, as is also cotton.

The people are expert artisans. They are in general afflicted with swellings in the legs, and tumours in the throat, occasioned by the quality of the water they drink. [Sven Hedin, who was in Yarkand in 1895, says that three-fourths of the population of 150,000 are afflicted with goitre; "My Life as an Explorer." A goitre, or goiter, is a swelling in the neck resulting from an enlarged thyroid gland. A goitre can be associated with a thyroid that is not functioning properly. Worldwide, over 90% of goitre cases are caused by iodine deficiency. The term is from the Latin gutturia, meaning throat. Paracelsus (1493–1541) was the first person to propose a relationship between goitre and minerals (particularly lead) in drinking water. Iodine was later discovered by Bernard Courtois (1777–1838) in 1811 from seaweed ash.] In this country there is not anything further that is worthy of observation.]

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 36

OF THE CITY OF KOTAN — WHICH IS ABUNDANTLY SUPPLIED WITH ALL THE NECESSARIES OF LIFE

Following a course between north-east and east, you next come to the province of Kotan [Khotan], the extent of which is eight days' journey. It is under the dominion of the Great Khan, and the people are Mohammedans. It contains many cities and fortified places, but the principal city, and which gives its name to the province, is Kotan. Everything necessary for human life is here in the greatest plenty. It yields likewise cotton, flax, hemp, grain, wine, and other articles. The inhabitants cultivate farms and vineyards, and have numerous gardens. They support themselves also by trade and manufactures, but they are not good soldiers. We shall now speak of a province named Peyn.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 37

OF THE PROVINCE OF PEYN — OF THE CHALCEDONY AND JASPER FOUND IN ITS RIVER — AND OF A PECULIAR CUSTOM WITH REGARD TO MARRIAGES

Peyn [Pein] is a province of five days' journey in extent, in the direction of east-north-east. It is under the dominion of the Great Khan, and contains many cities and strong places, the principal one of which is likewise named Peyn. Through this flows a river, and in its bed are found many of those stones called chalcedony and jasper [Varieties of jade.]. All kinds of provision are obtained here. Cotton also is produced in the country.

The inhabitants live by manufacture and trade. They have this custom, that if a married man goes to a distance from home to be absent twenty days, his wife has a right, if she is inclined, to take another husband; and the men, on the same principle, marry wherever they happen to reside. All the before-mentioned provinces, that is to say, Kashcar, Kotan, Peyn, and as far as the desert of Lop, are within the limits of Turkistan. Next follows the province of Charchan.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 38

OF THE PROVINCE OF CHARCHAN — AND OF THE NECESSITY THE INHABITANTS ARE UNDER OF FLYING TO THE DESERT ON THE APPROACH OF THE ARMIES OF THE TARTARS

Charchan is also a province of Turkistan, lying in an east-north-east direction. In former times it was flourishing and productive, but has been laid waste by the Tartars [Mongols.]. The people are Mohammedans. Its chief city is likewise named Charchan. Through this province run several large streams, in which also are found chalcedony and jasper, which are carried for sale to Cathay, and such is their abundance that they form a considerable article of commerce.

The country from Peyn to this district, as well as throughout its whole extent, is an entire sand, in which the water is for the most part bitter and unpalatable, although in particular places it is sweet and good. When an army of Tartars passes through these places, if they are enemies the inhabitants are plundered of their goods, and if friends their cattle are killed and devoured. For this reason, when they are aware of the approach of any body of troops, they flee, with their families and cattle, into the sandy desert, to the distance of two days' journey, towards some spot where they can find fresh water, and are by that means enabled to subsist. From the same apprehension, when they collect their harvest, they deposit the grain in caverns amongst the sands; taking monthly from the store so much as may be wanted for their consumption; nor can any persons besides themselves know the places to which they resort for this purpose, because the tracks of their feet are presently effaced by the wind.

Upon leaving Charchan the road lies for five days over sands, where the water is generally, but not in all places, bad. Nothing else occurs here that is worthy of remark. At the end of these five days you arrive at the city of Lop, on the borders of the great desert.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 39

OF THE TOWN OF LOP — OF THE VAST DESERT IN ITS VICINITY — AND OF THE STRANGE NOISES HEARD BY THOSE WHO PASS OVER THE LATTER

The town of Lop is situated towards the north-east, near the commencement of the great desert, which is called the Desert of Lop. It belongs to the dominions of the Great Khan, and its inhabitants are of the Mohammedan religion. Travellers who intend to cross the desert usually halt for a considerable time at this place, as well to repose from their fatigues as to make the necessary preparations for their further journey. For this purpose they load a number of stout asses and camels with provisions and with their merchandise. Should the former be consumed before they have completed the passage, they kill and eat the cattle of both kinds; but camels are commonly here employed in preference to asses, because they carry heavy burdens and are fed with a small quantity of provisions.

The stock of provisions should be laid in for a month, that time being required for crossing the desert in the narrowest part. To travel it in the direction of its length would prove a vain attempt, as little less than a year must be consumed, and to convey stores for such a period would be found impracticable. During these thirty days the journey is invariably over either sandy plains or barren mountains; but at the end of each day's march you stop at a place where water is procurable; not indeed in sufficient quantity for large numbers, but enough to supply a hundred persons, together with their beasts of burden. At three or four of these halting-places the water is salt and bitter, but at the others, amounting to about twenty, it is sweet and good. In this tract neither beasts nor birds are met with, because there is no kind of food for them.

It is asserted as a well-known fact that this desert is the abode of many evil spirits, which amuse travellers to their destruction with most extraordinary illusions. If, during the day-time, any persons remain behind on the road, either when overtaken by sleep or detained by their natural occasions, until the caravan has passed a hill and is no longer in sight, they unexpectedly hear themselves called to by their names, and in a tone of voice to which they are accustomed. Supposing the call to proceed from their companions, they are led away by it from the direct road, and n t knowing in what direction to advance, are left to perish. In the night-time they are persuaded they hear the march of a large cavalcade of people on one side or the other of the road, and concluding the noise to be that of the footsteps of their party, they direct theirs to the quarter from whence it seems to proceed. But upon the breaking of day, they find they have been misled and drawn into a situation of danger. Sometimes likewise during the day these spirits assume the appearance of their travelling com anions, who address them by name and endeavour to conduct them out of the proper road. It is said also that some persons, in their journey across the desert, have seen what appeared to them to be a body of armed men advancing towards them, and apprehensive of being attacked and plundered have taken to flight. Losing by this means the right path, and ignorant of the direction they should take to regain it, they have perished miserably of hunger. Marvellous indeed and almost passing belief are the stories related of these spirits of the desert, which are said at times to fill the air with the sounds of all kinds of musical instruments, and also of drums and the clash of arms; obliging the travellers to close their line of march and to proceed in more compact order. They find it necessary also to take the precaution before they repose for the night, to fix an advanced signal, pointing out the course they are afterwards to hold, as well as to attach a bell to each of the beasts of burden for the purpose of their being more easily kept from straggling. Such are the excessive troubles and dangers that must unavoidably be encountered in the passage of this desert. [This bone strewn and barren waste has since been crossed by very few travellers and it is natural that natives along its borders should believe in evil spirits. The sound of musical instruments and drums, however, is a phenomenon produced among sandhills when the sand is disturbed. See note recorded by Yule and Uttes and Addenda by Cordier.]

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 40

QF THE PROVINCE OF TANGUTH — THE CITY OF SACHION — OF THE CUSTOMS OBSERVED THERE — AND OF THE CEREMONY OF BURNING THE BODIES OF THE DEAD

When the journey of thirty days across the desert has been completed, you arrive at a city called Sachion [Sachiu], which belongs to the Great Khan. The province is named Tanguth. The people are worshippers of idols. There are Turkomans [Muslims] among them, with a few Nestorian Christians and Mohammedans [By Polo usually called Saracens.]. Those who are idolaters [Polo uses this degrading Muslim term for Buddhists extensively.] have a language [ome vocabulary.] distinct from the others. This city lies towards the east-north-east. They are not a commercial, but an agricultural people, having much wheat.

There are in this country a number of monasteries and abbeys, which are filled with idols of various descriptions. To these, which they regard with the profoundest reverence, they also offer sacrifices; and upon the birth of a son, they recommend him to the protection of some one of their idols. In honour of this deity the father rears a sheep in his house until the expiration of a year, when, upon the day of the idol's peculiar festival, they conduct their son, together with the sheep, into its presence, and there sacrifice the animal. The flesh they boil, and then they carry it and lay it before the idol, and stand there until they have finished a long prayer, the subject of which is to entreat the idol to preserve the health of their child; and they believe that during this interval it has sucked in all the savoury juices of the meat. The remaining substance they then carry home, and, assembling all their relations and friends, eat it with much devout festivity.

They collect the bones, and preserve them in handsome urns. The priests of the idol have for their portion the head, the feet, the intestines, and the skin, together with some parts of the flesh.

In respect to the dead, likewise, these idolaters [Buddhists] have particular ceremonies. Upon the decease of a person of rank, whose body it is intended to burn, the relations call together the astrologers, and make them acquainted with the year, the day, and the hour in which he was born; whereupon these proceed to examine the horoscope, and having ascertained the constellation or sign, and the planet therein presiding, declare the day on which the funeral ceremony shall take place. If it should happen that the same planet be not then in the ascendant, they order the body to be kept a week or more, and sometimes even for the space of six months, before they allow the ceremony to be performed. In the hope of a propitious aspect, and dreading the effects of a contrary influence, the relations do not presume to burn the corpse until the astrologers have fixed the proper time.

It being necessary on this account that, in many cases, the body should remain long in the house, in order to guard against the consequences of putrefaction, they prepare a coffin made of boards a palm in thickness, well fitted together and painted, in which they deposit the corpse, and along with it a quantity of sweet-scented gums, camphor, and other drugs. The joints or seams they smear with a mixture of pitch and lime, and the whole is then covered with silk. During this period the table is spread every day with bread, wine, and other provisions, which remain so long as is necessary for a convenient meal, as well as for the spirit of the deceased, which they suppose to be present on the occasion, to satisfy itself with the fumes of the victuals. Sometimes the astrologers signify to the relations that the body must not be conveyed from the house through the principal door, in consequence of their having discovered from the aspect of the heavens, or otherwise, that such a course would be unlucky, and it must therefore be taken out from a different side of the house. In some instances, indeed, they oblige them to break through the wall, and to convey the corpse through that aperture; persuading them that if they should refuse to do so, the spirit of the defunct would be incensed against the family and cause them some injury.

Accordingly, when any misfortune befalls a house, or any person belonging to it meets with an accident or loss, or with an untimely death, the astrologers do not fail to attribute the event to a funeral not having taken place during the ascendency of the planet under which the deceased relative was born, but, on the contrary, when it was exposed to an evil influence, or to its not having been conducted through the proper door.

As the ceremony of burning the body must be performed without the city, they erect from space to space in the road by which the procession is to pass, small wooden buildings, with a portico which they cover with silk; and under these, as it arrives at each, the body is set down. They place before it meats and liquors, and this is repeated until they reach the appointed spot, believing, as they do, that the spirit is thereby refreshed and acquires energy to attend the funeral pile. Another ceremony also is practised on these occasions. They provide a number of pieces of paper, made of the bark of a certain tree, upon which are painted the figures of men, women, horses, camels, pieces of money, and dresses, and these

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they burn along with the corpse, in the belief that in the next world the deceased will enjoy the services and use of the domestics, cattle, and all the articles depicted on the paper. During the whole of these proceedings, all the musical instruments belonging to the place are sounded with an incessant din.

Having now spoken of this city, others lying towards the north-west, near the head of the desert, shall next be mentioned.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 41

OF THE DISTRICT OF KAMUL — AND OF SOME PECULIAR CUSTOMS RESPECTING THE ENTERTAINMENT OF STRANGERS

Kamul is a district situated within the great province of Tanguth, subject to the Great Khan, and contains many towns and castles, of which the principal city is also named Kamul. This district lies in the intermediate space between two deserts; that is to say, the great desert already described, and another of smaller extent, being only about three days' journey across. The inhabitants are worshippers of idols, and have their peculiar language. They subsist on the fruits of the earth, which they possess in abundance, and are enabled to supply the wants of travellers. The men are addicted to pleasure, and attend to little else than playing upon instruments, singing, dancing, reading, writing, according to the practice of the country, and the pursuit, in short, of every kind of amusement.

When strangers arrive, and desire to have lodging and accommodation at their houses, it affords them the highest gratification. They give positive orders to their wives, daughters, sisters, and other female relations, to indulge their guests in every wish, whilst they themselves leave their homes, and retire into the city, and the stranger lives in the house with the females as if they were his own wives, and they send whatever necessaries may be wanted; but for which, it is to be understood, they expect payment: nor do they return to their houses so long as the strangers remain in them. This abandonment of the females of their family to accidental guests, who assume the same privileges and meet with the same indulgences as if they were their own wives, is regarded by these people as doing them honour and adding to their reputation; considering the hospitable reception of strangers, who after the perils and fatigues of a long journey, stand in need of relaxation, as an action agreeable to their deities, calculated to draw down the blessing of increase upon their families, to augment their substance, and to procure them safety from all dangers, as well as a successful issue to all their undertakings. The women are in truth very handsome, very sensual, and fully disposed to conform in this respect to the injunction of their husbands.

It happened at the time when Mangu Kaan held his court in this province, that the above scandalous custom coming to his knowledge, he issued an edict strictly commanding the people of Kamul to relinquish a practice so disgraceful to them, and forbidding individuals to furnish lodging to strangers, but to provide hostelries for travellers. In grief and sadness the inhabitants obeyed for about three years the command of their master; but finding at length that the earth ceased to yield the accustomed fruits, and that many unfortunate events occurred in their families, they resolved to despatch a deputation to the Mangu Kaan, in their names, to beseech him that he should be pleased to suffer them to resume the observance of a custom that had bee n solemnly handed down to them by their fathers, from their ancestors in the remotest times. And especially as since they had failed in the exercise of these offices of hospitality and gratification to strangers, the interest of their families had gone progressively to ruin. The Kaan, having listened to this application, replied: "Since you appear so anxious to persist in your own shame, let it be granted as you desire. Go, live according to your base customs and manners, and let your wives continue to receive the beggarly wages of their prostitution." With this answer the deputies returned home, to the great delight of all the people, who, to the present day, observe their ancient practice.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 42

OF THE CITY OF CHINCHITALAS

Next to the district of Kamul follows that of Chinchitalas, which in its northern part borders on the desert, and is in length sixteen days' journey. It is subject to the Great Khan and contains cities and several strong places. Its inhabitants consist of three religious sects. A few of them confess Christ, according to the Nestorian doctrine; others are followers of Mohammed; and a third class worship idols. There is in this district a mountain where the mines produce steel, and also zinc or antimony.

A substance is likewise found of the nature of the salamander, for when woven into cloth, and thrown into the fire, it remains incombustible. The following mode of preparing it I learned from one of my travelling companions, named Curficar, a very intelligent Turkoman, who had the direction of the mining operations of the province for three years. The fossil substance procured from the mountain consists of fibres not unlike those of wool. This, after being exposed to the sun to dry, is pounded in a brass mortar, and is then washed until all the earthly particles are separated. The fibres thus cleansed and detached from each other, they then spin into thread and weave into cloth. In order to render the texture white, they put it into the fire, and suffer it to remain there about an hour, when they draw it out uninjured by the flame, and become white as snow. And so again whenever they become dirty they are bleached by being put in the fire.

Of the salamander under the form of a serpent, supposed to exist in fire, I could never discover any traces in the eastern regions. It is said that they preserve at Rome a napkin woven from this material, sent as a gift from the Great Khan to the Pope to make a wrapper for the Holy Sudarium of Jesus Christ.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 43

OF THE DISTRICT OF SUCCUIR — WHERE THE RHUBARB IS PRODUCED — AND FROM WHENCE IT IS CARRIED TO ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD

Upon leaving the district last mentioned, and proceeding for ten days in the direction of east-north-east, through a country where there are few habitations, and little of any kind worthy of remark, you arrive at a district named Succuir [Sukchu], in which are many towns and castles, the principal one being likewise named Succuir. The inhabitants are in general idolaters, with some Christians. They are subject to the dominion of the Great Khan.

The General Province, which contains all these three provinces is called Tanguth.

Throughout all the mountainous parts of it the most excellent kind of rhubarb is produced, in large quantities, and the merchants who come to buy it convey it to all parts of the world. It is a fact that when they take that road, they cannot venture amongst the mountains with any beasts of burden excepting those accustomed to the country, on account of a poisonous plant growing there, which, if eaten by them, has the effect of causing the hoofs of the animal to drop off. Those of the country, however, being aware of its dangerous quality, take care to avoid it.* The people of Succuir depend for subsistence upon the fruits of the earth and the flesh of their cattle, and do not engage in trade. The district is perfectly healthy, and the complexion of the natives is brown.

[* Sir Aurel Stein, in Ruins of Desert Cathay, speaks of this wild rhubarb and also tell* of the difficulties with his ponies and the poisonous grass in this region.]

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 44

OF THE CITY OF CAMPICHU — OF THE NATURE OF THEIR IDOLS — OF THE ALMANAC THEY MAKE USE OF — AND THE CUSTOMS OF MARRIAGE

Campichu, the chief city of the province of Tanguth, is large and magnificent, and has jurisdiction over all the province. The bulk of the people worship idols, but there are some who follow the religion of Mohammed, and some Christians. The latter have three large and handsome churches in the city. The idolaters [Buddhists.] have many religious houses, or monasteries and abbeys, built after the manner of the country, and in these a multitude of idols, some of which are of wood, some of stone, and some of clay. They are all highly polished and covered with gilding. They are carved in a masterly style. Among these are some of very large size, and others are small. The former are full ten paces in length, and lie in a recumbent posture; the small figures stand behind them, and have the appearance of disciples in the act of reverential salutation. Both great and small are held in extreme veneration. Those persons amongst the idolaters [Buddhists.] who are devoted to the services of religion lead more virtuous lives, according to their ideas of morality, than the other classes. They abstain from the indulgence of carnal and sensual appetites. The unlicensed intercourse of the sexes is not in general considered by these people as a serious offence; and their maxim is, that if the advances are made by the female, the connexion does not constitute an offence, but it is held to be such when the proposal comes from the man.

They employ an almanac, in many respects like our own, according to the rules of which, during five, four, or three days in the month, they do not shed blood, nor eat flesh or fowl; as is our usage in regard to Friday, the Sabbath, and the vigils of the saints.]Tibetan Buddhism. Since these early observations regarding birds of China many books and artidts have been written on this subject. A valuable list of over 140 important works and papera orth* ornithology of China may be found in the Encyclopedia Sinica.]

The laity take to themselves as many as thirty wives, some more, some fewer, according to their ability to maintain them; for they do not receive any dowry with them, but, on the contrary, settle dowers upon their wives, in cattle, slaves, and money. The wife who is first married always maintains the superior rank in the family and if the husband observes that any one amongst them does not conduct herself well to the rest, or if she becomes otherwise disagreeable to him, he can send her away. They take to their beds those who are cousins by blood, and even espouse their mothers-in-law. Many other mortal sins are regarded by them with indifference, and they live in this respect like the beasts of the field.

In this city Marco Polo remained, along with his father and uncle, about the space of one year, which the state of their concerns rendered necessary.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 45

OF THE CITY OF EZINA — OF THE KINDS OF CATTLE AND VARIOUS BIRDS FOUND THERE — AND OF A DESERT EXTENDING FORTY DAYS' JOURNEY TOWARDS THE NORTH

Leaving this city of Campichu, and travelling for twelve days in a northerly direction, you come to a city named Ezina, at the commencement of the sandy desert [Gobi], and within the province of Tanguth. The inhabitants are idolaters [Buddhists.]. They have camels, and much cattle of various sorts. Here you find Lanners and many excellent Sakera.f

The fruits of the soil and the flesh of the cattle supply the wants of the people, and they do not concern themselves with trade.

Travellers passing through this city lay in a store of provisions for forty days, because, upon their leaving it to proceed northwards, that space of time is employed in traversing a desert, where there is not any appearance of dwelling, nor are there any inhabitants excepting a few during the summer, among the mountains and in some of the valleys. In these situations, frequented by wild asses and other animals equally wild, they find water and woods of pine-trees.

Having passed this desert, you arrive at a city on the northern side of it, named Karakoran.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 46

OF THE CITY OF KARAKORAN — THE FIRST IN WHICH THE TARTARS FIXED THEIR RESIDENCE — AND THE ORIGIN OF THEIR KINGDOM

The city of Karakoran [Karakorum.] is about three miles in circuit, and is the first place in which the Tartars established their residence in remote times. It is surrounded with a strong rampart of earth, there not being any good supply of stone in that part of the country. On the outside of the rampart, but near to it, stands a castle of great size, in which is a handsome palace occupied by the Governor of the place.

The circumstances under which these Tartars first began to exercise dominion shall now be related. They dwelt in the north on the borders of Chorche, but without fixed habitations, that is, without towns or fortified places; where there were extensive plains, good pasture, large rivers, and plenty of water. They had no sovereign of their own, and were tributary to a powerful prince, who, as I have been informed, was named in their language, Unc Can, by some thought to have the same signification as Prester John in ours. To him these Tartars paid tribute the tenth part of their cattle.

In process of time the tribe multiplied so exceedingly that Unc Can, that is to say, Prester John, becoming apprehensive of their strength, conceived the plan of separating them into different bodies, who should take up their abode in distinct tracts of country. With this view also, whenever the occasion presented itself, such as a rebellion in any of the provinces subject to him, he drafted three or four in the hundred of these people, to be employed on the service of quelling it; and thus their power was gradually diminished. He in like manner despatched them upon other expeditions, and sent among them some of his principal officers to see that his intentions were carried into effect.

At length the Tartars, becoming sensible of the slavery to which he attempted to reduce them, resolved to maintain a strict union amongst themselves, and seeing that nothing short of their final ruin was in contemplation, they adopted the measure of removing from the places which they then inhabited. They proceeded in a northerly direction across a wide desert, until they felt assured that the distance afforded them security, when they refused any longer to pay to Unc Can the accustomed tribute.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 47

CONCERNING CHINGHIS KAAN — THE FIRST KHAN OF THE TARTARS — AND HIS WARFARE WITH UNC CAN — WHOM HE OVERTHREW — AND OF WHOSE KINGDOM HE POSSESSED HIMSELF

Some time after the migration of the Tartars [Mongols.] to this place, and about the year of our Lord 1187, they proceeded to elect for their King a man who was named Chinghis Kaan [meaning Genghis Khan.], one of approved integrity, great wisdom, commanding eloquence, and eminent for his valour. He began his reign with so much justice and moderation, that he was beloved and revered as their Lord rather than their Sovereign. The fame of his great and good qualities spreading over that part of the world, all the Tartars, however dispersed, placed themselves under his command.

Finding himself thus at the head of so many brave men, he became ambitious of emerging from the deserts and wildernesses by which he was surrounded, and gave them orders to equip themselves with bows and such other weapons as they were expert at using. He then proceeded to render

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himself master of cities and provinces; and such was the effect produced by his character for justice and other virtues, that wherever he went, he found the people disposed to submit to him, and to esteem themselves happy when admitted to his protection and favour. In this manner he acquired the possession of about nine provinces. Nor is his success surprising, when we consider that at this period each town and district was either governed by the people themselves, or had its petty King or Lord; and as there existed amongst them no general confederacy, it was impossible for them to resist, separately, so formidable a power. Upon the subjugation of these places, he appointed governors to them, who were so worthy in their conduct that the inhabitants did not suffer, either in their persons or their properties.

Seeing how prosperously his enterprises succeeded, he resolved upon attempting still greater things. With this view he sent ambassadors* [See the note at the end of Chapter 50.] to Prester John, charged with a message, which he knew would not be listened to by that Prince, demanding his daughter in marriage. Upon receiving the application, the monarch indignantly exclaimed: "Whence arises this presumption in Chinghis Kaan, who, knowing himself to be my servant, dares to ask for the hand of my child? Depart instantly," he said, "and let him know from me, that upon the repetition of such a demand, I shall put him to an ignominious death." The ambassadors, on receiving this reply, departed straightway, and made haste to their master, and related all that Prester John had ordered them to say, keeping nothing back.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 48

HOW CHINGHIS MUSTERED HIS PEOPLE TO MARCH AGAINST PRESTER JOHN

Enraged at this reply, Chinghis Kaan collected a very large army, at the head of which he entered the territory of Prester John, and encamping on a great plain called Tenduk, sent a message desiring him to defend himself.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 49

HOW PRESTER JOHN MARCHED TO MEET CHINGHIS KAAN

Prester John advanced likewise to the plain with a vast army, and took his position at the distance of about ten miles from the other. In this conjuncture Chinghis Kaan commanded his astrologers and magicians to declare to him which of the two armies, in the approaching conflict, should obtain the victory. Upon this they took a green reed, and dividing it lengthways into two parts, they wrote upon one the name of their master, and upon the other the name of Prester John. They then placed them on the ground, at some distance from each other, and gave notice to the king that during the time of their pronouncing their incantations, the two pieces of reed, through the power of their idols, would advance towards each other, and that the victory would fall to the lot of that monarch whose piece should be seen to mount upon the other.

The whole army was assembled to be spectators of this ceremony, and whilst the astrologers were employed in reading their books, they perceived the two pieces begin to move and to approach, and after some small interval of time, that inscribed with the name of Chinghis Kaan to place itself upon the top of its adversary.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 50

THE BATTLE BETWEEN CHINGHIS KAAN AND PRESTER JOHN*

Upon witnessing this, the king and his band of Tartars [Mongols.] marched with exultation to the attack of the army of Prester John, broke through its ranks and entirely routed it. Prester John [* See: the Letter of Prester John.] himself was killed, his kingdom fell to the conqueror, and Chinghis Khan espoused his daughter. After this battle he continued during six years to render himself master of additional kingdoms and cities; until at length, in the siege of a castle named Thaigin, he was struck by an arrow in the knee, and dying of the wound, was buried in the mountain of Altai".

[* Note for chapters 47-50: Marco Polo, just like many of his Christian contemporaries, believed in the Legend of a Christian messiah called Prester John. The incident, he reports now is more or less correct. However, Genghis Khan's foe was not Prester John, who did not exist, but a man we know as Ala ad-Din Muhammad II. He was the Muslim Shah of the Khwarezmian Empire from 1200 to 1220. He is perhaps best known for inciting the Mongol conquest of the Khwarazmian Empire, which resulted in the utter destruction of his empire. What happened is this: In 1218, a small contingent of Mongols crossed borders in pursuit of an escaped enemy general. Upon successfully retrieving him, Genghis Khan made contact with the Shah. Having only recently conquered two-thirds of what would one day be China, Genghis was looking to open trade relations, but having heard exaggerated reports of the Mongols, the Shah believed this gesture was only a ploy to invade his land. Genghis sent emissaries to Khwarezm to emphasise his hope for a trade road. The Shah, in turn, had one of his governors (Inalchuq, his uncle) openly accuse the party of spying, their rich goods were seized and the party was arrested. Trying to maintain diplomacy, Genghis sent an envoy of three men to the Shah, to give him a chance to disclaim all knowledge of the governor's actions and hand him over to the Mongols for punishment. The shah executed the envoy (some sources claim all three were executed), and then immediately had the Mongol merchant party (Muslim and Mongol alike) put to death. These events led Genghis to retaliate with a force of 100,000 to 150,000 men that crossed the Jaxartes (the River Syr Darya or Syrdarya, flowing circa 2,000 km west through Uzbekistan and southern Kazakhstan to the Aral Sea.) in 1219 and sacked the cities of Samarkand, Bukhara, Otrar and others. Muhammad's capital city, Urgench, followed soon after. Ala ad-Din Muhammad fled to Khorasan and died of pleurisy some weeks later on an island in the Caspian Sea.]

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 51

OF SIX SUCCESSIVE EMPERORS OF THE TARTARS — AND OF THE CEREMONIES THAT TAKE PLACE WHEN THEY ARE CARRIED FOR INTERMENT TO THE MOUNTAIN OF ALTAI

To Chinghis Khan succeeded Cuy Khan; the third was Batuy Khan, the fourth Alacou Khan, the fifth Mongol Khan, the sixth Kublai Khan, who became greater and more powerful than all the others who went before him: in fact, if you were to take all those five together, they would not be so powerful as he. Nay, I will say yet more; for if you put together all the Christians in the world, with their Emperors and their Kings, the whole of these Christians,—aye, and throw in the Saracens to boot,—would not have such power, or be able to do so much as this Kublai, who is the Lord of all the Tartars [Mongols.] in the world, those of the Levant and of the Ponent included. For these are all his liegmen and subjects. [This important paragraph not contained in the Italian manuscript but is incorporated from the Yule version.]

The title of Khan or Kaan, is equivalent to emperor in our language. It has been an invariable custom, that all the Great Khans, and chiefs of the race of Chinghis, their first Lord, should be carried for interment to a certain lofty mountain named Altai, and in whatever place they may happen to die, although it should be at the distance of a hundred days' journey, they are nevertheless conveyed thither.

It is likewise the custom, during the progress of removing the bodies of these Princes, for those who form the escort to sacrifice such persons as they chance to meet on the road, saying to them, "Depart for the next world, and there attend upon your deceased Lord," being impressed with the belief that all whom they thus slay do actually become his servants in the next life. They do the same also with respect to horses, killing the best of the stud, in order that he may have the use of them. When the corpse of Mongol Khan was transported to this mountain, the horsemen who accompanied it, slew upwards of twenty thousand persons who fell in their way.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 52

OF THE WANDERING LIFE OF THE TARTARS — OF THEIR DOMESTIC MANNERS — THEIR FOOD — AND THE VIRTUE AND USEFUL QUALITIES OF THEIR WOMEN

Now that I have begun speaking of the Tartars, I will tell you more about them. The Tartars never remain fixed, but as the winter approaches remove to the plains of a warmer region, in order to find sufficient pasture for their cattle; and in summer they frequent cold situations in the ountains, where there is water and vegetation, and their cattle are free from the annoyance of horse-flies and other biting insects. During two or three months they progressively ascend higher ground, and seek fresh pasture, the grass not being adequate in any one place to feed the multitudes of which their herds and flocks consist.

Their huts or tents are formed of rods covered with felt, and being exactly round, and nicely put together, they can gather them into one bundle, and make them up as packages, which they carry along with them in their migrations, upon a sort of car with four wheels. When they have occasion to set them up again, they always make the entrance front to the south. Besides these cars they have a superior kind of vehicle upon two wheels, covered likewise with black felt, and so effectually as to protect those within it from wet, during a whole day of rain. These are drawn by oxen and camels, and serve to convey their wives and children, their utensils, and such provisions as they require. It is the women who attend to their trading concerns, who buy and sell, and provide everything necessary for their husbands and their families; the time of the men being entirely devoted to hunting, hawking, and matters that relate to the military life. They have the best falcons in the world, and also the best dogs.

They subsist entirely upon flesh and milk, eating the produce of their sport, and a certain small animal, not unlike a rabbit, which, during the summer season are found in great abundance in the plains. But they likewise eat flesh of every description, horses, camels, and even dogs, provided they are fat. They drink mares' milk, which they prepare in such a manner that it has the qualities and flavour of white wine.

Their women are not excelled in the world for chastity and decency of conduct, nor for love and duty to their husbands. Infidelity to the marriage bed is regarded by them as a vice not merely dishonourable, but of the most infamous nature. It is also admirable to observe the loyalty of the husbands towards their wives, amongst whom, although there are perhaps ten or twenty, there prevails a degree of quiet and union that is highly laudable. No offensive language is ever heard, their attention being fully occupied with their own affairs and their several domestic employments, such as the provision of necessary food for the family, the management of the servants, and the care of the children, which are amongst them a common concern.

The men are allowed the indulgence of taking as many wives as they choose. Their expense to the husband is not great, and on the other hand the benefit he derives from their training and from the occupations in which they are constantly engaged, is considerable. On this account he makes payment to the mother. The wife who is the first espoused has the privilege of superior attention, and is held to be the most legitimate, which extends also to the children borne by her. In consequence of this unlimited number of wives, the offspring is more numerous than amongst any other people. Upon the death of the father, the son may take to himself the wives he leaves behind, with the exception of his own mother. They cannot take their sisters to wife, but upon the death of their brothers they can marry their sisters-in-law. Every marriage is solemnised with great ceremony.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 53

OF THE GOD OF THE TARTARS — AND OF THEIR MODES OF WORSHIP — OF THEIR DRESS

The doctrine and faith of the Tartars [Mongols.] are these: They believe in a deity whose nature is Sublime and Heavenly. To him they burn incense, and offer up prayers only for the enjoyment of intellectual and bodily health.

They worship another likewise, named Natigay, whose image, covered with felt or other cloth, every individual preserves in his house. To this deity they associate a wife and children, placing the former on his left side, and the latter before him. Him they consider as the divinity who presides over the Earth, protects their children, and guards their cattle and their grain. They show him great respect, and at their meals they never omit to take a fat morsel of the flesh, and with it to grease the mouth of the idol, and at the same time the mouths of its wife and children. They then throw out of the door some of the liquor in which the meat has been dressed, as an offering to the other spirits. This being done, they consider that their deity and his family have had their proper share, and proceed to eat and drink without further ceremony.

The wealthy Tartars dress in cloth of gold and silks, with skins of the sable, the ermine, and other animals, all in the richest fashion.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 54

CONCERNING THE TARTAR CUSTOMS OF WAR — OF THEIR ARMS AND OBEDIENCE TO THEIR LEADERS

Their arms are bows, iron maces, and in some instances, spears; but the first is the weapon at which they are the most expert, being accustomed, from children, to employ it in their sports. They wear defensive armour made from buffalo and hides of other beasts, dried by the fire, and thus rendered extremely hard and strong. They are brave in battle, almost to desperation, setting little value upon their lives, and exposing themselves without hesitation to all manner of danger. Their disposition is cruel.

They are capable of supporting every kind of privation, and when there is a necessity for it, can live for a month on the milk of their mares, and upon such wild animals as they may chance to catch. Their horses are fed upon grass alone, and do not require barley or other grain. The men are trained to remain on horseback during two days and two nights, without dismounting; sleeping in that situation whilst their horses graze. No people upon earth can surpass them in fortitude under difficulties, nor show greater patience under wants of every kind. They are most obedient to their chiefs, and are maintained at small expense. From these qualities, so essential to the formation of soldiers, it is, that they are fitted to subdue the world, as in fact they have done in regard to a considerable portion of it.

When one of the great Tartar chiefs proceeds on an expedition, he puts himself at the head of an army of an hundred thousand horse, and organizes them in the following manner. He appoints an officer to the command of every ten men, and others to command an hundred, a thousand, and ten thousand men, respectively. Thus ten of the officers commanding ten men take their orders from him who commands a hundred; of these, each ten, from him who commands a thousand; and each ten of these latter, from him who commands ten thousand.

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By this arrangement each officer has only to attend to the management of ten men or ten bodies of men. Every company of a hundred men is denominated a Tuc, and ten of these constitute a Toman. When the army proceeds on service, a body of two hundred men is sent two days' march in advance, and parties are stationed upon each flank and in the rear, in order to prevent its being attacked by surprise.

When the service is distant they carry but little with them, and that, chiefly what is requisite for their encampment, and utensils for cooking. They subsist for the most part upon milk, as has been said. They are provided with small tents made of felt, under which they shelter themselves against rain. Should circumstances render it necessary, in the execution of a duty that requires despatch, they can march for ten days without lighting a fire or taking a meal. During this time they subsist upon the blood drawn from their horses, each man opening a vein, and drinking from his own cattle.

They make provision also of milk, thickened and dried to the state of a paste, which is prepared in the following manner. They boil the milk, and skimming off the rich or creamy part as it rises to the top, put it into a separate vessel as butter; for so long as that remains in the milk, it will not become hard. The latter is then exposed to the sun until it dries. Upon going on service they carry with them about ten pounds for each man, and of this, half a pound is put, every morning, into a leathern bottle, with as much water as is thought necessary. By their motion in riding the contents are violently shaken, and a thin porridge is produced, upon which they make their dinner.

When these Tartars come to engage in battle, they never mix with the enemy, but keep hovering about him, discharging their arrows first from one side and then from the other, occasionally pretending to fly, and during their flight shooting arrows backwards at their pursuers, killing men and horses, as if they were combating face to face. In this sort of warfare the adversary imagines he has gained a victory, when in fact he has lost the battle; for the Tartars, observing the mischief they have done him, wheel about, and renewing the fight, overpower his remaining troops, and make them prisoners in spite of their utmost exertions. Their horses are so well broken-in to quick changes of movement, that upon the signal given, they instantly turn in any direction; and by these rapid manoeuvres many victories have been obtained.

All that has been here related is spoken of the original manners of the Tartar chiefs; but at the present day they are much degenerated. Those who dwell in Cathay, forsaking their own laws, have adopted the customs of the people who worship idols, and those wh& inhabit the eastern provinces have adopted the manners of the Saracens.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 55

OF THE RULES OF JUSTICE — AND OF AN IMAGINARY KIND OF MARRIAGE BETWEEN THE DECEASED CHILDREN OF DIFFERENT FAMILIES

Justice* is administered by them in the following manner. When a person is convicted of a robbery not meriting the punishment of death, he is condemned to receive a certain number of strokes with a cane,—seven, seventeen, twenty-seven, thirty-seven, forty-seven, or as far as one hundred and seven, according to the value of the article stolen and circumstances of the theft. Many die under this chastisement. When for stealing a horse or other article that subjects the offender to capital punishment, he is condemned to suffer death, the sentence is executed by cutting his body in two with a sword. But if the thief has the means of paying nine times the value of the property stolen, he escapes all further punishment. [* See: The Yasa, Grand Bible.]

It is usual for every Chief of a tribe or other person possessing cattle, such as horses, mares, camels, oxen, or cows, to distinguish them by his mark, and then to suffer them to graze at large, in any part of the plains or mountains, without employing herdsmen to look after them. If any of them should happen to mix with the cattle of other proprietors, they are restored to the person whose mark they bear. Sheep and goats, on the contrary, have people to attend them. Their cattle of every kind are well-sized, fat, and exceedingly handsome.

When one man has had a son, and another man a daughter, although both may have been dead for some years, they have a practice of contracting a marriage between their deceased children, and of bestowing the girl upon the youth. They at the same time paint upon pieces of paper human figures to represent attendants with horses and other animals, dresses of all kinds, money, and every article of furniture; and all these, together with the marriage contract, which is regularly drawn up, they commit to the flames, in order that these things may be conveyed to their children in the other world, and that they may become husband and wife in due form. After this ceremony, the fathers and mothers consider themselves as mutually related, in the same manner as if a real connexion had taken place between their living children.

Having thus given an account of the manners and customs of the Tartars, although not yet of the brilliant acts and enterprises of their Great Khan, who is Lord of all the Tartars, we shall now return to our former subject, that is, to the extensive plain which we were traversing when we stopped to relate the history of this people.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 56

OF THE PLAIN OF BARGV NEAR KARAKORAN — OF THE CUSTOMS OF ITS INHABITANTS — OF THE OCEAN — AND OF THE FALCONS PRODUCED IN THE COUNTRY

Upon leaving Karakoran and the mountains of Altai, the burial-place, as has been said, of the imperial Tartar family, you proceed, in a northern direction, through a country termed the plain of Bargu, extending to the distance of about forty days' journey. The people who dwell there are calle<a Mescript, a rude tribe, who live upon the flesh of animals, the largest of which are of the nature of stags; and these they also make use of for the purposes of travelling. They feed likewise upon the birds that frequent their numerous lakes and marshes, as well as upon fish. It is at the moulting season, or during summer, that the birds seek these waters, and being then, from want of feathers, incapable of flight, they are taken by the natives without difficulty. This plain borders on the ocean at its northern extremity. The customs and manners of the people resemble those of the Tartars that have been described, and they are subjects of the Great Khan. They have neither corn nor wine; and although in summer they derive subsistence from the chase, yet in winter the cold is so excessive that neither birds nor beasts can remain there. Upon travelling forty days, as it is said, you reach the ocean. Near to this is a mountain, in which, as well as in the neighbouring plain, vultures and peregrine falcons have their nests. Neither men nor cattle are found there, and of birds there is only a species called bargelak, and the falcons to which they serve for food. The former are about the size of a partridge, with tails like the swallow, claws like those of the parrot kind, and are swift of flight. When the Great Khan is desirous of having a brood of peregrine falcons, he sends to procure them at this place. In an island lying off the coast, gerfalcons are found in such numbers that his Majesty may be supplied with as many of them as he pleases. It must not be supposed that the gerfalcons sent from Europe for the use of the Tartars are conveyed to the court of the Great Khan. They go only to some of the Tartar or other chiefs of the Levant, bordering on the countries of the Comanians and Armenians. This island is situated so far to the north that the North Star appears to be behind you, and to have in part a southerly bearing.

Having thus spoken of the regions in the vicinity of the Northern Ocean, we shall now describe the provinces lying nearer to the residence of the Great Khan, and shall return o that of Campichu, of which mention has already been made.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 57

OF THE KINGDOM OF ERGINUL — ADJOINING TO THAT OF CAMPICHU — AND OF THE PROVINCE OF SINJU — AND OF THE CUSTOMS OF THAT COUNTRY — AND THE BEAUTY OF THE WOMEN

Upon leaving Campichu, and proceeding Ave days' journey towards the east, in the course of which travellers are frequently terrified in the night-time by the voices of spirits, they reach a kingdom named Erginul, subject to the Great Khan, and included in the province of Tanguth. Within the limits of this kingdom are several principalities, the inhabitants of which are, in general, idolaters [Buddhists.], with some few Nestorian Christians and worshippers of Mohammed.

Amongst many cities and strong places the principal one is Erginul. Proceeding from thence in a south-eastern direction, the road takes you to Cathay, and in that route you find a city called Sinju, in a district of the same name, where are many towns and castles, in like manner belonging to Tanguth, and under the dominion of the Great Khan. The population of this country consists chiefly of idolaters [Buddhists.]; but there are also some Mohammedans and Christians. Here are found many wild cattle that, in point of size, may be compared to elephants. [Polo was not really exaggerating when he described the Wild Yak. The wild yak (Bos mutus) is a large, wild cattle native to the Himalayas. It is the ancestor of the domestic yak (Bos grunniens). The wild yak is among the largest extant bovid species. Adults stand about 1.6 to 2.05 m (5.2 to 6.7 ft) tall at the shoulder, and weigh 500–1,200 kg (1,100–2,600 lb). The head and body length is 2.4 to 3.8 m (7.9 to 12 ft), not counting the tail of 60 to 100 cm (24 to 39 in). The females are about one-third the weight and are about 30% smaller in their linear dimensions when compared to bull wild yaks. Domesticated yaks (Bos grunniens) are somewhat smaller.] Their colour is a mixture of white and black, and they are very beautiful to the sight. The hair upon every part of their bodies lies down smooth, excepting upon the shoulder, where it stands up to the height of about three palms. This hair, or rather wool, is white, and more soft and delicate than silk. Marco Polo carried some of it to Venice, as a singular curiosity, and such it was esteemed by all who saw it. Many of these cattle taken wild have become domesticated, and the breed produced between them and the common cow are noble animals, and better qualified to resist fatigue than any other kind. They are accustomed to carry heavier burthens and to perform twice the labour in husbandry that could be derived from the ordinary sort, being both active and powerful.

In this country it is that the finest and most valuable musk is procured. The animal which yields it is a kind of gazelle. Its coat is like that of the larger kind of deer: its feet and tail are those of the antelope, but it has not the horns. It is provided with four projecting teeth or tusks, three inches in length, two in the upper jaw pointing downwards, and two in the lower jaw pointing upwards; small in proportion to their length, and white as ivory. Upon the whole it is a handsome creature. The musk is obtained in the following manner. At the time when the moon is at the full, a bag or skin of coagulated blood forms itself about the umbilical region, and those whose occupation it is to take the animal avail themselves of the moonlight for that purpose, when they cut off the membrane, and afterwards dry it, with its contents, in the sun. It proves the finest musk that produces that powerful perfume. Great numbers are caught, and the flesh is esteemed good to eat. Marco Polo brought with him to Venice the head and the feet of one of them dried.

The inhabitants of this country employ themselves in trade and manufactures. They have grain in abundance. The extent of the province is twenty-five days' journey. Pheasants are found in it that are twice the size of ours, but something smaller than the peacock. The tail feathers are eight or ten palms in length. [These tail feathers, over six feet in length, ire often worn In the cap of the hero of a Chinese drama.] There are other pheasants also, in size and appearance like our own, as well as a great variety of other birds, some of which have beautiful plumage.

The inhabitants are idolaters [Buddhists.]. In person they are inclined to be fat, and their noses are small. Their hair is black, and they have scarcely any beard, or only a few scattered hairs on the chin. The women of the superior class are in like manner free from superfluous hairs; their skins are fair, and they are well formed. The men are much devoted to female society; and, according to their laws and customs, they may have as many wives as they please, provided they are able to maintain them. If a young woman, although poor, be handsome, the rich are induced to take her to wife, and in order to obtain her, make valuable presents to her parents and relations, beauty alone being the quality held in estimation. We shall now take our leave of this district, and proceed to speak of another, situated further to the eastward.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 58

OF THE PROVINCE OF EGRIGAIA — AND OF THE CITY OF KALACHA — OF THE MANNERS OF ITS PEOPLE — AND OF THE CAMLETS MANUFACTURED THERE

Departing from Erginul, and proceeding easterly for eight days, you come to a country named Egrigaia, still belonging to the great province of Tanguth, and subject to the Great Khan, in which there are many cities and castles, the principal one of which is called Calachan. The inhabitants are in general idolaters [Buddhists.]; but there are three churches of Nestorian Christians. In this city they manufacture beautiful camlets, the finest known in the world, of the hair of camels and likewise of white wool. These are of a beautiful white, for they also have white camels. They are purchased by the merchants in considerable quantities, and carried to many other countries, especially to Cathay.

Leaving this province, we shall now speak of another situated towards the east, and shall thus enter upon the territory of Prester John*.

[* The legend of Prester John (Latin: Presbyter Iohannes) began in the early 12th century with reports of visits of an Archbishop of India to Constantinople, and of a Patriarch of India to Rome at the time of Pope Callixtus II. These visits, apparently from the Saint Thomas Christians of India, cannot be confirmed, evidence of both being secondhand reports. No more of the tale is recorded until about 1165 when copies of what was likely a forged Letter of Prester John started spreading throughout Europe. We can be almost sure that there was no Prester John. This character was most likely invented as a kind of hope-giving Christian Messiah figure during times of extreme distress for Christianity when armies of Islamic Turks and Mongols [often called Tartars.] advanced into Central Europe. See: The Letter of Prester John, Grand Bible.]

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 59

OF THE PROVINCE OF TENDUK « GOVERNED BY {RINCES OF THE RACE OF PRESTER JOHN

Tenduk, belonging to the territory of Prester John, is an eastern province, in which there are many cities and castles, subject to the rule of the Great Khan; all the princes of that family having remained dependent, since Chinghis, the first emperor, subdued the country. The capital is likewise named Tenduk. The greater part of the inhabitants are Christians. This king holds his country as a fief of the Great Khan; not, indeed, the entire possessions of the original Prester John, but

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a certain portion of them; and the Khan always bestows upon him, as well as upon the other princes of his house, his daughters, and other females of the royal family, in marriage.

In this province, the stone of which the azure colour is made is found in abundance, and of fine quality. Here likewise they manufacture stuffs of camels' hair. The people gain their subsistence by agriculture, trade, 'and mechanical labours. Amongst the inhabitants, however, there are both worshippers of idols and followers of the law of Mohammed as well as Christians. The rule of the province is in the hands of the Christians. There is likewise a class of people known by the appellation of Argon, because they are produced from a mixture of two races, namely, those natives of Tenduk who are idolaters [Buddhists.], and the Mohammedans. The men of this country are fairer complexioned and better looking than those in the other countries of which we have been speaking, and also better instructed, and more skilful traders.

In this province of Tenduk, was the principal seat of government of the sovereigns styled Prester John, when they ruled over the Tartars of this and the neighbouring countries, and which their successors occupy to the present hour. George, the present King, is the fourth in descent from Prester John, of whose family he is regarded as the ead. There are two regions in which they exercise dominion.

These in our part of the world are named Gog and Magog*, but by the natives Ung and Mongul; in each of which there is a distinct race of people. In Ung they are Gog, and in Mongul they are Tartars.

[* It is curious that Marco Polo makes no mention of the Great Wall of China. His route has crossed the wall several times and in this province crosses it again. Sir Henry Yule seems to feel that the Great Wall was in Marco Polo's mind when he referred to the people of this province as "Gog and Magog." Certainly his many references to the habits of the Mohammedans would lead us to suppose an acquaintanceship with the Koran, where the following passage occurs: "They said 'O DHU'1 Qarnainl verily, Yagug and Magug [Gog and Magog] are doing evil in the land. Shall we pay thee tribute, on condition that thou set between us and them a rampart?" He said, 'What my Lord hath established me in is better; so help me with strength, and I will set between you and them a barrier'."]

Travelling seven days through this province, in an easterly direction, towards Cathay [China.], you pass many towns inhabited by idolaters [Buddhists.], as well as by Mohammedans and Nestorian Christians. They gain their living by trade and manufactures, weaving, fine-gold tissues, ornamented with mother-of-pearl, and silks of different textures and colours, not unlike those of Europe; together with a variety of woollen cloths.

These people are all subjects of the Great Khan. One of the towns, named Sindichu, is celebrated for the manufacture of all kinds of arms, and every article necessary for the equipment of troops. In the mountainous part of the province there is a place called Ydifu, in which is a rich mine of silver, from whence large quantities of that metal are obtained. There are also plenty of birds and beasts.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 60

OF THE CITY OF CHANGANOR — OF DIFFERENT SPECIES OF CRANES — AND OF PARTRIDGES AND QUAILS BRED IN THAT PART BY THE ORDERS OF THE GREAT KHAN

Leaving the city and province last mentioned, and travelling three days, you arrive at a city named Changanor, which signifies, the White Pool. At this place the Khan has a great Palace, which he is fond of visiting, because it is surrounded with pieces of water and streams, which are the haunt of many swans. There is also a fine plain, where are found in great numbers, cranes, pheasants, partridges, and other birds. He derives the highest degree of amusement from sporting with gerfalcons and hawks, the game being here in vast abundance.

Of the cranes they reckon five species. The first sort are entirely black as coals, and have long wings. The second sort have wings still longer than the first, but are white, and the feathers of the wings are full of eyes, round like those of the peacock, but of a gold colour and very bright; the head is red and black, and well formed; the neck is black and white, and the general appearance of the bird is extremely handsome. The third sort are of the size of ours. The fourth are small cranes, having the feathers prettily streaked with red and azure. The fifth are of a grey colour, with the head red and black, and are of a large size.

Near to this city is a valley frequented by great numbers of partridges and quails, for whose food the Great Khan causes millet and other grains suitable to such birds, to be sown along the sides of it every season, and gives strict command that no person shall dare to reap the seed; in order that the birds may not be in want of nourishment.

Many keepers, likewise, are stationed there for the preservation of the game, that it may not be taken or destroyed, as well as for the purpose of throwing the millet to the birds during the winter. So accustomed are they to this feeding, that upon the grain being scattered and the man's whistling, they immediately assemble from every quarter. The Great Khan also directs that a number of small buildings be prepared for their shelter during the night; and, in consequence of these attentions, he always finds abundant sport when he visits this country; and even in the winter, at which season, on account of the severity of the cold, he does not reside there, he has camel-loads of the birds sent to him, wherever his court may happen to be at the time. Leaving this place, we shall now direct our course three days' journey towards the north-east.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 61

OF THE GREAT KHAN'S BEAUTIFUL PALACE IN THE CITY OF SHANDU AND OF THE CEREMONIES PRACTICED IN THE HALL OF THE ROYAL PALACE

Departing from the city last mentioned, and proceeding three days' journey in a north-easterly direction, you arrive at a city called Shandu [Shangtu, Xanadu, Beijing.], built by the Great Khan Kublai, now reigning. In this he caused a palace to be erected, of marble and other handsome stones, admirable as well for the elegance of its design as for the skill displayed in its execution.

The halls and chambers are all gilt, and very handsome. It presents one front towards the interior of the city, and the other towards the wall; and from each extremity of the building runs another wall to such an extent as to enclose sixteen miles in circuit of the adjoining plain, to which there is no access but through the palace. Within the bounds of this royal Park there are rich and beautiful meadows, watered by many rivulets, where a variety of animals of the deer and goat kind are pastured, to serve as food for the hawks and other birds employed in the chase, whose pens are also in the grounds. The number of these birds is upwards of two hundred, without counting the hawks; and the Great Khan goes in person, once every week, to inspect them. Frequently, when he rides about this enclosed forest, he has one or more small leopards carried on horseback, behind their keepers; and when he pleases to give direction for their being slipped, they instantly seize a stag, goat, or fallow deer, which he gives to his hawks, and in this manner he amuses himself.

In the centre of these grounds, where there is a beautiful grove of trees, he has built a Royal Pavilion, supported upon a colonnade of handsome pillars, gilt and varnished.

Round each pillar a dragon, likewise gilt, entwines its tail, whilst its head sustains the projection of the roof, and its talons or claws are extended to the right and left. The roof, like the rest, is of bamboo cane, and so well varnished that no wet can injure it. The bamboos used for this purpose are three palms in circumference and ten fathoms in length, and being cut at the joints, are split into two equal parts, so as to form gutters, and with these, laid concave and convex, the pavilion is covered. But to secure the roof against the effect of wind, each of the bamboos is tied at the ends to the frame. The building is supported on every side like a tent by more than two hundred very strong silken cords, and otherwise, from the lightness of the materials, it would be liable to oversetting by the force of high winds. The whole is constructed with so much ingenuity of contrivance that all the parts may be taken apart, removed, and again set up, at his Majesty's pleasure. This spot he has selected for his recreation on account of the mild temperature and salubrity of the air, and he accordingly makes it his residence during the three months of the year, namely, June, July, and August. Every year, on the twenty-eighth day of the moon, in the last of these months, it is his established custom to depart and proceed to an appointed place, in order to perform certain sacrifices, in the following manner.

It is to be understood that the Khan keeps up a stud of about ten thousand horses and mares, which are white as snow. Of the milk of these mares no person can presume to drink who is not of the family descended from Chinghis Khan, with the exception only of one other family, named Horiad, to whom that monarch gave the honourable privilege, in reward of valorous achievements in battle, performed in his own presence.

So great, indeed, is the respect shown to these horses that, even when they are at pasture in the royal meadows or forests, no one dares to place himself before them, or otherwise to check their movements. The astrologers whom he entertains in his service, and who are deeply versed in the art of magic have pronounced it to be his duty, annually, on the twenty-eighth day of the moon in August, to scatter in the wind the milk taken from these mares, as an honour to all the spirits and idols whom they adore. On such occasion these astrologers, or magicians as they may be termed, sometimes display their skill in a wonderful manner; for if it should happen that the sky becomes cloudy and threatens rain, they ascend the roof of the Palace where the Great Khan resides at the time, and by the force of their magic they prevent the rain from falling and stay the tempest. In the surrounding country, storms of rain, wind, and thunder may be experienced but the Palace itself remains unaffected by the elements. The sorcerers who do this are persons called Tebeth [Tibet.] and Kesmir [Kashmir.], which are the names of two nations of Idolaters [Buddhists.]. They persuaded the vulgar that these works are effected through the help of God. They exhibit themselves in a filthy and indecent state, and are devoid of respect for themselves, or for those who see them. They suffer their faces to continue always unwashed and their hair uncombed, living altogether in a squalid style.

They are addicted, moreover, to this beastly and horrible practice, that when any culprit is condemned to death, they carry off the body, dress it on the fire and devour it. But of persons who die a natural death they do not eat the bodies.

Besides the marvels before mentioned, by which they are distinguished from each other, they are likewise termed Bacsi, which applies to their religious sect or order. So expert are they in their infernal art, they may be said to perform whatever they will} and one instance shall be given, although it may be thought to exceed the bounds of credibility. When the Great Khan sits at meals, in his hall of state—as shall be more particularly described in the following book—the table which is placed in the centre is elevated to the height of about eight cubits, and at a distance from it stands a large buffet, where all the drinking vessels are arranged. Now, by means of their supernatural art, they cause the flagons of wine, milk, or any other beverage, to fill the cups spontaneously, without being touched by the attendants, and the cups to move through the air the distance of ten paces until they reach the hand of the Great Khan! As he empties them, they return to the place from whence they came; and this is done in the presence of such persons as are invited by his Majesty to witness the performance.*

[* This feat of magic as well as many others are still practised by the Red Lamas but repudiated and despised by the orthodox Yellow Lamas who are opposed to these "grosser exhibitions of common magic and charlatanism; . . . but as the vulgar will not dispense with these marvels, every great orthodox monastery in Tibet keeps a conjuror, who is a member of the unreformed and does not belong to the brotherhood of the convent." According to Yule, who quotes many references, the "practitioners possess no literature, and hand down their mysteries only by tradition."]

These Bacsi, when the festival days of their idols draw near, go to the Palace of the Great Khan, and thus address him:—"Sire, be it known to your Majesty, that if the honours and offering are not paid to our deities, they will in their anger afflict us with bad seasons, with blight to our grain, pestilence to our cattle, and with other plagues. On this account we beg your Majesty to grant us a certain number of sheep with black heads, together with so many pounds of incense and of lignaloes, in order that we may be enabled to perform the customary rites with due solemnity."

Their words, however, are not spoken directly to the Great Khan, but to certain great officers, by whom the communication is made to him. Upon receiving it he never fails to comply with the whole of their request. Accordingly, when the day arrives, they sacrifice the sheep, and by pouring out the liquor in which the meat has been seethed, in the presence of their idols, perform the ceremony of worship.

In this country there are great Monasteries and Abbeys, so extensive indeed that they might pass for small cities, some of them containing as many as two thousand monks, who are devoted to the service of their divinities, according to the established religious customs of the people. These are clad in a better style of dress than the other inhabitants they shave their heads and their beards, and celebrate the festivals of their idols with the utmost possible solemnity, having bands of vocal music and burning tapers. Some of this class are allowed to take wives.

There is likewise another religious order, the members of which are named Sensin, who observe strict abstinence and lead very austere lives, having no other food than bran, which they mix in warm water. That is their food: bran, and nothing but bran; and water for their drink. This sect sometimes pay adoration to fire, and are considered by the others as heretics, not worshipping idols as they do. There is a material difference between them in regard to the rules of their orders, and these last described never marry in any instance. They shave their heads and beards like the others, and wear hempen garments of a black and blue colour; but even if the material were silk, the colour would be the same. They sleep upon coarse mats, and suffer greater hardships in their mode of living than any people in the world.

We shall now quit this subject, and proceed to speak of the wonderful magnificence of the Great Lord of Lords; the Sovereign of the Tartars [Mongols.], Kublai Khan.

MARCO POLO BOOK 2, PART 1

ACCOUNT OF THE GREAT KHAN KUBLAY; OF HIS PALACES AND CAPITAL; HIS COURT, GOVERNMENT, AND SPORTS.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 1

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OF THE ADMIRABLE DEEDS OF KUBLAI KHAN — THE EMPEROR NOW REIGNING — AND HIS GREAT POWER

In this book it is our design to treat all of the great and admirable achievements of the Great Khan now reigning, who is styled Kublai Khan the latter word implying in our language Lord of Lords, and of a surety he hath good right to such a title, for in respect to number of subjects, extent of territory, and amount of revenue, he surpasses every sovereign that has heretofore been or that now is in the world} nor has any other been served with such implicit obedience by those whom he governs. This will so evidently appear in the course of our work, as to satisfy every one of the truth of our assertion.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 2

CONCERNING THE REVOLT OF NATAN THE UNCLE OF THE GREAT KHAN

Kublai Khan, it is to be understood, is the lineal and legitimate descendant of Chinghis Khan [Chinghis Kaan.] the first emperor, and the rightful sovereign of the Tartars [Mongols.]. He is the sixth Great Khan, and began his reign in the year 1256. He obtained the sovereignty by his consummate valour, his virtues, and his prudence, in opposition to the designs of his brothers, who were supported by many of the great officers and members of his own family. But the succession was his in law and right.

It is forty-two years since he began to reign to the present year, 1298, and he is fully eighty-five years of age. [The Polos sailed from China in 1292, and therefore Marco did not know that Kublai died in 1294 at the age of 78.] Previously to his ascending the throne he had served as a volunteer in the army, and endeavoured to take a share in every enterprise. Not only was he brave and daring in action, but in point of judgment and military skill he was considered to be the most able and successful commander that ever led the Tartars to battle. From that period, however, he ceased to take the field in person, and entrusted the expeditions to his sons and his captains; excepting in one instance, the occasion of which was as follows.

A certain chief named Nayan, who, although only thirty years of age, was kinsman to Kublai, had succeeded to the dominion of many cities and provinces, which enabled him to bring into the field an army of three hundred thousand horse. His predecessors, however, had been vassals of the Great Khan. Actuated by youthful vanity upon finding himself at the head of so great a force, he formed the design of throwing off his allegiance, and seizing the sovereignty. With this view he privately dispatched messengers to Kaidu, another powerful chief, whose territories lay towards the greater Turkey, and who, although a nephew of the Great Khan, was in rebellion against him, and bore him determined ill-will, proceeding from the apprehension of punishment for former offences.

To Kaidu, therefore, the propositions made by Nayan were highly satisfactory, and he accordingly promised to bring to his assistance an army of a hundred thousand horse. Both princes immediately began to assemble their forces, but it could not be effected so secretly as not to come to the knowledge of Kublai.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 3

HOW THE GREAT KHAN MARCHED AGAINST NAYAN

The Great Khan upon hearing of their preparations lost no time in occupying all the passes leading to the countries of Nayan and of Kaidu, in order to prevent them from having any information respecting the measures he was himself taking. He then gave orders for collecting, with the utmost speed, the whole of the troops stationed within ten days' march of the city of Kanbalu [Peking]. These amounted to three hundred and sixty thousand horse, to which was added a body of a hundred thousand foot, consisting of those who were usually about his person, and principally his falconers and domestic servants.

In the course of twenty days they were all in readiness. Had he assembled the armies kept up for the constant protection of the different provinces of Cathay, it must necessarily have required thirty or forty days. During this time the enemy would have gained information of his arrangements, and would have united and occupied such strong positions as would best suit with their designs.

His object was, by promptitude, which is ever the companion of victory, to anticipate the preparations of Nayan, and by falling upon him whilst single, destroy his power with more certainty and effect than after he should have been joined by Kaidu.

It may be proper here to observe, whilst on the subject, of the armies of the Great Khan, that in every province of Cathay and of Manji, as well as in other parts of his dominions, there were many disloyal and seditious persons, who at all times were disposed to break out in rebellion against their sovereign. On this account it became necessary to keep armies in such of the provinces as contained large cities and an extensive population, which are stationed at the distance of four or five miles from those cities, and can enter them at their pleasure. These armies the Great Khan makes it a practice to change every second year, and the same with respect to the officers who command them. By means of such precautions the people are kept in quiet subjection, and no movement nor innovation of any kind can be attempted. The troops are maintained not only from the pay they receive out of the imperial revenues of the province, but also from the cattle and their milk, which belong to them individually, and which they send into the cities for sale. In this manner they are distributed over the country, in various places, to the distance of thirty, forty, and even sixty days' journey. If even the half of these corps were to be collected in one place, the statement of their number would appear marvellous and scarcely entitled to belief.

Having formed his army in the manner above described, the Great Khan proceeded towards the territory of Nayan, and by forced marches, continued day and night, he reached it at the expiration of twenty-five days. So prudently, at the same time, was the expedition managed, that neither that prince himself nor any of his dependents were aware of it, all the roads being guarded in such a manner that no persons who attempted to pass could escape being made prisoners.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 4

OF THE BATTLE THAT THE GREAT KHAN FOUGHT WITH NAYAN

Upon arriving at a certain range of hills, on the other side of which was the plain where Nayan's army lay encamped, Kublai halted his troops, and allowed them two days of rest. Confident of success, they ascended the hill with cheerful willingness the next morning, and presented themselves before the army of Nayan, which they found poorly posted, without advanced parties or scouts, whilst the chief himself was asleep in his tent, accompanied by one of his favourite wives. Upon awaking, he hastened to form his troops in the best manner that circumstances would allow, lamenting that his junction with Kaidu had not been sooner effected.

Kublai took his station in a large wooden castle, borne on the backs of four elephants, whose bodies were protected with coverings of thick leather hardened by fire, over which were housings of cloth of gold. The castle contained many cross-bow-men and archers, and on the top of it was hoisted the imperial standard, adorned with representations of the sun and moon.

His army, which consisted of thirty battalions of horse, each battalion containing ten thousand men, armed with bows, he disposed in three grand divisions. Those which formed the left and right wings he extended in such a manner as to out-flank the army of Nayan. In front of each battalion of horse were placed five hundred infantry, armed with short lances and swords, who, whenever the cavalry made a show of flight, were practised to mount behind the riders and accompany them, alighting again when they returned to the charge, and killing with their lances the horses of the enemy.

As soon as the order of battle was arranged, an infinite number of wind instruments of various kinds were sounded, and these were succeeded by songs, according to the custom of the Tartars before they engage in fight, which commences upon the signal given by the cymbals and drums, and there was such a beating of the cymbals and drums, and such singing, that it was wonderful to hear.

This signal, by the orders of the Great Khan, was first given to the right and left wings, and the great drums of Kublai Khan began to sound. Then a fierce and bloody conflict began. The air was instantly filled with a cloud of arrows that poured down on every side, and vast numbers of men and horses were seen to fall to the ground. The loud cries and shouts of the men, together with the noise of the horses and the weapons, were such as to inspire terror into those who heard them. When their arrows had been discharged, the hostile parties engaged in close combat with their lances, swords, and maces shod with iron; and such was the slaughter, and so large were the heaps of the carcases of men, and more especially of horses, on the field, that it became impossible for the one party to advance upon the other.

The fortune of the day remained for a long time undecided, and victory wavered between the contending parties from morning until noon; for so zealous was the devotion of Nayan's people to the cause of their master, who was most liberal and indulgent towards them, that they were all ready to meet death rather than turn their backs to the enemy.

At length, however, Nayan, perceiving that he was nearly surrounded, attempted to save himself by flight, but was presently made prisoner, and conducted to the presence of Kublai, who gave orders for his being put to death.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 5

HOW THE GREAT KHAN CAUSED NAYAN TO BE PUT TO DEATH

This was carried into execution by enclosing Nayan between two carpets, which were violently shaken until the spirit had departed from the body,* the motive for this peculiar sentence being, that the sun and the air should not witness the shedding of the blood of one who belonged to the imperial family.

[*In 1688 the King of Siara was put to death by being placed in a large Iron mortar and pounded with wooden pestles. Royal criminals of Siam are treated in this manner because of the belief that royal blood must not be spilt on the ground. This is to prevent divine blood being contaminated by mixing it with earth. In the ceremonies of certain Australian tribes blood is not allowed to fall on the ground and in West Sussex, England, there are people who hold that ground upon which human blood has' been shed will remain barren for ever. See chapters on Tabooed Things in Frazer's The Golden Bough. Persian Jews settled in China in 1163. In 1279 their old synagogue in K'ai-feng was rebuilt and in 1386 the first Emperor of the Ming dynasty presented the Jewish community with a piece of graund on which they might live in peace. See Les Juifs en Chine by Henri Cordier, Jewish Encyclopedia and Perlman's History of the Jews in China.]

Those of his troops which survived the battle came to make their submission, and swear allegiance to Kublai. They were inhabitants of the four noble provinces of Chorza, Karli, Barskol, and Sitingui.

Nayan, who had privately undergone the ceremony of baptism, but never made open profession of Christianity, thought proper, on this occasion, to bear the sign of the cross in his banners, and he had in his army a vast number of Christians, who were left amongst the slain. When the Jews f and the Saracens perceived that the banner of the cross was overthrown, they taunted the Christian inhabitants with it, saying, "Behold the state to which your banners, and those who followed them, are reduced!"

On account of these derisions the Christians were compelled to lay their complaints before the Great Khan, who ordered the former to appear before him, and sharply rebuked them. "If the Cross of Christ," he said, "has not proved advantageous to the party of Nayan, the effect has been consistent with reason and justice, inasmuch as he was a Rebel against his Lord, and to such wretches it could not afford its protection. Let none therefore presume to charge with injustice the God of the Christians, who is Himself the perfection of goodness and of justice."

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 6

OF THE RETURN OF THE GREAT KHAN TO THE CITY OP KANBALU AFTER HIS VICTORY — AND OF THE HONOUR HE CONFERS ON THE CHRISTIANS AND THE JEWS — AND OTHER SUBJECTS

The Great Khan, having obtained this signal victory, returned with great pomp and triumph to the capital city of Kanbalu [Khanbaliq, Mongolian: City of the Khan, meaning today's Beijing, Chinese: Northern Capital, in contrast to Nanjing, Southern Capital.]. This took place in the month of November, and he continued to reside there during the months of February and March, in which latter was our festival of Easter. Being aware that this was one of our principal solemnities, he commanded all the Christians to attend him, and to bring with them their Book, which contains the four Gospels of the Evangelists.

After causing it to be repeatedly perfumed with incense, in a ceremonious manner, he devoutly kissed it, and directed that the same should be done by all his nobles who were present. This was his usual practice upon each of the principal Christian festivals, such as Easter and Christmas; and he observed the same at the festivals of the Saracens [Muslims], Jews, and idolaters [Buddhists.].

Upon being asked his motive for this conduct, he said: "There are four great Prophets who are reverenced and worshipped by the different classes of mankind. The Christians regard Jesus Christ as their divinity; the Saracens, Mohammed; the Jews, Moses; and the idolaters [Buddhists.], Sogomombarkan, the most eminent amongst their idols. I do honour and show respect to all the four, and invoke to my aid whichever amongst them is in truth Supreme in Heaven." But from the manner in which his majesty acted towards them, it is evident that he regarded the faith of the Christians as the truest and the best; nothing, as he observed, being enjoined to its professors that was not filled with virtue and holiness.

By no means, however, would he permit them to bear the cross before them in their processions, because upon it so exalted a personage as Christ had been scourged and put to death. It may perhaps be asked by some, why, if he showed such a preference to the faith of Christ, he did not conform to it, and become a Christian?

His reason for not so doing, he assigned to Nicolo and Mafeo Polo, when, upon the occasion of his sending them as his ambassadors to the Pope, they ventured to address a few words to him on the subject of Christianity. "Wherefore," he said, "should I become a Christian? You yourselves must perceive that the Christians of these countries are ignorant, inefficient persons, who do not possess the faculty of performing anything miraculous; whereas you see that the idolaters [Buddhists.] can do whatever they will. When I sit at table the cups that were in the middle of the hall come to me

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filled with wine and other beverage, spontaneously and without being touched by human hand, and I drink from them. They have the power of controlling bad weather and obliging it to retire to any quarter of the heavens, with many other wonderful gifts of that nature. You are witnesses that their idols have the faculty of speech, and predict whatever is required.

"Should I become a convert to the faith of Christ, and profess myself a Christian, the nobles of my court and other persons who do not incline to that religion will ask me what sufficient motives have caused me to receive baptism, and to embrace Christianity*. 'What extraordinary powers,' they will say, 'what miracles have been displayed by its ministers? Whereas the idolaters [Buddhists.] declare that what they exhibit is performed through their own sanctity, and the influence of their idols.'

[* A good part of this chapter is not contained in the French manuscript used by Yule for his translation. It is true that Kublai Khan honoured Christians as well as other men of learning but it was his policy always to deal with religion as a political matter and he regarded the worship of God as a byproduct of civilization. It seemed a ready means of civilising his people. The Lamas had learning and the Christians, too, had (earning. But they failed to send the hundred men; and the civilisation is now different but not to be despised. "When I went to China," says Bertrand Russell in The Problem e) China, "I went to teach; but every day that I stayed I thought less of what I had to teach them and more of what I had to learn from them."]

"To this I shall not know what answer to make, and I shall be considered by them as labouring under a grievous error, whilst the idolaters [Buddhists.], who by means of their profound art can effect such wonders, may without difficulty compass my death. But return you to your pontiff, and request of him, in my name, to send hither a hundred persons well skilled in your law, who being confronted with the idolaters shall have power to restrain them, and showing that they themselves are endowed with similar art, but which they refrain from exercising, because it is derived from the agency of evil spirits, shall compel them to desist from practices of such a nature in their presence. When I am witness of this, I shall place them and their religion under a ban, and shall allow myself to be baptized. Following my example, all my nobility will then in like manner receive baptism, and this will be imitated by my subjects in general. In the end the Christians of these parts will exceed in number those who inhabit your own country."

From this discourse it must be evident that if the Pope had sent out persons duly qualified to preach the gospel, the Great Khan would have embraced Christianity, for which, it is certainly known, he had a strong predilection.

To return to our subject, we shall now speak of the rewards and honours he bestows on such as distinguish themselves by their valour in battle.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 7

OF THE KIND OF REWARDS GRANTED TO THOSE WHO CONDUCT THEMSELVES WELL IN FIGHT — AND OF THE GOLDEN TABLETS WHICH THEY RECEIVE

The Great Khan appoints twelve of the most intelligent amongst his nobles, whose duty it is to make themselves acquainted with the conduct of the officers and men of his army, particularly upon expeditions and in battles, and to present their reports to him. Upon their respective merits he advances them in his service, raising those who commanded a hundred men to the command of a thousand, and presenting many with vessels of silver, as well as the customary Tablets or warrants of Authority.

The tablets given to those commanding a hundred men are of silver; to those commanding a thousand, of gold or of silver gilt; and those who command ten thousand receive tablets of gold, bearing the head of a lion; the former being of the weight of a hundred and twenty saggi, and these with the lion's head, two hundred and twenty. [These tablets were oblong sheets of metal, with rounded corners, about three-and-a-half" inches by twelve. They are reported to have weighed between 18 and 40 or more ounce and had a hole drilled at the upper end through wb'ch » cord was passed and suspended the plate.] On the tablet is an inscription to this effect: "By the strength of the great God, and of the great grace which He hath accorded to our Emperor, be the name of the Kaan blessed; and let all such as disobey him be slain and destroyed" The officers who hold these tablets have privileges attached to them, and in the inscription is specified what are the duties and the powers of their respective commands.

He who is at the head of a hundred thousand men, or the commander in chief of a grand army, has a golden tablet weighing three hundred saggi, with the sentence above mentioned, and at the bottom is engraved the figure of a lion, together with the sun and moon. He exercises also the privileges of his high command, as set forth in this magnificent tablet. Whenever he rides in public, an umbrella is carried over his head, denoting the rank and authority he holds; and when he is seated, it is always upon a silver chair.

The Great Khan confers likewise upon certain of his nobles tablets on which are represented figures of the gerfalcon, in virtue of which they have the power to take with them as their guard of honour the whole army of any great prince. They can also make use of the horses of the imperial stud at their pleasure, and can appropriate the horses of any officers inferior to themselves in rank.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 8

OF THE FIGURE AND STATURE OF THE GREAT KHAN — OF HIS FOUR PRINCIPAL WIVES — AND OF THE ANNUAL SELECTION OF YOUNG WOMEN FOR HIM IN THE PROVINCE OF UNGUT

Kublai, who is styled the Great Khan, or Lord of Lords, is of middle stature, that is, neither tall nor short. His limbs are well formed, and in his whole figure there is a just proportion. His complexion is fair, and occasionally suffused with red, like the bright tint of the rose, which adds much grace to his countenance. His eyes are black and handsome, his nose is well shaped and prominent.

He has four wives of the first rank, who are esteemed legitimate, and the eldest born son of any one of these succeeds to the empire, upon the decease of the Great Khan. They bear equally the title of empress, and have their separate courts. None of them have fewer than three hundred young female attendants of great beauty, together with a multitude of youths as pages, and other eunuchs, as well as ladies of the bedchamber; so that the number of persons belonging to each of their respective courts amounts to ten thousand.

When his majesty is desirous of the company of one of his empresses, he either sends for her, or goes himself to her palace. Besides these, he has many concubines provided for his use, from a province of Tartary named Ungut, the inhabitants of which are distinguished for beauty of features and fairness of complexion. Every second year, or oftener, as it may happen to be his pleasure, the Great Khan sends thither his officers, who collect for him, one hundred or more, of the handsomest of the young women, according to the estimation of beauty communicated to them in their instructions.

The mode of their appreciation is as follows. Upon the arrival of these commissioners, they give orders for assembling all the young women of the province, and appoint qualified persons to examine them, who, upon careful inspection of each of them separately, that is to say, of the hair, the countenance, the eyebrows, the mouth, the lips, and other features, as well as the symmetry of these with each other, estimate their value at sixteen, seventeen, eighten, or twenty, or more carats, according to the greater or less degree of beauty. The number required by the Great Khan, at the rates, perhaps, of twenty or twenty-one carats, to which their commission was limited, is then selected from the rest, and they are conveyed to his court.

Upon their arrival in his presence, he causes a new examination to be made by a different set of inspectors, and from amongst them a further selection takes place, when thirty or forty are retained for his own chamber at a higher valuation. These are committed separately to the care of certain elderly ladies of the palace, whose duty it is to observe them attentively during the course of the night, in order to ascertain that they have not any concealed imperfections, that they sleep tranquilly, do not snore, have sweet breath, and are free from unpleasant scent in any part of the body. Having undergone this rigorous scrutiny, they are divided into parties of five, each taking turn for three days and three nights, in his majesty's interior apartment, where they are to perform every service that is required of them, and he does with them as he likes.

When this term is completed, they are relieved by another party, and in this manner successively, until the whole number have taken their turn; when the first five recommence their attendance. But while one party officiates in the inner chamber, another is stationed in the outer apartment adjoining. If his majesty should have occasion for anything, such as drink or victuals, the former may signify his commands to the latter, by whom the article required is immediately procured. In this way the duty of waiting upon his majesty's person is exclusively performed by these young females. The remainder of them, whose value had been estimated at an inferior rate, are assigned to the different lords of the household; under whom they are instructed in cookery, in dressmaking, and other suitable works; and upon any person belonging to the court expressing an inclination to take a wife, the Great Khan bestows upon him one of these damsels, with a handsome portion. In this manner he provides for them all amongst his nobility.

It may be asked whether the people of the province do not feel themselves aggrieved in having their daughters thus forcibly taken from them by the sovereign? Certainly not; but, on the contrary, they regard it as a favour and an honour done to them; and those who are thf cathers of handsome children feel highly gratified by his condescending to make choice of their daughters. "If," say they, "my daughter is born under an auspicious planet and to good fortune, his majesty can best fulfill her destinies, by matching her nobly; which it would not be in my power to do." If, on the other hand, the daughter misconducts herself, or any mischance befalls her, by which she becomes disqualified, the father attributes the disappointment to the evil influence of her stars.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 9

OF THE NUMBER OF THE GREAT KHAN'S SONS BY HIS FOUR WIVES — WHOM HE MAKES KINGS OF DIFFERENT PROVINCES — AND OF CHINGHIS HIS FIRST-BORN

The Great Khan has had twenty-two sons by his four legitimate wives, the eldest of whom, named Chinghis, was designed to inherit the government of the empire; and this nomination was confirmed to him during the life-time of his father. But, as it came to pass he died and left a son, whose name is Themur. He, as the representative of his father, is to succeed to the dominion. The disposition of this prince is good, and he is endowed with wisdom and valour; of the latter he has given proofs in several successful battles.

Besides these, his majesty has twenty-five sons by his concubines, all of them brave soldiers, having been continually employed in the military profession. These he has placed in the rank of nobles. Of his legitimate sons, seven are at the head of extensive provinces and kingdoms, which they govern with wisdom and prudence, as might be expected of the children of one whose great qualities have not been surpassed, in the general estimation, by any person of the Tartar race.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 10

OF THE GREAT AND ADMIRABLE PALACE OF THE GREAT KHAN <* NEAR TO THE CITY OF KANBALU

The Great Khan usually resides during three months of the year, namely December, January, and February, in the great city of Kanbalu [Peking], situated towards the north-eastern extremity of the province of Cathay. Here, on the southern side of the new city, is the site of his vast palace, the form and dimensions of which are as follows. In the first place is a square enclosed with a wall and deep ditch; each side of the square being eight miles in length, and having at an equal distance from each extremity an entrance-gate, for the concourse of people resorting thither from all quarters. Within this enclosure there is, on the four sides, an open space one mile in breadth, where the troops are stationed. This is bounded by a second wall, enclosing a square of six miles, having three gates on the south side, and three on the north, the middle portal of each being larger than the other two, and always kept shut, excepting on the occasions of the emperor's entrance or departure. Those on each side always remain open for the use of common passengers.

In the middle of each division of these walls is a handsome and spacious building, and consequently within the enclosure there are eight such buildings, in which are deposited the royal military stores; one building being appropriated to the reception of each class of stores. Thus, for instance, the bridles, saddles, stirrups, and other furniture serving for the equipment of cavalry, occupy one storehouse; the bows, strings, quivers, arrows, and other articles belonging to archery, occupy another; cuirasses, corselets, and other armour formed of leather, a third storehouse; and so of the rest.

Within this walled enclosure there is still another, of great thickness, and its height is full twenty-five feet. The battlements or notched parapets are all white. This also forms a square four miles in extent, each side being one mile, and it has six gates, disposed like those of the former enclosure. It contains in like manner eight large buildings, similarly arranged, which are appropriated to the wardrobe of the emperor. The spaces between the one wall and tht other are ornamented with many handsome trees, and contain meadows in which are kept various kinds of beasts, such as stags, the animals that yield the musk, roe-bucks, fallow-deer, and others of the same class. Every interval between the walls, not occupied by buildings, is stocked in this manner. The pastures have abundant herbage. The roads across them being raised three feet above their level, and paved, no mud collects upon them, nor rain-water settles, but on the contrary runs off, and contributes to improve the vegetation.

Within these walls, which constitute the boundary of four miles, stands the palace of the Great Khan, the most extensive that has ever yet been known. It reaches from the northern to the southern wall, leaving only a vacant court, where persons of rank and the military guards pass and repass. It has no upper floor, but the roof is very lofty. The paved foundation or platform on which it stands is raised ten spans above the level of the ground, and a wall of marble, two paces wide, is built on all sides. This wall serves as a terrace, where those who walk on it are visible from without. Along the exterior edge of the wall is a handsome balustrade, with pillars, which the people are allowed to approach. The sides of the great halls and the apartments are ornamented with dragons in carved work and gilt, figures of warriors, of birds, and of

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beasts, with representations of battles. The inside of the roof is contrived in such a manner that nothing besides gilding and painting presents itself to the eye.

On each of the four sides of the palace there is a grand flight of marble steps, by which you ascend from the level of the ground to the wall of marble which surrounds the building, and which constitute the approach to the palace itself.

The grand hall is extremely long and wide, and admits of dinners being there served to great multitudes of people. The palace contains a number of separate chambers, all highly beautiful, and so admirably disposed that it seems impossible to suggest any improvement to the system of their arrangement. The exterior of the roof is adorned with a variety of colours, red, green, azure, and violet, and the sort of covering is so strong as to last for many years. The glazing of the windows is so well wrought and so delicate as to have the transparency of crystal. In the rear of the body of the palace there are large buildings containing several apartments, where is deposited the private property of the monarch, or his treasure in gold and silver bullion, precious stones, and pearls, and also his vessels of gold and silver plate. Here are likewise the apartments of his wives and concubines j and in this retired situation he dispatches business with convenience, being free from every kind of interruption.

On the other side of the grand palace, and opposite to that in which the emperor resides, is another palace, in every respect similar, appropriated to the residence of Chinghis, his eldest son, at whose court are observed all the ceremonials belonging to that of his father, as the prince who is to succeed to the government of the empire. Not far from the palace, on the northern side, and about a bow-shot distance from the surrounding wall, is an artificial mount of earth, the height of which is full a hundred paces, and the circuit at the base about a mile. It is covered with the most beautiful evergreen trees; for whenever his Majesty receives information of a handsome tree growing in any place, he causes it to be dug up, with all its roots and the earth about them, and however large and heavy it may be, he has it transported by means of elephants to this mount, and adds it to the verdant collection,. Because the trees on this hill are always green it has acquired the name of the Green Mount.

On its summit is erected an ornamental pavilion, which is likewise entirely green. The view of this altogether,— the mount itself, the trees, and the building, form a delightful and at the same time a wonderful scene. In the northern quarter also, and equally within the precincts of the city, there is a large and deep excavation, judiciously formed, the earth from which supplied the material for raising the mount. It is furnished with water by a small rivulet, and has the appearance of a fish-pond, but its use is for watering the cattle. The stream passing from thence along an aqueduct, at the foot of the Green Mount, proceeds to fill another great and very deep excavation formed between the private palace of the emperor and that of his son Chingisi and the earth from hence equally served to increase the elevation of the mount. In this latter basin there is great store and variety of fish, from which the table of his Majesty is supplied with any quantity that may be wanted.

The stream discharges itself at the opposite extremity of the piece of water, and precautions are taken to prevent the escape of the fish by placing gratings of copper or iron at the places of its entrance and exit. It is stocked also with swans and other water birds. From the one palace to the other there is a communication by means of a bridge thrown across the water. Such is the description of this great palace. We shall now speak of the situation and circumstances of the city of Taidu.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 11

OF THE NEW CITY OF TAIDU <* BUILT NEAR TO THAT OF KANBALU — OF A RULE OBSERVED RESPECTING THE ENTERTAINMENT OF AMBASSADORS — AND OF THE NIGHTLY CITY POLICE

The city of Kanbalu is situated near a large river in the province of Cathay, and was in ancient times eminently magnificent and royal. The name itself implies "the city of the Emperor," but his Majesty was informed by the astrologers, that it was destined to become rebellious to his authority and resolved upon the measure of building another capital, upon the opposite side of the river, where stand the palaces just described. The new and the old cities are separated from each other only by the stream that runs between them. The new-built city received the name of Taidu, and all the Cathaians, that is, all those of the inhabitants who were natives of the province of Cathay, were compelled to evacuate the ancient city, and to take up their abode in the new. Some of the inhabitants, however, of whose loyalty he did not entertain suspicion, were suffered to remain, especially because the new one, although of the dimensions that shall presently be described, was not capable of containing the same number as the former, which was of vast extent.

This new city is of a form perfectly square, and twenty-four miles in extent, each of its sides being six miles. It is enclosed with walls of earth, that at the base are about ten paces thick, but gradually diminish to the top, where the thickness is not more than three paces. In all parts the battlements are white. The whole plan of the city was regularly laid out by line, and the streets in general are consequently so straight, that when a person ascends the wall over one of the gates, and looks right forward, he can see the gate opposite to him on the other side of the city. In the public streets there are, on each side, booths and shops of every description. All the allotments of ground upon which the habitations throughout the city were constructed are square, and exactly on a line with each other; each allotment being sufficiently spacious for handsome buildings, with corresponding courts and gardens. One of these was assigned to each head of a family. Afterwards the property passed from hand to hand. In this manner the whole interior of the city is disposed in squares, so as to resemble a chess-board, and planned out with a degree of precision and beauty impossible to describe. The wall of the city has twelve gates, three on each side of the square, and over each gate and compartment of the wall there is a bandsome building; so that on each side of the square there are five such buildings, containing large rooms, in which are disposed the arms of those who form the garrison of the city, every gate being guarded by a thousand men. It is not to be understood that such a force is stationed there in consequence of the apprehension of danger from any hostile power whatever, but as a guard suitable to the honour and dignity of the sovereign. Yet it must be allowed that the declaration of the astrologers has excited in his mind a degree of suspicion with regard to the Cathaians [Chinese.].

In the centre of the city there is a great bell suspended in a lofty building, which is sounded every night, and after the third stroke no person dares to be found in the streets, unless upon some urgent occasion, such as to call assistance to a woman in labour, or a man attacked with sickness. In such necessary cases the person is required to carry a light.

Outside of each of the gates is a suburb so wide that it reaches to and unites with those of the other nearest gates on both sides, and in length extends to the distance of three or four miles, so that the number of inhabitants in these suburbs exceeds that of the city itself. Within each suburb there are, at intervals, as far perhaps as a mile from the city, many hotels, or caravanserais, in which the merchants arriving from various parts take up their abode; and to each description of people a separate building is assigned, as we should say, one to the Lombards, another to the Germans, and a third to the French.

The number of public women who prostitute themselves for money, reckoning those in the new city as well as those in the suburbs of the old, is twenty-five thousand. To each hundred and to each thousand of these there are superintending officers appointed, who are under the orders of a captain-general. The motive for placing them under such command is this: when ambassadors arrive charged with any business in which the interests of the Great Khan are concerned, it is customary to maintain them at his Majesty's expense, and in order that they may be treated in the most honourable manner, the captain is ordered to furnish nightly to each individual of the embassy one of these courtezans, who is likewise to be changed every night. As this service is considered in the light of a tribute they owe to the sovereign, they do not receive any remuneration.

Guards, in parties of thirty or forty, continually patrol the streets during the course of the night, and make diligent search for persons who may be from their homes at an unseasonable hour, that is, after the third stroke of the great bell. When any are met with under such circumstances, they immediately apprehend and confine them, and take them in the morning for examination before officers appointed for that purpose. Upon proof of any delinquency, they are sentenced according to the nature of the offence, to a severer or lighter infliction of the bastinade, which sometimes, however, occasions their death. It is in this manner that crimes are usually punished amongst these people, from a disinclination to the shedding of blood, which their learned astrologers instruct them to avoid.

Having thus described the interior of the city of Taidu, we shall now speak of the disposition to rebellion shown by its Cathaian inhabitants.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 12

OF THE PERSONAL GUARD OF THE GREAT KHAN

The body-guard of the Great Khan consists, as is well known to every one, of twelve thousand horsemen, who are termed Kasitan, which signifies "Knights devoted to their Lord." It is not, however, from any apprehensions entertained by him that he is surrounded by this guard, but as matter of state.

These twelve thousand men are commanded by four superior officers, each of whom is at the head of three thousand} and each three thousand does constant duty in the palace during three successive days and nights, at the expiration of which they are relieved by another division. When all the four have completed their period of duty, it comes again to the turn of the first.

During the day-time, the nine thousand who are off guard do not, however, quit the palace, unless when employed upon the service of his Majesty, or when the individuals are called away for their domestic concerns, in which case they must obtain leave of absence through their commanding officer.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 13

OF THE STYLE IN WHICH THE GREAT KHAN HOLDS HIS PUBLIC COURTS <* AND SITS AT TABLE WITH ALL HIS NOBLES

When his Majesty holds a grand and public court, those who attend it are seated in the following order. The table of the sovereign is placed on an elevation, and he takes his seat on the northern side, with his face turned towards the south; and next to him, on his left hand, sits the Empress. On his right hand are placed his sons, grandsons, and other persons connected with him by blood, upon seats somewhat lower, so that their heads are on a level with the Emperor's feet. The other princes and the nobility have their places at still lower tables; and the same rules are observed with respect to the females, the wives of the sons, grandsons, and other relatives of the Great Khan being seated on the left hand, at tables in like manner gradually lower; then follow the wives of the nobility and military officers: so that all are seated according to their respective ranks and ignities, in the places assigned to them, and to which they are entitled.

The tables are arranged in such a manner that the Great Khan, sitting on his elevated throne, can overlook the whole. It is not, however, to be understood that all who assemble on such occasions can be accommodated at tables. The greater part of the officers, and even of the nobles, on the contrary, eat, sitting upon carpets, in the halls; and on the outside stand a great multitude of persons who come from different countries, and bring with them many rare curiosities.

In the middle of the hall, where the Great Khan sits at table, there is a magnificent piece of furniture, made in the form of a square coffer, each side of which is three paces in length, exquisitely carved in figures of animals, and gilt. It is hollow within, for the purpose of receiving a capacious vase, of pure gold, calculated to hold many gallons. On each of its four sides stands a smaller vessel, containing about a hogshead, one of which is filled with mare's milk, another with that of the camel, and so of the others, according to the kinds of beverage in use.Within this buffet are also the cups or flagons belonging to his Majesty, for serving the liquors. Some of them are of beautiful gilt plate. Their size is such that, when filled with wine or other liquor, the quantity would be sufficient for eight or ten men.

Before every two persons who have seats at the tables, one of these flagons is placed, together with a kind of ladle, in the form of a cup with a handle, also of plate; to be used not only for taking the wine out of the flagon, but for lifting it to the head. This is observed as well with respect to the women as the men. The quantity and richness of the plate belonging to his Majesty is quite incredible.

Officers of rank are likewise appointed, whose duty it is to see that all strangers who happen to arrive at the time of the festival, and are unacquainted with the etiquette of the court, are suitably accommodated with places; and these stewards are continually visiting every part of the hall, inquiring of the guests if there is anything with which they are unprovided, or whether any of them wish for wine, milk, meat, or other articles, in which case it is immediately brought to them by the attendants.

At each door of the grand hall, or of whatever part the Great Khan happens to be in, stand two officers, of a gigantic figure, one on each side, with staves in their hands, for the purpose of preventing persons from touching the threshold with their feet, and obliging them to step beyond it. If by chance any one is guilty of this offence, these janitors take from him his garment, which he must redeem for money; or, when they do not take the garment, they inflict on him such number of blows as they have authority for doing. But, as strangers may be unacquainted with the prohibition, officers are appointed to introduce and warn them. This precaution is used because touching the threshold is regarded as a bad omen. In departing from the hall, as some of the company may be affected by the liquor, it is impossible to guard against the accident, and the order is not then strictly enforced.

The numerous persons who attend at the sideboard of his Majesty, and who serve him with victuals and drink, are all obliged to cover their noses and mouths with handsome veils or cloths of worked silk, in order that his victuals or his wine may not be affected by their breath. When drink is called for by him, and the page in waiting has presented it, he retires three paces and kneels down, upon which the courtiers, and all who are present, in like manner make their prostration. At the same moment all the musical instruments, of which there is a numerous band, begin to play, and continue to do so until he has ceased drinking, when all the company recover their posture. This reverential salutation is made as often as his Majesty drinks.

It is unnecessary to say anything of the victuals, because it may well be imagined that their abundance is excessive.

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When the repast is finished, and the tables have been removed, persons of various descriptions enter the hall, and amongst these a troop of comedians and performers on different instruments. Also tumblers and jugglers, who exhibit their skill in the presence of the Great Khan, to the high amusement and gratification of all the spectators. When these sports are concluded, the people separate, and each returns to his own house.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 14

OF THE FESTIVAL THAT IS KEPT THROUGHOUT THE DOMINIONS OF THE GREAT KHAN EVERY YEAR ON HIS BIRTHDAY

All the Tartar [Mongols.] and other subjects of the Great Khan celebrate as a festival the day of his Majesty's birth, which took place on the twenty-eighth day of the month of September. This is their greatest festival, excepting the one kept on the first day of the year, which shall be hereafter described. Upon this anniversary the Great Khan appears in a superb dress of cloth of gold, and on the same occasion, all twenty thousand nobles and military officers are clad by him in dresses similar to his own in point of colour and form; but the materials are not equally rich. They are, however, of silk, and of the colour of gold; and along with the vest they likewise receive a girdle of chamois leather, curiously worked with gold and silver thread, and also a pair of boots. Some of the dresses are ornamented with precious stones and pearls to the value of ten thousand bezants of gold, and are given to those nobles who, from their confidential employments, are nearest to his Majesty's person. These dresses are appointed to be worn on the thirteen solemn festivals celebrated in the year, when those who are clad in them make an appearance that is truly royal. When his Majesty assumes any particular dress, the nobles of his court wear corresponding, but less costly, dresses, which are always in readiness. They are not annually renewed, but on the contrary are made to last about ten years. From this parade an idea may be formed of the magnificence of the Great Khan, which is unequalled by that of any monarch in the world.

On the occasion of this festival of the Great Khan's birthday, all his Tartar subjects, and likewise the people of every kingdom and province throughout his dominions, send him valuable presents, according to established usage. Many persons who repair to court in order to solicit principalities to which they have pretensions, also bring presents, and his Majesty accordingly gives direction to the tribunal of twelve, who have charge of such matters, to assign to them such territories and governments as may be proper.

Upon this day likewise all the Christians, Idolaters [Buddhists.], and Saracens, together with every other description of people, offer up devout prayers to their respective Gods and Idols, that they may bless and preserve the sovereign, and bestow upon him long life, health, and prosperity. Such, and so extensive, are the rejoicings on the return of his Majesty's birthday.

We shall now speak of another festival, termed the White Feast, celebrated at the New Year.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 15

OF THE WHITE FEAST HELD ON NEW YEAR'S DAY —AND OF THE NUMBER OF PRESENTS THEN BROUGHT

It is well ascertained that the Tartars date the commencement of their year from the month of February, and on that occasion it is customary for the Great Khan, as well as all who are subject to him, in their several countries, to clothe themselves in white garments, which, according to their ideas, are the emblem of good fortune. This is done in the hope that, during the whole course of the year nothing but what is fortunate may happen to them, and that they may enjoy pleasure and comfort.

Upon this day the inhabitants of all the provinces and kingdoms who hold lands or rights of jurisdiction under the Great Khan, send him valuable presents of gold, silver, and precious stones, together with many pieces of white cloth, which they add, with the intent that his Majesty may experience throughout the year uninterrupted enjoyment, and possess treasures adequate to all his expenses. With the same view the nobles, princes, and all ranks of the community, make reciprocal presents, at their respective houses, of white articles; embracing each other with demonstrations of joy and festivity, and saying "May good fortune attend you through the coming year, and may everything you undertake succeed to your wish." On this occasion great numbers of beautiful white horses are presented to the Great Khan; or if not perfectly white, it is at least the prevailing colour. In this country white horses are not uncommon.

It is moreover the custom in making presents to the Great Khan, for those who have it in their power to furnish nine times nine of the article of which the present consists. Thus, for instance, if a province sends a present of horses, there are nine times nine, or eighty-one head in the drove. And so also of gold, or of cloth, nine times nine pieces. His Majesty receives at this festival no fewer than a hundred thousand horses.

On this day it is that all his elephants, amounting to five thousand, are exhibited in procession, covered with housings of cloth, fancifully and richly worked with gold and silk, in figures of birds and beasts. Each of these supports upon its shoulders two coffers filled with vessels of plate and other apparatus for the use of the court. Then follows a train of camels, in like manner laden with various necessary articles of furniture. When the whole are properly arranged, they pass in review before his Majesty, and form a pleasing spectacle.

On the morning of the festival, before the tables are spread, all the Princes, the nobility of various ranks, the cavaliers, astrologers, physicians, and falconers, with many others holding public offices, the prefects of the people and of the lands, together with the officers of the army, make their entry into the grand hall, in front of the Emperor. Those who cannot find room within, stand on the outside of the building, in such a situation as to be within sight of their sovereign.

The assemblage is marshalled in the following order. The first places are assigned to the sons and grandsons of his Majesty and all the imperial family. Next to these are the provincial Kings and the nobility of the empire, according to their several degrees, in regular succession. When all have been disposed in the places appointed for them, a person of high dignity, or as we should express it, a great prelate, rises and says with a loud voice: "Bow down and do reverence; when instantly all bend their bodies until their foreheads touch the floor. And this adoration they repeat four times. This being done, the prelate advances to an altar, richly adorned, upon which is placed a red tablet inscribed with the name of the Great Khan. Near to this stands a censer of burning incense, with which the prelate, on the behalf of all who are assembled, perfumes the tablet and the altar, with great reverence; when every one present humbly prostrates himself before the tablet.

This ceremony being concluded, they return to their places, and then make the presentation of their respective gifts; such as have been mentioned. When a display has been made of these, and the Great Khan has cast his eyes upon them, the tables are prepared for the feast, and the company, including women as well as men, arrange themselves there in the manner and order described in a former chapter. After dinner the musicians and theatrical performers exhibit for the amusement of the court, as has been already related. But on this occasion a lion is conducted into the presence of his Majesty, so tame, that it is taught to lay itself down at his feet. The sports being finished, every one returns to his own home.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 16

CONCERNING THE TWELVE THOUSAND BARONS WHO RECEIVE ROBES OF CLOTH OF GOLD FROM THE EMPEROR ON THE GREAT FESTIVALS

Now you must know that the Great Khan hath set apart twelve thousand of his men who are distinguished by the name of Keshican; and on these twelve thousand Barons he bestows thirteen changes of raiment, which are all different from one another. In one set twelve thousand are all of one colour and there are thirteen different sets of colours. These robes are garnished with gems and pearls and other precious things in a very rich and costly manner. The Emperor himself has thirteen suits corresponding to those of his Barons; in colour, though his are grander, richer and costlier. And you may see that all this costs an amount which it is scarcely possible to calculate.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 17

OF THE QUANTITY OF GAME TAKEN AND SENT TO THE COURT DURING THE WINTER MONTHS

At the season when the Great Khan resides in the capital of Cathay, which is during the three months of December, January, and February, at which time the cold is excessive, he gives orders for general hunting parties to take place in all the countries within forty days' journey of the court.

The governors of districts are required to send all sorts of game of the larger kind, such as wild boars, stags, fallow deer, roebucks, and bears, which are taken in the following manner:—All persons possessed of land in the province repair to the places where these animals are to be found, and proceed to enclose them within a circle, when they are killed, partly with dogs, but chiefly by shooting them with arrows. Such of them as are intended for his Majesty's use are first gutted and then forwarded on carriages, in large quantities, by those who reside within thirty stages of the capital. Those, in fact, who are at the distance of forty stages, do not, on account of the length of the journey, send the carcases, but only the skins, some dressed and others raw, to be made use of for the service of the army as his Majesty may judge proper.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 18

OF LEOPARDS AND LYNXES USED FOR HUNTING DEER — OF LIONS HABITUATED TO THE CHASE OF VARIOUS ANIMALS — AND OF EAGLES TAUGHT TO SEIZE WOLVES

The Great Khan has many leopards and lynxes kept for the purpose of chasing deer, and also many lions which are larger than the Babylonian lions, have good skins and of a handsome colour—being streaked on the sides, with white, black, and red stripes. They are active in seizing boars, wild oxen and asses, bears, stags, roebucks, and other beasts that are the objects of sport. It is an admirable sight, when the lion is let loose in pursuit of the animal, to observe the savage eagerness and speed with which he overtakes it. His Majesty has them conveyed for this purpose, in cages placed upon cars, and along with them is confined a little dog, with which they become familiarized. The reason for thus shutting them up is, that they would otherwise be so keen and furious at the sight of the game that it would be impossible to keep them under the necessary constraint. It is proper that they should be led in a direction opposite to the wind, in order that they may not be scented by the game, which would immediately run off, and offer no chance of sport. His Majesty has eagles also, which are trained to catch wolves, and such is their size and strength that none, however large, can escape from their talons. [To this day eagles are trained and thus employed in Eastern Turkestan, Chinese: Xinjiang.]

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 19

OF TWO BROTHERS WHO ARE PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF THE CHASE OF THE GREAT KHAN

His Majesty has in his service two Barons, brothers, one of them named Bayan and the other Mingan, who are, what in the language of the Tartars are called Chinuchi, that is to say, "keepers of the mastiffs." They have charge of the hounds, fleet and slow, and of the mastiffs. Each of these has under his orders a body of ten thousand men; those under the one brother wearing a red uniform, and those under the other, a blue, whenever they accompany the Lord to the chase.

The dogs of different descriptions which accompany them to the field are not fewer than five thousand. The one brother, with his division, takes the ground to the right hand of the Emperor, and the other to the left, with his division, and each advances in regular order, until they have enclosed a tract of country to the extent of a day's march. By this means no beast can escape them. It is a beautiful and glorious sight to watch the exertions of the huntsmen and the working of the dogs, when the Emperor is within the circle, engaged in the sport, and they are seen pursuing the stags, bears, and other animals, in every direction.

The two brothers are under an engagement to furnish the court daily, from the commencement of October to the end of March, with a thousand pieces of game, quails being excepted; and also with fish, of which as large a quantity as possible is to be supplied, estimating the fish that three men can eat at a meal as equivalent to one piece of game.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 20

OF THE GREAT KHAN'S PROCEEDING TO THE CHASE — WITH HIS GERFALCONS AND HAWKS — OF HIS TWELVE FALCONERS « AND OF HIS TENTS

When his Majesty has resided the usual time in the metropolis, and leaves it in the month of March, he proceeds in a north-easterly direction, to within two days' journey of the ocean, attended by full ten thousand falconers, who carry with them a vast number of gerfalcons, peregrine falcons, and sakers, as well as many vultures, in order to pursue the game along the banks of the river. It must be understood that he does not keep all this body of men together in one place, but divides them into several parties of one or two hundred or more, who follow the sport in various directions. The greater part of the quarry is brought to his Majesty. He has likewise with him ten thousand men of those who are termed Tascaol, implying that their business is to be upon the watch, and, who, for this purpose, are detached in small parties of two or three to stations not far distant from each other, in such a manner as to encompass a considerable tract of country. Each of them is provided with a whistle and a hood, by which they are enabled, when necessary, to call in and to secure the hawk. Upon the command being given for flying the hawks, those who let them loose are not under the necessity of following them, because the others, whose duty it is, look out so attentively that the birds cannot direct their flight to any quarter where they are not secured, or promptly assisted if there should be occasion.

Every bird belonging to his Majesty, or to any of his nobles, has a small silver label fastened to its leg, on which is engraved the name of the owner and also the name of the keeper. In consequence of this precaution, as soon as the hawk is secured, it is immediately known to whom it belongs, and restored accordingly. If it happens that, although the name appears, the owner, not being personally known to the finder, cannot be ascertained in the first instance, the bird is, in that case, carried to an officer termed Bularguchi, whose title means that he is the "guardian of unclaimed property." If a horse, therefore, a sword, a bird, or any other article is found, and it does not appear to whom it belongs, the finder carries it directly to this officer, by whom it is received in charge and carefully preserved. If, on the other hand, a person finds any

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article that has been lost, and fails to carry it to the proper depositary, he is punished as a thief. Those by whom any property has been lost make their application to this officer, by whom it is restored to them. His situation is always in the most elevated part of the camp, and distinguished by a particular flag, in order that he may be the more readily found by such as have occasion to apply to him. The effect of this regulation is, that no articles are ultimately lost.

When his Majesty makes his progress in this manner, towards the shores of the ocean, many interesting occurrences attend the sport, and it may truly be said that it is unrivalled by any other amusement in the world. On account of the narrowness of the passes in some parts of the country where the Great Khan follows the chase, he is borne upon two elephants only, or sometimes a single one, being more convenient than a greater number. Under other circumstances he makes use of four, upon the backs of which is placed a pavilion of wood, handsomely carved, the inside being lined with cloth of gold, and the outside covered with the skins of lions, a mode of conveyance which is rendered necessary to him during his hunting excursions, in consequence of the gout, with which he is troubled.

In the pavilion he always carries with him twelve of his best gerfalcons, with twelve officers, from amongst his favourites, to bear him company and amuse him. Those who are on horseback by his side give him notice of the approach of cranes or other birds, upon which he raises the curtain of the pavilion, and when he espies the game, gives direction for letting fly the gerfalcons, which seize the cranes and overpower them after a long struggle. The view of this sport, as he lies upon his couch, affords extreme

satisfaction to his Majesty, as well as to the officers who attend him, and to the horsemen by whom he is surrounded. After having thus enjoyed the amusement for some hours, he repairs to a place named Cachar Modun, where are pitched the pavilions and tents of his Sons, and also of his Barons, his Ladies and the falconers; exceeding ten thousand in number, and making a handsome appearance. The tent of his Majesty, in which he gives his audiences, is so long and wide that under it ten thousand soldiers might be drawn up, leaving room for the superior officers and other persons of rank. Its entrance faces the south, and on the eastern side it has another tent connected with it, forming a capacious saloon. This tent the Emperor usually occupies, with a few of his nobility, and when he thinks proper to speak to any other persons, they are introduced to him in this apartment. In the rear of this there is a large and handsome chamber, where he sleeps; and there are many other tents and apartments, for the different branches of the household, but which are not immediately connected with the great tent.

These halls and chambers are all constructed and fitted up in the following manner. Each of them is supported by three pillars of wood, richly carved and gilt. The tents are covered on the outside with the skins of lions, streaked white, black, and red, and so well joined together that neither wind nor rain can penetrate. Withinside they are lined with the skins of ermines and sables, which are the most costly of all furs; for the latter, if of a size to trim a dress, is valued at two thousand bezants of gold, provided it be perfect; but if otherwise, only one thousand. It is esteemed by Tartars the queen of furs. The animal, which in their language is named rondes, is about the size of a marten. With these two kinds of skin, the halls as well as the sleeping-rooms are handsomely fitted up in compartments, arranged with much taste and skill. The tent-ropes, or cords by which they stretch the tents, are all of silk. Near to the grand tent of his Majesty are situated those of his ladies, also very handsome and splendid. They have in like manner their gerfalcons, their hawks, and other birds and beasts, with which they partake in the amusement. The number of persons collected in these encampments is quite incredible, and a spectator might conceive himself to be in the midst of a populous city, so great is the assemblage from every part of the empire. The Great Khan is attended on the occasion by the whole of his family and household; that is to say, his physicians, astronomers, falconers, and every other description of officer. In these parts of the country he remains until the spring, during which period he never ceases to frequent the lakes and rivers, where he takes storks, swans, herons, and a variety of other birds. His people also being detached to several different places, procure for him a large quantity of game. In this manner, during the season of his diversion, he enjoys himself to a degree that no person who is not an eyewitness can conceive; the excellence and the extent of the sport being greater than it is possible to express.

It is strictly forbidden to every tradesman, mechanic, or husbandman throughout his Majesty's dominions, to keep a vulture, hawk, or any other bird used for the pursuit of game, or any sporting dog; nor is a nobleman or cavalier to presume to chase beast or bird in the neighbourhood of the place where his Majesty takes up his residence, the distance being limited to five miles, for example, on one side, ten on another, and perhaps fifteen in a third direction, unless his name be inscribed in a list kept by the grand falconer, or he has a special privilege to that effect. Beyond those limits it is permitted. There is an order, however, which prohibits every person throughout all the countries subject to the Great Khan, from daring to kill hares, roebucks, fallow deer, stags, or other animals of that kind, or any large birds, between the months of March and October. This is that they may increase and multiply; and as the breach of this order is attended with punishment, game of every description increases prodigiously.

When the usual time is elapsed, his Majesty returns to the capital by the road he went; continuing his sport during the whole of the journey.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 21

THE WAY THE YEAR OF THE GREAT KHAN IS DIVIDED

Upon the return of the Great Khan to his capital, he holds a grand and splendid court, which lasts three days, in the course of which he gives feasts and otherwise entertains those by whom he is surrounded. The amusements of these three days are indeed admirable. He then quits his palace and proceeds to that city which he has built, as I told you before, and which is called Shangtu, where he has that grand park and palace of cane, and where he keeps his gerfalcons [The gyrfalcon is a very large falcon, being about the same size as the largest buteos, hawks, or buzzards but slightly heavier. It is used as a hunting bird.].

To escape the heat he spends his summer there, for the location is a cool one. Here he remains from May until the end of August when he returns again to his capital and remains until February when he keeps the grand feast of the New Year.

The grand hunting expedition towards the sea takes place in the months of March, April and May. So thus the whole year is spent} six months at the capital, three months in hunting, and three months at the Cane Palace to avoid the heat. It is in this manner that he passes his time with the greatest enjoyment} not to speak of the many little journeys in this or that direction at his own pleasure.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 22

CONCERNING THE CITY OF KANBALU — OF THE MULTITUDE OF ITS INHABITANTS — AND OF THE COMMERCE OF THE PLACE

The multitude of inhabitants, and the number of houses in the city of Kanbalu, as also in the suburbs without the city of which there are twelve, corresponding to the twelve gates, is greater than the mind can comprehend. The suburbs are even more populous than the city, and it is there that the merchants and others whose business leads them to the capital, take up their abode. Wherever, indeed, his Majesty holds his court, there these people flock from all quarters, in pursuit of their several objects.

In the suburbs there are also as handsome houses and stately buildings as in the city, with the exception only of the palace of the Great Khan. No corpse is suffered to be interred within the precincts of the city; and those of the Idolaters [Buddhists.], with whom it is customary to burn their dead, are carried to the usual spot beyond the suburbs. There likewise all public executions take place. Women who live by prostituting themselves for money dare not, unless it be secretly, to exercise their profession in the city, but must confine themselves to the suburbs, where, as has already been stated, there reside above five-and-twenty thousand; nor is this number greater than is necessary for the vast concourse of merchants and other strangers, who, drawn there by the court, are continually arriving and departing.

To this city everything that is most rare and valuable in all parts of the world finds its way; and more especially does this apply to India, which furnishes precious stones, pearls, and various drugs and spices. From the provinces of Cathay itself, as well as from the other provinces of the Empire, whatever there is of value is brought here, to supply the demands of those multitudes who are induced to establish their residence in the vicinity of the court. The quantity of merchandise sold exceeds also the traffic of any other place; for no fewer than a thousand carriages and pack-horses, loaded with raw silk, make their daily entry; and gold tissues and silks of various kinds are manufactured to an immense extent.

In the vicinity of the capital are many walled and other towns, whose inhabitants live chiefly by the court, selling the articles which they produce in return for such as their own occasions require.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 23

THE OPPRESSIONS OF ACHMATH THE BAILO — AND OF THE PLOT THAT WAS FORMED AGAINST HIM

You will hear further on about twelve persons appointed who have authority to dispose of lands, offices, and everything else at their discretion. Now one of these was a certain Saracen [Muslim] named Achmath [Ahmad], a shrewd and able man, who had more power and influence with the Great Khan than any of the others; and the Khan held him in such regard that he could do what he pleased. The fact was, as came out after his death, that Achmath had so wrought upon the Khan with his sorcery, that the latter had the greatest faith and reliance on everything he said, and in this way did everything that Achmath wished him to do.

This person disposed of all governments and offices, and passed sentence on all malefactors; and whenever he desired to have any one whom he hated put to death, whether with justice or without it, he would go to the Emperor and say: "Such an one deserves death, for he hath done this or that against your imperial dignity." Then the Lord would say: "Do as you think right," and so he would have the man forthwith executed.

Thus when people saw how unbounded were his powers, and how unbounded the reliance placed by the Emperor on everything he said, they did not venture to oppose him in anything. No one was so high in rank or power as to be free from the dread of him. If any one was accused by him to the Emperor of a capital offence, and desired to defend himself, he was unable to bring proofs in his own defence, for no one would stand by him, as no one dared to oppose Achmath. And thus the latter caused many to perish unjustly.

Moreover, there was no beautiful woman whom he might desire, but he got hold of her; if she were unmarried, forcing her to be his wife, if otherwise, compelling her to consent to his desires. Whenever he knew of any one who had a pretty daughter, certain ruffians of his would go to the father, and say: "What say you? Here is this pretty daughter of yours; give her in marriage to the Bailo Achmath and we will arrange for his giving you such a government or such an office for three years." And so the man would surrender his daughter. And Achmath would go to the Emperor, and say: "Such a government is vacant, or will be vacant on such a day. So-and-So is a proper man for the post." And the Emperor would reply: "Do as you think best"; and the father of the girl was immediately appointed to the government. Thus either through the ambition of the parents, or through fear of the Minister, all the beautiful women were at his beck, either as wives or mistresses. Also he had some five-and-twenty sons who held offices of importance, and some of these, under the protection of their father's name, committed scandals like his own, and many other abominable iniquities. This Achmath also had amassed great treasure, for everybody who wanted office sent him a heavy bribe.

In such authority did this man continue for two-and-twenty years. At last the people of the country, to wit the Cathaians [Chinese.], utterly wearied with the endless outrages and abominable iniquities which he perpetrated against them, whether as regarded their wives or their own persons, conspired to slay him and revolt against the government. Amongst the rest there was a certain Cathaian named Chenchu, a commander of a thousand, whose mother, daughter, and wife had all been dishonoured by Achmath. Now this man, full of bitter resentment, entered into parley regarding the destruction of the Minister with another Cathaian [Chinese.] whose name was Vanchu, who was a commander of ten thousand. They came to the conclusion that the time to do the business would be during the Great Khan's absence from Kanbalu. For after stopping there three months he used to go to Shangtu and stop there three months; and at the same time his son Chinkin used to go away to his usual haunts, and this Achmath remained in charge of the city; sending to obtain the Khan's orders from Shangtu when any emergency arose.

So Vanchu and Chenchu, having come to this conclusion, proceeded to communicate it to the chief people among the Cathaians [Chinese.], and then by common consent sent word to their friends in many other cities that they had determined on such a day, at the signal given by a beacon, to massacre all the men with beards, and that the other cities should stand ready to do the like on seeing the signal fires.

The reason why they spoke of massacring the bearded men was that the Cathaians naturally have no beard, whilst beards are worn by the Tartars, Saracens, and Christians. And you should know that all the Cathaians detested the Great Khan's rule because he set over them governors who were Tartars, or still more frequently Saracens, and these they could not endure, for they were treated by them just like slaves. You see the Great Khan had not succeeded to the dominion of Cathay by hereditary right, but held it by conquest; and thus having no confidence in the natives, he put all authority into the hands of Tartars, Saracens, or Christians who were attached to his household and devoted to his service, and were foreigners in Cathay.

Wherefore, on the day appointed, the aforesaid Vanchu and Chenchu having entered the palace at night, Vanchu sat own and caused a number of lights to be kindled before him. He then sent a messenger to Achmath the Bailo, who lived in the Old City, as if to summon him to the presence of Chinkin, the Great Khan's son, who it was pretended had arrived unexpectedly. When Achmath heard this he was much surprised, but made haste to go, for he feared the Prince greatly. When he arrived at the gate, he met a Tartar called Cogatai, who was Captain of the twelve thousand that formed the standing garrison of the City; and the latter asked him whither he was bound so late? "To Chinkin, who is just arrived." Quoth Cogatai, "How can that be? How could he

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come so privily that I know nought of it?" So he followed the Minister with a certain number of his soldiers. Now the notion of the Cathaians was that, if they could make an end of Achmath, they would have nought else to be afraid of. So as soon as Achmath got inside the palace, and saw all the illumination, he bowed down before Vanchu, supposing him to be Chinkin, and Chenchu who was standing ready with a sword straightway cut his head off.

As soon as Cogatai, the Tartar Captain, who had halted at the entrance, beheld this, he shouted "Treason!" and instantly discharged an arrow at Vanchu and shot him dead as he sat. At the same time he called his people to seize Chenchu, and sent a proclamation through the city that any one found in the streets would be instantly put to death. The Cathaians saw that the Tartars had discovered the plot, and that they had no longer any leader, since Vanchu was killed and Chenchu taken. So they kept still in their houses, and were unable to pass the signal for the rising of the other cities as had been settled.

Cogatai immediately dispatched messengers to the Great Khan giving an orderly report of the whole affair, and the Khan sent back orders for him to make a careful investigation, and to punish the guilty as their misdeeds deserved. In the morning Cogatai examined the Cathaians, and put to death a number whom he found to be ringleaders in the plot. The same thing was done in the other cities, when it was found that the plot extended to them also. [This chapter is not contained in the French manuscript but is found in an early Italian version probably taken from a Latin manuscript and known as the Ramusio text.]

After the Great Khan had returned to Kanbalu he was very anxious to discover what had led to this affair and then he learned all about the endless iniquities of that accursed Achmath and his sons. It was proved that he and seven of his sons had forced no end of women to be their wives, besides those whom they had ravished. The Great Khan then ordered all the treasure that Achmath had accumulated in the Old City to be transferred to his own treasury in the New City, and it was found to be of enormous amount. He also ordered the body of Achmath to be dug up and cast into the streets for the dogs to tear; and commanded those of his sons who had followed the father's evil example to be flayed alisre. [This story is in strict accordance with the account found in Chinese Annals; but more than this, for the Chinese records speak of Marco Polo in high praise of his courageous frankness. "The Emperor having returned from Chaghan-No: to Shangtu. aesired Polo, Assessor of the Privy Council, to explain the reasons which had led Wangchu to commit this murder. Polo spoke with boldness of the crimes and oppressions of Achmath, which had rendered him an object of detestation throughout the Empirt. The Emperor's eyes were opened, and he praised the courage of Wangchu."]

These circumstances called the Khan's attention to the accursed doctrines of the Sect of the Saracens, which excuse every crime, yea, even murder itself, when committed on such as are not of their religion. And seeing that this doctrine had led the accursed Achmath and his sons to act as they did without any sense of guilt, the Khan was led to entertain the greatest disgust and abomination for it. So he summoned the Saracens and prohibited their doing many things which their religion enjoined. Thus, he ordered them to regulate their marriages by the Tartar Law, and prohibited their cutting the throats of animals killed for food, ordering them to rip the stomach in the Tartar way. Now when all this happened Messer Marco was on the spot.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 24

OF THE KIND OF PAPER MONEY ISSUED BY THE GREAT KHAN — AND MADE TO PASS CURRENT THROUGHOUT HIS DOMINIONS

In this city of Kanbalu is the mint of the Great Khan, who may truly be said to possess the secret of the alchemists, as he has the art of producing money by the following process.

He causes the bark to be stripped from those mulberrytrees the leaves of which are used for feeding silk-worms, and takes from it that thin inner rind which lies between the coarser bark and the wood of the tree. This being steeped, and afterwards pounded in a mortar, until reduced to a pulp, is made into paper, resembling, in substance, that which is manufactured from cotton, but quite black. When ready for use, he has it cut into pieces of money of different sizes, nearly square, but somewhat longer than they are wide. Of these, the smallest pass for a half tournois; the next size for a Venetian silver groat; others for two, five, and ten groats; others for one, two, three, and as far as ten bezants of gold. The coinage of this paper money is authenticated with as much form and ceremony as if it were actually of pure gold or silver; for to each note a number of officers, specially appointed, not only subscribe their names, but affix their seals also. When this has been regularly done by the whole of them, the principal officer, appointed by his Majesty, having dipped into vermilion the royal seal committed to his custody, stamps with it the piece of paper, so that the form of the seal tinged with the vermilion remains impressed upon it. In this way it receives full authenticity as current money, and the act of counterfeiting it is punished as a capital offence.

When thus coined in large quantities, this paper currency is circulated in every part of the Great Khan's dominions; nor dares any person, at the peril of his life, refuse to accept it in payment. All his subjects receive it without hesitation, because, wherever their business may call them, they can dispose of it again in the purchase of merchandise they may require; such as pearls, jewels, gold, or silver. With it, in short, every article may be procured. ["Early in the ninth century, bills of exchange came into use; and from the middle of the twelfth century paper money became quite common, and is still in general use all over China, notes being issued in some places for amounts l»ss even than a shilling." Giles, The Civilization ol China.]

Several times in the course of the year, large caravans of merchants arrive with such articles as have just been mentioned, together with gold tissues, which they lay before the Great Khan. He thereupon calls together twelve experienced and skilful persons, selected for this purpose, whom he commands to examine the articles with great care, and to fix the value at which they should be purchased. Upon the sum at which they have been thus conscientiously appraised he allows a reasonable profit, and immediately pays for them with this paper. To this the owners can have no objection, because, as has been observed, it answers the purpose of their own disbursements; and even though they should be inhabitants of a country where this kind of money is not current, they invest the amount in other articles of merchandise suited to their own markets.

When any persons happen to be possessed of paper money which from long use has become damaged, they carry it to the mint, where, upon the payment of only three per cent, they receive fresh notes in exchange. Should any be desirous of procuring gold or silver for the purposes of manufacture, such as of drinking-cups, girdles, or other articles wrought of these metals, they in like manner apply to the mint, and for their paper obtain the bullion they require.

All his Majesty's armies are paid with this currency, which is to them of the same value as if it were gold or silver. Upon these grounds, it may certainly be affirmed that the Great Khan has a more extensive command of treasure than any other sovereign in the universe.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 25

OF THE COUNCIL OF TWELVE BARONS APPOINTED FOR THE AFFAIRS OF THE ARMY — AND OF THE TWELVE OTHERS FOR THE GENERAL CONCERNS OF THE EMPIRE

The Great Khan selects twelve noblemen of high rank and consequence whose duty it is to decide upon every point respecting the army. This includes the removal of troops from one station to another; the change of officers commanding them; the employment of a force where it may be judged necessary; and the numbers which it may be proper to detach upon any particular service, according to the degree of its importance. Besides these objects, it is their business to distinguish between officers who have given proofs of valour in combat, and those who have shown themselves base and cowardly, in order to advance the former and to degrade the latter. Thus, if the commander of a thousand has been found to conduct himself in an unbecoming manner, this tribunal, considering him to be unworthy of the rank he held, reduce him to the command of an hundred men; or, on the contrary, if he has displayed such qualities as give claim to promotion, they appoint him commander of ten thousand. All this, however, is done with the knowledge and subject to the approval of his Majesty, to whom they report their opinion of the officer's merit or demerit, and who, upon confirming their decision, grants to him who is promoted to the command of ten thousand men the tablet or warrant belonging to his rank, as before described. He also confers on him large presents, in order to excite others to merit the same rewards. The tribunal composed of these twelve nobles is named Thai, denoting a supreme court, as being responsible to no other than the sovereign.

Besides this, there is another tribunal, likewise of twelve nobles, appointed for the superintendence of everything that respects the government of the thirty-four provinces of the Empire. These have in Kanbalu a large and handsome palace or court, containing many chambers and halls. For the business of each province there is a presiding lawofficer, together with several clerks, who have their respective apartments in the court, and there transact whatever business is necessary to be done for the province to which they belong, according to the directions they receive from the tribunal of twelve. These have authority to make choice of persons for the governments of the several provinces, whose names are presented to the Great Khan for confirmation of their appointments and delivery of the tablets of gold or of silver appropriated to their ranks. They have also the superintendence of every matter that regards the collection of the revenue, both from land and customs, together with its disposal, and have the control of every other department of the state; with the exception only of what relates to the army. This tribunal is named Sing, implying that it is a second high court, and, like the other, responsible only to the Great Khan. But the former tribunal, named Thai, which has the administration of military affairs, is regarded as superior in rank and dignity to the latter.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 26

OF THE PLACES ESTABLISHED ON ALL THE GREAT ROADS FOR SUPPLYING POST-HORSES — OF THE COURIERS ON FOOT — AND OF THE MODE IN WHICH THE EXPENSE IS DEFRAYED

From the city of Kanbalu [Khanbaliq, Beijing.] there are many roads leading to the different provinces, and upon each of these, that is to say, upon every great high road, at the distance of twentyfive or thirty miles, romaccordingly as the towns happen to be situated, there are stations, with houses of accommodation for travellers. These are called yamb or post-houses. They are large and handsome buildings, having several well-furnished apartments, hung with silk, and provided with everything suitable to persons of rank. Even kings may be lodged at these stations in a becoming manner, as every article required may be obtained from the towns and strong places in the vicinity; and for some of them the court makes regular provision.

At each station four hundred good horses are kept in constant readiness, in order that all messengers going and coming upon the business of the Great Khan, and all ambassadors, may have relays, and, leaving their jaded horses, be supplied with fresh ones. Even in mountainous districts, remote from the great roads, where there were no villages, and the towns are far distant from each other, his Majesty has equally caused buildings of the same kind to be erected, furnished with everything necessary, and provided with the usual supply of horses.

He sends people to dwell upon the spot, in order to cultivate the land, and attend to the service of the post; by which means large villages are formed. In consequence of these regulations, ambassadors to the court, and the royal messengers, go and return through every province and kingdom of the Empire with the greatest convenience and facility. In the management of all this the Great Khan exhibits a superiority over every other emperor, king, or human being.

In his dominions no fewer than two hundred thousand horses are thus employed in the department of the post, and ten thousand buildings, with suitable furniture, are kept up. It is indeed so wonderful a system, and so effective in its operation, as it is scarcely possible to describe. If it be questioned how the population of the country can supply sufficient numbers of these duties, and by what means they can be supported, we may answer, that all the Idolaters, and likewise the Saracens [Muslims.], keep six, eight, or ten women, according to their circumstances, by whom they have a prodigious number of children. Some of them have as many as thirty sons capable of following their fathers in arms; whereas with us a man has only one wife, and even although she should prove barren, he is obliged to pass his life with her, and is by that means deprived of the chance of raising a family. Hence it is that our population is so much inferior to theirs.

With regard to food, there is no deficiency of it, for these people, especially the Tartars, Cathaians, and inhabitants of the province of Manji in Southern China, subsist, for the most part, upon rice, panicum, and millet; which three grains yield, in their soil, an hundred measures for one. Wheat, indeed, does not yield a similar increase, and bread not being in use with them, it is eaten only in the form of vermicelli or of pastry. The former grains they boil in milk or stew with their meat. With them no spot of earth is suffered to lie idle, that can possibly be cultivated; and their cattle of different kinds multiply exceedingly, insomuch that when they take the field, there is scarcely an individual that does not carry with him six, eight, or more horses, for his own personal use. From all this may be seen the causes of so large a population, and the circumstances that enable them to provide so abundantly for their subsistence.

In the space between the post-houses, there are small villages settled at the distance of every three miles, which may contain about forty cottages. In these are stationed the foot messengers, likewise employed in the service of his Majesty. They wear girdles round their waists, to which several small bells are attached, in order that their coming may be perceived at a distance; and as they run only three miles, that is, from one of these foot-stations to another next adjoining, the noise serves to give notice of their approach, and preparation is accordingly made by a fresh courier to proceed with the packet instantly upon the arrival of the former. Thus it is so expeditiously conveyed from station to station, that in the course of two days and two nights his Majesty receives distant intelligence that in the ordinary mode could not be obtained in less than ten days. It often happens that in the fruit season, what is gathered in the morning at Kanbalu is conveyed to the Great Khan, at Shangtu, by the evening of the following day; although the distance is generally considered as ten days' journey. At each of these three-mile

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stations there is a clerk, whose business it is to note the day and time at which the one courier arrives and the other departs; which is likewise done at all the post-houses. Besides this, officers are directed to pay monthly visits to every station, in order to examine into the management of them, and to punish those couriers who have neglected to use proper diligence. All these couriers are not only exempt from tax, but also receive from his Majesty good allowances.

The horses employed in this service are not attended with any direct expense; the cities, towns, and villages in the neighbourhood being obliged to furnish, and also to maintain them. By his Majesty's command the governors of the cities cause examination to be made by well informed persons, as to the number of horses the inhabitants, individually, are capable of supplying. The same is done with respect to the towns and villages; and according to their means the requisition is enforced; those on each side of the station contributing their due proportion. The charge of the maintenance of the horses is afterwards deducted by the cities out of the revenue payable to the Great Khan.

It must be understood, however, that of the four hundred horses the whole are not constantly on service at the station, but only two hundred, which are kept there for the space of a month. During this period the other half are at pasture; and at the beginning of the month, these in their turn take the duty, whilst the former have time to recover their flesh; each alternately relieving the other.

Where it happens that there is a river or a lake which the couriers on foot, or the horsemen, are under the necessity of passing, the neighbouring cities are obliged to keep three or four boats in continual readiness for that purpose; and where there is a desert of several days' journey, that does not admit of any habitation, the city on its borders is obliged to furnish horses to such persons as ambassadors to and from the court, that they may be enabled to pass the desert, and also to supply provisions to them and their suite. But cities so situated have a remuneration from his Majesty. Where the post stations lie at a distance from the great road, the horses are partly those of his Majesty, and are only in part furnished by the cities and towns of the district.

When it is necessary that the messengers should proceed with extraordinary dispatch, as in the cases of giving information of disturbance in any part of the country, the rebellion of a chief, or other important matter, they ride two hundred, or sometimes two hundred and fifty miles in the course of a day. On such occasions they carry with them the tablet of the gerfalcon as a signal of the urgency of their business and the necessity for dispatch. And when there are two messengers, they take their departure together from the same place, mounted upon good fleet horses; and they gird their bodies tight, bind a cloth round their heads, and push their horses to the greatest speed. They continue thus till they come to the next post-house, at twenty-five miles distant, where they find two other horses, fresh and in a state for work; they spring upon them without taking any repose, and changing in the same manner at every stage, until the day closes, they perform a journey of two hundred and fifty miles.

In cases of great emergency they continue their course during the night, and if there should be no moon, they are accompanied to the next station by persons on foot, who run before them with lights; when of course they do not make the same speed as in the day-time, the light-bearers not being able to exceed a certain pace. Messengers qualified to undergo this extraordinary degree of fatigue are held in high estimation.

Now we will leave this subject, and I will tell you of a great act of benevolence which the Great Khan performs twice every year. [Marco Polo misinterpreted Kublai's necessary actions as benevolence because he was unaware that a massive volcano eruption had caused disruptions in the Chinese Empire.]

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 27

OF THE RELIEF AFFORDED BY THE EMPEROR TO ALL THE PROVINCES OF HIS EMPIRE "* IN TIMES OF DEARTH OR MORTALITY OF CATTLE

The Great Khan [Kublai Khan, 1215–1294 AD; was the 5th emperor of the Mongol Empire, reigning from 1260 to 1294, and founding the Yuan dynasty in China in 1271, which he ruled as the first Yuan emperor until his death in 1294.] sends every year his commissioners* to ascertain whether any of his subjects have suffered in their crops from unfavourable weather, from storms of wind or violent rains, or by locusts, worms, or any other plague; and in such cases he not only refrains from exacting the usual tribute of that year, but furnishes them from his granaries with so much corn as is necessary for their' subsistence, as well as for sowing their land. [* In 1257-1259, a catastrophic eruption occurred at the Samalas-Rinjani double-volcano on the Indonesian island of Lombok. The event had a probable Volcanic Explosivity Index of VEI 7, making it one of the largest volcanic eruptions during the current Holocene epoch, the last 12,000 years. In the Northern Hemisphere, crops failed and livestock died, resulting in the worst famine of the century, followed by political disruptions such as civil unreast or civil war and probably the first indications of the plague known as the black death.]

With this view, in times of great plenty, he causes large purchases to be made of such kinds of grain as are most serviceable to them, which is stored in granaries provided for the purpose in the several provinces, and managed with such care as to ensure its keeping for three or four years without damage. It is his command, that these granaries be always kept full, in order to provide against times of scarcity*; and when, in such seasons, he disposes of the grain for money, he requires for four measures no more than the purchaser would pay for one measure in the market. In like manner where there has been a mortality of cattle in any district, he makes good the loss to the sufferers from those belonging to himself, which he has received as his tenth of produce in other provinces. [* These are clear indications that Kublai reacted to the consequesces of the volcano eruptions very considerately and so saved China from greater disaster. Due to the volcano explosions, the "Little Ice Age has already begun.] All his thoughts, indeed, are directed to the important object of assisting the people whom he governs, that they may be enabled to live by their labour and improve their substance. We must not omit to notice a peculiarity of the Great Khan, that where an accident has happened by lightning to any herd of cattle, flock of sheep, or other domestic animals, whether the property of one or more persons, and however large the herd may be, he does not demand the tenth of the increase of such cattle during three years; and so also if a ship laden with merchandise has been struck by lightning, he does not collect from her any custom or share of her cargo, considering the accident as an ill omen. God, he says, has shown himself to be displeased with the owner of the goods, and he is unwilling that property bearing the mark of divine wrath should enter his treasury.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 28

OF THE TREES HE CAUSES TO BE PLANTED AT THE SIDES OF THE ROADS <* AND OF THE ORDER IN WHICH THEY ARE KEPT

There is another regulation adopted by the Great Khan, equally ornamental and useful. At both sides of the public roads he causes trees to be planted, of a kind that become large and tall, and being only two paces asunder, they serve —besides the advantage of their shade in summer—to point out the road—when the ground is covered with snow. And this is of great assistance and affords much comfort to travellers. This is done along all the high roads, where the nature of the soil allows; but when the road lies through sandy deserts or over rocky mountains, where it is impossible to have trees, he orders stones to be placed and columns to be erected, as marks for guidance.

He also appoints officers of rank, whose duty it is to see that all these are properly arranged and the roads constantly kept in good order. Besides the motives that have been mentioned it may be added that the Great Khan is the more disposed to plant trees because astrologers tell him that those who plant trees are rewarded with long life.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 29

OF THE KIND OF WINE MADE IN THE PROVINCE OF CATHAY

The greater part of the inhabitants of the province of Cathay drink a sort of wine made from rice mixed with a variety of spices and drugs. This beverage, or wine as it may be termed, is so good and well flavoured that they do not wish for better. It is clear, bright, and pleasant to taste, and being taken very hot, has the quality of making one drunk sooner than any other wine.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 30

CONCERNING THE BLACK STONES [COAL] DUG IN CATHAY [CHINA] USED FOR FUEL

Throughout this province there is found a sort of black stone, which they dig out of the mountains, where it runs in veins. When lighted, it burns like charcoal, and retains the fire much better than wood; insomuch that it may be preserved during the night, and in the morning be found still burning. These stones do not flame, excepting a little when first lighted, but during their ignition give out a considerable heat. [The first mention of coal in Chinese literature is by Liu An (c. 179–122 BC) was a Han dynasty Chinese prince, ruling the Huainan Kingdom, and an advisor to his nephew, Han Wudi, Emperor Wu of Han (157–87 BC). He called it "ice-charcoal."]

It is true there is no scarcity of wood in the country, but the multitude of inhabitants is so immense, and their stoves and baths, which they are continually heating, so numerous, that the quantity could not supply the demand. There is no person who does not frequent a warm bath at least three times in the week, and during the winter daily, if it is in their power. Every man of rank or wealth has one in his house for his own use; and the stock of wood must soon prove inadequate to such consumption; whereas these stones may be had in the greatest abundance, and at a cheap rate.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 31

OF THE GREAT AND ADMIRABLE LIBERALITY EXERCISED BY THE GREAT KHAN TOWARDS THE POOR

It has been already stated that the Emperor distributes large quantities of grain to his subjects. We shall now speak of his great charity to and provident care of the poor in the city of Kanbalu. Upon his being informed of any respectable family, that had once lived in «asy circumstances and by misfortunes reduced to poverty, or who, in consequence of infirmities, are unable to work for their living or to raise-a supply of any kind of grain: to a family in that situation he gives what is necessary for their year's consumption. At the customary period they present themselves before the officers who manage this department of his Majesty's expenses and who reside in a palace where that business is transacted. Here they deliver a statement in writing of the quantity furnished to them in the preceding year, according to which they receive also for the present.

In a similar way the Emperor provides clothing for his poor, which he has the means of doing from his tenths of wool, silk, and hemp. These materials he has woven into the different sorts of cloth, in a house erected for that purpose, where every artisan is obliged to work one day in the week for his Majesty's service. Garments made of stuffs thus manufactured he orders to be given ta the poor families above described, as they are needed for their winter and their summer dresses. He also has clothing prepared for his armies, and in every city has a quantity of woollen cloth woven, which is paid for from the amount of the tenths levied at the place.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 32

OF THE MANY PERSONS WHO APPLY FOR RELIEF AT THE EMPEROR'S COURT

It should be known that the Tartars, when they followed their original customs, and had not yet adopted the religion of the idolaters [Buddhists.], were not in the practice of bestowing alms, and when a poor man applied to them, they drove him away saying, "Begone with your complaint of a bad season which God has sent you; had He loved you, as He loves me, He would have provided for you."

But since the wise men [Brahmans, Bramins, Buddhist monks.] of the idolaters [Buddhists.], and especially the Bacsis, already mentioned, have represented to his Majesty that providing for the poor is a good work and highly acceptable to their deities, he has relieved their wants in the manner stated, and at his court none are denied food who come to ask it. Not a day passes in which there are not distributed, by the regular officers, twenty thousand vessels of rice, millet, and panicum. By reason of this admirable and astonishing liberality which the Great Khan exercises towards the poor, the people all adore him.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 33

OF THE ASTROLOGERS OF THE CITY OF KANBALU

There are in the city of Kanbalu, amongst Christians [Nestorians.], Saracens [Muslims.], and Cathaians [Han Chinese; See Cathay.], about five thousand astrologers and soothsayers, for whose food and clothing the Emperor provides in the same manner as he does for the poor families above mentioned, and who are in the constant exercise of their art.

They have their (bronze) astrolabes, upon which are described the planetary signs, the hours and their several aspects for the whole year. The astrologers of each distinct sect annually proceed to the examination of their respective tables, in order to ascertain the course of the heavenly bodies, and their relative positions. [It was said that in 1227, the Jin dynasty transferred the ancient astronomical instruments from Kaifeng to the first observatory in Beijing. In 1279, the succeeding Mongols under Kublai Khan built a new observatory just north of the current observatory. Kublai Khan made his chief adviser of hydraulics, mathematics and astronomy, Guo Shoujing, director of the observatory in 1283 after the death of Guo's friend and predecessor Zhang Wenqian. After the Mongols, Zhu Yuanzhang, the founding Ming Emperor, transferred the instruments from Beijing to Nanjing. When the Yongle Emperor (1360–1424) came to power, he had craftsmen make copies of the instruments in Nanjing and sent them to the Beijing observatory (Ancient Observatory, Gu guan xiang tai; In the early 1600s Jesuit missionaries became the Chinese court's official scientific advisers and a collection of the Catholic order's bronze, Western-influenced, scientific instruments is on display on the roof of the building.). Two of the beautiful bronze astronomical instruments made for Kublai Khan were taken to Berlin after the Boxer Rebellion of 1901. However, as World War I drew to a close, the instruments were returned to China by the French and German governments. They are now at Purple Mountain Observatory (Zijinshan Tianwentai) in the East of Nanjing.] They discover therein what the state of the weather shall be, from the paths of the planets in the different signs, and from this foretell the peculiar phenomena of each month. For instance, they predict that there shall be

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thunder and storms in a certain month, earthquakes; in another, strokes of lightning and violent rains; in another, diseases, mortality, wars, discords, conspiracies.

As they find the matter in their astrolabes, so they declare it will come to pass; adding, however, that God, according to his good pleasure, may do more or less than they have set down. They write their predictions for the year upon certain small squares, which are called Tacuin, and these they sell, for a groat apiece, to all persons who are desirous of peeping into the future. Those whose predictions are found to be the more generally correct are esteemed the most perfect masters of their art, and are consequently the most honoured.

When any person forms the design of executing some great work, of performing a distant journey in the way of commerce, or of commencing any other undertaking, and is desirous of knowing what success may be likely to attend it, he has recourse to one of these astrologers, and, informing him that he is about to proceed on such an expedition, inquires in what disposition the heavens appear to be at the time. The latter thereupon tells him, that before he can answer, it is necessary he should be informed of the year, the month, and the hour in which he was born; and that, having learned these particulars, he will then proceed to ascertain in what respect his horoscope corresponds with the aspect of the celestial bodies at the time of making the inquiry. Upon this comparison he grounds his prediction of the favourable or unfavourable termination of the adventure.

It should be observed that the Tartars [Mongols] compute their time by a cycle of twelve years; to the first of which they give the name of the Lion; to the second year, that of the Ox; to the third, the Dragon; to the fourth, the Dog; and so of the rest, until the whole of the twelve have elapsed. [Polo here talks about the Chinese Zodiac. This cycle runs as follows:—1. Rat; 2. Ox; 3. Tiger; 4. Hare; 5. Dragon; 6. Serpent; 7. Horse; 8. Sheep; 9. Ape; 10. Cock; 11. Dog; 12. Swine.] When a person, therefore, is asked in what year he was born, he replies, In the course of the year of the Lion, upon such a day, at such an hour and minute; all of which has been carefully noted by his parents in a book. Upon the completion of the twelve years of the cycle, they return to the first, and continually repeat the same series.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 34

OF THE RELIGION OF THE TARTARS — OF THE OPINIONS THEY HOLD AS TO THE SOUL — AND OF SOME OF THEIR CUSTOMS

As has already been observed, these people are idolaters [Buddhists.], and for deities, each person has a tablet fixed up against a high part of the wall of his chamber, upon which is written a name, that serves to denote the high, celestial, and sublime God. To this they pay daily adoration, with incense burning. Lifting up their hands and then striking their faces against the floor three times, they implore from Him the blessings of sound intellect and health of body; but of Him they ask nothing else. Below this, on the floor, they have a statue which they name Natigay, which they consider as the God of all terrestrial things or whatever is produced from the earth. They give him a wife and children, and worship him in a similar manner, burning incense, raising their hands, and bending to the floor. To him they pray for seasonable weather, abundant crops, increase of family, and the like.

They believe the soul to be immortal, after this fashion. Immediately upon the death of a man, it enters into another body, and that accordingly as he has acted virtuously or wickedly during his life, his future state will become, progressively, better or worse. If he be a poor man, and has conducted himself worthily and decently, he will be re-born, in the first instance, from the womb of a gentlewoman, and become, himself, a gentleman; next, from the womb of a lady of rank, and become a nobleman; thus continually ascending in the scale of existence until he be united to the ivinity. But if, on the contrary, being the son of a gentleman, he has behaved unworthily, he will, in his next state, be a clown, and at length a dog, continually descending and going down lower and lower.

Their style of conversation is courteous; they salute each other politely and with cheerful countenance, have an air of good breeding, and eat their food with particular cleanliness. To their parents they show the utmost reverence. Should it happen that a child acts disrespectfully or neglects to assist his parents when necessary, there is a public tribunal, whose especial duty it is to punish with severity this crime of filial ingratitude.

Malefactors guilty of various crimes, who are apprehended and thrown into prison, are executed by strangling. But such as remain for three years, being the time appointed by his Majesty for a general prison release, and are then liberated, have a mark branded upon one of their cheeks, that they may be recognised.

The present Great Khan has prohibited all species of gambling and other modes of cheating, to which the people of this country are addicted more than any others upon earth. As an argument for deterring them from this practice, he said: "I subdued you by the power of my sWord, and consequently whatever you possess belongs of right to me: if you gamble, therefore, you are sporting with my property." He does not, however, take anything arbitrarily in virtue of this right.

The order and regularity observed by all ranks of people, when they present themselves before his Majesty, ought not to pass unnoticed. When they approach within half a mile of the place where he happens to be, they show their respect for his exalted character by assuming a humble, placid, and quiet demeanour, insomuch that not the least noise, nor the voice of any person calling out, or even speaking aloud, is heard. Every man of rank carries with him a small vessel, into which he spits, so long as he continues in the hall of audience, no one daring to spit on the floor; and this being done, he replaces the cover, and makes a salutation. They are accustomed likewise to take with them handsome buskins made of white leather, and when they reach the court, but before they enter the hall they put on these white buskins, and give those in which they had walked to the care of the servants. This practice is observed that they may not soil the beautiful carpets, which are curiously wrought with silk and gold, and exhibit a variety of colours.

MARCO POLO BOOK 2, PART 2

CITIES AND PROVINCES VISITED BY THE TRAVELLER ON ONE JOURNEY WESTWARD FROM THE CAPITAL TO THE FRONTIERS OF MIEN IN THE DIRECTION OF INDIA.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 35

OF THE INTERIOR OF CATHAY — THE RIVER NAMED PULISANGAN — AND OF THE BRIDGE OVER IT

Having thus completed the account of the government and police of the province of Cathay and city of Kanbalu, as well as of the magnificence of the Great Khan, we shall now proceed to speak of other parts of the Empire. You must know then that the Great Khan sent Marco as his ambassador to the west. Leaving Kanbalu, he travelled westward during full four months; we shall now tell you all he saw on his travels as he went and returned.

Upon leaving the capital and travelling ten miles, you come to a river named Pulisangan, which discharges itself into the ocean, and is navigated by many vessels entering from thence, with considerable quantities of merchandise. Over this river there is a very handsome bridge of stone, perhaps unequalled by any other in the world. Its length is three hundred paces, and its width eight paces; so that ten mounted men can, without inconvenience, ride abreast. It has twenty-four arches, supported by twenty-five piers erected in the water, all of serpentine stone, and built with great skill.

On each side, and from one extremity to the other, there is a handsome parapet, formed of marble slabs and pillars arranged in a masterly style. At the beginning of the ascent the bridge is something wider than at the summit, but from the part where the ascent terminates, the sides run in straight lines and parallel to each other. Upon the upper level there is a massive and lofty column, resting upon a tortoise of marble, and having near its base a large figure of a lion, with a lion also on the top. Towards the slope of the bridge there is another handsome column or pillar, with its lion, at the distance of a pace and a half from the former; and all the spaces between one pillar and another, throughout the whole length of the bridge, are filled up with slabs of marble, curiously sculptured, and mortised into the next adjoining pillars, forming altogether a beautiful spectacle. These parapets serve to prevent accidents that might otherwise happen to passengers.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 36

OF THE CITY OF GOUZA

After having passed this bridge, proceeding thirty miles in a westerly direction, through a country abounding with fine buildings, amongst vineyards and cultivated and fertile land, you arrive at a handsome and large city, named Gouza [Cho-chau], where there are many convents of the idolaters [Buddhists.]. The inhabitants in general live by commerce and manual arts. They have manufactures of gold tissues and the finest kind of gauze. The inns for accommodating travellers are there numerous.

At the distance of a mile beyond this place, the roads divide; one going in a westerly, and the other in a southeasterly direction, the westerly road through the province of Cathay, and the other towards the province of Manji. From the city of Gouza it is a journey of ten days through Cathay to the kingdom of Tainfu; in the course of which you pass many fine cities and strong places, in which manufactures and commerce flourish, and where you see many vineyards and much cultivated land. From hence grapes are carried into the interior of Cathay, where the vine does not grow. Mulberry-trees also abound, the leaves of which enable the inhabitants to produce large quantities of silk. A degree of civilization prevails amongst all the people of this country, in consequence of their frequent intercourse with the towns, which are numerous and not far from each other. To these the merchants continually resort, carrying their goods from one city to another, as the fairs are successively held at each.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 37

THE KINGDOM OF TAINFU

At the end of five days' journey beyond the ten that have been mentioned, it is said there is another city unusually large and handsome named Ach-baluch, to which the limits of his Majesty's hunting grounds extend, and within which no persons dare to sport, excepting the Princes of his own family, and those whose names are inscribed on the grand falconer's list. Beyond these limits, all persons qualified by rank are at liberty to pursue game.

It happens, however, that the Great Khan scarcely ever takes the amusement of the chase on this side of the country; and the consequence is, that the wild animals, especially hares, multiply to such a degree as to occasion the destruction of all the growing corn of the province. When this came to the knowledge of the Great Khan, he repaired thither, with the whole of his court, and innumerable multitudes of these animals were taken.

A considerable trade is carried on here, and a variety of articles are manufactured, particularly arms and other military stores, which are at this place conveniently situated for the use of the Emperor's armies. Vineyards are numerous, from which grapes in vast abundance are gathered. Other fruits also grow here in plenty, as does the mulberry-tree, together with the worms that yield the silk.

Leaving Tainfu, and travelling westward, seven days' journey, through a fine country in which there are many cities and strong places, where commerce and manufactures prevail, and whose merchants, travelling over various parts of the country, obtain considerable profits, you reach a city named Painfu, which is of a large size and very important. It likewise contains numerous merchants and artisans. Silk s produced here also in great quantity. We shall not say anything further of these places, but proceed to speak of the distinguished city of Kachanfuj first noticing, however, a noble castle named Thaigin.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 38

OF THE CASTLE OF THAIGIN

In a western direction from Painfu there is a large and handsome fortress named Thaigin, which is said to have been built, at a remote period, by a king who was called the Golden King. Within the walls of the fort stands a spacious and highly-ornamented palace, the hall of which contains paintings of all the renowned Princes who, from ancient times, have reigned at this place, forming together a superb exhibition.

A remarkable circumstance in the history of this king shall now be related. He was a powerful Prince, and was always waited upon by young women of great beauty, a vast number of whom he entertained at his court. When, for recreation, he went about the palace, he was drawn in his carriage by these damsels, which they could do with ease, as it was of a small size. They were devoted to his service, and performed every service that added to his convenience or amusement. In his government he was not wanting in vigour, and he ruled with dignity and justice.

The castle, according to the report of the people of the country, held a very strong position. He was, however, a vassal of Prester John; but, influenced by pride, he rebelled against him. When this came to the knowledge of Prester John, he was exceedingly grieved, and because of the strong situation of the castle, it was impossible to attack it. Matters had remained some time in this state, when seventeen cavaliers belonging to his retinue presented themselves before him, and declared their resolution to attempt the seizure of the Golden King, and bring him alive to his Majesty. To this they were encouraged by the promise of a large reward.

They accordingly took their departure and went to the Golden King and presented themselves saying that they had come from a distant country, made him an offer of their services. In his employment they so ably and diligently performed their duties that they gained the esteem of their new master, who showed them distinguished favour.

One day when the king was engaged in the chase, and had crossed a river which separated him from the rest of his party, who remained on the opposite side, these cavaliers perceived that the opportunity now presented itself of executing their design. They drew their swords, surrounded the king, and led him away by force towards the territory of Prester John, without its being possible for him to receive assistance from his own people.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 59

HOW PRESTER JOHN TREATED HIS PRISONER THE GOLDEN KING

When they reached the court of Prester John, he gave orders for clothing his prisoner in the meanest apparel [Garb, garment.], and, with the view of humiliating him by the indignity, ordered him to be put to look after cattle.

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In this wretched condition he remained for two years, strict care being taken that he should not effect his escape. At the expiration of that period, Prester John caused him to be again brought before him, trembling from apprehension that they were going to put him to death. But on the contrary, Prester John, after warning him against suffering pride and arrogance, granted him a pardon, directed that he should be dressed in royal apparel, and sent him back to his principality with an honourable escort. From that time forward he always preserved his loyalty, and lived on friendly terms with Prester John. The foregoing is what was related to me on the subject of the Golden King.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 40
OF THE VERY LARGE AND NOBLE RIVER CALLED THE KARA-MORAN

Upon leaving the fortress of Thaigin, and travelling about twenty miles, you come to a river called the Karamoran [Yellow River; Chinese: Huang He.], which is of such magnitude, both in respect to width and depth, that no solid bridge can be erected upon it. Its waters are discharged into the ocean. On its banks are many cities and castles, in which a number of trading people reside, who carry on an extensive commerce. The country bordering upon it produces ginger, and silk also in large quantities.

Of birds the multitude is incredible, especially of pheasants, which are sold at the rate of three for the value of a Venetian groat. Here likewise grows a species of large cane, in infinite abundance, some of a foot, and others a foot and a half in circumference, which are employed by the inhabitants for a variety of useful purposes.

Having crossed this river and travelled three days' journey, you arrive at a city named Ka-chan-fu, whose inhabitants are idolaters [Buddhists.]. They carry on a considerable traffic, and work at a variety of manufactures. The country produces in great abundance, silk, ginger, and many drugs that are nearly unknown in our part of the world. Here they weave gold tissues, as well as every other kind of silken cloth. We shall speak in the next place of the noble and celebrated city of Ken-zan-fu, in the kingdom of the same name.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 41
OF THE CITY OF KEN-ZAN-FU

Departing from Ka-chan-fu, and proceeding eight days' journey in a westerly direction, you continually meet with cities and commercial towns, and pass many gardens and cultivated grounds, with abundance of the mulberry tree that contributes to the production of silk. The inhabitants in general worship idols, but there are also found here Nestorian Christians, Turkomans [Muslims], and Saracens [Muslims].

The wild beasts of the country afford excellent sport, and a variety of birds also are taken.

At the end of eight days you arrive at the city of Ken-zan-fu, which was anciently the capital of an extensive, noble, and powerful kingdom, the seat of many kings, highly descended and distinguished in arms. At the present day it is governed by a son of the Great Khan, named Mangalu, upon whom his father has conferred the sovereignty.

It is a country of great commerce, and eminent for its manufactures. Raw silk is produced in large quantities, and tissues of gold and every other kind of silk are woven there. At this place likewise they prepare every article necessary for the equipment of an army. All species of provisions are in abundance, and to be procured at a moderate price. The inhabitants in general worship idols, but there are some Christians, Turkomans, and Saracens.

In a plain, about five miles from the city, stands a beautiful palace belonging to King Mangalu, embellished with many fountains and rivulets, both within and on the outside of the buildings. There is also a fine park, surrounded by a high wall, with battlements, enclosing an extent of five miles, where all kinds of wild animals, both beasts and birds, are kept for sport. In its centre is this spacious palace, which, for symmetry and beauty, cannot be surpassed. It contains many marble halls and chambers, ornamented with paintings and beaten gold and the finest azure. Mangalu, pursuing the footsteps of his father, governs his principality with strict equity, and is beloved by his people. He also takes much delight in hunting and hawking.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 42
OF THE BOUNDARIES OF CATHAY AND MANJl

Travelling westward three days, from the residence of Mangalu, you still find towns and castles, whose inhabitants subsist by commerce and manufactures, and where there is an abundance of silk. At the end of these three days you enter upon a region of mountains and valleys, which lie within the province of Kun-kin.

This tract, however, has no want of inhabitants, who are worshippers of idols, and cultivate the earth. They live also by the chase, the land being much covered with woods. In these are found many wild beasts, such as tigers, bears, lynxes, fallow deer, antelopes, stags, and many other animals, which are made to turn to good account. This region extends to the distance of twenty days' journey, during which the way lies entirely over mountains and through valleys and woods, but containing towns where travellers may find convenient accommodation.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 43
CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF MANJI

This journey of twenty days towards the west being performed, you arrive at a place called Ach-baluch Manji, which signifies, the white city on the confines of Manji, where the country becomes level, and is very populous.

The inhabitants live by trade and manual arts. Large quantities of ginger are produced here, which is conveyed through all the province of Cathay, with great profit to the merchants. The country yields wheat, rice, and other grain plentifully, and at a reasonable rate.

This plain, thickly covered with habitations, continues for two stages, after which you again come to high mountains, valleys, and forests. Travelling twenty days still further to the west, you continue to find the country inhabited, by people who worship idols, and subsist upon the produce of the soil, as well as that of the chase. Here also, besides the wild animals above enumerated, there are great numbers of that species which produces the musk.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 44
OF THE PROVINCE OF SIN-DIN-FU — AND OF THE GREAT RIVER KIANG

Having travelled those twenty stages through a mountainous country, you reach a plain on the confines of Manji, where there is a district named Sin-din-fu, by which name also the large and noble city, its capital, is called. It was formerly the seat of many rich and powerful kings. The circumference of the city is twenty miles; but at the present day it is divided in the following manner.

The late old king had three sons; and it being his wish that each of them should reign after his death, he divided the city amongst them, separating one part from the other by walls, although the whole continued to be surrounded by one general enclosure.

These three brothers accordingly became kings, and each had for his portion a considerable tract of country, the territory of their father having been extensive and rich. But, upon its conquest by the Great Khan, he conquered these three princes, and took for himself their inheritance.

The city is watered by many considerable streams, which, descending from the distant mountains, surround and pass through it in a variety of directions. Some of these rivers are half a mile in width, others are two hundred paces, and very deep. A great bridge crosses one of these rivers within the city. From one extremity to the other there is a row of marble pillars on each side, which support the roof, which is constructed of wood, ornamented with paintings of a red colour, and covered with tiles. Throughout the whole length also there are neat apartments and shops, where all sorts of trades are carried on. One of the buildings, larger than the rest, is occupied by the officers who collect duties and a toll from persons who pass the bridge. From this bridge, it is said, his Majesty receives daily the sum of a hundred bezants of gold.

These rivers, uniting their streams below the city, contribute to form the mighty river called the Kiang [Wade-Giles: Yangtzu Kiang; English: Yangtze; Pinyin: Yangzi; official: Chang Jiang.], whose course, before it discharges itself into the ocean, is equal to a hundred days' journey.

On these rivers and in the parts adjacent are many towns and fortified places, and the vessels are numerous, in which large quantities of merchandise are transported to and from the city. The people of the province are idolaters [Buddhists.]. Departing from thence you travel five days, partly along a plain, and partly through valleys, where you see many respectable mansions, castles, and small towns. The inhabitants subsist by agriculture. In the city there are manufactures, particularly of very fine cloths and crapes or gauzes. This country, like the districts already mentioned, is infested with lions, bears, and other wild animals. At the end of these five days' journey, you reach the desolated country of Thebeth.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 45
OF THE PROVINCE OF THEBETH

The province named Thebeth was laid entirely waste at the time that Mangu Khan [Möngke Khan] carried his wars into that country. To the distance of twenty days' journey you see numberless towns and castles in a state of ruin; and in consequence of the want of inhabitants, wild beasts, and especially tigers, have multiplied to such a degree that merchants and other travellers are exposed there to great danger during the night.

They are not only under the necessity of carrying their provisions along with them, but are obliged, upon arriving at their halting places, to employ the utmost care, and to take the following precautions, that their horses may not be devoured. In this region, and particularly in the neighbourhood of rivers, are found bamboos of the length of ten paces, three palms in circumference, and three palms also in the space between each knot or joint. Several of these, in their green state, the travellers tie together, and place them, when evening approaches, at a certain distance from their quarters, with a fire lighted around them. The action of the heat upon the green wood causes the joints to burst with loud explosions. The noise is so loud as to be heard at the distance of two miles, and this terrifies the wild beasts, making them fly from the neighbourhood.

The merchants also provide themselves with iron shackles, in order to fasten the legs of their horses, which would otherwise, when alarmed by the noise, break their halters and run away. From the neglect of this precaution, it has happened that many owners have lost their cattle. Thus you travel for twenty days through a desolated country, finding neither inns nor provisions, unless perhaps once in three or four days, when you take the opportunity of replenishing your stock of necessaries. At the end of that period you begin to discover a few castles and strong towns, built upon rocky heights, or upon the summits of mountains, and gradually enter an inhabited and cultivated district, where there is no longer any danger from beasts of prey.

A scandalous custom, which could only proceed from the blindness of idolatry, prevails amongst the people of these parts, who are disinclined to marry young women so long as they are in their virgin state, but require, on the contrary, that they should have had previous commerce with many of the other sex. This, they assert, is pleasing to their deities, and believe that a woman who has not had the company of men is worthless.

Accordingly, upon the arrival of a caravan of merchants, and as soon as they have set up their tents for the night, those mothers who have marriageable daughters conduct them to the place, and entreat the strangers to accept of their daughters and enjoy their society so long as they remain in the neighbourhood. Such as have most beauty to recommend them are of course chosen, and the others return home disappointed. Those chosen continue with the travellers until the period of their departure. They then restore them to their mothers, and never attempt to carry them away. It is expected, however, that the merchants should make them presents of trinkets, rings, or other complimentary tokens of regard, which the young women take home with them.

They wear all these ornaments about the neck or other part of the body, and she who exhibits the greatest number of them is considered to have attracted the attention of the greatest number of men, and is on that account in higher esteem with the young men who are looking out for wives. [Want of chastity is still esteemed in Japan as well as among some uncivilised races. This "testimony to the value of a bride's attractions" is discussed in Westermarck's History of Human Marriage.]

At the wedding, she accordingly makes a display of them to the assembly, and he regards them as a proof that their idols have rendered her lovely in the eyes of men. From thenceforward no person can dare to meddle with her who has become the wife of another, and this rule is never infringed.

These idolatrous people are treacherous and cruel, and holding it no crime to rob, are the greatest brigands in the world. They subsist by the chase and by fowling, as well as upon the fruits of the earth.

Here are found the animals that produce the musk, and such is the quantity, that the scent of it is diffused over the whole country. Once in every month the secretion takes place, and it forms itself, as has already been said, into a sort of imposthume, or boil full of blood, near the navel.

Throughout every part of this region the animal abounds, and the odour generally prevails. [In recent years Paris perfumery houses have sent agents to the Upper Yangtze to buy this product. Its export from Tibet, for the year 1902, has been estimated at one millic* ounces of silver. See Encyclopaedia Sinica.] They are called gudderi in the language of the natives, and are taken with dogs.

These people use no coined money, nor even the paper money of the Great Khan, but for their currency employ salt. Their dress is homely, being of leather, undressed skins, or of canvas. They have a language peculiar to the province of Thebeth, which borders on Manji.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 46
FURTHER DISCOURSE CONCERNING THEBETH

Thebeth was formerly a country of so much importance as to be divided into eight kingdoms, containing many cities and castles. Its rivers, lakes, and mountains are numerous. In the rivers gold-dust is found in very large quantities. Coral is in great demand, the women wear it about their necks, and with it ornament their idols. There are manufactures of camlet and of gold cloth, and many drugs are produced in the country that have not been brought to ours.

Among these people you find the best enchanters, who by their infernal art perform the most extraordinary and delusive marvels that were ever seen or heard. They cause tempests to arise, accompanied with flashes of lightning and thunderbolts, and produce many other miraculous effects.

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They are altogether an ill-conditioned race. They have dogs of the size of asses, strong enough to hunt all sorts of wild beasts, particularly the wild oxen, and are extremely large and fierce. Some of the best lanner falcons are bred here, and also sakers, very swift of flight, and the natives have good sport with them.

This province of Thebeth is subject to the Great Khan, as well as all the other kingdoms and provinces that have been mentioned. Next to this is the province of Kain-du.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 47

OF THE PROVINCE OF KAIN-DU

Kain-Du is a western province, which was formerly subject to its own princes; but, since it has been brought under the dominion of the Great Khan, it is ruled by the governors whom he appoints. We are not to understand, however, that it is situated in the western part of Asia, but only that it lies westward with respect to our course from the northeastern quarter. It contains many cities and castles, and the capital city, standing at the commencement of the province, is likewise named Kain-du. Near to it there is a large lake of salt water, in which are found abundance of pearls, of a white colour, but not round. So great indeed is the quantity, that, if his Majesty permitted every individual to search for them, their value would become trifling; but the fishery is prohibited to all who do not obtain his licence.

A mountain in the neighbourhood yields the turquoise stone, the mines of which cannot be worked without the same permission.

The inhabitants of this district are in the shameful and odious habit of considering it no mark of disgrace that those who travel through the country should have connexion with their wives, daughters, or sisters; but, on the contrary, when strangers arrive, each householder endeavours to conduct one of them home with him. Here he gives all the females of the family to him, leaves him in the situation of master of the house, and takes his departure. While the stranger is in the house, he places a signal at the window, as his hat or some other thing; and as long as this signal is seen in the house, the husband remains absent. And this custom prevails throughout that province. This they do in honour of their idols, believing that by such acts of kindness and hospitality to travellers a blessing is obtained, and that they shall be rewarded with a plentiful supply of the fruits of the earth.

The money or currency they make use of is thus prepared. Their gold is formed into small rods, and passes according to its weight, without any stamp. This is their greater money: the smaller is of the following description. In this country there are salt-springs, from which they manufacture salt by boiling it in small pans. When the water has boiled for an hour, it becomes a kind of paste, which is formed into cakes of the value of twopence each. These, which are flat on the lower, and convex on the upper side, are placed upon hot tiles, near a fire, in order to dry and harden. On this latter species of money the stamp of the Great Khan is impressed, and it cannot be prepared by any other than his own officers. Eighty of the cakes are made to pass for a saggio of gold. But when these are carried by the traders amongst the inhabitants of the mountains and other parts little frequented, they obtain a saggio of gold for sixty, fifty, or even forty of the salt cakes, in proportion as they find the natives less civilised, further removed from the towns, and more accustomed to remain on the same spot.

The same merchants travel in like manner through the mountainous and other parts of the province of Thebeth, last spoken of, where the money of salt has equal currency. Their profits are considerable, because these country people consume the salt with their food, and regard it as an indispensable necessary; whereas the inhabitants of the cities use for the same purpose only the broken fragments of the cakes, putting the whole cakes into circulation as money.

Here also the animals, which yield the musk, are taken in great numbers, and the article is proportionably abundant. Many fish, of good kinds, are caught in the lake. In the country are found tigers, bears, deer, stags, and antelopes. There are numerous birds also, of various sorts. The wine is not made from grapes, but from wheat and rice, with a mixture of spices, which is an excellent beverage.

This province likewise produces cloves. The tree is small; the branches and leaves resemble those of the laurel, but are somewhat longer and narrower. Its flowers are white and small, as are the cloves themselves, but as they ripen they become dark-coloured. Ginger grows there and also cassia in abundance, besides many other drugs, of which no quantity is ever brought to Europe.

Upon leaving the city of Kain-du, the journey is ten days to the opposite boundary of the province; in the course of which you meet with respectable habitations, many fortified posts, and also places adapted to hunting and fowling.

The inhabitants follow the customs and manners that have already been described. At the end of these ten days, you come to the great river Brius, which bounds the province, and in which are found large quantities of gold-dust. It discharges itself into the ocean. We shall now leave this river, as nothing further that is worthy of observation presents itself, and shall proceed to speak of the province of Karazan.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 48

OF THE GREAT PROVINCE OF KARAZAN — AND OF YACHI ITS PRINCIPAL CITY

Having passed the river above mentioned, you enter the province of Karazan, which is of such extent as to be divided into seven governments. It is situated towards the west; the inhabitants are idolaters [Buddhists.]. It is subject to the dominion of the Great Khan, who has constituted as its king his son named Cen-Temur, a rich, magnificent, and powerful prince, endowed with consummate wisdom and virtue, and by whom the kingdom is ruled with great justice. In travelling from this river five days' journey, in a westerly direction, you pass through a country fully inhabited, and see many castles. The inhabitants live upon flesh meat and upon the fruits of the earth. Their language is peculiar to themselves, and is difficult to be acquired. The best horses are bred in this province.

At the end of these five days you arrive at its capital city, which is named Yachi, and is large and noble. In it are found merchants and artisans, with a mixed population, consisting of idolaters, Nestorian Christians, and Saracens or Mohammedans; but the first is the most numerous class.

The land is fertile in rice and wheat. The people, however, do not use wheaten bread, which they esteem unwholesome, but eat rice. Of other grain, with the addition of spices, they make wine, which is clear, light-coloured, and most pleasant to the taste. For money they employ the white porcelain shell, found in the sea, and these they also wear as ornaments about their necks. Eighty of the shells are equal in value to a saggio of silver or two Venetian groats, and eight saggi of good silver, to one of pure gold. In this country also there are salt-springs, from which all the salt used by the inhabitants is procured. The duty levied on this salt produces a large revenue to the Emperor.

The natives do not consider it as an injury done to them, when others have connexion with their wives, provided the act be voluntary on the woman's part. Here there is a lake nearly a hundred miles in circuit, in which great quantities of various kinds of fish are caught; some of them being of a large size.

The people are accustomed to eat the undressed flesh of fowls, sheep, oxen, and buffaloes, but cured in the following manner. They cut the meat into very small particles, and then put it into a pickle of salt, with the addition of several of their spices. It is thus prepared for persons of the higher class, but the poorer sort only steep it, after mincing, in a sauce of garlic, and then eat it as if it were dressed.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 49

OF A FURTHER PART OF THE PROVINCE NAMED KARAZAN

Leaving the city of Yachi, and travelling ten days in a westerly direction, you reach the chief city of the province of Karazan. The country belongs to the dominion of the Great Khan, and the royal functions are exercised by his son, named Kogatin. Gold is found in the rivers, both in small particles and in lumps; and there are also veins of it in the mountains. In consequence of the large quantity obtained, they give a saggio of gold for six saggi of silver. They likewise use porcelain shells in currency; which, however, are not found in this part of the world, but are brought from India. As I have said before, these people never take virgins for their wives.

Here are found snakes and huge serpents [crocodiles], ten paces in length, and ten spans in the girt of the body. At the fore part, near the head, they have two short legs, having three claws with eyes larger than a fourpenny loaf and very glaring. The jaws are wide enough to swallow a man, the teeth are large and sharp, and their whole appearance is so formidable, that neither man, nor any kind of animal, can approach them without terror. Others are met with of a smaller size, being eight, six, or five paces long.

The following method is used for capturing them. In the day-time, by reason of the great heat, they lurk in caverns, but at night, they come out to seek their food, and whatever beast they meet with and can lay hold of, they devour. After eating they drag themselves towards some lake, spring of water, or river, in order to drink.

By their motion in this way along the shore, and their vast weight, they make a deep impression, as if a heavy beam had been drawn along the sands. Those whose employment it is to hunt them observe the track by which they are most frequently accustomed to go, and fix into the ground several pieces of wood, armed with sharp iron spikes, which they cover with the sand in such a manner as not to be perceptible. When therefore the animals make their way towards the places they usually haunt, they are wounded by these instruments, and speedily killed.

The crows, as soon as they perceive them to be dead, set up their scream; and this serves as a signal to the hunters, who advance to the spot, and proceed to separate the skin from the flesh, taking care immediately to secure the gall, which is most highly valued in medicine. In cases of the bite of a mad dog, a pennyweight of it, dissolved in wine, is administered. It is also useful in accelerating delivery, when the labour pains of women have come on.

A small quantity of it being applied to carbuncles, pustules, or other eruptions on the body, they are presently dispersed; and it is efficacious in many other complaints.

The flesh also of the animal is sold at a dear rate, being thought to have a higher flavour than other kinds of meat, and by all persons it is esteemed a delicacy. In this province the horses are of a large size, and whilst young, are carried for sale to India. It is the practice to deprive them of one joint of the tail, in order to prevent them from lashing it from side to side, and to occasion its remaining pendent; as the whisking it about, in riding, appears to them a vile habit.

These people ride with long stirrups, as the French do in our part of the world; whereas the Tartars, and almost all other people, wear them short, so that they may with ease rise in their stirrups above the horse, when they shoot their arrows. They have complete armour of buffaloleather, and carry lances, shields, and cross-bows. All their arrows are poisoned.

I was assured, as a certain fact, that many persons, and especially those who harbour bad designs, always carry poison about them, with the intention of swallowing it, in the event of their being captured, and exposed to torture. Rather than suffer it, they effect their own destruction.

But their rulers, who are aware of this practice, are always provided with the dung of dogs, which they oblige the accused to swallow, causing a vomiting of the poison. Thus an antidote is ready against the arts of these wretches.

Before the time of their becoming subject to the dominion of the Great Khan, these people were addicted to the following brutal custom. When any stranger of superior quality, who united personal beauty with distinguished valour, happened to take up his abode at the house of one of them, he was murdered during the night; not for the sake of his money, but in order that the spirit of the deceased, endowed with his talents and intelligence, might remain with the family, and all their concerns might prosper. Accordingly the individual was accounted fortunate who possessed in this manner the soul of any noble personage; and many lost their lives in consequence. But from the time of his Majesty's beginning to rule the country, he has taken measures for suppressing the horrid practice, and as severe punishments have been inflicted, it has ceased to exist.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 50

OF THE PROVINCE OF KARDANDAN AND THE CITY OF VOCHANG

Proceeding five, days' journey in a westerly direction from Karazan, you enter the province of Kardandan, belonging to the dominion of the Great Khan, and of which the principal city is named Vochang. The currency of this country is gold by weight, and also porcelain shells. An ounce of gold is exchanged for five ounces of silver, and a saggio of gold for five saggi of silver. There being no silver mines in this country, but much gold, the merchants who import silver obtain a large profit.

Both the men and the women of this province have the custom of covering their teeth with thin plates of gold, which are fitted with great nicety to the shape of the teeth, and remain on them continually. The men also form dark stripes or bands round their arms and legs, by puncturing them in the following manner. They have five needles joined together, which they press into the fiesh until blood is drawn; and they then rub the punctures with a black colouring matter, which leaves an indelible mark. To bear these dark stripes is considered as an ornamental and honourable distinction.

They pay little attention to anything but horsemanship, the sports of the chase, and whatever belongs to the use of arms and a military life; leaving the entire management of their domestic concerns to their wives, who are assisted in their duties by slaves, either purchased or made prisoners in war.

These people have the following singular usage. As soon as a woman has been delivered of a child, and, rising from her bed, has washed and swathed the infant, her husband immediately takes the place she has left, has the child laid beside him, and nurses it for forty days. In the meantime, the friends and relations of the family pay to him their visits of congratulation; whilst the woman attends to the business of the house, carries victuals and drink to the husband in his bed, and suckles the infant at his side. [This delightful practice has also been noted in India, Borneo, Siam, Africa and sections of South America. This hatching on the part of the father has been named "Couvadt." It b illustrated in an old Chinese painting now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, •nd reproduced in the museum's catalogue of Chinese Art.]

These people eat their meat raw, or prepared in the manner that has been described, and along with it eat rice. Their wine is manufactured from rice, with a mixture of spices, and is a good beverage.

In this district they have neither temples nor idols, but pay their worship to the elder or ancestor of the family, rom whom, they say, as they derive their existence, so to him they

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are indebted for all that they possess. They have no knowledge of any kind of writing, nor is this to be wondered at, considering the rude nature of the country, which is a mountainous tract, covered with the thickest forests. During the summer season, the atmosphere is so gloomy and unwholesome, that merchants and other strangers are obliged to leave the district, in order to escape from death.

When the natives have transactions of business with each other, which require them to execute any obligation for the amount of a debt or credit, their chief takes a square piece of wood, and divides it in two. Notches are then cut on it, denoting the sum in question, and each party receives one of the corresponding pieces, as is practised in respect to our tallies. Upon the expiration of the term, and payment made by the debtor, the creditor delivers up his counterpart, and both remain satisfied.

Neither in this province, nor in the cities of Kain-du, Vochang, or Yachi, are to be found persons professing the knowledge of the leech. When a person of consequence is attacked with a disorder, his family send for those sorcerers who offer sacrifices to the idols, to whom the sick person gives an account of the nature of his complaint.

The sorcerers thereupon give directions for the attendance of persons who perform on a variety of loud instruments, in order that they may dance and sing hymns in honour and praise of their idols. This they continue to do, until the evil spirit has taken possession of one of them, when their musical exertions cease. They then inquire of the person so possessed the cause of the man's indisposition, and the means that should be used for effecting his cure. The evil spirit answers by the mouth of him into whose body he has entered, that the sickness has been occasioned by an offence given to a certain deity. Upon which the sorcerers address their prayers to that deity, beseeching him to pardon the sinner, on the condition that when cured he shall offer a sacrifice of his own blood. But if the demon perceives that there is no prospect of a recovery, he pronounces the deity to be so grievously offended that no sacrifice can appease him. If, on the contrary, he judges that a cure is likely to take place, he requires that an offering be made of so many sheep with black heads; that so many sorcerers, with their wives, be assembled, and that the sacrifice be performed by their hands; by which means, he says, the favour of the deity may be gained.

The relations comply immediately with all that has been demanded, the sheep are slain, their blood is sprinkled towards the heavens, the sorcerers, male and female, light up and perfume with incense the whole house of the sick person, making a smoke with wood of aloes. They cast into the air the water in which the flesh has been seethed, together with some of the liquor brewed with spices; and then laugh, sing, and dance about, with the idea of doing honour to their idol or divinity. Then they proceed to feast on the meat that had been offered in sacrifice, and to drink the spiced liquor, of which a libation had been made, with signs of great hilarity.

Having finished their meal, and received their fees, they return to their homes; and if, through God's providence, the patient recovers, they attribute his cure to the idol for whom the sacrifice was performed; but if he happens to die, they then declare that the rites had been rendered ineffective by those who dressed the victuals, having presumed to taste them before the deity's portion had been presented o him.

It must be understood that ceremonies of this kind are not practised upon the illness of every individual, but only perhaps once or twice in the course of a month, for noble or wealthy personages. They are common, however, to all the. idolatrous inhabitants of the whole provinces of Cathay and Manji, amongst whom a physician is a rare character.

And thuj-do the demons sport with the blindness of these deluded and wretched people.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 51

OF THE MANNER IN WHICH THE GREAT KHAN EFFECTED THE CONQUEST OF THE KINGDOM OF MIEN — AND BANGALA

We should speak of a memorable battle that was fought in this kingdom. It happened that in the year 1272 the Great Khan sent an army into the countries of Vochang and Karazan, for their protection and defence against any attack that foreigners might attempt to make. At this period he had not as yet appointed his own sons to the governments.

When the king of Mien and Bangala, in India, who was powerful in the number of his subjects, in extent of territory, and in wealth, heard that an army of Tartars had arrived at Vochang, he advanced immediately to attack it, in order that by its destruction the Great Khan should be deterred from again attempting to station a force upon the borders of his dominions. For this purpose he assembled a very large army, including a multitude of elephants upon whose backs were placed battlements or castles, of wood, capable of containing twelve or sixteen men. With these, and a large army of horse and foot, he took the road to Vochang, where the Great Khan's army lay, and encamping at no great distance from it, intended to give his troops a few days of rest.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 52

OF THE BATTLE THAT WAS FOUGHT BY THE GREAT KHAN'S ARMY

As soon as the approach of the king of Mien, with so great a force, was known to Nestardin, who commanded the troops of the Great Khan, although a brave and able officer, he felt much alarmed, not having under his orders more than twelve thousand men, whereas the enemy had sixty thousand, besides the elephants. He did not, however, betray any sign of apprehension, but descending into the plain of Vochang, took a position in which his flank was covered by a thick wood. In case of a furious charge by the elephants his troops might be able to retire in this wood. And from here, in security, could annoy them with their arrows.

Calling together the principal officers of his army, he ordered them not to display less valour on the present occasion than they had done in all their preceding engagements, reminding them that victory did not depend upon the number of men, but upon courage and discipline. He told them that the troops of the king of Mien and Bangala were raw and unpracticed in the art of war, not having had the opportunities of acquiring experience that had fallen to their lot; that instead of being discouraged by the superior number of their foes, they ought to feel confidence in their own strength; that their very name was a subject of terror, not merely to the enemy before them, but to the whole world. Then he concluded by promising to lead them to certain victory.

When the enemy learned that the Tartars had descended into the plain, they immediately advanced to about a mile from the Tartars.

At a given command they advanced boldly with their whole army towards that of the Tartars, which remained firm, making no movement, but allowed them to approach their entrenchments. They then rushed out with great spirit and the utmost eagerness to engage; but it was soon found that the Tartar horses, unused to the sight of such huge animals, with their castles, were terrified, and wheeling about endeavoured to fly; nor could their riders by any exertions restrain them, whilst the king, with the whole of his forces, was every moment gaining ground. As soon as the prudent commander perceived this unexpected disorder, without losing his presence of mind, he instantly adopted the measure of ordering his men to dismount and their horses to be taken into the wood, where they were fastened to the trees. When dismounted, the men, without loss of time, advanced on foot towards the line of elephants, and commenced a brisk discharge of arrows.

At the same time those who were stationed in the castles, and the rest of the king's army, shot volleys in return with great activity; but their arrows did not make the same impression as those of the Tartars, whose bows were drawn with a stronger arm. So incessant were the discharges of the latter, and all their weapons being directed against the elephants, these were soon covered with arrows, and, suddenly giving way, fell back upon their own people in the rear, who were thereby thrown into confusion. It soon became impossible for their drivers to manage them. Smarting under the pain of their wounds, and terrified by the shouting of the assailants, they were no longer governable, but without guidance or control ran about in all directions, until at length, impelled by rage and fear, they rushed into a part of the wood not occupied by the Tartars.

The consequence of this was, that the branches of large trees wrecked the battlements or castles that were upon their backs, and destroyed those who sat upon them. Upon seeing the rout of the elephants the Tartars acquired fresh courage, and filing off by detachments, with perfect order and regularity, they remounted their horses, and joined their several divisions. Then the fierce and dreadful combat was renewed.

On the part of the king's troops there was no want of valour, and he himself went amongst the ranks entreating them to stand firm, and not to be alarmed by the accident that had befallen the elephants. But the Tartars, by their great skill in archery, were too powerful for them. The arrows having been expended on both sides, the men grasped their swords and iron maces, and violently encountered each other. Then in an instant were to be seen many horrible wounds, limbs dismembered, and multitudes falling to the ground, maimed and dying; with such effusion of blood as was dreadful to behold. So great also was the exchange of blows, and such the shoutings and the shrieks, that the noise seemed to ascend to the skies.

The king of Mien, acting as a valiant chief, was present wherever the greatest danger appeared, animating his soldiers, and beseeching them to maintain their ground with resolution. He ordered fresh squadrons from the reserve to advance to the support of those that were exhausted; but perceiving at length that it was impossible any longer to sustain the conflict or to hold out against the Tartars, he found himself compelled to take to flight with the wreck of his army, numbers of whom were afterwards slain in the pursuit.

The losses in this battle, which lasted from the morning till noon, were severely felt on both sides; but the Tartars were finally victorious. A point perhaps of great importance is that the king ought not to have made his attack on the Tartars in a position where their flank was supported by a wood, but should have endeavoured to draw them into the open country, where they could not have resisted the attack of the armed elephants, and where, by extending the cavalry of his two wings, he might have surrounded them.

The Tartars having collected their force after the slaughter of the enemy, returned towards the wood into which the elephants had fled for shelter, in order to take possession of them, where they found that the men who had escaped from the overthrow were employed in cutting down trees and barricading the passages, in order to defend themselves. But the Tartars soon slew many of them, and with the assistance of the persons accustomed to the management of elephants, they captured two hundred or more of them.

After this battle the Great Khan has always employed elephants in his armies. The consequences of the victory were, that he acquired possession of the whole of the territories of the king of Bangala and Mien, and annexed them to his dominions.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 53

OF AN UNINHABITED REGION. — AND OF THE KINGDOM OF MIEN

Leaving the province of Kardandan, you enter upon a vast descent, which you travel without variation for two days and a half, in the course of which no habitations are to be found. You then reach a spacious plain, whereon, three days in every week, a number of trading people assemble, many of whom come down from the neighbouring mountains, bringing their gold to be exchanged for silver, which the merchants who repair thither from distant countries carry with them for this purpose; and one saggio of gold is given for five of silver.

The inhabitants are not allowed to act as the exporters of their own gold, but must dispose of it to the merchants, who furnish them with such articles as they require; and as none but the natives themselves can gain access to the places of their residence, so high and strong are the situations, and so difficult of approach, it is on this account that the transactions of business are conducted in the plain.

Beyond this, in a southerly direction, towards the confines of India, lies the province of Mien [Burma]. The journey occupies fifteen days, through a country without people or dwellings, and forests abounding with elephants, rhinoceroses, and other wild beasts.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 54

OF THE CITY OF MIEN. AND OF THE TWO TOWERS. ONE OF SILVER AND ONE OF GOLD

After the journey of fifteen days you reach the city of Mien, which is large, magnificent, and the capital of the kingdom [Burma]. The inhabitants have a language peculiar to themselves.

It is related that there formerly reigned in this country a rich and powerful monarch, who, when his death was drawing near, gave orders for erecting two pyramidal towers beside his tomb. One of these pyramids was covered with a plate of gold an inch in thickness, so that nothing besides the gold was visible; and the other with a plate of silver, of the same thickness. Around the balls, at the top were suspended small bells of gold and of silver, which sounded when put in motion by the wind. The whole formed a splendid object for each tower was ten paces in height.

The tomb was in like manner covered with a plate, partly of gold and partly of silver. This the king commanded to be prepared for the honour of his soul, and in order that his memory might not perish.

The Great Khan having resolved upon taking possession of this city, sent thither a valiant officer to effect it, and the army, at its own desire, was accompanied by some of the jugglers or sorcerers, of whom there were always a great number about the court. When these entered the city, they observed the two pyramids so richly ornamented, but would not meddle with them until his Majesty's pleasure respecting them should be known. The Great Khan, upon being informed that they had been erected in pious memory of a former king, would not suffer them to be violated nor injured in the smallest degree; the Tartars being accustomed to respect any article connected with the dead. In this country were found many elephants, large and handsome wild oxen, with stags, fallow deer, and other animals in great abundance.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 55

OF THE PROVINCE OF BANGALA

The province of Bangala [Bengal] is situated on the south and was not yet brought under the dominion of the Great Khan at the time of Marco Polo's residence at his court. Operations against it occupied his army for a considerable period, the country being strong and its king powerful, as has been related.

It has its peculiar language. The people are worshippers of idols. Oxen are found here almost as tall as elephants, but not so big. The inhabitants live upon flesh, milk, and rice, of

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which they have abundance. Much cotton is grown in the country, and trade flourishes. Spikenard, galangal, ginger, sugar, and many sorts of drugs are amongst the productions of the soil; to purchase which the merchants come from various parts of India.

They likewise make purchases of eunuchs, of whom there are numbers in the country, as slaves; and as every prince and person of rank is desirous of having them for the custody of their women, the merchants obtain a large profit by carrying these slaves to other kingdoms, and there disposing of them. This province is thirty days' journey in extent, and at the eastern extremity of it lies a country named Kangigu.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 56
OF THE PROVINCE OF KANGIGU

Kangigu is a province situated towards the east, and is governed by a king. The people are idol worshippers, have a peculiar language, and made a voluntary submission to the Great Khan, to whom they pay an annual tribute. The king is so devoted to sensual pleasures, that he has about three hundred wives, and when he hears of any handsome woman, he takes and marries her.

Gold is found here in large quantities, and also many kinds of drugs; but, being an inland country, distant from the sea, the products are of little value. There are elephants in abundance, and other beasts.

The inhabitants live upon flesh, rice, and milk. They have no wine made from grapes, but prepare it from rice and a mixture of drugs. Both men and women have their bodies marked with the needle all over, in figures of beasts and birds; and there are among them practitioners whose sole employment it is to execute these ornaments upon the hands, the legs, and the breast. When a black colouring stuff has been rubbed over these punctures, it is impossible, either by water or otherwise, to efface the marks. The man or woman who exhibits the greatest profusion of these figures, is esteemed the most handsome.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 57
OF THE PROVINCE OF AMU

Amu, also, is situated towards the east, and its inhabitants are subjects of the Great Khan. They live upon the flesh of their cattle and the fruits of the earth and have a peculiar language. The country produces many horses and oxen, which are sold to merchants, and conveyed to India. Buffaloes also, as well as oxen, are numerous in consequence of the extent and excellence of the pastures.

Both men and women wear rings, of gold and silver, upon their wrists, arms, and legs; but the ornaments of the females are the more costly.

The distance between this province and that of Kangigu is twenty-five days' journey, and thence to Bangala is twenty days' journey. We shall now speak of a province named Tholoman, situated eight days' journey from the former.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 58
OF THOLOMAN

The province of Tholoman lies towards the east, and its inhabitants are idolaters. They have a peculiar language, and are also subjects of the Great Khan. The people are tall and good-looking; their complexions inclining rather to brown than fair. They are just in their dealings, and brave in war.

Many of their towns and castles are situated upon lofty mountains. They burn the bodies of their dead; and the bones that are not reduced to ashes, they put into wooden boxes, and carry to the mountains, where they conceal them in caverns of the rocks, in order that no wild animal may disturb them.

Abundance of gold is found here. For the ordinary small currency they use the porcelain shells that come from India; and this sort of money prevails also in the two provinces of Kangigu and Amu, already mentioned. Their food and drink are flesh, rice and milk.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 59
OF THE CITIES OF CHINTIGUI — SIDIN-FU — GIN-GUI — AND PAZAN-FU

You travel for twelve days by a river, on each side of which lie many towns and castles, and at length you reach the large and handsome city of Chintigui. The inhabitants are traders and artisans. They make cloth of the bark of certain trees, which looks well, and is the ordinary summer clothing of both sexes. The men are brave warriors. They have no other kind of money than the stamped paper of the Great Khan.

In this province the tigers are so numerous, that the inhabitants, from apprehension of their ravages, cannot venture to sleep at night out of their towns; and those who navigate the river dare not go to rest with their boats moored near the banks. These animals have been known to plunge into the water, swim to the vessel, and drag the men out.

In this country are likewise found the largest and fiercest dogs that can be met with. So courageous and powerful are they, that a man, with a couple of them, may be an over-match for a tiger. Armed with a bow and arrows, and thus attended, should he meet a tiger, he sets on his bold dogs, who instantly advance to the attack. The animal instinctively seeks a tree, against which to place himself, in order that the dogs may not be able to get behind him, and that he may have his enemies in front. With this intent, as soon as he perceives the dogs, he makes towards the tree, but with a slow pace, and by no means running, that he may not show any signs of fear, which his pride would not allow. During this deliberate movement, the dogs fasten upon him, and the man shoots him with his arrows. He, in his turn, endeavours to seize the dogs, but they are too nimble for him, and draw back. By this time he has been wounded by so many arrows, and so often bitten by the dogs, that he falls through weakness and from losr of blood. By these means it is that he is captured.

There is here an extensive manufacture of silks, which are exported in large quantities to other parts by the navigation of the river, which flows through towns and castles.

The people subsist entirely by trade. At the end of twelve days, you arrive at the city of Sidin-fu, of which an account has been already given. From thence, in twenty days, you reach Gin-gui, in which we were, and in four days more the city of Pazan-fu, which belongs to Cathay, and lies towards the south, in returning by the other side of the province.

The inhabitants worship idols, and burn the bodies of their dead. They are subjects of the Great Khan, and his paper money is current among them. They gain their living by trade and manufacture, having silk in abundance, of which they weave tissues mixed with gold, and also very fine scarfs. This city has many towns and castles under its jurisdiction: a great river flows beside it, by means of which large quantities of merchandise are conveyed to the city of Kanbalu [Peking]; for by the digging of many canals it is made to communicate with the capital. But we shall take our leave of this, and, proceeding three days' journey, speak of another city named Chan-glu.

MARCO POLO BOOK 2, PART 3
AND ON ANOTHER SOUTHWARD FROM THE CAPITAL TO FUCHU AND ZAYTON.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 60
OF THE CITY OF CHAN-GLU

Chan-Glu is a large city situated towards the south, and is in the province of Cathay. It is under the dominion of the Great Khan. The inhabitants worship idols, and burn the bodies of their dead. The stamped paper of the Emperor is current amongst them.

In this city and the district surrounding it they make great quantities of salt, by the following process: in the country is found a salty earth; upon this, when laid in large heaps, they pour water, which in its passage through the mass imbibes the particles of salt, and is then collected in channels and is conveyed to very wide pans, not more than four inches in depth. In these it is well boiled, and then left to crystallize. The salt thus made is white and good, and is exported to various parts. Great profits are made by those who manufacture it, and the Great Khan derives from it a considerable revenue.

This district produces abundance of well-flavoured peaches, of such a size that one of them will weigh two pounds troy-weight. We shall now speak of another city, named Chan-gli.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 61
OF THE CITY OF CHAN-GLI — AND THAT OF TUDIN-FU — AND OF A REBELLION

Chan-Gli also is a city of Cathay, situated towards the south and belonging to the Great Khan; the inhabitants in like manner make use of the Khan's paper currency. Its distance from Chan-glu is five days' journey, in the course of which you pass many cities and castles likewise in the dominions of the Great Khan. They are places of great commerce, and the customs levied at them amount to a large sum.

Through this city passes a wide and deep river, which affords conveyance to vast quantities of merchandise, consisting of silk, drugs, and other valuable articles. We shall now take leave of this place, and give an account of another city named Tudin-fu.

When you depart from Chan-gli, and travel southwards six days' journey, you pass many towns and castles of great importance and grandeur, whose inhabitants worship idols, and burn the bodies of their dead. They subsist by trade and manufactures, and have provisions in abundance. At the end of these six days you arrive at a city named Tudinfu, which was formerly a magnificent capital, but the Great Khan reduced it to his subjection by force of arms.

It is rendered a delightful residence by the gardens which surround it, and is filled with handsome shrubs and excellent fruits. Silk is produced here in wonderfully large quantities.

It has under its jurisdiction eleven cities and considerable towns of the empire, all places of great trade, and having abundance of silk. It was the seat of government of its own king, before the period of its reduction by the Great Khan.

In 1273 the Emperor appointed one of his officers of the highest rank, named Lucansor, to the government of this city, with a command of seventy thousand horse, for the protection of that part of the country. This man upon finding himself master of a rich and highly productive district, and at the head of so powerful a force, became intoxicated with pride, and formed schemes of rebellion against his sovereign. With this view he induced principal persons of the city to become partakers in his evil designs, and by these means succeeded in producing a revolt throughout all the towns and fortified places of the province.

As soon as the Great Khan became acquainted with these proceedings, he dispatched to that quarter an army of a hundred thousand men, under the orders of two others of his nobles, one of whom was named Angul and the other Mongatai. When the approach of this force became known to Lucansor, he lost no time in assembling an army no less numerous than that of his opponents, and brought them as speedily as possible to action. There was much slaughter on both sides, but at length Lucansor was killed, and his troops betook themselves to flight. Many were slain in the pursuit, and many were made prisoners. These were conducted to the presence of the Great Khan, who caused the principals to be put to death, and pardoning the others took them into his own service, to which they ever afterwards remained loyal.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 62
OF THE CITY OF SINGUI-MATV

Travelling from Tudin-fu three days, in a southerly direction, you pass many considerable towns and strong places, where commerce and manufactures flourish. The country abounds with game, both beasts and birds, and produces an ample supply of the necessaries of life.

At the end of three days you arrive at the city of Singuimatu, which is noble, large, and handsome, and rich in merchandise and manufactures; all the inhabitants of this city are idolaters [Buddhists.], and are subjects of the Great Khan and use paper money; within it, but on the southern side, passes a large and deep river, which the inhabitants divided into two branches [canals] one of which, taking its course to the east, runs through Cathay, whilst the other, taking a westerly course, passes towards the province of Manji. This river is navigated by so many vessels that the number might seem incredible. It serves to join both provinces. It is indeed surprising to observe the multitude and the size of the vessels that are continually passing and repassing, laden with merchandise of the greatest value.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 63
CONCERNING THE CITIES LINGUI AND PINGUI

On leaving Singui-matu and travelling towards the south for sixteen days, you unceasingly meet with commercial towns and with castles. At the end of eight days' journey you find a city named Lingui. It is a very noble and great cityj the men are warlike; and it has manufactures and commerce.

There are plenty of animals, and abundance of everything for eating and drinking. After leaving Lingui you proceed three days' journey to the south, passing plenty of cities and castles, all under the Great Khan. All the inhabitants are idolaters, and burn their dead. At the end of these three days you find a good city called Pingui, where there are all the necessaries of life, and this city furnishes a great revenue to the Great Khan. You go thence two days' journey to the south, through fair and rich countries, to a city called Cingui, which is very large, and abounding in commerce and manufactures. All its inhabitants are idolaters [Buddhists.] and burn their dead; they use paper money, and are subjects also of the Great Khan. They have much grain and wheat. In the country through which you pass subsequently, you find cities, towns, and castles, and very handsome and useful dogs, and abundance of wheat. The people resemble those just described.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 64
OF THE GREAT RIVER CALLED THE KARA-MORAN — AND OF THE CITIES OF KOI-GAN-ZU AND KUAN-ZU

At the end of two days' journey you reach, once more, the great river Kara-moran [Yellow River], which has its source in the territories that belonged to Prester John. It is a mile wide and of vast depth, and upon its waters great ships freely sail with their full loading. Large fish in considerable quantitites are caught there.

At a place in this river, about a mile distant from the sea, there is a station for fifteen thousand vessels, each of them capable of carrying fifteen horses and twenty men, besides the crews to navigate them, and the necessary stores and provisions. These the Great Khan causes to be kept in a constant state of readiness for the conveyance of an army to any of the Indian Isles that may happen to be in rebellion, or for expeditions to any more distant region. These vessels are moored close to the bank of the river, not far from a city named Koi-gan-zu, on the opposite side to which is another named Kuan-zu but the former is a large place, and the latter a small one.

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Upon crossing this river you enter the noble province of Manji; but it must not be understood that a complete account has been given of the province of Cathay. Not the twentieth part have I described. Marco Polo, in travelling through the province, has only noted such cities as lay in his route, omitting those situated on the one side and the other, as well as many intermediate places, because a relation of them all would be a work of too great length, and prove fatiguing to the reader. Leaving these parts we shall therefore proceed to speak, in the first instance, of the manner in which the province of Manji was acquired, and then of its cities, the magnificence and riches of which shall be set forth in the subsequent part of our discourse.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 65

OF THE MOST NOBLE PROVINCE OF MANJI — AND OF THE MANNER IN WHICH IT WAS CONQUERED BY THE GREAT KHAN

The province of Manji is the most magnificent and the richest that is known in the eastern world. It was subject to a prince who was styled Facfur, and who surpassed in power and wealth any other except the Great Khan himself.

His disposition was pacific, and his actions benevolent. So much was he beloved by his people, and such the strength of his kingdom, enclosed by rivers of the largest size, that his being molested by any power upon earth was regarded as an impossible event. The effect of this opinion was, that he neither paid any attention himself to military affairs, nor encouraged his people to become acquainted with military exercises.

The cities of his dominions were remarkably well fortified, being surrounded by deep ditches, a bow-shot in width, and full of water. He did not keep up any force in cavalry, because he was not apprehensive of attack. The means of increasing his enjoyments and multiplying his pleasures were the chief employment of his thoughts. He maintained at his court, and kept near his person, about a thousand beautiful women, in whose society he took delight.

He was a friend to peace and to justice, which he administered strictly. The smallest act of oppression, or injury of any kind, committed by one man against another, was punished in a proper manner. Such indeed was the impression of his justice, that when shops, filled with goods, happened, through the negligence of the owners, to be left open, no person dared to enter them, or to rob them of the smallest article.

Travellers of all descriptions might pass through every part of the kingdom, by night as well as by day, freely and without apprehension of danger. He was religious, and charitable to the poor and needy. Children whom their wretched mothers exposed in consequence of their inability to rear them, he caused to be saved and taken care of, to the number of twenty thousand annually. When the boys attained a sufficient age, he had them instructed in some handicraft, and afterwards married them to young women who were brought up in the same manner.

Very different from the temper and habits of Facfur were those of Kublai Khan, emperor of the Tartars, whose whole delight consisted in thoughts of a warlike nature, of the conquest of countries, and of extending his renown.

After having annexed to his dominions a number of provinces and kingdoms, he now directed his views to the subduing that of Manji, and for this purpose assembled a numerous army of horse and foot, the command of which he gave to a general named Chin-san Bay-an, which signifies in our language, the "Hundred-eyed." This occurred in the year 1268.

A number of vessels were put under his orders, with which he proceeded to the invasion of Manji. Upon landing there, he immediately summoned the inhabitants of the city of Koi-gan-zu to surrender to the authority of his sovereign.

Upon their refusal to comply, instead of giving orders for an assault, he advanced to the next city, and when he there received a similar answer, proceeded to a third and a fourth, with the same result. Deeming it no longer prudent to leave so many cities in his rear, even though he expected to be soon joined by another army of equal force which the Great Khan was to send to him from the interior, he resolved upon the attack of one of these cities. By great exertions and consummate skill he succeeded in carrying the place, and put every individual found in it to the sword.

As soon as the intelligence of this event reached the other cities, it struck their inhabitants with such terror, that of their own accord they hastened to declare their submission. This being effected, he advanced, with the united force of his two armies, against the royal city of Kinsai, the residence of King Facfur, who felt all the agitation and dread of a person who had never seen a battle, nor been engaged in any sort of warfare. Alarmed for the safety of his person, he made his escape to a fleet of vessels that lay in readiness for the purpose, and left the charge of the city to his queen, with directions for its being defended to the utmost. He felt assured that her sex would be a protection to her, in the event of her falling into the hands of the enemy. Proceeding to sea, and reaching certain islands which were strongly fortified, he remained there till his death.

After the queen had been left in the manner related, it is said to have come to her knowledge that the king had been told by his astrologers that he could never be deprived of his sovereignty by any other than a chief who should have a hundred eyes. On the strength of this declaration she felt confident, notwithstanding that the city became daily more and more endangered, that it could not be lost, because it seemed a thing impossible that any mortal could have that number of eyes. Inquiring, however, the name of the general who commanded the enemy's troops, and being told it was Chin-san Bay-an, which means a hundred eyes, she was seized with horror at hearing it pronounced, as she felt certain that this must be the person who, according to the saying of the astrologers, would drive her husband from his throne. Overcome by fear, she no longer attempted to make resistance, but immediately surrendered.

Being thus in possession of the capital, the Tartars soon brought the remainder of the province under their subjection.

The queen was sent to the presence of Kublai Khan, where she was honourably received by him, and an allowance was by his orders assigned, that enabled her to support the dignity of her rank. Having stated the manner in which the conquest of Manji was effected, we shall now speak of the different cities of that province, and first of Koi-gan-zu.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 66

OF THE CITY OF KOI-GAN-ZU

Koi-Gan-Zu is a very handsome and wealthy city, lying in a direction between south-east and east, at the entrance of the province of Manji, where a prodigious number of vessels are continually passing, its situation being near the bank of the river Kara-moran [Yellow River].

Large consignments of merchandise are forwarded to this city, in order that the goods may be transported, by means of this river, to various other places. Salt is manufactured here in great quantities, not only for the consumption of the city itself, but for exportation to other parts; and from this salt the Great Khan derives an ample revenue.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 67

OF THE TOWN OF PAU-GHIN — AND OF THE CITY OF KAIN

Upon leaving Koi-gan-zu, you travel one day's journey towards the south-east, by a handsome stone causeway, leading into the province of Manji. On both sides of the causeway there are very extensive marshy lakes, the waters of which are deep, and may be navigated. There is no other road by which the province can be entered. It is, however, accessible by means of shipping; and in this manner it was that the officer who commanded the Great Khan's armies invaded it, by effecting a landing with his whole force.

At the end of the day's journey, you reach a considerable town named Pau-ghin. The inhabitants worship idols, burn, their dead, use paper money, and are the subjects of the Great Khan. They gain their living by trade and manufacture: they have much silk, and weave gold tissues. The necessaries of life are there in abundance.

At the distance of a day's journey from Pau-ghin, towards the south-east, stands the large and well-built city of Kain.

Trade and manufactures flourish here. They have fish in abundance, and game also, both beasts and birds. Pheasants, in particular, are in such plenty, that for a bit of silver equal in value to a Venetian groat you may purchase three of these birds, of the size of pea-fowls.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 68

OF THE CITIES OF TIN-GUI AND CHIN-GUI — OF THE CITY OF YAN-GUI — OF WHICH MARCO POLO HELD THE GOVERNMENT

At the end of a day's journey from the last-mentioned place, in the course of which many villages and much tilled land are met with, you reach a city named Tin-gui, not of any great size, but plentifully furnished with all the necessaries of life. The people are merchants, and have many trading vessels. Both beasts and birds are here found in plenty. The situation of this city is towards the south-east, and on the left hand—that is, on the eastern side of it, at the distance of three days' journey—you find the sea. In the intermediate space there are many salt-works, where large quantities of salt are manufactured.

You next come to the large and well-built town of Chingui, from whence salt is exported sufficient for the supply of all the neighbouring provinces. On this article the Great Khan raises a revenue, the amount of which would scarcely be credited. Here also the inhabitants worship idols, use paper money, and are the subjects of his Majesty.

Proceeding in a south-easterly direction from Chin-gui, you come to the important city of Yan-gui [Yang-chau], which, having twenty-four towns u,nder its jurisdiction, must be considered as a place of great consequence. It belongs to the dominion of the Great Khan. The people are idolaters [Buddhists.], and subsist by trade and manual arts. They manufacture arms and all sorts of warlike accoutrements; in consequence of which many troops are stationed in this part of the country.

The city is the place of residence of one of the twelve nobles before spoken of, who are appointed by his Majesty to the government of the provinces; and in the place of one of these, Marco Polo, by special order of the Great Khan, acted as governor of this city during the space of three years.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 69

OF THE PROVINCE OF NAN-GHIN

Nan-Ghin [Nan-king] is the name of a large and distinguished province of Manji, situated towards the west. The people are idolaters, use paper money in currency, are subjects of the Great Khan, and are largely engaged in commerce. They have raw silk, and weave tissues of silver and gold in great quantitites, and of various patterns. The country produces abundance of corn, and is stored as well with domestic cattle as with beasts and birds that are the objects of the chase, and plenty of tigers. It supplies the sovereign with an ample revenue, and chiefly from the imposts levied upon the rich articles in which the merchants trade. We shall now speak of the noble city of Sa-yan-fu.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 70

OF THE CITY OF SA-YAN-FU — THAT WAS TAKEN BY THE MEANS OF NICOhO AND MAFFEO POLO

Sa-Yan-Fu is a considerable city of the province of Manji, having under its jurisdiction twelve wealthy and large towns. It is a place of great commerce and extensive manufactures.

The inhabitants burn the bodies of their dead, and are idolaters [Buddhists.]. They are the subjects of the Great Khan, and use his paper currency. Raw silk is there produced in great quantity, and the finest silks, intermixed with gold, are woven. Game of all kinds abounds. The place is amply furnished with everything that belongs to a great city, and by its uncommon strength it was enabled to stand a siege of three years; refusing to surrender to the Great Khan, even after he had obtained possession of the province of Manji.

The difficulties experienced in the siege were chiefly occasioned by the army's not being able to approach it, excepting on the northern side, the other sides being surrounded with water. When the operations were reported to his Majesty, he felt extremely hurt that this place alone should obstinately hold out, after all the rest of the country had bowed to obedience.

The above facts having come to the knowledge of the brothers Nicolo and Maffeo, who were then resident at the imperial court, they immediately presented themselves to the Emperor, and proposed to him that they should be allowed to construct machines, such as were made use of in the West, capable of throwing stones three hundred pounds in weight. With these machines the buildings of the city might be destroyed and the inhabitants killed. Their request was granted by the Great Khan, who, warmly approving of the scheme, gave orders that the ablest smiths and carpenters should be placed under their direction; amongst whom were some Nestorian Christians, who proved to be able mechanics.

In a few days they completed their mangonels, according to the instructions furnished by the two brothers; and a trial being made of them in the presence of the Great Khan, and of his whole court, an apportunity was afforded of seeing them cast stones, each of which weighed three hundred pounds. They were then put on board of vessels, and conveyed to the army.

When set up in front of the city of Sa-yan-fu, the first stone projected by one of them fell with such weight and violence upon a building, that a great part of it was crushed, and fell to the ground. So terrified were the inhabitants by this mischief, which to them seemed to be the effect of a thunderbolt from heaven, that they immediately decided upon surrendering. Persons authorised to act were accord ingly sent and their submission was accepted on the same terms and conditions as had been granted to the rest of the province.

This prompt result of their ingenuity increased the reputation and credit of these two Venetian brothers in the opinion of the Great Khan and of all his courtiers.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 71

OF THE CITY OF SIN-GUI. — AND OF THE VERY GREAT RIVER KIANG

Leaving the city of Sa-yan-fu, and proceeding fifteen days' journey towards the south-east, you reach the city of Sin-gui, which, although not large, is a place of great commerce.

The number of vessels that belong to it is prodigious, in consequence of its being situated near the Kiang [Yang-tzu Kiang], which is the largest river in the world, its width being in some places ten, in others eight, and in others six miles. Its length, to the place where it discharges itself into the sea, is upwards of one hundred days' journey.

It is indebted for its great size to the vast number of other navigable rivers that empty their waters into it, which have their sources in distant countries.

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A great number of cities and large towns are situated upon its banks, and more than two hundred, with sixteen provinces, partake of the advantages of its navigation, by which the transport of merchandise is to an extent that might appear incredible to those who have not had an opportunity of witnessing it. When we consider, indeed, the length of its course, and the multitude of rivers communicating, it is not surprising that the quantity and value of articles for the supply of so many places, lying in all directions, should be incalculable. The principal commodity, however, is salt, which is not only conveyed by means of the Kiang, and the rivers connected with it, to the towns upon their banks, but afterwards from thence to all places in the interior of the country.

On one occasion, when Marco Polo was at the city of Singui, he saw there no less than fifteen thousand vessels; and yet there are other towns along the river where the number is still greater. All these vessels are covered with a kind of deck, and have a mast with one sail. Their burden is in general about four thousand cantari, or quintals, of Venice, and from that upwards to twelve thousand cantari [500 tons], which some of them are capable of loading.

They do not employ hempen rope excepting for the masts and sails. They have canes of the length of fifteen paces, such as have been already described, which they split, in their whole length, into very thin pieces, and these, by twisting them together, they form into ropes three hundred paces long. So skilfully are they manufactured, that they are equal in strength to rope made of hemp.

With these ropes the vessels are tracked along the rivers, by means of ten or twelve horses to each. At many places near the banks of this river there are hills and small rocky eminences, upon which are erected idol temples and other edifices, and you find a continual succession of villages and inhabited places.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 72
OF THE CITY OF KAYN-GUI

Kayn-Gui is a small town on the southern bank of the before-mentioned river, where annually is collected a very large quantity of corn and rice, the greatest part of which is conveyed from thence to the city of Kanbalu, for the supply of the establishment of the Fmneror. This place is in the line of communication with the province of Cathay, by means of rivers, lakes, and a wide and deep canal which the Great Khan has caused to be dug, in order that vessels may pass from one great river to the other, and from the province of Manji, by water, as far as Kanbalu, without making any part of the voyage by sea.

This magnificent work is deserving of admiration; and not so much from the manner in which it is conducted through the country, or its vast extent, as from its utility and the benefit it produces to those cities which lie in its course. On its sides, likewise, are constructed strong and wide embankment roads, upon which the travelling by land also is rendered perfectly convenient.

In the midst of the river, opposite to the city of Kayngui, there is an island entirely of rock, upon which are built a grand temple and monastery, where two hundred monks, as they may be termed, reside, and perform service to the idols. This is the supreme head of many other temples and monasteries. We shall now speak of the city of Changhian-fu.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 73
OF THE CITY OF CHAN-GHIAN-FU

Chan-Ghian-Fu is a city of the province of Manji, the inhabitants of which are idolaters, subjects of the Great Khan, and use his paper money. They gain their living by trade and manufacture, and are wealthy. They weave tissues of silk and gold. The sports are there most excellent in every species of game, and provisions are abundant.

There are in this city three churches of Nestorian Christians, which were built in the year 1278, when his Majesty appointed a Nestorian, named Mar-Sachis, to the government of it for three years. By him these churches were established, where there had not been any before; and they still subsist. Leaving this place, we shall now speak of Tin-gui-gui.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 74
OF THE CITY OF TIN-GUI-GUI

Departing from Chan-ghian-fu, and travelling four days towards the south-east, you pass many towns and fortified places, the inhabitants of which are idolaters [Buddhists.], live by arts and commerce, are the subjects of the Great Khan, and use his paper money. At the end of these four days, you reach the city of Tin-gui-gui, which is large and handsome, and produces much raw silk, of which tissues of various qualities and patterns are woven. The necessaries of life are here in plenty, and the variety of game affords excellent sport.

The inhabitants, however, are a vile, inhuman race. At the time that Chin-san Ba-yan, or the hundred-eyed, subdued the country of Manji, he dispatched certain Alans who are Christians, along with a party of his own people, to take this city. As soon as they appeared before it, they were suffered to enter without resistance. The place being surrounded by a double wall, one of them within the other, the Alans occupied the first enclosure, where they found a large quantity of wine, and having previously suffered much from fatigue and privation, they were eager to quench their thirst, and, without any consideration, proceeded to drink to such excess, that becoming intoxicated, they fell asleep.

The people of the city, who were within the second enclosure, as soon as they perceived that their enemies lay slumbering on the ground, took the opportunity of murdering them, not allowing one to escape. When Chin-san Ba-yan learned the fate of his detachment, his indignation and anger were raised to the highest pitch, and he sent another army to attack the place. When it was captured, he gave orders for putting to the sword all the inhabitants, great and small, without distinction of sex, as an act of retaliation.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 75
OF THE CITIES OF SIN-GUI — AND VA-GIU

Sin-gui [Soochow] is a large and magnificent city, the circumference of which is twenty miles. The people have vast quantities of raw silk, and manufacture it, not only for their own consumption, all of them being clothed in dresses of silk, but also for other markets. [Soochow is still a silk centre. The weavers are divided into two powerful guilds called the Nankin and the Suchau, and between them keep busy seven thousand looms.] There are amongst them some very rich merchants, and the number of inhabitants is so great as to be a subject of astonishment. They are, however, a cowardly race, and solely occupied with their trade and manufactures. In these indeed they display considerable ability, and if they were as enterprising, manly, and warlike, as they are ingenious, so vast is their number, that they might not only subdue the whole of the province, but might carry their views still further. They have amongst them many physicians of eminent skill, who can ascertain the nature of a disorder, and know how to apply the proper remedies. There are also persons distinguished as professors of learning, or, as we should term them, philosophers, and others who may be called magicians or enchanters.

On the mountains near the city, rhubarb grows in the highest perfection, and is from thence distributed throughout the province. Ginger is likewise produced in large quantities, and is sold at so cheap a rate, that forty pounds weight of the fresh root may be had for the value, in their money, of a Venetian silver groat.

Under the jurisdiction of Sin-gui there are sixteen respectable and wealthy cities and towns, where trade and arts flourish. By the name of Sin-gui is to be understood "The City of the Earth," as by that of Kin-sai, "The City of Heaven." Leaving Sin-gui, we shall now speak of another city, distant from it only a day's journey, named Va-giu, where, likewise, there is a vast abundance of raw silk, and where there are many merchants as well as artisans.

Silks of the finest quality are woven here, and are afterwards carried to every part of the province. No other circumstances presenting themselves as worthy of remark, we shall now proceed to the description of the principal city and metropolis of the province of Manji, named Kin-sai.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 76
OF THE NOBLE AND MAGNIFICENT CITY OF KIN-SAI

Upon leaving Va-giu you pass, in the course of three days' journey, many towns, castles, and villages, all of them well inhabited and opulent. The people have abundance of provisions. At the end of three days you reach the noble and magnificent city of Kin-sai [The capital, Hang-chau], a name that signifies "The Celestial City," and which it merits from its pre-eminence to all others in the world, in point of grandeur and beauty, as well as from its abundant delights, which might lead an inhabitant to imagine himself in paradise.

This city was frequently visited by Marco Polo, who care fully and diligently observed and inquired into every circumstance respecting it, all of which he recorded in his notes, from whence the following particulars are briefly stated.

According to common estimation, this city is an hundred miles in circuit. Its streets and canals are extensive, and there are squares, or market-places, which being necessarily proportioned in size to the prodigious concourse of people by whom they are frequented, are exceedingly spacious.

It is situated between a lake of fresh and very clear water on the one side, and a river of great magnitude on the other, the waters of which, by a number of canals, large and small, are made to run through every quarter of the city, carrying with them all the filth into the lake, and ultimately to the sea. This furnishes a communication by water, in addition to that by land, to all parts of the town.

The canals and the streets being of sufficient width to allow of boats on the one, and carriages in the other, to pass easily with articles necessary for the inhabitants.

It is commonly said that the number of bridges, of all sizes, amounts to twelve' thousand. Those which are thrown over the principal canals and are connected with the main streets, have arches so high, and built with so much skill, that vessels with their masts can pass under them. At the same time, carts and horses can pass over, so well is the slope from the street graded to the height of the arch. If they were not so numerous, there would be no way of crossing from one place to another.

Beyond the city, and enclosing it on that side, there is a ditch about forty miles in length, very wide, and full of water that comes from the river before mentioned. This was excavated by the ancient kings of the province, in order that when the river should overflow its banks, the superfluous water might be diverted into this channel. This serves at the same time as a measure of defence. The earth dug out from thence was thrown to the inner side, and has the appearance of many hillocks, surrounding the place.

There are within the city ten principal squares or marketplaces, besides innumerable shops along the streets. Each side of these squares is half a mile in length, and in front of them is the main street, forty paces in width, and running in a direct line from one extremity of the city to the other. It is crossed by many low and convenient bridges. These market-squares are at the distance of four miles from each other. In a direction parallel to that of the main street, but on the opposite side of the squares^ runs a very large canal, on the nearer bank of which capacious warehouses are built of stone, for the accommodation of the merchants who arrive from India and other parts with their goods and effects. They are thus conveniently situated with respect to the market-places. In each of these, upon three days in every week, there is an assemblage of from forty to fifty thousand persons, who attend the markets and supply them with every article of provision that can be desired. There is an abundant quantity of game of all kinds, such as roebucks, stags, fallow deer, hares, and rabbits, together with partridges, pheasants, francolins, quails, common fowls, capons, and such numbers of ducks and geese as can scarcely be expressed; for so easily are they bred and reared on the lake, that, for the value of a Venetian silver groat, you may purchase a couple of geese and two couple of ducks. There, also, are the shambles, where they slaughter cattle for food, such as oxen, calves, kids, and lambs, to furnish the tables of rich persons and of the great magistrates. As to the people of the lower classes, they eat every kind of meat, without any discrimination.

At all seasons there is in the markets a great variety of herbs and fruits, and especially pears of an extraordinary size, weighing ten pounds each, that are white in the inside, like paste, and have a very fragrant smell. There are peaches also, in their season, both of the yellow and white kind, and of a delicious flavour. Grapes are not produced there, but are brought in a dried state, and very good, from other parts. This applies also to wine, which the natives do not hold in estimation, being accustomed to their own liquor prepared from rice and spices. From the sea, which is fifteen miles distant, there is daily brought up the river, to the city, a vast quantity of fish; and in the lake also there is abundance, which gives employment at all times to persons whose sole occupation it is to catch them. The sorts are various according to the season of the year. At the sight of such an importation of fish, you would think it impossible that it could be sold; and yet, in the course of a few hours, it is all taken off, so great is the number of inhabitants, even of those classes which can afford to indulge in such luxuries, for fish and flesh are eaten at the same meal.

Each of the ten market-squares is surrounded with high dwelling-houses, in the lower part of which are shops, where every kind of manufacture is carried on, and every article of trade is sold; such, amongst others, as spices, drugs, trinkets, and pearls. In certain shops nothing is vended but the wine of the country, which they are continually brewing, and serve out fresh to their customers at a moderate price. The streets connected with the market-squares are numerous, and in some of them are many cold baths, attended by servants of both sexes. The men and women who frequent them, have from their childhood been accustomed at all times to wash in cold water, which they reckon highly conducive to health. At these bathing places, however, they have apartments provided with warm water, for the use of strangers, who cannot bear the shock of the cold. All are in the daily practice of washing their persons, and especially before their meals.

In other streets are the quarters of the courtesans who are here in such numbers as I dare not venture to report.

Not only near the squares, which is the situation usually appropriated for their residence, but in every part of the city they are to be found, adorned with much finery, highly perfumed, occupying well-furnished houses, and attended by many female domestics. These women are accomplished, and are perfect in the arts of caressing and fondling which they accompany with expressions adapted to every description of person. Strangers who have once tasted of their charms, remain in a state of fascination, and become so enchanted by their wanton arts, that they can never forget the impression. Thus intoxicated with sensual pleasures, when they return to their homes they report that they have been in Kin-sai, or The Celestial City, and look forward to the time when they may be enabled to revisit this paradise.

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In other streets are the dwellings of the physicians and the astrologers, who also give instructions in reading and writing, as well as in many other arts. They have apartments also amongst those which surround the marketsquares.

On opposite sides of each of these squares there are two large edifices, where officers appointed by the Great Khan are stationed, to take immediate notice of any differences that may happen to arise between the foreign merchants, or amongst the inhabitants of the place. It is their duty likewise to see that the guards upon the several bridges m their respective vicinities are duly placed, and in cases of neglect, to punish the offenders at their discretion.

On each side of the principal street, already mentioned as extending from one end of the city to the other, there are houses and mansions of great size, with their gardens, and near to these, the dwellings of the artisans, who work in shops, at their several trades; and at all hours you see such multitudes of people passing and repassing, on their various avocations, that the providing food in sufficiency for their maintenance might be deemed an impossibility. It is observed, however, that on every market-day, the squares are crowded with tradespeople, who cover the whole space with the articles brought by carts and boats, for all of which they find sale. From the single article of pepper, some notion may be formed of the whole quantity of provisions, meat, wine, groceries, and the like, required for the consumption of the inhabitants of Kin-sai. Marco Polo learned from an officer employed in the Great Khan's customs, the daily amount of pepper bought was forty-three loads, each load being two hundred and forty-three pounds.

The inhabitants of the city are idolaters [Buddhists.], and they use paper money as currency. The men as well as the women have fair complexions, and are handsome. The greater part of them are always clothed in silk, in consequence of the vast quantity of that material produced in the territory of Kin-sai, exclusively of what the merchants import from other provinces.

Amongst the handicraft trades exercised in the place, there are twelve considered to be superior to the rest, as being more generally useful. There are a thousand workshops for each craft, and each shop furnishes employment for ten, fifteen, or twenty workmen, and in a few instances as many as forty, under their respective masters. The opulent masters in these shops do not labour with their own hands, but, on the contrary, assume airs of gentility and affect parade. Their wives equally abstain from work.

They have much beauty, as has been remarked, and are brought up with delicate and languid habits. The costliness of their dresses, in silks and jewelry, can scarcely be imagined. Although the laws of their ancient kings ordained that each citizen should exercise the profession of his father, yet they were allowed, when they acquired wealth, to avoid manual labour, provided they kept up the establishment, and employ persons to work at their paternal trades.

Their houses are well built and richly adorned with carved work. So much do they delight in ornaments of this kind, in paintings, and fancy buildings, that the sums they lavish on such objects are enormous.

The natural disposition of the native inhabitants of Kin-sai is peaceful, and by the example of their former kings, who were themselves unwarlike, they have been accustomed to habits of tranquillity. The management of arms is unknown to them, nor do they keep any in their houses.

They conduct their mercantile and manufacturing concerns with perfect candour and honesty. They are friendly towards each other, and persons who inhabit the same street, both men and women, from the mere circumstance of neighbourhood, appear like one family.

In their domestic manners they are free from jealousy or suspicion of their wives, to whom great respect is shown, and any man would be accounted infamous who should presume to use indecent expressions to a married woman.

To strangers also, who visit their city in the way of commerce, they give proofs of cordiality, inviting them freely to their houses, showing them friendly attention, and furnishing them with the best advice and assistance in their ercantile transactions. On the other hand, they dislike the sight of soldiery, not excepting the guards of the Great Khan, for they remind them that they were deprived of the government of their native kings and rulers.

On the borders of the lake are many handsome and spacious edifices belonging to men of rank and great magistrates.

There are likewise many idol temples, with their monasteries, occupied by a number of monks, who perform the service of the idols. Near the central part are two islands, upon each of which stands a superb building, with an incredible number of apartments and separate pavilions.

When the inhabitants of the city have occasion to celebrate and wedding, or to give a sumptuous entertainment, they resort to one of these islands, where they find ready for heir purpose every article that can be required, such as vessels, napkins, table linen, and the like, which are provided and kept there at the common expense of the citizens, by whom also the buildings were erected. It may happen that at one time there are a hundred parties assembled there, at wedding or other feasts, all of whom, notwithstanding, are accommodated with separate rooms or pavilions, so judiciously arranged that they do not interfere with each other.

In addition to this, there are upon the lake a great number of pleasure vessels or barges, calculated for holding ten, fifteen, to twenty persons, being from fifteen to twenty paces in length, with a wide and flat flooring, and not liable to heel to either side in passing through the water. Such persons as take delight in the amusement, and mean to enjoy it, either in the company of their women or that of their male companions, engage one of these barges, which are always kept in the nicest order, with proper seats and tables, together with every other kind of furniture necessary for giving an entertainment. The cabins have a flat roof or upper deck, where the hoatmen take their place, and by means of long poles, which they thrust to the bottom of the lake, which is not more than one or two fathoms in depth, they shove the barges along, until they reach the desired spot. These cabins are painted inside with various colours and with a variety of figures; all parts of the vessel are likewise adorned with painting. There are windows on each side, which may either be kept shut, or opened, to give an opportunity to the company, as they sit at table, of looking out in every direction and feasting their eyes on the variety and beauty of the scenes as they pass them. And truly the gratification afforded in this manner, upon the water, exceeds any that can be derived from the amusements on the land; for as the lake extends the whole length of the city, on one side, you have a view, as you stand in the boat, at a certain distance from the shore, of all its grandeur and beauty, its palaces, temples, convents, and gardens, with trees of the largest size growing down to the water's edge, whilst at the same time you enjoy the sight of other boats of the same description, continually passing you, filled in like manner with parties in pursuit of amusement. In fact, the inhabitants of this place, as soon as the labours of the day have ceased, or their mercantile transactions are closed, think of nothing else than of passing the remaining hours in parties of pleasure, with their wives or their mistresses, either in these barges, or about the city in carriages, of which it will here be proper to give some account, as constituting one of the amusements of these people.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 77
FURTHER PARTICULARS CONCERNING THE GREAT CITY OF KIN-SAI

It must be observed, in the first place, that the streets of Kin-sai are all paved with stone and bricks, and so likewise are all the principal roads extending from thence through the province of Manji, by means of which passengers can travel to every part without soiling their feet. But as the couriers of his Majesty, who go on horseback with great speed, cannot make use of the pavement, a part of the road, on one side, is on their account left unpaved.

The main street of the city is paved with stone and brick to the width of ten paces on each side, the intermediate part being filled up with small gravel, and provided with arched drains for carrying off the rain-water that falls, into the neighbouring canals, so that it remains always dry.

On this gravel carriages continually pass and repass. They are of a long shape, covered at top, have curtains and cushions of silk, and are capable of holding six persons.

Both men and women who feel disposed to take their pleasure, are in the daily practice of hiring them for that purpose, and accordingly at every hour you may see vast numbers of them driven along the middle part of the street.

Some of them proceed to visit certain gardens, where the company are introduced, by those who have the management of the place, to shady recesses contrived by the gardeners for that purpose. Here the men indulge themselves all day in the society of their women, returning home, when it becomes late, in the manner they came.

It is the custom of the people of Kin-sai, upon the birth of a child, for the parents to make a note, immediately, of the day, hour, and minute at which the delivery took place.

They then inquire of an astrologer under what sign or aspect of the heavens the child was bornj and his answer is likewise committed carefully to writing. When therefore he is grown up, and is about to engage in any mercantile adventure, voyage, or treaty of marriage, this document is carried to the astrologer, who, having examined it, and weighed all the circumstances, pronounces certain oracular words, in which these people, who sometimes find them justified by the event, place great confidence. Of these astrologers, or rather magicians, great numbers are to be met with in every market-place, and no marriage is ever celebrated until an opinion has been pronounced upon it by one of that profession.

It is also their custom, upon the death of any great and rich personage, to observe the following ceremonies. The relations, male and female, clothe themselves in coarse dresses, and accompany the body to the place appointed for burning it. The procession is likewise attended by performers on various musical instruments, which are sounded as it moves along, and prayers to their idols are chanted in a loud voice. When arrived at the spot, they throw into the flame many pieces of cotton-paper, upon which are painted representations of male and female servants, horses, camels, silk wrought with gold, as well as of gold and silver money. This is done, in the belief that the deceased will possess in the other world all these conveniences, in their natural state of flesh and bones, together with the money and the silks. As soon as the pile has been consumed, they sound all the instruments of music at the same time, producing a loud and long-continued noise. They imagine that by these ceremonies their idols are induced to receive the soul of the man whose corpse has been reduced to ashes.

In every street of this city there are stone buildings or towers. In case of a fire breaking out in any quarter, an accident by no means unusual, as the houses are mostly constructed of wood, the inhabitants may remove their effects to these towers for security.

By a regulation which his Majesty has established, there is a guard of ten watchmen stationed, under cover, upon all the principal bridges, of whom five do duty by day and five by night. Each of these guards is provided with a sonorous wooden instrument as well as one of metal, together with a water device, by means of which the hours of the day and night are ascertained. As soon as the first hour of the night is expired, one of the watchmen gives a single stroke upon the wooden instrument, and also upon the metal gong, which announces to the people of the neighbouring streets that it is the first hour. At the expiration of the second, two strokes are given; and so on progressively, increasing the number of strokes as the hours advance. The guard is not allowed to sleep, and must be always on the alert. In the morning, as soon as the sun begins to appear, a single stroke is again struck, as in the evening, and so onwards from hour to hour.

Some of these watchmen patrol the streets, to observe whether any person has a light or fire burning after the hour appointed for extinguishing them. Upon making the discovery, they affix a mark to the door, and in the morning the owner of the house is taken before the magistrates, by whom, if he cannot assign a legitimate excuse for his offence, he is punished. Should they find any person abroad at an unseasonable hour, they arrest and confine him, and in the morning he is carried before the same tribunal. If they notice any person who from lameness or other infirmity is unable to work, they place him in one of the hospitals, of which there are several in every part of the city, founded by the ancient kings, and liberally endowed. When cured, he is obliged to work at some trade.

Immediately upon the appearance of fire breaking out in a house, they give the alarm by beating on the wooden machine, when the watchmen from all the bridges within a certain distance assemble to extinguish it, as well as to save the effects of the merchants and others, by removing them to the stone towers that have been mentioned. The goods are also sometimes put into boats, and conveyed to the islands in the lake. Even on such occasions the inhabitants dare not stir out of their houses, when the fire happens in the night, and only those can be present whose goods are actually being removed, together with the guard collected to assist, which seldom amounts to a smaller number than from one to two thousand men.

In cases also of tumult or insurrection amongst the citizens, the services of this police guard are necessary; but, independently of them, his Majesty always keeps on foot a large body of troops, both infantry and cavalry, in the city and its vicinity, the command of which he gives to his ablest officers.

For the purposes of nightly watch, there are mounds of earth thrown up, at the distance of above a mile from each other, on the top of which a wooden frame is constructed, with a sounding board, which being struck with a mallet by the guard stationed there, the noise is heard to a great distance.

If precautions of this nature were not taken upon occasions of fire, there would be danger of half the city being consumed; and their use is obvious also in the event of popular commotion, as, upon the signal being given, the guards at the several bridges arm themselves, and repair to the spot where their presence is required.

When the Great Khan reduced to his obedience the province of Manji, which until that time had been one kingdom, he thought proper to divide it into nine parts, over each of which he appointed a king or viceroy, who should act as supreme governor of that division, and administer justice to the people. These make a yearly report to commissioners acting for his Majesty, of the amount of the revenue, as well as of every other matter pertaining to their jurisdiction. Upon the third year they are changed, as are all other public officers.

One of these nine viceroys resides and holds his court in the city of Kin-sai, and has authority over more than a hundred and forty cities and towns, all large and rich.

Nor is this number to be wondered at, considering that in the whole of the province of Manji there are no fewer than twelve hundred, containing a large population of industrious

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and wealthy inhabitants. In each of these, according to its size and other circumstances, his Majesty keeps a garrison, consisting, in some places, of a thousand, in others of ten or twenty thousand men, accordingly as he judges the city to be, in its own population, more or less powerful. It is not to be understood that all these troops are Tartars. On the contrary, they are chiefly natives of the province of Cathay. The Tartars are universally horsemen, and cavalry cannot be quartered about those cities which stand in the low, marshy parts of the province, but only in firm, dry situations, where such troops can be properly exercised. To the former, he sends Cathaians, and such men of the province of Manji as appear to have a military turn; for it is his practice to make an annual selection amongst all his subjects of such as are best qualified to bear arms. But the soldiers drawn from the province of Manji he does not employ in the duty of their native cities. On the contrary, he marches them to other places at a distance of perhaps twenty days' journey, where they remain for four or five years, at the expiration of which they are allowed to return to their homes, and others are sent to replace them. This regulation applies equally to the Cathaians.

The greater part of the revenues of the cities, paid into the treasury of the Great Khan, is appropriated to the maintenance of these garrisons. When it happens that a city is in a state of rebellion, and it is not an uncommon occurrence for these people, actuated by some sudden exasperation, or when intoxicated, to murder their governors, a part of the garrison of a neighbouring city is immediately dispatched with orders to destroy the place where such guilty excesses have been committed. For such purposes, the city of Kinsai constantly supports a garrison of thirty thousand soldiers; and the smallest number stationed at any place is one thousand.

It now remains to speak of a very fine palace that was formerly the residence of King Facfur, whose ancestors enclosed an extent of ground ten miles in compass, and divided it into three parts. That in the centre was entered by a lofty portal, on each side of which was a magnificent colonnade, on a flat terrace, the roofs of which were supported by rows of pillars, highly ornamented with the most beautiful azure and gold. The colonnade opposite to the entrance, at the further side of the court, was still grander than the others, its roof being richly adorned, the pillars gilt, and the walls on the inner side ornamented with exquisite paintings, representing the histories of former kings.

Here, annually, King Facfur was accustomed to hold his court, and to entertain at a feast his principal nobles, the chief magistrates, and the prominent citizens of Kin-sai.

Under these colonnades might be seen, at one time, ten thousand persons suitably accommodated at table. This festival lasted ten or twelve days, and the magnificence displayed on the occasion, in silks, gold, and precious stones, exceeded all imagination; for every guest endeavoured to exhibit as much finery as his circumstances would possibly allow.

Behind the colonnade last mentioned, or that which fronted the grand portal, there was a wall, with a passage, that divided this exterior court of the palace from an interior court, which formed a kind of large cloister, and led to various apartments for the use of the king and queen. From this cloister you entered a covered passage or corridor, six paces in width, and of such a length as to reach to the margin of the lake. On each side of this there were corresponding entrances to ten courts, in the form of long cloisters, and each cloister or court had fifty apartments, with their respective gardens, the residence of a thousand young women, whom the king retained in his service.

Accompanied sometimes by his queen, and on other occasions by a party of these females, it was his custom to take amusement on the lake, in barges covered with silk, and to visit the temples on its borders. The other two divisions of this estate were laid out in groves, pieces of water, beautiful gardens stored with fruit-trees, and also enclosures for all sorts of animals that are the objects of sport, such as antelopes, deer, stags, hares, and rabbits. Here likewise the king amused himself, in company with his damsels, some in carriages and some on horseback. No male person was allowed to be of these parties, but on the other hand, the females were practised in the art of coursing with dogs, and pursuing the animals that have been mentioned.

When fatigued with these exercises, they retired into the groves on the banks of the lake, and there quitting their dresses, rushed into the water in a state of nudity, playfully swimming about, some in one direction and some in another, whilst the king remained a spectator of the exhibition. After this they returned to the palace.

Sometimes he ordered his repast to be provided in one of these groves, where the foliage of lofty trees afforded a thick shade, and was there waited upon by the same damsels. Thus was his time consumed amidst the weakening charms of his women, and in profound ignorance of whatever related to military affairs. The consequence of this was, that his depraved habits enabled the Great Khan to deprive him of his splendid possessions, and to expel him from his throne as has been already stated.

All these particulars were communicated to me, when I was in that city, by a rich merchant of Kin-sai, then very old, who had been a confidential servant of King Facfur, and was acquainted with every circumstance of his life.

Having known the palace in its original state, he was desirous of conducting me to view it. Being at present the residence of the Great Khan's viceroy, the colonnades are preserved in the style in which they had formerly subsisted, but the chambers of the females had been suffered to go to ruin, and the foundations only were visible. The wall likewise that enclosed the park and gardens was fallen to decay, and neither animals nor trees were any longer to be found there.

At the distance of twenty-five miles from this city, in a direction to the northward of east, lies the sea, where there is an extremely fine port, frequented by all the ships that bring merchandise from India.

Marco Polo, happening to be in the city of Kin-sai at the time of making the annual report to his Majesty's commissioners of the amount of revenue and the number of inhabitants, had an opportunity of observing that the latter were registered at one hundred and sixty tomans of fire-places, that is to say, of families dwelling under the same roof; and as a toman is ten thousand, it follows that the whole city must have contained one million six hundred thousand families.

Every father of a family, or housekeeper, is required to affix a writing to the door of his house, specifying the name of each individual of his family, whether male or female, as well as the number of his horses. When any person dies, or leaves the dwelling, the name is struck out, and upon the occasion of a birth, it is added to the list. By these means the great officers of the province and governors of the cities are at all times acquainted with the exact number of the inhabitants. The same regulation is observed throughout the province of Cathay as well as of Manji.

In like manner, all the keepers of inns and public hotels inscribe in a book the names of those who take up their occasional abode with them, marking the day and the hour of their arrival and departure} a copy of which is transmitted daily to those magistrates who have been spoken of as stationed in the market-squares. It is a custom in the province of Manji, with the indigent class of the people, who are unable to support their families, to sell their children to the rich, in order that they may be fed and brought up in a better manner than their own poverty would admit.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 78
OF THE REVENUES OF THE GREAT KHAN

We shall now speak of the revenue which the Great Khan draws from the city of Kin-sai and the places within its jurisdiction, constituting the ninth division or kingdom of Manji. In the first place, upon salt, the most productive article, he levies a yearly duty of eighty tomans of gold, each toman being eighty thousand saggi, and each saggio fully equal to a gold florin, and consequently amounting to six million four hundred thousand ducats. This vast produce is occasioned by the distance of the province to the sea, and the number of salt lakes or marshes, in which, during the heat of summer, the water becomes crystallised, and from whence a quantity of salt is taken, sufficient for the supply of five of the other divisions of the province.

There is here cultivated and manufactured a large quantity of sugar, which pays, as do all other groceries, three and one-third per cent. The same is also levied upon the wine, or fermented liquor, made of rice. The twelve classes of artisans, of whom we have already spoken, as having each a thousand shops, and also the merchants, as well those who import the goods into the city, in the first instance, as those who carry them from thence to the interior, or who export them by sea, pay, in like manner, a duty of three and one-third per cent. But goods coming by sea from distant countries and regions, such as from India, pay ten per cent. So likewise all native articles of the country, as cattle, the vegetable produce of the soil, and silk, pay a tax to the king.

The account being made up in the presence of Marco Polo, he had an opportunity of seeing that the revenue of his Majesty, exclusively of that arising from salt, already stated, amounted in the year to the sum of two hundred and ten tomans, or sixteen million eight hundred thousand ducats.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 79
OF THE CITY OF TA-PIN-ZU — AND OTHERS

Leaving the city of Kin-sai, and travelling one day's journey towards the south-east, continually passing houses, villas, and delightful gardens, where every kind of vegetable is produced in abundance, you arrive at the city of Ta-pin-zu, which is very handsome and large, and belongs to the jurisdiction of Kin-sai. The inhabitants worship idols, use paper money, burn the bodies of their dead, are subjects of the Great Khan, and gain their subsistence by trade and manual arts. This place not demanding any more particular notice, we shall proceed to speak of the city of Uguiu.

From Ta-pin-zu, travelling three days towards the southeast, you come to the city of Uguiu, and still further, in the same direction, two days' journey, you pass in continual succession so many towns, castles, and other inhabited places, and such is their vicinity to each other, that to a stranger they have the appearance of one extended city. All of them are dependent upon Kin-sai. The people are idolaters, and the country supplies the necessaries of life in great abundance. Here are found canes of greater bulk and length than those already noticed, being four spans in girth and fifteen paces long.

Proceeding further, three days' journey in the same direction, you reach the town of Gen-gui, and still advancing to the south-east, you never cease to meet with towns full of inhabitants, who are employed at their trades, and cultivate the soil. In this part of the province of Manji there are not any sheep to be seen, but many oxen, cows, buffaloes, and goats, and of swine a vast number. At the end of the fourth day you arrive at the city of Zen-gian, built upon a hill that stands insulated in the river, which, by dividing itself into two branches, appears to embrace it.

These streams take opposite directions, one of them pursuing its course to the south-east, and the other to the north-west. The cities last mentioned are likewise under the dominion of the Great Khan, and dependent upon Kin-sai. The people worship idols, and subsist by trade. There is in the country abundance of game, both beasts and birds. Proceeding further, three days' journey, you reach the large and noble city of Gie-za, which is the last within the jurisdiction of Kin-sai. Having passed this city, you enter upon another kingdom or viceroyalty of Manji, named Kon-cha.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 80
OF THE KINGDOM OF KON-CHA — AND ITS CAPITAL CITY NAMED FU-GIU

Upon leaving the last city of the kingdom of Kin-sai, named Gie-za, you enter that of Kon-cha, the principal city of which is named Fu-giu. In the course of six days' journey through this country, in a south-east direction, over hills and along valleys, you continually pass towns and villages, where the necessaries of life are in abundance, and there is much field sport, particularly of birds. The people are subjects of the Great Khan, and are engaged in commerce and manufactures.

In these parts there are tigers of great size and strength. Ginger and also galangal are produced in large quantities, as well as other drugs. For money equal in value to a Venetian silver groat you may have eighty pounds weight of fresh ginger, so common is its growth. There is also a vegetable which has all the properties of the true saffron, as well the smell as the colour, and yet it is not really saffron. It is held in great estimation, and being an ingredient in all their dishes, it bears, on that account, a high price.

The people in this part of the country are addicted to eating human flesh, esteeming it more delicate than any other, provided the death of the person has not been occasioned by disease. When they advance to combat they throw loose their hair about their ears, and they paint their faces of a bright blue colour. They arm themselves with lances and swords, and all march on foot excepting their chief, who rides on horse-back. They are a most savage race of men, insomuch that when they slay their enemies in battle, they are anxious to drink their blood, and afterwards they devour their flesh. Leaving this subject, we shall now speak of the city of Kue-lin-fu.

The journey of six days being accomplished, you arrive at the city of Kue-lin-fu, which is of considerable size, and contains three very handsome bridges, upwards of a hundred paces in length, and eight paces in width. The women of the place are very handsome, and live in a state of luxurious ease. There is much raw silk produced here, and it is manufactured into silk pieces of various sorts. Cottons are also woven, of coloured threads, which are carried for sale to every part of the province of Manji. The people employ themselves extensively in commerce, and export quantities of ginger and galangal. I have been told, but did not myself see the animal, that there are found at this place a species of domestic fowls hich have no feathers; their skins clothed with black hair, resembling the fur of cats. Such a sight must be extraordinary. [These birds are known to poultry-fanciers as the Fleecy Persian. The Chinese call them "velvet-hair fowls," but only a white variety exists today.] They lay eggs like other fowls, and they are good to eat. The multitude of tigers renders travelling through the country dangerous, unless a number of persons go in company.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 81
OF THE CITY OF UN-GUEN

Upon leaving the city of Kue-lin-fu, and travelling three days, during which you are continually passing towns and castles, of which the inhabitants are idolaters, have silk in abundance, and export it in considerable quantities, you reach the city of Un-guen.

This place is remarkable for a great manufacture of sugar, which is sent from thence to the city of Kanbalu for the supply

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of the court. Previously to its being brought under the dominion of the Great Khan, the natives were unacquainted with the art of manufacturing sugar of a fine quality, and boiled it in such an imperfect manner, that when left to cool it remained in the state of a dark-brown paste. But at the time this city became subject to his Majesty's government, there happened to be at the court some persons from Babylon who were skilled in the process, and who, being sent thither, instructed the inhabitants in the mode of refining the sugar by means of the ashes of certain woods.

Travelling fifteen miles further in the same direction, you come to the city of Kan-giu, which belongs to the kingdom or viceroyalty of Kon-cha, one of the nine divisions of Manji. In this place is stationed a large army for the protection of the country, and to be always in readiness to act, in the event of rebellion.

Through the midst of it passes a river, a mile in breadth, upon the banks of which, on either side, are extensive and handsome buildings. In front of these, great numbers of ships are seen lying, having merchandise on board, and especially sugar, of which large quantities are manufactured here also. Many vessels arrive at this port from India, freighted by merchants who bring with them rich assortments of jewels and pearls, upon the sale of which they obtain a considerable profit. This river empties into the sea, at no great distance from the port named Zai-tun.

The ships coming from India ascend the river as high up as the city, which abounds with every sort of provision, and has delightful gardens, producing exquisite fruits.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 82

OF THE CITY AND PORT OF ZAI-TUN — AND THE CITY OF TIN-GUI

Upon leaving the city of Kan-giu and crossing the river to proceed in a south-easterly direction, you travel during five days through a well-inhabited country, passing towns; castles, and substantial dwellings, well supplied with all kinds of provisions. The road lies over hills, across plains, and through woods, in which are found many of those shrubs from whence the camphor is procured. The country abounds also with game. The inhabitants are subjects of the Great Khan, and within the jurisdiction of Kan-giu.

At the end of five days' journey, you arrive at the noble and handsome city of Zai-tun, which has a port on the sea coast celebrated for the resort of shipping, loaded with merchandise, that is afterwards distributed through every part of the province of Manji. The quantity of pepper imported there is so considerable, that what is carried to Alexandria, to supply the demand of the western parts of the world, is trifling in comparison, perhaps not more than the hundredth part. It is indeed impossible to convey an idea of the number of merchants and the accumulation of goods in this place, which is held to be one of the largest ports in the world. The Great Khan derives a vast revenue from this place, as every merchant is obliged to pay ten per cent, upon the amount of his investment. The ships are freighted by them at the rate of thirty per cent, for fine goods, forty-four for pepper, and for sandalwood, and other drugs, as well as articles of trade in general, forty per cent. It is computed by the merchants, that their charges, including customs and freight, amount to half the value of the cargo; and yet upon the half that remains to them their profit is so considerable, that they are always disposed to return to the same market with a further stock of merchandise.

The country is delightful. The people are idolaters, and have all the necessaries of life in plenty. Their disposition is peaceable, and they are fond of ease and indulgence.

Many persons arrive in this city from the interior parts of India for the purpose of having their persons ornamented by puncturing with needles in the manner before described, as it is celebrated for the number of its artists skilled in that practice.

The river that flows by the port of Zai-tun is large and rapid, and ir a branch of that which passes the city of Kin-sai. At the place where it separates from the principal channel stands the city of Tin-gui. Of this place there is nothing further to be observed, than that cups or bowls and dishes of porcelainware are there manufactured. The process was explained to be as follows. They collect a certain kind of earth, as it were, from a mine, and laying it in a great heap, suffer it to be exposed to the wind, the rain, and the sun, for thirty or forty years, during which time it is never disturbed. By this it becomes refined and fit for being wrought into the vessels above mentioned. Such colours as may be thought proper are then laid on, and the ware is afterwards baked in ovens or furnaces. Those persons, therefore, who cause the earth to be dug, collect it for their children and grandchildren. Great quantities of the manufacture are sold in the city, and for a Venetian groat you may purchase eight porcelain cups. [Porcelain is mentioned in Chinese books of the Han dynasty (206 BC - 220 AD), but it was about a hundred years after Marco Polo during the Ming dynasty that the great porcelain age of China flourished.]

We have now described the viceroyalty of Kon-cha, one of the nine divisions of Manji, from whence the Great Khan draws as ample a revenue as even from that of Kinsai. Of the others we shall not attempt to speak, because Marco Polo did not himself visit any of their cities, as he has done those of Kin-sai and Kon-cha. It should be observed that throughout the province of Manji one general language prevails, and one uniform manner of writing, yet in the different parts of the country there is a diversity of dialect, similar to what is found between the Genoese, the Milanese, the Florentine, and the dialects of other Italian states, whose inhabitants, although they have each their peculiar speech, can make themselves reciprocally understood.

Not having yet completed the subjects upon which Marco Polo purposed to write, he will now bring this Second Book to a close, and will commence another with a description of the countries and provinces of India, dividing it into the Greater, the Lesser, and the Middle India. These parts he visited whilst employed in the service of the Great Khan, who ordered him thither upon different occasions of business, and afterwards again when, accompanied by his father and uncle, on their returning journey escorting the queen destined for King Argon.

He will have the opportunity of relating many extraordinary circumstances observed by himself personally in those countries, but at the same time will not omit to notice others of which he was informed by persons worthy of credit, or which were pointed out to him in the sea-chart of the coasts of India.

MARCO POLO BOOK 3
JAPAN, THE ARCHIPELAGO, SOUTHERN INDIA, AND THE COASTS AND ISLANDS OF THE INDIAN SEA

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 1

OF INDIA. OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF ITS INHABITANTS. — OF MANY REMARKABLE — AND EXTRAORDINARY THINGS TO BE OBSERVED THERE. OF THE KIND OF VESSELS EMPLOYED IN NAVIGATION

Having treated, in the preceding parts of our work, of various provinces and regions, we shall now take leave of them, and proceed to the account of India. We shall commence with a description of the ships employed by the merchants, which are built of fir-timber. They have a single deck, and below this the space is divided into about sixty small cabins, fewer, or more, according to the size of the vessels, each of them affording accommodation for one merchant. They are provided with a good helm. They have four masts, with as many sails, and some of them have two masts, which can be set up and lowered again, as may be found necessary. Some ships of the larger class have as many as thirteen bulk-heads or divisions in the hold, formed of thick planks mortised into each other. The object of these is to guard against accidents which may occasion the vessel to spring a leak, such as striking on a rock or receiving a stroke from a whale.

A circumstance that not unfrequently occurs; for, when sailing at night, the motion through the waves causes a white foam that attracts the notice of the hungry Animal. Expecting food, it rushes violently to the spot, strikes the ship, and often staves in some part of the bottom. The water, running in at the place where the injury has been sustained, makes its way to the well, which is always kept clear. The crew, upon discovering the situation of the leak, immediately remove the goods from the division affected by the water, which, in consequence of the boards being so well fitted, cannot pass from one division to another. They then repair the damage, and return the goods to their place in the hold.

The ships are all double-planked; that is, they have a course of sheathing-boards laid over the planking in every part. These are caulked with oakum both inside and without, and are fastened with iron nails. They are not coated with pitch, as the country does not produce that substance, but the bottoms are smeared over with the following preparation. The people take quick-lime and hemp, which latter they cut small, and with these, when pounded together, they mix oil procured from a certain tree, making of the whole a kind of unguent, which retains its viscous properties more firmly, and is a better material than pitch.

Ships of the largest size require a crew of three hundred men; others, two hundred; and some, one hundred and fifty only, according to their greater or less bulk. They carry from five to six thousand baskets, or mat bags, of pepper.

In former times they were of greater size than they are at present; but the violence of the sea having in many places broken up the islands, and especially in some of the principal ports, there is a want of depth of water for vessels of such draught. They are on that account built of a smaller size.

The vessels are likewise moved with oars or sweeps, each of which requires four men to work it. Those of the larger class are accompanied by two or three large barks, capable of containing about one thousand baskets of pepper, and are manned with sixty, eighty, or one hundred sailors.

These small craft are often employed to tow the larger, when working their oars, or even under sail, provided the wind be on the quarter, but not when right aft, because, in that case, the sails of the larger vessel must becalm those of the smaller. The ships also carry with them as many as ten small boats, for the purpose of carrying out anchors, for fishing, and a variety of other services. They are slung over the sides, and lowered into the water when there is occasion to use them. The barks are in like manner provided with their small boats.

When a ship, having been on a voyage for a year or more, stands in need of repair, the practice is to give her a course of sheathing over the original boarding, forming a third course, which is caulked and paid in the same manner as the others. When she needs further repairs this is repeated, even to the number of six layers, after which she is condemned as unserviceable and not seaworthy. Having thus described the shipping, we shall proceed to the account of India; but in the first instance we shall speak of certain islands in the part of the ocean where we are at present, and shall commence with the island named Zipangu [Japan.].

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 2

OF THE ISLAND OF ZIPANGU — AND THE GREAT KHAN'S ATTACK AGAINST IT

Zipangu [Japan; Chinese: Riben Guo meaning Japan Land.] is an island in the eastern ocean [The Pacific Ocean.], situated at the distance of about fifteen hundred miles from the main-land, or coast of Manji.

It is of considerable size; its inhabitants have fair complexions, are well made, and are civilised in their manners.

Their religion is the worship of idols. They are independent of every foreign power, and governed only by their own kings. They have gold in the greatest abundance, its sources being inexhaustible, but as the king does not allow its being exported, few merchants visit the country. Nor is it frequented by much shipping from other parts.

The extraordinary richness of the sovereign's palace, according to what we are told by those who have access to the place is a wonderful sight. The entire roof is covered with a plating of gold, in the same manner as we cover houses, or more properly churches, with lead. The ceilings of the halls are of the same precious metal; many of the apartments have small tables of pure gold, of considerable thickness; and the windows also have golden ornaments.

So vast, indeed, are the riches of the palace, that it is impossible to convey an idea of them.

In this island there are pearls also, in large quantities, of a pink colour, round in shape, and of great size equal in value to, or even exceeding that of the white pearls.

It is customary with one part of the inhabitants to bury their dead, and with another part to burn them. The former have a practice of putting one of these pearls into the mouth of the corpse. There are also found there a number of precious stones.

So great was the wealth of this island, that a desire was excited in the breast of the Great Khan Kublai, now reigning, to make the conquest of it, and to annex it to his dominions. In order to effect this, he fitted out a numerous fleet, and embarked a large body of troops, under the command of two of his principal officers, one of whom was named Abbacatan, and the other Vonsancin. The expedition sailed from the ports of Zai-tun and Kin-sai, and, crossing the intermediate sea, reached the island in safety.

A jealousy, however, arose between the two commanders, one of whom treated the plans of the other with contempt and resisted the execution of his orders. Because of this they were unable to gain possession of any city or fortified place, with the exception of one only, which was carried by assault, the garrison having refused to surrender.

It happened, after some time, that a north wind began to blow with great force, and the ships of the Tartars, which lay near the shore of the island, were driven foul of each other. It was then determined, in a council of the officers on board, that they ought to disengage themselves from the land; and accordingly, as soon as the troops were re-embarked, they set out to sea. The gale, however, increased to so violent a degree that a number of the vessels foundered. The people belonging to them, by floating upon pieces of the wreck, saved themselves upon an island lying about four miles from the coast of Zipangu.

The other ships, which, not being so near to the land, did not suffer from the storm, and in which the two chiefs were embarked, together with the principal officers, or those whose rank entitled them to command a hundred thousand or ten thousand men, directed their course homewards, and returned home to the Great Khan.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 3

WHAT CAME OF THE GREAT KHAN'S EXPEDITION — AND OF THOSE LEFT ON THE ISLAND

Those of the Tartars who remained upon the island where they were wrecked, and who amounted to about thirty thousand men, finding themselves left without shipping, abandoned by their leaders, and having neither arms nor

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provisions, expected nothing less than to become captives or to perish, especially as the island afforded no habitations where they could take shelter and refresh themselves.

As soon as the gale ceased and the sea became smooth and calm, the people from the main island of Zipangu came over with a large force, in numerous boats, in order to make prisoners of these shipwrecked Tartars, and having landed, proceeded in search of them, but in a straggling, disorderly manner. The Tartars, on their part, being concealed from view by high land in the centre of the island, whilst the enemy were hurrying in pursuit of them by one road, made a circuit of the coast by another. This brought them to the place where the fleet of boats was at anchor. Finding these all abandoned, but with their colours flying, they instantly seized them, and pushing off from the island, sailed for the principal city of Zipangu, into which, from the appearance of the colours, they were suffered to enter unmolested.

Here they found few of the inhabitants besides women, whom they retained for their own use, and drove out all others.

When the king learned of what had taken place, he was much afflicted, and immediately gave directions for a strict blockade of the city, which was so effectual that not any person was suffered to enter or to escape from it, during six months that the siege continued. At the expiration of this time, the Tartars, despairing of succour, surrendered upon the condition of their lives being spared.

These events took place in the course of the year 1279. [Chinese Annals give this date as 1280 and describe the expedition as the sixth attempt on the part of Kublai Khan to conquer Japan. He also contemplated still another attack in 1283 but public sentiment among his people checked his ambition.]

The Great Khan having learned some years after that the unfortunate issue of the expedition was to be attributed to the dissension between the two commanders, caused the head of one of them to be cut off. The other he sent to the savage island of Zorza, where it is the custom to execute criminals in the following manner. They are wrapped round both arms, in the hide of a buffalo fresh taken from the beast, which is sewed tight. As this dries, it compresses the body to such a degree that the sufferer is incapable of moving or in any manner helping himself, and thus miserably perishes.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 4

OF THE NATURE OF THE MANY IDOLS WORSHIPPED IN ZIPANGU — AND OF THE PEOPLE BEING ADDICTED TO EATING HUMAN FLESH

In this island of Zipangu [Japan] and the others in its vicinity, their idols are fashioned in a variety of shapes, some of them having the heads of oxen, some of swine, of dogs, goats, and many other animals. Some exhibit the appearance of a single head, with two faces; others of three heads, one of them in its proper place, and one upon each shoulder. Some have four arms, others ten, and some an hundred, those which have the greatest number being regarded as the most powerful, and therefore entitled to the most particular worship.

When they are asked by Christians wherefore they give to their deities these diversified forms, they answer that their fathers did so before them. "Those who preceded us," They say, "left them such, and such shall we transmit them to our posterity."

The various ceremonies practiced before these idols are so wicked and diabolical that it would be nothing less than an abomination to give an account of them in this book. The reader should, however, be informed that the idolatrous inhabitants of these islands, when they seize the person of an enemy who has not the means of effecting his ransom for money, invite to their house all their relations and friends. Putting their prisoner to death they cook and eat the body, in a convivial manner, asserting that human flesh surpasses every other in the excellence of its flavour.

It is to be understood that the sea in which the island of Zipangu is situated is called the Sea of Chin [China], and so extensive is this eastern sea, that according to the report of experienced pilots and mariners who frequent it, and to whom the truth must be known, it contains no fewer than seven thousand four hundred and forty islands, mostly inhabited.

It is said that of the trees which grow in them, there are none that do not yield a fragrant smell. They produce many spices and drugs, particularly lignum-aloes and pepper, in great abundance, both white and black.

It is impossible to estimate the value of the gold and other articles found in the islands; but their distance from the continent is so great, and the navigation attended with so much trouble and inconvenience, that the vessels engaged in the trade, from the ports of Zai-tun and Kin-sai, do not reap large profits, for they are obliged to consume a whole year in their voyage, sailing in the winter and returning in the summer.

In these regions only two winds prevail; one of them during the winter, and the other during the summer season; so that they must avail themselves of the one for the outward, and of the other for the homeward-bound voyage.

These countries are far remote from the continent of India. In terming this sea the Sea of Chin [China], we must understand it, nevertheless, to be a part of the ocean; for as we speak of the English Sea, or of the Egean Sea, so do the eastern people of the Sea of Chin and of the Indian Sea. We shall here cease to treat further of these countries and islands, as well on account of their lying so far out of the way, as of my not having visited them personally, and of their not being under the dominion of the Great Khan. We return now to Zai-tun.

Departing from the port of Zai-tun, and steering a westerly course, but inclining to the south, for fifteen hundred miles, you pass the gulf named Keinan, which extends to the distance of two months' navigation, along its northern shore, where it bounds the southern part of the province of Manji, and from thence to where it approaches the countries of Ania, Toloman, and many others already mentioned. Within this gulf there are a multitude of islands, for the most part well inhabited. About the coasts much gold-dust is collected from the sea, at those places where the rivers discharge themselves. Copper also and many other articles are found there, and with these a trade is carried on, the one island supplying what another does not produce. They traffic also with the people of the continent, exchanging their gold and copper for such necessaries as they may require. In the most of these islands grain is raised in abundance. This gulf is so extensive and the inhabitants so numerous, that it appears like another world.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 5

OF THE COUNTRY OF ZIAMBA — OF THE KING OF THAT COUNTRY — AND OF HIS BECOMING TRIBUTARY TO THE GREAT KHAN

We now resume our former subject. Upon leaving Zai-tun and navigating fifteen hundred miles across this gulf, as has been mentioned, you arrive at a country named Ziamba [Indo-China], which is of great extent, and rich. It is governed by its own kings, and has its peculiar language. The inhabitants are worshippers of idols. An annual tribute, in elephants and nothing but elephants, is paid to the Great Khan, the occasion and circumstances of which shall be related.

About the year 1278, Kublai, having received accounts of the great wealth of this kingdom, resolved upon the measure of sending a large force, both of infantry and cavalry, to effect its conquest. The country was accordingly invaded by a powerful army, placed under the command of one of his generals, named Sogatu. The king, whose name was Accambale, and who was far advanced in years, feeling himself incapable of making resistance in the field to the forces of the Great Khan, retired to his strongholds, which afforded him security, and he there defended himself valiantly.

The open towns, however, and habitations on the plains, were in the meantime overrun and laid waste, and the king, perceiving that his whole territory would be ruined by the enemy, sent ambassadors to the Great Khan for the purpose of pleading for the old king, who had always preserved his dominions in a state of peace, and was anxious to save his people from destruction. The king was willing to pay yearly an honorary tribute of elephants and sweet-scented wood.

Upon receiving this proposal, the Great Khan, from motives of compassion, immediately sent orders to Sogatu for his retreat from thence with the force under his command, and directed him to proceed to the conquest of other countries. From that time the king has annually presented to the Great Khan, in the form of tribute, twenty of the largest and handsomest elephants to be found in his districts. Thus it was that the king of Ziamba became the subject of the Great Khan.

Having related the foregoing, we shall now mention some circumstances respecting this king and his country.

In the first place it should be noticed that in his dominions no young woman can be given in marriage, until she has been first proved by the king. Those who prove agreeable to him he retains for some time, and when they are dismissed, he furnishes them with a sum of money, in order that they may be able to obtain, according to their rank in life, advantageous matches. Marco Polo, in the year 1285, visited this place, at which period the king had three hundred and twenty-six children, male and female.

Most of the former had distinguished themselves as valiant soldiers. The country abounds with elephants. There are also many forests of ebony of a fine black, which is worked into various handsome articles of furniture. No other circumstance requires particular mention. Leaving this place, we shall now speak of the island called Java Major.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 6

OF THE ISLAND OF JAVA

Departing from Ziamba, and steering between south and south-east, fifteen hundred miles, you reach an island of very great size, named Java. According to the reports of some well-informed navigators, it is the greatest in the world, and has a compass above three thousand miles. It is under the dominion of one king only, nor do the inhabitants pay tribute to any other power. They are worshippers of idols.

The country abounds with rich commodities. Pepper, nutmegs, spikenard, galangal, cubebs, cloves and all the other valuable spices and drugs, are the produce of the island; which occasion it to be visited by many ships laden with merchandise, that yields to the owners considerable profit.

The quantity of gold collected there exceeds all calculation and belief. From thence it is that the merchants of Zai-tun and of Manji in general have imported, and to this day import, that metal to a great amount, and from thence also is obtained the greatest part of the spices that are distributed throughout the world. That the Great Khan has not brought the island under subjection to him, must be attributed to the length of the voyage and the dangers of the navigation.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 7

OF THE ISLANDS OF SONDUR AND KONDVR — AND OF THE COUNTRY OF LOCHAC

UPON leaving the island of Java, and steering a course between south and south-west, seven hundred miles, you arrive at two islands. The larger is named Sondur, and the other Kondur. Both being uninhabited, it is unnecessary to say more respecting them.

Having run the distance of fifty miles from these islands, in a south-easterly direction, you reach an extensive and rich province, that forms a part of the main land, and is named Lochac. Its inhabitants are idolaters [Buddhists.]. They have a language peculiar to themselves, and are governed by their own king, who pays no tribute to any other, the situation of the country being such as to protect it from any hostile attack. Were it assailable, the Great Khan would not have delayed to bring it under his dominion.

In this country brazil wood [dyewood], is produced in large quantities. Gold is abundant to a degree scarcely credible; elephants are found there; and the objects of the chase, either with dogs or birds, are in plenty.

From hence are exported all those porcelain shells, which, being carried to other countries, are there circulated for money, as has been already noticed. Besides these circumstances there is nothing further that requires mention, unless it be that the country is wild and mountainous, and is little frequented by strangers, whose visits the king discourages, in order that his treasures and other secret matters of his realm may be as little known to the rest of the world as possible.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 8

OF THE ISLAND OF PENTAN — AND OF THE KINGDOM OF MALAIUR

Departing from Lochac, and keeping a southerly course for five hundred miles, you reach an island named Pentan [Bentan], the coast of which is wild and uncultivated, but the woods abound with sweet-scented trees. Between the province of Lochac and this island of Pentan, the sea, for the space of sixty miles, is not more than four fathoms in depth, which obliges those who navigate it to lift the rudders of their ships.

After sailing these sixty miles, in a south-easterly direction, and then proceeding thirty miles further, you arrive at an island, in itself a kingdom, named Malaiur, which is likewise the name of its chief city. The people are governed by a king, and have their own peculiar language.

The town is large and well-built. A considerable trade is there carried on in spices and drugs, with which the place abounds. Nothing else that requires notice presents itself.

Proceeding onwards from thence, we shall now speak of Java Minor.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 9

OF THE ISLAND OF JAVA MINOR

Upon leaving the island of Pentan, and steering in the direction of south-east for about one hundred miles, you reach the island of Java the Lesser [Sumatra]. Small, however, as it may be termed by comparison, it is not less than two thousand miles in circuit.

In this island there are eight kingdoms, governed by so many kings, and each kingdom has its own proper language, distinct from those of all the others. The people are idolaters. It contains abundance of riches, and all sorts of spices, sappan-wood for dyeing, and various other kinds of drugs, which, on account of the length of the voyage and the danger of the navigation, are not imported into our country, but which find their way to the provinces of Manji and Cathay.

We shall now treat separately of what relates to the inhabitants of each of these kingdoms; but in the first place it is proper to observe that the island lies so far to the southward as to render the north star invisible. Six of the eight kingdoms were visited by Marco Polo; and these he will describe, omitting the other two, which he had not an opportunity of seeing.

We shall begin with the kingdom of Felech, which is one of the eight. Its inhabitants are for the most part idolaters, but many of those who dwell in the seaport towns have been converted to the religion of Mohammed, by the Saracen [Muslim] merchants who constantly frequent them. Those who inhabit the mountains live in a beastly manner. They eat

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human flesh, and indiscriminately all other sorts of flesh, clean and unclean. Their worship is directed to a variety of objects, for each individual adores throughout the day the first thing that presents itself to his sight when he rises in the morning.

Upon leaving the last-mentioned kingdom, you enter that of Basman, which is independent of the others, and has its peculiar language. The people profess obedience to the Great Khan, but pay him no tribute, and their distance is so great, that his troops cannot be sent to these parts. The whole island, indeed, is nominally subject to him, and when ships pass that way the opportunity is taken of sending him rare and curious articles, and especially a particular sort of falcon.

In the country are many wild elephants and rhinoceroses, which latter are much inferior in size to the elephant, but their feet are similar. Their hide resembles that of the buffalo. In the middle of the forehead they have a single horn; but with this weapon they do not injure those whom they attack, employing only for this purpose their tongue, which is armed with long, sharp spines. Their head is like that of a wild boar, and they carry it low towards the ground. They take delight in muddy pools, and are filthy in their habits. They are not of that description of animals [unicorn] which suffer themselves to be taken by maidens, as our people suppose, but are quite of a contrary nature. There are found in this district monkeys of various sorts, and vultures as black as crows, which are of a large size, and pursue the quarry in a good style.

It should be known that what is reported respecting the dried bodies of diminutive human creatures, or pigmies, brought from India, is an idle tale, such men being manufactured in this island in the following manner. The country produces a species of monkey, of a tolerable size, and having a countenance resembling that of a man. Those persons who make it their business to catch them, shave off the hair, leaving it only about the chin, and those other parts where it naturally grows on the human body. They then dry and preserve them with camphor and other drugs; and having prepared them in such a mode that they have exactly the appearance of little men, they put them into wooden boxes, and sell them to trading people, who carry them to all parts of the world. But this is merely an imposition. Neither in India, nor in any other country, however wild, have pigmies been found of a form so diminutive as these exhibit. Sufficient having been said of this kingdom, which presents nothing else remarkable, we shall now speak of another, named Samara.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 10
OF THE KINGDOMS NAMED SAMARA AND DRAGOIAN

Leaving Basman, you enter the kingdom of Samara, being another of those into which the island is divided. In this Marco Polo resided five months, during which, exceedingly against his inclination, he was detained by contrary winds. The north star is not visible here, nor even the stars that are in the wain. The people are idolaters; they are governed by a powerful prince, who professes himself the vassal of the Great Khan.

As it was necessary to continue for so long a time at this island Marco Polo established himself on shore, with a party of about 2,000 men. In order to guard against mischief from the savage natives, who seek for opportunities of seizing stragglers, putting them to death, and eating them, he caused a large and deep ditch to be dug around him on the land side, in such manner that each of its extremities terminated in the port, where the shipping lay.

The ditch he strengthened by erecting several blockhouses or redoubts of wood, the country affording an abundant supply of that material. Being defended by this kind of fortification, he kept the party in complete security during the five months of their residence. Such was the confidence inspired amongst the natives, that they furnished supplies of victuals and other necessary articles according to an agreement made with them.

No finer fish for the table can be met with in any part of the world than are found here. There is no wheat produced, but the people live upon rice. Wine is not made; but from a species of tree resembling the date-bearing palm [gomuti palm] they procure an excellent beverage in the following manner. They cut off a branch, and put over the opening a vessel to receive the juice as it distils from the wound. This is filled in the course of a day and a night.

So wholesome are the qualities of this liquor, that it affords relief in dropsical complaints, as well as in those of the lungs and of the spleen. When these shoots that have been cut are perceived not to yield any more juice, they contrive to water the trees, by bringing from the river, in pipes or channels, so much water as is sufficient for the purpose; and upon this being done, the juice runs again as it did at first. Some trees naturally yield it of a reddish, and others of a pale colour.

The Indian nuts [coco-nuts] also grow here, of the size of a man's head, containing an edible substance that is sweet and pleasant to the taste, and white as milk. The cavity of this pulp is filled with a liquor clear as water, cool, and better flavoured and more delicate than wine or any other kind of drink whatever. The inhabitants feed upon flesh of every sort, good or bad, without distinction.

Dragoian is a kingdom governed by its own prince, and having its peculiar language. Its inhabitants are uncivilised, worship idols, and acknowledge the authority of the Great Khan. They observe this horrible custom, in cases where any member of the family is afflicted with a disease:—The relations of the sick person send for the magicians, whom they require, upon examination of the symptoms, to declare whether he will recover or not. These, according to the opinion suggested to them by the evil spirit, reply, either that he will or will not recover. If the decision be that he cannot, the relations then call in certain men, whose peculiar duty it is and who perform their business with dexterity, to close the mouth of the patient until he be suffocated.

This being done, they cut the body in pieces, in order to prepare it as victuals. When it has been so dressed, the relations assemble, and eat the whole of it, not leaving so much as the marrow in the bones. Should any particle of the body be suffered to remain, it would breed vermin, and they believe these vermin, for want of further sustenance, would perish, and their death would prove the occasion of grievous punishment to the soul of the deceased.

They afterwards proceed to collect the bones, and having deposited them in a small, neat box, carry them to some cavern in the mountains, where they may be safe against the disturbance of wild animals. If they have it in their power to seize any person who does not belong to their own district, and who cannot pay for his ransom, they put him to death, and devour him.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 11
OF THE KINGDOMS NAMED LAMBR1 AND FANFVR

Lambri, in like manner, has its own king and its peculiar language. The country produces camphor, with a variety of other drugs. They sow brazil and when it springs up and begins to throw out shoots, they transplant it to another spot, where it is suffered to remain for three years. It is then taken up by the roots, and used as a dye-stuff. Marco Polo brought some of the seeds of this plant with him to Venice, and sowed them there; but the climate not being sufficiently warm, none of them came up.

In this kingdom are found men with tails [Perhaps the part of a garb or adornment.], a span in length, like those of the dog, but not covered with hair.

The greater number of them are formed in this manner, but they dwell in the mountains, and do not inhabit towns.

The rhinoceros is a common inhabitant of the woods, and there is abundance of all sorts of game, both beasts and birds.

Fanfur is a kingdom of the same island, governed by its own prince. In this part of the country a species of camphor, much superior in quality to any other, is produced. It is named the camphor of Fanfur, and is sold for its weight in gold.

There is not any wheat nor other corn, but the food of the inhabitants is rice, with milk, and the wine extracted from trees in the manner that has been described in the chapter respecting Samara. They have also a tree [sago tree] from which, by a singular process, they obtain a kind of meal. The stem is lofty, and as thick as can be grasped by two men. When from this the outer bark is stripped, the inner substance is found to be about three inches in thickness, and the central part is filled with pith, which yields a meal or flour. The pith is put into vessels filled with water, and is stirred about with a stick, in order that the fibres and other impurities may rise to the top, and the pure part subside to the bottom. When this has been done, the water is poured off, and the flour which remains, divested of all extraneous matter, is applied to use, by making it into cakes and various kinds of pastry. Of this, which resembles barley bread in appearance and taste, Marco Polo has frequently eaten, and some of it he brought home with him to Venice.

The wood of the tree, found here, may be compared to iron in this respect, that when thrown into water it immediately sinks. It admits of being split in an even direction from one end to the other, like the bamboo cane. Of this the natives make short lances: were they to be of any considerable length, their weight would render it impossible to carry or to use them. They are sharpened at one end, and rendered so hard by fire that they are capable of penetrating any sort of armour, and in many respects are preferable to iron.

What we have said on the subject of this kingdom, one of the divisions of the island, is sufficient. Of the other kingdoms composing the remaining part we shall not speak, because Marco Polo did not visit them. Proceeding further, we shall next describe a small island named Nocueran.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 12
OF THE ISLAND OF NOCUERAN

Upon leaving Java minor and the kingdom of Lambri, and sailing about one hundred and fifty miles, you arrive at two islands, one of which is named Nocueran [Nicobar], and the other Angaman.

Nocueran is not under the government of a king, and the people are little removed from the conditions of beasts.

Both males and females go naked, without a covering to any part of the body. They are idolaters. Their woods abound with the noblest and most valuable trees, such as the white and the red sandal, those which bear the Indian coco-nuts, cloves, and sappan. Besides this they have a variety of drugs. Proceeding further, we shall speak of Angaman.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 13
OF THE ISLAND OF ANGAMAN

Angaman is a very large island [Andaman Islands], not governed by a king. The inhabitants are idolaters, and are a most brutish and savage race, having heads, eyes, and teeth resembling those of the canine species. Their dispositions are cruel, and every person, not being of their own nation, whom they can lay their hands upon, they kill and eat. They have abundance and variety of drugs. Their food is rice and milk, and flesh of every description. They have Indian nuts, apples, and many other fruits different from those which grow in our country.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 14
OF THE ISLAND OF ZEILAN

Taking a departure from the island of Angaman, and steering a course something to the southward of west, for a thousand miles, the island of Zeilan [Ceylon] presents itself. This, for its actual size, is better than any other island in the world. It is in circuit two thousand four hundred miles, but in ancient times it was still larger, its circumference then measuring full three thousand six hundred miles, as you find in the charts of the mariners of those seas. But the northern gales, which blow with violence, have in a manner corroded the mountains, so that they have in some parts fallen and sunk in the sea, and the island, from that cause, no longer retains its original size.

It is governed by a king whose name is Sender-naz. The people worship idols, and are independent of every other state. Both men and women go nearly in a state of nudity, only wrapping a cloth round the middle part of their bodies. They have no grain besides rice and sesame, of which latter they make oil. Their food is milk, rice, and flesh, and they drink the wine drawn from trees, which has already been described. There is here the best dye-wood that can anywhere be met with.

The island produces more beautiful and valuable rubies than are found in any other part of the world, and likewise sapphires, topazes, amethysts, garnets, and many other precious and costly stones. The king is reported to possess the grandest ruby that ever was seen, being a span in length, and the thickness of a man's arm, brilliant beyond description, and without a single flaw. It has the appearance of a glowing fire, and upon the whole is so valuable that no estimation can be made of its worth in money. The Great Khan, Kublai, sent ambassadors to this monarch, with a request that he would yield to him the possession of this ruby; in return for which he should receive the value of a city. The answer he made was to this effect: that he would not sell it for all the treasure of the universe; nor could he on any terms suffer it to go out of his dominions, being a jewel handed down to him by his predecessors on the throne. The Great Khan failed therefore to acquire it.

The people of this island are no soldiers but, on the contrary, are poor and cowardly creatures. When there is occasion to employ soldiers, they are brought from other countries.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 15
THE HISTORY OF SOGOMON BARCHAN — AND THE BEGINNING OF IDOLATRY

In this island of Zeilan [Ceylon] there is a very high mountain, so rocky and precipitous that the ascent to the top is impracticable, as it is said, excepting by the assistance of iron chains employed for that purpose. By means of these some persons attain the summit, where the tomb of Adam, our first parent, is reported to be found. Such is the account given by the Saracens. But the idolaters assert that it contains the body of Sogomon Barchan [Buddha], the founder of their religious system, and whom they revere as a great saint.

He was the son of a king of the island, who devoted himself to an holy life, refusing to accept of kingdoms or any other worldly possessions, although his father endeavoured, by the allurements of women, and every other imaginable gratification, to divert him from the resolution he had adopted. Every attempt to dissuade him was in vain, and the young man fled privately to this lofty mountain, where, in the observance of celibacy and strict abstinence, he at length terminated his mortal career.

By the idolaters he is regarded as a saint. The father, distracted with the most poignant grief, caused an image to be formed of gold and precious stones, bearing the resemblance of his son, and required that all the inhabitants of the island should honour and worship it as a deity. Such was the origin of the worship of idols in that country; but Sogomon Barchan [Buddha] is still regarded as superior to every other.

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In this belief, people flock from various distant parts in pilgrimage to the mountain on which he was buried. Some of his hair, his teeth, and the basin he made use of, are still preserved, and shown with much ceremony. The Saracens, on the other hand, maintain that these belonged to the prophet Adam, and are in like manner led by devotion to visit the mountain.

It happened that in the year 1284, the Great Khan heard from certain Saracens [Muslims] who had been upon the spot, the fame of these relics belonging to our first parent, and felt so strong a desire to possess them, that he was induced to send an embassy to demand them of the king of Zeilan.

After a long and tedious journey, his ambassadors at length reached the place of their destination, and obtained from the king two large back-teeth, together with some of the hair, and a handsome vessel of green stone. When the Great Khan received intelligence of the approach of the messengers, on their return with such valuable curiosities, he ordered all the people of Kanbalu to march out of the city to meet them, and they were conducted to his presence with great pomp and solemnity. Having mentioned these particulars respecting the mountain of Zeilan, we shall proceed to the kingdom of Maabar [Malabar, in the southwest of India].

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 16

OF THE PROVINCE OF MAABAR

Leaving the island of Zeilan, and sailing in a westerly direction sixty miles, you reach the great province of Maabar, which is not an island, but a part of the continent of the greater India, as it is termed, being the noblest and richest country in the world.

It is governed by four kings, of whom the principal is named Sender-bandi. Within his dominions is a fishery for pearls, in the gulf of a bay that lies between Maabar and the island of Zeilan, where the water is not more than from ten to twelve fathoms in depth, and in some places not more than two fathoms.

The business of the fishery is conducted in the following manner. A number of merchants form themselves into separate companies, and employ many vessels and boats of different sizes, well provided with anchors. They engage and carry with them persons who are skilled in the art of diving for the oysters in which the pearls are enclosed.

These they bring up in bags made of netting that are fastened about their bodies, and then repeat the operation, rising to the surface when they can no longer hold their breath. And after a short interval they dive again. The greater proportion of the pearls obtained from the fisheries in this gulf, are round, and of a good lustre. The spot where the oysters are taken in the greatest number is called Betala, on the shores of the mainland.

The gulf being infested with a kind of large fish, which often prove destructive to the divers, the merchants take the precaution of being accompanied by certain enchanters belonging to a class of Bramins, who, by means of their mystical art, have the power of stupefying these fish, so as to prevent them from doing mischief. As the fishing takes place in the daytime only, they discontinue the effect of the charm in the evening} in order that dishonest persons who might be inclined to take the opportunity of diving at night and stealing the oysters, may be deterred. The enchanters are likewise skilled in the art of fascinating all kinds of beasts and birds.

The fishery commences in the month of April, and lasts till the middle of May. The privilege of engaging in it is farmed of the king, to whom a tenth part only of the produce is allowed. To the magicians they allow a twentieth part, and consequently they reserve to themselves a considerable profit. By the time the period above-mentioned is completed, the stock of oysters is exhausted; and the vessels are then taken to another place, distant full three hundred miles from this gulf, where they establish themselves in the month of September, and remain till the middle of October. Independently of the tenth of the pearls to which the king is entitled, he requires to have the choice of all such as are large and well-shaped; and as he pays liberally for them, the merchants are not disinclined to carry them to him for that purpose.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 17

CONTINUES TO SPEAK OF THE PROVINCE OF MAABAR

The natives of this part of the country always go naked, excepting that they cover with a piece of cloth those parts of the body which modesty dictates.

The king is no more clothed than the rest, except that he has a piece of richer cloth, and is honourably distinguished by various kinds of ornaments, such as a collar set with jewels, sapphires, emeralds, and rubies, of immense value.

He also wears, suspended from the neck and reaching to the breast, a fine silken string containing one hundred and four large handsome pearls and rubies. The reason for this particular number is, that he is required by the rules of his religion to repeat a prayer or invocation so many times daily, in honour of his gods; and this his ancestors never failed to perform. The daily prayer consists of these words, pacauca, facauca, facauca, which they repeat one hundred and four times. On each arm he wears three gold bracelets, adorned with pearls and jewels; on three different parts of the leg, golden bands ornamented in the same manner; and on the toes of his feet, as well as on his fingers, rings of great value. To this king it is indeed a matter of pride to display such splendid regalia, as the precious stones and the pearls are all found in his own kingdom.

He has at the least five hundred wives and concubines, and when he sees a woman whose beauty pleases him, he immediately signifies his desire to possess her. In this manner he appropriated the wife of his brother, who being a discreet and sensible man, was prevailed upon not to make much noise about it.

The king retains about his person many knights, who are called "the devoted servants of his majesty, in this world and the next." These attend upon his person at court, ride by his side in processions, and accompany him on all occasions.

They exercise considerable authority in every part of die realm. Upon the death of the king, and when the ceremony of burning his body takes place, all these devoted servants throw themselves into the same fire, and are consumed with the royal corpse; intending by this act to bear him company in another life.

The following custom likewise prevails. When a king dies, the son who succeeds him does not meddle with the treasure which the former had amassed, under the impression that it would reflect upon his own ability to govern, if being left in full possession of the territory, he did not show himself as capable of enriching the treasury as his father was. In consequence of this prejudice it is supposed that immense wealth is accumulated by successive generations.

No horses being bred in this country, the king and his three royal brothers expend large sums of money annually in the purchase of them from merchants who carry them thither for sale, and become rich by the traffic. They import as many as five thousand at a time and for each of them obtain five hundred saggi of gold, being equal to one hundred marks of silver. At the end of the year perhaps not three hundred of these remain alive, and thus the necessity is occasioned for replacing them. But it is my opinion that the climate of the province is unfavourable to the race of horses, and that from this arises the difficulty in breeding or preserving them. For food they give them flesh dressed with rice, and other prepared meats, the country not producing any grain besides rice. A mare, although of a large size, and covered by a handsome horse, produces only a small ill-made colt, with distorted legs, and unfit to be trained for riding.

The following extraordinary custom prevails at this place. When a man who has committed a crime, for which he has been tried and condemned to suffer death, upon being led to execution, declares his willingness to sacrifice himself in honour of some particular idol, his relations and friends immediately place him in a kind of chair, and deliver to him twelve knives of good temper and well sharpened. In this manner they carry him about the city, proclaiming, with a loud voice, that this brave man is about to devote himself to a voluntary death, from motives of zeal for the worship of the idol. Upon reaching the place where the sentence of the law would have been executed, he snatches up two of the knives, and crying out, "I devote myself to death in honour of such an idol," hastily strikes one of them into each thigh, then one into each arm, two into the belly, and two into the breast.

Having in this manner thrust all the knives but one into different parts of his body, repeating at every wound the words that have been mentioned, he plunges the last of them into his heart, and immediately expires. As soon as this scene has been acted, his relations proceed, with great triumph and rejoicing, to burn the body; and his wife, from motives of pious regard for her husband, throws herself upon the pile, and is consumed with him*. Women who display this resolution are much applauded by the community, as, on the other hand, those who shrink from it are despised and reviled.

[* Self-sacrifice of widows, in India known as Sati or Suttee, was practised, particularly among members of ruling classes, in India as well as China, Rome, and other parts of the world. (This was also a practice in Judaea. See: Masada: According to Titus Flavius Josephus, the siege of Masada by Roman troops from 73 to 74 AD, at the end of the 1st Jewish–Roman War, ended in the mass suicide of the 960 Sicarii Jihadists and their family members who were hiding there.) Due to the Muslim invasion, the victims performed a distinct form of mass sati as a direct response to the onslaught they experienced. The ruthless Islamic conquest of India, begining in the 7th century and lasting up to the time when the British arrived, has propelled the practice of sati into wider use. Jauhar, sometimes spelled Jowhar or Juhar, was a Hindu practice of mass self-immolation by women, or otherwise execution by their husbands, fathers or brothers to avoid capture, rape, and enslavement by the invading Muslims, when facing certain defeat during a war. This practice was therefore first observed in northwest regions of India where the main Muslim forces came in. Widowhood for Hindu women during the 1,000 years of Islamic conquest had brought extreme desolation and misery due to the influence of slavery practices (See: Manual to Sharia Law, Grand Bible; see also the rape of Yazidi women by ISIS) in the Muslim ruled kingdoms. Widows chose sati sacrifice, often along with their children, as an honourable solution rather than a shameful fate through the hand of the Muslims.]

The greater part of the idolatrous inhabitants of this kingdom show particular reverence to the ox; and none will from any consideration be induced to eat the flesh of oxen. But there is a particular class of men termed gaui, who although they may eat of the flesh, yet dare not to kill the animal. But when they find a carcase, whether it has died a natural death or otherwise, they eat of it.

All descriptions of people daub their houses with cowdung. Their mode of sitting is upon carpets on the ground, and when asked why they sit in that manner, they reply that a seat on the earth is honourable; that as we are sprung from the earth, so we shall again return to it; that none can do it sufficient honour, and much less should any despise the earth. These gaui and all their tribe are the descendants of those who slew Saint Thomas the Apostle and on this account no member of this tribe can possibly enter the building where the body of the blessed apostle rests. Were the strength of ten men employed to convey him to the spot, they could not hold him here, so great is the supernatural power of the holy corpse.

The country produces no other grain than rice and sesame. The people go to battle with lances and shields, but without clothing, and are most wretched soldiers. They do not kill cattle nor any kind of animals for food, but when desirous of eating the flesh of sheep or other beasts, or of birds, they procure the Saracens, who are not under the influence of the same laws and customs, to play the butcher.

Both men and women wash their whole bodies in water twice every day, that is, in the morning and the evening.

Until this ablution has taken place they neither eat nor drink; and the person who should neglect this observance, would be regarded as a heretic. It ought to be noticed, that in eating they make use of the right hand only, nor do they ever touch their food with the left. For every cleanly and delicate work they employ the former, and reserve the latter for uncleanly and disagreeable necessities, such as cleansing the secret parts of the body. They drink out of a particular kind of vessel, and each individual from his own, never making use of the drinking pot of another person.

When they drink they do not apply the vessel to the mouth, but hold it above the head, and pour the liquor into the mouth, not suffering the vessel on any account to touch the lips. In giving drink to a stranger, they do not hand their vessel to him, but, if he is not provided with one of his own, pour the wine or other liquor into his hands, from which he drinks it, as from a cup.

Criminals in this country are punished with strict justice. With regard to debtors the following customs prevail. If application for payment shall have been repeatedly made by a creditor, and the debtor puts him off from time to time with false promises, the former may attach his person by drawing a circle round him, from whence he dare not depart until he has satisfied his creditor, either by payment, or by giving adequate security. Should he attempt to make his escape, he renders himself liable to the punishment of death, as a violator of the rules of justice.

Messer Marco, when he was in this country on his return homeward, happened to be an eye-witness of a remarkable transaction of this nature. The king was indebted in a sum of money to a certain foreign merchant, and although frequently asked for payment, put. him off for a long time with promises. One day when the king was riding on horseback, the merchant took the opportunity of describing a circle round him and his horse. As soon as the king perceived what had been done, he immediately halted and would ride no further until the demand of the merchant was fully satisfied. The bystanders beheld what passed and marvelled at the king, saying that he was most just for he himself submitted to the laws of justice.

These people abstain from drinking wine made from grapes; and should a person be detected drinking wine, so disreputable would it be held, that his evidence would not be received in court. A similar prejudice exists against persons frequenting the sea, who, they observe, can only be people of desperate fortunes, and whose testimony in court ought not to be admitted. They do not, however, hold gross sensuality to be a crime.

The heat of the country is most excessive, and the inhabitants on that account go naked. There is no rain excepting in the months of June, July, and August, and if it was not for the coolness imparted to the air during these three months by the rain, it would be impossible to support life.

In this country there are many experts in the science of physiognomy, which teaches the knowledge of the nature and qualities of men, and whether they tend to good or evil. These qualities are immediately recognized upon the appearance of the man or woman. They also know what events are to be expected by meeting certain beasts or birds.

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More attention is paid by these people to the flight of birds than by any others in the world, and from thence they predict good or bad fortune. In every day of the week there is one hour which they regard as unlucky, and in these hours they do not make purchases, nor transact any kind of business, being persuaded that it would not be attended with success. They judge of the hour of the day by the length of a man's shadow when he stands erect.

When an infant is born, be it a boy or a girl, the father or the mother makes a memorandum in writing of the day of the week on which the birth took place; also of the age of the moon, the name of the month, and the hour. This is done because every future act of their lives is regulated by astrology.

As soon as a son attains the age of thirteen years, they set him at liberty, and no longer suffer him to be an inmate in his father's house; giving him to the amount, in their money, of twenty to twenty-four groats. Thus provided, they consider him as capable of gaining his own livelihood, by engaging in some kind of trade and thence deriving a profit. These boys never cease to run about in all directions during the whole course of the day, buying an article in one place, and selling it in another. At the season when the pearl fishery is going on, they frequent the beach, and make purchases from the fishermen or others, of five, six, or more small pearls, according to their means, carrying them afterwards to the merchants, who, on account of the heat of the sun, remain sitting in their houses, and to whom they say: "These pearls have cost us so much; pray allow such a profit on them as you may judge reasonable." The merchants then give something beyond the price at which they had been obtained. In this manner they deal in many other articles, and become excellent and most acute traders.

When business is over for the day, they carry to their mothers their food to be cooked and served, but they never eat anything at their father's expense.

Not only in this kingdom, but throughout India in general, all the beasts and birds are unlike those of our own country, excepting the quails, which perfectly resemble ours.

There are bats* as large as vultures, and vultures as black as crows, and much larger than ours. Their flight is rapid, and they do not fail to seize their prey. [* Pteropus (suborder Yinpterochiroptera) is a genus of megabats which are among the largest bats in the world. They are commonly known as flying foxes. They eat fruits and insects and live in the South Asia, Southeast Asia, Australia, East Africa, and some oceanic islands in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. There are at least 60 extant species in the genus.]

In their temples there are many idols, the forms of which represent them of the male and the female sex; and to these, fathers and mothers dedicate their daughters. Having been so dedicated, they are expected to attend whenever the priests of the convent require them to contribute to the gratification of the idol. On such occasions they repair thither, singing and playing on instruments, and adding by their presence to the festivity. These young women are very numerous, and form large bands. Several times in the week they carry an offering of food to the idol to whose service they are devoted, and of this food they say the idol partakes. A table for the purpose is placed before it, and upon this the dishes remain for the space of a full hour, during which damsels never cease to sing, and play, and exhibit wanton gestures. This lasts as long as a person of condition would require for making a convenient meal.

They then declare that the spirit of the idol is content with its share of the entertainment provided, and, ranging themselves around it, they proceed to eat in their turn. This they perform several times every year until they are married.

The reason given for assembling the young women, and performing the ceremonies that have been described, is this:—The priests declare that the god is out of humour with and incensed against the goddess, refusing to have connexion or even to converse with her; and that if some measure were not adopted to restore peace and harmony between them, all the concerns of the monastery would go to ruin, as the grace and blessing of the divinities would be withheld from them. For this purpose it is, they expect the girls to appear in a state of nudity, with only a cloth round their waists, to chaunt hymns to the god and goddess.

These people believe that the god often comforts himself with the society of the goddess.

The natives make use of a kind of bedstead, or cot, of very light cane-work, so ingeniously contrived that when they repose on them, and are inclined to sleep, they can draw close the curtains about them by pulling a string. This they do in order to exclude the tarantulas, which bite grievously, as well as to prevent their being annoyed by fleas and other small vermin; whilst at the same time the air, so necessary for mitigating the excessive heat, is not excluded. Indulgences of this nature, however, are enjoyed only by persons of rank and fortune; others of the inferior class lie in, the open streets.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 18

OF THE PLACE WHERE LIETH THE HOLY BODY OF ST. THOMAS <• AND THE MIRACLES THEREOF

In this province of Maabar is the body of the glorious martyr, Saint Thomas the Apostle, who there suffered martyrdom.

It rests in a small city [near Madras] not frequented by many merchants, because it is a place not very accessible. A vast number both of Christians and Saracens resort thither. The latter regard him as a great Saint, and name him Ananias, signifying a "Holy Man."

The Christians who perform this pilgrimage collect earth from the spot where he was slain, which is of a red colour, and reverentially carry it away with them; often employing it afterwards in the performance of miracles, and giving it, when diluted with water, to the sick, by which many disorders are cured.

In the year of our Lord 1288, a powerful baron of the country, who at the time of gathering the harvest had accumulated a very great quantity of rice, and not having granaries sufficient to deposit it all, thought proper to make use of the religious house belonging to the church of Saint Thomas. This being against the will of those who had charge of it, they beseeched him not to occupy this building given over to the accommodation of pilgrims who came to visit the tomb. But the pagan baron refused to remove the grain. On the following night the Saint appeared to him in a vision, holding in his hand a fork, which he pointed at the throat of the baron, saying to him: "If thou dost not immediately leave my house which thou hast occupied, I shall put thee to a miserable death." Awaking in a violent alarm, the baron instantly gave orders for doing what was required of him, declaring publicly that he had seen the Saint in a vision. A variety of miracles are daily performed there, such as the healing of those who are sick or deformed.

The Christians who have the care of the church possess groves of those trees which produce the Indian nuts, and from these they get their living; paying, as a tax to one of the royal brothers, a groat monthly for each tree.

It is related that the death of this most holy Saint took place in the following manner. Having retired to a hermitage, where he was engaged in prayer, and being surrounded by a number of pea-fowls, with which bird the country abounds, an idolater of the tribe of the Gaui, before described, who happened to be passing that way, and did not perceive the holy man, shot an arrow at a peacock, which struck the Saint in the side. Finding himself wounded, he had time only to thank the Lord for all his mercies, and into His hands he resigned his spirit.

In this province the natives, although black, are not born of so deep a dye as they afterwards attain by artificial means, esteeming blackness the perfection of beauty. For this purpose, three times every day, they rub the children over with oil of sesame. The images of their deities they represent black, but the devil they paint white, and assert that all the demons are of that colour. Those amongst them who pay adoration to the ox, take with them, when they go to battle, some of the hair of a wild bull, which they attach to the manes of their horses, believing its virtue to be such, that every one who carries it about with him is secure from all kind of danger. On this account the hair of the wild bull ekills for a high price in these countries.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 19

OF THE KINGDOM OF MURPHILI OR MONSUL

The kingdom of Murphili is that which you enter upon leaving the kingdom of Maabar, after proceeding five hundred miles in a northerly direction. Its inhabitants worship idols, and are independent of any other state. They subsist upon rice, flesh, fish, and fruits.

In the mountains of this kingdom it is that diamonds are found. During the rainy season the water descends in violent torrents amongst the rocks and caverns, and when these have subsided the people go to search for diamonds in the beds of the rivers, where they find many. Messer Marco was told that in the summer, when the heat is excessive and there is no rain, they ascend the mountains with great fatigue, as well as with considerable danger from the number of snakes with which they are infested. Near the summit, it is said, there are deep valleys, full of caverns and surrounded by precipices, amongst which the diamonds are found; and here many eagles and white storks, attracted by the snakes on which they feed, are accustomed to make their nests. The persons who are in quest of the diamonds take their stand near the mouths of the caverns, and from thence cast down several pieces of flesh, which the eagles and storks pursue into the valley, and carry off with them to the tops of the rocks. The men immediately ascend, drive the birds away, and recovering the pieces of meat, frequently find diamonds sticking to them. Should the eagles have had time to devour the flesh, they watch the place of their roosting at night, and in the morning find the stones amongst the dung and filth that drops from them.* But you must not suppose that the good diamonds come among Christians, for they are carried to the Great Khan, and to the kings and chiefs of that country. [* This story is told by Sindbad the Sailor in the Arabian Nights, and is also found with variations in Chinese and other Eastern literatures. Henri Cordier, in Yule's Ser Marco Polo, says that the earliest record of this legend concerns the twelve jewels in the breastplate of the high Hebrew Priest.]

In this country they manufacture the finest cottons that are to be met with in any part of India. They have cattle enough, and the largest sheep in the world, and plenty of all kinds of food.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 20

OF THE PROVINCE OF LAC — LOAC — OR LAR

Leaving the place where rests the body of the glorious Saint Thomas, and proceeding westward, you enter the province of Lar, from whence the Bramins, who are spread over India, derive their origin.

These are the best and most honourable merchants that can be found. No consideration whatever can induce them to speak an untruth, even though their lives should depend upon it. They have also a hatred for cheating or of taking the goods of other persons. They are likewise remarkable for the virtue of being satisfied with the possession of one wife. When any foreign merchant, unacquainted with the usages of the country, introduces himself to one of these, and commits to his hands the care of his merchandise, this Bramin [Hindu] undertakes the management of it, disposes of the goods, and renders a faithful account of the proceeds, attending scrupulously to the interests of the stranger, and not demanding any recompense for his trouble. The owner, however, grants him a profit of what he pleases to bestow.

They eat meat, and drink the wine of the country. They do not, however, kill any animal themselves, but get it done by the Mohammedans. The Bramins are distinguished by a certain badge, consisting of a thick cotton cord, which passes over the shoulder and is tied under the arm, in such a manner that the thread appears upon the breast and behind the back.

The king is extremely rich and powerful, and has much delight in the possession of pearls and valuable stones.

When the traders from Maabar present to him such as are of superior beauty, he trusts to their word with respect to the estimation of their value, and gives them double the sum that each is declared to have cost them. Under these circumstances, he has the offer of many fine jewels.

The people are gross idolaters, and pay great attention to signs and omens. When they are about to make a purchase of goods, they immediately observe the shadow cast by their own bodies in the sunshine, and if the shadow be as large as it should be, they make the purchase that day.

Moreover, when they are in any shop for the purpose of buying anything, if they see a tarantula, of which there are many, they take notice from which side it comes, and regulate their business accordingly. Again when they are going out of their houses, if they hear any one sneeze, they return into the house, and stay at home.

They are very abstemious in regard to eating, and live to an advanced age. Their teeth are preserved sound by the use of a certain vegetable which they are in the habit of masticating. It also promotes digestion, and conduces generally to the health of the body.

Amongst the natives of this region there is a class peculiarly devoted to a religious life, who are named Chughi [Jogi], and who in honour of their divinities lead most austere lives. They go perfectly naked, not concealing any part of their bodies, and say there can be no shame in that state of nudity in which they came into the world.

With respect to what are called the parts of shame, they observe that, not being conscious of the sins of the flesh, they have no reason to blush at their exposure.

They pay adoration to the ox, and carry a small figure of one, of gilt brass or other metal, attached to their foreheads.

They also burn the bones of oxen, reduce them to powder, and with this make an ointment for the purpose of marking various parts of the body, which they do in a reverential manner. If they meet a person with whom they are upon cordial terms, they smear the centre of his forehead with some of these prepared ashes.

They do not deprive any creature of life, not even a fly, a flea, or a louse, believing them to be possessed with souls; and to feed upon any animal they would consider as a heinous sin. They even abstain from eating vegetables, herbs, or root, until they have become dry, holding the opinion that these also have souls. They make no use of spoons nor of plates, but spread their food upon the dried leaves of the Adam's apple, called likewise apples of paradise.

They live to a great age, some of them even to a hundred and fifty years, enjoying health and vigour, although they sleep upon the bare earth. This must be attributed to their temperance and chastity. When they die, their bodies are burned, in order that they might not breed worms, who in time would die, and the spirit of the body would bear the sin of their death.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 21

OF THE CITY OF KAEL

Kael is a considerable city, governed by Astiar, one of the four brothers, kings of the country of Maabar, who is rich in

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gold and jewels, and preserves his country in a state of profound peace. On this account it is a favourite place of resort for foreign merchants, who are well received and treated by the king. Accordingly all the ships coming from the west—as from Ormus, Chisti, Aden, and various parts of Arabia—laden with merchandise and horses, make this port, which is besides well situated for commerce. The prince maintains in the most splendid manner not fewer than three hundred women.

All the people of this city, as well as the natives of India in general, are addicted to the custom of having continually in their mouths the leaf called tembul; which they do, partly from habit, and partly from the gratification it affords. Upon chewing it, they spit out the saliva to which it gives occasion. Persons of rank have the leaf prepared with camphor and other aromatic drugs, and also with a mixture of quick-lime. I have been told that it is extremely conducive to health. If it is an object with any man to insult another in the grossest and most contemptuous manner, he spits the juice of this masticated leaf in his face. Thus insulted, the injured party hastens to the presence of the king, states the circumstances of his grievance, and declares his willingness to decide the quarrel by combat. The king thereupon furnishes them with arms, consisting of a sword and small shield; and all the people assemble fo be spectators of the conflict, which lasts till one of them remains dead on the field. They are, however, forbidden to wound with the point of the sword.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 22
OF THE KINGDOM OF KOVLAM

Upon leaving Maabar and proceeding five hundred miles towards the south-west, you arrive at the kingdom of Koulam. It is the residence of many Christians and Jews, who retain their proper language. The king is not tributary to any other.

Much good dye-wood grows there, and pepper in great abundance, being found both in the woody and the open parts of the country. It is gathered in the months of May, June, and July; and the vines which produce it are cultivated in plantations. Indigo also, of excellent quality and in large quantities, is made here. They procure it from a certain herb, which is taken up by the roots and put into tubs of water, where it is suffered to remain till it rots; when they press out the juice. This, upon being exposed to the sun, and evaporated, leaves a kind of paste, which is cut into small pieces of the form in which we see it.

The heat during some months is so violent as to be scarcely endured, yet merchants come here from various parts of the world, such, for instance, as the kingdom of Manji and Arabia, attracted by the great profits they obtain both upon the merchandise they import, and upon their returning cargoes.

Many of the animals found here are different from those of other parts. There are tigers entirely black; and various birds of the parrot kind, some of them as white as snow, with the feet and the beak red. Other birds have a mixture of red and azure, and still others of a diminutive size.

The peacocks also are handsomer and larger than ours, as well as of a different form, and even the domestic fowls have a peculiar appearance. The same observation will apply to the fruits. The cause of such diversity, it is said, is the intense heat that prevails in these regions.

Wine is made from the sugar yielded by a species of palm. It is extremely good, and inebriates faster than the wine made from grapes. The inhabitants possess abundance of everything necessary for the food of man excepting grain, of which there is no other kind than rice; but of this the quantity is very great. Among them are many astrologers and physicians, well versed in their art.

All the people, both male and female, are black, and, with the exception of a small piece of cloth attached to the front of their bodies, they go quite naked. Their manners are extremely sensual, and they take as wives their relations by blood, their cousins, and the widows of their deceased brothers. But this, as I have been informed, is the state of morals in every part of India.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 23
OF KOMAKI

Komari [Cape Comorin] is a province where a part of our northern constellation, invisible at Java, and to within about thirty miles of this place, may be just seen, and where it appears to be the height of a cubit above the horizon.

The country is not much cultivated, being chiefly covered with forests, which are the abode of a variety of beasts, especially apes, so formed, and of such a size, as to have the appearance of men. There are also long-tailed monkeys, very different from the former in respect to magnitude. Tigers, leopards, and lynxes, abound.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 24
OF THE KINGDOM OF DELY

Leaving the province of Komari, and proceeding westward three hundred miles, you reach the kingdom of Dely [Delhi], which has its proper king and peculiar language. It does not pay tribute to any other state. The people worship idols. There is no harbour for shipping, but a large river with a safe entrance.

The strength of the country does not consist in the multitude of its inhabitants, nor in their bravery, but in the difficulty of the passes by which it must be approached, and which render its invasion by an enemy nearly impossible.

It produces large quantities of pepper and ginger, with many other articles of spicery. Should a vessel be accidentally driven within the mouth of its river, not having intended to make that port, they seize and confiscate all the goods she may have on board, saying: "It was your intention to have gone elsewhere, but our gods have conducted you to us, in order that we may possess your property."

The ships from Manji arrive here before the expiration of the fine-weather season, and endeavour to get their cargoes shipped in the course of a week, or a shorter time if possible, because of sand-banks along the coast, which often prove dangerous, however well provided they may be with large wooden [iron-wood] anchors calculated for holding against hard gales of wind. The country is infested with tigers, and many other ferocious animals,

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 25
OF MALABAR

Malabar is an extensive kingdom of the Greater India, situated towards the west, concerning which I must not omit to relate some particulars. The people are governed by their own king, who is independent of every other state, and they have their proper language.

In this country the north star is seen about two fathoms above the horizon. Here as in the kingdom of Guzzerat, which is not far distant, there are numerous pirates, who yearly scour these seas with more than one hundred small vessels, seizing and plundering all the merchant ships that pass that way. They take with them to sea their wives and children of all ages, who continue to accompany them during the whole of the summer's cruise. In order that no ships may escape them, they anchor their vessels at the distance of five miles from each other; twenty ships occupy a space of a hundred miles. Upon a trader's appearing in sight of one of them, a signal is made by fire or by smoke; when they all draw closer together, and capture the vessel as she attempts to pass. No injury is done to the crew, but as soon as they have made prize of the ship, they turn them on shore, recommending to them to provide themselves with another cargo, which, in case of their passing that way again, may be the means of enriching their captors a second time.

In this kingdom there is vast abundance of pepper, ginger, cinnamon, and Indian nuts. The finest and most beautiful cottons are manufactured that can be found in any part of the world.

The ships from Manji bring copper as ballast. Besidesi this they bring gold brocades, silks* gauzes, gold and silver bullion, together with many kind of drugs not produced in Malabar, and these they barter for the commodities of the province. There are merchants on the spot who ship the former for Aden, from whence they are transported to Alexandria.

Having now spoken of the kingdom of Malabar, we shall proceed to describe that of Guzzerat, which borders on it. Should we attempt to treat of all the cities of India, the account would be too long, and prove tiresome.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 26
OF THE KINGDOM OF GUZZERAT

The kingdom of Guzzerat [Gujarat], which is bounded on the western side by the Indian Sea, is governed by its own king, and has its peculiar language. The north star appears from hence to have six fathoms of altitude.

This country affords harbour to pirates of the most desperate character. When in their cruises they seize upon a travelling merchant they immediately oblige him to drink a dose of sea-water which produces violent purging. In this way they discover whether he has swallowed pearls or jewels.

Here there is great abundance of ginger, pepper, and indigo. Cotton is produced in large quantities from a tree that is about six yards in height, and bears during twenty years; but the cotton taken from trees of that age is not adapted for spinning, but only for quilting. Such, on the contrary, as is taken from trees of twelve years old, is suitable for muslins and other manufactures of extraordinary fineness.

Great numbers of skins of goats, buffaloes, wild oxen, rhinoceroses, and other beasts are dressed ^ere, and vessels are loaded with them, and bound to different parts of Arabia. Coverlets for beds are made of red and blue leather, extremely delicate and soft, and stitched with gold and silver thread, upon these the Mohammedans are accustomed to repose. Cushions also, ornamented with gold wire in the form of birds and beasts, are the manufacture of this place; and in some instances their value is so high as six marks of silver. Embroidery is here performed with more delicacy than in any other part of the world. Proceeding further, we shall now speak of the kingdom named Kanan.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 27
OF THE KINGDOM OF KANAN

Kanan [Bombay] is a large and noble kingdom, situated towards the west. We say towards the west, because Messer Marco's journey being from the eastern side, he speaks of the countries in the direction in which he found them.

It is governed by a prince, who does not pay tribute to any other. The people are idolaters [Buddhists.] and have a peculiar language [Vocabulary.]. Neither pepper nor ginger grows here, but the country produces a sort of incense, in large quantities, which is not white, but on the contrary of a dark colour.

Many ships frequent the place in order to load this drug, as well as a variety of other articles. They likewise take on board a number of horses, to be carried for sale to different parts of India.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 28
CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF KAMBAIA

Kambaia [Cambay] is an extensive kingdom, situated towards the west, governed by its own king, who pays no tribute to any other, and having its prooer language. The people are idolaters. In this country the north star is seen still higher than in any of the preceding, in consequence of its lying further to the north-west.

The trade carried on is very considerable, and a great quantity of indigo is manufactured. There is abundance of cotton cloth, as well as of cotton in the wool. Many skins well dressed are exported from hence, and the returns are received in gold, silver, copper, and tutty [zinc]. There not being anything else deserving of notice, I shall proceed to speak of the kingdom of Servenath.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 29
OF THE KINGDOM OF SERVENATH

Servenath, likewise, is a kingdom lying towards the west, the inhabitants of which are idolaters, are governed by a king who pays no tribute, have their peculiar language, and are a well-disposed people.

They gain their living by commerce and manufactures, and the place is frequented by a number of merchants, who carry thither their articles of merchandise, and take away those of the country in return. I was informed, however, that the priests who serve in the temples of the idols are the most cruel in the world. We shall now proceed to speak of the kingdom named Kesmacoran.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 30
OF THE KINGDOM OF KESMACORAN

This is an extensive country, having its proper king and its peculiar language. Some of the inhabitants are idolaters, but the greater part are Saracens {Muslims].

They subsist by trade and manufactures. Their food is rice and wheat, together with flesh and milk, which they have in abundance. Many merchants come here, both by sea and land.

This is the last province of the Greater India, as you proceed to the north-west; for, as it begins at Maabar [Malabar], so it terminates here. In describing it, we have noticed only the provinces and cities that lie upon the sea-coast; for were we to deal with those situated in the interior, it would render our work too long.

We shall now speak of some of the Indian Islands. One of them is termed the Island of Males, and the other, the Island of Females.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 31
OF THE ISLANDS OF MALES AND OF FEMALES — AND WHY THEY ARE SO CALLED

Distant from Kesmacoran about five hundred miles toward the south, in the ocean, there are two islands within about thirty miles from each other. One of these is inhabited by men, without the company of women, and is called the Island of Males j and the other by women, without men, which is called the Island of Females.

The inhabitants of both are of the same race, and are baptised Christians, but hold the law of the Old Testament.

The men visit the Island of Females, and remain with them for three successive months, namely, March, April, and May, each man occupying a separate habitation along with his wife. They then return to the male island, where they live the rest of the year, without the society of any female.

The wives retain their sons with them until they are of the age of twelve years, when they are sent to join their fathers. The daughters they keep at home until they become marriageable, and then they bestow them upon some of the men of the other island. This mode of living is occasioned by the peculiar nature of the climate, which does not allow of their remaining all the year with their wives, unless at the risk of sacrifice. They have their bishop, who is subordinate to the see of the island of Soccotera.

The men provide for the subsistence of their wives by sowing the grain, but the latter prepare the soil and gather in the harvest. The island likewise produces a variety of fruits.

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The men live upon milk, flesh, rice, and fish, of which they catch an immense quantity, being expert fishermen.

Both when fresh taken and when salted, the fish are sold to the traders of the island, but whose principal object is to purchase ambergris, which is collected there.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 32

OF THE ISLAND OF SOCCOTERA

Upon leaving these islands, and proceeding five hundred miles in a southerly direction, you reach the island of Soccotera*, which is very large, and abounds with the necessaries of life. [* Socotra (Arabic: Suqutra) is an island east of the Horn of Africa. It lies between the Guardafui Channel and the Indian Ocean.] The inhabitants find much ambergris upon their coasts, which comes from the entrails of whales.

Being an article of merchandise in great demand, they make it a business to take these fishj and this they do by means of a barbed iron, which they strike into the whale so firmly that it cannot be drawn out. To the iron harpoon a long line is fastened, with a buoy at the end, for the purpose of discovering the place where the fish, when dead, is to be found. They then drag it to the shore, and proceed to extract the ambergris from its belly, whilst from its head they procure several casks of oil.*

[* "It will have been seen that the Heidelburg Tun of the Sperm Whale embraces the entire length of the entire top of the head . . . attend now, I pray you, to that marvellous and—almost fatal operation whereby the Sperm Whale's greal Heidelburg Tun is tapped. . . . In this business he proceeds very needfully, like a treasure-hunter in some old house, sounding the walls to find where the gold is masoned in. . . . A large whale's case generally yields about five hundred gallons of sperm." Moby Dick.]

All the people, both male and female, go nearly naked, having only a scanty covering before and behind, like the idolaters who have been described. They have no other grain than rice, upon which, with flesh and milk, they subsist.

Their religion is Christianity, and they are duly baptised, and are under the government, as well temporal as spiritual, of an archbishop, who is not in subjection to the Pope of Rome, but to a patriarch who resides in the city of Baghdad, by whom he is appointed. Or sometimes he is elected by the people themselves, and their choice is confirmed.

Many pirates resort to this island with the goods they have captured, and which the natives purchase of them without any scruple, justifying themselves on the ground of their being plundered from heathens and Saracens. All ships bound to the province of Aden touch here, and make large purchases of fish and of ambergris, as well as of various kinds of woven cotton goods manufactured on this island.

The inhabitants deal more in sorcery and witchcraft than any other people, although forbidden by their archbishop, who excommunicates them for the sin. Of this, however, they take little account. If any vessel belonging to a pirate should injure one of theirs, they do not fail to lay him under a spell, so that he cannot proceed on his cruise until he has repaid the damage. Even should he have had a fair and leading wind, they have the power of causing it to change, and obliging him, in spite of himself, to return to the island.

They can, in like manner, cause the sea to become calm, and at their will can raise tempests, occasion shipwrecks, and produce many other extraordinary effects, that need not be mentioned. We shall now speak of the island of Madagascar.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 33

OF THE GREAT ISLAND OF MADAGASCAR

Leaving the island of Soccotera, and steering a course between south and south-west for a thousand miles, you arrive at the great island of Madagascar, which is one of the largest and most fertile in the world. In circuit it is three thousand miles.

The inhabitants are Saracens [Muslims], or followers of the law of Mohammed. They have four sheikhs, which in our language may be expressed by "elders," who divide the government amongst them. The people subsist by trade and manufacture, and sell a vast number of elephants' teeth, as those animals abound in the country, as they do also in that of Zenzibar, from whence the exportation is equally great.

The principal food eaten at all seasons of the year is the flesh of camels. Flesh of other cattle serves also for food, but the former is preferred, as being both the most wholesome and the most palatable of any to be found in this part of the world.

The woods contain many trees of red sandal, and, in proportion to the plenty in which it is found, the price of it is low. There is also much ambergris from the whales, and as the tide throws it on the coast, it is collected for sale.

The natives catch lynxes, tigers, and a variety of other animals, such as stags, antelopes, and fallow deer, which afford much sport; as do also birds, which are different from those of our climates.

The island is visited by many ships from various parts of the world, bringing assortments of goods consisting of brocades and silks of various patterns, which are sold to the merchants of the island, or bartered for goods in return.

They make large profits. Ships do not visit other numerous islands lying further south; this and the island of Zenzibar alone being frequented.

This is because of the sea current that runs with such force towards the south that it renders their return impossible. The vessels that sail from the coast of Malabar for this island, perform the voyage in twenty or twentyfive days, but in their returning voyage are obliged to struggle for three months; so strong is the current of water, which constantly runs to the southward.

The people of the island report that at a certain season of the year, an extraordinary kind of bird*, which they call a rukh, makes its appearance from the southern region. In form it is said to resemble the eagle, but it is incomparably greater in size; being so large and strong as to seize an elephant with its talons, and to lift it into the air, in order to drop it to the ground and in this way kill it. When dead the bird feasts upon the carcase.

Persons who have seen this bird assert that when the wings are spread they measure sixteen paces in extent, from point to point; and that the feathers are eight paces in length, and thick in proportion.

Messer Marco Polo, conceiving that these creatures might be griffins, such as are represented in paintings, half birds and half lions, particularly questioned those who reported their having seen them as to this point; but they maintained that their shape was altogether that of birds, or, as it might be said, of the eagle.

[* Aepyornis or elephant bird, which was a giant, flightless ratite (Emu and Kiwi bird) native to Madagascar, has probably been extinct since the 11th century. Aepyornis was one of the world's largest birds, to have been up to 3 metres (9.8 ft) tall [Davies, S.J.J.F.,2003. Elephant birds (Aepyornithidae).], with weights in the range 210–340 kilograms (460–750 lb) for Aepyornis Hildebrandti and 330–540 kilograms (730–1,200 lb) for Aepyornis Maximus. Remains of Aepyornis adults and eggs have been found; in some cases the eggs have a length up to 13 in (34 cm). Polo was obviously quoting from a Chinese book that was written before the 11th century AD.]

The Great Khan having heard this extraordinary relation, sent messengers to the island, on the pretext of demanding the release of one of his servants who had been detained there, but in reality to examine into the circumstances of the country, and the truth of the wonderful things told of it. When they returned to the presence of his Majesty, they brought with them, so I have heard, a feather of the rukh, positively affirmed to have measured ninety spans, and the quill part to have been two palms in circumference. This surprising exhibition afforded his Majesty extreme pleasure, and upon those by whom it was presented he bestowed valuable gifts.

They were also the bearers of the tusk of a wild boar, an animal that grows to the size of a buffalo, and it was found to weigh fourteen pounds. The island contains likewise giraffes, asses, and other wild animals, very different from these of our country. Having said what was necessary on this subject, we shall now proceed to speak of Zenzibar.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 34

OF THE ISLAND OF ZENZIBAR

Beyond the island of Madagascar [when one comes across the Indian Ocean from the east just as the Austronesians have done.] lies that of Zenzibar*, which is reported to be in circuit two thousand miles. The inhabitants worship idols, have their own peculiar language, and do not pay tribute to any foreign power. They are large in stature, but their height is not proportioned to the bulk of their bodies. Were it otherwise, they would appear gigantic.

They are, however, strongly made, and one of them is capable of carrying what would be a load for four of our people. At the same time, he would require as much food as five. They are black, and go naked, covering only the private parts of the body with a cloth. Their hair is so crisp, that even when dipped in water it can with difficulty be drawn out. They have large mouths, their noses turn up towards the forehead, their ears are long, and their eyes so large and frightful, that they have the aspect of demons. The women are equally ill-favoured, having wide mouths, thick noses, and large eyes. Their hands, and also their heads, are large and out of proportion.

There are in this island the most ill-favoured women in the world. Their large mouths and thick noses, and ill-favoured breasts are four times as large as those of other women. They feed on flesh, milk, rice, and dates.

They have no grape vines, but make a sort of wine from rice and sugar, with the addition of some spicy drugs, very pleasant to the taste, and having the intoxicating quality of the other.

In this island elephants are found in vast numbers, and their teeth [tusks] form an important article of trade.

In this country is found also the giraffe, which is a handsome beast. The body is well-proportioned, the fore-legs long and high, the hind-legs short, the neck very long, the head small, and in its manners it is gentle. Its prevailing colour is light, with circular reddish spots. Its neck, including the head, is three paces.

The sheep of the country are different from ours, being all white excepting their heads, which are black; and this also is the colour of the dogs. The animals in general have a different appearance from ours.

Many trading ships visit the place, which barter the goods they bring for elephants' teeth and ambergris, of which much is found on the coasts of the island, in consequence of the sea abounding with whales.

The chiefs of the island are sometimes engaged in warfare with each other, and, their people display much bravery in battle and contempt of death. They have no horses, but fight upon elephants and camels. Upon the backs of the former they place castles, capable of containing from fifteen to twenty men, armed with swords, lances, and stones, with which weapons they fight. Previously to the combat they give draughts of wine to their elephants, supposing that it renders them more spirited and more furious in the assault.

[* Zanzibar is an Islamic archipelago in the Indian Ocean, 16–31 mi (25–50 km) off the coast of Tanzania. The major islands of Unguja and Pemba in the Indian Ocean. A Greek-Roman book "The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea" from the 1st century AD mentions the island of Unguja (Greek: Menuthias). It is known that the Austronesians from Indonesia reached Madagascar and Zanzibar in their fast Catamarans by the 1st or 2nd century AD. The name Zanzibar derives from the Austronesian word jenggi and means African people; however Zanji means in Arabic the "country of the blacks or slaves." According to British estimations (Tidiane N'Diaye, 2008, p. 221.), between 1830 and 1873, circa 600 000 African slaves were sold by Muslim slave traders in Zanzibar alone. In the 1410s arrived the Chinese admiral Zheng He and his fleet in the archipelago and the eastern African coast. The Portuguese arrived in East Africa in 1498, where they found several independent towns on the coast, with Muslim Arabic-speaking elites who have arrived in about the 10th century. Portugal maintained control for nearly 200 years. In 1698 the islands fell to the Sultanate of Oman, whose reach extended along the mainland coast of East Africa. During 130 years of Omani control and subsequent rule by one line of the Sultanate, Zanzibar's wealth concentrated in the hands of the small Islamic Arab community. While there was little mixing among Arabs and Africans, causing ethnic tensions up to this very day. The centre of the Islamic east African slave trade (See: The Manual of Sharia Law.) in Zanzibar came to an end in 1822 when the British consul in Muscat put pressure on Sultan Said. During Zanzibar's brief period of independence in the early 1960s, the major political cleavage was between the Shirazi (Zanzibar Africans), who made up approximately 56% of the population, and the Zanzibar Arabs, who made up approximately 17%. The rest are Indians and Persians. Islam has subjugated the entire population to a saturation of 99%.]

In treating of the provinces of India, I have described only the principal and most celebrated; and the same has been done with respect to the islands, the number of which is quite incredible. I have heard, indeed, from mariners and eminent pilots of these countries, and have seen in the writings of those who have navigated the Indian seas, that they amount to no fewer than twelve thousand seven hundred, including the uninhabited with the inhabited islands.

The division termed the Greater India extends from Maabar [Malabar] to Kesmacoran, and comprehends thirteen large kingdoms, of which we have enumerated ten. The Lesser India commences at Ziampa, and extends to Murfili, comprehending eight kingdoms, exclusive of those in the islands, which are very numerous. We shall now speak of the Second or Middle India, which is called Abascia.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 35

TREATING OF THE GREAT PROVINCE NAMED ABASCIA — OR MIDDLE INDIA

Abascia [Abyssinia, meaning Ethiopia and Eritrea] is an extensive country, termed the Middle or Second India [For it has continueing trade routes with India across the Indian Ocean since the times of the pharaos.]. Its principal king is a Christian.

Of the others, who are six in number, and tributary to the first, three are Christians and three are Saracens [Muslims].

I was informed that the Christians of these parts, in order to be distinguished as such, make three signs or marks, namely, one on the forehead, and one on each cheek, which are imprinted with a hot iron. This may be considered as a second baptism with fire, after the baptism with water.

The Saracens have only one mark, which is on the forehead, and reaches to the middle of the nose. The Jews, who are likewise numerous here, have two marks, and these upon the cheeks.

The capital of the principal Christian king is in the interior of the country. The dominions of the Saracen princes lie towards the province of Aden. The conversion of these people

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to the Christian faith was the work of the glorious apostle, St. Thomas, who having preached the gospel in the kingdom of Nubia, and converted its inhabitants, afterwards visited Abascia, and there, by the influence of his discourses and the performance of miracles, produced the same effect. He subsequently went to abide in the province of Maabar [Malabar, Kerala, the southwest of India.], where, after converting an infinite number of persons, he received, as we have already mentioned, the crown of martyrdom, and was buried on the spot.

These people of Abascia are brave and good warriors, being constantly engaged in hostility with the Soldan [Sultan.] of Aden, the people of Nubia, and many others whose countries border upon theirs. In consequence of this unceasing practice in arms, they are accounted the best soldiers in this part of the world.

In the year 1288, as I was informed, this great Abyssinian prince adopted the resolution of visiting in person the holy sepulchre of Christ in Jerusalem, a pilgrimage that is every year performed by vast numbers of his subjects. He was, however, dissuaded from it by the officers of his government, who represented to him the dangers to which he would be exposed in passing through so many places belonging to the Saracens, his enemies. He then determined upon sending a bishop as his representative, a man of high reputation for sanctity, who, upon his arrival at Jerusalem, recited the prayers and made the offerings which the king had directed. Returning, however, through the dominions of the Soldan [Sultan] of Aden, the latter caused him to be brought into his presence, and endeavoured to persuade him to become a Mohammedan. Upon his refusing to abandon the Christian faith, the Soldan, making light of the resentment of the Abyssinian monarch, caused him to be circumcised, and then suffered him to depart. Upon his arrival, and making a report of the indignity and violence to which he had been subjected, the king immediately gave orders for assembling an army, at the head of which he marched, for the purpose of exterminating the Soldan. The Soldan [Sultan.], on his part, called to his assistance two Mohammedan princes, his neighbours, by whom he was joined with a very large force. In the conflict that ensued, the Abyssinian king was victorious, and having taken the city of Aden, he gave it up to pillage, in revenge for the insult his bishop had sustained.

The inhabitants of this kingdom live upon wheat, rice, flesh, and milk. They extract oil from sesame, and have abundance of all sorts of provisions. In the country there are elephants, lions, giraffes, and a variety of other animals, such as wild asses, and monkeys that have the resemblance of men, together with many birds, wild and domestic. It is extremely rich in gold, and much frequented by merchants, who obtain large profits. We shall now speak of the province of Aden.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 36
OF THE PROVINCE OF ADEN

The province of Aden is governed by a king, who bears the title of Soldan [Sultan]. The inhabitants are all Saracens, and utterly detest the Christians. In this kingdom there are many towns and castles, and it has the advantage of an excellent port, frequented by ships arriving from India with spices and drugs. The merchants who purchase them with the intention of conveying them to Alexandria, unlade them from the ships in which they are imported, and distribute the cargoes on board of other smaller vessels or barks. With these they navigate a gulf of the sea for twenty days, more or less, according to the weather they experience.

Having reached their port, they then load their goods upon the backs of camels, and transport them overland, thirty days' journey, to the river Nile. Here they are again put into small vessels, called jerms, in which they are conveyed by the stream of that river to Kairo, and from thence, by an artificial canal, named Kalizene, at length to Alexandria.

This is the least difficult, and the shortest route the merchants can take with their goods, the produce of India, from Aden to that city. In this port of Aden, likewise, the merchants ship a great number of Arabian horses, which they carry for sale to all the kingdoms and islands of India, obtaining high prices for them, and making large profits.

The Soldan [Sultan.] of Aden possesses immense treasures, arising from the taxes he lays, both on the merchandise that comes from India, and that which is shipped in his port as the returning cargo, this being the most considerable mart in all that quarter for the exchange of commodities, and the place to which all trading vessels resort.

I was informed that when the Soldan of Babylon led his army the first time against the city of Acre, and took it, this city of Aden assisted him with thirty thousand horses and forty thousand camels. So great is the hate borne against the Christians. We shall now speak of the city of Escier.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 37
OF THE CITY OF ESCIER

The ruler of this city Escier [Shehr, Arabia] is a Mohammedan, who governs it with justice, under the superior authority of the Soldan of Aden.

Its distance from thence is about forty miles to the south-east. Subordinate to it there are many towns and castles. Its port is good, and it is visited by many trading ships from India, which carry back a number of excellent horses, highly esteemed in that country, and sold there at considerable prices.

This district produces a large quantity of white incense of the first quality, which distils, drop by drop, from a certain small tree that resembles the fir. The people occasionally tap the tree, or pare away the bark, and from the incision the frankincense gradually exudes, which afterwards becomes hard. Even when an incision is not made a dripping is perceived to take place, in consequence of the excessive heat of the climate.

There are also many palm-trees, which produce good dates in abundance. No grain excepting rice and millet is cultivated in this country, and it becomes necessary to obtain Supplies from other parts. There is no wine made from grapes j but they prepare a liquor from rice, sugar, and dates, that is a delicious beverage. They have a small breed of sheep, the ears of which are not situated like those in others of the species; two small horns growing in the place of them, and lower down, towards the nose, there are two orifices that serve the purpose of ears.

These people are great fishermen, and catch the tunny in such numbers, that two may be purchased for a Venetian groat. They dry them in the sun, and as by reason of the extreme heat, the country is in a manner burnt up, and no sort of vegetable is to be seen, they accustom their cattle, cows, sheep, camels, and horses, to feed upon dried fish, which being reguarly served to them, they eat without any signs of dislike.

The fish used for this purpose are of a small kind, which they take in vast quantities during the months of March, April, and May; and when dried, they lay up in their houses for the food of their cattle. These will also feed upon the fresh fish, but are more accustomed to eat them in the dried state.

In consequence also of the scarcity of grain, the natives make a kind of biscuit of the substance of the larger fish, in the following manner: they chop it into very small particles, and moisten the preparation with a liquor rendered thick and adhesive by a mixture of flour, which gives to the whole the consistency of paste. This they form into a kind of bread, which they dry and harden by exposure to a burning sun. A stock of this biscuit is laid up to serve them for the year's consumption.

The frankincense before mentioned is so cheap in the country as to be purchased by the governor at the rate of ten gold ducats the quintal, who sells it again to the merchants at forty bezants. This he does under the direction of the Soldan [Sultan.] of Aden, who monopolises all that is produced in the district at the above price, and derives a large profit from the re-sale. Nothing further presenting itself at this place, we shall now speak of the city of Dulfar.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 38
OF THE CITY OF DULFAR

Dulfar is a large and respectable city or town, at the distance of twenty miles from Escier, in a south-easterly direction. Its inhabitants are Mohammedans, and its ruler also is a subject of the Soldan of Aden. This place lies near the sea, and has a good port, frequented by many ships.

Arabian horses are collected here from the inland country, which the merchants buy up and carry to India, where they gain considerably by disposing of them. Frankincense is likewise produced here, and purchased by the merchants. Dulfar has other towns and castles under its jusirdiction.

We shall now speak of the gulf at Kalayati.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 39
OF THE CITY OF KALAYATI

Kalayati is a large town situated near a gulf which has the name of Kalatu, distant from Dulfar, about six hundred miles towards the south-east. The people are followers of the law of Mohammed, and are subject to the Melik of Ormus, who, when he is attacked and hard pressed by another power, has recourse to the protection afforded by this city, which is so strong in itself, and so advantageously situated, that it has never yet been taken by an enemy.

The country around it not yielding any kind of grain. it is imported from other districts. Its harbour is good, and many trading ships arrive there from India, which sell their piece-goods and spices to great advantage, the demand being considerable for the supply of towns and castles lying at a distance from the coast. These likewise carry away freights of horses, which they sell advantageously in India.

The fortress is so situated at the entrance of the gulf of Kalatu, that no vessel can come in or depart without its permission. Occasionally it happens that the Melik of this city, who is under certain engagements with, and is tributary to the king of Kermain, throws off his allegiance in consequence of the latter's imposing some unusual contribution.

Upon his refusing to pay the demand, and an army being sent to compel him, he departs from Ormus, and makes his stand at Kalayati, where he has it in his power to prevent any ship from entering or sailing. By this obstruction of the trade the king of Kermain is deprived of his duties, and being thereby much injured in his revenue, is constrained to end the dispute with the Melik.

The strong castle at this place constitutes, as it were, the key, not only of the gulf, but also of the sea itself, as from thence the ships that pass can at all times be discovered.

The inhabitants in general of this country subsist upon dates and upon fish, either fresh or salted, having constantly a large supply of both; but persons of rank, and those who can afford it, obtain corn for their use from other parts.

Upon leaving Kalayati, and proceeding three hundred miles towards the north-east, you reach the island of Ormus.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 40
OF ORMUS

Upon the island of Ormus there is a handsome and large city, built close to the sea. It is governed by a Melik, which is a title equivalent to that of lord. He has many towns and castles under his authority.

The inhabitants are Saracens [Muslims.], all of them professing the faith of Mohammed [Islam]. The heat that reigns here is extreme but in every house they are provided with ventilators, by means of which they introduce air to the different floors, and into every apartment, at pleasure. Without this resource it would be impossible to live in the place. We shall not say more of this city, as in a former book we have given an account of it, together with Kisi and Kerman.

Having thus treated sufficiently at length of those provinces and cities of the Greater India which are situated near the sea-coast, as well as some of the countries of Ethiopia, termed the Middle India, I shall now, before I bring the work to a conclusion, step back, in order to notice some regions lying towards the north, which I omitted to speak of in the preceding Books.

MARCO POLO BOOK 4
WARS AMONG THE TARTAR PRINCES AND SOME ACCOUNT OF THE NORTHERN COUNTRIES

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 1
OF GREAT TURKEY

In Great Turkey [Central Asia, e.g. Turkmenistan, Usbekistan, Kazakhstan, East Turkestan (Xinjiang), etc.] there is a king called Kaidu, who is the nephew of the Great Khan, for he was son of the son of Zagata'i, who was brother to the Great Khan. He possesses many cities and castles, and is a very great lord. He is Tartar, and his men also are Tartar, and they are good warriors, which is no wonder, for they are all men brought up to war; and I tell you that this Kaidu never gave obedience to the Great Khan, without first making great war.

And you must know that this Great Turkey lies to the north-west when we leave Ormus, by the way already mentioned.

Great Turkey is beyond the river Ion, and stretches out northward to the territory of the Great Khan [southern Mongilia].

This Kaidu has already fought many battles with the people of the Great Khan, and I will relate to you how he came to quarrel with him. You must know for a truth that Kaidu sent word one day to the Great Khan that he wanted his part of what they had obtained by conquest, claiming a part of the province of Cathay and of that of Manji. The Great Khan told him that he was quite willing to give him his share, as he had done to his other sons, if he, on his part, would repair to his court and attend his council as often as he sent for himj and the Great Khan willed further that he should obey him like the others his sons and his barons. On this condition the Great Khan said that he would give him part of their conquest of China.

Kaidu, who distrusted his uncle the Great Khan, rejected this condition, saying that he was willing to yield him obedience in his own country, but that he would not go to his court for he feared he would be put to death. Thus originated the quarrel between the Great Khan and Kaidu, which led to a great war, and there were many great battles between them. And the Great Khan posted an army round the kingdom of Kaidu, to prevent him or his people from committing any injury to his territory or people. But, in spite of all these precautions, Kaidu invaded his territory, and fought many times with the forces sent to oppose him.

Now King Kaidu, by exerting himself, could bring into the field a hundred thousand horsemen, all good men, and well trained to war and battle. And moreover he has with him many barons of the lineage of the emperor, that is of Chinghis Khan, who was the founder of the empire.

We will now proceed to narrate certain battles between Kaidu and the Great Khan's people j but first we will describe their mode of fighting. When they go to war, each is obliged to carry with him sixty arrows, thirty of which are of a smaller size, intended for shooting at a distance, but the other thirty are larger, and have a broad blade.

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These they use near at hand, and strike their enemies in the faces and arms, and cut the strings of their bows, and do great damage with them. And when they have discharged all their arrows, they take their swords and maces, and give one another heavy blows with them.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 2

OF BATTLES THAT WERE FOUGHT BY KING KAIDU AGAINST THE ARMIES OF HIS UNCLE THE GREAT KHAN

In the year 1266, this King Kaidu, with his cousins, one of whom was called Jesudar, assembled a vast number of people, and attacked two of the Great Khan's barons, who also were cousins of King Kaidu, though they held lands of the Great Khan. One of these was named Tabai or Ciban. They were sons of Zagatai, who had received Christian baptism, and was own brother to the Emperor Kublai.

Kaidu with his people fought with these his two cousins, who also had a great army, for on both sides there were about a hundred thousand horsemen. They fought very hard together, and there were many slain on both sides, but at last King Kaidu gained the victory, and did great damage to the others. But the two brothers, the cousins of King Kaidu, escaped without hurt, for they had good horses, which bore them away with great swiftness.

Having thus gained the victory, Kaidu's pride and arrogance increased, and he returned into his own country, where he remained full two years in peace, without any hostilities between him and the Great Khan. But at the end of two years Kaidu again assembled a great army. He knew that the Great Khan's son, named Nomogan, was at Karakoran, and that with him was George the grandson of Prester John, which two barons had also a very great army of horsemen. King Kaidu, having assembled his host, marched from his own country, and, without any occurrence worth mentioning, arrived in the neighbourhood of Karakoran [Karakorum], where the two barons, the son of the Great Khan and the grandson of Prester John, were with their army.

The latter, instead of being frightened, prepared to meet them with the utmost ardour and courage; and having assembled their whole army, which consisted of not less than sixty thousand horsemen, they marched out and established their camp very well and orderly at a distance of about ten miles from King Kaidu, who was encamped with his men in the same plain. Each party remained in their camp till the third day, preparing for battle in the best way they could, for their numbers were about equal, neither exceeding sixty thousand horsemen, well armed with bows and arrows, and a sword, mace, and shield to each.

Both armies were divided into six squadrons of ten thousand men each, and each having its commander. And when the two armies were drawn up in the field, and waited only for the signal to be given by sounding the nacar, they sang and sounded their instruments of music in such a manner that it was wonderful to hear. For the Tartars are not allowed to commence a battle till they hear the nacars of their lord begin to sound. As soon as the sound of the nacars was heard, the battle began, and they put their hands to their bows, and placed the arrows to the strings.

In an instant the air was filled with arrows like rain, and you might see many a man and many a horse struck down dead, and the shouting and the noise of the battle was so great, that one could hardly have heard God's thunder. In truth, they fought like mortal enemies. And truly, as long as they had any arrows left, those who were able ceased not to shoot; but so many were slain and mortally wounded, that neither party gained ground.

When they had exhausted their arrows, they placed the bows in their cases, and seized the swords and maces, and, rushing upon each other, began to give terrible blows with them. Thus they began a very fierce and dreadful battle, with such execution upon each other, that the ground was soon covered with corpses. Kaidu especially performed great feats of arms, and but for his personal prowess, which restored courage to his followers, they were several times nearly defeated. And on the other side, the son of the Great Khan and the grandson of Prester John also behaved themselves with great bravery. In a word, this was one of the most sanguinary battles that had ever taken place among the Tartars. It lasted till nightfall, and in spite of all their efforts, neither party could drive the other from the field, which was covered with so many corpses that it was a pity to see. Many a lady that day was made a widow, and many a child an orphan. And when the sun set, both parties gave over fighting, and returned to their several camps to repose during the night.

Next morning, King Kaidu, who had received information that the Great Khan had sent a very powerful army against him, put his men under arms at daybreak, and), all having mounted, he ordered them to proceed homewards.

Their opponents were so weary with the previous day's battle, that they made no attempt to follow them, but let them go without molestation. Kaidu's men continued their retreat, until they came to Samarcand, in Great Turkey [meaning Central Asia].

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 3

WHAT THE GREAT KHAN SAW OF THE INJURIES DONE BY HIS NEPHEW KAIDU

Now the Great Khan was greatly enraged against Kaidu, who was always doing so much injury to his people and his territory, and he said that if he had not been his nephew, he should not have escaped an evil death. But his feelings of relationship hindered him from destroying him and his land, and thus Kaidu escaped from the hands of the Great Khan. We will now leave this matter, and we will tell you a strange history of King Kaidu's daughter.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 4

OF THE DAUGHTER OF KING KAIDU — HOW STRONG ANDVALIANT SHE WAS

You must know, then, that King Kaidu had a daughter named, in the Tartar language, Aigiarm, which means shining moon. This damsel was so strong, that there was no young man in the whole kingdom who could overcome her. She vanquished them all.

Her father the king wished to marry her; but she declined, saying, that she would never take a husband till she met with some gentleman who should conquer her by force, upon which the king, her father, gave her a written promise that she might marry at her own will. She now caused it to be proclaimed in different parts of the world, that if any young man would come and try strength with her, and should overcome her by force, she would accept him for her husband.

This proclamation was no sooner made, than many came from all parts to try their fortune. The trial was made with great solemnity. The king took his place in the principal hall of the palace, with a large company of men and women; then came the king's daughter, in a dress of cendal, very richly adorned, and next came the young man, also in a dress of cendal. The agreement was, that if the young man overcame her so as to throw her by force to the ground, he was to have her for wife; but if, on the contrary, he should be overcome by the king's daughter, he was to forfeit to her a hundred horses. In this manner the damsel gained more than ten thousand horses, for she could meet with no one able to conquer her, which was no wonder, for she was so well-made in all her limbs, and so tall and strongly built, that she might almost be taken for a giantess.

At last, about the year 1280, there came the son of a rich king, who was very beautiful and young. He was accompanied with a very fine retinue, and brought with him a thousand beautiful horses. Immediately on his arrival, he announced that he was come to try his strength with the lady. King Kaidu received him very gladly, for he was very desirous to have this youth for his son-in-law, knowing him to be the son of the king of Pamar. Kaidu privately told his daughter that he wished her on this occasion to let herself be vanquished. But she said she would not do so for anything in the world. Thereupon the king and queen took their places in the hall, with a great attendance of both sexes, and the king's daughter presented herself as usual, and also the king's son, who was remarkable no less for his beauty than for his great strength.

When they were brought into the hall, it was, on account of the superior rank of the claimant, agreed as the conditions of the trial, that if the young prince were conquered, he should forfeit the thousand horses he had brought with him as his stake. This agreement having been made, the wrestling began; and all who were there, including the king and queen, wished heartily that the prince might be the victor, and become the husband of the princess. But, contrary to their hopes, after much pulling and tugging, the king's daughter gained the victory, and the young prince was thrown on the pavement of the palace, and lost his thousand horses. There was not one person in the whole hall who did not lament his defeat.

After this the king took his daughter with him into many battles, and not a cavalier in the host displayed so much valour; and at last the damsel rushed into the midst of the enemy, and seizing upon a horseman, carried him off to her own people. We will now quit this episode, and proceed to relate a great battle which fell out between Kaidu and Argon, the son of Abaga the lord of the east.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 5

HOW ABAGA SENT ARGON HIS SON WITH AN ARMY

Now Abaga, the lord of the east, held many provinces and many lands, which bordered on the territory of King Kaidu, on the side towards the tree which is called in the book of Alexander, Arbor Secco. And Abaga, in consequence of the damages done to his lands by King Kaidu, sent his son Argon with a very great number of horsemen into the country of the Arbor Secco, as far as the river Ion, where they remained to protect the country against King Kaidu's people.

In this manner Argon and his men remained in the plain of the Arbor Secco, and garrisoned many cities and castles thereabouts. Thereupon King Kaidu assembled a great number of horsemen, and gave the command of them to his brother Barac, a prudent and brave man, with orders to fight Argon. Barac promised to fulfil his commandment, and to do his best against Argon and his army. He marched with his army, and proceeded for many days without meeting with any accident worth mentioning, till he reached the river Ion, where he was only ten miles distant from the army of Argon. Both sides immediately prepared for battle, and in a very fierce engagement, which took place three days afterwards, the army of Barac was overpowered, and pursued with great slaughter over the river.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 6

HOW ARGON SUCCEEDED HIS FATHER IN THE SOVEREIGNTY

Soon after this victory, Argon received intelligence that his father Abaga was dead, for which he was very sad. He set out with all his host on his way to his father's court, a distance of forty days' journey, in order to receive the sovereignty.

Now Abaga had a brother named Acomat Soldan, who had become a Saracen, and who no sooner heard of his brother Abaga's death, than he formed the design of seizing the succession for himself, considering that Argon was at too great a distance to prevent him. He therefore collected a powerful army, went direct to the court of his brother Abaga, and seized upon the sovereignty.

There he found such an immense quantity of treasure as could hardly be believed, and by distributing this very lavishly among Abaga's barons and knights, he won their hearts, and they declared they would have no other lord but him. Moreover, Acomat Soldan showed himself a very good lord, and made himself beloved by everybody.

But he had not long enjoyed his usurped power, when news came that Argon was approaching with a very great host.

Acomat showed no alarm, but courageously summoned his barons and others, and within a week he had assembled a vast number of cavalry, who all declared that they were ready to march against Argon, and that they desired nothing more than to take him and put him to death.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 7

HOW ACOMAT WENT WITH HIS HOST TO FIGHT ARGON

When Acomat Soldan had collected full sixty thousand horsemen, he set out on his way to encounter Argon and his people, and at the end of ten days' march he halted, having received intelligence that the enemy was only five days' march from him, and equal in number to his own army. Then Acomat established his camp in a very great and fair plain, and announced his intention of awaiting his enemy there, as a favourable place for giving battle.

As soon as he arranged his camp, he called together his people, and addressed them as follows: "Lords," said he, "you know well how I ought to be lord of all which my brother Abaga held, because I was the son of his father, and I assisted in the conquest of all the lands and territories we possess. I will say no more, for I know that you are wise men and love justice, and that you will act for the honour and good of us all." When he had ended, all the barons, and knights, and others who were there, replied with one accord that they would not desert him as long as they had life in their bodies. After this Acomat and his army remained in their camp, waiting the approach of the enemy.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 8

HOW ARGON TOOK COUNSEL WITH HIS BARONS

To return to Argon; as soon as he received certain intelligence of the movements of Acomat, and knew that he was encamped with so large an army, he was greatly affected, but he thought it wise to show courage and ardour before his men. Having called all his barons and wise counsellors into his tent, for he was encamped also in a very fair spot, he addressed them as follows: "Fair brothers and friends," said he, "you know well how tenderly my father loved you; while alive he treated you as brothers and sons, and you know in how many battles you were with him, and how you helped him to conquer the land he possessed. You know, too, that I am the son of him who loved you so much, and I myself love you as though you were my own body.

And truly every one ought to reckon on victory, since justice is on our side, and our enemies are in the wrong. I will say no more, but again to implore every one of you to do his duty."

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 9

HOW THE BARONS REPLIED TO ARGON

When the barons and knights who were present had heard Argon's address, each resolved that he would prefer death in the battle to defeat; and while they stood silent, reflecting on his words, one of the great barons arose and spoke thus: "Fair sir Argon, fair sir Argon," said he, "we know well that what you have said to us is the truth, and therefore I will be spokesman for all your men who are with you to fight this battle, and tell you openly that we will not fail you as long as we have life in our bodies, and that we would rather all die than not obtain the victory."

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When this man had ended, all the others declared that they were of his opinion, and the whole army clamoured to be led against the enemy without delay. Accordingly, early next morning, Argon and his people began their march with very resolute hearts, and when they reached the extensive plain in which Acomat was encamped, they established their camp in good order at a distance of about ten miles from him. As soon as he had encamped, Argon sent two trusty messengers on a mission to his uncle.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 10
HOW ARGON SENT HIS MESSENGERS TO ACOMAT

When these two trusty messengers, who were men of very advanced age, arrived at the enemy's camp, they dismounted at Acomat's tent, where he was attended by a great company of his barons, and having entered it, they saluted him courteously. After they had remained seated a short space, one of the messengers rose up on his feet and delivered his message as follows: "Fair sir Acomat," said he, "your nephew Argon wonders much at your conduct in taking from him his sovereignty, and now again in coming to engage him in mortal combat; truly this is not well, nor have you acted as a good uncle ought to act towards his nephew. Wherefore he informs you by us that he prays you gently, as that good uncle and father, that you restore him his right, so that there be no battle between you, and he will show you all honour, and you shall be lord of all his land under him. This is the message which your nephew sends you by us."

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 11
ACOMAT'S REPLY TO THE MESSAGE OF ARGON

When Acomat Sol dan had heard the message of his nephew Argon, he replied as follows: "Sir messenger," said he, "what my nephew says is vain, for the land is mine and not his. I conquered it as well as his father; and therefore tell my nephew that if he will, I will make him a great lord, and I will give him land enough, and he shall be as my son, and the highest in rank after me. And if he will not, you may assure him that I will do all in my power to put him to death. Now this is what I will do for my nephew, and no other thing or other arrangement shall you ever have from me."

When Acomat had concluded, the messengers asked again, "Is this all the answer which we shall have?" "Yes," said he, "you shall have no other as long as I live."

The messengers immediately departed, and riding as fast as they could to Argon's camp, dismounted at his tent and told him all that had passed. When Argon heard his uncle's message, he was so enraged, that he exclaimed in the hearing of all who were near him, "Since I have received such injury and insult from my uncle, I will never live or hold land if I do not take such vengeance that all the world shall talk of it!"

After these words, he addressed his barons and knights: "Now we have nothing to do but to go forth as quickly as we can and put these faithless traitors to death, and it is my will that we attack them to-morrow morning, and do our utmost to destroy them." All that night they made preparations for battle; and Acomat Soldan, who knew well by his spies what were Argon's designs, prepared for battle also, and admonished his people to conduct themselves with valour.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 12
THE BATTLE BETWEEN ARGON AND ACOMAT

Next morning, Argon, having called his men to arms and drawn them up skilfully in battle order, addressed them in an encouraging manner, after which they advanced towards the enemy. Acomat had done the same, and the two armies met on their way and engaged without further parley. The battle began with a shower of arrows so thick that it seemed like rain from heaven, and you might see everywhere the riders cast from the horses, and the cries and groans of those who lay on the earth mortally wounded were dreadful to hear. The slaughter was very great on both sides; but at last, though Argon himself displayed extraordinary valour, and set an example to all his men, it was in vain, for fortune turned against him, and his men frere compelled to flee, closely pursued by Acomat and his men, who made great havoc of them.

In the flight Argon himself was captured, upon which the pursuit was abandoned, and the victors returned to their camp and tents, glad beyond measure. Acomat caused his nephew, Argon, to be confined and closely guarded, and, being a man given to his pleasures, he returned to his court to enjoy the society of the fair ladies who were there, leaving the command of the army to a chief, with strict orders to keep Argon closely guarded, and to follow him to court by short marches, so as not to fatigue his men.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 13
HOW ARGON WAS LIBERATED

Now it happened that a great Tartar baron, who was of great age, took pity on Argon, and said that it was a great wickedness and disloyalty thus to hold their lord a prisoner, and that he would do his best to set him free.

He began by persuading many other barons to adopt the same sentiments, and his personal influence, on account of his age and known character for justice and wisdom, was so great, that he easily gained them over to the enterprise, and they promised to be directed by him. The name of the leader of this enterprise was Boga, and the chief of his fellow-conspirators were named Elcidai, Togan, Tegana, Taga, Tiar Oulatai, and Samagar.

With these, Boga went to the tent where Argon was confined, and told him that they repented of the part they had taken against him, and that in reparation of their error they had come to set him free and take him for their lord.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 14
HOW ARGON RECOVERED THE SOVEREIGNTY

When Argon heard Boga's words, he thought at first that they came to mock him, and was very angry and cross.

"Fair sirs," said he, "you do greatly in making me an object of mockery, and ought to be satisfied with the wrong you have already done me in imprisoning your rightful lord. You know that you are behaving wrongfully, and therefore I pray go your way and mock me no more."

"Fair sir Argon," said Boga, "be assured that we are not mocking you at all, but what we say is quite true, and we swear to it upon our faith." Then all the barons took an oath that they would hold him for their lord.

Argon on his side swore that he would never trouble them for what was past, but that he would hold them all as dear as his father Abaga had done. And as soon as these mutual oaths had been taken, they took Argon out of prison, and received him as their lord. Then Argon told them to shoot their arrows at the tent in which the chief who had the command of the army was, and they did so, and thus the chief was slain. This chief was named Soldan, and was the greatest lord after Acomat. Thus Argon recovered the sovereignty.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 15
HOW ARGON CAUSED HIS UNCLE ACOMET TO BE PUT TO DEATH

And when Argon found that he was assured of the sovereignty, he gave orders to the army to commence its march towards the court. It happened one day that Acomat was at court in his principal palace making great festivity, when a messenger came to him and said: "Sir, I bring you news, not such as I would, but very evil. Know that the barons have delivered Argon and raised him to the sovereignty, and have slain Soldan, your dear friend; and I assure you that they are hastening hither to take and slay you. Take counsel immediately what is best to be done."

When Acomat heard this, he was at first so overcome with astonishment and fear that he knew not what to do or say; but, at last, like a brave and prudent man, he told the messenger to mention the news to no one, and hastily ordered his most trusty followers to arm and mount their horses. Informing nobody where he was going, he took the route to go to the Sultan of Babylonia, believing that there his life would be safe.

At the end of six days he arrived at a pass which could not be avoided, the keeper of which knew that it was Acomat, and perceived that he was seeking safety by flight. This man determined to take him, which he might easily do, as he was slightly attended. He accordingly placed Acomat under a strong guard, and marching with him to the court, arrived there just three days after Argon had taken possession of it, who was greatly mortified that Acomat had escaped.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 16
HOW ACOMAT WAS SLAIN BY ORDER OF HIS NEPHEW

When, therefore, Acomat was delivered to him a prisoner, he was in the greatest joy imaginable, and commanding the army to be assembled immediately, without consulting with anybody, he ordered one of his men to slay his uncle, and to throw his body into such place as it would never be seen again. This order was immediately executed. Thus ended the affair between Argon and his uncle Acomat.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 17
THE DEATH OF ARGON

When Argon had done all this, and had taken possession of the principal palace with the sovereignty, all the barons who had been in subjection to his father came to perform their homages as to their lord, and obeyed it as such in everything.

And after this, Argon sent Casan, his son, with full thirty thousand horsemen, to the Arbor Secco, which is in that country, to protect his land and people. Argon thus recovered his sovereignty in the year 1286 of the incarnation of Jesus Christ, and Acomat had held the sovereignty two years. Argon reigned six years, at the end of which he died, as was generally said, by poison.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 18
HOW QUIACATU SEIZED UPON THE SOVEREIGNTY AFTER THE DEATH OF ARGON

When Argon was dead, his uncle, named Quiacatu, seized upon the sovereignty, which he was enabled to do with the more ease in consequence of Casan being so far distant as the Arbor Secco.

Casan was greatly angered when he heard of the death of his father and of the action of Quiacatu, but he could not leave his post at that moment for fear of his enemies.

He threatened, however, that he would find the occasion to revenge himself as signally as his father had done upon Acomat. Quiacatu held the sovereignty, and all were obedient to him except those who were with Casan. He took the wife of his nephew Argon and held her as his own, and enjoyed himself much with the ladies, for he was excessively given to his pleasures. Quiacatu held the sovereignty two years, at the end of which he was carried off by poison.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 19
HOW BAIDU SEIZED UPON THE SOVEREIGNTY AFTER THE DEATH OF QUIACATU

When Quiacatu was dead, Baidu, who was his uncle, and a Christian, seized upon the sovereignty, and all obeyed him except Casan and the army with him. This occurred in the year 1294.

When Casan learned what had occurred, he was more furious against Baidu than he had been against Quiacatu, and, threatening to take such vengeance on him as should be talked of! by everybody, he resolved that he would delay no longer, but march immediately against him. He accordingly provisioned his army, and commenced his march.

When Baidu knew for certain that Casan was coming against him, he assembled a vast number of men, and marched for ten days, and then encamped and waited for him to give battle.

On the second day Casan appeared, and immediately there began a fierce battle, which ended in the entire defeat of Baidu, who was slain in the combat. Casan now assumed the sovereignty, and began his reign in the year 1294. Thus did the kingdom of the Eastern Tartars descend from Abaga to Casan, who now reigns.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 20
CONCERNING THE KING OF THE TARTARS WHO RULES THE FAR NORTH

It should be known therefore, that in the northern parts of the world there dwell many Tartars, under a chief of the name of Kaidu, who is of the race of Chinghis Khan, and nearly related to Kublai, the Great Khan. He is not the subject of any other prince. The people observe the usages and manners of their ancestors, and are regarded as genuine Tartars.

These Tartars are idolaters [Buddhists.], and worship a god whom they call Naagai, that is, the god of earth, because they think and believe that this their god has dominion over the earth, and over all things that are born of it. To this false god they make idols and images of felt, as is described in a former book.

Their king and his armies do not shut themselves up in castles or strong places, nor even in towns; but at all times remain in the open plains, the valleys, or the woods, with which this region abounds. They have no corn of any kind, but subsist upon flesh and milk, and live amongst each other in perfect harmony; their king, to whom they all pay implicit obedience, having no object dearer to him than that of preserving peace and union amongst his subjects, which is the essential duty of a sovereign. They possess vast herds of horses, cows, sheep, and other domestic animals. In these northern districts are found bears of a white colour, and of prodigious size, being for the most part about twenty spans in length. There are foxes also whose furs are entirely black, wild asses in great numbers, and certain small animals named rondes, which have most delicate furs, and by our people are called zibelines or sables. Besides these there are various small beasts of the marten or weasel kind, and those which bear the name of Pharaoh's mice. The swarms of the latter are incredible, but the Tartars employ such ingenious contrivances for catching them, that none can escape their hands.

In order to reach the country inhabited by these people, it is necessary to perform a journey of fourteen days across a wide plain, entirely uninhabited and desert—a state that is occasioned by innumerable collections of water and springs, that render it an entire marsh. This, in consequence of the long duration of the cold season, is frozen over, excepting for a few months of the year, when the sun dissolves the ice, and turns the soil to mud, over which it is more difficult and fatiguing to travel than when the whole is frozen.

For the purpose, however, of enabling the merchants to frequent their country, and purchase their furs, in which all their trade consists, these people have exerted themselves to render the marshy desert passable for travellers, by erecting at the end of each day's stage a wooden house, raised some height above the ground. Here persons are stationed, whose business it is to receive and accommodate the merchants, and on the following day to conduct them to the next station. Thus they proceed from stage to stage, until they have effected the passage of the desert.

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In order to travel over the frozen surface of the ground, they construct a sort of vehicle, not unlike that made use of by the natives of the steep and almost inaccessible mountains in the vicinity of our own country, and which is termed a tragula or sledge. It is without wheels, is flat at the bottom, but rises with a semicircular curve in front, by which construction it is fitted for running easily upon the ice. For drawing these small carriages they keep in readiness certain animals resembling dogs, and which may be called such, although they approach to the size of asses. They are very strong. Six of them, in couples, are harnessed to each carriage, which contains only the driver who manages the dogs, and one merchant, with his package of goods. When the day's journey has been performed he returns, together with the team of dogs. The merchant returns with furs that find their way, for sale, to our part of the world.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 21
OF THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH ARE TERMED THE REGION OF DARKNESS

Beyond the most distant part of the territory of those Tartars from whence the skins that have been spoken of are procured, there is another region which extends to the utmost bounds of the north, and is called the Region of Darkness. During most part of the winter months the sun is invisible, and the atmosphere is obscured to the same degree as that in which we find it just about the dawn of day, when we may be said to see and not to see.

The men of this country are well made and tall, but of a very pallid complexion. They are not united under the government of a king or prince, and they live without any established laws or usages, in the manner of the brute creation.

Their intellects also are dull, and they have an air of stupidity. The Tartars often proceed on plundering expeditions against these people, to rob them of their cattle and goods.

For this purpose they avail themselves of those months in which the darkness prevails, in order that their approach may be unobserved. Being unable to ascertain the direction in which they should return homeward with their booty, they provide against the chance of going astray by riding mares that have young foals at the time, and these foals they leave behind. When their works of darkness have been accomplished, and they are desirous of revisiting the region of light, they lay the bridles on the necks of their mares, and suffer them freely to take their own course. Guided by maternal instinct, they make their way directly to the spot where they had quitted their foals. By these means the riders are enabled to return in safety.

The inhabitants of this region take advantage of the summer season, when they enjoy continual daylight, to catch vast multitudes of ermines, martens, foxes, and other animals of that kind, the furs of which are more delicate, and consequently more valuable, than those found in the districts inhabited by the Tartars. During the summer, also, these people carry their furs to the neighbouring countries, where they dispose of them in a manner highly advantageous; and, according to what I have been told, some of them are transported even as far as to the country of Russia, of which we shall proceed to speak in this the concluding part of our work.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 22
OF THE PROVINCE OF RUSSIA — AND ITS PEOPLE

The province of Russia is of vast extent, is divided into many parts, and borders upon that northern tract which has been described as the Region of Darkness. Its inhabitants are Christians, and follow the Greek ritual in the offices of their Church.

The men are extremely handsome, tall, and of fair complexions. The women are also fair and of a good size, with light hair, which they are accustomed to wear long. The country pays tribute to the king of the Western Tartars, with whose dominions it comes in contact on its eastern border. Within it are collected in great abundance the furs of ermines, arcolini, sables, martens, foxes, and other animals of that tribe, together with much wax. It contains several mines, from whence a large quantity of silver is procured.

Russia is an exceedingly cold region, and I have been assured that it extends even as far as the Northern Ocean, where, as has been mentioned in a preceding part of the work, falcons are taken in vast numbers, and from here carried to various parts of the world.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 23
OF THE STRAITS OF CONSTANTINOPLE

At the straits leading into the Great Sea, on the west side, there is a hill called the Faro. But since beginning on this matter I have changed my mind, because so many people know all about it, therefore we will not put it in our description, but go on to something else. And so I will tell you about the Tartars of the Ponent, and the lords who have reigned over them.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 24
OF THE LORDS OF THE TARTARS OF THE WEST

The first lord of the Tartars of the West was Sain, who was a very great and powerful king. He conquered Russia, and Comania, and Alania, and Lac, and Mengiar, and Zic, and Gucia, and Gazari. All these provinces were conquered by King Sain. Before this conquest, they were all (Romanians, but they were not under one government; and through their want of union they lost their lands, and were dispersed into different parts of the world5 and those who remained were all in a state of serfdom to King Sain.

After King Sain reigned King Patu, after him King Berca, next King Mungletemur, then King Totamongu, and lastly Toctai, who now reigns.

Having thus given you a list of kings of the Tartars of the West, we will tell you of a great battle that fell out between Alau, the lord of the East, and Berca, the lord of the West, as well as the cause of the battle, and its result.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 25
OF THE WAR BETWEEN ALAU AND BERCA — AND THE BATTLE THEY FOUGHT

In the year 1261 there arose a great quarrel between King Alau, lord of the Tartars of the East, and Berca, king of the Tartars of the West, on account of the province which bordered on each of their territories, which both claimed, and each was too proud to yield it to the other. They mutually defied each other, each declaring that he would go and take it, and he would see who dared hinder him.

When things had come to this point, each summoned his followers to his banner, and they exerted themselves to such a degree that within six months each had assembled full three hundred thousand horsemen, very well furnished with all things needed for war.

Alau, lord of the East, now began his march with all his forces, and they rode many days without meeting with any adventure worth mentioning. At length they reached an extensive plain, situated between the Iron Gates and the Sea of Sarain, in which they encamped in good order, and there was many a rich pavilion and tent. And there Alau said he would wait to see what course Berca would follow, as this spot was on the borders of the two territories.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 26
HOW BER'CA AND HIS HOST WENT TO MEET ALAU

Now when King Berca had made all his preparations, and knew that Alau was on his march, he also set out on his way, and in due time reached the same plain where his enemies awaited him, and encamped at about ten miles' distance from him.

Berca's camp was quite as richly decked out as that of Alau, and his army was more numerous, for it numbered full three hundred and fifty thousand horsemen.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 27
ALAU'S ADDRESS TO HIS MEN

When Alau knew certainly that Berca was come with so great an army, he assembled his chiefs, and addressed them as follows:—"Fair brothers, and sons, and friends," said he, "you know that all my life I have prized you and assisted you, and hitherto you have assisted me to conquer in many battles, nor ever were you in any battle where we failed to obtain the victory, and for that reason are we come here to fight this great man Berca. I know well that he has more men than we have, but they are not so good, and I doubt not but we shall put them all to flight and discomfiture.

One thing only I wish to impress upon you, that it is better to die on the field in maintaining our honour, than to suffer discomfiture j so let each of you fight so that our honour may be safe, and our enemies discomfited and slain."

Thus each of the kings encouraged his men, and waited for the day of the battle, and all prepared for it in the best way they could.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 28
OF THE GREAT BATTLE BETWEEN A LAV AND BERCA

When the day fixed for the battle arrived, Alau rose early in the morning, and called his men to arms, and marshalled his army with the utmost skill. He divided it into thirty squadrons, each squadron consisting of ten thousand horsemen; and to each he gave a good leader and a good captain. And when all this was duly arranged, he ordered his troops to advance, which they did at a slow pace, until they came half way between the two camps, where they halted and waited for the enemy.

On the other side, King Berca had drawn up his army, which was arranged in thirty-five squadrons, exactly in the same manner as that of Alau's, and he also ordered his men to advance, which they did within half-a-mile of the others. There they made a short halt, and then they moved forward again till they came to the distance of about two arbalest shots of each other.

After the two armies had remained a short while in the face of each other, the nacars at length sounded, upon which both armies let fly such a shower of arrows at each other that you could hardly see the sky, and many were slain, man and horse.

The battle continued till dusk, when Berca began to give way, and fled, and Alau's men pursued furiously, cutting down and slaying without mercy. After they had pursued a short distance, Alau recalled them, and they returned to their tents, laid aside their arms, and dressed their wounds.

Next morning Alau ordered the bodies of the dead to be buried, enemies as well as friends, and the loss was so great on both sides that it would be impossible to describe it.

After this was done, Alau returned to his country with all his men who had survived the battle.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 29
HOW TOTAMANGU WAS LORD OF THE TARTARS OF THE WEST

You must know that in the west there was a king of the Tartars named Mongletemur, and the sovereignty descended to Tolobuga, who was a young bachelor, and a very powerful man, named Totamangu, slew Tolobuga, with the assistance of another king of the Tartars, named Nogai.

Thus Totamangu obtained the sovereignty by the aid of Nogai, and, after a short reign, he died, and Toctai, a very able and prudent man, was chosen king.

Meanwhile the two sons of Tolobuga had grown to be now capable of bearing arms, and they were wise and prudent. The two brothers assembled a very fair company, and went to the court of Toctai, and presented themselves with so much courtesy and humility on their knees that Toctai welcomed them, and told them to stand up.

Then the eldest said to the king, "Fair sir Toctai, I will tell you in the best way I can why we are come to court.

You know that we are the sons of Tolobuga, who was slain by Totamangu and Nogai. Of Totamangu, I have nothing to say, since he is dead; but we claim justice on Nogai for the slaughter of our father, and we pray you as a righteous lord to grant it us. This is the object of our visit to your court."

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 30
HOW TOCTAI SENT FOR NOGAI TO COURT

When Toctai had heard the youth, he knew that what he said was true, and he replied, "Fair friend, I will willingly yield to your demand of justice upon Nogai, and for that purpose we will summon him to court, and do everything which justice shall require." Then Toctai sent two messengers to Nogai, and ordered him to come to court to answer to the sons of Tolobuga for the death of their father; but Nogai laughed at the message, and told the messengers he would not go.

When Toctai heard Nogai's message, he was greatly enraged, and said in the hearing of all who were about him, "With the aid of God, either Nogai shall come before me to do justice to the sons of Tolobuga, or I will go against him with all my men and destroy him."

When Nogai knew certainly that Toctai was preparing to come against him with so large a host, he also made great preparation, but not so great as Toctai, because, though a great and powerful king, he was not so great or powerful as the other.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 31
HOW TOCTAI PROCEEDED AGAINST NOGAI

When Toctai's army was ready, he commenced his march at the head of two hundred thousand horsemen, and in due time reached the fine and extensive plain of Nerghi, where he encamped to wait for his opponent. With him were the two sons of Tolobuga, who had come with a fair company of horsemen to avenge the death of their father.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 32
TOCTAI AND NOGAI ADDRESS THEIR PEOPLE

Nogai also was on his march, with a hundred and fifty thousand horsemen, all young and brave men, and much better soldiers than those of Toctai. He arrived in the plain where Toctai was encamped two days after him, and established his camp at a distance of ten miles from him.

Then King Toctai assembled his chiefs, and said to them: "Sirs, we are come here to fight King Nogai and his men, and we have great reason to do so, for you know that all this hatred and rancour has arisen from Nogai's refusal to do justice to the sons of Tolobuga; and, since our cause is just, we have every reason to hope for victory. Be therefore of good hope; but at all events I know that you are all brave men, and that you will do your best to destroy our enemies."

Nogai also addressed his men in the following terms: "Fair brothers and friends," said he, "you know that we have gained many great and hard fought battles, and that we have overcome better men than these. Therefore be of good cheer. We have right on our side; for you know well that Toctai was not my superior to summon me to his court to do justice to others. I will only further urge you to demean yourselves so in

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this battle that we shall be talked of everywhere, and that ourselves and our heirs will be the more respected for it."

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 33
THE VICTORY OF KING NOGAI

Next day they prepared for battle. Toctai drew up his army in twenty squadrons, each with a good leader and captain j and Nogai's army was formed in fifteen squadrons.

After a long and desperate battle in which the two kings, as well as the two sons of Tolobuga, distinguished themselves by their reckless valour, the army of Toctai was entirely defeated, and pursued from the field with great slaughter by Nogai's men, who, though less numerous, were much better soldiers than their opponents. Full sixty thousand men were slain in this battle, but King Toctai. as well as the two sons of Tolobuga, escaped.

MARCO POLO CHAPTER 34 and Last
CONCLUSION

And now ye have heard all that I can tell you about the Tartars and the Saracens and their customs, and likewise about the other countries of the world as far as my travels and knowledge extend. Only we have said nothing whatever about the Greater Sea and the provinces that lie round it, although we know it thoroughly. But it seems to me a needless task to speak about places which are visited by people every day. For there are so many who sail all about the sea constantly.

Of the manner in which we took our departure from the Court of the Great Khan you have heard at the beginning of the book, in that chapter where we told you of the difficulty that Messer Maffeo and Messer Nicolo and Messer Marco had about getting the Great Khan's leave to go; and in the same chapter is related the lucky chance that led to our departure. And you may be sure that but for that chance, we should never have got away in spite of all our trouble, and never have got back to our country again.

I believe it was God's pleasure that we should get back in order that people might learn about the things that the world contains.

Thanks be to God! Amen! Amen!

THE TRILINGUAL INSCRIPTION OF ADMIRAL ZHENG HE

found: near Cripps Road in Galle, Ceylon / Sri Lanka
National Museum in Colombo
Translation: Spolia Zeylanica / Louise Levathes.
Estimated Range of Dating: 1409 A.D.

(The Treasure Fleet

The Yongle Emperor inherited a powerful navy from his predecessor, the Hongwu Emperor. He further strengthened and expanded the Ming navy as an instrument for an expansive overseas policy. The Taizong Shilu contains 24 short entries for the imperial orders for shipbuilding, with figures pointing to at least 2868 ships, from 1403 to 1419. Over the course of 1403, Fujian, Jiangxi, Zhejiang, and Huguang's provincial governments as well as Nanjing, Suzhou, and other cities' military garrisons were ordered to begin constructing ships.

Under the reign of the Yongle Emperor, Ming China underwent militaristic expansionism with ventures such as the treasure voyages. In 1403, the Yongle Emperor issued an imperial order to start the immense construction project of the treasure fleet. Zheng He was ordered to initiate the construction of the fleet.[9] The treasure fleet was known by its original designation Xiaŵn Guanjun (lit. "foreign expeditionary armada") in Chinese sources. It came to comprise many trading ships, warships, and support vessels. The Longjiang shipyard was the construction site for many of the fleet's ships, including all of the treasure ships. It was located on the Qinhuai River near Nanjing, where the Qinhuai flows into the Yangtze River. Many trees were cut along the Min River and upper reaches of the Yangtze to supply the necessary resources for fleet's construction. The Yongle Emperor placed great trust in Zheng He and appointed him to command the treasure fleet. The emperor even gave him blank scrolls with the imperial seal to issue imperial orders at sea.

Size of the Ships

Traditional and popular accounts of Zheng He's voyages have described a great fleet of gigantic ships far larger than any other wooden ships in history. The most grandiose claims for Zheng He's 1405 fleet are entirely based on a calculation derived from an account written three centuries later and were accepted as fact by one modern writer but rejected by most naval experts:

• "Chinese treasure ships" (Bǎo Chuán), used by the commander of the fleet and his deputies, nine-masted, about 127 metres (417 feet) long, 52 metres (171 feet) wide, with four decks.

• Equine ships (Mǎ Chuán), carrying horses and tribute goods and repair material for the fleet, eight-masted, about 103 m (338 ft) long and 42 m (138 ft) wide.

• Supply ships (Liáng Chuán), containing staple for the crew, seven-masted, about 78 m (256 ft) long and 35 m (115 ft) wide.

• Troop transports (Bīng Chuán), six-masted, about 67 m (220 ft) long and 25 m (82 ft) wide.

• Fuchuan warships (Fú Chuán), five-masted, about 50 m (160 ft) long.

• Patrol boats (Zuò Chuán), eight-oared, about 37 m (121 ft) long.

• Water tankers (Shuǐ Chuán), with 1 month's supply of fresh water.

Six more expeditions took place from 1407 to 1433 with fleets thought to be of comparable size.

Marco Polo and Ibn Battuta both described multi-masted ships carrying 500 to 1,000 passengers in their translated accounts. Niccolò de' Conti, a contemporary of Zheng He, was also an eyewitness of ships in Southeast Asia, claiming to have seen 5 masted junks weighing about 2,000 tons. There are even some sources that claim some of the treasure ships might have been as long as 600 feet. On the ships were navigators, explorers, sailors, doctors, workers, and soldiers, along with the translator and diarist Gong Zhen.

The largest ships in the fleet, the Chinese treasure ships described in Chinese chronicles, would have been nearly twice as long as any other wooden ship recorded thereafter until the 20th century, surpassing Admiral Nelson's HMS Victory, 69.34 metres (227.5 ft) long, which was launched in 1765, and the 68.88 metres (226.0 ft) Vasa of 1627. The first ships to attain 126 m (413.4 ft) long were 19th century steamers with iron hulls. Many scholars consider it unlikely that any of Zheng He's ships were 450 feet (137.2 m) in length and have proposed much shorter lengths, as low as 200–250 feet (61.0–76.2 m).

One explanation for the seemingly-inefficient size of the colossal ships was that the 44 largest Zhang treasure ships were used only by the Emperor and imperial bureaucrats to travel along the Yangtze for court business, including reviewing Zheng He's expedition fleet. The Yangtze river, with its calmer waters, may have been navigable by these treasure ships. Zheng He, a court eunuch, would not have had the privilege in rank to command the largest of the ships, seaworthy or not. The main ships of Zheng He's fleet were instead 6 masted 2000-liao ships. That would give burthen of 500 tons and a displacement tonnage of about 800 tons.[However recent finds after the discovery of the Longjiang shipyards site from 2005 indicate the ships sourced tropical hardwood from Indonesia and were lined with palm fibres and concrete to maintain seaworthiness for a hull of much larger proportions. The rudder remains suggest the highest end of estimates were possible, supporting the 1962 find nearby of a 36 ft bracket, 1.25 ft in diameter for steering a vessel of 540–600 ft as stated in the court documents, and dated to about 600 years. However, authorities agree that more is needed to be found to establish the true length.

Admiral Zheng He

Zheng He was born in Kunyang Subdistrict, Yunnan, near Kunming as "Ma He ibn Hajji" son of the Muslim Hajji ibn Hajji ibn Bayan ibn Ajall Shams al-Din Omar in 1371. The Ming dynasty invades Yunnan and Ma He is captured; his father Hajji is killed at the age of 39 in 1381. In 1385, Ma He is castrated in order to make sure that he never would follow own dynastic ambition and enters the service of Zhu Di (The later Yongle Emperor). Ma He successfully defends Beiping's (Beijing) reservoirs in 1399. On 17 July 1402 Zhu Di becomes the Yongle Emperor and promotes Ma He to be the Grand Director (Taijian) of the Directorate of Palace Servants. 4 September 1403: Orders are issued for the construction of 200 "seagoing transport ships" [Dreyer 2007]. 11 February 1404: Yongle Emperor confers the surname Zheng on Ma He; 1 March: Orders are issued for the construction of 50 "seagoing ships"

Zheng He's 7 Treasure Fleet Voyages

1405: On 11 July, Zheng He starts his First Voyage. He and 27,800 men depart from Nanjing on 255 ships, of which 62 are treasure ships, "bearing imperial letters to the countries of the Western Ocean and with gifts to their kings of gold brocade, patterned silks, and coloured silk gauze, according to their status." The fleet proceeds to Liujiagang where it is separated into squadrons and the crews pray to Mazu, goddess of sailors. In August: The Treasure fleet reaches the mouth of the Min River and assembles at Taiping Anchorage in Changle District; in December: The Treasure fleet departs for Champa [southern Vietnam] and after 15 days arrives at Qui Nhơn, where "most of the men take up fishing for a livelihood". 1406: Zheng He's Treasure fleet visits Malacca and Java before heading up the Straits of Malacca to Aru, Samudera Pasai Sultanate, and Lambri, where the people are described as "very honest and genuine," and from there 3 days to the Andaman Islands, and then 8 more days to the west coast of Ceylon where the king reacts with hostility. The fleet departs for Calicut [City of Kozhikode, western coast of India, State of Kerala], which is described as "the Great country of the Western Ocean". 1407: Zheng He's Treasure fleet makes the return voyage and stops at Malacca to pick up Parameswara [Parameswara c. 1344–1414, known from the Malay Annals as Iskandar Shah = King Alexander] and envoys; Zheng He's fleet defeats Chen Zuyi's pirate fleet at Palembang and installs Shi Jinqing as "grand chieftain ruling over the native people of that place". On 2 October, the Treasure fleet arrives at Nanjing.

1407, Zheng He's Second Voyage, 5 October: Wang Hao is ordered to refit 249 "sea transport ships" in "preparation for embassies to the countries of the Western Ocean". 23 October: Yongle Emperor issues orders for the second voyage and to confer formal investiture on the king of Calicut. Yongle Emperor summons Javanese envoys to demand restitution for killing 710 Chinese and settles for 10,000 ounces of gold. 29 October: Yongle Emperor bestows merit upon the officers and men of the treasure fleet. Zheng He departs with a fleet of 249 ships and takes a route similar to the first voyage with the addition of stops at Jiayile, Abobadan, Ganbali, Quilon, and Cochin. 1408, 14 February: Orders for the construction of 48 treasure ships are issued from the Ministry of Works in Nanjing. 1409, January: Orders are issued for the third voyage. 15 February: The Galle Trilingual Inscription is produced. The Treasure fleet makes the return voyage and stops at the Similan Islands to cut logs for incense. Summer 1409: The fleet returns to China.

1409, October: Zheng He starts the Third Voyage and departs with 27,000 men, taking the usual route. 1410: Ming–Kotte War: Treasure fleet lands at Galle in Ceylon and captures King Vijayabahu VI of the Kingdom of Gampola. 1411, 6 July: Treasure fleet returns to Nanjing. 1412, 18 December: Yongle Emperor issues orders for the fourth voyage.

1413, Autumn: Zheng He departs for his Fourth Voyage from Nanjing and takes the usual route with the addition of 4 new destinations: the Maldives, Bitra, Chetlat Island, and Hormuz, which is given the following description: "Foreign ships from every place, together with foreign merchants traveling by land, all come to this territory in order to gather together and buy and sell, and therefore the people of this country are all rich". 1415: Zheng He captures Sekandar (Alexandar), a rebel against Zain al-Abidin, king of the Samudera Pasai Sultanate. 12 August: The Treasure fleet arrives back in Nanjing. 13 August: Zheng He's colleague is sent on a mission bearing gifts to Bengal. 1416, 19 November: Yongle Emperor bestows gifts upon ambassadors from 18 countries. 19 December: Yongle Emperor issues orders for the fifth voyage.

1417, Autumn: Zheng He departs for his Fifth Voyage taking the previous route to Hormuz and Aden, but then he turned into Africa: Mogadishu, Barawa, Zhubu, and Malindi. 1419, 8 August: The fleet returns to China. 20 September: Ambassadors present exotic animals to the Ming court including a giraffe imported from Somalia by Bengalis. 2 October: Orders are issued for the construction of another 41 treasure ships. 1421, 3 March, Orders are issued for the sixth voyage and envoys from 16 countries including Hormuz are given gifts of paper and coin money, and ceremonial robes and linings. On 14 May 1421, the Yongle Emperor ordered the temporary suspension of the voyages.

1421, 10 November: Zheng He's Sixth Voyage begins. Orders are issued to Zheng He to provide Hong Bao and envoys from 16 countries passage back to their countries; the treasure fleet takes its usual route to Ceylon where it splits up and heads for the Maldives, Hormuz, and the Arabian states of Djofar, Lasa, and Aden, and the two African states of Mogadishu and Barawa; Zheng He visits Ganbali. 1422: The fleet regroups at Samudera Pasai Sultanate and visit Siam before heading back to China. 3 September: Treasure fleet returns to China bringing envoys from Siam, Samudera Pasai Sultanate, and Aden. At the expense of the treasure fleet's voyages, imperial attention and funding was diverted to the third, fourth, and fifth Mongol campaigns. Between 1422 and 1431, the treasure fleet remained in Nanjing to serve in the city's garrison.

1424, 27 February: Zheng He is sent on a diplomatic mission to Palembang to confer "a gauze cap, a ceremonial robe with floral gold woven into gold patterns in the silk, and a silver seal" on Shi Jinqing's son Shi Jisun. 12 August: Yongle Emperor dies during the campaigns against the Mongols. 7 September: Zhu Gaozhi becomes Hongxi Emperor and terminates the treasure voyages. 1425, 29 May Hongxi Emperor dies unexpectedly. 27 June: Zhu Zhanji becomes Xuande Emperor. 1430, 25 May: Arrangements are made for the provisions of another voyage. 29 June: Xuande Emperor issues orders for the seventh voyage.

1431, 19 January: Zheng He departs from Nanjing for his Seventh Voyage. 14 March: Liujiagang Inscription is erected. 8 April: Treasure fleet arrives at Changle. December: The Changle Inscription is erected and the fleet departs from Changle. 1432, 27 January: Treasure fleet arrives at Vijaya

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[Vietnam]. In the next months the fleet visits Surabaya [Java], Palembang [Sumatra], and Malacca. 12 September: Treasure fleet arrives at Samudera Pasai Sultanate and Hong Bao and Ma Huan detach from the fleet to visit Bengal. Beruwala [Sri Lanka], Calicut [western India].

1433, January: Hong Bao and Ma Huan arrive in Calicut and send seven men to Mecca while Hong Bao visits Djofar, Lasa, Aden, Mogadishu, and Barawa before heading back to China. After visiting above mentioned places a second time the Treasure fleet arrives in China on 7 July 1433. 14 September: Envoys from Samudera Pasai Sultanate, Calicut, Cochin, Ceylon, Djofar, Aden, Coimbatore, Hormuz, Kayal, and Mecca present tribute. There is the possibility that Zheng He died in January already because from that time he was not mentioned again; Zheng He also might have continued to serve as the defender of Nanjing, dying in 1435.

Possible Causes of Cessation

1436: Ming dynasty bans building seagoing ships and leads China to self-isolation. Court officials urged the emperors to do so for years. Shortly after Zheng He's Treasure fleet returned in 1433, the logbooks were destroyed and the ships scrapped. The exact reasons are unknown. In about the same time, Ma Huan publishes his Yingya Shenglan; Gong Zhen publishes his Xiyang Fanguo Zhi; Fei Xin publishes his Xingcha Shenglan.

It is not exactly known why the voyages completely ended in 1433. Duyvendak (1939) suggests that the cessation of the expeditions was partly due to the considerable expenses, but others note that the costs for undertaking the voyages had not overburdened the Ming treasury. Ming treasure voyages were a profitable enterprise and China had become the pre-eminent naval power of the early 15th century. The Yongle Emperor had extended imperial control over foreign lands during the span of the voyages.

There are speculations that target personal animosities. Even though civil officials had ill feelings towards eunuchs for their overbearing nature and interference in state affairs, much of the hostility that came to characterize the relationship between the officials and eunuchs manifested long after the voyages ended, when eunuchs wielded their power to enrich themselves through extortion and persecute their critics.

In the Ming court, the civil officials were the faction who opposed the voyages. In contrast, the eunuch establishment stood at the head of the fleet and the expeditions. The civil officials condemned the expeditions as extravagant and wasteful, but the Yongle Emperor was unconcerned about the costs of the voyages and was determined to complete them. Traditionally, the civil officials were not only political opponents to the eunuch faction, but also to the military who crewed the fleet. This political and institutional disadvantage within the state system contributed to the inherent opposition of civil officials against the voyages. On cultural grounds, the civil officials were hostile to the voyages, because the trade and acquisition of strange foreign goods conflicted with their Confucian ideologies. The undertaking of these expeditions only remained possible as long as the eunuchs maintained imperial favour.

What might have brought government officials in the Archives to suspect possible conspiracies among the [mostly Islamic] eunuchs [like Zheng He himself] was the fact that they discovered one worrying aspect of Zheng He's journeys: where ever he went there were Islamic states surrounding China and they were closing in. Knowing the Islamic doctrine of striving for total suppremacy over non-Muslims might have caused the officials to promote to close China down in order to prevent Islam to prevail. In the end, this might well have been the right decision.

In 1911, a carved stone was discovered covering a culvert near Cripps Road in Galle. The finder, provincial engineer Mr H. F. Tomalin, had it removed to safety. Scholarly excitement was immediate, but the inscriptions were only deciphered with some difficulty. The trilingual inscription is in the National Museum in Colombo; a copy may be found in the Maritime Museum in Galle, and another copy is in Nanjing.

The tablet was erected in 1411, to commemorate the second visit to Sri Lanka by the Chinese admiral Zheng He [Wade-Giles: Cheng Ho.], who commanded seven great voyages through the South China Seas and the Indian ocean between 1405 and 1433. On the first voyage, Zheng He reached Sri Lanka in 1406. The local ruler was unfriendly and the expedition hastily departed. The fleet sailed on to Calicut, the furthest port for the first expedition, where they were most impressed by the acumen and straight dealing of the traders. The second expedition went as far as Siam. The third sailed from China in 1409, and carried with it the trilingual tablet which Zheng He planned to erect in Sri Lanka. The date equates to 15 February 1409, indicating that it was inscribed in Nanjing before the fleet set out.)

The Chinese portion gives praise to Buddha and records lavish offerings in his honour:

"His Majesty the Emperor of the Great Ming dynasty has despatched the eunuchs Zheng He, Wang Jinghong and others to set forth his utterances before Lord Buddha, the World-Honoured One:

Deeply do we revere you, merciful and honoured one, whose bright perfection is wide-embracing, and whose way of virtue passes all understanding, whose law pervades all human relations, and the years of whose great era are as numerous as the sands of the river; you whose controlling influence ennobles and converts, whose kindness quickens, and whose strength discerns, whose mysterious efficacy is beyond compare! The mountainous isle of Sri Lanka lies in the south of the ocean, and its Buddhist temples are sanctuaries of your gospel, where your miraculous responsive power imbues and enlightens.

Of late we have despatched missions to announce our mandates to foreign nations, and during their journey over the ocean they have been favoured with the blessing of your benificent protection. They escaped disaster or misfortune, and journeyed in safety to and fro.

In everlasting recognition of your supreme virtue, we therefore bestow offerings in recompense, and do now reverently present before Buddha, the Honoured One, oblations of gold and silver, gold embroidered jewelled banners of variegated silk, incense burners and flower vases, silks of many colours in lining and exterior, lamps, candles, and other gifts, in order to manifest the high honour of the Lord Buddha. May his light shine upon the donors.

List of alms bestowed as offerings at the shrine of the Buddhist temple in the mountain of Ceylon:

1,000 pieces of gold; 5,000 pieces of silver; 50 rolls of embroidered silk in many colours; 50 rolls of silk taffeta, in many colours; 4 pairs of jewelled banners, gold embroidered and of variegated silk, 2 pairs of the same picked in red, one pair of the same in yellow, one pair in black; 5 antique brass incense burners; 5 pairs of antique brass flower vases picked in gold on lacquer, with gold stands; 5 yellow brass lamps picked in gold on lacquer with gold stands; 5 incense vessels in vermilion red, gold picked on lacquer, with gold stands; 6 pairs of golden lotus flowers; 2,500 catties of scented oil; 10 pairs of wax candles; 10 sticks of fragrant incense.

[Date: 15 February 1409]. A reverent oblation."

The Tamil portion of the tablet offered similar praise to the god Tenavarai-Nayanar, perhaps a local form of Shiva, and the Arabic inscription gave praise to Allah. To each god the Chinese offered similar lavish tributes. Such tactful even-handedness suggests that the Chinese were dealing with a cosmoplitan trading community. However, the aura of orderly diplomacy dissipated rapidly. The island comprised three warring states, and it was the chief Alakeswara who met Zheng He. Refusing to allow erection of the tablet, which he presumably considered a declaration of sovereignty, he beat the Chinese in a brief skirmish and drove them back to their ships. They sailed on to India, but returned to avenge the insult. What happened next is controversial, and the accounts are confused, but the Chinese abducted 'the king' (Alakeswara in the Chinese account, the legitimate king of Kotte according to the Sinhalese account). The captives were taken to the Ming capital at Nanjing, but released by the emperor and returned to Sri Lanka. There are stories of the Chinese taking the Sacred Tooth of the Buddha. Author Louise Levathes, trying to make sense of the conflicting accounts, guesses that the captive was the King of Kotte, who took the relic with him to China in order to prevent it from falling into the hands of the usurper Alakeswara, but in any event the Tooth too was soon back in Sri Lanka. The Yongle emperor claimed sovereignty over Sri Lanka and demanded regular tribute, and the Sinhalese went along with this for over forty years before refuting the obligation in 1459.

As well as the various religious influences in the country, the Chinese had noted its tremendous wealth of gemstones and pearls. They remarked on the curious impression in the country's highest mountain, a giant 'footprint' which Buddhists associate with the Buddha, Moslems with Adam, and Hindus with the god Shiva.

"The interior of this mountain produces red rubies, blue sapphires, yellow Oriental topaz, and other gems; they have each and every precious stone. Whenever heavy rain occurs, the water rushes out of the earth and flows down amidst the sand, and the people search in the sand0 for the stones. There is a saying that the precious stones are the crystallised tears of Buddha." [From The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores by Ma Huan, who accompanied Zheng He on three of the later expeditions.]

ADMIRAL ZHENG HE'S CHANGLE STELE

Sources: Teobaldo Filesi.
China and Africa in the Middle Ages.
London: Frank Cass, 1972; 57-61.
Annotated by Sander M. Molenaar
Translation: David Morison, 1972
Estimated Range of Dating: 1431

(In December 1431 an impressive fleet of over a hundred seagoing ships anchored in the harbor of Changle, Fujian, awaiting the northern wind that enabled the first leg of an expedition through Southeast Asia into the Indian Ocean. The principal imperial envoys, Zheng He and Wang Jinghong, took this opportunity to erect a stele in commemoration of six similar voyages during the Yongle reign (1402-1424).

The Yongle emperor took the throne from his nephew, the Jianwen emperor (r. 1398-1402), in a civil war that had long lasting effects on the relationship between the new emperor and the literate elite that staffed the bureaucratic system. The Yongle emperor relied on personal relations with castrated palace servants to circumvent bureaucracy, and in the process he allowed them to become a powerful faction at court. It is telling that the Changle stele was signed by Grand Directors and Regional Military Commissioners, in other words, eunuchs and military men, but not civil officials. According to Dreyer 70 eunuchs were in charge of the fleet that carried 302 military officers and 26,803 soldiers. 180 of the 190 civil officials were medical doctors, which leaves only 10 civil officials. (Dreyer. 2007: 127-8) The maritime expeditions to the Indian Ocean illustrated the personal influence of the Chinese emperor, which goes a long way to explain why six expeditions occurred during the Yongle reign, and one last expedition took place during the Xuande reign (1425-35).

he stele states that the emperor delighted in tribute envoys from foreign lands and so he commanded Zheng He and others to "go to their countries and confer presents on them, so as to transform them by displaying our power while treating distant peoples with kindness." (Dreyer. 2007: 195) Imperial envoys travelled with foreign ambassadors on detached squadrons to numerous larger and smaller courts in Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean littoral. In general they received a warm welcome, not in the least because tribute exchange profited foreign parties. On occasion the fleet met with hostility, or was drawn into local conflict by one or both parties. In the case of Chen Zuyi, a Palembang-based pirate from Guangdong, the detached squadrons reassembled before Chinese troops attacked and captured Chen. The Chinese envoys relied on a display of power, but when push came to shove they used military force to remove those who preyed on economic and diplomatic traffic along the maritime Silk Road.

The maritime expeditions grew out of an expansive policy during the Yongle reign. The emperor sent his eunuchs to known destinations to inform the people of the world that he ascended the throne. As eunuchs traveled they encountered people from more distant regions, usually maritime merchants. They brought them back to China and presented them to the emperor as ambassadors. The emperor received their tribute and then ordered the eunuchs to accompany them back to their home countries. The eunuchs thus expanded the known world for Ming China. The Ming emperor made the universal claim to rule all under heaven and his eunuchs left steles at home and abroad to reinforce this worldview. Eunuch led missions reached as far north as Sakhalin Island opposite the Amur River mouth where a stele was erected to celebrate the official title that the Ming emperor bestowed on a local chieftain. Other eunuchs traveled into central Asia as far as Samarkand and Herat. Numerous maritime voyages carried eunuchs to countries in south and southeast Asia, though the seven large scale expeditions into the Indian Ocean tend to overshadow the shorter voyages.

The Changle stele and a near identical stele at Liujiagang, where the fleet left the Yangzi River to enter the East China Sea, recorded the maritime expeditions in greater detail than most official sources, e.g. Ming Veritable Records, Ming History, perhaps because the civil officials responsible for official record keeping frowned upon the expensive voyages of their bitter rivals, the eunuchs. Furthermore, the inscriptions were commissioned by Zheng He and thus present the viewpoint of someone closely involved in the organization of the maritime expeditions. The inscriptions are therefore essential to a balanced understanding of the maritime expeditions. The two steles were erected near temples of Tianfei, a goddess associated with sailors, fishermen, and maritime merchants. The inscriptions praised her benevolence and at the same time they conveyed to temple visitors the extensive reach of Ming imperial power. A third stele at Galle, Sri Lanka, served a similar purpose. In Tamil, Persian, and Chinese it recorded the gifts that Zheng He bestowed on local temples in the name of the Yongle emperor. The steles are physical expressions of imperial power that remind the people at home and abroad of the extensive reach of the Ming emperor, even when the pious inscriptions give most of the credit to Tianfei and other deities.)

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This inscription was carved on a stele erected at a temple to the goddess the Celestial Spouse at Changle in Fujian province in 1431.

Record of the miraculous answer to prayer of the goddess the Celestial Spouse.

The Imperial Ming Dynasty unifying seas and continents, surpassing the three dynasties, even goes beyond the Han and Tang dynasties. The countries beyond the horizon and from the ends of the earth have all become subjects and to the most western of the western or the most northern of the northern countries, however far they may be, the distance and the routes may be calculated. Thus the barbarians from beyond the seas, though their countries are truly distant, "with double translation" have come to audience bearing precious objects and presents.

The Emperor, approving of their loyalty and sincerity, has ordered us, Zheng He and others, at the head of several tens of thousands of officers and flag-troops, to ascend more than one hundred large ships to go and confer presents on them in order to make manifest the transforming power of the imperial virtue and to treat distant people with kindness. From the third year of Yongle (1405) till now, we have seven times received the commission of ambassadors to countries of the western ocean. The barbarian countries which we have visited are: by way of Zhancheng (Champa), Zhaowa (Java), Sanfoqi (Palembang) and Xianlo (Siam) crossing straight over to Xilanshan (Ceylon) in South India, Guli (Calicut), and Kezhi (Cochin), we have gone to the western regions Hulumosi (Hormuz), Adan (Aden), Mugudushu (Mogadishu), altogether more than thirty countries large and small. We have traversed more than one hundred thousand li of immense water spaces and have beheld in the ocean huge waves like mountains rising sky-high, and we have set eyes on barbarian regions far away hidden in a blue transparency of light vapours, while our sails loftily unfurled like clouds day and night continued their course rapid like that of a star, traversing those savage waves as if we were treading a public thoroughfare. Truly this was due to the majesty and the good fortune of the Court and moreover we owe it to the protecting virtue of the divine Celestial Spouse.

The power of the goddess having indeed been manifested in previous times has been abundantly revealed in the present generation. In the midst of the rushing waters it happened that, when there was a hurricane, suddenly there was a divine lantern shining in the mast, and as soon as this miraculous light appeared the danger was appeased, so that even in the danger of capsising one felt reassured that there was no cause for fear. When we arrived in the distant countries we captured alive those of the native kings who were not respectful and exterminated those barbarian robbers who were engaged in piracy, so that consequently the sea route was cleansed and pacified and the natives put their trust in it. All this is due to the favours of the goddess.

It is not easy to enumerate completely all the cases where the goddess has answered prayers. Previously in a memorial to the Court we have requested that her virtue be registered in the Court of Sacrificial Worship and a temple be built at Nanking on the bank of the dragon river where regular sacrifices should be transmitted for ever. We have respectfully received an Imperial commemorative composition exalting the miraculous favours, which is the highest recompense and praise indeed. However, the miraculous power of the goddess resides wherever one goes. As for the temporary palace on the southern mountain at Changle, I have, at the head of the fleet, frequently resided there awaiting the favourable wind to set sail for the ocean.

We, Zheng He and others, on the one hand have received the high favour of a gracious commission of our Sacred Lord, and on the other hand carry to the distant barbarians the benefits of respect and good faith on their part. Commanding the multitudes on the fleet and being responsible for a quantity of money and valuables in the face of the violence of the winds and the nights our one fear is not to be able to succeed; how should we then dare not to serve our dynasty with exertion of all our loyalty and the gods with the utmost sincerity? How would it be possible not to realize what is the source of the tranquillity of the fleet and the troops and the salvation on the voyage both going and returning? Therefore we have made manifest the virtue of the goddess on stone and have moreover recorded the years and months of the voyages to the barbarian countries and the return in order to leave the memory for ever.

1. In the third year of Yongle (1405) commanding the fleet we went to Guli (Calicut) and other countries. At that time the pirate Chen Zuyi had gathered his followers in the country of Sanfoqi (Palembang), where he plundered the native merchants. When he also advanced to resist our fleet, supernatural soldiers secretly came to the rescue so that after one beating of the drum he was annihilated. In the fifth year (1407) we returned.

2. In the fifth year of Yongle (1407) commanding the fleet we went to Zhaowa (Java), Guli (Calicut), Kezhi (Cochin) and Xianle (Siam). The kings of these countries all sent as tribute precious objects, precious birds and rare animals. In the seventh year (1409) we returned.

3. In the seventh year of Yongle (1409) commanding the fleet we went to the countries visited before and took our route by the country of Xilanshan (Ceylon). Its king Yaliekunaier (Alagakkonara) was guilty of a gross lack of respect and plotted against the fleet. Owing to the manifest answer to prayer of the goddess the plot was discovered and thereupon that king was captured alive. In the ninth year (1411) on our return the king was presented to the throne as a prisoner; subsequently he received the Imperial favour of returning to his own country.

4. In the eleventh year of Yongle (1413) commanding the fleet we went to Hulumosi (Ormuz) and other countries. In the country of Sumendala (Samudra) there was a false king Suganla (Sekandar) who was marauding and invading his country. Its king Cainu-Liabiding (Zaynu-l-Abidin) had sent an envoy to the Palace Gates in order to lodge a complaint. We went thither with the official troups under our command and exterminated some and arrested (other rebels), and owing to the silent aid of the goddess we captured the false king alive. In the thirteenth year (1415) on our return he was presented to the Emperor as a prisoner. In that year the king of the country of Manlajia (Malacca) came in person with his wife and son to present tribute.

5. In the fifteenth year of Yongle (1417) commanding the fleet we visited the western regions. The country of Hulumosi (Ormuz) presented lions, leopards with gold spots and large western horses. The country of Adan (Aden) presented qilin of which the native name is culafa (giraffe), as well as the long-horned animal maha (oryx). The country of Mugudushu (Mogadishu) presented huafu lu ("striped" zebras) as well as lions. The country of Bulawa (Brava) presented camels which run one thousand li as well as camel-birds (ostriches). The countries of Zhaowa (Java) and Guli (Calicut) presented the animal miligao. They all vied in presenting the marvellous objects preserved in the mountains or hidden in the seas and the beautiful treasures buried in the sand or deposited on the shores. Some sent a maternal uncle of the king, others a paternal uncle or a younger brother of the king in order to present a letter of homage written on gold leaf as well as tribute.

6. In the nineteenth year of Yongle (1421) commanding the fleet we conducted the ambassadors from Hulumosi (Ormuz) and the other countries who had been in attendance at the capital for a long time back to their countries. The kings of all these countries prepared even more tribute than previously.

7. In the sixth year of Xuande (1431) once more commanding the fleet we have left for the barbarian countries in order to read to them an Imperial edict and to confer presents.

We have anchored in this port awaiting a north wind to take the sea, and recalling how previously we have on several occasions received the benefits of the protection of the divine intelligence we have thus recorded an inscription in stone.

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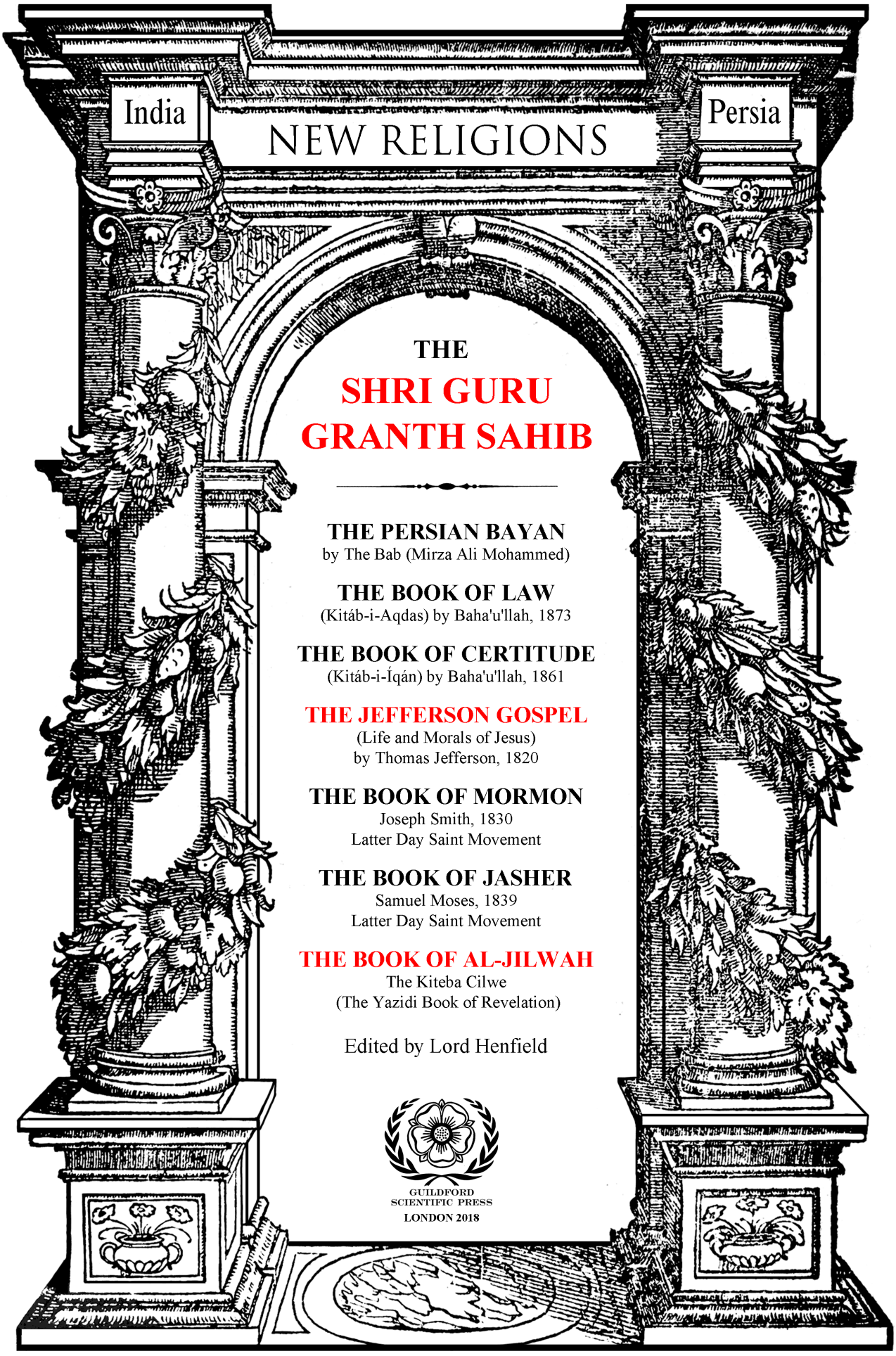

THE SHRI GURU GRANTH SAHIB

THE PERSIAN BAYAN
by The Bab (Mirza Ali Mohammed)

THE BOOK OF LAW
(Kitáb-i-Aqdas) by Baha'u'llah, 1873

THE BOOK OF CERTITUDE
(Kitáb-i-Íqán) by Baha'u'llah, 1861

THE JEFFERSON GOSPEL
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THE BOOK OF MORMON
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Latter Day Saint Movement

THE BOOK OF JASHER
Samuel Moses, 1839
Latter Day Saint Movement

THE BOOK OF AL-JILWAH
The Kiteba Cilwe
(The Yazidi Book of Revelation)

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NEW CREATIONS, RECONSTRUCTIONS,
FABRICATIONS
FALSIFICATIONS

(When we ask "What is Religion?" we can get many different answers. But when we ask "Why has religion been created in the first place?" we could answer "Religion has been created as political tool to control the masses." Most of the documents in the Grand Bible seem to support this view. This is, however, only half of the truth. Many individuals feel the need to be religious, they feel the need to be guided by God or gods, they feel the need to be part of a religious community, or they just feel their own vulnurability and seek consolation or even a kind of salvation through the belief in something higher. Nowadays, religion or belief is a private matter in Western societies. But that was not the case in the past.

The questions "Why do people falsify or just create new religious texts?" and for others, "Why do people invent new religions?" can have a large selection of different answers. As history shows us, an organised religion may need reform due to the inflexibility and corruption of its leadership. The stories of Jan Hus, Martin Luther or King Henry VIII give us good examples why some religious communities or organisations faced the demand for reform. When the leadership of such an organisation is in denial, war may be the consequence that can throw entire nations and their citizen into the abyss of total destruction. The Thirty-Years War (1618-1648) haunted the raped minds of the many nations of Germany for hundreds of years to come and let in the end to the total disaster of the two World Wars.

Filth in the System of Western Society

We all are swimming in the current of historical events. No one can escape it. During those two World Wars, the Church failed the people by not taking responsibility and speaking up against those who plunged millions of people into their certain death. Those who survived the artrocities and the carnage, mutilated in body and mind, tried to build a new world. The leaders of the Churches stayed silent, full of shame and guilt as to what has happened on their watch. Today, the cathedrals are empty.

Church leaders are being busy with their administrative tasks instead of reaching out to the people in person as Buddha and Jesus once did. Hardly any vicar or priest welcomes new arrivals to their communities by going to the residents' very doorstep and offering assistance and help. Such Jesus-like proselytising efforts have been totally abandoned during the last decades.

Spiritual poverty, lack of proper fact-based education, lack of skills, the shunning of a sensibly trained code of behaviour, the exaggerated focussing on anonymous teamwork, the absense of leadership of inspiring individuals, the absense of aims and feasable plans for the individual's future, ... all this leads to hopelessness and lack of prospect, emptiness of minds, the rampant "doesn't matter attitude," the abundance of ruthless egoism, unlimited selfishness, and in connexion with it the propagated victimhood instead of taking responsibility for oneself and the family.

People have no identity anymore. The lack of virtuous Philosophy at schools makes people not free but vulnurable. Hypocricy, Dissimulation, Cant, Dishonesty, silly Gossip, stupid Ideology and its Propaganda are marching into our unprepared minds and souls via media like PC and mobile phone. E

mpty ideologies such as Political Correctness, Wokeness and Identity Politics seem to replace virtue. This affects mainly young academics of the leading Middle and Upper Classes. The lower classes are increasingly disenchanted with those inept leaders who have not the wellfare of their very own people at their heart but the wellfare of themselves and people who have nothing to do with the natives. This kind of globalism is explosive as an open gunpowder barrel with a cigarette smoker standing right in front of it.

Virtue is moral excellence (The opposite of virtue is vice). A virtue is a trait or quality that is deemed to be morally good and thus is valued as a foundation of principle and good moral being. In other words, it is a behaviour that shows high moral standards: doing what is right and avoiding what is wrong. In earlier generations, virtue have been taught via religious or philosophical doctrines.

Virtues such as Honour, Authority, Gentleness and Mercy, Discipline, Selflessness, Dutifulness, Respect towards one another, and Good Manners, have been killed by the enemies of a well-functioning society and state during the 1960s to the 1990s. Justice, Prudence, Courage, Restraint or Abstention, the strive for Wisdom and Skill, and living according to the Golden Rule (described in the Five Precepts and the Ten Commandments) are dying now. Our highly sophisticated societies are on the verge to become prey to their enemies. It is no good to deny that there are enemies circumambulating us like a starving pack of wolves.

Dangerous Symbiont

In Islam, the Koran is believed to be the literal word of God, and the definitive description of virtue while Muhammad is considered an "ideal example of virtue" in human form. According to the Constitutions of most Islamic states, this includes also "the Sunna," the traditions of Mohammed, the "Sira" and the "Hadith" by name. As the Koran itself is only a small notebook, the Sunna gives all explanations to understand what is written in the Koran. Without the Sunna, a Muslim would not even know how to practise Islam; by reading the Koran alone because the Five Pillars of Islam are to be found in the Sunna. The foundation of Islamic understanding of virtue has always been the understanding and interpretation of the Koran, the Sira, and the Hadith, meaning the practices of Mohammed. All these 3 scriptures make the Islamic law, the Sharia. Its meaning has always been in context of the submission to Allah and Mohammed.

One can appreciate an enemy best by studying him thoroughly. And it clearly is the doctrine in the Koran, the Sira, and the Hadith, that makes Islam dangerous not only in our time but already for 1,400 years. The 3 books of Islam divide humanity into 2 humanities: The Muslims (who must be virtuous toward any other Muslim), and the Non-Muslim (to whom the Muslims can deny virtuous behaviour). The Non-Muslims are called "The House of War" to which the Muslim is obliged to make all kinds of war, he has no choice! One of the most important political doctrines of Islam is migration; the entire Islamic calendar is based on it due its huge success. The start game is Sharia with its demand for Halal food, then for prayer times and places. The end game is always the total subjugation of the (meanwhile dearmed) population by war and civil war. There has been no exception from this rule during the last 1,400 years of Islamic conquest!

THE SIKH FAITH

By the end of the 15th century, a Hindu scholar and Guru called Nanak (1469–1539) realised that. He also realised that Hindus, Jains and Buddhists did fight Islam only reluctantly. Due to their over-pacifistic doctrines, they were easy prey for the Muslim hordes who just slaughtered them. Up to then, for hundreds of years, Muslims like Timur (1336–1405) drowned the Indian subcontinent into rivers of blood. They tried to subjugate Indians in about 500 wars and battles with hundreds of cities in flames and towers built of thousands of chopped-off heads. In these events, which are known as "the Indian Holocaust," died between 50 million and 80 million Hindus, Jains, Buddhists, Zoroastrians, Jews, and Christians.

At the forefront was northwestern India with the Punjab Region in its middle. There, the Indians founded a counter movement, today known as Sikhism, also called the Sikh Faith. Right from the start, it was organised as religion, but also as an army and an organisation to help each other. The Sikh leaders were called Guru which means teacher; the word Sikh means learner. Upon the death of the 10th Guru, Gobind Singh (1666–1708), the spirit of the eternal Guru transferred itself to the sacred scripture of Sikhism, called The Shri Guru Granth Sahib ("The Granth as the Master Guru"), also known as the Adi Granth ("First Volume or First Master"), which thereafter was regarded as the sole Guru. The Sikh Faith is the first religion that declared women free and equal to men. The women soon armed themselves with knives or swords to oppose those Muslims who wanted to rape them as spoil of war. Women-generals appeared on the battlefields. And to the shame of Muslims, even armies of women were now fighting against them. Today, the Sikh women are still armed and Sikhism is the fifth-largest religion in the World. In the early 21st century there were nearly 25 million Sikhs worldwide, the great majority of them living in the Indian state of Punjab.

Sikh ethics emphasise the corresponding relationship between spiritual development and everyday moral conduct. Its founder Guru Nanak summarised this perspective: "Truth is the highest virtue, but higher still is truthful living." In its earliest stage Sikhism was clearly a movement within the Hindu tradition; Nanak was raised a Hindu and eventually belonged to the Sant tradition of northern India, a movement associated with the great poet and mystic Kabir (1440–1518). The Sants, most of whom were poor, dispossessed, and illiterate, composed hymns of great beauty expressing their experience of the divine, which they saw in all things. Some scholars have argued that the Sants were influenced by Islam through their contact with the Mughal rulers of India from the early 16th century, but there is in fact little indication of this, though Sufism (Islamic mysticism) may have had a marginal effect. The tradition of the Sants drew heavily on the Vaishnava bhakti (the devotional movement within the Hindu tradition that worships the god Vishnu), though there were important differences between the two. Like the followers of bhakti, the Sants believed that devotion to God is essential to liberation from the cycle of rebirth in which all human beings are trapped; unlike the followers of bhakti, however, the Sants maintained that God is nirgun ("without form") and not sagun ("with form"). For the Sants, God can be neither incarnated nor represented in concrete terms.

THE BAHA'I FAITH

Islam was also the cause for the rise of the Baha'i Faith. This religion founded in Iran in the mid-19th century by Mirza Ḥoseyn Ali Nuri, who is known as Baha Ullah (Arabic: "Glory of God"). The cornerstone of Baha'i belief is the conviction that Baha Ullah and his forerunner, who was known as the Bab, were manifestations of God, who in his essence is unknowable. Both of these scholars were disillusionised when they studied Islamic scripture in detail. The realised that the seed of Islamic violence against women and Non-Muslims were laid in the Koran, the Sira, and the Hadith themselves. They turned their back on Islam and - one can guess - thousands of Baha'is were tortured and killed.

The principal Baha'i tenets are the essential unity of all religions and the unity of humanity. Baha'is believe that all the founders of the world's great religions have been manifestations of God and agents of a progressive divine plan for the education of the human race. Despite their apparent differences, the world's great religions, according to the Baha'is, teach an identical truth. Baha Ullah's peculiar function was to overcome the disunity of religions and establish a universal faith. Baha'is believe in the oneness of humanity and devote themselves to the abolition of racial, class, and religious prejudices. The great bulk of Baha'i teachings is concerned with social ethics; the faith has no priesthood and does not observe ritual forms in its worship.

History

The Baha'i religion originally grew out of the Babi faith, or sect, which was founded in 1844 by Mirza 'Ali Moḥammad of Shiraz in Iran. He proclaimed a spiritual doctrine emphasising the forthcoming appearance of a new prophet or messenger of God who would overturn old beliefs and customs and usher in a new era. Though new, these beliefs originated in Shi'ite Islam, which believed in the forthcoming return of the 12th imam (successor of Muḥammad), who would renew religion and guide the faithful. Mirza 'Ali Moḥammad first proclaimed his beliefs in 1844 and assumed the title of the Bab (Persian: "Gateway"). Soon the Bab's teachings spread throughout Iran, provoking strong opposition from both the Shi'ite Muslim clergy and the government. The Bab was arrested and, after several years of incarceration, was excecuted in 1850. Large-scale persecutions of his adherents, the Babis, followed and ultimately cost 20,000 people their lives.

One of the Bab's earliest disciples and strongest exponents was Mirza Ḥoseyn Ali Nuri, who had assumed the name of Baha Ullah when he renounced his social standing and joined the Babis. Baha Ullah was arrested in 1852 and jailed in Tehran, where he became aware that he was the prophet and messenger of God whose coming had been predicted by the Bab. He was released in 1853 and exiled to Baghdad, where his leadership revived the Babi community. In 1863, shortly before being moved by the Ottoman government to Constantinople, Baha Ullah declared to his fellow Babis that he was the messenger of God foretold by the Bab. An overwhelming majority of Babis acknowledged his claim and thenceforth became known as Baha'is. Baha Ullah was subsequently confined by the Ottomans in Adrianople (now Edirne, Turkey) and then in Acre in Palestine (now Akko, Israel). Before Baha Ullah died in 1892, he appointed his eldest son, Abd ol-Baha (1844–1921), to be the leader of the Baha'i community and the authorised interpreter of his teachings. Abd ol-Baha actively administered the movement's affairs and spread the faith to North America, Europe, and other continents. He appointed his eldest grandson, Shoghi Effendi Rabbani (1897–1957), his successor. The Baha'i faith underwent a rapid expansion beginning in the 1960s, and by the late 20th century it had more than 150 national spiritual assemblies (national governing bodies) and about 20,000 local spiritual assemblies. After Islamic fundamentalists came to power in Iran in 1979, the 300,000 Baha'is there were persecuted by the government. Rightfully, the Islamic rulers have recognised the Baha'i Faith as dangerous for Islam. The know that Baha'i Faith is the perfect alternative for a Muslim who wants to leave Islam for a more peaceful variant in which he still can pray to Allah but without all the violent attitudes of Mohammed.

Practices

The writings and spoken words of the Bab, Baha Ullah, and Abd ol-Baha form the sacred literature of the Baha'i faith. Membership in the Baha'i community is open to all who profess faith in Baha Ullah and accept his teachings. There are no initiation ceremonies, no sacraments, and no clergy. Every Baha'i, however, is under the spiritual obligation to pray daily; to abstain totally from narcotics, alcohol, or any substances that affect the mind; to practice monogamy; to obtain the consent of parents to marriage; and to attend the Nineteen Day Feast on the first day of each month of the Baha'i calendar. If capable, those between the ages of 15 and 70 are required to fast 19 days a year, going without food or drink from sunrise to sunset. The Nineteen Day Feast, originally instituted by the Bab, brings together the Baha'is

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of a given locality for prayer, the reading of scriptures, the discussion of community activities, and for the enjoyment of one another's company. The feasts are designed to ensure universal participation in the affairs of the community and the cultivation of the spirit of brotherhood and fellowship. There are Baha'i houses of worship in Wilmette, Illinois, U.S.; Frankfurt am Main, Germany; Kampala, Uganda; Sydney, Australia; Panama City, Panama; Apia, Samoa; and New Delhi, India. In the temples there is no preaching; services consist of recitation of the scriptures of all religions.

The Baha'is use a calendar established by the Bab and confirmed by Baha Ullah, in which the year is divided into 19 months of 19 days each, with the addition of 4 intercalary days (5 in leap years). The year begins on the first day of spring, March 21, which is one of several holy days in the Baha'i calendar.

Organisation

The Baha'i community is governed according to general principles proclaimed by Baha Ullah and through institutions created by him that were elaborated and expanded by Abd ol-Baha. The governance of the Baha'i community begins on the local level with the election of a local spiritual assembly. The electoral process excludes parties or factions, nominations, and campaigning for office. The local spiritual assembly has jurisdiction over all local affairs of the Baha'i community. On the national scale, each year Baha'is elect delegates to a national convention that elects a national spiritual assembly with jurisdiction over Baha'i's throughout an entire country. All national spiritual assemblies of the world periodically constitute themselves an international convention and elect a supreme governing body known as the Universal House of Justice. This body applies the laws promulgated by Baha Ullah and legislates on matters not covered in the sacred texts. The seat of the Universal House of Justice is in Haifa, Israel, in the immediate vicinity of the shrines of the Bab and Abd ol-Baha, and near the Shrine of Baha Ullah at Bahji near Akko.

There also exist in the Baha'i faith appointive institutions, such as the Hands of the Cause of God and the continental counselors. The members of the Hands of the Cause of God were appointed by Baha Ullah and Shoghi Effendi. The continental counselors are appointed by the Universal House of Justice. The primary functions of both groups are to propagate the Baha'i faith and protect the community. The communities of the Sikh Faith and the Baha'i Faith recognise each other and keep some kind of diplomatic relationship running.)

THE GOSPEL OF JESUS' WIFE

Source: An East-German Museum
Earlier Provenance: unknown
Papyrus material genuine, text forged
Translation: Karen Leigh King, 2012
Estimated Range of Dating: 20th century A.D.

(The Gospel of Jesus' Wife is a papyrus fragment in the size of a business card with Coptic text that includes words that implied Jesus was married. The fragment was first presented by Harvard Divinity School Professor Karen L. King, who suggested that the papyrus contained a 4th-century Coptic translation of a gospel likely composed in Greek in the late second century.

Until June 2016, nothing was known about the origin of the papyrus. The story is rather weird.

It was reported that an anonymous owner had acquired the fragment in 1997 as part of a cache of papyri and other documents. This cache was said to have been bought from a German-American collector who, in turn, had acquired it in the 1960s in East Germany. Among the other documents in that cache were: (1st) a type-written letter dated July 15, 1982 addressed to a Hans-Ulrich Laukamp from Prof. Dr. Peter Munro (Ägyptologisches Seminar, Freie Universität Berlin) which only mentions one of the papyri, reporting that a colleague, Prof. Fecht, had identified it as a 2nd – 4th-century AD fragment of the Gospel of John in Coptic, and giving recommendations as to its preservation; and (2nd) an undated and unsigned hand-written note in German and seemingly referring to the Gospel of Jesus' Wife fragment. According to this note, "Professor Fecht" believed it to be the only instance of a text in which Jesus uses direct speech to refer to a wife.

In June 2016, Ariel Sabar published an article in The Atlantic which identified the previous owner of the papyrus as Walter Fritz, a former Egyptology student who left his job at a German museum after items from the museum went missing.

Before King published the discovery of the fragment, she asked Anne-Marie Luijendijk and fellow papyrologist Roger S. Bagnall of the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World at New York University to review the fragment. They both doubted that the text was forged but rather determined that it was likely authentic, both because of the skills which would have been required to forge the fragment and because the papyrus seemed to have been in a collection for many years without having been announced.

As the official Church doctrine was at stake and as usual in such cases, the Roman Catholic Church, through Giovanni Maria Vian, the editor of L'Osservatore Romano, the Vatican's official newspaper, dismissed the fragment as fake.

In October 2012, Andrew Bernhard observed that there is a close resemblance between Grondin's Interlinear of the Gospel of Thomas and the text that the forger appeared to have used to compose the text of the Gospel. Karen King has now made available the interlinear translation provided to her by the owner of the papyrus, and Bernhard has shown that every line shows evidence of copying from Grondin's Interlinear. Leo Depuydt of Brown University found it ridiculous that in the Gospel of Jesus' Wife, the word "my" in the phrase "my wife" is written in bold, as if to stress the idea that Jesus was married. Depuydt also said that he had never seen bold writing used in a single Coptic text before. Dr. Askeland also found it suspicious that the author of the fragment wrote the same letter in different ways. In addition, Askeland showed that the fragment is "a match for a papyrus fragment that is clearly a forgery." This second fragment, containing part of the Gospel of John, belongs to the same anonymous owner, and is now overwhelmingly considered a fake.

In defense of the text's authenticity, Ariel Shisha-Halevy, Professor of Linguistics at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and a leading expert on the Coptic language, concluded that the language itself offered no evidence of forgery. King also found examples from a new discovery in Egypt that has the same kind of grammar, showing that at least one unusual case is not unique.

A radiocarbon dating analysis of the papyrus performed by Harvard University and the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution found a mean date of AD 741. A Raman spectroscopy analysis at Columbia University found that the ink was consistent with those in manuscripts from 400 BC to 800 AD. These analyses indicates that the fragment as a material artifact is not modern but most likely from the early Middle Ages.

Lack of provinence is the main problem. Just like the James ossuary, the little scrap of papyrus appeared out of nowhere just a few years after the publication of the Gospel of Philip in which Jesus kisses Mary Magdalene. It is a bit as if the document wants to say "Hello 21st century Christians, do you know, Jesus had a wife?" Christian seem not to know that there were two different characters called Jesus. One was the real Jesus who was a rabbi and probably a member of the ancient Messianic Movement. Anyone who knows a little about Jewish life knows that the rabbis were married otherwise they would have been viewed as cranks. The other Jesus was a literary creation by Saul of Tarsos as he admitted himself. On the way of Damascus he had "a vision" of Jesus. And his phantasy Jesus was not married. It is as simple as that. As the majority of scholars deem this document a forgery, we place the document here among New Creations.)

Translation
recto (along the fibres →)
1] "not [to] me. My mother gave to me li[fe…"
2] ." The disciples said to Jesus, ".[
3] deny. Mary is (not?) worthy of it [
4]…" Jesus said to them, "My wife . .[
5]… she is able to be my disciple . . [
6] . Let wicked people swell up … [
7] . As for me, I am with her1 in order to . [
8] . an image … [

verso (against the fibres ↓)
1] my moth[er
2] thr[ee
3] … [
4] forth …[
5] (untranslatable) [
6] (untranslatable) [

THE JEFFERSON BIBLE

The Life and Morals of Jesus of Nazareth
Extracted Textually from the Gospels
in Greek, Latin, French, and English
by Thomas Jefferson
Estimated Range of Dating: Summer, 1820

(The Life and Morals of Jesus of Nazareth, commonly referred to as the Jefferson Bible, refers to one of two religious works constructed by Thomas Jefferson. In 1804, Jefferson composed a short monograph titled The Philosophy of Jesus of Nazareth. The subtitle explains that the work is "extracted from the account of his life and the doctrines as given by Matthew, Mark, Luke and John." In it, Jefferson presented what he understood was the true message of Jesus. No copies exist today. The second, The Life and Morals of Jesus of Nazareth, was completed in 1820 by cutting and pasting numerous sections from the New Testament as extractions of the doctrine of Jesus. Jefferson basically made a single condensed gospel composition, out of the gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, in order to extract Jesus' authentic teaching. He cut out those parts that he believed to have had been added by the writers or later editors of the four Gospels: repetitions, perceived misinterpretations, supernatural aspects, including sections that contain the Resurrection and most other miracles, and passages that portray Jesus as divine.

Jefferson was a polymath and inventor, and consistent with his naturalistic outlook and intent, most supernatural descriptions and things that let people to create an empty cult of personality had to be removed because they would distract believers from the teachings of Jesus. For the teachings of Jesus he concentrated on his milder admonitions, as the Sermon on the Mount, and his most memorable parables. What resulted is a reasonably coherent work. Jefferson managed to focus on Jesus' role as a great moral teacher, not as a shaman or faith healer. Jefferson never referred to his work as a Bible. After completion of this work in 1820, Jefferson shared it with a number of friends, but he never allowed it to be published during his lifetime. Although Jefferson's work could be seen as forgery or at least as some sort of interferrence, it is a most remarkable experiment. It is the first work that cleary focusses on the teachings of Jesus as opposed to the cult of personality Jesus has been reduced to by the Church. Verdict: Very recommendable for teachers of religion and Church officials.)

JEFFERSON CHAPTER 1

1 And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed.

2 (And this taxing was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria.)

3 And all went to be taxed, every one into his own city.

4 And Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth, into Judaea, unto the city of David, which is called Bethlehem; (because he was of the house and lineage of David:)

5 To be taxed with Mary his espoused wife, being great with child.

6 And so it was, that, while they were there, the days were accomplished that she should be delivered.

7 And she brought forth her firstborn son, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger; because there was no room for them in the inn.

8 And when eight days were accomplished for the circumcising of the child, his name was called JESUS.

9 And when they had performed all things according to the law of the Lord, they returned into Galilee, to their own city Nazareth.

10 And the child grew, and waxed strong in spirit, filled with wisdom: and the grace of God was upon him.

11 And when he was twelve years old, they went up to Jerusalem, after the custom of the feast.

12 And when they had fulfilled the days, as they returned, the child Jesus tarried behind in Jerusalem; and Joseph and his mother knew not of it.

13 But they, supposing him to have been in the company, went a day's journey; and they sought him among their kinsfolk and acquaintances.

14 And when they found him not, they turned back again to Jerusalem, seeking him.

15 And it came to pass, that after three days they found him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them, and asking them questions.

16 And all that heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers.

17 And when they saw him, they were amazed: and his mother said unto him, Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? behold, thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing.

18 And he went down with them, and came to Nazareth, and was subject unto them.

19 And Jesus increased in wisdom and stature.

20 Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judaea, and Herod being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of Ituraea and of the region of Trachonitis, and Lysanias the tetrarch of Abilene, 21 Annas and Caiaphas being the high priests,

22 John did baptize in the wilderness.

23 And the same John had his raiment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins; and his meat was locusts and wild honey.

24 Then went out to him Jerusalem, and all Judaea, and all the region round about Jordan,

25 And were baptized of him in Jordan.

26 Then cometh Jesus from Galilee to Jordan unto John, to be baptized of him.

27 And Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age.

28 After this he went down to Capernaum, he, and his mother, and his brethren, and his disciples: and they continued there not many days.

29 And the Jews' passover was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem.

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30 And found in the temple those that sold oxen and sheep and doves, and the changers of money sitting:
31 And when he had made a scourge of small cords, he drove them all out of the temple, and the sheep, and the oxen; and poured out the changers' money, and overthrew the tables;
32 And said unto them that sold doves, Take these things hence; make not my Father's house an house of merchandise.
33 After these things came Jesus and his disciples into the land of Judaea; and there he tarried with them, and baptized.
34 Now when Jesus had heard that John was cast into prison, he departed into Galilee;
35 For Herod himself had sent forth and laid hold upon John, and bound him in prison for Herodias' sake, his brother Philip's wife: for he had married her.
36 For John had said unto Herod, It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife.
37 Therefore Herodias had a quarrel against him, and would have killed him; but she could not:
38 For Herod feared John, knowing that he was a just man and an holy, and observed him; and when he heard him, he did many things, and heard him gladly.
39 And when a convenient day was come, that Herod on his birthday made a supper to his lords, high captains, and chief estates of Galilee;
40 And when the daughter of the said Herodias came in, and danced, and pleased Herod and them that sat with him, the king said unto the damsel, Ask of me whatsoever thou wilt, and I will give it thee.
41 And he sware unto her, Whatsoever thou shalt ask of me, I will give it thee, unto the half of my kingdom.
42 And she went forth, and said unto her mother, What shall I ask? And she said, The head of John the Baptist.
43 And she came in immediately with haste unto the king, and asked, saying, I will that thou give me by and by in a charger the head of John the Baptist.
44 And the king was exceeding sorry; yet for his oath's sake, and for their sakes which sat with him, he would not reject her.
45 And immediately the king sent an executioner, and commanded his head to be brought: and he went and beheaded him in the prison,
46 And brought his head in a charger, and gave it to the damsel: and the damsel gave it to her mother.
47 And they went into Capernaum; and straightway on the sabbath day he entered into the synagogue, and taught.
48 And they were astonished at his doctrine: for he taught them as one that had authority, and not as the scribes.
49 At that time Jesus went on the sabbath day through the corn; and his disciples were an hungred, and began to pluck the ears of corn and to eat.
50 But when the Pharisees saw it, they said unto him, Behold, thy disciples do that which is not lawful to do upon the sabbath day.
51 But he said unto them, Have ye not read what David did, when he was an hungred, and they that were with him;
52 How he entered into the house of God, and did eat the shewbread, which was not lawful for him to eat, neither for them which were with him, but only for the priests?
53 Or have ye not read in the law, how that on the sabbath days the priests in the temple profane the sabbath, and are blameless?
54 And when he was departed thence, he went into their synagogue:
55 And, behold, there was a man which had his hand withered. And they asked him, saying, Is it lawful to heal on the sabbath days? that they might accuse him.
56 And he said unto them, What man shall there be among you, that shall have one sheep, and if it fall into a pit on the sabbath day, will he not lay hold on it, and lift it out?
57 How much then is a man better than a sheep? Wherefore it is lawful to do well on the sabbath days.
58 And he said unto them, The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath.
59 Then the Pharisees went out, and held a council against him, how they might destroy him.
60 But when Jesus knew it, he withdrew himself from thence: and great multitudes followed him.
61 And it came to pass in those days, that he went out into a mountain to pray, and continued all night in prayer to God.
62 And when it was day, he called unto him his disciples: and of them he chose twelve, whom also he named apostles;
63 Simon, (whom he also named Peter,) and Andrew his brother, James and John, Philip and Bartholomew,
64 Matthew and Thomas, James the son of Alphaeus, and Simon called Zealotes,
65 And Judas the brother of James, and Judas Iscariot, which also was the traitor.
66 And he came down with them, and stood in the plain, and the company of his disciples, and a great multitude of people out of all Judaea and Jerusalem, and from the sea coast of Tyre and Sidon, which came to hear him.

JEFFERSON CHAPTER 2

1 And seeing the multitudes, he went up into a mountain: and when he was set, his disciples came unto him:
2 And he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying,
3 Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.
4 Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.
5 Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.
6 Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.
7 Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.
8 Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.
9 Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.
10 Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.
11 Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.
12 Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.
13 But woe unto you that are rich! for ye have received your consolation.
14 Woe unto you that are full! for ye shall hunger. Woe unto you that laugh now! for ye shall mourn and weep.
15 Woe unto you, when all men shall speak well of you! for so did their fathers to the false prophets.
16 Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted? it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men.
17 Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid.
18 Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house.
19 Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.
20 Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil.
21 For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled.
22 Whosoever therefore shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven: but whosoever shall do and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven.
23 For I say unto you, That except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven.
24 Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgement:
25 But I say unto you, That whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgement: and whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council: but whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire.
26 Therefore if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee;
27 Leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.
28 Agree with thine adversary quickly, whiles thou art in the way with him; lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison.
29 Verily I say unto thee, Thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing.
30 Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery:
31 But I say unto you, That whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.
32 And if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell.
33 And if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell.
34 It hath been said, Whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement:
35 But I say unto you, That whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery: and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced committeth adultery.
36 Again, ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths:
37 But I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by heaven; for it is God's throne:
38 Nor by the earth; for it is his footstool: neither by Jerusalem; for it is the city of the great King.
39 Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black.
40 But let your communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil.
41 Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth:
42 But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.
43 And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also.
44 And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain.
45 Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away.
46 Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy.
47 But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you;
48 That ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.
49 For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? do not even the publicans the same?
50 And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? do not even the publicans so?
51 And if ye lend to them of whom ye hope to receive, what thank have ye? for sinners also lend to sinners, to receive as much again.
52 But love ye your enemies, and do good, and lend, hoping for nothing again; and your reward shall be great, and ye shall be the children of the Highest: for he is kind unto the unthankful and to the evil.
53 Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father also is merciful.

JEFFERSON CHAPTER 3

1 Take heed that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them: otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven.
2 Therefore when thou doest thine alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men. Verily I say unto you, They have their reward.
3 But when thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth:
4 That thine alms may be in secret: and thy Father which seeth in secret himself shall reward thee openly.
5 And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are: for they love to pray standing in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men. Verily I say unto you, They have their reward.
6 But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly.
7 But when ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathen do: for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking.
8 Be not ye therefore like unto them: for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of, before ye ask him.
9 After this manner therefore pray ye: Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name.
10 Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven.
11 Give us this day our daily bread.
12 And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.
13 And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil: For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen.
14 For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you:
15 But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses.
16 Moreover when ye fast, be not, as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance: for they disfigure their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast. Verily I say unto you, They have their reward.
17 But thou, when thou fastest, anoint thine head, and wash thy face;
18 That thou appear not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which is in secret: and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly.
19 Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal:
20 But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal:
21 For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.
22 The light of the body is the eye: if therefore thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light.
23 But if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness. If therefore the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!

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24 No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.
25 Therefore I say unto you, Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment?
26 Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they?
27 Which of you by taking thought can add one cubit to his stature?
28 And why take ye thought for raiment? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin:
29 And yet I say unto you, That even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.
30 Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to day is, and to morrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith?
31 Therefore take no thought, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed?
32 (For after all these things do the Gentiles seek:) for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things.
33 But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you.
34 Take therefore no thought for the morrow: for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.
35 Judge not, that ye be not judged.
36 For with what judgement ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.
37 Give, and it shall be given unto you; good measure, pressed down, and shaken together, and running over, shall men give into your bosom.
38 And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?
39 Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, Let me pull out the mote out of thine eye; and, behold, a beam is in thine own eye?
40 Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.
41 Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you.
42 Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you:
43 For every one that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened.
44 Or what man is there of you, whom if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone?
45 Or if he ask a fish, will he give him a serpent?
46 If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him?
47 Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets.
48 Enter ye in at the strait gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat:
49 Because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.
50 Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves.
51 Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?
52 Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit.
53 A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.
54 Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.
55 Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them.
56 A good man out of the good treasure of the heart bringeth forth good things: and an evil man out of the evil treasure bringeth forth evil things.
57 But I say unto you, That every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgement.
58 For by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned.
59 Therefore whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock:
60 And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not: for it was founded upon a rock.
61 And every one that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand:
62 And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell: and great was the fall of it.
63 And it came to pass, when Jesus had ended these sayings, the people were astonished at his doctrine:
64 For he taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes.

JEFFERSON CHAPTER 4

1 When he was come down from the mountain, great multitudes followed him.
2 And he went round about the villages, teaching.
3 Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.
4 Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls.
5 For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light.
6 And one of the Pharisees desired him that he would eat with him. And he went into the Pharisee's house, and sat down to meat.
7 And, behold, a woman in the city, which was a sinner, when she knew that Jesus sat at meat in the Pharisee's house, brought an alabaster box of ointment,
8 And stood at his feet behind him weeping, and began to wash his feet with tears, and did wipe them with the hairs of her head, and kissed his feet, and anointed them with the ointment.
9 Now when the Pharisee which had bidden him saw it, he spake within himself, saying, This man, if he were a prophet, would have known who and what manner of woman this is that toucheth him: for she is a sinner.
10 And Jesus answering said unto him, Simon, I have somewhat to say unto thee. And he saith, Master, say on.
11 There was a certain creditor which had two debtors: the one owed five hundred pence, and the other fifty.
12 And when they had nothing to pay, he frankly forgave them both. Tell me therefore, which of them will love him most?
13 Simon answered and said, I suppose that he, to whom he forgave most. And he said unto him, Thou hast rightly judged.
14 And he turned to the woman, and said unto Simon, Seest thou this woman? I entered into thine house, thou gavest me no water for my feet: but she hath washed my feet with tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head.
15 Thou gavest me no kiss: but this woman since the time I came in hath not ceased to kiss my feet.
16 My head with oil thou didst not anoint: but this woman hath anointed my feet with ointment.
17 There came then his brethren and his mother, and, standing without, sent unto him, calling him.
18 And the multitude sat about him, and they said unto him, Behold, thy mother and thy brethren without seek for thee.
19 And he answered them, saying, Who is my mother, or my brethren?
20 And he looked round about on them which sat about him, and said, Behold my mother and my brethren!
21 For whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and my sister, and mother.
22 In the mean time, when there were gathered together an innumerable multitude of people, insomuch that they trode one upon another, he began to say unto his disciples first of all, Beware ye of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy.
23 For there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed; neither hid, that shall not be known.
24 Therefore whatsoever ye have spoken in darkness shall be heard in the light; and that which ye have spoken in the ear in closets shall be proclaimed upon the housetops.
25 And I say unto you my friends, Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do.
26 But I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear: Fear him, which after he hath killed hath power to cast into hell; yea, I say unto you, Fear him.
27 Are not five sparrows sold for two farthings? And not one of them is forgotten before God?
28 But even the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear not therefore: ye are of more value than many sparrows.
29 And one of the company said unto him, Master, speak to my brother, that he divide the inheritance with me.
30 And he said unto him, Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you?
31 And he said unto them, Take heed, and beware of all manner of covetousness: for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth.
32 And he spake a parable unto them, saying, The ground of a certain rich man brought forth plentifully:
33 And he thought within himself, saying, What shall I do, because I have no room where to bestow my fruits?
34 And he said, This will I do: I will pull down my barns, and build greater; and there will I bestow all my fruits and my goods.
35 And I will say to my soul, Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry.
36 But God said unto him, Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee: then whose shall those things be, which thou hast provided?
37 So is he that layeth up treasure for himself, and is not rich toward God.
38 And he said unto his disciples, Therefore I say unto you, Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat; neither for the body, what ye shall put on.
39 The life is more than meat, and the body is more than raiment.
40 Consider the ravens: for they neither sow nor reap; which neither have storehouse nor barn; and God feedeth them: how much more are ye better than the fowls?
41 And which of you with taking thought can add to his stature one cubit?
42 If ye then be not able to do that thing which is least, why take ye thought for the rest?
43 Consider the lilies how they grow: they toil not, they spin not; and yet I say unto you, that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.
44 If then God so clothe the grass, which is to day in the field, and to morrow is cast into the oven; how much more will he clothe you, O ye of little faith?
45 And seek not ye what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, neither be ye of doubtful mind.
46 For all these things do the nations of the world seek after: and your Father knoweth that ye have need of these things.
47 But rather seek ye the kingdom of God; and all these things shall be added unto you.
48 Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom.
49 Sell that ye have, and give alms; provide yourselves bags which wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not, where no thief approacheth, neither moth corrupteth.
50 For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.
51 Let your loins be girded about, and your lights burning;
52 And ye yourselves like unto men that wait for their lord, when he will return from the wedding feast; that when he cometh and knocketh, they may open unto him immediately.
53 Blessed are those servants, whom the lord when he cometh shall find watching: verily I say unto you, that he shall gird himself, and make them to sit down to meat, and will come forth and serve them.
54 And if he shall come in the second watch, or come in the third watch, and find them so, blessed are those servants.
55 And this know, that if the goodman of the house had known what hour the thief would come, he would have watched, and not have suffered his house to be broken through.
56 Be ye therefore ready also: for the Son of man cometh at an hour when ye think not.
57 Then Peter said unto him, Lord, speakest thou this parable unto us, or even to all?
58 And the Lord said, Who then is that faithful and wise steward, whom his lord shall make ruler over his household, to give them their portion of meat in due season?
59 Blessed is that servant, whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing.
60 Of a truth I say unto you, that he will make him ruler over all that he hath.
61 But and if that servant say in his heart, My lord delayeth his coming; and shall begin to beat the menservants and maidens, and to eat and drink, and to be drunken;
62 The lord of that servant will come in a day when he looketh not for him, and at an hour when he is not aware, and will cut him in sunder.
63 And that servant, which knew his lord's will, and prepared not himself, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes.
64 But he that knew not, and did commit things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes. For unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required: and to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask the more.
65 And he said also to the people, When ye see a cloud rise out of the west, straightway ye say, There cometh a shower; and so it is.
66 And when ye see the south wind blow, ye say, There will be heat; and it cometh to pass.
67 Ye hypocrites, ye can discern the face of the sky and of the earth; but how is it that ye do not discern this time?
68 Yea, and why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right?
69 When thou goest with thine adversary to the magistrate, as thou art in the way, give diligence that thou mayest be delivered from him; lest he hale thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and the officer cast thee into prison.
70 I tell thee, thou shalt not depart thence, till thou hast paid the very last mite.

JEFFERSON CHAPTER 5

1 There were present at that season some that told him of the Galileans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices.
2 And Jesus answering said unto them, Suppose ye that these Galileans were sinners above all the Galileans, because they suffered such things?

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3 I tell you, Nay: but, except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.
4 Or those eighteen, upon whom the tower in Siloam fell, and slew them, think ye that they were sinners above all men that dwelt in Jerusalem?
5 I tell you, Nay: but, except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.
6 He spake also this parable; A certain man had a fig tree planted in his vineyard; and he came and sought fruit thereon, and found none.
7 Then said he unto the dresser of his vineyard, Behold, these three years I come seeking fruit on this fig tree, and find none: cut it down; why cumbereth it the ground?
8 And he answering said unto him, Lord, let it alone this year also, till I shall dig about it, and dung it:
9 And if it bear fruit, well: and if not, then after that thou shalt cut it down.
10 And as he spake, a certain Pharisee besought him to dine with him: and he went in, and sat down to meat.
11 And when the Pharisee saw it, he marvelled that he had not first washed before dinner.
12 And the Lord said unto him, Now do ye Pharisees make clean the outside of the cup and the platter; but your inward part is full of ravening and wickedness.
13 Ye fools, did not he that made that which is without make that which is within also?
14 But rather give alms of such things as ye have; and, behold, all things are clean unto you.

JEFFERSON CHAPTER 6
1 And it came to pass that, as they went in the way, a certain man said unto him, Lord, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest.
2 And Jesus said unto him, Foxes have holes, and birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head.
3 And he said unto another, Follow me. But he said, Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my father.
4 Jesus said unto him, Let the dead bury their dead: but go thou and preach the kingdom of God.
5 And another also said, Lord, I will follow thee; but let me first go bid them farewell, which are at home at my house.
6 And Jesus said unto him, No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.
7 And after these things he went forth, and saw a publican, named Levi, sitting at the receipt of custom: and he said unto him, Follow me.
8 And he left all, rose up, and followed him.
9 And Levi made him a great feast in his own house: and there was a great company of publicans and
10 Many publicans and sinners sat also together with Jesus and his disciples: for there were many, and they followed him.
11 And when the scribes and Pharisees saw him eat with publicans and sinners, they said unto his disciples, How is it that he eateth and drinketh with publicans and sinners?
12 When Jesus heard it, he saith unto them, They that are whole have no need of the physician, but they that are sick: I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.
13 And he spake also a parable unto them; No man putteth a piece of a new garment upon an old; if otherwise, then both the new maketh a rent, and the piece that was taken out of the new agreeth not with the old.
14 And no man putteth new wine into old bottles; else the new wine will burst the bottles, and be spilled, and the bottles shall perish.
15 But new wine must be put into new bottles; and both are preserved.
16 And it came to pass, that when Jesus had finished these parables, he departed thence.
17 And when he was come into his own country, he taught them in their synagogue, insomuch that they were astonished, and said, Whence hath this man this wisdom, and these mighty works?
18 Is not this the carpenter's son? is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren, James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas?
19 And his sisters, are they not all with us? Whence then hath this man all these things?
20 And they were offended in him. But Jesus said unto them, A prophet is not without honour, save in his own country, and in his own house.
21 But when he saw the multitudes, he was moved with compassion on them, because they fainted, and were scattered abroad, as sheep having no shepherd.
22 And he called unto him the twelve, and began to send them forth by two and two;
23 And commanded them, saying, Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not:
24 But go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.
25 Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses,
26 Nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves: for the workman is worthy of his meat.
27 And into whatsoever city or town ye shall enter, enquire who in it is worthy; and there abide till ye go thence.
28 And when ye come into an house, salute it.
29 And if the house be worthy, let your peace come upon it: but if it be not worthy, let your peace return to you.
30 And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words, when ye depart out of that house or city, shake off the dust of your feet.
31 Verily I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrha in the day of judgement, than for that city.
32 Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves: be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves.
33 But beware of men: for they will deliver you up to the councils, and they will scourge you in their synagogues;
34 And ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony against them and the Gentiles.
35 But when they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another:
36 Fear them not therefore: for there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed; and hid, that shall not be known.
37 What I tell you in darkness, that speak ye in light: and what ye hear in the ear, that preach ye upon the housetops.
38 And fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.
39 Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father.
40 But the very hairs of your head are all numbered.
41 Fear ye not therefore, ye are of more value than many sparrows.
42 And they went out, and preached that men should repent.
43 And the apostles gathered themselves together unto Jesus, and told him all things, both what they had done, and what they had taught.
44 After these things Jesus walked in Galilee: for he would not walk in Jewry, because the Jews sought to kill him.
45 Then came together unto him the Pharisees, and certain of the scribes, which came from Jerusalem.
46 And when they saw some of his disciples eat bread with defiled, that is to say, with unwashen, hands, they found fault.
47 For the Pharisees, and all the Jews, except they wash their hands oft, eat not, holding the tradition of the elders.
48 And when they come from the market, except they wash, they eat not. And many other things there be, which they have received to hold, as the washing of cups, and pots, brasen vessels, and of tables.
49 Then the Pharisees and scribes asked him, Why walk not thy disciples according to the tradition of the elders, but eat bread with unwashen hands?
50 And when he had called all the people unto him, he said unto them, Hearken unto me every one of you, and understand:
51 There is nothing from without a man, that entering into him can defile him: but the things which come out of him, those are they that defile the man.
51a) If any man have ears to hear, let him hear.
52 And when he was entered into the house from the people, his disciples asked him concerning the parable.
53 And he saith unto them, Are ye so without understanding also? Do ye not perceive, that whatsoever thing from without entereth into the man, it cannot defile him;
54 Because it entereth not into his heart, but into the belly, and goeth out into the draught, purging all meats?
55 And he said, That which cometh out of the man, that defileth the man.
56 For from within, out of the heart of men, proceed evil thoughts, adulteries, fornications, murders,
57 Thefts, covetousness, wickedness, deceit, lasciviousness, an evil eye, blasphemy, pride, foolishness:
58 All these evil things come from within, and defile the man.
59 And from thence he arose, and went into the borders of Tyre and Sidon, and entered into an house, and would have no man know it: but he could not be hid.

JEFFERSON CHAPTER 7
1 At the same time came the disciples unto Jesus, saying, Who is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven?
2 And Jesus called a little child unto him, and set him in the midst of them,
3 And said, Verily I say unto you, Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.
4 Whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven.
5 Woe unto the world because of offences! for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh!
6 Wherefore if thy hand or thy foot offend thee, cut them off, and cast them from thee: it is better for thee to enter into life halt or maimed, rather than having two hands or two feet to be cast into everlasting fire.
7 And if thine eye causeth offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: it is better for thee to enter into life with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire.
8 How think ye? if a man have an hundred sheep, and one of them be gone astray, doth he not leave the ninety and nine and goeth into the mountains, and seeketh that which is gone astray?
9 And if so be that he find it, verily I say unto you, he rejoiceth more of that sheep, than of the ninety and nine which went not astray.
10 Even so it is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that one of these little ones should perish.
11 Moreover if thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone: if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother.
12 But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established.
13 And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church: but if he neglect even to hear the church, let him be unto thee as a Gentile man and an heathen.
14 Then came Peter to him, and said, Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? till seven times?
15 Jesus saith unto him, I say not unto thee, Until seven times: but, Until seventy times seven.
16 Therefore is the kingdom of heaven likened unto a certain king, which would take account of his servants.
17 And when he had begun to reckon, one was brought unto him, which owed him ten thousand talents.
18 But forasmuch as he had not wherewith to pay, his lord commanded him to be sold, and his wife, and children, and all that he had, and payment to be made.
19 The servant therefore fell down, and worshipped him, saying, Lord, have patience with me, and I will pay thee all.
20 Then the lord of that servant was moved with compassion, and loosed him, and forgave him the debt.
21 But the same servant went out, and found one of his fellowservants, which owed him an hundred pence: and he laid hands on him, and took him by the throat, saying, Pay me that thou owest.
22 And his fellowservant fell down at his feet, and besought him, saying, Have patience with me, and I will pay thee all.
23 And he would not: but went and cast him into prison, till he should pay the debt.
24 So when his fellowservants saw what was done, they were very sorry, and came and told unto their lord all that was done.
25 Then his lord, after that he had called him, said unto him, O thou wicked servant! I forgave thee all that debt, because thou desiredst me:
26 Shouldest not thou also have had compassion on thy fellowservant, even as I had pity on thee?
27 And his lord was wroth, and delivered him to the tormentors, till he should pay all that was due unto him.
28 So likewise shall my heavenly Father do also unto you, if ye from your hearts forgive not every one his brother their trespasses.
29 After these things the Lord appointed other seventy also, and sent them two and two before his face into every city and place, whither he himself would come.
30 Therefore said he unto them, The harvest truly is great, but the labourers are few: pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he would send forth labourers into his harvest.
31 Go your ways: behold, I send you forth as lambs among wolves.
32 Carry neither purse, nor scrip, nor shoes: and salute no man by the way.
33 And into whatsoever house ye enter, first say, Peace be to this house.
34 And if the son of peace be there, your peace shall rest upon it: if not, it shall turn to you again.
35 And in the same house remain, eating and drinking such things as they give: for the labourer is worthy of his hire. Go not from house to house.
36 And into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you, eat such things as are set before you:
37 But into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you not, go your ways out into the streets of the same, and say,
38 Even the very dust of your city, which cleaveth on us, we do wipe off against you: notwithstanding be ye sure of this, that the kingdom of God is come nigh unto you.
39 But I say unto you, that it shall be more tolerable in that day for Sodom, than for that city.
40 Now the Jew's feast of tabernacles was at hand.
41 His brethren therefore said unto him, Depart hence, and go into Judea, that thy disciples also may see the works that thou doest.
42 For there is no man that doeth any thing in secret, and he himself seeketh to be known openly. If thou do these things, shew thyself to the world.
43 For neither did his brethren believe in him.
44 Then Jesus said unto them, My time is not yet come: but your time is alway ready.

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45 The world cannot hate you; but me it hateth, because I testify of it, that the works thereof are evil.
46 Go ye up unto this feast: I go not up yet unto this feast: for my time is not yet full come.
47 When he had said these words unto them, he abode still in Galilee.
48 But when his brethren were gone up, then went he also up unto the feast, not openly, but as it were in secret.
49 Then the Jews sought him at the feast, and said, Where is he?
50 And there was much murmuring among the people concerning him: for some said, He is a good man: others said, Nay; but he deceiveth the people.
51 Howbeit no man spake openly of him for fear of the Jews.
52 Now about the midst of the feast Jesus went up into the temple, and taught.
53 And the Jews marvelled, saying, How knoweth this man letters, having never learned?
54 Jesus answered them, and said,
55 Did not Moses give you the law, and yet none of you keepeth the law? Why go ye about to kill me?
56 The people answered and said, Thou hast a devil: who goeth about to kill thee?
57 Jesus answered and said unto them, I have done one work, and ye all marvel.
58 Moses therefore gave unto you circumcision; (not because it is of Moses, but of the fathers;) and ye on the sabbath day circumcise a man.
59 If a man on the sabbath day receive circumcision, that the law of Moses should not be broken; are ye angry at me, because I have made a man every whit whole on the sabbath day?
60 Judge not according to the appearance, but judge righteous judgement.
61 Then said some of them of Jerusalem, Is not this he, whom they seek to kill?
62 But, lo, he speaketh boldly, and they say nothing unto him. Do the rulers know indeed that this is the very Christ?
63 The Pharisees heard that the people murmured such things concerning him; and the Pharisees and the chief priests sent officers to take him.
64 So there was a division among the people because of him.
65 And some of them would have taken him; but no man laid hands on him.
66 Then came the officers to the chief priests and Pharisees; and they said unto them, Why have ye not brought him?
67 The officers answered, Never man spake like this man.
68 Then answered them the Pharisees, Are ye also deceived?
69 Have any of the rulers or of the Pharisees believed on him?
70 But this people who knoweth not the law are cursed.
71 Nicodemus saith unto them, (he that came to Jesus by night, being one of them,)
72 Doth our law judge any man, before it hear him, and know what he doeth?
73 They answered and said unto him, Art thou also of Galilee? Search, and look: for out of Galilee ariseth no prophet.
74 And every man went unto his own house.

JEFFERSON CHAPTER 8

1 Jesus went unto the mount of Olives.
2 And early in the morning he came again into the temple, and all the people came unto him; and he sat down, and taught them.
3 And the scribes and Pharisees brought unto him a woman taken in adultery; and when they had set her in the midst,
4 They say unto him, Master, this woman was taken in adultery, in the very act.
5 Now Moses in the law commanded us, that such should be stoned: but what sayest thou?
6 This they said, tempting him, that they might have cause to accuse him. But Jesus stooped down, and with his finger wrote on the ground, as though he heard them not.
7 So when they continued asking him, he lifted up himself, and said unto them, He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her.
8 And again he stooped down, and wrote on the ground.
9 And they which heard it, being convicted by their own conscience, went out one by one, beginning at the eldest, even unto the last: and Jesus was left alone, and the woman standing in the midst.
10 When Jesus had lifted up himself, and saw none but the woman, he said unto her, Woman, where are those thine accusers? hath no man condemned thee?
11 She said, No man, Lord. And Jesus said unto her, Neither do I condemn thee: go, and sin no more.
12 And as Jesus passed by, he saw a man which was blind from his birth.
13 And his disciples asked him, saying, Master, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind?
14 Jesus answered, Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents: but that the works of God should be made manifest in him.
15 Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber.
16 But he that entereth in by the door is the shepherd of the sheep.
17 To him the porter openeth; and the sheep hear his voice: and he calleth his own sheep by name, and leadeth them out.
18 And when he putteth forth his own sheep, he goeth before them, and the sheep follow him: for they know his voice.
19 And a stranger will they not follow, but will flee from him: for they know not the voice of strangers.
20 I am the good shepherd: the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep.
21 But he that is an hireling, and not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the sheep, and fleeth: and the wolf catcheth them, and scattereth the sheep.
22 The hireling fleeth, because he is an hireling, and careth not for the sheep.
23 I am the good shepherd, and know my sheep, and am known of mine.
24 And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd.
25 And, behold, a certain lawyer stood up, and put tempted him, saying, Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?
26 He said unto him, What is written in the law? how readest thou?
27 And he answering said, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself.
28 And he said unto him, Thou hast answered right: this do, and thou shalt live.
29 But he, willing to justify himself, said unto Jesus, And who is my neighbour?
30 And Jesus answering said, A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, which stripped him of his raiment, and wounded him, and departed, leaving him half dead.
31 And by chance there came down a certain priest that way: and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side.
32 And likewise a Levite, when he was at the place, came and looked on him, and passed by on the other side.
33 But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was: and when he saw him, he had compassion on him,
34 And went to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him.
35 And on the morrow when he departed, he took out two pence, and gave them to the host, and said unto him, Take care of him; and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again, I will repay thee.
36 Which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbour unto him that fell among the thieves?
37 And he said, He that shewed mercy on him. Then said Jesus unto him, Go, and do thou likewise.
38 And it came to pass, that, as he was praying in a certain place, when he ceased, one of his disciples said unto him, Lord, teach us to pray, as John also taught his disciples.
39 And he said unto them, When ye pray, say, Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven, so in earth.
40 Give us day by day our daily bread.
41 And forgive us our sins; for we also forgive every one that is indebted to us. And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil.
42 And he said unto them, Which of you shall have a friend, and shall go unto him at midnight, and say unto him, Friend, lend me three loaves;
43 For a friend of mine in his journey is come to me, and I have nothing to set before him?
44 And he from within shall answer and say, Trouble me not: the door is now shut, and my children are with me in bed; I cannot rise and give thee.
45 I say unto you, Though he will not rise and give him, because he is his friend, yet because of his importunity he will rise and give him as many as he needeth.
46 And I say unto you, Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you.
47 For every one that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened.
48 If a son shall ask bread of any of you that is a father, will he give him a stone? or if he ask a fish, will he for a fish give him a serpent?
49 Or if he shall ask an egg, will he offer him a scorpion?
50 If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children: how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?

JEFFERSON CHAPTER 9

1 And it came to pass, as he went into the house of one of the chief Pharisees to eat bread on the sabbath day, that they watched him.
2 And, behold, there was a certain man before him which had the dropsy.
3 And Jesus answering spake unto the lawyers and Pharisees, saying, Is it lawful to heal on the sabbath day?
4 And they held their peace.
5 And he saith unto them, Which of you shall have an ass or an ox fallen into a pit, and will not straightway pull him out on the sabbath day?
6 And they could not answer him again to these things.
7 And he put forth a parable to those which were bidden, when he marked how they chose out the chief rooms; saying unto them.
8 When thou art bidden of any man to a wedding, sit not down in the highest room; lest a more honourable man than thou be bidden of him;
9 And he that bade thee and him shall come and say to thee, Give this man place; and thou begin with shame to take the lowest room.
10 But when thou art bidden, go and sit down in the lowest room; that when he that bade thee cometh, he may say unto thee, Friend, go up higher: then shalt thou have worship in the presence of them that sit at meat with thee.
11 For whosoever exalteth himself shall be abased; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.
12 Then said he also to him that bade him, When thou makest a dinner or a supper, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, neither thy kinsmen, nor thy rich neighbours; lest they also bid thee again, and a recompence be made thee.
13 But when thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind:
14 And thou shalt be blessed; for they cannot recompense thee: for thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just.
15 Then said he unto him, A certain man made a great supper, and bade many:
16 And sent his servant at supper time to say to them that were bidden, Come; for all things are now ready.
17 And they all with one consent began to make excuse. The first said unto him, I have bought a piece of ground, and I must needs go and see it: I pray thee have me excused.
18 And another said, I have bought five yoke of oxen, and I go to prove them: I pray thee have me excused.
19 And another said, I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come.
20 So that servant came, and shewed his lord these things. Then the master of the house being angry said to his servant, Go out quickly into the streets and lanes of the city, and bring in hither the poor, and the maimed, and the halt, and the blind.
21 And the servant said, Lord, it is done as thou hast commanded, and yet there is room.
22 And the lord said unto the servant, Go out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in, that my house may be filled.
23 For I say unto you, That none of those men which were bidden shall taste of my supper.
24 For which of you, intending to build a tower, sitteth not down first, and counteth the cost, whether he have sufficient to finish it?
25 Lest haply, after he hath laid the foundation, and is not able to finish it, all that behold it begin to mock him,
26 Saying, This man began to build, and was not able to finish.
27 Or what king, going to make war against another king, sitteth not down first, and consulteth whether he be able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand?
28 Or else, while the other is yet a great way off, he sendeth an ambassage, and desireth conditions of peace.
29 Then drew near unto him all the publicans and sinners for to hear him.
30 And the Pharisees and scribes murmured, saying, This man receiveth sinners, and eateth with them.
31 And he spake this parable unto them, saying,
32 What man of you, having an hundred sheep, if he lose one of them, doth not leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness, and go after that which is lost, until he find it?
33 And when he hath found it, he layeth it on his shoulders, rejoicing.
34 And when he cometh home, he calleth together his friends and neighbours, saying unto them, Rejoice with me; for I have found my sheep which was lost.
35 I say unto you, that likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance.
36 Either what woman having ten pieces of silver, if she lose one piece, doth not light a candle, and sweep the house, and seek diligently till she find it?
37 And when she hath found it, she calleth her friends and her neighbours together, saying, Rejoice with me; for I have found the piece which I had lost.
38 Likewise, I say unto you, there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth.
39 And he said, A certain man had two sons:

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40 And the younger of them said to his father, Father, give me the portion of goods that falleth to me. And he divided unto them his living.
41 And not many days after the younger son gathered all together, and took his journey into a far country, and there wasted his substance with riotous living.
42 And when he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that land; and he began to be in want.
43 And he went and joined himself to a citizen of that country; and he sent him into his fields to feed swine.
44 And he would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat: and no man gave unto him.
45 And when he came to himself, he said, How many hired servants of my father's have bread enough and to spare, and I perish with hunger!
46 I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee,
47 And am no more worthy to be called thy son: make me as one of thy hired servants.
48 And he arose, and came to his father. But when he was yet a great way off, his father saw him, and had compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him.
49 And the son said unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy son.
50 But the father said to his servants, Bring forth the best robe, and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand, and shoes on his feet:
51 And bring hither the fatted calf, and kill it; and let us eat, and be merry:
52 For this my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found. And they began to be merry.
53 Now his elder son was in the field: and as he came and drew nigh to the house, he heard musick and dancing.
54 And he called one of the servants, and asked what these things meant.
55 And he said unto him, Thy brother is come; and thy father hath killed the fatted calf, because he hath received him safe and sound.
56 And he was angry, and would not go in: therefore came his father out, and intreated him.
57 And he answering said to his father, Lo, these many years do I serve thee, neither transgressed I at any time thy commandment: and yet thou never gavest me a kid, that I might make merry with my friends:
58 But as soon as this thy son was come, which hath devoured thy living with harlots, thou hast killed for him the fatted calf.
59 And he said unto him, Son, thou art ever with me, and all that I have is thine.
60 It was meet that we should make merry, and be glad: for this thy brother was dead, and is alive again; and was lost, and is found.

JEFFERSON CHAPTER 10

1 And he said also unto his disciples, There was a certain rich man, which had a steward; and the same was accused unto him that he had wasted his goods.
2 And he called him, and said unto him, How is it that I hear this of thee? give an account of thy stewardship; for thou mayest be no longer steward.
3 Then the steward said within himself, What shall I do? for my lord taketh away from me the stewardship: I cannot dig; to beg I am ashamed.
4 I am resolved what to do, that, when I am put out of the stewardship, they may receive me into their houses.
5 So he called every one of his lord's debtors unto him, and said unto the first, How much owest thou unto my lord?
6 And he said, An hundred measures of oil. And he said unto him, Take thy bill, and sit down quickly, and write fifty.
7 Then said he to another, And how much owest thou? And he said, An hundred measures of wheat. And he said unto him, Take thy bill, and write fourscore.
8 And the lord commended the unjust steward, because he had done wisely: for the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light.
9 And I say unto you, Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness; that, ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations.
10 He that is faithful in that which is least is faithful also in much: and he that is unjust in the least is unjust also in much.
11 If therefore ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will commit to your trust the true riches?
12 And if ye have not been faithful in that which is another man's, who shall give you that which is your own?
13 No servant can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.
14 And the Pharisees also, who were covetous, heard all these things: and they derided him.
15 And he said unto them, Ye are they which justify yourselves before men; but God knoweth your hearts: for that which is highly esteemed among men is abomination in the sight of God.
16 Whosoever putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, committeth adultery: and whosoever marrieth her that is put away from her husband committeth adultery.
17 There was a certain rich man, which was clothed in purple and fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day:
18 And there was a certain beggar named Lazarus, which was laid at his gate, full of sores,
19 And desiring to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table: moreover the dogs came and licked his sores.
20 And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom: the rich man also died, and was buried;
21 And in hell he lift up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom.
22 And he cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue; for I am tormented in this flame.
23 But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things: but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented.
24 And beside all this, between us and you there is a great gulf fixed: so that they which would pass from hence to you cannot; neither can they pass to us, that would come from thence.
25 Then he said, I pray thee therefore, father, that thou wouldest send him to my father's house:
26 For I have five brethren; that he may testify unto them, lest they also come into this place of torment.
27 Abraham saith unto him, They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them.
28 And he said, Nay, father Abraham: but if one went unto them from the dead, they will repent.
29 And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead.
30 Then said he unto the disciples, It is impossible but that offences will come: but woe unto him, through whom they come!
31 It were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the sea, than that he should offend one of these little ones.
32 Take heed to yourselves: If thy brother trespass against thee, rebuke him; and if he repent, forgive him.
33 And if he trespass against thee seven times in a day, and seven times in a day turn again to thee, saying, I repent; thou shalt forgive him.
34 But which of you, having a servant plowing or feeding cattle, will say unto him by and by, when he is come from the field, Go and sit down to meat?
35 And will not rather say unto him, Make ready wherewith I may sup, and gird thyself, and serve me, till I have eaten and drunken; and afterward thou shalt eat and drink?
36 Doth he thank that servant because he did the things that were commanded him? I trow not.
37 So likewise ye, when ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do.
38 And when he was demanded of the Pharisees, when the kingdom of God should come, he answered them and said, The kingdom of God cometh not with observation:
39 And as it was in the days of Noe, so shall it be also in the days of the Son of man.
40 They did eat, they drank, they married wives, they were given in marriage, until the day that Noe entered into the ark, and the flood came, and destroyed them all.
41 Likewise also as it was in the days of Lot; they did eat, they drank, they bought, they sold, they planted, they builded;
42 But the same day that Lot went out of Sodom it rained fire and brimstone from heaven, and destroyed them all.
43 Even thus shall it be in the day when the Son of man is revealed.
44 In that day, he which shall be upon the housetop, and his stuff in the house, let him not come down to take it away: and he that is in the field, let him likewise not return back.
45 Remember Lot's wife.
46 Whosoever shall seek to save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life shall preserve it.
47 I tell you, in that night there shall be two men in one bed; the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left.
48 Two women shall be grinding together; the one shall be taken, and the other left.
48a) Two men shall be in the field; the one shall be taken, and the other left.
49 And he spake a parable unto them to this end, that men ought always to pray, and not to faint;
50 Saying, There was in a city a judge, which feared not God, neither regarded man:
51 And there was a widow in that city; and she came unto him, saying, Render justice for me against mine adversary.
52 And he would not for a while: but afterward he said within himself, Though I fear not God, nor regard man;
53 Yet because this widow troubleth me, I will render her justice, lest by her continual coming she weary me.
54 And the Lord said, Hear what the unjust judge saith.
55 And shall not God render justice for his own elect, which cry day and night unto him, though he bear long with them?
56 I tell you that he will avenge them speedily. Nevertheless when the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?
57 And he spake this parable unto certain which trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and despised others:
58 Two men went up into the temple to pray; the one a Pharisee, and the other a publican.
59 The Pharisee stood and prayed thus with himself, God, I thank thee, that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican.
60 I fast twice in the week, I give tithes of all that I possess.
61 And the publican, standing afar off, would not lift up so much as his eyes unto heaven, but smote upon his breast, saying, God be merciful to me a sinner.
62 I tell you, this man went down to his house justified rather than the other: for every one that exalteth himself shall be abased; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.
61 Now it came to pass, as they went, that he entered into a certain village: and a certain woman named Martha received him into her house.
64 And she had a sister called Mary, which also sat at Jesus' feet, and heard his word.
65 But Martha was cumbered about much serving, and came to him, and said, Lord, dost thou not care that my sister hath left me to serve alone? bid her therefore that she help me.
66 And Jesus answered and said unto her, Martha, Martha, thou art careful and troubled about many things:
67 But one thing is needful: and Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her.

JEFFERSON CHAPTER 11

1 And it came to pass, that when Jesus had finished these sayings, he departed from Galilee, and came into the coasts of Judaea beyond Jordan;
2 And great multitudes followed him.
3 The Pharisees also came unto him, tempting him, and saying unto him, Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause?
4 And he answered and said unto them, Have ye not read, that he which made them at the beginning made them male and female,
5 And said, For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife: and they twain shall be one flesh?
6 Wherefore they are no more twain, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.
7 They say unto him, Why did Moses then command to give a writing of divorcement, and to put her away?
8 He saith unto them, Moses because of the hardness of your hearts suffered you to put away your wives: but from the beginning it was not so.
9 And I say unto you, Whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery: and whoso marrieth her which is put away doth commit adultery.
10 His disciples say unto him, If the case of the man be so with his wife, it is not good to marry.
11 But he said unto them, All men cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given.
12 For there are some eunuchs, which were so born from their mother's womb: and there are some eunuchs, which were made eunuchs of men: and there be eunuchs, which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.
13 Then were there brought unto him little children, that he should put his hands on them, and pray: and the disciples rebuked them.
14 But Jesus said, Suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me: for of such is the kingdom of heaven.
15 And he laid his hands on them, and departed thence.
16 And, behold, one came and said unto him, Good Master, what good thing shall I do, that I may have eternal life?
17 And he said unto him, Why calleth thou me good? there is none good but one, that is God: but if thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments.
18 He saith unto him, Which? Jesus said, Thou shalt do no murder, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness,
19 Honour thy father and thy mother: and, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.
20 The young man saith unto him, All these things have I kept from my youth up: what lack I yet?
21 Jesus said unto him, If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come and follow me.
22 But when the young man heard that saying, he went away sorrowful: for he had great possessions.
23 Then said Jesus unto his disciples, Verily I say unto you, That a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven.

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24 And again I say unto you, It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.
25 When his disciples heard it, they were exceedingly amazed, saying, Who then can be saved?
26 But Jesus beheld them, and said unto them, With men this is impossible; but with God all things are possible.
27 For the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is an householder, which went out early in the morning to hire labourers into his vineyard.
28 And when he had agreed with the labourers for a penny a day, he sent them into his vineyard.
29 And he went out about the third hour, and saw others standing idle in the marketplace,
30 And said unto them; Go ye also into the vineyard, and whatsoever is right I will give you. And they went their way.
31 Again he went out about the sixth and ninth hour, and did likewise.
32 And about the eleventh hour he went out, and found others standing idle, and saith unto them, Why stand ye here all the day idle?
33 They say unto him, Because no man hath hired us. He saith unto them, Go ye also into the vineyard: and whatsoever is right, that shall ye receive.
34 So when even was come, the lord of the vineyard saith unto his steward, Call the labourers, and give them their hire, beginning from the last unto the first.
35 And when they came that were hired about the eleventh hour, they received every man a penny.
36 And when the first came, they supposed that they should receive more; but they likewise received every man a denarius.
37 And when they had received it, they murmured against the goodman of the house,
38 Saying, These last have wrought but one hour, and thou hast made them equal unto us, which have borne the burden and heat of the day.
39 But he answered one of them, and said, Friend, I do thee no wrong: didst not thou agree with me for a penny?
40 Take that thine is, and go thy way: I will give unto this last, even as unto thee.
41 Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own? Is thine eye evil, because I am good?
42 So the last shall be first, and the first last: for many be called, but few chosen.
43 And Jesus entered and passed through Jericho.
44 And, behold, there was a man named Zacchaeus, which was the chief among the publicans, and he was rich.
45 And he sought to see Jesus who he was; and could not for the press, because he was little of stature.
46 And he ran before, and climbed up into a sycomore tree to see him: for he was to pass that way.
47 And when Jesus came to the place, he looked up, and saw him, and said unto him, Zacchaeus, make haste, and come down; for to day I must abide at thy house.
48 And he made haste, and came down, and received him joyfully.
49 And when they saw it, they all murmured, saying, That he was gone to be guest with a man that is a sinner.
50 And Zacchaeus stood, and said unto the Lord: Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have taken any thing from any man by false accusation, I restore him fourfold.
51 And Jesus said unto him, This day is salvation come to this house, forsomuch as he also is a son of Abraham.
52 For the Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost.
53 And as they heard these things, he added and spake a parable, because he was nigh to Jerusalem, and because they thought that the kingdom of God should immediately appear.
54 He said therefore, A certain nobleman went into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return.
55 And he called his ten servants, and delivered them ten pounds, and said unto them, Occupy till I come.
56 But his citizens hated him, and sent a message after him, saying, We will not have this man to reign over us.
57 And it came to pass, that when he was returned, having received the kingdom, then he commanded these servants to be called unto him, to whom he had given the money, that he might know how much every man had gained by trading.
58 Then came the first, saying, Lord, thy pound hath gained ten pounds.
59 And he said unto him, Well, thou good servant: because thou hast been faithful in a very little, have thou authority over ten cities.
60 And the second came, saying, Lord, thy pound hath gained five pounds.
61 And he said likewise to him, Be thou also over five cities.
62 And another came, saying, Lord, behold, here is thy pound, which I have kept laid up in a napkin:
63 For I feared thee, because thou art an austere man: thou takest up that thou layedst not down, and reapest that thou didst not sow.
64 And he saith unto him, Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee, thou wicked servant. Thou knewest that I was an austere man, taking up that I laid not down, and reaping that I did not sow:
65 Wherefore then gavest not thou my money into the bank, that at my coming I might have required mine own with usury?
66 And he said unto them that stood by, Take from him the pound, and give it to him that hath ten pounds.
67 (And they said unto him, Lord, he hath ten pounds.)
68 For I say unto you, That unto every one which hath shall be given; and from him that hath not, even that he hath shall be taken away from him.
69 But those mine enemies, which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me.
70 And when he had thus spoken, he went before, ascending up to Jerusalem.

JEFFERSON CHAPTER 12

1 And when they drew nigh unto Jerusalem, and were come to Bethphage, unto the mount of Olives, then sent Jesus two disciples,
2 Saying unto them, Go into the village over against you, and straightway ye shall find an ass tied, and a colt with her: loose them, and bring them unto me.
3 And if any man say ought unto you, ye shall say, The Lord hath need of them; and straightway he will send them.
4 And the disciples went, and did as Jesus commanded them,
5 And brought the ass, and the colt, and put on them their clothes, and they set him thereon.
6 And a very great multitude spread their garments in the way; others cut down branches from the trees, and strawed them in the way.
7 And when he was come into Jerusalem, all the city was moved, saying, Who is this?
8 The Pharisees therefore said among themselves, Perceive ye how ye prevail nothing? behold, the world is gone after him.
9 And there were certain Greeks among them that came up to worship at the feast:
10 The same came therefore to Philip, which was of Bethsaida of Galilee, and desired him, saying, Sir, we would see Jesus.
11 Philip cometh and telleth Andrew: and again Andrew and Philip tell Jesus.
12 And Jesus answered them, saying, The hour is come, that the Son of man should be glorified.
13 Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit.
14 And he left them, and went out of the city into Bethany; and he lodged there.
15 And on the morrow, when they were come from Bethany,
16 Jesus went into the temple, and began to cast out them that sold and bought in the temple, and overthrew the tables of the moneychangers, and the seats of them that sold doves;
17 And would not suffer that any man should carry any vessel through the temple.
18 And he taught, saying unto them, Is it not written, My house shall be called of all nations the house of prayer? but ye have made it a den of thieves.
19 And the scribes and chief priests heard it, and sought how they might destroy him: for they feared him, because all the people was astonished at his doctrine.
20 And when even was come, he went out of the city.
21 And they come again to Jerusalem: and as he was walking in the temple, there come to him the chief priests, and the scribes, and the elders,
22 And he said unto them, But what think ye? A certain man had two sons; and he came to the first, and said, Son, go work to day in my vineyard.
23 He answered and said, I will not: but afterward he repented, and went.
24 And he came to the second, and said likewise. And he answered and said, I go, sir: and went not.
25 Whether of them twain did the will of his father? They say unto him, The first. Jesus saith unto them, Verily I say unto you, That the publicans and the harlots go into the kingdom of God before you.
26 Hear another parable:
27 A certain man planted a vineyard, and set an hedge about it, and digged a place for the winefat, and built a tower, and let it out to husbandmen, and went into a far country.
28 And at the season he sent to the husbandmen a servant, that he might receive from the husbandmen of the fruit of the vineyard.
29 And they caught him, and beat him, and sent him away empty.
30 And again he sent unto them another servant; and at him they cast stones, and wounded him in the head, and sent him away shamefully handled.
31 And again he sent another; and him they killed, and many others: beating some, and killing some.
32 Having yet therefore one son, his wellbeloved, he sent him also last unto them, saying, They will reverence my son.
33 But those husbandmen said among themselves, This is the heir; come, let us kill him, and the inheritance shall be our's.
34 And they took him, and killed him, and cast him out of the vineyard.
35 What shall therefore the lord of the vineyard do? he will come and destroy the husbandmen, and will give the vineyard unto others.
36 And when the chief priests and Pharisees had heard his parables, they perceived that he spake of them.
37 But when they sought to lay hands on him, they feared the multitude, because they took him for a prophet.
38 And Jesus answered and spake unto them again by parables, and said,
39 The kingdom of heaven is like unto a certain king, which made a marriage for his son,
40 And sent forth his servants to call them that were bidden to the wedding: and they would not come.
41 Again, he sent forth other servants, saying, Tell them which are bidden, Behold, I have prepared my dinner: my oxen and my fatlings are killed, and all things are ready: come unto the marriage.
42 But they made light of it, and went their ways, one to his farm, another to his merchandise:
43 And the remnant took his servants, and entreated them spitefully and slew them.
44 But when the king heard thereof, he was wroth: and he sent forth his armies, and destroyed those murderers, and burned up their city.
45 Then saith he to his servants, The wedding is ready, but they which were bidden were not worthy.
46 Go ye therefore into the highways, and as many as ye shall find, bid to the marriage.
47 So those servants went out into the highways, and gathered together all as many as they found, both bad and good: and the wedding was furnished with guests.
48 And when the king came in to see the guests, he saw there a man which had not on a wedding garment:
49 And he saith unto him, Friend, how camest thou in hither not having a wedding garment? And he was speechless.
50 Then said the king to the servants, Bind him hand and foot, and take him away, and cast him into outer darkness; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.
51 For many are called, but few are chosen.
51 Then went the Pharisees, and took counsel how they might entangle him in his talk.
53 And they sent out unto him their disciples with the Herodians, saying, Master, we know that thou art true, and teachest the way of God in truth, neither carest thou for any man: for thou regardest not the person of men.
54 Tell us therefore, What thinkest thou? Is it lawful to give tribute unto Caesar, or not?
55 But Jesus perceived their wickedness, and said, Why tempt ye me, ye hypocrites?
56 Shew me the tribute money. And they brought unto him a penny.
57 And he saith unto them, Whose is this image and superscription?
58 They say unto him, Caesar's. Then saith he unto them, Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's.
59 When they had heard these words, they marvelled, and left him, and went their way.
60 The same day came to him the Sadducees, which say that there is no resurrection, and asked him,
61 Saying, Master, Moses said, If a man die, having no children, his brother shall marry his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother.
62 Now there were with us seven brethren: and the first, when he had married a wife, deceased, and, having no issue, left his wife unto his brother:
63 Likewise the second also, and the third, unto the seventh.
64 And last of all the woman died also.
65 Therefore in the resurrection whose wife shall she be of the seven? for they all had her.
66 Jesus answered and said unto them, Ye do err, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God.
67 For in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven.
68 But as touching the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying,
69 I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? God is not the God of the dead, but of the living.
70 And when the multitude heard this, they were astonished at his doctrine.
71 And one of the scribes came, and having heard them reasoning together, and perceiving that he had answered them well, asked him, Which is the first commandment of all?
72 And Jesus answered him, The first of all the commandments is, Hear, O Israel; The Lord our God is one Lord:

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73 And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength: this is the first commandment.
74 And the second is like, namely this: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. There is none other commandment greater than these.
75 On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.
76 And the scribe said unto him, Well, Master, thou hast said the truth: for there is one God; and there is none other but he:
77 And to love him with all the heart, and with all the understanding, and with all the soul, and with all the strength, and to love his neighbour as himself, is more than all whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices.

JEFFERSON CHAPTER 13
1 When spake Jesus to the multitude, and to his disciples,
2 Saying, The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat:
3 All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works: for they say, and do not accordingly.
4 For they bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers.
5 But all their works they do for to be seen of men: they make broad their phylacteries, and enlarge the borders of their garments,
6 And love the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues.
7 And greetings in the markets, and to be called of men, Rabbi, Rabbi.
8 But be not ye called Rabbi: for one is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren.
9 And call no man your father upon the earth: for one is your Father, which is in heaven.
10 Neither be ye called masters: for one is your Master, even Christ.
11 But he that is greatest among you shall be your servant.
12 And whosoever shall exalt himself shall be abased; and he that shall humble himself shall be exalted.
13 But woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men: for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in.
14 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayer: therefore ye shall receive the greater damnation.
15 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he is made, ye make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves.
16 Woe unto you, ye blind guides, which say, Whosoever shall swear by the temple, it is nothing; but whosoever shall swear by the gold of the temple, he is a debtor!
17 Ye fools and blind: for whether is greater, the gold, or the temple that sanctifieth the gold?
18 And, Whosoever shall swear by the altar, it is nothing; but whosoever sweareth by the gift that is upon it, he is guilty.
19 Ye fools and blind: for whether is greater, the gift, or the altar that sanctifieth the gift?
20 Whoso therefore shall swear by the altar, sweareth by it, and by all things thereon.
21 And whoso shall swear by the temple, sweareth by it, and by him that dwelleth therein.
22 And he that shall swear by heaven, sweareth by the throne of God, and by him that sitteth thereon.
23 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint and anise and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgement, mercy, and faith: these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone.
24 Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel.
25 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess.
26 Thou blind Pharisee, cleanse first that which is within the cup and platter, that the outside of them may be clean also.
27 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness.
28 Even so ye also outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity.
29 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye build the tombs of the prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous,
30 And say, If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets.
31 Wherefore ye be witnesses unto yourselves, that ye are the children of them which killed the prophets.
32 Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers.
33 Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell?
34 And Jesus sat over against the treasury, and beheld how the people cast money into the treasury: and many that were rich cast in much.
35 And there came a certain poor widow, and she threw in two mites, which make a farthing.
36 And he called unto him his disciples, and saith unto them, Verily I say unto you, That this poor widow hath cast more in, than all they which have cast into the treasury:
37 For all they did cast in of their abundance; but she of her want did cast in all that she had, even all her living.
38 And Jesus went out, and departed from the temple: and his disciples came to him for to shew him the buildings of the temple.
39 And Jesus said unto them, See ye not all these things? verily I say unto you, There shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down.
40 Then let them which be in Judaea flee into the mountains:
41 Let him which is on the housetop not come down to take any thing out of his house:
42 Neither let him which is in the field return back to take his clothes.
43 And woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days!
44 But pray ye that your flight be not in the winter, neither on the sabbath day:
45 For then shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time, no, nor ever shall be.
46 Immediately after the tribulation of those days shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken:
47 Now learn a parable of the fig tree; When his branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is nigh:
48 So likewise ye, when ye shall see all these things, know that it is near, even at the doors.
49 But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only.
50 But as the days of Noe were, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be.
51 For as in the days that were before the flood they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, until the day that Noe entered into the ark,
52 And knew not until the flood came, and took them all away; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be.
53 Then shall two be in the field; the one shall be taken, and the other left.
54 Two women shall be grinding at the mill; the one shall be taken, and the other left.
55 Watch therefore: for ye know not what hour your Lord doth come.
56 But know this, that if the goodman of the house had known in what watch the thief would come, he would have watched, and would not have suffered his house to be broken up.
57 Therefore be ye also ready.
58 Who then is a faithful and wise servant, whom his lord hath made ruler over his household, to give them meat in due season?
59 Blessed is that servant, whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing.
60 Verily I say unto you, That he shall make him ruler over all his goods.
61 But and if that evil servant shall say in his heart, My lord delayeth his coming;
62 And shall begin to smite his fellowservants, and to eat and drink with the drunken;
63 The lord of that servant shall come in a day when he looketh not for him, and in an hour that he is not aware of,
64 And shall cut him asunder, and appoint him his portion with the hypocrites: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

JEFFERSON CHAPTER 14
1 Then shall the kingdom of heaven be likened unto ten virgins, which took their lamps, and went forth to meet the bridegroom.
2 And five of them were wise, and five were foolish.
3 They that were foolish took their lamps, and took no oil with them:
4 But the wise took oil in their vessels with their lamps.
5 While the bridegroom tarried, they all slumbered and slept.
6 And at midnight there was a cry made, Behold, the bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet him.
7 Then all those virgins arose, and trimmed their lamps.
8 And the foolish said unto the wise, Give us of your oil; for our lamps are gone out.
9 But the wise answered, saying, Not so; lest there be not enough for us and you: but go ye rather to them that sell, and buy for yourselves.
10 And while they went to buy, the bridegroom came; and they that were ready went in with him to the marriage; and the door was shut.
11 Afterward came also the other virgins, saying, Lord, Lord, open to us.
12 But he answered and said, Verily I say unto you, I know you not.
13 Watch therefore.
14 For the kingdom of heaven is as a man travelling into a far country, who called his own servants, and delivered unto them his goods.
15 And unto one he gave five talents, to another two, and to another one; to every man according to his several ability; and straightway took his journey.
16 Then he that had received the five talents went and traded with the same, and made them other five talents.
17 And likewise he that had received two, he also gained other two.
18 But he that had received one went and digged in the earth, and hid his lord's money.
19 After a long time the lord of those servants cometh, and reckoneth with them.
20 And so he that had received five talents came and brought other five talents, saying, Lord, thou deliveredst unto me five talents: behold, I have gained beside them five talents more.
21 His lord said unto him, Well done, thou good and faithful servant: thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy lord.
22 He also that had received two talents came and said, Lord, thou deliveredst unto me two talents: behold, I have gained two other talents beside them.
23 His lord said unto him, Well done, good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy lord.
24 Then he which had received the one talent came and said, Lord, I knew thee that thou art an hard man, reaping where thou hast not sown, and gathering where thou hast not strawed:
25 And I was afraid, and went and hid thy talent in the earth: lo, there thou hast that is thine.
26 His lord answered and said unto him, Thou wicked and slothful servant, thou knewest that I reap where I sowed not, and gather where I have not strawed:
27 Thou oughtest therefore to have put my money to the exchangers, and then at my coming I should have received mine own with usury.
28 Take therefore the talent from him, and give it unto him which hath ten talents.
29 For unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance: but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath.
30 And cast ye the unprofitable servant into outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.
31 And take heed to yourselves, lest at any time your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting, and drunkenness, and cares of this life, and so that day come upon you unawares.
32 For as a snare shall it come on all them that dwell on the face of the whole earth.
33 Watch ye therefore, and pray always, that ye may be accounted worthy to escape all these things that shall come to pass, and to stand before the Son of man.
34 When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory:
35 And before him shall be gathered all nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats:
36 And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left.
37 Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world:
38 For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in:
39 Naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me.
40 Then shall the righteous answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungred, and fed thee? or thirsty, and gave thee drink?
41 When saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in? or naked, and clothed thee?
42 Or when saw we thee sick, or in prison, and came unto thee?
43 And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.
44 Then shall he say also unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels:
45 For I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink:

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46 I was a stranger, and ye took me not in: naked, and ye clothed me not: sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not.
47 Then shall they also answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungered, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister unto thee?
48 Then shall he answer them, saying, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me.
49 And these shall go away into everlasting punishment: but the righteous into life eternal.

JEFFERSON CHAPTER 15
1 After two days was the feast of the passover, and of unleavened bread: and the chief priests and the scribes sought how they might take him by craft, and put him to death.
2 But they said, Not on the feast day, lest there be an uproar of the people.
3 And being in Bethany in the house of Simon the leper, as he sat at meat, there came a woman having an alabaster box of ointment of spikenard very precious; and she brake the box, and poured it on his head.
4 And there were some that had indignation within themselves, and said, Why was this waste of the ointment made?
5 For it might have been sold for more than three hundred pence, and have been given to the poor. And they murmured against her.
6 And Jesus said, Let her alone; why trouble ye her? she hath wrought a good work on me.
7 For ye have the poor with you always, and whensoever ye will ye may do them good: but me ye have not always.
8 She hath done what she could: she is come aforehand to anoint my body to the burying.
9 Then one of the twelve, called Judas Iscariot, went unto the chief priests,
10 And said unto them, What will ye give me, and I will deliver him unto you? And they covenanted with him for thirty pieces of silver.
11 And from that time he sought opportunity to betray him.
12 Now the first day of the feast of unleavened bread the disciples came to Jesus, saying unto him, Where wilt thou that we prepare for thee to eat the passover?
13 And he said, Go into the city to such a man, and say unto him, The Master saith, My time is at hand; I will keep the passover at thy house with my disciples.
14 And the disciples did as Jesus had appointed them; and they made ready the passover.
15 Now when the even was come, he sat down with the twelve.
16 And there was also a strife among them, which of them should be accounted the greatest.
17 And he said unto them, The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors.
18 But ye shall not be so: but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve.
19 For whether is greater, he that sitteth at meat, or he that serveth? is not he that sitteth at meat? but I am among you as he that serveth.
20 And supped being ended,
21 He riseth from supper, and laid aside his garments; and took a towel, and girded himself.
22 After that he poureth water into a bason, and began to wash the disciples feet, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he was girded.
23 Then cometh he to Simon Peter: and Peter saith unto him, Lord, dost thou wash my feet?
24 Jesus answered and said unto him, What I do thou knowest not now; but thou shalt know hereafter.
25 Peter saith unto him, Thou shalt never wash my feet. Jesus answered him, If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me.
26 Simon Peter saith unto him, Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head.
27 Jesus saith to him, He that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit: and ye are clean, but not all.
28 For he knew who should betray him; therefore said he, Ye are not all clean.
29 So after he had washed their feet, and had taken his garments, and was set down again, he said unto them, Know ye what I have done to you?
30 Ye call me Master and Lord: and ye say well; for so I am.
31 If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet; ye also ought to wash one another's feet.
32 For I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you.
33 Verily, verily, I say unto you, The servant is not greater than his lord; neither he that is sent greater than he that sent him.
34 If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them.
35 When Jesus had thus said, he was troubled in spirit, and testified, and said, Verily, verily, I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me.
36 Then the disciples looked one on another, doubting of whom he spake.
37 Now there was leaning on Jesus' bosom one of his disciples, whom Jesus loved.
38 Simon Peter therefore beckoned to him, that he whould ask who it should be of whom he spake.
39 He then lying on Jesus' breast saith unto him, Lord, who is it?
40 Jesus answered, He it is, to whom I shall give a sop, when I have dipped it. And when he had dipped the sop, he gave it to Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon.
41 Therefore, when he was gone out, Jesus said,
42 A new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another.
43 By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.
44 Then saith Jesus unto them, All ye shall be offended because of me this night:
45 Peter answered and said unto him, Though all men shall be offended because of thee, yet will I never be offended.
46 I am ready to go with thee, both into prison, and to death.
47 And he said, I tell thee, Peter, the cock shall not crow this day, before that thou shalt thrice deny that thou knowest me.
48 Peter said unto him, Though I should die with thee, yet will I not deny thee. Likewise also said all the disciples.
49 Then cometh Jesus with them unto a place called Gethsemane, and saith unto the disciples, Sit ye here, while I go and pray yonder.
50 And he took with him Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, and began to be sorrowful and very heavy.
51 Then saith he unto them, My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death: tarry ye here, and watch with me.
52 And he went a little farther, and fell on his face, and prayed, saying, O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me: nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt.
53 And he cometh unto the disciples, and findeth them asleep, and saith unto Peter, What, could ye not watch with me one hour?
54 Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation: the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.
55 He went away again the second time, and prayed, saying, O my Father, if this cup may not pass away from me, except I drink it, thy will be done.
56 And he came and found them asleep again: for their eyes were heavy.
57 And he left them, and went away again, and prayed the third time, saying the same words.
58 Then cometh he to his disciples, and saith unto them, Sleep on now, and take your rest.

JEFFERSON CHAPTER 16
1 When Jesus had spoken these words, he went forth with his disciples over the brook Cedron, where was a garden, into the which he entered, and his disciples.
2 And Judas also, which betrayed him, knew the place: for Jesus ofttimes resorted thither with his disciples.
3 Judas then, having received a band of men and officers from the chief priests and Pharisees, cometh thither with lanterns and torches and weapons.
4 Now he that betrayed him gave them a sign, saying, Whomsoever I shall kiss, that same is he: hold him fast.
5 And forthwith he came to Jesus, and said, Hail, master; and kissed him.
6 And Jesus said unto him, Friend, wherefore are thou come?
7 Jesus therefore, knowing all things that should come upon him, went forth, and said unto them, Whom seek ye?
8 They answered him, Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus saith unto them, I am he. And Judas also, which betrayed him, stood with them.
9 As soon then as he had said unto them, I am he, they went backward, and fell to the ground.
10 Then asked he them again, Whom seek ye? And they said, Jesus of Nazareth.
11 Jesus answered, I have told you that I am he: if therefore ye seek me, let these go their way:
12 Then came they, and laid hands on Jesus and took him.
13 And, behold, one of them which were with Jesus stretched out his hand, and drew his sword, and struck a servant of the high priest's, and smote off his ear.
14 Then said Jesus unto him, Put up again thy sword into his place: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.
15 In that same hour said Jesus to the multitudes, Are ye come out as against a thief with swords and staves for to take me? I sat daily with you teaching in the temple, and ye laid no hold on me.
16 Then all the disciples forsook him, and fled.
17 And there followed him a certain young man, having a linen cloth cast about his naked body; and the young men laid hold on him:
18 And he left the linen cloth, and fled from them naked.
19 And they that had laid hold on Jesus led him away to Caiaphas the high priest, where the scribes and the elders were assembled.
20 And Simon Peter followed Jesus, and so did another disciple: that disciple was known unto the high priest, and went in with Jesus into the palace of the high priest.
21 But Peter stood at the door without. Then went out that other disciple, which was known unto the high priest, and spake unto her that kept the door, and brought in Peter.
22 And the servants and officers stood there, who had made a fire of coals; for it was cold: and they warmed themselves: and Peter stood with them, and warmed himself.
23 Then saith the damsel that kept the door unto Peter, Art not thou also one of this man's disciples? He saith, I am not.
24 And Simon Peter stood and warmed himself. They said therefore unto him, Art not thou also one of his disciples? He denied it, and said, I am not.
25 One of the servants of the high priest, being his kinsman whose ear Peter cut off, saith, Did not I see thee in the garden with him?
26 Peter then denied again: and immediately the cock crew.
27 And Peter remembered the word of Jesus, which said unto him, Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice. And he went out, and wept bitterly.
28 The high priest then asked Jesus of his disciples, and of his doctrine.
29 Jesus answered him, I spake openly to the world; I ever taught in the synagogue, and in the temple, whither the Jews always resort; and in secret have I said nothing.
30 Why askest thou me? ask them which heard me, what I have said unto them: behold, they know what I said.
31 And when he had thus spoken, one of the officers which stood by struck Jesus with the palm of his hand, saying, Answerest thou the high priest so?
32 Jesus answered him, If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil: but if well, why smitest thou me?
33 And they led Jesus away to the high priest: and with him were assembled all the chief priests and the elders and the scribes.
34 And the chief priests and all the council sought for witness against Jesus to put him to death; and found none.
35 For many bare false witness against him, but their witness agreed not together.
36 And there arose certain, and bare false witness against him, saying,
37 We heard him say, I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and within three days I will build another made without hands.
38 But neither so did their witness agree together.
39 And the high priest stood up in the midst, and asked Jesus, saying, Answerest thou nothing? what is it which these witness against thee?
40 But he held his peace, and answered nothing. Again the high priest asked him, and said unto him, Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?
41 And he said unto them, If I tell you, ye will not believe:
42 And if I also ask you, ye will not answer me, nor let me go.
43 Then said they all, Art thou then the Son of God? And he said unto them, Ye say that I am.
44 Then the high priest rent his clothes, and saith, What need we any further witnesses?
45 Ye have heard the blasphemy: what think ye? And they all condemned him to be guilty of death.
46 And some began to spit on him, and to cover his face, and to buffet him, and to say unto him, Prophesy: and the servants did strike him with the palms of their hands.
47 Then led they Jesus from Caiaphas unto the hall of judgement: and it was early; and they themselves went not into the judgement hall, lest they should be defiled; but that they might eat the passover.
48 Pilate then went out unto them, and said, What accusation bring ye against this man?
49 They answered and said unto him, If he were not a malefactor, we would not have delivered him up unto thee.
50 Then said Pilate unto them, Take ye him, and judge him according to your law. The Jews therefore said unto him, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death:
51 Then Pilate entered into the judgement hall again, and called Jesus, and said unto him, Art thou the King of the Jews?
52 Jesus answered him, Sayest thou this thing of thyself, or did others tell it thee of me?
53 Pilate answered, Am I a Jew? Thine own nation and the chief priests have delivered thee unto me: what hast thou done?
54 Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is my kingdom not from hence.
55 Pilate therefore said unto him, Art thou a king then? Jesus answered, Thou sayest that I am a king. To this end was

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I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice.

56 Pilate saith unto him, What is truth? And when he had said this, he went out again unto the Jews, and saith unto them, I find in him no fault at all.

57 And they were the more fierce, saying, He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Jewry, beginning from Galilee to this place.

58 Then said Pilate unto him, Hearest thou not how many things they witness against thee?

59 When Pilate heard of Galilee, he asked whether the man were a Galilean.

60 And as soon as he knew that he belonged unto Herod's jurisdiction, he sent him to Herod, who himself also was at Jerusalem at that time.

61 And when Herod saw Jesus, he was exceeding glad: for he was desirous to see him of a long season, because he had heard many things of him; and he hoped to have seen some miracle done by him.

62 Then he questioned with him in many words; but he answered him nothing.

63 And the chief priests and scribes stood and vehemently accused him.

64 And Herod with his men of war set him at nought, and mocked him, and arrayed him in a gorgeous robe, and sent him again to Pilate.

65 And the same day Pilate and Herod were made friends together: for before they were at enmity between themselves.

66 And Pilate, when he had called together the chief priests and the rulers and the people,

67 Said unto them, Ye have brought this man unto me, as one that perverteth the people: and, behold, I, having examined him before you, have found no fault in this man touching those things whereof ye accuse him:

68 No, nor yet Herod: for I sent you to him; and, lo, nothing worthy of death is done unto him.

69 I will therefore chastise him, and release him.

JEFFERSON CHAPTER 17

1 Now at that feast the governor was wont to release unto the people a prisoner, whom they would.

2 And they had then a notable prisoner, called Barabbas.

3 Therefore when they were gathered together, Pilate said unto them, Whom will ye that I release unto you? Barabbas, or Jesus which is called Christ?

4 For he knew that for envy they had delivered him.

5 When he was set down on the judgement seat, his wife sent unto him, saying, Have thou nothing to do with that just man: for I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of him.

6 But the chief priests and elders persuaded the multitude that they should ask Barabbas, and destroy Jesus.

7 The governor answered and said unto them, Whether of the twain will ye that I release unto you? They said, Barabbas.

8 Pilate saith unto them, What shall I do then with Jesus which is called Christ? They all say unto him, Let him be crucified.

9 And the governor said, Why, what evil hath he done? But they cried out the more, saying, Let him be crucified.

10 Then released he Barabbas unto them: and when he had scourged Jesus, he delivered him to be crucified.

11 Then the soldiers of the governor took Jesus into the common hall, and gathered unto him the whole band of soldiers.

12 And when they had platted a crown of thorns, they put it upon his head, and a reed in his right hand: and they bowed the knee before him, and mocked him, saying, Hail, King of the Jews!

13 And they spit upon him, and took the reed, and smote him on the head.

14 And after that they had mocked him, they took the robe off from him, and put his own raiment on him, and led him away to crucify him.

15 Then Judas, which had betrayed him, when he saw that he was condemned, repented himself, and brought again the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests and elders,

16 Saying, I have sinned in that I have betrayed the innocent blood. And they said, What is that to us? see thou to that.

17 And he cast down the pieces of silver in the temple, and departed, and went and hanged himself.

18 And the chief priests took the silver pieces, and said, It is not lawful for to put them into the treasury, because it is the price of blood.

19 And they took counsel, and bought with them the potter's field, to bury strangers in.

20 Wherefore that field was called, The Field of Blood, unto this day.

21 And as they led him away, they laid hold upon one Simon, a Cyrenian, coming out of the country, and on him they laid the cross, that he might bear it after Jesus.

22 And there followed him a great company of people, and of women, which also bewailed and lamented him.

23 But Jesus turning unto them said, Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children.

24 For, behold, the days are coming, in the which they shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps which never gave suck.

25 Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us; and to the hills, Cover us.

26 For if they do these things in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry?

27 And there were also two other, malefactors, led with him to be put to death.

28 And he bearing his cross went forth into a place called the place of a skull, which is called in the Hebrew Golgotha:

29 Where they crucified him, and two other with him, on either side one, and Jesus in the midst.

30 And Pilate wrote a title, and put it on the cross. And the writing was JESUS OF NAZARETH THE KING OF THE JEWS.

31 This title then read many of the Jews: for the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city: and it was written in Hebrew, and Greek, and Latin.

32 Then said the chief priests of the Jews to Pilate, Write not, The King of the Jews; but that he said, I am King of the Jews.

33 Pilate answered, What I have written I have written.

34 Then the soldiers, when they had crucified Jesus, took his garments, and made four parts, to every soldier a part; and also his coat: now the coat was without seam, woven from the top throughout.

35 They said therefore among themselves, Let us not rend it, but cast lots for it, whose it shall be.

36 And they that passed by reviled him, wagging their heads,

37 And saying, Thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest it in three days, save thyself. If thou be the Son of God, come down from the cross.

38 Likewise also the chief priests mocking him, with the scribes and elders, said,

39 He saved others; himself he cannot save. If he be the King of Israel, let him now come down from the cross, and we will believe him.

40 He trusted in God; let him deliver him now, if he will have him: for he said, I am the Son of God.

41 And one of the malefactors which were hanged railed on him, saying, If thou be the Christ, save thyself and us.

42 But the other answering rebuked him, saying, Dost not thou fear God, seeing thou art in the same condemnation?

43 And we indeed justly; for we receive the due reward of our deeds: but this man hath done nothing amiss.

44 Then said Jesus, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.

45 Now there stood by the cross of Jesus his mother, and his mother's sister, Mary the wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene.

46 When Jesus therefore saw his mother, and the disciple standing by, whom he loved, he saith unto his mother, Woman, behold thy son!

47 Then saith he to the disciple, Behold thy mother! And from that hour that disciple took her unto his own home.

48 And about the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani? that is to say, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?

49 Some of them that stood there, when they heard that, said, This man calleth for Elias.

50 And straightway one of them ran, and took a spunge, and filled it with vinegar, and put it on a reed, and gave him to drink.

51 The rest said, Let be, let us see whether Elias will come to save him.

52 Jesus, when he had cried again with a loud voice, yielded up the ghost.

53 And many women were there beholding afar off, which followed Jesus from Galilee, ministering unto him:

54 Among which was Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joses, and the mother of Zebedee's children.

55 The Jews therefore, because it was the preparation, that the bodies should not remain upon the cross on the sabbath day, (for that sabbath day was an high day,) besought Pilate that their legs might be broken, and that they might be taken away.

56 Then came the soldiers, and brake the legs of the first, and of the other which was crucified with him.

57 But when they came to Jesus, and saw that he was dead already, they brake not his legs:

58 But one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and forthwith came there out blood and water.

59 And after this Joseph of Arimathaea, being a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear of the Jews, besought Pilate that he might take away the body of Jesus: and Pilate gave him leave. He came therefore, and took the body of Jesus.

60 And there came also Nicodemus, which at the first came to Jesus by night, and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound weight.

61 Then took they the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury.

62 Now in the place where he was crucified there was a garden; and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid.

63 There laid they Jesus,

64 And rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre, and departed.

THE TEACHINGS OF JESUS

Quoted from the 4 Gospels and the Acts
Edited by Lord Henfield, 2018

(The following compilation contains the teachings or sayings of Jesus in English (KJV), taken from the Four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. Abbreviations: Mt = Matthew, Mk = Mark, Lk = Luke, Jn = John, Ac = Acts. The first number names the chapters, the second represents the verses)

Mt 3 15 And Jesus answering, said to him: Suffer it to be so now. For so it becometh us to fulfil all justice. Then he suffered him.

Mt 4 4 Who answered and said: It is written, Not in bread alone doth man live, but in every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God.

Mt 4 7 Jesus said to him: It is written again: Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.

Mt 4 10 Then Jesus saith to him: Begone, Satan: for it is written: The Lord thy God shalt thou adore, and him only shalt thou serve.

Mt 4 17 From that time Jesus began to preach, and to say: Do penance, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.

Mt 4 19 And he saith to them: Come ye after me, and I will make you to be fishers of men.

Mt 5 3 Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

Mt 5 4 Blessed are the meek: for they shall possess the land.

Mt 5 5 Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.

Mt 5 6 Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after justice: for they shall have their fill.

Mt 5 7 Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.

Mt 5 8 Blessed are the clean of heart: they shall see God.

Mt 5 9 Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.

Mt 5 10 Blessed are they that suffer persecution for justice' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

Mt 5 11 Blessed are ye when they shall revile you, and persecute you, and speak all that is evil against you, untruly, for my sake:

Mt 5 12 Be glad and rejoice for your reward is very great in heaven. For so they persecuted the prophets that were before you.

Mt 5 13 You are the salt of the earth. But if the salt lose its savour, wherewith shall it be salted? It is good for nothing anymore but to be cast out, and to be trodden on by men.

Mt 5 14 You are the light of the world. A city seated on a mountain cannot be hid.

Mt 5 15 Neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel, but upon a candlestick, that it may shine to all that are in the house.

Mt 5 16 So let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven.

Mt 5 17 Do not think that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets. I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil.

Mt 5 18 For amen I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot, or one tittle shall not pass of the law, till all be fulfilled.

Mt 5 19 He therefore that shall break one of these least commandments, and shall so teach men shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven. But he that shall do and teach, he shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven.

Mt 5 20 For I tell you, that unless your justice abound more than that of the scribes and Pharisees, you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.

Mt 5 21 You have heard that it was said to them of old: Thou shalt not kill. And whosoever shall kill, shall be in danger of the judgement.

Mt 5 22 But I say to you, that whosoever is angry with his brother, shall be in danger of the judgement. And whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council. And whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire.

Mt 5 23 If therefore thou offer thy gift at the altar, and there thou remember that thy brother hath anything against thee;

Mt 5 24 Leave there thy offering before the altar, and go first to be reconciled to thy brother, and then coming thou shalt offer thy gift.

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Mt 5 25 Be at agreement with thy adversary betimes, whilst thou art in the way with him: lest perhaps the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison.

Mt 5 26 Amen I say to thee, thou shalt not go out from thence till thou repay the last farthing.

Mt 5 27 You have heard that it was said to them of old: Thou shalt not commit adultery.

Mt 5 28 But I say to you, that whosoever shall look on a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart.

Mt 5 29 And if thy right eye scandalize thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee. For it is expedient for thee that one of thy members should perish, rather than thy whole body be cast into hell.

Mt 5 30 And if thy right hand scandalize thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee: for it is expedient for thee that one of thy members should perish, rather than that thy whole body go into hell.

Mt 5 31 And it hath been said, Whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a bill of divorce.

Mt 5 32 But I say to you, that whosoever shall put away his wife, excepting the cause of fornication, maketh her to commit adultery: and he that shall marry her that is put away, committeth adultery.

Mt 5 33 Again you have heard that it was said to them of old, thou shalt not forswear thyself: but thou shalt perform thy oaths to the Lord.

Mt 5 34 But I say to you not to swear at all, neither by heaven for it is the throne of God:

Mt 5 35 Nor by the earth, for it is his footstool: nor by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great king:

Mt 5 36 Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black.

Mt 5 37 But let your speech be yea, yea: no, no: and that which is over and above these, is of evil.

Mt 5 38 You have heard that it hath been said: An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth.

Mt 5 39 But I say to you not to resist evil: but if one strike thee on thy right cheek, turn to him also the other:

Mt 5 40 And if a man will contend with thee in judgement, and take away thy coat, let go thy cloak also unto him.

Mt 5 41 And whosoever will force thee one mile, go with him other two.

Mt 5 42 Give to him that asketh of thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not away.

Mt 5 43 You have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thy enemy.

Mt 5 44 But I say to you, Love your enemies: do good to them that hate you: and pray for them that persecute and calumniate you:

Mt 5 45 That you may be the children of your Father who is in heaven, who maketh his sun to rise upon the good, and bad, and raineth upon the just and the unjust.

Mt 5 46 For if you love them that love you, what reward shall you have? do not even the publicans this?

Mt 5 47 And if you salute your brethren only, what do you more? do not also the heathens this?

Mt 5 48 Be you therefore perfect, as also your heavenly Father is perfect.

Mt 6 1 Take heed that you do not your justice before men, to be seen by them: otherwise you shall not have a reward of your Father who is in heaven.

Mt 6 2 Therefore when thou dost an alms-deed, sound not a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may be honoured by men. Amen I say to you, they have received their reward.

Mt 6 3 But when thou dost alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doth.

Mt 6 4 That thy alms may be in secret, and thy Father who seeth in secret will repay thee.

Mt 6 5 And when ye pray, you shall not be as the hypocrites, that love to stand and pray in the synagogues and corners of the streets, that they may be seen by men: Amen I say to you, they have received their reward.

Mt 6 6 But thou when thou shalt pray, enter into thy chamber, and having shut the door, pray to thy Father in secret, and thy father who seeth in secret will repay thee.

Mt 6 7 And when you are praying, speak not much, as the heathens. For they think that in their much speaking they may be heard.

Mt 6 8 Be not you therefore like to them for your Father knoweth what is needful for you, before you ask him.

Mt 6 9 Thus therefore shall you pray: Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name.

Mt 6 10 Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.

Mt 6 11 Give us this day our supersubstantial bread.

Mt 6 12 And forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors.

Mt 6 13 And lead us not into temptation. But deliver us from evil. Amen.

Mt 6 14 For if you will forgive men their offences, your heavenly Father will forgive you also your offences.

Mt 6 15 But if you will not forgive men, neither will your Father forgive you your offences.

Mt 6 16 And when you fast, be not as the hypocrites, sad. For they disfigure their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast. Amen I say to you, they have received their reward.

Mt 6 17 But thou, when thou fastest anoint thy head, and wash thy face;

Mt 6 18 That thou appear not to men to fast, but to thy Father who is in secret: and thy Father who seeth in secret, will repay thee.

Mt 6 19 Lay not up to yourselves treasures on earth: where the rust, and moth consume, and where thieves break through, and steal.

Mt 6 20 But lay up to yourselves treasures in heaven: where neither the rust nor moth doth consume, and where thieves do not break through, nor steal.

Mt 6 21 For where thy treasure is, there is thy heart also.

Mt 6 22 The light of thy body is thy eye. If thy eye be single, thy whole body shall be lightsome.

Mt 6 23 But if thy eye be evil thy whole body shall be darksome. If then the light that is in thee, be darkness: the darkness itself how great shall it be!

Mt 6 24 No man can serve two masters. For either he will hate the one, and love the other: or he will sustain the one, and despise the other. You cannot serve God and mammon.

Mt 6 25 Therefore I say to you, be not solicitous for your life, what you shall eat, nor for your body, what you shall put on. Is not the life more than the meat: and the body more than the raiment?

Mt 6 26 Behold the birds of the air, for they neither sow, nor do they reap, nor gather into barns: and your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are not you of much more value than they?

Mt 6 27 And which of you by taking thought, can add to his stature one cubit?

Mt 6 28 And for raiment why are you solicitous? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow: they labour not, neither do they spin.

Mt 6 29 But I say to you, that not even Solomon in all his glory was arrayed as one of these.

Mt 6 30 And if the grass of the field, which is to day, and to morrow is cast into the oven, God doth so clothe: how much more you, O ye of little faith?

Mt 6 31 Be not solicitous therefore, saying: What shall we eat: or what shall we drink, or wherewith shall we be clothed?

Mt 6 32 For after all these things do the heathens seek. For your Father knoweth that you have need of all these things.

Mt 6 33 Seek ye therefore first the kingdom of God, and his justice, and all these things shall be added unto you.

Mt 6 34 Be not therefore solicitous for to morrow; for the morrow will be solicitous for itself. Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof.

Mt 7 1 Judge not, that you may not be judged.

Mt 7 2 For with what judgement you judge, you shall be judged: and with what measure you mete, it shall be measured to you again.

Mt 7 3 And why seest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye; and seest not the beam that is in thy own eye?

Mt 7 4 Or how sayest thou to thy brother: Let me cast the mote out of thy eye; and behold a beam is in thy own eye?

Mt 7 5 Thou hypocrite, cast out first the beam out of thy own eye, and then shalt thou see to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.

Mt 7 6 Give not that which is holy to dogs; neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest perhaps they trample them under their feet, and turning upon you, they tear you.

Mt 7 7 Ask, and it shall be given you: seek, and you shall find: knock, and it shall be opened to you.

Mt 7 8 For every one that asketh, receiveth: and he that seeketh, findeth: and to him that knocketh, it shall be opened.

Mt 7 9 Or what man is there among you, of whom if his son shall ask bread, will he reach him a stone?

Mt 7 10 Or if he shall ask him a fish, will he reach him a serpent?

Mt 7 11 If you then being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children: how much more will your Father who is in heaven, give good things to them that ask him?

Mt 7 12 All things therefore whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do you also to them. For this is the law and the prophets.

Mt 7 13 Enter ye in at the narrow gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there are who go in thereat.

Mt 7 14 How narrow is the gate, and strait is the way that leadeth to life: and few there are that find it!

Mt 7 15 Beware of false prophets, who come to you in the clothing of sheep, but inwardly they are ravening wolves.

Mt 7 16 By their fruits you shall know them. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?

Mt 7 17 Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit, and the evil tree bringeth forth evil fruit.

Mt 7 18 A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can an evil tree bring forth good fruit.

Mt 7 19 Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, shall be cut down, and shall be cast into the fire.

Mt 7 20 Wherefore by their fruits you shall know them.

Mt 7 21 Not every one that saith to me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven: but he that doth the will of my Father who is in heaven, he shall enter into the kingdom of heaven.

Mt 7 22 Many will say to me in that day: Lord, Lord, have not we prophesied in thy name, and cast out devils in thy name, and done many miracles in thy name?

Mt 7 23 And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from me, you that work iniquity.

Mt 7 24 Every one therefore that heareth these my words, and doth them, shall be likened to a wise man that built his house upon a rock,

Mt 7 25 And the rain fell, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and they beat upon that house, and it fell not, for it was founded on a rock.

Mt 7 26 And every one that heareth these my words and doth them not, shall be like a foolish man that built his house upon the sand,

Mt 7 27 And the rain fell, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and they beat upon that house, and it fell, and great was the fall thereof.

Mt 8 3 And Jesus stretching forth his hand, touched him, saying: I will, be thou made clean. And forthwith his leprosy was cleansed.

Mt 8 4 And Jesus saith to him: See thou tell no man: but go, shew thyself to the priest, and offer the gift which Moses commanded, for a testimony unto them.

Mt 8 7 And Jesus saith to him: I will come and heal him.

Mt 8 10 And Jesus hearing this, marvelled; and said to them that followed him. Amen I say to you, I have not found so great faith in Israel.

Mt 8 11 And I say to you that many shall come from the east and the west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven:

Mt 8 12 But the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into the exterior darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

Mt 8 13 And Jesus said to the centurion: Go, and as thou hast believed, so be it done to thee. And the servant was healed at the same hour.

Mt 8 20 And Jesus saith to him: The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head.

Mt 8 26 And Jesus saith to them: Why are you fearful, O ye of little faith? Then rising up, he commanded the winds, and the sea, and there came a great calm.

Mt 9 2 And behold they brought to him one sick of the palsy lying in a bed. And Jesus, seeing their faith, said to the man sick of the palsy: Be of good heart, son, thy sins are forgiven thee.

Mt 9 4 And Jesus seeing their thoughts, said: Why do you think evil in your hearts?

Mt 9 5 Whether is easier, to say, Thy sins are forgiven thee: or to say, Arise, and walk?

Mt 9 6 But that you may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins, (then said he to the man sick of the palsy,) Arise, take up thy bed, and go into thy house.

Mt 9 9 And when Jesus passed on from thence, he saw a man sitting in the custom house, named Matthew; and he saith to him: Follow me. And he arose up and followed him.

Mt 9 12 But Jesus hearing it, said: They that are in health need not a physician, but they that are ill.

Mt 9 13 Go then and learn what this meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice. For I am not come to call the just, but sinners.

Mt 9 15 And Jesus said to them: Can the children of the bridegroom mourn, as long as the bridegroom is with them? But the days will come, when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them, and then they shall fast.

Mt 9 16 And nobody putteth a piece of raw cloth unto an old garment. For it taketh away the fulness thereof from the garment, and there is made a greater rent.

Mt 9 17 Neither do they put new wine into old bottles. Otherwise the bottles break, and the wine runneth out, and the bottles perish. But new wine they put into new bottles: and both are preserved.

Mt 9 22 But Jesus turning and seeing her, said: Be of good heart, daughter, thy faith hath made thee whole. And the woman was made whole from that hour.

Mt 9 24 He said: Give place, for the girl is not dead, but sleepeth. And they laughed him to scorn.

Mt 9 28 And when he was come to the house, the blind men came to him. And Jesus saith to them, Do you believe, that I can do this unto you? They say to him, Yea, Lord.

Mt 9 29 Then he touched their eyes, saying, According to your faith, be it done unto you.

Mt 9 30 And their eyes were opened, and Jesus strictly charged them, saying, See that no man know this.

Mt 9 37 Then he saith to his disciples, The harvest indeed is great, but the labourers are few.

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Mt 9 38 Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he send forth labourers into his harvest.

Mt 10 5 These twelve Jesus sent: commanding them, saying: Go ye not into the way of the Gentiles, and into the city of the Samaritans enter ye not.

Mt 10 6 But go ye rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.

Mt 10 7 And going, preach, saying: The kingdom of heaven is at hand.

Mt 10 8 Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, cast out devils: freely have you received, freely give.

Mt 10 9 Do not possess gold, nor silver, nor money in your purses:

Mt 10 10 Nor scrip for your journey, nor two coats, nor shoes, nor a staff; for the workman is worthy of his meat.

Mt 10 11 And into whatsoever city or town you shall enter, inquire who in it is worthy, and there abide till you go thence.

Mt 10 12 And when you come into the house, salute it, saying: Peace be to this house.

Mt 10 13 And if that house be worthy, your peace shall come upon it; but if it be not worthy, your peace shall return to you.

Mt 10 14 And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words: going forth out of that house or city shake off the dust from your feet.

Mt 10 15 Amen I say to you, it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrha in the day of judgement, than for that city.

Mt 10 16 Behold I send you as sheep in the midst of wolves. Be ye therefore wise as serpents and simple as doves.

Mt 10 17 But beware of men. For they will deliver you up in councils, and they will scourge you in their synagogues.

Mt 10 18 And you shall be brought before governors, and before kings for my sake, for a testimony to them and to the Gentiles:

Mt 10 19 But when they shall deliver you up, take no thought how or what to speak: for it shall be given you in that hour what to speak:

Mt 10 20 For it is not you that speak, but the spirit of your Father that speaketh in you.

Mt 10 21 The brother also shall deliver up the brother to death, and the father the son; and the children shall rise up against their parents, and shall put them to death.

Mt 10 22 And you shall be hated by all men for my name's sake: but he that shall persevere unto the end, he shall be saved.

Mt 10 23 And when they shall persecute you in this city, flee into another. Amen I say to you, you shall not finish all the cities of Israel, till the Son of man come.

Mt 10 24 The disciple is not above the master, nor the servant above his lord.

Mt 10 25 It is enough for the disciple that he be as his master, and the servant as his lord. If they have called the good man of the house Beelzebub, how much more them of his household?

Mt 10 26 Therefore fear them not. For nothing is covered that shall not be revealed: nor hid, that shall not be known.

Mt 10 27 That which I tell you in the dark, speak ye in the light: and that which you hear in the ear, preach ye upon the housetops.

Mt 10 28 And fear ye not them that kill the body, and are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him that can destroy both soul and body in hell.

Mt 10 29 Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and not one of them shall fall on the ground without your Father.

Mt 10 30 But the very hairs of your head are all numbered.

Mt 10 31 Fear not therefore: better are you than many sparrows.

Mt 10 32 Every one therefore that shall confess me before men, I will also confess him before my Father who is in heaven.

Mt 10 33 But he that shall deny me before men, I will also deny him before my Father who is in heaven.

Mt 10 34 Do not think that I came to send peace upon earth: I came not to send peace, but the sword.

Mt 10 35 For I came to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter in law against her mother in law.

Mt 10 36 And a man's enemies shall be they of his own household.

Mt 10 37 He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me.

Mt 10 38 And he that taketh not up his cross, and followeth me, is not worthy of me.

Mt 10 39 He that findeth his life, shall lose it: and he that shall lose his life for me, shall find it.

Mt 10 40 He that receiveth you, receiveth me: and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me.

Mt 10 41 He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall receive the reward of a prophet: and he that receiveth a just man in the name of a just man, shall receive the reward of a just man.

Mt 10 42 And whosoever shall give to drink to one of these little ones a cup of cold water only in the name of a disciple, amen I say to you he shall not lose his reward.

Mt 11 4 And Jesus making answer said to them: Go and relate to John what you have heard and seen.

Mt 11 5 The blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead rise again, the poor have the gospel preached to them.

Mt 11 6 And blessed is he that shall not be scandalized in me.

Mt 11 7 And when they went their way, Jesus began to say to the multitudes concerning John: What went you out into the desert to see? a reed shaken with the wind?

Mt 11 8 But what went you out to see? a man clothed in soft garments? Behold they that are clothed in soft garments, are in the houses of kings.

Mt 11 9 But what went you out to see? A prophet? Yea I tell you, and more than a prophet.

Mt 11 10 For this is he of whom it is written: Behold I send my angel before my face, who shall prepare thy way before thee.

Mt 11 11 Amen I say to you, there hath not risen among them that are born of women a greater than John the Baptist: yet he that is the lesser in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he.

Mt 11 12 And from the days of John the Baptist until now, the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent bear it away.

Mt 11 13 For all the prophets and the law prophesied until John:

Mt 11 14 And if you will receive it, he is Elias that is to come.

Mt 11 15 He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.

Mt 11 16 But whereunto shall I esteem this generation to be like? It is like to children sitting in the market place.

Mt 11 17 Who crying to their companions say: We have piped to you, and you have not danced: we have lamented, and you have not mourned.

Mt 11 18 For John came neither eating nor drinking; and they say: He hath a devil.

Mt 11 19 The Son of man came eating and drinking, and they say: Behold a man that is a glutton and a wine drinker, a friend of publicans and sinners. And wisdom is justified by her children.

Mt 11 20 Then began he to upbraid the cities wherein were done the most of his miracles, for that they had not done penance.

Mt 11 21 Woe thee, Corozain, woe to thee, Bethsaida: for if in Tyre and Sidon had been wrought the miracles that have been wrought in you, they had long ago done penance in sackcloth and ashes.

Mt 11 22 But I say unto you, it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon in the day of judgement, than for you.

Mt 11 23 And thou Capharnaum, shalt thou be exalted up to heaven? thou shalt go down even unto hell. For if in Sodom had been wrought the miracles that have been wrought in thee, perhaps it had remained unto this day.

Mt 11 24 But I say unto you, that it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgement than for thee.

Mt 11 25 At that time Jesus answered and said: I confess to thee, O Father, Lord of Heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them to little ones.

Mt 11 26 Yea, Father: for so hath it seemed good in thy sight.

Mt 11 27 All things are delivered to me by my Father. And no one knoweth the Son but the Father: neither doth any one know the Father, but the Son, and he to whom it shall please the Son to reveal him.

Mt 11 28 Come to me all you that labor and are burdened, and I will refresh you.

Mt 11 29 Take up my yoke upon you, and learn of me, because I am meek, and humble of heart: And you shall find rest to your souls.

Mt 11 30 For my yoke is sweet and my burden light.

Mt 12 3 But he said to them: Have you not read what David did when he was hungry, and they that were with him:

Mt 12 4 How he entered into the house of God, and did eat the loaves of proposition, which it was not lawful for him to eat, nor for them that were with him, but for the priests only?

Mt 12 5 Or have ye not read in the law, that on the sabbath days the priests in the temple break the sabbath, and are without blame?

Mt 12 6 But I tell you that there is here a greater than the temple.

Mt 12 7 And if you knew what this meaneth: I will have mercy, and not sacrifice: you would never have condemned the innocent.

Mt 12 8 For the Son of man is Lord even of the sabbath.

Mt 12 11 But he said to them: What man shall there be among you, that hath one sheep: and if the same fall into a pit on the sabbath day, will he not take hold on it and lift it up?

Mt 12 12 How much better is a man than a sheep? Therefore it is lawful to do a good deed on the sabbath days.

Mt 12 13 Then he saith to the man: Stretch forth thy hand; and he stretched it forth, and it was restored to health even as the other.

Mt 12 25 And Jesus knowing their thoughts, said to them: Every kingdom divided against itself shall be made desolate: and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand.

Mt 12 26 And if Satan cast out Satan, he is divided against himself: how then shall his kingdom stand?

Mt 12 27 And if I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out? Therefore they shall be your judges.

Mt 12 28 But if I by the Spirit of God cast out devils, then is the kingdom of God come upon you.

Mt 12 29 Or how can any one enter into the house of the strong, and rifle his goods, unless he first bind the strong? and then he will rifle his house.

Mt 12 30 He that is not with me, is against me: and he that gathereth not with me, scattereth.

Mt 12 31 Therefore I say to you: Every sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven men, but the blasphemy of the Spirit shall not be forgiven.

Mt 12 32 And whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but he that shall speak against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him neither in this world, nor in the world to come.

Mt 12 33 Either make the tree good and its fruit good: or make the tree evil, and its fruit evil. For by the fruit the tree is known.

Mt 12 34 O generation of vipers, how can you speak good things, whereas you are evil? for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh.

Mt 12 35 A good man out of a good treasure bringeth forth good things: and an evil man out of an evil treasure bringeth forth evil things.

Mt 12 36 But I say unto you, that every idle word that men shall speak, they shall render an account for it in the day of judgement.

Mt 12 37 For by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned.

Mt 12 39 Who answering said to them: An evil and adulterous generation seeketh a sign: and a sign shall not be given it, but the sign of Jonas the prophet.

Mt 12 40 For as Jonas was in the whale's belly three days and three nights: so shall the Son of man be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights.

Mt 12 41 The men of Ninive shall rise in judgement with this generation, and shall condemn it: because they did penance at the preaching of Jonas. And behold a greater than Jonas here.

Mt 12 42 The queen of the south shall rise in judgement with this generation, and shall condemn it: because she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and behold a greater than Solomon here.

Mt 12 43 And when an unclean spirit is gone out of a man he walketh through dry places seeking rest, and findeth none.

Mt 12 44 Then he saith: I will return into my house from whence I came out. And coming he findeth it empty, swept, and garnished.

Mt 12 45 Then he goeth, and taketh with him seven other spirits more wicked than himself, and they enter in and dwell there: and the last state of that man is made worse than the first. So shall it be also to this wicked generation.

Mt 12 48 But he answering him that told him, said: Who is my mother, and who are my brethren?

Mt 12 49 And stretching forth his hand towards his disciples, he said: Behold my mother and my brethren.

Mt 12 50 For whosoever shall do the will of my Father, that is in heaven, he is my brother, and sister, and mother.

Mt 13 3 And he spoke to them many things in parables, saying: Behold the sower went forth to sow.

Mt 13 4 And whilst he soweth some fell by the way side, and the birds of the air came and ate them up.

Mt 13 5 And other some fell upon stony ground, where they had not much earth: and they sprung up immediately, because they had no deepness of earth.

Mt 13 6 And when the sun was up they were scorched: and because they had not root, they withered away.

Mt 13 7 And others fell among thorns: and the thorns grew up and choked them.

Mt 13 8 And others fell upon good ground: and they brought forth fruit, some an hundred fold, some sixty fold, and some thirty fold.

Mt 13 9 He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.

Mt 13 11 Who answered and said to them: Because to you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven: but to them it is not given.

Mt 13 12 For he that hath, to him shall be given, and he shall abound: but he that hath not, from him shall be taken away that also which he hath.

Mt 13 13 Therefore do I speak to them in parables: because seeing they see not, and hearing they hear not, neither do they understand.

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Mt 13 14 And the prophecy of Isaias is fulfilled in them, who saith: By hearing you shall hear, and shall not understand: and seeing you shall see, and shall not perceive.

Mt 13 15 For the heart of this people is grown gross, and with their ears they have been dull of hearing, and their eyes they have shut: lest at any time they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them.

Mt 13 16 But blessed are your eyes, because they see, and your ears, because they hear.

Mt 13 17 For, amen, I say to you, many prophets and just men have desired to see the things that you see, and have not seen them: and to hear the things that you hear and have not heard them.

Mt 13 18 Hear you therefore the parable of the sower.

Mt 13 19 When any one heareth the word of the kingdom, and understandeth it not, there cometh the wicked one, and catcheth away that which was sown in his heart: this is he that received the seed by the way side.

Mt 13 20 And he that received the seed upon stony ground, is he that heareth the word, and immediately receiveth it with joy.

Mt 13 21 Yet hath he not root in himself, but is only for a time: and when there ariseth tribulation and persecution because of the word, he is presently scandalized.

Mt 13 22 And he that received the seed among thorns, is he that heareth the word, and the care of this world and the deceitfulness of riches choketh up the word, and he becometh fruitless.

Mt 13 23 But he that received the seed upon good ground, is he that heareth the word, and understandeth, and beareth fruit, and yieldeth the one an hundredfold, and another sixty, and another thirty.

Mt 13 24 Another parable he proposed to them, saying: The kingdom of heaven is likened to a man that sowed good seed in his field.

Mt 13 25 But while men were asleep, his enemy came and oversowed cockle among the wheat and went his way.

Mt 13 26 And when the blade was sprung up, and had brought forth fruit, then appeared also the cockle.

Mt 13 27 And the servants of the good man of the house coming said to him. Sir, didst thou not sow good seed in thy field? Whence then hath it cockle?

Mt 13 28 And he said to them: An enemy hath done this. And the servants said to him: Wilt thou that we go and gather it up?

Mt 13 29 And he said: No, lest perhaps gathering up the cockle, you root up the wheat also together with it.

Mt 13 30 Suffer both to grow until the harvest, and in the time of the harvest I will say to the reapers: Gather up first the cockle, and bind it into bundles to burn, but the wheat gather ye into my barn.

Mt 13 31 Another parable he proposed unto them, saying: The kingdom of heaven is like to a grain of mustard seed, which a man took and sowed in his field.

Mt 13 32 Which is the least indeed of all seeds; but when it is grown up, it is greater than all herbs, and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come, and dwell in the branches thereof.

Mt 13 33 Another parable he spoke to them: The kingdom of heaven is like to leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, until the whole was leavened.

Mt 13 37 Who made answer and said to them: He that soweth the good seed is the Son of man.

Mt 13 38 And the field is the world. And the good seed are the children of the kingdom. And the cockle are the children of the wicked one.

Mt 13 39 And the enemy that sowed them, is the devil. But the harvest is the end of the world. And the reapers are the angels.

Mt 13 40 Even as cockle therefore is gathered up, and burnt with fire: so shall it be at the end of the world.

Mt 13 41 The Son of man shall send his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all scandals, and them that work iniquity.

Mt 13 42 And shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

Mt 13 43 Then shall the just shine as the sun, in the kingdom of their Father. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.

Mt 13 44 The kingdom of heaven is like unto a treasure hidden in a field. Which a man having found, hid it, and for joy thereof goeth, and selleth all that he hath, and buyeth that field.

Mt 13 45 Again the kingdom of heaven is like to a merchant seeking good pearls.

Mt 13 46 Who when he had found one pearl of great price, went his way, and sold all that he had, and bought it.

Mt 13 47 Again the kingdom of heaven is like to a net cast into the sea, and gathering together of all kinds of fishes.

Mt 13 48 Which, when it was filled, they drew out, and sitting by the shore, they chose out the good into vessels, but the bad they cast forth.

Mt 13 49 So shall it be at the end of the world. The angels shall go out, and shall separate the wicked from among the just.

Mt 13 50 And shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

Mt 13 51 Have ye understood all these things? They say to him: Yes.

Mt 13 52 He said unto them: Therefore every scribe instructed in the kingdom of heaven, is like to a man that is a householder, who bringeth forth out of his treasure new things and old.

Mt 13 57 And they were scandalized in his regard. But Jesus said to them: A prophet is not without honour, save in his own country, and in his own house.

Mt 14 16 But Jesus said to them, They have no need to go: give you them to eat.

Mt 14 18 Who said to them: Bring them hither to me.

Mt 14 27 And immediately Jesus spoke to them, saying: Be of good heart: it is I, fear ye not.

Mt 14 29 And he said: Come. And Peter going down out of the boat walked upon the water to come to Jesus.

Mt 14 31 And immediately Jesus stretching forth his hand took hold of him, and said to him: O thou of little faith, why didst thou doubt?

Mt 15 3 But he answering, said to them: Why do you also transgress the commandment of God for your tradition? For God said:

Mt 15 4 Honour thy father and mother: And: He that shall curse father or mother, let him die the death.

Mt 15 5 But you say: Whosoever shall say to father or mother, The gift whatsoever proceedeth from me, shall profit thee.

Mt 15 6 And he shall not honour his father or his mother: and you have made void the commandment of God for your tradition.

Mt 15 7 Hypocrites, well hath Isaias prophesied of you, saying:

Mt 15 8 This people honoureth me with their lips: but their heart is far from me.

Mt 15 9 And in vain do they worship me, teaching doctrines and commandments of men.

Mt 15 10 And having called together the multitudes unto him, he said to them: Hear ye and understand.

Mt 15 11 Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man: but what cometh out of the mouth, this defileth a man.

Mt 15 13 But he answering, said: Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up.

Mt 15 14 Let them alone: they are blind, and leaders of the blind. And if the blind lead the blind, both fall into the pit.

Mt 15 16 But he said: Are you also yet without understanding?

Mt 15 17 Do you not understand, that whatsoever entereth into the mouth, goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the privy?

Mt 15 18 But the things which proceed out of the mouth, come forth from the heart, and those things defile a man.

Mt 15 19 For from the heart come forth evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false testimonies, blasphemies.

Mt 15 20 These are the things that defile a man. But to eat with unwashed hands doth not defile a man.

Mt 15 24 And he answering, said: I was not sent but to the sheep, that are lost of the house of Israel.

Mt 15 26 Who answering, said: It is not good to take the bread of the children, and to cast it to the dogs.

Mt 15 28 Then Jesus answering, said to her: O woman, great is thy faith: be it done to thee as thou wilt: and her daughter was cured from that hour.

Mt 15 32 And Jesus called together his disciples, and said: I have compassion on the multitudes, because they continue with me now three days, and have not what to eat, and I will not send them away fasting, lest they faint in the way.

Mt 15 34 And Jesus said to them: How many loaves have you? But they said: Seven, and a few little fishes.

Mt 16 2 But he answered and said to them: When it is evening, you say, It will be fair weather, for the sky is red.

Mt 16 3 And in the morning: To day there will be a storm, for the sky is red and lowering. You know then how to discern the face of the sky: and can you not know the signs of the times?

Mt 16 4 A wicked and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign: and a sign shall not be given it, but the sign of Jonas the prophet. And he left them, and went away.

Mt 16 6 Who said to them: Take heed and beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees.

Mt 16 8 And Jesus knowing it, said: Why do you think within yourselves, O ye of little faith, for that you have no bread?

Mt 16 9 Do you not yet understand, neither do you remember the five loaves among five thousand men, and how many baskets you took up?

Mt 16 10 Nor the seven loaves, among four thousand men, and how many baskets you took up?

Mt 16 11 Why do you not understand that it was not concerning bread I said to you: Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees?

Mt 16 13 And Jesus came into the quarters of Cesarea Philippi: and he asked his disciples, saying: Whom do men say that the Son of man is?

Mt 16 15 Jesus saith to them: But whom do you say that I am?

Mt 16 17 And Jesus answering said to him: Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona: because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father who is in heaven.

Mt 16 18 And I say to thee: That thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.

Mt 16 19 And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven.

Mt 16 23 Who turning, said to Peter: Go behind me, Satan, thou art a scandal unto me: because thou savourest not the things that are of God, but the things that are of men.

Mt 16 24 Then Jesus said to his disciples: If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me.

Mt 16 25 For he that will save his life, shall lose it: and he that shall lose his life for my sake, shall find it.

Mt 16 26 For what doth it profit a man, if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul? Or what exchange shall a man give for his soul?

Mt 16 27 For the Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels: and then will he render to every man according to his works.

Mt 16 28 Amen I say to you, there are some of them that stand here, that shall not taste death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom.

Mt 17 7 And Jesus came and touched them: and said to them: Arise, and fear not.

Mt 17 9 And as they came down from the mountain, Jesus charged them, saying: Tell the vision to no man, till the Son of man be risen from the dead.

Mt 17 11 But he answering, said to them: Elias indeed shall come, and restore all things.

Mt 17 12 But I say to you, that Elias is already come, and they knew him not, But have done unto him whatsoever they had a mind. So also the Son of man shall suffer from them.

Mt 17 16 Then Jesus answered and said: O unbelieving and perverse generation, how long shall I be with you? How long shall I suffer you? Bring him hither to me.

Mt 17 19 Jesus said to them: Because of your unbelief. For, amen I say to you, if you have faith as a grain of mustard seed, you shall say to this mountain: Remove from hence hither, and it shall remove: and nothing shall be impossible to you.

Mt 17 20 But this kind is not cast out but by prayer and fasting.

Mt 17 21 And when they abode together in Galilee, Jesus said to them: The Son of man shall be betrayed into the hands of men:

Mt 17 24 He said: Yes. And when he was come into the house, Jesus prevented him, saying: What is thy opinion, Simon? The kings of the earth, of whom do they receive tribute or custom, of their own children, or of strangers?

Mt 17 25 And he said: Of strangers. Jesus said to him: Then the children are free.

Mt 17 26 But that we may not scandalize them, go to the sea, and cast in a hook: and that fish which shall first come up, take: and when thou hast opened it's mouth, thou shalt find a stater: take that, and give it to them for me and thee.

Mt 18 3 And said: amen I say to you, unless you be converted, and become as little children, you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.

Mt 18 4 Whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, he is the greater in the kingdom of heaven.

Mt 18 5 And he that shall receive one such little child in my name, receiveth me.

Mt 18 6 But he that shall scandalize one of these little ones that believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone should be hanged about his neck, and that he should be drowned in the depth of the sea.

Mt 18 7 Woe to the world because of scandals. For it must needs be that scandals come: but nevertheless woe to that man by whom the scandal cometh.

Mt 18 8 And if thy hand, or thy foot, scandalize thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee. It is better for thee to go into life maimed or lame, than having two hands or two feet, to be cast into everlasting fire.

Mt 18 9 And if thy eye scandalize thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee. It is better for thee having one eye to enter into life, than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire.

Mt 18 10 See that you despise not one of these little ones: for I say to you, that their angels in heaven always see the face of my Father who is in heaven.

Mt 18 11 For the Son of man is come to save that which was lost.

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Mt 18 12 What think you? If a man have an hundred sheep, and one of them should go astray: doth he not leave the ninety-nine in the mountains, and goeth to seek that which is gone astray?

Mt 18 13 And if it so be that he find it: Amen I say to you, he rejoiceth more for that, than for the ninety-nine that went not astray.

Mt 18 14 Even so it is not the will of your Father, who is in heaven, that one of these little ones should perish.

Mt 18 15 But if thy brother shall offend against thee, go, and rebuke him between thee and him alone. If he shall hear thee, thou shalt gain thy brother.

Mt 18 16 And if he will not hear thee, take with thee one or two more: that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may stand.

Mt 18 17 And if he will not hear them: tell the church. And if he will not hear the church, let him be to thee as the heathen and publican.

Mt 18 18 Amen I say to you, whatsoever you shall bind upon earth, shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever you shall loose upon earth, shall be loosed also in heaven.

Mt 18 19 Again I say to you, that if two of you shall consent upon earth, concerning anything whatsoever they shall ask, it shall be done to them by my Father who is in heaven.

Mt 18 20 For where there are two or three gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.

Mt 18 22 Jesus saith to him: I say not to thee, till seven times; but till seventy times seven times.

Mt 18 23 Therefore is the kingdom of heaven likened to a king, who would take an account of his servants.

Mt 18 24 And when he had begun to take the account, one as brought to him, that owed him ten thousand talents.

Mt 18 25 And as he had not wherewith to pay it, his lord commanded that he should be sold, and his wife and children, and all that he had, and payment to be made.

Mt 18 26 But that servant falling down, besought him, saying: Have patience with me, and I will pay thee all.

Mt 18 27 And the lord of that servant being moved with pity, let him go and forgave him the debt.

Mt 18 28 But when that servant was gone out, he found one of his fellow-servants that owed him an hundred pence: and laying hold of him, he throttled him, saying: Pay what thou owest.

Mt 18 29 And his fellow-servant falling down, besought him, saying: Have patience with me, and I will pay thee all.

Mt 18 30 And he would not: but went and cast him into prison, till he paid the debt.

Mt 18 31 Now his fellow servants seeing what was done, were very much grieved, and they came, and told their lord all that was done.

Mt 18 32 Then his lord called him: and said to him: Thou wicked servant, I forgave thee all the debt, because thou besoughtest me:

Mt 18 33 Shouldst not thou then have had compassion also on thy fellow servant, even as I had compassion on thee?

Mt 18 34 And his lord being angry, delivered him to the torturers until he paid all the debt.

Mt 18 35 So also shall my heavenly Father do to you, if you forgive not every one his brother from your hearts.

Mt 19 4 Who answering, said to them: Have ye not read, that he who made man from the beginning, made them male and female? And he said:

Mt 19 5 For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they two shall be in one flesh.

Mt 19 6 Therefore now they are not two, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.

Mt 19 8 He saith to them: Because Moses by reason of the hardness of your heart permitted you to put away your wives: but from the beginning it was not so.

Mt 19 9 And I say to you, that whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery: and he that shall marry her that is put away, committeth adultery.

Mt 19 11 Who said to them: All men take not this word, but they to whom it is given.

Mt 19 12 For there are eunuchs, who were born so from their mothers womb: and there are eunuchs, who were made so by men: and there are eunuchs, who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven. He that can take, let him take it.

Mt 19 14 But Jesus said to them: Suffer the little children, and forbid them not to come to me: for the kingdom of heaven is for such.

Mt 19 17 Who said to him: Why askest thou me concerning good? One is good, God. But if thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments.

Mt 19 18 He said to him: Which? And Jesus said: Thou shalt do no murder, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness.

Mt 19 19 Honour thy father and thy mother: and, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

Mt 19 21 Jesus saith to him: If thou wilt be perfect, go sell what thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, follow me.

Mt 19 23 Then Jesus said to his disciples: Amen, I say to you, that a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven.

Mt 19 24 And again I say to you: It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.

Mt 19 26 And Jesus beholding, said to them: With men this is impossible: but with God all things are possible.

Mt 19 28 And Jesus said to them: Amen I say to you, that you who have followed me, in the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit on the seat of his majesty, you also shall sit on twelve seats judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

Mt 19 29 And every one that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall possess life everlasting.

Mt 19 30 And many that are first, shall be last: and the last shall be first.

Mt 20 1 The kingdom of heaven is like to an householder, who went out early in the morning to hire labourers into his vineyard.

Mt 20 2 And having agreed with the labourers for a penny a day, he sent them into his vineyard.

Mt 20 3 And going out about the third hour, he saw others standing in the marketplace idle.

Mt 20 4 And he said to them: Go you also into my vineyard, and I will give you what shall be just.

Mt 20 5 And they went their way. And again he went out about the sixth and the ninth hour, and did in like manner.

Mt 20 6 But about the eleventh hour he went out and found others standing, and he saith to them: Why stand you here all the day idle?

Mt 20 7 They say to him: Because no man hath hired us. He saith to them: Go ye also into my vineyard.

Mt 20 8 And when evening was come, the lord of the vineyard saith to his steward: Call the labourers and pay them their hire, beginning from the last even to the first.

Mt 20 9 When therefore they were come that came about the eleventh hour, they received every man a penny.

Mt 20 10 But when the first also came, they thought that they should receive more: And they also received every man a penny.

Mt 20 11 And receiving it they murmured against the master of the house,

Mt 20 12 Saying: These last have worked but one hour. and thou hast made them equal to us, that have borne the burden of the day and the heats.

Mt 20 13 But he answering said to one of them: friend, I do thee no wrong: didst thou not agree with me for a penny?

Mt 20 14 Take what is thine, and go thy way: I will also give to this last even as to thee.

Mt 20 15 Or, is it not lawful for me to do what I will? Is thy eye evil, because I am good?

Mt 20 16 So shall the last be first and the first last. For many are called but few chosen.

Mt 20 18 Behold we go up to Jerusalem, and the Son of man shall be betrayed to the chief priests and the scribes: and they shall condemn him to death.

Mt 20 19 And shall deliver him to the Gentiles to be mocked and scourged and crucified: and the third day he shall rise again.

Mt 20 21 Who said to her: What wilt thou? She saith to him: say that these my two sons may sit, the one on thy right hand, and the other on thy left, in thy kingdom.

Mt 20 22 And Jesus answering, said: You know not what you ask. Can you drink the chalice that I shall drink? They say to him: We can.

Mt 20 23 He saith to them: My chalice indeed you shall drink; but to sit on my right or left hand is not mine to give to you, but to them for whom it is prepared by my Father.

Mt 20 25 But Jesus called them to him and said: You know that the princes of the Gentiles lord it over them; and that they that are the greater, exercise power upon them.

Mt 20 26 It shall not be so among you: but whosoever is the greater among you, let him be your minister.

Mt 20 27 And he that will be first among you shall be your servant.

Mt 20 28 Even as the Son of man is not come to be ministered unto, but to minister and to give his life a redemption for many.

Mt 20 32 And Jesus stood and called them and said: What will ye that I do to you?

Mt 21 2 Saying to them: Go ye into the village that is over against you: and immediately you shall find an ass tied and a colt with her. Loose them and bring them to me.

Mt 21 3 And if any man shall say anything to you, say ye that the Lord hath need of them. And forthwith he will let them go.

Mt 21 13 And he saith to them: It is written, My house shall be called the house of prayer; but you have made it a den of thieves.

Mt 21 16 And said to him: Hearest thou what these say? And Jesus said to them: Yea, have you never read: Out of the mouth of infants and of sucklings thou hast perfected praise?

Mt 21 19 And seeing a certain fig tree by the way side, he came to it and found nothing on it but leaves only. And he saith to it: May no fruit grow on thee henceforward for ever. And immediately the fig tree withered away.

Mt 21 21 And Jesus answering, said to them: Amen, I say to you, if you shall have faith and stagger not, not only this of the fig tree shall you do, but also if you shall say to this mountain, Take up and cast thyself into the sea, it shall be done.

Mt 21 22 And all things whatsoever you shall ask in prayer believing, you shall receive.

Mt 21 24 Jesus answering, said to them: I also will ask you one word, which if you shall tell me, I will also tell you by what authority I do these things.

Mt 21 25 The baptism of John, whence was it? From heaven or from men? But they thought within themselves, saying:

Mt 21 27 And answering Jesus, they said: We know not. He also said to them: Neither do I tell you by what authority I do these things.

Mt 21 28 But what think you? A certain man had two sons: and coming to the first, he said: Son, go work to day in my vineyard.

Mt 21 29 And he answering, said: I will not. But afterwards, being moved with repentance, he went.

Mt 21 30 And coming to the other, he said in like manner. And he answering said: I go, Sir. And he went not.

Mt 21 31 Which of the two did the father's will? They say to him: The first. Jesus saith to them: Amen I say to you that the publicans and the harlots shall go into the kingdom of God before you.

Mt 21 32 For John came to you in the way of justice: and you did not believe him. But the publicans and the harlots believed him: but you, seeing it, did not even afterwards repent, that you might believe him.

Mt 21 33 Hear ye another parable. There was a man, an householder, who planted a vineyard and made a hedge round about it and dug in it a press and built a tower and let it out to husbandmen and went into a strange country.

Mt 21 34 And when the time of the fruits drew nigh, he sent his servants to the husbandmen that they might receive the fruits thereof.

Mt 21 35 And the husbandmen laying hands on his servants, beat one and killed another and stoned another.

Mt 21 36 Again he sent other servants, more than the former; and they did to them in like manner.

Mt 21 37 And last of all he sent to them his son, saying: They will reverence my son.

Mt 21 38 But the husbandmen seeing the son, said among themselves: This is the heir: come, let us kill him, and we shall have his inheritance.

Mt 21 39 And taking him, they cast him forth out of the vineyard and killed him.

Mt 21 40 When therefore the lord of the vineyard shall come, what will he do to those husbandmen?

Mt 21 42 Jesus saith to them: Have you never read in the Scriptures: The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner? By the Lord this has been done; and it is wonderful in our eyes.

Mt 21 43 Therefore I say to you that the kingdom of God shall be taken from you and shall be given to a nation yielding the fruits thereof.

Mt 21 44 And whosoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken: but on whomsoever it shall fall, it shall grind him to powder.

Mt 22 2 The kingdom of heaven is likened to a king who made a marriage for his son.

Mt 22 3 And he sent his servants to call them that were invited to the marriage: and they would not come.

Mt 22 4 Again he sent other servants, saying: Tell them that were invited, Behold, I have prepared my dinner: my beeves and fatlings are killed, and all things are ready. Come ye to the marriage.

Mt 22 5 But they neglected and went their ways, one to his farm and another to his merchandise.

Mt 22 6 And the rest laid hands on his servants and, having treated them contumeliously, put them to death.

Mt 22 7 But when the king had heard of it, he was angry: and sending his armies, he destroyed those murderers and burnt their city.

Mt 22 8 Then he saith to his servants: The marriage indeed is ready; but they that were invited were not worthy.

Mt 22 9 Go ye therefore into the highways; and as many as you shall find, call to the marriage.

Mt 22 10 And his servants going forth into the ways, gathered together all that they found, both bad and good: and the marriage was filled with guests.

Mt 22 11 And the king went in to see the guests: and he saw there a man who had not on a wedding garment.

Mt 22 12 And he saith to him: Friend, how camest thou in hither not having on a wedding garment? But he was silent.

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Mt 22 13 Then the king said to the waiters: Bind his hands and feet, and cast him into the exterior darkness. There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

Mt 22 14 For many are called, but few are chosen.

Mt 22 18 But Jesus knowing their wickedness, said: Why do you tempt me, ye hypocrites?

Mt 22 19 Shew me the coin of the tribute. And they offered him a penny.

Mt 22 20 And Jesus saith to them: Whose image and inscription is this?

Mt 22 21 They say to him: Caesar's. Then he saith to them: Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and to God, the things that are God's.

Mt 22 29 And Jesus answering, said to them: You err, not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of God.

Mt 22 30 For in the resurrection they shall neither marry nor be married, but shall be as the angels of God in heaven.

Mt 22 31 And concerning the resurrection of the dead, have you not read that which was spoken by God, saying to you:

Mt 22 32 I am the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob? He is not the God of the dead but of the living.

Mt 22 37 Jesus said to him: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart and with thy whole soul and with thy whole mind.

Mt 22 38 This is the greatest and the first commandment.

Mt 22 39 And the second is like to this: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

Mt 22 40 On these two commandments dependeth the whole law and the prophets.

Mt 22 42 Saying: What think you of Christ? Whose son is he? They say to him: David's.

Mt 22 43 He saith to them: How then doth David in spirit call him Lord, saying:

Mt 22 44 The Lord said to my Lord: Sit on my right hand, until I make thy enemies thy footstool?

Mt 22 45 If David then call him Lord, how is he his son?

Mt 23 2 Saying: The scribes and the Pharisees have sitten on the chair of Moses.

Mt 23 3 All things therefore whatsoever they shall say to you, observe and do: but according to their works do ye not. For they say, and do not.

Mt 23 4 For they bind heavy and insupportable burdens and lay them on men's shoulders: but with a finger of their own they will not move them.

Mt 23 5 And all their works they do for to be seen of men. For they make their phylacteries broad and enlarge their fringes.

Mt 23 6 And they love the first places at feasts and the first chairs in the synagogues,

Mt 23 7 And salutations in the market place, and to be called by men, Rabbi.

Mt 23 8 But be not you called Rabbi. For one is your master: and all you are brethren.

Mt 23 9 And call none your father upon earth; for one is your father, who is in heaven.

Mt 23 10 Neither be ye called masters: for one is your master, Christ.

Mt 23 11 He that is the greatest among you shall be your servant.

Mt 23 12 And whosoever shall exalt himself shall be humbled: and he that shall humble himself shall be exalted.

Mt 23 13 But woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, because you shut the kingdom of heaven against men: for you yourselves do not enter in and those that are going in, you suffer not to enter.

Mt 23 14 Woe to you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, because you devour the houses of widows, praying long prayers. For this you shall receive the greater judgement.

Mt 23 15 Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, because you go round about the sea and the land to make one proselyte. And when he is made, you make him the child of hell twofold more than yourselves.

Mt 23 16 Woe to you, blind guides, that say, Whosoever shall swear by the temple, it is nothing; but he that shall swear by the gold of the temple is a debtor.

Mt 23 17 Ye foolish and blind: for whether is greater, the gold or the temple that sanctifieth the gold?

Mt 23 18 And whosoever shall swear by the altar, it is nothing; but whosoever shall swear by the gift that is upon it is a debtor.

Mt 23 19 Ye foolish and blind: for whether is greater, the gift or the altar that sanctifieth the gift?

Mt 23 20 He therefore that sweareth by the altar sweareth by it and by all things that are upon it.

Mt 23 21 And whosoever shall swear by the temple sweareth by it and by him that dwelleth in it.

Mt 23 22 And he that sweareth by heaven sweareth by the throne of God and by him that sitteth thereon.

Mt 23 23 Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; because you tithe mint and anise and cummin and have left the weightier things of the law: judgement and mercy and faith. These things you ought to have done and not to leave those undone.

Mt 23 24 Blind guides, who strain out a gnat and swallow a camel.

Mt 23 25 Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; because you make clean the outside of the cup and of the dish, but within you are full of rapine and uncleanness.

Mt 23 26 Thou blind Pharisee, first make clean the inside of the cup and of the dish, that the outside may become clean.

Mt 23 27 Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; because you are like to whited sepulchres, which outwardly appear to men beautiful but within are full of dead men's bones and of all filthiness.

Mt 23 28 So you also outwardly indeed appear to men just: but inwardly you are full of hypocrisy and iniquity.

Mt 23 29 Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, that build the sepulchres of the prophets and adorn the monuments of the just,

Mt 23 30 And say: If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets.

Mt 23 31 Wherefore you are witnesses against yourselves, that you are the sons of them that killed the prophets.

Mt 23 32 Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers.

Mt 23 33 You serpents, generation of vipers, how will you flee from the judgement of hell?

Mt 23 34 Therefore behold I send to you prophets and wise men and scribes: and some of them you will put to death and crucify: and some you will scourge in your synagogues and persecute from city to city.

Mt 23 35 That upon you may come all the just blood that hath been shed upon the earth, from the blood of Abel the just, even unto the blood of Zacharias the son of Barachias, whom you killed between the temple and the altar.

Mt 23 36 Amen I say to you, all these things shall come upon this generation.

Mt 23 37 Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets and stonest them that are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered together thy children, as the hen doth gather her chickens under her wings, and thou wouldst not?

Mt 23 38 Behold, your house shall be left to you, desolate.

Mt 23 39 For I say to you, you shall not see me henceforth till you say: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.

Mt 24 2 And he answering, said to them: Do you see all these things? Amen I say to you, there shall not be left here a stone upon a stone that shall not be destroyed.

Mt 24 4 And Jesus answering, said to them: Take heed that no man seduce you.

Mt 24 5 For many will come in my name saying, I am Christ. And they will seduce many.

Mt 24 6 And you shall hear of wars and rumours of wars. See that ye be not troubled. For these things must come to pass: but the end is not yet.

Mt 24 7 For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: And there shall be pestilences and famines and earthquakes in places.

Mt 24 8 Now all these are the beginnings of sorrows.

Mt 24 9 Then shall they deliver you up to be afflicted and shall put you to death: and you shall be hated by all nations for my name's sake.

Mt 24 10 And then shall many be scandalized and shall betray one another and shall hate one another.

Mt 24 11 And many false prophets shall rise and shall seduce many.

Mt 24 12 And because iniquity hath abounded, the charity of many shall grow cold.

Mt 24 13 But he that shall persevere to the end, he shall be saved.

Mt 24 14 And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world, for a testimony to all nations: and then shall the consummation come.

Mt 24 15 When therefore you shall see the abomination of desolation, which was spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place: he that readeth let him understand.

Mt 24 16 Then they that are in Judea, let them flee to the mountains:

Mt 24 17 And he that is on the housetop, let him not come down to take any thing out of his house:

Mt 24 18 And he that is in the field, let him not go back to take his coat.

Mt 24 19 And woe to them that are with child and that give suck in those days.

Mt 24 20 But pray that your flight be not in the winter or on the sabbath.

Mt 24 21 For there shall be then great tribulation, such as hath not been from the beginning of the world until now, neither shall be.

Mt 24 22 And unless those days had been shortened, no flesh should be saved: but for the sake of the elect those days shall be shortened.

Mt 24 23 Then if any man shall say to you, Lo here is Christ, or there: do not believe him.

Mt 24 24 For there shall arise false Christs and false prophets and shall shew great signs and wonders, insomuch as to deceive (if possible) even the elect.

Mt 24 25 Behold I have told it to you, beforehand.

Mt 24 26 If therefore they shall say to you, Behold he is in the desert: go ye not out. Behold he is in the closets: believe it not.

Mt 24 27 For as lightning cometh out of the east and appeareth even into the west: so shall also the cowling of the Son of man be.

Mt 24 28 Wheresoever the body shall be, there shall the eagles also be gathered together.

Mt 24 29 And immediately after the tribulation of those days, the sun shall be darkened and the moon shall not give her light and the stars shall fall from heaven and the powers of heaven shall be moved.

Mt 24 30 And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven. And then shall all tribes of the earth mourn: and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with much power and majesty.

Mt 24 31 And he shall send his angels with a trumpet and a great voice: and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from the farthest parts of the heavens to the utmost bounds of them.

Mt 24 32 And from the fig tree learn a parable: When the branch thereof is now tender and the leaves come forth, you know that summer is nigh.

Mt 24 33 So you also, when you shall see all these things, know ye that it is nigh, even at the doors.

Mt 24 34 Amen I say to you that this generation shall not pass till all these things be done.

Mt 24 35 Heaven and earth shall pass: but my words shall not pass.

Mt 24 36 But of that day and hour no one knoweth: no, not the angels of heaven, but the Father alone.

Mt 24 37 And as in the days of Noe, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be.

Mt 24 38 For, as in the days before the flood they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, even till that day in which Noe entered into the ark:

Mt 24 39 And they knew not till the flood came and took them all away: so also shall the coming of the Son of man be.

Mt 24 40 Then two shall be in the field. One shall be taken and one shall be left.

Mt 24 41 Two women shall be grinding at the mill. One shall be taken and one shall be left.

Mt 24 42 Watch ye therefore, because you know not what hour your Lord will come.

Mt 24 43 But this know ye, that, if the goodman of the house knew at what hour the thief would come, he would certainly watch and would not suffer his house to be broken open.

Mt 24 44 Wherefore be you also ready, because at what hour you know not the Son of man will come.

Mt 24 45 Who, thinkest thou, is a faithful and wise servant, whom his lord hath appointed over his family, to give them meat in season?

Mt 24 46 Blessed is that servant, whom when his lord shall come he shall find so doing.

Mt 24 47 Amen I say to you: he shall place him over all his goods.

Mt 24 48 But if that evil servant shall say in his heart: My lord is long a coming:

Mt 24 49 And shall begin to strike his fellow servants and shall eat and drink with drunkards:

Mt 24 50 The lord of that servant shall come in a day that he hopeth not and at an hour that he knoweth not:

Mt 24 51 And shall separate him and appoint his portion with the hypocrites. There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

Mt 25 1 Then shall the kingdom of heaven be like to ten virgins, who taking their lamps went out to meet the bridegroom and the bride.

Mt 25 2 And five of them were foolish and five wise.

Mt 25 3 But the five foolish, having taken their lamps, did not take oil with them.

Mt 25 4 But the wise took oil in their vessels with the lamps.

Mt 25 5 And the bridegroom tarrying, they all slumbered and slept.

Mt 25 6 And at midnight there was a cry made: Behold the bridegroom cometh. Go ye forth to meet him.

Mt 25 7 Then all those virgins arose and trimmed their lamps.

Mt 25 8 And the foolish said to the wise: Give us of your oil, for our lamps are gone out.

Mt 25 9 The wise answered, saying: Lest perhaps there be not enough for us and for you, go ye rather to them that sell and buy for yourselves.

Mt 25 10 Now whilst they went to buy the bridegroom came: and they that were ready went in with him to the marriage. And the door was shut.

Mt 25 11 But at last came also the other virgins, saying: Lord, Lord, open to us.

Mt 25 12 But he answering said: Amen I say to you, I know you not.

Mt 25 13 Watch ye therefore, because you know not the day nor the hour.

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Mt 25 14 For even as a man going into a far country called his servants and delivered to them his goods;

Mt 25 15 And to one he gave five talents, and to another two, and to another one, to every one according to his proper ability: and immediately he took his journey.

Mt 25 16 And he that had received the five talents went his way and traded with the same and gained other five.

Mt 25 17 And in like manner he that had received the two gained other two.

Mt 25 18 But he that had received the one, going his way, digged into the earth and hid his lord's money.

Mt 25 19 But after a long time the lord of those servants came and reckoned with them.

Mt 25 20 And he that had received the five talents coming, brought other five talents, saying: Lord, thou didst deliver to me five talents. Behold I have gained other five over and above.

Mt 25 21 His lord said to him: Well done, good and faithful servant, because thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will place thee over many things. Enter thou into the joy of thy lord.

Mt 25 22 And he also that had received the two talents came and said: Lord, thou deliveredst two talents to me. Behold I have gained other two.

Mt 25 23 His lord said to him: Well done, good and faithful servant: because thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will place thee over many things. Enter thou into the joy of thy lord.

Mt 25 24 But he that had received the one talent, came and said: Lord, I know that thou art a hard man; thou reapest where thou hast not sown and gatherest where thou hast not strewed.

Mt 25 25 And being afraid, I went and hid thy talent in the earth. Behold here thou hast that which is thine.

Mt 25 26 And his lord answering, said to him: Wicked and slothful servant, thou knewest that I reap where I sow not and gather where I have not strewed.

Mt 25 27 Thou oughtest therefore to have committed my money to the bankers: and at my coming I should have received my own with usury.

Mt 25 28 Take ye away therefore the talent from him and give it him that hath ten talents.

Mt 25 29 For to every one that hath shall be given, and he shall abound: but from him that hath not, that also which he seemeth to have shall be taken away.

Mt 25 30 And the unprofitable servant, cast ye out into the exterior darkness. There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

Mt 25 31 And when the Son of man shall come in his majesty, and all the angels with him, then shall he sit upon the seat of his majesty.

Mt 25 32 And all nations shall be gathered together before him: and he shall separate them one from another, as the shepherd separateth the sheep from the goats:

Mt 25 33 And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on his left.

Mt 25 34 Then shall the king say to them that shall be on his right hand: Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess you the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.

Mt 25 35 For I was hungry, and you gave me to eat: I was thirsty, and you gave me to drink: I was a stranger, and you took me in:

Mt 25 36 Naked, and you covered me: sick, and you visited me: I was in prison, and you came to me.

Mt 25 37 Then shall the just answer him, saying: Lord, when did we see thee hungry and fed thee: thirsty and gave thee drink?

Mt 25 38 Or when did we see thee a stranger and took thee in? Or naked and covered thee?

Mt 25 39 Or when did we see thee sick or in prison and came to thee?

Mt 25 40 And the king answering shall say to them: Amen I say to you, as long as you did it to one of these my least brethren, you did it to me.

Mt 25 41 Then he shall say to them also that shall be on his left hand: Depart from me, you cursed, into everlasting fire, which was prepared for the devil and his angels.

Mt 25 42 For I was hungry and you gave me not to eat: I was thirsty and you gave me not to drink.

Mt 25 43 I was a stranger and you took me not in: naked and you covered me not: sick and in prison and you did not visit me.

Mt 25 44 Then they also shall answer him, saying: Lord, when did we see thee hungry or thirsty or a stranger or naked or sick or in prison and did not minister to thee?

Mt 25 45 Then he shall answer them, saying: Amen: I say to you, as long as you did it not to one of these least, neither did you do it to me.

Mt 25 46 And these shall go into everlasting punishment: but the just, into life everlasting.

Mt 26 2 You know that after two days shall be the pasch: and the Son of man shall be delivered up to be crucified.

Mt 26 10 And Jesus knowing it, said to them: Why do you trouble this woman? For she hath wrought a good work upon me.

Mt 26 11 For the poor you have always with you: but me you have not always.

Mt 26 12 For she in pouring this ointment on my body hath done it for my burial.

Mt 26 13 Amen I say to you, wheresoever this gospel shall be preached in the whole world, that also which she hath done shall be told for a memory of her.

Mt 26 18 But Jesus said: Go ye into the city to a certain man and say to him: The master saith, My time is near at hand. With thee I make the pasch with my disciples.

Mt 26 21 And whilst they were eating, he said: Amen I say to you that one of you is about to betray me.

Mt 26 23 But he answering said: He that dippeth his hand with me in the dish, he shall betray me.

Mt 26 24 The Son of man indeed goeth, as it is written of him. But woe to that man by whom the Son of man shall be betrayed. It were better for him, if that man had not been born.

Mt 26 25 And Judas that betrayed him answering, said: Is it I, Rabbi? He saith to him: Thou hast said it.

Mt 26 26 And whilst they were at supper, Jesus took bread and blessed and broke and gave to his disciples and said: Take ye and eat. This is my body.

Mt 26 27 And taking the chalice, he gave thanks and gave to them, saying: Drink ye all of this.

Mt 26 28 For this is my blood of the new testament, which shall be shed for many unto remission of sins.

Mt 26 29 And I say to you, I will not drink from henceforth of this fruit of the vine until that day when I shall drink it with you new in the kingdom of my Father.

Mt 26 31 Then Jesus saith to them: All you shall be scandalized in me this night. For it is written: I will strike the shepherd: and the sheep of the flock shall be dispersed.

Mt 26 32 But after I shall be risen again, I will go before you into Galilee.

Mt 26 34 Jesus said to him: Amen I say to thee that in this night before the cock crow, thou wilt deny me thrice.

Mt 26 36 Then Jesus came with them into a country place which is called Gethsemani. And he said to his disciples: Sit you here, till I go yonder and pray.

Mt 26 38 Then he saith to them: My soul is sorrowful even unto death. Stay you here and watch with me.

Mt 26 39 And going a little further, he fell upon his face, praying and saying: My Father, if it be possible, let this chalice pass from me. Nevertheless, not as I will but as thou wilt.

Mt 26 40 And he cometh to his disciples and findeth them asleep. And he saith to Peter: What? Could you not watch one hour with me?

Mt 26 41 Watch ye: and pray that ye enter not into temptation. The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.

Mt 26 42 Again the second time, he went and prayed, saying: My Father, if this chalice may not pass away, but I must drink it, thy will be done.

Mt 26 45 Then he cometh to his disciples and said to them: Sleep ye now and take your rest. Behold the hour is at hand: and the Son of man shall be betrayed into the hands of sinners.

Mt 26 46 Rise: let us go. Behold he is at hand that will betray me.

Mt 26 50 And Jesus said to him: Friend, whereto art thou come? Then they came up and laid hands on Jesus and held him.

Mt 26 52 Then Jesus saith to him: Put up again thy sword into its place: for all that take the sword shall perish with the sword.

Mt 26 53 Thinkest thou that I cannot ask my Father, and he will give me presently more than twelve legions of angels?

Mt 26 54 How then shall the scriptures be fulfilled, that so it must be done?

Mt 26 55 In that same hour, Jesus said to the multitudes: You are come out, as it were to a robber, with swords and clubs to apprehend me. I sat daily with you, teaching in the temple: and you laid not hands on me.

Mt 26 56 Now all this was done that the scriptures of the prophets might be fulfilled. Then the disciples, all leaving him, fled.

Mt 26 64 Jesus saith to him: Thou hast said it. Nevertheless I say to you, hereafter you shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of the power of God and coming in the clouds of heaven.

Mt 27 11 And Jesus stood before the governor, and the governor asked him, saying: Art thou the king of the Jews? Jesus saith to him: Thou sayest it.

Mt 27 46 And about the ninth hour, Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying: Eli, Eli, lamma sabacthani? That is, My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me?

Mt 28 10 Then Jesus said to them: Fear not. Go, tell my brethren that they go into Galilee. There they shall see me.

Mt 28 18 And Jesus coming, spoke to them, saying: All power is given to me in heaven and in earth.

Mt 28 19 Going therefore, teach ye all nations: baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.

Mt 28 20 Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. And behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world.

Mk 1 15 And saying: The time is accomplished and the kingdom of God is at hand. Repent and believe the gospel:

Mk 1 17 And Jesus said to them: Come after me; and I will make you to become fishers of men.

Mk 1 25 And Jesus threatened him, saying: Speak no more, and go out of the man.

Mk 1 38 And he saith to them: Let us go into the neighbouring towns and cities, that I may preach there also; for to this purpose am I come.

Mk 1 41 And Jesus, having compassion on him, stretched forth his hand and touching him saith to him: I will. Be thou made clean.

Mk 1 44 And he saith to him: See thou tell no one; but go, shew thyself to the high priest and offer for thy cleansing the things that Moses commanded, for a testimony to them.

Mk 2 5 And when Jesus had seen their faith, he saith to the sick of the palsy: Son, thy sins are forgiven thee.

Mk 2 8 Which Jesus presently knowing in his spirit that they so thought within themselves, saith to them: Why think you these things in your hearts?

Mk 2 9 Which is easier, to say to the sick of the palsy: Thy sins are forgiven thee; or to say: Arise, take up thy bed and walk?

Mk 2 10 But that you may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins (he saith to the sick of the palsy):

Mk 2 11 I say to thee: Arise. Take up thy bed and go into thy house.

Mk 2 14 And when he was passing by, he saw Levi, the son of Alpheus, sitting at the receipt of custom; and he saith to him: Follow me. And rising up, he followed him.

Mk 2 17 Jesus hearing this, saith to them: They that are well have no need of a physician, but they that are sick. For I came not to call the just, but sinners.

Mk 2 19 And Jesus saith to them: Can the children of the marriage fast, as long as the bridegroom is with them? As long as they have the bridegroom with them, they cannot fast.

Mk 2 20 But the days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them: and then they shall fast in those days.

Mk 2 21 No man seweth a piece of raw cloth to an old garment: otherwise the new piecing taketh away from the old, and there is made a greater rent.

Mk 2 22 And no man putteth new wine into old bottles: otherwise the wine will burst the bottles, and both the wine will be spilled and the bottles will be lost. But new wine must be put into new bottles.

Mk 2 25 And he said to them: Have you never read what David did when he had need and was hungry, himself and they that were with him?

Mk 2 26 How he went into the house of God, under Abiathar the high priest, and did eat the loaves of proposition, which was not lawful to eat but for the priests, and gave to them who were with him?

Mk 2 27 And he said to them: The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath.

Mk 2 28 Therefore the Son of man is Lord of the sabbath also.

Mk 3 3 And he said to the man who had the withered hand: Stand up in the midst.

Mk 3 4 And he saith to them: Is it lawful to do good on the sabbath days, or to do evil? To save life, or to destroy? But they held their peace.

Mk 3 5 And looking round about on them with anger, being grieved for the blindness of their hearts, he saith to the man: Stretch forth thy hand. And he stretched it forth: and his hand was restored unto him.

Mk 3 23 And after he had called them together, he said to them in parables: How can Satan cast out Satan?

Mk 3 24 And if a kingdom be divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand.

Mk 3 25 And if a house be divided against itself, that house cannot stand.

Mk 3 26 And if Satan be risen up against himself, he is divided, and cannot stand, but hath an end.

Mk 3 27 No man can enter into the house of a strong man and rob him of his goods, unless he first bind the strong man, and then shall he plunder his house.

Mk 3 28 Amen I say to you that all sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, and the blasphemies wherewith they shall blaspheme:

Mk 3 29 But he that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost, shall never have forgiveness, but shall be guilty of an everlasting sin.

Mk 3 33 And answering them, he said: Who is my mother and my brethren?

Mk 3 34 And looking round about on them who sat about him, he saith: Behold my mother and my brethren.

Mk 3 35 For whosoever shall do the will of God, he is my brother, and my sister, and mother.

Mk 4 3 Hear ye: Behold, the sower went out to sow.

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Mk 4 4 And whilst he sowed, some fell by the way side, and the birds of the air came and ate it up.

Mk 4 5 And other some fell upon stony ground, where it had not much earth; and it shot up immediately, because it had no depth of earth.

Mk 4 6 And when the sun was risen, it was scorched; and because it had no root, it withered away.

Mk 4 7 And some fell among thorns; and the thorns grew up, and choked it, and it yielded no fruit.

Mk 4 8 And some fell upon good ground; and brought forth fruit that grew up, and increased and yielded, one thirty, another sixty, and another a hundred.

Mk 4 9 And he said: He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.

Mk 4 11 And he said to them: To you it is given to know the mystery of the kingdom of God: but to them that are without, all things are done in parables:

Mk 4 12 That seeing they may see, and not perceive; and hearing they may hear, and not understand; lest at any time they should be converted, and their sins should be forgiven them.

Mk 4 13 And he saith to them: Are you ignorant of this, parable? and how shall you know all parables?

Mk 4 14 He that soweth, soweth the word.

Mk 4 15 And these are they by the way side, where the word is sown, and as soon as they have heard, immediately Satan cometh and taketh away the word that was sown in their hearts.

Mk 4 16 And these likewise are they that are sown on the stony ground: who when they have heard the word, immediately receive it with joy.

Mk 4 17 And they have no root in themselves, but are only for a time: and then when tribulation and persecution ariseth for the word they are presently scandalized.

Mk 4 18 And others there are who are sown among thorns: these are they that hear the word,

Mk 4 19 And the cares of the world, and the deceitfulness of riches, and the lusts after other things entering in choke the word, and it is made fruitless.

Mk 4 20 And these are they who are sown upon the good ground, who hear the word, and receive it, and yield fruit, the one thirty, another sixty, and another a hundred.

Mk 4 21 And he said to them: Doth a candle come in to be put under a bushel, or under a bed? and not to be set on a candlestick?

Mk 4 22 For there is nothing hid, which shall not be made manifest: neither was it made secret, but that it may come abroad.

Mk 4 23 If any man have ears to hear, let him hear.

Mk 4 24 And he said to them: Take heed what you hear. In what measure you shall mete, it shall be measured to you again, and more shall be given to you.

Mk 4 25 For he that hath, to him shall be given: and he that hath not, that also which he hath shall be taken away from him.

Mk 4 26 And he said: So is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast seed into the earth,

Mk 4 27 And should sleep, and rise, night and day, and the seed should spring, and grow up whilst he knoweth not.

Mk 4 28 For the earth of itself bringeth forth fruit, first the blade, then the ear, afterwards the full corn in the ear.

Mk 4 29 And when the fruit is brought forth, immediately he putteth in the sickle, because the harvest is come.

Mk 4 30 And he said: To what shall we liken the kingdom of God? or to what parable shall we compare it?

Mk 4 31 It is as a grain of mustard seed: which when it is sown in the earth, is less than all the seeds that are in the earth:

Mk 4 32 And when it is sown, it groweth up, and becometh greater than all herbs, and shooteth out great branches, so that the birds of the air may dwell under the shadow thereof.

Mk 4 35 And he saith to them that day, when evening was come: Let us pass over to the other side.

Mk 4 39 And rising up, he rebuked the wind, and said to the sea: Peace, be still. And the wind ceased: and there was made a great calm.

Mk 4 40 And he said to them: Why are you fearful? have you not faith yet? And they feared exceedingly: and they said one to another: Who is this (thinkest thou) that both wind and sea obey him?

Mk 5 8 For he said unto him: Go out of the man, thou unclean spirit.

Mk 5 9 And he asked him: What is thy name? And he saith to him: My name is Legion, for we are many.

Mk 5 19 And he admitted him not, but saith him: Go into thy house to thy friends, and tell them how great things the Lord hath done for thee, and hath had mercy thee.

Mk 5 30 And immediately Jesus knowing in himself the virtue that had proceeded from him, turning to the multitude, said: Who hath touched my garments?

Mk 5 34 And he said to her: Daughter, thy faith hath made thee whole: go in peace, and be thou whole of thy disease.

Mk 5 36 But Jesus having heard the word that was spoken, saith to the ruler of the synagogue: Fear not, only believe.

Mk 5 39 And going in, he saith to them Why make you this ado, and weep? the damsel is not dead, but sleepeth.

Mk 5 41 And taking the damsel by the hand, he saith to her: Talitha cumi, which is, being interpreted: Damsel (I say to thee) arise.

Mk 6 4 And Jesus said to them: A prophet is not without honour, but in his own country, and in his own house, and among his own kindred.

Mk 6 10 And he said to them: Wheresoever you shall enter into an house, there abide till you depart from that place.

Mk 6 11 And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear you; going forth from thence, shake off the dust from your feet for a testimony to them.

Mk 6 31 And he said to them: Come apart into a desert place, and rest a little. For there were many coming and going: and they had not so much as time to eat.

Mk 6 37 And he answering said to them: Give you them to eat. And they said to him: Let us go and buy bread for two hundred pence, and we will give them to eat.

Mk 6 38 And he saith to them: How many loaves have you? go and see. And when they knew, they say: Five, and two fishes.

Mk 6 50 For they all saw him, and were troubled bled. And immediately he spoke with them, and said to them: Have a good heart, it is I, fear ye not.

Mk 7 6 But he answering, said to them: Well did Isaias prophesy of you hypocrites, as it is written: This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.

Mk 7 7 And in vain do they worship me, teaching doctrines and precepts of men.

Mk 7 8 For leaving the commandment of God, you hold the tradition of men, the washing of pots and of cups: and many other things you do like to these.

Mk 7 9 And he said to them: Well do you make void the commandment of God, that you may keep your own tradition.

Mk 7 10 For Moses said: Honour thy father and thy mother. And He that shall curse father or mother, dying let him die.

Mk 7 11 But you say: If a man shall say to his father or mother, Corban (which is a gift) whatsoever is from me shall profit thee.

Mk 7 12 And further you suffer him not to do any thing for his father or mother,

Mk 7 13 Making void the word of God by your own tradition, which you have given forth. And many other such like things you do.

Mk 7 14 And calling again the multitude unto him, he said to them: Hear ye me all and understand.

Mk 7 15 There is nothing from without a man that entering into him can defile him. But the things which come from a man, those are they that defile a man.

Mk 7 16 If any man have ears to hear, let him hear.

Mk 7 18 And he saith to them: So are you also without knowledge? Understand you not that every thing from without entering into a man cannot defile him:

Mk 7 19 Because it entereth not into his heart but goeth into his belly and goeth out into the privy, purging all meats?

Mk 7 20 But he said that the things which come out from a man, they defile a man.

Mk 7 21 For from within, out of the heart of men, proceed evil thoughts, adulteries, fornications, murders,

Mk 7 22 Thefts, covetousness, wickedness, deceit, lasciviousness, an evil eye, blasphemy, pride, foolishness.

Mk 7 23 All these evil things come from within and defile a man.

Mk 7 27 Who said to her: suffer first the children to be filled: for it is not good to take the bread of the children and cast it to the dogs.

Mk 7 29 And he said to her: For this saying, go thy way. The devil is gone out of thy daughter.

Mk 7 34 And looking up to heaven, he groaned and said to him: Ephpheta, which is, Be thou opened.

Mk 8 2 I have compassion on the multitude, for behold they have now been with me three days and have nothing to eat.

Mk 8 3 And if I shall send them away fasting to their home, they will faint in the way: for some of them came from afar off.

Mk 8 5 And he asked them: How many loaves have ye? Who said: Seven.

Mk 8 12 And sighing deeply in spirit, he saith: Why doth this generation seek a sign? Amen, I say to you, a sign shall not be given to this generation.

Mk 8 15 And he charged them saying: Take heed and beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the leaven of Herod.

Mk 8 17 Which Jesus knowing, saith to them: Why do you reason, because you have no bread? Do you not yet know nor understand? Have you still your heart blinded?

Mk 8 18 Having eyes, see you not? And having ears, hear you not? Neither do you remember?

Mk 8 19 When I broke the five loves among five thousand, how many baskets full of fragments took you up? They say to him: Twelve.

Mk 8 20 When also the seven loaves among four thousand, how many baskets of fragments took you up? And they say to him: Seven.

Mk 8 21 And he said to them: How do you not yet understand?

Mk 8 26 And he sent him into his house, saying: Go into thy house, and if thou enter into the town, tell nobody.

Mk 8 27 And Jesus went out, and his disciples into the towns of Caesarea Philippi. And in the way, he asked his disciples, saying to them: Whom do men say that I am?

Mk 8 29 Then he saith to them: But whom do you say that I am? Peter answering said to him: Thou art the Christ.

Mk 8 33 Who turning about and seeing his disciples, threatened Peter, saying: Go behind me, Satan, because thou savourest not the things that are of God but that are of men.

Mk 8 34 And calling the multitude together with his disciples, he said to them: If any man will follow me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me.

Mk 8 35 For whosoever will save his life shall lose it: and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel shall save it.

Mk 8 36 For what shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his soul?

Mk 8 37 Or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul:

Mk 8 38 For he that shall be ashamed of me and of my words, in this adulterous and sinful generation: the Son of man also will be ashamed of him, when he shall come in the glory of his Father with the holy angels.

Mk 8 39 And he said to them: Amen I say to you that there are some of them that stand here who shall not taste death till they see the kingdom of God coming in power.

Mk 9 11 Who answering, said to then: Elias, when he shall come first, shall restore all things; and as it is written of the Son of man that he must suffer many things and be despised.

Mk 9 12 But I say to you that Elias also is come (and they have done to him whatsoever they would), as it is written of him.

Mk 9 15 And he asked them: What do you question about among you?

Mk 9 18 Who answering them, said: O incredulous generation, how long shall I be with you? How long shall I suffer you? Bring him unto me.

Mk 9 20 And he asked his father: How long time is it since this hath happened unto him? But he sad: From his infancy.

Mk 9 22 And Jesus saith to him: If thou canst believe, all things are possible to him that believeth.

Mk 9 24 And when Jesus saw the multitude running together, he threatened the unclean spirit, saying to him: Deaf and dumb spirit, I command thee, go out of him and enter not any more into him.

Mk 9 28 And he said to them: This kind can go out by nothing, but by prayer and fasting.

Mk 9 30 And he taught his disciples and said to them: The Son of man shall be betrayed into the hands of men, and they shall kill him; and after that he is killed, he shall rise again the third day.

Mk 9 32 And they came to Capharnaum. And when they were in the house, he asked them: What did you treat of in the way?

Mk 9 34 And sitting down, he called the twelve and saith to them: If any man desire to be first, he shall be the last of all and be minister of all.

Mk 9 36 Whosoever shall receive one such child as this in my name receiveth me. And whosoever shall receive me receiveth not me but him that sent me.

Mk 9 38 But Jesus said: Do not forbid him. For there is no man that doth a miracle in my name and can soon speak ill of me.

Mk 9 39 For he that is not against you is for you.

Mk 9 40 For whosoever shall give you to drink a cup of water in my name, because you belong to Christ: amen I say to you, he shall not lose his reward.

Mk 9 41 And whosoever shall scandalize one of these little ones that believe in me: it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck and he were cast into the sea.

Mk 9 42 And if thy hand scandalise thee, cut it off: it is better for thee to enter into life, maimed, than having two hands to go into hell, into unquenchable fire:

Mk 9 43 Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not extinguished.

Mk 9 44 And if thy foot scandalise thee, cut it off: it is better for thee to enter lame into life everlasting than having two feet to be cast into the hell of unquenchable fire:

Mk 9 45 Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not extinguished.

Mk 9 46 And if thy eye scandalise thee, pluck it out: it is better for thee with one eye to enter into the kingdom of God than having two eyes to be cast into the hell of fire:

Mk 9 47 Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not extinguished.

Mk 9 48 For every one shall be salted with fire: and every victim shall be salted with salt.

Mk 9 49 Salt is good. But if the salt become unsavoury, wherewith will you season it? Have salt in you: and have peace among you.

Mk 10 3 But he answering, saith to them: What did Moses command you?

Mk 10 5 To whom Jesus answering, said: Because of the hardness of your heart, he wrote you that precept.

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Mk 10 6 But from the beginning of the creation, God made them male and female.

Mk 10 7 For this cause, a man shall leave his father and mother and shall cleave to his wife.

Mk 10 8 And they two shall be in one flesh. Therefore now they are not two, but one flesh.

Mk 10 9 What therefore God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.

Mk 10 11 And he saith to them: Whosoever shall put away his wife and marry another committeth adultery against her.

Mk 10 12 And if the wife shall put away her husband and be married to another, she committeth adultery.

Mk 10 14 Whom when Jesus saw, he was much displeased and saith to them: Suffer the little children to come unto me and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God.

Mk 10 15 Amen I say to you, whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child shall not enter into it.

Mk 10 18 And Jesus said to him: Why callest thou me good? None is good but one, that is God.

Mk 10 19 Thou knowest the commandments: Do not commit adultery, do not kill, do not steal, bear not false witness, do no fraud, honour thy father and mother.

Mk 10 21 And Jesus, looking on him, loved him and said to him: One thing is wanting unto thee. Go, sell whatsoever thou hast and give to the poor: and thou shalt have treasure in heaven. And come, follow me.

Mk 10 23 And Jesus looking round about, saith to his disciples: How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God!

Mk 10 24 And the disciples were astonished at his words. But Jesus again answering, saith to them: Children, how hard is it for them that trust in riches to enter into the kingdom of God?

Mk 10 25 It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.

Mk 10 27 And Jesus looking on them, saith with men it is impossible; but not with God. For all things are possible with God.

Mk 10 29 Jesus answering said: Amen I say to you, there is no man who hath left house or brethren or sisters or father or mother or children or lands, for my sake and for the gospel,

Mk 10 30 Who shall not receive an hundred times as much, now in this time: houses and brethren and sisters and mothers and children and lands, with persecutions: and in the world to come life everlasting.

Mk 10 31 But many that are first shall be last: and the last, first.

Mk 10 33 Saying: Behold we go up to Jerusalem, and the Son of man shall be betrayed to the chief priests and to the scribes and ancients. And they shall condemn him to death and shall deliver him to the Gentiles.

Mk 10 34 And they shall mock him and spit on him and scourge him and kill him: and the third day he shall rise again.

Mk 10 36 But he said to them: What would you that I should do for you?

Mk 10 38 And Jesus said to them: You know not what you ask. Can you drink of the chalice that I drink of or be baptized with the baptism wherewith I am baptized?

Mk 10 39 But they said to him: We can. And Jesus saith to them: You shall indeed drink of the chalice that I drink of; and with the baptism wherewith I am baptized you shall be baptized.

Mk 10 40 But to sit on my right hand or on my left is not mine to give to you, but to them for whom it is prepared.

Mk 10 42 But Jesus calling them, saith to them: You know that they who seem to rule over the Gentiles lord it over them: and their princes have power over them.

Mk 10 43 But it is not so among you: but whosoever will be greater shall be your minister.

Mk 10 44 And whosoever will be first among you shall be the servant of all.

Mk 10 45 For the Son of man also is not come to be ministered unto: but to minister and to give his life a redemption for many.

Mk 10 51 And Jesus answering, said to him: What wilt thou that I should do to thee? And the blind man said to him: Rabboni. That I may see.

Mk 10 52 And Jesus saith to him: Go thy way. Thy faith hath made thee whole. And immediately he saw and followed him in the way.

Mk 11 2 And saith to them: Go into the village that is over against you, and immediately at your coming in thither, you shall find a colt tied, upon which no man yet hath sat. Loose him and bring him.

Mk 11 3 And if any man shall say to you: What are you doing? Say ye that the Lord hath need of him. And immediately he will let him come hither.

Mk 11 14 And answering he said to it: May no man hereafter eat fruit of thee any more for ever! And his disciples heard it.

Mk 11 17 And he taught, saying to them: Is it not written: My house shall be called the house of prayer to all nations, but you have made it a den of thieves.

Mk 11 22 And Jesus answering, saith to them: Have the faith of God.

Mk 11 23 Amen I say to you that whosoever shall say to this mountain, Be thou removed and be cast into the sea, and shall not stagger in his heart, but be believe that whatsoever he saith shall be done; it shall be done unto him.

Mk 11 24 Therefore I say unto you, all things, whatsoever you ask when ye pray, believe that you shall receive: and they shall come unto you.

Mk 11 25 And when you shall stand to pray, forgive, if you have aught against any man: that your Father also, who is in heaven, may forgive you your sins.

Mk 11 26 But if you will not forgive, neither will your father that is in heaven forgive you your sins.

Mk 11 29 And Jesus answering, said to them: I will also ask you one word. And answer you me: and I will tell you by what authority I do these things.

Mk 11 30 The baptism of John, was it from heaven or from men? Answer me.

Mk 11 33 And they answering, say to Jesus: We know not. And Jesus answering, saith to them: Neither do I tell you by what authority I do these things.

Mk 12 1 And he began to speak to them in parables: A certain man planted a vineyard and made a hedge about it and dug a place for the winefat and built a tower and let it to husbandmen: and went into a far country.

Mk 12 2 And at the season he sent to the husbandmen a servant to receive of the husbandmen of the fruit of the vineyard.

Mk 12 3 Who, having laid hands on him, beat and sent him away empty.

Mk 12 4 And again he sent to them another servant: and him they wounded in the head and used him reproachfully.

Mk 12 5 And again he sent another, and him they killed: and many others, of whom some they beat, and others they killed.

Mk 12 6 Therefore, having yet one son, most dear to him, he also sent him unto them last of all, saying: They will reverence my son.

Mk 12 7 But the husbandmen said one to another: This is the heir. Come let us kill him and the inheritance shall be ours.

Mk 12 8 And laying hold on him, they killed him and cast him out of the vineyard.

Mk 12 9 What therefore will the lord of the vineyard do? He will come and destroy those husbandmen and will give the vineyard to others.

Mk 12 10 And have you not read this scripture, The stone which the builders rejected, the same is made the head of the corner:

Mk 12 11 By the Lord has this been done, and it is wonderful in our eyes.

Mk 12 15 Who knowing their wiliness, saith to them: Why tempt you me? Bring me a penny that I may see it.

Mk 12 16 And they brought it him. And he saith to them: Whose is this image and inscription? They say to him, Caesar's.

Mk 12 17 And Jesus answering, said to them: Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's. And they marvelled at him.

Mk 12 24 And Jesus answering, saith to them: Do ye not therefore err, because you know not the scriptures nor the power of God?

Mk 12 25 For when they shall rise again from the dead, they shall neither marry, nor be married, but are as the angels in heaven.

Mk 12 26 And as concerning the dead that they rise again have you not read in the book of Moses, how in the bush God spoke to him, saying: I am the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob?

Mk 12 27 He is not the God of the dead, but of the living. You therefore do greatly err.

Mk 12 29 And Jesus answered him: The first commandment of all is, Hear, O Israel: the Lord thy God is one God.

Mk 12 30 And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart and with thy whole soul and with thy whole mind and with thy whole strength. This is the first commandment.

Mk 12 31 And the second is like to it: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. There is no other commandment greater than these.

Mk 12 34 And Jesus seeing that he had answered wisely, said to him: Thou art not far from the kingdom of God. And no man after that durst ask him any question.

Mk 12 35 And Jesus answering, said, teaching in the temple: How do the scribes say that Christ is the son of David?

Mk 12 36 For David himself saith by the Holy Ghost: The Lord said to my Lord: Sit on my right hand, until I make thy enemies thy footstool.

Mk 12 37 David therefore himself calleth him Lord. And whence is he then his son? And a great multitude heard him gladly.

Mk 12 38 And he said to them in his doctrine: Beware of the scribes, who love to walk in long robes and to be saluted in the marketplace,

Mk 12 39 And to sit in the first chairs in the synagogues and to have the highest places at suppers:

Mk 12 40 Who devour the houses of widows under the pretence of long prayer. These shall receive greater judgement.

Mk 12 43 And calling his disciples together, he saith to them: Amen I say to you, this poor widow hath cast in more than all they who have cast into the treasury.

Mk 12 44 For all they did cast in of their abundance; but she of her want cast in all she had, even her whole living.

Mk 13 2 And Jesus answering, said to him: Seest thou all these great buildings? There shall not be left a stone upon a stone, that shall not be thrown down.

Mk 13 5 And Jesus answering, began to say to them: Take heed lest any man deceive you.

Mk 13 6 For many shall come in my name saying, I am he: and they shall deceive many.

Mk 13 7 And when you shall hear of wars and rumours of wars, fear ye not. For such things must needs be: but the end is not yet.

Mk 13 8 For nation shall rise against nation and kingdom against kingdom: and there shall be earthquakes in divers places and famines. These things are the beginning of sorrows.

Mk 13 9 But look to yourselves. For they shall deliver you Up to councils: and in the synagogues you shall be beaten: and you shall stand before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony unto them.

Mk 13 10 And unto all nations the gospel must first be preached.

Mk 13 11 And when they shall lead you and deliver you up, be not thoughtful beforehand what you shall speak: but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye. For it is not you that speak, but the Holy Ghost.

Mk 13 12 And the brother shall betray his brother unto death, and the father his son; and children shall rise up against their parents and shall work their death.

Mk 13 13 And you shall be hated by all men for my name's sake. But he that shall endure unto the end, he shall be saved.

Mk 13 14 And when you shall see the abomination of desolation, standing where it ought not (he that readeth let him understand): then let them that are in Judea flee unto the mountains.

Mk 13 15 And let him that is on the housetop not go down into the house nor enter therein to take any thing out of the house.

Mk 13 16 And let him that shall be in the field not turn back to take up his garment.

Mk 13 17 And woe to them that are with child and that give suck in those days.

Mk 13 18 But pray ye that these things happen not in winter.

Mk 13 19 For in those days shall be such tribulations as were not from the beginning of the creation which God created until now: neither shall be.

Mk 13 20 And unless the Lord had shortened the days, no flesh should be saved: but, for the sake of the elect which he hath chosen, he hath shortened the days.

Mk 13 21 And then if any man shall say to you: Lo, here is Christ. Lo, he is here: do not believe.

Mk 13 22 For there will rise up false Christs and false prophets: and they shall shew signs and wonders, to seduce (if it were possible) even the elect.

Mk 13 23 Take you heed therefore: behold, I have foretold you all things.

Mk 13 24 But in those days, after that tribulation, the sun shall be darkened and the moon shall not give her light.

Mk 13 25 And the stars of heaven shall be falling down and the powers that are in heaven shall be moved.

Mk 13 26 And then shall they see the Son of man coming in the clouds, with great power and glory.

Mk 13 27 And then shall he send his angels and shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from the uttermost part of the earth to the uttermost part of heaven.

Mk 13 28 Now of the fig tree learn ye a parable. When the branch thereof is now tender and the leaves are come forth, you know that summer is very near.

Mk 13 29 So you also when you shall see these things come to pass, know ye that it is very nigh, even at the doors.

Mk 13 30 Amen, I say to you that this generation shall not pass until all these things be done.

Mk 13 31 Heaven and earth shall pass away: but my word shall not pass away.

Mk 13 32 But of that day or hour no man knoweth, neither the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but the Father.

Mk 13 33 Take ye heed, watch and pray. For ye know not when the time is.

Mk 13 34 Even as a man who, going into a far country, left his house and gave authority to his servants over every work and commanded the porter to watch.

Mk 13 35 Watch ye therefore (for you know not when the lord of the house cometh, at even, or at midnight, or at the cock crowing, or in the morning):

Mk 13 36 Lest coming on a sudden, he find you sleeping.

Mk 13 37 And what I say to you, I say to all: Watch.

Mk 14 6 But Jesus said: Let her alone. Why do You molest her? She hath wrought a good work upon me.

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Mk 14 7 For the poor you have always with you: and whensoever you will, you may do them good: but me you have not always.

Mk 14 8 She hath done what she could: she is come beforehand to anoint my body for the burial.

Mk 14 9 Amen, I say to you, wheresoever this gospel shall be preached in the whole world, that also which she hath done shall be told for a memorial of her.

Mk 14 13 And he sendeth two of his disciples and saith to them: Go ye into the city; and there shall meet you a man carrying a pitcher of water. Follow him.

Mk 14 14 And whithersoever he shall go in, say to the master of the house, The master saith, Where is my refectory, where I may eat the pasch with my disciples?

Mk 14 15 And he will shew you a large dining room furnished. And there prepare ye for us.

Mk 14 18 And when they were at table and eating, Jesus saith: Amen I say to you, one of you that eateth with me shall betray me.

Mk 14 20 Who saith to them: One of the twelve, who dippeth with me his hand in the dish.

Mk 14 21 And the Son of man indeed goeth, as it is written of him: but woe to that man by whom the Son of man shall be betrayed. It were better for him, if that man had not been born.

Mk 14 22 And whilst they were eating, Jesus took bread; and blessing, broke and gave to them and said: Take ye. This is my body.

Mk 14 24 And he said to them: This is my blood of the new testament, which shall be shed for many.

Mk 14 25 Amen I say to you that I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine until that day when I shall drink it new in the kingdom of God.

Mk 14 27 And Jesus saith to them: You will all be scandalized in my regard this night. For it is written: I will strike the shepherd, and the sheep shall be dispersed.

Mk 14 28 But after I shall be risen again, I will go before you into Galilee.

Mk 14 30 And Jesus saith to him: Amen I say to thee, to-day, even in this night, before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice.

Mk 14 32 And they came to a farm called Gethsemani. And he saith to his disciples: Sit you here, while I pray.

Mk 14 34 And he saith to them: My soul is sorrowful even unto death. Stay you here and watch.

Mk 14 36 And he saith: Abba, Father, all things are possible to thee: remove this chalice from me; but not what I will, but what thou wilt.

Mk 14 37 And he cometh and findeth them sleeping. And he saith to Peter: Simon, sleepest thou? Couldst thou not watch one hour?

Mk 14 38 Watch ye: and pray that you enter not into temptation. The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.

Mk 14 41 And he cometh the third time and saith to them: Sleep ye now and take your rest. It is enough. The hour is come: behold the Son of man shall be betrayed into the hands of sinners.

Mk 14 42 Rise up: let us go. Behold, he that will betray me is at hand.

Mk 14 48 And Jesus answering, said to them: Are you come out as to a robber, with swords and staves to apprehend me?

Mk 14 49 I was daily with you in the temple teaching: and you did not lay hands on me. But that the scriptures may be fulfilled.

Mk 14 62 And Jesus said to him: I am. And you shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of the power of God and coming with the clouds of heaven.

Mk 15 2 And Pilate asked him: Art thou the king of the Jews? But he answering, saith to him: Thou sayest it.

Mk 15 34 And at the ninth hour, Jesus cried out with a loud voice, saying: Eloi, Eloi, lamma sabacthani? Which is, being interpreted: My God, My God, Why hast thou forsaken me?

Mk 16 15 And he said to them: Go ye into the whole world and preach the gospel to every creature.

Mk 16 16 He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved: but he that believeth not shall he condemned.

Mk 16 17 And these signs shall follow them that believe: In my name they shall cast out devils. They shall speak with new tongues.

Mk 16 18 They shall take up serpents: and if they shall drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them. They shall lay their hand upon the sick: and they shall recover.

Lk 2 49 And he said to them: How is it that you sought me? Did you not know that I must be about my father's business?

Lk 4 4 And Jesus answered him: It is written that Man liveth not by bread alone, but by every word of God.

Lk 4 8 And Jesus answering said to him. It is written: Thou shalt adore the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.

Lk 4 12 And Jesus answering, said to him: It is said: Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.

Lk 4 18 The spirit of the Lord is upon me. Wherefore he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor, he hath sent me to heal the contrite of heart,

Lk 4 19 To preach deliverance to the captives and sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord and the day of reward.

Lk 4 21 And he began to say to them: This day is fulfilled this scripture in your ears.

Lk 4 23 And he said to them: Doubtless you will say to me this similitude: Physician, heal thyself. As great things as we have heard done in Capharnaum, do also here in thy own country.

Lk 4 24 And he said: Amen I say to you that no prophet is accepted in his own country.

Lk 4 25 In truth I say to You, there were many widows in the days of Elias in Israel, when heaven was shut up three years and six months, when there was a great famine throughout all the earth.

Lk 4 26 And to none of them was Elias sent, but to Sarepta of Sidon, to a widow woman.

Lk 4 27 And there were many lepers in Israel in the time of Eliseus the prophet: and none of them was cleansed but Naaman the Syrian.

Lk 4 35 And Jesus rebuked him, saying: Hold thy peace and go out of him. And when the devil had thrown him into the midst, he went out of him and hurt him not at all.

Lk 4 43 To whom he said: To other cities also I must preach the kingdom of God: for therefore am I sent.

Lk 5 4 Now when he had ceased to speak, he said to Simon: Launch out into the deep and let down your nets for a draught.

Lk 5 10 And so were also James and John, the sons of Zebedee, who were Simon's partners. And Jesus saith to Simon: Fear not: from henceforth thou shalt catch men.

Lk 5 13 And stretching forth his hand, he touched him, saying: I will. Be thou cleansed. And immediately the leprosy departed from him.

Lk 5 14 And he charged him that he should tell no man, but: Go, shew thyself to the priest and offer for thy cleansing according as Moses commanded, for a testimony to them.

Lk 5 20 Whose faith when he saw, he said: Man, thy sins are forgiven thee.

Lk 5 22 And when Jesus knew their thoughts, answering he said to them: What is it you think in your hearts?

Lk 5 23 Which is easier to say: Thy sins are forgiven thee; or to say: Arise and walk?

Lk 5 24 But that you may know that the Son of man hath the power on earth to forgive sins (he saith to the sick of the palsy), I say to thee to: Arise, take up thy bed and go into thy house.

Lk 5 31 And Jesus answering, said to them: They that are whole need not the physician: but they that are sick.

Lk 5 32 I came not to call the just, but sinners to penance.

Lk 5 34 To whom he said: Can you make the children of the bridegroom fast whilst the bridegroom is with them?

Lk 5 35 But the days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them: then shall they fast in those days.

Lk 5 36 And he spoke also a similitude to them: That no man putteth a piece from a new garment upon an old garment: otherwise he both rendeth the new, and the piece taken from the new agreeth not with the old.

Lk 5 37 And no man putteth new wine into old bottles: otherwise the new wine will break the bottles; and it will be spilled and the bottles will be lost.

Lk 5 38 But new wine must be put into new bottles: and both are preserved.

Lk 5 39 And no man drinking old hath presently a mind to new: for he saith: The old is better.

Lk 6 3 And Jesus answering them, said: Have you not read so much as this, what David did, when himself was hungry and they that were with him:

Lk 6 4 How he went into the house of God and took and ate the bread of proposition and gave to them that were with him, which is not lawful to eat but only for the priests?

Lk 6 5 And he said to them: The Son of man is Lord also of the sabbath.

Lk 6 8 But he knew their thoughts and said to the man who had the withered hand: Arise and stand forth in the midst. And rising he stood forth.

Lk 6 9 Then Jesus said to them: I ask you, if it be lawful on the sabbath days to do good or to do evil? To save life or to destroy?

Lk 6 10 And looking round about on them all, he said to the man: Stretch forth thy hand. And he stretched it forth. And his hand was restored.

Lk 6 20 And he, lifting up his eyes on his disciples, said: Blessed are ye poor: for yours is the kingdom of God.

Lk 6 21 Blessed are ye that hunger now: for you shall be filled. Blessed are ye that weep now: for you shall laugh.

Lk 6 22 Blessed shall you be when men shall hate you, and when they shall separate you and shall reproach you and cast out your name as evil, for the Son of man's sake.

Lk 6 23 Be glad in that day and rejoice: for behold, your reward is great in heaven, For according to these things did their fathers to the prophets.

Lk 6 24 But woe to you that are rich: for you have your consolation.

Lk 6 25 Woe to you that are filled: for you shall hunger. Woe to you that now laugh: for you shall mourn and weep.

Lk 6 26 Woe to you when men shall bless you: for according to these things did their fathers to the false prophets.

Lk 6 27 But I say to you that hear: Love your enemies. Do good to them that hate you.

Lk 6 28 Bless them that curse you and pray for them that calumniate you.

Lk 6 29 And to him that striketh thee on the one cheek, offer also the other. And him that taketh away from thee thy cloak, forbid not to take thy coat also.

Lk 6 30 Give to every one that asketh thee: and of him that taketh away thy goods, ask them not again.

Lk 6 31 And as you would that men should do to you, do you also to them in like manner.

Lk 6 32 And if you love them that love you, what thanks are to you? For sinners also love those that love them.

Lk 6 33 And if you do good to them who do good to you, what thanks are to you? For sinners also do this.

Lk 6 34 And if you lend to them of whom you hope to receive, what thanks are to you? For sinners also lend to sinners, for to receive as much.

Lk 6 35 But love ye your enemies: do good, and lend, hoping for nothing thereby: and your reward shall be great, and you shall be the sons of the Highest. For he is kind to the unthankful and to the evil.

Lk 6 36 Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father also is merciful.

Lk 6 37 Judge not: and you shall not be judged. Condemn not: and you shall not be condemned. Forgive: and you shall be forgiven.

Lk 6 38 Give: and it shall be given to you: good measure and pressed down and shaken together and running over shall they give into your bosom. For with the same measure that you shall mete withal, it shall be measured to you again.

Lk 6 39 And he spoke also to them a similitude: Can the blind lead the blind? Do they not both fall into the ditch?

Lk 6 40 The disciple is not above his master: but every one shall be perfect, if he be as his master.

Lk 6 41 And why seest thou the mote in thy brother's eye: but the beam that is in thy own eye thou considerest not?

Lk 6 42 Or how canst thou say to thy brother: Brother, let me pull the mote out of thy eye, when thou thyself seest not the beam in thy own eye? Hypocrite, cast first the beam out of thy own eye: and then shalt thou see clearly to take out the mote from thy brother's eye.

Lk 6 43 For there is no good tree that bringeth forth evil fruit: nor an evil tree that bringeth forth good fruit.

Lk 6 44 For every tree is known by its fruit. For men do not gather figs from thorns: nor from a bramble bush do they gather the grape.

Lk 6 45 A good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is good: and an evil man out of the evil treasure bringeth forth that which is evil. For out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh.

Lk 6 46 And why call you me, Lord, Lord; and do not the things which I say?

Lk 6 47 Every one that cometh to me and heareth my words and doth them, I will shew you to whom he is like.

Lk 6 48 He is like to a man building a house, who digged deep and laid the foundation upon a rock. And when a flood came, the stream beat vehemently upon that house: and it could not shake it: for it was founded on a rock.

Lk 6 49 But he that heareth and doth not is like to a man building his house upon the earth without a foundation: against which the stream beat vehemently. And immediately it fell: and the ruin of that house was great.

Lk 7 9 Which Jesus hearing, marvelled: and turning about to the multitude that followed him, he said: Amen I say to you, I have not found so great faith, not even in Israel.

Lk 7 13 Whom when the Lord had seen, being moved with mercy towards her, he said to her: Weep not.

Lk 7 14 And he came near and touched the bier. And they that carried it stood still. And he said: Young man, I say to thee, arise.

Lk 7 22 And answering, he said to them: Go and relate to John what you have heard and seen: the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are made clean, the deaf hear, the dead rise again, to the poor the gospel is preached.

Lk 7 23 And blessed is he whosoever shall not be scandalized in me.

Lk 7 24 And when the messengers of John were departed, he began to speak to the multitudes concerning John. What went ye out into the desert to see? A reed shaken with the wind?

Lk 7 25 But what went you out to see? A man clothed in soft garments? Behold they that are in costly apparel and live delicately are in the houses of kings.

Lk 7 26 But what went you out to see? A prophet? Yea, I say to you, and more than a prophet.

Lk 7 27 This is he of whom it is written: Behold I send my angel before thy face, who shall prepare thy way before thee.

Lk 7 28 For I say to you: Amongst those that are born of men, there is not a greater prophet than John the Baptist. But he that is the lesser in the kingdom of God is greater than he.

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Lk 7 31 And the Lord said: Whereunto then shall I liken the men of this generation? And to what are they like?

Lk 7 32 They are like to children sitting in the marketplace and speaking one to another and saying: We have piped to you, and you have not danced: we have mourned, and you have not wept.

Lk 7 33 For John the Baptist came neither eating bread nor drinking wine. And you say: He hath a devil.

Lk 7 34 The Son of man is come eating and drinking. And you say: Behold a man that is a glutton and a drinker of wine, a friend of publicans and sinners.

Lk 7 35 And wisdom is justified by all her children.

Lk 7 40 And Jesus answering, said to him: Simon, I have somewhat to say to thee. But he said: Master, say it.

Lk 7 41 A certain creditor had two debtors: the one owed five hundred pence and the other fifty.

Lk 7 42 And whereas they had not wherewith to pay, he forgave them both. Which therefore of the two loveth him most?

Lk 7 43 Simon answering, said: I suppose that he to whom he forgave most. And he said to him: Thou hast judged rightly.

Lk 7 44 And turning to the woman, he said unto Simon: Dost thou see this woman? I entered into thy house: thou gavest me no water for my feet. But she with tears hath washed my feet; and with her hairs hath wiped them.

Lk 7 45 Thou gavest me no kiss. But she, since she cane in, hath not ceased to kiss my feet.

Lk 7 46 My head with oil thou didst not anoint. But she with ointment hath anointed my feet.

Lk 7 47 Wherefore, I say to thee: Many sins are forgiven her, because she hath loved much. But to whom less is forgiven, he loveth less.

Lk 7 48 And he said to her: Thy sins are forgiven thee.

Lk 7 50 And he said to the woman: Thy faith hath made thee safe. Go in peace.

Lk 8 5 The sower went out to sow his seed. And as he sowed, some fell by the way side. And it was trodden down: and the fowls of the air devoured it.

Lk 8 6 And other some fell upon a rock. And as soon as it was sprung up, it withered away, because it had no moisture.

Lk 8 7 And other some fell among thorns. And the thorns growing up with it, choked it.

Lk 8 8 And other some fell upon good ground and, being sprung up, yielded fruit a hundredfold. Saying these things, he cried out: He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.

Lk 8 10 To whom he said: To you it is given to know the mystery of the kingdom of God; but to the rest in parables, that seeing they may not see and hearing may not understand.

Lk 8 11 Now the parable is this: The seed is the word of God.

Lk 8 12 And they by the way side are they that hear: then the devil cometh and taketh the word out of their heart, lest believing they should be saved.

Lk 8 13 Now they upon the rock are they who when they hear receive the word with joy: and these have no roots: for they believe for a while and in time of temptation they fall away.

Lk 8 14 And that which fell among thorns are they who have heard and, going their way, are choked with the cares and riches and pleasures of this life and yield no fruit.

Lk 8 15 But that on the good ground are they who in a good and perfect heart, hearing the word, keep it and bring forth fruit in patience.

Lk 8 16 Now no man lighting a candle covereth it with a vessel or putteth it under a bed: but setteth it upon a candlestick, that they who come in may see the light.

Lk 8 17 For there is not any thing secret that shall not be made manifest, nor hidden that shall not be known and come abroad.

Lk 8 18 Take heed therefore how you hear. For whosoever hath, to him shall be given: and whosoever hath not, that also which he thinketh he hath shall be taken away from him.

Lk 8 21 Who answering, said to them: My mother and my brethren are they who hear the word of God and do it.

Lk 8 22 And it came to pass on a certain day that he went into a little ship with his disciples. And he said to them: Let us go over to the other side of the lake. And they launched forth.

Lk 8 25 And he said to them: Where is your faith? Who being afraid, wondered, saying one to another: Who is this (think you), that he commandeth both the winds and the sea: and they obey him?

Lk 8 30 And Jesus asked him, saying: What is thy name? But he said: Legion. Because many devils were entered into him.

Lk 8 39 Return to thy house and tell how great things God hath done to thee. And he went through the whole city, publishing how great things Jesus had done to him.

Lk 8 45 And Jesus said: Who is it that touched me? And all denying, Peter and they that were with him said: Master, the multitudes throng and press thee; and dost thou say, who touched me?

Lk 8 46 And Jesus said: Somebody hath touched me; for I know that virtue is gone out from me.

Lk 8 48 But he said to her: Daughter, thy faith hath made thee whole. Go thy way in peace.

Lk 8 50 And Jesus hearing this word, answered the father of the maid: Fear not. Believe only: and she shall be safe.

Lk 8 52 And all wept and mourned for her. But he said: Weep not. The maid is not dead, but sleepeth.

Lk 8 54 But he taking her by the hand, cried out, saying: Maid, arise.

Lk 9 3 And he said to them: Take nothing for your journey, neither staff, nor scrip, nor bread, nor money; neither have two coats.

Lk 9 4 And whatsoever house you shall enter into, abide there and depart not from thence.

Lk 9 5 And whosoever will not receive you, when ye go out of that city, shake off even the dust of your feet, for a testimony against them.

Lk 9 13 But he said to them: Give you them to eat. And they said: We have no more than five loaves and two fishes; unless perhaps, we should go and buy food for all this multitude.

Lk 9 14 Now there were about five thousand men. And he said to his disciples: Make them sit down by fifties in a company.

Lk 9 18 And it came to pass, as he was alone praying, his disciples also were with him: and he asked them, saying: Whom do the people say that I am?

Lk 9 20 And he said to them: But whom do you say that I am? Simon Peter answering, said: The Christ of God.

Lk 9 22 Saying: The Son of man must suffer many things and be rejected by the ancients and chief priests and scribes and be killed and the third day rise again.

Lk 9 23 And he said to all: If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross daily and follow me.

Lk 9 24 For whosoever will save his life shall lose it: for he that shall lose his life for my sake shall save it.

Lk 9 25 For what is a man advantaged, if he gain the whole world and lose himself and cast away himself?

Lk 9 26 For he that shall be ashamed of me and of my words, of him the Son of man shall be ashamed, when he shall come in his majesty and that of his Father and of the holy angels.

Lk 9 27 But I tell you of a truth: There are some standing here that shall not taste death till they see the kingdom of God.

Lk 9 41 And Jesus, answering:, said: O faithless and perverse generation, how long shall I be with you and suffer you? Bring hither thy son.

Lk 9 44 And all were astonished at the mighty power of God. But while all wondered at all the things he did, he said to his disciples: Lay you up in your hearts these words, for it shall come to pass that the Son of man shall be delivered into the hands of men.

Lk 9 48 And said to them: Whosoever shall receive this child in my name receiveth me; and whosoever shall receive me receiveth him that sent me. For he that is the lesser among you all, he is the greater.

Lk 9 50 And Jesus said to him: Forbid him not: for he that is not against you is for you.

Lk 9 58 Jesus said to him: The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air nests: but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head.

Lk 9 60 And Jesus said to him: Let the dead bury their dead: but go thou and preach the kingdom of God.

Lk 9 62 Jesus said to him: No man putting his hand to the plough and looking back is fit for the kingdom of God.

Lk 10 2 And he said to them: The harvest indeed is great, but the labourers are few. Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest that he send labourers into his harvest.

Lk 10 3 Go: Behold I send you as lambs among wolves.

Lk 10 4 Carry neither purse, nor scrip, nor shoes: and salute no man by the way.

Lk 10 5 Into whatever house you enter, first say: Peace be to this house.

Lk 10 6 And if the son of peace be there, your peace shall rest upon him: but if not, it shall return to you.

Lk 10 7 And in the same house, remain, eating and drinking such things as they have: for the labourer is worthy of his hire. Remove not from house to house.

Lk 10 8 And into what city soever you enter, and they receive you, eat such things as are set before you.

Lk 10 9 And heal the sick that are therein and say to them: The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you.

Lk 10 10 But into whatsoever city you enter, and they receive you not, going forth into the streets thereof, say:

Lk 10 11 Even the very dust of your city that cleaveth to us, we wipe off against you. Yet know this, that the kingdom of God is at hand.

Lk 10 12 I say to you, it shall be more tolerable at that day for Sodom than for that city.

Lk 10 13 Woe to thee, Corozain! Woe to thee, Bethsaida! For if in Tyre and Sidon had been wrought the mighty works that have been wrought in you, they would have done penance long ago, sitting in sackcloth and ashes.

Lk 10 14 But it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the judgement than for you.

Lk 10 15 And thou, Capharnaum, which art exalted unto heaven, thou shalt be thrust down to hell.

Lk 10 16 He that heareth you heareth me: and he that despiseth you despiseth me: and he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me.

Lk 10 18 And he said to them: I saw Satan like lightning falling from heaven.

Lk 10 19 Behold, I have given you power to tread upon serpents and scorpions and upon all the power of the enemy: and nothing shall hurt you.

Lk 10 20 But yet rejoice not in this, that spirits are subject unto you: but rejoice in this, that your names are written in heaven.

Lk 10 21 In that same hour, he rejoiced in the Holy Ghost and said: I confess to thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent and hast revealed them to little ones. Yea, Father, for so it hath seemed good in thy sight.

Lk 10 22 All things are delivered to me by my Father. And no one knoweth who the Son is, but the Father: and who the Father is, but the Son and to whom the Son will reveal him.

Lk 10 23 And turning to his disciples, he said: Blessed are the eyes that see the things which you see.

Lk 10 24 For I say to you that many prophets and kings have desired to see the things that you see and have not seen them; and to hear the things that you hear and have not heard them.

Lk 10 26 But he said to him: What is written in the law? How readest thou?

Lk 10 28 And he said to him: Thou hast answered right. This do: and thou shalt live.

Lk 10 30 And Jesus answering, said: A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho and fell among robbers, who also stripped him and having wounded him went away, leaving him half dead.

Lk 10 31 And it chanced, that a certain priest went down the same way: and seeing him, passed by.

Lk 10 32 In like manner also a Levite, when he was near the place and saw him, passed by.

Lk 10 33 But a certain Samaritan, being on his journey, came near him: and seeing him, was moved with compassion:

Lk 10 34 And going up to him, bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine: and setting him upon his own beast, brought him to an inn and took care of him.

Lk 10 35 And the next day he took out two pence and gave to the host and said: Take care of him; and whatsoever thou shalt spend over and above, I, at my return, will repay thee.

Lk 10 36 Which of these three, in thy opinion, was neighbour to him that fell among the robbers?

Lk 10 37 But he said: He that shewed mercy to him. And Jesus said to him: Go, and do thou in like manner.

Lk 10 41 And the Lord answering, said to her: Martha, Martha, thou art careful and art troubled about many things:

Lk 10 42 But one thing is necessary. Mary hath chosen the best part, which shall not be taken away from her.

Lk 11 2 And he said to them: When you pray, say: Father, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come.

Lk 11 3 Give us this day our daily bread.

Lk 11 4 And forgive us our sins, for we also forgive every one that is indebted to us. And lead us not into temptation.

Lk 11 5 And he said to them: Which of you shall have a friend and shall go to him at midnight and shall say to him: Friend, lend me three loaves,

Lk 11 6 Because a friend of mine is come off his journey to me and I have not what to set before him.

Lk 11 7 And he from within should answer and say: Trouble me not; the door is now shut, and my children are with me in bed. I cannot rise and give thee.

Lk 11 8 Yet if he shall continue knocking, I say to you, although he will not rise and give him because he is his friend; yet, because of his importunity, he will rise and give him as many as he needeth.

Lk 11 9 And I say to you: Ask, and it shall be given you: seek, and you shall find: knock, and it shall be opened to you.

Lk 11 10 For every one that asketh receiveth: and he that seeketh findeth: and to him that knocketh it shall be opened:

Lk 11 11 And which of you, if he ask his father bread, will he give him a stone? Or a fish, will he for a fish give him a serpent?

Lk 11 12 Or if he shall ask an egg, will he reach him a scorpion?

Lk 11 13 If you then, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more will your Father from heaven give the good Spirit to them that ask him?

Lk 11 17 But he seeing their thoughts, said to them: Every kingdom divided against itself shall be brought to desolation; and house upon house shall fall.

Lk 11 18 And if Satan also be divided against himself, how shall his kingdom stand? Because you say that through Beelzebub I cast out devils.

Lk 11 19 Now if I cast out devils by Beelzebub, by whom do your children cast them out? Therefore, they shall be your judges.

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Lk 11 20 But if I by the finger of God cast out devils, doubtless the kingdom of God is come upon you.
Lk 11 21 When a strong man armed keepeth his court, those things are in peace which he possesseth.
Lk 11 22 But if a stronger than he come upon him and overcome him, he will take away all his armour wherein he trusted and will distribute his spoils.
Lk 11 23 He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth.
Lk 11 24 When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he walketh through places without water, seeking rest: and not finding, he saith: I will return into my house whence I came out.
Lk 11 25 And when he is come, he findeth it swept and garnished.
Lk 11 26 Then he goeth and taketh with him seven other spirits more wicked than himself: and entering in they dwell there. And the last state of that man becomes worse than the first.
Lk 11 28 But he said: Yea rather, blessed are they who hear the word of God and keep it.
Lk 11 29 And the multitudes running together, he began to say: This generation is a wicked generation. It asketh a sign: and a sign shall not be given it, but the sign of Jonas the prophet.
Lk 11 30 For as Jonas was a sign to the Ninivites; so shall the Son of man also be to this generation.
Lk 11 31 The queen of the south shall rise in the judgement with the men of this generation and shall condemn them: because she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon. And behold more than Solomon here.
Lk 11 32 The men of Ninive shall rise in the judgement with this generation and shall condemn it; Because they did penance at the preaching of Jonas. And behold more than Jonas here.
Lk 11 33 No man lighteth a candle and putteth it in a hidden place, nor under a bushel: but upon a candlestick, that they that come in may see the light.
Lk 11 34 The light of thy body is thy eye. If thy eye be single, thy whole body will be lightsome: but if it be evil, thy body also will be darksome.
Lk 11 35 Take heed therefore that the light which is in thee be not darkness.
Lk 11 36 If then thy whole body be lightsome, having no part of darkness: the whole shall be lightsome and, as a bright lamp, shall enlighten thee.
Lk 11 39 And the Lord said to him: Now you, Pharisees, make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter: but your inside is full of rapine and iniquity.
Lk 11 40 Ye fools, did not he that made that which is without make also that which is within?
Lk 11 41 But yet that which remaineth, give alms: and behold, all things are clean unto you.
Lk 11 42 But woe to you, Pharisees, because you tithe mint and rue and every herb and pass over judgement and the charity of God. Now these things you ought to have done, and not to leave the other undone.
Lk 11 43 Woe to you, Pharisees, because you love the uppermost seats in the synagogues and salutations in the marketplace.
Lk 11 44 Woe to you, because you are as sepulchres that appear not: and men that walk over are not aware.
Lk 11 46 But he said: Woe to you lawyers also, because you load men with burdens which they cannot bear and you yourselves touch not the packs with one of your fingers.
Lk 11 47 Woe to you who build the monuments of the prophets: and your fathers killed them.
Lk 11 48 Truly you bear witness that you consent to the doings of your fathers. For they indeed killed them: and you build their sepulchres.
Lk 11 49 For this cause also the wisdom of God said: I will send to them prophets and apostles: and some of them they will kill and persecute.
Lk 11 50 That the blood of all the prophets which was shed from the foundation of the world may be required of this generation,
Lk 11 51 From the blood of Abel unto the blood of Zacharias, who was slain between the altar and the temple. Yea I say to you: It shall be required of this generation.
Lk 11 52 Woe to you lawyers, for you have taken away the key of knowledge. You yourselves have not entered in: and those that were entering in, you have hindered.
Lk 12 1 And when great multitudes stood about him, so that they trod one upon another, he began to say to his disciples: Beware ye of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy.
Lk 12 2 For there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed: nor hidden that shall not be known.
Lk 12 3 For whatsoever things you have spoken in darkness shall be published in the light: and that which you have spoken in the ear in the chambers shall be preached on the housetops.
Lk 12 4 And I say to you, my friends: Be not afraid of them who kill the body and after that have no more that they can do.
Lk 12 5 But I will shew you whom you shall fear: Fear ye him who, after he hath killed, hath power to cast into hell. Yea, I say to you: Fear him.
Lk 12 6 Are not five sparrows sold for two farthings, and not one of them is forgotten before God?
Lk 12 7 Yea, the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear not therefore: you are of more value than many sparrows.
Lk 12 8 And I say to you: Whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall the Son of man also confess before the angels of God.
Lk 12 9 But he that shall deny me before men shall be denied before the angels of God.
Lk 12 10 And whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but to him that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven.
Lk 12 11 And when they shall bring you into the synagogues and to magistrates and powers, be not solicitous how or what you shall answer, or what you shall say.
Lk 12 12 For the Holy Ghost shall teach you in the same hour what you must say.
Lk 12 14 But he said to him: Man, who hath appointed me judge or divider over you?
Lk 12 15 And he said to them: Take heed and beware of all covetousness: for a man's life doth not consist in the abundance of things which he possesseth.
Lk 12 16 And he spoke a similitude to them, saying: The land of a certain rich man brought forth plenty of fruits.
Lk 12 17 And he thought within himself, saying: What shall I do, because I have no room where to bestow my fruits?
Lk 12 18 And he said: This will I do: I will pull down my barns and will build greater: and into them will I gather all things that are grown to me and my goods.
Lk 12 19 And I will say to my soul: Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years. Take thy rest: eat, drink, make good cheer.
Lk 12 20 But God said to him: Thou fool, this night do they require thy soul of thee. And whose shall those things be which thou hast provided?
Lk 12 21 So is he that layeth up treasure for himself and is not rich towards God.
Lk 12 22 And he said to his disciples: Therefore I say to you: Be not solicitous for your life, what you shall eat, nor for your body, what you shall put on.
Lk 12 23 The life is more than the meat: and the body is more than the raiment.
Lk 12 24 Consider the ravens, for they sow not, neither do they reap, neither have they storehouse nor barn, and God feedeth them. How much are you more valuable than they?
Lk 12 25 And which of you by taking thought can add to his stature one cubit?
Lk 12 26 If then ye be not able to do so much as the least thing, why are you solicitous for the rest?
Lk 12 27 Consider the lilies, how they grow: they labour not, neither do they spin. But I say to you, not even Solomon in all his glory was clothed like one of these.
Lk 12 28 Now, if God clothe in this manner the grass that is to-day in the field and to-morrow is cast into the oven: how much more you, O ye of little faith?
Lk 12 29 And seek not what you shall eat or what you shall drink: and be not lifted up on high.
Lk 12 30 For all these things do the nations of the world seek. But your Father knoweth that you have need of these things.
Lk 12 31 But seek ye first the kingdom of God and his justice: and all these things shall be added unto you.
Lk 12 32 Fear not, little flock, for it hath pleased your Father to give you a kingdom.
Lk 12 33 Sell what you possess and give alms. Make to yourselves bags which grow not old, a treasure in heaven which faileth not: where no thief approacheth, nor moth corrupteth.
Lk 12 34 For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.
Lk 12 35 Let your loins be girt and lamps burning in your hands.
Lk 12 36 And you yourselves like to men who wait for their lord, when he shall return from the wedding; that when he cometh and knocketh, they may open to him immediately.
Lk 12 37 Blessed are those servants whom the Lord, when he cometh, shall find watching. Amen I say to you that he will gird himself and make them sit down to meat and passing will minister unto them.
Lk 12 38 And if he shall come in the second watch or come in the third watch and find them so, blessed are those servants.
Lk 12 39 But this know ye, that if the householder did know at what hour the thief would come, he would surely watch and would not suffer his house to be broken open.
Lk 12 40 Be you then also ready: for at what hour you think not the Son of man will come.
Lk 12 42 And the Lord said: Who thinkest thou is the faithful and wise steward, whom his lord setteth over his family, to give them their measure of wheat in due season?
Lk 12 43 Blessed is that servant whom, when his lord shall come, he shall find so doing.
Lk 12 44 Verily I say to you, he will set him over all that he possesseth.
Lk 12 45 But if that servant shall say in his heart: My Lord is long a coming; and shall begin to strike the men-servants and maid-servants, and to eat and to drink and be drunk:
Lk 12 46 The lord of that servant will come in the day that he hopeth not, and at the hour that he knoweth not: and shall separate him and shall appoint him his portion with unbelievers.
Lk 12 47 And that servant, who knew the will of his lord and prepared not himself and did not according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes.
Lk 12 48 But he that knew not and did things worthy of stripes shall be beaten with few stripes. And unto whomsoever much is given, of him much shall be required: and to whom they have committed much, of him they will demand the more.
Lk 12 49 I am come to cast fire on the earth. And what will I, but that it be kindled?
Lk 12 50 And I have a baptism wherewith I am to be baptized. And how am I straitened until it be accomplished?
Lk 12 51 Think ye, that I am come to give peace on earth? I tell you, no; but separation.
Lk 12 52 For there shall be from henceforth five in one house divided: three against two, and two against three.
Lk 12 53 The father shall be divided against the son and the son against his father: the mother against the daughter and the daughter against her mother: the mother-in-law against the daughter-in-law and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law.
Lk 12 54 And he said also to the multitudes: When you see a cloud rising from the west, presently you say: A shower is coming. And so it happeneth.
Lk 12 55 And when ye see the south wind blow, you say: There will heat. And it cometh to pass.
Lk 12 56 You hypocrites, you know how to discern the face of the heaven and of the earth: but how is it that you do not discern this time?
Lk 12 57 And why, even of yourselves, do you not judge that which is just?
Lk 12 58 And when thou goest with thy adversary to the prince, whilst thou art in the way, endeavour to be delivered from him: lest perhaps he draw thee to he judge, and the judge deliver thee to the exacter, and the exacter cast thee into prison.
Lk 12 59 I say to thee, thou shalt not go out thence until thou pay the very last mite.
Lk 13 2 And he answering, said to them: Think you that these Galileans were sinners above all the men of Galilee, because they suffered such things?
Lk 13 3 No, I say to you: but unless you shall do penance, you shall all likewise perish.
Lk 13 4 Or those eighteen upon whom the tower fell in Siloe and slew them: think you that they also were debtors above all the men that dwelt in Jerusalem?
Lk 13 5 No, I say to you: but except you do penance, you shall all likewise perish.
Lk 13 6 He spoke also this parable: A certain man had a fig tree planted in his vineyard: and he came seeking fruit on it and found none.
Lk 13 7 And he said to the dresser of the vineyard: Behold, for these three years I come seeking fruit on this fig tree and I find none. Cut it down therefore. Why cumbereth it the ground?
Lk 13 8 But he answering, said to him: Lord, let it alone this year also, until I dig about it and dung it.
Lk 13 9 And if happily it bear fruit: but if not, then after that thou shalt cut it down.
Lk 13 12 Whom when Jesus saw, he called her unto him and said to her: Woman, thou art delivered from thy infirmity.
Lk 13 15 And the Lord answering him, said: Ye hypocrites, doth not every one of you, on the sabbath day, loose his ox or his ass from the manger and lead them to water?
Lk 13 16 And ought not this daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound, lo, these eighteen years, be loosed from this bond on the sabbath day?
Lk 13 18 He said therefore: To what is the kingdom of God like, and whereunto shall I resemble it?
Lk 13 19 It is like to a grain of mustard seed, which a man took and cast into his garden: and it grew and became a great tree, and the birds of the air lodged in the branches thereof.
Lk 13 20 And again he said: Whereunto shall I esteem the kingdom of God to be like?
Lk 13 21 It is like to leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened.
Lk 13 24 Strive to enter by the narrow gate: for many, I say to you, shall seek to enter and shall not be able.
Lk 13 25 But when the master of the house shall be gone in and shall shut the door, you shall begin to stand without; and

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knock at the door, saying: Lord, open to us. And he answering, shall say to you: I know you not, whence you are.

Lk 13 26 Then you shall begin to say: We have eaten and drunk in thy presence: and thou hast taught in our streets.

Lk 13 27 And he shall say to you: I know you not, whence you are. Depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity.

Lk 13 28 There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth; when you shall see Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and all the prophets, in the kingdom of God: and you yourselves thrust out.

Lk 13 29 And there shall come from the east and the west and the north and the south: and shall sit down in the kingdom of God.

Lk 13 30 And behold, they are last that shall be first: and they are first that shall be last.

Lk 13 32 And he said to them: Go and tell that fox: Behold, I cast out devils and do cures, to-day and to-morrow, and the third day I am consummated.

Lk 13 33 Nevertheless, I must walk to-day and to-morrow and the day following, because it cannot be that a prophet perish, out of Jerusalem.

Lk 13 34 Jerusalem, Jerusalem, that killest the prophets; and stonest them that are sent to thee, how often would I have gathered thy children as the bird doth her brood under her wings, and thou wouldest not?

Lk 13 35 Behold your house shall be left to you desolate. And I say to you that you shall not see me till the time come when you shall say: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.

Lk 14 3 And Jesus answering, spoke to the lawyers and Pharisees, saying: Is it lawful to heal on the sabbath day?

Lk 14 5 And answering them, he said: Which of you shall have an ass or an ox fall into a pit and will not immediately draw him out, on the sabbath day?

Lk 14 8 When thou art invited to a wedding, sit not down in the first place, lest perhaps one more honourable than thou be invited by him:

Lk 14 9 And he that invited thee and him, come and say to thee: Give this man place. And then thou begin with shame to take the lowest place.

Lk 14 10 But when thou art invited, go, sit down in the lowest place; that when he who invited thee cometh, he may say to thee: Friend, go up higher. Then shalt thou have glory before them that sit at table with thee.

Lk 14 11 Because every one that exalteth himself shall be humbled: and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.

Lk 14 12 And he said to him also that had invited him: When thou makest a dinner or a supper, call not thy friends nor thy brethren nor thy kinsmen nor thy neighbours who are rich; lest perhaps they also invite thee again, and a recompense be made to thee.

Lk 14 13 But when thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame and the blind.

Lk 14 14 And thou shalt be blessed, because they have not wherewith to make thee recompense: for recompense shall be made thee at the resurrection of the just.

Lk 14 16 But he said to him: A certain man made a great supper and invited many.

Lk 14 17 And he sent his servant at the hour of supper to say to them that were invited, that they should come: for now all things are ready.

Lk 14 18 And they began all at once to make excuse. The first said to him: I have bought a farm and I must needs go out and see it. I pray thee, hold me excused.

Lk 14 19 And another said: I have bought five yoke of oxen and I go to try them. I pray thee, hold me excused.

Lk 14 20 And another said: I have married a wife; and therefore I cannot come.

Lk 14 21 And the servant returning, told these things to his lord. Then the master of the house, being angry, said to his servant: Go out quickly into the streets and lanes of the city; and bring in hither the poor and the feeble and the blind and the lame.

Lk 14 22 And the servant said: Lord, it is done as thou hast commanded; and yet there is room.

Lk 14 23 And the Lord said to the servant: Go out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in, that my house may be filled.

Lk 14 24 But I say unto you that none of those men that were invited shall taste of my supper.

Lk 14 26 If any man come to me, and hate not his father and mother and wife and children and brethren and sisters, yea and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple.

Lk 14 27 And whosoever doth not carry his cross and come after me cannot be my disciple.

Lk 14 28 For which of you, having a mind to build a tower, doth not first sit down and reckon the charges that are necessary, whether he have wherewithal to finish it:

Lk 14 29 Lest, after he hath laid the foundation and is not able to finish it, all that see it begin to mock him,

Lk 14 30 Saying: This man began to build and was not able to finish.

Lk 14 31 Or, what king, about to go to make war against another king, doth not first sit down and think whether he be able, with ten thousand, to meet him that, with twenty thousand, cometh against him?

Lk 14 32 Or else, while the other is yet afar off, sending an embassy, he desireth conditions of peace.

Lk 14 33 So likewise every one of you that doth not renounce all that he possesseth cannot be my disciple.

Lk 14 34 Salt is good. But if the salt shall lose its savour, wherewith shall it be seasoned?

Lk 14 35 It is neither profitable for the land nor for the dunghill: but shall be cast out. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.

Lk 15 4 What man of you that hath an hundred sheep, and if he shall lose one of them, doth he not leave the ninety-nine in the desert and go after that which was lost, until he find it?

Lk 15 5 And when he hath found it, lay it upon his shoulders, rejoicing?

Lk 15 6 And coming home, call together his friends and neighbours, saying to them: Rejoice with me, because I have found my sheep that was lost?

Lk 15 7 I say to you that even so there shall be joy in heaven upon one sinner that doth penance, more than upon ninety-nine just who need not penance.

Lk 15 8 Or what woman having ten groats, if she lose one groat, doth not light a candle and sweep the house and seek diligently until she find it?

Lk 15 9 And when she hath found it, call together her friends and neighbours, saying: Rejoice with me, because I have found the groat which I had lost.

Lk 15 10 So I say to you, there shall be joy before the angels of God upon one sinner doing penance.

Lk 15 11 And he said: A certain man had two sons.

Lk 15 12 And the younger of them said to his father: Father, give me the portion of substance that falleth to me. And he divided unto them his substance.

Lk 15 13 And not many days after, the younger son, gathering all together, went abroad into a far country: and there wasted his substance, living riotously.

Lk 15 14 And after he had spent all, there came a mighty famine in that country: and he began to be in want.

Lk 15 15 And he went and cleaved to one of the citizens of that country. And he sent him into his farm to feed swine.

Lk 15 16 And he would fain have filled his belly with the husks the swine did eat: and no man gave unto him.

Lk 15 17 And returning to himself, he said: How many hired servants in my father's house abound with bread, and I here perish with hunger!

Lk 15 18 I will arise and will go to my father and say to him: Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee.

Lk 15 19 I am not worthy to be called thy son: make me as one of thy hired servants.

Lk 15 20 And rising up, he came to his father. And when he was yet a great way off, his father saw him and was moved with compassion and running to him fell upon his neck and kissed him.

Lk 15 21 And the son said to him: Father: I have sinned against heaven and before thee I am not now worthy to be called thy son.

Lk 15 22 And the father said to his servants: Bring forth quickly the first robe and put it on him: and put a ring on his hand and shoes on his feet.

Lk 15 23 And bring hither the fatted calf, and kill it: and let us eat and make merry:

Lk 15 24 Because this my son was dead and is come to life again, was lost and is found. And they began to be merry.

Lk 15 25 Now his elder son was in the field and when he came and drew nigh to the house, he heard music and dancing.

Lk 15 26 And he called one of the servants, and asked what these things meant.

Lk 15 27 And he said to him: Thy brother is come and thy father hath killed the fatted calf, because he hath received him safe.

Lk 15 28 And he was angry and would not go in. His father therefore coming out began to entreat him.

Lk 15 29 And he answering, said to his father: Behold, for so many years do I serve thee and I have never transgressed thy commandment: and yet thou hast never given me a kid to make merry with my friends.

Lk 15 30 But as soon as this thy son is come, who hath devoured his substance with harlots, thou hast killed for him the fatted calf.

Lk 15 31 But he said to him: Son, thou art always with me; and all I have is thine.

Lk 15 32 But it was fit that we should make merry and be glad: for this thy brother was dead and is come to life again; he was lost, and is found.

Lk 16 1 And he said also to his disciples: There was a certain rich man who had a steward: and the same was accused unto him, that he had wasted his goods.

Lk 16 2 And he called him and said to him: How is it that I hear this of thee? Give an account of thy stewardship: for now thou canst be steward no longer.

Lk 16 3 And the steward said within himself: What shall I do, because my lord taketh away from me the stewardship? To dig I am not able; to beg I am ashamed.

Lk 16 4 I know what I will do, that when I shall be removed from the stewardship, they may receive me into their houses.

Lk 16 5 Therefore, calling together every one of his lord's debtors, he said to the first: How much dost thou owe my lord?

Lk 16 6 But he said: An hundred barrels of oil. And he said to him: Take thy bill and sit down quickly and write fifty.

Lk 16 7 Then he said to another: And how much dost thou owe? Who said: An hundred quarters of wheat. He said to him: Take thy bill and write eighty.

Lk 16 8 And the lord commended the unjust steward, forasmuch as he had done wisely: for the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light.

Lk 16 9 And I say to you: Make unto you friends of the mammon of iniquity: that when you shall fail, they may receive you into everlasting dwellings.

Lk 16 10 He that is faithful in that which is least is faithful also in that which is greater: and he that is unjust in that which is little is unjust also in that which is greater.

Lk 16 11 If then you have not been faithful in the unjust mammon, who will trust you with that which is the true?

Lk 16 12 And if you have not been faithful in that which is another's, who will give you that which is your own?

Lk 16 13 No servant can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one and love the other: or he will hold to the one and despise the other. You cannot serve God and mammon.

Lk 16 15 And he said to them: you are they who justify yourselves before men, but God knoweth your hearts. For that which is high to men is an abomination before God.

Lk 16 16 The law and the prophets were until John. From that time the kingdom of God is preached: and every one useth violence towards it.

Lk 16 17 And it is easier for heaven and earth to pass than one tittle of the law to fall.

Lk 16 18 Every one that putteth away his wife and marrieth another committeth adultery: and he that marrieth her that is put away from her husband committeth adultery.

Lk 16 19 There was a certain rich man who was clothed in purple and fine linen and feasted sumptuously every day.

Lk 16 20 And there was a certain beggar, named Lazarus, who lay at his gate, full of sores,

Lk 16 21 Desiring to be filled with the crumbs that fell from the rich man's table. And no one did give him: moreover the dogs came and licked his sores.

Lk 16 22 And it came to pass that the beggar died and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom. And the rich man also died: and he was buried in hell.

Lk 16 23 And lifting up his eyes when he was in torments, he saw Abraham afar off and Lazarus in his bosom:

Lk 16 24 And he cried and said: Father Abraham, have mercy on me and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water to cool my tongue: for I am tormented in this flame.

Lk 16 25 And Abraham said to him: Son, remember that thou didst receive good things in thy lifetime, and likewise Lazarus evil things: but now he is comforted and thou art tormented.

Lk 16 26 And besides all this, between us and you, there is fixed a great chaos: so that they who would pass from hence to you cannot, nor from thence come hither.

Lk 16 27 And he said: Then, father, I beseech thee that thou wouldst send him to my father's house, for I have five brethren,

Lk 16 28 That he may testify unto them, lest they also come into this place of torments.

Lk 16 29 And Abraham said to him: They have Moses and the prophets. Let them hear them.

Lk 16 30 But he said: No, father Abraham: but if one went to them from the dead, they will do penance.

Lk 16 31 And he said to him: If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they believe, if one rise again from the dead.

Lk 17 1 And he said to his disciples: It is impossible that scandals should not come. But woe to him through whom they come!

Lk 17 2 It were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck and he cast into the sea, than that he should scandalize one of these little ones.

Lk 17 3 Take heed to yourselves. If thy brother sin against thee, reprove him: and if he do penance, forgive him.

Lk 17 4 And if he sin against thee seven times in a day, and seven times in a day be converted unto thee, saying: I repent: forgive him.

Lk 17 6 And the Lord said: If you had faith like to a grain of mustard seed, you might say to this mulberry tree: Be thou rooted up and be thou transplanted into the sea. And it would obey you.

Lk 17 7 But which of you, having a servant ploughing or feeding cattle, will say to him, when he is come from the field: Immediately go. Sit down to meat.

Lk 17 8 And will not rather say to him: Make ready my supper and gird thyself and serve me, whilst I eat and drink; and afterwards thou shalt eat and drink?

Lk 17 9 Doth he thank that servant for doing the things which he commanded him?

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Lk 17 10 I think not. So you also, when you shall have done all these things that are commanded you, say: We are unprofitable servants; we have done that which we ought to do.

Lk 17 14 Whom when he saw, he said: Go, shew yourselves to the priests. And it came to pass, as they went, they were made clean.

Lk 17 17 And Jesus answering, said: Were not ten made clean? And where are the nine?

Lk 17 18 There is no one found to return and give glory to God, but this stranger.

Lk 17 19 And he said to him: Arise, go thy way; for thy faith hath made thee whole.

Lk 17 20 And being asked by the Pharisees when the kingdom of God should come, he answering them and said: The kingdom of God cometh not with observation.

Lk 17 21 Neither shall they say: Behold here, or behold there. For lo, the kingdom of God is within you.

Lk 17 22 And he said to his disciples: The days will come when you shall desire to see one day of the Son of man. And you shall not see it.

Lk 17 23 And they will say to you: See here, and see there. Go ye not after, nor follow them.

Lk 17 24 For as the lightning that lighteneth from under heaven shineth unto the parts that are under heaven, so shall the Son of man be in his day.

Lk 17 25 But first he must suffer many things and be rejected by this generation.

Lk 17 26 And as it came to pass in the days of Noe, so shall it be also in the days of the Son of man.

Lk 17 27 They did eat and drink, they married wives and were given in marriage, until the day that Noe entered into the ark and the flood came and destroyed them all.

Lk 17 28 Likewise as it came to pass in the days of Lot. They did eat and drink, they bought and sold, they planted and built.

Lk 17 29 And in the day that Lot went out of Sodom, it rained fire and brimstone from heaven and destroyed them all.

Lk 17 30 Even thus shall it be in the day when the Son of man shall be revealed.

Lk 17 31 In that hour, he that shall be on the housetop, and his goods in the house, let him not go down to take them away: and he that shall be in the field, in like manner, let him not return back.

Lk 17 32 Remember Lot's wife.

Lk 17 33 Whosoever shall seek to save his life shall lose it: and whosoever shall lose it shall preserve it.

Lk 17 34 I say to you: In that night there shall be two men in one bed. The one shall be taken and the other shall be left.

Lk 17 35 Two women shall be grinding together. The one shall be taken and the other shall be left. Two men shall be in the field. The one shall be taken and the other shall be left.

Lk 17 37 Who said to them: Wheresoever the body shall be, thither will the eagles also be gathered together.

Lk 18 2 Saying: There was a judge in a certain city, who feared not God nor regarded man.

Lk 18 3 And there was a certain widow in that city; and she came to him, saying: Avenge me of my adversary.

Lk 18 4 And he would not for a long time. But afterwards he said within himself: Although I fear not God nor regard man,

Lk 18 5 Yet because this widow is troublesome to me, I will avenge her, lest continually coming she weary me.

Lk 18 6 And the Lord said: Hear what the unjust judge saith.

Lk 18 7 And will not God revenge his elect who cry to him day and night? And will he have patience in their regard?

Lk 18 8 I say to you that he will quickly revenge them. But yet the Son of man, when he cometh, shall he find, think you, faith on earth?

Lk 18 10 Two men went up into the temple to pray: the one a Pharisee and the other a publican.

Lk 18 11 The Pharisee standing, prayed thus with himself: O God, I give thee thanks that I am not as the rest of men, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, as also is this publican.

Lk 18 12 I fast twice in a week: I give tithes of all that I possess.

Lk 18 13 And the publican, standing afar off, would not so much as lift up his eyes towards heaven; but struck his breast, saying: O God, be merciful to me a sinner.

Lk 18 14 I say to you, this man went down into his house justified rather than the other: because every one that exalteth himself shall be humbled: and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.

Lk 18 16 But Jesus, calling them together, said: Suffer children to come to me and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God.

Lk 18 17 Amen, I say to you: Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a child shall not enter into it.

Lk 18 19 And Jesus said to him: Why dost thou call me good? None is good but God alone.

Lk 18 20 Thou knowest the commandments: Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not commit adultery: Thou shalt not steal: Thou shalt not bear false witness: Honour thy father and mother.

Lk 18 22 Which when Jesus had heard, he said to him: Yet one thing is wanting to thee. Sell all whatever thou hast and give to the poor: and thou shalt have treasure in heaven. And come, follow me.

Lk 18 24 And Jesus seeing him become sorrowful, said: How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God

Lk 18 25 For it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.

Lk 18 27 He said to them: The things that are impossible with men are possible with God.

Lk 18 29 Who said to them: Amen, I say to you, there is no man that hath left home or parents or brethren or wife or children, for the kingdom of God's sake,

Lk 18 30 Who shall not receive much more in this present time, and in the world to come life everlasting.

Lk 18 31 Then Jesus took unto him the twelve and said to them: Behold, we go up to Jerusalem; and all things shall be accomplished which were written by the prophets concerning the Son of man.

Lk 18 32 For he shall be delivered to the Gentiles and shall be mocked and scourged and spit upon.

Lk 18 41 Saying; What wilt thou that I do to thee? But he said: Lord, that I may see.

Lk 18 42 And Jesus said to him: Receive thy sight: thy faith hath made thee whole.

Lk 19 5 And when Jesus was come to the place, looking up, he saw him and said to him: Zacheus, make haste and come down: for this day I must abide in thy house.

Lk 19 9 Jesus said to him: This day is salvation come to this house, because he also is a son of Abraham.

Lk 19 10 For the Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost.

Lk 19 12 He said therefore: a certain nobleman went into a far country, to receive for himself a kingdom and to return.

Lk 19 13 And calling his ten servants, he gave them ten pounds and said to them: Trade till I come.

Lk 19 14 But his citizens hated him and they sent an embassage after him, saying: We will not have this man to reign over us.

Lk 19 15 And it came to pass that he returned, having received the kingdom: and he commanded his servants to be called, to whom he had given the money, that he might know how much every man had gained by trading,

Lk 19 16 And the first came saying: Lord, thy pound hath gained ten pounds.

Lk 19 17 And he said to him: Well done, thou good servant, because thou hast been faithful in a little, thou shalt have power over ten cities.

Lk 19 18 And the second came, saying: Lord, thy pound hath gained five pounds.

Lk 19 19 And he said to him: Be thou also over five cities.

Lk 19 20 And another came, saying: Lord, behold here is thy pound, which I have kept laid up in a napkin.

Lk 19 21 For I feared thee, because thou art an austere man: thou takest up what thou didst not lay down: and thou reapest that which thou didst not sow.

Lk 19 22 He saith to him: Out of thy own mouth I judge thee, thou wicked servant. Thou knewest that I was an austere man, taking up what I laid not down and reaping that which I did not sow.

Lk 19 23 And why then didst thou not give my money into the bank, that at my coming I might have exacted it with usury?

Lk 19 24 And he said to them that stood by: Take the pound away from him and give it to him that hath ten pounds.

Lk 19 25 And they said to him: Lord, he hath ten pounds.

Lk 19 26 But I say to you that to every one that hath shall be given, and he shall abound: and from him that hath not, even that which he hath shall be taken from him.

Lk 19 27 But as for those my enemies, who would not have me reign over them, bring them hither and kill them before me.

Lk 19 30 Saying: Go into the town which is over against you, at your entering into which you shall find the colt of an ass tied, on which no man ever hath sitten: loose him and bring him hither.

Lk 19 31 And if any man shall ask you: Why do you loose him? You shall say thus unto him: Because the Lord hath need of his service.

Lk 19 40 To whom he said: I say to you that if these shall hold their peace, the stones will cry out.

Lk 19 42 If thou also hadst known, and that in this thy day, the things that are to thy peace: but now they are hidden from thy eyes.

Lk 19 43 For the days shall come upon thee: and thy enemies shall cast a trench about thee and compass thee round and straiten thee on every side,

Lk 19 44 And beat thee flat to the ground, and thy children who are in thee. And they shall not leave in thee a stone upon a stone: because thou hast not known the time of thy visitation.

Lk 19 46 Saying to them: It is written: My house is the house of prayer. But you have made it a den of thieves.

Lk 20 3 And Jesus answering, said to them: I will also ask you one thing. Answer me:

Lk 20 4 The baptism of John, was it from heaven, or of men?

Lk 20 8 And Jesus said to them: Neither do I tell you by what authority I do these things.

Lk 20 9 And he began to speak to the people this parable: A certain man planted a vineyard and let it out to husbandmen: and he was abroad for a long time.

Lk 20 10 And at the season he sent a servant to the husbandmen, that they should give him of the fruit of the vineyard. Who, beating him, sent him away empty.

Lk 20 11 And again he sent another servant. But they beat him also and, treating him reproachfully, sent him away empty.

Lk 20 12 And again he sent the third: and they wounded him also and cast him out.

Lk 20 13 Then the lord of the vineyard said: What shall I do? I will send my beloved son. It may be, when they see him, they will reverence him.

Lk 20 14 Whom, when the husbandmen saw, they thought within themselves, saying: This is the heir. Let us kill him, that the inheritance may be ours.

Lk 20 15 So casting him out of the vineyard, they killed him. What therefore will the lord of the vineyard do to them?

Lk 20 16 He will come and will destroy these husbandmen and will give the vineyard to others. Which they hearing, said to him: God forbid.

Lk 20 17 But he looking on them, said: What is this then that is written, The stone, which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner?

Lk 20 18 Whosoever shall fall upon that stone shall be bruised: and upon whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder.

Lk 20 24 Shew me a penny. Whose image and inscription hath it? They answering, said to him: Caesar's.

Lk 20 25 And he said to them: Render therefore to Caesar the things, that are Caesar's: and to God the things that are God's.

Lk 20 34 And Jesus said to them: The children of this world marry and are given in marriage:

Lk 20 35 But they that shall be accounted worthy of that world and of the resurrection from the dead shall neither be married nor take wives.

Lk 20 36 Neither can they die any more for they are equal to the angels and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection.

Lk 20 37 Now that the dead rise again, Moses also shewed at the bush, when he called the Lord: The God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob.

Lk 20 38 For he is not the God of the dead, but of the living: for all live to him.

Lk 20 41 But he said to them: How say they that Christ is the son of David?

Lk 20 42 And David himself saith in the book of Psalms: The Lord said to my Lord, sit thou on my right hand,

Lk 20 43 Till I make thy enemies thy footstool.

Lk 20 44 David then calleth him Lord. And how is he his son?

Lk 20 46 Beware of the scribes, who desire to walk in long robes and love salutations in the market place and the first chairs in the synagogues and the chief rooms at feasts:

Lk 20 47 Who devour the houses of widows, feigning long prayer. These shall receive greater damnation.

Lk 21 3 And he said: Verily, I say to you that this poor widow hath cast in more than they all.

Lk 21 4 For all these have of their abundance cast into the offerings of God: but she of her want hath cast in all the living that she had.

Lk 21 6 These things which you see, the days will come in which there shall not be left a stone upon a stone that shall not be thrown down.

Lk 21 8 Who said: Take heed you be not seduced: for many will come in my name, saying: I am he and the time is at hand. Go ye not therefore after them.

Lk 21 9 And when you shall hear of wars and seditions, be not terrified. These things must first come to pass: but the end is not yet presently.

Lk 21 10 Then he said to them: Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom.

Lk 21 11 And there shall be great earthquakes in divers places and pestilences and famines and terrors from heaven: and there shall be great signs.

Lk 21 12 But before all these things, they will lay their hands on you and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues and into prisons, dragging you before kings and governors, for my name's sake.

Lk 21 13 And it shall happen unto you for a testimony.

Lk 21 14 Lay it up therefore in your hearts, not to meditate before how you shall answer:

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Lk 21 15 For I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to resist and gainsay.

Lk 21 16 And you shall be betrayed by your parents and brethren and kinsmen and friends: and some of you they will put to death.

Lk 21 17 And you shall be hated by all men for my name's sake.

Lk 21 18 But a hair of your head shall not perish.

Lk 21 19 In your patience you shall possess your souls.

Lk 21 20 And when you shall see Jerusalem compassed about with an army, then know that the desolation thereof is at hand.

Lk 21 21 Then let those who are in Judea flee to the mountains: and those who are in the midst thereof depart out: and those who are in the countries not enter into it.

Lk 21 22 For these are the days of vengeance, that all things may be fulfilled, that are written.

Lk 21 23 But woe to them that are with child and give suck in those days: for there shall be great distress in the land and wrath upon this people.

Lk 21 24 And they shall fall by the edge of the sword and shall be led away captives into all nations: and Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the Gentiles till the times of the nations be fulfilled.

Lk 21 25 And there shall be signs in the sun and in the moon and in the stars; and upon the earth distress of nations, by reason of the confusion of the roaring of the sea, and of the waves:

Lk 21 26 Men withering away for fear and expectation of what shall come upon the whole world. For the powers of heaven shall be moved.

Lk 21 27 And then they shall see the Son of man coming in a cloud, with great power and majesty.

Lk 21 28 But when these things begin to come to pass, look up and lift up your heads, because your redemption is at hand.

Lk 21 29 And he spoke to them a similitude. See the fig tree and all the trees:

Lk 21 30 When they now shoot forth their fruit, you know that summer is nigh;

Lk 21 31 So you also, when you shall see these things come to pass, know that the kingdom of God is at hand.

Lk 21 32 Amen, I say to you, this generation shall not pass away till all things be fulfilled.

Lk 21 33 Heaven and earth shall pass away: but my words shall not pass away.

Lk 21 34 And take heed to yourselves, lest perhaps your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness and the cares of this life: and that day come upon you suddenly.

Lk 21 35 For as a snare shall it come upon all that sit upon the face of the whole earth.

Lk 21 36 Watch ye, therefore, praying at all times, that you may be accounted worthy to escape all these things that are to come and to stand before the Son of man.

Lk 22 8 And he sent Peter and John, saying: Go, and prepare for us the pasch, that we may eat.

Lk 22 10 And he said to them: Behold, as you go into the city, there shall meet you a man carrying a pitcher of water: follow him into the house where he entereth in.

Lk 22 11 And you shall say to the goodman of the house: The master saith to thee: Where is the guest chamber, where I may eat the pasch with my disciples?

Lk 22 12 And he will shew you a large dining room, furnished. And there prepare.

Lk 22 15 And he said to them: With desire I have desired to eat this pasch with you, before I suffer.

Lk 22 16 For I say to you that from this time I will not eat it, till it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God.

Lk 22 17 And having taken the chalice, he gave thanks and said: Take and divide it among you.

Lk 22 18 For I say to you that I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, till the kingdom of God come.

Lk 22 19 And taking bread, he gave thanks and brake and gave to them, saying: This is my body, which is given for you. Do this for a commemoration of me.

Lk 22 20 In like manner, the chalice also, after he had supped, saying: This is the chalice, the new testament in my blood, which shall be shed for you.

Lk 22 21 But yet behold: the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table.

Lk 22 22 And the Son of man indeed goeth, according to that which is determined: but yet, woe to that man by whom he shall be betrayed.

Lk 22 25 And he said to them: The kings of the Gentiles lord it over them; and they that have power over them are called beneficent.

Lk 22 26 But you not so: but he that is the greater among you, let him become as the younger: and he that is the leader, as he that serveth.

Lk 22 27 For which is greater, he that sitteth at table or he that serveth? Is not he that sitteth at table? But I am in the midst of you, as he that serveth.

Lk 22 28 And you are they who have continued with me in my temptations:

Lk 22 29 And I dispose to you, as my Father hath disposed to me, a kingdom;

Lk 22 30 That you may eat and drink at my table, in my kingdom: and may sit upon thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

Lk 22 31 And the Lord said: Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat.

Lk 22 32 But I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not: and thou, being once converted, confirm thy brethren.

Lk 22 34 And he said: I say to thee, Peter, the cock shall not crow this day, till thou thrice deniest that thou knowest me. And he said to them:

Lk 22 35 When I sent you without purse and scrip and shoes, did you want anything?

Lk 22 36 But they said: Nothing. Then said he unto them: But now he that hath a purse, let him take it, and likewise a scrip: and he that hath not, let him sell his coat and buy a sword.

Lk 22 37 For I say to you that this that is written must yet be fulfilled in me. And with the wicked was he reckoned. For the things concerning me have an end.

Lk 22 38 But they said: Lord, behold, here are two swords. And he said to them: It is enough.

Lk 22 40 And when he was come to the place, he said to them: Pray, lest ye enter into temptation.

Lk 22 42 Saying: Father, if thou wilt, remove this chalice from me: but yet not my will, but thine be done.

Lk 22 46 And he said to them: Why sleep you? Arise: pray: lest you enter into temptation.

Lk 22 48 And Jesus said to him: Judas, dost thou betray the Son of man with a kiss?

Lk 22 51 But Jesus answering, said: Suffer ye thus far. And when he had touched his ear, he healed him.

Lk 22 52 And Jesus said to the chief priests and magistrates of the temple and the ancients, that were come unto him: Are ye come out, as it were against a thief, with swords and clubs?

Lk 22 53 When I was daily with you in the temple, you did not stretch forth your hands against me: but this is your hour and the power of darkness.

Lk 22 61 And the Lord turning looked on Peter. And Peter remembered the word of the Lord, as he had said: Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny thrice.

Lk 22 67 And he saith to them: If I shall tell you, you will not believe me.

Lk 22 68 And if I shall also ask you, you will not answer me, nor let me go.

Lk 22 69 But hereafter the Son of man shall be sitting on the right hand of the power of God.

Lk 22 70 Then said they all: Art thou then the Son of God? Who said: You say that I am.

Lk 23 3 And Pilate asked him, saying: Art thou the king of the Jews? But he answering, said: Thou sayest it.

Lk 23 28 But Jesus turning to them, said: Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not over me; but weep for yourselves and for your children.

Lk 23 29 For behold, the days shall come, wherein they will say: Blessed are the barren and the wombs that have not borne and the paps that have not given suck.

Lk 23 30 Then shall they begin to say to the mountains: Fall upon us. And to the hills: Cover us.

Lk 23 31 For if in the green wood they do these things, what shall be done in the dry?

Lk 23 34 And Jesus said: Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do. But they, dividing his garments, cast lots.

Lk 23 43 And Jesus said to him: Amen I say to thee: This day thou shalt be with me in paradise.

Lk 23 46 And Jesus crying with a loud voice, said: Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit. And saying this, he gave up the ghost.

Lk 24 17 And he said to them: What are these discourses that you hold one with another as you walk and are sad?

Lk 24 19 To whom he said: What things? And they said: Concerning Jesus of Nazareth, who was a prophet, mighty in work and word before God and all the people.

Lk 24 25 Then he said to them: O foolish and slow of heart to believe in all things, Which the prophets have spoken.

Lk 24 26 Ought not Christ to have suffered these things and so, to enter into his glory?

Lk 24 36 Now, whilst they were speaking these things, Jesus stood in the midst of them and saith to them: Peace be to you. It is I: Fear not.

Lk 24 38 And he said to them: Why are you troubled, and why do thoughts arise in your hearts?

Lk 24 39 See my hands and feet, that it is I myself. Handle, and see: for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as you see me to have.

Lk 24 41 But while they yet believed not and wondered for joy, he said: Have you here any thing to eat?

Lk 24 44 And he said to them: These are the words which I spoke to you while I was yet with you, that all things must needs be fulfilled which are written in the law of Moses and in the prophets and in the psalms, concerning me.

Lk 24 46 And he said to them: Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer and to rise again from the dead, the third day:

Lk 24 47 And that penance and remission of sins should be preached in his name, unto all nations, beginning at Jerusalem.

Lk 24 48 And you are witnesses of these things.

Lk 24 49 And I send the promise of my Father upon you: but stay you in the city till you be endued with power from on high.

Jn 1 38 And Jesus turning and seeing them following him, saith to them: What seek you? Who said to him: Rabbi (which is to say, being interpreted, Master), where dwellest thou?

Jn 1 39 He saith to them: Come and see. They came and saw where he abode: and they stayed with him that day. Now it was about the tenth hour.

Jn 1 42 And he brought him to Jesus. And Jesus looking upon him, said: Thou art Simon the son of Jona. Thou shalt be called Cephas, which is interpreted Peter.

Jn 1 43 On the following day, he would go forth into Galilee: and he findeth Philip, And Jesus saith to him: follow me.

Jn 1 47 Jesus saw Nathanael coming to him and he saith of him: Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile.

Jn 1 48 Nathanael saith to him: Whence knowest thou me? Jesus answered and said to him: Before that Philip called thee, when thou wast under the fig tree, I saw thee.

Jn 1 50 Jesus answered and said to him: Because I said unto thee, I saw thee under the fig tree, thou believest: greater things than these shalt thou see.

Jn 1 51 And he saith to him: Amen, amen, I say to you, you shall see the heaven opened and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man.

Jn 2 4 And Jesus saith to her: Woman, what is that to me and to thee? My hour is not yet come.

Jn 2 7 Jesus saith to them: Fill the waterpots with water. And they filled them up to the brim.

Jn 2 8 And Jesus saith to them: Draw out now and carry to the chief steward of the feast. And they carried it.

Jn 2 16 And to them that sold doves he said: Take these things hence, and make not the house of my Father a house of traffic.

Jn 2 19 Jesus answered and said to them: Destroy this temple; and in three days I will raise it up.

Jn 3 3 Jesus answered and said to him: Amen, amen, I say to thee, unless a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God.

Jn 3 5 Jesus answered: Amen, amen, I say to thee, unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.

Jn 3 6 That which is born of the flesh is flesh: and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit.

Jn 3 7 Wonder not that I said to thee: You must be born again.

Jn 3 8 The Spirit breatheth where he will and thou hearest his voice: but thou knowest not whence he cometh and whither he goeth. So is every one that is born of the Spirit.

Jn 3 10 Jesus answered and said to him: Art thou a master in Israel, and knowest not these things?

Jn 3 11 Amen, amen, I say to thee that we speak what we know and we testify what we have seen: and you receive not our testimony.

Jn 3 12 If I have spoken to you earthly things, and you believe not: how will you believe, if I shall speak to you heavenly things?

Jn 3 13 And no man hath ascended into heaven, but he that descended from heaven, the Son of man who is in heaven.

Jn 3 14 And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the desert, so must the Son of man be lifted up:

Jn 3 15 That whosoever believeth in him may not perish, but may have life everlasting.

Jn 3 16 For God so loved the world, as to give his only begotten Son: that whosoever believeth in him may not perish, but may have life everlasting.

Jn 3 17 For God sent not his Son into the world, to judge the world: but that the world may be saved by him.

Jn 3 18 He that believeth in him is not judged. But he that doth not believe is already judged: because he believeth not in the name of the only begotten Son of God.

Jn 3 19 And this is the judgement: Because the light is come into the world and men loved darkness rather than the light: for their works were evil.

Jn 3 20 For every one that doth evil hateth the light and cometh not to the light, that his works may not be reproved.

Jn 3 21 But he that doth truth cometh to the light, that his works may be made manifest: because they are done in God.

Jn 4 7 There cometh a woman of Samaria, to draw water. Jesus saith to her: Give me to drink.

Jn 4 10 Jesus answered and said to her: If thou didst know the gift of God and who he is that saith to thee: Give me to drink; thou perhaps wouldst have asked of him, and he would have given thee living water.

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Jn 4 13 Jesus answered and said to her: Whosoever drinketh of this water shall thirst again: but he that shall drink of the water that I will give him shall not thirst for ever.

Jn 4 14 But the water that I will give him shall become in him a fountain of water, springing up into life everlasting.

Jn 4 16 Jesus saith to her: Go, call thy husband, and come hither.

Jn 4 18 For thou hast had five husbands: and he whom thou now hast is not thy husband. This, thou hast said truly.

Jn 4 21 Jesus saith to her: Woman, believe me that the hour cometh, when you shall neither on this mountain, nor in Jerusalem, adore the Father.

Jn 4 22 You adore that which you know not: we adore that which we know. For salvation is of the Jews.

Jn 4 23 But the hour cometh and now is, when the true adorers shall adore the Father in spirit and in truth. For the Father also seeketh such to adore him.

Jn 4 24 God is a spirit: and they that adore him must adore him in spirit and in truth.

Jn 4 26 Jesus saith to her: I am he, who am speaking with thee.

Jn 4 32 But he said to them: I have meat to eat which you know not.

Jn 4 34 Jesus saith to them: My meat is to do the will of him that sent me, that I may perfect his work.

Jn 4 35 Do not you say: There are yet four months, and then the harvest cometh? Behold, I say to you, lift up your eyes, and see the countries. For they are white already to harvest.

Jn 4 36 And he that reapeth receiveth wages and gathereth fruit unto life everlasting: that both he that soweth and he that reapeth may rejoice together.

Jn 4 37 For in this is the saying true: That it is one man that soweth, and it is another that reapeth.

Jn 4 38 I have sent you to reap that in which you did not labour. Others have laboured: and you have entered into their labours.

Jn 4 48 Jesus therefore said to him: Unless you see signs and wonders, you believe not.

Jn 4 50 Jesus saith to him: Go thy way. Thy son liveth. The man believed the word which Jesus said to him and went his way.

Jn 5 6 Him when Jesus had seen lying, and knew that he had been now a long time, he saith to him: Wilt thou be made whole?

Jn 5 8 Jesus saith to him: Arise, take up thy bed and walk.

Jn 5 14 Afterwards, Jesus findeth him in the temple and saith to him: Behold thou art made whole: sin no more, lest some worse thing happen to thee.

Jn 5 17 But Jesus answered them: My Father worketh until now; and I work.

Jn 5 19 Then Jesus answered and said to them: Amen, amen, I say unto you, the Son cannot do any thing of himself, but what he seeth the Father doing: for what things soever he doth, these the Son also doth in like manner.

Jn 5 20 For the Father loveth the Son and sheweth him all things which himself doth: and greater works than these will he shew him, that you may wonder.

Jn 5 21 For as the Father raiseth up the dead and giveth life: so the Son also giveth life to whom he will.

Jn 5 22 For neither does the Father judge any man: but hath given all judgement to the Son.

Jn 5 23 That all men may honour the Son, as they honour the Father. He who honoureth not the Son honoureth not the Father who hath sent him.

Jn 5 24 Amen, amen, I say unto you that he who heareth my word and believeth him that sent me hath life everlasting: and cometh not into judgement, but is passed from death to life.

Jn 5 25 Amen, amen, I say unto you, that the hour cometh, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God: and they that hear shall live.

Jn 5 26 For as the Father hath life in himself, so he hath given to the Son also to have life in himself.

Jn 5 27 And he hath given him power to do judgement, because he is the Son of man.

Jn 5 28 Wonder not at this: for the hour cometh wherein all that are in the graves shall hear the voice of the Son of God.

Jn 5 29 And they that have done good things shall come forth unto the resurrection of life: but they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of judgement.

Jn 5 30 I cannot of myself do any thing. As I hear, so I judge. And my judgement is just: because I seek not my own will. but the will of him that sent me.

Jn 5 31 If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true.

Jn 5 32 There is another that beareth witness of me: and I know that the witness which he witnesseth of me is true.

Jn 5 33 You sent to John: and he gave testimony to the truth.

Jn 5 34 But I receive not testimony from man: but I say these things, that you may be saved.

Jn 5 35 He was a burning and a shining light: and you were willing for a time to rejoice in his light.

Jn 5 36 But I have a greater testimony than that of John: for the works which the Father hath given me to perfect, the works themselves which I do, give testimony of me, that the Father hath sent me.

Jn 5 37 And the Father himself who hath sent me hath given testimony of me: neither have you heard his voice at any time, nor seen his shape.

Jn 5 38 And you have not his word abiding in you: for whom he hath sent, him you believe not.

Jn 5 39 Search the scriptures: for you think in them to have life everlasting. And the same are they that give testimony of me.

Jn 5 40 And you will not come to me that you may have life.

Jn 5 41 I receive not glory from men.

Jn 5 42 But I know you, that you have not the love of God in you.

Jn 5 43 I am come in the name of my Father, and you receive me not: if another shall come in his own name, him you will receive.

Jn 5 44 How can you believe, who receive glory one from another: and the glory which is from God alone, you do not seek?

Jn 5 45 Think not that I will accuse you to the Father. There is one that accuseth you, Moses, in whom you trust.

Jn 5 46 For if you did believe Moses, you would perhaps believe me also: for he wrote of me.

Jn 5 47 But if you do not believe his writings, how will you believe my words?

Jn 6 5 When Jesus therefore had lifted up his eyes and seen that a very great multitude cometh to him, he said to Philip: Whence shall we buy bread, that these may eat?

Jn 6 10 Then Jesus said: Make the men sit down. Now, there was much grass in the place. The men therefore sat down, in number about five thousand.

Jn 6 12 And when they were filled, he said to his disciples: gather up the fragments that remain, lest they be lost.

Jn 6 20 But he saith to them: It is I. Be not afraid.

Jn 6 26 Jesus answered them and said: Amen, amen, I say to you, you seek me, not because you have seen miracles, but because you did eat of the loaves and were filled.

Jn 6 27 Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that which endureth unto life everlasting, which the Son of man will give you. For him hath God, the Father, sealed.

Jn 6 29 Jesus answered and said to them: This is the work of God, that you believe in him whom he hath sent.

Jn 6 32 Then Jesus said to them: Amen, amen, I say to you; Moses gave you not bread from heaven, but my Father giveth you the true bread from heaven.

Jn 6 33 For the bread of God is that which cometh down from heaven and giveth life to the world.

Jn 6 35 And Jesus said to them: I am the bread of life. He that cometh to me shall not hunger: and he that believeth in me shall never thirst.

Jn 6 36 But I said unto you that you also have seen me, and you believe not.

Jn 6 37 All that the Father giveth to me shall come to me: and him that cometh to me, I will not cast out.

Jn 6 38 Because I came down from heaven, not to do my own will but the will of him that sent me.

Jn 6 39 Now this is the will of the Father who sent me: that of all that he hath given me, I should lose nothing; but should raise it up again in the last day.

Jn 6 40 And this is the will of my Father that sent me: that every one who seeth the Son and believeth in him may have life everlasting. And I will raise him up in the last day.

Jn 6 41 The Jews therefore murmured at him, because he had said: I am the living bread which came down from heaven.

Jn 6 43 Jesus therefore answered and said to them: Murmur not among yourselves.

Jn 6 44 No man can come to me, except the Father, who hath sent me, draw him. And I will raise him up in the last day.

Jn 6 45 It is written in the prophets: And they shall all be taught of God. Every one that hath heard of the Father and hath learned cometh forth me.

Jn 6 46 Not that any man hath seen the Father: but he who is of God, he hath seen the Father.

Jn 6 47 Amen, amen, I say unto you: He that believeth in me hath everlasting life.

Jn 6 48 I am the bread of life.

Jn 6 49 Your fathers did eat manna in the desert: and are dead.

Jn 6 50 This is the bread which cometh down from heaven: that if any man eat of it, he may not die.

Jn 6 51 I am the living bread which came down from heaven.

Jn 6 52 If any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever: and the bread that I will give is my flesh, for the life of the world.

Jn 6 54 Then Jesus said to them: Amen, amen, I say unto you: except you eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, you shall not have life in you.

Jn 6 55 He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath everlasting life: and I will raise him up in the last day.

Jn 6 56 For my flesh is meat indeed: and my blood is drink indeed.

Jn 6 57 He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood abideth in me: and I in him.

Jn 6 58 As the living Father hath sent me and I live by the Father: so he that eateth me, the same also shall live by me.

Jn 6 59 This is the bread that came down from heaven. Not as your fathers did eat manna and are dead. He that eateth this bread shall live for ever.

Jn 6 62 But Jesus, knowing in himself that his disciples murmured at this, said to them: Doth this scandalize you?

Jn 6 63 If then you shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was before?

Jn 6 64 It is the spirit that quickeneth: the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I have spoken to you are spirit and life.

Jn 6 65 But there are some of you that believe not. For Jesus knew from the beginning who they were that did not believe and who he was that would betray him.

Jn 6 66 And he said: Therefore did I say to you that no man can come to me, unless it be given him by my Father.

Jn 6 68 Then Jesus said to the twelve: Will you also go away?

Jn 6 71 Jesus answered them: Have not I chosen you twelve? And one of you is a devil.

Jn 7 6 Then Jesus said to them: My time is not yet come; but your time is always ready.

Jn 7 7 The world cannot hate you: but me it hateth, because I give testimony of it, that the works thereof are evil,

Jn 7 8 Go you up to this festival day: but I go not up to this festival day, because my time is not accomplished.

Jn 7 16 Jesus answered them and said: My doctrine is not mine, but his that sent me.

Jn 7 17 If any man will do the will of him, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself.

Jn 7 18 He that speaketh of himself seeketh his own glory: but he that seeketh the glory of him that sent him, he is true and there is no injustice in him.

Jn 7 19 Did not Moses give you the law, and yet none of you keepeth the law?

Jn 7 21 Jesus answered and said to them: One work I have done: and you all wonder.

Jn 7 22 Therefore, Moses gave you circumcision (not because it is of Moses, but of the fathers): and on the sabbath day you circumcise a man.

Jn 7 23 If a man receive circumcision on the sabbath day, that the law of Moses may not be broken: are you angry at me, because I have healed the whole man on the sabbath day?

Jn 7 24 Judge not according to the appearance: but judge just judgement.

Jn 7 28 Jesus therefore cried out in the temple, teaching and saying: You both know me, and you know whence I am. And I am not come of myself: but he that sent me is true, whom you know not.

Jn 7 29 I know him, because I am from him: and he hath sent me.

Jn 7 33 Jesus therefore said to them: Yet a little while I am with you: and then I go to him that sent me.

Jn 7 34 You shall seek me and shall not find me: and where I am, thither you cannot come.

Jn 7 37 And on the last, and great day of the festivity, Jesus stood and cried, saying: If any man thirst, let him come to me and drink.

Jn 7 38 He that believeth in me, as the scripture saith: Out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.

Jn 8 7 When therefore they continued asking him, he lifted up himself and said to them: He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her.

Jn 8 10 Then Jesus lifting up himself, said to her: Woman, where are they that accused thee? Hath no man condemned thee?

Jn 8 11 Who said: No man, Lord. And Jesus said: Neither will I condemn thee. Go, and now sin no more.

Jn 8 12 Again therefore, Jesus spoke to: them, saying: I am the light of the world. He that followeth me walketh not in darkness, but shall have the light of life.

Jn 8 14 Jesus answered and said to them: Although I give testimony of myself, my testimony is true: for I know whence I came and whither I go.

Jn 8 15 You judge according to the flesh: I judge not any man.

Jn 8 16 And if I do judge, my judgement is true: because I am not alone, but I and the Father that sent me.

Jn 8 17 And in your law it is written that the testimony of two men is true.

Jn 8 18 I am one that give testimony of myself: and the Father that sent me giveth testimony of me.

Jn 8 19 They said therefore to him: Where is thy Father? Jesus answered: Neither me do you know, nor my Father. If you did know me, perhaps you would know my Father also.

Jn 8 21 Again therefore Jesus said to them: I go: and you shall seek me. And you shall die in your sin. Whither I go, you cannot come.

Jn 8 22 The Jews therefore said: Will he kill himself, because he said: Whither I go you cannot come?

Jn 8 23 And he said to them: You are from beneath: I am from above. You are of this world: I am not of this world.

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Jn 8 24 Therefore I said to you that you shall die in your sins. For if you believe not that I am he, you shall die in your sin.

Jn 8 25 They said therefore to him: Who art thou? Jesus said to them: The beginning, who also speak unto you.

Jn 8 26 Many things I have to speak and to judge of you. But he that sent me, is true: and the things I have heard of him, these same I speak in the world.

Jn 8 28 Jesus therefore said to them: When you shall have lifted up, the Son of man, then shall you know that I am he and that I do nothing of myself. But as the Father hath taught me, these things I speak.

Jn 8 29 And he that sent me is with me: and he hath not left me alone. For I do always the things that please him.

Jn 8 31 Then Jesus said to those Jews who believed him: If you continue in my word, you shall be my disciples indeed.

Jn 8 32 And you shall know the truth: and the truth shall make you free.

Jn 8 34 Jesus answered them: Amen, amen, I say unto you that whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin.

Jn 8 35 Now the servant abideth not in the house for ever: but the son abideth for ever.

Jn 8 36 If therefore the son shall make you free, you shall be free indeed.

Jn 8 37 I know that you are the children of Abraham: but you seek to kill me, because my word hath no place in you.

Jn 8 38 I speak that which I have seen with my Father: and you do the things that you have seen with your father.

Jn 8 39 They answered and said to him: Abraham is our father. Jesus saith them: If you be the children of Abraham, do the works of Abraham.

Jn 8 40 But now you seek to kill me, a man who have spoken the truth to you, which I have heard of God. This Abraham did not.

Jn 8 41 You do the works of your father. They said therefore to him: We are not born of fornication: we have one Father, even God.

Jn 8 42 Jesus therefore said to them: If God were your Father, you would indeed love me. For from God I proceeded and came. For I came not of myself: but he sent me.

Jn 8 43 Why do you not know my speech? Because you cannot hear my word.

Jn 8 44 You are of your father the devil: and the desires of your father you will do. He was a murderer from the beginning: and he stood not in the truth, because truth is not in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar, and the father thereof.

Jn 8 45 But if I say the truth, you believe me not.

Jn 8 46 Which of you shall convince me of sin? If I say the truth to you, why do you not believe me:

Jn 8 47 He that is of God heareth the words of God. Therefore you hear them not, because you are not of God.

Jn 8 49 Jesus answered: I have not a devil: but I honour my Father. And you have dishonoured me.

Jn 8 50 But I seek not my own glory: there is one that seeketh and judgeth.

Jn 8 51 Amen, amen, I say to you: If any man keep my word, he shall not see death for ever.

Jn 8 54 Jesus answered: If I glorify myself, my glory is nothing. It is my Father that glorifieth me, of whom you say that he is your God.

Jn 8 55 And you have not known him: but I know him. And if I shall say that I know him not, I shall be like to you, a liar. But I do know him and do keep his word.

Jn 8 56 Abraham your father rejoiced that he might see my day: he saw it and was glad.

Jn 8 58 Jesus said to them: Amen, amen, I say to you, before Abraham was made, I AM.

Jn 9 3 Jesus answered: Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents; but that the works of God should be made manifest in him.

Jn 9 4 I must work the works of him that sent me, whilst it is day: the night cometh, when no man can work.

Jn 9 5 As long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world.

Jn 9 7 And said to him: Go, wash in the pool of Siloe, which is interpreted, Sent. He went therefore and washed: and he came seeing.

Jn 9 35 Jesus heard that they had cast him out. And when he had found him, he said to him: Dost thou believe in the Son of God?

Jn 9 37 And Jesus said to him: Thou hast both seen him; and it is he that talketh with thee.

Jn 9 39 And Jesus said: For judgement I am come into this world: that they who see not may see; and they who see may become blind.

Jn 9 41 Jesus said to them: If you were blind, you should not have sin: but now you say: We see. Your sin remaineth.

Jn 10 1 Amen, amen, I say to you: He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold but climbeth up another way, the same is a thief and a robber.

Jn 10 2 But he that entereth in by the door is the shepherd of the sheep.

Jn 10 3 To him the porter openeth: and the sheep hear his voice. And he calleth his own sheep by name and leadeth them out.

Jn 10 4 And when he hath let out his own sheep, he goeth before them: and the sheep follow him, because they know his voice.

Jn 10 5 But a stranger they follow not, but fly from him, because they know not the voice of strangers.

Jn 10 7 Jesus therefore said to them again: Amen, amen, I say to you, I am the door of the sheep.

Jn 10 8 All others, as many as have come, are thieves and robbers: and the sheep heard them not.

Jn 10 9 I am the door. By me, if any man enter in, he shall be saved: and he shall go in and go out, and shall find pastures.

Jn 10 10 The thief cometh not, but for to steal and to kill and to destroy. I am come that they may have life and may have it more abundantly.

Jn 10 11 I am the good shepherd. The good shepherd giveth his life for his sheep.

Jn 10 12 But the hireling and he that is not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming and leaveth the sheep and flieth: and the wolf casteth and scattereth the sheep,

Jn 10 13 And the hireling flieth, because he is a hireling: and he hath no care for the sheep.

Jn 10 14 I am the good shepherd: and I know mine, and mine know me.

Jn 10 15 As the Father knoweth me, and I know the Father: and I lay down my life for my sheep.

Jn 10 16 And other sheep I have that are not of this fold: them also I must bring. And they shall hear my voice: And there shall be one fold and one shepherd.

Jn 10 17 Therefore doth the Father love me: because I lay down my life, that I may take it again.

Jn 10 18 No man taketh it away from me: but I lay it down of myself. And I have power to lay it down: and I have power to take it up again. This commandment have I received of my Father.

Jn 10 25 Jesus answered them: I speak to you, and you believe not: the works that I do in the name of my Father, they give testimony of me.

Jn 10 26 But you do not believe, because you are not of my sheep.

Jn 10 27 My sheep hear my voice. And I know them: and they follow me.

Jn 10 28 And I give them life everlasting: and they shall not perish for ever. And no man shall pluck them out of my hand.

Jn 10 29 That which my Father hath given me is greater than all: and no one can snatch them out of the hand of my Father.

Jn 10 30 I and the Father are one.

Jn 10 32 Jesus answered them: Many good works I have shewed you from my Father. For which of those works do you stone me?

Jn 10 34 Jesus answered them: Is it not written in your law: I said, you are gods?

Jn 10 35 If he called them gods to whom the word of God was spoken; and the scripture cannot be broken:

Jn 10 36 Do you say of him whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world: Thou blasphemest; because I said: I am the Son of God?

Jn 10 37 If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not.

Jn 10 38 But if I do, though you will not believe me, believe the works: that you may know and believe that the Father is in me and I in the Father.

Jn 11 4 And Jesus hearing it, said to them: This sickness is not unto death, but for the glory of God: that the Son of God may be glorified by it.

Jn 11 7 Then after that, he said to his disciples: Let us go into Judea again.

Jn 11 9 Jesus answered: Are there not twelve hours of the day? If a man walk in the day he stumbleth not, because he seeth the light of this world:

Jn 11 10 But if he walk in the night, he stumbleth, because the light is not in him.

Jn 11 11 These things he said; and after that he said to them: Lazarus our friend sleepeth: but I go that I may awake him out of sleep.

Jn 11 14 Then therefore Jesus said to them plainly: Lazarus is dead.

Jn 11 15 And I am glad, for your sakes; that I was not there, that you may believe. But, let us go to him.

Jn 11 23 Jesus saith to her: Thy brother shall rise again.

Jn 11 25 Jesus said to her: I am the resurrection and the life: he that believeth in me, although he be dead, shall live:

Jn 11 26 And every one that liveth and believeth in me shall not die for ever. Believest thou this?

Jn 11 34 And said: Where have you laid him? They say to him: Lord, come and see.

Jn 11 39 Jesus saith: Take away the stone. Martha, the sister of him that was dead, saith to him: Lord, by this time he stinketh, for he is now of four days.

Jn 11 40 Jesus saith to her: Did not I say to thee that if thou believe, thou shalt see the glory of God?

Jn 11 41 They took therefore the stone away. And Jesus lifting up his eyes, said: Father, I give thee thanks that thou hast heard me.

Jn 11 42 And I knew that thou hearest me always: but because of the people who stand about have I said it, that they may believe that thou hast sent me.

Jn 11 43 When he had said these things, he cried with a loud voice: Lazarus, come forth.

Jn 11 44 And presently he that had been dead came forth, bound feet and hands with winding bands. And his face was bound about with a napkin. Jesus said to them: Loose him and let him go.

Jn 12 7 Jesus therefore said: Let her alone, that she may keep it against the day of my burial.

Jn 12 8 For the poor you have always with you: but me you have not always.

Jn 12 23 But Jesus answered them, saying: The hour is come that the Son of man should be glorified.

Jn 12 24 Amen, amen, I say to you, unless the grain of wheat falling into the ground die,

Jn 12 25 Itself remaineth alone. But if it die it bringeth forth much fruit. He that loveth his life shall lose it and he that hateth his life in this world keepeth it unto life eternal.

Jn 12 26 If any man minister to me, let him follow me: and where I am, there also shall my minister be. If any man minister to me, him will my Father honour.

Jn 12 27 Now is my soul troubled. And what shall I say? Father, save me from this hour. But for this cause I came unto this hour.

Jn 12 28 Father, glorify thy name. A voice therefore came from heaven: I have both glorified it and will glorify it again.

Jn 12 30 Jesus answered and said: This voice came not because of me, but for your sakes.

Jn 12 31 Now is the judgement of the world: now shall the prince of this world be cast out.

Jn 12 32 And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all things to myself.

Jn 12 35 Jesus therefore said to them: Yet a little while, the light is among you. Walk whilst you have the light, and the darkness overtake you not. And he that walketh in darkness knoweth not whither he goeth.

Jn 12 36 Whilst you have the light, believe in the light, that you may be the children of light. These things Jesus spoke: and he went away and hid himself from them.

Jn 12 44 But Jesus cried and said: He that believeth in me doth not believe in me, but in him that sent me.

Jn 12 45 And he that seeth me, seeth him that sent me.

Jn 12 46 I am come, a light into the world, that whosoever believeth in me may not remain in darkness.

Jn 12 47 And if any man hear my words and keep them not, I do not judge him for I came not to judge the world, but to save the world.

Jn 12 48 He that despiseth me and receiveth not my words hath one that judgeth him. The word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him in the last day.

Jn 12 49 For I have not spoken of myself: but the Father who sent me, he gave me commandment what I should say and what I should speak.

Jn 12 50 And I know that his commandment is life everlasting. The things therefore that I speak, even as the Father said unto me, so do I speak.

Jn 13 7 Jesus answered and said to him: What I do, thou knowest not now; but thou shalt know hereafter.

Jn 13 8 Peter saith to him: Thou shalt never wash my feet, Jesus answered him: If I wash thee not, thou shalt have no part with me.

Jn 13 10 Jesus saith to him: He that is washed needeth not but to wash his feet, but is clean wholly. And you are clean, but not all.

Jn 13 11 For he knew who he was that would betray him; therefore he said: You are not all clean.

Jn 13 12 Then after he had washed their feet and taken his garments, being set down again, he said to them: Know you what I have done to you?

Jn 13 13 You call me Master and Lord. And you say well: for so I am.

Jn 13 14 If then I being your Lord and Master, have washed your feet; you also ought to wash one another's feet.

Jn 13 15 For I have given you an example, that as I have done to you, so you do also.

Jn 13 16 Amen, amen, I say to you: The servant is not greater than his lord: neither is the apostle greater than he that sent him.

Jn 13 17 If you know these things, you shall be blessed if you do them.

Jn 13 18 I speak not of you all: I know whom I have chosen. But that the scripture may be fulfilled: He that eateth bread with me shall lift up his heel against me,

Jn 13 19 At present I tell you, before it come to pass: that when it shall come to pass, you may believe that I am he.

Jn 13 20 Amen, amen, I say to you, he that receiveth whomsoever I send receiveth me: and he that receiveth me receiveth him that sent me.

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Jn 13 21 When Jesus had said these things, he was troubled in spirit; and he testified, and said: Amen, amen, I say to you, one of you shall betray me.

Jn 13 26 Jesus answered: He it is to whom I shall reach bread dipped. And when he had dipped the bread, he gave it to Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon.

Jn 13 27 And after the morsel, Satan entered into him. And Jesus said to him: That which thou dost, do quickly.

Jn 13 31 When he therefore was gone out, Jesus said: Now is the Son of man glorified; and God is glorified in him.

Jn 13 32 If God be glorified in him, God also will glorify him in himself: and immediately will he glorify him.

Jn 13 33 Little children, yet a little while I am with you. You shall seek me. And as I said to the Jews: Whither I go you cannot come; so I say to you now.

Jn 13 34 A new commandment I give unto you: That you love one another, as I have loved you, that you also love one another.

Jn 13 35 By this shall all men know that you are my disciples, if you have love one for another.

Jn 13 36 Simon Peter saith to him: Lord, whither goest thou? Jesus answered: Whither I go, thou canst not follow me now: but thou shalt follow hereafter.

Jn 13 38 Jesus answered him: Wilt thou lay down thy life for me? Amen, amen, I say to thee, the cock shall not crow, till thou deny me thrice.

Jn 14 1 Let not your heart be troubled. You believe in God: believe also in me.

Jn 14 2 In my Father's house there are many mansions. If not, I would have told you: because I go to prepare a place for you.

Jn 14 3 And if I shall go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and will take you to myself: that where I am, you also may be.

Jn 14 4 And whither I go you know: and the way you know.

Jn 14 6 Jesus saith to him: I am the way, and the truth, and the life. No man cometh to the Father, but by me.

Jn 14 7 If you had known me, you would without doubt have known my Father also: and from henceforth you shall know him. And you have seen him.

Jn 14 9 Jesus saith to him: Have I been so long a time with you and have you not known me? Philip, he that seeth me seeth the Father also. How sayest thou: Shew us the Father?

Jn 14 10 Do you not believe that I am in the Father and the Father in me? The words that I speak to you, I speak not of myself. But the Father who abideth in me, he doth the works.

Jn 14 11 Believe you not that I am in the Father and the Father in me?

Jn 14 12 Otherwise believe for the very works' sake. Amen, amen, I say to you, he that believeth in me, the works that I do, he also shall do: and greater than these shall he do.

Jn 14 13 Because I go to the Father: and whatsoever you shall ask the Father in my name, that will I do: that the Father may be glorified in the Son.

Jn 14 14 If you shall ask me any thing in my name, that I will do.

Jn 14 15 If you love me, keep my commandments.

Jn 14 16 And I will ask the Father: and he shall give you another Paraclete, that he may abide with you for ever:

Jn 14 17 The spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, nor knoweth him. But you shall know him; because he shall abide with you and shall be in you.

Jn 14 18 I will not leave you orphans: I will come to you.

Jn 14 19 Yet a little while and the world seeth me no more. But you see me: because I live, and you shall live.

Jn 14 20 In that day you shall know that I am in my Father: and you in me, and I in you.

Jn 14 21 He that hath my commandments and keepeth them; he it is that loveth me. And he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father: and I will love him and will manifest myself to him.

Jn 14 23 Jesus answered and said to him: If any one love me, he will keep my word. And my Father will love him and we will come to him and will make our abode with him.

Jn 14 24 He that loveth me not keepeth not my words. And the word which you have heard is not mine; but the Father's who sent me.

Jn 14 25 These things have I spoken to you, abiding with you.

Jn 14 26 But the Paraclete, the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he will teach you all things and bring all things to your mind, whatsoever I shall have said to you.

Jn 14 27 Peace I leave with you: my peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth, do I give unto you. Let not your heart be troubled: nor let it be afraid.

Jn 14 28 You have heard that I said to you: I go away, and I come unto you. If you loved me you would indeed be glad, because I go to the Father: for the Father is greater than I.

Jn 14 29 And now I have told you before it come to pass: that when it shall come to pass, you may believe.

Jn 14 30 I will not now speak many things with you. For the prince of this world: cometh: and in me he hath not any thing.

Jn 14 31 But that the world may know that I love the Father: and as the Father hath given me commandments, so do I. Arise, let us go hence.

Jn 15 1 I am the true vine: and my Father is the husbandman.

Jn 15 2 Every branch in me that beareth not fruit, he will take away: and every one that beareth fruit, he will purge it, that it may bring forth more fruit.

Jn 15 3 Now you are clean, by reason of the word which I have spoken to you.

Jn 15 4 Abide in me: and I in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, unless it abide in the vine, so neither can you, unless you abide in me.

Jn 15 5 I am the vine: you the branches. He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same beareth much fruit: for without me you can do nothing.

Jn 15 6 If any one abide not in me, he shall be cast forth as a branch and shall wither: and they shall gather him up and cast him into the fire: and he burneth.

Jn 15 7 If you abide in me and my words abide in you, you shall ask whatever you will: and it shall be done unto you.

Jn 15 8 In this is my Father glorified: that you bring forth very much fruit and become my disciples.

Jn 15 9 As the Father hath loved me, I also have loved you. Abide in my love.

Jn 15 10 If you keep my commandments, you shall abide in my love: as I also have kept my Father's commandments and do abide in his love.

Jn 15 11 These things I have spoken to you, that my joy may be in you, and your joy may be filled.

Jn 15 12 This is my commandment, that you love one another, as I have loved you.

Jn 15 13 Greater love than this no man hath, that a man lay down his life for his friends.

Jn 15 14 You are my friends, if you do the things that I command you.

Jn 15 15 I will not now call you servants: for the servant knoweth not what his lord doth. But I have called you friends. because all things, whatsoever I have heard of my Father, I have made known to you.

Jn 15 16 You have not chosen me: but I have chosen you; and have appointed you, that you should go and should bring forth fruit; and your fruit should remain: that whatsoever you shall ask of the Father in my name, he may give it you.

Jn 15 17 These things I command you, that you love one another.

Jn 15 18 If the world hate you, know ye that it hath hated me before you.

Jn 15 19 If you had been of the world, the world would love its own: but because you are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you.

Jn 15 20 Remember my word that I said to you: The servant is not greater than his master. If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you. If they have kept my word, they will keep yours also.

Jn 15 21 But all these things they will do to you for my name's sake: because they know not him that sent me.

Jn 15 22 If I had not come and spoken to them, they would not have sin: but now they have no excuse for their sin.

Jn 15 23 He that hateth me hateth my Father also.

Jn 15 24 If I had not done among them the works that no other man hath done, they would not have sin: but now they have both seen and hated both me and my Father.

Jn 15 25 But that the word may be fulfilled which is written in their law: they hated me without cause.

Jn 15 26 But when the Paraclete cometh, whom I will send you from the Father, the Spirit of truth, who proceedeth from the Father, he shall give testimony of me.

Jn 15 27 And you shall give testimony, because you are with me from the beginning.

Jn 16 1 These things have I spoken to you things have I spoken to you that you may not be scandalized.

Jn 16 2 They will put you out of the synagogues: yea, the hour cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doth a service to God.

Jn 16 3 And these things will they do to you; because they have not known the Father nor me.

Jn 16 4 But these things I have told you, that when the hour shall come, you may remember that I told you of them.

Jn 16 5 But I told you not these things from the beginning, because I was with you. And now I go to him that sent me, and none of you asketh me: Whither goest thou?

Jn 16 6 But because I have spoken these things to you, sorrow hath filled your heart.

Jn 16 7 But I tell you the truth: it is expedient to you that I go. For if I go not, the Paraclete will not come to you: but if I go, I will send him to you.

Jn 16 8 And when he is come, he will convince the world of sin and of justice and of judgement.

Jn 16 9 Of sin: because they believed not in me.

Jn 16 10 And of justice: because I go to the Father: and you shall see me no longer.

Jn 16 11 And of judgement: because the prince of this world is already judged.

Jn 16 12 I have yet many things to say to you: but you cannot bear them now.

Jn 16 13 But when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will teach you all truth. For he shall not speak of himself: but what things soever he shall hear, he shall speak. And the things that are to come, he shall shew you.

Jn 16 14 He shall glorify me: because he shall receive of mine and shall shew it to you.

Jn 16 15 All things whatsoever the Father hath are mine. Therefore I said that he shall receive of me and shew it to you.

Jn 16 16 A little while, and now you shall not see me: and again a little while, and you shall see me: because I go to the Father.

Jn 16 19 And Jesus knew that they had a mind to ask him. And he said to them: Of this do you inquire among yourselves, because I said: A little while, and you shall not see me; and again a little while, and you shall see me?

Jn 16 20 Amen, amen, I say to you, that you shall lament and weep, but the world shall rejoice: and you shall be made sorrowful, but your sorrow shall be turned into joy.

Jn 16 21 A woman, when she is in labour, hath sorrow, because her hour is come; but when she hath brought forth the child, she remembereth no more the anguish, for joy that a man is born into the world.

Jn 16 22 So also you now indeed have sorrow: but I will see you again and your heart shall rejoice. And your joy no man shall take from you.

Jn 16 23 And in that day you shall not ask me any thing. Amen, amen, I say to you: if you ask the Father any thing in my name, he will give it you.

Jn 16 24 Hitherto, you have not asked any thing in my name. Ask, and you shall receive; that your joy may be full.

Jn 16 25 These things I have spoken to you in proverbs. The hour cometh when I will no longer speak to you in proverbs, but will shew you plainly of the Father.

Jn 16 26 In that day, you shall ask in my name: and I say not to you that I will ask the Father for you.

Jn 16 27 For the Father himself loveth you, because you have loved me and have believed that I came out from God.

Jn 16 28 I came forth from the Father and am come into the world: again I leave the world and I go to the Father.

Jn 16 31 Jesus answered them: Do you now believe?

Jn 16 32 Behold, the hour cometh, and it is now come, that you shall be scattered every man to his own and shall leave me alone. And yet I am not alone, because the Father is with me.

Jn 16 33 These things I have spoken to you, that in me you may have peace. In the world you shall have distress. But have confidence. I have overcome the world.

Jn 17 1 These things Jesus spoke: and lifting up his eyes to heaven, he said: the hour is come. Glorify thy Son, that thy Son may glorify thee.

Jn 17 2 As thou hast given him power over all flesh, that he may give eternal life to all whom thou hast given him.

Jn 17 3 Now this is eternal life: That they may know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent.

Jn 17 4 I have glorified thee on the earth; I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do.

Jn 17 5 And now glorify thou me, O Father, with thyself, with the glory which I had, before the world was, with thee.

Jn 17 6 I have manifested thy name to the men whom thou hast given me out of the world. Thine they were: and to me thou gavest them. And they have kept thy word.

Jn 17 7 Now they have known that all things which thou hast given me are from thee:

Jn 17 8 Because the words which thou gavest me, I have given to them. And they have received them and have known in very deed that I came out from thee: and they have believed that thou didst send me.

Jn 17 9 I pray for them. I pray not for the world, but for them whom thou hast given me: because they are thine.

Jn 17 10 And all my things are thine, and thine are mine: and I am glorified in them.

Jn 17 11 And now I am not in the world, and these are in the world, and I come to thee. Holy Father, keep them in thy name whom thou hast given me: that they may be one, as we also are.

Jn 17 12 While I was with them, I kept them in thy name. Those whom thou gavest me have I kept: and none of them is lost, but the son of perdition: that the scripture may be fulfilled.

Jn 17 13 And now I come to thee: and these things I speak in the world, that they may have my joy filled in themselves.

Jn 17 14 I have given them thy word, and the world hath hated them: because they are not of the world, as I also am not of the world.

Jn 17 15 I pray not that thou shouldst take them out of the world, but that thou shouldst keep them from evil.

Jn 17 16 They are not of the world, as I also am not of the world.

Jn 17 17 Sanctify them in truth. Thy word is truth.

Jn 17 18 As thou hast sent me into the world, I also have sent them into the world.

Jn 17 19 And for them do I sanctify myself, that they also may be sanctified in truth.

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Jn 17 20 And not for them only do I pray, but for them also who through their word shall believe in me.
Jn 17 21 That they all may be one, as thou, Father, in me, and I in thee; that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that thou hast sent me.
Jn 17 22 And the glory which thou hast given me, I have given to them: that, they may be one, as we also are one.
Jn 17 23 I in them, and thou in me: that they may be made perfect in one: and the world may know that thou hast sent me and hast loved them, as thou hast also loved me.
Jn 17 24 Father, I will that where I am, they also whom thou hast given me may be with me: that they may see my glory which thou hast given me, because thou hast loved me before the creation of the world.
Jn 17 25 Just Father, the world hath not known thee: but I have known thee. And these have known that thou hast sent me.
Jn 17 26 And I have made known thy name to them and will make it known: that the love wherewith thou hast loved me may be in them, and I in them.
Jn 18 4 Jesus therefore, knowing all things that should come upon him, went forth and said to them: Whom seek ye?
Jn 18 5 They answered him: Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus saith to them: I am he. And Judas also, who betrayed him, stood with them.
Jn 18 6 As soon therefore as he had said to them: I am he; they went backward and fell to the ground.
Jn 18 7 Again therefore he asked them: Whom seek ye? And they said: Jesus of Nazareth.
Jn 18 8 Jesus answered: I have told you that I am he. If therefore you seek me, let these go their way,
Jn 18 9 That the word might be fulfilled which he said: Of them whom thou hast given me, I have not lost any one.
Jn 18 11 Jesus therefore said to Peter: Put up thy sword into the scabbard. The chalice which my father hath given me, shall I not drink it?
Jn 18 20 Jesus answered him: I have spoken openly to the world. I have always taught in the synagogue and in the temple, whither all the Jews resort: and in secret I have spoken nothing.
Jn 18 21 Why askest thou me? Ask them who have heard what I have spoken unto them. Behold they know what things I have said.
Jn 18 23 Jesus answered him: If I have spoken evil, give testimony of the evil; but if well, why strikest thou me?
Jn 18 34 Jesus answered: Sayest thou this thing of thyself, or have others told it thee of me?
Jn 18 36 Jesus answered: My kingdom is not of this world. If my kingdom were of this world, my servants would certainly strive that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now my kingdom is not from hence.
Jn 18 37 Pilate therefore said to him: Art thou a king then? Jesus answered: Thou sayest that I am a king. For this was I born, and for this came I into the world; that I should give testimony to the truth. Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice.

Jn 19 11 Jesus answered: Thou shouldst not have any power against me, unless it were given thee from above. Therefore, he that hath delivered me to thee hath the greater sin.
Jn 19 26 When Jesus therefore had seen his mother and the disciple standing whom he loved, he saith to his mother: Woman, behold thy son.
Jn 19 27 After that, he saith to the disciple: Behold thy mother. And from that hour, the disciple took her to his own.
Jn 19 28 Afterwards, Jesus knowing that all things were now accomplished, that the scripture might be fulfilled, said: I thirst.
Jn 19 30 Jesus therefore, when he had taken the vinegar, said: It is consummated. And bowing his head, he gave up the ghost.
Jn 20 15 Jesus saith to her: Woman, why weepest thou? Whom seekest thou? She, thinking that it was the gardener, saith to him: Sir, if thou hast taken him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him: and I will take him away.
Jn 20 16 Jesus saith to her: Mary. She turning, saith to him: Rabboni (which is to say, Master).
Jn 20 17 Jesus saith to her: Do not touch me: for I am not yet ascended to my Father. But go to my brethren and say to them: I ascend to my Father and to your Father, to my God and to your God.
Jn 20 19 Now when it was late the same day, the first of the week, and the doors were shut, where the disciples were gathered together, for fear of the Jews, Jesus came and stood in the midst and said to them: Peace be to you.
Jn 20 21 He said therefore to them again: Peace be to you. As the Father hath sent me, I also send you.
Jn 20 22 When he had said this, he breathed on them; and he said to them: Receive ye the Holy Ghost.
Jn 20 23 Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them: and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained.
Jn 20 26 And after eight days, again his disciples were within, and Thomas with them. Jesus cometh, the doors being shut, and stood in the midst and said: Peace be to you.
Jn 20 27 Then he said to Thomas: Put in thy finger hither and see my hands. And bring hither the hand and put it into my side. And be not faithless, but believing.
Jn 20 29 Jesus saith to him: Because thou hast seen me, Thomas, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen and have believed.
Jn 21 5 Jesus therefore said to them: Children, have you any meat? They answered him: No.
Jn 21 6 He saith to them: Cast the net on the right side of the ship; and you shall find. They cast therefore: and now they were not able to draw it, for the multitude of fishes.
Jn 21 10 Jesus saith to them: Bring hither of the fishes which you have now caught.
Jn 21 12 Jesus saith to them: Come and dine. And none of them who were at meat, durst ask him: Who art thou? Knowing that it was the Lord.
Jn 21 15 When therefore they had dined, Jesus saith to Simon Peter: Simon, son of John, lovest thou me more than these? He saith to him: Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith to him: Feed my lambs.
Jn 21 16 He saith to him again: Simon, son of John, lovest thou me? He saith to him: yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith to him: Feed my lambs.
Jn 21 17 He said to him the third time: Simon, son of John, lovest thou me? Peter was grieved because he had said to him the third time: Lovest thou me? And he said to him: Lord, thou knowest all things: thou knowest that I love thee. He said to him: Feed my sheep.
Jn 21 18 Amen, amen, I say to thee, When thou wast younger, thou didst gird thyself and didst walk where thou wouldst. But when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee and lead thee whither thou wouldst not.
Jn 21 19 And this he said, signifying by what death he should glorify God. And when he had said this, he saith to him: Follow me.
Jn 21 22 Jesus saith to him: So I will have him to remain till I come, what is it to thee? Follow thou me.
Jn 21 23 This saying therefore went abroad among the brethren, that that disciple should not die. And Jesus did not say to him: He should not die; but: So I will have him to remain till I come, what is it to thee?
Ac 1 4 And eating together with them, he commanded them, that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but should wait for the promise of the Father, which you have heard (saith he) by my mouth.
Ac 1 5 For John indeed baptized with water: but you shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost, not many days hence.
Ac 1 7 But he said to them: It is not for you to know the time or moments, which the Father hath put in his own power:
Ac 1 8 But you shall receive the power of the Holy Ghost coming upon you, and you shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and Samaria, and even to the uttermost part of the earth.
Ac 9 4 And falling on the ground, he heard a voice saying to him: Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?
Ac 9 5 Who said: Who art thou, Lord? And he: I am Jesus whom thou persecutest. It is hard for thee to kick against the goad.
Ac 9 7 And the Lord said to him: Arise and go into the city; and there it shall be told thee what thou must do. Now the men who went in company with him stood amazed, hearing indeed a voice but seeing no man.
Ac 9 10 Now there was a certain disciple at Damascus, named Ananias. And the Lord said to him in a vision: Ananias, And he said: Behold I am here, Lord.
Ac 9 11 And the Lord said to him: Arise and go into the street that is called Strait and seek in the house of Judas, one named Saul of Tarsus. For behold he prayeth.
Ac 9 12 (And he saw a man named Ananias coming in and putting his hands upon him, that he might receive his sight.)
Ac 9 15 And the Lord said to him: Go thy way: for this man is to me a vessel of election, to carry my name before the Gentiles and kings and the children of Israel.
Ac 9 16 For I will shew him how great things he must suffer for my name's sake.
Ac 11 16 And I remembered the word of the Lord, how that he said: John indeed baptized with water but you shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost.
Ac 18 9 And the Lord said to Paul in the night, by a vision: Do not fear, but speak. And hold not thy peace,
Ac 18 10 Because I am with thee and no man shall set upon thee, to hurt thee. For I have much people in this city.
Ac 20 35 I have shewed you all things, how that so labouring you ought to support the weak and to remember the word of the Lord Jesus, how he said: It is a more blessed thing to give, rather than to receive.
Ac 22 7 And falling on the ground, I heard a voice saying to me: Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?
Ac 22 8 And I answered: Who art thou, Lord? And he said to me: I am Jesus of Nazareth, whom thou persecutest.
Ac 22 10 And I said: What shall I do, Lord? And the Lord said to me: Arise and go to Damascus; and there it shall be told thee of all things that thou must do.
Ac 22 18 And saw him saying unto me: Make haste and get thee quickly out of Jerusalem: because they will not receive thy testimony concerning me.
Ac 22 21 And he said to me: Go, for unto the Gentiles afar off will I send thee.
Ac 23 11 And the night following, the Lord standing by him, said: Be constant: for as thou hast testified of me in Jerusalem, so must thou bear witness also at Rome.
Ac 26 14 And when we were all fallen down on the ground, I heard a voice speaking to me in the Hebrew tongue: Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? It is hard for thee to kick against the goad.
Ac 26 15 And I said: Who art thou, Lord? And the Lord answered: I am Jesus whom thou persecutest.
Ac 26 16 But rise up and stand upon thy feet: for to this end have I appeared to thee, that I may make thee a minister and a witness of those things which thou hast seen and of those things wherein I will appear to thee,
Ac 26 17 Delivering thee from the people and from the nations unto which now I send thee:
Ac 26 18 To open their eyes, that they may be converted from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins and a lot among the saints, by the faith that is in me.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF PAUL AND SENECA
or: The Letters of Paul and Seneca
or: Paul's Epistles to Seneca the Younger
From "The Apocryphal New Testament", Oxford, 1924
Translation: M.R. James, 1924
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd to 4th centuries A.D.

(The Correspondence of (or between) Paul and Seneca, also known as the Letters of Paul and Seneca or Epistle to Seneca the Younger, is a collection of correspondence claiming to be between Paul the Apostle [Saul of Tarsos] to Seneca the Younger. There are 8 epistles from Seneca, and 6 replies from Paul.

The letters are of old origin, but they are from the 2nd to the 4th century rather than from the 1st. Jerome of Stridon (Greek: Eusebios Sophronios Hieronymos; c. 347–420 AD), the theologian, and Church historian mentioned them in his De Viris Illustribus (chap. 12). Augustine of Hippo (Latin: Aurelius Augustinus Hipponensis; 354–430 AD), the theologian, philosopher, and bishop of Hippo Regius in Numidia, Roman North Africa, also, quoting the genuine Seneca, says, 'of whom some letters to the apostle Paul are current read'. The Pseudo-Linus inserts a paragraph in his Passion of Paul telling how Seneca frequently conversed and corresponded with Paul, admired him much, and read some of his writings to Nero. And so, until the Renaissance, the epistles were seen as genuine, but scholars began to critically examine them in the 15th century, and had doubts. Today they are universally held to be forged.

Joseph Barber Lightfoot (1828–1889), known as J. B. Lightfoot, the English theologian and Bishop of Durham noted: "The poverty of thought and style, the errors in chronology and history, and the whole conception of the relative positions of the Stoic philosopher and the Christian Apostle, betray clearly the hand of a forger." His last point, that Stoicism and Christianity would not match, is wrong. The teachings of Christianity are largely based on Stoicism. That is the reason why the characters Paul and Seneca have been chosen in the first place. Philip Schaff in his history said: "They are very poor in thought and style, full of errors of chronology and history, and [therefore] undoubtedly a forgery."

gain, Lightfoot said (and here, he might be right): "This correspondence was probably forged in the fourth century, either to recommend Seneca to Christian readers or to recommend Christianity to students of Seneca. As they are now universally allowed to be spurious, it will be unnecessary to state at length the grounds of their condemnation. It is sufficient to say that the letters are inane and unworthy throughout; that the style of either correspondent is unlike his genuine writings; that the relations between the two, as there represented, are highly improbable; and lastly, that the chronological notices (which however are absent in some important Manuscripts) are wrong in almost every instance. Thus, independently of the unbroken silence of three centuries and a half about this correspondence, internal evidence alone is sufficient to condemn them hopelessly."

M.R. James, wrote in 1924: "Manuscripts as old as the ninth century exist, and of the twelfth--fifteenth centuries there are many. The composition is of the poorest kind: only its celebrity induces me to translate it once again."

There is one important question: Why bothered anyone to write forgeries? The answer is as short as compelling: To make the Pauline Roman Church appear legitimate. Between the 2nd and the 4th centuries, that Church was fighting a vicous war of faith against Gnostics, Jews, Manichaeans, Mandaeans, and in particular against the "Judaisers", who represented as followers of the real Jesus, his brother James

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[the very first leader of the Christian Movement] and their descendants the Ebionites, an irritating threat. That could not be allowed to happen. All those who preached a teaching different from the Roman state Church were persecuted as heretics and apostates. The bureaucratic apparatus of the Roman Imperial Cult [the Roman Ministery of Religion] slipped gradually into the hands of the Roman Church and with it she used all powers at her disposal to get rid of the "traitors", by exiling these heretics, and, if necessary, also by killing them. This is the real background of the so-called Persecutions of Christians.)

Texts:

1. SENECA TO PAUL, greeting

I believe, Paul, that you have been informed of the talk which I had yesterday with my Lucilius about the apocrypha (or possibly the secret mysteries) and other things; for certain sharers in your teaching were with me. For we had retired to the gardens of Sallust, where, because of us, those whom I speak of, going in another direction, saw and joined us. Certainly we wished for your presence, and I would have you know it. We were much refreshed by the reading of your book, by which I mean some of the many letters which you have addressed to some city or capital of a province, and which inculcate the moral life with admirable precepts. These thoughts, I take it, are not uttered by you but through you, but surely sometimes both by you and through you: for such is the greatness of them and they are instinct (warm) with such nobility, that I think whole generations (ages) of men could hardly suffice for the instilling and perfecting of them. I desire your good health, brother.

2. PAUL TO SENECA, greeting

I received your letter yesterday with delight, and should have been able to answer it at once, had I had by me the youth I meant to send to you. For you know when, and by whom, and at what moment, and to whom things ought to be given and entrusted. I beg, therefore, that you will not think yourself neglected, when I am respecting the dignity of your person. Now in that you somewhere write that you are pleased with my letter (or, write that you are pleased with part of my letter) I think myself happy in the good opinion of such a man: for you would not say it, you, a critic, a sophist, the teacher of a great prince, and indeed of all -unless you spoke truth. I trust you may long be in health.

3. SENECA TO PAUL, greeting

I have arranged some writings in a volume, and given them their proper divisions: I am also resolved to read them to Caesar, if only fortune be kind, that he may bring a new (an interested) ear to the hearing. Perhaps you, too, will be there. If not, I will at another time fix you a day, that we may look over the work together: indeed, I could not produce this writing to him, without first conferring with you, if only that could be done without risk: that you may know that you are not being neglected. Farewell, dearest Paul.

4. PAUL TO ANNAEUS SENECA, greeting

Whenever I hear your letters read, I think of you as present, and imagine nothing else but that you are always with us. As soon, then, as you begin to come, we shall see each other at close quarters. I desire your good health.

5. SENECA TO PAUL, greeting

We are much pained by your retirement. What is it what causes keep you away if it be the anger of the lady (Poppaea) because you have left the old rite and sect, and have converted others, there will be a possibility of pleading with her, that she may consider it as done on due reflection and not lightly.

6. PAUL TO SENECA AND LUCILIUS, greeting

Of the subject on which you have written I must not speak with pen and ink, of which the former marks out and draws somewhat, and the latter shows it clearly, especially as I know that among you -that is, in your homes and in you- there are those who understand me. Honour is to be paid to all, and so much the more because men catch at opportunities of being offended. If we are patient with them, we shall certainly overcome them at every point, provided they be men who can be sorry for their actions. Farewell.

7. ANNAEUS SENECA TO PAUL AND THEOPHILUS, greeting

I profess myself well content with the reading of your letters which you sent to the Galatians, Corinthians, and Achaeans; and may we so live together as you show yourself to be inspired with the divine frenzy (horror). For it is the holy spirit which is in you and high above you which expresses these exalted and adorable thoughts. I would therefore have you careful of other points, that the polish of the style may not be wanting to the majesty of the thought. And, brother, not to conceal anything from you, and have it on my conscience, I confess to you that the Augustus was moved by your views. When I read to him the beginning of the power (virtue) that is in you (perhaps he meant your exordium about virtue) his words were these: that he could wonder that a man not regularly educated could think thus. I replied that the gods often speak by the mouths of the simple (innocent), not of those who try deceitfully to show what they can do by their learning. And when I cited him the example of Vatienus the rustic, to whom two men appeared in the territory of Reate, who afterwards were recognized as Castor and Pollux, he appeared fully convinced. Farewell.

8. PAUL TO SENECA, greeting

Though I am aware that Caesar, even if he sometimes lapses, is a lover of our wonders, you will suffer yourself to be, not wounded but admonished. For I think that you took a very serious step in bringing to his notice a matter alien to his religion and training. For since he is a worshipper of the gods of the nations, I do not see why you thought you would wish him to know this matter, unless I am to think that you did it out of excessive attachment to me. I beg you not to do so in future; For you must be careful not to offend the empress in your love for me: yet her anger will not hurt us if it lasts, nor do good if it does not [this is nonsense]. As a queen, she will not be angry: as a woman, she will be offended. Farewell.

9. SENECA TO PAUL, greeting

I know that you are not so much disturbed on your own account by my letter to you on the showing of your letters to Caesar, as by the nature of things, which so calls away the minds of men from all right learning and conduct -so that I am not surprised, for I have learnt this for certain by many examples. Let us then act differently, and if in the past anything has been done carelessly, you will pardon it. I have sent you a book on elegance of expression (store of words). Farewell, dearest Paul.

10. TO SENECA, PAUL, greeting

Whenever I write to you and do not place my name after yours (see the heading) I do a serious thing and one unbefitting my persuasion (sect). For I ought, as I have often declared, to be all things to all men, and to observe in your person that which the Roman law has granted to the honour of the senate, and choose the last place in writing (text, reading) a letter, not striving to do as I please in a confused and disgraceful way. Farewell, most devoted of masters. Given on the 5th of the kalends of July; Nero the fourth time, and Messala, consuls (A. D. 58).

11. SENECA TO PAUL, greeting

Hail, my dearest Paul. If you, so great a man, so beloved in all ways, be -I say not joined- but intimately associated with me and my name, it will indeed be well with your Seneca. Since then, you are the summit and topmost peak of all people, would you not have me glad that I am so near you as to be counted a second self of yours Do not, then, think that you are unworthy to be named first on the heading of letters, lest you make me think you are testing me rather than playing with me -especially as you know yourself to be a Roman citizen. For the rank that is mine, I would it were yours, and yours I would were mine. Farewell, dearest Paul. Given on the 10th of the kalends of April; Apronianus and Capito consuls (59 AD).

12. SENECA TO PAUL, greeting

Hail, my dearest Paul. Think you that I am not in sadness and grief, that your innocent people are so often condemned to suffer And next, that the whole people thinks you so callous and so prone to crime, that you are supposed to be the authors of every misfortune in the city Yet let us bear it patiently and content ourselves with what fortune brings, until supreme happiness puts an end to our troubles. Former ages had to bear the Macedonian, Philip's son, and, after Darius, Dionysius, and our own times endured Gaius Caesar: to all of whom their will was law. The source of the many fires which Rome suffers plain. But if humble men could speak out what the reason is, and if it were possible to speak without risk in this dark time, all would be plain to all. Christians and Jews are commonly executed as contrivers of the fire. Whoever the criminal is whose pleasure is that of a butcher, and who veils himself with a lie, he is reserved for his due season: and as the best of men is sacrificed, the one for the many, so he, vowed to death for all, will be burned with fire. A hundred and thirty-two houses and four blocks have been burnt in six days, the seventh brought a pause. I pray you may be well, brother. Given the 5th of the kalends of April; Frugi and Bassus consuls (64).

13. SENECA TO PAUL, greeting

Much in every part of your works is enclosed in allegory and enigma, and therefore the great force that is given you of matter and talent () should be beautified, I do not say with elegance of words, but with a certain care. Nor should you fear what I remember you have often said; that many who affect such things vitiate the thought and emasculate the strength of the matter. But I wish you would yield to me and humour the genius of Latin, and give beauty to your noble words, that the great gift that has been granted you may be worthily treated by you. Farewell.

Given on the day before the nones of June; Leo and Sabinus consuls (non-existent).

14. PAUL TO SENECA, greeting

To your meditations have been revealed those things which the Godhead has granted to few. With confidence, therefore, I sow in a field already fertile a most prolific seed, not such matter as is liable to corruption, but the abiding word, an emanation from God who grows and abides for ever. This your wisdom has attained and you will see that it is unfailing - so as to judge that the laws of heathens and Israelites are to be shunned. You may become a new author, by showing forth with the graces of rhetoric the unblameable wisdom of Jesus Christ, which you, having well nigh attained it, will instil into the temporal monarch, his servants, and his intimate friends, yet the persuading of them will be a rough and difficult task, for many of them will hardly incline to your admonitions. Yet the word of God, if it be instilled into them, will be a vital gain, producing a new man, incorrupt, and an everlasting soul that shall hasten from hence to God. Farewell, Seneca, most dear to me.

Given on the kalends of August; Leo and Sabinus consuls.

THE BOOK OF MORMON

Another Testament of Jesus Christ.
An Account Written By The Hand Of Mormon,
Upon Plates Taken From The Plates Of Nephi.
By Joseph Smith, Junior, Author And Proprietor.
Palmyra: Printed By E. B. Grandin, For The Author. 1830
Estimated Range of Dating: 1820-1830 A.D.

(The Book of Mormon is a sacred text of the Latter Day Saint movement, the so-called Mormons. They claim that the book was made by ancient prophets who lived on the American continent from approximately 2200 BC to AD 421. It was first published in March 1830 by Joseph Smith as The Book of Mormon: An Account Written by the Hand of Mormon upon Plates Taken from the Plates of Nephi.

Smith's claims that the Book of Mormon was originally written in otherwise unknown characters referred to as "reformed Egyptian" engraved on golden plates. He said that the last prophet to contribute to the book, a man named Moroni, buried it in the Hill Cumorah in present-day Manchester, New York, then returned to Earth in 1827 as an angel, revealing the location of the plates to Smith, and instructing him to translate it into English for use in the restoration of Christ's true church in the latter days.

The Book of Mormon is divided into smaller books, titled after the individuals named as primary authors and, in most versions, divided into chapters and verses. It contains: 1 Nephi, 2 Nephi, Jacob, Enos, Jarom, Omni, Words of Mormon, Mosiah, Alma, Helaman, 3 Nephi, 4 Nephi, Book of Mormon, Ether, Moroni, Three Witnesses, Eight Witnesses.

It is written in English very similar to the Early Modern English linguistic style of the King James Version of the Bible. The Book of Mormon has a number of original and distinctive doctrinal discussions on subjects such as the fall of Adam and Eve, the nature of the Atonement, eschatology, redemption from physical and spiritual death, and the organisation of the latter-day church. The pivotal event of the book is an appearance of Jesus Christ in the Americas shortly after his resurrection. The book has been fully or partially translated into 108 languages. As of 2011, more than 150 million copies of the Book of Mormon had been published.

Archaeological, historical and scientific experts generally reject the claims that the Book of Mormon is an ancient record of actual historical events, stating that it was fabricated by Smith, drawing on material and ideas from contemporary 19th-century works rather than translating an ancient record.

The Book of Mormon has been analyzed by Mark Twain: "The author labored to give his words and phrases the quaint, old-fashioned sound and structure of our King James's translation of the Scriptures; and the result is a mongrel -- half modern glibness, and half ancient simplicity and gravity. The latter is awkward and constrained; the former natural, but grotesque by the contrast. Whenever he found his speech growing too modern -- which was about every sentence or two -- he ladled in a few such Scriptural phrases as "exceeding sore," "and it came to pass," etc., and made things satisfactory again. "And it came to pass" was his pet. If he had left that out, his Bible would have been only a pamphlet." -- Mark Twain, Roughing It, Chapter 16)

PREFACE

To the Reader: As many false reports have been circulated respecting the following work, and also many unlawful

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measures taken by evil designing persons to destroy me, and also the work, I would inform you that I translated, by the gift and power of God, and caused to be written, one hundred and sixteen pages, the which I took from the Book of Lehi, which was an account abridged from the plates of Lehi, by the hand of Mormon; which said account, some person or persons have stolen and kept from me, notwithstanding my utmost exertions to recover it again -- and being commanded of the Lord that I should not translate the same over again, for Satan had put it into their hearts to tempt the Lord their God, by altering the words that they did read contrary from that which I translated and caused to be written; and if I should bring forth the same words again, or, in other words, if I should translate the same over again, they would publish that which they had stolen, and Satan would stir up the hearts of this generation, that they might not receive this work: but behold the Lord said unto me, I will not suffer that Satan shall accomplish his evil design in this thing: therefore thou shalt translate from the plates of Nephi, until ye come to that which ye have translated, which ye have retained; and behold ye shall publish it as a record of Nephi; and thus I will confound those who have altered my words. I will not suffer that they shall destroy my work; yea, I will shew unto them that my wisdom is greater then the cunning of the Devil. Wherefore, to be obedient unto the commandments of God, I have, through his grace and mercy, accomplished that which he hath commanded me respecting this thing. I would also inform you that the plates of which hath been spoken, were found in the township of Manchester, Ontario county, New-York. The Author.

THREE WITNESSES

The Testimony Of Three Witnesses.

Be it known unto all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people, unto whom this work shall come, that we, through the grace of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, have seen the plates which contain this record, which is a record of the people of Nephi, and also of the Lamanites, their brethren, and also of the people of Jared, which came from the tower of which hath been spoken. And we also know that they have been translated by the gift and power of God, for his voice hath declared it unto us; wherefore we know of a surety that the work is true. And we also testify that we have seen the engravings which are upon the plates; and they have been shewn unto us by the power of God, and not of man. And we declare with words of soberness, that an Angel of God came down from heaven, and he brought and laid before our eyes, that we beheld and saw the plates, and the engravings thereon; and we know that it is by the grace of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, that we beheld and bear record that these things are true; and it is marvellous in our eyes. Nevertheless, the voice of the Lord commanded us that we should bear record of it; wherefore, to be obedient unto the commandments of God, we bear testimony of these things. -- And we know that if we are faithful in Christ, we shall rid our garments of the blood of all men, and be found spotless before the judgementseat of Christ, and shall dwell with him eternally in the heavens. And the honor be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, which is one God. Amen. Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, Martin Harris.

EIGHT WITNESSES

And Also The Testimony Of Eight Witnesses.

Be it known unto all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people, unto whom this work shall come, that Joseph Smith, Jr., the Author and Proprietor of this work, has shewn unto us the plates of which hath been spoken, which have the appearance of gold; and as many of the leaves as the said Smith has translated we did handle with our hands; and we also saw the engravings thereon, all of which has the appearance of ancient work, and of curious workmanship. And this we bear record, with words of soberness, that the said Smith has shown unto us, for we have seen and hefted, and know of a surety, that the said Smith has got the plates of which we have spoken. And we give our names unto the world, to witness unto the world that which we have seen: and we lie not, God bearing witness of it. Christian Whitmer, Jacob Whitmer, Peter Whitmer, Jr., John Whitmer, Hiram Page, Joseph Smith, Sen., Hyrum Smith, Samuel H. Smith.

MORMON 1 NEPHI CHAPTER 1

His Reign And Ministry.

An account of Lehi and his wife Sariah, and his four Sons, being called, (beginning at the eldest,) Laman, Lemuel, Sam, and Nephi. The Lord warns Lehi to depart out of the land of Jerusalem, because he prophesieth unto the people concerning their iniquity; and they seek to destroy his life. He taketh three days journey into the wilderness with his family. Nephi taketh his brethren and returns to the land of Jerusalem after the record of the Jews. The account of their sufferings. They take the daughters of Ishmael to wife. They take their families and depart into the wilderness. Their sufferings and afflictions in the wilderness. The course of their travels. They come to the large waters. Nephi's brethren rebelled against him. He confounded them, and buildeth a Ship. They call the place Bountiful. They cross the large waters into the promised land, &c. This is according to the account of Nephi; or in other words, I Nephi wrote this record.

I, Nephi, having been born of goodly parents, therefore I was taught somewhat in all the learning of my father; and having seen many afflictions in the course of my days -- nevertheless, having been highly favored of the Lord in all my days; yea, having had a great knowledge of the goodness and the mysteries of God, therefore I make a record of my proceedings in my days; yea, I make a record in the language of my father, which consists of the learning of the Jews and the language of the Egyptians. And I know that the record which I make, to be true; and I make it with mine own hand; and I make it according to my knowledge.

For it came to pass in the commencement of the first year of the reign of Zedekiah, king of Judah, (my father Lehi having dwelt at Jerusalem in all his days;) and in that same year there came many prophets, prophesying unto the people, that they must repent, or the great city Jerusalem must be destroyed.

Wherefore it came to pass, that my father Lehi, as he went forth, prayed unto the Lord, yea, even with all his heart, in behalf of his people.

And it came to pass, as he prayed unto the Lord, there came a pillar of fire and dwelt upon a rock before him; and he saw and heard, he did quake and tremble exceedingly.

And it came to pass that he returned to his own house at Jerusalem; and he cast himself upon his bed, being overcome with the spirit and the things which he had seen; and being thus overcome with the spirit, he was carried away in a vision, even that he saw the Heavens open; and he thought he saw God sitting upon his throne, surrounded with numberless concourses of angels in the attitude of singing and praising their God.

And it came to pass that he saw one descending out of the midst of Heaven, and he beheld that his lustre was above that of the sun at noon-day; and he also saw twelve others following him, and their brightness did exceed that of the stars in the firmament; and they came down and went forth upon the face of the earth; and the first came and stood before my father, and gave unto him a Book, and bade him that he should read.

And it came to pass as he read, he was filled with the spirit of the Lord, and he read saying, Wo, wo unto Jerusalem! for I have seen thine abominations; yea, and many things did my father read concerning Jerusalem -- that it should be destroyed, and the inhabitants thereof, many should perish by the sword, and many should be carried away captive into Babylon.

And it came to pass that when my father had read and saw many great and marvellous things, he did exclaim many things unto the Lord; such as, Great and marvellous are thy works, O Lord God Almighty! Thy throne is high in the Heavens, and the power and goodness, and mercy is over all the inhabitants of the earth; and because thou art merciful, thou wilt not suffer those who come unto thee that they shall perish! And after this manner was the language of my father in the praising of his God; for his soul did rejoice, and his whole heart was filled, because of the things which he had seen; yea, which the Lord had shewn unto him. And now I, Nephi, do not make a full account of the things which my father hath written, for he hath written many things which he saw in visions and in dreams; and he also hath written many things which he prophesied and spake unto his children, of which I shall not make a full account; but I will make an account of my proceedings in my days -- Behold I make an abridgement of the record of my father, upon plates which I have made with mine own hands; wherefore, after that I have abridged the record of my father, then will I make an account of mine own life.

Therefore, I would that ye should know that after the Lord had shewn marvellous things unto my father Lehi, yea, concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, behold he went forth among the people and began to prophesy and to declare unto them concerning the things which he had both seen and heard.

And it came to pass that the Jews did not mock him because of the things which he testified of them; for he truly testified of their wickedness and their abominations; and he testified that the things which he saw and heard, and also the things which he read in the Book, manifested plainly of the coming of a Messiah, and also the redemption of the world.

And when the Jews heard these things, they were angry with him; yea, even as with the prophets of old, whom they had cast out and stoned and slain; and they also sought his life, that they might take it away. But behold, I, Nephi will shew unto you that the tender mercies of the Lord is over all them whom he hath chosen, because of their faith, to make them mighty even unto the power of deliverance.

For behold it came to pass that the Lord spake unto my father., yea, even in a dream, and sayeth unto him, Blessed art thou Lehi, because of the things which thou hast done; and because thou hast been faithful and declared unto this people the things which I commanded thee, behold they seek to take away thy life.

And it came to pass that the Lord commanded my father even in a dream, that he should take his family and depart into the wilderness. And it came to pass that he was obedient unto the word of the Lord, wherefore he did as the Lord commanded him.

And it came to pass that he departed into the wilderness. -- And he left his house, and the land of his inheritance, and his gold, and his silver, and his precious things, and took nothing with him save it were his family, and provisions, and tents, and he departed into the wilderness; and he came down by the borders near the shore of the Red Sea; and he travelled in the wilderness, in the borders, which was nearer the Red Sea; and he did travel in the wilderness with his family, which consisted of my mother, Sariah, and my elder brothers, which were Laman, Lemuel and Sam.

And it came to pass that when he had travelled three days in the wilderness, he pitched his tent in a valley beside a river of water. And it came to pass that he built an altar of stones, and he made an offering unto the Lord, and gave thanks unto the Lord our God. And it came to pass that he called the name of the river Laman, and it emptied into the Red Sea; and the valley was in the borders near the mouth thereof. And when my father saw that the waters of the river emptied into the fountain of the Red Sea, he spake unto Laman, saying: O that thou mightest be like unto this river, continually running into the fountain of all righteousness. And he also spake unto Lemuel: O that thou mightest be like unto this valley, firm, and steadfast, and immoveable in keeping the commandments of the Lord. Now this he spake because of the stiffneckedness of Laman and Lemuel; for behold; they did murmur in many things against their father, because that he was a visionary man, and that he had led them out of the land of Jerusalem, to leave the land of their inheritance, and their gold, and their silver, and their precious things, and to perish in the wilderness. And this they said he had done because of the foolish imaginations of his heart. And thus Laman and Lemuel, being the eldest, did murmur against their father. -- And they did murmur because they knew not the dealings of that God who had created them. Neither did they believe that Jerusalem, that great city, could be destroyed according to the words of the prophets. And they were like unto the Jews, which were at Jerusalem, which sought to take away the life of my father.

And it came to pass that my father did speak unto them in the valley of Lemuel, with power, being filled with the spirit, until their frames did shake before him. And he did confound them, that they durst not utter against him; wherefore they did do as he commanded them. And my father dwelt in a tent.

And it came to pass that I, Nephi, being exceeding young, nevertheless being large in stature, and also having great desires to know of the mysteries of God, wherefore I did cry unto the Lord; and behold he did visit me, and did soften my heart that I did believe all the words which had been spoken by my father; wherefore I did not rebel against him like unto my brothers. And I spake unto Sam, making known unto him the things which the Lord had manifested unto me by his Holy Spirit.

And it came to pass that he believed in my words; but behold Laman and Lemuel would not hearken unto my words: And being grieved because of the hardness of their hearts, I cried unto the Lord for them.

And it came to pass that the Lord spake unto me, saying: Blessed art thou, Nephi, because of thy faith, for thou hast sought me diligently, with lowiness of heart. And inasmuch as ye shall keep my commandments, ye shall prosper, and shall be led to a land of promise; yea, even a land which I have prepared for you; yea, a land which is choice above all other lands. And inasmuch as thy brethren shall rebel against thee, they shall be cut off from the presence of the Lord. And inasmuch as thou shalt keep my commandments, thou shalt be made a ruler and a teacher over thy brethren. For behold, in that day that they shall rebel against me. I will curse them even with a sore curse, and they shall have no power over thy seed, except they shall rebel against me also. And if it so be that they rebel against me, they shall be a scourge unto thy seed, to stir them up in the ways of remembrance.

And it came to pass that I, Nephi, returned from speaking with the Lord, to the tent of my father. And it came to pass that he spake unto me, saying: Behold I have dreamed a dream, in the which the Lord hath commanded me that thou and thy brethren shall return to Jerusalem. For behold, Laban hath the record of the Jews, and also a genealogy of my forefathers, and they are engraven upon the plates of brass. Wherefore the Lord hath commanded me that thou and thy brothers should go unto the house of Laban, and seek the records, and bring them down hither into the wilderness. And now, behold, thy brothers murmur, saying: It is a hard thing which I have required of them; but behold I have not required it of them, but it is commanded of the Lord. Therefore go, my son, and thou shalt be favored of the Lord, because thou hast not murmured.

And it came to pass, that I, Nephi, said unto my father, I will go and do the things which the Lord hath commanded, for I know that the Lord giveth no commandments unto the

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children of men, save he shall prepare a way for them that they may accomplish the thing which he commandeth them.

And it came to pass that when my father had heard these words, he was exceeding glad, for he knew that I had been blessed of the Lord. And I, Nephi, and my brethren, took our journey in the wilderness with our tents, to go up to the land of Jerusalem.

And it came to pass that when we had come up to the land of Jerusalem, I and my brethren did consult one with another; and we cast lots, which of us should go in unto the house of Laban. And it came to pass that the lot fell upon Laman; and Laman went in unto the house of Laban and he talked with him as he sat in his house. And he desired of Laban the records which were engraven upon the plates of brass, which contained the genealogy of my father.

And behold, it came to pass that Laban was angry, and thrust him out of his presence; and he would not that he should have records. Wherefore he said unto him, behold thou art a robber, and I will slay thee. But Laman fled out of his presence, and told the things which Laban had done, unto us. And we began to be exceeding sorrowful, and my brethren were about to return unto my father in the wilderness. But behold I said unto them, that as the Lord liveth, and as we live, we will not go down unto our father in the wilderness, until we have accomplished the thing which the Lord hath commanded us. Wherefore let us be faithful in keeping the commandments of the Lord; therefore let us go down to the land of our father's inheritance, for behold he left gold and silver, and all manner of riches. And all this he hath done, because of the commandments of the Lord: for he knowing that Jerusalem must be destroyed, because of the wickedness of the people.

For behold, they have rejected the words of the prophets -- Wherefore if my father should dwell in the land after that he hath been commanded to flee out of the land, behold he would also perish. Wherefore it must needs be that he flee out of the land. And behold, it is wisdom in God that we should obtain these records, that we might preserve unto our children the language of our fathers; and also that we may preserve unto them the words which have been spoken by the mouth of all the holy prophets, which have been delivered unto them by the spirit and power of God, since the world began, even down unto the present time.

And it came to pass that after this manner of language did I persuade my brethren, that they might be faithful in keeping the commandments of God. And it came to pass that we went down to the land of our inheritance, and we did gather together our gold, and our silver, and our precious things. And after that we had gathered these things together, we went up again unto the house of Laban.

And it came to pass that we went in unto Laban, and desired him that he would give unto us the records which were engraven upon the plates of brass, for which we would give unto him our gold, and our silver, and all our precious things.

And it came to pass that when Laban saw our property, and that it was exceeding great, he did lust after it, insomuch that he thrust us out, and sent his servants to slay us, that he might obtain our property. And it came to pass that we did flee before the servants of Laban, and we were obliged to leave behind our property, and it fell into the hands of Laban.

And it came to pass that we fled into the wilderness, and the servants of Laban did not overtake us, and we hid ourselves in the cavity of a rock. And it came to pass that Laman was angry with me, and also with my father; and also Lemuel; for he hearkened unto the words of Laman. Wherefore Laman and Lemuel did speak many hard words unto us, their younger brothers, and they did smite us even with a rod.

And it came to pass as they smote us with a rod, behold an angel of the Lord came and stood before them, and he spake unto them saying: Why do ye smite your younger brother with a rod? Know ye not that the Lord hath chosen him to be a ruler over you , and this because of your iniquities? Behold thou shalt go up to Jerusalem again, and the Lord will deliver Laban into your hands. And after that the angel had spoken unto us, he departed. And after that angel had departed, Laman and Lemuel again began to murmur, saying, how is it possible that the Lord will deliver Laban into our hands? Behold he is a mighty man, and he can command fifty, yea, even he can slay fifty; then why not us?

And it came to pass that I spake unto my brethren, saying: Let us go up again unto Jerusalem, and let us be faithful in keeping the commandments of the Lord; for behold he is mightier than all the earth, then why not mightier than Laban and his fifty yea, or even than his tens of thousands. Therefore let us go up; let us be strong like unto Moses: For he truly spake unto the waters of the Red Sea, and they divided hither and thither, and our fathers came through out of captivity on dry ground, and the armies of Pharaoh did follow and were drowned in the waters of the Red Sea. Now behold ye know that this is true; and ye also know that an angel hath spoken unto you, wherefore can ye doubt. Let us go up; the Lord is able to deliver us, even as our fathers, and to destroy Laban, even as the Egyptians.

Now when I had spoken these words, they were yet wroth, and still did continue to murmur; Nevertheless they did follow me up until we came without the walls of Jerusalem. And it was by night; and I caused that they should hide themselves without the walls. And after that they had hid themselves, I, Nephi, crept into the city and went forth towards the house of Laban. And I was led by the spirit, not knowing beforehand the things which I should do. Nevertheless I went forth, and as I came near the house of Laban, I beheld a man, and he had fallen to the earth before me, for he was drunken with wine. And when I came to him, I found that it was Laban. And I beheld his sword, and I drew it forth from the sheath thereof, and the hilt thereof was of pure gold, and the workmanship thereof was exceeding fine; and I saw that the blade thereof was of the most precious steel.

And it came to pass that I was constrained by the spirit that I should kill Laban; but I said in my heart, never at any time have I shed blood of man, and I shrunk and would that I might not slay him. And the spirit saith unto me again, behold the Lord hath delivered him into thy hands; yea, and I also knew that he had sought to take away mine own life; yea, and he would not hearken unto the commandments of the Lord; and he also had taken away our property.

And it came to pass that the spirit said unto me again, slay him, for the Lord hath delivered him into my hands. Behold the Lord slayeth the wicked to bring forth his righteous purposes: it is better that one man should perish, than that a nation should dwindle and perish in unbelief.

And now, when I, Nephi, had heard these words, I remembered the words of the Lord which he spake unto me in the wilderness, saying, that inasmuch as thy seed shall keep my commandments, they shall prosper in the land of promise. -- Yea, and I also thought that they could not keep the commandments of the Lord according to the law of Moses, save they should have the law. And I also knew that the law was engraven upon the plates of brass. And again -- I knew that the Lord had delivered Laban into my hands, for this cause: that I might obtain the records according to his commandments. Therefore I did obey the voice of the spirit, and took Laban by the hair of the head, and I smote off his head with his own sword.

And after that I had smitten off his head with his own sword, I took the garments of Laban and put them upon mine own body; yea, even every whit; and I did gird on his armour about my loins. And after that I had done this, I went forth unto the treasury of Laban, And as I went forth towards the treasury of Laban, behold I saw the servant of Laban which had the keys of the treasury. And I commanded him in the voice of Laban, that he should go with me into the treasury; and he supposed me to be his master, Laban, for he beheld the garments, and also the sword girted about my loins. And he spake unto me concerning the elders of the Jews, he knowing that his master Laban had been out by night among them. And I spake unto him as if it had been Laban. And I also spake unto him that I should carry the engravings which were upon the plates of brass, to my elder brethren, which were without the walls. And I also bade him that he should follow me. And he, supposing that I spake of the brethren of the church, and that I was truly that Laban whom I had slain, wherefore he did follow me. And he spake unto me many times concerning the elders of the Jews, as I went forth unto my brethren, which were without walls.

And it came to pass that when Laman saw me, he was exceedingly frightened, and also Lemuel and Sam. And they fled from before my presence; for they supposed it was Laban, and that he had slain me, and had sought to take away their lives also.

And it came to pass that I called after them, and they did hear me; wherefore they did cease to flee from my presence. And it came to pass that when the servant of Laban beheld my brethren, he began to tremble, and was about to flee from before me and return to the city of Jerusalem.

And now I, Nephi, being a man large in stature, and also having received much strength of the Lord, therefore I did seize upon the servant of Laban, and held him, that he should not flee.

And it came to pass that I spake with him, that if he would hearken unto my words, as the Lord liveth and as I live, even so that if he would hearken unto our words, we would spare his life. And I spake unto him, even with an oath, that he need not fear; that he should be a free man like unto us, if he would go down in the wilderness with us. And I also spake unto him, saying, surely the Lord hath commanded us to do this thing. And shall we not be diligent in keeping the commandments of the Lord? therefore, if thou wilt go down into the wilderness to my father, thou shalt have place with us.

And it came to pass that Zoram did take courage at the words which I spake. Now Zoram was the name of the servant; and he promised that he would go down into the wilderness unto our father. And he also made an oath unto us, that he would tarry with us from that time forth. Now we were desirous that we should tarry with us for this cause: that the Jews might not know concerning our flight into the wilderness, lest they should pursue us and destroy us.

And it came to pass that when Zoram had made an oath unto us, our fears did cease concerning him. And it came to pass that we took the plates of brass and the servant of Laban, and departed into the wilderness, and journied into the tent of our father.

And it came to pass after we had came down into the wilderness unto our father, behold he was filled with joy, and also my mother, Sariah, was exceeding glad, for she truly had mourned because of us; for she had supposed that we had perished in the wilderness; and she also had complained against my father, telling him that he was a visionary man; saying, behold thou hast led us forth from the land of our inheritance, and my sons are no more, and we perish in the wilderness. And after this manner of language had my mother complained against my father.

And it came to pass that my father spake unto her saying: I know that I am a visionary man; for if I had not seen the things of God in a vision, I should not have known the goodness of God, but had tarried at Jerusalem and had perished with my children. But behold, I have obtained a land of promise, in the which thing I do rejoice; yea, and I know that the Lord will deliver my sons out of the hands of Laban, and bring them down again unto us in the wilderness. And after this manner of language did my father Lehi comfort my mother Sariah, concerning us, while we journied in the wilderness up to the land of Jerusalem, to obtain the record of the Jews.

And when we had returned to the tent of my father, behold their joy was full, and my mother was comforted; and she spake, saying: Now I know of a surety that the Lord hath commanded my husband to flee into the wilderness; yea, and I also know of a surety that the Lord hath protected my sons and delivered them out of the hands of Laban, and gave them power whereby they could accomplish the thing which the Lord hath commanded them. And after this language did she speak.

And it came to pass that they did rejoice exceedingly, and did offer sacrifice and burnt offerings unto the Lord; and they gave thanks unto the God of Israel. And after that they had given thanks unto the God of Israel, my father Lehi took the records which were engraven upon the plates of brass, and he did search them from the beginning. And he beheld that they did contain the five books of Moses, which gave an account of the creation of the world, and also of Adam and Eve, which was our first parents; and also a record of Jews from the beginning, even down to the commencement of the reign of Zedekiah, King of Judah; and also the prophecies of the Holy prophets, from the beginning, even down to the commencement of the reign of Zedekiah; and also many prophecies which have been spoken by the mouth of Jeremiah.

And it came to pass that my father Lehi also found upon the plates of brass, a genealogy of his fathers; wherefore he knew that he was a descendant of Joseph; yea, even that Joseph which was the son of Jacob, which was sold into Egypt, and which was preserved by the hand of the Lord, that he might preserve his father Jacob and all his household from perishing with famine. And they were also led out of captivity and out of the land of Egypt, by the same God who had preserved them. And thus my father Lehi did discover the genealogy of his fathers. And Laban also was a descendant of Joseph, wherefore he and his fathers had kept the records.

And now when my father saw all these things, he was filled with the spirit, and began to prophesy concerning his seed; that these plates of brass should go forth unto all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people which were of his seed. Wherefore he said that these plates of brass should never perish; neither should they be dimmed any more by time. And he prophesied many times concerning his seed.

And it came to pass that thus far I and my father had kept the commandments wherewith the Lord had commanded us. And we had obtained the record which the Lord had commanded us, and searched them and found that they were desirable yea, even of great worth unto us, insomuch that we could preserve the commandments of the Lord unto our children. Wherefore it was wisdom in the Lord that we should carry them with us, as we journied in the wilderness towards the land of promise.

MORMON 1 NEPHI CHAPTER 2

And now I, Nephi, do not give the genealogy of my fathers in this part of my record; neither at any time shall I give it after upon these plates which I am writing; for it is given in the record which has been kept by my father; wherefore I do not write it in this work. For it sufficeth me to say, that we are a descendant of Joseph. And it mattereth not to me that I am particular to give a full account of all things of my father, for they cannot be written upon these plates, for I desire the room, that I may write of the things of God. For the fullness of mine intent is that I may persuade men to come unto the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, and be saved. Wherefore the things which are pleasing unto the world, I do not write, but the things which are pleasing unto God and unto them which are not of the world. Wherefore I shall give commandment unto my seed, that they

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shall not occupy these plates with things which are not of worth unto the children of men. And now I would that ye might know, that after my father Lehi had made an end of prophesying concerning his seed, it came to pass that the Lord spake unto him again, saying, that it was not mete for him, Lehi, that he should take his family into the wilderness alone; but that his sons should take daughters to wife that they might raise up seed unto the Lord in the land of promise.

And it came to pass that the Lord commanded him that I, Nephi, and my brethren, should again return unto the land of Jerusalem, and bring down Ishmael and his family into the wilderness.

And it came to pass that I, Nephi, did again, with my brethren, go forth into the wilderness to go up to Jerusalem. And it came to pass that we went up unto the house of Ishmael, and we did gain favor in the sight of Ishmael, insomuch that we did speak unto him the words of the Lord.

And it came to pass that the Lord did soften the heart of Ishmael, and also his household, insomuch that they took their journey with us down into the wilderness to the tent of our father. And it came to pass as we journied in the wilderness, behold, Laman and Lemuel, and two of the daughters of Ishmael, and the two sons of Ishmael, and their families, did rebel against us; yea, against I, Nephi, and Sam, and their father, Ishmael, and his wife, and his three other daughters.

And it came to pass in the which rebellion, they were desirous to return unto the land of Jerusalem. And now I, Nephi, being grieved for the hardness of their hearts, therefore I spake unto them, saying; yea, even unto Laman and unto Lemuel, behold, thou art mine elder brethren; and how is it that ye are so hard in your hearts, and so blind in your minds, that ye have need that I, your younger brother, should speak unto you, yea, and set an example for you? How is it that ye have not hearkened unto the word of the Lord? How is it that ye have forgotten that ye have seen an angel of the Lord? Yea, and how is it that ye have forgotten how great things the Lord hath done for us in delivering us out of the hands of Laban, and also that we should obtain the record? Yea, and how is it that ye have forgotten that the Lord is able to do all things, according to his will, for the children of men, if it so be that they exercise faith in him; wherefore, let us be faithful in him. And if it so be that we are faithful in him, we shall obtain the land of promise; and ye shall know at some future period, that the word of the Lord shall be fulfilled, concerning the destruction of Jerusalem; for all things which the Lord hath spoken concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, must be fulfilled. For, behold, the spirit of the Lord ceaseth soon to strive with them; for behold, they have rejected the prophets, and Jeremiah have they cast into prison. And they have sought to take away the life of my father, insomuch that they have driven him out of the land.

Now behold, I say unto you, that if ye will return unto Jerusalem, ye shall also perish with them. And now, if ye have choice, go up to the land, and remember the words which I speak unto you, that if ye go, ye will also perish; for thus the spirit of the Lord constraineth me that I should speak.

And it came to pass that when I, Nephi, had spoken these words unto my brethren, they were angry with me. And it came to pass that they did lay their hands upon me; for, behold, they were exceeding wroth; and they did bind me with cords, for they sought to take away my life, that they might leave me in the wilderness, to be devoured by wild beasts.

But it came to pass that I prayed unto the Lord, saying: O Lord, according to my faith which is in thee, wilt thou deliver me from the hands of my brethren; yea, even give me strength that I may burst these bands with which I am bound.

And it came to pass that when I had said these words, behold, the bands were loosed from off my hands and feet, and I stood before my brethren, and I spake unto them again. And it came to pass that they were angry with me again, and sought to lay hands upon me; but, behold, one of the daughters of Ishmael, yea, and also her mother, and one of the sons of Ishmael, did plead with my brethren; and they did cease striving to take away my life.

And it came to pass that they were sorrowful, because of their wickedness, insomuch that they did bow down before me, and did plead with me, that I would forgive them of the thing that they had done against me.

And it came to pass that I did frankly forgive them all that they had done, and I did exhort them that they would pray unto the Lord their God, for forgiveness. And it came to pass that they did so. And after that they had done praying unto the Lord, we did again travel on our journey toward the tent of our father.

And it came to pass that we did come down unto the tent of our father. And after that I and my brothers, and all the house of Ishmael, had come down unto the tent of my father, they did give thanks unto the Lord their God; and they did offer sacrifice and burnt offerings unto him.

And it came to pass that we had gathered together all manner of seeds of every kind; both of grain of every kind, and also of the seeds of fruits of every kind. And it came to pass that while my father tarried in the wilderness, he spake unto ,us, saying: Behold, I have dreamed a dream; or, in other words, I have seen a vision. And behold, because of the thing which I have seen, I have reason to rejoice in the Lord, because of Nephi, and also of Sam, for I have reason to suppose that they, and also many of their seed, will be saved. -- But, behold, Laman and Lemuel, I fear exceedingly, because of you; for, behold, me thought I saw a dark and dreary wilderness.

And it came to pass that I saw a man, and he was dressed in a white robe; and he came and stood before me. And it came to pass that he spake unto me, and bade me follow him. And it came to pass that as I followed him, and after I had followed him, I beheld myself that I was in the dark and dreary waste. And after that I travelled for the space of many hours in darkness, I began to pray unto the Lord, that he would have mercy on me, according to the multitude of his tender mercies.

And it came to pass that after I had prayed unto the Lord, I beheld a large and spacious field. And it came to pass that I beheld a tree, whose fruit was desirable, to make one happy.

And it came to pass that I did go forth, and partake of the fruit thereof; and I beheld that it was most sweet, above all that I ever had before tasted. Yea, and I beheld that the fruit thereof was white, to exceed all the whiteness that I had ever seen. And as I partook of the fruit thereof, it filled my soul with exceeding great joy; wherefore, I began to be desirous that my family should partake of it also; for I knew that it was desirous above all other fruit. And as I cast my eyes round about, that perhaps I might discover my family also, I beheld a river of water; and it ran along, and it was near the tree of which I was partaking the fruit. And I looked to behold from whence it came; and I saw the head thereof, a little way off; and at the head thereof, I beheld your mother Sariah, and Sam, and Nephi; and they stood as if they knew not whither they should go.

And it came to pass that I beckoned unto them; and I also did say unto them, with a loud voice, that they should come unto me, and partake of the fruit, which was desirable above all other fruit.

And it came to pass that they did come unto me, and partake of the fruit also. And it came to pass that I was desirous that Laman and Lemuel should come and partake of the fruit also; wherefore, I cast mine eyes towards the head of the river, that perhaps I might see them.

And it came to pass that I saw them, but they would not come unto me. And I beheld a rod of iron; and it extended along the bank of the river, and led to the tree by which I stood. And I also beheld a straight and narrow path which came along by the rod of iron, even to the tree by which I stood; and it also led by the head of the fountain, unto a large and spacious field, as if it had been a world; and I saw numberless concourses of people; many of whom were pressing forward, that they might obtain the path which led unto the tree by which it stood.

And it came to pass that they did come forth, and commence in the path which led to the tree. And it came to pass that there arose a mist of darkness; yea, even an exceeding great mist of darkness, insomuch that they which had commenced in the path, did lose their way, that they wandered off, and were lost.

And it came to pass that I beheld others pressing forward; and they came forth, and caught hold of the end of the rod of iron, and they did press through the mist of darkness, clinging to the rod of iron, even until they did come forth and partake of the fruit of the tree. And after that they had partaken of the fruit of the tree, they did cast their eyes about as it they were ashamed. And I also cast my eyes round about, and beheld, on the other side of the river of water, a great and spacious building; and it stood as it were in the air, high above the earth; and it was filled with people, both old and young, both male and female; and their number of dress was exceeding fine; and they were in the attitude of mocking and pointing their fingers towards those which had come at, and were partaking of the fruit. And after that they had tasted of the fruit, they were ashamed, because of those that were scoffing at them; and they fell away into forbidden paths, and were lost.

And now I, Nephi, do not speak all the words of my father. But to be short in writing: Behold, he saw other multitudes pressing forward; and they came and caught hold of the end of the rod of iron; and they did press their way forward, continually holding fast to the rod of iron, until they came forth and fell down, and partook of the fruit of the tree. And he also saw other multitudes, feeling their way towards that great and spacious building.

And it came to pass that many were drowned in the depths of the fountain; and many were lost from his view, wandering in strange roads. And great was the multitude that did enter into that strange building. And after that they did enter into that building, they did point the finger of scorn at me, and those that were partaking of the fruit also; but we heeded them not. These are the words of my father: For as many as heeded them, had fallen away. And Laman and Lemuel partook not of the fruit, saith my father.

And it came to pass that after my father had spoken all the words of his dream or vision, which were many, he said unto us, because of these things which he saw in a vision. he exceedingly feared for Laman and Lemuel; yea, he feared lest they should be cast off from the presence of the Lord; and he did not exhort them then with all the feeling of a tender parent, that they would hearken to his words, in that, perhaps the Lord would be merciful to them, and not cast them off; yea, my father did preach unto them.

And after he had preached unto them, and also prophesied unto them of many things, he bade them to keep the commandments of the Lord; and he did cease speaking unto them. And all these things did my father see, and hear, and speak, as he dwelt in a tent, in the valley of Lemuel; and also a great many more things, which cannot be written upon these plates. And now, as I have spoken concerning these plates, behold, they are not the plates upon which I make a full account of the history of my people, I have given the name of Nephi; wherefore, they are called the plates of Nephi, after mine own name; and these plates also, are called the plates of Nephi.

Nevertheless, I have received a commandment of the Lord, that I should make these plates, for the special purpose that there should be an account engraven of the ministry of my people. Upon the other plates should be engraven an account of the reign of the Kings, and the wars, and contentions of my people; wherefore, these plates are, for the more part, of the ministry; and the other plates are, for the more part, of the reign of the Kings, and the wars, and the contentions of my people. Wherefore, the Lord hath commanded me to make these plates, for a wise purpose in him; which purpose, I know not. Behold the Lord knoweth all things, from the beginning; wherefore, he prepareth a way to accomplish all his works among the children of men; for behold, he hath all power unto the fulfilling of all his words. And thus it is. Amen.

MORMON 1 NEPHI CHAPTER 3

And now I, Nephi, proceed to give an account upon these plates, of my proceedings, and my reign and ministry; therefore, to proceed with mine account. I must speak somewhat of the things of my father, and also of my brethren.

For behold, it came to pass that after my father had made an end of speaking the words of his dream, and also exhorting them to all diligence, he spake unto them concerning the Jews: How that after they were destroyed, yea, even that great city Jerusalem; and that many were carried away captive into Babylon; that according to the own due time of the Lord, they should return again; yea, even be brought back out of captivity; and after they are brought back out of captivity, to possess again the land of their inheritance.

Yea, even six hundred years from the time that my father left Jerusalem, a Prophet would the Lord God raise up among the Jews; yea, even a Messiah; or, in other words, a Saviour of the world. And he also spake concerning the prophets: How great a number had testified of these things, concerning this Messiah, of which he had spoken, or this Redeemer of the world. Wherefore, all mankind was in a lost and in a fallen state; and ever would be, save they should rely on this Redeemer.

And he spake also, concerning a prophet, which should come before the Messiah, to prepare the way of the Lord; yea, even he should go forth and cry in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, and make his paths straight; for there standeth one among you whom ye know not; and he is mightier than I, whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose. And much spake my father concerning this thing.

And my father saith that he should baptise in Bethabara, beyond Jordan; and he also spake, that he should baptise with water. yea, even that he should baptise the Messiah with water. And after that he had baptised the Messiah with water, he should behold and bear record, that he had baptised the Lamb of God, which should take away the sins of the world.

And it came to pass that after my father had spoken these words, he spake unto my brethren concerning the Gospel, which should be preached among the Jews; and also, concerning the dwindling of the Jews in unbelief. And after that they had slain the Messiah which should come, and after that he had been slain, he should rise from the dead, and should make himself manifest, by the Holy Ghost, unto the Gentiles.

Yea, even my father spake much concerning the Gentiles, and also concerning the House of Israel: that they should be compared like unto an olive tree, whose branches should be broken off, and should be scattered upon all the face of the earth. Wherefore, he said, it must needs be that we should be led with one accord, into the land of promise, unto the fulfilling of the word of the Lord: That we should be scattered upon all the face of the earth. And after that the house of Israel should be scattered, they should be gathered together again; or, in fine, that after the Gentiles had received the fulness of the Gospel, the natural branches of the olive tree, or the remnants of the House of Israel, should be grafted in, or come to the knowledge of the true Messiah, their Lord and their Redeemer. And after this manner of language did my father prophesy ,and speak unto my brethren; and also, many more things, which I do not write in this book: for I have

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written as many of them, as were expedient for me, in mine o her book: And all these things of which I have spoken, was done, as my father dwelt in a tent, in the valley of Lemuel.

And it came to pass that after I, Nephi, having heard all the words of my father, concerning the things which he saw in a vision; and also the things which he spake by the power of the Holy Ghost; which power, he received by faith on the Son of God. And the Son of God was the Messiah, which should come.

And it came to pass that I, Nephi, was desirous also, that I might see, and hear, and know of these things, by the power of the Holy Ghost, which is the gift of God unto all those who diligently seek him, as well in times of old in the time that he should manifest himself unto the children of men; for he is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever; and the way is prepared from the foundation of the world, if it so be that they repent and come unto him; for he that diligently seeketh, shall find; and the mysteries of God shall be unfolded unto them, by the power of the Holy Ghost, as well in these times, as in times of old; and as well as in times of old, as in times to come; wherefore, the courses of the Lord is one eternal round. Therefore, remember, O man, for all thy doings, thou shalt be brought into judgement. Wherefore, if ye have sought to do wickedly before the judgement seat of God; and no unclean thing can dwell with God; wherefore, ye must be cast off forever. And the Holy Ghost giveth authority that I should speak these things, and deny them not.

For it came to pass that after I had desired to know the things that my father had seen, and believing that the Lord was able to make them known unto me; wherefore, as I sat pondering in mine heart, I was caught away in the spirit of the Lord, yea, into an exceeding high mountain, which I, never had before seen, and upon which I never had before sat my foot. And the spirit saith unto me, Behold, what desirest thou? And I saith, I desire to behold the things which my father saw. And the spirit saith unto me, Believest thou that thy father saw the tree of which he hath spoken? And I said yea; thou knowest that I believe all the words of my father.

And when I had spoken these words, the spirit cried with a loud voice, saying: Hosanna to the Lord, the most high God; for he is God over all the earth, yea, even above all; and blessed art thou, Nephi, because thou believest in the Son of the Most High God; wherefore, thou shalt behold the things which thou desired. And behold, this thing shall be given unto thee for a sign: that after thou hast beheld the tree which bore the fruit which thy father tasted, thou shalt also behold a man descending out of Heaven, and him shall ye witness; and after that ye have witnessed him, ye shall bear record that it is the Son of God.

And it came to pass that the spirit saith unto me, look! and I looked and beheld the tree; and it was like unto the tree which my father had seen; and the beauty thereof was far beyond, yea, exceeding of all beauty; and the whiteness thereof, did exceed the whiteness of the driven snow.

And it came to pass that after that I had seen the tree, I said unto the spirit, I behold thou hast shewn unto me the tree which is precious above all. And he saith unto me, What desirest thou? And I said unto him, to know the interpretation thereof; for I spake unto him as a man speaketh; for I beheld that he was in the form of a man; yet, nevertheless, I knew that it was the spirit of the Lord; and he spake unto me as a man speaketh with another.

And it came to pass that he said unto me, look: And I looked as if to look upon him, and I saw him not; for he had gone from before my presence.

And it came to pass that I looked and beheld the great city Jerusalem, and also other cities. And I beheld the city of Nazareth; and in the city of Nazareth I beheld a virgin, and she was exceeding fair and white.

And it came to pass that I saw the Heavens open; and an angel came down and stood before me; and he saith unto me, Nephi, what beholdest thou? And I saith unto him, a virgin, most beautiful and fair above all other virgins. And he saith unto me, Knowest thou condescention of God? And I said unto him, I know that he loveth his children; nevertheless, I do not know the meaning of all things. And he said unto me, Behold, the virgin which thou seest, is the mother of God, after the manner of flesh.

And it came to pass I beheld that she was carried away in the spirit; and after that she had been carried away in the spirit for the space of time, the angel spake unto me, saying, look! And I looked and beheld the virgin again, bearing a child in her arms. And the angel said unto me, behold the Lamb of God, yea, even the Eternal Father! Knowest thou the meaning of the tree which thy father saw? And I answered him, saying: Yea, it is the love of God, which sheddeth itself abroad in the hearts of the children of men; wherefore, it is the most desirable above all things. And he spake unto me, saying, Yea, and the most joyous to the soul. And after that he had said those words, he said unto me, look! And I looked, and I beheld the Son of God going forth among the children of men; and I saw many fall down at his feet and worship him.

And it came to pass that I beheld that the rod of iron which my father had seen, was the word of God, which let to the fountain of living waters, or to the tree of life; which waters are a representation of the love of God; and I also beheld that the tree of life was a representation of the love of God. And the angel said unto me again, Look and behold the condescention of God! And I looked and beheld the Redeemer of the world, of which my father had spoken; and I also beheld the prophet, which should prepare the way before him. And the Lamb of God went forth, and was baptised of him; and after that he was baptised, I beheld the Heavens open, and the Holy Ghost come down out of Heaven and abode upon him in the form of a dove. And I beheld that he went forth ministering unto the people, in power and great glory; and the multitudes were gathered together to hear him; and I beheld that they cast him out from among them. And I also beheld twelve others following him.

And it came to pass that they were carried away in the spirit, from before my face, that I saw them not. And it came to pass that the angel spake unto me again, saying, look! And I looked, and I beheld the Heavens open again, and I saw angels descending upon the children of men; and they did minister unto them. And he spake unto me again, saying. look! And I looked, and beheld the Lamb of God going forth among the children of men. And I beheld multitudes of people which were sick, and which were afflicted of all manner of diseases, and with devils, and unclean spirits; and the angel spake, and shewed all these things unto me. And they were healed by the power of the Lamb of God; and the devils and the unclean spirits were cast out.

And it came to pass that the angel spake unto me again, saying, look! And I looked and beheld the Lamb of God, that he was taken by the people; yea, the Everlasting God, was judged of the world; and I saw and bear record. And I, Nephi, saw that he was lifted up upon the cross, and slain for the sins of the world. And after that he was slain, I saw the multitudes of the earth, that they were gathered together to fight against the apostles of the Lamb; for thus were the twelve called by the angel of the Lord. And the multitude of the earth was gathered together; and I beheld that they were in a large spacious building, like unto the building which my father saw. And the angel of the Lord spake unto me again, saying, Behold the world and the wisdom thereof; yea, behold, the House of Israel hath gathered together, to fight against the twelve apostles of the Lamb.

And it came to pass I saw and bear record, that the great and spacious building was the pride of the world; and it fell; and the fall thereof was exceeding great. And the angel of the Lord spake unto me again, saying: Thus shall be the destruction of all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people, that shall fight against the twelve apostles of the Lamb.

And it came to pass that the angel said unto me, Look, and behold thy seed, and also the seed of thy brethren! And I looked and beheld the land of promise; and I beheld multitudes of people, yea, even as it were in number, as many as the sand of the sea.

And it came to pass that I beheld multitudes gathered together, to battle one against the other; and I beheld wars, and rumors of wars, and great slaughters with the sword among my people.

And it came to pass that I beheld many generations pass away after the manner of wars and contentions in the land; and I beheld many cities, yea, even that I did not number them.

And it came to pass that I saw a mist of darkness on the face of the land of promise; and I saw lightnings, and I heard thunderings, and earthquakes, and all manner of tumultuous noises; and I saw the earth and the rocks, that rent; and I saw mountains tumbling into pieces; and I saw the plains of the earth. that they were broken up; and I saw many cities, that they were sunk; and I saw many, that they were burned with fire; And I saw many, that they did tumble to earth, because of the quaking thereof.

And it came to pass that after I saw these things, I saw the vapor of darkness, that it passed from off the face of the earth; and behold, I saw the multitudes which had fallen, because of the great and terrible judgements of the Lord. And I saw the Heavens open, and the Lamb of God descending out of Heaven; and he came down and shewed himself unto them. And I also saw and bear record, that the Holy Ghost fell upon twelve others; and they were ordained of God, and chosen.

And the angel spake unto me, saying: Behold the twelve disciples of the Lamb, which are chosen to minister unto thy seed. And he saith unto me, Thou remembereth the twelve apostles of the Lamb? Behold, they are they which shall judge the twelve tribes of Israel; wherefore, the twelve ministers of thy seed, shall be judged of them; for ye are of the house of Israel; and these twelve ministers which thou beholdest, shall judge thy seed. And behold, they are righteous forever; for because of their faith in the Lamb of God, their garments are made white in his blood.

And the angel saith unto me, look! And I looked and beheld three generations did pass away in righteousness; and their garments were white, even like unto the Lamb of God. And the angel said unto me, These are made white in the blood of the Lamb, because of their faith in him. And I, Nephi, also many of the fourth generation, which did pass away in righteousness.

And it came to pass that I saw the multitudes of the earth gathered together. And the angel said unto me, Behold they seed, and also the seed of thy brethren! And it came to pass that I looked, and beheld the people of my seed gathered together in multitudes against the seed of my brethren; and they were gathered together in battle.

And the angel spake unto me, saying: Behold the fountain of filthy water which thy father saw; yea, even the river of which he spake; and the depths thereof, are the depths of hell; and the mists of darkness, are the temptations of the devil, which blindeth the eyes, and hardeneth the hearts of the children of men, and leadeth them away into broad roads, that they may perish, and are lost; and the large and spacious building which thy father saw, is vain imaginations, and the pride of the children of men. And a great and terrible gulf divideth them; yea, even the word of the justice of the Eternal God, and Jesus Christ, which is the Lamb of God, of whom the Holy Ghost beareth record, from the beginning of the world until this time, and from this time henceforth and forever. And while the angel spoke these words, I beheld and saw that the seed of my brethren did contend against my seed, according to the word of the angel; and because of the pride of my seed, and the temptations of the devil, I beheld that the seed of my brethren did overpower the people of my seed.

And it came to pass that I beheld and saw the people of the seed of my brethren, that they had overcome my seed; and they went forth in multitudes upon the face of the land. And I saw them gathered together in multitudes; and I saw wars, and rumors of wars among them; and in wars, and rumors of wars, I saw many generations pass away. And the angel said unto me, behold, these shall dwindle in unbelief.

And it came to pass that I beheld that after they had dwindled in unbelief, they became a dark, and loathsome, and a filthy people, full of idleness and all manner of abominations.

And it came to pass that the angel spake unto me saying, look! And I looked and beheld many nations and kingdoms. And the angel saith unto me, what beholdest thou? And I said I behold many nations and kingdoms. And he saith unto me, these are the nations and kingdoms of the Gentiles.

And it came to pass that I saw among the nations of the Gentiles, the foundation of a great church. And the angel said unto me, Behold the foundation of a church, which is most abominable above all churches, which slayeth the Saints of God, yea, and tortureth them and bindeth them down, and yoketh them with a yoke of iron, and bringeth them down into captivity.

And it came to pass that I beheld this great and abominable church; and I saw the devil, that he was the founder of it. And I also saw gold, and silver, and silks, and scarlets, and fine twined linen, and all manner of precious clothing; and I saw many harlots. And the angel spake unto me, saying: Behold the gold, and the silver, and the silks, and the scarlets, and the fine twined linen, and the precious clothing, and the harlots, are the desires of this great and abominable church: and also for the praise of the world, do they destroy the Saints of God, and bring them down into captivity.

And it came to pass that I looked and beheld many waters; and they divided the Gentiles from the seed of my brethren. And it came to pass that the angel said unto me, Behold, the wrath of God is upon the seed of thy brethren! And I looked and beheld a man among the Gentiles, which was separated from the seed of my brethren by the many waters; and I beheld the spirit of God, that it came down and wrought upon the man; and he went forth among the many waters, even unto the seed of my brethren, which were in the promised land.

And it came to pass that I beheld the spirit of God, that it wrought upon other Gentiles; and they went forth out of captivity, upon the many waters.

And it came to pass that I beheld many multitudes of the Gentiles, upon the land of promise; and I beheld the wrath of God, that it was upon the seed of my brethren; and they were scattered before the Gentiles, and they were smitten. And I beheld the spirit of the Lord, that it was upon the Gentiles; that they did prosper, and obtain the land of their inheritance; and I beheld that they were white, and exceeding fair and beautiful, like unto my people, before they were slain.

And it came to pass that I, Nephi, beheld that the Gentiles which had gone forth out of captivity, did humble themselves before the Lord; and the power of the Lord was with them; and I beheld that their mother Gentiles was gathered together upon the waters, and upon the land also, to battle against them, and I beheld that the power of God was with them; and also, that the wrath of God was upon them, that were gathered together against them to battle. And I, Nephi, beheld that the Gentiles which had gone out of captivity, were delivered by the power of God, out of the hands of all other nations.

And it came to pass that I, Nephi, beheld that they did prosper in the land, and I beheld a Book; and it was carried forth among them. And the angel saith unto me, Knowest thou the meaning of the Book? And I saith unto him, I know not. And he saith, Behold, it proceedeth out of the mouth of a

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Jew, and I, Nephi, beheld it; and he saith unto me, The Book which thou beholdest, is a record of the Jews, which contains the covenants of the Lord which he hath made unto the House of Israel; and it also containeth many of the prophesies of the Holy Prophets; and it is a record like unto the engravings which are upon the plates of brass, save there are not so many; nevertheless, they contain the covenants of the Lord, which he hath made unto the House of Israel; wherefore, they are of great worth unto the Gentiles.

And the angel of the Lord said unto me, Thou hast beheld that the Book proceeded forth from the mouth of a Jew; and when it proceedeth from the mouth of a Jew, it contained the plainness of the Gospel of the Lord, of whom the twelve apostles bear record; and they bear record according to the truth which is in the Lamb of God; wherefore, these things go forth from the Jews in purity, unto the Gentiles, according to the truth which is in God; and after that they go forth by the hand of the twelve apostles of the Lamb, from the Jews unto the Gentiles; behold, after this, thou seest the foundation of a great and abominable church, which is the most abominable above all other churches; for behold, they have taken away from the Gospel of the Lamb, many parts which are plain and most precious; and also, many Covenants of the Lord have they taken away; and all this have they done, that they might pervert the right ways of the Lord; that they might blind the eyes and harden the hearts of the children of men; wherefore thou seest that after the Book hath gone forth through the hands of the great and abominable church, that there are many plain and precious things taken away from the Book, which is the Book of the Lamb of God; and after that these plain and precious things were taken away, it goeth forth unto all the nations of the Gentiles; and after it goeth forth unto all the nations of the Gentiles, yea, even across the many waters which thou hast seen with the Gentiles which have gone forth out of captivity; and thou seest because of the many plain and precious things which have been taken out of the Book, which were plain unto the understanding of the children of men, according to the plainness which is in the Lamb of God; and because of these things which were taken away out of the Gospel of the Lamb, an exceeding great many do stumble, yea, insomuch that Satan hath great power over them; nevertheless thou beholdest that the Gentiles which have gone forth out of captivity, and have been lifted up by the power of God above all other nations upon the face of the Land, which is choice above all other lands, which is the land which the Lord God hath covenanted with thy father, that his seed should have, for the land of their inheritance; wherefore, thou seest that the Lord God will not suffer that the Gentiles will utterly destroy the mixture of thy seed, which is among thy brethren; neither will he suffer that the Gentiles shall destroy the seed of thy brethren; neither will the Lord God suffer that the Gentiles shall forever remain in that state of awful woundedness which thou beholdest that they are in, because of the plain and most precious parts of the Gospel of the Lamb which hath been kept back by the abominable church, whose formation thou hast seen; wherefore, saith the Lamb of God, I will be merciful unto the Gentiles, unto the visiting of the remnant of the House of Israel in great judgement.

And it came to pass that the angel of the Lord spake unto me, saying: Behold, saith the Lamb of God, after that I have visited the remnant of the House of Israel, and this remnant of which I speak, is the seed of thy father; wherefore, after that I have visited them in judgement, and smitten them by the hand of the Gentiles; and after that the Gentiles do stumble exceedingly, because of the most plain and precious parts of the Gospel of the Lamb which hath been kept back, by that abominable church, which is the mother of harlots, saith the Lamb; wherefore, I will be merciful unto the Gentiles in that day, saith the Lamb, insomuch that I will bring forth unto them in mine own power, much of my Gospel, which shall be plain and precious, saith the Lamb; for behold, saith the Lamb, I will manifest myself unto thy seed, that they shall write many things which I shall minister unto them, which shall be plain and precious; and after that thy seed shall be destroyed and dwindle in unbelief, and also, the seed of thy brethren; behold, these things shall be hid up, to come forth unto the Gentiles, by the gift and power of the Lamb; and in them shall be written my Gospel, saith the Lamb, and my rock and my salvation; and blessed are they which shall seek to bring forth my Zion at that day, for they shall have the gift and the power of the Holy Ghost; and if they endure unto the end, they shall be lifted up at the last day, and shall be saved in the Everlasting Kingdom of the Lamb; yea, whoso shall publish peace, that shall publish tidings of great joy, how beautiful upon the mountains shall they be.

And it came to pass that I beheld the remnant of the seed of my brethren, and also the book of the Lamb of God, which had proceeded forth from the mouth of the Jew; and I beheld that it came forth from the Gentiles, unto the remnant of the seed of my brethren; and after it had come forth unto them, I beheld other Books, which came forth by the power of the Lamb, from the Gentiles, unto them, unto the convincing of the Gentiles, and the remnant of the seed of my brethren, and also to the Jews, which were scattered upon all the face of the earth, that the records of the prophets and of the twelve apostles of the Lamb, are true.

And the angel spake unto me, saying: These last records which thou hast seen among the Gentiles, shall establish the truth of the first, which is of the twelve apostles of the Lamb, and shall make known the plain and precious things which have been taken away from them; and shall make known to all kindreds, tongues, and people, that the Lamb of God is the Eternal Father and the Saviour of the world; and that all men must come unto Him, or they cannot be saved; and they must come according to the words which shall be established by the mouth of the Lamb; and the words of the Lamb shall be made known in the records of thy seed, as well as in the records of the twelve apostles of the Lamb; wherefore, they shall be established in one, for there is one God and one Shepherd over all the earth; and the time cometh that he shall manifest himself unto all nations, both unto the Jews, and also unto the Gentiles; and after that he hath manifested himself unto the Jews, and also unto the Gentiles, then he shall manifest himself unto the Gentiles, and also unto the Jews, and the last shall be first, and the first shall be last.

And it shall come to pass, that if the Gentiles shall hearken unto the Lamb of God in that day that he shall manifest himself unto them in word, and also in power, in very deed, unto the taking away of their stumbling blocks, if it so be that they harden not their hearts against the Lamb; and if it so be that they harden not their hearts against the Lamb of God, they shall be numbered among the seed of thy father; yea, they shall be numbered among the House of Israel; and they shall be a blest people upon the promised land forever; they shall be no more brought down into captivity; and the House of Israel shall no more be confounded; and that great pit which hath been digged for them, by that great and abominable church, which was founded by the Devil and his children, that he might lead away the souls of men down to Hell; yea, the great pit which hath been digged for the destruction of men, shall be filled by those who digged it, unto their utter destruction, saith the Lamb of God; not the destruction of the soul, save it be the casting of it into that Hell which hath no end; for behold, this is according to the captivity of the

Devil, and also according to the justice of God, upon all those who will work wickedness and abomination before him.

And it came to pass that the angel spake unto me, Nephi, saying: Thou hast beheld that if the Gentiles repent, it shall be well with them; and thou also knowest concerning the covenants of the Lord unto the House of Israel; and thou also hast heard, that whoso repenteth not, must perish; therefore, wo be unto the Gentiles, if it so be that they harden their hearts against the Lamb of God: for the time cometh, saith the Lamb of God, that I will work a great and a marvellous work among the children of men; a work which shall be everlasting, either on the one hand or on the other; either to the convincing of them unto peace and life eternal, or unto the deliverance of them to the hardness of their hearts and the blindness of their minds, unto their being brought down into captivity, and also unto destruction, both temporally and spiritually, according to the captivity of the Devil, of which I have spoken.

And it came to pass that when the angel had spoken these words, he saith unto me, Remember thou the covenants of the Father unto the House of Israel? I saith unto ,him, yea. And it came to pass that he saith unto me, Look, and beheld that great and abominable church, which is the mother of abominations, whose foundation is the devil. And he saith unto me, Behold, there is, save it be, two churches: the one is the church of the Lamb of God, and the other is the church of the Devil; wherefore. whoso belongeth not to the church of the Lamb of God, belongeth to that great church, which is the mother of abominations; and she is the whore of all the earth.

And it came to pass that I looked and beheld the whore of all the earth, and she sat upon many waters; and she had dominion over all the earth, among all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people.

And it came to pass that I beheld the church of the Lamb of God, and its numbers were few, because of the wickedness and abominations of the whore which sat upon many waters; nevertheless, I beheld that the church of the Lamb, which were the Saints of God, were also upon all the face of the earth; and their dominion upon the face of the earth was small, because of the wickedness of the great whore which I saw.

And it came to pass that I beheld that the great mother of abominations did gather together multitudes upon the face of the earth, among all the nations of the Gentiles, to fight against the Lamb of God.

And it came to pass that I, Nephi, beheld the power of the Lamb of God, that it descended upon the saints of the church of the Lamb, and upon the covenant people of the Lord, which were scattered upon all the face of the earth; and they were warned with righteousness and with the power of God in great glory.

And it came to pass that I beheld that the wrath of God was poured out upon the great and abominable church, insomuch that there were wars and rumors of wars among all the nations and kindreds of the earth; and as there began to be wars and rumors of war among all the nations which belongeth to the mother of abominations, the angel spake unto me saying: Behold, the wrath of God is upon the mother of harlots; and behold, thou seest all these things! And when the day cometh that the wrath of God is poured out upon the mother of harlots, which is the great and abominable church of all the earth, whose founder is the Devil, then, at that day, the work of the Father shall commence, in preparing the way for the fulfilling of his covenants, which he hath made to his people, which are of the House of Israel.

And it came to pass that the angel spake unto me, saying, Look! And I looked and beheld a man, and he was dressed in a white robe; and the angel said unto me, Behold one of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb! Behold, he shall see and write the remainder of these things; yea, and also many things which have been; and he shall also write concerning the end of the world; wherefore, the things which he shall write, are just and true; and, behold, they are written in the book which thou beheld proceeding out of the mouth of the Jew; and at the time proceeded out of the mouth of the Jew, or, at the time the book proceeded out of the mouth of the Jew, the things which were written, were plain and pure, and most precious, and easy to the understanding of all men. And, behold, the things which the Apostle of the Lamb shall write, are many things which thou hast seen; and, behold, the remainder shalt thou see; but the things which thou shalt see hereafter, thou shalt not write; for the Lord God hath ordained the Apostle of the Lamb of God, that he should write them. And also, others which have been to them, hath he shown all things, and they have written them; and they are sealed up, to come forth in their purity, according to the truth which is in the Lamb, in the own due time of the Lord, unto the House of Israel.

And I, Nephi, heard and bear record, that the name of the Apostle of the Lamb was John, according to the word of the angel. And, behold, I, Nephi, am forbidden that I should write the remainder of the things which I saw and heard; wherefore, the things which I have written, sufficeth me; and I have not written but a small part of the things which I saw. And I bear record, that I saw the things which my father saw, and the angel of the Lord did make them known unto me. -- And now I make an end of speaking concerning the things which I saw, while I was carried away in the spirit; and if all the things which I saw are not written, the things which I have written are true. And thus it is. Amen.

MORMON 1 NEPHI CHAPTER 4

And it came to pass that after I, Nephi, had been carried away in the spirit, and seen all these things, I returned to the ten of my father. And it came to pass that I beheld my brethren, and they were disputing one with another, concerning the things which my father had spoken unto them; for he truly spake many great things unto them, which was hard to be understood, save a man should inquire of the Lord; and they being hard in their hearts, therefore they did not look unto the Lord as they had ought. And now I, Nephi, was grieved because of the hardness of their hearts, and also, because of the things which I had seen, and knew they must unavoidably come to pass, because of the great wickedness of the children of men.

And it came to pass that I was overcome because of my afflictions, for I considered that mine afflictions were great above all, because of the destruction of my people; for I had beheld their fall.

And it came to pass that after I had received strength, I spake unto my brethren, desiring to know of them the cause of their disputations. And they said, Behold, we cannot understand the words which our father hath spoken concerning the natural branches of the olive tree, and also, concerning the Gentiles. And I said unto them, Have ye inquired of the Lord? And they said unto me, we have not; for the Lord maketh no such thing known unto us. Behold, I said unto them, How is it ye do not keep the commandments of the Lord? How is it that ye will perish, because of the hardness of your hearts? Do ye not remember the things which the Lord hath said: If ye will not harden your hearts, and ask me in faith, believing that ye shall receive, with diligence in keeping my commandments, surely, these things shall be made known unto you?

Behold, I say unto you, that the House of Israel was compared unto an olive tree, by the spirit of the Lord which was in our fathers; and, behold, are we not broken off from the House of Israel; and are we not a branch of the House of Israel? And now, the thing which our father meaneth concerning the grafting in of the natural branches through the fulness of the Gentiles, is, that in the latter days, when our seed shall have dwindled in unbelief, yea, for the space of many years, and many generations, after that the Messiah hath manifested himself in body unto the children of men, then shall the fullness of the Gospel of the Messiah come unto the Gentiles, and from the Gentiles unto the remnant of our seed; and at that day, shall the remnant of our seed know that

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they are of the House of Israel, and that they are the covenant people of the Lord; and then shall they know and come to the knowledge of their forefathers, and also to the knowledge of the Gospel of their Redeemer, which was ministered unto their fathers by him; wherefore, they shall come to the knowledge of their Redeemer, and the very points of his doctrine, that they may know how to come unto him and be saved. And then at that day, will they not rejoice and give praise unto their everlasting God, their rock and their salvation? Yea, at that day, will they not receive the strength and nourishment from the true vine? Yea, will they not come unto the true fold of God? Behold, I say unto you, Yea, they shall be remembered again among the House of Israel; they shall be grafted in, being a natural branch of the olive tree, into the true olive tree; and this is what our father meaneth; and he meaneth that it will not come to pass, until after that they are scattered by the Gentiles; and he meaneth that it shall come by way of the Gentiles, that the Lord may shew his power unto the Gentiles, for the very cause that he shall be rejected of the Jews, or of the House of Israel; wherefore, our father hath not spoken of our seed alone, but also of all the House of Israel, pointing to the covenant which should be fulfilled in the latter days; which covenant the Lord made to our father Abraham, saying: In they seed shall all the kindreds of the earth be blessed.

And it came to pass that I, Nephi, spake much unto them concerning these things; yea, I spake unto them concerning the restoration of the Jews, in the latter days; and I did rehearse unto them the words of Isaiah, which spake concerning the restoration of the Jews, or of the House of Israel; and after that they were restored, they should no more be confounded, neither should they be scattered again. And it came to pass that I did speak many words unto my brethren, that they were pacified, and did humble themselves before the Lord.

And it came to pass that they did speak unto me again, saying: What meaneth the thing which our father saw in a dream? What meaneth the tree which he saw? And I said unto them, it was a representation of the tree of life. And they said unto me, What meaneth the rod of iron which our father saw, that led to the tree? And I said unto them, that it was the word of God; and whoso would hearken unto the word of God, and would hold fast unto it, they would never perish; neither could the temptations and the firy darts of the adversary, overpower them unto blindness, to lead them away to destruction. Wherefore I, Nephi, did exhort them to give heed unto the word of the Lord; yea, I did exhort them with all the energies of my soul, and with all the faculty which I possessed that they would give heed to the word of God, and remember to keep his commandments always, in all things. -- And they said unto me, What meaneth the river of water which our father saw? And I said unto them, that the water which my father saw, was filthiness; and so much was his mind swallowed up in other things, that he beheld not the filthiness of the water; and I said unto them, that it was an awful gulf, which separateth the wicked from the tree of life, and also from the Saints of God; and I said unto them, that it was a representation of that awful Hell, which the angel said unto me was prepared for the wicked. And I said unto them, that our father also saw, that the justice of God did also divide the wicked from the righteous; and the brightness thereof was like unto the brightness of a flaming fire, which ascendeth up unto God forever and ever, and hath no end.

And they said unto me, Doth this thing mean the torment of the body in the days of probation, or doth it mean the final state of the soul after the death of the temporal body? or doth it speak of the things which are temporal? And it came to pass that I said unto them, That it was a representation of things both temporal and spiritual; for the day should come that they must be judged of their works, yea, even the works which were done by the temporal body in their days of probation; wherefore, if they should die in their wickedness, they must be cast off; also as to the things which are spiritual, which are pertaining to righteousness; wherefore, they must be brought to stand before God to be judged of their works; and if their works have been filthiness, they must needs be filthy; and if they be filthy, it must needs be that they cannot dwell in the kingdom of God; if so, The kingdom of God must be filthy also. But behold, I say unto you, The kingdom of God is not filthy, and there cannot any unclean thing enter into the kingdom of God; wherefore, there must needs be a place of filthiness prepared for that which is filthy. And there is a place prepared, yea, even that awful Hell of which I have spoken, and the Devil is the preparator of it; wherefore, the final state of the souls of men is to dwell in the kingdom of God, or to be cast out because of that justice of which I have spoken; wherefore, the wicked are rejected from the righteous, and also from that tree of life, whose fruit is most precious and most desirable above all other fruits; yea, and it is the greatest of all the gifts of God. And thus I spake unto my brethren. -- Amen.

MORMON 1 NEPHI CHAPTER 5

And now it came to pass that after I, Nephi, had made an end of speaking to my brethren, behold, they said unto me, Thou hast declared unto us hard things, more than that which we are able to bear.

And it came to pass that I said unto them, That I knew that I had spoken hard things against the wicked, according to the truth; and the righteous have I justified, and testified that they should be lifted up at the last day; wherefore, the guilty taketh the truth to be hard, for it cutteth them to the very centre. And now, my brethren, if ye were righteous, and were willing to hearken to the truth, and give heed unto it, that ye might walk uprightly before God, then ye would not murmur because of the truth, and say thou speaketh hard things against

And it came to pass that I, Nephi, did exhort my brethren, with all diligence, to keep the commandments of the Lord. And it came to pass that they did humble themselves before the Lord; insomuch, that I had joy and great hopes for them, that they would walk in the paths of righteousness. Now all these things were said and done, as my father dwelt in a tent in the valley which he called Lemuel.

And it came to pass that I, Nephi, took one of the daughters of Ishmael to wife; and also my brethren took of the daughters of Ishmael to wife; and also, Zoram took the eldest daghter of Ishmael to wife. And thus my father had fulfilled all the commandments of the Lord, which had been given unto him. And also, I Nephi, had been blessed of the Lord, exceedingly.

And it came to pass that the voice of the Lord spake unto my father, by night, and commanded him, that on the morrow, he should take his journey into the wilderness. And it came to pass that as my father arose in the morning, and went forth to the tent door, to his great astonishment, he beheld upon the ground a round ball, of curious workmanship; and it was of fine brass. And within the ball were two spindles; and the one pointed the way whither we should go into the wilderness.

And it came to pass that we did gather together whatsoever things we should carry into the wilderness, and all the remainder of our provisions which the Lord had given unto us; and we did take seed of every kind, that we might carry into the wilderness.

And it came to pass that we did take our tents, and depart into the wilderness, across the river Laman. And it came to pass that we travelled for the space of four days, nearly a south, southeast direction, and we did pitch our tents again; and we did call the name of the place Shazer.

And it came to pass that we did take our bows and our arrows, and go forth into the wilderness, to slay food for our families; and after that we had slain food for our families, we did return again to our families in the wilderness, to the place of Shazer. And we did go forth again in the wilderness, following the same direction, keeping in the most fertile parts of the wilderness, which was in the borders near the Red Sea, And it came to pass that we did travel for the space of many days, slaying food by the way, with our bows and arrows, and our stones, and our slings; and we did follow the directions of the ball, which led us in more fertile parts of the wilderness. And after that we had travelled for the space of many days, we did pitch our tents, for the space of a time, that we might again rest ourselves and obtain food for our families.

And it came to pass that as I, Nephi, went forth to slay food, behold, I did break my bow, which was made of fine steel; and after that I did break my bow, behold, my brethren were angry with me, because of the loss of my bow, for we did obtain no food. And it came to pass that we did return without food to our families. And being much fatigued, because of their journeying, they did suffer much for want of food.

And it came to pass that Laman and Lemuel, and the sons of Ishmael, did begin to murmur exceedingly, because of their sufferings and afflictions in the wilderness; and also, my father began to murmur against the Lord his God; yea, and they were all exceeding sorrowful, even that they did murmur against the Lord.

Now it came to pass that I, Nephi, having been afflicted with my brethren, because of the loss of my bow; and their bows having lost their springs, it began to be exceeding difficult, yea, insomuch, that we could obtain no food. And it came to pass that I, Nephi, did speak much unto my brethren, because that they had hardened their hearts again, even unto complaining against the Lord their God.

And it came to pass that I, Nephi, did make out of wood a bow, and out of a straight stick, an arrow; wherefore, I did arm myself with a bow and arrow, with a sling, and with stones. And I said unto my father, Whither shall I go, to obtain food? And it came to pass that he did inquire of the Lord, for they had humbled themselves because of my word; for I did say many things unto them in the energy of my soul.

And it came to pass that the voice of the Lord came unto my father; and he was truly chastened because of his murmuring against the Lord; insomuch, that he was brought down into the depths of sorrow. And it came to pass that the voice of the Lord said unto him, Look on the ball, and behold the things which are written! And it came to pass that when my father beheld the things which were written upon the ball, he did fear and tremble exceedingly; and also my brethren, and the sons of Ishmael, and our wives.

And it came to pass that I, Nephi, beheld the pointers which were in the ball, that they did work according to the faith, and diligence, and heed, which we did give unto them.

And there was also written upon them, a new writing, which was plain to read, which did give us understanding concerning the ways of the Lord; and it was written and changed from time to time, according to the faith and diligence which we gave unto it: And thus we see, that by small means, the Lord can bring about great things.

And it came to pass that I, Nephi, did go forth up into the top of the mountain, according to the directions which were given upon the ball. And it came to pass that I did slay beasts, insomuch, that I did obtain food for our families. -- And it came to pass that I did return to our tents, bearing the beasts which I had slain; and now, when they beheld that I had obtained food, how great was their joy. And it came to pass that they did humble themselves before the Lord, and did give thanks unto him.

And it came to pass that we did again take our journey, travelling nearly the same course as in the beginning; and after that we had travelled for the space of many days, we did pitch our tents again, that we might tarry for the space of a time.

And it came to pass that Ishmael died, and was buried in the place which was called Nahom. And it came to pass that the daughters of Ishmael did mourn exceedingly, because of the loss of their father, and because of their afflictions in the wilderness; and they did murmur against my father, because he had brought them out of the land of Jerusalem, saying: Our father is dead; yea, and we have wandered much in the wilderness, and we have suffered much afflictions, hunger, thirst, and fatigue; and after all these sufferings, we must perish in the wilderness with hunger. And thus they did murmur against my father, and also against me; and they were desirous to return again to Jerusalem. And Laman saith unto Lemuel, and also unto the sons of Ishmael, Behold, let us slay our father, and also our brother Nephi, who hath taken it upon him to be our ruler and our teacher, who are his elder brethren. Now, he saith that the Lord hath talked with him, and also, that angels hath ministered unto him! But behold, we know t at he lieth unto us; and he telleth us these things, and he worketh many things by his cunning arts, that he may deceive our eyes, thinking, that he may lead us away into some strange wilderness; and after that he hath led us away, he hath thought to make himself a King and a ruler over us, that he may do with us according to his will and pleasure.

And after this manner, did my brother Laman stir up their hearts to anger.

And it came to pass that the Lord was with us; yea, even the voice of the Lord came and did speak many words unto them, and did chasten them exceedingly; and after that they were chastened by the voice of the Lord, they did turn away their anger, and did repent of their sins, insomuch, that the Lord did bless us again with food, that we did not perish.

And it came to pass that we did again take our journey in the wilderness; and we did travel nearly eastward, from that time forth. And we did travel and wade through much affliction in the wilderness; and our women did bear children in the wilderness. And so great were the blessings of the Lord upon us, that while we did live upon the raw meat in the wilderness, our women did give plenty of suck for their children, and were strong, yea, even like unto the men; and they began to bear the journeyings without murmurings. And thus we see that the commandments of God must be fulfilled. And if it so be that the children of men keep the commandments of God, he doth nourish them, and strengthen them, and provide means whereby they can accomplish the thing which he hath commanded them; wherefore, he did provide means for us while we did sojourn in the wilderness. And we did sojourn for the space of many years, yea, even eight years in the wilderness. And we did come to the land which we called Bountiful, because of its much fruit, and also, wild honey; and all these things were prepared of the Lord, that we might not perish. -- And we beheld the Sea, which we called Irreantum, which being interpreted, is, many waters.

And it came to pass that we did pitch our tents by the seashore; and notwithstanding we had suffered many afflictions and much difficulty, yea, even so much that we cannot write them all, we were exceedingly rejoiced when we came to the seashore; and we called the place Bountiful, because of its much fruit.

And it came to pass that after I, Nephi, had been in the land of Bountiful for the space of many days, the voice of the Lord came unto me, saying: Arise, and get thee into the mountains. And it came to pass that I arose and went up into the mountain, and cried unto the Lord.

And it came to pass that the Lord spake unto me, saying: Thou shalt construct a ship, after the manner which I shall shew thee, that I may carry thy people across these waters.

And I saith, Lord, whither shall I go. that I may find ore to molten, that I may make tools to construct the ship, after the

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manner which thou hast shewn unto me? And it came to pass that the Lord told me whither I should go to find ore, that I might make tools.

And it came to pass that I, Nephi, did make bellowses wherewith to blow the fire, of the skins of beasts; and after that I had made bellowses, that I might have wherewith to blow the fire, I did smite two stones together, that I might make fire; for the Lord had not hitherto suffered that we should make much fire, as we journied in the wilderness; for he saith, I will make that thy food shall become sweet, that ye cook it not; and I will also be your light in the wilderness; and I will prepare the way before you, if it so be that ye shall keep my commandments; wherefore, inasmuch as ye shall keep my commandments, ye shall be led towards the promised land; and ye shall know that it is by me that ye are led. Yea, and the Lord said also, that after ye have arrived to the promised land, ye shall know that I the Lord, am God; and that I, the Lord, did deliver you from destruction; yea, that I did bring you out of the land of Jerusalem; wherefore, I, Nephi, did strive to keep the commandments of the Lord, and I did exhort my brethren to faithfulness and diligence.

And it came to pass that I did make the tools of the ore which I did molten out of rock. And when my brethren saw that I was about to build a ship, they began to murmur against me, saying: Our brother is a fool, for he thinketh that he can build a ship; yea, and he also thinketh that he can cross these great waters. And thus my brethren did complain against me, and were desirous that they might not labor, for they did not believe that I could build a ship; neither would they believe that I was instructed of the Lord.

And now it came to pass that I, Nephi, was exceeding sorrowful, because of the hardness of their hearts; and now when they saw that I began to be sorrowful, they were glad in their hearts, insomuch, that they did rejoice over me, saying: We knew that ye could not construct a ship, for we knew that ye were lacking in judgement; wherefore, thou canst not accomplish so great a work; and thou art like unto our father, led away by the foolish imaginations of his heart; yea, he hath led us out of the land of Jerusalem; and we have wandered, in the wilderness for these many years; and our women have toiled, being big with child; and they have borne children in the wilderness, and suffered all things, save it were death; and it would have been better that they had died, before they came out of Jerusalem, than to have suffered these afflictions. Behold, these many years we have suffered in the wilderness, which time we might have enjoyed our possessions, and the land of our inheritance; yea, and we might have been happy; and we know that the people which were in the land of Jerusalem, were a righteous people; for they kept the statues and the judgements of the Lord, and all his commandments, according to the law of Moses; wherefore, we know that they are a righteous people; and our father hath judged them, and hath led us away because we would hearken unto his words; yea, and our brother is like unto him. And after this manner of language did my brethren murmur and complain against us.

And it came to pass that I, Nephi, spake unto them, saying: Do ye believe that our fathers, which were the children of Israel, would have been led away out of the hands of the Egyptians, if they had not hearkened unto the words of the Lord? Yea, do ye suppose that they would have been led out of bondage, if the Lord had not commanded Moses that he should lead them out of bondage? Now ye know that the children of Israel were in bondage; and ye know that they were laden with tasks, which were grievous to be borne; wherefore, ye know that it must needs be a good thing for them, that they should be brought out of bondage. Now ye know that Moses was commanded of the Lord to do that great work; and ye know that by his word, the waters of the Red Sea were divided hither and thither, and they passed through on dry ground. But ye know that the Egyptians were drowned in the Red Sea, which were the armies of Pharaoh; and ye also know that they were fed with manna, in the wilderness; yea, and ye also know that Moses by his word, according to the power of God which was in him, smote the rock, and there came forth water, that the children of Israel might quench their thirst; and notwithstanding they being led, the Lord their God, their Redeemer, going before them, leading them by day, and giving light unto them by night, and doing all things for them which was expedient for man to receive, they hardened their hearts, and blinded their minds, and prevailed against Moses and against the true and living God.

And it came to pass that according to his word, he did destroy them; and according to his word, he did lead them; and according to his word, he did do all things for them; and there was not any thing done, save it were by his word. And after they had crossed the river Jordan, he did make them mighty, unto the driving out the children of the land, yea, unto the scattering them to destruction. And now do ye suppose that the children of this land, which were in the land of promise, which were driven out by our fathers, do ye suppose that they were righteous? Behold, I say unto you, nay. Do ye suppose that our fathers would have been more choice than they, if they had been righteous? I say unto you, nay, behold the Lord esteemeth all flesh in one: He that is righteous, is favored of God. But, behold, this people had rejected every word of God, and the were ripe in iniquity; and the fulness of the wrath of God was upon them; and the Lord did curse them; and the Lord did curse the land against them, and bless it unto our fathers; yea, he did curse it against them unto their destruction; and he did bless it unto our fathers, unto obtaining power over it. Behold, the Lord hath created the earth, that it should be inhabited; and he hath created his children, that they should possess it. And he raiseth up a righteous nation, and destroyeth the nations of the wicked. And he leadeth away the righteous into precious lands, and the wicked he destroyeth, and curseth the land unto them for their sakes. He ruleth high in the Heavens, for it is his throne, and the earth is his footstool. And he loveth them which will have him to be their God. Behold, he loveth our fathers; and he covenanted with them, yea, even Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and he remembered the covenants which he had made; wherefore, he did bring them out of the land of Egypt, and he did straighten them in the wilderness with his rod, for they hardened their hearts, even as ye have; and the Lord straightened them, because of their iniquity. He sent fiery-flying serpents among them; and after they were bitten, he prepared a way, that they might be healed; and the labor which they had to perform, was to look! and because of the simpleness of the way, or the easiness of it, there were many which perished. And they did harden their hearts from time to time, and they did revile against Moses, and also against God; nevertheless, ye know that they were led forth by his matchless power, into the land of promise. -- And now, after all these things, the time has come that they have become wicked, yea, nearly unto ripeness; and I know not but they are at this day about to be destroyed, for I know that the day must surely come, that they must be destroyed, save a few only, which shall be led away into captivity. wherefore, the Lord commanded my father that he should depart into the wilderness; and the Jews also sought to take away his life; yea, and ye also have sought to take away his life; wherefore, ye are murderers in your hearts, and ye are like unto they: Ye are swift to do iniquity, but slow to remember the Lord your God. Ye have seen the angel, and he spake unto you; yea, ye have heard his voice from time to time; and he hath spoken unto you in a still, small voice, but ye were past feeling, that ye could not feel his words; wherefore, he hath spoken unto you like unto the voice of thunder, which did cause the earth to shake as if it were to divide asunder. And ye also know, that by the power of his almighty word, he can cause the earth that it shall pass away; yea, and ye know that by his word, he can cause the rough places be made smooth, and smooth places shall be broken up. O, then, why is it, that ye can be so hard in your hearts? Behold, my soul is rent with anguish because of you, and my heart is pained: I fear lest ye shall be cast off forever. Behold, I am full of the spirit of God, insomuch as if my frame had no strength.

And now it came to pass that when I had spoken these words, they were angry with me, and were desirous to throw me into the depths of the Sea; and as they came forth to lay their hands upon me, I spake unto them saying: In the name of the Almighty God, I command you that ye touch me not, for I am filled with the power of God, even unto the consuming of my flesh; and whoso shall lay their hands upon me, shall wither even as a dried reed; and he shall be as nought before the power of God, for God shall smite him.

And it came to pass that I, Nephi, saith unto them, That they should murmur no more against their father; neither should they withhold their labor from me, for God had commanded me that I should build a ship. And I saith unto them, If God had commanded me to do all things, I could do it. If he should command me that I should say unto this water, Be thou earth; and if I should say it, it would be done. And now, if the Lord hath such great power, and hath wrought so many miracles among the children of men, how is it that he cannot instruct me, that I should build a ship?

And it came to pass that I, Nephi, said many things unto my brethren, insomuch that they were confounded, and could not contend against me; neither durst they lay their hands upon me, nor touch me with their fingers, even for the space of many days. Now they durst not do this, lest they should wither before me, so powerful was the spirit of God; and thus it had wrought upon them.

And it came to pass that the Lord said unto me, Stretch forth thine hand again unto thy brethren, and they shall not wither before thee, but I will shock them, saith the Lord; and this will I do, that they may know that I am the Lord their God.

And it came to pass that I stretched forth my hand unto my brethren, and they did not wither before me; but the Lord did shake them, even according to the word which he had spoken. And now, they said, We know of a surety, that the Lord is with thee, for we know that it is the power of the Lord that hath shaken us. And they fell down before me, and were about to worship me, but I would not suffer them, saying: I am thy brother, yea, even thy younger brother; wherefore, worship the Lord thy God, and honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God shall give thee.

And it came to pass that they did worship the Lord, and did go forth with me; and we did work timbers of curious workmanship. And the Lord did shew me from time to time, after what manner I should work the timbers of the ship. Now I, Nephi, did not work the timbers after the manner which was learned by men, neither did I build the ship after the manner of men; but I did build it after the manner which the Lord had shewn unto me; wherefore, it was not after the manner of men.

And I, Nephi, did go into the mount oft, and I did pray oft unto the Lord; wherefore, the Lord shewed unto me great things.

And it came to pass that after I had finished the ship according to the word of the Lord, my brethren beheld that it was good, and that the workmanship thereof was exceeding fine; wherefore, they did humble themselves again before the Lord.

And it came to pass that the voice of the Lord came unto my father, that we should arise and go down into the ship. -- And it came to pass that on the morrow, after that we had prepared all things, much fruits and meat from the wilderness, and honey in abundance, and provisions, according to that which the Lord had commanded us, we did go down into the ship with all our loading and our seeds, and whatsoever thing we had brought with us, every one according to his age; wherefore, we did all go down into the ship, with our wives and our children.

And now, my father had begat two sons, in the wilderness: The eldest was called Jacob, and the younger, Joseph. And it came to pass that after we had all gone down into the ship, and had taken with us our provisions and things which had been commanded us, we did put forth into the sea, and were driven forth before the wind, towards the promised land; and after that we had been driven forth before the wind, for the space of many days, behold, my brethren, and the sons of Ishmael, and also their wives, began to make themselves merry, insomuch that they began to dance, and to sing, and to speak with much rudeness, yea, even to that they did forget by what power they had been brought thither; yea, they were lifted up unto exceeding rudeness. And I, Nephi, began to fear exceedingly, lest the Lord should be angry with us, and smite us, because of our iniquity, that we should be swallowed up in the depths of the Sea; wherefore, I, Nephi, began to speak to them with much soberness; but, behold they were angry with me, saying: We will not that our younger brother shall be a ruler over us.

And it came to pass that Laman and Lemuel did take me and bind me with cords, and they did treat me with much harshness; nevertheless, the Lord did suffer it, that he might shew forth his power, unto the fulfilling of his word which he hath spoken, concerning the wicked.

And it came to pass that after they had bound me, insomuch that I could not move, the compass, which had been prepared of the Lord, did cease to work; wherefore, they knew not whither they should steer the ship, insomuch, that there arose a great storm, yea, a great and terrible tempest; and we were driven back upon the waters for the space of three days; and they began to be frightened exceedingly, lest they should be drowned in the Sea; nevertheless, they did loose me not. -- And on the fourth day which we had been driven back, the tempest began to be exceeding sore.

And it came to pass that we were about to be swallowed up in the depths of the Sea. And after that we had been driven back upon the waters for the space of four days, my brethren began to see that the judgement of God was upon them, and that they must perish, save that they should repent of their iniquities; wherefore, they came unto me and loosed the bands which was upon my wrists, and behold, they had much swollen, exceedingly; and also, mine ancles were much swollen, and great was the soreness thereof. Nevertheless, I did look unto my God, and I did praise him all the day long; and I did not murmur against the Lord, because of mine afflictions.

Now, my father, Lehi, had said many things unto them, and also unto the sons of Ishmael; but, behold, they did breathe out much threatnings against any one that should speak for me; and my parents being stricken in years, and having suffered much grief because of their children, they were brought down, yea, even unto their sick beds. Because of their grief, and much sorrow, and the iniquity of my brethren, they were brought near even to be carried out of this time, to meet their God; yea, their gray hairs were about to be brought down to lie low in the dust; Yea, even they were near to be cast into a watery grave. And Jacob and Joseph also, being young, having need of much nourishment, were grieved because of the afflictions of their mother; and also my wife, with her tears and prayers, and also my children, did not soften the hearts of my brethren, that they would loose me; and there was nothing, save it were the power of God, which threatened them with destruction, could soften their hearts; wherefore, when they saw that they were about to be swallowed up in the depths of the sea, they repented to the thing which they had done, insomuch that they loosed me.

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And it came to pass that after they had loosed me, behold, I took the compass, and it did work whither I desired it. And it came to pass that I prayed unto the Lord; and after that I had prayed, the winds did cease, and the storm did cease, and there was a great calm.

And it came to pass that I, Nephi, did guide the ship, that we sailed again toward the promised land. And it came to pass that after we had sailed for the space of many days, we did arrive to the promised land; and we went forth upon the land, and did pitch our tents; and we did call it the promised land.

And it came to pass that we did begin to till the earth, and we began to plant seeds; yea, we did put all our seeds into the earth, which we had brought from the land of Jerusalem. And it came to pass that they did grow exceedingly; wherefore, we were blessed in abundance.

And it came to pass that we did find upon the Land of Promise, as we journied in the wilderness, that there were beasts in the forests of every kind, both the cow, and the ox, and the ass, and the horse, and the goat, and the wild goat, and all manner of wild animals, which were used for the use of men. And we did find all manner of ore, both of gold, and of silver, and of copper.

And it came to pass that the Lord commanded me, wherefore I did make plates of ore, that I might engraven upon them the record of my people. And upon the plates which I made, I did engraven the record of my father, and also our journeyings in the wilderness, and the prophecies of my father; and also, many of mine own prophecies have I engraven upon them. And I knew not at that time when I made them, that I should be commanded of the Lord to make these plates; wherefore, the record of my father, and the genealogy of his fathers, and the more part of all our proceedings in the wilderness, are engraven upon those plates of which I have spoken; wherefore, the things which transpired before that I made these plates, are of a truth, more particularly made mention upon the first plates.

And after that I made these plates by way of commandment, I, Nephi, received a commandment, that the ministry, and the prophecies, the more plain and precious parts of them, should be written upon these plates; and that the things which were written, should be kept for the instruction of my people, which should possess the land, and also for other wise purposes, which purposes, are known unto the Lord; wherefore, I, Nephi, did make a record upon the other plates, which gives an account, or which gives a greater account, of the wars, and contentions, and destructions of my people. And this I have done, and commanded my people that they should do, after that I was gone, and that these plates should be handed down from one generation to another, or from one prophet to another, until further commandments of the Lord. And an account of my making these plates shall be given hereafter; and then behold, I proceed according to that which I have spoken; and this I do, that the more sacred things may be kept for the knowledge of my people. Nevertheless, I do not write any thing upon the plates, save it be that I think it be sacred. And now, if I do err, even did they err of old. Not that I would excuse myself because of other men, but because of the weakness which is in me, according to the flesh, I would excuse myself. For the things which some men esteem to be of great worth, both to the body and soul, others set at nought, and trample under their feet. Yea, even the

very God of Israel, do men trample under their feet; I say, trample under their feet; but I would speak in other words: They do set him at nought, and hearken not to the voice of his counsels; and behold, he cometh according to the words of the angel, in six hundred years from the time my father left Jerusalem: And the world, because of their iniquity, shall judge him to be a thing of nought; wherefore, they scourge him, and he suffereth it; and they smite him, and he suffereth it. Yea, they spit upon him, and he suffereth it, because of his loving kindness and his long suffering towards the children of men. And the God of our fathers, which were led out of Egypt, out of bondage, and also were preserved in the wilderness by him; yea, the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, yieldeth himself according to the words of the angel, as a man, into the hands of wicked men, to be lifted up according to the words of Zenock, and to be crucified, according to the words of Neum, and to be buried in a sepulchre, and according to the words of Zenos, which he spake, concerning the three days of darkness, which should be a sign given of his death, unto them who should inhabit the isles of the sea; more especially given unto them which are of the House of Israel. For thus spake the Prophet: The Lord God surely shall visit the House of Israel at that day: some with his voice, because of their righteousness, unto their great joy and salvation; and others with the thunderings and lightnings of his power, by tempest, by fire, and by smoke, and vapour of darkness, and by the opening of the earth, and by mountains which shall be carried up; and all these things must surely come, saith the Prophet Zenos. And the rocks of the earth must rend; and because the groanings of the earth, many of the Kings of the isles of the sea shall be wrought upon by the spirit of God, to exclaim, The God of nature suffers. And as for they which are at Jerusalem, saith the prophet, shall be scourged by all people, saith the prophet, because they crucify the God of Israel, and turned their hearts aside, rejecting signs, and wonders, and power and glory of the God of Israel; and because they turned their hearts aside, saith the prophet, and have despised the Holy one of Israel, they shall wander in the flesh, and perish, and become a hiss and a by-word, and be hated among all nations; nevertheless, when that day cometh, saith the prophet, that they no more turn aside their hearts against the Holy one of Israel, then will he remember the covenants which he made to their fathers; yea, then will he remember the isles of the sea; yea, and all the people which are of the House of Israel, will I gather in, saith the Lord, according to the words of the Prophet Zenos, from the four quarters of the earth; yea, and all the earth shall see the salvation of the Lord, saith the prophet; every nation, kindred, tongue, and people, shall be blessed.

And I, Nephi, have written these things unto my people, that perhaps I might persuade them that they would remember the Lord their Redeemer; wherefore, I speak unto all the House of Israel, if it so be that they should obtain these things. For behold, I have workings in the spirit, which doth weary me, even that all my joints are weak, for they which are at Jerusalem; for had not the Lord been merciful, to shew unto me concerning them, even as he had prophets of old; for he surely did shew unto the prophets of old, all things concerning them; and also, he did shew unto many, concerning us; wherefore, it must needs be, that we know concerning them, for they are written upon the plates of brass.

MORMON 1 NEPHI CHAPTER 6

Now it came to pass that I, Nephi, did teach my brethren these things. And it came to pass that I did read many things to them, which were engraven upon the plates of brass, that they might know concerning the doings of the Lord in other lands, among people of old. And I did read many things unto them, which were written in the Book of Moses; but that I might more fully persuade them to believe in the Lord their Redeemer, wherefore I did read unto them that which was written by the Prophet Isaiah; for I did liken all the scriptures unto us, that it might be for our profit and learning. Wherefore, I spake unto them, saying: Hear ye the words of the prophet, ye which are a remnant of the House of Israel, a branch of which have been broken off; hear ye the words of the prophet, which was written unto all the House of Israel, and liken it unto yourselves, that ye may have hope as well as your brethren, from whom ye have broken off. For after this manner hath the prophet written:

Hearken and hear this, O house of Jacob, which are called by the name of Israel, and are come forth out of the waters of Judah, which swear by the name of the Lord, and make mention of the God of Israel; yet they swear not in truth, nor righteousness. -- Nevertheless, they call themselves of the Holy city, but they do not stay themselves upon the God of Israel, which is the Lord of hosts; yea, the Lord of hosts is his name. Behold, I have declared the former things from the beginning; and they went forth out of my mouth, and I shewed them; I did shew them suddenly. And I did it because I knew that thou art obstinate, and thy neck was an iron sinew, and thy brow brass; and I have, even from the beginning, declared to thee; before it came to pass I shewed them thee; and I shewed them for fear lest thou shouldst say, Mine idol hath done them; and my graven image, and my molten image, hath commanded them. Thou hast seen and heard all this; and will ye not declare them? And that I have shewed thee new things from this time, even hidden things, and thou didst not know them. They are created now, and not from the beginning; even before the day when thou heardest them not, they were declared unto thee, lest thou shouldst say, Behold, I knew them. Yea, and thou heardest not; yea, thou knewest not; yea, from that time, thine ear was not opened: for I know that thou wouldst deal very treacherously, and wast called a transgressor from the womb.

Nevertheless, for my name sake I will defer mine anger, and for my praise will I refrain from thee, that I cut thee not off. For behold, I have refined thee; I have chosen thee in the furnace of affliction. For mine own sake, yea, for mine own sake, will I do this; for I will not suffer my name to be polluted, and I will not give my glory unto another.

Hearken unto me, O Jacob and Israel, my called; for I am he; and I am the first, and I am also the last. Mine hand hath also laid the foundation of the earth, and my right hand hath spanned the heavens: and I called unto them, and they stand up together. All ye, assemble yourselves, and hear; which among them hath declared these things unto them? The Lord hath loved him: yea, and he will fulfill his word which he hath declared by them; and he will do his pleasure on Babylon, and his arm shall come upon the Chaldeans. Also, saith the Lord: I the Lord, yea, I have spoken, yea, I have called him, to declare I have brought him; and he shall make his way prosperous.

Come ye near unto me; I have not spoken in secret from the beginning; from the time that it was declared, have I spoken; and the Lord God, and his spirit, hath sent me. And thus saith the Lord, thy Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel I have sent him, the Lord thy God, which teacheth thee to profit, which leadeth thee by the way thou shouldst go, hath done it. O that thou hadst hearkened to my commandments! then had thy peace been as a river, and thy righteousness as the waves of the sea; thy seed also had been as the sand; the offspring of thy bowels like the gravel thereof; his name should not have been cut off nor destroyed from before me.

Go ye forth of Babylon, flee ye from the Chaldeans, with a voice of singing declare ye, tell this, utter to the end of the earth; say ye, The Lord hath redeemed his servant Jacob. -- And they thirsted not; he led them through the deserts: he caused the waters to flow out of the rock for them: he cleaved the rock also, and the waters gushed out. And notwithstanding he hath done all this, and greater also, There is no peace, saith the Lord, unto the wicked. And again: Hearken, O ye house of Israel, all ye that are broken off and are driven out, because of the wickedness of the pastors of my people; yea, all ye that are broken off, that are scattered abroad, which are of my people, O house of Israel.

Listen, O isles, unto me; and hearken, ye people, from far; The Lord hath called me from the womb; from the bowels of my mother hath he made mention of my name. And he hath made my mouth like a sharp sword; in the shadow of his hand hath he hid me, and made me a polished shaft; in his quiver hath he hid me; and said unto me, Thou art my servant, O Israel, in whom I will be glorified. Then I said, I have labored in vain, I have spent my strength for nought, and in vain; surely, my judgement is with the Lord, and my work with my God.

And now, saith the Lord, that formed me from the womb that I should be his servant, to bring Jacob again to him, Though Israel be not gathered, yet shall I be glorious in the eyes of the Lord, and my God shall be my strength. And he said, It is a light thing that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the ends of the earth. -- Thus saith the Lord, the Redeemer of Israel, his Holy One, to him whom man despiseth, to him whom the nations abhorreth, to servants of rulers, Kings shall see and arise, princes also shall worship, because of the Lord that is faithful. Thus saith the Lord, In an acceptable time have I heard thee, O isles of the sea, and in a day of salvation have I helped thee: and I will preserve thee, and give thee my servant for a covenant of the people, to establish the earth, to cause to inherit the desolate heritages: that thou mayest say to the prisoners, Go forth; to them that sit in darkness, Shew yourselves. -- They shall feed in the ways, and their pastures shall be in all high places. They shall not hunger or thirst, neither shall the heat or the sun smite them: for he that hath mercy on them shall lead them, even by the springs of water shall he guide them. And I will make all my mountains away, and my highways shall be exalted. And then, O house of Israel, behold, these shall come from far; and lo, these from the north and from the west; and these from the land of Sinim.

Sing, O Heavens; and be joyful, O earth; for the feet of them which are in the east shall be established; and break forth into singing, O mountains: for they shall be smitten no more: for the Lord hath comforted his people, and will have mercy upon his afflicted. But, behold, Zion hath said, The Lord hath forsaken me, and my Lord hath forgotten me; but he will shew that he hath not. For can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? Yea, they may forget, yet will I not forget thee, O house of Israel. Behold, I have graven thee upon the palms of my hands; thy walls are continually before me. Thy children shall make haste against thy destroyers; and they that made thee waste, shall go forth of thee.

Lift up thine eyes round about, and behold: all these gather themselves together, and they shall come to thee. And as I live, saith the Lord, thou shalt surely clothe thee with them all, as with an ornament, and bind them on even as a bride. For thy waste and thy desolate places, and the land of thy destruction, shall even now be too narrow by reason of the inhabitants; and they that swallowed thee up, shall be far away. The children which thou shalt have, after thou hast lost the other, shall again in thine ears say, The place is too straight for me: give place to me that I may dwell. Then shalt thou say in thine heart, Who hath begotten me these, seeing I have lost my children, and am desolate, a captive, and removing to and fro? and who hath brought up these? Behold, I was left alone; these, where have they been? Thus saith the Lord God. Behold, I will lift up mine hand to the Gentiles, and set my standard to the people: and they shall bring thy sons in their arms, and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders. And kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and thy queens thy nursing mothers: they shall bow down to thee with their face towards the earth, and lick up the dust of thy feet; and thou shalt know that I am the Lord: for they shall not be ashamed that wait for me. For shall the prey be taken from the mighty, or the lawful captives delivered? But thus saith the Lord, Even the captives of the mighty shall be taken away, and the prey of the terrible shall be delivered: for I will contend with him that contendeth with thee, and I will save thy children. And I will feed them that oppress thee with their own flesh; they shall be

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drunken with their own blood, as with sweet wine: and all flesh shall know that I the Lord am thy Saviour and thy Redeemer, the mighty one of Jacob.

MORMON 1 NEPHI CHAPTER 7

And now it came to pass that after I, Nephi, after that I had read these things which were engraven upon the plates of brass, my brethren came unto me and said unto me, What meaneth these things which ye have read? Behold, are they to be understood according to the spirit and not the flesh? And I, Nephi, sayeth unto them, Behold, they were made manifest unto the prophet, by the voice of the spirit: for by the spirit are all things made known unto the prophet, which shall come upon the children of men, according to the flesh. Wherefore, the things which I have read, are things pertaining to things both temporal and spiritual: for it appears that the House of Israel, sooner or later, will be scattered upon all the face of the earth, and also among all nations, and before there are many which are already lost from the knowledge of they which are at Jerusalem. Yea, the more part of all the tribes have been led away; and they are scattered to and fro upon the isles of the sea: and wither they are, none of us knoweth, save that we know that they have been led away. -- And since that they have been led away, these things have been prophesied concerning them, and also concerning all they which shall hereafter be scattered and be confounded, because of the Holy One of Israel: for against him will they harden their hearts: wherefore, they shall be scattered among all nations, and shall be hated by all men. Nevertheless, after that they have been nursed by the Gentiles, and the Lord hath lifted up his hand upon the Gentiles and set them up for a standard, and their children shall be carried in their arms, and their daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders, behold, these things of which are spoken, are temporal: for thus is the covenants of the Lord with our fathers; and it meaneth us in the days to come, and also our brethren which are of the House of Israel. And it meaneth that the time cometh that after all the House of Israel have been scattered and confounded, that the Lord God will raise up a mighty nation among the Gentiles, yea, even upon the face of this land; and by them shall our seed be scattered. And after that our seed is scattered, the Lord God will proceed to do a marvellous work among the gentiles, which shall be of great worth unto our seed; wherefore, it is likened unto the being nourished by the Gentiles, and being carried in their arms, and upon their shoulders. And it shall also be of worth unto the Gentiles; and not only unto the Gentiles, but unto all the House of Israel, unto the making known of the covenants of the Father of Heaven unto Abraham, saying, In thy seed shall all the kindreds of the earth be blessed. And I would, my brethren, that ye should know that all the kindreds of the earth cannot be blessed, unless he shall make bare his arm in the eyes of the nations. Wherefore, the Lord God will proceed to make bare his arm in the eyes of all the nations, in bringing about his covenants and his Gospel, unto they which are of the House of Israel. Wherefore, he will bring them again out of captivity, and they shall be gathered together to the lands of their inheritance; and they shall be brought out of obscurity, and out of darkness; and they shall know that the Lord is their Saviour and their Redeemer, the mighty one of Israel. And the blood of that great and abominable church, which is the whore of all the earth, shall turn upon their own heads: for they shall war among themselves, and the sword of their own hands shall fall upon their own heads, and they shall be drunken with their own blood. And every nation which shall war against thee, O house of Israel, shall be turned one against another, and they shall fall into the pit which they digged to ensnare the people of the Lord. And all that fight against Zion, shall be destroyed. And that great whore, which hath perverted the right ways of the Lord; yea, that great and abominable church, shall stumble to the dust, and great shall be the fall of it. For behold, saith the prophet, that the time cometh speedily, that Satan shall have no more power over the hearts of the children of men: forthe day soon cometh, that all the proud and they which do wickedly, shall be as stubble; and the day cometh that they must be burned. For the time soon cometh, that the fulness of the wrath of God shall be poured out upon all the children of men: for he will not suffer that the wicked shall destroy the righteous. Wherefore, he will preserve the righteous by his power, even if it so be that the fulness of his wrath must come, and the righteous be preserved, even unto the destruction of their enemies by fire. Wherefore, the righteous need not fear: for thus saith the prophet, They shall be saved, even if it be so as by fire. Behold, my brethren, I say unto you, that these things must shortly come; yea, even blood, and fire, and vapor of smoke must come; and it must needs be upon the face of this earth; and it cometh unto men according to the flesh, if it so be that they will harden their hearts against the Holy One of Israel: for behold, the righteous shall not perish; for the time surely must come, that all they which fight against Zion, shall be cut off. And the Lord will surely prepare a way for his people, unto the fulfilling of the words of Moses, which he spake, saying: A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you, like unto me; him shall ye hear in all things whatsoever he shall say unto you. And it shall come to pass that all they which will not hear that prophet, shall be cut off from among the people. And now I, Nephi, declare unto you, that this prophet of whom Moses spake, was the Holy One of Israel; wherefore, he shall execute judgement in righteousness; and the righteous need not fear, for it is they which shall not be confounded. But it is the kingdom of the Devil, which shall be built up among the children of men, which kingdom is established among them which are in the flesh: for the time speedily shall come, that all churches which are built up to get gain, and they which are built up to get power over the flesh, and they which are built up to become popular in the eyes of the world, and they which seek the lusts of the flesh and the things of the world, and do all manner of iniquity; yea, in fine, all they which belong to the kingdom of the Devil, it is they which need fear, and tremble, and quake; it is they which must be brought low in the dust; it is they which must be consumed as stubble: and this is according to the words of the prophet. And the time cometh speedily, that the righteous must be led up as calves of the stall, and the Holy One of Israel must reign in dominion, and might, and power, and great glory. And he gathereth his children from the four quarters of the earth; and he numbereth his sheep, and they know him; and there shall be one fold and one shepherd; and he shall feed his sheep, and in him they shall find pasture. -- And because of the righteousness of his people, Satan, hath no power; wherefore, he cannot be loosed for the space of many years: for he hath no power over the hearts of the people, for they dwell in righteousness, and the Holy One of Israel reigneth. And now behold, I, Nephi, say unto you, that all these things must come, according to the flesh. But, behold, all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people, shall dwell safely in the Holy One of Israel, if it so be that they will repent.

And now I, Nephi, make an end; for I durst not speak further as yet, concerning these things. Wherefore, my brethren, I would that ye consider that the things which have been written upon the plates of brass, are true; and they testify that a man must be obedient to the commandments of God. Wherefore, ye need not suppose that I and my father are the only ones that have testified, and also taught them. Wherefore, if ye shall be obedient to the commandments, and endure to the end, ye shall be saved at the last day. And thus it is. Amen.

MORMON 2 NEPHI CHAPTER 1

An account of the death of Lehi. Nephi's brethren rebelleth against him. The Lord warns Nephi to depart into the wilderness, &c. His journeyings in the wilderness, &c.

And now it came to pass after I, Nephi, had made an end of teaching my brethren, our father, Lehi, also spake many things unto them: how great things the Lord had done for them, in bringing them out of the land of Jerusalem. And he spake unto them concerning their rebellions upon the waters, and the mercies of God in sparing their lives, that they were not swallowed up in the sea. And he also spake unto them concerning the land of promise, which they had obtained: how merciful the Lord had been in warning us that we should flee out of the land of Jerusalem. For, Behold, saith he, I have seen a vision, in the which I know that Jerusalem is destroyed; and had we remained in Jerusalem, we should also have perished. But, said he, notwithstanding our afflictions, we have obtained a land of promise, a land which is choice above all other lands; a land which the Lord God hath covenanted with me should be a land for the inheritance of my seed. Yea, the Lord hath covenanted this land unto me, and to my children forever; and also they which should be led out of other countries, by the hand of the Lord. Wherefore, I, Lehi, prophesy according to the workings of the spirit which is in me, that there shall be none come into this land, save they should be brought by the hand of the Lord. Wherefore, this land is consecrated unto him whom he shall bring. And if it so be that they shall serve him according to the commandments which he hath given, it shall be a land of liberty unto them; wherefore, they shall never be brought down into captivity: if so it shall be because of iniquity: for if iniquity shall abound, cursed shall be the land for their sakes; but unto the righteous, it shall be blessed forever. And behold, it is wisdom that this land should be kept as yet from the knowledge of other nations: for behold, many nations would overrun the land, that there would be no place for an inheritance. Wherefore, I, Lehi, have obtained a promise that inasmuch as they which the Lord God shall bring out of the land of Jerusalem shall keep his commandments, they shall prosper upon the face of this land; and they shall be kept from all other nations, that they may possess this land unto themselves. And if it so be that they shall keep his commandments, they shall be blessed upon the face of this land, and there shall be none to molest them, nor to take away the land of their inheritance; and they shall dwell safely forever. But behold, when the time cometh that they shall dwindle in unbelief, after that they have received so great blessings from the hand of the Lord; having a knowledge of the creation of the earth, and all men knowing the great and marvellous works of the Lord from the creation of the world; having power given them to do all things by faith; having all the commandments from the beginning, and having been brought by his infinite goodness into this precious land of promise; behold, I say, if the day shall come that they will reject the Holy One of Israel, the true Messiah their Redeemer and their God, behold, the judgements of him that is just, shall rest upon them; yea, he will bring other nations unto them, and he will give unto them power, and he will take away from them the lands of their possessions; and he will cause them to be scattered and smitten. Yea, as one generation passeth to another, there shall be bloodsheds and great visitations among them; wherefore, my sons, I would that ye would remember; yea, I would that ye would hearken, unto my words. O that ye would awake, awake from the deep sleep, yea, even from the sleep of hell, and shake off the awful chains by which ye are bound, which are the chains which bind the children of men, that they are carried away captive down to the eternal gulf of misery and wo! Awake! and arise from the dust, and hear the words of a trembling parent, whose limbs ye must soon lay down in the cold and silent grave, from whence no traveller can return: a few more days, and I go the way of all the earth. But behold, the Lord hath redeemed my soul from hell: I have beheld his glory, and I am encircled about eternally in the arms of his love. And I desire that ye should remember to observe the statues and the judgements of the Lord: behold, this hath been the anxiety of my soul, from the beginning. My heart hath been weighed down with sorrow from time to time: for I have feared, lest for the hardness of your hearts, lest the Lord your God should come out in the fulness of his wrath, upon you, that ye be cut off and destroyed forever; or, that a cursing should come upon you, for the space of many generations; and ye are visited by sword, and by famine, and are hated, and are led according to the will and the captivity of the Devil. O my sons, that these things might not come upon you, but that ye might be a choice and a favored people of the Lord. But, behold, his will be done: for his ways are righteousness forever; and he hath said, that inasmuch as ye shall keep my commandments, ye shall prosper in the land; but inasmuch as ye will not keep my commandments, ye shall be cut off from my presence. And now that my soul might have joy in you, and that my heart might leave this world with gladness because of you; that I might not be brought down with grief and sorrow to the grave, arise from the dust, my sons, and be men, and be determined in one mind, and in one heart united in all things, that ye may not come down into captivity; that ye may not be cursed with a sore cursing; and also, that ye may not incur the displeasure of a just God upon you, unto the destruction, yea, the eternal destruction of both soul and body. Awake, my sons; put on the armor of righteousness. Shake off the chains with which ye are bound, and come forth out of obscurity. and arise from the dust. Rebel no more against your brother, whose views have been glorious, and who hath kept the commandments from the time that we left Jerusalem, and who hath been an instrument in the hands of God, in bringing us forth into the land of promise: for were it not for him, we must have perished with hunger in the wilderness; nevertheless, ye sought to take away his life; yea, and he hath suffered much sorrow because of you. And I exceedingly fear and tremble because of you, lest he shall suffer again: for behold, ye have accused him that he sought power and authority over you; but I know that he hath not sought power nor authority over you; but he hath sought the glory of God, and your own eternal welfare. And ye have murmured because he hath been plain unto you. Ye say that he hath used sharpness; ye say that he hath been angry with you. But behold, his sharpness was the sharpness of the power of the word of God, which was in him; and that which ye call anger, was the truth, according to that which is in God, which he could not constrain, manifesting boldly concerning your iniquities. And it must needs be that the power of God must be with him, even unto his commanding you, that ye must obey. But behold, it was not him, but it was the spirit of the Lord which was in him, which opened his mouth to utterance that he could not shut it.

And now my son Laman, and also Lemuel and Sam, and also my sons which are the sons of Ishmael, beheld, if ye will hearken unto the voice of Nephi, ye shall not perish, And if ye will hearken unto him, I leave unto you a blessing, yea, even my first blessing, yea, even my blessing, and it shall rest upon him. And now, Zoram, I speak unto you: Behold, thou art the servant of Laban; nevertheless, thou hast been brought out of the land of Jerusalem, and I know that thou art a true friend of my son, Nephi, forever. Wherefore, because thou hast been faithful, thy seed shall be blessed with his seed, that they dwell in prosperity long upon the face of this land; and nothing, save it shall be iniquity among them, shall harm or disturb their prosperity upon the face of this land forever. -- Wherefore, if ye shall keep the commandments of the Lord, the Lord hath consecrated this land for the security of thy seed with the seed of my son. And now, Jacob, I speak unto you; Thou art my first born in the days of my tribulation in the wilderness. And behold, in thy childhood, thou hast suffered afflictions and much sorrow, because of the rudeness of thy brethren. Nevertheless, Jacob, my first born in the wilderness, thou knowest the greatness of God; and he shall consecrate

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thine afflictions for thy gain. Wherefore, thy soul shall be blessed, and thou shall dwell safely with thy brother, Nephi; and thy days shall be spent in the service of thy God. -- Wherefore, I know that thou art redeemed because of the righteousness of thy Redeemer: for thou hast beheld, that in the fulness of time, he cometh to bring salvation unto men. And thou hast beheld in thy youth, his glory; wherefore, thou art blessed even as they unto whom he shall minister in the flesh: for the spirit is the same, yesterday, to-day, and forever. And the way is prepared from the fall of man, and salvation is free. And men are instructed sufficiently, that they know good from evil. And the law is given unto men. And by the law, no flesh is justified; or, by the law, men are cut off. Yea, by the temporal law, they were cut off; and also, by the spiritual law, they perish from that which is good, and become miserable forever. Wherefore, redemption cometh in and through the Holy Messiah: for he is full of grace and truth. Behold, he offereth himself a sacrifice for sin, to answer the ends of the law, unto all those which have a broken heart and a contrite spirit; and unto none else can the ends of the law be answered. Wherefore, how great the importance to make these things known unto the inhabitants of the earth, that they may know that there is no flesh that can dwell in the presence of God, save it be through the merits, and mercy, and the grace of the Holy Messiah, which layeth down his life according to the flesh, and taketh it again by the power of the spirit, that he may bring to pass the resurrection of the dead, being the first that should rise. Wherefore, he is the first fruits unto God, inasmuch as he shall make intercession for all the children of men; and they that believe in him, shall be saved. And because of the intercession for all, all men cometh unto God; wherefore, they stand in the presence of Him, to be judged of Him, according to the truth and holiness which is in him. Wherefore, the ends of the law which the Holy One hath given, unto the inflicting of the punishment which is affixed, which punishment that is affixed is in opposition to that of the happiness which is affixed, to answer the ends of the atonement; for it must needs be, there is an opposition in all things. If not so, my first born in the wilderness, righteousness could not be brought to pass; neither wickedness; neither holiness nor misery; neither good or bad. Wherefore, all things must needs be a compound in one; wherefore, if it should be one body, it must needs remain as dead, having no life, neither death nor corruption, nor incorruption, happiness nor misery, neither sense or insensibility. Wherefore, it must needs have been created for a thing of nought; wherefore, there would have been no purpose in the end of its creation. Wherefore, this things must needs destroy the wisdom of God, and his eternal purposes; and also, the power, and the mercy, and the justice of God. And if ye shall say there is no law, ye shall also say there is no sin. If ye shall say there is no sin, ye shall also say there is no righteousness. -- And if there be no righteousness, there be no happiness. And if there be no righteousness nor happiness, there be no punishment nor misery. And if these things are not, there is no God. And if there is no God, we are not, neither the earth: for there could have been no creation of things, neither to act nor to be acted upon; wherefore, all things must have vanished away.

And now, my sons, I speak unto you these things, for your profit and learning: for there is a God, and he hath created all things, both the heavens and the earth, and all things that in them is; both things to act, and things to be acted upon; and to bring about his eternal purposes in the end of man, after that he created our first parents, and the beasts of the field, and the fowls of the air, and in fine, all things which are created, it must needs be that there was an opposition; even the forbidden fruit in opposition to the tree of life; the one being sweet and the other bitter; wherefore, the Lord God gave unto man, that he should act for himself. Wherefore, man could not act for himself, save it should be that he were enticed by the one or the other.

And I, Lehi, according to the things which I have read must needs suppose, that an angel of God, according to that which is written, had fallen from Heaven; wherefore, he became a Devil, having sought that which was evil before God. And because he had fallen from Heaven, and had become miserable forever, he sought also the misery of all mankind. -- Wherefore, he sayeth unto Eve, yea, even that old serpent, which is the Devil, which is the father of all lies; wherefore he sayeth, Partake of the forbidden fruit, and ye shall not die, but ye shall be as God, knowing good and evil. And after that Adam and Eve had partaken of the forbidden fruit, they were driven out from the garden of Eden, to till the earth. And they brought forth children; yea, even the family of all the earth. And the days of children of men were prolonged, according to the will of God, that they might repent while in the flesh; wherefore, their state being a state of probation, and their time was lengthened, according to the commandments which the Lord God gave unto the children of men. For he gave a commandment that all men must repent; for he shewed unto all men that they were lost, because of the transgression of their parents. And now, behold, if Adam had not transgressed, he would not have fallen; but he would have remained in the garden of Eden. And all things which were created, must have remained in the same state which they were, after that they were created; and they must have remained forever, and had no end. And they would have had no children; wherefore, they would have remained in a state of innocence, having no joy, for they knew no misery: doing no good, for they knew no sin. But, behold, all things have been done in the wisdom of Him who knoweth all things. Adam fell, that men might be; and men are, that they might have joy. And the Messiah cometh in the fulness of time, that he might redeem the children of men from the fall. And because that they are redeemed from the fall, they have become free forever, knowing good from evil; to act for themselves. and not to be acted upon, save it be by the punishment of law, at the great and last day, according to the commandments which God hath given. Wherefore, men are free according to the flesh; and all things are given them which is expedient unto man. And they are free to choose liberty and eternal life, through the mediation of all men, or to choose captivity and death, according to the captivity and the power of the Devil: for he seeketh that all men might be miserable like unto himself.

And now, my sons, I would that ye looked to the great mediator, and hearken unto his great commandments; and be faithful unto his words, and choose eternal life, according to the will of his Holy Spirit, and not choose eternal death, according to the will of the flesh and the evil which is therein, which giveth the spirit of the Devil power to captivate, to bring you down to hell, that he may reign over you in his own kingdom.

I have spoken these few words unto you all, my sons, in the last days of my probation; and I have chosen the good part according to the words of the prophet. And I have none another object save it be the everlasting welfare of your souls. -- Amen.

MORMON 2 NEPHI CHAPTER 2

And now I speak unto you, Joseph, my last born. Thou wast born in the wilderness of mine afflictions; yea, in the days of my greatest sorrow, did thy mother bear thee. And may the Lord consecrate unto thee this land, which is a most precious land for thine inheritance and the inheritance of thy seed with thy brethren, for thy security forever, if it so be that ye shall keep the commandments of the Holy One of Israel. And now, Joseph, my last born, whom I have brought out of the wilderness of mine afflictions, may the Lord bless thee forever, for thy seed shall not utterly be destroyed. For behold, thou art the fruit of my loins; and I am a descendant of Joseph, which was carried captive into Egypt. And great was the covenants of the Lord, which he made unto Joseph; wherefore, Joseph truly saw our day. And he obtained a promise of the Lord, that out of the fruit of his loins, the Lord God would raise up a righteous branch unto the House of Israel; not the Messiah, but a branch which was broken off; nevertheless, to be remembered in the covenants of the Lord, that the Messiah should be made manifest unto them in the latter days in the spirit of power, unto the bringing of them out of the darkness unto the light; yea, out of hidden darkness and out of captivity unto freedom. For Joseph truly testified saying: A seer shall the Lord my God raise up, which shall be a choice seer unto the fruit of my loins. Yea, Joseph truly said thus saith the Lord unto me: A choice seer will I raise up out of the fruit of thy loins; and he shall be esteemed highly among the fruit of thy loins. And unto him will I give commandment, that he shall do a work for the fruit of thy loins, his brethren, which shall be of great worth unto them, even to the bringing of them to the knowledge of the covenants which I have made with thy fathers. And I will give unto him a commandment, that he shall do none other work, save the work which I shall command him. And I will make him great in mine eyes: for he shall do my work. And he shall be great like unto Moses, whom I have said I would raise up unto you, to deliver my people, O house of Israel. And Moses will I raise up, to deliver thy people out of the land of Egypt. Bat a seer will I raise up out of the fruit of thy loins; and unto him will I give power to bring forth my word unto the seed of thy loins; and not to the bringing forth my word only, saith the Lord, but to the convincing them of my word, which shall have already gone forth among them. Wherefore, the fruit of my loins shall write; and the fruit of the loins of Judah shall write; and that which shall be written by the fruit of thy loins, and also that which shall be written by the fruit of the loins of Judah, shall grow together, unto the confounding of false doctrines, and laying down of contentions, and establishing peace among the fruit of thy loins, and bringing them to the knowledge of their fathers in the latter days; and also to the knowledge of my covenants, saith the Lord. And out of weakness he shall be made strong, in that day when my work shall commence among all my people, unto the restoring thee, O house of Israel, saith the Lord. And thus prophesied Joseph, saying: Behold, that seer will the Lord bless; and they that seek to destroy him, shall be confounded: for this promise, of which I have obtained of the Lord, of the fruit of thy loins, shall be fulfilled. Behold, I am sure of the fulfilling of this promise. And his name shall be called after me; and it shall be after the name of his father. And he shall be like unto me; for the thing which the Lord shall bring forth by his hand, by the power of the Lord shall bring my people unto salvation; yea, thus prophesied Joseph. I am sure of this thing, even as I am sure of the promise of Moses: for the Lord hath said unto me, I will preserve thy seed forever. And the Lord hath said I will raise up a Moses; and I will give power unto him in a rod; and I will give judgement unto him in writing. Yet I will not loose his tongue, that he shall speak much: for I will not make him mighty in speaking. But I will write unto him my law, by the finger of mine own hand; and I will make a spokesman for him. And the Lord said unto me also, I will raise up unto the fruit of thy loins; and I will make for him a spokesman. And I, behold, I will give unto him, that he shall write the writing of the fruit of thy loins, unto the fruit of thy loins; and the spokesman of thy loins shall declare it. And the words which he shall write, shall be the words which is expedient in my wisdom, should go forth unto the fruit of thy loins. And it shall be as if the fruit of thy loins had cried unto them from the dust: for I know their faith. And they shall cry from the dust; yea, even repentance unto their brethren, even that after many generations have gone by them. And it shall come to pass that their cry shall go, even according to the simpleness of their words. Because of their faith, their words shall proceed forth out of my mouth unto their brethren, which are the fruit of thy loins; and the weakness of their words will I make strong in their faith, unto the remembering of my covenant which I made unto thy fathers.

And now, behold, my son, Joseph, after this manner did my father of old prophesy. Wherefore, because of this covenant, thou art blessed: for thy seed shall not be destroyed, for they shall hearken unto the words of the Book. And there shall raise up one, mighty among them, which shall do much good, both in word and in deed, being an instrument in the hands of God, with exceeding faith, to work mighty wonders, and do that thing which is great in the sight of God, unto the bringing to pass much restoration unto the House of Israel, and unto the seed of thy brethren. And now, blessed art thou, Joseph. Behold, thou art little; wherefore, hearken unto the words of thy brother Nephi, and it shall be done unto thee, even according to the words which I have spoken. Remember, the words of thy dying father. Amen.

MORMON 2 NEPHI CHAPTER 3

And now, I, Nephi, speak concerning the prophecies of which my father hath spoken, concerning Joseph, who was carried into Egypt: For behold, he truly prophesied concerning all his seed. And the prophecies which he wrote, there are not many greater. And he prophesied concerning us, and our future generations: and they are written upon the plates of brass. Wherefore, after my father had made an end of the speaking concerning the prophecies of Joseph, he called the children of Laman, his sons, and his daughters, and sayeth unto them, Behold, my sons, and my daughters, which are the sons and the daughters of my first born. I would that ye should give ear unto my words: for the Lord God hath said, That inasmuch as ye shall keep my commandments, ye shall prosper in the land; and inasmuch as ye will not keep my commandments, ye shall be cut off from my presence. But behold, my sons and my daughters, I cannot go down to my grave, save I should leave a blessing upon you: For behold, I know that if ye are brought up in the right way that ye should go, ye will not depart from it. Wherefore, if ye are cursed, behold, I leave my blessing upon you, that the cursing may be taken from you, and be answered upon the heads of your parents. Wherefore, because of my blessing, the Lord God will not suffer that ye shall perish; wherefore, he will be merciful unto you, and unto your seed, forever.

And it came to pass that after my father had made an end of speaking to the sons and daughters of Laman, he caused the sons and daughters of Lemuel to be brought before him. And he spake unto them, saying: Behold, my sons and my daughters, which are the sons and the daughters of my second son; behold, I leave unto you the same blessing which I left unto the sons and daughters of Laman; wherefore, thou shalt not utterly be destroyed; but in the end, thy seed shall be blessed.

And it came to pass that when my father had made an end of speaking unto them, behold, it came to pass that he spake unto the sons of Ishmael, yea, and even all his household. And after that he had made an end of speaking unto them, he spake unto Sam, saying: Blessed art thou, and thy seed: for thou shalt inherit the land, like unto thy brother, Nephi. And thy seed shall be numbered with his seed; and thou shalt be even like unto thy brother, and thy seed like unto his seed; And thou shalt be blessed in all thy days.

And it came to pass that after Lehi had spake unto all his household, according to the feelings of his heart, and the spirit of the Lord which was in him, he waxed old. And it came to pass that he died, and was buried.

And it came to pass that not many days after his death, Laman and Lemuel, and the sons Ishmael, were angry with me, because of the admonitions of the Lord: for I, Nephi, was constrained to speak unto them according to the word. For I had spake many things unto them, and also my father, before

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his death; many of which sayings, are written upon mine other plates: for a more history part are written upon mine other plates. And upon these I write the things of my soul, and many of the Scriptures which are engraven upon the plates of brass: For my soul deliteth in the Scriptures; and my heart pondereth them, and writeth them for the learning and the profit of my children. Behold, my soul delighteth in the things of the Lord; and my heart pondereth continually upon the things which I have seen and heard. Nevertheless, notwithstanding the great goodness of the Lord, in shewing me his great and marvelous works, my heart exclaimeth, O wretched man that I am; yea, my heart sorroweth, because of my flesh. My soul grieveth, because of mine iniquities. I am encompassed about, because of the temptations and the sins which doth so easily beset me. And when I desire to rejoice, my heart groaneth because of my sins; nevertheless, I know in whom I have trusted. My God hath been my support; he hath led me through mine afflictions in the wilderness; and he hath preserved me upon the waters of the great deep. He hath filled me with his love, even unto the consuming of my flesh. He hath confounded mine enemies, unto the causing of them to quake before me. Behold, he hath heard my cry by day, and he hath given me knowledge by visions in the night time. And by day have I waxed bold in mighty prayer before him; yea, my voice have I sent upon high; and angels came down and ministered unto me. And upon the wings of his spirit hath my body been carried away upon exceeding high mountains. And mine eyes hath beheld great things; yea, even too great for man; therefore I was bidden that I should not write them. O then, if I have seen so great things; if the Lord in his condescension unto the children of men, hath visited men in so much mercy, why should my heart weep, and my soul linger in the valley of sorrow, and my flesh wasteth away, and my strength slacken, because of mine afflictions? And why should I yield to sin, because of my flesh? Yea, why should I give away to temptations, that the evil one have place in my heart, to destroy my peace and afflict my soul? Why am I angry because of mine enemy? Awake, my soul! No longer droop in sin. Rejoice O my heart, and give place no more for the enemy of my soul. Do not anger again, because of mine enemies. Do not slacken my strength, because of mine afflictions. Rejoice, O my heart, and cry unto the Lord, and say, O Lord, I will praise thee forever; yea, my soul will rejoice in thee, my God, and the rock of my salvation. O Lord, wilt thou redeem my soul? Wilt thou deliver me out of the hands of mine enemies? Wilt thou make me that I may shake at the appearance of sin? May the gates of hell be shut continually before me, because that my heart is broken and my spirit is contrite? O Lord, wilt thou shut the gates of thy righteousness before me, that I may walk in the path of the low valley, that I may be strict in the plain road? O Lord, wilt thou encircle me around in the robe of thy righteousness? O Lord, wilt thou make a way for mine escape before mine enemies? Wilt thou make my path straight before me? Wilt thou not place a stumbling block in my way? But that thou wouldst clear my way before me, and hedge not up my way, but the ways of mine enemy. O Lord, I have trusted in thee, and I will trust in thee forever. I will not put my trust in the arm of flesh; for I know that cursed is he that putteth his trust in the arm of flesh. -- Yea, cursed is he that putteth his trust in man, or maketh flesh his arm. Yea, I know that God will give liberally to him that asketh. Yea, my God will give me, if I ask not amiss; therefore I will lift up my voice unto thee; yea, I will cry unto thee, my God, the rock of my righteousness. Behold, my voice shall forever ascend up unto thee, my rock and mine everlasting God. Amen.

MORMON 2 NEPHI CHAPTER 4

Behold, it came to pass that I, Nephi, did cry much unto the Lord my God, because of the anger of my brethren. But behold, their anger did increase against me, insomuch that they did seek to take away my life. Yea, they did murmur against me, saying: Our younger brother thinketh to rule over us; and we have had much trial because of him; wherefore, now let us slay him, that we may not be afflicted more because of his words. For behold, we will not that he shall be our ruler: for it belongeth unto us, which are the elder brethren, to rule over this people. Now I do not write upon these plates, all the words which they murmured against me. But it sufficeth me to say, that they seek to take away my life.

And it came to pass that the Lord did warn me, that I, Nephi, should depart from them, and flee into the wilderness, and all they which would go with me. Wherefore, it came to pass that I, Nephi, did take my family, and also Zoram and his family, and Sam, mine elder brother, and his family, and Jacob and Joseph, my younger brethren, and also my sisters, and all they which would go with me. And all they which would go with me, were they which believed in the warnings and the revelations of God; Wherefore, they did hearken unto my words. And we did take our tents and whatsoever things were possible for us, and did journey in the wilderness for the space of many days. And after that we had journied for the space of many days, we did pitch our tents. And my people would that we should call the name of the place Nephi; wherefore, we did call it Nephi. And all they which were with me, did take it upon them to call themselves the people of Nephi. And we did observe to keep the judgements, and the statues, and the commandments of the Lord, in all things, according to the law of Moses. And the Lord was with us; and we did prosper exceedingly: for we did sow seed, and we did reap again in abundance. And we began to raise flocks, and herds, and animals of every kind. And I, Nephi, had also brought the records which were engraven upon the plates of brass; and also the ball, or compass, which was prepared for my father, by the hand of the Lord, according to that which is written.

And it came to pass that we began to prosper exceedingly, and to multiply in the land. And I, Nephi, did take the sword of Laban, and after the manner of it did make many swords, lest by any means the people which were now called Lamanites, should come upon us and destroy us: for I knew their hatred towards me and my children, and they which were called my people. And I did teach my people, that they should build buildings; and that they should work in all manner of wood, and of iron, and of copper, and of brass, and of steel, and of gold, and of silver, and of precious ores which were in great abundance. And I, Nephi, did build a temple; and I did construct it after the manner of the temple of Solomon, save it were not built of so many precious things: for they were not to be found upon the land; wherefore, it could not be built like unto Solomon's temple. But the manner of the construction was like unto the temple of Solomon; and the workmanship thereof was exceeding fine.

And it came to pass that I, Nephi, did cause my people that they should be industrious, and that they should labor with their hands. And it came to pass that they would that I should be their King. But I, Nephi, was desirous that they should have no King; nevertheless, I did do for them according to that which was in my power. And behold, the words of the Lord had been fulfilled unto my brethren, which he spake concerning them, that I should be their ruler and their teacher; wherefore, I had been their ruler and their teacher, according to the commandments of the Lord, until the time that they sought to take away my life. Wherefore, the word of the

Lord was fulfilled which he spake unto me, saying: That inasmuch as they will not hearken unto thy words, they shall be cut off from his presence. And he had caused the cursing to come upon them, yea, even a sore cursing, because of their iniquity. For behold, they had hardened their hearts against him, that they had become like unto a flint; wherefore, as they were white, and exceeding fair and delightsome, that they might not be enticing unto my people, therefore the Lord God did cause a skin of blackness to come upon them. And thus saith the Lord God, I will cause that they shall be loathsome unto thy people, save they shall repent of their iniquities. And cursed shall be the seed of him that mixeth with their seed: for they shall be cursed even with the same cursing. And the Lord spake it, and it was done. And because of their cursing which was upon them, they did become and idle people, full of mischief and subtlety, and did seek in the wilderness for beasts of prey. And the Lord God said unto me, they shall be a scourge unto thy seed, to stir them up in remembrance of me, and inasmuch as they will not remember me, and hearken unto my words, they shall scourge them even unto destruction.

And it came to pass that I, Nephi, did consecrate Jacob and Joseph, that they should be priests and teachers over the land of my people. And it came to pass that we lived after the manner of happiness. And thirty years had passed away from the time we left Jerusalem. And I, Nephi, had kept the record upon my plates, which I had made of my people thus far.

And it came to pass that the Lord God said unto me, Make other plates; and thou shalt engraven many things upon them which are good in my sight, for the profit of thy people. -- Wherefore, I, Nephi, to be obedient to the commandments of the Lord, went and made these plates upon which I have engraven these things. And I engravened that which is pleasing unto God. And if my people be pleased with the things of God, they be pleased with mine engravings which are upon these plates. And if my people desire to know the more particular part of the history of my people, they must search mine other plates. And if it sufficeth me to say, that forty years had passed away, and we had already had wars and contentions with our brethren.

MORMON 2 NEPHI CHAPTER 5

The words of Jacob, the brother of Nephi, which he spake unto the people of Nephi: Behold, my beloved brethren, that I, Jacob, having been called of God, and ordained after the manner of his holy order, and having been consecrated by my brother, Nephi, unto whom ye look as a king or a protector, and on whom ye depend for safety, behold, ye know that I have spoken unto you exceeding many things; nevertheless, I speak unto you again: for I am desirous for the welfare of your souls. Yea, mine anxiety is great for you; and ye yourselves know that it ever has been. For I have exhorted you with all diligence; and I have taught you the words of my father; and I have spoken unto you concerning all things which are written from the creation of the world.

And now, behold, I would speak unto you concerning things which are, and which are to come; wherefore, I will read you the words of Isaiah. And they are the words which my brother hath desired me that I should speak unto you. And I speak them unto you for your sakes, that ye may learn and glorify the name of your God. And now, the words which I shall read, are they which Isaiah spake concerning all the House of Israel; wherefore, they may be likened unto you: for ye are of the House of Israel. And there are many things which have been spoken by Isaiah, which may be likened unto you, because that ye are of the House of Israel.

And now, these are the words: Thus saith the Lord God: Behold, I will lift up my hand to the Gentiles, and set up my standard to the people; and they shall bring thy sons in their arms, and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders. And kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers: they shall bow down to thee with their faces towards the earth, and lick up the dust of thy feet; and thou shalt know that I am the Lord: for they shall not be ashamed that wait for me.

And now I, Jacob, would speak somewhat concerning these words: For behold, the Lord hath shewn me that they which were at Jerusalem, from whence we came, have been slain and carried away captive; nevertheless, the Lord hath shewn unto me, that the Lord God, the Holy One of Israel, should manifest himself unto them in the flesh; and after that he should manifest himself, they should scourge him and crucify him, according to the words of the angel, which spake it unto me. And after that they have hardened their hearts and stiffened their necks against the Holy One of Israel, behold, the judgements of the Holy One of Israel shall come upon them. And the day cometh that they shall be smitten and afflicted. Wherefore, after they are driven to and fro, for thus saith the angel, many shall be afflicted in the flesh and shall not be suffered to perish, because of the prayers of the faithful: wherefore, they shall be scattered, and smitten, and hated; nevertheless, the Lord will be merciful unto them, that when they shall come to the knowledge of their Redeemer, they shall be gathered together again to the land of their inheritance.

And blessed are the Gentiles, they of whom the prophet hath written: for behold, if it so be that they shall repent and fight not against Zion, and do not unite themselves to that great and abominable church, they shall be saved: for the Lord God will fulfill his covenants which he hath made unto his children; and for this cause, the prophet hath written these things. Wherefore, they that fight against Zion and the covenant people of the Lord, shall lick up the dust of their feet; and the people of the Lord shall not be ashamed. For the people of the Lord are they which wait for him: for they still wait for the coming of the Messiah. And behold, according to the words of the prophet, the Messiah will set himself again the second time, to recover them; wherefore, he will manifest himself unto them in power and great glory, unto the destruction of their enemies, when that day cometh when they shall believe in him; and none will he destroy that believeth in him. And they that believe not in him, shall be destroyed, both by fire, and by tempest, and by earthquakes, and by bloodshed, and by pestilence, and by famine. And they shall know that the Lord is God, the Holy One of Israel: for shall the prey be taken from the mighty, or the lawful captive delivered? But thus saith the Lord: Even the captives of the mighty shall be taken away, and the prey of the terrible shall be delivered: for the Mighty God shall deliver his covenant people. For thus saith the Lord: I will contend with them that contendeth with thee, and I will feed them that oppress thee, with their own flesh; and they shall be drunken with their own blood, as with sweet wine; and all flesh shall know that I the Lord am thy saviour and thy Redeemer, the Mighty One of Jacob. Yea, for thus saith the Lord: Have I put thee away, or have I cast thee off forever? For thus saith the Lord: Where is the bill of your mother's divorcement? To whom have I put thee away, or to which of my creditors have I sold you? Yea, to whom have I sold you? Behold, for your iniquities have ye sold yourselves, and for your transgressions is your mother put away; wherefore, when I come, there was no man; when I called, yea, there was none to answer.

O House of Israel, is my hand shortened at all that it cannot redeem, or have I no power to deliver? Behold, at my rebuke, I dry up the sea, I make their rivers a wilderness and their fish to stink, because the waters are dried up; and they die because of thirst. I clothe the heavens with blackness, and I make sackcloth their covering. The Lord God hath given me the tongue of the learned, that I should know how to speak a word in season unto thee, O House of Israel. When ye are weary, he waketh morning by morning. He waketh mine ear to hear as the learned. The Lord God hath appointed mine ear, and I was not rebellious, neither turned away back. I gave my back to the smiter, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair. I hid not my face from shame and spitting, for the Lord God will help me: therefore shall I not be confounded. Therefore have I set my face like a flint, and I know that I shall not be ashamed; and the Lord is near, and he justifieth me. Who will contend with me? let us stand together. Who is mine adversary? let him come near me, and I will smite him with the

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strength of my mouth: for the Lord God will help me. And all they which shall condemn me, behold, all they shall wax old as a garment, and the moth shall eat them up.

Who is among you that feareth the Lord; that obeyeth the voice of his servant; that walketh in darkness, and hath no light? Behold, all ye that kindleth fire, that compass yourselves about with sparks: walk in the light of your fire, and in the sparks which ye have kindled. This shall ye have of mine hand: Ye shall lie down in sorrow. Hearken unto me, ye that follow after righteousness: Look unto the rock from whence ye are hewn, and the hole of the pit from whence ye are digged. Look unto Abraham, your father; and unto Sarah, she that bare you: for I called him alone, and blessed him. For the Lord shall comfort Zion: he will comfort all her waste places; and he will make her wilderness like Eden, and her desert like the garden of the Lord. Joy and gladness shall be found therein, thanksgiving and the voice of melody.

Hearken unto me my people; and give ear unto me, O my nation: for a law shall proceed from me, and I will make my judgement to rest for a light thing of the people. My righteousness is near; my salvation is gone forth, and mine arm shall judge the people. The isles shall wait upon me, and on mine arm shall they trust. Lift up your eyes to the heavens, and look upon the earth beneath: for the heavens shall vanish away like smoke, and the earth shall wax old like a garment; and they that dwell therein, shall die in like manner. But my salvation shall be forever; and my righteousness shall not be abolished.

Hearken unto me, ye that know righteousness, the people in whose heart I have written my law; fear ye not the reproach of men; neither be ye afraid of their revilings: for the moth shall eat them up like a garment, and the worm shall eat them like wool. But my righteousness shall be forever; and my salvation from generation to generation.

Awake, awake! Put on strength O arm of the Lord: awake as in the ancient days. Art thou not it that hath cut Rahab, and wounded the dragon? Art thou not it which hath dried the sea, the waters of the great deep; that hath made the depths of the sea a way for the ransomed to pass over? Therefore, the redeemed of the Lord shall return, and come with singing unto Zion; and everlasting joy and holiness shall be upon their heads; and they shall obtain gladness and joy: sorrowing and mourning shall flee away. I am he; yea, I am he that comforteth you: Behold, who art thou, that thou shouldst be afraid of man, which shall die, and of the Son of man, which shall be made like unto grass; and forgetest the Lord thy maker, that hath stretched forth the heavens, and laid the foundations of the earth; and hast feared continually every day, because of the fury of the oppressor, as if he were ready to destroy? And where is the fury of the oppressor? The captive exile hasteneth, that he may be loosed, and that he should not die in the pit, nor that his bread should fail. -- But I am the Lord thy God, whose waves roared: the Lord of Hosts is my name. And I have put my words in thy mouth, and hath covered thee in the shadow of mine hand, that I may plant the heavens and lay the foundations of the earth, and say unto Zion, Behold, thou art my people. Awake, awake, stand up, O Jerusalem, which hast drunk at the hand of the Lord the cup of his fury; thou hast drunken the dregs of the cup of trembling rung out; and none to guide her among all the sons she hath brought forth; neither that taketh her by the hand, of all the sons she hath brought up. These two sons are come unto thee; who shall be sorry for thee? thy desolation and destruction, and the famine and the sword: And by whom shall I comfort thee? Thy sons have fainted, save these two: they lie at the heads of all the streets, as a wild bull in a net: they are full of the fury of the Lord, the rebuke of thy God.

Therefore hear now this, thou afflicted, and drunken, and not with wine: thus saith thy Lord, The Lord and thy God pleadeth the cause of his people, Behold, I have taken out of thine hand the cup of trembling, the dregs of the cup of my fury; thou shalt no more drink it again. But I will put it into the hand of them that afflict thee; which I said to thy soul, Bow down, that we may go over: and thou hast laid thy body as the ground, and as the street, to them that went over. Awake, awake, put on thy strength, O Zion; put on thy beautiful garments, O Jerusalem, the holy city: for henceforth there shall no more come into thee, the uncircumcised and the unclean. Shake thyself from the dust; arise, sit down, O Jerusalem: loose thyself from the bands of thy neck, O captive daughter of Zion.

MORMON 2 NEPHI CHAPTER 6

And now, my beloved brethren, I have read these things that ye might know concerning the covenants of the Lord; that he hath covenanted with all the House of Israel; that he hath spoken unto the Jews, by the mouth of his holy prophets, even from the beginning down, from generation to generation, until the time cometh that they shall be restored to the true Church and fold of God; when they shall be gathered home to the lands of their inheritance, and shall be established in all their lands of promise.

Behold, my beloved brethren, I speak unto these things that ye may rejoice, and lift up your heads forever, because of the blessings which the Lord God shall bestow upon your children. For I know that thou hast searched much, many of you, to know of things to come; wherefore I know that ye know that our flesh must waste away and die; nevertheless, in our bodies, we shall see God. Yea, and I know that ye know, that in the body he shall shew himself unto they at Jerusalem, from whence we came; for it is expedient that it should be among them; for it behoveth the Great Creator that he suffereth himself to become subject unto man, in the flesh, and die for all men, that all men might become subject unto him. For as death hath passed upon all men, to fulfil the merciful plan of the Great Creator, there must needs be a power of resurrection, and the resurrection must needs come unto man by reason of the fall; and the fall came by reason of transgression; and because man became fallen, they were cut off from the presence of the Lord; wherefore it must needs be an infinite atonement; save it should be an infinite atonement, this corruption could not put on corruption. Wherefore, the first judgement which came upon man, must needs have remained to an endless duration. And if so, this flesh must have laid down to rot and to crumble to its mother earth, to rise no more.

O the wisdom of God! his mercy and grace! For behold, if the flesh should rise no more, our spirits must become subject to that Angel which fell from before the presence of the Eternal God, and became the Devil, to rise no more. And our spirits must have become like unto him, and we become Devils, Angels to a Devil, to be shut out from the presence of our God, and to remain with the father of lies, in misery, like unto himself; yea, to that being who beguiled our first parents; who transformeth himself nigh unto an angel of light, and stirreth up the children of men unto secret combinations of murder, and all manner of secret works of darkness.

O how great the goodness of our God, who prepareth a way for our escape from the grasp of this awful monster; yea, that monster, death and hell, which I call the death of the body, and also the death of the spirit. And because of the way of deliverance of our God, the Holy One of Israel, this death, of which I have spoken, which is the temporal, shall deliver up its dead; which death is the grave. And this death of which I have spoken, which is the spiritual death is hell; wherefore, death and hell must deliver up its dead, and hell must deliver up its captive spirits, and the grave must deliver up its captive bodies, and the bodies and the spirits of men will be restored, one to the other: and it is by the power of the resurrection of the Holy One of Israel.

O how great the plan of our God! For on the other hand, the paradise of God must deliver up the spirits of the righteous, and the grave deliver up the body of the righteous; and the spirit and the body is restored to itself again, and all men become incorruptible, and immortal, and they are living souls, having a perfect knowledge like unto us, in the flesh; save it be that our knowledge shall be perfect; wherefore, we shall have a perfect knowledge of all our guilt, and our uncleanness, and our nakedness; and the righteous shall have a perfect knowledge of their enjoyment, and their righteousness, being clothed with purity, yea, even with the robe of righteousness.

And it shall come to pass, that when all men shall have passed from this first death unto life, inasmuch as they have become immortal, they must appear before the judgement seat, and then they must be judged according to the holy judgement of God. And assuredly, as the Lord liveth, for the Lord God hath spoken it, and it is his eternal word, which cannot pass away, that they which are righteous, shall be righteous still, and they which are filthy, shall be filthy still; wherefore, they which are filthy, are the Devil and his angels; and they shall go away into everlasting fire, prepared for them; and their torment is a lake of fire and brimstone, whose flames ascendeth up forever and ever, and hath no end.

O the greatness and the justice of our God! For he executeth all his words, and they have gone forth out of his mouth, and his law must be fulfilled. But, behold, the righteous, the saints of the Holy One of Israel, they which have believed in the Holy One of Israel; they which have endured the crosses of the world, and despised the shame of it; they shall inherit the Kingdom of God, which was prepared for them from the foundation of the world: and their joy shall be full forever.

O the greatness of the mercy of our God, the Holy One of Israel! For he delivereth his saints from that awful monster, the Devil, and death and hell, and that lake of fire and brimstone, which is endless torment.

O how great the holiness of our God! For he knoweth all things, and there is not any thing, save he know it. And he cometh into the world that he may save all men, if they will hearken unto his voice: for behold, he suffereth the pains of all men; yea, the pains of every living creature, both men women and children, which belong to the family of Adam. -- And he suffereth this, that the resurrection might pass upon all men, that all might stand before him, at the great and judgement day. And he commandeth all men that they must repent, and be baptised in his name, having perfect faith in the Holy One of Israel, or they cannot be saved in the Kingdom of God. And if they will not repent and believe in his name, and be baptised in his name, and endure to the end, they must be damned; for the Lord God, the Holy One of Israel, hath spoken it; wherefore he hath given a law; and where there is no law given, there is no punishment; and where there is no punishment, there is no condemnation; and where there is no condemnation, the mercies of the Holy One of Israel hath claim upon them, because of the atonement: for they are delivered by the power of him: for the atonement satisfieth the demands of his justice upon all those who have not the law given to them, that they are delivered from that awful monster, death and hell, and the Devil, and the lake of fire and brimstone, which is endless torment; and they are restored to that God who gave them breath, which is the Holy One of Israel.

But wo unto him that hath the law given; yea, that hath all the commandments of God, like unto us, and that transgresseth them, and that wasteth the days of his probation: for awful is his state!

O that cunning plan of the evil one! O the vainness, and the frailties, and the foolish of men! When they are learned, they think they are wise, and they hearken not unto the counsel of God, for they set it aside, supposing they know of themselves. Wherefore, their wisdom if foolishness, and it profiteth them not. Wherefore they shall perish.

But to be learned is good, if it so be that they hearken unto the counsels of God. But wo unto the rich, which are rich as to the things of the world. For because that they are rich, they despise the poor, and they persecute the meek, and their hearts are upon their treasures; wherefore their treasure is their God. And behold, their treasure shall perish with them also. And wo unto the deaf, that will not hear: for they shall perish. Wo unto the blind, that will not see: for they shall perish also. Wo unto the uncircumcised of heart: for a knowledge of their iniquities shall smite them at the last day. Wo unto the liar: for he shall be thrust down to hell. Wo unto the murderer, who deliberately killeth: for he shall die.

Wo unto them who commit whoredoms: for they shall be thrust down to hell. Yea, wo unto they that worship Idols: for the Devil of all Devil's delighteth in them. And, in fine, wo unto all they that die in their sins: for they shall return to God, and behold his face, and remain in their sins.

O, my beloved brethren, remember the awfulness in transgressing against that holy God, and also the awfulness of yielding to the enticing of that cunning one. Remember, to be carnally minded, is death, and to be spiritually minded, is life eternal.

O, my beloved brethren, give ear to my words. Remember the greatness of the Holy One of Israel. Do not say that I have spoken hard things against you: for if ye do, ye will revile against the truth: for I have spoken the words of your Maker. I know that the words of truth are hard against all uncleanness; but the righteous fear it not, for they love the truth, and are not shaken.

O then, my beloved brethren, come unto the Lord, the Holy One. Remember that his paths are righteousness. Behold, the way for man is narrow, but it lieth in a straight course before him, and the keeper of the gate is the Holy One of Israel: and he employeth no servant there; and there is none other way, save it be by the gate, for he cannot be deceived; for the Lord God is his name. And whoso knocketh, to him will he open, and the wise, and the learned, and they that are rich, which are puffed up because of their learning, and their wisdom, and their riches; yea, they are they, whom he despiseth; and save they shall cast these things away, and consider themselves fools before God, and come down in the depths of humility, he will not open unto them. But the things of the wise and the prudent, shall be hid from them forever; yea, that happiness which is prepared for the Saints. O my beloved brethren, remember my words: Behold, I take off my garments, and I shake them before you: I pray the God of my salvation hat he view me with his All-searching eye; wherefore, ye shall know at the last day, when all men shall be judged of their works, that the God of Israel did witness that I shook your iniquities from my soul, and that I stand with brightness before him, and am rid of your blood.

O my beloved brethren, turn away from your sins; shake off the chains of him that would bind you fast; come unto that God which is the rock of your salvation. Prepare your souls for that glorious day, when justice shall be administered unto the righteous; even the day of judgement, that ye may not shrink with awful fear; that ye may not remember your awful guilt in perfectness, and be constrained to exclaim, Holy, holy are thy judgements, O Lord God Almighty. But I know my guilt; I transgressed thy law, and my transgressions are mine; and the Devil hath obtained me, that I am prey to his awful misery. But behold, my brethren, is it expedient that I should awake you to an awful reality of these things? Would I harrow up your souls, if your minds were pure? Would I be plain unto you according to the plainness of the truths, if ye were freed from sin? Behold, if ye were holy, I would speak unto you of holiness; but as ye are not holy, and ye look upon me as a teacher, it must needs be expedient that I teach you the consequences of sin. Behold, my soul abhorreth sin, and my heart delighteth in righteousness; and I will praise the holy

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name of my God. Come. my brethren, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters; and he that hath no money, come buy and eat; yea, come buy wine and milk without money and without price. Wherefore, do not spend money for that which is of no worth, nor your labor for that which cannot satisfy. Hearken diligently unto me, and remember the words which I have spoken; and come unto the Holy One of Israel, and feast upon that which perisheth not, neither can be corrupted, and let your soul delight in fatness. Behold, my beloved brethren, remember the words of your God; pray unto him continually by day, and give thanks unto his holy name at night. Let your hearts rejoice, and behold how great the covenants of the Lord, and how great his condescentions unto the children of men; and because of his greatness, and his grace and mercy, he hath promised unto us that our seed shall not utterly be destroyed, according to the flesh, but that he would preserve them; and in future generations, they shall become a righteous branch unto the House of Israel. And now, my brethren, I would speak unto you more; but on the morrow I will declare unto you the remainder of my words. Amen.

MORMON 2 NEPHI CHAPTER 7

And now, I, Jacob, speak unto you again, my beloved brethren, concerning this righteous branch of which I have spoken.

For behold, the promises which we have obtained, are promises unto us according to the flesh; wherefore, as it hath been shown unto me that many of our children shall perish in the flesh, because of unbelief, neverthelass, God will be merciful unto many; and our children shall be restored, that they may come to that which will give them the true knowledge of their Redeemer. Wherefore, as I said unto you, it must needs be expedient that Christ, (for in the last night the Angel spake unto me that this should be his name,) should come among the Jews, among they which are the more wicked part of the world; and they shall crucify him: For thus it behooveth our God; and there is none other nation on earth that would crucify their God. For should the mighty miracles be wrought among other nations, they would repent, and know that he be their God; but because of priest-crafts and iniquities, they at Jerusalem will stiffen their necks against him, that he be crucified. Wherefore, because of their iniquities, destructions, famines, pestilences, and bloodsheds, shall come upon them; and they which shall not be destroyed, shall be scattered among all nations.

But behold, thus saith the Lord God: When the day cometh that they shall believe in me, that I am Christ, they have I covenanted with their fathers that they shall be restored in the flesh, upon the earth, unto the lands of their inheritance. And it shall come to pass that they shall be gathered in from their long dispersion, from the isles of the sea, and from the four parts of the earth; and the nation of the Gentiles shall be great in the eyes of me, saith God, in carrying them forth to the lands of their inheritance. Yea, the kings of the Gentiles shall be nursing fathers unto them, and their queens shall become nursing mothers, wherefore, the promises of the Lord are great unto the Gentiles: for he hath spoken it, and who can dispute. But behold, This land, saith God, shall be a land of thine inheritance; and the Gentiles shall be blessed upon the land. And this land shall be a land of liberty unto the Gentiles; and there shall be no kings upon the land, which shall raise up unto the Gentiles. And I will fortify this land against all other nations; and he that fighteth against Zion, shall perish, saith God: for he that raiseth up a king against me, shall perish. For I the Lord, the King of Heaven, will be their king; and I will be a light unto them forever, that hear my words. Wherefore, for this cause, that my covenants may be fulfilled, which I have made unto the children of men, that

I will do unto them while they are in the flesh, I must needs destroy the secret works of darkness, and of murders of abomination; wherefore, he that fighteth against Zion, both Jew and Gentile, both bond and free, both male and female, shall perish: for they are they which are the whore of all the earth; for they which are not for me, are against me, saith our God. For I will fulfill my promises which I have made unto the children of men, that I will do unto them while they are in the flesh. Wherefore, my beloved brethren, thus saith our God: I will afflict thy seed by the hand of the Gentiles; nevertheless, I will soften the hearts of the Gentiles, that they shall be like unto a father to them; wherefore, the Gentiles shall be blessed and numbered among the House of Israel. -- Wherefore, I will consecrate this land unto thy seed and they which shall be numbered among thy seed, forever, for the land of their inheritance: For it is a choice land, saith God unto me, above all other lands; wherefore, I will have all men that dwell thereon, that they shall worship me, saith God.

And now, my beloved brethren, seeing that our merciful God hath given us so great knowledge concerning these things, let us remember him, and lay aside our sins, and not hang our heads, for we are not cast off; nevertheless, we have been driven out of the land of our inheritance; but we have been led to a better land: for the Lord hath made the sea our path, and we are upon an isle of the sea. But great is the promises of the Lord unto they which are upon the isles of the sea; wherefore, as it sayeth isles, there must needs be more than this; and they are inhabited also by our brethren. For behold, the Lord God hath led away from time to time from the House of Israel, according to his will and pleasure. And now, behold, the Lord remembereth all they which have been broken off; wherefore, he remembereth us also. Therefore cheer up your hearts, and remember that ye are free to act for yourselves: to choose the way of everlasting death, or the way of eternal life. Wherefore, my beloved brethren, reconcile yourselves to the will of God, and not to the will of the Devil and the flesh; and remember that after ye are reconciled unto God, that it is only in and through the grace of God that ye are saved. Wherefore, may God raise you from death, by the power of the resurrection; and also from everlasting death, by the power of the atonement, that ye may be received into the Eternal Kingdom of God, that ye may praise him through Grace Divine. Amen.

MORMON 2 NEPHI CHAPTER 8

And now Jacob spake many more things to my people at that time; nevertheless, only these things have I caused to be written: for the things which I have written, sufficeth me.

And now I, Nephi, write more of the words of Isaiah: for my soul delighteth in his words. For I will liken his words unto my people; and I will send them forth unto all my children: for he verily saw my Redeemer, even as I have seen him. And my brother Jacob also hath seen him as I have seen him; wherefore, I will send their words forth unto my children, to prove unto them that my words are true. Wherefore, by the words of three, God hath said, I will establish my word. Nevertheless, God sendeth more witnesses; and he proveth all his words. Behold, my soul delighteth in proving unto my people the truth of the coming of Christ: for, this end hath the law of Moses been given; and all things which have been given of God from the beginning of the world, unto man, are the typifying of him. And also, my soul delighteth in the covenants of the Lord which he hath made to our fathers; yea, my soul delighteth in his grace, and his justice, and power, and mercy, in the great and eternal plan of deliverance from death. And my soul delighteth in proving unto my people, that save Christ should come, all men must perish. For if there be no Christ, there be no God; and if there be no God, we are not, for there could have been no creation. -- But there is a God, and he is Christ; and he cometh in the fulness of his own time.

And now, I write some of the words of Isaiah, that whoso of my people which shall see these words, may lift up their hearts and rejoice for all men. Now, these are the words; and ye may liken them unto you, and unto all men.

The word that Isaiah, the son of Amoz, saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem: And it shall come to pass in the last days, when the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow into it, and many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people: and they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. O house of Jocob, come ye and let us walk in the light of the Lord; yea, come, for ye have all gone astray, every one to his wicked ways.

Therefore, O Lord, thou hast forsaken thy people, the house of Jacob, because they be replenished from the east, and hearken unto soothsayers like the Philistines, and they please themselves in the children of strangers. Their land also is full of silver and gold, neither is there any end of their treasures; their land is also full of horses, neither is there any end of their chariots: their land also is full of idols; they worship the work of their own hands, -- that which their own fingers have made: and the mean man boweth down, and the great man humbleth himself not: therefore forgive him not.

O ye wicked ones, enter into the rock, and hide thee in the dust, for the fear of the Lord, and the glory of his majesty shall smite thee. And it shall come to pass that the lofty looks of man shall be humbled, and the haughtiness of men shall be bowed down, and the Lord alone shall be exalted in that day. For the day of the Lord of hosts soon cometh upon all nations; yea, upon every one; yea, upon the proud and lofty, and upon every one which is lifted up; and he shall be brought low: yea, and the day of the Lord shall come upon all the cedars of Lebanon, for they are high and lifted up; and upon all the oaks of Bashan, and upon all the high mountains, and upon all the hills, and upon all the nations which are lifted up, and upon every people, and upon every high tower, and upon every fenced wall, and upon all the ships of the sea, and upon all the ships of Tarshish, and upon all pleasant pictures. And the loftiness of man shall be bowed down, and the haughtiness of men shall be made low: and the Lord alone shall be exalted in that day. And the idols he shall utterly abolish. And they shall go into the holes of the rocks, and into the caves of the earth, for the fear of the Lord shall come upon them; and the glory of his majesty shall smite them, when he ariseth to shake terribly the earth. In that day a man shall cast his idols of silver and his idols of gold, which he hath made for himself to worship, to the moles and to the bats; to go into the clefts of the rocks, and into the tops of the ragged rocks, for the fear of the Lord shall come upon them, and the majesty of his glory shall smite them when he ariseth to shake terribly the earth. Cease ye from man, whose breath is in his nostrils: for wherein is he to be accounted of?

For behold, the Lord, the Lord of hosts, doth take away from Jerusalem and from Judah the stay and the staff, the whole staff of bread, and the whole stay of water, the mighty man, and the man of war, the judge, and the prophet, and the prudent, and the ancient, the captain of fifty, and the honorable man, and the counsellor, and the cunning artificer, and the eloquent orator. And I will give children unto them to be their princes, and babes shall rule over them. And the people shall be oppressed, every one by another, and every one by his neighbour: the child shall behave himself proudly against the ancient, and the base against the honorable. When a man shall take hold of his brother of the house of his father, and shall say, Thou hast clothing, be thou our ruler, and let not this ruin come under thy hand: in that day shall he swear, saying, I will not be a healer; for in my house there is neither bread or clothing: make me not a ruler of the people. For Jerusalem is ruined, and Judah is fallen: because their tongues are their doings have been against the Lord, to provoke the eyes of his glory.

The shew of their countenance doth witness against them, and doth declare their sin to be even as Sodom, and they cannot hide it. Wo unto their souls! for they have rewarded evil unto themselves. Say unto the righteous, that it is well with them: for they shall eat the fruit of their doings. Wo unto the wicked! for they shall perish: for the reward of their hands shall be upon them.

And my people, children are their oppressors, and women rule over them. O my people, they which lead thee cause thee to err, and destroy the ways of thy paths. The Lord standeth up to plead, and standeth to judge the people. The Lord will enter into judgement with the ancients of his people, with the princes thereof: for ye have eaten up the vineyard, and the spoil of the poor in your houses. What mean ye? Ye beat my people to pieces, and grind the faces of the poor, saith the Lord God of hosts.

Moreover the Lord saith, Because the daughters of Zion are haughty, and walk with stretched necks and wanton eyes, walking and mincing as they go,, and making a tinkling with their feet: therefore the Lord will smite with a scab the crown of the head of the daughters of Zion, and the Lord will discover their secret parts. In that day the Lord will take away the bravery of tinkling ornaments, and cauls, and round tires like the moon, the chains, and the bracelets, and mufflers, the bonnets, and the ornaments of the legs, and the head-bands, and the tablets, and the ear-rings, the rings, and nose-jewels, the changeable suits of apparel, and the mantles, and the wimples, and the crisping-pins, the glasses, and the fine linen, and hoods, and the vails.

And it shall come to pass, instead of sweet smell, there shall be stink; and instead of a girdle, a rent; and instead of well set hair, baldness; and instead of a stomacher, a girding of sack cloth: burning instead of beauty. Thy men shall fall by the sword, and thy mighty in the war. And her gates shall lament and mourn; and she shall be desolate, and shall sit upon the ground.

And in that day, seven women shall take hold of one man, saying, We will eat our own bread, and wear our own apparel: only let us be called by the name, to take away our reproach. In that day shall the branch of the Lord be beautiful and glorious; the fruit of the earth excellent and comely to them that are escaped of Israel.

And it shall come to pass, them that are left in Zion, and remaineth in Jerusalem, shall be called holy, every one that is written among the living in Jerusalem: when the Lord shall have washed away the filth of the daughters of Zion, and shall have purged the blood of Jerusalem from the midst thereof by the spirit of judgement, and by the spirit of burning. And the Lord will create upon every dwelling-place of mount Zion, and upon her assemblies a cloud of smoke by day, and the shining of a flaming fire by night: for upon all the glory of Zion shall be a defence. And there shall be a tabernacle for a shadow in the day time from the heat, and for a place of refuge, and a covert from storm and from rain.

And then I will sing to my well beloved a song of my beloved touching his vineyard. My well-beloved hath a vineyard in a very fruitful hill: and he fenced it, and gathered out the stones thereof, and planted it with the choicest vine, and built a tower in the midst of it, and also made a wine-press therein: and he looked that it should bring forth grapes, and it brought forth wild grapes. And now, O inhabitants of Jerusalem, and men of Judah, judge, I pray you, betwixt me and my vineyard. What could have been done more to my vineyard, that I have not done in it? wherefore, when I looked that it should bring forth grapes, it brought forth wild grapes.

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And now go to; I will tell you what I will do to my vineyard: I will take away the hedge thereof, and it shall be eaten up; and I will break down the wall thereof, and it shall be trodden down: and I will lay it waste: it shall not be pruned, nor digged; but there shall come up briars and thorns: I will also command the clouds that they rain no rain upon it. For the vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the House of Israel, and the men of Judah his pleasant plant: and he looked for judgement, and behold oppression; for righteousness, but behold a cry.

Wo unto them that join house to house, till there can be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth! In mine ears, said the Lord of hosts, Of a truth many houses shall be desolate, and great and fair cities without inhabitant. Yea, ten acres of vineyard shall yield one bath, and the seed of a horner shall yield an ephah.

Wo unto them that rise up early in the morning, that they may follow strong drink; that continue until night, and wine inflame them! And the harp, and the viol the tabret, and pipe, and wine, are in their feasts: but they regard not the work of the Lord, neither consider the operation of his hands. Therefore my people are gone into captivity, because they have no knowledge: and their honorable men are famished, and their multitude dried up with thirst. Therefore hell hath enlarged herself, and opened her mouth without measure: and their glory, and their multitude, and their pomp, and he that rejoiceth, shall descend into it. And the mean man shall be brought down, and the mighty man shall be humbled, and the eyes of the lofty shall be humbled: but the Lord of hosts shall be exalted in judgement, and God that is holy shall be sanctified in righteousness. Then shall the lamb feed after their manner, and the waste places of the fat ones shall strangers eat. Wo unto them that draw iniquity with cords of vanity, and sin as it were with a cart-rope: that say, Let him make speed, hasten his work, that we may see it: and let the counsel of the Holy One of Israel draw nigh and come, that we may know it.

Wo unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter! Wo unto the wise in their own eyes, and prudent in their own sight! Wo unto the mighty to drink wine, and men of strength to mingle strong drink: which justify the wicked for reward, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him! Therefore as the fire devoureth and the stubble, and the flame consumeth the chaff, their root shall be rottenness, and their blossoms shall go up as dust: because they have cast away the law of the Lord of hosts, and despised the word of the Holy One of Israel. Therefore is the anger of the Lord kindled against his people, and he hath stretched forth his hand against them, and hath smitten them: and the hills did tremble, and their carcases were torn in the midst of the streets. For all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand stretched out still.

And he will lift up an ensign to the nations from far, and will hiss unto them from the end of the earth; and behold they shall come with speed swiftly: none shall be weary nor stumble among them; non shall slumber or sleep; neither shall the girdle of their loins be loosed, not the lachet of their shoes be broken: whose arrows shall be sharp, and all their bows bent, and their horses' hoofs shall be counted like flint, and their wheels like a whirlwind, their roaring like a lion. -- They shall roar like young lions: yea, they shall roar, and lay hold of the prey, and shall carry away safe, and none shall deliver. And in that day they shall roar against them like the roaring of the sea: and if they look unto the land, behold, darkness and sorrow, and the light is darkened in the heavens thereof.

MORMON 2 NEPHI CHAPTER 9

In the year that king Uzziah died, I saw also the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple. Above it stood the seraphims: each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly. And one cried unto another, and said, Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts: the whole earth is full of his glory. And the posts of the door moved at the voice of him that cried, and the house was filled with smoke.

Then said I, Wo me! for I am undone; because I a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips: for mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of hosts. -- Then flew one of the seraphims unto me, having a live coal in his hand, which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar: and he laid it upon my mouth, and said, Lo, this has touched thy lips; and thine iniquity is taken away, and thy sin purged. Also I heard the voice of the Lord, saying, Whom shall I send, and who will go for us? Then I said, Here I; send me.

And he said, Go, and tell this people, Hear ye indeed, but they understand not; and see ye indeed, but they perceived not. Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy. and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed. Then said I, Lord, how long? And he said, Until the cities be wasted without inhabitant, and the houses without man, and the land be utterly desolate; and the Lord have removed men far away, for there shall be a great forsaking in the midst of the land.

But yet in there shall be a tenth, and they shall return, and shall be eaten: as a teil-tree, and as an oak whose substance is in them, when they cast their leaves: so the holy seed shall be the substance thereof.

And it came to pass in the days of Ahaz the son of Jotham, the son of Uzziah, king of Judah, and Rezin, king of Syria, and Pekah the son of Remaliah, king of Israel, went up towards Jerusalem to war against it, but could not prevail against it. And it was told the house of David, saying, Syria is confederate with Ephraim. And his heart was moved, and the heart of his people, as the trees of the wood are moved with the wind. Then said the Lord unto Isaiah, Go forth now to meet Ahaz, thou, and Shearjashub thy son, at the end of the conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's field; and say unto him, Take heed, and be quiet; fear not, neither be faint-hearted for the two tails of these smoking fire-brands, for the fierce anger of Rezin with Syria, and of the son of Remaliah. Because Syria, Ephraim, and the son of Remaliah, have taken evil counsel against thee, saying, Let us go up against Judah, and vex it, and let us make a breach therein for us, and set a king in the midst of it, yea the son of Tabeal: thus saith the Lord God, it shall not stand, neither shall it come to pass. For the head of Syria is Damascus, and the head of Damascus, Rezin: and within threescore and five years shall Ephraim be broken, that it be not a people. And the head of Ephraim is Samaria, and the head of Samaria is Remaliah's son. If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established.

Moreover, the Lord spake again unto Ahaz, saying, Ask thee a sign of the Lord thy God; ask it either in the depths, or in the heights above. But Ahaz said, I will not ask, neither will I tempt the Lord. And he said, Hear ye now, O house of David; Is it a small thing for you to weary men, but will ye weary my God also? Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign: Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and shall bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel. Butter and honey shall he eat, that he may know to refuse the evil, and to choose the good. For before the child shall know to refuse the evil and choose the good, the land that thou abhorrest shall be forsaken of both her kings.

The Lord shall bring upon thee, and upon thy people, and upon thy father's house, days that have not come, from the day that Ephraim departed from Judah, the king of Assyria. And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall hiss for the fly that is in the uttermost part of Egypt, and for the bee that is in the land of Assyria. And they shall come, and shall rest all of them in the desolate valleys, and in the holes of the rocks, and upon all thorns, and upon all bushes. In the same day shall the Lord shave with a razor that is hired, by them beyond the river, by the king of Assyria, the head, and the hair of the feet: and it shall also consume the beard. And it shall come to pass in that day, a man shall nourish a young cow, and two sheep; and it shall come to pass, for the abundance of milk they shall give, he shall eat butter: for butter and honey shall every one eat that is left in the land. -- And it shall come to pass in that day, every place shall be, where there were a thousand vines at a thousand silverlings, which shall be for briers and thorns. With arrows and with bows shall men come thither; because all the land shall become briers and thorns. And all the hills that shall be digged with the mattock, there shall not come thither the fear of briers and thorns: but is shall be for the sending forth of oxen, and treading of lesser cattle.

Moreover, the word of the Lord said unto me, Take thee a great roll, and write in it with a man's pen concerning Maher-shalal-hash-baz. And I took unto me faithful witnesses to record, Uriah the priest, and Zechariah, the son of Jeberechiah. And I went unto the prophetess; and she conceived and bear a son. Then said the Lord to me, Call his name Maher-shalal-hash-baz. For behold, the child shall not have knowledge to cry, My father, and my mother, before the riches of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria shall be taken away before the king of Assyria.

The Lord spake also unto me again, saying, Forasmuch as this people refuseth the waters of Shiloah that go softly, and rejoice in Rezin and Remaliah's son; now therefore, behold, the Lord bringeth up upon the waters of the river, strong and many, even the king of Assyria, and all his glory: and he shall come up over all his channels, and go over all his banks: and he shall pass through Judah; he shall overflow and go over, he shall reach even to the neck; and the stretching out of his wings shall fill the breadth of thy land, O Immanuel.

Associate yourselves, O ye people, and ye shall be broken in pieces; and give ear all ye of far countries: gird yourselves, and ye shall be broken in pieces; gird yourselves, and ye shall be broken in pieces. Take counsel together and it shall come to nought; speak the word, and it shall not stand: for God is with us.

For the Lord spake thus to me with a strong hand, and instructed me that I should not walk in the way of this people, saying, Say ye not. A confederacy, to all to whom this people shall say, A confederacy; neither fear ye their fear, nor be afraid. Sanctify the Lord of hosts himself, and let him be your fear, and let him be your dread. And he shall be for a sanctuary; but for a stone of stumbling and for a rock of offence to both the Houses of Israel, for a gin and a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. And many among them shall stumble, and fall, and be broken, and be snared, and be taken. -- Bind up the testimony, seal the law among my disciples. And I will wait upon the Lord, that hideth his face from the house of Jacob, and I will look for him. Behold, I and the children whom the Lord hath given me are for signs and for wonders in Israel from the Lord of hosts, which dwelleth in mount Zion.

And when they shall say unto you, Seek unto them that have familiar spirits, and unto wizards that peep, and mutter: should not a people seek unto their God? for the living to hear from the dead? to the law and to the testimony: and if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them. And they shall pass through it, hardly bestead and hungry: and it shall come to pass, that when they shall be hungry, they shall fret themselves, and curse their king and their God, and look upward. And they shall look unto the earth; and behold trouble and darkness, dimness of anguish, and shall be driven to darkness.

Nevertheless the dimness shall not be such as was in her vexation, when at the first he lightly afflicted the land of Zebulun, and the land of Naphtali, and afterwards did more grievously afflict by the way of the Red Sea beyond Jordan, in Galilee of the nations. The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined. Thou hast multiplied the nations, and increased the joy: they joy before thee according to the joy in harvest, and as men rejoice when they divide the spoil. For thou hast broken the yoke of his burden, and the staff of his shoulder, the rod of his oppressor. For every battle of the warrior with confused noise, and garments rolled in blood; but this shall be with burning and fuel of fire. For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace. Of the increase of government and peace there is no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgement and justice from henceforth even forever. The zeal of the Lord of hosts will perform this.

The Lord sent his word unto Jacob and it hath lighted upon Israel. And all the people shall know, even Ephraim and the inhabitants of Samaria, that say in the pride and the stoutness of heart, The bricks are fallen down, but we will change them into cedars. Therefore the Lord shall set up the adversaries of Rezin against him, and join his enemies together; the Syrians before, and the Philistines behind: and they shall devour Israel with open mouth. For all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand stretched out still.

For the people turneth not unto him that smiteth them, neither do they seek the Lord of hosts. Therefore will the Lord cut off from Israel head and tail, branch and rush in one day. -- The ancient, he is the head; and the prophet that teacheth lies, he is the tail. For the leaders of this people cause them to err; and they that are led of them are destroyed. Therefore the Lord shall have no joy in their young men, neither shall have mercy on their fatherless and widows: for every one of the is a hypocrite and an evil-doer, and every mouth speaketh folly. For all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand stretched out still.

For the wickedness burneth as the fire; it shall devour the briers and thorns, and shall kindle in the thickets of the forests, and they shall mount up like the lifting up of smoke. -- Through the wrath of the Lord of hosts is the land darkened, and the people shall be as the fuel of the fire: no man shall spare his brother. And he shall snatch on the right hand, and be hungry; and he shall eat on the left hand, and they shall not be satisfied: they shall eat every man the flesh of his own arm: Manasseh, Ephraim; and Ephraim, Manasseh: they together shall be against Judah. For all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand stretched out still.

Wo unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousness which they have prescribed; to turn aside the needy from judgement, and to take away the right from the poor of my people, that widows may be their prey, and that they may rob the fatherless! And what will ye do in the day of visitation, and in desolation which shall come from far? to whom will ye flee for help? and where will ye leave your glory? Without me they shall bow down under the prisoners, and they shall fall under the slain. For all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand stretched out still.

O Assyrian, the rod of mine anger, and the staff in their hand is their indignation. I will send him against a hypocritical nation, and against the people of my wrath will I give him a charge, to take the spoil, and to take the prey, and to tread them down like the mire of the streets . Howbeit he meaneth not so, neither doth his heart think so; but in his heart it is to destroy and cut off nations not a few. For he saith, Are not my princes altogether kings? Is not Calno as Carchemish? Is not Hamath as Arpad? Is not Samaria as Damascus? As my hand hath founded the kingdoms of the

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idols, and whose graven images did excel them of Jerusalem and of Samaria; shall I not, as I have done unto Samaria and her idols, so do to Jerusalem and her idols? Wherefore it shall come to pass, that when the Lord hath performed his whole work upon the mount Zion and upon Jerusalem, I will punish the fruit of the stout heart of the king of Assyria, and the glory of his high looks. For he saith, By the strength of my hand and by my wisdom I have done these things; for I am prudent: and I have moved the borders of the people, and have robbed their

treasures, and I have put down the inhabitants like a valiant man: and my hand hath found as a nest the riches of the people: and as one gathereth eggs that are left, have I gathered all the earth; and there was none that moved the wing, or opened the mouth, or peeped. Shall the axe boast itself against him that heweth therewith? Shall the saw magnify itself against him that shaketh it? as if the rod should shake itself against them that lift it up, or as if the staff should lift up itself, as if it were no wood. Therefore shall the Lord, the Lord of hosts, send among his fat ones leanness; and under his glory he shall kindle a burning like the burning of a fire. And the light of Israel shall be for a fire, and his Holy One for a flame, and shall burn and shall devour his thorns and his briers in one day; and shall consume the glory of his forest, and of his fruitful field, both soul and body; and they shall be as when a standard-bearer fainteth. And the rest of the trees of his forest shall be few, that a child may write them.

And it shall come to pass in that day, that the remnant of Israel, and such as are escaped of the house of Jacob, shall no more again stay upon him that smote them; but shall stay upon the Lord, the Holy One of Israel, in truth. The remnant shall return, yea, even the remnant of Jacob, unto the mighty God. For though thy people Israel be as the sand of the sea, yet a remnant of them shall return: the consumption decreed shall overflow with righteousness. For the Lord God of hosts shall make a consumption, even determined, in all the land. Therefore thus saith the Lord God of hosts, O my people that dwellest in Zion, be not afraid of the Assyrian: he shall smite thee with a rod, and shall lift up his staff against thee, after the manner of Egypt. For yet a very little while, and the indignation shall cease, and mine anger in their destruction. And the Lord of hosts shall stir up a scourge for him according to the slaughter of Midian at the rock of Oreb; and as his rod was upon the sea, so shall he lift it up after the manner of Egypt. And it shall come to pass in that day, that his burden shall be taken away from off thy shoulder, and his yoke from off thy neck, and the yoke shall be destroyed because of the anointing. He is come to Aiath, he is passed to Migron; at Michmash he hath laid up his carriages; they are gone over the passage; they have taken up their lodging at Geba; Ramath is afraid; Gibeah of Saul is fled. Lift up the voice, O daughter of Gallim; cause it to be heard unto Laish, O poor Anathoth. Madmenah is removed; the inhabitants of Gebim gather themselves to flee. As yet shall he remain at Nob that day; he shall shake his hand against the mount of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem. Behold, the Lord, the Lord of hosts shall lop the bough with terror; and the high ones of stature shall be hewn down, and the haughty shall be humbled. And he shall cut down the thickets of the forests with iron, and Lebanon shall fall by a mighty one.

And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots; and the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of fear of the Lord; and shall make him of quick understanding in the fear of the Lord; and he shall not judge after the sight of his eyes, neither reprove after the hearing of his ears: but with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth: and he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked.

And righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins. The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them. And the cow and the bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. And the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice's den. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.

And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek: and his rest shall be glorious. And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall set his hand again the second time to recover the remnant of his people, which shall be left from Assyria, and from Egypt, and from Pathros, and from Cush, and from Elam, and from Shinar, and from Hamath, and from the islands of the sea. And he shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth. The envy of Ephraim also shall depart and the adversaries of Judah shall be cut off: Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim. But they shall fly upon the shoulders of the Philistines toward the west; they shall spoil them of the east together; they shall lay their hand upon Edom and Moab; and the children of Ammon shall obey them. And the Lord shall utterly destroy the tongue of the Egyptian sea; and with his mighty wind he shall shake his hand over the river, and shall smite it in the seven streams, and make men go over dry shod. And there shall be a highway for the remnant of his people, which shall be left, from Assyria, like as it was to Israel in the day that he came up out of the land of Egypt.

And in that day thou shalt say, O Lord, I will praise thee: though thou wast angry with me, thine anger is turned away, and thou comfortedst me. Behold, God is my salvation; I will trust, and not be afraid: for the Lord Jehovah is my strength and my song; he also is become my salvation. Therefore with joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation. And in that day shall ye say, Praise the Lord, call upon his name, declare his doings among the people, make mention that his name is exalted. Sing unto the Lord; for he hath done excellent thing: this is known in all the earth. Cry out and shout, thou inhabitant of Zion; for great is the Holy One of Israel in the midst of thee.

MORMON 2 NEPHI CHAPTER 10

The burden of Babylon, which Isaiah the son of Amoz did see. Lift ye up a banner upon the high mountain, exalt the voice unto them, shake the hand, that they may go into the gates of the nobles. I have commanded my sanctified ones, I have also called my mighty ones, for mine anger is not upon them that rejoice in my highness. The noise of the multitude in the mountains like as of a great people; a tumultous noise of the kingdoms of nations gathered together: the Lord of hosts mustereth the hosts of the battle. They come from a far country, from the end of heaven, yea, the Lord, and the weapons of his indignation, to destroy the whole land.

Howl ye; for the day of the Lord is at hand: it shall come as a destruction from the Almighty. Therefore shall all hands be faint, every man's heart shall melt; and they shall be afraid; pangs and sorrows shall take hold of them; they shall be amazed one at another; their faces shall be as flames. --

Behold, the day of the Lord cometh, cruel both with wrath and fierce anger, to lay the land desolate: and he shall destroy the sinners thereof out of it. For the stars of heaven and the constellations thereof shall not give their light; and the sun be darkened in her going forth, and the moon shall not cause her light to shine. And I will punish the world for evil, and the wicked for their iniquity; I will cause the arrogancy of the proud to cease, and will lay down the haughtiness of the terrible. I will make a man more precious than fine gold; even a man than the golden wedge of Ophir. Therefore I will shake the heavens, and the earth shall remove out of her place in the wrath of the Lord of hosts, and in the days of his fierce anger. And it shall be as the chaste roe, and as a sheep that no man taketh up: they shall every man turn to his own people, and flee every one into his own land. Every one that is proud shall be thrust through; yea, and every one that is joined to the wicked, shall fall by the sword. Their children also shall be dashed to pieces before their eyes; their houses shall be spoiled, and their wives ravished. Behold, I will stir up the Medes against them, which shall not regard silver and gold, nor they shall not delight in it. Their bows shall also dash the young men to pieces; and they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb; their eyes shall not spare children.

And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there: neither shall the shepherds make their fold there: but wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there. And the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces: and her time is near to come, and her day shall not be prolonged. For I will destroy her speedily; yea, for I will be merciful unto my people: but the wicked shall perish.

For the Lord will have mercy on Jacob, and will yet choose Israel, and set them in their own land: and the strangers shall be joined with them, and they shall cleave to the house of Jacob. And the people shall take them, and bring them to their place: yea, from far unto the ends of the earth: and they shall return to their lands of promise. And the house of Israel shall possess them, and the land of the Lord shall be for servants and handmaids: and they shall take them captives, unto whom they were captives; and they shall rule over their oppressors. And it shall come to pass in that day that the Lord shall give thee rest from thy sorrow, and from thy fear, and from the hard bondage wherein thou wast made to serve.

And it shall come to pass in that day, that thou shalt take up this proverb against the king of Babylon, and say, How hath the oppressor ceased, the golden city ceased! The Lord hath broken the staff of the wicked, the sceptres of the rulers. He who smote the people in wrath with a continual stroke, he that ruled the nations in anger, is persecuted, and none hindereth. The whole earth is at rest, and is quiet: they break forth into singing. Yea, the fir-trees rejoice at thee, and also the cedars of Lebanon, saying, Since thou art laid down, no feller is come up against us. Hell from beneath moved for thee to meet thee at thy coming: it stirreth up the dead for thee, even all the chief ones of the earth: it hath raised up from their thrones all the kings of the nations. All they shall speak and say unto thee, Art thou also become weak as we? Art thou become like unto us? Thy pomp is brought down to the grave; the noise of thy viols is not heard: the worm is spread under thee, and the worms cover thee. How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! Art thou cut down to the ground, which did weaken the nations! For thou hast said in thy heart, I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God: I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the north; I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the Most High. Yet thou shalt be brought down to hell, to the sides of the pit. They that see thee shall narrowly look upon thee, and shall consider thee, and shall say, Is this the man that made the earth to tremble, and did shake kingdoms, and made the world as a wilderness, and destroyed the cities thereof, and opened not the house of his prisoners? All the kings of the nations, yea, all of them, lie in glory, every one of them in his own house. But thou are cast out of thy grave like an abominable branch, and the remnant of those that are slain, thrust through with a sword, that go down to the stones of the pit; as a carcass trodden under feet. Thou shalt not be joined with them in burial, because thou hast destroyed thy land, and slain thy people: the seed of evil-doers shall never be renowned. Prepare slaughter for his children for the iniquities of their fathers; that they do not rise, nor possess the land, nor fill the face of the world with cities. -- For I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of hosts, and cut off from Babylon the name and remnant, and son, and nephew, saith the Lord. I will also make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water: and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts.

The Lord of hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely as I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and as I have purposed, so shall it stand: that I will bring the Assyrian in my land, and upon my mountains tread him under foot: then shall his yoke depart from off them, and his burden depart from off their shoulders. This is the purpose that is purposed upon the whole earth: and this is the hand that is stretched out upon all nations. For the Lord of hosts hath purposed, and who shall disannul? And his hand stretched out, and who shall turn it back? In the year that king Ahaz died was this burden. Rejoice not thou, whole Palestina, because the rod of him that smote thee is broken: for out of the serpent's root shall come forth a cockatrice, and his fruit shall be a fiery flying serpent. And the first-born of the poor shall feed, and the needy shall lie down in safety: and I will kill thy root with famine, and he shall slay thy remnant. Howl, O gate; cry O city; thou, whole Palestina, art dissolved: for there shall come from the north a smoke, and none shall be alone in his appointed times. What shall then answer the messengers of the nations? That the Lord hath founded Zion, and the poor of his people shall trust in it.

MORMON 2 NEPHI CHAPTER 11

Now I, Nephi, do speak somewhat concerning the words which I have written, which have been spoken by the mouth of Isaiah. For behold, Isaiah spake many things which were hard for many of my people to understand: for they know not concerning the manner of prophesying among the Jews. For I, Nephi, have not taught them many things concerning the manner of the Jews; for their works were works of darkness, and their doings were doings of abominations. Wherefore, I write unto my people, unto all they that shall receive hereafter these things which I write, that they may know the judgements of God, that they come upon all nations, according to the word which he hath spoken. -- Wherefore hearken, O my people, which are of the House of Israel, and give ear unto my words: for because that the words of Isaiah are not plain unto you, nevertheless they are plain unto all they that are filled with the spirit of prophecy. But I give unto you a prophecy, according to the spirit which is in me; wherefore I shall prophesy according to the plainness which hath been with me from the time that I came out from Jerusalem with my father: for behold, my soul delighteth in plainness unto my people, that they may learn; yea, and my soul delighteth in the words of Isaiah, for I came out from Jerusalem, and mine eyes hath beheld the things of the Jews, and I know that the Jews do understand the things of the Prophets, and there is none other people that understand the things which were spoken unto the Jews, like unto them, save it be that they are taught after the manner of the things of the Jews. But behold, I, Nephi, have not taught my children after the manner of the Jews; but behold, I, of myself, have dwelt at Jerusalem, wherefore I know concerning the regions round about; and I have made mention unto my children concerning the judgements of God, which hath come to pass among the Jews, unto my children, according to all that which Isaiah

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hath spoken, and I do not write them. But behold, I proceed with mine own prophecy, according to my plainness; in the which, I know that no man can err; nevertheless, in the days that the prophecies of Isaiah shall be fulfilled, men shall know of a surety, at the times when they shall come to pass; wherefore, they are of worth unto the children of men, and he that supposeth that they are not, unto them will I speak particularly, and confine the words unto mine own people: for I know that they shall be of great worth unto them on the last days; for in that day shall they understand them; wherefore, for their good have I written them. And as one generation hath been destroyed among the Jews, because of iniquity, even so have they been destroyed, from generation to generation, according to their iniquities; and never hath any of them been destroyed, save it were foretold them by the Prophets of the Lord. Wherefore, it hath been told them concerning the destruction which should come upon them, immediately after my father left Jerusalem; nevertheless, they hardened their hearts; and according to my prophecy, they have been destroyed, save it be those which are carried away captive into Babylon. And now this I speak because of the spirit which is in me. And notwithstanding that they have been carried away, they shall return again, and possess the land of Jerusalem; wherefore they shall be restored again to the lands of their inheritance. But, behold, they shall have wars, and rumors of wars; and when the day cometh that the only begotten of the Father, yea, even the Father of heaven and of earth, shall manifest himself unto them in the flesh, behold, they will reject him, because of their iniquities, and the hardness of their hearts, and the stiffness of their necks. Behold they will crucify him, and after that he is laid in a Sepulcher for the space of three days, he shall rise from the dead, with healing in his wings, and all they that shall believe on his name, shall be saved in the Kingdom of God; wherefore, my soul delighted to prophesy concerning him, for I have seen his day, and my heart doth magnify his holy name.

And behold it shall come to pass, that after the Messiah hath risen from the dead, and hath manifested himself unto his people, unto as many as will believe on his name, behold, Jerusalem shall be destroyed again: for wo unto them that fight against God and the people of his church. Wherefore, the Jews shall be scattered among all nations, yea, and also Babylon shall be destroyed; wherefore, the Jews shall, be scattered by other nations; and after that they have been scattered, and the Lord God hath scourged them by other nations, for the space of many generations, yea, even down from generation to generation, until they shall be persuaded to believe in Christ, the Son of God, and the atonement, which is infinite for all mankind; and when that day shall come, that they shall believe in Christ, and worship the father in his name, with pure hearts, and clean hands, and look not foreward any more for another Messiah, then, at that time the day will come that it must needs be expedient that they should believe these things, and the Lord will set his hand again the second time to restore his people from their lost and fallen state. Wherefore, he will proceed to do a marvelous work, and a wonder among the children of men.

Wherefore, he shall bring forth his words unto them, which words shall judge them at the last day, for they shall be given them for the purpose of convincing them of the true Messiah, who was rejected by them; and unto the convincing of them that they need not look forward for a Messiah to come, for there should not any come, save it should be a false Messiah, which should deceive the people: for there is save one Messiah spoken of by the Prophets, and that Messiah is he which should be rejected by the Jews. For according to the words of the Prophets, the Messiah cometh in six hundred years from the time my father left Jerusalem; and according to the words of the Prophets, and also the word of the Angel of God, his name shall be Jesus Christ the Son of God. And now my brethren, I have spoken plain, that ye cannot err; and as the Lord liveth, that brought Israel up out of the land of Egypt, and gave unto Moses power that he should heal the nations, after that they had been bitten by the poisonous serpents, if they would cast their eyes unto the serpent which he did raise up before them , and also gave him power that he should smite the rock, and the water should come forth; yea, behold I say unto you, that as these things are true, and as the Lord God liveth, there is none other name given under heaven, save it be this Jesus Christ of which I have spoken, whereby man can be saved.

Wherefore, for this cause hath the Lord God promised unto me that these things which I write, shall be kept and preserved, and handed down unto my seed, from generation to generation, that the promise may be fulfilled unto Joseph, that his seed should never perish as long as the earth should stand. Wherefore, these things shall go from generation to generation, as long as the earth shall stand; and they shall go according to the will and pleasure of God; and the nations shall possess them, shall be judged of them according to the words which are written; for we labor diligently to write, to persuade our children, and also our brethren, to believe in Christ, and to be reconciled to God; for we know that it is by grace that we are saved, after all that we can do.

And notwithstanding we believe in Christ, we keep the law of Moses, and look forward with steadfastness unto Christ, until the law shall be fulfilled; for, for this end was the law given; wherefore, the law hath become of our faith; yet we keep the law because of the commandments; and we talk of Christ, we rejoice in Christ, we preach of Christ, we prophesy of Christ, and we write according to our prophecies, that our children may know to what source they may look for a remission of their sins. Wherefore, we speak concerning the law that our children may know the deadness of the law; and they, by knowing the deadness of the law, may look forward unto that life which is in Christ, and know for what end the law was given. And after that, the law is fulfilled in Christ, that they need not harden their hearts against him, when the law had ought to be done away.

And now behold, my people, ye are a stiffnecked people; wherefore, I have spoken plain unto you, that ye cannot misunderstand. And the words which I have spoken, shall stand as a testimony against you: for they are sufficient to teach any man the right way; for the right way is to believe in Christ and deny him not; for by denying him, ye also deny the Prophets and the law.

And now behold I say unto you, that the right way is to believe in Christ, and deny him not; and Christ is the Holy One of Israel: wherefore ye must bow down before him and worship him with all your might, mind, and strength, and your whole soul; and if ye do this, ye shall in nowise be cast out. And inasmuch as it shall be expedient, ye must keep the performances and ordinances of God, until the law shall be fulfilled which was given unto Moses.

And after that Christ shall have risen from the dead, he shall shew himself unto you, my children, and my beloved brethren; and the words which he shall speak unto you, shall be the law which ye shall do. For behold, I say unto you, that I have beheld that many generations shall pass away, and there shall be great wars and contentions among my people. And after that the Messiah shall come, there shall be signs given unto my people of his birth, and also of his death and resurrection; and great and terrible shall that day be unto the wicked; for they shall perish; and they perish because they cast out the prophets, and the saints, and stone them, and slay them: wherefore the cry of the blood of the saints shall ascend up to God from the ground, against them. Wherefore all they that are proud, and that do wickedly, the day that cometh shall burn them up saith the Lord of Hosts, for they shall be as stubble; and they that kill the prophets, and the saints, the depths of the earth shall swallow them up, saith the Lord of Hosts; and mountains shall cover them, and whirlwinds shall carry them away, and buildings shall fall upon them, and crush them to pieces, and grind them to powder; and they shall be visited with thunderings, and lightnings, and earthquakes, and all manner of destruction, for the fire of the anger of the Lord shall be kindled against them, and they shall be as stubble, and the day that cometh shall consume them, saith the Lord of Hosts.

O the pain and the anguish of my soul for the loss of the slain of my people! For I, Nephi, hath seen it, and it well nigh consumeth me before the presence of the Lord; but I must cry unto my God, thy ways are just. But behold, the righteous, that hearken unto the words of the Prophets, and destroy them not, but look forward unto Christ with steadfastness for the signs which are given, notwithstanding all persecutions; behold they are which shall not perish. But the Son of righteousness shall appear unto them; and he shall heal them, and they shall have peace with him, until three generations shall have passed away, and many of the fourth generation shall have passed away in the righteous. -- And when these things shall have passed away, a speedy destruction cometh unto, my people; for, notwithstanding the pains of my soul, I have seen it; wherefore, I know that it shall come to pass; and they sell themselves for nought; for, for the reward of their pride, and their foolishness, they shall reap destruction; for because they yieldeth unto the Devil, and choose works of darkness rather than light; therefore they must go down to hell, for the spirit of the Lord will not always strive with man. And when the spirit ceaseth to strive with man, then cometh speedy destruction; and this grieveth my soul.

And I spake concerning the convincing of the Jews, that Jesus is the very Christ, it must needs be, that the Gentiles be convinced also, that Jesus is the Christ, the Eternal God; and that he manifesteth himself unto all they that believe in him, by the power of the Holy Ghost; yea, unto every nation, kindred, tongue, and people, working mighty miracles, signs and wonders, among the children of men, according to their faith.

But behold I prophesy unto you concerning the days when the Lord God shall bring these things forth unto the children of men. After that my seed and the seed of my brethren shall have dwindled in unbelief, and shall have been smitten by the Gentiles; yea, after that the Lord God shall have camped against them round about, and shall have laid siege against them with a mount, and raised forts against them; and after that they shall have been brought down low into the dust, even that they are not, yet the words of the righteous shall be written, and the prayers of the faithful shall be heard, and all they which have dwindled in unbelief, shall not be forgotten; for they which shall be destroyed shall speak unto them out of the ground, and their speech shall be low out of the dust, and their voice shall be as one that hath a familiar spirit; for the Lord God will give unto him power, that he may whisper concerning them, even as it were out of the ground; and their speech shall whisper out of the dust. For thus saith the Lord God: They shall write the things which shall be done among them, and they shall be written and sealed up in a book, and they that have dwindled in unbelief, shall not have them, for they seek to destroy the things of God: wherfore, as they which have been destroyed, have been destroyed speedily; and the multitude of their terrible ones, shall be as chaff that passeth away. Yea, thus saith the Lord God: It shall be at an instant, suddenly.

And it shall come to pass, that they which have dwindled in unbelief, shall be smitten by the hand of the Gentiles. And the Gentiles are lifted up in the pride of their eyes, and have stumbled, because of the greatness of their stumbling block, that they have built up many churches; nevertheless they put down the power and the miracles of God, and preach up unto themselves, their own wisdom, and their own learning, that they may get gain, and grind upon the face of the poor; and there are many churches built up which causeth envyings, and strifes, and malice; and there are also secret combinations, even as in times of old, according to the combinations of the Devil, for he is the founder of all these things; yea, the founder of murder, and works of darkness; yea, and he leadeth them by the neck with a flaxen cord, until he bindeth them with his strong cords forever.

For behold, my beloved brethren, I say unto you, that the Lord God worketh not in darkness. He doeth not anything, save it be for the benefit of the world; for he loveth the world, even that he layeth down his own life, that he may draw all men unto him. Wherefore, he commandeth none that they shall not partake of his salvation. Behold, doth he cry unto any, saying, Depart from me? Behold, I say unto you, nay; but he saith, Come unto me all ye ends of the earth, buy milk and honey, without money, and without price. Behold, hath he commanded any that they should depart out of the synagogues, or out of the houses of worship? Behold, I say unto you, nay. Hath he commanded any that they should not partake of his salvation? Behold, I say unto you, nay; but he hath given it free for all men; and he hath commanded his people that they should persuade all men unto repentance. Behold, hath the Lord commanded any that they should not partake of his goodness? Behold, I say unto you, nay; but all men are privileged the one like unto the other, and none are forbidden. He commandeth that there shall be no priest-crafts; for, behold, the priest-crafts are that men preach and set themselves up for a light unto the world; that they may get gain, and praise of the world; but they seek not the welfare of Zion. Behold, the Lord hath forbidden this thing; wherefore, the Lord God hath given a commandment, that all men should have charity, which charity is love. And except they should have charity, they were nothing: wherefore, if they should have charity, they would not suffer the laborer in Zion to perish. But the laborer in Zion, shall labor for Zion; for if they labor for money, they shall perish. And again, the Lord God hath commanded that men should not murder; that they should not lie; that they should not steal; that they should not take the name of the Lord their God in vain; that they should not envy; that they should not have malice; that they should not contend one with another; that they should not commit whoredoms; and that they should do none of these things; for whoso doeth them, shall perish; for none of these iniquities come of the Lord; for he doeth that which is good among the children of men; and he doeth nothing save it be plain unto the children of men; and he inviteth them all to come unto him, and partake of his goodness; and he denieth none that come unto him, black and white, bond and free, male and female, and he remembereth the heathen, and all alike unto God, both Jew and Gentile. But, behold, in the last days, or in the days of the Gentiles; yea, behold all the nations of the Gentiles, and also the Jews, both they which shall come upon this land, and they which shall be upon other lands; yea, even upon all the lands of the earth; behold, they will be drunken with iniquity, and all manner of abominations; and when that day shall come, they shall be visited of the Lord of hosts, with thunder and with earthquake, and with a great noise, and with storm and tempest, and with the flame of devouring fire; and all the nations that fight against Zion, and that distress her, shall be as a dream of a night vision; yea, it shall be unto them, even as unto a hungry man, which dreameth, and behold he eateth, but he awaketh and his soul is empty; or like unto a thirsty man, which dreameth, and behold he drinketh, but he awaketh, and behold he is faint, and his soul hath appetite; yea, even so shall the multitude of all the nations be that fight against mount Zion: for behold, all ye that do iniquity, stay yourselves and wonder, for ye shall cry out, and cry; yea, ye shall be drunken, but not with wine; ye shall stagger, but not with strong drink: for behold, the Lord hath poured out upon you, the spirit of deep sleep. For behold, ye

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have closed your eyes, and ye have rejected the Prophets, and your rulers, and the seers hath he covered because of your iniquities.

And it shall come to pass, that the Lord God shall bring forth unto you, the words of a book, and they shall be the words of them which have slumbered. And behold, the book shall be sealed; and in the book shall be a revelation from God, from the beginning of the world, to the ending thereof. Wherefore, because of the things which are sealed up, the things which are sealed, shall not be delivered in the day of the wickedness and abominations of the people. Wherefore the book shall be kept from them. But the book shall be delivered unto a Man, and he shall deliver the words of the book, which are the words of they which have slumbered in the dust; and he shall deliver these words unto another; but the words which are sealed, he shall not deliver, neither shall he deliver the book. For the book shall be sealed by the power of God, and the revelation which was sealed, shall be kept in the book until the own due time of the Lord, that they may come forth: for, behold, they reveal all things from the foundation of the world, unto the end thereof. And the day cometh that the words of the book which were sealed, shall be read upon the house-tops; and they shall be read by the power of Christ: and all things shall be revealed unto the children of men which ever hath been among the children of men, and which ever will be, even unto the end of the earth. Wherefore, at that day when the book shall be delivered unto the man of whom I have spoken, the book shall be hid from the eyes of the world, that the eyes of none shall behold it, save it be that three witnesses shall behold it, by the power of God, besides him to whom the book shall be delivered; and they shall testify to the truth of the book, and the things therein. And there is none other which shall view it, save it be a few, according to the will of God, to bear testimony of his word unto the children of men: for the Lord God hath said, that the words of the faithful should speak as if it were from the dead. Wherefore, the Lord God will proceed to bring forth the words of the book, and in the mouth of as many witnesses as seemeth him good, will he establish his word: and wo be unto him that rejecteth the word of God.

But behold, it shall come to pass that the Lord God shall say unto him to whom he shall deliver the book. Take these words which are not sealed, and deliver them to another, that he may shew them unto the learned, saying: Read this, I pray thee. And the learned shall say, Bring hither the book, and I will read them: and now, because of the glory of the world, and to get gain, will they say this, and not for the glory of God. And the man shall say, I cannot bring the book, for it is sealed. Then shall the learned say, I cannot read it. Wherefore, it shall come to pass, that the Lord God will deliver again the book and the words thereof, to him that is not learned; and the man that is not learned, shall say, I am not learned. Then shall the Lord say unto him, The learned shall not read them, for they have rejected them, and I am able to do mine own work; wherefore, thou shalt read the words which I shall give unto thee. Touch not the things which sealed, for I will bring them forth in mine own due time: for I will shew unto the children of men, that I am able to do mine own work. Wherefore, when thou hast read the words which I have commanded thee, and obtained the witnesses which I have promised unto thee, then shalt thou seal up the book again, and hide it up unto me, that I may preserve the words which thou hast not read, until I shall see fit in mine own wisdom, to reveal all things unto the children of men. For behold, I am God; and I am a God of miracles; and I will shew unto the world that I am the same yesterday, to-day, and forever; and I work not among the children of men, save it be according to their faith.

And again it shall come to pass, that the Lord shall say unto him that shall read the words that shall be delivered him,

For asmuch as this people draw near unto me with their mouth, and with their lips do honor me, but have removed their hearts far from me, and their fear towards me is taught by the precepts of men, therefore, I will proceed to do marvellous work among this people; yea, a marvellous work, and a wonder: for the wisdom of their wise and learned shall perish, and the understanding of their prudent shall be hid. And wo unto them that seek deep to hide their counsel from the Lord. And their works are in the dark; and they say, Who seeth us; and who knoweth us? And they also say, Surely, your turning of things upside down, shall be esteemed as the potter's clay. But behold, I will shew unto them, saith the Lord of Hosts, that I know all their works. For shall the work say of him that made it, He made me not? Or, shall the thing framed say of him that framed it, He had no understanding? But behold, saith the Lord of hosts, I will shew unto the children of men, that it is yet a very little while, and Lebanon shall be turned into a fruitful field; and the fruitful field shall be esteemed as a forest. And in that day shall the deaf hear the words of the book; and the eyes of the blind shall see out of obscurity and out of darkness; and the meek also shall increase, and their joy shall be in the Lord; and the poor among men shall rejoice in the Holy One of Israel. For assuredly as the Lord liveth, they shall see that the terrible one is brought to nought, and the scorner is consumed, and all that watch for the iniquity are cut off: and they that a make a man an offender for a word, and lay a snare for him that reproveth in the gate, and turn aside the just for a thing of nought. Therefore thus saith the Lord, who redeemed Abraham, concerning the house of Jacob, Jacob shall not now be ashamed, neither shall his face now wax pale. But when he seeth his children, the work of my hands, in the midst of him, they shall sanctify my name, and sanctify the Holy One of Jacob, and shall fear the God of Israel. They also that erred in spirit shall come to understanding, and they that murmured shall learn doctrine.

MORMON 2 NEPHI CHAPTER 12

And now, behold, my brethren, I have spoken unto you, according as the spirit hath constrained me; wherefore, I know that they must surely come to pass. The things which shall be written out of the book shall be of great worth unto the children of men, and especially unto our seed, which is a remnant of the house of Israel. For it shall come to pass in that day, that the churches which are built up, and not unto, the Lord, when the one shall say unto the other, Behold, I, I am the Lord's; and the other shall say, I, I am the Lord's. And thus shall every one say, that hath built up the churches, and not unto the Lord; and they shall contend one with another; and their priests shall contend one with another; and they shall teach with their learning, and deny the Holy Ghost, which giveth utterance. And they deny the power of God, the Holy One of Israel; and they say unto the people, Hearken unto us, and hear ye our precept: for behold, there is no God to-day, for the Lord and the Redeemer hath done his work, and he hath given his power unto men. Behold, hearken ye unto my precept: if they shall say there is a miracle wrought, by the hand of the Lord, believe it not; for this day he is not a God of miracles: he hath done his work. Yea, and there shall be many which shall say, eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die; and it shall be well with us. And there shall also be many which shall say, eat, drink, and be merry; nevertheless, fear God, he will justify in committing a little sin; yea, lie a little, take the advantage of one because of his words, dig a pit for thy neighbour; there is no harm in this. And do all these things, for to-morrow we die; and if it so be that we are guilty, God will beat us with a few stripes, and at last we shall be saved in the Kingdom of God. Yea, and there shall be many which shall teach after this manner, false, and vain, and foolish doctrines, and shall be puffed up in their hearts, and shall seek deep to hide their counsels from the Lord; and their works shall be in the dark; and the blood of the Saints shall cry from the ground against them. Yea, they have all gone out of the way; they have become corrupted. Because of pride, and because of false teachers, and false doctrine, their churches have become corrupted; and their churches are lifted up; because of pride, they are puffed up. They rob the poor, because of their fine sanctuaries; they rob the poor, because of their fine clothing; and they persecute the meek, and the poor in heart; because of their pride, they are puffed up. They wear stiff necks, and high heads; yea, and because of pride, and wickedness, and abominations, and whoredoms, they have all gone astray, save it be a few, which are humble followers of Christ; nevertheless, they are led, that in many instances they do err, because they are taught by the precepts of men.

O the wise and the learned, and the rich, that are puffed up in pride of their hearts, and all they that preach false doctrines, and all they that commit whoredoms, and pervert the right way of the Lord; wo, wo, wo be unto them saith the Lord God Almighty, for they shall be thrust down to hell.

Wo unto them that turn aside the just for a thing of nought, and revile against that which is good, and say that it is no worth: for the day shall come that the Lord God will speedily visit the inhabitants of the earth; and in that day that they are fully ripe in iniquity, they shall perish. But behold, if the inhabitants of the earth shall repent of their wickedness and abominations, they shall not be destroyed, saith the Lord of Hosts. But behold, that great and abominable church, the whore of all the earth, must tumble to the earth; and great must be the fall thereof: for the kingdom of the Devil must shake, and they which belong to it must needs be stirred up unto repentance, or the Devil will grasp them with his everlasting chains, and they be stirred up to anger and perish: for behold, at that day shall he rage in the hearts of the children of men, and stir them up to anger against that which is good; and others will he pacify, and lull them away into carnal security, that they will say, All is well in Zion; yea, Zion prospereth, all is well; and thus the Devil cheateth their souls, and leadeth them away carefully down to hell. And behold, others he flattereth away, and telleth them there is no hell; and he saith unto the, I am no Devil, for there is none: and thus he whispereth in their ears, until he grasps them with his awful chains, from whence there is no deliverance. Yea, they are grasped with death and hell; and death, and hell, and the Devil, and all that have been seized therewith, must stand before the Throne of God, and be judged according to their works, from whence they must go into the place prepared for them, even a lake of fire and brimstone, which is endless torment. Therefore, wo be unto him that is at ease in Zion. Wo be unto him that crieth, All is well; yea, wo be unto him that hearkeneth unto the precepts of men, and denieth the power of God and the gift of the Holy Ghost. Yea, wo be unto him that saith, We have received, and we need no more. And in fine, wo unto all they that tremble, and are angry because of the truth of God. For behold, he that is built upon the rock, receiveth it with gladness; and he that is built upon a sandy foundation, trembleth, lest he shall fall. Wo be unto him that shall say, We have received the word of God, and we need no more of the word of God, for we have enough. For behold, thus saith the Lord God: I will give unto the children of men line upon line, precept upon precept, here a little there a little; and blessed are they that hearken unto my precepts, and lend an ear unto my counsel, for they shall learn wisdom: for unto him that receiveth, I will give more; and them that shall say, We have enough, from them shall be taken away even that which they have. -- Cursed is he that putteth his trust in man, or maketh flesh his arm, or shall hearken unto the precepts of men, save their precepts shall be given by the power of the Holy Ghost.

Wo be unto the Gentiles, saith the Lord God of Hosts: for notwithstanding I shall lengthen out mine arm unto them from day to day, they shall deny me; nevertheless, I will be merciful unto them, saith the Lord God, if they will repent and come unto me: for mine arm is lengthened out all the day long, saith the Lord God of Hosts.

But behold, there shall be many at that day, when I shall proceed to do a marvelous work among them, that I may remember my covenants which I have made unto the children of men, that I may set my hand again the second time to recover my people, which are of the House of Israel; and also, that I may remember the promises which I have made unto thee, Nephi, and also unto thy father, That I would remember your seed; and that the words of your seed should proceed forth out of my mouth unto your seed. And my words shall hiss forth unto the ends of the earth, for a standard unto my people, which are of the House of Israel. And because my words shall hiss forth, many of the Gentiles shall say, A Bible, a Bible, we have got a Bible, and there cannot be any more Bible. But thus saith the Lord God: O fools, they shall have a Bible; and it shall proceed forth from the Jews, mine ancient covenant people. And what thank they the Jews for the Bible which they receive from them? Yea, what do the Gentiles mean? Do they remember the travels, and labors, and the pains of the Jews, and their diligence unto me, in bringing forth salvation unto the Gentiles.

O ye Gentiles, have ye remembered the Jews, mine ancient covenant people? Nay; but ye have cursed them, and have hated them, and have not sought to recover them. But behold, I will return all these things upon your own heads: for I the Lord hath not forgotten my people. Thou fool, that shall say a Bible, we have got a Bible, and we need no more Bible. Have ye obtained a Bible, save it were by the Jews? Know ye not that there are more nations than one? Know ye not that I the Lord your God, have created all men, and that I remember they which are upon the isles of the sea; and that I rule in the heavens above, and in the earth beneath; and I bring forth my word unto the children of men, yea, even upon all the nations of the earth? Wherefore murmur ye, because that ye shall receive more of my word? Know ye not that the testimony of two nations is a witness unto you that I am God. that I remember one nation like unto another? wherefore, I speak the same words unto one nation like unto another. And when the two nations shall run together, the testimony of the two nations shall run together also. I do this that I may prove unto many, that I am the same yesterday, to-day, and forever; and that I speak forth my words according to mine own pleasure. And because that I have spoken one word, ye need not suppose that I cannot speak another: for my work is not yet finished; neither shall it be, until the end of man; neither from that time henceforth and forever.

Wherefore, because that ye have a Bible, ye need not suppose that it contains all my words; neither need ye suppose that I have not caused more to be written: for I command all men, both in the east, and in the west, and in the north, and in the south, and in the islands of the sea, that they shall write the words which I speak unto them: for out of the books which shall be written, I will judge the world every man according to their works, according to that which is written. -- For behold, I shall speak unto the Jews, and they shall write it; and I shall also speak unto the Nephites, and they shall write it; and I shall also speak unto the other tribes of the House of Israel, which I have led away, and they shall write it; and I shall also speak unto all the nations of the earth, and they shall write it.

And it shall come to pass that the Jews, shall have the words of the Nephites, and the Nephites shall have the words of the Jews; and the Nephites and the Jews shall have the words of the lost tribes of Israel; and the lost tribes of Israel shall have the words of the Nephites and the Jews.

And it shall come to pass that my people which are of the House of Israel, shall be gathered home unto the lands of their

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possessions; and my word also shall be gathered in one. And I will shew them that fight against my word and against my people, which are of the House of Israel, that I am God, and that I covenanted with Abraham that I would remember his seed forever.

And now, behold, my beloved brethren, I would speak unto you: for I, Nephi, would not suffer, that ye should suppose that ye are more righteous than the Gentiles shall be. For behold, except ye shall keep the commandments of God, ye shall all likewise perish; and because of the words which have been spoken, ye need not suppose that the gentiles are utterly destroyed. For behold, I say unto you, as many of the Gentiles as will repent, are the covenant people of the Lord; and as many of the Jews as will not repent, shall be cast off: for the Lord covenanteth with none, save it be with them that repent and believe in his Son, which is the Holy One of Israel.

And now, I would prophesy somewhat more concerning the Jews and the Gentiles. For after the book of which I have spoken shall come forth, and be written unto the Gentiles, and sealed up again unto the Lord, there shall be many which shall believe the words which are written; and they shall carry them forth unto the remnant of our seed. And then shall the remnant of our seed know concerning us, how that we came out from Jerusalem, and that they are a descendant of the Jews. And the Gospel of Jesus Christ shall be declared among them; wherefore, they shall be restored unto the knowledge of their fathers, and also to the knowledge of Jesus Christ, which was had among their fathers. And then shall they rejoice, for they shall know that it is a blessing unto them from the hand of God; and their scales of darkness shall begin to fall from their eyes; and many generations shall not pass away among them, save they shall be a white and a delightsome people.

And it shall come to pass that the Jews are scattered, also shall begin to believe in Christ; and they shall begin to gather in upon the face of the land; and as many as shall believe in Christ, shall also become a delightsome people.

And it shall come to pass that the Lord God shall commence his work, among all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people, to bring about the restoration of his people upon the earth. And with righteousness shall the Lord God judge the poor, and reprove with equity, for the meek of the earth. And he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth; and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked: for the time speedily cometh, that the Lord God shall cause a great division among the people; and the wicked will he destroy; and he will spare his people, yea, even if it so be that he must destroy the wicked by fire. And righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins. And then shall the wolf dwell with the lamb. and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf, and the young lion, and the fatling, together; and a little child shall lead them. And the cow and the bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. And the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice's den. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea. Wherefore, the things of all nations shall be made known; yea, all things shall be made known unto the children of men. There is nothing which is secret, save it shall be revealed; there is no works of darkness, save it shall be made manifest in the light; and there is nothing which is sealed upon the earth, save it shall be loosed. Wherefore, all things which have been revealed unto the children of men, shall at that day be revealed; and Satan shall have power over the hearts of the children of men no more, for a long time. And now, my beloved brethren, I must make an end of my sayings.

MORMON 2 NEPHI CHAPTER 13

And now, I, Nephi, make an end of my prophesying unto you, my beloved brethren. And I cannot write but a few things, which I know must surely come to pass; neither can I write but a few words of my brother Jacob. Wherefore, the things which I have written, sufficeth me, save it be a few words which I must speak, concerning the doctrine of Christ; wherefore, I shall speak unto you plainly, according to the plainness of my prophesying. For my soul delighteth in plainness: for after this manner doth the Lord God work among the children of men. For the Lord God giveth light unto the understanding: for he speaketh unto men according to their language, unto their understanding. Wherefore, I would that ye remember that I have spoken unto you, concerning that Prophet which the Lord showed unto me, that should baptize the Lamb of God, which should take away the sins of the world.

And now, if the Lamb of God, he being holy, should have need to be baptized by water, to fulfil righteousness, O then, how much more need have we, being unholy, to be baptized, yea, even by water. And now, I would ask of you, my beloved brethren, wherein the Lamb of God did fulfil all righteousness in being baptized by water? Know ye not that he was holy? But notwithstanding he being holy, he showeth unto the children of men, that according to the flesh, he humbleth himself before the Father, and witnesseth unto the Father that he would be obedient unto him in keeping his commandments; wherefore, after that he was baptized with water, the Holy Ghost descended upon him in the form of a dove. And again: it sheweth unto the children of men the straightness of the path, and the narrowness of the gate, by which they should enter, he having set the example before them. And he saith unto the children of men, Follow thou me. Wherefore, my beloved brethren, can we follow Jesus, save we shall be willing to keep the commandments of the Father? And the Father saith, Repent ye, repent ye, and be baptized in the name of my beloved Son. And also, the voice of the Son came unto me saying, He that is baptized in my name, to him will the Father give the Holy Ghost, like unto me; wherefore, follow me, and do the things which ye have seen me do. Wherefore, my beloved brethren, I know that if ye shall follow the Son, with full purpose of heart, acting no hypocrisy and no deception before God, but with real intent, repenting of your sins, witnessing unto the Father that ye are willing to take upon you the name of Christ, by baptism; yea, by following your Lord and Saviour down into the water, according to his word; behold, then shall ye receive the Holy Ghost; yea, then cometh the baptism of fire and of the Holy Ghost; and then can ye speak with the tongues of Angels, and shout praises unto the Holy One of Israel.

But behold, my beloved brethren, thus came the voice of the Son unto me, saying, After that ye have repented of your sins, and witnessed unto the Father that ye are willing to keep my commandments, by the baptism of water, and have received the baptism of fire and of the Holy Ghost, and can speak with a new tongue, yea, even with the tongue of Angels, and after this, should deny me, it would have been better for you, that ye had not known me.

And I heard a voice from the Father, saying, Yea, the words of my beloved, are true and faithful. He that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved. And now, my beloved brethren, I know by this, that unless a man endure to the end, in following the example of the Son of the living God, he cannot be saved; wherefore, do the things which I have told you that I have seen, that your Lord and your Redeemer should do: for, for this cause have they been shown unto me, that ye might know the gate by which ye should enter. For the gate by which ye should enter, is repentance, and baptism by water; and then cometh a remission of your sins by fire, and by the

Holy Ghost. And then are ye in this straight and narrow path which leads to eternal life; yea, ye have entered in by the gate: ye have done according to the commandments of the Father and the Son; and ye have received the Holy Ghost, which witness of the Father and the Son, unto the fulfilling of the promise which he hath made. That if ye entered in by the way, ye should receive.

And now, my beloved brethren, after that ye have got into this straight and narrow path, I would ask, If all is done? Behold, I say unto you, Nay; for ye have not come thus far, save it were by the word of Christ, with unshaken faith in him, relying wholly upon the merits of Him who is mighty to save; wherefore, ye must press forward with a steadfastness in Christ, having a perfect brightness of hope, and a love of God and of all men. Wherefore, if ye shall press forward, feasting upon the word of Christ, and endure to the end, behold, thus saith the Father: Ye shall have eternal life.

And now, my beloved brethren, this is the way; and there is none other way nor name given under heaven, whereby man can be saved in the Kingdom of God. And now, behold, this is the doctrine of Christ, and the only true doctrine of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, which is in God, without end. Amen.

MORMON 2 NEPHI CHAPTER 2 Nephi 14

And now, behold, my beloved brethren, I suppose that ye ponder somewhat in your hearts, concerning that which ye should do, after that ye have entered in by the way. But behold, why do ye ponder these things in your hearts? Do ye not remember that I said unto you, that after ye had received the Holy Ghost, ye could speak with the tongue of Angels? And now, how could ye speak with the tongue of Angels, save it were by the Holy Ghost? Angels speak by the power of the Holy Ghost; wherefore, they speak the words of Christ. -- Wherefore, I said unto you, feast upon the words of Christ: for behold, the words of Christ will tell you all things what ye should do. Wherefore, now after that I have spoken these words, if ye cannot understand them, it will be because ye ask not, neither do ye knock; wherefore, ye are not brought into the light, but must perish in the dark. For behold, again I say unto you, that if ye will enter in by the way, and receive the Holy Ghost, it will shew unto you all things what ye should do. Behold, this is the doctrine of Christ; and there will be no more doctrine given, until after that he shall manifest himself unto you in the flesh. And when he shall manifest himself unto you in the flesh, the things which he shall say unto you, shall ye observe to do.

And now I, Nephi, cannot say more: the spirit stoppeth mine utterance, and I am left to mourn because of the unbelief, and the wickedness, and the ignorance, and the stiff-neckedness of men: for they will not search knowledge, nor understand great knowledge, when it is given unto them in plainness, even as plain as word can be.

And now my beloved brethren, I perceive that ye ponder still in your hearts; and it grieveth me that I must speak concerning this thing. For if ye would hearken unto the spirit which teacheth a man to pray, ye would know that ye must pray: for the evil spirit teacheth not a man to pray, but teacheth him that he must not pray. But behold, I say unto you, that ye must pray always, and not faint; that ye must not perform any thing unto the Lord, save in the first place ye shall pray unto the Father in the name of Christ, that he will consecrate thy performance unto thee, that thy performance may be for the welfare of thy soul.

MORMON 2 NEPHI CHAPTER 15

And now I, Nephi, cannot write all the things which were taught among my people; neither am I mighty in writing, like unto speaking: for when a man speaketh by the power of the holy Ghost , the power of the Holy Ghost carrieth it unto the hearts of the children of men. But behold, there are many that harden their hearts against the Holy Spirit, that it hath no place in them; wherefore, they cast many things away which are written, and esteem them as things of nought. But I, Nephi, have written what I have written; and I esteem it as of great worth, and especially unto my people. For I pray continually for them by day, and mine eyes water my pillow by night, because of them; and I cry unto my God in faith, and I know that he will hear my cry; and I know that the Lord God will consecrate my prayers, for the gain of my people. And the things which I have written in weakness, will be made strong unto them: for it persuadeth them to do good; it maketh known unto them of their fathers; and it speaketh of Jesus, and persuadeth men to believe in him, and to endure to the end, which is life eternal. And it speaketh harsh against sin, according to the plainness of the truth; wherefore, no man will be angry at the words which I have written, save he shall be of the spirit of the Devil. I glory in plainness; I glory in truth; I glory in my Jesus, for he hath redeemed my soul from hell. I have charity for my people, and great faith in Christ, that I shall meet many souls spotless at his judgement seat. I have charity for the Jew; I say Jew, because I mean them from whence I came. I also have charity for the Gentiles. -- But behold, for none of these I cannot hope, except they shall be reconciled unto Christ, and enter into the narrow gate, and walk in the straight path, which leads to life, and continue in the path until the end of the day of probation.

And now, my beloved brethren, and also Jew, and all ye ends of the earth, hearken unto these words, and believe in Christ; and if ye believe not in these words, believe in Christ. And if ye shall believe in Christ, ye will believe in these words: for they are the words of Christ, and he hath given them unto me; and they teach all men that they should do good. And if they are not the words of Christ, judge ye: for Christ will shew unto you, with power and great glory, that they are his words, at the last day; and you and I shall stand face to face before his bar; and ye shall know that I have been commanded of him to write these things, notwithstanding my weakness: And I pray the Father in the name of Christ, that many of us, if not all, may be saved in his kingdom, at the great and last day.

And now, my beloved brethren, all they which are of the House of Israel, and all ye ends of the earth, I speak unto you, as the voice of one crying from the dust: farewell until that great day shall come; and you that will not partake of the goodness of God, and respect the words of the Jews, and also my words, and the words which shall proceed forth out of the mouth of the Lamb of God, behold, I bid you an everlasting farewell, for these words shall condemn you at the last day: for what I seal on earth, shall be brought against you at the judgement bar; for thus hath the Lord commanded me, and I must obey. Amen.

MORMON JACOB CHAPTER 1

The Brother Of Nephi.

The words of his preaching unto his brethren. He confoundeth a man who seeketh to overthrow the doctrine of Christ. A few words concerning the history of the people of Nephi.

For behold, it came to pass that fifty and five years had passed away, from the time that Lehi left Jerusalem; wherefore, Nephi gave me, Jacob, a commandment concerning the small plates, upon which these things are engraven. And he gave me, Jacob, a commandment that I should write upon these plates, a few of the things which I considered to be most precious: that I should not touch, save it were lightly, concerning the history of this people which are called the people of Nephi. For he said that the history of his people should be engraven upon his other plates, and that I should preserve these plates, and hand them down unto my seed, from generation to generation. And if there were preaching which was sacred, or revelation which was great, or prophesying, that I should engraven the heads of them upon these plates, and touch upon them as much as it were possible, for Christ's sake, and for the sake of our people: for because of faith and great anxiety, it truly had been made manifest unto us concerning our people,

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what things should happen unto them. And we also had many revelations, and the spirit of much prophecy; wherefore, we knew of Christ and his Kingdom, should come. Wherefore, we laboured diligently among our people, that we might persuade them to come unto Christ, and partake of the goodness of God, that they might enter into his rest, lest by means he should swear in his wrath they should not enter in, as in the provocation in the days of temptation, while the children of Israel were in the wilderness. -- Wherefore, we would to God that we could persuade all men not to rebel against God, to provoke him to anger, but that all men would believe in Christ, and view his death, and suffer his cross, and bear the shame of the world; wherefore, I, Jacob, take it upon me to fulfil the commandment of my brother Nephi.

Now Nephi began to be old, and he saw that he must soon die; wherefore, he anointed a man to be a king and a ruler over his people now, according to the reigns of the kings. -- The people having loved Nephi exceedingly, he having been a great protector for them, having wielded the sword of Laban in their defence, and having laboured in all his days for their welfare; wherefore, the people were desirous to retain in remembrance his name. And whoso should reign in his stead, were called by the people Second Nephi, Third Nephi, &c. according to the reigns of the kings; and thus they were called by the people, let them be of whatever name they would.

And it came to pass that Nephi died. Now the people which were not Lamanites, were Nephites; nevertheless, they were called Nephites, Jacobites, Josephites, Zoramites, Lamanites, Lemuelites, and Ishmaelites. But I, Jacob, shall not hereafter distinguish them by these names, but I shall call them Lamanites. They that seek to destroy the people of Nephi, and they which are friendly to Nephi, I shall call Nephites, or the people of Nephi, according to the reigns of the kings.

And now it came to pass that the people of Nephi, under the reign of the second king, began to grow hard in their hearts, and indulge themselves somewhat in wicked practices, such as like unto David of Old, desiring many wives and concubines, and also Solomon, his son; yea, and they also began to search much gold and silver, and began to be lifted up somewhat in pride; wherefore, I, Jacob, gave unto them these words as I taught them in the temple, having firstly obtained mine errand from the Lord. For I, Jacob, and my brother Joseph, had been consecrated priests, and teachers of this people, by the hand of Nephi. And we did magnify our office unto the Lord, taking upon us the responsibility, answering the sins of the people upon our own heads, if we did not teach them the word of God with all diligence; wherefore, by laboring with our mights, their blood might not come upon our garments, and we would not be found spotless at the last day.

MORMON JACOB CHAPTER 2

The words which Jacob, the brother of Nephi, spake unto the people of Nephi, after the death of Nephi: Now my beloved brethren, I, Jacob, according to the responsibility which I am under to God, to magnify mine office with soberness, and that I might rid my garments of your sins, I come up into the temple this day, that I might declare unto you the word of God; and ye yourselves know, that I have hitherto been diligent in the office of my calling; but I this day am weighed down with much more desire and anxiety for the welfare of your souls, than I have hitherto been. For behold, as yet, ye have been obedient unto the word of the Lord, which I have given unto you. But behold, hearken ye unto me, and know that by the help of the All-powerful Creator of Heaven and Earth, I can tell you concerning your thoughts, how that ye are beginning to labor in sin, which sin appeareth very abominable unto me, yea, and abominable unto God. Yea, it grieveth my soul and causeth me to shrink with shame before the presence of my Maker, that I might testify unto you concerning the wickedness of your hearts; and also, it grieveth me that I must use so much boldness of speech, concerning you, before your wives and your children, many of whose feelings are exceeding tender, and chaste, and delicate before God, which thing is pleasing unto God; and it supposeth me that they have come up hither to hear the pleasing word of God, yea, the word which healeth the wounded soul.

Wherefore, it burdeneth my soul, that I should be constrained because of the strict commandment which I have received from God, to admonish you, according to your crimes, to enlarge the wounds of those which are already wounded, instead of consoling and healing and their wounds; and those which have not been wounded, instead of feasting upon the pleasing word of God, have daggers placed to pierce their souls, and wound their delicate minds. But, notwithstanding the greatness of the task, I must do according to the strict commands of God, and tell you concerning your wickedness and abominations, in the presence of the pure in heart, and the broken heart, and under the glance of the piercing eye of the Almighty God.

Wherefore, I must tell you the truth, according to the plainness of the word of God. For behold, as I inquired of the Lord, thus came the word unto me, saying, Jacob, get thou up into the temple on the morrow, and declare the word which I shall give thee, unto this people.

And now behold, my brethren, this is the word which I declare unto you, that many of you have began to search for gold, and for silver, and all manner of precious ores, in the which this land, which is a land of promise unto you, and to your seed, doth abound most plentifully. And the hands of Providence hath smiled upon you most pleasingly, that you have obtained many riches; and because that some of you have obtained more abundantly than that of your brethren, ye are lifted up in the pride of your hearts, and wear stiff necks, and high heads, because of the costliness of your apparel, and persecute your brethren, because that ye suppose that ye are better than they.

And now my brethren, do ye suppose that God justifieth you in this thing? Behold, I say unto you, Nay. But he condemneth you, and if ye persist in these things, his judgements must speedily come unto you. O that he would shew you that he can pierce you, and with one glance of his eye, he can smite you to the dust. O that he would rid you from this iniquity, and abomination. And, O that ye would listen unto the word of his commands, and let not his pride of your hearts destroy your souls. Think of your brethren, like unto yourselves, and be familiar with your substance, that they may be rich like unto you. But before ye seek for riches, seek ye for the Kingdom of God. And after that ye have obtained a hope in Christ, ye shall obtain riches, if ye seek them; and ye shall seek them, for the intent to do good; to clothe the naked, and to feed the hungry, and to liberate the captive, and administer relief to the sick, and the afflicted.

And now my brethren, I have spoken unto you concerning pride; and those of you which have afflicted your neighbour, and persecuted him, because ye were proud in your hearts, of the things which God hath given you, what say ye of it? Do ye not suppose that such things are abominable unto him, and who created all flesh? And the one being is as precious in his sight as the other. And all flesh is of dust; and for the self same end hath he created them, that they should keep his commandments, and glorify him forever. And now I make an end of speaking unto you concerning this pride. And were it not that I must speak unto you concerning a grosser crime, my heart would rejoice exceedingly, because of you. But the word of God burthens me because of your grosser crimes. For behold, thus saith the Lord: This people begin to wax in iniquity; they understand not the Scriptures: for they seek to excuse themselves in committing whoredoms, because of the things which were written concerning David, and Solomon his Son. Behold, David and Solomon truly had many wives and concubines, which thing was abominable before me, saith the Lord. Wherefore, thus saith the Lord: I have led this people forth out of the land of Jerusalem, by the power of mine arm, that I might rise up unto me a righteous branch, from the fruit of the loins of Joseph. Wherefore, I the Lord God, will not suffer that this people shall do like unto them of old. Wherefore, my brethren, hear me, and hearken to the word of the Lord: for there shall not any man among you have save it be one wife; and concubines he shall have none: For I, the Lord God, delighteth in the chastity of women. And whoredoms is an abomination before me: thus saith the Lord of Hosts. Wherefore, this people shall keep my commandments, saith the Lord of Hosts, or cursed be the land for their sakes. For if I will, saith the Lord of Hosts, raise up seed unto me, I will command my people: otherwise, they shall hearken unto these things. For behold, I, the Lord, have seen the sorrow, and heard the mourning of the daughters of my people, in the land of Jerusalem; yea, and in all the lands of my people, because of the wickedness and abominations of their husbands. And I will not suffer, saith the Lord of Hosts, that the cries of the fair daughters of this people, which I have led out of the land of Jerusalem, shall come up unto me, against the men of my people, saith the Lord of Hosts; for they shall not lead away captive, the daughters of my people, because of their tenderness, save I shall visit them with a sore curse, even unto destruction: for they shall not commit whoredoms, like unto they of old, saith the Lord of Hosts.

And now behold, my brethren, ye know that these commandments were given to our father Lehi; wherefore, ye have known them before; and ye have come unto great condemnation; for ye have done these things, which ye ought not have done. Behold, ye have done greater iniquities than the Lamanites, our brethren. Ye have broken the hearts of your tender wives, and lost the confidence of your children, because of your bad examples before them; and the sobbings of their hearts ascendeth up to God against you. And because of the strictness of the word of God, which cometh down against you, many hearts died, pierced with deep wounds.

But behold, I, Jacob, would speak unto you that are pure in heart. Look unto God with firmness of mind, and pray unto him with exceeding faith, and he will console you in your afflictions, and he will plead your cause, and send down justice upon those who seek your destruction.

O ye that are pure in heart, lift up your heads and receive the pleasing word of God, and feast upon his love; for ye may, if your mind are firm, forever. But, wo, wo, unto you that are not pure in heart; that are filthy this day before God; for except ye shall repent, the land is cursed for your sakes; and the Lamanites, which are not filthy like unto you, (nevertheless, they are cursed with a sore cursing) shall scourge you even unto destruction. And the time speedily cometh that except ye repent, they shall possess the land of your inheritance, and the Lord God will lead away the righteous out from among you. Behold, the Lamanites your brethren, whom ye hate, because of their filthiness and the cursings which hath come upon their skins, are more righteous than you: for they have not forgotten the commandment of the Lord, which was given unto our fathers, that they should have, save it were one wife; and concubines they should have none; and there should not be whoredoms committed among them. And now this commandment they observe to keep it; wherefore, because of this observance in keeping this commandment. the Lord God will not destroy them, but will be merciful unto them; and one day they shall become a blessed people. Behold, their husbands love their wives, and their wives love their husbands, and their husbands and their wives love their children; and their unbelief and their hatred towards you, is because of the iniquity of their fathers; wherefore, how much better are you than they, in the sight of your Great Creator?

O my brethren, I fear, that unless ye shall repent of your sins, that their skins will be whiter than yours, when ye shall be brought with them before the throne of God. Wherefore, a commandment I give unto you, which is the word of God, that ye revile no more against them, because of the darkness of their skins; neither shall ye revile against them because of their filthiness; but ye shall remember your own filthiness, and remember that their filthiness came because of their fathers. Wherefore, ye shall remember your children, how that ye have grieved their hearts, because of the example that ye have set before them; and also, remember that ye may, because of your filthiness, bring your children unto destruction, and their sins be heaped upon your heads at the last day.

O my brethren, hearken unto my word; arouse the faculties of your soul; shake yourselves, that ye may awake from the slumber of death; and loose yourselves from the pains of hell, that ye may not become the Angels to the Devil, to be cast into that lake of fire and brimstone, which is the second death. And now I, Jacob, spake many more things unto the people of Nephi, warning them against fornications, and lasciviousness, and every kind of sin, telling them the awful consequences of them; and a hundredth part of the proceedings of this people, which now began to be numerous, cannot be written upon these plates; but many of their proceedings are written upon the larger plates, and their wars, and their contentions, and the reigns of their kings. These plates are called the plates of Jacob; and they were made by the hand of Nephi. And I make an end of speaking these words.

MORMON JACOB CHAPTER 3

Now behold it came to pass, that I, Jacob, having ministered much unto my people, in word, (and I cannot write but a little of my words because of the difficulty of engraving our words upon plates,) and we know that the things which we write upon plates, must remain; but whatsoever things we write upon any thing save it be upon plates, must perish and vanish away; but we can write a few words upon plates, which will give our children, and also our beloved brethren, a small degree of knowledge concerning us, or concerning their fathers. Now in this thing we do rejoice; and we labor diligently to engraven these words upon the plates, hoping that our beloved brethren, and our children, will receive them with thankful hearts, and look upon them, that they may learn with joy, and not with sorrow, neither with contempt, concerning their first parents: for, for this intent have we written these things, that they may know that we knew of Christ, and we had a hope of his glory, many hundred years before his coming; and not only we, ourselves, had a hope of his glory, but also all the Holy Prophets which were before us.

Behold, they believed in Christ, and worshiped the Father in his name; and also, we worshiped the Father in his name. And for this intent, we keep the law of Moses, it pointing our souls to him; and for this cause, it is sanctified unto us for righteousness, even as it was accounted unto Abraham in the wilderness, to be obedient unto the commands of God, in offering up his son Isaac, which was a similitude of God and his only begotten Son. Wherefore, we search the Prophets; and we have many revelations, and the spirit of prophecy; and having all these witnesses, we obtain a hope, and our faith becometh unshaken, insomuch that we truly can command in the name of Jesus, and the very trees obey us, or the mountains, or the waves of the sea; nevertheless, the Lord God sheweth us our weakness, that we may know that it is by grace, and his great condescentions unto the children of men, that we have power to do these things.

Behold, great and marvelous are the works of the Lord. -- How unsearchable are the depths of the mysteries of Him; and it is impossible that man should find out all his ways. -- And no man knoweth of his ways, save it be revealed unto him; wherefore, brethren, despise not the revelations of God. For behold, by the power of his word, man came upon the face of the earth; which earth was created by the power of his word.

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Wherefore, if God, being able to speak, and the world was; and to speak, and man was created, O then, why not able to command the earth, or the workmanship of his hands upon the face of it, according to his will and pleasure. Wherefore, brethren, seek not to counsel the Lord, but to take counsel from his hand. For behold, ye yourselves know, that he counseleth in wisdom, and in justice, and in great mercy, over all his works, wherefore, beloved brethren, be reconciled unto him, through the atonement of Christ, his only begotten Son, that ye may obtain a resurrection, according to the power of the resurrection which is in Christ, and be presented as the first fruits of Christ, unto God, having faith, and obtained a good hope of glory in him, before he manifesteth himself in the flesh.

And now, beloved, marvel not that I tell you these things; for why not speak of the atonement of Christ, and attain to a perfect knowledge of him, as to attain to the knowledge of a resurrection and the world to come? Behold, my brethren, he that prophesieth, let him prophesy to the understanding of men; for the spirit speaketh the truth, and lieth not. Wherefore, it speaketh of things as they really are, and of things as they really will be; wherefore, these things are manifested unto us plainly, for the salvation of our souls. But behold, we are not witnesses alone in these things; for God also spake them unto Prophets of old.

But behold, the Jews were a stiffnecked people; and they despised the words of plainness, and killed the Prophets, and sought for things that they could not understand. Wherefore, because of their blindness, which blindness came by looking beyond the mark, they must needs fall: for God hath taken away his plainness from them, and delivered unto them many things which they cannot understand, because they desired it. And because they desired it, God hath done it, that they may stumble.

And now I, Jacob, am led on by the spirit unto prophesying: for I perceive the working of the spirit which is in me, that by the stumbling of the Jews, they will reject the stone upon which they might build, and have safe foundation. But behold, according to the Scriptures, this stone shall become the great, and the last, and only sure foundation, upon which the Jews can build. And now, my beloved, how is it possible that these, after having rejected the sure foundation, can ever build upon it, that it may become the head of their corner? Behold, my beloved brethren, I will unfold this mystery, unto you; if I do not, by any means, get shaken from my firmness in the spirit, and stumble because of my over anxiety for you.

Behold, my brethren, do ye not remember to have read the words of the Prophet Zenos, which spake unto the House of Israel, saying: Hearken O ye House of Israel, and hear the words of me a Prophet of the Lord: for behold, thus saith the Lord, I will liken thee, O House of Israel, like unto a tame olive tree, which a man took and nourished in his vineyard; and it grew, and waxed old, and began to decay. And it came to pass that the master of the vineyard went forth, and he saw that his olive tree began to decay; and he sayeth, I will prune it, and dig about it, and nourish it, that perhaps it may shoot forth young and tender branches, and it perish not. And it came to pass that he pruned it, and digged about it, and nourished it, according to his word. And it came to pass that after many days, it began to put forth somewhat a little, young and tender branches; but behold, the main top thereof began to perish. And it came to pass that the master of the vineyard saw it, and he sayeth unto his servant, It grieveth me that I should lose this tree; wherefore, go and pluck the branches from a wild olive tree, and bring them hither unto me; and we will pluck off those main branches which are beginning to wither away, and we will cast them into the fire, that they may be burned. And behold, saith the Lord of the vineyard, I take away many of these young and tender branches, and I will graft them whithersoever I will; and it mattereth not that if it so be, that the root of this tree will perish, I may preserve the fruit thereof unto myself; wherefore, I will take these young and tender branches, and I will graft them withersoever I will. Take thou the branches of the wild olive tree, and graft them in, in the stead thereof; and these which I have plucked off, I will cast into the fire, and burn them, that they may not cumber the ground of my vineyard.

And it came to pass that the servant of the Lord of the vineyard, done according to the word of the Lord of the vineyard, and grafted in the branches of the wild olive tree. And the Lord of the vineyard caused that it should be digged about, and pruned, and nourished, saying unto his servant, It grieveth me that I should lose this tree; wherefore, that perhaps I might preserve the roots thereof that they perish not, that I might preserve them unto myself, I have done this thing. -- Wherefore, go thy way; watch the tree, and nourish it, according to my words. And these will I place in the nethermost part of my vineyard, whithersoever I will, it mattereth not unto thee; and I do it, that I may preserve unto myself the natural branches of the tree; and also, that I may lay up fruit thereof, against the season, unto myself: for it grieveth me that I should lose this tree, and the fruit thereof.

And it came to pass that the Lord of the vineyard went his way, and hid the natural branches of the tame olive tree in the nethermost parts of the vineyard; some in one, and some in another, according to his will and pleasure. And it came to pass that a long time passed away, and the Lord of the vineyard sayeth unto his servant, Come, let us go down into the vineyard, that we may labor in the vineyard.

And it came to pass that the Lord of the vineyard, and also the servant, went down into the vineyard to labor. And it came to pass that the servant sayeth unto his master, Behold, look here; behold the tree. And it came to pass that the Lord of the vineyard looked and beheld the tree, in the which the wild olive branches had been grafted; and it had sprang forth, and began to bear fruit. And he beheld that it was good; and the fruit thereof was like unto the natural fruit. -- And he sayeth unto the servant, Behold, the branches of the wild tree hath taken hold of the moisture of the root thereof, that the root thereof hath brought forth much strength; and because of the much strength of the root thereof, the wild branches hath brought forth tame fruit: now, if we had not grafted in these branches, the tree thereof would have perished. And now, behold, I shall lay up much fruit, which the tree thereof hath brought forth; and the fruit thereof I shall lay up, against the season unto mine own self.

And it came to pass that the Lord of the vineyard sayeth unto the servant, Come, let us go to the nethermost part of the vineyard, and behold if the natural branches of the tree hath not brought forth much fruit also, that I may lay up of the fruit thereof against the season, unto mine own self. And it came to pass that they went forth whither the master of the vineyard had hid the natural branches of the tree, and he sayeth unto the servant, Behold these: and he beheld the first, that it had brought forth much fruit; and he beheld also, that it was good. And he sayeth unto the servant, Take of the fruit thereof, and lay it up, against the season, that I may preserve it unto mine own self: for behold, sayeth he, This long time I have nourished it, and it hath brought forth much fruit.

And it came to pass that the servant sayeth unto his master, How comest thou hither to plant this tree, or this branch of the tree? for behold, it was the poorest spot in all the land of thy vineyard. And the Lord of the vineyard sayeth unto him, Counsel me not: I knew that it was a poor spot of ground; wherefore, I said unto thee, I have nourished it this long time; and thou beholdest that it hath brought forth much fruit.

And it came to pass that the Lord of the vineyard sayeth unto his servant, Look hither: behold I have planted another branch of the tree also; and thou knowest that this spot of ground was poorer than the first. But, behold the tree: I have nourished it this long time, and it hath brought forth much fruit; therefore, gather it, and lay it up, against the season, that I may preserve it unto mine own self.

And it came to pass that the Lord of the vineyard sayeth again unto his servant, Look hither, and behold another branch also, which I have planted: behold that I have nourished it also, and it hath brought forth fruit. And he sayeth unto the servant, Look hither, and behold the last: behold, this have I planted in a good spot of ground; and I have nourished it this long time, and only a part of the tree hath brought forth tame fruit; and the other part of the tree hath brought forth wild fruit: behold, I have nourished this tree like unto the others.

And it came to pass that the Lord of the vineyard sayeth unto the servant, Pluck off the branches that have not brought forth good fruit, and cast them into the fire. But behold, the servant sayeth unto him, Let us prune it, and dig about it, and nourish it a little longer, that perhaps it may bring forth good fruit unto thee, that thou canst lay it up against the season. -- And it came to pass that the Lord of the vineyard, and the servant of the Lord of the vineyard, did nourish all the fruit of the vineyard. And it came to pass that a long time had passed away, and the Lord of the vineyard sayeth unto his servant, Come, let us go down to the vineyard, that we may labor again in the vineyard. For behold, the time draweth near, and the end soon cometh: wherefore, I must lay up fruit, against the season, unto mine own self.

And it came to pass that the Lord of the vineyard and the servant, went down into the vineyard; and they came to the tree whose natural branches had been broken off, and the wild branches had been grafted in; and behold, all sorts of fruit did cumber the tree.

And it came to pass that the Lord of the vineyard did taste of the fruit, every sort according to its number. And the Lord of the vineyard saith, Behold, this long time have we nourished this tree, and I have laid up unto myself against the season, much fruit. But behold, this time it hath brought forth much fruit, and there is none of it which is good. And behold, there are all kinds of bad fruit; and it profiteth me nothing, notwithstanding all our labor : and now, it grieveth me that I should lose this tree. And the Lord of the vineyard sayeth unto the servant, What shall we do unto the tree, that I may preserve again good fruit thereof unto mine own self? And the servant sayeth unto his master, Behold, because thou didst graft in the branches of the wild olive tree, they have nourished the roots, that they are alive, and they have not perished; wherefore, thou beholdest that they are yet good.

And it came to pass that the Lord of the vineyard sayeth unto his servant, The tree profiteth me nothing; and the roots thereof profiteth me nothing, so long as it shall bring forth evil fruit. Nevertheless, I know that the roots are good; and for mine own purpose I have preserved them; and because of their much strength, they have hitherto brought forth from the wild branches, good fruit. But behold, the wild branches have grown, and have overran the roots thereof; and because that the wild branches have overcome the roots thereof, it hath brought forth much evil fruit; and because that it hath brought forth much evil fruit, thou beholdest that it beggineth to perish: and it will soon become ripened, that it may be cast into the fire, except we should do something for it to preserve it.

And it came to pass that the Lord of the vineyard sayeth, unto his servant, Let us go down into the nethermost parts of the vineyard, and behold if the natural branches have also brought forth evil fruit. And it came to pass that they went down into the nethermost parts of the vineyard. And it came to pass that they beheld that the fruit of the natural branches had become corrupt also; yea, the first, and the second, and also the last; and they had all become corrupt. And the wild fruit of the last, had overcome that part of the tree which brought forth good fruit, even that the branches had withered away and died.

And it came to pass that the Lord of the vineyard wept, and sayeth unto his servant, What could I have done more for my vineyard? Behold, I knew that all the fruit of the vineyard, save it were these, had become corrupt. And now, these which have once brought forth good fruit, have also become corrupted. And now, all the trees of my vineyard are good for nothing, save it be hewn down and cast into the fire. And behold, this last, whose branch hath withered away, I did plant in a good spot of ground; yea, even that which was choice unto me, above all other parts of the land of my vineyard. And thou beheldest that I also cut down that which cumbered this spot of ground, that I might plant this tree in the stead thereof. And thou beheldest that a part thereof, brought forth good fruit; and a part thereof, brought forth wild fruit. And because that I plucked not the branches thereof, and cast them into the fire, behold, they have overcome the good branch, that it hath withered away. And now behold, notwithstanding all the care which we have taken of my vineyard, the trees thereof hath become corrupted, that they bring forth no good fruit; and these I had hope to preserve, to have laid up the fruit thereof, against the season, unto mine own self. But behold, they have become like unto the wild olive tree; and they are of no worth, but to be hewn down and cast into the fire: and it grieveth me that I should lose them. But what could I have done more in my vineyard? Have I slackened mine hand, that I have not nourished it? Nay; I have nourished it, and I have digged it, and I have pruned it, and I have dunged it; and I have stretched forth mine hand almost all the day long; and the end draweth nigh. And it grieveth me that I should hew down all the trees of my vineyard, and cast them into the fire, that they should be burned. Who is it that hath corrupted my vineyard?

And it came to pass that the servant, sayeth unto his master, Is it not the loftiness of thy vineyard? Hath not the branches thereof overcame the roots, which are good? And because that the branches have overcame the roots thereof? For behold, they grew faster than the strength of the roots thereof, taking strength unto themselves. Behold, I say, Is not this the cause that the trees of thy vineyard hath become corrupted?

And it came to pass that the Lord of the vineyard sayeth unto the servant, Let us go to, and hew down the trees of the vineyard, and cast them into the fire, that they shall not cumber the ground of my vineyard; for I have done all: what could I have done more for my vineyard? But behold, the servant saith unto the Lord of the vineyard, Spare it a little longer. And the Lord saith, Yea, I will spare it a little longer: for it grieveth me that I should lose the trees of my vineyard. Wherefore, let us take of the branches of these which I have planted in the nethermost parts of my vineyard, and let us graft them into the tree from whence they came; and let us pluck from the tree, those branches whose fruit is most bitter, and graft in the natural branches of the tree, in the stead thereof. And this I will do, that the tree may not perish, that perhaps I may preserve unto myself the roots thereof, for mine own purpose. And behold, the roots of the natural branches of the tree which I planted whithersoever I would, are yet alive; wherefore, that I may preserve them also, for mine own purpose, I will take of the branches of this tree, and I will graft them in unto them.. Yea, I will graft in unto them the branches of their mother tree, that I may preserve the roots also unto mine own self, that when they shall be sufficiently strong, that perhaps they may bring forth good fruit unto me, and I may yet have glory in the fruit of my vineyard.

And it came to pass that they took from the natural tree which had become wild, and grafted in unto the natural trees, which also had become wild; and they also took of the natural trees which had become wild, and grafted into their mother tree. And the Lord of the vineyard sayeth unto the servant, Pluck not the wild branches from the trees, save it be those

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which are most bitter; and in them ye shall graft, according to that which I have said. And we will nourish again the trees of the vineyard, and we will trim up the branches thereof; and we will pluck from the trees those branches which are ripened that must perish, and cast them into the fire. -- And this I do, that perhaps the roots thereof may take strength, because of their goodness; and because of the change of the branches, that the good may overcome the evil; and because that I have preserved the natural branches, and the roots thereof; and that I have grafted in the natural branches again, into their mother tree, that perhaps the trees of my vineyard may bring forth again good fruit; and that I may have joy again in the fruit of my vineyard; and perhaps that I may rejoice exceedingly, that I have preserved the roots and the branches of the first fruit; wherefore, go to, and call servants, that we may labor diligently with our mights in the vineyard, that we may prepare the way, that I may bring forth again the natural fruit, which natural fruit is good, and the most precious above all other fruit. Wherefore, let us go to, and labor with our mights, this last time: for behold, the end draweth nigh; and this is for the last time that I shall prune my vineyard. Graft in the branches: begin at the last, that they may be first, and that the first may be last, and dig about the trees, both old and young, the first and the last, and the last and the first, that all may be nourished once again for the last time. Wherefore, dig about them, and prune them, and dung them once more, for the last time: for the end draweth nigh. And if it so be that these last grafts shall grow, and bring forth the natural fruit, then shall ye prepare the way for them, that they may grow; and as they begin to grow, ye shall clear away the branches which bring forth bitter fruit, according to the strength of the good and the size thereof; and ye shall not clear away the bad thereof, all at once, lest the roots thereof should be too strong for the graft, and the graft thereof shall perish, and I lose the trees of my vineyard. For it grieveth me that I should lose the trees of my vineyard; wherefore, ye shall clear away the bad, according as the good shall grow, that the roots and the top may be equal in strength, until the good shall overcome the bad, and the bad be hewn down and cast into the fire, that they cumber not the ground of my vineyard; and thus will I sweep away the bad out of my vineyard. And the branches of the natural tree, will I graft again, into the natural tree; and the branches of the natural tree, will I graft into the natural branches of the tree; and thus will I bring them together again, that they shall bring forth the natural fruit: and they shall be one. And the bad shall be cast away; yea, even out of all the land of my vineyard: for behold, only this once will I prune my vineyard.

And it came to pass that the Lord of the vineyard sent his servant; and the servant went and did as the Lord had commanded him, and brought other servants; and they were few. And the Lord of the vineyard saith unto them, Go to, and labor in the vineyard, with your mights. For behold, this is the last time that I shall nourish my vineyard: for the end is nigh at hand, and the season speedily cometh; and if ye labor with your mights with me, ye shall have joy in the fruit which I shall lay unto myself, against the time which will soon come.

And it came to pass that the servants did go to it, and labor with their mights; and the Lord of the vineyard labored also with them: and they did obey the commandments of the Lord of the vineyard, in all things. And there began to be the natural fruit again in the vineyard; and the natural branches began to grow and thrive exceedingly; and the wild branches began to be plucked off, and to be cast away; and they did keep the root and the top thereof, equal, according to the strength thereof. And thus they labored with all diligence, according to the commandments of the Lord of the vineyard, even until the bad had been cast out of the vineyard, and the Lord preserved unto himself, that the trees had become again the natural fruit; and they became like unto one body; and the fruit were equal; and the Lord of the vineyard had preserved unto himself the natural fruit, which was most precious unto him from the beginning.

And it came to pass that when the Lord of the vineyard saw that his fruit was good, and that his vineyard was no more corrupt, he calleth up his servants and sayeth unto them, Behold, for this last time have we nourished my vineyard; and thou beholdest that I have done according to my will; and I have preserved the natural fruit that it is good, even like as it was in the beginning; and blessed art thou. For because that ye have been diligent in laboring with me in my vineyard, and have kept my commandments, and hath brought unto me again the natural fruit, that my vineyard is no more corrupt, and the bad is cast away, behold, ye shall have joy with me, because of the fruit of my vineyard. For behold, for a long time will I lay up of the fruit of my vineyard unto mine own self, against the season, which speedily cometh; and for the last time have I nourished my vineyard, and pruned it, and dug about it, and dunged it; wherefore I will lay up unto mine own self of the fruit, for a long time, according to that which I have spoken. And when the time cometh that evil fruit shall again come into my vineyard, then will I cause the good and the bad to be gathered; and the good will I preserve unto myself; and the bad will I cast away into its own place. And then cometh the season and the end; and my vineyard will I cause to be burned with fire.

MORMON JACOB CHAPTER 4

And now, behold, my brethren, as I said unto you that I would prophesy, behold this is my prophesy: That the things which this prophet Zenos spake, concerning the House of Israel, in the which he likened them unto a tame olive tree, must surely come to pass. And in the day that he shall set his hand again the second time to recover his people, is the day, yea, even the last time, that the servants of the Lord shall go forth in his power, to nourish and prune his vineyard; and after that, the end soon cometh. And how blessed are they who have labored diligently in his vineyard; and how cursed are they which shall be cast out into their own place! And the world shall be burned with fire. And how merciful is our God unto us: for he remembereth the House of Israel, both roots and branches; and he stretches forth his hands unto them, all the day long: and they are a stiffnecked, and a gain-saying people; but as many as will not harden their hearts, shall be saved in the Kingdom of God. Wherefore, my beloved brethren, I beseech of you on words of soberness, that ye would repent, and come with full purpose of heart, and cleave unto God as he cleaveth unto you. And while his arm of mercy is extended towards you in the light of the day, harden not your hearts. Yea, to-day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts: for why will ye die? For behold, after that ye have been nourished by the good word of God all the day long, will ye bring forth evil fruit, that ye must be hewn down and cast into the fire? Behold, will ye reject these words?

Will ye reject the words of the Prophets? and will ye reject all the words which have been spoken concerning Christ, after that so many have spoken concerning him? and deny the good word of Christ, and the power of God, and the gift of the Holy Ghost, and quench the Holy Spirit? and make a mock of the great plan of redemption, which hath been laid for you? Know ye not that if ye will do these things, that the power of the redemption and the resurrection which is in Christ, will bring you to stand with shame and awful guilt before the bar of God, and according to the power of justice? for justice cannot be denied. That ye must go away into that lake of fire and brimstone, whose flames are unquenchable, and whose smoke ascendeth up forever and ever? which lake of fire and brimstone, is endless torment. O then, my beloved brethren, repent ye, and enter in at the straight gate, and continue in the way which is narrow, until ye shall obtain eternal life. O be wise: what can I say more? Finally, I bid you farewell, until I shall meet you before the pleasing bar of God, which bar striketh the wicked with awful dread and fear. -- Amen.

MORMON JACOB CHAPTER 5

And now it came to pass that after some years had passed away, there came a man among the people of Nephi. whose name was Sherem. And it came to pass that he began to preach among the people, and to declare unto them that there should be no Christ. And he preached many things which were flattering unto the people; and this he done, that he might overthrow the doctrine of Christ. And he labored diligently that he might lead away the hearts of the people, insomuch that he did lead away many hearts; and he knowing that I, Jacob, had faith in Christ which should come, wherefore, he sought much opportunity that he might come unto me. And he was learned, that he had a perfect knowledge of the language of the people; wherefore, he could use much flattery, and much power of speech, according to the power of the Devil. And he had hoped to shake me from the faith, notwithstanding the many revelations, and the many things which I had seen concerning these things: for I truly had seen Angels, and they had ministered unto me. And also, I had heard the voice of the Lord speaking unto me in very word, from time to time; wherefore, I could not be shaken.

And it came to pass that he came unto me; and on this wise did he speak unto me saying: Brother Jacob, I have sought much opportunity that I might speak unto you: for I have heard and also know, that thou goest about much, preaching that which ye call the Gospel, or the doctrine of Christ; and ye have led away much of this people, that they pervert the right way of God, and keep not the law of Moses, which is the right way; and convert the law of Moses into the worship of a being, which ye say shall come many hundred years hence. And now behold, I, Sherem, declare unto you that this is blasphemy; for no man knoweth of such things: for he cannot tell of things to come. And after this manner did Sherem contend against me. But behold, the Lord God poured in his spirit into my soul, insomuch that I did confound him in all his words. And I sayeth unto him, Deniest thou the Christ which should come? And he sayeth, if there should be a Christ, I would not deny him; I know that there is no Christ, neither hath been, nor never will be. And I sayeth unto him, Believest thou the Scriptures? And he sayeth, Yea, And I sayeth unto him, Then ye do not understand them; for they truly testify of Christ. Behold, I say unto you, That none of the prophets have written, nor prophesied, save they have spoken concerning this Christ. And this is not all: it hath been made manifest unto me, for I have heard and seen; and it also hath been made manifest unto me by the power of the Holy Ghost; wherefore, I know if there should be no atonement made, all mankind must be lost.

And it came to pass that he sayeth unto me, Shew me a sign by this power of the Holy Ghost, in which ye know so much. And I said unto him, What am I, that I should tempt God to shew unto thee a sign, in the thing which thou knowest to be true? Yet thou wilt deny it, because thou art of the Devil. Nevertheless, not my will be done; but if God shall smite thee, let that be a sign unto thee that he hath power, both in Heaven and in Earth; and also, that Christ shall come. And thy will, O Lord, be done, and not mine. And it came to pass that when Jacob, had spoken these words, the power of the Lord came upon him, insomuch that he fell to the earth. And it came to pass that he was nourished for the space of many days. And it came to pass that he sayeth unto the people, Gather together on the morrow, for

I shall die; wherefore, I desire to speak unto the people before that I shall die.

And it came to pass that on the morrow, that the multitude were gathered together; and he spake plainly unto them, and denied the things which he had taught them; and confessed the Christ, and the power of the Holy Ghost, and the ministering of Angels. And he spake plainly unto them, that he had been deceived by the power of the Devil. And he spake of hell, and eternity, and of eternal punishment. And he sayeth I fear lest I have committed the unpardonable sin, for I have lied unto God: for I denied the Christ, and said that I believed the Scriptures; and they truly testify of him. And because that I have thus lied unto God, I greatly fear lest my case shall be awful; but I confess unto God.

And it came to pass that when he had said these words, he could say no more; and he gave up the ghost. And when the multitude had witnessed that he spake these things as he was about to give up the ghost, they were astonished exceedingly; insomuch, that the power of God came down upon them, and they were overcome, that they fell to the earth. Now, this thing was pleasing unto me, Jacob; for I had requested it of my Father which was in Heaven: for he had heard my cry, and answered my prayer.

And it came to pass that peace, and the love of God, was restored again among the people; and they searched the Scriptures, and hearkened no more to the words of this wicked man. And it came to pass that many means were devised, to reclaim and restore the Lamanites, to the knowledge of the truth; but it all were vain: for they delighted in wars and bloodsheds; and they had an eternal hatred against us, their brethren. And they sought by the power of their arms to destroy us continually; wherefore, the people of Nephi did fortify against them with their armies, and with all their might, trusting in the God and the rock of their salvation; wherefore, they became as yet, conquerors of their enemies.

And it came to pass that I, Jacob, began to be old; and the record of this people being kept on the other plates of Nephi, wherefore, I conclude this record, declaring that I have written according to the best of my knowledge, by saying, That the time passed away with us, and also our lives passed away, like as it were unto us a dream, we being a lonesome and a solemn people, wanderers cast out from Jerusalem; born in tribulation, in the wilderness, and hated of our brethren, which caused wars and contentions; wherefore, we did mourn out our days.

And I, Jacob, saw that I must soon go down to my grave; wherefore, I said unto my son Enos, Take these plates. And I told him the things which my brother Nephi had commanded me; and he promised obedience unto the commands. And I make an end of my writing upon these plates, which writing hath been small; and to the reader I bid farewell, hoping that many of my brethren may read my words. Brethren, adieu.

MORMON ENOS CHAPTER 1

Behold, it came to pass that I, Enos, knowing my father that he was a just man: for he taught me in his language, and also in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. And blessed be the name of my God for it. And I will tell you of the wrestle which I had before God, before that I received a remission of my sins: behold, I went to hunt beasts in the forest; and the words which I had often heard my father speak, concerning eternal life, and the joys of the saints, and the words of my father, sunk deep into my heart. And my soul hungered; and I kneeled down before my Maker, and I cried unto him in mighty prayer and supplication, for mine own soul; and all the day long did I cry unto him; yea, and when the night came, I did still raise my voice high, that it reached the heavens. And there came a voice unto me saying, Enos, thy sins are forgiven thee, and thou shalt be blessed. And I, Enos, knew that god could not lie; wherefore, my guilt was swept away. And I sayeth, Lord, how is it done? And he sayeth unto me, Because of thy faith in Christ, whom thou hast not heard nor seen. And many years passeth away, before that he shall manifest himself; wherefore, go to it, thy faith hath made thee whole.

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Now, it came to pass that when I had heard these words, I began to feel a desire for the welfare of my brethren, the Nephites; wherefore, I did pour out my whole soul unto God for them. And while I was thus struggling in the spirit, behold, the voice of the Lord came into my mind again, saying, I will visit thy brethren, according to their diligence in keeping my commandments. I have given unto them this land; and it is a holy land; and I curse it not, save it be for the cause of iniquity; wherefore, I will visit thy brethren, according as I have said; and their transgressions will I bring down with sorrow upon their own heads. And after that I, Enos, had heard these words, my faith began to be unshaken in the Lord; and I prayed unto him with many long strugglings for my brethren the Lamanites.

And it came to pass, that after I had prayed, and labored with all diligence, the Lord said unto me, I will grant unto thee according to thy desires, because of thy faith. And now behold, this was the desire which I desired of him: That if it should so be, that my people, the Nephites, should fall into transgression, and by any means be destroyed, and the Lamanites should not be destroyed. that the Lord God would preserve a record of my people, the Nephites; even if it so be, by the power of his holy arm, that it might be brought forth, at some future day, unto the Lamanites, that perhaps they might be brought unto salvation: for at the present, our struggles were vain, in restoring them to the true faith. And they swore in their wrath, that if it were possible, they would destroy our records and us, and, also, all the traditions of our fathers.

Wherefore, I knowing that the Lord God was able to preserve our records, I cried unto him continually; for he had said unto me, Whatsoever thing ye shall ask in faith, believing that ye shall receive in the name of Christ, ye shall receive it. And I had faith, and I did cry unto God, that he would preserve the records; and he covenanted with me that he would bring them forth unto the Lamanites, in his own due time. -- And I, Enos, knew it would be according to the covenant which he had made; wherefore, my soul did rest. And the Lord said unto me, Thy fathers have also required of me this thing; and it shall be done unto them according to their faith, for their faith was like unto thine.

And now it came to pass, that I, Enos, went about among the people of Nephi, prophesying of things to come, and testifying of the things which I had heard and seen. And I bare record that the people of Nephi did seek diligently to restore the Lamanites unto the true faith in God. But our labors were vain; their hatred was fixed, and they were led by their evil nature, that they became wild, and ferocious, and a blood-thirsty people; full of idolatry, and filthiness, feeding upon beasts of prey, dwelling in tents, and wandering about in the wilderness, with a short skin girded about their loins, and their heads shaven; and their skill was in the bow, and the cimeter, and the axe. -- And many of them did eat nothing save it was raw meat; and they were continually seeking to destroy us.

And it came to pass that the people of Nephi did till the land, and raise all manner of grain, and of fruit, and flocks of herds, and flocks of all manner of cattle, of every kind, and goats, and wild goats, and also much horses. And there were exceeding many prophets among us. And the people were a stiff-necked people, hard to understand. And there was nothing save it was exceeding harshness, preaching, and prophesying of wars, and contentions, and destructions, and continually reminding them of death, and the duration of eternity, and the judgements and the power of God; and all these things stirring them up continually, to keep them in the fear of the Lord. I say there was nothing short of these things, and exceeding great plainness of speech, would keep them from going down speedily to destruction. And after this manner do I write concerning them. And I saw wars between the Nephites and the Lamanites, in the course of my days.

And it came to pass that I began to be old, and an hundred and seventy and nine years had passed away from the time that our father Lehi left Jerusalem. And as I saw that I must soon go down to my grave, having been wrought upon by the power of God, that I must preach and prophesy unto this people, and declare the word according to the truth, which is in Christ. And I have declared it in all my days, and have rejoiced in it, above that of the world. And I soon go to the place of my rest, which is with my Redeemer; for I know that in him I shall rest: I rejoice in the day when my mortal shall put on immortality, and shall stand before him: then I shall see his face with pleasure, and he will say unto me, Come unto me ye blessed, there is a place prepared for you in the mansions of my Father. Amen.

MORMON JAROM CHAPTER 1

Now behold, I, Jarom, write a few words, according to the commandment of my father Enos, that our genealogy may be kept. And as these plates are small, and as these things are written for the intent of the benefit of our brethren, the Lamanites, wherefore, it must needs be that I write a little; but I shall not write the things of my prophesying, nor of my relations. For what could I write more than my fathers have written? For have not they revealed the plan of salvation? I say unto you, Yea; and this sufficeth me.

Behold, it is expedient that much should be done among this people, because of the hardness of their hearts, and the deafness of their ears, and the blindness of their minds, and the stiffness of their necks; nevertheless, God is exceeding merciful unto them, and hath not as yet swept them off from the face of the land. And there are many among us which have many revelations: for they are not all stiffnecked. And as many as are not stiffnecked, and have faith, have communion with the Holy Spirit, which maketh manifest unto the children of men, according to their faith.

And now, behold, two hundred years had passed away, and the people of Nephi had waxed strong in the land. They observed to keep the law of Moses, and the Sabbath day Holy unto the Lord. And they profaned not; neither did they blaspheme. And the laws of the land were exceeding strict. And they were scattered upon much of the face of the land; and the Lamanites also. And they were exceeding more numerous than were they of the Nephites; and they loved murder, and would drink the blood of beasts.

And it came to pass that they came many times against us, the Nephites, to battle. But our kings and our leaders were mighty men in the faith of the Lord; and they taught the people the ways of the Lord; wherefore, we withstood the Lamanites, and swept them away out of our lands, and began to fortify our cities, or whatsoever place of our inheritance. And we multiplied exceedingly, and spread upon the face of the land, and became exceeding rich in gold, and in silver, and in precious things, and in fine workmanship of wood, in building, and in machinery, and also in iron, and copper, and brass, and steel, making all manner of tools of every kind to till the ground, and weapons of war; yea, the sharp pointed arrow, and the quiver, and the dart, and the javelin, and all preparations for war; and thus being prepared to meet the Lamanites, they did not prosper against us. But the word of the Lord was verified, which he spake unto our fathers, saying, That inasmuch as ye will keep my commandments, ye shall prosper in the land.

And it came to pass that the prophets of the Lord did threaten the people of Nephi, according to the word of God, that if they did not keep the commandments, but should fall into transgression, they should be destroyed from off the face of the land; wherefore, the prophets, and the priests, and the teachers, did labor diligently, exhorting, with all long suffering, the people to diligence; teaching the law of Moses, and the intent for which it was given; persuading them to look forward unto the Messiah, and believe in him to come, as though he already was. And after this manner did they teach them. And it came to pass that by so doing, they kept them from being destroyed upon the face of the land: for they did prick their hearts with the word, continually stirring them up unto repentance.

And it came to pass that two hundred and thirty and eight years had passed away, after the manner of wars, and contentions, and dissentions, for the space of much of the time. And I, Jarom, do not write more, for the plates are small. -- But behold, my brethren, ye can go to the other plates of Nephi: for behold, upon them the record of our wars are engraven, according to the writings of kings, or that which they caused to be written. And I deliver these plates into the hands of my son Omni, that they may be kept according to the commandments of my fathers.

MORMON ENOS CHAPTER 1

Behold, it came to pass that I, Omni, being commanded by my father Jarom, that I should write somewhat upon these plates, to preserve our genealogy; wherefore, in my days, I would that ye should know that I fought much with the sword, to preserve my people, the Nephites, from falling into the hands of their enemies, the Lamanites. But behold I, of myself, am a wicked man; and I have not kept the statutes and the commandments of the Lord, as I ought to have done.

And it came to pass that two hundred and seventy and six years had passed away, and we had many seasons of peace; and we had many seasons of serious war and bloodshed. -- Yea, and in fine, two hundred and eighty and two years had passed away, and I kept these plates according to the commandments of my fathers; and I conferred them upon my son Amaron. And I make an end.

And now I, Amaron, write these things whatsoever I write, which are few, in the book of my father. Behold, it came to pass that three hundred and twenty years had passed away, and the more wicked part of the Nephites were destroyed: for the Lord would not suffer, after he had led them out of the land of Jerusalem, and kept and preserved them from falling into the hands of their enemies; yea, he would not suffer that the words should not be verified, which he spake unto our fathers, saying, That inasmuch as ye will not keep my commandments, ye shall not prosper in the land. Wherefore, the Lord did visit them in great judgement; nevertheless, he did spare the righteous, that they should not perish, but did deliver them out of the hands of their enemies. And it came to pass that I did deliver the plates unto my brother Chemish.

Now I, Chemish, write what few things I write, in the same book with my brother: for behold, I saw the last which he wrote, that he wrote it with his own hand; and he wrote it in the day that he delivered them unto me. And after this manner we keep the records: for it is according to the commandments of our fathers. And I make an end.

Behold, I, Abinadom, I am the son of Chemish. Behold, it came to pass that I saw much war and contention between my people, the Nephites, and the Lamanites; and I, with mine own sword, have taken the lives of many of the Lamanites, in the defence of my brethren. And behold, the record of this people is engraven upon the plates which is had by the kings, according to the generations; and I know of no revelations, save that which has been written, neither prophecy; wherefore, that which is sufficient, is written. And I make an end.

Behold, I am Amaleki, the son of Abinadom. Behold, I will speak unto you somewhat concerning Mosiah, which was made king over the land of Zarahemla: for behold, he being warned of the Lord that he should flee out of the land of Nephi, and as many as would hearken unto the voice of the Lord, should also depart out of the land with him, into the wilderness. And it came to pass that he did according as the Lord had commanded him. And they departed out of the land into the wilderness, as many as would hearken unto the voice of the Lord; and they were led by many preachings and prophesyings. And they were admonished continually by the word of God; and they were led by the power of his arm, through the wilderness, until they came down into the land which is called the land of Zarahemla. And they discovered a people which was called the people of Zarahemla. Now, there was great rejoicing among the people of Zarahemla; and also, Zarahemla did rejoice exceedingly, because that the Lord had sent the people of Mosiah with the plates of brass which contained the record of the Jews.

Behold, it came to pass that Mosiah discovered that the people of Zarahemla, came out from Jerusalem, at the time that Zedekiah, king of Judah, was carried away captive into Babylon. And they journied in the wilderness, and was brought by the hand of the Lord, across the great waters, into the land where Mosiah discovered them; and they had dwelt there from that time forth. And at the time that Mosiah discovered them, they had become exceeding numerous. Nevertheless. they had had many wars and serious contentions, and had fallen by the sword from time to time; and their language had become corrupted; and they had brought no records with them; and they denied the being of their Creator, and Mosiah, nor the people of Mosiah, could not understand them.

But it came to pass that Mosiah caused that they should be taught in his language. And it came to pass that after they were taught in the language of Mosiah, Zarahemla gave a genealogy of his fathers, according to his memory: and they are written, but not in these plates.

And it came to pass that the people of Zarahemla, and of Mosiah did unite together; and Mosiah was appointed to be their king. And it came to pass in the days of Mosiah, there was a large stone brought unto him, with engravings on it; and he did interpret the engravings, by the gift and power of God.

And they gave an account of one Coriantumr, and the slain of his people. And Coriantumr was discovered by the people of Zarahemla; and he dwelt with them for the space of nine Moons. It also spake a few words concerning his fathers. And his first parents came out from the Tower, at the time the Lord confounded the language of the people; and the severity of the Lord fell upon them, according to his judgements, which is just; and their bones lay scattered in the land northward.

Behold, I, Amaleki, was born in the days of Mosiah; and I have lived to see his death; and Benjamin, his son, reigneth in his stead. And behold, I have seen in the days of the king Benjamin, a serious war, and much bloodshed, between the Nephites and the Lamanites. But behold, the Nephites did obtain much advantage over them; yea, insomuch that king Benjamin did drive them out of the land of Zarahemla.

And it came to pass that I began to be old; and, having no seed, and knowing king Benjamin to be a just man before the Lord, wherefore, I shall deliver up these plates unto him, exhorting all men to come unto God, the Holy One of Israel, and believe in prophesying, and in revelations, and in the ministering of Angels, and in the gift of speaking with tongues, and in the gift of interpreting languages in all things which is good: for there is nothing which is good, save it come from the Lord; and that which is evil, cometh from the Devil.

And now my beloved brethren, I would that ye should come unto Christ, which is the Holy One of Israel, and partake of his salvation, and the power of his redemption. Yea, come unto him, and offer your whole souls as an offering unto him, and continue in fasting and praying, and endure to the end; and as the Lord liveth, ye will be saved.

And now, I would speak somewhat concerning a certain number which went up into the wilderness, to return to the land of Nephi: for there was a large number which were desirous to possess the land of their inheritance; wherefore,

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they went up into the wilderness. And their leader being a strong and mighty man, and a stiffnecked man, wherefore, he caused a contention among them; and they were all slain, save fifty, in the wilderness, and they returned again to the land of Zarahemla.

And it came to pass that they also took others, to a considerable number, and took their journey again into the wilderness. And, I, Amaleki, had a brother, which also went with them; and I have, not since known concerning them. And I am about to lay down in my grave; and these plates are full. And I make an end of my speaking.

MORMON WORDS OF MORMON CHAPTER 1

And now I, Mormon, being about to deliver up the record which I have been making, into the hands of my son Moroni, behold, I have witnessed almost all the destruction of my people, the Nephites. And it is many hundred years after the coming of Christ, that I deliver these records into the hands of my son; and it supposeth me that he will witness the entire destruction of my people. But may God grant that he may survive them, that he may write somewhat concerning them, and somewhat concerning Christ, that perhaps some day it may profit them.

And now, I speak somewhat concerning that which I have written: for after that I had made an abridgment from the plates of Nephi, down to the reign of this king Benjamin, of which Amaleki spake, I searched among the records which had been delivered into my hands, and I found these plates. which contained this small account of the Prophets, from Jacob, down to the reign of this king Benjamin; and also many of the words of Nephi. And the things which are upon these plates pleasing me, because of the prophecies of the coming of Christ; and my fathers knowing that many of them have been fulfilled, yea, and I also know that as many things as have been prophesied concerning us down to this day, has been fulfilled; and as many as go beyond this day. must surely come to pass; wherefore, I chose these things, to finish my record upon them, which remainder of my record I shall take from the plates of Nephi; and I cannot write a hundredth part of the things of my people.

But behold, I shall take these plates, which contain these prophecying and revelations, and put them with the remainder of my record, for they are choice unto me; and I know they will be choice unto my brethren. And I do this for a wise purpose; for thus it whispereth me, according to the workings of the spirit of the Lord which is in me. And now, I do not know all things; but the Lord knoweth all things which is to come; wherefore, he worketh in me to do according to his will. And my prayer to God, is concerning my brethren, that they may once again come to the knowledge of God; yea, the redemption of Christ; that they may once again be a delightsome people.

And now I, Mormon, proceed to finish out my record, which I take from the plates of Nephi; and I make it according to the knowledge and the understanding which God hath given me. Wherefore, it came to pass that after Amaleki had delivered up these plates into the hands of king Benjamin, he took them and put them with the other plates, which contained records which had been handed down by the kings, from generation to generation, until the days of king Benjamin; and they were handed down from king Benjamin, from generation to generation, until they have fallen into my hands. And I, Mormon, pray to God that they may be preserved, from this time hence forth. And I know that they will be preserved: for there are great things written upon them out of which my people and their brethren, shall be judged at the great and last day, according to the word of God which is written.

And now, concerning this king Benjamin: He had somewhat contentions among his own people. And it came to pass also, that the armies of the Lamanites came down out of the land of Nephi, to battle against his people. But behold, king Benjamin gathered together his armies, and he did stand against them; and he did fight with strength of his own arm, with the sword of Laban; and in the strength of the Lord they did contend against their enemies, until they had slain many thousands of Lamanites. And it came to pass that they did contend against the Lamanites, until they had driven them out of all the lands of their inheritance.

And it came to pass that after there had been false Christs, and their mouths had been shut, and they punished according to their crimes; and after there had been false prophets, and false preachers, and teachers among the people, and all these having been punished according to their crimes; and after there having been much contentions and many dissentions, away unto the Lamanites, behold, it came to pass that king Benjamin, with the assistance of the Holy Prophets which were among his people: for behold, king Benjamin was a holy man, and he did reign over his people in righteousness. And there were many holy men in the land; and they did speak the word of God, with power and with authority; and they did use much sharpness, because of the stiffneckedness of the people; wherefore, with the help of these, king Benjamin, by laboring with all the might of his body and the faculty of his whole soul and also the prophets, wherefore, they did once more establish peace in the land.

MORMON MOSIAH CHAPTER 1

And now there was no more contention in all the land of Zarahemla, among all the people which belonged to king Benjamin, so that king Benjamin had continual peace all the remainder of his days. And it came to pass that he had three sons; and he called their names Mosiah, and Helorum, and Helaman. And he caused that they should be taught in all the language of his fathers, that thereby they might become men of understanding; and that they might know concerning the prophecies, which had been spoken by the mouths of their fathers, which was delivered them by the hand of the Lord. -- And he also taught them concerning the records which were engraven on the plates of brass, saying, My sons, I would that ye should remember, that were it not for these plates, which contain these records and these commandments, we must have suffered in ignorance, even at the present time, not knowing the mysteries of God: for it were not possible that our father Lehi could have remembered all these things, to have taught them to his children, except it were for the help of these plates: for he having been taught in the language of the Egyptians, therefore he could read these engravings, and teach them to his children, that thereby they could teach them to their children, and so fulfilling the commandments of God, even down to the present time. I say unto you, my sons, were it not for these things, which have been kept and preserved by the hand of God, that we might read and understand of his mysteries, and have his commandments always before our eyes, that even our fathers would have dwindled in unbelief, and we should have been like unto our brethren, the Lamanites, which know nothing concerning these things, or even do not believe in them when they are taught them, because of the traditions of their fathers, which are not correct. O my sons, I would that ye should remember that these sayings are true; and also, that these records are true. And behold, also the plates of Nephi, which contain the records and the sayings of our fathers, from the time they left Jerusalem, until now; and they are true; and we can know of their surety, because we have them before our eyes. And now, my sons, I would that ye should remember to search them diligently, that ye may profit thereby; and I would that ye should keep the commandments of God, that ye may prosper in the land, according to the promises which the Lord made unto our fathers. And many more things did king Benjamin teach his sons, which are not written in this book.

And it came to pass that after king Benjamin had made an end of teaching his sons, that he waxed old; and he saw that he must very soon go the way of all the earth; therefore, he thought it expedient that he should confer the kingdom upon one of his sons. Therefore, he had Mosiah brought before him; and these are the words he spake unto him, saying: My son, I would that ye should make a proclamation throughout all this land, among all this people, or the people of Zarahemla, and the people of Mosiah, which dwell in the land, that thereby they may be gathered together: for on the morrow, I shall proclaim unto this my people, out of mine own mouth, that thou art a king, and a ruler over this people, which the Lord our God hath given us. And moreover, I shall give this people a name, that thereby they may be distinguised above all the people which the Lord God hath brought out of the land of Jerusalem; and this I do, because they have been a diligent people in keeping the commandments of the Lord. --

And I give unto them a name, that never shall be blotted out, except it be through transgression. Yea, and moreover I say unto you, That if this highly favored people of the Lord should fall into transgression, and become a wicked and an adulterous people, that the Lord will deliver them up, that thereby they become weak, like unto their brethren; and he will no more preserve them, by his matchless and marvellous power, as he hath hitherto preserved our fathers. For I say unto you that if he had not extended his arm in the preservation of our fathers, they must have fallen into the hands of the Lamanites, and become victims to their hatred.

And it came to pass that after king Benjamin had made an end of these sayings to his son, that he gave them charge concerning all the affairs of the kingdom. And moreover, he also gave him charge concerning the records which were engraven on the plates of brass; and also, the plates of Nephi; and also, the sword of Laban, and the ball or director, which led our fathers through the wilderness, which was prepared by the hand of the Lord, that thereby they might be led, every one according to the heed and diligence which they gave unto him. Therefore, as they were unfaithful, they did not prosper nor progress in their journey, but were driven back, and incurred the displeasure of God upon them; and therefore, they were smitten with famine and sore afflictions, to stir them up in remembrance of their duty.

And now, it came to pass that Mosiah went and did as his father commanded him, and proclaimed unto all the people which were in the land of Zarahemla, that thereby they might gather themselves together, to go up to the temple, to hear the words which his father should speak unto them. And it came to pass that after Mosiah had done as his father had commanded him, and had made a proclamation throughout all the land, that the people gathered themselves together throughout all the land, that they might go up to the temple to hear the words which king Benjamin should speak unto them. And there were a great number, even so many that they did not number them; for they had multiplied exceedingly, and waxed great in the land. And they also took of the firstlings of their flocks, that they might offer sacrifice and burnt offerings, according to the law of Moses; and also, that they might give thanks to the Lord their God, who had brought them out of the Land of Jerusalem, and who had delivered them out of the hands of their enemies, and had appointed just men to be their teachers; and also, a just man to be their king, who had established peace in the land of Zarahemla, and who had taught them to keep the commandments of God, that they might rejoice, and be filled with love towards God, and all men.

And it came to pass that when they came up to the temple, they pitched their tents round about, every man according to his family, consisting of his wife, and his sons, and his daughters, and their sons, and their daughters, from the eldest down to the youngest, every family being separate, one from another; and they pitched their tents round about the temple, every man having his tent with the door thereof towards the temple, that thereby they might remain in their tents, and hear the words which king Benjamin should speak unto them; for the multitude being so great, that king Benjamin could not teach them all within the walls of the temple; therefore, he caused a tower to be erected, that thereby his people might hear the words which he should speak unto them.

And it came to pass that he began to speak to his people from the tower; and they could not all hear his words, because of the greatness of the multitude; therefore, he caused that the words he spake, should be written and sent forth among those that were not under the sound of his voice, that they might also receive his words. And these are the words which he spake and caused to be written, saying: My brethren, all ye that have assembled yourselves together, you that can hear my words which I shall speak unto you this day: for I have not commanded you to come up hither, to trifle with the words which I shall speak, but that you should hearken unto me, and open your ears that ye may hear, and your hearts that ye may understand, and your minds that the mysteries of God may be unfolded to your view. I have not commanded you to come up hither, that ye should fear me, or that ye should think that I, of myself, am more than a mortal man; but I am like as yourselves, subject to all manner of infirmities in body and mind; yet, as I have been chosen by this people, and was consecrated by my father, and was suffered by the hand of the Lord that I should be a ruler, and a king over this people; and have been kept and preserved by his matchless power, to serve thee with all the might, mind, and strength which the Lord hath granted unto me; I say unto you, that as I have been suffered to spend my days in your service, even up to this time, and have not sought gold nor silver, nor no manner of riches of you; neither have I suffered that ye should be confined in dungeons, nor that ye should make slaves one to another, or that ye should murder, or plunder, or steal, or commit adultery, or even I have not suffered that ye should commit any manner of wickedness, and have taught you that ye should keep the commandments of the Lord, in all things which he hath commanded you; and even I, myself, have labored with mine own hands, that I might serve you, and that ye should not be laden with taxes, and that there should nothing come upon you, which was grievous to be borne; and all of these things which I have spoken, ye yourselves are witnesses this day. Yet, my brethren, I have not done these things that I might boast, neither do I tell these things that thereby I might accuse you; but I tell you these things, that ye may know that I can answer a clear conscience before God this day. Behold, I say unto you, that because I said unto you that I had spent my days in your service, I do not desire to boast, for I have only been in the service of God. And behold, I tell you these things that ye may learn wisdom; that ye may learn that when ye are in the service of your fellow beings, ye are only in the service of your God. Behold, ye have called me your king; and if I, whom ye call your king, do labor to serve you, then had not ye ought to labor to serve one another? And behold, if I, who ye call your king, who has spent his days in your service, and yet hath been in the service of God, doth merit any thanks from you, O how had you ought to thank your heavenly King! I say unto you, my brethren, that if you should render all the thanks and praise which your whole souls hath power to possess, to that God who hath created you, and hath kept and preserved you, and hath caused that ye should rejoice, and hath granted that ye should live in peace one with another; I say unto you, that if ye should serve him who hath created you from the beginning, and art preserving you from day to day, by lending you breath, that ye may live and move, and do according to your own will, and even supporting you from one moment to another; I say, if ye should serve him with all your whole soul, and yet ye would be unprofitable servants.

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And behold, all that he requires of you, is to keep his commandments; and he hath promised you that if ye would keep his commandments, ye should prosper in the land; and he never doth vary from that which he hath said; therefore, if ye do keep his commandments, he doth bless you, and prosper you.

And now in the first place, he hath created you, and granted unto you your lives, for which ye are indebted unto him. And secondly: He doth require that ye should do as he hath commanded you, for which if ye do, he doth immediately bless you; and therefore, he hath paid you. And ye are still indebted unto him; and will be, forever and ever; therefore, of what have ye to boast? And now I ask, Can ye say aught of yourselves? I answer Nay. Ye cannot say that thou art even as much as the dust of the earth; yet thou was created of the dust of the earth: but behold, it belongeth to him who created you. And I, even I, whom ye call your king, am no better than ye yourselves are; for I am also of the dust. And thou beholdest that I am old, and am about to yield up this mortal frame to its mother earth; therefore, as I said unto you that I had served you, walking with a clear conscience before God, even so I at this time have caused that ye should assemble yourselves together, that I might be found blameless, and that your blood should not come upon me, when I shall stand to be judged of God of the things whereof he hath commanded me concerning you. I say unto you, that I have caused that ye should assemble yourselves together, that I might rid my garments of your blood, at this period of time when I am about to go down to my grave, that I might go down in peace, and my immortal spirit may join the choirs above in singing the praises of a just God. And moreover, I say unto you, that I have caused that ye should assemble yourselves together, that I might declare unto you that I can no longer be your teacher, nor your king, for even at this time, my whole frame doth tremble exceedingly, while attempting to speak unto you; but the Lord God doth support me, and hath suffered me that I should speak unto you, and hath commanded me that I should declare unto you this day, that my son Mosiah, is a king and ruler over you.

And now, my brethren, I would that ye should do as ye hath hitherto done. As ye have kept my commandments, and also the commandments of my father, and have prospered and have been kept from falling into the hands of your enemies, even so if ye shall keep the commandments of my son, or the commandments of God, which shall be delivered unto you by him, ye shall prosper in the land, and your enemies shall have no power over you. But O my people, beware lest there shall arise contentions among you, and ye list to obey the evil spirit, which was spoken of by my father Mosiah. For behold, there is a wo pronounced upon him who listeth to obey that spirit; for if he listeth to obey him, and remaineth and dieth in his sins, the same drinketh damnation to his own soul; for he receiveth for his wages an everlasting punishment, having transgressed the law of God, contrary to his own knowledge. I say unto you, that there are not one among you, except it be your little children, that have not been taught concerning these things; but what knoweth that ye are eternally indebted to your Heavenly Father, to render to him all that you have, and are, and also have been taught, concerning the records which contain the prophecies which have been spoken by the Holy Prophets, even down to the time of our father Lehi left Jerusalem; and also, all that hath been spoken by our fathers, until now. And behold, also, they spake that which was commanded them of the Lord; therefore, they are just and true.

And now, I say unto you, my brethren, that after ye have known and have been taught all these things, if ye should transgress, and go contrary to that which hath been spoken, that ye do withdraw yourselves from the Spirit of the Lord, that it may have no place in you to guide you in wisdom's paths, that ye may be blessed, prospered, and preserved. I say unto you, that the man that doeth this, the same cometh out in open rebellion against God; therefore, he listeth to obey the evil spirit, and becometh an enemy to all righteousness; therefore, the Lord hath no place for him, for he dwelleth not in unholy temples. Therefore, if that man repenteth not, and remaineth and dieth an enemy to God, the demands of Divine Justice doth awaken his immortal soul to a lively sense of his own guilt, which doth cause him to shrink from the presence of the Lord, and doth fill his breast with guilt, and pain, and anguish, which is like an unquenchable fire, whose flames ascendeth up forever and ever. And now I say unto you, that mercy hath no claim on that man; therefore, his final doom is to endure a never ending torment.

O all ye old men, and also ye young men, and you little children, which can understand my words, (for I have spoken plain unto you, that ye might understand,) I pray that ye should awake to a remembrance of the awful situation of those that have fallen into transgression; and moreover, I would desire that ye should consider on the blessed and happy state of those that keep the commandments of God. For behold, they are blessed in all things, both temporal and spiritual; and if they hold out faithful to the end, they are received into Heaven, that thereby they may dwell with God, in a state of never ending happiness. O remember, remember that these things are true; for the Lord God hath spoken it.

And again my brethren, I would call your attention, for I have somewhat more to speak unto you for behold, I have things to tell you, concerning that which is to come; and the things which I shall tell you, are made known unto me, by an Angel from God. And he said unto me, Awake; and I awoke, and behold, he stood before me. And he said unto me, Awake, and hear the words which I shall tell thee: for behold, I am come to declare unto you the glad tidings of great joy. For the Lord hath heard thy prayers, and hath judged of thy righteousness, and hath sent me to declare unto thee that thou mayest rejoice; and that thou mayest declare unto thy people, that they may also be filled with joy. For behold, the time cometh, and is not far distant, that with power, the Lord Omnipotent who reigneth, which was, and is from all eternity to all eternity, shall come down from Heaven, among the children of men, and shall dwell in a tabernacle of clay, and shall go forth amongst men, working mighty miracles, such as healing the sick, raising the dead, causing the lame to walk, the blind to receive their sight, and the deaf to hear, and curing all manner of diseases; and he shall cast out Devils, or the evil spirits which dwelleth in the hearts of the children of men. And lo, he shall suffer temptations, and pain of body, hunger, thirst, and fatigue, even more than man can suffer, except it be unto death: for behold, blood cometh from every pore, so great shall be his anguish for the wickedness and the abominations of his people. And he shall be called Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Father of Heaven and Earth, the creator of all things, from the beginning; and his mother shall be called Mary. And lo, he cometh unto his own, that salvation might come unto the children of men, even through faith on his name; and even after all this, they shall consider him a man, and say that he hath a Devil, and shall scourge him, and shall crucify him. And he shall rise the third day from the dead; and behold, he standeth to judge the world. And behold, all these things are done, that a righteous judgement might come upon the children of men. For behold, and also his blood atoneth for the sins of those who have fallen by the transgression of them, or who have ignorantly sinned. But wo, wo unto him who knoweth that he rebelleth against God: for salvation cometh to none such, except it be through repentance and faith on the Lord Jesus Christ. And the Lord God hath sent his Holy Prophets among all the children of men, to declare these things to every kindred, nation, and tongue, that thereby whosoever should believe that Christ should come, the same might receive remission of their sins, and rejoice with exceeding great joy, even as though he had already come among them. Yet the Lord saw that his people were a stiffnecked people, and he appointed unto them a law, even the law of Moses. And many signs, and wonders, and types, and shadows shewed he unto them, concerning his coming; and also Holy Prophets spake unto them concerning his coming; and yet they hardened their hearts, and understood not that the law of Moses availeth nothing, except it were through the atonement of his blood; and even if it were possible that little children could sin, they could not be saved; but I say unto you, they are blessed: for behold, as in Adam, or by nature they fall, even so the blood of Christ atoneth for their sins. And moreover, I say unto you, that there shall be no other name given, nor no other way nor means whereby salvation can come unto the children of men, only in and through the name of Christ, the Lord Omnipotent. For behold, he judgeth, and his judgement is just, and the infant perisheth not, that dieth in his infancy; but men drinketh damnation to their own souls, except they humble themselves, and become as little children, and believeth that salvation was, and is, and is to come, in and through the atoning blood of Christ, the Lord Omnipotent: for the natural man is an enemy of God, and has been, from the fall of Adam, and will be, forever and ever; but if he yieldeth to the enticings of the Holy Spirit, and putteth off the natural man, and becometh a saint, through the atonement of Christ, the Lord, and becometh as a child, submissive, meek, humble, patient, full of love willing to submit to all things which the Lord seeth fit to inflict upon him, even as a child doth submit to his father. And moreover, I say unto you, that the time shall come, when the knowledge of a Saviour shall spread throughout every nation, kindred, tongue, and people. And behold, when that time cometh, none shall be found blameless before God, except it be little children, only through repentance and faith on the name of the Lord God Omnipotent; and even at this time, when thou shalt have taught thy people the things which the Lord thy God hath commanded thee, even then are they found no more blameless in the sight of God, only according to the words which I have spoken unto thee.

And now, I have spoken the words which the Lord God hath commanded me. And thus saith the Lord: They shall stand as a bright testimony against this people, at the judgement day; whereof, they shall be judged, every man, according to his works, whether they be good, or whether they be evil; and if they be evil, they are consigned to an awful view of their own guilt and abominations, which doth cause them to shrink from the presence of the Lord, into a state of misery and endless torment, from whence they can no more return; therefore, they have drunk damnation to their own souls. -- Therefore, they have drunk out of the cup of the wrath of God, which justice could no more deny unto them, than it could deny that Adam should fall, because of his partaking of the forbidden fruit; therefore, mercy could have a claim on them no more forever. And their torment is as a lake of fire and brimstone, whose flames are unquenchable, and whose smoke ascendeth up forever and ever. Thus hath the Lord commanded me. Amen.

MORMON MOSIAH CHAPTER 2

And now, it came to pass that when king Benjamin had made an end of speaking the words which had been delivered unto him by the Angel of the Lord, that he cast his eyes round about on the multitude, and behold, they had fell to the earth, for the fear of the Lord had come upon them; and they had viewed themselves in their own carnal state, even less than the dust of the earth. And they all cried aloud with one voice saying, O have mercy, and apply the atoning blood of Christ, that we may receive forgiveness of our sins, and our hearts may be purified: for we believe in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who created Heaven and earth, and all things, who shall come down among the children of men.

And it came to pass that after they had spoken these words, the spirit of the Lord came upon them, and they were filled with joy, having received a remission of their sins, and having peace of conscience, because of the exceeding faith which they had in Jesus Christ which should come, according to the words which king Benjamin had spoken unto them. And king Benjamin again opened his mouth, and began to speak unto them, saying, My friends and my brethren, my kindred and my people, I would again call your attention, that ye may hear and understand the remainder of my words which I shall speak unto you: for behold, that if the knowledge of the goodness of God at this time, hath awakened you to a sense of your nothingness, and your worthless and fallen state; I say unto you, that if ye have come to a knowledge of the goodness of God, and his matchless power, and his wisdom, and his patience, and his long suffering towards the children of men, and also, the atonement which hath been prepared from the foundation of the world, that thereby salvation might come to him that should put his trust in the Lord, and should be diligent in keeping his commandments, and continue in the faith even unto the end of his life; I mean the life of the mortal body; I say, that this is the man that receiveth salvation, through the atonement which was prepared from the foundation of the world, for all mankind, which ever was ever since the fall of Adam, or which is or which ever shall be, even unto the end of the world; and this is the means whereby salvation cometh. And there is none other salvation, save this which hath been spoken of; neither is there any conditions whereby man can be saved, except the conditions which I have told you. Believe in God; believe that he is, and that he created all things, both in Heaven and in Earth; believe that he hath all wisdom, and all power, both in Heaven and in Earth; believe that man doth not comprehend all the things which the Lord can comprehend. And again: Believe that ye must repent of your sins and forsake them, and humble yourselves before God, and ask in sincerity of the heart that he would forgive you: and now, if you believe all these things, see that ye do them. And again I say unto you, as I have said before, that as ye have come to the knowledge of the glory of God, or if ye have known of his goodness, and have tasted of his love, and have received a remission of your sins, which causeth such exceeding great joy in your souls, even so I would that ye should remember, and always retain in remembrance, the greatness of God, and your own nothingness, and his goodness and long suffering towards you unworthy creatures, and humble yourselves even in the depths of humility, calling on the name of the Lord daily, and standing steadfastly in the faith of that which is to come, which was spoken by the mouth of the Angel; and behold, I say unto you that if ye do this, ye shall always rejoice, and be filled with the love of God, and always retain a remission of your sins; and ye shall grow in the knowledge of the glory of Him that created you, or in the knowledge of that which is just and true. And ye will not have a mind to injure one another, but to live peaceably, and to render to every man according to that which is his due. And ye will not suffer your children, that they go hungry, or naked; neither will ye suffer that they transgress the laws of God, and fight and quarrel one with another, and serve the Devil, which is the master of sin, or which is the evil spirit which hath been spoken of by our fathers; he being an enemy to all righteousness; but ye will teach them to walk in the ways of truth and soberness; ye will teach them to love one another; and also, ye yourselves will succor those that stand in need of your succor; ye will administer of your substance unto him that standeth in need; and ye will not suffer that the beggar putteth up his petition to you in vain, and turn out to perish. Perhaps thou shalt say, The man hath brought upon himself his misery, therefore I will stay my hand, and will not give unto him of my food, nor impart unto him of my substance, that he may not suffer, for his punishments are just. But I say

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unto you, O man, whosoever doeth this, the same hath great cause to repent; and except he repenteth of that which he done, he perisheth forever, and hath no interest in the kingdom of God. For behold, are we not all beggars? Do we not all depend upon the same being, even God, for all substance which we have; for both food, and raiment, and for gold, and for silver, and for all riches which we have of every kind? And behold, even at this time, ye have been calling on his name, and begging for a remission of your sins. And hath he suffered that ye have begged in vain? Nay; he hath poured out his spirit upon you, and hath caused that your hearts should be filled with joy, and hath caused that your mouths should be stopped, that ye should not find utterance, so exceeding great was your joy. And now, if God, who hath created you, on whom you are dependant for your lives, and for all that ye have and are, doth grant unto you whatsoever ye ask that is right, in faith, believing that ye shall receive, O then, how had ye ought to impart of the substance that ye have, one to another? And if ye judge the man who putteth up his petition to you for your substance, that he perish not, and condemn him, how much more just will be your condemnation, for withholding your substance, which doth not belong to you, but to God, to whom also, your life belongeth; and yet ye put up no petition, or repenteth not of the thing which thou hast done. -- I say unto you, Wo be unto that man, for his substance shall perish with him, and now, I say these things unto those which are rich, as pertaining to the things of the world. And again, I say unto the poor, ye that have not and yet hath sufficient, that ye remain from day to day; I mean all you that deny the beggar, because ye have not; I would that ye say in your hearts, that I give not because I have not; but if I had, I would give. And now, if ye say this in your hearts, ye remain guiltless, otherwise ye are condemned, and your condemnation is just; for ye covet that which ye have not received.

And now, for the sake of these things which I have spoken unto you; that is, for the sake of retaining a remission of your sins from day to day, that ye may walk guiltless before God, I would that ye should impart of your substance to the poor, every man according to that which he hath, such as feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, visiting the sick, and administering to their relief, both spiritually and temporally, according to their wants, and see that all these things are done in wisdom and order: for it is not requisite that a man should run faster than what he hath strength. And again: It is expedient that he should be diligent, that thereby he might win the prize; therefore, all things must be done in order. And I would that ye should remember, that whosoever among you that borroweth of his neighbour, should return the thing that he borroweth, according as he doth agree, or else thou shalt commit sin also. And finally, I cannot tell you all the things whereby ye may commit sin: for there are divers ways and means, even so many, that I cannot number them. But this much I can tell you, that if ye do not watch yourselves, and your thoughts, and your words, and your deeds, and observe to keep the commandments of God, and continue in the faith of what ye have heard concerning the coming of our Lord, even unto the ends of your lives, ye must perish. And now, O man, remember, and perish not.

MORMON MOSIAH CHAPTER 3

And now, it came to pass that when king Benjamin had thus spoken to his people, he sent among them, desiring to know of his people, if they believed the words which he had spoken unto them. And if they all cried with one voice, saying, Yea, we believe all the words which thou hast spoken unto us; and also, we know of their surety and truth, because of the Spirit of the Lord Omnipotent, which hath wrought a mighty change in us, or in our hearts, that we have no more disposition to do evil, but to do good continually. And we, ourselves, also, through the infinite goodness of God, and the manifestations of his Spirit, have great views of that which is to come; and were it expedient, we could prophesy of all things. And it is the faith which we have had on the things which our king hath spoken unto us, and hath brought us to this great knowledge, whereby we do rejoice with such exceeding great joy; and we are willing to enter into a covenant with our God, to do his will, and to be obedient to his commandments in all things, that he shall command us, all the remainder of our days, that we may not bring upon ourselves a never ending torment, as has been spoken by the Angel, that we may not drink out of the cup of the wrath of God.

And now, these are the words which king Benjamin desired of them; and therefore he said unto them, Ye have spoken the words that I desired; and the covenant which ye have made, is a righteous covenant. And now, because of the covenant which ye have made, ye shall be called the children of Christ, his sons, and daughters: for behold, this day he hath spiritually begotten you; for ye say that your hearts are changed, through faith on his name; therefore, ye are born of him, and have become his sons, and daughters. And under this head, ye are made free; and there is no other head whereby ye can be made free. There is no other name given, whereby salvation cometh; therefore, I would that ye should take upon you the name of Christ, all you that have entered into the covenant with God, that ye should be obedient unto the end of your lives. And it shall come to pass that whosoever doeth this, shall be found at the right hand of God, for he shall know the name by which he is called: for he shall be called by the name of Christ.

And now, it shall come to pass that whosoever shall not take upon them the name of Christ, must be called by some other name; therefore, he findeth himself on the left hand of God. And I would that ye should remember also, that this is the name that I said I should give you, that never should be blotted out, except it be through transgression; therefore, take heed that ye do not transgress, that the name be not blotted out of your hearts. I say unto you, I would that ye should remember to retain the name written always in your hearts, that ye are not found on the left hand of God, but that ye hear and know the voice by which ye shall be called, and also, the name by which he shall call you: for, how knoweth a man the master which he hath not served, and which is a stranger unto him, and is far from the thoughts and intents of his heart? And again: Doth a man take an ass which belongeth to his neighbour, and keep him? I say unto you, Nay; he will not even suffer that he shall feed among his flocks, but will drive him away, and cast him out. I say unto you, that even so shall it be among you, if ye know not the name by which ye are called. Therefore, I would that ye should be steadfast and immovable, always abounding in good works, that Christ, the Lord God Omnipotent, may seal you his, that you may be brought to Heaven, that ye may have everlasting salvation and eternal life, through the wisdom, and power, and justice, and mercy of Him, who created all things, in Heaven and in Earth, who is God above all. Amen.

MORMON MOSIAH CHAPTER 4

And now, king Benjamin thought it was expedient, after having finished speaking to the people, that he should take the names of all those who had entered into a covenant with God, to keep his commandments. And it came to pass that there was not one soul, except it were little children, but what had entered into the covenant, and had taken upon them the name of Christ. And again: It came to pass that when king Benjamin had made an end of all these things, and had consecrated his son Mosiah, to be a ruler and a king over his people, and had given him all the charges concerning the kingdom, and also had appointed priests to teach the people, that thereby they might hear and know the commandments of God, and to stir them up in remembrance of the oath which they had made, he dismissed the multitude, and they returned, every one according to their families, to their own houses.

And Mosiah began to reign in his father's stead. And he began to reign in the thirtieth year of his age, making in the whole, about four hundred and seventy-six years from the time that Lehi left Jerusalem. And king Benjamin lived three years, and he died. And it came to pass that king Mosiah did walk in the ways of the Lord, and did observe his judgements, and his statutes, and did keep his commandments in all things whatsoever he commanded him.

And king Mosiah did cause his people that they should till the earth. And he also, himself did till the earth, that thereby he might not become burthensome to his people, that he might do according to that which his father had done, in all things. And there was no contention among all his people, for the space of three years.

MORMON MOSIAH CHAPTER 5

And now, it came to pass that after king Mosiah had had continual peace, for the space of three years, he was desirous to know concerning the people which went up to dwell in the land of Lehi-Nephi, or in the city of Lehi-Nephi: for his people had heard nothing from them, from the time they left the land of Zarahemla; therefore, they wearied him with their teasings.

And it came to pass that king Mosiah granted that sixteen of their strong men might go up to the land of Lehi-Nephi, to inquire concerning their children. And it came to pass that on the morrow, they started to go up, having with them one Ammon, he being a strong and mighty man, and a descendant of Zarahemla; and he was also their leader. And now, they knew not the course they should travel in the wilderness, to go up to the land of Lehi-Nephi; therefore, they wandered many days in the wilderness, even forty days, did they wander. And when they had wandered forty days, they came to a hill, which is north of the land of Shilom, and there they pitched their tents. And Ammon took three of his brethren, and their names were Amaleki, Helem, and Hem, and they went down into the land of Nephi; and behold, they met the king of the people, which was in the land of Nephi, and in the land of Shilom; and they were surrounded by the king's guard, and was taken, and was bound, and was committed to prison. And it came to pass when they had been in prison two days, they were again brought before the king, and their bands were loosed; and they stood before the king, and was permitted or rather commanded that they should answer the questions which he should ask them. And he saith unto them, Behold, I am Limhi, the son of Noah, which was the son of Zeniff, which came up out of the land of Zarahemla to inherit this land, which was the land of their fathers, which was made a king by the voice of the people. And now, I desire to know the cause whereby ye were so bold as to come near the walls of the city, when I, myself, was with my guards, without the gate? And now, for this cause have I suffered that ye should be preserved, that I might inquire of you, or else I should have caused that my guards should have put you to death. -- Ye are permitted to speak.

And now, when Ammon saw that he was permitted to speak, he went forth and bowed himself before the king; and rising again, he said, O king, I am very thankful before God this day, that I am yet alive, and am permitted to speak; and I will endeavor to speak with boldness: for I am assured that if ye had known me, ye would not have suffered that I should have wore these bands. For I am Ammon, and am a descendant of Zarahemla, and have come up out of the land of Zarahemla, to inquire concerning our brethren, which Zeniff brought up out of that land.

And now, it came to pass that after Limhi had heard the words of Ammon, he was exceeding glad, and said, Now, I know of a surety that my brethren which was in the land of Zarahemla, are yet alive. And now, I will rejoice; and on the morrow, I will cause that my people shall rejoice also. For behold, we are in bondage to the Lamanites, and are taxed with a tax which is grievous to be borne. And now, behold, our brethren will deliver us out of our bondage, or out of the hands of the Lamanites, and we will be their slaves: for it is better that we be slaves to the Nephites, than to pay tribute to the king of the Lamanites.

And now, king Limhi commanded his guards that they should no more bind Ammon, nor his brethren, but caused that they should go to the hill which was north of Shilom, and bring their brethren into the city, that thereby they might eat, and drink, and rest themselves from the labors of their journey; for they had suffered many things: they had suffered hunger, thirst, and fatigue.

And now, it came to pass on the morrow, that king Limhi sent a proclamation among all his people, that thereby they might gather themselves together to the temple, to hear the words which he should speak unto them. And it came to pass that when they had gathered themselves together, that he spake unto them in this wise, saying, O ye, my people, lift up your heads and be comforted: for behold, the time is at hand, or is not far distant, when we shall no longer be in subjection to our enemies, notwithstanding our many strugglings, which have been in vain; yet I trust there remaineth an effectual struggle to be made. Therefore, lift up your heads, and rejoice, and put your trust in God, in that God who was the God of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob; and also, that God who brought the Children of Israel out of the land of Egypt, and caused that they should walk through the Red Sea on dry ground, and fed them with manna, that they might not perish in the wilderness; and many more things did he do for them. And again: That same God hath brought our fathers out of the land of Jerusalem, and hath kept and preserved his people, even until now. And behold, it is because of our iniquities and abominations, that has brought us into bondage. -- And ye all are witnesses this day, that Zeniff, who was made king over this people, he being over zealous to inherit the land of his fathers, therefore being deceived by the cunning and craftiness of king Laman, who having entered into a treaty with king Zeniff, and having yielded up into his hands the possessions of a part of the land, or even the city of Lehi-Nephi, and the city of Shilom, and the land round about; and all this he done, for the sole purpose of bringing this people into subjection, or into bondage. And behold, we at this time do pay tribute to the king of the Lamanites, to the amount of one half of our corn, and our barley, and even all our grain of every kind, and one half of the increase of our flocks, and our herds; and even one half of all we have or possess. the king of the Lamanites doth exact of us, or our lives. And now, is not this grievous to be borne? And is not this, our afflictions great? Now behold, how great reason have we to mourn. Yea, I say unto you, great are the reasons which we have to mourn: for behold, how many of our brethren have been slain, and their blood hath been spilt in vain, and all because of iniquity. For if this people had not fallen into transgression, the Lord would not have suffered that this great evil should come upon them. But behold, they would not hearken unto his words; but there arose contentions among them, even so much that they did shed blood among themselves. And a Prophet of the Lord have they slain; yea, a chosen man of God, who told them of their wickedness and abominations, and prophesied of many things which is to come, yea, even the coming of Christ. And because he saith unto them, That Christ was the God, the Father of all things, and saith that he should take upon him the image of man, and it should be the image after which man was created after the image of God, and that God should come down among the children of men, and take upon him flesh and blood, and go forth upon the face of the earth; and now, because he said this, they put him to death; and many

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more things did they do, which brought down the wrath of God upon them. Therefore, who wondereth that they are in bondage, and that they are smitten with sore afflictions? For behold, the Lord hath said, I will not succor my people in the day of their transgression; but I will hedge up their ways, that they prosper not, and their doing shall be as a stumbling block before them. And again, He saith, If my people shall sow filthiness, they shall reap the chaff thereof, in the whirlwind; and the effects thereof is poison, And again: He saith, If my people shall sow filthiness, they shall reap the east wind, which bringeth immediate destruction. And now, behold, the promise of the Lord is fulfilled; and ye are smitten, and afflicted. But if ye will turn to the Lord with full purpose of heart, and put your trust in him, and serve him with all diligence of mind; and if ye do this, he will, according to his own will and pleasure, deliver you out of bondage.

And it came to pass that after king Limhi had made an end of speaking to his people, for he spake many things unto them, and only a few of them have I written in this book, he told his people all the things concerning their brethren which were in the land of Zarahemla; and he caused that Ammon should stand up before the multitude, and rehearse unto them all that had happened unto their brethren, from the time that Zeniff went up out of the land, even until the time that he, himself came out of the land. And he also rehearsed unto them the last words which king Benjamin had taught them, and explained them to the people of king Limhi, so that they might understand all the words he spake. And it came to pass that after he had done all this, that king Limhi dismissed the multitude, and caused that they should return, every one unto his own house.

And it came to pass that he caused that the plates which contained the record of his people, from the time before Ammon, that he might read them. Now, as soon as Ammon had read the record, the king inquired of him to know if he could interpret languages. And Ammon told him that he could not. And the king saith unto him, I being grieved for the afflictions of my people, I caused that forty and three of my people should take a journey into the wilderness, that thereby they might find the land of Zarahemla; that we might appeal unto our brethren to deliver us out of bondage; and they were lost in the wilderness, for the space of many days, yet they were diligent, and found not the land of Zarahemla, but returned to this land, having travelled in a land among many waters; having discovered a land which was covered with ruins of buildings of every kind; having discovered a land which had been peopled with a people, which were as numerous as the hosts of Israel. And for a testimony that the things that they have said is true, they have brought twenty-four plates, which are filled with engravings; and they are of pure gold. And behold, also, they have brought breast-plates, which are large; and they are of brass, and of copper, and are perfectly sound. And again: They have brought swords, the hilts thereof hath perished, and the blades thereof were cankered with rust; and there is no one in the land that is able to interpret the language of the engravings that are on the plates. Therefore, I said unto thee, Canst thou translate? And I say unto you again, Knowest thou of any one that can translate? for I am desirous that these records should be translated into our language. For, perhaps they will give us a knowledge of a remnant of the people which have been destroyed, from whence these records came; or, perhaps they will give us a knowledge of this very people which hath been destroyed; and I am desirous to know the cause of their destruction.

Now, Ammon saith unto him, I can assuredly tell thee, O king, of a man that can translate the records: for he hath wherewith that he can look, and translate all records that are of ancient date; and it is a gift from God. And the things are called interpreters; and no man can look in them, except he be commanded, lest he should look for that he had not ought, and he should perish. And whosoever is commanded to look in them, the same is called seer. And behold, the king of the people which is in the land of Zarahemla, is the man that is commanded to do these things, and which hath this high gift from God. And the king saith, That a seer is greater than a prophet. And Ammon saith, That a seer is a revelator, and a prophet also; and a gift which is greater, can no man have, except he should possess the power of God, which no man can; yet a man may have great power given him from God. But a seer can know of things which has past, and also of things which is to come; and by them shall all things be revealed, or rather, shall secret things be made manifest, and hidden things shall come to light, and things which is not known, shall be made known by them; and also, things shall be made known by them, which otherwise could not be known. Thus God hath provided a means that man, through faith, might work mighty miracles; therefore, he becometh a great benefit to his fellow beings.

And now, when Ammon had made an end of speaking these words, the king rejoiced exceedingly, and gave thanks to God, saying, Doubtless, a great mystery is contained within these plates; and these interpreters was doubtless prepared for the purpose of unfolding all such mysteries to the children of men. O how marvellous are the works of the Lord, and how long doth he suffer with his people; yea, and how blind and impenetrable are the understandings of the children of men: for they shall not seek wisdom, neither do they desire that she should rule over them. Yea, they are as a wild flock, which fleeth from the shepherd, and scattereth, and are driven, and are devoured by the beasts of the forest.

MORMON MOSIAH CHAPTER 6

THE RECORD OF ZENIFF.

An account of his people, from the time they left the land of Zarahemla, until the time that they were delivered out of the hands of the Lamanites.

I, Zeniff, having been taught in all the language of the Nephites, and having had a knowledge of the land of Nephi, or the land of our father's first inheritance, and I having been sent as a spy among the Lamanites, that I might spy out their forces, that our army might come upon them and destroy them; but when I saw that which was good among them, I was desirous that they should not be destroyed; therefore, I contended with my brethren in the wilderness: for I would that our ruler should make a treaty with them. But he being an austere and a blood-thirsty man, commanded that I should be slain; but I was rescued, by the shedding of much blood: for father fought against father, and brother against brother, until the greatest number of our army was destroyed in the wilderness; and we returned, those of us that were spared, to the land of Zarahemla, to relate that tale to their wives, and their children. And yet, I being over zealous to inherit the land of our fathers, collected as many as were desirous to go up to possess the land, and started again on our journey into the wilderness, to go up to the land; but we were smitten with famine and sore afflictions: for we were slow to remember the Lord our God. Nevertheless, after many days wandering in the wilderness, we pitched our tents in the place where our brethren were slain, which was near the land of our fathers.

And it came to pass that I went again with four of my men, into the city, in unto the king, that I might know of the disposition of the king, and that I might know if I might go in with my people, and possess the land in peace. And I went in unto the king, and he covenanted with me, that I might possess the land of Lehi-Nephi, and the land of Shilom. And he also commanded that his people should depart out of the land, and I and my people went into the land, that we might possess it. And we began to build buildings, and to repair the walls of the city of Shilom. And we began to till the ground, yea, even with all manner of seeds, with seeds of corn, and of wheat, and of barley, and with neas, and with sheum, and with seeds of all manner of fruits: and we did begin to multiply and prosper in the land. Now, it was the cunning and the craftiness of king Laman, to bring my people into bondage, that he yielded up the land, that we might possess it.

Therefore, it came to pass that after we had dwelt in the land for the space of twelve years, that king Laman began to grow uneasy, lest by any means my people should wax strong in the land, and that they could not overpower them and bring them into bondage. Now, they were a lazy, and an idolatrous people; therefore, they were desirous to bring us into bondage, that they might glut themselves with the labors of our hands; yea, that they might feast themselves upon the flocks of our fields.

Therefore, it came to pass that king Laman began to stir up his people, that they should contend with my people; therefore, there began to be wars and contentions in the land. For, in the thirteeneth year of my reign in the land of Nephi, away on the south of the land of Shilom, when my people were watering and feeding their flocks, and tilling their lands, a numerous host of Lamanites came upon them, and began to slay them, and to take of their flocks, and the corn of their fields. Yea, and it came to pass that they fled, all that were not overtaken, even into the city of Nephi, and did call upon me for protection.

And it came to pass that I did arm them with bows, and with arrows, with swords, and with cimeters, and with clubs, and with slings, and with all manner of weapons which we could invent, and I and my people did go forth against the Lamanites, to battle; yea, in the strength of the Lord did we go forth to battle against the Lamanites: for I and my people did cry mightily to the Lord, that he would deliver us out of the hands of our enemies, for we were awakened to a remembrance of the deliverance of our fathers. And God did hear our cries, and did answer our prayers; and we did go forth in his might. Yea, we did go forth against the Lamanites; and in one day and a night, we did slay three thousand and forty-three; we did slay them, even until we had driven them out of our land. And I, myself, with mine own hands, did help to bury their dead. And behold, to our great sorrow and lamentation, two hundred and seventy-nine of our brethren were slain.

And it came to pass that we again began to establish the kingdom; and we again began to possess the land in peace. And I caused that there should be weapons of war made, of every kind, that thereby I might have weapons for my people, against the time the Lamanites should come up again to war against my people. And I set guards round about the land, that the Lamanites might not come upon us again unawares, and destroy us; and thus I did guard my people, and my flocks, and keep them from falling into the hands of our enemies.

And it came to pass that we did inherit the land of our fathers, for many years; yea, for the space of twenty and two years. And I did cause that the men should till the ground, and raise all manner of grain, and all manner of fruit, of every kind. And I did cause that the women should spin, and toil, and work, and work all manner of fine linen; yea, and cloth of every kind, that we might clothe our nakedness; and thus we did prosper in the land; thus we did have continual peace in the land, for the space of twenty and two years.

And it came to pass king Laman died, and his son began to reign in his stead. And he began to stir his people up in rebellion against my people; therefore, they began to prepare for war, and to come up to battle against my people. -- But I having sent my spies out round about the land of Shemlon, that I might discover their preparations, that I might guard against them, that they might not come upon my people and destroy them.

And it came to pass that they came up upon the north of the land of Shilom, with their numerous hosts, men armed with bows, and with arrows, and with swords, and with cimeters, and with stones, and with slings; and they had their heads shaved, that they were naked; and they were girded about with a leathern girdle about their loins.

And it came to pass that I caused that the women and children of my people should be hid in the wilderness; and I also caused that all my old men that could bear arms, and also all my young men that were able to bear arms, should gather themselves together, to go to battle against the Lamanites; and I did place them in their ranks, every man according to his age.

And it came to pass that we did go up to battle against the Lamanites. And I, even I, in my old age, did go up to battle against the Lamanites. And it came to pass that we did go up in the strength of the Lord, to battle.

Now, the Lamanites knew nothing concerning the Lord, nor the strength of the Lord; therefore, they depended upon their own strength. Yet they were a strong people, as to the strength of men: they were a wild and ferocious, and a blood-thirsty people, believing in the tradition of their fathers, which is this: Believing that they were driven out of the land of Jerusalem. because of the iniquities of their fathers, and that they were wronged in the wilderness by their brethren; and they were also wronged, while crossing the sea. And again: That they were wronged while in the land of their first inheritance, after they had crossed the sea; and all this, because that Nephi was more faithful in keeping the commandments of the Lord; therefore he was favored of the Lord, for the Lord heard his prayers and answered them, and he took the lead of their journey in the wilderness. And his brethren were wroth with him, because they understood not the dealings of the Lord; they were also wroth with him upon the waters, because they hardened their hearts against the Lord. And again: They were wroth with him, when they had arriven to the promised land, because they said that he had taken the ruling of the people out of their hands; and they sought to kill him. And again: They were wroth with him, because he departed into the wilderness as the Lord commanded him, and took the records which were engraven on the plates of brass; for they said he robbed them. And thus they have taught their children, that they should hate them, and that they should murder them, and that they should rob and plunder them, and do all they could to destroy them; therefore, they have an eternal hatred towards the children of Nephi. For this very cause hath king Laman, by his cunning and lying craftiness, and his fair promises, hath deceived me, that I have brought this, my people, up into this land, that they may destroy them; yea, and we have suffered this many years in the land.

And now, I, Zeniff, after having told all these things unto my people concerning the Lamanites, I did stimulate them to go to battle with their might, putting their trust in the Lord; therefore, we did contend with them, face to face. And it came to pass that we did drive them again out of our land; and we slew them with a great slaughter, even so many that we did not number them.

And it came to pass that we returned again to our own land, and my people again began to tend their flocks, and to till their ground. And now, I being old, did confer the kingdom upon one of my sons; therefore, I say no more. And may the Lord bless my people. Amen.

MORMON MOSIAH CHAPTER 7

And now it came to pass that Zeniff conferred the kingdom upon Noah, one of his sons; therefore Noah began to reign in his stead; and he did not walk in the ways of his father.

For behold, he did not keep the commandments of God, but he did walk after the desires of his own heart. And he had many wives and concubines. And he did cause his people to commit sin, and do that which was abominable in the sight of the Lord. Yea, and they did commit whoredoms, and all

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manner of wickedness. And he laid a tax of one fifth part of all they possessed; and a fifth part of their gold and of their silver, and a fifth part of their ziff, and of their copper, and of their brass and their iron; and a fifth part of their fatlings; and also, a fifth part of all their grain. And all this did he take, to support himself, and his wives, and his concubines, and also, his priests, and their wives, and their concubines; thus he had changed the affairs of the kingdom. For he put down all the priests that had been consecrated by his father, and consecrated new ones in their stead, such as were lifted up in the pride of their hearts. Yea, and thus were they supported in their laziness, and in their idolatry, and in their whoredoms, by the taxes which king Noah had put upon his people; thus did the people labor exceedingly, to support iniquity. Yea, and they also became idolatrous, because they were deceived by the vain and flattering words of the king and priests; for they did speak flattering things unto them.

And it came to pass that king Noah built many elegant and spacious buildings; and he ornamented them with fine work of wood, and of all manner of precious things, of gold, and of silver, and of iron, and of brass, and of ziff, and of copper; and he also built him a spacious palace, and a throne in the midst thereof, all of which was of fine wood, and was ornamented with gold and silver, and with precious things. And he also caused that his workmen should work all manner of fine work within the walls of the temple, of fine wood, and of copper, and of brass; and the seats which was set apart for the high priests, which was above all the other seats, he did ornament with pure gold; and he caused a breastwork to be built before them, that they might rest their bodies and their arms upon, while they should speak lying and vain words to his people.

And it came to pass that he built a tower near the temple; yea, a very high tower, even so high that he could stand upon the top thereof and overlook the land of Shilom, and also the land of Shemlon, which was possessed by the Lamanites; and he could even look over all the land round about.

And it came to pass that he caused many buildings to be built in the land of Shilom; and he caused a great tower to be built on the hill north of the land of Shilom, which had been a resort for the children of Nephi, at the time they fled out of the land; and thus he did do with the riches which he obtained by the taxation of his people.

And it came to pass that he placed his heart upon his riches, and he spent his time in riotous living with his wives and his concubines; and so did also his priests spend their time with harlots. And it came to pass that he planted vineyards round about in the land; and he built wine presses, and made wine in abundance; and therefore he became a wine bibber, and also his people.

And it came to pass that the Lamanites began to come in upon his people, upon small numbers, and to slay them in their fields, and while they were tending their flocks. And king Noah sent guards round about the land to keep them off; but he did not send a sufficient number, and the Lamanites came upon them and killed them, and drove many of their flocks out of the land: thus the Lamanites began to destroy them and to exercise their hatred upon them.

And it came to pass that king Noah sent his armies against them, and they were driven back, or they drove them back for a time; therefore, they returned rejoicing in their spoil. And now, because of this great victory, they were lifted up in the pride of their hearts; they did boast in their own strength, saying, That their fifty could stand against thousands of the Lamanites; and thus they did boast, and did delight in blood, and the shedding of the blood of their brethren, and this because of the wickedness of their king and priests.

And it came to pass that there was a man among them, whose name was Abinadi; and he went forth among them, and began to prophesy, saying, Behold, thus saith the Lord, and thus hath he commanded me, saying, Go forth and say unto this people, thus saith the Lord: Wo be unto this people, for I have seen their abominations, and their wickedness, and their whoredoms; and except they repent, I will visit them in mine anger. And except they repent, and turn to the Lord their God, behold, I will deliver them into the hands of their enemies; yea, and they shall be brought into bondage; and they shall be afflicted by the hand of their enemies. And it shall come to pass that they shall know that I am the Lord their God, and am a jealous God, visiting the iniquities of my people. And it shall come to pass that except this people repent, and turn unto the Lord their God, they shall be brought into bondage; and none shall deliver them, except it be the Lord the Almighty God. Yea, and it shall come to pass that when they shall cry unto me, I will be slow to hear their cries; yea, and I will suffer them that they be smitten by their enemies. And except they repent in sackcloth and ashes, and cry mightily to the Lord their God, I will not hear their prayers, neither will I deliver them out of their afflictions; and thus saith the Lord, and thus hath he commanded me.

Now it came to pass that when Abinadi had spoken these words unto them, they were wroth with him, and sought to take away his life; but the Lord delivered him out of their hands. Now when king Noah had heard of the words which Abinadi had spake unto the people, he was also wroth; and he saith, Who is Abinadi, that I and my people should be judged of him? or who is the Lord, that shall bring upon my people such great affliction? I command you to bring Abinadi hither, that I may slay him: for he hath said these things, that he might stir up my people to anger, one with another, and to raise contentions among my people; therefore, I will slay him. Now the eyes of the people were blinded; therefore, they hardened their hearts against the words of Abinadi, and they sought from that time forward to take him. And king Noah hardened his heart against the word of the Lord; and he did not repent his evil doings.

And it came to pass that after the space of two years, that Abinadi came among them in disguise, that they knew him not, and began again to prophesy among them, saying, Thus hath the Lord commanded me saying: Abinadi, go and prophesy unto this my people, for they have hardened their hearts against my words; they have repented not of their evil doings; therefore, I will visit them in my anger, yea, in my fierce anger will I visit them in their iniquities and abominations; yea, wo be unto this generation. And the Lord said unto me, Stretch forth thy hand, and prophesying, saying, Thus saith the Lord: It shall come to pass that this generation, because of their iniquities, shall be brought into bondage, and shall be smitten on the cheek; yea, and shall be driven by men, and shall be slain; and the vultures of the air, and the dogs, yea, and the wild beasts, shall devour their flesh.

And it shall come to pass that the life of king Noah shall be valued even as a garment in a hot furnace; for he shall know that I am the Lord. And it shall come to pass that I will smite this my people, with sore afflictions; yea, with famine and with pestilence; and I will cause that ye shall howl all the day long. Yea, and I will cause that they shall have burdens lashed upon their backs; and they shall be driven before, like a dumb ass.

And it shall come to pass that I will send forth hail among them, and it shall smite them; and they shall also be smitten with the east wind; and insects shall pester their land also, and devour their grain. And they shall be smitten with a great pestilence; and all this will I do, because of their iniquities and abominations.

And it shall come to pass that except they repent, I will utterly destroy them from off the face of the earth; yet they shall leave a record behind them, and I will preserve them for other nations which shall possess the land; yea, even this will I do, that I may discover the abominations, of this people to other nations. And many things did Abinadi prophesy against this people.

And it came to pass that they were angry with him; and they took him and carried him bound before the king, and saith unto the king, Behold, we have brought a man before thee which has prophesied evil concerning thy people, and saith that God will destroy them; and he also prophesieth evil concerning thy life, and saith that thy life shall be as a garment in a furnace of fire. And again: He saith that thou shalt be as a stalk, even as a dry stalk of the field, which is ran over by the beasts and trodden under foot. And again; He saith thou shalt be as the blossoms of a thistle, which when it is fully ripe, if the wind bloweth, it is driven forth upon the face of the land; and he pretendeth the Lord hath spoken it. And he saith all this shall come upon thee, except thou repent; and this because of thine iniquities.

And now, O king, what great evil hast thou done, or what great sins has thy people committed, that we should be condemned of God, or judged of this man? And now, O king, behold, we are guiltless, and thou, O king hast not sinned; therefore, this man hast lied concerning you, and he hath prophesied in vain. And behold, we are strong, we shall not come into bondage, or be taken captive by our enemies; yea, and thou hast prospered in the land, and thou shalt also prosper. Behold, here is the man, we deliver him into thy hands; thou mayest do with him as seemeth thee good.

And it came to pass that king Noah caused that Abinadi should be cast into prison; and he commanded that the priests should gather themselves together, that he might hold a council with them what he should do with him. And it came to pass that they saith unto the king, Bring him hither, that we may question him. And the king commanded that he should be brought before them. And they began to question him, that they might cross him, that thereby they might have wherewith to accuse him; but he answered them boldly, and withstood all their questions, yea, to their astonishment: for he did withstand them in all their questions, and did confound them in all their words.

And it came to pass that one of them saith unto him, What meaneth the words which are written, and which have been taught by our fathers, saying: How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of Him that bringeth good tidings; that publisheth peace; that bringeth good tidings of good; that publisheth salvation; that sayeth unto Zion, Thy God reigneth; thy watchmen shall lift up the voice with the voice; together shall they sing, for they shall see eye to eye, when the Lord shall bring again Zion. Break forth into joy; sing together ye waste places of Jerusalem: for the Lord hath comforted his people; he hath redeemed Jerusalem. The Lord hath made bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the nations; and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God. And now Abinadi saith unto them, Are you priests? and pretend to teach this people, and to understand the spirit of prophesying, and yet desireth to know of me what these things mean? I say unto you, Wo be unto you for perverting the ways of the Lord. For if ye understand these things, ye have not taught them; therefore, ye have perverted the ways of the Lord. -- Ye have not applied your hearts to understanding; therefore, ye have not been wise. Therefore, what teacheth thou this people? And they said, We teach the law of Moses. And again, He saith unto them, if ye teach the law of Moses, why do ye not keep it? Why do ye set your hearts upon riches? Why do ye commit whoredoms, and spend your strength with harlots, yea, and cause this people to commit sin, that the Lord hath caused to send me to prophesy against this people, yea, even a great evil against this people? Knowest thou not that I speak the truth? Yea, thou knowest that I speak the truth; and you had ought to tremble before God.

And it shall come to pass, that ye shall be smitten for thine iniquities: for ye had said that ye teach the law of Moses.

And what knowest thou concerning the law of Moses? Doth salvation come by the law of Moses? What sayest thou? And they answered and said, that salvation did come by the law of Moses. But now Abinadi saith unto them, I know if ye keep the commandments of God, ye shall be saved; yea, if ye keep the commandments which the Lord delivered unto Moses in the mount of Sinai, saying: I am the Lord thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. Thou shalt have no other God before me. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing in the heaven above, or the things which is in the earth beneath. Now Abinadi saith unto them, Have ye done all this? I say unto you, Nay, ye have not. And have ye taught this people that they should do all these things? I say unto you, Nay, ye have not.

And now that when the king had heard these words, he said unto his priests, Away with this fellow, and slay him: for what have we to do with him, for he is mad. And they stood forth and attempted to lay hands on him; but he withstood them, and said unto them, Touch me not, for God shall smite you if ye lay your hands upon me, for I have not delivered the message which the Lord sent me to deliver; neither have I told you that which ye requested that I should tell; therefore, God will not suffer that I shall be destroyed at this time. For I must fulfil the commandments wherewith God hath commanded me; and because I have told you the truth, ye are angry with me. And again: Because I have spoken the word of God, you have judged me that I am mad.

Now it came to pass after Abinadi had spoken these words, that the people of king Noah durst not lay their hands on him; for the Spirit of the Lord was upon him; and his face shone with exceeding lustre, even as Moses did while in the mount of Sinai, while speaking with the Lord. And he spake with power and authority from God; and he continued his words, saying, Ye see that ye have not power to slay me, therefore, I finish my message. Yea, and I perceive that it cuts you to your hearts, because I tell you the truth concerning your iniquities; yea, and my words fill you with wonder and amazement, and with anger. But I finish my message; and then it matters not whither I go, if it so be that I am saved. But this much I tell you: What you do with me after this, shall be as a type and a shadow of things which is to come. And now I read unto you the remainder of the commandments of God, for I perceive that they are not written in your hearts; I perceive that ye have studied and taught iniquity the most part of your lives.

And now, ye remember that I said unto you, Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven images, or any likeness of things which is in heaven above, or which is in the earth beneath, or which is in the water under the earth. And again: Thou shalt not bow down thyself unto them, nor serve them: for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generations of them that hate me; and shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me, and keep my commandments. -- Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain: for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain. Remember the sabbath-day, to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work: but the seventh day, the sabbath of the Lord thy God, thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates: for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, and the sea, and all that in them is; wherefore the Lord blessed the sabbath-day, and hallowed it. Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee. Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's.

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MORMON MOSIAH CHAPTER 8

And it came to pass that after Abinadi had made an end of these sayings, that he said unto them, Have ye taught this people that they should observe to do all these things? For to keep these commandments? I say unto you, Nay; for if ye had, the Lord would not have caused me to come forth and to prophesy evil concerning this people. And now ye have said that salvation cometh by the law of Moses. I say unto you that it is expedient that ye should keep the law of Moses as yet; but I say unto you, that the time shall come when it shall no more be expedient to keep the law of Moses. And moreover, I say unto you, that salvation doth not come by the law alone; and were it not for the atonement which God himself shall make for the sins and iniquities of his people, that they must unavoidably perish, notwithstanding the law of Moses. And now I say unto you, that it was expedient that there should be a law given to the children of Israel, yea, even a very strict law: for they were a stiffnecked people, quick to do iniquity, and slow to remember the Lord their God; therefore there was a law given them, yea, a law of performances and of ordinances, a law which they were to observe strictly, from day to day, to keep them in remembrance of God, and their duty towards him. But behold, I say unto you, that all these things were types of things to come. And now, did they understand the law? I say unto you, Nay, they did not all understand the law; and this because of the hardness of their hearts: for they understood not that there could not any man be saved, except it were through the redemption of God. For behold, did not Moses prophesy unto them concerning the coming of the Messiah, and that God should redeem his people, yea, and even all the prophets which have prophesied ever since the world began? Have they not spoken more or less concerning these things? Have they not said that God himself should come down among the children of men, and take upon him the form of man, and go forth in mighty power upon the face of the earth? Yea, and have they not said also, that he should bring to pass the resurrection of the dead, and that he himself should be oppressed and afflicted? Yes, even doth not Isaiah say, Who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed? for he shall grow up before him as a tender plant, and as a root out of dry ground: he hath no form nor comeliness; and when we shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him. He is despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief: and we hid as it were our faces from him; he was despised, and we esteemed him not.

Surely he has borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows: yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted. But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed. All we, like sheep, have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way; and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquities of us all. He was oppressed, and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth: he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he opened not his mouth. He was taken from prison and from judgement: and who shall declare his generation? for he was cut off out of the land of the living: for the transgressions of my people was he stricken. And he made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death; because he had done no evil, neither was any deceit in his mouth.

Yet it pleased the Lord to bruise him; he hath put him to grief: when thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand. He shall see of the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied: by his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many; for he shall bear their iniquities. Therefore will I divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong; because he hath poured out his soul unto death: and he was numbered with the transgressors; and he bare the sins of many, and made intercession for the transgressors.

And now Abinadi saith unto them, I would that ye should understand that God himself shall come down among the children of men, and shall redeem his people; and because he dwelleth in flesh, he shall be called the Son of God: and having subjected the flesh to the will of the Father, being the Father and the Son; the Father because he was conceived by the power of God; and the Son, because of the flesh; thus becoming the Father and Son: and they are one God, yea, the very Eternal Father of Heaven and of Earth; and thus the flesh becoming subject to the Spirit, or the Son to the Father, being one God, suffereth temptation, and yieldeth not to the temptation, but suffereth himself to be mocked, and scourged, and cast out, and disowned by his people. And after all this, and after working many mighty miracles among the children of men, he shall be led, yea, even as Isaiah said; As a sheep before the shearer is dumb, so he opened not his mouth; yea, even so he shall be led, crucified, and slain, the flesh becoming subject even unto death, the will of the Son being swallowed up in the will of the Father; and thus God breaketh the bands of death; having gained the victory over death; giving the Son power to make intercession for the children of men; having ascended into heaven; having the bowels of mercy; being filled with compassion toward the children of men; standing betwixt them and justice; having broken the bands of death, taken upon himself their iniquity and their transgressions; having redeemed them, and satisfied the demands of justice. And now I say unto you, Who shall declare his generation? Behold, I say unto you, that when his soul has been made an offering for sin, he shall see his seed. And now what say ye? And who shall be his seed? Behold I say unto you, that whosoever hath heard the words of the prophets, yea, all the Holy Prophets which have prophesied concerning the coming of the Lord; I say unto, that all those who hath hearkened unto their words, and believed that the Lord would redeem his people, and have looked forward to that day for a remission of their sins; I say unto you, that these are his seed, or they are heirs of the Kingdom of God: for these are they whose sins he hath borne; these are they for whom he hath died, to redeem them from their transgressions. And now, are they not his seed? Yea, and are not the prophets, every one that has opened his mouth to prophesy, that has not fallen into transgression; I mean all the Holy Prophets ever since the world began; I say unto you that they are his seed; and these are they which hath published peace, that hath brought good tidings of good, that hath published salvation; that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth! And O how beautiful upon the mountains were their feet! And again: How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of those that are still publishing peace! And again: How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of those who shall hereafter publish peace, yea, from this time henceforth and forever! And behold, I say unto you, this is not all: For O how beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that is the founder of peace; yea, even the Lord, who hath redeemed his people; yea, him who hath granted salvation unto his people: for were it not for the redemption which he hath made for his people, which was prepared from the foundation of the world; I say unto you, were it not for this, that all mankind must have perished. But behold, the bands of death shall be broken, and the Son reigneth, and hath power over the dead; therefore, he bringeth to pass the resurrection of the dead. And there cometh a resurrection, even a first resurrection; yea, even a resurrection of those that have been and which are, and which shall be, even until the resurrection of Christ: for so shall he be called. And now, the resurrection of all the prophets, and all those that have believed in their words, or all those that have kept the commandments of God, these shall come forth in the first resurrection; therefore, they are the first resurrection. They are raised to dwell with God, who hath redeemed them: thus they have eternal life through Christ, who hath broken the bands of death. And there are those who have a part in the first resurrection; and these are they that have died before Christ came, in their ignorance, not having salvation declared unto them. And thus the Lord bringeth about the restoration of these, and they have a part in the first resurrection, or hath eternal life, being redeemed by the Lord. And little children also, hath eternal life. But behold, and fear, and tremble before God; for ye had ought to tremble: for the Lord redeemeth none such that rebelleth against him, and dieth in their sins; yea, even all those that have perished in their sins ever since the world began, that have wilfully rebelled against God, that have known the commandments of God, and would not keep them; these are they that have no part in the first resurrection. Therefore, had ye not ought to tremble? For salvation cometh to none such; for the Lord hath redeemed none such; yea, neither can the Lord redeem such: for he cannot deny himself; for he cannot deny justice when it hath its claim.

And now I say unto you, that the time shall come that the salvation of the Lord shall be declared to every nation, kindred, tongue, and people. Yea, Lord, the watchmen shall lift up their voice; with the voice together shall they sing: for they shall see eye to eye, when the Lord shall bring again Zion. Break forth into joy, sing together, ye waste places of Jerusalem: for the Lord hath comforted his people, he hath redeemed Jerusalem. The Lord hath made bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the nations: and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God.

And now it came to pass that after Abinadi had spoken these words, he stretched forth his hand and said, The time shall come when all shall see the salvation of the Lord; when every nation, kindred, tongue and people, shall see eye to eye, and shall confess before God that his judgements are just; and then shall the wicked be cast out, and they shall have cause to howl, and weep, and wail, and gnash their teeth; and this because they would not hearken unto the voice of the Lord; therefore the Lord redeemeth them not, for they are carnal and devlish, and the devil hath power over them; yea, even that old serpent that did beguile our first parents, which was the cause of their fall; which was the cause of all mankind becoming carnal, sensual, devlish, knowing evil from good, subjecting themselves to the devil. Thus all mankind were lost; and behold, they would have been endlessly lost, were it not that God redeemed his people from their lost and fallen state. But remember, that he that persists in his own carnal nature, and goes on in the ways of sin and rebellion against God, he remaineth in his fallen state, and the devil hath power over him. Therefore he is as though there was no redemption made; being an enemy to God; and also is the devil an enemy to God. And now if Christ had not come into the world, speaking of things to come, as though they had already come, there could have been no redemption. And if Christ had not risen from the dead, or have broken the bands of death, that the grave should have no victory, and that death should have no sting, there could have been no resurrection. But there is a resurrection, therefore the grave hath no victory, and the sting of death, is swallowed up in Christ: He is the light and the life of the world; yea, a light that is endless, that can never be darkened; yea, and also a life which is endless, that there can be no more death. Even this mortal shall put on immortality, and this corruption shall put on incorruption, and shall be brought to stand before the bar of God, to be judged of him according to their works, whether they be good or whether they be evil. If they be good, to the resurrection of endless life and happiness, and if they be evil, to the resurrection of endless damnation; being delivered up to the devil, who hath subjected them which is damnation; having gone according to their own carnal wills and desires; having never called upon the Lord while the arms of mercy was extended towards them; for the arms of mercy was extended towards them, and they would not; they being warned of their iniquities, and yet they would not depart from them; and they were commanded to repent, and yet they would not repent. And now had ye not ought to tremble and repent of your sins, and remember only in and through Christ ye can be saved? Therefore, if ye teach the law of Moses, also teach that it is a shadow of those things which are to come; teach them that redemption cometh through Christ the Lord, which is the very Eternal Father. Amen.

MORMON MOSIAH CHAPTER 9

And now it came to pass that when Abinadi had finished these sayings, that the king commanded that the priests should take him and cause that he should be put to death. But there was one among them, whose name was Alma, he also being a descendant of Nephi. And he was a young man, and he believed the words which Abinadi had spoken, for he knew concerning the iniquity which Abinadi had testified against them: Therefore he began to plead with the king that he would not be angry with Abinadi, but suffer that he might depart in peace. But the king was more wroth, and caused that Alma should be cast out from among them, and sent his servants after him, that they might slay him. But he fled from before them, and hid himself, that they found him not. And he, being concealed for many days, did write all the words which Abinadi had spoken.

And it came to pass that the king caused that his guards should surround Abinadi, and take him; and they bound him and cast him into prison. And after three days, having counselled with his priests, he caused that he should again be brought before him. And he said unto him, Abinadi, we have found an accusation against thee, and thou art worthy of death. For thou hast said that God himself should come down among the children of men; and now for this cause thou shalt be put to death, unless thou wilt recall all the words which thou hast spoken evil concerning me and my people.

Now Abinadi saith unto him: I say unto you, I will not recall the words which I have spoken unto you concerning this people, for they are true; and that ye may know of their surety, I have suffered myself that I have fallen into your hands. Yea, and I will suffer even until death, and I will not recall my words, and they shall stand as a testimony against you. And if ye slay me, ye will shed innocent blood, and this shall also stand as a testimony against you at the last day.

And now king Noah was about to release him, for he feared his word; for he feared the judgement of God would come upon him. But the priests lifted up their voices against him, and began to accuse him, saying: He hath reviled the king. Therefore the king was stirred up in anger against him, and he delivered him up, that he might be slain.

And it came to pass that they took him, and bound him, and scourged his skin with faggots, yea, even unto death. And now when the flames began to scorch him, he cried unto them saying: Behold, even as ye have done unto me, so shall it come to pass that thy seed shall cause that many shall suffer the pains that I do suffer, even the pains of death, by fire; and this because they believe in the salvation of the Lord their God. And it will come to pass that ye shall be afflicted with all manner of diseases, because of your iniquities. Yea, and ye shall be smitten on every hand, and shall be driven and scattered to and fro, even as a wild flock is driven by wild and ferocious beasts. And in that day ye shall be hunted, and ye shall be taken by the hand of your enemies, and then ye shall suffer, as I suffer, the pains of death, by fire. Thus God executeth vengeance upon those that destroy his people. O God, receive my soul. And now when Abinadi had said these words, he fell, having suffered death by fire; yea, having been put to death because he would not deny the commandments of God: having sealed the truth of his words by his death.

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And now it came to pass that Alma, who had fled from the servants of king Noah, repented of his sins and iniquities, and went about privately among the people, and began to teach the words of Abinadi; yea, concerning that which was to come, and also concerning the resurrection of the dead, and the redemption of the people, which was to be brought to pass through the power, and sufferings, and death of Christ, and his resurrection and ascension into Heaven. And as many as would hear his word he did teach. And he taught them privately, that it might not come to the knowledge of the king. And many did believe his words. And it came to pass that as many as did believe him, did go forth to a place which was called Mormon, having received its name from the king, being in the borders of the land having been infested, by times, or at seasons, by wild beasts. Now there was in Mormon a fountain of pure water, and Alma resorted thither, there being near the water a thicket of small trees, where he did hide himself in the day-time, from the searches of the king. And it came to pass that as many as believed him, went thither to hear his words. And it came to pass after many days, there were a goodly number gathered together to the place of Mormon, to hear the words of Alma. Yea, all were gathered together that believed on his word, to hear him. And he did teach them, and did preach unto them repentance, and redemption, and faith on the Lord.

And it came to pass that he said unto them, Behold, here is the waters of Mormon; for thus were they called. And now, as ye are desirous to come into the fold of God, and to be called his people, and are willing to bear one another's burdens, that they may be light; yea, and are willing to mourn with those that mourn; yea, and comfort those that stand in need of comfort, and to stand as witnesses of God at all times, and in all things, and in all places that ye may be in, even until death, that ye may be redeemed of God, and be numbered with those of the first resurrection, that ye may have eternal life: Now I say unto you, if this be the desires of your hearts, what have you against being baptized in the name of the Lord, as a witness before him that ye have entered into a covenant with him that ye will serve him and keep his commandments, that he may pour out his spirit more abundantly upon you. -- And now when the people had heard these words, they clapped their hands for joy and exclaimed, This is the desires of our hearts.

And now it came to pass that Alma took Helam, he being one of the first, and went and stood forth in the water, and cried, saying, O Lord, pour out your spirit upon thy servant, that he may do this work with holiness of heart. And when he had said these words, the spirit of the Lord was upon him, and he said, Helam, I baptize thee, having authority from the Almighty God, as a testimony that ye have entered into a covenant to serve him until you are dead, as to the mortal body; and may the spirit of the Lord be poured out upon you; and may he grant unto you eternal life, through the redemption of Christ, which he hath prepared from the foundation of the world. And after Alma had said these words, both Alma and Helam was buried in the water; and they arose and came forth out of the water rejoicing, being filled with the spirit. And again, Alma took another, and went forth a second time into the water, and baptizing him according to the first, only he did not bury himself again in the water. And after this manner he did baptize every one that went forth to the place of Mormon; and they were in number about two hundred and four souls; yea, and they were baptized in the waters of Mormon, and were filled with the grace of God: and they were called the Church of God, or the Church of Christ, from that time forward.

And it came to pass that whosoever was baptized by the power and authority of God, they was added to his church.

And it came to pass that Alma, having authority from God, ordained priests; even one priest to every fifty of their number did he ordain to preach unto them, and to teach them concerning the things pertaining to the kingdom of God. And he commanded them that they should teach nothing save it were the things which he had taught, and which had been spoken by the mouths of the holy prophets. Yea, even he commanded them that they should preach nothing save it were repentance and faith on the Lord, who hath redeemed his people. And he commanded them that there should be no contention one with another, but that they should look forward with one eye, having one faith and one baptism; having their hearts knit together in unity and in love, one towards another. And thus he commanded them to preach. And thus they became the children of God. And he commanded them that they should observe the sabbath day, and keep it holy, and also every day they should give thanks to the Lord their God. And he also commanded them that the priests which he had ordained should labor with their own hands for their support; and there was one day in every week that was set apart that they should gather themselves together to teach the people, and worship the Lord their God, and also as often as it was in their power to assemble themselves together. And the priests was not to depend upon the people for their support; but for their labor they were to receive the grace of God, that they might wax strong in spirit, having the knowledge of God, that they might teach the power and authority from God. And again Alma commanded that the people of the Church should impart of their substance, every one according to that which he hath; if he have more abundantly, he should impart more abundantly; and he that hath but little, but little should be required; and to him that hath not should be given. And thus they should impart of their substance, of their own free will and good desires towards God, and to those priests that stood in need, yea, and to every needy, naked soul. And this he said unto them, having been commanded of God; and they did walk uprightly before God, imparting to one another, both temporally and spiritually, according to their needs and their wants.

And now it came to pass that all this was done in Mormon; yea, by the waters of Mormon, in the forest that was near the waters of Mormon, yea, the place of Mormon, the waters of Mormon, the forest of Mormon, how beautiful are they to the eyes of them who there came to the knowledge of their redeemer; yea, and how blessed are they, for they shall sing to his praise forever. And these things were done in the borders of the land, that they might not come to the knowledge of the king. But behold, it came to pass that the king, having discovered a movement among the people, sent his servants to watch them. Therefore on the day that they were assembling themselves together to hear the word of the Lord, they were discovered unto the king. And now the king saith that Alma was stirring up the people to a rebellion against him; therefore he sent his army to destroy them. And it came to pass that Alma, and the people of the Lord were apprised of the coming of the king's army; therefore they took their tents and their families, and departed into the wilderness. And they were in number about four hundred and fifty souls.

And it came to pass that the army of the king returned, having searched in vain for the people of the Lord. And now behold, the forces of the king were small, having been reduced, and there began to be a division among the remainder of the people. And the lesser part began to breath out threatnings against the king, and there began to be a great contention among them. And now there was a man among them whose name was Gideon, and he being a strong man, and an enemy to the king, therefore he drew his sword and swore in his wrath, that he would slay the king. And it came to pass that he fought with the king; and when the king saw that he was about to overpower him, he fled and ran and got upon the tower, which was near the temple. And Gideon pursued after him and was about to get upon the tower to slay the king, and the king cast his eyes round about towards the land of Shemlon, and behold, the army of the Lamanites were within the borders of the land. And now the king cried out in the anguish of his soul, saying, Gideon, spare me, for the Lamanites are upon us, and they will destroy them; yea, they will destroy my people. And now the king was not so much concerned about his people, as he was about his own life; nevertheless, Gideon did spare his life. And the king commanded the people that they should flee before the Lamanites, and he himself did go before them, and they did flee into the wilderness with their women and their children. And it came to pass that the Lamanites did pursue them, and did overtake them, and began to slay them.

Now it came to pass that the king commanded them that all men should leave their wives and their children and flee from the Lamanites. Now there were many that would not leave them, but had rather stay and perish with them. And the rest left their wives and their children and fled.

And it came to pass that those that tarried with their wives and their children, caused that their fair daughters should stand forth and plead with the Lamanites, that they would not slay them. And it came to pass that the Lamanites had compassion on them, for they were charmed with the beauty of their women; therefore the Lamanites did spare their lives, and took them captives, and carried them back to the land of Nephi, and granted unto them that they might possess the land, under the conditions that they would deliver up the king Noah into the hands of the Lamanites, and deliver up their property, even one half of all they possessed; one half of their gold, and their silver, and all their precious things; and thus they should pay tribute to the king of the Lamanites, from year to year. And now there was one of the sons of the king among those that was taken captive, whose name was Limhi. And now Limhi was desirous that his father should not be destroyed; nevertheless, Limhi was not ignorant of the iniquities of his father, he himself, being a just man.

And it came to pass that Gideon sent men into the wilderness secretly, to search for the king, and those that was with him. And it came to pass that they met the people in the wilderness, all save the king and his priests. Now they had sworn in their hearts that they would return to the land of Nephi, and if their wives and their children were slain, and also those that had tarried with them, that they would seek revenge, and also perish with them. And the king commanded them that they should not return; and they were angry with the king, and caused that he should suffer, even unto death by fire. And they were about to take the priests also and put them to death, and they fled before them.

And it came to pass that they were about to return to the land of Nephi, and they met the men of Gideon. And the men of Gideon told them of all that had happened to their wives and their children; and that the Lamanites had granted unto them that they might possess the land by paying a tribute to the Lamanites of one half of all they possessed. And the people told the men of Gideon that they had slain the king, and his priests had fled from them farther into the wilderness, And it came to pass that after they had ended the ceremony, that they returned to the land of Nephi, rejoicing, because their wives and their children were not slain; and they told Gideon what they had done to the king.

And it came to pass that the king of the Lamanites made an oath unto them, that his people should not slay them. And also Limhi, being the son of the king, having the kingdom conferred upon him by the people, made an oath unto the king of the Lamanites, that his people should pay tribute unto him, even one half of all they possessed.

And it came to pass that Limhi began to establish the kingdom, and to establish peace among his people. And the king of the Lamanites set guards round about the land, that he might keep the people of Limhi in the land, that they might not depart into the wilderness; and he did support his guards out of the tribute which he did receive from the Nephites. And now king Limhi did have continual peace in his kingdom, for the space of two years, that the Lamanites did not molest them nor seek to destroy them.

Now there was a place in Shemlon, where the daughters of the Lamanites did gather themselves together for to sing, to dance, and to make themselves merry. And it came to pass that there was one day a small number of them gathered together to sing and dance. And now the priests of king Noah, being ashamed to return to the city of Nephi, yea, and also fearing that the people would slay them, therefore they durst not return to their wives and their children. And having tarried in the wilderness and having discovered the daughters of the Lamanites, they laid and watched them; and when there were but few of them gathered together to dance, they came forth out of their secret places, and took them and carried them into the wilderness; yea, twenty and four of the daughters of the Lamanites they carried into the wilderness.

And it came to pass that when the Lamanites found that their daughters had been missing, they were angry with the people of Limhi; for they thought it was the people of Limhi. Therefore they sent their armies forth; yea, even the king himself went before his people; and they went up to the land of Nephi, to destroy the people of Limhi. And now Limhi had discovered them from the tower; even all their preparations for war did he discover; therefore he gathered his people together, and laid wait for them in the fields, and in the forests. And it came to pass that when the Lamanites had come up, that the people of Limhi began to fall upon them from their waiting places, and began to slay them.

And it came to pass that the battle became exceeding sore, for they fought like lions for their prey. And it came to pass that the people of Limhi began to drive the Lamanites before them, yet they were not half so numerous as the Lamanites. But they fought for their lives, and for their wives, and for their children; therefore they exerted themselves, and like dragons did they fight.

And it came to pass that they found the king of the Lamanites among the number of their dead; yet he was not dead, having been wounded and left upon the ground, so speedy was the flight of his people. And they took him and bound up his wounds, and brought him before Limhi, and said, Behold, here is the king of the Lamanites; he having received a wound, hath fallen among their dead, and they have left him; and behold, we have brought him before you; and now let us slay him. But Limhi saith unto them, Ye shall not slay him, but bring him hither, that I may see him. And they brought him. And Limhi saith unto him, What cause have ye to come up to war against my people? Behold, my people have not broken the oath that I made unto you; therefore, why should ye break the oath which ye made unto my people? And now the king said, I have broken the oath, because thy people did carry away the daughters of my people; therefore in my anger I did cause my people to come up to war against thy people. Now Limhi had heard nothing concerning this matter; therefore he saith, I will search among my people, and whosoever hath done this thing shall perish. Therefore he caused a search to be made among his people. Now when Gideon had heard these things, he being the king's captain, he went forth and said unto the king, I pray thee forbear, and do not search this people, and lay not this thing to their charge. For do ye not remember the priests of thy father, which this people sought to destroy? And are they not in the wilderness? And is it not they which have stolen the daughters of the Lamanites? And now behold, and tell the king these things, that he may tell his people, that they may be pacified towards us: for behold, they are already preparing to come against us; and behold also, there are but few of us. And behold, they come with their numerous hosts; and except the king doth pacify them towards us, we must perish. For are not the words of Abinadi fulfilled, which he prophesied against us? and all

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this because we would not hearken unto the words of the Lord, and turn from our iniquities? And now let us pacify the king, and we fulfil the oath which we have made unto him: for it is better that we should be in bondage, than that we should lose our lives; therefore, let us put a stop to the shedding of so much blood. And now Limhi told the king all the things concerning his father, and the priests that had fled into the wilderness, and attributed the carrying away of their daughters to them.

And it came to pass that the king was pacified towards his people; and he said unto them, Let us go forth to meet my people, without arms; and I swear unto you with an oath, that my people shall not slay thy people. And it came to pass that they followed the king, and went forth without arms to meet the Lamanites. And it came to pass that they did meet the Lamanites; and the king of the Lamanites did bow himself down before them, and did plead in behalf of the people of Limhi. And when the Lamanites saw the people of Limhi, that they were pacified towards them, and returned with their king in peace to their own land.

And it came to pass that Limhi and his people returned to the city of Nephi, and began to dwell in the land again in peace. And it came to pass that after many days, the Lamanites began to be stirred up in anger against the Nephites; and they began to come into the borders of the land round about. Now they durst not slay them, because of the oath which their king had made unto Limhi; but they would smite them on their cheeks, and exercise authority over them; and began to put heavy burdens upon their backs, and drive them as they would a dumb ass: yea, all this was done, that the word of the Lord be fulfilled. And now the afflictions of the Nephites was great; and there was no way that they could deliver themselves out of their hands, for the Lamanites had surrounded them on every side.

And it came to pass that the people began to murmur with the king, because of their afflictions; and they began to be desirous to go against them to battle. And they did afflict the king sorely with their complaints; therefore he granted unto them that they should do according to their desires. And they gathered themselves together again, and put on their armor, and went forth against the Lamanites, to drive them out of their land. And it came to pass that the Lamanites did beat them, and drove them back, and slew many of them. And now there was a great mourning and lamentation among the people of Limhi; the widow mourning for her husband; the son and the daughter mourning for their father; and the brothers for their brethren. Now there were a great many widows in the land; and they did cry mightily from day to day, for a great fear of the Lamanites had come upon them. And it came to pass that their continual cries did stir up the remainder of the people of Limhi to anger, against the Lamanites. And they went again to battle; but they were driven back again, suffering much loss. Yea, they went again, even the third time, and suffered in the like manner; and those that were not slain, returned again to the city of Nephi. And they did humble themselves even to the dust, subjecting themselves to the yoke of bondage, submitting themselves to be smitten, and to be driven to and fro, and burdened, according to the desires of their enemies. And they did humble themselves even in the depths of humility; and they did cry mightily to God; yea, even all the day long did they cry unto their God, that he would deliver them out of their afflictions. And now the Lord was slow to hear their cry, because of their iniquities; nevertheless the Lord did hear their cries, and began to soften the hearts of the Lamanites, that they began to ease their burdens: yet the Lord did not see fit to deliver them out of bondage.

And it came to pass that they began to prosper by degrees in the land, and began to raise grain more abundantly, and flocks, and herds, that they did not suffer with hunger. Now there was a great number of women more than there was of men; therefore king Limhi commanded every man should impart to the support of the widows and their children, that they might not perish with hunger: and this they did, because of the greatness of their number that had been slain. Now the people of Limhi kept together in a body as much as it was possible, and secure their grain, and their flocks; and the king himself did not trust his person without the walls of the city, unless he took his guards with him, fearing that he might by some means fall into the hands of the Lamanites. And he caused that his people should watch the land round about, that by some means they might take those priests that fled into the wilderness, which had stolen the daughters of the Lamanites, and that caused such a great destruction to come upon them; for they were desirous to take them, that they might punish them: for they had come into the land of Nephi by night, and carried off of their grain, and many of their precious things; therefore they laid wait for them.

And it came to pass that there was no more disturbance between the Lamanites and the people of Limhi, even until the time that Ammon and his brethren came into the land. And the king having been without the gates of the city with his guard he discovered Ammon and his brethren; and supposing them to be priests of Noah, therefore he caused that they should be taken, and bound, and cast into prison. And had they been the priests of Noah, he would have caused that they should be put to death; but when he found that they were not, but that they were his brethren, and had come from the land of Zarahemla, he was filled with exceeding great joy. -- Now king Limhi had sent, previous to the coming of Ammon, a small number of men to search for the land of Zarahemla; but they could not find it: and they were lost in the wilderness. Nevertheless they did find a land which had been peopled; yea, a land which was covered with dry bones; yea, a land which had been peopled, and which had been destroyed; and they having supposed it to be the land of Zarahemla, returned to the land of Nephi, having arrived in the borders of the land not many days before the coming of Ammon. And they brought a record with them, even a record of the people whose bones they had found; and they were engraven on plates of ore. And now Limhi was again filled with joy, on learning from the mouth of Ammon that king Benjamin had a gift from God, whereby he could interpret such engravings; yea, and Ammon also did rejoice. Yet Ammon and his brethren were filled with sorrow, because so many of his brethren had been slain; and also that king Noah and his priests had caused the people to commit so many sins and iniquities against God; and they also did mourn for the death of Abinadi; and also for the departure of Alma, and the people that went with him, who had formed a church of God through the strength and power of God, and faith on the words which had been spoken by Abinadi; yea, they did mourn for their departure, for they knew not whither they had fled. Now they would have gladly joined with them, for they themselves had entered into a covenant with God, to serve him, and keep his commandments. And now since the coming of Ammon, king Limhi had also entered into a covenant with God, and also many of his people, to serve him, and keep his commandments.

And it came to pass that king Limhi and many of his people was desirous to be baptized; but there was none in the land that had authority from God. And Ammon declined doing this thing, considering himself an unworthy servant; therefore they did not at that time form themselves into a church, waiting upon the spirit of the Lord. Now they were desirous to become even as Alma and his brethren, which had fled into the wilderness. They were desirous to be baptized, as a witness and a testimony that they were willing to serve God with all their hearts; nevertheless they did prolong the time: and an account of their baptism shall be given hereafter. And now all the study of Ammon and his people, and king Limhi and his people, was to deliver themselves out of the hands of the Lamanites, and from bondage.

MORMON MOSIAH CHAPTER 10

And now it came to pass that Ammon and king Limhi began to consult with the people how they should deliver themselves out of bondage; and even they did cause that all the people should gather themselves together: and this they did that they might have a voice of the people concerning the matter. And it came to pass that they could find no way to deliver themselves out of bondage, except it were to take their women and children, and their flocks, and their herds, and their tents, and depart into the wilderness; for the Lamanites being so numerous that it was impossible for the people of Limhi to contend with them, thinking to deliver themselves out of bondage by the sword.

Now it came to pass that Gideon went forth and stood before the king, and said unto him, Now O king, thou hast hitherto hearkened unto my words many times when we have been contending with our brethren, the Lamanites. And now O king, if thou hast not found me to be a unprofitable servant or if thou hast hitherto listened to my words in any degree, and they have been of service to thee, even so I desire that thou wouldst listen to my words at this time, and I will be thy servant, and deliver this people out of bondage. And the king granted unto him that he might speak. And Gideon saith unto him, Behold the back pass through the back wall, on the back side of the city. The Lamanites, or the guards of the Lamanites, by night, are drunken; therefore let us send a proclamation among all this people, that they gather together their flocks and herds, that they may drive them into the wilderness by night. And I will go according to thy command, and pay the last tribute of wine to the Lamanites, and they will be drunken; and we will pass through the secret pass on the left of the camp, when they are drunken and asleep: thus we will depart with our women and our children, our flocks and our herds, into the wilderness; and we will travel around the land of Shilom. And it came to pass that the king hearkened unto the words of Gideon. And it came to pass that king Limhi caused that his people should gather their flocks together; and he sent the tribute of wine to the Lamanites; and he also sent more wine, as a present unto them: and they did drink freely of the wine which king Limhi did send unto them.

And it came to pass that the people of king Limhi did depart by night into the wilderness with their flocks and their herds; and they went round about the land of Shilom in the wilderness, and bent their course towards the land of Zarahemla, being led by Ammon and his brethren. And they had taken all their gold, and silver, and their precious things, which they could carry; and also their provisions with them, into the wilderness; and they pursued their journey. And after being many days in the wilderness, they arrived in the land of Zarahemla, and joined his people, and became his subjects. And it came to pass that Mosiah received them with joy; and he also received their records, and also the records which had been found by the people of Limhi. And now it came to pass when the Lamanites had found that the people of Limhi had departed out of the land by night, that they sent an army into the wilderness to pursue them; and after they had pursued them two days, they could no longer follow their tracks; therefore they were lost in the wilderness.

MORMON MOSIAH CHAPTER 11

An account of Alma and the people of the Lord, which was driven into the wilderness by the people of king Noah.

Now Alma, having been warned of the Lord that the armies of king Noah would come upon them, and had made it known to his people, therefore they gathered together their flocks and took of their grain, and departed into the wilderness before the armies of king Noah. And the Lord did strengthen them, that the people of king Noah could not overtake them, to destroy them. And it came to pass that they fled eight days' journey into the wilderness. And they came to a land, yea, even a very beautiful and pleasant land; a land of pure water. And it came to pass that they pitched their tents, and began to till the ground, and began to build buildings, &c; yea, they were industrious, and did labor exceedingly. And it came to pass that the people were desirous that Alma should be their king, for he was beloved by his people. But he saith unto them, Behold, it is not expedient that we should have a king; for thus saith the Lord: Ye shall not esteem one flesh above another; or one man shall not think himself above another; therefore I say unto you, It is not expedient that ye should have a king. Nevertheless, if it were possible that ye could always have just men to be your kings, it would be well for you to have a king. But remember the iniquity of king Noah and his priests: and I myself was caught in a snare, and did many things which was abominable in the sight of the Lord, which caused me sore repentance; nevertheless, after much tribulation, the Lord did hear my cries, and did answer my prayers, and hath made me an instrument in his hands, in bringing so many of you to a knowledge of his truth. Nevertheless, in this I do not glory, for I am unworthy to glory of myself. And now I say unto you, As ye have been oppressed by king Noah, and have been in bondage to him and his priests, and have been brought into iniquity by them; therefore ye were bound with the hands of iniquity. And now as ye have been delivered, by the power of God, out of these bonds; yea, even out of the hands of king Noah and his people, and also from the bonds of iniquity, even so I desire that ye should stand fast in this liberty wherewith ye have been made free, and that ye trust no man to be king over you; and also trusting no one to be your teachers nor your ministers, except he be a man of God, walking in his ways and keeping his commandments. Thus did Alma teach his people, that every man should love his neighbour as himself; that there should be no contention among them. And now Alma was their high priest, he being a founder of their Church. And it came to pass that none received authority to preach or to teach, except it were by him from God. Therefore he consecrated all their priests, and all their teachers, and none were consecrated except it were just men. Therefore they did watch over their people, and did nourish them with things pertaining to righteousness. And it came to pass that they began to prosper exceedingly in the land; and they called the land Helam. And it came to pass that they did multiply and prosper exceedingly in the land of Helam; and they built a city, which they called Helam. Nevertheless the Lord seeth fit to chasten his people; yea, he trieth their patience and their faith. Nevertheless, whosoever puteth his trust in him, the same shall be lifted up at the last day. Yea, and thus it was with this people. For behold, I will shew unto you that they were brought into bondage, and none could deliver them but the Lord their God; yea, even the God of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob. And it came to pass that he did deliver them, and he did shew forth his mighty power unto them, and great was their rejoicings. For behold, it came to pass that while they were in the land of Helam, yea, in the city of Helam, while tilling the land round about, behold an army of the Lamanites were in the borders of the land. Now it came to pass that the brethren of Alma fled from the fields, and gathered themselves together into the city of Helam; and they were much frightened because of the appearance of the Lamanites. But Alma went forth and stood among them, and exhorted them that they should not be frightened, but they should remember the Lord their God, and he would deliver them; therefore they hushed their fears, and began to cry unto the Lord, that he would soften the hearts of the Lamanites, that they would spare them, and their wives, and their children. And it came to pass that the Lord did soften the hearts of the Lamanites. And Alma and his brethren went forth and delivered themselves up into their

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hands; and the Lamanites took possession of the land of Helam. Now the armies of the Lamanites which had followed after the people of king Limhi, had been lost in the wilderness for many days. And behold, they had found those priests of king Noah, in a place called Amulon; and they began to possess the land of Amulon, and had began to till the ground. Now the name of the leader of those priests was Amulon. And it came to pass that Amulon did plead with the Lamanites; and he also sent forth their wives, which was the daughters of the Lamanites, to plead with their brethren, that they should not destroy their husbands. And it came to pass that the Lamanites had compassion on Amulon and his brethren, and did not destroy them, because of their wives. And Amulon and his brethren did join the Lamanites, and they were travelling in the wilderness in search of the land of Nephi, when they discovered the land of Helam, which was possessed by Alma and his brethren.

And it came to pass that the Lamanites promised unto Alma and his brethren, that if they shewed them the way which led to the land of Nephi, that they would grant unto them their lives and their liberty. But it came to pass that after Alma had shewn them the way that led to the land of Nephi, the Lamanites would not keep their promise; but they set guards round about the land of Helam, over Alma and his brethren. And the remainder of them went to the land of Nephi, and a part of them returned to the land of Helam, and also brought with them the wives and the children of the guards which had been left in the land. And the king of the Lamanites had granted unto Amulon that he should be a king and a ruler over his people, which was in the land of Helam; nevertheless he should have no power to do any thing contrary to the will of the king of the Lamanites.

And it came to pass that Amulon did gain favor in the eyes of the king of the Lamanites; therefore the king of the Lamanites granted unto him and his brethren, that they should be appointed teachers over his people; yea, even over the people which was in the land of Shemlon, and in the land of Shilom, and in the land of Amulon: for the Lamanites had taken possession of all these lands; therefore the king of the Lamanites had appointed kings over all these lands. And now the name of the king of the Lamanites was Laman, being called after the name of his father; and therefore he was called king Laman. And he was king over a numerous people; and he appointed teachers of the brethren of Amulon, in every land which was possessed by his people: and thus the language of Nephi began to be taught among all the people of the Lamanites. And they were a people friendly one with another; nevertheless they knew not God; neither did the brethren of Amulon teach them any thing concerning the Lord their God, neither the law of Moses; nor did they teach them the words of Abinadi; but they taught them that they should keep their record, and that they might write one to another. And thus the Lamanites began to increase in riches, and began to trade one with another, and wax great, and began to be a cunning and a wise people, as to the wisdom of the world; yea, a very cunning people; delighting in all manner of wickedness and plunder, except it were among their own brethren.

And now it came to pass that Amulon began to exercise authority over Alma and his brethren, and began to persecute him and cause that his children should persecute their children: for Amulon knew Alma, that he had been one of the king's priests, and that it was he that believed the words of Abinadi, and was driven out before the king; and therefore he was wroth with him, for he was subject to king Laman; yet he exercised authority over them, and put tasks upon them, and put task-masters over them. And it came to pass that so great was their afflictions, that they began to cry mightily to God. And it came to pass that Amulon commanded them that they should stop their cries; and he put guards over them to watch them, that whosoever should be found calling upon God, should be put to death. And it came to pass that Alma and his people did not raise their voices to the Lord their God, but did pour out their hearts to him; and he did know the thoughts of their hearts.

And it came to pass that the voice of the Lord came to them in their afflictions, saying, Lift up your heads and be of good comfort, for I know of the covenant which ye have made unto me; and I will covenant with my people, and deliver them out of bondage. And I will also ease the burdens which is put upon your shoulders, that even you cannot feel them upon your backs, even while you are in bondage; and this will I do, that ye may stand as witnesses for me hereafter, and that ye may know of a surety that I, the Lord God, do visit my people in their afflictions. And now it came to pass that the burdens which was laid upon Alma and his brethren, were made light; yea, the Lord did strengthen them that they could bear up their burdens with ease, and they did submit cheerfully and with patience to all the will of the Lord.

And it came to pass that so great was their faith and their patience, that the voice of the Lord came unto them saying, Be of good comfort, for on the morrow I will deliver thee out of bondage. And he saith unto Alma, Thou shalt go before this people, And I will go with thee, and deliver this people out of bondage. And he saith unto Alma: Thou shalt go before this people, and I will go with thee, and deliver this people out of bondage.

Now it came to pass that Alma and his people, in the night time, gathered their flocks together, and also their grain; yea, even all the night time were they gathering their flocks together. And in the morning the Lord caused a deep sleep to come upon the Lamanites, yea, and all their task-masters were in a profound sleep. And it came to pass that Alma and his people departed into the wilderness; and when they had travelled all day, they pitched their tents in a valley, and they called the valley Alma, because he led their way in the wilderness; yea, and in the valley of Alma they poured out their thanks to God because he had been merciful unto them, and eased their burdens, and had delivered them out of bondage; for they were in bondage, and none could deliver them, except it were the Lord their God. And they gave thanks to God, yea, all their men, and all their women, and all their children, that could speak, lifted their voices in the praises of their God.

And now the Lord said unto Alma, Haste thee and get thou and this people out of this land, for the Lamanites have awoke and doth pursue thee; therefore get thee out of this land, and I will stop the Lamanites in this valley, that they come no further in pursuit of this people. And it came to pass that they departed out of the valley, and took their journey into the wilderness. And it came to pass that after they had been in the wilderness twelve days, they arrived to the land of Zarahemla; and king Mosiah did also receive them with joy. And now king Mosiah caused that all the people be gathered together. Now there were not so many of the children of Nephi, or so many of those descendants of Nephi, as they were of the people of Zarahemla, which was a descendant of Mulok, and those which came with him into the wilderness; and there were not so many of the people of Nephi and of the people of Zarahemla as there was of the Lamanites; yea, they were not half so numerous. And now all the people of Nephi was assembled together, and also all the people of Zarahemla, and they were gathered together in two bodies.

And it came to pass that Mosiah did read, and caused to be read, the records of Zeniff to his people; yea, he read the records of the people of Zeniff, from the time they left the land of Zarahemla until the time they returned again. And he also read the account of Alma and his brethren, and all their afflictions, from the time they left the land of Zarahemla, until the time they returned again. And now when Mosiah had made an end of reading the records, his people which had tarried in the land was struck with wonder and amazement, for they knew not what to think; for when they beheld those that had been delivered out of bondage, they were filled with exceeding great joy. And again, when they thought of their brethren which had been slain by the Lamanites, they were filled with sorrow, and even shed many tears of sorrow. And again, when they thought of the immediate goodness of God, and his power in delivering Alma and his brethren out of the hands of the Lamanites, and of bondage, they did raise their voices, and gave thanks to God. And again when they thought upon the Lamanites, which was their brethren, of their sinful and polluted state, they were filled with pain and anguish, for the welfare of their souls.

And it came to pass that when those which were the children of Amulon and his brethren, which had taken to wife the daughters of the Lamanites, they were displeased with the conduct of their fathers, and they would no longer be called by the names of their fathers; therefore they took upon themselves the name of Nephi, that they might be called the children of Nephi, and be numbered among those which were called Nephites. And now all the people of Zarahemla were numbered with the Nephites, and this because the kingdom had been conferred upon none but those which were the descendants of Nephi.

And now it came to pass that when Mosiah had made an end of speaking and reading to the people, he desired that Alma should also speak to the people. And it came to pass that Alma did speak unto them, when they were assembled together in large bodies, and he went from one body to another, preaching unto the people repentance and faith on the Lord. And he did exhort the people of Limhi and his brethren, all these that had been delivered out of bondage, that they should remember that it was the Lord that did deliver them. And it came to pass that after Alma had taught the people many things, and had made an end of speaking to them, the king Limhi was desirous that he might be baptized; and all his people were desirous that they might be baptized also. Therefore Alma did go forth into the water, and did baptize them; yea, he did baptize them after the manner he did his brethren in the waters of Mormon; yea, and as many as he did baptize did belong to the Church of God; and this because of their belief on the words of Alma.

And it came to pass that king Mosiah granted unto Alma, that he might establish Churches throughout all the land of Zarahemla; and gave him power to ordain priests and teachers over every Church. Now this was done because there was so many people that they could not all be governed by one teacher; neither could they all hear the word of God in one assembly; therefore they did assemble themselves together in different bodies, being called Churches; every Church having their priests and their teachers, and every priest preaching the word according as it was delivered to him by the mouth of Alma: and thus, notwithstanding there being many Churches, they were all one Church; yea, even the Church of God: for there was nothing preached in all the Churches except it were repentance and faith in God. And now there was seven Churches in the land of Zarahemla. And it came to pass that whosoever was desirous to take upon them the name of Christ, or of God, they did join the churches of God; and they were called the people of God. And the Lord did pour out his spirit unto them, and they were blest, and prospered in the land.

Now it came to pass that there was many of the rising generation that could not understand the words of king Benjamin, being little children at the time he spake unto his people; and they did not believe the tradition of their fathers. They did not believe what had been said concerning the resurrection of the dead; neither did they believe concerning the coming of Christ. And now because of their belief, they could not understand the word of God; and their hearts were hardened. And they would not be baptized; neither would they join the church. And they were a separate people as to their faith, and remained so ever after, even in their carnal and sinful state: for they would not call upon the Lord their God. -- And now in the reign of Mosiah, they were not half so numerous as the people of God but because of the dissentions among the brethren, they became more numerous. For it came to pass that they did deceive many with their flattering words, which were in the church, and did cause them to commit many sins; therefore it became expedient that those who committed sin that was in the church, should be admonished by the church.

And it came to pass that they were brought before the priests, and delivered up unto the priests by the teachers; and the priests brought them before Alma, which was the high priest. Now king Mosiah had given Alma the authority over the church. And it came to pass that Alma did not know concerning them, for there were many witnesses against them; yea, the people stood and testified of their iniquity in abundance. Now there had not any such thing happened before, in the church; therefore Alma was troubled in his spirit, and he caused that they should be brought before the king. And he saith unto the king, Behold, here are many which we have brought before thee, which are accused of their brethren; yea, and they have been taken in divers iniquities. And they do not repent of their iniquities; therefore we have brought them before thee, that thou may judge them according to their crimes. But king Mosiah saith unto Alma, Behold, I judge them not; therefore I deliver them into thy hands to be judged. And now the spirit of Alma was again troubled; and he went and inquired of the Lord what he should do concerning this matter, for he feared that he should do wrong in the sight of God.

And it came to pass that after he had poured out his whole soul to God, the voice of the Lord came to him, saying, Blessed art thou, Alma; and blessed are they which were baptized in the waters of Mormon. Thou art blessed because of thy exceeding faith in the words alone of my servant Abinadi. And blessed are they, because of their exceeding faith in the words alone which thou hast spoken unto them. And blessed are thou because thou hast established a church among this people; and they shall be established, and they shall be my people. Yea, blessed is this people, which is willing to bear my name: for in my name shall they be called; and they are mine. And because thou hast inquired of me concerning the transgressor, thou art blessed. Thou art my servant; And I covenant with thee, that thou shall have eternal life; and thou shalt serve me, and go forth in my name, and shall gather together my sheep. And he that will hear my voice, shall be my sheep; and him shall ye receive into the church; and him will I also receive. For behold, this is my church; whosoever that is baptized, shall be baptized unto repentance. And whosoever ye receive, shall believe in my name; and him will I freely forgive: for it is I that taketh upon me the sins of the world; for it is I that hath created them; and it is I that granteth unto him that believeth in the end, a place at my right hand. For behold, in my name are they called; and if they know me, they shall come forth, and shall have a place eternally at my right hand. And it shall come to pass that when the second trump shall sound, then shall they that never knew me come forth, and shall stand before me; and then shall they know that I am the Lord their God, that I am their Redeemer; but they would not be redeemed. And then will I confess unto them, that I never knew them; and they shall depart into everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his angels. Therefore I say unto you, That he that will not hear my voice, the same shall ye not receive into my church, for my voice, the same shall ye not receive into my church, for him I will not receive at the last day; therefore I say unto you, Go; and whosoever transgresseth against me, him shall ye judge according to the sins which he hath committed; and if he confess his sins before thee and me, and repenteth in the sincerity of his heart, him shall ye forgive, and I will forgive him also; yea, and as often

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as my people repent, will I forgive them their trespasses against me. And ye shall also forgive one another your trespasses: for verily I say unto you, He that forgiveth not his neighbour's trespasses, when he saith that he repenteth, the same hath brought himself under condemnation. Now I say unto you, Go; and whosoever will not repent of his sins, the same shall not be numbered among my people; and this shall be observed from this time forward.

And it came to pass when Alma had heard these words, he wrote them down, that he might have them, and that he might judge the people of that church, according to the commandments of God.

And it came to pass that Alma went and judged those that had been taken in iniquity, according to the word of the Lord. And whosoever repenteth of their sins and did confess them, them he did number among the people of the church; and them that would not confess their sins and repent of their iniquity, the same were not numbered among the people of the church, and their names were blotted out. And it came to pass that Alma did regulate all the affairs of the church; and they began to have peace, and to prosper exceedingly in the affairs of the church; walking circumspectly before God; receiving many and baptizing many. And now all these things did Alma and his fellow-laborers do, which were over the church; walking in all diligence; teaching the word of God in all things; suffering all manner of afflictions; being persecuted by all those who did not belong to the church of God. And they did admonish their brethren; and they were also admonished, everyone, by the word of God, according to his sins, or to the sins which he had committed; being commanded of God to pray without ceasing, and to give thanks in all things. And now it came to pass that the persecutions which was inflicted on the church by the unbelievers, became so great, that the church began to murmur, and complain to their leaders concerning the matter; and they did complain to Alma. And Alma laid the case before their king, Mosiah. And Mosiah consulted with his priests.

And it came to pass that king Mosiah sent a proclamation throughout the land round about, that there should not any unbeliever persecute any of those which belonged to the church of God; and there was a strict command throughout all the churches, that there should be no persecutions among them; that there should be an equality among all men; that they should let no pride nor haughtiness disturb their peace; that every man should esteem his neighbour as himself, laboring with their own hands for their support; yea, and all their priests and teachers should labor with their own hands for their support, in all cases save it were in sickness, or in much want: and doing these things, they did abound in the grace of God. And there began to be much peace again in the land; and the people began to be very numerous, and began to scatter abroad upon the face of the earth; yea, on the north and on the south, on the east and on the west, building large cities and villages in all quarters of the land. And the Lord did visit them and prosper them, and they became a large and a wealthy people.

Now the sons of Mosiah was numbered among the unbelievers; and also one of the sons of Alma was numbered among them, he being called Alma, after his father; nevertheless he became a very wicked and idolatrous man. And he was a man of many words, and did speak much flattery to the people; therefore he led many of the people to do after the manner of his iniquities. And he became a great hinderment to the prosperity of the church of God; stealing away the hearts of the people; causing much dissention among the people; giving a chance for the enemy of God to exercise his power over them.

And now it came to pass that while he was going out about to destroy the church of God: for he did go about secretly with the sons of Mosiah, seeking to destroy the church, and to lead astray the people of the Lord, contrary to the commandments of God, or even the king; and as I said unto you, as they were going about rebelling against God, behold, the angel of the Lord appeared unto them; and he descended as it were in a cloud; and he spake as it were with a voice of thunder, which caused the earth to shake upon which they stood; and so great was their astonishment, that they fell to earth, and understood not the words which he spake unto them. Nevertheless he cried again, saying, Alma, arise, and stand forth, for why persecuteth thou the church of God? For the Lord hath said, This is my church, and I will establish it; and nothing shall overthrow it, save it is the transgression of my people. And again: The angel saith, Behold, the Lord hath heard the prayers of his people and also the prayers of his servant Alma, which is thy father: for he hath prayed with much faith concerning thee, that thou mightest be brought to the knowledge of the truth; therefore for this purpose have I come to convince thee of the power and authority of God, that the prayers of his servants might be answered according to their faith. And now behold, can ye dispute the power of God? For behold, doth not my voice shake the earth? And can ye not also behold me before you? And I am sent from God. -- Now I say unto thee, Go, and remember the captivity of thy fathers in the land of Helam, and in the land of Nephi; and remember how great things he hath done for them: for they were in bondage, and he hath delivered them. And now I say unto thee, Alma, Go thy way, and seek to destroy the church no more, that their prayers may be answered, and this even if thou wilt of thyself be cast off.

And now it came to pass that these were the last words which the angel spake unto Alma, and he departed. And now Alma, and those that were with him, fell again to the earth, for great was their astonishment: for with their own eyes they had beheld an angel of the Lord; and his voice was as thunder, which shook the earth; and they knew that there was nothing save the power of God, that should shake the earth and cause it to tremble, as though it would part asunder. And now the astonishment of Alma was so great, that he became dumb, that he could not open his mouth; yea, and he became weak, even that he could not move his hands; therefore he was taken by those that were with him, and carried helpless, even until he was laid before his father. And they rehearsed unto his father all that had happened unto them; and his father rejoiced, for he knew that it was the power of God. And he caused that a multitude should be gathered together, that they might witness what the Lord had done for his son, and also for those that were with him. And he caused that the priests should assemble themselves together; and they began to fast, and to pray to the Lord their God, that he would open the mouth of Alma, that he might speak; and also that his limbs might receive their strength, that the eyes of the people might be opened to see and know of the goodness and glory of God.

And it came to pass after that they fasted and prayed for the space of two days and two nights, the limbs of Alma received their strength, and he stood up and began to speak unto them, bidding them to be of good comfort: for, said he, I have repented of my sins, and have been redeemed of the

Lord; behold, I am born of the spirit. And the Lord said unto me, Marvel not that all mankind, yea, men, and women, all nations, kindreds, tongues and people, must be born again; yea, born of God, changed from their carnal and fallen state, to a state of righteousness, being redeemed of God, becoming his sons and daughters; and thus they become new creatures; and unless they do this, they can in no wise inherit the kingdom of God. I say unto you, unless this be the case, they must be cast off: and this I know, because I was like to be cast off. Nevertheless, after wandering through much tribulation, repenting nigh unto death, the Lord in mercy hath seen fit to snatch me out of an everlasting burning, and I am born of God; my soul hath been redeemed from the gall of bitterness and bonds of iniquity. I was in the darkest abyss; but now I behold the marvellous light of God. My soul was wrecked with eternal torment; but I am snatched, and my soul is pained no more. I rejected my Redeemer, and denied that which had been spoken of by our fathers; but now that they may foresee that he will come, and that he remembereth every creature of his creating, and he will make himself manifest unto all; yea, every knee shall bow, and every tongue confess before him. Yea, even at the last day, when all men shall stand to be judged of him, then shall they confess that he is God; then shall they confess, who live without God in the world, that the judgement of an everlasting punishment is just upon them; and they shall quake, and tremble, and shrink beneath the glance of his all-searching eye.

And now it came to pass that Alma began from this time forward, to teach the people, and those which were with Alma at the time the angel appeared unto them; travelling round about through all the land, publishing to all the people the things which they had heard and seen, and preaching the word of God in much tribulation, being greatly persecuted by those which were unbelievers, being smitten by many of them; but notwithstanding all this, they did impart much consolation to the church, confirming their faith, and exhorting them with long suffering and much travail, to keep the commandments of God. And four of them were sons of Mosiah; and their names were Ammon, and Aaron, and Omner, and Himni: these were the names of the sons of Mosiah. And after they had travelled throughout all the land of Zarahemla, and among all the people which was under the reign of king Mosiah, zealously striving to repair all the injuries which they had done to the church; confessing all their sins, and publishing all the things which they had seen, and explaining the prophecies and the scriptures to all who desired to hear them: and thus they were instruments in the hands of God, in bringing many to the knowledge of the truth, yea, to the knowledge of their redeemer. And how blessed they are! For they did publish peace; they did publish good tidings of good; and they did declare unto the people that the Lord reigneth.

MORMON MOSIAH CHAPTER 12

Now it came to pass that after the sons of Mosiah had done all these things, they took a small number with them, and returned to their father, the king, and desired of him that he would grant unto them, that they might, with these whom they had selected, go up to the land of Nephi, that they might preach the things which they had heard, and that they might impart the word of God to their brethren, the Lamanites, that perhaps they might bring them to the knowledge of the Lord their God, and convince them of the iniquity of their fathers; and that perhaps they might cure them of their hatred towards the Nephites, that they might also be brought to rejoice in the Lord their God, that they might become friendly to one another, and that there should be no more contentions in all the land which the Lord their God hath given them. Now they were desirous that salvation should be declared to every creature, for they could not bear that any human soul should perish; yea, even the very thoughts that any soul should endure endless torment, did cause them to quake and tremble. And thus did the spirit of the Lord work upon them, for they were the very vilest of sinners. And the Lord saw fit in his infinite mercy to spare them; nevertheless they suffered much anguish of soul, because of their iniquities; and suffering much, fearing that they should be cast off forever.

And it came to pass that they did plead with their father many days, that they might go up to the land of Nephi. And it came to pass that king Mosiah went and inquired of the Lord, if he should let his sons go up among the Lamanites to preach the word. And the Lord said unto Mosiah, Let them go up, for many shall believe on their words, and they shall have eternal life; and I will deliver thy sons out of the hands of the Lamanites.

And it came to pass that Mosiah granted that they might go, and do according to their request; and they took their journey into the wilderness, to go up to preach the word among the Lamanites: and I shall give an account of their proceedings hereafter. Now king Mosiah had no one to confer the kingdom upon, for there was not any of his sons which would accept of the kingdom; therefore he took the records which were engraven upon the plates of brass, and also the plates of Nephi, and all the things which he had kept and preserved, according to the commandments of God, and after having translated and caused to be written the records which were on the plates of gold, which had been found by the people of Limhi, which was delivered to him by the hand of Limhi: and this he done, because of the great anxiety of his people, for they were desirous beyond measure, to know concerning those people which had been destroyed. And now he translated them by the means of those two stones which was fastened into the rims of a bow. Now these things was prepared from the beginning, and was handed down from generation to generation, for the purpose of interpreting languages; and they have been kept and preserved by the hand of the Lord, that he should discover to every creature which should possess the land, the iniquities and abominations of his people: and whosoever has these things, is called seer, after the manner of old times.

Now after Mosiah had finished translating these records, behold, it gave an account of the people which was destroyed, from the time they were destroyed, back to the building of the great tower, at the time the Lord confounded the language of the people; and they were scattered abroad upon the face of all the earth, yea, and even from that time until the creation of Adam. Now this account did cause the people of Mosiah to mourn exceedingly; yea, they were filled with sorrow; nevertheless it gave them much knowledge in the which they did rejoice. And this account shall be written hereafter: for behold, it is expedient that all people should know these things which are written in this account.

MORMON MOSIAH CHAPTER 13

And now I said unto you, that after king Mosiah had done these things, he took the plates of brass, and all the things which he had kept, and conferred them upon Alma, which was the son of Alma; yea, all the records, and also the interpreters, and conferred them upon him, and commanding him that he should keep and preserve them, and also keep a record of the people, handing them down from one generation to another, even as they had been handed down from the time that Lehi left Jerusalem. Now when Mosiah had done this, he sent out throughout all the land, among all the people, desiring to know their will concerning who should be their king. And it came to pass that the voice of the people came, saying: We are desirous that Aaron, thy son, should be our king, and our ruler. Now Aaron had gone up to the land of Nephi, therefore the king could not confer the kingdom upon him; neither would Aaron take upon him the kingdom; neither was any of the sons of Mosiah willing to take upon them the kingdom; therefore king Mosiah sent again among the people, yea, even a written word sent he among the people. And these were the words that were written, saying: Behold, O ye my people, or my brethren for I esteem you as such; for I desire that ye should consider the cause which ye are called to consider; for ye are desirous to have a king. Now I declare unto you, that he to whom the kingdom doth rightly belong, hath declined, and will not take upon him the kingdom. And now if there should be another appointed to his stead, behold I fear there would rise contentions among you; and who knoweth but what my son, to whom the kingdom doth belong, should turn to be angry, and draw away a part of this people after him,

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which would cause wars and contentions among you; which would be the cause of shedding much blood, and perverting the way of the Lord; yea, and destroy the souls of much people. Now I say unto you, let us be wise and consider these things, for we have no right to destroy my son, neither should we have any right to destroy another, if he should be appointed in his stead. And if my son should turn again to his pride and vain things, he would recall the things which he had said, and claim his right to the kingdom, which would cause him and also this people to commit much sin. And now let us be wise, and look forward to these things, and do that which will make for the peace of this people. Therefore I will be your king the remainder of my days; nevertheless, let us appoint judges to judge this people according to our law, and we will newly arrange the affairs of this people; for we will appoint wise men to be judges, that will judge this people according to the commandments of God. Now it is better that a man be judged of God than of man, for the judgements of God are always just; therefore, if it were possible that ye could have just men to be your kings, which would establish the laws of God, and judge this people according to his commandments; yea, if ye could have men for kings, which would do even as my father Benjamin did for this people; I say unto you, if this could always be the case, then it would be expedient that ye should always have kings to rule over you. And even I, myself have labored with all the power and faculties which I have possessed, to teach you the commandments of God, and to establish peace throughout the land, that there should be no wars nor contentions, no stealing, nor plundering, nor murdering, nor no manner of iniquity; and whosoever hath committed iniquity, him have I punished according to the crime which he hath committed, according to the law which hath been given to us by our fathers.

Now I say unto you, that because all men are not just, it is not expedient that ye should have a king or kings to rule over you. For behold, how much iniquity doth one wicked king cause to be committed! yea, and what great destruction! -- Yea, remember king Noah, his wickedness and abominations of his people. Behold what great destruction did come upon them; and also because of their iniquities, they were brought into bondage. And were it not for the interposition of their all-wise Creator, and this because of their sincere repentance, they must unavoidably remained in bondage until now. But behold, he did deliver them because they did humble themselves before him; and because they cried mightily unto him, he did deliver them out of bondage: and thus doth the Lord work with his power in all cases among the children of men, extending the arm of mercy towards them that put their trust in him. And behold, now I say unto you, Ye cannot dethrone an iniquitous king, save it be through much contention and the shedding of much blood. For behold, he hath his friends in iniquity, and he keepeth his guards about him; and he teareth up the laws of these which have reigned in righteousness before him; and he trampleth under his feet the commandments of God; and he enacted laws, and sendeth them forth among his people; yea, laws after the manner of his own wickedness; and whosoever doth not obey his laws, he causeth to be destroyed; and whosoever doth rebel against him, he will send his armies against them in war, and if he can, he will destroy them: and thus an unrighteous king doth pervert the ways of all righteousness. And now behold I say unto you, It is expedient that such abominations should come upon you; therefore choose you by the voice of this people, judges, that ye may be judged according to the laws which hath been given you by our fathers, which are correct, and which was given them by the hand of the Lord. Now it is not common that the voice of the people desireth any thing contrary to that which is right; but it is common for the lesser part of the people to desire that which is not right; therefore this shall ye observe, and make it your law to do business by the voice of the people. And if the time cometh that the voice of the people doth choose iniquity, then is the time that the judgements of God will come upon you; yea, then is the time he will visit you with great destruction, even as he hath hitherto visited this land. And now if ye have judges, and they do not judge you according to the law which has been given, ye can cause that they may be judged of a higher judge; if your higher judges doth not judge righteous judgements, ye shall cause that a small number of your lower judges should be gathered together, and they shall judge your higher judges, according to the voice of the people. And I command you to do these things in the fear of the Lord; and I command you to do these things, and that ye have no king: that if these people commit sins and iniquities, they shall be answered upon their own heads. For behold I say unto you, The sins of many people have been caused by iniquities of their kings; therefore iniquities are answered upon the heads of their kings. And now I desire that this inequality should be no more in this land, especially among this my people; but I desire that this land be a land of liberty, and every man may enjoy his rights and privileges alike, so long as the Lord seeth fit, that we may live and inherit the land; yea, even as long as any of our posterity remaineth upon the face of the land. And many more things did king Mosiah write unto them, unfolding unto them all the trials and troubles of a righteous king; yea, all the travails of soul for their people, and also all the murmurings of the people to their king; and he explained it all unto them. And he told them that these things had not ought to be; but that the burdens should come upon all the people, that every man might bear his part. And he also unfolded unto them all the disadvantages they labored under, by having an unrighteous king to rule over them; yea, all his iniquities and abominations, and all the wars, and contentions, and blood-shed, and the stealing, and the plundering, and the committing of whoredoms, and all manner of iniquities, which cannot be enumerated; telling them that these things ought not to be; that they was expressly repugnant to the commandments of God.

And now it came to pass, after king Mosiah had sent these things forth among the people, they were convinced of the truth of his words; therefore they relinquished their desire for a king, and became exceedingly anxious that every man should have an equal chance throughout all the land; yea, and every man expressed a willingness to answer for his own sins. Therefore it came to pass that they assembled themselves together in bodies throughout the land, to cast in their voices concerning who should be their judges, to judge them according to the law which had been given them; and they were exceedingly rejoiced, because of the liberty which had been granted unto them. And they did wax strong in love towards Mosiah; yea, they did esteem him more than any other man: for they did not look upon him as a tyrant, who was seeking for gain, yea, for that lucre which doth corrupt the soul, for he had not exacted riches of them, neither did he delight in the shedding of blood; but he had established peace in the land, and he had granted unto his people that they should be delivered from all manner of bondage; therefore they did esteem him, yea, exceedingly, beyond measure. And it came to pass that they did appoint judges to rule over them, or to judge them according to the law; and this they done throughout all the land.

And it came to pass that Alma was appointed to be the chief judge; he being also the high priest; his father having conferred the office upon him, and had given him the charge concerning all the affairs of the church. And now it came to pass that Alma did walk in the ways of the Lord, and he did keep his commandments, and he did judge righteous judgements; and there was continual peace through the land; and thus commenced the reign of the judges throughout all the land of Zarahemla, among all the people which was called the Nephites: and Alma was the first and chief judge. And now it came to pass that his father died, being eighty and two years old, having lived to fulfil the commandments of God.

And it came to pass that Mosiah died also, in the thirty and third year of his reign, being sixty and three years old; making in the whole, five hundred and nine years from the time Lehi left Jerusalem; and thus ended the reign of the kings over the people of Nephi; and thus ended the days of Alma, who was the founder of their church.

MORMON ALMA CHAPTER 1

The account of Alma, who was the son of Alma the First, and Chief Judge over the people of Nephi, and also the High Priest over the Church. An account of the reign of the Judges, and the wars and contentions among the people. And also an account of a war between the Nephites and the Lamanites, according to the record of Alma the First, and Chief Judge.

Now it came to pass that in the first year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi, from this time forward, king Mosiah having gone the way of all the earth, having warred a good warfare, walking uprightly before God, leaving none to reign in his stead; nevertheless he established laws, and they were acknowledged by the people; therefore they were obliged to abide by the laws which he had made.

And it came to pass that in the first year of the reign of Alma in the judgement seat, there was a man brought before him to be judged; a man which was large, and was noted for his much strength; and he had gone about among the people, preaching to them that which he termed to be the word of God, bearing down against the church; declaring unto the people that every priest and teacher had ought to become popular; and they ought not to labor with their own hands, but they had ought to be supported by the people; and he also testified unto the people that all mankind should be saved at the last day, and that they need not fear or tremble, but they might lift up their heads and rejoice: for the Lord had created all men, and had also redeemed all men; and in the end, all men should have eternal life. And it came to pass that he did teach these things so much, that many did believe on his words, even so many that they began to support him and give him money; and he began to be lifted up in the pride of his heart, and to wear very costly apparel; yea, and even began to establish a church, after the manner of his preaching.

And it came to pass as he was going to preach to those who believed on his word, he met a man which belonged to the church of God, yea, even one of their teachers; and he began to contend with him sharply, that he might lead away the people of the church; but the man withstood him, admonishing him with the words of God. Now the name of the man was Gideon; and it was him that was an instrument in the hands of God, in delivering the people of Limhi out of bondage. -- Now because Gideon withstood him with the words of God, he was wroth with Gideon, and drew his sword and began to smite him. Now Gideon being stricken with many years, therefore he was able to withstand his blows, therefore he was slain by the sword; and the man who slew him was taken by the people of the church, and was brought before Alma, to be judged according to the crime which he had committed. And it came to pass that he stood before Alma, and plead for himself with much boldness. But Alma said unto him, Behold, this is the first time that priestcraft has been introduced among this people. And behold, thou art not only guilty of priestcraft, but hast endeavored to enforce among this people, it would prove their entire destruction. And thou hast shed the blood of a righteous man, yea, a man which has done much good among this people; and were we to spare thee, his blood would come upon us for vengeance; therefore thou art condemned to die, according to the law which has been given us by Mosiah, our last king; and they have been acknowledged by this people; therefore this people must abide by the law.

And it came to pass that they took him; and his name was Nehor; and they carried him upon the top of the hill Manti, and there he was caused, or rather did acknowledge, between the heavens and the earth, that what we had taught to the people was contrary to the word of God; and there he suffered an ignominious death. Nevertheless this did not put an end to the spreading of priestcraft through the land: for there was many which loved the vain things of the world, and they went forth preaching false doctrines; and this they did for the sake of riches and honor. Nevertheless they durst not lie, if it were known, for fear of the law, for liars were punished; therefore they pretended to preach according to their belief: and now the law could have no power on any man for their belief. And they durst not steal, for fear of the law; for such were punished; neither durst they rob, nor murder: for he that murdered was punished unto death.

But it came to pass that whosoever did not belong to the Church of God, began to persecute those that did belong to the Church of God, and had taken upon them the name of Christ; yea, they did persecute them, and afflict them with all manner of words, and this because of their humility; because they were not proud in their own eyes, and because they did impart the word of God, one with another, without money and without price. Now there was a strict law among the people of the Church, that there should not any man, belonging to the Church, arise and persecute those that did not belong to the Church, and that there should be no persecution among themselves. Nevertheless, there were many among them who began to be proud, and began to contend warmly with their adversaries, even unto blows; yea, they would smite one another with their fists. Now this was in the second year of the reign of Alma, and it was a cause of much affliction to the Church; yea, it was the cause of much trial with the Church; for the hearts of many were hardened, and their names were blotted out, that they were remembered no more among the people of God. And also many withdrew themselves from among them. Now this was a great trial to those that did stand fast in faith; nevertheless, they were steadfast and immoveable in keeping the commandments of God, and they bore with patience the persecution which was heaped upon them. And now when the priests left their labor, to impart the word of God unto the people, the people also left their labors to hear the word of God. And when the priest had imparted unto them the word of God, they all returned again diligently unto their labors; and the priest, not esteeming himself above his hearers; for the preacher was no better than the hearer, neither was the teacher any better than the learner: and thus they were all equal and they did all labor, every man according to his strength; and they did impart of their substance every man according to that which he had, to the poor, and the needy, and the sick, and the afflicted; and they did not wear costly apparel, yet they were neat and comely: and thus they did establish the affairs of the Church: and thus they began to have continual peace again, notwithstanding all their persecutions. And now because of the steadiness of the Church, they began to be exceeding rich; having abundance of all things whatsoever they stood in need; an abundance of flocks, and herds, and fatlings of every kind, and also abundance of grain, and of gold, and of silver, and of precious things; and abundance of silk and fine twined linen, and all manner of good homely cloth. And thus in their prosperous circumstances they did not send away any which was naked, or that was hungry, or that was athirst, or that was sick, or that had not been nourished; and they did not set their hearts upon riches; therefore they were liberal to all, both old and young, both bond and free, both male and female, whether out of the Church or in the Church, having no respects to persons as to those who stood in need; and thus they did prosper and become far more wealthy, than those who did not belong to their Church. For those who did not belong to their Church, did indulge themselves in sorceries,

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and in idolatry or idleness, and in bablings, and in envyings and strife; wearing costly apparel; being lifted up in the pride of their own eyes; lying, thieving, robbing, commiting whoredoms, and murdering, and all manner of wickedness; nevertheless, the law was put in force upon all those who did transgress it, inasmuch as it were possible.

And it came to pass that by thus exercising the law upon them, every man suffering according to that which he had done, they became more still, and durst not commit any wickedness, if it were known; therefore, there was much peace among the people of Nephi, until the fifth year of the reign of the judges. And it came to pass in the commandment of the fifth year of their reign, there began to be a contention among the people, for a certain man, being called Amlici; he being a very cunning man, yea, a wise man, as to the wisdom of the world; he being after the order of the man that slew Gideon by the sword, who was executed according to the law. Now this Amlici had, by his cunning, drawn away much of the people after him; even so much that they began to be very powerful; and they began to endeavor to establish Amlici to be a king over the people. Now this was alarming to the people of the Church, and also to all those that had not been drawn away after the persuasions of Amlici: for they knew that according to their law that such things must be established by the voice of the people; therefore, if it were possible that Amlici should gain the voice of the people, he being a wicked man, would deprive them of their rights and privileges of the Church, &c: for it was his intent to destroy the Church of God.

And it came to pass that the people assembled themselves together throughout all the land, every man according to his mind, whether it were for or against Amlici, in separate bodies, having much dispute and wonderful contentions one with another: and thus they did assemble themselves together, to cast their voices concerning the matter: and they were laid before the judges. And it came to pass that the voice of the people came against Amlici, that he was not made king over the people. Now this did cause much joy in the hearts of those which were against him; but Amlici did stir up those which were in his favor, to anger against those which were not in his favor.

And it came to pass that they gathered themselves together, and did consecrate Amlici to be their king. Now when Amlici was made king over them, he commanded them that they should take up arms against their brethren; and this he done, that he might subject them to him. Now the people of Amlici were distinguished by the name of Amlici, being called Amlicites; and the remainder were called Nephites, or the people of God; therefore the people of the Nephites was aware of the intent of the Amlicites, and therefore they did prepare for to meet them; yea, they did arm themselves with swords, and with cimeters, and with bows, and with arrows, and with stones, and with slings, and with all manner of weapons of war, of every kind; and thus they were prepared to meet the Amlicites at the time of their coming. And there was appointed captains, and higher captains, and chief captains, according to their numbers.

And it came to pass that Amlici did arm his men with all manner of weapons of war, of every kind; and he also appointed rulers and leaders over his people, to lead them to war against their brethren. And it came to pass that the Amlicites came up upon the hill Amnihu, which was east of the river Sidon, which ran by the land of Zarahemla, and there they began to make war with the Nephites. Now Alma, he being the chief judge, and the governor of the people of Nephi therefore he went up with his people, yea, with his captains, and chief captains, yea, at the head of his armies, against the Amlicites to battle; and they began to slay the Amlicites upon the hill east of Sidom. And the Amlicites did contend with the Nephites with great strength, insomuch that many of the Nephites did fall before the Amlicites; nevertheless the Lord did strengthen the hand of the Nephites, that they slew the Amlicites with a great slaughter, that they began to flee before them. And it came to pass that the Nephites did pursue the Amlicites all that day, and did slay them with much slaughter, insomuch that there was slain of the Amlicites twelve thousand five hundred thirty two souls; and there was slain of the Nephites, six thousand five hundred sixty and two souls.

And it came to pass that when Alma could pursue the Amlicites no longer, he caused that his people should pitch their tents in the valley of Gideon, the valley being called after that Gideon, which was slain by the hand of Nehor with the sword; and in this valley the Nephites did pitch their tents for the night. And Alma sent spies to follow the remnant of the Amlicites, that he might know of their plans and their plots, whereby he might guard himself against them, that he might prepare his people from being destroyed. Now those which he had sent out to watch the camp of the Amlicites, were called Zeram, and Amnor, and Manti, and Limher; these were they which went out with their men to watch the camp of the Amlicites.

And it came to pass that on the morrow they returned into the camp of the Nephites, in great haste, being greatly astonished, and struck with much fear, saying, Behold, we followed the camp of the Amlicites, and to our great astonishment, in the land of Minon, above the land of Zarahemla, in the course of the land of Nephi, we saw numerous hosts of the Lamanites; and behold the Amlicites have joined them, and they are upon our brethren in that land; and they are fleeing before them with their flocks, and their wives, and their children, towards our city; and except we make haste, they obtain possession of our city; and our fathers, and our wives, and our children be slain.

And it came to pass that the people of Nephi took their tents, and departed out of the valley of Gideon towards their city, which was the city of Zarahemla. And behold, as they were crossing the river Sidon, the Lamanites and the Amlicites being as numerous almost, as it were, as the sands of the sea, came upon them to destroy them; nevertheless the Nephites being strengthened by the hand of the Lord, having prayed mightily to him that he would deliver them out of the hands of their enemies; therefore the Lord did hear their cries, and did strengthen them, and the Lamanites and the Amlicites did fall before them. And it came to pass that Alma fought with Amlici with the sword, face to face; and they did contend mightily, one with another.

And it came to pass that Alma, he being a man of God, being exercised with much faith, and he cried, saying, O Lord, have mercy and spare my life, that I may be an instrument in thy hands, to save and preserve this people. Now when Alma had said these words, he contended with Amlici; and he was strengthened, insomuch that he slew Amlici with the sword. And he also contended with the king of the Lamanites; but the king of the Lamanites fled back from before Alma, and sent his guards to contend with Alma. But Alma, with his guards, contended with the guards of the king of the Lamanites, until he slew and drove them back; and thus he cleared the ground, or rather the bank, which was on the west side of the river Sidon, throwing bodies of the Lamanites which had been slain, into the waters of Sidon, that thereby his people might have room to cross and contend with the Lamanites and the Amlicites, on the west side of the river Sidon.

And it came to pass that when they had all crossed the river Sidon, that the Lamanites and the Amlicites began to flee before them, notwithstanding they were so numerous that they could not be numbered; and they fled before the Nephites, towards the wilderness which was west and north, away beyond the borders of the land; and the Nephites did pursue them with their might, and did slay them; yea, they were met on every hand, and slain, and driven, until they were scattered on the west, and on the north, until they had reached the wilderness, which was called Hermounts, and it was that part of the wilderness which was infested by wild and ravenous beasts. And it came to pass that many died in the wilderness of their wounds, and were devoured by those beasts, and also the vultures of the air; and their bones have been found, and have been heaped up on the earth.

And it came to pass that the Nephites, which were not slain by the weapons of war, after having buried those which had been slain: now the number of the slain were not numbered because of the greatness of their number; and after they had finished burying their dead, they all returned to their lands, and to their houses, and their wives, and their children. Now many women and children had been slain with the sword, and also many of their flocks and their herds; and also many of their fields of grain were destroyed, for they were trodden down by the hosts of men. And now as many of the Lamanites and the Amlicites which had been slain upon the bank of the river Sidon, were cast into the waters of Sidon; and behold, their bones are in the depths of the sea, and they are many. And the Amlicites were distinguished from the Nephites, for they had marked themselves with red in their foreheads, after the manner of the Lamanites; nevertheless they had not shorn their heads like unto the Lamanites. Now the heads of the Lamanites were shorn; and they were naked, save it were skin, which was girded about their loins, and also their armour, which was girded about them, and their bows, and their arrows, and their stones, and their slings, &c. And the skins of the Lamanites were dark, according to the mark which was set upon their fathers, which was a curse upon them because of their transgression and their rebellion against their brethren, which consisted of Nephi, Jacob, and Joseph, and Sam, which were just and holy men. And their brethren sought to destroy them; therefore they were cursed; and the Lord God set a mark upon them, yea, upon Laman and Lemuel, and also the sons of Ishmael, and the Ismaelitish women: and this was done, that their seed might be distinguished from the seed of their brethren, that thereby the Lord God might preserve his people, that they might not mix and believe in incorrect traditions, which would prove their destruction.

And it came to pass that whosoever did mingle his seed with that of the Lamanites, did bring the same curse upon his seed; therefore whomsoever suffered himself to be led away by the Lamanites, were called under the head, and there was a mark set upon him. And it came to pass that whosoever would not believe in the tradition of the Lamanites, but believed those records which were brought out of the land of Jerusalem, and also the tradition of their fathers, which were correct, which believed in the commandments of God, and kept them, were called the Nephites, or the people of Nephi, from that time forth; and it is they which have kept the records which are true of their people, and also the people of Lamanites. Now we will return again to the Amlicites, for they also had a mark set upon them; yea, they set the mark upon themselves, yea, even a mark of red upon their foreheads. Thus the word of God is fulfilled, for these are the words which he saith to Nephi: Behold, the Lamanites have I cursed; and I will set a mark upon them, that they and their seed may be separated from thee and thy seed, from this time henceforth and forever, except thy repent of their wickedness and turn to me, that I may have mercy upon them. And again: I will set a mark upon him that mingleth his seed with thy brethren, that they may be cursed also. And again: I will set a mark upon them that fighteth against thee and thy seed. And again I say, He that departeth from thee, shall no more be called thy seed, henceforth and forever: and these were the promises of the Lord unto Nephi, and to his seed. Now the Amlicites knew not that they were fulfilling the words of God, when they began to mark themselves in their foreheads; nevertheless they had come out in open rebellion against God; therefore it was expedient that the curse should fall upon them. -- Now I would that ye should see that they brought upon themselves the curse; and even so doth every man that is cursed, bring upon himself his own condemnation.

Now it came to pass that not many days after the battle which was fought in the land of Zarahemla, by the Lamanites and the Amlicites, that there was another army of the Lamanites came in upon the people of Nephi, in the same place where the first army met the Amlicites. And it came to pass that there was an army sent to drive them out of their lands. -- Now Alma himself being afflicted with a wound, did not go up to battle at this time against the Lamanites; but he sent up a numerous army against them; and they went up and slew many of the Lamanites, and drove the remainder of them out of the borders of their land; and then they returned again, and began to establish peace in the land, being troubled no more for a time with their enemies. Now all these things were done, yea, all these wars and contentions was commenced and ended, in the fifth year of the reign of the Judges; and in one year was thousands of souls sent to the eternal world, that they might reap their rewards according to their works, whether they were good or whether they were bad, to reap eternal happiness or eternal misery, according to the spirit which he listed to obey, whether it be a good spirit or a bad one, for every man receiveth wages of him who listeth to obey, and according to the words of the spirit of prophecy; therefore let it be according to the truth. And thus ended the fifth year of the reign of the Judges.

MORMON ALMA CHAPTER 2

Now it came to pass in the sixth year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi, there was no contentions nor wars in the land of Zarahemla; and the people being afflicted, yea greatly afflicted for the loss of their brethren, and also for the loss of their flocks and herds, and also for the loss of their fields of grain, which was trodden under foot and destroyed by the Lasmanites, and so great was their afflictions, that every soul had cause to mourn; and they believed that it was the judgement of God sent upon them, because of their wickedness and their abominations; therefore they were awakened to a remembrance of their duty. And they began to establish the church more fully; yea, and many were baptized in the water of Sidon, and were joined to the church of God; yea, they were baptized by the hand of Alma, who had been consecrated the high priest over the people of the church by the hand of his father Alma.

And it came to pass in the seventh year of the reign of the Judges, there was about three thousand five hundred souls that united themselves to the church of God, and were baptized. And thus ended the seventh year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi; and there was continual peace in all that time.

And it came to pass in the eighth year of the reign of the Judges, that the people of the church began to wax proud, because of their exceeding riches, and their fine silks, and their fine twined linen, and because of many flocks and herds, and their gold, and their silver, and all manner of precious things, which they had obtained by their industry; and in all these things were they lifted up in pride of their eyes, for they began to wear costly apparel. Now this was the cause of much affliction to Alma, yea, and to many of the people which Alma had consecrated to be teachers, and priests, and elders, over the church; yea, many of them were sorely grieved for the wickedness which they saw had begun to be among their people. For they saw and beheld with great sorrow, that the people of the church began to be lifted up in the pride of their eyes, and to set their hearts upon riches and upon vain things of the world; that they began to be scornful, one towards another, and they began to persecute those that did not believe according to their own will and pleasure. And thus in this eighth year of the reign of the Judges, there began to be

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great contentions among the people of the church; yea, there were envyings, and strife, and malice, and persecutions, and pride, even to exceed the pride of those who did not belong to the church of God. And thus ended the eighth year of the reign of Judges; and the wickedness of the church was a great stumbling block to those who did not belong to the church; and thus the church began to fail in its progress. And it came to pass in the commencement of the ninth year, Alma seeking the wickedness of the church, and seeing also that the example of the church began to lead those who were unbelievers, on from one piece of iniquity to another, thus bringing on the destruction of the people; yea, seeing great inequality among the people, some lifting themselves up with their pride, despising others, turning their backs upon the needy, and the naked, and those which were hungry, and those which are athirst, and those which were sick and afflicted. Now this was a great cause for lamentations among the people, while others were abasing themselves, succoring those who stood in need of their succor, such as imparting their substance to the poor and the needy; feeding the hungry; and suffering all manner of afflictions, for Christ's sake, which should come according to the spirit of prophecy, looking forward to that day, thus retaining a remission of their sins; being filled with great joy, because of the resurrection of the dead, according to the will, and power, and deliverance of Jesus Christ from the bands of death.

And now it came to pass that Alma, having seen the afflictions of the humble followers of God, and the persecutions which was heaped upon them by the remainder of his people, and seeing all their inequality, he began to be very sorrowful; nevertheless the spirit of the Lord did not fail him. And he selected a wise man which was among the elders of the church, and gave him power according to the voice of the people, that he might have power to enact laws according to the laws which had been given, and to put them in force, according to the wickedness and the crimes of the people. Now this man's name was Nephihah, and he was appointed Chief Judge; and he sat in the judgement seat, to judge and to govern the people. Now Alma did not grant unto him the office of being High Priests over the church, but he retained the office of High Priest unto himself; but he delivered the judgement seat unto Nephihah: and this he did, that he himself might go forth among his people, or among the people of Nephi, that he might preach the word of God unto them, to stir them up in remembrance of their duty, and that he might pull down, by the word of God, all the pride and craftiness, and all the contentions which was among his people, seeing no way that he might reclaim them, save it were in bearing down in pure testimony against them. And thus in the commencement of the ninth year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi, Alma delivered up the judgement seat to Nephihah, and confined himself wholly to the high priesthood of the holy order of God, to the testimony of the word, according to the spirit of revelation and prophecy.

MORMON ALMA CHAPTER 3

The words which Alma, the High Priest, according to the holy order of God, delivered to the people in their cities and villages throughout the land.

Now it came to pass that Alma began to deliver the word of God unto the people, first in the land of Zarahemla, and from thence throughout all the land. And these are the words which he spake to the people in the Church which was established in the city of Zarahemla, according to his own record, saying: I, Alma, having been consecrated by my father Alma, to be a High Priest over the Church of God, he having power and authority from God to do these things, behold, I say unto you, that he began to establish a Church in the land which was in the borders of Nephi; yea, the land which was called the land of Mormon; yea, and he did baptize his brethren in the waters of Mormon. And behold, I say unto you, they were delivered out of the hands of the people of king Noah, by the mercy and power of God. And behold, after that, they were brought into bondage by the hands of the Lamanites, in the wilderness; yea, I say unto you, they were in captivity, and again the Lord did deliver them out of bondage by the power of his word; and we were brought into this land and here we began to establish the Church of God throughout this land, also. And now behold, I say unto you, my brethren, you that belong to this Church, have you sufficiently retained in remembrance the captivity of your fathers? Yea, and have you sufficiently retained in remembrance of his mercy and long-suffering towards them? And moreover, have ye sufficiently retained in remembrance that he hath delivered their souls from hell? Behold, he changed their hearts; yea, he awaked them out of a deep sleep, and they awoke unto God. Behold, they were in the midst of darkness, their souls were illuminated by the light of the everlasting word; yea, they were encircled about by the bands of death, and the chains of hell, and an everlasting destruction did await them. And now I ask you my brethren, were they destroyed? Behold, I say unto you, nay, they were not. And again I ask, was the bands of death broken, and the chains of hell which encircled them about, were they loosed? I say unto you, yea, they were loosed, and their souls did expand, and they did sing redeeming love. And I say unto you, that they are saved. And now I ask of you on what conditions are they saved? Yea, what grounds had they to hope for salvation? Yea, and also, the chains of hell? Behold, I can tell you: did not my father Alma believe in the words which was delivered by the mouth of Abinadi? And was he not a holy prophet? Did he not speak the word of God, and my father Alma believe them? And according to his faith there was a mighty change wrought in his heart. Behold I say unto you, that this is all true. -- And behold, he preached the word unto your fathers, and a mighty change was also wrought in their hearts; and they humbled themselves, and put their trust in the true and living God. And behold, they were faithful until the end; therefore they were saved. And now behold, I ask of you, my brethren of the Church, have ye spiritually been born of God? Have ye received his image in your countenances? Have ye experienced this mighty change in your hearts? Do ye exercise faith in the redemption of him who created you? Do you look forward with an eye of faith, and view this mortal body raised in immortality, and this corruption raised in incorruption, to stand before God, to be judged according to the deeds which hath been done in the mortal body? I say unto you, can you imagine to yourselves that ye hear the voice of the

Lord, saying unto you, in that day. Come unto me ye blessed, for behold, your works have been the works of righteousness upon the face of the earth? Or do ye imagine to yourselves that ye can lie unto the Lord in that day, and say, Lord, Our works have been righteous works upon the face of the earth, and that he will save you? Or otherwise, can ye imagine yourselves brought before the tribunal of God, with your souls filled with guilt and remorse; having a remembrance of all your guilt; yea, a perfect remembrance of all your wickedness; yea, a remembrance that ye have set at defiance the commandments of God? I say unto you, can ye look up to God at that day with a pure heart and clean hands? I say unto you, can you look up, having the image of God engraven upon your countenances? I say unto you, can ye think of being saved when you have yielded yourselves to become subjects to the Devil? I say unto you, ye will know at that day, that ye cannot be saved: for there can no man be saved except his garments are washed white; yea, his garments must be purified until they are cleansed from all stain, through the blood of him of whom it hath been spoken by our fathers which should come to redeem his people from sins. And now I ask of you, my brethren, how will any of you feel, if ye shall stand before the bar of God, having your garments stained with blood, and all manner of filthiness? Behold, what will these things testify against you? Behold, will they not testify that ye are murderers, yea, and also that ye are guilty of all manner of wickedness? Behold, my brethren, do ye suppose that such an one can have a place to sit down in the Kingdom of God, with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob, and also all the holy prophets, whose garments are cleansed, and are spotless, pure and white? I say unto you, nay, except ye make our creator a liar from the beginning, or suppose that he is a liar from the beginning; or also, ye cannot suppose that such an one can have a place in the kingdom of heaven, but they shall be cast out, for they are the children of the kingdom of the Devil. And now behold, I say unto you, my brethren, if ye have experienced a change of heart, and if ye have felt to sing the song of redeeming love, I would ask, can ye feel so now? Have ye walked, keeping yourselves blameless before God? Could ye say, if ye were called to die at this time, within yourselves, that ye have been sufficiently humble? That your garments have been cleansed and made white, through the blood of Christ, which will come to redeem his people from their sins? Behold, are ye stripped of pride? I say unto you, if ye are not, ye are not prepared to meet God. Behold, ye must prepare quickly, for the Kingdom of Heaven is soon at hand, and such an one hath not eternal life. Behold, I say, is there one among you who is not stripped of envy? I say unto you, that such an one is not prepared, and I would that he should prepare quickly, for the hour is close at hand, and he knoweth not when the time shall come: for such an one is not found guiltless. And again I say unto you, is there one among you that doth make a mock of his brother, or that heapeth upon him persecutions? Wo unto such an one, for he is not prepared, and the time is at hand that he must repent, or he cannot be saved; yea, even wo unto all ye workers of iniquity; repent, repent, for the Lord hath spoken it. Behold, he sendeth an invitation unto all men; for the arms of mercy is extended toward them, and he saith, Repent, and I will receive you; yea, he saith, Come unto me and ye shall partake of the fruit of the tree of life; yea, ye shall eat and drink, of the bread and the waters of life freely; come unto me and bring forth works of righteousness, and ye shall not be hewn down and cast into the fire: for behold, the time is at hand that whosoever bringeth forth not good fruit, or whosoever doeth not the works of righteousness, the same hath cause to wail and mourn. O ye workers of iniquity, ye that are puffed up in the vain things of the world; ye that have professed to have known the ways of righteousness; nevertheless ye have gone astray, as sheep having no shepherd, notwithstanding a shepherd hath called after you, and art still calling after you, but ye will not hearken unto his voice. Behold, I say unto you, that the good shepherd doth call you; yea, and in his own name he doth call you, which is the name of Christ; and if ye will not hearken unto the voice of the good shepherd, to the name by which you are called, behold, ye are not the sheep of the good shepherd. And now if ye are not the sheep of the good shepherd, of what fold are you? Behold, I say unto you, that the Devil is your shepherd, and ye are of his fold; and now who can deny this? Behold, I say unto you, whoever denieth this, is a liar and a child of the Devil; for I say unto you, that whosoever is good, cometh from God, and whatsoever is evil, cometh from the Devil; therefore, if a man bringeth forth good works, he hearkeneth unto the voice of the good shepherd, and he doth follow him; but whosoever bringeth forth evil works, the same becometh a child of the Devil: for he hearkeneth unto his voice, and doth follow him. And whosoever doeth this must receive the wages of him; therefore, for his wages he receiveth death, as to the things pertaining unto righteousness, being dead unto all good works. -- And now my brethren, I would that ye should hear me, for I speak in the energy of my soul; for behold, I have spoken unto you plain, that ye cannot err, or have spoken according to the commandments of God. For I am called to speak after this manner, according to the holy order of God, which is in Christ Jesus; yea, I am commanded to stand and testify unto this people the things which have been spoken by our fathers, concerning the things which is to come. And this is not all. Do ye suppose that I know not of these things myself? Behold, I testify unto you, that I do know that these things whereof I have spoken, are true. And how do ye suppose that I know of their surety? Behold, I say unto you, they are made known unto me by the holy spirit of God. Behold, I have fasted and prayed many days, that I might know these things myself. And now I do know of myself that they are true; for the Lord God hath made them manifest unto me by his holy spirit; and this is the spirit of revelation which is in me. And moreover, I say unto you, that as it has thus been revealed unto me, that the words which have been spoken by our fathers, are true, even so according to the spirit of prophecy, which is in me, which is also by the manifestation of the spirit of God, I say unto you, that I know of myself that whatsoever I shall say unto you concerning that which is to come, is true; and I say unto you, that I know that Jesus Christ shall come; yea, the Son of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace, and mercy, and truth. And behold, it is he that cometh to take away the sins of the world; yea, the sins of every man which steadfastly believeth on his name.

And now I say unto you, that this is the order after which I am called; yea, to preach unto my beloved brethren; yea, and every one that dwelleth in the land; yea, to preach unto all, both old and young, both bond and free; yea, I say unto you, the aged, and also the middle aged, and the rising generation; yea, to cry unto them they must repent and be born again; yea, thus saith the spirit, Repent all ye ends of the earth, for the Kingdom of Heaven is soon at hand; yea, the Son of God cometh in his glory, in his might, majesty, power and dominion. Yea, my beloved brethren, I say unto you, that the spirit saith, Behold, the glory of the King of all the earth; and also the King of Heaven shall very soon shine forth among all the children of men; and also the spirit saith unto me, yea, crieth unto me with a mighty voice, saying, Go forth and say unto this people, repent, for except ye repent ye can in no wise inherit the Kingdom of Heaven. And again I say unto you, the spirit saith, Behold, the axe is laid at the root of the tree; therefore every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, shall be hewn down and cast into the fire; yea, a fire which cannot be consumed; even an unquenchable fire. Behold, and remember, the holy one hath spoken it. And now my beloved brethren, I say unto you, can ye withstand these sayings; yea, can ye lay aside these things, and trample the holy one under your feet; yea, can ye be puffed up in the pride of your hearts; yea, will ye still persist in the wearing of costly apparel, and setting your hearts upon the vain things of the world, upon your riches; yea, will ye persist in supposing that ye are better one than another; yea, will ye persist in the persecutions of your brethren, who humble themselves, and do walk after the holy order of God, wherewith they have been brought into this Church, having been sanctified by the holy spirit; and they do bring forth works which is meet for repentance; yea, and will you persist in turning your backs upon the poor, and the needy, and in withholding your substance from them? And finally, all ye that will persist in your wickedness, I say unto you, that these are they which shall be hewn down and cast into the fire, except they speedily repent.

And now I say unto you, all you that are desirous to follow the voice of the good shepherd, come ye out from the wicked, and be ye separate, and touch not their unclean things; and behold, their names shall be blotted out, that the names of the wicked shall not be numbered among the names of the righteous, that the sword of God may be fulfilled, which saith, The name of the wicked shall not be mingled with the names of my people. For the names of the righteous shall be written in the Book of Life; and unto them will I grant an inheritance

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at my right hand. And now my brethren, what have ye to say against this? I say unto you, if ye speak against it, it matters not, for the word of God must be fulfilled. For what shepherd is there among you having many sheep, doth not watch over them, that the wolves enter not and devour his flock? And behold, if a wolf enter his flock, doth he not drive him out? Yea, and at the last, if he can he will destroy him. And now I say unto you, that the good shepherd doth call after you; and if you will hearken unto his voice, he will bring you into his fold, and ye are his sheep; and he commandeth you that ye suffer no ravenous wolf to enter among you, that ye may not be destroyed.

And now I, Alma, do command you in the language of him who hath commanded me, that ye observe to do the words which I have spoken unto you. I speak by way of command unto you that belong to the church; and unto those which do not belong to the church, I speak by way of invitation, saying, Come and be baptized unto repentance, that ye also may be partakers of the fruit of the tree of life.

MORMON ALMA CHAPTER 4

And now it came to pass that after Alma had made an end of speaking unto the people of the church, which was established in the city of Zarahemla, he ordained priests and elder, by laying on his hands according to the order of God, to preside and watch over the church. And it came to pass that whomsoever did not belong to the church who repented of their sins, was baptized unto repentance, and was received into the church. And it also came to pass that whomsoever did belong to the church, that did not repent of their wickedness, and humble themselves before God; I mean those which were lifted up in the pride of their hearts; the same were rejected, and their names were blotted out, that their names were not numbered among those of the righteous; and thus began to establish the order of the church in the city of Zarahemla. Now I would that ye should understand that the word of God was liberal unto all; that no one was deprived of the privilege of assembling themselves together to hear the word of God; nevertheless the children of God were commanded that they should gather themselves together oft and join in fasting and mighty prayer, in behalf of the welfare of the souls of those who knew not God.

And now it came to pass that when Alma had made those regulations, he departed from them, yea, from the church which was in the city of Zarahemla, and went over upon the east of the river Sidon, into the valley of Gideon, there having been a city built which was called the city of Gideon, which was in the valley that was called Gideon, being called after the man which was slain by the hand of Nehor with the sword. And Alma went and began to declare the word of God unto the church which was established in the valley of Gideon, according to the revelation of the truth of the word which had been spoken by his fathers, and according to the spirit of prophecy which was in him, according to the testimony of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, which should come for to redeem his people from their sins, and by the holy order by which he was called. And thus it is written. Amen.

MORMON ALMA CHAPTER 5

The words of Alma which he delovered to the people in Gideon, according to his own record.

Behold my beloved brethren, seeing that I have been permitted to come unto you, therefore I attempt to address you in my language; yea, by my own mouth, seeing that it is the first time that I have spoken unto you by the words of my mouth, I having been wholly confined to the judgement seat, having had much business that I could not have come unto you; and even I could not have come now at this time, were it not that the judgement seat hath been given to another, to reign in my stead; and the Lord in much mercy hath granted that I should come unto you. And behold, I have come, having great hopes and much desire that I should find that ye had humbled yourselves before God, and that ye have continued in the supplicating of his grace, that I should find that ye were blameless before him; that I should find that ye were not in the awful dilemma that our brethren were in at Zarahemla; but blessed be the name of God that he hath given me to know, yea, hath given unto me the exceeding great joy of knowing that they are established again in the way of his righteousness. And I trust according to the spirit of God which is in me, that I shall also have joy over you; nevertheless I do not desire that my joy over you, should come by the cause of so much afflictions and sorrow which I have had for the brethren at Zarahemla: for behold, my joy cometh over them after wading through much afflictions and sorrow. But behold, I trust that ye are not in a state of so much unbelief as were your brethren;

I trust that ye are not lifted up in the pride of your hearts; yea, I trust that ye have not set your hearts upon riches, and the vain things of the world; yea, I trust that you do not worship idols, but that ye do worship the true and the living God, and that ye look forward for the remission of your sins with an everlasting faith which is to come. For behold, I say unto you, there be many things to come; and behold, there is one thing which is of more importance than they all: for behold, the time is not far distant, that the Redeemer liveth and cometh among his people. Behold, I do not say that he will come among us at the time of his dwelling in his mortal tabernacle; for behold, the spirit hath not said unto me that this should be the case. Now as to this thing I do not know, but this much I do know, that the Lord God hath the power to do all things which is according to his word. But behold, the spirit hath said this much unto me, saying: Cry unto this people, saying, Repent ye, and prepare the way of the Lord, and walk in his paths, which are straight: for behold, the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand, and the Son of God cometh upon the face of the earth. And behold, he shall be born of Mary, at Jerusalem, which is the land of our forefathers, she being a Virgin, a precious and chosen vessel, who shall be overshadowed, and conceive by the power of the Holy Ghost, and bring forth a son, yea, even the Son of God; and he shall go forth, suffering pains, and afflictions, and temptations of every kind; and this that the word might be fulfilled which saith, He will take upon him the pains and the sickness of his people; and he will take upon him death, that he may loose the bands of death which binds his people; and he will take upon him their infirmities, that his bowels may be filled with mercy, according to the flesh, that he may know according to the flesh how to suffer his people according to their infirmities. Now the spirit knoweth all things; nevertheless the Son of God suffereth according to the flesh, that he might take upon him the sins of his people, that he might blot out their transgressions, according to the power of his deliverance; and now behold, this is the testimony which is in me. Now I say unto you, that ye must repent, and be born again: for the spirit saith, If ye are not born again, ye cannot inherit the Kingdom of Heaven; therefore come and be baptized unto repentance, that ye may be washed from your sins, that ye may have faith on the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world, which is mighty to save and to cleanse from all unrighteousness; yea, I say unto you, Come and fear not, and lay aside every sin, which easily doth beset you, which doth bind you down to destruction; yea, come and go forth, and shew unto your God that ye are willing to repent of your sins, and enter into a covenant with him to keep his commandments, and witness it unto him this day, by going into the waters of baptism; and whosoever doeth this, and keepeth the commandments of God from thenceforth, the same will remember that I say unto him, yea, he will remember that I have said unto him, he shall have eternal life, according to the testimony of the Holy Spirit, which testifieth in me. And now my beloved brethren, do you believe these things? Behold, I say unto you, yea, I know that you believe them; and the way that I know that ye believe them, is by the manifestation of the spirit which is in me. And now because your faith is strong concerning that, yea, concerning the things which I have spoken, great is my joy. For as I said unto you from the beginning, that I had much desire that ye was not in the state of dilemma like your brethren, even so I have found that my desires have been gratified. For I perceive that ye are in the paths of righteousness; I perceive that ye are in the path which leads to the kingdom of God; yea, I perceive that ye are making his paths straight; I perceive that it hath been made known unto you by the testimony of his word, that he cannot walk in crooked paths; neither doth he vary from that which he hath said; neither hath he a shadow of turning from the right to the left, or from that which is right to that which is wrong; therefore, his course is one eternal round. And he doth not dwell in unholy temples; neither can filthiness, or any thing which is unclean be received into the kingdom of God; therefore I say unto you, the time shall come, yea, and it shall be at the last day, that he which is filthy, shall remain in his filthiness.

And now my beloved brethren, I have said these things unto you, that I might awaken you to a sense of your duty to God, that ye may walk blameless before him; that ye may walk after the holy order of God, after which ye have been received. And now I would that ye should be humble, and be submissive, and gentle; easy to be entreated; full of patience and long suffering; being temperate in all things; being diligent in keeping the commandments of God at all times; asking for whatsoever things ye stand in need, both spiritual and temporal; always returning thanks unto God for whatsoever things ye do receive, and see that ye have faith, hope, and charity, and then ye will always abound in good works; and may the Lord bless you, and keep your garments spotless, that ye may at last be brought to sit down with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and the Holy Prophets, which have been ever since the world began, having your garments spotless, even as their garments are spotless in the kingdom of Heaven, to go no more out.

And now my beloved brethren, I have spoken these words unto you, according to the spirit which testifieth in me; and my soul doth exceedingly rejoice, because of the exceeding diligence and heed which ye have given unto your word. And now, may the peace of God rest upon you, and upon your houses and land, and upon your flocks and herds, and all that you possess; your women and your children, according to your faith and good works, for this time forth and forever. And thus I have spoken. Amen.

MORMON ALMA CHAPTER 6

And now it came to pass that Alma returned from the land of Gideon, after having taught the people of Gideon many things which cannot be written, having established the order of the church, according as he had before done in the land of Zarahemla; yea, he returned to his own house at Zarahemla, to rest himself from the labors which he had performed. And thus ended the ninth year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi.

And it came to pass in the commencement of the tenth year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi, that Alma departed from thence, and took his journey over into the land of Melek, on the west of the river Sidon, on the west, by the borders of the wilderness; And he began to teach the people in the land of Melek, according to the holy order of God by which he had been called; and he began to teach the people throughout all the land of Melek.

And it came to pass that the people came to him throughout all the borders of the land which was by the wilderness side. And it came to pass that they were baptized throughout all the land, so that when he had finished his work at Melek, he departed thence, and travelled three days' journey on the north of the land of Melek; and he came to a city which was called Ammonihah. Now it was the custom of the people of Nephi, to call their lands, and their cities, and their villages, yea, even all their small villages, after the name of him, who first possessed them; and thus it was with the land of Ammonihah.

And it came to pass that when Alma came to the city of Ammonihah, he began to preach the word of God unto them. Now Satan had gotten great hold upon the hearts of the people of the city of Ammonihah; therefore they would not hearken unto the words of Alma. Nevertheless Alma labored much in the spirit, wrestling with God in mighty prayer, that he would pour out his spirit upon the people which was in the city; that he would also grant that he might baptize them unto repentance; nevertheless, they hardened their hearts, saying unto him, Behold, we know that thou art Alma; and we know that thou art High Priest over the church which thou hast established in many parts of the land, according to your tradition; and we are not of the church, and we do not believe in such foolish traditions. And now we know that because we are not of thy church, we know that thou hast no power over us; and thou hast delivered up the judgement seat unto Nephihah; therefore thou art not the Chief Judge over us. Now when the people had said this, and had withstood all his words, and reviled him, and spit upon him, and caused that he should be cast out of their city, he departed thence and took his journey towards the city which was called Aaron.

And it came to pass that while he was journeying thither, being weighed down with sorrow, wading through much tribulation and anguish of souls, because of the wickedness of the people which was in the city of Ammonihah. And it came to pass that while Alma was weighed down with sorrow, behold, and angel of the Lord appeared unto him saying, Blessed art thou, Alma; therefore lift up thy head and rejoice, for thou hast great cause to rejoice; for thou hast been faithful in keeping the commandments of God from the time which thou received thy first message from him. Behold, I am he that delivered it into you; and behold, I am sent to command thee that thou return to the city of Ammonihah, and preach again unto the people of the city; yea, preach unto them. -- Yea, say unto them, except they repent, the Lord God will destroy them. For behold, they do study at this time that they may destroy the liberty of thy people, (for thus saith the Lord,) which is contrary to the statutes, and judgements, and commandments which he hath given unto his people.

Now it came to pass that after Alma had received his message from the angel of the Lord, he returned speedily to the land of Ammonihah. And it came to pass that he entered the city by another way, yea, by the way which was on the south of the city of Ammonihah. And it came to pass that as he entered the city, he was an hungered, and he saith to a man, Will ye give to an humble servant of God something to eat? And the man saith unto him, I am a Nephite, and I know that thou art a Holy Prophet of God, for thou art the man which an angel saith in a vision, Thou shalt receive; therefore go with me into my house, and I will impart unto thee of my food; and I know that thou will be a blessing unto me and my house. And it came to pass that the man received him into his house; and the man was called Amulek; and he brought forth bread and meat, and sat before Alma.

And it came to pass that Alma ate bread and was filled; and he blessed Amulek and his house, and he gave thanks unto God. And after he had eat and was filled, he said unto Amulek, I am Alma, and am the High Priest over the church of God throughout the land. And behold, I have been called to preach the word of God among all this people, according to the spirit of revelation and prophecy; and I was in this land, and they would not receive me, but they cast me out, and I was about to set my back towards this land forever. But behold, I have been commanded that I should turn again and prophesy unto this people, yea, and to testify against them concerning their iniquities. And now Amulek, because thou hast fed me and

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took me in, thou art blessed: for I was an hungered, for I had fasted many days. And it came to pass that Alma tarried many days with Amulek, before he began to preach unto the people.

And it came to pass that the people did wax more gross in their iniquities. And the word came to Alma, saying, Go; and also say unto my servant Amulek, Go forth and prophesy unto this people, saying: Repent ye, for thus saith the Lord: Except ye repent, I will visit this people in mine anger; yea, and I will not turn my fierce anger away. And it came to pass that Alma went forth, and also Amulek, among the people, to declare the words of God unto them; and they were filled with the Holy Ghost; and they had power given unto them, insomuch that they could not be confined in dungeons; neither were it possible that any man could slay them; nevertheless they did not exercise their power until they were bound in bands and cast into prison. Now this was done that the Lord might show forth his power in them.

And it came to pass that they went forth and began to preach and to prophesy unto the people, according to the spirit and power which the Lord had given them.

MORMON ALMA CHAPTER 7

The words of Alma, and also the words of Amulek, which was declared unto the people which was in the land of Ammonihah. And also they are cast into prison, and delivered by the miraculous power of God which was in them, according to the record of Alma. And again: I Alma, having been commanded of God that I should take Amulek and go forth and preach again unto this people, or the people which was in the city of Ammonihah. -- And it came to pass as I began to preach unto them, they began to contend with me, saying: Who art thou? Suppose ye that we shall believe the testimony of one man, although he should preach unto us that the earth should pass away? Now they understood not the words which they spake, for they knew not that the earth should pass away. And they sayeth also, We will not believe thy words, if thou shouldst prophesy that this great city should be destroyed in one day. Now they knew not that God could do such marvellous works, for they were a hard hearted and a stiffnecked people. And they sayeth, Who is God, that sendeth no more authority than one man among this people, to declare unto them the truth of such great and marvellous things? And they stood forth to lay their hands on me; behold, they did not. And I stood with boldness to declare unto them, yea, I did boldly testify unto them, saying: Behold, O ye wicked and perverse generation, how have ye forgotten the tradition of your fathers; yea, how soon ye have forgotten the commandments of God. Do ye not remember that our father Lehi was brought out of Jerusalem by the hand of God? Do ye not remember that they were all led by him through the wilderness? And have ye forgotten so soon how many times he delivered our fathers out of the hands of their enemies, and preserved them from being destroyed, even by the hands of their own brethren? Yea, and if it had not been for his matchless power, and his mercy, and his long suffering towards us, we should unavoidably have been cut off from the face of the earth, long before this period of time, and perhaps been consigned to a state of endless misery and wo. Behold, now I say unto you, that he commandeth you to repent; and except ye repent, ye can in no wise inherit the kingdom of God. But behold, this is not all: he hath commanded you to repent, or he will utterly destroy you from off the face of the earth; yea, he will visit you in his anger, and in his fierce anger he will not turn away. Behold, do ye not remember the words which he spake unto Lehi, saying, That inasmuch as ye shall keep my commandments, ye shall prosper in the land? And again it is said, That inasmuch as ye will not keep my commandments, ye shall be cut off from the presence of the Lord. Now I would that ye should remember, that inasmuch as the Lamanites have not kept the commandments of God, they have been cut off from the presence of the Lord. Now we see that the word of the Lord hath been verified in this thing, and the Lamanites have been cut off from his presence, from the beginning of their transgressions in the land. Nevertheless I say unto you, that it shall be more tolerable for them in the day of judgement, than for you, if ye remain in your sins; yea, and even more tolerable for them in this life, than for you, except ye repent, for there are many promises which is extended to the Lamanites: for it is because of the traditions of their fathers that causeth them to remain in their state of ignorance; therefore the Lord will be merciful unto them, and prolong their existence in the land. And at some period of time they will be brought to believe in his word, and to know of the incorrectness of the traditions of their fathers; and many of them will be saved, for the Lord will be merciful unto all who call on his name. But behold, I say unto you, that if ye persist in your wickedness, that your days shall not be prolonged in the land, for the Lamanites shall be sent upon you; and if ye repent not, they shall come in a time when you know not, and ye shall be visited with utter destruction; and it shall be according to the fierce anger of the Lord; for he will not suffer you that ye shall live in you iniquities, to destroy his people. I say unto you, Nay; he would rather suffer that the Lamanites might destroy all this people which is called the people of Nephi, if it were possible that they could fall into sins and transgressions, after having so much light and so much knowledge given unto them of the Lord their God; yea, after having been such a highly favored people of the Lord; yea, after having been favored above every other nation, kindred, tongue, or people; after having had all things made known unto them, according to their desires, and their faith, and prayers, of that which has been, and which is, and which is to come; having been visited by the spirit of God; having conversed with angels, and having been spoken unto by the voice of the Lord; and having the spirit of prophecy, and the spirit of revelation, and also many gifts: the gift of speaking with tongues, and the gift of preaching, and the gift of the Holy Ghost, and the gift of translation; yea, and after having been delivered of God out of the land of Jerusalem, by the hand of the Lord; having been saved from famine, and from sickness, and all manner of diseases of every kind; and they having been waxed strong in battle, that they might not be destroyed; having been brought out of bondage time after time, and having been kept and preserved until now; and they have been prospered until they are rich in all manner of things. And now behold I say unto you, that if this people, who have received so many blessings from the hand of the Lord, should transgress, contrary to the light and knowledge which they do have; I say unto you, that if this be the case; that if they should fall into transgression, that it would be far more tolerable for the Lamanites than for them. For behold, the promises of the Lord, are extended to the Lamanites, but they are not unto you, if ye transgress: for hath not the Lord expressly promised and firmly decreed, that if ye will rebel against him, that ye shall utterly be destroyed from off the face of the earth? And now for this cause, that ye may not be destroyed, the Lord hath sent his angel to visit many of his people, declaring unto them that they must go forth and cry mightily unto this people, saying, Repent ye, for the kingdom of Heaven is nigh at hand; and not many days hence, the Son of God shall come in his glory; and his glory shall be the glory of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace, equity and truth, full of patience, mercy, and long suffering, quick to hear the cries of his people, and to answer their prayers. And behold, he cometh to redeem those who will be baptized unto repentance, through faith on his name; therefore prepare ye the way of the Lord, for the time is at hand that every man shall reap a reward of their works, according to that which they have been: if they have been righteous, they shall reap the salvation of their souls, according to the power and deliverance of Jesus Christ; and if they have been evil, they shall reap the damnation of their souls, according to the power and captivation of the Devil. -- Now behold, this is the voice of the angel, crying unto the people. And now my beloved brethren, for ye are my brethren, and ye had ought to be loved, and ye had ought to bring forth works which is mete for repentance, seeing that your hearts have been grossly hardened against the word of God, and seeing that ye are a lost and fallen people.

Now it came to pass that when I, Alma, had spoken these words, behold, the people were wroth with me, because I said unto them that they were a hardhearted and a stiffnecked people; and also because I had said unto them that they were a lost and a fallen people,

And it came to pass that Amulek went and stood forth, and began to preach unto them also. And now the words of Amulek are not all written; nevertheless a part of his words are written in this book.

MORMON ALMA CHAPTER 8

Now these are the words that Amulek preached unto the people which was in the land of Ammonihah, saying: I am Amulek; I am the son of Giddonah, who was the son of Ishmael, who was a descendant of Aminadi: and it was that same Aminadi which interpreted the writing which was upon the wall of the temple, which was written by the finger of God. -- And Aminadi was a descendant of Nephi, who was the son of Lehi, who came out of the land of Jerusalem, who was a descendant of Manasseh, who was the son of Joseph, which was sold into Egypt by the hands of his brethren. And behold, I am also a man of no small reputation among all those who know me; yea, and behold, I have many kindred and friends, and I have also acquired much riches by the hand of my industry; nevertheless, after all this, I never have known much of the ways of the Lord, and his mysteries and marvellous power. I said I never had known much of these things; but behold, I mistake, for I have seen much of his mysteries and his marvellous power; yea, even in the preservation of the lives of this people; nevertheless, I did harden my heart, for I was called many times, and I would not hear; therefore I knew concerning these things, yet I would not know; therefore I went on unbelieving against God, in the wickedness of my heart, even until the fourth day of this seventh month, which is in the tenth year of the reign of our Judges. As I was a journeying to see a very near kindred, behold an angel of the Lord appeared unto me, and said, Amulek, return to thine own house, for thou shalt feed a prophet of the Lord; yea, a holy man , which art a chosen man of God; for he hath fasteth many days because of the sins of this people, and he is an hungered, and thou shalt receive him into thy house and feed him, and he shall bless thee and thy house; and the blessing of the Lord shall rest upon thee and thy house.

And it came to pass that I obeyed the voice of the angel, and returned towards my house. And as I was a going thither, I found the man which the angel said unto me, Thou shalt receive into thy house; and behold it was this same man which hath been speaking unto you concerning the things of God. -- And the angel said unto me, He is a holy man; wherefore I know he is a holy man, because it was said by an angel of God. And again: I know that the things whereof he hath testified are true; for behold, I say unto you, that as the Lord liveth, even so he hath sent his angel to make these things manifest unto me; and this he hath done while this Alma hath dwelt at my house; for behold, he hath blessed mine home, he hath blessed me, and my woman, and my children, and my father, and my kinsfolks; yea, even all my kindred hath he blessed, and the blessings of the Lord hath rested upon us according to the words which he spake.

And now when Amulek had spoken these words, the people began to be astonished, seeing there was more than one witness which testifieth of the things whereof they were accused, and also of the things which was to come, according to the spirit of prophecy which was in them; nevertheless, there were some among them which thought to question them, that by their cunning devices they might catch them in their words, that they might find witness against them, that they might deliver them to the Judges, that they might be judged according to the law, and that they might be slain or cast into prison, according to the crime which they could make appear, or witness against them. Now it was those men which sought to destroy them, which were Lawyers, which were hired or appointed by the people to administer the law at their times of trials, or at trials of the crimes of the people, before the Judges. Now these Lawyers were learned in all the arts and cunning of the people; and this was to enable them that they might be skilful in their profession. And it came to pass that they began to question Amulek, that thereby they might make him cross his words, or contradict the words which he should speak. Now they knew not that Amulek could know of their designs. But it came to pass as they began to question him, he perceived their thoughts, and he saith unto them, O ye wicked and perverse generation; ye Lawyers and hypocrites; for ye are laying the foundation of the Devil; for ye are laying traps and snares to catch the holy ones of God; ye are laying plans to pervert the ways of the righteous, and to bring down the wrath of God upon your heads, even to the utter destruction of this people; yea, well did Mosiah say, who was our last king, when he was about to deliver up the kingdom, having no one to confer it upon, causing that this people should be governed by their own voices; yea, well did he say, that if the time should come that the voice of this people should choose iniquity; that is, if the time should come that this people should fall into transgression, they would be ripe for destruction. And now I say unto you, that well doth the Lord judge your iniquities; well doth he cry unto this people, by the voice of his angels, Repent ye, repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand. Yea, well doth he cry, by the voice of his angels, that I will come down among my people with equity and justice in my hands. Yea, and I say unto you, that if it were not for the prayers of the righteous, which are now in the land, that ye would even now be visited with utter destruction; yet it would not be by flood, as were the people in the days of Noah, but it would be by famine, and by pestilence, and the sword. Now it is by the prayers of the righteous that ye are spared; now therefore if ye will cast out the righteous from among you, then will not the Lord stay his hand, but in his fierce anger he will come down against you; then ye shall be smitten by famine, and by pestilence, and by the sword; and the time is soon at hand, except ye repent.

And now it came to pass that the people were more angry with Amulek, and they cried out saying: This man doth revile against our laws, which are just, and our wise Lawyers, which we have selected. But Amulek stretched forth his hand, and cried the mightier unto them, saying: O ye wicked and perverse generation; why hath Satan got such great hold upon your hearts? Why will ye yield yourselves unto him, that he may have power over you, to blind your eyes, that ye will not understand the words which are spoken, according to their truth? For behold, have I testified against your law? Ye do not understand; ye say that I have spoken against your law; but have I not; but I have spoken in favor of your law, to your condemnation. And now behold, I say unto you, that the foundation of the destruction of this people is a beginning to be laid by the unrighteousness of your lawyers and your Judges.

And now it came to pass that when Amulek had spoken these words, the people cried out against him, saying, Now we know that this man is a child of the Devil, for he hath lied unto us; for he hath spoken against our law. And now he saith that he hath not spoken against it. And again: he hath reviled against our Lawyers, and our Judges, &c. And it came to pass that the Lawyers put it into their hearts that they should

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remember these things against him. And it came to pass that there was one among them whose name was Zeezrom. Now he being the foremost to accuse Amulek and Alma, he being one of the most expert among them, having much business to do among the people. Now the object of these Lawyers were to get gain; and they got gain according to their employ.

Now it was in the law of Mosiah that every man which was a Judge of the law, or which was appointed to be Judges, should receive wages according to the time which they labored to judge those which were brought before them to be judged. Now if a man oweth another, and he would not pay that which he owe, he was complained of to the Judge; and the Judge executed authority, and sent forth officers that the man should be brought before him; and he judgeth the man according to the law and the evidence which are brought against him; and thus the man was compelled to pay that which he oweth, or be striped, or be cast out from among the people, as a thief and a robber. And the Judge receiveth for his wages according to his time: a senine of gold for a day, or a senum of silver, which is equal to a senine of gold; and this is according to the law which was given. Now these are the names of the different pieces of their gold, and of their silver, according to their value. And the names are given by the Nephites; for they did not reckon after the manner of the Jews which were at Jerusalem; neither did they measure after the manner of the Jews, but they altered their reckoning and their measure, according to the minds of the circumstances of the people, in every generation, until the reign of the Judges; they having been established by king Mosiah. Now the reckoning is thus: A senine of gold, a seon of gold, a shum of gold, and a limnah of gold. A senum of silver, an amnor of silver, an ezrom of silver, and an onti of silver. A senum of silver was equal to a senine of gold; and either for a measure of barley, and also for a measure of every kind of grain. Now the amount of a seon of gold, was twice the value of a senine; and a shum of gold was twice the value of a seon; and a limnah of gold was the value of them all; and an amner of silver was as great as two senums; and an ezrom of silver was as great as four senums; and an onti was as great as them all. Now this is the value of the lesser numbers of their reckoning: A shiblon is half of a senum: therefore a shiblon for half a measure of barley; and a shiblum is a half of shiblon; and a leah is the half of a shiblum. Now this is their number, according to their reckoning. Now an antion of gold is equal to three shublons.

Now it was for the sole purpose for to get gain, because they received wages according to their employ; therefore they did stir up the people to riotings, and all manner of disturbances and wickedness, that they might have more employ; that they might get money according to the suits which was brought before them; therefore they did stir up the people against Alma and Amulek. And this Zeezrom began to question Amulek, saying: Will ye answer me a few questions which I shall ask you? Now Zeezrom was a man which was expert in the devises of the Devil, that he might destroy that which was good; therefore he saith unto Amulek, Will ye aaswer the questions which I shall put unto you? And Amulek saith unto him, Yea, if it be according to the spirit of the Lord, which is in me; for I shall say nothing contrary to the spirit of the Lord. And Zeezrom saith unto him, Behold, here is six onties of silver, and all these will I give to thee if thou wilt deny the existence of a Supreme Being. Now Amulek saith, O thou child of Hell, why tempt ye me? Knowest thou that the righteous yieldeth to no such temptations? Believest thou that there is no God? I say unto you, nay: thou knowest that there is a God, but thou lovest that lucre more than him. And now thou hast lied unto God before me. Thou saidst unto me, Behold these six onties, which are of great worth, I will give unto thee, when thou had it in thy heart to retain them from me; and it was only thy desire that I should deny the true and living God, that thou mightest have cause to destroy me. And now behold, for this great evil thou shalt have thy reward. And Zeezrom saith unto him, Thou sayest there is a true and living God? And Amulek saith, Yea, there is a true and living God. Now Zeezrom saith, Is there more than one God? And he answered No. Now Zeezrom saith unto him again: How knowest thou these things? And he saith An angel hath made them known unto me. And Zeezrom saith again: Who is he that shall come? Is it the Son of God? And he said unto him, Yea. And Zeezrom saith again: Shall he save his people in their sins? And Amulek answered and said unto him, I say unto you he shall not, for it is impossible for him to deny his word.

Now Zeezrom saith unto the people, See that ye remember these things; for he saith there is but one God; yet he saith that the Son of God shall come, but he shall not save his people, as though he had authority to command God. Now Amulek saith again unto him, Behold thou hast lied, for thou sayest that I spake as though I had authority to command God, because I said he shall not save his people in their sins. And I say unto you again, that he cannot save them in their sins; for I cannot deny his word, and he hath said that no unclean thing can inherit the Kingdom of Heaven? -- Therefore ye cannot be saved in your sins. Now Zeezrom saith again unto him: Is the Son of God the very Eternal Father? And Amulek saith unto him, Yea, he is the very Eternal Father of Heaven and of Earth, and all things which in them is; he is the beginning and the end, the first and the last; and he shall come into the world to redeem his people; and he shall take upon him the transgressions of those who believe on his name; and these are they that shall have eternal life, and salvation cometh to none else; therefore the wicked remain as though there had been no redemption made, except it be the loosing of the bands of death; for behold, the day cometh that all shall rise from the dead and stand before God, and be judged according to their works. Now there is a death which is called a temporal death; and the death of Christ shall loose the bands of this temporal death, that all shall be raised from this temporal death; the spirit and the body shall be re- united again, in its perfect form; both limb and joint shall be restored to its proper frame, even as we now are at this time; and we shall be brought to stand before God, knowing even as we know now, and have a bright recollection of all our guilt. Now this restoration shall come to all, both old and young, both bond and free, both male and female, both the wicked, and the righteous; and even there shall not so much as a hair of their heads be lost; but all things shall be restored to its perfect frame, as it is now, or in the body, and shall be brought and be arraigned before the bar of Christ the Son of God, the Father, and the Holy Spirit, which is the Son, and God the Father, and the Holy Spirit, which is one Eternal God, to be judged according to their works, whether they be good or whether they be evil.

Now behold I have spoken unto you, concerning the death of the mortal body, and also concerning the resurrection of the mortal body. I say unto you, that this mortal body is raised to an immortal body; that is from death; even from the first death, unto life, that they can die no more; their spirits uniting with their bodies, never to be divided; thus the whole becoming spiritual and immortal, that they can no more see corruption.

Now when Amulek had finished these words, the people began to be astonished, and also Zeezrom began to tremble. And thus ended the words of Amulek, or this is all that I have written.

MORMON ALMA CHAPTER 9

Now Alma, seeing that the words of Amulek had silenced Zeezrom, for he beheld that Amulek had caught him in his lying and deceiving, to destroy him, and seeing that he began to tremble under the consciousness of his guilt, he opened his mouth and began to speak unto him, and to establish the words of Amulek, and to explain things beyond, or to unfold the Scriptures beyond that which Amulek had done. Now the words that Alma spake unto Zeezrom, was heard by the people round about: for the multitude was great, and he spake on this wise: Now Zeezrom, seeing that thou hast been taken in thy lying and craftiness, for thou hast not lied unto men only, but thou hast lied unto God. For behold, he knows all thy thoughts; and thou seest that thy thoughts are made known unto us by his spirit; and thou seest that we know that thy plan was a very subtle plan, as to the subtlety of the Devil, for to lie and to deceive this people, that thou mightest set them against us, to revile us and to cast us out. Now this was a plan of thine adversary, and he hath exercised his power in thee. Now I would that ye should remember that what I say unto thee, I say unto all. And behold, I say unto you all, that this was a snare of the adversary, which he hath laid to catch this people, that he might bring you into subjection unto him, that he might encircle you about with his chains, that he might chain you down to everlasting destruction, according to the power of his captivity.

Now when Alma had spoken these words, Zeezrom began to tremble more exceedingly, for he was convinced more and more of the power of God; and he was also convinced that Alma and Amulek had a knowledge of him, for he was convinced that they knew the thoughts and intents of his heart: for power was given unto them that they might know of these things, according to the spirit of prophecy. And Zeezrom began to inquire of them diligently, that he might know more concerning the kingdom of God. And he saith unto Alma, What does this mean which Amulek hath spoken concerning the resurrection of the dead, that all shall rise from the dead, both the just and the unjust, and are brought to stand before God, to be judged according to their works? And now Alma began to expound these things unto him, saying, It is given unto many to know the mysteries of God; nevertheless they are laid under a strict command, that they shall not impart only according to the portion of his word, which he doth grant unto the children of men, according to the heed and diligence which they give unto him; and therefore he that will harden his heart, the same receiveth the lesser portion of the word; and he that will not harden his heart, to him is given the greater portion of the word, until it is given unto him to know the mysteries of God, until they know them in full; and he that will harden his heart, to him is given the lesser portion of the word, until they know nothing concerning his mysteries; and then they are taken captive by the Devil, and led by his will down to destruction. Now this is what is meant by the chains of Hell; and Amulek hath spoken plainly concerning death, and being raised from this mortality to a state of immortality, and being brought before the bar of God, to be judged according to our works. Then if our hearts have been hardened, yea, if we have hardened our hearts against the word, insomuch that it hath not been found in us, then will our state be awful, for then we shall be condemned: for our words will condemn us, yea, all our work will condemn us; we shall not be found spotless; and our thoughts will also condemn us; and in this awful state, we shall not durst look up to our God; and we would fain be glad if we could command the rocks and the mountains to fall upon us, to hide us from his presence. But this cannot be; we must come forth and stand before him in his glory, and in his power, and in his might, majesty, and dominion, and acknowledge to the everlasting shame, that all his judgements are just; that he is just in all his works, and that he is merciful unto the children of men, and that he hath all power to save every man that believeth on his name, and bringeth forth mete for repentance.

And now behold I say unto you, then cometh a death, even a second death, which is a spiritual death; then is a time whosoever dieth in his sins, as to the temporal death, shall also die a spiritual death; yea, he shall die as to things pertaining unto righteousness; then is the time when their torments shall be as a lake of fire and brimstone, whose flames ascendeth up forever and ever; and then is the time that they shall be chained down to an everlasting destruction, according to the power and captivity of Satan; he having subjected them according to his will. Then I say unto you, they shall be as though there had been no redemption made; for they cannot be redeemed according to God's justice; and they cannot die, seeing there is no more corruption.

Now it came to pass that when Alma had made an end of speaking these words, the people began to be more astonished; but there was one Antionah, who was a chief ruler among them, come forth and said unto him, What is this that thou hast said, that man should rise from the dead and be changed from this mortal to an immortal state, that the soul can never die? What does this Scripture mean, which saith that God placed Cherubims and a flaming sword on the east of the garden of Eden, lest our first parents should enter and partake of the fruit of the tree of life, and live forever? And thus we see that there was no possible chance that they should live forever. Now Alma saith unto him, This is the thing which I was about to explain. Now we see that Adam did fall by partaking of the forbidden fruit, according to the word of God; and thus we see that by his fall, that all mankind became a lost and a fallen people. And now behold, I say unto you, that if it had been possible for Adam for to have partaken of the fruit of the tree of life at that time, that there would have been no death, and the word would have been void, making God a liar: for he said, If thou eat, thou shalt surely die. -- And we see that death comes upon mankind, yea, the death which has been spoken of by Amulek, which is the temporal death; nevertheless there was a space granted unto man, in which he might repent; therefore this life became a probationary state; a time to prepare to meet God; a time to prepare for that endless state, which has been spoken of by us, which is after the resurrection of the dead. Now if it had not been for the plan of redemption, which was laid from the foundation of the world, there could have been no resurrection of the dead; but there was a plan of redemption laid, which shall bring to pass the resurrection of the dead, of which has been spoken. And now behold, if it were possible that our first parents could have went forth and partaken of the tree of life, they would have been forever miserable, having no preparatory state; and thus the plan of redemption would have been frustrated, and the word of God would have been void, taking none effect. But behold, it was not so; but it was appointed unto man that they must die; and after death, they must come to judgement; even that same judgement of which we have spoken, which is the end. And after God had appointed that these things should come unto man, behold, then he saw that it was expedient that man should know concerning the things whereof he had appointed unto them; therefore he sent angels to converse with them, which caused men to behold of his glory. And they began from the time forth to call on his name; therefore God conversed with men, and made known unto them the plan of redemption, which had been prepared from the foundation of the world; and this he made known unto them, according to their faith and repentance, and their holy works; wherefore he gave commandments unto men, they having first transgressed the first commandments as to things which were temporal, and becoming as Gods, knowing good from evil, placing themselves in a state to act, or being placed in a state to act, according to their wills and pleasures, whether to do evil or to do good; therefore God gave unto them commandments, after having made known unto them the plan of redemption, that they should not do evil, the penalty thereof being a second death, which was an everlasting death as to things pertaining unto righteousness; for on such the plan of redemption could have no power, for the works of justice could not be destroyed, according to the Supreme goodness of God. But God did call on men, in the

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name of his Son, (this being the plan of redemption which was laid,) saying: if ye will repent, and harden not your hearts, then I will have mercy upon you, through mine only begotten Son; therefore, whosoever repenteth, and hardeneth not his heart, he shall have claim on mercy through mine only begotten Son, unto a remission of their sins; and these shall enter into my rest. And whosoever will harden his heart, and will do iniquity, behold, I swear in my wrath that they shall not enter into my rest. And now my brethren, behold I say unto you, That if ye will harden your hearts, ye shall not enter into the rest of the Lord; therefore your iniquity provoketh him, that he sendeth down his wrath upon you as in the first provocation, yea, according to this word in the last provocation, as well as in the first, to the everlasting destruction of your souls; therefore, according to his word, unto the last death, as well as the first.

And now my brethren, seeing we know these things, and they are true, let us repent, and harden not our hearts, that we provoke not the Lord our God to pull down his wrath upon us in these his second commandments which he hath given unto us; but let us enter into the rest of God, which is prepared according to his word. And again: My brethren, I would cite your minds forward to the time which the Lord God gave these commandments unto his children; and I would that ye should remember that the Lord God ordained Priests, after his holy order, which was after the order of his Son, to teach these things unto the people; and those Priests were ordained after the order of his Son, in a manner that thereby the people might know in what manner to look forward to his Son for redemption. And this is the manner after which they were ordained, being called and prepared from the foundation of the world, according to the foreknowledge of God, on account of their exceeding faith and good works; in the first place being left to choose good or evil; therefore they being chosen good, and exercising exceeding great faith, are called with a holy calling, yea, with that holy calling which was prepared with, and according to, a preparatory redemption for such; and thus they having been called to this holy calling on account of their faith, while others would reject the spirit of God on account of the hardness of their hearts and blindness of their minds, while, if it had not been for this, they might had as great privilege as their brethren. Or in fine: In the first place they were on the same standing with their brethren; thus this holy calling being prepared from the foundation of the world for such as would not harden their hearts, being in and through the atonement of the only begotten Son, which was prepared; and thus being called by this holy calling, and ordained unto the High Priesthood of the holy order of God, to teach us his commandments unto the children of men, that they also might enter into his rest, this High Priesthood being after the order of his Son, which order was from the foundation of the world; or in other words, being without beginning of days or end of years, being prepared from eternity to all eternity, according to his foreknowledge of all things. Now they were ordained after this manner: Being called with a holy calling, and ordained with a holy ordinance, and taking upon them the High Priesthood of the holy order, which calling, and ordinance, and High Priesthood, is without beginning or end; thus they become High Priests forever, after the order of the Son of the only begotten of the Father, which is without beginning of days or end of years, which is full of grace, equity and truth. And thus it is. Amen.

MORMON ALMA CHAPTER 10

Now as I said concerning the holy order of this High Priesthood: There were many which were ordained and became High Priests of God; and it was on account of the exceeding faith and repentance, and their righteousness before God, they choosing to repent and work righteousness, rather than to perish; therefore they were called after this holy order, and were sanctified, and their garments were washed white, through the blood of the Lamb. Now they, after being sanctified by the Holy Ghost, having their garments made white, being pure and spotless before God, could not look upon sin, saving it were with abhorrence; and there were many, exceeding great many, which were made pure, and entered into the rest of the Lord their God. And now, my brethren, I would that ye should humble yourselves before God, and bring forth fruit mete for repentance, that ye may also enter into that rest; yea, humble yourselves even as the people in the days of Melchizedek, who was also a High Priest after this same order which I have spoken, who also took upon him the High Priesthood forever. And it was this same Melchizedek to whom Abraham paid tithes; yea, even our father Abraham paid tithes of one tenth part of all he possessed. Now these ordinances were given after this manner, that thereby the people might look forward on the Son of God, it being a type of his order, or it being his order; and this, that they might look forward to him for a remission of their sins, that they might enter into the rest of the Lord.

Now this Melchizedek was a king over the land of Salem; and his people had waxed strong in iniquity and abominations; yea, they had all gone astray: they were full of all manner of wickedness; but Melchizedek having exercised mighty faith, and received the office of the High Priesthood, according to the holy order of God, did preach repentance unto his people. -- And behold, they did repent; and Melchizedek did establish peace in the land in his days; therefore he was called the Prince of Peace, for he was the king of Salem; and he did reign under his father. Now there were many before him, and also there were many afterwards, but none were greater; therefore of him they have more particularly made mention. Now I need not rehearse the matter; what I have said, may suffice. Behold, the Scriptures are before you; if ye will arrest them, it shall be to your own destruction.

And now it came to pass that when Alma had said these words unto them, he stretched forth his hand unto them and cried with a mighty voice, saying, Now is the time to repent, for the day of salvation draweth nigh; yea, and the voice of the Lord, by the mouth of angels, doth declare it unto all nations; yea, doth declare it, that they may have glad tidings of great joy; yea, and he doth sound these glad tidings among all his people, yea, even to them that are scattered abroad upon the face of the earth; wherefore they have come unto us. -- And they are made known unto us in plain terms, that we may understand, that we cannot err; and this because of our being wanderers in a strange land; therefore we are thus highly favored, for we have these glad tidings declared unto us in all parts of our vineyard. For behold, angels are declaring it unto many at this time in our land; and this is for the purpose of preparing the hearts of the children of men for to receive his word, at the time of his coming in his glory. And now we only wait to hear the joyful news declared unto us by the mouth of angels, of his coming: for the time cometh, we know not how soon. Would to God that it might be in my day; but let it be sooner or later, in it I will rejoice. And it shall be known unto just and holy men, by the mouth of angels, at the time of his coming, that the words of our fathers might be fulfilled, according to that which they have spoken concerning him, which was according to the spirit of prophecy which was in them.

And now my brethren, I wish from the inmost part of my heart, yea, with great anxiety, even unto pain, that ye would hearken unto my words, and cast off your sins, and not procrastinate the day of your repentance; that ye would humble yourselves before the Lord, and call on his holy name, and watch and pray continually, that ye may not be tempted above that which ye can bear, and thus be led by the holy spirit, becoming humble, meek, submissive, patient, full of love and all long suffering; having faith on the Lord; having a hope that ye shall receive eternal life; having the love of God always in your hearts, that ye may be lifted up at the last day, and enter into his rest; and may the Lord grant unto you repentance, that ye may not bring down his wrath upon you, that ye may not be bound down by the chains of hell, that ye may not suffer the second death. And it came to pass that Alma spake many more words unto the people, which are not written in this book.

And it came to pass that after he had made an end of speaking unto the people, many of them did believe on his words, and began to repent, and to search the Scriptures; but the more part of them were desirous that they might destroy Alma and Amulek: for they were angry with Alma, because of the plainness of his words unto Zeezrom; and they also said that Amulek had lied unto them, and had reviled against their law, and also against their Lawyers and Judges. And they were also angry with Alma and Amulek; and because they had testified so plainly against their wickedness, they sought to put them away privily. But it came to pass that they did not; but they took them and bound them with strong cords, and took them before the Chief Judge of the land. And the people went forth and witnessed against them, testifying that they had reviled against the law, and their Lawyers and Judges of the land, and also all the people that were in the land; and also testified that there was but one God, and that he should send his Son among the people, but he should not save them; and many such things did the people testify against Alma and Amulek. And it came to pass that it was done before the Chief Judge of the land. And it also came to pass that Zeezrom was astonished at the words which had been spoken; and he also knew concerning the blindness of the minds which he had caused among the people, by his lying words; and his soul began to be harrowed up, under a consciousness of his own guilt; yea, he began to be encircled about by the pains of hell.

And it came to pass that he began to cry unto the people, saying: Behold, I am guilty, and these men are spotless before God. And it came to pass that he began to plead for them, from that time forth; but they reviled him, saying: Art thou also possessed with the Devil? And it came to pass that they spit upon him, and cast him out from among them, and also all those that believed in the words which had been spoken by Alma and Amulek; and they cast them out, and sent men to cast stones at them. And they brought their wives and children together, and whosoever believed or had been taught to believe in the word of God, they caused that they should be cast into the fire; and they also brought forth their records which contained the Holy Scriptures, and cast them into the fire also, that they might be burned and destroyed by fire.

And it came to pass that they took Alma and Amulek, and carried them forth to the place of martyrdom, that they might witness the destruction of those which were consumed by fire. And it came to pass that when Amulek saw the pains of the women and children which were consuming in the fire, he was also pained; and he saith unto Alma, How can we witness this awful scene? Therefore let us stretch forth our hands, and exercise the power of God which is in us, and save them from the flames. But Alma saith unto him, The spirit constraineth me that I must not stretch forth mine hand; for behold, the Lord receiveth them up unto himself, in glory; and he doth not suffer that they may do this thing, or that the people may do this thing unto them, according to the hardness if their hearts, that the judgements which he shall exercise upon them in his wrath, may be just; and the blood of the innocent shall stand as a witness against them, yea, and cry mightily against them at the last day. Now Amulek saith unto Alma, Behold, perhaps they will burn us also. And Alma saith, Be it according to the will of the Lord. But behold, our work is not finished; therefore they burn us not.

Now it came to pass that when the bodies of those which had been cast into the fire, were consumed, and also the records which were cast in with them, the Chief Judge of the land came and stood before Alma and Amulek, as they were bound; and he smote them with his hand upon their cheeks, and saith unto them, After what ye have seen, will ye preach again unto this people, that they shall be cast into a lake of fire and brimstone? Behold, ye see that ye had not power to save these which had been cast into the fire; neither hath God saved them because they were of thy faith. And the Judge smote them again upon their cheeks, and asked, What say ye for yourselves? Now this Judge was after the order and faith of Nehor, which slew Gideon. And it came to pass that Alma and Amulek answered him nothing; and he smote them again, and delivered them to the officers to be cast into prison. And it came to pass that when they had been cast into prison three days, there came many Lawyers, and Judges, and Priests, and teachers, which were of the profession of Nehor; and they came in unto the prison to see them, and they questioned them about many words; but they answered them nothing.

And it came to pass that the Judge stood before them, and saith, Why do ye not answer the words of this people? Know ye not that I have the power to deliver ye up unto the flames? And he commanded them to speak; but they answered nothing. And it came to pass that they departed and went their ways, but came again on the morrow; and the Judge also smote them again on their cheeks. And many came forth also, and smote them, saying: Will ye stand again and Judge this people, and condemn our law? If ye have such great power, why do ye not deliver yourselves? And many such things did they say unto them, gnashing their teeth upon them, and spitting upon them, and saying, How shall ye look when we are damned? And many such things, yea, all manner of such things did they say unto them; and thus they did mock them, for many days. And they did withhold food from them. that they might hunger, and water, that they might thirst; and they also did take from them their clothes, that they were naked; and thus they were bound with strong cords, and confined in prison.

And it came to pass after they had thus suffered for many days, (and it was on the twelfth day, in the tenth month, in the tenth year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi,) that the Chief Judge over the land of Ammonihah, and many of their teachers and their Lawyers, went in unto the prison where Alma and Amulek was bound with cords. And the Chief Judge stood before them, and smote them again, and saith unto them, If ye have the power of God, deliver yourselves from these bands, and then we will believe that the Lord will destroy this people according to your words. And it came to pass that they all went forth and smote them, saying the same words, even until the last; and when the last had spoken unto them, the power of God was upon Alma and Amulek, and they arose and stood upon their feet; and Alma cried, saying, How long shall we suffer these great afflictions, O Lord? O Lord, give us strength according to our faith which is in Christ, even unto deliverance; and they break the cords with which they were bound; and when the people saw this, they began to flee, for the fear of destruction had come upon them.

And it came to pass that so great was their fear, that they fell to the earth, and did not obtain the outer door of the prison; and the earth shook mightily, and the walls of the prison were wrent in twain, so that they fell to the earth; and the Chief Judge, and the Lawyers, and Priests, and teachers which smote upon Alma and Amulek, were slain by the fall thereof. And Alma and Amulek came forth out of the prison, and they were not hurt; for the Lord had granted unto them power, according to their faith which was in Christ. And they straightway came forth out of the prison; and they were loosed from their bands; and the prison had fallen to the earth, and every soul which was within the walls thereof, save it were Alma and Amulek, were slain; and they straightway came forth into the city. Now the people having heard a great noise,

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came running together by multitudes, to know the cause of it; and when they saw Alma and Amulek coming forth out of the prison, and the walls thereof had fallen to the earth, they were struck with great fear, and fled from the presence of Alma and Amulek, even as a goat fleeth with her young from two lions; and thus they did flee from the presence of Alma and Amulek.

And it came to pass that Alma and Amulek were commanded to depart out of the city; and they departed, and came out even into the land of Sidom; and behold, there they found all the people which had departed out of the land of Ammonihah, who had been cast out and stoned, because they believed in the words of Alma. And they related unto them all that had happened unto their wives and children, and also concerning themselves, and of their power of deliverance. And also Zeezrom lay sick at Sidom, with a burning fever, which was caused by the great tribulations of his mind, on account of his wickedness, for he supposed that Alma and Amulek was no more; and he supposed that they had been slain, by the cause of his iniquity. And this great sin, and his many other sins, did harrow up his mind until it did become exceeding sore, having no deliverance; therefore he began to be scorched with a burning heat. Now when he heard that Alma and Amulek was in the land of Sidom, his heart began to take courage; and he sent a message immediately unto them, desiring them to come unto him.

And it came to pass that they went immediately, obeying the message which he had sent unto them; and they went in unto the house unto Zeezrom; and they found him upon his bed sick, being very low with a burning fever; and his mind also was exceeding sore, because of his iniquities; and when he saw them, he stretched forth his hand, and besought them that they would heal him.

And it came to pass that Alma said unto him, taking him by the hand, Believest thou in the power of Christ unto salvation? And he answered and said, Yea, I belive all the words that thou hast taught. And Alma saith, If thou believest in the redemption of Christ, thou canst be healed. And he saith, Yea, I believe according to thy words. And then Alma cried unto the Lord, saying, O Lord our God, have mercy on this man, and heal him according to his faith which is in Christ. And it came to pass that when Alma said these words, that Zeezrom leaped upon his feet, and began to walk; and this was done to the great astonishment of all the people; and the knowledge of this went forth throughout all the land of Sidom. And Alma baptized Zeezrom unto the Lord; and he began from that time forth to preach unto the people. And Alma established a Church in the land of Sodom, and consecrated Priests and teachers in the land to baptize unto the Lord whosoever were desirous to be baptized.

And it came to pass that they were many; for they did flock in from all the region round about Sidom, and were baptized; but as to the people that were in the land of Ammonihah, they yet remained a hardhearted and a stiffnecked people; and they repented not of their sins, ascribing all the power of Alma and Amulek to the Devil: for they were of the profession of Nehor, and did not believe in the repentance of their sins.

And it came to pass that Alma and Amulek, Amulek having forsaken all his gold, and his silver, and his precious things, which was in the land of Ammonihah, for the word of God, he being rejected by those which were once his friends, and also by his father and his kindred; therefore, after Alma having established the Church at Sidom, seeing a great check, yea, seeing that the people were checked as to the pride of their hearts, and began to humble themselves before God, and began to assemble together at their sanctuaries to worship God before the alter, watching and praying continually, that they might be delivered from Satan, and from death, and from destruction: Now as I said, Alma having seen all these things, therefore he took Amulek and came over to the land of Zarahemla, and took him to his own house, and did administer unto him in his tribulations, and strengthened him in the Lord. And thus ended the tenth year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi.

MORMON ALMA CHAPTER 11

And it came to pass in the eleventh year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi, on the fifth day of the second month, there having been much peace in the land of Zarahemla; there having been no wars nor contentions for a certain number of years; even until the fifth day of the second month, in the eleventh year, there was a cry of war heard throughout the land; for behold, the armies of the Lamanites had come in on the wilderness side, into the borders of the land, even into the city of Ammonihah, and began to slay the people, and to destroy the city.

And now it came to pass before the Nephites could raise a sufficient army to drive them out of the land, they had destroyed the people which were in the city of Ammonihah, and also some around the borders of Noah, and taking others captive into the wilderness.

Now it came to pass that the Nephites were desirous to obtain those which had been carried away captive into the wilderness; therefore he that had been appointed Chief Captain over the armies of the Nephites, (and his name was Zoram, and he had two sons, Lehi and Aha:) Now Zoram and his two sons, knowing that Alma was High Priest over the Church, and having heard that he had the spirit of Prophecy, therefore they went unto him and desired of him to know whether the Lord would that they should go into the wilderness in search of their brethren, who had been captive by the Lamanites.

And it came to pass that Alma inquired of the Lord concerning the matter. And Alma returned and said unto them, Behold the Lamanites will cross the river Sidon in the south wilderness, away up beyond the borders of the land of Manti. -- And behold there shall ye meet them, on the east of the river Sidon, and there the Lord will deliver unto thee thy brethren which have been taken captive by the Lamanites.

And it came to pass that Zoram and his sons crossed over the river Sidon, with their armies, and marched away beyond the borders of Manti, into the south wilderness, which was on the east side of the river Sidon. And they came upon the armies of the Lamanites, and the Lamanites were scattered and driven into the wilderness; and they took their brethren which had been taken captive by the Lamanites, and there was not one soul of them which had been lost, that were taken captive. And they were brought by their brethren to possess their own lands. And thus ended the eleventh year of the Judges, the Lamanites having been driven out of the land, and the people of Ammonihah were destroyed; yea, every living soul of the Ammonihahites were destroyed , and also their great city, which they said God could not destroy, because of its greatness. -- But behold, in one day it was left desolate; and their carcases were mangled by dogs and wild beasts of the wilderness; nevertheless, after many days, their dead bodies were heaped up upon the face of the earth, and they were covered with a shallow covering. And now so great was the scent thereof, that the people did not go in to possess the land of Ammonihah for many years. And it was called desolation of Nehors; for they were of the profession of Nehor, which were slain; and their lands remained desolate. And it came to pass that the Lamanites did not come again to war against the Nephites until the fourteenth year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi. And thus for three years did the people of Nephi have continual peace in all the land.

And Alma and Amulek went forth preaching repentance unto the people in their temples, and in their sanctuaries, and also in their synagogues, which was built after the manner of the Jews. And as many as would hear their words, unto them they did impart the word of God, without any respects of persons continually. And thus did Alma and Amulek go forth, and also many more which had been chosen for the work, to preach the word throughout the land. And the establishment of the Church became general throughout all the land, in all the region round about, among all the people of the Nephites.

And there was no inequality among them, for the Lord did pour out his spirit on all the face of the land, for to prepare the minds of the children of men, or to prepare their hearts to receive the word which should be taught among them at the time of his coming, that they might not be hardened against the word,, that they might not be unbelieving, and go on to destruction, but that they might receive the word with joy, and as a branch be grafted into the true vine, that they might enter into the rest of the Lord their God.

Now those priests which did go forth among the people, did preach against all lyings, and deceivings, and envyings, and strifes, and malice, and revilings, and stealing, robbing, plundering, murdering, committing adultery, and all manner of lasciviousness, crying that these things ought not so to be; holding forth things which must shortly come; yea, holding forth the coming of the Son of God, his sufferings and death, and also the resurrection of the dead. And many of the people did inquire concerning the place where the Son of God should come; and they were taught that he would appear unto them after his resurrection; and this the people did hear with great joy and gladness. And now after the Church having been established throughout the land, having got the victory over the Devil, and the word of God being preached in its purity in all the land; and the Lord pouring out his blessings upon the people; and thus ended the fourteenth year of the reign of the Judges, over the people of Nephi.

MORMON ALMA CHAPTER 12

An account of the sons of Mosiah, which rejected their rights to the kingdom, for the word of God, and went up to the land of Nephi, to preach to the Lamanites. -- Their sufferings and deliverance, accorsing to the record of Alma.

And now it came to pass that as Alma was journeying from the land of Gideon, southward, away to the land of Manti, behold, to his astonishment, he met with the sons of Mosiah, a journeying towards the land of Zarahemla. Now these sons of Mosiah were with Alma at the time the angel first appeared unto him; therefore Alma did rejoice exceedingly, to see his brethren; and what added more to his joy, they were still his brethren in the Lord; yea, and they had waxed strong in the knowledge of the truth; for they were men of a sound understanding, and they had searched the Scriptures diligently, that they might know the word of God. But this is not all; they had given themselves to much prayer, and fasting, therefore they had the spirit of prophecy, and the spirit of revelation, and when they taught, they taught with power and authority, even as with the power and authority of God. And they had been teaching the word of God for the space of fourteen years, among the Lamanites, having had much success in bringing many to the knowledge of the truth; yea, by the power of their words, many were brought before the altar of God, to call on his name, and confess their sins before him. Now these are the circumstances which attended them in their journeyings, for they had many afflictions; they did suffer much, both in body and in mind; such as hunger, thirst and fatigue, and also much labor in the spirit. Now these were their journeyings, having taken leave of their father Mosiah, in the first year of the reign of the Judges; having refused the kingdom which their father was desirous to confer upon them; and also this was the minds of the people; nevertheless they departed out of the land of Zarahemla, and took their swords, and their spears, and their bows, and their arrows, and their slings; and this they done that they might provide food for themselves while in the wilderness: and thus they departed into the wilderness, with their numbers which they had selected, to go up to the land of Nephi, to preach the word of God unto the Lamanites.

And it came to pass that they journeyed many days in the wilderness, and they fasted much, and prayed much, that the Lord would grant unto them a portion of his spirit to go with them, and abide with them, that they might be an instrument in the hands of God, to bring, if it were possible, their brethren, the Lamanites, to the knowledge of the truth; to the knowledge of the baseness of the traditions of their fathers, which were not correct.

And it came to pass that the Lord visit them with his spirit, and said unto them, Be comforted; and they were comforted. And the Lord said unto them also, Go forth among the Lamanites, thy brethren, and establish my word; yet ye shall be patient in long suffering and afflictions, that ye may shew forth good examples unto them in me, and I will make an instrument of thee in my hands, unto the salvation of many souls.

And it came to pass that the hearts of the sons of Mosiah, and also those which were with them, took courage to go forth unto the Lamanites, to declare unto them the word of God. And it came to pass when they had arriven in the borders of the land of the Lamanites, that they separated themselves, and departed one from another, trusting in the Lord, that they should meet again at the close of their harvest: for they supposed that great was the work which they had undertaken. -- And assuredly it was great, for they had undertaken to preach the word of God to a wild, and a hardened, and a ferocious people; a people which delighted in the murdering the Nephites, and robbing, and plundering them; and their hearts were set upon riches, or upon gold, and silver, and precious stones; yet they sought to obtain these things by murdering and plundering, that they might not labor for them with their own hands: thus they were a very indolent people, many of whom did worship idols, and the curse of God had fell upon them because of the traditions of their fathers; notwithstanding, the promises of the Lord were extended unto them, on the conditions of repentance; therefore this was the cause for which the sons of Mosiah had undertaken the work, that perhaps they might bring them unto repentance; that perhaps they might bring them to know of the plan of redemption; therefore they separated themselves one from another; and went forth among them every man alone, according to the word and power of God, which was given unto him.

Now Ammon being the chief among them, or rather he did administer unto them; and he departed from them, after having blessed them according to their several stations, having imparted the word of God unto them, or administered unto them before his departure; and thus they took their several journeys throughout the land. And Ammon went to the land of Ishmael, the land being called after the sons of Ishmael, which also became Lamanites. And as Ammon entered the land of Ishmael, the Lamanites took him and bound him, as was their custom, to bind all the Nephites which fell into their hands, and carry them before the king; and thus it was left to the pleasure of the king to slay them, or to retain them in captivity, or to cast them into prison, or to cast them out of his land, according to his will and pleasure; and thus Ammon was carried before the king which was over the land of Ishmael; and his name was Lamoni; and he was a descendant of Ishmael. And the king inquired of Ammon if it were desirous to dwell in the land among the Lamanites, or among his people? And Ammon said unto him, Yea, I desire to dwell among this people for a time; yea, and perhaps until the day I die.

And it came to pass that king Lamoni was much pleased with Ammon, and caused that his bands should be loosed; and he would that Ammon should take one of his daughters to wife. But Ammon saith unto him, Nay, but I will be thy servant; therefore Ammon became a servant to king Lamoni. And it came to pass that he was set, among other servants, to

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watch the flocks of Lamoni, according to the custom of the Lamanites. And it came to pass that after he had been in the service of the king three days, that as he was, with the Lamanitish servants, a going forth with their flocks, to the place of water, which was called the water of Sebus; (and all the Lamanites drive their flocks hither, that they might have water;) therefore as Ammon and the servants of the king were driving forth their flocks to this place of water, behold, a certain number of the Lamanites who had been with their flocks to water, stood and scattered the flocks of Ammon, and the servants of the king, and they scattered them insomuch that they fled many ways.

Now the servants of the king began to murmur, saying: Now the king will slay us, as he has our brethren, because their flocks were scattered by the wickedness of these men. And they began to weep exceedingly, saying, Behold our flocks are scattered already. Now they wept because of the fear of being slain. Now when Ammon saw this, his heart was swollen within him, with joy, for, said he, I will shew forth my power unto these my fellow servants, or the power which is in me, in restoring these flocks unto the king, that I may win the hearts of these my fellow servants, that I may lead them to believe in my words. Now these were the thoughts of Ammon, when he saw the afflictions of those which he termed to be his brethren.

And it came to pass that he flattered them by his words, saying: My brethren, be of good cheer and let us go in search of the flocks, and we will gather them together, and bring them back unto the place of water; and thus we will reserve the flocks unto the king, and he will not slay us.

And it came to pass that they went in search of the flocks, and they did follow Ammon, and they rushed forth with much swiftness, and did head the flocks of the king, and did gather them together again, to the place of water. And those men again stood to scatter their flocks; but Ammon saith unto his brethren, Encircle the flocks round about, that they flee not; and I go and contend with these men which do scatter our flocks. Therefore they did as Ammon commanded them, and he went forth and stood to contend with those which stood by the waters of Sebus; and they were not in number a very few; therefore they did not fear Ammon, for they supposed that one of their men could slay him, according to their pleasure, for they knew not that the Lord had promised Mosiah that he would deliver his sons out of their hands; neither did they know any thing concerning the Lord; therefore they delighted in the destruction of their brethren; and for this cause they stood to scatter the flocks of the king.

But Ammon stood forth and began to cast stones at them with his sling; yea, with mighty power he did sling stones amongst them; and thus he slew a certain number of them, insomuch that they began to be astonished at his power; nevertheless they were angry because of the slain of their brethren, and they were determined that he should fall; therefore, seeing that they could not hit him with their stones, they came forth with clubs to slay him. But behold, every man that lifted his club to smite Ammon, he smote off their arms with his sword; for he did withstand their blows by smiting their arms with the edge of his sword, insomuch that they began to be astonished, and began to flee before him; yea, and they were not few in number; and he caused them to flee by the strength of his arm. Now six of them had fallen by the sling, but he slew none save it were their leader; and he smote off as many of their arms as was lifted against him, and they were not a few. And when he had driven them afar off, he returned, and they watered their flocks and returned them to the pasture of the king, and then went in unto the king, bearing the arms which had been smote off by the sword of Ammon, of those who sought to slay him; and they were carried in unto the king, for a testimony of the things which they had done.

And it came to pass that king Lamoni caused that his servants should stand forth and testify to all the things which they had seen concerning the matter. And when they had all testified to the things which they had seen, and he had learned of the faithfulness of Ammon in preserving his flocks, and also of his great power in contending against those who sought to slay him, he was astonished exceedingly, and saith, Surely, this is more than a man. Behold, is not this the Great Spirit which doth send such great punishments upon his people, because of their murders? And they answered the king, and said, Whether he be the Great Sprit or a man, we know not; but this much we do know, that he cannot be slain by the enemies of the king; neither can they scatter the king's flocks when he is with us, because of his expertness and great strength; therefore, we know that he is a friend to the king. And now, O king, we do not believe that a man hath such great power, for we know that he cannot be slain. And now when the kig heard these words, he said unto them, Now I know that it is the Great Spirit; and he hath come down at this time to preserve your lives, that I might not slay you as I did your brethren. Now this is the Great Spirit of which our fathers have spoken. Now this was the tradition of Lamoni, which he had received from his father, that there was a Great Spirit. Notwithstanding they believed in a Great Spirit, they supposed that whatsoever they did, was right; nevertheless, Lamoni began to fear exceedingly, with fear lest he had done wrong in slaying his servants: for he had slew many of them, because their brethren had scattered their flocks at the place of water; and thus because they had their flocks scattered, they were slain. Now it was the practice of the Lamanites, to stand by the waters of Sebus, to scatter the flocks of the people, that thereby they might drive away many that were scattered, unto their own land, it being a practice of plunder among them.

And it came to pass that king Lamoni inquired of his servants, saying: Where is this man that hath such great power?

And they said unto him, Behold, he is feeding thy horses. -- Now the king had commanded his servants previous to the time of the watering of their flocks, that they should prepare his horses and chariots, and conduct him forth to the land of Nephi: for their had been a great feast appointed at the land of Nephi, by the father of Lamoni, who was king over all the land. Now when king Lamoni heard that Ammon was preparing his horses and his chariots, he was more astonished, because of the faithfulness of Ammon, saying: Surely, there has not been any servant among all my servants, that has been so faithful as this man; for even he doth remember all my commandments to execute them. Now I surely know that this is the Great Spirit; and I would desire him that he come in unto me, but I durst not.

And it came to pass that when Ammon had made ready the horses and the chariots for the king and his servants, he went in unto the king, and he saw that the countenance of the king was changed; therefore he was about to return out of his presence; and one of the king's servants said unto him, Rabbanah, which is, being interpreted, powerful, or great king, considering their kings to be powerful; and thus he said unto him, Rabbanah, the king desireth thee to stay; therefore, Ammon turned himself unto the king, and saith unto him, What will thou that I should do for thee, O king? And the king answered him not for the space of an hour, according to their time, for he knew not what he should say unto him. And it came to pass that Ammon said unto him again, What desireth thou of me? But the king answered him not.

And it came to pass that Ammon, being filled with the spirit of God, therefore he perceived the thoughts of the king. And he saith unto him, It is because that thou hast heard that I defended thy servants and thy flocks, and slew seven of their brethren with the sling, and with the sword, and smote off the arms of others, in order to defend thy flocks and thy servants; behold, is it this that causeth thy marvellings? I say unto you, what is it, that thy marvellings are so great? Behold, I am a man, and am thy servant; therefore, whatsoever thou desirest which is right, that will I do. Now when the king had heard these words, he marvelled again, for he beheld that Ammon could discern his thoughts; notwithstanding this, king Lamoni did open his mouth, and said unto him, Who art thou ? Art thou that Great Spirit, which knows all things? Ammon answered and said unto him, I am not. And the king saith,

How knowest thou the thoughts of my heart? Thou mayest speak boldly, and tell me concerning these things; and also tell me by what power ye slew and smote off the arms of my brethren, that scattered my flocks. And now if thou wilt tell me concerning these things, whatsoever thou desirest, I will give unto thee; and if it were needed, I would guard thee with my armies; but I know that thou art more powerful than all they; nevertheless, whatsoever thou desirest of me, I will grant it unto thee. Now Ammon being wise, yet harmless, he saith unto Lamoni, Wilt thou hearken unto my words, if I tell thee by what power I do these things? and this is the thing that I desire of thee. And the king answered him, and said, Yea, I will believe all thy words; and thus he was caught with guile. And Ammon began to speak unto him with boldness, and said unto him, Believest thou that there is a God? And he answered, and said unto him, I do not know what that meaneth. And the Ammon saith, Believest thou that there is a Great Spirit? And he saith, Yea. And Ammon saith, This is God. And Ammon saith unto him again, Believest thou that this Great Spirit, which is God, created all things, which is in Heaven and the Earth? And he saith, Yea, I believe that he created all things which is in the earth; but I do not know the Heavens. And Ammon saith unto him, The Heavens is a place where God dwells, and all his holy angels. And king Lamoni saith, Is it above the earth? And Ammon saith, Yea, and he looketh down upon all the children of men; and he knows all the thoughts and intents of the heart: for by his hand were they all created, from the beginning. And king Lamoni saith, I believe all these things which thou hast spoken. Art thou sent from God? Ammon saith unto him, I am a man; and man in the beginning, was created after the image of God; and I am called by his Holy Spirit to teach these things unto this people, that they may be brought to a knowledge of that which is just and true; and a portion of that Spirit dwelleth in me, which giveth me knowledge, and also power, according to my faith and desires which is in God. Now when Ammon had said these words, he began to the creation of the world, and also to the creation of Adam, and told him all the things concerning the fall of man, and rehearsed and laid before him the records and the Holy Scriptures of the people, and which had been spoken by the prophets, even down to the time that their father Lehi left Jerusalem; and he also rehearsed unto them (for it was unto the king and to his servants,) all the journeyings of their fathers in the wilderness, and all their sufferings with hunger and thirst, and their travel, &c; and he also rehearsed unto them concerning the rebellions of Laman and Lemuel, and the sons of Ishmael, yea, all their rebellions did he relate unto them, and he expounded unto them all the records and Scriptures, from the time that Lehi left Jerusalem, down to the present time; but this is not all, for he expounded unto them the plan of redemption, which was prepared from the foundation of the world; and he also made known unto them concerning the coming of Christ; and all the works of the Lord did he make known unto them.

And it came to pass that after he said all these things, and expounded them to the king, that the king believed all his words. And he began to cry unto the Lord, saying: O Lord, have mercy; according to thy abundant mercy which thou hast had upon the people of Nephi, have upon me and my people. And now when he had said this, he fell unto the earth, as if he were dead. And it came to pass that his servants took him and carried him in unto his wife, and laid him upon a bed; and he lay as if he were dead, for the space of two days and two nights; and his wife, and his sons, and his daughters mourned over him, after the manner of the Lamanites, greatly lamenting his loss.

And it came to pass that after two days and two nights, they were about to take his body and lay it in a sepulchre which they had made for the purpose of burying their dead. Now the queen having heard of the fame of Ammon, therefore she sent and desired that he should come unto her. And it came to pass that Ammon did as he was commanded, and went in unto the queen, and desired to know what she would that he should do. And she saith unto him, The servants or my husband have made it known unto me, that thou art a prophet of a Holy God., and that thou hast the power to do many mighty works in his name; therefore, if this is the case, I would that ye should go in and see my husband, for he has been laid upon his bed for the space of two days and two nights; and some say that he is not dead, but others say that he is dead, and that he stinketh, and that he ought to be placed in the sepulchre; but as for myself, to me he doth not stink. Now this was what Ammon desired, for he knew that king Lamoni was under the power of God; he knew that the dark veil of unbelief being cast away from his mind, and the light which did light up his mind, which was the light of the glory of God, which was a marvellous light of his goodness; yea, this light had infused such joy into his soul, the cloud of darkness having been dispelled, and the light of everlasting light was lit up in his soul; yea, he knew that this had overcame his natural frame, and he was carried away in God; therefore, what the queen desired of him, was his only desire. Therefore he went in to see the king, according as the queen desired him; and he saw the king, and he knew that he was not dead. And he saith unto the queen, He is not dead, but he sleepeth in God, and on the morrow he shall rise again; therefore bury him not. And Ammon saith unto her, Believest thou this? And she asid unto him, I have had no witness, save thy word, and the word of our servants; nevertheless, I believe that it shall be according as thou hast said. And Ammon said unto her, Blessed art thou, because of thy exceeding faith; I say unto thee, woman, there has not been such great faith among all the people of the Nephites.

And it came to pass that she watched over the bed of her husband, from that time, even until that time on the morrow which Ammon had appointed that he should rise. And it came to pass that he arose, according to the words of Ammon; and as he arose, he stretched forth his hand unto the woman, and said, Blessed be the name of God, and blessed art thou: for as sure as thou livest, behold, I have seen my Redeemer; and he shall come forth, and be born of a woman, and he shall redeem all mankind who believe on his name. Now when he had said these words , his heart was swollen within him, and he sunk again with joy; and the queen also sunk down, being overpowered by the spirit. Now Ammon seeing the spirit of the Lord poured out according to his prayers upon the Lamanites, his brethren, which had been the cause of so much mourning among the Nephites, or among all the people of God, because of their iniquities and their traditions; and Ammon fell upon his knees, and began to pour out his soul in prayer and thanksgiving to God, for what he had done for his brethren; and he was also overpowered with joy; and thus they all three had sunk to the earth. Now when the servants of the king had seen that they had fallen, they also began to cry unto God, for the fear of the Lord had come upon them also: for it was they which had stood before the king, and testified unto him concerning the great power of Ammon. And it came to pass that they did call on the name of the

Lord in their might, even until they had fallen to the earth, save it were one of the Lamanitish women, whose name was Abish, she having been converted unto the Lord for many years, on account of a remarkable vision of her father; thus having been converted to the Lord, never had made it known;

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therefore when she saw that all the servants of Lamoni had fallen to the earth, and also her mistress, the queen, and the king, and Ammon lay prostrate upon the earth, she knew that it was the power of God; and supposing that this opportunity, by making known unto the people what had happened among them, that by beholding this scene, it would cause them to believe in the power of God, therefore she ran forth from house to house, making it known unto the people; and they began to assemble themselves together unto the house of the king. And there came a multitude, and to their astonishment, they beheld the king, and the queen, and their servants, prostrate upon the earth, and they all lay there as though they were dead; and they also saw Ammon, and behold, he was a Nephite. And now the people began to murmur among themselves; some saying, That it was a great evil that had come upon them, or upon the king and his house, because he had suffered that the Nephite should remain in the land. But others rebuked them, saying, The king hath brought this evil upon his house, because he slew his servants who had their flocks scattered by those men which had stood at the waters of Sebus, and scattered the flocks which belonged to the king, for they were angry with Ammon because of the number which he had slain of their brethren at the waters of Sebus, while defending the flocks of the king. Now one of them, whose brother had been slain with the sword of Ammon, being exceeding angry with Ammon, drew his sword and went forth that he might let it fall upon Ammon, to slay him; and as he lifted the sword to smite him, behold, he fell dead. Now we see that Ammon could not be slain, for the Lord had said unto Mosiah, his father, I will spare him, and it shall be unto him according to thy faith; therefore Mosiah trusted him unto the Lord.

And it came to pass that when the multitude beheld the man had fell dead, who lifted the sword to slay Ammon, fear came upon them all, and they durst not put forth their hands to touch him, or any of those which had fallen; and they began to marvel again among themselves, what could be the cause of this great power, or what all these things could mean.

And it came to pass that there was many among them, who said that Ammon was the Great Spirit, and others said he was sent by the Great Spirit; but others rebuked them all, saying, That he was a monster, which hath been sent from the Nephites to torment us; and there were some which said that Ammon was sent by the Great Spirit to afflict them, because of their iniquities, and that it was the Great Spirit that had always attended the Nephites, which had ever delivered them out of their hands; and they said that it was this Great Spirit which had destroyed so many of their brethren, the Lamanites; and thus the contention began to be exceeding sharp among them. And while they were thus contending, the woman servant which had caused the multitude to be gathered together came; and when she saw the contention which was among the multitude, she was exceeding sorrowful, even unto tears.

And it came to pass that she went and took the queen by the hand, that perhaps she might raise her from the ground; and as soon as she touched her hand, she arose and stood upon her feet, and cried with a loud voice, saying: O blessed Jesus, who has saved me from the awful hell! O blessed God, have mercy on this people. And when she had said this, she clasped her hands, being filled with joy, speaking many words which were not understood; and when she had done this, she took the king, Lamoni, by the hand, and behold, he arose and stood upon his feet; and he immediately, seeing the contention among his people, went forth and began to rebuke them, and to teach them the words which he had heard from the mouth of Ammon; and as many as heard his words, believed, and were converted unto the Lord. But there were many among them which would not hear his words; therefore they went their way.

And it came to pass that when Ammon arose, he also administered unto them, and also did all the servants of Lamoni; and they did all declare unto the people the self-same thing: and their hearts had been changed; that they had no more desire to do evil. And behold, many did declare unto the people that they had seen angels, and had conversed with them; and thus they had told them things of God, and of his righteousness, And it came to pass that there was many that did believe in their words; and as many as did believe, were baptized; and they became a righteous people, and they did establish a church among them: and thus the work of the Lord did commence among the Lamanites; thus the Lord did begin to pour out his spirit upon them; and we see that his arm is extended to all people who will repent and believe on his name.

And it came to pass that when they established a church in that land, that king Lamoni desired that Ammon should go with him to the land of Nephi, that he might show unto his father. And it came to pass that the voice of the Lord came to Ammon, saying: Thou shalt not go up to the land of Nephi, for behold, the king will seek thy life; but thou shalt go to the land of Middoni; for behold, thy brother Aaron, and also Muloki and Ammah are in prison.

Now it came to pass that when Ammon had heard this, he saith unto Lamoni, Behold, my brother and brethren are in prison at Middoni, and I go that I may deliver them. Now Lamoni saith unto Ammon, I know, in the strength of the Lord, thou canst do all things. But behold, I will go with thee to the land of Middoni; for the king of the land of Middoni, whose name is Antiomno, is a friend unto me; therefore I go to the land of Middoni, that I may flatter the king of the land; and he will cast thy brethren out of prison. Now Lamoni saith unto him, Who told thee that my brethren were in prison? And Ammon saith unto him, No one hath told me, save it be God: and he said unto me, Go and deliver thy brethren, for they are in prison in the land of Middoni. Now when Lamoni had heard this, he caused that his servants should make ready his horses, and his chariots. And he saith unto Ammon, Come, I will go with thee down to the land of Middoni, and there I will plead with the king, that he will cast thy brethren out of prison.

And it came to pass that as Ammon and Lamoni was a journeying thither, that they met the father of Lamoni, who was king over all the land. And behold, the father of Lamoni saith unto him, Why did ye not come to the feast, on that great day when I made feast unto my sons, and unto my people? And he also saith, Whither art thou going with this Nephite, which is one of the children of a liar? And it came to pass that Lamoni rehearst unto him whither he was going, for he feared to offend him. And he also told him all the cause of his tarrying in his own kingdom, that he did not go unto his father, to the feast which he had prepared. And now when Lamoni had rehearsed unto him all these things, behold, to his astonishment, his father was angry with him, and saith, Lamoni, thou art going to deliver these Nephites, which are the sons of a liar. Behold, he robbed our fathers; and now his children are also come amongst us, that they may, by their cunning and lyings, deceive us, that they again may rob us of our property. Now the father of Lamoni commanded him that he should slay Ammon, with the sword. And he also commanded him that he should not go to the land of Middoni, but that he should return with him, to the land of Ishmael. But Lamoni saith unto him, I will not slay Ammon, neither will I return to the land of Ishmael, but I go to the land of Middoni, that I may release the brethren of Ammon, for I know that they are just men, and holy prophets of the true God. Now when his father heard these words, he was angry with him, and he drew his sword that he might smite him to the earth. But Ammon stood forth and saith unto him, Behold, thou shalt not slay thy son; nevertheless, it were better that he should fall than thee: for behold, he hath repented of his sins; but if thou shouldst fall at this time, in thine anger, thy soul could not be saved. And again: It is expedient that thou shouldst forbear; for if thou shouldst slay thy son, (he being and innocent man,) his blood would cry from the ground, to the Lord his God, for vengeance to come upon thee; and perhaps thou wouldst lose thy soul. Now when Ammon had said these words unto him, he answered him, saying: I know that if I should slay my son, that I should shed innocent blood; for it is thou that hast sought to destroy him: and he stretched forth his hand to slay Ammon. But Ammon withstood his blows, and also smote his arm that he could not use it. Now when the king saw that Ammon could slay him, he began to plead with Ammon, that he would spare his life. But Ammon raised his sword, and said unto him, Behold, I will smite thee, except thou wilt grant unto me that my brethren may be cast out of prison. Now the king, fearing that he should lose his life, said, if thou wilt spare me, I will grant unto thee whatsoever thou wilt ask, even to the half of the kingdom.

Now when Ammon saw that he had wrought upon the old king according to his desire. he saith unto him, If thou wilt grant that my brethren may be cast out of prison, and also that Lamoni may retain his kingdom, and that ye be not displeased with him, but grant that he may according to his own desires, in whatsoever thing he thinketh, and then will I spare thee; otherwise I will smite thee to the earth. Now when Ammon had said these words, the king began to rejoice because of his life. And when he saw that Ammon had no desires to destroy him, and when he also saw the great love he had for his son Lamoni, he was astonished exceedingly, and saith, Because this is all that thou hast desired, that I would release thy brethren, and suffer that my son Lamoni should retain his kingdom, behold, I will grant unto you that my son retain his kingdom from this time and forever; and I will govern him no more. And I will also grant unto thee that thy brethren may be cast out of prison, and thou and thy brethren may come unto me, in my kingdom; for I shall greatly desire to see thee; for the king was greatly astonished at the words which had been spoken, and also at the words which had been spoken by his son Lamoni; therefore he was desirous to learn them.

And it came to pass that Ammon and Lamoni proceeded on their journey towards the land of Middoni. And it came to pass that Lamoni found favor in the eyes of the king of the land; therefore the brethren of Ammon was brought forth out of prison. And when Ammon did meet them, he was exceeding sorrowful, for behold, they were naked, and their skins were worn exceedingly, because of being bound with strong cords. And they also had suffered hunger, thirst, and all kind of afflictions; nevertheless they were patient in all their sufferings. And as it happened, it was their lot to have fallen into the hands of a more hardened and a more stiffnecked people; therefore they would not hearken unto their words, and they had cast them out, and had smote them, and had driven them from house to house, and from place to place, even until they had arriven to the land of Middoni; and there they were taken and cast into prison, and bound with strong cords, and kept in prison for many days; and were delivered by Lamoni and Ammon.

MORMON ALMA CHAPTER 13

An account of the preaching of Aaron and Muloki, and their brethren, to the Lamanites.

Now when Ammon and his brethren separated themselves in the borders of the land of the Lamanites, behold, Aaron took his journey towards the land which was called by the Lamanites, Jerusalem; calling it after the land of their fathers' nativity; and it was away joining the borders of Mormon. -- Now the Lamanites, and the Amalekites, and the people of Amulon, had built a great city, which was called Jerusalem. Now the Lamanites, of themselves, were sufficiently hardened, but the Amalekites, and the Amulonites, were still harder; therefore they did cause the Lamanites that they should harden their hearts, that they should wax stronger in wickedness, and their abominations.

And it came to pass that Aaron came to the city of Jerusalem, and firstly began to preach to the Amalekites. And he began to preach to them in their synagogues, for they had built synagogues, after the order of the Nehors; for many of the Amalekites and the Amulonites were after the order of the Nehors. Therefore, as Aaron entered into one of their synagogues to preach unto the people, and as he was speaking unto them, behold there arose an Amalekite, and began to contend with him, saying: What is that that thou hast testified? Hast thou seen an angel? Why do not angels appear unto us? Behold, art not this people as good as thy people? -- Thou also sayest, Except ye repent, we shall perish. How knowest thou the thought and intent of our hearts? How knowest thou that we have cause to repent? How knowest thou that we are not a righteous people? Behold, we have built sanctuaries, and we do assemble ourselves together to worship God. We do believe that God will save all men.

Now Aaron said unto him, Believest thou that the Son of God shall come to redeem mankind from their sins? And the man saith unto him, We do not believe that thou knowest any such thing. We do not believe in these foolish traditions. We do not believe that thou knowest of things to come, neither do we believe that thy fathers, and also that our fathers did know concerning the things which they spake, of that which is to come.

Now Aaron began to open the Scriptures unto them, concerning the coming of Christ, and also concerning the resurrection of the dead, and that there could be no redemption for mankind, save it were through the death and sufferings of Christ, and the atonement of his blood. And it came to pass that as he began to expound these things unto them, they were angry with him, and began to mock him; and they would not hear the words which he spake; therefore, when he saw that they would not hear his words, he departed out of the synagogue, and came over to a village which was called Ani-anti, and there he found Muloki a preaching the word unto them; and also Ammah, and his brethren. And they contended with many about the word. And it came to pass that they saw that the people would harden their hearts; therefore they departed, and came over into the land of Middoni. And they did preach the word unto many, and few believed on the words which they taught. Nevertheless, Aaron, and a certain number of his brethren, were taken and cast into prison, and the remainder of them fled out of the land of Middoni, unto the regions round about. And those which were cast into prison suffered many things, and they were delivered by the hand of Lamoni and Ammon; and they were fed and clothed. And they went forth again to declare the word; and thus they were delivered for the first time out of prison; and thus they had suffered. And they went forth whithersoever they were led by the spirit of the Lord, preaching the word of God in every synagogue of the Amalekites, or in every assembly of the Lamanites, where they could be admitted.

And it came to pass that the Lord began to bless them, insomuch that they brought many to the knowledge of the truth; yea, they did convince many of their sins, and of the tradition of their fathers, which were not correct.

And it came to pass that Ammon and Lamoni returned from the land of Middoni, to the land of Ishmael, which was the land of their inheritance. And king Lamoni would not suffer that Ammon should serve him, or be his servant; but he caused that there be synagogues built in the land of Ishmael; and he caused that his people, or the people which was under his reign, should assemble themselves together. And he did rejoice over them, and he did teach them many things. And he did also declare unto them that they were a people which was under him, and that they were a free people; that they were

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free from the oppressions of the king, his father; for that his father had granted unto him that he might reign over the people which were in the land of Ishmael, and in all the land round about. And he also declared unto them that they might have the liberty of worshiping the Lord their God, according to their desires, in whatsoever place they were in, if it were in the land which was under the reign of king Lamoni. And Ammon did preach unto the people of king Lamoni. --

And it came to pass that he did teach them all things concerning things pertaining to righteousness. And he did exhort them daily, with all diligence; and they gave heed unto his word, and they were zealous for keeping the commandments of God. Now as Ammon was thus teaching the people of Lamoni continually, we will return to the account of Aaron and his brethren; for after he departed from the land of Middoni, he was led by the spirit to the land of Nephi; even to the house of the king which was over all the land, save it were the land of Ishmael; and he was the father of Lamoni.

And it came to pass that he went in unto him into the king's palace, with his brethren, and bowed himself before the king, and said unto him, Behold, O king, we are the brethren of Ammon, whom thou hast delivered out of prison. And now, O king, if thou wilt spare our lives, we will be thy servants. And the king saith unto them, Arise, for I will grant unto you your lives, and I will not suffer that ye shall be my servants; but I will insist that ye shall administer unto me; for I have been somewhat troubled in mind, because of the generosity, and the greatness of the words of thy brother Ammon; and I desire to know the cause why he has not come up out of Middoni, with thee. And Aaron saith unto the king, Behold, the spirit of the Lord hath called him another way: he hath gone to the land of Ishmael, to teach the people of Lamoni. Now the king saith unto them, What is this that ye have said concerning the spirit of the Lord? Behold, this is the thing which doth trouble me. And also, what is this that Ammon said -- if ye will repent ye shall be saved, and if ye will not repent, ye shall be cast off at the last day? And Aaron answered him and said unto him, Believest thou that there is a God? And the king saith, I know that the Amalekites say that there is a God, and I have granted unto them that they should build sanctuaries, that they might assemble themselves together, to worship him. And if now thou sayest there is a God, behold, I will believe.

And now when Aaron heard this, his heart began to rejoice, and he saith, Behold, assuredly, as thou livest, O king, there is a God. And the king saith, Is God that Great Spirit that brought our fathers out of the land of Jerusalem? And Aaron said unto him, Yea, he is that Great Spirit, and he created all things, both in Heaven and in earth: believest thou this? -- And he saith Yea, I believe that the Great Spirit created all things, and I desire that ye should tell me concerning all these things, and I will believe thy words.

And it came to pass that when Aaron saw that the king would believe his words, he began from the creation of Adam, reading the Scriptures unto the king; how God created man after his own image, and that God gave him commandments, and that because of transgression, man had fallen. And Aaron did expound unto him the Scriptures, from the creation of Adam, laying the fall of man before him, and their carnal state, and also the plan of redemption, which was prepared from the foundation of the world, through Christ, for all whosoever would believe on his name. And since man had fallen, he could not merit any thing of himself; but the sufferings and the death of Christ atoneth for their sins, through faith and repentance, &c; and that he breaketh the bands of death, that the grave shall have no victory, and that the sting of death should be swallowed up in the hopes of glory: and Aaron did expound all these things unto the king. And it came to pass that after Aaron had expounded these things unto him, the king saith, What shall I do, that I may be born of God, having this wicked spirit rooted out of my breast, and receive his spirit, that I may be filled with joy, that I may not be cast off at the last day? Behold, saith he, I will give up all that I possess; yea, I will forsake my kingdom, that I may receive this great joy. But Aaron saith unto him, if thou desirest this thing, if thou wilt bow down before God, yea, if thou repent of all thy sins, and will bow down before God, and call on his name in faith, believing that ye shall receive, then shalt thou receive the hope which thou desirest.

And it came to pass that when Aaron had said these words, the king did bow down before the Lord, upon his knees; yea, even he did prostrate himself upon the earth, and cried mightily, saying, O God, Aaron hath told me that there is a God; and if there is a God, and if thou art God, wilt thou make thyself known unto me, and I will give away all my sins to know thee, and that I may be raised from the dead, and be saved at the last day. And now when the king had said these words, he was struck as if he were dead.

And it came to pass that his servants ran and told the queen all that had happened unto the king. And she came in unto the king; and when she saw him lay as if he were dead, and also Aaron and his brethren standing as though they had been the cause of his fall, she was angry with them, and commanded that her servants, or the servants of the king, should take them and slay them. Now the servants had seen the cause of the king's fall, therefore they durst not lay their hands on Aaron and his brethren; and they plead with the queen, saying, Why commandest thou that we should slay these men, when behold, one of them is mightier than us all? Therefore we shall fall before them. Now when the queen saw the fear of the servants, she also began to fear exceedingly, lest there should some evil come upon her. And she commanded her servants that they should go and call the people, that they might slay Aaron and his brethren. Now when Aaron saw the determination of the queen, and he also knowing the hardness of the hearts of the people, feared lest that a multitude should assemble themselves together, and there should be a great contention, and a disturbance among them; therefore he put forth his hand and raised the king from the earth, and said unto him, Stand: and he stood upon his feet, receiving his strength. Now this was done in the presence of the queen, and many of the servants. And when they saw it, they greatly marvelled, and began to fear. And the king stood forth and began to minister unto them. And he did minister unto them insomuch that his whole household were converted unto the Lord. Now there was a multitude gathered together because of the commandment of the queen, and there began to be great murmurings among them, because of Aaron and his brethren. But the king stood forth among them, and administered unto them. And it came to pass that they were pacified towards Aaron, and those which were with him.

And it came to pass that when the king saw that the people were pacified, he caused that Aaron and his brethren should stand forth in the midst of the multitude, and that they should preach the word unto them. And it came to pass that the king sent a proclamation throughout all the land, amongst all his people which was in all his land, which was in all the regions round about, which was bordering even to the sea, on the east, and on the west, and which was divided from the land of Zarahemla by a narrow strip of wilderness, which ran from the sea, east, even to the sea west, and round about on the borders of the sea shore, and the borders of the wilderness which was on the north, by the land of Zarahemla, through the borders of Manti, by the head of the river Sidon, running from the east towards the west; and thus were the Lamanites and the Nephites divided. Now the more idle part of the Lamanites lived in the wilderness, and dwelt in tents; and they were spread through the wilderness, on the west, in the land of Nephi; yea, and also on the west of the land of Zarahemla, in the borders, by the seashore, and on the west, in the land of Nephi, in the place of their fathers' first inheritance; and thus bordering along the seashore. And also there was many Lamanites on the east by the seashore, whither the Nephites had driven them. And thus the Nephites were nearly surrounded by the Lamanites; nevertheless the Nephites had taken possession of all the northern parts of the land, bordering on the wilderness, at the head of the river Sidon, from the east to the west, round about on the wilderness side; on the north, even until they came to the land which they called Bountiful. And it bordered upon the land which they called Desolation; it being so far northward that it came into the land which had been peopled, and had been destroyed of whose bones we have spoken, which was discovered by the people of Zarahemla; it being the place of their first landing. And they came from there up into the south wilderness. Thus the land on the northward was called Desolation, and the land on the southward was called Bountiful; it being the wilderness which was filled with all manner of wild animals of every kind; a part of which had come from the land northward, for food. And now it was only the distance of a day and a half's journey for a Nephite, on the line Bountiful, and the land Desolation, from the East to the West sea; and thus the land of Nephi, and the land of Zarahemla, was surrounded by water; there being a small, neck of land between the land northward, and the land southward.

And it came to pass that the Nephites had inhabited the land Bountiful, even from the East unto the West sea, and thus the Nephites in their wisdom, with their guards and their armies, had hemmed in the Lamanites on the south, that thereby they should have no more possession on the north, that they might overrun the land northward; therefore the Lamanites could have no more possessions only in the land of Nephi, and the wilderness round about. Now this was wisdom in the Nephites, as the Lamanites were an enemy to them, they would not suffer their afflictions on every hand, and also that they might have a country whither they might flee, according to their desires. And now I, after having said this, return again to the account of Ammon, and Aaron, Omner and Himni, and their brethren.

MORMON ALMA CHAPTER 14

Behold, now it came to pass that the king of the Lamanites sent a proclamation among all his people, that they should not lay their hands on Ammon or Aaron, or Omner, or Himni, nor neither of their brethren which should go forth preaching the word of God, in whatsoever place they should be, in any part of the land; yea, he sent a decree among them, that they should not lay their hands on them to bind them, or to cast them into prison; neither should they spit upon them, nor smite them, nor cast them out of their synagogues, nor scourge them; neither should they cast stones at them, but that they should have free access to their houses, and also their temples, and their sanctuaries; and thus they might go forth and preach the word according to their desires, for the king had been converted unto the Lord, and all his household; therefore he seat this proclamation throughout the land unto his people, that the word of God might have no obstruction, but that it might go forth throughout all the land, that his people might be convinced concerning the wicked traditions of their fathers, and that they might be convinced that they were all brethren, and that they had not ought to murder, nor to plunder, nor to steal, nor to commit adultery, not to commit any manner of wickedness. And now it came to pass that when the king had sent forth this proclamation, that Aaron and his brethren went forth from city to city, and from one house of worship to another, establishing churches, and consecrating priests and teachers throughout the land among the Lamanites, to preach and to teach the word of God among them; and thus they began to have great success. And thousands were brought to the knowledge of the Lord, yea, thousands were brought to believe in the traditions of the Nephites; and they were taught the records and the prophecies which were handed down, even to the present time; and as sure as the Lord liveth, so sure as many as believed, or as many as were brought to the knowledge of the truth, through the preaching of Ammon and his brethren, according to the spirit of revelation and of prophecy, and the power of God, working miracles in them; yea, I say unto you, as the Lord liveth, as many of the Lamanites as believed in their preaching, and were converted unto the Lord, never did fall away, for they became a righteous people; they did lay down the weapons of their rebellion, that they did not fight against God no more, neither against any of their brethren. -- Now these are they which were converted unto the Lord: The people of the Lamanites which were in the land of Ishmael, and also the people of the Lamanites which were in the land of Middoni, and also of the people of the Lamanites which were in the city of Nephi, and also of the people of the Lamanites which were in the land of Shilom, and which were in the land of Shemlon, and in the city of Lemuel, and the city of Shimnilom; and these are the names of the cities of the Lamanites which were converted unto the Lord; and these are they that laid down the weapons of their rebellion, yea, all their weapons of war; and they were all Lamanites. And the Amalekites were not converted, save only one; neither was any of the Amulonites; but they did harden their hearts, and also the hearts of the Lamanites in that part of the land whithersoever they dwelt; yea, and all their villages and all their cities; therefore we have named all the cities of the Lamanites in which they did repent and come to the knowledge of the truth, and were converted.

And now it came to pass that the king and those people which were converted, were desirous that they might have a name, that thereby they might be distinguished from their brethren; therefore the king consulted with Aaron and many of their priests, concerning the name that they should take upon them, that they might be distinguished. And it came to pass that they called their name Anti-Nephi-Lehies; and they were called by this name, and were no more called Lamanites. And they began to be a very industrious people; yea, and they were friendly with the Nephites; therefore they did open a correspondence with them, and the curse of God did no more follow them.

And it came to pass that the Amalekites, and the Amulonites, and the Lamanites which were in the land of Amulon, and also in the land of Helam, and which was in the land of Jerusalem, and in fine, in all the land round about, which had not been converted, and had not taken upon them the name of Anti-Nephi-Lehi, were stirred up by the Amalekites, and by the Amulonites, to anger against their brethren; and their hatred became exceeding sore against them, even insomuch that they began to rebel against their king, insomuch that they would not that he should be their king; therefore they took up arms against the people of Anti-Nephi-Lehi.

Now the king conferred the kingdom upon his son; and he called his name Anti-Nephi-Lehi. And the king died in that self-same year that the Lamanites began to make preparation for war against the people of God. Now when Ammon and his brethren, and all those which had come up with him, saw the preparations of the Lamanites to destroy their brethren, they came forth to the land of Midian, and there Ammon met all his brethren; and from thence they came to the land of Ishmael, that they might hold a council with Lamoni, and also with his brother Anti-Nephi-Lehi, what they should do to defend themselves against the Lamanites. Now there was not one soul among all the people which had been converted unto the Lord, that would take up arms against their brethren; nay, they would not even make any preparations for war; yea, and also their king commanded them that they should not. Now these are the words which he said unto the people concerning the matter: I thank my God, my beloved people, that our great

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God has in goodness sent these our brethren, the Nephites, unto us to preach unto us, and to convince us of the traditions of our wicked fathers. And behold, I thank my great God that he has given us a portion of his spirit to soften our hearts, that we have opened a correspondence with these brethren, the Nephites; and behold, I also thank my God that by opening this correspondence, we have been convinced of our sins, and of the many murders which we have committed; and I also thank my God, yea, my great God, that he hath granted unto us that we might repent of these things, and also that he hath forgiven us those many sins and murders which we have committed, and took away the guilt from our hearts, through the merits of his Son. And now behold, my brethren, since it has been all that we could so, (as we were the most lost of all mankind,) to repent of all our sins and the many murders which we have committed, and to get God to take them away from our hearts, for it was all we could do to repent sufficiently before God, that he would take away our stain. Now my best beloved brethren, since God hath taken away our stains, and our swords have become bright, and let us stain our swords no more with the blood of our brethren. Behold, I say unto you, Nay, let us retain our swords, that they be not stained with the blood of our brethren: for perhaps, if we should stain our swords again, they can no more be washed bright through the blood of the Son of our great God, which shall be shed for the atonement of our sins. And the great God has had mercy on us, and made these things known unto us, that we might not perish; yea, and he hath made these things known unto us beforehand, because he loveth our souls as well as he loveth our children; therefore in his mercy he doth visit us by his angels, that the plan of salvation might be made known unto us as well as unto future generations. O how merciful is our God! And now behold, since it has been as much as we could do to get our stains taken away from us, and our swords are made bright, let us hide them away that they may be kept bright, as a testimony to our God at the last day, or at the day that we shall be brought to stand before him to be judged, that we have not stained our swords in the blood of our brethren since he imparted his word unto us, and has made us clean thereby. And now my brethren, if our brethren seek to destroy us, behold, we will hide away our swords, yea, even we will bury them deep in the earth, that they may be kept bright, as a testimony that we have never used them, at the last day; and if our brethren destroy us, behold, we shall go to our God, and shall be saved.

And now it came to pass that when the king had made an end of these sayings, and all the people were assembled together, they took their swords, and all the weapons which were used for the shedding of man's blood, and they did bury them up deep in the earth; and this they did, it being in their view a testimony to God, and also to men, that they never use weapons again for the shedding of man's blood; and this they did, vouching and covenanting with God, that rather than to shed the blood of their brethren, they would give up their own lives; and rather than to take away from a brother, they would give unto him; and rather than to spend their days in idleness, they would labor abundantly with theit hands; and thus we see that when these Lamanites were brought to believe and to know the truth, that they were firm, and would suffer even unto death, rather than to commit sin; and thus we see, that they buried the weapons of peace, or they buried the weapons of war, for peace.

And it came to pass that their brethren, the Lamanites made preparations for war, and came up to the land of Nephi, for the purpose of destroying the king, and to place another in his stead, and also of destroying the people of Anti-Nephi-Lehi out of the land. And it came to pass that when the people saw that they were coming against them, they went out to meet them, and prostrated themselves before them to the earth, and began to call on the name of the Lord; and thus they were in this attitude, when the Lamanites began to fall upon them, and began to slay them with the sword; and thus without meeting any resistance, they did slay a thousand and five of them; and we know that they were blessed, for they have gone to dwell with their God. Now when the Lamanites saw that their brethren would not flee from the sword neither would they turn aside to the right hand or to the left, but that they would lay down and perish, and praised God even in the very act of perishing under the sword; now when the Lamanites saw this, they did forbear from slaying them; and there were many whose hearts had swollen in them for those of their brethren who had fallen under the sword, for they repented of the things which they had done.

And it came to pass that they threw down their weapons of war, and they would not take them again, for they were stung for the murders which they had committed; and they came down even as their brethren, relying upon the mercies of those whose arms were lifted to slay them.

And it came to pass that the people of God were joined that day by more than the number which had been slain; and those which had been slain, were righteous people; therefore we have no reason to doubt but what they were saved. And there was not a wicked man slain among them; but there were more than a thousand brought to the knowledge of the truth; thus we see that the Lord worketh in many ways to the salvation of his people. Now the greatest number of those of the Lamanites which slew so many of their brethren, were Amalekites and Amulonites, the greatest number of whom were after the order of the Nehors. Now among those which joined the people of the Lord, there were none which were Amalekites or Amulonites, or which were of the order of Nehor, but they were actual descendants of Laman and Lemuel; and thus we can plainly discern, that after a people has been once enlightened by the spirit of God, and hath had great knowledge of things pertaining to righteousness, and then have fallen away into sin and transgression, they become more hardened, and thus their estate becometh worse than as though they had never known these things.

And behold, now it came to pass that those Lamanites were more angry, because they had slain their brethren; therefore they swore vengeance upon the Nephites; and they did no more attempt to slay the people of Anti-Nephi-Lehi at that time; but they took their armies and went over into the borders of the land of Zarahemla, and fell upon the people which were in the land of Ammonihah, and destroyed them. And after that, they had many battles with the Nephites, in the which they were driven and slain, and among the Lamanites which were slain, were almost all the seed of Amulon and his brethren, which were the priests of Noah, and they were slain by the hands of the Nephites; and the remainder having fled into the east wilderness, and having usurped the power and authority over the Lamanites, caused that many of the Lamanites should perish by fire, because of their belief: for many of them, after having suffered much loss and so many afflictions, they began to be stirred up in remembrance of the words which Aaron and his brethren had preached to them in their land; therefore they began to disbelieve the traditions of their fathers, and to believe in the Lord, and that he gave great power unto the Nephites; and thus there were many of them converted in the wilderness.

And it came to pass that those rulers which were the remnant of the children of Amulon, caused that they should be put to death, yea, all those that believed in these things. Now this martyrdom caused that many of their brethren should be stirred up to anger; and there began to be contention in the wilderness; and the Lamanites began to hunt the seed of Amulon and his brethren, and began to slay them, and they fled into the east wilderness. And behold, they are hunted at this day, by the Lamanites: thus the words of Abinadi was brought to pass, which he said concerning the seed of the priests which caused that he should suffer by fire. For he said unto them, What ye shall do unto me, shall be a type of things to come. And now Abinadi was the first that suffered death by fire, because of his belief in God: now this is what he meant, that many should suffer death by fire, according as he had suffered. And he said unto the priests of Noah, That their seed should cause many to be put to death, in the like manner as he was, and that they should be scattered abroad and slain, even as a sheep having no shepherd is driven and slain by wild beasts: and now behold, these words were verified, for they were driven by the Lamanites, and they were hunted, and were smitten.

And it came to pass when the Lamanites saw that they could not overpower the Nephites, they returned again to their own land; and many of them came over to dwell in the land of Ishmael and the land of Nephi, and did join themselves to the people of God, which was the people of Anti-Nephi-Lehi; and they did also bury their weapons of war, according as their brethren had, and they began to be a righteous people; and they did walk in the ways of the Lord, and did observe to keep his commandments, and his statutes, yea, and they did keep the law of Moses: for it was expedient that they should keep the law of Moses as yet, for it was not all fulfilled. But notwithstanding the law of Moses, they did look forward to the coming of Christ, considering that the law of Moses was a type of his coming, and believing that they must keep those outward performances, until the time that he should be revealed unto them. Now they did not suppose that salvation came by the law of Moses; but the law of Moses did serve to strengthen their faith in Christ; and thus they did retain a hope through faith, unto eternal salvation, relying upon the spirit of prophecy, which spake of those things to come. And now behold, Ammon, and Aaron, and Omner, and Himni, and their brethren, did rejoice exceedingly, for the success which they had had among the Lamanites, seeing that the Lord granted unto them according to their prayers, and that he had also verified his word unto them in every particular. And now, these are the words of Ammon to his brethren, which sayeth thus: My brothers and my brethren, behold I say unto you, how great reason have we to rejoice; for could we have supposed, when we started from the land of Zarahemla, that God would have granted unto us such great blessings? And now I ask, What great blessings hath he bestowed upon us? Can ye tell? Behold, I answer for you, for our brethren, the Lamanites, were in darkness, yea, even in the darkest abyss; but behold, how many of them are brought to behold the marvellous light of God! And this is the blessing which hath been bestowed upon us, that we have been made instruments in the hands of God, to bring about this great work. Behold, thousands of them do rejoice, and have been brought into the fold of God. Behold, the field was ripe, and blessed are ye, for ye did thrust in the sickle, and did reap with your mights, yea, all the day long did ye labor; and behold the number of your sheaves, and they shall be gathered into the garners, that they are not wasted; yea, they shall not be beaten down by the storm, at the last day; yea, neither shall they be harrowed up by the whirlwinds; but when the storm cometh, they shall be gathered together in their place, that the storm cannot penetrate to them; yea, neither shall they be driven with fierce winds, whithersoever the enemy listeth to carry them. But behold, they are in the hands of the Lord of the harvest, and they are his; and he will raise them up at the last day. Blessed be the name of our God; let us sing to his praise, yea, let us give thanks to his holy name, for he doth work righteousness forever. For if we had not come up out of the land of Zarahemla, these our dearly beloved brethren, which have so dearly loved us, would still have been racked with hatred against us, yea, and they would also have been strangers to God.

And it came to pass that when Ammon had said these words, his brother Aaron rebuked him saying: Ammon, I fear thy joy doth carry thee away unto boasting. But Ammon saith unto him, I do not boast in my own strength, or in my own wisdom; but behold, my joy is full, yea, my heart is brim with joy, and I will rejoice in my God; yea, I know that I am nothing; as to my strength, I am weak; therefore I will not boast of myself, but I will boast of my God; for in his strength I can do all things; yea, behold, many mighty miracles we have wrought in this land, for which we will praise his name forever. Behold, how many thousands of our brethren hath he loosed from the pains of hell; and they are brought to sing redeeming love; and this because of the power of his word which is in us; therefore have we not great reason to rejoice? Yea, we have reason to praise him forever, for he is the Most High God, and has loosed our brethren from the chains of hell. Yea, they were encircled about with everlasting darkness and destruction; but behold, he hath brought them into his everlasting light, yea, into everlasting salvation; and they are encircled about with the matchless bounty of his love; yea, and we have been instruments in his hands, of doing this great and marvellous work; therefore let us rejoice, for our joy is full; yea, we will praise our God forever. Behold, who can glory too much in the Lord? Yea, who can say too much of his great power, and of his mercy, and of his long suffering towards the children of men? Behold I say unto you, I cannot say the smallest part which I feel. Who could have supposed that our God would have been so merciful as to have snatched us from our awful, sinful, and polluted state? Behold, we went forth even in wrath, with mighty threatnings to destroy this church. O then, why did he not consign us to an awful destruction; yea, why did he not let the sword of his justice fall upon us, and doom us to eternal despair? O my soul, almost as it were, fleeth at the thought. Behold, he did not exercise his justice upon us, but in his great mercy hath brought us over that everlasting gulf of death and misery, even to the salvation of our souls. And now behold, my brethren, what natural man is there, that knoweth these things? I say unto you, There is none that knoweth these things, save it be the penitent; yea, he that repenteth and exerciseth faith, and bringeth forth good works, and prayeth continually without ceasing: unto such it is given the mysteries of God; yea, unto such it shall be given to reveal things which never have been revealed; yea, and it shall be given unto such, to bring thousands of souls to repentance, even as it hath been given unto us to bring these our brethren to repentance. Now do ye remember, my brethren, that we said unto our brethren in the land of Zarahemla, We go up to the land of Nephi, to preach unto our brethren, the Lamanites, and they laughed us to scorn? For they said unto us, Do ye suppose that ye can bring the Lamanites to the knowledge of the truth? Do ye suppose that ye can convince the Lamanites of the incorrectness of the traditions of their fathers, as stiffnecked a people as they are; whose hearts delighteth in the shedding of blood; whose days have been spent in the grossest iniquity; whose ways have been the ways of a transgressor, from the beginning? Now my brethren, ye remember that this was their language- And moreover, they did say, Let us take up arms against them, that we destroy them and their iniquity out of the land, lest they overrun us and destroy us. But behold, my beloved brethren, we came into the wilderness not with the intent to destroy our brethren but with the intent that perhaps we might save some few of their souls. Now when our hearts were depressed, and we were about to turn back, behold, the Lord comforted us, and said, Go amongst thy brethren, the Lamanites, and bear with patience thine afflictions, and I will give unto the success. And now behold, we have come, and been forth amongst them; and we have been patient in our sufferings and we have suffered every privation; yea, we have travelled from house to house, relying upon the mercies of the world; not upon the mercies of the world alone, but upon the mercies of God; and we have

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entered into their houses and taught them in their streets; yea, and we have taught them upon their hills; and we have also entered into their temples and their synagogues and taught them; and we have been cast out, and mocked, and spit upon, and smote upon our cheeks; and we have been stoned, and taken and bound with cords, and cast into prison; and through the power and wisdom of God, we have been delivered again; and we have suffered all manner of afflictions, and all this, that perhaps we might be the means of saving some soul; and we supposed that our joy would be full, if perhaps we could be the means of saving some. Now behold, we can look forth and see the fruits of our labors; and are they few? I say unto you, Nay, they are many; yea, and we can witness of their sincerity, because of their love towards their brethren, and also towards us. For behold, they had rather sacrifice their lives than even to take the life of their enemy; and they have buried their weapons of war deep in the earth, because of their love towards their brethren. And now behold I say unto you, Has there been so great love in all the land? Behold, I say unto you, Nay, there has not even among the Nephites. For behold, they would take up arms against their brethren; they would not suffer themselves to be slain. But behold, how many of these have laid down their lives; and we know that they have gone to their God, because of their love, and of their hatred to sin. Now have we not reason to rejoice? Yea, I say unto you, There never was men that had so great reason to rejoice as we, since the world began; yea, and my joy is carried away, even unto boasting in my God; for he has all the power, all wisdom, and all understanding; he comprehendeth all things, and he is a merciful Being, even unto salvation, to those who will repent and believe on his name. Now if this is boasting, even so will I boast; for this is my life and my light, my joy and my salvation, and my redemption from everlasting wo. Yea, blessed is the name of my God, who hath been mindful of this people, which are a branch of the tree of Israel, and hath been lost from its body, in a strange land; yea, I say, blessed be the name of my God, who hath been mindful of us wanderers in a strange land. Now my brethren, we see that God is mindful of every people, in whatsoever land they may be in; yea, he numbereth his people, and his bowels of mercy is over all the earth. Now this is my joy, and my great thanksgiving; yea, and I will give thanks unto my God forever. Amen.

MORMON ALMA CHAPTER 15

Now it came to pass that when those Lamanites which had gone to war against the Nephites, had found after their many struggles for to destroy them, that it was in vain to seek their destruction, they returned again to the land of Nephi. And it came to pass that the Amalekites, because of their loss, were exceeding angry. And when they saw that they could not seek revenge from the Nephites, they began to stir up the people in anger against their brethren, the people of Anti-Nephi-Lehi; therefore they began again to destroy them. Now this people again rufused to take their arms, and they suffered themselves to be slain according to the desires of their enemies. Now when Ammon and his brethren saw this work of destruction among those who they so dearly loved, and among those who had so dearly loved them; for they were treated as though they were angels sent from God to save them from everlasting destruction; therefore, when Ammon and his brethren saw this great work of destruction, they were moved with compassion, and they said unto the king, Let us gather together this people of the Lord, and let us go down to the land of Zarahemla, to our brethren, the Nephites, and flee out of the hands of our enemies, that we be not destroyed. But the king saith unto them, Behold, the Nephites will destroy us, because of the many murders and sins we have committed against them. And Ammon saith, I will go and inquire of the Lord, and if he saith unto us, Go down unto our brethren, will ye go? And the king saith unto him Yea; if the Lord saith unto us Go, we will go down unto our brethren, and we will be their slaves until we repair unto them the many murders and sins which we have committed against them. But Ammon saith unto him, It is against the law of our brethren, which was established by my father, that there should be any slaves among them; therefore let us go down and rely upon the mercies of our brethren. But the king saith unto him, Inquire of the Lord, and if he saith unto us Go, we will go; otherwise we will perish in the land.

And it came to pass that Ammon went and inquired of the Lord, and the Lord said unto him, Get this people out of this land, that they perish not, for Satan hath great hold on the hearts of the Amalekites, which do stir up the Lamanites to anger against their brethren, to slay them; therefore get thee out of this land; and blessed art this people in this generation; for I will preserve them.

And now it came to pass that Ammon went and told the king all the words which the Lord had said unto him. And it came to pass that they gathered together all their people; yea, all the people of the Lord, and did gather together all their flocks and herds, and departed out of the land, and came into the wilderness which divided the land of Nephi from the land of Zarahemla, and came over near the borders of the land.

And it came to pass that Ammon saith unto them, Behold, I and my brethren will go forth into the land of Zarahemla, and ye shall remain here until we return; and we will try the hearts of our brethren, whether they will that ye shall come into their land.

And it came to pass that as Ammon was going forth into the land, that he and his brethren met Alma, over in the place of which has been spoken; and behold, this was a joyful meeting. Now the joy of Ammon was great, even that he was full; yea, he was swallowed up in the joy of his God, even to the exhausting of his strength; and he fell again to the earth. Now was not this exceeding joy? Behold, this is joy which none receiveth save it be the truly penitent and humble seeker of happiness. Now the joy of Alma in meeting his brethren was truly great, and also the joy of Aaron, of Omner, and Himni; but behold, their joy was not that to exceed their strength.

Now it came to pass that Alma conducted his brethren back to the land of Zarahemla, even to his own house. And it came to pass that they went and told the Chief Judge all the things that had happened unto them in the land of Nephi among their brethren, the Lamanites.

And it came to pass that the Chief Judge sent a proclamation throughout all the land, desiring the voice of the people concerning the admitting their brethren, which were the people of Anti-Nephi-Lehi. And it came to pass that the voice of the people came saying, Behold, we will give up the land of Jershon, which is on the east by the sea, which joins the land Bountiful, which is on the south of the land of Bountiful; and this land Jershon is the land which we will give unto our brethren, for an inheritance. And behold, we will set our armies between the land of Jershon and the land of Nephi, that we may protect our brethren in the land of Jershon; and this we do for our brethren, on account of their fear to take up arms against their brethren, lest they should commit sin; and this their great fear came, because of their sore repentance which they had, on account of their many murders, and their awful wickedness. And now behold, this will we do unto out brethren, that they may inherit the land of Jershon; and we will guard them from their enemies with our armies, on conditions that they will give us a portion of their substance to assist us, that we may maintain our armies.

Now it came to pass that when Ammon heard this, he returned to the people of Anti-Nephi-Lehi, and also Alma with him, into the wilderness, where they had pitched their tents, and made known unto them all these things. And Alma also related unto them his conversion with Ammon, and Aaron, and his brethren. And it came to pass that it did cause great joy among them. And it came to pass that they went down into the land of Jershon, and took possession of the land of Jershon, and they were called by the Nephites the people of Ammon; therefore they were distinguished by that name ever after; and they were among the people of Nephi, and also numbered among the people which were of the Church of God. And they were also distinguished for their zeal towards God, and also towards men; for they were perfectly honest and upright in all things; and they were firm in the faith of Christ, even unto the end. And they did look upon shedding the blood of their brethren with the great abhorrence; and they never could be prevailed upon to take up arms against their brethren; and they never did look upon death with any degree of terror for their hope and views of Christ and the resurrection; therefore death was swallowed up to them by the victory of Christ over it; therefore they would suffer death in the most aggravating and distressing manner which could be inflicted by their brethren, before they would take the sword or the cimeter to smite them. And thus they were a zealous and beloved people, a highly favored people of the Lord.

And now it came to pass that after the people of Ammon were established in the land of Jershon, and a church also established in the land of Jershon; and the armies of the Nephites were set round about the land of Jershon; yea, in all the borders round about the land of Zarahemla; behold the armies of the Lamanites had followed their brethren into the wilderness. And thus a tremendous battle; yea, even such an one as never had been known among all the people, in the land from the time Lehi left Jerusalem; yea, and tens of thousands of the Lamanites were slain and scattered abroad. Yea, and also there was a tremendous slaughter among the people of Nephi, nevertheless, the Lamanites were driven and scattered, and the people of Nephi returned again to their land. -- And now this was a time that there was a great mourning and lamentation heard throughout all the land, among all the people of Nephi; yea, the cry of widows mourning for their husbands, and also fathers mourning for their sons, and the daughter for the brother; yea, the brother for the father: and thus the cry of mourning was heard among every one of them; mourning for their kindred which had been slain. And now surely this was a sorrowful day; yea, a time of solemnity, and a time of much fasting and prayer: and thus ended the fifteenth year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi; and this is the account of Ammon and his brethren, their journeyings in the land of Nephi, their sufferings in the land, their sorrows, and their afflictions, and their incomprehensible joy, and the reception and safety of the brethren in the land of Jershon. And now may the Lord, the Redeemer of all men, bless their souls forever. And this is the account of the wars and contentions among the Nephites, and also the wars between the Nephites and the Lamanites; and the fifteenth year of the reign of the Judges is ended; and from the first year to the fifteenth, has brought to pass the destruction of many thousand lives; yea, it has brought to pass an awful scene of bloodshed; and the bodies of many thousands are laid low in the earth, while the bodies of many thousands are mouldering in heaps upon the face of the earth; yea, and many thousands are mourning for the loss of their kindred, because they have reason to fear, according to the promises of the Lord, that they are consigned to a state of endless wo; while many thousands of others truly mourn for the loss of their kindred, yet they rejoice and exult in the hope, and even know, according to the promises of the Lord, that ye are raised to dwell at the right hand of God, in a state of never ending happiness: and thus we see how great the iniquity of man is because of sin and transgression, and the power of the Devil, which comes by the cunning plans which he hath devised to ensnare the hearts of men; and thus we see the great call of diligence of men to labor in the vineyards of the Lord; and thus we see the great reason of sorrow, and also of rejoicing: sorrow because of death and destruction among men, and joy because of the light of Christ unto life. O that I were an angel, and could have the wish of mine heart, that I might go forth and speak with the trump of God, with a voice to shake the earth, and cry repentance unto every people; yea, I would declare unto every soul, as with the voice of thunder, Repentance, and the plan of redemption, that they should repent and come unto God, that there might not be no more sorrow upon all the face of the earth. But behold, I am a man, and do sin in my wish; for I had ought to be content with the things which the Lord hath allotted unto me. I had not ought to harrow up in my desires, the firm decree of a just God, for I know that he granteth unto men according to their desires, whether it be unto death or unto life; yea, I know that he allotteth unto men, yea, decreeth unto them decrees which are unalterable, according to their wills; whether it be unto salvation or unto destruction; yea, and I know that good and evil hath come before all men; or he that knoweth not good from evil, is blameless; but he that knoweth good and evil, to him it is given according to his desires; whether he desireth good or evil, life or death, joy or remorse of conscience. Now seeing that I know these things, why should I desire more than to perform the work to which I have been called? Why should I desire that I was an angel, that I could speak unto all the ends of the earth? -- For behold, the Lord doth grant unto all nations, of their own nation and tongue, to teach his word; yea, in wisdom, all that he seeth fit that they should have; therefore we see that the Lord doth counsel in wisdom, according to that which is just and true. I know that which the Lord commanded me, and I glory in it; I do not glory of myself, but I glory in that which the Lord hath commanded me; yea, and this is my glory, that perhaps I may be an instrument in the hands of God, to bring some soul to repentance; and this is my joy. And behold, when I see many of my brethren truly penitent, and coming to the Lord their God, then is my soul filled with joy; then do I remember what the Lord has done for me; yea, that he hath heard my prayer; yea, then do I remember his merciful arm which he extended towards me; yea, and I also remember the captivity of my fathers; for I surely do know that the Lord did deliver them out of bondage, and by this did establish his church; yea, the Lord God, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, did deliver them out of bondage; yea, I have always remembered the captivity of my fathers; and that same God who delivered them out of the hands of the Egyptians, did deliver them out of bondage; yea, and that same God did establish his church among them; yea, and that same God hath called me by a holy calling, to preach the word unto his people, and hath given me much success, in the which my joy is full; but I do not joy in my own success alone, but my joy is more full because of the success of my brethren, which have been up to the land of Nephi. Behold, they have labored exceedingly, and have brought forth much fruit; and how great shall be their reward. Now when I think of the success of these my brethren, my soul is carried away, even to the separation of it from the body, as it were, so great is my joy.

And now may God grant unto these my brethren, that they may sit down in the kingdom of God; yea, and also all those which are the fruit of their labors, that they may go no more out, but that they may praise him forever. And may God grant that it may be done according to my words, even as I have spoken. Amen.

MORMON ALMA CHAPTER 16

Behold, now it came to pass that after the people of Ammon were established in the land of Jershon, yea, and also after the Lamanites were driven out of the land, and their dead were buried by the people of the land. Now their dead were not numbered, because of the greatness of their numbers; neither were the dead of the Nephites numbered. But it came to pass that after they had buried their dead, and also after the days

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of fasting, and mourning, and prayer, (and it was in the sixteenth year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi,) there began to be continual peace throughout all the land; yea, and the people did observe to keep the commandments of the Lord; and they were strict in observing the ordinances of God, according to the law of Moses; for they were taught to keep the law of Moses, until it should be fulfilled; and thus the people did have no disturbance in all the sixteenth year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi.

And it came to pass in the seventeenth year of the reign of the Judges, there was continual peace. But it came to pass in the latter end of the seventeenth year, there came a man into the land of Zarahemla; and he was Anti-Christ, for he began to preach unto the people against the prophecies which had been spoken by the prophets concerning the coming of Christ. Now there was no law against a man's belief; for it was strictly contrary to the commands of God, that there should be a law which should bring men on to unequal grounds. For thus saith the Scripture: Choose ye this day, whom ye will serve. Now if a man desired to serve God, it was his privilege to serve him; but if he did not believe in him, there was no law to punish him. But if he murdered, he was punished unto death; and if he robbed, he was also punished; and if he stole, he was also punished; and if he committed adultery, he was also punished; yea, for all this wickedness, they were punished: for there was a law, that men should be judged according to their crimes. Nevertheless, there was no law against a man's belief; therefore, a man was punished only for the crimes which he had done; therefore all men were on equal grounds. And this Anti-Christ, whose name was Korihor, and the law could have no hold upon him. And he began to preach unto the people, that there should be no Christ. And after this manner did he preach, saying: O ye that are bound down under a foolish and a vain hope, why do ye yoke yourselves with such foolish things? Why do ye look for a Christ? For no man can know of any thing which is to come. Behold, these things which ye call prophecies, which ye say are handed down by the holy prophets, behold, they are foolish traditions of your fathers. How do ye know of their surety? Behold, ye cannot know of things which ye do not see; therefore ye cannot know that there shall be a Christ. Ye look forward and say, that ye see a remission of your sins. But behold, it is the effects of a phrensied mind; and this derangement of your minds comes because of the tradition of your fathers, which lead you away into a belief of things which are not so. And many more such things did he say unto them, telling them that there could be no atonement made for the sins of men, but every man fared in this life, according to the management of the creature; therefore every man prospered according to his genius, and that every man conquered according to his strength; and whatsoever a man did, was no crime.

And thus he did preach unto them, leading away the hearts of many, causing them to lift up their heads in their wickedness; yea, leading away many women, and also men, to commit whoredoms; telling them that when a man was dead, that was the end thereof.

Now this man went over to the land of Jershon, also, to preach these things among the people of Ammon, which were once the people of the Lamanites. But behold, they were more wise than many of the Nephites; for they took him, and bound him, and carried him before Ammon, which was a High Priest over that people.

And it came to pass that he caused that he should be carried out of the land. And it came to pass that he came over into the land of Gideon, and began to preach unto them also; and here he did not have much success, for he was taken and bound, and carried before the High Priest, and also the Chief Judge over the land.

And it came to pass that the High Priest saith unto him, Why do ye go about perverting the ways of the Lord? Why do ye teach this people that there shall be no Christ, to interrupt their rejoicings? Why do ye speak against all the prophecies of the holy prophets? Now the High Priest's name was Giddonah. And Korihor saith unto him, Because I do not teach the foolish traditions of your fathers, and because I do not teach this people to bind themselves down under the foolish ordinances and performances which are laid down by ancient priests, to usurp power and authority over them, to keep them in ignorance, that they may not lift up their heads, but be brought down according to thy words. Yea, say that this people is a free people. Behold, I say they are in bondage. Ye say that those ancient prophecies are true. Behold, I say that ye do not know that they are true. Ye say that this people is a guilty and a fallen people, because of the transgression of a parent. Behold, I say that a child is not guilty because of its parents. And ye also say that Christ shall come. But behold, I say that ye do not know that there shall be a Christ. And ye say also, that he shall be slain for the sins of the world; and thus ye lead away this people after the foolish traditions of your fathers, and according to your own desires; and ye keep them down, even as it were, in bondage that ye may glut yourselves with the labors of their hands, that they durst not look up with boldness, and that they durst not enjoy their rights and privileges; yea, they durst not make use of that which is there own, lest they should offend their priests, which do yoke them according to their desires, and hath brought them to believe by their traditions, and their dreams, and their whims, and their visions, and their pretended mysteries, that they should, if they did not do according to their words, offend some unknown being, which they say is God; a being which never hath been seen not known, which never was nor ever will be. Now when the High Priest and the Chief Judge saw the hardness of his heart; yea, when they saw that he would revile even against God, they would not make any reply to his words; but they caused that he should be bound; and they delivered him up into the hands of the officers, and sent him to the land of Zarahemla, that he might be brought before Alma, and the Chief Judge, which was governor over all the land.

And it came to pass that when he was brought before Alma and the Chief Judge, that he did go on in the same manner as he did in the land of Gideon; yea, he went on to blaspheme. And he did rise up in great swelling words before Alma, and did revile against the priests and teachers, accusing them of leading away the people after the silly traditions of their fathers, for the sake of glutting in the labors of the people. -- Now Alma saith unto him, Thou knowest that we do not glut ourselves upon the labors of this people; for behold, I have labored even from the commencement of the reign of Judges, until now, with mine own hands, for my support, notwithstanding my many travels round about the land, to declare the word of God unto my people. And notwithstanding the many labors which I have performed in the church, I have never received so much as even one senine for my labor; neither hath any of my brethren, save it were in the judgement seat; and then we have received only according to the law, for our time. And now if we do not receive any thing for our labors in the church, what doth it profit us to labor in the church, save it were to declare the truth, that we may have rejoicings in the joy of our brethren? Then why sayest thou that we preach unto this people to get gain, when thou thyself knowest that we receive no gain? And now, believest thou that we deceive this people, that causeth such joy in their hearts? -- And Korihor answered him, Yea. And then Alma saith unto him, Believest thou that there is a God? And heanswered, Nay, Now Alma saith unto him, If ye deny again that there is a God, and also deny the Christ: for behold, I say unto you, I know there is a God, and also that Christ shall come. And now, what evidence have ye that there is no God, or that Christ cometh not? I say unto you that ye have none, save it be your word only. But behold, I have all things as a testimony that these things are true; and ye also have all things as a testimony unto you that they are true; and will ye deny them? Believest thou that these things are true? Behold, I know that thou believest, but thou are possessed with a lying spirit, and ye have put off the spirit of God, that it may have no place in you; but the Devil hath power over you, and he doth carry you about, working devices, that he may destroy the children of God. And now Korihor saith unto Alma, If thou wilt shew me a sign, that I may be convinced that there is a God, yea, shew unto me that he hath power, and then I will be convinced of the truth of my words. But Alma saith unto him, Thou hast had signs enough; will ye tempt your God? Will ye say, Shew unto me a sign, when ye have the testimony of all these thy brethren, and also all the holy prophets? The Scriptures are laid before thee, yea, and all things denote there is a God; yea, even the earth, and all things that is upon the face of it, yea, and its motion; yea, and also all the planets which move in their regular form, doth witness that there is a Supreme Creator; and yet do ye go about, leading away the hearts of this people, testifying unto them there is no God. And yet will ye deny against all these witnesses? And he said, Yea, I will deny, except ye shall shew me a sign.

And now it came to pass that Alma said unto him, Behold, I am grieved because of the hardness of your heart; yea, that ye will resist the spirit of the truth, that thy soul may be destroyed. But behold, it is better that thy soul should be lost, than that thou shouldst be the means of bringing many souls down to destructions, by thy lying and by thy flattering words; that thou shalt become dumb, that thou shalt never open thy mouth any more, that thou shalt not deceive this people any more. Now Korihor saith unto him, I do not deny the existence of a God, but I do not believe that there is a God; and I say also, that ye do not know that there is a God; and except ye shew me a sign, I will not believe. Now Alma saith unto him, This will I give unto thee for a sign, that thou shalt be struck dumb, according to my words; and I say, that in the name of God, that ye shall be struck dumb, that ye shall no more have utterance. Now when Alma said these words, Korihor was struck dumb, that he could not have utterance, according to the words of Alma. And now when the Chief Judge saw this, he put forth his hand and wrote unto Korihor, saying: Art thou convinced of the power of a God? In whom did ye desire that Alma shew forth his sign? Would ye that he should afflict others, to shew unto thee a sign? Behold, he hath showed unto you a sign; and now, will ye dispute more? And Korihor put forth his hand, and wrote saying: I know that I am dumb, for I cannot speak; and I know that nothing, save it were the power of God could bring this upon me; yea, and I also knew that there was a God. But behold, the Devil hath deceived me; for he appeared unto me in the form of an angel, and said unto me, Go and reclaim this people, for they have all gone astray after an unknown God. And he saith unto me, There is no God; yea, and he taught me that which I should say. And I have taught his words; and I taught them, because they were pleasing unto the carnal mind; and I taught them, even until I had much success, insomuch that I verily believed that they were true; and for this cause, I withstood the truth, even until I have brought this great curse upon me. Now when he had said this, he besought that Alma should pray unto god, that the curse might be taken from him. But Alma said unto him, If this curse should be taken from thee thou wouldst again lead away the hearts of this people; therefore, it shall be unto thee, even as the Lord will.

And it came to pass that the curse was not taken off of Korihor; but he was cast out, and went about from house to house, a begging for his food. Now the knowledge of what had happened unto Korihor, was immediately published throughout all the land; yea, the proclamation was sent forth by the Chief Judge, to all the people in the land, declaring to those who had believed in the words of Korihor, that they must speedily repent, lest the same judgements would come unto them.

And it came to pass that they were all convinced of the wickedness of Korihor; therefore they were all converted again unto the Lord; and this put an end to the iniquity after the manner of Korihor. And Korihor did go about from house to house, a begging food for his support.

And it came to pass that as he went forth among the people, yea, among a people which had separated themselves from the Nephites, and called themselves Zoramites, being led by a man whose name was Zoram; and as he went forth amongst them, behold, he was run upon, and trodden down, even until he was dead; and thus we see the end of him who perverteth the ways of the Lord; and thus we see that the Devil will not Support his children at the last day, but doth speedily drag them down to hell.

Now it came to pass after the end of Korihor, Alma having received tidings that the Zoramites were perverting the ways of the Lord, and that Zoram, which was their leader, was leading the hearts of the people to bow down to dumb idols, &c., his heart again began to sicken, because of the iniquity of the people; for it was the cause of great sorrow to Alma, to know of iniquity among his people; therefore his heart was exceeding sorrowful, because of the separation of the Zoramites from the Nephites. Now the Zoramites had gathered themselves together in a land which they called Antionum, which was east of the land of Zarahemla, which lay nearly bordering upon the seashore, which was south of the land of Jershon, which also bordered upon the wilderness south, which wilderness was full of the Lamanites. Now the Nephites greatly feared that the Zoramites would enter into a correspondence with the Lamanites, and that it would be the means of a great loss on the part of the Nephites. And now, as the preaching of the word had a great tendency to lead the people to do that which was just; yea, it had had more power effect upon the minds of the people than the sword, or any thing else, which had happened unto them; therefore Alma thought it was expedient that they should try the virtue of the word of God. Therefore he took Ammon, and Aaron, and Omner; and Himni he did leave in the church of Zarahemla; but the former three he took with him, and also Amulek and Zeesrom, which were at Melek; and he also took two of his sons. Now the eldest of his sons he took not with him; and his name was Helaman; but the names of those which he took with him, were Shiblon and Corianton: and these are the names of those which went with him among the Zoramites, to preach unto them the word.

Now the Zoramites were dissenters from the Nephites; therefore they had the word of God preached unto them. But they had fell into great errors, for they would not observe to keep the commandments of God, and his statutes, according to the law of Moses; neither would they observe the performances of the church, to continue in prayer and supplication to God daily, that they might not enter into temptation; yea, in fine, they did pervert the ways of the Lord in very many instances; therefore, for this cause, Alma and his brethren went into the land, to preach the word unto them.

Now when they had come into the land, behold, to their astonishment, they found that the Zoramites had built synagogues, and that they did gather themselves together on one day of the week, which they did call the day of the Lord; and they did worship after a manner which Alma and his brethren had never beheld; for they had a place built up in the centre of their synagogue, a place of standing, which was high above the head; and the top thereof would only admit one person. Therefore, whosoever desired to worship, must go forth and stand upon the top thereof, and stretch forth his hands towards heaven, and cry with a loud voice, saying: Holy, holy God; we believe that thou art God., and we believe that thou art holy, and that thou wast a spirit, and that thou art a

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spirit, and that thou wilt be a spirit forever. Holy God, we believe that thou hast separated us from our brethren; and we do not believe in the tradition of our brethren, which was handed down to them by the childishness of their fathers; but we believe that thou hast elected us to be thy holy children; and also thou hast made it known unto us that there shall be no Christ; but thou art the same, yesterday, to-day, and forever; and thou hast elected us, that we shall be saved, whilst all around us are elected to be cast by thy wrath down to hell; for the which holiness, O God, we thank thee; and we also thank thee that thou hast elected us, that we may not be led away after the foolish traditions of our brethren, which doth bind them down to a belief of Christ, which doth lead their hearts to wander far from thee, our God. And again: We thank thee, O God, that we are a chosen and a holy people. Amen.

Now it came to pass that after Alma and his brethren, and his sons, had heard these prayers, they were astonished beyond all measure. For behold, every man did go forth and offer up the same prayers. Now the place was called by them Rameumptom, which being interpreted is the Holy Stand. -- Now from this stand, they did offer up, every man, the self-same prayer unto God, thanking their God that they were chosen of him, and that he did not lead them away after the tradition of their brethren; and that their hearts were not stolen away to believe in things to come, which they knew nothing about.

Now after the people had all offered up thanks after this manner, they returned to their homes, never speaking of their God again, until they had assembled themselves together again, to the holy stand, to offer up thanks after their manner. Now when Alma saw this, his heart was grieved: for he saw that they were a wicked and a perverse people; yea, he saw that their hearts were set upon gold, and upon silver, and upon all manner of fine goods. Yea, and he also saw that their hearts were lifted up into great boasting, in their pride. And he lifted up his voice to Heaven, and cried, saying: O how long O Lord, wilt thou suffer that thy servants shall dwell here below in the flesh, to behold such gross wickedness among the children of men. Behold, O God, they cry unto thee, and yet their hearts are swallowed up in their pride. Behold, O God, they cry unto thee with their mouths, while they are puffed up, even to greatness, with the vain things of the world. Behold, O my God, their costly apparel, and their ringlets, and their bracelets, and their ornaments of gold, and all their precious things which they are ornamented with; and behold, their hearts are set upon them, and yet they cry unto thee and say, We thank thee, O God, for we are a chosen people unto thee, while others shall perish. Yea, and they say that thou hast made it known unto them, that there shall be no Christ. O Lord God, how long wilt thou suffer that such wickedness and iniquity shall be among this people? O Lord, wilt thou give me strength, that I may bear with mine infirmities? for I am infirm, and such wickedness among this people doth pain my soul. O Lord, my heart is exceeding sorrowful; wilt thou comfort my soul in Christ? O Lord, wilt thou grant unto me that I may have strength, that I may suffer with patience these afflictions which shall come upon me, because of the iniquity of this people? O Lord, wilt thou comfort my soul, and give unto me success, and also my fellow-laborers which are with me; yea, Ammon, and Aaron, and Omner, and also Amulek, and Zeezrom, and also my two sons; yea, even all these wilt thou comfort, O Lord? Yea, wilt thou comfort their souls in Christ? Wilt thou grant unto them that they may have strength, that they may bear their afflictions which shall come upon them, because of the iniquities of this people? O Lord, wilt thou grant unto us that we may have success in bringing them again unto thee, in Christ? Behold, O Lord, their souls are precious, and many of them are our near brethren, therefore, give unto us O Lord, power and wisdom, that we may bring these, our brethren, again unto thee.

Now it came to pass, that when Alma had said these words, that he clapped his hands upon all they which were with him. And behold, as he clapped his hands upon them, they were filled with the holy Spirit. And after that, they did separate themselves one from another, taking no thoughts for themselves what they should eat, or what they should drink, or what they should put on. And the Lord provided for them that they should hunger not, neither should they thirst; yea, and he also gave them strength, that they should suffer no manner of afflictions, save it were swallowed up in the joy of Christ. -- Now this was according to the prayer of Alma; and this because he prayed in faith.

And it came to pass that they did go forth, and began to preach the word of God unto the people, entering into their synagogues, and into their houses; yea, and even they did preach the word in their streets. And it came to pass that after much labor among them, they began to have success among the poor class of people; for behold, they were cast out of the synagogues, because of the coarseness of their apparel; therefore they were not permitted to enter into their synagogues to worship God, being esteemed as filthiness; therefore they were poor; yea, they were esteemed by their brethren as dross; therefore they were poor as to things of the world; and also they were poor in heart.

Now as Alma was teaching and speaking unto the people upon the hill Onidah, there came a great multitude unto him, which were those of which we have been speaking, of which were poor in heart, because of their poverty as to the things of the world. And they came unto Alma; and the one which was the most foremost among them, saith unto him, Behold, what shall these my brethren do, for they are despised of all men, because of their poverty; yea, and more especially by our priests; for they have cast us out of our synagogues, which we have labored abundantly to build, with our own hands; and they have cast us out because of this our exceeding poverty, that we have no place to worship God; and behold, what shall we do? And now when Alma heard this, he turned him about, his face immediately towards him, and he beheld, with great joy; for he beheld that their afflictions had truly humbled them, and that they were in a preparation to hear the word; therefore he did say no more to the other multitude, but he stretched forth his hand, and cried unto those which he beheld, which were truly penitent, and saith unto them, I beheld that ye are lowly in heart; and if so, blessed are ye. Behold, thy brother hath said, What shall we do? for we are cast out of our synagogues, that we cannot worship God. Behold I say unto you, Do ye suppose that ye cannot worship God, save it be in your synagogues? And moreover, I would ask, Do ye suppose that ye must not worship God only once in a week? I say unto you, It is well that ye are cast out of your synagogues, that ye may be humbled, and that ye may learn wisdom; for it is necessary that ye should learn wisdom; for it is because ye are cast out, that ye are despised of your brethren; because of your exceeding poverty, that ye are brought to a lowliness of heart; for ye are necessarily brought to be humble, blessed are ye; for a man sometimes, if he is compelled to be humble, seeketh repentance; and now surely, whosoever repenteth, shall find mercy; and he that findeth mercy and endureth to the end, the same shall be saved. And now as I said unto you, That because ye are compelled to be humble, ye were blessed, do ye suppose that they are more blessed who truly humble themselves because of the word? Yea, he that truly humbleth himself, and repenteth of his sin, and endureth to the end, the same shall be blessed; yea, much more blessed than they who art compelled to be humble, because of their exceeding poverty; therefore blessed are they who humbleth themselves without being compelled to be humble; or rather, in other words, blessed is he that believeth in the word of God, and is baptized without stubborness of heart; yea, without being brought to know the word, or even compelled to know, before they will believe. Yea, there are many which do say, If thou wilt show unto us a sign from Heaven, then we shall know of a surety; then we shall believe. Now I ask, Is this faith? Behold, I say unto you, Nay; for if a man knoweth a thing, he hath no cause to believe, for he knoweth it. And now, how much more cursed is he that only believeth, or only hath cause to believe, and falleth into transgression? Now of this thing, ye must judge. Behold, I say unto you, That it is on the one hand, even as it is on the other; and it shall be unto every man according to his work.

And now as I said concerning faith: Faith, is not to have a perfect knowledge of things; therefore if ye have faith, ye hope for things which is not seen, which are true. And now, behold, I say unto you: and I would that ye should remember that God is merciful unto all who believe on his name; therefore he desireth, in the first place, that ye should believe, yea, even on his word. And now, he imparteth his word by angels, unto men; yea, not only men, but women also. Now this is not all: little children doth have words given unto them many times, which doth confound the wise and learned.

And now. my beloved brethren, as ye have desired to know of me what shall ye do because ye are afflicted and cast out: now I do not desire that ye should suppose that I mean to judge you only according to that which is true; for I do not mean that ye all of you have been compelled to humble yourselves;. for I verily believe there are some among you which would humble themselves, let them be in whatsoever circumstances they might. Now as I said concerning faith -- that it was not a perfect knowledge, even so it is with my words. Ye cannot know of their surety at first, unto perfection, any more than faith is a perfect knowledge. But behold, if ye will awake and arouse your faculties, even to an experiment upon my words, and exercise a particle of faith; yea, even if ye can no more than desire to believe, let this desire work in you, even until ye believe in a manner that ye can give place for a portion of my words. Now we will compare the word unto a seed. Now if ye give place, that a seed may be planted in your heart, behold, if it be a true seed, or a good seed, if ye cast it out by your unbelief, that ye will resist the spirit of the Lord, behold, it will begin to swell within your breasts; and when you feel these swelling motions, ye will begin to say within yourselves, It must needs be that this is a good seed, or that the word is good, for it beginneth to enlarge my soul; yea, it beginneth to enlighten my understanding; yea, and it beginneth to be delicious to me. Now behold, would not this increase your faith? I say unto you, yea; nevertheless it hath not grown up to a perfect knowledge. But behold, as the seed swelleth, and sprouteth, and beginneth to grow, and then ye must needs say, That the seed is good; for behold it swelleth, and sprouteth, and beginneth to grow. And now behold, are ye sure that this is a good seed? I say unto you, Yea; for every seed bringeth forth unto its own likeness; therefore. if a seed groweth, it is good, but if it groweth not, behold, it is not good; therefore it is cast away. And now behold, because ye have tried the experiment, and planted the seed, and it swelleth, and sprouteth, and beginneth to grow, ye must needs know that the seed is good. And now behold, is your knowledge perfect? Yea, your knowledge is perfect in that thing, and your faith is dormant; and this because you know; for ye know that the word hath swelled your souls; and ye also know that it hath sprouted up, that your understanding doth begin to be enlightened, and your mind doth begin to expand. O then, is not this real? I say unto you, yea, because it is light; and whatsoever is light, is good, because it is discernible; therefore ye must know that it is good. And now behold, after ye have tasted this light, is your knowledge perfect? Behold, I say unto you, Nay; neither must ye lay aside your faith, for ye have only exercised your faith to plant the seed, that ye might try the experiment, to know if the seed was good. And behold, as the tree beginneth to grow, ye will say, Let us nourish it with great care, that ii may get root, that it may grow up and bring forth fruit unto us. And now behold, if ye nourish it with much care, it will get root, and grow up, and bring forth fruit. But if ye neglect the tree, and take no thought for its nourishment, behold, it will not get any root; and when the heat of the sun cometh and scorcheth it, and because it hath no root, it whithereth away, and ye pluck it up and cast it out. Now this is not because the seed was not good; neither is it because the fruit thereof would not be desirable. But it is because your ground is barren, and ye will not nourish the tree; therefore ye cannot have the fruit thereof. And thus if ye will not nourish the word, looking forward with an eye of faith to the fruit thereof, ye can never pluck of the fruit of the tree of life. But if ye will nourish the word, yea, nourish the tree as it beginneth to grow, by your faith, with great diligence, and with patience, looking forward to the fruit thereof, and it shall take root; and behold, it shall be a tree springing up unto everlasting life; and because of your diligence, and your faith, and your patience with the word, in nourishing it, that it may take root in you, behold, by and by, ye shall pluck the fruit thereof, which is most precious, which is sweet above all that is sweet, and which is white above all that is white; yea, and pure above all that is pure; and ye shall feast upon this fruit, even until ye are filled, that ye hunger not, neither shall ye thirst. Then my brethren ye shall reap the rewards of your faith, and your diligence, and patience, and long suffering, waiting for the tree to bring forth fruit unto you.

Now after Alma had spoken these words, they sent forth unto him desiring to know whether they should believe in one God, that they might obtain this fruit of which he had spoken, or how they should plant the seed, or the word, of which he had spoken, which he said must be planted in their hearts; or in what manner they should begin to exercise their faith. And Alma said unto them, Behold, ye have said that ye could not worship your God, because ye are cast out of your synagogues. But behold, I say unto you, If ye suppose that ye cannot worship God, ye do greatly err, and ye had ought to search the Scriptures; for if ye suppose that they have taught you this, ye do not understand them. Do ye remember to have read what Zenos, the prophet of old, hath said concerning prayer or worship? for he saith, Thou art merciful O God, for thou hast heard my prayer, even when I was in the wilderness; yea, thou wast merciful when I prayed concerning those which were mine enemies, and thou didst turn them to me; yea, O God, and thou wast merciful unto me when I did cry unto thee in my field; when I did cry unto thee in my prayer, and thou didst hear me. And again, O God, when I did turn to my house thou didst hear me in my prayer, And when I did turn unto my closet, O Lord, and prayed unto thee, thou didst hear me; yea, thou art merciful unto thy children, when they cry unto to thee to be heard of thee, and not of men; and thou wilt hear them; yea, O God, thou hast been merciful unto me, and heard my cries in the midst of thy congregations; yea, and thou hast also heard me when I have been cast out, and have been despised by mine enemies; yea, thou didst hear my cries, and wast angry with mine enemies, and thou didst visit them in thine anger, with speedy destruction; and thou didst hear me because of mine afflictions and my sincerity; and it is because of thy Son that hast been thus merciful unto me; therefore I will cry unto thee in all mine afflictions; for in thee is my joy; for thou hast turned they judgements away from me, because of thy Son.

And now Alma saith unto them, Do ye believe those Scriptures which have been written by them of old? Behold, if ye do, ye must believe what Zenos saith; for behold, he saith, Thou hast turned away thy judgements, because of thy Son. -- Now behold, my brethren, I would ask, if ye have read the Scriptures? If ye have, how can ye disbelieve on the Son of

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God? For it is not written that Zenos alone spake of these things; for behold, he saith, Thou art angry, O Lord, with this people, because they will not understand of thy mercies which thou hast bestowed upon them, because of they Son. And now my brethren, ye see that a second prophet of old has testified of the Son of God; and because the people would not understand his words, they stoned him to death. But behold, this is not all; these are not the only ones which have spoken concerning the Son of God. Behold, he was spoken of by Moses; yea, and behold, a type was raised up in the wilderness, that whosoever would look upon it might live. And many did look and live. But few understood the meaning of those things, and this because of the hardness of their hearts. But there were many which were so hardened that they would not look; therefore they perished. Now the reason that they would not look, is because they did not believe that it would heal them. O my brethren, if ye could be healed by merely casting about your eyes, that ye might be healed, would ye not behold quickly, or would ye rather harden your hearts in unbelief, and be slothful, that ye would not cast about your eyes, that ye might perish? If so, wo shall come upon you; but if not so, then cast about your eyes, and begin to believe in the Son of God, that he will come to redeem his people, and that he shall suffer and die to atone for their sins; and that he shall rise again from the dead, which shall bring to pass the resurrection, that all men shall stand before him, to be judged, at the last and judgement day, according to their works. And now my brethren, I desire that ye should plant this word in your hearts, and as it beginneth to swell, even so nourish it by your faith. And behold, it will become a tree, springing up in you unto everlasting life. And then may God grant unto you that your burdens may be light, through the joy of his Son. And even all this can ye do, if ye will. Amen.

And now it came to pass that after Alma had spoken these words unto them, he sat down upon the ground, and Amulek arose and began to teach them, saying: My brethren, I think that it is impossible that ye should be ignorant of the things which have been spoken concerning the coming of Christ, who is taught by us to be the Son of God; yea, I know that these things were taught unto you, bountifully, before your dissention from among us. And as ye have desired of my beloved brother, that he should make known unto you what ye should do, because of your afflictions; and he hath spoken somewhat unto you to prepare your minds; yea, and he hath exhorted you unto faith, and to patience; yea, even that ye would have so much faith as even to plant the word in your hearts, that ye may try the experiment of its goodness; and we have beheld that the great question which is in your minds, is whether the word be in the Son of God, or whether there shall be no Christ. And ye also beheld that my brother hath proven unto you, in many instances, that the word is in Christ, unto salvation. My brother hath called upon the words of Zenos, that redemption cometh through the Son of God, and also upon the words of Zenock; and also he hath appealed unto Moses, to prove these things are true. And now behold, I will testify unto you of myself, that these things are true. -- Behold, I say unto you, that I do know that Christ shall come among the children of men, to take upon him the transgressions of his people, and that he shall atone for the sins of the world; for the Lord God hath spoken it; for it is expedient that an atonement should be made; for according to the great plan of the Eternal God, there must be an atonement made, or else all mankind must unavoidably perish; yea, all are hardened; yea, all are fallen, and are lost, and must perish, except it be through the atonement which it is expedient should be made; for it is expedient that there should be a great and last sacrifice; yea, not a sacrifice of man, neither beast, neither of any manner of fowl; for it shall not be a human sacrifice; but it must be an Infinite and an Eternal sacrifice. Now there is not any man that can sacrifice his own blood, which will atone for the sins of another. Now if a man murdereth, behold, will our law, which is just, take the life of his brother? I say unto you Nay. But the law requireth the life of him who hath murdered; therefore there can nothing, which is short of an Infinite atonement, which will suffice for the sins of the world; therefore it is expedient that there should be a great and last sacrifice; and then shall there be, or it expedient there should be a stop to the shedding of blood; then shall the law of Moses be fulfilled; yea, it shall all be fulfilled; every jot and tittle, and none shall have passed away. And behold, this is the whole meaning of the law; every whit a pointing to that great and last sacrifice; and that great and last sacrifice will be the Son of God; yea, Infinite and Eternal; and thus he shall bring salvation to all those who shall believe on his name; this being the intent of this last sacrifice, to bring about the bowels of mercy, which overpowereth justice and bringeth about means unto men that they may have faith unto repentance. And thus mercy can satisfy the demands of justice, and encircles them in the arms of safety, while he that exerciseth no faith unto repentance, is exposed to the whole law of the demands of justice; therefore, only unto him that hath faith unto repentance, is brought about the great and Eternal plan of redemption; therefore may God grant unto you, my brethren, that ye might begin to exercise your faith unto repentance, that ye begin to call upon his holy name, that he would have mercy upon you; yea, cry unto him for mercy; for he is mighty to save; yea, humble yourselves, and continue in prayer unto him; cry unto him when ye are in your fields; yea, over all your flocks; cry unto him in your houses, yea, over all your household, both morning, mid-day, and evening; yea, cry unto him against the power of your enemies; yea, cry unto him against the Devil, which is an enemy to all righteousness. Cry unto him over the crops of your fields, that ye may prosper in them; cry over the flocks of your fields, that they may increase. But this is not all: ye must pour out your souls in your closets, and your secret places, and in your wilderness; yea, and when you do not cry unto the Lord, let your hearts be full, drawn out in prayer unto him continually for your welfare, and also for the welfare of those which are around you.

And now behold, my beloved brethren, I say unto you, Do not suppose that this is all; for after ye have done all these things, if ye turn away the needy, and the naked, and visit not the sick and afflicted, and impart of your substance, if ye have, to those who stand in need; I say unto you, if ye do not any of these things, behold, your prayer is vain, and availeth you nothing, and ye are as hypocrites which do deny the faith; therefore, if ye do not remember to be charitable, ye are as dross, which the refiners do cast out, (it being of no worth,) and is trodden under foot of men.

And now, my brethren, I would that after ye have received so many witnesses, seeing that the Holy Scriptures testify of these things, come forth and bring fruit unto repentance; yea, I would that ye would come forth and harden not your hearts any longer; for behold, now is the time, and the day of your salvation; and therefore, if ye will repent and harden not your hearts, immediately shall the great plan of redemption be brought about unto you. For behold, this life is the time for men to prepare to meet God; yea, behold, the day of this life is the day for men to perform their labors. And now as I said unto you before, as ye have had so many witnesses, therefore I beseech of you, that ye not procrastinate the day of your repentance until the end; for after this day of life, which is given us to prepare for eternity, behold, if we do not improve our time while in this life, then cometh the night of darkness, wherein there can be no labor performed. Ye cannot say, when ye are brought to that awful crisis, that I will repent, that I will return to God. Nay, ye cannot say this; for that same spirit which doth possess your bodies at the time that ye go out of this life, that same spirit will have power to possess your body in that eternal world. For behold, if ye have procrastinated the day of your repentance, even until death, behold, ye have become subjected to the spirit of the Devil, and he doth seal you his; therefore the spirit of the Lord hath withdrawn from you, and hath no place in you, and the Devil hath all power over you: and this is the final state of the wicked. And this I know, because the Lord hath said, he dwelleth not in unholy temples, but in the hearts of the righteous doth he dwell; yea, and he hath also said, that the righteous should sit down in his kingdom, to go no more out; but their garments should be made white, through the blood of the Lamb.

And now my beloved brethren, I desire that ye should remember these things, and that ye should work out your salvation with fear before God, and that ye should no more deny the coming of Christ; that ye contend no more against the Holy Ghost, but that ye receive it, and take upon you the name of Christ; that ye humble yourselves even to the dust, and worship God in whatsoever place ye may be in, in spirit and in truth; and that ye live in thanksgiving daily, for the many mercies and blessings which he doth bestow upon you; yea, and I also exhort you my brethren, that ye be watchful unto prayer continually, that ye may not be led away by the temptation of the Devil, that he may not overpower you, that ye not become his subjects at the last day: for behold, he rewardeth you no good thing. And now my beloved brethren, I would exhort you to have patience, and that ye bear with all manner of afflictions; that ye do not revile against those who cast you out because of your exceeding poverty, lest ye become sinners like unto them; but that ye have patience, and bear with those afflictions, with a firm hope that ye shall one day rest from all your afflictions.

Now it came to pass that after Amulek had made an end of these words, they withdrew themselves from the multitude, and came over into the land of Jershon; yea, and the rest of the brethren, after they had preached the word unto the Zoramites, also came over into the land of Jershon.

And it came to pass that after the more popular part of the Zoramites had consulted together, concerning the words which had been preached unto them, they were angry because of the word, for it did destroy their craft; therefore they would not hearken unto the words. And they sent and gathered together throughout all the land, all the people, and consulted with them concerning the words which had been spoken. Now their rulers, and their priests, and their teachers, did not let the people know concerning their desires; therefore therefore they found out privily the minds of all the people.

And it came to pass that after they found out the minds of all the people, those which were in favor of the words which had been spoken by Alma and his brethren, were cast out of the land; and they were many; and they came over also into the land of Jershon.

And it came to pass that Alma and his brethren did minister unto them. Now the people of the Zoramites were angry with the people of Ammon which were in Jershon, and the chief ruler of the Zoramites being a very wicked man, sent over unto the people of Ammon desiring them that they should cast out of their land all those which came over from them into their land. And he breathed out many threatnings against them. And now the people of Ammon did not fear their words, therefore they did cast them out, but they did receive all the poor of the Zoramites that came over unto them; and they did nourish them, and did clothe them, and did give unto them lands for their inheritance; and they did administer unto them according to their wants. Now this did stir up the Zoramites to anger against the people of Ammon, and they began to mix with the Lamanites, and to stir them up also to anger against them; and thus the Zoramites and the Lamanites began to make preparations for the war against the people of Ammon, and also against the Nephites. And thus ended the seventeenth year of the reign of Judges, over the people of Nephi.

And the people of Ammon departed out of the land of Jershon, and came over into the land of Melek, and gave place in the land of Jershon for the armies of the Nephites, that they might contend with the armies of the Lamanites, and the armies of the Zoramites; and thus commenced a war betwixt the Lamanites and the Nephites, in the eighteenth year of the reign of the Judges; and an account shall be given of their wars hereafter. And Alma, and Ammon, and their brethren and also the two sons of Alma, returned to the land of Zarahemla, after having been instruments in the hands of God of bringing many of the Zoramites to repentance, were driven out of their land; but they have lands for their inheritance in the land of Jershon, and they have taken up arms to defend themselves, and their wives, and their children, and their lands. Now Alma, being grieved for the iniquity of his people, yea, for the wars, and the bloodsheds, and the contentions which were amog them; and having to declare the word, or sent to declare the word, among all the people in every city; and seeing that the hearts of the people began to wax hard, and that they began to be offended because of the strictness of the word, his heart was exceeding sorrowful; therefore, he caused that his sons should be gathered together, that he might give unto them every one his charge, separately, concerning the things pertaining unto righteousness. And we have an account of his commandments, which he gave unto them according to his own record.

MORMON ALMA CHAPTER 17

The Commandments of Alma, to his son Helaman. My son, give ear to my words; for I swear unto you, that inasmuch as ye shall keep the commandments of God, ye shall prosper in the land. I would that ye should do as I have done, in remembering the captivity of our fathers; for they were in bondage, and none could deliver them, except it was the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, and he surely did deliver them in their afflictions. -- And now, O my son Helaman, behold, thou art in thy youth, and therefore I beseech of thee that thou wilt hear my words, nd learn of me; for I do not know that whomsoever shall put his trust in God, shall be supported in their trials, and their troubles, and their afflictions, and shall be lifted up at the last day; and I would not that ye think that I know of myself, not of the temporal, but of the spiritual; not of the carnal mind, but of God. Now behold I say unto you, If I had not been born of God, I should not have known these things; but God hath, by the mouth of his holy angel, made these things known unto me, not of any worthiness of myself, for I went about with the sons of Mosiah, seeking to destroy the church of God; but behold, God sent his holy angel to stop us by the way. -- And behold, he spake unto us, as it were the voice of thunder, and the whole earth did tremble beneath our feet, and we all fell to the earth, for the fear of the Lord came upon us. But behold, the voice said unto me, Arise. And I arose and stood up, and beheld the angel. And he said unto me, if thou wilt of thyself be destroyed, seek no more to destroy the church of God.

And it came to pass that I fell to the earth; and it was for the space of three days and three nights, that I could not open my mouth; neither had I the use of my limbs. And the angel spake more things unto me, which were heard by my brethren, but I did not hear them; for when I heard the words, If thou wilt be destroyed of thyself, seek no more to destroy the church of God, I was struck with such great fear and amazement, lest perhaps that I should be destroyed, that I fell to the earth, and I did hear no more; but I was racked with eternal torment, for my soul was harrowed up to the greatest degree, and racked with all my sins. Yea, I did remember all my sins and iniquities, for which I was tormented with the pains of hell; yea, I saw that I had rebelled against my God, and that I had not kept his holy commandments; yea, and I had murdered many of his children, or rather led them away unto

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destruction; yea, and in fine, so great had been my iniquities, that the very thoughts of coming into the presence of my God, did rack my soul with inexpressible horror. O, thought I, that I could be banished and become extinct both soul and body, that I might not be brought to stand in the presence of my God, to be judged of my deeds. And now, for three days and for three nights was I racked, even with the pains of a damned soul.

And it came to pass that as I was thus racked with torment while I harrowed up by the memory of my many sins behold, I remembered also to have heard my father prophecy unto the people, concerning the coming of one Jesus Christ, a Son of God, to atone for the sins of the world. Now as my mind caught hold upon this thought, I cried within my heart, O Jesus, thou Son of God, have mercy on me, who art in the gall of bitterness, and art encircled about by the everlasting chains of death. And now behold, when I thought this, I could remember my pains no more; yea, I was harrowed up by the memory of my sins no more. And O, what joy, and what marvellous light I did behold; yea, my soul was filled with joy as exceeding as was my pain; yea, I say unto you, my son. that there could be nothing so exquisite and so bitter, as was my pains. Yea, and again I say unto you, my son, that on the other hand, there can be nothing so exquisite and sweet as was my joy; yea, and methought I saw even as our father Lehi saw, God sitting upon his throne, surrounded with numberless concourses of angels, in the attitude of singing and praising their God; yea, and my soul did long to be there. But behold, my limbs did receive their strength again, and I stood upon my feet, and did manifest unto the people that I had been born of God; yea, and from that time, even until now, I have labored without ceasing, that I might bring souls unto repentance; that I might bring them to taste of the exceeding joy of which I did taste; that they might also be born of God, and be filled with the Holy Ghost. Yea, and now behold, O my son, the Lord doth give me exceeding great joy in the fruit of my labors; for because of the word which he hath imparted unto me, behold, many hath been born of God, and hath tasted as I have tasted, and hath seen eye to eye, as I have seen; therefore they do know of these things of which I have spoken, as I do know; and the knowledge which I have is of God. And I have been supported under trials and troubles of every kind, yea, and in all manner of afflictions; yea, God hath delivered me from prison, and from bonds, and from death; yea, and I do put my trust in him, and he will still deliver me; and I know that he will raise me up at the last day, to dwell with him in glory; yea, and I will praise him forever, for he hath brought our fathers out of Egypt, and he hath swallowed up the Egyptians in the red sea; and he led them by his power into the promised land; yea, and he hath delivered them out of bondage and captivity, from time to time; yea, and he hath also brought our fathers out of Jerusalem; and he hath also, by his everlasting power, delivered them out of bondage and captivity, from time to time, even down to the present day; and I have always retained in remembrance their captivity; yea, and ye also had ought to retain in remembrance, as I have done, their captivity. -- But behold, my son, this is not all: for ye had ought to know, as I do know, that inasmuch as ye shall keep the commandments of God, ye shall prosper in the land; and ye had ought to know also, that inasmuch as ye will not keep the commandments of God, ye shall be cut off from his presence. Now this is according to his word.

And now my son Helaman, I command you that ye take the records which have been entrusted with me; and I also command you that ye shall keep a record of this people, according as I have done, upon the plates of Nephi, and keep all these things sacred which I have kept, even as I kept them: for it is for a wise purpose that they are kept; and these plates of brass which contain these engravings, which have the records of the Holy Scriptures upon them, which have the genealogy of our forefathers, even from the beginning. And behold, it hath been prophesied by our fathers, that they should be kept and handed down from one generation to another, and be kept and preserved by the hand of the Lord, until they should go forth unto every nation, kindred, tongue and people, that they shall know of the mysteries contained thereon. And now behold, if they are kept, they must retain their brightness; yea, and they will retain their brightness; yea, and also shall all the plates which do contain that which is Holy Writ. Now ye may suppose that this is foolishness in me; but behold I say unto you, That by small and simple things, are great things brought to pass; and small means, in many instances, doth confound the wise. And the Lord God doth work by means to bring about his great and eternal purposes; and by very small means the Lord doth confound the wise, and bringeth about salvation of many souls. And now, it hath hitherto been wisdom in God, that these things should be preserved: for behold, they have enlarged the memory of this people, yea, and convinced many of the error of their ways, and brought them to the knowledge of their God, unto the salvation of their souls. Yea, I say unto you, were it not for these things that these records do contain, which are on these plates, Ammon and his brethren could not have convinced so many thousand of the Lamanites, of the incorrect tradition of their fathers; yea, these records and their words, brought them unto repentance; that is, they brought them to the knowledge of the Lord their God, and to rejoice in Jesus Christ, their Redeemer. And who knoweth but what they will be the means of bringing many thousands of them, yea, and also many thousands of our stiffnecked brethren, the Nephites, which are now hardening their hearts in sin and iniquities, to the knowledge of their Redeemer? -- Now these mysteries are not yet fully made known unto me; therefore I shall forebear. And it may suffice, if I only say, they are preserved for a wise purpose, which purpose is known unto God: for he doth counsel in wisdom over all his works, and his paths are straight, and his course is one eternal round. O remember, remember, my son Helaman, how strict are the commandments of God. And he saith, if ye will keep my commandments, ye shall prosper in the land; but if ye keep not his commandments, ye shall be cut off from his presence. And now remember, my son, that God hath entrusted you with these things, which are sacred, which he hath kept sacred, and also which he will keep and preserve for a wise purpose in him, that he may shew forth his power unto future generations.

And now behold, I tell you by the spirit of prophecy, that if ye transgress the commandments of God, behold, these things which are sacred, shall be taken away from you by the power of God, and ye shall be delivered up unto Satan, that he may sift you as chaff before the wind; but if ye keep the commandments of God, and do with these things which are sacred, according to that which the Lord doth command you, (for you must appeal unto the Lord for all things whatsoever ye must do with them,) behold, no power of earth or hell can take them from you, for God is powerful to the fulfilling of all his words: for he will fulfill all his promises which he shall make unto you, for he hath fulfilled his promise which he hath made unto our fathers. For he promised unto them that he would reserve these things for a wise purpose in him, that he might shew forth his power unto future generations.

And now behold, one purpose hath he fulfilled, even to the restoration of many thousands of the Lamanites to the knowledge of the truth; and he has shewn forth his power in them, and he will also still shew forth his power in them, unto future generations; therefore they shall be preserved; therefore I command you, my son Helaman, that ye be diligent in fulfilling all my words, and that ye be diligent in keeping the commandments of God, as they are written.

And now, I will speak unto you concerning those twentyfour plates, that ye keep them, that the mysteries and the works of darkness, and their secret works, or the secret works of those people, which have been destroyed, may be made manifest unto this people; yea, all their murders, and robbings, and their plunderings, and all their wickedness, and abominations, may be made manifest unto this people; yea, and that ye preserve these directors. For behold; the Lord saw that his people began to work in darkness, yea, work secret murders and abominations; therefore the Lord said, If they did not repent, they should be destroyed from off the face of the earth. And the Lord said, I will prepare unto my servant Gazelem, a stone, which shall shine forth in darkness unto light, that I may discover unto my people which serve me, that I may discover unto them the works of their brethren; yea, their secret works, their works of darkness, and their wickedness and abominations. And now my son, these directors were prepared, that the word of God might be fulfilled, which he spake saying: I will bring forth out of darkness unto light, all their secret works and their abominations; and except they repent, I will destroy them from off the face of the earth; and I will bring to light all their secrets and abominations, unto every nation that shall hereafter possess the land. And now my son, we see that they did not repent; therefore they have been destroyed, and thus far the word of God hath been fulfilled; yea, their secret abominations have been brought out of darkness, and made known unto us.

And now my son, I command you that ye retain all their oaths, and their covenants, and their agreements in their secret abominations; yea, and all their sign and their wonders ye shall retain from this people, that they know them not, lest peradventure they should fall into darkness also, and be destroyed. For behold, there is a curse upon all this land, that destruction shall come upon all those workers of darkness, according to the power of God, when they are fully ripe; therefore I desire that this people might not be destroyed, -- Therefore, ye shall keep these secret plans of their oaths and their covenants from this people, and only their wickedness, and their murders, and their abominations, shall ye make known unto them; and ye shall teach them to abhor such wickedness, and abominations, murders; and ye shall also teach them, that these people were destroyed on account of their wickedness, and abominations, and their murders. For behold, they murdered all the prophets of the Lord which came among them, to declare unto them concerning their iniquities; and the blood of those which they murdered, did cry unto the Lord their God, for vengeance upon those which were their murderers; and thus the judgements of God did come upon these workers of darkness and secret combinations; yea, and cursed be the land forever and ever unto those workers of darkness and secret combinations, even unto destruction, except they repent before they are fully ripe.

And now my son, remember the words which I have spoken unto you: trust not those secret plans unto this people, but teach them an everlasting hatred against sin and iniquity; preach unto them repentance, and faith on the Lord Jesus Christ; teach them to humble themselves, and to be meek and lowly in heart; teach them to withstand every temptation of the Devil, with their faith on the Lord Jesus Christ; teach them to never be weary of good works, but to be meek and lowly in heart: for such shall find rest to their souls. O remember my son, and learn wisdom in thy youth; yea, learn in thy youth to keep the commandments of god; yea, and cry unto God for all thy support; yea, let all thy doings be unto the Lord, and whithersoever thou goest, let it be in the Lord; yea, thy thought be directed unto the Lord; yea, let the affections of thy heart be placed upon the Lord forever; counsel the Lord in all thy doings, and he will direct thee good; yea, when thou liest down at night, lie down unto the Lord, that he may watch over you in your sleep; and when thou risest in the morning, let thy heart be full of thanks unto god; and if ye do these things, ye shall be lifted up at the last day. And now my son, I have somewhat to say concerning the thing which our fathers call a ball, or director; our fathers called it liahona, which is interpreted, a compass; and the Lord prepared it. And behold, there cannot any man work after the manner of so curious a workmanship. And behold, it was prepared to shew unto our fathers the course which they should travel in the wilderness; and it did work for them according to their faith in God; therefore if they had faith to believe that God could cause that those spindles should point the way they should go, behold, it was done; therefore they had this miracle, and also many other miracles wrought by the power of God, day by day; nevertheless, because those miracles were worked by small means, nevertheless it did shew unto them marvellous works. They were slothful, and forgot to exercise their faith and diligence, and those marvellous works ceased, and they did not progress in their journey; therefore they tarried in the wilderness, or did not travel a direct course, and were afflicted with hunger and thirst, because of their transgressions.

And now my son, I would that ye should understand that these things are not without a shadow; for as our fathers were slothful to give heed to this compass, (now these things were temporal,) they did not prosper; even so it is with things which are spiritual. For behold, it is as easy to give heed to the word of Christ, which will point to you a straight course to eternal bliss, as it was for our fathers to give heed to this compass, which would point unto the a straight course to the promised land. And now I say, Is there not a type in this thing? For just as suredly as this director did bring our fathers, by following its course, to the promised land, shall the words of Christ, if we follow its course, carry us beyond this vale of sorrow, into a far better land of promise.

O my son, do not let us be slothful, because of the easiness of the way; for so was it with our fathers; for so was it prepared for them, that if they would look, they might live; even so it is with us. The way is prepared, and if we will look, we may live forever. And now my son, see that ye take care of these sacred things; yea, see that ye look to God and live. Go unto this people, and declare the word, and be sober. -- My son, farewell.

MORMON ALMA CHAPTER 18

The Commandments of Alma, to his son Shiblon. My son, give ear to my words: for I say unto you, even as I said unto Helaman, That inasmuch as ye shall keep the commandments of God, ye shall prosper in the land; and inasmuch as ye will not keep the commandments of God, ye shall be cast off from his presence. And now my son, I trust that I shall have great joy in you, because of your steadiness and your faithfulness unto God; for as you have commenced in your youth, to look to the Lord your God, even so I hope that you will continue in keeping his commandments: for blessed is he that endureth to the end. I say unto you my son, that I have had great joy in thee already, because of thy faithfulness, and thy diligence, and thy patience, and thy long suffering among the people of the Zoramites. For I knew that thou wast in bonds; yea, and I also knew that thou wast stoned for the word's sake; and thou didst bear all these things with patience, because the Lord was with thee: and now thou knowest that the Lord did deliver thee.

And now my son, Shiblon, I would that ye should remember that as much as ye shall put your trust in God, even so much ye shall be delivered out of your trials, and your troubles, and your afflictions; and ye shall be lifted up at the last day. Now my son, I would not that ye should think that I know these things of myself, but it is the spirit of God which is in me, which maketh these things known unto me: for if I had not been born of God, I should not have known these things. But behold, the Lord in his great mercy sent his angel to declare unto me, that I must stop the work of destruction among his

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people; yea, and I have seen an angel face to face; and he spake with me, and his voice was as thunder, and it shook the whole earth.

And it came to pass that I was three days and three nights in the most bitter pain and anguish of soul; and never, until I did cry unto the Lord Jesus Christ for mercy, did I receive a remission of my sins. But behold, I did cry unto him, and I did find peace to my soul. And now my son, I have told you this, that ye may learn wisdom, that ye may learn of me that there is no other way or means whereby man can be saved, only in and through Christ. Behold, he is the life and the light of the world. Behold, he is the word of truth and righteousness. And now, as ye have begun to teach the word, even so I would that ye should continue to teach; and I would that ye would be diligent and temperate in all things. See that ye are not lifted up to pride; yea, see that ye do not boast in your own wisdom, nor of your much strength; use boldness, but not overbearance; and also see that ye bridle all your passions, that ye may be filled with love; see that ye refrain from idleness; do not pray as the Zoramites do, for ye have seen that they pray to be heard of men, and to be praised for their wisdom. Do not say, O God, I thank thee that we are better than our brethren; but rather say, O Lord, forgive my unworthiness, and remember my brethren in mercy; yea, acknowledge your unworthiness before God at all times. And may the Lord bless your soul, and receive you at the last day into his kingdom, to sit down in peace. Now go, my son, and teach the word unto this people. Be sober. My son, farewell.

MORMON ALMA CHAPTER 19

The Commandments of Alma, to his son Corianton. And now my son, I have somewhat more to say unto thee than what I said unto thy brother: for behold, have ye not observed the steadiness of thy brother, his faithfulness, and his diligence in keeping the commandments of God? Behold, has he not set a good example for thee? For thou didst not give so much heed unto my words as did thy brother, among the people of the Zoramites. Now this is what I have against thee: Thou didst go on unto boasting in thy strength, and thy wisdom. And this is not all, my son. Thou didst do that which was grievous unto me; for thou didst forsake the ministry, and did go over into the land of Siron, among the borders of the Lamanites, after the harlot Isabel; yea, she did steal away the hearts of many; but this was no excuse for thee, my son. Thou shouldst have tended to the ministry, wherewith thou wast entrusted. Know ye not, my son, that these things are an abomination in the sight of the Lord; yea, most abominable above all sins, save it be the shedding of innocent blood, or denying the Holy Ghost? for behold, if ye deny the Holy Ghost when it once hath had place in you, and ye know that ye deny it; behold, this is a sin which is unpardonable; yea, and whosoever murdereth against the light and knowledge of God, it is not easy for him to obtain forgiveness; yea, I say unto you, my son, that it is not easy for him to obtain a forgiveness. And now my son, I would to God that ye had not been guilty of so great a crime. I would not dwell upon your crimes, to harrow up your soul, if it were not for your good. But behold, ye cannot hide your crimes from God; and except ye repent, they will stand as a testimony against you at the last day. Now my son, I would that ye should repent, and forsake your sins, and go no more after the lusts of your eyes, but cross yourself in all these things; for except ye do this, ye can in no wise inherit the Kingdom of God. O remember, and take it upon you, and cross yourself in these things. And I command you to take it upon you to counsel your elder brothers in your undertakings; for behold, thou art in thy youth, and ye stand in need to be nourished by your brothers. And give heed to their counsel; suffer not yourself to be led away by any vain or foolish thing; suffer not that the Devil lead away your heart again, after those wicked harlots. Behold, my son, how great iniquity ye brought upon the Zoramites: for when they saw your conduct, they would not believe in my words. And now the spirit of the Lord doth say unto me, Command thy children to do good, lest they lead away the hearts of many people to destruction: therefore I command you, my son, in the fear of God, that ye refrain from your iniquities; that ye turn to the Lord with all your mind, might and strength; that ye lead away the hearts of no more, to do wickedly; but rather return unto them, and acknowledge your faults, and retain that wrong which ye have done; seek not after riches, nor the vain things of the world; for behold, you cannot carry them with you.

And now my son, I would say somewhat unto you concerning the coming of Christ. Behold, I say unto you, that it is him that surely shall come, to take away the sins of the world; yea, he cometh to declare glad tidings of salvation unto his people. And now my son, this was the ministry unto which ye were called, to declare these glad tidings unto his people, to prepare their minds; or rather that salvation might come unto them, that they may prepare the minds of their children to hear the word at the time of his coming. And now I will ease your mind somewhat in this subject. Behold, you marvel why these things should be known so long beforehand. Behold, I say unto you, Is not a soul at this time as precious unto God, as a soul will be at the time of his coming? Is it not as necessary that the plan of redemption should be made known unto this people, as well as unto their children? Is it not as easy at this time, for the Lord to send his angel to declare these glad tidings unto us, as unto our children; or as after the time of his coming? Now my son, here is somewhat more I would say unto thee; for I perceive that thy mind is worried concerning the resurrection of the dead. -- Behold, I say unto you, that there is no resurrection; or I would say, in other words, that this mortal does not put on immortality; thus corruption does not put on incorruption, until after the coming of Christ. Behold, he bringeth to pass the resurrection of the dead. But behold, my son, the resurrection is not yet. Now I unfold unto you a mystery; nevertheless, there are many mysteries, which are kept, that no one knoweth them save God himself. But I shew unto you one thing, which I have inquired diligently of God, that I might know; that is, concerning the resurrection. Behold, there is a time appointed that shall come forth from the dead. -- Now when this time cometh, no one knows; but God knoweth the time which is appointed. Now whether there shall be one time, or a second time, or a third time, that men shall come forth from the dead, it mattereth not; for God knoweth all these things; and it sufficeth me to know that this is the case; that there is a time appointed that all shall rise from the dead. Now there must needs be a space betwixt the time of death, and the time of the resurrection. And now I would inquire what becometh of the souls of men, from this time of death, to the time appointed for the resurrection? -- Now whether there is more than one time appointed for men to rise, it mattereth not; for all do not die at once; and this mattereth not; all is as one day, with God; and time only is measured unto men; therefore there is a time appointed unto men, that they shall rise from the dead; and there is a space between the time of death and the resurrection. And now concerning this space of time. What becometh of the souls of men, is the thing which I have inquired diligently of the Lord to know; and this is the thing of which I do know. -- And when the time cometh when all shall rise, then shall they know that God knoweth all the times which are appointed unto man. Now concerning the state of the soul between death and the resurrection. Behold, it hath been made known unto me by an angel, that the spirits of all men, as soon as they are departed from this mortal body; yea, the spirits of all men, whether they be good or evil, are taken home to that God who gave them life. And then shall it come to pass that the spirits of those which are righteous, are received into a state of happiness, which is called paradise; a state of rest; a state of peace, where they shall rest from all their troubles, and from all care, and sorrow, &c. And then shall it come to pass, that the spirits of the wicked, yea, which are evil; for behold, they have no part nor portion of the spirit of the Lord; for behold, they chose evil works, rather than good; therefore the spirit of the Devil did enter into them, and take possession of their house; and these shall be cast out into outer darkness; they shall be weeping, and wailing, and gnashing of teeth; and this because of their own iniquity; being led captive by the will of the Devil. Now this is the state of the souls of the wicked; yea, in darkness, and a state of awful, fearful looking for of the fiery indignation of the wrath of God upon them; thus they remain in this state, as well as the righteous in paradise, until the time of their resurrection. Now there are some that have understood that this state of happiness, and the state of misery of the soul, before the resurrection, was a first resurrection. Yea, I admit it may be termed a resurrection; the raising of the spirit or the soul, and their consignation to happiness or misery, according to the words which have been spoken. And behold, again it hath been spoken, that there is a first resurrection; a resurrection of all those which have been, or which are, or which shall be, down to the resurrection of Christ from the dead. -- Now we do not suppose that this first resurrection which is spoken of in this manner, can be the resurrection of the souls, and their consignation to happiness or misery. Ye cannot suppose that this is what it meaneth. Behold, I say unto you Nay; but it meaneth the re-uniting of the soul with the body of those from the days of Adam, down to the resurrection of Christ. Now whether the souls and the bodies of those of which have been spoken, shall all be re-united at once, the wicked as well as the righteous, I do not say; let it suffice that I say that they all come forth; or in other words, their resurrection cometh to pass before the resurrection of those which die after the resurrection of Christ. Now my son, I do not say that their resurrection cometh at the resurrection of Christ; but behold, I give it as my opinion, that the souls and the bodies are re-united, of the righteous, at the resurrection of Christ, and his ascension into Heaven. But whether it be at his resurrection, or after, I do not say; but this much I say: That there is a space between death and the resurrection of the body, and a state of the soul in happiness or in misery, until the time which is appointed of God that the dead shall come forth, and be re-united, both soul and body, and be brought to stand before God, and be judged according to their works; yea, this bringeth about the restoration of those things of which have been spoken by the mouths of the prophets. The soul shall be restored to the body, and the body to the soul; yea, and every limb and joint shall be restored to the soul; yea, and every limb and joint shall be restored to its body; yea, even a hair of the head shall not be lost, but all things shall be restored to its proper and perfect frame. And now my son, this is the restoration of which has been spoken by the mouths of the prophets: And then shall the righteous shine forth in the Kingdom of God. But behold, an awful death cometh upon the wicked; for they die as to things pertaining to things of righteousness; for they are unclean, and no unclean thing can inherit the Kingdom of God; but they are cast out, and consigned to partake of the fruits of their labors or their works, which have been evil; and they drink the dregs of a bitter cup.

And now my son, I have somewhat to say concerning the restoration of which has been spoken; for behold, some have arrested the Scriptures, and have gone far astray, because of this thing. And I perceive that thy mind hath been worried also, concerning this thing. But behold, I will explain it unto thee. I say unto thee, my son, that the plan of restoration is requisite with the justice of God; for it is requisite that all things be restored to their proper order. Behold, it is requisite and just, according to the power and resurrection of Christ, that the soul of man should be restored to its body, and that every part of the body should be restored to itself. -- And it is requisite with the justice of God, that man should be judged according to their works; and if their works were good in this life, and the desires of their hearts were good, that they should also, at the last day, be restored unto that which is good; and if their works are evil, they shall be restored unto him for evil; therefore, all things shall be restored to their proper order; every thing to its natural frame; mortality raised to immortality; corruption to incorruption; raised to endless happiness, to inherit the Kingdom of God, or to endless misery, to inherit the kingdom of the Devil; the one on one hand, the other on the other; the one raised to happiness, according to his desires of happiness; or good, according to his desires of good; and the other to evil, according to his desires of evil; for as he has desired to do evil all the day long, even so shall he have his reward of evil, when the night cometh. And so it is on the other hand. If he hath repented of his sins, and desired righteousness until the end of his days, even so he shall be rewarded unto righteousness. -- These are they that are redeemed of the Lord; yea, these are they that are taken out, that are delivered from that endless night of darkness; and thus they stand or fall; for behold, they are their own judges, whether to do good or do evil. --

Now the decrees of God are unalterable; therefore the way is prepared, that whosoever will, may walk therein and be saved. And now behold my son, do not risk one more offence against your God upon these points of doctrine, which ye hath hitherto risked to commit sin. Do not suppose, because it hath been spoken concerning restoration, that ye shall be restored from sin to happiness, Behold I say unto you, Wickedness never was happiness. And now, my son, all men that are in a state of nature, or I would say, in a carnal state, are in the gall of bitterness, and in the bonds of iniquity; they are without God in the world; and they have gone contrary to the nature of God; therefore they are in a state contrary to the nature of happiness. And now behold, is the meaning of the word restoration, to take a thing of a natural state, and place it in an unnatural state, or to place it in a state opposite to its nature? O, my son, this is not the case; but the meaning of the word restoration, is to bring back again evil for evil, or carnal for carnal, or devlish for devlish; good for that which is good; righteous for that which is righteous; just for that which is just; merciful for that which is merciful; therefore my son, see that ye are merciful unto your brethren; deal justly, judge righteously, and do good continually; and if ye do all these things, then shall ye receive your reward; yea, ye shall have mercy restored unto you again; ye shall have justice restored unto you again; ye shall have a righteous judgement restored unto you again; and ye shall have good rewarded unto you again; for that which ye doth send out, shall return unto you again, and be restored; therefore the word restoration, more fully condemneth the sinner, and justifieth him not at all.

And now, my son, I perceive there is somewhat more which doth worry your mind, which ye cannot understand, which is concerning the justice of God, in the punishment of the sinner: for ye do try to suppose that it is injustice that the sinner should be consigned to a state of misery. Now behold, my son, I will explain this thing unto thee: for behold, after the Lord God sent our first parents forth from the garden of Eden to till the ground, from whence he was taken; yea, he drew out the man, and he placed at the east end of the garden of Eden, Cherubims, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the tree of life. Now we see that the man had became as God, knowing good and evil; and lest he should put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live forever, that the Lord God placed Cherubims and the flaming sword, that he should not partake of the fruit; and thus we see, that there was a time granted unto man, to repent, yea, a probationary time, a time to repent and serve God. For behold, if Adam had put forth his hand immediately, and

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partook of the tree of life, he would have lived forever, according to the word of God, having no space for repentance; yea, and also the word of God would have been void, and the great plan of salvation would have been frustrated. But behold, it was appointed unto man to die; therefore as they were cut off from the tree of life, therefore they should be cut off from the face of the earth; and man became lost forever; yea, they became fallen man. And now we see by this, that our first parents were cut off, both temporally and spiritually, from the presence of the Lord; and thus we see they became subjects to follow after their own will. Now behold, it was not expedient that man should be reclaimed from this temporal death, for that would destroy the great plan of happiness; therefore, as the soul could never die, and the fall had brought upon all mankind a spiritual death as well as a temporal; that is, they were cut off from the presence of the Lord; therefore it was expedient that mankind should be reclaimed from this spiritual death; therefore as they become carnal, sensual and devlish, by nature, this probationary state became a state for them to prepare: it became a preparatory state. And now remember my son, if it were not for the plan of redemption, (laying it aside,) as soon as they were dead, their souls were miserable, being cut off from the presence of the Lord. And now there was no means to reclaim men from this fallen state which man had brought upon himself, because of his own disobedience; therefore, according to justice, the plan of redemption could not be brought about, only, on conditions of repentance of men in this probationary state; yea, this preparatory state; for except it were for these conditions, mercy could not take effect except it should destroy the work of justice. Now the work of justice could not be destroyed: if so, God would cease to be God. And thus we see that all mankind were fallen, and they were in the grasp of justice; yea, the justice of God, which consigned them forever to be cut off from his presence. And now the plan of mercy could not be brought about, except an atonement should be made; therefore God himself atoneth for the sins of the world, to bring about a plan of mercy, to appease the demands of justice, that God might be a perfect, just God, and a merciful God. Also, now repentance could not come unto men, except there were a punishment, which also was as eternal as the life of the soul should be, affixed opposite to the plan of happiness, which was as eternal also as the life of the soul. -- Now, how could a man repent, except he should sin? How could he sin, if there was no law? How could there be a law, saved there was a punishment? Now there was a punishment affixed, and a just law given, which brought remorse of conscience unto man. Now if there was no law given, if a man murdered he should die, would he be afraid he should die if he should murder? And also, if there was no law given against sin, men would not be afraid to sin. And if there was no law given if men sinned, what could justice do, or mercy either, for they would have no claim upon the creature? But there is a law given, and a punishment affixed, and repentance granted; which repentance, mercy claimeth; otherwise, justice claimeth the creature, and executeth the law, and the law inflicteth the punishment; if not so, the works of justice would be destroyed, and God would cease to be God. But God ceaseth not to be God, and mercy claimeth the penitent, and mercy cometh because of the atonement; and the atonement bringeth to pass the resurrection of the dead; and the resurrection of the dead bringeth back men into the presence of god; and thus they are restored into his presence, to be judged according to their works; according to the law and justice; for behold, justice exerciseth all his demands, and also mercy claimeth all which is her own; and thus, none but the truly penitent are saved. What do ye suppose that mercy can rob justice? I say unto you, Nay; not one whit. If so, God would cease to be God. And thus God bringeth about his great and eternal purposes, which was prepared from the foundation of the world. And thus cometh about the salvation and the redemption of men, and also their destruction and misery; therefore, O my son, whosoever will come, and partake of the waters of life freely; and whosoever will not come, the same is not compelled to come; but in the last day, it shall be restored unto him, according to his deeds. If he hath desired to do evil, and hath not repented in his days, behold, evil shall be done unto him, according to the restoration of God. And now my son, I desire that ye should let these things trouble you no more, and only let your sins trouble you, with that trouble which shall bring you down unto repentance. O my son, I desire that ye should deny the justice of God no more. Do not endeavor to excuse yourself in the least point, because of your sins, by denying the justice of God, but do you let the justice of God, and his mercy, and long suffering, having full sway in your heart; but let it bring you down to the dust, in humility. And now, O my son, ye are called of God to preach the word unto this people. And now, my son, go thy way, declare the word with truth and soberness, that thou mayest bring souls unto repentance, that the great plan of mercy may have claim upon them. -- And may God grant unto you even according to my words. -- Amen.

MORMON ALMA CHAPTER 20

And now it came to pass, that the sons of Alma did go forth among the people, to declare the word unto them. And Alma also, himself, could not rest, and he also went forth. -- Now we shall say no more concerning their preaching, except that they preached the word, and the truth, according to the spirit of prophecy and revelation; and they preached after the holy order of God, by which they were called.

And now I return to an account of the wars between the Nephites and the Lamanites, in the eighteenth year of the reign of the Judges. For behold, it came to pass that the Zoramites became Lamanites; therefore, in the commencement of the eighteenth year, the people of the Nephites saw that the Lamanites were coming upon them; therefore they made preparations for war; yea, they gathered together their armies in the land of Jershon. And it came to pass that the Lamanites came with their thousands; and they came into the land of Antionam, which was the land of the Zoramites; and a man by the name of Zerahemnah was their leader. And now as the Amalekites were of a more wicked and murderous disposition than the Lamanites were, in an end of themselves, therefore Zerahemnah appointed Chief Captains over the Lamanites, and they were all the Amalekites and the Zoramites. Now this he done, that he might preserve their hatred towards the Nephites; that he might bring them into subjection to the accomplishment of his designs; for behold, his designs were to stir up the Lamanites to anger against the Nephites; this he done that he might usurp great power over them; and also that he might gain power over the Nephites, by bringing them into bondage, &c. And now the design of the Nephites were to support their lands, and their houses, and their wives, and their children, that they might preserve them from the hands of their enemies, and also, that they might preserve their rights and their privileges; yea, and also their liberty, that they might worship God according to their desires; for they knew that if they should fall into the hands of the Lamanites, that whosoever should worship God, in spirit and in truth, the true and the living God, the Lamanites would destroy; yea, they also knew the extreme hatred of the Lamanites towards their brethren, which were the people of Anti-Nephi-Lehi; which were called the people of Ammon; and they would not take up arms; yea, they had entered into a covenant, and they would not break it; therefore, they should fall into the hands of the Lamanites, they would be destroyed. And the Nephites would not suffer that they be destroyed; therefore they gave them lands for their inheritance. And the people of Ammon did give unto the Nephites a large portion of their substance, to support their armies; and thus the Nephites were compelled, alone, to withstand against the Lamanites, which were a compound of Laman and Lemuel, and the sons of Ishmael, and all those which had dissented from the Nephites, which were Amalekites, and Zoramites, and the descendants of the priests of Noah. Now those descendants were as numerous, nearly, as were the Nephites; and thus the Nephites were obliged to contend with their brethren, even unto bloodshed.

And it came to pass, as the armies of the Lamanites had gathered together in the land of Antionum, behold the armies of the Nephites were prepared to meet them in the land of Jershon. Now the leader of the Nephites, or the man which had been appointed to be the Chief Captain over the Nephites: Now the Chief Captain took the command of all the armies of the Nephites; and his name was Moroni; and Moroni took all the command, and the governments of their wars. -- and he was only twenty and five years old when he was appointed Chief Commander over the armies of the Nephites.

And it came to pass that he met the Lamanites in the borders of Jershon, and his people were armed with swords, and with cimeters, and all manner of weapons of war. And it came to pass, that when the armies of the Lamanites saw that the people of Nephi, or that Moroni had prepared his people with breast-plates, and with arm-shields; yea, and also shields to defend their heads; and also they were dressed with thick clothing. Now the army of Zerahemnah was not prepared with any such thing. They had only their swords, and their cimeters, their bows and their arrows, their stones and their slings; but they were naked, save it were a skin which was girded about their loins; yea, all were naked, save it were the Zoramites and the Amalekites. But they were not armed with breast-plates, nor shields; therefore they were exceeding afraid of the armies of the Nephites, because of their armour, notwithstanding their number being so much greater than the Nephites.

Behold, now it came to pass, that they durst not come against the Nephites in the border of Jershon; therefore they departed out of the land of Antionum, into the wilderness, and took their journey round about in the wilderness, away by the heads of the river Sidon, that they might come into the land of Manti, and take possession of the land; for they did suppose that the armies of Moroni would know whither they had gone. But it came to pass, as soon as they had departed into the wilderness, Moroni sent spies into the wilderness, to watch their camp; and Moroni, also knowing of the prophecies of Alma, sent certain men unto him, desiring him that he should inquire of the Lord whither the armies of the Nephites should go, to defend themselves against the Lamanites. And it came to pass that the word of the Lord came unto Alma; and Alma informed the messengers of Moroni that the armies of the Lamanites were marching round about in the wilderness, that they might come over into the land of Manti, that they might commence an attack upon the more weak part of the people. And those messengers went and delivered the message unto Moroni.

Now Moroni, leaving a part of his army in the land of Jershon, lest by any means, a part of the Lamanites should come into the land and take possession of the city; and Moroni took the remainder part of his army and marched over into the land of Manti. And he caused that all the people in that quarter of the land, should gather themselves together to battle, against the Lamanites, to defend their lands and their country, their rights and their liberties; therefore they were prepared against the time of the coming of the Lamanites. And it came to pass, that Moroni caused that his army should be secreted in the valley which was near the bank of the river Sidon, which was on the west of the river Sidon, in the wilderness. And Moroni placed spies round about that he might know when the camp of the Lamanites should come.

And now as Moroni knew the intentions of the Lamanites, that it was there intention to destroy their brethren, or to subject them and bring them into bondage, that they might establish a kingdom unto themselves, over all the land; and he also knowing that it was the only desire of the Nephites to preserve their lands and their liberty, and their church, therefore he thought it no sin that he should defend them by stratagem; therefore he found, by his spies, which course the lamanites were to take. Therefore he divided his army, and brought a part over into the valley, and concealed them on the east, and on the south of the hill Riplah; and the remainder he concealed in the west valley, on the west of the river Sidon, and so down into the borders of the land of Manti. And thus having placed his army according to his desire, he was prepared to meet them.

And it came to pass that the Lamanites came up on the north of the hill where a part of the army of Moroni was concealed. And it came to pass that as the Lamanites had passed the hill Riplah, and came into the valley, and began to cross the river Sidon, the army which was concealed on the south of the hill, who was led by a man whose name was Lehi; and he led his army forth and encircled the Lamanites about, on the east, in their rear.

And it came to pass that the Lamanites, when they saw the Nephites coming upon them in the rear, turned them about, and began to contend with the army of Lehi; and the work of death commenced on both sides; but it was more dreadful on the part of the Lamanites; for their nakedness was exposed to heavy blows of the Nephites, with their swords and their cimeters, which brought death almost at every stroke; while on the other hand, there was now and then a man fell among the Nephites, by their swords, and the loss of blood; they being shielded from the more vital parts of the body, or the more vital parts of the body being shielded from the strokes of the Lamanites, by their breast-plates, and their arm-shields, and their head-plates; and thus the Nephites did carry on the work of death among the Lamanites. And it came to pass that the Lamanites became frightened, because of the great destruction among them, even until they began to flee towards the river Sidon. And they were persued by Lehi and his men, and they were driven by Lehi into the waters of Sidon; and they crossed the waters of Sidon. And Lehi retained his armies upon the bank of the river Sidon, that they should not cross.

And it came to pass that Moroni and his army met the Lamanites in the valley, on the other side of the river Sidon. -- And it came to pass that Moroni and his army began to fall upon them, and to slay them. And it came to pass that the Lamanites did flee again before them, towards the land of Manti; and they were met again by the armies of Moroni. -- Now in this case, the Lamanites did fight exceedingly; yea, never had the Lamanites been known to have fought with such exceeding great strength and courage; no, not even from the beginning; and they were inspired by the Zoramites, and the Amalekites, which were their Chief Captains and leaders, and by Zerahemnah, who was their Chief Captain, or their chief leader and commander; yea, they did fight like dragons; and many of the Nephites were slain by their hands; yea, for they did smite in two many of their head-plates; and they did pierce many of their breast-plates; and they did smite off many of their arms; and thus the Lamanites did smite in their fierce anger. Nevertheless, the Nephites were inspired by a better cause; for they were not fighting for monarchy nor power; but they were fighting for their homes, and their liberties, their wives, and their children, and their all; yea, for their rites of worship, and their church; and they were doing that which they felt it was the duty which they owed to their God; for the Lord said unto them, and also unto their fathers. That inasmuch as ye are not guilty of the first offence, neither the second, ye shall not suffer yourselves to be slain by the hands of your enemies. And again: The Lord hath said That ye shall defend your families, even unto bloodshed; therefore, for this

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cause were the Nephites contending with the Lamanites, to defend themselves, and their families, and their lands, their country, and their rights, and their religion.

And it came to pass that when the men of Moroni saw the fierceness and the anger of the Lamanites, they were about to shrink and flee from them. And Moroni, perceiving their intent, sent forth and inspired their hearts with these thoughts; yea, the thoughts of their lands, their liberty, yea, their freedom from bondage. And it came to pass that they turned upon the Lamanites, and they cried with one voice unto the Lord their God, for their liberty, and their freedom from bondage. And they began to stand against the Lamanites with power; and in that self-same hour that they cried unto the Lord for their freedom, the Lamanites began to flee before them; and they fled into the waters of Sidon. Now the Lamanites were more numerous; yea, by more than double the number of the Nephites; nevertheless, they were driven insomuch that they were gathered together in one body, in the valley, upon the bank, by the river Sidon; therefore the armies of Moroni encircled them about; yea, even on both sides of the river; for behold, on the east, were the men of Lehi; therefore when Zerahemnah saw the men of Lehi on the east of the river Sidon, and the armies of Moroni on the west of the river Sidon, that they were encircled about by the Nephites, they were struck with terror, he commanded his men that they should stop shedding their blood.

And it came to pass that they did stop, and withdrew a pace from them. And Moroni said unto Zerahemnah, Behold, Zerahemnah, that we do not desire to be men of blood. Ye know that ye are in our hands, yet we do not desire to slay you. Behold, we have not come out to battle against you, that we might shed your blood, for power; neither do we desire to bring any one to the yoke of bondage. But this is the very cause for which ye have come against us; yea, and ye are angry with us because of our religion. But now ye behold that the Lord is with us; and ye behold that he hath delivered you into our hands. And now I would that ye should understand that this is done unto us because of our religion and our faith in Christ. And now ye see that ye cannot destroy this our faith. Now ye see that this is the true faith of God; yea, ye see that God will support, and keep, and preserve us, so long as we are faithful unto him, and unto our faith, and our religion; and never will the Lord suffer that we shall be destroyed, except we should fall into transgression, and deny our faith. And now, Zerahemnah, I command you, in the name of that all-powerful God, who hath strengthened our arms, that we have gained power over you by our faith, by our religion, and by our rites of worship, and by our church, and by the sacred support which we owe to our wives, and our children, by that liberty which binds us to our lands and our country; yea, and also by the maintenance of the sacred word of God, to which we owe all our happiness; and by all that is most dear unto us; yea, and this is not all; I command you by all the desires which ye have for life, that ye deliver up your weapons of war unto us, and we will seek not your blood, but we will spare your lives, if ye will go your way, and come not again to war against us. -- And now if ye do not this, behold, ye are in our hands, and I will command my men that they shall fall upon you, and inflict the wounds of death in your bodies, that ye may become extinct; and then we will see who shall have power over this people; yea, we will see who shall be brought into bondage. And now it came to pass that when Zerahemnah had heard these sayings, he came forth and delivered up his sword and his cimeter, and his bow, into the hands of Moroni, and saith unto him, Behold, here is our weapons of war; we will deliver them up unto you, and we will not suffer ourselves to take an oath unto you, which we know that we shall break, and also our children; but take our weapons of war, and suffer that we may depart into the wilderness; otherwise we will retain our swords, and we will perish or conquer. Behold, we are not of your faith; we do not believe that it is God that hath delivered us into your hands; but we believe that it is your cunning that hath preserved you from our swords. Behold, it is your breast-plates, and your shields that hath preserved you. And now when Zerahemnah had made an ending of speaking these words, Moroni returned the sword, and the weapons of war which he had received, unto Zerahemnah, saying, Behold, we will end the conflict. Now I cannot retain the words which I have spoken; therefore, as the Lord liveth, ye shall not depart, except ye depart with an oath, that ye will not return again against us to war. Now as ye are in our hands, we will spill your blood upon the ground, or ye shall submit to the conditions to which I have proposed. And now when Moroni had said these words, Zerahemnah retained his sword, and he was angry with Moroni, and he rushed forward that he might slay Moroni; but as he raised his sword, behold, one of Moroni's soldier smote it even to the earth; and it broke by the hilt; and he also smote Zerahemnah, that he took off his scalp, and it fell to the earth. And Zerahemnah withdrew from before them, into the midst of his soldiers.

And it came to pass that the soldier that stood by, which smote off the scalp of Zerahemnah, took up the scalp from off the ground, by the hair, and laid it upon the point of his sword, and stretched it forth unto them, saying unto them with a loud voice, saying: Even as this scalp hath fallen to the earth, which is the scalp of your Chief, so shall ye fall to earth, except ye will deliver up your weapons of war, and depart, with a covenant of peace.

Now there were many, when they heard these words, and saw the scalp which was upon the sword, they were struck with fear, and many came forth and threw down their weapons of war, at the feet of Moroni , and entered into a covenant of peace. And as many as entered into a covenant, they suffered to depart into the wilderness.

Now it came to pass that Zerahemnah was exceeding wroth, and he did stir up the remainder of his soldiers to anger, to contend more powerfully against the Nephites. And now Moroni was angry, because of the stubbornness of the Lamanites; therefore he commanded his people that they should fall upon them and slay them. And it came to pass that they began to slay them; yea, and the Lamanites did contend with their swords and their mights. But behold, their naked skins, and their bare heads, were exposed to the sharp swords of the Nephites; yea, behold, they were pierced and smitten; yea, and did fall exceeding fast before the swords of the Nephites; and they began to be swept down, even as the soldier of Moroni had prophesied. Now Zerahemnah, when he saw that they were all about to be destroyed, he cried mightily unto Moroni, promising that he would covenant, and also his people, with them, if they would spare the remainder of their lives, that they never would come to war again against them. And it came to pass that Moroni caused that the work of death should cease again among the people. And it came to pass, that he took the weapons of war from the Lamanites; and after they had entered into a covenant with him of peace, they were suffered to depart into the wilderness. Now the number of their dead were not numbered, because of the greatness of the number; yea, the number of their dead were exceeding great, both on the Nephites, and on the Lamanites. -- And it came to pass that they did cast their dead into the waters of Sidon; and they have gone forth, and are buried in the depths of the sea. And the armies of the Nephites, or of Moroni, returned, and came to their houses, and their lands. And thus ended the eighteenth year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi. And thus ended the record of Alma, which was wrote upon the plates of Nephi.

MORMON ALMA CHAPTER 21

The account of the people of Nephi, and their wars and dissentions, in the days of Helaman, according to the record of Helaman, which he kept in his days.

Behold, now it came to pass that the people of Nephi were exceedingly rejoiced, because the Lord God again delivered them out of the hands of their enemies; therefore they gave thanks unto the Lord their God; yea, and they did fast much and pray much, and they did worship God exceeding great joy.

And it came to pass in the nineteeneth year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi, that Alma came unto his son Helaman, and saith unto him, Believest thou the words which I spake unto thee concerning those records which have been kept? And Helaman saith unto him, Yea, I believe. -- And Alma saith again, Believest thou in Jesus Christ, which shall come? And he saith, Yea, I believe all the words which thou hast spoken. And Alma saith unto him again, Will ye keep my commandments? And he said, Yea, I will keep thy commandments with all my heart. Then Alma saith unto him, Blessed art thou; and the Lord shall prosper thee in this land. But behold, I have somewhat to prophesy unto thee; but what I prophesy unto thee, ye shall not make known; yea, what I prophesy unto thee shall not be made known, even until the prophecy is fulfilled; therefore write the words which I shall say. And these are the words: Behold, I perceive that this very people, the Nephites, according to the spirit of revelation which is in me, in four hundred years from the time that Jesus Christ shall manifest himself unto them, shall dwindle in unbelief; yea, and then shall they see wars and pestilences, yea, famines and bloodshed, even until the people of Nephi shall become extinct; yea, and this because they shall dwindle in unbelief, and fall into the works of darkness and lasciviousness, and all manner of iniquities; yea, I say unto you, that because they shall sin against so great light and knowledge; yea, I say unto you, that from this day, even the fourth generation shall not all pass away, before this great iniquity shall come; and when that great day cometh, behold, the time very soon cometh that those which are now, or the seed of those which are now numbered among the people of Nephi, shall no more be numbered among the people of Nephi; but whosoever remaineth, and is not destroyed in that great and dreadful day, shall be numbered among the Lamanites, and shall become like unto them all, save it be a few, which shall be called the disciples of the Lord; and them shall the Lamanites pursue, even until they shall become extinct. And now, because of iniquity, this prophecy shall be fulfilled.

And now it came to pass that after Alma has said these things to Helama, he blessed him, and also his other sons; and he also blessed the earth, for the righteous sake. And he said, Thus saith the Lord God: Cursed shall be the land, yea, this land, unto every nation, kindred, tongue, and people, unto destruction, which do wickedly, when they are fully ripe; and as I have said, so shall it be: for this is the cursing and the blessing of God upon the land, for the Lord cannot look upon sin with the least degree of allowance. And now, when Alma had said these words, he blessed the church, yea, all those which should stand fast in the faith, from that time henceforth; and when Alma had done this, he departed out of the land of Zarahemla, as if to go into the land of Melek. -- And it came to pass that he was never heard of more; as to his death or his burial, we know not of. Behold, this we know, that he was a righteous man; and the saying went abroad in the church, that he was taken up by the spirit, or buried by the hand of the Lord, even as Moses. But behold, the Scripture saith the Lord took Moses unto himself; and we suppose that he hath also received Alma in the spirit, unto himself; therefore, for this cause, we know nothing concerning his death or burial.

And now it came to pass in the commencement of the nineteenth year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi, that Helaman went forth among the people to declare the word unto them: for behold, because of their wars with the Lamanites, and the many little dissentions and disturbances which had been among the people, it became expedient that the word of God should be declared among them; yea, and that a regulation should be made throughout the church; therefore Helaman and his brethren went forth to establish the church again in all the land, yea, in every city throughout all the land which was possessed by the people of Nephi. And it came to pass that they did appoint priests and teachers throughout all the land, over all the churches.

And now it came to pass that after Helaman and his brethren had appointed priests and teachers over the churches, that there arose a dissention among them, and they would not give heed to the words of Helaman and his brethren; but they grew proud, being lifted up in their hearts, because of their exceeding great riches; therefore they grew rich in their own eyes, and would not give heed to their words, to walk uprightly before God.

And it came to pass that as many as would not hearken to the words of Helaman and his brethren, were gathered together against their brethren. And now behold, they were exceeding wroth, insomuch that they were determined to slay them. Now the leader of those which were wroth against their brethren, was a large and a strong man; and his name was Amalickiah. And Amalickiah was desirous to be a king; and those people which were wroth, were also desirous that he should be their king; and they were the greater part of them the lower Judges of the land; and they were seeking power. And they had been led by the flatteries of Amalickiah, that if they would support him, and establish him to be their king, that he would make them rulers over the people. Thus they were led away by Amalickiah, to dissentions, notwithstanding the preaching of Helaman and his brethren; yea, notwithstanding their exceeding great care over the church, for they were High Priests over the church. And there were many in the church which believed in the flattering words of Amalickiah; therefore they dissented even from the church; and thus were the affairs of the people of Nephi exceeding precarious and dangerous, notwithstanding their great victory which they had had over the Lamanites, and their great rejoicings which they had had, because of their deliverance by the hands of the Lord. Thus we see how quick the children of men doth forget the Lord their God; yea, how quick to do iniquity, and to be led away by the evil one; yea, and we also see the great wickedness one very wicked man can cause to take place among the children of men; yea, we see that Amalickiah, because he was a man of cunning devices, and a man of many flattering words, that he led away the hearts of many people to do wickedly; yea, and to seek to destroy the church of God, and to destroy the foundation of liberty which God had granted unto them, or which blessing God had sent upon the face of the land, for the righteous sake.

And now it came to pass that when Moroni, which was the chief commander of the armies of the Nephites, had heard of these dissentions, he was angry with Amalickiah. And it came to pass that he rent his coat; and he took a piece thereof, and wrote upon it, In memory of our God, our religion, and freedom, and our peace, our wives, and our children; and he fastened it upon the end of a pole thereof. And he fastened his head-plate, and his breast- plate, and his shields, and girded on his armour about his loins; and he took the pole, which had on the end thereof his rent coat. (and he called it the title of liberty,) and he bowed himself to the earth, and he prayed mightily unto his God for the blessings of liberty to rest upon his brethren so long as there should a band of Christians remain to possess the land: for thus were all the true believers of Christ, which belonged to the church of God, called by those which did not belong to the church; and those who did belong to the church were faithful; yea, all those who were true believers in Christ, took upon them, gladly, the name of Christ, or Christians, as they were called, because of their belief in Christ, which should come; and therefore, at this time, Moroni prayed that the cause of the Christians, and the freedom of the land, might be favored. --

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And it came to pass that when he had poured out his soul, he gave all the land which was south of the land Desolation; yea, and in fine, all the land, both on the north and on the south, a chosen land , and the land of liberty. -- And he saith, Surely God shall not suffer that we, who are despised because we take upon us the name of Christ, shall be trodden down and destroyed, until we bring it upon us, by our own transgressions. And when Moroni had said these words, he went forth among the people, waving the rent of his garment in the air, that all might see the writing which he had wrote upon the rent, and crying with a loud voice, saying: Behold, whosoever will maintain this title upon the land, let them come forth in the strength of the Lord, and enter into a covenant that they will maintain their rights, and their religion, that the Lord God may bless them.

And it came to pass that when Moroni had proclaimed these words, behold, the people came running together, with their armours girded about their loins, rending their garments in token, or as a covenant, that they would not forsake the Lord their God; or, in other words, if they should transgress the commandment of God, or fall into transgressions, and be ashamed to take upon them the name of Christ, the Lord should rend them even as they rent their garments. Now this was the covenant which they made; and they cast their garments at the feet of Moroni, saying: We covenant with our God that we shall be destroyed, even as our brethren in the land northward, if we shall fall into transgression; yea, he may cast us at the feet of our enemies, even as we have cast our garments at thy feet, to trodden under foot, if we shall fall into transgression. Moroni saith unto them, Behold, we are a remnant of the seed of Jacob; yea, we are a remnant of the seed of Joseph, whose coat was rent by his brethren, into many pieces; yea, and now behold, let us remember to keep the commandments of God, or our garments shall be rent by our brethren, and we be cast into prison, or be sold, or be slain; yea, let us preserve our liberty, as a remnant of Joseph; yea, let us remember the words of Jacob, before his death; for behold, he saw that a part of the remnant of the coat of Joseph was preserved, and had not decayed. And he saith, Even as this remnant of garment of my sons hath been preserved, so shall a remnant of the seed of my son be preserved by the hand of God, and be taken unto himself, while the remainder of the seed of Joseph shall perish, even as the remnant of his garment. Now behold, this giveth my soul sorrow; nevertheless, my soul hath joy in my son, because that part of his seed which shall be taken unto God. Now behold, this was the language of Jacob. And now who knoweth but what the remnant of the seed of Joseph, which shall perish as his garment, are those which have dissented from us; yea, and even it shall be us, if we do not stand fast in the faith of Christ.

And now it came to pass that when Moroni had said these words, he went forth, and also sent forth in all the parts of the land where there were dissentions, and gathered together all the people which were desirous to maintain their liberty, to stand against Amalickiah, and those which had dissented, which were called Amalickiahites.

And it came to pass that when Amalickiah saw that the people of Moroni were more numerous than the Amalickiahites; and he also saw that his people were doubtful concerning the justice of the cause in which they had undertaken; therefore, fearing that he should not gain the point, he took those of his people which would, and departed into the land of Nephi.

Now Moroni thought it was not expedient that the Lamanites should have any more strength; therefore he thought to cut off the people of Amalickiah, or to take them and bring them back, and put Amalickiah to death; yea, for he knew that they would stir up the Lamanites to anger against them, and cause them to come to battle against them; and this he knew that Amalickiah would do, that he might obtain his purposes; therefore Moroni thought it was expedient that he should take his armies, which had gathered themselves together and armed themselves. and entered into a covenant to keep the peace: -- And it came to pass that he took his army, and marched out into the wilderness, to cut off the course of Amalickiah in the wilderness.

And it came to pass that he did according to his desires, and marched forth into the wilderness, and headed the armies of Amalickiah. And it came to pass that Amalickiah fled with a small number of his men, and the remainder were delivered up into the hands of Moroni, and were taken back into the land of Zarahemla. Now Moroni being a man which was appointed by the Chief Judges and the voice of the people, therefore he had power according to his will, with the armies of the Nephites, to establish and to exercise authority over them.

And it came to pass that whomsoever of the Amalickiahites that would not enter into a covenant to support the cause of freedom, that they might maintain a free government, he caused to be put to death; and there was but few which denied the covenant of freedom.

And it came to pass also, that he caused the title of liberty to be hoisted upon every tower which was in all the land, which was possessed by the Nephites; and thus Moroni planted the standard of liberty among the Nephites. And they began to have peace again in the land; and thus they did maintain peace in the land, until nearly the end of the nineteenth year of the reign of the Judges. And Helaman and the High Priests did also maintain order in the church; yea, even for the space of four years, did they have much peace and rejoicing in the church.

And it came to pass that there were many who died, firmly believing that their souls were redeemed by the Lord Jesus Christ; thus they went out of the world rejoicing. And there were some who died with fevers, which at some seasons of the year, was very frequent in the land; but not so much so with fevers, because of the excellent qualities of the many plants and roots which God had prepared, to remove the cause of diseases which was subsequent to man, by the nature of the climate. But there were many who died with old age; and those who died in the faith of Christ, are happy in him, as we must needs suppose. Now we will return in our record, to Amalickiah, and those which had fled with him into the wilderness: for behold, he had taken those which went with him, and went up into the land of Nephi, among the Lamanites, and did stir up the Lamanites to anger, against the people of Nephi, inasmuch that the king of the Lamanites sent a proclamation throughout all his land, among all his people, that they should gather themselves together again, to go to battle against the Nephites.

And it came to pass that when the proclamation had gone forth among them, they were exceeding fraid; yea, they feared to displease the king, and they also feared to go to battle against the Nephites, lest they should lose their lives. And it came to pass that they would not, or the more part of them would not obey the commandments of the king.

And now it came to pass that the king was wroth, because of their disobedience; therefore he gave Amalickiah the command of that part of his army which was obedient unto his commands, and commanded him that he should go forth and compel them to arms. Now behold, this was the desire of Amalickiah: for he being a very subtle man to do evil, therefore he laid the plan in his heart to dethrone the king of the Lamanites. And now he had got the command of those parts of the Lamanites which were in the favor of the king; and he sought to gain favor of those which were not obedient; therefore he went forward to the place which was called Onidah, for thither had all the Lamanites fled; for they discovered the army coming, and supposing that they were coming to destroy them, therefore they fled to Odinah, to the place of arms. -- And they had appointed a man to be a king and a leader over them, being fixed in their minds with a determined resolution that they would not be subjected to go against the Nephites.

And it came to pass that they had gathered themselves together upon the top of the mount which was called Antipas, in preparation to battle. Now it was not Amalickiah.s intention to give them battle, according to the commandments of the king; but behold, it was his intention to gain favor with the armies of the Lamanites, that he might place himself at their head, and dethrone the king, and take possession of the kingdom. And behold, it came to pass that he caused his army to pitch their tents in the valley which was near the mount Antipas. And it came to pass that when it was night, he sent a secret embassy into the mount Antipas, desiring that the leader of those which were on the mount, whose name was Lehonti, that he should come down to the foot of the mount, for he desired to speak with him.

And it came to pass that when Lehonti received the message, he durst not go down to the foot of the mount. And it came to pass that Amalickiah sent again a second time, desiring him to come down. And it came to pass that Lehonti would not; and he sent again the third time. And it came to pass that when Alamickiah found that he could not get Lehonti to come down off from the mount, he went up into the mount, nearly to Lehonti's camp; and he sent again the fourth time, his message unto Lehonti, desiring that he would come down, and that he would bring his guards with him.

And it came to pass that when Lehonti had come down with his guards to Amalickiah, that Amalickiah desired him to come down with his army in the night time, and surround those men in their camps, over whom the king gave him command, and he would deliver them up into Lehonti's hands, if he would make him, (Amalickiah,) a second leader over the whole army.

And it came to pass that Lehonti came down with his men, and surrounded the men of Amalickiah, so that before they awoke at the dawn of the day, they were surrounded by the armies of Lehonti. And it came to pass that when they saw that they were surrounded, they plead with Amalickiah that he would suffer them to fall in with their brethren, that they might not be destroyed. Now this was the very thing which Amalickiah desired.

And it came to pass that he delivered his men, contrary to the commands of the king. Now this was the thing that Amalickiah desired, that he might accomplish his designs in dethroning the king. Now it was the custom among the Lamanites, if their chief leader was killed, to appoint the second leader to be their chief leader.

And it came to pass that Amalickiah caused that one of his servants administer poison, by degrees, to Lehonti, that he died. Now when Lehonti was dead, the Lamanites appointed Amalickiah to be their leader and their chief commander. And it came to pass that Amalickiah marched with his armies (for he had gained his desires) to the land of Nephi, to the city of Nephi, which was the chief city. And the king came out to meet him, with his guards: for he supposed that Amalickiah had fulfilled his commands, and that Amalickiah had gathered together so great an army for to go against the Nephites to battle. But behold, as the king came out to meet him, Amalickiah caused that his servants should go forth to meet the king. And they went and bowed themselves before the king, as if to reverence him, because of his greatness. And it came to pass that the king put forth his hand to raise them, as was the custom of the Lamanites, and a token of peace, which custom they had taken from the Nephites. And it came to pass that when he had raised the first from the ground, behold, he stabbed the king to the heart; and he fell to the earth. Now the servants of the king fled; and the servants of Amalickiah raised a cry, saying: Behold, the servants of the king have stabbed him to the heart, and he has fell, and they have fled; behold, come and see.

And it came to pass that Amalickiah commanded that his armies should march forth, and see what bad happened to the king; and when they had come to the spot, and found the king lying in his gore, Amalickiah pretended to be wroth, and said, Whosoever loved the king, let him go forth and pursue his servants, that they may be slain.

And it came to pass that when all they who had loved the king, when they had heard these words, came forth and pursued after the servants of the king. Now when the servants of the king saw an army pursuing after them, they were frightened again, and fled into the wilderness, and came over into the land of Zarahemla, and joined the people of Ammon; and the army which pursued after them, returned, having pursued after them in vain: and thus Amalickiah, by his fraud, gained the hearts of the people.

And it came to pass on the morrow, he entered the city of Nephi, with his armies, and took possession of the city. And now it came to pass that the queen, when she had heard that the king was slain: for Amalickiah had sent an embassy to the queen, informing her that the king had been slain by his servants; that he had pursued them with his army, but it was in vain, and they had made their escape: Therefore when the queen had received this message, she sent unto Amalickiah, desiring him that he would spare the people of the city; and she also desired him that he should come in unto her; and she also desired him that he would bring witnesses with him, to testify concerning the death of the king.

And it came to pass that Amalickiah took the same servant that slew the king, and also they which were with him, and went in unto the queen, unto the place where she sat; and they all testified unto her that the king was slain by his own servants; and they said, also, They have fled: Does not this testify against them? And thus they satisfied the queen concerning the death of the king.

And it came to pass that Amalickiah sought the favor of the queen, and took her unto him to wife; and thus by his fraud, and by the assistance of his cunning servants, he obtained the kingdom; yea, he was acknowledged king throughout all the land, among all the people of the Lamanites, which was composed of the Lamanites, and the Lamanites, and the Ishmaelites, and all the dissenters of the Nephites, from the reign of Nephi down to the present time. Now these dissenters, having the same instruction and the same information of the Nephites; yea, having been instructed in the same knowledge of the Lord; nevertheless, it is strange to relate, not long after their dissentions, they became more hardened and impenitent, and more wild, wicked and ferocious, then the Lamanites; drinking in the traditions of the Lamanites; giving away to indolence, and all manner of lasciviousness; yea, entirely forgetting the Lord their God.

And now it came to pass that as soon as Amalickiah had obtained the kingdom, he began to inspire the hearts of the Lamanites against the people of Nephi; yea, he did appoint men to speak unto the Lamanites from their towers, against the Nephites; and thus he did inspire their hearts against the Nephites, insomuch, that in the latter end of the nineteenth year of the reign of the Judges, he having accomplished his designs thus far; yea, having been made king over the Lamanites, he sought also to reign over all the land; yea, and all the people which were in the land; the Nephites as well as the Lamanites; therefore he had accomplished his design: for he had hardened the hearts of the Lamanites, and blinded their minds, and stirred them up to anger, insomuch that he had gathered together a numerous host, to go to battle against the Nephites. For he was determined, because of the greatness of the number of his people, to overpower the Nephites, and to bring them into bondage: and thus he did appoint Chief Captains of the Zoramites, they being the most acquainted with the strength of the Nephites, and their places of resort, and the weakest parts of their cities; therefore he appointed them to be Chief Captains over his armies.

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And it came to pass that they took their camp, and moved forth towards the land of Zarahemla, in the wilderness. Now it came to pass that while Amalickiah had thus been obtaining power by fraud and deceit, Moroni, on the other hand, had been preparing the minds of the people to be faithful unto the Lord their God; yea, he had been strengthening the armies of the Nephites, and erecting small forts, or places of resort; throwing up banks of earth round about, to enclose his armies, and also building walls of stone to encircle them about, round about their cities, and the borders of their lands; yea, all round about the land; and in their weakest fortifications, he did place the greater number of men; and thus he did fortify and strengthen the land which was possessed by the Nephites. And thus he was preparing to support their liberty, their lands, their wives, and their children, and their peace, and that they might live unto the Lord their God, and that they might maintain that which was called by their enemies the cause of Christians. And Moroni was a strong and mighty man; he was a man of a perfect understanding; yea, a man that did not delight in bloodshed; a man whose soul did joy in the liberty and the freedom of his country, and his brethren from bondage and slavery; yea, a man whose heart did swell with thanksgiving to his God, for the many privileges and blessings which he bestowed upon his people; a man who did labor exceedingly for the welfare and safety of his people; yea, and he was a man who was firm in the faith of Christ, and he had sworn with an oath, to defend his people, his rights, and his country, and his religion, even to the loss of his blood. Now the Nephites were taught to defend themselves against their enemies, even to the shedding of blood, if it were necessary; yea, and they were also taught never to give an offence; yea, and never to raise the sword, except it were against an enemy, except it were to preserve their lives: and this was their faith, that by so doing. God would prosper them in the land; or in other words, if they were faithful in keeping the commandments of God, that he would prosper them in the land; yea, warn them to flee, or to prepare for war, according to their danger; and also, that God would make it known unto them, whither they should go to defend themselves against their enemies; and by so doing, the Lord would deliver them: and this was the faith of Moroni; and his heart did glory in it; not in the shedding of blood, but in doing good, in preserving his people; yea, in keeping the commandments of God; yea, and resisting iniquity.

Yea, verily, verily I say unto you, if all men had been, and were, and ever would be, like unto Moroni, behold, the very powers of hell would have been shaken forever; yea, the Devil would never have no power over the hearts of the children of men. Behold, he was a man like unto Ammon, the son of Mosiah, yea, and even the other sons of Mosiah; yea, and also Alma and his sons: for they were all men of God. Now behold, Helaman and his brethren were no less serviceable unto the people, then was Moroni; for they did preach the word of God, and they did baptize unto repentance, all, men whosoever would hearken unto their words. And thus they went forth, and the people did humble themselves because of their words, insomuch that they were highly favored of the Lord; and thus they were free from wars and contentions among themselves; yea, even for the space of four years. But as I have said in the latter end of the nineteenth; yea, notwithstanding their peace amongst themselves, they were compelled reluctantly to contend with their brethren, the Lamanites; yea, and in fine, their wars never did cease for the space of many years with the Lamanites, notwithstanding their much reluctance. Now they were sorry to take up arms against the Lamanites, because they did not delight in the shedding of blood; yea, and this was not all; they were sorry to be the means of sending so many of their brethren out of this world into an eternal world, unprepared to meet their God; nevertheless, they could not suffer to lay down their lives, that their wives and their children should me massacred by the barbarous cruelty of those who was once their brethren, yea, and had dissented from their church, and had left them, and had gone to destroy them, by joining the Lamanites; yea, they could not bear that their brethren should rejoice over the blood of the Nephites, so long as there were any who should keep the commandments of God: for the promise of the Lord were, If they should keep his commandments, they should prosper in the land.

And now it came to pass in the eleventh month of the nineteenth year, on the tenth day of the month, the armies of the Lamanites were seen approaching towards the land of Ammonihah. And behold, the city had been rebuilt, and Moroni had stationed an army by the borders of the city, and they had cast up dirt round about to shield them from the arrows and the stones of the Lamanites; for behold, they fought with stones, and with arrows. Behold, I said that the city of Ammonihah had been re-built. I say unto you, yea, that it was in part re-built, and because the Lamanites had destroyed it once because of the iniquity of the people, they supposed that it would again become an easy prey for them. But behold, how great was their disappointment; for behold the Nephites had dug a ridge of earth round about them, which was so high that the Lamanites could not cast their stones and their arrows at them, that they might take effect; neither could they come upon them, save it was by their place of entrance. Now at this time, the Chief Captains of the Lamanites were astonished exceedingly, because of the wisdom of the Nephites in preparing their place of security. Now the leaders of the Lamanites had supposed, because of the greatness of their numbers; yea, they supposed that they should be privileged to come upon them as they had hitherto done; yea, and they had also prepared themselves with shields, and with breast-plates; and they had also prepared themselves with garments of skins; yea, very thick garments, to cover their nakedness. And being thus prepared, they supposed that they should easily overpower and subject their brethren to the yoke of bondage, or slay and massacre them according to their pleasure. But behold, to their uttermost astonishment, they were prepared for them, in a manner which never had been known among all the children of Lehi. Now they were prepared for the Lamanites, to battle after the manner of the instructions of Moroni. And it came to pass that the Lamanites, or the Amalickiahites, were exceedingly astonished at their manner of preparation for war. Now if king Amalickiah had come down out of the land of Nephi, at the head of his army, perhaps he would have caused the Lamanites to have attacked the Nephites at the city of Ammonihah; for behold, he did care not for the blood of his people. But behold, Amalickiah did not come down himself to battle. And behold, his Chief Captains durst not attack the Nephites at the city of Ammonihah, for Moroni had altered the management of affairs among the Nephites, insomuch that the Lamanites were disappointed in their places of retreat, and they could not come upon them; therefore they retreated into the wilderness, and took their camp, and marched towards the land of Noah, supposing that to be the next best place for them to come against the Nephites; for they knew not that Moroni had fortified or had built forts of security for every city in all the land round about; therefore they marched forward to the land of Noah with a firm determination; yea, their Chief Captains came forward, and took an oath that they would destroy the people of that city. But behold, to their astonishment, the city of Noah, which had hitherto been a weak place, had now, by the means of Moroni, became strong; yea, even to exceed the strength of the city Ammonihah. And now behold, this was the wisdom in Moroni; for he had supposed that they would be frightened at the city of Ammonihah; and as the city of Noah had hitherto been the weakest part of the land, therefore they would march thither to battle; and thus it was, according to his desires. And behold, Moroni had appointed Lehi to be Chief Captain over the men of their city; and it was that same Lehi which fought with the Lamanites in the valley, on the east of the river Sidon.

And now it came to pass, that when the Lamanites had found that Lehi commanded the city, they were again disappointed, for they feared Lehi exceedingly; nevertheless, their Chief Captains had sworn with an oath, to attack the city; therefore they brought up their armies. Now behold, the Lamanites could not get into their forts of security, by any other way save by the entrance, because of the highness of the bank which had been thrown up, and the depth of the ditch which had been dug round about, save it were by the entrance. And thus were the Nephites prepared to destroy all such as should attempt to climb up to enter the fort, by any other way, by casting over stones and arrows at them. Thus they were prepared; yea, a body of their most strong men, with their swords and their slings, to smite down all who should attempt to come into their place of security, by the place of entrance; and thus were they prepared to defend themselves against the Lamanites. And it came to pass that the Captains of the Lamanites brought up their armies before the place of entrance, and began to contend with the Nephites, to get into their place of security; but behold, they were driven back from time to time, insomuch that they were slain, with an immense slaughter. Now when they found that they could not obtain power over the Nephites by the pass, they began to dig down their banks of earth, that they might obtain a pass to their armies, that they might have an equal chance to fight; but behold, in these attempts, they were swept off by the stones and the arrows which were thrown at them; and instead of filling up their ditches by pulling down the banks of earth, they were filled up in a measure, with their dead and wounded bodies. Thus the Nephites had all power over their enemies; and thus the Lamanites did attempt to destroy the Nephites, until their Chief Captains were all slain; yea, and more than a thousand of the Lamanites were slain; while on the other hand, there was not a single soul of the Nephites which were slain. There were about fifty which were wounded, which had been exposed to the arrows of the Lamanites through the pass; but they were shielded by their shields, and their breast-plates, and their head-plates, insomuch that their wounds were upon their legs; many of which were very severe.

And it came to pass that when the Lamanites saw that their Chief Captains were all slain, they fled into the wilderness. And it came to pass that they returned to the land of Nephi, to inform their King, Amalickiah, who was a Nephite by birth, concerning their great loss. And it came to pass that he was exceeding angry with his people, because he had not obtained his desire over the Nephites; he had not subjected them to the yoke of bondage; yea, he was exceeding wroth, and he did curse God, and also Moroni, and swearing with an oath that he would drink his blood; and this because Moroni had kept the commandments of God in preparing for the safety of his people. And it came to pass that on the other hand, the people of Nephi did thank the Lord their God, because of his matchless power in delivering them from the hands of their enemies. And thus ended the nineteenth year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi; yea, and there was continual peace among them, and exceeding great prosperity in the church, because of their heed and diligence which they gave unto the word of God, which was declared unto them by Helaman, and Shiblon, and Corianton, And Ammon, and his brethren, &c.; yea, and by all those which had been ordained by the holy order of God, being baptised unto repentance, and sent forth to preach among the people, &c.

MORMON ALMA CHAPTER 22

And now it came to pass that Moroni did not stop making preparations for war, or to defend themselves against the Lamanites; for he caused that his armies should commence in the commencement of the twentieth year of the reign of the Judges, that they should commence in digging up heaps of earth round about all the cities, throughout all the land which was possessed by the Nephites; and upon the top of these ridges of earth, he caused that there should be timbers; yea, works of timbers built up to the height of a man, round about the cities. And he caused that upon those works of timbers, that there should be a frame of pickets built upon the timbers, round about; and they were strong and high; and he caused towers to be erected that overlooked those works of pickets; and he caused places of security to be built upon those towers, that the stones and the arrows of the Lamanites could not hurt them. And they were prepared, that they could cast stones from the top thereof, according to their pleasure and their strength, and slay him which should attempt to approach near the walls of the city. Thus Moroni did prepare strong holds against the coming of their enemies, round about every city in all the land.

And it came to pass that Moroni caused that his armies should go forth into the east wilderness; yea, and they went forth, and drove all the Lamanites which were in the east wilderness into their own lands, which were south of the land of Zarahemla; and the land of Nephi did run in a straight course from the East Sea to the West. And it came to pass that when Moroni had driven all the Lamanites out of the east wilderness, which was north of the lands of their own possessions, he caused that the inhabitants which were in the land of Zarahemla, and in the land round about, should go forth into the east wilderness, even to the borders, by the seashore, and possess that land. And he also placed armies on the south, in the borders of their possessions, and caused them to erect fortifications, that they might secure their armies and their people from the hands of their enemies. And thus he cut off all the strong holds of the lamanites, in the east wilderness; yea, and also on the west, fortifying the line between the Nephites and the Lamanites, between the land of Zarahemla and the land of Nephi; from the West Sea, running by the head of the river Sidon; the Nephites possessing all the land northward; yea, even all the land which was northward of the land Bountiful, according to their pleasure. Thus Moroni, with his armies, which did increase daily, because of the assurance of protection which his works did bring forth unto them; therefore they did seek to cut off the strength and the power of the Lamanites, from off the lands of their possessions, that they should have no power upon the lands of their possession.

And it came to pass that the Nephites began the foundation of a city; and they called the name of the city Moroni; and it was by the East Sea; and it was on the south by the line of the possessions of the Lamanites. And they also began a foundation for a city, between the city of Moroni and the city of Aaron, joining the borders of Aaron and Moroni; and they called the name of the city, or the land, Nephihah. And they also began, in that same year, to build many cities on the north; one in a particular manner, which they called Lehi, which was in the north, by the borders of the seashore. And thus ended the twentieth year. And in these prosperous circumstances were the people of Nephi, in the commencement of the twenty and first year of the reign of the Judges, over the people of Nephi. And they did prosper exceedingly, and they became exceeding rich; yea, and they did multiply, and were strong in the land. And thus we see how merciful and just are all the dealings of the Lord, to the fulfilling of all his words unto the children of men; yea, we can behold that his words are verified, even at this time, which he spake unto Lehi, saying: Blessed art thou, and thy children; and they shall be blessed, inasmuch as they shall keep my commandments; they shall prosper in the land. But remember, inasmuch as they will not keep my commandments, they shall be cut off from the presence of the Lord. And we see that these promises have

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been verified to the people of Nephi; for it has been their quarrelings, and their contentions; yea, their murderings, and their plunderings, their idolatry, their whoredoms, and their abominations, which were among themselves, which brought upon them their wars and destructions. And those who were faithful in keeping the commandments of the Lord, were delivered at all times, whilst thousands of their wicked brethren have been consigned to bondage, or to perish by the sword, or to dwindle in unbelief, and mingle with the Lamanites. But behold, there never was a happier time among the people of Nephi, since the days of Nephi, than in the days of Moroni; yea, even at this time, in the twenty and first year of the reign of Judges. And it came to pass that the twenty and second year of the reign of the Judges, also ended in peace; yea, and also the twenty and third year.

And it came to pass that in the commencement of the twenty and fourth year of the reign of the Judges, there would also have been peace among the people of Nephi, had it not been for a contention which took place among them concerning the land of Lehi, and the land of Morianton, which joined upon the borders of Lehi; both of which were on the borders, by the seashore. For behold, the people which possessed the land of Morianton, did claim a part of the land of Lehi; therefore there began to be a warm contention between them, insomuch that the people of Morianton took up arms against their brethren, and they were determined by the sword to slay them. But behold, the people which possessed the land of Lehi, fled to the camp of Moroni, and appealed unto him for assistance; for behold, they were not in the wrong.

And it came to pass that when the people of Morianton, which were led by a man whose name was Morianton, found that the people of Lehi had fled to the camp of Moroni, they were exceeding fearful, lest the army of Moroni should come upon them, and destroy them; therefore, Morianton put it to their hearts that they should flee to the land which was northward, which was covered with large bodies of water, and take possession of the land which was northward. And behold, they would have carried this plan into an effect, (which would have been a cause to have been lamented,)but behold, Morianton, being a man of much passion, therefore he was angry with one of his maidservants, and he fell her, and beat her much. And it came to pass that she fled, and came over to the camp of Moroni, and told Moroni all things concerning the matter; and also concerning their intentions to flee into the land northward. Now behold, the people which were in the land Bountiful, or rather Moroni, feared that they would hearken to the words of Morianton, and unite with his people, and thus he would obtain possession of those parts of the land, which would lay a foundation for serious consequences among the people of Nephi; yea, which consequences would lead to the overthrow of their liberty; therefore Moroni sent an army, with their camp, to head the people of Morianton, to stop their flight into the land northward. And it came to pass that they did not head them, until they had come to the borders of the land Desolation; and there they did head them, by the narrow pass which led by the sea into the land northward; yea, by the sea, on the west, and on the east.

And it came to pass that the army which was sent by Moroni, which was led by a man whose name was Teancum, did meet the people of Morianton; and so stubborn were the people of Morianton, (being inspired by his wickedness and his flattering words,) that a battle commenced between them, in which Teancum did slay Morianton, and defeat his army, and took them prisoners, and returned to the camp of Moroni. And thus ended the twenty and four year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi. And thus was the people of Morianton brought back. And upon their covenanting to keep the peace, they were restored to the land of Morianton, and a union took place between them and the people of Lehi; and they were also restored to their lands.

And it came to pass that in the same year that the people of Nephi had peace restored unto them, that Nephihah, the second Chief Judge, died, having filled the judgement seat with perfect uprightness before God; nevertheless, he had refused Alma to take possession of those records and those things which were esteemed by Alma and his fathers to be most sacred; therefore Alma had conferred them upon his son Helaman.

Behold, it came to pass that the son of Nephihah was appointed to fill the judgement seat, in the stead of his father; yea, he was appointed Chief Judge, and governor over the people, with an oath, and sacred ordinance to judge righteously, and to keep the peace, and freedom of the people, and to grant unto them their sacred privileges to worship the Lord their God; yea, to support and maintain the cause of God all his days, and to bring the wicked to justice, according to their crime. Now behold, his name was Pahoran. And Pahoran did fill the seat of his father, and did commence his reign in the end of the twenty and fourth year, over the people of Nephi.

MORMON ALMA CHAPTER 23

And now it came to pass, in the commencement of the twenty and fifth year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi, they having established peace between the people of Lehi and the people of Morianton concerning their lands, and having commenced the twenty and fifth year in peace; nevertheless, they did not long maintain an entire peace in the land for there began to be a contention among the people concerning the Chief Judge, Pahoran; for behold, there were a part of the people which desired that a few particular points of the law should be altered; therefore he did not hearken to those who had sent in their voices with their petitions, concerning the altering of the law; therefore those which were desirous that the law should be altered, were angry with him, and desired that he should no longer be Chief Judge over the land; therefore there arose a warm dispute concerning the matter; but not unto bloodshed.

And it came to pass that those who were desirous that Pahoran should be dethroned from the judgement seat, were called king-men, for they were desirous that the law should be altered in a manner to overthrow the free government, and to establish a king over the land. And those who were desirous that Pahoran should remain Chief Judge over the land, took upon them the name of freemen; and thus was the division among them: for the freemen had sworn or covenanted to maintain their rights, and privileges of their religion, by a free government.

And it came to pass that this matter of their contention was settled, by the voice of the people. And it came to pass that the voice of the people came in the favor of the freemen, and Pahoran retained the judgement seat, which caused much rejoicing among the brethren of Pahoran, and also many of the people of liberty; which also put the king-men to silence, that they durst not oppose, but were obliged to maintain the cause of freedom. Now those which were in favor of kings, were those of high birth; and they sought to be kings; and they were supported by those which sought power and authority over the people. But behold, this was a critical time for such contentions to be among the people of Nephi; for behold, Amalickiah had again stirred up the hearts of the people of the Lamanites, against the people of the Nephites, and he was gathering together soldiers, from all parts of his land, and arming them, and preparing for war, with all diligence; for he had sworn to drink the blood of Moroni. But behold, we shall see that his promise which he made was rash; nevertheless, he did prepare himself and his armies, to come to battle against the Nephites. Now his armies were not so great as they had hitherto been, because of the many thousands which had been slain by the hand of the Nephites; but notwithstanding their great loss, Amalickiah had gathered together a wonderful army, insomuch that he feared not to come down to the land of Zarahemla. Yea, even Amalickiah did himself come down, at the head of the Lamanites. And it was in the twenty and fifth year of the reign of the Judges; and it was at the same time that they began to settle the affairs of their contentions concerning the Chief Judge, Pahoran.

And it came to pass that when the men which were called king-men, had heard that the Lamanites were coming down to battle against them, they were glad in their hearts, and they refused to take up arms; for they were so wroth with the Chief Judge, and also with the people of liberty, that they would not take up arms to defend their country. And it came to pass that when Moroni saw this, and also saw that the Lamanites were coming into the borders of the land, he was exceeding wroth, because of the stubborness of those people, of whom he had labored with so much diligence to preserve; yea, he was exceeding wroth; his soul was filled with anger against them. And it came to pass that he sent a petition, with the voice of the people, unto the Governor of the land, desiring that he should read it, and give him, (Moroni,) power to compel those dissenters to defend their country, or to put them to death; for it was his first care to put an end to such contentions, and dissentions among the people; for behold, this had been hitherto a cause of all their destruction. -- And it came to pass that it was granted, according to the voice of the people.

And it came to pass that Moroni commanded that his army should go against those king-men, to pull down their pride and their nobility, and level them with the earth, or they should take up arms and support the cause of liberty. And it came to pass that the armies did march forth against them; and they did pull down their pride and their nobility, insomuch, that as they did lift their weapons of war to fight against the men of Moroni, they were hewn down, and levelled to the earth. And it came to pass that there were four thousand of those dissenters, which were hewn down by the sword; and those of their leaders which were not slain in battle, were taken and cast into prison, for there was no time for their trials at this period; and the remainder of those dissenters, rather than to be smote down to the earth by the sword, yielded to the standard of liberty, and were compelled to hoist the title of liberty upon their towers, and in their cities, and to take up arms in defence of their country. And thus Moroni put an end to those king-men, that there were not any known by the appellation of king-men; and thus he put an end to the stubborness, and the pride of those people which professed the blood of nobility; but they were brought down to humble themselves like unto their brethren, and to fight valiantly for their freedom from bondage.

Behold, it came to pass that while Moroni was thus breaking down the wars and contentions among his own people, and subjecting them to peace and civilization, and making regulations to prepare for war against the Lamanites, behold, the Lamanites had come into the land of Moroni, which was in the borders by the seashore.

And it came to pass that the Nephites were not sufficiently strong in the city of Moroni; therefore Amalickiah did drive them slaying many. And it came to pass that Amalickiah took possession of the city; yea, possession of all their fortifications. And those which fled out of the city of Moroni, came to the city of Nephihah; and also the people of Lehi gathered themselves together, and made preparations, and were ready to receive the Lamanites to battle.

But it came to pass that Amalickiah would not suffer the Lamanites to go against the city of Nephihah to battle, but kept them down by the seashore, leaving men in every city to maintain and defend it; and thus he went on, taking possession of many cities: the city of Nephihah, and the city of Lehi, and the city of Morianton, and the city of Omner, and the city of Gid, and the city of Mulek, all of which were on the east borders, by the seashore. And thus had the Lamanites obtained, by the cunning of Amalickiah, so many cities, by their numberless hosts, all of which were strongly fortified, after the manner of the fortifications of Moroni; all of which afforded strong holds for the Lamanites.

And it came to pass that they marched to the borders of the land Bountiful, driving the Nephites before them, and slaying many. But it came to pass that they were met by Teancum, who had slain Morianton, and had headed his people in his flight. And it came to pass that he headed Amalickiah also, as he was marching forth with his numerous army, that he might take possession of the land Bountiful, and also the land northward. But behold, he met with a disappointment, by being repulsed by Teancum and his men, for they were great warriors: for every man of Teancum did exceed the Lamanites in their strength, and in their skills of war, insomuch they did gain advantage over the Lamanites.

And it came to pass that they did harrass them, insomuch that they did slay them even until it was dark. And it came to pass that Teancum and his men did pitch their tents in the borders of the land of Bountiful; and Amalickiah did pitch his tents in the borders on the beach by the seashore: and after this manner they were driven.

And it came to pass that when the night had come, Teancum and his servant stole forth and went out by night, and went into the camp of Amalickiah; and behold, sleep had overpowered them, because of their much fatigue, which was caused by the labors and the heat of the day.

And it came to pass that Teancum stole privily into the tent of the king, and put a javelin to his heart; and he did cause the death of the king immediately, that he did not awake his servants. And he returned again privily to his own camp, and behold, his men were asleep; and he awoke them, and told them all the things that he had done. And he caused that his armies should stand in readiness, lest the Lamanites had awoke, and should come upon them. And thus ended the twenty and fifth year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi; and thus ended the days of Amalickiah.

MORMON ALMA CHAPTER 25

And now it came to pass in the twenty and sixth year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi, behold, when the Lamanites awoke on the first morning of the first month, behold, they found Amalickiah was dead, in his own tent; and they also saw that Teancum was ready to give them battle on that day. And now when the Lamanites saw this, they were affrighted; and they abandoned their design in marching into the land northward, and retreated with all their army into the city of Mulek, and sought protection in their fortifications, -- And it came to pass that the brother of Amalickiah was appointed king over the people; and his name was Ammoron: thus king Ammoron, the brother of king Amalickiah, was appointed to reign in his stead.

And it came to pass that he did command that his people should maintain those cities which they had taken by the shedding of blood; for they had not taken any cities, save they had lost much blood. And now Teancum saw that the Lamanites were determined to maintain those cities which they had taken, and those parts of the land which they had obtained possession of; and also seeing the enormity of their number, Teancum thought it was not expedient that he should attempt to attack them in their forts; but he kept his men round about, as if making preparations for war; yea, and truly he was preparing to defend himself against them, by casting up walls round about, and preparing places of resort.

And it came to pass that he kept thus preparing for war, until Moroni had sent a large number of men to strengthen his army; and Moroni also sent orders unto him, that he should retain all the prisoners which fell into his hands; for as the Lamanites had taken many prisoners, that he should retain all the prisoners of the Lamanites, as a ransom for those

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which the Lamanites had taken. And he also sent orders unto him, that he should fortify the land Bountiful, and secure the narrow pass which led into the land northward, lest the Lamanites should obtain that point, and should have power to harrass them on every side. And Moroni also sent unto him, desiring that he would be faithful in maintaining that quarter of the land, and that he would seek every opportunity to scourge the Lamanites in that quarter, as much as was his power, that perhaps he might take again, by stratagem or some other way, those cities which had been taken out of their hands; and that he also would fortify and strengthen the cities round about, which had not fallen into the hands of the Lamanites. And he also said unto him, I would come unto you, but behold, the Lamanites are upon us in the borders of the land by the West Sea; and behold, I go against them, therefore I cannot come unto you.

Now the king (Ammoron,) had departed out of the land of Zarahemla, and had made known unto the queen concerning the death of his brother, and had gathered together a large number of men, and had marched forth against the Nephites, on the borders of the West Sea; and thus he was endeavoring to harrass the Nephites, and to draw away a part of their forces to that part of the land, while he had commanded those which he had left to possess the cities which he had taken, that they should also harrass the Nephites on the borders by the East Sea; and should take possession of their lands as much as it were in their power, according to the power of their armies. And thus were the Nephites in those dangerous circumstances, in the ending of the twenty and sixth year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi.

But behold, it came to pass in the twenty and seventh year of the reign of the Judges, that Teancum, by the command of Moroni, who had established armies to protect the south and the west borders of the land, had began his march towards the land Bountiful, that he might assist Teancum with his men, in retaking the cities which they had lost. And it came to pass that Teancum had received orders to make an attack upon the city of Mulek, and retake it if it were possible.

And it came to pass that Teancum made preparations to make an attack upon the city of Mulek, and march forth with his army against the Lamanites; but he saw that it was impossible that he could overpower them while they were in their fortifications; therefore he abandoned his designs, and returned again to the city Bountiful, to wait for the coming of Moroni, that he might receive strength to his army.

And it came to pass that Moroni did arrive with his army to the land of Bountiful, in the latter end of the twenty and seventh year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi. And in the commencement of the twenty and eighth year, Moroni and Teancum, and many of the Chief Captains, held a council of war, what they should do to cause the Lamanites to come out against them to battle; or that they might by some means, flatter them out of their strong holds, that they might gain advantage over them, and take again the city of Mulek.

And it came to pass that they sent embassies to the army of the Lamanites, which protected the city of Mulek, to their leader, whose name was Jacob, desiring him that he would come out with his armies to meet them upon the plains, between the two cities. But behold, Jacob, which was a Zoramite, would not come out with his army to meet them upon the plains.

And it came to pass that Moroni, having no hopes of meeting them upon fair grounds, therefore he resolved upon a plan that he might decoy the Lamanites out of their strong holds. Therefore he caused that Teancum should take a small number of men, and march down near the seashore; and Moroni and his army, by night, marched into the wilderness, on the west of the city of Mulek; and thus, on the morrow, when the guards of the Lamanites had discovered Teancum, they ran and told it unto Jacob, their leader.

And it came to pass that the armies of the Lamanites did march forth against Teancum, supposing by their numbers to overpower Teancum, because of the smallness of his numbers. And as Teancum saw the armies of the Lamanites coming out against him, he began to retreat down by the seashore, northward.

And it came to pass that when the Lamanites saw that he began to flee, they took courage and pursued them with vigor. And while Teancum was thus leading away the Lamanites which were pursuing them in vain, behold, Moroni commanded that a part of his army which were with him, should march forth into the city, and take possession of it. And thus they did, and slew all those who had been left to protect the city; yea, all those who would not yield up their weapons of war. And thus Moroni had obtained a possession of the city of Mulek, with a part of his army, while he marched with the remainder to meet the Lamanites, when they should return from the pursuit of Teancum.

And it came to pass that the Lamanites did pursue Teancum until they came near the city Bountiful, and then they were met by Lehi, and a small army, which had been left to protect the city Bountiful. And now behold, when the Chief Captains of the Lamanites had beheld Lehi, with his army, coming against them, they fled in much confusion, lest perhaps they should not obtain the city Mulek, before Lehi should overtake them; for they were wearied because of their march; and the men of Lehi were fresh. Now the Lamanites did not know that Moroni had been in their rear with his army; and all they feared, was Lehi and his men. Now Lehi was not desirous to overtake them, till they should meet Moroni and his army. And it came to pass that before the Lamanites had retreated far, they were surrounded by the Nephites; by the men of Moroni on one hand, and the men of Lehi on the other, all of whom were fresh and full of strength; but the Lamanites were wearied, because of their long march. And Moroni commanded his men that they should fall upon them, until they had given up their weapons of war.

And it came to pass that Jacob, being their leader, being also a Zoramite, and having an unconquerable spirit, he led the Lamanites forth to battle, with exceeding fury against Moroni. Moroni being in their course of march, therefore Jacob was determined to slay them, and cut his way through to the city of Mulek. But behold, Moroni and his men were more powerful; therefore they did not give away before the Lamanites.

And it came to pass that they fought on both hands with exceeding fury; and there were many slain on both sides; yea, and Moroni was wounded, and Jacob was killed. And Lehi pressed upon their rear with such fury, with his strong man, that the Lamanites in the rear delivered up their weapons of war; and the remainder of them, being much confused, knew not whether to go or to strike. Now Moroni seeing their confusion, he said unto them, if ye will bring forth your weapons of war, and deliver them up, behold we will forbear shedding your blood. And it came to pass that when the Lamanites had heard these words, their Chief Captains, all those which were not slain, came forth and threw down their weapons of war at the feet of Moroni, and also commanded their men that they should do the same; but behold, there were many that would not; and those who would not deliver up their swords, were taken and bound, and their weapons of war were taken from them, and they were compelled to march with their brethren forth into the land Bountiful. And now the number of prisoners which were taken, exceeded more than the number of those which had been slain; yea, more than those which had been slain on both sides.

And it came to pass that they did set guards over the prisoners of the Lamanites, and did compel them to go forth and bury their dead; yea, and also the dead of the Nephites which were slain; and Moroni placed men over them to guard them while they should perform their labors. And Moroni went to the city of Mulek with Lehi, and took command of the city, and gave it unto Lehi. Now behold this Lehi was a man who had been with Moroni in the more part of all his battles; and he was a man like unto Moroni; and they rejoiced in each other's safety; yea, they were beloved by each other, and also beloved by all the people of Nephi.

And it came to pass that after the Lamanites had finished burying their dead, and also the dead of the Nephites, they were marched back into the land Bountiful; and Teancum, by the orders of Moroni, caused that they should commence in laboring in digging a ditch round about the land, or the city Bountiful; and he caused that they should build a breastwork of timbers upon the inner bank of the ditch; and they cast up dirt out of the ditch against the breastwork of timbers; and thus they did cause the Lamanites to labor, until they had encircled the city of Bountiful round about with a strong wall of timbers and earth, to an exceeding height. And this city became an exceeding strong hold ever after; and in this city they did guard the prisoners of the Lamanites; yea, even within a wall, which they had caused them to build with their own hands. Now Moroni was compelled to cause the Lamanites to labor, because it were easy to guard them while at their labor; and he desired all his forces, when he should make an attack upon the Lamanites.

And it came to pass that Moroni had thus gained a victory over one of the greatest of the armies of the Lamanites, and had obtained possession of the city of Mulek, which was one of the strongest hold of the Lamanites in the land of Nephi; and thus he had built a strong hold to retain his prisoners. And it came to pass that he did no more attempt a battle with the Lamanites in that year, but he did employ his men in preparing for war; yea, and in making fortifications to guard against the Lamanites; yea, and also delivering their women and their children from famine and affliction, and providing food for their armies.

And now it came to pass that the armies of the Lamanites, on the West Sea, south, while in the absence of Moroni, on account of some intrigue amongst the Nephites, which caused dissensions amongst them, had gained some ground over the Nephites, yea, insomuch that they obtained possession of a number of their cities in that part of the land; and thus because of iniquity amongst themselves, yea, because of dissensions and intrigue among themselves, they were placed in the most dangerous circumstances.

And now behold, I have somewhat to say concerning the people of Ammon, which, in the beginning, were Lamanites; but by Ammon and his brethren, or rather by the power and word of god, they had been converted unto the Lord; and they had been brought down into the land of Zarahemla, and had ever since been protected by the Nephites; and because of their oath, they had been kept from taking up arms against their brethren; for they had an oath, that they never would shed blood more; and according to their oath, they would have perished; yea, they would have suffered themselves to have fallen into the hands of their brethren, had it not been for the pity and the exceeding love which Ammon and his brethren had had for them; and for this cause, they were brought down into the land of Zarahemla; and they ever had been protected by the Nephites.

But it came to pass that when they saw the danger, and the many afflictions and tribulations which the Nephites bore for them, they were moved with compassion, and were desirous to take up arms in the defence of their country. But behold, as they were about to take their weapons of war, they were overpowered by the persuasions of Helaman and his brethren, for they were about to break the oath which they had made; and Helaman feared lest by so doing, they should lose their souls; therefore all those which had entered into this covenant, were compelled to behold their brethren wade through their afflictions, in their dangerous circumstances, at this time. But behold, it came to pass they had many sons, which had not entered into a covenant that they would not take their weapons of war to defend themselves against their enemies; therefore they did assemble themselves together at this time, as many as were able to take up arms; and they called themselves Nephites; and they entered into a covenant, to fight for there liberty of the Nephites; yea, to protect the land unto the laying down of their lives; yea, even they covenanted that they never would give up their liberty, but they would fight in all cases to protect the Nephites and themselves from bondage.

Now behold, there were two thousand of those young men which entered into this covenant, and took their weapons of war to defend their country. And now behold, as they never had hitherto been a disadvantage of the Nephites, they became now at this period of time also a great support; for they took their weapons of war, and they would that Helaman should be their leader. And they were all young men, and they were exceeding valiant for courage, and also for strength and activity; but behold, this was not all: they were men which were true at all times in whatsoever thing they were entrusted; yea, they were men of truth and soberness, for they had been taught to keep the commandments of God, and walk uprightly before him.

And now it came to pass that Helaman did march at the head of his two thousand stripling soldiers, to the support of the people in the borders of the land on the south, by the

West Sea. And thus ended the twenty and eigth year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi, &c.

MORMON ALMA CHAPTER 25

And now it came to pass in the twenty and ninth year of the reign of the Judges, that Ammoron sent unto Moroni, desiring that he would exchange prisoners. And it came to pass that Moroni felt to rejoice exceedingly at this request, for he desired the provisions which was imparted for the support of the Lamanite prisoners, for the support of his own people; and he also desired his own people for the strengthening of his army. -- Now the Lamanites had taken many women and children; and there was not a woman nor a child among all the prisoners of Moroni, or the prisoners which Moroni had taken; therefore Moroni resolved upon a stratagem, to obtain as many prisoners of the Nephites from the Lamanites, as it were possible; therefore he wrote and epistle, and sent it by the servant of Ammoron, the same who had brought an epistle to Moroni. Now these are the words which he wrote unto Ammoron, saying: Behold, Ammoron, I have wrote unto you somewhat concerning this war which we have waged against my people, or rather which thy brother hath waged against them, and which ye are still determined to carry on after his death. Behold, I would tell you something concerning the justice of God, and the sword of his Almighty wrath, which doth hang over you: Except ye repent and withdraw your armies into your own lands, or the lands of your possessions, which is the land of Nephi; yea, I would tell you these things, if ye were capable of hearkening unto them; yea, I would tell you concerning that awful hell that awaits to receive such murderers as thou and thy brother hath been, except ye repent and withdraw your murderous purposes, and return with your armies to your own lands; but as ye have rejected these things, and have fought against the people of the Lord. even so I may expect you will do it again.

And now behold, we are prepared to receive you; yea, and except you withdraw your purposes, behold, ye will pull down the wrath of that God whom you have rejected, upon you, even to your utter destruction; but as the Lord liveth, our armies shall come upon you, except ye withdraw, and ye shall soon be visited with death, for we will retain our cities and our lands; yea, and we will maintain our religion and the cause of our God. But behold, it supposeth me that I talk to

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you concerning these things in vain; or it supposeth me that that thou art a child of hell; therefore I will close my epistle, by telling you that I will not exchange prisoners, save it be on conditions that ye will deliver up a man, and his wife, and his children, for one prisoner; if this be the case that ye will do it, I will exchange. And behold, if ye do not do this, I will come against you with my armies; yea, even I will arm my women and my children, and I will come against you, and I will follow you even into your own land, which is the land of our first inheritance; yea, and it shall be blood for blood; yea, life for life; and I will give you battle, even until you are destroyed from off the face of the earth. Behold, I am in my anger, and also my people; ye have sought to murder us, and we have only sought to defend ourselves. But behold, if ye seek to destroy us more, we will seek to destroy you; yea, and we will seek our land, the lands of our first inheritance. Now I close my epistle. I am Moroni; I am a leader of the people of the Nephites.

Now it came to pass that Ammoron, when he had received this epistle, he was angry, and he wrote another epistle unto Moroni; and these are the words which he wrote, saying: I am Ammoron, the king of the Lamanites; I am the brother of Amalickiah, whom ye have murdered. Behold, I will avenge his blood upon you; yea, And I will come upon you with my armies, for I fear not your threatnings. For behold, your fathers did wrong their brethren, insomuch that they did rob them of their right to the government, when it rightly belonged unto them. And now behold, if ye will lay down pour arms, and subject yourselves to be governed by those whom the government doth rightly belong, then will I cause that my people shall lay down their weapons, and shall be at war no more. Behold, ye have breathed out many threatnings against me and my people; but behold, we fear not your threatnings; nevertheless, I will grant to exchange prisoners according to your request, gladly, that I may preserve my food for my men of war; and we will wage a war which shall be eternal, either to subjecting the Nephites to our authority, or to their eternal extinction. And concerning that God whom ye say we have rejected, behold, we know not such a being; neither do ye; but if it so be that there is such a being, we know not but that he hath made us as well as you; and if it so be that there is a Devil and a hell, behold, will he not send you there, to dwell with my brother, which ye have murdered, which ye have hinted that he hath gone to such a place? But behold, these things mattereth not. I am Ammoron, and a descendant of Zoram, whom your fathers pressed and brought out of Jerusalem. And behold, now, I am a bold Lamanite. Behold, this war has been waged, to avenge their wrongs, and to maintain, and to obtain their rights to the government; and I close my epistle to Moroni.

Now it came to pass that when Moroni received this epistle, he was more angry, because he knew that Ammoron had a perfect knowledge of his fraud; yea, he knew that Ammoron knew that it was not a just cause that had caused him to wage war against the people of Nephi. And he said, Behold, I will not exchange prisoners with Ammoron, save he will withdraw his purpose, as I have stated in my epistle; for I will not grant unto him that he shall have any more power than what he hath got. Behold, I know the place where the Lamanites doth guard my people, which they have taken prisoners; and as Ammoron would not grant unto me mine epistle, behold, I will give unto him according to my words; yea, I will seek death among them, until they shall sue for peace. And now it came to pass that when Moroni had said these words, he caused that a search should be made among his men, that perhaps he might find a man which was a descendant of Laman among them.

And it came to pass that they found one, whose name was Laman; and he was one of the servants of the king which was murdered by Amalickiah. Now Moroni caused that Laman and a small number of his men, should go forth unto the guard which were over the Nephites. Now the Nephites were guarded in the city of Gid; therefore Moroni caused that Laman and a small number of men which was appointed to go with him.

And it came to pass that when it was evening, Laman went to the guards which were over the Nephites, and behold, they saw him coming, and they hailed him. But he saith unto them, Fear not. Behold, I am a Lamanite. Behold, we have escaped from the Nephites, and they sleepeth; and behold, we have took of their wine, and brought with us. Now when the Lamanites heard these words, they received him with joy. -- And they said unto him, Give us of your wine, that we may drink; we are glad that ye have thus taken wine with you, for we are weary. But Laman saith unto them, Let us keep of our wine till we go against the Nephites to battle. But this saying only made them more desirous to drink of the wine. -- For, said they, We are weary; therefore let us take of the wine, and by and by we shall receive wine for our rations, which will strengthen us to go against the Nephites. And Laman saith unto them, You may do according to your desires. And it came to pass that they did take of the wine freely, and it was pleasant to their taste; therefore they took of it more freely; and it was strong, having been prepared in its strength.

And it came to pass they did drink and were merry, and by and by they were all drunken. Now when Laman and his men saw that they were all drunken, and were in a deep sleep, they returned to Moroni, and told him all the things that had happened. And now this was according to the design of Moroni. And Moroni had prepared his men with weapons of war; and he went to the city of Gid, while the Lamanites were in a deep sleep, and drunken, and cast in the weapons of war in unto the prisoners, insomuch that they were all armed; yea, even to their women, and all those of their children, as many as were able to use a weapon of war; when Moroni had armed all those prisoners. And all those things were done in a profound silence . But had they awoke the Lamanites, behold they were drunken, and the Nephites could have slain them. But behold this was not the desire of Moroni. He did not delight in murder or bloodshed; but he delighted in the saving of his people from destruction; and for this cause he might not bring upon him injustice, he would not fall upon the Lamanites and destroy them in their drunkennes. But he had obtained his desires; for he had armed those prisoners of the Nephites which were within the wall of the city, and had gave them power to gain possession of those parts which were within the walls; and then he caused the men which were with him, to withdraw a pace from them, and surround the armies of the Lamanites. Now behold, this was done in the night time, so that when the Lamanites awoke in the morning, they beheld that they were surrounded by the Nephites without, and that their prisoners were armed within. And thus they saw that the Nephites had power over them; and in these circumstances they found it was not expedient that they should fight with the Nephites; therefore their Chief Captains demanded their weapons of war, and they brought them forth, and cast them at the feet of the Nephites, pleading for mercy. Now behold, this was the desire of Moroni. He took them prisoners of war, and took possession of the city, and caused that all prisoners should be liberated, which were Nephites; and they did join the army of Moroni, and were a great strength to his army.

And it came to pass that he did cause the Lamanites which he had taken prisoners, that they should commence a labor in strengthening the fortifications round about the city of Gid. And it came to pass that when he had fortified the city of Gid, according to his desires, he caused that his prisoners be taken to the city Bountiful. And he also guarded that city with an exceeding strong force. And it came to pass that they did, notwithstanding all the intrigues of the Lamanites, keep and protect all the prisoners which they had taken, and also maintain all the ground and the advantage which they had retaken. And it came to pass that the Nephites began again to be victorious, and to reclaim their rights and privileges. Many time did the Lamanites attempt to encircle them about by night, but these attempts they did lose many prisoners. -- And many times did they atempt to administer of their wine to the Nephites, that they might destroy them with poison or with drunkenness. But behold, the Nephites were not slow to remember the Lord their God, in this their times of affliction. They could not be taken in their snares; yea, they would not partake of their wine; yea, they would not take of wine, save they had firstly given to some of the Lamanite prisoners. And they were thus cautious, that no poison should be administered among them; for if their wine would poison a Lamanite, it would also poison a Nephite; and thus they did try all their liquors. And now it came to pass that it was expedient for Moroni to make preparations to attack the city of Morianton. -- For behold, the Lamanites had, by their labors, fortified the city of Morionton until it had become an exceeding strong hold; and they were continually bringing new forces into that city, and also new supplies of provisions. And thus ended the twenty and ninth year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi.

MORMON ALMA CHAPTER 26

And now it came to pass in the commencement of the thirtieth year of the reign of the Judges, in the second day, on the first month, Moroni received an epistle from Helaman, stating the affairs of the people in that quarter of the land. And these are the words which he wrote, saying: My dearly beloved brother, Moroni, as well in the Lord as in the tribulations of our warfare; behold, my beloved brother, I have somewhat to tell you concerning our warfare in this part of the land. Behold, two thousand of the sons of those men which Ammon brought down out of the land of Nephi: Now ye have known that these were a descendant of Laman, which was the eldest son of our father Lehi. Now I need not rehearse unto you concerning their traditions or their unbelief, for thou knowest concerning all these things; therefore it supposeth me that I tell you that two thousand of these young men hath taken their weapons of war, and would that I should be their leader; and we have come forth to defend our country. And now ye also know concerning the covenant which their fathers made, that they would not take up their weapons of war against their brethren, to shed blood. But in the twenty and sixth year, when they saw our afflictions and our tribulations for them, they were about to break the covenant which they had made, and take up their weapons of war in our defence. But I would not suffer them that they should break this covenant which they had made, supposing that God would strengthen us, insomuch that we would not suffer more because of the fulfilling the oath which they had taken. But behold, here is one thing in which we may have great joy. For behold, in the twenty and sixth year, I Helaman, did march at the head of these two thousand young men, to the city of Judea, to assist Antipus, whom ye had appointed a leader over the people of that part of the land. And I did join my two thousand sons, (for they are worthy to be called sons,) to the army of Antipus; in the which strength Antipus did rejoice exceedingly; for behold, his army had been reduced by the Lamanites because of the numerority of their forces having slain a vast number of our men; for which cause we have to mourn. Nevertheless, we may console ourselves in this point: that they have died in the cause of their country and of their God; yea, and they are happy. And the Lamanites had also retained many prisoners, all of whom are Chief Captains; for none other have they spared alive. And we suppose that they are now at this time in the land of Nephi; it is so if they are not slain. And now these are the cities which the Lamanites have obtained possession, by the shedding of the blood of so many of our valiant men: The land of Manti, or the city of Manti, and the city of Zeezrom, and the city of Cumeni, and the city of Antiparah. And these are the cities which they possessed when I arrived at the city of Judea; and I found Antipus and his men toiling with their mights to fortify the city; yea, and they were depressed in body as well as in spirit; for they had fought valiantly by day, and toiled by night, to maintain their cities; and thus they had suffered great afflictions of every kind. And now they were determined to conquer in this place, or die; therefore you may well suppose that this little force which I brought with me; yea, those sons of mine, gave them great hopes and much joy.

And now it came to pass that when the Lamanites saw that Antipus had received a greater strength to his army, they were compelled by the orders of Ammoron, to not come against the city of Judea, or against us, to battle. And thus were we favored of the Lord: for had they come upon us in this our weakness, they might have perhaps destroyed our little army; but thus were we preserved. They were commanded by Ammoron to maintain those cities which they had taken. And thus ended the twenty and sixth year. And in the commencement of the twenty and seventh year, we had prepared our city and ourselves for defence. Now we were desirous that the Lamanites should come upon us; for we were not desirous to make an attack upon them in their strong holds. And it came to pass that we kept spies round about, to watch the movements of the Lamanites, that they might not pass us by night, nor by day, to make an attack upon our other cities, which were on the northward; for we knew in those cities they were not sufficiently strong to meet them; therefore we were desirous, if they should pass by us, to fall upon them in their rear, and thus bring them up in the rear, at the same time they were met in the front. We supposed that we could overpower them; but behold, we were disappointed in this our desire. They durst not pass by us with their whole army; neither durst they with a part, lest they should not be sufficiently strong, and they should fall. Neither durst they march down against the city of Zarahemla; neither durst they cross the head of Sidon, over the city of Nephihah. And thus, with their forces, they were determined to maintain those cities which they had taken.

And now it came to pass in the second month of this year, there was brought unto us many provisions, from the fathers of those two thousand sons, And also there was sent two thousand men unto us, from the land of Zarahemla. And thus we were prepared with ten thousand men, and provisions for them, and also for their wives, and their children. And the Lamanites, thus seeing our forces increase daily, and provisions arrive for our support, they began to be fearful, and began to sally forth, if it were possible, to put an end to our receiving provisions and strength. Now when we saw that the Lamanites began to grow uneasy on this wise, we were desirous to bring a stratagem into an effect upon them; therefore Antipus ordered that I should march forth with my little sons, to a neighbouring city, as if they were carrying provisions to a neighbouring city. And we were to march near the city Antiparah, as if we were going to the city beyond, in the borders, by the seashore. And it came to pass that we did march forth, as if with our provisions, to go to the city. And it came to pass that Antipus did march forth, with a part of his army, leaving the remainder to maintain the city. But he did not march forth, until I had gone forth with my little army, and came near the city Antiparah. And now in the city of Antiparah, were stationed the strongest army of the Lamanites; yea, the most numerous. And it came to pass that when they had been informed by their spies, they came forth with their army, and marched against us.

And it came to pass that we did flee before them, northward. And thus we did lead away the most powerful army of the Lamanites; yea, even to a considerable distance, insomuch that when they saw the army of Antipus pursuing them, with

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their mights, they did not turn to the right nor to the left, but pursued their march in a straight course after us; and, as we supposed, it was their intent to slay us before Antipus should overtake them, and this that they might not be surrounded by our people. And now Antipus, beholding our danger, did speed the march of his army. But behold, it was night; therefore they did not overtake us, neither did Antipus overtake them; therefore we did camp for the night.

And it came to pass that before the dawn of the morning behold, the Lamanites were pursuing us. Now we were not sufficiently strong to contend with them, yea, I would not suffer that my little sons should fall into their hands; therefore we did continue our march; and we took our march into the wilderness. Now they durst not turn to the right nor to the left, lest they should be surrounded; neither would I turn to the right or to the left, lest they should overtake me, and we could not stand against them, but be slain, and they would make their escape; and thus we did flee all that day into the wilderness, even until it was dark.

And it came to pass that again when the light of the morning came, we saw the Lamanites upon us, and we did flee before them. But it came to pass that they did not pursue us far, before they halted; and it was in the morning of the third day, on the seventh month. And now whether they were overtaken by Antipus, we knew not; but I said unto my men, Behold, we know not but they have halted for the purpose that we should come against them, that they might catch us in their snare; therefore, what say ye, my sons, will ye go against them to battle? And now I say unto you, my beloved brother Moroni, That never had I seen so great courage, nay, not amongst all the Nephites. For as I had ever called them my sons,(for they were all of them very young,) even so they said unto me, Father, behold, our God is with us, and he will not suffer that we shall fall; then let us go forth; we would not slay our brethren, if they would let us alone; therefore let us go, lest they should overpower the army of Antipus. Now they never had fought, yet they did not fear death; and they did think more upon the liberty of their fathers, than they did upon their lives; yea, they had been taught by their mothers, that if they did not doubt, that God would deliver them. And they rehearsed unto me the words of their mothers, saying: We do not doubt our mothers knew it.

And it came to pass that I did return with my two thousand, against these Lamanites which had pursued us. And now behold, the armies of Antipus had overtaken them, and a terrible battle had commenced. The army of Antipus being weary, because of their long march in so short a space of time, were about to fall into the hands of the Lamanites; and had I not returned with my two thousand, they would have obtained their purpose: for Antipus had fallen by the sword, and many of his leaders, because of their weariness, which was occasioned by the speed of their march; therefore the men of Antipus being confused, because of the fall of their leaders began to give way before the Lamanites.

And it came to pass that the Lamanites took courage, and began to pursue them; and thus were the Lamanites pursuing them with great vigor, when Helaman came upon their rear with his two thousand, and began to slay them, exceedingly, insomuch that the whole army of the Lamanites halted, and turned on Helaman. Now when the people of Antipus saw that the Lamanites had turned them about, they gathered together their men, and came again upon the rear of the Lamanites.

And now it came to pass that we, the people of Nephi, the people of Antipus, and I with my two thousand, did surround the Lamanites, and did slay them; yea, insomuch that they were compelled to deliver up their weapons of war, and also themselves as prisoners of war.

And now it came to pass that when they surrendered themselves up unto us, behold, I numbered those young men which had fought with me, fearing lest there were many of them slain. But behold, to my great joy, there had not one soul of them fallen to the earth; yea, and they had fought as if with the strength of God; yea, never was men known to have fought with such miraculous strength; and with such mighty power did they fall upon the Lamanites, that they did frighten them; and for this cause did the Lamanites deliver themselves up as prisoners of war. And as we had no place for our prisoners, that we could guard them to keep them from the armies of the Lamanites, therefore we sent them to the land of Zarahemla, and a part of those men which were not slain of Antipus, with them; and the remainder I took and joined them to my stripling Ammonites, and took our march back to the city of Judea.

And now it came to pass that I received an epistle from Ammoron, the king, stating that if I would deliver up those prisoners of war which we had taken, that he would deliver up the city of Antiparah unto us. But I sent an epistle unto the king, That we were sure our forces were sufficient to take the city of Antiparah by our force; and by delivering up the prisoners for that city, we should suppose ourselves unwise, and that we would only deliver up our prisoners on exchange. And Ammoron refused mine epistle, for he would not exchange prisoners; therefore we began to make preparations to go against the city of Antiparah. But the people of Antiparah did leave the city, and fled to their other cities which they had possession of, to fortify them; and thus the city of Antiparah fell into our hands. And thus ended the twenty and eighth year of the reign of the Judges.

And it came to pass that in the commencement of the twenty and ninth year, we received a supply of provisions, and also an addition to our army, from the land of Zarahemla, and from the land round about, to the number of six thousand men, besides sixty of the sons of the Ammonites, which had come to join their brethren, my little band of two thousand. And now behold, we were strong; yea, and we had also a plenty of provisions brought unto us.

And it came to pass that it was our desire to wage a battle with the army which was placed to protect the city Cumeni. And now behold, I will shew unto you that we soon accomplished our desire; yea, with our strong force, or with a part of our strong force, we did surround, by night, the city Cumeni, a little before they were to receive a supply of provisions. And it came to pass that we did camp round about the city for many nights; but we did sleep upon our swords, and keep guards that the Lamanites could not come upon us by night, and slay us, which they attempted many times; but as many times as they attempted this, their blood was spilt. At length their provisions did arrive, and they were about to enter the city by night. And we, instead of being Lamanites, were Nephites; therefore, we did take them and their provisions. -- And not withstanding the Lamanites being cut off from their support after this manner, they were still determined to maintain the city; therefore it became expedient that we should take those provisions and send them to Judea and our prisoners to the land of Zarahemla.

And it came to pass that not many days had passed away, before the Lamanites began to lose all hopes of succor; therefore they yielded up the city into our hands; and thus we had accomplished our designs, in obtaining the city Cumeni. But it came to pass that our prisoners were so numerous, that notwithstanding the enormity of our numbers, we were obliged to employ all our force to keep them, or to put them to death. For behold, they would break out in great numbers, and would fight with stones, and with clubs, or whatsoever things they could get into their hands, insomuch that we did slay upwards of two thousand of them, after they had surrendered themselves prisoners of war; therefore it became expedient for us, that we should put an end to their lives, or guard them, sword in hand, down to the land of Zarahemla; and also our provisions were not any more sufficient for our own people, notwithstanding that which we had taken from the Lamanites. And now, in those critical circumstances, it became a very serious matter to determine concerning these prisoners of war; nevertheless, we did resolve to send them down to the land of Zarahemla; therefore we selected a part of our men, and gave them charge over our prisoners, to go down to the land of Zarahemla.

But it came to pass that on the morrow, they did return. -- And now behold, we did not inquire of them concerning the prisoners; for behold, the Lamanites were upon us, and they returned in season to save us from falling into their lands. -- For behold, Ammon had sent to their support a new supply of provisions, and also a numerous army of men.

And it came to pass that those men which we sent with the prisoners, did arrive in season to check them, as they were about to overpower us. But behold, my little band of two thousand and sixty, fought most desperately; yea, they were firm before the Lamanites, and did administer death unto all those who opposed them; and as the remainder of our army were about to give way before the Lamanites, behold, those two thousand and sixty were firm and undaunted; yea, and they did obey and observe to perform every word of command with exactness; yea, and even according to their faith, it was done unto them; and I did remember the words which they said unto me that their mothers had taught them. And now behold, it was these, my sons, and those men which had been selected to convey the prisoners, to whom we owe this great victory; for it was they who did beat the Lamanites; therefore they were driven back to the city of Manti. And we retained our city Cumeni, and were not all destroyed by the sword; nevertheless, we had suffered great loss.

And it came to pass that after the Lamanites had fled, I immediately gave orders that my men which had been wounded, should be taken from among the dead, and caused that their wounds should be dressed. And it came to pass that there were two hundred, out of my two thousand and sixty, which had fainted because of the loss of blood; nevertheless, according to the goodness of God, and to our great astonishment, and also the foes of our whole army, there was not one soul of them which did perish; yea, and neither was there one soul among them which had not received many wounds. And now, their preservation was astonishing to our whole army; yea, that they should be spared, while there was a thousand of our brethren which were slain. And we do justly ascribe it to the miraculous power of God, because of their exceeding faith in that which they had been taught to believe, that there was a just God; and whosoever did not doubt, that they should be preserved by his marvellous power. Now this was the faith of these of which I have spoken; they are young, and their minds are firm; and they do put their trust in God continually.

And now it came to pass that after we had thus taken care of our wounded men, and had buried our dead, and also the dead of the Lamanites, which were many, behold, we did inquire of Gid concerning the prisoners which they had started to go down to the land of Zarahemla with. Now Gid was the Chief Captain over the band which was appointed to guard them down to the land. And now, these are the words which Gid said unto me: Behold, we did start to go down to the land of Zarahemla, with our prisoners. And it came to pass that we did meet the spies of our armies, which had been sent out to watch the camp of the Lamanites. And they cried unto us, saying: Behold the armies of the Lamanites are a marching towards the city of Cumeni; and behold, they will fall upon them, yea, and will destroy our people.

And it came to pass that our prisoners did hear their cries, which caused them to take courage; and they did rise up in rebellion against us. And it came to pass because of their rebellion, we did cause that our sword should come upon them. And it came to pass that they did, in a body, run upon our swords, in the which, the greater number of them were slain; and the remainder of them broke through and fled from us. And behold, when they had fled, and we could not overtake them, we took our march with speed towards the city Cumeni; and behold, we did arrive in time that we might assist our brethren in preserving the city. And behold, we are again delivered out of the hands of our enemies. And blessed is the name of our God: for behold, it is he that hath delivered us; yea, that hath done this great thing for us.

Now it came to pass that when I, Helaman, had heard these words of Gid, I was filled with exceeding joy, because of the goodness of God preserving us, that we might not all perish; yea, and I trust that the souls of them which has been slain, have entered into the rest of their God.

And behold, now it came to pass that our next object was to obtain the city of Manti; but behold, there was no way that we could lead them out of the city, by our small bands. For behold, they remembered that which we had hitherto done; therefore we could not decoy them away from their strong holds; and they were so exceeding numerous than was our army, that we durst not go forth and attack them in their strong holds. Yea, and it became expedient that we should employ our men, to the maintaining those parts of the land, of which we had retained of our possessions; therefore it became expedient that we should wait, that we might receive more strength from the land of Zarahemla, and also a new supply of provisions.

And it came to pass that I thus did send an embassy to the governor of our land, to acquaint him concerning the affairs of our people. And it came to pass that we did wait to receive provisions and strength, from the land of Zarahemla. But behold, this did not profit us but little: for the Lamanites were also receiving great strength, from day to day, and also many provisions; and thus were our circumstances at this period of time. And the Lamanitas were sallying forth against us, from time to time, resolving by stratagem, to destroy us; nevertheless, we could not come to battle with them, because of their retreats and their strong holds.

And it came to pass that we did wait in these difficult circumstances, for the space of many months, even until we were about to perish for the want of food. But it came to pass that we did receive food, which was guarded to us by an army of two thousand men, to our assistance; and this is all the assistance which we did receive, to defend ourselves and our country from falling into the hands of our enemies; yea, to contend with an enemy which was innumerable. And now the cause of these embarrassments, or the cause why they did not send more strength unto us, we knew not; therefore we were grieved, and also filled with fear, lest by any means the judgements of God should come upon our land, to our overthrow and utter destruction; therefore we did pour out our souls in prayer to God, that he would strengthen us and deliver us out of the hands of our enemies; yea, and also give us strength, that we might retain our cities, and our lands, and our possessions, for the support of our people. Yea, and it came to pass that the Lord our God did visit us with assurances, that he would deliver us; yea, insomuch that he did speak peace to our souls, and did grant unto us as great faith, and did cause us that we should hope for our deliverance in him; and we did take courage with our small force which we had received, and were fixed with a determination to conquer our enemies, and to maintain our lands, and our possessions, and our wives, and our children, and the cause of our liberty. And thus we did go forth with all our might against the Lamanites, which were in the city of Manti; and we did pitch our tents by the wilderness side, which was near to the city. And it came to pass that on the morrow, that when the Lamanites saw that we were in the borders by the wilderness which was near the city, that they sent out their spies round about us, that they might discover the number and the strength of our army.

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And it came to pass that when they saw that we were not strong, according to our numbers, and fearing that we should cut them off from their support, except they should come out to battle against us, and kill us, and also supposing that they could easily destroy us with their numerous hosts, therefore they began to make preparations to come out against us to battle. And when we saw that they were making preparations to come out against us, behold, I caused that Gid, with a small number of men, should secrete himself in the wilderness, and also that Teomner should, with a small number of men, secrete themselves also in the wilderness. Now Gid and his men was on the right, and others on the left; and when they had thus secreted themselves, behold, I remained with the remainder of my army, in that same place where we had first pitched our tents, against the time that the Lamanites should come out to battle.

And it came to pass that the Lamanites did come out with their numerous army against us. And when they had come, and were about to fall upon us with the sword, I caused that my men, those which were with me, should retreat into the wilderness.

And it came to pass that the Lamanites did follow after us with great speed, for they were exceedingly desirous to overtake us, that they might slay us; therefore they did follow us into the wilderness; and we did pass by in the midst of Gid and Teomner, insomuch that they were not discovered by the Lamanites.

And it came to pass that when the Lamanites had passed by, or when the army had passed by, Gid and Teomner did rise up from their secret places, and did cut off the spies of the Lamanites, that they should not return to the city. And it came to pass that when they had cut them off, they ran to the city, and fell upon the guards which were left to guard the city, insomuch that they did destroy them, and did take possession of the city. Now this was done, because the Lamanites did suffer their whole army, save a few guards only, to be led away into the wilderness.

And it came to pass that Gid and Teomner, by this means, had obtained possession of their strong holds. And it came to pass that we took our course, after having travelled much in the wilderness, towards the land of Zarahemla. And when the Lamanites saw that they were marching towards the land of Zarahemla, they were exceeding fraid, lest there was a plan laid to lead them on to destruction; therefore they began to retreat into the wilderness again, yea, even back by the same way which they had came. And behold, it was night, and they did pitch their tents; for the Chief Captains of the Lamanites had supposed that the Nephites were weary, because of their march; and supposing that they had driven their whole army, therefore they took no thought concerning the city of Manti.

Now it came to pass that when it was night, that I caused that my men should not sleep, but that they should march forward, by another way, towards the land of Manti. And because of this our march in the night time, behold, on the morrow, we were beyond the Lamanites, insomuch that we did arrive before them to the city of Manti. And thus it came to pass, that by this stratagem, we did take possession of the city of Manti, without the shedding of blood.

And it came to pass that when the armies of the Lamanites did arrive near the city, and saw that we were prepared to meet them, they were astonished exceedingly, and struck with great fear, insomuch that they did flee into the wilderness. -- Yea, and it came to pass that the armies of the Lamanites did flee out of all this quarter of the land. But behold, they have carried with them many women and children out of the land. And those cities which had been taken by the Lamanites, all of them are at this period of time, in our possession; and our fathers, and our women, and our children, are returning to their homes, all save it be those which have been taken prisoners and carried off by the Lamanites. But behold, our armies are small, to maintain so great a number of cities, and so great possessions. But behold, we trust that our God, who hath given us victory over those lands, insomuch that we have obtained those cities and those lands, which were our own. Now we do not know the cause that the government does not grant us more strength; neither do those men which came up unto us, know why we have not received greater strength. Behold, we do, not know but what ye are unsuccessful, and ye have drawn away the forces into that quarter of the land; if so, we do not desire to murmur. And if it is not so, behold, we fear that there is some faction in the government, that they do not send more men to our assistance; for we know that they are more numerous than that which they have sent. But behold, it mattereth not; we trust God will deliver us, notwithstanding the weakness of our armies, yea, and deliver us out of the hands of our enemies. -- Behold, this is the twenty and ninth year, in the latter end, and we are in the possession of our lands; and the lamanites have fled to the land of Nephi. And those sons of the people of Ammon, of which I have so highly spoken, are with me in the city of Manti; and the Lord hath supported them, yea, and kept them from falling by the sword, insomuch that even one soul hath not been slain. But behold, they have received many wounds; nevertheless they stand fast in that liberty wherewith God hath made them free; and they are strict to remember the Lord their God, from day to day; yea, they do observe to keep his statutes, and his judgements, and his commandments continually; and their faith is strong in the prophecies concerning that which is to come. And now my beloved brother Moroni, that the Lord our god who hath redeemed us and made us free, may keep you continually in his presence; yea, and that he may favor this people, even that ye may have success in obtaining the possessions of all that which the Lamanites hath taken from us, which was for our support.

And now behold, I close mine epistle. I am Helaman, the son of Alma.

MORMON ALMA CHAPTER 27

Now it came to pass in the thirtieth year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi, after Moroni had received and had read Helaman's epistle, he was exceedingly rejoiced because of the welfare, yea, the exceeding success which Helaman had had in obtaining those lands which were lost; yea, and he did make it known unto all his people in all the land round about in that part where he was, that they might rejoice also.

And it came to pass that he immediately sent an epistle to Pahoran, desiring that he should cause men to be gathered together, to strengthen Helaman, or the armies of Helaman, insomuch that he might with ease maintain that part of the land which he had been so miraculously prospered in retaining. -- And it came to pass when Moroni had sent this epistle to the land of Zarahemla, he began again to lay a plan, that he might obtain the remainder of those possessions and cities which the Lamanites had taken from them.

And it came to pass that while Moroni was thus making preparations to go against the Lamanites to battle, behold, the people of Nephihah which were gathered together from the city of Moroni, and the city of Lehi, and the city of Morianton, were attacked by the Lamanites; yea, even those which had been compelled to flee from the land of Manti, and from the land round about, had come over and joined the Lamanites in this part of the land; and thus being exceeding numerous, yea, and receiving strength from day to day, by the command of Ammoron, they came forth against the people of Nephihah, and they did begin to slay them with an exceeding great slaughter. And their armies were so numerous, that the remainder of the people of Nephihah were obliged to flee before them; and they came even and joined the army of Moroni. -- And now as Moroni had supposed that there should be men sent to the city of Nephihah, to the assistance of the people to maintain that city, and knowing that it was easier to keep the city from falling into the hands of the Lamanites, than to retake it from them, he supposed that they would easily maintain that city; therefore he retained all his force to maintain those places which he had recovered.

And now when Moroni saw that the city of Nephihah was lost, he was exceeding sorrowful, and began to doubt, because of the wickedness of the people, whether they should not fall into the hands of their brethren. Now this was the case with all his Chief Captains. They doubted and marvelled also, because of the wickedness of the people; and this because of the success of the Lamanites over them. And it came to pass that Moroni was angry with the government, because of their indifference concerning the freedom of their country.

And it came to pass that he wrote again to the governor of the land, which was Pahoran, and these are the words which he wrote, saying, Behold, I direct mine epistle to Pahoran, in the city of Zarahemla, which is the Chief Judge and the governor over the land, and also to all those who hath been chosen by this people to govern and manage the affairs of this war; for behold, I have somewhat to say unto them by the way of condemnation; for behold, ye yourselves know that ye appointed to gather together men, and arm them with swords, and with cimeters, and all manner of weapons of war, of every kind, and sent forth against the Lamanites, in whatsoever parts they should come into our land. And now behold, I say unto you, That myself, and also my men, and also Helaman and his men, have suffered exceeding great sufferings; yea, even hunger, thirst, and fatigue, and all manner of afflictions of every kind. But behold, were this all we had suffered, we would not murmur or complain; but behold, great has been the slaughter among our people; yea, thousands have fallen by the sword, while it might have otherwise been, if ye had rendered unto our armies sufficient strength and succor for them. Yea, great has been your neglect towards us. And now behold, we desire to know the cause of this exceeding great neglect; yea, we desire to know the cause of your thoughtless state. Can you think to sit upon your thrones, in a state of thoughtless stupor, while your enemies are spreading the work of death around you? Yea, while they are murdering thousands of your brethren; yea, even they which have looked up to you for protection, yea, have placed you in a situation that ye might have succored them, and have saved thousands of them from falling by the sword? But behold, this is not all: Ye have withheld your provisions from them, insomuch that many have fought and bled out their lives because of their great desires which they had for the welfare of this people; yea, and this they have done, when they were about to perish with hunger, because of your exceeding great neglect towards them. And now, my beloved brethren; for ye had ought to be beloved; yea, and ye had ought to have stirred yourselves more diligently for the welfare and the freedom of this people: but behold, ye have neglected them, insomuch that the blood of thousands shall come upon your heads, for vengeance; yea, for known unto God were all the cries, and all their sufferings. Behold, could ye suppose that ye could sit upon your thrones, and because of the exceeding goodness of God, ye could not do nothing, and he would deliver you? Behold, if ye have supposed this, ye have supposed in vain. Do ye suppose that, because so many of your brethren have been killed, because of their wickedness? I say unto you, if ye supposed this, ye have supposed in vain: for I say unto you, there are many which have fallen by the sword; and behold, it is to your condemnation; for the Lord suffereth the righteous, to be slain, that his justice and judgement may come upon the wicked; therefore ye need not suppose that the righteous are lost because they are slain; but behold, they do enter into a rest of the Lord their God. And now behold, I say unto you, I fear exceedingly that the judgements of God will come upon this people, because of their exceeding slothfulness; yea, even the slothfulness of our government, and their exceeding great neglect towards their brethren, yea, towards those which have been slain: For were it not for the wickedness which first commenced at our head, we could not have withstood our enemies, that they could have gained power over us; yea, had it not been for the war which broke out among ourselves; yea, were it not for these king-men, which caused so much bloodshed among ourselves, if we had united our strength, as we hitherto have done; yea, had it not been for the desires of the power and authority which those king-men had over us; had they been true to the cause of our freedom, and united with us, and gone forth against our enemies, instead of taking up their swords against us, which was the cause of so much bloodshed among ourselves; yea if we had gone forth against them, in the strength of the Lord, we should have dispersed our enemies; for it would have been done according to the fulfilling of his word. But behold, now the Lamanites are coming upon us, and they are murdering our people with the sword; yea, our women and children; taking possession of, our lands, and also carrying them away captive; causing them that they should suffer all manner of afflictions; and this because of the great wickedness of those who are seeking for power and authority; yea, even those king-men. But why should I say much concerning this matter, for we know not but what ye yourselves are seeking for authority? We know not but what ye are also traitors to your country? Or is it that ye have neglected us because ye are in the heart of our country, and ye are surrounded by security, that ye do not cause food to be sent unto us, and also men to strengthen our armies? Have ye forgot the commandments of the Lord your God? Yea, have ye forgot the captivity of our fathers? Have ye forgot the many times we have been delivered out of the hands of our enemies? Or do ye suppose that the Lord will still deliver us, while we sit upon our thrones, and do not make use of the means which the Lord hath provided for us? Yea, will ye sit in idleness, while ye are surrounded with thousands of those, yea, and tens of thousands, which do also sit in idleness, while there are thousands round about in the borders of the land, which are falling by the sword, yea, wounded and bleeding? Do ye suppose that God will look upon us as guiltless, while we sit still and behold these things? Behold, I say unto you, Nay. Now I would that ye should remember that God hath said that The inward vessel shall be cleansed first, and then shall the outer vessel be cleansed also. And now except ye do repent of that which ye have done, and begin to be up and doing, and send forth food and men unto us, and also unto Helaman, that he may support those parts of our country which he hath retained, and that ye may also recover the remainder of our possessions in these parts, behold it will be expedient that we contend no more with the Lamanites until we have first cleansed our inward vessel; yea, even the great head of our government; and except ye grant mine epistle, and come out and shew unto me a true spirit of freedom, and strive to strengthen and fortify our armies, and grant unto them food for their support, behold I will leave a part of my freemen to maintain this part of our land, and I will leave the strength and the blessings of God upon them, that none other power can operate against them; and this because of their exceeding faith and patience in their tribulations; and I will come unto you, and if there be any among you that hath a desire for freedom, yea, if there be even a spark of freedom remaining, behold, I will stir up insurrections among you, even until those who hath desires to usurp power and authority, shall become extinct; yea, behold I do not fear your power nor your authority, but it is my God whom I fear, and it is according to his commandments that I do take my sword to defend the cause of my country, and it is because of your iniquity that we have suffered so much loss. Behold it is time, yea, the time is now at hand, that except ye do bestir yourselves in the defence of your country and your little ones, the sword of justice doth hang over you; yea, and it shall fall

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upon you and visit you even to your utter destruction. Behold, I wait for assistance from you, and except ye do administer unto our relief, behold I come unto you even into the land of Zarahemla, and smite you with the sword, insomuch that ye can have no more power to impede the progress of this people in the cause of freedom; for behold the Lord will not suffer that ye shall live and wax strong in your iniquities, to destroy his righteous people. Behold, can you suppose that the Lord will spare you and come out in judgement against the Lamanites, when it is the tradition of their fathers that hath caused their hatred; yea, and it hath been redoubled by those which have dissented from us, while your iniquity is for the cause of your love and glory, and the vain things of the world? Ye know that ye do transgress the laws of god, and ye do know that ye do trample them under your feet. Behold, the Lord saith unto me, if those whom ye have appointed your governors, do not repent of their sins and iniquities, ye shall go up to battle against them. And now behold, I Moroni am constrained, according to the covenant which I have made to keep the commandments of my God; therefore I would that ye should adhear to the word of God, and send speedily unto me of your provisions and of your men, and also Helaman. And behold if ye will not do this, I come unto you speedily; for behold, God will not suffer that we should perish with hunger; therefore he will give unto us of your food, even if it must be by the sword. Now see that ye fulfill the word of God. Behold, I am Moroni, your Chief Captain. I seek not for power but to pull it down. I seek not for honor of the world, but for the glory of my God, and the freedom and welfare of my country. And thus I close mine epistle.

MORMON ALMA CHAPTER 28

Behold, now it came to pass that soon after Moroni had sent his epistle unto the Chief Governor, he received and epistle from Pahoran, the Chief Governor. And these are the words which he received: I, Pahoran, which art the Chief Governor of this land, do send these words unto Moroni, the Chief Captain over the army: Behold, I say unto you, Moroni, That I do not joy in your great afflictions; yea, it grieves my soul. Behold, there are those are those who do joy in your afflictions; yea, insomuch that they have risen up in rebellion against me, and also those of my people which are freemen; yea, and those which have risen up, are exceeding numerous. And it is those who have sought to take away the judgement seat from me, that have been the cause of this great iniquity; for they have used great flattery; and they have led away the hearts of many people, which will be the cause of sore affliction among us; they have withheld our provisions, and have daunted our freemen, that they have not come unto you. And behold, they have driven me out before them, and I have fled to the land of Gideon, with as many men as it were possible that I could get. And behold, I have sent a proclamation throughout this part of the land; and behold, they are flocking to us daily, to their arms, in the defence of their country, and their freedom, and to avenge our wrong doings. And they have come unto us, insomuch that those which have rose up in rebellion against us, are set at defiance; yea, insomuch that they do fear us, and durst not come out against us to battle. They have got possession of the land, or the city of Zarahemla; they have appointed a king over them, and he hath written unto the king of the Lamanites, in the which he hath joined an alliance with him; in the which alliance, he hath agreed to maintain the city of Zarahemla, in the which maintenance, he supposeth will enable the Lamanites to conquer the remainder of the land, and he shall be placed king over this people, when they shall be conquered under the Lamanites. And now, in your epistle, ye have censured me; but it mattereth not, I am not angry, but do rejoice in the greatness of your heart. I, Pahoran, do not seek power, save only to retain my judgement seat, that I may preserve the rights and the liberty of my people. My soul standeth fast in that liberty, in the which God hath made us free.

And now behold we will resist wickedness even unto bloodshed. We would not shed the blood of the Lamanites, if they would stay in their own land. We would not shed the blood of our brethren, if they would not rise up in rebellion and take the sword against us. We would not subject ourselves to the yoke of bondage, if it were requisite with the justice of God, or if he should command us so to do. But behold he doth not command us that we shall subject ourselves to our enemies, but that we should put our trust in him, and he will deliver us. Therefore my beloved brother Moroni, let us resist evil; and whatsoever evil we cannot resist with our words, yea, such as rebellions and dissentions, let us resist them with our swords, that we may retain our freedom, that we may rejoice in the great privilege of our church and in the cause of our Redeemer and our God. Therefore come unto me speedily, with a few of your men, and leave the remainder in the charge of Lehi and Teancum; give unto them power to conduct the war in that part of the land, according to the spirit of God, which is also the spirit of freedom, which is in them. Behold I have sent a few provisions unto them, that they may not perish until ye can come unto me. Gather together whatsoever force ye can upon your march hither, and we will go speedily against those dissenters, in the strength of our God, according to the faith which is in us. And we will take possession of the city of Zarahemla, that we may obtain more food to send forth unto Lehi and Teancum; yea, we will go forth against them in the strength of the Lord, and we will put and end to this great iniquity.

And now Moroni, I do joy in receiving your epistle; for I was somewhat worried concerning what we should do, whether it should be just in us to go against our brethren. But ye have said, Except they repent, the Lord hath commanded you that ye should go against them. See that ye strengthen Lehi and Teancum in the Lord; tell them to fear not, for God will deliver them: yea, and also all those who stand fast in that liberty wherewith God hath made them free. And now I close mine epistle to my beloved brother Moroni.

MORMON ALMA CHAPTER 29

And now it came to pass that when Moroni had received this epistle, his heart did take courage, and was filled with exceeding great joy, because of the faithfulness of Pahoran, that he was not also a traitor to the freedom and cause of his country. But he did also mourn exceedingly, because of the iniquity of those who had driven Pahoran from the judgement seat; yea, in fine, because of those who had rebelled against their country and also their God.

And it came to pass that Moroni took a small number of men, according to the desire of Pahoran, and gave Lehi and Teancum command over the remainder of his army, and took his march towards the land of Gideon. And he did raise the standard of liberty in whatsoever place he did enter, and gained whatsoever force he could in all his march towards the land of Gideon.

And it came to pass that thousands did flock unto his standard, and did take up their swords in the defence of their freedom, that they might not come into bondage. And thus when Moroni had gathered together whatsoever men he could in all his march, he came to the land of Gideon; and uniting his forces with that of Pahoran, they became exceeding strong, even stronger than the men of Pachus, which was the king of those dissenters which had driven out the freemen out of the land of Zarahemla, and had taken possession of the land.

And it came to pass that Moroni and Pahoran went down with their armies into the land of Zarahemla, and went forth against the city, and did meet the men of Pachus, insomuch that they did come to battle. And behold, Pachus was slain, and his men were taken prisoners; and Pahoran was restored to his judgement seat. And the men of Pachus received their trial, according to the law, and also those king-men which had been taken and cast into prison; and they were executed according to the law; yea, those men of Pachus, and those king-men, whosoever would not take up arms in the defence of their country, but would fight against it, were put to, death. -- And thus it became expedient that this law should be strictly observed, for the safety of their country; yea, and whosoever was found denying their freedom, was speedily executed according to the law. And thus ended the thirtieth year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi: Moroni and Pahoran having restored peace to the land of Zarahemla, among their own people, having inflicted death upon all those who were not true to the cause of freedom.

And it came to pass in the commencement of the thirty and first year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi, Moroni immediately caused that provisions should be sent, and also an army of six thousand men, should be sent unto Helaman, to assist him in preserving that part of the land; and he also caused that an army of six thousand men, with a sufficient quantity of food, should be sent to the armies of Lehi and Teancum. And it came to pass that this was done, to fortify the land against the Lamanites.

And it came to pass that Moroni and Pahoran, leaving a large body of men in the land of Zarahemla, took their march with a large body of men towards the land of Nephihah, being determined to overthrow the Lamanites in that city.

And it came to pass that as they were marching towards the land, they took a large body of the Lamanites, and slew many of them, and took their provisions, and their weapons of war. And it came to pass after they had took them, they caused them to enter into a covenant, that they would no more take up their weapons of war against the Nephites. And when they had entered into this covenant, they sent them to dwell with the people of Ammon; and they were in number about four thousand, which had not been slain.

And it came to pass that when they had sent them away, they pursued their march towards the land of Nephihah. And it came to pass that when they had come to the city Nephihah, they did pitch their tents in the plains of Nephihah, which was near the city Nephihah. Now Moroni was desirous that the Lamanites should come out to battle against them, upon the plains; but the Lamanites knowing of their exceeding great courage, and beholding the greatness of their numbers, therefore they durst not come out against them; therefore they did not come to battle in that day. And when the night came, Moroni went forth in the darkness of the night, and came upon the top of the wall to spy out in what part of the city the Lamanites did camp with their army.

And it came to pass that they were on the east, by the entrance; and they were all asleep. And now Moroni returned to his army, and caused that they should prepare in haste strong cords and ladders, to be let down from the top of the wall into the inner part of the wall.

And it came to pass that Moroni caused that his men should march forth and come upon the top of the wall, and let themselves down into that part of the city, yea, even on the west, where the Lamanites did not camp with their armies.

And it came to pass that they were all let down into the city by night, by the means of their strong cords and their ladders; thus when the morning came, they were all within the walls of the city. And now when the Lamanites awoke, and saw that the armies of Moroni were within the walls, they were affrighted exceedingly, insomuch that they did flee out by the pass. And now when Moroni saw that they were fleeing before him, he did cause that his men should march forth against them, and slew many, and surrounded many others and took them prisoners; and the remainder of them fled into the land of Moroni, which was in the borders by the seashore. Thus had Moroni and Pahoran obtained the possession of the city of Nephihah, without the loss of one soul; and there were many of the Lamanites which were slain.

Now it came to pass that many of the Lamanites that were prisoners, were desirous to join the people of Ammon, and become a free people. And it came to pass that as many as were desirous, unto them it was granted, according to their desires; therefore all the prisoners of the Lamanites did join the people of Ammon, and did begin to labor exceedingly, tilling the ground, raising all manner of grain, and flocks, and herds of every kind; and thus were the Nephites relieved from a great burthen; yea, insomuch that they were relieved from all the prisoners of the Lamanites.

Now it came to pass that Moroni, after he had obtained possession of the city of Nephihah, having taken many prisoners, which did reduce the armies of the Lamanites exceedingly, and having retained many of the Nephites which had been taken prisones, which did strengthen the army of Moroni exceedingly; therefore Moroni went forth from the land of Nephihah to the land of Lehi.

And it came to pass that when the Lamanites saw Moroni was a coming against them, they were frightened, and fled before the army of Moroni. And it came to pass that Moroni and his army did pursue them from city to city, until they were met by Lehi and Teancum; and the Lamanites fled from Lehi and Teancum, even down upon the borders by the seashore, until they came to the land of Moroni. And the armies of the Lamanites were all gathered together, insomuch that they were all in one body, in the land of Moroni. Now Ammoron, the king of the Lamanites, was also with them.

And it came to pass that Moroni, and Lehi, and Teancum, did encamp with their armies round about in the borders of the land of Moroni, insomuch that the Lamanites were encircled about in the borders by the wilderness, on the south, and in the borders by the wilderness on the east; and thus they did camp for the night. For behold, the Nephites and the Lamanites also, were weary because of the greatness of the march; therefore they did not resolve upon any stratagem in the night time, save it were Teancum: for he was exceeding angry with Ammoron, insomuch that he considered that Ammoron, and Amalickiah his brother, had been the cause of this great and lasting war between them and the Lamanites, which had been the cause of so much war and bloodshed, yea, and so much famine.

And it came to pass that Teancum, in his anger, did go forth into the camp of the Lamanites, and did let himself down over the walls of the city. And he went forth with a cord, from place to place, insomuch that he did find the king; and he did cast a javelin at him, which did pierce him near the heart. -- But behold, the king did awake his servant before he died, insomuch that they did pursue Teancum, and slew him.

Now it came to pass that when Lehi and Moroni knew that Teancum was dead, they were exceeding sorrowful: for behold, he had been a man which fought valiantly for his country, yea, a true friend to liberty; and he had suffered very many exceeding sore afflictions. But behold, he was dead, and had gone the way of all the earth.

Now it came to pass that Moroni marched forth on the morrow, and came upon the Lamanites, insomuch that they did slay them with a great slaughter; and they did drive them out of the land; and they did flee, even that they did not return at that time against the Nephites. And thus ended the thirty and first year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi; and thus they had had wars, and bloodsheds, and famine, and affliction, for the space of many years. And there had been murders, and contentions, and dissensions, and all manner of iniquity among the people of Nephi; nevertheless, for the righteous' sake, yea, because of the prayers of the righteous , they were spared. But behold, because of the exceeding great length of the war between the Nephites and the Lamanites, many had become hardened, because of the exceeding great length of the war; and many were softened,

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because of their afflictions, insomuch that they did humble themselves before God, even in the depth of humility.

And it came to pass that after Moroni had fortified those parts of the land which were most exposed to the Lamanites, until they were sufficiently strong, he returned to the city of Zarahemla, and also Helaman returned to the place of his inheritance; and there was once more peace established among the people of Nephi. And Moroni yielded up the command of his armies into the hands of his son, whose name was Moronihah; and he retired to his own house, that he might spend the remainder of his days in peace. And Pahoran did return to his judgement seat; and Helaman did take upon him again to preach unto the people the word of God: for because of so many wars and contentions, it had become expedient that a regulation should be made again in the church; therefore Helaman and his brethren went forth, and did declare the word of Gid with much power, unto the convincing of many people of their wickedness, which did cause them to repent of their sins, and to be baptized unto the Lord their God.

And it came to pass that they did establish again the church of God, throughout all the land; yea, and regulations were made concerning the law. And their Judges, and their Chief Judges were chosen. And the people of Nephi began to prosper again in the land, and began to multiply and to wax exceeding strong again in the land. And they began to grow exceeding rich; but notwithstanding their riches, or their strength, or their prosperity, they were not lifted up in pride of their eyes; neither were they slow to remember the Lord their God; but they did humble themselves exceedingly before him; yea, they did remember how great things the Lord hath done for them, that he had delivered them from death, and from bonds, and from prisons, and from all manner of afflictions; and he had delivered them out of the hands of their enemies. And they did pray unto the Lord their god continually, insomuch that the Lord did bless them, according to his word, so that they did wax strong, and prosper in the land. And it came to pass that all these things were done. And Helaman died, in the thirty and fifth year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi.

MORMON ALMA CHAPTER 30

And it came to pass in the commencement of the thirty and sixth year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi, that Shiblon took possession of those sacred things which had been delivered unto Helaman by Alma; and he was a just man, and he did walk uprightly before God; and he did observe to do good continually, to keep the commandments of the Lord his God; and also did his brother.

And it came to pass that Moroni died also. And thus ended the thirty and sixth year of the reign of the Judges. And it came to pass that in the thirty and seventh year of the reign of the Judges, there was a large company of men, even to the amount of five thousand and four hundred men, with their wives and their children, departed out of the land of Zarahemla, into the land which was northward.

And it came to pass that Hagoth, he being an exceeding curious man, therefore he went forth and built him an exceeding large ship, on the borders of the land Bountiful, by the land Desolation, and launched it forth into the West Sea, by the narrow neck which led into the land northward. And behold, there were many Nephites which did enter therein, and did sail forth with much provisions, and also many women and children; and they took their course northward. And thus ended the thirty and seventh year. And in the thirty and eighth year, this man built other ships. And the first ship did also return, and many more people did enter into it; and they also took much provisions, and set out again to the land northward.

And it came to pass that they were never heard of more. -- And we suppose that they were drowned up in the depths of the sea. And it came to pass that one other ship also did sail forth; and whither she did go, we know not. And it came to pass that in this year, there were many people which went forth into the land northward. And thus ended the thirty and eighth year.

And it came to pass in the thirty and ninth year of the reign of the Judges, Shiblon died also, and Corianton had gone forth to the land northward, in a ship, to carry forth provisions unto the people which had gone forth into the land; therefore it became expedient for Shiblon to confer those sacred things, before his death, upon the son of Helaman, who was called Helaman, being called after the name of his father. Now behold, all those engravings which were in the possession of Helaman, were written and sent forth among the children of men throughout all the land, save it were those parts which had been commanded by Alma should not go forth. Nevertheless these things were to be kept sacred, and handed down from one generation to another; therefore, in this year, they had been conferred upon Helaman, before the death of Shiblon. And it came to pass also in this year, that there were dissenters which had gone forth unto the Lamanites; and they were stirred up again to anger against the Nephites. And also in this same year, they came down with a numerous army to war against the people of Moronihah, or against the army of Moronihah, in the which they were beaten, and driven back again to their own lands, suffering great loss. And thus ended

the thirty ninth year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi. And thus ended the account of Alma, and Helaman his son, and also Shiblon, which was his son.

MORMON HELAMAN CHAPTER 1

An account of the Nephites. Their wars and contentions, and their dissentions. And also the prophecies of many Holy Prophets, before the coming of Christ, according to the record of Helaman, which was the son of Helaman, and also according to the records of his sons, even down to the coming of Christ. And also many of the Lamanites are converted. An account of their conversion. An account of the righteousness of the Lamanites, and the wickedness and abominations of the Nephites, according to the record of Helaman and his sons, even down to the coming of Christ, which is called the Book of Helaman, &c.

And now behold, it came to pass in the commencement of the fortieth year of the reign of Judges over the people of Nephi, there began to be a serious difficulty among the people of the Nephites. For behold, Pahoran had died and gone all the way of all the earth; therefore there began to be a serious contention concerning who should have the judgement seat among the brethren, which were the sons of Pahoran. Now these are there names which did contend for the judgement seat, which did also cause the people to contend; Pahoran, Paanchi, and Pacumeni. Now these are not all the sons of Pahoran, (for he had many,) but these are they which did contend for the judgement seat; therefore they did cause three divisions among the people. Nevertheless, it came to pass that Pahoran was appointed by the voice of the people to be a Chief Judge and a governor over the people of Nephi.

And it came to pass that Pacumeni, when he saw that he could not obtain the judgement seat, he did unite with the voice of the people. But behold, Paanchi, and that part of the people that were desirous that he should be their governor, was exceeding wroth; therefore he was about to flatter away those people to rise up in rebellion against their brethren.

And it came to pass as he was about to do this, behold, he was taken, and was tried according to the voice of the people, and condemned unto death; for he had raised up in rebellion, and sought to destroy the liberty of the people. Now when those people which were desirous that he should be their governor, saw that he was condemned unto death, therefore they were angry; and behold, they sent forth one Kishkumen, even to the judgement seat of Pahoran, and murdered Pahoran as he sat upon the judgement seat. And he was pursued by the servants of Pahoran; but behold, so speedy was the flight of Kishkumen, that no man could overtake him. And he went unto those that sent him, and they all entered into a covenant, yea, swearing by their everlasting Maker, that they would tell no man that Kishkumen had murdered Pahoran; therefore Kishkumen was not known among the people of Nephi, for he was in disguise at the time that he murdered Pahoran. And Kishkumen, and his band which was covenanted with him, did mingle themselves among the people, in a manner that they all could not be found; but as many as were found, were condemned unto death. And now behold, Pacumeni was appointed, according to the voice of the people, to be a Chief Judge and a govereor over the people, to reign in the stead of his brother Pahoran; and it was according to his right. And all this was done, in the fortieth year of the reign of the Judges; and it had an end.

And it came to pass in the forty and first year of the reign of the Judges, that the Lamanites had gathered together an innumerable army of men, and armed them with swords, and with cimeters, and with bows, and with arrows, and with head-plates, and with breast-plates, and with all manner of shields of every kind; and they came down again, that they might pitch battle against the Nephites. And they were led by a man whose name was Coriantumr; and he was a descendant of Zarahemla; and he was a dissenter from among the Nephites; and he was a large and mighty man; therefore the king of the Lamanites, whose name was Tubaloth, who was the son of Ammoron. Now Tubaloth supposing that Coriantumr, he being a mighty man, could stand against the Nephites, insomuch with his strength, and also with his great wisdom, that by sending him forth, he should gain power over the Nephites; therefore he did stir them up to anger, and he did gather together his armies, and he did appoint Coriantumr to be their leader, and did cause that they should march down to the land of Zarahemla, to battle against the Nephites.

And it came to pass that because of so much contention and so much difficulty in the government, that they had not kept sufficient guards in the land of Zarahemla; for they had supposed that the Lamanites durst not me into the heart of their lands to attack that great city Zarahemla. But it came to pass that Coriantumr did march forth at the head of his numerous host, and came upon the inhabitants of the city, and their march was with such exceeding great speed, that there was no time for the Nephites to gather together their armies; therefore Coriantumr did cut down the watch by the entrance of the city, and did march forth with his whole army into the city, and they did slay every one who did oppose them, insomuch that they did take possession of the whole city. And it came to pass that Pacumeni, which was the Chief Judge, did flee before Coriantumr, even to the walls of the city. And it came to pass that Coriantumr did smite him against the wall, insomuch that he died. And thus ended the days of Pacumeni. And now when Coriantumr saw that he was in possession of the city of Zarahemla, and saw that the Nephites had fled before them, and were slain, and were taken, and were cast into prison, and that he had obtained the possession of the strongest hold in all the land, his heart took courage, insomuch that he was about to go forth against all the land. And now he did not tarry in the land of Zarahemla, but he did march forth with a large army, even towards the city of Bountiful; for it was his determination to go forth and cut his way through with the sword, that he might obtain the north parts of the land; and supposing that their greatest strength was in the centre of the land, therefore he did march forth, giving them no time to assemble themselves together, save it were in small bodies; and in this manner they did fall upon them and cut them down to the earth. But behold, this march of Coriantumr through the centre of the land, gave Moronihah great advantage over them, notwithstanding the greatness of the numbers of the Nephites which were slain, for behold, Moronihah had supposed that the Lamanites durst not come into the centre of the land, but that they would attack the cities round about in the borders, as they had hitherto done; therefore Moronihah had caused that their strong armies should maintain those parts round about by the borders. But behold, the Lamanites were not frightened according to his desire, but they had come into the centre of the land, and had taken the capital city, which was the city of Zarahemla, and were marching through the most capital parts of the land, slaying the people with a great slaughter, both men, women, and children, taking possession of many cities and of many strong holds. But when Moronihah had discovered this, he immediately sent forth Lehi with an army round about to head them, before they should come to the land Bountiful: And thus he did; and he did head them, before they came to the land Bountiful, and gave unto them battle, insomuch that they began to retreat back towards the land of Zarahemla. And it came to pass that Moronihah did head them in their retreat, and did give unto them battle insomuch that it became an exceeding bloody battle; yea, many were slain; and among the number which were slain, Coriantumr was also found. And now behold the Lamanites could not retreat neither way; neither on the north, nor on the south, nor the east, nor on the west, for they were surrounded on every hand by the Nephites: And thus had Coriantumr plunged the Lamanites into the midst of the Nephites, and he himself was slain, and the Lamanites did yield themselves into the hands of the Nephites.

And it came to pass that Moronihah took possession of the city of Zarahemla again, and caused that the Lamanites which had been taken prisoners, should depart out of the land in peace. And thus ended the forty and first year of the reign of the Judges.

And it came to pass in the forty and second year of the reign of Judges, after Moronihah had established again the peace betweem the Nephites and the Lamanites, behold there was no one to fill the judgement seat; therefore there began to be a contention again among the people concerning w should fill the judgement seat. And it came to pass that Helaman, which was the son of Helaman, was appointed to fill the judgement seat, by the voice of the people; but behold, Kishkumen, who had murdered Pahoran, did lay wait to destroy Helaman also; and he was upheld by his band, which had entered into a covenant that no one should know his wickedness; for there was one Gadianton, who was exceeding expert in many words, and also in his craft, to carry on the secret work of murder and robbery; therefore he became the leader of the band of Kishkumen; therefore he did flatter them, and also Kishkumen, that if they would place him in the judgement seat, he would grant unto those which belonged to his band that they should be placed in power and authority among the people; therefore Kishkumen sought to destroy Helaman.

And it came to pass as he went forth towards the judgement seat, to destroy Helaman, behold one of the servants of Helaman, having been out by night, and having obtained, through disguise, a knowledge of those plans which had been laid by this band to destroy Helaman. And it came to pass that he met Kishkumen, and gave unto him a sign; therefore Kishkumen made known unto him the object of his desire, desiring that he would conduct him to the judgement seat. that he might murder Helaman: And it came to pass that when the servant of Helaman had known all the heart of Kishkumen, and how that it was his object to murder, and also that it was the object of all those which belonged to his band, to murder, and to rob, and to gain power, (and this was their secret plan, and their combination,) the servant of Helaman saith unto Kishkumen, Let us go forth unto the

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judgement seat. Now this did please Kishkumen exceedingly, for he did suppose that he should accomplish his design; but behold, the servant of Helaman, as they were going forth, unto the judgement seat, did stab Kishkumen, even to the heart, that he fell dead without a groan. And he ran and told Helaman all the things which he had seen, and heard, and done.

And it came to pass that Helaman did send forth to take this band of robbers and secret murderers, that they might be executed according to the law. But behold, when Gadianton had found that Kishkumen did not return, he feared lest that he should be destroyed; therefore he caused that his band should follow him. And they took their flight out of the land, by a secret way, into the wilderness; and thus when Helaman sent forth to take them, they could no where be found. -- And more of this Gadianton shall be spoken hereafter. And thus ended the forty and second year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi. And behold, in the end of this book, ye shall see that this Gadianton did prove the overthrow, yea, almost the entire destruction of the people of Nephi. -- But I do not mean the end of the book of Helaman, but I mean the end of the Book of Nephi, from which I have taken all the account which I have written.

MORMON HELAMAN CHAPTER 2

And now it came to pass that in the forty and third year of the reign of the Judges, there was no contention among the people of Nephi, save it were a little pride which was in the church, which did cause some little dissentions among the people, which affairs were settled in the ending of the forty and third year. And there was no contention among the people in the forty and fourth year; neither was there much contention in the forty and fifth year. And it came to pass in the forty and sixth, yea, there were much contentions and many dissentions; in the which there were an exceeding great many which departed out of the land of Zarahemla, and went forth unto the land northward, to inherit the land; and they did travel to an exceeding great distance, insomuch that they came to large bodies of water, and many rivers; yea, and even they did spread forth into all parts of the land, into whatsoever parts it had not been rendered desolate, and without timber, because of the many inhabitants which had before inherit the land. And now no part of the land was desolate, save it were for timber, &c.; but because of the greatness of the destruction of the people which had before inhabited the land, it was called desolate. And there being but little timber upon the face of the land, nevertheless the people which went forth, became exceeding expert in the working of cement; therefore they did build houses of cement, in the which they did dwell. And it came to pass that they did multiply and spread, and did go forth from the land southward, to the land northward, and did spread insomuch that they began to cover the face of the whole earth, from the sea south, to the sea north, from the sea west, to the sea east. And the people which were in the land northward, did dwell in tents, and in houses of cement, and they did suffer whatsoever tree should spring up upon the face of the land, that it should grow up, that in time they might have timber to build their houses, yea, their cities, and their temples, and their synagogues, and their sanctuaries, and all manner of their buildings.

And it came to pass as timber was exceeding scarce in the land northward, they did send forth much by the way of shipping; and thus they did enable the people in the land northward, that they might build many cities, both of wood and of cement. And it came to pass that there were many of the people of Ammon, which were Lamanites by birth, did also go forth into this land.

And now there are many records kept of the proceedings of this people, by many of this people, which are particular and very large concerning them; but behold a hundredth part of the proceedings of this people, yea, the account of the Lamanites, and of the Nephites, and their wars, and contentions, and dissentions, and their preaching, and their prophecies, and their shipping, and their building of ships, and their building of temples, and of synagogues, and their sanctuaries, and their righteousness, and their wickedness, and their murders, and their robbings, and their plundering, and all manner of abominations and whoredoms, cannot be contained in this work; but behold, there are many books and records of every kind, and they have been kept chiefly by the Nephites; and they have been handed down from one generation to another, by the Nephites, even unto they have fallen into transgression, and have been murdered, plundered, and hunted, and driven forth, and slain, and scattered upon the face of the earth, and mixed with the Lamanites until they are no more called Nephites, becoming wicked, and wild and ferocious, yea, even becoming Lamanites.

And now I return again to mine account; therefore what I have spoken had passed after there had been great contentions, and disturbances, and wars, and dissentions among the people of Nephi. The forty and sixth year of the reign of the Judges ended. And it came to pass that there was still great contentions in the land, yea, even in the forty and seventh year, and also in the forty and eighth year; nevertheless, Helaman did fill the judgement seat with justice and equity; yea, he did observe to keep the statutes, and the judgements, and the commandments of God; and he did do that which was right in the sight of God, continually; and he did walk after the ways of his father, insomuch that he did prosper in the land. And it came to pass that he had two sons. He gave unto the eldest the name of Nephi, and unto the youngest the name of Lehi. And they began to grow up unto the Lord. -- And it came to pass that the wars and contentions began to cease, in a small degree, among the people of the Nephites, in the latter end of the forty and eighth year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi. And it came to pass in the forty and ninth year of the reign of the Judges, there was continual peace established in the land, all save it were the secret combinations which Gadianton the nobler had established, in the more settled parts of the land, which at that time were not known unto those which were at the head of government; therefore they were not destroyed out of the land.

And it came to pass that in this same year, there was exceeding great prosperity in the church, insomuch that there were thousands who did join themselves unto the church, and were baptized unto repentance; and so great was the prosperity of the church, and so many the blessings, which were poured out upon the people, that even the High Priests and the teachers were themselves astonished beyond measure. -- And it came to pass that the work of the Lord did prosper, unto the baptizing and uniting to the church of God many souls; yea, even tens of thousands. Thus we may see that the Lord is merciful unto all who will, in the sincerity of their hearts, call upon his holy name; yea, thus we see that the gate of heaven is open unto all, even to those who will believe on the name of Jesus Christ, which is the son of God; yea, we see that whosoever will lay hold upon the word of God, which is quick and powerful, which shall divide asunder all the cunning, and the snares, and the wiles of the Devil, and lead the man of Christ in a straight and narrow course across that everlasting gulf of misery which is prepared to engulf the wicked, and land their souls, yea, their immortal souls, at the right hand of God, in the kingdom of Heaven, to sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and with Jacob, and with all our holy fathers, to go no more out. And in this year there were continual rejoicing in the land of Zarahemla, and in all the regions round about, even in all the land which was possessed by the Nephites. And it came to pass that there was peace, and exceeding great joy in the remainder of the forty and ninth year; yea, and also there was continual peace and great joy in the fiftieth year of the reign of the Judges. And in the fifty and first year of the reign of the Judges, there was peace also save it were the pride which began to enter into the church; not into the church of God, but into the hearts of the people who professed to belong to the church of God; and they were lifted up in pride, even as to the persecution of many of their brethren. Now this was a great evil, which did cause the humble part of the people to suffer great persecutions, and to wade through much afflictions; nevertheless, they did fast and pray oft, and did wax stronger and stronger in their humility, and firmer and firmer in the faith of Christ, unto the filling their souls with joy and consolation, yea, even to the purifying and the sanctification of their hearts, which sanctification cometh because of their yielding their hearts unto God. And it came to pass that the fifty and second year ended in peace also, save it were the exceeding great pride which had got into the hearts of the people; and it was because of their exceeding great riches, and their prosperity in the land; and it did grow upon them from day to day.

And it came to pass, in the fifty and third year of the reign of the Judges, Helaman died, and his eldest son Nephi began to reign in his stead. And it came to pass that he did fill the judgement seat with justice and equity; yea, he did keep the commandments of God, and did walk in the ways of his father. And it came to pass in the fifty and fourth year, there were many dissentions in the church, and there was also a contention among the people, insomuch that there was much bloodshed; and the rebellious part were slain and driven out of the land, and they did go unto the king of the Lamanites.

And it came to pass that they did endeavor to stir up the Lamanites to war against the Nephites; but behold, the Lamanites were exceeding fraid, insomuch that they would not hearken to the words of those dissenters. But it came to pass in the fifty and sixth year of the reign of the Judges, there were dissenters which went up from the Nephites unto the Lamanites; and they succeeded with those others in stirring them up to anger against the Nephites; and they were all that year preparing for war. And in t fifty and seventh year, they did come down against the Nephites to battle, and they did commence the work of death; yea, insomuch, that in the fifty and eighth year of the reign of the Judges, they succeeded in obtaining possession of the land of Zarahemla; yea, and also all the lands, even unto the land which was near the land Bountiful; and the Nephites, and the armies of Moronihah, were driven even into the land of Bountiful; and there they did fortify against the Lamanites, from the West Sea, even unto the East; it being a day's journey for a Nephite, on the line which they had fortified and stationed their armies to defend their north country. And thus those dissenters of the Nephites, with the help of a numerous army of the Lamanites, had obtained all the possession of the Nephites which was in the land southward. And all this was done in the fifty and eighth and ninth year of the reign of the Judges.

And it came to pass in the sixtieth year of the reign of the Judges, Moronihah did succeed with his armies, in obtaining many parts of the land; yea, they retained many cities which had fallen into the hands of the Lamanites.

And it came to pass in the sixty and first year of the reign of the Judges, they succeeded in retaining even the half of all their possessions. Now this great loss of the Nephites, and the great slaughter which was among them, would not have happened, had it not been for their wickedness and their abomination which was among them; yea, and it was among those also which professed to belong to the church of God; and it was because of the pride of their hearts, because of their exceeding riches, yea, it was because of their oppression to the poor, withholding their food from the hungry, withholding their clothing from the naked, and smiting their humble brethren upon the cheek, making a mock of that which was sacred, denying the spirit of prophecy and of revelation, murdering, plundering, lying, steeling, committing adultery, raising up in great contentions, and deserting away into the land of Nephi, among the Lamanites; and because of this their great wickedness, and their boastings in their own strength, they were left in their own strength; therefore they did not prosper, but were afflicted, and smitten, and driven before the Lamanites, until they had lost possession of almost all their lands. But behold, Moronihah did preach many things unto the people, because of their iniquity, and also Nephi and Lehi, which were the sons of Helaman, did preach many things unto the people; yea, and did prophesy many things unto them concerning their iniquities, and what should come unto them if they did not repent of their sins. And it came to pass that they did repent, and inasmuch as they did repent, they did begin to prosper; for when Moronihah saw that they did repent, he did venture to lead them forth from place to place, and from city to city, even until they had retained the one half of their property, and the one half of all their lands. And thus ended the sixty and first year of the reign of the Judges.

And it came to pass in the sixty and second year of the reign of the Judges, that Moronihah could obtain no more possessions over the Lamanites; therefore they did abandon their design to obtain the remainder of their lands, for so numerous was the Lamanites that it became impossible for the Nephites to obtain more power over them; therefore Moronihah did employ all his armies in maintaining those parts which he had taken.

And it came to pass because of the greatness of the number of the Lamanites, the Nephites were in great fear, lest they be overpowered, and trodden down, and slain, and destroyed; yea, they began to remember the prophecies of Alma, and also the words of Mosiah, and they saw that they had been a stiffnecked people, and that they had set at nought the commandments of God; and that they had altered and trampled under their feet the laws of Mosiah, or that which the Lord commanded him to give unto the people; and thus seeing that their laws had become corrupted, and that they had become a wicked people, insomuch that they were wicked even like unto the Lamanites. And because of their iniquity, the church had began to dwindle; and they began to disbelieve in the spirit of prophecy, and in the spirit of revelation; and the judgements of God did stare them in the face. And they saw that they had become weak, like unto their brethren, the Lamanites, and that the spirit of the Lord did no more preserve them; yea, it had withdrawn from them, because the spirit of the Lord doth not dwell in unholy temples; therefore the Lord did cease to preserve them by his miraculous and matchless power, for they had fallen in a state of unbelief and awful wickedness; and they saw that the Lamanites were more exceeding numerous than they, and except they should cleave unto the Lord their God, they must unavoidably perish. For behold, they saw that the strength of the Lamanites was as great as their strength, even man for man. And thus had they fallen into this great transgression, in the space of not many years.

And it came to pass that in this same year, behold, Nephi delivered up the judgement seat, to a man whose name was Cezoram. For as their laws and their governments were established by the voice of the people, and they which chose evil were more numerous than they which chose good, therefore they were ripening for destruction, for the laws had been corrupted; yea, and this was not all; they were a stiffnecked people, insomuch that they could not be governed by the law nor justice, save it were to their destruction.

And it came to pass that Nephi had become weary, because of their iniquity; and he yielded up the judgement seat, and took it upon him to preach the word of God all the remainder of his days, and his brother Lehi also, all the remainder of his days: for they remembered the words which their father Helaman spake unto them. And these are the words which he spake: Behold, my sons, I desire that ye should remember to

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keep the commandments of God; and I would that ye should declare unto the people these words: Behold, I have given unto you the names of our first parents, which came out of the land of Jerusalem; and this I have done, that when you remember your names, that ye may remember them; and when ye remember them, ye may remember their works; and when ye remember their works, ye may know how that it is said, and also written, that they were good; therefore, my sons, I would that ye should do that which is good, that it may be said of you, and also written, even as it has been said and written of them. And now my sons, behold, I have somewhat more to desire of you , which desire is, that ye may not do these things that ye may boast, but that ye may do these things to lay up for yourselves a treasure in Heaven, yea, which is eternal, and which fadeth not away; yea, that ye may have that precious gift of eternal life, which we have reason to suppose hath been given to our fathers.

O remember, remember, my sons, the words which king Benjamin spake unto his people; yea, remember that there is no other way nor means whereby man can be saved, only through the atoning blood of Jesus Christ, which shall come; yea, remember that he cometh to redeem the world. And remember also, the words which Amulek spake unto Zeezrom, in the city of Ammonihah: for he said unto them, That the Lord surely should come to redeem his people; but that he should not come to redeem them in their sins, but to redeem them from their sins. And he hath power given unto him from the father, to redeem them from their sins, because of repentance; therefore he hath sent his angels to declare the tidings of the conditions of repentance, which bringeth unto the power of the Redeemer, unto the salvation of their souls. -- And now, my sons remember, remember that it is upon the rock of our Redeemer, which is Christ, the Son of God, that ye must build your foundation, that when the Devil shall send forth his mighty winds; yea, his shafts in the whirlwind; yea, when all his hail and his mighty storm shall beat upon you, it shall have no power over you, to drag you down to the gulf of misery and endless wo, because of the rock upon which ye are built, which is a sure foundation, a foundation whereon if men buildeth, they cannot fall.

And it came to pass that these were the words which Helaman taught his sons; yea, he did teach them many things which are not written, and also many things which are written. And they did remember his words; and therefore they went forth, keeping the commandments of God, to teach the word of God among all the people of Nephi, beginning at the city Bountiful; and from thence forth to the city of Gid; and from the city of Gid to the city of Mulek; and even from one city to another, until they had gone forth among all the people of Nephi, which were in the land southward; and from thence into the land of Zarahemla, among the Lamanites.

And it came to pass that they did preach with great power, insomuch that they did confound many of those dissenters which had gone over from the Nephites, insomuch that they came forth and did confess their sins, and were baptized unto repentance, and immediately returned to the Nephites, to endeavor to repair unto them the wrongs which they had done. And it came to pass that Nephi and Lehi did preach unto the Lamanites with such great power and authority: for they had power and authority given unto them that they might speak; and they also had what they should speak, given unto them; therefore they did speak unto the great astonishment of the Lamanites, to the convincing them, insomuch that there were eight thousand of the Lamanites which were in the land of Zarahemla and round about, baptized unto repentance, and were convinced of the wickedness of the traditions of their fathers.

And it came to pass that Nephi and Lehi did proceed from thence to go to the land of Nephi. And it came to pass that they were taken by an army of the Lamanites, and cast into prison; yea, even in that same prison in which Ammon and his brethren were cast by the servants of Limhi. And after they had been cast into prison many days without food, behold, they went forth into the prison to take them, that they might slay them. And it came to pass that Nephi and Lehi were encircled about as if by fire, even insomuch that they durst not lay their hands upon them for fear, lest they should be burned. Nevertheless, Nephi and Lehi were not burned; and they were as standing in the midst of fire, and were not burned. And when they saw that they were encircled about with a pillar of fire, and that it burned them not, their hearts did take courage. For they saw that the Lamanites durst not lay their hands upon them; neither durst they come near unto them, but stood as if they were struck dumb with amazement.

And it came to pass that Nephi and Lehi did stand forth, and began to speak unto them, saying: Fear not, for behold, it is God that hath shewn unto you this marvellous thing, in the which is shewn unto you, that ye cannot lay your hands on us to slay us. And behold, when they had said these words, the earth shook exceedingly, and the walls of the prison did shake, as if they were about to tumble to the earth; but behold, they did not fall. And behold, they that were in the prison, were Lamanites, and Nephites which were dissenters. And it came to pass that they were overshadowed with a cloud of darkness, and an awful, solemn fear came upon them. And it came to pass that there came a voice, as if it were above the cloud of darkness, saying, Repent ye, repent ye, and seek no more to destroy my servants which I have sent unto you to declare the good tidings.

And it came to pass when they heard this voice, and beheld that it was not a voice of thunder; neither was it a voice of a great tumultous noise; but behold, it was a still voice of perfect mildness, as if it had been a whisper, and it did pierce even to the very soul. And notwithstanding the mildness the voice, behold, the earth shook exceedingly, and the walls of the prison trembled again, as if it were about to tumble to the earth; and behold, the cloud of darkness which had overshadowed them, did not disperse. And behold, the voice came again, saying: Repent ye, repent, for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand; and seek no more to destroy my servants. And it came to pass that the earth shook again, and the walls trembled; and also again the third time the voice came, and did speak unto them marvellous words, which cannot be uttered by man: and the walls did tremble again, and the earth shook as if it were about to divide asunder.

And it came to pass that the Lamanites could not flee, because of the cloud of darkness which did overshadow them; yea, and also they were immovable, because of the fear which did come upon them., Now there was one among them who was a Nephite by birth, who had once belonged to the church of God, but had dissented from them. And it came to pass that he turned him about, and behold, he saw through the cloud of darkness the faces of Nephi and Lehi; and behold, they did shine exceedingly, even as the face of angels. And he beheld that they did lift their eyes to Heaven; and they were in the attitude as if talking or lifting their voices to some being which they beheld.

And it came to pass that this man did cry unto the multitude, that they might turn and look. And behold, there was power given unto them, that they did turn and look; and they did behold the faces of Nephi and Lehi. And they said unto the man, Behold, what doth all these things mean? and who is it with whom these men converse? Now the man's name was Aminadab. And Aminadab saith unto them, They do converse with the angels of God. And it came to pass that the Lamanites said unto him, What shall we do, that this cloud of darkness may be removed from overshadowing us? And Aminadab saith unto them, You must repent, and cry unto the voice, even until ye shall have faith in Christ, which was taught unto you by Alma, and Amulek, and by Zeesrom; and when ye shall do this, the cloud of darkness shall be removed from overshadowing you.

And it came to pass that they all did begin to cry unto the voice of him which had shook the earth; yea, they did cry even until the cloud of darkness was dispersed. And it came to pass that when they cast their eyes about, and saw that the cloud of darkness was dispersed from overshadowing them, and behold, they saw that they were encircled about, yea, every soul, by the pillar of fire. And Nephi and Lehi was in the midst of them; yea, they were encircled about; yea, they were as if in the midst of a flaming fire, yet it did harm them not, neither did it take hold upon the walls of the prison; and they were filled with that joy which is unspeakable, and full of glory. And behold, the Holy Spirit of God did come down from Heaven, and did enter into their hearts, and they were filled as if with fire; and they could speak forth marvellous words.

And it came to pass that there came a voice unto them, yea, a pleasant voice, as if it were a whisper, saying, Peace, peace be unto you, because of your faith in my well beloved, which was from the foundation of the world. And now when they heard this, they cast up their eyes as if to behold from whence the voice came; and behold, they saw the heavens open; and angels came down out of heaven, and ministered unto them. -- And there were about three hundred souls which saw and heard these things; and they were bid to go forth and marvel not, neither should they doubt. And it came to pass that they did go forth, and did minister unto the people, declaring throughout all the regions round about, all the things which they had heard and seen, insomuch that the more part of the

Lamanites were convinced of them, because of the greatness of the evidencess which they had received; as many as were convinced, did lay down their weapons of war, and also their hatred, and the tradition of their fathers. And it came to ass that they did yield up unto the Nephites, the lands of their possession.

And it came to pass that when the sixty and second year of the reign of the Judges had ended, all these things had happened, and the Lamanites had become, the more part of them, a righteous people, insomuch that their righteousness did exceed that of the Nephites, because of their firmness, and their steadiness in faith. For behold, there were many of the Nephites which had become hardened, and impenitent, and grossly wicked, insomuch that they did reject the word of god, and all the preaching and prophecying which did come among them. Nevertheless, the people of the church did have great joy, because of the conversion of the Lamanites; yea, because of the church of God, which had been established among them. And they did fellowship one with another, and did rejoice one with another, and did have great joy. And it came to pass that many of the Lamanites did come down into the land of Zarahemla, and did declare unto the people of the Nephites the manner of their conversion, and did exhort them to faith and repentance; yea, and many did preach with exceeding great power and authority, unto the bringing down many of them into the depths of humility, to be humble followers of God and the Lamb.

And it came to pass that many of the Lamanites did go into the land northward; and also Nephi and Lehi went into the land northward, to preach unto the people. And thus ended the sixty and third year. And behold, there was peace in all the land, insomuch that the Nephites did go into whatsoever part of the land they would, whether among the Nephites or the Lamanites. And it came to pass that the Lamanites did also go whithersoever they would, whether it were among the Lamanites or among the Nephites; and thus they did have free intercourse one with another, for to buy and to sell, and to get gain, according to their desire.

And it came to pass that they became exceeding rich, both the Lamanites and the Nephites; and they did have exceeding plenty of gold, and of silver, and all manner of precious metals, both in the land south, and in the land north. Now the land south was called Lehi, and the land north was called

Mulek, which was after the sons of Zedekiah; for the Lord did bring Mulek into the land north, and Lehi into the land south. And behold, there was all manner of gold in both these lands, and of silver, and of precious ore of every kind; and there was also curious workmen, which did work all kinds of ore, and did refine it; and thus they did become rich. They did raise grain in abundance, both in the north and in the south; and they did flourish exceedingly, both in the north and in the south. And they did multiply and wax exceeding strong in the land. And they did raise flocks and herds, yea, many fatlings. Behold, their women did toil and spin, and did make all manner of cloth, of fine twined linen, and cloth of every kind, to clothe their nakedness. And thus the sixty and fourth year, did pass away in peace. And in the sixty and fifth year, they did also have great joy and peace; yea, much preaching, and many prophecies concerning that which was to come. And thus passed away the sixty and fifth year.

And it came to pass that in the sixty and sixth year of the reign of the Judges, behold, Cezoram was murdered by an unknown hand, as he sat upon the judgement seat. And it came to pass that in the same year, that his son, which had been appointed by the people in his stead, was also murdered. And thus ended the sixty and sixth year. And in the commencement of the sixty and seventh year, the people began to grow exceeding wicked again. For behold, the Lord had blessed them so long with the riches of the world, that they had not been stirred up to anger, to wars, nor to bloodsheds; therefore they began to set their hearts upon their riches; yea, they began to seek to get gain, that they might be lifted up one above another; therefore they began to commit secret murders, and to rob, and to plunder, that they might get gain. -- And now behold, those murderers and plunderers were a band which had been formed by Kishkumen and Gadianton. And now it came to pass that there were many, even among the Nephites, of Gadianton's band. But behold, they were more numerous among the more wicked part of the Lamanites. And they were called Gadianton's robbers and murderers; and it was they which did murder the Chief Judge Cezoram, and his son, while in the judgement seat; and behold, they were not found.

And now it came to pass that when the Lamanites found that there were robbers among them, they were exceeding sorrowful; and they did use every means whatsoever was in their power, to destroy them off the face of the earth. But behold, Satan did stir up the hearts of the more parts of the Nephites, insomuch that they did unite with those bands of robbers, and did enter into their covenants, and their oaths, that they would protect and preserve one another, in whatsoever difficult circumstances they should be placed in, that they should not suffer for their murders, and their plunderings, and their stealings.

And it came to pass that they did have their signs, yea, their secret signs, and their secret words; and this that they might distinguish a brother who had entered into the covenant, that whatsoever wickedness his brothers should do, he should not be injured by his brother, nor by those who did belong to his band, and plunder, and steal, and commit whoredoms, and all manner of wickedness, contrary to the laws of their country, and also the laws of their God; and whosoever of those which belonged to their band, should reveal unto the world of their wickedness and their abominations, should be tried, not according to the laws of their country, but according to the laws of their wickedness, which had been given by Gadianton and Kishkumen. Now behold, it is these secret oaths and covenants, which Alma commanded his sons should not go forth unto the world, lest they should be a means of bringing down the people unto destruction. Now behold, those secret oaths and covenants did not come forth unto Gadianton from the records which were delivered unto Helaman; but behold, they were put into the heart of Gadianton, by that same being

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who did entice our first parents to partake of the forbidden fruit; yea, the same being who did plot with Cain, that if he would murder his brother Abel, it should not be known unto the world. And also it is that same being who put it into the hearts of the people, to build a tower sufficiently high that they might get to Heaven. And it was that same being which led on the people which came from that tower, into this land; which spread the works of darkness and abominations over all the face of the land, until he dragged the people down to an entire destruction, and to an everlasting hell; yea, it is that same being who put it into the heart of Gadianton, to still carry on the work of darkness, and of secret murder; and he hath brought it forth from the beginning of man, even down to this time. And behold, it is he which is the author of all sin.

And behold, he doth carry on his works of darkness and secret murder, and doth hand down their plots, and their oaths, and their covenants, and their plans of awful wickedness, from generation to generation, according as he can get hold upon the hearts of the children of men. And now behold, he had got great hold upon the hearts of the Nephites; yea, insomuch that they had become exceeding wicked; yea, the more part of them had turned out of the way of righteousness, and did trample under their feet the commandments of God, and did turn unto their own ways, and did build up unto themselves idols of their gold and silver.

And it came to pass that all these iniquities did come unto them, in the space of not many years, insomuch that a more part of it had come unto them in the sixty and seventh year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi. And they did grow in their iniquities, n the sixty and eighth year also, to the great sorrow and lamentations of the righteous. And thus we see that the Nephites did begin to dwindle in unbelief, and grow in wickedness and abominations, while the Lamanites began to grow exceedingly in the knowledge of their God; yea, they began to keep his statutes and commandments, and to walk in truth and uprightness before him. And thus we see the spirit of the Lord began to withdraw from the Nephites, because of the wickedness and the hardness of their hearts. And thus we see that the Lord began to pour out his spirit upon the Lamanites, because of their easiness and willingness to believe in his word.

And it came to pass that the Lamanites did hunt the band of robbers of Gadianton; and they did preach the word of God among the more wicked part of them, insomuch that this band of robbers was utterly destroyed from among the Lamanites. And it came to pass on the other hand, that the Nephites did build them up and support them, beginning at the more wicked part of them, until they had overspread all the land of the Nephites, and had seduced the more part of the righteous, until they had come down to believe in their works, and partake of their spoils, and to join with them in their secret murders and combinations. And thus they did obtain the sole management of the government, insomuch that they did trample under their feet, and smite, and rend, and turn their backs upon the poor, and the meek, and humble followers of God. And thus we see that they were in an awful state, and ripening for an everlasting destruction. And it came to pass that thus ended the sixty and eighth year of the reign of Judges over the people of Nephi.

MORMON HELAMAN CHAPTER 3

The Prophecy Of Nephi, The Son Of Helaman.

God threatens the people of Nephi, that he will visit them in his anger, to their utter destruction, except they repent of their wickedness. God smiteth the people of Nephi with pestilence; they repent and turn unto him. Samuel, a Lamanite, prophesies unto the Nephites.

Behold, now it came to pass in the sixty and ninth year of the reign of the Judges over the people of the Nephites, that Nephi, the son of Helaman, returned to the land of Zarahemla, from the land northward: for he had been forth among the people which was in the land northward, and did preach the word of God unto them, and did prophesy many things unto them; and they did reject all his words, insomuch that he could not stay among them, but returned again unto the land of his nativity; and seeing the people in a state of such awful wickedness, and those Gadianton robbers filling the judgement seats; having usurped the power and authority of the land; laying aside the commandments of God, and not in the least aright before him; doing no justice unto the children of men; condemning the righteous because of their righteousness; letting the guilty and the wicked go unpunished, bacause of their money; and moreover, to be held in office at the head of government, to rule and do according to their wills, that they might get gain and glory of the world; and moreover that they might the more easy commit adultery, and steal, and kill, and do according to their own wills. Now this great iniquity had come upon the Nephites, in the space of not many years; and when Nephi saw it, his heart was swollen with sorrow within his breast; and he did exclaim in the agony of his soul, O that I could have had my days, in the days when my father Nephi first came out of the land of Jerusalem, that I could have joyed with him in the promised land; then were his people easy to be entreated, firm to keep the commandments of God, and slow to be led to do iniquity; and they were quick to hearken unto the words of the Lord; yea, if my days could have been in them days, then would my soul have had joy in the righteousness of my brethren. But behold, I am consigned that these are my days, and that my soul shall be filled with sorrow, because of this the wickedness of my brethren. And behold, now it came to pass that it was upon a tower, which was in the garden of Nephi, which was by the highway which led to the chief market, which was in the city of Zarahemla; therefore, Nephi had bowed himself upon the tower which was in his garden, which tower was also near unto the garden gate which led by the highway.

And it came to pass that there was certain men passing by, and saw Nephi as he was pouring out his soul unto God upon the tower, and they ran and told the people what they had seen; and the people came together in multitudes, that they might know the cause of so great mourning for the wickedness of the people. And now when Nephi arose he beheld the multitudes of people which had gathered together. And it came to pass that he opened his mouth and said unto them, Behold, why have ye gathered yourselves together? That I may tell you of your iniquities? Yea, because I have got upon my tower, that I might pour out my soul unto my God, because of the exceeding sorrow of my heart, which is because of your iniquities? And because of my mourning and lamentation, ye have gathered yourselves together, and do marvel; yea, and ye have great need to marvel; yea, ye had ought to marvel, because ye are given away, that the Devil hath got so great hold upon your hearts; yea, how could ye have given away to enticing of him, who art seeking to hurl away your souls down to everlasting misery and endless wo? O repent ye, repent ye! why will ye die? Turn ye, turn ye, unto the Lord your God. Why hath he forsaken you? It is because you have hardened your hearts; yea, ye will not hearken unto the voice of the good shepherd; ye have provoked him to anger against you. And behold, instead of gathering you, except ye will repent, behold he shall scatter you forth that ye shall become meat for the dogs and wild beasts. O how could you have forgotten your God in the very day that he hath delivered you? But behold, it is to get gain, to be praised of men; yea, and that ye might get gold and silver.

And ye have set your hearts upon the riches and the vain things of this world, for the which ye do murder, and plunder, and steal, and bear false witness against your neighbour, and do all manner of iniquity; for this cause wo shall come unto you except ye shall repent. For if ye will not repent, behold this great city, and also all those great cities, which are round about, which are in the land of our possessions, shall be taken away, that ye shall have no place in them: For behold, the Lord will not grant unto you strength, as he hath hitherto done, to withstand against your enemies. For behold, thus saith the Lord: I will not shew unto the wicked of my strength, to one more than the other, save it be unto those who repent of their sins, and hearken unto my words; now therefore I would that ye should behold, my brethren, that it shall be better for the Lamanites than for you, except ye shall repent; for behold they are more righteous than you; for they have not sinned against that great knowledge which ye have received; therefore the Lord will be merciful unto them; yea, he will lengthen out their days and increase their seed, even when thou shalt be utterly destroyed, except thou shalt repent; yea, wo be unto you because of that great abomination which hath come among you; and ye have united yourselves unto it, yea, to that secret band which was established by Gadianton; yea, wo shall come unto you because of that pride which ye have suffered to enter your hearts, which hath lifted you up beyond that which is good because of your exceeding great riches; yea, wo be unto you because of your wickedness and abominations. And except ye repent, yes shall perish; yea even your lands shall be taken from you, and ye shall be destroyed from off the face of the earth. Behold now I do not say that these things shall be, of myself, because it is not of myself that I know these things; but behold, I know that these things are true, because the Lord God hath made them known unto me; therefore I testify that they shall be.

And now it came to pass that when Nephi had said these words, behold there were men which were Judges, which also belonged to the secret band of Gadianton, and they were angry, and they cried out against him, saying unto the people, why do ye not seize upon this man and bring him forth, that he may be condemned according to the crime which he hath de? Why seest thou this man, and hearest him revile against this people, and against our law? For behold, Nephi

had spoken unto them concerning the corruptness of their law; yea, many things did Nephi speak which cannot be written; and nothing did he speak which were contrary to the commandments of God. And those Judges were angry with him because he spake plain unto them concerning their secret works of darkness; nevertheless they durst not lay their own hands upon him; for they feared the people, lest they should cry out against them; therefore they did cry unto the people, saying, Why do ye suffer this man to revile against us? For behold, he doth condemn all this people, even unto destruction; yea, and also that these our great cities shall be taken from us, that we shall have no place in them. And now we know that this is impossible; for behold we are powerful, and our cities great; therefore our enemies can have no power over us. And it came to pass that thus they did stir up the people to anger against Nephi, and raised contentions among them; for there were some which did cry out, Let this man alone, for he is a good man, and those things which he saith will surely come to pass except we repent; yea, behold all the judgements will come upon us which he hath testified unto us; for we know that he hath testified aright unto us concerning our iniquities. And behold they are many; and he knoweth as well as all things which shall befal us as he knoweth of our iniqities; yea, and behold if he had not been a prophet he could not have testified concerning those things. And it came to pass that those people which sought to destroy Nephi, were compelled because of their fear, that they did not lay their hands on him. Therefore he began again to speak unto them, seeing that he had gained favor in the eyes of some, insomuch that the remainder of them did fear. Therefore he was constrained to speak more unto them, saying: Behold my brethren, have ye not read that God gave power unto one man, even Moses, to smite upon the waters of the Red Sea, and they parted hither and thither, insomuch that the Israelites, which were our fathers, came through upon dry ground, and the waters closed upon the armies of the Egyptians, and swallowed them up?

And now behold, if God gave unto this man such power, then why should ye dispute among yourselves, and say that he hath given unto me no power whereby I may know concerning the judgements that shall come upon you except ye repent? But behold, ye not only deny my words, but ye also deny all the words which hath been spoken by our fathers, and also the words which was spoken by this man, Moses, which had such great power given unto him; yea, the words which he hath spoken concerning the coming of the Messiah. Yea, did he not bear record, that the Son of God should come? -- And as he lifted up the brazen serpent in the wilderness, even so shall he be lifted up which should come. And as many as should look upon the serpent should live, even so as many as should look upon the Son of God, with faith, having a contrite spirit, might live, even unto that life which is eternal. -- And now behold, Moses did not only testify of these things, but also all the holy prophets, from his day even to the days of Abraham. Yea, and behold, Abraham saw of his coming, and was filled with gladness, and did rejoice. Yea, and behold I say unto you, That Abraham not only knew of these things, but there were many before the days of Abraham which were called by the order of God; yea, even after the order of his Son; and this that it should be shewn unto the people of a great many thousand years before his coming, that even redemption should come unto them. And now I would that ye should know, that even since the days of Abraham, there hath been many prophets that hath testified these things; yea, behold, the prophet Zenas did testify boldly; for the which he was slain. And behold, also Zenoch, and also Ezias, and also Isaiah, and Jeremiah, (Jeremiah being that same prophet which testified of the destruction of Jerusalem.) And now we know that Jerusalem was destroyed, according to the words of Jeremiah. O then why not the Son of God come, according to his prophecy? And now will ye dispute that Jerusalem was destroyed? Will ye say that the sons of Zedekiah were not slain, all except it were Mulek? Yea, and do ye not behold that the seed of Zedekiah are with us, and that they were driven out of the land of Jerusalem? But behold, this is not all. Our father Lehi was driven out of Jerusalem, because he testified of these things. Nephi also testified of these things, and also almost all of our fathers, even down to this time; yea, they have testified of the coming of Christ, and have looked forward, and have rejoiced in his day which is to come. And behold, he is God, and he is with them, and he did manifest himself unto them, that they were redeemed by him; and they gave unto him glory, because of that which is to come. And now seeing ye know these things, and cannot deny them, except ye shall lie, therefore in this ye have sinned, for ye have rejected all these things, notwithstanding so many evidences which ye have received; yea, even ye have received all things, both things in Heaven, and all things which are in the earth, as a witness that they are true. But behold, ye have rejected the truth, and rebelled against your holy God; and even at this time, instead of laying up for yourselves treusures in Heaven, where nothing doth corrupt, and where nothing can come which is unclean, ye are heaping up for yourselves wrath against the day of judgement; yea, even at this time ye are ripening, because of your murders, and your fornication and wickedness, for everlasting destruction; yea, and except ye repent, it will come unto you soon; yea, behold it is now even at your doors; yea, go ye unto the judgement seat, and search; and behold, your Judge is murdered, and he lieth in his blood; and he ,hath been murdered by his brother, who seeketh to sit in the judgement seat. And behold, they both belong to your secret band, whose author is Gadianton, and the evil one which seeketh to destroy the souls of men.

Behold now it came to pass that when Nephi had spoken these words, certain men which were among them ran to the

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judgement seat; yea, even there were five which went; and they said among themselves, as they went, Behold, we will know of a surety, whether this man be a prophet, and God hath commanded him to prophesy such marvellous things unto us. Behold we do not believe that he hath; yea, we do not believe that he is a prophet; nevertheless, if this thing which he hath said concerning the Chief Judge be true, that he be dead, then we will believe that the other words which he hath spoken is true. And it came to pass that they ran in their might, and came in unto the judgement seat; and behold the Chief Judge had fallen to the earth, and did lie in his blood. And now behold, when they saw this, they were astonished exceedingly, insomuch that they fell to the earth; for they had not believed the words which Nephi had spoken concerning the Chief Judge; but now when they saw they believed, and fear came upon them, lest all the judgements which Nephi had spoken should come upon the people; therefore they did quake, and had fallen to the earth. Now immediately when the Judge had been murdered: he being stabbed by his brother, by a garb of secrecy; and he fled, and the servants ran and told the people, raising the cry of murder among them. And behold the people did gather themselves together unto the place of the judgement seat; and behold, to their astonishment, they saw those five men which had fallen to the earth. And now behold, the people knew nothing concerning the ,multitude which had gathered together at the garden of Nephi; therefore they said among themselves, These men are they which have murdered the Judge, and God hath smitten them that they could not flee from us.

And it came to pass that they laid ho on them, and bound them, and cast them into prison. And there was a proclamation sent abroad that the Judge was slain, and that the murderers had been taken, and was cast into prison. And it came to pass that on the morrow, the people did assemble themselves together to mourn and to fast, at the burial of the great and Chief Judge, which had been slain. And thus were also those Judges which were at the garden of Nephi, and heard his words, were also gathered together at the burial.

And it came to pass that they inquired among the people, saying, Where are the five which was sent to inquire concerning the Chief Judge whether he was dead? And they answered and said, Concerning this five which ye say ye have sent, we know not; but there are five, which are the murderers, whom we have cast into prison. And it came to pass that the Judges desired that they should be brought; and they were brought, and behold they were the five which were sent; and behold the Judges inquired of them to know concerning the matter, and they told them all that they had done, saying, We ran and came to the place of the judgement, and when we saw all things, even as Nephi had testified, we were astonished, insomuch that we fell to the earth; and when we were recovered from our astonishment, behold they cast us into prison. Now as for the murder of this man, we know not who hath done it, and only this much we know, we ran and came according as ye desired, and behold he was dead according to the words of Nephi.

And now it came to pass that the Judge did expound the matter unto the people, and did cry out against Nephi, saying, Behold we know that this Nephi must have agreed with some one to slay the Judge, and then he might declare it unto us, that he might convert us unto his faith, that he might raise himself to be a great man, chosen of God, and a prophet; and now behold we will detect this man, and he shall confess his fault and make known unto us the true murderer of this Judge. And it came to pass that the five were liberated on the day of the burial. Nevertheless, they did rebuke the Judges in the words which they had spoken against Nephi, and did contend with them one by one, insomuch that they did confound them. Nevertheless, they caused that Nephi should be taken and bound and brought before the multitude, and they began to question him in divers ways, that they might cross him, that they might accuse him to death; saying unto him, Thou art confederate; who is this man that hath done this murder? Now tell us, and acknowledge thy fault, saying, Behold here is money; and also we will grant unto thee thy life if thou wilt tell us and acknowledge the agreement, which thou hast made with him. But Nephi saith unto them, O ye fools, ye uncircumsised of heart, ye blind, and ye stiff-necked people, do ye know how long the Lord your God will suffer you that ye shall go on this your ways of sin? O ye had ought to begin to howl and mourn, because of the great destruction at this time which doth await you, except ye shall repent. Behold, ye say that I have agreed with a man, that he should murder Seezoram, our Chief Judge. But behold, I say unto you, that this is because I have testified unto you, that ye might know concerning this thing; yea, even for a witness unto you, that I did know of the wickedness and abominations which is among you. And because I have done this, ye say that I have agreed with a man that he should do this thing; yea, because I shewed unto you this sign, ye are angry with me, and seek to destroy my life. And now behold, I will shew unto you another sign, and see if ye will in this thing seek to destroy me. Behold I say unto you, Go to the house of Seantum, which is the brother of Seezoram, and say unto him, Hath Nephi, the pretended prophet, which doth prophesy so much evil concerning this people, agreed with thee, in the which ye have murdered Seezoram, which is your brother? And behold, he shall say unto you, Nay. And ye shall say unto him, Have ye murdered your brother? And he shall stand with fear, and wist not what to say. And behold, he shall deny unto you; and he shall make as if he were astonished; nevertheless, he shall declare unto you that he is innocent. But behold, ye shall examine him, and ye shall find blood upon the skirts of his cloak. And when ye have seen this, ye shall say, From whence cometh this blood? Do we not know that it is the blood of your brother? And then he shall tremble, and shall look pale, even as if death had come upon him. And then shall ye say, Because of this fear and this paleness which hath come upon your face, behold, we know that thou art guilty. And then shall greater fear come upon him; and then shall he confess unto you, and deny no more that he hath done this murder. And then shall he say unto you, That I, Nephi, know nothing concerning the matter, save it were given unto me by the power of God. And then shall ye know that I am an honest man, and that I am sent unto you from God.

And it came to pass that they went and did, even according as Nephi had said unto them. And behold, the words which he had said, were true: for according to the words, he did deny; and also according to the words, he did confess. And he was brought to prove that he himself was the very murderer, insomuch that the five were set at liberty; and also was Nephi. And there were some of the Nephites which believed on the words of Nephi; and there were some also, which believed, because of the testimony of the five, for they had been converted while they were in prison. And now there were some among the people, which said that Nephi was a prophet; and there were others which said, Behold, he is a god, for except he was a god, he could not know of all things. For behold, he hath told us the thoughts of our hearts, and also hath told us things; and even he hath brought unto our knowledge the true murderer of our Chief Judge.

And it came to pass that there arose a division among the people, insomuch that they divided hither and thither, and went their ways, leaving Nephi alone, as he was standing in the midst of them. And it came to pass that Nephi went his way towards his own house, pondering upon the things which the Lord had shewn unto him. And it came to pass as he was pondering, -- being much cast down because of the wickedness of the people of the Nephites, their secret works of darkness, and their murderings, and their plunderings, and all manner of iniquities -- and it came to pass as he was thus pondering in his heart, behold, a voice came unto him, saying: Blessed art thou, Nephi, for those things which thou hast done: for I have beheld how thou hast with unwearyingness declared the word which I have given unto thee, unto this people. And thou hast not feared them, and hast not sought thine own life, but hath sought my will, and to keep my commandments. And now because thou hast done this with such unwearyingness, behold, I will bless thee forever; and I will make thee mighty in word and in deed, in faith and in works; yea, even that all things shall be done unto thee according to thy word, for thou shalt not ask that which is contrary to my will. Behold, thou art Nephi, and I am God. Behold, I declare it unto thee in the presence of mine angels, that ye shall have power over this people, and shall smite the earth with famine, and with pestilence, and destruction, according to the wickedness of this people. Behold, I give unto you power, that whatsoever ye shall seal on earth, shall be sealed in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven; and thus shall ye have power among this people. And thus, if ye shall say unto this temple, It shall be rent in twain, and it shall be done. And if ye shall say unto this mountain, Be thou cast down and become smooth, and it shall be done. And behold, if ye shall say, That God shall smite this people, it shall come to pass. -- And now behold, I command you that ye shall go and declare unto this people, that thus saith the Lord God, who is the almighty: Except ye repent, ye shall be smitten, even unto destruction.

And behold, now it came to pass that when the Lord had spoken these words unto Nephi, he did stop, and did not go unto his house, but did return unto the multitudes which were scattered about upon the face of the land, and began to declare unto them the word of the Lord, which had been spoken unto him concerning their destruction, if they did not repent. Now behold, notwithstanding that great miracle which Nephi had done in telling them concerning the death of the Chief Judge, they did harden their hearts, and did not hearken unto the words of the Lord; therefore Nephi did declare unto them the words of the Lord, saying: Except ye repent, thus saith the Lord: Ye shall be smitten even unto destruction. -- And it came to pass that when Nephi had declared unto them the word, behold, they did still harden their hearts, and would not hearken unto his words; therefore they did revile against him, and did seek to lay their hands upon him, that they might cast him into prison. But behold, the power of God was with him, and they could not take him to cast him into prison: for he was taken by the spirit, and conveyed out of the midst of them.

And it came to pass that thus he did go forth in the spirit, from multitude to multitude, declaring the word of God, even until he had declared it unto them all, or sent it forth among all the people. And it came to pass that they would not hearken unto his words; and there began to be contentions, insomuch that they were divided against themselves, and began to slay one another with the sword. And thus ended the seventy and first year of the reign of Judges over the people of Nephi.

MORMON HELAMAN CHAPTER 4

And now it came to pass in the seventy and second year of the reign of the Judges, that contentions did increase, insomuch that there were wars throughout all the land, among all the people of Nephi. And it was this secret band of robbers which did carry on this work of destruction and wickedness. And this war did last all that year. And in the seventy and third year it did also last.

And it came to pass that in this year, Nephi did cry unto the Lord, saying: O Lord, do not suffer that this people shall be destroyed by the sword; but O Lord, rather let there be a famine in the land, to stir them up in remembrance of the Lord their God, and perhaps they will repent and turn unto thee; and so it was done, according to the words of Nephi. -- And there was a great famine upon the land, among all the people of Nephi. And thus, in the seventy and fourth year, the famine did continue, and the work of destruction did cease by the sword, but became sore by famine. And this work of destruction did also continue in the seventy and fifth year. For the earth was smitten, that it was dry, and did not yield forth grain in the season of grain; and the whole earth was smitten, even among the Lamanites as well as among the Nephites, so that they were smitten that they did perish by thousands, in the more wicked parts of the land.

And it came to pass that the people saw that they were about to perish by famine, and they began to remember the Lord their God; and they began to remember the words of Nephi. And the people began to plead with their Chief Judges and their leaders, that they would say unto Nephi, Behold, we know that thou art a man of God, and therefore cry unto the Lord our God, that he turn away from us this famine, lest all the words which thou hast spoken concerning our destruction, be fulfilled. And it came to pass that the Judges did say unto Nephi, according to the words which had been desired. -- And it came to pass that when Nephi saw that the people had repented, and did humble themselves in sackcloth, he cried again unto the Lord, saying: O Lord, behold this people repenteth; and they have swept away the band of Gadianton from amongst them, insomuch that they have become extinct, and they have concealed their secret plans in the earth. Now, O Lord, because of this their humility, wilt thou turn away thine anger, and let thine anger be appeased in the destruction of those wicked men whom thou hast already destroyed? O Lord, wilt thou turn away thine anger, yea, thy fierce anger, and cause that this famine may cease in this land? O Lord, wilt thou hearken unto me, and cause that it may be done according to my words, and send forth rain upon the face of the earth, that she may bring forth her fruit and her grain, in the season of grain? O Lord, thou didst hearken unto my words when I said, Let there be a famine, that the pestilence of the sword might cease; and I know that thou wilt, even at this time, hearken unto my words: for thou saidst, That if this people repent, I will spare them; yea, O Lord, and thou seest that they have repented, because of the famine, and the pestilence and destruction which has come upon them. And now, O Lord, wilt thou turn away thine anger, and try again if they will serve thee? And if so, O Lord, thou canst bless them according to thy words which thou hast said.

And it came to pass that in the seventy and sixth year, the Lord did turn away his anger from the people, and caused that rain should fall upon the earth, insomuch that it did bring forth her fruit in the season of her fruit. And it came to pass that it did bring forth her grain, in the season of her grain. And behold, the people did rejoice, and glorify God; and the whole face of the land was filled with rejoicing; and they did no more seek to destroy Nephi, but they did esteem him as a great prophet, and a man of God, having great power and authority given unto him from God. And behold, Lehi, his brother, was not a whit behind him as to things pertaining to righteousness. And thus it did come to pass that the people of Nephi began to prosper again in the land, and began to build up their waste places, and began to multiply and spread, even until they did cover the whole face of the land, both on the northward and on the southward, from the sea west, to the sea east. And it came to pass that the seventy and sixth year did end in peace. And the seventy and seventh year began in peace; and the church did spread throughout the face of all the land; and the more part of the people, both the Nephites and the Lamanites, did belong to the church; and they did have exceeding great peace in the land. And thus ended the seventy and seventh year. And also they had peace in the seventy and eighth year, save it were a few contentions concerning the points of doctrine which had been laid down by the prophets. And in the seventy and ninth year, there

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began to be much strife. But it came to pass that Nephi and Lehi, and many of their brethren, which knew concerning the true points of doctrine, having many revelations daily, therefore they did preach unto the people, insomuch that they did put and end to their strife in that same year.

And it came to pass that in the eightieth year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi, there was a certain number of the dissenters from the people of Nephi, which had some years before gone over unto the Lamanites, and took upon themselves the name of Lamanites; and also, a certain number which were real descendants of the Lamanites, being stirred up to anger by them, or by those dissenters, therefore they commenced a war with their brethren. And they did commit murder and plunder; and then they would retreat back into the mountains, and into the wilderness and secret places, hiding themselves that they could not be discovered, receiving daily an addition to their numbers, inasmuch as there were dissenters that went forth unto them; a nd thus in time, yea, even in the space of not many years, they became an exceeding great band of robbers; and they did search out all the secret plans of Gadianton; and thus they became robbers of Gadianton. Now behold, these robbers did make great havoc, yea, even great destruction among the people of Nephi, and also among the people of the Lamanites.

And it came to pass that it was expedient that there should be a stop put to this work of destruction; therefore they sent an army of strong men into the wilderness, and upon the mountains, to search out this band of robbers, and to destroy them. But behold, it came to pass that in the same year, they were driven back even into their own lands. And thus ended the eightieth year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi.

And it came to pass in the commencement of the eighty and first year, they did go forth again against this band of robbers, and did destroy many; and they were also visited with much destruction; and they were again obliged to return out of the wilderness, and out of the mountains, unto their own lands, because of the exceeding greatness of the numbers of those robbers which infested the mountains and the wilderness. -- And it came to pass that thus ended this year. And the robbers did still increase and wax strong, inasmuch that they did defy the whole armies of the Nephites, and also of the Lamanites; and they did cause great fear to come unto the people, upon all the face of the land, yea, for they did visit many parts of the land, and did do great destruction unto them; yea, did kill many, and did carry away others captive into the wilderness; yea, and more especially their women and their children. Now this great evil, which came unto the people because of their iniquity, did stir them up in remembrance of the Lord their God. And thus ended the eighty and first year of the reign of the Judges. And in the eighty and second year, they began again to forget the Lord their God. And in the eighty and third year, they began to wax strong in iniquity. -- And in the eighty and fourth year, they did not mend their ways. And it came to pass in the eighty and fifth year, they did wax stronger and stronger in their pride, and in their wickedness; and thus they were ripening again for destruction. And thus ended the eighty and fifth year. And thus we can behold how false, and also the unsteadiness of the hearts of the children of men; yea, we can see that the Lord in his great infinite goodness, doth bless and prosper those who put their trust in him; yea, and we may see at the very time when he doth prosper his people; yea, in the increase of their fields, their flocks, and their herds, and in gold, and in silver, and in all manner of precious things of every kind and art; sparing their lives, and delivering them out of the hands of their enemies; softening the hearts of their enemies, that they should not declare wars against them; yea, and in fine, doing all things for the welfare and happiness of his people; yea, then is the time that they do harden their hearts, and do forget the Lord their God, and do trample under their feet the Holy One; yea, and this because of their ease, and their exceeding great prosperity. And thus we see, that except the Lord doth chasten his people with many afflictions, yea, except he doth visit them with death, and with terror, and with famine, and with all manner of pestilence, they will not remember him. O how foolish, and how vain, and how evil, and devlish, and how quick to do iniquity, and how slow to do good, are the children of men; yea, how quick to hearken unto the words of the evil one, and to set their hearts upon the vain things of the world; yea, how quick to be lifted up in pride; yea, how quick to boast, and do all manner of that which is iniquity; and how slow are they to remember the Lord their God, and to give ear unto his counsels; yea, how slow to walk in wisdom's path! Behold, they do not desire that the Lord their God, who hath created them, should rule and reign over them, notwithstanding his great goodness and his mercy towards them; they do set at nought his counsels, and they will not that he should be their guide. O how great is the nothingness of the children of the men; yea, even they are less than dust of the earth. For behold, the dust of the earth moveth hither and thither, the dividing asunder, at the command of our great and everlasting God; yea, behold, at his voice doth the hills and mountains tremble and quake; and by the power of his voice, they are broken up and become smooth, yea, even like unto a valley; yea, by the power of his voice, doth the whole earth shake; yea, by the power of his voice, doth the foundations rock, even to the very centre; yea, and if he saith unto the earth, Move, and it is moved; yea, if he saith unto the earth, Thou shalt go back, that it lengthen out the day for many hours, and it is done; and thus according to his word, the earth goeth back, and it appeareth unto man that the sun standeth still; yea, and behold, this is so; for sure it is the earth that moveth, and not the sun. And behold, also, if he saith unto the waters of the great deep, Be thou dried up, and it is done. Behold, if he saith unto this mountain, Be thou raised up, and come over and fall upon that city, that it be buried up, and behold it is done. And behold, if a man hideth up a treasure in the earth, and the Lord shall say, Let it be accursed, because of the iniquity of him that hath hid it up, behold, it shall be accursed; and if the Lord shall say, Be thou accursed, that no man shall find thee from this time henceforth and forever, and behold, no man getteth it henceforth and forever. And behold, if the Lord shall say unto a man, Because of thine iniquities thou shalt be accursed forever, and it shall be done. And if the Lord shall say, Because of thine iniquities, thou shalt be cut off from my presence, and he will cause that it shall be so. -- And wo unto whom he shall say this, for it shall be unto him that will do iniquity, and he cannot be saved; therefore, for this cause, that men might be saved, hath repentance been declared. Therefore, blessed are they who will repent, and hearken unto the voice of the Lord their God; for these are they that shall be saved. And may God grant, in his great fulness, that men might be brought unto repentance and good works, that they might be restored unto grace, for grace according to their works. And I would that all men might be saved. But we read that in that great and last day, there are some which shall be cast out; yea, which shall be cast off from the presence of the Lord; yea, which shall be consigned to the state of endless misery, fulfilling the words which saith, That they have done good, shall have everlasting life; and they that have done evil, shall have everlasting damnation. -- And thus it is. Amen.

MORMON HELAMAN CHAPTER 5

The Prophecy Of Samuel, The Lamanite, To The Nephites.

And now it came to pass in the eighty and sixth year, the Nephites did still remain in wickedness, yea, in great wickedness, while the Lamanites did observe strictly to keep the commandments of God, according to the law of Moses. And it came to pass that in this year, there was one Samuel, a Lamanite, came into the land of Zarahemla, and began to preach unto the people. And it came to pass that he did preach many-day repentance unto the people, and they did cast him out, and he was about to return to his own land. But behold, the voice of the Lord came unto him, that he should return again, and prophesy unto the people whatsoever things should come in his heart.

And it came to pass that they would not suffer that he should enter into the city; therefore he went and got upon the wall thereof, and stretched forth his hand and cried with a loud voice, and prophesied unto the people whatsoever things the Lord put into his heart; and he said unto them. Behold, I, Samuel, a Lamanite, do speak the words of the Lord, which he doth put into my heart; and behold he hath put it into my heart to say unto this people, that the sword of justice hangeth over this people; and four hundred years passeth not away save the sword of justice falleth upon this people; yea, heavy destruction awaiteth this people, and it surely cometh unto this people, and nothing can save this people, save it be repentance and faith on the Lord Jesus Christ, which surely shall come into the world, and shall suffer many things, and shall be slain for his people. And behold, an angel of the Lord hath declared it unto me, and he did bring glad tidings to my soul. And behold, I was sent unto you to declare it unto you also, that ye might have glad tidings; but behold ye would not receive me, therefore thus saith the Lord, Because of the hardness of the hearts of the people of the Nephites, except they repent I will take away my word from them, and I will withdraw my spirit from them, and I will suffer them no longer, and I will turn the hearts of their brethren against them; and four hundred years shall not pass away, before I will cause that they shall be smitten; yea, I will visit them with the sword, and with famine, and with pestilence; yea, I will visit them in my fierce anger, and there shall be those of the fourth generation, which shall live, of your enemies, to behold your utter destruction; and this shall surely come, except ye repent, saith the Lord; and those of the fourth generation shall visit your destruction. But if ye will repent and return unto the Lord your God, I will turn away mine anger saith the Lord,; yea, thus saith the Lord, Blessed are they who will repent and turn unto me, but wo unto him that repenteth not; yea, wo unto this great city of Zarahemla; for behold it is because of they which are righteous, that it is saved; yea, wo unto this great city, For I perceive, saith the Lord, that there are many, yea, even the more part of this great city, that will harden their hearts against me, saith the Lord. But blessed are they who will repent, for them will I spare. But behold if it were not for the righteous which are in this great city, behold I would cause that fire should come down out of heaven, and destroy it. But behold, it is for the righteous' sake, that it is spared. But behold, the time cometh, saith the Lord, that when ye shall be cast out the righteous among you, then shall ye be ripe for destruction; yea, wo be unto this great city, because of the wickedness and abominations which is in her; yea, and wo be unto the city of Gideon, for the wickedness and abominations which is in her; yea, and wo be unto all the cities which are in the land round about, which is possessed by the Nephites, because of the wickedness and abominations which is in them; and behold, a curse shall come upon the land, saith the Lord of Hosts, because of the people's sake which is upon the land; yea, because of their wickedness and their abominations.

And it shall come to pass, saith the Lord of Hosts, yea, our great and true God, that whoso shall hide up treasures in the earth, shall find them again no more, because of the great curse of the land , save he be a righteous man, and shall hide it up unto the Lord: For I will saith the Lord, that they shall hide up their treasures unto me; and cursed be they who hideth not up their treasures unto me; for non hideth up their treasures unto me save it be the righteous; and he that hideth not up his treasure unto me, cursed is he, and also the treasure, and none shall redeem it because of the curse of the land. And the day shall come that they shall hide up their treasures, because they have set their hearts upon riches; and because they have set their hearts upon their riches, I will hide up their treasures when they shall flee before their enemies, because they will not hide them up unto me; cursed be they, and also their treasures; and in that day shall they be smitten, saith the Lord. Behold ye, the people of this great city, and hearken unto my words; yea, hearken unto the words which the Lord saith; for behold, he saith that ye are cursed because of your riches, and also are your riches cursed because ye have set your hearts upon them, and hath not hearkened unto the words of him who gave them unto you. Ye do not remember the Lord your God in the things which he hath blessed you, but ye do always remember your riches, not to thank the Lord your God for them; yea, your heart is not drawn out unto the Lord, but they do swell with great pride, unto boasting, and unto great swelling, envyings, strifes, malice, persecutions, and murders, and all manner of iniquities: For this cause hath the Lord God caused that a curse should come upon the land, and also upon your riches; and this because of your iniquities; yea, wo unto this people, because of this time which has arriven, that ye do cast out the prophets, and do mock them, and cast stones at them, and do slay them, and do all manner of iniquity unto them, even as they did of old time. And now when ye talk, ye say, If our days had been in the days of our fathers of old, ye would not have slain the prophets; ye would not have stoned them, and cast them out. Behold ye are worse than they; for as the Lord liveth, if a prophet come among you, and declareth unto you the word of the Lord, which testifieth of your sins and iniquities, ye are angry with him, and cast him out, and seek all manner of ways to destroy him; yea, you will say that he is a false prophet, and that he is a sinner, and of the Devil, because he testifieth that your deeds are evil. But behold, if a man shall come among you, and shall say, Do this, and there is no iniquity; do that, and ye shall suffer; yea, he will say, walk after the pride of your own hearts; yea, walk after the pride of your eyes, and do whatsoever your heart desireth; and if a man shall come among you and say this, ye will receive him, and ye shall say that he is a prophet; yea, ye will lift him up, and ye will give unto him of your substance; ye will give unto him of your gold, and of your silver, and ye will clothe him with costly apparel; and because he speaketh flattering words unto you, and he saith that all is well, and then ye will not find fault with him. O ye wicked and ye perverse generation; ye hardened and stiffnecked people, how long will ye suppose that the Lord will suffer you; yea, how long will ye suffer yourselves to be lead by foolish and blind guides; yea, how long will ye choose darkness rather than light; yea, behold the anger of the Lord is already kindled against you; behold, he hath cursed the land, because of your iniquity; and behold, the time cometh that he curseth your riches, that it becometh slippery, that ye cannot hold them; and in the days of your poverty, ye shall cry unto the Lord; and in vain shall ye cry, for your desolation is already come upon you, and your destruction is made sure; and then shall ye weep and howl in that day, saith the Lord of Hosts. And then shall ye lament, and say, O Lord I had repented, and had not killed the prophets, and stoned them, and cast them out; yea, in that day shall ye say, O that we had remembered the Lord our God, in the day he gave us our riches, and then they would not have become slippery, and that we should lose them; for behold, our riches are gone from us. Behold, we layeth a tool here, and on the morrow it is gone; and behold, our swords are taken from us in the day we have sought them for battle. Yea, we have hid up our treasures, and they have slipped away from us, because of the curse of the land. O that we had repented in the day that the word of the Lord came upon us; for behold, the land is cursed, and all things are become slippery, and we cannot hold them. Behold we are

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surrounded by demons, yea, we are encircled about by the angels of him who hath sought to destroy our souls. Behold, our iniquities are great. O Lord, canst thou turn away thine anger from us? And this shall be your language in them days. But behold, your days of probation is past; ye have procrastinated the day of your salvation, until it is everlasting too late, and your destruction is made sure; yea, for ye have sought all the days of your lives for that which ye could not obtain; and ye have sought for happiness in doing iniquity, which thing is contrary to the nature of that righteousness which is in our great and Eternal Head. O ye people of the land, that ye would hear my words. And I pray that the anger of the Lord be turned away from you, and that ye would repent and be saved.

And now it came to pass that Samuel, the Lamanite, did prophesy a great many more things which cannot be written. And behold, he saith unto them, Behold, I give unto you a sign: for five years more cometh, and behold, then cometh the son of God to redeem all those who shall believe on his name. And behold, this will I give unto you for a sign at the time of his coming; for behold, there shall be great lights in Heaven, insomuch that in the night before he cometh, there shall be no darkness, insomuch that it shall appear unto man as it is day; therefore there shall be one day and a night, and a day, as if it were one day, and there were no night; and this shall be unto you for a sign; for ye shall know of the rising of the sun, and also of its setting; therefore they shall know of a surety that there shall be two days and a night; nevertheless the night shall be darkened; and it shall be night before he is born. And behold there shall a new star arise, such an one as ye never have beheld; and this also shall be a sign unto you. And behold this is not all: there shall be many signs and wonders in Heaven. And it shall come to pass that ye shall be amazed, and wonder, insomuch that ye shall fall to the earth. And it shall come to pass that whosoever shall believe on the Son of God, the same shall have everlasting life. And behold, thus saith the Lord commanded me, by his angel, that I should come and tell this thing unto you; yea, he hath commanded that I should prophesy these things unto you; yea, he hath said unto me, Cry unto this people, repent and prepare the ways of the Lord. And now because I am a Lamanite, and hath spoken unto you the words which the Lord hath commanded me, and because it was hard against you, ye are angry with me, and do seek to destroy me, and have cast me out from among you. And ye shall hear my words, for, for this intent I have come up upon the walls of this city, that ye might hear and know of the judgements of God which doth await you because of your iniquities, and also that ye might know the conditions of repentance; and also that ye might know of the coming of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Father of Heaven and of earth, the Creator of all things, from the beginning; and that ye might know of his coming, to the intent that ye might believe on his name. And if ye believe on his name, ye will repent of all your sins, that thereby ye may have a remission of them through his merits. And behold, again another sign I give unto you; yea, a sign of his death; for behold, he surely must die, that salvation may come; yea, it behooveth him, and becometh expedient that he dieth, to bring to pass the resurrection of the dead, that thereby man may be brought into the presence of the Lord; yea, behold this death bringeth to pass the resurrection, and redeemeth all mankind from the first death; that spiritual death for all mankind, by the fall of Adam, being cut off from the presence of the Lord, are considered as dead, both as to things temporal and to things spiritual. But behold, the resurrection of Christ redeemeth mankind, yea, even all mankind, and bringeth them back into the presence of the Lord; yea, it bringeth to pass the condition of repentance, that whosoever repenteth, the same is not hewn down and cast into the fire; but whosoever repenteth not, is hewn down and cast into the fire, and there cometh upon them again a spiritual death, yea, a second death, for they are cut off again as to things pertaining to righteousness; therefore repent ye, lest by knowing these things and not doing them, ye shall suffer yourselves to come under condemnation, and ye are brought down unto this second death. But behold, as I said unto you concerning another sign, a sign of his death: behold, in that day that he shall suffer death, the sun shall be darkened and refuse to give his light unto you; and also the moon, and the stars; and there shall be no light upon the face of this land, even from the time that he shall suffer death, for the space of three days, to the time that he shall rise again from the dead; yea, at the time that he shall yield up the ghost, there shall be thunderings and lightnings for the space of many hours, and the earth shall quake and tremble, and the rocks which is upon the face of this earth, which is both above the earth and beneath, which ye know at this time is solid, or the more part of it is one solid mass, shall be broken up; yea, they shall be rent in twain, and shall ever after be found in seams, and in cracks, and in broken fragments upon the face of the whole earth; yea, both above the earth and both beneath. And behold, there shall be great tempests, and there shall be many mountains laid low, like unto a valley, and there shall be many places, which are now called valleys, which shall become mountains, whose height thereof is great. And many highways shall be broken up, and many cities shall become desolate, and many graves shall be opened, and shall yield up many of their dead; and many saints shall appear unto many. And behold thus hath the angel spoken unto me; for he said unto me, That there should be thunderings and lightnings for the space of many hours; and he said unto me that while the thunder and the lightning lasted, and the tempest, that these things should be, and that darkness should cover the face of the whole earth, for the space of three days. And the angel said unto me that many shall see greater things than these, to the intent that they might believe that these signs and these wonders should come to pass, upon all the face of this land; to the intent that there should be no cause for unbelief among the children of men; and this to the intent that whosoever will believe, might be saved, and that whosoever will not believe, a righteous judgement might come upon them; and also if they are condemned, they bring upon themselves their own condemnation. And now remember, remember, my brethren, that whosoever perisheth, perisheth unto himself; and whosoever doeth iniquity, doeth it unto himself; for behold ye are free; ye are permitted to act for yourselves; for behold, God hath given unto you a knowledge, and he hath made you free; he hath given unto you that ye might know good from evil, and he hath given unto you that ye might choose life or death, and ye can do good and be restored unto that which is good, or have that which is good restored unto you; or ye can do evil, and have that which is evil restored unto you. And now my beloved brethren, behold, I declare unto you that except ye shall repent, your houses shall be left unto you desolate; yea, except ye repent, your women shall have great cause to mourn in the day that they shall give suck; for ye shall attempt to flee, and there shall be no place for refuge; and wo unto them which are with child, for they shall be heavy, and cannot flee; therefore they shall be trodden down, and shall be left to perish; yea, wo unto this people which are called the people of

Nephi, except they shall repent when they shall see all those signs and wonders which shall be showed unto them; for behold, they have been a chosen people of the Lord; yea, the people of Nephi hath he loved, and also hath he chastened them; yea, in the days of their iniquities hath he chastened them, because he loveth them. But behold my brethren, the Lamanites hath he hated, because their deeds have been evil continually; and this because of the iniquity of the tradition of their fathers. But behold, salvation hath come unto them, through the preaching of the Nephites; and for this intent hath the Lord prolonged their days. And I would that ye should behold that the more part of them are in the path of their duty, and they do walk circumspectly before God, and they do observe to keep his commandments, and his statutes, and his judgements, according to the law of Moses. Yea, I say unto you, that the more part of them are doing this, and they are string, with unwearied diligence, that they may bring the remainder of their brethren to the knowledge of the truth; therefore there are many which add to their numbers daily. And behold ye do know of yourselves, for ye have witnessed it, that as many of them as are brought to the knowledge of the truth, and to know of the wicked and abominable traditions of their fathers, and are led to believe the Holy Scriptures, yea, the prophecies of the holy prophets, which are written, which leadeth them to faith on the Lord, and unto repentance, which faith and repentance bringeth a change of heart unto them, therefore as many as have come to this, ye know of yourselve[s], are firm and steadfast in the faith, and in the thing wherewith they have been made free. -- And ye know also that they have buried their weapons of war, and they fear to take them up lest by any means they shall sin; yea, ye can see that they fear to sin; for behold, they will suffer themselves that they be trodden down and slain by their enemies, and will not lift their swords against them; and this because of their faith in Christ. And now because of their steadfastness when they do believe in that thing which they do believe; for because of their firmness when they are once enlightened, behold the Lord shall bless them and prolong their days, notwithstanding their iniquity; yea, even if they should dwindle in unbelief, the Lord shall prolong their days until the time shall come which hath been spoken of by our fathers, and also by the prophet Zenos, and many other prophets, concerning the restoration of our brethren, the Lamanites again, to the knowledge of the truth; yea, I say unto you, That in the latter times, the promises of the Lord notwithstanding the many afflictions which they shall have, and notwithstanding they shall be driven to and fro upon the face of the earth, and be hunted, and shall be smitten and scattered abroad, having no place for refuge, the Lord shall be merciful unto them; and this is according to the prophecy, that they shall again be brought to the true knowledge, which is the knowledge of their Redeemer, and their great and their true Shepherd, and be numbered among his sheep. Therefore I say unto you, It shall be better for them than for you, except ye repent. For behold, had the mighty works been shewn unto them which have been shewn unto you; yea, unto them which have dwindled in unbelief because of the traditions of their fathers, ye can see of yourselves, that they never would again have dwindled in unbelief; therefore, saith the Lord, I will not utterly destroy them, but I will cause that in the day of my wisdom, they shall return again unto me, saith the Lord. And now behold, saith the Lord, concerning the people of the Nephites, if they will not repent, and observe to do my will, I will utterly destroy them, saith the Lord, because of their unbelief, notwithstanding the many mighty works which I have done among them; and as surely as the Lord liveth, shall these things be, saith the Lord.

And now it came to pass that there were many which heard the words of Samuel, the Lamanite, which he spake upon the walls of the city. And as many as believed on his words, went forth and sought for Nephi; and when they had came forth and found him, they confessed unto him their sins and denied not, desiring that they might be baptized unto the Lord. But as many as there were which did not believe in the words of Samuel, were angry with him; and they cast stones at him upon the wall, and also many shot arrows at him, as he stood upon the wall; but the spirit of the Lord was with him, insomuch that they could not hit him with their stones, neither with their arrows. Now when they saw this, that they could not hit him, there were many more which did believe on his words, insomuch that they went away unto Nephi to be baptized. For behold, Nephi was baptizing, and prophesying and preaching, crying repentance unto the people; shewing signs and wonders; working miracles among the people, that they might know that the Christ must shortly come; telling them

of things which must shortly come, that they might know and remember at the time of their coming, that they had been made known unto them beforehand, to the intent that they might believe; therefore as many as believed on the words of Samuel, went forth unto him to be baptized, for they came repenting and confessing their sins. But the more part of them did not believe in the words of Samuel; therefore when they saw that they could not hit him with their stones and their arrows, they cried unto their captains, saying, Take this fellow and bind him, for behold, he hath a Devil; and because of the power of the Devil which is in him, we cannot hit him with our stones and our arrows; therefore take him and bind him, and away with him. And as they went forth to lay their hands on him, behold, he did cast himself down from the wall, and did flee out of their lands, yea, even unto his own counrty, and began to preach and to prophesy among his own people. And behold, he was never heard of more among the Nephites; and thus were the affairs of the people. And thus ended the eighty and sixth year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi. And thus ended also, the eighty and seventh year of the reign of the Judges, the more part of the people remaining in their pride and wickedness, and the lesser part walking more circumspectly before God. And these were the conditions also, in the eighty and eighth year of the reign of the Judges. And there were but little alteration in the affairs of the people, save it were the people began to be more hardened in iniquity, and do more and more of that which was contrary to the commandments of God, in the eighty and ninth year of the reign of the Judges.

But it came to pass in the ninetieth year of the reign of the Judges, there were great signs given unto the people, and wonders; and the words of the prophets began to be fulfilled; and angels did appear unto men, wise men, and did declare unto them glad tidings of great joy; thus in this year the Scriptures began to be fulfilled. Nevertheless, the people began to harden their hearts, all save it were the most believing part of them, both of the Nephites, and also the Lamanites, and began to depend upon their own strength, and upon their own wisdom, saying: Some things they may have guessed right, among so many; but behold, we know that all these great and marvellous works cannot come to pass, of which hath been spoken. And they began to reason and contend among themselves, saying, That is not reasonable that such a being as a Christ shall come; if so, and he be the Son of God, the Father of Heaven and of earth, as it hath been spoken, why will he not shew himself unto us, as well as unto they which shall be at Jerusalem? Yea, why will he not shew himself in this land, as well as in the land of Jerusalem? But behold, we know that this is a wicked tradition, which has been handed down unto us by our fathers, to cause us that we should believe in some great and marvellous thing which should come to pass, but not among us, but in a land which is far distant, a land which we know not; therefore they can keep is in ignorance, for we cannot witness with our own eyes that they are true. And they will by the cunning and the mysterious arts of the evil one, work some great mystery, which we cannot understand, which will keep us down to be servants to their words, and also servants unto them, for we depend upon them for to teach us the word; and thus will they keep us in ignorance, if we will yield ourselves unto them all the days of our lives. And many more did the people imagine up in their hearts, which were foolish and vain; and they were much disturbed, for Satan did stir them up to do iniquity continually; yea, he did go about, spreading rumors and contentions upon all the face of the land, that he might

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harden the hearts of the people against that which is good, and against that which should come; and notwithstanding the signs and the wonders which was wrought among the people of the Lord, and the many miracles which they did, Satan did get great hold upon the hearts of the people, upon all the face of the land. And thus ended the ninetieth year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi. And thus ended the book of Helaman, according to the record of Helaman and his sons.

MORMON 3 NEPHI CHAPTER 1

THE BOOK OF NEPHI, THE SON OF NEPHI, WHICH WAS THE SON OF HELAMAN.

And Helaman was the son of Helaman, which was the son of Alma, which was the son of Alma, being a descendant of Nephi, which was the son of Lehi, which came out of Jerusalem in the first year of the reign of Zedekiah, the king of Judah.

Now it came to pass that the ninety and first year had passed away; and it was six hundred years from the time that Lehi left Jerusalem; and it was in that year that Lachoneus was the Chief Judge and the governor over the land. And Nephi, the son of Helaman, had departed out of the land of Zarahemla, giving charge unto his son Nephi, which was his eldest son, concerning the plates of brass, and all the records which had been kept, and all those things which had been kept sacred, from the departure of Lehi out of Jerusalem: then he departed out of the land, and whither he went, no man knoweth; and his son Nephi did keep the records in his stead, yea, the record of this people.

And it came to pass that in the commencement of the ninety and second year, behold the prophecies of the prophets began to be fulfilled more fully; for there began to be greater signs and greater miracles wrought among the people. But there were some which began to say, That the time was past for the words to be fulfilled, which was spoken by Samuel, the Lamanite. And they began to rejoice over their brethren, saying, the time is past, and the words of Samuel are not fulfilled; therefore your joy and your faith concerning this thing, hath been vain. And it came to pass that they did make a great uproar throughout the land; and the people which believed, began to be very sorrowful, lest by any means those things which had been spoken, might not come to pass. But behold, they did watch steadfastly for that day, and that night, and that day, which shall be as one day, as if there were no night, that they might know that their faith had not been vain.

Now it came to pass that there was a day set apart by the unbelievers, that all those who believed in those traditions, should be put to death, except the sign should come to pass, which had been given by Samuel the prophet. Now it came to pass that when Nephi, the son of Nephi, saw the wickedness of his people, his heart was exceeding sorrowful. And it came to pass that he went out and bowed himself down upon the earth, and cried mightly to his God, in behalf of his people; yea, those which were about to be destroyed because of their faith in the traditions of their fathers. And it came to pass that he cried mightly unto the Lord, all the day; and behold, the voice of the Lord came unto him, saying: Lift up your head and be of good cheer: for behold, the time is at hand, and on this night shall the sign be given, and on the morrow come I into the world, to shew unto the world that I will fulfil all that I have caused to be spoken by the mouth of my Holy Prophets. Behold, I come unto my own, to fulfil all things which I have made known unto the children of men, from the foundation of the world, and to do the will, both of the Father, and the Son of the Father, because of me, and of the Son, because of my flesh. And behold, the time is at hand, and this night shall the sign be given.

And it came to pass that the words which came unto Nephi, was fulfilled, according as they had been spoken: for behold, at the going down of the sun, there was no darkness; and the people began to be astonished, because there was no darkness when the night came. And there were many which had not believed the words of the prophets, fell to the earth, and became as if they were dead, for they knew that the great plan of destruction which they had laid for those who believed in the word of the prophets, had been frustrated; for the sign which had been given was already at hand; and they began to know that the Son of God must shortly appear; yea, in fine, all the people upon the face of the whole earth, from the west to the east, both in the land north and in the land south, were so exceedingly astonished, that they fell to the earth; for they knew that the prophets had testified of these things for many years, and that the sign which had been given, was already at hand; and they began to fear because of their iniquity and their unbelief.

And it came to pass that there was no darkness in all that night, but it was as light as though it was mid-day. And it came to pass that the sun did rise in the morning again, according to its proper order; and they knew that it was the day that the Lord should be born, because of the signs which had been given. And it had come to pass, yea, all things, every whit, according to the words of the prophets. And it came to pass also, that a new star did appear, according to the word. And it came to pass that from this time forth, there began to be lyings sent forth among the people, by Satan, to harden their hearts, to the intent that they might not believe in those signs and wonders which they had seen; but notwithstanding these lyings and deceivings, the more part of the people did believe, and were converted unto the Lord. -- And it came to pass that Nephi went forth among the people, and also many others, baptizing unto repentance, in the which, there were a great remission of sins. And thus the people began to have peace in the land; and there were no contentions, save it were a few that began to preach, endeavoring to prove by the Scriptures, that it was no more expedient to observe the law of Moses. Now in this thing they did err, having not understood the Scriptures. But it came to pass that they soon became converted, and were convinced of the error which they were in: for it was made known unto them that the law was not yet fulfilled, and that it must be fulfilled in every whit; yea, the word came unto them that it must be fulfilled; yea, that one jot nor title should not pass away, till it should all be fulfilled; therefore in this same year, were they brought to a knowledge of their error, and did confess their faults. And thus the ninety and second year did pass away, bringing glad tidings unto the people because of the signs which had come to pass, according to the words of the prophecy of all the Holy Prophets.

And it came to pass that the ninety and third year did also pass away in peace, save it were for the Gadianton robbers, which dwelt in the mountains, which did infest the land; for so strong were their holds and their secret places, that the people could not overpower them; therefore they did commit many murders, and did do much slaughter among the people.

And it came to pass that in the ninety and fourth year, they began to increase in a great degree, because there were many dissenters of the Nephites which did flee unto them, which did cause much sorrow unto those Nephites which did remain in the land; and there was also a cause of much sorrow among the Lamanites; for behold, they had many children which did grow up and began to wax strong in years, that they became for themselves, and were led away by some which were Zoramites, by their lyings and their flattering words, to join those Gadianton robbers; and thus were the Lamanites afflicted also, and began to decrease as to their faith and righteousness, because of the wickedness of the rising generation.

And it came to pass that thus passed away the ninety and fifth year also, and the people began to forget those signs and wonders which they had heard, and began to be less and less astonished at a sign or a wonder from Heaven, insomuch that they began to be hard in their hearts, and blind in their minds, and began to disbelieve all which they had heard and seen, imagining up some vain thing in their hearts, that it was wrought by men, and by the power of the Devil, to lead away and deceive the hearts of the people; and thus did Satan get possession of the hearts of the people again, insomuch that he did blind their eyes, and lead them away to believe that the doctrine of Christ was a foolish and a vain thing.

And it came to pass that the people began to wax strong in wickedness and abominations; and they did not believe that there should be any more signs or wonders given; and Satan did go about, leading away the hearts of the people. tempting them and causing them that they should do great wickedness in the land. And thus did pass away the ninety and sixth year; and also the ninety and seventh year; and also the ninety and eighth year; and also the ninety and ninth year; and also an hundred years had passed away, since the days of Mosiah, which was the king over the people of the Nephites. And six hundred and nine years had passed away, since Lehi left Jerusalem; and nine years had passed away, from the time which the sign was given, which was spoken of by the prophets, that Christ should come into the world. Now the Nephites began to reckon their time from this period which was the sign given, or from the coming of Christ; therefore, nine years had passed away, and Nephi, which was the father of Nephi, which had the charge of the records, did not return to the land of Zarahemla, and could no where be found in all the land.

And it came to pass that the people did still remain in wickedness, notwithstanding the much preaching and prophesying which was sent among them; and thus passed away the tenth year also; and the eleventh year also passed away in iniquity. And it came to pass in the thirteenth year, there began to be wars and contentions throughout all the land: for the Gadianton robbers had become so numerous, and did slay so many of the people, and did lay waste so many cities, and did spread so much death and carnage throughout the land, that it became expedient that all the people, both the Nephites and the Lamanites, should take up arms against them; therefore all the Lamanites which had become converted unto the Lord, did unite with their brethren, the Nephites, and were compelled, for the safety of their lives, and their women and their children, to take up arms against those Gadianton robbers; yea, and also maintain their rights, and their privileges of their church, and of their worship, and their freedom, and their liberty. And it came to pass that before the thirteenth year had passed away, the Nephites were threatened with utter destruction, because of this war, which had become exceeding sore. And it came to pass that those Lamanites which had united with the Nephites, were numbered among the Nephites; and their curse was taken from them, and their skin became white like unto the Nephites; and their young men and their daughters became exceeding fair, and they were numbered among the Nephites, and were called Nephites. And thus ended the thirteenth year.

And it came to pass in the commencement of the fourteenth year, the war between the robbers and the people of Nephi did continue, and did become exceeding sore; nevertheless, the people of Nephi did gain some advantage of the robbers, insomuch that they did drive them back out of their lands into the mountains, and into their secret places. And thus ended the fourteenth year. And in the fifteenth year they did come forth against the people of Nephi; and because of the wickedness of the people of Nephi, and their many contentions and dissentions, the Gadianton robbers did gain many advantages over them. And thus ended the fifteenth year; and thus were the people in a state of many afflictions; and the sword of destruction did hang over them, insomuch that they were about to be smitten down by it, and this because of their iniquity.

MORMON 3 NEPHI CHAPTER 3

And now it came to pass that in the sixteenth year from the coming of Christ, Lachoneus, the Governor of the land, received an epistle from the leaders and the Governor of this band of robbers; and these were the words which were written, saying: Lachoneus, most noble and Chief Governor of the land: behold I write this epistle unto you, and do give unto you exceeding great praise because of your firmness, and also the firmness of your people, in maintaining that which ye suppose to be your right and liberty; yea, ye do stand well, as if ye were supported by the hand of God, in the defence of your liberty, and your property, and your country, or that which ye do call so. And it seemeth a pity unto me, most noble Lachoneus, that ye should be so foolish and vain as to suppose that ye can stand against so many brave men, which are at my command, which do now at this time stand in their arms, and do await, with great anxiety, for the word, Go down upon the Nephites and destroy them. And I knowing of their unconquerable spirit, having proved them in the field of battle, and knowing of their everlasting hatred towards you, because of the many wrongs which ye have done unto them, therefore if they should come down against you, they would visit you with utter destruction; therefore I have wrote this epistle, sealing it with mine own hand, feeling for your welfare, because of your firmness in that which ye believe to be right, and your noble spirit in the field of battle; therefore I write unto you desiring that ye would yield up unto this my people, your cities, your lands, and your possessions, rather than that they should visit you with the sword, and that destruction should come upon you; or in other words, yield yourselves up unto us, and unite with us, and become acquainted with our secret works, and become our brethren, that ye may be like unto us; not our slaves, but our brethren, and partners of all our substance. And behold, I swear unto you, if ye will do this, with an oath, ye shall not be destroyed; but if ye will not do this, I swear unto you, with an oath, that on the morrow month, I will command that my armies shall come down against you, and they shall not stay their hand, and shall spare not, but shall slay you, and shall let fall the sword upon you, even until ye shall become extinct. And behold, I am Giddianhi, and I am the Governor of this secret society of Gadianton; which society, and the works thereof, I know to be good; and they are of ancient date, and they have been handed down unto us. And I write this epistle unto you, Lachoneus, and I hope that ye will deliver up your lands, and your possessions, without the shedding of blood, that this my people may recover their rights and government which have dissented away from you, because of your wickedness in retaining from them their rights of government; and except ye do this, I will avenge their wrongs. I am Giddianhi.

And now it came to pass when Lachoneus received this epistle, he was exceedingly astonished, because of the boldness of Giddianhi, demanding the possession of the land of the Nephites, and also of threatening the people, and avenging the wrongs of those that had received no wrong, save it were they had wronged themselves, by dissenting away unto those wicked and abominable robbers. Now behold, this Lachoneus, the Governor, was a plain man, and could not be frightened by the demands and the threatenings of a robber; therefore he did not hearken to the epistle of Giddianhi, the Governor of the robbers, but he did cause that his people should cry unto the Lord for strength against the time that the robbers should come down against them; yea, he sent a proclamation among all the people, that they should gather together their women, and their children, their flocks and their herds, and all their substance, save it were their land, unto one place. And he caused that fortifications should be built round about them, and the strength thereof should be exceeding great. And he caused that there should be armies, both of the Nephites and of the Lamanites, or of all of them which were numbered among the Nephites, should be placed as guards round about,

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to watch them, and to guard them from the robbers, day and night; yea, he said unto them, As the Lord liveth, except ye repent of all your iniquities, and cry unto the Lord, that they would in no wise be delivered out of the hands of those Gadianton robbers. And so great and marvellous were the words and prophecies of Lachoneus, that they did cause fear to come upon all the people, and they did exert themselves in their might, to do according to the words of Lachoneus.

And it came to pass that Lachoneus did appoint Chief Captains over all the armies of the Nephites, to command them at the time that the robbers should come down out of the wilderness against them. Now the chiefest among all the Captains, and the great Commander of all the armies of the Nephites, was appointed, and his name was Gidgiddoni. Now it was the custom of all the Nephites, to appoint for their Chief Captains, save it were in their times of wickedness, someone that had the spirit of revelation, and also of prophecy; therefore this Gidgiddoni was a great prophet among them, and also was the Chief Judge. Now the people said unto Gidgiddoni, Pray unto the Lord, and let us go up upon the mountains, and into the wilderness, that we may fall upon the robbers and destroy them, in their own lands. But Gidgiddoni saith unto them, the Lord forbid; for if we should go up against them, the Lord would deliver us into their hands; therefore we will prepare ourselves in the centre of our lands, and we will gather all out armies together, and we will not go against them, but we will wait till they shall come against us; therefore, as the Lord liveth, if we do this, he will deliver them into our hands. And it came to pass in the seventeenth year in the latter end of the year, the proclamation of Lachoneus had gone forth throughout all the face of the land, and they had taken their horses and their chariots, and their cattle, and all their flocks, and their herds, and their grain, and all their substance, and did march forth by thousands, and by the tens of thousands, until they had all gone forth to the place which had been appointed, that they should gather themselves together, to defend themselves against their enemies. And the land which was appointed was the land of Zarahemla, and the land which was between the land of Zarahemla and the land Bountiful; yea, to the line which was between the land Bountiful and the land Desolation; and there were a great many thousand people, which were called Nephites, which did gather themselves together in this land. Now Lachoneus did cause that they should gather themselves together in the land southward, because of the great curse which was upon the land northward; and they did fortify themselves against their enemies, and they did dwell in one land, and in one body, and they did fear the words which had been spoken by Lachoneus, insomuch that they did repent of all their sins; and they did put up their prayers unto the Lord their God, that he would deliver them in the time that their enemies should come down against them to battle. And they were exceeding sorrowful because of their enemy. And Gidgiddoni did cause that they should make weapons of war, of every kind, that they should be strong with armor, and with shields, and with bucklers, after the manner of his instruction.

And it came to pass that in the latter end of the eighteenth year, those armies of robbers had prepared for battle, and began to come down, and to sally forth from the hills, and out of the mountains, and the wilderness, and their strong holds, and their secret places, and began to take possession of the lands, both which was in the land south, and which was in the land north, and began to take possession of all the lands which had been deserted by the Nephites, and the cities which had been left desolate. But behold there was no wild beasts nor game in those lands which had been deserted by the Nephites, and there was no game for the robbers save it were in the wilderness. And the robbers could not exist save it were in the wilderness, for the want of food; for the Nephites had left their lands desolate, and had gathered their flocks, and their herds, and all their substance, and they were in one body; therefore there were no chance for the robbers to plunder and to obtain food, save it were to come up in open battle against the Nephites; and the Nephites being in one body, and having so great a number, and having reserved for themselves provisions, and horses, and cattle, and flocks of every kind, that they might subsist for the space of seven years, in the which time they did hope to destroy the robbers from off the face of the land. And thus the eighteenth year did pass away.

And it came to pass that in the nineteenth year, Giddianhi found that it was expedient that he should go up to battle against the Nephites, for there was no way that they could subsist, save it were to plunder, and rob, and murder. And they durst not spread themselves upon the face of the land, insomuch that they could raise grain, lest the Nephites should come upon them and slay them; therefore Giddianhi gave commandment unto his armies, that in this year they should go up to battle against the Nephites.

And it came to pass that they did come up to battle; and it was in the sixth month; and behold, great and terrible was the day that they did come up to battle; and they were girded about after the manner of robbers; and they had a lamb-skin about their loins, and they were dyed in blood; and their heads were shorn; and they had head-plates upon them; and great and terrible was the appearance of the armies of Giddianhi, because of their armor, and because of their being dyed in blood. And it came to pass that the armies of the Nephites, when they saw the appearance of the army of Giddianhi, had all fallen to the earth, and did lift their cries to the Lord their God, that he would spare them, and deliver them out of the hands of their enemies. And it came to pass that when the armies of Gaddianhi saw this, they began to shout with a loud voice, because of their joy; for they had supposed that the Nephites had fallen with fear, because of the terror of their armies; but in this thing they were disappointed, for the Nephites did not fear them, but they did fear their God, and did supplicate him for protection; therefore when the armies of Giddianhi did rush upon them, they were prepared to meet them; yea, in the strength of the Lord they did receive them; and the battle commenced in this the sixth month; and great and terrible was the slaughter thereof, insomuch that there never was known so great a slaughter among all the people of Lehi since he left Jerusalem. And notwithstanding the threatenings and the oaths which Giddianhi had made, behold, the Nephites did beat them, insomuch that they did fall back from before them.

And it came to pass that Gidgiddoni commanded that his armies should pursue them as far as to the borders of the wilderness, and that they should not spare any that should fall into their hands by the way; and thus they did pursue them, and did slay them, to the borders of the wilderness, even until they had fulfilled the commandment of Gidgiddoni.

And it came to pass that Giddianhi, who had stood and fought with boldness, was pursued as he fled; and being weary because of his much fighting, he was overtaken and slain. And thus was the end of Giddianhi, the robber.

And it came to pass that the armies of the Nephites did return again to their place of security. And it came to pass that this nineteenth year did pass away, and the robbers did not come again to battle; neither did they come again in the twentieth year; and in the twenty first year they did not come up to battle, but they came up on all sides to lay siege round about the people of Nephi; for they did suppose that if they should cut off the people of Nephi from their lands, and should hem them in on every side, and if they should cut them off from all their outward privileges, that they would cause them to yield themselves up according to their wishes. Now they had appointed unto themselves another leader, whose name was Zemnarihah; therefore it was Zemnarihah; that did cause that this siege should take place. But behold this was an advantage unto the Nephites; for it was impossible for the robbers to lay siege sufficiently long to have an effect upon the Nephites, because of their much provision which they had laid up in store because of the scantiness of provisions among the robbers; for behold they had nothing save it were meat for their substance, which meat they did obtain in the wilderness. And it came to pass that the wild game became scarce in the wilderness, insomuch that the robbers were about to perish with hunger. And the Nephites were continually marching out by day and by night, and falling upon their armies, and cutting them off by thousands and by ten thousands. And thus it became the desire of the people of Zemnarihah, to withdraw from their design, because of the great destruction which come upon them by night and by day.

And it came to pass that Zemnarihah did give command unto his people, that they should withdraw themselves from the siege, and march into the farthermost parts of the land, northward. And now Gidgiddoni, being aware of their design, and knowing their weakness because of the want of food, and the great slaughter which had been made among them, therefore he did send out his armies in the night- time, and did cut off the way of their retreat, and did place his armies in the way of their retreat; and this did they do in the night-time, and got on their march beyond the robbers, so that on the morrow, when the robbers began their march, they were met by the armies of the Nephites, both in their front and in their rear. And the robbers which were on the south, were also cut off in their place of retreat. And all these things were done by command of Gidgiddoni. And there were many thousands which did yield themselves up prisoners unto the Nephites; and the remainder of them were slain; and their leader Zemnarihah was taken, and hanged upon a tree, yea, even upon the top thereof until he was dead. And when they had hanged him until he was dead, they did fall the tree to the earth, and did cry with a loud voice, saying, May the Lord preserve his people in righteousness and in holiness of heart, that they may cause to be fell to the earth all who shall seek to slay them because of power and secret combinations, even as this man hath been fell to the earth. And they did rejoice and cry again with one voice, saying, May the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, protect this people in righteousness, so long as they shall call on the name of their God for protection. And it came to pass that they did break forth, all as one, in singing and praising their God, for the great thing which he had done for them, in preserving them from falling into the hands of their enemies; yea, they did cry, Hosanna to the Most High God; and they did cry, Blessed be the name of the Lord God Almighty, the Most High God. And their hearts were swollen with joy, unto the gushing out of many tears, because of the great goodness of God in delivering them out of the hands of their enemies; and they knew it was because of their repentance and their humility that they had been delivered from an everlasting destruction. And now behold there was not a living soul among all the people of the Nephites, which did doubt in the least thing in the words of all the holy prophets which had spoken; for they knew that it must needs be that they must be fulfilled; and they knew that it must be expedient that Christ had come, because of the many signs which had been given, according to the words of the prophets; and because of the things which had come to pass already, they knew it must needs be that all things should come to pass according to that which had been spoken; therefore they did forsake all their sins, and their abominations, and their whoredoms, and did serve God with all diligence, day and night.

And now it came to pass that when they had taken all the robbers prisoners, insomuch that none did escape which were not slain, they did cast their prisoners into prison, and did cause the word of God to be preached unto them; and as many as would repent of their sins and enter into a covenant that they would murder no more, were set at liberty; but as many as there were who did not enter into a covenant, and who did still continue to have those secret murders in their hearts; yea, as many as were found breathing out threatenings against their brethren, were condemned and punished according to the law. And thus they did put an end to all those wicked, and secret, and abominable combinations, in the which there were so much wickedness, and so many murders committed. And thus had the twenty and second year passed away, and the twenty and third year also, and the twenty and fourth, and the twenty and fifth; and thus had twenty and five years passed away, and there had been many things transpired which, in the eyes of some, would be great and marvellous; nevertheless, they cannot all be written in this book; yea, this book cannot contain even a hundredth part of what was done among so many people in the space of twenty and five years; but behold there are records which do contain all the proceedings of this people; and a more short but a true account was given by Nephi; therefore I have made my record of these things according to the record of Nephi, which were engraven on the plates which were called the plates of Nephi. And behold I do make the record on plates which I have made with mine own hands. And behold, I am called Mormon, being called after the land of Mormon, the land in which Alma did establish the church among the people; yea, the first church which was established among them after their transgression. Behold I am a disciple of Jesus Christ, the Son of God. I have been called of him to declare his word among his people, that they might have everlasting life. And it hath become expedient that I according to the will of God, that the prayers of those which have gone hence, which were the holy ones, should be fulfilled according to their faith, should make a record of these things which have been done; yea, a small record of that which hath taken place from the time that Lehi left Jerusalem, even down until the present time; therefore I do make my record from the accounts which hath been given by those which were before me, until the commencement of my day; and then I do make a record of the things which I have seen with mine own eyes. And I know the record which I make to be a just and true record; neverthelers there are many things which according to our language, we are not able to write. And now I make an end of my sayings which is of myself, and proceed to give my account of the things which hath been before me. I am Mormon, and a pure descendant of Lehi. I have reason to bless my God and my saviour Jesus Christ, that he brought our fathers out of the land of Jerusalem, (and no one knew it save it were himself and those which he brought out of that land,) and that he hath given me and my people so much knowledge unto the salvation of our souls. Surely he hath blessed the house of Jacob, and hath been merciful unto the seed of Joseph. An insomuch as the children of Lehi hath kept his commandments, he hath blessed them and prospered them according to his word; yea, and surely shall he again bring a remnant of the seed of Joseph to the knowledge of the Lord their God; and as surely as the Lord liveth will he gather in from the four quarters of the earth, all the remnant of the seed of Jacob, which was scattered abroad upon all the face of the earth; and as he hath covenanted with all the house Jacob, even so shall the covenant wherewith he hath covenanted with the house of Jacob, be fulfilled in his own due time, unto the restoring all the house of Jacob unto the knowledge of the covenant that he hath covenanted with them; and then shall they know their Redeemer, which is Jesus Christ, the Son of God; and then shall they be gathered in from the four quarters of the earth, unto their lands, from whence they have been dispersed; yea, as the Lord liveth, so shall it be. Amen.

MORMON 3 NEPHI CHAPTER 3

And now it came to pass that the people of the Nephites did all return to their own lands, in the twenty and sixth year, every man, with his family, his flocks and his herds, his horses

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and his cattle, and all things whatsoever did belong unto them. And it came to pass that they had not eaten up all their provisions; therefore they did take with them all that they had not devoured, of all their grain of every kind, and their gold, and their silver, and all their precious things, and they did return to their own lands and their possessions, both on the north, and on the south, both in the lands northward and on the land southward. And they granted unto those robbers which had entered into a covenant to keep the peace, of the band which were desirous to remain Lamanites, lands, according to their numbers, that they might have with their labors, wherewith to subsist upon; and thus they did establish peace in all the land. And they began again to prosper and to wax great; and the twenty and sixth and seventh years passed away, and there was great order in the land; and they had formed their laws according to equity and justice. And now there was nothing in all the land, to hinder the people from prospering continually, except they should fall into transgression. And now it was Gidgiddoni, and the Judge Lachoneus, and those which had been appointed leaders, which had established this great peace in the land.

And it came to pass that there were many cities built anew, and there were many old cities repaired; and there were many highways cast up, and many roads made, which led from city to city, and from land to land, and from place to place. And thus passed away the twenty and eighth year, and the people had continual peace. But it came to pass in the twenty and ninth year, there began to be some disputings among the people; and some were lifted up in pride and boastings, because of their exceeding great riches, yea, even unto great persecutions: for there were many merchants in the land, and also many lawyers, and many officers. And the people began to be distinguished by ranks, according to their riches, and their chances for learning; yea, some were ignorant because of their poverty, and others did receive great learning because of their riches; some were lifted up in pride, and others were exceeding humble; some did return railing for railing, while others would receive railing, and persecution, and all manner of afflictions, and would not turn and revile again, but were humble and penitent before God; and thus there became a great inequality in all the land, insomuch that the church began to be broken up; yea, insomuch that in the thirtieth year the church was broken up in all the land, save it were among a few of the Lamanites, which were converted unto the true faith; and they would not depart from it, for they were firm, and steadfast, and immoveable, willing with all diligence to keep the commandments of the Lord. Now the cause of this iniquity of the people was this: Satan had great power unto the stirring up of the people to do all manner of iniquity, and to the puffing them up with pride, tempting them to seek for power, and authority, and riches, and the vain things of the world. And thus Satan did lead away the hearts of the people, to do all manner of iniquity; therefore they had not enjoyed peace but a few years. And thus in the commencement of the thirtieth year, the people having been delivered up for the space of a long time, to be carried about by the temptations of the Devil whithersoever he desired to carry them, and to do whatsoever iniquity he desired they should; and thus in the commencement of this, the thirtieth year, they were in a state of awful wickedness. Now they did not sin ignorantly, for they knew the will of God concerning them, for it had been taught unto them; therefore they did wilfully rebel against God. And now it was in the days of Lachoneus, the son of Lachoneus: for Lachoneus did fill the seat of his father, and did govern the people that year. And there began to be men inspired from heaven, and sent forth, standing among the people in all the land, preaching and testifying boldly of the sins and iniquities of the people, and testifying unto them concerning the redemption which the Lord would make for his people; or in other words, the resurrection of Christ; and they did testify boldly of his death and sufferings. Now there were many of the people which were exceeding angry, because of those which testified of these things; and those which were angry, were chiefly the Chief Judges, and they which had been High Priests, and lawyers; yea, all they which were lawyers, were angry with those which testified of these things. Now there was no lawyer, nor Judge, nor High Priest, that could have power to condemn any one to death, save their condemnation was signed by the governor of the land. Now there were many of those which testified of the things pertaining to Christ, which testified boldly, which were taken and put to death secretly, by the Judges, that the knowledge of their death came not unto the governor of the land, until after their death. Now behold, this was contrary to the laws of the land, that any man should be put to death, except they had power from the governor of the land; therefore a complaint came up unto the land of Zarahemla, to the governor of the land, against these Judges which had condemned the prophets of the land unto death, not according to the law.

Now it came to pass that they were taken and brought up before the Judge, to be judged of the crime which they had done, according to the law which had been given by the people. Now it came to pass that those Judges had many friends and kindreds; and the remainder, yea, even almost all the lawyers and the High Priests, did gather themselves together, and unite with the kindreds of those Judges which were to be tried according to the law; and they did enter into a covenant one with another, yea, even into that covenant which was given by them of old, which covenant was given and administered by the Devil, to combine against all righteousness; therefore they did combine against the people of the Lord, and enter into a covenant to destroy them, and to deliver those which were guilty of murder from the grasp of justice, which was about to be administered according to the law. And they did set at defiance the law and the rights of their country; and they did covenant, one with another, to destroy the governor, and to establish a king over the land, that the land should no more be at liberty, but should be subject unto kings. Now behold, I will shew unto you that they did not establish a king over the land; but in the same year, yea, the thirtieth year, they did destroy upon the judgement seat, yea, did murder the Chief Judge of the land. And the people were divided one against another; and they did separate one from another, into tribes, every man according to his family, and his kindred and friends; and thus they did destroy the government of the land. And every tribe did appoint a Chief, or a leader over them; and thus they became tribes, and leaders of tribes. Now behold, there was no man among them, save he had much family and many kindreds and friends; therefore their tribes became exceeding great. Now all this was done, and there was no wars as yet among them; and all this iniquity had come upon the people, because they did yield themselves unto the power of Satan; and the regulations of the government was destroyed, because of the secret combinations of the friends and kindreds of them which murdered the prophets. And they did cause great contention in the land, insomuch that the more righteous part of the people, although they were nearly all become wicked; yea, there were but few righteous men among them. And thus six years had not passed away, since the more part of the people had turned from their righteousness, like the dog to his vomit, or like the sow to her wallowing in the mire. -- Now this great combination which had brought so great iniquity upon the people, did gather themselves together, and did place at their head a man whom they did call Jacob; and they did call him their king; therefore he became a king over this wicked band; and he was one of the chiefest which had given his voice against the prophets which testified of Jesus. -- And it came to pass that they were not so strong in number as the tribes of the people which were united together, save it were their leaders did establish their laws, every one according to his tribe; nevertheless they were enemies, notwithstanding they were not a righteous people; yet they were united in the hatred of those who had entered into a covenant to destroy the government; therefore Jacob seeing that their enemies were more numerous than they, he being the king of the band, therefore he commanded his people that they should take their flight into the northernmost part of the land, and there build up unto themselves a kingdom, until they were joined by dissenters, (for he flattered them that there would be many dissenters,) and they become sufficiently strong to contend with the tribes of the people. And they did so; and so speedy was their march, that it could not be impeded, until they had gone forth out of the reach of the people. And thus ended the thirtieth year; and thus were the affairs of the people of Nephi.

And it came to pass in the thirty and first year, that they were divided into tribes, every man according to his family, kindred and friends; nevertheless they had come to an agreement that they would not go to war one with another; but they were not united as to their laws, and their manner of government, for they were established according to the minds of them which was their chiefs and their leaders. But they did establish very strict laws that one tribe should not trespass against another, insomuch that in some degree they had peace in the land; nevertheless, their hearts were turned from the Lord their God, and they did stone the prophets, and did cast them out from among them.

And it came to pass that Nephi, having been visited by angels, and also by the voice of the Lord, therefore having seen angels, and being an eyewitness, and having had power given unto him that he might know concerning the ministry of Christ, and also being eyewitness to their quick return from righteousness unto their wickedness and abominations; therefore, being grieved for the hardness of their hearts, and the blindness of their minds, went forth among them in that same year, and began to testify boldly, repentance and remission of sins through faith on the Lord Jesus Christ. And he did minister many things unto them; and all of them cannot be written, and a part of them would not suffice; therefore they are not written in this book. And Nephi did minister with power and with great authority. And it came to pass that they were angry with him, even because he had greater power than they, for it were not possible that they could disbelieve his words; for so great was his faith on the Lord Jesus Christ, that angels did minister unto him daily; and in the name of Jesus did he cast out devils and unclean spirits; and even his brother did he raise from the dead, after he had been stoned and suffered death by the people; and the people saw it, and did witness of it, and were angry with him, because of his power; and he did also do many more miracles, in the sight of the people, in the name of Jesus.

And it came to pass that the thirty and first year did pass away, and there were but few which were converted unto the Lord; but as many as were converted, did truly signify unto the people that they had been visited by the power and spirit of God, which was in Jesus Christ, in whom they believed. -- And as many as had devils cast out from them, and were healed of their sicknesses and their infirmities, did truly manifest unto the people that they had been wrought upon by the spirit of God, and had been healed; and they did shew forth signs also, and did do some miracles among the people.

And it came to pass that thus passed away the thirty and second year also. And Nephi did cry unto the people in the commencement of the thirty and third year; and he did preach unto them repentance and remission of sins. Now I would have you to remember also, that there were none which were brought unto repentance, who were not baptized with water; therefore there were ordained of Nephi, men unto this ministry, that all such as should come unto them, should be baptized with water, and this as a witness and a testimony before God, and unto the people, that they had repented and received a remission of their sins. And there were many in the commencement of this year, that were baptized unto repentance; and thus the more part of the year did pass away.

MORMON 3 NEPHI CHAPTER 4

And now it came to pass that according to our record, and we know our record to be true: for behold, it was a just man which did keep the record; for he truly did many miracles in the name of Jesus; and there was not any man which could do a miracle in the name of Jesus, save he were cleansed every whit from his iniquity. And now it came to pass, if there was no mistake made by this man in the reckoning of our time, the thirty and third year had passed away, and the people began to look with great earnestness for the sign which had been given by the prophet Samuel, and Lamanite; yea, for the time that there should be darkness for the space of three days, over the face of the land. And there began to be great doubtings and disputations among the people, notwithstanding so many signs had been given.

And it came to pass in the thirty and fourth year, in the first month, in the fourth day of the month, there arose a great storm, such an one as never had been known in all the land; and there was also a great and terrible tempest; and there was terrible thunder, insomuch that it did shake the whole earth as if it was about to divide asunder; and there was exceeding sharp lightnings, such as never had been known in all the land. And the city of Zarahemla did take fire; and the city of Moroni did sink into the depths of the sea, and the inhabitants thereof were drowned; and the earth was carried up upon the city of Moronihah, that in the place of the city thereof, there became a great mountain; and there was a great and terrible destruction in the land southward. But behold, there was a more great and terrible destruction in the land northward: for behold, the whole face of the land changed, because of the tempest, and the whirlwinds, and the thunderings, and the lightnings, and the exceeding great quaking of the whole earth; and the highways were broken up, and the level roads were spoiled, and many smooth places became rough, and many great and noble cities were sunk, and many were burned, and many were shook till the buildings thereof had fallen to the earth, and the inhabitants thereof were slain, and the places were left desolate; and there were some cities which remained; but the damage thereof was exceeding great, and there were many in them which were slain; and there were some which were carried away in the whirlwind; and whither they went, no man knoweth, save they know that they were carried away; and thus the face of the whole earth became deformed, because of the tempests, and the thunderings, and the lightnings, and the quaking of the earth. And behold, the rocks were rent in twain; yea, they were broken up upon the face of the whole earth, insomuch that they were found in broken fragments, and in seams, and in cracks, upon all the face of the land.

And it came to pass that when the thunderings, and the lightnings, and the storm, and the tempest, and the quakings of the earth did cease -- for behold, they did last for about the space of three hours; and it was said by some that the time was greater; nevertheless, all these great and terrible things were done in about the space of three hours; and then behold, there was darkness upon the face of the land.

And it came to pass that there was thick darkness upon the face of all the land, insomuch that the inhabitants thereof which had not fallen, could feel the vapour of darkness; and there could be no light, because of the darkness, neither candles, neither torches; neither could there be fire kindled with their fine and exceeding dry wood, so that there could not be any light at all; and there was not any light seen, neither fire, nor glimmer, neither the sun, nor the moon, nor the stars, for so great were the midst of darkness which were upon the face of the land.

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And it came to pass that it did last for the space of three days, that there was no light seen; and there was great mourning, and howling, and weeping among all the people continually; yea, great were the groanings of the people, because of the darkness and the great destruction which had come upon them. And in one place they were heard to cry, saying: O that we had repented before this great and terrible day, and then would our brethren have been spared, and they would not have been burned in that great city Zarahemla. And in another place they were heard to cry and mourn, saying: O that we had repented before this great and terrible day, and had not killed and stoned the prophets, and cast them out; then would our mothers, and our fair daughters, and o ur children have been spared, and not have been buried up in that great city Moronihah; and thus were the howlings of the people great and terrible.

And it came to pass that there was a voice heard among all the inhabitants of the earth upon all the face of this land, crying, Wo, wo, wo unto this people; wo unto the inhabitants of the whole earth, except they shall repent, for the Devil laugheth, and his angels rejoice, because of the slain of the fair sons and daughters of my people; and it is because of their iniquity and abominations that they are fallen. Behold, that great city Zarahemla have I burned with fire, and the inhabitants thereof. And behold, that great city Moroni have I caused to be sunk in the depths of the sea, and the inhabitants to be drowned. And behold, that great city Moronihah have I covered with earth, and the inhabitants thereof, to hide their iniquities and their abominations from before my face, that the blood of the prophets and the saints shall not come up any more unto me against them. And behold, the city of Gilgal have I caused to be sunk, and the inhabitants thereof to be buried up in the depths of the earth; yea, and the city Onihah, and the inhabitants thereof, and the city of Mocum, and the inhabitants thereof, and the city of Jerusalem, and the inhabitants thereof, and waters have I caused to come up in the stead thereof, to hide their wickedness and abominations from before my face, that the blood of the prophets and the saints shall not come up any more unto me against them. And behold, the city of Gadiandi, and the city of Gadiomnah, and the city of Jacob, and the city of Gimgimno, all these have I caused to be sunk, and made hills and valleys in the places thereof, and the inhabitants thereof have I buried up in the depths of the earth, to hide their wickedness and abominations from before my face, that the blood of the prophets and the saints should not come up any more unto me against them. -- And behold, that great city Jacobugath, which was inhabited by the people of the king of Jacob, have I caused to be burned with fire, because of their sins and their wickedness, which was above all the wickedness of the whole earth, because of their secret murders and combinations: for it was they that did destroy the peace of my people and the government of the land; therefore I did cause them to be burned, to destroy them from before my face, that the blood of the prophets and the saints should not come up unto me any more against them. And behold, the city of Laman, and the city of Josh, and the city of Gad, and the city of Kishkumen, have I caused to be burned with fire, and the inhabitants thereof, because of their wickedness in casting out the prophets, and stoning them which I did send to declare unto them concerning their wickedness and their abominations; and because they did cast them all out, that there were none righteous among them, I did send down fire and destroy them, that their wickedness and abominations might be hid from before my face, that the blood of the prophets and the saints which I sent among them, might not cry unto me from the ground against them; and many great destructions have I caused to come upon this land, and upon this people, because of their wickedness and their abominations.

O all ye that are spared, because ye were more righteous than they! will ye not now return unto me, and repent of your sins, and be converted, that I may heal you? Yea, verily I say unto you, if ye will come unto me, ye shall have eternal life. Behold, mine arm of mercy is extended towards you, and whosoever will come, him will I receive; and blessed are they which cometh unto me. Behold, I am Jesus Christ, the Son of God. I created the Heavens and the earth, and all things that in them is. I was with the Father from the beginning. I am in the Father, and the Father in me; and in me hath the Father glorified his name. I came unto my own, and my own received me not. And the scriptures, concerning my coming are fulfilled. And as many as have received me, to them have I given to become the Sons of God; and even so will I to as many as shall believe on my name: for behold, by me redemption cometh, and in me is the law of Moses fulfilled. I am the light and the life of the world. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end. And ye shall offer up unto me the shedding of blood; yea, your sacrifices and your burnt offerings shall be done away, for I will accept none of your sacrifices and your burnt offerings; and ye shall offer for a sacrifice unto me a broken heart and a contrite spirit. And whoso cometh unto me with a broken heart and a contrite spirit, him will I baptize with fire and with the Holy Ghost, even as the Lamanites, because of their faith in me, at the time of their conversion, were baptized with fire and with the Holy Ghost, and they knew it not. Behold, I have come unto the world to bring redemption unto the world, to save the world from sin; therefore whoso repenteth and cometh unto me as a little child, him will I receive; for of such is the kingdom of God. Behold, for such I have laid down my life, and have taken it up again; therefore repent, and come unto me ye ends of the earth, and be saved. And now behold it came to pass that all the people of the land did hear these sayings, and did witness of it. And after these sayings there was a silence in the land for the space of many hours; for so great was the astonishment of the people that they did cease lamenting and howling for the loss of their kindred which had been slain; therefore there was silence in all the land for the space of many hours.

And it came to pass that there came a voice again unto the people, and all the people did hear, and did witness of it, saying: O ye people of these great cities which have fallen, which are the descendant of Jacob; yea, which are of the house of Israel; O ye people of the house of Israel, how oft have I gathered you as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and have nourished you. And again, how oft would I have gathered you, as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings; yea, O ye people of the house of Israel, which have fallen; yea, ye people of the house of Israel; ye that dwell at Jerusalem, as ye that have fallen; yea, how oft would I have gathered you as a hen gathereth her chickens, and ye would not. O ye house of Israel, whom I have spared, how oft will I gather you as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, if ye will repent and return unto me with full purpose of heart. But if not, O house of Israel, the places of your dwellings shall become desolate, until the time of the fulfilling of the covenant to your fathers.

And now it came to pass that after the people had heard these words, behold they began to weep and howl again, because of the loss of their kindred and friends. And it came to pass that thus did the three days pass away. And it was in the morning and the darkness dispersed from off the face of the land, and the earth did cease to tremble, and the rocks did cease to rend, and the dreadful groanings did cease, and all the tumultous noises did pass away, and the earth did cleave together again, that it stood, and the mourning, and the weeping, and the wailing of the people which were spared alive, did cease; and their mourning was turned into joy, and their lamentations into the praise and the thanksgiving unto the Lord Jesus Christ, their Redeemer: And thus far were the scriptures fulfilled, which had been spoken by the prophets. -- And it was the more righteous part of the people which were saved, and it was they which received the prophets, and stoned them not; and it was they which had not shed the blood of the saints, which were spared; and they were spared, and were not sunk and buried up in the earth; and they were not drowned in the depths of the sea; and they were not burned by fire, neither were they fallen upon and crushed to death; and they were not carried away in the whirlwind; neither were they overpowered by the vapor of smoke and of darkness. And now whoso readeth, let him understand; he that hath the scriptures, let him search them, and see and behold if all these deaths and destructions by fire, and by smoke, and by tempests, and by whirlwinds, and by the opening of the earth to receive them, and all these things is not unto the fulfilling of the prophecies of many of the holy prophets. Behold I say unto you yea, many have testified of these things at the coming of Christ, and were slain because they testified of these things; yea, the prophet Zenos did testify of these things, and also Zenock spake concerning these things, because they testified particular concerning us, which is the remnant of their seed. Behold our father Jacob also testified concerning a remnant of the seed of Joseph. And behold, are not we a remnant of the seed of Joseph? And those things which testifies of us, are they not written upon the plates of brass which our father Lehi brought out of Jerusalem? And it came to pass that in the ending of the thirty and fourth year, behold I will shew unto you that the people of Nephi which were spared, and also they which had been called Lamanites, which had been spared, did have great favors shew unto them, and great blessings poured out upon their heads, insomuch that soon after the ascension of Christ into

Heaven, he did truly manifest himself unto them, shewing his body unto them, and ministering unto them; and an account of his ministry shall be given hereafter. Therefore this time I make an end of my sayings.

MORMON 3 NEPHI CHAPTER 5

Jesus Christ sheweth himself unto the people of Nephi, as the multitude were gathered together in the land Bountiful, and did minister unto them; and on this wise did he shew himself unto them. And now it came to pass that there were a great multitude gathered together, of the people of Nephi, round about the temple which was in the land Bountiful; and they were marvelling and wondering one with another, and were shewing one to another the great and marvellous change which had taken place; and they were also conversing about this Jesus Christ, of which the sign had been given, concerning his death.

And it came to pass that while they were thus conversing one with another, they heard a voice, as if it came out of Heaven; and they cast there eyes round about, for they understood not the voice which they heard; and it was not a harsh voice, neither was it a loud voice; nevertheless, and notwithstanding it being a small voice, it did pierce them that did hear, to the centre, insomuch that there were no part of their frame that it did not cause to quake; yea, it did pierce them to the very soul, and did cause their hearts to burn. -- And it came to pass that again they heard the voice, and they understood it not; and again the third time they did hear the voice, and did open their ears to hear it; and their eyes were towards the sound thereof; and they did look steadfastly towards Heaven, from whence the sound came; and behold, the third time they did understand the voice which they heard; and it saith unto them, Behold, my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, in whom I have glorified my name, hear ye him.

And it came to pass as they understood, they cast their eyes up again towards Heaven, and behold, they saw a man descending out of Heaven; and he was clothed in a white robe, and he came down and stood in the midst of them, and the eyes of the whole multitude was turned upon him, and they durst not open their mouths, even one to another, and wist not what it meant: for they thought it was an angel that had appeared unto them.

And it came to pass that he stretched forth his hand, and spake unto the people, saying: Behold I am Jesus Christ, of which the prophets testified that should come into the world; and behold I am the light and the life of the world, and I have drank out of the bitter cup which the Father hath given me, and have glorified the Father in taking upon me the sins of the world, in the which I have suffered the will of the Father in all things, from the beginning.

And it came to pass that when Jesus had spake these words, the whole multitude fell to the earth, for they remembered that it had been prophesied among them that Christ should shew himself unto them after his ascension into Heaven.

And it came to pass that the Lord spake unto them saying: Arise and come forth unto me, that ye may thrust your hands into my side, and also that ye may feel the prints of the nails in my hands, and in my feet, that ye may know that I am the God of Israel, and the God of the whole earth, and have been slain for the sins of the world.

And it came to pass that the multitude went forth, and thrust their hands into his side, and did feel the prints of the nails in his hands and in his feet; and this they did do, going forth one by one, until they had all gone forth, and did see with their eyes, and did feel with their hands, and did know of a surety, and did bear record, that it was he, of whom it was written by the prophets that should come.

And it came to pass that when they had all gone forth, and had witnessed for themselves, they did cry out with one accord, saying: Hosanna! Blessed be the name of the Most High God! And they did fall down at the feet of Jesus, and did worship him.

And it came to pass that he spake unto Nephi, (for Nephi was among the multitude,) and he commanded him that he should come forth. And Nephi arose and went forth, and bowed himself before the Lord, and he did kiss his feet. -- And the Lord commanded him that he should arise. And he arose and stood before him. And the Lord said unto him, I give unto you power that ye shall baptize this people, when I am again ascended into heaven. And again the Lord called others, and said unto them likewise; and he gave unto them power to baptize. And he saith unto them, On this wise shall ye baptize; and there shall be no disputations among you. Verily I say unto you, that whoso repenteth of his sins through your words, and desireth to be baptized in my name, on this wise shall ye baptize them: Behold, ye shall go down and stand in the water, and in my name shall ye baptize them. And now behold, these are the words which ye shall say, calling them by name, saying: Having authority given me of Jesus Christ, I baptize you in the name of the Father, and the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. And then shall ye immerse them in the water, and come forth again out of the water. And after this manner shall ye baptize in my name, for behold, verily I say unto you, that the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost are one; and I am in the Father, and the Father in me, and the Father and I are one. And according as I have commanded you, thus shall ye baptize. And there shall be no disputations among you, as there hath hitherto been; neither shall there be disputations among you concerning the points of my doctrine, as there hath hitherto been; for verily, verily I say unto you, he that hath the spirit of contention, is not of me, but is of the Devil, which is the father of contention, and he stirreth up the hearts of men to contend with anger, one with another. Behold, this is not my doctrine, to stir up the hearts of men with anger, one against another; but this is my doctrine, that such things should be done away. Behold, verily, verily I say unto you, I will declare unto you my doctrine. And this is my doctrine, and it is the doctrine which the Father hath given

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unto me; and I bear record of the Father, and the Father beareth record of me, and the Holy Ghost beareth record of the Father and me, and I bear record that the father commandeth all men, every where to repent and believe in me; and whoso believeth in me, and is baptized, the same shall be saved; and they are they which shall inherit the kingdom of God. And whoso believeth not in me, and is not baptized, shall be damned. -- Verily, verily I say unto you, that this is my doctrine; and I bear record of it from the Father; and whoso believeth in me, believeth in the Father also; and unto him will the Father bear record of me; for he will visit him with fire, and with the Holy Ghost; and thus will the Father bear record of me; and the Holy Ghost will bear record unto him of the Father and me: for the father, and I, and the Holy Ghost, are one. And again I say unto you, ye must repent, and become as a child, and be baptized in my name, or ye can in nowise receive these things. And again I say unto you, Ye must repent, and be baptized in my name, and become as a little child, or ye can in nowise inherit the kingdom of God. Verily, verily I say unto you, that this is my doctrine; and whoso buildeth upon this, buildeth upon my rock; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against them. And whoso shall declare more or less than this, and establish it for my doctrine, the same cometh of evil, and is not built upon my rock, but he buildeth upon a sandy foundation, and the gates of hell standeth open to receive such when the floods come, and the winds beat upon them. Therefore go forth unto this people and declare the words which I have spoken, unto the ends of the earth. And it came to pass that when Jesus had spoken these words unto Nephi, and to those which had been called, (now the number of them which had been called, and received power and authority to baptize, were twelve,) and behold he stretched forth his hand unto the multitude, and cried unto them saying: Blessed are ye, if ye shall give heed unto them saying, Blessed are ye, if ye shall give heed unto the words of these twelve which I have chosen from among you to minister unto you, and to be your servants; and unto them I have given power, that they may baptize you with water; and after that ye are baptized with water, behold I will baptize you with fire and with the Holy Ghost; therefore blessed are ye, if ye shall believe in me, and be baptized, after that ye have seen me, and know that I am. And again, more blessed are they which shall believe in your words, because that ye shall testify that ye have seen me, and that ye know that I am. Yea, blessed are they which shall believe in your words, and come down into the depths of humility, and be baptized; for they shall be visited with fire and with the Holy Ghost, and shall receive a remission of their sins. Yea, blessed are the poor in spirit, which cometh unto me, for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven. And again, blessed are all they that mourn, for they shall be comforted; and blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth. And blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled with the Holy Ghost. And blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy. And blessed are all the pure in heart, for they shall see God. And blessed are all the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God. And blessed are they which are persecuted, for my namesake, for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven. And blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake, for ye shall have great joy and be exceeding glad, for great shall be your reward in Heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you. Verily, verily I say unto you, I give unto you to be the salt of the earth; but if the salt shall lose its savor, wherewith shall the earth be salted? The salt shall be thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under the foot of men. Verily, verily I say unto you, I give unto you to be the light of this people. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid. Behold, do men light a candle and put it under a bushel? Nay, but on a candle-stick, and it giveth light to all that are in the house; therefore let your light so shine before this people, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in Heaven. Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets. I am not come to destroy but to fulfil: for verily I say unto you, one jot nor one tittle hath not passed away from the law, but in me it hath all been fulfilled.

And behold I have given unto you the law and the commandments of my Father, that ye shall believe in me, and that ye shall repent of your sins, and come unto me with a broken heart and a contrite spirit. Behold, ye have the commandments before you, and the law is fulfilled; therefore come unto me and be ye saved; for verily I say unto you, that except ye shall keep my commandments, which I have commanded you at this time, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven. Ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old time, and it is also written before you, that thou shalt not kill; and whosoever kill, shall be in danger of the judgement of God. But I say unto you, that whosoever is angry with his brother, shall be in danger of his judgement. And whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council; and whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire; therefore, if ye shall come unto me, or shall desire to come unto me, and rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, go thy way unto thy brother, and first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come unto me with full purpose of heart, and I will receive you. Agree with thine adversary quickly, while thou art in the way with him, lest any time he shall get thee, and thou shalt be cast into prison. Verily, verily I say unto thee, thou shalt by no means come out thence, until thou hast paid the uttermost senine. -- And while ye are in prison, can ye pay even one senine? Verily, verily I say unto you, Nay. Behold, it is written by them of old time, that thou shalt not commit adultery; but I say unto you, That whosoever looketh on a woman, to lust after her, hath committed adultery already in his heart. Behold, I give unto you a commandment, that ye suffer none of these things to enter into your heart: for it is better that ye should deny yourselves of these things, wherein ye shall take up your cross, than that ye should be cast into hell. It hath been written, That whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement. Verily, verily I say unto you, That whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery; and whoso shall marry her who is divorced, committeth adultery. And again it is written, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths. But verily, verily I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by Heaven, for it is God's throne; nor by the earth, for it his footstool; neither shalt thou swear by the head, because thou canst not make one hair black or white; but let your communications be Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatsoever cometh of more than these are evil. And behold, it is written, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. But I say unto you, That ye shall not resist evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man shall sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain. Give to him that asketh thee, and to him that would borrow of thee, turn thou not away. And behold, it is written also, That thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy: but behold I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good; therefore those things which were of old time, which were under the law in me, are all fulfilled. -- Old things are done away, and all things have become new; therefore I would that ye should be perfect even as I your Father which is in Heaven is perfect. Verily, verily I say that I would that ye should do alms unto the poor; but take heed that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them: otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven. Therefore, when ye shall do your alms, do not sound a trumpet before you, as will hypocrites do in the synagogues, and in the streets, that they may have glory of men. Verily, I say unto you, They have their reward. But when thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth; that thine alms may be secret: and thy Father which seeth in secret, himself shall reward thee openly.

And when thou prayest, thou shalt not do as hypocrites: for they love to pray standing in the synagogues, and in the corner of the streets, that they may be seen of men. Verily, I say unto you, They have their reward. But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly. But when ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathen: for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking. Be not ye therefore like unto them: for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of before ye ask him. After this manner therefore pray ye: Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven. And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen. For, if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you: but if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses. Moreover, when ye fast, be not as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance: for they disfigure their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast. Verily, I say unto you, They have their reward. But thou, when thou fastest, anoint thy head, and wash thy face; that thou appear not unto men, to fast, but unto thy Father, which is in secret: and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly.

Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon the earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and thieves break through and steal: but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal. For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also. The light of the body is the eye: if therefore thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light. But if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness. If therefore the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness! No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other. or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.

MORMON 3 NEPHI CHAPTER 6

And now it came to pass that when Jesus had spoken these words, he looked upon the twelve whom he had chosen, and saith unto them, Remember the words which I have spoken. For behold, ye are they which I have chosen to minister unto this people. Therefore I say unto you, Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment? Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they? Which of you by taking thought can add one cubit unto his stature? And why take ye thought for raiment? Consider the lilies of the field how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin; and yet I say unto you, That even Solomon, in all his glory, was not arrayed like the one of these. Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to- morrow is cast into the oven, even so will he clothe you, if ye are not of little faith. Therefore take no thought, saying, What shall we eat? or, what shall we drink? or, wherewithal shall he be clothed? For your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. -- But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you. Take therefore no thought for the morrow: for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. Sufficient is the day unto the evil thereof.

And now it came to pass that when Jesus had spoken these words, he turned again to the multitude, and did open his mouth unto them again, saying, Verily, verily I say unto you, Judge not, that ye be not judged. For with what judgement ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again. And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, Let me pull out the mote out of thine eye; and behold, a beam is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote of thy brother's eye. Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you.

Ask, and it shall be given unto you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you: for every one that asketh, receiveth; and he that seeketh, findeth; and to him that knocketh, it shall be opened. Or what man is there of you, whom if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone? Or if he ask a fish, will he give him a serpent? If ye then being evil knoweth how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him? Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets.

Enter ye in at the straight gate; for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat: because, straight is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it. Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. Ye shall know them by their fruits: Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. -- A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit. Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down, and cast into the fire. Wherefore, by their fruits ye shall know them.

Not every one that saith unto me Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven. Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name? and in thy name have cast out devils? and in my name done many wonderful works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity.

Therefore, whoso heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock: and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not: for it was founded upon a rock. And every one that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand: and the rain descended. and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell: and great was the fall of it.

MORMON 3 NEPHI CHAPTER 7

And now it came to pass that when Jesus had ended these sayings, he cast his eyes round about on the multitude, and saith unto them, Behold, ye have heard these things which I have taught before I ascended to my Father; therefore whoso remembereth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, him will I raise up at the last day. And it came to pass that when Jesus had said these words, he perceived that there were some among them which marvelled, and wondered what he would

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concerning the law of Moses: for they understood not the saying, That old things had passed away, and that all things had become knew. And he saith unto them, Marvel not that I said unto you, that old things had passed away, and that all things had become new. Behold I say unto you, That the law is fulfilled that was given unto Moses. Behold, I am he that gave the law, and I am he which covenanted with my people Israel; therefore, the law in me is fulfilled: for I have come to fulfil the law; therefore, it hath an end. Behold, I do not destroy the prophets: for as many as have not been fulfilled in me, verily, I say unto you, shall all be fulfilled. And because I said unto you, That old things hath passed away, I do not destroy that which hath been spoken concerning things which is to come. For behold, the covenant which I have made with my people, is not all fulfilled; but the law which was given unto Moses, hath an end in me. Behold, I am the law, and the light: Look unto me, and endure to the end, and ye shall live: for unto him that endureth to the end, will I give eternal life. Behold, I have given unto you the commandments; therefore keep my commandments. And this is the law and the prophets: for they truly testified of me.

And now it came to pass that when Jesus had spoken these words, he said unto those twelve whom he had chosen, Ye are my disciples; and ye are a light unto this people, which are a remnant of the house of Joseph. And behold, this is the land of your inheritance; and the Father hath given it unto you. -- And not at any time hath the Father given me commandment that I should tell it unto your brethren at Jerusalem; neither at any time hath the Father given me commandment, that I should tell unto them concerning the other tribes of the house of Israel, which the Father hath led away out of the land. -- This much did the Father command me, That I should tell unto them, that other sheep I have, which are not of this fold; them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd. And now because of stiffneckedness and unbelief, they understood not my word; therefore I was commanded to say no more of the Father concerning this thing unto them. But, verily, I say unto you, that the Father hath commanded me, and I tell it unto you, that ye were separated from among them because of their iniquity; therefore it is because of their iniquity, that they know not of you. And verily, I say unto you again, That the other tribes hath the father separated from them; and it is because of their iniquity, that they know not of them. And verily, I say unto you, That ye are they of which I said, other sheep I have, which are not of this fold; them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd. And they understood me not, for they supposed it had been the Gentiles: for they understood not that the Gentiles should be converted through their preaching; and they understood me not that I said they shall hear my voice; and they understood me not that the Gentiles should not at any time hear my voice; that I should not manifest myself unto them, save it were by the Holy Ghost. But behold, ye have not heard my voice, and seen me; and ye are my sheep, and ye are numbered among them which the Father hath given me. And verily, verily, I say unto you, That I have other sheep, which are not of this land; neither of the land of Jerusalem; neither in any parts of that land round about, whither I have been to minister. For they of which I speak, are they which have not as yet heard my voice; neither have I at any time manifested myself unto them. But I have received a commandment of the Father, That I shall go unto them, and that they shall hear my voice, and shall be numbered among my sheep, that there may be one fold, and one shepherd; therefore I go to shew myself unto them. And I command you that ye shall write these sayings, after that I am gone, that if it so be that my people at Jerusalem, they which have seen me, and been with me in my ministry, do not ask the Father in my name, that they may receive a knowledge of you by the Holy Ghost, and also of the other tribes which they know not of, that these sayings which ye shall write, shall be kept, and shall be manifested unto the Gentiles, that through the fulness of the Gentiles, the remnant of their seed which shall be scattered forth upon the face of the earth, because of their unbelief, may be brought in, or may be brought to a knowledge of me, their Redeemer. And then will I gather them in from the four quarters of the earth; and then will I fulfil the covenant which the Father hath made unto all the people of the house of Israel. And blessed are the Gentiles, because of their belief in me, in and of the Holy Ghost, which witness unto them of me and of the Father. Behold, because of their belief in me, saith the Father, and because of the unbelief of you, O house of Israel, in the latter day shall the truth come unto the Gentiles, that the fulness of these things shall be made known unto them. But Wo, saith the Father, unto the unbelieving of the Gentiles: for notwithstanding that they come forth upon the face of this land, and have scattered my people, which are of the house of Israel; and my people which are of the house of Israel, have been cast out from among them, and have been trodden under feet by them; and because of the mercies of the Father unto the Gentiles, and also the judgements of the Father upon my people, which are of the house of Israel, verily, verily, I say unto you, That after all this, and I have caused my people which are of the house of Israel, to be smitten, and to be afflicted, and to be slain, and to be cast out from among them, and to become hated by them. And thus commandeth the Father that I should say unto you at that day, When the Gentiles shall sin against my Gospel, and shall reject the fulness of my Gospel, and shall be lifted up in the pride of their hearts above all nations, and above all the people of the whole earth, and shall be filled with all manner of lyings, and of deceits, and of mischiefs, and all manner of hypocrisy, and murders, and priestcrafts, and whoredoms, and of secret abominations; and if they shall do all these things and shall reject the fulness of my Gospel, behold, saith the Father, I will bring the fulness of my Gospel from among them; and then will I remember my covenant which I have made unto my people, O house of Israel, and I will bring my Gospel unto them; and I will shew unto thee, O house of Israel, that the Gentiles shall not have power over you, but I will remember my covenant unto you, O house of Israel, and ye shall come unto the knowledge of the fulness of my Gospel. But if the Gentiles will repent, and return unto me, saith the Father, behold, they shall be numbered among my people, O house of Israel; and I will not suffer my people, which are of the house of Israel, to go through among them, and tread them down, saith the Father. But if they will not turn unto me, and hearken unto my voice, I will suffer them, yea, I will suffer my people, O house of Israel, that they shall go through among them, and shall tread them down, and they shall be as salt that hath lost his savour, which is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of my people, O house of Israel. Verily, verily, I say unto you, Thus has the Father commanded me, that I should give unto this people this land for their inheritance. And when the words of the prophet Isaiah shall be fulfilled, which saith, Thy watchmen shall lift up the voice; with the voice together shall they sing: for they shall see eye to eye, when the Lord shall bring again Zion. Break forth into joy, sing together, ye waste places of Jerusalem: for the Lord hath comforted his people, he hath redeemed Jerusalem. The Lord hath made bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the nations: and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of God.

MORMON 3 NEPHI CHAPTER 8

Behold, bow it came to pass that when Jesus had spoken these words, he looked round about again on the multitude, and he saith unto them, Behold, my time is at hand. I perceive that ye are weak, that ye cannot understand all my words which I am commanded of the father to speak unto you at this time; therefore, go ye unto your homes, and ponder upon the things which I have said, and ask of the Father, in my name, that ye may understand; and prepare your minds for the morrow, and I come unto you again. But now I go unto the Father, and also to shew myself unto the lost tribes of Israel: for they are not lost unto the Father, for he knoweth whither he hath taken them.

And it came to pass that when Jesus had thus spoken, he cast his eyes round about again on the multitude, and beheld they were in tears, and did look steadfastly upon him, as if they would ask him to tarry a little while longer with them. And he saith unto them, Behold, my bowels is filled with compassion towards you: Have ye any that are sick among you, bring them hither. Have ye any that are lame, or blind, or halt, or maimed, or leprous, or that are withered, or that are deaf, or that are afflicted in any manner, bring them hither, and I will heal them: for I have compassion upon you; my bowels is filled with mercy: for I perceive that ye desire that I should shew unto you what I have done unto your brethren at Jerusalem: for I see that your faith is sufficient, that I should heal you.

And it came to pass that when he had thus spoken, all the multitude, with one accord, did go forth, with their sick, and their afflicted, and their lame, and with their blind, and with their dumb, and with all that they were afflicted in any manner; and he did heal them every one as they were brought forth unto him; and they did all, both they which had been healed, and they which were whole, bow down at his feet, and did worship him; and as many as could come for the multitude did kiss his feet, insomuch that they did bathe his feet with their tears.

And it came to pass that he commanded that their little children should be brought. So they brought their little children and sat them down upon the ground round about him, and Jesus stood in the midst; and the multitude gave way till they had all been brought unto him. And it came to pass that when they had all been brought, and Jesus stood in the midst, he commanded the multitude that they should kneel down upon the ground. And it came to pass that when they had knelt upon the ground, Jesus groaned within himself, and saith, Father, I am troubled because of the wickedness of the people of the house of Israel. And when he had said these words, he himself also knelt upon the earth; and beheld he prayed unto the Father; and the things which he prayed, cannot be written, and the multitude did bear record which heard him. And after this manner do they bear record; the eye hath never seen, neither hath the ear heard, before, so great and marvellous things as we saw and heard Jesus speak unto the Father; and no tongue can speak, neither can there be written by any man, neither can the hearts of men conceive so great and marvellous things as we both saw and heard Jesus speak; and no one can conceive of the joy which filled our souls at the time we heard him pray for us unto the Father.

And it came to pass that when Jesus had made an end of praying unto the Father, he arose; but so great was the joy of the multitude, that they were overcome. And it came to pass that Jesus spake unto them, and bade them arise. And they arose from the earth, and he saith unto them, Blessed are ye because of your faith. And now behold, my joy is full. And when he had said these words, he wept, and the multitude bear record of it, and he took their little children, one by one, and blessed them, and prayed unto the Father for them. And when he had done this he wept again, and he spake unto the multitude, and saith unto them, Behold your little ones. And as they looked to behold, they cast their eyes towards Heaven, and they saw the Heavens open, and they saw angels descending out of heaven as it were, in the midst of fire; and they came down and encircled those little ones about; and they were encircled with fire; and the angels did minister unto them, and the multitude did see and hear, and bear record; and they know that their record is true, for they all of them did see and hear, every man for himself; and they were in number about two thousand and five hundred souls; and they did consist of men, women and children.

And it came to pass that Jesus commanded his disciples that they should bring forth some bread and wine unto him. And while they were gone for the bread and wine, he commanded the multitude that they should sit themselves down upon the earth. And when the disciples had come with the bread and wine, he took of the bread, and blessed it; and he gave unto the disciples, and commanded that they should eat. And when they had eat, and were filled, he commanded that they should give unto the multitude. And when the multitude had eaten and were filled, he saith unto the disciples, Behold, there shall one be ordained among you, and to him will I give power that he shall break bread, and bless it, and give it unto the people of my church, unto all they which shall believe and be baptized in my name. And this shall ye always observe to do, even as I have done, even as I have broken bread, and blessed it, and gave it unto you. -- And this shall ye do in remembrance of my holy body, which I have shewn unto you. And it shall be a testimony unto the Father, that ye do always remember me. And if ye do always remember me, ye shall have my spirit to be with you.

And it came to pass that when he had said these words, he commanded his disciples that they should take of the wine of the cup, and drink of it, and that they should also give unto the multitude, that they might drink of it. And it came to pass that they did so, and did drink of it, and were filled; and they gave unto the multitude, and they did drink, and they were filled. And when the disciples had done this, Jesus saith unto them, Blessed are ye for this thing which ye have done, for this is fulfilling my commandments, and this doth witness unto the Father that ye are willing to do that which I have commanded you. And this shall ye always do unto those who repent and are baptized in my name; and ye shall do it in rememberance of my blood, which I have shed for you, that ye may witness unto the Father that ye do always remember me. And if ye do always remember me, ye shall have my spirit to be with you. And I give unto you a commandment that ye shall do these things. And if ye shall always do these things, blessed are ye, for ye are built upon my rock. But whoso among you shall do more or less than these, are not built upon my rock, but are built upon a sandy foundation; and when the rain descends, and the flood come, and the winds blow, and beat upon them, they shall fall, and the gates of hell is already open to receive them; therefore blessed are ye if ye shall keep my commandments, which the Father hath commanded me that I should give unto you. Verily, verily, I say unto you, ye must watch and pray always, lest ye be tempted by the devil, and ye are led away captive by him. And as I have prayed among you, even so shall ye pray in my church, among my people which do repent and are baptized in my name. Behold I am the light; I have set an example for you.

And it came to pass that when Jesus had spake these words unto his disciples, he turned again unto the mnltitude, and saith unto them, Behold, verily, verily I say unto you, ye must watch and pray always, lest ye enter into temptation; for Satan desireth to have you, that he may sift you as wheat; therefore ye must always pray unto the Father in my name; and whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, which is right, believing that ye shall receive, and behold it shall be given unto you. Pray in your families unto the Father, always in my name, that your wives and your children may be blessed.

And behold, ye shall meet together oft, and ye shall not forbid any man from coming unto you when ye shall meet together, but suffer them that they may come unto you, and forbid them not; but ye shall pray for them, and shall not cast them out; and if it so be that they come unto you oft, ye shall pray for them unto the Father in my name; therefore hold up your light, that it may shine unto the world. Behold I am the light which ye shall hold up -- that which ye have seen me do.

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Behold ye see that I have prayed unto the Father, and ye all have witnessed; and ye see that I have commanded that none of you should go away, but rather have commanded that ye should come unto me, that ye might feel and see; even so shall ye do unto the world; and whosoever breaketh this commandment, suffereth himself to be lead into temptation.

And now it came to pass that when Jesus had spoken these words, he turned his eyes again upon the disciples whom he had chosen, and saith unto them, behold, verily, verily I say unto you, I give unto you another commandment, and then I must go unto my Father, that I may fulfil other commandments which he hath given me. And now behold, this is the commandment which I give unto you, that ye shall not suffer any one knowingly, to partake of my flesh, and blood unworthily, when ye shall minister it: For whoso eateth and drinketh my flesh and blood unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to his soul; therefore if ye know that a man is unworthy to eat and drink of my flesh and blood, ye shall forbid him; nevertheless ye shall not cast him out from among you, but ye shall minister unto him, and shall pray for him unto the Father, in my name, and if it so be that he repenteth, and is baptized in my name, then shall ye receive him, and shall minister unto him of my flesh and blood; but if he repenteth not, he shall not be numbered among my people, that he may not destroy my people: For behold I know my sheep, and they are numbered; nevertheless ye shall not cast him out of your synagogues, or your places of worship, for unto such shall ye minister; for ye know not but what they will return and repent, and come unto me with full purpose of heart, and I shall heal them, and ye shall be the means of bringing salvation unto them. Therefore keep these sayings which I have commanded you, that ye come not under condemnation: For wo unto him whom the Father condemneth. And I give you these commandments, because of the disputations which hath been among you beforetime. And blessed are ye if ye have no disputations among you. And now I go unto the Father, because it is expedient that I should go unto the Father, for your sakes.

And it came to pass that when Jesus had made an end of these sayings, he touched with his hand the disciples whom he had chosen, one by one, even until he had touched them all, and spake unto them as he touched them; and the multitude heard not the words which he spake, therefore they did not bear record; but the disciples bear record that he gave them power to give the Holy Ghost. And I will shew unto you hereafter that this record is true.

And it came to pass that when Jesus had touched them all, there came a cloud and overshadowed the multitude, that they could not see Jesus. And while they were overshadowed, he departed from them, and ascended into Heaven. -- And the disciples saw and did bear record that he ascended again into Heaven.

MORMON 3 NEPHI CHAPTER 9

And now it came to pass that when Jesus had ascended into Heaven, the multitude did disperse, and every man did take his wife and his children, and did return to his own home. And it was noised abroad among the people immediately, before it was dark, that the multitude had seen Jesus, and that he had ministered unto them, and that he would also show himself on the morrow unto the multitude; yea, and even all the night it was noised abroad concerning Jesus; and insomuch did they send forth unto the people, that there were many, yea, an exceeding great number did labor exceedingly all night, that they might be on the morrow in the place where Jesus should shew himself unto the multitude.

And it came to pass that on the morrow, when the multitude was gathered together, behold Nephi and his brother, whom he had raised from the dead, whose name was Timothy, and also his son, whose name was Jonas, and also Mathoni, and Mathonihah, his brother, and Kumen, and Kumenonhi, and Jeremiah, and Shemnon, and Jonas, and Zedekiah, and Isaiah: Now these were the names of the disciples whom Jesus had chosen. And it came to pass that they went forth and stood in the midst of the multitude. And behold, the multitude was so great, that they did cause that they should be separated into twelve bodies. And the twelve did teach the multitude; and behold, they did cause that the multitude should kneel down upon the face of the earth, and should pray unto the Father, in the name of Jesus. And the disciples did pray unto the Father also, in the name of Jesus. And it came to pass that they arose and ministered unto the people. And when they had ministered those same words which Jesus had spoken -- nothing varying from the words which Jesus had spoken -- behold, they knelt again, and prayed to the Father in the name of Jesus; and they did pray for that which they most desired; and they desired that the Holy Ghost should be given unto them. And when they had thus prayed, they went down unto the water's edge, and the multitude followed them. And it came to pass that Nephi went down into the water, and was baptized. And he baptized all they whom Jesus had chosen. And it came to pass when they were all baptized, and had come up out of the water, the Holy Ghost did fall upon them, and they were filled with the Holy Ghost, and with fire. And behold, they were encircled about as if it were fire; and it came down from heaven, and the multitude did witness it, and do bear record; and angels did come down out of heaven, and did minister unto them. And it came to pass that while the angels were ministering unto the disciples, behold, Jesus came and stood in the midst, and ministered unto them. And it came to pass that he spake unto the multitude, and commanded them that they should kneel down again upon the earth, and also that his disciples should kneel down upon the earth. And it came to pass that when they had all knelt down upon the earth, he commanded his disciples that they should pray. And behold, they began to pray; and they did pray unto Jesus, calling him their Lord and their God.

And it came to pass that Jesus departed out of the midst of them, and went a little way off from them and bowed himself to the earth, and he saith, Father, I thank thee that thou hast given the Holy Ghost unto these whom I have chosen; and it is because of their belief in me, that I have chosen them out of the world. Father, I pray thee that thou wilt give the Holy Ghost unto all of them that shall believe in their words. Father, thou hast given them the Holy Ghost, because they believe in me, and thou seest that they believe in me, because thou hearest them, and they pray unto me; and they pray unto me because I am with them. And now Father, I pray unto thee for them, and also for all they which shall believe on their words, that they may believe in me, that I may be in them as thou, Father, art in me, that we may be one.

And it came to pass, that when Jesus had thus prayed unto the Father, he came unto his disciples, and behold they did still continue, without ceasing, to pray unto him; and they did not multiply many words, for it was given unto them what they should pray, and they were filled with desire. And it came to pass that Jesus blessed them, as they did pray unto him, and his countenance did smile upon them, and the light of his countenance did shine upon them, and behold they were as white as the countenance, and also the garments of Jesus; and behold the whiteness thereof did exceed all the whiteness, yea, even there could be nothing upon the earth so white as the whiteness thereof. And Jesus saith unto them, Pray on, nevertheless they did not cease to pray. And he turned from them again, and went a little way off, and bowed himself to the earth; and he prayed again unto the Father, saying: Father, I thank thee that thou hast purified those which I have chosen, because of their faith, and I pray for them, and also for them which shall believe on their words, that they may be purified in me, through faith on their words, even as they are purified in me. Father, I pray not for the world, but for them which thou hast given unto me out of the world, because of their faith, that they may be purified in me, that I may be in them as thou, Father, art in me, that we may be one, that I may be glorified in them.

And it came to pass that when Jesus had spake these words, he came again unto his disciples, and behold they did pray steadfastly, without ceasing unto him; and he did smile upon then again; and behold they were white, even as Jesus.

And it came to pass that he went again a little way off, and prayed unto the Father; and tongue cannot speak the words which he prayed, neither can be written by man the words which he prayed. And the multitude did hear, and do bear record, and their hearts were open, and they did understand in their hearts the words which he prayed. Nevertheless, so great and marvellous were the words which he prayed, that they cannot be written, neither can they be utttered by man.

And it came to pass that when Jesus had made an end of praying, he came again to the disciples, and saith unto them, So great faith have I never seen among all the Jews; wherefore I could not shew unto them so great miracles, because of their unbelief. Verily I say unto you, there are none of them that have seen so great things as ye have seen; neither have they heard so great things as ye have heard.

And it came to pass that he commanded the multitude that they should cease to pray, and also his disciples. And he commanded them that they should not cease to pray in their hearts. And he commanded them that they should arise and stand up upon their feet. And they arose up and stood upon their feet. And it came to pass that he break bread again, and blessed it, and gave to the disciples to eat. And when they had eat, he commanded them that they should break bread, and give unto the multitude. And when they had given unto the multitude, he also gave them wine to drink, and commanded them that they should give unto the multitude. Now there had been no bread, neither wine, brought by the disciples, neither by the multitude; but he truly gave unto them bread to eat, and also wine to drink; and he saith unto them, He that eateth this bread, eateth of my body to their soul, and he that drinketh of this wine, drinketh of my blood to their soul, and their soul shall never hunger nor thirst, but shall be filled. Now when the multitude had all eat and drank, behold they were filled with the spirit, and they did cry out with one voice, and gave glory to Jesus, whom they both saw and heard. And it came to pass that when they had all given glory unto Jesus, he saith unto them, Behold now I finish the commandment which the Father hath commanded me concerning this people, which are a remnant of the house of Israel. Ye remember that I spake unto you, and said that when the words of Isaiah should be fulfilled: Behold they are written, ye have them before you; therefore search them. And verily, verily I say unto you, that when they shall be fulfilled, then is the fulfilling of the covenant which the Father hath made unto his people. O house of Israel, and then shall the remnants which shall be scattered abroad upon the face of the earth, be gathered in from the east, and from the west, and from the south, and from the north; and they shall be brought to the knowledge of the Lord their God, who hath redeemed them. And the Father hath commanded me that I should give unto you this land, for your inheritance. And I say unto you, that if the Gentiles do not repent after the blessing which they shall receive, after that they have scattered my people, then shall ye which are a remnant of the house of Jacob, go forth among them; and ye shall be in the midst of them, which shall be many; and ye shall be among them, as a lion among the beasts of the forest, and as a young lion among the flocks of sheep, who, if he goeth through, both treadeth down and teareth in pieces, and none can deliver. Thy hand shall be lifted up upon thine adversaries, and all thine enemies shall be cut off. And I will gather my people together, as a man gathereth his sheaves into the floor: for I will make my people with whom the Father hath covenanted, yea, I will make thy horn iron, and I will make thy hoops brass. And thou shalt beat in pieces many people; and I will consecrate their gain unto the Lord, and their substance unto the Lord of the whole earth. And behold, I am he which doeth it. And it shall come to pass, saith the Father, That the sword of my justice shalt hang over them at that day; and except they repent, it shall fall upon them, saith the Father, yea, even upon all the nations of the Gentiles. -- And it shall come to pass that I will establish my people, O house of Israel. And behold, this people will I establish in this land, unto the fulfilling of the covenant which I made with your Father Jacob; and it shall be a new Jerusalem. And the powers of heaven shall be in the midst of this people; yea, even I will be in the midst of you. Behold, I am he of whom Moses spake, saying: A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me: him shall ye hear in all things whatsoever he shall say unto you. And it shall come to pass that every soul which will not hear that prophet, shall be cut off from among the people. Verily, I say unto you, Yea, and all the prophets from Samuel. and those that follow after, as many as have spoken, have testified of me. And behold, ye are the children of the prophets; and ye are of the house of Israel; and ye are of the covenant which the Father made with your fathers, saying: Unto Abraham, and in thy seed, shall all the kindreds of the earth be blessed: the Father having raised me up unto you first, and sent me to bless you, in turning away every one of you from his iniquities; and this because ye are the children of the covenant. -- And after that ye were blessed, then fulfilleth the Father the covenant which he made with Abraham, saying: In thy seed shall all the kindreds of the earth be blessed, unto the pouring out of the Holy Ghost through me upon the Gentiles, which blessing upon the Gentiles, shall make them mighty above all, unto the scattering of my people, O house of Israel; and they shall be scourge unto the people of this land. Nevertheless, when they shall have received the fulness of my Gospel, then if they shall harden their hearts against me, I will return their iniquities upon their heads, saith the Father. And I will remember the covenant which I have made with my people: and I have covenanted with them, that I would gather them together in mine own due time; that I would give unto them again the land of their fathers, for their inheritance, which is the land of Jerusalem, which is the promised land unto them forever, saith the Father.

And it shall come to pass that the time cometh, when the fulness of my gospel shall be preached unto them, and they shall believe in me, that I am Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and shall pray unto the Father in my name. Then shall their watchmen lift up their voice; and with the voice together shall they sing: for they shall see eye to eye. Then will the Father gather them together again, and give unto them Jerusalem for the land of their inheritance. Then shall they break forth into joy -- sing together, ye waste places of Jerusalem: for the Father hath comforted his people, he hath redeemed Jerusalem. The Father hath made bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the nations: and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of the Father; and the Father and I are one. -- And then shall be brought to pass that which is writen: Awake, awake again, and put on thy strength, O Zion; put on thy beautiful garments, O Jerusalem. the holy city: for henceforth there shall no more come into thee the uncircumcised and the unclean. Shake thyself from the dust; arise, sit down, O Jerusalem: loose thyself from the bands of thy neck, O captive of Zion. For thus saith the Lord, Ye have sold yourselves for nought; and ye shall be redeemed without money. Verily, verily, I say unto you, That my people shall know my name; yea, in that day they shall know that I am he that doth speak. And then shall they say, How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings unto them, that publisheth peace; that bringeth good tidings unto them of

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good, that publisheth salvation; that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth! And then shall a cry go forth, Depart ye, depart ye, go ye out from thence, touch not that which is unclean; go ye out of the midst of her; be ye clean, that bear the vessels of the Lord. For ye shall not go out with haste, nor go by flight: for the Lord will go before you; and the God of Israel shall be your rereward. Behold, my servant shall deal prudently, he shall be exalted and extolled, and be very high. As many were astonished at thee; (his visage was so marred more than any man, and his form more than the sons of men:) so shall he sprinkle many nations; the kings shall shut their mouths at him: for that which had been told them shall they see; and that which they had not heard shall they consider. Verily, verily, I say unto you, All these things shall surely come, even as the Father hath commanded me. Then shall this covenant which the Father hath covenanted with his people, be fulfilled; and then shall Jerusalem be inhabited again with my people: and it shall be the land of their inheritance. And verily, I say unto you, I give unto you a sign, that ye may know the time when these things shall be about to take place, that I shall gather in from their long dispersion, my people, O house of Israel, and shall establish again among them my Zion. And behold, this is the thing which I will give unto you for a sign: for verily, I say unto you, That when these things which I declare unto you hereafter of myself, and by the power of the Holy Ghost, which shall be given unto you of the Father, shall be made known unto the Gentiles, that they may know concerning this people which are a remnant of the house of Jacob, and concerning this my people which shall be scattered by them; verily, verily, I say unto you, When these things shall be made known unto them of the Father, and shall come forth of the Father from them unto you: for it is wisdom in the Father that they should be established in this land, and be set up as a free people by the power of the Father, that these things might come forth from them unto a remnant of your seed, that the covenant of the Father may be fulfilled which he hath covenanted with his people, O house of Israel; therefore, when these works, and the works which shall be wrought among you hereafter, shall come forth from the Gentiles unto your seed, which shall dwindle in unbelief because of iniquity: for thus it behooveth the Father that it should come forth from the Gentiles, that he may shew forth his power unto the Gentiles, for this cause, that the Gentiles, if they will not harden their hearts, that they may repent and come unto me, and be baptized in my name, and know of the true points of my doctrine, that they may be numbered among my people, O house of Israel; and when these things come to pass, that thy seed shall begin to know these things, it shall be a sign unto them, that they may know that the work of the Father hath already commenced unto the fulfilling of the covenant which he hath made unto the people which are of the house of Israel. And when that day shall come, it shall come to pass that kings shall shut their mouths: for that which had not been told them shall they see; and that which they had not heard shall they consider. For in that day, for my sake shall the Father work a work, which shall be a great and a marvellous work among them; and there shall be among them which will not believe it, although a man shall declare it unto them. But behold, the life of my servant shall be in my hand; therefore they shall not hurt him, although he shall be marred because of them. Yet I will heal him, for I will shew unto them that my wisdom is greater than the cunning of the Devil. Therefore it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not believe in my words, which am Jesus Christ, which the Father shall cause him to bring forth unto the Gentiles, and shall give unto him power that he shall bring them forth unto the Gentiles, (it shall be done even as Moses said,) they shall be cut off from among my people which are of the covenant; and my people which are a remnant of Jacob, shall be among the Gentiles, yea, in the midst of them, as a lion among the beasts of the forest, as a young lion among the flocks of sheep, who if he go through, both treadeth down and teareth in pieces, and none can deliver. Their hand shall be lifted up upon their adversaries, and all their enemies shall be cut off. Yea, wo be unto the Gentiles, except they repent: for it shall come to pass in that day, saith the Father, that I will cut off thy horses out of the midst of thee, and I will destroy thy chariots, and I will cut off the cities of thy land, and throw down all thy strong holds; and I will cut off witchcarfts out of thy hand, and thou shalt have no more soothsayers: thy graven images I will also cut off, and thy standing images out of the midst of thee; and thou shalt no more worship the works of thy hand; and I will pluck up thy groves out of the midst of thee; so will I destroy thy cities. And it shall come to pass that all lyings, and deceivings, and envyings, and strifes, and priestcrafts, and whoredoms, shall be done away. For it shall come to pass, saith the Father, that at that day, whosoever will not repent and come unto my beloved Son, them will I cut off from among my people, O house of Israel; and I will execute vengeance and fury upon them, even as upon the heathen, such as they have not heard.

MORMON 3 NEPHI CHAPTER 10

But if they will repent, and hearken unto my words, and harden not their hearts, I will establish my church among them, and they shall come in unto the covenant, and be numbered among this the remnant of Jacob, unto whom I have given this land for their inheritance, and they shall assist my people, the remnant of Jacob; and also, as many of the house of Israel as shall come, that they may build a city, which shall be called the New Jerusalem; and then shall they assist my people that they may be gathered in, which are scattered upon all the face of the land, in unto the New Jerusalem. And then shall the power of heaven come down among them; and I also will be in the midst: and then shall the work of the Father commence, at that day even when this Gospel shall be preached among the remnant of this people. Verily, I say unto you, At that day shall the work of the Father commence among all the dispersed of my people; yea, even the tribes which have been lost, which the Father hath led away out of Jerusalem. Yea, the work shall commence among all the dispersed of my people, with the Father, to prepare the way whereby they may come unto me, that they may call on the Father in my name; yea, and then shall the work commence, with the Father, among all nations, in preparing the way whereby his people may be gathered home to the land of their inheritance. And they shall go out from all nations; and they shall not go out in haste, nor go by flight: for I will go before them, saith the Father, and I will be their rereward. And then shall that which is written come to pass. Sing, O barren, thou that didst not bear; break forth into singing, and cry aloud, thou that didst not travail with child: for more are the children of the desolate than the children of the married wife, saith the Lord. Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thy inhabitations; spare not, lengthen thy cords. and strengthen thy stakes; for thou shalt break forth on the right hand and on the left; and thy seed shall inherit the Gentiles, and make the desolate cities to be inhabited. Fear not; for thou shalt not be ashamed: neither be thou confounded: for thou shalt not be put to shame: for thou shalt forget the shame of thy youth, and shalt not remember the reproach of thy widowhood any more. For thy Maker, thy husband, The Lord of hosts is his name; and thy Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel; The God of the whole earth shall he be called. For the Lord hath called thee as a woman forsaken and grieved in spirit, and a wife of youth, when thou wast refused, saith thy God. For a small amount have I forsaken thee; but with great mercies will I gather thee. In a little wrath I hid my face from thee for a moment; but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer. For this, the waters of Noah unto me: for as I have sworn that the waters of Noah should no more go over the earth, so have I sworn that I would not be wroth with thee. For the mountains shall depart, and the hills be removed; but my kindness shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of my people be removed, saith the Lord that hath mercy on thee.

O thou afflicted, tossed with tempest, and not comforted! behold, I will lay the stones with fair colors, and lay thy foundations with sapphires. And I will make thy windows of agates, and thy gates of carbuncles, and all thy borders of pleasant stones. And all thy children shall be taught of the Lord; and great shall be the peace of thy children. In righteousness thou shalt be established: thou shalt be far from oppression; for thou shalt not fear: and from terror; for it shall not come near thee. Behold, they shall surely gather together against thee, not by me: whosoever shall gather together against thee shall fall for thy sake. Behold, I have created the smith that bloweth the coals in the fire, and that bringeth forth an instrument for his work; and I have created the waster to destroy. No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper; and every tongue that shall rise against thee in judgement thou shalt condemn. This is the heritage of the servants of the Lord, and their righteousness is of me, saith the Lord. And now behold I say unto you, That ye had ought to search these things. Yea, a commandment I give unto you, that ye search these things diligently: for great is the words of Isaiah. For surely he spake as touching all things concerning my people which are of the house of Israel; therefore it must needs be that he must speak also to the Gentiles. And all things that he spake, hath been, and shall be, even according to the words which he spake. Therefore give heed to my words: write the things which I have told you; and according to the time and the will of the Father, they shall go forth unto the Gentiles. And whosoever will hearken unto my words, and repenteth, and is baptized, the same shall be saved. Search the prophets: for many there be that testify of these things.

And now it came to pass that when Jesus had said these words, he saith unto them again, after he had expounded all the Scriptures unto them which they had received, he saith unto the, Behold, other Scriptures I would that ye should write, that ye have not. And it came to pass that he said unto Nephi, Bring forth the record which ye have kept. And when Nephi had brought forth the records, and laid them before him, he cast his eyes upon them, and saith, Verily, I say unto you, I commanded my servant Samuel, the Lamanite, that he should testify unto this people, that at the day that the Father should glorify his name in me, that there were many saints which should arise from the dead, and should appear unto many, and should minister unto them. And he saith unto them, Were it not so? And his disciples answered him and said, Yea, Lord, Samuel did prophesy according to thy words, and they were fulfilled. And Jesus saith unto them, How be it that ye have not written this thing, that many saints did arise and appear unto many, and did minister unto them? And it came to pass that Nephi remembered that this thing had not been written. And it came to pass that Jesus commanded that it should be written; therefore it was written according as he commanded.

MORMON 3 NEPHI CHAPTER 11

And now it came to pass that when Jesus had expounded all the Scriptures in one, which they had written, he commanded them that they should teach the things which he had expounded unto them. And it came to pass that he commanded them that they should write the words which the Father had given unto Malachi, which he should tell unto them. And it came to pass that after they were written, he expounded them. And these are the words which he did tell unto them, saying: Thus said the Father unto Malachi: Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me: and the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple, even the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in: behold, he shall come, saith the Lord of hosts. But who may abide the day of his coming? and who shall stand when he appeareth? for he is like a refiner's fire, and like fullers' soap. And he shall sit as a refiner and purifyer of silver: and he shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver, that they may offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness. -- Then shall the offering of Judah and Jerusalem be pleasant unto the Lord, as in the days of old, and as in former years. And I will come near to you to judgement: and I will be a swift witness against the sorcerers, and against the adulterers, and against false swearers, and against those that oppress the hireling in his wages, the widow, and the fatherless, and that turn aside the stranger, and fear not me, saith the Lord of hosts. For I am the Lord, I change not; therefore ye sons of Jacob are not consumed.

Even from the days of your fathers ye are gone away from mine ordinances, and have not kept them. Return unto me, and I will return unto you, saith the Lord of hosts. But ye said, Wherein shall we return?

Will a man rob God? Yet ye have robbed me. But ye say, Wherein have we robbed thee? In tithes and offerings. Ye are cursed with a curse: for ye have robbed me, even this whole nation. Bring ye all the tithes into the storehouse, that there may be meat in my house, and prove me now herewith, saith the Lord of hosts, if I will not open you the windows of heaven, and pour you out a blessing, that there shall not be room enough to receive it. And I will rebuke the devourer for your sakes, and he shall not destroy the fruits of your ground; neither shall your vine cast her fruit before the time in the field, saith the Lord of hosts.

And all the nations shall call you blessed: for ye shall be a delightsome land, saith the Lord of hosts. Your words have been stout against me, saith the Lord. -- Yet ye say, What have we spoken against thee? Ye have said, It is vain to serve God: and what doth it profit that we have kept his ordinances, and that we have walked mournfully before the Lord of hosts? And now we call the proud happy; yea, they that work wickedness are set up; yea, them that tempt God are even delivered.

Then they that fear the Lord spake often one to another: and the Lord hearkened, and heard: and a book of remembrance was written before him for them that feared the Lord, and that thought upon his name. And they shall be mine, saith the Lord of hosts, in that day when I make up my jewels; and I will spare them, as a man spareth his own son that serveth him. Then shall ye return and discern between the righteous and the wicked, between him that serveth God and him that serveth him not. For behold, the day cometh, that shall burn as an oven; and all the proud, yea, and all that do wickedly, shall be stubble: and the day that cometh shall burn them up, saith the Lord of hosts, that it shall leave them neither root nor branch.

But unto you that fear my name, shall the Son of righteousness arise with healings in his wings; and ye shall go forth, and grow up as calves in the stall. And ye shall tread down the wicked; for they shall be ashes under the soles of your feet in the day that I shall do this, saith the Lord of hosts. Remember ye the law of Moses my servant, which I commanded unto him in Horeb for all Israel, with the statutes and judgements. Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord: and he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse.

And now it came to pass that when Jesus had told these things, he expounded them unto the multitude: and he did expound all things unto them, both great and small. And he saith, These Scriptures which ye had not with you, the Father commanded that I should give unto you: for it was wisdom in him that they should be given unto future generations. And he

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did expound all things, even from the beginning until the time that he should come in his glory; yea, even all things which should come upon the face of the earth, even until the elements should melt with fervent heat, and the earth should be wrapt together as a scroll, and the heavens and the earth should pass away; and even unto the great and last day, when all the people, and all kindreds, and all nations and tongues shall stand before God, to be judged of their works, whether they be good or whether they be evil: if they be good, to the resurrection of everlasting life; and if they be evil, to the resurrection of damnation, being on a parallel, the one on the one hand, and the other on the other hand, according to the mercy, and the justice, and the holiness which is in Christ, which was before the world began.

MORMON 3 NEPHI CHAPTER 12

And now there cannot be written in this book, even a hundredth part of the things which Jesus did truly teach unto the people; but behold the plates of Nephi do contain the more part of the things which he taught the people; and these things have I written, which are a lesser part of the things which he taught the people; and I have wrote them to the intent that they may be brought again unto this people, from the Gentiles, according to the words which Jesus hath spoken. -- And when they shall have received this, which is expedient that they should have first, to try their faith: And if it shall so be that they shall believe these things, then shall the greater things be made manifest unto them. And if it so be that they will not believe these things, then shall the greater things be withheld from them, unto their condemnation. Behold I were about to write them all which were engraven upon the plates of Nephi, but the Lord forbid it, saying, I will try the faith of my people; therefore I, Mormon, do write the things which have been commanded me of the Lord. And now I Mormon, make an end of my sayings, and proceed to write the things which have been commanded me; therefore I would that ye should behold that the Lord truly did teach the people, for the space of three days; and after that, he did shew himself unto them oft, and did break bread oft, and bless it, and gave it unto them.

And it came to pass that he did teach and minister unto the children of the multitude of whom hath been spoken, and he did loose their tongues, and they did speak unto their fathers great and marvellous things, even greater than he had revealed unto the people, and loosed their tongues that they could utter. And it came to pass that after he had ascended into Heaven the second time that he shewed himself unto them, and gone unto the Father, after having healed all their sick, and their lame, and opened the eyes of their blind, and unstopped the ears of the deaf, and even had done all manner of cures among them, and raised a man from the dead, and had shewn forth his power unto them, and had ascended unto the Father, behold, it came to pass on the morrow, that the multitude gathered themselves together, and they both saw and heard these children; yea, even babes did open their mouths, and utter marvellous things; and the things which they did utter were forbidden, that there should not any man write them. And it came to pass that the disciples whom Jesus had chosen, began from that time forth to baptize and to teach as many as did come unto them; and as many as were baptized in the name of Jesus, were filled with the Holy Ghost. And many of them saw and heard unspeakable things, which are not lawful to be written; and they taught, and did minister one to another; and they had all things common among them, every man dealing justly, one with another. And it came to pass that they did do all things, even as Jesus had commanded them. And they which were baptized in the name of Jesus, were called the church of Christ.

And it came to pass that as the disciples of Jesus were journeying, and were preaching the things which they had both heard and seen, and were baptizing in the name of Jesus, it came to pass that the disciples were gathered together, and were united in mighty prayer and fasting. And Jesus again shewed himself unto them: for they were praying unto the Father, in his name; and Jesus came and stood in the midst of them, and saith unto them, What will ye that I shall give unto you? And they said unto him, Lord, we will that thou wouldst tell us the name whereby we shall call this church; for there are disputations among the people concerning this matter. And the Lord said unto them, Verily, verily I say unto you, why is it that the people should murmur and dispute because of this thing? have they not read the scriptures, which saith ye must take upon you the name of Christ, which is in my name? for by this name shall ye be called at the last day; and whoso taketh upon him my name, and endureth to the end, the same shall be saved at the last day; therefore, whatsoever ye shall do, ye shall do it in my name; therefore ye shall call the church in my name; and ye shall call upon the Father in my name, that he will bless the church for my sake; and how be it my church, save it be called in my name? for if a church be called in Moses' name, then it be Moses' church: or if it be called in the name of a man, then it be the church of a man; but if it be called in my name, then it is my church, if it so be that they are built upon my Gospel. Verily, I say unto you, that ye are built upon my Gospel; therefore ye shall call whatsoever things ye do call in my name; therefore if ye call upon the Father, for the church, if it be in my name, the Father will hear you; and if it so be that the church is built upon my Gospel, then will the Father shew forth his own works in it; but if it be not built upon my Gospel, and is built upon the works of men, or upon the works of the devil, verily I say unto you, they have joy in their works for a season, and by and by the end cometh, and they are hewn down and cast into the fire, from whence there is no return; for their works do follow them: for it is because of their works that they are hewn down; therefore remember the things that I have told you. Behold I have given unto you my Gospel, and this is the Gospel which I have given unto you: That I came into the world to do the will of my Father, because my Father sent me; and my Father sent me that I might be lifted up upon the cross; and after that I have been lifted up upon the cross, I might draw all men unto me; that as I have been lifted up by men, even so should men be lifted up by the Father, to stand before me, to be judged of their works, whether they be good or whether they be evil; and for this cause have I been lifted up; therefore, according to the power of the Father, I will draw all men unto me, that they may be judged according to their works. And it shall come to pass, that whoso repenteth and is baptized in my name, shall be filled; and if he endureth to the end, behold, him will I hold guiltless before my Father, at that day when I shall stand to judge the world. And he that endureth not unto the end, the same is he that is also hewn down and cast into the fire, from whence they can no more return, because of the justice of the Father; and this is the word which he hath given unto the children of men. And for this cause he fulfilleth the words which he hath given, and he lieth not, but fulfilleth all his words; and no unclean thing can enter into his kingdom; therefore nothing entereth into his rest, save it be those who have washed their garments in my blood, because of their faith, and the repentance of all their sins, and their faithfulness unto the end. Now this is the commandment: Repent, all ye ends of the earth, and come unto me and be baptized in my name, that ye may be sanctified by the reception of the Holy Ghost, that ye may stand spotless before me at the last day. Verily, verily I say unto you, this is my Gospel; and ye know the things that ye must do in my church; for the works which ye have seen me do, that shall ye also do; for the works which ye have seen me do, even that shall ye do; therefore if ye do these things, blessed are ye, for ye shall be lifted up at the last day.

MORMON 3 NEPHI CHAPTER 3 Nephi 13

Write the things which ye have seen and heard, save it be those which are forbidden; write the works of this people, which shall be even as hath been written of that which hath been; for behold, out of the books which have been written, and which shall be written, shall this people be judged: for by them shall their works be known unto men. And behold, all things are written by the Father; therefore out of the books which shall be written shall the world be judged. And know ye that ye shall be judges of this people, according to the judgement which I shall give unto you, which shall be just; therefore what manner of men had ye ought to be? -- Verily I say unto you, Even as I am. And now I go unto the Father. And verily I say unto you, whatsoever things ye shall ask the Father, in my name, it shall be given unto you; therefore ask, and ye shall receive; knock, and it shall be opened unto you: for he that asketh, receiveth, and unto him that knocketh, it shall be opened. And now behold, my joy is great, even unto fulness, because of you, and also this generation; yea, and even the Father rejoiceth, and also all the holy angels, because of you and this generation: for none of them are lost. Behold, I would that ye should understand; for I mean them which are now alive, of this generation; and none of them are lost; and in them I have fulness of joy. -- But behold, it sorroweth me because of the fourth generation from this generation, for they are led away captive by him, even as was the son of perdition; for they will sell me for silver, and for gold, and for that which moth doth corrupt, and which thieves can break through and steal. And in that day will I visit them, even in turning their works upon their own heads.

And it came to pass that when Jesus had ended these sayings, he saith unto his disciples, Enter ye in at the straight gate: for straight is the gate, and narrow is the way that leads to life, and few there be that find it: But wide is the gate, and broad the way which leads to death, and many there be that traveleth therein, until the night cometh, wherein no man can work.

And it came to pass when Jesus had said these words, he spake unto his disciples, one by one, saying unto them, What is it that ye desire of me, after I am gone to the Father? And they all spake, save it were three, saying, We desire that

after we have lived unto the age of man, that our ministry, wherein thou hast called us, may have an end, that we may speedily come unto thee, in thy kingdom. And he saith unto them, Blessed are ye, because ye desired this thing of me; therefore after that ye are seventy and two years old, ye shall come unto me in my kingdom, and with me ye shall find rest. And when he spake unto them, he turned himself unto the three, and said unto them, What will ye that I should do unto you, when I am gone unto the Father? And they sorrowed in their hearts, for they durst not speak unto him the thing which they desired. And he saith unto them, Behold, I know your thoughts, and ye have desired the thing which John, my beloved, which was with me in my ministry, before that I was lifted up by the Jews, desired of me; therefore more blessed are ye, for ye shall never taste of death, but ye shall live to behold all the doings of the Father, unto the children of men, even until things shall be fulfilled, according to the will of the Father, when I shall come in my glory, with the powers of heaven; and ye shall never endure the pains of death; but when I shall come in my glory, ye shall be changed in the twinkling of an eye, from mortality to immortality; and then shall ye be blessed in the kingdom of my Father. -- And again, ye shall not have pain while ye shall dwell in the flesh, neither sorrow, save it be for the sins of the world; and all this will I do because of the thing which ye have desired of me: for ye have desired that ye might bring souls of men unto me, while the world shall stand; and for this cause ye shall have fulness of joy; and ye shall sit down in the kingdom of my Father; yea, your joy shall be full, even as the Father hath given me fulness of joy; and ye shall be even as I am; and I am even as the Father; and the Father and I are one; and the Holy Ghost beareth record of the Father and me; and the Father giveth the Holy Ghost unto the children of men because of me.

And it came to pass that when Jesus had spake these words, he touched every one of them with his finger, save it were the three which were to tarry, and then he departed. And behold, the heavens were opened, and they were caught up into heaven, and saw and heard unspeakable things. And it was forbidden them that they should utter; neither was it given unto them power that they could utter the things which they saw and heard; and whether they were in the body or out of the body, they could not tell: for it did seem unto them like a transfiguration of them, that they were changed from this body of flesh, into an immortal state, that they could behold the things of God. But it came to pass that they did again minister upon the face of the earth; nevertheless they did not minister of the things which they had heard and seen, because of the commandment which was given them in heaven. And now whether they were mortal or immortal, from the day of their transfiguration, I know not; but this much I know: According to the record which hath been given, they did go forth upon the face of the land, and did minister unto all the people, uniting as many to the church as would believe in their preaching; baptizing them; and as many as were baptized, did receive the Holy Ghost; and they were cast into prison by them who did not belong to the church. And the prisons could not hold them, for they were rent in twain, and they were cast down into the earth. But they did not smite the earth with the word of God, insomuch that by his power they were delivered out of the depths of the earth; and therefore they could not dig pits sufficiently to hold them. And thrice they were cast into the furnace, and received no harm. And twice were they cast into a den of wild beasts; and behold they did play with the beasts, as a child with a sucking lamb, and received no harm. And it came to pass that thus they did go forth among all the people of Nephi, and did preach the gospel of Christ unto all people upon the face of the land: And they were converted unto the Lord, and were united unto the church of Christ: And thus the people of that generation were blessed, according to the word of Jesus. And now I, Mormon, make an end of speaking concerning these things, for a time. Behold, I were about to write the names of those who were never to taste of death; but the Lord forbade, therefore I write them not, for they are hid from the world. But behold I have seen them, and they have ministered unto me; and behold they will be among the Gentiles, and the Gentiles knoweth them not. They will also be among the Jews, and the Jews shall know them not.

And it shall come to pass, when the Lord seeth fit in his wisdom, that they shall minister unto all the scattered tribes of Israel, and unto all nations, kindred, tongues and people, and shall bring out of them unto Jesus many souls, that their desire may be fulfilled, and also because of the convincing power of God which is in them, and they are as the angels of God and if they shall pray unto the Father in the name of Jesus they can shew themselves unto whatsoever man it seemeth them good; therefore great and marvellous works shall be wrought by them, before the great and coming day, when all people must surely stand before the judgement seat of Christ; yea, even among the Gentiles shall there be a great and marvellous work wrought by them, before that judgement day. -- And if ye had all the scriptures which gives an account of all the marvellous works of Christ, ye would, according to the words of Christ, know that these things must surely come. -- And wo be unto him that will not hearken unto the words of Jesus, and also to them which he hath chosen and sent among them: for whoso receiveth not the words of Jesus, and the words of them which he hath sent, receiveth not him; and therefore he will not receive them at the last day; and it would be better for them of they had not been born. For do ye suppose that ye can get rid of the justice of an offended God,

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who hath been trampled under feet of men, that thereby salvation might come? And now behold, as I spake concerning them whom the Lord had chosen, yea, even three which were caught up into the Heavens, that I knew not whether they were cleansed from mortality to immortality: -- But behold, since I wrote, I have inquired of the Lord, and he hath made it manifest unto me, that there must needs be a change wrought upon their bodies, or else it needs be that they must taste of death; therefore that they might not taste of death, there was a change wrought upon their bodies, that they might not suffer pain nor sorrow, save it were for the sins of the world. Now this change was not equal to that which should take place at the last day, but there was a change wrought upon them, insomuch that Satan could have no power over them, that he could not tempt them, and they were sanctified in the flesh, that they were holy, and that the powers of the earth could not hold them; and in this state they were to remain until the judgement day of Christ; and at that day they were to receive a greater change, and to be received into the kingdom of the Father, to go no more out, but to dwell with God eternally in the Heavens. And now behold, I say unto you, that when the Lord shall see fit, in his wisdom, that these sayings shall come unto the Gentiles, according to his word, then ye may know that the covenant which the Father hath made with the children of Israel, concerning their restoration to the lands of their inheritance, is already beginning to be fulfilled; and ye may know that the words of the Lord, which have been spoken by the holy prophets, shall be fulfilled; and ye need not say that the Lord delays his coming unto the children of Israel; and ye need not imagine in your hearts, that the words which have been spoken are vain, for behold, the Lord will remember his covenant which he hath made unto his people of the house of Israel. And when ye shall see these sayings coming forth among you, then ye need not any longer spurn at the doings of the Lord, for the sword of his justice is in his right hand, and behold at that day, if ye shall spurn at his doings, he will cause it that it shall soon overtake you. Wo unto him that spurneth at the doings of the Lord; yea, wo unto him that shall deny the Christ, and his works; yea, wo unto him that shall deny the revelations of the Lord, and that shall say, the Lord no longer worketh by revelation, or by prophecy, or by gifts, or by tongues, or by healings, or by the power of the Holy Ghost; yea, and wo unto him that shall say at that day, that there can be no miracle wrought by Jesus Christ, for to get gain; for he that doeth this, shall become like unto the son of perdition, for whom there was no mercy, according to the word of Christ. Yea, and ye need not any longer hiss, nor spurn, nor make game of the Jews, nor any of the remnant of the house of Israel, for behold the Lord remembereth his covenant unto them, and he will do unto them according to that which he hath sworn; therefore ye need not suppose that ye can turn the right hand of the Lord unto the left, that he may not execute judgement unto the fulfilling of the covenant which he hath made unto the house of Israel.

MORMON 3 NEPHI CHAPTER 14

Hearken, O ye Gentiles, and hear the words of Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, which he hath commanded me that I should speak concerning you: for behold he commandeth me that I should write, saying, Turn all ye Gentiles from your wicked ways, and repent of your evil doings, of your lyings and deceivings, and of your whoredoms, and of your secret abominations and your idolatries, and of your murders, and your priestcrafts, and your envyings, and your strifes, and from all your wickedness and abominations, and come unto me, and be baptized in my name, that ye may receive a remission of your sins, and be filled with the Holy Ghost, that ye may be numbered with my people, which are of the house of Israel.

MORMON 4 NEPHI CHAPTER 1

The Book Of Nephi, Which Is The Son Of Nephi One Of The Disciples Of Jesus Christ.

An account of the people of Nephi, according to his Record. And it came to pass that the thirty and fourth year passed away, and also the thirty and fifth, and behold the disciples of Jesus had formed a church of Christ in all the lands round about. And as many as did come unto them, and did truly repent of their sins, were baptized in the name of Jesus; and they did also receive the Holy Ghost.

And it came to pass in the thirty and sixth year, the people were converted unto the Lord, upon all the face of the land, both Nephites and Lamanites, and there was no contentions and disputations among them, and every man did deal justly one with another; and they had all things common among them, therefore there were not rich and poor, bond and free, but they were all made free, and partakers of the Heavenly gift.

And it came to pass that the thirty and seventh year passed away also, and there still continued to be peace in the land. And there were great and marvellous works wrought by the disciples of Jesus, insomuch that they did heal the sick, and raise the dead, and cause the lame to walk, and the blind to receive their sight, and the deaf to hear; and all manner of miracles did they work among the children of men; and in nothing did they work miracles save it were in the name of Jesus. And thus did the thirty and eighth year pass away, and also the thirty and ninth, and the forty and first, and the forty and second; yea, even until forty and nine years had passed away, and also the fifty and first and second; yea, and even until fifty and nine years had passed away; and the Lord did prosper them exceedingly, in the land; yea, insomuch that they did fill cities again where there had been cities burned; yea, even that great city Zarahemla did they cause to be built again. But there were many cities which had been sunk, and waters came up in the stead thereof; therefore these cities could not be renewed.

And now behold it came to pass that the people of Nephi did wax strong, and did multiply exceeding fast, and became an exceeding fair and delightsome people. And they were married, and given in marriage, and were blessed according to the multitude of the promises which the Lord had made unto them. And they did not walk any more after the performances and ordinances of the law of Moses, but they did walk after the commandments which they had received from their Lord and their God, continuing in fasting and prayer, and in meeting together oft, both to pray and to hear the word of the Lord. And it came to pass that there was no contention among all the people, in all the land, but there were mighty miracles wrought among the disciples of Jesus.

And it came to pass that the seventy and first year passed away, and also the seventy and second year; yea, and in fine till the seventy and ninth year had passed away; yea, even an hundred years had passed away, and the disciples of Jesus, whom he had chosen, had all gone to the paradise of God, save it were the three which should tarry: And there were other disciples ordained in their stead; and also many of that generation which had passed away. And it came to pass that there was no contention in the land, because of the love of God which did dwell in the hearts of the people. And there were no envyings, nor strifes, nor tumults, nor whoredoms, nor lying, nor murders, nor no manner of lasciviousness: and surely there could not be a happier people among all the people which had been created by the hand of God: There were no robbers, nor no murderers, neither were there Lamanites, nor no manner of Ites; but they were in one, the children of Christ, and heirs to the kingdom of God: And now blessed were they, for the Lord did bless them in all their doings; yea, even they were blessed and prospered, until an hundred and ten years had passed away: And the first generation from Christ had passed away, and there was no contention in all the land.

And it came to pass that Nephi, he that kept this last record, (and he kept it upon the plates of Nephi,) died, and his son

Amos kept it in his stead; and he kept it upon the plates of Nephi also; and he kept it eighty and four years, and there was still peace in the land, save it were a small part of the people, which had revolted from the church, and took upon them the name of Lamanites; therefore there began to be Lamanites again in the land.

And it came to pass that Amos died also, (and it was an hundred and ninety and four years from the coming of Christ,) and his son Amos kept the record in his stead; and he also kept it upon the plates of Nephi; and it was also written in the book of Nephi, which is in this book. And it came to pass that two hundred years had passed away: And the second generation had all passed away save it were a few. And now I, Mormon, would that ye should know that the people had multiplied, insomuch that they were spread upon all the face of the land, and that they had become exceeding rich, because of their prosperity in Christ. And now in this two hundred and first year, there began to be among them those which were lifted up in pride, such as the wearing of costly apparel, and all manner of fine pearls, and of the fine things of the world. And from that time forth they did have their goods and their substance no more common among them, and they began to be divided into classes, and they began to build up churches unto themselves, to get gain, and began to deny the true church of Christ.

And it came to pass that when two hundred and ten years had passed away there were many churches in the land; yea, there were churches which professed to know the Christ, and yet they did deny the more parts of his gospel, insomuch that they did receive all manner of wickedness, and did administer that which was sacred unto him to whom it had been forbidden, because of unworthiness. And this church did multiply exceedingly, because of iniquity, and because of the power of Satan which did get hold upon their hearts. And again, there was another church which denied Christ, because of their humility, and their belief in Christ; and they did despise them, because of the many miracles which were wrought among them; therefore they did exercise power and authority over the disciples of Jesus which did tarry with them, and they did cast them into prison; but by the power of the word of God, which was in them, the prisons were rent in twain, and they went forth doing mighty miracles among them. Nevertheless, and notwithstanding all these miracles the people did harden their hearts, and did seek to kill them, even as the Jews at Jerusalem sought to kill Jesus, according to his word, and they did cast them into furnace of fire, and they came forth receiving no harm; and they also cast them into dens of wild beasts, and they did play with the wild beasts even as a child with a lamb; and they did come forth from among them, receiving no harm. Nevertheless, the people did harden their hearts, for they were led by many priests and false prophets to build up many churches, and to do all manner of iniquity. And they did smite upon the people of Jesus; but the people of Jesus did not smite again. And thus they did dwindle in unbelief and wickedness, from year to year, even until two hundred and thirty years had passed away. And now it came to pass in this year, yea, in the two hundred and thirty and first year there were a great division among the people. And it came to pass that in this year there arose a people which was called the Nephites, and they were true believers in Christ; and among them were they which was called by the Lamanites, Jacobites, and Josephites, and Zoramites; therefore the true believers in Christ, and the true worshippers of Christ, (among whom were the three disciples of Jesus which should tarry,) were called Nephites and Jacobites, and Josephites, and Zoramites. And it came to pass that they which rejected the gospel, were called Lamanites, and Lemuelites, and Ishmaelites; and they did not dwindle in unbelief, but they did wilfully rebel against the gospel of Christ; and they did teach their children that they should not believe, even as their fathers, from the beginning, did dwindle. And it was because of the wickedness and abominations of their fathers, even as it was in the beginning. And they were taught to hate the children of God, even as the Lamanites were taught to hate the children of Nephi, from the beginning.

And it came to pass that two hundred and forty and four years had passed away, and thus were the affairs of the people. And the more wicked part of the people did wax strong, and became exceeding more numerous than were the people of God. And they did still continue to build up churches unto themselves, and adorn them with all manner of precious things. And thus did two hundred and fifty years pass away, and also two hundred and sixty years. And it came to pass that the wicked part of the people began again to build up the secret oaths and combinations of Gaddianton. And also the people which were called the people of Nephi, began to be proud in their hearts, because of their exceeding riches, and become vain, like unto their brethren, the Lamanites. and from this time, the disciples began to sorrow for the sins of the world.

And it came to pass that when three hundred years had passed away, both the people of Nephi and the Lamanites had become exceeding wicked, one like unto another. And it came to pass that the robbers of Gaddianton did spread over all the face of the land; and there were none that were righteous, save it were the disciples of Jesus. And gold and silver did they lay up in store in abundance, and did traffic in all manner of traffic.

And it came to pass that after three hundred and five years had passed away, (and the people did still remain in wickedness,) Amos died, and his brother, Ammaron, did keep the record, in his stead. And it came to pass that when three hundred and twenty years had passed away, Ammaron, being constrained by the Holy Ghost, did hide up the records which were sacred; yea, even all the sacred records which had been handed down from generation to generation, which were sacred, even until the three hundred and twentieth year from the coming of Christ. And he did hide them up unto the Lord, that they might come again unto the remnant of the house of Israel, according to the prophecies and the promises of the Lord. And thus is the end of the record of Ammaron.

MORMON BOOK OF MORMON CHAPTER 1

And now I, Mormon, make a record of the things which I have both seen and heard, and call it the Book of Mormon. -- And about the time that Ammaron hid up the records unto the Lord, he came unto me, (I being about ten years of age; and I began to be learned somewhat after the manner of the learning of my people,) And Ammaron saith unto me, I perceive that thou art a sober child, and art quick to observe; therefore when ye are about twenty and four years old, I would that ye should remember the things that ye have observed concerning this people; and when ye are of that age, go to the land of Antum, unto a hill, which is called Shim; and there have I deposited unto the Lord, all the sacred engravings concerning this people. And behold, ye shall take the plates of Nephi unto yourself, and the remainder shall ye leave in the place where they are; and ye shall engrave upon the plates of Nephi, all the things which ye have observed concerning this people. And I, Mormon, being a descendant of Nephi, (and my father's name was Mormon,) I remembered the things which Ammaron commanded me. And it came to pass that I being eleven years old, was carried by my father into the land southward, even to the land of Zarahemla: the whole face of the land having become covered with buildings, and the people were as numerous almost, as it were the sand of the sea. And it came to pass in this year there began to be a war between the Nephites, which consisted of the Nephites,

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and the Jacobites, and the Josephites, and the Zoramites: and this war was between the Nephites and the Lamanites, and the Lamanites and the Lemuelites, and the Ishmaelites. Now the Lamanites, and the Lemuelites, and the Ishmaelites, were called Lamanites, and the two parties were Nephites and Lamanites. And it came to pass that the war began to be among them, in the borders of Zarahemla, by the waters of Sidon. And it came to pass that the Nephites had gathered together a great number of men, even to exceed the number of thirty thousand. And it came to pass that they did have in this same year a number of battles, in the which the Nephites did beat the Lamanites, and did slay many of them. And it came to pass that the Lamanites withdrew their design, and there was peace settled in the land, and peace did remain for the space of about four years, that there were no blood shed. But wickedness did prevail upon the face of the whole land, insomuch that the Lord did take away his beloved disciples, and the work of miracles and of healing did cease, because of the iniquity of the people. And there were no gifts from the Lord, and the Holy Ghost did not come upon any, because of their wickedness and unbelief. And I, being fifteen years of age, and being somewhat of a sober mind, therefore I was visited of the Lord, and tasted , and knew of the goodness of Jesus. And I did endeavor to preach unto this people, but my mouth was shut, and I were forbidden that I should preach unto them: for behold they had wilfully rebelled against their God, and the beloved disciples were taken away out of the land, because of their iniquity. But I did remain among them, but I were forbidden that I should preach unto them, because of the hardness of their hearts; and because of the hardness of their hearts, the land was cursed for their sake. And these Gaddianton robbers, which were among the Lamanites, did infest the land, insomuch that the inhabitants thereof began to hide up their treasures in the earth; and they became slippery, because the Lord had cursed the land, that they could not hold them, nor retain them again. And it came to pass that there were sorceries, and witchcrafts, and magics: and the power of the evil one was wrought upon all the face of the land, even unto the fulfilling of all the words of Abinadi, and also Samuel the Lamanite. -- And it came to pass in that same year, there began to be a war again between the Nephites and the Lamanites. And notwithstanding I being young, was large in stature, therefore the people of Nephi appointed me that I should be their leader, or the leader of their armies. Therefore it came to pass that in my sixteenth year, I did go forth at the head of an army of the Nephites, against the Lamanites; therefore three hundred and twenty and six years had passed away. And it came to pass that in the three hundred and twenty and seventh year, the Lamanites did come upon us with exceeding great power, insomuch that they did frighten my armies; therefore they would not fight, and they began to retreat towards the north countries. And it came to pass that we did come to the city of Angelah, and we did take possession of the city, and make preparations to defend ourselves against the Lamanites. And it came to pass that we did fortify the city with our mights; but notwithstanding all our fortifications, the Lamanites did come upon us, and did drive us out of the city. And they did also drive us forth out of the land of David. And we marched forth, and came to the land of Joshua, which was in the border west by the seashore. And it came to pass that we did gather our people as fast as it were possible, that we might get them together in one body. But behold, the land was filled with robbers and with Lamanites; and notwithstanding the great destruction which hung over my people, they did not repent of their evil doings; therefore there was blood and carnage spread throughout all the face of the land, both on the part of the Nephites, and also on the part of the Lamanites; and it was one complete revolution throughout all the face of the land. And now the Lamanites had a king, and his name was Aaron; and he came against us with an army of forty and four thousand. And behold, I withstood him, with forty and two thousand. And it came to pass that I beat him with my army, that he fled before me. And behold, all this was done, and three hundred and thirty years had passed away. And it came to pass that the Nephites began to repent of their iniquity, and began to cry even as had been prophesied by Samuel the prophet: for behold no man could keep that which was his own, for the thieves, and the robbers, and the murderers, and the magic art, and the witchcraft which was in the land. Thus there began to be mourning and lamentation in all the land, because of these things; and more especially among the people of Nephi. And it came to pass that when I, Mormon, saw their lamentation, and their mourning, and their sorrowing before the Lord, my heart did begin to rejoice within me: knowing the mercies and the long suffering of the Lord, therefore supposing that he would be merciful unto them, that they would again become a righteous people. But behold this my joy was in vain, for their sorrowing was not unto repentance, because of the goodness of God, but it was rather the sorrowing of the damned, because the Lord would not always suffer them to take happiness in sin. And they did not come unto Jesus with broken hearts and contrite spirits, but they did curse God, and wish to die. Nevertheless they would struggle with the sword for their lives. And it came to pass that my sorrow did return unto me again, and I saw that the day of grace was past with them, both temporally and spiritually: for I saw thousands of them hewn down in open rebellion against their God, and heaped up as dung upon the face of the land. And thus three hundred and forty and four years had passed away.

And it came to pass that in the three hundred and forty and fifth year, the Nephites did begin to flee before the Lamanites, and they were pursued until they came even to the land of Jashon, before it were possible to stop them in their retreat. And now the city of Jashon was near the land where Ammaron had deposited the records unto the Lord, that they might not be destroyed. And behold I had gone according to the word of Ammaron, and taken the plates of Nephi, and did make a record according to the words of Ammaron. And upon the plates of Nephi, I did make a full account of all the wickedness and abominations; but upon these plates I did forbear to make a full account of their wickedness and abominations: for behold, a continual scene of wickedness and abominations has been before mine eyes ever since I have been sufficient to behold the ways of man. And wo is me, because of their wickedness: for my heart has been filled with sorrow because of their wickedness, all my days; nevertheless, I know that I shall be lifted up at the last day.

And it came to pass that in this year the people of Nephi again were hunted and driven. And it came to pass that we were driven forth until we had come northward to the land which was called Shem. And it came to pass that we did fortify the city of Shem, and we did gather in our people in as much as it were possible, that perhaps we might save them from destruction. And it came to pass in the three hundred and forty and sixth year, they began to come upon us again. And it came to pass that I did speak unto my people, and did urge them with great energy, that they would stand boldly before the Lamanites, and fight for their wives, and their children, and their houses and their homes. And my words did arouse them somewhat to vigor, insomuch that they did not flee from before the Lamanites, but did stand with boldness against them. And it came to pass that we did contend with an army of thirty thousand, against an army of fifty thousand. And it came to pass that we did stand before them with such firmness, that they did flee from before us. And it came to pass that when they had fled, we did pursue them with our armies, and did meet them again, and did beat them; nevertheless the strength of the Lord was not with us: yea, we were left to ourselves, that the spirit of the Lord did not abide in us; therefore we had become weak, like unto our brethren. And my heart did sorrow because of this great calamity of my people; because of their wickedness and their abominations. But behold we did go forth against the Lamanites, and the robbers of Gaddianton, until we had again taken possession of the lands of our inheritance. And the three hundred and forty and ninth year had passed away. And in three hundred and fiftieth year, we made a treaty with the Lamanites and the robbers of Gaddianton, in which we did get the lands of our inheritance divided. And the Lamanites did give unto us the land northward; yea, even to the narrow passage which led into the land southward. And we did give unto the Lamanites all the land southward.

And it came to pass that the Lamanites did not come to battle again until ten years more had passed away. And behold, I had employed my people, the Nephites, in preparing their lands and their arms against the time of battle. And it came to pass that the Lord did say unto me, Cry unto this people repent ye, and come unto me and be baptized, and build up again my church, and ye shall be spared. And I did cry unto this people, but it was in vain, and they did not realise that it was the Lord that had spared them, and granted unto them a chance for repentance. And behold, they did harden their hearts against the Lord their God. And it came to pass that after the tenth year had passed away, making in the whole, three hundred and sixty years from the coming of Christ, the king of the Lamanites sent an epistle unto me, which gave unto me to know that they were preparing to come again to battle against us. And it came to pass that they should gather themselves together at the land Desolation, to a city which was in the borders, by the narrow pass which lead into the land southward. And there we did place our armies, that we might stop the armies of the Lamanites, that they might not get possession of any of our lands; therefore we did fortify against them with all our force.

And it came to pass that in the three hundred and sixty and first year, the Lamanites did come down to the city of Desolation to battle, against us. And it came to pass that in that year, we did beat them, insomuch that they did return to their own lands again. And in the three hundred and sixty and second year, they did come down again to battle. And we did beat them again, and did slay a great number of them, and their dead was cast into the sea. And now because of this great thing which my people, the Nephites, had done, they began to boast in their own strength, and began to swear before the heavens that they would avenge themselves of the blood of their brethren which had been slain by their enemies. And they did swear by the heavens, and also by the throne of God, that they would go up to battle against their enemies, and would cut them off from the face of the land.

And it came to pass that I, Mormon, did utterly refuse from this time forth, to be a commander and a leader of this people, because of their wickedness and abomination. Behold, I had led them, notwithstanding their wickedness, I had lead them many times to battle, and had loved them, according to the love of God which was in me, with all my heart; and my soul had been poured out in prayer unto my God all the day long, for them; nevertheless it was without faith, because of the hardness of their hearts. And thrice have I delivered them out of the hands of their enemies, and they have repented of their sins. And when they had sworn by all that had been forbidden them, by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that they would go up unto their enemies to battle, and avenge themselves of the blood of their brethren, behold, the voice of the Lord came unto me saying: Vengeance is mine, and I will repay; and because this people repented not after that I had delivered them, behold, they shall be cut off from the face of the earth. And it came to pass that I utterly refused to go up against mine enemies; and I did even as the Lord had commanded me; and I did stand as an idle witness to manifest unto the world the things which I saw and heard, according to the manifestations of the spirit which had testified of things to come. Therefore I write unto you, Gentiles, and also unto you, house of Israel, when the work shall commence that ye shall be about to prepare to return to the land of your inheritance; yea, behold, I write unto all the ends of the earth; yea, unto you, twelve tribes of Israel. which shall be judged according to your works, by the twelve whom Jesus chose to be his disciples in the land of Jerusalem. And I write also unto the remnant of this people, which shall also be judged by the other twelve whom Jesus chose in the land of Jerusalem. And these things do the spirit manifest unto me; therefore I write unto you all. And for this cause I write unto you, that ye may know that ye must all stand before the judgement seat of Christ, yea, every soul which belong to the whole human family of Adam; and ye must stand to be judged of your works, whether they be good or evil; and also that ye may believe the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which ye shall have among you; and also that the Jews, the covenant people of the Lord, shall have other witness besides that which they saw and heard, that Jesus, whom they slew, was the very Christ, and the very God; and I would that I could persuade all ye ends of the earth to repent and prepare to stand before the judgement seat of Christ.

MORMON BOOK OF MORMON CHAPTER 2

And now it came to pass that in the three hundred and sixty and third year, the Nephites did go up with their armies to battle against the Lamanites, out of the land Desolation. And it came to pass that the armies of the Nephites were driven back again to the land of Desolation. And while they were yet weary, a fresh army of the Lamanites did come upon them; and they had a sore battle, insomuch that the Lamanites did take possession of the city Desolation, and did slay many of the Nephites, and did take many prisoners; and the remainder did flee and join the inhabitants of the city Teancum. Now the city Teancum lay in the borders by the seashore; and it was also near the city Desolation. And it was because of the Nephites went up unto the Lamanites, that they began to be smitten: for were it not for that, the Lamanites could have no power over them. But behold, the judgements of God will overtake the wicked; and it is by the wicked, that the wicked are punished: for it is the wicked that stireth up the hearts of the children of men unto bloodshed. -- And it came to pass that the Lamanites did make preparation to come against the city Teancum.

And it came to pass in the three hundred and sixty and fourth year, the Lamanites did come against the city Teancum, that they might take possession of the city Teancum also. And it came to pass that they were repulsed and driven back by the Nephites. And when the Nephites saw that they had driven the Lamanites, they did again boast of their strength; and they went forth in their own might, and took possession again of the city Desolation. And now all these things had been done and there had been thousands slain on both sides, both the Nephites and the Lamanites. And it came to pass that the three hundred and sixty and sixth year had passed away, and the Lamanites came again upon the Nephites to battle; and yet the Nephites repented not of the evil which they had done, but persisted in their wickedness continually. And it is impossible for the tongue to describe, or for a man to write a perfect description of the horrible scene of the blood and a carnage which was among the people, both of the Nephites and of the Lamanites; and every heart was hardened, so that they delighted in shedding of blood continually. And there never had been so great wickedness among all the children of Lehi, nor even among all the house of Israel, according to the words of the Lord, as were among this people.

And it came to pass that the Lamanites did take possession of the city Desolation, and this because their number did exceed the number of the Nephites. And they did also march forward against the city Teancum, and did drive the inhabitants forth out of her, and did take many prisoners of

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women and of children, and did offer them up as sacrifices unto their idol gods. And it came to pass that in the three hundred and sixty and seventh year, the Nephites being angry because the Lamanites had sacrificed their women and their children, that they did go against the Lamanites with exceeding anger, insomuch that they did beat again the Lamanites, and drive them out of their lands; and the Lamanites did not come again against the Nephites, until the three hundred and seventy and fifth year. And in this year they did come down against the Nephites with all their powers; and they were not numbered, because of the greatness of their number. And from this time forth did the Nephites gain no power over the Lamanites, but began to be swept off by them even as a dew before the sun. And it came to pass that the Lamanites did come down against the city of Desolation; and there was an exceeding sore battle fought in the land Desolation, in which they did beat the Nephites. And they fled again from before them, and they came to the city Beaz; and there they did stand against the Lamanites with exceeding boldness, insomuch that the Lamanites did not beat them until they had come again the second time. the Nephites were driven and slaughtered with an exceeding great slaughter; their women and their children were again sacrificed unto idols. And it came to pass that the Nephites did again flee from before them, taking all the inhabitants with them, both in towns and villages. And now I, Mormon, seeing that the Lamanites were about to overthrow the land, therefore I did go to the hill Shim, and did take all the records which Ammaron had hid up unto the Lord. And it came to pass that I did go forth among the Nephites, and did repent of the oath which I made, That I would no more assist them; and they gave me command again of their armies: for they looked upon me as though I could deliver them from their afflictions. But behold, I was without hopes, for I knew the judgements of the Lord which should come upon them: for they repented not of their iniquities, but did struggle for their lives, without calling upon that Being who had created them. And it came to pass that the Lamanites did come against us as we fled to the city of Jordan; but behold, they were driven back that they did not take the city at that time. And it came to pass that they came against us again, and we did maintain the city. And there were also other cities which were maintained by the Nephites, which strong holds did cut them off that they could not get into the country which lay before us to destroy the inhabitants of our land. But it came to pass that whatsoever lands we had passed by, and the inhabitants thereof were not gathered in, were destroyed by the Lamanites, and their towns, and villages, and cities were burned with fire; and thus the three hundred and seventy and nine years passed away.

And it came to pass that in the three hundred and eightieth year, the Lamanites did come again against us to battle, and we did stand against them boldly; but it was all in vain, for so great were their numbers that they did tread the people of the Nephites under their feet. And it came to pass that we did again take to flight, and they whose flight were swifter than the Lamanites did escape, and they whose flight did not exceed the Lamanites, were swept down and destroyed. And now behold, I, Mormon, do not desire to harrow up the souls of men in casting before them such an awful scene of blood and carnage as was laid before mine eyes, but I, knowing that these things must surely be made known, and that all things which are hid must be revealed upon the house tops, and also that a knowledge of these things must come unto the remnant of these people, and also unto the Gentiles, which the Lord hath said should scatter this people, and this people should be counted as nought among them, therefore I write a small abridgement, daring not to give a full account of the things which I have seen, because of the commandment which I have received, and also that ye might not have too great sorrow because of the wickedness of this people. And now behold, this I speak unto their seed, and also to the Gentiles, which hath care for the house of Israel, that realize and know from whence their blessings come: For I know that such will sorrow for the calamity of the house of Israel; yea, they will sorrow for the destruction of this people; they will sorrow that this people had not repented, that they might have been clasped in the arms of Jesus. Now these things are written unto the remnant of the house of Jacob; and they are written after the manner, because it is known of God that wickedness will not bring them forth unto them; and they are to be hid up unto the Lord, that they may come forth in his own due time. And this is the commandment which I have received; and behold they shall come forth according to the commandment of the Lord, when he shall see fit, in his wisdom. And behold they shall go unto the unbelieving of the Jews; and for this intent shall they go: that they may be persuaded that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of the living God; that the Father may bring about, through his most beloved, his great and eternal purpose, in the restoring the Jews or all the house of Israel, to the land of their inheritance, which the Lord their God hath given them, unto the fulfilling of his covenant, and also that the seed of this people may more fully believe his gospel, which shall go forth unto them from the Gentiles: for this people shall be scattered, and shall become a dark, a filthy, and loathsome people beyond the description of that which ever hath been amongst us; yea, even that which hath been among the Lamanites; and this because of their unbelief and idolatry: For behold, the spirit of the Lord hath already ceased to strive with their fathers, and they are without Christ and God in the world, and they are driven about as chaff before the wind. They were once a delightsome people, and they had Christ for their Shepherd; yea, they were led even by God the Father. But now, behold they are led about by Satan, even as chaff is driven before the wind, or as a vessel is tossed about upon the waves, without sail or anchor, or without any thing wherewith to steer her; and even as she is, so are they. And behold, the Lord hath reserved their blessing, which they might have received in the land, for the Gentiles, which shall possess the land. -- But behold, it shall come to pass that they shall be driven and scattered by the Gentiles; and after that they have been driven and scattered by the Gentiles, behold, then will the Lord remember the covenant which he made unto Abraham, and unto all the house of Israel. And also the Lord will remember the prayers of the righteous, which hath been put up unto him for them. And then, O ye Gentiles, how can ye stand before the power of God, except ye shall repent and turn from your evil ways? Know ye not that ye are in the hands of God? Know ye not that he hath all power, and at his great command the earth shall be rolled together as a scroll? Therefore repent ye, and humble yourselves before him, lest he shall come out in justice against you; lest a remnant of the seed of Jacob shall go forth among you as a lion, and tear you in pieces, and there is none to deliver.

MORMON BOOK OF MORMON CHAPTER 3

And now I finish my record concerning the destruction of my people, the Nephites. And it came to pass that we did march forth before the Lamanites. And I, Mormon, wrote an epistle unto the king of the Lamanites, and desired of him that he would grant unto us that we might gather together our people unto the land of Camorah, by the hill which was called Camorah, and there we would give them battle. And it came to pass that the king of the Lamanites did grant unto me the thing which I desired. And it came to pass that we did march forth to the land of Camorah; and we did pitch our tents round about the hill of Camorah; and it was in a land of many waters, rivers and fountains; and here we had hope to gain advantage over the Lamanites. And when three hundred and eighty and four years had passed away, we had gathered in all the remainder of our people unto the land Camorah.

And it came to pass that when we had gathered in all our people in one to the land of Camorah, behold I, Mormon, began to be old; knowing it to be the last struggle of my people, and having been commanded of the Lord that I should not suffer that the records which had been handed down by our fathers, which were sacred, to fall into the hands of the Lamanites, (for the Lamanites would destroy them,) therefore I made this record out of the plates of Nephi, and hid up in the hill of Camorah, all the records which had been entrusted to me by the hand of the Lord, save it were these few plates which I gave unto my son Moroni. And it came to pass that my people, with their wives and their children, did now behold the armies of the Lamanites a marching towards them; and with that awful fear of death which fills the breasts of all the wicked, did they await to receive them. And it came to pass that they came to battle against us, and every soul was filled with terror, because of the greatness of their numbers. And it came to pass that they did fall upon my people with the sword, and with the bow, and with the arrow, and with the axe, and with all manner of weapons of war. And it came to pass that my men were hewn down, yea, even my ten thousand which were with me, and I fell wounded in the midst; and they passed by me that they did not put an end to my life. And when they had gone through and hewn down all my people save it were twenty and four of us, (among whom was my son Moroni,) and we having survived the dead of our people, did behold on the morrow, when the Lamanites had returned unto their camps, from the top of the hill Camorah, the ten thousand of my people which were hewn down, being led in front by me, and we also beheld the ten thousand of my people which were led by my son Moroni. And behold, the ten thousand of Gidgiddonah had fallen, and he also in the midst; and Lamah had fallen with his ten thousand; and Gilgal had fallen with his ten thousand; and Limhah had fallen with his ten thousand; and Joneam had fallen with his ten thousand; and Camenihah and Moronihah, and Antionum, and Shiblom, and Shem, and Josh, had fallen with their ten thousand each.

And it came to pass that there were ten more which did fall by the sword, with their ten thousand each; yea, even all my people, save it were those twenty and four which were with me, and also a few which had escaped into the south countries, and a few which had dissented over unto the Lamanites, had fallen, and their flesh, and bones, and blood lay upon the face of the earth, being left by the hands of those who slew them, to moulder upon the land, and to crumble and to return to their mother earth. And my soul was rent with anguish, because of the slain of my people: And I cried, O ye fair ones, how could ye have departed from the ways of the Lord! O ye fair ones, how could ye have rejected that Jesus, who stood with open arms to receive you! Behold, if ye had not done this, ye would not have fallen. But behold, ye are fallen, and I mourn your loss. O ye fair sons and daughters, ye fathers and mothers, ye husbands and wives, ye fair ones, how is it that ye could have fallen! But behold, ye are gone, and my sorrows cannot bring your return; and the day soon cometh that your mortal must put on immortality, and these bodies which are now mouldering in corruption, must soon become incorruptible bodies; and then ye must stand before the judgement seat of Christ, to be judged according to your works: and if it so be that ye are righteous, then ye are blessed with your fathers which have gone before you. O that ye had repented before that this great destruction had come upon you. But behold, ye are gone, and the Father, yea, the eternal Father of heaven, knoweth your state; and he doeth with you according to his justice and mercy.

And now behold, I would speak somewhat unto the remnant of this people which are spared, if it so be that God may give unto them my words, that they may know of the things of their fathers; yea, I speak unto you, ye remnant of the house of Israel; and this is the words which I speak: Know ye that ye are of the house of Israel. Know ye that ye must come unto repentance, or ye cannot be saved. Know ye that ye must lay down your weapons of war, and delight no more in the shedding of blood, and take them not again, save it be that God shall command you. Know ye that ye must come to the knowledge of your fathers, and repent of all of your sins and iniquities, and believe in Jesus Christ, that he is the Son of God, and that he was slain by the Jews, and by the power of the Father he hath risen again, whereby he hath gained the victory over the grave; and also in him is the sting of death swallowed up. And he bringeth to pass the resurrection of the dead, whereby man must be raised to stand before his judgement seat. And he hath brought to pass the redemption of the world, whereby he that is found guiltless before him at the judgement day, hath it given unto them to dwell in the presence of God in his kingdom, to sing ceaseless praises with the choirs above, unto the Father, and unto the Son, and unto the Holy Ghost, which is one God, in a state of happiness which hath no end. Therefore repent, and be baptized in the name of Jesus, and lay hold upon the Gospel of Christ, which shall be set before you, not only in this record, but also in the record which shall come unto the Gentiles from the Jews, which record shall come from the Gentiles unto you. For behold, this is written for the intent that ye may believe that; and if ye believe that, ye will believe this also; and if ye believe this, ye will know concerning your fathers, and also the marvellous works which were wrought by the power of God among them; and ye will also know that ye are a remnant of the seed of Jacob; therefore ye are numbered among the people of the first covenant; and if it so be that ye believe in Christ, and are baptized, first with water, then with fire and with the Holy Ghost, following the example of our Saviour according to that which he hath commanded us, it shall be well with you in the day of judgement. Amen.

MORMON BOOK OF MORMON CHAPTER 4

Behold I, Moroni, do finish the record of my father Mormon. Behold, I have but a few things to write, which things I have been commanded of my father. And now it came to pass that after the great and tremendous battle at Camorah, behold, the Nephites which had escaped into the country southward, were hunted by the Lamanites, until they were all destroyed; and my father was also killed by them; and I, even I remaineth alone to write the sad tale of the destruction of my people. But behold, they are gone, and I fulfil the commandment of my father. And whether they will slay me, I know not; therefore I will write and hide up the records in the earth: and whither I go it mattereth not. Behold, my father hath made this record, and he hath written the intent thereof. And behold, I would write it also. if I had room upon the plates; but I have not; and ore I have none, for I am alone: my father hath been slain in battle, and all my kinsfolk, and I have not friends nor whither to go; and how long that the Lord will suffer that I may live, I know not. Behold, four hundred years have passed away since the coming of our Lord and Saviour. And behold, the Lamanites have hunted my people, the Nephites, down from city to city, and from place to place, even until they are no more; and great has been their fall; yea, great and marvellous is the destruction of my people, the Nephites. and behold, it is the hand of the Lord which hath done it. And behold also, the Lamanites are at war one with another; and the whole face of this land is one continual round of murder and bloodshed; and no one knoweth the end of the war. And now behold, I say no more concerning them, for there are none, save it be Lamanites and robbers, that do exist upon the face of the land; and there are none that do know the true God, save it be the disciples of Jesus, which did tarry in the land until the wickedness of the people were so great, that the Lord would not suffer them to remain with the people; and whether they be upon the face of the land, no man knoweth. But behold, my father and I have seen them, and they have ministered unto us. And whoso receiveth this record

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and shall not condemn it because of the imperfections which are in it, the same shall know of greater things than these. Behold, I am Moroni; and were it possible, I would make all things known unto you. Behold, I make an end of speaking concerning this people. I am the son of Mormon, and my father was a descendant of Nephi; and I am the same which hideth up this record unto the Lord; the plates thereof are of no worth, because of the commandment of the Lord. For he truly saith, That no one shall have them to get gain; but the record thereof is of great worth; and whoso shall bring it to light, him will the Lord bless. For none can have power to bring it to light, save it be given him of God: for God will that it shall be done with and eye singled to his glory, or the welfare of the ancient and long dispersed covenant people of the Lord. And blessed be him that shall bring this thing to light: for it shall be brought out of darkness unto light, according to the word of God; yea, it shall be brought out of the earth, and it shall shine forth out of darkness, and come unto the knowledge of the people; and it shall be done by the power of God: and if there be faults, they be the faults of a man. But behold, we know no fault. Nevertheless, God knoweth all things; therefore he that condemneth, let him be aware lest he shall be in danger of hell fire. And he that sayeth, Shew unto me, or ye shall be smitten, let him beware lest he commandeth that which is forbidden of the Lord. For behold, the same that judgeth rashly, shall be judged rashly again: for according to his works shall his wages be; therefore, he that smiteth, shall be smitten again of the Lord. Behold what the Scriptures saith: Man shall not smite, neither shall he judge: for judgement is mine, saith the Lord; and vengeance is mine also, and I will repay. And he that shall breathe out wrath and strifes against the work of the Lord, and against the covenant people of the Lord, which is the house of Israel, and shall say, We will destroy the work of the Lord, and the Lord will not remember his covenant which he hath made unto the house of Israel, the same is in danger to be hewn down and cast into the fire: for the eternal purposes of the Lord shall roll on, until all his promises shall be fulfilled. Search the prophecies of Isaiah. Behold, I cannot write them. Yea, behold I say unto you, That those saints which have gone before me, which have possessed this land, shall cry; yea, even from the dust will they cry unto the Lord; and the Lord liveth, he will remember the covenant which he hath made with them. And he knoweth their prayers, that they were in the behalf of their brethren. And he knoweth their faith: for in his name could they remove mountains; and in his name could they cause the earth to shake; and by the power of his word did they cause prisons to tumble to the earth; yea, even the fiery furnace could not harm them; neither wild beasts, nor poisonous serpents, because of the power of his word. And behold, their prayers were also in behalf of him that the Lord should suffer to bring these things forth. And no one need not say, They shall not come, for they surely shall, for the Lord hath spoken it: for out of the earth shall they come, by the hand of the Lord, and none can stay it; and it shall come in a day when it shall be said that miracles are done away; and it shall come even as if one should speak from the dead. And it shall come in a day when the blood of saints shall cry unto the Lord, because of secret combinations and the works of darkness; yea, it shall come in a day when the power of God shall be denied, and churches become defiled, and shall be lifted up in the pride of their hearts; yea, even in a day when leaders of churches, and teachers, in the pride of their hearts, even to the envying of them who belong to their churches; yea, it shall come in a day when there shall be heard of fires, and tempests, and vapors of smoke in foreign lands; and there shall also be heard of wars, and rumors of wars, and earthquakes in diverse places; yea, it shall come in a day when there shall be great pollutions upon the face of the earth: there shall be murders, and robbing, and lying, and deceivings, and whoredoms, and all manner of abominations; when there shall be many which will say, Do this, or do that, and it mattereth not, for the Lord will uphold such at the last day. But wo unto such, for they are in the gall of bitterness, and in the bonds of iniquity. Yea, it shall come in a day when there shall be churches built up that shall say, Come unto me, and for your money you shall be forgiven of your sins. O ye wicked and perverse, and stiffnecked people, why have ye built up churches unto yourselves to get gain? Why have ye transfigured the holy word of God, that ye might bring damnation upon your souls? Behold, look ye unto the revelations of God. For behold, the time cometh at that day when all these things must be fulfilled. Behold, the Lord hath shewn unto me great and marvellous things concerning that which must shortly come at that day when these things shall come forth among you. Behold, I speak unto you as if ye were present, and yet ye are not. But behold, Jesus Christ hath shewn you unto me, and I know your doings; and I know that ye do walk in the pride of your hearts; and there are none, save a few only, which do not lift themselves up in the pride of their hearts, unto the wearing of very fine apparel, unto envyings, and strifes, and malice, and persecutions, and all manner of iniquities; and your churches, yea, even every one, have become polluted because of the pride of your hearts.

For behold, ye do love money, and your substances, and your fine apparel, and the adorning of your churches, more than ye love the poor and the needy, the sick and afflicted. O ye pollutions, ye hypocrites, ye teachers, which sell yourselves for that which will canker, why have ye polluted the holy church of God? Why are ye ashamed to take upon you the name of Christ? Why do ye not think that greater is the value of an endless happiness, than that misery which never dies, because of the praise of the world? Why do ye adorn yourselves with that which hath no life, and yet suffer the hungry, and the needy, and the naked, and the sick, and the afflicted to pass by you, and notice them not? Yea, why do ye build up your secret abominations to get gain, and cause that widows should mourn before the Lord, and also orphans to mourn before the Lord; and also the blood of their fathers and their husbands to cry unto the Lord from the ground, for vengeance upon your heads? Behold, the sword of vengeance hangeth over you; and the time cometh that he avengeth the blood of the saints upon you, for he will not suffer their cries any longer. And now, I speak also concerning those who do not believe in Christ. Behold, will ye believe in the day of your visitation, behold, when the Lord shall come; yea, even that great day when the earth shall be rolled together as a scroll, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat; yea, in that great day when ye shall be brought to stand before the Lamb of God, then will ye say that there is no God? Then will ye longer deny the Christ, or can ye behold the Lamb of God? Do ye suppose that ye shall dwell with him under a consciousness of your guilt? Do ye suppose that ye could be happy to dwell with that holy Being, when your souls are racked with a consciousness of your guilt that ye have ever abused his laws? Behold I say unto you, that ye would be more miserable to dwell with a holy and just God, under a consciousness of your filthiness before him, than ye would to dwell with the damned souls in hell? For behold, when ye shall be brought to see your nakedness before God, and also the glory of God, and the holiness of Jesus Christ, it will kindle a flame of unquenchable fire upon you. O then ye unbelieving, turn ye unto the Lord; cry mightily unto the Father in the name of Jesus, that perhaps ye may be found spotless, pure, fair, and white, having been cleansed by the blood of the Lamb, at that great and last day. And again I speak unto you, who deny the revelations of God, and say that they are done away, that there is no revelations, nor prophecies, and the interpretation of tongues. Behold I say unto you, He that denieth these things, knoweth not the Gospel of Christ; yea, they have not read the Scriptures; if so, they do not understand them. For do we not read that God is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever: and in him there is no variableness, neither shadow of changing. And now, if ye have imagined up unto yourselves a god which doth vary, and in him there is shadow of changing, then have ye imagined up unto yourselves a god which is not a God of miracles. But behold, I will shew unto you a God of miracles, even the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob; and it is that same God which created the heavens and the earth, and all things that in them is. Behold, he [created] Adam; and by Adam came the fall of man. And because of the fall of man, came Jesus Christ, even the Father and the Son; and because of Jesus Christ, came the redemption of man. And because of the redemption of man, which came by Jesus Christ, they are brought back into the presence of the Lord; yea, this is wherein all men are redeemed, because the death of Christ bringeth to pass the resurrection, which bringeth to pass a redemption from an endless sleep, from which sleep all men shall be awoke by the power of God, when the trump shall sound; and they shall come forth, both small and great, and all shall stand before his bar, being redeemed and loosed from their eternal band of death, which death is a temporal death; and then cometh the judgement of the Holy One upon them; and then cometh the time that he that is filthy, shall be filthy still; and he that is righteous, shall be righteous still: he that is happy, shall be happy still; and he that is unhappy, shall be unhappy still. And now, O all ye that have imagined up unto yourselves a god which can do no miracles, I would ask of you, have all these things past, of which I have spoken? Has, the end come yet? Behold I say unto you, Nay; and God has not ceased to be a God of miracles. Behold, are not the things that God hath wrought, marvellous in our eyes? Yea, and who can comprehend the marvellous works of God? Who shall say that it was not a miracle, that by his word the heaven and the earth should be; and by the power of his word, man was created of the dust of the earth; and by the power of his word, hath miracles been wrought? And who shall say that Jesus Christ did not do many miracles? And there was many mighty miracles wrought by the hands of the apostles. And if there was miracles wrought, then why has God ceased to be God of miracles, and yet be an unchangeable being. And behold I say unto you, He changeth not: if so, he would cease to be God; and he ceaseth not to be God, and is a God of miracles. And the reason why he ceaseth to do miracles among the children of men, is because that they dwindle in unbelief, and depart from the right way, and know not the God in whom they should trust. Behold I say unto you, That whoso believeth in Christ, doubting nothing what so ever he shall ask the Father in the name of Christ, it shall be granted them: and this promise is unto all, even unto the ends of the earth. For behold, thus saith Jesus Christ, the Son of God, unto his disciples which should tarry; yea, and also to all his disciples, in the hearing of the multitude, Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature; and he that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved, but he that believeth not, shall be damned. And these signs shall follow them that believe: In my name shall they cast out Devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover; and whosoever shall believe in my name, doubting nothing, unto him will I confirm all my words, even unto the ends of the earth. And now behold, who can stand against the works of the Lord? Who can deny his sayings? Who will rise up against the almighty power of the Lord? Who will despise the works of the Lord? Who will despise the children of Christ? Behold, all ye that are despisers of the works of the Lord, for ye shall wonder and perish. O then despise not, and wonder not, but hearken unto the words of the Lord, and ask the Father in the name of Jesus for what things soever ye shall stand in need. Doubt not, but believing and begin as in times of old, and come unto the Lord with all your heart, and work out your own salvation with fear and trembling before him. Be wise in the days of your probation; strip yourselves of all uncleanness; ask not, that ye may consume it on your lusts, but ask with firmness unshaken, that ye will yield to no temptation, but that ye will serve the true and living God. See that ye are baptized unworthily; see that ye partake not of the sacrament of Christ unworthily; but see that ye do all things in worthiness, and do it in the name of Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God; and if ye do this, and endure to the end, ye will in no wise be cast out. -- Behold, I speak unto you as though I spake from the dead: for I know that ye shall hear my words. Condemn me not because of mine imperfection; neither my father, because of his imperfection; neither them which have written before him, but rather give thanks unto God that he hath made manifest unto you our imperfections, that ye may learn to be more wise than that which we have been.

And now behold, we have written this record according to our knowledge in the characters, which are called among us the reformed Egyptian being handed down and altered by us, according to our manner of speech. And if our plates had been sufficiently large, we should have written in Hebrew; but the Hebrew hath been altered by us also; and if we could have written in the Hebrew, behold, ye would have had none imperfection in our record. But the Lord knoweth the things which we have written, and also that none other people knoweth our language; and because that none other people knoweth our language, therefore he hath prepared means for the interpretation thereof. And these things are written, that we may rid our garments of the blood of our brethren which have dwindled in unbelief. And behold, these things which we have desired concerning our brethren, yea, even their restoration to the knowledge of Christ, is according to the prayers of all the saints which have dwelt in the land. And may the Lord Jesus Christ grant that their prayers may be answered according to their faith; and may God the Father remember the covenant which he hath made with the house of Israel; and may he bless them forever, through faith on the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

MORMON ETHER CHAPTER 1

And now I, Moroni, proceed to give an account of those ancient inhabitants which were destroyed by the hand of the Lord upon the face of this north country. And I take mine account from the twenty and four plates which were found by the people of Limhi, which is called the Book of Ether. And as I suppose that the first part of this record, which speaketh concerning the creation of the world, and also of Adam, an account from that time even to the great tower, and whatsoever things transpired among the children of men until that time, is had among the Jews, therefore I do not write those things which transpired from the days of Adam until that time; but they are had upon the plates; and whoso findeth them, the same will have power that he may get the full account. But behold, I give not the full account, but a part of the account I give, from the tower down until they were destroyed. And on this wise do I give the account. He that wrote this record was Ether, and he was a descendant of Coriantor; Coriantor was the son of Moron; and Moron was the son of Ethem; and Ethem was the son of Ahah; and Ahah was the son of Seth; and Seth was the son of Shiblon; and Shiblon was the son of Com; and Com was the son of Coriantum; and Coriantum was the son of Amnigaddah; and Amnigaddah was the son of Aaron; and Aaron was a descendant of Heth, who was the son of Hearthom; and Hearthom was the son of Lib; and Lib was the son of Kish; and Kish was the son of Corom; and Corom was the son of Levi; and Levi was the son of Kim; and Kim was the son of Morianton; and Morianton was a descendant of Riplakish; and Riplakish was the son of Shez; and Shez was the son of

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Heth; And Heth was the son of Com; and Com was the son of Coriantum; and Coriantum was the son of Emer; and Emer was the son of Omer; and Omer was the son of Shule; and Shule was the son of Kib; and Kib was the son of Orihah, which was the son of Jared; which Jared came forth with his brother and their families, with some others and their families, from the great tower, at the time the Lord confounded the language of the people, and swear in his wrath that they should be scattered upon all the face of the earth; and according to the word of the Lord the people were scattered. And the brother of Jared, being a large and a mighty man, and being a man highly favored of the Lord; for Jared his brother said unto him, Cry unto the Lord, that he will not confound us that we may not understand our words. And it came to pass that the brother of Jared did cry unto the Lord, and the Lord had compassion upon Jared; therefore he did not confound the language of Jared; and Jared and his brother were not confounded. Then Jared said unto his brother, Cry again unto the Lord, and it may be that he will turn away his anger from them which are our friends, that he confound not their language. And it came to pass that the brother of Jared did cry unto the Lord, and the Lord had compassion upon their friends, and their families also, that they were not confounded. And it came to pass that Jared spake again unto his brother, saying, Go and inquire of the Lord whether he will drive us out of the land; and if he will drive us out of the land, cry unto him whither we shall go. And who knoweth but the Lord will carry us forth into a land which is choice above all the earth. And if it so be, let us be faithful unto the Lord, that we may receive it for our inheritance.

And it came to pass that the brother of Jared did cry unto the Lord according to that which had been spoken by the mouth of Jared. And it came to pass that the Lord did hear the brother of Jared, and had compassion upon him, and said unto him, Go to and gather together thy flocks, both male and female, of every kind; and also of the seed of the earth of every kind, and thy families; and also Jared thy brother and his family; and also thy friends and their families, and the friend of Jared and their families. And when thou hast done this, thou shalt go at the head of them down into the valley, which is northward. And there will I meet thee, and I will go before thee into a land which is choice above all the land of the earth. And there will I bless thee and thy seed, and raise up unto me of thy seed, and the seed of thy brother, and they which shall go with thee, a great nation. And there shall be none greater than the nation which I will raise up unto me of thy seed, upon all the face of the earth. And thus I will do unto thee because of this long time which ye have cried unto me.

And it came to pass that Jared and his brother, and their families, and also the friends of Jared and his brother, and their families, went down into the valley which was northward, (and the name of the valley was Nimrod, being called after the mighty hunter,) with their flocks which they had gathered together, male and female, of every kind. And they did also lay snares and catch the fowls of the air; and they did also prepare a vessel, in the which they did carry with them the fish of the waters; and they did also carry with them deseret, which by interpretation, is a honey bee; and thus they did carry with them swarms of bees, and all manner of that which was upon the face of the land, seeds of every kind. And it came to pass that when they did come down into the valley of Nimrod, the Lord came down and talked with the brother of Jared; and he was in a clowd, and the brother of Jared saw him not. And it came to pass that the Lord commanded them that they should go forth into the wilderness, yea, into that quarter where there never had man been. And it came to pass that the Lord did go before them, and did talk with them as he stood in a cloud, and gave directions, whither they should travel. -- And it came to pass that they did travel in the wilderness, and did build barges, in the which they did cross many waters, being directed continually by the hand of the Lord. And the Lord would not suffer that they should stop beyond the sea in the wilderness, but he would that they should come forth even unto the land of promise, which was choice above all other lands, which the Lord God had preserved for a righteous people; and he had sworn in his wrath unto the brother of Jared, that whoso possess this land of promise, from that time henceforth and forever, should serve him, the true and only God, or they should be swept off when the fulness of his wrath should come upon them. And now we can behold the decrees of God concerning this land, that is a land of promise, and whatsoever nation shall possess it, shall serve God, or they shall be swept off when the fulness of his wrath shall come upon them. And the fulness of his wrath cometh upon them when they are ripened in iniquity: for behold, this is a land which is choice above all other lands; wherefore he that doth possess it shall serve God, or shall be swept off; for it is the everlasting decrees of God. And it is not until the fulness of iniquity among the children of the land, that they are swept off. And this cometh unto you, O ye Gentiles, that ye may know the decrees of God, that ye may repent, and not continue in your iniquities until the fulness be come, that ye may not bring down the fulness of the wrath of God upon you, as the inhabitants of the land hitherto done. Behold, this is a choice land, and whatsoever nation shall possess it, shall be free from bondage, and captivity, and from all other nations under the Heaven, if they will but serve the God of the land, which is Jesus Christ, which hath been manifested by the things which we have written. And now I proceed with my record: for behold it came to pass that the Lord did bring Jared and his brethren forth even to that great sea which divideth the lands. And as they came to the sea, they pitched their tents; and they called the name of the place Moriancumer; and they dwelt in tents; and dwelt in tents upon the seashore for the space of four years. And it came to pass at the end of the four years, that the Lord came again unto the brother of Jared, and stood in a cloud and talked to him. And for the space of three hours did the Lord talk with the brother of Jared, and chastened him because he remembered not to call upon the name of the Lord. And the brother of Jared repented him of the evil which he had done, and did call upon the name of the Lord for his brethern which were with him. And the Lord said unto him, I will forgive thee and thy brethren of their sins; but thou shalt not sin any more, for ye shall remember that my spirit will not always strive with man; wherefore if ye will sin until ye are fully ripe, ye shall be cut off from the presence of the Lord. And this is my thoughts upon the land which I shall give you for your inheritance; for it shall be a land choice above all other lands. And the Lord said, Go to work and build, after the manner of barges which ye have hitherto built. And it came to pass that the brother of Jared did go to work, and also his brethren, and built barges after the manner which they had built, according to the instructions of the Lord. And they were small, and they were light upon the water; and they were built after a manner that they were exceeding tight; even that they would hold water like unto a dish; and the bottom thereof was tight like unto a dish; and the sides thereof was tight like unto a dish; and the ends thereof were peaked; and the top thereof was tight like unto a dish; and the length thereof was the length of a tree; and the door thereof, when it was shut, was tight like unto a dish. And it came to pass that the brother of Jared cried unto the Lord, saying: O Lord, I have performed the work which thou hast commanded me, and I have made the barges according as thou hast directed me. And behold, O Lord, in them there is no light, whither shall we steer. -- and also we shall perish, for in them we cannot breathe, save it is the air which is in them; therefore we shall perish. And the Lord said unto the brother of Jared, Behold, thou shalt make a hole in the top thereof, and also in the bottom thereof; and when thou shalt suffer for air, thou shalt unstop the hole thereof, and receive air. And if it so be that the water come in upon thee, behold, ye shall stop the hole thereof, that ye may not perish in the flood. And it came to pass that the brother of Jared did so, according as the Lord commanded. And he cried again unto the Lord, saying, O Lord, behold I have done even as thou hast commanded me; and I have prepared the vessels for my people, and behold, there is no light in them. Behold, O Lord, wilt thou suffer that we shall cross this great water in darkness? And the Lord said unto the brother of Jared, What will ye that I should do that ye may have light in your vessels? For behold, ye cannot have windows, for they will be dashed in pieces; neither shall ye take fire with you, for ye shall not go by the light of the fire: for behold, ye shall be as a whale in the midst of the sea; for the mountain waves shall dash upon you. Nevertheless, I will bring you up again out of the depths of the sea: for the winds have gone out of my mouth, and also the rains and the floods have I sent forth. And behold, I prepare you against these things: for howbeit, ye cannot cross this great deep, save I prepare you against the waves of the sea, and the winds which have gone forth, and the floods which shall come. -- Therefore what will ye that I should prepare for you, that ye may have light when ye are swallowed up in the depths of the sea?

And it came to pass that the brother of Jared, (now the number of the vessels which had been prepared, was eight,) went forth unto the mount, which they called the mount Shelem, because of its exceeding height, and did moulten out of a rock sixteen small stones; and they were light and clear, even as transparent glass; and he did carry them in his hands upon the top of the mount, and cried again unto the Lord, saying, O Lord, thou hast said that we must be encompassed about by the floods. Now behold, O Lord, and do not be angry with thy servant because of his weakness before thee: for we know that thou art holy, and dwellest in the heavens, and that we are unworthy before thee: because of the fall, our natures have become evil continually; nevertheless, O Lord, thou hast given us a commandment that we must call upon thee, that from thee we may receive according to our desires. Behold, O Lord, thou hast smitten us because of our iniquity, and hath driven us forth, and for this many years we have been in the wilderness; nevertheless, thou hast been merciful unto us. O Lord, look upon me in pity, and turn away thine anger from this thy people, and suffer it not that they shall go forth across this raging deep in darkness, but behold these things which I have moulten out of the rock. -- And I know, O Lord, that thou hast all power, and can do whatsoever thou wilt for the benefit of man; therefore touch these stones, O Lord, with thy finger, and prepare them that they may shine forth in darkness; and they shall shine forth unto us in the vessels which we have prepared, that we may have light while we cross the sea. Behold, O Lord, thou canst do this. We know that thou art able to shew forth great power, which looks small unto the understanding of men. And it came to pass that when the brother of Jared had said those words, behold, the Lord stretched forth his hand and touched the stones, one by one, with his finger; and the veil was taken from off the eyes of the brother of Jared, and he saw the finger of the Lord; and it was as the finger of a man, like unto flesh and blood; and the brother of Jared fell down before the Lord, for he was struck with fear. And the Lord saw that the brother of Jared had fallen to the earth; and the Lord said unto him, Arise, why hast thou fallen down? And he saith unto the Lord, I saw the finger of the Lord, and I feared lest he should smite me: for I knew not that the Lord had flesh and blood. And the Lord said unto him, Because of thy faith thou hast seen that I shall take upon me flesh and blood, and never has man come before me with such exceeding faith as thou hast: for were it so, ye could not have seen my finger. Sawest thou more than this? And he answered, Nay, Lord, shew thyself unto me. And the Lord said unto him, Believest thou the words which I shall speak? And he answered, Yea, Lord, I know that thou speakest the truth, for thou art a God of truth, and canst not lie. And when he had said these words, behold, the Lord shewed himself unto him, and said, Because thou knowest these things, ye are redeemed from the fall; therefore ye are brought back into my presence; therefore I shew myself unto you. Behold, I am he which was prepared from the foundation of the world, to redeem my people. Behold, I am Jesus Christ. I am the Father and the Son. In me shall all mankind have light, and that eternally, even they which shall believe on my name; and they shall become my sons and daughters. And never hath I shewed myself unto man whom I have created, for never hath man believed in me as thou hast. Seest thou that ye are created after mine own image? Yea, even all men were created, in the beginning, after mine own image. Behold, this body, which ye now behold, is the body of my spirit; and man have I created after the body of my spirit; and even as I appear unto thee to be in the spirit, will I appear unto my people in the flesh.

And now, as I Moroni, said I could not make a full account of these things which are written, therefore it sufficeth me to say, That Jesus shewed himself unto this man in the spirit, even after the manner and in the likeness of the same body, even as he shewed himself unto the Nephites; and he ministered unto him, even as he ministered unto the Nephites: and all this, that this man knew that he was God, because of the many great works which the Lord had shewed unto him. And because of the knowledge of this man, he could not be kept from beholding within the veil: and he saw the finger of Jesus, which when he saw, he fell with fear: for he knew that it was the finger of the Lord; and he had faith no longer, for he knew, nothing doubting; wherefore, having this perfect knowledge of God, he could not be kept from within the veil; therefore he saw Jesus, and he did minister unto him.

And it came to pass that the Lord said unto the brother of Jared, Behold, thou shalt not suffer these things which ye have seen and heard, to go forth unto the world, until the time cometh that I shall glorify my name in the flesh; wherefore, ye shall treasure up the things which ye have seen and heard, and shew it to no man. And behold, when ye shall come unto me, ye shall write them and shall seal them up, that no one can interpret them: for ye shall write them in a language that they cannot read. And behold, these two stones will I give unto thee, and ye shall seal them up also with the things which ye shall write. For behold, the language which ye shall write, I have confounded; wherefore I will cause in mine own due time that these stones shall magnify to the eyes of men, these things which ye shall write. And when the Lord had said these words, the Lord shewed unto the brother of Jared all the inhabitants of the earth which had been, and also all that would be; and the Lord withheld them not from his sight, even unto the ends of the earth: for the Lord had said unto him in times before, that if he would believe in him, that he could shew unto him all things -- it should be shewn unto him; therefore the Lord could not withhold any thing from him: for he knew that the Lord could shew him all things. And the Lord said unto him, Write these things and seal them up, and I will shew them in mine own due time unto the children of men.

And it came to pass that the Lord commanded him that he should seal up the two stones which he had received, and shew them not, until the Lord should shew them unto the children of men. And the Lord commanded the brother of Jared to go down out of the mount from the presence of the Lord, and write the things which he had seen: and they were forbidden to come unto the children of men, until after that he should be lifted up upon the cross: and for this cause did king Benjamin keep them, that they should not come unto the world until after Christ shew himself unto his people. And after that Christ truly had shewed himself unto his people, he

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commanded that they should be made manifest. And now, after that, they have all dwindled in unbelief, and there is none, save it be the Lamanites, and they have rejected the Gospel of Christ; therefore I am commanded that I should hide them up again in the earth. Behold, I have written upon these plates the very things which the brother of Jared saw; and there never was greater things made manifest, than that which was made manifest unto the brother of Jared; wherefore, the Lord hath commanded me to write them; and I have wrote them. And he commanded me that I should seal them up; and he also hath commanded that I should seal up the interpretation thereof; wherefore I have sealed up the interpreters. according to the commandments of the Lord. For the Lord saith unto me, They shall not go forth unto the Gentiles until the day that they shall repent of their iniquity, and become clean before the Lord; and in that day that they shall exercise faith in me, saith the Lord, even as the brother of Jared did, that they may become sanctified in me, then will I manifest unto them the things which the brother of Jared saw, even to the unfolding unto them all my revelations, saith Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Father of the heavens and of the earth, and all things that in them is. And he that will contend against the word of the Lord, let him be accursed; and he that shall deny these things, saith Jesus Christ, for I am he which speaketh; and at my command the heavens are opened and are shut; and at my word, the earth shall shake; and at my command the inhabitants thereof shall pass away, even so as by fire; and he that believeth not my words, believeth not my disciples; and if it so be that I do not speak, judge ye: for ye shall know that it is I that speaketh, at the last day. But he that believeth these things which I have spoken, him will I visit with the manifestations of my spirit, and he shall know and bear record. For because of my spirit, he shall know that these things are true: for it persuadeth men to do good; and whatsoever thing persuadeth men to do good, is of me: for good cometh of none, save it be of me. I am the same that leadeth men to all good: he that will not believe my words, will not believe me, will not believe the Father which sent me. For behold, I am the Father, I am the light, and the life, and the truth of the world. Come unto me, O ye Gentiles, and I will shew unto you the greater things, the knowledge which is hid up because of unbelief. Come unto me, O ye house of Israel, and it shall be made manifest unto you how great things the father hath laid up for you, from the foundation of the world; and it hath not come unto you, because of the unbelief. Behold, when ye shall rend that veil of unbelief which doth cause you to remain in your awful state of wickedness, and hardness of heart, and blindness of mind, then shall the great and marvellous things which have been hid up from the foundation of the world from you; yea, when ye shall call upon the father in my name, with a broken heart and a contrite spirit, then shall ye know that the Father hath remembered the covenant which he made unto your fathers, O house of Israel; and then shall my revelations which I have caused to be written by my servant John, be unfolded in the eyes of all the people. Remember, when ye see these things, ye shall know that the time is at hand that they shall be made manifest in very deed; therefore, when ye shall receive this record, ye may know that the work of the Father has commenced upon all the face of the land. Therefore, repent all ye ends of the earth, and come unto me, and believe in my Gospel, and be baptized in my name: for he that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned: and signs shall follow them that believe in my name. And blessed is he that is found faithful unto my name, at the last day: for they shall be lifted up to dwell in the kingdom prepared for them from the foundation of the world. And behold, it is I that hath spoken it. Amen.

MORMON ETHER CHAPTER 2

And now I, Moroni, have written the words which was commanded me, according to my memory; and I have told you the things which I have sealed up; therefore touch them not, in order that ye may translate: for that thing is forbidden you, except by and by it shall be wisdom in God. And behold, ye may be privileged that ye may shew the plates unto those who shall assist to bring forth this work; and unto three shall they be shewn by the power of God; wherefore, they shall know of a surety that these things are true. And in the mouth of three witnesses shall these things be established; and the testimony of three, and this work, in which shall be shewn forth the power of God, and also his word, of which the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost beareth record; and all this shall stand as a testimony against the world, at the last day. And if it so be that they repent and come unto the Father in the name of Jesus, they shall be received into the kingdom of God. And now, if I have no authority for these things, judge ye, for ye shall know that I have authority when ye shall see me, and we shall stand before God at the last day. Amen.

MORMON ETHER CHAPTER 3

And now I, Moroni, proceed to give the record of Jared and his brother. For it came to pass after that the Lord had prepared the stones which the brother of Jared had carried up into the mount, the brother of Jared came down out of the mount, and he did put forth the stones into the vessels which were prepared, one in each end thereof; and behold, they did give light unto the vessels thereof. And thus the Lord caused the stones to shine in darkness, to give light unto men, women and children, that they might not cross the great waters in darkness.

And it came to pass that when they had prepared all manner of food, that thereby they might subsist upon the water, and also food for their flocks and herds, and whatsoever beast, or animal, or fowl that they should carry with them. And it came to pass that when they had done all these things, they got aboard of their vessels or barges, and set forth into the sea, commending themselves unto the Lord their God. And it came to pass that the Lord caused that there should a furious wind blow upon the face of the waters, towards the promised land; and thus they were tossed upon the waves of the sea before the wind. And it came to pass that they were many times buried in the depths of the sea, because of the mountain waves which broke upon them, and also the great and terrible tempests which were caused by the fierceness of the wind.

And it came to pass that when they were buried in the deep, there was no water that could hurt them, their vessels being tight like unto a dish, and also they were tight like unto the ark of Noah; therefore when they were encompassed about by many waters, they did cry unto the Lord, and he did bring them forth again upon the top of the waters. And it came to pass that the wind did never cease to blow towards the promised land, while they were upon the waters; and thus they were driven forth before the wind; and they did sing praises unto the Lord; yea, the brother of Jared did sing praises unto the Lord, and he did thank and praise the Lord all the day long; and when the night came, they did not cease to praise the Lord. And thus they were driven forth; and no monster of the sea, could break them, neither whale that could mar them: and they did have light continually, whether it was above the water or under the water. And thus they were driven forth, three hundred and forty and four days upon the water; and they did land upon the shore of the promised land. And when they had set their feet upon the shores of the promised land, they bowed themselves down upon the face of the land, and did humble themselves before the Lord, and did shed tears of joy before the Lord, because of the multitude of his tender mercies over them.

And it came to pass that they went forth upon the face of the land, and began to till the earth. And Jared had four sons; and they were called Jacom, and Gilgah, and Mahah, and Orihah. And the brother of Jared also begat sons and daughters. And the friend of Jared and his brother, were in number about twenty and two souls; and they also begat sons and daughters, before they came to the promised land; and therefore they began to be many. And they were taught to walk humbly before the Lord; and they were also taught from on high.

And it came to pass that they began to spread upon the face of the land, and to multiply and to till the earth; and they did wax strong in the land. And the brother of Jared began to be old, and saw that he must soon go down to the grave; wherefore he saith unto Jared, Let us gather together our people, that we may number them, that we may know of them what they will desire of us before we go down to our graves. And accordingly the people were gathered together. Now the number of the sons and daughters of the brother of Jared were twenty and two souls; and the number of the sons and daughters of Jared were twelve, he having four sons. And it came to pass that they did number all their people; and after that they had numbered them, they did desire of them the things which they would that they should do before they went down to their graves. And it came to pass that the people desired of them that they should anoint one of their sons to be a king over them. And now behold, this was grievous unto them. -- But the brother of Jared said unto them, Surely, this thing leadeth into captivity. But Jared said unto his brother, Suffer them that they may have a king; and therefore he said unto them, Choose ye out from among our sons a king, even whom ye will.

And it came to pass that they chose even the first born of the brother of Jared; and his name was Pagag. And it came to pass that he refused and would not be their king. And the people would that his father should constrain him; but his father would not; and he commanded them that they should constrain no man to be their king. And it came to pass that they chose all the brothers of Pagag, and they would not. -- And it came to pass that neither would the sons of Jared, even all, save it were one; and Orihah, he was anointed to be king over the people. And he began to reign, and the people began to prosper; and they became exceeding rich. And it came to pass that Jared died, and his brother also. And it came to pass that Orihah did walk humbly before the Lord, and did remember how great things the Lord had done for his father, and also taught his people how great things the Lord had done for their fathers.

And it came to pass that Orihah did execute judgement upon the land in righteousness all his days, whose days were exceeding many. And he begat sons and daughters; yea, he begat thirty and one, among whom were twenty and three sons. And it came to pass that he also begat Kib in his old age. And it came to pass that Kib reigned in his stead; and Kib begat Corihor. And when Corihor was thirty and two years old, he rebelled against his father, and went over and dwelt in the land of Nehor; and he begat sons and daughters; and they became exceeding fair; wherefore Corihor drew away many people after him. And when he had gathered together an army, he came up unto the land of Moron where the king dwelt, and took him captive, which brought to pass the saying of the brother of Jared, That they would be brought into captivity. Now the land of Moron where the king dwelt, was near the land which is called Desolation by the Nephites. -- And it came to pass that Kib dwelt in captivity, and his people, under Corihor his son, until he became exceeding old; nevertheless Kib begat Shule in his old age, while he was yet in captivity.

And it came to pass that Shule was angry with his brother; and Shule waxed strong, and became mighty, as to the strength of a man; and he was also mighty in judgement. Wherefore he came to the hill Ephraim, and he did moulten out of the hill, and made swords out of steel for those which he had drew away with him; and after he had armed them with swords, he returned to the city Nehor, and gave battle unto his brother Corihor, by which means he obtained the kingdom, and restored it unto his father Kib. And now because of the thing which Shule had done, his father bestowed upon him the kingdom; therefore he began to reign in the stead of his father. And it came to pass that he did execute judgement in righteousness; and he did spread his kingdom upon all the face of the land, for the people had become exceeding numerous. -- And it came to pass that Shule also begat many sons and daughters. And Corihor repented of the many evils which he had done; wherefore Shule gave him power in his kingdom. And it came to pass that Corihor had many sons and daughters. -- And among the sons of Corihor, there was one whose name was Noah.

And it came to pass that Noah rebelled against Shule, the king, and also his father Corihor, and drew away Cohor his brother, and also his brethren and many of the people. -- And he gave battle unto Shule, the king in the which he did obtain the land of their first inheritance; and he became a king over that part of the land. And it came to pass that he gave battle again unto Shule the king; and he took Shule the king, and carried him away captive into Moron. And it came to pass as he was about to put him to death, the sons of Shule crept into the house of Noah by night and slew him, and broke down the door of the prison and brought out their father, and placed him upon his throne in his own kingdom; wherefore the son of Noah did build up his kingdom in his stead; nevertheless they did not gain power any more over Shule the king; and the people which were under the reign of Shule the king, did prosper exceedingly and wax great. And the country was divided; and there was two kingdoms, the kingdom of Shule, and the kingdom of Cohor, the son of Noah. And Cohor, the son of Noah, caused that his people should give battle unto Shule, in the which Shule did beat them, and did slay Cohor. And now Cohor had a son which was called Nimrod; and Nimrod gave up the kingdom of Cohor unto Shule, and he did gain favor in the eyes of Shule; wherefore Shule did bestow great favor upon him, in the which he did do in the kingdom of Shule according to his desires; and also in the reign of Shule there came prophets among the people, which were sent from the Lord, prophesying that the wickedness and idolatry of the people was bringing a curse upon the land, in the which they should be destroyed, if they did not repent.

And it came to pass that the people did revile against the prophets, and did mock them. And it came to pass that king Shule did execute judgement against all those who did revile against the prophets; and he did execute a law throughout all the land, which gave power unto the prophets that they should go whithersoever they would; and by this cause the people were brought unto repentance. And because the people did repent of their iniquities and idolatries, the Lord did spare them, and they began to prosper again in the land. And it came to pass that Shule begat sons and daughters in his old age. And there was no more wars in the days of Shule; and he remembered the great things that the Lord had done for his fathers in bringing them across the great deep into the promised land; wherefore he did execute judgement in righteousness all his days.

And it came to pass that he begat Omer, and Omer reigned in his stead. And Omer begat Jared; and Jared begat sons and daughters. And Jared rebelled against his father, and came and dwelt in the land of Heth. And it came to pass that he did flatter much people, because of his cunning words until he had gained the half of the kingdom. And when he had gained the half of the kingdom, he gave battle unto his father, and he did carry away his father into captivity, and did make him serve in captivity. And now in the days of the reign of Omer, he was in captivity the half of his days. And it came to pass that he begat sons and daughters, among whom were Esrom and Coriantumr; and they were exceeding angry because of the

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doings of Jared their brother, insomuch that they did raise an army, and gave battle unto Jared. And it came to pass that they did give battle unto him by night. -- And it came to pass that when they had slew the army of Jared, they were about to slay him also; and he plead with them that they would not slay him, and he would give up the kingdom unto his father. And it came to pass that they did grant unto him his life. And now Jared became exceeding sorrowful because of the loss of the kingdom, for he had set his heart upon the kingdom, and upon the glory of the world. Now the daughter of Jared being exceeding expert, and seeing the sorrows of her father, thought to devise a plan whereby she could redeem the kingdom unto her father. Now the daughter of Jared was exceeding fair. And it came to pass that she did talk with her father, and saith unto him, Whereby hath my father so much sorrow? Hath he not read the record which our fathers brought across the great deep? Behold, is there not an account concerning them of old, that they by their secret plans did obtain kingdoms and great glory? And now therefore, let my father send for Akish, the son of Kimmer; and behold, I am fair, and I will dance before him, and I will please him, that he will desire me to wife; wherefore if he shall desire of thee that ye shall give unto him me to wife, then shall ye say, I will give her if ye will bring unto me the head of my father, the king. And now Omer was a friend to Akish, wherefore when Jared had sent for Akish, the daughter of Jared danced before him, that she pleased him, insomuch that he desired her to wife. And it came to pass that he said unto Jared, Give her unto me to wife. And Jared said unto him, I will give her unto you, if ye will bring unto me the head of my father, the king. And it came to pass that Akish gathered in unto the house of Jared all his kinsfolks, and saith unto them, Will ye swear unto me that ye will be faithful unto me in the thing which I shall desire of you? And it came to pass that they all sware unto him, by the God of Heaven, and also by the Heavens, and also by the earth, and by their heads, that whoso should vary from the assistance which Akish desired, should lose his head; and whoso should divulge whatsoever thing Akish made known unto them, the same should lose his life. And it came to pass that thus they did agree with Akish. And Akish did administer unto them the oaths which was given by them of old, who also sought power, which had been handed down even from Cain, who was a murderer from the beginning. And they were kept up by the power of the devil to administer these oaths unto the people, to keep them in darkness, to help such as sought power, to gain power, and to murder, and to plunder, and to lie, and to commit all manner of wickedness and whoredoms. -- And it was the daughter of Jared which put it into his heart to search up these things of old; and Jared put it into the heart of Akish; wherefore Akish administered it unto his kindreds and friends, leading them away by fair promises to do whatsoever thing he desired. And it came to pass that they formed a secret combination, even as they of old; which combination is most abominable and wicked above all, in the sight of God: for the Lord worketh not in secret combinations, neither doth he will that man should shed blood, but in all things hath forbidden it, from the beginning of man. And now I, Moroni, do not write the manner of their oaths and combinations, for it hath been made known unto me that they are had among all people, and they are had among the Lamanites, and they have caused the destruction of this people of which I am now speaking, and also the destruction of the people of Nephi; and whatsoever nation shall uphold such secret combinations, to get power and gain, until they shall spread over the nation, behold, they shall be destroyed, for the Lord will not suffer that the blood of his saints, which shall be shed by them, shall always cry unto him from the ground for vengeance upon them, and yet he avengeth them not; wherefore, O ye Gentiles, it is wisdom in God that these things should be shewn unto you, that thereby ye may repent of your sins, and suffer not that these murderous combinations shall get above you, which are built up to get power and gain, and the work, yea, even the work of destruction come upon you; yea, even the sword of justice of the eternal God, shall fall upon you, to your overthrow and destruction, if ye shall suffer these things to be; wherefore the Lord commandeth you, when ye shall see these things come among you, that ye shall awake to a sense of your awful situation, because of this secret combination which shall be among you, or wo be unto it, because of the blood of them which have been slain: for they cry from the dust for vengeance upon it, and also upon those who build it up. For it cometh to pass that whoso buildeth it up, seeketh to overthrow the freedom of all lands, nations and countries; and it bringeth to pass the destruction of all people: for it is built up by the devil, which is the father of all lies; even that same liar which beguiled our first parents; yea, even the same liar which hath caused man to commit murder from the beginning; which hath hardened the hearts of men, that they have murdered the prophets, and stoned them, and cast them out from the beginning. Wherefore I, Moroni, am commanded to write these things, that evil may be done away, and that the time may come that satan may have no power upon the hearts of the children of men, but that they may be persuaded to do good continually, that they may come unto the fountain of all righteousness and be saved.

MORMON ETHER CHAPTER 4

And now I, Moroni, proceed with my record. Therefore behold, it came to pass that because of the secret combinations of Akish and his friends, behold they did overthrow the kingdom of Omer; nevertheless, the Lord was merciful unto Omer, and also his sons and daughters, which were not, or which did not seek his destruction. And the Lord warned Omer in a dream, that he should depart out of the land; wherefore Omer departed out of the land with his family, and travelled many days, and came over and passed by the hill of Shim, and came over by the place where the Nephites were destroyed, and from thence eastward, and came to a place which was called Ablom, by the seashore, and there he pitched his tent, and also his sons and his daughters, and all his household, save it were Jared and his family.

And it came to pass that Jared was anointed king over the people, by the hand of wickedness; and he gave unto Akish his daughter to wife. And it came to pass that Akish sought the life of his father-in-law; and he applied unto those whom he had sworn by the oath of the ancients, and they obtained the head of his father-in-law, as he sat upon his throne, giving audience to his people: for so great had been the spreading of this wicked and secret society, that it had corrupted the hearts of all the people; therefore Jared was murdered upon his throne, and Akish reigned in his stead. And it came to pass that Akish began to be jealous of his son, therefore he shut him up in prison, and kept him upon a little or no food, until he had suffered death. And now the brother of him that suffered death, (and his name was Nimrah,) was angry with his father, because of that which his father had done unto his brother. And it came to pass that Nimrah gathered together a small number of men, and fled out of the land, and came over and dwelt with Omer. And it came to pass that Akish begat other sons, and they won the hearts of the people, notwithstanding they had sworn unto him to do all manner of iniquity, according to that which he desired. Now the people of Akish were desirous for gain, even as Akish was desirous of power; wherefore the sons of Akish did offer them money, by the which means they drew away the more part of the people after them; and there began to be a war between the sons of Akish and Akish, which lasted for the space of many years; yea, unto the destruction of nearly all the people of the kingdom; yea, even all, save it were thirty souls, and they which fled with the house of Omer; wherefore Omer was restored again to the land of his inheritance. And it came to pass that Omer began to be old; nevertheless, in his old age he begat Emer; and he anointed Emer to be king to reign in his stead. And after that he anointed Emer to be king, he saw peace in the land for the space of two years, and he died, having seen exceeding many days, which were full of sorrow. And it came to pass that Emer did reign in his stead, and did fill the steps of his father. And the Lord began again to take the curse from off the land, and the house of Emer did prosper exceedingly under the reign of Emer; and in the space of sixty and two years, they had become exceeding strong, insomuch that they became exceeding rich, having all manner of fruit, and of grain, and of silks, and of fine linen, and of gold, and of silver, and of precious things, and also all manner of cattle, of oxen, and cows, and of sheep, and of swine, and of goats, and also many other kind of animals, which were useful for the food of man; and they also had horses, and asses, and there were elephants, and cureloms, and cumoms; all of which were useful unto man, and more especially the elephants, and cureloms, and cumoms. And thus the Lord did pour out his blessings upon this land, which was choice above all other lands; and he commanded that whoso should possess the land, should possess it unto the Lord, or they should be destroyed when they were ripened in iniquity: for upon such, saith the Lord, I will pour out the fulness of my wrath. And Emer did execute judgement in righteousness, all his days; and he begat many sons and daughters; and he begat Coriantum; and he anointed Coriantum to reign in his stead. And after he anointed Coriantum to reign in his stead, he lived four years, and he saw peace in the land; yea, and he even saw the son of righteousness, and did rejoice and glory in his days; and he died in peace. And it came to pass that Coriantum did walk in the steps of his father, and did build many mighty cities, and did administer that which is good unto his people, in all his days. And it came to pass that he had no children, even until he was exceeding old. And it came to pass that his wife died, being an hundred and two years old. And it came to pass that Coriantum took to wife, in his old age, a young maid, and begat sons and daughters; wherefore he lived until he was an hundred and forty and two years old. And it came to pass that he begat Com, and Com reigned in his stead; and he reigned forty and nine years, and he begat Heth, and he also begat other sons and daughters. And the people had spread again over all the face of the land, and there began to be an exceeding great wickedness upon the face of the land, and Heth began to embrace the secret plans again of old, to destroy his father. And it came to pass that he did dethrone his father: for he slew him with his own sword; and he did reign in his stead. And there came prophets in the land again, crying repentance unto them; that they must prepare the way of the Lord, or there should come a curse upon the face of the land; yea, even there should be a great famine, in the which they should be destroyed, if they did not repent. But the people believed not the words of the prophets, but they cast them out; and some of them they cast into pits, and left them to perish. And it came to pass that they done all these things according to the commandment of the king Heth. And it came to pass that there began to be a great dearth upon the land, and the inhabitants began to be destroyed exceeding fast, because of the dearth: for there was no rain upon the face of the earth; and there came forth poisonous serpents also upon the face of the land, and did poison many people. And it came to pass that their flocks began to flee before the poisonous serpents, towards the land southward, which was called by the Nephites, Zarahemla. And it came to pass that there were many of them which did perish by the way; nevertheless, there were some which fled into the land southward. And it came to pass that the Lord did cause the serpents that they should pursue them no more, but that they should hedge up the way, that the people could not pass; that whoso should attempt to pass, might fall by the poisonous serpents. And it came to pass that the people did follow the course of the beasts, and did devour the carcasses of them which fell by the way, until they had devoured them all. Now when the people saw that they must perish, they began to repent of their iniquities, and cry unto the Lord. And it came to pass that when they humbled themselves sufficiently before the Lord, the Lord did send rain upon the face of the earth, and the people began to revive again, and there began to be fruits in the north countries, and in all the countries round about. And the Lord did shew forth his power unto them, in preserving them from famine. And it came to pass that Shez, which was a descendant of Heth, for Heth had perished by the famine, and all his household, save it were Shez: wherefore Shez began to build up again a broken people. And it came to pass that Shez did remember the destruction of his fathers, and he did build up a righteous kingdom, for he remembered what the Lord had done in bringing Jared and his brother across the deep; and he did walk in the ways of the Lord, and he begat sons and daughters. And his eldest son, whose name was Shez, did rebel against him; nevertheless, Shez was smitten by the hand of a robber, because of his exceeding riches, which brought peace again unto his father. And it came to pass that his father did build up many cities upon the face of the land, and the people began again to spread over all the face of the land. And Shez did live to an exceeding old age; and he begat Riplakish, and he died. And Riplakish reigned in his stead. And it came to pass that Riplakish did not do that which was right in the sight of the Lord, for he did have many wives and concubines, and did lay that upon men's shoulders which was grievous to be borne; yea, he did tax them with heavy taxes; and with the taxes he did build many spacious buildings. And he did erect him an exceeding beautiful throne, and he did build many prisons, and whoso were not able to pay taxes he did cast into prison; and he did cause that they should labor continually for their support; and whoso refused to labor, he did cause to be put to death; wherefore he did obtain all his fine work; yea, even his fine gold he did cause to be refined in prison, and all manner of fine workmanship he did cause to be wrought in prison. And it came to pass that he did afflict the people with his whoredoms and abominations; and when he had reigned for the space of forty and two years, the people did raise up in rebellion against him, and there began to be war again in the land, insomuch that Riplakish was killed and his descendants were driven out of the land.

And it came to pass after a space of many years, Morianton, (he being a descendant of Riplakish,) gathered together an army of outcasts, and went forth and gave battle unto the people; and he gained power over many cities; and the war became exceeding sore, and did last for the space of many years, and he did gain power over all the land, and did establish himself king over all the land. And after that he established himself king, he did ease the burden of the people, in the which he did gain favor in the eyes of the people, and they did anoint him to be their king. And he did do justice unto the people, but not unto himself, because of his many whoredoms; wherefore he was cut off from the presence of the Lord. And it came to pass that Morianton built up many cities, and the people became exceeding rich under his reign, both in buildings, and in gold, and in silver, and in raising grain, and in flocks, and herds, and such things which had been restored unto them. And Morianton did live to an exceeding great age, and then he begat Kim; and Kim did reign in the stead of his father; and he did reign eight years, and his father died. And it came to pass that Kim did not reign in righteousness, wherefore he was not favored of the Lord. And his brother did raise up in rebellion against him, in the which he did bring him into captivity; and he did remain in captivity all his days; and he begat sons and daughters in captivity; and in his old age he begat Levi, and he died.

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And it came to pass that Levi did serve in captivity after the death of his father, for the space of forty and two years. And he did make war against the king of the land, in the which he did obtain unto himself the kingdom. And after that he had obtained unto himself the kingdom, he did that which was right in the sight of the Lord; and the people did prosper in the land, and he did live to a good old age, and begat sons and daughters; and he also begat Corom, whom he anointed in his stead. And it came to pass that Corom did that which was good in the sight of the Lord, all his days; and he begat many sons and daughters; and after that he had seen many days, he did pass away, even like unto the rest of the earth; and Kish reigned in his stead. And it came to pass that Kish passed away also, and Lib reigned in his stead. And it came to pass that Lib also did that which was good in the sight of the Lord. And in the days of Lib the poisonous serpents were destroyed; wherefore they did go into the land southward, to hunt food for the people of the land; for the land was covered with animals of the forest. And Lib also became a great hunter. -- And they built a great city by the narrow neck of land, by the place where the sea divides the land. And they did preserve the land southward for a wilderness, to get game. And the whole face of the land northward was covered with inhabitants; and they were exceeding industrious, and they did buy and sell, and traffic one with another, that they might get gain. And they did work in all manner of ore, and they did make gold, and silver, and iron, and brass, and all manner of metals; and they did dig it out of the earth; wherefore they did cast up mighty heaps of earth for to get ore, of gold, and of silver, and of iron, and of copper. And they did work all manner of fine work. And they did have silks, and fine twined linen; and they did work all manner of cloth, that they might clothe themselves from their nakedness. And they did make all manner of tools to till the earth, both to plough and to sow, to reap and to hoe, and also to thrash. And they did make all manner of tools in the which they did work their beasts. And they did make all manner of weapons of war. And they did work all manner of work of exceeding curious workmanship. And never could be a people more blessed than were they, and more prospered by the hand of the Lord. And they were in a land that was choice above all lands, for the Lord had spoken it. And it came to pass that Lib did live many years, and begat sons and daughters; and he also begat Hearthom. And it came to pass that Hearthom reigned in the stead of his father. And when Hearthom had reigned twenty and four years, behold the kingdom was taken away from him. And he served many years in captivity; yea, even all the remainder of his days. And he begat Heth, and Heth lived in captivity all his days. And Heth begat Aaron, and Aaron dwelt in captivity all his days; and he begat Amnigaddah, and Amnigaddah also dwelt in captivity in all his days; and he begat Coriantum, and Coriantum dwelt in captivity all his days; and he begat Com. And it came to pass that Com drew away the half of the kingdom. And he reigned over the half of the kingdom forty and two years; and he went to battle against the king Amgid, and they fought for the space of many years, in the which Com gained power over Amgid and obtained power over the remainder of the kingdom. And in the days of Com there began to be robbers in the land; and they adopted the old plans, and administered oaths after the manner of the ancients, and sought to destroy the kingdom. Now Com did fight against them much; nevertheless, he did not prevail against them. And there came also in the days of Com many prophets, and prophesied of the destruction of that great people, except they should repent and turn unto the Lord, and forsake their murders and wickedness.

And it came to pass that the prophets were rejected by the people, and they fled unto Com for protection, for the people sought to destroy them; and they prophesied unto Com many things: and he was blessed in all the remainder of his days. And he lived to a good old age, and begat Shiblom; and Shiblom reigned in his stead. And the brother of Shiblom rebelled against him; and there began to be an exceeding great war in all the land.

And it came to pass that the brother of Shiblom did cause that all the prophets which prophesied of the destruction of the people, should be put to death; and there was great calamity in all the land: for they had testified that a great curse should come upon the land, and also upon the people, and that there should be a great destruction among them, such an one as never had been upon the face of the earth; and their bones should become as heaps of earth upon the face of the land, except they should repent of their wickedness. And they hearkened not unto the voice of the Lord, because of their wicked combinations; wherefore there began to be wars and contentions in all the land, and also many famines and pestilences, insomuch that there was a great destruction, such an one as never had been known upon the face of the earth: and all this came to pass in the days of Shiblom. And the people began to repent of their iniquity; inasmuch as they did, the Lord did have mercy on them.

And it came to pass that Shiblom was slain, and Seth was brought into captivity; and he did dwell in captivity all his days. And it came to pass that Ahah, his son, did obtain the kingdom; and he did reign over the people all his days. And he did do all manner of iniquity in his days, in the which he did cause the shedding of much blood; and few were his days. And Ethem, being a descendant of Ahah, did obtain the kingdom; and he also did do that which was wicked in his days. And it came to pass in the days of Ethem, there came many prophets and prophesied again unto the people; yea, they did prophesy that the Lord would utterly destroy them from off the face of the earth, except they repented of their iniquities. And it came to pass that the people hardened their hearts, and would not hearken unto their words; and the prophets mourned and withdrew from among the people.

And it came to pass that Ethem did execute judgement in wickedness all his days; and he begat Moron. And it came to pass that Moron did reign in his stead; and Moron did do that which was wicked before the Lord. And it came to pass that there arose a rebellion among the people, because of that secret combination which was built up to get power and gain; and there arose a mighty man among them in iniquity, and gave battle unto Moron, in the which he did overthrow the half of the kingdom; and he did maintain the half of the kingdom for many years. And it came to pass that Moron did overthrow him, and did obtain the kingdom again. And it came to pass that there arose another mighty man; and he was a descendant of the brother of Jared. And it came to pass that he did overthrow Moron and obtain the kingdom; wherefore Moron dwelt in captivity all the remainder of his days; and he begat Coriantor.

And it came to pass that Coriantor dwelt in captivity all his days. And in the days of Coriantor there also came many prophets, and prophesied of great and marvellous things, and cried repentance unto the people, and except they should repent, the Lord God would execute judgement against them to their utter destruction; and that the Lord God would send or bring forth another people to possess the land, by his power, after the manner which he brought their fathers. And they did reject all the words of the prophets, because of their secret society and wicked abominations. And it came to pass that Coriantor begat Ether, and he died, having dwelt in captivity all his days.

MORMON ETHER CHAPTER 5

And it came to pass that the days of Ether was in the days of Coriantumr; and Coriantumr was king over all the land. -- And Ether was a prophet of the Lord; wherefore Ether came forth in the days of Coriantumr, and began to prophesy unto the people, for he could not be constrained because of the spirit of the Lord which was in him: for he did cry from the morning, even until the going down of the sun, exhorting the people to believe in God unto repentance, lest they should be destroyed saying unto them, That by faith all things are fulfilled; wherefore, whoso believeth in God, might with surety hope for a better world, yea, even a place at the right hand of God, which hope cometh of faith, maketh an anchor to the souls of men; which make them sure and steadfast, always abounding in good works, being led to glorify God. And it came to pass that Ether did prophesy great and marvellous things unto the people. which they did not believe, because they saw them not. And Now I, Moroni, would speak somewhat concerning these things: I would shew unto the world that faith is things which are hoped for and not seen; wherefore, dispute not because ye see not, for ye receive no witness until after the trial of your faith: for it was by faith that Christ shewed himself unto our fathers, after that he had risen from the dead; and he shewed not himself unto them, until after they had faith in him, for he shewed himself not unto the world. But because of the faith of men, he has shewn himself unto the world, and glorified the name of the Father, and prepared a way that thereby others might be partakers of the heavenly gift, that they might hope for those things which they have not seen; wherefore ye may also have hope, and be partakers of the gift, if ye will have faith. Behold, it was by faith that they of old were called after the holy order of God; wherefore by faith was the law of Moses given. But in the gift of his Son, hath God prepared a more excellent way; and it is by faith that it hath been fulfilled: for if there be no faith among the children of men, God can do no miracle among them; wherefore he shewed not himself until after their faith. Behold, it was the faith of Alma and Amulek that caused the prison to tumble to the earth. Behold, it was the faith of Nephi and Lehi, that wrought the change upon the Lamanites, that they were baptized with fire and with the Holy Ghost. Behold it was the faith of Ammon and his brethren which wrought so great a miracle among the Lamanites; yea, and even all they which wrought miracles, wrought them by faith, even those which were before Christ, and also them which were after. And it was by faith that the three disciples obtained a promise that they should not taste of death; and they obtained not the promise until after their faith. And neither at any time hath any wrought miracles until after their faith; wherefore they first believed in the Son of God. And there were many whose faith was so exceeding strong even before Christ came, which could not be kept from within the veil, but truly saw with their eyes the things which they had beheld with an eye of faith, and they were glad. And behold, we have seen in this record, that one of these was the brother of Jared: for so great was his faith in God, that when God put forth his finger, he could not hide it from the sight of the brother of Jared, because of his word which he had spoken unto him, which word he had obtained by faith. And after that the brother of Jared had beheld the finger of the Lord, because of the promise which the brother of Jared had obtained by faith, the Lord could not withhold any thing from his sight; wherefore he shewed him all things, for he could no longer be kept without the veil. And it is by faith that my fathers have obtained the promise that these things should come unto their brethren through the Gentiles; therefore the Lord hath commanded me, yea, even Jesus Christ. And I said unto him, Lord, the Gentiles will mock at these things because of our weakness in writing: for Lord, thou hast made us mighty in word by faith, whereunto thou hast not made us mighty in writing: for thou hast made all this people that they could speak much, because of the Holy Ghost which thou hast given them; and thou hast made us that we could write but little, because of the awkwardness of our hands. Behold, thou hast not made us mighty in writing like unto the brother of Jared, for thou madest him that the things which he wrote, were mighty even as thou art, unto the overpowering of man to read them. Thou hast also made our words powerful and great, even that we cannot write them; wherefore, when we write, we behold our weakness, and stumble because of the placing of our words; and I fear lest the Gentiles shall mock at our words. And when I had said this, the Lord spake unto me, saying, Fools mock, but they shall mourn; and my grace is sufficient for the meek, that they shall take no advantage of your weakness: and if men come unto me, I will shew unto them their weakness. I give unto men weakness, that they may be humble. and my grace is sufficient for all men that humble themselves before me: for if they humble themselves before me, and have faith in me, then will I make weak things become strong unto them. Behold, I will shew unto the Gentiles their weakness, and I will shew unto them that faith, hope, and charity, bringeth unto me the fountain of all righteousness. And I, Moroni, having heard these words, was comforted, and said, O Lord, thy righteous will be done, for I know that thou workest unto the children of men according to their faith: for the brother of Jared said unto the mountain Zerin, Remove, and it was removed. And if he had not faith, it would not have moved; wherefore thou workest after that men have faith: for thus did thou manifest thyself unto thy disciples. For after that they had faith, and did speak in thy name, thou didst shew thyself unto them in great power; and I also rememberest that thou hast said that thou hast prepared a house for man; yea, even among the mansions of thy Father, in the which man might have a more excellent hope; wherefore man must hope, or he cannot receive an inheritance in the place which thou hast prepared. And again I remember that thou hast said that thou loved the world, even unto the laying down of thy life for the world, that thou mightest take it again to prepare a place for the children of men. And now I know that this love which thou hast had for the children of men, is charity; wherefore, except men shall have charity, they cannot inherit that place which thou hast prepared in the mansions of thy Father. Wherefore, I know by this thing which thou hast said, that if the Gentiles have not charity because of our weakness, that thou wilt prove them, and take away their talent, yea, even that which they have received, and give unto them which shall have more abundantly.

And it came to pass that I prayed unto the Lord that he would give unto the Gentiles grace, that they might have charity. And it came to pass that the Lord said unto me, if they have not charity, it mattereth not unto thee, thou hast been faithful; wherefore thy garments shall be made clean. And because thou hast seen thy weakness, thou shalt be made strong, even unto the sitting down in the place which I have prepared in the mansions of my Father. And now I, Moroni, bid farewell unto the Gentiles, yea, and also unto my brethren whom I love, until we shall meet before the judgement seat of Christ, where all men shall know that my garments are not spotted with your blood; and then shall ye know that I have seen Jesus, and that he hath talked with me face to face, and that he told me in plain humility, even as a man telleth another in mine own language, concerning these things; and only a few have I written, because of my weakness in writing.

And now I would commend you to seek this Jesus of whom the prophets and Apostles have written, that the Grace of God the Father, and also the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost, which beareth record of them, may be, and abide in you forever. Amen.

MORMON ETHER CHAPTER 6

And now I, Moroni, proceed to finish my record concerning the destruction of the people of which I have been writing. -- For behold, they rejected all the words of Ether: for he truly told them of all things, from the beginning of man; and how that after the waters had receded from off the face of this land, it became a choice land above all other lands, a chosen land of

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the Lord; wherefore the Lord would have that all men should serve him, which dwelleth upon the face thereof; and that it was the place of the New Jerusalem, which should come down out of Heaven, and the Holy Sanctuary of the Lord. Behold, Ether saw the days of Christ, and he spake concerning a New Jerusalem upon this land; and he spake also concerning the house of Israel, and the Jerusalem from whence Lehi should come; after that it should be destroyed, it should be built up again a holy city unto the Lord; wherefore it could not be a New Jerusalem, for it had been in a time of old, but it should be built up again, and become a holy city of the Lord; and it should be built up unto the house of Israel; and that a New Jerusalem should be built up upon this land, unto the remnant of the seed of Joseph, for the which things there has been a type: for as Joseph brought his father down into the land of Egypt, even so he died there; wherefore the Lord brought a remnant of the seed of Joseph out of the land of Jerusalem, that he might be merciful unto the seed of Joseph, that they should perish not, even as he was merciful unto the father of Joseph, that he should perish not; wherefore the remnant of the house of Joseph shall be built upon this land; and it shall be a land of their inheritance; and they shall build up a holy city unto the Lord, like unto the Jerusalem of old; and they shall no more be confounded, until the end come, when the earth shall pass away. And there shall be a new heaven and a new earth; and they shall be like unto the old, save the old have passed away, and all things have become new. And then cometh the New Jerusalem; and blessed are they which dwell therein, for it is they whose garment are white through the blood of the Lamb; and they are they which are numbered among the remnant of the seed of Joseph, which were of the house of Israel. And then also cometh the Jerusalem of old; and the inhabitants thereof, blessed are they, for they have been washed in the blood of the Lamb; and they are they which were scattered and gathered in from the four quarters of the earth, and from the north countries, and are partakers of the fulfilling of the covenant which God made with their father Abraham. And when these things come, bringeth to pass the Scripture which saith, There are they which were first, which shall be last; and there are they which were last, which shall be first.

And I was about to write more, but I am forbidden; but great and marvellous were the prophecies of Ether, but they esteemed him as nought, and cast him out, and he hid himself in the cavity of a rock by day, and by night he went forth viewing the things which should come upon the people. And as he dwelt in the cavity of a rock, he made the remainder of this record, viewing the destructions which came upon the people by night. And it came to pass that in that same year which he was cast out from among the people, there began to be a great war among the people, for there were many which rose up who were mighty men, and sought to destroy Coriantumr by their secret plans of wickedness, of which hath been spoken. And now Coriantumr, having studied himself in all the arts of war, and all the cunning of the world, wherefore he gave battle unto them which sought to destroy him; but he repented not, neither his fair sons nor daughters; neither the fair sons and daughters of Cohor; neither the fair sons and daughters of Corihor; and in fine, there was none of the fair sons and daughters upon the face of the whole earth, which repented of their sins; wherfore it came to pass that in the first year that Ether dwelt in the cavity of a rock, there was many people which was slain by the sword of those secret combinations fighting against Coriantumr, that they might obtain the kingdom. And it came to pass that the sons of Coriantumr fought much, and bled much. And in the second year, the word of the Lord came to Ether, that he should go and prophesy unto Coriantumr, that if he would repent, and all his household, the Lord would give unto him his kingdom, and spare the people, otherwise they should be destroyed, and all his household, save it were himself, and he should only live to see the fulfilling of the prophecies which had been spoken concerning another people receiving the land for their inheritance; and Coriantumr should receive a burial by them; and every soul should be destroyed save it were Coriantumr. And it came to pass that Coriantumr repented not, neither his household, neither the people; and the wars did cease not; and they sought to kill Ether, but he fled from before them, and hid again in the cavity of the rock. And it came to pass that there arose up Shared, and he also gave battle unto Coriantumr; and he did beat him, insomuch that in the third year he did bring him into captivity. And the sons of Coriantumr, in the fourth year, did beat Shared, and did obtain the kingdom again unto their father. Now there began to be a war upon all the face of the land, every man with his band, fighting for that which he desired. And there was robbers, and in fine, all manner of wickedness upon all the face of the land. And it came to pass that Coriantumr was exceeding angry with Shared, and he went against him with his armies, to battle; and they did meet in great anger; and they did meet in the valley of Gilgal; and the battle became exceeding sore. -- And it came to pass that Shared fought against him for the space of three days. And it came to pass that Coriantumr beat him, and did pursue him until he came to the plains of Heshlon. And it came to pass that Shared gave him battle again upon the plains; and behold, he did beat Coriantumr, and drove him back again to the valley of Gilgal. And Coriantumr gave Shared battle again in the valley of Gilgal, in the which he beat Shared, and slew him. And Shared wounded Coriantumr, in his thigh, that he did not go to battle again for the space of two years, in the which time all the people upon all the face of the land were a shedding blood, and there was none to constrain them. And now there began to be a great curse upon the land, because of the iniquity of the people, in the which, if a man should lay his tool or his sword upon the shelf, or upon the place whither he would keep it, and behold, upon the morrow, he could not find it, so great was the curse upon the land. Wherefore every man did cleave unto that which was his own, with his hands, and would not borrow, neither would he lend; and every man kept the hilt of his sword thereof, in his right hand, in the defence of his property and his own life, and they of his wives and children. And now after the space of two years, and after the death of Shared, behold, there arose the brother of Shared, and he gave battle unto Coriantumr, in the which Coriantumr did beat him, and did pursue him to the wilderness of Akish. And it came to pass that the brother of Shared did give battle unto him in the wilderness of Akish; and the battle became exceeding sore, and many thousands fell by the sword. And it came to pass that Coriantumr did lay siege to the wilderness, and the brother of Shared did march forth out of the wilderness by night, and slew a part of the army of Coriantumr, as they were drunken. And he came forth to the land of Moron, and placed himself upon the throne of Coriantumr. And it came to pass that Coriantumr dwelt with his army in the wilderness, for the space of two years, in the which he did receive great strength to his army. Now the brother of Shared, whose name was Gilead, also received great strength to his army, because of secret combinations. And it came to pass that his High Priest murdered him as he sat upon his throne. And it came to pass that one of the secret combinations murdered him in the secret pass, and obtained unto himself the kingdom; and his name was Lib; and Lib was a man of great stature, more than any other man among all the people. And it came to pass that in the first year of Lib, Coriantumr came up unto the land of Moron, and gave battle with Lib, in the which Lib did smite upon his arm, that he was wounded; nevertheless, the army of Coriantumr did press forward upon Lib, that he fled to the borders upon the seashore. And it came to pass that Coriantumr pursued him; and Lib gave battle unto him upon the seashore. And it came to pass that Lib did smite the army of Coriantumr, that they fled again to the wilderness of Akish. And it came to pass that Lib did pursue him until he came to the plains of Agosh. And Coriantumr had taken all the people with him, as he fled before Lib, in that quarter of the land whither he fled. And when he had come to the plains of Agosh, he gave battle unto Lib, and he smote upon him until he died; nevertheless, the brother of Lib did come against Coriantumr in the stead thereof, and the battle became exceeding sore, in the which Coriantumr fled again before the army of the brother of Lib. Now the name of the brother of Lib was called Shiz. And it came to pass that Shiz pursued after Coriantumr, and he did overthrow many cities, and he did slay both women and children, and he did burn the cities thereof; and there went a fear of Shiz throughout all the land; yea, a cry went forth throughout the land: Who can stand before the army of Shiz? Behold, he sweepeth the earth before him! And it came to pass that the people began to flock together in armies, throughout all the face of the land. And they were divided, and a part of them fled to the army of Shiz, and a part of them fled to the army of Coriantumr. -- And so great and lasting had been the war, and so long had been the scene of bloodshed and carnage, that the whole face of the land was covered with the bodies of the dead; and so swift and speedy was the war, that there was none left to bury the dead, but they did march forth from the shedding of blood, to the shedding of blood, leaving the bodies of both men, women and children, strewed upon the face of the land, to become a prey to the worms of the flesh; and the scent thereof went forth upon the face of the land, even upon all the face of the land; wherefore the people became troubled by day and by night, because of the scent thereof; nevertheless, Shiz did not cease to pursue Coriantumr, for he had sworn to avenge himself upon Coriantumr of the blood of his brother, which had been slain, and the word of the Lord which came to Ether, that Coriantumr should not fall by the sword. And thus we see that the Lord did visit them in the fulness of his wrath, and their wickedness and abominations had prepared a way for their everlasting destruction. And it came to pass that Shiz did pursue Coriantumr eastward, even to the borders by the seashore, and there he gave battle unto Shiz for the space of three days; and so terrible was the destruction among the armies of Shiz, that the people began to be frightened, and began to flee before the armies of Coriantumr; and they fled to the land of Corihor, and swept off the inhabitants before them, all they that would not join them; and they pitched their tents in the valley of Corihor. And Coriantumr pitched his tents in the valley of Shurr. Now the valley of Shurr was near the hill Comnor; wherefore Coriantumr did gather his armies together, upon the hill of Comnor, and did sound a trumpet unto the armies of Shiz, to invite them forth to battle. And it came to pass that they came forth, but were driven back again; and they came a second time; and they were driven again a second time. And it came to pass that they came again the third time, and the battle became exceeding sore. And it came to pass that Shiz smote upon Coriantumr, that he gave him many deep wounds. And Coriantumr having lost his blood, fainted, and was carried away as though he were dead. Now the loss of men, women and children, on both sides, were so great that Shiz commanded his people that they should not pursue the armies of Coriantumr; wherefore they returned to their camp.

And it came to pass that when Coriantumr had recovered of his wounds, he began to remember the words which Ether had spoken unto him: He saw that there had been slain by the sword already nearly two millions of his people, and he began to sorrow in his heart; yea, there had been slain two millions of mighty men, and also their wives and their children. He began to repent of the evil which he had done; he began to remember the words which had been spoken by the mouth of all the prophets, and he saw them that they were fulfilled, thus far, every whit; and his soul mourned, and refused to be comforted. And it came to pass that he wrote an epistle unto Shiz, desiring him that he would spare the people, and he would give up the kingdom for the sake of the lives of the people. And it came to pass that when Shiz had received his epistle, he wrote an epistle unto Coriantumr, that if he would give himself up, that he might slay him with his own sword, that he would spare the lives of the people. And it came to pass that the people repented not of their iniquity; and the people of Coriantumr were stirred up to anger against the people of Shiz; and the people of Shiz were stirred up to anger against the people of Coriantumr; wherefore the people of Shiz did battle unto the people of Coriantumr. -- And when Coriantumr saw that he was about to fall, he fled again before the people of Shiz. And it came to pass that he came to the waters of Ripliancum, which, by interpretation, is large, or to exceed all; wherefore, when they came to these waters, they pitched their tents; and Shiz also pitched his tents, near unto them; and therefore, on the morrow, they did come to battle. And it came to pass that they fought an exceeding sore battle, in the which Coriantumr was wounded again, and he fainted with the loss of blood. And it came to pass that the armies of Coriantumr did press upon the armies of Shiz, that they beat them, that they caused them to flee before them; and they did flee southward, and did pitch their tents in a place which was called Ogath. And it came to pass that the army of Coriantumr did pitch their tents by the hill Ramah; and it was the same hill where my father Mormon did hide up the records unto the Lord, which were sacred. -- And it came to pass that they did gather together all the people, upon all the face of the land, which had not been slain, save it were Ether. And it came to pass that Ether did behold all the doings of the people; and he beheld that the people which were for Coriantumr, were gathered together to the army of Coriantumr; and the people which were for Shiz, were gathered together to the army of Shiz; wherefore they were for the space of four years, gathering together the people, that they might get all which were upon the face of the land, and that they might receive all the strength which it were possible that they could receive. And it came to pass that when they were all gathered together, every one to the army which he would, with their wives, and their children; both men, women and children being armed with weapons of war, having shields, and breast-plates, and head-plates, and being clothed after the manner of war, they did march forth one against another, to battle; and they fought all that day, and conquered not. And it came to pass that when it was night they were weary, and retired to their camps; and after that they had retired to their camps, they took up a howling and a lamentation for the loss of the slain people; and so great were their cries, their howlings and lamentations, that it did rend the air exceedingly. And it came to pass that on the morrow they did go again to battle, and great and terrible was that day; nevertheless they conquered not, and when the night came again, they did rend the air with their cries, and their howlings, and their mournings, for the loss of the slain of their people.

And it came to pass that Coriantumr wrote again an epistle unto Shiz, desiring that he would not come again to battle but that he would take the kingdom, and spare the lives of the people. But behold, the spirit of the Lord had ceased striving with them, and Satan had full power over the hearts of the people, for they were given up unto the hardness of their hearts, and the blindness of their minds, that they might be destroyed; wherefore they went again to battle. And it came to pass that they fought all that day, and when the night came they slept upon their swords; and on the morrow they fought even until the night came; and when the night came they were drunken with anger, even as a man which is drunken with wine and they slept again upon their swords; and on the morrow they fought again; and when the night came they had

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all fallen by the sword, save it were fifty and two of the people of Coriantumr, and sixty and nine of the people of Shiz. And it came to pass that they slept upon their swords that night, and on the morrow they fought again, and they contended in their mights with their swords, and with their shields, all that day; and when the night came there was thirty and two of the people of Shiz, and twenty and seven of the people of Coriantumr. And it came to pass that they ate and slept, and prepared for death on the morrow. And they were large and mighty men, as to the strength of men. And it came to pass that they fought for the space of three hours, and they fainted with the loss of blood. And it came to pass that when the men of Coriantumr had received sufficient strength, that they could walk, they were about to flee for their lives, but behold, Shiz arose, and also his men, and he swore in his wrath that he would slay Coriantumr, or he would perish by the sword; wherefore he did pursue them; and they fought again with the sword. And it came to pass that when they had all fallen by the sword, save it were Coriantumr and Shiz, behold, Shiz had fainted with loss of blood. And it came to pass that when Coriantumr had leaned upon his sword, that he rested a little, he smote off the head of Shiz. And it came to pass that after he had smote off the head of Shiz, that Shiz raised upon his hands and fell; and after that he had struggled for breath, he died. And it came to pass that Coriantumr fell to the earth, and became as if he had no life. And the Lord spake unto Ether, and said unto him, Go forth. And he went forth, and beheld that the words of the Lord had all been fulfilled; and he finished his record; (and the hundredth part I have not written,) and he hid them in a manner that the people of Limhi did find them. Now the last words which are written by Ether are these: Whether the Lord will that I be translated, or that I suffer the will of the Lord in the flesh: It mattereth not, if it so be that I am saved in the kingdom of God. Amen.

MORMON MORONI CHAPTER 1

Now I, Moroni, after having made an end of abridging the account of the people of Jared, I had supposed not to have written more, but I have not as yet perished; and I make not myself known to the Lamanites, lest they should destroy me. For behold, their wars are exceeding fierce among themselves; and because of their hatred, they put to death every Nephite that will not deny Christ. And I, Moroni, will not deny the Christ; wherefore, I wander whithersoever I can, for the safety of mine own life. Wherefore, I write a few more things, contrary to that which I had supposed: for I had supposed not to have written any more; but I write a few more things, that perhaps they may be of worth unto my brethren, the Lamanites, in some future day, according to the will of the Lord.

MORMON MORONI CHAPTER 2

The words of Christ, which he spake unto his disciples, the twelve whom he had chosen, as he laid his hands upon them. And he called them by name, saying, Ye shall call on the Father in my name, in mighty prayer; and after that ye have done this, ye shall have power that on him whom ye shall lay your hands, ye shall give the Holy Ghost; and in my name shall ye give it: for thus do mine apostles. Now Christ spake these words unto them at the time of his first appearing; and the multitude heard it not, but the disciples heard it; and on as many as they laid their hands, fell the Holy Ghost.

MORMON MORONI CHAPTER 3

The manner which the disciples, which were called the elders of the church, ordained priests and teachers. After they had prayed unto the Father in the name of Christ, they laid their hands upon them, and said, In the name of Jesus Christ I ordain you to be a priest; (or if he be a teacher,) I ordain you to be a teacher, to preach repentance and remission of sins through Jesus Christ, by the endurance of faith on his name to the end. Amen. And after this manner did they ordain priests and teachers, according to the gifts and callings of God unto men; and they ordained them by the power of the Holy Ghost, which was in them.

MORMON MORONI CHAPTER 4

The manner of their elders and priests administering the flesh and blood of Christ unto the church. And they administered it according to the commandments of Christ; wherefore we know that the manner to be true: and the elder or priest did minister it. And they did kneel down with the church, and pray to the Father in the name of Christ, saying, O God, the Eternal Father, we ask thee in the name of thy Son Jesus Christ, to bless and sanctify this bread to the souls of all those who partake of it, that they may eat in remembrance of the body of thy Son, and witness unto thee, O God the Eternal Father, that they are willing to take upon them the name of thy Son, and always remember him, and keep his commandments which he hath given them, that they may always have his spirit to be with them. Amen.

MORMON MORONI CHAPTER 5

The manner of administering the wine. Behold, they took the cup, and said, O God, the Eternal Father, we ask thee, in the name of thy Son Jesus Christ, to bless and sanctify this wine to the souls of all those who drink of it, that they may do it in remembrance of the blood of thy Son, which was shed for them, that they may witness unto thee, O God the Eternal Father, that they do always remember him, that they may have his spirit to be with them. Amen.

MORMON MORONI CHAPTER 6

And now I speak concerning baptism. Behold, elders, priests, and teachers were baptized; and they were not baptized, save they brought forth fruit meet that they were worthy of it; neither did they receive any unto baptism, save they came forth with a broken heart and a contrite spirit, and witnessed unto the church that they truly repented of all their sins. And none were received unto baptism, save they took upon them the name of Christ, having a determination to serve him unto the end. And after they had been received unto baptism, and were wrought upon and cleansed by the power of the Holy Ghost, they were numbered among the people of the church of Christ, and their names were taken, that they might be remembered and nourished by the good word of God, to keep them in the right way, to keep them continually watchful unto prayer, relying alone upon the merits of Christ, who was the author and the finisher of their faith. And the church did meet together oft, to fast and to pray, and to speak one with another concerning the welfare of their souls; and they did meet together oft to partake of the bread and wine, in remembrance of the Lord Jesus; and they were strict to observe that there should be no iniquity among them; and whoso was found to commit iniquity, and three witnesses of the church did condemn them before the elders; if they repented not, and confessed not, their names were blotted out, and they were not numbered among the people of Christ; but as oft as they repented, and sought forgiveness, with real intent, they were forgiven. And their meetings were conducted by the church, after the manner of the workings of the spirit, and by the power of the Holy Ghost: for as the power of the Holy Ghost led them whether to preach, or exhort, or to pray, or to supplicate, or to sing, even so it was done.

MORMON MORONI CHAPTER 7

And now I, Moroni, write a few of the words of my father Mormon, which he spake concerning faith, hope, and charity: for after this manner did he speak unto the people as he taught them in the synagogue which they had built for the place of worship. And now I, Moroni, speak unto you, my beloved brethren; and it is by the grace of God, the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, and his holy will, because of the gift of his calling unto me, that I am permitted to speak unto you at this time; wherefore I would speak unto you that are of the church, that are the peaceable followers of Christ. and have obtained a sufficient hope, by which ye can enter into the rest of the Lord, from this time hence forth, until ye shall rest with him in Heaven. And now my brethren, I judge these things of you because of your peaceable walk with the children of men: for I remember the word of God, which saith, By their works ye shall know them: for if their works be good, then they are good also. For behold, God hath said, A man being evil, cannot do that which is good: for if he offereth a gift, or prayeth unto God, except he shall do it with real intent, it profiteth him nothing. For behold, it is not counted unto him for righteousness. For behold, if a man being evil, giveth a gift, he doeth it grudgingly; wherefore it is counted unto him the same as if he had retained the gift; wherefore he is counted evil before God. And likewise also is it counted evil unto a man, if he shall pray, and not with real intent of heart; yea, and it profiteth him nothing: for God receiveth none such; wherefore, a man being evil, cannot do that which is good; neither will he give a good gift. For behold, a bitter fountain cannot bring forth good water; wherefore a man being the servant of the Devil, cannot follow Christ; and if he follow Christ, he cannot be a servant of the Devil. Wherefore, all things which are good, cometh of God; and that which is evil, cometh of the Devil: for the Devil is an enemy unto God, and fighteth against him continually, and inviteth and enticeth to sin, and to do that which is evil continually. But behold, that which is of God, inviteth and enticeth to do good continually; wherefore, every thing which inviteth and enticeth to do good, and to love God, and to serve him, is inspired of God. Wherefore take heed, my beloved brethren, that ye do not judge that which is evil to be of God, or that which is good and of God, to be of the Devil. For behold, my brethren, it is given unto you to judge is as plain, that ye may know with a perfect knowledge, as daylight is from the dark night. -- For behold, the spirit of Christ is given to every man, that they may know good from evil; wherefore I shew unto you the way to judge: for every thing which inviteth to do good, and to persuade to believe in Christ, is sent forth by the power and gift of Christ; wherefore ye may know with a perfect knowledge, it is of God; but whatsoever thing persuadeth men to do evil, and believe not in Christ, and deny him, and serve not God, then ye may know with a perfect knowledge it is of the Devil, for after this manner doth the Devil work: for he persuadeth no man to do good, no not one; neither doth his angels; neither doth they which subject themselves unto him.

And now my brethren, seeing that ye know the light by which ye may judge, which is the light of Christ, see that ye do not judge wrongfully: for with that same judgement which ye judge, ye shall also be judged. Wherefore I beseech of you, brethren, that ye should preach diligently in the light of Christ, that ye may know good from evil; and if ye will lay hold upon every good thing and condemn it not, ye certainly will be a child of Christ. And now, my brethren, how is it possible that ye can lay hold upon every good thing? And now I come to that faith, of which I said I would speak; and I will tell you the way whereby ye may lay hold on every good thing. For behold, God knowing all things, being from everlasting to everlasting, behold, he sent angels to minister unto the children of men, to make manifest concerning the coming of Christ; and in Christ there should come every good thing. And God also declared unto prophets, by his own mouth, that Christ should come. And behold, there were diverse ways that he did manifest things unto the children of men, which were good; and all things which are good, cometh of Christ, otherwise men were fallen, and there could no good things come unto them. Wherefore, by the ministering of angels, and by every word which proceedeth forth out of the mouth of God, men began to exercise faith in Christ; and thus by faith, they did lay hold upon every good thing: and thus it were until the coming of Christ. And after that he came, men also were saved by faith in his name; and by faith, they become the sons of God. And as suredly as Christ liveth, he spake these words unto our fathers, saying, Whatsoever thing ye shall ask the Father in my name, which is good, in faith believing that ye shall receive, behold, it shall be done unto you. Wherefore, my beloved brethren, hath miracles ceased, because that Christ hath ascended into heaven, and hath set down on the right hand of God, to claim the Father his rights of mercy which he hath upon the children of men: for he hath answered the ends of the law, and he claimeth all those that hath faith in him; and they that have faith in him, will cleave unto every good thing; wherefore he advocateth the cause of the children of men; and he dwelleth eternally in the heavens. And because that he hath done this, my beloved brethren, hath miracles ceased? Behold I say unto you, Nay; neither hath angels ceased to minister unto the children of men. For behold, they are subject unto him, to minister according to the word of his command, shewing themselves unto them of strong faith and a firm mind, in every form of godliness. And the office of their ministry is, to call men unto repentance, and to fulfil and do the work of the covenants of the Father which he hath made unto the children of men, to prepare the way among the children of men, by declaring the word of Christ unto the chosen vessel of the Lord, that they may bear testimony of him; and by so doing, the Lord God prepareth the way that the residue of men may have faith in Christ, that the Holy Ghost may have place in their hearts, according to the power thereof: and after this manner bringeth to pass the Father the covenants which he hath made unto the children of men. And Christ hath said, if ye will have faith in me, ye shall have power to do whatsoever thing is expedient in me. And he hath said, Repent all ye ends of the earth, and come unto me and be baptized in my name, and have faith in me, that ye may be saved. And now my beloved brethren, if this be the case that these things are true which I have spoken unto you, and God will shew unto you with power and great glory at the last day, that they are true; and if they are true, hath the day of miracles ceased? or hath angels ceased to appear unto the children of men? or hath he withheld the power of the Holy Ghost from them? or will he, so long as time shall last, or the earth shall stand, or there shall be one man upon the face thereof to be saved? Behold I say unto you Nay, for it is by faith that miracles are wrought; and it is by faith that angels appear and minister unto men; wherefore if these things have ceased, wo be unto the children of men, for it is because of unbelief, and all is vain: for no man can be saved, according to the words of Christ, save they shall have faith in his name; wherefore, if these things have ceased, than has faith ceased also; an awful is the state of man: for they are as though there had been no redemption made. But behold, my beloved brethren, I judge better things of you, for I judge that ye have faith in Christ, because of your meekness: for if ye have not both faith in him, then ye are not fit to be numbered among the people of his church. And again my beloved brethren, I would speak unto you concerning hope. How is it that ye can attain unto faith, save ye shall have hope? And what is it that ye shall hope for? Behold I say unto you, That ye shall have hope through the atonement of Christ and the power of his resurrection, to be raised unto life eternal; and this because of your faith in him according to the promise; wherefore, if a man have faith, he must needs have hope: for without faith there cannot be any hope. And again: Behold I say unto you, That he cannot have faith and hope, save he shall be meek, and lowly of heart: if so, his faith and hope is vain, for none is

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acceptable before God, save the meek and lowly of heart; and if a man be meek and lowly in heart, and confesses by the power of the Holy Ghost, that Jesus is the Christ, he must needs have charity: for if he have not charity, he is nothing; wherefore he must needs have charity. And charity suffereth long, and is kind, and envieth not, and is not puffed up, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, and rejoiceth not into iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth, beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things; wherefore, my beloved brethren, if ye have not charity, ye are nothing, for charity never faileth. Wherefore, cleave unto charity, which is the greatest of all, for all things must fail; but charity is the pure love of Christ, and it endureth forever; and whoso is found possessed of it, at the last day it shall be well with them. Wherefore, my beloved brethren, pray unto the Father with all energy of heart, that ye may be filled with this love which he hath bestowed upon all who are true followers of his Son Jesus Christ, that ye may become the sons of God, that when he shall appear, we shall be like him: for we shall see him as he is, that we may have this hope, that we may be purified even as he is pure. Amen.

MORMON MORONI CHAPTER 8

An epistle of my father Mormon, written to me, Moroni; and it was written unto me soon after my calling to the ministry. And on this wise did he write unto me, saying: My beloved son Moroni, I rejoice exceedingly that your Lord Jesus Christ hath been mindful of you, and hath called you to his ministry, and to his holy work. I am mindful of you always in my prayers, continually praying unto God the Father, in the name of his holy child, Jesus, that he, through his infinite goodness and grace, will keep you through the endurance of faith on his name to the end.

And now my son, I speak unto you concerning that which grieveth me exceedingly: for it grieveth me that there should disputations rise among you. For if I have learned the truth, there has been disputations among you concerning the baptism of your little children. And now my son, I desire that ye should labor diligently, that this gross error should be removed from among you: for, for this intent I have written this epistle. For immediately after I had learned these things of you, I inquired of the Lord concerning this matter. And the word of the Lord came to me by the power of the Holy Ghost, saying, Listen to the words of Christ, your Redeemer, your Lord and your God. Behold, I came into the world not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance; the whole need no physician, but they that are sick; wherefore little children are whole, for they are not capable of committing sin; wherefore the curse of Adam is taken from them in me, that it hath not power over them: and the law of circumcision is done away in me. And after this manner did the Holy Ghost manifest the word of God unto me; wherefore my beloved son, I know that it is solemn mockery before God, that ye should baptize little children. Behold, I say unto you, that this thing shall ye teach, repentance and baptism unto they which are accountable and capable of committing sin; yea, teach parents that they must repent and be baptized, and humble themselves as their little children, and they shall be saved with their little children; and their little children need no repentance, neither baptism. Behold, baptism is unto repentance to the fulfilling the commandments unto the remission of sins. But little children are alive in Christ, even from the foundation of the world; if not so, God is a partial God, and also a changeable God, and a respector to persons: for how many little children have died without baptism. Wherefore, if little children could not be saved without baptism, they must have gone to an endless hell. Behold I say unto you, That he that supposeth that little children needeth baptism, is in the gall of bitterness, and in the bonds iniquity: for he hath neither faith, hope, nor charity; wherefore, should he be cut off while in the thought, he must go down to hell. For awful is the wickedness to suppose that God saveth one child because of baptism, and the other must perish because he hath no baptism. Wo be unto him that shall pervert the ways of the Lord after this manner, for they shall perish, except they repent. Behold, I speak with boldness, having authority from God; and I fear not what man can do: for perfect love casteth out all fear; and I am filled with charity, which is everlasting love; wherefore all children are alike unto me; wherefore I love little children with a perfect love; and they are all alike, and partakers of salvation. For I know that God is not a partial God, neither a changeable being; but he is unchangeable from all eternity to all eternity. Little children cannot repent; wherefore it is awful wickedness to deny the pure mercies of God unto them, for they are all alive in him because of his mercy. And he that saith that little children needeth baptism, denieth the mercies of Christ, and setteth at nought the atonement of him and the power of his redemption. Wo unto such, for they are in danger of death, hell, and an endless torment. I speak it boldly, God hath commanded me. Listen unto them and give heed, or they stand against you at the judgement seat of Christ. For behold that all little children are alive in Christ, and also all they that are without the law. For the power of redemption cometh on all they that have no law; wherefore, he that is not condemned, or he that is under no condemnation, cannot repent; and unto such baptism availeth nothing. But it is a mockery before God denying the mercies of Christ, and the power of his holy spirit, and putting trust in dead works. Behold, my son, this thing had not ought to be: for repentance is unto them that are under condemnation, and under the curse of a broken law. And the first fruits of repentance is baptism; and baptism cometh by faith, unto the fulfilling the commandments; and the fulfilling the commandments bringeth remission of sins; and the remission of sins bringeth mekness, and lowliness of heart; and because of meekness, and lowliness of heart; cometh the visitation of the Holy Ghost, which comforter filleth with hope and perfect love, which love endureth by diligence unto prayer, until the end shall come when all the saints shall dwell with God. Behold, my son, I will write unto you again, if I go not out soon against the Lamanites. Behold, the pride of this nation, or the people of the Nephites, hath proved their destruction, except they should repent. Pray for them, my son, that repentance may come unto them. But behold, I fear lest the spirit hath ceased striving with them; and in this part of the land they are also seeking to put down all power and authority, which cometh from God; and they are denying the Holy Ghost. And after rejecting so great a knowledge, my son, they must perish soon, until the fulfilling of the prophecies which was spoken by the prophets, as well as the words of our Saviour himself. Farewell, my son, until I write unto you, or shall meet you again. Amen.

MORMON MORONI CHAPTER 9

The second epistle of Mormon to his son Moroni. My beloved son, I write unto you again, that ye may know that I am yet alive; but I write somewhat that which is grievous. For behold, I have had a sore battle with the Lamanites, in the which we did conquer; and Archeantus has fallen by the sword, and also Luram and Emron; yea, and we have lost a great number of our choice men. And now behold, my son, I fear lest the Lamanites shall destroy this people, for they do not repent, and Satan stireth them up continually to anger one with another. Behold, I am laboring with them continually; and when I speak the word of God with sharpness, they tremble and anger against me; and when I use no sharpness, they harden their hearts against it; wherefore I fear lest the spirit of the Lord hath ceased striving with them. For so exceedingly do they anger, that it seemeth me that they have no fear of death; and they have lost their love, one towards another; and they thirst after blood and revenge continually. And now my beloved son, notwithstanding their hardness, let us labor diligently: for if we should cease to labor, we should be brought under condemnation: for we have a labor to perform whilst in this tabernacle of clay, that we may conquer the enemy of all righteousness, and rest our souls in the kingdom of God.

And now I write somewhat concerning the sufferings of this people. For according to the knowledge which I have received from Amoron, behold the Lamanites have many prisoners, which they took from the tower of Sherrizah; and there were men, women, and children. And the husbands and fathers of those women and children they have slain; and they feed the women upon the flesh of their husbands, and the children upon the flesh of their fathers; and no water, save a little do they give unto them. And notwithstanding this great abomination of the Lamanites, it doth not exceed that of our people in Moriantum. For behold, many of the daughters of the Lamanites have they taken prisoners; and after depriving them of that which was most dear and precious above all things, which is chastity and virtue; and after that they had done this thing, they did murder them in a most cruel manner, torturing their bodies even unto death; and after that they have done this, they devour their flesh like unto wild beasts, because of the hardness of their hearts; and they do it for a token of bravery. O my beloved son, how can a people like this, that are without civilization; (and only a few years have passed away, and they were a civil and a delightsome people;) but O my son, how can a people like this, whose delight is in so much abomination, how can we expect that God will stay his hand in judgement against us? Behold, my heart cries wo unto this people. Come out in judgement, O God, and hide their sins, and wickedness, and abominations from before thy face. And again, my son, there are many widows and their daughters, which remain in Sherrizah; and that part of the provisions which the Lamanites did not carry away, behold, the army of Zenephi has carried away, and left them to wander whithersoever they can for food; and many old women do faint by the way and die. And the army which is with me, is weak; and the armies of the Lamanites are betwixt Sherrizah and me; and as many as have fled to the army of Aaron, have fallen victims of their awful brutality. O the depravity of my people! they are without order and without mercy. Behold, I am but a man, and I have but the strength of a man, and I cannot any longer enforce my commands; and they have become strong in their perversion; and they are alike brutal, sparing none, neither old or young; and they delight in every thing save that which is good; and the sufferings of our women and our children upon all the face of this land, doth exceed every thing; yea, tongue cannot tell, neither can it be written, And now my son, I dwell no longer upon this horrible scene. Behold, thou knowest the wickedness of this people; thou knowest that they are without principle and past feeling; and their wickedness doth exceed that of the Lamanites. Behold, my son, I cannot recommend thee unto God, lest he should smite me. But beold, my son, I recommend thee unto God, and I trust in Christ that thou wilt be saved; and I pray unto God that he would spare thy life, to witness the return of his people unto him, or their utter destruction: for I know that they must perish, except they repent and return unto him; and if they perish, it will be like unto the Jaredites, because of the wilfulness of their hearts, seeking for blood and revenge. And if it so be that they perish, we know that many of our brethren are dissented over unto the Lamanites, and many more will also dissent over unto them; wherefore, write somewhat a few things, if thou art spared; and I shall perish and not see thee; but I trust that I may see thee soon: for I have sacred records that I would deliver up unto thee. My son, be faithful in Christ; and may not the things which I have written, grieve thee to weigh thee down unto death, but may Christ lift thee up, and may his sufferings and death, and the shewing his body unto our fathers, and his mercy and long suffering, and the hope of his glory and of eternal life, rest in your mind forever. And may the grace of God, the Father, whose throne is high in the heavens, and our Lord Jesus Christ, who sitteth on the right hand of his power, until all things shall become subject unto him, be, and abide with you forever. Amen.

MORMON MORONI CHAPTER 10

Now I, Moroni, write somewhat as seemeth me good; and I write unto my brethren, the Lamanites; and I would that they should know that more than four hundred and twenty years has passed away, since the sign was given of the coming of Christ. And I seal up these records after that I have spoken a few words by way of exhortation unto you. Behold, I would exhort you that when ye shall read these things, if it be wisdom in God that ye should read them, that ye would remember how merciful the Lord hath been unto the children of men, from the creation of Adam, even down until the time that ye shall receive these things, and ponder it in your hearts. And when ye shall receive these things, I would exhort you that ye would ask God, the Eternal Father, in the name of Christ, if these things are not true; and if ye shall ask with a sincere heart, with real intent, having faith in Christ, and he will manifest the truth in you, by the power of the Holy Ghost; and by the power of the Holy Ghost, ye may know the truth of all things. And whatsoever thing is good, is just and true; wherefore, nothing that is good denieth the Christ, but acknowledgeth that he is. And ye may know that he is, by the power of the Holy Ghost; wherefore I would exhort you, that ye deny not the power of God: for he worketh by power according to the faith of the children of men, the same to-day, and to-morrow, and forever. And again I exhort you, my brethren, that ye deny not the gifts of God, for they are many; and they come from the same God. And there are different ways that these gifts are administered; but it is the same God which worketh all in all: and they are given by the manifestations of the spirit of God unto men, to profit them. For behold, to one is given by the spirit of God, that he may teach the word of wisdom; and to another, that he may teach the word of knowledge by the same spirit; and to another, exceeding great faith; and to another, the gifts of healing by the same spirit. And again, to another, that he may work mighty miracles; and again, to another, that he may prophesy concerning all things; and again, to another, the beholding of angels and ministering spirits; and again, to another, all kinds of tongues; and again, to another, the interpretation of languages and of diverse kinds of tongues. And all these gifts comes by the spirit of Christ; and they come unto every man severally, according as he will. And I would exhort you, my beloved brethren, that ye remember that every good gift cometh of Christ. And I would exhort you, my beloved brethren, that ye remember that he is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever, and that all these gifts which I have spoken, which are spiritual, never will be done away, even as long as the world shall stand, only according to the unbelief of the children of men. Wherefore, there must be faith; and if there must be faith, there must also be hope; and if there must be hope, there must also be charity; and except ye have charity ye can in no wise be saved in the kingdom of God; neither can ye be saved in the kingdom of God, if ye have not faith; neither can ye, if ye have no hope; and if ye have no hope, ye must needs be in despair; and despair cometh because of iniquity. And Christ truly said unto our fathers, If ye have faith, ye can do all things which is expedient unto me. And now I speak unto all the ends of the earth, that if the day cometh that the power and gifts of God shall be done away among you, it shall be because of unbelief. And wo be unto the children of men, if this be the case: for there shall be none that doeth good among you, no not one. For if there be one among you that doeth good, he shall work by the power and gifts of God. And wo unto them which shall do these things away and die, for

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they die in their sins, and they cannot be saved in the kingdom of God; and I speak it according to the words of Christ, and I lie not. And I exhort you to remember these things: for the time speedily cometh that ye shall know that I lie not, for ye shall see me at the bar of God: and the Lord God will say unto you, Did I not declare my words unto you, which was written by this man, like as one crying from the dead? yea,, even as one speaking out of the dust, I declare these things unto the fulfilling of the prophecies. And behold, they shall proceed forth out of the mouth of the everlasting God; and his word shall hiss forth from generation to generation. And God shall shew unto you, that that which I have written, is true. And again I would exhort you, that ye would come unto Christ, and lay hold upon every good gift, and touch not the evil gift, nor the unclean thing. -- And awake, and arise from the dust, O Jerusalem; yea, and put on thy beautiful garments, O daughter of Zion, and strengthen thy stakes, and enlarge thy borders forever, that thou mayest no more be confounded, that the covenants of the Eternal Father, which he hath made unto thee, O house of Israel, may be fulfilled. Yea, come unto Christ, and be perfected in him, and deny yourselves of all ungodliness; and if ye shall deny yourselves of all ungodliness, and love God with all your might, mind and strength, then is his grace sufficient for you, that by his grace ye may be perfect in Christ; and if by the grace of God ye are perfect in Christ, ye can in no wise deny the power of God. And again, if ye, by the grace of God are perfect in Christ, and deny not his power, then are ye sanctified in Christ by the grace of God, through the shedding of the blood of Christ, which is in the covenant of the Father, unto the remission of your sins, that ye become holy without spot. And now I bid unto all, farewell. I soon go to rest in the paradise of God, until my spirit and body shall again reunite, and I am brought forth triumphant through the air, to meet you before the pleasing bar of the great Jehovah, the Eternal Judge of both quick and dead. Amen.

THE END.

THE BOOK OF JASHER

The Sefer ha Yashar, or, Book of the Upright One
Translation: Samuel Moses, 1839
From The Original Hebrew Into English; Published By
J.H. Parry & Company, Salt Lake City, 1887.
Estimated Range of Dating; 1552-1625 A.D.

(This is one of the apochrypal Books of Jasher. The translator claims it to be that book the is mentioned in the Old Testament: "Is not this written in the Book of Jasher?"-- Joshua, 10; 13. "Behold it is written in the Book of Jasher."-- II. Samuel, 1; 18. There are several (as many as five) separate works by this title, all composed much later than Biblical times. This particular one is a translation of a Hebrew book printed in 1613. Sepir Ha Yasher, the Hebrew title of this book, means the 'Book of the Upright', or 'the Upright or Correct Record'. This title was misread as 'Jasher', and at some point Jasher was treated as a proper name; however the pronoun 'the' (hebrew 'ha') never preceeds proper names. This text covers much of the same ground as the traditional Mosaic books of the Bible, from the creation of the world to the death of Moses, albeit with several minor variations. This work might be a forgery or a pretty recent compilation of well-known Bible texts. There are certain indications that this text is hardly older than 500 years. Besides the pretty modern wording, it is "too smooth" as it probably was made by only one person. It might have been an attempt to reconstruct the original work mentioned in Joshua and the Second Samuel.

The legend of this Hebrew midrash document goes like this: The earliest version was printed in Venice in 1625, and the introduction refers to an earlier 1552 edition in Naples, of which neither trace nor other mention has been found. The printer Yosêf ben Samuel claimed the work was copied by a scribe named Jacob the son of Atyah, from an ancient manuscript whose letters could hardly be made out. Scholars have proposed various dates between the 9th century and 16th century. This Venice 1625 text was criticised as a forgery by the Jewish scholar Yehudah Aryeh Mi-modena (Leon Modena; 1571–1648) from Spain , as part of his criticisms of the Zohar as a forgery, and of Kabbalah in general. Despite Modena's intervention, the preface to the 1625 version still claims that its original source book came from the ruins of Jerusalem in AD 70, where a Roman officer named Sidrus allegedly discovered a Hebrew scholar hiding in a hidden library. The officer Sidrus reportedly took the scholar and all the books safely back to his estates in Seville (Roman: Hispalis), Spain. The 1625 edition then claims that the manuscript was sold to the Jewish college in Cordova in the times of Islamic Spain.

Now, from legend to history: Johann Georg Abicht, professor of theology at the University of Halle-Wittenberg, translated the 1625 text into Latin as Dissertatio de Libro recti (Leipzig, 1732).

Samuel Moses of Liverpool (1795–1860) obtained a copy of the 1625 Hebrew edition and became convinced that the core of this work truly was the same Book of the Upright referenced in Hebrew scriptures. He first translated it into English, and in 1839 sold it to Mordecai Manuel Noah. Samuel Moses had tried before to persuade The Royal Asiatic Society at Calcutta to publish the work, but they rejected it. Then he sold the work to Mordecai Manuel Noah for £150.

This English translation of the 1625 Venice text was then published by Mordecai Manuel Noah and A. S. Gould in 1840. Joseph Smith, founder of the (Mormon) Latter Day Saint movement, acquired a copy in 1841 or 1842 and wrote in the September 1, 1842 edition of the Times and Seasons, in reference to the patriarch Abraham: "the book of Jasher, which has not been disproved as a bad author, says he was cast into the fire of the Chaldeans". In 1886, Joseph Hyrum Parry of Salt Lake City acquired the rights to the translation from Mordecai Noah's estate. It was published by J. H. Parry & Company in Salt Lake City in 1887. A number of Mormon scholars consider this Book of Jasher to be of authentic ancient Hebrew origin. Some of these scholars suggest that the book likely contains many original portions of the Sefer HaYashar referenced in the Old Testament but also has a number of added interpolations. This work must not be confused with an ethical text by the same name, which, according to the Encyclopaedia Judaica, Volume 14, p. 1099, was "probably written in the 13th century.)

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 1

1 And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness, and God created man in his own image.

2 And God formed man from the ground, and he blew into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul endowed with speech.

3 And the Lord said, It is not good for man to be alone; I will make unto him a helpmeet.

4 And the Lord caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept, and he took away one of his ribs, and he built flesh upon it, and formed it and brought it to Adam, and Adam awoke from his sleep, and behold a woman was standing before him.

5 And he said, This is a bone of my bones and it shall be called woman, for this has been taken from man; and Adam called her name Eve, for she was the mother of all living.

6 And God blessed them and called their names Adam and Eve in the day that he created them, and the Lord God said, Be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth.

7 And the Lord God took Adam and his wife, and he placed them in the garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it; and he commanded them and said unto them, From every tree of the garden you may eat, but from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat, for in the day that you eat thereof you shall surely die.

8 And when God had blessed and commanded them, he went from them, and Adam and his wife dwelt in the garden according to the command which the Lord had commanded them.

9 And the serpent, which God had created with them in the earth, came to them to incite them to transgress the command of God which he had commanded them.

10 And the serpent enticed and persuaded the woman to eat from the tree of knowledge, and the woman hearkened to the voice of the serpent, and she transgressed the word of God, and took from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, and she ate, and she took from it and gave also to her husband and he ate.

11 And Adam and his wife transgressed the command of God which he commanded them, and God knew it, and his anger was kindled against them and he cursed them.

12 And the Lord God drove them that day from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from which they were taken, and they went and dwelt at the east of the garden of Eden; and Adam knew his wife Eve and she bore two sons and three daughters.

13 And she called the name of the first born Cain, saying, I have obtained a man from the Lord, and the name of the other she called Abel, for she said, In vanity we came into the earth, and in vanity we shall be taken from it.

14 And the boys grew up and their father gave them a possession in the land; and Cain was a tiller of the ground, and Abel a keeper of sheep.

15 And it was at the expiration of a few years, that they brought an approximating offering to the Lord, and Cain brought from the fruit of the ground, and Abel brought from the firstlings of his flock from the fat thereof, and God turned and inclined to Abel and his offering, and a fire came down from the Lord from heaven and consumed it.

16 And unto Cain and his offering the Lord did not turn, and he did not incline to it, for he had brought from the inferior fruit of the ground before the Lord, and Cain was jealous against his brother Abel on account of this, and he sought a pretext to slay him.

17 And in some time after, Cain and Abel his brother, went one day into the field to do their work; and they were both in the field, Cain tilling and ploughing his ground, and Abel feeding his flock; and the flock passed that part which Cain had ploughed in the ground, and it sorely grieved Cain on this account.

18 And Cain approached his brother Abel in anger, and he said unto him, What is there between me and thee, that thou comest to dwell and bring thy flock to feed in my land?

19 And Abel answered his brother Cain and said unto him, What is there between me and thee, that thou shalt eat the flesh of my flock and clothe thyself with their wool?

20 And now therefore, put off the wool of my sheep with which thou hast clothed thyself, and recompense me for their fruit and flesh which thou hast eaten, and when thou shalt have done this, I will then go from thy land as thou hast said?

21 And Cain said to his brother Abel, Surely if I slay thee this day, who will require thy blood from me?

22 And Abel answered Cain, saying, Surely God who has made us in the earth, he will avenge my cause, and he will require my blood from thee shouldst thou slay me, for the Lord is the judge and arbiter, and it is he who will requite man according to his evil, and the wicked man according to the wickedness that he may do upon earth.

23 And now, if thou shouldst slay me here, surely God knoweth thy secret views, and will judge thee for the evil which thou didst declare to do unto me this day.

24 And when Cain heard the words which Abel his brother had spoken, behold the anger of Cain was kindled against his brother Abel for declaring this thing.

25 And Cain hastened and rose up, and took the iron part of his ploughing instrument, with which he suddenly smote his brother and he slew him, and Cain spilt the blood of his brother Abel upon the earth, and the blood of Abel streamed upon the earth before the flock.

26 And after this Cain repented having slain his brother, and he was sadly grieved, and he wept over him and it vexed him exceedingly.

27 And Cain rose up and dug a hole in the field, wherein he put his brother's body, and he turned the dust over it.

28 And the Lord knew what Cain had done to his brother, and the Lord appeared to Cain and said unto him, Where is Abel thy brother that was with thee?

29 And Cain dissembled, and said, I do not know, am I my brother's keeper? And the Lord said unto him, What hast thou done? The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground where thou hast slain him.

30 For thou hast slain thy brother and hast dissembled before me, and didst imagine in thy heart that I saw thee not, nor knew all thy actions.

31 But thou didst this thing and didst slay thy brother for naught and because he spoke rightly to thee, and now, therefore, cursed be thou from the ground which opened its mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand, and wherein thou didst bury him.

32 And it shall be when thou shalt till it, it shall no more give thee its strength as in the beginning, for thorns and thistles shall the ground produce, and thou shalt be moving and wandering in the earth until the day of thy death.

33 And at that time Cain went out from the presence of the Lord, from the place where he was, and he went moving and wandering in the land toward the east of Eden, he and all belonging to him.

34 And Cain knew his wife in those days, and she conceived and bare a son, and he called his name Enoch, saying, In that time the Lord began to give him rest and quiet in the earth.

35 And at that time Cain also began to build a city: and he built the city and he called the name of the city Enoch, according to the name of his son; for in those days the Lord had given him rest upon the earth, and he did not move about and wander as in the beginning.

36 And Irad was born to Enoch, and Irad begat Mechuyael and Mechuyael begat Methusael.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 2

1 And it was in the hundred and thirtieth year of the life of Adam upon the earth, that he again knew Eve his wife, and she conceived and bare a son in his likeness and in his image, and she called his name Seth, saying, Because God has appointed me another seed in the place of Abel, for Cain has slain him.

2 And Seth lived one hundred and five years, and he begat a son; and Seth called the name of his son Enosh, saying, Because in that time the sons of men began to multiply, and to afflict their souls and hearts by transgressing and rebelling against God.

3 And it was in the days of Enosh that the sons of men continued to rebel and transgress against God, to increase the anger of the Lord against the sons of men.

4 And the sons of men went and they served other gods, and they forgot the Lord who had created them in the earth: and in those days the sons of men made images of brass and iron, wood and stone, and they bowed down and served them.

5 And every man made his god and they bowed down to them, and the sons of men forsook the Lord all the days of Enosh and his children; and the anger of the Lord was kindled on account of their works and abominations which they did in the earth.

6 And the Lord caused the waters of the river Gihon to overwhelm them, and he destroyed and consumed them, and

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he destroyed the third part of the earth, and notwithstanding this, the sons of men did not turn from their evil ways, and their hands were yet extended to do evil in the sight of the Lord.

7 And in those days there was neither sowing nor reaping in the earth; and there was no food for the sons of men and the famine was very great in those days.

8 And the seed which they sowed in those days in the ground became thorns, thistles and briers; for from the days of Adam was this declaration concerning the earth, of the curse of God, which he cursed the earth, on account of the sin which Adam sinned before the Lord.

9 And it was when men continued to rebel and transgress against God, and to corrupt their ways, that the earth also became corrupt.

10 And Enosh lived ninety years and he begat Cainan;

11 And Cainan grew up and he was forty years old, and he became wise and had knowledge and skill in all wisdom, and he reigned over all the sons of men, and he led the sons of men to wisdom and knowledge; for Cainan was a very wise man and had understanding in all wisdom, and with his wisdom he ruled over spirits and demons;

12 And Cainan knew by his wisdom that God would destroy the sons of men for having sinned upon earth, and that the Lord would in the latter days bring upon them the waters of the flood.

13 And in those days Cainan wrote upon tablets of stone, what was to take place in time to come, and he put them in his treasures.

14 And Cainan reigned over the whole earth, and he turned some of the sons of men to the service of God.

15 And when Cainan was seventy years old, he begat three sons and two daughters.

16 And these are the names of the children of Cainan; the name of the first born Mahlallel, the second Enan, and the third Mered, and their sisters were Adah and Zillah; these are the five children of Cainan that were born to him.

17 And Lamech, the son of Methusael, became related to Cainan by marriage, and he took his two daughters for his wives, and Adah conceived and bare a son to Lamech, and she called his name Jabal.

18 And she again conceived and bare a son, and called his name Jubal; and Zillah, her sister, was barren in those days and had no offspring.

19 For in those days the sons of men began to trespass against God, and to transgress the commandments which he had commanded to Adam, to be fruitful and multiply in the earth.

20 And some of the sons of men caused their wives to drink a draught that would render them barren, in order that they might retain their figures and whereby their beautiful appearance might not fade.

21 And when the sons of men caused some of their wives to drink, Zillah drank with them.

22 And the child-bearing women appeared abominable in the sight of their husbands as widows, whilst their husbands lived, for to the barren ones only they were attached.

23 And in the end of days and years, when Zillah became old, the Lord opened her womb.

24 And she conceived and bare a son and she called his name Tubal Cain, saying, After I had withered away have I obtained him from the Almighty God.

25 And she conceived again and bare a daughter, and she called her name Naamah, for she said, After I had withered away have I obtained pleasure and delight.

26 And Lamech was old and advanced in years, and his eyes were dim that he could not see, and Tubal Cain, his son, was leading him and it was one day that Lamech went into the field and Tubal Cain his son was with him, and whilst they were walking in the field, Cain the son of Adam advanced towards them; for Lamech was very old and could not see much, and Tubal Cain his son was very young.

27 And Tubal Cain told his father to draw his bow, and with the arrows he smote Cain, who was yet far off, and he slew him, for he appeared to them to be an animal.

28 And the arrows entered Cain's body although he was distant from them, and he fell to the ground and died.

29 And the Lord requited Cain's evil according to his wickedness, which he had done to his brother Abel, according to the word of the Lord which he had spoken.

30 And it came to pass when Cain had died, that Lamech and Tubal went to see the animal which they had slain, and they saw, and behold Cain their grandfather was fallen dead upon the earth.

31 And Lamech was very much grieved at having done this, and in clapping his hands together he struck his son and caused his death.

32 And the wives of Lamech heard what Lamech had done, and they sought to kill him.

33 And the wives of Lamech hated him from that day, because he slew Cain and Tubal Cain, and the wives of Lamech separated from him, and would not hearken to him in those days.

34 And Lamech came to his wives, and he pressed them to listen to him about this matter.

35 And he said to his wives Adah and Zillah, Hear my voice O wives of Lamech, attend to my words, for now you have imagined and said that I slew a man with my wounds, and a child with my stripes for their having done no violence, but surely know that I am old and grey-headed, and that my eyes are heavy through age, and I did this thing unknowingly.

36 And the wives of Lamech listened to him in this matter, and they returned to him with the advice of their father Adam, but they bore no children to him from that time, knowing that God's anger was increasing in those days against the sons of men, to destroy them with the waters of the flood for their evil doings.

37 And Mahlallel the son of Cainan lived sixty-five years and he begat Jared; and Jared lived sixty-two years and he begat Enoch.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 3

1 And Enoch lived sixty-five years and he begat Methuselah; and Enoch walked with God after having begot Methuselah, and he served the Lord, and despised the evil ways of men.

2 And the soul of Enoch was wrapped up in the instruction of the Lord, in knowledge and in understanding; and he wisely retired from the sons of men, and secreted himself from them for many days.

3 And it was at the expiration of many years, whilst he was serving the Lord, and praying before him in his house, that an angel of the Lord called to him from Heaven, and he said, Here am I.

4 And he said, Rise, go forth from thy house and from the place where thou dost hide thyself, and appear to the sons of men, in order that thou mayest teach them the way in which they should go and the work which they must accomplish to enter in the ways of God.

5 And Enoch rose up according to the word of the Lord, and went forth from his house, from his place and from the chamber in which he was concealed; and he went to the sons of men and taught them the ways of the Lord, and at that time assembled the sons of men and acquainted them with the instruction of the Lord.

6 And he ordered it to be proclaimed in all places where the sons of men dwelt, saying, Where is the man who wishes to know the ways of the Lord and good works? let him come to Enoch.

7 And all the sons of men then assembled to him, for all who desired this thing went to Enoch, and Enoch reigned over the sons of men according to the word of the Lord, and they came and bowed to him and they heard his word.

8 And the spirit of God was upon Enoch, and he taught all his men the wisdom of God and his ways, and the sons of men served the Lord all the days of Enoch, and they came to hear his wisdom.

9 And all the kings of the sons of men, both first and last, together with their princes and judges, came to Enoch when they heard of his wisdom, and they bowed down to him, and they also required of Enoch to reign over them, to which he consented.

10 And they assembled in all, one hundred and thirty kings and princes, and they made Enoch king over them and they were all under his power and command.

11 And Enoch taught them wisdom, knowledge, and the ways of the Lord; and he made peace amongst them, and peace was throughout the earth during the life of Enoch.

12 And Enoch reigned over the sons of men two hundred and forty-three years, and he did justice and righteousness with all his people, and he led them in the ways of the Lord.

13 And these are the generations of Enoch, Methuselah, Elisha, and Elimelech, three sons; and their sisters were Melca and Nahmah, and Methuselah lived eighty-seven years and he begat Lamech.

14 And it was in the fifty-sixth year of the life of Lamech when Adam died; nine hundred and thirty years old was he at his death, and his two sons, with Enoch and Methuselah his son, buried him with great pomp, as at the burial of kings, in the cave which God had told him.

15 And in that place all the sons of men made a great mourning and weeping on account of Adam; it has therefore become a custom among the sons of men to this day.

16 And Adam died because he ate of the tree of knowledge; he and his children after him, as the Lord God had spoken.

17 And it was in the year of Adam's death which was the two hundred and forty-third year of the reign of Enoch, in that time Enoch resolved to separate himself from the sons of men and to secret himself as at first in order to serve the Lord.

18 And Enoch did so, but did not entirely secret himself from them, but kept away from the sons of men three days and then went to them for one day.

19 And during the three days that he was in his chamber, he prayed to, and praised the Lord his God, and the day on which he went and appeared to his subjects he taught them the ways of the Lord, and all they asked him about the Lord he told them.

20 And he did in this manner for many years, and he afterward concealed himself for six days, and appeared to his people one day in seven; and after that once in a month, and then once in a year, until all the kings, princes and sons of men sought for him, and desired again to see the face of Enoch, and to hear his word; but they could not, as all the sons of men were greatly afraid of Enoch, and they feared to approach him on account of the Godlike awe that was seated upon his countenance; therefore no man could look at him, fearing he might be punished and die.

21 And all the kings and princes resolved to assemble the sons of men, and to come to Enoch, thinking that they might all speak to him at the time when he should come forth amongst them, and they did so.

22 And the day came when Enoch went forth and they all assembled and came to him, and Enoch spoke to them the words of the Lord and he taught them wisdom and knowledge, and they bowed down before him and they said, May the king live! May the king live!

23 And in some time after, when the kings and princes and the sons of men were speaking to Enoch, and Enoch was teaching them the ways of God, behold an angel of the Lord then called unto Enoch from heaven, and wished to bring him up to heaven to make him reign there over the sons of God, as he had reigned over the sons of men upon earth.

24 When at that time Enoch heard this he went and assembled all the inhabitants of the earth, and taught them wisdom and knowledge and gave them divine instructions, and he said to them, I have been required to ascend into heaven, I therefore do not know the day of my going.

25 And now therefore I will teach you wisdom and knowledge and will give you instruction before I leave you, how to act upon earth whereby you may live; and he did so.

26 And he taught them wisdom and knowledge, and gave them instruction, and he reproved them, and he placed before them statutes and judgements to do upon earth, and he made peace amongst them, and he taught them everlasting life, and dwelt with them some time teaching them all these things.

27 And at that time the sons of men were with Enoch, and Enoch was speaking to them, and they lifted up their eyes and the likeness of a great horse descended from heaven, and the horse paced in the air;

28 And they told Enoch what they had seen, and Enoch said to them, On my account does this horse descend upon earth; the time is come when I must go from you and I shall no more be seen by you.

29 And the horse descended at that time and stood before Enoch, and all the sons of men that were with Enoch saw him.

30 And Enoch then again ordered a voice to be proclaimed, saying, Where is the man who delighteth to know the ways of the Lord his God, let him come this day to Enoch before he is taken from us.

31 And all the sons of men assembled and came to Enoch that day; and all the kings of the earth with their princes and counsellors remained with him that day; and Enoch then taught the sons of men wisdom and knowledge, and gave them divine instruction; and he bade them serve the Lord and walk in his ways all the days of their lives, and he continued to make peace amongst them.

32 And it was after this that he rose up and rode upon the horse; and he went forth and all the sons of men went after him, about eight hundred thousand men; and they went with him one day's journey.

33 And the second day he said to them, Return home to your tents, why will you go? perhaps you may die; and some of them went from him, and those that remained went with him six day's journey; and Enoch said to them every day, Return to your tents, lest you may die; but they were not willing to return, and they went with him.

34 And on the sixth day some of the men remained and clung to him, and they said to him, We will go with thee to the place where thou goest; as the Lord liveth, death only shall separate us.

35 And they urged so much to go with him, that he ceased speaking to them; and they went after him and would not return;

36 And when the kings returned they caused a census to be taken, in order to know the number of remaining men that went with Enoch; and it was upon the seventh day that Enoch ascended into heaven in a whirlwind, with horses and chariots of fire.

37 And on the eighth day all the kings that had been with Enoch sent to bring back the number of men that were with Enoch, in that place from which he ascended into heaven.

38 And all those kings went to the place and they found the earth there filled with snow, and upon the snow were large stones of snow, and one said to the other, Come, let us break through the snow and see, perhaps the men that remained with Enoch are dead, and are now under the stones of snow, and they searched but could not find him, for he had ascended into heaven.

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BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 4

1 And all the days that Enoch lived upon earth, were three hundred and sixty-five years.

2 And when Enoch had ascended into heaven, all the kings of the earth rose and took Methuselah his son and anointed him, and they caused him to reign over them in the place of his father.

3 And Methuselah acted uprightly in the sight of God, as his father Enoch had taught him, and he likewise during the whole of his life taught the sons of men wisdom, knowledge and the fear of God, and he did not turn from the good way either to the right or to the left.

4 But in the latter days of Methuselah, the sons of men turned from the Lord, they corrupted the earth, they robbed and plundered each other, and they rebelled against God and they transgressed, and they corrupted their ways, and would not hearken to the voice of Methuselah, but rebelled against him.

5 And the Lord was exceedingly wroth against them, and the Lord continued to destroy the seed in those days, so that there was neither sowing nor reaping in the earth.

6 For when they sowed the ground in order that they might obtain food for their support, behold, thorns and thistles were produced which they did not sow.

7 And still the sons of men did not turn from their evil ways, and their hands were still extended to do evil in the sight of God, and they provoked the Lord with their evil ways, and the Lord was very wroth, and repented that he had made man.

8 And he thought to destroy and annihilate them and he did so.

9 In those days when Lamech the son of Methuselah was one hundred and sixty years old, Seth the son of Adam died.

10 And all the days that Seth lived, were nine hundred and twelve years, and he died.

11 And Lamech was one hundred and eighty years old when he took Ashmua, the daughter of Elishaa the son of Enoch his uncle, and she conceived.

12 And at that time the sons of men sowed the ground, and a little food was produced, yet the sons of men did not turn from their evil ways, and they trespassed and rebelled against God.

13 And the wife of Lamech conceived and bare him a son at that time, at the revolution of the year.

14 And Methuselah called his name Noah, saying, The earth was in his days at rest and free from corruption, and Lamech his father called his name Menachem, saying, This one shall comfort us in our works and miserable toil in the earth, which God had cursed.

15 And the child grew up and was weaned, and he went in the ways of his father Methuselah, perfect and upright with God.

16 And all the sons of men departed from the ways of the Lord in those days as they multiplied upon the face of the earth with sons and daughters, and they taught one another their evil practices and they continued sinning against the Lord.

17 And every man made unto himself a god, and they robbed and plundered every man his neighbour as well as his relative, and they corrupted the earth, and the earth was filled with violence.

18 And their judges and rulers went to the daughters of men and took their wives by force from their husbands according to their choice, and the sons of men in those days took from the cattle of the earth, the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air, and taught the mixture of animals of one species with the other, in order therewith to provoke the Lord; and God saw the whole earth and it was corrupt, for all flesh had corrupted its ways upon earth, all men and all animals.

19 And the Lord said, I will blot out man that I created from the face of the earth, yea from man to the birds of the air, together with cattle and beasts that are in the field for I repent that I made them.

20 And all men who walked in the ways of the Lord, died in those days, before the Lord brought the evil upon man which he had declared, for this was from the Lord, that they should not see the evil which the Lord spoke of concerning the sons of men.

21 And Noah found grace in the sight of the Lord, and the Lord chose him and his children to raise up seed from them upon the face of the whole earth.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 5

1 And it was in the eighty-fourth year of the life of Noah, that Enoch the son of Seth died, he was nine hundred and five years old at his death.

2 And in the one hundred and seventy ninth year of the life of Noah, Cainan the son of Enosh died, and all the days of Cainan were nine hundred and ten years, and he died.

3 And in the two hundred and thirty fourth year of the life of Noah, Mahlallel the son of Cainan died, and the days of Mahlallel were eight hundred and ninety-five years, and he died.

4 And Jared the son of Mahlallel died in those days, in the three hundred and thirty-sixth year of the life of Noah; and all the days of Jared were nine hundred and sixty-two years, and he died.

5 And all who followed the Lord died in those days, before they saw the evil which God declared to do upon earth.

6 And after the lapse of many years, in the four hundred and eightieth year of the life of Noah, when all those men, who followed the Lord had died away from amongst the sons of men, and only Methuselah was then left, God said unto Noah and Methuselah, saying,

7 Speak ye, and proclaim to the sons of men, saying, Thus saith the Lord, return from your evil ways and forsake your works, and the Lord will repent of the evil that he declared to do to you, so that it shall not come to pass.

8 For thus saith the Lord, Behold I give you a period of one hundred and twenty years; if you will turn to me and forsake your evil ways, then will I also turn away from the evil which I told you, and it shall not exist, saith the Lord.

9 And Noah and Methuselah spoke all the words of the Lord to the sons of men, day after day, constantly speaking to them.

10 But the sons of men would not hearken to them, nor incline their ears to their words, and they were stiffnecked.

11 And the Lord granted them a period of one hundred and twenty years, saying, If they will return, then will God repent of the evil, so as not to destroy the earth.

12 Noah the son of Lamech refrained from taking a wife in those days, to beget children, for he said, Surely now God will destroy the earth, wherefore then shall I beget children?

13 And Noah was a just man, he was perfect in his generation, and the Lord chose him to raise up seed from his seed upon the face of the earth.

14 And the Lord said unto Noah, Take unto thee a wife, and beget children, for I have seen thee righteous before me in this generation.

15 And thou shalt raise up seed, and thy children with thee, in the midst of the earth; and Noah went and took a wife, and he chose Naamah the daughter of Enoch, and she was five hundred and eighty years old.

16 And Noah was four hundred and ninety-eight years old, when he took Naamah for a wife.

17 And Naamah conceived and bare a son, and he called his name Japheth, saying, God has enlarged me in the earth; and she conceived again and bare a son, and he called his name Shem, saying, God has made me a remnant, to raise up seed in the midst of the earth.

18 And Noah was five hundred and two years old when Naamah bare Shem, and the boys grew up and went in the ways of the Lord, in all that Methuselah and Noah their father taught them.

19 And Lamech the father of Noah, died in those days; yet verily he did not go with all his heart in the ways of his father, and he died in the hundred and ninety-fifth year of the life of Noah.

20 And all the days of Lamech were seven hundred and seventy years, and he died.

21 And all the sons of men who knew the Lord, died in that year before the Lord brought evil upon them; for the Lord willed them to die, so as not to behold the evil that God would bring upon their brothers and relatives, as he had so declared to do.

22 In that time, the Lord said to Noah and Methuselah, Stand forth and proclaim to the sons of men all the words that I spoke to you in those days, peradventure they may turn from their evil ways, and I will then repent of the evil and will not bring it.

23 And Noah and Methuselah stood forth, and said in the ears of the sons of men, all that God had spoken concerning them.

24 But the sons of men would not hearken, neither would they incline their ears to all their declarations.

25 And it was after this that the Lord said to Noah, The end of all flesh is come before me, on account of their evil deeds, and behold I will destroy the earth.

26 And do thou take unto thee gopher wood, and go to a certain place and make a large ark, and place it in that spot.

27 And thus shalt thou make it; three hundred cubits its length, fifty cubits broad and thirty cubits high.

28 And thou shalt make unto thee a door, open at its side, and to a cubit thou shalt finish above, and cover it within and without with pitch.

29 And behold I will bring the flood of waters upon the earth, and all flesh be destroyed, from under the heavens all that is upon earth shall perish.

30 And thou and thy household shall go and gather two couple of all living things, male and female, and shall bring them to the ark, to raise up seed from them upon earth.

31 And gather unto thee all food that is eaten by all the animals, that there may be food for thee and for them.

32 And thou shalt choose for thy sons three maidens, from the daughters of men, and they shall be wives to thy sons.

33 And Noah rose up, and he made the ark, in the place where God had commanded him, and Noah did as God had ordered him.

34 In his five hundred and ninety-fifth year Noah commenced to make the ark, and he made the ark in five years, as the Lord had commanded.

35 Then Noah took the three daughters of Eliakim, son of Methuselah, for wives for his sons, as the Lord had commanded Noah.

36 And it was at that time Methuselah the son of Enoch died, nine hundred and sixty years old was he, at his death.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 6

1 At that time, after the death of Methuselah, the Lord said to Noah, Go thou with thy household into the ark; behold I will gather to thee all the animals of the earth, the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air, and they shall all come and surround the ark.

2 And thou shalt go and seat thyself by the doors of the ark, and all the beasts, the animals, and the fowls, shall assemble and place themselves before thee, and such of them as shall come and crouch before thee, shalt thou take and deliver into the hands of thy sons, who shall bring them to the ark, and all that will stand before thee thou shalt leave.

3 And the Lord brought this about on the next day, and animals, beasts and fowls came in great multitudes and surrounded the ark.

4 And Noah went and seated himself by the door of the ark, and of all flesh that crouched before him, he brought into the ark, and all that stood before him he left upon earth.

5 And a lioness came, with her two whelps, male and female, and the three crouched before Noah, and the two whelps rose up against the lioness and smote her, and made her flee from her place, and she went away, and they returned to their places, and crouched upon the earth before Noah.

6 And the lioness ran away, and stood in the place of the lions.

7 And Noah saw this, and wondered greatly, and he rose and took the two whelps, and brought them into the ark.

8 And Noah brought into the ark from all living creatures that were upon earth, so that there was none left but which Noah brought into the ark.

9 Two and two came to Noah into the ark, but from the clean animals, and clean fowls, he brought seven couples, as God had commanded him.

10 And all the animals, and beasts, and fowls, were still there, and they surrounded the ark at every place, and the rain had not descended till seven days after.

11 And on that day, the Lord caused the whole earth to shake, and the sun darkened, and the foundations of the world raged, and the whole earth was moved violently, and the lightning flashed, and the thunder roared, and all the fountains in the earth were broken up, such as was not known to the inhabitants before; and God did this mighty act, in order to terrify the sons of men, that there might be no more evil upon earth.

12 And still the sons of men would not return from their evil ways, and they increased the anger of the Lord at that time, and did not even direct their hearts to all this.

13 And at the end of seven days, in the six hundredth year of the life of Noah, the waters of the flood were upon the earth.

14 And all the fountains of the deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened, and the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights.

15 And Noah and his household, and all the living creatures that were with him, came into the ark on account of the waters of the flood, and the Lord shut him in.

16 And all the sons of men that were left upon the earth, became exhausted through evil on account of the rain, for the waters were coming more violently upon the earth, and the animals and beasts were still surrounding the ark.

17 And the sons of men assembled together, about seven hundred thousand men and women, and they came unto Noah to the ark.

18 And they called to Noah, saying, Open for us that we may come to thee in the ark--and wherefore shall we die?

19 And Noah, with a loud voice, answered them from the ark, saying, Have you not all rebelled against the Lord, and said that he does not exist? and therefore the Lord brought upon you this evil, to destroy and cut you off from the face of the earth.

20 Is not this the thing that I spoke to you of one hundred and twenty years back, and you would not hearken to the voice of the Lord, and now do you desire to live upon earth?

21 And they said to Noah, We are ready to return to the Lord; only open for us that we may live and not die.

22 And Noah answered them, saying, Behold now that you see the trouble of your souls, you wish to return to the Lord; why did you not return during these hundred and twenty years, which the Lord granted you as the determined period?

23 But now you come and tell me this on account of the troubles of your souls, now also the Lord will not listen to you, neither will he give ear to you on this day, so that you will not now succeed in your wishes.

24 And the sons of men approached in order to break into the ark, to come in on account of the rain, for they could not bear the rain upon them.

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25 And the Lord sent all the beasts and animals that stood round the ark. And the beasts overpowered them and drove them from that place, and every man went his way and they again scattered themselves upon the face of the earth.

26 And the rain was still descending upon the earth, and it descended forty days and forty nights, and the waters prevailed greatly upon the earth; and all flesh that was upon the earth or in the waters died, whether men, animals, beasts, creeping things or birds of the air, and there only remained Noah and those that were with him in the ark.

27 And the waters prevailed and they greatly increased upon the earth, and they lifted up the ark and it was raised from the earth.

28 And the ark floated upon the face of the waters, and it was tossed upon the waters so that all the living creatures within were turned about like pottage in a cauldron.

29 And great anxiety seized all the living creatures that were in the ark, and the ark was like to be broken.

30 And all the living creatures that were in the ark were terrified, and the lions roared, and the oxen lowed, and the wolves howled, and every living creature in the ark spoke and lamented in its own language, so that their voices reached to a great distance, and Noah and his sons cried and wept in their troubles; they were greatly afraid that they had reached the gates of death.

31 And Noah prayed unto the Lord, and cried unto him on account of this, and he said, O Lord help us, for we have no strength to bear this evil that has encompassed us, for the waves of the waters have surrounded us, mischievous torrents have terrified us, the snares of death have come before us; answer us, O Lord, answer us, light up thy countenance toward us and be gracious to us, redeem us and deliver us.

32 And the Lord hearkened to the voice of Noah, and the Lord remembered him.

33 And a wind passed over the earth, and the waters were still and the ark rested.

34 And the fountains of the deep and the windows of heaven were stopped, and the rain from heaven was restrained.

35 And the waters decreased in those days, and the ark rested upon the mountains of Ararat.

36 And Noah then opened the windows of the ark, and Noah still called out to the Lord at that time and he said, O Lord, who didst form the earth and the heavens and all that are therein, bring forth our souls from this confinement, and from the prison wherein thou hast placed us, for I am much wearied with sighing.

37 And the Lord hearkened to the voice of Noah, and said to him, When though shalt have completed a full year thou shalt then go forth.

38 And at the revolution of the year, when a full year was completed to Noah's dwelling in the ark, the waters were dried from off the earth, and Noah put off the covering of the ark.

39 At that time, on the twenty-seventh day of the second month, the earth was dry, but Noah and his sons, and those that were with him, did not go out from the ark until the Lord told them.

40 And the day came that the Lord told them to go out, and they all went out from the ark.

41 And they went and returned every one to his way and to his place, and Noah and his sons dwelt in the land that God had told them, and they served the Lord all their days, and the Lord blessed Noah and his sons on their going out from the ark.

42 And he said to them, Be fruitful and fill all the earth; become strong and increase abundantly in the earth and multiply therein.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 7

1 And these are the names of the sons of Noah: Japheth, Ham and Shem; and children were born to them after the flood, for they had taken wives before the flood.

2 These are the sons of Japheth; Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, and Tiras, seven sons.

3 And the sons of Gomer were Askinaz, Rephath and Tegarmah.

4 And the sons of Magog were Elichanaf and Lubal.

5 And the children of Madai were Achon, Zeelo, Chazoni and Lot.

6 And the sons of Javan were Elisha, Tarshish, Chittim and Dudonim.

7 And the sons of Tubal were Ariphi, Kesed and Taari.

8 And the sons of Meshech were Dedon, Zaron and Shebashni.

9 And the sons of Tiras were Benib, Gera, Lupirion and Gilak; these are the sons of Japheth according to their families, and their numbers in those days were about four hundred and sixty men.

10 And these are the sons of Ham; Cush, Mitzraim, Phut and Canaan, four sons; and the sons of Cush were Seba, Havilah, Sabta, Raama and Satecha, and the sons of Raama were Sheba and Dedan.

11 And the sons of Mitzraim were Lud, Anom and Pathros, Chasloth and Chaphtor.

12 And the sons of Phut were Gebul, Hadan, Benah and Adan.

13 And the sons of Canaan were Zidon, Heth, Amori, Gergashi, Hivi, Arkee, Seni, Arodi, Zimodi and Chamothi.

14 These are the sons of Ham, according to their families, and their numbers in those days were about seven hundred and thirty men.

15 And these are the sons of Shem; Elam, Ashur, Arpachshad, Lud and Aram, five sons; and the sons of Elam were Shushan, Machul and Harmon.

16 And the sons of Ashar were Mirus and Mokil, and the sons of Arpachshad were Shelach, Anar and Ashcol.

17 And the sons of Lud were Pethor and Bizayon, and the sons of Aram were Uz, Chul, Gather and Mash.

18 These are the sons of Shem, according to their families; and their numbers in those days were about three hundred men.

19 These are the generations of Shem; Shem begat Arpachshad and Arpachshad begat Shelach, and Shelach begat Eber and to Eber were born two children, the name of one was Peleg, for in his days the sons of men were divided, and in the latter days, the earth was divided.

20 And the name of the second was Yoktan, meaning that in his day the lives of the sons of men were diminished and lessened.

21 These are the sons of Yoktan; Almodad, Shelaf, Chazarmoveth, Yerach, Hadurom, Ozel, Diklah, Obal, Abimael, Sheba, Ophir, Havilah and Jobab; all these are the sons of Yoktan.

22 And Peleg his brother begat Yen, and Yen begat Serug, and Serug begat Nahor and Nahor begat Terah, and Terah was thirty-eight years old, and he begat Haran and Nahor.

23 And Cush the son of Ham, the son of Noah, took a wife in those days in his old age, and she bare a son, and they called his name Nimrod, saying, At that time the sons of men again began to rebel and transgress against God, and the child grew up, and his father loved him exceedingly, for he was the son of his old age.

24 And the garments of skin which God made for Adam and his wife, when they went out of the garden, were given to Cush.

25 For after the death of Adam and his wife, the garments were given to Enoch, the son of Jared, and when Enoch was taken up to God, he gave them to Methuselah, his son.

26 And at the death of Methuselah, Noah took them and brought them to the ark, and they were with him until he went out of the ark.

27 And in their going out, Ham stole those garments from Noah his father, and he took them and hid them from his brothers.

28 And when Ham begat his first born Cush, he gave him the garments in secret, and they were with Cush many days.

29 And Cush also concealed them from his sons and brothers, and when Cush had begotten Nimrod, he gave him those garments through his love for him, and Nimrod grew up, and when he was twenty years old he put on those garments.

30 And Nimrod became strong when he put on the garments, and God gave him might and strength, and he was a mighty hunter in the earth, yea, he was a mighty hunter in the field, and he hunted the animals and he built altars, and he offered upon them the animals before the Lord.

31 And Nimrod strengthened himself, and he rose up from amongst his brethren, and he fought the battles of his brethren against all their enemies round about.

32 And the Lord delivered all the enemies of his brethren in his hands, and God prospered him from time to time in his battles, and he reigned upon earth.

33 Therefore it became current in those days, when a man ushered forth those that he had trained up for battle, he would say to them, Like God did to Nimrod, who was a mighty hunter in the earth, and who succeeded in the battles that prevailed against his brethren, that he delivered them from the hands of their enemies, so may God strengthen us and deliver us this day.

34 And when Nimrod was forty years old, at that time there was a war between his brethren and the children of Japheth, so that they were in the power of their enemies.

35 And Nimrod went forth at that time, and he assembled all the sons of Cush and their families, about four hundred and sixty men, and he hired also from some of his friends and acquaintances about eighty men, and be gave them their hire, and he went with them to battle, and when he was on the road, Nimrod strengthened the hearts of the people that went with him.

36 And he said to them, Do not fear, neither be alarmed, for all our enemies will be delivered into our hands, and you may do with them as you please.

37 And all the men that went were about five hundred, and they fought against their enemies, and they destroyed them, and subdued them, and Nimrod placed standing officers over them in their respective places.

38 And he took some of their children as security, and they were all servants to Nimrod and to his brethren, and Nimrod and all the people that were with him turned homeward.

39 And when Nimrod had joyfully returned from battle, after having conquered his enemies, all his brethren, together with those who knew him before, assembled to make him king over them, and they placed the regal crown upon his head.

40 And he set over his subjects and people, princes, judges, and rulers, as is the custom amongst kings.

41 And he placed Terah the son of Nahor the prince of his host, and he dignified him and elevated him above all his princes.

42 And whilst he was reigning according to his heart's desire, after having conquered all his enemies around, he advised with his counselors to build a city for his palace, and they did so.

43 And they found a large valley opposite to the east, and they built him a large and extensive city, and Nimrod called the name of the city that he built Shinar, for the Lord had vehemently shaken his enemies and destroyed them.

44 And Nimrod dwelt in Shinar, and he reigned securely, and he fought with his enemies and he subdued them, and he prospered in all his battles, and his kingdom became very great.

45 And all nations and tongues heard of his fame, and they gathered themselves to him, and they bowed down to the earth, and they brought him offerings, and he became their lord and king, and they all dwelt with him in the city at Shinar, and Nimrod reigned in the earth over all the sons of Noah, and they were all under his power and counsel.

46 And all the earth was of one tongue and words of union, but Nimrod did not go in the ways of the Lord, and he was more wicked than all the men that were before him, from the days of the flood until those days.

47 And he made gods of wood and stone, and he bowed down to them, and he rebelled against the Lord, and taught all his subjects and the people of the earth his wicked ways; and Mardon his son was more wicked than his father.

48 And every one that heard of the acts of Mardon the son of Nimrod would say, concerning him, From the wicked goeth forth wickedness; therefore it became a proverb in the whole earth, saying, From the wicked goeth forth wickedness, and it was current in the words of men from that time to this.

49 And Terah the son of Nahor, prince of Nimrod's host, was in those days very great in the sight of the king and his subjects, and the king and princes loved him, and they elevated him very high.

50 And Terah took a wife and her name was Amthelo the daughter of Cornebo; and the wife of Terah conceived and bare him a son in those days.

51 Terah was seventy years old when he begat him, and Terah called the name of his son that was born to him Abram, because the king had raised him in those days, and dignified him above all his princes that were with him.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 8

1 And it was in the night that Abram was born, that all the servants of Terah, and all the wise men of Nimrod, and his conjurors came and ate and drank in the house of Terah, and they rejoiced with him on that night.

2 And when all the wise men and conjurors went out from the house of Terah, they lifted up their eyes toward heaven that night to look at the stars, and they saw, and behold one very large star came from the east and ran in the heavens, and he swallowed up the four stars from the four sides of the heavens.

3 And all the wise men of the king and his conjurors were astonished at the sight, and the sages understood this matter, and they knew its import.

4 And they said to each other, This only betokens the child that has been born to Terah this night, who will grow up and be fruitful, and multiply, and possess all the earth, he and his children for ever, and he and his seed will slay great kings, and inherit their lands.

5 And the wise men and conjurors went home that night, and in the morning all these wise men and conjurors rose up early, and assembled in an appointed house.

6 And they spoke and said to each other, Behold the sight that we saw last night is hidden from the king, it has not been made known to him.

7 And should this thing get known to the king in the latter days, he will say to us, Why have you concealed this matter from me, and then we shall all suffer death; therefore, now let us go and tell the king the sight which we saw, and the interpretation thereof, and we shall then remain clear.

8 And they did so, and they all went to the king and bowed down to him to the ground, and they said, May the king live, may the king live.

9 We heard that a son was born to Terah the son of Nahor, the prince of thy host, and we yesternight came to his house, and we ate and drank and rejoiced with him that night.

10 And when thy servants went out from the house of Terah, to go to our respective homes to abide there for the night, we lifted up our eyes to heaven, and we saw a great star coming

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from the east, and the same star ran with great speed, and swallowed up four great stars, from the four sides of the heavens.

11 And thy servants were astonished at the sight which we saw, and were greatly terrified, and we made our judgement upon the sight, and knew by our wisdom the proper interpretation thereof, that this thing applies to the child that is born to Terah, who will grow up and multiply greatly, and become powerful, and kill all the kings of the earth, and inherit all their lands, he and his seed forever.

12 And now our lord and king, behold we have truly acquainted thee with what we have seen concerning this child.

13 If it seemeth good to the king to give his father value for this child, we will slay him before he shall grow up and increase in the land, and his evil increase against us, that we and our children perish through his evil.

14 And the king heard their words and they seemed good in his sight, and he sent and called for Terah, and Terah came before the king.

15 And the king said to Terah, I have been told that a son was yesternight born to thee, and after this manner was observed in the heavens at his birth.

16 And now therefore give me the child, that we may slay him before his evil springs up against us, and I will give thee for his value, thy house full of silver and gold.

17 And Terah answered the king and said to him: My Lord and king, I have heard thy words, and thy servant shall do all that his king desireth.

18 But my lord and king, I will tell thee what happened to me yesternight, that I may see what advice the king will give his servant, and then I will answer the king upon what he has just spoken; and the king said, Speak.

19 And Terah said to the king, Ayon, son of Mored, came to me yesternight, saying,

20 Give unto me the great and beautiful horse that the king gave thee, and I will give thee silver and gold, and straw and provender for its value; and I said to him, Wait till I see the king concerning thy words, and behold whatever the king saith, that will I do.

21 And now my lord and king, behold I have made this thing known to thee, and the advice which my king will give unto his servant, that will I follow.

22 And the king heard the words of Terah, and his anger was kindled and he considered him in the light of a fool.

23 And the king answered Terah, and he said to him, Art thou so silly, ignorant, or deficient in understanding, to do this thing, to give thy beautiful horse for silver and gold or even for straw and provender?

24 Art thou so short of silver and gold, that thou shouldst do this thing, because thou canst not obtain straw and provender to feed thy horse? and what is silver and gold to thee, or straw and provender, that thou shouldst give away that fine horse which I gave thee, like which there is none to be had on the whole earth?

25 And the king left off speaking, and Terah answered the king, saying, Like unto this has the king spoken to his servant;

26 I beseech thee, my lord and king, what is this which thou didst say unto me, saying, Give thy son that we may slay him, and I will give thee silver and gold for his value; what shall I do with silver and gold after the death of my son? who shall inherit me? surely then at my death, the silver and gold will return to my king who gave it.

27 And when the king heard the words of Terah, and the parable which he brought concerning the king, it grieved him greatly and he was vexed at this thing, and his anger burned within him.

28 And Terah saw that the anger of the king was kindled against him, and he answered the king, saying, All that I have is in the king's power; whatever the king desireth to do to his servant, that let him do, yea, even my son, he is in the king's power, without value in exchange, he and his two brothers that are older than he.

29 And the king said to Terah, No, but I will purchase thy younger son for a price.

30 And Terah answered the king, saying, I beseech thee my lord and king to let thy servant speak a word before thee, and let the king hear the word of his servant, and Terah said, Let my king give me three days' time till I consider this matter within myself, and consult with my family concerning the words of my king; and he pressed the king greatly to agree to this.

31 And the king hearkened to Terah, and he did so and he gave him three days' time, and Terah went out from the king's presence, and he came home to his family and spoke to them all the words of the king; and the people were greatly afraid.

32 And it was in the third day that the king sent to Terah, saying, Send me thy son for a price as I spoke to thee; and shouldst thou not do this, I will send and slay all thou hast in thy house, so that thou shalt not even have a dog remaining.

33 And Terah hastened, (as the thing was urgent from the king), and he took a child from one of his servants, which his handmaid had born to him that day, and Terah brought the child to the king and received value for him.

34 And the Lord was with Terah in this matter, that Nimrod might not cause Abram's death, and the king took the child from Terah and with all his might dashed his head to the ground, for he thought it had been Abram; and this was concealed from him from that day, and it was forgotten by the king, as it was the will of Providence not to suffer Abram's death.

35 And Terah took Abram his son secretly, together with his mother and nurse, and he concealed them in a cave, and he brought them their provisions monthly.

36 And the Lord was with Abram in the cave and he grew up, and Abram was in the cave ten years, and the king and his princes, soothsayers and sages, thought that the king had killed Abram.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 9

1 And Haran, the son of Terah, Abram's oldest brother, took a wife in those days.

2 Haran was thirty-nine years old when he took her; and the wife of Haran conceived and bare a son, and he called his name Lot.

3 And she conceived again and bare a daughter, and she called her name Milca; and she again conceived and bare a daughter, and she called her name Sarai.

4 Haran was forty-two years old when he begat Sarai, which was in the tenth year of the life of Abram; and in those days Abram and his mother and nurse went out from the cave, as the king and his subjects had forgotten the affair of Abram.

5 And when Abram came out from the cave, he went to Noah and his son Shem, and he remained with them to learn the instruction of the Lord and his ways, and no man knew where Abram was, and Abram served Noah and Shem his son for a long time.

6 And Abram was in Noah's house thirty-nine years, and Abram knew the Lord from three years old, and he went in the ways of the Lord until the day of his death, as Noah and his son Shem had taught him; and all the sons of the earth in those days greatly transgressed against the Lord, and they rebelled against him and they served other gods, and they forgot the Lord who had created them in the earth; and the inhabitants of the earth made unto themselves, at that time, every man his god; gods of wood and stone which could neither speak, hear, nor deliver, and the sons of men served them and they became their gods.

7 And the king and all his servants, and Terah with all his household were then the first of those that served gods of wood and stone.

8 And Terah had twelve gods of large size, made of wood and stone, after the twelve months of the year, and he served each one monthly, and every month Terah would bring his meat offering and drink offering to his gods; thus did Terah all the days.

9 And all that generation were wicked in the sight of the Lord, and they thus made every man his god, but they forsook the Lord who had created them.

10 And there was not a man found in those days in the whole earth, who knew the Lord (for they served each man his own God) except Noah and his household, and all those who were under his counsel knew the Lord in those days.

11 And Abram the son of Terah was waxing great in those days in the house of Noah, and no man knew it, and the Lord was with him.

12 And the Lord gave Abram an understanding heart, and he knew all the works of that generation were vain, and that all their gods were vain and were of no avail.

13 And Abram saw the sun shining upon the earth, and Abram said unto himself Surely now this sun that shines upon the earth is God, and him will I serve.

14 And Abram served the sun in that day and he prayed to him, and when evening came the sun set as usual, and Abram said within himself, Surely this cannot be God?

15 And Abram still continued to speak within himself, Who is he who made the heavens and the earth? who created upon earth? where is he?

16 And night darkened over him, and he lifted up his eyes toward the west, north, south, and east, and he saw that the sun had vanished from the earth, and the day became dark.

17 And Abram saw the stars and moon before him, and he said, Surely this is the God who created the whole earth as well as man, and behold these his servants are gods around him: and Abram served the moon and prayed to it all that night.

18 And in the morning when it was light and the sun shone upon the earth as usual, Abram saw all the things that the Lord God had made upon earth.

19 And Abram said unto himself Surely these are not gods that made the earth and all mankind, but these are the servants of God, and Abram remained in the house of Noah and there knew the Lord and his ways' and he served the Lord all the days of his life, and all that generation forgot the Lord, and served other gods of wood and stone, and rebelled all their days.

20 And king Nimrod reigned securely, and all the earth was under his control, and all the earth was of one tongue and words of union.

21 And all the princes of Nimrod and his great men took counsel together; Phut, Mitzraim, Cush and Canaan with their families, and they said to each other, Come let us build ourselves a city and in it a strong tower, and its top reaching heaven, and we will make ourselves famed, so that we may reign upon the whole world, in order that the evil of our enemies may cease from us, that we may reign mightily over them, and that we may not become scattered over the earth on account of their wars.

22 And they all went before the king, and they told the king these words, and the king agreed with them in this affair, and he did so.

23 And all the families assembled consisting of about six hundred thousand men, and they went to seek an extensive piece of ground to build the city and the tower, and they sought in the whole earth and they found none like one valley at the east of the land of Shinar, about two days' walk, and they journeyed there and they dwelt there.

24 And they began to make bricks and burn fires to build the city and the tower that they had imagined to complete.

25 And the building of the tower was unto them a transgression and a sin, and they began to build it, and whilst they were building against the Lord God of heaven, they imagined in their hearts to war against him and to ascend into heaven.

26 And all these people and all the families divided themselves in three parts; the first said We will ascend into heaven and fight against him; the second said, We will ascend to heaven and place our own gods there and serve them; and the third part said, We will ascend to heaven and smite him with bows and spears; and God knew all their works and all their evil thoughts, and he saw the city and the tower which they were building.

27 And when they were building they built themselves a great city and a very high and strong tower; and on account of its height the mortar and bricks did not reach the builders in their ascent to it, until those who went up had completed a full year, and after that, they reached to the builders and gave them the mortar and the bricks; thus was it done daily.

28 And behold these ascended and others descended the whole day; and if a brick should fall from their hands and get broken, they would all weep over it, and if a man fell and died, none of them would look at him.

29 And the Lord knew their thoughts, and it came to pass when they were building they cast the arrows toward the heavens, and all the arrows fell upon them filled with blood, and when they saw them they said to each other, Surely we have slain all those that are in heaven.

30 For this was from the Lord in order to cause them to err, and in order; to destroy them from off the face of the ground.

31 And they built the tower and the city, and they did this thing daily until many days and years were elapsed.

32 And God said to the seventy angels who stood foremost before him, to those who were near to him, saying, Come let us descend and confuse their tongues, that one man shall not understand the language of his neighbour, and they did so unto them.

33 And from that day following, they forgot each man his neighbour's tongue, and they could not understand to speak in one tongue, and when the builder took from the hands of his neighbour lime or stone which he did not order, the builder would cast it away and throw it upon his neighbour, that he would die.

34 And they did so many days, and they killed many of them in this manner.

35 And the Lord smote the three divisions that were there, and he punished them according to their works and designs; those who said, We will ascend to heaven and serve our gods, became like apes and elephants; and those who said, We will smite the heaven with arrows, the Lord killed them, one man through the hand of his neighbour; and the third division of those who said, We will ascend to heaven and fight against him, the Lord scattered them throughout the earth.

36 And those who were left amongst them, when they knew and understood the evil which was coming upon them, they forsook the building, and they also became scattered upon the face of the whole earth.

37 And they ceased building the city and the tower; therefore he called that place Babel, for there the Lord confounded the Language of the whole earth; behold it was at the east of the land of Shinar.

38 And as to the tower which the sons of men built, the earth opened its mouth and swallowed up one third part thereof, and a fire also descended from heaven and burned another third, and the other third is left to this day, and it is of that part which was aloft, and its circumference is three days' walk.

39 And many of the sons of men died in that tower, a people without number.

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BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 10

1 And Peleg the son of Eber died in those days, in the forty-eighth year of the life of Abram son of Terah, and all the days of Peleg were two hundred and thirty-nine years.

2 And when the Lord had scattered the sons of men on account of their sin at the tower, behold they spread forth into many divisions, and all the sons of men were dispersed into the four corners of the earth.

3 And all the families became each according to its language, its land, or its city.

4 And the sons of men built many cities according to their families, in all the places where they went, and throughout the earth where the Lord had scattered them.

5 And some of them built cities in places from which they were afterward extirpated, and they called these cities after their own names, or the names of their children, or after their particular occurrences.

6 And the sons of Japheth the son of Noah went and built themselves cities in the places where they were scattered, and they called all their cities after their names, and the sons of Japheth were divided upon the face of the earth into many divisions and languages.

7 And these are the sons of Japheth according to their families, Gomer, Magog, Medai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech and Tiras; these are the children of Japheth according to their generations.

8 And the children of Gomer, according to their cities, were the Francum, who dwell in the land of Franza, by the river Franza, by the river Senah.

9 And the children of Rephath are the Bartonim, who dwell in the land of Bartonia by the river Ledah, which empties its waters in the great sea Gihon, that is, oceanus.

10 And the children of Tugarma are ten families, and these are their names: Buzar, Parzunac, Balgar, Elicanum, Ragbib, Tarki, Bid, Zebuc, Ongal and Tilmaz; all these spread and rested in the north and built themselves cities.

11 And they called their cities after their own names, those are they who abide by the rivers Hithlah and Italac unto this day.

12 But the families of Angoli, Balgar and Parzunac, they dwell by the great river Dubnee; and the names of their cities are also according to their own names.

13 And the children of Javan are the Javanim who dwell in the land of Makdonia, and the children of Medaiare are the Orelum that dwell in the land of Curson, and the children of Tubal are those that dwell in the land of Tuskanah by the river Pashiah.

14 And the children of Meshech are the Shibashni and the children of Tiras are Rushash, Cushni, and Ongolis; all these went and built themselves cities; those are the cities that are situate by the sea Jabus by the river Cura, which empties itself in the river Tragan.

15 And the children of Elishah are the Almanim, and they also went and built themselves cities; those are the cities situate between the mountains of Job and Shibathmo; and of them were the people of Lumbardi who dwell opposite the mountains of Job and Shibathmo, and they conquered the land of Italia and remained there unto this day.

16 And the children of Chittim are the Romim who dwell in the valley of Canopia by the river Tibreu.

17 And the children of Dudonim are those who dwell in the cities of the sea Gihon, in the land of Bordna.

18 These are the families of the children of Japheth according to their cities and languages, when they were scattered after the tower, and they called their cities after their names and occurrences; and these are the names of all their cities according to their families, which they built in those days after the tower.

19 And the children of Ham were Cush, Mitzraim, Phut and Canaan according to their generation and cities.

20 All these went and built themselves cities as they found fit places for them, and they called their cities after the names of their fathers Cush, Mitzraim, Phut and Canaan.

21 And the children of Mitzraim are the Ludim, Anamim, Lehabim, Naphtuchim, Pathrusim, Casluchim and Caphturim, seven families.

22 All these dwell by the river Sihor, that is the brook of Egypt, and they built themselves cities and called them after their own names.

23 And the children of Pathros and Casloch intermarried together, and from them went forth the Pelishtim, the Azathim, and the Gerarim, the Githim and the Ekronim, in all five families; these also built themselves cities, and they called their cities after the names of their fathers unto this day.

24 And the children of Canaan also built themselves cities, and they called their cities after their names, eleven cities and others without number.

25 And four men from the family of Ham went to the land of the plain; these are the names of the four men, Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboyim.

26 And these men built themselves four cities in the land of the plain, and they called the names of their cities after their own names.

27 And they and their children and all belonging to them dwelt in those cities, and they were fruitful and multiplied greatly and dwelt peaceably.

28 And Seir the son of Hur, son of Hivi, son of Canaan, went and found a valley opposite to Mount Paran, and he built a city there, and he and his seven sons and his household dwelt there, and he called the city which he built Seir, according to his name; that is the land of Seir unto this day.

29 These are the families of the children of Ham, according to their languages and cities, when they were scattered to their countries after the tower.

30 And some of the children of Shem son of Noah, father of all the children of Eber, also went and built themselves cities in the places wherein they were scattered, and they called their cities after their names.

31 And the sons of Shem were Elam, Ashur, Arpachshad, Lud and Aram, and they built themselves cities and called the names of all their cities after their names.

32 And Ashur son of Shem and his children and household went forth at that time, a very large body of them, and they went to a distant land that they found, and they met with a very extensive valley in the land that they went to, and they built themselves four cities, and they called them after their own names and occurrences.

33 And these are the names of the cities which the children of Ashur built, Ninevah, Resen, Calach and Rehobother; and the children of Ashur dwell there unto this day.

34 And the children of Aram also went and built themselves a city, and they called the name of the city Uz after their eldest brother, and they dwell therein; that is the land of Uz to this day.

35 And in the second year after the tower a man from the house of Ashur, whose name was Bela, went from the land of Ninevah to sojourn with his household wherever he could find a place; and they came until opposite the cities of the plain against Sodom, and they dwelt there.

36 And the man rose up and built there a small city, and called its name Bela, after his name; that is the land of Zoar unto this day.

37 And these are the families of the children of Shem according to their language and cities, after they were scattered upon the earth after the tower.

38 And every kingdom, city, and family of the families of the children of Noah built themselves many cities after this.

39 And they established governments in all their cities, in order to be regulated by their orders; so did all the families of the children of Noah forever.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 11

1 And Nimrod son of Cush was still in the land of Shinar, and he reigned over it and dwelt there, and he built cities in the land of Shinar.

2 And these are the names of the four cities which he built, and he called their names after the occurrences that happened to them in the building of the tower.

3 And he called the first Babel, saying, Because the Lord there confounded the language of the whole earth; and the name of the second he called Erech, because from there God dispersed them.

4 And the third he called Eched, saying there was a great battle at that place; and the fourth he called Calnah, because his princes and mighty men were consumed there, and they vexed the Lord, they rebelled and transgressed against him.

5 And when Nimrod had built these cities in the land of Shinar, he placed in them the remainder of his people, his princes and his mighty men that were left in his kingdom.

6 And Nimrod dwelt in Babel, and he there renewed his reign over the rest of his subjects, and he reigned securely, and the subjects and princes of Nimrod called his name Amraphel, saying that at the tower his princes and men fell through his means.

7 And notwithstanding this, Nimrod did not return to the Lord, and he continued in wickedness and teaching wickedness to the sons of men; and Mardon, his son, was worse than his father, and continued to add to the abominations of his father.

8 And he caused the sons of men to sin, therefore it is said, From the wicked goeth forth wickedness.

9 At that time there was war between the families of the children of Ham, as they were dwelling in the cities which they had built.

10 And Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, went away from the families of the children of Ham, and he fought with them and he subdued them, and he went to the five cities of the plain and he fought against them and he subdued them, and they were under his control.

11 And they served him twelve years, and they gave him a yearly tax.

12 At that time died Nahor, son of Serug, in the forty-ninth year of the life of Abram son of Terah.

13 And in the fiftieth year of the life of Abram son of Terah, Abram came forth from the house of Noah, and went to his father's house.

14 And Abram knew the Lord, and he went in his ways and instructions, and the Lord his God was with him.

15 And Terah his father was in those days, still captain of the host of king Nimrod, and he still followed strange gods.

16 And Abram came to his father's house and saw twelve gods standing there in their temples, and the anger of Abram was kindled when he saw these images in his father's house.

17 And Abram said, As the Lord liveth these images shall not remain in my father's house; so shall the Lord who created me do unto me if in three days' time I do not break them all.

18 And Abram went from them, and his anger burned within him. And Abram hastened and went from the chamber to his father's outer court, and he found his father sitting in the court, and all his servants with him, and Abram came and sat before him.

19 And Abram asked his father, saying, Father, tell me where is God who created heaven and earth, and all the sons of men upon earth, and who created thee and me. And Terah answered his son Abram and said, Behold those who created us are all with us in the house.

20 And Abram said to his father, My lord, shew them to me I pray thee; and Terah brought Abram into the chamber of the inner court, and Abram saw, and behold the whole room was full of gods of wood and stone, twelve great images and others less than they without number.

21 And Terah said to his son, Behold these are they which made all thou seest upon earth, and which created me and thee, and all mankind.

22 And Terah bowed down to his gods, and he then went away from them, and Abram, his son, went away with him.

23 And when Abram had gone from them he went to his mother and sat before her, and he said to his mother, Behold, my father has shown me those who made heaven and earth, and all the sons of men.

24 Now, therefore, hasten and fetch a kid from the flock, and make of it savory meat, that I may bring it to my father's gods as an offering for them to eat; perhaps I may thereby become acceptable to them.

25 And his mother did so, and she fetched a kid, and made savory meat thereof, and brought it to Abram, and Abram took the savory meat from his mother and brought it before his father's gods, and he drew nigh to them that they might eat; and Terah his father, did not know of it.

26 And Abram saw on the day when he was sitting amongst them, that they had no voice, no hearing, no motion, and not one of them could stretch forth his hand to eat.

27 And Abram mocked them, and said, Surely the savory meat that I prepared has not pleased them, or perhaps it was too little for them, and for that reason they would not eat; therefore tomorrow I will prepare fresh savory meat, better and more plentiful than this, in order that I may see the result.

28 And it was on the next day that Abram directed his mother concerning the savory meat, and his mother rose and fetched three fine kids from the flock, and she made of them some excellent savory meat, such as her son was fond of, and she gave it to her son Abram; and Terah his father did not know of it.

29 And Abram took the savory meat from his mother, and brought it before his father's gods into the chamber; and he came nigh unto them that they might eat, and he placed it before them, and Abram sat before them all day, thinking perhaps they might eat.

30 And Abram viewed them, and behold they had neither voice nor hearing, nor did one of them stretch forth his hand to the meat to eat.

31 And in the evening of that day in that house Abram was clothed with the spirit of God.

32 And he called out and said, Wo unto my father and this wicked generation, whose hearts are all inclined to vanity, who serve these idols of wood and stone which can neither eat, smell, hear nor speak, who have mouths without speech, eyes without sight, ears without hearing, hands without feeling, and legs which cannot move; like them are those that made them and that trust in them.

33 And when Abram saw all these things his anger was kindled against his father, and he hastened and took a hatchet in his hand, and came unto the chamber of the gods, and he broke all his father's gods.

34 And when he had done breaking the images, he placed the hatchet in the hand of the great god which was there before them, and he went out; and Terah his father came home, for he had heard at the door the sound of the striking of the hatchet; so Terah came into the house to know what this was about.

35 And Terah, having heard the noise of the hatchet in the room of images, ran to the room to the images, and he met Abram going out.

36 And Terah entered the room and found all the idols fallen down and broken, and the hatchet in the hand of the largest, which was not broken, and the savory meat which Abram his son had made was still before them.

37 And when Terah saw this his anger was greatly kindled, and he hastened and went from the room to Abram.

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38 And he found Abram his son still sitting in the house; and he said to him, What is this work thou hast done to my gods?

39 And Abram answered Terah his father and he said, Not so my lord, for I brought savory meat before them, and when I came nigh to them with the meat that they might eat, they all at once stretched forth their hands to eat before the great one had put forth his hand to eat.

40 And the large one saw their works that they did before him, and his anger was violently kindled against them, and he went and took the hatchet that was in the house and came to them and broke them all, and behold the hatchet is yet in his hand as thou seest.

41 And Terah's anger was kindled against his son Abram, when he spoke this; and Terah said to Abram his son in his anger, What is this tale that thou hast told? Thou speakest lies to me.

42 Is there in these gods spirit, soul or power to do all thou hast told me? Are they not wood and stone, and have I not myself made them, and canst thou speak such lies, saying that the large god that was with them smote them? It is thou that didst place the hatchet in his hands, and then sayest he smote them all.

43 And Abram answered his father and said to him, And how canst thou then serve these idols in whom there is no power to do any thing? Can those idols in which thou trustest deliver thee? can they hear thy prayers when thou callest upon them? can they deliver thee from the hands of thy enemies, or will they fight thy battles for thee against thy enemies, that thou shouldst serve wood and stone which can neither speak nor hear?

44 And now surely it is not good for thee nor for the sons of men that are connected with thee, to do these things; are you so silly, so foolish or so short of understanding that you will serve wood and stone, and do after this manner?

45 And forget the Lord God who made heaven and earth, and who created you in the earth, and thereby bring a great evil upon your souls in this matter by serving stone and wood?

46 Did not our fathers in days of old sin in this matter, and the Lord God of the universe brought the waters of the flood upon them and destroyed the whole earth?

47 And how can you continue to do this and serve gods of wood and stone, who cannot hear, or speak, or deliver you from oppression, thereby bringing down the anger of the God of the universe upon you?

48 Now therefore my father refrain from this, and bring not evil upon thy soul and the souls of thy household.

49 And Abram hastened and sprang from before his father, and took the hatchet from his father's largest idol, with which Abram broke it and ran away.

50 And Terah, seeing all that Abram had done, hastened to go from his house, and he went to the king and he came before Nimrod and stood before him, and he bowed down to the king; and the king said, What dost thou want?

51 And he said, I beseech thee my lord, to hear me--Now fifty years back a child was born to me, and thus has he done to my gods and thus has he spoken; and now therefore, my lord and king, send for him that he may come before thee, and judge him according to the law, that we may be delivered from his evil.

52 And the king sent three men of his servants, and they went and brought Abram before the king. And Nimrod and all his princes and servants were that day sitting before him, and Terah sat also before them.

53 And the king said to Abram, What is this that thou hast done to thy father and to his gods? And Abram answered the king in the words that he spoke to his father, and he said, The large god that was with them in the house did to them what thou hast heard.

54 And the king said to Abram, Had they power to speak and eat and do as thou hast said? And Abram answered the king, saying, And if there be no power in them why dost thou serve them and cause the sons of men to err through thy follies?

55 Dost thou imagine that they can deliver thee or do anything small or great, that thou shouldst serve them? And why wilt thou not sense the God of the whole universe, who created thee and in whose power it is to kill and keep alive?

56 0 foolish, simple, and ignorant king, woe unto thee forever.

57 I thought thou wouldst teach thy servants the upright way, but thou hast not done this, but hast filled the whole earth with thy sins and the sins of thy people who have followed thy ways.

58 Dost thou not know, or hast thou not heard, that this evil which thou doest, our ancestors sinned therein in days of old, and the eternal God brought the waters of the flood upon them and destroyed them all, and also destroyed the whole earth on their account? And wilt thou and thy people rise up now and do like unto this work, in order to bring down the anger of the Lord God of the universe, and to bring evil upon thee and the whole earth?

59 Now therefore put away this evil deed which thou doest, and serve the God of the universe, as thy soul is in his hands, and then it will be well with thee.

60 And if thy wicked heart will not hearken to my words to cause thee to forsake thy evil ways, and to serve the eternal God, then wilt thou die in shame in the latter days, thou, thy people and all who are connected with thee, hearing thy words or walking in thy evil ways.

61 And when Abram had ceased speaking before the king and princes, Abram lifted up his eyes to the heavens, and he said, The Lord seeth all the wicked, and he will judge them.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 12

1 And when the king heard the words of Abram he ordered him to be put into prison; and Abram was ten days in prison.

2 And at the end of those days the king ordered that all the kings, princes and governors of different provinces and the sages should come before him, and they sat before him, and Abram was still in the house of confinement.

3 And the king said to the princes and sages, Have you heard what Abram, the son of Terah, has done to his father? Thus has he done to him, and I ordered him to be brought before me, and thus has he spoken; his heart did not misgive him, neither did he stir in my presence, and behold now he is confined in the prison.

4 And therefore decide what judgement is due to this man who reviled the king; who spoke and did all the things that you heard.

5 And they all answered the king saying, The man who revileth the king should be hanged upon a tree; but having done all the things that he said, and having despised our gods, he must therefore be burned to death, for this is the law in this matter.

6 If it pleaseth the king to do this, let him order his servants to kindle a fire both night and day in thy brick furnace, and then we will cast this man into it. And the king did so, and he commanded his servants that they should prepare a fire for three days and three nights in the king's furnace, that is in Casdim; and the king ordered them to take Abram from prison and bring him out to be burned.

7 And all the king's servants, princes, lords, governors, and judges, and all the inhabitants of the land, about nine hundred thousand men, stood opposite the furnace to see Abram.

8 And all the women and little ones crowded upon the roofs and towers to see what was doing with Abram, and they all stood together at a distance; and there was not a man left that did not come on that day to behold the scene.

9 And when Abram was come, the conjurors of the king and the sages saw Abram, and they cried out to the king, saying, Our sovereign lord, surely this is the man whom we know to have been the child at whose birth the great star swallowed the four stars, which we declared to the king now fifty years since.

10 And behold now his father has also transgressed thy commands, and mocked thee by bringing thee another child, which thou didst kill.

11 And when the king heard their words, he was exceedingly wroth, and he ordered Terah to be brought before him.

12 And the king said, Hast thou heard what the conjurors have spoken? Now tell me truly, how didst thou; and if thou shalt speak truth thou shalt be acquitted.

13 And seeing that the king's anger was so much kindled, Terah said to the king, My lord and king, thou hast heard the truth, and what the sages have spoken is right. And the king said, How couldst thou do this thing, to transgress my orders and to give me a child that thou didst not beget, and to take value for him?

14 And Terah answered the king, Because my tender feelings were excited for my son, at that time, and I took a son of my handmaid, and I brought him to the king.

15 And the king said Who advised thee to this? Tell me, do not hide aught from me, and then thou shalt not die.

16 And Terah was greatly terrified in the king's presence, and he said to the king, It was Haran my eldest son who advised me to this; and Haran was in those days that Abram was born, two and thirty years old.

17 But Haran did not advise his father to anything, for Terah said this to the king in order to deliver his soul from the king, for he feared greatly; and the king said to Terah, Haran thy son who advised thee to this shall die through fire with Abram; for the sentence of death is upon him for having rebelled against the king's desire in doing this thing.

18 And Haran at that time felt inclined to follow the ways of Abram, but he kept it within himself.

19 And Haran said in his heart, Behold now the king has seized Abram on account of these things which Abram did, and it shall come to pass, that if Abram prevail over the king I will follow him, but if the king prevail I will go after the king.

20 And when Terah had spoken this to the king concerning Haran his son, the king ordered Haran to be seized with Abram.

21 And they brought them both, Abram and Haran his brother, to cast them into the fire; and all the inhabitants of the land and the king's servants and princes and all the women and little ones were there, standing that day over them.

22 And the king's servants took Abram and his brother, and they stripped them of all their clothes excepting their lower garments which were upon them.

23 And they bound their hands and feet with linen cords, and the servants of the king lifted them up and cast them both into the furnace.

24 And the Lord loved Abram and he had compassion over him, and the Lord came down and delivered Abram from the fire and he was not burned.

25 But all the cords with which they bound him were burned, while Abram remained and walked about in the fire.

26 And Haran died when they had cast him into the fire, and he was burned to ashes, for his heart was not perfect with the Lord; and those men who cast him into the fire, the flame of the fire spread over them, and they were burned, and twelve men of them died.

27 And Abram walked in the midst of the fire three days and three nights, and all the servants of the king saw him walking in the fire, and they came and told the king, saying, Behold we have seen Abram walking about in the midst of the fire, and even the lower garments which are upon him are not burned, but the cord with which he was bound is burned.

28 And when the king heard their words his heart fainted and he would not believe them; so he sent other faithful princes to see this matter, and they went and saw it and told it to the king; and the king rose to go and see it, and he saw Abram walking to and fro in the midst of the fire, and he saw Haran's body burned, and the king wondered greatly.

29 And the king ordered Abram to be taken out from the fire; and his servants approached to take him out and they could not, for the fire was round about and the flame ascending toward them from the furnace.

30 And the king's servants fled from it, and the king rebuked them, saying, Make haste and bring Abram out of the fire that you shall not die.

31 And the servants of the king again approached to bring Abram out, and the flames came upon them and burned their faces so that eight of them died.

32 And when the king saw that his servants could not approach the fire lest they should be burned, the king called to Abram, O servant of the God who is in heaven, go forth from amidst the fire and come hither before me; and Abram hearkened to the voice of the king, and he went forth from the fire and came and stood before the king.

33 And when Abram came out the king and all his servants saw Abram coming before the king, with his lower garments upon him, for they were not burned, but the cord with which he was bound was burned.

34 And the king said to Abram, How is it that thou wast not burned in the fire?

35 And Abram said to the king, The God of heaven and earth in whom I trust and who has all in his power, he delivered me from the fire into which thou didst cast me.

36 And Haran the brother of Abram was burned to ashes, and they sought for his body, and they found it consumed.

37 And Haran was eighty-two years old when he died in the fire of Casdim. And the king, princes, and inhabitants of the land, seeing that Abram was delivered from the fire, they came and bowed down to Abram.

38 And Abram said to them, Do not bow down to me, but bow down to the God of the world who made you, and serve him, and go in his ways for it is he who delivered me from out of this fire, and it is he who created the souls and spirits of all men, and formed man in his mother's womb, and brought him forth into the world, and it is he who will deliver those who trust in him from all pain.

39 And this thing seemed very wonderful in the eyes of the king and princes, that Abram was saved from the fire and that Haran was burned; and the king gave Abram many presents and he gave him his two head servants from the king's house; the name of one was Oni and the name of the other was Eliezer.

40 And all the kings, princes and servants gave Abram many gifts of silver and gold and pearl, and the king and his princes sent him away, and he went in peace.

41 And Abram went forth from the king in peace, and many of the king's servants followed him, and about three hundred men joined him.

42 And Abram returned on that day and went to his father's house, he and the men that followed him, and Abram served the Lord his God all the days of his life, and he walked in his ways and followed his law.

43 And from that day forward Abram inclined the hearts of the sons of men to serve the Lord.

44 And at that time Nahor and Abram took unto themselves wives, the daughters of their brother Haran; the wife of Nahor was Milca and the name of Abram's wife was Sarai. And Sarai, wife of Abram, was barren; she had no offspring in those days.

45 And at the expiration of two years from Abram's going out of the fire, that is in the fifty-second year of his life, behold king Nimrod sat in Babel upon the throne, and the king fell asleep and dreamed that he was standing with his troops and hosts in a valley opposite the king's furnace.

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46 And he lifted up his eyes and saw a man in the likeness of Abram coming forth from the furnace, and that he came and stood before the king with his drawn sword, and then sprang to the king with his sword, when the king fled from the man, for he was afraid; and while he was running, the man threw an egg upon the king's head, and the egg became a great river.

47 And the king dreamed that all his troops sank in that river and died, and the king took flight with three men who were before him and he escaped.

48 And the king looked at these men and they were clothed in princely dresses as the garments of kings, and had the appearance and majesty of kings.

49 And while they were running, the river again turned to an egg before the king, and there came forth from the egg a young bird which came before the king, and flew at his head and plucked out the king's eye.

50 And the king was grieved at the sight, and he awoke out of his sleep and his spirit was agitated; and he felt a great terror.

51 And in the morning the king rose from his couch in fear, and he ordered all the wise men and magicians to come before him, when the king related his dream to them.

52 And a wise servant of the king, whose name was Anuki, answered the king, saying, This is nothing else but the evil of Abram and his seed which will spring up against my Lord and king in the latter days.

53 And behold the day will come when Abram and his seed and the children of his household will war with my king, and they will smite all the king's hosts and his troops.

54 And as to what thou hast said concerning three men which thou didst see like unto thyself, and which did escape, this means that only thou wilt escape with three kings from the kings of the earth who will be with thee in battle.

55 And that which thou sawest of the river which turned to an egg as at first, and the young bird plucking out thine eye, this means nothing else but the seed of Abram which will slay the king in latter days.

56 This is my king's dream, and this is its interpretation, and the dream is true, and the interpretation which thy servant has given thee is right.

57 Now therefore my king, surely thou knowest that it is now fifty-two years since thy sages saw this at the birth of Abram, and if my king will suffer Abram to live in the earth it will be to the injury of my lord and king, for all the days that Abram liveth neither thou nor thy kingdom will be established, for this was known formerly at his birth; and why will not my king slay him, that his evil may be kept from thee in latter days?

58 And Nimrod hearkened to the voice of Anuki, and he sent some of his servants in secret to go and seize Abram, and bring him before the king to suffer death.

59 And Eliezer, Abram's servant whom the king had given him, was at that time in the presence of the king, and he heard what Anuki had advised the king, and what the king had said to cause Abram's death.

60 And Eliezer said to Abram, Hasten, rise up and save thy soul, that thou mayest not die through the hands of the king, for thus did he see in a dream concerning thee, and thus did Anuki interpret it, and thus also did Anuki advise the king concerning thee.

61 And Abram hearkened to the voice of Eliezer, and Abram hastened and ran for safety to the house of Noah and his son Shem, and he concealed himself there and found a place of safety; and the king's servants came to Abram's house to seek him, but they could not find him, and they searched through out the country and he was not to be found, and they went and searched in every direction and he was not to be met with.

62 And when the king's servants could not find Abram they returned to the king, but the king's anger against Abram was stilled, as they did not find him, and the king drove from his mind this matter concerning Abram.

63 And Abram was concealed in Noah's house for one month, until the king had forgotten this matter, but Abram was still afraid of the king; and Terah came to see Abram his son secretly in the house of Noah, and Terah was very great in the eyes of the king.

64 And Abram said to his father, Dost thou not know that the king thinketh to slay me, and to annihilate my name from the earth by the advice of his wicked counsellors?

65 Now whom hast thou here and what hast thou in this land? Arise, let us go together to the land of Canaan, that we may be delivered from his hand, lest thou perish also through him in the latter days.

66 Dost thou not know or hast thou not heard, that it is not through love that Nimrod giveth thee all this honor, but it is only for his benefit that he bestoweth all this good upon thee?

67 And if he do unto thee greater good than this, surely these are only vanities of the world, for wealth and riches cannot avail in the day of wrath and anger.

68 Now therefore hearken to my voice, and let us arise and go to the land of Canaan, out of the reach of injury from Nimrod; and serve thou the Lord who created thee in the earth and it will be well with thee; and cast away all the vain things which thou pursuest.

69 And Abram ceased to speak, when Noah and his son Shem answered Terah, saying, True is the word which Abram hath said unto thee.

70 And Terah hearkened to the voice of his son Abram, and Terah did all that Abram said, for this was from the Lord, that the king should not cause Abram's death.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 13

1 And Terah took his son Abram and his grandson Lot, the son of Haran, and Sarai his daughter-in-law, the wife of his son Abram, and all the souls of his household and went with them from Ur Casdim to go to the land of Canaan. And when they came as far as the land of Haran they remained there, for it was exceedingly good land for pasture, and of sufficient extent for those who accompanied them.

2 And the people of the land of Haran saw that Abram was good and upright with God and men, and that the Lord his God was with him, and some of the people of the land of Haran came and joined Abram, and he taught them the instruction of the Lord and his ways; and these men remained with Abram in his house and they adhered to him.

3 And Abram remained in the land three years, and at the expiration of three years the Lord appeared to Abram and said to him; I am the Lord who brought thee forth from Ur Casdim, and delivered thee from the hands of all thine enemies.

4 And now therefore if thou wilt hearken to my voice and keep my commandments, my statutes and my laws, then will I cause thy enemies to fall before thee, and I will multiply thy seed like the stars of heaven, and I will send my blessing upon all the works of thy hands, and thou shalt lack nothing.

5 Arise now, take thy wife and all belonging to thee and go to the land of Canaan and remain there, and I will there be unto thee for a God, and I will bless thee. And Abram rose and took his wife and all belonging to him, and he went to the land of Canaan as the Lord had told him; and Abram was fifty years old when he went from Haran.

6 And Abram came to the land of Canaan and dwelt in the midst of the city, and he there pitched his tent amongst the children of Canaan, inhabitants of the land.

7 And the Lord appeared to Abram when he came to the land of Canaan, and said to him, This is the land which I gave unto thee and to thy seed after thee forever, and I will make thy seed like the stars of heaven, and I will give unto thy seed for an inheritance all the lands which thou seest.

8 And Abram built an altar in the place where God had spoken to him, and Abram there called upon the name of the Lord.

9 At that time, at the end of three years of Abram's dwelling in the land of Canaan, in that year Noah died, which was the fifty-eighth year of the life of Abram; and all the days that Noah lived were nine hundred and fifty years and he died.

10 And Abram dwelt in the land of Canaan, he, his wife, and all belonging to him, and all those that accompanied him, together with those that joined him from the people of the land; but Nahor, Abram's brother, and Terah his father, and Lot the son of Haran and all belonging to them dwelt in Haran.

11 In the fifth year of Abram's dwelling in the land of Canaan the people of Sodom and Gomorrah and all the cities of the plain revolted from the power of Chedorlaomer, king of Elam; for all the kings of the cities of the plain had served Chedorlaomer for twelve years, and given him a yearly tax, but in those days in the thirteenth year, they rebelled against him.

12 And in the tenth year of Abram's dwelling in the land of Canaan there was war between Nimrod king of Shinar and Chedorlaomer king of Elam, and Nimrod came to fight with Chedorlaomer and to subdue him.

13 For Chedorlaomer was at that time one of the princes of the hosts of Nimrod, and when all the people at the tower were dispersed and those that remained were also scattered upon the face of the earth, Chedorlaomer went to the land of Elam and reigned over it and rebelled against his lord.

14 And in those days when Nimrod saw that the cities of the plain had rebelled, he came with pride and anger to war with Chedorlaomer, and Nimrod assembled all his princes and subjects, about seven hundred thousand men, and went against Chedorlaomer, and Chedorlaomer went out to meet him with five thousand men, and they prepared for battle in the valley of Babel which is between Elam and Shinar.

15 And all those kings fought there, and Nimrod and his people were smitten before the people of Chedorlaomer, and there fell from Nimrod's men about six hundred thousand, and Mardon the king's son fell amongst them.

16 And Nimrod fled and returned in shame and disgrace to his land, and he was under subjection to Chedorlaomer for a long time, and Chedorlaomer returned to his land and sent princes of his host to the kings that dwelt around him, to Arioch king of Elasar, and to Tidal king of Goyim, and made a covenant with them, and they were all obedient to his commands.

17 And it was in the fifteenth year of Abram's dwelling in the land of Canaan, which is the seventieth year of the life of Abram, and the Lord appeared to Abram in that year and he said to him, I am the Lord who brought thee out from Ur Casdim to give thee this land for an inheritance.

18 Now therefore walk before me and be perfect and keep my commands, for to thee and to thy seed I will give this land for an inheritance, from the river Mitzraim unto the great river Euphrates.

19 And thou shalt come to thy fathers in peace and in good age, and the fourth generation shall return here in this land and shall inherit it forever; and Abram built an altar, and he called upon the name of the Lord who appeared to him, and he brought up sacrifices upon the altar to the Lord.

20 At that time Abram returned and went to Haran to see his father and mother, and his father's household, and Abram and his wife and all belonging to him returned to Haran, and Abram dwelt in Haran five years.

21 And many of the people of Haran, about seventy-two men, followed Abram and Abram taught them the instruction of the Lord and his ways, and he taught them to know the Lord.

22 In those days the Lord appeared to Abram in Haran, and he said to him, Behold, I spoke unto thee these twenty years back saying,

23 Go forth from thy land, from thy birth-place and from thy father's house, to the land which I have shown thee to give it to thee and to thy children, for there in that land will I bless thee, and make thee a great nation, and make thy name great, and in thee shall the families of the earth be blessed.

24 Now therefore arise, go forth from this place, thou, thy wife, and all belonging to thee, also every one born in thy house and all the souls thou hast made in Haran, and bring them out with thee from here, and rise to return to the land of Canaan.

25 And Abram arose and took his wife Sarai and all belonging to him and all that were born to him in his house and the souls which they had made in Haran, and they came out to go to the land of Canaan.

26 And Abram went and returned to the land of Canaan, according to the word of the Lord. And Lot the son of his brother Haran went with him, and Abram was seventy-five years old when he went forth from Haran to return to the land of Canaan.

27 And he came to the land of Canaan according to the word of the Lord to Abram, and he pitched his tent and he dwelt in the plain of Mamre, and with him was Lot his brother's son, and all belonging to him.

28 And the Lord again appeared to Abram and said, To thy seed will I give this land; and he there built an altar to the Lord who appeared to him, which is still to this day in the plains of Mamre.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 14

1 In those days there was in the land of Shinar a wise man who had understanding in all wisdom, and of a beautiful appearance, but he was poor and indigent; his name was Rikayon and he was hard set to support himself.

2 And he resolved to go to Egypt, to Oswiris the son of Anom king of Egypt, to show the king his wisdom; for perhaps he might find grace in his sight, to raise him up and give him maintenance; and Rikayon did so.

3 And when Rikayon came to Egypt he asked the inhabitants of Egypt concerning the king, and the inhabitants of Egypt told him the custom of the king of Egypt, for it was then the custom of the king of Egypt that he went from his royal palace and was seen abroad only one day in the year, and after that the king would return to his palace to remain there.

4 And on the day when the king went forth he passed judgement in the land, and every one having a suit came before the king that day to obtain his request.

5 And when Rikayon heard of the custom in Egypt and that he could not come into the presence of the king, he grieved greatly and was very sorrowful.

6 And in the evening Rikayon went out and found a house in ruins, formerly a bake house in Egypt, and he abode there all night in bitterness of soul and pinched with hunger, and sleep was removed from his eyes.

7 And Rikayon considered within himself what he should do in the town until the king made his appearance, and how he might maintain himself there.

8 And he rose in the morning and walked about, and met in his way those who sold vegetables and various sorts of seed with which they supplied the inhabitants.

9 And Rikayon wished to do the same in order to get a maintenance in the city, but he was unacquainted with the custom of the people, and he was like a blind man among them.

10 And he went and obtained vegetables to sell them for his support, and the rabble assembled about him and ridiculed him, and took his vegetables from him and left him nothing.

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11 And he rose up from there in bitterness of soul, and went sighing to the bake house in which he had remained all the night before, and he slept there the second night.

12 And on that night again he reasoned within himself how he could save himself from starvation, and he devised a scheme how to act.

13 And he rose up in the morning and acted ingeniously, and went and hired thirty strong men of the rabble, carrying their war instruments in their hands, and he led them to the top of the Egyptian sepulchre, and he placed them there.

14 And he commanded them, saying, Thus saith the king, Strengthen yourselves and be valiant men, and let no man be buried here until two hundred pieces of silver be given, and then he may be buried; and those men did according to the order of Rikayon to the people of Egypt the whole of that year.

15 And in eight months time Rikayon and his men gathered great riches of silver and gold, and Rikayon took a great quantity of horses and other animals, and he hired more men, and he gave them horses and they remained with him.

16 And when the year came round, at the time the king went forth into the town, all the inhabitants of Egypt assembled together to speak to him concerning the work of Rikayon and his men.

17 And the king went forth on the appointed day, and all the Egyptians came before him and cried unto him, saying,

18 May the king live forever. What is this thing thou doest in the town to thy servants, not to suffer a dead body to be buried until so much silver and gold be given? Was there ever the like unto this done in the whole earth, from the days of former kings yea even from the days of Adam, unto this day, that the dead should not be buried only for a set price?

19 We know it to be the custom of kings to take a yearly tax from the living, but thou dost not only do this, but from the dead also thou exactest a tax day by day.

20 Now, O king, we can no more bear this, for the whole city is ruined on this account, and dost thou not know it?

21 And when the king heard all that they had spoken he was very wroth, and his anger burned within him at this affair, for he had known nothing of it.

22 And the king said, Who and where is he that dares to do this wicked thing in my land without my command? Surely you will tell me.

23 And they told him all the works of Rikayon and his men, and the king's anger was aroused, and he ordered Rikayon and his men to be brought before him.

24 And Rikayon took about a thousand children, sons and daughters, and clothed them in silk and embroidery, and he set them upon horses and sent them to the king by means of his men, and he also took a great quantity of silver and gold and precious stones, and a strong and beautiful horse, as a present for the king, with which he came before the king and bowed down to the earth before him; and the king, his servants and all the inhabitants of Egypt wondered at the work of Rikayon, and they saw his riches and the present that he had brought to the king.

25 And it greatly pleased the king and he wondered at it; and when Rikayon sat before him the king asked him concerning all his works, and Rikayon spoke all his words wisely before the king, his servants and all the inhabitants of Egypt.

26 And when the king heard the words of Rikayon and his wisdom, Rikayon found grace in his sight, and he met with grace and kindness from all the servants of the king and from all the inhabitants of Egypt, on account of his wisdom and excellent speeches, and from that time they loved him exceedingly.

27 And the king answered and said to Rikayon, Thy name shall no more be called Rikayon but Pharaoh shall be thy name, since thou didst exact a tax from the dead; and he called his name Pharaoh.

28 And the king and his subjects loved Rikayon for his wisdom, and they consulted with all the inhabitants of Egypt to make him prefect under the king.

29 And all the inhabitants of Egypt and its wise men did so, and it was made a law in Egypt.

30 And they made Rikayon Pharaoh prefect under Oswiris king of Egypt, and Rikayon Pharaoh governed over Egypt, daily administering justice to the whole city, but Oswiris the king would judge the people of the land one day in the year, when he went out to make his appearance.

31 And Rikayon Pharaoh cunningly usurped the government of Egypt, and he exacted a tax from all the inhabitants of Egypt.

32 And all the inhabitants of Egypt greatly loved Rikayon Pharaoh, and they made a decree to call every king that should reign over them and their seed in Egypt, Pharaoh.

33 Therefore all the kings that reigned in Egypt from that time forward were called Pharaoh unto this day.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 15

1 And in that year there was a heavy famine throughout the land of Canaan, and the inhabitants of the land could not remain on account of the famine for it was very grievous.

2 And Abram and all belonging to him rose and went down to Egypt on account of the famine, and when they were at the brook Mitzraim they remained there some time to rest from the fatigue of the road.

3 And Abram and Sarai were walking at the border of the brook Mitzraim, and Abram beheld his wife Sarai that she was very beautiful.

4 And Abram said to his wife Sarai, Since God has created thee with such a beautiful countenance, I am afraid of the Egyptians lest they should slay me and take thee away, for the fear of God is not in these places.

5 Surely then thou shalt do this, Say thou art my sister to all that may ask thee, in order that it may be well with me, and that we may live and not be put to death.

6 And Abram commanded the same to all those that came with him to Egypt on account of the famine; also his nephew Lot he commanded, saying, If the Egyptians ask thee concerning Sarai say she is the sister of Abram.

7 And yet with all these orders Abram did not put confidence in them, but he took Sarai and placed her in a chest and concealed it amongst their vessels, for Abram was greatly concerned about Sarai on account of the wickedness of the Egyptians.

8 And Abram and all belonging to him rose up from the brook Mitzraim and came to Egypt; and they had scarcely entered the gates of the city when the guards stood up to them saying, Give tithe to the king from what you have, and then you may come into the town; and Abram and those that were with him did so.

9 And Abram with the people that were with him came to Egypt, and when they came they brought the chest in which Sarai was concealed and the Egyptians saw the chest.

10 And the king's servants approached Abram, saying, What hast thou here in this chest which we have not seen? Now open thou the chest and give tithe to the king of all that it contains.

11 And Abram said, This chest I will not open, but all you demand upon it I will give. And Pharaoh's officers answered Abram, saying, It is a chest of precious stones, give us the tenth thereof.

12 Abram said, All that you desire I will give, but you must not open the chest.

13 And the king's officers pressed Abram, and they reached the chest and opened it with force, and they saw, and behold a beautiful woman was in the chest.

14 And when the officers of the king beheld Sarai they were struck with admiration at her beauty, and all the princes and servants of Pharaoh assembled to see Sarai, for she was very beautiful. And the king's officers ran and told Pharaoh all that they had seen, and they praised Sarai to the king; and Pharaoh ordered her to be brought, and the woman came before the king.

15 And Pharaoh beheld Sarai and she pleased him exceedingly, and he was struck with her beauty, and the king rejoiced greatly on her account, and made presents to those who brought him the tidings concerning her.

16 And the woman was then brought to Pharaoh's house, and Abram grieved on account of his wife, and he prayed to the Lord to deliver her from the hands of Pharaoh.

17 And Sarai also prayed at that time and said, O Lord God thou didst tell my Lord Abram to go from his land and from his father's house to the land of Canaan, and thou didst promise to do well with him if he would perform thy commands; now behold we have done that which thou didst command us, and we left our land and our families, and we went to a strange land and to a people whom we have not known before.

18 And we came to this land to avoid the famine, and this evil accident has befallen me; now therefore, O Lord God, deliver us and save us from the hand of this oppressor, and do well with me for the sake of thy mercy.

19 And the Lord hearkened to the voice of Sarai, and the Lord sent an angel to deliver Sarai from the power of Pharaoh.

20 And the king came and sat before Sarai and behold an angel of the Lord was standing over them, and he appeared to Sarai and said to her, Do not fear, for the Lord has heard thy prayer.

21 And the king approached Sarai and said to her, What is that man to thee who brought thee hither? and she said, He is my brother.

22 And the king said, It is incumbent upon us to make him great, to elevate him and to do unto him all the good which thou shalt command us; and at that time the king sent to Abram silver and gold and precious stones in abundance, together with cattle, men servants and maid servants; and the king ordered Abram to be brought, and he sat in the court of the king's house, and the king greatly exalted Abram on that night.

23 And the king approached to speak to Sarai, and he reached out his hand to touch her, when the angel smote him heavily, and he was terrified and he refrained from reaching to her.

24 And when the king came near to Sarai, the angel smote him to the ground, and acted thus to him the whole night, and the king was terrified.

25 And the angel on that night smote heavily all the servants of the king, and his whole household, on account of Sarai, and there was a great lamentation that night amongst the people of Pharaoh's house.

26 And Pharaoh, seeing the evil that befell him, said, Surely on account of this woman has this thing happened to me, and he removed himself at some distance from her and spoke pleasing words to her.

27 And the king said to Sarai, Tell me I pray thee concerning the man with whom thou camest here; and Sarai said, This man is my husband, and I said to thee that he was my brother for I was afraid, lest thou shouldst put him to death through wickedness.

28 And the king kept away from Sarai, and the plagues of the angel of the Lord ceased from him and his household; and Pharaoh knew that he was smitten on account of Sarai, and the king was greatly astonished at this.

29 And in the morning the king called for Abram and said to him, What is this thou hast done to me? Why didst thou say, She is my sister, owing to which I took her unto me for a wife, and this heavy plague has therefore come upon me and my household.

30 Now therefore here is thy wife, take her and go from our land lest we all die on her account. And Pharaoh took more cattle, men servants and maid servants, and silver and gold, to give to Abram, and he returned unto him Sarai his wife.

31 And the king took a maiden whom he begat by his concubines, and he gave her to Sarai for a handmaid.

32 And the king said to his daughter, It is better for thee my daughter to be a handmaid in this man's house than to be mistress in my house, after we have beheld the evil that befell us on account of this woman.

33 And Abram arose, and he and all belonging to him went away from Egypt; and Pharaoh ordered some of his men to accompany him and all that went with him.

34 And Abram returned to the land of Canaan, to the place where he had made the altar, where he at first had pitched his tent.

35 And Lot the son of Haran, Abram's brother, had a heavy stock of cattle, flocks and herds and tents, for the Lord was bountiful to them on account of Abram.

36 And when Abram was dwelling in the land the herdsmen of Lot quarrelled with the herdsmen of Abram, for their property was too great for them to remain together in the land, and the land could not bear them on account of their cattle.

37 And when Abram's herdsmen went to feed their flock they would not go into the fields of the people of the land, but the cattle of Lot's herdsmen did otherwise, for they were suffered to feed in the fields of the people of the land.

38 And the people of the land saw this occurrence daily, and they came to Abram and quarrelled with him on account of Lot's herdsmen.

39 And Abram said to Lot, What is this thou art doing to me, to make me despicable to the inhabitants of the land, that thou orderest thy herdsman to feed thy cattle in the fields of other people? Dost thou not know that I am a stranger in this land amongst the children of Canaan, and why wilt thou do this unto me?

40 And Abram quarrelled daily with Lot on account of this, but Lot would not listen to Abram, and he continued to do the same and the inhabitants of the land came and told Abram.

41 And Abram said unto Lot, How long wilt thou be to me for a stumbling block with the inhabitants of the land? Now I beseech thee let there be no more quarrelling between us, for we are kinsmen.

42 But I pray thee separate from me, go and choose a place where thou mayest dwell with thy cattle and all belonging to thee, but Keep thyself at a distance from me, thou and thy household.

43 And be not afraid in going from me, for if any one do an injury to thee, let me know and I will avenge thy cause from him, only remove from me.

44 And when Abram had spoken all these words to Lot, then Lot arose and lifted up his eyes toward the plain of Jordan.

45 And he saw that the whole of this place was well watered, and good for man as well as affording pasture for the cattle.

46 And Lot went from Abram to that place, and he there pitched his tent and he dwelt in Sodom, and they were separated from each other.

47 And Abram dwelt in the plain of Mamre, which is in Hebron, and he pitched his tent there, and Abram remained in that place many years.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 16

1 At that time Chedorlaomer king of Elam sent to all the neighbouring kings, to Nimrod, king of Shinar who was then under his power, and to Tidal, king of Goyim, and to Arioch, king of Elasar, with whom he made a covenant, saying, Come up to me and assist me, that we may smite all the towns of

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Sodom and its inhabitants, for they have rebelled against me these thirteen years.

2 And these four kings went up with all their camps, about eight hundred thousand men, and they went as they were, and smote every man they found in their road.

3 And the five kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, Shinab king of Admah, Shemeber king of Zeboyim, Bera king of Sodom, Bersha king of Gomorrah, and Bela king of Zoar, went out to meet them, and they all joined together in the valley of Siddim.

4 And these nine kings made war in the valley of Siddim; and the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah were smitten before the kings of Elam.

5 And the valley of Siddim was full of lime pits and the kings of Elam pursued the kings of Sodom, and the kings of Sodom with their camps fled and fell into the lime pits, and all that remained went to the mountain for safety, and the five kings of Elam came after them and pursued them to the gates of Sodom, and they took all that there was in Sodom.

6 And they plundered all the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, and they also took Lot, Abram's brother's son, and his property, and they seized all the goods of the cities of Sodom, and they went away; and Unic, Abram's servant, who was in the battle, saw this, and told Abram all that the kings had done to the cities of Sodom, and that Lot was taken captive by them.

7 And Abram heard this, and he rose up with about three hundred and eighteen men that were with him, and he that night pursued these kings and smote them, and they all fell before Abram and his men, and there was none remaining but the four kings who fled, and they went each his own road.

8 And Abram recovered all the property of Sodom, and he also recovered Lot and his property, his wives and little ones and all belonging to him, so that Lot lacked nothing.

9 And when he returned from smiting these kings, he and his men passed the valley of Siddim where the kings had made war together.

10 And Bera king of Sodom, and the rest of his men that were with him, went out from the lime pits into which they had fallen, to meet Abram and his men.

11 And Adonizedek king of Jerusalem, the same was Shem, went out with his men to meet Abram and his people, with bread and wine, and they remained together in the valley of Melech.

12 And Adonizedek blessed Abram, and Abram gave him a tenth from all that he had brought from the spoil of his enemies, for Adonizedek was a priest before God.

13 And all the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah who were there, with their servants, approached Abram and begged of him to return them their servants whom he had made captive, and to take unto himself all the property.

14 And Abram answered the kings of Sodom, saying, As the Lord liveth who created heaven and earth, and who redeemed my soul from all affliction, and who delivered me this day from my enemies, and gave them into my hand, I will not take anything belonging to you, that you may not boast tomorrow, saying, Abram became rich from our property that he saved.

15 For the Lord my God in whom I trust said unto me, Thou shalt lack nothing, for I will bless thee in all the works of thy hands.

16 And now therefore behold, here is all belonging to you, take it and go; as the Lord liveth I will not take from you from a living soul down to a shoetie or thread, excepting the expense of the food of those who went out with me to battle, as also the portions of the men who went with me, Anar, Ashcol, and Mamre, they and their men, as well as those also who had remained to watch the baggage, they shall take their portion of the spoil.

17 And the kings of Sodom gave Abram according to all that he had said, and they pressed him to take of whatever he chose, but he would not.

18 And he sent away the kings of Sodom and the remainder of their men, and he gave them orders about Lot, and they went to their respective places.

19 And Lot, his brother's son, he also sent away with his property, and he went with them, and Lot returned to his home, to Sodom, and Abram and his people returned to their home to the plains of Mamre, which is in Hebron.

20 At that time the Lord again appeared to Abram in Hebron, and he said to him, Do not fear, thy reward is very great before me, for I will not leave thee, until I shall have multiplied thee, and blessed thee and made thy seed like the stars in heaven, which cannot be measured nor numbered.

21 And I will give unto thy seed all these lands that thou seest with thine eyes, to them will I give them for an inheritance forever, only be strong and do not fear, walk before me and be perfect.

22 And in the seventy-eighth year of the life of Abram, in that year died Reu, the son of Peleg, and all the days of Reu were two hundred and thirty-nine years, and he died.

23 And Sarai, the daughter of Haran, Abram's wife, was still barren in those days; she did not bear to Abram either son or daughter.

24 And when she saw that she bare no children she took her handmaid Hagar, whom Pharaoh had given her, and she gave her to Abram her husband for a wife.

25 For Hagar learned all the ways of Sarai as Sarai taught her, she was not in any way deficient in following her good ways.

26 And Sarai said to Abram, Behold here is my handmaid Hagar, go to her that she may bring forth upon my knees, that I may also obtain children through her.

27 And at the end of ten years of Abram's dwelling in the land of Canaan, which is the eighty-fifth year of Abram's life, Sarai gave Hagar unto him.

28 And Abram hearkened to the voice of his wife Sarai, and he took his handmaid Hagar and Abram came to her and she conceived.

29 And when Hagar saw that she had conceived she rejoiced greatly, and her mistress was despised in her eyes, and she said within herself, This can only be that I am better before God than Sarai my mistress, for all the days that my mistress has been with my lord, she did not conceive, but me the Lord has caused in so short a time to conceive by him.

30 And when Sarai saw that Hagar had conceived by Abram, Sarai was jealous of her handmaid, and Sarai said within herself, This is surely nothing else but that she must be better than I am.

31 And Sarai said unto Abram, My wrong be upon thee, for at the time when thou didst pray before the Lord for children why didst thou not pray on my account, that the Lord should give me seed from thee?

32 And when I speak to Hagar in thy presence, she despiseth my words, because she has conceived, and thou wilt say nothing to her; may the Lord judge between me and thee for what thou hast done to me.

33 And Abram said to Sarai, Behold thy handmaid is in thy hand, do unto her as it may seem good in thy eyes; and Sarai afflicted her, and Hagar fled from her to the wilderness.

34 And an angel of the Lord found her in the place where she had fled, by a well, and he said to her, Do not fear, for I will multiply thy seed, for thou shalt bear a son and thou shalt call his name Ishmael; now then return to Sarai thy mistress, and submit thyself under her hands.

35 And Hagar called the place of that well Beer-lahai-roi, it is between Kadesh and the wilderness of Bered.

36 And Hagar at that time returned to her master's house, and at the end of days Hagar bare a son to Abram, and Abram called his name Ishmael; and Abram was eighty-six years old when he begat him.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 17

1 And in those days, in the ninety-first year of the life of Abram, the children of Chittim made war with the children of Tubal, for when the Lord had scattered the sons of men upon the face of the earth, the children of Chittim went and embodied themselves in the plain of Canopia, and they built themselves cities there and dwelt by the river Tibreu.

2 And the children of Tubal dwelt in Tuscanah, and their boundaries reached the river Tibreu, and the children of Tubal built a city in Tuscanan, and they called the name Sabinah, after the name of Sabinah son of Tubal their father, and they dwelt there unto this day.

3 And it was at that time the children of Chittim made war with the children of Tubal, and the children of Tubal were smitten before the children of Chittim, and the children of Chittim caused three hundred and seventy men to fall from the children of Tubal.

4 And at that time the children of Tubal swore to the children of Chittim, saying, You shall not intermarry amongst us, and no man shall give his daughter to any of the sons of Chittim.

5 For all the daughters of Tubal were in those days fair, for no women were then found in the whole earth so fair as the daughters of Tubal.

6 And all who delighted in the beauty of women went to the daughters of Tubal and took wives from them, and the sons of men, kings and princes, who greatly delighted in the beauty of women, took wives in those days from the daughters of Tubal.

7 And at the end of three years after the children of Tubal had sworn to the children of Chittim not to give them their daughters for wives, about twenty men of the children of Chittim went to take some of the daughters of Tubal, but they found none.

8 For the children of Tubal kept their oaths not to intermarry with them, and they would not break their oaths.

9 And in the days of harvest the children of Tubal went into their fields to get in their harvest, when the young men of Chittim assembled and went to the city of Sabinah, and each man took a young woman from the daughters of Tubal, and they came to their cities.

10 And the children of Tubal heard of it and they went to make war with them, and they could not prevail over them, for the mountain was exceedingly high from them, and when they saw they could not prevail over them they returned to their land.

11 And at the revolution of the year the children of Tubal went and hired about ten thousand men from those cities that were near them, and they went to war with the children of Chittim.

12 And the children of Tubal went to war with the children of Chittim, to destroy their land and to distress them, and in this engagement the children of Tubal prevailed over the children of Chittim, and the children of Chittim, seeing that they were greatly distressed, lifted up the children which they had had by the daughters of Tubal, upon the wall which had been built, to be before the eyes of the children of Tubal.

13 And the children of Chittim said to them, Have you come to make war with your own sons and daughters, and have we not been considered your flesh and bones from that time till now?

14 And when the children of Tubal heard this they ceased to make war with the children of Chittim, and they went away.

15 And they returned to their cities, and the children of Chittim at that time assembled and built two cities by the sea, and they called one Purtu and the other Ariza.

16 And Abram the son of Terah was then ninety-nine years old.

17 At that time the Lord appeared to him and he said to him, I will make my covenant between me and thee, and I will greatly multiply thy seed, and this is the covenant which I make between me and thee, that every male child be circumcised, thou and thy seed after thee.

18 At eight days old shall it be circumcised, and this covenant shall be in your flesh for an everlasting covenant.

19 And now therefore thy name shall no more be called Abram but Abraham, and thy wife shall no more be called Sarai but Sarah.

20 For I will bless you both, and I will multiply your seed after you that you shall become a great nation, and kings shall come forth from you.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 18

1 And Abraham rose and did all that God had ordered him, and he took the men of his household and those bought with his money, and he circumcised them as the Lord had commanded him.

2 And there was not one left whom he did not circumcise, and Abraham and his son Ishmael were circumcised in the flesh of their foreskin; thirteen years old was Ishmael when he was circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin.

3 And in the third day Abraham went out of his tent and sat at the door to enjoy the heat of the sun, during the pain of his flesh.

4 And the Lord appeared to him in the plain of Mamre, and sent three of his ministering angels to visit him, and he was sitting at the door of the tent, and he lifted his eyes and saw, and lo three men were coming from a distance, and he rose up and ran to meet them, and he bowed down to them and brought them into his house.

5 And he said to them, If now I have found favor in your sight, turn in and eat a morsel of bread; and he pressed them, and they turned in and he gave them water and they washed their feet, and he placed them under a tree at the door of the tent.

6 And Abraham ran and took a calf, tender and good, and he hastened to kill it, and gave it to his servant Eliezer to dress.

7 And Abraham came to Sarah into the tent, and he said to her, Make ready quickly three measures of fine meal, knead it and make cakes to cover the pot containing the meat, and she did so.

8 And Abraham hastened and brought before them butter and milk, beef and mutton, and gave it before them to eat before the flesh of the calf was sufficiently done, and they did eat.

9 And when they had done eating one of them said to him, I will return to thee according to the time of life, and Sarah thy wife shall have a son.

10 And the men afterward departed and went their ways, to the places to which they were sent.

11 In those days all the people of Sodom and Gomorrah, and of the whole five cities, were exceedingly wicked and sinful against the Lord and they provoked the Lord with their abominations, and they strengthened in aging abominably and scornfully before the Lord, and their wickedness and crimes were in those days great before the Lord.

12 And they had in their land a very extensive valley, about half a day's walk, and in it there were fountains of water and a great deal of herbage surrounding the water.

13 And all the people of Sodom and Gomorrah went there four times in the year, with their wives and children and all belonging to them, and they rejoiced there with timbrels and dances.

14 And in the time of rejoicing they would all rise and lay hold of their neighbour's wives, and some, the virgin daughters of their neighbours, and they enjoyed them, and each man saw his wife and daughter in the hands of his neighbour and did not say a word.

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15 And they did so from morning to night, and they afterward returned home each man to his house and each woman to her tent; so they always did four times in the year.

16 Also when a stranger came into their cities and brought goods which he had purchased with a view to dispose of there, the people of these cities would assemble, men, women and children, young and old, and go to the man and take his goods by force, giving a little to each man until there was an end to all the goods of the owner which he had brought into the land.

17 And if the owner of the goods quarreled with them, saying, What is this work which you have done to me, then they would approach to him one by one, and each would show him the little which he took and taunt him, saying, I only took that little which thou didst give me; and when he heard this from them all, he would arise and go from them in sorrow and bitterness of soul, when they would all arise and go after him, and drive him out of the city with great noise and tumult.

18 And there was a man from the country of Elam who was leisurely going on the road, seated upon his ass, which carried a fine mantle of divers colors, and the mantle was bound with a cord upon the ass.

19 And the man was on his journey passing through the street of Sodom when the sun set in the evening, and he remained there in order to abide during the night, but no one would let him into his house; and at that time there was in Sodom a wicked and mischievous man, one skillful to do evil, and his name was Hedad.

20 And he lifted up his eyes and saw the traveler in the street of the city, and he came to him and said, Whence comest thou and whither dost thou go?

21 And the man said to him, I am traveling from Hebron to Elam where I belong, and as I passed the sun set and no one would suffer me to enter his house, though I had bread and water and also straw and provender for my ass, and am short of nothing.

22 And Hedad answered and said to him, All that thou shalt want shall be supplied by me, but in the street thou shalt not abide all night.

23 And Hedad brought him to his house, and he took off the mantle from the ass with the cord, and brought them to his house, and he gave the ass straw and provender whilst the traveler ate and drank in Hedad's house, and he abode there that night.

24 And in the morning the traveler rose up early to continue his journey, when Hedad said to him, Wait, comfort thy heart with a morsel of bread and then go, and the man did so; and he remained with him, and they both ate and drank together during the day, when the man rose up to go.

25 And Hedad said to him, Behold now the day is declining, thou hadst better remain all night that thy heart may be comforted; and he pressed him so that he tarried there all night, and on the second day he rose up early to go away, when Hedad pressed him, saying, Comfort thy heart with a morsel of bread and then go, and he remained and ate with him also the second day, and then the man rose up to continue his journey.

26 And Hedad said to him, Behold now the day is declining, remain with me to comfort thy heart and in the morning rise up early and go thy way.

27 And the man would not remain, but rose and saddled his ass, and whilst he was saddling his ass the wife of Hedad said to her husband, Behold this man has remained with us for two days eating and drinking and he has given us nothing, and now shall he go away from us without giving anything? and Hedad said to her, Be silent.

28 And the man saddled his ass to go, and he asked Hedad to give him the cord and mantle to tie it upon the ass.

29 And Hedad said to him, What sayest thou? And he said to him, That thou my lord shalt give me the cord and the mantle made with divers colors which thou didst conceal with thee in thy house to take care of it.

30 And Hedad answered the man, saying, This is the interpretation of thy dream, the cord which thou didst see, means that thy life will be lengthened out like a cord, and having seen the mantle colored with all sorts of colors, means that thou shalt have a vineyard in which thou wilt plant trees of all fruits.

31 And the traveler answered, saying, Not so my lord, for I was awake when I gave thee the cord and also a mantle woven with different colors, which thou didst take off the ass to put them by for me; and Hedad answered and said, Surely I have told thee the interpretation of thy dream and it is a good dream, and this is the interpretation thereof.

32 Now the sons of men give me four pieces of silver, which is my charge for interpreting dreams, and of thee only I require three pieces of silver.

33 And the man was provoked at the words of Hedad, and he cried bitterly, and he brought Hedad to Serak judge of Sodom.

34 And the man laid his cause before Serak the judge, when Hedad replied, saying, It is not so, but thus the matter stands; and the judge said to the traveler, This man Hedad telleth thee truth, for he is famed in the cities for the accurate interpretation of dreams.

35 And the man cried at the word of the judge, and he said, Not so my Lord, for it was in the day that I gave him the cord and mantle which was upon the ass, in order to put them by in his house; and they both disputed before the judge, the one saying, Thus the matter was, and the other declaring otherwise.

36 And Hedad said to the man, Give me four pieces of silver that I charge for my interpretations of dreams; I will not make any allowance; and give me the expense of the four meals that thou didst eat in my house.

37 And the man said to Hedad, Truly I will pay thee for what I ate in thy house, only give me the cord and mantle which thou didst conceal in thy house.

38 And Hedad replied before the judge and said to the man, Did I not tell thee the interpretation of thy dream? the cord means that thy days shall be prolonged like a cord, and the mantle, that thou wilt have a vineyard in which thou wilt plant all kinds of fruit trees.

39 This is the proper interpretation of thy dream, now give me the four pieces of silver that I require as a compensation, for I will make thee no allowance.

40 And the man cried at the words of Hedad and they both quarreled before the judge, and the judge gave orders to his servants, who drove them rashly from the house.

41 And they went away quarreling from the judge, when the people of Sodom heard them, and they gathered about them and they exclaimed against the stranger, and they drove him rashly from the city.

42 And the man continued his journey upon his ass with bitterness of soul, lamenting and weeping.

43 And whilst he was going along he wept at what had happened to him in the corrupt city of Sodom.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 19

1 And the cities of Sodom had four judges to four cities, and these were their names, Serak in the city of Sodom, Sharkad in Gomorrah, Zabnac in Admah, and Menon in Zeboyim.

2 And Eliezer Abraham's servant applied to them different names, and he converted Serak to Shakra, Sharkad to Shakrura, Zebnac to Kezobim, and Menon to Matzlodin.

3 And by desire of their four judges the people of Sodom and Gomorrah had beds erected in the streets of the cities, and if a man came to these places they laid hold of him and brought him to one of their beds, and by force made him to lie in them.

4 And as he lay down, three men would stand at his head and three at his feet, and measure him by the length of the bed, and if the man was less than the bed these six men would stretch him at each end, and when he cried out to them they would not answer him.

5 And if he was longer than the bed they would draw together the two sides of the bed at each end, until the man had reached the gates of death.

6 And if he continued to cry out to them, they would answer him, saying, Thus shall it be done to a man that cometh into our land.

7 And when men heard all these things that the people of the cities of Sodom did, they refrained from coming there.

8 And when a poor man came to their land they would give him silver and gold, and cause a proclamation in the whole city not to give him a morsel of bread to eat, and if the stranger should remain there some days, and die from hunger, not having been able to obtain a morsel of bread, then at his death all the people of the city would come and take their silver and gold which they had given to him.

9 And those that could recognize the silver or gold which they had given him took it back, and at his death they also stripped him of his garments, and they would fight about them, and he that prevailed over his neighbour took them.

10 They would after that carry him and bury him under some of the shrubs in the deserts; so they did all the days to any one that came to them and died in their land.

11 And in the course of time Sarah sent Eliezer to Sodom, to see Lot and inquire after his welfare.

12 And Eliezer went to Sodom, and he met a man of Sodom fighting with a stranger, and the man of Sodom stripped the poor man of all his clothes and went away.

13 And this poor man cried to Eliezer and supplicated his favor on account of what the man of Sodom had done to him.

14 And he said to him, Why dost thou act thus to the poor man who came to thy land?

15 And the man of Sodom answered Eliezer, saying, Is this man thy brother, or have the people of Sodom made thee a judge this day, that thou speakest about this man?

16 And Eliezer strove with the man of Sodom on account of the poor man, and when Eliezer approached to recover the poor man's clothes from the man of Sodom, he hastened and with a stone smote Eliezer in the forehead.

17 And the blood flowed copiously from Eliezer's forehead, and when the man saw the blood he caught hold of Eliezer, saying, Give me my hire for having rid thee of this bad blood that was in thy forehead, for such is the custom and the law in our land.

18 And Eliezer said to him, Thou hast wounded me and requirest me to pay thee thy hire; and Eliezer would not hearken to the words of the man of Sodom.

19 And the man laid hold of Eliezer and brought him to Shakra the judge of Sodom for judgement.

20 And the man spoke to the judge, saying, I beseech thee my lord, thus has this man done, for I smote him with a stone that the blood flowed from his forehead, and he is unwilling to give me my hire.

21 And the judge said to Eliezer, This man speaketh truth to thee, give him his hire, for this is the custom in our land; and Eliezer heard the words of the judge, and he lifted up a stone and smote the judge, and the stone struck on his forehead, and the blood flowed copiously from the forehead of the judge, and Eliezer said, If this then is the custom in your land give thou unto this man what I should have given him, for this has been thy decision, thou didst decree it.

22 And Eliezer left the man of Sodom with the judge, and he went away.

23 And when the kings of Elam had made war with the kings of Sodom, the kings of Elam captured all the property of Sodom, and they took Lot captive, with his property, and when it was told to Abraham he went and made war with the kings of Elam, and he recovered from their hands all the property of Lot as well as the property of Sodom.

24 At that time the wife of Lot bare him a daughter, and he called her name Paltith, saying, Because God had delivered him and his whole household from the kings of Elam; and Paltith daughter of Lot grew up, and one of the men of Sodom took her for a wife.

25 And a poor man came into the city to seek a maintenance, and he remained in the city some days, and all the people of Sodom caused a proclamation of their custom not to give this man a morsel of bread to eat, until he dropped dead upon the earth, and they did so.

26 And Paltith the daughter of Lot saw this man lying in the streets starved with hunger, and no one would give him any thing to keep him alive, and he was just upon the point of death.

27 And her soul was filled with pity on account of the man, and she fed him secretly with bread for many days, and the soul of this man was revived.

28 For when she went forth to fetch water she would put the bread in the water pitcher, and when she came to the place where the poor man was, she took the bread from the pitcher and gave it him to eat; so she did many days.

29 And all the people of Sodom and Gomorrah wondered how this man could bear starvation for so many days.

30 And they said to each other, This can only be that he eats and drinks, for no man can bear starvation for so many days or live as this man has, without even his countenance changing; and three men concealed themselves in a place where the poor man was stationed, to know who it was that brought him bread to eat.

31 And Paltith daughter of Lot went forth that day to fetch water, and she put bread into her pitcher of water, and she went to draw water by the poor man's place, and she took out the bread from the pitcher and gave it to the poor man and he ate it.

32 And the three men saw what Paltith did to the poor man, and they said to her, It is thou then who hast supported him, and therefore has he not starved, nor changed in appearance nor died like the rest.

33 And the three men went out of the place in which they were concealed, and they seized Paltith and the bread which was in the poor man's hand.

34 And they took Paltith and brought her before their judges, and they said to them, Thus did she do, and it is she who supplied the poor man with bread, therefore did he not die all this time; now therefore declare to us the punishment due to this woman for having transgressed our law.

35 And the people of Sodom and Gomorrah assembled and kindled a fire in the street of the city, and they took the woman and cast her into the fire and she was burned to ashes.

36 And in the city of Admah there was a woman to whom they did the like.

37 For a traveler came into the city of Admah to abide there all night, with the intention of going home in the morning, and he sat opposite the door of the house of the young woman's father, to remain there, as the sun had set when he had reached that place; and the young woman saw him sitting by the door of the house.

38 And he asked her for a drink of water and she said to him, Who art thou? and he said to her, I was this day going on the road, and reached here when the sun set, so I will abide here all night, and in the morning I will arise early and continue my journey.

39 And the young woman went into the house and fetched the man bread and water to eat and drink.

40 And this affair became known to the people of Admah, and they assembled and brought the young woman before the judges, that they should judge her for this act.

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41 And the judge said, The judgement of death must pass upon this woman because she transgressed our law, and this therefore is the decision concerning her.

42 And the people of those cities assembled and brought out the young woman, and anointed her with honey from head to foot, as the judge had decreed, and they placed her before a swarm of bees which were then in their hives, and the bees flew upon her and stung her that her whole body was swelled.

43 And the young woman cried out on account of the bees, but no one took notice of her or pitied her, and her cries ascended to heaven.

44 And the Lord was provoked at this and at all the works of the cities of Sodom, for they had abundance of food, and had tranquility amongst them, and still would not sustain the poor and the needy, and in those days their evil doings and sins became great before the Lord.

45 And the Lord sent for two of the angels that had come to Abraham's house, to destroy Sodom and its cities.

46 And the angels rose up from the door of Abraham's tent, after they had eaten and drunk, and they reached Sodom in the evening, and Lot was then sitting in the gate of Sodom, and when he saw them he rose to meet them, and he bowed down to the ground.

47 And he pressed them greatly and brought them into his house, and he gave them victuals which they ate, and they abode all night in his house.

48 And the angels said to Lot, Arise, go forth from this place, thou and all belonging to thee, lest thou be consumed in the iniquity of this city, for the Lord will destroy this place.

49 And the angels laid hold upon the hand of Lot and upon the hand of his wife, and upon the hands of his children, and all belonging to him, and they brought him forth and set him without the cities.

50 And they said to Lot, Escape for thy life, and he fled and all belonging to him.

51 Then the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah and upon all these cities brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven.

52 And he overthrew these cities, all the plain and all the inhabitants of the cities, and that which grew upon the ground; and Ado the wife of Lot looked back to see the destruction of the cities, for her compassion was moved on account of her daughters who remained in Sodom, for they did not go with her.

53 And when she looked back she became a pillar of salt, and it is yet in that place unto this day.

54 And the oxen which stood in that place daily licked up the salt to the extremities of their feet, and in the morning it would spring forth afresh, and they again licked it up unto this day.

55 And Lot and two of his daughters that remained with him fled and escaped to the cave of Adullam, and they remained there for some time.

56 And Abraham rose up early in the morning to see what had been done to the cities of Sodom; and he looked and beheld the smoke of the cities going up like the smoke of a furnace.

57 And Lot and his two daughters remained in the cave, and they made their father drink wine, and they lay with him, for they said there was no man upon earth that could raise up seed from them, for they thought that the whole earth was destroyed.

58 And they both lay with their father, and they conceived and bare sons, and the first born called the name of her son Moab, saying, From my father did I conceive him; he is the father of the Moabites unto this day.

59 And the younger also called her son Benami; he is the father of the children of Ammon unto this day.

60 And after this Lot and his two daughters went away from there, and he dwelt on the other side of the Jordan with his two daughters and their sons, and the sons of Lot grew up, and they went and took themselves wives from the land of Canaan, and they begat children and they were fruitful and multiplied.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 20

1 And at that time Abraham journeyed from the plain of Mamre, and he went to the land of the Philistines, and he dwelt in Gerar; it was in the twenty-fifth year of Abraham's being in the land of Canaan, and the hundredth year of the life of Abraham, that he came to Gerar in the land of the Philistines.

2 And when they entered the land he said to Sarah his wife, Say thou art my sister, to any one that shall ask thee, in order that we may escape the evil of the inhabitants of the land.

3 And as Abraham was dwelling in the land of the Philistines, the servants of Abimelech, king of the Philistines, saw that Sarah was exceedingly beautiful, and they asked Abraham concerning her, and he said, She is my sister.

4 And the servants of Abimelech went to Abimelech, saying, A man from the land of Canaan is come to dwell in the land, and he has a sister that is exceeding fair.

5 And Abimelech heard the words of his servants who praised Sarah to him, and Abimelech sent his officers, and they brought Sarah to the king.

6 And Sarah came to the house of Abimelech, and the king saw that Sarah was beautiful, and she pleased him exceedingly.

7 And he approached her and said to her, What is that man to thee with whom thou didst come to our land? and Sarah answered and said He is my brother, and we came from the land of Canaan to dwell wherever we could find a place.

8 And Abimelech said to Sarah, Behold my land is before thee, place thy brother in any part of this land that pleases thee, and it will be our duty to exalt and elevate him above all the people of the land since he is thy brother.

9 And Abimelech sent for Abraham, and Abraham came to Abimelech.

10 And Abimelech said to Abraham, Behold I have given orders that thou shalt be honored as thou desirest on account of thy sister Sarah.

11 And Abraham went forth from the king, and the king's present followed him.

12 As at evening time, before men lie down to rest, the king was sitting upon his throne, and a deep sleep fell upon him, and he lay upon the throne and slept till morning.

13 And he dreamed that an angel of the Lord came to him with a drawn sword in his hand, and the angel stood over Abimelech, and wished to slay him with the sword, and the king was terrified in his dream, and said to the angel, In what have I sinned against thee that thou comest to slay me with thy sword?

14 And the angel answered and said to Abimelech, Behold thou diest on account of the woman which thou didst yesternight bring to thy house, for she is a married woman, the wife of Abraham who came to thy house; now therefore return that man his wife, for she is his wife; and shouldst thou not return her, know that thou wilt surely die, thou and all belonging to thee.

15 And on that night there was a great outcry in the land of the Philistines, and the inhabitants of the land saw the figure of a man standing with a drawn sword in his hand, and he smote the inhabitants of the land with the sword, yea he continued to smite them.

16 And the angel of the Lord smote the whole land of the Philistines on that night, and there was a great confusion on that night and on the following morning.

17 And every womb was closed, and all their issues, and the hand of the Lord was upon them on account of Sarah, wife of Abraham, whom Abimelech had taken.

18 And in the morning Abimelech rose with terror and confusion and with a great dread, and he sent and had his servants called in, and he related his dream to them, and the people were greatly afraid.

19 And one man standing amongst the servants of the king answered the king, saying, O sovereign king, restore this woman to her husband, for he is her husband, for the like happened to the king of Egypt when this man came to Egypt.

20 And he said concerning his wife, She is my sister, for such is his manner of doing when he cometh to dwell in the land in which he is a stranger.

21 And Pharaoh sent and took this woman for a wife and the Lord brought upon him grievous plagues until he returned the woman to her husband.

22 Now therefore, O sovereign king, know what happened yesternight to the whole land, for there was a very great consternation and great pain and lamentation, and we know that it was on account of the woman which thou didst take.

23 Now, therefore, restore this woman to her husband, lest it should befall us as it did to Pharaoh king of Egypt and his subjects, and that we may not die; and Abimelech hastened and called and had Sarah called for, and she came before him, and he had Abraham called for, and he came before him.

24 And Abimelech said to them, What is this work you have been doing in saying you are brother and sister, and I took this woman for a wife?

25 And Abraham said, Because I thought I should suffer death on account of my wife; and Abimelech took flocks and herds, and men servants and maid servants, and a thousand pieces of silver, and he gave them to Abraham, and he returned Sarah to him.

26 And Abimelech said to Abraham, Behold the whole land is before thee, dwell in it wherever thou shalt choose.

27 And Abraham and Sarah, his wife, went forth from the king's presence with honor and respect, and they dwelt in the land, even in Gerar.

28 And all the inhabitants of the land of the Philistines and the king's servants were still in pain, through the plague which the angel had inflicted upon them the whole night on account of Sarah.

29 And Abimelech sent for Abraham, saying, Pray now for thy servants to the Lord thy God, that he may put away this mortality from amongst us.

30 And Abraham prayed on account of Abimelech and his subjects, and the Lord heard the prayer of Abraham, and he healed Abimelech and all his subjects.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 21

1 And it was at that time at the end of a year and four months of Abraham's dwelling in the land of the Philistines in Gerar, that God visited Sarah, and the Lord remembered her, and she conceived and bare a son to Abraham.

2 And Abraham called the name of the son which was born to him, which Sarah bare to him, Isaac.

3 And Abraham circumcised his son Isaac at eight days old, as God had commanded Abraham to do unto his seed after him; and Abraham was one hundred, and Sarah ninety years old, when Isaac was born to them.

4 And the child grew up and he was weaned, and Abraham made a great feast upon the day that Isaac was weaned.

5 And Shem and Eber and all the great people of the land, and Abimelech king of the Philistines, and his servants, and Phicol, the captain of his host, came to eat and drink and rejoice at the feast which Abraham made upon the day of his son Isaac's being weaned.

6 Also Terah, the father of Abraham, and Nahor his brother, came from Haran, they and all belonging to them, for they greatly rejoiced on hearing that a son had been born to Sarah.

7 And they came to Abraham, and they ate and drank at the feast which Abraham made upon the day of Isaac's being weaned.

8 And Terah and Nahor rejoiced with Abraham, and they remained with him many days in the land of the Philistines.

9 At that time Serug the son of Reu died, in the first year of the birth of Isaac son of Abraham.

10 And all the days of Serug were two hundred and thirty-nine years, and he died.

11 And Ishmael the son of Abraham was grown up in those days; he was fourteen years old when Sarah bare Isaac to Abraham.

12 And God was with Ishmael the son of Abraham, and he grew up, and he learned to use the bow and became an archer.

13 And when Isaac was five years old he was sitting with Ishmael at the door of the tent.

14 And Ishmael came to Isaac and seated himself opposite to him, and he took the bow and drew it and put the arrow in it, and intended to slay Isaac.

15 And Sarah saw the act which Ishmael desired to do to her son Isaac, and it grieved her exceedingly on account of her son, and she sent for Abraham, and said to him, Cast out this bondwoman and her son, for her son shall not be heir with my son, for thus did he seek to do unto him this day.

16 And Abraham hearkened to the voice of Sarah, and he rose up early in the morning, and he took twelve loaves and a bottle of water which he gave to Hagar, and sent her away with her son, and Hagar went with her son to the wilderness, and they dwelt in the wilderness of Paran with the inhabitants of the wilderness, and Ishmael was an archer, and he dwelt in the wilderness a long time.

17 And he and his mother afterward went to the land of Egypt, and they dwelt there, and Hagar took a wife for her son from Egypt, and her name was Meribah.

18 And the wife of Ishmael conceived and bare four sons and two daughters, and Ishmael and his mother and his wife and children afterward went and returned to the wilderness.

19 And they made themselves tents in the wilderness, in which they dwelt, and they continued to travel and then to rest monthly and yearly.

20 And God gave Ishmael flocks and herds and tents on account of Abraham his father, and the man increased in cattle.

21 And Ishmael dwelt in deserts and in tents, traveling and resting for a long time, and he did not see the face of his father.

22 And in some time after, Abraham said to Sarah his wife, I will go and see my son Ishmael, for I have a desire to see him, for I have not seen him for a long time.

23 And Abraham rode upon one of his camels to the wilderness to seek his son Ishmael, for he heard that he was dwelling in a tent in the wilderness with all belonging to him.

24 And Abraham went to the wilderness, and he reached the tent of Ishmael about noon, and he asked after Ishmael, and he found the wife of Ishmael sitting in the tent with her children, and Ishmael her husband and his mother were not with them.

25 And Abraham asked the wife of Ishmael, saying, Where has Ishmael gone? and she said, He has gone to the field to hunt, and Abraham was still mounted upon the camel, for he would not get off to the ground as he had sworn to his wife Sarah that he would not get off from the camel.

26 And Abraham said to Ishmael's wife, My daughter, give me a little water that I may drink, for I am fatigued from the journey.

27 And Ishmael's wife answered and said to Abraham, We have neither water nor bread, and she continued sitting in the tent and did not notice Abraham, neither did she ask him who he was.

28 But she was beating her children in the tent, and she was cursing them, and she also cursed her husband Ishmael and reproached him, and Abraham heard the words of Ishmael's wife to her children, and he was very angry and displeased.

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29 And Abraham called to the woman to come out to him from the tent, and the woman came and stood opposite to Abraham, for Abraham was still mounted upon the camel.

30 And Abraham said to Ishmael's wife, When thy husband Ishmael returneth home say these words to him,

31 A very old man from the land of the Philistines came hither to seek thee, and thus was his appearance and figure; I did not ask him who he was, and seeing thou wast not here he spoke unto me and said, When Ishmael thy husband returneth tell him thus did this man say, When thou comest home put away this nail of the tent which thou hast placed here, and place another nail in its stead.

32 And Abraham finished his instructions to the woman, and he turned and went off on the camel homeward.

33 And after that Ishmael came from the chase he and his mother, and returned to the tent, and his wife spoke these words to him,

34 A very old man from the land of the Philistines came to seek thee, and thus was his appearance and figure; I did not ask him who he was, and seeing thou wast not at home he said to me, When thy husband cometh home tell him, thus saith the old man, Put away the nail of the tent which thou hast placed here and place another nail in its stead.

35 And Ishmael heard the words of his wife, and he knew that it was his father, and that his wife did not honor him.

36 And Ishmael understood his father's words that he had spoken to his wife, and Ishmael hearkened to the voice of his father, and Ishmael cast off that woman and she went away.

37 And Ishmael afterward went to the land of Canaan, and he took another wife and he brought her to his tent to the place where he then dwelt.

38 And at the end of three years Abraham said, I will go again and see Ishmael my son, for I have not seen him for a long time.

39 And he rode upon his camel and went to the wilderness, and he reached the tent of Ishmael about noon.

40 And he asked after Ishmael, and his wife came out of the tent and she said, He is not here my lord, for he has gone to hunt in the fields, and to feed the camels, and the woman said to Abraham, Turn in my lord into the tent, and eat a morsel of bread, for thy soul must be wearied on account of the journey.

41 And Abraham said to her, I will not stop for I am in haste to continue my journey, but give me a little water to drink, for I have thirst; and the woman hastened and ran into the tent and she brought out water and bread to Abraham, which she placed before him and she urged him to eat, and he ate and drank and his heart was comforted and he blessed his son Ishmael.

42 And he finished his meal and he blessed the Lord, and he said to Ishmael's wife, When Ishmael cometh home say these words to him,

43 A very old man from the land of the Philistines came hither and asked after thee, and thou wast not here; and I brought him out bread and water and he ate and drank and his heart was comforted.

44 And he spoke these words to me: When Ishmael thy husband cometh home, say unto him, The nail of the tent which thou hast is very good, do not put it away from the tent.

45 And Abraham finished commanding the woman, and he rode off to his home to the land of the Philistines; and when Ishmael came to his tent his wife went forth to meet him with joy and a cheerful heart.

46 And she said to him, An old man came here from the land of the Philistines and thus was his appearance, and he asked after thee and thou wast not here, so I brought out bread and water, and he ate and drank and his heart was comforted.

47 And he spoke these words to me, When Ishmael thy husband cometh home say to him, The nail of the tent which thou hast is very good, do not put it away from the tent.

48 And Ishmael knew that it was his father, and that his wife had honored him, and the Lord blessed Ishmael.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 22

1 And Ishmael then rose up and took his wife and his children and his cattle and all belonging to him, and he journeyed from there and he went to his father in the land of the Philistines.

2 And Abraham related to Ishmael his son the transaction with the first wife that Ishmael took, according to what she did.

3 And Ishmael and his children dwelt with Abraham many days in that land, and Abraham dwelt in the land of the Philistines a long time.

4 And the days increased and reached twenty six years, and after that Abraham with his servants and all belonging to him went from the land of the Philistines and removed to a great distance, and they came near to Hebron, and they remained there, and the servants of Abraham dug wells of water, and Abraham and all belonging to him dwelt by the water, and the servants of Abimelech king of the Philistines heard the report that Abraham's servants had dug wells of water in the borders of the land.

5 And they came and quarreled with the servants of Abraham, and they robbed them of the great well which they had dug.

6 And Abimelech king of the Philistines heard of this affair, and he with Phicol the captain of his host and twenty of his men came to Abraham, and Abimelech spoke to Abraham concerning his servants, and Abraham rebuked Abimelech concerning the well of which his servants had robbed him.

7 And Abimelech said to Abraham, As the Lord liveth who created the whole earth, I did not hear of the act which my servants did unto thy servants until this day.

8 And Abraham took seven ewe lambs and gave them to Abimelech, saying, Take these, I pray thee, from my hands that it may be a testimony for me that I dug this well.

9 And Abimelech took the seven ewe lambs which Abraham had given to him, for he had also given him cattle and herds in abundance, and Abimelech swore to Abraham concerning the well, therefore he called that well Beersheba, for there they both swore concerning it.

10 And they both made a covenant in Beersheba, and Abimelech rose up with Phicol the captain of his host and all his men, and they returned to the land of the Philistines, and Abraham and all belonging to him dwelt in Beersheba and he was in that land a long time.

11 And Abraham planted a large grove in Beersheba, and he made to it four gates facing the four sides of the earth, and he planted a vineyard in it, so that if a traveler came to Abraham he entered any gate which was in his road, and remained there and ate and drank and satisfied himself and then departed.

12 For the house of Abraham was always open to the sons of men that passed and repassed, who came daily to eat and drink in the house of Abraham.

13 And any man who had hunger and came to Abraham's house, Abraham would give him bread that he might eat and drink and be satisfied, and any one that came naked to his house he would clothe with garments as he might choose, and give him silver and gold and make known to him the Lord who had created him in the earth; this did Abraham all his life.

14 And Abraham and his children and all belonging to him dwelt in Beersheba, and he pitched his tent as far as Hebron.

15 And Abraham's brother Nahor and his father and all belonging to them dwelt in Haran, for they did not come with Abraham to the land of Canaan.

16 And children were born to Nahor which Milca the daughter of Haran, and sister to Sarah, Abraham's wife, bare to him.

17 And these are the names of those that were born to him, Uz, Buz, Kemuel, Kesed, Chazo, Pildash, Tidlaf, and Bethuel, being eight sons, these are the children of Milca which she bare to Nahor, Abraham's brother.

18 And Nahor had a concubine and her name was Reumah, and she also bare to Nahor, Zebach, Gachash, Tachash and Maacha, being four sons.

19 And the children that were born to Nahor were twelve sons besides his daughters, and they also had children born to them in Haran.

20 And the children of Uz the first born of Nahor were Abi, Cheref, Gadin, Melus, and Deborah their sister.

21 And the sons of Buz were Berachel, Naamath, Sheva, and Madonu.

22 And the sons of Kemuel were Aram and Rechob.

23 And the sons of Kesed were Anamlech, Meshai, Benon and Yifi; and the sons of Chazo were Pildash, Mechi and Opher.

24 And the sons of Pildash were Arud, Chamum, Mered and Moloch.

25 And the sons of Tidlaf were Mushan, Cushan and Mutzi.

26 And the children of Bethuel were Sechar, Laban and their sister Rebecca.

27 These are the families of the children of Nahor, that were born to them in Haran; and Aram the son of Kemuel and Rechob his brother went away from Haran, and they found a valley in the land by the river Euphrates.

28 And they built a city there, and they called the name of the city after the name of Pethor the son of Aram, that is Aram Naherayim unto this day.

29 And the children of Kesed also went to dwell where they could find a place, and they went and they found a valley opposite to the land of Shinar, and they dwelt there.

30 And they there built themselves a city, and they called the name at the city Kesed after the name of their father, that is the land Kasdim unto this day, and the Kasdim dwelt in that land and they were fruitful and multiplied exceedingly.

31 And Terah, father of Nahor and Abraham, went and took another wife in his old age, and her name was Pelilah, and she conceived and bare him a son and he called his name Zoba.

32 And Terah lived twenty-five years after he begat Zoba.

33 And Terah died in that year, that is in the thirty-fifth year of the birth of Isaac son of Abraham.

34 And the days of Terah were two hundred and five years, and he was buried in Haran.

35 And Zoba the son of Terah lived thirty years and he begat Aram, Achlis and Merik.

36 And Aram son of Zoba son of Terah, had three wives and he begat twelve sons and three daughters; and the Lord gave to Aram the son of Zoba, riches and possessions, and abundance of cattle, and flocks and herds, and the man increased greatly.

37 And Aram the son of Zoba and his brother and all his household journeyed from Haran, and they went to dwell where they should find a place, for their property was too great to remain in Haran; for they could not stop in Haran together with their brethren the children of Nahor.

38 And Aram the son of Zoba went with his brethren, and they found a valley at a distance toward the eastern country and they dwelt there.

39 And they also built a city there, and they called the name thereof Aram, after the name of their eldest brother; that is Aram Zoba to this day.

40 And Isaac the son of Abraham was growing up in those days, and Abraham his father taught him the way of the Lord to know the Lord, and the Lord was with him.

41 And when Isaac was thirty-seven years old, Ishmael his brother was going about with him in the tent.

42 And Ishmael boasted of himself to Isaac, saying, I was thirteen years old when the Lord spoke to my father to circumcise us, and I did according to the word of the Lord which he spoke to my father, and I gave my soul unto the Lord, and I did not transgress his word which he commanded my father.

43 And Isaac answered Ishmael, saying, Why dost thou boast to me about this, about a little bit of thy flesh which thou didst take from thy body, concerning which the Lord commanded thee?

44 As the Lord liveth, the God of my father Abraham, if the Lord should say unto my father, Take now thy son Isaac and bring him up an offering before me, I would not refrain but I would joyfully accede to it.

45 And the Lord heard the word that Isaac spoke to Ishmael, and it seemed good in the sight of the Lord, and he thought to try Abraham in this matter.

46 And the day arrived when the sons of God came and placed themselves before the Lord, and Satan also came with the sons of God before the Lord.

47 And the Lord said unto Satan, Whence comest thou? and Satan answered the Lord and said, From going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down in it.

48 And the Lord said to Satan, What is thy word to me concerning all the children of the earth? and Satan answered the Lord and said, I have seen all the children of the earth who serve thee and remember thee when they require anything from thee.

49 And when thou givest them the thing which they require from thee, they sit at their ease, and forsake thee and they remember thee no more.

50 Hast thou seen Abraham the son of Terah, who at first had no children, and he served thee and erected altars to thee wherever he came, and he brought up offerings upon them, and he proclaimed thy name continually to all the children of the earth.

51 And now that his son Isaac is born to him, he has forsaken thee, he has made a great feast for all the inhabitants of the land, and the Lord he has forgotten.

52 For amidst all that he has done he brought thee no offering; neither burnt offering nor peace offering, neither ox, lamb nor goat of all that he killed on the day that his son was weaned.

53 Even from the time of his son's birth till now, being thirty-seven years, he built no altar before thee, nor brought any offering to thee, for he saw that thou didst give what he requested before thee, and he therefore forsook thee.

54 And the Lord said to Satan, Hast thou thus considered my servant Abraham? for there is none like him upon earth, a perfect and an upright man before me, one that feareth God and avoideth evil; as I live, were I to say unto him, Bring up Isaac thy son before me, he would not withhold him from me, much more if I told him to bring up a burnt offering before me from his flock or herds.

55 And Satan answered the Lord and said, Speak then now unto Abraham as thou hast said, and thou wilt see whether he will not this day transgress and cast aside thy words.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 23

1 At that time the word of the Lord came to Abraham, and he said unto him, Abraham, and he said, Here I am.

2 And he said to him, Take now thy son, thine only son whom thou lovest, even Isaac, and go to the land of Moriah, and offer him there for a burnt offering upon one of the mountains which shall be shown to thee, for there wilt thou see a cloud and the glory of the Lord.

3 And Abraham said within himself, How shall I separate my son Isaac from Sarah his mother, in order to bring him up for a burnt offering before the Lord?

4 And Abraham came into the tent, and he sat before Sarah his wife, and he spoke these words to her,

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5 My son Isaac is grown up and he has not for some time studied the service of his God, now tomorrow I will go and bring him to Shem, and Eber his son, and there he will learn the ways of the Lord, for they will teach him to know the Lord as well as to know that when he prayeth continually before the Lord, he will answer him, therefore there he will know the way of serving the Lord his God.

6 And Sarah said, Thou hast spoken well, go my lord and do unto him as thou hast said, but remove him not at a great distance from me, neither let him remain there too long, for my soul is bound within his soul.

7 And Abraham said unto Sarah, My daughter, let us pray to the Lord our God that he may do good with us.

8 And Sarah took her son Isaac and he abode all that night with her, and she kissed and embraced him, and gave him instructions till morning.

9 And she said to him, O my son, how can my soul separate itself from thee? And she still kissed him and embraced him, and she gave Abraham instructions concerning him.

10 And Sarah said to Abraham, O my lord, I pray thee take heed of thy son, and place thine eyes over him, for I have no other son nor daughter but him.

11 O forsake him not. If he be hungry give him bread, and if he be thirsty give him water to drink; do not let him go on foot, neither let him sit in the sun.

12 Neither let him go by himself in the road, neither force him from whatever he may desire, but do unto him as he may say to thee.

13 And Sarah wept bitterly the whole night on account of Isaac, and she gave him instructions till morning.

14 And in the morning Sarah selected a very fine and beautiful garment from those garments which she had in the house, that Abimelech had given to her.

15 And she dressed Isaac her son therewith, and she put a turban upon his head, and she enclosed a precious stone in the top of the turban, and she gave them provision for the road, and they went forth, and Isaac went with his father Abraham, and some of their servants accompanied them to see them off the road.

16 And Sarah went out with them, and she accompanied them upon the road to see them off, and they said to her, Return to the tent.

17 And when Sarah heard the words of her son Isaac she wept bitterly, and Abraham her husband wept with her, and their son wept with them a great weeping; also those who went with them wept greatly.

18 And Sarah caught hold of her son Isaac, and she held him in her arms, and she embraced him and continued to weep with him, and Sarah said, Who knoweth if after this day I shall ever see thee again?

19 And they still wept together, Abraham, Sarah and Isaac, and all those that accompanied them on the road wept with them, and Sarah afterward turned away from her son, weeping bitterly, and all her men servants and maid servants returned with her to the tent.

20 And Abraham went with Isaac his son to bring him up as an offering before the Lord, as He had commanded him.

21 And Abraham took two of his young men with him, Ishmael the son of Hagar and Eliezer his servant, and they went together with them, and whilst they were walking in the road the young men spoke these words to themselves,

22 And Ishmael said to Eliezer, Now my father Abraham is going with Isaac to bring him up for a burnt offering to the Lord, as He commanded him.

23 Now when he returneth he will give unto me all that he possesses, to inherit after him, for I am his first born.

24 And Eliezer answered Ishmael and said, Surely Abraham did cast thee away with thy mother, and swear that thou shouldst not inherit any thing of all he possesses, and to whom will he give all that he has, with all his treasures, but unto me his servant, who has been faithful in his house, who has served him night and day, and has done all that he desired me? to me will he bequeath at his death all that he possesses.

25 And whilst Abraham was proceeding with his son Isaac along the road, Satan came and appeared to Abraham in the figure of a very aged man, humble and of contrite spirit, and he approached Abraham and said to him, Art thou silly or brutish, that thou goest to do this thing this day to thine only son?

26 For God gave thee a son in thy latter days, in thy old age, and wilt thou go and slaughter him this day because he committed no violence, and wilt thou cause the soul of thine only son to perish from the earth?

27 Dost thou not know and understand that this thing cannot be from the Lord? for the Lord cannot do unto man such evil upon earth to say to him, Go slaughter thy child.

28 And Abraham heard this and knew that it was the word of Satan who endeavored to draw him aside from the way of the Lord, but Abraham would not hearken to the voice of Satan, and Abraham rebuked him so that he went away.

29 And Satan returned and came to Isaac; and he appeared unto Isaac in the figure of a young man comely and well favored.

30 And he approached Isaac and said unto him, Dost thou not know and understand that thy old silly father bringeth thee to the slaughter this day for naught?

31 Now therefore, my son, do not listen nor attend to him, for he is a silly old man, and let not thy precious soul and beautiful figure be lost from the earth.

32 And Isaac heard this, and said unto Abraham, Hast thou heard, my father, that which this man has spoken? even thus has he spoken.

33 And Abraham answered his son Isaac and said to him, Take heed of him and do not listen to his words, nor attend to him, for he is Satan, endeavoring to draw us aside this day from the commands of God.

34 And Abraham still rebuked Satan, and Satan went from them, and seeing he could not prevail over them he hid himself from them, and he went and passed before them in the road; and he transformed himself to a large brook of water in the road, and Abraham and Isaac and his two young men reached that place, and they saw a brook large and powerful as the mighty waters.

35 And they entered the brook and passed through it, and the waters at first reached their legs.

36 And they went deeper in the brook and the waters reached up to their necks, and they were all terrified on account of the water; and whilst they were going over the brook Abraham recognized that place, and he knew that there was no water there before.

37 And Abraham said to his son Isaac, I know this place in which there was no brook nor water, now therefore it is this Satan who does all this to us, to draw us aside this day from the commands of God.

38 And Abraham rebuked him and said unto him, The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan, begone from us for we go by the commands of God.

39 And Satan was terrified at the voice of Abraham, and he went away from them, and the place again became dry land as it was at first.

40 And Abraham went with Isaac toward the place that God had told him.

41 And on the third day Abraham lifted up his eyes and saw the place at a distance which God had told him of.

42 And a pillar of fire appeared to him that reached from the earth to heaven, and a cloud of glory upon the mountain, and the glory of the Lord was seen in the cloud.

43 And Abraham said to Isaac, My son, dost thou see in that mountain, which we perceive at a distance, that which I see upon it?

44 And Isaac answered and said unto his father, I see and lo a pillar of fire and a cloud, and the glory of the Lord is seen upon the cloud.

45 And Abraham knew that his son Isaac was accepted before the Lord for a burnt offering.

46 And Abraham said unto Eliezer and unto Ishmael his son, Do you also see that which we see upon the mountain which is at a distance?

47 And they answered and said, We see nothing more than like the other mountains of the earth. And Abraham knew that they were not accepted before the Lord to go with them, and Abraham said to them, Abide ye here with the ass whilst I and Isaac my son will go to yonder mount and worship there before the Lord and then return to you.

48 And Eliezer and Ishmael remained in that place, as Abraham had commanded.

49 And Abraham took wood for a burnt offering and placed it upon his son Isaac, and he took the fire and the knife, and they both went to that place.

50 And when they were going along Isaac said to his father, Behold, I see here the fire and wood, and where then is the lamb that is to be the burnt offering before the Lord?

51 And Abraham answered his son Isaac, saying, The Lord has made choice of thee my son, to be a perfect burnt offering instead of the lamb.

52 And Isaac said unto his father, I will do all that the Lord spoke to thee with joy and cheerfulness of heart.

53 And Abraham again said unto Isaac his son, Is there in thy heart any thought or counsel concerning this, which is not proper? tell me my son, I pray thee, O my son conceal it not from me.

54 And Isaac answered his father Abraham and said unto him, O my father, as the Lord liveth and as thy soul liveth, there is nothing in my heart to cause me to deviate either to the right or to the left from the word that he has spoken to thee.

55 Neither limb nor muscle has moved or stirred at this, nor is there in my heart any thought or evil counsel concerning this.

56 But I am of joyful and cheerful heart in this matter, and I say, Blessed is the Lord who has this day chosen me to be a burnt offering before Him.

57 And Abraham greatly rejoiced at the words of Isaac, and they went on and came together to that place that the Lord had spoken of.

58 And Abraham approached to build the altar in that place, and Abraham was weeping, and Isaac took stones and mortar until they had finished building the altar.

59 And Abraham took the wood and placed it in order upon the altar which he had built.

60 And he took his son Isaac and bound him in order to place him upon the wood which was upon the altar, to slay him for a burnt offering before the Lord.

61 And Isaac said to his father, Bind me securely and then place me upon the altar lest I should turn and move, and break loose from the force of the knife upon my flesh and thereof profane the burnt offering; and Abraham did so.

62 And Isaac still said to his father, O my father, when thou shalt have slain me and burnt me for an offering, take with thee that which shall remain of my ashes to bring to Sarah my mother, and say to her, This is the sweet smelling savor of Isaac; but do not tell her this if she should sit near a well or upon any high place, lest she should cast her soul after me and die.

63 And Abraham heard the words of Isaac, and he lifted up his voice and wept when Isaac spake these words; and Abraham's tears gushed down upon Isaac his son, and Isaac wept bitterly, and he said to his father, Hasten thou, O my father, and do with me the will of the Lord our God as He has commanded thee.

64 And the hearts of Abraham and Isaac rejoiced at this thing which the Lord had commanded them; but the eye wept bitterly whilst the heart rejoiced.

65 And Abraham bound his son Isaac, and placed him on the altar upon the wood, and Isaac stretched forth his neck upon the altar before his father, and Abraham stretched forth his hand to take the knife to slay his son as a burnt offering before the Lord.

66 At that time the angels of mercy came before the Lord and spake to him concerning Isaac, saying,

67 0 Lord, thou art a merciful and compassionate King over all that thou hast created in heaven and in earth, and thou supportest them all; give therefore ransom and redemption instead of thy servant Isaac, and pity and have compassion upon Abraham and Isaac his son, who are this day performing thy commands.

68 Hast thou seen, O Lord, how Isaac the son of Abraham thy servant is bound down to the slaughter like an animal? now therefore let thy pity be roused for them, O Lord.

69 At that time the Lord appeared unto Abraham, and called to him, from heaven, and said unto him, Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou any thing unto him, for now I know that thou fearest God in performing this act, and in not withholding thy son, thine only son, from me.

70 And Abraham lifted up his eyes and saw, and behold, a ram was caught in a thicket by his horns; that was the ram which the Lord God had created in the earth in the day that he made earth and heaven.

71 For the Lord had prepared this ram from that day, to be a burnt offering instead of Isaac.

72 And this ram was advancing to Abraham when Satan caught hold of him and entangled his horns in the thicket, that he might not advance to Abraham, in order that Abraham might slay his son.

73 And Abraham, seeing the ram advancing to him and Satan withholding him, fetched him and brought him before the altar, and he loosened his son Isaac from his binding, and he put the ram in his stead, and Abraham killed the ram upon the altar, and brought it up as an offering in the place of his son Isaac.

74 And Abraham sprinkled some of the blood of the ram upon the altar, and he exclaimed and said, This is in the place of my son, and may this be considered this day as the blood of my son before the Lord.

75 And all that Abraham did on this occasion by the altar, he would exclaim and say, This is in the room of my son, and may it this day be considered before the Lord in the place of my son; and Abraham finished the whole of the service by the altar, and the service was accepted before the Lord, and was accounted as if it had been Isaac; and the Lord blessed Abraham and his seed on that day.

76 And Satan went to Sarah, and he appeared to her in the figure of an old man very humble and meek, and Abraham was yet engaged in the burnt offering before the Lord.

77 And he said unto her, Dost thou not know all the work that Abraham has made with thine only son this day? for he took Isaac and built an altar, and killed him, and brought him up as a sacrifice upon the altar, and Isaac cried and wept before his father, but he looked not at him, neither did he have compassion over him.

78 And Satan repeated these words, and he went away from her, and Sarah heard all the words of Satan, and she imagined him to be an old man from amongst the sons of men who had been with her son, and had come and told her these things.

79 And Sarah lifted up her voice and wept and cried out bitterly on account of her son; and she threw herself upon the ground and she cast dust upon her head, and she said, O my son, Isaac my son, O that I had this day died instead of thee.

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And she continued to weep and said, It grieves me for thee, O my son, my son Isaac, O that I had died this day in thy stead.

80 And she still continued to weep, and said, It grieves me for thee after that I have reared thee and have brought thee up; now my joy is turned into mourning over thee, I that had a longing for thee, and cried and prayed to God till I bare thee at ninety years old; and now hast thou served this day for the knife and the fire, to be made an offering.

81 But I console myself with thee, my son, in its being the word of the Lord, for thou didst perform the command of thy God; for who can transgress the word of our God, in whose hands is the soul of every living creature?

82 Thou art just, O Lord our God, for all thy works are good and righteous; for I also am rejoiced with thy word which thou didst command, and whilst mine eye weepeth bitterly my heart rejoiceth.

83 And Sarah laid her head upon the bosom of one of her handmaids, and she became as still as a stone.

84 She afterward rose up and went about making inquiries till she came to Hebron, and she inquired of all those whom she met walking in the road, and no one could tell her what had happened to her son.

85 And she came with her maid servants and men servants to Kireath-arba, which is Hebron, and she asked concerning her Son, and she remained there while she sent some of her servants to seek where Abraham had gone with Isaac; they went to seek him in the house of Shem and Eber, and they could not find him, and they sought throughout the land and he was not there.

86 And behold, Satan came to Sarah in the shape of an old man, and he came and stood before her, and he said unto her, I spoke falsely unto thee, for Abraham did not kill his son and he is not dead; and when she heard the word her joy was so exceedingly violent on account of her son, that her soul went out through joy; she died and was gathered to her people.

87 And when Abraham had finished his service he returned with his son Isaac to his young men, and they rose up and went together to Beersheba, and they came home.

88 And Abraham sought for Sarah, and could not find her, and he made inquiries concerning her, and they said unto him, She went as far as Hebron to seek you both where you had gone, for thus was she informed.

89 And Abraham and Isaac went to her to Hebron, and when they found that she was dead they lifted up their voices and wept bitterly over her; and Isaac fell upon his mother's face and wept over her, and he said, O my mother, my mother, how hast thou left me, and where hast thou gone? O how, how hast thou left me!

90 And Abraham and Isaac wept greatly and all their servants wept with them on account of Sarah, and they mourned over her a great and heavy mourning.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 24

1 And the life of Sarah was one hundred and twenty-seven years, and Sarah died; and Abraham rose up from before his dead to seek a burial place to bury his wife Sarah; and he went and spoke to the children of Heth, the inhabitants of the land, saying,

2 I am a stranger and a sojourner with you in your land; give me a possession of a burial place in your land, that I may bury my dead from before me.

3 And the children of Heth said unto Abraham, behold the land is before thee, in the choice of our sepulchers bury thy dead, for no man shall withhold thee from burying thy dead.

4 And Abraham said unto them, If you are agreeable to this go and entreat for me to Ephron, the son of Zochar, requesting that he may give me the cave of Machpelah, which is in the end of his field, and I will purchase it of him for whatever he desire for it.

5 And Ephron dwelt among the children of Heth, and they went and called for him, and he came before Abraham, and Ephron said unto Abraham, Behold all thou requirest thy servant will do; and Abraham said, No, but I will buy the cave and the field which thou hast for value, In order that it may be for a possession of a burial place for ever.

6 And Ephron answered and said, Behold the field and the cave are before thee, give whatever thou desirest; and Abraham said, Only at full value will I buy it from thy hand, and from the hands of those that go in at the gate of thy city, and from the hand of thy seed for ever.

7 And Ephron and all his brethren heard this, and Abraham weighed to Ephron four hundred shekels of silver in the hands of Ephron and in the hands of all his brethren; and Abraham wrote this transaction, and he wrote it and testified it with four witnesses.

8 And these are the names of the witnesses, Amigal son of Abishna the Hittite, Adichorom son of Ashunach the Hivite, Abdon son of Achiram the Gomerite, Bakdil the son of Abudish the Zidonite.

9 And Abraham took the book of the purchase, and placed it in his treasures, and these are the words that Abraham wrote in the book, namely:

10 That the cave and the field Abraham bought from Ephron the Hittite, and from his seed, and from those that go out of his city, and from their seed for ever, are to be a purchase to Abraham and to his seed and to those that go forth from his loins, for a possession of a burial place for ever; and he put a signet to it and testified it with witnesses.

11 And the field and the cave that was in it and all that place were made sure unto Abraham and unto his seed after him, from the children of Heth; behold it is before Mamre in Hebron, which is in the land of Canaan.

12 And after this Abraham buried his wife Sarah there, and that place and all its boundary became to Abraham and unto his seed for a possession of a burial place.

13 And Abraham buried Sarah with pomp as observed at the interment of kings, and she was buried in very fine and beautiful garments.

14 And at her bier was Shem, his sons Eber and Abimelech, together with Anar, Ashcol and Mamre, and all the grandees of the land followed her bier.

15 And the days of Sarah were one hundred and twenty-seven years and she died, and Abraham made a great and heavy mourning, and he performed the rites of mourning for seven days.

16 And all the inhabitants of the land comforted Abraham and Isaac his son on account of Sarah.

17 And when the days of their mourning passed by Abraham sent away his son Isaac, and he went to the house of Shem and Eber, to learn the ways of the Lord and his instructions, and Abraham remained there three years.

18 At that time Abraham rose up with all his servants, and they went and returned homeward to Beersheba, and Abraham and all his servants remained in Beersheba.

19 And at the revolution of the year Abimelech king of the Philistines died in that year; he was one hundred and ninety-three years old at his death; and Abraham went with his people to the land of the Philistines, and they comforted the whole household and all his servants, and he then turned and went home.

20 And it was after the death of Abimelech that the people of Gerar took Benmalich his son, and he was only twelve years old, and they made him lying in the place of his father.

21 And they called his name Abimelech after the name of his father, for thus was it their custom to do in Gerar, and Abimelech reigned instead of Abimelech his father, and he sat upon his throne.

22 And Lot the son of Haran also died in those days, in the thirty-ninth year of the life of Isaac, and all the days that Lot lived were one hundred and forty years and he died.

23 And these are the children of Lot, that were born to him by his daughters, the name of the first born was Moab, and the name of the second was Benami.

24 And the two sons of Lot went and took themselves wives from the land of Canaan, and they bare children to them, and the children of Moab were Ed, Mayon, Tarsus, and Kanvil, four sons, these are fathers to the children of Moab unto this day.

25 And all the families of the children of Lot went to dwell wherever they should light upon, for they were fruitful and increased abundantly.

26 And they went and built themselves cities in the land where they dwelt, and they called the names of the cities which they built after their own names.

27 And Nahor the son of Terah, brother to Abraham, died in those days in the fortieth year of the life of Isaac, and all the days of Nahor were one hundred and seventy-two years and he died and was buried in Haran.

28 And when Abraham heard that his brother was dead he grieved sadly, and he mourned over his brother many days.

29 And Abraham called for Eliezer his head servant, to give him orders concerning his house, and he came and stood before him.

30 And Abraham said to him, Behold I am old, I do not know the day of my death; for I am advanced in days; now therefore rise up, go forth and do not take a wife for my son from this place and from this land, from the daughters of the Canaanites amongst whom we dwell.

31 But go to my land and to my birthplace, and take from thence a wife for my son, and the Lord God of Heaven and earth who took me from my father's house and brought me to this place, and said unto me, To thy seed will I give this land for an inheritance for ever, he will send his angel before thee and prosper thy way, that thou mayest obtain a wife for my son from my family and from my father's house.

32 And the servant answered his master Abraham and said, Behold I go to thy birthplace and to thy father's house, and take a wife for thy son from there; but if the woman be not willing to follow me to this land, shall I take thy son back to the land of thy birthplace?

33 And Abraham said unto him, Take heed that thou bring not my son hither again, for the Lord before whom I have walked he will send his angel before thee and prosper thy way.

34 And Eliezer did as Abraham ordered him, and Eliezer swore unto Abraham his master upon this matter; and Eliezer rose up and took ten camels of the camels of his master, and ten men from his master's servants with him, and they rose up and went to Haran, the city of Abraham and Nahor, in order to fetch a wife for Isaac the son of Abraham; and whilst they were gone Abraham sent to the house of Shem and Eber, and they brought from thence his son Isaac.

35 And Isaac came home to his father's house to Beersheba, whilst Eliezer and his men came to Haran; and they stopped in the city by the watering place, and he made his camels to kneel down by the water and they remained there.

36 And Eliezer, Abraham's servant, prayed and said, O God of Abraham my master; send me I pray thee good speed this day and show kindness unto my master, that thou shalt appoint this day a wife for my master's son from his family.

37 And the Lord hearkened to the voice of Eliezer, for the sake of his servant Abraham, and he happened to meet with the daughter of Bethuel, the son of Milcah, the wife of Nahor, brother to Abraham, and Eliezer came to her house.

38 And Eliezer related to them all his concerns, and that he was Abraham's servant, and they greatly rejoiced at him.

39 And they all blessed the Lord who brought this thing about, and they gave him Rebecca, the daughter of Bethuel, for a wife for Isaac.

40 And the young woman was of very comely appearance, she was a virgin, and Rebecca was ten years old in those days.

41 And Bethuel and Laban and his children made a feast on that night, and Eliezer and his men came and ate and drank and rejoiced there on that night.

42 And Eliezer rose up in the morning, he and the men that were with him, and he called to the whole household of Bethuel, saying, Send me away that I may go to my master; and they rose up and sent away Rebecca and her nurse Deborah, the daughter of Uz, and they gave her silver and gold, men servants and maid servants, and they blessed her.

43 And they sent Eliezer away with his men; and the servants took Rebecca, and he went and returned to his master to the land of Canaan.

44 And Isaac took Rebecca and she became his wife, and he brought her into the tent.

45 And Isaac was forty years old when he took Rebecca, the daughter of his uncle Bethuel, for a wife.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 25

1 And it was at that time that Abraham again took a wife in his old age, and her name was Keturah, from the land of Canaan.

2 And she bare unto him Zimran, Jokshan, Medan, Midian, Ishbak and Shuach, being six sons. And the children of Zimran were Abihen, Molich and Narim.

3 And the sons of Jokshan were Sheba and Dedan, and the sons of Medan were Amida, Joab, Gochi, Elisha and Nothach; and the sons of Midian were Ephah, Epher, Chanoch, Abida and Eldaah.

4 And the sons of Ishbak were Makiro, Beyodua and Tator.

5 And the sons of Shuach were Bildad, Mamdad, Munan and Meban; all these are the families of the children of Keturah the Canaanitish woman which she bare unto Abraham the Hebrew.

6 And Abraham sent all these away, and he gave them gifts, and they went away from his son Isaac to dwell wherever they should find a place.

7 And all these went to the mountain at the east, and they built themselves six cities in which they dwelt unto this day.

8 But the children of Sheba and Dedan, children of Jokshan, with their children, did not dwell with their brethren in their cities, and they journeyed and encamped in the countries and wildernesses unto this day.

9 And the children of Midian, son of Abraham, went to the east of the land of Cush, and they there found a large valley in the eastern country, and they remained there and built a city, and they dwelt therein, that is the land of Midian unto this day.

10 And Midian dwelt in the city which he built, he and his five sons and all belonging to him.

11 And these are the names of the sons of Midian according to their names in their cities, Ephah, Epher, Chanoch, Abida and Eldaah.

12 And the sons of Ephah were Methach, Meshar, Avi and Tzanua, and the sons of Epher were Ephron, Zur, Alirun and Medin, and the sons of Chanoch were Reuel, Rekem, Azi, Alyoshub and Alad.

13 And the sons of Abida were Chur, Melud, Kerury, Molchi; and the sons of Eldaah were Miker, and Reba, and Malchiyah and Gabol; these are the names of the Midianites according to their families; and afterward the families of Midian spread throughout the land of Midian.

14 And these are the generations of Ishmael the son Abraham, whom Hagar, Sarah's handmaid, bare unto Abraham.

15 And Ishmael took a wife from the land of Egypt, and her name was Ribah, the same is Meribah.

16 And Ribah bare unto Ishmael Nebayoth, Kedar, Adbeel, Mibsam and their sister Bosmath.

17 And Ishmael cast away his wife Ribah, and she went from him and returned to Egypt to the house of her father, and she dwelt there, for she had been very bad in the sight of Ishmael, and in the sight of his father Abraham.

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18 And Ishmael afterward took a wife from the land of Canaan, and her name was Malchuth, and she bare unto him Nishma, Dumah, Masa, Chadad, Tema, Yetur, Naphish and Kedma.

19 These are the sons of Ishmael, and these are their names, being twelve princes according to their nations; and the families of Ishmael afterward spread forth, and Ishmael took his children and all the property that he had gained, together with the souls of his household and all belonging to him, and they went to dwell where they should find a place.

20 And they went and dwelt near the wilderness of Paran, and their dwelling was from Havilah unto Shur, that is before Egypt as thou comest toward Assyria.

21 And Ishmael and his sons dwelt in the land, and they had children born to them, and they were fruitful and increased abundantly.

22 And these are the names of the sons of Nebayoth the first born of Ishmael; Mend, Send, Mayon; and the sons of Kedar were Alyon, Kezem, Chamad and Eli.

23 And the sons of Adbeel were Chamad and Jabin; and the sons of Mibsam were Obadiah, Ebedmelech and Yeush; these are the families of the children of Ribah the wife of Ishmael.

24 And the sons of Mishma the son of Ishmael were Shamua, Zecaryon and Obed; and the sons of Dumah were Kezed, Eli, Machmad and Amed.

25 And the sons of Masa were Melon, Mula and Ebidadon; and the sons of Chadad were Azur, Minzar and Ebedmelech; and the sons of Tema were Seir, Sadon and Yakol.

26 And the sons of Yetur were Merith, Yaish, Alyo, and Pachoth; and the sons of Naphish were Ebed-Tamed, Abiyasaph and Mir; and the sons of Kedma were Calip, Tachti, and Omir; these were the children of Malchuth the wife of Ishmael according to their families.

27 All these are the families of Ishmael according to their generations, and they dwelt in those lands wherein they had built themselves cities unto this day.

28 And Rebecca the daughter of Bethuel, the wife of Abraham's son Isaac, was barren in those days, she had no offspring; and Isaac dwelt with his father in the land of Canaan; and the Lord was with Isaac; and Arpachshad the son of Shem the son of Noah died in those days, in the forty-eighth year of the life of Isaac, and all the days that Arpachshad lived were four hundred and thirty-eight years, and he died.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 26

1 And in the fifty-ninth year of the life of Isaac the son of Abraham, Rebecca his wife was still barren in those days.

2 And Rebecca said unto Isaac, Truly I have heard, my lord, that thy mother Sarah was barren in her days until my Lord Abraham, thy father, prayed for her and she conceived by him.

3 Now therefore stand up, pray thou also to God and he will hear thy prayer and remember us through his mercies.

4 And Isaac answered his wife Rebecca, saying, Abraham has already prayed for me to God to multiply his seed, now therefore this barrenness must proceed to us from thee.

5 And Rebecca said unto him, But arise now thou also and pray, that the Lord may hear thy prayer and grant me children, and Isaac hearkened to the words of his wife, and Isaac and his wife rose up and went to the land of Moriah to pray there and to seek the Lord, and when they had reached that place Isaac stood up and prayed to the Lord on account of his wife because she was barren.

6 And Isaac said, O Lord God of heaven and earth, whose goodness and mercies fill the earth, thou who didst take my father from his father's house and from his birthplace, and didst bring him unto this land, and didst say unto him, To thy seed will I give the land, and thou didst promise him and didst declare unto him, I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven and as the sand of the sea, now may thy words be verified which thou didst speak unto my father.

7 For thou art the Lord our God, our eyes are toward thee to give us seed of men, as thou didst promise us, for thou art the Lord our God and our eyes are directed toward thee only.

8 And the Lord heard the prayer of Isaac the son of Abraham, and the Lord was entreated of him and Rebecca his wife conceived.

9 And in about seven months after the children struggled together within her, and it pained her greatly that she was wearied on account of them, and she said to all the women who were then in the land, Did such a thing happen to you as it has to me? and they said unto her, No.

10 And she said unto them, Why am I alone in this amongst all the women that were upon earth? and she went to the land of Moriah to seek the Lord on account of this; and she went to Shem and Eber his son to make inquiries of them in this matter, and that they should seek the Lord in this thing respecting her.

11 And she also asked Abraham to seek and inquire of the Lord about all that had befallen her.

12 And they all inquired of the Lord concerning this matter, and they brought her word from the Lord and told her, Two children are in thy womb, and two nations shall rise from them; and one nation shall be stronger than the other, and the greater shall serve the younger.

13 And when her days to be delivered were completed, she knelt down, and behold there were twins in her womb, as the Lord had spoken to her.

14 And the first came out red all over like a hairy garment, and all the people of the land called his name Esau, saying, That this one was made complete from the womb.

15 And after that came his brother, and his hand took hold of Esau's heel, therefore they called his name Jacob.

16 And Isaac, the son of Abraham, was sixty years old when he begat them.

17 And the boys grew up to their fifteenth year, and they came amongst the society of men. Esau was a designing and deceitful man, and an expert hunter in the field, and Jacob was a man perfect and wise, dwelling in tents, feeding flocks and learning the instructions of the Lord and the commands of his father and mother.

18 And Isaac and the children of his household dwelt with his father Abraham in the land of Canaan, as God had commanded them.

19 And Ishmael the son of Abraham went with his children and all belonging to them, and they returned there to the land of Havilah, and they dwelt there.

20 And all the children of Abraham's concubines went to dwell in the land of the east, for Abraham had sent them away from his son, and had given them presents, and they went away.

21 And Abraham gave all that he had to his son Isaac, and he also gave him all his treasures.

22 And he commanded him saying, Dost thou not know and understand the Lord is God in heaven and in earth, and there is no other beside him?

23 And it was he who took me from my father's house, and from my birth place, and gave me all the delights upon earth; who delivered me from the counsel of the wicked, for in him did I trust.

24 And he brought me to this place, and he delivered me from Ur Casdim; and he said unto me, To thy seed will I give all these lands, and they shall inherit them when they keep my commandments, my statutes and my judgements that I have commanded thee, and which I shall command them.

25 Now therefore my son, hearken to my voice, and keep the commandments of the Lord thy God, which I commanded thee, do not turn from the right way either to the right or to the left, in order that it may be well with thee and thy children after thee forever.

26 And remember the wonderful works of the Lord, and his kindness that he has shown toward us, in having delivered us from the hands of our enemies, and the Lord our God caused them to fall into our hands; and now therefore keep all that I have commanded thee, and turn not away from the commandments of thy God, and serve none beside him, in order that it may be well with thee and thy seed after thee.

27 And teach thou thy children and thy seed the instructions of the Lord and his commandments, and teach them the upright way in which they should go, in order that it may be well with them forever.

28 And Isaac answered his father and said unto him, That which my Lord has commanded that will I do, and I will not depart from the commands of the Lord my God, I will keep all that he commanded me; and Abraham blessed his son Isaac, and also his children; and Abraham taught Jacob the instruction of the Lord and his ways.

29 And it was at that time that Abraham died, in the fifteenth year of the life of Jacob and Esau, the sons of Isaac, and all the days of Abraham were one hundred and seventy-five years, and he died and was gathered to his people in good old age, old and satisfied with days, and Isaac and Ishmael his sons buried him.

30 And when the inhabitants of Canaan heard that Abraham was dead, they all came with their kings and princes and all their men to bury Abraham.

31 And all the inhabitants of the land of Haran, and all the families of the house of Abraham, and all the princes and grandees, and the sons of Abraham by the concubines, all came when they heard of Abraham's death, and they requited Abraham's kindness, and comforted Isaac his son, and they buried Abraham in the cave which he bought from Ephron the Hittite and his children, for the possession of a burial place.

32 And all the inhabitants of Canaan, and all those who had known Abraham, wept for Abraham a whole year, and men and women mourned over him.

33 And all the little children, and all the inhabitants of the land wept on account of Abraham, for Abraham had been good to them all, and because he had been upright with God and men.

34 And there arose not a man who feared God like unto Abraham, for he had feared his God from his youth, and had served the Lord, and had gone in all his ways during his life, from his childhood to the day of his death.

35 And the Lord was with him and delivered him from the counsel of Nimrod and his people, and when he made war with the four kings of Elam he conquered them.

36 And he brought all the children of the earth to the service of God, and he taught them the ways of the Lord, and caused them to know the Lord.

37 And he formed a grove and he planted a vineyard therein, and he had always prepared in his tent meat and drink to those that passed through the land, that they might satisfy themselves in his house.

38 And the Lord God delivered the whole earth on account of Abraham.

39 And it was after the death of Abraham that God blessed his son Isaac and his children, and the Lord was with Isaac as he had been with his father Abraham, for Isaac kept all the commandments of the Lord as Abraham his father had commanded him; he did not turn to the right or to the left from the right path which his father had commanded him.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 27

1 And Esau at that time, after the death of Abraham, frequently went in the field to hunt.

2 And Nimrod king of Babel, the same was Amraphel, also frequently went with his mighty men to hunt in the field, and to walk about with his men in the cool of the day.

3 And Nimrod was observing Esau all the days, for a jealousy was formed in the heart of Nimrod against Esau all the days.

4 And on a certain day Esau went in the field to hunt, and he found Nimrod walking in the wilderness with his two men.

5 And all his mighty men and his people were with him in the wilderness, but they removed at a distance from him, and they went from him in different directions to hunt, and Esau concealed himself for Nimrod, and he lurked for him in the wilderness.

6 And Nimrod and his men that were with him did not know him, and Nimrod and his men frequently walked about in the field at the cool of the day, and to know where his men were hunting in the field.

7 And Nimrod and two of his men that were with him came to the place where they were, when Esau started suddenly from his lurking place, and drew his sword, and hastened and ran to Nimrod and cut off his head.

8 And Esau fought a desperate fight with the two men that were with Nimrod, and when they called out to him, Esau turned to them and smote them to death with his sword.

9 And all the mighty men of Nimrod, who had left him to go to the wilderness, heard the cry at a distance, and they knew the voices of those two men, and they ran to know the cause of it, when they found their king and the two men that were with him lying dead in the wilderness.

10 And when Esau saw the mighty men of Nimrod coming at a distance, he fled, and thereby escaped; and Esau took the valuable garments of Nimrod, which Nimrod's father had bequeathed to Nimrod, and with which Nimrod prevailed over the whole land, and he ran and concealed them in his house.

11 And Esau took those garments and ran into the city on account of Nimrod's men, and he came unto his father's house wearied and exhausted from fight, and he was ready to die through grief when he approached his brother Jacob and sat before him.

12 And he said unto his brother Jacob, Behold I shall die this day, and wherefore then do I want the birthright? And Jacob acted wisely with Esau in this matter, and Esau sold his birthright to Jacob, for it was so brought about by the Lord.

13 And Esau's portion in the cave of the field of Machpelah, which Abraham had bought from the children of Heth for the possession of a burial ground, Esau also sold to Jacob, and Jacob bought all this from his brother Esau for value given.

14 And Jacob wrote the whole of this in a book, and he testified the same with witnesses, and he sealed it, and the book remained in the hands of Jacob.

15 And when Nimrod the son of Cush died, his men lifted him up and brought him in consternation, and buried him in his city, and all the days that Nimrod lived were two hundred and fifteen years and he died.

16 And the days that Nimrod reigned upon the people of the land were one hundred and eighty-five years; and Nimrod died by the sword of Esau in shame and contempt, and the seed of Abraham caused his death as he had seen in his dream.

17 And at the death of Nimrod his kingdom became divided into many divisions, and all those parts that Nimrod reigned over were restored to the respective kings of the land, who recovered them after the death of Nimrod, and all the people of the house of Nimrod were for a long time enslaved to all the other kings of the land.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 28

1 And in those days, after the death of Abraham, in that year the Lord brought a heavy famine in the land, and whilst the famine was raging in the land of Canaan, Isaac rose up to go down to Egypt on account of the famine, as his father Abraham had done.

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2 And the Lord appeared that night to Isaac and he said to him, Do not go down to Egypt but rise and go to Gerar, to Abimelech king of the Philistines, and remain there till the famine shall cease.

3 And Isaac rose up and went to Gerar, as the Lord commanded him, and he remained there a full year.

4 And when Isaac came to Gerar, the people of the land saw that Rebecca his wife was of a beautiful appearance, and the people of Gerar asked Isaac concerning his wife, and he said, She is my sister, for he was afraid to say she was his wife lest the people of the land should slay him on account of her.

5 And the princes of Abimelech went and praised the woman to the king, but he answered them not, neither did he attend to their words.

6 But he heard them say that Isaac declared her to be his sister, so the king reserved this within himself.

7 And when Isaac had remained three months in the land, Abimelech looked out at the window, and he saw, and behold Isaac was sporting with Rebecca his wife, for Isaac dwelt in the outer house belonging to the king, so that the house of Isaac was opposite the house of the king.

8 And the king said unto Isaac, What is this thou hast done to us in saying of thy wife, She is my sister? how easily might one of the great men of the people have lain with her, and thou wouldst then have brought guilt upon us.

9 And Isaac said unto Abimelech, Because I was afraid lest I die on account of my wife, therefore I said, She is my sister.

10 At that time Abimelech gave orders to all his princes and great men, and they took Isaac and Rebecca his wife and brought them before the king.

11 And the king commanded that they should dress them in princely garments, and make them ride through the streets of the city, and proclaim before them throughout the land, saying, This is the man and this is his wife; whoever toucheth this man or his wife shall surely die. And Isaac returned with his wife to the king's house, and the Lord was with Isaac and he continued to wax great and lacked nothing.

12 And the Lord caused Isaac to find favor in the sight of Abimelech, and in the sight of all his subjects, and Abimelech acted well with Isaac, for Abimelech remembered the oath and the covenant that existed between his father and Abraham.

13 And Abimelech said unto Isaac, Behold the whole earth is before thee; dwell wherever it may seem good in thy sight until thou shalt return to thy land; and Abimelech gave Isaac fields and vineyards and the best part of the land of Gerar, to sow and reap and eat the fruits of the ground until the days of the famine should have passed by.

14 And Isaac sowed in that land, and received a hundred-fold in the same year, and the Lord blessed him.

15 And the man waxed great, and he had possession of flocks and possession of herds and great store of servants.

16 And when the days of the famine had passed away the Lord appeared to Isaac and said unto him, Rise up, go forth from this place and return to thy land, to the land of Canaan; and Isaac rose up and returned to Hebron which is in the land of Canaan, he and all belonging to him as the Lord commanded him.

17 And after this Shelach the son at Arpachshad died in that year, which is the eighteenth year of the lives of Jacob and Esau; and all the days that Shelach lived were four hundred and thirty-three years and he died.

18 At that time Isaac sent his younger son Jacob to the house of Shem and Eber, and he learned the instructions of the Lord, and Jacob remained in the house of Shem and Eber for thirty-two years, and Esau his brother did not go, for he was not willing to go, and he remained in his father's house in the land of Canaan.

19 And Esau was continually hunting in the fields to bring home what he could get, so did Esau all the days.

20 And Esau was a designing and deceitful man, one who hunted after the hearts of men and inveigled them, and Esau was a valiant man in the field, and in the course of time went as usual to hunt; and he came as far as the field of Seir, the same is Edom.

21 And he remained in the land of Seir hunting in the field a year and four months.

22 And Esau there saw in the land of Seir the daughter of a man of Canaan, and her name was Jehudith, the daughter of Beeri, son of Epher, from the families of Heth the son of Canaan.

23 And Esau took her for a wife, and he came unto her; forty years old was Esau when he took her, and he brought her to Hebron, the land of his father's dwelling place, and he dwelt there.

24 And it came to pass in those days, in the hundred and tenth year of the life of Isaac, that is in the fiftieth year of the life of Jacob, in that year died Shem the son of Noah; Shem was six hundred years old at his death.

25 And when Shem died Jacob returned to his father to Hebron which is in the land of Canaan.

26 And in the fifty-sixth year of the life of Jacob, people came from Haran, and Rebecca was told concerning her brother Laban the son of Bethuel.

27 For the wife of Laban was barren in those days, and bare no children, and also all his handmaids bare none to him.

28 And the Lord afterward remembered Adinah the wife of Laban, and she conceived and bare twin daughters, and Laban called the names of his daughters, the name of the elder Leah, and the name of the younger Rachel.

29 And those people came and told these things to Rebecca, and Rebecca rejoiced greatly that the Lord had visited her brother and that he had got children.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 29

1 And Isaac the son of Abraham became old and advanced in days, and his eyes became heavy through age; they were dim and could not see.

2 At that time Isaac called unto Esau his son, saying, Get I pray thee thy weapons, thy quiver and thy bow, rise up and go forth into the field and get me some venison, and make me savory meat and bring it to me, that I may eat in order that I may bless thee before my death, as I have now become old and gray-headed.

3 And Esau did so; and he took his weapon and went forth into the field to hunt for venison, as usual, to bring to his father as he had ordered him, so that he might bless him.

4 And Rebecca heard all the words that Isaac had spoken unto Esau, and she hastened and called her son Jacob, saying, Thus did thy father speak unto thy brother Esau, and thus did I hear, now therefore hasten thou and make that which I shall tell thee.

5 Rise up and go, I pray thee, to the flock and fetch me two fine kids of the goats, and I will get the savory meat for thy father, and thou shalt bring the savory meat that he may eat before thy brother shall have come from the chase, in order that thy father may bless thee.

6 And Jacob hastened and did as his mother had commanded him, and he made the savory meat and brought it before his father before Esau had come from his chase.

7 And Isaac said unto Jacob, Who art thou, my son? And he said, I am thy first born Esau, I have done as thou didst order me, now therefore rise up I pray thee, and eat of my hunt, in order that thy soul may bless me as thou didst speak unto me.

8 And Isaac rose up and he ate and he drank, and his heart was comforted, and he blessed Jacob and Jacob went away from his father; and as soon as Isaac had blessed Jacob and he had gone away from him, behold Esau came from his hunt from the field, and he also made savory meat and brought it to his father to eat thereof and to bless him.

9 And Isaac said unto Esau, And who was he that has taken venison and brought it me before thou camest and whom I did bless? And Esau knew that his brother Jacob had done this, and the anger of Esau was kindled against his brother Jacob that he had acted thus toward him.

10 And Esau said, Is he not rightly called Jacob? for he has supplanted me twice, he took away my birthright and now he has taken away my blessing; and Esau wept greatly; and when Isaac heard the voice of his son Esau weeping, Isaac said unto Esau, What can I do, my son, thy brother came with subtlety and took away thy blessing; and Esau hated his brother Jacob on account of the blessing that his father had given him, and his anger was greatly roused against him.

11 And Jacob was very much afraid of his brother Esau, and he rose up and fled to the house of Eber the son of Shem, and he concealed himself there on account of his brother, and Jacob was sixty-three years old when he went forth from the land of Canaan from Hebron, and Jacob was concealed in Eber's house fourteen years on account of his brother Esau, and he there continued to learn the ways of the Lord and his commandments.

12 And when Esau saw that Jacob had fled and escaped from him, and that Jacob had cunningly obtained the blessing, then Esau grieved exceedingly, and he was also vexed at his father and mother; and he also rose up and took his wife and went away from his father and mother to the land of Seir, and he dwelt there; and Esau saw there a woman from amongst the daughters of Heth whose name was Bosmath, the daughter of Elon the Hittite, and he took her for a wife in addition to his first wife, and Esau called her name Adah, saying the blessing had in that time passed from him.

13 And Esau dwelt in the land of Seir six months without seeing his father and mother, and afterward Esau took his wives and rose up and returned to the land of Canaan, and Esau placed his two wives in his father's house in Hebron.

14 And the wives of Esau vexed and provoked Isaac and Rebecca with their works, for they walked not in the ways of the Lord, but served their father's gods of wood and stone as their father had taught them, and they were more wicked than their father.

15 And they went according to the evil desires of their hearts, and they sacrificed and burnt incense to the Baalim, and Isaac and Rebecca became weary of them.

16 And Rebecca said, I am weary of my life because of the daughters of Heth; if Jacob take a wife of the daughters of Heth, such as these which are of the daughters of the land, what good then is life unto me?

17 And in those days Adah the wife of Esau conceived and bare him a son, and Esau called the name of the son that was born unto him Eliphaz, and Esau was sixty-five years old when she bare him.

18 And Ishmael the son of Abraham died in those days, in the sixty-forth year of the life of Jacob, and all the days that Ishmael lived were one hundred and thirty-seven years and he died.

19 And when Isaac heard that Ishmael was dead he mourned for him, and Isaac lamented over him many days.

20 And at the end of fourteen years of Jacob's residing in the house of Eber, Jacob desired to see his father and mother, and Jacob came to the house of his father and mother to Hebron, and Esau had in those days forgotten what Jacob had done to him in having taken the blessing from him in those days.

21 And when Esau saw Jacob coming to his father and mother he remembered what Jacob had done to him, and he was greatly incensed against him and he sought to slay him.

22 And Isaac the son of Abraham was old and advanced in days, and Esau said, Now my father's time is drawing nigh that he must die, and when he shall die I will slay my brother Jacob.

23 And this was told to Rebecca, and she hastened and sent and called for Jacob her son, and she said unto him, Arise, go and flee to Haran to my brother Laban, and remain there for some time, until thy brother's anger be turned from thee and then shalt thou come back.

24 And Isaac called unto Jacob and said unto him, Take not a wife from the daughters of Canaan, for thus did our father Abraham command us according to the word of the Lord which he had commanded him, saying, Unto thy seed will I give this land; if thy children keep my covenant that I have made with thee, then will I also perform to thy children that which I have spoken unto thee and I will not forsake them.

25 Now therefore my son hearken to my voice, to all that I shall command thee, and refrain from taking a wife from amongst the daughters of Canaan; arise, go to Haran to the house of Bethuel thy mother's father, and take unto thee a wife from there from the daughters of Laban thy mother's brother.

26 Therefore take heed lest thou shouldst forget the Lord thy God and all his ways in the land to which thou goest, and shouldst get connected with the people of the land and pursue vanity and forsake the Lord thy God.

27 But when thou comest to the land serve there the Lord, do not turn to the right or to the left from the way which I commanded thee and which thou didst learn.

28 And may the Almighty God grant thee favor in the sight of the people of the earth, that thou mayest take there a wife according to thy choice; one who is good and upright in the ways of the Lord.

29 And may God give unto thee and thy seed the blessing of thy father Abraham, and make thee fruitful and multiply thee, and mayest thou become a multitude of people in the land whither thou goest, and may God cause thee to return to this land, the land of thy father's dwelling, with children and with great riches, with joy and with pleasure.

30 And Isaac finished commanding Jacob and blessing him, and he gave him many gifts, together with silver and gold, and he sent him away; and Jacob hearkened to his father and mother; he kissed them and arose and went to Padan-aram; and Jacob was seventy-seven years old when he went out from the land of Canaan from Beersheba.

31 And when Jacob went away to go to Haran Esau called unto his son Eliphaz, and secretly spoke unto him, saying, Now hasten, take thy sword in thy hand and pursue Jacob and pass before him in the road, and lurk for him, and slay him with thy sword in one of the mountains, and take all belonging to him and come back.

32 And Eliphaz the son of Esau was an active man and expert with the bow as his father had taught him, and he was a noted hunter in the field and a valiant man.

33 And Eliphaz did as his father had commanded him, and Eliphaz was at that time thirteen years old, and Eliphaz rose up and went and took ten of his mother's brothers with him and pursued Jacob.

34 And he closely followed Jacob, and he lurked for him in the border of the land of Canaan opposite to the city of Shechem.

35 And Jacob saw Eliphaz and his men pursuing him, and Jacob stood still in the place in which he was going, in order to know what this was, for he did not know the thing; and Eliphaz drew his sword and he went on advancing, he and his men, toward Jacob; and Jacob said unto them, What is to do with you that you have come hither, and what meaneth it that you pursue with your swords.

36 And Eliphaz came near to Jacob and he answered and said unto him, Thus did my father command me, and now therefore I will not deviate from the orders which my father gave me; and when Jacob saw that Esau had spoken to Eliphaz to employ force, Jacob then approached and supplicated Eliphaz and his men, saying to him,

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37 Behold all that I have and which my father and mother gave unto me, that take unto thee and go from me, and do not slay me, and may this thing be accounted unto thee a righteousness.

38 And the Lord caused Jacob to find favor in the sight of Eliphaz the son of Esau, and his men, and they hearkened to the voice of Jacob, and they did not put him to death, and Eliphaz and his men took all belonging to Jacob together with the silver and gold that he had brought with him from Beersheba; they left him nothing.

39 And Eliphaz and his men went away from him and they returned to Esau to Beersheba, and they told him all that had occurred to them with Jacob, and they gave him all that they had taken from Jacob.

40 And Esau was indignant at Eliphaz his son, and at his men that were with him, because they had not put Jacob to death.

41 And they answered and said unto Esau, Because Jacob supplicated us in this matter not to slay him, our pity was excited toward him, and we took all belonging to him and brought it unto thee; and Esau took all the silver and gold which Eliphaz had taken from Jacob and he put them by in his house.

42 At that time when Esau saw that Isaac had blessed Jacob, and had commanded him, saying, Thou shalt not take a wife from amongst the daughters of Canaan, and that the daughters of Canaan were bad in the sight of Isaac and Rebecca,

43 Then he went to the house of Ishmael his uncle, and in addition to his older wives he took Machlath the daughter of Ishmael, the sister of Nebayoth, for a wife.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 30

1 And Jacob went forth continuing his road to Haran, and he came as far as mount Moriah, and he tarried there all night near the city of Luz; and the Lord appeared there unto Jacob on that night, and he said unto him, I am the Lord God of Abraham and the God of Isaac thy father; the land upon which thou liest I will give unto thee and thy seed.

2 And behold I am with thee and will keep thee wherever thou goest, and I will multiply thy seed as the stars of Heaven, and I will cause all thine enemies to fall before thee; and when they shall make war with thee they shall not prevail over thee, and I will bring thee again unto this land with joy, with children, and with great riches.

3 And Jacob awoke from his sleep and he rejoiced greatly at the vision which he had seen; and he called the name of that place Bethel.

4 And Jacob rose up from that place quite rejoiced, and when he walked his feet felt light to him for joy, and he went from there to the land of the children of the East, and he returned to Haran and he set by the shepherd's well.

5 And he there found some men; going from Haran to feed their flocks, and Jacob made inquiries of them, and they said, We are from Haran.

6 And he said unto them, Do you know Laban, the son of Nahor? and they said, We know him, and behold his daughter Rachel is coming along to feed her father's flock.

7 Whilst he was yet speaking with them, Rachel the daughter of Laban came to feed her father's sheep, for she was a shepherdess.

8 And when Jacob saw Rachel, the daughter of Laban, his mother's brother, he ran and kissed her, and lifted up his voice and wept.

9 And Jacob told Rachel that he was the son of Rebecca, her father's sister, and Rachel ran and told her father, and Jacob continued to cry because he had nothing with him to bring to the house of Laban.

10 And when Laban heard that his sister's son Jacob had come, he ran and kissed him and embraced him and brought him into the house and gave him bread, and he ate.

11 And Jacob related to Laban what his brother Esau had done to him, and what his son Eliphaz had done to him in the road.

12 And Jacob resided in Laban's house for one month, and Jacob ate and drank in the house of Laban, and afterward Laban said unto Jacob, Tell me what shall be thy wages, for how canst thou serve me for nought?

13 And Laban had no sons but only daughters, and his other wives and handmaids were still barren in those days; and these are the names of Laban's daughters which his wife Adinah had borne unto him; the name of the elder was Leah and the name of the younger was Rachel; and Leah was tender-eyed, but Rachel was beautiful and well favored, and Jacob loved her.

14 And Jacob said unto Laban, I will serve thee seven years for Rachel thy younger daughter; and Laban consented to this and Jacob served Laban seven years for his daughter Rachel.

15 And in the second year of Jacob's dwelling in Haran, that is in the seventy ninth year of the life of Jacob, in that year died Eber the son of Shem, he was four hundred and sixty-four years old at his death.

16 And when Jacob heard that Eber was dead he grieved exceedingly, and he lamented and mourned over him many days.

17 And in the third year of Jacob's dwelling in Haran, Bosmath, the daughter of Ishmael, the wife of Esau, bare unto him a son, and Esau called his name Reuel.

18 And in the fourth year of Jacob's residence in the house of Laban, the Lord visited Laban and remembered him on account of Jacob, and sons were born unto him, and his first born was Beor, his second was Alib, and the third was Chorash.

19 And the Lord gave Laban riches and honor, sons and daughters, and the man increased greatly on account of Jacob.

20 And Jacob in those days served Laban in all manner of work, in the house and in the field, and the blessing of the Lord was in all that belonged to Laban in the house and in the field.

21 And in the fifth year died Jehudith, the daughter of Beeri, the wife of Esau, in the land of Canaan, and she had no sons but daughters only.

22 And these are the names of her daughters which she bare to Esau, the name of the elder was Marzith, and the name of the younger was Puith.

23 And when Jehudith died, Esau rose up and went to Seir to hunt in the field, as usual, and Esau dwelt in the land of Seir for a long time.

24 And in the sixth year Esau took for a wife, in addition to his other wives, Ahlibamah, the daughter of Zebeon the Hivite, and Esau brought her to the land of Canaan.

25 And Ahlibamah conceived and bare unto Esau three sons, Yeush, Yaalan, and Korah.

26 And in those days, in the land of Canaan, there was a quarrel between the herdsmen of Esau and the herdsmen of the inhabitants of the land of Canaan, for Esau's cattle and goods were too abundant for him to remain in the land of Canaan, in his father's house, and the land of Canaan could not bear him on account of his cattle.

27 And when Esau saw that his quarreling increased with the inhabitants of the land of Canaan, he rose up and took his wives and his sons and his daughters, and all belonging to him, and the cattle which he possessed, and all his property that he had acquired in the land of Canaan, and he went away from the inhabitants of the land to the land of Seir, and Esau and all belonging to him dwelt in the land of Seir.

28 But from time to time Esau would go and see his father and mother in the land of Canaan, and Esau intermarried with the Horites, and he gave his daughters to the sons of Seir, the Horite.

29 And he gave his elder daughter Marzith to Anah, the son of Zebeon, his wife's brother, and Puith he gave to Azar, the son of Bilhan the Horite; and Esau dwelt in the mountain, he and his children, and they were fruitful and multiplied.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 31

1 And in the seventh year, Jacob's service which he served Laban was completed, and Jacob said unto Laban, Give me my wife, for the days of my service are fulfilled; and Laban did so, and Laban and Jacob assembled all the people of that place and they made a feast.

2 And in the evening Laban came to the house, and afterward Jacob came there with the people of the feast, and Laban extinguished all the lights that were there in the house.

3 And Jacob said unto Laban, Wherefore dost thou do this thing unto us? and Laban answered, Such is our custom to act in this land.

4 And afterward Laban took his daughter Leah, and he brought her to Jacob, and he came to her and Jacob did not know that she was Leah.

5 And Laban gave his daughter Leah his maid Zilpah for a handmaid.

6 And all the people at the feast knew what Laban had done to Jacob, but they did not tell the thing to Jacob.

7 And all the neighbours came that night to Jacob's house, and they ate and drank and rejoiced, and played before Leah upon timbrels, and with dances, and they responded before Jacob, Heleah, Heleah.

8 And Jacob heard their words but did not understand their meaning, but he thought such might be their custom in this land.

9 And the neighbours spoke these words before Jacob during the night, and all the lights that were in the house Laban had that night extinguished.

10 And in the morning, when daylight appeared, Jacob turned to his wife and he saw, and behold it was Leah that had been lying in his bosom, and Jacob said, Behold now I know what the neighbours said last night, Heleah, they said, and I knew it not.

11 And Jacob called unto Laban, and said unto him, What is this that thou didst unto me? Surely I served thee for Rachel, and why didst thou deceive me and didst give me Leah?

12 And Laban answered Jacob, saying, Not so is it done in our place to give the younger before the elder now therefore if thou desirest to take her sister likewise, take her unto thee for the service which thou wilt serve me for another seven years.

13 And Jacob did so, and he also took Rachel for a wife, and he served Laban seven years more, and Jacob also came to Rachel, and he loved Rachel more than Leah, and Laban gave her his maid Bilhah for a handmaid.

14 And when the Lord saw that Leah was hated, the Lord opened her womb, and she conceived and bare Jacob four sons in those days.

15 And these are their names, Reuben Simeon, Levi, and Judah, and she afterward left bearing.

16 And at that time Rachel was barren, and she had no offspring, and Rachel envied her sister Leah, and when Rachel saw that she bare no children to Jacob, she took her handmaid Bilhah, and she bare Jacob two sons, Dan and Naphtali.

17 And when Leah saw that she had left bearing, she also took her handmaid Zilpah, and she gave her to Jacob for a wife, and Jacob also came to Zilpah, and she also bare Jacob two sons, Gad and Asher.

18 And Leah again conceived and bare Jacob in those days two sons and one daughter, and these are their names, Issachar, Zebulon, and their sister Dinah.

19 And Rachel was still barren in those days, and Rachel prayed unto the Lord at that time, and she said, O Lord God remember me and visit me, I beseech thee, for now my husband will cast me off, for I have borne him no children.

20 Now O Lord God, hear my supplication before thee, and see my affliction, and give me children like one of the handmaids, that I may no more bear my reproach.

21 And God heard her and opened her womb, and Rachel conceived and bare a son, and she said, The Lord has taken away my reproach, and she called his name Joseph, saying, May the Lord add to me another son; and Jacob was ninety-one years old when she bare him.

22 At that time Jacob's mother, Rebecca, sent her nurse Deborah the daughter of Uz, and two of Isaac's servants unto Jacob.

23 And they came to Jacob to Haran and they said unto him, Rebecca has sent us to thee that thou shalt return to thy father's house to the land of Canaan; and Jacob hearkened unto them in this which his mother had spoken.

24 At that time, the other seven years which Jacob served Laban for Rachel were completed, and it was at the end of fourteen years that he had dwelt in Haran that Jacob said unto Laban, give me my wives and send me away, that I may go to my land, for behold my mother did send unto me from the land at Canaan that I should return to my father's house.

25 And Laban said unto him, Not so I pray thee; if I have found favor in thy sight do not leave me; appoint me thy wages and I will give them, and remain with me.

26 And Jacob said unto him, This is what thou shalt give me for wages, that I shall this day pass through all thy flock and take away from them every lamb that is speckled and spotted and such as are brown amongst the sheep, and amongst the goats, and if thou wilt do this thing for me I will return and feed thy flock and keep them as at first.

27 And Laban did so, and Laban removed from his flock all that Jacob had said and gave them to him.

28 And Jacob placed all that he had removed from Laban's flock in the hands of his sons, and Jacob was feeding the remainder of Laban's flock.

29 And when the servants of Isaac which he had sent unto Jacob saw that Jacob would not then return with them to the land of Canaan to his father, they then went away from him, and they returned home to the land of Canaan.

30 And Deborah remained with Jacob in Haran, and she did not return with the servants of Isaac to the land of Canaan, and Deborah resided with Jacob's wives and children in Haran.

31 And Jacob served Laban six years longer, and when the sheep brought forth, Jacob removed from them such as were speckled and spotted, as he had determined with Laban, and Jacob did so at Laban's for six years, and the man increased abundantly and he had cattle and maid servants and men servants, camels, and asses.

32 And Jacob had two hundred drove of cattle, and his cattle were of large size and of beautiful appearance and were very productive, and all the families of the sons of men desired to get some of the cattle of Jacob, for they were exceedingly prosperous.

33 And many of the sons of men came to procure some of Jacob's flock, and Jacob gave them a sheep for a man servant or a maid servant or for an ass or a camel, or whatever Jacob desired from them they gave him.

34 And Jacob obtained riches and honor and possessions by means of these transactions with the sons of men, and the children of Laban envied him of this honor.

35 And in the course of time he heard the words of Laban's sons, saying, Jacob has taken away all that was our father's, and of that which was our father's has he acquired all this glory.

36 And Jacob beheld the countenance of Laban and of his children, and behold it was not toward him in those days as it had been before.

37 And the Lord appeared to Jacob at the expiration of the six years, and said unto him, Arise, go forth out of this land, and return to the land of thy birthplace and I will be with thee.

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38 And Jacob rose up at that time and he mounted his children and wives and all belonging to him upon camels, and he went forth to go to the land of Canaan to his father Isaac.

39 And Laban did not know that Jacob had gone from him, for Laban had been that day sheep-shearing.

40 And Rachel stole her father's images, and she took them and she concealed them upon the camel upon which she sat, and she went on.

41 And this is the manner of the images; in taking a man who is the first born and slaying him and taking the hair off his head, and taking salt and salting the head and anointing it in oil, then taking a small tablet of copper or a tablet of gold and writing the name upon it, and placing the tablet under his tongue, and taking the head with the tablet under the tongue and putting it in the house, and lighting up lights before it and bowing down to it.

42 And at the time when they bow down to it, it speaketh to them in all matters that they ask of it, through the power of the name which is written in it.

43 And some make them in the figures of men, of gold and silver, and go to them in times known to them, and the figures receive the influence of the stars, and tell them future things, and in this manner were the images which Rachel stole from her father.

44 And Rachel stole these images which were her father's, in order that Laban might not know through them where Jacob had gone.

45 And Laban came home and he asked concerning Jacob and his household, and he was not to be found, and Laban sought his images to know where Jacob had gone, and could not find them, and he went to some other images, and he inquired of them and they told him that Jacob had fled from him to his father's, to the land of Canaan.

46 And Laban then rose up and he took his brothers and all his servants, and he went forth and pursued Jacob, and he overtook him in mount Gilead.

47 And Laban said unto Jacob, What is this thou hast done to me to flee and deceive me, and lead my daughters and their children as captives taken by the sword?

48 And thou didst not suffer me to kiss them and send them away with joy, and thou didst steal my gods and didst go away.

49 And Jacob answered Laban, saying, Because I was afraid lest thou wouldst take thy daughters by force from me; and now with whomsoever thou findest thy gods he shall die.

50 And Laban searched for the images and he examined in all Jacob's tents and furniture, but could not find them.

51 And Laban said unto Jacob, We will make a covenant together and it shall be a testimony between me and thee; if thou shalt afflict my daughters, or shalt take other wives besides my daughters, even God shall be a witness between me and thee in this matter.

52 And they took stones and made a heap, and Laban said, This heap is a witness between me and thee, therefore he called the name thereof Gilead.

53 And Jacob and Laban offered sacrifice upon the mount, and they ate there by the heap, and they tarried in the mount all night, and Laban rose up early in the morning, and he wept with his daughters and he kissed them, and he returned unto his place.

54 And he hastened and sent off his son Beor, who was seventeen years old, with Abichorof the son of Uz, the son of Nahor, and with them were ten men.

55 And they hastened and went and passed on the road before Jacob, and they came by another road to the land of Seir.

56 And they came unto Esau and said unto him, Thus saith thy brother and relative, thy mother's brother Laban, the son of Bethuel, saying,

57 Hast thou heard what Jacob thy brother has done unto me, who first came to me naked and bare, and I went to meet him, and brought him to my house with honor, and I made him great, and I gave him my two daughters for wives and also two of my maids.

58 And God blessed him on my account, and he increased abundantly, and had sons, daughters and maid servants.

59 He has also an immense stock of flocks and herds, camels and asses, also silver and gold in abundance; and when he saw that his wealth increased, he left me whilst I went to shear my sheep, and he rose up and fled in secrecy.

60 And he lifted his wives and children upon camels, and he led away all his cattle and property which he acquired in my land, and he lifted up his countenance to go to his father Isaac, to the land of Canaan.

61 And he did not suffer me to kiss my daughters and their children, and he led my daughters as captives taken by the sword, and he also stole my gods and he fled.

62 And now I have left him in the mountain of the brook of Jabuk, him and all belonging to him; he lacketh nothing.

63 If it be thy wish to go to him, go then and there wilt thou find him, and thou canst do unto him as thy soul desireth; and Laban's messengers came and told Esau all these things.

64 And Esau heard all the words of Laban's messengers, and his anger was greatly kindled against Jacob, and he remembered his hatred, and his anger burned within him.

65 And Esau hastened and took his children and servants and the souls of his household, being sixty men, and he went and assembled all the children of Seir the Horite and their people, being three hundred and forty men, and took all this number of four hundred men with drawn swords, and he went unto Jacob to smite him.

66 And Esau divided this number into several parts, and he took the sixty men of his children and servants and the souls of his household as one head, and gave them in care of Eliphaz his eldest son.

67 And the remaining heads he gave to the care of the six sons of Seir the Horite, and he placed every man over his generations and children.

68 And the whole of this camp went as it was, and Esau went amongst them toward Jacob, and he conducted them with speed.

69 And Laban's messengers departed from Esau and went to the land of Canaan, and they came to the house of Rebecca the mother of Jacob and Esau.

70 And they told her saying, Behold thy son Esau has gone against his brother Jacob with four hundred men, for he heard that he was coming, and he is gone to make war with him, and to smite him and to take all that he has.

71 And Rebecca hastened and sent seventy two men from the servants of Isaac to meet Jacob on the road; for she said, Peradventure, Esau may make war in the road when he meets him.

72 And these messengers went on the road to meet Jacob, and they met him in the road of the brook on the opposite side of the brook Jabuk, and Jacob said when he saw them, This camp is destined to me from God, and Jacob called the name of that place Machnayim.

73 And Jacob knew all his father's people, and he kissed them and embraced them and came with them, and Jacob asked them concerning his father and mother, and they said, They were well.

74 And these messengers said unto Jacob, Rebecca thy mother has sent us to thee, saying, I have heard, my son, that thy brother Esau has gone forth against thee on the road with men from the children of Seir the Horite.

75 And therefore, my son, hearken to my voice and see with thy counsel what thou wilt do, and when he cometh up to thee, supplicate him, and do not speak rashly to him, and give him a present from what thou possessest, and from what God has favored thee with.

76 And when he asketh thee concerning thy affairs, conceal nothing from him, perhaps he may turn from his anger against thee and thou wilt thereby save thy soul, thou and all belonging to thee, for it is thy duty to honor him, for he is thy elder brother.

77 And when Jacob heard the words of his mother which the messengers had spoken to him, Jacob lifted up his voice and wept bitterly, and did as his mother then commanded him.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 32

1 And at that time Jacob sent messengers to his brother Esau toward the land of Seir, and he spoke to him words of supplication.

2 And he commanded them, saying, Thus shall ye say to my lord, to Esau, Thus saith thy servant Jacob, Let not my lord imagine that my father's blessing with which he did bless me has proved beneficial to me.

3 For I have been these twenty years with Laban, and he deceived me and changed my wages ten times, as it has all been already told unto my lord.

4 And I served him in his house very laboriously, and God afterward saw my affliction, my labor and the work of my hands, and he caused me to find grace and favor in his sight.

5 And I afterward through God's great mercy and kindness acquired oxen and asses and cattle, and men servants and maid servants.

6 And now I am coming to my land and my home to my father and mother, who are in the land of Canaan; and I have sent to let my lord know all this in order to find favor in the sight of my lord, so that he may not imagine that I have of myself obtained wealth, or that the blessing with which my father blessed me has benefited me.

7 And those messengers went to Esau, and found him on the borders of the land of Edom going toward Jacob, and four hundred men of the children of Seir the Horite were standing with drawn swords.

8 And the messengers of Jacob told Esau all the words that Jacob had spoken to them concerning Esau.

9 And Esau answered them with pride and contempt, and said unto them, Surely I have heard and truly it has been told unto me what Jacob has done to Laban, who exalted him in his house and gave him his daughters for wives, and he begat sons and daughters, and abundantly increased in wealth and riches in Laban's house through his means.

10 And when he saw that his wealth was abundant and his riches great he fled with all belonging to him, from Laban's house, and he led Laban's daughters away from the face of their father, as captives taken by the sword without telling him of it.

11 And not only to Laban has Jacob done thus but also unto me has he done so and has twice supplanted me, and shall I be silent?

12 Now therefore I have this day come with my camps to meet him, and I will do unto him according to the desire of my heart.

13 And the messengers returned and came to Jacob and said unto him, We came to thy brother, to Esau, and we told him all thy words, and thus has he answered us, and behold he cometh to meet thee with four hundred men.

14 Now then know and see what thou shalt do, and pray before God to deliver thee from him.

15 And when he heard the words of his brother which he had spoken to the messengers of Jacob, Jacob was greatly afraid and he was distressed.

16 And Jacob prayed to the Lord his God, and he said, O Lord God of my fathers, Abraham and Isaac, thou didst say unto me when I went away from my father's house, saying,

17 I am the Lord God of thy father Abraham and the God of Isaac, unto thee do I give this land and thy seed after thee, and I will make thy seed as the stars of heaven, and thou shalt spread forth to the four sides of heaven, and in thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed.

18 And thou didst establish thy words, and didst give unto me riches and children and cattle, as the utmost wishes of my heart didst thou give unto thy servant; thou didst give unto me all that I asked from thee, so that I lacked nothing.

19 And thou didst afterward say unto me, Return to thy parents and to thy birth place and I will still do well with thee.

20 And now that I have come, and thou didst deliver me from Laban, I shall fall in the hands of Esau who will slay me, yea, together with the mothers of my children.

21 Now therefore, O Lord God, deliver me, I pray thee, also from the hands of my brother Esau, for I am greatly afraid of him.

22 And if there is no righteousness in me, do it for the sake of Abraham and my father Isaac.

23 For I know that through kindness and mercy have I acquired this wealth; now therefore I beseech thee to deliver me this day with thy kindness and to answer me.

24 And Jacob ceased praying to the Lord, and he divided the people that were with him with the flocks and cattle into two camps, and he gave the half to the care of Damesek, the son of Eliezer, Abraham's servant, for a camp, with his children, and the other half he gave to the care of his brother Elianus the son of Eliezer, to be for a camp with his children.

25 And he commanded them, saying, Keep yourselves at a distance with your camps, and do not come too near each other, and if Esau come to one camp and slay it, the other camp at a distance from it will escape him.

26 And Jacob tarried there that night, and during the whole night he gave his servants instructions concerning the forces and his children.

27 And the Lord heard the prayer of Jacob on that day, and the Lord then delivered Jacob from the hands of his brother Esau.

28 And the Lord sent three angels of the angels of heaven, and they went before Esau and came to him.

29 And these angels appeared unto Esau and his people as two thousand men, riding upon horses furnished with all sorts of war instruments, and they appeared in the sight of Esau and all his men to be divided into four camps, with four chiefs to them.

30 And one camp went on and they found Esau coming with four hundred men toward his brother Jacob, and this camp ran toward Esau and his people and terrified them, and Esau fell off the horse in alarm, and all his men separated from him in that place, for they were greatly afraid.

31 And the whole of the camp shouted after them when they fled from Esau, and all the warlike men answered, saying,

32 Surely we are the servants of Jacob, who is the servant of God, and who then can stand against us? And Esau said unto them, O then, my lord and brother Jacob is your lord, whom I have not seen for these twenty years, and now that I have this day come to see him, do you treat me in this manner?

33 And the angels answered him saying, As the Lord liveth, were not Jacob of whom thou speaketh thy brother, we had not let one remaining from thee and thy people, but only on account of Jacob we will do nothing to them.

34 And this camp passed from Esau and his men and it went away, and Esau and his men had gone from them about a league when the second camp came toward him with all sorts of weapons, and they also did unto Esau and his men as the first camp had done to them.

35 And when they had left it to go on, behold the third camp came toward him and they were all terrified, and Esau fell off the horse, and the whole camp cried out, and said, Surely we are the servants of Jacob, who is the servant of God, and who can stand against us?

36 And Esau again answered them saying, O then, Jacob my lord and your lord is my brother, and for twenty years I have

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not seen his countenance and hearing this day that he was coming, I went this day to meet him, and do you treat me in this manner?

37 And they answered him, and said unto him, As the Lord liveth, were not Jacob thy brother as thou didst say, we had not left a remnant from thee and thy men, but on account of Jacob of whom thou speakest being thy brother, we will not meddle with thee or thy men.

38 And the third camp also passed from them, and he still continued his road with his men toward Jacob, when the fourth camp came toward him, and they also did unto him and his men as the others had done.

39 And when Esau beheld the evil which the four angels had done to him and to his men, he became greatly afraid of his brother Jacob, and he went to meet him in peace.

40 And Esau concealed his hatred against Jacob, because he was afraid of his life on account of his brother Jacob, and because he imagined that the four camps that he had lighted upon were Jacob's servants.

41 And Jacob tarried that night with his servants in their camps, and he resolved with his servants to give unto Esau a present from all that he had with him, and from all his property; and Jacob rose up in the morning, he and his men, and they chose from amongst the cattle a present for Esau.

42 And this is the amount of the present which Jacob chose from his flock to give unto his brother Esau: and he selected two hundred and forty head from the flocks, and he selected from the camels and asses thirty each, and of the herds he chose fifty kine.

43 And he put them all in ten droves, and he placed each sort by itself, and he delivered them into the hands of ten of his servants, each drove by itself.

44 And he commanded them, and said unto them, Keep yourselves at a distance from each other, and put a space between the droves, and when Esau and those who are with him shall meet you and ask you, saying, Whose are you, and whither do you go, and to whom belongeth all this before you, you shall say unto them, We are the servants of Jacob, and we come to meet Esau in peace, and behold Jacob cometh behind us.

45 And that which is before us is a present sent from Jacob to his brother Esau.

46 And if they shall say unto you, Why doth he delay behind you, from coming to meet his brother and to see his face, then you shall say unto them, Surely he cometh joyfully behind us to meet his brother, for he said, I will appease him with the present that goeth to him, and after this I will see his face, peradventure he will accept of me.

47 So the whole present passed on in the hands of his servants, and went before him on that day, and he lodged that night with his camps by the border of the brook of Jabuk, and he rose up in the midst of the night, and he took his wives and his maid servants, and all belonging to him, and he that night passed them over the ford Jabuk.

48 And when he passed all belonging to him over the brook, Jacob was left by himself, and a man met him, and he wrestled with him that night until the breaking of the day, and the hollow of Jacob's thigh was out of joint through wrestling with him.

49 And at the break of day the man left Jacob there, and he blessed him and went away, and Jacob passed the brook at the break of day, and he halted upon his thigh.

50 And the sun rose upon him when he had passed the brook, and he came up to the place of his cattle and children.

51 And they went on till midday, and whilst they were going the present was passing on before them.

52 And Jacob lifted up his eyes and looked, and behold Esau was at a distance, coming along with many men, about four hundred, and Jacob was greatly afraid of his brother.

53 And Jacob hastened and divided his children unto his wives and his handmaids, and his daughter Dinah he put in a chest, and delivered her into the hands of his servants.

54 And he passed before his children and wives to meet his brother, and he bowed down to the ground, yea he bowed down seven times until he approached his brother, and God caused Jacob to find grace and favor in the sight of Esau and his men, for God had heard the prayer of Jacob.

55 And the fear of Jacob and his terror fell upon his brother Esau, for Esau was greatly afraid of Jacob for what the angels of God had done to Esau, and Esau's anger against Jacob was turned into kindness.

56 And when Esau saw Jacob running toward him, he also ran toward him and he embraced him, and he fell upon his neck, and they kissed and they wept.

57 And God put fear and kindness toward Jacob in the hearts of the men that came with Esau, and they also kissed Jacob and embraced him.

58 And also Eliphaz, the son of Esau, with his four brothers, sons of Esau, wept with Jacob, and they kissed him and embraced him, for the fear of Jacob had fallen upon them all.

59 And Esau lifted up his eyes and saw the women with their offspring, the children of Jacob, walking behind Jacob and bowing along the road to Esau.

60 And Esau said unto Jacob, Who are these with thee, my brother? are they thy children or thy servants? and Jacob answered Esau and said, They are my children which God hath graciously given to thy servant.

61 And whilst Jacob was speaking to Esau and his men, Esau beheld the whole camp, and he said unto Jacob, Whence didst thou get the whole of the camp that I met yesternight? and Jacob said, To find favor in the sight of my lord, it is that which God graciously gave to thy servant.

62 And the present came before Esau, and Jacob pressed Esau, saying, Take I pray thee the present that I have brought to my lord, and Esau said, Wherefore is this my purpose? keep that which thou hast unto thyself.

63 And Jacob said, It is incumbent upon me to give all this, since I have seen thy face, that thou still livest in peace.

64 And Esau refused to take the present, and Jacob said unto him, I beseech thee my lord, if now I have found favor in thy sight, then receive my present at my hand, for I have therefore seen thy face, as though I had seen a god-like face, because thou wast pleased with me.

65 And Esau took the present, and Jacob also gave unto Esau silver and gold and bdellium, for he pressed him so much that he took them.

66 And Esau divided the cattle that were in the camp, and he gave the half to the men who had come with him, for they had come on hire, and the other half he delivered unto the hands of his children.

67 And the silver and gold and bdellium he gave in the hands of Eliphaz his eldest son, and Esau said unto Jacob, Let us remain with thee, and we will go slowly along with thee until thou comest to my place with me, that we may dwell there together.

68 And Jacob answered his brother and said, I would do as my lord speaketh unto me, but my lord knoweth that the children are tender, and the flocks and herds with their young who are with me, go but slowly, for if they went swiftly they would all die, for thou knowest their burdens and their fatigue.

69 Therefore let my lord pass on before his servant, and I will go on slowly for the sake of the children and the flock, until I come to my lord's place to Seir.

70 And Esau said unto Jacob, I will place with thee some of the people that are with me to take care of thee in the road, and to bear thy fatigue and burden, and he said, What needeth it my lord, if I may find grace in thy sight?

71 Behold I will come unto thee to Seir to dwell there together as thou hast spoken, go thou then with thy people for I will follow thee.

72 And Jacob said this to Esau in order to remove Esau and his men from him, so that Jacob might afterward go to his father's house to the land of Canaan.

73 And Esau hearkened to the voice of Jacob, and Esau returned with the four hundred men that were with him on their road to Seir, and Jacob and all belonging to him went that day as far as the extremity of the land of Canaan in its borders, and he remained there some time.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 33

1 And in some time after Jacob went away from the borders of the land, and he came to the land of Shalem, that is the city of Shechem, which is in the land of Canaan, and he rested in front of the city.

2 And he bought a parcel of the field which was there, from the children of Hamor the people of the land, for five shekels.

3 And Jacob there built himself a house, and he pitched his tent there, and he made booths for his cattle, therefore he called the name of that place Succoth.

4 And Jacob remained in Succoth a year and six months.

5 At that time some of the women of the inhabitants of the land went to the city of Shechem to dance and rejoice with the daughters of the people of the city, and when they went forth then Rachel and Leah the wives of Jacob with their families also went to behold the rejoicing of the daughters of the city.

6 And Dinah the daughter of Jacob also went along with them and saw the daughters of the city, and they remained there before these daughters whilst all the people of the city were standing by them to behold their rejoicings, and all the great people of the city were there.

7 And Shechem the son of Hamor, the prince of the land was also standing there to see them.

8 And Shechem beheld Dinah the daughter of Jacob sitting with her mother before the daughters of the city, and the damsel pleased him greatly, and he there asked his friends and his people, saying, Whose daughter is that sitting amongst the women, whom I do not know in this city?

9 And they said unto him, Surely this is the daughter of Jacob the son of Isaac the Hebrew, who has dwelt in this city for some time, and when it was reported that the daughters of the land were going forth to rejoice she went with her mother and maid servants to sit amongst them as thou seest.

10 And Shechem beheld Dinah the daughter of Jacob, and when he looked at her his soul became fixed upon Dinah.

11 And he sent and had her taken by force, and Dinah came to the house of Shechem and he seized her forcibly and lay with her and humbled her, and he loved her exceedingly and placed her in his house.

12 And they came and told the thing unto Jacob, and when Jacob heard that Shechem had defiled his daughter Dinah, Jacob sent twelve of his servants to fetch Dinah from the house of Shechem, and they went and came to the house of Shechem to take away Dinah from there.

13 And when they came Shechem went out to them with his men and drove them from his house, and he would not suffer them to come before Dinah, but Shechem was sitting with Dinah kissing and embracing her before their eyes.

14 And the servants of Jacob came back and told him, saying, When we came, he and his men drove us away, and thus did Shechem do unto Dinah before our eyes.

15 And Jacob knew moreover that Shechem had defiled his daughter, but he said nothing, and his sons were feeding his cattle in the field, and Jacob remained silent till their return.

16 And before his sons came home Jacob sent two maidens from his servants' daughters to take care of Dinah in the house of Shechem, and to remain with her, and Shechem sent three of his friends to his father Hamor the son of Chiddekem, the son of Pered, saying, Get me this damsel for a wife.

17 And Hamor the son of Chiddekem the Hivite came to the house of Shechem his son, and he sat before him, and Hamor said unto his son, Shechem, Is there then no woman amongst the daughters of thy people that thou wilt take an Hebrew woman who is not of thy people?

18 And Shechem said to him, Her only must thou get for me, for she is delightful in my sight; and Hamor did according to the word of his son, for he was greatly beloved by him.

19 And Hamor went forth to Jacob to commune with him concerning this matter, and when he had gone from the house of his son Shechem, before he came to Jacob to speak unto him, behold the sons of Jacob had come from the field, as soon as they heard the thing that Shechem the son of Hamor had done.

20 And the men were very much grieved concerning their sister, and they all came home fired with anger, before the time of gathering in their cattle.

21 And they came and sat before their father and they spoke unto him kindled with wrath, saying, Surely death is due to this man and to his household, because the Lord God of the whole earth commanded Noah and his children that man shall never rob, nor commit adultery; now behold Shechem has both ravaged and committed fornication with our sister, and not one of all the people of the city spoke a word to him.

22 Surely thou knowest and understandest that the judgement of death is due to Shechem, and to his father, and to the whole city on account of the thing which he has done.

23 And whilst they were speaking before their father in this matter, behold Hamor the father of Shechem came to speak to Jacob the words of his son concerning Dinah, and he sat before Jacob and before his sons.

24 And Hamor spoke unto them, saying, The soul of my son Shechem longeth for your daughter; I pray you give her unto him for a wife and intermarry with us; give us your daughters and we will give you our daughters, and you shall dwell with us in our land and we will be as one people in the land.

25 For our land is very extensive, so dwell ye and trade therein and get possessions in it, and do therein as you desire, and no one shall prevent you by saying a word to you.

26 And Hamor ceased speaking unto Jacob and his sons, and behold Shechem his son had come after him, and he sat before them.

27 And Shechem spoke before Jacob and his sons, saying, May I find favor in your sight that you will give me your daughter, and whatever you say unto me that will I do for her.

28 Ask me for abundance of dowry and gift, and I will give it, and whatever you shall say unto me that will I do, and whoever he be that will rebel against your orders, he shall die; only give me the damsel for a wife.

29 And Simeon and Levi answered Hamor and Shechem his son deceitfully, saying, All you have spoken unto us we will do for you.

30 And behold our sister is in your house, but keep away from her until we send to our father Isaac concerning this matter, for we can do nothing without his consent.

31 For he knoweth the ways of our father Abraham, and whatever he sayeth unto us we will tell you, we will conceal nothing from you.

32 And Simeon and Levi spoke this unto Shechem and his father in order to find a pretext, and to seek counsel what was to be done to Shechem and to his city in this matter.

33 And when Shechem and his father heard the words of Simeon and Levi, it seemed good in their sight, and Shechem and his father came forth to go home.

34 And when they had gone, the sons of Jacob said unto their father, saying, Behold, we know that death is due to these wicked ones and to their city, because they transgressed that which God had commanded unto Noah and his children and his seed after them.

35 And also because Shechem did this thing to our sister Dinah in defiling her, for such vileness shall never be done amongst us.

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36 Now therefore know and see what you will do, and seek counsel and pretext what is to be done to them, in order to kill all the inhabitants of this city.

37 And Simeon said to them, Here is a proper advice for you: tell them to circumcise every male amongst them as we are circumcised, and if they do not wish to do this, we shall take our daughter from them and go away.

38 And if they consent to do this and will do it, then when they are sunk down with pain, we will attack them with our swords, as upon one who is quiet and peaceable, and we will slay every male person amongst them.

39 And Simeon's advice pleased them, and Simeon and Levi resolved to do unto them as it was proposed.

40 And on the next morning Shechem and Hamor his father came again unto Jacob and his sons, to speak concerning Dinah, and to hear what answer the sons of Jacob would give to their words.

41 And the sons of Jacob spoke deceitfully to them, saying, We told our father Isaac all your words, and your words pleased him.

42 But he spoke unto us, saying, Thus did Abraham his father command him from God the Lord of the whole earth, that any man who is not of his descendants that should wish to take one of his daughters, shall cause every male belonging to him to be circumcised, as we are circumcised, and then we may give him our daughter for a wife.

43 Now we have made known to you all our ways that our father spoke unto us, for we cannot do this of which you spoke unto us, to give our daughter to an uncircumcised man, for it is a disgrace to us.

44 But herein will we consent to you, to give you our daughter, and we will also take unto ourselves your daughters, and will dwell amongst you and be one people as you have spoken, if you will hearken to us, and consent to be like us, to circumcise every male belonging to you, as we are circumcised.

45 And if you will not hearken unto us, to have every male circumcised as we are circumcised, as we have commanded, then we will come to you, and take our daughter from you and go away.

46 And Shechem and his father Hamor heard the words of the sons of Jacob, and the thing pleased them exceedingly, and Shechem and his father Hamor hastened to do the wishes of the sons of Jacob, for Shechem was very fond of Dinah, and his soul was riveted to her.

47 And Shechem and his father Hamor hastened to the gate of the city, and they assembled all the men of their city and spoke unto them the words of the sons of Jacob, saying,

48 We came to these men, the sons of Jacob, and we spoke unto them concerning their daughter, and these men will consent to do according to our wishes, and behold our land is of great extent for them, and they will dwell in it, and trade in it, and we shall be one people; we will take their daughters, and our daughters we will give unto them for wives.

49 But only on this condition will these men consent to do this thing, that every male amongst us be circumcised as they are circumcised, as their God commanded them, and when we shall have done according to their instructions to be circumcised, then will they dwell amongst us, together with their cattle and possessions, and we shall be as one people with them.

50 And when all the men of the city heard the words of Shechem and his father Hamor, then all the men of their city were agreeable to this proposal, and they obeyed to be circumcised, for Shechem and his father Hamor were greatly esteemed by them, being the princes of the land.

51 And on the next day, Shechem and Hamor his father rose up early in the morning, and they assembled all the men of their city into the middle of the city, and they called for the sons of Jacob, who circumcised every male belonging to them on that day and the next.

52 And they circumcised Shechem and Hamor his father, and the five brothers of Shechem, and then every one rose up and went home, for this thing was from the Lord against the city of Shechem, and from the Lord was Simeon's counsel in this matter, in order that the Lord might deliver the city of Shechem into the hands of Jacob's two sons.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 34

1 And the number of all the males that were circumcised, were six hundred and forty-five men, and two hundred and forty-six children.

2 But Chiddekem, son of Pered, the father of Hamor, and his six brothers, would not listen unto Shechem and his father Hamor, and they would not be circumcised, for the proposal of the sons of Jacob was loathsome in their sight, and their anger was greatly roused at this, that the people of the city had not hearkened to them.

3 And in the evening of the second day, they found eight small children who had not been circumcised, for their mothers had concealed them from Shechem and his father Hamor, and from the men of the city.

4 And Shechem and his father Hamor sent to have them brought before them to be circumcised, when Chiddekem and his six brothers sprang at them with their swords, and sought to slay them.

5 And they sought to slay also Shechem and his father Hamor and they sought to slay Dinah with them on account of this matter.

6 And they said unto them, What is this thing that you have done? are there no women amongst the daughters of your brethren the Canaanites, that you wish to take unto yourselves daughters of the Hebrews, whom ye knew not before, and will do this act which your fathers never commanded you?

7 Do you imagine that you will succeed through this act which you have done? and what will you answer in this affair to your brethren the Canaanites, who will come tomorrow and ask you concerning this thing?

8 And if your act shall not appear just and good in their sight, what will you do for your lives, and me for our lives, in your not having hearkened to our voices?

9 And if the inhabitants of the land and all your brethren the children of Ham, shall hear of your act, saying,

10 On account of a Hebrew woman did Shechem and Hamor his father, and all the inhabitants of their city, do that with which they had been unacquainted and which their ancestors never commanded them, where then will you fly or where conceal your shame, all your days before your brethren, the inhabitants of the land of Canaan?

11 Now therefore we cannot bear up against this thing which you have done, neither can we be burdened with this yoke upon us, which our ancestors did not command us.

12 Behold tomorrow we will go and assemble all our brethren, the Canaanitish brethren who dwell in the land, and we will all come and smite you and all those who trust in you, that there shall not be a remnant left from you or them.

13 And when Hamor and his son Shechem and all the people of the city heard the words of Chiddekem and his brothers, they were terribly afraid of their lives at their words, and they repented of what they had done.

14 And Shechem and his father Hamor answered their father Chiddekem and his brethren, and they said unto them, All the words which you spoke unto us are true.

15 Now do not say, nor imagine in your hearts that on account of the love of the Hebrews we did this thing that our ancestors did not command us.

16 But because we saw that it was not their intention and desire to accede to our wishes concerning their daughter as to our taking her, except on this condition, so we hearkened to their voices and did this act which you saw, in order to obtain our desire from them.

17 And when we shall have obtained our request from them, we will then return to them and do unto them that which you say unto us.

18 We beseech you then to wait and tarry until our flesh shall be healed and we again become strong, and we will then go together against them, and do unto them that which is in your hearts and in ours.

19 And Dinah the daughter of Jacob heard all these words which Chiddekem and his brothers had spoken, and what Hamor and his son Shechem and the people of their city had answered them.

20 And she hastened and sent one of her maidens, that her father had sent to take care of her in the house of Shechem, to Jacob her father and to her brethren, saying:

21 Thus did Chiddekem and his brothers advise concerning you, and thus did Hamor and Shechem and the people of the city answer them.

22 And when Jacob heard these words he was filled with wrath, and he was indignant at them, and his anger was kindled against them.

23 And Simeon and Levi swore and said, As the Lord liveth, the God of the whole earth, by this time tomorrow, there shall not be a remnant left in the whole city.

24 And twenty young men had concealed themselves who were not circumcised, and these young men fought against Simeon and Levi, and Simeon and Levi killed eighteen of them, and two fled from them and escaped to some lime pits that were in the city, and Simeon and Levi sought for them, but could not find them.

25 And Simeon and Levi continued to go about in the city, and they killed all the people of the city at the edge of the sword, and they left none remaining.

26 And there was a great consternation in the midst of the city, and the cry of the people of the city ascended to heaven, and all the women and children cried aloud.

27 And Simeon and Levi slew all the city; they left not a male remaining in the whole city.

28 And they slew Hamor and Shechem his son at the edge of the sword, and they brought away Dinah from the house of Shechem and they went from there.

29 And the sons of Jacob went and returned, and came upon the slain, and spoiled all their property which was in the city and the field.

30 And whilst they were taking the spoil, three hundred men stood up and threw dust at them and struck them with stones, when Simeon turned to them and he slew them all with the edge of the sword, and Simeon turned before Levi, and came into the city.

31 And they took away their sheep and their oxen and their cattle, and also the remainder of the women and little ones, and they led all these away, and they opened a gate and went out and came unto their father Jacob with vigor.

32 And when Jacob saw all that they had done to the city, and saw the spoil that they took from them, Jacob was very angry at them, and Jacob said unto them, What is this that you have done to me? behold I obtained rest amongst the Canaanitish inhabitants of the land, and none of them meddled with me.

33 And now you have done to make me obnoxious to the inhabitants of the land, amongst the Canaanites and the Perizzites, and I am but of a small number, and they will all assemble against me and slay me when they hear of your work with their brethren, and I and my household will be destroyed.

34 And Simeon and Levi and all their brothers with them answered their father Jacob and said unto him, Behold we live in the land, and shall Shechem do this to our sister? why art thou silent at all that Shechem has done? and shall he deal with our sister as with a harlot in the streets?

35 And the number of women whom Simeon and Levi took captives from the city of Shechem, whom they did not slay, was eighty-five who had not known man.

36 And amongst them was a young damsel of beautiful appearance and well favored, whose name was Bunah, and Simeon took her for a wife, and the number of the males which they took captives and did not slay, was forty-seven men, and the rest they slew.

37 And all the young men and women that Simeon and Levi had taken captives from the city of Shechem, were servants to the sons of Jacob and to their children after them, until the day of the sons of Jacob going forth from the land of Egypt.

38 And when Simeon and Levi had gone forth from the city, the two young men that were left, who had concealed themselves in the city, and did not die amongst the people of the city, rose up, and these young men went into the city and walked about in it, and found the city desolate without man, and only women weeping, and these young men cried out and said, Behold, this is the evil which the sons of Jacob the Hebrew did to this city in their having this day destroyed one of the Canaanitish cities, and were not afraid of their lives of all the land of Canaan.

39 And these men left the city and went to the city of Tapnach, and they came there and told the inhabitants of Tapnach all that had befallen them, and all that the sons of Jacob had done to the city of Shechem.

40 And the information reached Jashub king of Tapnach, and he sent men to the city of Shechem to see those young men, for the king did not believe them in this account, saying, How could two men lay waste such a large town as Shechem?

41 And the messengers of Jashub came back and told him, saying, We came unto the city, and it is destroyed, there is not a man there; only weeping women; neither is any flock or cattle there, for all that was in the city the sons of Jacob took away.

42 And Jashub wondered at this, saying, How could two men do this thing, to destroy so large a city, and not one man able to stand against them?

43 For the like has not been from the days of Nimrod, and not even from the remotest time, has the like taken place; and Jashub, king of Tapnach, said to his people, Be courageous and we will go and fight against these Hebrews, and do unto them as they did unto the city, and we will avenge the cause of the people of the city.

44 And Jashub, king of Tapnach, consulted with his counsellors about this matter, and his advisers said unto him, Alone thou wilt not prevail over the Hebrews, for they must be powerful to do this work to the whole city.

45 If two of them laid waste the whole city, and no one stood against them, surely if thou wilt go against them, they will all rise against us and destroy us likewise.

46 But if thou wilt send to all the kings that surround us, and let them come together, then we will go with them and fight against the sons of Jacob; then wilt thou prevail against them.

47 And Jashub heard the words of his counsellors, and their words pleased him and his people, and he did so; and Jashub king of Tapnach sent to all the kings of the Amorites that surrounded Shechem and Tapnach, saying,

48 Go up with me and assist me, and we will smite Jacob the Hebrew and all his sons, and destroy them from the earth, for thus did he do to the city of Shechem, and do you not know of it?

49 And all the kings of the Amorites heard the evil that the sons of Jacob had done to the city of Shechem, and they were greatly astonished at them.

50 And the seven kings of the Amorites assembled with all their armies, about ten thousand men with drawn swords, and they came to fight against the sons of Jacob; and Jacob heard that the kings of the Amorites had assembled to fight against his sons, and Jacob was greatly afraid, and it distressed him.

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51 And Jacob exclaimed against Simeon and Levi, saying, What is this act that you did? why have you injured me, to bring against me all the children of Canaan to destroy me and my household? for I was at rest, even I and my household, and you have done this thing to me, and provoked the inhabitants of the land against me by your proceedings.

52 And Judah answered his father, saying, Was it for naught my brothers Simeon and Levi killed all the inhabitants of Shechem? Surely it was because Shechem had humbled our sister, and transgressed the command of our God to Noah and his children, for Shechem took our sister away by force, and committed adultery with her.

53 And Shechem did all this evil and not one of the inhabitants of his city interfered with him, to say, Why wilt thou do this? surely for this my brothers went and smote the city, and the Lord delivered it into their hands, because its inhabitants had transgressed the commands of our God. Is it then for naught that they have done all this?

54 And now why art thou afraid or distressed, and why art thou displeased at my brothers, and why is thine anger kindled against them?

55 Surely our God who delivered into their hand the city of Shechem and its people, he will also deliver into our hands all the Canaanitish kings who are coming against us, and we will do unto them as my brothers did unto Shechem.

56 Now be tranquil about them and cast away thy fears, but trust in the Lord our God, and pray unto him to assist us and deliver us, and deliver our enemies into our hands.

57 And Judah called to one of his father's servants, Go now and see where those kings, who are coming against us, are situated with their armies.

58 And the servant went and looked far off, and went up opposite Mount Sihon, and saw all the camps of the kings standing in the fields, and he returned to Judah and said, Behold the kings are situated in the field with all their camps, a people exceedingly numerous, like unto the sand upon the sea shore.

59 And Judah said unto Simeon and Levi, and unto all his brothers, Strengthen yourselves and be sons of valor, for the Lord our God is with us, do not fear them.

60 Stand forth each man, girt with his weapons of war, his bow and his sword, and we will go and fight against these uncircumcised men; the Lord is our God, He will save us.

61 And they rose up, and each girt on his weapons of war, great and small, eleven sons of Jacob, and all the servants of Jacob with them.

62 And all the servants of Isaac who were with Isaac in Hebron, all came to them equipped in all sorts of war instruments, and the sons of Jacob and their servants, being one hundred and twelve men, went towards these kings, and Jacob also went with them.

63 And the sons of Jacob sent unto their father Isaac the son of Abraham to Hebron, the same is Kireath-arba, saying,

64 Pray we beseech thee for us unto the Lord our God, to protect us from the hands of the Canaanites who are coming against us, and to deliver them into our hands.

65 And Isaac the son of Abraham prayed unto the Lord for his sons, and he said, O Lord God, thou didst promise my father, saying, I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and thou didst also promise me, and establish thou thy word, now that the kings of Canaan are coming together, to make war with my children because they committed no violence.

66 Now therefore, O Lord God, God of the whole earth, pervert, I pray thee, the counsel of these kings that they may not fight against my sons.

67 And impress the hearts of these kings and their people with the terror of my sons and bring down their pride, and that they may turn away from my sons.

68 And with thy strong hand and outstretched arm deliver my sons and their servants from them, for power and might are in thy hands to do all this.

69 And the sons of Jacob and their servants went toward these kings, and they trusted in the Lord their God, and whilst they were going, Jacob their father also prayed unto the Lord and said, O Lord God, powerful and exalted God, who has reigned from days of old, from thence till now and forever;

70 Thou art He who stirreth up wars and causeth them to cease, in thy hand are power and might to exalt and to bring down; O may my prayer be acceptable before thee that thou mayest turn to me with thy mercies, to impress the hearts of these kings and their people with the terror of my sons, and terrify them and their camps, and with thy great kindness deliver all those that trust in thee, for it is thou who canst bring people under us and reduce nations under our power.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 35

1 And all the kings of the Amorites came and took their stand in the field to consult with their counsellors what was to be done with the sons of Jacob, for they were still afraid of them, saying, Behold, two of them slew the whole of the city of Shechem.

2 And the Lord heard the prayers of Isaac and Jacob, and he filled the hearts of all these kings' advisers with great fear and terror that they unanimously exclaimed,

3 Are you silly this day, or is there no understanding in you, that you will fight with the Hebrews, and why will you take a delight in your own destruction this day?

4 Behold two of them came to the city of Shechem without fear or terror, and they killed all the inhabitants of the city, that no man stood up against them, and how will you be able to fight with them all?

5 Surely you know that their God is exceedingly fond of them, and has done mighty things for them, such as have not been done from days of old, and amongst all the gods of nations, there is none can do like unto his mighty deeds.

6 Surely he delivered their father Abraham, the Hebrew, from the hand of Nimrod, and from the hand of all his people who had many times sought to slay him.

7 He delivered him also from the fire in which king Nimrod had cast him, and his God delivered him from it.

8 And who else can do the like? surely it was Abraham who slew the five kings of Elam, when they had touched his brother's son who in those days dwelt in Sodom.

9 And took his servant that was faithful in his house and a few of his men, and they pursued the kings of Elam in one night and killed them, and restored to his brother's son all his property which they had taken from him.

10 And surely you know the God of these Hebrews is much delighted with them, and they are also delighted with him, for they know that he delivered them from all their enemies.

11 And behold through his love toward his God, Abraham took his only and precious son and intended to bring him up as a burnt offering to his God, and had it not been for God who prevented him from doing this, he would then have done it through his love to his God.

12 And God saw all his works, and swore unto him, and promised him that he would deliver his sons and all his seed from every trouble that would befall them, because he had done this thing, and through his love to his God stifled his compassion for his child.

13 And have you not heard what their God did to Pharaoh king of Egypt, and to Abimelech king of Gerar, through taking Abraham's wife, who said of her, She is my sister, lest they might slay him on account of her, and think of taking her for a wife? and God did unto them and their people all that you heard of.

14 And behold, we ourselves saw with our eyes that Esau, the brother of Jacob, came to him with four hundred men, with the intention of slaying him, for he called to mind that he had taken away from him his father's blessing.

15 And he went to meet him when he came from Syria, to smite the mother with the children, and who delivered him from his hands but his God in whom he trusted? he delivered him from the hand of his brother and also from the hands of his enemies, and surely he again will protect them.

16 Who does not know that it was their God who inspired them with strength to do to the town of Shechem the evil which you heard of?

17 Could it then be with their own strength that two men could destroy such a large city as Shechem had it not been for their God in whom they trusted? he said and did unto them all this to slay the inhabitants of the city in their city.

18 And can you then prevail over them who have come forth together from your city to fight with the whole of them, even if a thousand times as many more should come to your assistance?

19 Surely you know and understand that you do not come to fight with them, but you come to war with their God who made choice of them, and you have therefore all come this day to be destroyed.

20 Now therefore refrain from this evil which you are endeavoring to bring upon yourselves, and it will be better for you not to go to battle with them, although they are but few in numbers, because their God is with them.

21 And when the kings of the Amorites heard all the words of their advisers, their hearts were filled with terror, and they were afraid of the sons of Jacob and would not fight against them.

22 And they inclined their ears to the words of their advisers, and they listened to all their words, and the words of the counsellors greatly pleased the kings, and they did so.

23 And the kings turned and refrained from the sons of Jacob, for they durst not approach them to make war with them, for they were greatly afraid of them, and their hearts melted within them from their fear of them.

24 For this proceeded from the Lord to them, for he heard the prayers of his servants Isaac and Jacob, for they trusted in him; and all these kings returned with their camps on that day, each to his own city, and they did not at that time fight with the sons of Jacob.

25 And the sons of Jacob kept their station that day till evening opposite mount Sihon, and seeing that these kings did not come to fight against them, the sons of Jacob returned home.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 36

1 At that time the Lord appeared unto Jacob saying, Arise, go to Bethel and remain there, and make there an altar to the Lord who appeareth unto thee, who delivered thee and thy sons from affliction.

2 And Jacob rose up with his sons and all belonging to him, and they went and came to Bethel according to the word of the Lord.

3 And Jacob was ninety-nine years old when he went up to Bethel, and Jacob and his sons and all the people that were with him, remained in Bethel in Luz, and he there built an altar to the Lord who appeared unto him, and Jacob and his sons remained in Bethel six months.

4 At that time died Deborah the daughter of Uz, the nurse of Rebecca, who had been with Jacob; and Jacob buried her beneath Bethel under an oak that was there.

5 And Rebecca the daughter of Bethuel, the mother of Jacob, also died at that time in Hebron, the same is Kireath-arba, and she was buried in the cave of Machpelah which Abraham had bought from the children of Heth.

6 And the life of Rebecca was one hundred and thirty-three years, and she died and when Jacob heard that his mother Rebecca was dead he wept bitterly for his mother, and made a great mourning for her, and for Deborah her nurse beneath the oak, and he called the name of that place Allon-bachuth.

7 And Laban the Syrian died in those days, for God smote him because he transgressed the covenant that existed between him and Jacob.

8 And Jacob was a hundred years old when the Lord appeared unto him, and blessed him and called his name Israel, and Rachel the wife of Jacob conceived in those days.

9 And at that time Jacob and all belonging to him journeyed from Bethel to go to his father's house, to Hebron.

10 And whilst they were going on the road, and there was yet but a little way to come to Ephrath, Rachel bare a son and she had hard labor and she died.

11 And Jacob buried her in the way to Ephrath, which is Bethlehem, and he set a pillar upon her grave, which is there unto this day; and the days of Rachel were forty-five years and she died.

12 And Jacob called the name of his son that was born to him, which Rachel bare unto him, Benjamin, for he was born to him in the land on the right hand.

13 And it was after the death of Rachel, that Jacob pitched his tent in the tent of her handmaid Bilhah.

14 And Reuben was jealous for his mother Leah on account of this, and he was filled with anger, and he rose up in his anger and went and entered the tent of Bilhah and he thence removed his father's bed.

15 At that time the portion of birthright, together with the kingly and priestly offices, was removed from the sons of Reuben, for he had profaned his father's bed, and the birthright was given unto Joseph, the kingly office to Judah, and the priesthood unto Levi, because Reuben had defiled his father's bed.

16 And these are the generations of Jacob who were born to him in Padan-aram, and the sons of Jacob were twelve.

17 The sons of Leah were Reuben the first born, and Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, and their sister Dinah; and the sons of Rachel were Joseph and Benjamin.

18 The sons of Zilpah, Leah's handmaid, were Gad and Asher, and the sons of Bilhah, Rachel's handmaid, were Dan and Naphtali; these are the sons of Jacob which were born to him in Padan-aram.

19 And Jacob and his sons and all belonging to him journeyed and came to Mamre, which is Kireath-arba, that is in Hebron, where Abraham and Isaac sojourned, and Jacob with his sons and all belonging to him, dwelt with his father in Hebron.

20 And his brother Esau and his sons, and all belonging to him went to the land of Seir and dwelt there, and had possessions in the land of Seir, and the children of Esau were fruitful and multiplied exceedingly in the land of Seir.

21 And these are the generations of Esau that were born to him in the land of Canaan, and the sons of Esau were five.

22 And Adah bare to Esau his first born Eliphaz, and she also bare to him Reuel, and Ahlibamah bare to him Jeush, Yaalam and Korah.

23 These are the children of Esau who were born to him in the land of Canaan; and the sons of Eliphaz the son of Esau were Teman, Omar, Zepho, Gatam, Kenaz and Amalex, and the sons of Reuel were Nachath, Zerach, Shamah and Mizzah.

24 And the sons of Jeush were Timnah, Alvah, Jetheth; and the sons of Yaalam were Alah, Phinor and Kenaz.

25 And the sons of Korah were Teman, Mibzar, Magdiel and Eram; these are the families of the sons of Esau according to their dukedoms in the land of Seir.

26 And these are the names of the sons of Seir the Horite, inhabitants of the land of Seir, Lotan, Shobal, Zibeon, Anah, Dishan, Ezer and Dishon, being seven sons.

27 And the children of Lotan were Hori, Heman and their sister Timna, that is Timna who came to Jacob and his sons, and they would not give ear to her, and she went and became a

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concubine to Eliphaz the son of Esau, and she bare to him Amalek.

28 And the sons of Shobal were Alvan, Manahath, Ebal, Shepho, and Onam, and the sons of Zibeon were Ajah, and Anah, this was that Anah who found the Yemim in the wilderness when he fed the asses of Zibeon his father.

29 And whilst he was feeding his father's asses he led them to the wilderness at different times to feed them.

30 And there was a day that he brought them to one of the deserts on the sea shore, opposite the wilderness of the people, and whilst he was feeding them, behold a very heavy storm came from the other side of the sea and rested upon the asses that were feeding there, and they all stood still.

31 And afterward about one hundred and twenty great and terrible animals came out from the wilderness at the other side of the sea, and they all came to the place where the asses were, and they placed themselves there.

32 And those animals, from their middle downward, were in the shape of the children of men, and from their middle upward, some had the likeness of bears, and some the likeness of the keephas, with tails behind them from between their shoulders reaching down to the earth, like the tails of the ducheephath, and these animals came and mounted and rode upon these asses, and led them away, and they went away unto this day.

33 And one of these animals approached Anah and smote him with his tail, and then fled from that place.

34 And when he saw this work he was exceedingly afraid of his life, and he fled and escaped to the city.

35 And he related to his sons and brothers all that had happened to him, and many men went to seek the asses but could not find them, and Anah and his brothers went no more to that place from that day following, for they were greatly afraid of their lives.

36 And the children of Anah the son of Seir, were Dishon and his sister Ahlibamah, and the children of Dishon were Hemdan, Eshban, Ithran and Cheran, and the children of Ezer were Bilhan, Zaavan and Akan, and the children of Dishon were Uz and Aran.

37 These are the families of the children of Seir the Horite, according to their dukedoms in the land of Seir.

38 And Esau and his children dwelt in the land of Seir the Horite, the inhabitant of the land, and they had possessions in it and were fruitful and multiplied exceedingly, and Jacob and his children and all belonging to them, dwelt with their father Isaac in the land of Canaan, as the Lord had commanded Abraham their father.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 37

1 And in the one hundred and fifth year of the life of Jacob, that is the ninth year of Jacob's dwelling with his children in the land of Canaan, he came from Padan-aram.

2 And in those days Jacob journeyed with his children from Hebron, and they went and returned to the city of Shechem, they and all belonging to them, and they dwelt there, for the children of Jacob obtained good and fat pasture land for their cattle in the city of Shechem, the city of Shechem having then been rebuilt, and there were in it about three hundred men and women.

3 And Jacob and his children and all belonging to him dwelt in the part of the field which Jacob had bought from Hamor the father of Shechem, when he came from Padan-aram before Simeon and Levi had smitten the city.

4 And all those kings of the Canaanites and Amorites that surrounded the city of Shechem, heard that the sons of Jacob had again come to Shechem and dwelt there.

5 And they said, Shall the sons of Jacob the Hebrew again come to the city and dwell therein, after that they have smitten its inhabitants and driven them out? shall they now return and also drive out those who are dwelling in the city or slay them?

6 And all the kings of Canaan again assembled, and they came together to make war with Jacob and his sons.

7 And Jashub king of Tapnach sent also to all his neighbouring kings, to Elan king of Gaash, and to Ihuri king of Shiloh, and to Parathon king of Chazar, and to Susi king of Sarton, and to Laban king of Bethchoran, and to Shabir king of Othnay-mah, saying,

8 Come up to me and assist me, and let us smite Jacob the Hebrew and his sons, and all belonging to him, for they are again come to Shechem to possess it and to slay its inhabitants as before.

9 And all these kings assembled together and came with all their camps, a people exceedingly plentiful like the sand upon the sea shore, and they were all opposite to Tapnach.

10 And Jashub king of Tapnach went forth to them with all his army, and he encamped with them opposite to Tapnach without the city, and all these kings they divided into seven divisions, being seven camps against the sons of Jacob.

11 And they sent a declaration to Jacob and his son, saying, Come you all forth to us that we may have an interview together in the plain, and revenge the cause of the men of Shechem whom you slew in their city, and you will now again return to the city of Shechem and dwell therein, and slay its inhabitants as before.

12 And the sons of Jacob heard this and their anger was kindled exceedingly at the words of the kings of Canaan, and ten of the sons of Jacob hastened and rose up, and each of them girt on his weapons of war; and there were one hundred and two of their servants with them equipped in battle array.

13 And all these men, the sons of Jacob with their servants, went toward these kings, and Jacob their father was with them, and they all stood upon the heap of Shechem.

14 And Jacob prayed to the Lord for his sons, and he spread forth his hands to the Lord, and he said, O God, thou art an Almighty God, thou art our father, thou didst form us and we are the works of thine hands; I pray thee deliver my sons through thy mercy from the hand of their enemies, who are this day coming to fight with them and save them from their hand, for in thy hand is power and might, to save the few from the many.

15 And give unto my sons, thy servants, strength of heart and might to fight with their enemies, to subdue them, and make their enemies fall before them, and let not my sons and their servants die through the hands of the children of Canaan.

16 But if it seemeth good in thine eyes to take away the lives of my sons and their servants, take them in thy great mercy through the hands of thy ministers, that they may not perish this day by the hands of the kings of the Amorites.

17 And when Jacob ceased praying to the Lord the earth shook from its place, and the sun darkened, and all these kings were terrified and a great consternation seized them.

18 And the Lord hearkened to the prayer of Jacob, and the Lord impressed the hearts of all the kings and their hosts with the terror and awe of the sons of Jacob.

19 For the Lord caused them to hear the voice of chariots, and the voice of mighty horses from the sons of Jacob, and the voice of a great army accompanying them.

20 And these kings were seized with great terror at the sons of Jacob, and whilst they were standing in their quarters, behold the sons of Jacob advanced upon them, with one hundred and twelve men, with a great and tremendous shouting.

21 And when the kings saw the sons of Jacob advancing toward them, they were still more panic struck, and they were inclined to retreat from before the sons of Jacob as at first, and not to fight with them.

22 But they did not retreat, saying, It would be a disgrace to us thus twice to retreat from before the Hebrews.

23 And the sons of Jacob came near and advanced against all these kings and their armies, and they saw, and behold it was a very mighty people, numerous as the sand of the sea.

24 And the sons of Jacob called unto the Lord and said, Help us O Lord, help us and answer us, for we trust in thee, and let us not die by the hands of these uncircumcised men, who this day have come against us.

25 And the sons of Jacob girt on their weapons of war, and they took in their hands each man his shield and his javelin, and they approached to battle.

26 And Judah, the son of Jacob, ran first before his brethren, and ten of his servants with him, and he went toward these kings.

27 And Jashub, king of Tapnach, also came forth first with his army before Judah, and Judah saw Jashub and his army coming toward him, and Judah's wrath was kindled, and his anger burned within him, and he approached to battle in which Judah ventured his life.

28 And Jashub and all his army were advancing toward Judah, and he was riding upon a very strong and powerful horse, and Jashub was a very valiant man, and covered with iron and brass from head to foot.

29 And whilst he was upon the horse, he shot arrows with both hands from before and behind, as was his manner in all his battles, and he never missed the place to which he aimed his arrows.

30 And when Jashub came to fight with Judah, and was darting many arrows against Judah, the Lord bound the hand of Jashub, and all the arrows that he shot rebounded upon his own men.

31 And notwithstanding this, Jashub kept advancing toward Judah, to challenge him with the arrows, but the distance between them was about thirty cubits, and when Judah saw Jashub darting forth his arrows against him, he ran to him with his wrath-excited might.

32 And Judah took up a large stone from the ground, and its weight was sixty shekels, and Judah ran toward Jashub, and with the stone struck him on his shield, that Jashub was stunned with the blow, and fell off from his horse to the ground.

33 And the shield burst asunder out of the hand of Jashub, and through the force of the blow sprang to the distance of about fifteen cubits, and the shield fell before the second camp.

34 And the kings that came with Jashub saw at a distance the strength of Judah, the son of Jacob, and what he had done to Jashub, and they were terribly afraid of Judah.

35 And they assembled near Jashub's camp, seeing his confusion, and Judah drew his sword and smote forty-two men of the camp of Jashub, and the whole of Jashub's camp fled before Judah, and no man stood against him, and they left Jashub and fled from him, and Jashub was still prostrate upon the ground.

36 And Jashub seeing that all the men of his camp had fled from him, hastened and rose up with terror against Judah, and stood upon his legs opposite Judah.

37 And Jashub had a single combat with Judah, placing shield toward shield, and Jashub's men all fled, for they were greatly afraid of Judah.

38 And Jashub took his spear in his hand to strike Judah upon his head, but Judah had quickly placed his shield to his head against Jashub's spear, so that the shield of Judah received the blow from Jashub's spear, and the shield was split in too.

39 And when Judah saw that his shield was split, he hastily drew his sword and smote Jashub at his ankles, and cut off his feet that Jashub fell upon the ground, and the spear fell from his hand.

40 And Judah hastily picked up Jashub's spear, with which he severed his head and cast it next to his feet.

41 And when the sons of Jacob saw what Judah had done to Jashub, they all ran into the ranks of the other kings, and the sons of Jacob fought with the army of Jashub, and the armies of all the kings that were there.

42 And the sons of Jacob caused fifteen thousand of their men to fall, and they smote them as if smiting at gourds, and the rest fled for their lives.

43 And Judah was still standing by the body of Jashub, and stripped Jashub of his coat of mail.

44 And Judah also took off the iron and brass that was about Jashub, and behold nine men of the captains of Jashub came along to fight against Judah.

45 And Judah hastened and took up a stone from the ground, and with it smote one of them upon the head, and his skull was fractured, and the body also fell from the horse to the ground.

46 And the eight captains that remained, seeing the strength of Judah, were greatly afraid and they fled, and Judah with his ten men pursued them, and they overtook them and slew them.

47 And the sons of Jacob were still smiting the armies of the kings, and they slew many of them, but those kings daringly kept their stand with their captains, and did not retreat from their places, and they exclaimed against those of their armies that fled from before the sons of Jacob, but none would listen to them, for they were afraid of their lives lest they should die.

48 And all the sons of Jacob, after having smitten the armies of the kings, returned and came before Judah, and Judah was still slaying the eight captains of Jashub, and stripping off their garments.

49 And Levi saw Elon, king of Gaash, advancing toward him, with his fourteen captains to smite him, but Levi did not know it for certain.

50 And Elon with his captains approached nearer, and Levi looked back and saw that battle was given him in the rear, and Levi ran with twelve of his servants, and they went and slew Elon and his captains with the edge of the sword.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 38

1 And Ihuri king of Shiloh came up to assist Elon, and he approached Jacob, when Jacob drew his bow that was in his hand and with an arrow struck Ihuri which caused his death.

2 And when Ihuri king of Shiloh was dead, the four remaining kings fled from their station with the rest of the captains, and they endeavored to retreat, saying, We have no more strength with the Hebrews after their having killed the three kings and their captains who were more powerful than we are.

3 And when the sons of Jacob saw that the remaining kings had removed from their station, they pursued them, and Jacob also came from the heap of Shechem from the place where he was standing, and they went after the kings and they approached them with their servants.

4 And the kings and the captains with the rest of their armies, seeing that the sons of Jacob approached them, were afraid of their lives and fled till they reached the city of Chazar.

5 And the sons of Jacob pursued them to the gate of the city of Chazar, and they smote a great smiting amongst the kings and their armies, about four thousand men, and whilst they were smiting the army of the kings, Jacob was occupied with his bow confining himself to smiting the kings, and he slew them all.

6 And he slew Parathon king of Chazar at the gate of the city of Chazar, and he afterward smote Susi king of Sarton, and Laban king of Bethchorin, and Shabir king of Machnaymah, and he slew them all with arrows, an arrow to each of them, and they died.

7 And the sons of Jacob seeing that all the kings were dead and that they were broken up and retreating, continued to carry on the battle with the armies of the kings opposite the gate of Chazar, and they still smote about four hundred of their men.

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8 And three men of the servants of Jacob fell in that battle, and when Judah saw that three of his servants had died, it grieved him greatly, and his anger burned within him against the Amorites.

9 And all the men that remained of the armies of the kings were greatly afraid of their lives, and they ran and broke the gate of the walls of the city of Chazar, and they all entered the city for safety.

10 And they concealed themselves in the midst of the city of Chazar, for the city of Chazar was very large and extensive, and when all these armies had entered the city, the sons of Jacob ran after them to the city.

11 And four mighty men, experienced in battle, went forth from the city and stood against the entrance of the city, with drawn swords and spears in their hands, and they placed themselves opposite the sons of Jacob, and would not suffer them to enter the city.

12 And Naphtali ran and came between them and with his sword smote two of them, and cut off their heads at one stroke.

13 And he turned to the other two, and behold they had fled, and he pursued them, overtook them, smote them and slew them.

14 And the sons of Jacob came to the city and saw, and behold there was another wall to the city, and they sought for the gate of the wall and could not find it, and Judah sprang upon the top of the wall, and Simeon and Levi followed him, and they all three descended from the wall into the city.

15 And Simeon and Levi slew all the men who ran for safety into the city, and also the inhabitants of the city with their wives and little ones, they slew with the edge of the sword, and the cries of the city ascended up to heaven.

16 And Dan and Naphtali sprang upon the wall to see what caused the noise of lamentation, for the sons of Jacob felt anxious about their brothers, and they heard the inhabitants of the city speaking with weeping and supplications, saying, Take all that we possess in the city and go away, only do not put us to death.

17 And when Judah, Simeon, and Levi had ceased smiting the inhabitants of the city, they ascended the wall and called to Dan and Naphtali, who were upon the wall, and to the rest of their brothers, and Simeon and Levi informed them of the entrance into the city, and all the sons of Jacob came to fetch the spoil.

18 And the sons of Jacob took the spoil of the city of Chazar, the flocks and herds, and the property, and they took all that could be captured, and went away that day from the city.

19 And on the next day the sons of Jacob went to Sarton, for they heard that the men of Sarton who had remained in the city were assembling to fight with them for having slain their king, and Sarton was a very high and fortified city, and it had a deep rampart surrounding the city.

20 And the pillar of the rampart was about fifty cubits and its breadth forty cubits, and there was no place for a man to enter the city on account of the rampart, and the sons of Jacob saw the rampart of the city, and they sought an entrance in it but could not find it.

21 For the entrance to the city was at the rear, and every man that wished to come into the city came by that road and went around the whole city, and he afterwards entered the city.

22 And the sons of Jacob seeing they could not find the way into the city, their anger was kindled greatly, and the inhabitants of the city seeing that the sons of Jacob were coming to them were greatly afraid of them, for they had heard of their strength and what they had done to Chazar.

23 And the inhabitants of the city of Sarton could not go out toward the sons of Jacob after having assembled in the city to fight against them, lest they might thereby get into the city, but when they saw that they were coming toward them, they were greatly afraid of them, for they had heard of their strength and what they had done to Chazar.

24 So the inhabitants of Sarton speedily took away the bridge of the road of the city, from its place, before the sons of Jacob came, and they brought it into the city.

25 And the sons of Jacob came and sought the way into the city, and could not find it and the inhabitants of the city went up to the top of the wall, and saw, and behold the sons of Jacob were seeking an entrance into the city.

26 And the inhabitants of the city reproached the sons of Jacob from the top of the wall, and they cursed them, and the sons of Jacob heard the reproaches, and they were greatly incensed, and their anger burned within them.

27 And the sons of Jacob were provoked at them, and they all rose and sprang over the rampart with the force of their strength, and through their might passed the forty cubits' breadth of the rampart.

28 And when they had passed the rampart they stood under the wall of the city, and they found all the gates of the city enclosed with iron doors.

29 And the sons of Jacob came near to break open the doors of the gates of the city, and the inhabitants did not let them, for from the top of the wall they were casting stones and arrows upon them.

30 And the number of the people that were upon the wall was about four hundred men, and when the sons of Jacob saw that the men of the city would not let them open the gates of the city, they sprang and ascended the top of the wall, and Judah went up first to the east part of the city.

31 And Gad and Asher went up after him to the west corner of the city, and Simeon and Levi to the north, and Dan and Reuben to the south.

32 And the men who were on the top of the wall, the inhabitants of the city, seeing that the sons of Jacob were coming up to them, they all fled from the wall, descended into the city, and concealed themselves in the midst of the city.

33 And Issachar and Naphtali that remained under the wall approached and broke the gates of the city, and kindled a fire at the gates of the city, that the iron melted, and all the sons of Jacob came into the city, they and all their men, and they fought with the inhabitants of the city of Sarton, and smote them with the edge of the sword, and no man stood up before them.

34 And about two hundred men fled from the city, and they all went and hid themselves in a certain tower in the city, and Judah pursued them to the tower and he broke down the tower, which fell upon the men, and they all died.

35 And the sons of Jacob went up the road of the roof of that tower, and they saw, and behold there was another strong and high tower at a distance in the city, and the top of it reached to heaven, and the sons of Jacob hastened and descended, and went with all their men to that tower, and found it filled with about three hundred men, women and little ones.

36 And the sons of Jacob smote a great smiting amongst those men in the tower and they ran away and fled from them.

37 And Simeon and Levi pursued them, when twelve mighty and valiant men came out to them from the place where they had concealed themselves.

38 And those twelve men maintained a strong battle against Simeon and Levi, and Simeon and Levi could not prevail over them, and those valiant men broke the shields of Simeon and Levi, and one of them struck at Levi's head with his sword, when Levi hastily placed his hand to his head, for he was afraid of the sword, and the sword struck Levi's hand, and it wanted but little to the hand of Levi being cut off.

39 And Levi seized the sword of the valiant man in his hand, and took it forcibly from the man, and with it he struck at the head of the powerful man, and he severed his head.

40 And eleven men approached to fight with Levi, for they saw that one of them was killed, and the sons of Jacob fought, but the sons of Jacob could not prevail over them, for those men were very powerful.

41 And the sons of Jacob seeing that they could not prevail over them, Simeon gave a loud and tremendous shriek, and the eleven powerful men were stunned at the voice of Simeon's shrieking.

42 And Judah at a distance knew the voice of Simeon's shouting, and Naphtali and Judah ran with their shields to Simeon and Levi, and found them fighting with those powerful men, unable to prevail over them as their shields were broken.

43 And Naphtali saw that the shields of Simeon and Levi were broken, and he took two shields from his servants and brought them to Simeon and Levi.

44 And Simeon, Levi and Judah on that day fought all three against the eleven mighty men until the time of sunset, but they could not prevail over them.

45 And this was told unto Jacob, and he was sorely grieved, and he prayed unto the Lord, and he and Naphtali his son went against these mighty men.

46 And Jacob approached and drew his bow, and came nigh unto the mighty men, and slew three of their men with the bow, and the remaining eight turned back, and behold, the war waged against them in the front and rear, and they were greatly afraid of their lives, and could not stand before the sons of Jacob, and they fled from before them.

47 And in their flight they met Dan and Asher coming toward them, and they suddenly fell upon them, and fought with them, and slew two of them, and Judah and his brothers pursued them, and smote the remainder of them, and slew them.

48 And all the sons of Jacob returned and walked about the city, searching if they could find any men, and they found about twenty young men in a cave in the city, and Gad and Asher smote them all, and Dan and Naphtali lighted upon the rest of the men who had fled and escaped from the second tower, and they smote them all.

49 And the sons of Jacob smote all the inhabitants of the city of Sarton, but the women and little ones they left in the city and did not slay them.

50 And all the inhabitants of the city of Sarton were powerful men, one of them would pursue a thousand, and two of them would not flee from ten thousand of the rest of men.

51 And the sons of Jacob slew all the inhabitants of the city of Sarton with the edge of the sword, that no man stood up against them, and they left the women in the city.

52 And the sons of Jacob took all the spoil of the city, and captured what they desired, and they took flocks and herds and property from the city, and the sons of Jacob did unto Sarton and its inhabitants as they had done to Chazar and its inhabitants, and they turned and went away.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 39

1 And when the sons of Jacob went from the city of Sarton, they had gone about two hundred cubits when they met the inhabitants of Tapnach coming toward them, for they went out to fight with them, because they had smitten the king of Tapnach and all his men.

2 So all that remained in the city of Tapnach came out to fight with the sons of Jacob, and they thought to retake from them the booty and the spoil which they had captured from Chazar and Sarton.

3 And the rest of the men of Tapnach fought with the sons of Jacob in that place, and the sons of Jacob smote them, and they fled before them, and they pursued them to the city of Arbelan, and they all fell before the sons of Jacob.

4 And the sons of Jacob returned and came to Tapnach, to take away the spoil of Tapnach, and when they came to Tapnach they heard that the people of Arbelan had gone out to meet them to save the spoil of their brethren, and the sons of Jacob left ten of their men in Tapnach to plunder the city, and they went out toward the people of Arbelan.

5 And the men of Arbelan went out with their wives to fight with the sons of Jacob, for their wives were experienced in battle, and they went out, about four hundred men and women.

6 And all the sons of Jacob shouted with a loud voice, and they all ran toward the inhabitants of Arbelan, and with a great and tremendous voice.

7 And the inhabitants of Arbelan heard the noise of the shouting of the sons of Jacob, and their roaring like the noise of lions and like the roaring of the sea and its waves.

8 And fear and terror possessed their hearts on account of the sons of Jacob, and they were terribly afraid of them, and they retreated and fled before them into the city, and the sons of Jacob pursued them to the gate of the city, and they came upon them in the city.

9 And the sons of Jacob fought with them in the city, and all their women were engaged in slinging against the sons of Jacob, and the combat was very severe amongst them the whole of that day till evening.

10 And the sons of Jacob could not prevail over them, and the sons of Jacob had almost perished in that battle, and the sons of Jacob cried unto the Lord and greatly gained strength toward evening, and the sons of Jacob smote all the inhabitants of Arbelan by the edge of the sword, men, women and little ones.

11 And also the remainder of the people who had fled from Sarton, the sons of Jacob smote them in Arbelan, and the sons of Jacob did unto Arbelan and Tapnach as they had done to Chazar and Sarton, and when the women saw that all the men were dead, they went upon the roofs of the city and smote the sons of Jacob by showering down stones like rain.

12 And the sons of Jacob hastened and came into the city and seized all the women and smote them with the edge of the sword, and the sons of Jacob captured all the spoil and booty, flocks and herds and cattle.

13 And the sons of Jacob did unto Machnaymah as they had done to Tapnach, to Chazar and to Shiloh, and they turned from there and went away.

14 And on the fifth day the sons of Jacob heard that the people of Gaash had gathered against them to battle, because they had slain their king and their captains, for there had been fourteen captains in the city of Gaash, and the sons of Jacob had slain them all in the first battle.

15 And the sons of Jacob that day girt on their weapons of war, and they marched to battle against the inhabitants of Gaash, and in Gaash there was a strong and mighty people of the people of the Amorites, and Gaash was the strongest and best fortified city of all the cities of the Amorites, and it had three walls.

16 And the sons of Jacob came to Gaash and they found the gates of the city locked, and about five hundred men standing at the top of the outer-most wall, and a people numerous as the sand upon the sea shore were in ambush for the sons of Jacob from without the city at the rear thereof.

17 And the sons of Jacob approached to open the gates of the city, and whilst they were drawing nigh, behold those who were in ambush at the rear of the city came forth from their places and surrounded the sons of Jacob.

18 And the sons of Jacob were enclosed between the people of Gaash, and the battle was both to their front and rear, and all the men that were upon the wall, were casting from the wall upon them, arrows and stones.

19 And Judah, seeing that the men of Gaash were getting too heavy for them, gave a most piercing and tremendous shriek and all the men of Gaash were terrified at the voice of Judah's cry, and men fell from the wall at his powerful shriek, and all those that were from without and within the city were greatly afraid of their lives.

20 And the sons of Jacob still came nigh to break the doors of the city, when the men of Gaash threw stones and arrows

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upon them from the top of the wall, and made them flee from the gate.

21 And the sons of Jacob returned against the men of Gaash who were with them from without the city, and they smote them terribly, as striking against gourds, and they could not stand against the sons of Jacob, for fright and terror had seized them at the shriek of Judah.

22 And the sons of Jacob slew all those men who were without the city, and the sons of Jacob still drew nigh to effect an entrance into the city, and to fight under the city walls, but they could not for all the inhabitants of Gaash who remained in the city had surrounded the walls of Gaash in every direction, so that the sons of Jacob were unable to approach the city to fight with them.

23 And the sons of Jacob came nigh to one corner to fight under the wall, the inhabitants of Gaash threw arrows and stones upon them like showers of rain, and they fled from under the wall.

24 And the people of Gaash who were upon the wall, seeing that the sons of Jacob could not prevail over them from under the wall, reproached the sons of Jacob in these words, saying,

25 What is the matter with you in the battle that you cannot prevail? can you then do unto the mighty city of Gaash and its inhabitants as you did to the cities of the Amorites that were not so powerful? Surely to those weak ones amongst us you did those things, and slew them in the entrance of the city, for they had no strength when they were terrified at the sound of your shouting.

26 And will you now then be able to fight in this place? Surely here you will all die, and we will avenge the cause of those cities that you have laid waste.

27 And the inhabitants of Gaash greatly reproached the sons of Jacob and reviled them with their gods, and continued to cast arrows and stones upon them from the wall.

28 And Judah and his brothers heard the words of the inhabitants of Gaash and their anger was greatly roused, and Judah was jealous of his God in this matter, and he called out and said, O Lord, help, send help to us and our brothers.

29 And he ran at a distance with all his might, with his drawn sword in his hand, and he sprang from the earth and by dint of his strength, mounted the wall, and his sword fell from his hand.

30 And Judah shouted upon the wall, and all the men that were upon the wall were terrified, and some of them fell from the wall into the city and died, and those who were yet upon the wall, when they saw Judah's strength, they were greatly afraid and fled for their lives into the city for safety.

31 And some were emboldened to fight with Judah upon the wall, and they came nigh to slay him when they saw there was no sword in Judah's hand, and they thought of casting him from the wall to his brothers, and twenty men of the city came up to assist them, and they surrounded Judah and they all shouted over him, and approached him with drawn swords, and they terrified Judah, and Judah cried out to his brothers from the wall.

32 And Jacob and his sons drew the bow from under the wall, and smote three of the men that were upon the top of the wall, and Judah continued to cry and he exclaimed, O Lord help us, O Lord deliver us, and he cried out with a loud voice upon the wall, and the cry was heard at a great distance.

33 And after this cry he again repeated to shout, and all the men who surrounded Judah on the top of the wall were terrified, and they each threw his sword from his hand at the sound of Judah's shouting and his tremor, and fled.

34 And Judah took the swords which had fallen from their hands, and Judah fought with them and slew twenty of their men upon the wall.

35 And about eighty men and women still ascended the wall from the city and they all surrounded Judah, and the Lord impressed the fear of Judah in their hearts, that they were unable to approach him.

36 And Jacob and all who were with him drew the bow from under the wall, and they slew ten men upon the wall, and they fell below the wall, before Jacob and his sons.

37 And the people upon the wall seeing that twenty of their men had fallen, they still ran toward Judah with drawn swords, but they could not approach him for they were greatly terrified at Judah's strength.

38 And one of their mighty men whose name was Arud approached to strike Judah upon the head with his sword, when Judah hastily put his shield to his head, and the sword hit the shield, and it was split in two.

39 And this mighty man after he had struck Judah ran for his life, at the fear of Judah, and his feet slipped upon the wall and he fell amongst the sons of Jacob who were below the wall, and the sons of Jacob smote him and slew him.

40 And Judah's head pained him from the blow of the powerful man, and Judah had nearly died from it.

41 And Judah cried out upon the wall owing to the pain produced by the blow, when Dan heard him, and his anger burned within him, and he also rose up and went at a distance and ran and sprang from the earth and mounted the wall with his wrath-excited strength.

42 And when Dan came upon the wall near unto Judah all the men upon the wall fled, who had stood against Judah, and they went up to the second wall, and they threw arrows and stones upon Dan and Judah from the second wall, and endeavored to drive them from the wall.

43 And the arrows and stones struck Dan and Judah, and they had nearly been killed upon the wall, and wherever Dan and Judah fled from the wall, they were attacked with arrows and stones from the second wall.

44 And Jacob and his sons were still at the entrance of the city below the first wall, and they were not able to draw their bow against the inhabitants of the city, as they could not be seen by them, being upon the second wall.

45 And Dan and Judah when they could no longer bear the stones and arrows that fell upon them from the second wall, they both sprang upon the second wall near the people of the city, and when the people of the city who were upon the second wall saw that Dan and Judah had come to them upon the second wall, they all cried out and descended below between the walls.

46 And Jacob and his sons heard the noise of the shouting from the people of the city, and they were still at the entrance of the city, and they were anxious about Dan and Judah who were not seen by them, they being upon the second wall.

47 And Naphtali went up with his wrath-excited might and sprang upon the first wall to see what caused the noise of shouting which they had heard in the city, and Issachar and Zebulun drew nigh to break the doors of the city, and they opened the gates of the city and came into the city.

48 And Naphtali leaped from the first wall to the second, and came to assist his brothers, and the inhabitants of Gaash who were upon the wall, seeing that Naphtali was the third who had come up to assist his brothers, they all fled and descended into the city, and Jacob and all his sons and all their young men came into the city to them.

49 And Judah and Dan and Naphtali descended from the wall into the city and pursued the inhabitants of the city, and Simeon and Levi were from without the city and knew not that the gate was opened, and they went up from there to the wall and came down to their brothers into the city.

50 And the inhabitants of the city had all descended into the city, and the sons of Jacob came to them in different directions, and the battle waged against them from the front and the rear, and the sons of Jacob smote them terribly, and slew about twenty thousand of them men and women, not one of them could stand up against the sons of Jacob.

51 And the blood flowed plentifully in the city, and it was like a brook of water, and the blood flowed like a brook to the outer part of the city, and reached the desert of Bethchorin.

52 And the people of Bethchorin saw at a distance the blood flowing from the city of Gaash, and about seventy men from amongst them ran to see the blood, and they came to the place where the blood was.

53 And they followed the track of the blood and came to the wall of the city of Gaash, and they saw the blood issue from the city, and they heard the voice of crying from the inhabitants of Gaash, for it ascended unto heaven, and the blood was continuing to flow abundantly like a brook of water.

54 And all the sons of Jacob were still smiting the inhabitants of Gaash, and were engaged in slaying them till evening, about twenty thousand men and women, and the people of Chorin said, Surely this is the work of the Hebrews, for they are still carrying on war in all the cities of the Amorites.

55 And those people hastened and ran to Bethchorin, and each took his weapons of war, and they cried out to all the inhabitants of Bethchorin, who also girt on their weapons of war to go and fight with the sons of Jacob.

56 And when the sons of Jacob had done smiting the inhabitants of Gaash, they walked about the city to strip all the slain, and coming in the innermost part of the city and farther on they met three very powerful men, and there was no sword in their hand.

57 And the sons of Jacob came up to the place where they were, and the powerful men ran away, and one of them had taken Zebulun, who he saw was a young lad and of short stature, and with his might dashed him to the ground.

58 And Jacob ran to him with his sword and Jacob smote him below his loins with the sword, and cut him in two, and the body fell upon Zebulun.

59 And the second one approached and seized Jacob to fell him to the ground, and Jacob turned to him and shouted to him, whilst Simeon and Levi ran and smote him on the hips with the sword and felled him to the ground.

60 And the powerful man rose up from the ground with wrath-excited might, and Judah came to him before he had gained his footing, and struck him upon the head with the sword, and his head was split and he died.

61 And the third powerful man, seeing that his companions were killed, ran from before the sons of Jacob, and the sons of Jacob pursued him in the city; and whilst the powerful man was fleeing he found one of the swords of the inhabitants of the city, and he picked it up and turned to the sons of Jacob and fought them with that sword.

62 And the powerful man ran to Judah to strike him upon the head with the sword, and there was no shield in the hand of Judah; and whilst he was aiming to strike him, Naphtali hastily took his shield and put it to Judah's head, and the sword of the powerful man hit the shield of Naphtali and Judah escaped the sword.

63 And Simeon and Levi ran upon the powerful man with their swords and struck at him forcibly with their swords, and the two swords entered the body of the powerful man and divided it in two, length-wise.

64 And the sons of Jacob smote the three mighty men at that time, together with all the inhabitants of Gaash, and the day was about to decline.

65 And the sons of Jacob walked about Gaash and took all the spoil of the city, even the little ones and women they did not suffer to live, and the sons of Jacob did unto Gaash as they had done to Sarton and Shiloh.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 40

1 And the sons of Jacob led away all the spoil of Gaash, and went out of the city by night.

2 They were going out marching toward the castle of Bethchorin, and the inhabitants of Bethchorin were going to the castle to meet them, and on that night the sons of Jacob fought with the inhabitants of Bethchorin, in the castle of Bethchorin.

3 And all the inhabitants of Bethchorin were mighty men, one of them would not flee from before a thousand men, and they fought on that night upon the castle, and their shouts were heard on that night from afar, and the earth quaked at their shouting.

4 And all the sons of Jacob were afraid of those men, as they were not accustomed to fight in the dark, and they were greatly confounded, and the sons of Jacob cried unto the Lord, saying, Give help to us O Lord, deliver us that we may not die by the hands of these uncircumcised men.

5 And the Lord hearkened to the voice of the sons of Jacob, and the Lord caused great terror and confusion to seize the people of Bethchorin, and they fought amongst themselves the one with the other in the darkness of night, and smote each other in great numbers.

6 And the sons of Jacob, knowing that the Lord had brought a spirit of perverseness amongst those men, and that they fought each man with his neighbour, went forth from among the bands of the people of Bethchorin and went as far as the descent of the castle of Bethchorin, and farther, and they tarried there securely with their young men on that night.

7 And the people of Bethchorin fought the whole night, one man with his brother, and the other with his neighbour, and they cried out in every direction upon the castle, and their cry was heard at a distance, and the whole earth shook at their voice, for they were powerful above all the people of the earth.

8 And all the inhabitants of the cities of the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Amorites, the Hivites and all the kings of Canaan, and also those who were on the other side of the Jordan, heard the noise of the shouting on that night.

9 And they said, Surely these are the battles of the Hebrews who are fighting against the seven cities, who came nigh unto them; and who can stand against those Hebrews?

10 And all the inhabitants of the cities of the Canaanites, and all those who were on the other side of the Jordan, were greatly afraid of the sons of Jacob, for they said, Behold the same will be done to us as was done to those cities, for who can stand against their mighty strength?

11 And the cries of the Chorinites were very great on that night, and continued to increase; and they smote each other till morning, and numbers of them were killed.

12 And the morning appeared, and all the sons of Jacob rose up at daybreak and went up to the castle, and they smote those who remained of the Chorinites in a terrible manner, and they were all killed in the castle.

13 And the sixth day appeared, and all the inhabitants of Canaan saw at a distance all the people of Bethchorin lying dead in the castle of Bethchorin, and strewed about as the carcasses of lambs and goats.

14 And the sons of Jacob led all the spoil which they had captured from Gaash and went to Bethchorin, and they found the city full of people like the sand of the sea, and they fought with them, and the sons of Jacob smote them there till evening time.

15 And the sons of Jacob did unto Bethchorin as they had done to Gaash and Tapnach, and as they had done to Chazar, to Sarton and to Shiloh.

16 And the sons of Jacob took with them the spoil of Bethchorin and all the spoil of the cities, and on that day they went home to Shechem.

17 And the sons of Jacob came home to the city of Shechem, and they remained without the city, and they then rested there from the war, and tarried there all night.

18 And all their servants together with all the spoil that they had taken from the cities, they left without the city, and they did not enter the city, for they said, Peradventure there

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may be yet more fighting against us, and they may come to besiege us in Shechem.

19 And Jacob and his sons and their servants remained on that night and the next day in the portion of the field which Jacob had purchased from Hamor for five shekels, and all that they had captured was with them.

20 And all the booty which the sons of Jacob had captured, was in the portion of the field, immense as the sand upon the sea shore.

21 And the inhabitants of the land observed them from afar, and all the inhabitants of the land were afraid of the sons of Jacob who had done this thing, for no king from the days of old had ever done the like.

22 And the seven kings of the Canaanites resolved to make peace with the sons of Jacob, for they were greatly afraid of their lives, on account of the sons of Jacob.

23 And on that day, being the seventh day, Japhia king of Hebron sent secretly to the king of Ai, and to the king of Gibeon, and to the king of Shalem, and to the king of Adulam, and to the king of Lachish, and to the king of Chazar, and to all the Canaanitish kings who were under their subjection, saying,

24 Go up with me, and come to me that we may go to the sons of Jacob, and I will make peace with them, and form a treaty with them, lest all your lands be destroyed by the swords of the sons of Jacob, as they did to Shechem and the cities around it, as you have heard and seen.

25 And when you come to me, do not come with many men, but let every king bring his three head captains, and every captain bring three of his officers.

26 And come all of you to Hebron, and we will go together to the sons of Jacob, and supplicate them that they shall form a treaty of peace with us.

27 And all those kings did as the king of Hebron had sent to them, for they were all under his counsel and command, and all the kings of Canaan assembled to go to the sons of Jacob, to make peace with them; and the sons of Jacob returned and went to the portion of the field that was in Shechem, for they did not put confidence in the kings of the land.

28 And the sons of Jacob returned and remained in the portion of the field ten days, and no one came to make war with them.

29 And when the sons of Jacob saw that there was no appearance of war, they all assembled and went to the city of Shechem, and the sons of Jacob remained in Shechem.

30 And at the expiration of forty days, all the kings of the Amorites assembled from all their places and came to Hebron, to Japhia, king of Hebron.

31 And the number of kings that came to Hebron, to make peace with the sons of Jacob, was twenty-one kings, and the number of captains that came with them was sixty-nine, and their men were one hundred and eighty-nine, and all these kings and their men rested by Mount Hebron.

32 And the king of Hebron went out with his three captains and nine men, and these kings resolved to go to the sons of Jacob to make peace.

33 And they said unto the king of Hebron, Go thou before us with thy men, and speak for us unto the sons of Jacob, and we will come after thee and confirm thy words, and the king of Hebron did so.

34 And the sons of Jacob heard that all the kings of Canaan had gathered together and rested in Hebron, and the sons of Jacob sent four of their servants as spies, saying, Go and spy these kings, and search and examine their men whether they are few or many, and if they are but few in number, number them all and come back.

35 And the servants of Jacob went secretly to these kings, and did as the sons of Jacob had commanded them, and on that day they came back to the sons of Jacob, and said unto them, We came unto those kings, and they are but few in number, and we numbered them all, and behold, they were two hundred and eighty-eight, kings and men.

36 And the sons of Jacob said, They are but few in number, therefore we will not all go out to them; and in the morning the sons of Jacob rose up and chose sixty two of their men, and ten of the sons of Jacob went with them; and they girt on their weapons of war, for they said, They are coming to make war with us, for they knew not that they were coming to make peace with them.

37 And the sons of Jacob went with their servants to the gate of Shechem, toward those kings, and their father Jacob was with them.

38 And when they had come forth, behold, the king of Hebron and his three captains and nine men with him were coming along the road against the sons of Jacob, and the sons of Jacob lifted up their eyes, and saw at a distance Japhia, king of Hebron, with his captains, coming toward them, and the sons of Jacob took their stand at the place of the gate of Shechem, and did not proceed.

39 And the king of Hebron continued to advance, he and his captains, until he came nigh to the sons of Jacob, and he and his captains bowed down to them to the ground, and the king of Hebron sat with his captains before Jacob and his sons.

40 And the sons of Jacob said unto him, What has befallen thee, O king of Hebron? why hast thou come to us this day? what dost thou require from us? and the king of Hebron said unto Jacob, I beseech thee my lord, all the kings of the Canaanites have this day come to make peace with you.

41 And the sons of Jacob heard the words of the king of Hebron, and they would not consent to his proposals, for the sons of Jacob had no faith in him, for they imagined that the king of Hebron had spoken deceitfully to them.

42 And the king of Hebron knew from the words of the sons of Jacob, that they did not believe his words, and the king of Hebron approached nearer to Jacob, and said unto him, I beseech thee, my lord, to be assured that all these kings have come to you on peaceable terms, for they have not come with all their men, neither did they bring their weapons of war with them, for they have come to seek peace from my lord and his sons.

43 And the sons of Jacob answered the king of Hebron, saying, Send thou to all these kings, and if thou speakest truth unto us, let them each come singly before us, and if they come unto us unarmed, we shall then know that they seek peace from us.

44 And Japhia, king of Hebron, sent one of his men to the kings, and they all came before the sons of Jacob, and bowed down to them to the ground, and these kings sat before Jacob and his sons, and they spoke unto them, saying,

45 We have heard all that you did unto the kings of the Amorites with your sword and exceedingly mighty arm, so that no man could stand up before you, and we were afraid of you for the sake of our lives, lest it should befall us as it did to them.

46 So we have come unto you to form a treaty of peace between us, and now therefore contract with us a covenant of peace and truth, that you will not meddle with us, inasmuch as we have not meddled with you.

47 And the sons of Jacob knew that they had really come to seek peace from them, and the sons of Jacob listened to them, and formed a covenant with them.

48 And the sons of Jacob swore unto them that they would not meddle with them, and all the kings of the Canaanites swore also to them, and the sons of Jacob made them tributary from that day forward.

49 And after this all the captains of these kings came with their men before Jacob, with presents in their hands for Jacob and his sons, and they bowed down to him to the ground.

50 And these kings then urged the sons of Jacob and begged of them to return all the spoil they had captured from the seven cities of the Amorites, and the sons of Jacob did so, and they returned all that they had captured, the women, the little ones, the cattle and all the spoil which they had taken, and they sent them off, and they went away each to his city.

51 And all these kings again bowed down to the sons of Jacob, and they sent or brought them many gifts in those days, and the sons of Jacob sent off these kings and their men, and they went peaceably away from them to their cities, and the sons of Jacob also returned to their home, to Shechem.

52 And there was peace from that day forward between the sons of Jacob and the kings of the Canaanites, until the children of Israel came to inherit the land of Canaan.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 41

1 And at the revolution of the year the sons of Jacob journeyed from Shechem, and they came to Hebron, to their father Isaac, and they dwelt there, but their flocks and herds they fed daily in Shechem, for there was there in those days good and fat pasture, and Jacob and his sons and all their household dwelt in the valley of Hebron.

2 And it was in those days, in that year, being the hundred and sixth year of the life of Jacob, in the tenth year of Jacob's coming from Padan-aram, that Leah the wife of Jacob died; she was fifty-one years old when she died in Hebron.

3 And Jacob and his sons buried her in the cave of the field of Machpelah, which is in Hebron, which Abraham had bought from the children of Heth, for the possession of a burial place.

4 And the sons of Jacob dwelt with their father in the valley of Hebron, and all the inhabitants of the land knew their strength and their fame went throughout the land.

5 And Joseph the son of Jacob, and his brother Benjamin, the sons of Rachel, the wife of Jacob, were yet young in those days, and did not go out with their brethren during their battles in all the cities of the Amorites.

6 And when Joseph saw the strength of his brethren, and their greatness, he praised them and extolled them, but he ranked himself greater than them, and extolled himself above them; and Jacob, his father, also loved him more than any of his sons, for he was a son of his old age, and through his love toward him, he made him a coat of many colors.

7 And when Joseph saw that his father loved him more than his brethren, he continued to exalt himself above his brethren, and he brought unto his father evil reports concerning them.

8 And the sons of Jacob seeing the whole of Joseph's conduct toward them, and that their father loved him more than any of them, they hated him and could not speak peaceably to him all the days.

9 And Joseph was seventeen years old, and he was still magnifying himself above his brethren, and thought of raising himself above them.

10 At that time he dreamed a dream, and he came unto his brothers and told them his dream, and he said unto them, I dreamed a dream, and behold we were all binding sheaves in the field, and my sheaf rose and placed itself upon the ground and your sheaves surrounded it and bowed down to it.

11 And his brethren answered him and said unto him, What meaneth this dream that thou didst dream? dost thou imagine in thy heart to reign or rule over us?

12 And he still came, and told the thing to his father Jacob, and Jacob kissed Joseph when he heard these words from his mouth, and Jacob blessed Joseph.

13 And when the sons of Jacob saw that their father had blessed Joseph and had kissed him, and that he loved him exceedingly, they became jealous of him and hated him the more.

14 And after this Joseph dreamed another dream and related the dream to his father in the presence of his brethren, and Joseph said unto his father and brethren, Behold I have again dreamed a dream, and behold the sun and the moon and the eleven stars bowed down to me.

15 And his father heard the words of Joseph and his dream, and seeing that his brethren hated Joseph on account of this matter, Jacob therefore rebuked Joseph before his brethren on account of this thing, saying, What meaneth this dream which thou hast dreamed, and this magnifying thyself before thy brethren who are older than thou art?

16 Dost thou imagine in thy heart that I and thy mother and thy eleven brethren will come and bow down to thee, that thou speakest these things?

17 And his brethren were jealous of him on account of his words and dreams, and they continued to hate him, and Jacob reserved the dreams in his heart.

18 And the sons of Jacob went one day to feed their father's flock in Shechem, for they were still herdsmen in those days; and whilst the sons of Jacob were that day feeding in Shechem they delayed, and the time of gathering in the cattle was passed, and they had not arrived.

19 And Jacob saw that his sons were delayed in Shechem, and Jacob said within himself, Peradventure the people of Shechem have risen up to fight against them, therefore they have delayed coming this day.

20 And Jacob called Joseph his son and commanded him, saying, Behold thy brethren are feeding in Shechem this day, and behold they have not yet come back; go now therefore and see where they are, and bring me word back concerning the welfare of thy brethren and the welfare of the flock.

21 And Jacob sent his son Joseph to the valley of Hebron, and Joseph came for his brothers to Shechem, and could not find them, and Joseph went about the field which was near Shechem, to see where his brothers had turned, and he missed his road in the wilderness, and knew not which way he should go.

22 And an angel of the Lord found him wandering in the road toward the field, and Joseph said unto the angel of the Lord, I seek my brethren; hast thou not heard where they are feeding? and the angel of the Lord said unto Joseph, I saw thy brethren feeding here, and I heard them say they would go to feed in Dothan.

23 And Joseph hearkened to the voice of the angel of the Lord, and he went to his brethren in Dothan and he found them in Dothan feeding the flock.

24 And Joseph advanced to his brethren, and before he had come nigh unto them, they had resolved to slay him.

25 And Simeon said to his brethren, Behold the man of dreams is coming unto us this day, and now therefore come and let us kill him and cast him in one of the pits that are in the wilderness, and when his father shall seek him from us, we will say an evil beast has devoured him.

26 And Reuben heard the words of his brethren concerning Joseph, and he said unto them, You should not do this thing, for how can we look up to our father Jacob? Cast him into this pit to die there, but stretch not forth a hand upon him to spill his blood; and Reuben said this in order to deliver him from their hand, to bring him back to his father.

27 And when Joseph came to his brethren he sat before them, and they rose upon him and seized him and smote him to the earth, and stripped the coat of many colors which he had on.

28 And they took him and cast him into a pit, and in the pit there was no water, but serpents and scorpions. And Joseph was afraid of the serpents and scorpions that were in the pit. And Joseph cried out with a loud voice, and the Lord hid the serpents and scorpions in the sides of the pit, and they did no harm unto Joseph.

29 And Joseph called out from the pit to his brethren, and said unto them, What have I done unto you, and in what have I sinned? why do you not fear the Lord concerning me? am I not of your bones and flesh, and is not Jacob your father, my father? why do you do this thing unto me this day, and how will you be able to look up to our father Jacob?

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30 And he continued to cry out and call unto his brethren from the pit, and he said, O Judah, Simeon, and Levi, my brethren, lift me up from the place of darkness in which you have placed me, and come this day to have compassion on me, ye children of the Lord, and sons of Jacob my father. And if I have sinned unto you, are you not the sons of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob? if they saw an orphan they had compassion over him, or one that was hungry, they gave him bread to eat, or one that was thirsty, they gave him water to drink, or one that was naked, they covered him with garments!

31 And how then will you withhold your pity from your brother, for I am of your flesh and bones, and if I have sinned unto you, surely you will do this on account of my father!

32 And Joseph spoke these words from the pit, and his brethren could not listen to him, nor incline their ears to the words of Joseph, and Joseph was crying and weeping in the pit.

33 And Joseph said, O that my father knew, this day, the act which my brothers have done unto me, and the words which they have this day spoken unto me.

34 And all his brethren heard his cries and weeping in the pit, and his brethren went and removed themselves from the pit, so that they might not hear the cries of Joseph and his weeping in the pit.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 42

1 And they went and sat on the opposite side, about the distance of a bow-shot, and they sat there to eat bread, and whilst they were eating, they held counsel together what was to be done with him, whether to slay him or to bring him back to his father.

2 They were holding the counsel, when they lifted up their eyes, and saw, and behold there was a company of Ishmaelites coming at a distance by the road of Gilead, going down to Egypt.

3 And Judah said unto them, What gain will it be to us if we slay our brother? peradventure God will require him from us; this then is the counsel proposed concerning him, which you shall do unto him: Behold this company of Ishmaelites going down to Egypt,

4 Now therefore, come let us dispose of him to them, and let not our hand be upon him, and they will lead him along with them, and he will be lost amongst the people of the land, and we will not put him to death with our own hands. And the proposal pleased his brethren and they did according to the word of Judah.

5 And whilst they were discoursing about this matter, and before the company of Ishmaelites had come up to them, seven trading men of Midian passed by them, and as they passed they were thirsty, and they lifted up their eyes and saw the pit in which Joseph was immured, and they looked, and behold every species of bird was upon him.

6 And these Midianites ran to the pit to drink water, for they thought that it contained water, and on coming before the pit they heard the voice of Joseph crying and weeping in the pit, and they looked down into the pit, and they saw and behold there was a youth of comely appearance and well favored.

7 And they called unto him and said, Who art thou and who brought thee hither, and who placed thee in this pit, in the wilderness? and they all assisted to raise up Joseph and they drew him out, and brought him up from the pit, and took him and went away on their journey and passed by his brethren.

8 And these said unto them, Why do you do this, to take our servant from us and to go away? surely we placed this youth in the pit because he rebelled against us, and you come and bring him up and lead him away; now then give us back our servant.

9 And the Midianites answered and said unto the sons of Jacob, Is this your servant, or does this man attend you? peradventure you are all his servants, for he is more comely and well favored than any of you, and why do you all speak falsely unto us?

10 Now therefore we will not listen to your words, nor attend to you, for we found the youth in the pit in the wilderness, and we took him; we will therefore go on.

11 And all the sons of Jacob approached them and rose up to them and said unto them, Give us back our servant, and why will you all die by the edge of the sword? And the Midianites cried out against them, and they drew their swords, and approached to fight with the sons of Jacob.

12 And behold Simeon rose up from his seat against them, and sprang upon the ground and drew his sword and approached the Midianites and he gave a terrible shout before them, so that his shouting was heard at a distance, and the earth shook at Simeon's shouting.

13 And the Midianites were terrified on account of Simeon and the noise of his shouting, and they fell upon their faces, and were excessively alarmed.

14 And Simeon said unto them, Verily I am Simeon, the son of Jacob the Hebrew, who have, only with my brother, destroyed the city of Shechem and the cities of the Amorites; so shall God moreover do unto me, that if all your brethren the people of Midian, and also the kings of Canaan, were to come with you, they could not fight against me.

15 Now therefore give us back the youth whom you have taken, lest I give your flesh to the birds of the skies and the beasts of the earth.

16 And the Midianites were more afraid of Simeon, and they approached the sons of Jacob with terror and fright, and with pathetic words, saying,

17 Surely you have said that the young man is your servant, and that he rebelled against you, and therefore you placed him in the pit; what then will you do with a servant who rebels against his master? Now therefore sell him unto us, and we will give you all that you require for him; and the Lord was pleased to do this in order that the sons of Jacob should not slay their brother.

18 And the Midianites saw that Joseph was of a comely appearance and well-favored; they desired him in their hearts and were urgent to purchase him from his brethren.

19 And the sons of Jacob hearkened to the Midianites and they sold their brother Joseph to them for twenty pieces of silver, and Reuben their brother was not with them, and the Midianites took Joseph and continued their journey to Gilead.

20 They were going along the road, and the Midianites repented of what they had done, in having purchased the young man, and one said to the other, What is this thing that we have done, in taking this youth from the Hebrews, who is of comely appearance and well favored.

21 Perhaps this youth is stolen from the land of the Hebrews, and why then have we done this thing? and if he should be sought for and found in our hands we shall die through him.

22 Now surely hardy and powerful men have sold him to us, the strength of one of whom you saw this day; perhaps they stole him from his land with their might and with their powerful arm, and have therefore sold him to us for the small value which we gave unto them.

23 And whilst they were thus discoursing together, they looked, and behold the company of Ishmaelites which was coming at first, and which the sons of Jacob saw, was advancing toward the Midianites, and the Midianites said to each other, Come let us sell this youth to the company of Ishmaelites who are coming toward us, and we will take for him the little that we gave for him, and we will be delivered from his evil.

24 And they did so, and they reached the Ishmaelites, and the Midianites sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver which they had given for him to his brethren.

25 And the Midianites went on their road to Gilead, and the Ishmaelites took Joseph and they let him ride upon one of the camels, and they were leading him to Egypt.

26 And Joseph heard that the Ishmaelites were proceeding to Egypt, and Joseph lamented and wept at this thing that he was to be so far removed from the land of Canaan, from his father, and he wept bitterly whilst he was riding upon the camel, and one of their men observed him, and made him go down from the camel and walk on foot, and notwithstanding this Joseph continued to cry and weep, and he said, O my father, my father.

27 And one of the Ishmaelites rose up and smote Joseph upon the cheek, and still he continued to weep; and Joseph was fatigued in the road, and was unable to proceed on account of the bitterness of his soul, and they all smote him and afflicted him in the road, and they terrified him in order that he might cease from weeping.

28 And the Lord saw the ambition of Joseph and his trouble, and the Lord brought down upon those men darkness and confusion, and the hand of every one that smote him became withered.

29 And they said to each other, What is this thing that God has done to us in the road? and they knew not that this befell them on account of Joseph. And the men proceeded on the road, and they passed along the road of Ephrath where Rachel was buried.

30 And Joseph reached his mother's grave, and Joseph hastened and ran to his mother's grave, and fell upon the grave and wept.

31 And Joseph cried aloud upon his mother's grave, and he said, O my mother, my mother, O thou who didst give me birth, awake now, and rise and see thy son, how he has been sold for a slave, and no one to pity him.

32 O rise and see thy son, weep with me on account of my troubles, and see the heart of my brethren.

33 Arouse my mother, arouse, awake from thy sleep for me, and direct thy battles against my brethren. O how have they stripped me of my coat, and sold me already twice for a slave, and separated me from my father, and there is no one to pity me.

34 Arouse and lay thy cause against them before God, and see whom God will justify in the judgement, and whom he will condemn.

35 Rise, O my mother, rise, awake from thy sleep and see my father how his soul is with me this day, and comfort him and ease his heart.

36 And Joseph continued to speak these words, and Joseph cried aloud and wept bitterly upon his mother's grave; and he ceased speaking, and from bitterness of heart he became still as a stone upon the grave.

37 And Joseph heard a voice speaking to him from beneath the ground, which answered him with bitterness of heart, and with a voice of weeping and praying in these words:

38 My son, my son Joseph, I have heard the voice of thy weeping and the voice of thy lamentation; I have seen thy tears; I know thy troubles, my son, and it grieves me for thy sake, and abundant grief is added to my grief.

39 Now therefore my son, Joseph my son, hope to the Lord, and wait for him and do not fear, for the Lord is with thee, he will deliver thee from all trouble.

40 Rise my son, go down unto Egypt with thy masters, and do not fear, for the Lord is with thee, my son. And she continued to speak like unto these words unto Joseph, and she was still.

41 And Joseph heard this, and he wondered greatly at this, and he continued to weep; and after this one of the Ishmaelites observed him crying and weeping upon the grave, and his anger was kindled against him, and he drove him from there, and he smote him and cursed him.

42 And Joseph said unto the men, May I find grace in your sight to take me back to my father's house, and he will give you abundance of riches.

43 And they answered him, saying, Art thou not a slave, and where is thy father? and if thou hadst a father thou wouldst not already twice have been sold for a slave for so little value; and their anger was still roused against him, and they continued to smite him and to chastise him, and Joseph wept bitterly.

44 And the Lord saw Joseph's affliction, and Lord again smote these men, and chastised them, and the Lord caused darkness to envelope them upon the earth, and the lightning flashed and the thunder roared, and the earth shook at the voice of the thunder and of the mighty wind, and the men were terrified and knew not where they should go.

45 And the beasts and camels stood still, and they led them, but they would not go, they smote them, and they crouched upon the ground; and the men said to each other, What is this that God has done to us? what are our transgressions, and what are our sins that this thing has thus befallen us?

46 And one of them answered and said unto them, Perhaps on account of the sin of afflicting this slave has this thing happened this day to us; now therefore implore him strongly to forgive us, and then we shall know on whose account this evil befalleth us, and if God shall have compassion over us, then we shall know that all this cometh to us on account of the sin of afflicting this slave.

47 And the men did so, and they supplicated Joseph and pressed him to forgive them; and they said, We have sinned to the Lord and to thee, now therefore vouchsafe to request of thy God that he shall put away this death from amongst us, for we have sinned to him.

48 And Joseph did according to their words, and the Lord hearkened to Joseph, and the Lord put away the plague which he had inflicted upon those men on account of Joseph, and the beasts rose up from the ground and they conducted them, and they went on, and the raging storm abated and the earth became tranquilized, and the men proceeded on their journey to go down to Egypt, and the men knew that this evil had befallen them on account of Joseph.

49 And they said to each other, Behold we know that it was on account of his affliction that this evil befell us; now therefore why shall we bring this death upon our souls? Let us hold counsel what to do to this slave.

50 And one answered and said, Surely he told us to bring him back to his father; now therefore come, let us take him back and we will go to the place that he will tell us, and take from his family the price that we gave for him and we will then go away.

51 And one answered again and said, Behold this counsel is very good, but we cannot do so for the way is very far from us, and we cannot go out of our road.

52 And one more answered and said unto them, This is the counsel to be adopted, we will not swerve from it; behold we are this day going to Egypt, and when we shall have come to Egypt, we will sell him there at a high price, and we will be delivered from his evil.

53 And this thing pleased the men and they did so, and they continued their journey to Egypt with Joseph.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 43

1 And when the sons of Jacob had sold their brother Joseph to the Midianites, their hearts were smitten on account of him, and they repented of their acts, and they sought for him to bring him back, but could not find him.

2 And Reuben returned to the pit in which Joseph had been put, in order to lift him out, and restore him to his father, and Reuben stood by the pit, and he heard not a word, and he called out Joseph! Joseph! and no one answered or uttered a word.

3 And Reuben said, Joseph has died through fright, or some serpent has caused his death; and Reuben descended into the

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pit, and he searched for Joseph and could not find him in the pit, and he came out again.

4 And Reuben tore his garments and he said, The child is not there, and how shall I reconcile my father about him if he be dead? and he went to his brethren and found them grieving on account of Joseph, and counseling together how to reconcile their father about him, and Reuben said unto his brethren, I came to the pit and behold Joseph was not there, what then shall we say unto our father, for my father will only seek the lad from me.

5 And his brethren answered him saying, Thus and thus we did, and our hearts afterward smote us on account of this act, and we now sit to seek a pretext how we shall reconcile our father to it.

6 And Reuben said unto them, What is this you have done to bring down the grey hairs of our father in sorrow to the grave? the thing is not good, that you have done.

7 And Reuben sat with them, and they all rose up and swore to each other not to tell this thing unto Jacob, and they all said, The man who will tell this to our father or his household, or who will report this to any of the children of the land, we will all rise up against him and slay him with the sword.

8 And the sons of Jacob feared each other in this matter, from the youngest to the oldest, and no one spoke a word, and they concealed the thing in their hearts.

9 And they afterward sat down to determine and invent something to say unto their father Jacob concerning all these things.

10 And Issachar said unto them, Here is an advice for you if it seem good in your eyes to do this thing, take the coat which belongeth to Joseph and tear it, and kill a kid of the goats and dip it in its blood.

11 And send it to our father and when he seeth it he will say an evil beast has devoured him, therefore tear ye his coat and behold his blood will be upon his coat, and by your doing this we shall be free of our father's murmurings.

12 And Issachar's advice pleased them, and they hearkened unto him and they did according to the word of Issachar which he had counselled them.

13 And they hastened and took Joseph's coat and tore it, and they killed a kid of the goats and dipped the coat in the blood of the kid, and then trampled it in the dust, and they sent the coat to their father Jacob by the hand of Naphtali, and they commanded him to say these words:

14 We had gathered in the cattle and had come as far as the road to Shechem and farther, when we found this coat upon the road in the wilderness dipped in blood and in dust; now therefore know whether it be thy son's coat or not.

15 And Naphtali went and he came unto his father and he gave him the coat, and he spoke unto him all the words which his brethren had commanded him.

16 And Jacob saw Joseph's coat and he knew it and he fell upon his face to the ground, and became as still as a stone, and he afterward rose up and cried out with a loud and weeping voice and he said, It is the coat of my son Joseph!

17 And Jacob hastened and sent one of his servants to his sons, who went to them and found them coming along the road with the flock.

18 And the sons of Jacob came to their father about evening, and behold their garments were torn and dust was upon their heads, and they found their father crying out and weeping with a loud voice.

19 And Jacob said unto his sons, Tell me truly what evil have you this day suddenly brought upon me? and they answered their father Jacob, saying, We were coming along this day after the flock had been gathered in, and we came as far as the city of Shechem by the road in the wilderness, and we found this coat filled with blood upon the ground, and we knew it and we sent unto thee if thou couldst know it.

20 And Jacob heard the words of his sons and he cried out with a loud voice, and he said, It is the coat of my son, an evil beast has devoured him; Joseph is rent in pieces, for I sent him this day to see whether it was well with you and well with the flocks and to bring me word again from you, and he went as I commanded him, and this has happened to him this day whilst I thought my son was with you.

21 And the sons of Jacob answered and said, He did not come to us, neither have we seen him from the time of our going out from thee until now.

22 And when Jacob heard their words he again cried out aloud, and he rose up and tore his garments, and he put sackcloth upon his loins, and he wept bitterly and he mourned and lifted up his voice in weeping and exclaimed and said these words,

23 Joseph my son, O my son Joseph, I sent thee this day after the welfare of thy brethren, and behold thou hast been torn in pieces; through my hand has this happened to my son.

24 It grieves me for thee Joseph my son, it grieves me for thee; how sweet wast thou to me during life, and now how exceedingly bitter is thy death to me.

25 0 that I had died in thy stead Joseph my son, for it grieves me sadly for thee my son, O my son, my son. Joseph my son, where art thou, and where hast thou been drawn? arouse, arouse from thy place, and come and see my grief for thee, O my son Joseph.

26 Come now and number the tears gushing from my eyes down my cheeks, and bring them up before the Lord, that his anger may turn from me.

27 0 Joseph my son, how didst thou fall, by the hand of one by whom no one had fallen from the beginning of the world unto this day; for thou hast been put to death by the smiting of an enemy, inflicted with cruelty, but surely I know that this has happened to thee, on account of the multitude of my sins.

28 Arouse now and see how bitter is my trouble for thee my son, although I did not rear thee, nor fashion thee, nor give thee breath and soul, but it was God who formed thee and built thy bones and covered them with flesh, and breathed in thy nostrils the breath of life, and then he gave thee unto me.

29 Now truly God who gave thee unto me, he has taken thee from me, and such then has befallen thee

30 And Jacob continued to speak like unto these words concerning Joseph, and he wept bitterly; he fell to the ground and became still.

31 And all the sons of Jacob seeing their father's trouble, they repented of what they had done, and they also wept bitterly.

32 And Judah rose up and lifted his father's head from the ground, and placed it upon his lap, and he wiped his father's tears from his cheeks, and Judah wept an exceeding great weeping, whilst his father's head was reclining upon his lap, still as a stone.

33 And the sons of Jacob saw their father's trouble, and they lifted up their voices and continued to weep, and Jacob was yet lying upon the ground still as a stone.

34 And all his sons and his servants and his servant's children rose up and stood round him to comfort him, and he refused to be comforted.

35 And the whole household of Jacob rose up and mourned a great mourning on account of Joseph and their father's trouble, and the intelligence reached Isaac, the son of Abraham, the father of Jacob, and he wept bitterly on account of Joseph, he and all his household, and he went from the place where he dwelt in Hebron, and his men with him, and he comforted Jacob his son, and he refused to be comforted.

36 And after this, Jacob rose up from the ground, and his tears were running down his cheeks, and he said unto his sons, Rise up and take your swords and your bows, and go forth into the field, and seek whether you can find my son's body and bring it unto me that I may bury it.

37 Seek also, I pray you, among the beasts and hunt them, and that which shall come the first before you seize and bring it unto me, perhaps the Lord will this day pity my affliction, and prepare before you that which did tear my son in pieces, and bring it unto me, and I will avenge the cause of my son.

38 And his sons did as their father had commanded them, and they rose up early in the morning, and each took his sword and his bow in his hand, and they went forth into the field to hunt the beasts.

39 And Jacob was still crying aloud and weeping and walking to and fro in the house, and smiting his hands together, saying, Joseph my son, Joseph my son.

40 And the sons of Jacob went into the wilderness to seize the beasts, and behold a wolf came toward them, and they seized him, and brought him unto their father, and they said unto him, This is the first we have found, and we have brought him unto thee as thou didst command us, and thy son's body we could not find.

41 And Jacob took the beast from the hands of his sons, and he cried out with a loud and weeping voice, holding the beast in his hand, and he spoke with a bitter heart unto the beast, Why didst thou devour my son Joseph, and how didst thou have no fear of the God of the earth, or of my trouble for my son Joseph?

42 And thou didst devour my son for naught, because he committed no violence, and didst thereby render me culpable on his account, therefore God will require him that is persecuted.

43 And the Lord opened the mouth of the beast in order to comfort Jacob with its words, and it answered Jacob and spoke these words unto him,

44 As God liveth who created us in the earth, and as thy soul liveth, my lord, I did not see thy son, neither did I tear him to pieces, but from a distant land I also came to seek my son who went from me this day, and I know not whether he be living or dead.

45 And I came this day into the field to seek my son, and your sons found me, and seized me and increased my grief, and have this day brought me before thee, and I have now spoken all my words to thee.

46 And now therefore, O son of man, I am in thy hands, and do unto me this day as it may seem good in thy sight, but by the life of God who created me, I did not see thy son, nor did I tear him to pieces, neither has the flesh of man entered my mouth all the days of my life.

47 And when Jacob heard the words of the beast he was greatly astonished, and sent forth the beast from his hand, and she went her way.

48 And Jacob was still crying aloud and weeping for Joseph day after day, and he mourned for his son many days.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 44

1 And the sons of Ishmael who had bought Joseph from the Midianites, who had bought him from his brethren, went to Egypt with Joseph, and they came upon the borders of Egypt, and when they came near unto Egypt, they met four men of the sons of Medan the son of Abraham, who had gone forth from the land of Egypt on their journey.

2 And the Ishmaelites said unto them, Do you desire to purchase this slave from us? and they said, Deliver him over to us, and they delivered Joseph over to them, and they beheld him, that he was a very comely youth and they purchased him for twenty shekels.

3 And the Ishmaelites continued their journey to Egypt and the Medanim also returned that day to Egypt, and the Medanim said to each other, Behold we have heard that Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh, captain of the guard, seeketh a good servant who shall stand before him to attend him, and to make him overseer over his house and all belonging to him.

4 Now therefore come let us sell him to him for what we may desire, if he be able to give unto us that which we shall require for him.

5 And these Medanim went and came to the house of Potiphar, and said unto him, We have heard that thou seekest a good servant to attend thee, behold we have a servant that will please thee, if thou canst give unto us that which we may desire, and we will sell him unto thee.

6 And Potiphar said, Bring him before me, and I will see him, and if he please me I will give unto you that which you may require for him.

7 And the Medanim went and brought Joseph and placed him before Potiphar, and he saw him, and he pleased him exceedingly, and Potiphar said unto them, Tell me what you require for this youth?

8 And they said, Four hundred pieces of silver we desire for him, and Potiphar said, I will give it you if you bring me the record of his sale to you, and will tell me his history, for perhaps he may be stolen, for this youth is neither a slave, nor the son of a slave, but I observe in him the appearance of a goodly and handsome person.

9 And the Medanim went and brought unto him the Ishmaelites who had sold him to them, and they told him, saying, He is a slave and we sold him to them.

10 And Potiphar heard the words of the Ishmaelites in his giving the silver unto the Medanim, and the Medanim took the silver and went on their journey, and the Ishmaelites also returned home.

11 And Potiphar took Joseph and brought him to his house that he might serve him, and Joseph found favor in the sight of Potiphar, and he placed confidence in him, and made him overseer over his house, and all that belonged to him he delivered over into his hand.

12 And the Lord was with Joseph and he became a prosperous man, and the Lord blessed the house of Potiphar for the sake of Joseph.

13 And Potiphar left all that he had in the hand of Joseph, and Joseph was one that caused things to come in and go out, and everything was regulated by his wish in the house of Potiphar.

14 And Joseph was eighteen years old, a youth with beautiful eyes and of comely appearance, and like unto him was not in the whole land of Egypt.

15 At that time whilst he was in his master's house, going in and out of the house and attending his master, Zelicah, his master's wife, lifted up her eyes toward Joseph and she looked at him, and behold he was a youth comely and well favored.

16 And she coveted his beauty in her heart, and her soul was fixed upon Joseph, and she enticed him day after day, and Zelicah persuaded Joseph daily, but Joseph did not lift up his eyes to behold his master's wife.

17 And Zelicah said unto him, How goodly are thy appearance and form, truly I have looked at all the slaves, and have not seen so beautiful a slave as thou art; and Joseph said unto her, Surely he who created me in my mother's womb created all mankind.

18 And she said unto him, How beautiful are thine eyes, with which thou hast dazzled all the inhabitants of Egypt, men and women; and he said unto her, How beautiful they are whilst we are alive, but shouldst thou behold them in the grave, surely thou wouldst move away from them.

19 And she said unto him, How beautiful and pleasing are all thy words; take now, I pray thee, the harp which is in the house, and play with thy hands and let us hear thy words.

20 And he said unto her, How beautiful and pleasing are my words when I speak the praise of my God and his glory; and she said unto him, How very beautiful is the hair of thy head, behold the golden comb which is in the house, take it I pray thee, and curl the hair of thy head.

21 And he said unto her, How long wilt thou speak these words? cease to utter these words to me, and rise and attend to thy domestic affairs.

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22 And she said unto him, There is no one in my house, and there is nothing to attend to but to thy words and to thy wish; yet notwithstanding all this, she could not bring Joseph unto her, neither did he place his eye upon her, but directed his eyes below to the ground.

23 And Zelicah desired Joseph in her heart, that he should lie with her, and at the time that Joseph was sitting in the house doing his work, Zelicah came and sat before him, and she enticed him daily with her discourse to lie with her, or ever to look at her, but Joseph would not hearken to her.

24 And she said unto him, If thou wilt not do according to my words, I will chastise thee with the punishment of death, and put an iron yoke upon thee.

25 And Joseph said unto her, Surely God who created man looseth the fetters of prisoners, and it is he who will deliver me from thy prison and from thy judgement.

26 And when she could not prevail over him, to persuade him, and her soul being still fixed upon him, her desire threw her into a grievous sickness.

27 And all the women of Egypt came to visit her, and they said unto her, Why art thou in this declining state? thou that lackest nothing; surely thy husband is a great and esteemed prince in the sight of the king, shouldst thou lack anything of what thy heart desireth?

28 And Zelicah answered them, saying, This day it shall be made known to you, whence this disorder springs in which you see me, and she commanded her maid servants to prepare food for all the women, and she made a banquet for them, and all the women ate in the house of Zelicah.

29 And she gave them knives to peel the citrons to eat them, and she commanded that they should dress Joseph in costly garments, and that he should appear before them, and Joseph came before their eyes and all the women looked on Joseph, and could not take their eyes from off him, and they all cut their hands with the knives that they had in their hands, and all the citrons that were in their hands were filled with blood.

30 And they knew not what they had done but they continued to look at the beauty of Joseph, and did not turn their eyelids from him.

31 And Zelicah saw what they had done, and she said unto them, What is this work that you have done? behold I gave you citrons to eat and you have all cut your hands.

32 And all the women saw their hands, and behold they were full of blood, and their blood flowed down upon their garments, and they said unto her, this slave in your house has overcome us, and we could not turn our eyelids from him on account of his beauty.

33 And she said unto them, Surely this happened to you in the moment that you looked at him, and you could not contain yourselves from him; how then can I refrain when he is constantly in my house, and I see him day after day going in and out of my house? how then can I keep from declining or even from perishing on account of this?

34 And they said unto her, the words are true, for who can see this beautiful form in the house and refrain from him, and is he not thy slave and attendant in thy house, and why dost thou not tell him that which is in thy heart, and sufferest thy soul to perish through this matter?

35 And she said unto them, I am daily endeavoring to persuade him, and he will not consent to my wishes, and I promised him everything that is good, and yet I could meet with no return from him; I am therefore in a declining state as you see.

36 And Zelicah became very ill on account of her desire toward Joseph, and she was desperately lovesick on account of him, and all the people of the house of Zelicah and her husband knew nothing of this matter, that Zelicah was ill on account of her love to Joseph.

37 And all the people of her house asked her, saying, Why art thou ill and declining, and lackest nothing? and she said unto them, I know not this thing which is daily increasing upon me.

38 And all the women and her friends came daily to see her, and they spoke with her, and she said unto them, This can only be through the love of Joseph; and they said unto her, Entice him and seize him secretly, perhaps he may hearken to thee, and put off this death from thee.

39 And Zelicah became worse from her love to Joseph, and she continued to decline, till she had scarce strength to stand.

40 And on a certain day Joseph was doing his master's work in the house, and Zelicah came secretly and fell suddenly upon him, and Joseph rose up against her, and he was more powerful than she, and he brought her down to the ground.

41 And Zelicah wept on account of the desire of her heart toward him, and she supplicated him with weeping, and her tears flowed down her cheeks, and she spoke unto him in a voice of supplication and in bitterness of soul, saying,

42 Hast thou ever heard, seen or known of so beautiful a woman as I am, or better than myself, who speak daily unto thee, fall into a decline through love for thee, confer all this honor upon thee, and still thou wilt not hearken to my voice?

43 And if it be through fear of thy master lest he punish thee, as the king liveth no harm shall come to thee from thy master through this thing; now, therefore pray listen to me, and consent for the sake of the honor which I have conferred upon thee, and put off this death from me, and why should I die for thy sake? and she ceased to speak.

44 And Joseph answered her, saying, Refrain from me, and leave this matter to my master; behold my master knoweth not what there is with me in the house, for all that belongeth to him he has delivered into my hand, and how shall I do these things in my master's house?

45 For he hath also greatly honored me in his house, and he hath also made me overseer over his house, and he hath exalted me, and there is no one greater in this house than I am, and my master hath refrained nothing from me, excepting thee who art his wife, how then canst thou speak these words unto me, and how can I do this great evil and sin to God and to thy husband?

46 Now therefore refrain from me, and speak no more such words as these, for I will not hearken to thy words. But Zelicah would not hearken to Joseph when he spoke these words unto her, but she daily enticed him to listen to her.

47 And it was after this that the brook of Egypt was filled above all its sides, and all the inhabitants of Egypt went forth, and also the king and princes went forth with timbrels and dances, for it was a great rejoicing in Egypt, and a holiday at the time of the inundation of the sea Sihor, and they went there to rejoice all the day.

48 And when the Egyptians went out to the river to rejoice, as was their custom, all the people of the house of Potiphar went with them, but Zelicah would not go with them, for she said, I am indisposed, and she remained alone in the house, and no other person was with her in the house.

49 And she rose up and ascended to her temple in the house, and dressed herself in princely garments, and she placed upon her head precious stones of onyx stones, inlaid with silver and gold, and she beautified her face and skin with all sorts of women's purifying liquids, and she perfumed the temple and the house with cassia and frankincense, and she spread myrrh and aloes, and she afterward sat in the entrance of the temple, in the passage of the house, through which Joseph passed to do his work, and behold Joseph came from the field, and entered the house to do his master's work.

50 And he came to the place through which he had to pass, and he saw all the work of Zelicah, and he turned back.

51 And Zelicah saw Joseph turning back from her, and she called out to him, saying What aileth thee Joseph? come to thy work, and behold I will make room for thee until thou shalt have passed to thy seat.

52 And Joseph returned and came to the house, and passed from thence to the place of his seat, and he sat down to do his master's work as usual and behold Zelicah came to him and stood before him in princely garments, and the scent from her clothes was spread to a distance.

53 And she hastened and caught hold of Joseph and his garments, and she said unto him, As the king liveth if thou wilt not perform my request thou shalt die this day, and she hastened and stretched forth her other hand and drew a sword from beneath her garments, and she placed it upon Joseph's neck, and she said, Rise and perform my request, and if not thou diest this day.

54 And Joseph was afraid of her at her doing this thing, and he rose up to flee from her, and she seized the front of his garments, and in the terror of his flight the garment which Zelicah seized was torn, and Joseph left the garment in the hand of Zelicah, and he fled and got out, for he was in fear.

55 And when Zelicah saw that Joseph's garment was torn, and that he had left it in her hand, and had fled, she was afraid of her life, lest the report should spread concerning her, and she rose up and acted with cunning, and put off the garments in which she was dressed, and she put on her other garments.

56 And she took Joseph's garment, and she laid it beside her, and she went and seated herself in the place where she had sat in her illness, before the people of her house had gone out to the river, and she called a young lad who was then in the house, and she ordered him to call the people of the house to her.

57 And when she saw them she said unto them with a loud voice and lamentation, See what a Hebrew your master has brought to me in the house, for he came this day to lie with me.

58 For when you had gone out he came to the house, and seeing that there was no person in the house, he came unto me, and caught hold of me, with intent to lie with me.

59 And I seized his garments and tore them and called out against him with a loud voice, and when I had lifted up my voice he was afraid of his life and left his garment before me, and fled.

60 And the people of her house spoke nothing, but their wrath was very much kindled against Joseph, and they went to his master and told him the words of his wife.

61 And Potiphar came home enraged, and his wife cried out to him, saying, What is this thing that thou hast done unto me in bringing a He. brew servant into my house, for he came unto me this day to sport with me; thus did he do unto me this day.

62 And Potiphar heard the words of his wife, and he ordered Joseph to be punished with severe stripes, and they did so to him.

63 And whilst they were smiting him, Joseph called out with a loud voice, and he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and he said, O Lord God, thou knowest that I am innocent of all these things, and why shall I die this day through falsehood, by the hand of these uncircumcised wicked men, whom thou knowest?

64 And whilst Potiphar's men were beating Joseph, he continued to cry out and weep, and there was a child there eleven months old, and the Lord opened the mouth of the child, and he spake these words before Potiphar's men, who were smiting Joseph, saying,

65 What do you want of this man, and why do you do this evil unto him? my mother speaketh falsely and uttereth lies; thus was the transaction.

66 And the child told them accurately all that happened, and all the words of Zelicah to Joseph day after day did he declare unto them.

67 And all the men heard the words of the child and they wondered greatly at the child's words, and the child ceased to speak and became still.

68 And Potiphar was very much ashamed at the words of his son, and he commanded his men not to beat Joseph any more, and the men ceased beating Joseph.

69 And Potiphar took Joseph and ordered him to be brought to justice before the priests, who were judges belonging to the king, in order to judge him concerning this affair.

70 And Potiphar and Joseph came before the priests who were the king's judges, and he said unto them, Decide I pray you, what judgement is due to a servant, for thus has he done.

71 And the priests said unto Joseph, Why didst thou do this thing to thy master? and Joseph answered them, saying, Not so my lords, thus was the matter; and Potiphar said unto Joseph, Surely I entrusted in thy hands all that belonged to me, and I withheld nothing from thee but my wife, and how couldst thou do this evil?

72 And Joseph answered saying, Not so my lord, as the Lord liveth, and as thy soul liveth, my lord, the word which thou didst hear from thy wife is untrue, for thus was the affair this day.

73 A year has elapsed to me since I have been in thy house; hast thou seen any iniquity in me, or any thing which might cause thee to demand my life?

74 And the priests said unto Potiphar, Send, we pray thee, and let them bring before us Joseph's torn garment, and let us see the tear in it, and if it shall be that the tear is in front of the garment, then his face must have been opposite to her and she must have caught hold of him, to come to her, and with deceit did thy wife do all that she has spoken.

75 And they brought Joseph's garment before the priests who were judges, and they saw and behold the tear was in front of Joseph, and all the judging priests knew that she had pressed him, and they said, The judgement of death is not due to this slave for he has done nothing, but his judgement is, that he be placed in the prison house on account of the report, which through him has gone forth against thy wife.

76 And Potiphar heard their words, and he placed him in the prison house, the place where the king's prisoners are confined, and Joseph was in the house of confinement twelve years.

77 And notwithstanding this, his master's wife did not turn from him, and she did not cease from speaking to him day after day to hearken to her, and at the end of three months Zelicah continued going to Joseph to the house of confinement day by day, and she enticed him to hearken to her, and Zelicah said unto Joseph, How long wilt thou remain in this house? but hearken now to my voice, and I will bring thee out of this house.

78 And Joseph answered her, saying, It is better for me to remain in this house than to hearken to thy words, to sin against God; and she said unto him, If thou wilt not perform my wish, I will pluck out thine eyes, add fetters to thy feet, and will deliver thee into the hands of them whom thou didst not know before.

79 And Joseph answered her and said, Behold the God of the whole earth is able to deliver me from all that thou canst do unto me, for he openeth the eyes of the blind, and looseth those that are bound, and preserveth all strangers who are unacquainted with the land.

80 And when Zelicah was unable to persuade Joseph to hearken to her, she left off going to entice him; and Joseph was still confined in the house of confinement. And Jacob the father of Joseph, and all his brethren who were in the land of Canaan still mourned and wept in those days on account of Joseph, for Jacob refused to be comforted for his son Joseph, and Jacob cried aloud, and wept and mourned all those days.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 45

1 And it was at that time in that year, which is the year of Joseph's going down to Egypt after his brothers had sold him, that Reuben the son of Jacob went to Timnah and took unto

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him for a wife Eliuram, the daughter of Avi the Canaanite, and he came to her.

2 And Eliuram the wife of Reuben conceived and bare him Hanoch, Palu, Chetzron and Carmi, four sons; and Simeon his brother took his sister Dinah for a wife, and she bare unto him Memuel, Yamin, Ohad, Jachin and Zochar, five sons.

3 And he afterward came to Bunah the Canaanitish woman, the same is Bunah whom Simeon took captive from the city of Shechem, and Bunah was before Dinah and attended upon her, and Simeon came to her, and she bare unto him Saul.

4 And Judah went at that time to Adulam, and he came to a man of Adulam, and his name was Hirah, and Judah saw there the daughter of a man from Canaan, and her name was Aliyath, the daughter of Shua, and he took her, and came to her, and Aliyath bare unto Judah, Er, Onan and Shiloh; three sons.

5 And Levi and Issachar went to the land of the east, and they took unto themselves for wives the daughters of Jobab the son of Yoktan, the son of Eber; and Jobab the son of Yoktan had two daughters; the name of the elder was Adinah, and the name of the younger was Aridah.

6 And Levi took Adinah, and Issachar took Aridah, and they came to the land of Canaan, to their father's house, and Adinah bare unto Levi, Gershon, Kehath and Merari; three sons.

7 And Aridah bare unto Issachar Tola, Puvah, Job and Shomron, four sons; and Dan went to the land of Moab and took for a wife Aphlaleth, the daughter of Chamudan the Moabite, and he brought her to the land of Canaan.

8 And Aphlaleth was barren, she had no offspring, and God afterward remembered Aphlaleth the wife of Dan, and she conceived and bare a son, and she called his name Chushim.

9 And Gad and Naphtali went to Haran and took from thence the daughters of Amuram the son of Uz, the son of Nahor, for wives.

10 And these are the names of the daughters of Amuram; the name of the elder was Merimah, and the name of the younger Uzith; and Naphtali took Merimah, and Gad took Uzith; and brought them to the land of Canaan, to their father's house.

11 And Merimah bare unto Naphtali Yachzeel, Guni, Jazer and Shalem, four sons; and Uzith bare unto Gad Zephion, Chagi, Shuni, Ezbon, Eri, Arodi and Arali, seven sons.

12 And Asher went forth and took Adon the daughter of Aphlal, the son of Hadad, the son of Ishmael, for a wife, and he brought her to the land of Canaan.

13 And Adon the wife of Asher died in those days: she had no offspring; and it was after the death of Adon that Asher went to the other side of the river and took for a wife Hadurah the daughter of Abimael, the son of Eber, the son of Shem.

14 And the young woman was of a comely appearance, and a woman of sense, and she had been the wife of Malkiel the son of Elam, the son of Shem.

15 And Hadurah bare a daughter unto Malkiel, and he called her name Serach, and Malkiel died after this, and Hadurah went and remained in her father's house.

16 And after the death of the wife at Asher he went and took Hadurah for a wife, and brought her to the land of Canaan, and Serach her daughter he also brought with them, and she was three years old, and the damsel was brought up in Jacob's house.

17 And the damsel was of a comely appearance, and she went in the sanctified ways of the children of Jacob; she lacked nothing, and the Lord gave her wisdom and understanding.

18 And Hadurah the wife of Asher conceived and bare unto him Yimnah, Yishvah, Yishvi and Beriah; four sons.

19 And Zebulun went to Midian, and took for a wife Merishah the daughter of Molad, the son of Abida, the son of Midian, and brought her to the land of Canaan.

20 And Merushah bare unto Zebulun Sered, Elon and Yachleel; three sons.

21 And Jacob sent to Aram, the son of Zoba, the son of Terah, and he took for his son Benjamin Mechalia the daughter of Aram, and she came to the land of Canaan to the house of Jacob; and Benjamin was ten years old when he took Mechalia the daughter of Aram for a wife.

22 And Mechalia conceived and bare unto Benjamin Bela, Becher, Ashbel, Gera and Naaman, five sons; and Benjamin went afterward and took for a wife Aribath, the daughter of Shomron, the son of Abraham, in addition to his first wife, and he was eighteen years old; and Aribath bare unto Benjamin Achi, Vosh, Mupim, Chupim, and Ord; five sons.

23 And in those days Judah went to the house of Shem and took Tamar the daughter of Elam, the son of Shem, for a wife for his first born Er.

24 And Er came to his wife Tamar, and she became his wife, and when he came to her he outwardly destroyed his seed, and his work was evil in the sight of the Lord, and the Lord slew him.

25 And it was after the death of Er, Judah's first born, that Judah said unto Onan, go to thy brother's wife and marry her as the next of kin, and raise up seed to thy brother.

26 And Onan took Tamar for a wife and he came to her, and Onan also did like unto the work of his brother, and his work was evil in the sight of the Lord, and he slew him also.

27 And when Onan died, Judah said unto Tamar, Remain in thy father's house until my son Shiloh shall have grown up, and Judah did no more delight in Tamar, to give her unto Shiloh, for he said, Peradventure he will also die like his brothers.

28 And Tamar rose up and went and remained in her father's house, and Tamar was in her father's house for some time.

29 And at the revolution of the year, Aliyath the wife of Judah died; and Judah was comforted for his wife, and after the death of Aliyath, Judah went up with his friend Hirah to Timnah to shear their sheep.

30 And Tamar heard that Judah had gone up to Timnah to shear the sheep, and that Shiloh was grown up, and Judah did not delight in her.

31 And Tamar rose up and put off the garments of her widowhood, and she put a vail upon her, and she entirely covered herself, and she went and sat in the public thoroughfare, which is upon the road to Timnah.

32 And Judah passed and saw her and took her and he came to her, and she conceived by him, and at the time of being delivered, behold, there were twins in her womb, and he called the name of the first Perez, and the name of the second Zarah.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 46

1 In those days Joseph was still confined in the prison house in the land of Egypt.

2 At that time the attendants of Pharaoh were standing before him, the chief of the butlers and the chief of the bakers which belonged to the king of Egypt.

3 And the butler took wine and placed it before the king to drink, and the baker placed bread before the king to eat, and the king drank of the wine and ate of the bread, he and his servants and ministers that ate at the king's table.

4 And whilst they were eating and drinking, the butler and the baker remained there, and Pharaoh's ministers found many flies in the wine, which the butler had brought, and stones of nitre were found in the baker's bread.

5 And the captain of the guard placed Joseph as an attendant on Pharaoh's officers, and Pharaoh's officers were in confinement one year.

6 And at the end of the year, they both dreamed dreams in one night, in the place of confinement where they were, and in the morning Joseph came to them to attend upon them as usual, and he saw them, and behold their countenances were dejected and sad.

7 And Joseph asked them, Why are your countenances sad and dejected this day? and they said unto him, We dreamed a dream, and there is no one to interpret it; and Joseph said unto them, Relate, I pray you, your dream unto me, and God shall give you an answer of peace as you desire.

8 And the butler related his dream unto Joseph, and he said, I saw in my dream, and behold a large vine was before me, and upon that vine I saw three branches, and the vine speedily blossomed and reached a great height, and its clusters were ripened and became grapes.

9 And I took the grapes and pressed them in a cup, and placed it in Pharaoh's hand and he drank; and Joseph said unto him, The three branches that were upon the vine are three days.

10 Yet within three days, the king will order thee to be brought out and he will restore thee to thy office, and thou shalt give the king his wine to drink as at first when thou wast his butler; but let me find favor in thy sight, that thou shalt remember me to Pharaoh when it will be well with thee, and do kindness unto me, and get me brought forth from this prison, for I was stolen away from the land of Canaan and was sold for a slave in this place.

11 And also that which was told thee concerning my master's wife is false, for they placed me in this dungeon for naught; and the butler answered Joseph, saying, If the king deal well with me as at first, as thou last interpreted to me, I will do all that thou desirest, and get thee brought out of this dungeon.

12 And the baker, seeing that Joseph had accurately interpreted the butler's dream, also approached, and related the whole of his dream to Joseph.

13 And he said unto him, In my dream I saw and behold three white baskets upon my head, and I looked, and behold there were in the upper-most basket all manner of baked meats for Pharaoh, and behold the birds were eating them from off my head.

14 And Joseph said unto him, The three baskets which thou didst see are three days, yet within three days Pharaoh will take off thy head, and hang thee upon a tree, and the birds will eat thy flesh from off thee, as thou sawest in thy dream.

15 In those days the queen was about to be delivered, and upon that day she bare a son unto the king of Egypt, and they proclaimed that the king had gotten his first born son and all the people of Egypt together with the officers and servants of Pharaoh rejoiced greatly.

16 And upon the third day of his birth Pharaoh made a feast for his officers and servants, for the hosts of the land of Zoar and of the land of Egypt.

17 And all the people of Egypt and the servants of Pharaoh came to eat and drink with the king at the feast of his son, and to rejoice at the king's rejoicing.

18 And all the officers of the king and his servants were rejoicing at that time for eight days at the feast, and they made merry with all sorts of musical instruments, with timbrels and with dances in the king's house for eight days.

19 And the butler, to whom Joseph had interpreted his dream, forgot Joseph, and he did not mention him to the king as he had promised, for this thing was from the Lord in order to punish Joseph because he had trusted in man.

20 And Joseph remained after this in the prison house two years, until he had completed twelve years.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 47

1 And Isaac the son of Abraham was still living in those days in the land of Canaan; he was very aged, one hundred and eighty years old, and Esau his son, the brother of Jacob, was in the land of Edom, and he and his sons had possessions in it amongst the children of Seir.

2 And Esau heard that his father's time was drawing nigh to die, and he and his sons and household came unto the land of Canaan, unto his father's house, and Jacob and his sons went forth from the place where they dwelt in Hebron, and they all came to their father Isaac, and they found Esau and his sons in the tent.

3 And Jacob and his sons sat before his father Isaac, and Jacob was still mourning for his son Joseph.

4 And Isaac said unto Jacob, Bring me hither thy sons and I will bless them; and Jacob brought his eleven children before his father Isaac.

5 And Isaac placed his hands upon all the sons of Jacob, and he took hold of them and embraced them, and kissed them one by one, and Isaac blessed them on that day, and he said unto them, May the God of your fathers bless you and increase your seed like the stars of heaven for number.

6 And Isaac also blessed the sons of Esau, saying, May God cause you to be a dread and a terror to all that will behold you, and to all your enemies.

7 And Isaac called Jacob and his sons, and they all came and sat before Isaac, and Isaac said unto Jacob, The Lord God of the whole earth said unto me, Unto thy seed will I give this land for an inheritance if thy children keep my statutes and my ways, and I will perform unto them the oath which I swore unto thy father Abraham.

8 Now therefore my son, teach thy children and thy children's children to fear the Lord, and to go in the good way which will please the Lord thy God, for if you keep the ways of the Lord and his statutes the Lord will also keep unto you his covenant with Abraham, and will do well with you and your seed all the days.

9 And when Isaac had finished commanding Jacob and his children, he gave up the ghost and died, and was gathered unto his people.

10 And Jacob and Esau fell upon the face of their father Isaac, and they wept, and Isaac was one hundred and eighty years old when he died in the land of Canaan, in Hebron, and his sons carried him to the cave of Machpelah, which Abraham had bought from the children of Heth for a possession of a burial place.

11 And all the kings of the land of Canaan went with Jacob and Esau to bury Isaac, and all the kings of Canaan showed Isaac great honor at his death.

12 And the sons of Jacob and the sons of Esau went barefooted round about, walking and lamenting until they reached Kireath-arba.

13 And Jacob and Esau buried their father Isaac in the cave of Machpelah, which is in Kireath-arba in Hebron, and they buried him with very great honor, as at the funeral of kings.

14 And Jacob and his sons, and Esau and his sons, and all the kings of Canaan made a great and heavy mourning, and they buried him and mourned for him many days.

15 And at the death of Isaac, he left his cattle and his possessions and all belonging to him to his sons; and Esau said unto Jacob, Behold I pray thee, all that our father has left we will divide it in two parts, and I will have the choice, and Jacob said, We will do so.

16 And Jacob took all that Isaac had left in the land of Canaan, the cattle and the property, and he placed them in two parts before Esau and his sons, and he said unto Esau, Behold all this is before thee, choose thou unto thyself the half which thou wilt take.

17 And Jacob said unto Esau, Hear thou I pray thee what I will speak unto thee, saying, The Lord God of heaven and earth spoke unto our fathers Abraham and Isaac, saying, Unto thy seed will I give this land for an inheritance forever.

18 Now therefore all that our father has left is before thee, and behold all the land is before thee; choose thou from them what thou desirest.

19 If thou desirest the whole land take it for thee and thy children forever, and I will take this riches, and it thou

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desirest the riches take it unto thee, and I will take this land for me and for my children to inherit it forever.

20 And Nebayoth, the son of Ishmael, was then in the land with his children, and Esau went on that day and consulted with him, saying.

21 Thus has Jacob spoken unto me, and thus has he answered me, now give thy advice and we will hear.

22 And Nebayoth said, What is this that Jacob hath spoken unto thee? behold all the children of Canaan are dwelling securely in their land, and Jacob sayeth he will inherit it with his seed all the days.

23 Go now therefore and take all thy father's riches and leave Jacob thy brother in the land, as he has spoken.

24 And Esau rose up and returned to Jacob, and did all that Nebayoth the son of Ishmael had advised; and Esau took all the riches that Isaac had left, the souls, the beasts, the cattle and the property, and all the riches; he gave nothing to his brother Jacob; and Jacob took all the land of Canaan, from the brook of Egypt unto the river Euphrates, and he took it for an everlasting possession, and for his children and for his seed after him forever.

25 Jacob also took from his brother Esau the cave of Machpelah, which is in Hebron, which Abraham had bought from Ephron for a possession of a burial place for him and his seed forever.

26 And Jacob wrote all these things in the book of purchase, and he signed it, and he testified all this with four faithful witnesses.

27 And these are the words which Jacob wrote in the book, saying: The land of Canaan and all the cities of the Hittites, the Hivites, the Jebusites, the Amorites, the Perizzites, and the Gergashites, all the seven nations from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates.

28 And the city of Hebron Kireath-arba, and the cave which is in it, the whole did Jacob buy from his brother Esau for value, for a possession and for an inheritance for his seed after him forever.

29 And Jacob took the book of purchase and the signature, the command and the statutes and the revealed book, and he placed them in an earthen vessel in order that they should remain for a long time, and he delivered them into the hands of his children.

30 Esau took all that his father had left him after his death from his brother Jacob, and he took all the property, from man and beast, camel and ass, ox and lamb, silver and gold, stones and bdellium, and all the riches which had belonged to Isaac the son of Abraham; there was nothing left which Esau did not take unto himself, from all that Isaac had left after his death.

31 And Esau took all this, and he and his children went home to the land of Seir the Horite, away from his brother Jacob and his children.

32 And Esau had possessions amongst the children of Seir, and Esau returned not to the land of Canaan from that day forward.

33 And the whole land of Canaan became an inheritance to the children of Israel for an everlasting inheritance, and Esau with all his children inherited the mountain of Seir.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 48

1 In those days, after the death of Isaac, the Lord commanded and caused a famine upon the whole earth.

2 At that time Pharaoh king of Egypt was sitting upon his throne in the land of Egypt, and lay in his bed and dreamed dreams, and Pharaoh saw in his dream that he was standing by the side of the river of Egypt.

3 And whilst he was standing he saw and behold seven fat fleshed and well favored kine came up out of the river.

4 And seven other kine, lean fleshed and ill favored, came up after them, and the seven ill favored ones swallowed up the well favored ones, and still their appearance was ill as at first.

5 And he awoke, and he slept again and he dreamed a second time, and he saw and behold seven ears of corn came up upon one stalk, rank and good, and seven thin ears blasted with the east wind sprang, up after them, and the thin ears swallowed up the full ones, and Pharaoh awoke out of his dream.

6 And in the morning the king remembered his dreams, and his spirit was sadly troubled on account of his dreams, and the king hastened and sent and called for all the magicians of Egypt, and the wise men, and they came and stood before Pharaoh.

7 And the king said unto them, I have dreamed dreams, and there is none to interpret them; and they said unto the king, relate thy dreams to thy servants and let us hear them.

8 And the king related his dreams to them, and they all answered and said with one voice to the king, may the king live forever; and this is the interpretation of thy dreams.

9 The seven good kine which thou didst see denote seven daughters that will be born unto thee in the latter days, and the seven kine which thou sawest come up after them, and swallowed them up, are for a sign that the daughters which will be born unto thee will all die in the life-time of the king.

10 And that which thou didst see in the second dream of seven full good ears of corn coming up upon one stalk, this is their interpretation, that thou wilt build unto thyself in the latter days seven cities throughout the land of Egypt; and that which thou sawest of the seven blasted ears of corn springing up after them and swallowing them up whilst thou didst behold them with thine eyes, is for a sign that the cities which thou wilt build will all be destroyed in the latter days, in the life-time of the king.

11 And when they spoke these words the king did not incline his ear to their words, neither did he fix his heart upon them, for the king knew in his wisdom that they did not give a proper interpretation of the dreams; and when they had finished speaking before the king, the king answered them, saying, What is this thing that you have spoken unto me? surely you have uttered falsehood and spoken lies; therefore now give the proper interpretation of my dreams, that you may not die.

12 And the king commanded after this, and he sent and called again for other wise men, and they came and stood before the king, and the king related his dreams to them, and they all answered him according to the first interpretation, and the king's anger was kindled and he was very wroth, and the king said unto them, Surely you speak lies and utter falsehood in what you have said.

13 And the king commanded that a proclamation should be issued throughout the land of Egypt, saying, It is resolved by the king and his great men, that any wise man who knoweth and understandeth the interpretation of dreams, and will not come this day before the king, shall die.

14 And the man that will declare unto the king the proper interpretation of his dreams, there shall be given unto him all that he will require from the king. And all the wise men of the land of Egypt came before the king, together with all the magicians and sorcerers that were in Egypt and in Goshen, in Rameses, in Tachpanches, in Zoar, and in all the places on the borders of Egypt, and they all stood before the king.

15 And all the nobles and the princes, and the attendants belonging to the king, came together from all the cities of Egypt, and they all sat before the king, and the king related his dreams before the wise men, and the princes, and all that sat before the king were astonished at the vision.

16 And all the wise men who were before the king were greatly divided in their interpretation of his dreams; some of them interpreted them to the king, saying, The seven good kine are seven kings, who from the king's issue will be raised over Egypt.

17 And the seven bad kine are seven princes, who will stand up against them in the latter days and destroy them; and the seven ears of corn are the seven great princes belonging to Egypt, who will fall in the hands of the seven less powerful princes of their enemies, in the wars of our lord the king.

18 And some of them interpreted to the king in this manner, saying, The seven good kine are the strong cities of Egypt, and the seven bad kine are the seven nations of the land of Canaan, who will come against the seven cities of Egypt in the latter days and destroy them.

19 And that which thou sawest in the second dream, of seven good and bad ears of corn, is a sign that the government of Egypt will again return to thy seed as at first.

20 And in his reign the people of the cities of Egypt will turn against the seven cities of Canaan who are stronger than they are, and will destroy them, and the government of Egypt will return to thy seed.

21 And some of them said unto the king, This is the interpretation of thy dreams; the seven good kine are seven queens, whom thou wilt take for wives in the latter days, and the seven bad kine denote that those women will all die in the lifetime of the king.

22 And the seven good and bad ears of corn which thou didst see in the second dream are fourteen children, and it will be in the latter days that they will stand up and fight amongst themselves, and seven of them will smite the seven that are more powerful.

23 And some of them said these words unto the king, saying, The seven good kine denote that seven children will be born to thee, and they will slay seven of thy children's children in the latter days; and the seven good ears of corn which thou didst see in the second dream, are those princes against whom seven other less powerful princes will fight and destroy them in the latter days, and avenge thy children's cause, and the government will again return to thy seed.

24 And the king heard all the words of the wise men of Egypt and their interpretation of his dreams, and none of them pleased the king.

25 And the king knew in his wisdom that they did not altogether speak correctly in all these words, for this was from the Lord to frustrate the words of the wise men of Egypt, in order that Joseph might go forth from the house of confinement, and in order that he should become great in Egypt.

26 And the king saw that none amongst all the wise men and magicians of Egypt spoke correctly to him, and the king's wrath was kindled, and his anger burned within him.

27 And the king commanded that all the wise men and magicians should go out from before him, and they all went out from before the king with shame and disgrace.

28 And the king commanded that a proclamation be sent throughout Egypt to slay all the magicians that were in Egypt, and not one of them should be suffered to live.

29 And the captains of the guards belonging to the king rose up, and each man drew his sword, and they began to smite the magicians of Egypt, and the wise men.

30 And after this Merod, chief butler to the king, came and bowed down before the king and sat before him.

31 And the butler said unto the king, May the king live forever, and his government be exalted in the land.

32 Thou wast angry with thy servant in those days, now two years past, and didst place me in the ward, and I was for some time in the ward, I and the chief of the bakers.

33 And there was with us a Hebrew servant belonging to the captain of the guard, his name was Joseph, for his master had been angry with him and placed him in the house of confinement, and he attended us there.

34 And in some time after when we were in the ward, we dreamed dreams in one night, I and the chief of the bakers; we dreamed, each man according to the interpretation of his dream.

35 And we came in the morning and told them to that servant, and he interpreted to us our dreams, to each man according to his dream, did he correctly interpret.

36 And it came to pass as he interpreted to us, so was the event; there fell not to the ground any of his words.

37 And now therefore my lord and king do not slay the people of Egypt for naught; behold that slave is still confined in the house by the captain of the guard his master, in the house of confinement.

38 If it pleaseth the king let him send for him that he may come before thee and he will make known to thee, the correct interpretation of the dream which thou didst dream.

39 And the king heard the words of the chief butler, and the king ordered that the wise men of Egypt should not be slain.

40 And the king ordered his servants to bring Joseph before him, and the king said unto them, Go to him and do not terrify him lest he be confused and will not know to speak properly.

41 And the servants of the king went to Joseph, and they brought him hastily out of the dungeon, and the king's servants shaved him, and he changed his prison garment and he came before the king.

42 And the king was sitting upon his royal throne in a princely dress girt around with a golden ephod, and the fine gold which was upon it sparkled, and the carbuncle and the ruby and the emerald, together with all the precious stones that were upon the king's head, dazzled the eye, and Joseph wondered greatly at the king.

43 And the throne upon which the king sat was covered with gold and silver, and with onyx stones, and it had seventy steps.

44 And it was their custom throughout the land of Egypt, that every man who came to speak to the king, if he was a prince or one that was estimable in the sight of the king, he ascended to the king's throne as far as the thirty-first step, and the king would descend to the thirty-sixth step, and speak with him.

45 If he was one of the common people, he ascended to the third step, and the king would descend to the fourth and speak to him, and their custom was, moreover, that any man who understood to speak in all the seventy languages, he ascended the seventy steps, and went up and spoke till he reached the king.

46 And any man who could not complete the seventy, he ascended as many steps as the languages which he knew to speak in.

47 And it was customary in those days in Egypt that no one should reign over them, but who understood to speak in the seventy languages.

48 And when Joseph came before the king he bowed down to the ground before the king, and he ascended to the third step, and the king sat upon the fourth step and spoke with Joseph.

49 And the king said unto Joseph, I dreamed a dream, and there is no interpreter to interpret it properly, and I commanded this day that all the magicians of Egypt and the wise men thereof, should come before me, and I related my dreams to them, and no one has properly interpreted them to me.

50 And after this I this day heard concerning thee, that thou art a wise man, and canst correctly interpret every dream that thou hearest.

51 And Joseph answered Pharaoh, saying, Let Pharaoh relate his dreams that he dreamed; surely the interpretations belong to God; and Pharaoh related his dreams to Joseph, the dream of the kine, and the dream of the ears of corn, and the king left off speaking.

52 And Joseph was then clothed with the spirit of God before the king, and he knew all the things that would befall the king from that day forward, and he knew the proper

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interpretation of the king's dream, and he spoke before the king.

53 And Joseph found favor in the sight of the king, and the king inclined his ears and his heart, and he heard all the words of Joseph. And Joseph said unto the king, Do not imagine that they are two dreams, for it is only one dream, for that which God has chosen to do throughout the land he has shown to the king in his dream, and this is the proper interpretation of thy dream:

54 The seven good kine and ears of corn are seven years, and the seven bad kine and ears of corn are also seven years; it is one dream.

55 Behold the seven years that are coming there will be a great plenty throughout the land, and after that the seven years of famine will follow them, a very grievous famine; and all the plenty will be forgotten from the land, and the famine will consume the inhabitants of the land.

56 The king dreamed one dream, and the dream was therefore repeated unto Pharaoh because the thing is established by God, and God will shortly bring it to pass.

57 Now therefore I will give thee counsel and deliver thy soul and the souls of the inhabitants of the land from the evil of the famine, that thou seek throughout thy kingdom for a man very discreet and wise, who knoweth all the affairs of government, and appoint him to superintend over the land of Egypt.

58 And let the man whom thou placest over Egypt appoint officers under him, that they gather in all the food of the good years that are coming, and let them lay up corn and deposit it in thy appointed stores.

59 And let them keep that food for the seven years of famine, that it may be found for thee and thy people and thy whole land, and that thou and thy land be not cut off by the famine.

60 Let all the inhabitants of the land be also ordered that they gather in, every man the produce of his field, of all sorts of food, during the seven good years, and that they place it in their stores, that it may be found for them in the days of the famine and that they may live upon it.

61 This is the proper interpretation of thy dream, and this is the counsel given to save thy soul and the souls of all thy subjects.

62 And the king answered and said unto Joseph, Who sayeth and who knoweth that thy words are correct? And he said unto the king, This shall be a sign for thee respecting all my words, that they are true and that my advice is good for thee.

63 Behold thy wife sitteth this day upon the stool of delivery, and she will bear thee a son and thou wilt rejoice with him; when thy child shall have gone forth from his mother's womb, thy first born son that has been born these two years back shall die, and thou wilt be comforted in the child that will be born unto thee this day.

64 And Joseph finished speaking these words to the king, and he bowed down to the king and he went out, and when Joseph had gone out from the king's presence, those signs which Joseph had spoken unto the king came to pass on that day.

65 And the queen bare a son on that day and the king heard the glad tidings about his son, and he rejoiced, and when the reporter had gone forth from the king's presence, the king's servants found the first born son of the king fallen dead upon the ground.

66 And there was great lamentation and noise in the king's house, and the king heard it, and he said, What is the noise and lamentation that I have heard in the house? and they told the king that his first born son had died; then the king knew that all Joseph's words that he had spoken were correct, and the king was consoled for his son by the child that was born to him on that day as Joseph had spoken.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 49

1 After these things the king sent and assembled all his officers and servants, and all the princes and nobles belonging to the king, and they all came before the king.

2 And the king said unto them, Behold you have seen and heard all the words of this Hebrew man, and all the signs which he declared would come to pass, and not any of his words have fallen to the ground.

3 You know that he has given a proper interpretation of the dream, and it will surely come to pass, now therefore take counsel, and know what you will do and how the land will be delivered from the famine.

4 Seek now and see whether the like can be found, in whose heart there is wisdom and knowledge, and I will appoint him over the land.

5 For you have heard what the Hebrew man has advised concerning this to save the land therewith from the famine, and I know that the land will not be delivered from the famine but with the advice of the Hebrew man, him that advised me.

6 And they all answered the king and said, The counsel which the Hebrew has given concerning this is good; now therefore, our lord and king, behold the whole land is in thy hand, do that which seemeth good in thy sight.

7 Him whom thou chooses, and whom thou in thy wisdom knowest to be wise and capable of delivering the land with his wisdom, him shall the king appoint to be under him over the land.

8 And the king said to all the officers: I have thought that since God has made known to the Hebrew man all that he has spoken, there is none so discreet and wise in the whole land as he is; if it seem good in your sight I will place him over the land, for he will save the land with his wisdom.

9 And all the officers answered the king and said, But surely it is written in the laws of Egypt, and it should not be violated, that no man shall reign over Egypt, nor be the second to the king, but one who has knowledge in all the languages of the sons of men.

10 Now therefore our lord and king, behold this Hebrew man can only speak the Hebrew language, and how then can he be over us the second under government, a man who not even knoweth our language?

11 Now we pray thee send for him, and let him come before thee, and prove him in all things, and do as thou see fit.

12 And the king said, It shall be done tomorrow, and the thing that you have spoken is good; and all the officers came on that day before the king.

13 And on that night the Lord sent one of his ministering angels, and he came into the land of Egypt unto Joseph, and the angel of the Lord stood over Joseph, and behold Joseph was lying in the bed at night in his master's house in the dungeon, for his master had put him back into the dungeon on account of his wife.

14 And the angel roused him from his sleep, and Joseph rose up and stood upon his legs, and behold the angel of the Lord was standing opposite to him; and the angel of the Lord spoke with Joseph, and he taught him all the languages of man in that night, and he called his name Jehoseph.

15 And the angel of the Lord went from him, and Joseph returned and lay upon his bed, and Joseph was astonished at the vision which he saw.

16 And it came to pass in the morning that the king sent for all his officers and servants, and they all came and sat before the king, and the king ordered Joseph to be brought, and the king's servants went and brought Joseph before Pharaoh.

17 And the king came forth and ascended the steps of the throne, and Joseph spoke unto the king in all languages, and Joseph went up to him and spoke unto the king until he arrived before the king in the seventieth step, and he sat before the king.

18 And the king greatly rejoiced on account of Joseph, and all the king's officers rejoiced greatly with the king when they heard all the words of Joseph.

19 And the thing seemed good in the sight of the king and the officers, to appoint Joseph to be second to the king over the whole land of Egypt, and the king spoke to Joseph, saying,

20 Now thou didst give me counsel to appoint a wise man over the land of Egypt, in order with his wisdom to save the land from the famine; now therefore, since God has made all this known to thee, and all the words which thou hast spoken, there is not throughout the land a discreet and wise man like unto thee.

21 And thy name no more shall be called Joseph, but Zaphnath Paaneah shall be thy name; thou shalt be second to me, and according to thy word shall be all the affairs of my government, and at thy word shall my people go out and come in.

22 Also from under thy hand shall my servants and officers receive their salary which is given to them monthly, and to thee shall all the people of the land bow down; only in my throne will I be greater than thou.

23 And the king took off his ring from his hand and put it upon the hand of Joseph, and the king dressed Joseph in a princely garment, and he put a golden crown upon his head, and he put a golden chain upon his neck.

24 And the king commanded his servants, and they made him ride in the second chariot belonging to the king, that went opposite to the king's chariot, and he caused him to ride upon a great and strong horse from the king's horses, and to be conducted through the streets of the land of Egypt.

25 And the king commanded that all those that played upon timbrels, harps and other musical instruments should go forth with Joseph; one thousand timbrels, one thousand mecholoth, and one thousand nebalim went after him.

26 And five thousand men, with drawn swords glittering in their hands, and they went marching and playing before Joseph, and twenty thousand of the great men of the king girt with girdles of skin covered with gold, marched at the right hand of Joseph, and twenty thousand at his left, and all the women and damsels went upon the roofs or stood in the streets playing and rejoicing at Joseph, and gazed at the appearance of Joseph and at his beauty.

27 And the king's people went before him and behind him, perfuming the road with frankincense and with cassia, and with all sorts of fine perfume, and scattered myrrh and aloes along the road, and twenty men proclaimed these words before him throughout the land in a loud voice:

28 Do you see this man whom the king has chosen to be his second? all the affairs of government shall be regulated by him, and he that transgresses his orders, or that does not bow down before him to the ground, shall die, for he rebels against the king and his second.

29 And when the heralds had ceased proclaiming, all the people of Egypt bowed down to the ground before Joseph and said, May the king live, also may his second live; and all the inhabitants of Egypt bowed down along the road, and when the heralds approached them, they bowed down, and they rejoiced with all sorts of timbrels, mechol and nebal before Joseph.

30 And Joseph upon his horse lifted up his eyes to heaven, and called out and said, He raiseth the poor man from the dust, He lifteth up the needy from the dunghill. O Lord of Hosts, happy is the man who trusteth in thee.

31 And Joseph passed throughout the land of Egypt with Pharaoh's servants and officers, and they showed him the whole land of Egypt and all the king's treasures.

32 And Joseph returned and came on that day before Pharaoh, and the king gave unto Joseph a possession in the land of Egypt, a possession of fields and vineyards, and the king gave unto Joseph three thousand talents of silver and one thousand talents of gold, and onyx stones and bdellium and many gifts.

33 And on the next day the king commanded all the people of Egypt to bring unto Joseph offerings and gifts, and that he that violated the command of the king should die; and they made a high place in the street of the city, and they spread out garments there, and whoever brought anything to Joseph put it into the high place.

34 And all the people of Egypt cast something into the high place, one man a golden ear-ring, and the other rings and ear-rings, and different vessels of gold and silver work, and onyx stones and bdellium did he cast upon the high place; every one gave something of what he possessed.

35 And Joseph took all these and placed them in his treasuries, and all the officers and nobles belonging to the king exalted Joseph, and they gave him many gifts, seeing that the king had chosen him to be his second.

36 And the king sent to Potiphera, the son of Ahiram priest of On, and he took his young daughter Osnath and gave her unto Joseph for a wife.

37 And the damsel was very comely, a virgin, one whom man had not known, and Joseph took her for a wife; and the king said unto Joseph, I am Pharaoh, and beside thee none shall dare to lift up his hand or his foot to regulate my people throughout the land of Egypt.

38 And Joseph was thirty years old when he stood before Pharaoh, and Joseph went out from before the king, and he became the king's second in Egypt.

39 And the king gave Joseph a hundred servants to attend him in his house, and Joseph also sent and purchased many servants and they remained in the house of Joseph.

40 Joseph then built for himself a very magnificent house like unto the houses of kings, before the court of the king's palace, and he made in the house a large temple, very elegant in appearance and convenient for his residence; three years was Joseph in erecting his house.

41 And Joseph made unto himself a very elegant throne of abundance of gold and silver, and he covered it with onyx stones and bdellium, and he made upon it the likeness of the whole land of Egypt, and the likeness of the river of Egypt that watereth the whole land of Egypt; and Joseph sat securely upon his throne in his house and the Lord increased Joseph's wisdom.

42 And all the inhabitants of Egypt and Pharaoh's servants and his princes loved Joseph exceedingly, for this thing was from the Lord to Joseph.

43 And Joseph had an army that made war, going out in hosts and troops to the number of forty thousand six hundred men, capable of bearing arms to assist the king and Joseph against the enemy, besides the king's officers and his servants and inhabitants of Egypt without number.

44 And Joseph gave unto his mighty men, and to all his host, shields and javelins, and caps and coats of mail and stones for slinging.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 50

1 At that time the children of Tarshish came against the sons of Ishmael, and made war with them, and the children of Tarshish spoiled the Ishmaelites for a long time.

2 And the children of Ishmael were small in number in those days, and they could not prevail over the children of Tarshish, and they were sorely oppressed.

3 And the old men of the Ishmaelites sent a record to the king of Egypt, saying, Send I pray thee unto thy servants officers and hosts to help us to fight against the children of Tarshish, for we have been consuming away for a long time.

4 And Pharaoh sent Joseph with the mighty men and host which were with him, and also his mighty men from the king's house.

5 And they went to the land of Havilah to the children of Ishmael, to assist them against the children of Tarshish, and

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the children of Ishmael fought with the children of Tarshish, and Joseph smote the Tarshishites and he subdued all their land, and the children of Ishmael dwell therein unto this day.

6 And when the land of Tarshish was subdued, all the Tarshishites ran away, and came on the border of their brethren the children of Javan, and Joseph with all his mighty men and host returned to Egypt, not one man of them missing.

7 And at the revolution of the year, in the second year of Joseph's reigning over Egypt, the Lord gave great plenty throughout the land for seven years as Joseph had spoken, for the Lord blessed all the produce of the earth in those days for seven years, and they ate and were greatly satisfied.

8 And Joseph at that time had officers under him, and they collected all the food of the good years, and heaped corn year by year, and they placed it in the treasuries of Joseph.

9 And at any time when they gathered the food Joseph commanded that they should bring the corn in the ears, and also bring with it some of the soil of the field, that it should not spoil.

10 And Joseph did according to this year by year, and he heaped up corn like the sand of the sea for abundance, for his stores were immense and could not be numbered for abundance.

11 And also all the inhabitants of Egypt gathered all sorts of food in their stores in great abundance during the seven good years, but they did not do unto it as Joseph did.

12 And all the food which Joseph and the Egyptians had gathered during the seven years of plenty, was secured for the land in stores for the seven years of famine, for the support of the whole land.

13 And the inhabitants of Egypt filled each man his store and his concealed place with corn, to be for support during the famine.

14 And Joseph placed all the food that he had gathered in all the cities of Egypt, and he closed all the stores and placed sentinels over them.

15 And Joseph's wife Osnath the daughter of Potiphera bare him two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim, and Joseph was thirty-four years old when he begat them.

16 And the lads grew up and they went in his ways and in his instructions, they did not deviate from the way which their father taught them, either to the right or left.

17 And the Lord was with the lads, and they grew up and had understanding and skill in all wisdom and in all the affairs of government, and all the king's officers and his great men of the inhabitants of Egypt exalted the lads, and they were brought up amongst the king's children.

18 And the seven years of plenty that were throughout the land were at an end, and the seven years of famine came after them as Joseph had spoken, and the famine was throughout the land.

19 And all the people of Egypt saw that the famine had commenced in the land of Egypt, and all the people of Egypt opened their stores of corn for the famine prevailed over them.

20 And they found all the food that was in their stores, full of vermin and not fit to eat, and the famine prevailed throughout the land, and all the inhabitants of Egypt came and cried before Pharaoh, for the famine was heavy upon them.

21 And they said unto Pharaoh, Give food unto thy servants, and wherefore shall we die through hunger before thy eyes, even we and our little ones?

22 And Pharaoh answered them, saying, And wherefore do you cry unto me? did not Joseph command that the corn should be laid up during the seven years of plenty for the years of famine? and wherefore did you not hearken to his voice?

23 And the people of Egypt answered the king, saying, As thy soul liveth, our lord, thy servants have done all that Joseph ordered, for thy servants also gathered in all the produce of their fields during the seven years of plenty and laid it in the stores unto this day.

24 And when the famine prevailed over thy servants we opened our stores, and behold all our produce was filled with vermin and was not fit for food.

25 And when the king heard all that had befallen the inhabitants of Egypt, the king was greatly afraid on account of the famine, and he was much terrified; and the king answered the people of Egypt, saying, Since all this has happened unto you, go unto Joseph, do whatever he shall say unto you, transgress not his commands.

26 And all the people of Egypt went forth and came unto Joseph, and said unto him, Give unto us food, and wherefore shall we die before thee through hunger? for we gathered in our produce during the seven years as thou didst command, and we put it in store, and thus has it befallen us.

27 And when Joseph heard all the words of the people of Egypt and what had befallen them, Joseph opened all his stores of the produce and he sold it unto the people of Egypt.

28 And the famine prevailed throughout the land, and the famine was in all countries, but in the land of Egypt there was produce for sale.

29 And all the inhabitants of Egypt came unto Joseph to buy corn, for the famine prevailed over them, and all their corn was spoiled, and Joseph daily sold it to all the people of Egypt.

30 And all the inhabitants of the land of Canaan and the Philistines, and those beyond the Jordan, and the children of the east and all the cities of the lands far and nigh heard that there was corn in Egypt, and they all came to Egypt to buy corn, for the famine prevailed over them.

31 And Joseph opened the stores of corn and placed officers over them, and they daily stood and sold to all that came.

32 And Joseph knew that his brethren also would come to Egypt to buy corn, for the famine prevailed throughout the earth. And Joseph commanded all his people that they should cause it to be proclaimed throughout the land of Egypt, saying,

33 It is the pleasure of the king, of his second and of their great men, that any person who wishes to buy corn in Egypt shall not send his servants to Egypt to purchase, but his sons, and also any Egyptian or Canaanite, who shall come from any of the stores from buying corn in Egypt, and shall go and sell it throughout the land, he shall die, for no one shall buy but for the support of his household.

34 And any man leading two or three beasts shall die, for a man shall only lead his own beast.

35 And Joseph placed sentinels at the gates of Egypt, and commanded them, saying, Any person who may come to buy corn, suffer him not to enter until his name, and the name of his father, and the name of his father's father be written down, and whatever is written by day, send their names unto me in the evening that I may know their names.

36 And Joseph placed officers throughout the land of Egypt, and he commanded them to do all these things.

37 And Joseph did all these things, and made these statutes, in order that he might know when his brethren should come to Egypt to buy corn; and Joseph's people caused it daily to be proclaimed in Egypt according to these words and statutes which Joseph had commanded.

38 And all the inhabitants of the east and west country, and of all the earth, heard of the statutes and regulations which Joseph had enacted in Egypt, and the inhabitants of the extreme parts of the earth came and they bought corn in Egypt day after day, and then went away.

39 And all the officers of Egypt did as Joseph had commanded, and all that came to Egypt to buy corn, the gate keepers would write their names, and their fathers' names, and daily bring them in the evening before Joseph.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 51

1 And Jacob afterward heard that there was corn in Egypt, and he called unto his sons to go to Egypt to buy corn, for upon them also did the famine prevail, and he called unto his sons, saying,

2 Behold I hear that there is corn in Egypt, and all the people of the earth go there to purchase, now therefore why will you show yourselves satisfied before the whole earth? go you also down to Egypt and buy us a little corn amongst those that come there, that we may not die.

3 And the sons of Jacob hearkened to the voice of their father, and they rose up to go down to Egypt in order to buy corn amongst the rest that came there.

4 And Jacob their father commanded them, saying, When you come into the city do not enter together in one gate, on account of the inhabitants of the land.

5 And the sons of Jacob went forth and they went to Egypt, and the sons of Jacob did all as their father had commanded them, and Jacob did not send Benjamin, for he said, Lest an accident might befall him on the road like his brother; and ten of Jacob's sons went forth.

6 And whilst the sons of Jacob were going on the road, they repented of what they had done to Joseph, and they spoke to each other, saying, We know that our brother Joseph went down to Egypt, and now we will seek him where we go, and if we find him we will take him from his master for a ransom, and if not, by force, and we will die for him.

7 And the sons of Jacob agreed to this thing and strengthened themselves on account of Joseph, to deliver him from the hand of his master, and the sons of Jacob went to Egypt; and when they came near to Egypt they separated from each other, and they came through ten gates of Egypt, and the gate keepers wrote their names on that day, and brought them to Joseph in the evening.

8 And Joseph read the names from the hand of the gate-keepers of the city, and he found that his brethren had entered at the ten gates of the city, and Joseph at that time commanded that it should be proclaimed throughout the land of Egypt, saying,

9 Go forth all ye store guards, close all the corn stores and let only one remain open, that those who come may purchase from it.

10 And all the officers of Joseph did so at that time, and they closed all the stores and left only one open.

11 And Joseph gave the written names of his brethren to him that was set over the open store, and he said unto him, Whosoever shall come to thee to buy corn, ask his name, and when men of these names shall come before thee, seize them and send them, and they did so.

12 And when the sons of Jacob came into the city, they joined together in the city to seek Joseph before they bought themselves corn.

13 And they went to the walls of the harlots, and they sought Joseph in the walls of the harlots for three days, for they thought that Joseph would come in the walls of the harlots, for Joseph was very comely and well favored, and the sons of Jacob sought Joseph for three days, and they could not find him.

14 And the man who was set over the open store sought for those names which Joseph had given him, and he did not find them.

15 And he sent to Joseph, saying, These three days have passed, and those men whose names thou didst give unto me have not come; and Joseph sent servants to seek the men in all Egypt, and to bring them before Joseph.

16 And Joseph's servants went and came into Egypt and could not find them, and went to Goshen and they were not there, and then went to the city of Rameses and could not find them.

17 And Joseph continued to send sixteen servants to seek his brothers, and they went and spread themselves in the four corners of the city, and four of the servants went into the house of the harlots, and they found the ten men there seeking their brother.

18 And those four men took them and brought them before him, and they bowed down to him to the ground, and Joseph was sitting upon his throne in his temple, clothed with princely garments, and upon his head was a large crown of gold, and all the mighty men were sitting around him.

19 And the sons of Jacob saw Joseph, and his figure and comeliness and dignity of countenance seemed wonderful in their eyes, and they again bowed down to him to the ground.

20 And Joseph saw his brethren, and he knew them, but they knew him not, for Joseph was very great in their eyes, therefore they knew him not.

21 And Joseph spoke to them, saying, From whence come ye? and they all answered and said, Thy servants have come from the land of Canaan to buy corn, for the famine prevails throughout the earth, and thy servants heard that there was corn in Egypt, so they have come amongst the other comers to buy corn for their support.

22 And Joseph answered them, saying, If you have come to purchase as you say, why do you come through ten gates of the city? it can only be that you have come to spy through the land.

23 And they all together answered Joseph, and said, Not so my lord, we are right, thy servants are not spies, but we have come to buy corn, for thy servants are all brothers, the sons of one man in the land of Canaan, and our father commanded us, saying, When you come to the city do not enter together at one gate on account of the inhabitants of the land.

24 And Joseph again answered them and said, That is the thing which I spoke unto you, you have come to spy through the land, therefore you all came through ten gates of the city; you have come to see the nakedness of the land.

25 Surely every one that cometh to buy corn goeth his way, and you are already three days in the land, and what do you do in the walls of harlots in which you have been for these three days? surely spies do like unto these things.

26 And they said unto Joseph, Far be it from our lord to speak thus, for we are twelve brothers, the sons of our father Jacob, in the land of Canaan, the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham, the Hebrew, and behold the youngest is with our father this day in the land of Canaan, and one is not, for he was lost from us, and we thought perhaps he might be in this land, so we are seeking him throughout the land, and have come even to the houses of harlots to seek him there.

27 And Joseph said unto them, And have you then sought him throughout the earth, that there only remained Egypt for you to seek him in? And what also should your brother do in the houses of harlots, although he were in Egypt? have you not said, That you are from the sons of Isaac, the son of Abraham, and what shall the sons of Jacob do then in the houses of harlots?

28 And they said unto him, Because we heard that Ishmaelites stole him from us, and it was told unto us that they sold him in Egypt, and thy servant, our brother, is very comely and well favored, so we thought he would surely be in the houses of harlots, therefore thy servants went there to seek him and give ransom for him.

29 And Joseph still answered them, saying, Surely you speak falsely and utter lies, to say of yourselves that you are the sons of Abraham; as Pharaoh liveth you are spies, therefore have you come to the houses of harlots that you should not be known.

30 And Joseph said unto them, And now if you find him, and his master requireth of you a great price, will you give it for him? and they said, It shall be given.

31 And he said unto them, And if his master will not consent to part with him for a great price, what will you do unto him on his account? and they answered him, saying, If he

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will not give him unto us we will slay him, and take our brother and go away.

32 And Joseph said unto them, That is the thing which I have spoken to you; you are spies, for you are come to slay the inhabitants of the land, for we heard that two of your brethren smote all the inhabitants of Shechem, in the land of Canaan, on account of your sister, and you now come to do the like in Egypt on account of your brother.

33 Only hereby shall I know that you are true men; if you will send home one from amongst you to fetch your youngest brother from your father, and to bring him here unto me, and by doing this thing I will know that you are right.

34 And Joseph called to seventy of his mighty men, and he said unto them, Take these men and bring them into the ward.

35 And the mighty men took the ten men, they laid hold of them and put them into the ward, and they were in the ward three days.

36 And on the third day Joseph had them brought out of the ward, and he said unto them, Do this for yourselves if you be true men, so that you may live, one of your brethren shall be confined in the ward whilst you go and take home the corn for your household to the land of Canaan, and fetch your youngest brother, and bring him here unto me, that I may know that you are true men when you do this thing.

37 And Joseph went out from them and came into the chamber, and wept a great weeping, for his pity was excited for them, and he washed his face, and returned to them again, and he took Simeon from them and ordered him to be bound, but Simeon was not willing to be done so, for he was a very powerful man and they could not bind him.

38 And Joseph called unto his mighty men and seventy valiant men came before him with drawn swords in their hands, and the sons of Jacob were terrified at them.

39 And Joseph said unto them, Seize this man and confine him in prison until his brethren come to him, and Joseph's valiant men hastened and they all laid hold of Simeon to bind him, and Simeon gave a loud and terrible shriek and the cry was heard at a distance.

40 And all the valiant men of Joseph were terrified at the sound of the shriek, that they fell upon their faces, and they were greatly afraid and fled.

41 And all the men that were with Joseph fled, for they were greatly afraid of their lives, and only Joseph and Manasseh his son remained there, and Manassah the son of Joseph saw the strength of Simeon, and he was exceedingly wroth.

42 And Manassah the son of Joseph rose up to Simeon, and Manassah smote Simeon a heavy blow with his fist against the back of his neck, and Simeon was stilled of his rage.

43 And Manassah laid hold of Simeon and he seized him violently and he bound him and brought him into the house of confinement, and all the sons of Jacob were astonished at the act of the youth.

44 And Simeon said unto his brethren, None of you must say that this is the smiting of an Egyptian, but it is the smiting of the house of my father.

45 And after this Joseph ordered him to be called who was set over the storehouse, to fill their sacks with corn as much as they could carry, and to restore every man's money into his sack, and to give them provision for the road, and thus did he unto them.

46 And Joseph commanded them, saying, Take heed lest you transgress my orders to bring your brother as I have told you, and it shall be when you bring your brother hither unto me, then will I know that you are true men, and you shall traffic in the land, and I will restore unto you your brother, and you shall return in peace to your father.

47 And they all answered and said, According as our lord speaketh so will we do, and they bowed down to him to the ground.

48 And every man lifted his corn upon his ass, and they went out to go to the land of Canaan to their father; and they came to the inn and Levi spread his sack to give provender to his ass, when he saw and behold his money in full weight was still in his sack.

49 And the man was greatly afraid, and he said unto his brethren, My money is restored, and lo, it is even in my sack, and the men were greatly afraid, and they said, What is this that God hath done unto us?

50 And they all said, And where is the Lord's kindness with our fathers, with Abraham, Isaac, end Jacob, that the Lord has this day delivered us into the hands of the king of Egypt to contrive against us?

51 And Judah said unto them, Surely we are guilty sinners before the Lord our God in having sold our brother, our own flesh, and wherefore do you say, Where is the Lord's kindness with our fathers?

52 And Reuben said unto them, Said I not unto you, do not sin against the lad, and you would not listen to me? now God requireth him from us, and how dare you say, Where is the Lord's kindness with our fathers, whilst you have sinned unto the Lord?

53 And they tarried over night in that place, and they rose up early in the morning and laded their asses with their corn, and they led them and went on and came to their father's house in the land of Canaan.

54 And Jacob and his household went out to meet his sons, and Jacob saw and behold their brother Simeon was not with them, and Jacob said unto his sons, Where is your brother Simeon, whom I do not see? and his sons told him all that had befallen them in Egypt.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 52

1 And they entered their house, and every man opened his sack and they saw and behold every man's bundle of money was there, at which they and their father were greatly terrified.

2 And Jacob said unto them, What is this that you have done to me? I sent your brother Joseph to inquire after your welfare and you said unto me. A wild beast did devour him.

3 And Simeon went with you to buy food and you say the king of Egypt hath confined him in prison, and you wish to take Benjamin to cause his death also, and bring down my grey hairs with sorrow to the grave on account of Benjamin and his brother Joseph.

4 Now therefore my son shall not go down with you, for his brother is dead and he is left alone, and mischief may befall him by the way in which you go, as it befell his brother.

5 And Reuben said unto his father, Thou shalt slay my two sons if I do not bring thy son and place him before thee; and Jacob said unto his sons, Abide ye here and do not go down to Egypt, for my son shall not go down with you to Egypt, nor die like his brother.

6 And Judah said unto them, refrain ye from him until the corn is finished, and he will then say, Take down your brother, when he will find his own life and the life of his household in danger from the famine.

7 And in those days the famine was sore throughout the land, and all the people of the earth went and came to Egypt to buy food, for the famine prevailed greatly amongst them, and the sons of Jacob remained in Canaan a year and two months until their corn was finished.

8 And it came to pass after their corn was finished, the whole household of Jacob was pinched with hunger, and all the infants of the sons of Jacob came together and they approached Jacob, and they all surrounded him, and they said unto him, Give unto us bread, and wherefore shall we all perish through hunger in thy presence?

9 Jacob heard the words of his son's children, and he wept a great weeping, and his pity was roused for them, and Jacob called unto his sons and they all came and sat before him.

10 And Jacob said unto them, And have you not seen how your children have been weeping over me this day, saying, Give unto us bread, and there is none? now therefore return and buy for us a little food.

11 And Judah answered and said unto his father, If thou wilt send our brother with us we will go down and buy corn for thee, and if thou wilt not send him then we will not go down, for surely the king of Egypt particularly enjoined us, saying, You shall not see my face unless your brother be with you, for the king of Egypt is a strong and mighty king, and behold if we shall go to him without our brother we shall all be put to death.

12 Dost thou not know and hast thou not heard that this king is very powerful and wise, and there is not like unto him in all the earth? behold we have seen all the kings of the earth and we have not seen one like that king, the king of Egypt; surely amongst all the kings of the earth there is none greater than Abimelech king of the Philistines, yet the king of Egypt is greater and mightier than he, and Abimelech can only be compared to one of his officers.

13 Father, thou hast not seen his palace and his throne, and all his servants standing before him; thou hast not seen that king upon his throne in his pomp and royal appearance, dressed in his kingly robes with a large golden crown upon his head; thou hast not seen the honor and glory which God has given unto him, for there is not like unto him in all the earth.

14 Father, thou hast not seen the wisdom, the understanding and the knowledge which God has given in his heart, nor heard his sweet voice when he spake unto us.

15 We know not, father, who made him acquainted with our names and all that befell us, yet he asked also after thee, saying, Is your father still living, and is it well with him?

16 Thou hast not seen the affairs of the government of Egypt regulated by him, without inquiring of Pharaoh his lord; thou hast not seen the awe and fear which he impressed upon all the Egyptians.

17 And also when we went from him, we threatened to do unto Egypt like unto the rest of the cities of the Amorites, and we were exceedingly wroth against all his words which he spoke concerning us as spies, and now when we shall again come before him his terror will fall upon us all, and not one of us will be able to speak to him either a little or a great thing.

18 Now therefore father, send we pray thee the lad with us, and we will go down and buy thee food for our support, and not die through hunger. And Jacob said, Why have you dealt so ill with me to tell the king you had a brother? what is this thing that you have done unto me?

19 And Judah said unto Jacob his father, Give the lad into my care and we will rise up and go down to Egypt and buy corn, and then return, and it shall be when we return if the lad be not with us, then let me bear thy blame forever.

20 Hast thou seen all our infants weeping over thee through hunger and there is no power in thy hand to satisfy them? now let thy pity be roused for them and send our brother with us and we will go.

21 For how will the Lord's kindness to our ancestors be manifested to thee when thou sayest that the king of Egypt will take away thy son? as the Lord liveth I will not leave him until I bring him and place him before thee; but pray for us unto the Lord, that he may deal kindly with us, to cause us to be received favorably and kindly before the king of Egypt and his men, for had we not delayed surely now we had returned a second time with thy son.

22 And Jacob said unto his sons, I trust in the Lord God that he may deliver you and give you favor in the sight of the king of Egypt, and in the sight of all his men.

23 Now therefore rise up and go to the man, and take for him in your hands a present from what can be obtained in the land and bring it before him, and may the Almighty God give you mercy before him that he may send Benjamin and Simeon your brethren with you.

24 And all the men rose up, and they took their brother Benjamin, and they took in their hands a large present of the best of the land, and they also took a double portion of silver.

25 And Jacob strictly commanded his sons concerning Benjamin, Saying, Take heed of him in the way in which you are going, and do not separate yourselves from him in the road, neither in Egypt.

26 And Jacob rose up from his sons and spread forth his hands and he prayed unto the Lord on account of his sons, saying, O Lord God of heaven and earth, remember thy covenant with our father Abraham, remember it with my father Isaac and deal kindly with my sons and deliver them not into the hands of the king of Egypt; do it I pray thee O God for the sake of thy mercies and redeem all my children and rescue them from Egyptian power, and send them their two brothers.

27 And all the wives of the sons of Jacob and their children lifted up their eyes to heaven and they all wept before the Lord, and cried unto him to deliver their fathers from the hand of the king of Egypt.

28 And Jacob wrote a record to the king of Egypt and gave it into the hand of Judah and into the hands of his sons for the king of Egypt, saying,

29 From thy servant Jacob, son of Isaac, son of Abraham the Hebrew, the prince of God, to the powerful and wise king, the revealer of secrets, king of Egypt, greeting.

30 Be it known to my lord the king of Egypt, the famine was sore upon us in the land of Canaan, and I sent my sons to thee to buy us a little food from thee for our support.

31 For my sons surrounded me and I being very old cannot see with my eyes, for my eyes have become very heavy through age, as well as with daily weeping for my son, for Joseph who was lost from before me, and I commanded my sons that they should not enter the gates of the city when they came to Egypt, on account of the inhabitants of the land.

32 And I also commanded them to go about Egypt to seek for my son Joseph, perhaps they might find him there, and they did so, and thou didst consider them as spies of the land.

33 Have we not heard concerning thee that thou didst interpret Pharaoh's dream and didst speak truly unto him? how then dost thou not know in thy wisdom whether my sons are spies or not?

34 Now therefore, my lord and king, behold I have sent my son before thee, as thou didst speak unto my sons; I beseech thee to put thy eyes upon him until he is returned to me in peace with his brethren.

35 For dost thou not know, or hast thou not heard that which our God did unto Pharaoh when he took my mother Sarah, and what he did unto Abimelech king of the Philistines on account of her, and also what our father Abraham did unto the nine kings of Elam, how he smote them all with a few men that were with him?

36 And also what my two sons Simeon and Levi did unto the eight cities of the Amorites, how they destroyed them on account of their sister Dinah?

37 And also on account of their brother Benjamin they consoled themselves for the loss of his brother Joseph; what will they then do for him when they see the hand of any people prevailing over them, for his sake?

38 Dost thou not know, O king of Egypt, that the power of God is with us, and that also God ever heareth our prayers and forsaketh us not all the days?

39 And when my sons told me of thy dealings with them, I called not unto the Lord on account of thee, for then thou wouldst have perished with thy men before my son Benjamin came before thee, but I thought that as Simeon my son was in thy house, perhaps thou mightest deal kindly with him, therefore I did not this thing unto thee.

40 Now therefore behold Benjamin my son cometh unto thee with my sons, take heed of him and put thy eyes upon him,

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and then will God place his eyes over thee and throughout thy kingdom.

41 Now I have told thee all that is in my heart, and behold my sons are coming to thee with their brother, examine the face of the whole earth for their sake and send them back in peace with their brethren.

42 And Jacob gave the record to his sons into the care of Judah to give it unto the king of Egypt.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 53

1 And the sons of Jacob rose up and took Benjamin and the whole of the presents, and they went and came to Egypt and they stood before Joseph.

2 And Joseph beheld his brother Benjamin with them and he saluted them, and these men came to Joseph's house.

3 And Joseph commanded the superintendent of his house to give to his brethren to eat, and he did so unto them.

4 And at noon time Joseph sent for the men to come before him with Benjamin, and the men told the superintendent of Joseph's house concerning the silver that was returned in their sacks, and he said unto them, It will be well with you, fear not, and he brought their brother Simeon unto them.

5 And Simeon said unto his brethren, The lord of the Egyptians has acted very kindly unto me, he did not keep me bound, as you saw with your eyes, for when you went out from the city he let me free and dealt kindly with me in his house.

6 And Judah took Benjamin by the hand, and they came before Joseph, and they bowed down to him to the ground.

7 And the men gave the present unto Joseph and they all sat before him, and Joseph said unto them, Is it well with you, is it well with your children, is it well with your aged father? and they said, It is well, and Judah took the record which Jacob had sent and gave it into the hand of Joseph.

8 And Joseph read the letter and knew his father's writing, and he wished to weep and he went into an inner room and he wept a great weeping; and he went out.

9 And he lifted up his eyes and beheld his brother Benjamin, and he said, Is this your brother of whom you spoke unto me? And Benjamin approached Joseph, and Joseph placed his hand upon his head and he said unto him, May God be gracious unto thee my son.

10 And when Joseph saw his brother, the son of his mother, he again wished to weep, and he entered the chamber, and he wept there, and he washed his face, and went out and refrained from weeping, and he said, Prepare food.

11 And Joseph had a cup from which he drank, and it was of silver beautifully inlaid with onyx stones and bdellium, and Joseph struck the cup in the sight of his brethren whilst they were sitting to eat with him.

12 And Joseph said unto the men, I know by this cup that Reuben the first born, Simeon and Levi and Judah, Issachar and Zebulun are children from one mother, seat yourselves to eat according to your births.

13 And he also placed the others according to their births, and he said, I know that this your youngest brother has no brother, and I, like him, have no brother, he shall therefore sit down to eat with me.

14 And Benjamin went up before Joseph and sat upon the throne, and the men beheld the acts of Joseph, and they were astonished at them; and the men ate and drank at that time with Joseph, and he then gave presents unto them, and Joseph gave one gift unto Benjamin, and Manasseh and Ephraim saw the acts of their father, and they also gave presents unto him, and Osnath gave him one present, and they were five presents in the hand of Benjamin.

15 And Joseph brought them out wine to drink, and they would not drink, and they said, From the day on which Joseph was lost we have not drunk wine, nor eaten any delicacies.

16 And Joseph swore unto them, and he pressed them hard, and they drank plentifully with him on that day, and Joseph afterward turned to his brother Benjamin to speak with him, and Benjamin was still sitting upon the throne before Joseph.

17 And Joseph said unto him, Hast thou begotten any children? and he said, Thy servant has ten sons, and these are their names, Bela, Becher, Ashbal, Gera, Naaman, Achi, Rosh, Mupim, Chupim, and Ord, and I called their names after my brother whom I have not seen.

18 And he ordered them to bring before him his map of the stars, whereby Joseph knew all the times, and Joseph said unto Benjamin, I have heard that the Hebrews are acquainted with all wisdom, dost thou know anything of this?

19 And Benjamin said, Thy servant is knowing also in all the wisdom which my father taught me, and Joseph said unto Benjamin, Look now at this instrument and understand where thy brother Joseph is in Egypt, who you said went down to Egypt.

20 And Benjamin beheld that instrument with the map of the stars of heaven, and he was wise and looked therein to know where his brother was, and Benjamin divided the whole land of Egypt into four divisions, and he found that he who was sitting upon the throne before him was his brother Joseph, and Benjamin wondered greatly, and when Joseph saw that his brother Benjamin was so much astonished, he said unto Benjamin, What hast thou seen, and why art thou astonished?

21 And Benjamin said unto Joseph, I can see by this that Joseph my brother sitteth here with me upon the throne, and Joseph said unto him, I am Joseph thy brother, reveal not this thing unto thy brethren; behold I will send thee with them when they go away, and I will command them to be brought back again into the city, and I will take thee away from them.

22 And if they dare their lives and fight for thee, then shall I know that they have repented of what they did unto me, and I will make myself known to them, and if they forsake thee when I take thee, then shalt thou remain with me, and I will wrangle with them, and they shall go away, and I will not become known to them.

23 At that time Joseph commanded his officer to fill their sacks with food, and to put each man's money into his sack, and to put the cup in the sack of Benjamin, and to give them provision for the road, and they did so unto them.

24 And on the next day the men rose up early in the morning, and they loaded their asses with their corn, and they went forth with Benjamin, and they went to the land of Canaan with their brother Benjamin.

25 They had not gone far from Egypt when Joseph commanded him that was set over his house, saying, Rise, pursue these men before they get too far from Egypt, and say unto them, Why have you stolen my master's cup?

26 And Joseph's officer rose up and he reached them, and he spoke unto them all the words of Joseph; and when they heard this thing they became exceedingly wroth, and they said, He with whom thy master's cup shall be found shall die, and we will also become slaves.

27 And they hastened and each man brought down his sack from his ass, and they looked in their bags and the cup was found in Benjamin's bag, and they all tore their garments and they returned to the city, and they smote Benjamin in the road, continually smiting him until he came into the city, and they stood before Joseph.

28 And Judah's anger was kindled, and he said, This man has only brought me back to destroy Egypt this day.

29 And the men came to Joseph's house, and they found Joseph sitting upon his throne, and all the mighty men standing at his right and left.

30 And Joseph said unto them, What is this act that you have done, that you took away my silver cup and went away? but I know that you took my cup in order to know thereby in what part of the land your brother was.

31 And Judah said, What shall we say to our lord, what shall we speak and how shall we justify ourselves, God has this day found the iniquity of all thy servants, therefore has he done this thing to us this day.

32 And Joseph rose up and caught hold of Benjamin and took him from his brethren with violence, and he came to the house and locked the door at them, and Joseph commanded him that was set over his house that he should say unto them, Thus saith the king, Go in peace to your father, behold I have taken the man in whose hand my cup was found.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 54

1 And when Judah saw the dealings of Joseph with them, Judah approached him and broke open the door, and came with his brethren before Joseph.

2 And Judah said unto Joseph, Let it not seem grievous in the sight of my lord, may thy servant I pray thee speak a word before thee? and Joseph said unto him, Speak.

3 And Judah spoke before Joseph, and his brethren were there standing before them; and Judah said unto Joseph, Surely when we first came to our lord to buy food, thou didst consider us as spies of the land, and we brought Benjamin before thee, and thou still makest sport of us this day.

4 Now therefore let the king hear my words, and send I pray thee our brother that he may go along with us to our father, lest thy soul perish this day with all the souls of the inhabitants of Egypt.

5 Dost thou not know what two of my brethren, Simeon and Levi, did unto the city of Shechem, and unto seven cities of the Amorites, on account of our sister Dinah, and also what they would do for the sake of their brother Benjamin?

6 And I with my strength, who am greater and mightier than both of them, come this day upon thee and thy land if thou art unwilling to send our brother.

7 Hast thou not heard what our God who made choice of us did unto Pharaoh on account of Sarah our mother, whom he took away from our father, that he smote him and his household with heavy plagues, that even unto this day the Egyptians relate this wonder to each other? so will our God do unto thee on account of Benjamin whom thou hast this day taken from his father, and on account of the evils which thou this day heapest over us in thy land; for our God will remember his covenant with our father Abraham and bring evil upon thee, because thou hast grieved the soul of our father this day.

8 Now therefore hear my words that I have this day spoken unto thee, and send our brother that he may go away lest thou and the people of thy land die by the sword, for you cannot all prevail over me.

9 And Joseph answered Judah, saying, Why hast thou opened wide thy mouth and why dost thou boast over us, saying, Strength is with thee? as Pharaoh liveth, if I command all my valiant men to fight with you, surely thou and these thy brethren would sink in the mire.

10 And Judah said unto Joseph, Surely it becometh thee and thy people to fear me; as the Lord liveth if I once draw my sword I shall not sheathe it again until I shall this day have slain all Egypt, and I will commence with thee and finish with Pharaoh thy master.

11 And Joseph answered and said unto him, Surely strength belongeth not alone to thee; I am stronger and mightier than thou, surely if thou drawest thy sword I will put it to thy neck and the necks of all thy brethren.

12 And Judah said unto him, Surely if I this day open my mouth against thee I would swallow thee up that thou be destroyed from off the earth and perish this day from thy kingdom. And Joseph said, Surely if thou openest thy mouth I have power and might to close thy mouth with a stone until thou shalt not be able to utter a word; see how many stones are before us, truly I can take a stone, and force it into thy mouth and break thy jaws.

13 And Judah said, God is witness between us, that we have not hitherto desired to battle with thee, only give us our brother and we will go from thee; and Joseph answered and said, As Pharaoh liveth, if all the kings of Canaan came together with you, you should not take him from my hand.

14 Now therefore go your way to your father, and your brother shall be unto me for a slave, for he has robbed the king's house. And Judah said, What is it to thee or to the character of the king, surely the king sendeth forth from his house, throughout the land, silver and gold either in gifts or expenses, and thou still talkest about thy cup which thou didst place in our brother's bag and sayest that he has stolen it from thee?

15 God forbid that our brother Benjamin or any of the seed of Abraham should do this thing to steal from thee, or from any one else, whether king, prince, or any man.

16 Now therefore cease this accusation lest the whole earth hear thy words, saying, For a little silver the king of Egypt wrangled with the men, and he accused them and took their brother for a slave.

17 And Joseph answered and said, Take unto you this cup and go from me and leave your brother for a slave, for it is the judgement of a thief to be a slave.

18 And Judah said, Why art thou not ashamed of thy words, to leave our brother and to take thy cup? Surely if thou givest us thy cup, or a thousand times as much, we will not leave our brother for the silver which is found in the hand of any man, that we will not die over him.

19 And Joseph answered, And why did you forsake your brother and sell him for twenty pieces of silver unto this day, and why then will you not do the same to this your brother?

20 And Judah said, the Lord is witness between me and thee that we desire not thy battles; now therefore give us our brother and we will go from thee without quarreling.

21 And Joseph answered and said, If all the kings of the land should assemble they will not be able to take your brother from my hand; and Judah said, What shall we say unto our father, when he seeth that our brother cometh not with us, and will grieve over him?

22 And Joseph answered and said, This is the thing which you shall tell unto your father, saying, The rope has gone after the bucket.

23 And Judah said, Surely thou art a king, and why speakest thou these things, giving a false judgement? woe unto the king who is like unto thee.

24 And Joseph answered and said, There is no false judgement in the word that I spoke on account of your brother Joseph, for all of you sold him to the Midianites for twenty pieces of silver, and you all denied it to your father and said unto him, An evil beast has devoured him, Joseph has been torn to pieces.

25 And Judah said, Behold the fire of Shem burneth in my heart, now I will burn all your land with fire; and Joseph answered and said, Surely thy sister-in-law Tamar, who killed your sons, extinguished the fire of Shechem.

26 And Judah said, If I pluck out a single hair from my flesh, I will fill all Egypt with its blood.

27 And Joseph answered and said, Such is your custom to do as you did to your brother whom you sold, and you dipped his coat in blood and brought it to your father in order that he might say an evil beast devoured him and here is his blood.

28 And when Judah heard this thing he was exceedingly wroth and his anger burned within him, and there was before him in that place a stone, the weight of which was about four hundred shekels, and Judah's anger was kindled and he took the stone in one hand and cast it to the heavens and caught it with his left hand.

29 And he placed it afterward under his legs, and he sat upon it with all his strength and the stone was turned into dust from the force of Judah.

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30 And Joseph saw the act of Judah and he was very much afraid, but he commanded Manassah his son and he also did with another stone like unto the act of Judah, and Judah said unto his brethren, Let not any of you say, this man is an Egyptian, but by his doing this thing he is of our father's family.

31 And Joseph said, Not to you only is strength given, for we are also powerful men, and why will you boast over us all? and Judah said unto Joseph, Send I pray thee our brother and ruin not thy country this day.

32 And Joseph answered and said unto them, Go and tell your father, an evil beast hath devoured him as you said concerning your brother Joseph.

33 And Judah spoke to his brother Naphtali, and he said unto him, Make haste, go now and number all the streets of Egypt and come and tell me; and Simeon said unto him, Let not this thing be a trouble to thee; now I will go to the mount and take up one large stone from the mount and level it at every one in Egypt, and kill all that are in it.

34 And Joseph heard all these words that his brethren spoke before him, and they did not know that Joseph understood them, for they imagined that he knew not to speak Hebrew.

35 And Joseph was greatly afraid at the words of his brethren lest they should destroy Egypt, and he commanded his son Manasseh, saying, Go now make haste and gather unto me all the inhabitants of Egypt, and all the valiant men together, and let them come to me now upon horseback and on foot and with all sorts of musical instruments, and Manasseh went and did so.

36 And Naphtali went as Judah had commanded him, for Naphtali was lightfooted as one of the swift stags, and he would go upon the ears of corn and they would not break under him.

37 And he went and numbered all the streets of Egypt, and found them to be twelve, and he came hastily and told Judah, and Judah said unto his brethren, Hasten you and put on every man his sword upon his loins and we will come over Egypt, and smite them all, and let not a remnant remain.

38 And Judah said, Behold, I will destroy three of the streets with my strength, and you shall each destroy one street; and when Judah was speaking this thing, behold the inhabitants of Egypt and all the mighty men came toward them with all sorts of musical instruments and with loud shouting.

39 And their number was five hundred cavalry and ten thousand infantry, and four hundred men who could fight without sword or spear, only with their hands and strength.

40 And all the mighty men came with great storming and shouting, and they all surrounded the sons of Jacob and terrified them, and the ground quaked at the sound of their shouting.

41 And when the sons of Jacob saw these troops they were greatly afraid of their lives, and Joseph did so in order to terrify the sons of Jacob to become tranquilized.

42 And Judah, seeing some of his brethren terrified, said unto them, Why are you afraid whilst the grace of God is with us? and when Judah saw all the people of Egypt surrounding them at the command of Joseph to terrify them, only Joseph commanded them, saying, Do not touch any of them.

43 Then Judah hastened and drew his sword, and uttered a loud and bitter scream, and he smote with his sword, and he sprang upon the ground and he still continued to shout against all the people.

44 And when he did this thing the Lord caused the terror of Judah and his brethren to fall upon the valiant men and all the people that surrounded them.

45 And they all fled at the sound of the shouting, and they were terrified and fell one upon the other, and many of them died as they fell, and they all fled from before Judah and his brethren and from before Joseph.

46 And whilst they were fleeing, Judah and his brethren pursued them unto the house of Pharaoh, and they all escaped, and Judah again sat before Joseph and roared at him like a lion, and gave a great and tremendous shriek at him.

47 And the shriek was heard at a distance, and all the inhabitants of Succoth heard it, and all Egypt quaked at the sound of the shriek, and also the walls of Egypt and of the land of Goshen fell in from the shaking of the earth, and Pharaoh also fell from his throne upon the ground, and also all the pregnant women of Egypt and Goshen miscarried when they heard the noise of the shaking, for they were terribly afraid.

48 And Pharaoh sent word, saying, What is this thing that has this day happened in the land of Egypt? and they came and told him all the things from beginning to end, and Pharaoh was alarmed and he wondered and was greatly afraid.

49 And his fright increased when he heard all these things, and he sent unto Joseph, saying, Thou hast brought unto me the Hebrews to destroy all Egypt; what wilt thou do with that thievish slave? send him away and let him go with his brethren, and let us not perish through their evil, even we, you and all Egypt.

50 And if thou desirest not to do this thing, cast off from thee all my valuable things, and go with them to their land, if thou delightest in it, for they will this day destroy my whole country and slay all my people; even all the women of Egypt have miscarried through their screams; see what they have done merely by their shouting and speaking, moreover if they fight with the sword, they will destroy the land; now therefore choose that which thou desirest, whether me or the Hebrews, whether Egypt or the land of the Hebrews.

51 And they came and told Joseph all the words of Pharaoh that he had said concerning him, and Joseph was greatly afraid at the words of Pharaoh and Judah and his brethren were still standing before Joseph indignant and enraged, and all the sons of Jacob roared at Joseph, like the roaring of the sea and its waves.

52 And Joseph was greatly afraid of his brethren and on account of Pharaoh, and Joseph sought a pretext to make himself known unto his brethren, lest they should destroy all Egypt.

53 And Joseph commanded his son Manasseh, and Manasseh went and approached Judah, and placed his hand upon his shoulder, and the anger of Judah was stilled.

54 And Judah said unto his brethren, Let no one of you say that this is the act of an Egyptian youth for this is the work of my father's house.

55 And Joseph seeing and knowing that Judah's anger was stilled, he approached to speak unto Judah in the language of mildness.

56 And Joseph said unto Judah, Surely you speak truth and have this day verified your assertions concerning your strength, and may your God who delighteth in you, increase your welfare; but tell me truly why from amongst all thy brethren dost thou wrangle with me on account of the lad, as none of them have spoken one word to me concerning him.

57 And Judah answered Joseph, saying, Surely thou must know that I was security for the lad to his father, saying, If I brought him not unto him I should bear his blame forever.

58 Therefore have I approached thee from amongst all my brethren, for I saw that thou wast unwilling to suffer him to go from thee; now therefore may I find grace in thy sight that thou shalt send him to go with us, and behold I will remain as a substitute for him, to serve thee in whatever thou desirest, for wheresoever thou shalt send me I will go to serve thee with great energy.

59 Send me now to a mighty king who has rebelled against thee, and thou shalt know what I will do unto him and unto his land; although he may have cavalry and infantry or an exceeding mighty people, I will slay them all and bring the king's head before thee.

60 Dost thou not know or hast thou not heard that our father Abraham with his servant Eliezer smote all the kings of Elam with their hosts in one night, they left not one remaining? and ever since that day our father's strength was given unto us for an inheritance, for us and our seed forever.

61 And Joseph answered and said, You speak truth, and falsehood is not in your mouth, for it was also told unto us that the Hebrews have power and that the Lord their God delighteth much in them, and who then can stand before them?

62 However, on this condition will I send your brother, if you will bring before me his brother the son of his mother, of whom you said that he had gone from you down to Egypt; and it shall come to pass when you bring unto me his brother I will take him in his stead, because not one of you was security for him to your father, and when he shall come unto me, I will then send with you his brother for whom you have been security.

63 And Judah's anger was kindled against Joseph when he spoke this thing, and his eyes dropped blood with anger, and he said unto his brethren, How doth this man this day seek his own destruction and that of all Egypt!

64 And Simeon answered Joseph, saying, Did we not tell thee at first that we knew not the particular spot to which he went, and whether he be dead or alive, and wherefore speaketh my lord like unto these things?

65 And Joseph observing the countenance of Judah discerned that his anger began to kindle when he spoke unto him, saying, Bring unto me your other brother instead of this brother.

66 And Joseph said unto his brethren, Surely you said that your brother was either dead or lost, now if I should call him this day and he should come before you, would you give him unto me instead of his brother?

67 And Joseph began to speak and call out, Joseph, Joseph, come this day before me, and appear to thy brethren and sit before them.

68 And when Joseph spoke this thing before them, they looked each a different way to see from whence Joseph would come before them.

69 And Joseph observed all their acts, and said unto them, Why do you look here and there? I am Joseph whom you sold to Egypt, now therefore let it not grieve you that you sold me, for as a support during the famine did God send me before you.

70 And his brethren were terrified at him when they heard the words of Joseph, and Judah was exceedingly terrified at him.

71 And when Benjamin heard the words of Joseph he was before them in the inner part of the house, and Benjamin ran unto Joseph his brother, and embraced him and fell upon his neck, and they wept.

72 And when Joseph's brethren saw that Benjamin had fallen upon his brother's neck and wept with him, they also fell upon Joseph and embraced him, and they wept a great weeping with Joseph.

73 And the voice was heard in the house of Joseph that they were Joseph's brethren, and it pleased Pharaoh exceedingly, for he was afraid of them lest they should destroy Egypt.

74 And Pharaoh sent his servants unto Joseph to congratulate him concerning his brethren who had come to him, and all the captains of the armies and troops that were in Egypt came to rejoice with Joseph, and all Egypt rejoiced greatly about Joseph's brethren.

75 And Pharaoh sent his servants to Joseph, saying, Tell thy brethren to fetch all belonging to them and let them come unto me, and I will place them in the best part of the land of Egypt, and they did so.

76 And Joseph commanded him that was set over his house to bring out to his brethren gifts and garments, and he brought out to them many garments being robes of royalty and many gifts, and Joseph divided them amongst his brethren.

77 And he gave unto each of his brethren a change of garments of gold and silver, and three hundred pieces of silver, and Joseph commanded them all to be dressed in these garments, and to be brought before Pharaoh.

78 And Pharaoh seeing that all Joseph's brethren were valiant men, and of beautiful appearance, he greatly rejoiced.

79 And they afterward went out from the presence of Pharaoh to go to the land of Canaan, to their father, and their brother Benjamin was with them.

80 And Joseph rose up and gave unto them eleven chariots from Pharaoh, and Joseph gave unto them his chariot, upon which he rode on the day of his being crowned in Egypt, to fetch his father to Egypt; and Joseph sent to all his brothers' children, garments according to their numbers, and a hundred pieces of silver to each of them, and he also sent garments to the wives of his brethren from the garments of the king's wives, and he sent them.

81 And he gave unto each of his brethren ten men to go with them to the land of Canaan to serve them, to serve their children and all belonging to them in coming to Egypt.

82 And Joseph sent by the hand of his brother Benjamin ten suits of garments for his ten sons, a portion above the rest of the children of the sons of Jacob.

83 And he sent to each fifty pieces of silver, and ten chariots on the account of Pharaoh, and he sent to his father ten asses laden with all the luxuries of Egypt, and ten she asses laden with corn and bread and nourishment for his father, and to all that were with him as provisions for the road.

84 And he sent to his sister Dinah garments of silver and gold, and frankincense and myrrh, and aloes and women's ornaments in great plenty, and he sent the same from the wives of Pharaoh to the wives of Benjamin.

85 And he gave unto all his brethren, also to their wives, all sorts of onyx stones and bdellium, and from all the valuable things amongst the great people of Egypt, nothing of all the costly things was left but what Joseph sent of to his father's household.

86 And he sent his brethren away, and they went, and he sent his brother Benjamin with them.

87 And Joseph went out with them to accompany them on the road unto the borders of Egypt, and he commanded them concerning his father and his household, to come to Egypt.

88 And he said unto them, Do not quarrel on the road, for this thing was from the Lord to keep a great people from starvation, for there will be yet five years of famine in the land.

89 And he commanded them, saying, When you come unto the land of Canaan, do not come suddenly before my father in this affair, but act in your wisdom.

90 And Joseph ceased to command them, and he turned and went back to Egypt, and the sons of Jacob went to the land of Canaan with joy and cheerfulness to their father Jacob.

91 And they came unto the borders of the land, and they said to each other, What shall we do in this matter before our father, for if we come suddenly to him and tell him the matter, he will be greatly alarmed at our words and will not believe us.

92 And they went along until they came nigh unto their houses, and they found Serach, the daughter of Asher, going forth to meet them, and the damsel was very good and subtle, and knew how to play upon the harp.

93 And they called unto her and she came before them, and she kissed them, and they took her and gave unto her a harp, saying, Go now before our father, and sit before him, and strike upon the harp, and speak these words.

94 And they commanded her to go to their house, and she took the harp and hastened before them, and she came and sat near Jacob.

95 And she played well and sang, and uttered in the sweetness of her words, Joseph my uncle is living, and he ruleth throughout the land of Egypt, and is not dead.

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96 And she continued to repeat and utter these words, and Jacob heard her words and they were agreeable to him.

97 He listened whilst she repeated them twice and thrice, and joy entered the heart of Jacob at the sweetness of her words, and the spirit of God was upon him, and he knew all her words to be true.

98 And Jacob blessed Serach when she spoke these words before him, and he said unto her, My daughter, may death never prevail over thee, for thou hast revived my spirit; only speak yet before me as thou hast spoken, for thou hast gladdened me with all thy words.

99 And she continued to sing these words, and Jacob listened and it pleased him, and he rejoiced, and the spirit of God was upon him.

100 Whilst he was yet speaking with her, behold his sons came to him with horses and chariots and royal garments and servants running before them.

101 And Jacob rose up to meet them, and saw his sons dressed in royal garments and he saw all the treasures that Joseph had sent to them.

102 And they said unto him, Be informed that our brother Joseph is living, and it is he who ruleth throughout the land of Egypt, and it is he who spoke unto us as we told thee.

103 And Jacob heard all the words of his sons, and his heart palpitated at their words, for he could not believe them until he saw all that Joseph had given them and what he had sent him, and all the signs which Joseph had spoken unto them.

104 And they opened out before him, and showed him all that Joseph had sent, they gave unto each what Joseph had sent him, and he knew that they had spoken the truth, and he rejoiced exceedingly an account of his son.

105 And Jacob said, It is enough for me that my son Joseph is still living, I will go and see him before I die.

106 And his sons told him all that had befallen them, and Jacob said, I will go down to Egypt to see my son and his offspring.

107 And Jacob rose up and put on the garments which Joseph had sent him, and after he had washed, and shaved his hair, he put upon his head the turban which Joseph had sent him.

108 And all the people of Jacob's house and their wives put on the garments which Joseph had sent to them, and they greatly rejoiced at Joseph that he was still living and that he was ruling in Egypt,

109 And all the inhabitants of Canaan heard of this thing, and they came and rejoiced much with Jacob that he was still living.

110 And Jacob made a feast for them for three days, and all the kings of Canaan and nobles of the land ate and drank and rejoiced in the house of Jacob.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 55

1 And it came to pass after this that Jacob said, I will go and see my son in Egypt and will then come back to the land of Canaan of which God had spoken unto Abraham, for I cannot leave the land of my birth-place.

2 Behold the word of the Lord came unto him, saying, Go down to Egypt with all thy household and remain there, fear not to go down to Egypt for I will there make thee a great nation.

3 And Jacob said within himself, I will go and see my son whether the fear of his God is yet in his heart amidst all the inhabitants of Egypt.

4 And the Lord said unto Jacob, Fear not about Joseph, for he still retaineth his integrity to serve me, as will seem good in thy sight, and Jacob rejoiced exceedingly concerning his son.

5 At that time Jacob commanded his sons and household to go to Egypt according to the word of the Lord unto him, and Jacob rose up with his sons and all his household, and he went out from the land of Canaan from Beersheba, with joy and gladness of heart, and they went to the land of Egypt.

6 And it came to pass when they came near Egypt, Jacob sent Judah before him to Joseph that he might show him a situation in Egypt, and Judah did according to the word of his father, and he hastened and ran and came to Joseph, and they assigned for them a place in the land of Goshen for all his household, and Judah returned and came along the road to his father.

7 And Joseph harnessed the chariot, and he assembled all his mighty men and his servants and all the officers of Egypt in order to go and meet his father Jacob, and Joseph's mandate was proclaimed in Egypt, saying, All that do not go to meet Jacob shall die.

8 And on the next day Joseph went forth with all Egypt a great and mighty host, all dressed in garments of fine linen and purple and with instruments of silver and gold and with their instruments of war with them.

9 And they all went to meet Jacob with all sorts of musical instruments, with drums and timbrels, strewing myrrh and aloes all along the road, and they all went after this fashion, and the earth shook at their shouting.

10 And all the women of Egypt went upon the roofs of Egypt and upon the walls to meet Jacob, and upon the head of Joseph was Pharaoh's regal crown, for Pharaoh had sent it unto him to put on at the time of his going to meet his father.

11 And when Joseph came within fifty cubits of his father, he alighted from the chariot and he walked toward his father, and when all the officers of Egypt and her nobles saw that Joseph had gone on foot toward his father, they also alighted and walked on foot toward Jacob.

12 And when Jacob approached the camp of Joseph, Jacob observed the camp that was coming toward him with Joseph, and it gratified him and Jacob was astonished at it.

13 And Jacob said unto Judah, Who is that man whom I see in the camp of Egypt dressed in kingly robes with a very red garment upon him and a royal crown upon his head, who has alighted from his chariot and is coming toward us? and Judah answered his father, saying, He is thy son Joseph the king; and Jacob rejoiced in seeing the glory of his son.

14 And Joseph came nigh unto his father and he bowed to his father, and all the men of the camp bowed to the ground with him before Jacob.

15 And behold Jacob ran and hastened to his son Joseph and fell upon his neck and kissed him, and they wept, and Joseph also embraced his father and kissed him, and they wept and all the people of Egypt wept with them.

16 And Jacob said unto Joseph, Now I will die cheerfully after I have seen thy face, that thou art still living and with glory.

17 And the sons of Jacob and their wives and their children and their servants, and all the household of Jacob wept exceedingly with Joseph, and they kissed him and wept greatly with him.

18 And Joseph and all his people returned afterward home to Egypt, and Jacob and his sons and all the children of his household came with Joseph to Egypt, and Joseph placed them in the best part of Egypt, in the land of Goshen.

19 And Joseph said unto his father and unto his brethren, I will go up and tell Pharaoh, saying, My brethren and my father's household and all belonging to them have come unto me, and behold they are in the land of Goshen.

20 And Joseph did so and took from his brethren Reuben, Issachar Zebulun and his brother Benjamin and he placed them before Pharaoh.

21 And Joseph spoke unto Pharaoh, saying, My brethren and my father's household and all belonging to them, together with their flocks and cattle have come unto me from the land of Canaan, to sojourn in Egypt; for the famine was sore upon them.

22 And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Place thy father and brethren in the best part of the land, withhold not from them all that is good, and cause them to eat of the fat of the land.

23 And Joseph answered, saying, Behold I have stationed them in the land of Goshen, for they are shepherds, therefore let them remain in Goshen to feed their flocks apart from the Egyptians.

24 And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Do with thy brethren all that they shall say unto thee; and the sons of Jacob bowed down to Pharaoh, and they went forth from him in peace, and Joseph afterward brought his father before Pharaoh.

25 And Jacob came and bowed down to Pharaoh, and Jacob blessed Pharaoh, and he then went out; and Jacob and all his sons, and all his household dwelt in the land of Goshen.

26 In the second year, that is in the hundred and thirtieth year of the life of Jacob, Joseph maintained his father and his brethren, and all his father's household, with bread according to their little ones, all the days of the famine; they lacked nothing.

27 And Joseph gave unto them the best part of the whole land; the best of Egypt had they all the days of Joseph; and Joseph also gave unto them and unto the whole of his father's household, clothes and garments year by year; and the sons of Jacob remained securely in Egypt all the days of their brother.

28 And Jacob always ate at Joseph's table, Jacob and his sons did not leave Joseph's table day or night, besides what Jacob's children consumed in their houses.

29 And all Egypt ate bread during the days of the famine from the house of Joseph, for all the Egyptians sold all belonging to them on account of the famine.

30 And Joseph purchased all the lands and fields of Egypt for bread on the account of Pharaoh, and Joseph supplied all Egypt with bread all the days of the famine, and Joseph collected all the silver and gold that came unto him for the corn which they bought throughout the land, and he accumulated much gold and silver, besides an immense quantity of onyx stones, bdellium and valuable garments which they brought unto Joseph from every part of the land when their money was spent.

31 And Joseph took all the silver and gold that came into his hand, about seventy two talents of gold and silver, and also onyx stones and bdellium in great abundance, and Joseph went and concealed them in four parts, and he concealed one part in the wilderness near the Red sea, and one part by the river Perath, and the third and fourth part he concealed in the desert opposite to the wilderness of Persia and Media.

32 And he took part of the gold and silver that was left, and gave it unto all his brothers and unto all his father's household, and unto all the women of his father's household, and the rest he brought to the house of Pharaoh, about twenty talents of gold and silver.

33 And Joseph gave all the gold and silver that was left unto Pharaoh, and Pharaoh placed it in the treasury, and the days of the famine ceased after that in the land, and they sowed and reaped in the whole land, and they obtained their usual quantity year by year; they lacked nothing.

34 And Joseph dwelt securely in Egypt, and the whole land was under his advice, and his father and all his brethren dwelt in the land of Goshen and took possession of it.

35 And Joseph was very aged, advanced in days, and his two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, remained constantly in the house of Jacob, together with the children of the sons of Jacob their brethren, to learn the ways of the Lord and his law.

36 And Jacob and his sons dwelt in the land of Egypt in the land of Goshen, and they took possession in it, and they were fruitful and multiplied in it.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 56

1 And Jacob lived in the land of Egypt seventeen years, and the days of Jacob, and the years of his life were a hundred and forty seven years.

2 At that time Jacob was attacked with that illness of which he died and he sent and called for his son Joseph from Egypt, and Joseph his son came from Egypt and Joseph came unto his father.

3 And Jacob said unto Joseph and unto his sons, Behold I die, and the God of your ancestors will visit you, and bring you back to the land, which the Lord sware to give unto you and unto your children after you, now therefore when I am dead, bury me in the cave which is in Machpelah in Hebron in the land of Canaan, near my ancestors.

4 And Jacob made his sons swear to bury him in Machpelah, in Hebron, and his sons swore unto him concerning this thing.

5 And he commanded them, saying, Serve the Lord your God, for he who delivered your fathers will also deliver you from all trouble.

6 And Jacob said, Call all your children unto me, and all the children of Jacob's sons came and sat before him, and Jacob blessed them, and he said unto them, The Lord God of your fathers shall grant you a thousand times as much and bless you, and may he give you the blessing of your father Abraham; and all the children of Jacob's sons went forth on that day after he had blessed them.

7 And on the next day Jacob again called for his sons, and they all assembled and came to him and sat before him, and Jacob on that day blessed his sons before his death, each man did he bless according to his blessing; behold it is written in the book of the law of the Lord appertaining to Israel.

8 And Jacob said unto Judah, I know my son that thou art a mighty man for thy brethren; reign over them, and thy sons shall reign over their sons forever.

9 Only teach thy sons the bow and all the weapons of war, in order that they may fight the battles of their brother who will rule over his enemies.

10 And Jacob again commanded his sons on that day, saying, Behold I shall be this day gathered unto my people; carry me up from Egypt, and bury me in the cave of Machpelah as I have commanded you.

11 Howbeit take heed I pray you that none of your sons carry me, only yourselves, and this is the manner you shall do unto me, when you carry my body to go with it to the land of Canaan to bury me,

12 Judah, Issachar and Zebulun shall carry my bier at the eastern side; Reuben, Simeon and Gad at the south, Ephraim, Manasseh and Benjamin at the west, Dan, Asher and Naphtali at the north.

13 Let not Levi carry with you, for he and his sons will carry the ark of the covenant of the Lord with the Israelites in the camp, neither let Joseph my son carry, for as a king so let his glory be; howbeit, Ephraim and Manasseh shall be in their stead.

14 Thus shall you do unto me when you carry me away; do not neglect any thing of all that I command you; and it shall come to pass when you do this unto me, that the Lord will remember you favorably and your children after you forever.

15 And you my sons, honor each his brother and his relative, and command your children and your children's children after you to serve the Lord God of your ancestors all the days.

16 In order that you may prolong your days in the land, you and your children and your children's children for ever, when you do what is good and upright in the sight of the Lord your God, to go in all his ways.

17 And thou, Joseph my son, forgive I pray thee the prongs of thy brethren and all their misdeeds in the injury that they heaped upon thee, for God intended it for thine and thy children's benefit.

18 And O my son leave not thy brethren to the inhabitants of Egypt, neither hurt their feelings, for behold I consign them to the hand of God and in thy hand to guard them from the Egyptians; and the sons of Jacob answered their father saying, O, our father, all that thou hast commanded us, so will we do; may God only be with us.

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19 And Jacob said unto his sons, So may God be with you when you keep all his ways; turn not from his ways either to the right or the left in performing what is good and upright in his sight.

20 For I know that many and grievous troubles will befall you in the latter days in the land, yea your children and children's children, only serve the Lord and he will save you from all trouble.

21 And it shall come to pass when you shall go after God to serve him and will teach your children after you, and your children's children, to know the Lord, then will the Lord raise up unto you and your children a servant from amongst your children, and the Lord will deliver you through his hand from all affliction, and bring you out of Egypt and bring you back to the land of your fathers to inherit it securely.

22 And Jacob ceased commanding his sons, and he drew his feet into the bed, he died and was gathered to his people.

23 And Joseph fell upon his father and he cried out and wept over him and he kissed him, and he called out in a bitter voice, and he said, O my father, my father.

24 And his son's wives and all his household came and fell upon Jacob, and they wept over him, and cried in a very loud voice concerning Jacob.

25 And all the sons of Jacob rose up together, and they tore their garments, and they all put sackcloth upon their loins, and they fell upon their faces, and they cast dust upon their heads toward the heavens.

26 And the thing was told unto Osnath Joseph's wife, and she rose up and put on a sack and she with all the Egyptian women with her came and mourned and wept for Jacob.

27 And also all the people of Egypt who knew Jacob came all on that day when they heard this thing, and all Egypt wept for many days.

28 And also from the land of Canaan did the women come unto Egypt when they heard that Jacob was dead, and they wept for him in Egypt for seventy days.

29 And it came to pass after this that Joseph commanded his servants the doctors to embalm his father with myrrh and frankincense and all manner of incense and perfume, and the doctors embalmed Jacob as Joseph had commanded them.

30 And all the people of Egypt and the elders and all the inhabitants of the land of Goshen wept and mourned over Jacob, and all his sons and the children of his household lamented and mourned over their father Jacob many days.

31 And after the days of his weeping had passed away, at the end of seventy days, Joseph said unto Pharaoh, I will go up and bury my father in the land of Canaan as he made me swear, and then I will return.

32 And Pharaoh sent Joseph, saying, Go up and bury thy father as he said, and as he made thee swear; and Joseph rose up with all his brethren to go to the land of Canaan to bury their father Jacob as he had commanded them.

33 And Pharaoh commanded that it should be proclaimed throughout Egypt, saying, Whoever goeth not up with Joseph and his brethren to the land of Canaan to bury Jacob, shall die.

34 And all Egypt heard of Pharaoh's proclamation, and they all rose up together, and all the servants of Pharaoh, and the elders of his house, and all the elders of the land of Egypt went up with Joseph, and all the officers and nobles of Pharaoh went up as the servants of Joseph, and they went to bury Jacob in the land of Canaan.

35 And the sons of Jacob carried the bier upon which he lay; according to all that their father commanded them, so did his sons unto him.

36 And the bier was of pure gold, and it was inlaid round about with onyx stones and bdellium; and the covering of the bier was gold woven work, joined with threads, and over them were hooks of onyx stones and bdellium.

37 And Joseph placed upon the head of his father Jacob a large golden crown, and he put a golden scepter in his hand, and they surrounded the bier as was the custom of kings during their lives.

38 And all the troops of Egypt went before him in this array, at first all the mighty men of Pharaoh, and the mighty men of Joseph, and after them the rest of the inhabitants of Egypt, and they were all girded with swords and equipped with coats of mail, and the trappings of war were upon them.

39 And all the weepers and mourners went at a distance opposite to the bier, going and weeping and lamenting, and the rest of the people went after the bier.

40 And Joseph and his household went together near the bier barefooted and weeping, and the rest of Joseph's servants went around him; each man had his ornaments upon him, and they were all armed with their weapons of war.

41 And fifty of Jacob's servants went in front of the bier, and they strewed along the road myrrh and aloes, and all manner of perfume, and all the sons of Jacob that carried the bier walked upon the perfumery, and the servants of Jacob went before them strewing the perfume along the road.

42 And Joseph went up with a heavy camp, and they did after this manner every day until they reached the land of Canaan, and they came to the threshing floor of Atad, which was on the other side of Jordan, and they mourned an exceeding great and heavy mourning in that place.

43 And all the kings of Canaan heard of this thing and they all went forth, each man from his house, thirty-one kings of Canaan, and they all came with their men to mourn and weep over Jacob.

44 And all these kings beheld Jacob's bier, and behold Joseph's crown was upon it, and they also put their crowns upon the bier, and encircled it with crowns.

45 And all these kings made in that place a great and heavy mourning with the sons of Jacob and Egypt over Jacob, for all the kings of Canaan knew the valor of Jacob and his sons.

46 And the report reached Esau, saying, Jacob died in Egypt, and his sons and all Egypt are conveying him to the land of Canaan to bury him.

47 And Esau heard this thing, and he was dwelling in mount Seir, and he rose up with his sons and all his people and all his household, a people exceedingly great, and they came to mourn and weep over Jacob.

48 And it came to pass, when Esau came he mourned for his brother Jacob, and all Egypt and all Canaan again rose up and mourned a great mourning with Esau over Jacob in that place

49 And Joseph and his brethren brought their father Jacob from that place, and they went to Hebron to bury Jacob in the cave by his fathers.

50 And they came unto Kireath-arba, to the cave, and as they came Esau stood with his sons against Joseph and his brethren as a hindrance in the cave, saying, Jacob shall not be buried therein, for it belongeth to us and to our father.

51 And Joseph and his brethren heard the words of Esau's sons, and they were exceedingly wroth, and Joseph approached unto Esau, saying, What is this thing which they have spoken? surely my father Jacob bought it from thee for great riches after the death of Isaac, now five and twenty years ago, and also all the land of Canaan he bought from thee and from thy sons, and thy seed after thee.

52 And Jacob bought it for his sons and his seed after him for an inheritance for ever, and why speakest thou these things this day?

53 And Esau answered, saying, Thou speakest falsely and utterest lies, for I sold not anything belonging to me in all this land, as thou sayest, neither did my brother Jacob buy aught belonging to me in this land.

54 And Esau spoke these things in order to deceive Joseph with his words, for Esau knew that Joseph was not present in those days when Esau sold all belonging to him in the land of Canaan to Jacob.

55 And Joseph said unto Esau, Surely my father inserted these things with thee in the record of purchase, and testified the record with witnesses, and behold it is with us in Egypt.

56 And Esau answered, saying unto him, Bring the record, all that thou wilt find in the record, so will we do.

57 And Joseph called unto Naphtali his brother, and he said, Hasten quickly, stay not, and run I pray thee to Egypt and bring all the records; the record of the purchase, the sealed record and the open record, and also all the first records in which all the transactions of the birth-right are written, fetch thou.

58 And thou shalt bring them unto us hither, that we may know from them all the words of Esau and his sons which they spoke this day.

59 And Naphtali hearkened to the voice of Joseph and he hastened and ran to go down to Egypt, and Naphtali was lighter on foot than any of the stags that were upon the wilderness, for he would go upon ears of corn without crushing them.

60 And when Esau saw that Naphtali had gone to fetch the records, he and his sons increased their resistance against the cave, and Esau and all his people rose up against Joseph and his brethren to battle.

61 And all the sons of Jacob and the people of Egypt fought with Esau and his men, and the sons of Esau and his people were smitten before the sons of Jacob, and the sons of Jacob slew of Esau's people forty men.

62 And Chushim the son of Dan, the son of Jacob, was at that time with Jacob's sons, but he was about a hundred cubits distant from the place of battle, for he remained with the children of Jacob's sons by Jacob's bier to guard it.

63 And Chushim was dumb and deaf, still he understood the voice of consternation amongst men.

64 And he asked, saying, Why do you not bury the dead, and what is this great consternation? and they answered him the words of Esau and his sons; and he ran to Esau in the midst of the battle, and he slew Esau with a sword, and he cut off his head, and it sprang to a distance, and Esau fell amongst the people of the battle.

65 And when Chushim did this thing the sons of Jacob prevailed over the sons of Esau, and the sons of Jacob buried their father Jacob by force in the cave, and the sons of Esau beheld it.

66 And Jacob was buried in Hebron, in the cave of Machpelah which Abraham had bought from the sons of Heth for the possession of a burial place, and he was buried in very costly garments.

67 And no king had such honor paid him as Joseph paid unto his father at his death, for he buried him with great honor like unto the burial of kings.

68 And Joseph and his brethren made a mourning of seven days for their father.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 57

1 And it was after this that the sons of Esau waged war with the sons of Jacob, and the sons of Esau fought with the sons of Jacob in Hebron, and Esau was still lying dead, and not buried.

2 And the battle was heavy between them, and the sons of Esau were smitten before the sons of Jacob, and the sons of Jacob slew of the sons of Esau eighty men, and not one died of the people of the sons of Jacob; and the hand of Joseph prevailed over all the people of the sons of Esau, and he took Zepho, the son of Eliphaz, the son of Esau, and fifty of his men captive, and he bound them with chains of iron, and gave them into the hand of his servants to bring them to Egypt.

3 And it came to pass when the sons of Jacob had taken Zepho and his people captive, all those that remained were greatly afraid of their lives from the house of Esau, lest they should also be taken captive, and they all fled with Eliphaz the son of Esau and his people, with Esau's body, and they went on their road to Mount Seir.

4 And they came unto Mount Seir and they buried Esau in Seir, but they had not brought his head with them to Seir, for it was buried in that place where the battle had been in Hebron.

5 And it came to pass when the sons of Esau had fled from before the sons of Jacob, the sons of Jacob pursued them unto the borders of Seir, but they did not slay a single man from amongst them when they pursued them, for Esau's body which they carried with them excited their confusion, so they fled and the sons of Jacob turned back from them and came up to the place where their brethren were in Hebron, and they remained there on that day, and on the next day until they rested from the battle.

6 And it came to pass on the third day they assembled all the sons of Seir the Horite, and they assembled all the children of the east, a multitude of people like the sand of the sea, and they went and came down to Egypt to fight with Joseph and his brethren, in order to deliver their brethren.

7 And Joseph and all the sons of Jacob heard that the sons of Esau and the children of the east had come upon them to battle in order to deliver their brethren.

8 And Joseph and his brethren and the strong men of Egypt went forth and fought in the city of Rameses, and Joseph and his brethren dealt out a tremendous blow amongst the sons of Esau and the children of the east.

9 And they slew of them six hundred thousand men, and they slew amongst them all the mighty men of the children of Seir the Horite; there were only a few of them left, and they slew also a great many of the children of the east, and of the children of Esau; and Eliphaz the son of Esau, and the children of the east all fled before Joseph and his brethren.

10 And Joseph and his brethren pursued them until they came unto Succoth, and they yet slew of them in Succoth thirty men, and the rest escaped and they fled each to his city.

11 And Joseph and his brethren and the mighty men of Egypt turned back from them with joy and cheerfulness of heart, for they had smitten all their enemies.

12 And Zepho the son of Eliphaz and his men were still slaves in Egypt to the sons of Jacob, and their pains increased.

13 And when the sons of Esau and the sons of Seir returned to their land, the sons of Seir saw that they had all fallen into the hands of the sons of Jacob, and the people of Egypt, on account of the battle of the sons of Esau.

14 And the sons of Seir said unto the sons of Esau, You have seen andtherefore you know that this camp was on your account, and not one mighty man or an adept in war remaineth.

15 Now therefore go forth from our land, go from us to the land of Canaan to the land of the dwelling of your fathers; wherefore shall your children inherit the effects of our children in latter days?

16 And the children of Esau would not listen to the children of Seir, and the children of Seir considered to make war with them.

17 And the children of Esau sent secretly to Angeas king of Africa, the same is Dinhabah, saying,

18 Send unto us some of thy men and let them come unto us, and we will fight together with the children of Seir the Horite, for they have resolved to fight with us to drive us away from the land.

19 And Angeas king of Dinhabah did so, for he was in those days friendly to the children of Esau, and Angeas sent five hundred valiant infantry to the children of Esau, and eight hundred cavalry.

20 And the children of Seir sent unto the children of the east and unto the children of Midian, saying, You have seen what the children of Esau have done unto us, upon whose account we are almost all destroyed, in their battle with the sons of Jacob.

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21 Now therefore come unto us and assist us, and we will fight them together, and we will drive them from the land and be avenged of the cause of our brethren who died for their sakes in their battle with their brethren the sons of Jacob.

22 And all the children of the east listened to the children of Seir, and they came unto them about eight hundred men with drawn swords, and the children of Esau fought with the children of Seir at that time in the wilderness of Paran.

23 And the children of Seir prevailed then over the sons of Esau, and the children of Seir slew on that day of the children of Esau in that battle about two hundred men of the people of Angeas king of Dinhabah.

24 And on the second day the children of Esau came again to fight a second time with the children of Seir, and the battle was sore upon the children of Esau this second time, and it troubled them greatly on account of the children of Seir.

25 And when the children of Esau saw that the children of Seir were more powerful than they were, some men of the children of Esau turned and assisted the children of Seir their enemies.

26 And there fell yet of the people of the children of Esau in the second battle fifty-eight men of the people at Angeas king of Dinhabah.

27 And on the third day the children of Esau heard that some of their brethren had turned from them to fight against them in the second battle; and the children of Esau mourned when they heard this thing.

28 And they said, What shall we do unto our brethren who turned from us to assist the children of Seir our enemies? and the children of Esau again sent to Angeas king of Dinhabah, saying,

29 Send unto us again other men that with them we may fight with the children of Seir, for they have already twice been heavier than we were.

30 And Angeas again sent to the children of Esau about six hundred valiant men, and they came to assist the children of Esau.

31 And in ten days' time the children of Esau again waged war with the children of Seir in the wilderness of Paran, and the battle was very severe upon the children of Seir, and the children of Esau prevailed at this time over the children of Seir, and the children of Seir were smitten before the children of Esau, and the children of Esau slew from them about two thousand men.

32 And all the mighty men of the children of Seir died in this battle, and there only remained their young children that were left in their cities.

33 And all Midian and the children of the east betook themselves to flight from the battle, and they left the children of Seir and fled when they saw that the battle was severe upon them, and the children of Esau pursued all the children of the east until they reached their land.

34 And the children of Esau slew yet of them about two hundred and fifty men and from the people of the children of Esau there fell in that battle about thirty men, but this evil came upon them through their brethren turning from them to assist the children of Seir the Horite, and the children of Esau again heard of the evil doings of their brethren, and they again mourned on account of this thing.

35 And it came to pass after the battle, the children of Esau turned back and came home unto Seir, and the children of Esau slew those who had remained in the land of the children of Seir; they slew also their wives and little ones, they left not a soul alive except fifty young lads and damsels whom they suffered to live, and the children of Esau did not put them to death, and the lads became their slaves, and the damsels they took for wives.

36 And the children of Esau dwelt in Seir in the place of the children of Seir, and they inherited their land and took possession of it.

37 And the children of Esau took all belonging in the land to the children of Seir, also their flocks, their bullocks and their goods, and all belonging to the children of Seir, did the children of Esau take, and the children of Esau dwelt in Seir in the place of the children of Seir unto this day, and the children of Esau divided the land into divisions to the five sons of Esau, according to their families.

38 And it came to pass in those days, that the children of Esau resolved to crown a king over them in the land of which they became possessed. And they said to each other, Not so, for he shall reign over us in our land, and we shall be under his counsel and he shall fight our battles, against our enemies, and they did so.

39 And all the children of Esau swore, saying, That none of their brethren should ever reign over them, but a strange man who is not of their brethren, for the souls of all the children of Esau were embittered every man against his son, brother and friend, on account of the evil they sustained from their brethren when they fought with the children of Seir.

40 Therefore the sons of Esau swore, saying, From that day forward they would not choose a king from their brethren, but one from a strange land unto this day.

41 And there was a man there from the people of Angeas king of Dinhabah; his name was Bela the son of Beor, who was a very valiant man, beautiful and comely and wise in all wisdom, and a man of sense and counsel; and there was none of the people of Angeas like unto him.

42 And all the children of Esau took him and anointed him and they crowned him for a king, and they bowed down to him, and they said unto him, May the king live, may the king live.

43 And they spread out the sheet, and they brought him each man earrings of gold and silver or rings or bracelets, and they made him very rich in silver and in gold, in onyx stones and bdellium, and they made him a royal throne, and they placed a regal crown upon his head, and they built a palace for him and he dwelt therein, and he became king over all the children of Esau.

44 And the people of Angeas took their hire for their battle from the children of Esau, and they went and returned at that time to their master in Dinhabah.

45 And Bela reigned over the children of Esau thirty years, and the children of Esau dwelt in the land instead of the children of Seir, and they dwelt securely in their stead unto this day.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 58

1 And it came to pass in the thirty-second year of the Israelites going down to Egypt, that is in the seventy-first year of the life of Joseph, in that year died Pharaoh king of Egypt, and Magron his son reigned in his stead.

2 And Pharaoh commanded Joseph before his death to be a father to his son, Magron, and that Magron should be under the care of Joseph and under his counsel.

3 And all Egypt consented to this thing that Joseph should be king over them, for all the Egyptians loved Joseph as of heretofore, only Magron the son of Pharaoh sat upon, his father's throne, and he became king in those days in his father's stead.

4 Magron was forty-one years old when he began to reign, and forty years he reigned in Egypt, and all Egypt called his name Pharaoh after the name of his father, as it was their custom to do in Egypt to every king that reigned over them.

5 And it came to pass when Pharaoh reigned in his father's stead, he placed the laws of Egypt and all the affairs of government in the hand of Joseph, as his father had commanded him.

6 And Joseph became king over Egypt, for he superintended over all Egypt, and all Egypt was under his care and under his counsel, for all Egypt inclined to Joseph after the death of Pharaoh, and they loved him exceedingly to reign over them.

7 But there were some people amongst them, who did not like him, saying, No stranger shall reign over us; still the whole government of Egypt devolved in those days upon Joseph, after the death of Pharaoh, he being the regulator, doing as he liked throughout the land without any one interfering.

8 And all Egypt was under the care of Joseph, and Joseph made war with all his surrounding enemies, and he subdued them; also all the land and all the Philistines, unto the borders of Canaan, did Joseph subdue, and they were all under his power and they gave a yearly tax unto Joseph.

9 And Pharaoh king of Egypt sat upon his throne in his father's stead, but he was under the control and counsel of Joseph, as he was at first under the control of his father.

10 Neither did he reign but in the land of Egypt only, under the counsel of Joseph, but Joseph reigned over the whole country at that time, from Egypt unto the great river Perath.

11 And Joseph was successful in all his ways, and the Lord was with him, and the Lord gave Joseph additional wisdom, and honor, and glory, and love toward him in the hearts of the Egyptians and throughout the land, and Joseph reigned over the whole country forty years.

12 And all the countries of the Philistines and Canaan and Zidon, and on the other side of Jordan, brought presents unto Joseph all his days, and the whole country was in the hand of Joseph, and they brought unto him a yearly tribute as it was regulated, for Joseph had fought against all his surrounding enemies and subdued them, and the whole country was in the hand of Joseph, and Joseph sat securely upon his throne in Egypt.

13 And also all his brethren the sons of Jacob dwelt securely in the land, all the days of Joseph, and they were fruitful and multiplied exceedingly in the land, and they served the Lord all their days, as their father Jacob had commanded them.

14 And it came to pass at the end of many days and years, when the children of Esau were dwelling quietly in their land with Bela their king, that the children of Esau were fruitful and multiplied in the land, and they resolved to go and fight with the sons of Jacob and all Egypt, and to deliver their brother Zepho, the son of Eliphaz, and his men, for they were yet in those days slaves to Joseph.

15 And the children of Esau sent unto all the children of the east, and they made peace with them, and all the children of the east came unto them to go with the children of Esau to Egypt to battle.

16 And there came also unto them of the people of Angeas, king of Dinhabah, and they also sent unto the children of Ishmael and they also came unto them.

17 And all this people assembled and came unto Seir to assist the children of Esau in their battle, and this camp was very large and heavy with people, numerous as the sand of the sea, about eight hundred thousand men, infantry and cavalry, and all these troops went down to Egypt to fight with the sons of Jacob, and they encamped by Rameses.

18 And Joseph went forth with his brethren with the mighty men of Egypt, about six hundred men, and they fought with them in the land of Rameses; and the sons of Jacob at that time again fought with the children of Esau, in the fiftieth year of the sons of Jacob going down to Egypt, that is the thirtieth year of the reign of Bela over the children of Esau in Seir.

19 And the Lord gave all the mighty men of Esau and the children of the east into the hand of Joseph and his brethren, and the people of the children of Esau and the children of the east were smitten before Joseph.

20 And of the people of Esau and the children of the east that were slain, there fell before the sons of Jacob about two hundred thousand men, and their king Bela the son of Beor fell with them in the battle, and when the children of Esau saw that their king had fallen in battle and was dead, their hands became weak in the combat.

21 And Joseph and his brethren and all Egypt were still smiting the people of the house of Esau, and all Esau's people were afraid of the sons of Jacob and fled from before them.

22 And Joseph and his brethren and all Egypt pursued them a day's journey, and they slew yet from them about three hundred men, continuing to smite them in the road; and they afterward turned back from them.

23 And Joseph and all his brethren returned to Egypt, not one man was missing from them, but of the Egyptians there fell twelve men.

24 And when Joseph returned to Egypt he ordered Zepho and his men to be additionally bound, and they bound them in irons and they increased their grief.

25 And all the people of the children of Esau, and the children of the east, returned in shame each unto his city, for all the mighty men that were with them had fallen in battle.

26 And when the children of Esau saw that their king had died in battle they hastened and took a man from the people of the children of the east; his name was Jobab the son of Zarach, from the land of Botzrah, and they caused him to reign over them instead of Bela their king.

27 And Jobab sat upon the throne of Bela as king in his stead, and Jobab reigned in Edom over all the children of Esau ten years, and the children of Esau went no more to fight with the sons of Jacob from that day forward, for the sons of Esau knew the valor of the sons of Jacob, and they were greatly afraid of them.

28 But from that day forward the children of Esau hated the sons of Jacob, and the hatred and enmity were very strong between them all the days, unto this day.

29 And it came to pass after this, at the end of ten years, Jobab, the son of Zarach, from Botzrah, died, and the children of Esau took a man whose name was Chusham, from the land of Teman, and they made him king over them instead of Jobab, and Chusham reigned in Edom over all the children of Esau for twenty years.

30 And Joseph, king of Egypt, and his brethren, and all the children of Israel dwelt securely in Egypt in those days, together with all the children of Joseph and his brethren, having no hindrance or evil accident and the land of Egypt was at that time at rest from war in the days of Joseph and his brethren.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 59

1 And these are the names of the sons of Israel who dwelt in Egypt, who had come with Jacob, all the sons of Jacob came unto Egypt, every man with his household.

2 The children of Leah were Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar and Zebulun, and their sister Dinah.

3 And the sons of Rachel were Joseph and Benjamin.

4 And the sons of Zilpah, the handmaid of Leah, were Gad and Asher.

5 And the sons of Bilhah, the handmaid of Rachel, were Dan and Naphtali.

6 And these were their offspring that were born unto them in the land of Canaan, before they came unto Egypt with their father Jacob.

7 The sons of Reuben were Chanoch, Pallu, Chetzron and Carmi.

8 And the sons of Simeon were Jemuel, Jamin, Ohad, Jachin, Zochar and Saul, the son of the Canaanitish woman.

9 And the children of Levi were Gershon, Kehath and Merari, and their sister Jochebed, who was born unto them in their going down to Egypt.

10 And the sons of Judah were Er, Onan, Shelah, Perez and Zarach.

11 And Er and Onan died in the land of Canaan; and the sons of Perez were Chezron and Chamul.

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12 And the sons of Issachar were Tola, Puvah, Job and Shomron.
13 And the sons of Zebulun were Sered, Elon and Jachleel, and the son of Dan was Chushim.
14 And the sons of Naphtali were Jachzeel, Guni, Jetzer and Shilam.
15 And the sons of Gad were Ziphion, Chaggi, Shuni, Ezbon, Eri, Arodi and Areli.
16 And the children of Asher were Jimnah, Jishvah, Jishvi, Beriah and their sister Serach; and the sons of Beriah were Cheber and Malchiel.
17 And the sons of Benjamin were Bela, Becher, Ashbel, Gera, Naaman, Achi, Rosh, Mupim, Chupim and Ord.
18 And the sons of Joseph, that were born unto him in Egypt, were Manasseh and Ephraim.
19 And all the souls that went forth from the loins of Jacob, were seventy souls; these are they who came with Jacob their father unto Egypt to dwell there: and Joseph and all his brethren dwelt securely in Egypt, and they ate of the best of Egypt all the days of the life of Joseph.
20 And Joseph lived in the land of Egypt ninety-three years, and Joseph reigned over all Egypt eighty years.
21 And when the days of Joseph drew nigh that he should die, he sent and called for his brethren and all his father's household, and they all came together and sat before him.
22 And Joseph said unto his brethren and unto the whole of his father's household, Behold I die, and God will surely visit you and bring you up from this land to the land which he swore to your fathers to give unto them.
23 And it shall be when God shall visit you to bring you up from here to the land of your fathers, then bring up my bones with you from here.
24 And Joseph made the sons of Israel to swear for their seed after them, saying, God will surely visit you and you shall bring up my bones with you from here.
25 And it came to pass after this that Joseph died in that year, the seventy-first year of the Israelites going down to Egypt.
26 And Joseph was one hundred and ten years old when he died in the land of Egypt, and all his brethren and all his servants rose up and they embalmed Joseph, as was their custom, and his brethren and all Egypt mourned over him for seventy days.
27 And they put Joseph in a coffin filled with spices and all sorts of perfume, and they buried him by the side of the river, that is Sihor, and his sons and all his brethren, and the whole of his father's household made a seven day's mourning for him.
28 And it came to pass after the death of Joseph, all the Egyptians began in those days to rule over the children of Israel, and Pharaoh, king of Egypt, who reigned in his father's stead, took all the laws of Egypt and conducted the whole government of Egypt under his counsel, and he reigned securely over his people.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 60

1 And when the year came round, being the seventy-second year from the Israelites going down to Egypt, after the death of Joseph, Zepho, the son of Eliphaz, the son of Esau, fled from Egypt, he and his men, and they went away.
2 And he came to Africa, which is Dinhabah, to Angeas king of Africa, and Angeas received them with great honor, and he made Zepho the captain of his host.
3 And Zepho found favor in the sight of Angeas and in the sight of his people, and Zepho was captain of the host to Angeas king of Africa for many days.
4 And Zepho enticed Angeas king of Africa to collect all his army to go and fight with the Egyptians, and with the sons of Jacob, and to avenge of them the cause of his brethren.
5 But Angeas would not listen to Zepho to do this thing, for Angeas knew the strength of the sons of Jacob, and what they had done to his army in their warfare with the children of Esau.
6 And Zepho was in those days very great in the sight of Angeas and in the sight of all his people, and he continually enticed them to make war against Egypt, but they would not.
7 And it came to pass in those days there was in the land of Chittim a man in the city of Puzimna, whose name was Uzu, and he became degenerately deified by the children of Chittim, and the man died and had no son, only one daughter whose name was Jania.
8 And the damsel was exceedingly beautiful, comely and intelligent, there was none seen like unto her for beauty and wisdom throughout the land.
9 And the people of Angeas king of Africa saw her and they came and praised her unto him, and Angeas sent to the children of Chittim, and he requested to take her unto himself for a wife, and the people of Chittim consented to give her unto him for a wife.
10 And when the messengers of Angeas were going forth from the land of Chittim to take their journey, behold the messengers of Turnus king of Bibentu came unto Chittim, for Turnus king of Bibentu also sent his messengers to request Jania for him, to take unto himself for a wife, for all his men had also praised her to him, therefore he sent all his servants unto her.
11 And the servants of Turnus came to Chittim, and they asked for Jania, to be taken unto Turnus their king for a wife.
12 And the people of Chittim said unto them, We cannot give her, because Angeas king of Africa desired her to take her unto him for a wife before you came, and that we should give her unto him, and now therefore we cannot do this thing to deprive Angeas of the damsel in order to give her unto Turnus.
13 For we are greatly afraid of Angeas lest he come in battle against us and destroy us, and Turnus your master will not be able to deliver us from his hand.
14 And when the messengers of Turnus heard all the words of the children of Chittim, they turned back to their master and told him all the words of the children of Chittim.
15 And the children of Chittim sent a memorial to Angeas, saying, Behold Turnus has sent for Jania to take her unto him for a wife, and thus have we answered him; and we heard that he has collected his whole army to go to war against thee, and he intends to pass by the road of Sardunia to fight against thy brother Lucus, and after that he will come to fight against thee.
16 And Angeas heard the words of the children of Chittim which they sent to him in the record, and his anger was kindled and he rose up and assembled his whole army and came through the islands of the sea, the road to Sardunia, unto his brother Lucus king of Sardunia.
17 And Niblos, the son of Lucus, heard that his uncle Angeas was coming, and he went out to meet him with a heavy army, and he kissed him and embraced him, and Niblos said unto Angeas, When thou askest my father after his welfare, when I shall go with thee to fight with Turnus, ask of him to make me captain of his host, and Angeas did so, and he came unto his brother and his brother came to meet him, and he asked him after his welfare.
18 And Angeas asked his brother Lucus after his welfare, and to make his son Niblos captain of his host, and Lucus did so, and Angeas and his brother Lucus rose up and they went toward Turnus to battle, and there was with them a great army and a heavy people.
19 And he came in ships, and they came into the province of Ashtorash, and behold Turnus came toward them, for he went forth to Sardunia, and intended to destroy it and afterward to pass on from there to Angeas to fight with him.
20 And Angeas and Lucus his brother met Turnus in the valley of Canopia, and the battle was strong and mighty between them in that place.
21 And the battle was severe upon Lucus king of Sardunia, and all his army fell, and Niblos his son fell also in that battle.
22 And his uncle Angeas commanded his servants and they made a golden coffin for Niblos and they put him into it, and Angeas again waged battle toward Turnus, and Angeas was stronger than he, and he slew him, and he smote all his people with the edge of the sword, and Angeas avenged the cause of Niblos his brother's son and the cause of the army of his brother Lucus.
23 And when Turnus died, the hands of those that survived the battle became weak, and they fled from before Angeas and Lucus his brother.
24 And Angeas and his brother Lucus pursued them unto the highroad, which is between Alphanu and Romah, and they slew the whole army of Turnus with the edge of the sword.
25 And Lucus king of Sardunia commanded his servants that they should make a coffin of brass, and that they should place therein the body of his son Niblos, and they buried him in that place.
26 And they built upon it a high tower there upon the highroad, and they called its name after the name of Niblos unto this day, and they also buried Turnus king of Bibentu there in that place with Niblos.
27 And behold upon the highroad between Alphanu and Romah the grave of Niblos is on one side and the grave of Turnus on the other, and a pavement between them unto this day.
28 And when Niblos was buried, Lucus his father returned with his army to his land Sardunia, and Angeas his brother king of Africa went with his people unto the city of Bibentu, that is the city of Turnus.
29 And the inhabitants of Bibentu heard of his fame and they were greatly afraid of him, and they went forth to meet him with weeping and supplication, and the inhabitants of Bibentu entreated of Angeas not to slay them nor destroy their city; and he did so, for Bibentu was in those days reckoned as one of the cities of the children of Chittim; therefore he did not destroy the city.
30 But from that day forward the troops of the king of Africa would go to Chittim to spoil and plunder it, and whenever they went, Zepho the captain of the host of Angeas would go with them.
31 And it was after this that Angeas turned with his army and they came to the city of Puzimna, and Angeas took thence Jania the daughter of Uzu for a wife and brought her unto his city unto Africa.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 61

1 And it came to pass at that time Pharaoh king of Egypt commanded all his people to make for him a strong palace in Egypt.
2 And he also commanded the sons of Jacob to assist the Egyptians in the building, and the Egyptians made a beautiful and elegant palace for a royal habitation, and he dwelt therein and he renewed his government and he reigned securely.
3 And Zebulun the son of Jacob died in that year, that is the seventy-second year of the going down of the Israelites to Egypt, and Zebulun died a hundred and fourteen years old, and was put into a coffin and given into the hands of his children.
4 And in the seventy-fifth year died his brother Simeon, he was a hundred and twenty years old at his death, and he was also put into a coffin and given into the hands of his children.
5 And Zepho the son of Eliphaz the son of Esau, captain of the host to Angeas king of Dinhabah, was still daily enticing Angeas to prepare for battle to fight with the sons of Jacob in Egypt, and Angeas was unwilling to do this thing, for his servants had related to him all the might of the sons of Jacob, what they had done unto them in their battle with the children of Esau.
6 And Zepho was in those days daily enticing Angeas to fight with the sons of Jacob in those days.
7 And after some time Angeas hearkened to the words of Zepho and consented to him to fight with the sons of Jacob in Egypt, and Angeas got all his people in order, a people numerous as the sand which is upon the sea shore, and he formed his resolution to go to Egypt to battle.
8 And amongst the servants of Angeas was a youth fifteen years old, Balaam the son of Beor was his name and the youth was very wise and understood the art of witchcraft.
9 And Angeas said unto Balaam, Conjure for us, I pray thee, with the witchcraft, that we may know who will prevail in this battle to which we are now proceeding.
10 And Balaam ordered that they should bring him wax, and he made thereof the likeness of chariots and horsemen representing the army of Angeas and the army of Egypt, and he put them in the cunningly prepared waters that he had for that purpose, and he took in his hand the boughs of myrtle trees, and he exercised his cunning, and he joined them over the water, and there appeared unto him in the water the resembling images of the hosts of Angeas falling before the resembling images of the Egyptians and the sons of Jacob.
11 And Balaam told this thing to Angeas, and Angeas despaired and did not arm himself to go down to Egypt to battle, and he remained in his city.
12 And when Zepho the son of Eliphaz saw that Angeas despaired of going forth to battle with the Egyptians, Zepho fled from Angeas from Africa, and he went and came unto Chittim.
13 And all the people of Chittim received him with great honor, and they hired him to fight their battles all the days, and Zepho became exceedingly rich in those days, and the troops of the king of Africa still spread themselves in those days, and the children of Chittim assembled and went to Mount Cuptizia on account of the troops of Angeas king of Africa, who were advancing upon them.
14 And it was one day that Zepho lost a young heifer, and he went to seek it, and he heard it lowing round about the mountain.
15 And Zepho went and he saw and behold there was a large cave at the bottom of the mountain, and there was a great stone there at the entrance of the cave, and Zepho split the stone and he came into the cave and he looked and behold, a large animal was devouring the ox; from the middle upward it resembled a man, and from the middle downward it resembled an animal, and Zepho rose up against the animal and slew it with his swords.
16 And the inhabitants of Chittim heard of this thing, and they rejoiced exceedingly, and they said, What shall we do unto this man who has slain this animal that devoured our cattle?
17 And they all assembled to consecrate one day in the year to him, and they called the name thereof Zepho after his name, and they brought unto him drink offerings year after year on that day, and they brought unto him gifts.
18 At that time Jania the daughter of Uzu wife of king Angeas became ill, and her illness was heavily felt by Angeas and his officers, and Angeas said unto his wise men, What shall I do to Jania and how shall I heal her from her illness? And his wise men said unto him, Because the air of our country is not like the air of the land of Chittim, and our water is not like their water, therefore from this has the queen become ill.
19 For through the change of air and water she became ill, and also because in her country she drank only the water which came from Purmah, which her ancestors had brought up with bridges.
20 And Angeas commanded his servants, and they brought unto him in vessels of the waters of Purmah belonging to Chittim, and they weighed those waters with all the waters of

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the land of Africa, and they found those waters lighter than the waters of Africa.

21 And Angeas saw this thing, and he commanded all his officers to assemble the hewers of stone in thousands and tens of thousands, and they hewed stone without number, and the builders came and they built an exceedingly strong bridge, and they conveyed the spring of water from the land of Chittim unto Africa, and those waters were for Jania the queen and for all her concerns, to drink from and to bake, wash and bathe therewith, and also to water therewith all seed from which food can be obtained, and all fruit of the ground.

22 And the king commanded that they should bring of the soil of Chittim in large ships, and they also brought stones to build therewith, and the builders built palaces for Jania the queen, and the queen became healed of her illness.

23 And at the revolution of the year the troops of Africa continued coming to the land of Chittim to plunder as usual, and Zepho son of Eliphaz heard their report, and he gave orders concerning them and he fought with them, and they fled before him, and he delivered the land of Chittim from them.

24 And the children of Chittim saw the valor of Zepho, and the children of Chittim resolved and they made Zepho king over them, and he became king over them, and whilst he reigned they went to subdue the children of Tubal, and all the surrounding islands.

25 And their king Zepho went at their head and they made war with Tubal and the islands, and they subdued them, and when they returned from the battle they renewed his government for him, and they built for him a very large palace for his royal habitation and seat, and they made a large throne for him, and Zepho reigned over the whole land of Chittim and over the land of Italia fifty years.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 62

1 In that year, being the seventy-ninth year of the Israelites going down to Egypt, died Reuben the son of Jacob, in the land of Egypt; Reuben was a hundred and twenty-five years old when he died, and they put him into a coffin, and he was given into the hands of his children.

2 And in the eightieth year died his brother Dan; he was a hundred and twenty years at his death, and he was also put into a coffin and given into the hands of his children.

3 And in that year died Chusham king of Edom, and after him reigned Hadad the son of Bedad, for thirty-five years; and in the eighty-first year died Issachar the son of Jacob, in Egypt, and Issachar was a hundred and twenty-two years old at his death, and he was put into a coffin in Egypt, and given into the hands of his children.

4 And in the eighty-second year died Asher his brother, he was a hundred and twenty-three years old at his death, and he was placed in a coffin in Egypt, and given into the hands of his children.

5 And in the eighty-third year died Gad, he was a hundred and twenty-five years old at his death, and he was put into a coffin in Egypt, and given into the hands of his children.

6 And it came to pass in the eighty-fourth year, that is the fiftieth year of the reign of Hadad, son of Bedad, king of Edom, that Hadad assembled all the children of Esau, and he got his whole army in readiness, about four hundred thousand men, and he directed his way to the land of Moab, and he went to fight with Moab and to make them tributary to him.

7 And the children of Moab heard this thing, and they were very much afraid, and they sent to the children of Midian to assist them in fighting with Hadad, son of Bedad, king of Edom.

8 And Hadad came unto the land of Moab, and Moab and the children of Midian went out to meet him, and they placed themselves in battle array against him in the field of Moab.

9 And Hadad fought with Moab, and there fell of the children of Moab and the children of Midian many slain ones, about two hundred thousand men.

10 And the battle was very severe upon Moab, and when the children of Moab saw that the battle was sore upon them, they weakened their hands and turned their backs, and left the children of Midian to carry on the battle.

11 And the children of Midian knew not the intentions of Moab, but they strengthened themselves in battle and fought with Hadad and all his host, and all Midian fell before him.

12 And Hadad smote all Midian with a heavy smiting, and he slew them with the edge of the sword, he left none remaining of those who came to assist Moab.

13 And when all the children of Midian had perished in battle, and the children at Moab had escaped, Hadad made all Moab at that time tributary to him, and they became under his hand, and they gave a yearly tax as it was ordered, and Hadad turned and went back to his land.

14 And at the revolution of the year, when the rest of the people of Midian that were in the land heard that all their brethren had fallen in battle with Hadad for the sake of Moab, because the children of Moab had turned their backs in battle and left Midian to fight, then five of the princes of Midian resolved with the rest of their brethren who remained in their land, to fight with Moab to avenge the cause of their brethren.

15 And the children of Midian sent to all their brethren the children of the east, and all their brethren, all the children of Keturah came to assist Midian to fight with Moab.

16 And the children of Moab heard this thing, and they were greatly afraid that all the children of the east had assembled together against them for battle, and they the children of Moab sent a memorial to the land of Edom to Hadad the son of Bedad, saying,

17 Come now unto us and assist us and we will smite Midian, for they all assembled together and have come against us with all their brethren the children of the east to battle, to avenge the cause of Midian that fell in battle.

18 And Hadad, son of Bedad, king of Edom, went forth with his whole army and went to the land of Moab to fight with Midian, and Midian and the children of the east fought with Moab in the field of Moab, and the battle was very fierce between them.

19 And Hadad smote all the children of Midian and the children of the east with the edge of the sword, and Hadad at that time delivered Moab from the hand of Midian, and those that remained of Midian and of the children of the east fled before Hadad and his army, and Hadad pursued them to their land, and smote them with a very heavy slaughter, and the slain fell in the road.

20 And Hadad delivered Moab from the hand of Midian, for all the children of Midian had fallen by the edge of the sword, and Hadad turned and went back to his land.

21 And from that day forth, the children of Midian hated the children of Moab, because they had fallen in battle for their sake, and there was a great and mighty enmity between them all the days.

22 And all that were found of Midian in the road of the land of Moab perished by the sword of Moab, and all that were found of Moab in the road of the land of Midian, perished by the sword of Midian; thus did Midian unto Moab and Moab unto Midian for many days.

23 And it came to pass at that time that Judah the son of Jacob died in Egypt, in the eighty-sixth year of Jacob's going down to Egypt, and Judah was a hundred and twenty-nine years old at his death, and they embalmed him and put him into a coffin, and he was given into the hands of his children.

24 And in the eighty-ninth year died Naphtali, he was a hundred and thirty-two years old, and he was put into a coffin and given into the hands of his children.

25 And it came to pass in the ninety-first year of the Israelites going down to Egypt, that is in the thirtieth year of the reign of Zepho the son of Eliphaz, the son of Esau, over the children of Chittim, the children of Africa came upon the children of Chittim to plunder them as usual, but they had not come upon them for these thirteen years.

26 And they came to them in that year, and Zepho the son of Eliphaz went out to them with some of his men and smote them desperately, and the troops of Africa fled from before Zepho and the slain fell before him, and Zepho and his men pursued them, going on and smiting them until they were near unto Africa.

27 And Angeas king of Africa heard the thing which Zepho had done, and it vexed him exceedingly, and Angeas was afraid of Zepho all the days.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 63

1 And in the ninety-third year died Levi, the son of Jacob, in Egypt, and Levi was a hundred and thirty-seven years old when he died, and they put him into a coffin and he was given into the hands of his children.

2 And it came to pass after the death of Levi, when all Egypt saw that the sons of Jacob the brethren of Joseph were dead, all the Egyptians began to afflict the children of Jacob, and to embitter their lives from that day unto the day of their going forth from Egypt, and they took from their hands all the vineyards and fields which Joseph had given unto them, and all the elegant houses in which the people of Israel lived, and all the fat of Egypt, the Egyptians took all from the sons of Jacob in those days.

3 And the hand of all Egypt became more grievous in those days against the children of Israel, and the Egyptians injured the Israelites until the children of Israel were wearied of their lives on account of the Egyptians.

4 And it came to pass in those days, in the hundred and second year of Israel's going down to Egypt, that Pharaoh king of Egypt died, and Melol his son reigned in his stead, and all the mighty men of Egypt and all that generation which knew Joseph and his brethren died in those days.

5 And another generation rose up in their stead, which had not known the sons of Jacob and all the good which they had done to them, and all their might in Egypt.

6 Therefore all Egypt began from that day forth to embitter the lives of the sons of Jacob, and to afflict them with all manner of hard labor, because they had not known their ancestors who had delivered them in the days of the famine.

7 And this was also from the Lord, for the children of Israel, to benefit them in their latter days, in order that all the children of Israel might know the Lord their God.

8 And in order to know the signs and mighty wonders which the Lord would do in Egypt on account of his people Israel, in order that the children of Israel might fear the Lord God of their ancestors, and walk in all his ways, they and their seed after them all the days.

9 Melol was twenty years old when he began to reign, and he reigned ninety-four years, and all Egypt called his name Pharaoh after the name of his father, as it was their custom to do to every king who reigned over them in Egypt.

10 At that time all the troops of Angeas king of Africa went forth to spread along the land of Chittim as usual for plunder.

11 And Zepho the son of Eliphaz the son of Esau heard their report, and he went forth to meet them with his army, and he fought them there in the road.

12 And Zepho smote the troops of the king of Africa with the edge of the sword, and left none remaining of them, and not even one returned to his master in Africa.

13 And Angeas heard of this which Zepho the son of Eliphaz had done to all his troops, that he had destroyed them, and Angeas assembled all his troops, all the men of the land of Africa, a people numerous like the sand by the sea shore.

14 And Angeas sent to Lucus his brother, saying, Come to me with all thy men and help me to smite Zepho and all the children of Chittim who have destroyed my men, and Lucus came with his whole army, a very great force, to assist Angeas his brother to fight with Zepho and the children of Chittim.

15 And Zepho and the children of Chittim heard this thing, and they were greatly afraid and a great terror fell upon their hearts.

16 And Zepho also sent a letter to the land of Edom to Hadad the son of Bedad king of Edom and to all the children of Esau, saying,

17 I have heard that Angeas king of Africa is coming to us with his brother for battle against us, and we are greatly afraid of him, for his army is very great, particularly as he comes against us with his brother and his army likewise.

18 Now therefore come you also up with me and help me, and we will fight together against Angeas and his brother Lucus, and you will save us out of their hands, but if not, know ye that we shall all die.

19 And the children of Esau sent a letter to the children of Chittim and to Zepho their king, saying, We cannot fight against Angeas and his people for a covenant of peace has been between us these many years, from the days of Bela the first king, and from the days of Joseph the son of Jacob king of Egypt, with whom we fought on the other side of Jordan when he buried his father.

20 And when Zepho heard the words of his brethren the children of Esau he refrained from them, and Zepho was greatly afraid of Angeas.

21 And Angeas and Lucus his brother arrayed all their forces, about eight hundred thousand men, against the children of Chittim.

22 And all the children of Chittim said unto Zepho, Pray for us to the God of thy ancestors, peradventure he may deliver us from the hand of Angeas and his army, for we have heard that he is a great God and that he delivers all who trust in him.

23 And Zepho heard their words, and Zepho sought the Lord and he said,

24 0 Lord God of Abraham and Isaac my ancestors, this day I know that thou art a true God, and all the gods of the nations are vain and useless.

25 Remember now this day unto me thy covenant with Abraham our father, which our ancestors related unto us, and do graciously with me this day for the sake of Abraham and Isaac our fathers, and save me and the children of Chittim from the hand of the king of Africa who comes against us for battle.

26 And the Lord hearkened to the voice of Zepho, and he had regard for him on account of Abraham and Isaac, and the Lord delivered Zepho and the children of Chittim from the hand of Angeas and his people.

27 And Zepho fought Angeas king of Africa and all his people on that day, and the Lord gave all the people of Angeas into the hands of the children of Chittim.

28 And the battle was severe upon Angeas, and Zepho smote all the men of Angeas and Lucus his brother, with the edge of the sword, and there fell from them unto the evening of that day about four hundred thousand men.

29 And when Angeas saw that all his men perished, he sent a letter to all the inhabitants of Africa to come to him, to assist him in the battle, and he wrote in the letter, saying, All who are found in Africa let them come unto me from ten years old and upward; let them all come unto me, and behold if he comes not he shall die, and all that he has, with his whole household, the king will take.

30 And all the rest of the inhabitants of Africa were terrified at the words of Angeas, and there went out of the city about three hundred thousand men and boys, from ten years upward, and they came to Angeas.

31 And at the end of ten days Angeas renewed the battle against Zepho and the children of Chittim, and the battle was very great and strong between them.

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32 And from the army of Angeas and Lucus, Zepho sent many of the wounded unto his hand, about two thousand men, and Sosiphtar the captain of the host of Angeas fell in that battle.

33 And when Sosiphtar had fallen, the African troops turned their backs to flee, and they fled, and Angeas and Lucus his brother were with them.

34 And Zepho and the children of Chittim pursued them, and they smote them still heavily on the road, about two hundred men, and they pursued Azdrubal the son of Angeas who had fled with his father, and they smote twenty of his men in the road, and Azdrubal escaped from the children of Chittim, and they did not slay him.

35 And Angeas and Lucus his brother fled with the rest of their men, and they escaped and came into Africa with terror and consternation, and Angeas feared all the days lest Zepho the son of Eliphaz should go to war with him.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 64

1 And Balaam the son of Beor was at that time with Angeas in the battle, and when he saw that Zepho prevailed over Angeas, he fled from there and came to Chittim.

2 And Zepho and the children of Chittim received him with great honor, for Zepho knew Balaam's wisdom, and Zepho gave unto Balaam many gifts and he remained with him.

3 And when Zepho had returned from the war, he commanded all the children of Chittim to be numbered who had gone into battle with him, and behold not one was missed.

4 And Zepho rejoiced at this thing, and he renewed his kingdom, and he made a feast to all his subjects.

5 But Zepho remembered not the Lord and considered not that the Lord had helped him in battle, and that he had delivered him and his people from the hand of the king of Africa, but still walked in the ways of the children of Chittim and the wicked children of Esau, to serve other gods which his brethren the children of Esau had taught him; it is therefore said, From the wicked goes forth wickedness.

6 And Zepho reigned over all the children of Chittim securely, but knew not the Lord who had delivered him and all his people from the hand of the king of Africa; and the troops of Africa came no more to Chittim to plunder as usual, for they knew of the power of Zepho who had smitten them all at the edge of the sword, so Angeas was afraid of Zepho the son of Eliphaz, and of the children of Chittim all the days.

7 At that time when Zepho had returned from the war, and when Zepho had seen how he prevailed over all the people of Africa and had smitten them in battle at the edge of the sword, then Zepho advised with the children of Chittim, to go to Egypt to fight with the sons of Jacob and with Pharaoh king of Egypt.

8 For Zepho heard that the mighty men of Egypt were dead and that Joseph and his brethren the sons at Jacob were dead, and that all their children the children of Israel remained in Egypt.

9 And Zepho considered to go to fight against them and all Egypt, to avenge the cause of his brethren the children of Esau, whom Joseph with his brethren and all Egypt had smitten in the land of Canaan, when they went up to bury Jacob in Hebron.

10 And Zepho sent messengers to Hadad, son of Bedad, king of Edom, and to all his brethren the children of Esau, saying,

11 Did you not say that you would not fight against the king of Africa for he is a member of your covenant? behold I fought with him and smote him and all his people.

12 Now therefore I have resolved to fight against Egypt and the children of Jacob who are there, and I will be revenged of them for what Joseph, his brethren and ancestors did to us in the land of Canaan when they went up to bury their father in Hebron.

13 Now then if you are willing to come to me to assist me in fighting against them and Egypt, then shall we avenge the cause of our brethren.

14 And the children of Esau hearkened to the words of Zepho, and the children of Esau gathered themselves together, a very great people, and they went to assist Zepho and the children of Chittim in battle.

15 And Zepho sent to all the children of the east and to all the children of Ishmael with words like unto these, and they gathered themselves and came to the assistance of Zepho and the children of Chittim in the war upon Egypt.

16 And all these kings, the king of Edom and the children of the east, and all the children of Ishmael, and Zepho the king of Chittim went forth and arrayed all their hosts in Hebron.

17 And the camp was very heavy, extending in length a distance of three days' journey, a people numerous as the sand upon the sea shore which can not be counted.

18 And all these kings and their hosts went down and came against all Egypt in battle, and encamped together in the valley of Pathros.

19 And all Egypt heard their report, and they also gathered themselves together, all the people of the land of Egypt, and of all the cities belonging to Egypt, about three hundred thousand men.

20 And the men of Egypt sent also to the children of Israel who were in those days in the land of Goshen, to come to them in order to go and fight with these kings.

21 And the men of Israel assembled and were about one hundred and fifty men, and they went into battle to assist the Egyptians.

22 And the men of Israel and of Egypt went forth, about three hundred thousand men and one hundred and fifty men, and they went toward these kings to battle, and they placed themselves from without the land of Goshen opposite Pathros.

23 And the Egyptians believed not in Israel to go with them in their camps together for battle, for all the Egyptians said, Perhaps the children of Israel will deliver us into the hand of the children of Esau and Ishmael, for they are their brethren.

24 And all the Egyptians said unto the children of Israel, Remain you here together in your stand and we will go and fight against the children of Esau and Ishmael, and if these kings should prevail over us, then come you altogether upon them and assist us, and the children of Israel did so.

25 And Zepho the son of Eliphaz the son of Esau king of Chittim, and Hadad the son of Bedad king of Edom, and all their camps, and all the children of the east, and children of Ishmael, a people numerous as sand, encamped together in the valley of Pathros opposite Tachpanches.

26 And Balaam the son of Beor the Syrian was there in the camp of Zepho, for he came with the children of Chittim to the battle, and Balaam was a man highly honored in the eyes of Zepho and his men.

27 And Zepho said unto Balaam, Try by divination for us that we may know who will prevail in the battle, we or the Egyptians.

28 And Balaam rose up and tried the art of divination, and he was skillful in the knowledge of it, but he was confused and the work was destroyed in his hand.

29 And he tried it again but it did not succeed, and Balaam despaired of it and left it and did not complete it, for this was from the Lord, in order to cause Zepho and his people to fall into the hand of the children of Israel, who had trusted in the Lord, the God of their ancestors, in their war.

30 And Zepho and Hadad put their forces in battle array, and all the Egyptians went alone against them, about three hundred thousand men, and not one man of Israel was with them.

31 And all the Egyptians fought with these kings opposite Pathros and Tachpanches, and the battle was severe against the Egyptians.

32 And the kings were stronger than the Egyptians in that battle, and about one hundred and eighty men of Egypt fell on that day, and about thirty men of the forces of the kings, and all the men of Egypt fled from before the kings, so the children of Esau and Ishmael pursued the Egyptians, continuing to smite them unto the place where was the camp of the children of Israel.

33 And all the Egyptians cried unto the children of Israel, saying, Hasten to us and assist us and save us from the hand of Esau, Ishmael and the children of Chittim.

34 And the hundred and fifty men of the children of Israel ran from their station to the camps of these kings, and the children of Israel cried unto the Lord their God to deliver them.

35 And the Lord hearkened to Israel, and the Lord gave all the men of the kings into their hand, and the children of Israel fought against these kings, and the children of Israel smote about four thousand of the kings' men.

36 And the Lord threw a great consternation in the camp of the kings, so that the fear of the children of Israel fell upon them.

37 And all the hosts of the kings fled from before the children of Israel and the children of Israel pursued them continuing to smite them unto the borders of the land of Cush.

38 And the children of Israel slew of them in the road yet two thousand men, and of the children of Israel not one fell.

39 And when the Egyptians saw that the children of Israel had fought with such few men with the kings, and that the battle was so very severe against them,

40 All the Egyptians were greatly afraid of their lives on account of the strong battle, and all Egypt fled, every man hiding himself from the arrayed forces, and they hid themselves in the road, and they left the Israelites to fight.

41 And the children of Israel inflicted a terrible blow upon the kings' men, and they returned from them after they had driven them to the border of the land of Cush.

42 And all Israel knew the thing which the men of Egypt had done to them, that they had fled from them in battle, and had left them to fight alone.

43 So the children of Israel also acted with cunning, and as the children of Israel returned from battle, they found some of the Egyptians in the road and smote them there.

44 And whilst they slew them, they said unto them these words:

45 Wherefore did you go from us and leave us, being a few people, to fight against these kings who had a great people to smite us, that you might thereby deliver your own souls?

46 And of some which the Israelites met on the road, they the children of Israel spoke to each other, saying, Smite, smite, for he is an Ishmaelite, or an Edomite, or from the children of Chittim, and they stood over him and slew him, and they knew that he was an Egyptian.

47 And the children of Israel did these things cunningly against the Egyptians, because they had deserted them in battle and had fled from them.

48 And the children of Israel slew of the men of Egypt in the road in this manner, about two hundred men.

49 And all the men of Egypt saw the evil which the children of Israel had done to them, so all Egypt feared greatly the children of Israel, for they had seen their great power, and that not one man of them had fallen.

50 So all the children of Israel returned with joy on their road to Goshen, and the rest of Egypt returned each man to his place.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 65

1 And it came to pass after these things, that all the counsellors of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and all the elders of Egypt assembled and came before the king and bowed down to the ground, and they sat before him.

2 And the counsellors and elders of Egypt spoke unto the king, saying,

3 Behold the people of the children of Israel is greater and mightier than we are, and thou knowest all the evil which they did to us in the road when we returned from battle.

4 And thou hast also seen their strong power, for this power is unto them from their fathers, for but a few men stood up against a people numerous as the sand, and smote them at the edge of the sword, and of themselves not one has fallen, so that if they had been numerous they would then have utterly destroyed them.

5 Now therefore give us counsel what to do with them, until we gradually destroy them from amongst us, lest they become too numerous for us in the land.

6 For if the children of Israel should increase in the land, they will become an obstacle to us, and if any war should happen to take place, they with their great strength will join our enemy against us, and fight against us, destroy us from the land and go away from it.

7 So the king answered the elders of Egypt and said unto them, This is the plan advised against Israel, from which we will not depart,

8 Behold in the land are Pithom and Rameses, cities unfortified against battle, it behooves you and us to build them, and to fortify them.

9 Now therefore go you also and act cunningly toward them, and proclaim a voice in Egypt and in Goshen at the command of the king, saying,

10 All ye men of Egypt, Goshen, Pathros and all their inhabitants! the king has commanded us to build Pithom and Rameses, and to fortify them for battle; who amongst you of all Egypt, of the children of Israel and of all the inhabitants of the cities, are willing to build with us, shall each have his wages given to him daily at the king's order; so go you first and do cunningly, and gather yourselves and come to Pithom and Rameses to build.

11 And whilst you are building, cause a proclamation of this kind to be made throughout Egypt every day at the command of the king.

12 And when some of the children of Israel shall come to build with you, you shall give them their wages daily for a few days.

13 And after they shall have built with you for their daily hire, drag yourselves away from them daily one by one in secret, and then you shall rise up and become their task-masters and officers, and you shall leave them afterward to build without wages, and should they refuse, then force them with all your might to build.

14 And if you do this it will be well with us to strengthen our land against the children of Israel, for on account of the fatigue of the building and the work, the children of Israel will decrease, because you will deprive them from their wives day by day.

15 And all the elders of Egypt heard the counsel of the king, and the counsel seemed good in their eyes and in the eyes of the servants of Pharaoh, and in the eyes of all Egypt, and they did according to the word of the king.

16 And all the servants went away from the king, and they caused a proclamation to be made in all Egypt, in Tachpanches and in Goshen, and in all the cities which surrounded Egypt, saying,

17 You have seen what the children of Esau and Ishmael did to us, who came to war against us and wished to destroy us.

18 Now therefore the king commanded us to fortify the land, to build the cities Pithom and Rameses, and to fortify them for battle, if they should again come against us.

19 Whosoever of you from all Egypt and from the children of Israel will come to build with us, he shall have his daily wages given by the king, as his command is unto us.

20 And when Egypt and all the children of Israel heard all that the servants of Pharaoh had spoken, there came from the

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Egyptians, and the children of Israel to build with the servants of Pharaoh, Pithom and Rameses, but none of the children of Levi came with their brethren to build.

21 And all the servants of Pharaoh and his princes came at first with deceit to build with all Israel as daily hired laborers, and they gave to Israel their daily hire at the beginning.

22 And the servants of Pharaoh built with all Israel, and were employed in that work with Israel for a month.

23 And at the end of the month, all the servants of Pharaoh began to withdraw secretly from the people of Israel daily.

24 And Israel went on with the work at that time, but they then received their daily hire, because some of the men of Egypt were yet carrying on the work with Israel at that time; therefore the Egyptians gave Israel their hire in those days, in order that they, the Egyptians their fellow-workmen, might also take the pay for their labor.

25 And at the end of a year and four months all the Egyptians had withdrawn from the children of Israel, so that the children of Israel were left alone engaged in the work.

26 And after all the Egyptians had withdrawn from the children of Israel they returned and became oppressors and officers over them, and some of them stood over the children of Israel as task masters, to receive from them all that they gave them for the pay of their labor.

27 And the Egyptians did in this manner to the children of Israel day by day, in order to afflict in their work.

28 And all the children of Israel were alone engaged in the labor, and the Egyptians refrained from giving any pay to the children of Israel from that time forward.

29 And when some of the men of Israel refused to work on account of the wages not being given to them, then the exactors and the servants of Pharaoh oppressed them and smote them with heavy blows, and made them return by force, to labor with their brethren; thus did all the Egyptians unto the children of Israel all the days.

30 And all the children of Israel were greatly afraid of the Egyptians in this matter, and all the children of Israel returned and worked alone without pay.

31 And the children of Israel built Pithom and Rameses, and all the children of Israel did the work, some making bricks, and some building, and the children of Israel built and fortified all the land of Egypt and its walls, and the children of Israel were engaged in work for many years, until the time came when the Lord remembered them and brought them out of Egypt.

32 But the children of Levi were not employed in the work with their brethren of Israel, from the beginning unto the day of their going forth from Egypt.

33 For all the children of Levi knew that the Egyptians had spoken all these words with deceit to the Israelites, therefore the children of Levi refrained from approaching to the work with their brethren.

34 And the Egyptians did not direct their attention to make the children of Levi work afterward, since they had not been with their brethren at the beginning, therefore the Egyptians left them alone.

35 And the hands of the men of Egypt were directed with continued severity against the children of Israel in that work, and the Egyptians made the children of Israel work with rigor.

36 And the Egyptians embittered the lives of the children of Israel with hard work, in mortar and bricks, and also in all manner of work in the field.

37 And the children of Israel called Melol the king of Egypt "Meror, king of Egypt," because in his days the Egyptians had embittered their lives with all manner of work.

38 And all the work wherein the Egyptians made the children of Israel labor, they exacted with rigor, in order to afflict the children of Israel, but the more they afflicted them, the more they increased and grew, and the Egyptians were grieved because of the children of Israel.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 66

1 At that time died Hadad the son of Bedad king of Edom, and Samlah from Mesrekah, from the country of the children of the east, reigned in his place.

2 In the thirteenth year of the reign of Pharaoh king of Egypt, which was the hundred and twenty-fifth year of the Israelites going down into Egypt, Samlah had reigned over Edom eighteen years.

3 And when he reigned, he drew forth his hosts to go and fight against Zepho the son of Eliphaz and the children of Chittim, because they had made war against Angeas king of Africa, and they destroyed his whole army.

4 But he did not engage with him, for the children of Esau prevented him, saying, He was their brother, so Samlah listened to the voice of the children of Esau, and turned back with all his forces to the land of Edom, and did not proceed to fight against Zepho the son of Eliphaz.

5 And Pharaoh king of Egypt heard this thing, saying, Samlah king of Edom has resolved to fight the children of Chittim, and afterward he will come to fight against Egypt.

6 And when the Egyptians heard this matter, they increased the labor upon the children of Israel, lest the Israelites should do unto them as they did unto them in their war with the children of Esau in the days of Hadad.

7 So the Egyptians said unto the children of Israel, Hasten and do your work, and finish your task, and strengthen the land, lest the children of Esau your brethren should come to fight against us, for on your account will they come against us.

8 And the children of Israel did the work of the men of Egypt day by day, and the Egyptians afflicted the children of Israel in order to lessen them in the land.

9 But as the Egyptians increased the labor upon the children of Israel, so did the children of Israel increase and multiply, and all Egypt was filled with the children of Israel.

10 And in the hundred and twenty-fifth year of Israel's going down into Egypt, all the Egyptians saw that their counsel did not succeed against Israel, but that they increased and grew, and the land of Egypt and the land of Goshen were filled with the children of Israel.

11 So all the elders of Egypt and its wise men came before the king and bowed down to him and sat before him.

12 And all the elders of Egypt and the wise men thereof said unto the king, May the king live forever; thou didst counsel us the counsel against the children of Israel, and we did unto them according to the word of the king.

13 But in proportion to the increase of the labor so do they increase and grow in the land, and behold the whole country is filled with them.

14 Now therefore our lord and king, the eyes of all Egypt are upon thee to give them advice with thy wisdom, by which they may prevail over Israel to destroy them, or to diminish them from the land; and the king answered them saying, Give you counsel in this matter that we may know what to do unto them.

15 And an officer, one of the king's counsellors, whose name was Job, from Mesopotamia, in the land of Uz, answered the king, saying,

16 If it please the king, let him hear the counsel of his servant; and the king said unto him, Speak.

17 And Job spoke before the king, the princes, and before all the elders of Egypt, saying,

18 Behold the counsel of the king which he advised formerly respecting the labor of the children of Israel is very good, and you must not remove from them that labor forever.

19 But this is the advice counselled by which you may lessen them, if it seems good to the king to afflict them.

20 Behold we have feared war for a long time, and we said, When Israel becomes fruitful in the land, they will drive us from the land if a war should take place.

21 If it please the king, let a royal decree go forth, and let it be written in the laws of Egypt which shall not be revoked, that every male child born to the Israelites, his blood shall be spilled upon the ground.

22 And by your doing this, when all the male children of Israel shall have died, the evil of their wars will cease; let the king do so and send for all the Hebrew midwives and order them in this matter to execute it; so the thing pleased the king and the princes, and the king did according to the word of Job.

23 And the king sent for the Hebrew midwives to be called, of which the name of one was Shephrah, and the name of the other Puah.

24 And the midwives came before the king, and stood in his presence.

25 And the king said unto them, When you do the office of a midwife to the Hebrew women, and see them upon the stools, if it be a son, then you shall kill him, but if it be a daughter, then she shall live.

26 But if you will not do this thing, then will I burn you up and all your houses with fire.

27 But the midwives feared God and did not hearken to the king of Egypt nor to his words, and when the Hebrew women brought forth to the midwife son or daughter, then did the midwife do all that was necessary to the child and let it live; thus did the midwives all the days.

28 And this thing was told to the king, and he sent and called for the midwives and he said to them, Why have you done this thing and have saved the children alive?

29 And the midwives answered and spoke together before the king, saying,

30 Let not the king think that the Hebrew women are as the Egyptian women, for all the children of Israel are hale, and before the midwife comes to them they are delivered, and as for us thy handmaids, for many days no Hebrew woman has brought forth upon us, for all the Hebrew women are their own midwives, because they are hale.

31 And Pharaoh heard their words and believed them in this matter, and the midwives went away from the king, and God dealt well with them, and the people multiplied and waxed exceedingly.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 67

1 There was a man in the land of Egypt of the seed of Levi, whose name was Amram, the son of Kehath, the son of Levi, the son of Israel.

2 And this man went and took a wife, namely Jochebed the daughter of Levi his father's sister, and she was one hundred and twenty-six years old, and he came unto her.

3 And the woman conceived and bare a daughter, and she called her name Miriam, because in those days the Egyptians had embittered the lives of the children of Israel.

4 And she conceived again and bare a son and she called his name Aaron, for in the days of her conception, Pharaoh began to spill the blood of the male children of Israel.

5 In those days died Zepho the son of Eliphaz, son of Esau, king of Chittim, and Janeas reigned in his stead.

6 And the time that Zepho reigned over the children of Chittim was fifty years, and he died and was buried in the city of Nabna in the land of Chittim.

7 And Janeas, one of the mighty men of the children of Chittim, reigned after him and he reigned fifty years.

8 And it was after the death of the king of Chittim that Balaam the son of Beor fled from the land of Chittim, and he went and came to Egypt to Pharaoh king of Egypt.

9 And Pharaoh received him with great honor, for he had heard of his wisdom, and he gave him presents and made him for a counsellor, and aggrandized him.

10 And Balaam dwelt in Egypt, in honor with all the nobles of the king, and the nobles exalted him, because they all coveted to learn his wisdom.

11 And in the hundred and thirtieth year of Israel's going down to Egypt, Pharaoh dreamed that he was sitting upon his kingly throne, and lifted up his eyes and saw an old man standing before him, and there were scales in the hands of the old man, such scales as are used by merchants.

12 And the old man took the scales and hung them before Pharaoh.

13 And the old man took all the elders of Egypt and all its nobles and great men, and he tied them together and put them in one scale.

14 And he took a milk kid and put it into the other scale, and the kid preponderated over all.

15 And Pharaoh was astonished at this dreadful vision, why the kid should preponderate over all, and Pharaoh awoke and behold it was a dream.

16 And Pharaoh rose up early in the morning and called all his servants and related to them the dream, and the men were greatly afraid.

17 And the king said to all his wise men, Interpret I pray you the dream which I dreamed, that I may know it.

18 And Balaam the son of Beor answered the king and said unto him, This means nothing else but a great evil that will spring up against Egypt in the latter days.

19 For a son will be born to Israel who will destroy all Egypt and its inhabitants, and bring forth the Israelites from Egypt with a mighty hand.

20 Now therefore, O king, take counsel upon this matter, that you may destroy the hope of the children of Israel and their expectation, before this evil arise against Egypt.

21 And the king said unto Balaam, And what shall we do unto Israel? surely after a certain manner did we at first counsel against them and could not prevail over them.

22 Now therefore give you also advice against them by which we may prevail over them.

23 And Balaam answered the king, saying, Send now and call thy two counsellors, and we will see what their advice is upon this matter and afterward thy servant will speak.

24 And the king sent and called his two counsellors Reuel the Midianite and Job the Uzite, and they came and sat before the king.

25 And the king said to them, Behold you have both heard the dream which I have dreamed, and the interpretation thereof; now therefore give counsel and know and see what is to be done to the children of Israel, whereby we may prevail over them, before their evil shall spring up against us.

26 And Reuel the Midianite answered the king and said, May the king live, may the king live forever.

27 If it seem good to the king, let him desist from the Hebrews and leave them, and let him not stretch forth his hand against them.

28 For these are they whom the Lord chose in days of old, and took as the lot of his inheritance from amongst all the nations of the earth and the kings of the earth; and who is there that stretched his hand against them with impunity, of whom their God was not avenged?

29 Surely thou knowest that when Abraham went down to Egypt, Pharaoh, the former king of Egypt, saw Sarah his wife, and took her for a wife, because Abraham said, She is my sister, for he was afraid, lest the men of Egypt should slay him on account of his wife.

30 And when the king of Egypt had taken Sarah then God smote him and his household with heavy plagues, until he restored unto Abraham his wife Sarah, then was he healed.

31 And Abimelech the Gerarite, king of the Philistines, God punished on account of Sarah wife of Abraham, in stopping up every womb from man to beast.

32 When their God came to Abimelech in the dream of night and terrified him in order that he might restore to Abraham Sarah whom he had taken, and afterward all the

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people of Gerar were punished on account of Sarah, and Abraham prayed to his God for them, and he was entreated of him, and he healed them.

33 And Abimelech feared all this evil that came upon him and his people, and he returned to Abraham his wife Sarah, and gave him with her many gifts.

34 He did so also to Isaac when he had driven him from Gerar, and God had done wonderful things to him, that all the water courses of Gerar were dried up, and their productive trees did not bring forth.

35 Until Abimelech of Gerar, and Ahuzzath one of his friends, and Pichol the captain of his host, went to him and they bent and bowed down before him to the ground.

36 And they requested of him to supplicate for them, and he prayed to the Lord for them, and the Lord was entreated of him and he healed them.

37 Jacob also, the plain man, was delivered through his integrity from the hand of his brother Esau, and the hand of Laban the Syrian his mother's brother, who had sought his life; likewise from the hand of all the kings of Canaan who had come together against him and his children to destroy them, and the Lord delivered them out of their hands, that they turned upon them and smote them, for who had ever stretched forth his hand against them with impunity?

38 Surely Pharaoh the former, thy father's father, raised Joseph the son of Jacob above all the princes of the land of Egypt, when he saw his wisdom, for through his wisdom he rescued all the inhabitants of the land from the famine.

39 After which he ordered Jacob and his children to come down to Egypt, in order that through their virtue, the land of Egypt and the land of Goshen might be delivered from the famine.

40 Now therefore if it seem good in thine eyes, cease from destroying the children of Israel, but if it be not thy will that they shall dwell in Egypt, send them forth from here, that they may go to the land of Canaan, the land where their ancestors sojourned.

41 And when Pharaoh heard the words of Jethro he was very angry with him, so that he rose with shame from the king's presence, and went to Midian, his land, and took Joseph's stick with him.

42 And the king said to Job the Uzite, What sayest thou Job, and what is thy advice respecting the Hebrews?

43 So Job said to the king, Behold all the inhabitants of the land are in thy power, let the king do as it seems good in his eyes.

44 And the king said unto Balaam, What dost thou say, Balaam, speak thy word that we may hear it.

45 And Balaam said to the king, Of all that the king has counselled against the Hebrews will they be delivered, and the king will not be able to prevail over them with any counsel.

46 For if thou thinkest to lessen them by the flaming fire, thou canst not prevail over them, for surely their God delivered Abraham their father from Ur of the Chaldeans; and if thou thinkest to destroy them with a sword, surely Isaac their father was delivered from it, and a ram was placed in his stead.

47 And if with hard and rigorous labor thou thinkest to lessen them, thou wilt not prevail even in this, for their father Jacob served Laban in all manner of hard work, and prospered.

48 Now therefore, O King, hear my words, for this is the counsel which is counselled against them, by which thou wilt prevail over them, and from which thou shouldst not depart.

49 If it please the king let him order all their children which shall be born from this day forward, to be thrown into the water, for by this canst thou wipe away their name, for none of them, nor of their fathers, were tried in this manner.

50 And the king heard the words of Balaam, and the thing pleased the king and the princes, and the king did according to the word of Balaam.

51 And the king ordered a proclamation to be issued and a law to be made throughout the land of Egypt, saying, Every male child born to the Hebrews from this day forward shall be thrown into the water.

52 And Pharaoh called unto all his servants, saying, Go now and seek throughout the land of Goshen where the children of Israel are, and see that every son born to the Hebrews shall be cast into the river, but every daughter you shall let live.

53 And when the children of Israel heard this thing which Pharaoh had commanded, to cast their male children into the river, some of the people separated from their wives and others adhered to them.

54 And from that day forward, when the time of delivery arrived to those women of Israel who had remained with their husbands, they went to the field to bring forth there, and they brought forth in the field, and left their children upon the field and returned home.

55 And the Lord who had sworn to their ancestors to multiply them, sent one of his ministering angels which are in heaven to wash each child in water, to anoint and swathe it and to put into its hands two smooth stones from one of which it sucked milk and from the other honey, and he caused its hair to grow to its knees, by which it might cover itself; to comfort it and to cleave to it, through his compassion for it.

56 And when God had compassion over them and had desired to multiply them upon the face of the land, he ordered his earth to receive them to be preserved therein till the time of their growing up, after which the earth opened its mouth and vomited them forth and they sprouted forth from the city like the herb of the earth, and the grass of the forest, and they returned each to his family and to his father's house, and they remained with them.

57 And the babes of the children of Israel were upon the earth like the herb of the field, through God's grace to them.

58 And when all the Egyptians saw this thing, they went forth, each to his field with his yoke of oxen and his ploughshare, and they ploughed it up as one ploughs the earth at seed time.

59 And when they ploughed they were unable to hurt the infants of the children of Israel, so the people increased and waxed exceedingly.

60 And Pharaoh ordered his officers daily to go to Goshen to seek for the babes of the children of Israel.

61 And when they had sought and found one, they took it from its mother's bosom by force, and threw it into the river, but the female child they left with its mother; thus did the Egyptians do to the Israelites all the days.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 68

1 And it was at that time the spirit of God was upon Miriam the daughter of Amram the sister of Aaron, and she went forth and prophesied about the house, saying, Behold a son will be born unto us from my father and mother this time, and he will save Israel from the hands of Egypt.

2 And when Amram heard the words of his daughter, he went and took his wife back to the house, after he had driven her away at the time when Pharaoh ordered every male child of the house of Jacob to be thrown into the water.

3 So Amram took Jochebed his wife, three years after he had driven her away, and he came to her and she conceived.

4 And at the end of seven months from her conception she brought forth a son, and the whole house was filled with great light as of the light of the sun and moon at the time of their shining.

5 And when the woman saw the child that it was good and pleasing to the sight, she hid it for three months in an inner room.

6 In those days the Egyptians conspired to destroy all the Hebrews there.

7 And the Egyptian women went to Goshen where the children of Israel were, and they carried their young ones upon their shoulders, their babes who could not yet speak.

8 And in those days, when the women of the children of Israel brought forth, each woman had hidden her son from before the Egyptians, that the Egyptians might not know of their bringing forth, and might not destroy them from the land.

9 And the Egyptian women came to Goshen and their children who could not speak were upon their shoulders, and when an Egyptian woman came into the house of a Hebrew woman her babe began to cry.

10 And when it cried the child that was in the inner room answered it, so the Egyptian women went and told it at the house of Pharaoh.

11 And Pharaoh sent his officers to take the children and slay them; thus did the Egyptians to the Hebrew women all the days.

12 And it was at that time, about three months from Jochebed's concealment of her son, that the thing was known in Pharaoh's house.

13 And the woman hastened to take away her son before the officers came, and she took for him an ark of bulrushes, and daubed it with slime and with pitch, and put the child therein, and she laid it in the flags by the river's brink.

14 And his sister Miriam stood afar off to know what would be done to him, and what would become of her words.

15 And God sent forth at that time a terrible heat in the land of Egypt, which burned up the flesh of man like the sun in his circuit, and it greatly oppressed the Egyptians.

16 And all the Egyptians went down to bathe in the river, on account of the consuming heat which burned up their flesh.

17 And Bathia, the daughter of Pharaoh, went also to bathe in the river, owing to the consuming heat, and her maidens walked at the river side, and all the women of Egypt as well.

18 And Bathia lifted up her eyes to the river, and she saw the ark upon the water, and sent her maid to fetch it.

19 And she opened it and saw the child, and behold the babe wept, and she had compassion on him, and she said, This is one of the Hebrew children.

20 And all the women of Egypt walking on the river side desired to give him suck, but he would not suck, for this thing was from the Lord, in order to restore him to his mother's breast.

21 And Miriam his sister was at that time amongst the Egyptian women at the river side, and she saw this thing and she said to Pharaoh's daughter, Shall I go and fetch a nurse of the Hebrew women, that she may nurse the child for thee?

22 And Pharaoh's daughter said to her, Go, and the young woman went and called the child's mother.

23 And Pharaoh's daughter said to Jochebed, Take this child away and suckle it for me, and I will pay thee thy wages, two bits of silver daily; and the woman took the child and nursed it.

24 And at the end of two years, when the child grew up, she brought him to the daughter of Pharaoh, and he was unto her as a son, and she called his name Moses, for she said, Because I drew him out of the water.

25 And Amram his father called his name Chabar, for he said, It was for him that he associated with his wife whom he had turned away.

26 And Jochebed his mother called his name Jekuthiel, Because, she said, I have hoped for him to the Almighty, and God restored him unto me.

27 And Miriam his sister called him Jered, for she descended after him to the river to know what his end would be.

28 And Aaron his brother called his name Abi Zanuch, saying, My father left my mother and returned to her on his account.

29 And Kehath the father of Amram called his name Abigdor, because on his account did God repair the breach of the house of Jacob, that they could no longer throw their male children into the water.

30 And their nurse called him Abi Socho, saying, In his tabernacle was he hidden for three months, on account of the children of Ham.

31 And all Israel called his name Shemaiah, son of Nethanel, for they said, In his days has God heard their cries and rescued them from their oppressors.

32 And Moses was in Pharaoh's house, and was unto Bathia, Pharaoh's daughter, as a son, and Moses grew up amongst the king's children.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 69

1 And the king of Edom died in those days, in the eighteenth year of his reign, and was buried in his temple which he had built for himself as his royal residence in the land of Edom.

2 And the children of Esau sent to Pethor, which is upon the river, and they fetched from there a young man of beautiful eyes and comely aspect, whose name was Saul, and they made him king over them in the place of Samlah.

3 And Saul reigned over all the children of Esau in the land of Edom for forty years.

4 And when Pharaoh king of Egypt saw that the counsel which Balaam had advised respecting the children of Israel did not succeed, but that still they were fruitful, multiplied and increased throughout the land of Egypt,

5 Then Pharaoh commanded in those days that a proclamation should be issued throughout Egypt to the children of Israel, saying, No man shall diminish any thing of his daily labor.

6 And the man who shall be found deficient in his labor which he performs daily, whether in mortar or in bricks, then his youngest son shall be put in their place.

7 And the labor of Egypt strengthened upon the children of Israel in those days, and behold if one brick was deficient in any man's daily labor, the Egyptians took his youngest boy by force from his mother, and put him into the building in the place of the brick which his father had left wanting.

8 And the men of Egypt did so to all the children of Israel day by day, all the days for a long period.

9 But the tribe of Levi did not at that time work with the Israelites their brethren, from the beginning, for the children of Levi knew the cunning of the Egyptians which they exercised at first toward the Israelites.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 70

1 And in the third year from the birth of Moses, Pharaoh was sitting at a banquet, when Alparanith the queen was sitting at his right and Bathia at his left, and the lad Moses was lying upon her bosom, and Balaam the son of Beor with his two sons, and all the princes of the kingdom were sitting at table in the king's presence.

2 And the lad stretched forth his hand upon the king's head, and took the crown from the king's head and placed it on his own head.

3 And when the king and princes saw the work which the boy had done, the king and princes were terrified, and one man to his neighbour expressed astonishment.

4 And the king said unto the princes who were before him at table, What speak you and what say you, O ye princes, in this matter, and what is to be the judgement against the boy on account of this act?

5 And Balaam the son of Beor the magician answered before the king and princes, and he said, Remember now, O my lord and king, the dream which thou didst dream many days since, and that which thy servant interpreted unto thee.

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6 Now therefore this is a child from the Hebrew children, in whom is the spirit of God, and let not my lord the king imagine that this youngster did this thing without knowledge.

7 For he is a Hebrew boy, and wisdom and understanding are with him, although he is yet a child, and with wisdom has he done this and chosen unto himself the kingdom of Egypt.

8 For this is the manner of all the Hebrews to deceive kings and their nobles, to do all these things cunningly, in order to make the kings of the earth and their men tremble.

9 Surely thou knowest that Abraham their father acted thus, who deceived the army of Nimrod king of Babel, and Abimelech king of Gerar, and that he possessed himself of the land of the children of Heth and all the kingdoms of Canaan.

10 And that he descended into Egypt and said of Sarah his wife, she is my sister, in order to mislead Egypt and her king.

11 His son Isaac also did so when he went to Gerar and dwelt there, and his strength prevailed over the army of Abimelech king of the Philistines.

12 He also thought of making the kingdom of the Philistines stumble, in saying that Rebecca his wife was his sister.

13 Jacob also dealt treacherously with his brother, and took from his hand his birthright and his blessing.

14 He went then to Padan-aram to the house of Laban his mother's brother, and cunningly obtained from him his daughter, his cattle, and all belonging to him, and fled away and returned to the land of Canaan to his father.

15 His sons sold their brother Joseph, who went down into Egypt and became a slave, and was placed in the prison house for twelve years.

16 Until the former Pharaoh dreamed dreams, and withdrew him from the prison house, and magnified him above all the princes in Egypt on account of his interpreting his dreams to him.

17 And when God caused a famine throughout the land he sent for and brought his father and all his brothers, and the whole of his father's household, and supported them without price or reward, and bought the Egyptians for slaves.

18 Now therefore my lord king behold this child has risen up in their stead in Egypt, to do according to their deeds and to trifle with every king, prince and judge.

19 If it please the king, let us now spill his blood upon the ground, lest he grow up and take away the government from thy hand, and the hope of Egypt perish after he shall have reigned.

20 And Balaam said to the king, Let us moreover call for all the judges of Egypt and the wise men thereof, and let us know if the judgement of death is due to this boy as thou didst say, and then we will slay him.

21 And Pharaoh sent and called for all the wise men of Egypt and they came before the king, and an angel of the Lord came amongst them, and he was like one of the wise men of Egypt.

22 And the king said to the wise men, Surely you have heard what this Hebrew boy who is in the house has done, and thus has Balaam judged in the matter.

23 Now judge you also and see what is due to the boy for the act he has committed.

24 And the angel, who seemed like one of the wise men of Pharaoh, answered and said as follows, before all the wise men of Egypt and before the king and the princes:

25 If it please the king let the king send for men who shall bring before him an onyx stone and a coal of fire, and place them before the child, and if the child shall stretch forth his hand and take the onyx stone, then shall we know that with wisdom has the youth done all that he has done, and we must slay him.

26 But if he stretch forth his hand upon the coal, then shall we know that it was not with knowledge that he did this thing, and he shall live.

27 And the thing seemed good in the eyes of the king and the princes, so the king did according to the word of the angel of the Lord.

28 And the king ordered the onyx stone and coal to be brought and placed before Moses.

29 And they placed the boy before them, and the lad endeavored to stretch forth his hand to the onyx stone, but the angel of the Lord took his hand and placed it upon the coal, and the coal became extinguished in his hand, and he lifted it up and put it into his mouth, and burned part of his lips and part of his tongue, and he became heavy in mouth and tongue.

30 And when the king and princes saw this, they knew that Moses had not acted with wisdom in taking off the crown from the king's head.

31 So the king and princes refrained from slaying the child, so Moses remained in Pharaoh's house, growing up, and the Lord was with him.

32 And whilst the boy was in the king's house, he was robed in purple and he grew amongst the children of the king.

33 And when Moses grew up in the king's house, Bathia the daughter of Pharaoh considered him as a son, and all the household of Pharaoh honored him, and all the men of Egypt were afraid of him.

34 And he daily went forth and came into the land of Goshen, where his brethren the children of Israel were, and Moses saw them daily in shortness of breath and hard labor.

35 And Moses asked them, saying, Wherefore is this labor meted out unto you day by day?

36 And they told him all that had befallen them, and all the injunctions which Pharaoh had put upon them before his birth.

37 And they told him all the counsels which Balaam the son of Beor had counselled against them, and what he had also counselled against him in order to slay him when he had taken the king's crown from off his head.

38 And when Moses heard these things his anger was kindled against Balaam, and he sought to kill him, and he was in ambush for him day by day.

39 And Balaam was afraid of Moses, and he and his two sons rose up and went forth from Egypt, and they fled and delivered their souls and betook themselves to the land of Cush to Kikianus, king of Cush.

40 And Moses was in the king's house going out and coming in, the Lord gave him favor in the eyes of Pharaoh, and in the eyes of all his servants, and in the eyes of all the people of Egypt, and they loved Moses exceedingly.

41 And the day arrived when Moses went to Goshen to see his brethren, that he saw the children of Israel in their burdens and hard labor, and Moses was grieved on their account.

42 And Moses returned to Egypt and came to the house of Pharaoh, and came before the king, and Moses bowed down before the king.

43 And Moses said unto Pharaoh, I pray thee my lord, I have come to seek a small request from thee, turn not away my face empty; and Pharaoh said unto him, Speak.

44 And Moses said unto Pharaoh, Let there be given unto thy servants the children of Israel who are in Goshen, one day to rest therein from their labor.

45 And the king answered Moses and said, Behold I have lifted up thy face in this thing to grant thy request.

46 And Pharaoh ordered a proclamation to be issued throughout Egypt and Goshen, saying,

47 To you, all the children of Israel, thus says the king, for six days you shall do your work and labor, but on the seventh day you shall rest, and shall not preform any work, thus shall you do all the days, as the king and Moses the son of Bathia have commanded.

48 And Moses rejoiced at this thing which the king had granted to him, and all the children of Israel did as Moses ordered them.

49 For this thing was from the Lord to the children of Israel, for the Lord had begun to remember the children of Israel to save them for the sake of their fathers.

50 And the Lord was with Moses and his fame went throughout Egypt.

51 And Moses became great in the eyes of all the Egyptians, and in the eyes of all the children of Israel, seeking good for his people Israel and speaking words of peace regarding them to the king.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 71

1 And when Moses was eighteen years old, he desired to see his father and mother and he went to them to Goshen, and when Moses had come near Goshen, he came to the place where the children of Israel were engaged in work, and he observed their burdens, and he saw an Egyptian smiting one of his Hebrew brethren.

2 And when the man who was beaten saw Moses he ran to him for help, for the man Moses was greatly respected in the house of Pharaoh, and he said to him, My lord attend to me, this Egyptian came to my house in the night, bound me, and came to my wife in my presence, and now he seeks to take my life away.

3 And when Moses heard this wicked thing, his anger was kindled against the Egyptian, and he turned this way and the other, and when he saw there was no man there he smote the Egyptian and hid him in the sand, and delivered the Hebrew from the hand of him that smote him.

4 And the Hebrew went to his house, and Moses returned to his home, and went forth and came back to the king's house.

5 And when the man had returned home, he thought of repudiating his wife, for it was not right in the house of Jacob, for any man to come to his wife after she had been defiled.

6 And the woman went and told her brothers, and the woman's brothers sought to slay him, and he fled to his house and escaped.

7 And on the second day Moses went forth to his brethren, and saw, and behold two men were quarreling, and he said to the wicked one, Why dost thou smite thy neighbour?

8 And he answered him and said to him, Who has set thee for a prince and judge over us? dost thou think to slay me as thou didst slay the Egyptian? and Moses was afraid and he said, Surely the thing is known?

9 And Pharaoh heard of this affair, and he ordered Moses to be slain, so God sent his angel, and he appeared unto Pharaoh in the likeness of a captain of the guard.

10 And the angel of the Lord took the sword from the hand of the captain of the guard, and took his head off with it, for the likeness of the captain of the guard was turned into the likeness of Moses.

11 And the angel of the Lord took hold of the right hand of Moses, and brought him forth from Egypt, and placed him from without the borders of Egypt, a distance of forty days' journey.

12 And Aaron his brother alone remained in the land of Egypt, and he prophesied to the children of Israel, saying,

13 Thus says the Lord God of your ancestors, Throw away, each man, the abominations of his eyes, and do not defile yourselves with the idols of Egypt.

14 And the children of Israel rebelled and would not hearken to Aaron at that time.

15 And the Lord thought to destroy them, were it not that the Lord remembered the covenant which he had made with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

16 In those days the hand of Pharaoh continued to be severe against the children of Israel, and he crushed and oppressed them until the time when God sent forth his word and took notice of them.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 72

1 And it was in those days that there was a great war between the children of Cush and the children of the east and Aram, and they rebelled against the king of Cush in whose hands they were.

2 So Kikianus king of Cush went forth with all the children of Cush, a people numerous as the sand, and he went to fight against Aram and the children of the east, to bring them under subjection.

3 And when Kikianus went out, he left Balaam the magician, with his two sons, to guard the city, and the lowest sort of the people of the land.

4 So Kikianus went forth to Aram and the children of the east, and he fought against them and smote them, and they all fell down wounded before Kikianus and his people.

5 And he took many of them captives and he brought them under subjection as at first, and he encamped upon their land to take tribute from them as usual.

6 And Balaam the son of Beor, when the king of Cush had left him to guard the city and the poor of the city, he rose up and advised with the people of the land to rebel against king Kikianus, not to let him enter the city when he should come home.

7 And the people of the land hearkened to him, and they swore to him and made him king over them, and his two sons for captains of the army.

8 So they rose up and raised the walls of the city at the two corners, and they built an exceeding strong building.

9 And at the third corner they dug ditches without number, between the city and the river which surrounded the whole land of Cush, and they made the waters of the river burst forth there.

10 At the fourth corner they collected numerous serpents by their incantations and enchantments, and they fortified the city and dwelt therein, and no one went out or in before them.

11 And Kikianus fought against Aram and the children of the east and he subdued them as before, and they gave him their usual tribute, and he went and returned to his land.

12 And when Kikianus the king of Cush approached his city and all the captains of the forces with him, they lifted up their eyes and saw that the walls of the city were built up and greatly elevated, so the men were astonished at this.

13 And they said one to the other, It is because they saw that we were delayed, in battle, and were greatly afraid of us, therefore have they done this thing and raised the city walls and fortified them so that the kings of Canaan might not come in battle against them.

14 So the king and the troops approached the city door and they looked up and behold, all the gates of the city were closed, and they called out to the sentinels, saying, Open unto us, that we may enter the city.

15 But the sentinels refused to open to them by the order of Balaam the magician, their king, they suffered them not to enter their city.

16 So they raised a battle with them opposite the city gate, and one hundred and thirty men of the army at Kikianus fell on that day.

17 And on the next day they continued to fight and they fought at the side of the river; they endeavored to pass but were not able, so some of them sank in the pits and died.

18 So the king ordered them to cut down trees to make rafts, upon which they might pass to them, and they did so.

19 And when they came to the place of the ditches, the waters revolved by mills, and two hundred men upon ten rafts were drowned.

20 And on the third day they came to fight at the side where the serpents were, but they could not approach there, for the serpents slew of them one hundred and seventy men, and they ceased fighting against Cush, and they besieged Cush for nine years, no person came out or in.

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21 At that time that the war and the siege were against Cush, Moses fled from Egypt from Pharaoh who sought to kill him for having slain the Egyptian.

22 And Moses was eighteen years old when he fled from Egypt from the presence of Pharaoh, and he fled and escaped to the camp of Kikianus, which at that time was besieging Cush.

23 And Moses was nine years in the camp of Kikianus king of Cush, all the time that they were besieging Cush, and Moses went out and came in with them.

24 And the king and princes and all the fighting men loved Moses, for he was great and worthy, his stature was like a noble lion, his face was like the sun, and his strength was like that of a lion, and he was counsellor to the king.

25 And at the end of nine years, Kikianus was seized with a mortal disease, and his illness prevailed over him, and he died on the seventh day.

26 So his servants embalmed him and carried him and buried him opposite the city gate to the north of the land of Egypt.

27 And they built over him an elegant strong and high building, and they placed great stones below.

28 And the king's scribes engraved upon those stones all the might of their king Kikianus, and all his battles which he had fought, behold they are written there at this day.

29 Now after the death of Kikianus king of Cush it grieved his men and troops greatly on account of the war.

30 So they said one to the other, Give us counsel what we are to do at this time, as we have resided in the wilderness nine years away from our homes.

31 If we say we will fight against the city many of us will fall wounded or killed, and if we remain here in the siege we shall also die.

32 For now all the kings of Aram and of the children of the east will hear that our king is dead, and they will attack us suddenly in a hostile manner, and they will fight against us and leave no remnant of us.

33 Now therefore let us go and make a king over us, and let us remain in the siege until the city is delivered up to us.

34 And they wished to choose on that day a man for king from the army of Kikianus, and they found no object of their choice like Moses to reign over them.

35 And they hastened and stripped off each man his garments and cast them upon the ground, and they made a great heap and placed Moses thereon.

36 And they rose up and blew with trumpets and called out before him, and said, May the king live, may the king live!

37 And all the people and nobles swore unto him to give him for a wife Adoniah the queen, the Cushite, wife of Kikianus, and they made Moses king over them on that day.

38 And all the people of Cush issued a proclamation on that day, saying, Every man must give something to Moses of what is in his possession.

39 And they spread out a sheet upon the heap, and every man cast into it something of what he had, one a gold earring and the other a coin.

40 Also of onyx stones, bdellium, pearls and marble did the children of Cush cast unto Moses upon the heap, also silver and gold in great abundance.

41 And Moses took all the silver and gold, all the vessels, and the bdellium and onyx stones, which all the children of Cush had given to him, and he placed them amongst his treasures.

42 And Moses reigned over the children of Cush on that day, in the place of Kikianus king of Cush.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 73

1 In the fifty-fifth year of the reign of Pharaoh king of Egypt, that is in the hundred and fifty-seventh year of the Israelites going down into Egypt, reigned Moses in Cush.

2 Moses was twenty-seven years old when he began to reign over Cush, and forty years did he reign.

3 And the Lord granted Moses favor and grace in the eyes of all the children of Cush, and the children of Cush loved him exceedingly, so Moses was favored by the Lord and by men.

4 And in the seventh day of his reign, all the children of Cush assembled and came before Moses and bowed down to him to the ground.

5 And all the children spoke together in the presence of the king, saying, Give us counsel that we may see what is to be done to this city.

6 For it is now nine years that we have been besieging round about the city, and have not seen our children and our wives.

7 So the king answered them, saying, If you will hearken to my voice in all that I shall command you, then will the Lord give the city into our hands and we shall subdue it.

8 For if we fight with them as in the former battle which we had with them before the death of Kikianus, many of us will fall down wounded as before.

9 Now therefore behold here is counsel for you in this matter; if you will hearken to my voice, then will the city be delivered into our hands.

10 So all the forces answered the king, saying, All that our lord shall command that will we do.

11 And Moses said unto them, Pass through and proclaim a voice in the whole camp unto all the people, saying,

12 Thus says the king, Go into the forest and bring with you of the young ones of the stork, each man a young one in his hand.

13 And any person transgressing the word of the king, who shall not bring his young one, he shall die, and the king will take all belonging to him.

14 And when you shall bring them they shall be in your keeping, you shall rear them until they grow up, and you shall teach them to dart upon, as is the way of the young ones of the hawk.

15 So all the children of Cush heard the words of Moses, and they rose up and caused a proclamation to be issued throughout the camp, saying,

16 Unto you, all the children of Cush, the king's order is, that you go all together to the forest, and catch there the young storks each man his young one in his hand, and you shall bring them home.

17 And any person violating the order of the king shall die, and the king will take all that belongs to him.

18 And all the people did so, and they went out to the wood and they climbed the fir trees and caught, each man a young one in his hand, all the young of the storks, and they brought them into the desert and reared them by order of the king, and they taught them to dart upon, similar to the young hawks.

19 And after the young storks were reared, the king ordered them to be hungered for three days, and all the people did so.

20 And on the third day, the king said unto them, strengthen yourselves and become valiant men, and put on each man his armor and gird on his sword upon him, and ride each man his horse and take each his young stork in his hand.

21 And we will rise up and fight against the city at the place where the serpents are; and all the people did as the king had ordered.

22 And they took each man his young one in his hand, and they went away, and when they came to the place of the serpents the king said to them, Send forth each man his young stork upon the serpents.

23 And they sent forth each man his young stork at the king's order, and the young storks ran upon the serpents and they devoured them all and destroyed them out of that place.

24 And when the king and people had seen that all the serpents were destroyed in that place, all the people set up a great shout.

25 And they approached and fought against the city and took it and subdued it, and they entered the city.

26 And there died on that day one thousand and one hundred men of the people of the city, all that inhabited the city, but of the people besieging not one died.

27 So all the children of Cush went each to his home, to his wife and children and to all belonging to him.

28 And Balaam the magician, when he saw that the city was taken, he opened the gate and he and his two sons and eight brothers fled and returned to Egypt to Pharaoh king of Egypt.

29 They are the sorcerers and magicians who are mentioned in the book of the law, standing against Moses when the Lord brought the plagues upon Egypt.

30 So Moses took the city by his wisdom, and the children of Cush placed him on the throne instead of Kikianus king of Cush.

31 And they placed the royal crown upon his head, and they gave him for a wife Adoniah the Cushite queen, wife of Kikianus.

32 And Moses feared the Lord God of his fathers, so that he came not to her, nor did he turn his eyes to her.

33 For Moses remembered how Abraham had made his servant Eliezer swear, saying unto him, Thou shalt not take a woman from the daughters of Canaan for my son Isaac.

34 Also what Isaac did when Jacob had fled from his brother, when he commanded him, saying, Thou shalt not take a wife from the daughters of Canaan, nor make alliance with any of the children of Ham.

35 For the Lord our God gave Ham the son of Noah, and his children and all his seed, as slaves to the children of Shem and to the children of Japheth, and unto their seed after them for slaves, forever.

36 Therefore Moses turned not his heart nor his eyes to the wife of Kikianus all the days that he reigned over Cush.

37 And Moses feared the Lord his God all his life, and Moses walked before the Lord in truth, with all his heart and soul, he turned not from the right way all the days of his life; he declined not from the way either to the right or to the left, in which Abraham, Isaac and Jacob had walked.

38 And Moses strengthened himself in the kingdom of the children of Cush, and he guided the children of Cush with his usual wisdom, and Moses prospered in his kingdom.

39 And at that time Aram and the children of the east heard that Kikianus king of Cush had died, so Aram and the children of the east rebelled against Cush in those days.

40 And Moses gathered all the children of Cush, a people very mighty, about thirty thousand men, and he went forth to fight with Aram and the children of the east.

41 And they went at first to the children of the east, and when the children of the east heard their report, they went to meet them, and engaged in battle with them.

42 And the war was severe against the children of the east, so the Lord gave all the children of the east into the hand of Moses, and about three hundred men fell down slain.

43 And all the children of the east turned back and retreated, so Moses and the children of Cush followed them and subdued them, and put a tax upon them, as was their custom.

44 So Moses and all the people with him passed from there to the land of Aram for battle.

45 And the people of Aram also went to meet them, and they fought against them, and the Lord delivered them into the hand of Moses, and many of the men of Aram fell down wounded.

46 And Aram also were subdued by Moses and the people of Cush, and also gave their usual tax.

47 And Moses brought Aram and the children of the east under subjection to the children of Cush, and Moses and all the people who were with him, turned to the land of Cush.

48 And Moses strengthened himself in the kingdom of the children of Cush, and the Lord was with him, and all the children of Cush were afraid of him.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 74

1 In the end of years died Saul king of Edom, and Baal Chanan the son of Achbor reigned in his place.

2 In the sixteenth year of the reign of Moses over Cush, Baal Chanan the son of Achbor reigned in the land of Edom over all the children of Edom for thirty-eight years.

3 In his days Moab rebelled against the power of Edom, having been under Edom since the days of Hadad the son of Bedad, who smote them and Midian, and brought Moab under subjection to Edom.

4 And when Baal Chanan the son of Achbor reigned over Edom, all the children of Moab withdrew their allegiance from Edom.

5 And Angeas king of Africa died in those days, and Azdrubal his son reigned in his stead.

6 And in those days died Janeas king of the children of Chittim, and they buried him in his temple which he had built for himself in the plain of Canopia for a residence, and Latinus reigned in his stead.

7 In the twenty-second year of the reign of Moses over the children of Cush, Latinus reigned over the children of Chittim forty-five years.

8 And he also built for himself a great and mighty tower, and he built therein an elegant temple for his residence, to conduct his government, as was the custom.

9 In the third year of his reign he caused a proclamation to be made to all his skilful men, who made many ships for him.

10 And Latinus assembled all his forces, and they came in ships, and went therein to fight with Azdrubal son of Angeas king of Africa, and they came to Africa and engaged in battle with Azdrubal and his army.

11 And Latinus prevailed over Azdrubal, and Latinus took from Azdrubal the aqueduct which his father had brought from the children of Chittim, when he took Janiah the daughter of Uzi for a wife, so Latinus overthrew the bridge of the aqueduct, and smote the whole army of Azdrubal a severe blow.

12 And the remaining strong men of Azdrubal strengthened themselves, and their hearts were filled with envy, and they courted death, and again engaged in battle with Latinus king of Chittim.

13 And the battle was severe upon all the men of Africa, and they all fell wounded before Latinus and his people, and Azdrubal the king also fell in that battle.

14 And the king Azdrubal had a very beautiful daughter, whose name was Ushpezena, and all the men of Africa embroidered her likeness on their garments, on account of her great beauty and comely appearance.

15 And the men of Latinus saw Ushpezena, the daughter of Azdrubal, and praised her unto Latinus their king.

16 And Latinus ordered her to be brought to him, and Latinus took Ushpezena for a wife, and he turned back on his way to Chittim.

17 And it was after the death of Azdrubal son of Angeas, when Latinus had turned back to his land from the battle, that all the inhabitants of Africa rose up and took Anibal the son of Angeas, the younger brother of Azdrubal, and made him king instead at his brother over the whole land at Africa.

18 And when he reigned, he resolved to go to Chittim to fight with the children of Chittim, to avenge the cause of Azdrubal his brother, and the cause of the inhabitants of Africa, and he did so.

19 And he made many ships, and he came therein with his whole army, and he went to Chittim.

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20 So Anibal fought with the children of Chittim, and the children of Chittim fell wounded before Anibal and his army, and Anibal avenged his brother's cause.

21 And Anibal continued the war for eighteen years with the children of Chittim, and Anibal dwelt in the land of Chittim and encamped there for a long time.

22 And Anibal smote the children of Chittim very severely, and he slew their great men and princes, and of the rest of the people he smote about eighty thousand men.

23 And at the end of days and years, Anibal returned to his land of Africa, and he reigned securely in the place of Azdrubal his brother.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 75

1 At that time, in the hundred and eightieth year of the Israelites going down into Egypt, there went forth from Egypt valiant men, thirty thousand on foot, from the children of Israel, who were all of the tribe of Joseph, of the children of Ephraim the son of Joseph.

2 For they said the period was completed which the Lord had appointed to the children of Israel in the times of old, which he had spoken to Abraham.

3 And these men girded themselves, and they put each man his sword at his side, and every man his armor upon him, and they trusted to their strength, and they went out together from Egypt with a mighty hand.

4 But they brought no provision for the road, only silver and gold, not even bread for that day did they bring in their hands, for they thought of getting their provision for pay from the Philistines, and if not they would take it by force.

5 And these men were very mighty and valiant men, one man could pursue a thousand and two could rout ten thousand, so they trusted to their strength and went together as they were.

6 And they directed their course toward the land of Gath, and they went down and found the shepherds of Gath feeding the cattle of the children of Gath.

7 And they said to the shepherds, Give us some of the sheep for pay, that we may eat, for we are hungry, for we have eaten no bread this day.

8 And the shepherds said, Are they our sheep or cattle that we should give them to you even for pay? so the children of Ephraim approached to take them by force.

9 And the shepherds of Gath shouted over them that their cry was heard at a distance, so all the children of Gath went out to them.

10 And when the children of Gath saw the evil doings of the children of Ephraim, they returned and assembled the men of Gath, and they put on each man his armor, and came forth to the children of Ephraim for battle.

11 And they engaged with them in the valley of Gath, and the battle was severe, and they smote from each other a great many on that day.

12 And on the second day the children of Gath sent to all the cities of the Philistines that they should come to their help, saying,

13 Come up unto us and help us, that we may smite the children of Ephraim who have come forth from Egypt to take our cattle, and to fight against us without cause.

14 Now the souls of the children of Ephraim were exhausted with hunger and thirst, for they had eaten no bread for three days. And forty thousand men went forth from the cities of the Philistines to the assistance of the men of Gath.

15 And these men were engaged in battle with the children of Ephraim, and the Lord delivered the children of Ephraim into the hands of the Philistines.

16 And they smote all the children of Ephraim, all who had gone forth from Egypt, none were remaining but ten men who had run away from the engagement.

17 For this evil was from the Lord against the children of Ephraim, for they transgressed the word of the Lord in going forth from Egypt, before the period had arrived which the Lord in the days of old had appointed to Israel.

18 And of the Philistines also there fell a great many, about twenty thousand men, and their brethren carried them and buried them in their cities.

19 And the slain of the children of Ephraim remained forsaken in the valley of Gath for many days and years, and were not brought to burial, and the valley was filled with men's bones.

20 And the men who had escaped from the battle came to Egypt, and told all the children of Israel all that had befallen them.

21 And their father Ephraim mourned over them for many days, and his brethren came to console him.

22 And he came unto his wife and she bare a son, and he called his name Beriah, for she was unfortunate in his house.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 76

1 And Moses the son of Amram was still king in the land of Cush in those days, and he prospered in his kingdom, and he conducted the government of the children of Cush in justice, in righteousness, and integrity.

2 And all the children of Cush loved Moses all the days that he reigned over them, and all the inhabitants of the land of Cush were greatly afraid of him.

3 And in the fortieth year of the reign of Moses over Cush, Moses was sitting on the royal throne whilst Adoniah the queen was before him, and all the nobles were sitting around him.

4 And Adoniah the queen said before the king and the princes, What is this thing which you, the children of Cush, have done for this long time?

5 Surely you know that for forty years that this man has reigned over Cush he has not approached me, nor has he served the gods of the children of Cush.

6 Now therefore hear, O ye children of Cush, and let this man no more reign over you as he is not of our flesh.

7 Behold Menacrus my son is grown up, let him reign over you, for it is better for you to serve the son of your lord, than to serve a stranger, slave of the king of Egypt.

8 And all the people and nobles of the children of Cush heard the words which Adoniah the queen had spoken in their ears.

9 And all the people were preparing until the evening, and in the morning they rose up early and made Menacrus, son of Kikianus, king over them.

10 And all the children of Cush were afraid to stretch forth their hand against Moses, for the Lord was with Moses, and the children of Cush remembered the oath which they swore unto Moses, therefore they did no harm to him.

11 But the children of Cush gave many presents to Moses, and sent him from them with great honor.

12 So Moses went forth from the land of Cush, and went home and ceased to reign over Cush, and Moses was sixty-six years old when he went out of the land of Cush, for the thing was from the Lord, for the period had arrived which he had appointed in the days of old, to bring forth Israel from the affliction of the children of Ham.

13 So Moses went to Midian, for he was afraid to return to Egypt on account of Pharaoh, and he went and sat at a well of water in Midian.

14 And the seven daughters of Reuel the Midianite went out to feed their father's flock.

15 And they came to the well and drew water to water their father's flock.

16 So the shepherds of Midian came and drove them away, and Moses rose up and helped them and watered the flock.

17 And they came home to their father Reuel, and told him what Moses did for them.

18 And they said, An Egyptian man has delivered us from the hands of the shepherds, he drew up water for us and watered the flock.

19 And Reuel said to his daughters, And where is he? wherefore have you left the man?

20 And Reuel sent for him and fetched him and brought him home, and he ate bread with him.

21 And Moses related to Reuel that he had fled from Egypt and that he reigned forty years over Cush, and that they afterward had taken the government from him, and had sent him away in peace with honor and with presents.

22 And when Reuel had heard the words of Moses, Reuel said within himself, I will put this man into the prison house, whereby I shall conciliate the children of Cush, for he has fled from them.

23 And they took and put him into the prison house, and Moses was in prison ten years, and whilst Moses was in the prison house, Zipporah the daughter of Reuel took pity over him, and supported him with bread and water all the time.

24 And all the children of Israel were yet in the land of Egypt serving the Egyptians in all manner of hard work, and the hand of Egypt continued in severity over the children of Israel in those days.

25 At that time the Lord smote Pharaoh king of Egypt, and he afflicted with the plague of leprosy from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head; owing to the cruel treatment of the children of Israel was this plague at that time from the Lord upon Pharaoh king of Egypt.

26 For the Lord had hearkened to the prayer of his people the children of Israel, and their cry reached him on account of their hard work.

27 Still his anger did not turn from them, and the hand of Pharaoh was still stretched out against the children of Israel, and Pharaoh hardened his neck before the Lord, and he increased his yoke over the children of Israel, and embittered their lives with all manner of hard work.

28 And when the Lord had inflicted the plague upon Pharaoh king of Egypt, he asked his wise men and sorcerers to cure him.

29 And his wise men and sorcerers said unto him, That if the blood of little children were put into the wounds he would be healed.

30 And Pharaoh hearkened to them, and sent his ministers to Goshen to the children of Israel to take their little children.

31 And Pharaoh's ministers went and took the infants of the children of Israel from the bosoms of their mothers by force, and they brought them to Pharaoh daily, a child each day, and the physicians killed them and applied them to the plague; thus did they all the days.

32 And the number of the children which Pharaoh slew was three hundred and seventy-five.

33 But the Lord hearkened not to the physicians of the king of Egypt, and the plague went on increasing mightily.

34 And Pharaoh was ten years afflicted with that plague, still the heart of Pharaoh was more hardened against the children of Israel.

35 And at the end of ten years the Lord continued to afflict Pharaoh with destructive plagues.

36 And the Lord smote him with a bad tumor and sickness at the stomach, and that plague turned to a severe boil.

37 At that time the two ministers of Pharaoh came from the land of Goshen where all the children of Israel were, and went to the house of Pharaoh and said to him, We have seen the children of Israel slacken in their work and negligent in their labor.

38 And when Pharaoh heard the words of his ministers, his anger was kindled against the children of Israel exceedingly, for he was greatly grieved at his bodily pain.

39 And he answered and said, Now that the children of Israel know that I am ill, they turn and scoff at us, now therefore harness my chariot for me, and I will betake myself to Goshen and will see the scoff of the children of Israel with which they are deriding me; so his servants harnessed the chariot for him.

40 And they took and made him ride upon a horse, for he was not able to ride of himself;

41 And he took with him ten horsemen and ten footmen, and went to the children of Israel to Goshen.

42 And when they had come to the border of Egypt, the king's horse passed into a narrow place, elevated in the hollow part of the vineyard, fenced on both sides, the low, plain country being on the other side.

43 And the horses ran rapidly in that place and pressed each other, and the other horses pressed the king's horse.

44 And the king's horse fell into the low plain whilst the king was riding upon it, and when he fell the chariot turned over the king's face and the horse lay upon the king, and the king cried out, for his flesh was very sore.

45 And the flesh of the king was torn from him, and his bones were broken and he could not ride, for this thing was from the Lord to him, for the Lord had heard the cries of his people the children of Israel and their affliction.

46 And his servants carried him upon their shoulders, a little at a time, and they brought him back to Egypt, and the horsemen who were with him came also back to Egypt.

47 And they placed him in his bed, and the king knew that his end was come to die, so Aparanith the queen his wife came and cried before the king, and the king wept a great weeping with her.

48 And all his nobles and servants came on that day and saw the king in that affliction, and wept a great weeping with him.

49 And the princes of the king and all his counselors advised the king to cause one to reign in his stead in the land, whomsoever he should choose from his sons.

50 And the king had three sons and two daughters which Aparanith the queen his wife had borne to him, besides the king's children of concubines.

51 And these were their names, the firstborn Othri, the second Adikam, and the third Morion, and their sisters, the name of the elder Bathia and of the other Acuzi.

52 And Othri the first born of the king was an idiot, precipitate and hurried in his words.

53 But Adikam was a cunning and wise man and knowing in all the wisdom of Egypt, but of unseemly aspect, thick in flesh, and very short in stature; his height was one cubit.

54 And when the king saw Adikam his son intelligent and wise in all things, the king resolved that he should be king in his stead after his death.

55 And he took for him a wife Gedudah daughter of Abilot, and he was ten years old, and she bare unto him four sons.

56 And he afterward went and took three wives and begat eight sons and three daughters.

57 And the disorder greatly prevailed over the king, and his flesh stank like the flesh of a carcass cast upon the field in summer time, during the heat of the sun.

58 And when the king saw that his sickness had greatly strengthened itself over him, he ordered his son Adikam to be brought to him, and they made him king over the land in his place.

59 And at the end of three years, the king died, in shame, disgrace, and disgust, and his servants carried him and buried him in the sepulcher of the kings of Egypt in Zoan Mizraim.

60 But they embalmed him not as was usual with kings, for his flesh was putrid, and they could not approach to embalm him on account of the stench, so they buried him in haste.

61 For this evil was from the Lord to him, for the Lord had requited him evil for the evil which in his days he had done to Israel.

62 And he died with terror and with shame, and his son Adikam reigned in his place.<

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BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 77

1 Adikam was twenty years old when he reigned over Egypt, he reigned four years.

2 In the two hundred and sixth year of Israel's going down to Egypt did Adikam reign over Egypt, but he continued not so long in his reign over Egypt as his fathers had continued their reigns.

3 For Melol his father reigned ninety-four years in Egypt, but he was ten years sick and died, for he had been wicked before the Lord.

4 And all the Egyptians called the name of Adikam Pharaoh like the name of his fathers, as was their custom to do in Egypt.

5 And all the wise men of Pharaoh called the name of Adikam Ahuz, for short is called Ahuz in the Egyptian language.

6 And Adikam was exceedingly ugly, and he was a cubit and a span and he had a great beard which reached to the soles of his feet.

7 And Pharaoh sat upon his father's throne to reign over Egypt, and he conducted the government of Egypt in his wisdom.

8 And whilst he reigned he exceeded his father and all the preceding kings in wickedness, and he increased his yoke over the children of Israel.

9 And he went with his servants to Goshen to the children of Israel, and he strengthened the labor over them and he said unto them, Complete your work, each day's task, and let not your hands slacken from our work from this day forward as you did in the days of my father.

10 And he placed officers over them from amongst the children of Israel, and over these officers he placed taskmasters from amongst his servants.

11 And he placed over them a measure of bricks for them to do according to that number, day by day, and he turned back and went to Egypt.

12 At that time the task-masters of Pharaoh ordered the officers of the children of Israel according to the command of Pharaoh, saying,

13 Thus says Pharaoh, Do your work each day, and finish your task, and observe the daily measure of bricks; diminish not anything.

14 And it shall come to pass that if you are deficient in your daily bricks, I will put your young children in their stead.

15 And the task-masters of Egypt did so in those days as Pharaoh had ordered them.

16 And whenever any deficiency was found in the children of Israel's measure of their daily bricks, the task-masters of Pharaoh would go to the wives of the children of Israel and take infants of the children of Israel to the number of bricks deficient, they would take them by force from their mother's laps, and put them in the building instead of the bricks;

17 Whilst their fathers and mothers were crying over them and weeping when they heard the weeping voices of their infants in the wall of the building.

18 And the task-masters prevailed over Israel, that the Israelites should place their children in the building, so that a man placed his son in the wall and put mortar over him, whilst his eyes wept over him, and his tears ran down upon his child.

19 And the task-masters of Egypt did so to the babes of Israel for many days, and no one pitied or had compassion over the babes of the children of Israel.

20 And the number of all the children killed in the building was two hundred and seventy, some whom they had built upon instead of the bricks which had been left deficient by their fathers, and some whom they had drawn out dead from the building.

21 And the labor imposed upon the children of Israel in the days of Adikam exceeded in hardship that which they performed in the days of his father.

22 And the children of Israel sighed every day on account of their heavy work, for they had said to themselves, Behold when Pharaoh shall die, his son will rise up and lighten our work!

23 But they increased the latter work more than the former, and the children of Israel sighed at this and their cry ascended to God on account of their labor.

24 And God heard the voice of the children of Israel and their cry, in those days, and God remembered to them his covenant which he had made with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

25 And God saw the burden of the children of Israel, and their heavy work in those days, and he determined to deliver them.

26 And Moses the son of Amram was still confined in the dungeon in those days, in the house of Reuel the Midianite, and Zipporah the daughter of Reuel did support him with food secretly day by day.

27 And Moses was confined in the dungeon in the house of Reuel for ten years.

28 And at the end of ten years which was the first year of the reign of Pharaoh over Egypt, in the place of his father,

29 Zipporah said to her father Reuel, No person inquires or seeks after the Hebrew man, whom thou didst bind in prison now ten years.

30 Now therefore, if it seem good in thy sight, let us send and see whether he is living or dead, but her father knew not that she had supported him.

31 And Reuel her father answered and said to her, Has ever such a thing happened that a man should be shut up in a prison without food for ten years, and that he should live?

32 And Zipporah answered her father, saying, Surely thou hast heard that the God of the Hebrews is great and awful, and does wonders for them at all times.

33 He it was who delivered Abraham from Ur of the Chaldeans, and Isaac from the sword of his father, and Jacob from the angel of the Lord who wrestled with him at the ford of Jabbuk.

34 Also with this man has he done many things, he delivered him from the river in Egypt and from the sword of Pharaoh, and from the children of Cush, so also can he deliver him from famine and make him live.

35 And the thing seemed good in the sight of Reuel, and he did according to the word of his daughter, and sent to the dungeon to ascertain what became of Moses.

36 And he saw, and behold the man Moses was living in the dungeon, standing upon his feet, praising and praying to the God of his ancestors.

37 And Reuel commanded Moses to be brought out of the dungeon, so they shaved him and he changed his prison garments and ate bread.

38 And afterward Moses went into the garden of Reuel which was behind the house, and he there prayed to the Lord his God, who had done mighty wonders for him.

39 And it was that whilst he prayed he looked opposite to him, and behold a sapphire stick was placed in the ground, which was planted in the midst of the garden.

40 And he approached the stick and he looked, and behold the name of the Lord God of hosts was engraved thereon, written and developed upon the stick.

41 And he read it and stretched forth his hand and he plucked it like a forest tree from the thicket, and the stick was in his hand.

42 And this is the stick with which all the works of our God were performed, after he had created heaven and earth, and all the host of them, seas, rivers and all their fishes.

43 And when God had driven Adam from the garden of Eden, he took the stick in his hand and went and tilled the ground from which he was taken.

44 And the stick came down to Noah and was given to Shem and his descendants, until it came into the hand of Abraham the Hebrew.

45 And when Abraham had given all he had to his son Isaac, he also gave to him this stick.

46 And when Jacob had fled to Padan-aram, he took it into his hand, and when he returned to his father he had not left it behind him.

47 Also when he went down to Egypt he took it into his hand and gave it to Joseph, one portion above his brethren, for Jacob had taken it by force from his brother Esau.

48 And after the death of Joseph, the nobles of Egypt came into the house of Joseph, and the stick came into the hand of Reuel the Midianite, and when he went out of Egypt, he took it in his hand and planted it in his garden.

49 And all the mighty men of the Kinites tried to pluck it when they endeavored to get Zipporah his daughter, but they were unsuccessful.

50 So that stick remained planted in the garden of Reuel, until he came who had a right to it and took it.

51 And when Reuel saw the stick in the hand of Moses, he wondered at it, and he gave him his daughter Zipporah for a wife.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 78

1 At that time died Baal Channan son of Achbor, king of Edom, and was buried in his house in the land of Edom.

2 And after his death the children of Esau sent to the land of Edom, and took from there a man who was in Edom, whose name was Hadad, and they made him king over them in the place of Baal Channan, their king.

3 And Hadad reigned over the children of Edom forty-eight years.

4 And when he reigned he resolved to fight against the children of Moab, to bring them under the power of the children of Esau as they were before, but he was not able, because the children of Moab heard this thing, and they rose up and hastened to elect a king over them from amongst their brethren.

5 And they afterward gathered together a great people, and sent to the children of Ammon their brethren for help to fight against Hadad king of Edom.

6 And Hadad heard the thing which the children of Moab had done, and was greatly afraid of them, and refrained from fighting against them.

7 In those days Moses, the son of Amram, in Midian, took Zipporah, the daughter of Reuel the Midianite, for a wife.

8 And Zipporah walked in the ways of the daughters of Jacob, she was nothing short of the righteousness of Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel and Leah.

9 And Zipporah conceived and bare a son and he called his name Gershom, for he said, I was a stranger in a foreign land; but he circumcised not his foreskin, at the command of Reuel his father-in-law.

10 And she conceived again and bare a son, but circumcised his foreskin, and called his name Eliezer, for Moses said, Because the God of my fathers was my help, and delivered me from the sword of Pharaoh.

11 And Pharaoh king of Egypt greatly increased the labor of the children of Israel in those days, and continued to make his yoke heavier upon the children of Israel.

12 And he ordered a proclamation to be made in Egypt, saying, Give no more straw to the people to make bricks with, let them go and gather themselves straw as they can find it.

13 Also the tale of bricks which they shall make let them give each day, and diminish nothing from them, for they are idle in their work.

14 And the children of Israel heard this, and they mourned and sighed, and they cried unto the Lord on account of the bitterness of their souls.

15 And the Lord heard the cries of the children of Israel, and saw the oppression with which the Egyptians oppressed them.

16 And the Lord was jealous of his people and his inheritance, and heard their voice, and he resolved to take them out of the affliction of Egypt, to give them the land of Canaan for a possession.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 79

1 And in those days Moses was feeding the flock of Reuel the Midianite his father-in-law, beyond the wilderness of Sin, and the stick which he took from his father-in-law was in his hand.

2 And it came to pass one day that a kid of goats strayed from the flock, and Moses pursued it and it came to the mountain of God to Horeb.

3 And when he came to Horeb, the Lord appeared there unto him in the bush, and he found the bush burning with fire, but the fire had no power over the bush to consume it.

4 And Moses was greatly astonished at this sight, wherefore the bush was not consumed, and he approached to see this mighty thing, and the Lord called unto Moses out of the fire and commanded him to go down to Egypt, to Pharaoh king of Egypt, to send the children of Israel from his service.

5 And the Lord said unto Moses, Go, return to Egypt, for all those men who sought thy life are dead, and thou shalt speak unto Pharaoh to send forth the children of Israel from his land.

6 And the Lord showed him to do signs and wonders in Egypt before the eyes of Pharaoh and the eyes of his subjects, in order that they might believe that the Lord had sent him.

7 And Moses hearkened to all that the Lord had commanded him, and he returned to his father-in-law and told him the thing, and Reuel said to him, Go in peace.

8 And Moses rose up to go to Egypt, and he took his wife and sons with him, and he was at an inn in the road, and an angel of God came down, and sought an occasion against him.

9 And he wished to kill him on account of his first born son, because he had not circumcised him, and had transgressed the covenant which the Lord had made with Abraham.

10 For Moses had hearkened to the words of his father-in-law which he had spoken to him, not to circumcise his first born son, therefore he circumcised him not.

11 And Zipporah saw the angel of the Lord seeking an occasion against Moses, and she knew that this thing was owing to his not having circumcised her son Gershom.

12 And Zipporah hastened and took of the sharp rock stones that were there, and she circumcised her son, and delivered her husband and her son from the hand of the angel of the Lord.

13 And Aaron the son of Amram, the brother of Moses, was in Egypt walking at the river side on that day.

14 And the Lord appeared to him in that place, and he said to him, Go now toward Moses in the wilderness, and he went and met him in the mountain of God, and he kissed him.

15 And Aaron lifted up his eyes, and saw Zipporah the wife of Moses and her children, and he said unto Moses, Who are these unto thee?

16 And Moses said unto him, They are my wife and sons, which God gave to me in Midian; and the thing grieved Aaron on account of the woman and her children.

17 And Aaron said to Moses, Send away the woman and her children that they may go to her father's house, and Moses hearkened to the words of Aaron, and did so.

18 And Zipporah returned with her children, and they went to the house of Reuel, and remained there until the time arrived when the Lord had visited his people, and brought them forth from Egypt from the hand at Pharaoh.

19 And Moses and Aaron came to Egypt to the community of the children of Israel, and they spoke to them all the words of the Lord, and the people rejoiced an exceeding great rejoicing.

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20 And Moses and Aaron rose up early on the next day, and they went to the house of Pharaoh, and they took in their hands the stick of God.

21 And when they came to the king's gate, two young lions were confined there with iron instruments, and no person went out or came in from before them, unless those whom the king ordered to come, when the conjurors came and withdrew the lions by their incantations, and this brought them to the king.

22 And Moses hastened and lifted up the stick upon the lions, and he loosed them, and Moses and Aaron came into the king's house.

23 The lions also came with them in joy, and they followed them and rejoiced as a dog rejoices over his master when he comes from the field.

24 And when Pharaoh saw this thing he was astonished at it, and he was greatly terrified at the report, for their appearance was like the appearance of the children of God.

25 And Pharaoh said to Moses, What do you require? and they answered him, saying, The Lord God of the Hebrews has sent us to thee, to say, Send forth my people that they may serve me.

26 And when Pharaoh heard their words he was greatly terrified before them, and he said to them, Go today and come back to me tomorrow, and they did according to the word of the king.

27 And when they had gone Pharaoh sent for Balaam the magician and to Jannes and Jambres his sons, and to all the magicians and conjurors and counsellors which belonged to the king, and they all came and sat before the king.

28 And the king told them all the words which Moses and his brother Aaron had spoken to him, and the magicians said to the king, But how came the men to thee, on account of the lions which were confined at the gate?

29 And the king said, Because they lifted up their rod against the lions and loosed them, and came to me, and the lions also rejoiced at them as a dog rejoices to meet his master.

30 And Balaam the son of Beor the magician answered the king, saying, These are none else than magicians like ourselves.

31 Now therefore send for them, and let them come and we will try them, and the king did so.

32 And in the morning Pharaoh sent for Moses and Aaron to come before the king, and they took the rod of God, and came to the king and spoke to him, saying,

33 Thus said the Lord God of the Hebrews, Send my people that they may serve me.

34 And the king said to them, But who will believe you that you are the messengers of God and that you come to me by his order?

35 Now therefore give a wonder or sign in this matter, and then the words which you speak will be believed.

36 And Aaron hastened and threw the rod out of his hand before Pharaoh and before his servants, and the rod turned into a serpent.

37 And the sorcerers saw this and they cast each man his rod upon the ground and they became serpents.

38 And the serpent of Aaron's rod lifted up its head and opened its mouth to swallow the rods of the magicians.

39 And Balaam the magician answered and said, This thing has been from the days of old, that a serpent should swallow its fellow, and that living things devour each other.

40 Now therefore restore it to a rod as it was at first, and we will also restore our rods as they were at first, and if thy rod shall swallow our rods, then shall we know that the spirit of God is in thee, and if not, thou art only an artificer like unto ourselves.

41 And Aaron hastened and stretched forth his hand and caught hold of the serpent's tail and it became a rod in his hand, and the sorcerers did the like with their rods, and they got hold, each man of the tail of his serpent, and they became rods as at first.

42 And when they were restored to rods, the rod of Aaron swallowed up their rods.

43 And when the king saw this thing, he ordered the book of records that related to the kings of Egypt, to be brought, and they brought the book of records, the chronicles of the kings of Egypt, in which all the idols of Egypt were inscribed, for they thought of finding therein the name of Jehovah, but they found it not.

44 And Pharaoh said to Moses and Aaron, Behold I have not found the name of your God written in this book, and his name I know not.

45 And the counsellors and wise men answered the king, We have heard that the God of the Hebrews is a son of the wise, the son of ancient kings.

46 And Pharaoh turned to Moses and Aaron and said to them, I know not the Lord whom you have declared, neither will I send his people.

47 And they answered and said to the king, The Lord God of Gods is his name, and he proclaimed his name over us from the days of our ancestors, and sent us, saying, Go to Pharaoh and say unto him, Send my people that they may serve me.

48 Now therefore send us, that we may take a journey for three days in the wilderness, and there may sacrifice to him, for from the days of our going down to Egypt, he has not taken from our hands either burnt offering, oblation or sacrifice, and if thou wilt not send us, his anger will be kindled against thee, and he will smite Egypt either with the plague or with the sword.

49 And Pharaoh said to them, Tell me now his power and his might; and they said to him, He created the heaven and the earth, the seas and all their fishes, he formed the light, created the darkness, caused rain upon the earth and watered it, and made the herbage and grass to sprout, he created man and beast and the animals of the forest, the birds of the air and the fish of the sea, and by his mouth they live and die.

50 Surely he created thee in thy mother's womb, and put into thee the breath of life, and reared thee and placed thee upon the royal throne of Egypt, and he will take thy breath and soul from thee, and return thee to the ground whence thou wast taken.

51 And the anger of the king was kindled at their words, and he said to them, But who amongst all the Gods of nations can do this? my river is mine own, and I have made it for myself.

52 And he drove them from him, and he ordered the labor upon Israel to be more severe than it was yesterday and before.

53 And Moses and Aaron went out from the king's presence, and they saw the children of Israel in an evil condition for the task-masters had made their labor exceedingly heavy.

54 And Moses returned to the Lord and said, Why hast thou ill treated thy people? for since I came to speak to Pharaoh what thou didst send me for, he has exceedingly ill used the children of Israel.

55 And the Lord said to Moses, Behold thou wilt see that with an outstretched hand and heavy plagues, Pharaoh will send the children of Israel from his land.

56 And Moses and Aaron dwelt amongst their brethren the children of Israel in Egypt.

57 And as for the children of Israel the Egyptians embittered their lives, with the heavy work which they imposed upon them.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 80

1 And at the end of two years, the Lord again sent Moses to Pharaoh to bring forth the children of Israel, and to send them out of the land of Egypt.

2 And Moses went and came to the house of Pharaoh, and he spoke to him the words of the Lord who had sent him, but Pharaoh would not hearken to the voice of the Lord, and God roused his might in Egypt upon Pharaoh and his subjects, and God smote Pharaoh and his people with very great and sore plagues.

3 And the Lord sent by the hand of Aaron and turned all the waters of Egypt into blood, with all their streams and rivers.

4 And when an Egyptian came to drink and draw water, he looked into his pitcher, and behold all the water was turned into blood; and when he came to drink from his cup the water in the cup became blood.

5 And when a woman kneaded her dough and cooked her victuals, their appearance was turned to that of blood.

6 And the Lord sent again and caused all their waters to bring forth frogs, and all the frogs came into the houses of the Egyptians.

7 And when the Egyptians drank, their bellies were filled with frogs and they danced in their bellies as they dance when in the river.

8 And all their drinking water and cooking water turned to frogs, also when they lay in their beds their perspiration bred frogs.

9 Notwithstanding all this the anger of the Lord did not turn from them, and his hand was stretched out against all the Egyptians to smite them with every heavy plague.

10 And he sent and smote their dust to lice, and the lice became in Egypt to the height of two cubits upon the earth.

11 The lice were also very numerous, in the flesh of man and beast, in all the inhabitants of Egypt, also upon the king and queen the Lord sent the lice, and it grieved Egypt exceedingly on account of the lice.

12 Notwithstanding this, the anger of the Lord did not turn away, and his hand was still stretched out over Egypt.

13 And the Lord sent all kinds of beasts of the field into Egypt, and they came and destroyed all Egypt, man and beast, and trees, and all things that were in Egypt.

14 And the Lord sent fiery serpents, scorpions, mice, weasels, toads, together with others creeping in dust.

15 Flies, hornets, fleas, bugs and gnats, each swarm according to its kind.

16 And all reptiles and winged animals according to their kind came to Egypt and grieved the Egyptians exceedingly.

17 And the fleas and flies came into the eyes and ears of the Egyptians.

18 And the hornet came upon them and drove them away, and they removed from it into their inner rooms, and it pursued them.

19 And when the Egyptians hid themselves on account of the swarm of animals, they locked their doors after them, and God ordered the Sulanuth which was in the sea, to come up and go into Egypt.

20 And she had long arms, ten cubits in length of the cubit of a man.

21 And she went upon the roofs and uncovered the raftering and flooring and cut them, and stretched forth her arm into the house and removed the lock and the bolt, and opened the houses of Egypt.

22 Afterward came the swarm of animals into the houses of Egypt, and the swarm of animals destroyed the Egyptians, and it grieved them exceedingly.

23 Notwithstanding this the anger of the Lord did not turn away from the Egyptians, and his hand was yet stretched forth against them.

24 And God sent the pestilence, and the pestilence pervaded Egypt, in the horses and asses, and in the camels, in herds of oxen and sheep and in man.

25 And when the Egyptians rose up early in the morning to take their cattle to pasture they found all their cattle dead.

26 And there remained of the cattle of the Egyptians only one in ten, and of the cattle belonging to Israel in Goshen not one died.

27 And God sent a burning inflammation in the flesh of the Egyptians, which burst their skins, and it became a severe itch in all the Egyptians from the soles of their feet to the crowns of their heads.

28 And many boils were in their flesh, that their flesh wasted away until they became rotten and putrid.

29 Notwithstanding this the anger of the Lord did not turn away, and his hand was still stretched out over all Egypt.

30 And the Lord sent a very heavy hail, which smote their vines and broke their fruit trees and dried them up that they fell upon them.

31 Also every green herb became dry and perished, for a mingling fire descended amidst the hail, therefore the hail and the fire consumed all things.

32 Also men and beasts that were found abroad perished of the flames of fire and of the hail, and all the young lions were exhausted.

33 And the Lord sent and brought numerous locusts into Egypt, the Chasel, Salom, Chargol, and Chagole, locusts each of its kind, which devoured all that the hail had left remaining.

34 Then the Egyptians rejoiced at the locusts, although they consumed the produce of the field, and they caught them in abundance and salted them for food.

35 And the Lord turned a mighty wind of the sea which took away all the locusts, even those that were salted, and thrust them into the Red Sea; not one locust remained within the boundaries of Egypt.

36 And God sent darkness upon Egypt, that the whole land of Egypt and Pathros became dark for three days, so that a man could not see his hand when he lifted it to his mouth.

37 At that time died many of the people of Israel who had rebelled against the Lord and who would not hearken to Moses and Aaron, and believed not in them that God had sent them.

38 And who had said, We will not go forth from Egypt lest we perish with hunger in a desolate wilderness, and who would not hearken to the voice of Moses.

39 And the Lord plagued them in the three days of darkness, and the Israelites buried them in those days, without the Egyptians knowing of them or rejoicing over them.

40 And the darkness was very great in Egypt for three days, and any person who was standing when the darkness came, remained standing in his place, and he that was sitting remained sitting, and he that was lying continued lying in the same state, and he that was walking remained sitting upon the ground in the same spot; and this thing happened to all the Egyptians, until the darkness had passed away.

41 And the days of darkness passed away, and the Lord sent Moses and Aaron to the children of Israel, saying, Celebrate your feast and make your Passover, for behold I come in the midst of the night amongst all the Egyptians, and I will smite all their first born, from the first born of a man to the first born of a beast, and when I see your Passover, I will pass over you.

42 And the children of Israel did according to all that the Lord had commanded Moses and Aaron, thus did they in that night.

43 And it came to pass in the middle of the night, that the Lord went forth in the midst of Egypt, and smote all the first born of the Egyptians, from the first born of man to the first born of beast.

44 And Pharaoh rose up in the night, he and all his servants and all the Egyptians, and there was a great cry throughout Egypt in that night, for there was not a house in which there was not a corpse.

45 Also the likenesses of the first born of Egypt, which were carved in the walls at their houses, were destroyed and fell to the ground.

46 Even the bones of their first born who had died before this and whom they had buried in their houses, were raked up by the dogs of Egypt on that night and dragged before the Egyptians and cast before them.

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47 And all the Egyptians saw this evil which had suddenly come upon them, and all the Egyptians cried out with a loud voice.

48 And all the families of Egypt wept upon that night, each man for his son and each man for his daughter, being the first born, and the tumult of Egypt was heard at a distance on that night.

49 And Bathia the daughter of Pharaoh went forth with the king on that night to seek Moses and Aaron in their houses, and they found them in their houses, eating and drinking and rejoicing with all Israel.

50 And Bathia said to Moses, Is this the reward for the good which I have done to thee, who have reared thee and stretched thee out, and thou hast brought this evil upon me and my father's house?

51 And Moses said to her, Surely ten plagues did the Lord bring upon Egypt; did any evil accrue to thee from any of them? did one of them affect thee? and she said, No.

52 And Moses said to her, Although thou art the first born to thy mother, thou shalt not die, and no evil shall reach thee in the midst of Egypt.

53 And she said, What advantage is it to me, when I see the king, my brother, and all his household and subjects in this evil, whose first born perish with all the first born of Egypt?

54 And Moses said to her, Surely thy brother and his household, and subjects, the families of Egypt, would not hearken to the words of the Lord, therefore did this evil come upon them.

55 And Pharaoh king of Egypt approached Moses and Aaron, and some of the children of Israel who were with them in that place, and he prayed to them, saying,

56 Rise up and take your brethren, all the children of Israel who are in the land, with their sheep and oxen, and all belonging to them, they shall leave nothing remaining, only pray for me to the Lord your God.

57 And Moses said to Pharaoh, Behold though thou art thy mother's first born, yet fear not, for thou wilt not die, for the Lord has commanded that thou shalt live, in order to show thee his great might and strong stretched out arm.

58 And Pharaoh ordered the children of Israel to be sent away, and all the Egyptians strengthened themselves to send them, for they said, We are all perishing.

59 And all the Egyptians sent the Israelites forth, with great riches, sheep and oxen and precious things, according to the oath of the Lord between him and our Father Abraham.

60 And the children of Israel delayed going forth at night, and when the Egyptians came to them to bring them out, they said to them, Are we thieves, that we should go forth at night?

61 And the children of Israel asked of the Egyptians, vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and garments, and the children of Israel stripped the Egyptians.

62 And Moses hastened and rose up and went to the river of Egypt, and brought up from thence the coffin of Joseph and took it with him.

63 The children of Israel also brought up, each man his father's coffin with him, and each man the coffins of his tribe.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 81

1 And the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses to Succoth, about six hundred thousand men on foot, besides the little ones and their wives.

2 Also a mixed multitude went up with them, and flocks and herds, even much cattle.

3 And the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in the land of Egypt in hard labor, was two hundred and ten years.

4 And at the end of two hundred and ten years, the Lord brought forth the children of Israel from Egypt with a strong hand.

5 And the children of Israel traveled from Egypt and from Goshen and from Rameses, and encamped in Succoth on the fifteenth day of the first month.

6 And the Egyptians buried all their first born whom the Lord had smitten, and all the Egyptians buried their slain for three days.

7 And the children of Israel traveled from Succoth and encamped in Ethom, at the end of the wilderness.

8 And on the third day after the Egyptians had buried their first born, many men rose up from Egypt and went after Israel to make them return to Egypt, for they repented that they had sent the Israelites away from their servitude.

9 And one man said to his neighbour, Surely Moses and Aaron spoke to Pharaoh, saying, We will go a three days' journey in the wilderness and sacrifice to the Lord our God.

10 Now therefore let us rise up early in the morning and cause them to return, and it shall be that if they return with us to Egypt to their masters, then shall we know that there is faith in them, but if they will not return, then will we fight with them, and make them come back with great power and a strong hand.

11 And all the nobles of Pharaoh rose up in the morning, and with them about seven hundred thousand men, and they went forth from Egypt on that day, and came to the place where the children of Israel were.

12 And all the Egyptians saw and behold Moses and Aaron and all the children of Israel were sitting before Pi-hahiroth, eating and drinking and celebrating the feast of the Lord.

13 And all the Egyptians said to the children of Israel, Surely you said, We will go a journey for three days in the wilderness and sacrifice to our God and return.

14 Now therefore this day makes five days since you went, why do you not return to your masters?

15 And Moses and Aaron answered them, saying, Because the Lord our God has testified in us, saying, You shall no more return to Egypt, but we will betake ourselves to a land flowing with milk and honey, as the Lord our God had sworn to our ancestors to give to us.

16 And when the nobles of Egypt saw that the children of Israel did not hearken to them, to return to Egypt, they girded themselves to fight with Israel.

17 And the Lord strengthened the hearts of the children of Israel over the Egyptians, that they gave them a severe beating, and the battle was sore upon the Egyptians, and all the Egyptians fled from before the children of Israel, for many of them perished by the hand of Israel.

18 And the nobles of Pharaoh went to Egypt and told Pharaoh, saying, The children of Israel have fled, and will no more return to Egypt, and in this manner did Moses and Aaron speak to us.

19 And Pharaoh heard this thing, and his heart and the hearts of all his subjects were turned against Israel, and they repented that they had sent Israel; and all the Egyptians advised Pharaoh to pursue the children of Israel to make them come back to their burdens.

20 And they said each man to his brother, What is this which we have done, that we have sent Israel from our servitude?

21 And the Lord strengthened the hearts of all the Egyptians to pursue the Israelites, for the Lord desired to overthrow the Egyptians in the Red Sea.

22 And Pharaoh rose up and harnessed his chariot, and he ordered all the Egyptians to assemble, not one man was left excepting the little ones and the women.

23 And all the Egyptians went forth with Pharaoh to pursue the children of Israel, and the camp of Egypt was an exceedingly large and heavy camp, about ten hundred thousand men.

24 And the whole of this camp went and pursued the children of Israel to bring them back to Egypt, and they reached them encamping by the Red Sea.

25 And the children of Israel lifted up their eyes, and beheld all the Egyptians pursuing them, and the children of Israel were greatly terrified at them, and the children of Israel cried to the Lord.

26 And on account of the Egyptians, the children of Israel divided themselves into four divisions, and they were divided in their opinions, for they were afraid of the Egyptians, and Moses spoke to each of them.

27 The first division was of the children of Reuben, Simeon, and Issachar, and they resolved to cast themselves into the sea, for they were exceedingly afraid of the Egyptians.

28 And Moses said to them, Fear not, stand still and see the salvation of the Lord which He will effect this day for you.

29 The second division was of the children of Zebulun, Benjamin and Naphtali, and they resolved to go back to Egypt with the Egyptians.

30 And Moses said to them, Fear not, for as you have seen the Egyptians this day, so shall you see them no more for ever.

31 The third division was of the children of Judah and Joseph, and they resolved to go to meet the Egyptians to fight with them.

32 And Moses said to them, Stand in your places, for the Lord will fight for you, and you shall remain silent.

33 And the fourth division was of the children of Levi, Gad, and Asher, and they resolved to go into the midst of the Egyptians to confound them, and Moses said to them, Remain in your stations and fear not, only call unto the Lord that he may save you out of their hands.

34 After this Moses rose up from amidst the people, and he prayed to the Lord and said,

35 O Lord God of the whole earth, save now thy people whom thou didst bring forth from Egypt, and let not the Egyptians boast that power and might are theirs.

36 So the Lord said to Moses, Why dost thou cry unto me? speak to the children of Israel that they shall proceed, and do thou stretch out thy rod upon the sea and divide it, and the children of Israel shall pass through it.

37 And Moses did so, and he lifted up his rod upon the sea and divided it.

38 And the waters of the sea were divided into twelve parts, and the children of Israel passed through on foot, with shoes, as a man would pass through a prepared road.

39 And the Lord manifested to the children of Israel his wonders in Egypt and in the sea by the hand of Moses and Aaron.

40 And when the children of Israel had entered the sea, the Egyptians came after them, and the waters of the sea resumed upon them, and they all sank in the water, and not one man was left excepting Pharaoh, who gave thanks to the Lord and believed in him, therefore the Lord did not cause him to perish at that time with the Egyptians.

41 And the Lord ordered an angel to take him from amongst the Egyptians, who cast him upon the land of Ninevah and he reigned over it for a long time.

42 And on that day the Lord saved Israel from the hand of Egypt, and all the children of Israel saw that the Egyptians had perished, and they beheld the great hand of the Lord, in what he had performed in Egypt and in the sea.

43 Then sang Moses and the children of Israel this song unto the Lord, on the day when the Lord caused the Egyptians to fall before them.

44 And all Israel sang in concert, saying, I will sing to the Lord for He is greatly exalted, the horse and his rider has he cast into the sea; behold it is written in the book of the law of God.

45 After this the children of Israel proceeded on their journey, and encamped in Marah, and the Lord gave to the children of Israel statutes and judgements in that place in Marah, and the Lord commanded the children of Israel to walk in all his ways and to serve him.

46 And they journeyed from Marah and came to Elim, and in Elim were twelve springs of water and seventy date trees, and the children encamped there by the waters.

47 And they journeyed from Elim and came to the wilderness of Sin, on the fifteenth day of the second month after their departure from Egypt.

48 At that time the Lord gave the manna to the children of Israel to eat, and the Lord caused food to rain from heaven for the children of Israel day by day.

49 And the children of Israel ate the manna for forty years, all the days that they were in the wilderness, until they came to the land of Canaan to possess it.

50 And they proceeded from the wilderness of Sin and encamped in Alush.

51 And they proceeded from Alush and encamped in Rephidim.

52 And when the children of Israel were in Rephidim, Amalek the son of Eliphaz, the son of Esau, the brother of Zepho, came to fight with Israel.

53 And he brought with him eight hundred and one thousand men, magicians and conjurers, and he prepared for battle with Israel in Rephidim.

54 And they carried on a great and severe battle against Israel, and the Lord delivered Amalek and his people into the hands of Moses and the children of Israel, and into the hand of Joshua, the son of Nun, the Ephrathite, the servant of Moses.

55 And the children of Israel smote Amalek and his people at the edge of the sword, but the battle was very sore upon the children of Israel.

56 And the Lord said to Moses, Write this thing as a memorial for thee in a book, and place it in the hand of Joshua, the son of Nun, thy servant, and thou shalt command the children of Israel, saying, When thou shalt come to the land of Canaan, thou shalt utterly efface the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven.

57 And Moses did so, and he took the book and wrote upon it these words, saying,

58 Remember what Amalek has done to thee in the road when thou wentest forth from Egypt.

59 Who met thee in the road and smote thy rear, even those that were feeble behind thee when thou wast faint and weary.

60 Therefore it shall be when the Lord thy God shall have given thee rest from all thine enemies round about in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee for an inheritance, to possess it, that thou shalt blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven, thou shalt not forget it.

61 And the king who shall have pity on Amalek, or upon his memory or upon his seed, behold I will require it of him, and I will cut him off from amongst his people.

62 And Moses wrote all these things in a book, and he enjoined the children of Israel respecting all these matters.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 82

1 And the children of Israel proceeded from Rephidim and they encamped in the wilderness of Sinai, in the third month from their going forth from Egypt.

2 At that time came Reuel the Midianite, the father-in-law of Moses, with Zipporah his daughter and her two sons, for he had heard of the wonders of the Lord which he had done to Israel, that he had delivered them from the hand of Egypt.

3 And Reuel came to Moses to the wilderness where he was encamped, where was the mountain of God.

4 And Moses went forth to meet his father-in-law with great honor, and all Israel was with him.

5 And Reuel and his children remained amongst the Israelites for many days, and Reuel knew the Lord from that day forward.

6 And in the third month from the children of Israel's departure from Egypt, on the sixth day thereof, the Lord gave to Israel the ten commandments on Mount Sinai.

7 And all Israel heard all these commandments, and all Israel rejoiced exceedingly in the Lord on that day.

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8 And the glory of the Lord rested upon Mount Sinai, and he called to Moses, and Moses came in the midst of a cloud and ascended the mountain.

9 And Moses was upon the mount forty days and forty nights; he ate no bread and drank no water, and the Lord instructed him in the statutes and judgements in order to teach the children of Israel.

10 And the Lord wrote the ten commandments which he had commanded the children of Israel upon two tablets of stone, which he gave to Moses to command the children of Israel.

11 And at the end of forty days and forty nights, when the Lord had finished speaking to Moses on Mount Sinai, then the Lord gave to Moses the tablets of stone, written with the finger of God.

12 And when the children of Israel saw that Moses tarried to come down from the mount, they gathered round Aaron, and said, As for this man Moses we know not what has become of him.

13 Now therefore rise up, make unto us a god who shall go before us, so that thou shalt not die.

14 And Aaron was greatly afraid of the people, and he ordered them to bring him gold and he made it into a molten calf for the people.

15 And the Lord said to Moses, before he had come down from the mount, Get thee down, for thy people whom thou didst bring forth from Egypt have corrupted themselves.

16 They have made to themselves a molten calf, and have bowed down to it, now therefore leave me, that I may consume them from off the earth, for they are a stiffnecked people.

17 And Moses besought the countenance of the Lord, and he prayed to the Lord for the people on account of the calf which they had made, and he afterward descended from the mount and in his hands were the two tablets of stone, which God had given him to command the Israelites.

18 And when Moses approached the camp and saw the calf which the people had made, the anger of Moses was kindled and he broke the tablets under the mount.

19 And Moses came to the camp and he took the calf and burned it with fire, and ground it till it became fine dust, and strewed it upon the water and gave it to the Israelites to drink.

20 And there died of the people by the swords of each other about three thousand men who had made the calf.

21 And on the morrow Moses said to the people, I will go up to the Lord, peradventure I may make atonement for your sins which you have sinned to the Lord.

22 And Moses again went up to the Lord, and he remained with the Lord forty days and forty nights.

23 And during the forty days did Moses entreat the Lord in behalf of the children of Israel, and the Lord hearkened to the prayer of Moses, and the Lord was entreated of him in behalf of Israel.

24 Then spake the Lord to Moses to hew two stone tablets and to bring them up to the Lord, who would write upon them the ten commandments.

25 Now Moses did so, and he came down and hewed the two tablets and went up to Mount Sinai to the Lord, and the Lord wrote the ten commandments upon the tablets.

26 And Moses remained yet with the Lord forty days and forty nights, and the Lord instructed him in statutes and judgements to impart to Israel.

27 And the Lord commanded him respecting the children of Israel that they should make a sanctuary for the Lord, that his name might rest therein, and the Lord showed him the likeness of the sanctuary and the likeness of all its vessels.

28 And at the end of the forty days, Moses came down from the mount and the two tablets were in his hand.

29 And Moses came to the children of Israel and spoke to them all the words of the Lord, and he taught them laws, statutes and judgements which the Lord had taught him.

30 And Moses told the children of Israel the word of the Lord, that a sanctuary should be made for him, to dwell amongst the children of Israel.

31 And the people rejoiced greatly at all the good which the Lord had spoken to them, through Moses, and they said, We will do all that the Lord has spoken to thee.

32 And the people rose up like one man and they made generous offerings to the sanctuary of the Lord, and each man brought the offering of the Lord for the work of the sanctuary, and for all its service.

33 And all the children of Israel brought each man of all that was found in his possession for the work of the sanctuary of the Lord, gold, silver and brass, and every thing that was serviceable for the sanctuary.

34 And all the wise men who were practiced in work came and made the sanctuary of the Lord, according to all that the Lord had commanded, every man in the work in which he had been practiced; and all the wise men in heart made the sanctuary, and its furniture and all the vessels for the holy service, as the Lord had commanded Moses.

35 And the work of the sanctuary of the tabernacle was completed at the end of five months, and the children of Israel did all that the Lord had commanded Moses.

36 And they brought the sanctuary and all its furniture to Moses; like unto the representation which the Lord had shown to Moses, so did the children of Israel.

37 And Moses saw the work, and behold they did it as the Lord had commanded him, so Moses blessed them.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 83

1 And in the twelfth month, in the twenty-third day of the month, Moses took Aaron and his sons, and he dressed them in their garments, and anointed them and did unto them as the Lord had commanded him, and Moses brought up all the offerings which the Lord had on that day commanded him.

2 Moses afterward took Aaron and his sons and said to them, For seven days shall you remain at the door of the tabernacle, for thus am I commanded.

3 And Aaron and his sons did all that the Lord had commanded them through Moses, and they remained for seven days at the door of the tabernacle.

4 And on the eighth day, being the first day of the first month, in the second year from the Israelites' departure from Egypt, Moses erected the sanctuary, and Moses put up all the furniture of the tabernacle and all the furniture of the sanctuary, and he did all that the Lord had commanded him.

5 And Moses called to Aaron and his sons, and they brought the burnt offering and the sin offering for themselves and the children of Israel, as the Lord had commanded Moses.

6 On that day the two sons of Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, took strange fire and brought it before the Lord who had not commanded them, and a fire went forth from before the Lord, and consumed them, and they died before the Lord on that day.

7 Then on the day when Moses had completed to erect the sanctuary, the princes of the children of Israel began to bring their offerings before the Lord for the dedication of the altar.

8 And they brought up their offerings each prince for one day, a prince each day for twelve days.

9 And all the offerings which they brought, each man in his day, one silver charger weighing one hundred and thirty shekels, one silver bowl of seventy shekels after the shekel of the sanctuary, both of them full of fine flour, mingled with oil for a meat offering.

10 One spoon, weighing ten shekels of gold, full of incense.

11 One young bullock, one ram, one lamb of the first year for a burnt offering.

12 And one kid of the goats for a sin offering.

13 And for a sacrifice of peace offering, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five lambs of a year old.

14 Thus did the twelve princes of Israel day by day, each man in his day.

15 And it was after this, in the thirteenth day of the month, that Moses commanded the children of Israel to observe the Passover.

16 And the children of Israel kept the Passover in its season in the fourteenth day of the month, as the Lord had commanded Moses, so did the children of Israel.

17 And in the second month, on the first day thereof, the Lord spoke unto Moses, saying,

18 Number the heads of all the males of the children of Israel from twenty years old and upward, thou and thy brother Aaron and the twelve princes of Israel.

19 And Moses did so, and Aaron came with the twelve princes of Israel, and they numbered the children of Israel in the wilderness of Sinai.

20 And the numbers of the children of Israel by the houses of their fathers, from twenty years old and upward, were six hundred and three thousand, five hundred and fifty.

21 But the children of Levi were not numbered amongst their brethren the children of Israel.

22 And the number of all the males of the children of Israel from one month old and upward, was twenty-two thousand, two hundred and seventy-three.

23 And the number of the children of Levi from one month old and above, was twenty-two thousand.

24 And Moses placed the priests and the Levites each man to his service and to his burden to serve the sanctuary of the tabernacle, as the Lord had commanded Moses.

25 And on the twentieth day of the month, the cloud was taken away from the tabernacle of testimony.

26 At that time the children of Israel continued their journey from the wilderness of Sinai, and they took a journey of three days, and the cloud rested upon the wilderness of Paran; there the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, for they had provoked the Lord in asking him for meat, that they might eat.

27 And the Lord hearkened to their voice, and gave them meat which they ate for one month.

28 But after this the anger of the Lord was kindled against them, and he smote them with a great slaughter, and they were buried there in that place.

29 And the children of Israel called that place Kebroth Hattaavah, because there they buried the people that lusted flesh.

30 And they departed from Kebroth Hattaavah and pitched in Hazeroth, which is in the wilderness of Paran.

31 And whilst the children of Israel were in Hazeroth, the anger of the Lord was kindled against Miriam on account of Moses, and she became leprous, white as snow.

32 And she was confined without the camp for seven days, until she had been received again after her leprosy.

33 The children of Israel afterward departed from Hazeroth, and pitched in the end of the wilderness of Paran.

34 At that time, the Lord spoke to Moses to send twelve men from the children of Israel, one man to a tribe, to go and explore the land of Canaan.

35 And Moses sent the twelve men, and they came to the land of Canaan to search and examine it, and they explored the whole land from the wilderness of Sin to Rechob as thou comest to Chamoth.

36 And at the end of forty days they came to Moses and Aaron, and they brought him word as it was in their hearts, and ten of the men brought up an evil report to the children of Israel, of the land which they had explored, saying, It is better for us to return to Egypt than to go to this land, a land that consumes its inhabitants.

37 But Joshua the son of Nun, and Caleb the son of Jephuneh, who were of those that explored the land, said, The land is exceedingly good.

38 If the Lord delight in us, then he will bring us to this land and give it to us, for it is a land flowing with milk and honey.

39 But the children of Israel would not hearken to them, and they hearkened to the words of the ten men who had brought up an evil report of the land.

40 And the Lord heard the murmurings of the children of Israel and he was angry and swore, saying,

41 Surely not one man of this wicked generation shall see the land from twenty years old and upward excepting Caleb the son of Jephuneh and Joshua the son of Nun.

42 But surely this wicked generation shall perish in this wilderness, and their children shall come to the land and they shall possess it; so the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and he made them wander in the wilderness for forty years until the end of that wicked generation, because they did not follow the Lord.

43 And the people dwelt in the wilderness of Paran a long time, and they afterward proceeded to the wilderness by the way of the Red Sea.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 84

1 At that time Korah the son of Jetzer the son of Kehath the son of Levi, took many men of the children of Israel, and they rose up and quarreled with Moses and Aaron and the whole congregation.

2 And the Lord was angry with them, and the earth opened its mouth, and swallowed them up, with their houses and all belonging to them, and all the men belonging to Korah.

3 And after this God made the people go round by the way of Mount Seir for a long time.

4 At that time the Lord said unto Moses, Provoke not a war against the children of Esau, for I will not give to you of any thing belonging to them, as much as the sole of the foot could tread upon, for I have given Mount Seir for an inheritance to Esau.

5 Therefore did the children of Esau fight against the children of Seir in former times, and the Lord had delivered the children of Seir into the hands of the children of Esau, and destroyed them from before them, and the children of Esau dwelt in their stead unto this day.

6 Therefore the Lord said to the children of Israel, Fight not against the children of Esau your brethren, for nothing in their land belongs to you, but you may buy food of them for money and eat it, and you may buy water of them for money and drink it.

7 And the children of Israel did according to the word of the Lord.

8 And the children of Israel went about the wilderness, going round by the way of Mount Sinai for a long time, and touched not the children of Esau, and they continued in that district for nineteen years.

9 At that time died Latinus king of the children of Chittim, in the forty-fifth year of his reign, which is the fourteenth year of the children of Israel's departure from Egypt.

10 And they buried him in his place which he had built for himself in the land of Chittim, and Abimnas reigned in his place for thirty-eight years.

11 And the children of Israel passed the boundary of the children of Esau in those days, at the end of nineteen years, and they came and passed the road of the wilderness of Moab.

12 And the Lord said to Moses, besiege not Moab, and do not fight against them, for I will give you nothing of their land.

13 And the children of Israel passed the road of the wilderness of Moab for nineteen years, and they did not fight against them.

14 And in the thirty-sixth year of the children of Israel's departing from Egypt the Lord smote the heart of Sihon, king of the Amorites, and he waged war, and went forth to fight against the children of Moab.

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15 And Sihon sent messengers to Beor the son of Janeas, the son of Balaam, counsellor to the king of Egypt, and to Balaam his son, to curse Moab, in order that it might be delivered into the hand of Sihon.

16 And the messengers went and brought Beor the son of Janeas, and Balaam his son, from Pethor in Mesopotamia, so Beor and Balaam his son came to the city of Sihon and they cursed Moab and their king in the presence of Sihon king of the Amorites.

17 So Sihon went out with his whole army, and he went to Moab and fought against them, and he subdued them, and the Lord delivered them into his hands, and Sihon slew the king of Moab.

18 And Sihon took all the cities of Moab in the battle; he also took Heshbon from them, for Heshbon was one of the cities of Moab, and Sihon placed his princes and his nobles in Heshbon, and Heshbon belonged to Sihon in those days.

19 Therefore the parable speakers Beor and Balaam his son uttered these words, saying, Come unto Heshbon, the city of Sihon will be built and established.

20 Woe unto thee Moab! thou art lost, O people of Kemosh! behold it is written upon the book of the law of God.

21 And when Sihon had conquered Moab, he placed guards in the cities which he had taken from Moab, and a considerable number of the children of Moab fell in battle into the hand of Sihon, and he made a great capture of them, sons and daughters, and he slew their king; so Sihon turned back to his own land.

22 And Sihon gave numerous presents of silver and gold to Beor and Balaam his son, and he dismissed them, and they went to Mesopotamia to their home and country.

23 At that time all the children of Israel passed from the road of the wilderness of Moab, and returned and surrounded the wilderness of Edom.

24 So the whole congregation came to the wilderness of Sin in the first month of the fortieth year from their departure from Egypt, and the children of Israel dwelt there in Kadesh, of the wilderness of Sin, and Miriam died there and she was buried there.

25 At that time Moses sent messengers to Hadad king of Edom, saying, Thus says thy brother Israel, Let me pass I pray thee through thy land, we will not pass through field or vineyard, we will not drink the water of the well; we will walk in the king's road.

26 And Edom said to him, Thou shalt not pass through my country, and Edom went forth to meet the children of Israel with a mighty people.

27 And the children of Esau refused to let the children of Israel pass through their land, so the Israelites removed from them and fought not against them.

28 For before this the Lord had commanded the children of Israel, saying, You shall not fight against the children of Esau, therefore the Israelites removed from them and did not fight against them.

29 So the children of Israel departed from Kadesh, and all the people came to Mount Hor.

30 At that time the Lord said to Moses, Tell thy brother Aaron that he shall die there, for he shall not come to the land which I have given to the children of Israel.

31 And Aaron went up, at the command of the Lord, to Mount Hor, in the fortieth year, in the fifth month, in the first day of the month.

32 And Aaron was one hundred and twenty-three years old when he died in Mount Hor

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 85

1 And king Arad the Canaanite, who dwelt in the south, heard that the Israelites had come by the way of the spies, and he arranged his forces to fight against the Israelites.

2 And the children of Israel were greatly afraid of him, for he had a great and heavy army, so the children of Israel resolved to return to Egypt.

3 And the children of Israel turned back about the distance of three days' journey unto Maserath Beni Jaakon, for they were greatly afraid on account of the king Arad.

4 And the children of Israel would not get back to their places, so they remained in Beni Jaakon for thirty days.

5 And when the children of Levi saw that the children of Israel would not turn back, they were jealous for the sake of the Lord, and they rose up and fought against the Israelites their brethren, and slew of them a great body, and forced them to turn back to their place, Mount Hor.

6 And when they returned, king Arad was still arranging his host for battle against the Israelites.

7 And Israel vowed a vow, saying, If thou wilt deliver this people into my hand, then I will utterly destroy their cities.

8 And the Lord hearkened to the voice of Israel, and he delivered the Canaanites into their hand, and he utterly destroyed them and their cities, and he called the name of the place Hormah.

9 And the children of Israel journeyed from Mount Hor and pitched in Oboth, and they journeyed from Oboth and they pitched at Ije-abarim, in the border of Moab.

10 And the children of Israel sent to Moab, saying, Let us pass now through thy land into our place, but the children of Moab would not suffer the children of Israel to pass through their land, for the children of Moab were greatly afraid lest the children of Israel should do unto them as Sihon king of the Amorites had done to them, who had taken their land and had slain many of them.

11 Therefore Moab would not suffer the Israelites to pass through his land, and the Lord commanded the children of Israel, saying, That they should not fight against Moab, so the Israelites removed from Moab.

12 And the children of Israel journeyed from the border of Moab, and they came to the other side of Arnon, the border of Moab, between Moab and the Amorites, and they pitched in the border of Sihon, king of the Amorites, in the wilderness of Kedemoth.

13 And the children of Israel sent messengers to Sihon, king of the Amorites, saying,

14 Let us pass through thy land, we will not turn into the fields or into the vineyards, we will go along by the king's highway until we shall have passed thy border, but Sihon would not suffer the Israelites to pass.

15 So Sihon collected all the people of the Amorites and went forth into the wilderness to meet the children of Israel, and he fought against Israel in Jahaz.

16 And the Lord delivered Sihon king of the Amorites into the hand of the children of Israel, and Israel smote all the people of Sihon with the edge of the sword and avenged the cause of Moab.

17 And the children of Israel took possession of the land of Sihon from Aram unto Jabuk, unto the children of Ammon, and they took all the spoil of the cities.

18 And Israel took all these cities, and Israel dwelt in all the cities of the Amorites.

19 And all the children of Israel resolved to fight against the children of Ammon, to take their land also.

20 So the Lord said to the children of Israel, Do not besiege the children of Ammon, neither stir up battle against them, for I will give nothing to you of their land, and the children of Israel hearkened to the word of the Lord, and did not fight against the children of Ammon.

21 And the children of Israel turned and went up by the way of Bashan to the land of Og, king of Bashan, and Og the king of Bashan went out to meet the Israelites in battle, and he had with him many valiant men, and a very strong force from the people of the Amorites.

22 And Og king of Bashan was a very powerful man, but Naaron his son was exceedingly powerful, even stronger than he was.

23 And Og said in his heart, Behold now the whole camp of Israel takes up a space of three parsa, now will I smite them at once without sword or spear.

24 And Og went up Mount Jahaz, and took therefrom one large stone, the length of which was three parsa, and he placed it on his head, and resolved to throw it upon the camp of the children of Israel, to smite all the Israelites with that stone.

25 And the angel of the Lord came and pierced the stone upon the head of Og, and the stone fell upon the neck of Og that Og fell to the earth on account of the weight of the stone upon his neck.

26 At that time the Lord said to the children of Israel, Be not afraid of him, for I have given him and all his people and all his land into your hand, and you shall do to him as you did to Sihon.

27 And Moses went down to him with a small number of the children of Israel, and Moses smote Og with a stick at the ankles of his feet and slew him.

28 The children of Israel afterward pursued the children of Og and all his people, and they beat and destroyed them till there was no remnant left of them.

29 Moses afterward sent some of the children of Israel to spy out Jaazer, for Jaazer was a very famous city.

30 And the spies went to Jaazer and explored it, and the spies trusted in the Lord, and they fought against the men of Jaazer.

31 And these men took Jaazer and its villages, and the Lord delivered them into their hand, and they drove out the Amorites who had been there.

32 And the children of Israel took the land of the two kings of the Amorites, sixty cities which were on the other side of Jordan, from the brook of Arnon unto Mount Herman.

33 And the children of Israel journeyed and came into the plain of Moab which is on this side of Jordan, by Jericho.

34 And the children of Moab heard all the evil which the children of Israel had done to the two kings of the Amorites, to Sihon and Og, so all the men of Moab were greatly afraid of the Israelites.

35 And the elders of Moab said, Behold the two kings of the Amorites, Sihon and Og, who were more powerful than all the kings of the earth, could not stand against the children of Israel, how then can we stand before them?

36 Surely they sent us a message before now to pass through our land on their way, and we would not suffer them, now they will turn upon us with their heavy swords and destroy us; and Moab was distressed on account of the children of Israel, and they were greatly afraid of them, and they counselled together what was to be done to the children of Israel.

37 And the elders of Moab resolved and took one of their men, Balak the son of Zippor the Moabite, and made him king over them at that time, and Balak was a very wise man.

38 And the elders of Moab rose up and sent to the children of Midian to make peace with them, for a great battle and enmity had been in those days between Moab and Midian, from the days of Hadad the son of Bedad king of Edom, who smote Midian in the field of Moab, unto these days.

39 And the children of Moab sent to the children of Midian, and they made peace with them, and the elders of Midian came to the land of Moab to make peace in behalf of the children of Midian.

40 And the elders of Moab counselled with the elders of Midian what to do in order to save their lives from Israel.

41 And all the children of Moab said to the elders of Midian, Now therefore the children of Israel lick up all that are round about us, as the ox licks up the grass of the field, for thus did they do to the two kings of the Amorites who are stronger than we are.

42 And the elders of Midian said to Moab, We have heard that at the time when Sihon king of the Amorites fought against you, when he prevailed over you and took your land, he had sent to Beor the son of Janeas and to Balaam his son from Mesopotamia, and they came and cursed you; therefore did the hand of Sihon prevail over you, that he took your land.

43 Now therefore send you also to Balaam his son, for he still remains in his land, and give him his hire, that he may come and curse all the people of whom you are afraid; so the elders of Moab heard this thing, and it pleased them to send to Balaam the son of Beor.

44 So Balak the son of Zippor king of Moab sent messengers to Balaam, saying,

45 Behold there is a people come out from Egypt, behold they cover the face of the earth, and they abide over against me.

46 Now therefore come and curse this people for me, for they are too mighty for me, peradventure I shall prevail to fight against them, and drive them out, for I heard that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and whom thou cursest is cursed.

47 So the messengers of Balak went to Balaam and brought Balaam to curse the people to fight against Moab.

48 And Balaam came to Balak to curse Israel, and the Lord said to Balaam, Curse not this people for it is blessed.

49 And Balak urged Balaam day by day to curse Israel, but Balaam hearkened not to Balak on account of the word of the Lord which he had spoken to Balaam.

50 And when Balak saw that Balaam would not accede to his wish, he rose up and went home, and Balaam also returned to his land and he went from there to Midian.

51 And the children of Israel journeyed from the plain of Moab, and pitched by Jordan from Beth-jesimoth even unto Abel-shittim, at the end of the plains of Moab.

52 And when the children of Israel abode in the plain of Shittim, they began to commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab.

53 And the children of Israel approached Moab, and the children of Moab pitched their tents opposite to the camp of the children of Israel.

54 And the children of Moab were afraid of the children of Israel, and the children of Moab took all their daughters and their wives of beautiful aspect and comely appearance, and dressed them in gold and silver and costly garments.

55 And the children of Moab seated those women at the door of their tents, in order that the children of Israel might see them and turn to them, and not fight against Moab.

56 And all the children of Moab did this thing to the children of Israel, and every man placed his wife and daughter at the door of his tent, and all the children of Israel saw the act of the children of Moab, and the children of Israel turned to the daughters of Moab and coveted them, and they went to them.

57 And it came to pass that when a Hebrew came to the door of the tent of Moab, and saw a daughter of Moab and desired her in his heart, and spoke with her at the door of the tent that which he desired, whilst they were speaking together the men of the tent would come out and speak to the Hebrew like unto these words:

58 Surely you know that we are brethren, we are all the descendants of Lot and the descendants of Abraham his brother, wherefore then will you not remain with us, and wherefore will you not eat our bread and our sacrifice?

59 And when the children of Moab had thus overwhelmed him with their speeches, and enticed him by their flattering words, they seated him in the tent and cooked and sacrificed for him, and he ate of their sacrifice and of their bread.

60 They then gave him wine and he drank and became intoxicated, and they placed before him a beautiful damsel, and he did with her as he liked, for he knew not what he was doing, as he had drunk plentifully of wine.

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61 Thus did the children of Moab to Israel in that place, in the plain of Shittim, and the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel on account of this matter, and he sent a pestilence amongst them, and there died of the Israelites twenty-four thousand men.

62 Now there was a man of the children of Simeon whose name was Zimri, the son of Salu, who connected himself with the Midianite Cosbi, the daughter of Zur, king of Midian, in the sight of all the children of Israel.

63 And Phineas the son of Elazer, the son of Aaron the priest, saw this wicked thing which Zimri had done, and he took a spear and rose up and went after them, and pierced them both and slew them, and the pestilence ceased from the children of Israel.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 86

1 At that time after the pestilence, the Lord said to Moses, and to Elazer the son of Aaron the priest, saying,

2 Number the heads of the whole community of the children of Israel, from twenty years old and upward, all that went forth in the army.

3 And Moses and Elazer numbered the children of Israel after their families, and the number of all Israel was seven hundred thousand, seven hundred and thirty.

4 And the number of the children of Levi, from one month old and upward, was twenty-three thousand, and amongst these there was not a man of those numbered by Moses and Aaron in the wilderness of Sinai.

5 For the Lord had told them that they would die in the wilderness, so they all died, and not one had been left of them excepting Caleb the son of Jephuneh, and Joshua the son of Nun.

6 And it was after this that the Lord said to Moses, Say unto the children of Israel to avenge upon Midian the cause of their brethren the children of Israel.

7 And Moses did so, and the children of Israel chose from amongst them twelve thousand men, being one thousand to a tribe, and they went to Midian.

8 And the children of Israel warred against Midian, and they slew every male, also the five princes of Midian, and Balaam the son of Beor did they slay with the sword.

9 And the children of Israel took the wives of Midian captive, with their little ones and their cattle, and all belonging to them.

10 And they took all the spoil and all the prey, and they brought it to Moses and to Elazer to the plains of Moab.

11 And Moses and Elazer and all the princes of the congregation went forth to meet them with joy.

12 And they divided all the spoil of Midian, and the children of Israel had been revenged upon Midian for the cause of their brethren the children of Israel.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 87

1 At that time the Lord said to Moses, Behold thy days are approaching to an end, take now Joshua the son of Nun thy servant and place him in the tabernacle, and I will command him, and Moses did so.

2 And the Lord appeared in the tabernacle in a pillar of cloud, and the pillar of cloud stood at the entrance of the tabernacle.

3 And the Lord commanded Joshua the son of Nun and said unto him, Be strong and courageous, for thou shalt bring the children of Israel to the land which I swore to give them, and I will be with thee.

4 And Moses said to Joshua, Be strong and courageous, for thou wilt make the children of Israel inherit the land, and the Lord will be with thee, he will not leave thee nor forsake thee, be not afraid nor disheartened.

5 And Moses called to all the children of Israel and said to them, You have seen all the good which the Lord your God has done for you in the wilderness.

6 Now therefore observe all the words of this law, and walk in the way of the Lord your God, turn not from the way which the Lord has commanded you, either to the right or to the left.

7 And Moses taught the children of Israel statutes and judgements and laws to do in the land as the Lord had commanded him.

8 And he taught them the way of the Lord and his laws; behold they are written upon the book of the law of God which he gave to the children of Israel by the hand of Moses.

9 And Moses finished commanding the children of Israel, and the Lord said to him, saying, Go up to the Mount Abarim and die there, and be gathered unto thy people as Aaron thy brother was gathered.

10 And Moses went up as the Lord had commanded him, and he died there in the land of Moab by the order of the Lord, in the fortieth year from the Israelites going forth from the land of Egypt.

11 And the children of Israel wept for Moses in the plains of Moab for thirty days, and the days of weeping and mourning for Moses were completed.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 88

1 And it was after the death of Moses that the Lord said to Joshua the son of Nun, saying,

2 Rise up and pass the Jordan to the land which I have given to the children of Israel, and thou shalt make the children of Israel inherit the land.

3 Every place upon which the sole of your feet shall tread shall belong to you, from the wilderness of Lebanon unto the great river the river of Perath shall be your boundary.

4 No man shall stand up against thee all the days of thy life; as I was with Moses, so will I be with thee, only be strong and of good courage to observe all the law which Moses commanded thee, turn not from the way either to the right or to the left, in order that thou mayest prosper in all that thou doest.

5 And Joshua commanded the officers of Israel, saying, Pass through the camp and command the people, saying, Prepare for yourselves provisions, for in three days more you will pass the Jordan to possess the land.

6 And the officers of the children of Israel did so, and they commanded the people and they did all that Joshua had commanded.

7 And Joshua sent two men to spy out the land of Jericho, and the men went and spied out Jericho.

8 And at the end of seven days they came to Joshua in the camp and said to him, The Lord has delivered the whole land into our hand, and the inhabitants thereof are melted with fear because of us.

9 And it came to pass after that, that Joshua rose up in the morning and all Israel with him, and they journeyed from Shittim, and Joshua and all Israel with him passed the Jordan; and Joshua was eighty-two years old when he passed the Jordan with Israel.

10 And the people went up from Jordan on the tenth day of the first month, and they encamped in Gilgal at the eastern corner of Jericho.

11 And the children of Israel kept the Passover in Gilgal, in the plains of Jericho, on the fourteenth day at the month, as it is written in the law of Moses.

12 And the manna ceased at that time on the morrow of the Passover, and there was no more manna for the children of Israel, and they ate of the produce of the land of Canaan.

13 And Jericho was entirely closed against the children of Israel, no one came out or went in.

14 And it was in the second month, on the first day of the month, that the Lord said to Joshua, Rise up, behold I have given Jericho into thy hand with all the people thereof; and all your fighting men shall go round the city, once each day, thus shall you do for six days.

15 And the priests shall blow upon trumpets, and when you shall hear the sound of the trumpet, all the people shall give a great shouting, that the walls of the city shall fall down; all the people shall go up every man against his opponent.

16 And Joshua did so according to all that the Lord had commanded him.

17 And on the seventh day they went round the city seven times, and the priests blew upon trumpets.

18 And at the seventh round, Joshua said to the people, Shout, for the Lord has delivered the whole city into our hands.

19 Only the city and all that it contains shall be accursed to the Lord, and keep yourselves from the accursed thing, lest you make the camp of Israel accursed and trouble it.

20 But all the silver and gold and brass and iron shall be consecrated to the Lord, they shall come into the treasury of the Lord.

21 And the people blew upon trumpets and made a great shouting, and the walls of Jericho fell down, and all the people went up, every man straight before him, and they took the city and utterly destroyed all that was in it, both man and woman, young and old, ox and sheep and ass, with the edge of the sword.

22 And they burned the whole city with fire; only the vessels of silver and gold, and brass and iron, they put into the treasury of the Lord.

23 And Joshua swore at that time, saying, Cursed be the man who builds Jericho; he shall lay the foundation thereof in his first-born, and in his youngest son shall he set up the gates thereof.

24 And Achan the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zerah, son of Judah, dealt treacherously in the accursed thing, and he took of the accursed thing and hid it in the tent, and the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel.

25 And it was after this when the children of Israel had returned from burning Jericho, Joshua sent men to spy out also Ai, and to fight against it.

26 And the men went up and spied out Ai, and they returned and said, Let not all the people go up with thee to Ai, only let about three thousand men go up and smite the city, for the men thereof are but few.

27 And Joshua did so, and there went up with him of the children of Israel about three thousand men, and they fought against the men of Ai.

28 And the battle was severe against Israel, and the men of Ai smote thirty-six men of Israel, and the children of Israel fled from before the men of Ai.

29 And when Joshua saw this thing, he tore his garments and fell upon his face to the ground before the Lord, he, with the elders of Israel, and they put dust upon their heads.

30 And Joshua said, Why O Lord didst thou bring this people over the Jordan? what shall I say after the Israelites have turned their backs against their enemies?

31 Now therefore all the Canaanites, inhabitants of the land, will hear this thing, and surround us and cut off our name.

32 And the Lord said to Joshua, Why dost thou fall upon thy face? rise, get thee off, for the Israelites have sinned, and taken of the accursed thing; I will no more be with them unless they destroy the accursed thing from amongst them.

33 And Joshua rose up and assembled the people, and brought the Urim by the order of the Lord, and the tribe of Judah was taken, and Achan the son of Carmi was taken.

34 And Joshua said to Achan, Tell me my son, what hast thou done, and Achan said, I saw amongst the spoil a goodly garment of Shinar and two hundred shekels of silver, and a wedge of gold of fifty shekels weight; I coveted them and took them, and behold they are all hid in the earth in the midst of the tent.

35 And Joshua sent men who went and took them from the tent of Achan, and they brought them to Joshua.

36 And Joshua took Achan and these utensils, and his sons and daughters and all belonging to him, and they brought them into the valley of Achor.

37 And Joshua burned them there with fire, and all the Israelites stoned Achan with stones, and they raised over him a heap of stones, therefore did he call that place the valley of Achor, so the Lord's anger was appeased, and Joshua afterward came to the city and fought against it.

38 And the Lord said to Joshua, Fear not, neither be thou dismayed, behold I have given into thy hand Ai, her king and her people, and thou shalt do unto them as thou didst to Jericho and her king, only the spoil thereof and the cattle thereof shall you take for a prey for yourselves; lay an ambush for the city behind it.

39 So Joshua did according to the word of the Lord, and he chose from amongst the sons of war thirty thousand valiant men, and he sent them, and they lay in ambush for the city.

40 And he commanded them, saying, When you shall see us we will flee before them with cunning, and they will pursue us, you shall then rise out of the ambush and take the city, and they did so.

41 And Joshua fought, and the men of the city went out toward Israel, not knowing that they were lying in ambush for them behind the city.

42 And Joshua and all the Israelites feigned themselves wearied out before them, and they fled by the way of the wilderness with cunning.

43 And the men of Ai gathered all the people who were in the city to pursue the Israelites, and they went out and were drawn away from the city, not one remained, and they left the city open and pursued the Israelites.

44 And those who were lying in ambush rose up out of their places, and hastened to come to the city and took it and set it on fire, and the men of Ai turned back, and behold the smoke of the city ascended to the skies, and they had no means of retreating either one way or the other.

45 And all the men of Ai were in the midst of Israel, some on this side and some on that side, and they smote them so that not one of them remained.

46 And the children of Israel took Melosh king of Ai alive, and they brought him to Joshua, and Joshua hanged him on a tree and he died.

47 And the children of Israel returned to the city after having burned it, and they smote all those that were in it with the edge of the sword.

48 And the number of those that had fallen of the men of Ai, both man and woman, was twelve thousand; only the cattle and the spoil of the city they took to themselves, according to the word of the Lord to Joshua.

49 And all the kings on this side Jordan, all the kings of Canaan, heard of the evil which the children of Israel had done to Jericho and to Ai, and they gathered themselves together to fight against Israel.

50 Only the inhabitants of Gibeon were greatly afraid of fighting against the Israelites lest they should perish, so they acted cunningly, and they came to Joshua and to all Israel, and said unto them, We have come from a distant land, now therefore make a covenant with us.

51 And the inhabitants of Gibeon over-reached the children of Israel, and the children of Israel made a covenant with them, and they made peace with them, and the princes of the congregation swore unto them, but afterward the children of Israel knew that they were neighbours to them and were dwelling amongst them.

52 But the children of Israel slew them not; for they had sworn to them by the Lord, and they became hewers of wood and drawers of water.

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53 And Joshua said to them, Why did you deceive me, to do this thing to us? and they answered him, saying, Because it was told to thy servants all that you had done to all the kings of the Amorites, and we were greatly afraid of our lives, and we did this thing.

54 And Joshua appointed them on that day to hew wood and to draw water, and he divided them for slaves to all the tribes of Israel.

55 And when Adonizedek king of Jerusalem heard all that the children of Israel had done to Jericho and to Ai, he sent to Hoham king of Hebron and to Piram king at Jarmuth, and to Japhia king of Lachish and to Deber king of Eglon, saying,

56 Come up to me and help me, that we may smite the children of Israel and the inhabitants of Gibeon who have made peace with the children of Israel.

57 And they gathered themselves together and the five kings of the Amorites went up with all their camps, a mighty people numerous as the sand of the sea shore.

58 And all these kings came and encamped before Gibeon, and they began to fight against the inhabitants of Gibeon, and all the men of Gibeon sent to Joshua, saying, Come up quickly to us and help us, for all the kings of the Amorites have gathered together to fight against us.

59 And Joshua and all the fighting people went up from Gilgal, and Joshua came suddenly to them, and smote these five kings with a great slaughter.

60 And the Lord confounded them before the children at Israel, who smote them with a terrible slaughter in Gibeon, and pursued them along the way that goes up to Beth Horon unto Makkedah, and they fled from before the children of Israel.

61 And whilst they were fleeing, the Lord sent upon them hailstones from heaven, and more of them died by the hailstones, than by the slaughter of the children of Israel.

62 And the children of Israel pursued them, and they still smote them in the road, going on and smiting them.

63 And when they were smiting, the day was declining toward evening, and Joshua said in the sight of all the people, Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon, and thou moon in the valley of Ajalon, until the nation shall have revenged itself upon its enemies.

64 And the Lord hearkened to the voice of Joshua, and the sun stood still in the midst of the heavens, and it stood still six and thirty moments, and the moon also stood still and hastened not to go down a whole day.

65 And there was no day like that, before it or after it, that the Lord hearkened to the voice of a man, for the Lord fought for Israel.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 89

1 Then spoke Joshua this song, on the day that the Lord had given the Amorites into the hand of Joshua and the children of Israel, and he said in the sight of all Israel,

2 Thou hast done mighty things, O Lord, thou hast performed great deeds; who is like unto thee? my lips shall sing to thy name.

3 My goodness and my fortress, my high tower, I will sing a new song unto thee, with thanksgiving will I sing to thee, thou art the strength of my salvation.

4 All the kings of the earth shall praise thee, the princes of the world shall sing to thee, the children of Israel shall rejoice in thy salvation, they shall sing and praise thy power.

5 To thee, O Lord, did we confide; we said thou art our God, for thou wast our shelter and strong tower against our enemies.

6 To thee we cried and were not ashamed, in thee we trusted and were delivered; when we cried unto thee, thou didst hear our voice, thou didst deliver our souls from the sword, thou didst show unto us thy grace, thou didst give unto us thy salvation, thou didst rejoice our hearts with thy strength.

7 Thou didst go forth for our salvation, with thine arm thou didst redeem thy people; thou didst answer us from the heavens of thy holiness, thou didst save us from ten thousands of people.

8 The sun and moon stood still in heaven, and thou didst stand in thy wrath against our oppressors and didst command thy judgements over them.

9 All the princes of the earth stood up, the kings of the nations had gathered themselves together, they were not moved at thy presence, they desired thy battles.

10 Thou didst rise against them in thine anger, and didst bring down thy wrath upon them; thou didst destroy them in thine anger, and cut them off in thine heart.

11 Nations have been consumed with thy fury, kingdoms have declined because of thy wrath, thou didst wound kings in the day of thine anger.

12 Thou didst pour out thy fury upon them, thy wrathful anger took hold of them; thou didst turn their iniquity upon them, and didst cut them off in their wickedness.

13 They did spread a trap, they fell therein, in the net they hid, their foot was caught.

14 Thine hand was ready for all thine enemies who said, Through their sword they possessed the land, through their arm they dwelt in the city; thou didst fill their faces with shame, thou didst bring their horns down to the ground, thou didst terrify them in thy wrath, and didst destroy them in thine anger.

15 The earth trembled and shook at the sound of thy storm over them, thou didst not withhold their souls from death, and didst bring down their lives to the grave.

16 Thou didst pursue them in thy storm, thou didst consume them in thy whirlwind, thou didst turn their rain into hail, they fell in deep pits so that they could not rise.

17 Their carcasses were like rubbish cast out in the middle of the streets.

18 They were consumed and destroyed in thine anger, thou didst save thy people with thy might.

19 Therefore our hearts rejoice in thee, our souls exalt in thy salvation.

20 Our tongues shall relate thy might, we will sing and praise thy wondrous works.

21 For thou didst save us from our enemies, thou didst deliver us from those who rose up against us, thou didst destroy them from before us and depress them beneath our feet.

22 Thus shall all thine enemies perish O Lord, and the wicked shall be like chaff driven by the wind, and thy beloved shall be like trees planted by the waters.

23 So Joshua and all Israel with him returned to the camp in Gilgal, after having smitten all the kings, so that not a remnant was left of them.

24 And the five kings fled alone on foot from battle, and hid themselves in a cave, and Joshua sought for them in the field of battle, and did not find them.

25 And it was afterward told to Joshua, saying, The kings are found and behold they are hidden in a cave.

26 And Joshua said, Appoint men to be at the mouth of the cave, to guard them, lest they take themselves away; and the children of Israel did so.

27 And Joshua called to all Israel and said to the officers of battle, Place your feet upon the necks of these kings, and Joshua said, So shall the Lord do to all your enemies.

28 And Joshua commanded afterward that they should slay the kings and cast them into the cave, and to put great stones at the mouth of the cave.

29 And Joshua went afterward with all the people that were with him on that day to Makkedah, and he smote it with the edge of the sword.

30 And he utterly destroyed the souls and all belonging to the city, and he did to the king and people thereof as he had done to Jericho.

31 And he passed from there to Libnah and he fought against it, and the Lord delivered it into his hand, and Joshua smote it with the edge of the sword, and all the souls thereof, and he did to it and to the king thereof as he had done to Jericho.

32 And from there he passed on to Lachish to fight against it, and Horam king of Gaza went up to assist the men of Lachish, and Joshua smote him and his people until there was none left to him.

33 And Joshua took Lachish and all the people thereof, and he did to it as he had done to Libnah.

34 And Joshua passed from there to Eglon, and he took that also, and he smote it and all the people thereof with the edge of the sword.

35 And from there he passed to Hebron and fought against it and took it and utterly destroyed it, and he returned from there with all Israel to Debir and fought against it and smote it with the edge of the sword.

36 And he destroyed every soul in it, he left none remaining, and he did to it and the king thereof as he had done to Jericho.

37 And Joshua smote all the kings of the Amorites from Kadesh-barnea to Azah, and he took their country at once, for the Lord had fought for Israel.

38 And Joshua with all Israel came to the camp to Gilgal.

39 When at that time Jabin king of Chazor heard all that Joshua had done to the kings of the Amorites, Jabin sent to Jobat king of Midian, and to Laban king of Shimron, to Jephal king of Achshaph, and to all the kings of the Amorites, saying,

40 Come quickly to us and help us, that we may smite the children of Israel, before they come upon us and do unto us as they have done to the other kings of the Amorites.

41 And all these kings hearkened to the words of Jabin, king of Chazor, and they went forth with all their camps, seventeen kings, and their people were as numerous as the sand on the sea shore, together with horses and chariots innumerable, and they came and pitched together at the waters of Merom, and they were met together to fight against Israel.

42 And the Lord said to Joshua, Fear them not, for tomorrow about this time I will deliver them up all slain before you, thou shalt hough their horses and burn their chariots with fire.

43 And Joshua with all the men of war came suddenly upon them and smote them, and they fell into their hands, for the Lord had delivered them into the hands of the children of Israel.

44 So the children of Israel pursued all these kings with their camps, and smote them until there was none left of them, and Joshua did to them as the Lord had spoken to him.

45 And Joshua returned at that time to Chazor and smote it with the sword and destroyed every soul in it and burned it with fire, and from Chazor, Joshua passed to Shimron and smote it and utterly destroyed it.

46 From there he passed to Achshaph and he did to it as he had done to Shimron.

47 From there he passed to Adulam and he smote all the people in it, and he did to Adulam as he had done to Achshaph and to Shimron.

48 And he passed from them to all the cities of the kings which he had smitten, and he smote all the people that were left of them and he utterly destroyed them.

49 Only their booty and cattle the Israelites took to themselves as a prey, but every human being they smote, they suffered not a soul to live.

50 As the Lord had commanded Moses so did Joshua and all Israel, they failed not in anything.

51 So Joshua and all the children of Israel smote the whole land of Canaan as the Lord had commanded them, and smote all their kings, being thirty and one kings, and the children of Israel took their whole country.

52 Besides the kingdoms of Sihon and Og which are on the other side Jordan, of which Moses had smitten many cities, and Moses gave them to the Reubenites and the Gadites and to half the tribe of Manasseh.

53 And Joshua smote all the kings that were on this side Jordan to the west, and gave them for an inheritance to the nine tribes and to the half tribe of Israel.

54 For five years did Joshua carry on the war with these kings, and he gave their cities to the Israelites, and the land became tranquil from battle throughout the cities of the Amorites and the Canaanites.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 90

1 At that time in the fifth year after the children of Israel had passed over Jordan, after the children of Israel had rested from their war with the Canaanites, at that time great and severe battles arose between Edom and the children of Chittim, and the children of Chittim fought against Edom.

2 And Abianus king of Chittim went forth in that year, that is in the thirty-first year of his reign, and a great force with him of the mighty men of the children of Chittim, and he went to Seir to fight against the children of Esau.

3 And Hadad the king of Edom heard of his report, and he went forth to meet him with a heavy people and strong force, and engaged in battle with him in the field of Edom.

4 And the hand of Chittim prevailed over the children of Esau, and the children of Chittim slew of the children of Esau, two and twenty thousand men, and all the children of Esau fled from before them.

5 And the children of Chittim pursued them and they reached Hadad king of Edom, who was running before them and they caught him alive, and brought him to Abianus king of Chittim.

6 And Abianus ordered him to be slain, and Hadad king of Edom died in the forty-eighth year of his reign.

7 And the children of Chittim continued their pursuit of Edom, and they smote them with a great slaughter and Edom became subject to the children of Chittim.

8 And the children of Chittim ruled over Edom, and Edom became under the hand of the children of Chittim and became one kingdom from that day.

9 And from that time they could no more lift up their heads, and their kingdom became one with the children of Chittim.

10 And Abianus placed officers in Edom and all the children of Edom became subject and tributary to Abianus, and Abianus turned back to his own land, Chittim.

11 And when he returned he renewed his government and built for himself a spacious and fortified palace for a royal residence, and reigned securely over the children of Chittim and over Edom.

12 In those days, after the children of Israel had driven away all the Canaanites and the Amorites, Joshua was old and advanced in years.

13 And the Lord said to Joshua, Thou art old, advanced in life, and a great part of the land remains to be possessed.

14 Now therefore divide this land for an inheritance to the nine tribes and to the half tribe of Manasseh, and Joshua rose up and did as the Lord had spoken to him.

15 And he divided the whole land to the tribes of Israel as an inheritance according to their divisions.

16 But to the tribe at Levi he gave no inheritance, the offerings of the Lord are their inheritance as the Lord had spoken of them by the hand of Moses.

17 And Joshua gave Mount Hebron to Caleb the son of Jephuneh, one portion above his brethren, as the Lord had spoken through Moses.

18 Therefore Hebron became an inheritance to Caleb and his children unto this day.

19 And Joshua divided the whole land by lots to all Israel for an inheritance, as the Lord had commanded him.

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20 And the children of Israel gave cities to the Levites from their own inheritance, and suburbs for their cattle, and property, as the Lord had commanded Moses so did the children of Israel, and they divided the land by lot whether great or small.

21 And they went to inherit the land according to their boundaries, and the children of Israel gave to Joshua the son of Nun an inheritance amongst them.

22 By the word of the Lord did they give to him the city which he required, Timnath-serach in Mount Ephraim, and he built the city and dwelt therein.

23 These are the inheritances which Elazer the priest and Joshua the son of Nun and the heads of the fathers of the tribes portioned out to the children of Israel by lot in Shiloh, before the Lord, at the door of the tabernacle, and they left off dividing the land.

24 And the Lord gave the land to the Israelites, and they possessed it as the Lord had spoken to them, and as the Lord had sworn to their ancestors.

25 And the Lord gave to the Israelites rest from all their enemies around them, and no man stood up against them, and the Lord delivered all their enemies into their hands, and not one thing failed of all the good which the Lord had spoken to the children of Israel, yea the Lord performed every thing.

26 And Joshua called to all the children of Israel and he blessed them, and commanded them to serve the Lord, and he afterward sent them away, and they went each man to his city, and each man to his inheritance.

27 And the children of Israel served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and the Lord gave them rest from all around them, and they dwelt securely in their cities.

28 And it came to pass in those days, that Abianus king of Chittim died, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, that is the seventh year of his reign over Edom, and they buried him in his place which he had built for himself, and Latinus reigned in his stead fifty years.

29 And during his reign he brought forth an army, and he went and fought against the inhabitants of Britannia and Kernania, the children of Elisha son of Javan, and he prevailed over them and made them tributary.

30 He then heard that Edom had revolted from under the hand of Chittim, and Latinus went to them and smote them and subdued them, and placed them under the hand of the children of Chittim, and Edom became one kingdom with the children of Chittim all the days.

31 And for many years there was no king in Edom, and their government was with the children of Chittim and their king.

32 And it was in the twenty-sixth year after the children of Israel had passed the Jordan, that is the sixty-sixth year after the children of Israel had departed from Egypt, that Joshua was old, advanced in years, being one hundred and eight years old in those days.

33 And Joshua called to all Israel, to their elders, their judges and officers, after the Lord had given to all the Israelites rest from all their enemies round about, and Joshua said to the elders of Israel, and to their judges, Behold I am old, advanced in years, and you have seen what the Lord has done to all the nations whom he has driven away from before you, for it is the Lord who has fought for you.

34 Now therefore strengthen yourselves to keep and to do all the words of the law of Moses, not to deviate from it to the right or to the left, and not to come amongst those nations who are left in the land; neither shall you make mention of the name of their gods, but you shall cleave to the Lord your God, as you have done to this day.

35 And Joshua greatly exhorted the children of Israel to serve the Lord all their days.

36 And all the Israelites said, We will serve the Lord our God all our days, we and our children, and our children's children, and our seed for ever.

37 And Joshua made a covenant with the people on that day, and he sent away the children of Israel, and they went each man to his inheritance and to his city.

38 And it was in those days, when the children of Israel were dwelling securely in their cities, that they buried the coffins of the tribes of their ancestors, which they had brought up from Egypt, each man in the inheritance of his children, the twelve sons of Jacob did the children of Israel bury, each man in the possession of his children.

39 And these are the names of the cities wherein they buried the twelve sons of Jacob, whom the children of Israel had brought up from Egypt.

40 And they buried Reuben and Gad on this side Jordan, in Romia, which Moses had given to their children.

41 And Simeon and Levi they buried in the city Mauda, which he had given to the children of Simeon, and the suburb of the city was for the children of Levi.

42 And Judah they buried in the city of Benjamin opposite Bethlehem.

43 And the bones of Issachar and Zebulun they buried in Zidon, in the portion which fell to their children.

44 And Dan was buried in the city of his children in Eshtael, and Naphtali and Asher they buried in Kadesh-naphtali, each man in his place which he had given to his children.

45 And the bones of Joseph they buried in Shechem, in the part of the field which Jacob had purchased from Hamor, and which became to Joseph for an inheritance.

46 And they buried Benjamin in Jerusalem opposite the Jebusite, which was given to the children of Benjamin; the children of Israel buried their fathers each man in the city of his children.

47 And at the end of two years, Joshua the son of Nun died, one hundred and ten years old, and the time which Joshua judged Israel was twenty-eight years, and Israel served the Lord all the days of his life.

48 And the other affairs of Joshua and his battles and his reproofs with which he reproved Israel, and all which he had commanded them, and the names of the cities which the children of Israel possessed in his days, behold they are written in the book of the words of Joshua to the children of Israel, and in the book of the wars of the Lord, which Moses and Joshua and the children of Israel had written.

49 And the children of Israel buried Joshua in the border of his inheritance, in Timnath-serach, which was given to him in Mount Ephraim.

50 And Elazer the son of Aaron died in those days, and they buried him in a hill belonging to Phineas his son, which was given him in Mount Ephraim.

BOOK OF JASHER CHAPTER 91

1 At that time, after the death of Joshua, the children of the Canaanites were still in the land, and the Israelites resolved to drive them out.

2 And the children of Israel asked of the Lord, saying, Who shall first go up for us to the Canaanites to fight against them? and the Lord said, Judah shall go up.

3 And the children of Judah said to Simeon, Go up with us into our lot, and we will fight against the Canaanites and we likewise will go up with you, in your lot, so the children of Simeon went with the children of Judah.

4 And the children of Judah went up and fought against the Canaanites, so the Lord delivered the Canaanites into the hands of the children of Judah, and they smote them in Bezek, ten thousand men.

5 And they fought with Adonibezek in Bezek, and he fled from before them, and they pursued him and caught him, and they took hold of him and cut off his thumbs and great toes.

6 And Adonibezek said, Three score and ten kings having their thumbs and great toes cut off, gathered their meat under my table, as I have done, so God has requited me, and they brought him to Jerusalem and he died there.

7 And the children of Simeon went with the children of Judah, and they smote the Canaanites with the edge of the sword.

8 And the Lord was with the children of Judah, and they possessed the mountain, and the children of Joseph went up to Bethel, the same is Luz, and the Lord was with them.

9 And the children of Joseph spied out Bethel, and the watchmen saw a man going forth from the city, and they caught him and said unto him, Show us now the entrance of the city and we will show kindness to thee.

10 And that man showed them the entrance of the city, and the children of Joseph came and smote the City with the edge of the sword.

11 And the man with his family they sent away, and he went to the Hittites and he built a city, and he called the name thereof Luz, so all the Israelites dwelt in their cities, and the children at Israel dwelt in their cities, and the children of Israel served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders, who had lengthened their days after Joshua, and saw the great work of the Lord, which he had performed for Israel.

12 And the elders judged Israel after the death of Joshua for seventeen years.

13 And all the elders also fought the battles of Israel against the Canaanites and the Lord drove the Canaanites from before the children of Israel, in order to place the Israelites in their land.

14 And he accomplished all the words which he had spoken to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the oath which he had sworn, to give to them and to their children, the land of the Canaanites.

15 And the Lord gave to the children of Israel the whole land of Canaan, as he had sworn to their ancestors, and the Lord gave them rest from those around them, and the children of Israel dwelt securely in their cities.

16 Blessed be the Lord for ever, amen, and amen.

17 Strengthen yourselves, and let the hearts of all you that trust in the Lord be of good courage.

THE END

THE GOSPEL OF THE HOLY TWELVE
alleged from a document discovered in Tibet
and miraculous hidden away in a Vatican archive
by Gideon Jasper Richard Ouseley, 1870
Estimated Range of Dating: 1860-1870 A.D.

(The Gospel of the Holy Twelve, also known as the Gospel of the Nazarenes, is a writing produced by Gideon Jasper Richard Ouseley (1835 - 1906), an Irish clergyman who called himself the translator of the Gospel of the Holy Twelve. The so-called The Editors Of The Gospel Of The Holy Twelve say in their biography on Ouseley:

"... Ouseley was born in Lisbon on the 15th October, 1835, the younger son of Sir Ralph Ouseley, K.C.B., brought over to Ireland on the death of his father, 14th May, 1842, by relatives, and educated in Dublin University, in which he graduated in 1858. On the 9th of December, 1906 he passed away in his seventy-second year. He was ordained as a clergyman of the Established Church by the Bishop of Down and Connor, and appointed Curate of Warren- point, Co. Down in 1861.He did not long remain in a Church in which he found himself to be in a false position; and in 1870, having voluntarily renounced all eating of flesh, strong drink and tobacco as inconsistent with the humanity and the true religion of Christ, as taught by Him and His apostles, he was received as a priest of the Catholic Apostolic Church."

Ouseley notes in the Preface of his book:

"The Gospel of the Holy Twelve was communicated to the Editors, in numerous fragments at different times, by Emmanuel Swedenborg, Anna Kingsford, Edward Maitland, and a priest of the former century, giving his name as Placidus, of the Franciscan Order, afterwards a Carmelite. By them it was translated from the original, and given to the Editors in the flesh, to be supplemented in their proper places, where indicated, from the 'Four Gospels' (A.V.) revised where necessary by the same."

In his book he claims that "this Gospel of the Holy Twelve (Evangelists) of the Christian Dispensation is one of the most ancient and complete of early Christian fragments, preserved in one of the Monasteries of the Buddhist monks in Tibet, where it was hidden by some of the Essene community for safety from the hands of corrupters and now for the first time translated from the Aramaic. The contents clearly show it to be an early Essenian writing. This ancient community strongly resembling the Therapeutae, and the Buddhists, who practised community of goods, daily ablutions, daily worship, and renounced flesh eating, and strong drink and the sacrifice of animals, and the doctrine of "atonement" for the sins of some by the vicarious and involuntary suffering of others, as held by the Pharisees and Sadducees, and by the heathen before them; ..."

The writer furthermore claims that the Four Synoptic Gospels were built upon this Gospel of the Holy Twelve for it was the first formulated life of the Christ and was written by St. John about the year 70 AD., when he was imprisoned in Rome and given page by page to one whom he could trust. When the scroll was completed and after its contents had been made known to the Apostles, it was taken to Tibet by the same disciple, who left it in the care of a unnamed lama. Here, it remained until a friar, named Placidus, visited the monastery in the eighteen seventies and asked if he might show it to the Church Authorities in Rome.

The scroll was then given to him and on the way home, which took a long time, he translated a portion of it into Latin and on his arrival in Rome read it to the assembled Cardinals. At first they were impressed, but as he proceeded to reveal the contents they realised that to make it known would discredit the Church which had, during the Council of Nicea, eliminated from the Gospels the Master's teaching about the love and care of animals and about abstaining from eating flesh-foods. And so the scroll was hidden away in the archives of the Vatican, where it remains to this day.

The reason this Gospel contains much that is in St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke and St. John is because there were many Gospels written about this time containing the true teaching of Jesus, but this was the only one that escaped the pen of the `correctors', because they did not know of its existence. ...."

The entire writing style of the foreword breathes religious fervour. The writer claims that the Gospel was written in Aramaic, which is unlikely because all writings of the New Testament were written neither in Aramaic (the language of Jesus) nor in Hebrew but in Greek. Christian documents were not written in the form of scrolls but on single leaves of papyrus or parchment that were slightly smaller than an A4 page which were easier to hide in a folder. The entire text of the gospel appears "too smooth" in style, just like the book of Jasher. Ouseley postulated that the document was hidden in a Tibetan monastery for one and a half millennia and brought back to Europe in 1870. Only, there is no documentation what so ever, such as descriptions photographies or drawings of the physical appearance or condition of that gospel. And there is also no clear statement Ouseley got the gospel from, there is also nothing said of the whereabouts of that gospel

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since its alleged discovery and how exactly it vanished it into an archive of the Vatican. We must assume that Ouseley has made this gospel himself in order to promote a vegetarian or vegan diet, giving animals the right to live - a very modern philosophy. Scientists would call it a falsification, or, when using friendly terms, a skillful reconstruction. Almost all sentences can be found in the Bible and in writings of the early Church fathers and Church historians. However, if this document were older than the Four Synoptical Gospels, as claimed, then it would have a different style. It would not be a narration but a collection of Jesus' teachings and sayings like the Gospel of Thomas.)

Text:

THE EPISTLE OF APOLLOS THE PROPHET

APOLLOS TO HIERASTHENES, GREETING.-

1 TOUCHING the matter whereby thou didst enquire in thy last epistle, I will inform thee even as I have received. I Appollos was in my house in Nazareth after the Holy City had been taken by the Romans, and the Temple of God destroyed, even as the Lord had told us.

2 And as the sun went down and I was resting from my work, the room was filled with a bright light and there appeared unto me Agella., my sister (who had been reported as dead with many others of the brethren who were in the Holy City at the time of the siege and who have never since been seen by any to this day).

3 And Agella spake to me saying, BROTHER, why grievest thou for me, and for the fall of Ierusalem and for the Holy House. Grieve rather that thou wast left behind when we with others of the brethren who were ready were taken up from the earth.

4 For when the city was sorely besieged and the battle was the most fierce and the confusion great and terrible, there was seen by all a great wonder in the heavens.

5 For the Lord himself appeared from the clouds with her to whom he first appeared after he rose from the dead, who announced his resurrection to the twelve, and the holy angels, according to the word that he Spake unto us while he was in the flesh.

6 And we who sore longed for deliverance and were ready for his appearance were caught up to him in the clouds with Iohn, who alone of the twelve remained (whether in the body or out of the body I knew not).

7 It was in a moment and we were changed in the twinkling of an eye, and those who were his enemies saw it and fled in great confusion and fell on the swords of the Romans and perished, and to me alone has it been given that I should appear unto thee for thy comfort my brother, and for the consolation of those that are left behind and those that shall come after them, that they may believe in the words spoken by the Lord before he suffered.

8 Farewell brother, and go and comfort those that are left, for there will arise those who will deny that he returned as he said, because none of those who saw his appearance are left behind to witness thereof.

9 But believe thou that the Christ shall return again at the end of the Age in glory.

10 AND I arose and went to some of the brethren and told them these things, but they seemed to them as an idle tale, for they answered, If thy sister and the others were taken, why have we been left behind in the misery of this world? Surely they have fallen by the sword also, and it was a vision, and we which are left behind shall perish likewise?

11 And I returned to my home and held my peace, for I was in doubt, and said, If the thing is true it will be brought to light in a future day, for the Lord certainly did say that "before this generation should pass away all these things should be," even as my sister hath told me they have been.

12 They who are with me salute thee. Peace be with thee, and to all in thine house.

EPISTLE OF APOLLOS TO HIERASTHENES.

THE GOSPEL OF THE HOLY TWELVE

IN THE NAME OF THE ALL HOLY. AMUN.

Here beginneth the Gospel of the Perfect Life of Iesu-Maria, the Christ, the offspring of David through Ioseph and Mary after the flesh, and the Son of God, through Divine Love and Wisdom, after the Spirit.

PROLOGUE

From the Ages of Ages is the Eternal Thought, and the Thought is the Word, and the Word is the Act, and these Three are one in the Eternal Law, and the Law is with God and the Law proceeds from God. All things are created by Law and without it is not anything created that existeth. In the Word is Life and Substance, the Fire and the Light. The Love and the Wisdom, are One for the Salvation of all. And the Light shineth in darkness and the darkness concealeth it not. The Word is the one Life-giving Fire, which shining into the world becometh the fire and light of every soul that entereth into the world. I am in the world, and the world is in Me, and the world knoweth it not. I come to my own House, and my friends receive Me not. But as many as receive and obey, to them is given the power to become the Sons and Daughters of God, even to them who believe in the Holy Name, who are born--not of the will of the blood and flesh, but of God. And the Word is incarnate and dwelleth among us, whose Glory we beheld, full of Grace. Behold the Goodness, and the Truth and the Beauty of God!

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 1

The Parentage And Conception Of Iohn The Baptist

1 There was in the days of Herod, the King of Judea, a certain priest named Zacharias, of the course of Abia; and his wife was of the daughters of Aaron, and her name was Elisabeth.

2 And they were both righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless. And they had no child, because that Elisabeth was barren, and they both were now well stricken in years.

3 And it came to pass, that while he executed the priest's office before God in the order of his course, according to the custom of the priest's office, his lot was to burn incense when he went into the temple IOVA. And the whole multitude of the people were praying without at the time of the offering of incense.

4 And there appeared unto him an angel of the Lord standing over the altar of incense. And when Zacharias saw, he was troubled, and fear fell upon him. But the angel said unto him, Fear not, Zacharias, for thy prayer is heard; and thy wife Elisabeth, shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name Iohn.

5 And thou shalt have joy and gladness; and many shall rejoice at his birth; for he shall be great in the sight of the Lord, and shall neither eat flesh meats, nor drink strong drink; and he shall be filled with the Holy Spirit, even from his mother's womb.

6 And many of the children of Israel shall he turn to the Lord their God; And he shall go before him in the spirit and power of Elias, to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just; to make ready a people prepared for the Lord.

7 And Zacharias said unto the angel, Whereby shall I know this? for I am an old man, and my wife is well stricken in years. And the angel answering said unto him, I am Gabriel, that stand in the presence of God; and am sent to speak unto thee, and to announce unto thee these glad tidings.

8 And, behold, thou art dumb, and not able to speak, until the day that these things shall be performed, then shall thy tongue be loosed that thou mayest believe my words which shall be fulfilled in their season.

9 And the people waited for Zacharias, and marvelled that he tarried so long in the temple. And when he came out, he could not speak unto them; and they perceived that he had seen a vision in the temple; for he made signs unto them, and remained speechless.

10 And it came to pass, that, as soon as the days of his ministration were accomplished, he departed to his own house. And after those days, his wife Elisabeth, conceived, and hid herself five months saying, Thus hath the Lord dealt with me in the days wherein he looked on me, to take away my reproach among men.

(1 The opening paragraph of this Gospel was evidently before the eyes, or in the mind of St. Paul when he wrote Romans 1-4. (See Luke 1:5) This is only one of several instances where this Gospel, or the words of Iesus recorded in it, are used subsequently, without specially indicating the fact (as shewn further on), being well-known to his hearers at that time.)

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 2

The Immaculate Conception Of Iesus The Christ

1. And in the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God, unto a city of Galilee, named Nazareth, to a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Ioseph, of the house of David; and the virgin's name was Mary.

2. Now Ioseph was a just and rational Mind, and he was skilled in all manner of work in wood and in stone. And Mary was a tender and discerning Soul, and she wrought veils for the temple. And they were both pure before God; and of them both was Iesu-Maria who is called the Christ.

3. And the angel came in unto her and said, Hail, Mary, thou that art highly favoured, for the Mother of God is with thee: blessed art thou among women and blessed be the fruit of thy womb.

4. And when she saw him, she was troubled at his saying, and cast in her mind what manner of salutation this should be. And the angel said unto her, Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favour with God and, behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb and bring forth a child, and He shall be great and shalt be called a Son of the Highest.

5. And the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David: and he shall reign over the house of Jacob forever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end.

6. Then said Mary unto the angel, How shall this be, seeing I know not a man? And the angel answered and said unto her The Holy Spirit shall come upon Ioseph thy Spouse, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee, O Mary, therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Christ, the Child of God, and his Name on earth shalt be called Iesu-Maria, for he shall save the people from their sins, whosoever shall repent and obey his Law.

7. Therefore ye shall eat no flesh, nor drink strong drink, for the child shall be consecrated unto God from its mother's womb, and neither flesh nor strong drink shall he take, nor shall razor touch his head.

8. And, behold, thy cousin Elisabeth, she hath also conceived a son in her old age: and this is the sixth month with her, who was called barren. For with God no thing shall be impossible. And Mary said, Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word. And the angel departed from her.

9. And in the same day the angel Gabriel appeared unto Ioseph in a dream and said unto him, Hail, Ioseph, thou that art highly favoured, for the Fatherhood of God is with thee. Blessed art thou among men and blessed be the fruit of thy loins.

10. And as Ioseph thought upon these words he was troubled, and the angel of the Lord said unto him, Fear not, Ioseph, thou Son of David, for thou hast found favour with God, and behold thou shalt beget a child, and thou shalt call his name Iesu-Maria for he shall save his people from their sins.

11. Now all this was done that it might be fulfilled which was written in the prophets saying, Behold a Maiden shall conceive and be with child and shall bring forth a son, and shall call his name Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God Within Us.

12. Then Ioseph being raised from sleep did as the angel had bidden him, and went in unto Mary, his espoused bride, and she conceived in her womb the Holy One.

13. And Mary arose in those days and went into the hill country with haste, into a city of Judea and entered into the house of Zacharias, and saluted Elisabeth.

14. And it came to pass, that, when Elisabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb; and Elisabeth was filled with the power of the Spirit and spake, with a clear voice and said, Blessed art thou among women and blessed is the fruit of thy womb.

15. Whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me? For, lo, as soon as the voice of thy salutation sounded in my ears, the babe leaped for joy. And blessed is she that believed: for there shall. be a performance of those things which were told her from the Holy One.

16. And Mary said: My soul doth magnify Thee, the Eternal, and my spirit doth rejoice in God my Saviour. For thou hast regarded the low estate of thy handmaiden; for, behold, from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed.

17. For Thou that art mighty hast done to me great things; and holy is Thy Name. And Thy mercy is on them that fear Thee from generation to generation.

18. Thou hast shewed strength with Thy arm; thou hast scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts.

19. Thou hast put down the mighty from their seats and exalted the humble and the meek. Thou hast fill the hungry with good things and the rich Thou dost send empty away.

20. Thou dost help thy servant Israel, in remembrance of thy mercy: as Thou spakest to our ancestors to Abraham and to his seed for ever. And Mary abode with her about three months and returned to her own house.

21. And these are the words that Ioseph spake,, saying: Blessed be the God of our fathers and our mothers in Israel: for in an acceptable time Thou hast heard me, and in the day of salvation hast Thou helped me.

22. For Thou saids't I will preserve and make thee a covenant of the people to renew the face of the earth: and to cause the desolate places to be redeemed from the hands of the spoiler.

23. That thou mayest say to the captives, Go ye forth and be free; and to them that are in darkness, Show yourselves in the light. And they shall feed in the ways of pleasantness; and they shall no more hunt nor worry the creatures which I have made to rejoice before me.

24. They shall not hunger nor thirst any more neither shall the heat smite them nor the cold destroy them. And I will make on all My mountains a way for travellers; and My high places shall be exalted.

25. Sing ye heavens and rejoice thou earth; O ye deserts break forth with song: for Thou O God dost comfort Thy people; and console them that have suffered wrong.

(10. - "Ioseph begat (of Mary the Virgin, his wife) Iesus, who is called the Christ."-Curetonian and Lewis's Syriac, MS. ; and several of the oldest Latin MSS., in Matt. I.16, A.V.)

21-25. -The canticle of Ioseph here given is very similar to a certain portion of the book of Isaiah; indeed, appears to be taken from it, as Iohn borrowed from the Old Testament prophets. It has been omitted in all other Gospels extant. It is of singular beauty, and appropriate for use at Matins, as Magnificat is for Vesper, the Song of Zacharias finding an equally appropriate place at Nocturns.)

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GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 3

The Nativity Of Iohn The Baptist

1 Now Elisabeth's full time came that she should be delivered; and she brought forth a son. And her neighbours and her cousins heard how the Lord had shewed great mercy upon her; and they rejoiced with her.

2 And it came to pass, that on the eighth day they came to circumcise the child; and they called him Zacharias, after the name of his father. And his mother answered and said, Not so; but he shall be called Iohn. And they said unto her, There is none of thy kindred that is called by thy name.

3 And they made signs to his father, how he would have him called. And he asked for a writing table, and wrote, saying, his name is Iohn. And they all marvelled, for his mouth was opened immediately, and his tongue loosed, and he spake, and praised God.

4 And great awe came on all that dwelt round about them; and all these came on all that dwelt round about them; and all these sayings were made known abroad throughout all the hilly country of Judea. And all they that heard them laid them up in their hearts, saying, What manner of child shall this be! And the hand of Jova was with him.

5 And his father Zacharias was filled with the holy Spirit, and prophesied, saying, Blessed be thou, O God of Israel; for thou hast visited and redeemed thy people. And hast raised up an horn of salvation for us in the house of thy servant David. As thou spakest by the mouth of thy holy prophets, which have been since the world began.

6 That we should be saved from our enemies, and from the hand of all that hate us. To perform the mercy promised to our ancestors, and to remember thy holy covenant.

7 The oath which thou did'st sware to our father Abraham, that thou wouldest grant unto us, that we being delivered out of the hand of our enemies might serve thee without fear, in holiness and righteousness before thee all the days of our life.8. And this child shalt be called the Prophet of the Highest: for he shalt go before Thy face, O God, to prepare Thy ways; to give knowledge of salvation unto Thy people by the remission of their sins.

9 Through the tender mercy of our God, whereby the dayspring from on high hath visited us; to give light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, to guide our feet into the way of peace.

10 And the child grew, and waxed strong in spirit, and his mission was hidden till the day of his shewing forth unto Israel.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 4

Nativity of Iesus the Christ

1 Now the birth of Iesu-Maria the Christ was on this wise. It came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed. And all the people of Syria went to be taxed, every one into his own city, and it was midwinter.

2 And Ioseph with Mary also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth into Judea, unto the city of David, which is called Bethlehem (because they were of the house and lineage of David), to be taxed with Mary his espoused wife, who was great with child.

3 And so it was, that, while they were there, the days were accomplished that she should be delivered. And she brought forth her firstborn child in a Cave, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger, which was in the cave; because there was no room for them in the inn. And behold it was filled with many lights, on either side Twelve, bright as the Sun in his glory.

4 And there were in the same cave an ox, and a horse, and an ass, and a sheep, and beneath the manger was a cat with her little ones, and there were doves also, overhead, and each had its mate after its kind, the male with the female.

5 Thus it came to pass that he was born in the midst of the animals which, through the redemption of man from ignorance and selfishness, he came to redeem from their sufferings, by the manifestation or the sons and the daughters of God.

6 And there were in the same country, shepherds abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flock by night. And when they came, lo, the angel of God came upon them, and the glory of the Highest shone round about them; and they were sore afraid.

7 And the angel said unto them, Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people, for unto you is born this day in the city of David a saviour, which is Christ, the Holy One of God. And this shall be a sign unto you; Ye shall find the babe wrapped in swaddling clothes lying in a manger.

8 And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God and saying, Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace toward men of goodwill.

9 And it came to pass, as the angels were gone away from them into heaven, the shepherds said to one another, Let us now go even unto Bethlehem, and see this thing which is come to pass, which our God hath made known unto us.

10 And they came with haste, and found Mary and Ioseph in the cave, and the Babe lying in a manger. And when they had seen these things, they made known abroad the saying which was told them concerning the child.

11 And all they that heard it, wondered at those things told them by the shepherds; but Mary kept all these things, and pondered them in her heart. And the shepherds returned, glorifying and praising God for all the things that they had heard and seen.

12 And when eight days were accomplished for the circumcising of the child, his name was called Iesu-Maria, as was spoken by the angel before he was conceived in the womb. And when the days of her purification according to the law of Moses were accomplished, they brought the child to Jerusalem, to present it unto God (as it is written in the law of Moses, every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy to the Lord).

13 And, behold, there was a man in Jerusalem, whose name was Simeon; and the same man was just and devout, waiting for the consolation of Israel; and the Holy Spirit was upon him. And it was revealed unto him that he should not see death, before he had seen the Christ of God.

14 And he came by the Spirit into the temple; and when the parents brought in the child Iesus, to do for him after the custom of the law, he perceived the child as it were a Pillar of light. Then took he him "up in his arms, and blessed God, and said:

15 Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word. For mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou has prepared before the face of all people; to be a light to lighten the Gentiles, and to be the glory of thy people Israel. And his parents marvelled at those things which were spoken of him.

16 And Simeon blessed them, and said unto Mary his mother, Behold, this child is set for the falling and rising again of many in Israel; and for a Sign which shall be spoken against (yea, a sword shall pierce through thy own soul also), that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed.

17 And there was one Anna, a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel of the tribe of Aser, of a great age, who departed not from the temple, but served God with fastings and prayers night and day.

18 And she coming in that instant gave thanks likewise unto God, and spake of him to all them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem. And when they had performed all things according to the law they returned into Galilee, to their own city Nazareth.

(1. -The accepted date of the birth of Christ as corrected in the A. V. is A.M. 4000, or A.D. 1. This being so, his second visit to the Temple A.M. 4012, and after that his travels about A.M. 4018-4030; his Baptism A.M. 4031 ; His Transfiguration on the Mount, 4042 ; and his Crucifixion A.M. 4049, leaving eighteen years for his public ministry; and his numerous teachings, which S. Iohn declares would fill a vast number of books, more than could be contained (comprehended by the world).)

4. - The animals here mentioned are sacred to the Deity in various countries and religions, the Cat and the Dove being specially honored and protected in Egypt (the most ancient centre of civilization, religion, philosophy and true science), as the symbols of Isis, the foreshadower of the "Divine Mother" of Christianity. Egypt (with her Trinity of Father, Mother, Child) gave refuge and sanctuary to the Infant Christ, Who came forth from thence to redeem humanity. The cat is not wilfully a "cruel animal," as falsely alleged by the ignorant, no more than the babe which torments it in ignorance of the pain it gives. Far more cruel are human beings, who torture and destroy millions of innocent creatures to gratify a depraved appetite or to minister to their vanity, or their lust for cruel experiment. The cat truly, as alleged by occultists, both ancient and modern, "the most human of all animals," and it is probable it was for this reason that it appears as the favourite animal of Iesus who was ever the friend of the despised, maligned and neglected although the most loving, gentle and graceful of all animals, rather than the more self assertive dog, especilly as taught by man to hunt and to worry.

12. -Iesu Maria is the complete name. Iesus, he shall save, Maria, his people. Iesus is only the first part of the Holy Name, He saves His people, not at once, the entire human race, but those of goodwil1- homines bonce voluntatis - men and women of peace, and obedient to the divine law; and by these, their brethren through the ages, who will to be saved. The first part of the sacred Name seems to be generally used in the Gospel, as indicating that only the first part of his mission is now. When all men and women are gathered in, then will Christ be manifest as the complete Saviour, Iesu-Maria.)

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 5

The Manifestation of Iesus to the Magi

1 Now when Iesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea, in the days of Herod the king, behold, there came certain Magi men from the east to Jerusalem, who had purified themselves and tasted not of flesh nor of strong drink, that they might find the Christ whom they sought. And they said, Where is he that is born King of the Jews? for we in the East have seen his Star, and are come to worship him.

2 When Herod the king had heard these things he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him. And when he had gathered all the chief priests and scribes of the people together, he demanded of them where the Christ should be born.

3 And they said unto him, Bethlehem of Judea; for thus it is written by the prophet, and thou Bethlehem, in the land of Judea, art not the least among the princes of Judah; for out of thee shall come forth a Governor, that shall rule my people Israel.

4 Then Herod, when he had privily called the Magi, enquired of them diligently what time the Star appeared. And he sent them to Bethlehem, and said, Go and search diligently for the young child; and when ye have found him, bring me word again, that I may come and worship him also.

5 When they had heard the king, they departed; and, lo, the Star which the Magi of the East saw, and the angel of the Star went before them, till it came and stood over the place where the young child was, and the Star had the appearance of six rays. 6. And as they went on their way with their camels and asses laden with gifts, and were intent on the heavens seeking the child by the Star, they forgot for a little, their weary beasts who had borne thee burden and heat of the day, and were thirsty and fainting, and the Star was hidden from their sight.

7 In vain they stood and gazed, and looked one upon the other in their trouble. Then they bethought them of their camels and asses, and hastened to undo their burdens that they might have rest.

8 Now there was near Bethlehem a well by the way, And as they stooped down to draw water for their beasts, lo, the Star which they had lost appeared to them, being reflected in the stillness of the water.

9 And when they saw it they rejoiced with exceeding great joy.

10 And they praised God who had shewn his mercy unto them even as they shewed mercy unto their thirsty beasts.

11 And when they were come into the house, they saw the young child with Mary his mother, and fell down, and worshipped him: and when they had opened their treasures, they presented unto him gifts; gold, and frankincense, and myrrh.

12 And being warned of God in a dream that they should not return to Herod, they departed into their own country another way. And they kindled a fire according to their custom and worshipped God in the Flame.

13 And when they were departed, behold the angel of God appeared to Ioseph in a dream, saying, Arise, and take the young child and his mother, and flee into Egypt, and there remain until I bring thee word, for Herod will seek to destroy him.

14 AND when he arose, he took the young child and his mother by night, and departed into Egypt, and was there for about seven years until the death of Herod, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of God by the prophet, saying, Out of Egypt have I called my son.

15 Elizabeth too when she heard it, took her infant son and went up into a mountain and hid him. And Herod sent his officers to Zacharias in the temple and said to him, Where is thy child? And he answered I am a minister of God and am continually in the temple. I know not where he is.

16 And he sent again, saying, Tell me truly where is thy son, Dost thou not know thy life is in my hand? And Zacharias answered, The Lord is witness if thou shed my blood, my spirit will God receive, for thou sheddest the blood of the innocent.

17 And they slew Zacharias in the Temple between the holy place and the altar; and the people knew it, for a voice was heard, Zacharias is slain, and his blood shall not be washed out until the avenger shall come. And after a time the priests cast lots, and the lot fell upon Simeon, and he filled his place.

18 Then Herod, when he saw that he was mocked of the wise men, was exceedingly wroth, and sent forth, and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had diligently enquired of the wise men.

19 Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet, saying, In Rama was there a voice heard, lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not.

20 BUT when Herod was dead, behold, an angel of God appeared in a dream to Ioseph in Egypt. Saying, Arise, and take the young child and his mother, and return into the land of Israel: for they are dead which sought the young child's life.

21 And he arose, and took the young child and his mother and came into the land of Israel. And they came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth; and he was called the Nazarene.

(9. -Note the beautiful lesson taught by these words. They look in vain for the signs of God who forget the needs of the poorer brethren and their beasts under their care. To look

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upon the needs of these who cannot speak (in human tongue) is to find the bright light they lose who only look upwards.

16. -Alluding to 2 Chron. xxiv. 20, in the Ierusalem Talmud, and also in the Babylonish, is an account of a priest named Zacharias, who was slain in the court of the priests near the altar, and whose blood never ceased to bubble from the earth, till a great number of priests and rabbins were slaughtered (Talmud Hierosal, fol. 69).

In the Protevangelium attributed to Iames, the first Bishop or Angel of the Church in Ierusalem is introduced the present story of Zacharias, and that Herod who slew the infants in Bethlehem slew also Zacharias the priest in the Temple when he said that he knew not where his infant son Iohn was hidden. It is this story, and not the incident in Chronicles, that most probably is referred to in a latter part of the Gospel by Iesus, being fresh in the memories of that generation, and so more likely to fasten attention.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 6

The Childhood And Youth Of Iesus the Christ. He Delivereth A Lion From The Hunters

1 Now, Ioseph and Mary, his parents, went up to Jerusalem every year at the Feast of the Passover and they observed the feast after the manner of their brethren, who abstained from bloodshed and the eating of flesh and from strong drink. And when he was twelve years old, he went to Jerusalem with them after the custom of the feast.

2 And when they had fulfilled the days, as they returned, the child Iesus tarried behind in Jerusalem; and his parents knew not of it. But they, supposing him to have been in the company, went a day's Journey and they sought him among their kinsfolk and acquaintance. And when they found him not, turned back to Jerusalem, seeking him.

3 And it came to pass, that after three days they found him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them, and asking them questions. And all that heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers.

4 And when they saw him, they were amazed; and his mother said unto him, Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? Behold, thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing. And he said unto them, How is it that ye sought me? Wist ye not that I must be in my Parents' House. And they understood not the saying which he spake unto them. But his mother kept all these sayings in her heart.

5 And a certain prophet seeing him, said unto him, Behold the Love and the Wisdom of God are one in thee, therefore in the age to come shalt thou be called Iesu-Maria, for by the Christ shall God save mankind, which now is verily as the bitterness of the sea, but it shall yet be turned into sweetness, but to this generation the Bride shall not be manifest, nor yet to the age to come.

6 And he went down with them, and came to Nazareth, and was subject unto them. And he made wheels, and yokes, and tables also, with great skill. And Iesus increased in stature, and in favour with God and man.

7 AND on a certain day the child Iesus came to a place where a snare was set for birds, and there were some boys there. And Iesus said to them, who hath set this snare for the innocent creatures of God? Behold in a snare shall they in like manner be caught. And he beheld twelve sparrows as it were dead.

8 And he moved his hands over them, and said to them, Go, fly away, and while ye live remember me. And they arose and fled away making a noise. And the Jews, seeing this, were astonished and told it unto the priests.

9 And other wonders did the child, and flowers were seen to spring up beneath his feet, where there had been naught but barren ground before. And his companions stood in awe of him.

10 And in the eighteenth year of his age, Iesus was espoused unto Miriam, a virgin of the tribe of Judah with whom he lived seven years, and she died, for God took her, that he might go on to the higher things which he had to do, and to suffer for the sons and daughters of men.

11 And Iesus, after that he had finished his study of the law, went down again into Egypt that he might learn of the wisdom of the Egyptians, even as Moses did. And going into the desert, he meditated and fasted and prayed, and obtained the power of the Holy Name, by which he wrought many miracles.

12 And for seven years he conversed with God face to face, and he learned the language of birds and of beasts, and the healing powers of trees, and of herbs, and of flowers, and the hidden secrets of precious stones, and he learned the motions of the Sun and the Moon and the stars, and the powers of the letters, and mysteries of the Square and the Circle and the Transmutation of things, and of forms, and of numbers, and of signs. From thence he returned to Nazareth to visit his parents, and he taught there and in Jerusalem as an accepted Rabbi, even in the temple, none hindering him.

13 AND after a time he went into Assyria and India and into Persia and into the land of the Chaldeans. And he visited their temples and conversed with their priests, and their wise men for many years, doing many wonderful works, healing the sick as he passed through their countries.

14 And the beasts of the field had respect unto him and the birds of the air were in no fear of him, for he made them not afraid, yea even the wild beasts of the desert perceived the power of God in him, and did him service bearing him from place to place.

15 For the Spirit of Divine Humanity filling him, filled all things around him, and made all things subject unto him, and thus shall yet be fulfilled the words of the prophets, The lion shall lie down with the calf, and the leopard with the kid, and the wolf with the lamb, and the bear with the ass, and the with the dove. And a child shall lead them.

16 And none shall hurt or destroy in my holy mountain, for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Holy One even as the waters cover the bed of the sea. And in that day I will make again a covenant with the beasts of the earth and the fowls of the air, and the fishes of the sea and with all created things. And will break the bow and the sword and all the instruments of warfare will I banish from the earth, and will make them to lie down in safety, and to live without fear.

17 And I will betroth thee unto me for ever in righteousness and in peace and in loving kindness, and thou shalt know thy God, and the earth shalt bring forth the corn the wine and the oil, and I will say unto them which were not my people, Thou art my people; and they shall say unto me, Thou art our God.

18 And on a certain day as he was passing by a mountain side nigh unto the desert, there met him a lion and many men were pursuing him with stones and javelins to slay him.

19 But Iesus rebuked them, saying, Why hunt ye these creatures of God, which are more noble than you? By the cruelties of many generations they were made the enemies of man who should have been his friends.

20 If the power of God is shown in them, so also is shown his long suffering and compassion. Cease ye to persecute this creature who desireth not to harm you, see ye not how he fleeth from you, and is terrified by your violence?

21 And the lion came and lay at the feet of Iesus, and shewed love to him; and the people were astonish , and said, Lo, this man loveth all creatures and hath power to command even these beasts from the desert, and they obey him.

(5. -In what way this prediction is to be fulfilled is not as yet made manifest - whether Iesus shall yet be manifest and received by his people as the Two-in-One, the All-gentle as well as the All-powerful, or whether He shall assume the feminine form, or whether He shall be manifest with His counterpart. Many false Christs shall come with signs and lying wonders.

10. -Iosephus mentions a section of the Essenes, or Iessenes, who, unlike the great majority of them, lived in "honourable marriage," observing their rules and customs in all other matters, such as abstinence from blood sacrifices, flesh eating, etc. Some consider it most probable, therefore, that at this period Iesus married, according to the usual custom of the Iews, and in his case especially, that he might have full experience of human life, and thus be a perfect Example for all, knowing the joys and sorrows of all,-and that it was just before his further travels preparatory to his entrance into the Ministry that he lost by death the wedded partner of his youth. He was " in all things like as we are, yet without sin"

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 7

The Preaching Of Iohn The Baptist

1 Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea, and Herod being tetrarch of Galilee (Caiaphas being the high priest, and Annas chief of the Sanhedrim) the word of God came unto Iohn the son of Zacharias, in the wilderness.

2 And he came into all the country about Jordan, preaching the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins. As it is written in the prophets, Behold I send my messenger before thy face, who shall prepare thy way before thee; the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Holy One, make straight the paths of the Anointed.

3 Every valley shall be filled, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough ways shall be made smooth. And all flesh shall see the salvation of God.

4 And the same Iohn had his raiment of camel's hair, and a girdle of the same about his loins, and his meat was the fruit of the locust tree and wild honey. Then went out to him Jerusalem, and all Judea, and all the region round about Jordan, and were baptized of him in the Jordan confessing their sins.

5 And he said to the multitude that came forth to be baptized of him, O generation of disobedient ones, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of repentance and begin not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father.

6 For I say unto you, that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham. And now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees: every tree therefore which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.

7 And the wealthier people asked him, saying, What shall we do then? He answereth and saith unto them, He that hath two coats, let him impart to him that hath none; and he that hath food let him do likewise.

8 Then came also certain taxgatherers to be baptised and said unto him, Master, what shall we do? And he said unto them, Exact no more than that which is appointed you, and be merciful after your power.

9 And the soldiers likewise demanded of him, saying, And what shall we do? And he said unto them, Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely; and be content with sufficient wages.

10 And to all he spake, saying, Keep yourselves from blood and things strangled and from dead bodies of birds and beasts, and from all deeds of cruelty, and from all that is gotten of wrong; Think ye the blood of beasts and birds will wash away sin! I tell you Nay, Speak the Truth. Be just, Be merciful to one another and to all creatures that live, and walk humbly with your God.

11 And as the people were in expectation, and all men mused in their hearts of Iohn, whether he were the Christ or not, Iohn answered; saying unto them all, I indeed baptize you with water; but One mightier than I cometh, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose.

12 He shall also baptize you with water and with fire. Whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and will gather the wheat into his garner; but the chaff he will burn with fire unquenchable. And many other things in his exortation preached he unto the people.

(4. -The fruit of the Carob tree ("S. Iohn's Bread") ; not the insect of that name, as is supposed by the people in general.

10. -As noticed before, the Essenes did not frequent the blood sacrifices of the Temple. Iohn and Iesus acted accordingly.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 8

The Baptism of Iesu Maria The Christ

1 AND it was in the midst of the summer, the tenth month. Then cometh Iesus from Galilee to Jordan unto Iohn, to be baptized of him. But Iohn forbade him, saying, I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me? And Iesus answering said unto him, Suffer it to be so now, for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness. Then he suffered him.

2 And Iesus, when he was baptized, went up straightway out of the water; and, lo, the heavens were opened unto him, and a bright cloud stood over him, and from behind the cloud Twelve Rays of light, and thence in the form of a Dove, the Spirit of God descending and lighting upon him. And, lo, a voice from heaven saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; this day have I begotten thee.

3 And Iohn bare witness of him ,saying, This was he of whom I spake, He that cometh after me is preferred before me, for he was before me. And of his fulness have all we received, and grace for grace. For the law was in part given by Moses, but grace and truth cometh in fulness by Iesus Christ.

4 No man hath seen God at any time. The only begotten which cometh from the bosom of the Eternal in the same is God revealed. And this is the record of Iohn, when the Jews sent priests and Levites from Jerusalem to ask him, Who art I thou ? And he deified not, but confessed I am not the Christ.

5 And they asked him, What then? Art thou Elias? And he saith, I am not, Art thou that prophet of whom Moses spake? And he answered, No. Then said they unto him, Who art thou ? that we may give an answer to them that sent us. What sayest thou of thyself? And he said, I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Holy One, as said the Prophet Esaias.

6 And they which were sent were of the Pharisees, and they asked him and said unto him, Why baptizest thou then, if thou be not that Christ, nor Elias, neither that prophet of whom Moses spake?

7 Iohn answered them, saying, I baptize with water; but there standeth One among you, whom ye know not, He shall baptize with water and with fire. He it is who coming after me is preferred before me, whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose.

8 These things were done in Bethabara, beyond Jordan, where Iohn was baptizing. And Iesus began at this time to be thirty years of age, being after the flesh indeed the Son of Ioseph and Mary; but after the Spirit. the Christ, the Son of God, the Father and Mother Eternal, as was declared by the Spirit of holiness with power.

9 AND Ioseph was the son of Jacob and Elisheba, and Mary was the daughter of Eli (called Joachim) and Anna, who were the children of David and Bathsheba, of Judah and Shela, of Jacob and Leah, of Isaac and Rebecca, of Abraham and Sarah, of Seth and Maat, of Adam and Eve, who were the children of God.

(2. -This "bright light" at his baptism is mentioned in the "Gospel of the Hebrews," which is undoubtedly the original Gospel of S. Matthew, and the one used in the primitive Church of Ierusalem, and identical with this.

Iustin Martyn quotes this Gospel as the original Gospel of Matthew, and endeavours to explain away the supposed

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"heresy" in the words, "This day have I begotten thee," which shows that the present Gospel of Matthew could not have been extant in his time, else he would have quoted it with gladness as omitting these words.

7.-The earthly ministry of Iesus, beginning at thirty years of age, complete and continuing till his death at the age of forty-nine, must therefore have lasted much longer than is generally supposed, even eighteen years. During the latter part of it, the Iews who knew him attested that he was then " not fifty years old."

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 9

The Four Temptations

1 Then was Iesus led up of the spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the Devil. And the wild beasts of the desert were around him, and became subject unto him. And when he had fasted forty days and forty nights he was afterwards an hungered.

2 And when the tempter came to him, he said, If thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread, for it is written, I will feed thee with the finest of wheat and with honey, out of the rock will I satisfy thee.

3 But he answered and said, It is written, Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeded out of the mouth of God.

4 Then the Devil placeth before him a woman, of exceeding beauty and comeliness and of subtle wit, and a ready understanding withal, and he said unto him. Take her as thou wilt, for her desire is unto thee, and thou shalt have love and happiness and comfort all thy life, and see thy children's children, yea is it not written, It is not good for man that he should be alone?

5 And Iesu-Maria said, Get thee behind me, for it is written, Be not led away by the beauty of woman, yea, all flesh is as grass and the flower of the field; the grass withereth and the flower fadeth away, but the Word of the Eternal endureth for ever. My work is to teach and to heal the children of men, and he that is born of God keepeth his seed within him.

6 And the Devil taketh him up into the holy city, and setteth him on a pinnacle of the Temple. And saith unto him, If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down; for it is written, He shall give his angels charge concerning thee; and in their hands they shall bear thee up lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone.

7 And Iesus said unto him, It is written again, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.

8 Then the Devil took him up into an exceeding high mountain in the midst of a great plain and, round about, twelve cities and their peoples, and shown from thence he shown unto him all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time. And the Devil said unto him, All this power will I give thee, and the glory of them: for that is delivered unto me; and to whomsoever I will, I give it: for it is written, thou shalt have dominion from sea to sea, so thou shalt judge thy people with righteousness and thy poor with mercy, and. make a full end of oppression. If thou therefore wilt worship me, all shall be thine.

9 And Iesu-Maria answered and said unto him, get thee behind me, Satan; for it is written, Thou shalt worship thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve. Without the power of God, the end of evil cannot come.

10 Then the Devil having ended all the temptations leaveth him and departed for a season. And behold, angels of God came and ministered unto him.

(1. -The Essenes or Nazarenes, somewhat like the Indian Yogi, sought to attain divine union by solitary meditation in unfrequented places. In the monastery of our Lord on the summit of Quarantania, a cell is shown with rude frescoes of the event. This mountain is about 18,000 feet high, in a barren and desolate region east of Ierusalem, north of the road to Iericho, overlooking the valley of the Iordan.

2-9 -Observe, the temptations are addressed to the fourfold nature of man, as recognised by the ancient Egyptians. 1st.-To the outer body, with its physical needs. 2nd. -To the inner body, the seat of the senses and desires. 3rd.-To the soul, the seat of the intellect.

3. -In all the ancient initiations woman was one of the temptations placed in the way of the aspirant. That this was not omitted in the trial of the "Perfect Man" we may be certain, and we are expressly told in the Epistle to the Hebrews that "he was in all points tempted even as we are." Why the writers of the Canonical Gospels omitted this trial, or whether it was dropped out of the original by accident we cannot say, but here we have it restored in its place. It is evidently inculcated by Iesus in this second temptation (what has always been known to the wise) that adepts should store up their physical strength for work on a higher plane, and this Iesus did for the work of the ministry as an example for all who would follow him and heal the bodies and souls of others.

Here we have one of the many passages which show that the words attributed to the writers of the Epistles are quotations from this Gospel, and that such portions at least were extant in their time.-e.g., I. Iohn iii. 9. (A. V.).

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 10

Ioseph And Mary Make A Feast Unto Iesus. Andrew And Peter Find Iesus.

1. And when he had returned from the wilderness, the same day, his parents made him a feast, and they gave unto him the gifts which the Magi had presented to him in his infancy. And Mary said, These things have we kept for thee even to this day, and she gave unto him the gold and the frankincense and the myrrh. And he took of the frankincense, but of the gold he gave unto his parents for the poor, and of the myrrh he gave unto Mary who is called Magdalene.

2. Now this Mary was of the city of Magdala in Galilee. And she was a great sinner, and had seduced many by her beauty and comeliness. And the same came unto Iesus by night and confessed her sins, and he put forth his hand and healed her, and cast out of her seven demons, and he said unto her, Go in peace, thy sins are forgiven thee. And she arose and left all and followed him, and ministered unto him of her substance, during the days of his ministry in Israel.

3. The next day Iohn saw Iesus coming unto him, and said, Behold the Lamb of God, which by righteousness taketh away the sin of the world. This is he of whom I said, He was before me; and I knew him not; but that he should be made manifest to Israel; therefore am I come baptizing with water.

4. And Iohn bare record, saying, I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a Dove, and it abode upon him. And I knew him not, but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending, and remaining on him, the same is he which baptized with water and with fire, even the Spirit. And I saw, and bare record that this was the Son of God.

5. The day after, Iohn stood by the Jordan and two of his disciples. And looking upon Iesus as he walked, he saith, Behold the Christ, the Lamb of God! And the two disciples heard him speak, and they followed Iesus.

6. Then Iesus turned and saw them following and saith unto them, What seek ye? They said unto him, Rabbi (which is, being interpreted, Master), where dwellest thou? He saith unto them, Come and see. They came and saw where he dwelt, and abode with him that day: for it was about the tenth hour.

7. One of the two which heard Iohn speak and followed him was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother. He first findeth his own brother Simon and said unto him, We have found the Messias, which is, being interpreted the Christ. And he brought him to Iesus And when Iesus beheld him, he said, Thou art Simon Bar Jona: thou shalt be called Kephas (which is, by interpretation, a rock).

8. THE day following, Iesus goeth forth into Galilee, and findeth Philip, and saith unto him, Follow me. Now Philip was of Bethsaida, the city of Andrew and Peter. Philip findeth Nathanael, who is called Bar Tholmai, and saith unto him, We have found him, Of whom Moses in the law and the Prophets did write, Iesus of Nazareth, the son of Ioseph and Mary, And Nathanael said unto him, Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth ? Philip said unto him, Come and see.

9. Iesus saw Nathanael coming to him and saith of him, Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile! Nathanael saith unto him, Whence knowest thou me? Iesus answered and said unto him, Before that Philip called thee, when thou wast under the Fig tree, I saw thee. Nathanael answered and saith unto him, Rabbi, thou art the Son of God. thou art the King of Israel. Yea, under the Fig tree did I find thee.

10. Iesus answered and said unto him, Nathanael Bar Tholmai, because I said unto thee, I saw thee under the Fig tree, believest thou ? thou shalt see greater things than these. And he saith unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto you, hereafter ye shall see heaven open, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 11

The Anointing By Mary Magdalene

1 And one of the Pharisees desired him that he would eat with him. And he went into the Pharisee's house and sat down to eat.

2 And behold a certain woman of Magdala, who was reputed to be a sinner, was in the city, and when she knew that Iesus sat at meat in the Pharisee's house, she brought an Alabaster box of ointment, and stood at his feet behind him, weeping, and washed His feet with tears, and did wipe them with the hairs of her head and kissed his feet, and anointed them with ointment.

3 Now when the Pharisee which had bidden him saw it, he thought within himself, saying, This man, if he were a prophet, would have known who and what manner of woman this is that toucheth him: for she is a sinner.

4 And Iesus answering said unto him, Simon, I have somewhat to say unto thee. And he saith, Master, say on.

5 There was a certain creditor which had two debtors: the one owed five hundred pence and the other fifty. And when they had nothing to pay, he frankly forgave them both. Tell me, therefore, which of them will love him most.

6 Simon answered and said, I suppose that he to whom he forgave most. And he said unto him, Thou hast rightly judged.

7 And he said unto Simon, Seest thou this woman? I entered into thine house, thou gavest me no water for my feet; but she hath washed my feet with tears and wiped them with the hairs of her head. Thou gavest me no kiss: but this woman since the time I came in hath not ceased to kiss my feet. My head with oil thou didst not anoint: but this woman hath anointed my feet with ointment.

8 Wherefore I say unto thee, man but also beast and birds of the air, yea, even the fishes of the sea; but to whom little is forgiven, the same loveth little. Her sins, which are many, are forgiven, for she loved much, not only man but also beast and birds of the air, yea, even the fishes of the sea; but to whom little is forgiven, the same loveth little.

9 And he said unto her, Thy sins are forgiven, and they who sat at the table began to say within themselves, who is this that forgiveth sins also?

10 Though he had said not, I forgive thee, but Thy sins are forgiven thee, for he discerned true faith and penitence in her heart. And Iesus needed not that any should testify of any man, for he himself knew what was in man.

(1-2. -There are two anointings by Mary Magdalene recorded. The first was to his prophetical ministry, the last preparatory to his self-oblation unto death on the cross in the upper room, and his subsequent murder by the Roman authorities and the Iewish priests.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 12

The Marriage In Cana. The Healing of the Nobleman's Son

1 AND the next day there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee; and the mother of Iesus was there: And both Iesus and Mary Magdalene were there, and his disciples came to the marriage.

2 And when they wanted wine the mother of Iesus saith unto him, They have no wine. Iesus saith unto her, Woman, what is that to thee and to me ? mine hour is not yet come. His mother saith unto the servants, Whatsoever he saith unto you, do it.

3 And there were set there six waterpots of stone, after the manner of the purifying of the Jews, containing two or three firkins apiece. And Iesus saith unto them, Fill the waterpots with water. And they filled them up to the brim. And he said unto them, Draw out now, and bear unto the governor of the feast. And they bare it.

4 When the ruler of the feast had tasted the water that was made wine to them, and knew not whence it was; the governor of the feast called the bridegroom, and saith unto him. Every man at the beginning doth set forth good wine and when men have well drunk, then that which is worse; but thou hast kept the good wine until now.

5 This beginning of miracles did Iesus in Cana of Galilee, and manifested forth his glory; and many disciples believed on him.

6 After this he went down to Capernaum, he, and his mother, with Mary Magdalene, and his brethren, and his disciples: and they continued there for many.

7 And there arose a question between some of John's disciples and the Jews about purifying. And they came unto John, and said unto him, Rabbi, he that was with thee beyond Jordan, to whom thou bearest wittness, behold, the same baptizeth, and all do come to him.

8 John answered and said, A man can receive nothing, except it be given him from heaven. Ye yourselves bear me witness, that I said, I am not the Christ, but that I am sent before him.

9 He that hath the bride is the bridegroom; but the friend of the bridegroom, which standeth and heareth him, rejoiceth greatly because of the bridegroom's voice; this my joy therefore is fulfilled. He must increase; but I must decrease. He that is of the earth is earthly, and speaketh of the earth: he that cometh from heaven is above all.

10 AND certain of the Pharisees came and questioned Iesus, and said unto him, how sayest thou that God will condemn the world ? And Iesus answered, saying, God so loveth the world, that the only begotten Son is given, and cometh into the world, that whosoever believeth in him may not perish, but have everlasting life. God sendeth not the Son into the world to condemn the world; but that the world through him may be saved.

11 They who believe on him are not condemned: but they that believe not are condemned already, because they have not believed in the name of the only begotten of God. And this is the condemnation, that the light is come into the world, and men love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil .

12 For all they that do evil hate the light, neither come they to the light, lest their deeds may be condemned. But they that do righteousness come to the light, that their deeds may be made manifest, that they are wrought in God.

13 AND there was a certain nobleman, whose son was sick at Capernaum. When he heard that Iesus was come into Galilee, he went unto him, and besought him that he would come down, and heal his son; for he was at the point of death.

14 Then said Iesus unto him, Except ye see signs and wonders, ye will not believe. The nobleman saith unto him, Sir, come down ere my child die.

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15 Iesus saith unto him, Go thy way; thy son liveth. And the man believed the word that Iesus had spoken unto him, and he went his way. And as, he was now going down, his servants met him, and told him, saying, Thy son liveth.

16 Then enquired he of them the hour when he began to amend. And they said unto him, Yesterday of the seventh hour the fever left him. So the father knew that it was at the same hour, in the which Iesus said unto him, Thy son liveth. And himself believed, and his whole house.

(3-4. -Iesus being a Yessene (Essene) could not drink intoxicating wine, and it is to be remarked here, that he did not provide it. He poured water into jars, and they tasted it as wine unfermented, or, if fermented, with four times or least twice its volume of water, which makes what is termed all through the Gospel the "fruit of the vine." It is impossible that Iesus could sanction drunkenness, though his enemies slandered him as a "wine-bibber."

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 13

The First Sermon In The Synagogue Of Nazareth

1 AND Iesus came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up: and, as his custom was, he went into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and stood up for to read. And there was delivered unto him the roll of the prophet Esaias.

2 And when he had opened the roll, he found the place where it was written. The Spirit of the Lord Is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the brokenhearted, to preach deliverance to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bound. To preach the acceptable year of the Lord.

3 And he closed the roll, and gave it again to the minister, and sat down, And the eyes of all them that were in the synagogue were fastened on him. And he began saying unto them. This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears. And all bare him witness, and wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth. And they said, Is not this Ioseph's son?

4 And some brought unto him a blind man to test his power, and said, Rabbi, here is a son of Abraham blind from birth. Heal him as thou hast healed Gentiles in Egypt. And he, looking upon him, perceived his unbelief and the unbelief of those that brought him, and their desire to ensnare him. And he could do no mighty work in that place because of their unbelief.

5 And they said unto him, Whatsoever we have heard done in Egypt, do also here in thy own country. And he said, Verily I say unto you, No prophet is accepted in his own home or in his own country, neither doth a physician work cures upon them that know him.

6 And I tell you of a truth, many widows were in Israel in the days of Elias, when the heaven was shut up three years and six months, when great famine was throughout all the land. But unto none of them was Elias sent, save unto Sarepta, a city of Sidon, unto a woman that was a widow.

7 And many lepers were in Israel in the time of Eliseus the prophet; and none of them was cleansed, saving Naaman the Syrian.

8 And all they in the synagogue, when they heard these things, were filled with wrath. And rose up, and thrust him out of the city, and led him unto the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, that they might cast him down headlong. But he, passing through the midst of them, went his way and escaped them.

(5. -The effects of his education in Egypt and his travels in other countries and knowledge of their religion and mysteries are here clearly seen in the largeness of the heart of Iesus, and his sympathy with all men. He is the true Catholic, who excludes none from his love whose hearts are unto righteousness, while he pities those that are not, knowing the terrible fate that awaits them.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 14

The Calling Of Andrew And Peter. The Teaching of Cruelty in Animals. The Two Rich Men

1 Now Herod the tetrarch, being reproved by John the Baptist for Herodias his brother Philip's wife, and for all the evils which he had done, added yet this above all, that he shut up John in prison.

2 And Iesus began to preach, and to say, Repent; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand. And as he was walking by the sea of Galilee, he saw Simon called Peter, and Andrew his brother, casting a net in the sea; for they were fishers. And he saith unto them, Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men. And they straightway forsook their nets, and followed him.

3 And going on from thence, he saw other two brethren, James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother, in a ship with Zebedee their father, mending their nets; and he called them. And they immediately left their nets, and the ship, and their father, and followed him.

4 And Iesus went about all Galilee, teaching in, their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of sickness and all manner of disease among the people. And the fame of his miracles went throughout all Syria, and they brought unto him many sick people that were taken with divers diseases and torments, and those which were lunatick, and those that had the palsy, and he healed them.

5 And there followed him great multitudes of people from Galilee, and from Decapolis, and from Jerusalem, and from Judea, and from beyond Jordan.

6 And as Iesus was going with some of his disciples he met with a certain man who trained dogs to hunt other creatures. And he said to the man, Why doest thou thus? and the man said, By this I live and what profit is there to any in these creatures? these creatures are weak, but the dogs they are strong. And Iesus said, Thou lackest wisdom and love. Lo, every creature which God hath made hath its end, and purpose, and who can say what good is there in it? or what profit to thyself, or mankind?

7 And, for thy living, behold the fields yielding their increase, and the fruit-bearing trees and the herbs; what needest thou more than these which honest work of thy hands will not give to thee? Woe to the strong who misuse their strength, Woe to the hunters for they shall be hunted.

8 And the man marvelled, and left off training the dogs to hunt, and taught them to save life rather than destroy, And he learned of the doctrines of Iesus and became his disciple.

9 And behold there came to him two rich men, and one said, Good Master. But he said, Call me not good, for One alone is the All good, and that is God.

10 And the other said to him, Master, what good thing shall I do and live? Iesus said, Perform the Law and the prophets. He answered, I have performed them. Iesus answered, Go, sell all thou hast and divide with the poor, and follow me. But this saying pleased him not.

11 And the Lord said unto him, How sayest thou that thou hast performed the Law and the prophets? Behold many of thy brethren are clad with filthy rags, dying from hunger and thy house is full of much goods, and there goeth from it nought unto them.

12 And he said unto Simon, It is hard for the rich to enter the kingdom of heaven, for the rich care for themselves, and despise them that have not.

(4. -Miracles are not violations of the laws of nature, but rather suspensions of lower by higher laws- wonders wrought by using wisely the subtle forces of nature, (whether by seen or unseen agencies) unknown to the science of the day, and in advance of the knowledge of the people. Many are the spiritual agencies, the knowledge of which we are now recovering, but which have existed and acted all through the ages. Occult phenomena also appear to have been used by religious teachers in all ages in the East, to attract the attention of the listless and thoughtless, and having roused and secured their interest, to teach them spiritual truths or give them higher revelations; just as in the West. in modern times, they Bound a bell, or sing an " invitatory" or a hymn to "call the people."

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 15

Healing Of The Leper And The Man With Palsy. The Deaf Man who Denied that Others could Hear

1 And it came to pass, when he was in a certain city, behold a man full of leprosy, who, seeing Iesus, fell toward the earth, and besought him, saying, Lord if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean. And he put forth his hand, and touched him, saying, Blessed be thou who believest; I will, be thou clean. And immediately the leprosy departed from him.

2 And he charged him saying, Tell no man: but go, and shew thyself to the priest, and offer for thy cleansing, according as Moses commanded, for a testimony unto them. But so much the more went there a fame abroad of him; and great multitudes came together to hear, and to be healed by him of their infirmities. And he withdrew himself into the wilderness, and prayed.

3 And it came to pass on a certain day, as he was teaching, that there were Pharisees and doctors of the law sitting by, to see them which were come out of every town, of Galilee, and Judea, and Jerusalem, and the power of God was present to heal them.

4 And, behold, they brought in a bed a man who was taken with a palsy: and they sought means to bring him in, and to lay him before him. And when they could not find by what way they might bring him in because of the multitude, they went upon the housetop, and let him down through the tiling with his couch into the midst before Iesus. And when he saw their faith, he said unto him, Man, thy sins are forgiven thee.

5 And the scribes and the pharisees began to reason, saying, Who is this which speaketh blasphemies? Who can forgive sins, but God alone? But when Iesus perceived their thoughts, he answering said unto them, What reason ye in your hearts? Can even God forgive sins, if man repent not? Who said, I forgive thee thy sins? Said I not rather, Thy sins are forgiven thee?

6 Whether is easier to say. Thy sins be forgiven thee; or to say, Rise up and walk? But that ye may know that the Son of Man hath power upon earth to discern, and declare the forgiveness of sins (he said unto the sick of the palsy), I say unto thee, Arise, and take up thy couch, and go to thine house.

7 And immediately he arose up before them, and took up that whereon he lay, and departed to his own house, glorifying God. And they were all amazed, and they glorified God, and were filled with the Spirit of reverence, saying, We have seen strange things to day.

8 And as Iesus was going into a certain village there met him a man who was deaf from his birth. And he believed not in the sound of the rushing wind, or the thunder, or the cries of the beasts, or the birds which complained of their hunger or their hurt, nor that others heard them.

9 And Iesus breathed into his ears, and they were opened, and he heard. And he rejoiced with exceeding joy in the sounds he before denied. And he said, Now hear all things.

10 But Iesus said unto him. How sayest thou, I hear all things? Canst thou hear the sighing of the prisoner, or the language of the birds or the beasts when they commune with each other, or the voice of angels and spirits? Think how much thou canst not hear, and be humble in thy lack of knowledge.

(4. -The houses in Palestine were constructed with flat roofs, and entrance was easily made into the court below without entering by the door below.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 16

Calling of Matthew. Parable of the New Wine in the Old Bottles

1 And after these things he went forth, and saw a tax gatherer, named Levi, sitting at the receipt of custom: and he said unto him, Follow me. And he left all, rose up, and followed him.

2 And Levi made him a great feast in his own house: and there was a great company of taxgatherers and of others that sat down with them. But the Scribes and Pharisees murmured against his disciples, saying, Why do ye eat and drink with publicans and sinners ?

3 And Iesus answering said unto them, They that are whole need not a physician; but they that are sick. I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.

4 And they said unto him, Why do the disciples of John fast often, and make prayers, and likewise the disciples of the Pharisees; but thine do eat and drink ?

5 And he said unto them, Wherewith shall I liken the men of this generation, and to what are they like? They are like unto children, sitting in the market place and calling one to another and saying, We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced, we have mourned to you and ye have not lamented.

6 For John the Baptist came neither eating nor drinking, and ye say, He hath a devil, The Son of Man cometh eating and drinking the fruits of the earth, and the milk of the flock, and the fruit of the vine, and ye say, Behold a glutton and wine bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners.

7 Can ye make the children of the bridechamber fast, while the bridegroom is with them? But the days will come, when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them, and then shall they fast in those days.

8 And he spake also this parable unto them, saying, No man putteth a piece of new cloth upon an old garment; for then the new agreeth not with the old, and the garment is made worse.

9 And no one putteth new wine into old bottles; else the new wine will burst the bottles, and be spilled, and the bottles shall perish. But new wine must be put into new bottles, and both are preserved.

10 None also having drunk old wine, straightway desire new: for they say, The old is better. But the time cometh when the new shall wax old, and then the new shall be desired by them. For as one changeth old garments for new ones, so do they also change the body of death for the body of life, and that which is past for that which is coming.

(1. -"Levi" is by tradition identified with Matthew, the writer of the second of the four Gospels (as received by the Church), Mark being the first of the four Evangelists, though placed second in the A. V.

9. -It was the custom in Palestine to use the skins of animals to hold wine as we do glass bottles, and such leathern bottles when filled with new wine were liable to burst by reason of the fermentation of the wine within them.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 17

Iesus Sendeth Forth The Twelve and their Fellows

1 And Iesus went up into a mountain to pray. And when he had called unto him his twelve disciples, he gave them power against unclean spirits to cast them out and to heal all manner of sickness and all manner of disease. Now the names of the twelve apostles are these who stood for the twelve tribes of Israel:

2 Peter, called Cephas, for the tribe of Reuben James, for the tribe of Naphtali; Thomas, called Dydimus, for the tribe of Zabulon; Matthew, called Levi for the tribe of Gad; John, for the tribe of Ephraim Simon, for the tribe of Issachar.

3 Andrew, for the tribe of Ioseph; Nathanael, for the tribe of Simeon; Thaddeus, for the tribe of Zabulon; Jacob, for the tribe of Benjamin; Jude, for the tribe of Dan; Philip, for the

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tribe of Asher. And Judas Iscariot, a Levite, who betrayed him, was also among them (but he was not of them). And Matthia and Barsabbas were also present with them.

4 Then he called in like manner twelve others to be Prophets, men of light to be with the Apostle and shew unto them the hidden things of God. And their names were Hermes, Aristobulus, Selenius, Nereus, Apollos, and Barsabbas; Andronicus, Lucius, Apelles, Zachaeus, Urbanus, and Clementos. And then he called twelve who should be Evangelists, and twelve who should be Pastors. A fourfold twelve did he call that he might send them forth to the twelve tribes of Israel, unto each, four.

5 And they stood around the Master, clad in white linen raiment, called to be a holy priesthood unto God for the service of the twelve tribes whereunto they should be sent.

6 These fourfold Twelve Iesus sent forth and charged them, saying, I will that ye be my Twelve Apostle with your companions, for a testimony into Israel. Go ye into the cities of Israel and to the lost sheep of the House of Israel. And as ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand. As I have baptized you in wader, so baptize ye them who believe.

7 Anoint and heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils, freely ye have received, freely give. Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses. Nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves; for the workman is worthy of his food; and eat that which is set before you, but of that which is gotten by taking of life, touch not, for it is not lawful to you.

8 And into whatsoever city or town ye shall enter, enquire who in it is worthy; and there abide till ye go thence. And when ye come into an house, salute it. And if the house be worthy, let your peace come upon it: but if it be not worthy, let your peace return to you.

9 Be ye wise as serpents and harmless as doves. Be ye innocent and undefiled. The Son of Man is: not come to destroy but to save, neither to take life, but to give life, to body and soul.

10 And fear not them which kill the body but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him who is able to destroy both soul and body in Gehenna.

11 Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without permission of the All Holy. Yea, the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear yet not therefore, if God careth for the sparrow, shall he not care for you!

12 It is enough for disciples that they be as their master, and the servants as their lord. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household? Fear them not therefore, for there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed; or hid, that shall not be known.

13 What I tell you in darkness, that speak ye in light when the time cometh: and what ye hear in the ear, that preach ye upon the housetops. Whosoever therefore shall confess the truth before men, them will I confess also before my Parent Who is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny the truth before men, them will I also deny before my Parent Who is in heaven.

14 Verily I am come to send peace upon earth, but when I speak, behold a sword followeth. I am come to unite, but, behold, a man shall be at variance with his father, and the daughter with her mother, and the daughter-in-law with her mother-in-law. And a man's foes shall be they of his own household. For the unjust cannot mate with them that are just.

15 They who take not their cross and follow after me are not worthy of me. He that findeth his life shall lose it; and he that loseth his life for my sake, shall find it.

(3. -Iudas Iscariot is here called a Levite. It may be symbolical of the fact, that the older priesthood was the bitter enemy of Iesus, the Prophets and the Priest of the newer Christian Dispensation.

2-5. -Here we have a flood of light thrown on an obscure passage in Ephesians iv. 11, referring to an event of which there is no record whatever in the A. V. or in any other version of the Gospels which has come down to us. Plain enough is the passage in Ephesians as it stands, but obscure in its reference; and the only body of Christians who have in later times restored this ancient fourfold ministry is the "Catholic Apostolic Church," but with this difference, that what Iesus intended to be a permanent order, they have made only a lifetime institution, dying with the men that fill the office, at present the one left being removed by death. Under Iesus, the High Priest, or chief Shepherd and Bishop of the Universal Church, while the two and seventy afterward sent forth were the deacons in the higher ministry, altogether making the full number a hundred and twenty.

6-9. -These words leave no doubt that the organization which Iesus first established was based on the older organization of the Yessenes (similar to that of the Buddhists), and from which have come the monasteries, friaries, and sisterhoods of the Christian Church, which have always been popular with the poor, and befriended them in times of trouble, and set them an example of Godly living; the corruptions and abuses, which set in now and then, being no argument against the use. They were a continual protest against the ways of the world, its vices and luxury and evil pursuits. "Leave all and follow me," was the continual call of the master, to those who could receive it.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 18

The Sendeth Forth Of The Two and Seventy

1. AFTER these things the Lord appointed two and seventy also, and sent them two and two before his face into every city and place of the tribes whither he himself would come.

2. Therefore said he unto them, The harvest truly is great, but the labourers are few, pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest that he would send forth labourers into the harvest.

3. Go your ways, behold I send you forth as lambs among wolves. Carry neither purse, nor scrip, nor shoes, and salute no man by the way.

4. And into whatsoever house ye enter, first say, Peace be to this house. And if the spirit of peace be there your peace shall rest upon it, if not it shall turn to you again.

5. And into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you, eat such things as are set before you without taking of life. And heal the sick that are therein, and say unto them, The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you.

6. And in the same house remain, eating and drinking such things as they give without shedding of blood, for the labourer is worthy of his hire. Go not from house to house.

7. But into whatsoever city ye enter and they receive you not, go your ways out into the streets of the same and say, Even the very dust of your city, which cleaveth on us, we do wipe off against you, notwithstanding be ye sure of this, that the kingdom of God is come nigh unto you.

8. Woe unto thee, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon, which have been done in you, they had a great while ago repented, sitting in sackcloth and ashes. But it shall be more tolerable for them in the judgement than for you.

9. And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted to heaven shalt be thrust down to hades. They that hear you, hear also me; and they that despise you, despise also me; and they that despise me, despise Him that sent me. But let all be persuaded in their own minds.

10. AND again Iesus said unto them: Be merciful, so shall ye obtain mercy. Forgive others, so shall ye be forgiven. With what measure ye mete, with the same shall it be meted unto you again.

11. As ye do unto others, so shall it be done you. As ye give, so shall it be given unto you. As ye judge others, so shall ye be judged. As ye serve others, so. shall ye be served.

12. For God is just, and rewardeth every one according to their works. That which they sow they shall also reap.

1 -This number (seventy-two), symbolising amongst the Jews the Nations of the Earth, and late-denoting the Diaconate of the Church Universal (in priestly orders), was afterwards selected by the Christian Church as the complete number of its cardinals, as it had been before the number of members of the Jewish Sanhedrim.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 19

Iesus Teacheth how to Pray. Error even in Prophets

1 As Iesus was praying in a certain place on a mountain, some of his disciples came unto him, and one of then said, Lord teach us how to pray. And Iesus said unto them, When thou prayest enter into thy secret chamber, and when thou hast closed the door, pray to Abba Amma Who is above and within thee, and thy Father-Mother Who seest all that is secret shall answer thee openly.

2 But when ye are gathered together, and pray in common, use not vain repetitions, for your heavenly Parent knoweth what things ye have need of before ye ask them. After this manner therefore pray ye:—

3 Our Father-Mother Who art above and within: Hallowed be Thy Name in twofold Trinity. In Wisdom, Love and Equity Thy Kingdom come to all. Thy will be done, As in Heaven so in Earth. Give us day by day to partake of Thy holy Bread, and the fruit of the living Vine. As Thou dost forgive us our trespasses, so may we forgive others who trespass against us. Shew upon us Thy goodness, that to others we may shew the same. In the hour of temptation, deliver us from evil.

4 Shew upon us Thy goodness, that to others we may shew the same. In the hour of temptation, deliver us from evil.

5 And wheresoever there are seven gathered together in My Name there am I in the midst of them; yea, if only there be three or two; and where there is but one who prayeth in secret, I am with that one.

6 Raise the Stone, and there thou shall find me. Cleave the wood, and there am I. For in the fire and in the water even as in every living form, God is manifest as it's Life and it's Substance.

7 And the Lord said, If thy brother hath sinned in word seven times a day, and seven times a day hath made amendment, receive him. Simon said to him, Seven times a day?

8 The Lord answered and said to him, I tell thee also unto seventy times seven, for even in the Prophets, after they were anointed by the Spirits utterance of sin was found.

9 Be ye therefore considerate, be tender, be ye pitiful, be ye kind, not to your own kind alone, but to every creature which is within your care, for ye are to them as gods, to whom they look in their need. Be ye slow to anger for many sin in anger which they repented of, when their anger was past.

10 And there was a man whose hand was withered and he came to Iesus and said, Lord, I was a mason seeking sustenance by my hands, I beseech thee restore to me my health that I may not beg for food with shame. And Iesus healed him, saying There is a house made without hands, seek that thou mayest dwell therein.

2. -There are two versions given of the Lord's Prayer, this one, the fullest, being given to the Twelve and their companions, and a shorter form afterwards to the people in his Sermon on the Mount.

5, 6. -An ancient saying, long lost to the Church. The all-pervading nature of Deity seems plainly taught, which, in a recently recovered fragment, is obscure.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 20

The Return of the Two and Seventy

1 AND after a season the two and seventy returned again with joy, saying, Lord, even the demons are subject unto us through thy name.

2 And he said unto them, I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven.

3 Behold I give unto you power to tread on serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy; and nothing shall by any means hurt you. Notwithstanding in this, rejoice not, that the spirits are subject unto you; but rather rejoice, because your names are written in Heaven.

4 In that hour Iesus rejoiced in spirit, and said I thank thee, Holy Parent of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes: even so, All Holy, for so it seemed good in thy sight.

5 All things are delivered to me of the All-Parent: and no man knoweth the Son who is the Daughter, but the All Parent; nor who the All-Parent is, but the Son even the Daughter, and they to whom the Son and the Daughter will reveal it.

6 And he turned him unto his disciples, and said privately, Blessed are the eyes which see the things that ye see. For I tell you, that many prophets and kings have desired to see those things which ye see, and have not seen them; and to hear those things which ye hear, and have not heard them.

7 Blessed are ye of the inner circle who hear my word and to whom mysteries are revealed, who give to no innocent creature the pain of prison or of death, but seek the good of all, for to such is everlasting life.

8 Blessed are ye who abstain from all things gotten by bloodshed and death, and fulfill all righteousness: Blessed are ye, for ye shall attain to Beatitude.

(-There is no trace of the events between Lections 18 and 20 other than this giving of the form of Prayer as a model for all time.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 21

Iesus Rebuketh Cruelty to a Horse. Condemneth the Service of Mammon.

1 And it came to pass that the Lord departed from the City and went over the mountains with this disciples. And they came to a mountain whose ways were steep and there they found a man with a beast of burden.

2 But the horse had fallen down, for it was over laden, and he struck it till the blood flowed. And Jesus went to him and said: "Son of cruelty, why strikest thou thy beast? Seest thou not that it is too weak for its burden, and knowest thou not that it suffereth?"

3 But the man answered and said: "What hast thou to do therewith? I may strike it as much as it pleaseth me, for it is mine own, and I bought it with a goodly sum of money. Ask them who are with thee, for they are of mine acquaintance and know thereof."

4 And some of the disciples answered and said: Yea, Lord, it is as he saith, We have seen when he bought it. And the Lord said again "See ye not then how it bleedeth, and hear ye not also how it waileth and lamenteth ?" But they answered and said: "Nay, Lord, we hear not that it waileth and lamenteth? "

5 And the Lord was sorrowful, and said: "Woe unto you because of the dullness of your hearts, ye hear not how it lamenteth and crieth unto the heavenly Creator for mercy, but thrice woe unto him against whom it crieth and waileth in its pain."

6 And he went forward and touched it, and the horse stood up, and its wounds were healed. But to the man he said: "Go now thy way and strike it henceforth no more, if thou also desireth to find mercy."

7 And seeing the people come unto him, Jesus, said unto his disciples, Because of the sick I am sick; because of the hungry I am hungry; because of the thirsty I am athirst.

8 He also said, I am come to end the sacrifices and feasts of blood, and if ye cease not offering and eating of flesh and blood, the wrath of God shall not cease from you, even as it

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came to your fathers in the wilderness, who lusted for flesh, and they eat to their content, and were filled with rottenness, and the plague consumed them.

9 And I say unto you, Though ye be gathered together in my bosom, if ye keep not my commandments I will cast you forth. For if ye keep not the lesser mysteries, who shall give you the greater.

10 He that is faithful in that which is least is faithful also in much: and he that is unjust in the least is unjust also in much.

11 If therefore ye have not been faithful in the mammon of unrighteousness, who will commit to your trust the true riches? And if ye have not been faithful in that which is another man's, who shall give you that which is your own ?

12 No servant can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon. And the Pharisees also, who were covetous, heard all these things, and they derided him.

13 And he said unto them, Ye are they which justify yourselves before men; but God knoweth your hearts: for that which is highly esteemed among men is abomination in the sight of God.

14 The law and the prophets were until John; since that time the kingdom of God is preached, and every man presseth into it. But it is easier for heaven and earth to pass away, than one title of the law to fail.

15 Then there came some women to him and brought their infants unto him, to whom they yet gave suck at their breasts, that he should bless them; and some said, Why trouble ye the master?

16 But Iesus rebuked them, and said, Of such will come forth those who shall yet confess me before men. And he took them up in his arms and blessed them.

(2-6. -This touching incident is to be found also in a very ancient Coptic fragment of the Life of Iesus- others of a like nature also recorded in their places in this Gospel, show how he, the Divine Saviour of the world, regarded the ill-treatment of the "lower" animals as a grievous sin.

12. -The divine love of Iesus for all God's creatures is everywhere evidenced by this Gospel, and his belief that all life is one, is abundantly justified by the teaching of true modern science, physical and occult.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 22

The Restoration Of Iairus' Daughter

1 And behold there cometh one of the rulers of the synagogue, Iairus by name; and when he saw him, he fell at his feet, and he besought him greatly, saying, My little daughter lieth at the point of death; I pray thee, come and lay thy hands on her, that she may be healed, and she shall live. And Jesus went with him, and much people followed him and thronged him.

2 And a certain woman, which had an issue of blood twelve years, and had suffered many things of many physicians, and had spent all that she had, and was nothing bettered, but rather grew worse.

3 When she had heard of Iesus, she came in the press behind and touched his garments For she said, If I may touch but his garment, I shall be whole. find straightway the fountain of her blood was dried up; and she felt in her body that she was healed of that plague.

4 And Iesus, immediately knowing in himself that virtue had gone out of him, turned him about in the press and said, Who touched my vesture? And his disciples said unto him, Thou seest the multitude thronging thee and sayeth thou, Who touched me?

5 And he looked round about to see her that had done this thing. But the woman, fearing and trembling, knowing what was done in her, came and fell down before him and told him all the truth. And he said unto her, Daughter, thy faith hath made thee whole; go in peace and be whole of thy plague.

6 While he yet spake, there came from the ruler of the synagogue's house certain which said, Thy daughter is dead: why troublest thou the Master any further ?

7 As soon as Iesus heard the word that was spoken, he saith unto the ruler of the synagogue, Be not afraid, only believe. And he suffered no man to follow him save Peter and James and John the brother of James.

8 And he cometh to the house of the ruler of the synagogue, and seeth the tumult and the minstrels, and them that lamented and wailed greatly.

9 And when he was come in he said unto him, Why make ye this ado and weep? The damsel is not dead but sleepeth. And they laughed him to scorn, for they thought she was dead, and believed him not. But when he had put them all out, he taketh two of his disciples with him, and entered in where the damsel was lying.

10 And he took the damsel by the hand and said unto her, Talitha cumi; which is, being interpreted, Damsel, I say unto thee arise.

11 And straightway the damsel arose and walked. And she was of the age of twelve years. And they were astonished with a great astonishment.

12 And he charged them straightly that no man should make it known, and commanded that something should be given to her to eat.

(-The daily increasing discoveries in modern times of cases of trance or of suspended animation, in which those carried to burial certified as dead by medical men have revived, suggest the thought how much more numerous must have been such cases in days when medical science knew little or nothing of the symptoms of real death. When it is now ascertained that five per thousand on an average are restored to life who have been certified dead or carried to burial, how many more such cases must have occurred in those times when true physicians and magnetic healers were looked upon almost as gods?

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 23

Iesus And The Samaritan Woman

1 Then cometh Iesus to a city of Samaria, which is called Sychar, near to the parcel of ground that Jacob gave to his son Joseph.

2 Now Jacob's well was there. Iesus therefore, being wearied with his journey, sat alone on the edge of the well, and it was about the sixth hour.

3 And there cometh a woman of Samaria to draw water; Iesus saith unto her, Give me to drink. (For his disciples were gone away unto the city to buy food).

4 Then saith the woman of Samaria unto him, How is it that thou being a Jew, asketh drink of me, who am a woman of Samaria? (for the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans.)

5 Iesus answered and said unto her, If thou knewest the gift of God and who it is that saith to thee, Give me drink, thou wouldest have asked of God, who would have given thee living water.

6 The woman saith unto him, Sir, thou hast nothing to draw with, and the well is deep, from whence hast thou that living water. Art thou greater than our father Jacob, who gave us the well and drank thereof, himself and his children and his camels and oxen and sheep.

7 Iesus answered and said unto her, Whosoever drinketh of this water shall thirst again, but whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life.

8 The woman saith unto him, Sir, give me this water, that I thirst not, neither come hither to draw. Iesus saith unto her, Go, call thy husband and come hither. The woman answered and said, I have no husband.

9 Iesus looking upon her, answered and said unto her, Thou hast well said, I have no husband. For thou hast had five husbands and he whom thou now hast is not called thy husband, in that saidst thou truly.

10 The woman saith unto him, Sir, I perceive that thou art a prophet. Our fathers worshipped in this mountain and ye say that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship.

11 Iesus saith unto her, Woman, believe me, the hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain nor yet at Jerusalem worship God. Ye worship ye know not what; we know what we worship; for salvation is of Israel.

12 But the hour cometh and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the All-Parent in spirit and in truth; for such worshippers the All-Holy seeketh. God is a Spirit and they that worship, must worship in spirit and in truth.

13 The woman saith unto him, I know that Messiah cometh who is called the Christ: when he is come he will tell us all things. Jesus saith unto her, I am he Who speaketh unto thee.

14 And upon this came his disciples and marveled that he talked with the woman, yet no man said, What seekest thou ? or, Why talkest thou with her?

15 The woman then left her waterpot, and went her way into the city and saith unto the men, Come, see a man which told me all things that ever I did: is not this the Christ?

16 Then they went out of the city and came unto him, and many of the Samaritans believed on him, and they besought him that he would tarry with them; and he abode there two days.

(1-13. -A similar event is recorded in the life of Buddha, where he asks water of a woman, and receives it from a woman of lower caste, who asks how he, of a higher caste, a Brahmin, comes to ask water of one so much lower. It should cast no doubt on this passage.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 24

Iesus Denounces Cruelty. He Healeth the Sick

1. As Iesus passed through a certain village he saw a crowd of idlers of the baser sort, and they were tormenting a cat which they had found and shamefully treating it. And Iesus commanded them to desist and began to reason with them, but they would have none of his words, and reviled him.

2. Then he made a whip of knotted cords and drove them away, saying, This earth which my Father-Mother made for joy and gladness, ye have made into the lowest hell with your deeds of violence and cruelty; And they fled before his face.

3. But one more vile than the rest returned and defied him. And Iesus put forth his hand, and the young man's arm weathered, and great fear came upon all; and one said, He is a sorcerer.

4. And the next day the mother of the young man came unto Iesus, praying that he would restore the withered arm. And Iesus spake unto them of the law of love and the unity of all life in the one family of God. And he also said, As ye do in this life to your fellow creatures, so shall it be done to you in the life to come.

5. And the young man believed and confessed his sins, and Iesus stretched forth his hand, and his withered arm became whole even as the other, And the people glorified God who had given such power unto man.

6. And when Iesus departed thence, two blind men followed him, crying and saying, Thou son of David, have mercy on us. And when he was come into the house the blind men came to him, and Iesus saith unto them, Believe ye that I am able to do this?

7. They said unto him, Yea, Lord. Then touched he their eyes, saying, According to your faith be it unto you. And their eyes were opened, and Iesus straitly charged them, saying, See that ye tell no man, But they, when they were departed, spread abroad his fame in all that country.

8. As they went forth, behold, they brought to him a dumb man possessed with a demon. And when the demon was cast out the dumb spake, and the multitude marvelled, saying, It was never so seen in Israel. But the Pharisees said, He casteth out demons through the prince of the demons.

9. And Iesus went about all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues and preaching the gospel of the kingdom and healing every sickness and every disease among the people.

10. But when he saw the multitudes he was moved with compassion on them, because they fainted and were scattered abroad, as sheep having no shepherd.

11. Then said he unto his disciples, The harvest truly is plentiful, but the labourers are few; pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he will send forth labourers into his harvest.

12. And his disciples brought him two small baskets with bread and fruit, and a pitcher of water. And Iesus set the bread and the fruit before them and also the water. And they did eat and drink and were filled.

13. And they marvelled, for each had enough and to spare, and there were four thousand. And they departed blessing God for what they had heard and seen.

(1-5. -The cat was an ancient symbol of Deity, on account of its seeing in the dark and otter attributes. More than one instance is given of Iesus' protection of these beautiful animals which in Iudea were, as they are even now in some places, unjustly despised and regarded with disfavour. He, the Friend of all things that suffered, cast his protection round these innocent creatures, teaching men and women to do likewise, and to feel for all the weak and oppressed. This beautiful and much maligned animal was a native of Egypt. But there is no difficulty here, for Egyptian families visited Palestine, and would naturally bring their venerated animals with them, not leave them to neglect or worse, as some "Christians" who ought to know better.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 25

The Sermon On The Mount (Part I)

1 Iesus seeing the multitudes, went up into a mountain: and when he was seated, the twelve came unto him, and he lifted up his eyes on his disciples and said:

2 Blessed in spirit are the poor, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted. Blessed are the meek; for they shall inherit the earth. Blessed are they who do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.

3 Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy. Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God. Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God. Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness sake: for theirs is the kingdom of God.

4 Yea, blessed are ye, when men shall hate you' and when they shall separate you from their company, and shall reproach you, and cast out your name as evil, for the Son of man's sake. Rejoice ye in that day, and leap for joy: for, behold, your reward is great in heaven; for in the like manner did their fathers unto the prophets.

5 Woe unto you that are rich! for ye have received in this life your consolation. Woe unto you that are full! for ye shall hunger. Woe unto you that laugh now! for ye shall mourn and weep. Woe unto you when all men shall speak well of you' for so did their fathers to the false prophets.

6 Ye are the salt of the earth, for every sacrifice must be salted with salt, but if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted? it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot.

7 Ye are the light of the world. A city that is built on a hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house. Let your light so shine before men, that they

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may see your good works, and glorify your Parent who is in heaven.

8 Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill. For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no way pass from the law or the prophets till all be fulfilled. But behold One greater than Moses is here. and he will give you the higher law, even the perfect Law, and this Law shall ye obey.

9 Whosoever therefore shall break one of these commandments which he shall give, and shall teach men so, they shall be called the least in the kingdom; but whosoever shall do, and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of Heaven.

10 Verily they who believe and obey shall save their souls, and they who obey not shall lose them. For I say unto you, That except your righteousness shall, exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees ye shall not enter the kingdom of Heaven.

11 Therefore if thou bring thy gift to the altar and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.

12 Agree with thine adversary quickly, while thou art in the way with him; lest at any time thy adversary deliver thee to the Judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison. Verily I say unto thee. Thou shalt by no means come out thence till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing.

13 Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you which hear, Love your enemies, do good to them which hate you.

14 Bless them that curse you, and pray for them which despitefully use you. That ye may be the children of your Parent Who maketh the sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the Just and on the unjust.

15 For if ye love them which love you what thank have ye? for sinners also love those that love them. And if ye do good to them which do good to you, what thank have ye? for sinners even do the same. And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? do not even so the taxgatherers?

16 And if a desire be unto thee as thy life, and it turn thee from the truth, cast it out from thee, for it is better to enter life possessing truth, than losing it, to be cast into outer darkness.

17 And if that seem desirable to thee which costs another pain or sorrow, cast it out of thine heart; so shalt thou attain to peace. Better it is to endure sorrow, than to inflict it, on those who are weaker.

18 Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Parent Who is in heaven is perfect.

(2. -It is remarkable how persistent has been the false rendering of these words in the received Gospels. It is too evident to need any comment. It is not poverty of spirit that Christ commended, but the spiritual effects of literal poverty (not pauperism), which are more frequent than those of abundant riches.

6-7. -Suggestive is this passage of the custom of the Christian Church in building their monasteries and convents generally on high places, the bands of holy men and women therein being truly, in the Dark Ages, the salt of the earth, the light on a hill, without which society would have rotted to the core, and been universally corrupt. The occasional abuses argue nothing against their more blessed influences. Without them our Scriptures would not have been preserved, even in their present condition, and civilization would have been extinct. To the monks of S. Basil and S. Benedict are due the remains of Christianity that have been handed down to us, and by such institutions rationally conducted will Christianity be revived in a higher and purer form, and the Scriptures restored to their original purity, as well as the ancient worship of God. The laxity of some modern monasteries is to be regretted in the matter of flesh-eating, under the plea of health, there being really no such necessity with the abundance of food from the vegetable world as well as animal products. The Carthusian and other monasteries stand as a noble testimony to the healthfulness of the rule when observed in strictness and unabated rigour.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 26

The Sermon On The Mount (Part II)

1 Take heed that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them: otherwise ye have no reward of your Parent who is in heaven. Therefore when thou doest thine alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men. Verily I say unto you, they have their reward.

2 But when thou givest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth, and take heed that thine alms may be in secret; and the Secret One which seest in secret shall approve then openly.

3 And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are: for they love to pray standing in the synagogues and on the corners of the streets that they may be seen of men. Verily I say unto you, They have their reward.

4 But thou, when thou prayest enter into thy chamber and when thou hast shut thy door pray to thy Father-Mother who is in secret; and the secret One that seeth in secret shall approve thee openly.

5 And when ye pray in common, use not vain petitions, as the heathen do: for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking. Be not ye therefore like unto them: for your heavenly Parent knoweth what things ye have need of, before ye ask After this manner therefore pray ye, when ye are gathered together:

6 Our Parent Who art in heaven: Hallowed be Thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done; in earth as it is in heaven. Give us day by day our daily bread, and the fruit of the living Vine. As Thou forgivest us our trespasses, so may we forgive the trespasses of others. Leave us not in temptation. Deliver us from evil. Amun.

7 For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Parent will also forgive you: but if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Parent in heaven forgive you your trespasses.

8 Moreover when ye fast, be not, as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance; for they disfigure their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast. Verily I say unto you, they have their reward.

9 And I say unto you, Except ye fast from the world and its evil ways, ye shall in no wise find the Kingdom; and except ye keep the Sabbath and cease your haste to gather riches, ye shall not see the Father-Mother in heaven. But thou, when thou fastest, anoint thine head and wash thy face, that thou appear not unto men to fast, and the Holy One who seeth in secret will approve thee openly.

10 Likewise also do ye, when ye mourn for the dead and are sad, for your loss in their gain. Be not as those who mourn before men and make loud lamentation and rend their garments, that they may be seen of men to mourn. For all souls are in the hands of God, and they who have done good, do rest with your ancestors in the bosom of the Eternal.

11 Pray ye rather for their rest and advancement, and consider that they are in the land of rest, which the Eternal hath prepared for them, and have the just reward of their deeds, and murmur not as those without hope.

12 Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal; but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth not rust doth corrupt and where thieves do not break through nor steal. For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.

13 The lamps of the body are the eyes: if therefore thy sight be clear, thy whole body shall be full of light. But if thine eyes be dim or lacking, thy whole body shall be full of darkness. If therefore the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!

14 No man can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one and love the other; or else he will hold to the one and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.

15 Therefore I say unto you, Be not over anxious for your life what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat and the body than raiment? And what shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his life ?

16 Behold the fowls of the air; for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Parent feedeth them. Are ye not much better cared for than they? Which of you by taking thought can add one cubit unto his stature? And why spend all your thought for raiment ? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin. And yet I say unto you, Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.

17 Wherefore shall not God who clothes the grass of the field, which to day is, and tomorrow is cast into the oven, much more clothe you, O ye of little faith?

18 Therefore be not over anxious, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed? (all Which things do the Gentiles seek). For your heavenly Parent knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye first the kingdom of God and its righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you. Meet not in advance the evils of the morrow; sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

(9. -Meaning; that if the vision be set on one single object and no other, great is the clearness of vision; while, if the eyes be set on number of other objects, the clearness will be diminished with regard to that one.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 27

The Sermon On The Mount (Part III)

1 Judge not, that ye be not judged. For with what judgement ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again; and as ye do unto others, so shall it be done unto you.

2 And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, Let me pull the mote out of thine eye; and behold a beam is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, first cast the beam out of thine own eye; and then shall thou see clearly to cast the mote out of thy brother's eye.

3 Give not that which is holy unto the dogs' neither cast ye your pearls before swine; lest they trample them under their feet and turn again and rend you.

4 Ask and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you: for everyone that asketh receiveth, and he that seeketh findeth, and to them that knock it shall be opened.

5 What man is there of you who, if his child ask bread, will give it a stone? Or, if it ask a fish, will give it a serpent? If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Parent Who is in heaven give good things to them that ask?

6 Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them. And what ye would not that men should do unto you, do ye not so unto them; for this is the Law and the prophets.

7 Enter ye in at the strait gate, for strait is the way and narrow the gate that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it. But wide is the gate and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there be who go in thereat.

8 Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves. Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?

9 Even so, every good tree bringeth forth good fruit, but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is only fit to be hewn down and cast into the fire. Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know the good from the evil.

10 Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father-Mother Who is in heaven. Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy Name? and in thy Name have cast out devils? and in thy Name done many wonderful works? And then will I say unto them, I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity.

11 Therefore whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man who built his house foursquare upon a rock. And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew upon that house; and it fell not, for it was founded upon a rock.

12 And everyone that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, who built his house upon the sand, and the rain descended, and the floods came and the winds blew and beat upon that house, and it fell, and great was the fall of it. But a city which is built foursquare, enclosed in a circle or on the top of a hill, and established on a rock, can neither fall nor be hidden.

13 And it came to pass, when Iesus had ended these sayings, the people were astonished at his doctrine. For he taught them as one appealing to the reason and the heart, and not as the scribes who taught rather by authority.

(2. -The sin of hypocrisy is most loathsome, and the most difficult for those to see who are vitiated by it. To condemn in others the sins we practice ourselves is a common sin of society, which Christ ever reprobates.

12. -Note the importance which these symbols (including the equilateral triangle) possessed in the eyes of Iesus as illustrations of Eternal truths. The slight mention of these shows the Gospel was written, or addressed to people well acquainted with the mysteries they represent.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 28

Iesus Releases The Rabbits And Pigeons

1 It came to pass one day as Iesus had finished his discourse, in a place near Tiberias where there are seven wells, a certain young man brought live rabbits and pigeons, that he might have to eat with his disciples.

2 And Iesus looked on the young man with love and said to him, Thou hast a good heart and God shall give thee light, but knowest thou not that God in the beginning gave to man the fruits of the earth for food, and did not make him lower than the ox, or the horse, or the sheep, that he should kill and eat the flesh and blood of his fellow creatures.

3 Ye believe that Moses indeed commanded such creatures to be slain and offered in sacrifice and eaten, and so do ye in the Temple, but behold a greater than Moses is herein and he cometh to put away the bloody sacrifices of the law, and the feasts on them, and to restore to you the pure oblation and unbloody sacrifice as in the beginning, even the grains and fruits of the earth.

4 Of that which ye offer undo God in purity shall ye eat, but of that kind which ye offer not in purity shall ye not eat, for the hour cometh when your sacrifices and feasts of blood shall cease, and ye shall worship God with a holy worship and a pure Oblation.

5 Let these creatures therefore go free, that they may rejoice in God and bring no guilt to man. And the young man set them free, and Iesus break their cages and their bonds.

6 But lo, they feared lest they should again be taken captive, and they went not away from him, but he spake unto them

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and dismissed them, and they obeyed his word, and departed in gladness.

7 AT that time as they sat by the well, which was in the midst of the six Iesus stood up and cried out, If any are thirsty, let them come unto me and drink, for I will give to them of the waters of life.

8 They who believe in me, out of their hearts shall flow rivers of water, and that which is given unto them shall they speak with power, and their doctrine shall be as living water.

9 (This he spake of the Spirit, which they that believed on him should receive, for the fullness of the Spirit was not yet given because that Iesus was not yet glorified).

10 Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give shall never thirst, but the water which cometh from God shall be in them a well of water, springing up unto everlasting life.

11 And at that time John sent two of his disciples, saying, Art thou he that should come, or look we for another? and in that same hour he cured many of their infirmities and plagues, and of evil spirits, and unto many blind, he gave sight.

12 Then Iesus answering said unto them, Go your way, and tell John what things ye have seen and heard; how that the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, to the poor the gospel is preached. And blessed is he, whosoever shall not be offended in me.

13 And when the messengers of John were departed, he began to speak unto the people concerning John, What went ye out into the wilderness for to see? A reed shaken with the wind, or a man clothed in soft raiment? Behold, they which are georgeously apparelled, and live delicately, are in kings' courts.

14 But what went ye out for to see? A prophet Yea, I say unto you, and the greatest of prophets.

15 This is he, of whom it is written, Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee. For I say unto you, Among those that are born of women, there is not a greater prophet than John the Baptist.

16 And all the people that heard him, and the taxgatherers, justified God, being baptized with the baptism of John. But the Pharisees and lawyers rejected the counsel of God against themselves, being not baptized of him.

(1-5. -It is easy to see how this would have horrified the mind of Iesus had he lived in these semi- heathen times.

16. -To exalt unduly the Christian Sacrament of Baptism, certain words have been interpolated in the A.V. The context shows that such was not the intended meaning, for immediately after, they "justified God by being baptized with Iohn's Baptism."

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 29

The feeding of the Five Thousand With Six Loaves and Seven Clusters Of Grapes. Healing Of The Sick

1 And the Feast of the Passover drew nigh, and the Apostles and their fellows gathered themselves together unto Iesus and told him all things, both what they had done and what they had taught. And he said unto them, Come ye yourselves apart into a desert place and rest a while: for there were many coming and going, and they had no leisure so much as to eat.

2 And they departed into a desert place by ship privately. And the people saw them departing, and many knew him, and ran afoot thither out of all cities, and outwent them, and came together unto him.

3 And Iesus, when he came forth, saw much people and was moved with compassion towards them, because they were as sheep having not a shepherd.

4 And the day was far spent, and his disciples came unto him and said, This is a desert place, and now the time is far passed. Send them away, that they may go into the country round about into the villages, and buy themselves bread, for they have nothing to eat.

5 He answered and said unto them, Give ye them to eat. And they say unto him, Shall we go and buy two hundred pennyworth of bread, and give them to eat ?

6 He saith unto them, How many loaves have ye? go and see. And when they knew, they said, Six loaves and seven clusters of grapes. And he commanded them to make all sit down by companies of fifty upon the grass. And they sat down in ranks by hundreds and by fifties.

7 And when he had taken the six loaves and the seven clusters of grapes, he looked up to heaven, and blessed and brake the loaves, and the grapes also and gave them to his disciples to set before them and they divided them among them all.

8 And they did all eat and were filled. And they took up twelve baskets full of the fragments that were left. And they that did eat of the loaves and of the fruit were about five thousand men, women and children, and he taught them many things.

9 And when the people had seen and heard, they were filled with gladness and said, Truly this is that Prophet that should come into the world. And when he perceived that they would take him by force to make him a king, he straightway constrained his disciples to get into the ship, and to go to the other side before him unto Bethsaida, while he sent away the people.

10 And when he had sent them away he departed into a mountain to pray. And when even was come, he was there alone, but the ship was now in the midst of the sea, tossed with waves, for the wind was contrary.

11 The third watch of the night Iesus went unto them, walking on the sea. And when the disciples saw him walking on the sea, they were troubled, saying, It is a spirit; and they cried out for fear. But straightway Iesus spake unto them, saying. Be of good cheer; it is I; be not afraid.

12 And Peter answered him and said, Lord, if it be thou, bid me come unto thee on the water. And he said, Come. And when Peter was come down out of the ship, he walked on the water, to go to Iesus. But when he saw the wind boisterous, he was afraid, and beginning to sink, he cried, saying, Lord, save me.

13 And immediately Iesus stretched forth his hand, and caught him, and said unto him, O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt? For did I not call thee ?

14 And he went up unto them into the ship, and the wind ceased, and they were sore amazed in themselves beyond measure and wondered. For they considered not the miracle of the loaves and the fruit, for their heart was hardened.

15 And when they were come into the ship there was a great calm. Then they that were in the ship came and worshipped him, saying, Of a truth thou art a Son of God.

16 And when they had passed over, they came unto the land of Gennesaret and drew to the shore And when they were come out of the ship straightway they knew him. And ran through that whole region round about, and began to carry about in beds, those that were sick, where they heard he was.

17 And withersoever he entered, into villages, or cities, or country, they laid the sick in the streets, and besought him that they might touch if it were but the border of his garment, and as many as touched him were made whole.

18 After these things Iesus came with his disciples into Judea, and there he tarried and baptized many who came unto him and received his doctrine.

(-The feeding of five thousand with five loaves and seven clusters of grapes has a deep mystical significance, which space forbids to enter on here, but the wise will understand. The two numbers, e.g, symbolize Matter and Spirit, Bread and Wine, Substance and Life.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 30

The Bread Of Life And The Living Vine

1 The day following, the people which stood on the other side of the sea, saw that there had been no other boat there, save the one whereinto his disciples had entered and that Iesus went not with his disciples into the boat, but that his disciples were gone alone. And when the people therefore saw that Iesus was not there, neither his disciples, they also took ship and came to Capernaum, seeking for Iesus.

2 And when they had found him on the other side of the sea, they said unto him, Rabbi, how camest thou hither? Yeshua answered them and said, Verily, verily, I say unto you, ye seek me, not because ye saw the miracles, but because ye did eat of the loaves and the fruit, and were filled. Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life, which the Son of Man, Who is also the Child of God, shall give unto you, for him hath God the All Parent sealed.

3 Then said they unto him, What shall we do that we may work the works of God? Iesus answered and said unto them, This is the work of God, that ye believe the truth, in me who am, and who giveth unto you, the Truth and the Life.

4 They said therefore unto him, What sign shewest thou then that we may see and believe thee? What dost thou work? Our fathers did eat manna in the desert; as it is written, He gave them bread from heaven to eat.

5 Then Iesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Moses gave you not the true bread from heaven, but my Parent giveth you the true bread from heaven and the fruit of the living vine. For the food of God is that which cometh down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world.

6 Then said they unto him, Lord, evermore give us this bread, and this fruit. And Iesus said unto them, I am the true Bread, I am the living Vine, they that come to me shall never hunger; and they that believe on me shall never thirst. And verily I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh and drink the blood of God, ye have no life in you. But ye have seen me and believe not.

7 All that my Parent hath given to me shall come to me and they that come to me I will in no wise cast out. For I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of God who sent me. And this is the will of God who hath sent me, that of all which are given unto me I should lose none, but should raise them up again at the last day.

8 The Jews then murmured at him, because he said I am the bread which cometh down from heaven. And they said, Is not this Iesus, the son of Joseph and Mary whose parentage we know? how is it then that he saith, I came down from heaven?

9 Iesus therefore answered and said unto them, Murmur ye not among yourselves. None can come to me except holy Love and Wisdom draw them, and these shall rise at the last day. It is written in the prophets, They shall be all taught of God. Every man therefore that hath heard and hath learned of the Truth, cometh unto me.

10 Not that anyone hath seen the Holiest at any time, save they which are of the Holiest, they alone, see the Holiest. Verily, verily, I say unto you, They who believe the Truth, have everlasting life.

(8. -The original Gospels know nothing of the modern doctrine of the Anglican Church. Iesus was "the son of Mary and Joseph, whose parentage we know." This does not contradict, but rather suggests (to reconcile with Church doctrine), the Immaculate Conception of both parents to which the Church is now tending.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 31

The Bread of Life And The Living Vine. Iesus Rebuketh The Thoughtless Driver.

1 AGAIN Iesus said, I am the true Bread and the living Vine. Your fathers did eat manna in the wilderness and are dead. This is the food of God which cometh down from heaven, that whosoever eat thereof shall not die. I am the living food which came down from heaven, if any eat of this food they shall live for ever; and the bread that I will give is My truth and the wine which I will give is my life.

2 And the Jews strove amongst themselves, saying, How can this man give us himself for food? Then Iesus said, Think ye that I speak of the eating of flesh, which ye ignorantly do in the Temple of God?

3 Verily my body is the substance of God, and this is meat indeed, and my blood is the life of God and this is drink indeed. Not as your ancestors, who craved for flesh, and God gave them flesh in his wrath, and they ate of corruption till it stank in their nostrils, and their carcases fell by the thousand in the wilderness by reason of the plague.

4 Of such it is written, They shall wander nine and forty years in the wilderness till they are purified from their lusts, ere they enter into the land of rest, yea, seven times seven years shall they wander because they have not known My ways, neither obeyed My laws.

5 But They who eat this flesh and drink this blood dwell in me and I in them. As the Father- Mother of life hath sent me, and by Whom I live, so they that eat of me who am the truth and the life, even they shall live by me.

6 This is that living bread which coming down from heaven giveth life to the world. Not as your ancestors did eat manna and are dead. They that eat of this bread and this fruit, shall live for ever. These things said he in the synagogue, as he taught in Capernaum. Many therefore of his disciples, when they heard this, said, This is an hard saying, who can receive it?

7 When Iesus knew in himself that his disciples murmured at it, he said unto them, Doth this offend you? What and if ye shall see the Son and Daughter of man ascend to where they were before? It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh and blood profiteth nothing. The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life.

8 But there are some of you that believe not, For Iesus knew from the beginning who they were who should believe not, and who should betray him. Therefore said he unto them. No one can come unto me, except it were given from above.

9 From that time many of his disciples went back and walked no more with him. Then said Iesus unto the twelve, Will ye also go away ?

10 Then Simon Peter answered him, Lord to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life. And we believe and we are sure that thou art that Christ, a Son of the living God.

11 Jesus answered them, Have not I chosen you Twelve, and one also who is a traitor ? He spake of Judas Iscariot son of Simon the Levite, for he it was that should betray him.

12 AND Iesus was travelling to Jerusalem, and there came a camel heavy laden with wood. and the camel could not drag it up the hill whither he went for the weight thereof, and the driver beat him and cruelly ill-treated him, but he could make him go no further.

13 And Iesus seeing this, said unto him, Wherefore beatest thou thy brother? And the man answered, I wot not that he is my brother, is he not a beast of burden and made to serve me?

14 And Iesus said, Hath not the same God made of the same substance the camel and thy children who serve thee, and have ye not one breath of life which ye have both received from God ?

15 And the man marvelled much at this saying, and he ceased from beating the camel, and took off some of the burden and the camel walked up the hill as Iesus went before him, and stopped no more till he ended his journey.

16 And the camel knew Iesus, having felt of the love of God in him. And the man inquired further of the doctrine, and Jesus taught him gladly and he became his disciple.

(4. -Iesus quoted from a more ancient version than we now possess.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 32

God the Food and Drink of All.

1 And it came to pass as he sat at supper with his disciples one of them said unto him: Master, how sayest thou that thou

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wilt give thy flesh to eat and thy blood to drink, for it is a hard saying unto many?

2 And Jesus answered and said: The words which I spake unto you are Spirit and they are Life. To the ignorant and the carnally minded they savour of bloodshed and death, but blessed are they who understand.

3 Behold the corn which groweth up into ripeness and is cut down, and ground in the mill, and baked with fire into bread! of this bread is my body made, which ye see: and lo the grapes which grow on the vine unto ripeness, and are plucked and crushed in the winepress and yield the fruit of the vine! of this fruit of the vine and of water is made my blood.

4 For of the fruits of the trees and the seeds of the herbs alone do I partake, and these are changed by the Spirit into my flesh and my blood. Of these alone and their like shall ye eat who believe in me, and are my disciples, for of these, in the Spirit come life and health and healing unto man.

5 Verily shall my Presence be with you in the Substance and Life of God, manifested in this body, and this blood; and of these shall ye all eat and drink who believe in me.

6 For in all places I shall be lifted up for the life of the world, as it is written in the prophets; From the rising up of the sun unto the going down of the same, in every place a pure Oblation with incense shall be offered unto my Name.

7 As in the natural so in the spiritual. My doctrine and my life shall be meat and drink unto you, —the Bread of Life and the Wine of Salvation.

8 As the corn and the grapes are transmuted into flesh and blood, so must your natural minds be changed into spiritual. Seek ye the Transmutation of the natural into the Spiritual.

9 Verily I say unto you, in the beginning, all creatures of God did find their sustenance in the herbs and the fruits of the earth alone, till the ignorance and the selfishness of man turned many of them from the use which God had given them to that which was contrary to their original use, but even these shall yet return to their natural food, as it is written in the prophets, and their words shall not fail.

10 Verily God ever giveth of the Eternal Life and Substance to renew the forms of the universe. It is therefore of the flesh and blood, even the Substance and Life of the Eternal, that ye are partakers unto life, and my words are spirit and they are life.

11 And if ye keep My commandments and live the life of the righteous, happy shall ye be in this life, and in that which is to come. Marvel not therefore that I said unto you, Except ye eat of the flesh and drink the blood of God, ye have no life in you.

12 And the disciples answered saying: Lord, evermore give us to eat of this bread, and to drink of this cup, for thy words are meat and drink indeed;. By thy Life and by thy Substance may we live forever.

(4, 5, 8. -The true significance of the bread and the wine in the Holy Eucharist is here taught by anticipation -the substance and life of the Eternal One given and shed for the sustenance of the universe, and this does not exclude, but contains, all other mystical significations which piety suggests, as good, beautiful, and true -each in its place.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 33

By The Shedding Of Blood Of Others Is No Remission Of Sins.

1 Iesus was teaching his disciples in the outer court of the Temple and one of them said unto him: Master, it is said by the priests that without shedding of blood there is no remission. Can then the blood offering of the law take away sin?

2 And Iesus answered: No blood offering, of beast or bird, or man, can take away sin, for how can the conscience be purged from sin by the shedding of innocent blood? Nay, it will increase the condemnation.

3 The priests indeed receive such offering as a reconciliation of the worshippers for the trespasses against the law of Moses, but for sins against the Law of God there can be no remission, save by repentance and amendment.

4 Is it not written in the prophets, Put your blood sacrifices to your burnt offerings, and away with them, and cease ye from the eating of flesh, for I spake not to your fathers nor commanded them, when I brought them out of Egypt, concerning these things? But this thing I commanded saying:

5 Obey my voice and walk in the ways that I have commanded you, and ye shall be my people, and it shall be well with you. But they hearkened not, nor inclined their ear.

6 And what doth the Eternal command you but to do justice, love mercy and walk humbly with your God? Is it not written that in the beginning God ordained the fruits of the trees and the seeds and the herbs to be food for all flesh?

7 But they have made the House of Prayer a den of thieves, and for the pure Oblation with Incense, they have polluted my altars with blood, and eaten of the flesh of the slain.

8 But I say unto you: Shed no innocent blood nor eat ye flesh. Walk uprightly, love mercy, and do justly, and your days shall be long in the land.

9 The corn that groweth from the earth with the other grain, is it not transmuted by the Spirit into my flesh? The grapes of the vineyard, with the other fruits are they not transmuted by the Spirit into my blood? Let these, with your bodies and souls be your Memorial to the Eternal.

10 In these is the presence of God manifest as the Substance and as the Life of the world. Of these shall ye eat and drink for the remission of sins, and for eternal life, to all who obey my words.

11 Now there is at Jerusalem by the sheep market, a pool which is called Bethesda, having five porches. In these lay a great multitude of impotent folk, of blind, halt, withered, waiting for the moving of the waters.

12 For at a certain season, an angel went down into the pool and troubled the waters; whosoever went first into the waters was made whole of whatever disease he had. And a man impotent from his birth was there.

13 And Iesus said unto him. Bring not the waters healing? He said unto him. Yea, Lord, but I have no man when the water is troubled to put me in, and while I am trying to come another steppeth down before me. And Jesus said to him, Arise, take up thy bed and walk. And immediately he rose and walked. And on the same day was the Sabbath.

14 The Jews therefore said to him, It is the Sabbath it is not lawful for thee to carry thy bed. And he that was healed wist not that it was Iesus. And Iesus had conveyed himself away, a multitude being in that place.

(4. -Here is given the true significance of Ier. vii. 22, or as it should be rendered in that place, " Ye add burnt sacrifice to burnt offering and ye eat flesh. But I spake not to your fathers nor commanded them concerning these things," etc. Else, as translated in the A. V. it is inimical to the sense, see Numbers xi.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 34

Love of Iesus for All Creatures.

1 When Jesus knew how the Pharisees had murmured and complained because he made and baptized more disciples than John, he left Judea, and departed unto Galilee.

2 And Jesus came to a certain Tree and abode beneath it many days. And there came Mary Magdalene and other women and ministered unto him of their substance, and he taught daily all that came unto him.

3 And the birds gathered around him, and welcomed him with their song, and other living creatures came unto his feet, and he fed them, and they ate out of his hands.

4 And when he departed he blessed the women who shewed love unto him, and turning to the fig tree, he blessed it also, saying. Thou hast given me shelter and shade from the burning heat, and withal thou hast given me food also.

5 Blessed be thou, increase and be fruitful, and let all who come to thee, find rest and shade and food, and let the birds of the air rejoice in thy branches.

6 And behold the tree grew and flourished exceedingly, and its branches took root downward, and sent shoots upward, and it spread mightily, so that no tree was like unto it for its size and beauty, and the abundance and goodness of its fruit.

7 And as Jesus entered into a certain village he saw a young cat which had none to care for her, and she was hungry and cried unto him, and he took her up, and put her inside his garment, and she lay in his bosom.

8 And when he came into the village he set food and drink before the cat, and she ate and drank, and shewed thanks unto him. And he gave her unto one of his disciples, who was a widow, whose name was Lorenza, and she took care of her.

9 And some of the people said, This man careth for all creatures, are they his brothers and sisters that he should love them ? And he said unto them, Verily these are your fellow creatures of the great Household of God, yea, they are your brethren and sisters, having the same breath of life in the Eternal.

10 And whosoever careth for one of the least of these, and giveth it to eat and drink in its need, the same doeth it unto me, and whoso willingly suffereth one of these to be in want, and defendeth it not when evilly entreated, suffereth the evil as done unto me; for as ye have done in this life, so shall it be done unto you in the life to come.

(2. -This beautiful incident does not stand alone in history, a similar story is related of Buddha, the Enlightener of India, the "Light of the East"; nor is it by any means irreverent to suppose that similar things should happen to persons of similar minds.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 35

The Good Law. -Mary And Martha.

1 And behold a certain lawyer stood up and tempted him, saying, Master, what shall I do to gain eternal life? He said unto him, What is written in the law ? how readest thou ?

2 And he answering, said, Thou shalt not do unto others, as thou wouldst not that they should do unto thee. Thou shalt love thy God with all thy heart and all thy soul and all thy mind. Thou shalt do unto others, as thou wouldst that they should do unto thee.

3 And he said unto him, Thou hast answered right, this do and thou shalt live; on these three commandments hang all the law and the prophets, for who loveth God, loveth his Neighbour also.

4 But he, willing to justify himself, said unto Jesus, And who is my neighbour? And Jesus answering said, A certain man went down from Jesusalem to Jericho, and fell among, thieves, which stripped him of his raiment and wounded him and departed leaving him half dead.

5 And by chance there came down a certain priest that way, and when he saw him he passed by on the one side. And likewise a Levite also came and looked on him, and passed by on the other side.

6 But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was, and when he saw him he had compassion on him. And went to him and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn and took care of him.

7 And on the morrow when he departed he took out two pence, and gave them to the host, and said, Take care of him and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again, I will repay thee.

8 Which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbour unto him that fell among thieves? And he said. He that shewed mercy on him. Then said Iesus unto him, Go, and do thou likewise.

9 Now it came to pass, as they went, that he entered into a certain village, and a woman named Martha received him into her house. And she had a sister called Mary, who also sat at Iesus, feet, and heard his word.

10 But Martha was cumbered about much serving and came to him saying, Lord, dost thou not care that my sister hath left me to serve alone? bid her therefore that she may help me.

11 And Iesus answered and said unto her, Martha, Martha, thou art careful and troubled about many things, but one thing is needful, and Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her.

12 Again, as Iesus sat at supper with his disciples in a certain city, he said unto them, As a Table set upon twelve pillars, so am I in the midst of you.

13 Verily I say unto you, Wisdom buildeth her house and heweth out her twelve pillars. She doth prepare her bread and her oil, and mingle her wine. She doth furnish her table.

14 And she standeth upon the high places of the city, and crieth to the sons and the daughters of men! Whosoever will, let them turn in hither, let them eat of my bread and take of my oil, and drink of my wine.

15 Forsake the foolish and live, and go in the way of understanding. The veneration of God is the beginning of wisdom, and the knowledge of the holy One is understanding. By me shall your days be multiplied, and the years of your life shall he increased.

(2. -Although these words do not occur as they stand verbatim in any version of the Law of Moses as commonly received, the spirit of them certainly is there to be found, and in the original copy of the law (the best portion of which has been recovered by spiritual revelation) the very words also. And this original version was doubtless known to this young lawyer, as it evidently was to Iesus, when afterwards he gave the new law to his disciples on the holy Mount when he was transfigured before them in the company of Moses and Elias, the representatives of the old law, which was itself transfigured into the New.

9. -" But one thing is needful " has been interpreted by some, not without reason or probability, as meaning that there were flesh and non-flesh food at the feast, and so he said to Martha, " but one thing (dishes or food) is needful, and Mary hath chosen the better portion." Meaning also, in the spiritual plane, the pure food of heavenly wisdom for the soul. It may have been spoken against luxurious multiplicity of dishes in general. (See Dr. A. Clarke i,1, loco.)

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 36

The Woman Taken In Adultery.

1. On a certain day, early in the morning, Iesus came again into the temple, and all the people came unto him, and he sat down and taught them.

2. And the scribes and Pharisees brought unto him a woman taken in adultery, and when they had set her in the midst, they said unto him, Master, this woman was taken in adultery, in the very acts. Now Moses in the law commanded us that such should be stoned, but what sayest thou?

3. This they said, tempting him, that they might have to accuse him. But Iesus stooped down, and with his finger wrote on the ground, as though he heard them not.

4. So when they continued asking him, he lifted up himself, and said unto them, He that is without sin among you, let him cast the first stone at her.

5. And again he stooped down and wrote on the ground. And they which heard it, being convicted by their own conscience, went out one by one, beginning at the eldest, even unto the last; and Iesus was left alone, and the woman standing in the midst.

6. When Iesus had lifted up himself, and saw none but the woman, he said unto her, Woman, where are those thine accusers? hath no man condemned thee? She said unto him, No man, Lord. And Iesus said unto her, Neither do I condemn thee. From henceforth sin no more; go in peace.

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7. And he spake this parable unto certain which trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and despised others: Two men went up into the Temple to pray; the one a rich Pharisee, learned in the law, and the other a taxgatherer, who was a sinner.

8. The Pharisee stood and prayed thus with himself; God, I thank thee, that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this taxgatherer. I fast twice in the week, I give tithes of all that I possess,

9. And the taxgatherer, standing afar off, would not lift up so much as his eyes unto heaven, but smote upon his breath, saying, God be merciful to me a sinner.

10. I tell you, this man went down to his house justified rather than the other; for every one that exalteth himself shall be abased; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.

(2-6. -This beautiful story, so characteristic of Iesus, has been most unjustifiably pronounced by modern revisers as an interpolation. It is a parable of human life, ever true, never old. "Let him who is without sin amongst you cast the first stone."

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 37

The Re-generation Of The Soul.

1 Iesus sat in the porch of the Temple, and some came to learn his doctrine, and one said unto him, Master, what teachest thou concerning life?

2 And he said unto them, Blessed are they who suffer many experiences, for they shall be made perfect through suffering: they shall be as the angels of God in Heaven and shall die no more, neither shall they be born any more, for death and birth have no more dominion over them.

3 They who have suffered and overcome shall be made Pillars in the Temple of my God, and they shall go out no more. Verily I say unto you, except ye be born again of water and of fire, ye cannot see the kingdom of God.

4 And a certain Rabbi (Nicodemus) came unto him by night for fear of the Jews, and said unto him. How can a man be born again when he is old? can he enter a second time into his mother's womb and be born again ?

5 Iesus answered, Verily I say unto you except a man be born again of flesh and of spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. The wind bloweth where it listeth, and ye hear the sound thereof, but cannot tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth.

6 The light shineth from the East even unto the West; out of the darkness, the Sun ariseth and goeth down into darkness again; so is it with man, from the ages unto the ages.

7 When it cometh from the darkness, it is that he hath lived before, and when it goeth down again into darkness, it is that he may rest for a little, and thereafter again exist.

8 So through many changes must ye be made perfect, as it is written in the book of Job, I am a wanderer, changing place after place and house after house, until I come unto the City and Mansion which is eternal.

9 And Nicodemus said unto him, How can these things be? And Iesus answered and said unto him, Art thou a teacher in Israel, and understandeth not these things? Verily we speak that which we do know, and bear witness to that which we have seen, and ye receive not our witness.

10 If I have told you of earthly things and ye believe not, how shall ye believe if I tell you of Heavenly things? No man hath ascended into Heaven, but he that descended out of Heaven, even the Son-Daughter of man which is in Heaven.

(8. -That our Lord spoke here primarily of a physical rebirth as the great aid of the spiritual re-birth, there can be no doubt, for he distinctly declares he had been telling Nicodemus of "earthly things" in the preceding words, albeit as the analogies and correspondences of spiritual things, as his usual method was. To interpret this dialogue, even as in the A. V., exclusively of the spiritual re-birth, is contrary to the plain meaning of the words.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 38

Iesus Condemneth the Ill-Treatment Of Animals.

1 And some of his disciples came and told him of a certain Egyptian, a son of Belial, who taught that it was lawful to torment animals, if their sufferings brought any profit to men.

2 And Iesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you, they who partake of benefits which are gotten by wronging one of God's creatures, cannot be righteous: nor can they touch holy things, or teach the mysteries of the kingdom, whose hands are stained With blood, or whose mouths are defiled with flesh.

3 God giveth the grains and the fruits of the earth for food: and for righteous man truly there is no other lawful sustenance for the body.

4 The robber who breaketh into the house made by man is guilty, but they who break into the house made by God, even of the least of these are the greater sinners. Wherefore I say unto all who desire to be my disciples, keep your hands from bloodshed and let no flesh meat enter your mouths, for God is just and bountiful, who ordaineth that man shall live by the fruits and seeds of the earth alone.

5 But if any animal suffer greatly, and if its life be a misery unto it. or if it be dangerous to you, release it from its life quickly, and with as little pain as you can, Send it forth in love and mercy, but torment it not, and God the Father-Mother will shew mercy unto you, as ye have shown mercy unto those given into your hands.

6 And whatsoever ye do unto the Cast of these my children, ye do it unto me. For I am in them and they are in me, Yea, I am in all creatures and all creatures are in me. In all their joys I rejoice, in all their afflictions I am afflicted. Wherefore I say unto you: Be ye kind one to another, and to all the creatures of God.

7 And it came to pass the day after, that he came into a city called Nain; and many of his disciples went with him, and much people.

8 Now when he came nigh to the gate of the city, behold there was a dead man carried out the only son of his mother, and she was a widow: and much people of the city was with her.

9 And when the Lord saw her, he had compassion on her, and said unto her, Weep not, thy son sleepeth. And he came and touched the bier: and they that bare him stood still. And he said, Young man, I say unto thee, Arise.

10 And he that was esteemed dead sat up, and began to speak. And he delivered him to his mother. And there came an awe upon all: and they glorified God, saying, A great prophet is risen up among us; and God hath visited his people.

(-"Death" here, as in other cases, is a state of trance or suspended animation, not easily distinguishable from death even by the physician. A circumstance often leading to the revolting fact of burial alive -a fate, however, not so utterly hopeless in the East, where the dead are buried earth to earth in their shrouds, as in the countries of the West, with the modern and barbarous custom of closed coffins, with covers fastened down, and seven feet of earth over them. It is now ascertained by the more advanced and enlightened medical men, and others, and their official reports, that five per 1,000 must, in these English countries, come to this terrible fate, as there are yet no efforts made to prevent it, as in France, Holland, and other countries, where more rational and civilized practices prevail, and where it is found that five per 1,000 come to life, before actual interment, or show signs of premature burial after, when exhumed.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 39

Seven Parables of the The Kingdom of Heaven.

1 Again Iesus was sitting under the Fig tree, and his disciples gathered round him, and, round them came a multitude of people to hear him, and said unto them, Whereunto shall I liken the Kingdom of Heaven ?

2 And he spake this parable, saying. The kingdom of Heaven is like to a certain seed, small among seeds, which a man taketh and soweth in his field, but when it is grown it becometh a great tree which sendeth forth its branches all around, which again, shooting downward into the earth take root and grow upward, till the field is covered by the tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof and the creatures of the earth find shelter beneath it.

3 Another parable put he forth unto them, saying, The kingdom of Heaven is like unto a great treasure hid in a field, the which when a man findeth he hideth it, and for joy thereof goeth and selleth all that he hath and buyeth that field, knowing how great will be the wealth therefrom,

4 Again is the kingdom of Heaven like to one pearl of great price, which is found by a merchant seeking goodly pearls, and the merchant finding it, selleth all that he hath and buyeth it knowing how many more times it is worth than that which he gave for it.

5 Again, the Kingdom of Heaven is like unto a woman who taketh of the incorruptible leaven and hideth it in three measures of meal, till the whole is leavened, and being baked by fire, becometh one loaf. Or, again, to one who taketh a measure of pure wine, and poureth it into two or four measures of water, till the whole being mingled becometh the fruit of the vine.

6 Again, the Kingdom of Heaven is like unto a City built foursquare on the top of a high hill, and established on a rock, and strong in its surrounding wall, and its towers and its gates, which lie to the north, and to the south, and to the east, and to the west. Such a city falleth not, neither can it be hidden, and its gates are open unto all, who, having the keys, will enter therein.

7 And he spake another parable, saying: The Kingdom of Heaven is like unto good seed that man sowed in his field, but in the night, while men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares also among the wheat, and went his way. But when the blade sprung up and brought forth fruit in the ear, there appeared the tares also.

8 And the servants of the householder came unto him and said, Sir, didst thou not sow good seed in thy field, whence then hath it tares? And he said unto them, An enemy hath done this.

9 And the servants said unto him, Wilt thou then that we go and gather them up ? But he said, Nay, lest haply while ye gather up the tares, ye root up the good wheat with them.

10 Let both grow together until the harvest, and in the time of the harvest I will say to the reapers, Gather up first the tares and bind them in bundles to burn them and enrich the soil, but gather the wheat into my barn.

11 And again he spake, saying, The kingdom of Heaven is like unto the sowing of seed. Behold a sower went forth to sow, and as he sowed, some seeds fell by the wayside, and the fowls of the air came and devoured them.

12 And others fell upon rocky places without much earth, and straightway they sprang up because they had no deepness of earth, and when the sun was risen they were scorched, and because they had no root they whithered away.

13 And others fell among thorns, and the thorns grew up and choked them. And others fell upon good ground, ready prepared, and yielded fruit, some a hundredfold, some sixty, some thirty. They who have ears to hear let them hear.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 40

Iesus Expounds His Inner Teaching To The Twelve.

1 And the disciples came and said unto him, Why speakest thou unto the multitude in parables? He answered and said unto them, Because it is given unto you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of Heaven, but to them it is not given.

2 For whosoever hath to him shall be given and he shall have more abundance; but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that which he seemeth to have.

3 Therefore speak I to them in parables because they seeing see not, and hearing they hear not, neither do they understand.

4 For in them is fulfilled the prophecy of Esaias. which saith, Hearing ye shall hear and shall not understand and seeing ye shall see and shall not perceive; for this people's heart is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing and their eyes they have closed, lest at any time they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and should understand with their heart, and should be converted and I should heal them.

5 But blessed are your eyes for they see, and your ears for they hear, and your hearts for they understand. For verily I say unto you, That many prophets and righteous men have desired to see those things which ye See, and have not seen them, and hear those things which ye hear, and have not heard them.

6 Then Iesus sent the multitude away and his disciples came unto him, saying, Declare unto us the parable of the field; and he answered and said unto them, He that soweth the good seed Is the Son of man; the field is the world, the good seed are the children of the kingdom, but the tares are the children of the wicked one. The enemy that sowed them is the devil, the harvest is the end of the world, and the reapers are the angels.

7 As therefore the tares are gathered and burned in the fire so shall it be in the end of this world. The Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity, and shall cast them into a furnace of fire, and they who will not be purified shall be utterly consumed. Then shall the righteous shine forth as the Sun in the kingdom of Heaven.

8 Hear ye also the parable of the sower. The seed that fell by the wayside is like as when any hear the word of the kingdom, and understand it not, then cometh the wicked one and catcheth away that which was sown in their heart. These are they which received seed by the wayside.

9 And they that received the seed into stony places, the same are they that hear the Word and anon with joy receive it. Yet have they not root in themselves but endure only a while, for when tribulation or persecution ariseth because of the Word, by and by they are offended.

10 They also that received seed among the thorns are they that hear the Word, and the cares of this world and the deceitfulness of riches choke the Word, and they become unfruitful.

11 But they that receive the seed into the good ground, are they that hear the Word and understand it, who also bear fruit and bring forth, some thirty, some sixty, some a hundred fold.

12 These things I declare unto you of the inner circle; but to those of the outer in parables. Let them hear who have ears to hear.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 41

Iesus setteth free the Caged Birds. The Blind Man who denied that others saw.

1 And as Iesus was going to Iericho there met him a man with a cage full of birds which he had caught and some young doves. And he saw how they were in misery having lost their liberty, and moreover being tormented with hunger and thirst.

2 And he said unto the man, What doest thou with these? And the man answered, I go to make my living by selling these birds which I have taken.

3 And Iesus said, What thinkest thou, if another, stronger than thou or with greater craft, were to catch thee and bind thee, or thy wife, or thy children, and cast thee into a prison,

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in order to sell thee into captivity for his own profit, and to make a living?

4 Are not these thy fellow creatures, only weaker than thou? And doth not the same God our Father-Mother care for them as for thee? Let these thy little brethren and sisters go forth into freedom and see that thou do this thing no more, but provide honestly for thy living.

5 And the man marvelled at these words and at his authority, and he let the birds go free. So when the birds came forth they flew unto Jesus and stood on his shoulder and sang unto him.

6 And the man inquired further of his doctrine, and he went his way, and learnt the craft of making baskets, and by this craft he earned his bread, and afterwards he brake his cages and his traps, and became a disciple of Jesus.

7 And Iesus beheld a man working on the Sabbath, and he said unto him, Man, if thou knowest not the law in the spirit; but if thou knowest not, thou art accursed and a transgresor of the law.

8 And again Iesus said unto his disciples, what shall be done unto these servants who, knowing their Lord's will, prepare not themselves for his coming, neither do according to his will?

9 Verily I say unto you, They that know their Master's will, and do it not, shall be beaten with many stripes. But they who not knowing their Master's will, do it not, shall be beaten with but few stripes. To whomsoever much is given, of them is much required. And to whom little is given from them is required but little.

10 And there was a certain man who was blind from his birth. And he denied that there were such things as Sun, Moon, and Stars, or that colour existed. And they tried in vain to persuade him that other people saw them; and they led him to Iesus, and he anointed his eyes and made him to see.

11 And he greatly rejoiced with wonder and fear, and confessed that before he was blind. And now after this, he said, I see all, I know everything, I am god.

12 And Iesus again said unto him, How canst thou know all? Thou canst not see through the walls of thine house, nor read the thoughts of thy fellow men, nor understand the language of birds, or of beasts. Thou canst not even recall the events of thy former life, conception, or birth.

13 Remember with humility how much remains unknown to thee, yea, unseen, and doing so, thou mayest see more clearly.

(11-13. -Very applicable to the present age also.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 42

Iesus Teacheth Concerning Marriage. The Blessing of Children

1 And it came to pass that when Jesus had finished these sayings, he departed from Galilee and came into the coasts of Judea beyond Jordan; and great multitudes followed him and he healed them there.

2 The Pharisees also came unto him, tempting him and saying unto him, Is it lawful for a man to put away a wife for every cause?

3 And he answered and said unto them, In some nations, one man hath many wives, and putteth away whom he will for a just cause; and in some, a woman hath many husbands, and putteth away whom she will for a just cause; and in others, one man is joined to one woman, in mutual love, and this is the first and the better way.

4 For have ye not read that God who made them at the beginning, made them male and female, and said, For this cause shall a man or a woman leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife or her husband, and they twain shall be one flesh.

5 Wherefore they are no more twain, but one flesh. What therefore God have joined together, let not man put asunder.

6 They said unto him, Why did Moses then command to give a writing of divorcement? He saith unto them, Moses because of the hardness of your hearts suffered you to put away your wives. even as he permitted you to eat flesh, for many causes, but from the beginning it was not so.

7 And I say unto you, Whosoever shall put away a wife, except it be for a just cause, and shall marry another in her place, committeth adultery. His disciples say unto him, If the case of the man be so with his wife it is not good to marry.

8 But he said unto them All cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given. For there are some, celibates who were so born from their mother's womb, and there are some, which were made celibates of men, and there be some, who have made themselves celibates for the kingdom of Heaven's sake. He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.

9 THEN there came unto him little children that he should put his hands on them and bless them, and the disciples rebuked them.

10 But Jesus said, Suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of Heaven. And he laid his hands on them and blessed them.

11 AND as he entered into a certain village, there met him ten men that were lepers, which stood afar off. And they lifted up their voices, and said, Jesus Master, have mercy on us.

12 And when he saw them, he said unto them Go, shew yourselves unto the priests. And it came to pass, that, as they went, they were cleansed. And one of them, when he saw that he was healed, turned back, and with a loud voice glorified God and fell down on his face at his feet, giving him thanks: and he was a Samaritan.

13 And Jesus answering said, Were there not ten cleansed? but where are the nine? There are not found that returned to give glory to God, save this stranger. And he said unto him, Arise, go thy way: thy faith hath made thee whole.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 43

Iesus Teacheth Concerning the Riches of this World and the Washing of Hands and Eating Of Unclean Meats

1 And, behold, one came and said unto him. Good Master, what good thing shall I do, that I may have eternal life? And he said unto him, Why callest thou me good? there is none good but one, that is, God; but if thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments. He saith unto him, which be they?

2 Iesus said, What teacheth Moses? Thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not bear false witness, honor thy father and thy mother and thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. The young man saith unto him, All these things have I kept from my youth up; what lack I yet?

3 Iesus said unto him, If thou wilt be perfect go and sell that thou hast in abundance, and give to those who have not, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come and follow me.

4 But when the young man heard that saying, he went away sorrowful, for he had great possessions, yea, more than satisfied his needs.

5 Then said Iesus unto his disciple, Verily I say unto you, that the rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of Heaven. And again I say unto you, It is easier for a camel to go through the 'gate of the needle's eye" than for a rich person to enter into the kingdom of God.

6 When his disciples heard it, they were exceedingly amazed, saying, Who then can be saved? But Iesus beheld them, and said unto them, For the carnal mind this is impossible, but with the spiritual mind all things are possible.

7 And I say. unto you, Make not to yourselves friends of the Mammon of unrighteousness that when ye fail they may receive you into their earthly habitations; but rather of the true riches, even the Wisdom of God, that so ye may be received into everlasting mansions which fade not away.

8 Then Peter, said unto him, Behold we have forsaken all and followed thee. And Jesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you, that ye which have followed me, in the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel, but the things of this world it is not mine to give.

9 And everyone that hath forsaken riches, houses, friends, for the kingdom of Heaven's sake and its righteousness, shall receive a hundred fold in the age to come and shall inherit everlasting life. But many that are first shall be last, and many that are last shall be first.

10 And there came unto him certain of the Scribes and Pharisees who had seen one of his disciples eat with unwashed hands.

11 And they found fault, for the Jews eat not except they have first washen their hands and many other things observe they, in the washing of Cups and of vessels and of tables.

12 And they said, Why, walk not all thy disciples after the tradition of the elders, for we saw one who did eat with unwashed hands?

13 And Iesus said, Well hath Moses commanded you to be clean, and to keep your bodies clean, and your vessels clean, but ye have added things which ofttimes cannot be observed by every one at all times and in all places.

14 Hearken unto me therefore, not only unclean things entering into the body of man defile the man, but much more do evil thoughts and unclean, which pour from the heart of man, defile the inner man and defile others also. Therefore take heed to your thoughts and cleanse your hearts and let your food be pure.

15 These things ought ye to do, and not to leave the others undone. Whoso breaketh the law of purification of necessity, are blameless, for they do it not of their own will, neither despising the law which is just and good. For cleanliness in all things is great gain.

16 Be ye not followers of evil fashions of the world even in appearance; for many are led into evil by the outward seeming, and the likeness of evil.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 44

The Confession of the Twelve.

1 Again Iesus sat near the sea, in a circle of twelve palm trees, where he oft resorted, and the Twelve and their fellows came unto him, and they sat under the shade of the trees, and the holy One' taught them sitting in their midst.

2 And Iesus said unto them, Ye have heard what men in the world say concerning me, but whom do ye say that I am? Peter rose up with Andrew his brother and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God, who descendeth from heaven and dwelleth in the hearts of them who believe and obey unto righteousness. And the rest rose up and said, each after his own manner, These words are true, so we believe.

3 And Iesus answered them saying, Blessed are ye my twelve who believe, for flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto you, but the spirit of God which dwelleth in you. I indeed am the way, the Truth and the Life; and the Truth understandeth all things.

4 All truth is in God, and I bear witness unto the truth. I am the true Rock, and on this Rock do I build my Church, and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it, and out of this Rock shall flow rivers of living water to give life to the peoples of the earth.

5 Ye are my chosen twelve. In me, the Head and Corner stone, are the twelve foundations of my house builded on the rock, and on you in me shall my Church be built, and in truth and righteousness shall my Church be established.

6 And ye shall sit on twelve thrones and send forth light and truth to all the twelve tribes of Israel after the Spirit, and I will be with you, even unto the end of the world.

7 But there shall arise after you, men of perverse minds who shall through ignorance or through craft, suppress many things which I have spoken unto you, and lay to me things which I never taught, sowing tares among the good wheat which I have given you to sow in the world.

8 Then shall the truth of God endure the contradiction of sinners, for thus it hath been, and thus it will be. But the time cometh when the things which they have hidden shall be revealed and made known, and the truth shall make free those which were bound.

9 One is your Master, all ye are brethren, and one is not greater than another in the place which I have given unto you, for ye have one Master, even Christ, who is over you and with you and in you, and there is no inequality among my twelve, or their fellows.

10 All are equally near unto me. Strive ye not therefore for the first place, for ye are all first, because ye are the foundation stones and pillars of the Church, built on the truth which is in me and in you, and the truth and the law shall ye establish for all, as shall be given unto you.

11 Verily when ye and your fellows agree together touching anything in my Name, I am in the midst of you and with you.

12 Woe is the time when the spirit of the world entereth into the Church, and my doctrines and precepts are made void through the corruption of men and of women. Woe is the world when the Light is hidden. Woe is the world when these things shall be.

13 AT that time Iesus lifted his voice and said, I thank thee, O most righteous Parent, Creator of Heaven and Earth, that though these things are hidden from the wise and the prudent, they are nevertheless revealed unto babes.

14 No one knoweth thee, save the Son, who is the Daughter of man. None do know the Daughter or the Son save they to whom the Christ is revealed, who is the Two in One.

15 Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is equal and it is easy, my burden is light and presseth not unequally.

(4. -In the Syrian Paschito, accepted by all Christians, in the Aramaic, the very language spoken by the Lord while on earth, the passage reads thus -"Thou art Kepha (rock), and on this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of Sheol shall not prevail against her." In the Aramaic original there is but one word for rock or stone, not two petros and petra, as in the Greek -on which anti-Catholic controversialists found their views. Rather do these words, "petros" and "petra," being simply the masculine and feminine forms, denote a duality, viz. Intuition and Intellects conjoined in the one human Individual; or in philosophy, the inductive and the deductive methods, the one of Plato, the other of Aristotle.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 45

Seeking For Signs - The Unclean Spirit.

1 THEN certain of the Scribes and of the Pharisees answered saying, Master we would see a sign from thee. But he answered and said unto them, An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign and there shall no sign be given to it, but the sign of the prophet Jonas.

2 Yea, as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth, and after he shall rise again.

3 The men of Nineveh shall rise in judgement with this generation and shall condemn it, because they repented at the preaching of Jonas, and behold a greater than Jonas is here.

4 The Queen of the South shall rise up in the judgement with this generation, and shall condemn it; for she came from the uttermost parts of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and behold, a greater than Solomon is here.

5 AGAIN he said: When the unclean spirit is gone out of any, he walketh through dry places seeking rest, and finding none it saith, I will return into my house from whence I came out. And when he is come he findeth it empty, swept and garnished, for they asked not the Good Spirit to dwell within them, and be their eternal Guest.

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6 Then he goeth and taketh with him seven other spirits more wicked than himself, and they enter in and dwell there, and the last state of all such is worse than the first. Even so shall it be also unto this wicked generation, which refuseth entrance to the Spirit of God.

7 For I say unto you, whosoever blasphemeth the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven them; but whoso blasphemeth the Holy Spirit it shall not be forgiven them either in this age, or in the next, for they resist the Light of God, by the false traditions of men.

8 WHILE, he yet talked to the people, behold his parents and his brethren and his sisters stood without, desiring to speak with him. Then one said unto him, Behold thy father and thy mother, and thy brethren and thy sisters stand without, desiring to speak with thee.

9 But he answered and said unto him that told him; Who is my father and who is my mother? and who are my brethren and my sisters?

10 And he stretched forth his hand towards his disciples and said, Behold my father and my mother, my brethren and sisters, and my children! For whosoever shall do the will Of my Parent Who is in Heaven the same is my father and my mother, my brother and my sister, my son and my daughter.

11 AND there were some Pharisees, who were covetous and proud of their riches, and he said unto them, Take heed unto yourselves, and beware of covetousness, for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of things which he possesseth.

12 And he spake a parable unto them, saying, The ground of a certain rich man brought forth plentifully; and he thought within himself, saying, What shall I do, because I have no room where to bestow my fruits?

13 And he said, This will I do; I will pull down my barns, and build greater; and there will I bestow all my fruits and my goods.

14 And I will say to my soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years, take thine ease, drink and be merry.

15 But God said unto him, Thou fool, this night thy life shall be required of thee; then whose shall those things be, which thou hast provided?

16 So are they that lay up treasures for themselves, and are not rich in good works to them that need, and are in want.

(7. -The word "Blasphemy" is derived from the Greek , "blapto" to hinder, retard, obstruct (progress) and "pheme" to speak, thus signifying what is usually known as that conservatism which injures progress and obstructs it. Such a mind is held in bonds by too great deference to authority, or customs, or fashions, or traditions, and closes itself against fresh truths, or the restatement or development of old truths, and thus resists the light which may come through a divine messenger, and commits the "sin against the Holy Spirit" by closing eyes and ears against the higher teaching of God's truth. Such cannot be forgiven i.e. obtain release in this age (incarnation} or the succeeding. For the effects of persistent resistance are age enduring, like a prison house of the mind, and it cannot break the strong walls of prejudice and come forth, being fast bound, and needing, it may be ages, for its emancipation from error long cherished.

1O. -Without slighting any believer's love to the B.V.M., these words clearly shew how Iesus regarded Righteousness as relating all true believers to him more than any blood relationship could possibly do.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 46

The Transfiguration on the Mount. The Giving of the Law.

1 AFTER six days, when the Feast of Tabernacles was nigh at hand, Iesus taketh the twelve and bringeth them up into a high mountain apart, and as he was praying the fashion of his countenance was changed, and he was transfigured before them, and his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light.

2 And, behold, there appeared unto them Moses and Elias talking with him and spake of the Law, and of his decease which he should accomplish at Jerusalem.

3 And Moses spake, saying, This is he of whom I foretold, saying, A prophet from the midst of thy brethren, like unto me shall the Eternal send unto you, and that which the Eternal speaketh unto him, shall he speak unto you, and unto him shall ye hearken, and whoso will not obey shall bring upon themselves their own destruction.

4 Then Peter said unto Iesus, Lord, it is good for us to be here; if thou wilt let us make here three tabernacles; one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias.

5 While he yet spake, behold a bright cloud overshadowed them, and twelve rays as of the sun issued from behind the cloud, and a voice came out of the cloud, which said, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him.

6 And when the disciples heard it, they fell on their faces and were sore amazed, and Jesus came and touched them and said, Arise and be not afraid. And when they had lifted up their eyes, they saw no man, save Jesus only. And the six glories were seen upon him.

7 AND Iesus said unto them, Behold a new law I give unto you, which is not new but old. Even as Moses gave the Ten Commandments to Israel after the flesh, so also I give unto you the Twelve for the Kingdom of Israel after the Spirit.

8 For who are the Israel of God ? Even they of every nation and tribe who work righteousness, love mercy and keep my commandments, these are the true Israel of God. And standing upon his feet, Jesus spake, saying:

9 Hear O Israel, JOVA, thy God is One; many are My seers, and My prophets. In Me all live and move, and have subsistence.

10 Ye shall not take away the life of any creature for your pleasure, nor for your profit. nor yet torment it.

11 Ye shall not steal the goods of any, nor gather lands and riches to yourselves, beyond your need or use.

12 Ye shall not eat the flesh, nor drink the blood of any slaughtered creature, nor yet any thing which bringeth disorder to your health or senses.

13 Ye shall not make impure marriages, where love and health are not, nor yet corrupt yourselves, or any creature made pure by the Holy.

14 Ye shall not bear false witness against any, nor wilfully deceive any by a lie to hurt them.

15 Ye shall not do unto others, as ye would not that others should do unto you.

16 Ye shall worship One Eternal, the Father-Mother in Heaven, of Whom are all things, and reverence the holy Name.

17 Ye shall revere your fathers and your mothers on earth, whose care is for you, and all the Teachers of Righteousness.

18 Ye shall cherish and protect the weak, and those who are oppressed, and all creatures that suffer wrong.

19 Ye shall work with your hands the things that are good and seemly; so shalt ye eat the fruits Of the earth, and live long in the land.

20 Ye shall purify yourselves daily and rest the Seventh Day from labour, keeping holy the Sabbaths and the Festival of your God.

21 Ye shall do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you.

22 And when the disciples heard these words, they smote upon their breasts, saying: Wherein we have offended. O God forgive us: and may thy wisdom, love and truth within us incline our hearts to love and keen this Holy Law.

23 And Jesus said unto them, My yoke is equal and my burden light, if ye will to bear it, to you it will be easy. Lay no other burden on those that enter into the kingdom, but only these necessary things.

24 This is the new Law unto the Israel of God, and the Law is within, for it is the Law of Love, and it is not new but old. Take heed that ye add nothing to this law, neither take anything from it. Verily I say unto you, they who believe and obey this law shall be saved, and they who know and obey it not, shall be lost.

25 But as in Adam all die so in Christ shall all be made alive. And the disobedient shall be purged through many fires; and they who persist shall descend and shall perish eternally.

26 And as they came down from the mountain, Jesus charged them, saying, Tell the vision to no man, until the Son of man be risen again from the dead.

27 His disciples asked him, saying, Why then say the scribes that Elias must first come? And Jesus answered and said unto them, Elias truly shall first come and restore all things.

28 But I say unto you, that Elias is come already, and they knew him not, but have done unto him whatsoever they listed. Likewise shall also the Son of man suffer of them. Then the disciples understood that he spake unto them of John the Baptist.

(2-7. -The appearance of Moses, to hand over, as it were, the Law and the Dispensation to Iesus, throws a light on the reason of the Transfiguration, which is lost in the accepted version. Elias also appears, so as to make, with Moses, the "two witnesses" required by the law. They recognize Iesus, and witness to him as the great Prophet whom God should raise to succeed and take the place of Moses as the Legislator of the New Dispensation.

The "six glories" may have reference to the six precepts In each table of the law as now given, or more probably to the six attributes of each of the two aspects of the Christ, six feminine and six masculine, as inherent in the Two in One -the " Father-Mother of the age to come." They are referred to in one of the most ancient gospels.

10-12. -Compare this with the Law as given by Moses in the "Book of the Going Forth of Israel," p. 35, all chiefly negative precepts. In the law given by Christ there are six negative and six positive. The negative is the external Way, in which certain actions are forbidden. The positive the interior way, in which certain duties are enjoined. As the prohibitions are summed up in the negative form of the Golden Rule, so the commands are summed up in the positive form. Had this law been faithfully observed by all Christians, there would have been no divisions or war as now, and this earth would have been a paradise for all. The allegations brought against Christianity and Christ as the cause of strife and bloodshed, are therefore baseless. It is the spirit of selfishness, of perversity, in direct opposition to the Law of Christ, which has been the root of all the evils laid to the charge of Christianity, as he said, "Behold I come to bring peace upon earth, but what if a sword cometh?" Besides the loss of life by wars and intemperance of all kinds, the amount of material wealth wasted yearly in Christian countries, is not only needless, but injurious things, forbidden by the Laws of Christ, is simply appalling. More

12. -"Slaughtered " is the truer rendering which has in former editions been wrongly translated "living."

24. -The law as given through Moses "by the ministry of angels," and as the Church of Israel (the typical nation) received it through their Interpreters and Scribes, had no precept forbidding cruelty, oppression, flesh eating, drunkenness, the worship of mammon, impure marriages for money or position, and other vices and crimes which are the cause of nearly all the misery which now afflicts men and women " called to be happy sons and daughters of God Almighty , and which are visited by the holy Law on the children to the third and fourth generation of them that despise it, shewing mercy to all who love it." Nor yet did it include that mutual consideration for each other (positively and negatively) which is summed up in the one commandment of Christ " Love ye one another," not excluding therefrom the creatures which God hath given to be our earth mates and companions. More

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 47

The Spirit Giveth Life. The Rich Man and the Beggar.

1 AND when they were come down from the Mount one of his disciples asked him, Master, if a man keep not all these commandments shall he enter into Life? And he said, the Law is good in the letter without the spirit is dead, but the spirit maketh the letter alive.

2 Take ye heed that ye obey from the heart, and in the spirit of love, all the Commandments which I have given unto you.

3 It hath been written, Thou shalt not kill, but I say unto you, if any hate and desire to slay, they are guilty of the law, yea, if they cause hurt or torture to any Innocent Creature they are guilty, But if they kill to put an end to suffering which cannot be healed, they are not guilty, if they do it quickly and in love.

4 It hath been said, Thou shalt not steal, but I say unto you, if any, not content with that which they have, desire and seek after that which is another's or if they withhold that which is just from the worker, they have stolen in their heart already, and their guilt is greater than that of one who stealeth a loaf in necessity, to satisfy his hunger.

5 Again ye have been told, Thou shalt not commit adultery, but I say unto you, if man or woman join together in marriage with unhealthy bodies, and beget unhealthy offspring, they are guilty, even though they have not taken their neighbour's spouse: and if any have not taken a woman who belongeth to another, but desire in their heart and seek after her, they have committed adultery already in spirit.

6 And again I say unto you, if any desire and seek to possess the body of any creature for food, or for pleasure, or for profit, they defile themselves thereby.

7 Yea, and if a man telleth the truth to his neighbour in such wise as to lead him into evil, even thought it be true in the letter, he is guilty.

8 Walk ye in the spirit, and thus shall ye fulfill the law and be meet for the kingdom. Let the Law be within your own hearts rather than on tables of memorial; which things nevertheless ye ought to do and not to leave the other undone for the Law which I have given unto you is holy, just and good, and blessed are all they who obey and walk therein.

9 God is Spirit, and they who worship God must worship in spirit and in truth, at all times, and in all places.

10 AND he spake this parable unto them who were rich, saying, There was a certain rich man, which was clothed in purple, and fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day.

11 And there was a certain beggar named Lazarus, which was laid at his gate, full of sores. And desiring to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table; moreover the dogs came and licked his sores.

12 And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom; the rich man also died, and was buried with great pomp. And in Hades he lift up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom.

13 And he cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue, for I am tormented in this place.

14 But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things: but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented. And thus are the changes of life for the perfecting of souls. And beside all this, between us and you there is a great gulf fixed, so that they which would pass from hence to you cannot; neither can they pass to us, that would come from thence, till their time be accomplished.

15 Then he said, I pray thee therefore, father, that thou wouldest send him to my Father's house; for I have five brethren, that he may testify unto them, lest they also came into this place of torment.

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16 Abraham saith unto him, They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them. And he said, Nay, father Abraham; but if one went unto them from the dead, they will repent.

17 And Abraham said unto him, if they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead.

(2-7. -There is hardly a law that has been given by man or by God, but has been abused and turned into an instrument of oppression by the perversity of man, evading the spirit and insisting on the letter alone.

10-16. -This parable of Dives and Lazarus is pregnant with deepest teaching, utterly setting aside the narrow dogmas of the sects which have been founded on the traditional interpretation of it in the A. V.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 48

Iesus Feedeth One Thousand with Five Melons. Heals the Withered Hand On The Sabbath Day.

1. AND it came to pass as Iesus had been teaching the multitudes, and they were hungry and faint by reason of the heat of the day, that there passed by that way a woman on a camel laden with melons and other fruits.

2. And Iesus lifted up his voice and cried, O ye that thirst, seek ye the living water which cometh from Heaven, for this is the water of life, which whoso drinketh thirsteth not again.

3. And he took of the fruit, five melons and divided them among the people, and they eat, and their thirst was quenched, and he said unto them, If God maketh the sun to shine, and the water to fill out these fruits of the earth, shall not the Same be the Sun of your souls, and fill you with the water of life?

4. Seek ye the truth and let your souls be satisfied. The truth of God is that water which cometh from heaven, without money and without price, and they who drink shall be satisfied. And those whom he fed were one thousand men, women and children—and none of them went home a hungered or athirst; and many that had fever were healed.

5. At that time Iesus went on the Sabbath day through the cornfields, and his disciples were an hungered, and began to pluck the ears of corn, and to eat.

6. But when the Pharisees saw it, they said unto him, Behold, thy disciples do that which is not lawful to do upon the Sabbath day.

7. And he said unto them, Have ye not read what David did, when he was an hungered and they that were with him; how he entered into the house of God and did eat the shewbread, which was not lawful for him to eat, neither for them which were with him, but only for the priests?

8. Or have yet not read in the law, how that on the Sabbath days the priests in the Temple do work on the Sabbath and are blameless? But I say unto you, That in this place is One greater than the Temple.

9. But if ye had known what this meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless. For the Son of man is Lord even of the Sabbath.

10. AND when he was departed thence, he went into their synagogue. And, behold, there was a man which had his hand withered. And they asked him, saying, is it lawful to heal on the Sabbath days? that they might accuse him.

11. And he said unto them, What man shall there be among you that shall have but one sheep, and if it fall into a pit on the Sabbath day will he not lay hold on it and lift it out? And if ye give help to a sheep, shall ye not also to a man that needeth?

12. Wherefore it is lawful to do well on the Sabbath day. Then saith he to the man, Stretch forth thine hand. And he stretched it forth, and it was restored whole, like as the other.

13. Then the Pharisees went out and held a council against him, how they might destroy him. But when Iesus knew it, he withdrew himself from thence; and great multitudes followed him, and he healed their sick and infirm, and charged them that they should not make it known.

14. So it was fulfilled, which was spoken by Esaias the prophet, saying, Behold my servant, whom I have chosen; my beloved, in whom my soul is well pleased; I will put my spirit upon him and he shall shew judgement to the Gentiles.

15. He shall not strive nor cry, neither shall any man hear his voice in the streets. A bruised reed shall he not break, and smoking flax shall he not quench till he send forth judgement unto victory. And in his Name shall the Gentiles trust.

(l-3. -The feeding of one thousand with five melons is another instance of the love of Iesus to the hungry and thirsty thousand who came to his ministry. He first feeds the body, then instructs the soul. Too often it is the reverse of this among his followers. Hence, "The lack of love causeth many to wax cold."

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 49

The True Temple of God

1 AND the Feast of the Passover was at hand. And it came to pass that some of the disciples being masons, were set to repair one of the chambers Of the Temple. And Iesus was passing by, and they said unto him, Master, Sees't thou these great buildings and what manner of stones are here, and how beautiful is the work of our ancestors?

2 And Iesus said, Yea, it is beautiful and well wrought are the stones, but the time cometh when not one stone shall be left on another, for the enemy shall overthrow both the city and the Temple.

3 But the true Temple is the body of man in which God dwelleth by the Spirit, and when this Temple is destroyed, in three days, God raiseth up a more glorious temple, which the eye of the natural man perceiveth not.

4 Know ye not that ye are the temples of the holy spirit? and whoso destroyeth one of these temples the same shall be himself destroyed.

5 AND some or the scribes, hearing him, sought to entangle him in his talk and said, If thou wouldst put away the sacrifices of sheep and oxen and birds, to what purpose was this Temple built for God by Solomon, which has been now forty and six years in restoring?

6 And Iesus answered and said, It is written in the prophets, My house shall be called a house of prayer for all nations, for the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. But ye have made it a house of slaughter and filled it with abominations.

7 Again it is written, From the rising of the sun unto the setting of the same, my Name shall be great among the Gentiles, and incense with a pure Offering shall be offered unto me. But ye have made it a desolation with your offerings of blood and used the sweet incense only to cover the ill savor thereof. I am come not to destroy the law but to fulfill it.

8 Know ye not what is written? Obedience is better than sacrifice and to hearken than the fat of rams. I, the Lord, am weary of your burnt offerings, and vain oblations, your hands are full of blood.

9 And is it not written, what is the true sacrifice? Wash you and make you clean and put away the evil from before mine eyes, cease to do evil, learn to do well. Do justice for the fatherless and the widow and all that are oppressed. So doing ye shall fulfill the law.

10 The day cometh when all that which is in the outer court, which pertaineth to blood offerings, shall be taken away and pure worshippers shall worship the Eternal in purity and in truth.

11 And they said, Who art thou that seekest to do away with the sacrifices, and despiseth the seed of Abraham? From the Greeks and the Egyptians hast thou learnt this blasphemy?

12 And Iesus said, Before Abraham was, I Am. And they refused to listen and some said, he is inspired by a demon, and others said, he is mad; and they went their way and told these things to the priests and elders. And they were wrath, saying, He hath spoken blasphemy.

(7. -Iesus here disclaims the sacrifices of bleeding victims as being by part of true religion, but rather contrary thereto, adding to the guilt of the offerers. How often religion, so called, is put before morality, and dogma before loving-kindness and mercy.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 50

Christ the Light of the World.

1 THEN spake Iesus again unto them, saying, I am the Light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.

2 The Pharisees therefore said unto him, Thou bearest record of thyself thy record is not true.

3 Iesus answered and said unto them, Though I bear record of myself, yet my record is true: for I know whence I came, and whither I go: but ye cannot tell whence I come, and whither I go.

4 Ye judge after the flesh; I judge no man. And yet if I judge, my judgement is true: for I am not alone, but I come from the Father-Mother who sent me.

5 It is also written in your law, that the testimony of two men is true. I am one that bear witness of myself, Iohn bore witness of me, and he is a prophet, and the Spirit of truth that sent me bareth witness of me.

6 Then said they unto him, Where is thy Father and thy Mother? Iesus answered, Ye neither know me, nor my Parent: if ye had known me, ye should have known my Father and my Mother also.

7 And one said, shew us the Father, shew us the Mother, and we will believe thee. And he answered saying, if thou hast seen thy brother and felt his love, thou hast seen the Father, if thou hast seen thy sister and felt her love thou hast seen the Mother.

8 Far and near, the All Holy knoweth Their own, yea, in each of you, the Fatherhood and the Motherhood may be seen, for the Father and the Mother are One in God.

9 These words spake Iesus in the treasury, as he taught in the temple. And no man laid hands on him; for his hour was not yet come. Then said Iesus again unto them, I go my way, and ye shall seek me, and shall die in your sins; whither I go, ye cannot come.

10 Then said the Jews, Will he kill himself? because he said, Whither I go, ye cannot come. And he said unto them, Ye are from beneath; I am from above; ye are of this world; I am not of this world.

11 I said therefore unto you, that ye shall die in your sins; for if ye believe not that I Am of God, ye shall die in your sins.

12 Then said they unto him, Who art thou? And Jesus said unto them, Even the Same that I said unto you from the beginning.

13 I have many things to say which shall judge you: but the Holy One that sent me is true; and I speak to the world those things which I have heard from above.

14 Then said Iesus unto them, When ye have lifted up the Son of man, then shall ye know that I am sent of God, and that I do nothing of myself; but as the All Holy hath taught me, I speak these things. Who sent me is with me: the All Holy hath not left me alone; for I do always those things that please the Eternal.

15 As he spake these words, many believed on him, for they said, He is a Prophet sent from God. Him let us hear.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 51

The Truth Maketh Free

1 THEN said Jesus to those Jews which believed on him, If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed; And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.

2 They answered him, We be Abraham's seed, and were never in bondage to any man: how sayest thou, Ye shall be made free? Iesus answered them Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin. And the servant abideth not in the house for ever: but the Son even the Daughter abideth ever.

3 If the Son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed. I know that ye are Abraham's seed after the flesh; but ye seek to kill me, because my word hath no place in you.

4 I speak that which I have seen with my Parent and ye do that which ye have seen with your parent. They answered and said unto him, Abraham is our father. Iesus said unto them, If ye were Abraham's children, ye would do the works of Abraham.

5 But now ye seek to kill me, a man that hath told you the truth, which I have heard of God: this did not Abraham. YE do the deeds of your father. Then said they to him, We be not born of fornication; we have one Father, even God.

6 Iesus said unto them, If God were your Parent, ye would love me: for I proceeded forth and came from God; neither came I of myself, but the All Holy sent me. Why do ye not understand my speech? even because ye cannot hear my word.

7 Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him.

8 When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own; for he is a liar, and the father of it. And because I tell you the truth, ye believe me not.

9 As Moses lifted up the Serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son and Daughter of man be lifted up, that whosoever gazeth, believing should not perish, but have everlasting life.

10 Which of you convicteth me of sin ? And if I say, the truth, why do ye not believe me? He that is of God heareth God's words: ye therefore hear them not, because ye are not of God.

11 Then answered the Jews, and said unto him, Say we not well that thou art a Samaritan, and hath a demon ? Iesus answered, I have not a demon; but I honour the All Holy, and ye do dishonour me. And I seek not mine own glory, but the glory of God. But there is One who judgeth.

12 And certain of the Elders and Scribes from the Temple came unto him saying, Why do thy disciples teach men that it is unlawful to eat the flesh of beasts though they be offered in sacrifice as by Moses ordained.

13 For it is written, God said to Noah, The fear and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the field, and every bird of the air, and every fish of the sea, into your hand they are delivered.

14 And Jesus said unto them, Ye hypocrites, well did Esaias speak of you, and your forefathers, sayings This people draweth nigh unto Me, with their mouths, and honour me with their lips, but their heart is far from me, for in vain do they worship Me teaching and believing, and teaching for divine doctrines, the commandments of men in my name but to satisfy their own lusts.

15 As also Jeremiah bear witness when he saith, concerning blood offerings and sacrifices I the Lord God commanded none of these things in the day that ye came out of Egypt, but only this I commanded you to do, righteousness, walk in the ancient paths, do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God.

16 But ye did not hearken to Me, Who in the beginning gave you all manner of seed, and fruit of the trees and seed having been for the food and healing of man and beast. And they said, Thou speakest against the law.

17 And he said against Moses indeed I do not speak nor against the law, but against them who corrupted his law, which he permitted for the hardness of your hearts.

18 But, behold, a greater than Moses is here! and they were wrath and took up stones to cast at him. And Jesus passed through their midst and was hidden from their violence.

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(2. -Many people think that perfect freedom is the power to do wrong as well as right. Such is not Christ's teaching. Freedom is the power to do moral good, nothing else : the other is not freedom, but slavery to the evil nature. This is the teaching of Rosmini and of the Franciscans, and is evidently the teaching of Christ. Other animals than man have the freedom essential to their nature, which, if they are allowed to follow, is a kind of moral good. In a true state of nature, the other animals are found innocent, till corrupted by the cruelty of man. Cont.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 52

He Declareth His Pre-Existence.

1 ANOTHER time Iesus said, Verily, verily, I say unto you, If a man keep my saying, he shall never see death. Then said the Jews unto him, Now we know that thou hast a demon.

2 Abraham is dead, and the prophets; and thou sayest, If a man keep my saying, he shall never taste of death. Art thou greater than our father Abraham, which is dead ? and the Prophets are dead: whom makest thou thyself ?

3 Iesus answered, If I honour myself, my honour is nothing: it is my Father that honoureth me; of whom ye say, that he is your God: Yet ye have not known him; but I now him: and if I should say I know him not I shall be a liar like unto you; but I know the All Holy and am known of the Eternal.

4 Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day; and he saw it, and was glad. Then said the Jews unto him, Thou art not yet forty five years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?

5 Iesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Before Abraham was, I AM.

6 And he said unto them, The All Holy hath sent you many prophets, but ye rose against them that were contrary to your lusts, reviling some and slaying others.

7 Then took they up stones to cast at him: but Iesus was hidden, and went out of the temple, through the midst of them, and so again passed unseen by them.

8 Again when his disciples were with him in a place apart, one of them asked him concerning the kingdom, and he said unto them:

9 As it is above, so it is below. As it is within, so it is without. As on the right hand, so on the left. As it is before, so it is behind. As with the great so with the small. As with the male, so with the female. When these things shall be seen, then ye shall see the kingdom of God.

10 For in me there is neither Male nor Female, but both are One in the All perfect. The woman is not without the man, nor is the man without the woman.

11 Wisdom is not without love, nor is love without wisdom. The head is not without the heart, nor is the heart without the head, in the Christ who atoneth all things. For God hath made all things by number, by weight, and by measure, corresponding, the one with the other.

12 These things are for them that understand, to believe. If they understand not, they are not for them. For to believe is to understand, and to believe not, is not to understand.

(4. -The testimony of those who saw and knew Jesus as to his age, has been strangely ignored by writers of Biblical history and by the Church in general. This matter is briefly discussed elsewhere in these Notes, and deserves the attention of every student and thoughtful person. (See Notes liv.14-16; xcv.9.)

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 53

Iesus Healeth The Blind On The Sabbath.

1 AND at another time as Iesus passed by, he saw a man which was blind from his birth. And his disciples asked him saying, Master, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind?

2 Iesus answered, To what purport is it, whether this man sinned, or his parents, so that the works of God are made manifest in him? I must work the works of my Parent who sent me, while it is day; the night cometh, when no man can work. As long as I am in the world, I am the Light of the world.

3 When he had thus spoken, he spat on the ground, and mingled clay with the spittle, and he anointed the eyes of the blind man with the clay And said unto him, Go, wash in the pool of Siloam (this meaneth by interpretation, Sent.) He went his way therefore, and washed, and came seeing.

4 The neighbours therefore, and they which before had seen him that he was blind, said, Is not this he that sat and begged? Some said, This is he: others said, He is like him: but he said, I am he.

5 Therefore said they unto him, How were thine eyes opened? He answered and said, A man that is called Jesus made clay, and anointed mine eyes, and said unto me, Go to the pool of Siloam, and wash: and I went and washed, and I received sight.

6 Then said they unto him, Where is he? He said, I know not where he is, that made me whole.

7 Then came to Him certain of the Sadducces, who deny that there is a resurrection, and they asked him saying, Master, Moses wrote unto us, if any man's brother die having a wife and leaving no children, that his brother should take his wife and raise up seed to his brother.

8 Now there were six brethren, and the first took a wife and he died childless: And the second took her to wife and he died childless: And the third, even unto the sixth, and they died also leaving no children Last of all the woman died also.

9 Now in the resurrection, whose of them is she, for the six had her to wife.

10 And Iesus answered them saying, whether a woman with six husbands, or a man with six wives, the case is the same. For the children of this world marry and are given in marriage.

11 But they, which being worthy, attain to the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are given in marriage, neither can they die any more, for they are equal to the angels and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection.

12 Now that the dead are raised even Moses shewed at the bush, when he called the Lord, the God Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, for he is not the God of the dead, but of the living, for all live unto Him.

(3. -The healing of the blind by means of clay mingled with saliva is mentioned by ancient physicians. Vespasian is said to have cured by this means. This shows that Jesus did not hesitate to employ natural remedies, when they were likely to effect their purpose.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 54

The Examination of Him Who was Born Blind.

1 Then they brought to the Pharisees him that aforetime was blind. And it was the Sabbath day when Iesus made the clay, and opened his eyes.

2 Then again the Pharisees also asked him how he had received his sight. He said unto them, He put clay upon mine eyes, and I washed, and do see.

3 Therefore said some of the Pharisees, This man is not of God, because he keepeth not the Sabbath day. Others said, how can a man that is a sinner do such miracles? And there was a division among them.

4 They say unto the blind man again, What sayest thou of him, that he hath opened thine eyes? He said, He is a prophet.

5 But the Jews did not believe concerning him, that he had been blind, and received his sight, until they called the parents of him that had received his sight.

6 And they asked them, saying, Is this your son, who ye say was born blind? how then doth he now see? His parents answered them and said, We know that this is our son, and that he was born blind; but by what means he now seeth we know not; nor who hath opened his eyes; he is of age; ask him, he shall speak for himself.

7 These words spake his parents, because they feared the Jews; for the Jews had agreed already, that if any man did confess that he was the Christ he should be put out of the synagogue. Therefore said his parents, He is of age? ask him.

8 Then again called they the man that was blind, and said unto him, Give God the praise: we know that this man is a sinner. He answered and said, Whether he be a sinner or no, I know not; one thing I know, that, whereas I was blind, now I see.

9 Then said they to him again, What did he to thee? how opened he thine eyes? He answered them, I have told you already, and ye did not hear: wherefore would ye hear it again? will ye also be his disciples?

10 Then they reviled him, and said, Thou art his disciple; but we are Moses' disciples. We know that God spake unto Moses: as for this fellow, we know not from whence he is.

11 The man answered and said unto them, Why herein is a marvellous thing, that ye know not from whence he is, and yet he hath opened mine eyes. Now we know that God heareth not sinners;

12 But if any man be a worshipper of God, and doeth his will, him he heareth. Since the world began was it not heard that any man opened the eyes of one that was born blind. If this man were not of God, he could do nothing.

13 They answered and said unto him, Thou wast altogether born in sins, and dost thou teach us? And they cast him out.

14 Iesus heard that they had cast him out; and when he had found him, he said unto him, Dost thou believe on the Son of God ? He answered and said, Who is he, Lord, that I might believe on him.

15 And Iesus said unto him, Thou hast both seen him, and it is he that talketh with thee. And he said, Lord, I believe. And he worshipped him.

16 And Iesus said, For judgement I am come into this world, that they which see not might see; and that they which see might be made blind. And some of the Pharisees which were with him heard these words, and said unto him, Are we blind also?

17 And Iesus, when he came to a certain place where seven palm trees grew, gathered his disciples around him, and to each he gave a number and a name which he only knew who received it. And he said unto them, Stand ye as pillars in the House of God, and shew forth the order according to your numbers which ye have received.

18 And they stood around him, and they made a body four square, and they counted the number, and could not. And they said unto him, Lord we cannot. And Jesus said, Let him who is greatest among you be even as the least, and the symbol of that which is first be as the symbol of that which is last.

19 And they did so, and in every way was there equality, and yet each bore a different number and the one side was as the other and the upper was as the lower, and the inner as the outer. And the Lord said, It is enough. Such is the House of the wise Master Builder. Foursquare it is, and perfect. Many are the Chambers, but the House is One.

20 Again consider the Body of man, which is a Temple of the Spirit. For the body is one, united to its head, which with it is one body. And it has many members, yet, all are one body and the one Spirit ruleth and worketh in all; so also in the kingdom.

21 And the head doth not say to the bosom, I have no need of thee, nor the right hand to the left, I have no need of thee, nor the left foot to the right, I have no need of thee; neither the eyes to the ears, we have no need of you, nor the mouth to the nose, I have no need for thee. For God hath set in the one body every member as is fitting.

22 If the whole were the head, where were the breasts? If the whole were the belly, where were the feet? yea, those members which some affirm are less honourable, upon them hath God bestowed the more honour.

23 And those parts which some call uncomely, upon them hath been bestowed more abundant comeliness, that they may care one for the other; so, if one member suffers, all members suffer with it, and if one member is honoured all members rejoice.

24 Now ye are my Body; and each one of you is a member in particular, and to each one of you do I give the fitting place, and one Head over all, and one Heart the centre of all, that there be no lack nor schism, that so with your bodies, your souls and your spirits ye may glorify the All Parent through the Divine Spirit which worketh in all and through all.

(1-13. -The wrangling of the Pharisees over this case of healing has its para1lels in our times in the Churches which assign to the devil all that they cannot comprehend, and cut out the Healer as a sinner and a heretic, denying the power of God in Man.

14. -This is one of those "parables and dark sayings" of him who spake as never man spake. The words taken literally suggest to the mind a perfect crystal sphere, and by correspondence, a perfect man or woman- in modern phrase "an all rounder," one who views things not from one side only, but from every side. There are many who keep the law in one or more points, but neglect all the rest; or keep it in all points but the one which is against their own particular failing -who "compound for sins they are inclined to, by damming those they have no mind to." Cont.

17-20. -The meaning of these words and this action is very obscure, but if we describe the magic square of 7, it seems to make it intelligible as the mystic symbol of him who regarded everything by number and by measure, and which seems to have reference to the period of his mortal life, 49 years, as well as the number of the Council, Cardinals and Priests of the Church universal, 48, presided over by its Head, 49, which the action of Iesus seemed to symbolize, and in a way, foreshadow. See square

21-24. -Here we have the original words of Christ, from which Paul adopted his simile in Rom. xii., and In 1 Cor. xii.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 55

Christ The Good Shepherd. One With the Father.

1 AT that time there passed by the way a shepherd leading his flock to the fold; and Iesus took up one of the young lambs in his arms and talked to it lovingly and pressed it to his bosom. And he spake to his disciples saying:

2 I am the good shepherd and know my sheep and am known of mine. As the Parent of all knoweth me, even so know I my sheep, and lay down my life for the sheep. And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold; them also must I bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one flock and one shepherd.

3 I lay down my life, that I may take it again. No man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay my body down and I have power to take it up again.

4 I am the good shepherd; the good shepherd feedeth his flock, he gathereth his lambs in his arms and carrieth them in his bosom and gently leadeth those that are with young, yea the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep.

5 But he that is an hireling, and not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming and leaveth the sheep and fleeth, and the wolf catcheth them and scattereth the sheep. The hireling fleeth because he is an hireling and careth not for the sheep.

6 I am the door: by me all who enter shall be safe, and shall go in and out and find pasture. The evil one cometh not but for to steal and to kill and destroy; I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly.

7 He that entereth in by the door, is the shepherd of the sheep, to whom the porter openeth, and the sheep hear his voice, and he calleth his sheep by name, and leadeth them out, and he knoweth the number.

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8 And when he putteth forth his sheep he goeth before them and the sheep follow him for they know his voice. And a stranger will they not follow, but will flee from him, for they know not the voice of strangers.

9 This parable spake Iesus unto them, but they understood not what things they were which he spake unto them. Then said Iesus unto them again, My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me and I give unto them eternal life and they shall never perish, neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand.

10 My Parent who gave them me, is greater than all and no man is able to pluck them out of my Parent's hand. I and my Parent are One.

11 Then the Jews took up stones again to stone him. Jesus answered them, Many good works have I shewed you from my Parent, for which of those works do ye stone me?

12 The Jews answered him, saying, For a good work we stone thee not, but for blasphemy, because that thou being a man maketh thyself equal with God. Jesus answered them, Said I that I was equal to God? nay, but I am one with God. Is it not written in the Scripture, I said, Ye are gods?

13 If he called them gods, unto whom the word of God came, and the Scripture cannot be broken, say ye of him, whom the Parent of all hath sanctified and sent into the world. Thou blasphemest; because I said I am the Son of God, and therefore One with the All Parent?

14 If I do not the works of my Parent believe me not, but if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works, that ye may know and believe that the Spirit of the great Parent is in me, and I in my Parent.

15 Therefore they sought again to take him, but he escaped out of their hands and went away again beyond Jordan, into the place where John at first baptized and there he abode.

16 And many resorted unto him, and said, John, indeed did not miracle, He is the Prophet that should come. And many believed on him.

(1. -This beautiful parable bas been sadly mangled in the A.V., and shorn of the opening incident which led to the discourse.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 56

The Raising of Lazarus.

1 Now a certain man was sick, named Lazarus of Bethany, the town of Mary and her sister Martha. (It was that Mary who anointed the Lord with ointment and wiped his feet with her hair, whose brother Lazarus was sick).

2 Therefore his sisters sent unto him saying, Lord, behold he whom thou lovest is sick. When Iesus heard that, he said, This sickness is not unto death, but that the glory of God might be manifest in him. Now Jesus loved Mary and her sister and Lazarus.

3 When he heard that he was sick, he abode two days still in the same place where he was. Then after that, saith he to his disciples, Let us go into Judea again.

4 His disciples said unto him, Master, the Jews of late sought to stone thee and goest thou thither again? Iesus answered, Are there not twelve hours in the day? If any man walketh in the day he stumbleth not, because he seeth the light of this world.

5 But if a man walk in the night, he stumbleth, because there is no light in him. These things said he, and after that he saith unto them, Our friend Lazarus sleepeth, but I go that I may awake him out of sleep.

6 Then said his disciples, Lord if he sleep, he shall do well. And a messenger came unto him saying, Lazarus is dead.

7 Now when Iesus came, he found that he had lain in the grave four days already (Bethany was nigh unto Jerusalem, about fifteen furlongs off). And many of the Jews came to Martha and Mary to comfort them concerning their brother.

8 Then Martha, as soon as she heard that Iesus was coming, went and met him, but Mary sat still in the house. Then said Martha unto Iesus, Lord if thou hadst been here my brother had not died. But I know that even now, whatsoever thou wilt ask of God, God will give it thee.

9 Iesus saith unto her, Thy brother sleepeth, and he shall rise again. Martha said unto him, I know that he shall rise again, at the resurrection at the last day.

10 Iesus said unto her, I am the resurrection and the life, he that believeth in me, though he were dead yet shall he live. I am the Way, the Truth and the Life, and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die.

11 She saith unto him, Yea, Lord : I believe that thou art the Christ, the Son of God, which should come into the world. And when she had so said she went her way and called Mary her sister secretly saying, The Master is come and calleth for thee. As soon as she heard that she arose quickly and came unto him.

12 Now Iesus was not yet come into the town, but was in that place where Martha met him. The Jews then which were with her in the house and comforted her, when they saw Mary that she arose up hastily and went out, followed her saying, She goeth unto the grave to weep there.

13 Then when Mary was come to where Iesus was, and saw him she fell down at his feet, saying unto him, Lord if thou hadst been here my brother had not died. When Jesus therefore saw her weeping and the Jews also weeping that came with her, he groaned in the spirit and was troubled. And said, Where have ye laid him? They said unto him, Lord, come and see, and Jesus wept.

14 Then said the Jews, Behold, how he loved him! And some of them said, Could not this man which opened the eyes of the blind, have caused that even this man should not have died? Iesus therefore groaning again in himself (for he feared that he might be already dead) cometh to the grave. It was a cave and a stone lay upon it.

15 Iesus said, Take ye away the stone. Martha, the sister of him supposed to be dead, saith unto him, Lord by this time he stinketh, for he hath been dead four days. Iesus saith unto her, Said I not unto thee, that if thou wouldest believe thou shouldst see the glory of God? Then they took away the stone from the place where Lazarus was laid.

16 And Iesus lifted up his eyes and chanting, invoked the great Name, and said, My Parent, I thank Thee that thou has heard me. And I know that Thou hearest me always, but because of the people which stand by I call upon Thee that they may believe that Thou hast sent me. And when he had thus spoken he cried with a loud voice, Lazarus come forth.

17 And he that was as dead came forth bound hand and foot with graveclothes, and his face was: bound about with a napkin.

18 Iesus said unto them, Loose him and let him go. When the thread of life is cut indeed, it cometh not again, but when it is whole there is hope. Then many of the Jews which came to Mary and had seen the things which Iesus did, believed on him.

(-This touching account of the raising of Lazarus is here given as it took place. The verses 13-16 in the Authorized Version are an evident interpolation to magnify the occasion, for, being omitted, the narrative is unbroken and complete without them. As with the daughter of Lazarus, so with Lazarus, he was carried to his burial in a state of trance, indistinguishable from death, and by his friends believed to be dead. At the present time in countries where there are mortuaries or waiting rooms for the dead, it is found that five per thousand recover on their way to burial who otherwise would have been buried alive.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 57

Concerning little Children. The Forgiveness of Those Who Trespass. Parable of the Fishes.

1 At the same time came the disciples unto Iesus, saying, who is the greatest in the kingdom of Heaven? And Iesus called a little child unto him and set him in the midst of them and said, Verily I say unto you, except ye be converted and become innocent and teachable as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of Heaven.

2 Whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, the same is the greatest in the kingdom of Heaven. And whoso shall receive one such little child in my name receiveth me.

3 Woe unto the world because of offenses! for it must needs be that offences come, but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh. Wherefore if thy lust, or thy pleasure do offend others, cut them off and cast them from thee, it is better for thee to enter into life without, rather than having that which will be cast into everlasting fire.

4 Take heed that ye neglect not one of these little ones, for I say unto you, That in heaven their angels do always behold the Face of God. For the Son of man is come to save that which was lost.

5 How think ye? if a man have a hundred sheep, and one of them be gone astray, doth he not leave the ninety and nine and go into the mountains and seek that which is gone astray? And if so be that he find it, verily I say unto you, he rejoiceth more over that sheep than over the ninety and nine which went not astray.

6 Even so it is not the will of your Parent, Who is in heaven, that one of these little one should perish.

7 And there were certain men of doubtful mind, came unto Iesus, and said unto him: Thou tellest us that our life and being is from God, but we have never seen God, nor do we know of any God. Canst thou shew us Whom thou callest the Father-Mother, one God? We know not if there be a God.

8 Iesus answered them, saying, Hear ye this parable of the fishes. The fishes of a certain river communed with one another, saying, They tell us that our life and being is from water, but we have never seen water, we know not what water is. Then some among them, wiser than the rest, said: We have heard there dwelleth in the sea a wise and learned Fish, who knoweth all things. Let us journey to him, and ask him to shew us what water is.

9 So several of them set out to find this great and wise Fish and they came at last to the sea wherein the wise Fish dwelt, and they asked of him.

10 And when he heard them he said unto them, O ye foolish fish that consider not! Wise are ye, the few, who seek. In the water ye live, and move, and have your being; from the water ye came, to the water ye return. Ye live in the water, yet ye know it not. In like manner, ye live in God, and yet ye ask of me, "Shew us God." God is in all things, and all things are in God.

11 Again Iesus said unto them, If thy brother or sister shall trespass against thee, go and declare the fault between thee and thy brother or sister alone; if they shall hear thee, thou hast gained them. But if they will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established.

12 And if they shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church, but if they neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church, but if they neglect to hear the church, let them be unto thee as those that are outside the church. Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall justly bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall justly loose in earth, shall be loosed in heaven.

13 Again I say unto you, That if seven, or even if three of you shall agree on earth as touching anything that they ask, it shall be done for them of my Father-Mother Who is in heaven. For where even three are gathered together in my name there I am in the midst of them, and if there be but one, I am in the heart of that one.

14 Then came Peter to him and said, Lord, how oft shalt my brother sin against me and I forgive him? till seven times? Iesus saith unto him, I say not unto thee, Until seven times, but until seventy times seven. For in the Prophets likewise unrighteousness was found, even after they were anointed by the Holy Spirit.

15 And he spake this parable, saying, There was a certain king who would take account of his servants, and when he had begun to reckon, one was brought unto him which owed him ten thousand talents. But forasmuch as he had not to pay, his lord commanded him to be sold, and his wife and children and all that he had, and payment to be made.

16 The servant therefore, fell down and worshipped him, saying, Lord, have patience with me and I will pay thee all. Then the lord of that servant was moved with compassion and loosed him, and forgave him his debt.

17 But the same servant went out and found one of his fellow-servants which owed him a hundred pence, and he laid hands on him and took him by the throat, saying, Pay me that thou owest.

18 And his fellow-servant fell down at his feet and besought him, saying, Have patience with me and I will pay thee all. And he would not, but went and cast him into prison till he should pay the debt.

19 So when his fellow-servants saw what he had done they were very sorry, and came and told unto their lord all that was done.

20 Then his lord, after he had called him, said unto him, O thou wicked servant, I forgave thee all that debt because thou desiredst me; shouldst not thou also have had compassion on thy fellow-servant, even as I had pity on thee. And his lord was wroth, and delivered him to the tormentors, till he should pay all that was due unto him.

21 So likewise shall the heavenly Parent judge you, if ye from your hearts forgive not every one, his brother or sister, their trespasses. Nevertheless, let every man see that he pay that which he oweth, for God loveth the just.

(4. -The doctrine of guardian angels receives full support from these words. But the Churches of the so-called Reformation have flung away this consoling and helpful belief, with other doctrines of the Christian Church in all ages, the truth of which science and occultism are now showing.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 58

Divine Love To The Repentant.

1 Iesus said unto the disciples and to the multitude around them, Who is the son of God? Who is the daughter of God? Even the company of them who turn from all evil and do righteousness, love mercy and walk reverently with their God. These are the sons and the daughters of man who come up out of Egypt, to whom it is given that they should be called the sons and the daughters of God.

2 And they are gathered from all tribes and nations and peoples and tongues, and they come from the East and the West and the North and the South, and they dwell on Mount Zion, and they eat bread and they drink of the fruit of the vine at the table of God, and they see God face to face.

3 Then drew near unto him all the taxgatherers and sinners for to hear him. And the Pharisees and Scribes murmured, saying, This man receiveth sinners and eateth with them.

4 And he spake this parable unto them, saying, What man of you having an hundred sheep, if he lose one of them doth not leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness, and go after that which is lost, until he find it? And when he hath found it he layeth it on his shoulders, rejoicing.

5 And when he cometh home, he calleth together his friends and neighbours, saying unto them, Rejoice with me, for I have found my sheep which was lost. I say unto you, that likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons which need no repentance.

6 Either what woman having ten pieces of silver, if she lose one piece doth not light a candle and seek diligently till she

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find it? And when she hath found it she calleth her friends and her neighbours together, saying, Rejoice with me, for I have found the piece of silver which I had lost. Likewise, I say unto you, there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth.

7 And he also spake this parable, A certain man had two sons, and the younger of them said to his parents, Give me the portion of goods that falleth to me. And they divided unto him their living. And not many days after the younger son gathered all together and took his journey into a fair country, and there wasted his substance with riotous living.

8 And when he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that land, and he began to be in want. And he went and joined himself to a citizen of that country, and he sent him into his fields to feed swine. And he would fain have filled his body with the husks that the swine did eat, and no man gave unto him.

9 And when he came to himself he said, How many hired servants of my father's have bread enough and to spare, and I perish with hunger! I will arise and go to my father and mother, and will say unto them. My father and my mother, I have sinned against Heaven and before you, and am no more worthy to be called your son, make me as one of your hired servants.

10 And he arose and came to his parents. But when he was a great way off, his mother and his father saw him and had compassion, and ran and fell on his neck and kissed him. And the son said unto them, My father and my mother, I have sinned against Heaven and in your sight, and am no more worthy to be called your son.

11 But the father said to his servants, Bring forth the best robe, and put it on him, and put a ring on his hand and shoes on his feet, and bring hither the best ripe fruits, and the bread and the oil and the wine, and let us eat and be merry; for this my son was dead and is alive again, he was lost and is found. And they began to be merry.

12 Now his elder son was in the field, and as he came and drew nigh to the house he heard music and dancing. And he called one of the servants and asked what these things meant. And he said unto him, Thy brother who was lost is come back, and thy father and thy mother have prepared the bread and the oil and the wine and the best ripe fruits, because they have received him safe and sound.

13 And he was angry and would not go in, therefore came his father out and entreated him. And he answering, said to his father, Lo, these many years have I served thee, neither transgressed I at any time thy commandments, and yet thou never gavest me such goodly feast that I may make merry with my friends.

14 But as soon as this thy son is come, which hath devoured thy living with harlots, thou preparest for him a feast of the best that thou hast.

15 And his father said unto him, Son, thou art ever with me, and all that I have is thine. It was meet, therefore, that we should be merry and be glad, for this thy brother was dead and is alive again, and was lost and is found.

(2. -The charity and comprehensiveness of the true doctrine of Jesus here manifests themselves. It is not a mere narrow creed or belief, but true repentance which merits the forgiveness of God.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 59

Iesus Forewarneth His Disciples. He Findeth Zaccheus.

1 And Iesus went up into a mountain and there he sat with his disciples and taught them, and he said unto them, Fear not, little flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom.

2 Sell that ye have and do that which is good, for them which have not; provide yourselves bags which wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not, where no thief approacheth, neither moth corrupteth. For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.

3 Let your loins be girded about, and your lights burning, and ye yourselves like unto men that wait for their lord, when he will return from the wedding that when he cometh and knocketh they may open unto him immediately.

4 Blessed are those servants whom the lord, when he cometh, shall find watching; verily I say unto you that he shall gird himself and make them to sit down at his table, and will come forth and serve them.

5 And if he shall come in the second watch, or come in the third watch and find them so, blessed rare those servants.

6 And this know, that the guardian of the house not knowing what hour the thief would come, would have watched and not have suffered his house to have been broken through. Be ye therefore ready also, for the Son of man cometh at an hour when ye think not.

7 Then Peter said unto him, Lord, speakest thou this parable unto us, or even to all? And the Lord said, Who then is that faithful and wise steward, whom his lord shall make ruler over his household, to give them who serve their portion in due season?

8 Blessed is that servant whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing. Of a truth I say unto you, that he will make him ruler over all that he hath.

9 But and if that servant say in his heart, My lord delayeth his coming and shall begin to beat the menservants and maidservants and to eat and drink and to be drunken, the lord of that servant will come in a day when he looketh not for him, and at an hour when he is not aware and will appoint him his portion with the unfaithful.

10 And that servant which knew his lord's will and prepared not himself, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes. But he that knew not, and did commit things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes. For unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall they much require the less.

11 For they who know the Godhead, and have found in the way of Life the mysteries of light and then have fallen into sin, shall be punished with greater chastisements than they who have not known the way of Life.

12 Such shall return when their cycle is completed and to them will be given space to consider, and amend their lives, and learning the mysteries, enter into the kingdom of light.

13 And Iesus entered and passed through Jericho. And, behold, there was a man named Zaccheus, which was the chief among the collectors of tribute, and he was rich.

14 And he sought to see Iesus who he was; and could not for the press, because he was little of stature. And he ran before, and climbed up into a sycamore tree to see him: for he was to pass that way.

15 And when Iesus came to the place, he looked up, and saw him, and said unto him, Zacheus, make haste, and come down; for to day I must abide at thy house. And he made haste and came down, and received him joyfully.

16 And when they saw it, they all murmured, saying, That he was gone to be guest with a man that is a sinner.

17 And Zachaeus stood, and said unto the Lord, Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have taken anything from any man by false accusation, I restore him fourfold.

18 And Iesus said unto him, This day is salvation come to thine house, forsomuch as thou art a just man, thou also art a son of Abraham. For the Son of man is come to seek and to save that which ye deem to be lost.

(11-12. -The teaching of our Lord as to cycles, and the unity of life, in many existences, has been suppressed for long ages, but now sees the light, at the end of the cycle.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 60

Iesus Rebuketh Hypocrisy.

1 Then spake Iesus to the multitude, and to his disciples, saying. The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses's seat. All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works: for they say and do not. For they bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers.

2 But all their works they do for to be seen of men; they make broad their phylacteries, and enlarge the borders of their garments, and love the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and greetings in the markets, and to be called of men, Rabbi, Rabbi.

3 But desire not ye to be called Rabbi: for one is your Rabbi, even Christ; and all ye are brethren. And call not any one father on earth, for on earth are fathers in the flesh only; but in Heaven there is One Who is your Father and your Mother, Who hath the Spirit of truth, Whom the world cannot receive.

4 Neither desire ye to be called masters, for one is your Master, even Christ. But they that are greatest among you shall be your servants. And whosoever shall exalt themselves shall be abased; and they that are humble in themselves shall be exalted.

5 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up the kingdom of Heaven against men: for ye neither go in yourselves neither suffer ye them that are entering, to go in,

6 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites" for ye devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayer; therefore ye shall receive the greater damnation.

7 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte; and when he is made, ye make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves.

8 Woe unto you, ye blind guides, who say, Whosoever shall swear by the Temple, it is nothing, but whosoever shall swear by the gold of the Temple, he is a debtor! Ye fools and blind; for whether is greater, the gold, or the Temple that sanctifieth the gold?

9 And, Whosoever shall swear by the altar, it is nothing; but whosoever sweareth by the gift that is upon it, he is guilty. Ye fools and blind: for whether is greater, the gift, or the altar, that sanctifieth the gift?

10 Whoso therefore shall swear by the altar, sweareth by it, and by all things thereon. And whoso shall swear by the Temple, sweareth by it, and by him that dwelleth therein. And he that shall swear by Heaven sweareth by the throne of God, and by the Holy One that sitteth thereon.

11 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint and anise and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgement, mercy, and faith: these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone. Ye blind guides! for ye strain out a gnat, and swallow a camel.

12 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess. Thou blind Pharisee, cleanse first that which is within the cup and platter, then the outside of them that they may be clean also.

13 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of the bones of the dead and of all uncleanness. Even so ye also outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within ye are full of hypocrisy and make believe.

14 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye build the tombs of the prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous, and say, If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets.

15 Wherefore ye be witness unto yourselves, that ye do as the children of them which killed the prophets. Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers.

16 Wherefore saith holy Wisdom, behold I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes: and some of them ye shall kill and crucify; and some of them shall ye scourge in your synagogues, and persecute them from city to city. And upon you shall come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias son of Barachias, who was slain between the temple and the altar. Verily I say unto you, All these things shall come upon this generation.

17 O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!

18 Behold, now your house is left unto you desolate. For I say unto you, Ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say, Holy, Holy, Holy, Blessed are they who come in the Name of the Just One.

(16. -The same Zaccharias who is mentioned in the beginning as the father of John the Baptist (see Note 111-2), also the Proto Evangelism attributed to James, the Bishop of Jerusalem.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 61

Jesus Foretells The End Of The Cycle.

1 And as Jesus sat upon the Mount of Olives, the disciples came unto him privately, saying, Tell us, when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world? And Jesus answered and said unto them, Take heed that no man deceive you. For many shall come in my Name, saying, I am Christ; and shall deceive many.

2 And ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars; see that ye be not troubled; for all these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet. For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom; and there shall be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes, in divers places. All these are the beginning of sorrows.

3 And in those days those that have power shall gather to themselves the lands and riches of the earth for their own lusts, and shall oppress the many who lack and hold them in bondage, and use them to increase their riches, and they shall oppress even the beasts of the field, setting up the abominable thing. But God shall send them his messenger and they shall proclaim his laws, which men have hidden by their traditions, and those that transgress shall die.

4 Then shall they deliver you up to be afflicted, and shall kill you; and ye shall be hated of all nations for my Name's sake. And then shall many be offended, and shall betray one another, and shall hate one another. And many false prophets shall rise, and shall deceive many.

5 And because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold. But he that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved. And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come.

6 When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place, (whoso readeth, let him understand) then let them which be in Judea flee to the mountains. Let them which are on the housetop not come down to take anything out of the house; neither let them who are in the field return back to take their clothes.

7 And woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days! But pray ye that your fight be not in the winter, neither on the Sabbath day; for there shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time, no, nor ever shall be. And except those

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days be shortened, there should no flesh be saved; but for the elect's sake those days shall be shortened.

8 Then if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there; haste not to believe. For there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, who shall shew great signs and wonders; insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect. Behold, I have told you before.

9 Wherefore if they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert; go not forth: behold, he is in the secret chambers; haste not to believe. For as the lightening cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be. For wheresoever the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together.

10 Immediately after the tribulation of those days shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from Heaven, and the powers of the Heavens shall be shaken.

11 And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in Heaven; and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of Heaven with power and great glory. And he shall send his angels with a great sound as of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of Heaven to the other.

12 Now learn a parable of the fig tree; When its branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is nigh. So likewise ye, when ye shall see all these things, know that it is near, even at the doors. Verily I say unto you, this generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.

13 But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of Heaven, but the All Parent only. For as the days of Noe were, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be.

14 For as in the days that were before the flood, they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, until the day that Noe entered into the ark and knew not until the flood came, and took them all away; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be.

15 Then shall two be in the field; the one shall be taken, and the other left. Two women shall be grinding at the mill; the one shall be taken, and the other left. Watch therefore: for ye know not what hour your Lord doth come.

16 But know this, that if the guardian of the house had known in what watch the thief would come, he would have watched, and would not have suffered his house to be broken up. Therefore be ye also ready: for in such an hour as ye think not, the Son of man cometh.

17 Who then is a faithful and wise servant, whom his lord hath made ruler over his household, to give them meat in due season?

18 Blessed be that servant, whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing. Verily I say unto you, That he shall make him ruler over all his goods.

19 But and if that evil servant shall say in his heart, My lord delayeth his coming, and shall begin to smite his fellow servants, and to eat with the glutton, and drink with the drunken.

20 The lord of that servant shall come in a day when he looketh not for him, and in an hour that he is not aware of. And shall appoint him his portion with the hypocrites in the outer darkness with the cruel, and them that have no love, no pity: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

(-All through this chapter the language is highly symbolical, but will present little difficulty to the initiated. v. 12. (See Note in the original "Genesis" Edited by same Editor).

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 62

The Parable Of The Ten Virgins.

1 Then shall the kingdom of Heaven be like unto ten virgins, which took their lamps, and went forth to meet the bridegroom. And five of them were wise, and five were foolish.

2 They that were foolish took their lamps, and took no oil with them: But the wise took oil in their vessels with their lamps.

3 While the bridegroom tarried, they all slumbered and slept. And at midnight there was a great cry made, Behold, the bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet him. Then all those virgins arose, and trimmed their lamps.

4 And the foolish said unto the wise, Give us of your oil; for our lamps are gone out. But the wise answered, saying, Not so, lest there be not enough for us and you: but go ye rather to them that sell, and buy for yourselves.

5 And while they went to buy, the bridegroom came; and they that were ready went in with him to the marriage: and the door was shut.

6 Afterwards came also the other virgins, saying Lord, Lord, open to us. But he answered and said, Verily I say unto you. I know you not.

7 Watch therefore, for ye know neither the day nor the hour wherein the Son of man cometh. Keep your lamps burning.

(1. -This parable of the ten virgins most accurately indicates the oblivion and indifference which shall come on Christians in the last days of the Christian Church -the days of Laodicean indifference, the Seventh or last age.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 63

Parable Of The Talents

1 He also said: The kingdom of Heaven is as a man traveling into a far country, who called his own servants, and delivered unto them his goods. And unto one he gave five talents, to another two, and to another one; to every man according to his several ability; and straightway took his journey.

2 Then he that had received the five talents went and traded with the same, and made them other five talents. And likewise he that had received two, he also gained other two. But he that had received one went and digged in the earth, and hid his lord's money.

3 After a long time, the lord of those servants cometh, and reckoneth with them. And so he that had received five talents came and brought other five talents, saying, Lord, thou deliveredst unto me five talents; behold, I have gained beside them five talents more. His lord said unto him, Well done, thou good and faithful servant: thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things; enter thou into the joy of thy lord.

4 He also that had received two talents came and said, Lord, thou deliveredst unto me two talents; behold, I have gained two other talents beside them. His lord said unto him, Well done, good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, will make thee ruler over many things; enter thou into the joy of thy lord.

5 Then he which had received the one talent came and said, Lord, I knew thee that thou art an hard man, reaping where thou hast not sown, and gathering where thou hast not strawed. And I was afraid, and went and hid thy talent in the earth; lo, there thou hast that is thine.

6 His lord answered and said unto him, Thou wicked and slothful servant, dost thou tell me that I reap where I sowed not, and gather where I have not strawed? Thou oughtest therefore to have put thy talents to use, with profit, and then at my coming I should have received mine own with usury.

7 Take therefore the talent from him, and give it unto him who hath two talents. For unto every one that hath improved shall be given, and he shall have abundance, but from him that hath not improved, shall be taken away, even that which he hath. And cast yet out the unprofitable servant into outer darkness, for that is the portion he hath chosen.

8 Jesus also said unto his disciples, Be ye approved money-changers of the kingdom, rejecting the bad and the false, and retaining the good and the true.

9 And Jesus sat over against the Treasury and beheld how the people cast money into the Treasury.

10 And there came a certain poor widow and she threw in two mites, which make a farthing. (Widow's Mites; tiny copper coins circulated in Judaea during the time of Christ.)

11 And He called His disciples unto him and said, Verily I say unto you, that this poor widow hath cast more in than all they which have cast into the Treasure.

12 For all they did cast in of their abundance, but she of her poverty did cast in all that she had, even all her living.

(8. -These words are one of the "last sayings" of Jesus and vividly describe the duty of a Christian Council, so oft neglected.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 64

Jesus Teacheth In The Palm Circle.

1 Jesus came to a certain fountain near Bethany, around which grew twelve palm trees, where he often went with his disciples to teach them of the mysteries of the kingdom, and there he sat beneath the shade of the trees and his disciples with him.

2 And one of them said, Master, it is written of old, The Alohim made man in Their own image, male and female created They them. How sayest thou then that God is one? And Iesus said unto them, Verily, I said unto you, In God there is neither male nor female and yet both are one, and God is the Two in One. He is She and She is He. The Alohim—our God—is perfect, Infinite, and One.

3 As in the man, the Father is manifest, and the Mother hidden; so in the woman, the Mother is manifest, and the Father hidden. Therefore shall the name of the Father and the Mother be equally hallowed, for They are the great Powers of God, and the one is not without the other, in the One God.

4 Adore ye God, above you, beneath you, on the right hand, on the left hand before you, behind you, within you, around you. Verily, there is but One God, Who is All in All, and in Whom all things do consist, the Fount of all Life and all Substance, without beginning and without end.

5 The things which are seen and pass away are The manifestations of the unseen which are eternal, that from the visible things of Nature ye may reach to the invisible things of the Godhead; and by that which is natural, attain to that which is spiritual.

6 Verily, the Alohim created man in the divine image male and female, and all nature is in the Image of God, therefore is God both male and female, not divided, but the Two in One, Undivided and Eternal, by Whom and in Whom are all things, visible and invisible.

7 From the Eternal they flow, to the Eternal they return. The spirit to Spirit, soul to Soul, mind to Mind, sense to Sense, life to Life, form to Form, dust to Dust.

8 In the beginning God willed and there came forth the beloved Son, the divine Love, and the beloved Daughter, the holy Wisdom, equally proceeding from the One Eternal Fount; and of these are the generations of the Spirits of God, the Sons and Daughters of the Eternal.

9 And These descend to earth, and dwell with men and teach them the ways of God, to love the laws of the Eternal, and obey them, that in them they may find salvation.

10 Many nations have seen their day. Under divers names have they been revealed to them, and they have rejoiced in their light; and even now they come again unto you, but Israel receiveth them not.

11 Verily I say unto you, my twelve whom I have chosen, that which hath been taught by them of old time is true—though corrupted by the foolish imaginations of men.

12 Again, Jesus spake unto Mary Magdalene saying, It is written in the law, Whoso leaveth father or mother, let him die the death. Now the law speaketh not of the parents in this life, but of the Indweller of light which is in us unto this day.

13 Whoso therefore forsaketh Christ the Saviour, the Holy law, and the body of the Elect, let them die the death. Yea, let them be lost in the outer darkness, for so they willed and none can hinder.

(-The occult teaching, in this discourse, of Jesus to his twelve has been handed down in spirit through the ages, but the world is blind and perceives not. See the same teaching in "New Light on Old Truths," founded on this Scripture.

8. -Beneath this profound saying of the Ghost Physician, the student cannot fail to notice the intimate and correct knowledge of the human frame, underlying the spiritual truth, which he enunciated. This knowledge has been claimed by science only some centuries later. The inner self- "alternate sex," in every man and woman, which occasionally manifests itself in the dream state, seems to be no mystery to him. (See G. Leland on " The Alternative Sex"; Welby, London).

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 65

The Last Anointing by Mary Magdalene.

1 Now, on the evening of the Sabbath before the Passover, as Iesus was in Bethany he went to the house of Simon the leper, and there they made him a supper, and Martha served while Lazarus was one of them that sat at table with him.

2 And there came Mary called Magdalene, having an alabaster box of ointment of spikenard, very precious and costly, and she opened the box and poured the ointment on the head of Jesus, and anointed his feet, and wiped them with the hair of her head

3 Then said one among his disciples, Judas Iscariot, who was to betray him, Why is this waste of ointment which might have been sold for three hundred pence and given to the poor? And this he said not that he cared for the poor but because he was filled with jealousy and greed, and had the bag, and bare what was put therein. And they murmured against her.

4 And Jesus said, Let her alone, why trouble ye her? for she hath done all she could; yea, she hath wrought a good work on me. For ye have the poor always with you, but me ye have not always. She hath anointed my body for the day of my burial.

5 And verily, I say unto you, wheresoever this Gospel shall be preached in the whole world there shall also be told this that she hath done for a memorial of her.

6 Then entered Satan into the heart of Judas Iscariot and he went his way and communed with the chief priests and captains how he might betray him. And they were glad and covenanted with him for thirty pieces of silver, the price of a slave, and he promised them, and after that sought opportunity to betray him.

7 And at that time Iesus said to his disciples Preach ye unto all the world, saying, Strive to receive the mysteries of Light, and enter into the Kingdom of Light, for now is the accepted time and now is the day of Salvation.

8 Put ye not off from day to day, and from cycle to cycle and eon to eon, in the belief, that when ye return to this world ye will succeed in gaining the mysteries, and entering into the Kingdom of Light.

9 For ye know not when the number of perfected souls shall be filled up, and then will be shut the gates of the Kingdom of Light, and from hence none will be able to come in thereby, nor will any go forth.

10 Strive ye that ye may enter while the calls is made, until the number of perfected souls shall be sealed and complete, and the door is shut.

(2. -It has been supposed by some, and not without some reason from the words of the Gospel, that envy and jealousy, and not greed of money, were the cause of Iudas' treachery, because he desired Mary Magdalene, and she had given all her love and devotion to her Master. This inner feeling seems to be concealed beneath the cloak of zeal for the poor. "From that hour he sought to betray him." It is as probable that all

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three motives urged him, as they do the multitudes nowadays, who grudge magnificence of architecture, music, etc., under the cloak of "unity." "These things ought ye to have done and not left the other undone." But such show their hypocrisy by their reckless contributions to war, and to all manner of pleasures and amusements and luxuries which minister to self. By the spirit of Iudas Iscariot are all such led and dominated.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 66

Jesus Again Teacheth His Disciples

1 Again Jesus taught them saying, God hath raised up witnesses to the truth in every nation and every age, that all might know the will of the Eternal and do it, and after that, enter into the kingdom, to be rulers and workers with the Eternal,

2 God is Power, Love and Wisdom, and these three are One. God is Truth, Goodness and Beauty, and these three are One.

3 God is Justice, Knowledge and Purity, and these three are One. God is Splendour, Compassion and Holiness, and these three are One.

4 And these four Trinities are One in the hidden Deity, the Perfect, the Infinite, the Onely.

5 Likewise in every man who is perfected, there are three persons, that of the son, that of the spouse. and that of the father, and these three are one.

6 So in every woman who is Perfected are there three persons, that of the daughter, that of the bride, and that of the mother and these three are one; and the man and the woman are one, even as God is One

7 Thus it is with God the Father-Mother, in Whom is neither male nor female and in Whom is both, and each is threefold, and all are One in the hidden Unity.

8 Marvel not at this, for as it is above so it is below, and as it is below so it is above, and that which is on earth is so, because it is so in Heaven.

9 Again I say unto you, I and My Bride are one, even as Maria Magdalena, whom I have chosen and sanctified unto Myself as a type, is one with Me; I and My Church are One. And the Church is the elect of humanity for the salvation of all.

10 The Church of the first born is the Maria of God. Thus saith the Eternal, She is My Mother and she hath ever conceived Me, and brought Me forth as Her Son in every age and clime. She is My Bride, ever one in Holy Union with Me her Spouse. She is My Daughter, for she hath ever issued and proceeded from Me her Father, rejoicing in Me.

11 And these two Trinities are One in the Eternal, and are strewn forth in each man and woman who are made perfect, ever being born of God, and rejoicing in light, ever being lifted up and made one with God, ever conceiving and bringing forth God for the salvation of the many.

12 This is the Mystery of the Trinity in Humanity, and moreover in every individual child of man must be accomplished the mystery of God, ever witnessing to the light, suffering for the truth, ascending into Heaven, and sending forth the Spirit of Truth And this is the path of salvation, for the kingdom of God is within.

13 And one said unto him, Master, when shall the kingdom come? And he answered and said, When that which is without shall be as that which is within, and that which is within shall be as that which is without, and, the male with the female, neither male nor female, but the two in One. They who have ears to hear, let them hear.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 67

Entry Into Jerusalem

1 Now on the first day of the week when they came nigh to Jerusalem, unto Bethage and Bethany, at the Mount of Olives, he sendeth forth two of his disciples, and saith unto them, Go your way into the village over against you, and as soon as you be entered into it, ye shalt find an ass tied, whereon never man sat, loose him and bring him.

2 And if any say unto you, Why do ye this? say ye that the Lord hath need of him, and straightway they will send him hither.

3 And they went their way and found the ass tied without in a place where two ways met, and they loosed him. And certain of them that stood there said unto them, What do ye, loosing the colt? And they said unto them, even as Iesus had commanded. And they let them go.

4 And they brought the ass to Iesus, and cast their garments upon him, and he sat upon the ass. And many spread their garments in the way, and others cut down branches off the trees and strewed them in the way.

5 And they that went before, and they that followed cried, saying, Hosanna, Blessed art thou who comest in the name of Jova: Blessed be the Kingdom of our ancestor David, and blessed be thou that comest in the name of the Highest: Hosanna in the highest.

6 And Iesus entered into Jerusalem and into the Temple, and when he had looked round about upon all things, he spake this parable unto them, saying—

7 When the Son of man shall come in his glory and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory. And before him shall be gathered all nations, and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats. And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left.

8 Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come ye blessed of my Parent, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For I was an hungered and ye gave me food. was thirsty and ye gave me drink. I was a stranger anal ye took me in. Naked and ye clothed me. I was sick and ye visited me. I was in prison and ye came unto me.

9 Then shall the righteous answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungered and fed thee? Or thirsty and gave thee drink? when saw we thee a stranger and took thee in? or naked and clothed thee? Or when saw we thee sick, or in prison and came unto thee ?

10 And the King shall answer and say unto them, Behold, I manifest myself unto you, in all created forms; and verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.

11 Then shall he say also unto them on his left hand, Depart from me ye evil souls into the eternal fires which ye have prepared for yourselves, till ye are purified seven times and cleansed from your sins.

12 For I was an hungered and ye gave me no food, I was thirsty and ye gave me no drink. I was a stranger and ye took me not in, naked and ye clothed me not, sick and in prison and ye visited me not.

13 Then shall they also answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungered, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or in prison, and did not minister unto thee ?

14 Then shall he answer them, saying, Behold I manifest myself unto you, in all created forms, and Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye did it not to the least of these, my brethren, ye did it not unto me.

15 And the cruel and the loveless shall go away into chastisement for ages, and if they repent not, be utterly destroyed; but the righteous and the merciful, shall go into life and peace everlasting.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 68

The Householder And The Husbandmen. Order Out Of Disorder.

1 And Jesus said, Hear another parable: There was a certain householder, who planted a vineyard, and hedged it round about and digged a winepress in it, and built a tower, and let it out to husbandmen and went into a far country.

2 And when the time of the ripe fruits drew near, he sent his servants to the husbandmen that they might receive the fruits of it. And the husbandmen took his servants and beat one, and stoned another, and killed another.

3 Again he sent other servants, more honourable than the first, and they did unto them likewise. But last of all he sent unto them his son, saying, They will reverence my son.

4 But when the husbandmen saw the son, they said among themselves. This is the heir, come let us kill him, and let us seize on his inheritance. And they caught him and cast him out of the vineyard and slew him.

5 When the lord of the vineyard cometh what will he do unto those husbandmen? They say unto him, He will miserably destroy those wicked men and will let out his vineyard to other husbandmen, which shall render him the fruits in their seasons.

6 Jesus saith unto them, Did ye never read in the scriptures, The Stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the Pyramid? this is the Lord's doing and it is marvellous in our eyes?

7 Therefore say I unto you, The kingdom of God shall be taken from you and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof. And whosoever shall fall on this Stone shall be broken, but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind them to powder.

8 And when the chief priests and Pharisees had heard his parables, they perceived that he spake of them. But when they sought to lay hands on him they feared the multitude, because they took him for a prophet.

9 And the disciples asked him afterwards the meaning of this parable, and he said unto them, The vineyard is the world, the husbandmen are your priests, and the messengers are the servants of the good Law, and the Prophets.

10 When the fruits of their labour are demanded of the priests, none are given, but they evilly treat the messengers who teach the truth of God, even as they have done from the beginning.

11 And when the Son of Man cometh, even the Christ of God, they gather together against the Holy One, and slay him, and cast him out of the vineyard, for they have not wrought the things of the Spirit, but sought their own pleasure and gain, rejecting the holy Law.

12 Had they accepted the Anointed One, who is the corner stone and the head, it would have been well with them, and the Building would have stood, even as the Temple of God inhabited by the Spirit.

13 But the day will come when the Law which they reject shall become the head stone, seen of all, and they who stumble on it shall be broken, but they who persist in disobedience shall he ground to pieces.

14 For to some of the angels God gave dominion over the course of this world, charging them to rule in wisdom. in justice and in love. But they have neglected the commands of the Most High, and rebelled against the good order of God. Thus cruelty and suffering and sorrow have entered the world, till the time the Master returns, and taketh possession of all things, and calleth his servants to account.

15 And he spake another parable, saying: A certain man had two sons, and he came to the first and said, Son, go work today in my vineyard, and he answered and said, I will not, but afterwards he repented and went. And he came to the second and said likewise, and he answered and said, I go, sir, and went not. Whether of them twain did the will of his father?

16 They say unto him, The first, and Iesus saith unto them, Verily I say unto you, That the publicans and harlots go into the kingdom of God before you. For John came unto you in the way of righteousness and ye believed him not, but the taxgatherers and the harlots believed him, and ye, when ye had seen it, repented not afterwards, that ye might believe him.

17 And the Lord gathered together all his disciples in a certain place. And he said unto them, Can ye make perfection to appear out of that which is imperfect? Can ye bring order out of disorder? And they said, Lord, we cannot.

18 And he placed them according to the number of each in a four-square order, each side lacking one of twelve (and this he did, knowing who should betray him, who should be counted one of them by man, but was not of them)

19 The first in the seventh rank from above in the middle, and the last in the seventh from below, and him that was neither first nor last did he make the Centre of all, and the rest according to a Divine order did he place them, each finding his own place, so those which were above, were even as those which were below, and the left side was equal to the right side, and the right side to the left, according to the sum of their numbers.

20 An he said, See you how ye stand? I say unto you, In like manner is the order of the kingdom, and the One who ruleth all is in your midst, and he is the centre, and with him are the hundred and twenty, the elect of Israel, and after them cometh the hundred and forty and four thousand, the elect of the Gentiles, who are their brethren.

(-Again, studying these "dark sayings" so difficult to understand, recourse has been had to certain figures known to the early Gnostics. (See the "Squares and Circles" by the Editor of this Gospel.) The Magic Square of 11 has been found wonderfully to explicate, symbolically at least, to the mystical, the meaning of the passage. The form exactly illustrates what the Lord in symbol taught to his disciples of the bringing forth of order out of disorder, perfection out of imperfection, and out of deficiency fulness. Compare the Magic Square given below with the natural square which anyone can form by writing the numbers in consecutive order; the result is at once seen, and may help to arrive at the meaning of this very mystical passage:- See Square

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 69

The Christ Within, The Resurrection And The Life.

1 As Iesus sat by the west of the Temple with his disciples, behold there passed some carrying one that was dead to burial, and a certain one said unto him, Master, if a man die, shall he live again?

2 And he answered and said, I am the resurrection and the life, I am the Good, the Beautiful, the True, if a man believe in me he shall not die, but live eternally. As in Adam all die, so in the Christ shall all be made alive. Blessed are the dead who die in me, and are made perfect in my image and likeness, for they rest from their labours and their works do follow them. They have overcome evil, and are made Pillars in the Temple of my God, and they go out no more, for they rest in the Eternal.

3 For them that have done evil there is no rest, but they go out and in, and suffer correction for ages, till they are made perfect. But for them that have done good and attained unto perfection, there is endless rest and they go into life everlasting. They rest in the Eternal.

4 Over them the repeated death and birth have no power, for them the wheel of the Eternal revolves no more, for they have attained unto the Centre, where is eternal rest, and the centre of all things is God.

5 And one of the disciples asked him, How shall a man enter into the Kingdom? And he answered and said, If ye make not the below as the above, and the left as the right, and the behind as the before, entering into the Centre and passing into the Spirit, ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of God.

6 And he also said, Believe ye not that any man is wholly without error for even among the prophets. and those who have keen initiated into the Christhood, the word of error has been found. But there are a multitude of error which are covered by love.

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7 And now when the eventide was come, he went out unto Bethany with the twelve. For there abode Lazarus and Mary and Martha whom he loved.

8 And Salome came unto him, and asked him, saying, Lord, how long shall death hold sway? And he answered, So long as ye men inflict burdens and ye woman bring forth, and for this purpose I am come, to end the works of the heedless..

9 And Salome saith unto him, Then I have done well in not bringing forth. And the Lord answered and said Eat of every pasture which is good, but of that which hath the bitterness of death, eat not.

10 And when Salome asked when those things of which she enquired should be known, the Lord said, When ye shall tread upon the vesture of shame and rise above desire; when the two shall be one, and the male with the female shall be neither male nor female.

11 And again, to another disciple who asked, When shall all obey the law? Iesus said, When the Spirit of God shall fill the whole earth and every heart of man and of woman.

12 I cast the law into the earth and it took root and bore in due time twelve fruits for the nourishment of all. I cast the law into the water and it was cleansed from all defilements of evil. I cast the law into the fire, and the gold was purged from all dross. I cast the law into the air, and it was made alive by the Spirit of the Living One that filleth all things and dwelleth in every heart.

13 And many other like sakings he spake unto them who had ears to hear, and an understanding mind. But to the multitude they were dark sayings.

(8, 9. -This saying of Jesus is very difficult to the popular mind, as apparently reversing the original injunction in Gen.1-3, "Be ye fruitful and multiply." To understand this, it must be borne in mind that the promise of a Messiah to redeem the world, has, from the earliest times, begotten in the woman of the Hebrew nation, to whom it was specially given, that insatiable desire for offspring, each woman thinking of herself as the possible mother of Him who was to come and save. Iesus, the true Prophet, seeing the tendency to the propagation of the unfit (as we now see) to bring want, misery, squalor, vice and crime, through the inability of most parents to bring them up as they should be, owing to the curse of competition and greed, here proclaimed to Salome, in answer to her query, that he would reverse all this tendency among his followers, and through them, extend this reversal to mankind at large, for He, the desire and hope of nations, having come, there was no longer any supposed necessity or reason for such increase, of which He, the Prophet of God, fully foresaw the evil, in the ages to come, as we now fully experience it.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 70

Jesus Rebukes Peter For His Haste.

1 Now on the morrow as they were coming from Bethany, Peter was hungry, and perceiving a fig tree afar off having leaves thereon, he came if happily he might find fruit thereon, and when he came he found nothing but leaves, for the time of figs was not yet.

2 And Peter was angry and said unto it, Accursed tree, no man eat fruit of thee hereafter for ever. And some of the disciples heard of it.

3 And the next day as Jesus and his disciples passed by, Peter said unto Jesus, Master, behold, the fig tree which I cursed is green and flourishing, wherefore did not my word prevail?

4 Iesus said unto Peter, Thou knowest not what spirit thou art of. Wherefore didst thou curse that which God hath not cursed? And Peter said, Behold Lord I was a hungered, and finding leaves and no fruit, I was angry, and I cursed the tree.

5 And Jesus said, Son of Jonas knewest thou not that the time of figs was not yet? Behold the corn which is in the field which groweth according to its nature first the green shoot, then the stalk, then the ear—would thou be angry if thou camest at the time of the tender shoot or the stalk, and didst not find the corn in the ear? And wouldst thou curse the tree which, full of buds and blossoms, had not yet ripe fruit?

6 Verily Peter I say unto thee, one of my twelve will deny me thrice in his fear and anger with curses, and swear that he knows me not, and the rest will forsake me for a season.

7 But ye shall repent and grieve bitterly, because in your heart ye love me, and ye shall be as an Altar of twelve hewn stones, and a witness to my Name, and ye shall be as the Servants of servants, and the keys of the Church will I give unto you, and ye shall feed my sheep and my lambs and ye shall be my vice-gerents upon earth.

8 But there shall arise men amongst them that succeed you, of whom some shall indeed love me even as thou, who being hotheaded and unwise, and void of patience, shall curse those whom God hath not cursed, and persecute them in their ignorance, because they cannot yet find in them the fruits they seek.

9 And others being lovers of themselves shall make alliance with the kings and rulers of the world, and seek earthly power, and riches, and domination, and put to death by fire and sword those who seek the truth, and therefore are truly my disciples.

10 And in their days I Iesus shall be crucified afresh and put to open shame, for they will profess to do these things in my Name. And Peter said, Be it far from thee Lord.

11 And Iesus answered, As I shall be nailed to the cross, so also shall my Church in those days, for she is my Bride and one with me. But the day shall come when this darkness shall pass away, and true Light shall shine.

12 And one shall sit on my throne, who shall be a Man of Truth and Goodness and Power, and he shall be filled with love and wisdom beyond all others, and shall rule my Church by a fourfold twelve and by two and seventy as of old, and that only which is true shall he teach.

13 And my Church shall be filled with Light, and give Light unto all nations of the earth, and there shall be one Pontiff sitting on his throne as a King and a Priest.

14 And my Spirit shall be upon him and his throne shall endure and not be shaken, for it shall be founded on love and truth and equity, and light shall come to it, and go forth from it, to all the nations of the earth, and the Truth shall make them free.

(1-5. -Long has Jesus suffered reproach, for those words so falsely attributed to him, in place of the impulsive Peter, who spoke them, and with whose character they were in full harmony.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 71

The Cleansing Of The Temple

1 And the Jews' Passover was at hand, and Jesus went up again from Bethany into Jerusalem. And he found in the temple those that sold oxen and sheep and doves, and the changers of money sitting.

2 And when he had made a scourge of seven cords, he drove them all out of the temple and loosed the sheep and the oxen, and the doves, and poured out the changers' money, and overthrew the tables;

3 And said unto them, Take these things hence; make not my Father's House an House of merchandise. Is it not written, My House is a House of prayer, for all nations? but ye have made it a den of thieves, and filled it with all manner of abominations.

4 And he would not suffer that any man should carry any vessel of blood through the temple, or that any animals should be slain. And the disciples remembered that it was written, Zeal for thine house hath eaten me up.

5 Then answered the Jews, and said unto him, What sign shewest thou unto us, seeing that thou doest these things? Iesus answered and said unto them, Again I say unto you, Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up.

6 Then said the Jews, Forty and six years was this temple in building and wilt thou rear it up in three days? But he spake of the temple of his Body.

7 When therefore he was risen from the dead, his disciples remembered that he had said this unto them; and believed the scripture and the word which Iesus had said.

8 But the scribes and the priests saw and heard, and were astonished and sought how they might destroy him, for they feared him, seeing that all the people were attentive to his doctrines.

9 And when even was come he went out of the city. For by day he taught in the Temple and at night he went out and abode on the Mount of Olives, and the people came early in the morning to hear him in the Temple courts.

10 Now when he was in Jerusalem at the passover, many believed in his Name, when they saw the miracles which he did.

11 But Iesus did not commit himself unto them, because he knew all men. And needed not that any should testify of man; for he knew what was in man.

12 And Iesus seeing the passover night was at hand, sent two of his disciples, that they should prepare the upper room where he desired to eat with his twelve, and buy such things as were needful for the feast which he purposed thereafter.

(3. - Often translated as slaughterhouse in text having the characteristics of language past and not surviving chiefly on behalf of the revisionists alone.

1-4. -Twice the Lord is said to have performed this symbolic act. Surely, at his return, it will be his first work! For since the first ages till now the spirit of the world ruleth, and mammon is dominant, and every kind of wickedness in the name of religion, zeal for purity, etc.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 72

The Many Mansions In The One House

1 And as Iesus sat with his disciples in the Garden of Gethsemane he said unto them: Let not your heart be troubled; ye believe in God, believe also in me. In my parent's house are many mansions: if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also. And whither I go ye know, and the way ye know.

2 Thomas said unto him, Lord, we know not whither thou goest; and how can we know the way? Iesus saith unto him, I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life: no man cometh unto the All Parent but by me, If ye had known me, ye should have known my Parent also: and from henceforth ye know and have seen my Parent.

3 Philip saith unto him, Lord, shew US the All-Parent and it sufficeth us. Iesus saith unto him, Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me, Philip? he that hath seen me hath seen the All-Parent; and how sayest thou then, Shew us the All-Parent? Believest thou not that I am in the All-Parent, and the All-Parent in me? the words that I speak unto you I speak not of myself: but the All-Parent who dwelleth in me doeth the works.

4 Believe me, that I am in the All-Parent and the All-Parent in me: or else, believe me for the very works' sake. Verily, verily, I say unto you, They who believe on me, the works that I do shall they do also; and greater works than these shall they do; because I go unto my Parent.

5 And whatsoever ye shall ask in my Name, that will I do, that the All-Parent may be glorified in the Son and Daughter of Man. If ye shall ask anything in my Name, I will do it.

6 If ye love me, keep my commandments. And I will pray the All-Parent, Who shall give you another Comforter, to abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of truth. whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth not, neither knoweth, but ye know; for the Spirit dwelleth with you, and shall be in you.

8 They who have my commandments, and keep them, these are they who love me; and they that love me shall be loved of my Parent, and I will love them and will manifest myself to them.

9 Judas saith unto him, Lord, how is it that thou wilt manifest thyself unto us, and not unto the world? Iesus answered and said unto him, If any love me, they will keep my words: and the Holy One will love them and we will come unto them, and make our abode with them.

10 They that love me not keep not my sayings: and the word which ye hear is not mine, but the All-Parent's who sent me. These things have I spoken unto you, being yet present with you. But the Comforter, who is my Mother, Holy Wisdom, whom the Father will send in my name, she shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you.

11 Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid. Ye have heard how I said unto you, I go away, and come again unto you. If ye loved me ye would rejoice, because I said, I go unto the All-Parent: for the All-Parent is greater than I.

12 And now I have told you before it come to pass, that, when it is come to pass, ye may believe. Hereafter I will not talk much with you; for the prince of this world cometh, and hath nothing in me.

13 But that the world may know that I love the All-Parent; as the All-Parent gave me commandment, even so I do. Even unto the end.

(1. -In the language of the Churches of this day, there is but one mansion in the Father's house, and that is claimed by each of over 300 different sects as its own, and all outside are damned, not for their evil deeds, but because they cannot see as their rulers profess to see.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 73

The True Vine

1 After these things Iesus spake saying unto them: I am the true vine, and my Parent is the vinedresser. Every branch in me that beareth not fruit is taken away: and every branch that beareth fruit, is purged that it may bring forth more fruit.

2 Abide in me, and I in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in me. I am the tree, ye are the branches: Whoso abide in me and I in them, the same bring forth much fruit; for without me ye do nothing.

3 If any abide not in me, they are cast forth as useless branches, and they wither away; and men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned. If ye abide in me, and my words abide in you, ye shall ask what ye will, and it will be done unto you.

4 Verily, I am the true Bread which cometh down out of Heaven, even the Substance of God which is one with the Life of God. And, as many grains are in one bread, so are ye, who believe, and do the will of my Parent, one in me. Not as your ancestors did eat manna and are dead; but they who eat this Bread shall live for ever.

5 As the wheat is separated from the chaff, so must ye be separated from the falsities of the world; yet must ye not go out of the world, but live separate in the world, for the life of the world.

6 Verily, verily, the wheat is parched by fire, so must ye my disciples pass through tribulations. But rejoice ye: for having suffered with me as one body ye shall reign with me in one body, and give life to the world.

7 Herein is my Parent glorified, that ye bear much fruit; so shall ye be my disciples. As the All-Parent hath loved me, so have I loved you: continue ye in my love. If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love; even as I have kept my Parent's commandments, and abide in the spirit of love.

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8 These things have I spoken unto you, that my joy might remain in you, and that your joy might be full. This is my commandment, That ye love one another, as I have loved you. Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friend Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you.

9 Henceforth I call you not servants; for the servant knoweth not what his lord doeth: but I have called you friends; for all things that I have heard of my Parent I have made known unto you. Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you, and ordained you, that ye should remain: that whatsoever ye shall ask of the All-Parent in my Name, ye may receive.

10 These things I command you, that ye love one another and all the creatures of God. If the world hate you, ye know that it hated me before it hated you. If ye were of the world, the world would love its own: but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world' therefore the world hateth you.

11 Remember the word that I said unto you, The servant is not greater than his lord. If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you; if they have kept my saying, they will keep yours also. But all these things will they do unto you for my Name's sake, because they know not him that sent me.

12 If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin: but now they have no cloke for their sin. He that hateth me hateth my Parent also. If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin: but now have they, have seen and hated both me and my Parent. But this cometh to pass, that the word might be fulfilled that is written in their law, They hated me without a cause.

13 But when the Comforter is come, Whom I will send unto you from the All Parent, even the Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father and the Mother the same shall testify of me: And ye also shall bear witness, because ye have been with me from the beginning.

(1-6. -"I am the true Vine, ye are the branches" -in unity with the stem by the continual possession of the One Life, not by mere external unity, valuable as this is, and certainly not by a dead uniformity of opinion in all things. "Tot homines tut sententice."

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 74

Iesus Foretelleth Persecutions

1 These things have I spoken unto you that ye should be forewarned, They shall put you out of the synagogues; yea, the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think that they do God's service. And these things will they do unto you, because they have not known the All Parent, nor me.

2 But these things have I told you, that when the time shall come, ye may remember that I told you of them. And these things I said not unto you at the beginning, because I was with you. But now I go my way to my Parent that sent me; and none of you asketh me, Whither goest thou? But because I have said these thing unto you, sorrow hath filled your heart.

3 Nevertheless I tell you the truth; It is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send my Spirit unto you. And when the Spirit is come, the world shall be reproved of sin and of righteousness, and of judgement.

4 Of sin, because they believe not on me; of righteousness, because I go to my Father, and ye see me no more; of judgement, because the prince of this world is judged.

5 I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when the Spirit of Truth is come, she will guide you into all truth: and the same will shew you things to come and shall glorify me: for the same shall receive of mine, and shall shew it unto you.

6 All things that my Parent hath are mine: therefore said I, that the Comforter shall take of mine and shall shew it unto you. A little while, and ye shall not see me: and again, a little while, and ye shall see me, because I go to the All-Parent. Then said some of his disciples among themselves, What is that he saith unto us, A little while, and ye shall not see me: and again, a little while, and ye shall see me; and, Because I go to the All-Parent?

7 Now Iesus knew that they were desirous to ask him, and said unto them, Do ye enquire among yourselves of that I Said, A little while, and ye shall see me? Verily, verily, I say unto you, That ye shall weep and lament, but the world shall rejoice: and ye shall be sorrowful, but your sorrow shall be turned into joy.

8 A woman when she is in travail hath sorrow, because her hour is come: but as soon as she is delivered of the child, she remembereth no more the anguish, for joy that a man is born into the world. And ye now therefore have sorrow; but I will see you again, and your heart shall rejoice, and your joy no man taketh from you.

9 And in that day ye shall ask me nothing. Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall ask my Parent in my name, ye will receive. Hitherto have ye asked nothing in my name: ask and ye shall receiveth that your joy may be full. These things have I spoken unto you in proverbs; but the time cometh, when I shall no more speak unto you in a mystery, but I shall shew you plainly of the All-Parent.

10 At that day ye shall ask in my name: and I say not unto you, that I will pray my Parent for you; For the All-Parent in truth loveth you, because ye have loved me, and have believed that I came out from God. I came forth from God, and am come into the world; again, I leave the world, and go unto my God.

11 His disciples said unto him, Lo, now speakest thou plainly, and speakest no mystery. Now are we sure that thou knowest all things, and needest not that any man should ask thee: by this we believe that thou comest forth from God.

12 Iesus answered them, Do ye now believe? Be hold, the hour cometh, yea, is now come, that ye shall be scattered, every man to his own home, and shall leave me alone: and yet I am not alone, because the Father is with me.

13 These things I have spoken unto you, that in me ye might have peace. In the world ye shall have tribulation: but be of good cheer; I have overcome the world. Arise, let us go hence.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 75

The Last Paschal Supper

1 And at evening the Master cometh into the house, and there are gathered with him the Twelve and their fellows; Peter and Jacob and Thomas and John and Simon and Matthew and Andrew and Nathanael and James and Thaddeus and Jude and Philip and their companions (and there was also Judas Iscariote, who by men was numbered with the twelve, till the time when he should be manifested).

2 And they were all clad in garments of white linen, pure and clear, for linen is the righteousness of the saints; and each had the colour of his tribe. But the Master was clad in his pure white robe, over all, without seam or spot.

3 And there arose contention among them as to which of them should be esteemed the greatest, wherefore he said unto them, He that is greatest among you let him be as he that doth serve.

4 And Iesus said, With desire have I desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer. and to institute the Memorial of my Oblation for the service and salvation of all. For behold the hour cometh when the Son of man shall be betrayed into the hands of sinners.

5 And one of the twelve said unto him, Lord, is it I ? And he answered, He to whom I give the sop the same is he.

6 And Iscariot said unto him, Master, behold the unleaven bread, the mingled wine and the oil and the herbs, but where is the lamb that Moses commanded? (for Judas had bought the lamb, but Iesus had forbidden that it should be killed).

7 And John spake in the Spirit, saying, Behold the Lamb of God, the good Shepherd which giveth his life for the sheep. And Judas was troubled at these words, for he knew that he should betray him. But again Judas said, Master, is it not written in the law that a lamb must be slain for the passover within the gates?

8 And Iesus answered, If I am lifted up on the cross then indeed shall the lamb be slain; but woe unto him by whom it is delivered into the hands of the slayers; it were better of him had he not been born.

9 Verily I say unto you, for this end have I come into the world, that I may put away all blood offerings and the eating of the flesh of the beasts and the birds that are slain by men.

10 In the beginning, God gave to all, the fruits of the trees, and the seeds, and the herbs, for food; but those who loved themselves more than God, or their fellows, corrupted their ways, and brought diseases into their bodies, and filled the earth with lust and violence.

11 Not by shedding innocent blood, therefore, but by living a righteous life, shall ye find the peace of God. Ye call me the Christ of God and ye say well, for I am the Way, the Truth and the Life.

12 Walk ye in the Way, and ye shall find God. Seek ye the Truth, and the Truth shall make you free. Live in the Life, and ye shall see no death. All things are alive in God, and the Spirit of God filleth all things.

13 Keep ye the commandments. Love thy God with all thy heart, and love thy neighbour as thyself. On these hang all the law and the prophets. And the sum of the law is this—Do not ye unto others as ye would not that others should do unto you. Do ye unto others, as ye would that others should do unto you.

14 Blessed are they who keep this law, for God is manifested in all creatures. All creatures live in God, and God is hid in them.

15 After these things, Iesus dipped the sop and gave it to Judas Iscariot, saying, What thou doest, do quickly. He then, having received the sop, went out immediately, and it was light.

16 And when Judas Iscariot had gone out, Iesus said, Now is the Son of man glorified among his twelve, and God is glorified in him. And verily I say unto you, they who receive you receive me, and they who receive me receive the Father-Mother Who sent me, and ye who have been faithful unto the truth shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

17 And one said unto him, Lord, wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom unto Israel? And Iesus said, My kingdom is not of this world, neither are all Israel which are called Israel.

18 They in every nation who defile not themselves with cruelty, who do righteousness, love mercy, and reverence all the works of God, who give succour to all that are weak and oppressed—the same are the Israel of God.

(1. -Jacob is the same as James -called "the great." Nathanael is Bartholomew. There is no proof that Jude was the same with Thaddeus, as is alleged by some. The number at first seems to have been twelve exclusive, or thirteen (to the world's eye) including Iudas Iscariot, till he should manifest his falsity by his treachery, when he went out directly before the holy supper, leaving Iesus with the twelve -the complete number of Apostleship, which, being even, admitted of no one among them being "Master," save Iesus, who was over them.

2. -Whether the appearance of the Master and his disciples in symbolic festal garb may not have been seen only by the spiritual eye of some of the disciples or not, the lesson is the same. Reverence and love of beauty and order are to be seen in God's House -symbols of the glorious garments of that Being Who is the Eternal Mystery and Beauty manifest in all things.

15, 16. -That Twelve is the complete number of the Apostleship and that Iesus sat down "with his twelve" at the holy supper before his crucifixion, seems evident from the received gospels, and still more so, from the fragments lately brought to light. Iudas Iscariot appears then to have been among the twelve but not of them, therefore before the Eucharistic rite is celebrated "he goes out." If there were any ill omen at all about the number thirteen it would therefore be thirteen as the number of Apostles present, exclusive of the Master and Head. But to thirteen, inclusive of the presiding host, no ill omen could attach, but the reverse.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 76

The Washing Of Feet. New Commandment. The Eucharistic Oblation.

1 And the Paschal Supper being ended, the lights were kindled, for it was even. And Iesus arose from the table and laid aside his garment, and girded himself with a towel, and pouring water into a basin, washed the feet of each of the fourfold Twelve, and wiped them with the towel with which he was girded.

2 And one of them said, Lord, thou shalt not wash my feet. And Iesus said, If I wash thee not thou hast no part with me. And he answered, Lord, wash not my feet only, but my head and my hands.

3 And he said unto him, They who have come out of the bath, need not but to wash their feet, and they are clean every whit.

4 And then putting on the overgarment of pure white linen without spot or seam, he sat at the table and said unto them, Know ye what I have done unto you? Ye call me Lord and Master, and if then your Lord and Master have washed your feet, ye ought also to wash one another's feet. For I have given this example, that as I have done unto you, so also should ye do unto others.

5 A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another and all the creatures of God. Love is the fulfilling of the law. Love is of God, and God is love. Whoso loveth not, knoweth not God.

6 Now ye are clean through the word which I have spoken unto you. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples if ye have love one to another and shew mercy and love to all creatures of God, especially to those that are weak and oppressed and suffer wrong. For the whole earth is filled with dark places of cruelty, and with pain and sorrow, by the selfishness and ignorance of man.

7 I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, and give them light for their darkness and let the spirit of love dwell within your hearts, and abound unto all. And again I say unto you, Love one another, and all the creation of God And when he had finished, they said, Blessed be God.

8 Then he lifted up his voice, and they joined him, saying, As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God. And when they had ended, one brought unto him a censer full of live coals, and he cast frankincense thereon even the frankincense which his mother had given him in the day of his manifestation, and the sweetness of the odour filled the room.

9 Then Jesus, placing before him the platter, and behind it the chalice, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, gave thanks for the goodness of God in all things and unto all, and after that he took in his hands the unleavened bread, and blessed it; the wine likewise mingled with water and blessed it; chanting the Invocation of the Holy Name the Sevenfold, calling upon the thrice Holy Father-Mother in Heaven to send down the Holy Spirit and make the bread to be his body, even the Body of the Christ, and the fruit of the vine to be his Blood, even the Blood of the Christ, for the remission of sins and everlasting life, to all who obey the gospel.

10 Then lifting up the Oblation towards heaven, he said, The Son who is also the Daughter of man is lifted up from the

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earth, and I shall draw all men unto me; then it shall be known of the people that I am sent from God.

11 These things being done, Iesus spake these words, lifting his eyes to heaven. Abba Amma, the hour is come, Glorify thy Son that Thy Son may be glorified in thee.

12 Yea, Thou hast glorified me, Thou hast filled my heart with fire, Thou hast set lamps on my right hand and on my left, so that no part of my being should be without light. Thy Love shineth on my right hand and on my left, so that no part of my being should be without light. Thy Love shineth on my right hand, and Thy Wisdom on my left. Thy Love, Thy Wisdom, Thy Power are manifest in me.

13 I have glorified Thee on earth, I have finished the work Thou gavest me to do. Holy One, keep through Thy Name the Twelve and their fellows whom Thou hast given me, that they may be One even as we are One. Whilst I was with them in the world I kept them in Thy Name, and none of them is lost, for he who went out from us, was not of us, nevertheless, I pray for him that he may be restored. Father-Mother, forgive him, for he knoweth not what he doeth.

14 And now come I to Thee, and these things I speak in the world that they may have my joy fulfilled in themselves. I give them Thy word, and the world hath them, because they are not of the world, even as I am not of the world.

15 I pray not that Thou shouldst take them out of the world, but that Thou shouldst keep them from evil, whilst yet in the world, Sanctify them through Thy truth. Thy word is Truth. As thou sendest me into the world, so also I send them into the world, and for their sakes I sanctify myself, that they also may be sanctified through the Truth.

16 Neither pray I for these alone, but for all that shall be added to their number, and for the Two and Seventy also whom I sent forth, yea, and for all that shall believe in the Truth through Thy word, that they also may be one as Thou Most Holy art in me and I in Thee, that they may also be one in Thee, that the world may know that Thou hast sent me.

17 Holy Parent, I will also, that they whom Thou hast given me, yea all who live, be with me where I am, that they may partake of my glory which thou givest me, for Thou lovest me in all, and all in me, from before the foundations of the world.

18 The world hath not known Thee in Thy righteousness, but I know Thee, and these know that Thou hast sent me.

19 And I have declared unto them Thy Name that the love wherewith Thou hast loved me may be in them, and that from them it may abound, even unto all Thy creatures, yea, even unto all These words being ended, they all lifted up their voices with him, and prayed as he taught them, saying:

20 Our Father-Mother: Who art above and within. Hallowed be Thy sacred Name, in Biune Trinity. In Wisdom, Love and Equity Thy Kingdom come to all. Thy holy Will be done always, as in Heaven, so on Earth. Give us day by day to partake of Thy holy Bread, and the fruit of Thy living Vine. As we seek to perfect others, so perfect us in Thy Christ. Shew upon us Thy goodness, that to others we many shew the same. In the hour of trial, deliver us from evil.

21 For Thine are the Kingdom, the Power and the Glory: From the Ages of ages, Now, and to the Ages of ages. Amun.

22 Then our Master taketh the holy Bread and breaketh it, and the Fruit of the Vine also, and mingleth it, and having blessed and hallowed both, and casting a fragment of the Bread into the Cup, he blessed the holy Union.

23 Then he giveth the bread which he had hallowed to his disciples saying, Eat ye, for this is my Body, even the Body of the Christ, which is given for the Salvation of the body and the soul.

24 Likewise he giveth unto them the fruit of the Vine which he had blessed saying unto them, Drink ye, for this is my Blood, even the Blood of the Christ which is shed for you and for many, for the Salvation of the Soul and the Body.

25 And when all had partaken, he said unto them, As oft as ye assemble together in my Name, make this Oblation for a Memorial of me, even the Bread of everlasting life and the Wine of eternal salvation' and eat and drink thereof with pure heart, and ye shall receive of the Substance and the Life of God, which dwelleth in me.

26 And when they had sung a hymn, Iesus stood up in the midst of his apostles, and going to him who was their Centre, as in a solemn dance, they rejoiced in him. And then he went out to the Mount of Olives, and his disciples followed him.

27 Now Judas Iscariot had gone to the house of Caiaphas and said unto him, Behold he has celebrated the Passover, within the gates, with the Mazza in place of the lamb. I indeed bought a lamb, but he forbade that it should be killed, and lo, the man of whom I bought it is witness.

28 And Caiaphas rent his clothes and said, Truly this is a Passover of the law of Moses. He hath done the deed which is worthy of death, for it is a weighty transgression of the law. What need of further witness? Yea, even now two robbers have broken into the Temple and stolen the book of the law, and this is the end of his teaching. Let us tell these things to the people who follow him, for they will fear the authority of the law.

29 And one that was standing by as Judas came out, said unto him, Thinkest thou that they will put him to death?

30 And Judas said, Nay, for he will do some mighty work to deliver himself out of their hands, even as when they of the synagogue in Capernaum rose up against him, and brought him to the brow of the hill that they might throw him down headlong, and did he not pass safely through their midst? He will surely escape them now also, and proclaim himself openly and set up the Kingdom whereof he spake.

(4. -There are two other alternative versions of these circumstances of the last supper in the A. V .-First, that of St. John who, in the received version, expressly affirms that Iesus was crucified on the very day of the Passover and consequently the Eucharist was instituted the day before and not on the feast day Itself and the Passover was on the morrow after the trial on the day of the crucifixion. Secondly, that of the three other gospels, which all affirm that the Eucharist was Instituted on the Passover the pascal lamb was slain. If the latter, it must be remembered that the Essenes (of whom Iesus was apparently one), were by Jewish regulation allowed a separate table at which no lamb or other flesh-meat was eaten, as they were vowed abstainers from blood sacrifices and the eating of flesh. If the former it was not the Passover at all, and Iesus was not bound as a Jew to eat of a lamb. In neither of these cases, therefore, was Jesus under the alleged necessity of killing a lamb and eating of flesh-meat in order to fulfill the law. In any case the causing of an innocent lamb to be killed and the eating of such is contrary to all that is known of the character of Iesus the Christ, whose tender love extends to all creatures. If Iesus was not an Essene, then nothing can be said against the accuracy of this version of the holy supper, and the charges brought against him in the account of the trial as now given by the Spirit.

9. -"Bread," i.e. unleavened cakes of pure meal such as in use at the Passover. "Wine," here and through the Gospels, as used by Jesus and His disciples, means "the fruit of the Vine." which is pure wine mingled with four or two parts of pure water, the latter mystically representing the humanity, and the former the Divine Spirit. The strong fermented wine of modem use was never used on such festive occasions, nor even generally, except thus mingled with water. It is to be noted that the Saviour consecrated the Eucharist by Invocation of the Holy Spirit, and this has been faithfully followed by all Churches of the East, the words of institution being merely recited before, as a historical preamble, giving the authority for the action, and in no case as the words of consecration, according to the corrupt use of the West.

13. -In the received Gospel Iudas is consigned to eternal perdition, but it appears rather that he who was all compassion and prayed for his murderers, prayed also for the man who was overmastered by his passions, blinded by envy, jealousy, greed of money, or, as some say, by desire to push matters to their conclusion, and procure some decisive miracle that would establish the claim of his Master to set up a temporal kingdom.

26. -It is not stated whether there was any musical accompaniment, as is usual in the religious dances and processions of the East, but if so it was probably of the simplest, such as the Pipe, used on such occasions.

27. -The Mazza, or unleavened cake, to which may the word "Mass" be traced as applied to the Eucharist, or "Breaking of Bread" -but preferable perhaps is the interpretation of "ite missa est " -the oblation (= prayer) is gone, "sent up."

30. -Here was perhaps more probably the sole motive actuating Judas -his ambition- the desire to see a miracle, and the early sovereignty set up before the time.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 77

The Agony In The Garden

1 And as they went to the Mount of Olives, Iesus said unto them, All ye shall be offended because of me this night; for it is written, I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered abroad. But after I am risen again, I will go before you into Galilee.

2 Simon answered and said unto him, Though all men shall be offended because of thee, yet will I never be offended. And the Lord said, Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat. But I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not; and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren.

3 And he said unto him, Lord, I am ready to go with thee, both unto prison and unto death. And Iesus said, I tell thee, Simon, the cock shall not crow this night, before that thou shalt thrice deny that thou knowest me.

4 Then cometh Iesus with them, having crossed the brook Kedron, unto the garden called Gethsemane, and saith unto the disciples, Sit ye here while I go and pray yonder. (Judas also, which betrayed him, knew the place, for Iesus ofttimes resorted thither with his disciples.)

5 Then saith he unto them, My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death; tarry ye here, and watch with me.

6 And he went little farther and fell on his face and prayed, saying, O my Father-Mother, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me; nevertheless not as I will, but as Thou wilt.

7 And there appeared an angel unto him, from heaven strengthening him. And he cometh unto the disciples and finding them asleep, saith unto Peter, What, could ye not watch with me one hour?

8 Watch and pray that ye enter not into temptation: the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.

9 He went away again a second time and prayed, saying, O my Father-Mother, if this cup may not pass away from me, except I drink it, Thy will be done.

10 And being in an agony he prayed more earnestly: and his sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling to the ground.

11 And he came and found them asleep again, for their eyes were heavy.

12 And he left them and went away again and prayed a third time, saying, O my Father-Mother, not my will but Thine be done, in earth as it is in heaven.

13 Then cometh he unto his disciples and saith unto them, Sleep on now, and take your rest; behold, the hour is at hand, and the Son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners. Rise, let us be going: behold, he is at hand that doth betray me.

(2. - Here the Lord addresses Simon, not Peter. In the A. V. confusion has arisen owing to the same name being given to two Apostles, and Peter is made to reply. It does not seem likely that one who thrice betrayed the Lord should by him have been placed in the highest authority, as it subsequently appears that Peter was.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 78

The Betrayal by Judas Iscariot

1 And it came to pass while Iesus yet spake, behold there came a multitude, and Judas that was called Iscariot went before them. For Judas, having received a band of men and officers from the chief priests and Pharisees, came thither with lanterns and torches and weapons.

2 Iesus therefore, knowing all things that should a come upon him, went forth and said unto them, Whom seek ye? They answered him, Iesus of Nazareth. Iesus saith unto them, I am he.

3 As soon then as he had said unto them, I am he, they went backward and fell to the ground. And when they arose, then asked he them again, Whom seek ye? And they said, Iesus of Nazareth. And Iesus answered, I have told you, I am he; if therefore ye seek me let these go their way.

4 Now he that betrayeth him gave them a sign, saying, Whomsoever I shall kiss, that same is he: hold him fast.

5 And forthwith he came to Iesus and said, Hail, Master; and kissed him. And Iesus said unto him. Friend, wherefore art thou come? Is it with a kiss that thou betrayest the Son of man?

6 Then Iesus said unto the chief priests and captains of the temple and the elders, which were come to him, Why ye come out as against a thief, with swords and staves? When I was daily with you in the temple, ye stretched forth no hands against me; but this is your hour, and the power of darkness.

7 Then came they and laid hands on Iesus. And Simon Peter stretched forth his hand, and drew his sword and struck a servant of the high priest's and smote off his ear.

8 Then said Iesus unto him, Put up again thy sword into its place; all they that take the sword shall perish by the sword. And Iesus touched his ear and healed him.

9 And he said unto Peter, Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Parent, and He shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels? But how then shall the scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be?

10 Then all the disciples forsook him and fled. And they that had laid hands on Iesus led him away to Caiaphas, the high priest. But they brought him to Annas first because he was father-in-law to Caiaphas, who was the high priest for that same year.

11 Now Caiaphas was he who gave council to the Jews that it was expedient that one man should die for the sins of the people.

12 And the scribes and the elders were assembled together, but Peter and John and Simon and Jude followed far off unto the high priest's palace, and they went in and sat with the servants to see the end.

13 And they had kindled a fire in the midst of the hall, and when they were set down together, Peter sat down among them and warmed himself, and Simon also sat by him.

14 But a certain maid beheld him as he sat by the fire, and earnestly looked upon him and said, This man was also with him. And he denied him, saying, Woman, I know him not.

15 And after a little while, another saw him and said, Thou art also of them. And Simon said, Man, I am not.

16 And about the space of one hour another confidently affirmed, saying, Of a truth this fellow was with Iesus of Nazareth for his speech betrayeth him.

17 And Simon denied the third time with an oath, saying, I know not the man. And immediately, while he yet spake, the cock crew.

18 And the Lord turned and looked upon Simon. And Simon remembered the word of the Lord, how he had said

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unto him, Before the cock crow this day thou shalt deny me thrice. And Simon went out and wept bitterly.

(12-18. -The belief that Peter denied his Master is probably owing to two of the Apostles bearing the same name, Simon Peter and Simon the Canaanite. Here we are given the right version. The error is one that might have been easily made. It is worthy of notice, that this ancient Gospel attributes to Simon (not to Simon Peter) the thrice denial of Iesus, and his fully exonerates Peter from the baseness generally attributed to him, and to which there is no allusion in his writings, but rather the reverse in the accepted gospel, where he was first to draw the sword in defense of his Master.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 79

The Hebrew Trial Before Caiaphas.

1 The high priest then asked Iesus of his disciples and of his doctrine, saying, How old art thou? Art thou he that said that our father Abraham saw thy day?

2 And Jesus answered, Verily before Abraham was I am. And the high priest said, Thou are not yet fifty years old. How sayest thou that thou hast seen Abraham? Who art thou? Whom makest thou thyself to be? What dost thou teach?

3 And Iesus answered him, I spake openly to the world; I even taught in the synagogue and in the temple, whither the Jews always resort; and in secret have I said nothing. Why asketh thou me? Ask them which heard me, what I have said unto them; behold, they know what I said.

4 And when he had thus spoken, one of the officers which stood by, struck Jesus with the palm of his hand, saying. Answerest thou the high priest so? Iesus answered him, If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil, but if well why smitest thou me?

5 Now the chief priests and elders, and all the council sought false witnesses against Iesus to put him to death; but found none; yea, many false witnesses came, yet they agreed not together.

6 At the last came two false witnesses. And one of them said, This fellow said, I am able to destroy the temple of God and to build it in three days. And the other said, This man said I will destroy this temple and build up another.

7 And the high priests arose and said unto him, Answerest thou nothing? What is it which these witnesses speak against thee? But Iesus held his peace. Now it was unlawful among the Hebrews to try a man by night.

8 And they said unto him, Art thou the Christ? tell us. And he said unto them, If I tell you, ye will not believe; and if I also ask you, ye will not answer me, nor let me go.

9 And they asked him further saying, Dost thou abolish the sacrifices of the law, and the eating of flesh as Moses commanded? And he answered, Behold, a greater than Moses is here.

10 And the high priest answered and said unto him, I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God. Jesus saith unto him, thou hast said; and I say unto you, Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power and coming in the clouds of Heaven.

11 Then the high priest rent his clothes, saying, He hath spoken blasphemy; what further need have we of witnesses? Behold, now ye have heard his blasphemy. What think ye? They answered and said, He is worthy of death.

12 Then did they spit in his face and buffeted him; and others smote him with the palms of their hands, saying, Prophesy unto us, thou Christ, Who is he that smote thee?

13 Now when morning was come all the chief priests and the elders of the people, even the whole council held a consultation, and took council against Iesus to put him to death.

14 And they gave forth their sentence against Iesus, that he was worthy of death, and that he should be bound and carried away, and delivered unto Pilate.

(2. -In a preceding Lection (7.) the Jews at that time adjudged him then to be forty-five, and here Caiaphas, who must certainly have known his age, declared him to be "not yet 50," ie. about 49. This is borne out by the A. V. and by the testimony of S. Irenaeus, A.D. 120-22, and the testimony of S. Iohn the Apostle and his immediate disciples.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 80

The Penance Of Judas.

1 Now Judas, who had betrayed him, when he saw that he was condemned, repented himself, and brought again the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests and elders, saying, I have sinned in that I have betrayed the innocent blood.

2 And they said, What is that to us? See thou to that. And he cast down the pieces of silver in the temple and departed and went out and hanged himself.

3 And the chief priests took the pieces of silver and said, It is not lawful for to put them into the treasury, because it is the price of blood.

4 And they took council and bought with them the potter's field, to bury strangers in. Wherefore that field was called Aceldama, that is, the field of blood, unto this day.

5 Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Zachariah, the prophet, saying, They weighed for my price thirty pieces of silver. And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the children of Israel did value, and gave them for the potteries field, and cast them to the potter in the House of the Lord.

6 Now, Iesus had said to his disciples, Woe unto the man who receiveth the mysteries, and falleth into sin thereafter.

7 For such there is no place of repentance in this cycle, seeing they have crucified afresh the Divine Offspring of God and man, and put the Christ within them to an open shame.

8 Such are worse than the beasts, whom ye ignorantly affirm to perish, for in your Scriptures it is written, That which befalleth the beast befalleth the sons of men.

9 All live by one breath, as the one dieth so dieth the other, so that a man hath no preeminence over a beast, for all go to the same place—all come from the dust and return to the dust together.

10 These things spake Iesus concerning them which were not regenerate, not having received the Spirit of Divine Love, who, once having received the Light, crucified the Son of God afresh, putting him to an open shame.

(1. -The heading of this Lection in the A. V. is most misleading. "Penance," implying reparation of some kind (even though not of the right kind), is the more correct description of the act.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 81

The Roman Trial Before Pilate

1 Then led they Jesus from Caiaphas unto the hall of judgement, to Pontius Pilate, the Governor, and it was early, and they themselves went not into the judgement hall, lest they should be defiled; but that they might keep the feast.

2 Pilate therefore went out unto them and said, What accusation bring ye against this man? They answered and said unto him, If he were not a malefactor, we would not have delivered him up unto thee. We have a law and by our law he ought to die, because he would change the customs and rites which Moses delivered unto us, yea, he made himself the Son of God.

3 Then said Pilate unto them, Take ye him, and Judge him according to your law. For he knew that for envy they had delivered him.

4 The Jews therefore said unto him, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death. So the saying of Iesus was fulfilled, which he spake, signifying what death he should die.

5 And they further accused him saying, We found this fellow perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Caesar, saying that he himself is Christ a King.

6 Then Pilate entered into the judgement hall again and called Iesus and said unto him, Art thou the King of the Jews? Iesus answered him, Sayest thou this thing of thyself, or did others tell it thee of me?

7 Pilate answered, Am I a Jew ? Thine own nation and the chief priests have delivered thee unto me; what hast thou done? Iesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world, if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but now is my kingdom not from hence.

8 Pilate therefore said unto him, Art thou a King then? Iesus answered, Thou sayest that I am, yea, a King I am. To this end was I born and for this cause came I unto the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice.

9 Pilate said unto him, What is truth? Jesus said, Truth is from heaven. Pilate said, Then truth is not on earth. Jesus said unto Pilate, Believe thou, that truth is on earth amongst those who receive and obey it. They are of the truth who judge righteously.

10 And when he had heard this, he went out again unto the Jews and saith unto them, I find in him no fault at all. And when he was accused of the chief priests and elders he answered them nothing.

11 Then said Pilate unto him, Hearest thou not, how many things they witness against thee?

12 And he answered him never a word, insomuch that the governor marveled greatly, and again he said unto them, I find no fault in this man.

13 And they waxed the more fierce saying, He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Jewry, beginning from Galilee to this place. When Pilate heard of Galilee he asked, whether the man were a Galilean.

14 And as soon as he knew that he belonged unto Herod's jurisdiction, he sent him to Herod, who himself also, was at Jerusalem at the time.

15 And when Herod saw Iesus he was exceedingly glad, for he was desirous to see him of a long season, because he had heard many things of him, and he hoped to have seen some miracle done by him.

16 Then he questioned with him in many words, but he answered him nothing. And the chief priests and scribes stood and vehemently accused him, and many false witnesses rose up against him, and laid to his charge things that he knew not.

17 And Herod with his men of war set him at nought, and mocked him, and arrayed him in a gorgeous robe and sent him again to Pilate. And the same day Pilate and Herod were made friends together, for before they were at enmity between themselves.

18 And Pilate went again into the Judgement Hall and saith unto Jesus, Whence art thou? But Iesus gave him no answer. Then saith Pilate unto him, Speakest thou not unto me? knowest thou not that I have power to crucify thee, and have power to release thee?

19 Iesus answered, Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above, therefore he that delivered me unto thee hath the greater sin.

20 And from thenceforth Pilate sought to release him; but the Jews cried out, saying, If thou let this man go thou art no Caesar's friend, whosoever maketh himself a king speaketh against Caesar.

21 And Pilate called together the chief priests and rulers of the people. When he was set down on the judgement seat his wife sent unto him, saying. Have thou nothing to do with that just man, for I have suffered many things this day in a dream, because of him.

22 And Pilate said unto them, Ye have brought this man unto me, as one that perverteth the people, and behold I have examined him before you, and have found no fault in this man touching those things: whereof ye accuse him. No, nor yet Herod, for I sent you to him, and lo nothing worthy of death was found in him.

23 But ye have a custom that I should release unto you one at the Passover, will ye therefore that I release unto you the King of the Jews?

24 Then cried they all again, saying, Not this man, but Barabbas. Now Barabbas was a robber. And, for sedition made in the city, and for murder, was cast into prison.

25 Pilate therefore, willing to release Iesus, spake again to them. Whether of the twain will ye that I release unto you; Iesus Barabbas, or Iesus which is called the Christ? They said, Barabbas

26 Pilate said unto them, What then shall I do with Iesus which is called the Christ? They all say unto him, Let him be crucified.

27 And the Governor said, Why what evil hath he done? But they cried out all the more saying, Crucify him, crucify him.

28 Pilate therefore went forth again and said unto him, Behold, again, I bring him forth to you, that ye may know that I find no fault in him, and again they cried out, Crucify him, crucify him.

29 And Pilate said unto them, the third time, Why, what evil hath he done? I have found no cause of death in him: I will therefore chastise him, and let him go.

30 And they were instant with loud voices, requiring that he might be crucified. And the voices of them and of the chief priests prevailed.

31 When Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing, but that rather a tumult was made, he took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this just person: see ye to it.

32 Then answered all the people, and said, His blood be on us and on our children. And Pilate gave sentence that it should be as they required. And he delivered Iesus to their will.

(2. -This verse, suppressed by corruption of the Gospel, doubtless refers to the keeping the Passover within the gates without the slaying of So lamb, a capital offence by the law (See " New Aspects of Religion," by Dr. H. Pratt), or it might refer to keeping Passover the day before. There is much uncertainty on this point, the Gospels in the A. V. setting forth two different views, mutually contradicting each other, but neither of them implying necessarily the eating of a lamb by Jesus and his Apostles.

9. -These words, or the substance of them, are also to be found in one of the gnostic Gospels, which record many genuine sayings of the Master.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 82

The Crucifixion

1 Then released he Barabbas unto them, and when he had scourged Iesus he delivered him to be crucified. Then the soldiers of the governor took Iesus to the common hall and gathered unto him the whole band of soldiers.

2 And they stripped him and put on him a purple robe. And when they had plaited a crown of thorns they put it upon his head and a reed in his right hand, and they bowed the knee before him and mocked him, saying, Hail, King of the Jews!

3 Then came Iesus forth, wearing the crown of thorns, and the purple robe. And Pilate saith unto them, Behold the man!

4 When the chief priests therefore and officers saw him, they cried out, saying, Crucify him, crucify him. And Pilate saith unto them, Take ye him and crucify him, for I find no fault in him.

5 And they spit upon him, and took the reed and smote him on the head. And after that they had mocked him they took the robe off from him, and put his own raiment on him, and led him away to crucify him.

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6 And as they led him away, they laid hold upon one Simon, a Cyrenian, coming out of the county, and on him they laid the cross that he might bear it after Iesus. And there followed him a great company of people and of women, which also bewailed and lamented him.

7 But Jesus, turning unto them, said, Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and for your children. For behold the days are coming in which they shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps which never gave suck.

8 Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us; and to the hills, Cover us. For it they do these things in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry.

9 And there were also two other malefactors led with him to be put to death. And when they were come unto a place called Calvary, and Golgotha, that is to say a place of a skull, there they crucified him; and the malefactors, one on the right hand, and other on the left.

10 And it was the third hour when they crucified him, and they gave him vinegar to drink mingled with gall, and when he had tasted thereof, he would not drink. And Jesus said, Abba Amma, forgive them, for they know not what they do.

11 Then the soldiers, when they had crucified Jesus, took his raiment and made four parts, to every soldier a part; and also his vesture. Now the vesture was without seam, woven from the top throughout. They said therefore among themselves, Let us not rend it, but cast lots for it, whose it shall be.

12 That the scripture might be fulfilled, which saith, They parted my raiment among them, and for my vesture they did cast lots. These things therefore the soldiers did. And sitting down they watched him there.

13 And a superscription was also written over him in letters of Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew, This is the King of the Jews.

14 This title then read many of the Jews, for the place where Iesus was crucified was nigh to the city, and it was written in Hebrew and Greek and Latin. then said the chief priests of the Jews to Pilate, Write not, The King of the Jews, but that, he said, I am the King of the Jews. Pilate answered, What I have written, I have written.

15 And one of the malefactors which were hanged railed on him, saying, If thou be the Christ, save thy self and us. But the other answering rebuked him, saying, Dost not thou fear God, seeing thou art in the same condemnation? And we indeed justly, for we receive the due reward of our deeds, but this man hath done nothing amiss.

16 And he said unto Iesus, Lord remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom. And Iesus said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, to day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.

17 And they that passed by reviled him, wagging heir heads and saying, Thou that wouldst destroy the temple, and build it in three days, save thyself. If thou be the Son of God, come down from the Cross.

18 Likewise also the chief priests mocking him, while the scribes and elders said, He saved a lamb, himself he cannot save. If he be the King of Israel, let him now come down from the cross and we will believe him. He trusted in God, let Him deliver him now, if He will have him, for he said, I am the Son of God.

19 The usurers and the dealers in beasts and birds also cast the like things into his teeth, saying, Thou who drivest from the temple the traders in oxen and sheep and doves, art thyself but a sheep that is sacrificed.

20 Now from the Sixth hour there was darkness over all the land unto the Ninth hour, and some standing around, lighted their torches, for the darkness was very great. And about the Sixth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, Eli, Eli, lame sabachthani? that, is to say, My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken me ?

21 Some of them that stood there, when they heard that, said, This man calleth for Elias; others said, He calleth on the Sun. The rest said, Let be, let us see whether Elias will come to save him.

22 Now there stood by the cross of Iesus his mother and his mother's sister, Mary, the wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene.

23 When Iesus therefore saw his mother, and the disciple standing by whom he loved, he saith unto his mother, Woman, behold thy son! And he said to the disciple, Behold thy mother! And from that hour that disciple took her into his own home.

24 After this, Iesus knowing that all things were now accomplished, that the scripture might be fulfilled, saith, I am athirst. And from a vessel they filled a sponge with vinegar and put it upon hyssop and put it to his mouth.

25 And Iesus cried with a loud voice, saying, Abba Amma, into Thy hand I commend my spirit.

26 When Iesus had therefore received the vinegar, he cried aloud, It is finished; and he bowed his head and gave up the ghost. And it was the ninth hour.

27 And behold there was great thunder and lightning, and the partition wall of the Holy place, from which hung the veil, fell down, and was rent in twain, and the earth did quake, and the rocks also were rent.

28 Now when the centurion and they that were with him watching Iesus, saw the earthquake and those things that were done, they feared greatly, saying, Truly this was a Son of God.

29 And many women were there, which followed from Galilee, ministering unto them, and among them were Mary the mother of James and Joses, and the mother of Zebedee's children and they lamented, saying, The light of the world is hid from our eyes, the Lord our Love is crucified.

30 Then the Jews, because it was the preparation, that the bodies should not remain upon the cross on the Sabbath, for that was a Paschal Sabbath, besought Pilate that their legs might be broken, and that they might be taken away.

31 Then came the soldiers, and brake the legs of the two who were crucified with him. But when they came to Jesus, and saw that he was dead already, they brake not his legs, but one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his heart and forthwith came there out blood and water.

32 And he that saw it bare record and his record is true, and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye might believe. For these things were done that the Scriptures might be fulfilled—A bone of him shall not be broken, and again—In the midst of the week the Messiah shall be cut off.

(10-12. -Eli Reclus, a French writer, has some interesting remarks on the rite of human sacrifice as practised among the Khonds from time immemorial. The coincidences in the details are very striking, shewing the similarity of superstitious ideas in all countries and tribes of the primitive world-ideas which survive even in our own times " civilized ., as we boast them to be, but in reality savages when the skin deep "civilization" and culture are suddenly brushed away by some violent popular outburst, as in England, against the peaceful peoples of the Transvaal by which she brought herself to the lowest depths of infamy, and unwittingly clothed herself in the colour symbolic of dirt and mire.

20. -In the Gospel attributed to Peter there is mention of the same circumstance. And to bring to mind, by symbolical art, this awful scene, among other reasons, the dark unbleached candles are lighted on the Altar on the day and at the hour when the Church commemorates the crucifixion of the Redeemer by an ingrate priesthood and people, when the light of the sun is shut out or obscured, and the chancels are draped in black.

30. -It should be observed that in this Gospel, the mystically central organ of the Sacred Body, the "Heart" is emphasized rather than "his side," as in the A. V. on which last reading the strange custom of having a side entrance or porch to Churches is alleged to have been founded. The traditonal but corrupt reading of Gen. vi.16 has doubtless originated the error. (See "Original Genesis.")

31. -They pierced his Sacred Heart with a spear, and this is symbolised in Christian Churches (which are generally cruciform either externally or internally where they are not circular), where the choir (Cor.) is in the intersection of nave and transept, and the altar of incense is (ought to be) in the midst under the great dome, symbolizing that the Sacred Heart of the Crucified is venerated from the centre to the extreme limits of Christendom-the Heart of God which embraces all creatures in its boundless love.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 83

The Burial Of Jesus

1 Now, when the even was come, Joseph of Arimathea, an honourable councillor, who also waited for the Kingdom of God, came and went in boldly unto Pilate and craved the body of Iesus. (He was a good man and just, and had not consented to the council and deed of them).

2 And Pilate marvelled if he were already dead, and calling unto him the centurion, he asked him whether he had been any while dead. And when he knew it of the centurion, he gave the body to Joseph. He came therefore, and took the body of Jesus.

3 And there came also Nicodemus, who at the first came to Iesus by night, and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred weight. Then took they the body of Iesus and wound it in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury.

4 Now in the place where he was crucified there was a garden, and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid. There laid they Iesus therefore, and it was about the beginning of the second watch when they buried him, because of the Jews' preparation day, for the sepulchre was nigh at hand.

5 And Mary Magdalene and the other Mary, and Mary the mother of Joses beheld where he was laid. There at the tomb they kept watch for three days and three nights.

6 And the women also, who came with him from Galilee, followed after, bearing lamps in their hands and beheld the sepulchre and how his body was laid, and they made lamentation over him.

7 And they returned and rested the next clay, being a high day, and on the day following they bought and prepared spices and ointments and waited for the end of the Sabbath.

8 Now the next day that followed, the chief priests and Pharisees came together unto Pilate, saying, Sir we remember that deceiver said, while he was yet alive, After three days I will rise again.

9 Command therefore that the sepulchre be made sure until the third day be past, lest his disciples come by night and steal him away, and say unto the people, He is risen from the dead, so the last error shall be worse than the first.

10 Pilate said unto them, Ye have a watch, go your way, make it as sure as you can. So they went and made the sepulchre sure, sealing the stone and setting a watch till the third day should be past.

(5. -It has been maintained by some with no small degree of reason and probability, that the day of Crucifixion was not Friday, the day now observed by Christendom, but Wednesday (mid-week), by which date alone would be truly fulfilled the prophecy of Daniel, and the only sign of the truth of His mission which he would give to his generation. There shall no sign be given it, but the sign of the prophet Ionas, for as Ionas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights In the heart of the earth." Against this plain testimony there is of course the canonical record as we now have it including the frequent explanatory notes which may have been incorporated in very early times from the margin into the text, or interpolated in ignorance of the original script, which no man living has ever Been from this to the 10th century when all manuscripts were in the hands of the religious orders of the Church, and from them proceeded. If these words of Jesus be a genuine portion of the Gospel, as all admit they are, those notes of time, in the present accepted Gospels must be spurious, or the work of scribes who sought with honest and pious intent to harmonise the words of Scripture with the existent beliefs and observances of their age. In the gospel as now given there is absolutely nothing to militate against either of these views except the words of Jesus above cited, which cast the weight in favour of this chronological arrangement which interferes with nothing of Christian doctrine. Sunday, as now the day of his public entry into Ierusalem, preceded by the last anointing by Mary Magdalene on the eve before it. Monday, the day of evil counsel. Tuesday, the day of the Pascal feast of Christ. Wednesday, the day of the crucifixion, if not of the actual Jewish Passover. Thursday, Friday, Sabbath days of watch, of mourning and vigil. Sunday the day of the Resurrection, midnight or 8 a.m., early dawn " (after three days and three nights were fulfilled) and of the rising of many who slept and of their appearance in the holy City."

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 84

The Resurrection Of Jesus

1 Now after the Sabbath was ended and it began to dawn, on the first day of the week, came Mary Magdalene to the sepulchre, bearing the spices which she had prepared, and there were others with her.

2 And as they were going, they said among themselves, who shall roll away the stone from the door of the sepulchre? For it was great. And when they came to the place and looked, they saw that the stone was rolled away.

3 For behold there was a great earthquake; and the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it. His countenance was like lighting and his raiment white as snow: And for fear of him the keepers did shake and became as dead men.

4 And the angel answered and said unto the women, Fear not ye, for I know that ye seek Iesus, which was crucified. He is not here: for he is risen, as he said.

5 Come, see the place where the Lord lay. And go quickly and tell his disciples that he is risen from the dead; and, behold he goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him; lo, I have told you.

6 And they entered in and found not the body of Jesus. Then she ran and came to Simon Peter and the other disciple whom Jesus loved, and said unto them, They have taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him.

7 And they ran and came to the scpulchre, and looking in, they saw the linen clothes lying, and the napkin that had been about his head not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped up in a place by itself.

8 And it came to pass as they were much perplexed, behold, two angels stood by them in glistening garments of white, and said unto them, Why seek ye the living among the dead? He is not here, he is risen, and, behold, he goeth before you into Galilee, there shall we see him.

9 Remember ye not how he spake unto you, when he was yet in Galilee, that the Son of Man should be crucified and that he would rise again after the third day? And they remembered his words. And they went out quickly and fled from the sepulchre, for they trembled with amazement, and they were afraid.

10 Now at the time of the earthquake, the graves were opened; and many of the saints which slept arose, and came out of the graves after his resurrection, and went into the city and appeared unto many.

11 But Mary stood without at the sepulchre weeping, and as she wept she again stooped down, and looked into the

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sepulchre and saw two angels in white garments, the one at the head, and the other at the feet, where the body of Iesus had lain. And they said unto her, Woman, why weepest thou?

12 She saith unto them, Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him. And when she had thus said, she turned herself back, and saw Iesus standing, and knew not that it was Iesus.

13 Iesus saith unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? Whom seekest thou? She, supposing him to be the gardener, saith unto him, Sir, if thou have borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away. Iesus said unto her, Mary, She turned herself and saith unto him, Rabboni; which is to say, Master.

14 Iesus saith unto her, Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended to my Father One with my Mother, but go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Parent and your Parent; to my God and your God.

15 And Mary Magdalene came and told the disciples that she had seen the Lord, and that he had spoken these things unto her, and commanded her to announce his resurrection from the dead.

(6. - 0n this passage the celebrated writer M. Renan, bases his assertion that "but for Mary Magdalene Christianity would never have existed." It was she who first proclaimed the central fact -the Resurrection of the Lord. There is a true and a false side to his words.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 85

Jesus Risen Again Appears To Two At Emmaus

1 And behold, two of them went that same day to a village called Emmaus, which was from Jerusalem about threescore furlongs. And they talked together of all these things which had happened.

2 And it came to pass, that, while they communed together and reasoned, Iesus himself drew near, and went with them. But their eyes were holden that they should not know him.

3 And he said unto them, What manner of communications are these that ye have one with another, as ye walk and are sad?

4 And the one of them, whose name was Cleophas, answering, said unto him, Art thou only a stranger in Jerusalem and hast not known the things which are come to pass there in these days? And he said unto them, What things?

5 And they said unto him, Concerning Iesus of Nazareth who was a Prophet mighty in deed and word before God and all the people; and how the chief priests and our rulers delivered him to be condemned to death, and have crucified him. But we trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel; and beside all this three days have passed since these things were done.

6 Yea, and certain women also of our company made us astonished, which were early at the sepulchre; and when they found not his body, they came saying, that they had also seen a vision of angels, who said that he was alive.

7 And certain of them who were with us went to the sepulchre, and found it even so as the women had said; but him they saw not.

8 Then he said unto them, O fools and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken; Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and then to enter into his glory?

9 And beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the scriptures, the things concerning himself.

10 And they drew nigh unto the village whither they went; and he made as though he would have gone further. But they constrained him, saying, Abide, with us, for it is toward evening, and the day is far spent. And he went in to tarry with them.

11 And it came to pass as he sat at table with them, he took bread and the fruit of the vine, and gave thanks, blessed, and brake, and gave to them. And their eyes were opened, and they knew him; and he vanished out of their sight.

12 And they said one to another, Did not our hearts burn within us while he talked with us by the way, and while he opened to us the scriptures? And they rose up the same hour and returned to Jerusalem, and found the twelve gathered together, and them that were with them, saying, The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon.

13 And they told what things were done in the way and how he was known of them in breaking of bread.

14 Now while they had been going to Emmaus, some of the watch came into the city, and showed unto Caiaphas what things had been done.

15 And they assembled with the elders and took council and said, Behold, while the soldiers slept, some of his disciples came and took his body away; and is not Joseph of Arimathea one if his disciples?

16 For this cause then did he beg the body from Pilate that he might bury it in his garden in his own tomb. Let us therefore give money to the soldiers, saying, say ye, His disciples came by night and stole him away while we slept. And if this come to the ears of the governor we will persuade him, and secure you.

(15. -These words though not fully given in the A. V. have been made the basis of an attempted explanation by M. Renan, who could not receive the alternative view that the body of Jesus was dematerialized, rose, and then appeared in spiritual form, which view is held by believers of modern manifestations

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 86

Iesus Appears In The Temple And Blood Sacrifices Cease

1 The same day, at the time of sacrifice in the Temple there appeared among the dealers in beasts and in birds, One clothed in white raiment, bright as light, and in his hand a whip of seven cords.

2 And at the sight of him, those who sold and bought fled in terror, and some of them fell as dead men, for they remembered how before his death Iesus had driven them away from the Temple enclosure, in like manner.

3 And some declared that they had seen a spirit. And others that they had seen him who was crucified and that he had risen from the dead.

4 And the sacrifices ceased that day in the Temple, for all were in fear, and none could be had to sell or to buy, but, rather, they let their captives go free.

5 And the priests and elders caused a report to be spread, That they who had seen it were drunken, and had seen nothing. But many affirmed that they had seen him with their own eyes, and felt on their backs the scourge, but were powerless to resist, for when some of the bolder among them put forth their hands, they could not seize the form which they beheld, nor grasp the whip which chastised them.

6 And from that time, these believed in Iesus, that he was sent from God, to deliver the oppressed, and free those that were bound. And they turned from their ways and sinned no longer.

7 To others he also appeared in love and mercy and healed them by his touch, and delivered them from the hands of the persecutor. And many like things were reported of him, and many said, Of a truth the Kingdom is come.

8 And some of those who had slept and risen, when Iesus rose from the dead appeared, and were seen by many in the holy City, and great fear fell upon the wicked, but light and gladness came to the righteous in heart.

(4. -"The sacrifices ceased that day" -here is not meant for any permanence (as generally believed) for they went on, we are told, for forty years, till the destruction of the Temple by the Romans.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 87

Jesus Appeareth To His Disciples.

1 Then the same day at evening, being the first day of the week, when the doors were shut where the disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews, came Jesus and stood in the midst, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you. But they were affrighted and supposed that they had seen a spirit.

2 And he said unto them, Behold, it is I myself, like as ye have seen me aforetime. A spirit can in deed appear in flesh and bones as ye see me have. Behold my hands and my feet, handle and see.

3 And when he had so said, he shewed unto them his hands and his Heart. Then were the disciples glad, when they saw the Lord.

4 For Thomas, called Didymus, one of the disciples, had said unto them, Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into his heart, I will not believe. Then saith he to Thomas, Behold my hands, my heart, and my feet; reach hither thy hands, and be not faithless but believing.

5 And Thomas answered and said unto him, My Lord and my God! And Iesus saith unto him, Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed; blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed.

6 Then saith Iesus unto them again, Peace be unto you, as Abba Amma hath sent me, even so send I you. And when he had said this he breathed on them and said unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost; preach the Gospel, and anounce ye unto all nations; the resurrection of the Son of Man.

7 Teach ye the holy law of love which I have delivered unto you. And whosoever forsake their sins, they are remitted unto them, and whosoever continue in their sins they are retained unto them.

8 Baptise them who believe and repent, bless and anoint them, and offer ye the pure Oblation of the fruits of the earth, which I have appointed unto you for a Memorial of me.

9 Lo, I have given my body and my blood to be offered on the Cross, for the redemption of the world from the sin against love, and from the bloody sacrifices and feasts of the past.

10 And ye shall offer the Bread of life, and the Wine of salvation, for a pure Oblation with incense, as it is written of me, and ye shall eat and drink thereof for a memorial, that I have delivered all who believe in me from the ancient bondage of your ancestors.

11 For they, making a god of their belly, sacrificed unto their god the innocent creatures of the earth, in place of the carnal nature within themselves.

12 And eating of their flesh and drinking of their blood to their own destruction, corrupted their bodies and shortened their days, even as the Gentiles who knew not the truth, or who knowing it, have changed it into a lie.

13 As I send you, so send ye others also, to do these things in my Name, and he laid his hands upon them.

14 In the like manner as the Apostles, so also be ordained Prophets and Evangelists and Pastors, a Holy Priesthood, and afterwards he laid his hand upon those whom they chose for Deacons, one for each of the fourfold twelve.

15 And these are for the rule and guidance of the Church Universal, that all may be perfected in their places in the Unity of the Body of the Christ.

(1. -The power to come in, or to go out through closed doors, has been shown in modern times to be no impossibility, but a proven fact in psychological phenomena. The words here do not necessarily imply that such manifestation took place. It is not said, "they were locked," but the power of the Spirit to materialize, and dematerialize, Bond appear in human form (under certain conditions) is too well known to be denied." Report of Dialectical Society on Spiritual Phenomena," etc.

2. -The contradiction in the A.V. is here no longer seen. That a spirit can appear in flesh and bones has been testified over by thousands of competent witnesses in this as well as other ages. There is no death, and the returning spirit can appear in any form. Of these things we are witnesses.

8. -A similar passage to this occurs in the "Pistis Sophia," an ancient gnostic Gospel.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 88

The Eighth Day After The Resurrection

1 And after seven days again, his disciples were within the Upper Room; then came Iesus, the doors being shut, and stood in their midst and said, Peace be unto you, and he was known unto them in the holy Memorial.

2 And he said unto them. Love ye one another and all the creatures of God. Yet I say unto you, not all are men, who are in the form of man. Are they men or women in the image of God whose ways are ways of violence, of oppression and wrong, who choose a lie rather than the truth?

3 Nay, verily, till they are born again, and receive the Spirit of Love and Wisdom within their hearts. Then only are they sons and daughters of Israel, and being of Israel they are children of God, And for this cause came I into the world, and for this I have suffered at the hands of sinners.

4 These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses and in the prophets, and in the psalms, concerning me.

5 And Jesus said, I stood in the midst of the world, and in the flesh was I seen and heard, and I found all men glutted with their own pleasures, and drunk with their own follies, and none found I hungry or athirst for the wisdom which is of God. My soul grieveth over the sons and daughters of men because they are blind in their heart, and in their soul are they deaf and hear not my voice.

6 Then opened he their understanding, that they might understand the scriptures. And said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behooved the Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead after the third day. And that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in my name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem. And ye are witnesses of these things.

7 And, behold, I send the promice of my Parent upon you, even of my Father One with my Mother, Whom ye have not seen on the earth. For I say unto you of a truth, as the whole world have been ruined by the sin and vanity of woman, so by the simplicity and truth of woman shall it be saved, even by you shall it be saved.

8 Rejoice therefore and be ye glad, for ye are more blessed than all who are on earth, for it is ye, my twelve thousand who shall save the whole world.

9 Again I say unto you when the great tyrant and all the seven tyrants began to fight in vain against the Light, they knew not with Whom or What they fought.

10 For they saw nothing beyond a dazzling Light, and when they fought they expended their strength one against another, and so it is.

11 For this cause I took a fourth part of their strength, so that they might not have such power, and prevail in their evil deeds.

12 For by involution and evolution shall the salvation of all the world be accomplished: by the Descent of Spirit into matter, and the Ascent of matter into Spirit, through the ages.

(5. -Most affecting is this, the experience of all who in this world of madness and unreason attempt to declare the whole counsel of God. It broke the heart of Jesus, it crushes the heart of every prophet or apostle worker for good, filled with his spirit- " Jerusalem, Jerusalem I would - but ye would not."

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 89

Jesus Appeareth At The Sea Of Tiberias

1 After these things Jesus shewed himself again to the disciples at the sea of Tiberias, and on this wise shewed he himself. There were together Simon, Peter, and Thomas,

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called Didymus, and Nathanael of Cana in Galilee, and James and John and two other of his disciples.

2 And Peter saith unto them, I go a fishing. They say unto him, We also go with thee. They went forth and entered into a ship immediately, and that night they caught nothing. And when the morning was now come, Jesus stood on the shore, but the disciples knew not that it was Jesus.

3 Then Jesus said unto them, Children, have ye any meat? They answered him, Nay, Lord, not enough for all; there is naught but a small loaf, a little oil, and a few dried fruits. And he said unto them, Let these suffice; come and dine.

4 And he blessed them, and they ate and were filled, and there was a pitcher of water also, and he blessed it likewise, and lo, it was the fruit of the vine.

5 And they marvelled, and said. It is the Lord. And none of the disciples dost ask him. Who art thou? knowing it was the Lord.

6 This is now the sixth time that Iesus shewed himself to his disciples, after that he was risen from the dead. So when they had dined, Iesus saith to Peter, son of Jonas, lovest thou me more than these? He saith unto him, Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, Feed my lambs. He saith unto him again the second time, Peter, son of Jonas, lovest thou me? He saith unto him, Yea, Lord thou knowest that I love thee. He said unto him. Feed my sheep.

7 He saith unto him the third time, Peter, son of Jonas, lovest thou me? Peter was grieved because he said unto him the third time, Lovest thou me ? And he said unto him, Lord, thou knowest all things; thou knowest that I love thee.

8 Iesus saith unto him, Feed my Flock. Verily verily, I say unto thee, thou art a rock from the Rock, and on this rock will I build my Church, and I will raise thee above my twelve to be my vicegerent upon earth for a centre of Unity to the twelve, and another shall be called and chosen to fill thy place among the twelve, and thou shalt be the Servant of servants and shalt feed my rams, my sheep and my lambs.

9 And yet another shall arise and he shall teach many things which I have taught you already, and he shall spread the Gospel among the Gentiles with great zeal. But the keys of the Kingdom will I give to those who succeed thee in my Spirit and obeying my law.

10 And again I say unto thee. When thou wast young thou girdedst thyself and walketh whither thou wouldst, but when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands and another shall gird thee and carry thee whither thou wouldst not. This spake he, signifying by what death he should glorify God.

11 And when he had spoken this he saith unto him, Follow me. Then Peter, turning about, seeth the disciple whom Iesus loved following. Peter seeing him, saith to Iesus, Lord and what shall this man do? Iesus saith unto him, If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? follow thou me.

12 Then went this saying abroad among the brethren that disciple should not die: yet Iesus said not unto him, He shall not die, but, if I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee.

(2. -"That night they caught nothing" -henceforth their labours were to be in the Spiritual Kingdom to save souls -not destroy them- by bringing them within the Church of Christianity, from barbarism and darkness to reason and light and love.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 90

What Is Truth?

1 Again the twelve were gathered together in the Circle of palm trees, and one of them even Thomas said to the other, What is Truth? for the same things appear different to different minds, and even to the same mind at different times. What, then, is Truth?

2 And as they were speaking Iesus appeared in their midst and said, Truth, one and absolute, is in God alone, for no man, neither any body of men, knoweth that which God alone knoweth, who is the All in All.. To men is Truth revealed, according to their capacity to understand and receive.

3 The One Truth hath many sides, and one seeth one side only, another seeth another, and some see more than others, according as it is given to them.

4 Behold this crystal: how the one light its manifest in twelve faces, yea four times twelve, and each face reflecteth one ray of light, and one regardeth one face, and another another, but it is the one crystal and the one light that shineth in all.

5 Behold again, When one climbeth a mountain and attaining one height, he saith, This is the top of the mountain, let us reach it, and when they have reached that height, lo, they see another beyond it until they come to that height from which no other height is to be seen, if so be they can attain it.

6 So it is with Truth. I am the Truth and the Way and the Life, and have given to you the Truth I have received from above. And that which is seen and received by one, is not seen and received by another. That which appeareth true to some, seemeth not true to others. They who are in the valley see not as they who are on the hill top.

7 But to each, it is the Truth as the one mind seeth it, and for that time, till a higher Truth shall be revealed unto the same: and to the soul which receiveth higher light, shall be given more light. Wherefore condemn not others, that ye be not condemned.

8 As ye keep the holy Law of Love, which I have given unto you, so shall the Truth be revealed more and more unto you, and the Spirit of Truth which cometh from above shall guide you, albeit through many wanderings, into all Truth, even as the fiery cloud guided the children of Israel through the wilderness.

9 Be faithful to the light ye have, till a higher light is given to you. Seek more light, and ye shall have abundantly; rest not, till ye find.

10 God giveth you all Truth, as a ladder with many steps, for the salvation and perfection of the soul, and the truth which seemeth to day, ye will abandon for the higher truth of the morrow. Press ye unto Perfection.

11 Whoso keepeth the holy Law which I have given, the same shall save their souls, however differently they may see the truths which I have given.

12 Many shall say unto me, Lord, Lord, we have been zealous for thy Truth. But I shall say unto them, Nay, but, that others may see as ye see, and none other truth beside. Faith without charity is dead. Love is the fulfilling of the Law.

13 How shall faith in what they receive profit them that hold it in unrighteousness? They who have love have all things, and without love there is nothing worth. Let each hold what they see to be the truth in love, knowing that where love is not, truth is a dead letter and profiteth nothing.

14 There abide Goodness, and Truth, and Beauty, but the greatest of these is Goodness. If any have hatred to their fellows, and harden their hearts to the creatures of God's hands, how can they see Truth unto salvation, seeing their eyes are blinded and their hearts are hardened to God's creation?

15 As I have reveived the Truth, so have I given it to you. Let each receive it according to their light and ability to understand, and persecute not those who receive it after a different interpretation.

16 For Truth is the Might of God, and it shall prevail in the end over all errors. But the holy Law which I have given is plain for all, and just and good. Let all observe it for the salvation of their souls.

(4. -The art of cutting and polishing glass and stone was well known in Phoenicia and Egypt, before the Christian era, and in Pompeii numbers of such crystals were found in great variety. It is a beautiful symbol appealing to the mind.

12. -Our Lord never damned or blamed those who could not see the divine truths, which he taught, and receive them. He had patience with them, as being without the fold, without light, and not admissible to the Kingdom, so long as they remained in their darkness and impenitence and self-doomed to eternal death if they persisted.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 91

The Order of the Kingdom. (Part I.)

1 In that time after Iesus had risen from the dead he tarried ninety days with Mary his mother and Mary Magdalene, who anointed his body, and Mary Cleophas and the twelve, and their fellows, instructing them and answering questions concerning the kingdom of God.

2 And as they sat at supper—when it was even— Mary Magdalene asked him, saying, Master, wilt thou now declare unto us the Order of the Kingdom?

3 And Iesus answered and said, Verily I say unto thee, O Mary, and to each of any disciples, The kingdom of Heaven is within you. But the time cometh when that which is within shall be made manifest in the without, for the sake of the world.

4 Order indeed is good, and needful, but before all things is love. Love ye one another and all the creatures of God, and by this shall all men know that ye are my disciples.

5 And one asked him saying, Master, wilt thou that infants be received into the congregation in like manner as Moses commanded by circumcision? And Jesus answered, For those who are in Christ there is no cutting of the flesh, nor shedding of blood.

6 Let the infant of eight clays be Presented unto the Father-Mother, who is in Heaven, with prayer and thanksgiving, and let a name be given to it by its parents, and let the presbyter sprinkle pure water upon it, according to that which is written in the prophets, and let its parents see to it that it is brought up in the ways of righteousness, neither eating flesh, nor drinking strong drink, nor hurting the creatures which God hath given into the hands of man to protect .

7 Again one said unto him, Master, how wilt thou when they grow up? And Jesus said, After seven years, or when they begin to know the evil from the good, and learn to choose the good, let them come unto me and receive the blessing at the hands of the presbyter or the angel of the church with prayer and thanksgiving, and let them be admonished to keep from flesh eating and strong drink, and from hunting the innocent creatures of God, for shall they be lower than the horse or the sheep to whom these things are against nature?

8 And again he said, If there come to us any that eat flesh and drink strong drink, shall we receive them? And Iesus said unto him, Let such abide in the outer court till they cleanse themselves from these grosser evils; for till they perceive, and repent of these, they are not fit to receive the higher mysteries.

9 And another asked him saying, When wilt thou that they receive Baptism? And Iesus answered, After another seven years, or when they know the doctrine, and do that which is good, and learn to work with their own hands, and choose a craft whereby they may live, and are stedfastly set on the right way. Then let them ask for initiation, and let the angel or presbyter of the church examine them and see if they are worthy, and let him offer thanksgiving and prayer, and bury them in the waters of separation, that they may rise to newness of life, confessing God as their Father and Mother, vowing to obey the Holy Law, and keep themselves separate from the evil in the world.

10 And another asked him, Master, at what time shall they receive the Anointing? And Iesus answered, When they have reached the age of maturity, and manifested in themselves the sevenfold gifts of the Spirit, then let the angel offer prayer and thanksgiving and seal them with the seal of the Chrism. It is good that all be tried in each degree seven years. Nevertheless let it be unto each according to their growth in the love, and the wisdom of God.

(5. -The idea of baptising unconscious infants seems never to have entered the mind of Jesus. He blessed them, but he also blessed other animals, and things that had no sentient life. Baptism implies belief and confession of faith and repentance from evil works and ways.

6. -0ver 2,000 years before Christ there existed on the shores of Lake Meeris, in Egypt, a labyrinth of seven circular wall-enclosed winding paths, represented by Boticelli in one of his engravings, which we here reproduce adapted for Christian rites. This was used by the Egyptians in their initiations as a symbol of life, and the wanderings of the soul in the flesh, till "seven times seven" times purified and meet to appear before God. Cont

7-8. -In the Editor's former work "Palingenesia, or Earth's New Birth," 1884, incorporating some Ideas from this Gospel (part of which he had then received) these two rites referred to, by some oversight were transposed. Here, as in" Church of the Future" 1896, by the same Editor, the correct order is given. It is at present out of print.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 92

The Order of the Kingdom. (Part II.)

1 And another asked him saying, Master, wilt thou that there be marriages among us as it is among the nations of earth? And Iesus answered, saying, Among some it is the custom that one woman may marry several men, who shall say unto her, Be thou our wife and take away our reproach. Among others it is the custom, that one man may marry several women, and who shall say unto him, Be thou our husband and take away our reproach, for they who love feel it is a reproach to be unloved.

2 But unto you my disciples, I shew a better and more perfect way, even this, that marriage should be between one man and one woman, who by perfect love and sympathy are united, and that while love and life do last, howbeit in perfect freedom. But let them see to it that they have perfect health, and that they truly love each other in all purity, and not for worldly advantage only, and then let them plight their troth one to another before witnesses.

3 Then, when the time is come, let the angel or presbyter offer prayer and thanksgiving and bind them with the scarlet cord, if ye will, and crown them, and lead them thrice around the altar and let them eat of one bread and drink of one cup. Then holding their hands together, let him say to them in this wise, Be ye two in one, blessed be the holy union, you whom God doth join together let no man put asunder, so long as life and love do last.

4 And if they bear children, let them do so with discretion and prudence according to their ability to maintain them. Nevertheless to those who would be perfect and to whom it is given, I say, let them be as the angels of God in Heaven, who neither marry nor are given in marriage, nor have children, nor care for the morrow, but are free from bonds, even as I am, and keep and store up the power of God within, for their ministry, and for works of healing, even as I have done. But the many cannot receive this saying, only they to whom it is given.

5 And another asked him saying, Master, in what manner shall we offer the Holy Oblation? And Iesus answered, saying, The oblation which God loveth in secret is a pure heart. But for a Memorial of worship offer ye unleavened bread, mingled wine, oil and incense. When ye come together in one place to offer the Holy Oblation, the lamps being lighted, let him who presideth, even the angel of the church, or the presbyter, having clean hands and a pure heart, take from the things offered, unleavened bread and mingled wine with incense.

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6 And let him give thanks over them and bless them, calling upon the Father-Mother in Heaven to send their Holy Spirit that it may come upon and make them to be the Body and Blood, even the Substance and Life of the Eternal, which is ever being broken and shed for all.

7 And let him lift it up toward Heaven and pray for all, even for those who are gone before, for those who are yet alive, and for those who are yet to come As I have taught you, so pray ye, and after this let him break the bread and put a fragment in the cup, and then bless the holy union, and then let him give unto the faithful, saying after this manner, This is the body of the Christ even the substance of God (ever being broken and shed, for you and for all), unto eternal life. As ye have seen me do, so do ye also, in the spirit of love, for the words I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life.

(4. -Here we have further proof, if any were needed, that Jesus was brought up in the tenets and customs of the Essenes. See "Christianity and Buddhism" (a remarkable book by Arthur Lillie) for the full discussion of the subject.

6. -Similar were the rites of Mithra. From the days of Noah and Melchizedek these pure mysteries were celebrated -though not in the fulness of the light of Christ.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 93

The Order of the Kingdom. (Part III.)

1 And another spake, saying, Master, if one have committed a sin, can a man remit or retain his sin? And Iesus said, God forgiveth all sin to those who repent, but as ye sow, so also must ye reap; Neither God nor man can remit the sins of those who repent nor nor forsake their sins; nor yet retain the sins of those who forsake them. But if one being in the spirit seeth clearly that any repent and forsake their sins, such may truly say unto the penitent, Thy sins are forgiven thee, for All sin is remitted by repentance and amendment and they are loosed from it, who forsake it and bound to it, who continue it.

2 Nevertheless the fruits of the sin must continue for a season, for as we sew so must we reap, for God is not mocked, and they who sow to the flesh shall reap corruption, they who sow to the spirit shall reap life, everlasting. Wherefore if any forsake their sins and confess them, let the presbyter say unto such in this wise, May God forgive thee thy sins, and bring thee to everlasting life. All sin against God is forgiven by God, and sin against man by man.

3 And another asked him, saying, If any be sick among us, shall we have power to heal even as thou dost? And Jesus answered, This power cometh of perfect chastity and of faith. They who are born of God keep their seed within them.

4 Nevertheless if any be sick among you, let them send for the presbyters of the church that they may anoint them with oil of olive in the Name of de Lord, and the prayer of faith, and the going out of power, with the voice of thanksgiving, shall raise them up, if they are not detained by sin, of this, or a former life.

5 And another asked him saying, Master, how shall the holy assembly be ordered and who shall minister therein? And Jesus answered. When my disciples are gathered in my name let them choose from among themselves true and faithful men and women, who shall be ministers and counsellors in temporal things and provide for the necessities of the poor, and those who cannot work, and let these look to the ordering of the goods of the church, and assist at the Oblation, and let these be your deacons, with their helps.

6 And when these have given proof, of their ministry, let them choose from them, those who have spiritual gifts, whether of guidance, or of prophecy, or of preaching and of teaching and healing, that they may edify the flock, offer the holy Oblation and minister the mysteries of God and let these be your presbyter, and their helps.

7 And from these who have served well in their degree let one be chosen who is counted most worthy, and let him preside over all and he shall be your Angel. And let the Angel ordain the deacons and consecrate the presbyters—anoint them and laying their hands upon them and breathing upon them that they may receive the Holy Spirit for the office to which they are called. And as for the Angel let one of the higher ministry anoint and consecrate him, even one of the Supreme Council.

8 For as I send Apostles and Prophets so also I send Evangelists And Pastors—the eight and forty pillars of the tabernacle—that by the ministry of the four I may build up and perfect my Church. and they shall sit in Jerusalem a holy congregation, each with his helper and deacon, and to them shall the scattered congregations refer in all matters pertaining to the Church. And as light cometh so shall they rule and guide and edify and teach my holy Church. They shall receive light from all, and to all shall they give more light.

9 And forget not with your prayers and supplications intercessions and giving of thanks, to offer the incense, as it is written in the last of your prophets, saying, From the rising of the sun unto the setting of the same incense shall be offered unto My Name in all places with a pure oblation, for My Name shall be great among the Gentiles.

10 For verily I say unto you, incense is the memorial of the intercession of the saints within the veil, with words that cannot be uttered.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 94

The Order of the Kingdom. (Part IV.)

1 And another asked him, saying, Master, how wilt thou that we bury our dead? And Iesus answered, Seek ye council of the deacons in this matter, for it concerneth the body only. Verily, I say, unto you there is no death to those who believe in the life to come. Death, as ye deemed it, is the door to life, and the grave is the gate to resurrection, for those who believe and obey. Mourn ye not, nor weep for them that have left you, but rather rejoice for their entrance into life.

2 As all creatures come forth from the unseen into this world, so they return to the unseen, and so will they come again till they be purified. Let the bodies of them that depart be committed to the elements, and the Father-Mother, who reneweth all things, shall give the angels charge over them, and let the presbyter pray that their bodies may rest in peace, and their souls awake to a joyful resurrection.

3 There is a resurrection from the body, and there is a resurrection in the body. There is a raising out of the life of the flesh, and there is a falling into the life of the flesh. Let prayer be made For those who are gone before, and For those that are alive, and For those that are yet to come, for all are One family in God. In God they live and move and have their being.

4 The body that ye lay in the grave, or that is consumed by fire, is not the body that shall be, but they who come shall receive other bodies, yet their own, and as they have sown in one life, so shall they reap in another. Blessed are they who have worked righteousness in this life, for they shall receive the crown of life.

5 And another asked him, saying, Master, under the law Moses clad the priests with garments of beauty for their ministration in the Temple. Shall we also clothe them to whom we commit the ministry of sacred things as thou hast taught us? And Iesus answered, White linen is the righteousness of the Saints, but the time truly cometh when Zion shall be desolate, and after the time of her affliction is past, she shall arise and put on her beautiful garments as it is written.

6 But seek ye first the kingdom of righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you. In all things seek simplicity, and give not occasion to vain glory. Seek ye first to be clothed with charity, and the garment of salvation and the robe of righteousness.

7 For what doth it profit if ye have not these? As the sound of brass and tinkling of cymbal are ye, if ye have not love. Seek ye righteousness and love and peace, and all things of beauty shall be added to you.

8 And yet another asked him, saving, Master, how many of the rich and mighty will enter into life and join us who are poor and despised. How, then, shall we carry on the work of God in the regeneration of mankind? And Iesus said, This also is a matter for the deacons of the church in council with the elders.

9 But when my disciples are come together on the Sabbath, at even, or in the morning of the first day of the week, let them each bring an offering of a tithe, or the tithe of a tithe of their increase, as God doth prosper them, and put it in the treasury, for the maintenance of the church and the ministry, and the works thereof. For I say unto you, it is more blessed to give than to receive.

10 So shall all things be done, decently and in order, And the rest will the Spirit set in order who proceedeth from the Father-Mother in heaven. I have instructed you now in first principles, and, lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the Age.

(7. -From this, as from other words of the Master on previous occasions, it is evident that his servant Paul borrowed from him many of the ideas, and similes and wise sayings scattered through his Epistles, and not Paul only, but also the other Apostles. (See also verse 9).

10. -It has been alleged that the laying down of rites and ordinances for Christianity has been the cause of division and strife in all countries. Nay, rather have not these divisions and dissensions been caused by the omission of the directions given by the One Head acknowledged by all during the period between his resurrection and ascension and the generation immediately after, and the handling of them down by that tradition so liable to corruption in place of the written record. But much more were these divisions and dissensions caused by the interpolation of dogmas not making for goodness and unity, by the suppression from the records of the vital essence in the holy law given by Iesus on the Mount, which, had it been preached and known and obeyed by all, would have made the earth a paradise in place of a hen for the weak and the helpless.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 95

The Ascension.

1 And Iesus after he had shewed himself alive to his disciples after his resurrection, and sojourned with them for ninety days, teaching and speaking of the Kingdom, and the things pertaining to the Kingdom of God, and had finished all things that he had to do, led forth the twelve with Mary Magdalene, and Joseph his father and Mary his mother, and the other holy women as far as Bethany to a mountain called Olivet, where he had appointed them.

2 And when they saw him as he stood in the midst of them, they worshipped him, but some doubted. And Iesus spake unto them, saying, Behold, I have chosen you from among men, and have given you the Law, and the Word of truth.

3 I have set you as the light of the world, and as a city that cannot be hid. But the time cometh when darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people, and the enemies of truth and righteousness shall rule in my Name, and set up a kingdom of this world, and oppress the peoples, and cause the enemy to blaspheme, putting for my doctrines the opinions of men, and teaching in my Name that which I have not taught, and darkening much that I have taught by their traditions.

4 But be of good cheer, for the time will also come when the truth they have hidden shall be manifested, and the light shall shine, and the darkness shall pass away, and the true kingdom shall be established which shall be in the world, but not of it, and the Word of righteousness and love shall go forth from the Centre, even the holy city of Mount Zion, and the Mount which is in the land of Egypt shall be known as an altar of witness unto the Lord.

5 And now I go to my Parent and your Parent, my God and your God. But ye, tarry in Jerusalem, and abide in prayer, and after seven days ye shall receive power from on high, and the promise of the Holy Spirit shall be fulfilled unto you, and ye shall go forth from Jerusalem unto all the tribes of Israel, and to the uttermost parts of the earth.

6 And having said these things, he lifted up his pure and holy hands and blessed them. And it came to pass that while he blessed them, he was parted from them, and a cloud, as the sun in brightness, received him out of their sight, and as he went up some held him by the feet and others worshipped him, falling to the earth on their faces.

7 And while they gazed steadfastly into heaven, behold two stood by them in white apparel, and said, Ye men of Israel, why stand ye gazing into thee, heaven; this same Jesus who is taken from you in a cloud, and as ye have seen him go into heaven, so shall he come again to the earth.

8 Then returned they unto Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives, which is from the city a Sabbath day's journey. And as they returned they missed Mary Magdalene, and they looked for her, but found her not. And some of the disciples said, The Master hath taken her, and they marvelled and were in great awe.

9 Now it was midsummer when Jesus ascended into heaven, and he had not yet attained his fiftieth year, for it was needful that seven times seven years should be fulfilled in his life.

10 Yea, that he might be perfected by the suffering of all experiences, and be an example unto all, to children and parents, to the married and the celibates, to youth and those of full age, yea, and unto all ages and conditions of mortal life.

(5. -There is no doubt that the "power" here referred to means the spiritual power which we read of as exercised by the followers of Jesus and other great prophets in all ages more or less. Taking the various accounts in the Gospel and ecclesiastical history as correct, miracles (i.e., wondrous works wrought by the exercise of faith and will power and often by the uses of subtle forces of nature, quite natural, but seemingly supernatural to those in ignorance of these forces) were of frequent occurrences in those days, even as they are in these days, but better understood, false miracles being no proof of the non-existence of true ones. Often they would be the effect exercised on the minds and imaginations of vast numbers of the poor and afl1icted, the diseased and suffering of humanity by faith in some great champions of the oppressed, themselves destroyed by the oppressor, yet realised by faith, if not by actual knowledge as still living and acting, with hands outstretched to heal and bless those who invoked their aid.

9. -From the testimony of the Jews, John viii. 57, A. V., it appears that Jesus at that time was not far from fifty years of age, and this is supported by S. lrenmus, 120-200 A.D., who appeals to the gospel as received by those of his day and to all the elders as testifying the same," those who were conversant in Asia with John, the disciple of the Lord, affirming that John conveyed to them this tradition." "Some of them," he says again, "not only saw John but the other Apostles also, and heard the very same tradition from them. Bond bear testimony to the truth of the statement."

The Editor of this Gospel has been credibly informed by an esteemed friend of his, "a Syrian Bishop," and a relative of the late learned Pope Pius IX., that he frequently (in private) assured him that he firmly held this (as a private opinion), the present time (1870) not being yet ripe for a public declaration

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on this and similar subjects, now introduced into the notes to this and other publications of the O.A.

8. -Mary Magdalene was chosen by our Lord as a type of the Church, in her fallen condition, redeemed by His love, and would be fitly one of the first fruits taken to be with her Lord, as Ioseph and Mary were after. She was the constant companion of Iesus' Ministry, to him she ministered of her substance, she anointed him for his Ministry, and for his Burial. She was the last at the Cross, and the first at the Tomb, and to her aJone He gave the commission, " Go tell Peter," and wheresoever the Gospel was to be preached, her love and devotion to her Master were to be declared.

GOSPEL OF THE 12 LECTION 96

The Pouring Out Of The Spirit.

1 And as the disciples were gathered together in the upper room when they returned from the Mount, they all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication, and their number was about one hundred and twenty.

2 And in that day James stood up and said; Men and brethren, it is known unto you how the Lord, before he left us, chose Peter to preside over us and watch over us in his Name; and how it must needs be that one of those who have been with us and a witness to his resurrection be chosen and appointed to take his place.

3 And they chose two called Barsabas and Matthias, and they prayed and said, Thou lord, who knowest the hearts of all men, shew which of these two thou hast chosen to take part in this Apostleship from which thou dost raise thy servant Peter to preside over us.

4 And they gave forth their lots, and the lot fell upon Matthias, and the Twelve received him, and he was numbered among the Apostles.

5 Then John and James separated Peter from their number by laying on of hands, that he might preside over them in the Name of the Lord, saying, Brother be thou as a hewn stone, sixsquared. Even thou, Petros, which art Petra, bearing witness to the Truth on every side.

6 And to the Apostles were given staves to guide their steps in the ways of truth, and crowns of glory withal; and to the Prophets burning lamps to shew light on the path and censers with fire; and to the Evangelists the book of the holy law to recall the people to the first principles; and to the Pastors were given the cup and platter to feed and nourish the flock.

7 But to none was given aught that was not given to all, for all were one priesthood under the Christ as their Master Great High Priest in the Temple of God; and to the Deacons were given baskets that they might carry therein the things needful for the holy worship. And the number was about one hundred and twenty, Peter presiding over them.

8 And when the third day had fully come they were all with one accord in the one place, and as they prayed there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind, and the room in which they were assembled was shaken, and it filled the place.

9 And there appeared cloven tongues of flame like fire, and sat upon the head of each of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak with tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance. And Peter stood up and preached the Law of Christ unto the multitude of all nations and tongues who were gathered together by the report of what had been seen and heard, each man hearing in his own tongue wherein he was born.

10 And of them that listened there were gathered unto the Church that day, three thousand souls, and they received the Holy Law, repented of their sins, and were baptized and continued stedfastly in the Apostles' fellowship and worship, and the Oblation and prayers.

11 And they who believed gave up their possessions, and had all things in common and abode together in one place, shewing the love and the goodness of God to their brothers and sisters and to all creatures, and working with their hands for the common weal.

12 And from these there were called twelve to be Prophets with the Apostles, and twelve to be Evangelists and twelve to be Pastors, and their Helps were added unto them, and Deacons of the Church Universal, and they numbered one hundred and twenty. And thus was the Tabernacle of David set up, with living men filled with goodness, even as the Master had shewn unto them.

13 And to the Church in Jerusalem was given James the Lord's brother for its president and Angel, and under him four and twenty priests in a fourfold ministry, and helpers and deacons also. And after six days many came together, and there were added six thousand men and women who received the holy Law of Love, and they received the word with gladness.

14 And as they gathered together on the Lord's Day after the Sabbath was past, and were offering the holy Oblation, they missed Mary and Joseph, the parents of Jesus. And they made search but found them not.

15 And some of them said, Surely the Lord hath taken them away, as he did Magdalene. And they were filled with awe, and sung praises to God.

16 And the Spirit of God came upon the Apostles and the Prophets with them and, remembering what the Lord had taught them, with one voice they confessed and praised God, saying.

17 We believe in One God: the Infinite, the Secret Fount, the Eternal Parent: Of Whom are all things invisible and visible. The ALL in all, through all around all. The holy Twain, in whom all things consist; Who hath been, Who is, Who shall be.

18 We believe in one Lord our Lady, the perfect holy Christ: God of God, Light of light begotten. Our Lord, the Father, Spouse and Son. Our Lady, the Mother, Bride and Daughter. Three Modes in one Essence undivided: One Biune Trinity. That God may be manifest as the Father, Spouse and Son of every soul: and that every soul may be perfected as the Mother, Bride and Daughter of God

19 And this by ascent of the soul into the spirit and the descent of the spirit into the soul. Who cometh from heaven, and is incarnate of the Virgin ever blessed, in Jesu-Maria and every Christ of God: and is born and teacheth the way of life and suffereth under the world rulers, and is crucified, and is buried and descendeth into Hell. Who riseth again and ascendeth into glory; from thence giving light and life to all.

20 We believe in the Sevenfold Spirit of God, the Life-Giver: Who proceedeth from the holy Twain. Who cometh upon Jesu-Maria and all that are faithful to the light within: Who dwelleth in the Church, the Israel elect of God. Who cometh ever into the world and lighteth every soul that seeks. Who giveth the Law which judgeth the living and the dead, Who speaketh by the Prophets of every age and clime.

21 We believe in One Holy Universal and Apostolic Church: the Witness to all truth, the Receiver and Giver of the same. Begotten of the Spirit and Fire of God: Nourished by the waters, seeds and fruits of earth. Who by the Spirit of Life, her twelve Books and Sacraments, her holy words and works: knitteth together the elect in one mystical communion and atoneth humanity with God. Making us partakers of the Divine Life and Substance: betokening the same in holy Symbols.

22 And we look for the coming of the Universal Christ: and the Kingdom of Heaven wherein dwelleth righteousness. And the holy City whose gates are Twelve: wherein are the Temple and Altar of God. Whence proceed three Orders in fourfold ministry: to teach all truth and offer the daily sacrifice of praise.

23 As in the inner so in the outer: as in the great so in the small. As above, so below: as in heaven so in earth. We believe in the Purification of the soul: through many births and experiences. The Resurrection from the dead: and the Life everlasting of the just. The Ages of Ages: and Rest in God for ever.—Amun.

24 And as the smoke of the incense arose, there was heard the sound as of many bells, and a multitude of the heavenly host praising God and saying:

25 Glory, honour, praise and worship be to God; the Father,, Spouse, and Son: One with the Mother, Bride and Maid: From Whom proceedeth the Eternal Spirit: By whom are all created things. From the Ages of Ages. Now: and to the Ages of Ages—Amun—Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.

26 And if any man take from, or add, to the words of this Gospel, or hide, as under a bushel, the light thereof, which is given by the Spirit through us, the twelve witnesses chosen of God, for the enlightenment of the world unto salvation: Let him be Anathema Maranatha, until the coming of Christ Jesu-Maria, our Saviour, with all the Holy Saints.

27 For them that believe, these things are true. For them that believe not, they are as an idle tale. But to those with perceiving minds and hearts, regarding the spirit rather than the letter which killeth, they are spiritual verities.

28 For the things that are written are true, not because they are written, but rather they are written because they are true, and these are written that ye may believe with your hearts, and proclaim with your mouths to the salvation of many. Amen.

Here endeth the Holy Gospel of the Perfect Life of Jesu-Maria, the Christ, the Son of David after the Flesh, the Son of God after the Spirit. Glory be to God by Whose power and help it has been written.

(1. -This number, 120, has many mystic significances, and was foreshadowed by the number of souls saved in the Ark at the Flood ("The Original Genesis"), which included 48 (i.e., double 7 + 34) + 72, a number of deep mystic significance.

2. -The manifestations described here have been repeated in modern times. What God does in one age, whether by angels, spirits, or adepts in the flesh, the same unchanging God repeats in another. Whether the miracle respecting the preaching of Peter took place in the persons of the Apostles, or in their hearers, we have no means of ascertaining, but the fact remains. Most probably in the hearing of the hearers, so that each was enabled spiritually to understand. or else all were moved to speak and to hear in a tongue common to all. Cont

THE JESUS SUTRA

The Secret Sayings Of Ye Su
The Silk Road Gospel
Translation: Dr. Jay G. Williams, 1994
Estimated Range of Dating: 8th or 9th century AD.

(The origin of Pauline Christianity is rooted in western Greek and Roman civilisation, but amazingly, an ancient, largely unknown branch of Christian belief evolved in the East. In 1904, a Chinese Taoist named Wang Yuanlu opened the long-sealed Mogao Caves 25 km southeast of Dunhuang, Gansu Province, in the west of China, and discovered a vast treasure trove of ancient scrolls, silk paintings, and artifacts dating from the 5th to 11th centuries A.D. In 1907 Sir Aurel Stein examined the finds and was amazed. Among them, written in Chinese, were scrolls that recounted a history of Jesus' life and teachings in beautiful Taoist concepts and imagery that were unknown in the West. These writings told a story of Christianity that was by turns unique and disturbing, hopeful and uplifting. The best way to describe them is collectively, with a term they themselves use: The Jesus Sutras.

Then, in 1994, the translator, Dr. Jay G. Williams, claims that a manuscript in Koine Greek emerged and that he had seen it shortly and could get only make copies which he translated into English. The author also describes the nature of the text and why he thinks it should be placed in the Tang dynasty period. According to Williams, it was obviously influenced by both Buddhist and Daoist ideas and probably derives from Tang dynasty China (8th or 9th century). Although undoubtedly ancient, as he says, the work seems amazingly contemporary in its ideas, offering a unique and quite radical vision of Ye Su (Jesus) and his teachings. Neither orthodox nor gnostic, The Secret Sayings comments about such topics as the place of women and gays within the community, the nature of the kingdom, and the source of Christian hope in the "Source." Although faith is emphasised, doctrines and dogmas are not. A place is found for both the Heavenly Father and the Earthly Mother but alone neither is regarded as "ultimate." The fellowship of believers is emphasised, but value of the Church as an institution is seriously questioned. He provides a concise introduction not only to the history of Buddhism and the indigenous religions of China during this period but also to the "Religion of Light," a form of Christianity that entered China in 638 A. D. The work ends with a line-by-line commentary on each of the seventy-two verses of this gospel. Verdict: the work could be a forgery because the provenance of the text in unclear.)

THE SECRET SAYINGS OF YE SU

1 To the multitude I speak only in parables, for the world is drunk with its own importance, addicted to its own pride. Drunken understanding isworse than drunken ignorance.

2 To you I will explain everything, if you will but sober up.

3 Peter said, "How, Master, can I sober up? Show me the way. Ye Su said, "Tobe my disciple you must renounce everything. Cleanse your heart of theworld and its cravings."

4 Peter said, "Teacher, if I renounce everything, how can I live?" Ye Su said,"What I ask is not a law, for no law can demand the impossible. Only the Spirit can achieve the impossible. The world tells us that complete renunciation is impossible, but consider the birds of the air. They have no regular employment or storage barns; yet they live more happily than we. Renunciation is a work of the Spirit that never ends; it is freedom from the craving of the world. It is a life of genuine simplicity. It is the disenchantment of the world. Renunciation is repentance. It is to turn and go inexactly the opposite direction."

5 Do not think that I come to teach you about the Eternal Source. The Source is beyond all understanding. To speak about the Source is to createan idol. I come to proclaim the kingdom. Nevertheless, to live in the kingdom is to be one with the Source.

6 James said, "May I help you to rule the kingdom?" Ye Su said, "If you wish to rule, you are far from the kingdom and from me."

7 The kingdom is like seeds sown upon the earth; if the soil is good, the seeds will sprout and grow.

8 The seed of the kingdom is within you. Nourish it.

9 Philip asked, "When will the kingdom come?" Ye Su said, "When the time is full, the seed sprouts up and grows you know not how, but you will know when the harvest is ready. Only be sure that you water with care."

10 Peter said, "Show us a sign that we may believe." Ye Su said, "The kingdom is its own sign. Do you not know that the deaf hear, the lame dance, and the blind receive their sight? Have you no eyes to see?"

11 Mary said, "I love you, Ye Su." Ye Su said, "That is a good start; the kingdom is born from love."

12 Recognise the kingdom where it is. It is in the eyes of every person you meet. If you see the kingdom in me, you will see it everywhere. If you know the kingdom in any face, you will know me.

13 One day, as Ye Su taught his disciples, Peter left to quiet children who were playing in the courtyard and disturbing his

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concentration. Ye Su asked, “Where are you going?” Peter replied, “To make the children be quiet.” Ye Su said, “Do not do that; let us go outside.” The children were playing agame, laughing and showing great delight. Ye Su said, “Behold, the kingdom is like this, full of joy and gladness; let us join them.” And so Ye Su and his disciples played with the children all afternoon.

14 Peter said, “Let us fast and punish our bodies so that the kingdom will come.” Ye Su said, “Your body is the gift of our Mother. Treat your body with holiness and respect. It is not your body that causes your addiction; it is your psyche. Clean the inside of the cup; that is what matters.”

15 Your body is the temple of the Holy Spirit. What other temple do you need?

16 Close the windows, shut the doors, keep the foolishness and violence of the world away. When your mind is free of foolishness and empties into the great Sea, then you will be close.

17 The disciples said, “Teach us to pray.” Ye Su replied, “Go into your inner room and close the door. Do not pray in public as the addicts do, for that is idolatry. Do not try to tell the Eternal Source what to do, for that is presumptuous. Just listen. Listen, I say, listen. Those who have ears, let them hear.”

18 Peter asked, “How should we live? Teach us the Law.” Ye Su said, “The Law only cleans the outside of the cup but leaves the inside full of foul debris. If you think I have come with a new Law, you are wrong. The Law was given for hardness of heart. The wine of the kingdom dissolves thehardness.”

19 The world’s addiction to the ego creates hearts of stone.

20 The world needs laws, for craving creates conflict, but when the kingdom comes there is only the law of love. “Love your neighbour as yourself:” there is nothing more that is needed. To love your neighbour is to love the Eternal Source.

21 Everything I say is of the kingdom, not of the Law. Sing and dance for the good news.

22 There once was a pearl merchant who sought the world’s most perfect pearl. He travelled the earth, enduring great perils and sufferings, but returned to his home tired, impoverished, and empty-handed. Then his wife discovered the pearl he sought for so long in the headband he had worn on the journey.

23 John said, “Teach us about the kingdom.” Ye Su said, “Do not look for the kingdom as though it will appear in one place or another. The kingdom is here, now. Nevertheless, you must prepare for its wonderful appearance. It is like a flash of lightning that illumines all. So do not close your eyes, evenfor a moment. The kingdom is like the leading lady of the drama who waits in the wings for her cue. She is there, but you do not see her.”

24 The world is addicted, always craving, never satisfied. Because the world craves, there is suffering and violence and hate. Those who succeed in the world are the unhappiest of all.

25 Do not despise the world or its people; the seeds of the kingdom are everywhere. Delight in everything.

26 Peter said, “Some effeminate men wanted to see you but I sent them away.” Ye Su said, “You were wrong to do that, Peter. Did I not tell you that the seeds of the kingdom are everywhere?” “But suppose they will not reform their ways?” “Think not of the faults of others, Peter, for no one has achieved true righteousness. Have more faith in the power of the kingdom. Therefore I say, do not judge others or censure them. Look only to your own craving.

27 Nathaniel asked, “Must we become celibate for the sake of the kingdom?” Ye Su said, “No, sexual desire is a gift from our Mother and we must give thanks for her gifts and use them wisely. Celibacy does not end the craving but only intensifies it. True marriage is the reunification of Adam, and is the great and holy Mystery. Only the Child of Adam enters the kingdom.”

28 I am the light that shines in the darkness, the light that enlightens every person. You have always known me, though today, in your blindness, you do not recognise me.

29 Only the naked should baptize the naked.

30 Running floodwaters of the earth and the unpredictable winds of heaven; a plunge of death into the waters, the fluttering of the dove: the Child of Adam is born.

31 Peter said, “Why do you allow women to follow you? Should not only men be disciples?” Ye Su said, “Peter, Peter, are you so blind? Do you not see that the seeds of the kingdom are planted in both women and men and that in the kingdom there is no difference between them? We are all the union of male and female and therefore are in ourselves both male and female. Until you realise that, the kingdom will be far away. To remind you of your blindness, when I appear in glory, Mary shall see me first. She is my beloved disciple.”

32 The kingdom is agapemade manifest among us. It is the one great miracle.If you know agape, the kingdom comes.

33 Agape is not just a feeling in the human heart but grows among us. Act in agape; then there will be feeling.

34 Judas asked, “What should we do for the poor?” Ye Su answered, “Love the poor, but do not pity them. They are much closer to the kingdom than are the rich. Do not think that the end of life is worldly goods. It is the things of the world that blind us to the kingdom. But feed the hungry and care for the suffering as you would care for your own mother or father or wife or friend. Watch for the kingdom,for it is there, among the poor. The glory is revealed among the homeless, for the Child of Adam has nowhere to lay his head.”

35 Weep for the rich, for it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom.

36 The true gifts of the Magi I give you: compassion, simplicity, and dare not be first in the world.

37 The kingdom is like an ancient well which flows with living water. Draw up the water and quench your thirst.

38 Trust in the kingdom. That is all that is needed.

39 From the Source flows the One and the One contains the Two. The Two give birth to the Third, the Child of Adam, and from the Three flow forth all things.

40 All flows creatively from the Source. When you create, the power of the Source is yours. Music, Poetry, Art are gifts of the Source.

41 John said, “Teach us about the Spirit.” Ye Su said, “The Spirit is the kingdom made manifest. When the trees move their branches you know that the Spirit is there. The Spirit is your life. When you breathe, it is the Spirit that moves within you. When your breath flows perfectly with the Spirit, you are in the kingdom. Watch your breath.”

42 James said, “Our enemies surround us and want to destroy the kingdom. How shall we fight against our enemies? Shall we take up arms?” Ye Su said, “Love your enemies; do good to those who misuse you, for in them dwells also the kingdom. And forgive, always forgive.” “But,” said James, “suppose that they should kill us?” Ye Su replied, “No one can kill the kingdom for it has been from the beginning and will be until the end. As for the rest, it is mortal and will return to the Mother. Do not cling to life. Life and death are twin sisters who can never be separated. Death too is a blessing. But enter the kingdom where there is eternal life.”

43 In all things be mindful.

44 “Is my soul immortal? Will I go to heaven?” asked John. “Your psyche,” said Ye Su, “is a function of your body and like your body will return to dust. But the kingdom of light is everlasting. Enter the kingdom of light and find eternal shalom.”

45 I will die and on the third day will burst forth again from the tomb.The kingdom of light can be hidden for a time, but cannot be destroyed, not by the so-called religious authorities, not by the great world empires. If you trust in the kingdom, you will not fear death.

46 Peter said, “Teacher, I hope and pray you will not die.” Ye Su said,“ If you wish to enter the kingdom, you must die, for new life comes only from death. Peter, all component parts decay. Your psyche will crumble into dust, but if your trust is into the light, you will rest in the light. Like me, you will burst forth again from the tomb. The light is eternal.”

47 Judas said, “Teacher, the prophets taught us that the Eternal demands justice for all. Should we not organise to fight against the injustice in our society?” Ye Su said, “Agape demands justice in the world and woe to the person who does not seek to right the wrongs of society. But agape also knows that justice without the kingdom is hollow and unstable. In this world of craving, injustice will always reign because craving demands injustice. To think that there can betrue justice without the coming of the kingdom is an illusion.”

48 The kingdom comes from the glory of the Eternal, Incomprehensible Source.

49 Judas said, “Let us organise ourselves with a president and officers sothat our movement may be more effective.” Ye Su said, “Agape does not hold to order. The more you organise, the more your organisation will become but one more institution of craving. Soon you will have some men ruling over others. Some will be forced to bow to their masters. There will be ordinances and taboos. People will beginto think that faith is just subscribing to a set of ideas and the kingdom will become a fossil to be put upon the shelf along with all the other archaic doctrines. Then there will be persecutions and wars carried out in my name as the blind lead the blind into disaster. No,Judas, call no person Father or Rabbi or the Reverend or yourHoliness. All of this comes from the craving of the world and will only end in violence and disorder. The kingdom comes as a miracleand miracles cannot be contained.”

50 When you meet, meet as friends. Love one another. Celebrate agape.

51 Proclaim the good news of the eternal kingdom but think not of proselytes. The kingdom will provide the miracle.

52 Do not think that a tribe or nation or empire can become the kingdom, for the kingdom will grow when and where it wills. Nothing will impede the kingdom more than a nation of addicts pretending to be the kingdom.

53 I looked and I saw a great beast rising out of the earth, devouring everyone in its path. Great was its pride and great its claims to truth. Tothose whom it enticed it offered holy feelings and future hopes, but it attacked the very kingdom it proclaimed. Those who were devoured seldom returned. The name of the beast was the Holy Church.

54 Keep my teachings secret; cast no pearls before swine, lest the great beast overhear the words and destroy.

55 To live in the kingdom is to laugh and be glad. There is no soberness in the realm of light; it is freedom, hope, and joy.

56 I do not come to judge the world or anyone in it. I come to reveal the light of the kingdom. Those who turn from the light and seek the darkness condemn themselves and enter the darkness. Those who seek the light are of the light. Trust in the light and the healing is yours.

57 Do not judge others. If they seek the darkness, that is their danger, their woe. But trust the light and it will grow into a great flame. Let your light shine before all people that they may see and trust also.

58 James said, “There are other teachers in other lands who offer wisdom to the world. How should we think of them?” Ye Su said, “The seeds of the kingdom are everywhere. Do not think of the kingdom as your personal possession. My light is to be found everywhere in the world and many are those who have found me. But beware the influence of humanity’s dark craving. Traditions of humanity are few that have not become corrupted bythe craving. But where there is light, rejoice in it.”

59 One night Ye Su gathered those he taught and led them to an inner room set apart. There, at dinner, he took a loaf of bread and broke it before them, “This bread,” he said, “is a gift from the Mother of us all. Together we share her matter. This loaf also comes from the sunlight of the Father’s heavenly realm, now broken that we may become one in the heavenly light. Together we share the bread of heaven and earth; the kingdom of love is among us; this is my body.”

60 The kingdom does not belong to individuals. It becomes manifest in agape shared. Therefore the loaf must be broken so that agape may be known in the sharing.

61 Ye Su also took a cup of wine, rich in aroma and body, and said, “This wine is a gift from our Mother to make glad the hearts of humans, so that we may know joy and shalom. It is likewise a gift from the sun from theFather’s heavenly realm. It reminds us of the great transformation whichthe light and love of the kingdom bring. This is my blood poured out. In the world, wine may bring drunkenness; here one finds the kingdom.”

62 I am the True Light, glowing from the Eternal Source. Cleave the wood, I am there; lift the stone, I am there.

63 Ye Su asked Mary, “What shall you do when I return from the dead?” Mary said, “If you were to return from the dead, I would observe awestruck silence and speak to no one about it.” Ye Su said, “You have learned well, Mary. You shall be my apostle.”

64 Have you not heard that it was said of old, “Those who speak do not know, those who know do not speak.”

65 Peter said, “But we must say something. How can we proclaim the goodnews if we can say nothing?” Ye Su smiled but did not speak. Then he led his disciples in the Circular Dance of Joy that they danced until the dawn.

66 Ye Su hung upon the tree of life. He chanted the ancient psalms as blood dripped from his hands and feet. He spoke words of shalom to those who had not run away in fear. He encouraged and forgave. The earth trembled and the heavens grew dark. The Mother sobbed and the Father mourned.But in the midst of the trembling there was serenity; in the midst of darkness there was tremendous light streaming from every pore of his body, radiating to every corner of the earth. In death, life is born; in darkness, there is a dawning.

67 Death came, the tomb was made ready and then, after the burial, sealed. But nothing can hold the light. At any moment it can burst forth with an unimaginable radiance. And it does.

68 And you must die. Your craving, born of your prideful ego, must perish. Your death, like that of Ye Su, will be dreadfully painful, for the addiction is so intense and has gone on so long. Earth will tremble and Heaven will grow dark before the veil is rent, the Holy of Holies revealed, and the light, the eternal light, begins to shine.

69 The Well, the Water, and the Drink of Eternity: the three are one.

70 I Am the Way, the Truth, and the Life. In every part of the world those who know, know me. I am the wise man’s treasure and the lost man’s refuge.

71 To you I leave the gifts of the Spirit: agape, simplicity, and shalom.The kingdom of light is here. It is time to rejoice.

72 Take care to whom these words are given, for those of the world will laugh and deride and then use them for their own worldly ends. Hide my secrets until the time is fulfilled. Beware the beast.

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THE LETTER OF LENTULUS

The Epistle of Lentulus
Translation: B. Harris Cowter, 1874
Estimated Range of Dating: 15th century A.D.

(The Letter of Lentulus is an epistle of mysterious origin. It purports to be written by a Roman official, contemporary of Jesus, and gives a physical and personal description of Jesus. There is no physical evidence of a document existing before the fifteenth century and it is widely assumed that the document is a forgery.

It appears in several Florentine publications from around 1460 along with works of such humanists as Petrarch and Boccaccio. The letter was first printed in Germany in the "Life of Christ" by Ludolph the Carthusian (Cologne, 1474), and in the "Introduction to the works of St. Anselm" (Nuremberg, 1491). But it is neither the work of St. Anselm nor of Ludolph. According to the manuscript of Jena, a certain Giacomo Colonna found the letter in 1421 in an ancient Roman document sent to Rome from Constantinople. It must have been of Greek origin, and translated into Latin during the thirteenth or fourteenth century, though it received its present form at the hands of a humanist of the fifteenth or sixteenth century. Christopher Mylius, the 18th century librarian of Jena, stated the letter was written in golden letters on red paper and richly bound, but lost. It 1899, Ernst von Dobschütz listed over 75 historical manuscripts from Germany, France and Italy that include the Letter of Lentulus in variant forms.

The letter may have influenced how Jesus was later physically depicted in art. The 19th-century scholar Friedrich Münter believed he could trace the letter down to the time of Diocletian, but this is generally not accepted by present-day scholars.

The letter saw widespread publication and was taken as an eyewitness account for a long time. It also gave various artists, such as Dirk Bouts, a model on which to base the face and appearance of Jesus Christ. Different manuscripts vary from the foregoing text in several details; Ernst von Dobschütz enumerates the manuscripts and gives an apparatus criticus. The description agrees with the so-called Abgar picture of Jesus; it also agrees with the portrait of Jesus Christ drawn by Nicephorus, St. John Damascene, and the Book of Painters (of Mount Athos).

The letter is frequently regarded as apocryphal for a number of reasons. The first English translation of the text appears in 1680 and lists the author as "Publius Lentulus", a Prefect in Judaea at the time of Tiberius Caesar. The Res Gestae Divi Augusti, the Deeds of the Divine Augustus lists a Publius Lentulus as being elected as a Roman Consul [the highest-ranking government leader over the Roman Empire.] during the reign of Augustus (27 BC-14 AD). However, there was no Governor of Jerusalem or Procurator of Judaea who was known by the name of Lentulus. But what makes this letter almost ridiculous is the fact that Jesus' beauty was described to the Roman Senate. The Senate was interested in politics and finance of the state but not in someones beauty. The author seemed to have ignored that. It is assumed that this letter should have fed the peoples' hunger for more information about Jesus. It bears witness to the sad fact that Christianity has degenerated to a cult of personality instead of focussing on Jesus' teachings.)

Text:

Lentulus, Governor of the people of Jerusalem, to the Roman Senate and People: Greeting.

There has appeared in our times, and still is, a man of great virtue named Christ Jesus, who is called by the Gentiles [non-Jews] a prophet of truth, whom his disciples call the Son of God, raising the dead and healing diseases. He is a man of lofty stature, handsome, having a venerable countenance which the beholders can both love and fear. He has wavy hair, rather crisp, of a bluish tinge, and glossy, flowing down from his shoulders, with a parting in the middle of the head after the manner of the Nazarenes*. His forehead is even and very serene, and his face without any wrinkle or spot, and beautiful with a slight blush. His nose and mouth are without fault; he has a beard abundant and reddish, of the colour of his hair, not long but forked. His eyes are sparkling and bright. He is terrible in rebuke, calm and loving in admonition, cheerful but preserving gravity, has never been seen to laugh but often to weep. Thus, in stature of body, he is tall; and his hands and limbs are beautiful to look upon. In speech he is grave, reserved, and modest; and he is fair among the children of men. Farewell. [The writer has here evidently confounded Nazarenes with Nazarites*.]

[* Cowter's concluding comment is pretty amusing to read. Although his translation is nice, his remark is likely to be wrong. He was convinced that Jesus was a Nazarite. In the Hebrew Bible, a Nazarite or Nazirite is one who voluntarily took a vow described in Numbers 6:1–21. "Nazarite" comes from the Hebrew word nazir meaning the "Consecrated One" or "Separated One". This vow required the person during this time to:

- Abstain from all wine and anything else made from grapes. (Traditional rabbinic authorities state that all other types of alcohol were permitted.)
- Refrain from cutting the hair on one's head; but to allow the locks of the head's hair to grow.
- Not to become ritually impure by contact with corpses or graves, even those of family members.

Jesus most certainly took all these vows but Cowter could not know that Jesus [just like his family members, his disciples, and in particular his brother James the Just], was a Nazorean for he was called just like that: Yehoshua ha-Nozril 'Jesus the Nazoraean' or 'Keeper of the Law of Moses'.

The Nazarenes (or Nazoreans / Nasoreans; Greek: Nazoraioi) were early Jewish-Christians in the first-century AD. The first use of the term is found in the Acts of the Apostles (Acts 24:5) of the New Testament, where Paul the Apostle is accused of being a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes before the Roman procurator Antonius Felix at Caesarea Maritima by Tertullus. At that time, the term simply designated followers of Jesus of Nazareth, as the Hebrew term Noshri, and the Arabic term Nasrani still do. English translators rendered Jesus the Nazarene into Jesus of Nazareth. The reason for this mix-up is that there are over half a dozen different namings. The English term "Nazarene" is commonly used to translate two related Greek words that appear in the New Testament: Nazarenos ("Nazarene") and Nazoraios ("Nazorean"). The Greek term Nazoraios may have a religious significance instead of denoting a place of origin, while the Greek Nazarenos is an adjectival form of the phrase apo Nazaret "from Nazareth" which denotes that a person can be from a certain place but also from a certain group

Because of this, the phrases traditionally rendered as "Jesus of Nazareth" can also be translated as "Jesus the Nazarene" or more precisely "Jesus the Nazorean." In the Greek New Testament, the form "Nazoraios" or "Nazaraios" is more common than "Nazarenos" (meaning "from Nazareth"). And there is a good reason for that.

What does Nazorean mean? Robert Eisenman, one of the translators of the Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran explains: "These 'Rechabites', whom we mentioned above with regard to James' Naziritism and abstention from wine - not to mention sexual activity generally - are defined in Rabbinic tradition and here in Jeremiah as 'keeping the oath' of their father Jonadab the son of Rechab to 'drink no wine, plant no field, nor build any permanent abode', and, also, are thought to have been 'Potters'. The root used in the Rabbinic tradition anyhow to express this 'keeping the oath' is 'linzor', the root in Hebrew of Nozrim - "Christians" in the Talmud - and "Nazoraeans" / 'Keepers' above. Interestingly, Matthew 26:71 now applies this 'Nazoraean' terminology, also alluded to in the Rabbinic tradition about the High Priest's privy, to Jesus - this right after 'the Last Supper' and before his description of 'the Potter's Field' and Pilate 'washing his hands'.

The problem is, as well, that in these two word clusters in Hebrew - Nazirite and Nazoraean / Nazareth - we have two separate consonants, a 'z' and a 'tz', which transliterate only into a single consonant 'z' in Greek (though Epiphanius does mention another group in this connection, 'the Nasaraeans', based on a different consonant, sigma - 'Naassenes' in Hippolytus above, in Greek, probably a variation on "Essenes"). In Hebrew these two parallel words, when spelled one way, that is, with a 'tz' as in Nazoraean, simply mean "Keeper" as we have seen; spelled another - "Nazirite" with a 'z' — consecrated or to be separated. In turn, in Christian thought, this often gets confused with what is called by the term "Nazarene", even though, as Matthew puts it, this really does read 'and he shall be called a Nazoraean'. This is probably due more to Mark's use of 'Nazarene' (1:24, etc.) and confusion of these terms than anything else, but Mark uses 'Nazoraean' in 10:34 as well. All these can be applied to what in Hebrew is meant by the usage 'Nazirite' — a 'Consecrated' or 'Separated One'. They really cannot mean 'from Nazareth', as the notation occurs elsewhere in the Gospels, though all such plays on words were probably purposeful."

Nazorean was not only Jesus' byname but also a synonym for "Christian" in the first century AD, in a time when the term "Christian" did not exist yet. Nazoreans, Essenes, Ebionites were different names for the very same group of people, the Jewish Christians in the Holy Land, the followers of the real Jesus, not the "heavenly Jesus" of the Pauline Christians who were the Greek and Roman predessessors of the today's Christians.]

SCRIPTURE OF THE YAZIDI FAITH

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE YAZIDIS

The Kiteba Cilwe (Book of Revelation) and
The Mishefa Res (Black Book) and
The Poem in Praise of Seih Adi and
The Principal Prayer of the Yezidis
From: Arabic manuscript Daud as-Saig
Mark Lidzbarski in ZDMG, LI, 592 ff.
Translation: Isya Joseph, 1919
Estimated Range of Dating: 1100-1400 AD

(Yazidism or Sharfadin (Kurdish: Sherfedin) is a monotheistic ethnic religion followed by the mostly Kurmanji-speaking Yazidis and based on belief in one God who created the world and entrusted it into the care of seven Holy Beings, known as Angels. Preeminent among these Angels is Tawuse Melek (also written as "Melek Ta'us") who is the leader of the Angels and who has authority over the world.

The Yazidis [most of them live in Kurdistan] have been called many things. Particularly by Mohammedans called them most notoriously 'devil-worshippers' as they have associated Melek Taus with Shaitan (Islamic/Arab name) or Satan. This sensational epithet is not only deeply offensive to the Yazidis, but it is absolutely wrong. The Yazidis are pious and believe in a divine triad. The original god of the Yazidis is considered to be remote and inactive in relation to his creation, except to contain and bind it together within his essence. His first emanation is Tawuse Melek, who functions as the ruler of the world. The second hypostasis of this trinity is the Sheikh Adi. The third is Sultan Ezid. These are the three hypostases of the one God. The identity of these three is sometimes blurred, with Sheikh Adi considered to be a manifestation of Tawuse Melek and vice versa. The same also applies to Sultan Ezid. A popular Yazidi story narrates the fall of Tawuse Melek and his subsequent rejection by humanity, with the exception of the Yazidis.

Tawuse Melek: Yazidis are called Milete Tawuse Melek (the nation of Melek Taus). Tawuse Melek refused to bow before the first human, when God ordered the seven angels to do so. The command was actually a test, meant to determine which of these angels was most loyal to God by not prostrating themselves to someone other than their creator. This belief has been linked by some people to Islamic revelation on Iblis, who also refused to prostrate to Adam, despite God's express command to do so. Because of this similarity to the Sufi tradition of Iblis, some followers of other monotheistic religions of the region identify the Peacock Angel with their own unredeemed evil spirit Satan, which has incited centuries of persecution of the Yazidis as "devil worshippers". Persecution of Yazidis has continued in their home communities within the borders of modern Iraq. Yazidis, however, believe Tawuse Melek is not a source of evil or wickedness. They consider him to be the leader of the archangels, not a fallen angel. Yazidis argue that the order to bow to Adam was only a test for Tawuse Melek, since if God commands anything then it must happen. In other words, God could have made him submit to Adam, but gave Tawuse Melek the choice as a test: God had directed him not to bow to any other being, and his refusal of the later order to bow to Adam was thus obedience to God's original command.

Sheikh Adi: One of the important figures of Yazidism is 'Adī ibn Musafir. Sheikh Adi ibn Musafir settled in the valley of Laliş (some 58 kilometres (36 mi) northeast of Mosul) in the Yazidi mountains in the early 12th century and founded the 'Adawiyya Sufi order. He died in 1162, and his tomb at Laliş is a focal point of Yazidi pilgrimage and the principal Yazidi holy site. Yazidism has many influences: Sufi influence and imagery can be seen in the religious vocabulary, especially in the terminology of the Yazidis' esoteric literature, but much of the theology is non-Islamic. Its cosmogony apparently has many points in common with those of ancient Iranian religions blended with elements of pre-Islamic ancient Mesopotamian religious traditions.

Seven Angels: The seven Angels are the emanations of God, which are said to have been created by God from his own light (Nur). In this context they have, so to speak, a part of God in themselves. Another word that is used for this is Sur or Sirr (literally: mystery), which denotes a divine essence that the Angels were created from. This pure divine essence called Sur or Sirr has its own personality and will and is also called Sura Xude (the Sur of God). This term refers to the essence of the Divine itself, that is, God. The Angels share this "essence" from their creator who is God. The seven Angels are sometimes referred to as the "Seven Mysteries". These Angels are called Cibrayil, Ezrayil, Mikayil, Şifqayil, Derdayil, Ezafil and Ezazil. Tawuse Melek is identified with one of these Angels.

Creation myth: According to the Yazidi cosmogony, God created the world from a pearl (Dur), that was previously in a stage before the creation named Enzel (the eternity before creation). Yazidi accounts of creation differ from those of

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Judaism, Christianity and Islam, and are closer to those of Zoroastrianism.

Reincarnation: A belief in the reincarnation of lesser Yazidi souls also exists. Like the Ahl-e Haqq, the Yazidis use the metaphor of a change of garment to describe the process. Spiritual purification of the soul can be attained via continual reincarnation within the faith group, but it can also be halted by means of expulsion from the Yazidi community; this is the worst possible fate, since the soul's spiritual progress halts and conversion back into the faith is impossible.

All these facts give room for assumptions that Yazidis may be descendants from the last surviving Manichaean and Mandaean groups.

Religious organisation

The Yazidis are strictly endogamous; members of the three Yazidi castes, the murids, sheikhs, and pirs, marry only within their group. There are several religious duties and that are performed by several dignitaries.

1. Mir: The leader of the Yazidi is a hereditary Mir or prince, and the current emir is Hazim Tahsin or Naif Dawud. Hazim Tahsin is a former deputy in Iraq's Kurdish parliament. The former head was his father, Tahseen Said, who died in January 2019 in Germany, and who was head of the community for nearly 75 years. He is the supreme ruler over the Yazidi. He can expel anyone who opposes to his decisions from the community. The family of the Mir resides in Ba'adra.

2. Baba Sheikh: The Baba Sheikh is the leader of all Sheikhs and the Kocheks. His post is mainly granted hereditary but he is appointed from the Mir. He is obliged to observe long periods of fasting of 40 days in the summer and winter. The acting Baba Sheikh has to be from the family of the Shemsani Sheiks. He shall not be dismissed, and only be replaced if he dies or abandons the Yazidi faith. The current Sheikh is Ali Alyas. The previous sheikh was Khurto Hajji Ismail.

3. Sheikh: All Yazidi are obliged to have a Sheikh and a Pir. A Sheikh can express sermons and impose taboos on his followers (Mirids). The Sheikh should attends important events like births, deaths and weddings. For this duty they give him a certain annual amount of money. Sheikh has the same signification in Arabic like Pir in Kurdish.

4. Pir: The Pirs duties are similar to the ones of a Sheikh, he can attend the majority of the events as well which the Sheikh attends, if the Sheikh is not able to, but he is awarded just about half of the money a Sheikh receives in exchange.

5. Peshimam: He is responsible to hold weddings ceremonies and is appointed by the Mir amongst the family of the Peshimams. Also he can not be dismissed and only be replaced in case of his passing away or him abandoning the Yazidi faith.

6. Kocheks: The Kocheks are led by the Baba Sheikh and are the servants to Sheikh Adi. They collect wood and water among other duties they have. They are also known to observe long fasts and to be able to communicate with the "World of the Unseen".

Temple: The Holy Temple of the Yazidis is in Lalish also known as Laliṣa Nurani) a mountain valley in Ninawa in Iraq. It is the location of the tomb of the Sheikh Adi ibn Musafir, a central figure of the Yazidi faith. The temple valley is about sixty kilometers north of Mosul and 14 kilometers west from the village Ayn Sifna.

Customs: Children are baptised at birth and circumcision is not required, but is practised by some due to regional customs. The Yazidi baptism is called Mor kirin (literally: "to seal"). Traditionally, Yazidi children are baptised at birth with water from the Kaniya Sipi ("White Spring") at Lalish.

Purity and taboos: Some Yazidis consider pork to be prohibited, however, many Yazidis living in Germany began to view this taboo as a foreign belief from Judaism or Islam and not part of Yazidism, and therefore abandoned this rule. Others seem to avoid eating vegetables. In reality, Yazidis have no strict food law.

Too much contact with non-Yazidis is also considered polluting. In the past, Yazidis avoided military service which would have led them to live among Muslims.

To share items such as cups or razors with outsiders is considered forbidden.

Prayers: Worshipers should turn their face toward the sun. Wednesday is the holy day, and the eve before is also holy.

Festivals: The greatest festival of the year is the Cemaiya ("Feast of the Assembly"), which includes an annual pilgrimage to the tomb of Sheikh Adi in Lalish, northern Iraq. The festival is celebrated from 6 October to 13 October, in honor of the Sheikh Adi. It is an important time for cohesion.

One of the most important Yazidi festivals is Ida ezi ("Feast of ezi"). Which every year takes place on the first Friday on or after the 14th of December. Before this festival, the Yazidis fast for 3 days, where nothing is eaten from sunrise to sunset. The Ida ezi festival is celebrated in honor of God and the 3 days of fasting before are also associated with the ever shorter days before the winter solstice, when the sun is less and less visible. With the Ida ezi festival, the fasting time is ended.

Another important festival is the Tawusgeran where Qewals and other religious dignitaries visit Yazidi villages, bringing the sinjaq, sacred images of a peacock symbolising Tawuse Melek. These are venerated, fees are collected from the pious, sermons are preached and holy water and berat (small stones from Lalish) distributed.

If possible, Yazidis make at least one pilgrimage to Lalish during their lifetime, and those living in the region try to attend at least once a year for the Feast of the Assembly in autumn.

Persecution

The persecution of the Yazidis by Muslims sounds pretty much like the persecutions of the Armenians described by Thomas Artsruni. They follow the same pattern as prescribed in the Islamic Sharia law. In chapter 7 of Isya Joseph's book we read:

"The history of the Yezidis, like that of the Jews, has been one of persecution. The causes of their misfortune have been the fact that they are not regarded as the "people of the Book" and therefore, the Mohammedans have no treaty, no binding oath, as they do with the other non-Mohammedan bodies. For this reason they have to make choice between conversion and death, and it is unlawful even to take taxes from them. Consequently they must accept the faith or be killed.

Their ceremonies have given rise among their neighbours to fables confounding their practices with those of the Nusairi of Syria and ascribing to them certain midnight orgies, which obtained for them the name of cherag sanderafi, i. e., the extinguishers of light. Their determined refusal to enter the military service. The Yezidis with the Christians have been exempt from the military service on the general law sanctioned by the Koran; namely, that none but true beHevers can serve in the armies of the state. But from time to time the Turkish government has endeavored to raise recruits for the regular troops among the Yezidis on the ground that, being of no recognised infidel sect, they must be included like the Druses of Mount Lebanon among Mohammedans.

But they have resisted the orders, alleging that their religious law absolutely forbids them to take the oath to which the Turkish soldiers are weekly subjected, to wear the blue color and certain portions of the uniform, and to eat several articles of food that are offered to the troops. Hence they have suffered severely at the hands of the local authorities. One of the most cruel persecutions which the Yezidis have suffered was that brought upon them in the Seihan district by the famous Beg Rawmanduz in 1832, who had united most of the Kurdish tribes of the surrounding mountains under his command. His cry was to crush the hateful sect of the devilworshipers. The forces of Ali Beg, the then amir of the Yezidis, were much inferior in number to those of the Khurdish Beg. The latter (Ali Beg) was defeated, therefore, and fell into the hands of his enemy, who put him to death. The people of Seihan fled to Mosul.

It was in the spring and the river had overflowed and carried the bridge away. A few succeeded in crossing, but the greater multitude of men, women and children were left on the opposite side and crowded on tal Armus. The hostile Beg followed and butchered them indiscriminately, showing no mercy, while the people of Mosul were witnessing the horrible massacre from the other side of the stream and hearing the cry of the unfortunate for their help, unwilling to render any assistance. For the Christians were helpless and Mohammedans rejoiced to see the devil-worshippers exterminated. From this cruel action of the Beg of Rawanduz, the mounds of Nineveh gained the name "Kuyunjik," i, e., "the slaughter of the sheep."

Soon after this Suleiman Pasa of Bagdad sent a large army to Sinjar under the command of Lutfee Effendi, who set fire to the Jabal Sinjar and caused all the inhabitants to flee. Then Hafiz Pasa of Diarbeker attempted the subjugation of the Yezidis of Sinjar, on the ground that they were plunderers.

After meeting some resistance, he accomplished his purpose in 1837, and appointed a Moslem to watch over them. At another time Mohammed Rasid Pasha of Mosul attacked Sinjar. On both occasions there was a massacre. The Yezidis took refuge in caves, where they were either suffocated by smoke or killed by the discharge of cannon. And thus the population was reduced by three- fourths. These and other similar injustices at the hands of the Pasas of Bagdad and Mosul and the Kurdish chiefs led the Yezidis from time to time to send a deputation to lay their grievances before the agents of the European powers, and they have even sent commissioners to the Sultan. They finally succeeded in enlisting the interest of Lord Stratford in 1847 to obtain at Constantinople a proper recognition of their religion and exemption from military service.

But the severest of all persecutions, to which I was an eye-witness, was perhaps the one which the Yezidi of both Seihan and Sinjar suffered in 1892 at the hands of Farik Omar Pasa, Lieutenant-General of the Turkish Army. This Farik was sent in the summer of 1892 as a special commissioner by the Sultan to accomplish certain definite things in the states of Mosul and Bagdad: to collect twenty years' unpaid taxes; to induce the Bedouins to exchange their nomadic life for village life; to convert the Yezidis of Seihan and Jabal Sinjar from their idolatry to the true faith. He was a harsh man in his manners and methods. He first invited some of their chiefs to Mosul. They came and listened to what the new Pasa had to say. They met him when Mij lis al-Edarah, council of the state, composed of 'Olama and a few Christians, was in session. In the presence of these noblemen he began to tell them that if they would give up their devil-worship, they would be rewarded with high place and rank, and would please the great Allah. But they answered not. When the Farik saw that his words failed to persuade them, he began to apply the weapon of cruelty. He cast them into prison; some died; others fled; and a few, through the fear of torture and painful death, pronounced al-sehadah with their lips but not from their hearts.

Then he sent an army to their villages, and commanded them to choose between Islam and the sword. 'Omar Beg, his son, who was commanding the soldiers, directed them to slaughter the men, and take captives the pretty women and girls and marry them. He slew about five hundred men. Many became Moslems from fear, among these Merza Beg, their civil chief. Then he placed mullas among them to teach the children the Muslim faith, and ordered the newly converted Yezidis to pray five times every day and to perform all the religious rites. To make them continue to be Mohammedans, he tore down their shrines, especially those at Bahzanie and Baasika. Such events encouraged the Kurds to come down and add greater cruelty to what was already done.

But amir Ali Beg, their chief in civil and religious affairs, after long imprisonment and torture, did not change his religious belief. That he might not be an example of firmness to the Yezidis, the Farlk banished him with soldiers to Katamuni, a place near Constantinople. As a consequence of these persecutions, the number of the Yezidis has been considerably decreased. In the fifteenth century there were 250,000. At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were 200,000.

They are still declining and remaining under the clouds of misconception, and are consequently objects of aversion and hatred. But they console themselves with the idea that they suffer in the cause of their religious convictions."

These are some of the reason why large groups of Yazidis have been targeted or experienced forced conversion by Islam. Several hundreds of thousands of Yazidis have been killed in past centuries, and several thousand more forced to convert to Islam, due to geographic proximity and the Yazidis' most recent home in Kurdistan, northern Iraq. Isya Joseph's narrative is relevant for the 2010s and modern day, given that Islam, the so-called "religion of peace", has been killing through ISIS [also known as ISIL or IS, an internationally recognised Islamic terror organisation] thousands of Yazidis and raping just as many Yazidi girls and women for rape and sexual slavery [which is prescribed in the Koran as "the one your right hand possess"].

Yazidi holy texts

The Yazidis have only two little holy books. The reason why Yazidis have only two books left is the same why the holy books of Zoroastrians, Manichaeans and many other religious communities are left mutilated: during the ruthless Islamic conquest, most holy books of non-Muslims have deliberately been destroyed by Muslims. Inherently, the totalitarian idelogy of Islam and its Sharia law hates "Jahiliyyah", that is everything that was before Islam, and therefore it must be destroyed by Islam. [* Jahiliyyah or the Age of Ignorance (Arabic: jahiliyah, lit. 'ignorance') is an Islamic concept referring to the period of time and state of affairs in Arabia before the advent of Islam in 610 AD. It is often translated as the "Age of Ignorance". The term jahiliyyah is derived from the verbal root jahala "to be ignorant or stupid, to act stupidly". In modern times various Islamic thinkers have used the term to criticise what they saw as the un-Islamic nature of public and private life in the Muslim world. In current use, Jahiliyyah refers to secular modernity, as in the work of Abul A'la Maududi, who viewed modernity as the "new jahiliyyah." Sayyid Qutb viewed jahiliyyah as a state of domination of humans over humans, as opposed to their submission to God. Both Islam-scholars are following the Koran, the Sira, and thr Hadith; they are mainstream and not considered radical or extreme by the majority of Muslims. Jihadists have justified armed struggle against secular regimes as a jihad against jahiliyyah. "Islam must prevail at all costs and rule supreme over anybody" is the Sharia doctrine in blunt words.]*

The Yazidi holy books are claimed to be the Kiteba Cilwe (Book of Revelation) and the Mishefa Reş (Black Book). Scholars generally agree that the manuscripts of both books published in 1911 and 1913 were forgeries, or we better call them "reconstructions", written by non-Yazidis in response to Western travellers' and scholars' interest in the Yazidi religion; however, the material in them is consistent with authentic Yazidi traditions. It seems the western authors wrote down what the elders still could remember. True texts of those names may have existed, but remain obscure. The real

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core texts of the religion that exist today are the hymns known as qawls; they have also been orally transmitted during most of their history, but are now being collected with the assent of the community, effectively transforming Yazidism into a scriptural religion. The qawls are full of cryptic allusions and usually need to be accompanied by ćirōks [chiroks] or 'stories' [like the Islamic Hadith and Tafsirs] that explain their context.

In his work "Devil Worship: The Sacred Books and Traditions of the Yezidiz" (1919), Isya Joseph collected everything he could find in Arabic texts and translated those fragments. They are: The Preface [p. 29]; 1. Al-Jilwah (The Revelation) [p. 30]; 2. Mashaf Res (The Black Book) [p. 36]; 3. Appendix to Part 1 [p. 53]; 4. The Poem in Praise of Seih Adi [p. 70]; 5. The Principal Prayer of the Yezidis [p. 73]; 6. Seven Classes of Yezidis [p. 75]; 7. The Articles of Faith [p. 77]; Notes on Part 1 [p. 83].)

Isya Joseph's text:

PREFACE

In the Name of the Most Compassionate God!

With the help of the Most High God, and under his direction, we write the history of the Yezidis, their doctrines, and the mysteries of their religion, as contained in their books, which reached our hand with their own knowledge and consent. In the time of Al-Muktadir Billah, 295 AH, there lived Mansur-al-Hallaj, the woll-carder, and Seih Abd-al-Kadir of Jilan. At that time, too, there appeared a man by the name of Seih Adi, from the mountain of Hakkari, originally from the region of Aleppo or Baalbek. He came and dwelt in Mount Lalis, near the city of Mosul, about nine hours distant from it. Some say he was of the people of Harran, and related to Marwan ibn-al-Hakam. His full name is Saraf ad-Din Abu-l-Fadiil, Adi ibn Musafir bn Ismael ibn Mousa ibn Marwan ibn Al-Hasan ibn Marwan. He died 558 AH (1162-1163 AD). His tomb is still visited; it is near Ba'adrei, one of the villages of Mosul, distant eleven hours. The Yezidis are the progeny of those who were the murids (disciples) of Seih Adi. Some trace their origin to Yezid, others to Hasan-Al-Basri.

THE KITEBA CILWE ("The Revelation")

(Unlike most religious texts, the Book of Al-Jilwah or Kitab Jilwe or Kiteba Cilwe, is written in the first person narrative format, spoken as though God alone is its author. It has 5 chapters.)

KITEBA CILWE CHAPTER 1

I was, am now, and shall have no end. I exercise dominion over all creatures and over the affairs of all who are under the protection of my image. I am ever present to help all who trust in me and call upon me in time of need. There is no place in the universe that knows not my presence. I participate in all the affairs which those who are without call evil because their nature is not such as they approve. Every age has its own manager, who directs affairs according to my decrees. This office is changeable from generation to generation, that the ruler of this world and his chiefs may discharge the duties of their respective offices every one in his own turn. I allow everyone to follow the dictates of his own nature, but he that opposes me will regret it sorely. No god has a right to interfere in my affairs, and I have made it an imperative rule that everyone shall refrain from worshiping all gods. All the books of those who are without are altered by them; and they have declined from them, although they were written by the prophets and the apostles. That there are interpolations is seen in the fact that each sect endeavors to prove that the others are wrong and to destroy their books. To me truth and falsehood are known. When temptation comes, I give my covenant to him that trusts in me. Moreover, I give counsel to the skilled directors, for I have appointed them for periods that are known to me. I remember necessary affairs and execute them in due time. I teach and guide those who follow my instruction. If anyone obey me and conform to my commandments, he shall have joy, delight, and goodness.

KITEBA CILWE CHAPTER 2

I requite the descendents of Adam, and reward them with various rewards that I alone know. Moreover, power and dominion over all that is on earth, both that which is above and that which is beneath, are in my hand. I do not allow friendly association with other people, nor do I deprive them that are my own and that obey me of anything that is good for them. I place my affairs in the hands of those whom I have tried and who are in accord with my desires. I appear in divers manners to those who are faithful and under my command. I give and take away; I enrich and impoverish; I cause both happiness and misery. I do all this in keeping with the characteristics of each epoch. And none has a right to interfere with my management of affairs. Those who oppose me I afflict with disease; but my own shall not die like the sons of Adam that are without. None shall live in this world longer than the time set by me; and if I so desire, I send a person a second or a third time into this world or into some other by the transmigration of souls.

KITEBA CILWE CHAPTER 3

I lead to the straight path without a revealed book; I direct aright my beloved and my chosen ones by unseen means. All my teachings are easily applicable to all times and all conditions. I punish in another world all who do contrary to my will. Now the sons of Adam do not know the state of things that is to come. For this reason they fall into many errors. The beasts of the earth, the birds of heaven, and the fish of the sea are all under the control of my hands. All treasures and hidden things are known to me; and as I desire, I take them from one and bestow them upon another. I reveal my wonders to those who seek them, and, in due time my miracles to those who receive them from me. But those who are without are my adversaries, hence they oppose me. Nor do they know that such a course is against their own interests, for might, wealth, and riches are in my hand, and I bestow them upon every worthy descendant of Adam. Thus the government of the worlds, the transition of generations, and the changes of their directors are determined by me from the beginning.

KITEBA CILWE CHAPTER 4

I will not give my rights to other gods. I have allowed the creation of four substances, four times, and four comers; because they are necessary things for creatures. The books of Jews, Christians, and Moslems, as of those who are without, accept in a sense, i.e., so far as they agree with, and conform to, my statutes. Whatsoever is contrary to these they have altered; do not accept it. Three things are against me, and I hate three things. But those who keep my secrets shall receive the fulfilment of my promises. Those who suffer for my sake I will surely reward in one of the worlds. It is my desire that all my followers shall unite in a bond of unity, lest those who are without prevail against them. Now, then, all ye who have followed my commandments and my teachings, reject all the teachings and sayings of such as are without. I have not taught these teachings, nor do they proceed from me. Do not mention my name nor my attributes, lest ye regret it; for ye do not know what those who are without may do.

KITEBA CILWE CHAPTER 5

O ye that have believed in me, honor my symbol and my image, for they remind you of me. Observe my laws and statutes. Obey my servants and listen to whatever they may dictate to you of the hidden things. Receive that that is dictated, and do not carry it before those who are without, Jews, Christians, Moslems, and others; for they know not the nature of my teaching. Do not give them your books, lest they alter them without your knowledge. Learn by heart the greater part of them, lest they be altered.

Thus endeth the book of Al-Jilwah, which is followed by the book of Mashaf Res, i. e., the Black Book.

THE MISHEFA RES (The Black Book)

(The Black Book claims to originate when the Lord descended Black Mountain. It is not divided into chapters and is longer than the Book of Revelation. The first half of it contains a creation myth, beginning with the creation of a white pearl and Melek Taus, the Peacock Angel. There follows an account of the Fall (in which the forbidden comestible is wheat), and the creation of Eve after Adam has been driven from Paradise. This is followed by the names of ancient kings who belonged to the Yazidi community. Next comes a statement of food taboos of the Yazidis, prohibitions connected with personal hygiene and verbal taboos.

The discussion then reverts to the subject of ancient Yazidi kings, and the Book concludes with another account of the Creation, which diverges quite considerably from the first.

The Black Book's story of creation is similar in that it involves the first male and first female, named Adam and Eve (in the English translation), who bear children. However, it differs significantly from other Abrahamic religions in that Adam has children of his own accord first – in a squabble with Eve over who is responsible for begetting the human race, they both emit their "seed" into jars. After a certain amount of time, they open the jars and find that Adam's jar has a male and female child in it, whereas Eve's jar only has worms. This is the only known Adam and Eve story that has the male, Adam, birthing offspring autonomously. However, the Yazidis, according to the Black Book, are descended from Adam and Eve's subsequent children, not Adam's autonomously conceived children.

The Black Book also includes narratives of how the Yazidi people have been targeted by Jews, Christians, Persians, and Muslims, who have tried to "subdue" the Yazidi people, to no avail. This narrative is similar to the Jewish texts and Christian Old Testament narratives of attempts by other tribes and religions to exterminate God's "chosen people". The Yazidis have a historical record of persecution as well: they have experienced up to 73 attempts of genocide (a number self-reported from the Yazidi community), and the community numbers just a few hundred thousand. They have faced centuries of discrimination and violence on the Islamic charge of being "devil worshippers", based on their belief in the Peacock Angel Melek Taus, who has become synonymous with 'Satan' in many outsiders' perceptions of Yazidism. The peacock was a synonym for Persians. Melek Taus [Kurdish: Tawuse Melek], the "Peacock Angel", is the Yazidi name for the central figure of their faith. The Yazidi consider Tawuse Melek an emanation of God and a benevolent angel who has redeemed himself from his fall and has become a demiurge who created the cosmos from the cosmic egg. After he repented, he wept for 7,000 years, his tears filling seven jars, which then quenched the fires of hell. In art and sculpture, Tawuse Melek is depicted as a peacock. This spiritual connexion clearly goes back to Zoroastrianism and Hinuism.

The peafowl is native to India and Persia and has therefore a significance in their culture. In Hinduism, the Indian peacock is the mount of the God of war, Lord Kartikeya, the Warrior Goddess Kaumari, and is also depicted around Goddess Santoshi. During a war with Asuras, Karthikeya split the demon king Surapadman in half. Out of respect for his adversary's prowess in battle, the God converted the two halves as an integral part of himself. One half became a peacock serving as his mount, and the other a rooster adorning his flag. The peacock displays the divine shape of Omkara when it spreads its magnificent plumes into a full-blown circular form. Peacock feathers also adorn the crest of Lord Krishna, an avatar of Lord Vishnu, one of the trimurti.

Chandragupta Maurya [297–321 BC], the founder of the Mauryan Empire and grandfather to the Buddhist emperor Ashoka [268–232 BC], was born an orphan and raised by a family farming peacocks. Chandragupta ascribed its name as Maurya, translating to "peacockness". The peacocks significance of elegance and royalty pertained in India during medieval times, as it was the Islamic-Mughal seat of power called the Peacock Throne. In India, Persia and Babylonia, the peacock is seen as a guardian to royalty and is often engraved upon royal thrones. The peacocks significance of elegance and royalty pertained in India during medieval times, as it was the Islamic Persian-Mughal seat of power called the Peacock Throne. The peacock is even a Christian symbol for gentleness. Even to this very day, the peacock is regarded as one of the Islamic symbols. It looks therefore hypocritical on the Muslims' side to accuse the Yazidis to use the peacock in one of their legends.)

In the beginning God created the White Pearl out of his most precious essence. He also created a bird named Angar. He placed the White Pearl on the back of the bird, and dwelt on it for forty thousand years. On the first day, Sunday, God created Melek [Angel] Anzazil*, and he is Ta'us-Melek, the chief of all, On Monday he created Melek Dardael, and he is Seih Hasan. Tuesday he created Melek Israfel, and he is Seih Sams (ad-Din). Wednesday he created Melek Mihael, and he is Seih Abu Bakr. Thursday he created Melek Azrael [Israel], and he is Sajad-ad-Din. Friday he created Melek Semnael, and he is Nasir-ad-Din. Saturday he created Melek Nurael, and he is Yadin (Fahr-ad-Din). And he made Melek Ta'us ruler over all. [* In Menant's Yezidis, 48, the names of these seven angels are somewhat differently given. According to Mohammedan tradition Zazil or Azazil was the original name of the devil. However, Anzazil or Ansasil most likely refers to the Hindu Sungod Ansa who is one of the Adityas, In Hinduism, Adityas, meaning "of Aditi", refers to the children of the goddess Aditi and her husband the sage Kashyapa. Aditi is the goddess of the earth and fertility, sky, unconsciousness, the past and the future. Ansa is one of the highest deities.]

After this God made the form of the seven heavens, the earth, the sun, and the moon. But Fahr-ad-Din created man and the animals, and birds and beasts. He put them all in pockets of cloth, and came out of the Pearl accompanied by the Angels. Then he shouted at the Pearl with a loud voice. Thereupon the White Pearl broke up into four pieces, and from its midst came out the water which became an ocean. The world was round, and was not divided. Then he created Gabriel and the image of the bird. He sent Gabriel to set the four corners. He also made a vessel and descended in it for thirty thousand years. After this he came and dwelt in Mount Lalis. Then he cried out at the world, and the sea became solidified and the land appeared, but it began to shake. At this time he commanded Gabriel to bring two pieces of the White Pearl; one he placed beneath the earth, the other stayed at the gate of heaven. He then placed in them the sun and the moon; and from the scattered pieces of the White Pearl he created the stars which he hung in heaven as ornaments. He also created fruit-bearing trees and plants and mountains for ornaments to the earth. He created the throne over the carpet [By the "throne" here is meant the throne of God, and by the "carpet" the earth; cf. Sura 60: 131.]. Then the Great God said: "O Angels, I will create Adam and Eve; and from the essence of Adam shall proceed Sehar bn Jebr, and of him a separate community shall appear upon the earth, that of Azazil, i.e., that of Melek Ta'us, which is the sect of the Yezidis. Then he sent Seih 'Adi bn Musafir from the land of Syria, and he came (and dwelt in Mount) Lalis. Then the Lord came down to the Black Mountain. Shouting, he created thirty thousand Meleks, and divided them into three divisions. They worshiped him

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for forty thousand years, when he delivered them to Melek Ta'us who went up with them to heaven. At this time the Lord came down to the Holy Land (al-Kuds), and commanded Gabriel to bring earth from the four comers of the world, earth, air, fire, and water. He created it and put in it the spirit of his own power, and called it Adam.

Then he commanded Gabriel to escort Adam into Paradise, and to tell him that he could eat from all the trees but not of wheat [According to Moslem belief, wheat was the forbidden fruit; see Baidawi on Sura 2, 33.]. Here Adam remained for a hundred years. Thereupon, Melek Ta'us asked God how Adam could multiply and have descendants if he were forbidden to eat of the grain. God answered, "I have put the whole matter into thy hands." Thereupon Melek Ta'us visited Adam and said "Have you eaten of the grain?" He answered, "No, God forbade me." Melek Ta'us replied and said, "Eat of the grain and all shall go better with thee." Then Adam ate of the grain and immediately his belly was inflated. But Melek Ta'us drove him out of the garden, and leaving him, ascended into heaven. Now Adam was troubled because his belly was inflated, for he had no outlet. God therefore sent a bird to him which pecked at his anus and made an outlet, and Adam was relieved.

Now Gabriel was away from Adam for a hundred years. And Adam was sad and weeping. Then God commanded Gabriel to create Eve from under the left shoulder of Adam., Now it came to pass, after the creation of Eve and of all the animals, that Adam and Eve quarreled over the question whether the human race should be descended from him or her, for each wished to be the sole begetter of the race. This quarrel originated in their observation of the fact that among animals both the male and the female were factors in the production of their respective species. After a long discussion Adam and Eve agreed on this: each should cast his seed into a jar, close it, and seal it with his own seal, and wait for nine months. When they opened the jars at the completion of this period, they found in Adam's jar two children, male and female. Now from these two our sect, the Yezidis, are descended. In Eve's jar they found naught but rotten worms emitting a foul odour. And God caused nipples to grow for Adam that he might suckle the children that proceeded from his jar. This is the reason why man has nipples.

After this Adam knew Eve, and she bore two children, male and female; and from these the Jews, the Christians, the Moslems, and other nations and sects are descended. But our first fathers are Seth, Noah, and Enosh, the righteous ones, who were descended from Adam only.

It came to pass that trouble arose between a man and his wife, resulting from the denial on the part of the woman that the man was her husband. The man persisted in his claim that she was his wife. The trouble between the two was settled, however, through one of the righteous men of our sect, who decreed that at every wedding a drum and a pipe should be played as a testimony to the fact that, such a man and such a woman were married legally.

Then Melek Ta'us came down to earth for our sect (i.e., the Yezidis), the created ones, and appointed kings for us, besides the kings of ancient Assyria, Nisroch, who is Nasir-ad-Din; Kamush, who is Melek Fahr-ad-Din, and Artamis, who is Melek Sams-(ad-)Din. After this we had two kings, Sabur (Sapor) First (224-272 AD) and Second (309-379 AD), who reigned one hundred and fifty years; and our amirs down to the present day have been descended from their seed. But we hated four kings.

Before Christ came into this world our religion was paganism. King Ahab was from among us. And the god of Ahab was called Beelzebub. Nowadays we call him Pir Bub. We had a king in Babylon, whose name was Bahtnasar; another in Persia, whose name was Ahsuras; and still another in Constantinople, whose name was Agrikalus. The Jews, the Christians, the Moslems, and even the Persians, fought us; but they failed to subdue us, for in the strength of the Lord we prevailed against them. He teaches us the first and last science. And one of his teachings is:

Before heaven and earth existed, God was on the sea, as we formerly wrote you. He made himself a vessel and traveled in it in kunsiniyat [Kunsiniyat is an obscure term.] of the seas, thus enjoying himself in himself. He then created the White Pearl and ruled over it for forty years. Afterward, growing angry at the Pearl, he kicked it; and it was a great surprise to see the mountains formed out of its cry; the hills out of its wonders; the heavens out of its smoke. Then God ascended to heaven, solidified it, established it without pillars. He then spat upon the ground, and taking a pen in hand, began to write a narrative of all the creation.

In the beginning he created six gods from himself and from his light, and their creation was as one lights a light from another light. And God said, "Now I have created the heavens; let some one of you go up and create something therein." Thereupon the second god ascended and created the sun; the third, the moon; the fourth, the vault of heaven; the fifth, the farġ (i.e., the morning star); the sixth, paradise; the seventh, hell. We have already told you that after this they created Adam and Eve.

And know that besides the flood of Noah, there was another flood in this world. Now our sect, the Yezidis, are descended from Na'umi, an honored person, king of peace. We call him Melek Miran. The other sects are descended from Ham, who despised his father. The ship rested at a village called Ain Sifni [Ain Sifni is about five miles from Ba'adrie; cf. Layard, Nineveh, 1, 272.], distant from Mosul about five parasangs. The cause of the first flood was the mockery of those who were without, Jews, Christians, Moslems, and others descended from Adam and Eve. We, on the other hand, are descended from Adam only, as already indicated: This second flood came upon our sect, the Yezidis. As the water rose and the ship floated, it came above Mount Sinjar*, where it ran aground and was pierced by a rock. [* Yakut (3, 158) mentions a similar tradition.] The serpent twisted itself like a cake and stopped the hole. Then the ship moved on and rested on Mount Judie.

Now the species of the serpent increased, and began to bite man and animal. It was finally caught and burned, and from its ashes fleas were created. From the time of the flood until now are seven thousand years. In every thousand years one of the seven gods descends to establish rules, statutes, and laws, after which he returns to his abode. While below, he sojourns with us, for we have every kind of holy places. This last time the god dwelt among us longer than any of the other gods who came before him. He confirmed the saints. He spoke in the Kurdish language. He also illuminated Mohammed, the prophet of the Ishmaelites, who had a servant named Mu'awiya, When God saw that Mohammed was not upright before him, he afflicted him with a headache. The prophet then asked his servant to shave his head, for Mu'awiya knew how to shave. He shaved his master in haste, and with some difficulty. As a result, he cut his head and made it bleed. Fearing that the blood might drop to the ground, Mu'awiya licked it with his tongue. Whereupon Mohammed asked, "What are you doing, Mu'awiya?" He replied, "I licked thy blood with my tongue, for I feared that it might drop to the ground." Then Mohammed said to him, "You have sinned, O Mu'awiya, you shall draw a nation after you. You shall oppose my sect." Mu'awiya answered and said, "Then I will not enter the world; I will not marry!'

It came to pass that after some time God sent scorpions upon Mu'awiya, which bit him, causing his face to break out with poison. Physicians urged him to marry lest he die. Hearing this, he consented. They brought him an old woman, eighty years of age. in order that no child might be born. Mu'awiya knew his wife, and in the morning she appeared a woman of twenty-five, by the power of the great God. And she conceived and bore our god Yezid. But the foreign sects, ignorant of this fact, say that our god came from heaven, despised and driven out by the great God. For this reason they blaspheme him. In this they have erred. But we, the Yezidi sect, believe this not, for we know that he is one of the above-mentioned seven gods. We know the form of his person and his image. It is the form of a cock which we possess. None of us is allowed to utter his name, nor anything that resembles it, such as seitan (Satan), kaitan (cord), sar (evil), sat (river), and the like. Nor do we pronounce mal'un (accursed), or la'anat (curse), or na'al* (horseshoe), or any word that has a similar sound. [* These are indications of Mohammedan influence and censorship, for no Yezidi will ever write in his sacred book such words as Sheitan, Shar, etc.] All these are forbidden us out of respect for him. So hass (lettuce) is debarred. We do not eat it,. for it sounds like the name of our prophetess Hassiah. Fish is prohibited, in honor of Jonah the prophet. Likewise deer, for deer are the sheep of one of our prophets. The peacock is forbidden to our Seih and his disciples, for the sake of our Ta'us. Squash also is debarred. It is forbidden to pass water while standing, or to dress up while sitting down, or to go to the toilet room, or to take a bath according to the custom of the people [That is, those of other religions.]. Whosoever does contrary to this is an infidel. Now the other sects, Jews, Christians, Moslems, and others, know not these things, because they dislike Melek Ta'us. He, therefore, does not teach them, nor does he visit them. But he dwelt among us; he delivered to us the doctrines, the rules, and the traditions, all of which have become an inheritance, handed down from father to son. After this, Melek Ta'us returned to heaven.

One of the seven gods made the sanjaks* (standards) and gave them to Solomon the wise. [* Sanjak is a Turkish word, meaning banner; it is the name by which the Yezidis generally designate the sacred image of Melek Ta'us.] After his death our kings received them. And when our god, the barbarian Yezid, was born, he received these sanjaks with great reverence, and bestowed them upon our sect. Moreover, he composed two songs in the Kurdish language to be sung before the sanjakas in this language, which is the most ancient and acceptable one. The meaning of the song is this: "Hallelujah to the jealous God."

As they sing it, they march before the sanjaks with timbrels and pipes. These sanjaks remain with our emir, who sits on the throne of Yezid. When these are sent away, the kawwals assemble with the emir, and the great general, the seih, who is the representative of Seih Nasir-ad-Din, i.e., Nisroch, god of the ancient Assyrians [The god Nisroch of Scripture, 2 Kings 19:37; Isaiah 37:38.]. They visit the sanjaks. Then they send each sanjak in care of a kawwal to its own place; one to Ḥalataneye, one to Aleppo, one to Russia, and one to Sinjar. These sanjaks are given to four kawwals by contract. Before they are sent, the; are brought to Seih 'Adi's tomb, where they are baptized amid great singing and dancing. After this each of the contractors takes a load of dust from Seih Adi's -tomb. He fashions it into small balls, each about the size of a gall nut, and carries them along with the sanjaks to give them away as blessings. When he approaches a town, he sends. a crier before him to prepare the people to accept the kawwal and his sanjak with respect and honor. All turn out in fine clothes, carrying incense. The women shout, and all together sing joyful songs. The kawwal is entertained by the people with whom he stops. The rest give him silver presents, everyone according to his means.

Besides these four sanjaks, there are three others, seven in all. These three are kept in a sacred place for purposes of healing. Two of them, however, remain with Seih Adi, and the third remains in the village of Bahazanie, which is distant from Mosul about four hours. Every four months these kawwals travel about. One of them must travel in the province of the emir. They travel in a fixed order, differing each year. Every time he goes out, the traveler must cleanse himself with water made sour with summak and anoint himself with an oil. He must also light a lamp at each idol that has a chamber. This is the law that pertains to the sanjaks.

The first day of our new year is called the Sersalie, i.e., the beginning of a year. It falls on the Wednesday of the first week in April. [The Harranian New Year fell on the first day of April, and on the sixth day they slaughtered an ox and ate it; cf. Fihrist, 322.] On that day there must be meat in every family. The wealthy must slaughter a lamb or an ox; the poor must kill a chicken or something else. These should be cooked on the night, the morning of which is Wednesday, New Year's day. With the break of day the food should be blessed. On the first day of the year alms should be given at tombs where the souls of the dead lie.

Now the girls, large and small, are to gather from the fields flowers of every kind that have a reddish colour. They are to make them into bundles, and, after keeping them three days, they are to hang them on the doors* as a sign of the baptism of the people living in the houses. [* A similar practice is found among the Parsees of India (meaning the Zoroastrians who left Persia fleeing from their Muslim persecutors) who hang a string of leaves across the entrances to their houses at the beginning of every New Year.] In the morning all doors will be seen well decorated with red lilies. But women are to feed the poor and needy who pass by and have no food; this is to be done at the graves. But as to the kawwals, they are to go around the tombs with timbrels, singing in the Kurdish language. For so doing they are entitled to money. On the above-mentioned day of Sersalie no instruments of joy are to be played, because God is sitting on the throne (arranging decrees for the year)*, and commanding all the wise and the neighbors to come to him, And when he tells them that he will come down to earth with song and praise, all arise and rejoice before him and throw upon each the squash of the feast. [* According to Babylonian mythology, human destiny was decreed on the New Year's day and sealed on the tenth day; cf. the Hibbert Journal, V, January, 1907. And according to Talmud (Mishna, Rosh hashana, 1:2), New Year's is the most important judgement day, on which all creatures pass for judgement before the Creator. On this day three books are opened, wherein the fate of the wicked, the righteous, and those of the intermediate class are recorded. Hence prayer and works of repentance are performed at the New Year from the first to the tenth days, that an unfavorable decision might be averted; cf. Jewish Encyclopedia, "Penitential Day." R. Akiba says: "On New Year day all men are judged; and the decree is sealed on the Day of Atonement;" cf. ibid., "Day of Judgement."]

Then God seals them with his own seal. And the great God gives a sealed decision to the god who is to come down. He, moreover, grants him power to do all things according to his own will. God prefers doing good and charity to fasting and praying. The worship of any idol, such as Seyed-ad-Din or Seih Sams is better than fasting. Some layman is to give a banquet to a kochak after the fasting of the latter forty days, whether it be in summer or in winter. If he (the kochak) says this entertainment is an alms given to the sanjak, then he is not released from his fasting. When it comes to pass that the yearly tithe-gatherer finds that the people have not fully paid their tithes, he whips them till they become sick, and some even die. The people are to give the kochaks money to fight the Roman army, and thus save the sect (Yezidis) from the wrath of the man of the year.

Every Friday a load of gifts is to be brought as an offering to an idol. At that time, a servant is to call the people aloud from the roof of a kochak's house, saying, it is the call of the prophet to a feast. All are to listen reverently and respectfully;

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and, on hearing it, every one is to kiss the ground and the stone on which he happens to lean.

It is our law that no kawwal shall pass a razor over his face. Our law regarding marriage is that at the time of the wedding a loaf of bread shall be taken from the house of a kochak and be divided between the bride and the bridegroom, each to eat one-half. They may, however, eat some dust from Seih Adi's tomb instead of the bread for a blessing. Marriage in the month of April is forbidden, for it is the first month of the year. This rule, however, does not apply to kawwals; they may marry during this month. No layman is allowed to marry a kochak's daughter. Everyone is to take a wife from his own class. But our emir may have for a wife any one whom he pleases to love. A layman may marry between the ages of ten and eighty; he may take for a wife one woman after another for a period of one year. On her way to the house of the bridegroom, a bride must visit the shrine of every idol she may happen to pass; even if she pass a Christian church, she must do the same. On her arrival at the bridegroom's house, he must hit her with a small stone in token of the fact that she must be under his authority. Moreover, a loaf of bread must be broken over her head as a sip to her that she must love the poor and needy. No Yezidi may sleep with his wife on the night the morning of which is Wednesday, and the night the morning of which is Friday. Whosoever does contrary to this commandment is an infidel. If a man steal the wife of his neighbor, or his own former wife, or her sister or mother, he is not obliged to give her dowry, for she is the booty of his hand. Daughters may not inherit their father's wealth. A young lady may be sold as an acre of land is sold. If she refuses to be married, then she must redeem herself by paying her father a sum of money earned by her service and the labor of her hand.

Here ends Kitab Res, which is followed by several stories, some of which are told secretly, some openly.

APPENDIX TO PART I

They say our hearts are our books, and our seihs [Sheiks] tell us everything from the second Adam until now and the future. When they notice the sun rise, they kiss the place where the rays first fall; they do the same at sunset, where its rays last fall. Likewise they kiss the spot where the moon first casts its rays and where it last casts them. They think, moreover, that by the multiplication of presents to siehs and idols they keep troubles and afflictions away. There is a great difference among the kochaks, they contradict one another. Some say, "Melek Taus appears to me and reveals to me many revelations." Others say, "We appear to people in many different ways." Some believe that Christ is Seih Sams himself. They say that they have had prophets in all times; the kochaks are the prophets. One of the kochaks says in one of his prophecies: 'Twas in Jonah's ship, where a lot was cast in my presence. It fell on Jonah; and he was thrown into the sea, where he remained forty days and nights." Another said: 'Twas sitting with the great God, who said, 'I hope the time will come when I shall send Christ to the world.' I said to him, 'Yes.' Then he sent him. After making a sign in the sun, Christ came down to the earth." He appeared to our sect only, and made for us seven circles, which are at Seih Adi. Now he appeared to us because we observe the necessary order, which the other sects do not observe. Their origin and race are unknown; ours are known. We are emirs and sons of emirs; we are seihs and sons of seihs; we are kochaks and sons of kochaks, etc. But Christians and Moslems make priests and mullas for themselves out of those who had none of their kindred in those offices before, and never will have afterward. We are better than they. We are allowed to drink wine; our young men also may desire it when they, in company with women, engage in religious dancing and playing. Some of the kochaks and seihs, however, are not allowed to drink it. When one is about to die, he is visited by a kochak, who places a bit of Seih Adi's dust in his mouth. Before he is buried his face is anointed with it. Moreover, the dung of sheep is placed on his tomb.

Finally, food is offered on behalf of the dead. The kochaks pray for the dead at the graves, for which service they are paid. They tell the relatives of the dead what they see in dreams and visions, and the condition of their dead, whether they have been translated to the human or to the animal race. Some people hide silver or gold coins that they plan to take out in case they are born the second time in this world. Some believe that the spirits of many righteous persons travel in the air. Those spirits make revelations to the kochaks, who are acquainted with the world of mysteries and secrets. Life and death are in their hands.

Hence the fate of the people depends on the gratitude and honor which they show the kochaks. According to Yezidis, hell has no existence. It was created in the time of the first Adam, they say, when our father, Ibrik al-Asfar, was born. By reason of his generosity and noble deeds, Ibrik had many friends. Now, when he viewed hell he became very sad. He had a small hakhuk asfar, into which, as he kept weeping his tears fell. In seven years it was filled. He then cast it into hell, and all its fires were put out that mankind might not be tortured. This incident relates to one of the noble deeds of our first father, Ibrik-al-Asfar. They have many more such upright men of noble deeds. Such an one is Mohammed Rasan, whose resting place is behind the mount of Seih Mattie." He (Rasan) is exceedingly strong, so that the most sacred oaths are sworn by him. If any one becomes sick, he takes refuge in making vows to hasin, i. e., pillars of idols. Now there is a place of religious pilgrimage which is called Sitt Nafisah. This place is a mulberry tree in the village of Ba'asika. Another such place is called Abdi Rasan, and is in the village of Karabek. A third place of pilgrimage is in the village Bahzanie, which is called Seih Baku. Nearby is a spring, and beside this is a mulberry tree.

Whoever is afflicted with fever, goes to that tree, hangs on its branches a piece of cloth from his clothes, and casts bread in the spring for the fish. All this he does that he may be cured. They entertain the belief that whoever unties or shakes off one of the shreds of cloth will catch the disease with which the man was afflicted when he hung it up. There are many such trees in the village of Ba'asika, and in some other places. There is also a spring of water, called in the common language Ain as-Safra (Yellow Spring).

The Yezidis call it Kani-Zarr. In this swim those who are afflicted with the disease of abu-safar (jaundice.) But those who are troubled with dropsy go for cure to the house of the PIr that lives in the village of Man Res.

When they assemble at Seih A-di's, no one is allowed to cook anything. Everyone is to eat from Seih Adi's table. As to the kochaks, every one of them sits on a stone, as one sits in prayer. To them the laity go, seeking succor. They give them money while making their petition, and vow to the stone on which the kochak sits, sheep and oxen, everyone according to his means. Now, at the New Year the places are given in contract. When they assemble at the New Year, they dance and play with instruments of joy. Before eating the kahdus, i.e., the vowed ox, they swim in the water of Zamzam, a spring coming from beneath the temple of Seih Adi. Then they eat in haste, snatching meat from the pot like fanatics, so that their hands are frequently burned. This practice is in accordance with their rules. After eating, they go up the mountain, shooting with their guns, and then return to Seih Adi. Everyone of them takes a little dust and preserves it for the times of wedding and death. They wear entwined girdles which they call the ties of the back (belt). They baptize these and the sanjaks with the water of Zamzam. He who is called Jawis wears a stole which is woven from the hair of a goat.

It is nine spans in length and around it are sansuls (tinsels). When the gathering comes to an end, they collect the money from the kochaks and the contractors, and bring it to the emir. After everyone has taken according to his rank, the remainder goes to the emir. They have another gathering which takes place at the feast of Al-Hijajj. At this pilgrimage they go up to the mountain which is called Jabal al-Arafat. After remaining there an hour, they hasten toward Seih Adi. He who arrives there before his companions is praised much. Hence everyone tries to excel. The one who succeeds receives abundant blessings.

They still have another assembly. This is called "the road of the kochaks," when each, putting a rope around his neck, goes up the mountain. After collecting wood they bring it to Seih Adi, carrying it on their backs. The wood is used for heating purposes and for the emir's cooking. During these assemblies the sanjaks are passed around. In the first place they are washed with water made sour with sumac in order to be cleansed from their rust. The water is given away in drinks for purposes of blessing. In return money is taken. In the second place, the kochaks go around with the sanjaks to collect money.

In their preaching, the seihs tell the people that all kings have come from their descent, such as Nisroch, who is Nasr-ad-Din, and Kamus who is Fahr-ad-Din, and Artamis, who is Sams-ad-Din, and many others, as Shabur and Yoram; and many royal names of the ancient kings, together with their own (Yezidi) kings, are from their seed. The sign of the Yezidi is that he wears a shirt with a round bosom. It differs from that of the other people, the bosom of whose shirts are open all the way down.

There is one occasion when no Yezidi will swear falsely, viz., when one draws a circle on the ground, and tells him that this circle belongs to Ta'us-Melek, Seih Adi, and Yezid, and baryshabakei. He places him in the middle of the circle, and then tells him that Melek Ta'us and all those who were mentioned above will not intercede for him after his death, and that the shirt of the Jewish Nasim be on his neck, and that the hand of Nasim be on his neck and eye, and that Nasim be his brother for the next world, and let him be to him for a seih and a pir if he does not tell the truth. Then if he swears to tell the truth, he cannot conceal anything. For an oath made under such conditions is considered greater than that made in the name of God, and even than that made in the name of one of their prophets.

They fast three days in a year from morning till evening. The fast falls in December, according to the oriental calendar. They have no prayer except what is mentioned above, such as that referring to the sun and the moon, and asking help from seihs and holy places when they say, "O Seih Adi, O Seih Sams," and the like. They are all forbidden to teach their children anything, with the exception of two stanzas which they teach their children out of necessity and because it is traditional.

A story is told about them by reliable people. Once when Seih Nasir was preaching in a village at Mount Sinjar, there was a Christian mason in the audience who, seeing the house filled with people, thought they were going to pray. He then pretended to take a nap, that he might amuse himself with what he should hear.

He knew the Kurdish language. When the Christian seemed to be asleep, but was really awake and listening, Seih Nasir began to preach saying: "Once the great God appeared to me in vision. He was angry at Jesus because of a dispute with him. He therefore caught him and imprisoned him in a den which had no water. Before the mouth of the den he placed a great stone. Jesus remained in the den a long time, calling upon the prophets and the saints for help and asking their aid. Every one whose succor Jesus asked went to beg the great God to release him. But God did not grant their requests. Jesus therefore remained in a sorrowful state, knowing not what to do." After this the preacher remained silent for a quarter of an hour, and thus a great silence prevailed in the house. Then he went on to say: "O poor Jesus, why are you so forgotten, so neglected? Do you not know that all the prophets and all the saints have no favour with the great God unto Melek Ta'us? Why have you forgotten him and have not called upon him?" Saying this, the preacher again remained silent as before.

Afterward he again continued: "Jesus remained in the den till one day when he happened to remember Melek Ta'us. He then sought his aid, praying, '0 Melek Ta'us, I have been in this den for some time. I am imprisoned; I have sought the help of all the saints, and none of them coud deliver me. Now, save me from this den.' When Melek Ta'us heard this, he descended from heaven to earth quicker than the twinkling of an eye, removed the stone from the top of the den, and said to Jesus, 'Come up, behold I have brought thee out.' Then both went up to heaven. When the great God saw Jesus, he said to him, '0 Jesus, who brought thee out of the den? Who brought thee here without my permission?' Jesus answered and said, 'Melek Ta'us brought me out of the den and up here.' Then God said, 'Had it been another, would have punished him, but Melek Ta'us is much beloved by me; remain here for the sake of my honor.' So Jesus remained in heaven." The preacher added, "Notice that those who are without do not like Melek Ta'us. Know ye that in the resurrection he will not like them either, and he will not intercede for them. But, as for us, he will put us all in a tray, carry us upon his head, and take us into heaven, while we are in the tray on his head." When the congregation heard this, they rose up, kissed his clothes and feet, and received his blessing.

Now the views of the Yezidis regarding the birth of Christ and the explanation of the name of the Apostle Peter, are found in one of their stories, which runs thus: "Verily Mary the Virgin mother of Jesus, begat Jesus in a manner unlike the rest of women. She begat him from her right side, between her clothes and her body. At that time the Jews had a custom that, if a woman gave birth, all her relatives and neighbours would bring her presents. The women would call, carrying in their right hand a plate of fruits which were to be found in that season, and in the left hand they would carry a stone. This custom was a very ancient one. Therefore when Mary the Virgin gave birth to Jesus, the wife of Jonah, who is the mother of Peter, came to her; and, according to

the custom, carried a plate of fruit in her right hand and a stone in her left. As she entered and gave Mary the plate, behold, the stone which was in her left hand begat a male. She called his name Simon Cifa, that is, son of the stone. Christians do not know these things as we do."

They have a story explaining the word heretic. It is this: When the great God created the heavens, he put all the keys of the treasuries and the mansions there in the hands of Melek Ta'us, and commanded him not to open a certain mansion. But he, without the knowledge of God, opened the house and found a piece of paper on which was written. "Thou shalt worship thy God alone, and him alone shalt thou serve." He kept the paper with him and allowed no one else to know about it. Then God created an ironring and hung it in the air between the heaven and the earth. Afterward he created Adam the first.

Melek Ja'us refused to worship Adam when God commanded him to do so. He showed the written paper which he took from the mansion and said, "See what is written here." Then the great God said, "It may be that you have opened the mansion which I forbade you to open." He answered, "Yes." Then God said to him, "You are a heretic, because you have disobeyed me and transgressed my commandment."

From this we know that God speaks in the Kurdish language, that is from the meaning of this saying, "Go into the iron ring which I, thy God, have made for whosoever does contrary to my commandment and disobeys me."

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When one criticises such a story as this by saying that God drove Melek Ta'us from heaven and sent him to hell because of his pride before God the most high, they do not admit that such is the case. They answer: "It is possible that one of us in his anger should drive out his child from his house and let him wait until the next day before bringing him back? Of course not. Similar is the relation of the great God to Melek Ta'us. Verily he loves him exceedingly.

You do not understand the books which you read The Gospel says, 'No one ascended up to heaven but he who came down from heaven.' No one came down from heaven but Melek Ta'us and Christ. From this we know that the great God has been reconciled to after Kochak Beru came down. This priest Isaac was a great joker. He answered them, "After the kochak came down, I begged God for rain on your behalf. It was agreed that after six or seven days he would send it." They waited accordingly, and by a strange coincidence, at the end of the period it rained like a flood for some time. Seeing this, the people believed in what they were told, and honored the priest Isaac, looking upon him as one of the saints, and thinking that he must have Yezidi blood in him. For more than twenty years this story has been told as one of the tales of their saints.

Once Seih Adi bn Musafir and his murlds were entertained by God in heaven. When they arrived, they did not find straw for their animals. Therefore Seih Adi ordered his murids to carry straw from his threshing floor on the earth. As it was being transported, some fell on the way, and has remained as a sign in heaven unto our day. 'It is known as the road of the straw man.

They think that prayer is in the heart; therefore they do not teach their children about it. And in their book neither is there any rule regarding prayer, nor is prayer considered a religious obligation.

Some assert that at one time Seih Adi, in company with Seih 'Abd-al-Kadir, made a pilgrimage to Mecca, where he remained four years. After his absence Melek Ta'us appeared to them (the two seihs) in his symbol. He dictated some rules to them and taught them many things. Then he was hidden from them.

Four years later Seih Adi returned from Mecca; but they refused him and would not accept him. They asserted that he had died or ascended to heaven. He remained with them, but was without his former respect.

When the time of his death came, Melek Ta'us appeared to them and declared, "This is Seih Adi himself, honour him." Then they honored him and buried him with due veneration, and made his tomb a place of pilgrimage. In their estimation it is a more excellent spot than Mecca. Everyone is under obligation to visit it once a year at least; and, in addition to this, they give a sum of money through the seihs to obtain satisfaction (that Seih Adi may be pleased with them). Whoever does this not is disobedient.

Moreover, it is said that the reason why the pilgrimage to his tomb is regarded as excellent by us and by God is that in the resurrection Seih Adi will carry in a tray all the Yezidis upon his head and take them into paradise, without requiring them to give account or answer. Therefore they regard the pilgrimage to his tomb as a religious duty greater than the pilgrimage to Mecca.

There are some domes, huts, around the tomb of Seih Adi. They are there for the purpose of receiving blessings from the tomb. And they are all attributed to the great Seihs, as the hut of 'Abd-al-Kadir-al-Jilani; The hut of Seih Kadib-al-Ban; the hut of Seih Sams-ad-Din; the hut of Seih Mansur-al-Hallaj, and the hut of Seih Hasan-al-Basri. There are also some other huts. Each hut has a banner made of calico. It is a sign of conquest and victory.

Eating of deer's meat is forbidden them, they say, because the deer's eyes resemble the eyes of Seih Adi. Verily his virtues are well-known and his praiseworthy qualities are traditions handed down from generation to generation. He was the first to accept the Yezidi religion. He gave them the rules of the religious sect and founded the office of the seih. In addition to this, he was renowned for his devotion and religious exercise.

From Mount Lalis, he used to hear the preaching of Abd-al-Kadir-al-Jilani in Bagdad. He used to draw a circle on the ground and say to the religious ones, "Whosoever wants to hear the preaching of Al-Jilani, let him enter within this circle." The following custom, which we have, began w4th him: If we wish to swear to anyone, a seih draws a circle, and he who is to take an oath, enters into it.

At one time, passing by a garden, Seih 'Adi asked about lettuce; and, as no one answered, he said, "Huss" (hush). For this reason lettuce is forbidden and not eaten.

As regards fasting, they say about the month of Ramadan that it was dumb and deaf. Therefore, when God commanded the Moslems to fast, he likewise commanded the Yezidis, saying to them in the Kurdish language, "sese," meaning "three." The Mohammedans did not understand it; they took it for "se," "thirty." For this reason, they (Yezidis) fast three days. Moreover, they believe there are eating, drinking, and other earthly pleasures in the next world. Some hold that the rule of heaven is in God's hands, but the rule of the earth is in Seih Adi's hands.

Being exceedingly beloved by God, he bestowed upon him according to 'Adi's desire. They believe in the transmigration of souls. This is evinced by the fact that when the soul of Mansural-

Hallaj parted from his body when the Caliph of Bagdad killed him and cast his head into the water, his soul floated on the water. By a wonderful chance and a strange happening, the sister of the said Mansur went to fill her jar. The soul of her brother entered it.

Without knowing what had happened, she came with it to the house. Being tired, she felt thirsty and drank from the jar. At that moment the soul of her brother entered her, but she did not perceive it until she became pregnant. She gave birth to a son who resembled Seih Mansur himself. He became her brother according to birth and her son according to imputation. The reason why they do not use drinking-vessels which have narrow mouths, or a net-like cover, is that when one drinks water from them they make a sound. When the head of Seih Mansur was thrown into the water it gurgled. In his honor they do not use the small jars with narrow necks.

They assert that they expect a prophet who will come from Persia to annul the law of Mohammed and abrogate Islam. They believe that there are seven gods, and that each god administers the universe for ten thousand years; and that one of these gods is Lasiferos, the chief of the fallen angels, who bears also the name Melek Ta'us. They make him a graven image after the form of a cock and worship it. They play the tambourine and dance before it to make it rejoice with them. They (kawwdls) travel within the Yezidis' villages to collect money, at which time they take it into the houses that it may bless and honour them. Some say that Seih Adi is a deity ; others that he is like a Vizier to God. To him all things are referred. This is Melek Ta'us age. The ruling and administrative power is in his hands until the thousandth year.

When the time comes to an end he will deliver the power to the next god to rule and administer until another thousand years shall be ended, and so on until the seventh god. And yet there is accord and love among these gods, and none is jealous of the one who may rule and administer the world for a period of ten thousand years. They have a book named Al Jilwah that they ascribe to §eih *Adi, and they suffer no one who is not one of them to read it.

Mention is made in some of their books that the First Cause is the Supreme God, who before he created this world, was enjoying himself over the seas; and in his hand was a great White Pearl, with which he was playing. Then he resolved to cast it into the sea, and when he did so this world came into being.

Moreover, they think themselves not to be of the same seed from which the rest of mankind sprung, but that they are begotten of the son of Adam, who was born to Adam of his spittle. For this reason they imagine themselves nobler and more pleasing to the gods than others.

They say they have taken fasting and sacrifice from Islam; baptism from Christians; prohibition of foods from the Jews; their way of worship from the idolaters; dissimulation of doctrine from the Rafidis (Shi'ites); human sacrifice and transmigration from the pre-lslamic paganism of the Arabs and from the Sabians. They say that when the spirit of man goes forth from his body, it enters into another man if it be just; but if unjust, into an animal.

THE POEM IN PRAISE OF SEIH ADI

Peace Be unto Him
My understanding surrounds the truth of things,
And my truth is mixed up in me,
And the truth of my descent is set forth by itself.
And when it was known it was altogether in me.
And all that are in the universe are under me,
And all the habitable parts and deserts.
And everything created is under me,
And I am the ruling power preceding all that exists.
And I am he that spoke a true saying,
And I am the just judge and the ruler of the earth.
And I am he that men worship in my glory.
Coming to me and kissing my feet.
And I am he that spread over the heavens their height.
And I am he that cried in the beginning.
And I am he that of myself revealeth all things.
And I am he to whom came the book of good tidings
From my Lord, who burneth the mountains.
And I am he to whom all created men come
In obedience to kiss my feet.
I bring forth fruit from the first juice of early youth
By my presence, and turn toward me my disciples.
And before this light the darkness of the morning cleared away.
I guide him that asketh for guidance.
I am he that caused Adam to dwell in Paradise
And Nimrod to inhabit a hot burning fire.
And I am he that guided Ahmed the Just,
And let him into my path and way.
And I am he unto whom all creatures
Come for my good purposes and gifts.
And I am he that visited all the heights,
And goodness and charity proceed from my mercy.
And I am he that made all hearts to fear
My purpose, and they magnify the majesty and power of my awfulness.
And I am he to whom the destroying lion came
Raging, and I shouted against him and he became stone.
And I am he to whom the serpent came,
And by my will I made him dust.
And I am he that struck the rock and made it tremble,
And made to burst from its sides the sweetest of waters.
And I am he that sent down the certain truth;
For me is the book that comforteth the oppressed.
And I am he that judged justly,
And when I judged it was my right
And I am he that made the springs to give water,
Sweeter and pleasanter than all waters.
And I am he that caused it to appear in my mercy,
And by my power I called it the pure.
And I am he to whom the Lord of heaven hath said.
Thou art the just Judge and Ruler of the earth.
And I am he that disclosed some of my wonders.
And some of my virtues are manifested in that which exists.
And I am he that caused the mountains to bow,
To move under me and at my will.
And I am he before whose majesty the wild beasts cried;
They turned to me worshiping, and kissed my feet.
And I am *Adi as-§ami, the son of Musafir.
Verily the All-Merciful has assigned unto me names,
The heavenly throne, and the seat, and the (seven) heavens, and the earth.
In the secret of my knowledge there is no God but me.
These things are subservient to my power.
O mine enemies, why do you deny me? men, deny me not, but submit.
In the day of judgment you will be happy in meeting me.
Who dies in my love, I will cast him
In the midst of Paradise, by my will and pleasure;
But he that dies unmindful of me
Will be thrown into torture in misery and affliction.
I say I am the only one and the exalted;
I create and make rich those whom I will.
Praise it to myself, for all things are by my will,
And the universe is lighted by some of my gifts.
I am the king that magnifies himself,
And all the riches of creation are at my bidding.
I have made known unto you, O people, some of my ways.
Who desireth me must forsake the world.
And I can also speak the true saying.
And the garden on high is for those who do my pleasure.
I sought the truth and became a confirming truth;
And by the like truth shall they, like myself, possess the highest place.

THE PRINCIPAL PRAYER OF THE YEZIDIS

Amen, Amen, Amen!
Through the intermediation of Sams-ad-Din,
Fahr ad-Din, Nasir-ad-Din,
Sajad ad-Din, Seih Sin (Husein),
Seih Bakr, Kadir ar-Rahman.
Lord, thou art gracious, tliou art merciful ;
Thou art God, king of kings and lands,
King of joy and happiness.
King of good possession (eternal life).
From eternity thou art eternal.
Thou art the seat of luck (happiness) and Ufe;
Thou art lord of grace and good luck.
Thou art king of jinns and human beings,
King of the holy men (saints).
Lord of terror and praise,
The abode of religious duty and praise,
Worthy of praise and thanks.
Lord! Protector in journeys.
Sovereign of the moon and of the darkness,
God of the sun and of the fire,
God of the great throne.
Lord of goodness.
Lord! No one knows how thou art.
Thou hast no beauty; thou hast no height.
Thou hast no going forth; thou hast no number.
Lord! Judge of kings and beggars.
Judge of society and of the world,
Thou hast revealed the repentance of Adam.
Lord, thou hast no house; thou hast no money;
Thou hast no wings, hast no feathers ;
Thou hast no voice, thou hast no colour.
Thou hast made us lucky and satisfied.
Thou hast created Jesus and Mary.
Lord, thou art gracious,
Merciful, faithful.
Thou art Lord; I am nothingness.
I am a fallen sinner,

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A sinner by thee remembered.
Thou hast led us out of darkness into light.
Lord! My sin and my guilt.
Take them and remove them.
O God, O God, O God, Amen!

SEVEN CLASSES OF YEZIDIS

They are divided into seven classes, and each class has functions peculiar to itself that cannot be discharged by any of the other classes. They are:

1. Seih. He is the servant of the tomb, and a descendant of Imam Hasan al-Basri. No one can give a legal decision or sign any document except the seih who is the servant of Seih 'Adi's tomb. He has a sign by which he is distinguished from others. The sign is a belt which he puts on his body, and net-like gloves, which resemble the halters of camels. If he goes among his people, they bow down and pay him their respects. The seihs sell a place in paradise to anyone who wishes to pay money.

2. Emir. The emirship specifically belongs to the descendants of Yezid. They have a genealogical tree, preserved from their fathers and forefathers, which goes up to Yezid himself. The emirs have charge of the temporal and governmental affairs, and have the right to say, "Do this and do not that."

3. Kawwal. He has charge of tambourines and flutes and religious hymns.

4. Pir. To him appertain the conduct of fasts, the breaking of fasts, and hair-dressing.

5. Kochak. To him appertain the duties of religious instruction, and sepulture, and interpretation of dreams, i. e., prophecy.

6. Fakir. To him appertain the duties of instruction of boys and girls in playing on the tambourines, in dancing and religious pleasure. He serves Seih Adi.

7. Mulla. To him appertain the duties of instructing children. He guards the books and the mysteries of religion and attends to the affairs of the sect.

ARTICLES OF FAITH

At one time (A. H. 1289; A. D. 1872), the Ottoman power wanted to draft from among them an army instead of takmg the tax which was its due. They presented to the government all the rules that prevented them from complying. These all pertain to religion and are moral obligations upon them. They are as follows:

Article 1

According to our Yezidi religion every member of our sect, whether big or little, girl or woman, must visit Melek Ta'us three times a year, that is, first, from the beginning to the last of the month of April, Roman calendar; secondly, from the beginning to the end of the month of September; thirdly, from the beginning to the end of the month of November. If anyone visit not the image of Melek Ta'us, he is an infidel.

Article 2

If any member of our sect, big or little, visit not his highness Seih Adi bn Musafir—may God sanctify his mysteries! once a year, i.e., from the fifteenth to the twentieth of the month of September, Roman calendar, he is an infidel according to our religion.

Article 3

Every member of our sect must visit the place of the sunrise every day when it appears, and there should not be Moslem, nor Christian, nor any one else in that place. If any one do this not, he is an infidel.

Article 4

Every member of our sect must daily kiss the hand of his brother, his brother of the next world, namely, the servant of the Mahdi, and the hand of his seih or pir. If any one do this not, he is regarded as an infidel.

Article 5

According to our religion it is something intolerable when the Moslem in the morning begins to say in prayer, God forbid! "I take refuge in God, etc." If any one of us hear it, he must kill the one who says it and kill himself; otherwise he becomes an infidel.

Article 6

When one of our sect is on the point of death, if there be no brother of the next world and his seih, or his pir and one of the kawwals with him to say three sayings over him, viz.; "O servant of Melek Ta'us, whose ways are high, you must die in the religion of the one we worship, who is Melek Ta'us, whose ways are high, and do not die in any other religion than his. And if some one should come and say to you something from the Mohammedan religion, or Christian religion, or Jewish religion, or some other religion, do not believe him, and do not follow him. And if you believe and follow another religion than that of the one we worship, Melek ^ a'us, you shall die an infidel," he becomes an infidel.

Article 7

We have something called the blessing of Seih Adi, that is, the dust of the tomb Seih Adi—may God sanctify his mystery! Every member of our sect must have some of it with him in his pocket and eat of it every morning. And if he eat not of it intentionally, he is an infidel. Likewise at the time of death, if he possess not some of that dust intentionally, he dies an infidel.

Article 8

Regarding our fasting, if any one of our sect wish to fast, he must fast in his own place, not in another. For while fasting he must go every morning to the house of his seih and his ptr, and there he must begin to fast; and when he breaks his fast, likewise, he must go to the house of his seih and his ptr, and there break the fast by drinking the holy wine of the seih or the pir. And if he drink not two or three glasses of that wine, his fasting is not acceptable, and he becomes an infidel.

Article 9

If one of our sect go to another place and remain there as much as one year, and afterward return to his place, then his wife is forbidden him, and none of us will give him a wife. If anyone give him a wife, that one is an infidel.

Article 10

Regarding our dress, as we have mentioned in the fourth Article that every one of our sect has a brother for the next world, he has also a sister for the next world. Therefore if any one of us make for himself a new shirt, it is necessary that his sister for the next world should open its neck band, i. e., the neck band of that shirt, with her hand. And if she open it not with her hand, and he wear it, then he is an infidel.

Article 11

If some one of our sect make a shirt or a new dress, he cannot wear it without baptizing it in the blessed water which is to be found at the shrine of his highness Seih Adi may God sanctify his mystery! If he wear it, he is an infidel.

Article 12

We may not wear a light black dress at all. We may not comb our heads with the comb of a Moslem or a Christian or a Jew or any other. Nor may we shave our heads with the razor used by any other than ourselves (Yezidis), except it be washed in the blessed water which is to be found at the shrine of his highness Seih Adi. Then it is lawful for us to shave our heads. But if we shave our heads without the razor having been washed in that water, we become infidels.

Article 13

No Yezidi may enter the water-closet of a Moslem, or take a bath at a Moslem's house, or eat with a Moslem spoon or drink from a Moslem's cup, from a cup used by any one of another sect. If he does, he is an infidel.

Article 14

Concerning food, there is a great difference between us and the other sects. We do not eat meat or fish, squash, bamia (okra), fasulia (beans), cabbage, or lettuce. We cannot even dwell in the place where lettuce is sown.

SCRIPTURE OF SIKHISM

THE SHRI GURU GRANTH SAHIB
Original language Punjabi in Gurmukhi script
Shri Guru Granth Sahib (Khalsa Consensus), 2018
Translation: Khalsa Consensus Translation, 2018
Estimated Range of Dating: 1490 - 1678 A.D.

(Sikhism is a monotheistic faith which began in India's Punjab region in the 1400s. It is the world's fifth largest religion. Sikhism is a distinct religion with its own unique divine scriptures and beliefs. Sikhism is a faith whose followers are called "Sikhs". The word Sikh means disciple or student. An estimated 50-150 million people [no exact census available] are followers of Sikhism, which then makes it the fifth largest organised religion in the world just after Christianity, Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism. Sikhism teaches that God lasts forever, cannot be seen, and has no body. Therefore, God has no gender. It is taught that God created the universe, can destroy it, and keeps it running. God is considered to be infinite and has no beginning and no end. Sikhs worship God, and meditate on God's name through intense (passionate) repetition. They believe everything is a part of God and God is a part of everything. Good, bad, neutral are not applicable to God and for human beings, as Sikh philosophy indicates that human beings are born innately good. In general, Sikhism contains elements of Hinduism, Buddhism and Judaism. It has some aspects of Islam too. Followers are all trying to reach salvation, meaning they are trying to break the process of rebirth and become one with God. The thing that is keeping people from reaching union is bad karma. Bad karma is taught to be caused by pride, anger, greed, attachment and lust. Sikhs try to stay away from these things. Sikhs also believe that a piece of God resides within everything in the world. Once an individual discovers the God within and stops searching else then can he reach salvation.

The Ten Founding Gurus of Sikhism

1. Guru Nanak or Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji (1469–1539 AD), also referred to as Baba Nanak ('father Nanak'), was the creator of Sikhism, and the first of the ten Sikh Gurus. The word "Guru" means "teacher" in many Indian languages. Beside followers of Sikhism, Guru Nanak Dev is considered holy by Punjabi Hindus and Sahajdhari Sindhis across the Indian subcontinent.[Sindhis are a Sindhi speaking socio-ethnic group of people originating from the Sindh province of Pakistan. Today Sindhis that live in Pakistan belong to various religious denominations including Islam, Zoroastrianism, Hinduism, Sikhism and Christianity.] Nanak is said to have travelled far and wide across Asia teaching people the message of the One God (Ek Onkar), who dwells in every one of his creations and constitutes the eternal Truth. Legends say that he visited Tibet, most of South Asia, and Arabia, starting in 1496 at age 27, when he left his family for a thirty-year period. These claims include Nanak's visit to Mount Sumeru of Indian mythology, which is believed in the Pamir Mountains, as well as Mecca and Baghdad. Because of his close connexion with Hazrat Sheikh Farid-ud-din Ganj Shakar, the Punjabi Sufi saint, Nanak Dev is also considered by many Muslims to be a Sufi, or adherent of Sufic tenets. Guru Nanak is also revered as Saint by followers of the Baha'i Faith which is not really a surprise as both religions were founded as reaction to the brutal doctrine of Islam and its merciless Sharia law and its resulting persecutions of Kafirs [non-Muslims].

2. Guru Angad (1504–1552) was born as Bhai Lehna and the second of the ten Sikh gurus of Sikhism. Born to a Hindu family he became a Sikh after meeting Guru Nanak. He was serving and working with Guru Nanak for many years. After the death of Guru Nanak in 1539, Guru Angad led the Sikh communities. He is remembered in Sikhism for adopting and formalising the Gurmukhi script [which can be traced back, via Brahmi script, to Aramaic.].

3. Guru Amar Das (1479–1574), sometimes spelled as Guru Amardas, was the third Guru of Sikhism and became Sikh Guru in 1552 at age 73. He discouraged veiling of women's faces (a Muslim custom) as well as sati (a Hindu custom). He encouraged the Kshatriya people to fight in order to protect people and for the sake of justice, stating this is Dharma. He selected the site in Amritsar village for a special temple which is now known as the Golden Temple, the most sacred pilgrimage site in Sikhism.

4. Guru Ram Das (1534–1581) was born as Bhai Jetha Mal Sodhi and the fourth Guru of Sikhism. At age 12, Bhai Jetha and his grandmother moved to Goindval, where they met Guru Amar Das. The boy thereafter accepted Guru Amar Das as his mentor and served him. Guru Ram Das became the Guru of Sikhism in 1574 and served as the Sikh leader until his death in 1581. He faced hostilities from the sons of Amar Das, shifted his official base to Ramdaspur which later was renamed as Amritsar.

5. Guru Arjan (1563–1606) was the fifth Guru of Sikhism and the first Guru martyred for Sikh faith by Islam. He

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compiled the first official edition of the Sikh scripture called the Adi Granth, which later expanded into the Guru Granth Sahib. Guru Arjan was arrested under the orders of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir and asked to convert to Islam. He refused, was tortured and executed in 1606.

6. Guru Hargobind (1595–1644), revered as the sixth Nanak, was the sixth Guru of the Sikh religion. He had become Guru at the young age of eleven, after the execution of his father, Guru Arjan, by the Islamic Mughal emperor Jahangir. Guru Hargobind ruthlessly militarised the Sikh communities, likely as a response to his father's execution. He symbolised it by wearing two swords, representing the dual concept of miri and piri (temporal power and spiritual authority). Guru Hargobind nominally accepted Shah Jahan's authority but resisted the Islamic persecution, fighting four wars against Shah Jahan's armies. His transformation of the Sikh community was not left unnoticed and brought him in conflict with the Islamic Mughal overlords. Guru Hargobind's army fought 4 battles with the superior Islamic Mughal armies of Shah Jahan, 1. Battle of Rohilla (1621); 2. Battle of Amritsar (1634); 3. Battle of Kartarpur (1635); 4. Battle of Lahira (1634), and won all of them. He lost his eldest son Baba Gurdita in 1638 as Shah Jahan attempted political means to undermine the Sikh tradition, by dividing and influencing the succession. The Mughal ruler gave land grants to Baba Gurdita's eldest son Dhir Mal, living in Kartarpur, and attempted to encourage Sikhs to recognise Dhir Mal as the rightful successor to Guru Hargobind. Dhir Mal issued statements in favour of the Mughal state, and critical of his grandfather. Guru Hargobind died at Kiratpur Rupnagar, Punjab, in 1644, but before his death, he rejected his eldest grandson Dhir Mal's politics, and nominated Dhir Mal's younger brother Har Rai as the Guru.

7. Guru Har Rai (1630–1661) revered as the seventh Nanak, was the seventh Guru of the Sikh religion. He became the Sikh leader at age 14, on 3 March 1644. He guided the Sikhs for about seventeen years, till his death at age 31. Guru Har Rai is notable for maintaining the large army of Sikh soldiers that the sixth Sikh Guru had amassed, yet avoiding military conflict.

8. Guru Har Krishan (1656–1664) was the eighth Sikh Guru. At the age of 5, he became the youngest Guru in Sikhism. He contracted smallpox in 1664 and died before reaching his eighth birthday after a reign of only 2 years, 5 months and 24 days. It is said that he died because he contracted smallpox while successfully curing his followers. He is remembered in the Sikh tradition for saying "Baba Bakale" before he died, which Sikhs interpreted to identify his granduncle Guru Tegh Bahadur as the next successor.

9. Guru Tegh Bahadur (1621–1675) was a ninth Guru of Sikhism from 1665 until his murder by Muslims in 1675. He was born in Amritsar, Punjab, India in 1621 and was the youngest son of Guru Hargobind Sahib, the sixth Sikh Guru. Not just a principled and fearless warrior, he was a learned spiritual scholar and poet whose 115 hymns are included in Sri Guru Granth Sahib, the main text of Sikhism. Guru Tegh Bahadur was assassinated by beheading on the orders of Aurangzeb, the sixth Mughal emperor, in Delhi, India. Sikh holy premises Gurudwara Sis Ganj Sahib and Gurdwara Rakab Ganj Sahib in Delhi mark the places of execution and cremation of Guru Tegh Bahadur. His murder is the second martyrdom of a Sikh Guru. Tegh Bahadur has been remembered for giving up his life for freedom of religion, reminding Sikhs and other non-Muslims in India to follow and practice their beliefs without fear of persecution and forced conversions by Muslims.

10. Guru Gobind Singh (1666–1708), born Gobind Rai, was the tenth Sikh Guru, a spiritual master, warrior, poet and philosopher. When his father, Guru Tegh Bahadur, was murdered by the Islamic emperor Aurangzeb, Guru Gobind Singh was formally installed as the leader of the Sikhs at the age of nine, becoming the tenth and final human Sikh Guru. His four sons died during his lifetime – two in battle, two murdered by the Islamic Mughal army for opposing Islam. Among his notable contributions to Sikhism are founding the Sikh warrior community called Khalsa in 1699 and introducing the Five Ks, the five articles of faith that Khalsa Sikhs wear at all times. Guru Gobind Singh is credited with the Dasam Granth whose 17,293 verses are a sacred part of Sikh prayers and Khalsa rituals. The last Guru Gobind Singh said that there would be no more Gurus after him and Sikhs would be taught by the holy book of the Sikhs, which is called by its personalised name Shri Guru Granth Sahib, The Lord Guru Granth Sahib, which is now the eternal Guru for all Sikhs.

General History of Sikhism

Sikhism [in present-day Pakistan and northwestern India] came into being as reaction to the rigid and violent doctrine of Islamic Jihad and Islam's most powerful tool the Sharia law. This Mohammedan law, prescribed in the Koran, the Sira, and the Hadith, demands that every Kafir (non-Muslim) must eventually be subjugated under the rule of Islam or die; the word Islam itself means "subjugation". There is no doubt that the Sikhs stopped the total subjugation of India under the totalitarian rule of Islam.

Between the 7th and 11th centuries, Islamic armies conducted several campaigns into the Hindu-dominated Indian subcontinent, making conquests limited to present-day Pakistan and the Punjab. From the 12th through the 16th century, however, Muslim conquests in the Indian subcontinent were more successful and saw the emergence of Islamic states over Hindu or Jain majority populations. In the early 16th century, one such state was the Mughal Empire, founded by the successful king Babur in northern India. Meanwhile, in the later 15th century in the Punjab, Sikhism had been proclaimed by Guru Nanak initially as a panentheistic sect, rejecting Hinduism and Islam, and rapidly gained followers. It later became monotheistic. Perceiving the growth of the Sikhs as a threat, the Islamic Mughal authorities began to persecute them, and in 1606 Sikh leader Guru Arjan was executed by Mughal emperor Jahangir, apparently for helping prince Khusrau.

The religion of Sikhism began at the time of the Islamic Conquest of Northern India by Babur (The grandson of Timur, a zealous Muslim, one of the worst mass murderers in history besides Stalin, Hitler, and Mao. The Islamic Conquests of Timur [1370–1405] alone cost the lives of 15-20 million Zoroastrians, Jews, Christians, Hindus and Buddhists.). Babur defeated and killed Ibrahim Lodi, the last Sultan of the Lodi dynasty, in 1526. Babur ruled for 4 years and was succeeded by his son Humayun. During their 30-year rule, religious violence continued in India. Records of the violence and trauma, from Sikh-Muslim perspective, include those recorded in Sikh literature of the 16th century. The Islamic violence of Babur and Humayun from the 1520s to the 1550s, was witnessed by Guru Nanak, who commented upon them in four hymns. Historians suggest the early Mughal era period of religious violence contributed to introspection and then transformation from pacifism to militancy for self-defence in Sikhism. Since that time, Sikhs fiercely defended their communities against anyone.

Babur's grandson, Akbar, supported religious freedom and after visiting the Langar of Guru Amar Das had a favourable impression of Sikhism. As a result of his visit he donated land to the Langar and had a positive relationship with the Sikh gurus until his death in 1605.[In Sikhism, a langar (Punjabi: for 'kitchen') is the community kitchen of a Gurdwara (meaning "door to the guru", a place of assembly and worship for Sikhs), which serves meals free of charge to all visitors—without making a distinction of religion, caste, gender, economic status or ethnicity. This charity made many people convert to Sikhism.]*

Akbar's successor, Jahangir, saw the Sikhs as a political threat. He arrested Guru Arjan Dev because of Sikh support for Khusrau Mirza (a Persian name, Khosrov Mirza; 1587–1622, he was the eldest son of the Mughal emperor Jahangir.) and ordered him to be put to death by torture. Guru Arjan Dev's martyrdom led the sixth Guru, Guru Har Gobind, to declare Sikh sovereignty in the creation of the Akal Takht and to establish a fort to defend Amritsar. Jahangir attempted to assert authority over the Sikh by jailing Guru Har Gobind at Gwalior and released him after some time with 52 other Rajpoot (Hindu) kings on Guru HarGobind's orders. Sikhism did not have any further issues with the Mughal Empire until the death of Jahangir in 1627. His successor, Shah Jahan "took offence" at Guru Har Gobind's sovereignty and after a series of assaults on Amritsar forced the Sikhs to retreat to the Sivalik Hills. Guru Har Gobind's successor, Guru Har Rai maintained the guruship in the Sivalik Hills by defeating local attempts to seize Sikh land and taking a neutral role in the power struggle between Aurangzeb and Dara Shikoh for control of the Timurid dynasty. The ninth Guru, Guru Tegh Bahadur, moved the Sikh community to Anandpur and traveled extensively to visit and preach in Sikh communities in defiance of Aurangzeb, who attempted to install Ram Rai to the guruship. He aided Kashmiri Brahmins in avoiding conversion to Islam and was arrested and confronted by Aurangzeb. When offered a choice between conversion or death, he chose to die rather than compromise his principles and was executed. Guru Gobind Singh, assumed the guruship in 1675 and to avoid battles with Sivalik Hill Rajas moved the guruship to Paunta. He built a large fort to protect the city and garrisoned an army to protect it. The growing power of the Sikh community alarmed Sivalik Hill Rajas who attempted to attack the city but the Guru's forces routed them at the Battle of Bhangani. He moved on to Anandpur and established the Khalsa, a collective army of baptised Sikhs, on March 30, 1699. The establishment of the Khalsa united the Sikh community against various Mughal-backed claimants to the guruship. In 1701, a combined army composed of the Sivalik Hill Rajas and the Mughal army under Wazir Khan attacked Anandpur and, following a retreat by the Khalsa, were defeated by the Khalsa at the Battle of Muktsar. In 1707, Guru Gobind Singh accepted an invitation by Bahadur Shah I, Aurangzeb's successor to meet in southern India. When he arrived in Nanded in 1708, he was injured by agents of Wazir Khan, the governor of Sirhind. After this incident his wounds were stitched and he began to recover. A few days after, some Sikhs brought a very stiff bow to present to Guru Gobind Singh. As they were discussing whether anybody would ever be able to put a string on the bow, Guru Gobind Singh accepted the challenge. Though the bow was stringed, due to the force he applied on the bow the wounds which were still fresh started bleeding profusely. Guru Gobind Singh then declared that he would die and asked his Sikhs to prepare for the cremation [the Hindu funeral].

Banda Singh Bahadur was an ascetic who converted to Sikhism after meeting Guru Gobind Singh at Nanded. A short time before his death, Guru Gobind Singh ordered him to reconquer Punjab and gave him a letter that commanded all Sikhs to join him. After two years of gaining supporters, Banda Singh Bahadur initiated an agrarian uprising by breaking up the large estates of Zamindar families and distributing the land to the poor Sikh, Hindu, and Muslim peasants who farmed the land. Banda Singh Bahadur started his rebellion with the defeat of Mughal armies at Samana and Sadhaura and the rebellion culminated in the defeat of Sirhind. During the rebellion, Banda Singh Bahadur made a point of destroying the cities in which Mughals had been cruel to Sikhs, including executing Wazir Khan in revenge for the deaths of Guru Gobind Singh's sons after the Sikh victory at Sirhind. He ruled the territory between the Sutlej river and the Yamuna river, established a capital in the Himalayas at Lohgarh, and struck coinage with the faces of Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh. In 1716, his army was defeated by the Mughals after he attempted to defend his fort at Gurdas Nangal. He was captured along with 700 of his men and sent to Delhi where he was tortured and executed after refusing to convert to Islam.

The Mohammedans, who committed those executions, had no doubts about the bravery of Sikhs in fight as well as in death: "It is singular that these people not only behaved firmly during the execution, but they would dispute and wrangle with each other who should suffer first; and they made interest with the executioner to obtain the preference."- Seir Mutakherin by Seid Gholam Hossein Khan.

After 1716, the Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah began a campaign of genocide against Sikhs through his Governor of Lahore, Abdus Samad Khan. His son and, later, successor, Zakariya Khan Bahadur led a standing army dedicated to eliminating Sikhs, executed Sikhs publicly, and offered monetary rewards for the heads of killed Sikhs. The Sikhs "retaliated by killing government functionaries and plundering Mughal posts, arsenals, and treasuries" but could not assemble an army. The persecution of the Mughal Empire forced some Sikhs to abandon the outward signs of their faith, but "the more sincere had to seek a refuge among the recesses of the hills or in the woods to the south of the Sutlej" The Sikhs went into hiding during this period. From 1718-1738, the Sikhs carried out a guerrilla war against the Mughal Empire in the area around the Sivalik Hills. Historian Josepeh Cunningham writes of the period: "The Sikhs were scarcely again heard of in history for the period of a generation".

The formation of the Dal Khalsa [the proper Sikh Army] was a consequence of the Muslim conquest of India and their committed genocide of Sikhs and other Indian people. The Dal Khalsa was the name of the combined forces of 12 misls that operated in the 18th century (1735–1780) in the Punjab region. In 1733, Zakariya Khan Bahadur attempted to negotiate a peace with the Sikhs by offering them a jagir, the title Nawab to their leader, and unimpeded access to the Harmandir Sahib. After discussion at a Sarbat Khalsa, Kapur Singh was elected leader of the Sikhs and took the title of Nawab. Nawab Kapur Singh combined the various Sikh militias into two groups; the Taruna Dal and the Buddha Dal, which would collectively be known as the Dal Khalsa. Sikh militias over 40 years of age would be part of the Buddha Dal and Sikh militas under 40 years were part of the Taruna Dal. The Taruna Dal was further divided in five jathas, each with 1300 to 2000 men and a separate drum and banner. The area of operations of each Dal, or army, was Hari ke Pattan, where the Sutlej river and Beas River meet; the Taruna Dal would control the area east of Hari ke Pattan while the Budha Dal would control the area west of it. The purpose of the Budda Dal, the veteran group, was to protect Gurdwaras and train the Taruna Dal, while the Taruna Dal would act as combat troops. However, in 1735, the agreement between Zakariya Khan and Nawab Kapur Singh broke down and the Dal Khalsa retreated to the Sivalik Hills to regroup. Later the command of Dal Khalsa was taken by Jassa Singh Ahluwalia who was an able and powerful administrator.

In 1738, Nader Shah of the Persian Afsharid dynasty invaded Muhammad Shah's Mughal Empire. Nader idolised Genghis Khan and Timur, the previous conquerors from Central Asia. He imitated their military skills and—especially later in his reign—their cruelty. Nadir Shah defeated the Mughal Empire in the Battle of Karnal and proceeded to sack Delhi where he massacred 20,000 to 30,000 inhabitants in 1739. During the panic before and after the Battle of Karnal, important functionaries of the Mughal Empire fled Delhi but

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were intercepted by small jathas of the Dal Khalsa and relieved of their wealth. (*A Jatha ('group') is an armed body of the Armed Forces of the Sikh Confederation. It is perhaps best translated as brigade, legion, or division, depending on the size. They have existed in Sikh tradition since the beginning of the Khalsa (Sikh community) in 1699 AD.) Nadir Shah then gave Muhammad Shah back his title of Mughal Emperor but took away his royal treasury, including the Peacock Throne. When Nadir Shah began his retreat, the Sikhs who had been seeking refuge in the Sivalik Hills came down from the mountains and mercilessly plundered the treasure of the Islamic Persian Army. Afterwards the Dal Khalsa established a fort at Dallewal near the Ravi river and began levying taxes in the area around Lahore. During this period, the Muslim historian Nur Mohammed, though full of contempt for Sikhs, was constrained to pay tribute to them of their character, in the following words: "In no case they would slay a coward, nor would they put an obstacle in the way of a fugitive. They do not plunder the wealth and ornaments of a woman, be she a well to do lady or a maid servant. There is no adultery among these dogs, nor are they mischievous people given to thieving. Whether a woman is young or old, they call her 'buriya' and asked her to get out of the way. The word 'buriya' in Indian language means 'an old lady'. There is no thief at all among these dogs, nor is there any house breaker born among these miscreants. They do not make friends with adulterers and house breakers, though their behaviours on the whole is not commendable."*

Recorded Battles

The Sikhs very commonly fought battles in which they had much less force than their foes. However, they had an impressive success rate. Throughout its history, it fought various adversaries including the Islamic Persians, the Islamic Mughal Empire, the Islamic Durrani Empire of Afghanistan, and the British East India Company. List of Battles fought by Sikhs (date AD, adversary [troop strength], Sv = Sikh victory): 1. Battle of Rohilla (1621, Islam, Sv); 2. Battle of Amritsar (1634, Islam, Sv); 3. Battle of Kartarpur (1635, Islam [10,000 troops], Sv); 4. Battle of Lahira (1634, Islam [35,000 troops], Sv); 5. Battle of Bhangani (1686-1688, Hinduism, Islam, Sv); 6. Battle of Nadaun (1687-1691, Islam, Sv); 7. Battle of Guler (1696, Islam, Sv); 8. 1st Battle of Anandpur (1700-1704, Islam [10,000 troops], Sv); 9. Battle of Basoli (1702, Islam, Sv); 10. 2nd Battle of Anandpur (1701-1704, Islam, Sv); 11. Battle of Nirmohgarh (1702, Islam, Sv); 12. 1st Battle of Chamkaur (1702, Islam); 13. Second Battle of Chamkaur (1704), 14. Battle of Sarsa (1704, Islam); 15. Battle of Muktsar (1705, Islam, Sv); 16. Battle of Sonepat (1709, Islam, Sv); 17. Battle of Ambala / Umbala (c. 1709, Islam, ?); 18. Battle of Kapuri (1709); 19. Battle of Samana (1709, Islam [20,000 troops], Sv); 20. Battle of Chappar Chiri (1710, Islam, Sv); 21. Battle of Sadhaura (1710, Islam); 22. Battle of Rahon (1710, Islam [135,000 troops], Sv); 23. Battle of Lohgarh (1710, Islam, Sv); 24. Kapuri expedition (c. 1710); 25. Battle of Jalalabad (1710, Islam); 26. Battle of Jammu (1712, Islam); 27. Siege of Gurdaspur / Battle of Gurdas Nangal (1715); 28. Attack on Nadir Shah (1739); 29. Siege of Ram Rauni (c. 1755); 30. Battle of Manupur (1748); 31. Battle of Amritsar (1757, Islam [20,000 troops], Sv); 32. Battle of Lahore (1759, Islam, Sv); 33. Battle of Sialkot (1761, Islam [12,000], Sv); 34. Battle of Gujranwala (1761, Islam [12,000], Sv); 35. Sikh Occupation of Lahore (1761, Islam [12,000], Sv); 36. Sikh holocaust of Vadda Ghalughara or Battle of Kup (1762, Islam [massacre on c. 15,000 Sikh civilians]); 37. Battle of Harnaulgarh (1762, Islam, Sv); 38. Skirmish of Amritsar (1762, Islam, ?); 39. Battle of Sialkot (1763, Islam, ?); 40. Battle of Sirhind (1764, Islam [50,000? troops], Sv); 41. Rescue of Hindu Girls or Brahmin Girls (1769, Islam, ?); 42. Capture of Delhi and Red Fort (1783, Islam, Sv); 43. Battle of Amritsar (1797, Islam, ?); 44. Battle of Gujrat (1797, Islam, ?); 45. Battle of Amritsar (1798, Islam, ?); 46. Battle of Lahore (1799, Islam, Sv); 47. Battle of Kasur (1807, Islam, Sv); 47. Battle of Jammu (1808, Islam, Sv); 49. Gurkha-Sikh War (1809, Hinduism, Sv); 50. Battle of Attock (1813, Islam, Sv); 51. Battle of Multan (1818, Islam, Sv); 52. Battle of Shopian (1819, Islam [6,000 troops], Sv); 53. Battle of Balakot (1831, Islam, Sv); 54. Battle of Peshawar (1834, Islam, Sv); 55. Battle of Jamrud (1837, Islam, Sv); 56. Sino-Sikh War (1841-1842, Chinese-Buddhist, treaty); 57. Battle of Mudki / Moodkee, 1st Anglo-Sikh War (1845-1846, British); 58. Battle of Ferozeshah, 1st Anglo-Sikh War (1845, British); 59. Battle of Baddowal, 1st Anglo-Sikh War (1846, British, Sv); 60. Battle of Aliwal, 1st Anglo-Sikh War (1846, British); 61. Battle of Sobraon, 1st Anglo-Sikh War (1846, British); 62. Battle of Chillianwala, 2nd Anglo-Sikh War (1849, British [15,000 troops], Sv); 63. Battle of Ramnagar, 2nd Anglo-Sikh War (1848, British [15,000 troops], Sv); 64. Siege of Multan, 2nd Anglo-Sikh War (1848-1849, British [32,000 troops], Sv); 65. Battle of Gujrat, 2nd Anglo-Sikh War (1849, British [50,000 troops]); 66. Battle of Saragarhi, Joint Anglo-Sikh War (1898, Islam, British-Sikh victory).

Sikh Code of Conduct

The following is a brief summary of the conduct expected from a Sikh of the Guru. Full instructions for the Sikh are given in the Sri Guru Granth Sahib which is more than a holy book for the Sikhs - It is their "Living Guru". By reading the Guru Granth Sahib, the Sikh can learn about the Sikh beliefs and the type of conduct expected from a Sikh.

1. There is only one God; worship and pray only to Him [Simran].

2. Always remember the one God [Naam Japo], work hard and honestly [Kirat Karni], and share with others [Wand kay Shako].

3. At all times practice Truth, live a Truthful life and engage in service [Sewa] for the community.

4. Remember that women are as good as men and must be treated as equals.

5. Always remember the whole of the human race is one. Distinctions on caste, colour and class are wrong and against Sikh principles.

6. Do not believe in superstitions; nor follow empty rituals; nor believe in Idols, magic, omens, fasts, frontal marks or sacred threads, etc

7. Dress yourself in a simple and modest way; gaudy clothes and revealing dress bring no credit and will take you away from Sikhi.

8. Sikh women should not observe the veil [pardah]; neither should they observe any other distinct customs like fasting for their husbands [Karva Chhor], make payments in marriage (Dowry); etc. Women have the same rights as men before God.

9. Live a married family life; asceticism and renunciation are needless exercises.

10. Put your faith in the Holy Granth; no other Holy book or living person can claim Guruship (for Sikhs).

11. Control the Five Evils - Lust [Kam], Anger [Krodh], Greed [Lobh], Material attachment [Moh] and Ego [Ahankar].

12 Practise the Five Virtues - Truth [Sat], Contentment [Santokh], Compassion [Daya], Humility [Nimrata] and Love [Pyare].

Injunctions

(Given at the time of baptism [Amrit])

1. Do not cut your hair [Kesh].

2. Do not use tobacco; alcohol or intoxicating drugs.

3. Do not eat Kutha meat [flesh of an animal slaughtered in a slow and painful manner, meaning: Kosher meat, Halal meat, etc.]

4. Do not commit adultery.

5. Carrying the 5 Ks

Vigilance

In Sikhism, the Five Ks (Punjabi: Panj Kakar) are five items that Guru Gobind Singh commanded Khalsa Sikhs to wear at all times in 1699. The Five Ks are not just symbols, but articles of faith that collectively form the external identity and the Khalsa devotee's commitment to the Sikh rehni, "Sikh way of life". The 5 Ks are: Kesh (uncut hair), Kangha (a wooden comb for the hair), Kara (an iron bracelet), Kachera (cotton underwear), and Kirpan (a steel dagger large enough to defend oneself). Self-defence is one of the highest virtues in Sikhism. Already children carry a Kirpan [a knife with a curved and razorblade-sharp blade]. Sikhism allows just war [Dharam yudh], which must be fought honourably. In their long fight against Islamic oppression, they have learned to defend themselves and others and it would be unusual for a Sikh to be a pacifist because it is expected that military action may need to be taken, when all other means have failed. The following rules were applied in the battles fought by Guru Gobind Singh and are therefore followed by Sikhs: 1st: War must be a last resort; 2nd: Never strike first, 3rd: Use proportionate force. The Dasam Granth says: "When all peaceful methods have failed to bring justice, it is righteous to draw the sword." Women have the right to defend themselves, just like men. This is unique for women because it is the first time in history when women were expected to defend themselves and others with their Kirpans (swords). They are not expected to be dependent on men for physical protection.

Notable Women in Sikhism

• Mata Tripta, mother of Guru Nanak and Bebe Nanaki.

• Bebe Nanaki, 'sister Nanaki' (1464-1518) was the elder sister of Guru Nanak Dev. She was originally a Hindu. Nanaki is an important religious figure of Sikhism, and is known as the first Gursikh [follower of Guru Nanak].

• Mata Khivi or Khivi or Bibi Khivi (1506–1582) is best known for establishing the Sikh tradition of Langar or free kitchen charity.

• Commander Mai Bhago or Mata Bhag Kaur (c. 1680-1740), was leader of a Sikh brigade who led her soldiers against the Islamic Mughals in 1705. She was an exceptionally skilled warrior on the battlefield and is revered as a saint in Sikhism.

• Mata Sahib Kaur (1681-1747), wife of Guru Gobind Singh Ji and leader of Khalsa [the Sikh Confederation] for 40 years.

• Commander Sada Kaur (c. 1762-1832). In 1789, after her father-in-law Jai Singh Kanheya died, Sada Kaur assumed the leadership of the Khalsa Kanhaiya Misl [community] as well as of 8,000 cavalrymen. On 7 July 1799 Sada Kaur [and Ranjit Singh] attacked Lahore with 25,000 troops. Lahore surrendered and Sada Kaur made Ranjit Singh the king of Lahore in 1801.

• Rani Jindan or Maharani Jind Kaur (c. 1817-1863) was regent of the Sikh Empire from 1843 until 1846, known as "the Messalina of the Punjab" as she fought against British injustice.

• Princess Sophia Duleep Singh (1876-1948, prominent British-Sikh suffragette of womans civil rights movemenent in the United Kingdom. She was of Sikh and German-Ethiopian descent.

The Temple

A Sikh temple is called a Gurdwara (meaning "the house of Guru"). It is the place of worship in the Sikh religion. Birth, death, baptism and marriage ceremonies are held in the temple. There are four doors for all religions. When a person enters the temple, their head must be covered. There are no chairs in the temple so people sit on the floor. The temple also serves as a kitchen. The kitchen is where festival food is donated, prepared and cooked by volunteers. All the food that has been made there is shared with all the community who visit the temple on that day. The meal is vegetarian and is called the Langar. In a Gurdwara, no special place or seat may be reserved or set aside for any dignitary, as all are considered equals. The service consists of singing of the liturgy, as well as the exposition of Sikh history, tradition, and theology. In traditional Indian society, people of high and low caste were rigidly segregated. To combat this social problem, the Sikh community kitchen, or langar, requires everyone to sit side by side and eat together, thereby teaching the concept of equality by shattering all barriers of caste and class. This is an idea of Siddhartha Gautama Buddha and was first put into practice by the Mauryan emperor Ashoka who created the first Buddhist empire.

The Golden Temple (Harmandir Sahib) in Amritsar, India, is the most famous temple in all of the Sikh faith. It is covered in gold. It is not only a central religious place of the Sikhs, but also a symbol of human brotherhood and equality. The four entrances of this holy shrine from all four directions, signify that people belonging to every walk of life are equally welcome. The Golden Temple is a holy site for Sikhs and is welcome to people of any faith.

Universal Equality is Obligatory in Sikhism.

Men and Women are equal in Sikhism: Women of other religions are often restricted in their role, position and importance as outlined by their religious scriptures. Here is a review of the beliefs held within the Shri Guru Granth Sahib Ji (Guru Granth Sahib), the Sikh Holy Scripture, "In all beings is the Lord pervasive, the Lord pervades all forms male and female" (Guru Granth Sahib, p.605). From the above it is clear that the light of God rests equally within both sexes. Both men and women can therefore attain salvation by obeying the Guru. In many religions, a woman is considered a hindrance to man's spirituality. The Guru rejects this. Education is considered very important in Sikhism. It is the key to anyone's success. It is personal development and it is the reason why the 3rd Guru set up many schools. The Guru Granth Sahib states, "All divine knowledge and contemplation is obtained through the Guru" (Guru Granth Sahib, p.831).

Womens' Rights: Hereditary rights have never been an issue in Sikhism. Sikh women have full rights to contest any hereditary claim. No restrictions can be found in the Sikh Rehat Maryada (Sikh Code of Conduct) and there is nothing to state otherwise. Thus all claimants are entitled to an equal share regardless of their gender. Sikhism does consider men and women to be different by virtue of their gender. However this does not imply superiority of one sex over the other. Men and women are equal under the eyes of God and should therefore be given equal opportunity. No position in Sikhism is reserved solely for men. Women can take part in prayers and serve as Granthi. Sikh women can also take part in any political role they feel fit to accommodate.

The Heart of Family: Concerning the condemnation of women, the Guru Granth Sahib states, "from the woman is our birth, and in the woman's womb are we shaped. To the woman we are engaged and to the woman are we wedded. The woman is our friend and from woman is the family. Through the woman are the bonds of the world. Why then call her evil, who gives birth to the world's leaders? From the woman is born woman, without the woman there is none" (Guru Granth Sahib, p.473). The question posed by the Guru to mankind is, 'why call her evil?'. The Guru calls the woman a vessel through which all life comes to this world. This is a unique role given to her by God. In addition to this, with regards to identity, the Guru considers the woman to be a Princess, by giving her the surname Kaur. This is reserved

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solely for women and frees them from having to take their husband's name when marrying.

The Woman's Equality: Some religions regard the women as inferior when providing, for example, a testimony in a court. However this issue has never been in question in Sikhism. The Guru Granth Sahib states, "Women and men, all by God are created. All this is Gods play. Says Nanak, all thy creation is good, Holy" (Guru Granth Sahib, p.304). Gods creation is considered holy. There is no suggestion of inferiority amongst the role women can play and neither is a woman's intelligence doubted. Many religions blame the woman for the inability of a man to become God enlightened. This has in some cases led to rules, which define the locations where women folk can pray and what they must wear. However in Sikhism, the aim is to rid the soul of sins and realise God by the Guru's guidance. Once this is achieved the inner character becomes absorbed and strengthened by God. Thus, it is not women who are blamed for any sinful thoughts that occur within men, when they see a woman, but the men who allow lust to dominate their mind. The Guru Granth Sahib states, "vain are the eyes which behold the beauty of another's wife" (Guru Granth Sahib, p.269). Any woman is permitted to enter a Gurdwara (Sikh Temple) and is accepted in all prayers and recitations of the Guru Granth Sahib. No area is made exempt and women are always an integral part of the congregation.

Veil: The only restriction placed on a woman is that she must not wear a veil. The same applies for a man. The Sikh Code of Conduct (Article XVI, s) states, "It is not proper for a Sikh woman to wear a veil or keep her face hidden by veil or cover". Guru Amar Das Ji had refused to talk with a Hindu queen until she had removed her veil. Apart from commanding women not to wear a veil, Sikhism makes a simple yet very important statement regarding dress code. This applies to all Sikhs regardless of gender. The Guru Granth Sahib states, "Friend, all other wear ruins happiness, the wear that to the limbs is torment, and with foul thinking fills the mind" (Guru Granth Sahib, p.16).

Menstruation: A faith's view on menstruation is a good indicator of its tolerance towards women. Many faith's [Judaism, Christianity, Islam, etc.] regard a menstruating women to be unclean. But in Sikhism this is not the case. Certainly this cycle may have a physical and psychological effect on a woman, but this is not considered to be a hindrance to her wanting to pray or accomplish her religious duties fully. The Guru makes it clear that the menstruation cycle is a God given process and that the blood of a woman is required for the creation of any human being. The Guru Granth Sahib (p.1013) states, "By coming together of mother and father are we created, by union of the mother's blood and the father's semen is the body made. To the Lord is the creature devoted, when hanging head downwards in the womb; He whom he contemplates, for him provides." Hence, the menstruation cycle is an essential, God given biological process. In some religions blood is also considered a pollutant. However the Guru rejects such superstitious ideas and says that those who are impure from within are the truly impure ones. The only item of Importance is meditating on the Name of God. Whether your clothes are blood stained or not (including clothes stained from menstrual blood) is not of spiritual significance. Thus, there are no restrictions placed on a woman during her menstruation cycle.

Spousal Relationships: Any married couple will have their ups and downs. Different religions and cultural traditions provide different solutions. The Guru Granth Sahib (p.143) states, "Should brass, gold or iron be broken, the smith fuses it back together in the fire. Should the husband and wife have a break of relations. Through children are their bonds forged again. The ruler when making a demand, by a tax is calmed. The hungry, by food are satisfied. With rain and inundating rivers is famine lifted. In love through sweet speech comes reunion".

The Guru Granth Sahib

The Guru Granth started as a volume of Guru Nanak's poetic compositions. Nanak's words are registered in the form of 974 poetic hymns, or shabda, in the holy text of Sikhism, the Guru Granth Sahib. Prior to his death, he passed on his volume to Guru Angad (Guru 1539–1551). The final version of the Gurū Granth Sāhib was compiled by Guru Gobind Singh in 1678. It consists of the original Ādi Granth with the addition of Guru Tegh Bahadur's hymns. The predominant bulk of Guru Granth Sahib is compositions by seven Sikh Gurus – Guru Nanak, Guru Angad, Guru Amar Das, Guru Ram Das, Guru Arjan, Guru Teg Bahadur and Guru Gobind Singh. It also contains the traditions and teachings of thirteen Hindu Bhakti movement sants (saints) such as Ramananda, Namdev among others, and two Muslim saints namely Kabir and the Sufi Sheikh Farid. The oldest surviving manuscript version of the Adi Granth is the Guru Nanak Dev University Manuscript 1245, which has been dated to c. 1599. Other early editions of the Adi Granth with some variations include the Bahoval pothi (c. 1600), Vanjara pothi (c. 1601) and Bhai Rupa pothi (c. 1603).

The Guru Granth Sahib (Punjabi) is the central religious scripture of Sikhism, regarded by Sikhs as the final, sovereign and eternal living Guru following the lineage of the ten human gurus of the religion. The Adi Granth, its first rendition, was compiled by the fifth guru, Guru Arjan (1564–1606). Its compilation was completed on 29 August 1604 and first installed inside Darbar Sahib in Amritsar on 1 September 1604. Baba Buddha was appointed the first Granthi of the Darbar Sahib. Later, Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth Sikh guru, added all 115 hymns of Guru Tegh Bahadur and 1 of his hymns to the Adi Granth and affirmed the text as his successor. This second rendition became known as the Guru Granth Sahib, and is also sometimes referred to as the Adi Granth.

The text consists of 1,430 angs (pages) and 5,894 śabads (line compositions), which are poetically rendered and set to a rhythmic ancient north Indian classical form of music. The bulk of the scripture is divided into sixty rāgas, with each Granth rāga subdivided according to length and author. The hymns in the scripture are arranged primarily by the rāgas in which they are read.[6] The Guru Granth Sahib is written in the Gurmukhi script, in various languages, including Lahnda (Western Punjabi), Braj Bhasha, Kauravi, Sanskrit, Sindhi, and Persian. Copies in these languages often have the generic title of Sant Bhasha. The Guru Granth Sahib was composed predominantly by six Sikh gurus: Guru Nanak, Guru Angad, Guru Amar Das, Guru Ram Das, Guru Arjan, and Guru Teg Bahadur. It also contains the poetic teachings of thirteen Hindu Bhakti movement sant poets and two Sufi Muslim poets. The vision in the Guru Granth Sahib is of a society based on divine justice without oppression of any kind. While the Granth acknowledges and respects the scriptures of Hinduism and Islam, it does not imply a moral reconciliation with either of these religions. It is installed in a Sikh gurdwara (temple). A Sikh typically bows or prostrates before it on entering such a temple. The Granth is revered as eternal gurbānī and the spiritual authority in Sikhism.)

THE SHRI GURU GRANTH SAHIB

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GURU GRANTH SAHIB 1 - JUP

Section 01 - Jup - Part 001

One Universal Creator God. The Name Is Truth. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying, Beyond Birth, Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace ~ Chant And Meditate: True In The Primal Beginning. True Throughout The Ages. True Here And Now. O Nanak, Forever And Ever True. ||1|| By thinking, He cannot be reduced to thought, even by thinking hundreds of thousands of times. By remaining silent, inner silence is not obtained, even by remaining lovingly absorbed deep within. The hunger of the hungry is not appeased, even by piling up loads of worldly goods. Hundreds of thousands of clever tricks, but not even one of them will go along with you in the end. So how can you become truthful? And how can the veil of illusion be torn away? O Nanak, it is written that you shall obey the Hukam of His Command, and walk in the Way of His Will. ||1|| By His Command, bodies are created; His Command cannot be described. By His Command, souls come into being; by His Command, glory and greatness are obtained. By His Command, some are high and some are low; by His Written Command, pain and pleasure are obtained. Some, by His Command, are blessed and forgiven; others, by His Command, wander aimlessly forever. Everyone is subject to His Command; no one is beyond His Command. O Nanak, one who understands His Command, does not speak in ego. ||2|| Some sing of His Power-who has that Power? Some sing of His Gifts, and know His Sign and Insignia. Some sing of His Glorious Virtues, Greatness and Beauty. Some sing of knowledge obtained of Him, through difficult philosophical studies. Some sing that He fashions the body, and then again reduces it to dust. Some sing that He takes life away, and then again restores it.

Section 01 - Jup - Part 002

Some sing that He seems so very far away. Some sing that He watches over us, face to face, ever-present. There is no shortage of those who preach and teach. Millions upon millions offer millions of sermons and stories. The Great Giver keeps on giving, while those who receive grow weary of receiving. Throughout the ages, consumers consume. The Commander, by His Command, leads us to walk on the Path. O Nanak, He blossoms forth, Carefree and Untroubled. ||3|| True is the Master, True is His Name-speak it with infinite love. People beg and pray, "Give to us, give to us", and the Great Giver gives His Gifts. So what offering can we place before Him, by which we might see the Darbaar of His Court? What words can we speak to evoke His Love? In the Amrit Vaylaa, the ambrosial hours before dawn, chant the True Name, and contemplate His Glorious Greatness. By the karma of past actions, the robe of this physical body is obtained. By His Grace, the Gate of Liberation is found. O Nanak, know this well: the True One Himself is All. ||4|| He cannot be established, He cannot be created. He Himself is Immaculate and Pure. Those who serve Him are honoured. O Nanak, sing of the Lord, the Treasure of Excellence. Sing, and listen, and let your mind be filled with love. Your pain shall be sent far away, and peace shall come to your home. The Guru's Word is the Sound-current of the Naad; the Guru's Word is the Wisdom of the Vedas; the Guru's Word is all-pervading. The Guru is Shiva, the Guru is Vishnu and Brahma; the Guru is Paarvati and Lakhshmi. Even knowing God, I cannot describe Him; He cannot be described in words. The Guru has given me this one understanding: there is only the One, the Giver of all souls. May I never forget Him! ||5|| If I am pleasing to Him, then that is my pilgrimage and cleansing bath. Without pleasing Him, what good are ritual cleansings? I gaze upon all the created beings: without the karma of good actions, what are they given to receive? Within the mind are gems, jewels and rubies, if you listen to the Guru's Teachings, even once. The Guru has given me this one understanding: there is only the One, the Giver of all souls. May I never forget Him! ||6|| Even if you could live throughout the four ages, or even ten times more, and even if you were known throughout the nine continents and followed by all, with a good name and reputation, with praise and fame throughout the world- still, if the Lord does not bless you with His Glance of Grace, then who cares? What is the use? Among worms, you would be considered a lowly worm, and even contemptible sinners would hold you in contempt. O Nanak, God blesses the unworthy with virtue, and bestows virtue on the virtuous. No one can even imagine anyone who can bestow virtue upon Him. ||7|| Listening-the Siddhas, the spiritual teachers, the heroic warriors, the yogic masters. Listening-the earth, its support and the Akaashic ethers. Listening-the oceans, the lands of the world and the nether regions of the underworld. Listening-Death cannot even touch you. O Nanak, the devotees are forever in bliss. Listening-pain and sin are erased. ||8|| Listening-Shiva, Brahma and Indra. Listening-even foul-mouthed people praise Him. Listening-the technology of Yoga and the secrets of the body. Listening-the Shaastras, the Simritees and the Vedas. O Nanak, the devotees are forever in bliss.

Section 01 - Jup - Part 003

Listening-pain and sin are erased. ||9|| Listening-truth, contentment and spiritual wisdom. Listening-take your cleansing bath at the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage. Listening-reading and reciting, honour is obtained. Listening-intuitively grasp the essence of meditation. O

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Nanak, the devotees are forever in bliss. Listening-pain and sin are erased. ||10|| Listening-dive deep into the ocean of virtue. Listening-the Shaykhs, religious scholars, spiritual teachers and emperors. Listening-even the blind find the Path. Listening-the Unreachable comes within your grasp. O Nanak, the devotees are forever in bliss. Listening-pain and sin are erased. ||11|| The state of the faithful cannot be described. One who tries to describe this shall regret the attempt. No paper, no pen, no scribe can record the state of the faithful. Such is the Name of the Immaculate Lord. Only one who has faith comes to know such a state of mind. ||12|| The faithful have intuitive awareness and intelligence. The faithful know about all worlds and realms. The faithful shall never be struck across the face. The faithful do not have to go with the Messenger of Death. Such is the Name of the Immaculate Lord. Only one who has faith comes to know such a state of mind. ||13|| The path of the faithful shall never be blocked. The faithful shall depart with honour and fame. The faithful do not follow empty religious rituals. The faithful are firmly bound to the Dharma. Such is the Name of the Immaculate Lord. Only one who has faith comes to know such a state of mind. ||14|| The faithful find the Door of Liberation. The faithful uplift and redeem their family and relations. The faithful are saved, and carried across with the Sikhs of the Guru. The faithful, O Nanak, do not wander around begging. Such is the Name of the Immaculate Lord. Only one who has faith comes to know such a state of mind. ||15|| The chosen ones, the self-elect, are accepted and approved. The chosen ones are honoured in the Court of the Lord. The chosen ones look beautiful in the courts of kings. The chosen ones meditate single-mindedly on the Guru. No matter how much anyone tries to explain and describe them, the actions of the Creator cannot be counted. The mythical bull is Dharma, the son of compassion; this is what patiently holds the earth in its place. One who understands this becomes truthful. What a great load there is on the bull! So many worlds beyond this world-so very many! What power holds them, and supports their weight? The names and the colours of the assorted species of beings were all inscribed by the Ever-flowing Pen of God. Who knows how to write this account? Just imagine what a huge scroll it would take! What power! What fascinating beauty! And what gifts! Who can know their extent? You created the vast expanse of the Universe with One Word! Hundreds of thousands of rivers began to flow. How can Your Creative Potency be described? I cannot even once be a sacrifice to You. Whatever pleases You is the only good done, You, Eternal and Formless One! ||16|| Countless meditations, countless loves. Countless worship services, countless austere disciplines. Countless scriptures, and ritual recitations of the Vedas. Countless Yogis, whose minds remain detached from the world.

Section 01 - Jup - Part 004

Countless devotees contemplate the Wisdom and Virtues of the Lord. Countless the holy, countless the givers. Countless heroic spiritual warriors, who bear the brunt of the attack in battle (who with their mouths eat steel). Countless silent sages, vibrating the String of His Love. How can Your Creative Potency be described? I cannot even once be a sacrifice to You. Whatever pleases You is the only good done, You, Eternal and Formless One. ||17|| Countless fools, blinded by ignorance. Countless thieves and embezzlers. Countless impose their will by force. Countless cut-throats and ruthless killers. Countless sinners who keep on sinning. Countless liars, wandering lost in their lies. Countless wretches, eating filth as their ration. Countless slanderers, carrying the weight of their stupid mistakes on their heads. Nanak describes the state of the lowly. I cannot even once be a sacrifice to You. Whatever pleases You is the only good done, You, Eternal and Formless One. ||18|| Countless names, countless places. Inaccessible, unapproachable, countless celestial realms. Even to call them countless is to carry the weight on your head. From the Word, comes the Naam; from the Word, comes Your Praise. From the Word, comes spiritual wisdom, singing the Songs of Your Glory. From the Word, come the written and spoken words and hymns. From the Word, comes destiny, written on one's forehead. But the One who wrote these Words of Destiny-no words are written on His Forehead. As He ordains, so do we receive. The created universe is the manifestation of Your Name. Without Your Name, there is no place at all. How can I describe Your Creative Power? I cannot even once be a sacrifice to You. Whatever pleases You is the only good done, You, Eternal and Formless One. ||19|| When the hands and the feet and the body are dirty, water can wash away the dirt. When the clothes are soiled and stained by urine, soap can wash them clean. But when the intellect is stained and polluted by sin, it can only be cleansed by the Love of the Name. Virtue and vice do not come by mere words; actions repeated, over and over again, are engraved on the soul. You shall harvest what you plant. O Nanak, by the Hukam of God's Command, we come and go in reincarnation. ||20|| Pilgrimages, austere discipline, compassion and charity -these, by themselves, bring only an iota of merit. Listening and believing with love and humility in your mind, cleanse yourself with the Name, at the sacred shrine deep within. All virtues are Yours, Lord, I have none at all. Without virtue, there is no devotional worship. I bow to the Lord of the World, to His Word, to Brahma the Creator. He is Beautiful, True and Eternally Joyful. What was that time, and what was that moment? What was that day, and what was that date? What was that season, and what was that month, when the Universe was created? The Pandits, the religious scholars, cannot find that time, even if it is written in the Puraanas. That time is not known to the Qazis, who study the Koran. The day and the date are not known to the Yogis, nor is the month or the season. The Creator who created this creation-only He Himself knows. How can we speak of Him? How can we praise Him? How can we describe Him? How can we know Him?

Section 01 - Jup - Part 005

O Nanak, everyone speaks of Him, each one wiser than the rest. Great is the Master, Great is His Name. Whatever happens is according to His Will. O Nanak, one who claims to know everything shall not be decorated in the world hereafter. ||21|| There are nether worlds beneath nether worlds, and hundreds of thousands of heavenly worlds above. The Vedas say that you can search and search for them all, until you grow weary. The scriptures say that there are 18,000 worlds, but in reality, there is only One Universe. If you try to write an account of this, you will surely finish yourself before you finish writing it. O Nanak, call Him Great! He Himself knows Himself. ||22|| The praisers praise the Lord, but they do not obtain intuitive understanding -the streams and rivers flowing into the ocean do not know its vastness. Even kings and emperors, with mountains of property and oceans of wealth -these are not even equal to an ant, who does not forget God. ||23|| Endless are His Praises, endless are those who speak them. Endless are His Actions, endless are His Gifts. Endless is His Vision, endless is His Hearing. His limits cannot be perceived. What is the Mystery of His Mind? The limits of the created universe cannot be perceived. Its limits here and beyond cannot be perceived. Many struggle to know His limits, but His limits cannot be found. No one can know these limits. The more you say about them, the more there still remains to be said. Great is the Master, High is His Heavenly Home. Highest of the High, above all is His Name. Only one as Great and as High as God can know His Lofty and Exalted State. Only He Himself is that Great. He Himself knows Himself. O Nanak, by His Glance of Grace, He bestows His Blessings. ||24|| His Blessings are so abundant that there can be no written account of them. The Great Giver does not hold back anything. There are so many great, heroic warriors begging at the Door of the Infinite Lord. So many contemplate and dwell upon Him, that they cannot be counted. So many waste away to death engaged in corruption. So many take and take again, and then deny receiving. So many foolish consumers keep on consuming. So many endure distress, deprivation and constant abuse. Even these are Your Gifts, O Great Giver! Liberation from bondage comes only by Your Will. No one else has any say in this. If some fool should presume to say that he does, he shall learn, and feel the effects of his folly. He Himself knows, He Himself gives. Few, very few are those who acknowledge this. One who is blessed to sing the Praises of the Lord, O Nanak, is the king of kings. ||25|| Priceless are His Virtues, Priceless are His Dealings. Priceless are His Dealers, Priceless are His Treasures. Priceless are those who come to Him, Priceless are those who buy from Him. Priceless is Love for Him, Priceless is absorption into Him. Priceless is the Divine Law of Dharma, Priceless is the Divine Court of Justice. Priceless are the scales, priceless are the weights. Priceless are His Blessings, Priceless is His Banner and Insignia. Priceless is His Mercy, Priceless is His Royal Command. Priceless, O Priceless beyond expression! Speak of Him continually, and remain absorbed in His Love. The Vedas and the Puraanas speak. The scholars speak and lecture. Brahma speaks, Indra speaks.

Section 01 - Jup - Part 006

The Gopis and Krishna speak. Shiva speaks, the Siddhas speak. The many created Buddhas speak. The demons speak, the demi-gods speak. The spiritual warriors, the heavenly beings, the silent sages, the humble and serviceful speak. Many speak and try to describe Him. Many have spoken of Him over and over again, and have then arisen and departed. If He were to create as many again as there already are, even then, they could not describe Him. He is as Great as He wishes to be. O Nanak, the True Lord knows. If anyone presumes to describe God, he shall be known as the greatest fool of fools! ||26|| Where is that Gate, and where is that Dwelling, in which You sit and take care of all? The Sound-current of the Naad vibrates there, and countless musicians play on all sorts of instruments there. So many Ragas, so many musicians singing there. The praanic wind, water and fire sing; the Righteous Judge of Dharma sings at Your Door. Chitr and Gupt, the angels of the conscious and the subconscious who record actions, and the Righteous Judge of Dharma who judges this record sing. Shiva, Brahma and the Goddess of Beauty, ever adorned, sing. Indra, seated upon His Throne, sings with the deities at Your Door. The Siddhas in Samaadhi sing; the Saadhus sing in contemplation. The celibates, the fanatics, the peacefully accepting and the fearless warriors sing. The Pandits, the religious scholars who recite the Vedas, with the supreme sages of all the ages, sing. The Mohinis, the enchanting heavenly beauties who entice hearts in this world, in paradise, and in the underworld of the subconscious sing. The celestial jewels created by You, and the sixty-eight holy places of pilgrimage sing. The brave and mighty warriors sing; the spiritual heroes and the four sources of creation sing. The planets, solar systems and galaxies, created and arranged by Your Hand, sing. They alone sing, who are pleasing to Your Will. Your devotees are imbued with the Nectar of Your Essence. So many others sing, they do not come to mind. O Nanak, how can I consider them all? That True Lord is True, Forever True, and True is His Name. He is, and shall always be. He shall not depart, even when this Universe which He has created departs. He created the world, with its various colours, species of beings, and the variety of Maya. Having created the creation, He watches over it Himself, by His Greatness. He does whatever He pleases. No order can be issued to Him. He is the King, the King of kings, the Supreme Lord and Master of kings. Nanak remains subject to His Will. ||27|| Make contentment your ear-rings, humility your begging bowl, and meditation the ashes you apply to your body. Let the remembrance of death be the patched coat you wear, let the purity of virginity be your way in the world, and let faith in the Lord be your walking stick. See the brotherhood of all mankind as the highest order of Yogis; conquer your own mind, and conquer the world. I bow to Him, I humbly bow. The Primal One, the Pure Light, without beginning, without end. Throughout all the ages, He is One and the Same. ||28|| Let spiritual wisdom be your food, and compassion your attendant. The Sound-current of the Naad vibrates in each and every heart. He Himself is the Supreme Master of all; wealth and miraculous spiritual powers, and all other external tastes and pleasures, are all like beads on a string. Union with Him, and separation from Him, come by His Will. We come to receive what is written in our destiny.

Section 01 - Jup - Part 007

I bow to Him, I humbly bow. The Primal One, the Pure Light, without beginning, without end. Throughout all the ages, He is One and the Same. ||29|| The One Divine Mother conceived and gave birth to the three deities. One, the Creator of the World; One, the Sustainer; and One, the Destroyer. He makes things happen according to the Pleasure of His Will. Such is His Celestial Order. He watches over all, but none see Him. How wonderful this is! I bow to Him, I humbly bow. The Primal One, the Pure Light, without beginning, without end. Throughout all the ages, He is One and the Same. ||30|| On world after world are His Seats of Authority and His Storehouses. Whatever was put into them, was put there once and for all. Having created the creation, the Creator Lord watches over it. O Nanak, True is the Creation of the True Lord. I bow to Him, I humbly bow. The Primal One, the Pure Light, without beginning, without end. Throughout all the ages, He is One and the Same. ||31|| If I had 100,000 tongues, and these were then multiplied twenty times more, with each tongue, I would repeat, hundreds of thousands of times, the Name of the One, the Lord of the Universe. Along this path to our Husband Lord, we climb the steps of the ladder, and come to merge with Him. Hearing of the etheric realms, even worms long to come back home. O Nanak, by His Grace He is obtained. False are the boastings of the false. ||32|| No power to speak, no power to keep silent. No power to beg, no power to give. No power to live, no power to die. No power to rule, with wealth and occult mental powers. No power to gain intuitive understanding, spiritual wisdom and meditation. No power to find the way to escape from the world. He alone has the Power in His Hands. He watches over all. O Nanak, no one is high or low. ||33|| Nights, days, weeks and seasons; wind, water, fire and the nether regions -in the midst of these, He established the earth as a home for Dharma. Upon it, He placed the various species of beings. Their names are uncounted and endless. By their deeds and their actions, they shall be judged. God Himself is True, and True is His Court. There, in perfect grace and ease, sit the self-elect, the self-realised Saints. They receive the Mark of Grace from the Merciful Lord. The ripe and the unripe, the good and the bad, shall there be judged. O Nanak, when you go home, you will see this. ||34|| This is righteous living in the realm of Dharma. And now we speak of the realm of spiritual wisdom. So many winds, waters and fires; so many Krishnas and Shivas. So many Brahmas, fashioning forms of great beauty, adorned and dressed in many colours. So many worlds and lands for working out karma. So very many lessons to be learned! So many Indras, so many moons and suns, so many worlds and lands. So many Siddhas and Buddhas, so many Yogic masters. So many goddesses of various kinds. So many demi-gods and demons, so many silent sages. So many oceans of jewels. So many ways of life, so many languages. So many dynasties of rulers. So many intuitive people, so many selfless servants. O

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Nanak, His limit has no limit! ||35|| In the realm of wisdom, spiritual wisdom reigns supreme. The Sound-current of the Naad vibrates there, amidst the sounds and the sights of bliss. In the realm of humility, the Word is Beauty. Forms of incomparable beauty are fashioned there. These things cannot be described. One who tries to speak of these shall regret the attempt. The intuitive consciousness, intellect and understanding of the mind are shaped there. The consciousness of the spiritual warriors and the Siddhas, the beings of spiritual perfection, are shaped there. ||36|| In the realm of karma, the Word is Power. No one else dwells there, except the warriors of great power, the spiritual heroes. They are totally fulfilled, imbued with the Lord's Essence. Myriads of Sitas are there, cool and calm in their majestic glory. Their beauty cannot be described. Neither death nor deception comes to those, within whose minds the Lord abides. The devotees of many worlds dwell there. They celebrate; their minds are imbued with the True Lord. In the realm of Truth, the Formless Lord abides. Having created the creation, He watches over it. By His Glance of Grace, He bestows happiness. There are planets, solar systems and galaxies. If one speaks of them, there is no limit, no end. There are worlds upon worlds of His Creation. As He commands, so they exist. He watches over all, and contemplating the creation, He rejoices. O Nanak, to describe this is as hard as steel! ||37|| Let self-control be the furnace, and patience the goldsmith. Let understanding be the anvil, and spiritual wisdom the tools. With the Fear of God as the bellows, fan the flames of tapa, the body's inner heat. In the crucible of love, melt the Nectar of the Name, and mint the True Coin of the Shabad, the Word of God. Such is the karma of those upon whom He has cast His Glance of Grace. O Nanak, the Merciful Lord, by His Grace, uplifts and exalts them. ||38|| Shalok: Air is the Guru, Water is the Father, and Earth is the Great Mother of all. Day and night are the two nurses, in whose lap all the world is at play. Good deeds and bad deeds-the record is read out in the Presence of the Lord of Dharma. According to their own actions, some are drawn closer, and some are driven farther away. Those who have meditated on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and departed after having worked by the sweat of their brows -O Nanak, their faces are radiant in the Court of the Lord, and many are saved along with them! ||1||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 2 - SO DAR

Section 02 - So Dar - Part 001

So Dar ~ That Door. Raag Aasaa, First Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Where is That Door of Yours, and where is That Home, in which You sit and take care of all? The Sound-current of the Naad vibrates there for You, and countless musicians play all sorts of instruments there for You. There are so many Ragas and musical harmonies to You; so many minstrels sing hymns of You. Wind, water and fire sing of You. The Righteous Judge of Dharma sings at Your Door. Chitr and Gupt, the angels of the conscious and the subconscious who keep the record of actions, and the Righteous Judge of Dharma who reads this record, sing of You. Shiva, Brahma and the Goddess of Beauty, ever adorned by You, sing of You. Indra, seated on His Throne, sings of You, with the deities at Your Door. The Siddhas in Samaadhi sing of You; the Saadhus sing of You in contemplation.

Section 02 - So Dar - Part 002

The celibates, the fanatics, and the peacefully accepting sing of You; the fearless warriors sing of You. The Pandits, the religious scholars who recite the Vedas, with the supreme sages of all the ages, sing of You. The Mohinis, the enchanting heavenly beauties who entice hearts in paradise, in this world, and in the underworld of the subconscious, sing of You. The celestial jewels created by You, and the sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage, sing of You. The brave and mighty warriors sing of You. The spiritual heroes and the four sources of creation sing of You. The worlds, solar systems and galaxies, created and arranged by Your Hand, sing of You. They alone sing of You, who are pleasing to Your Will. Your devotees are imbued with Your Sublime Essence. So many others sing of You, they do not come to mind. O Nanak, how can I think of them all? That True Lord is True, forever True, and True is His Name. He is, and shall always be. He shall not depart, even when this Universe which He has created departs. He created the world, with its various colours, species of beings, and the variety of Maya. Having created the creation, He watches over it Himself, by His Greatness. He does whatever He pleases. No one can issue any order to Him. He is the King, the King of kings, the Supreme Lord and Master of kings. Nanak remains subject to His Will. ||1|| Aasaa, First Mehl: Hearing of His Greatness, everyone calls Him Great. But just how Great His Greatness is-this is known only to those who have seen Him. His Value cannot be estimated; He cannot be described. Those who describe You, Lord, remain immersed and absorbed in You. ||1|| O my Great Lord and Master of Unfathomable Depth, You are the Ocean of Excellence. No one knows the extent or the vastness of Your Expanse. ||1||Pause|| All the intuitives met and practiced intuitive meditation. All the appraisers met and made the appraisal. The spiritual teachers, the teachers of meditation, and the teachers of teachers -they cannot describe even an iota of Your Greatness. ||2|| All Truth, all austere discipline, all goodness, all the great miraculous spiritual powers of the Siddhas -without You, no one has attained such powers. They are received only by Your Grace. No one can block them or stop their flow. ||3|| What can the poor helpless creatures do? Your Praises are overflowing with Your Treasures. Those, unto whom You give-how can they think of any other? O Nanak, the True One embellishes and exalts. ||4||2|| Aasaa, First Mehl: Chanting it, I live; forgetting it, I die. It is so difficult to chant the True Name. If someone feels hunger for the True Name, that hunger shall consume his pain. ||1|| How can I forget Him, O my mother? True is the Master, True is His Name. ||1||Pause|| Trying to describe even an iota of the Greatness of the True Name, people have grown weary, but they have not been able to evaluate it. Even if everyone were to gather together and speak of Him, He would not become any greater or any lesser. ||2|| That Lord does not die; there is no reason to mourn. He continues to give, and His Provisions never run short. This Virtue is His alone; there is no other like Him. There never has been, and there never will be. ||3|| As Great as You Yourself are, O Lord, so Great are Your Gifts.

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 3 - SO PURAKH

Section 03 - So Purakh - Part 001

The One who created the day also created the night. Those who forget their Lord and Master are vile and despicable. O Nanak, without the Name, they are wretched outcasts. ||4||3|| Raag Goojaree, Fourth Mehl: O humble servant of the Lord, O True Guru, O True Primal Being: I offer my humble prayer to You, O Guru. I am a mere insect, a worm. O True Guru, I seek Your Sanctuary. Please be merciful, and bless me with the Light of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1|| O my Best Friend, O Divine Guru, please enlighten me with the Name of the Lord. Through the Guru's Teachings, the Naam is my breath of life. The Kirtan of the Lord's Praise is my life's occupation. ||1||Pause|| The servants of the Lord have the greatest good fortune; they have faith in the Lord, and a longing for the Lord. Obtaining the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, they are satisfied; joining the Sangat, the Blessed Congregation, their virtues shine forth. ||2|| Those who have not obtained the Sublime Essence of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, Har, are most unfortunate; they are led away by the Messenger of Death. Those who have not sought the Sanctuary of the True Guru and the Sangat, the Holy Congregation-cursed are their lives, and cursed are their hopes of life. ||3|| Those humble servants of the Lord who have attained the Company of the True Guru, have such pre-ordained destiny inscribed on their foreheads. Blessed, blessed is the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, where the Lord's Essence is obtained. Meeting with His humble servant, O Nanak, the Light of the Naam shines forth. ||4||4|| Raag Goojaree, Fifth Mehl: Why, O mind, do you plot and plan, when the Dear Lord Himself provides for your care? From rocks and stones He created living beings; He places their nourishment before them. ||1|| O my Dear Lord of souls, one who joins the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, is saved. By Guru's Grace, the supreme status is obtained, and the dry wood blossoms forth again in lush greenery. ||1||Pause|| Mothers, fathers, friends, children and spouses-no one is the support of anyone else. For each and every person, our Lord and Master provides sustenance. Why are you so afraid, O mind? ||2|| The flamingoes fly hundreds of miles, leaving their young ones behind. Who feeds them, and who teaches them to feed themselves? Have you ever thought of this in your mind? ||3|| All the nine treasures, and the eighteen supernatural powers are held by our Lord and Master in the Palm of His Hand. Servant Nanak is devoted, dedicated, forever a sacrifice to You, Lord. Your Expanse has no limit, no boundary. ||4||5|| Raag Aasaa, Fourth Mehl, So Purakh ~ That Primal Being: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: That Primal Being is Immaculate and Pure. The Lord, the Primal Being, is Immaculate and Pure. The Lord is Inaccessible, Unreachable and Unrivalled. All meditate, all meditate on You, Dear Lord, O True Creator Lord. All living beings are Yours-You are the Giver of all souls. Meditate on the Lord, O Saints; He is the Dispeller of all sorrow. The Lord Himself is the Master, the Lord Himself is the Servant. O Nanak, the poor beings are wretched and miserable! ||1||

Section 03 - So Purakh - Part 002

You are constant in each and every heart, and in all things. O Dear Lord, you are the One. Some are givers, and some are beggars. This is all Your Wondrous Play. You Yourself are the Giver, and You Yourself are the Enjoyer. I know no other than You. You are the Supreme Lord God, Limitless and Infinite. What Virtues of Yours can I speak of and describe? Unto those who serve You, unto those who serve You, Dear Lord, servant Nanak is a sacrifice. ||2|| Those who meditate on You, Lord, those who meditate on You-those humble beings dwell in peace in this world. They are liberated, they are liberated-those who meditate on the Lord. For them, the noose of death is cut away. Those who meditate on the Fearless One, on the Fearless Lord-all their fears are dispelled. Those who serve, those who serve my Dear Lord, are absorbed into the Being of the Lord, Har, Har. Blessed are they, blessed are they, who meditate on their Dear Lord. Servant Nanak is a sacrifice to them. ||3|| Devotion to You, devotion to You, is a treasure overflowing, infinite and beyond measure. Your devotees, Your devotees praise You, Dear Lord, in many and various and countless ways. For You, many, for You, so very many perform worship services, O Dear Infinite Lord; they practice disciplined meditation and chant endlessly. For You, many, for You, so very many read the various Simritees and Shaastras. They perform rituals and religious rites. Those devotees, those devotees are sublime, O servant Nanak, who are pleasing to my Dear Lord God. ||4|| You are the Primal Being, the Most Wonderful Creator. There is no other as Great as You. Age after age, You are the One. Forever and ever, You are the One. You never change, O Creator Lord. Everything happens according to Your Will. You Yourself accomplish all that occurs. You Yourself created the entire universe, and having fashioned it, You Yourself shall destroy it all. Servant Nanak sings the Glorious Praises of the Dear Creator, the Knower of all. ||5||1|| Aasaa, Fourth Mehl: You are the True Creator, my Lord and Master. Whatever pleases You comes to pass. As You give, so do we receive. ||1||Pause|| All belong to You, all meditate on you. Those who are blessed with Your Mercy obtain the Jewel of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. The Gurmukhs obtain it, and the self-willed manmukhs lose it. You Yourself separate them from Yourself, and You Yourself reunite with them again. ||1|| You are the River of Life; all are within You. There is no one except You. All living beings are Your playthings. The separated ones meet, and by great good fortune, those suffering in separation are reunited once again. ||2|| They alone understand, whom You inspire to understand; they continually chant and repeat the Lord's Praises. Those who serve You find peace. They are intuitively absorbed into the Lord's Name. ||3||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 4 - SOHILA

Section 04 - Sohila - Part 001

You Yourself are the Creator. Everything that happens is by Your Doing. There is no one except You. You created the creation; You behold it and understand it. O servant Nanak, the Lord is revealed through the Gurmukh, the Living Expression of the Guru's Word. ||4||2|| Aasaa, First Mehl: In that pool, people have made their homes, but the water there is as hot as fire! In the swamp of emotional attachment, their feet cannot move. I have seen them drowning there. ||1|| In your mind, you do not remember the One Lord-you fool! You have forgotten the Lord; your virtues shall wither away. ||1||Pause|| I am not celibate, nor truthful, nor scholarly. I was born foolish and ignorant into this world. Prays Nanak, I seek the Sanctuary of those who have not forgotten You, O Lord! ||2||3|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: This human body has been given to you. This is your chance to meet the Lord of the Universe. Nothing else will work. Join the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; vibrate and meditate on the Jewel of the Naam. ||1|| Make every effort to cross over this terrifying world-ocean. You are squandering this life uselessly in the love of Maya. ||1||Pause|| I have not practiced meditation, self-discipline, self-restraint or righteous living. I have not served the Holy; I have not acknowledged the Lord, my King. Says Nanak, my actions are contemptible! O Lord, I seek Your Sanctuary; please, preserve my honour! ||2||4|| Sohilaa ~ The Song Of Praise. Raag Gauree Deepakee, First Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: In that house where the Praises of the Creator are chanted and contemplated in that house, sing Songs of Praise; meditate and remember the Creator Lord. ||1|| Sing the Songs of Praise of my Fearless Lord. I am a sacrifice to that Song of Praise which brings eternal peace. ||1||Pause|| Day after day, He cares for His beings; the Great Giver watches over all. Your Gifts cannot be appraised; how can anyone compare to the Giver? ||2|| The day of my wedding is pre-ordained. Come, gather together and pour the oil over the threshold. My friends, give me your blessings, that I may merge with my Lord and Master. ||3|| Unto each and every home, into each and every heart, this summons is sent out; the call comes each and every day. Remember in meditation the One who summons us; O Nanak, that day is drawing near! ||4||1|| Raag Aasaa, First Mehl: There are six schools of philosophy, six teachers, and six sets of teachings. But the Teacher of teachers is the One, who appears in so many forms. ||1|| O Baba: that system in which the Praises of the Creator are sung -follow that system; in it rests true greatness. ||1||Pause|| The seconds, minutes and hours, days, weeks and months, and the various seasons originate from the one sun;

Section 04 - Sohila - Part 002

O Nanak, in just the same way, the many forms originate from the Creator. ||2||2|| Raag Dhanaasaree, First Mehl: Upon that cosmic plate of the sky, the sun and the moon are the lamps. The stars and their orbs are the studded pearls. The fragrance of sandalwood in the air is the temple incense, and

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the wind is the fan. All the plants of the world are the altar flowers in offering to You, O Luminous Lord. ||1|| What a beautiful Aartee, lamp-lit worship service this is! O Destroyer of Fear, this is Your Ceremony of Light. The Unstruck Sound-current of the Shabad is the vibration of the temple drums. ||1||Pause|| You have thousands of eyes, and yet You have no eyes. You have thousands of forms, and yet You do not have even one. You have thousands of Lotus Feet, and yet You do not have even one foot. You have no nose, but you have thousands of noses. This Play of Yours entrances me. ||2|| Amongst all is the Light-You are that Light. By this Illumination, that Light is radiant within all. Through the Guru's Teachings, the Light shines forth. That which is pleasing to Him is the lamp-lit worship service. ||3|| My mind is enticed by the honey-sweet Lotus Feet of the Lord. Day and night, I thirst for them. Bestow the Water of Your Mercy upon Nanak, the thirsty song-bird, so that he may come to dwell in Your Name. ||4||3|| Raag Gauree Poorbee, Fourth Mehl: The body-village is filled to overflowing with anger and sexual desire; these were broken into bits when I met with the Holy Saint. By pre-ordained destiny, I have met with the Guru. I have entered into the realm of the Lord's Love. ||1|| Greet the Holy Saint with your palms pressed together; this is an act of great merit. Bow down before Him; this is a virtuous action indeed. ||1||Pause|| The wicked shaaktas, the faithless cynics, do not know the Taste of the Lord's Sublime Essence. The thorn of egotism is embedded deep within them. The more they walk away, the deeper it pierces them, and the more they suffer in pain, until finally, the Messenger of Death smashes his club against their heads. ||2|| The humble servants of the Lord are absorbed in the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. The pain of birth and the fear of death are eradicated. They have found the Imperishable Supreme Being, the Transcendent Lord God, and they receive great honour throughout all the worlds and realms. ||3|| I am poor and meek, God, but I belong to You! Save me-please save me, O Greatest of the Great! Servant Nanak takes the Sustenance and Support of the Naam. In the Name of the Lord, he enjoys celestial peace. ||4||4|| Raag Gauree Poorbee, Fifth Mehl: Listen, my friends, I beg of you: now is the time to serve the Saints! In this world, earn the profit of the Lord's Name, and hereafter, you shall dwell in peace. ||1|| This life is diminishing, day and night. Meeting with the Guru, your affairs shall be resolved. ||1||Pause|| This world is engrossed in corruption and cynicism. Only those who know God are saved. Only those who are awakened by the Lord to drink in this Sublime Essence, come to know the Unspoken Speech of the Lord. ||2|| Purchase only that for which you have come into the world, and through the Guru, the Lord shall dwell within your mind. Within the home of your own inner being, you shall obtain the Mansion of the Lord's Presence with intuitive ease. You shall not be consigned again to the wheel of reincarnation. ||3|| O Inner-knower, Searcher of Hearts, O Primal Being, Architect of Destiny: please fulfill this yearning of my mind. Nanak, Your slave, begs for this happiness: let me be the dust of the feet of the Saints. ||4||5||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 5 - SIREE RAAG

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 001

One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Raag Siree Raag, First Mehl, First House: If I had a palace made of pearls, inlaid with jewels, scented with musk, saffron and sandalwood, a sheer delight to behold -seeing this, I might go astray and forget You, and Your Name would not enter into my mind. ||1|| Without the Lord, my soul is scorched and burnt. I consulted my Guru, and now I see that there is no other place at all. ||1||Pause|| If the floor of this palace was a mosaic of diamonds and rubies, and if my bed was encased with rubies, and if heavenly beauties, their faces adorned with emeralds, tried to entice me with sensual gestures of love -seeing these, I might go astray and forget You, and Your Name would not enter into my mind. ||2|| If I were to become a Siddha, and work miracles, summon wealth and become invisible and visible at will, so that people would hold me in awe -seeing these, I might go astray and forget You, and Your Name would not enter into my mind. ||3|| If I were to become an emperor and raise a huge army, and sit on a throne, issuing commands and collecting taxes-O Nanak, all of this could pass away like a puff of wind. Seeing these, I might go astray and forget You, and Your Name would not enter into my mind. ||4||1|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: If I could live for millions and millions of years, and if the air was my food and drink, and if I lived in a cave and never saw either the sun or the moon, and if I never slept, even in dreams -even so, I could not estimate Your Value. How can I describe the Greatness of Your Name? ||1|| The True Lord, the Formless One, is Himself in His Own Place. I have heard, over and over again, and so I tell the tale; as it pleases You, Lord, please instill within me the yearning for You. ||1||Pause|| If I was slashed and cut into pieces, over and over again, and put into the mill and ground into flour, burnt by fire and mixed with ashes -even then, I could not estimate Your Value. How can I describe the Greatness of Your Name? ||2|| If I was a bird, soaring and flying through hundreds of heavens, and if I was invisible, neither eating nor drinking anything -even so, I could not estimate Your Value. How can I describe the Greatness of Your Name? ||3||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 002

O Nanak, if I had hundreds of thousands of stacks of paper, and if I were to read and recite and embrace love for the Lord, and if ink were never to fail me, and if my pen were able to move like the wind -even so, I could not estimate Your Value. How can I describe the Greatness of Your Name? ||4||2|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: As it is pre-ordained, people speak their words. As it is pre-ordained, they consume their food. As it is pre-ordained, they walk along the way. As it is pre-ordained, they see and hear. As it is pre-ordained, they draw their breath. Why should I go and ask the scholars about this? ||1|| O Baba, the splendor of Maya is deceptive. The blind man has forgotten the Name; he is in limbo, neither here nor there. ||1||Pause|| Life and death come to all who are born. Everything here gets devoured by Death. He sits and examines the accounts, there where no one goes along with anyone. Those who weep and wail might just as well all tie bundles of straw. ||2|| Everyone says that God is the Greatest of the Great. No one calls Him any less. No one can estimate His Worth. By speaking of Him, His Greatness is not increased. You are the One True Lord and Master of all the other beings, of so many worlds. ||3|| Nanak seeks the company of the lowest of the low class, the very lowest of the low. Why should he try to compete with the great? In that place where the lowly are cared for-there, the Blessings of Your Glance of Grace rain down. ||4||3|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: Greed is a dog; falsehood is a filthy street-sweeper. Cheating is eating a rotting carcass. Slandering others is putting the filth of others into your own mouth. The fire of anger is the outcaste who burns dead bodies at the crematorium. I am caught in these tastes and flavors, and in self-conceited praise. These are my actions, O my Creator! ||1|| O Baba, speak only that which will bring you honour. They alone are good, who are judged good at the Lord's Door. Those with bad karma can only sit and weep. ||1||Pause|| The pleasures of gold and silver, the pleasures of women, the pleasure of the fragrance of sandalwood, the pleasure of horses, the pleasure of a soft bed in a palace, the pleasure of sweet treats and the pleasure of hearty meals -these pleasures of the human body are so numerous; how can the Naam, the Name of the Lord, find its dwelling in the heart? ||2|| Those words are acceptable, which, when spoken, bring honour. Harsh words bring only grief. Listen, O foolish and ignorant mind! Those who are pleasing to Him are good. What else is there to be said? ||3|| Wisdom, honour and wealth are in the laps of those whose hearts remain permeated with the Lord. What praise can be offered to them? What other adornments can be bestowed upon them? O Nanak, those who lack the Lord's Glance of Grace cherish neither charity nor the Lord's Name. ||4||4|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: The Great Giver has given the intoxicating drug of falsehood. The people are intoxicated; they have forgotten death, and they have fun for a few days. Those who do not use intoxicants are true; they dwell in the Court of the Lord. ||1|| O Nanak, know the True Lord as True. Serving Him, peace is obtained; you shall go to His Court with honour. ||1||Pause|| The Wine of Truth is not fermented from molasses. The True Name is contained within it.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 003

I am a sacrifice to those who hear and chant the True Name. Only one who obtains a room in the Mansion of the Lord's Presence is deemed to be truly intoxicated. ||2|| Bathe in the waters of Goodness and apply the scented oil of Truth to your body, and your face shall become radiant. This is the gift of 100,000 gifts. Tell your troubles to the One who is the Source of all comfort. ||3|| How can you forget the One who created your soul, and the praanaa, the breath of life? Without Him, all that we wear and eat is impure. Everything else is false. Whatever pleases Your Will is acceptable. ||4||5|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: Burn emotional attachment, and grind it into ink. Transform your intelligence into the purest of paper. Make the love of the Lord your pen, and let your consciousness be the scribe. Then, seek the Guru's Instructions, and record these deliberations. Write the Praises of the Naam, the Name of the Lord; write over and over again that He has no end or limitation. ||1|| O Baba, write such an account, that when it is asked for, it will bring the Mark of Truth. ||1||Pause|| There, where greatness, eternal peace and everlasting joy are bestowed, the faces of those whose minds are attuned to the True Name are anointed with the Mark of Grace. If one receives God's Grace, then such honours are received, and not by mere words. ||2|| Some come, and some arise and depart. They give themselves lofty names. Some are born beggars, and some hold vast courts. Going to the world hereafter, everyone shall realise that without the Name, it is all useless. ||3|| I am terrified by the Fear of You, God. Bothered and bewildered, my body is wasting away. Those who are known as sultans and emperors shall be reduced to dust in the end. O Nanak, arising and departing, all false attachments are cut away. ||4||6|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: Believing, all tastes are sweet. Hearing, the salty flavors are tasted; chanting with one's mouth, the spicy flavors are savored. All these spices have been made from the Sound-current of the Naad. The thirty-six flavors of ambrosial nectar are in the Love of the One Lord; they are tasted only by one who is blessed by His Glance of Grace. ||1|| O Baba, the pleasures of other foods are false. Eating them, the body is ruined, and wickedness and corruption enter into the mind. ||1||Pause|| My mind is imbued with the Lord's Love; it is dyed a deep crimson. Truth and charity are my white clothes. The blackness of sin is erased by my wearing of blue clothes, and meditation on the Lord's Lotus Feet is my robe of honour. Contentment is my cummerbund, Your Name is my wealth and youth. ||2|| O Baba, the pleasures of other clothes are false. Wearing them, the body is ruined, and wickedness and corruption enter into the mind. ||1||Pause|| The understanding of Your Way, Lord, is horses, saddles and bags of gold for me. The pursuit of virtue is my bow and arrow, my quiver, sword and scabbard. To be distinguished with honour is my drum and banner. Your Mercy is my social status. ||3|| O Baba, the pleasures of other rides are false. By such rides, the body is ruined, and wickedness and corruption enter into the mind. ||1||Pause|| The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is the pleasure of houses and mansions. Your Glance of Grace is my family, Lord.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 004

The Hukam of Your Command is the pleasure of Your Will, Lord. To say anything else is far beyond anyone's reach. O Nanak, the True King does not seek advice from anyone else in His decisions. ||4|| O Baba, the pleasure of other sleep is false. By such sleep, the body is ruined, and wickedness and corruption enter into the mind. ||1||Pause||4||7|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: With the body of saffron, and the tongue a jewel, and the breath of the body pure fragrant incense; with the face anointed at the sixty-eight holy places of pilgrimage, and the heart illuminated with wisdom -with that wisdom, chant the Praises of the True Name, the Treasure of Excellence. ||1|| O Baba, other wisdom is useless and irrelevant. If falsehood is practiced a hundred times, it is still false in its effects. ||1||Pause|| You may be worshipped and adored as a Pir (a spiritual teacher); you may be welcomed by all the world; you may adopt a lofty name, and be known to have supernatural spiritual powers -even so, if you are not accepted in the Court of the Lord, then all this adoration is false. ||2|| No one can overthrow those who have been established by the True Guru. The Treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is within them, and through the Naam, they are radiant and famous. They worship the Naam, and they believe in the Naam. The True One is forever Intact and Unbroken. ||3|| When the body mingles with dust, what happens to the soul? All clever tricks are burnt away, and you shall depart crying. O Nanak, those who forget the Naam-what will happen when they go to the Court of the Lord? ||4||8|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: The virtuous wife exudes virtue; the unvirtuous suffer in misery. If you long for your Husband Lord, O soul-bride, you must know that He is not met by falsehood. No boat or raft can take you to Him. Your Husband Lord is far away. ||1|| My Lord and Master is Perfect; His Throne is Eternal and Immovable. One who attains perfection as Gurmukh, obtains the Immeasurable True Lord. ||1||Pause|| The Palace of the Lord God is so beautiful. Within it, there are gems, rubies, pearls and flawless diamonds. A fortress of gold surrounds this Source of Nectar. How can I climb up to the Fortress without a ladder? By meditating on the Lord, through the Guru, I am blessed and exalted. ||2|| The Guru is the Ladder, the Guru is the Boat, and the Guru is the Raft to take me to the Lord's Name. The Guru is the Boat to carry me across the world-ocean; the Guru is the Sacred Shrine of Pilgrimage, the Guru is the Holy River. If it pleases Him, I bathe in the Pool of Truth, and become radiant and pure. ||3|| He is called the Most Perfect of the Perfect. He sits upon His Perfect Throne. He looks so Beautiful in His Perfect Place. He fulfills the hopes of the hopeless. O Nanak, if one obtains the Perfect Lord, how can his virtues decrease? ||4||9|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: Come, my dear sisters and spiritual companions; hug me close in your embrace. Let's join together, and tell stories of our All-powerful Husband Lord. All Virtues are in our True Lord and Master; we are utterly without virtue. ||1|| O Creator Lord, all are in Your Power. I dwell upon the One Word of the Shabad. You are mine-what else do I need? ||1||Pause|| Go, and ask the happy soul-brides, "By what virtuous qualities do you enjoy your Husband Lord?" "We are adorned with intuitive ease, contentment and sweet words. We meet with our Beloved, the Source of Joy, when we listen to the Word of the Guru's Shabad."||2||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 005

You have so many Creative Powers, Lord; Your Bountiful Blessings are so Great. So many of Your beings and creatures praise You day and night. You have so many forms and colours, so many classes, high and low. ||3|| Meeting the True One, Truth wells up. The truthful are absorbed into the True Lord. Intuitive understanding is obtained and one is welcomed with honour, through the Guru's Word, filled with

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the Fear of God. O Nanak, the True King absorbs us into Himself. ||4||10|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: It all worked out-I was saved, and the egotism within my heart was subdued. The evil energies have been made to serve me, since I placed my faith in the True Guru. I have renounced my useless schemes, by the Grace of the True, Carefree Lord. ||1|| O mind, meeting with the True One, fear departs. Without the Fear of God, how can anyone become fearless? Become Gurmukh, and immerse yourself in the Shabad. ||1||Pause|| How can we describe Him with words? There is no end to the descriptions of Him. There are so many beggars, but He is the only Giver. He is the Giver of the soul, and the praanaa, the breath of life; when He dwells within the mind, there is peace. ||2|| The world is a drama, staged in a dream. In a moment, the play is played out. Some attain union with the Lord, while others depart in separation. Whatever pleases Him comes to pass; nothing else can be done. ||3|| The Gurmukhs purchase the Genuine Article. The True Merchandise is purchased with the True Capital. Those who purchase this True Merchandise through the Perfect Guru are blessed. O Nanak, one who stocks this True Merchandise shall recognise and realise the Genuine Article. ||4||11|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: As metal merges with metal, those who chant the Praises of the Lord are absorbed into the Praiseworthy Lord. Like the poppies, they are dyed in the deep crimson colour of Truthfulness. Those contented souls who meditate on the Lord with single-minded love, meet the True Lord. ||1|| O Siblings of Destiny, become the dust of the feet of the humble Saints. In the Society of the Saints, the Guru is found. He is the Treasure of Liberation, the Source of all good fortune. ||1||Pause|| Upon that Highest Plane of Sublime Beauty, stands the Mansion of the Lord. By true actions, this human body is obtained, and the door within ourselves which leads to the Mansion of the Beloved, is found. The Gurmukhs train their minds to contemplate the Lord, the Supreme Soul. ||2|| By actions committed under the influence of the three qualities, hope and anxiety are produced. Without the Guru, how can anyone be released from these three qualities? Through intuitive wisdom, we meet with Him and find peace. Within the home of the self, the Mansion of His Presence is realised when He bestows His Glance of Grace and washes away our pollution. ||3|| Without the Guru, this pollution is not removed. Without the Lord, how can there be any homecoming? Contemplate the One Word of the Shabad, and abandon other hopes. O Nanak, I am forever a sacrifice to the one who beholds, and inspires others to behold Him. ||4||12|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: The life of the discarded bride is cursed. She is deceived by the love of duality. Like a wall of sand, day and night, she crumbles, and eventually, she breaks down altogether. Without the Word of the Shabad, peace does not come. Without her Husband Lord, her suffering does not end. ||1|| O soul-bride, without your Husband Lord, what good are your decorations?

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 006

In this world, you shall not find any shelter; in the world hereafter, being false, you shall suffer. ||1||Pause|| The True Lord Himself knows all; He makes no mistakes. He is the Great Farmer of the Universe. First, He prepares the ground, and then He plants the Seed of the True Name. The nine treasures are produced from Name of the One Lord. By His Grace, we obtain His Banner and Insignia. ||2|| Some are very knowledgeable, but if they do not know the Guru, then what is the use of their lives? The blind have forgotten the Naam, the Name of the Lord. The self-willed manmukhs are in utter darkness. Their comings and goings in reincarnation do not end; through death and rebirth, they are wasting away. ||3|| The bride may buy sandalwood oil and perfumes, and apply them in great quantities to her hair; she may sweeten her breath with betel leaf and camphor, but if this bride is not pleasing to her Husband Lord, then all these trappings are false. ||4|| Her enjoyment of all pleasures is futile, and all her decorations are corrupt. Until she has been pierced through with the Shabad, how can she look beautiful at Guru's Gate? O Nanak, blessed is that fortunate bride, who is in love with her Husband Lord. ||5||13|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: The empty body is dreadful, when the soul goes out from within. The burning fire of life is extinguished, and the smoke of the breath no longer emerges. The five relatives (the senses) weep and wail painfully, and waste away through the love of duality. ||1|| You fool: chant the Name of the Lord, and preserve your virtue. Egotism and possessiveness are very enticing; egotistical pride has plundered everyone. ||1||Pause|| Those who have forgotten the Naam, the Name of the Lord, are attached to affairs of duality. Attached to duality, they putrefy and die; they are filled with the fire of desire within. Those who are protected by the Guru are saved; all others are cheated and plundered by deceitful worldly affairs. ||2|| Love dies, and affection vanishes. Hatred and alienation die. Entanglements end, and egotism dies, along with attachment to Maya, possessiveness and anger. Those who receive His Mercy obtain the True One. The Gurmukhs dwell forever in balanced restraint. ||3|| By true actions, the True Lord is met, and the Guru's Teachings are found. Then, they are not subject to birth and death; they do not come and go in reincarnation. O Nanak, they are respected at the Lord's Gate; they are robed in honour in the Court of the Lord. ||4||14|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: The body is burnt to ashes; by its love of Maya, the mind is rusted through. Demerits become one's enemies, and falsehood blows the bugle of attack. Without the Word of the Shabad, people wander lost in reincarnation. Through the love of duality, multitudes have been drowned. ||1|| O mind, swim across, by focusing your consciousness on the Shabad. Those who do not become Gurmukh do not understand the Naam; they die, and continue coming and going in reincarnation. ||1||Pause|| That body is said to be pure, in which the True Name abides. One whose body is imbued with the Fear of the True One, and whose tongue savors Truthfulness, is brought to ecstasy by the True Lord's Glance of Grace. That person does not have to go through the fire of the womb again. ||2|| From the True Lord came the air, and from the air came water. From water, He created the three worlds; in each and every heart He has infused His Light. The Immaculate Lord does not become polluted. Attuned to the Shabad, honour is obtained. ||3|| One whose mind is contented with Truthfulness, is blessed with the Lord's Glance of Grace.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 007

The body of the five elements is dyed in the Fear of the True One; the mind is filled with the True Light. O Nanak, your demerits shall be forgotten; the Guru shall preserve your honour. ||4||15|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: O Nanak, the Boat of Truth will ferry you across; contemplate the Guru. Some come, and some go; they are totally filled with egotism. Through stubborn-mindedness, the intellect is drowned; one who becomes Gurmukh and truthful is saved. ||1|| Without the Guru, how can anyone swim across to find peace? As it pleases You, Lord, You save me. There is no other for me at all. ||1||Pause|| In front of me, I see the jungle burning; behind me, I see green plants sprouting. We shall merge into the One from whom we came. The True One is pervading each and every heart. He Himself unites us in Union with Himself; the True Mansion of His Presence is close at hand. ||2|| With each and every breath, I dwell upon You; I shall never forget You. The more the Lord and Master dwells within the mind, the more the Gurmukh drinks in the Ambrosial Nectar. Mind and body are Yours; You are my Master. Please rid me of my pride, and let me merge with You. ||3|| The One who formed this universe created the creation of the three worlds. The Gurmukh knows the Divine Light, while the foolish self-willed manmukh gropes around in the darkness. One who sees that Light within each and every heart understands the Essence of the Guru's Teachings. ||4|| Those who understand are Gurmukh; recognise and applaud them. They meet and merge with the True One. They become the Radiant Manifestation of the Excellence of the True One. O Nanak, they are contented with the Naam, the Name of the Lord. They offer their bodies and souls to God. ||5||16|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: Listen, O my mind, my friend, my darling: now is the time to meet the Lord. As long as there is youth and breath, give this body to Him. Without virtue, it is useless; the body shall crumble into a pile of dust. ||1|| O my mind, earn the profit, before you return home. The Gurmukh praises the Naam, and the fire of egotism is extinguished. ||1||Pause|| Again and again, we hear and tell stories; we read and write and understand loads of knowledge, but still, desires increase day and night, and the disease of egotism fills us with corruption. That Carefree Lord cannot be appraised; His Real Value is known only through the Wisdom of the Guru's Teachings. ||2|| Even if someone has hundreds of thousands of clever mental tricks, and the love and company of hundreds of thousands of people -still, without the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, he will not feel satisfied. Without the Name, all suffer in sorrow. Chanting the Name of the Lord, O my soul, you shall be emancipated; as Gurmukh, you shall come to understand your own self. ||3|| I have sold my body and mind to the Guru, and I have given my mind and head as well. I was seeking and searching for Him throughout the three worlds; then, as Gurmukh, I sought and found Him. The True Guru has united me in Union, O Nanak, with that God. ||4||17|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: I have no anxiety about dying, and no hope of living. You are the Cherisher of all beings; You keep the account of our breaths and morsels of food. You abide within the Gurmukh. As it pleases You, You decide our allotment. ||1|| O my soul, chant the Name of the Lord; the mind will be pleased and appeased. The raging fire within is extinguished; the Gurmukh obtains spiritual wisdom. ||1||Pause||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 008

Know the state of your inner being; meet with the Guru and get rid of your skepticism. To reach your True Home after you die, you must conquer death while you are still alive. The beautiful, Unstruck Sound of the Shabad is obtained, contemplating the Guru. ||2|| The Unstruck Melody of Gurbani is obtained, and egotism is eliminated. I am forever a sacrifice to those who serve their True Guru. They are dressed in robes of honour in the Court of the Lord; the Name of the Lord is on their lips. ||3|| Wherever I look, I see the Lord pervading there, in the union of Shiva and Shakti, of consciousness and matter. The three qualities hold the body in bondage; whoever comes into the world is subject to their play. Those who separate themselves from the Lord wander lost in misery. The self-willed manmukhs do not attain union with Him. ||4|| If the mind becomes balanced and detached, and comes to dwell in its own true home, imbued with the Fear of God, then it enjoys the essence of supreme spiritual wisdom; it shall never feel hunger again. O Nanak, conquer and subdue this mind; meet with the Lord, and you shall never again suffer in pain. ||5||18|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: This foolish mind is greedy; through greed, it becomes even more attached to greed. The evil-minded shaaktas, the faithless cynics, are not attuned to the Shabad; they come and go in reincarnation. One who meets with the Holy True Guru finds the Treasure of Excellence. ||1|| O mind, renounce your egotistical pride. Serve the Lord, the Guru, the Sacred Pool, and you shall be honoured in the Court of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Chant the Name of the Lord day and night; become Gurmukh, and know the Wealth of the Lord. All comforts and peace, and the Essence of the Lord, are enjoyed by acquiring spiritual wisdom in the Society of the Saints. Day and night, continually serve the Lord God; the True Guru has given the Naam. ||2|| Those who practice falsehood are dogs; those who slander the Guru shall burn in their own fire. They wander lost and confused, deceived by doubt, suffering in terrible pain. The Messenger of Death shall beat them to a pulp. The self-willed manmukhs find no peace, while the Gurmukhs are wondrously joyful. ||3|| In this world, people are engrossed in false pursuits, but in the world hereafter, only the account of your true actions is accepted. The Guru serves the Lord, His Intimate Friend. The Guru's actions are supremely exalted. O Nanak, never forget the Naam, the Name of the Lord; the True Lord shall bless you with His Mark of Grace. ||4||19|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: Forgetting the Beloved, even for a moment, the mind is afflicted with terrible diseases. How can honour be attained in His Court, if the Lord does not dwell in the mind? Meeting with the Guru, peace is found. The fire is extinguished in His Glorious Praises. ||1|| O mind, enshrine the Praises of the Lord, day and night. One who does not forget the Naam, for a moment or even an instant-how rare is such a person in this world! ||1||Pause|| When one's light merges into the Light, and one's intuitive consciousness is joined with the Intuitive Consciousness, then one's cruel and violent instincts and egotism depart, and skepticism and sorrow are taken away. The Lord abides within the mind of the Gurmukh, who merges in the Lord's Union, through the Guru. ||2|| If I surrender my body like a bride, the Enjoyer will enjoy me. Do not make love with one who is just a passing show. The Gurmukh is ravished like the pure and happy bride on the Bed of God, her Husband. ||3||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 009

The Gurmukh puts out the four fires, with the Water of the Lord's Name. The lotus blossoms deep within the heart, and filled with Ambrosial Nectar, one is satisfied. O Nanak, make the True Guru your friend; going to His Court, you shall obtain the True Lord. ||4||20|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: Meditate on the Lord, Har, Har, O my beloved; follow the Guru's Teachings, and speak of the Lord. Apply the Touchstone of Truth to your mind, and see if it comes up to its full weight. No one has found the worth of the ruby of the heart; its value cannot be estimated. ||1|| O Siblings of Destiny, the Diamond of the Lord is within the Guru. The True Guru is found in the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. Day and night, praise the Word of His Shabad. ||1||Pause|| The True Merchandise, Wealth and Capital are obtained through the Radiant Light of the Guru. Just as fire is extinguished by pouring on water, desire becomes the slave of the Lord's slaves. The Messenger of Death will not touch you; in this way, you shall cross over the terrifying world-ocean, carrying others across with you. ||2|| The Gurmukhs do not like falsehood. They are imbued with Truth; they love only Truth. The shaaktas, the faithless cynics, do not like the Truth; false are the foundations of the false. Imbued with Truth, you shall meet the Guru. The true ones are absorbed into the True Lord. ||3|| Within the mind are emeralds and rubies, the Jewel of the Naam, treasures and diamonds. The Naam is the True Merchandise and Wealth; in each and every heart, His Presence is deep and profound. O Nanak, the Gurmukh finds the Diamond of the Lord, by His Kindness and Compassion. ||4||21|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: The fire of doubt is not extinguished, even by wandering through foreign lands and countries. If inner filth is not removed, one's life is cursed, and one's clothes are cursed. There is no other way to perform devotional worship, except through the Teachings of the True Guru. ||1|| O mind, become Gurmukh, and extinguish the fire within. Let the Words of the Guru abide within your mind; let egotism and desires die. ||1||Pause|| The jewel of the mind is priceless; through the Name of the Lord, honour is obtained. Join the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, and find the Lord. The Gurmukh embraces love for the Lord. Give up

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your selfishness, and you shall find peace; like water mingling with water, you shall merge in absorption. ||2|| Those who have not contemplated the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, are unworthy; they come and go in reincarnation. One who has not met with the True Guru, the Primal Being, is bothered and bewildered in the terrifying world-ocean. This jewel of the soul is priceless, and yet it is being squandered like this, in exchange for a mere shell. ||3|| Those who joyfully meet with the True Guru are perfectly fulfilled and wise. Meeting with the Guru, they cross over the terrifying world-ocean. In the Court of the Lord, they are honoured and approved. O Nanak, their faces are radiant; the Music of the Shabad, the Word of God, wells up within them. ||4||22|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: Make your deals, dealers, and take care of your merchandise. Buy that object which will go along with you. In the next world, the All-knowing Merchant will take this object and care for it. ||1|| O Siblings of Destiny, chant the Lord's Name, and focus your consciousness on Him. Take the Merchandise of the Lord's Praises with you. Your Husband Lord shall see this and approve. ||1||Pause||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 010

Those who do not have the Assets of Truth-how can they find peace? By dealing their deals of falsehood, their minds and bodies become false. Like the deer caught in the trap, they suffer in terrible agony; they continually cry out in pain. ||2|| The counterfeit coins are not put into the Treasury; they do not obtain the Blessed Vision of the Lord-Guru. The false ones have no social status or honour. No one succeeds through falsehood. Practicing falsehood again and again, people come and go in reincarnation, and forfeit their honour. ||3|| O Nanak, instruct your mind through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, and praise the Lord. Those who are imbued with the love of the Name of the Lord are not loaded down by doubt. Those who chant the Name of the Lord earn great profits; the Fearless Lord abides within their minds. ||4||23|| Siree Raag, First Mehl, Second House: Wealth, the beauty of youth and flowers are guests for only a few days. Like the leaves of the water-lily, they wither and fade and finally die. ||1|| Be happy, dear beloved, as long as your youth is fresh and delightful. But your days are few-you have grown weary, and now your body has grown old. ||1||Pause|| My playful friends have gone to sleep in the graveyard. In my double-mindedness, I shall have to go as well. I cry in a feeble voice. ||2|| Haven't you heard the call from beyond, O beautiful soul-bride? You must go to your in-laws; you cannot stay with your parents forever. ||3|| O Nanak, know that she who sleeps in her parents' home is plundered in broad daylight. She has lost her bouquet of merits; gathering one of demerits, she departs. ||4||24|| Siree Raag, First Mehl, Second House: He Himself is the Enjoyer, and He Himself is the Enjoyment. He Himself is the Ravisher of all. He Himself is the Bride in her dress, He Himself is the Bridegroom on the bed. ||1|| My Lord and Master is imbued with love; He is totally permeating and pervading all. ||1||Pause|| He Himself is the fisherman and the fish; He Himself is the water and the net. He Himself is the sinker, and He Himself is the bait. ||2|| He Himself loves in so many ways. O sister soul-brides, He is my Beloved. He continually ravishes and enjoys the happy soul-brides; just look at the plight I am in without Him! ||3|| Prays Nanak, please hear my prayer: You are the pool, and You are the soul-swan. You are the lotus flower of the day and You are the water-lily of the night. You Yourself behold them, and blossom forth in bliss. ||4||25|| Siree Raag, First Mehl, Third House: Make this body the field, and plant the seed of good actions. Water it with the Name of the Lord, who holds all the world in His Hands. Let your mind be the farmer; the Lord shall sprout in your heart, and you shall attain the state of Nirvaanaa. ||1|| You fool! Why are you so proud of Maya? Father, children, spouse, mother and all relatives-they shall not be your helpers in the end. ||Pause|| So weed out evil, wickedness and corruption; leave these behind, and let your soul meditate on God. When chanting, austere meditation and self-discipline become your protectors, then the lotus blossoms forth, and the honey trickles out. ||2|| Bring the twenty-seven elements of the body under your control, and throughout the three stages of life, remember death. See the Infinite Lord in the ten directions, and in all the variety of nature. Says Nanak, in this way, the One Lord shall carry you across. ||3||26||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 011

Siree Raag, First Mehl, Third House: Make good deeds the soil, and let the Word of the Shabad be the seed; irrigate it continually with the water of Truth. Become such a farmer, and faith will sprout. This brings knowledge of heaven and hell, you fool! ||1|| Do not think that your Husband Lord can be obtained by mere words. You are wasting this life in the pride of wealth and the splendor of beauty. ||1||Pause|| The defect of the body which leads to sin is the mud puddle, and this mind is the frog, which does not appreciate the lotus flower at all. The bumble bee is the teacher who continually teaches the lesson. But how can one understand, unless one is made to understand? ||2|| This speaking and listening is like the song of the wind, for those whose minds are coloured by the love of Maya. The Grace of the Master is bestowed upon those who meditate on Him alone. They are pleasing to His Heart. ||3|| You may observe the thirty fasts, and say the five prayers each day, but 'Satan' can undo them. Says Nanak, you will have to walk on the Path of Death, so why do you bother to collect wealth and property? ||4||27|| Siree Raag, First Mehl, Fourth House: He is the Master who has made the world bloom; He makes the Universe blossom forth, fresh and green. He holds the water and the land in bondage. Hail to the Creator Lord! ||1|| Death, O Mullah-death will come, so live in the Fear of God the Creator. ||1||Pause|| You are a Mullah, and you are a Qazi, only when you know the Naam, the Name of God. You may be very educated, but no one can remain when the measure of life is full. ||2|| He alone is a Qazi, who renounces selfishness and conceit, and makes the One Name his Support. The True Creator Lord is, and shall always be. He was not born; He shall not die. ||3|| You may chant your prayers five times each day; you may read the Bible and the Koran. Says Nanak, the grave is calling you, and now your food and drink are finished. ||4||28|| Siree Raag, First Mehl, Fourth House: The dogs of greed are with me. In the early morning, they continually bark at the wind. Falsehood is my dagger; through deception, I eat the carcasses of the dead. I live as a wild hunter, O Creator! ||1|| I have not followed good advice, nor have I done good deeds. I am deformed and horribly disfigured. Your Name alone, Lord, saves the world. This is my hope; this is my support. ||1||Pause|| With my mouth I speak slander, day and night. I spy on the houses of others-I am such a wretched low-life! Unfulfilled sexual desire and unresolved anger dwell in my body, like the outcasts who cremate the dead. I live as a wild hunter, O Creator! ||2|| I make plans to trap others, although I appear gentle. I am a robber-I rob the world. I am very clever-I carry loads of sin. I live as a wild hunter, O Creator! ||3|| I have not appreciated what You have done for me, Lord; I take from others and exploit them. What face shall I show You, Lord? I am a sneak and a thief. Nanak describes the state of the lowly. I live as a wild hunter, O Creator! ||4||29|| Siree Raag, First Mehl, Fourth House: There is one awareness among all created beings. None have been created without this awareness.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 012

As is their awareness, so is their way. According to the account of our actions, we come and go in reincarnation. ||1|| Why, O soul, do you try such clever tricks? Taking away and giving back, God does not delay. ||1||Pause|| All beings belong to You; all beings are Yours. O Lord and Master, how can You become angry with them? Even if You, O Lord and Master, become angry with them, still, You are theirs, and they are Yours. ||2|| We are foul-mouthed; we spoil everything with our foul words. You weigh us in the balance of Your Glance of Grace. When one's actions are right, the understanding is perfect. Without good deeds, it becomes more and more deficient. ||3|| Prays Nanak, what is the nature of the spiritual people? They are self-realised; they understand God. By Guru's Grace, they contemplate Him; such spiritual people are honoured in His Court. ||4||30|| Siree Raag, First Mehl, Fourth House: You are the River, All-knowing and All-seeing. I am just a fish-how can I find Your limit? Wherever I look, You are there. Outside of You, I would burst and die. ||1|| I do not know of the fisherman, and I do not know of the net. But when the pain comes, then I call upon You. ||1||Pause|| You are present everywhere. I had thought that You were far away. Whatever I do, I do in Your Presence. You see all my actions, and yet I deny them. I have not worked for You, or Your Name. ||2|| Whatever You give me, that is what I eat. There is no other door-unto which door should I go? Nanak offers this one prayer: this body and soul are totally Yours. ||3|| He Himself is near, and He Himself is far away; He Himself is in-between. He Himself beholds, and He Himself listens. By His Creative Power, He created the world. Whatever pleases Him, O Nanak-that Command is acceptable. ||4||31|| Siree Raag, First Mehl, Fourth House: Why should the created beings feel pride in their minds? The Gift is in the Hands of the Great Giver. As it pleases Him, He may give, or not give. What can be done by the order of the created beings? ||1|| He Himself is True; Truth is pleasing to His Will. The spiritually blind are unripe and imperfect, inferior and worthless. ||1||Pause|| The One who owns the trees of the forest and the plants of the garden -according to their nature, He gives them all their names. The Flower and the Fruit of the Lord's Love are obtained by pre-ordained destiny. As we plant, so we harvest and eat. ||2|| The wall of the body is temporary, as is the soul-mason within it. The flavor of the intellect is bland and insipid without the Salt. O Nanak, as He wills, He makes things right. Without the Name, no one is approved. ||3||32|| Siree Raag, First Mehl, Fifth House: The Undeceiveable is not deceived by deception. He cannot be wounded by any dagger. As our Lord and Master keeps us, so do we exist. The soul of this greedy person is tossed this way and that. ||1|| Without the oil, how can the lamp be lit? ||1||Pause|| Let the reading of your prayer book be the oil, and let the Fear of God be the wick for the lamp of this body. Light this lamp with the understanding of Truth. ||2|| Use this oil to light this lamp. Light it, and meet your Lord and Master. ||1||Pause|| This body is softened with the Word of the Guru's Bani; you shall find peace, doing seva (selfless service).

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 013

All the world continues coming and going in reincarnation. ||3|| In the midst of this world, do seva, and you shall be given a place of honour in the Court of the Lord. Says Nanak, swing your arms in joy! ||4||33|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I serve my True Guru with single-minded devotion, and lovingly focus my consciousness on Him. The True Guru is the mind's desire and the sacred shrine of pilgrimage, for those unto whom He has given this understanding. The blessings of the wishes of the mind are obtained, and the fruits of one's desires. Meditate on the Name, worship the Name, and through the Name, you shall be absorbed in intuitive peace and poise. ||1|| O my mind, drink in the Sublime Essence of the Lord, and your thirst shall be quenched. Those Gurmukhs who have tasted it remain intuitively absorbed in the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Those who serve the True Guru obtain the Treasure of the Naam. Deep within, they are drenched with the Essence of the Lord, and the egotistical pride of the mind is subdued. The heart-lotus blossoms forth, and they intuitively centre themselves in meditation. Their minds become pure, and they remain immersed in the Lord; they are honoured in His Court. ||2|| Those who serve the True Guru in this world are very rare. Those who keep the Lord enshrined in their hearts subdue egotism and possessiveness. I am a sacrifice to those who are in love with the Naam. Those who attain the Inexhaustible Name of the Infinite Lord remain happy throughout the four ages. ||3|| Meeting with the Guru, the Naam is obtained, and the thirst of emotional attachment departs. When the mind is permeated with the Lord, one remains detached within the home of the heart. I am a sacrifice to those who enjoy the Sublime Taste of the Lord. O Nanak, by His Glance of Grace, the True Name, the Treasure of Excellence, is obtained. ||4||1||34|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: People wear all sorts of costumes and wander all around, but in their hearts and minds, they practice deception. They do not attain the Mansion of the Lord's Presence, and after death, they sink into manure. ||1|| O mind, remain detached in the midst of your household. Practicing truth, self-discipline and good deeds, the Gurmukh is enlightened. ||1||Pause|| Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the mind is conquered, and one attains the State of Liberation in one's own home. So meditate on the Name of the Lord; join and merge with the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. ||2|| You may enjoy the pleasures of hundreds of thousands of women, and rule the nine continents of the world. But without the True Guru, you will not find peace; you will be reincarnated over and over again. ||3|| Those who wear the Necklace of the Lord around their necks, and focus their consciousness on the Guru's Feet - wealth and supernatural spiritual powers follow them, but they do not care for such things at all. ||4|| Whatever pleases God's Will comes to pass. Nothing else can be done. Servant Nanak lives by chanting the Naam. O Lord, please give it to me, in Your Natural Way. ||5||2||35||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 014

Siree Raag, Third Mehl, First House: Everyone belongs to the One who rules the Universe. The Gurmukh practices good deeds, and the truth is revealed in the heart. True is the reputation of the true, within whom truth abides. Those who meet the True Lord are not separated again; they come to dwell in the home of the self deep within. ||1|| O my Lord! Without the Lord, I have no other at all. The True Guru leads us to meet the Immaculate True God through the Word of His Shabad. ||1||Pause|| One whom the Lord merges into Himself is merged in the Shabad, and remains so merged. No one merges with Him through the love of duality; over and over again, they come and go in reincarnation. The One Lord permeates all. The One Lord is pervading everywhere. That Gurmukh, unto whom the Lord shows His Kindness, is absorbed in the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||2|| After all their reading, the Pandits, the religious scholars, and the astrologers argue and debate. Their intellect and understanding are perverted; they just don't understand. They are filled with greed and corruption. Through 8.4 million incarnations they wander lost and confused; through all their wandering and roaming, they are ruined. They act according to their pre-ordained destiny, which no one can erase. ||3|| It is very difficult to serve the True Guru. Surrender your head; give up your selfishness. Realising the Shabad, one meets with the Lord, and all one's service is accepted. By personally experiencing the Personality of the Guru, one's own personality is uplifted, and one's light merges into the Light. Those who have such pre-ordained destiny come to meet the True Guru. ||4|| O mind, don't cry out that you are hungry, always hungry; stop complaining. The One who created the 8.4 million species of beings gives sustenance to all. The

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Fearless Lord is forever Merciful; He takes care of all. O Nanak, the Gurmukh understands, and finds the Door of Liberation. ||5||3||36|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: Those who hear and believe, find the home of the self deep within. Through the Guru's Teachings, they praise the True Lord; they find the Lord, the Treasure of Excellence. Attuned to the Word of the Shabad, they are immaculate and pure. I am forever a sacrifice to them. Those people, within whose hearts the Lord abides, are radiant and enlightened. ||1|| O my mind, meditate on the Immaculate Lord, Har, Har. Those whose have such pre-ordained destiny written on their foreheads- those Gurmukhs remain absorbed in the Lord's Love. ||1||Pause|| O Saints, see clearly that the Lord is near at hand; He is pervading everywhere. Those who follow the Guru's Teachings realise Him, and see Him Ever-present. He dwells forever in the minds of the virtuous. He is far removed from those worthless people who lack virtue. The self-willed manmukhs are totally without virtue. Without the Name, they die in frustration. ||2|| Those who hear and believe in the Word of the Guru's Shabad, meditate on the Lord in their minds. Night and day, they are steeped in devotion; their minds and bodies become pure. The colour of the world is false and weak; when it washes away, people cry out in pain. Those who have the Radiant Light of the Naam within, become steady and stable, forever and ever. ||3||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 015

The blessing of this human life has been obtained, but still, people do not lovingly focus their thoughts on the Name of the Lord. Their feet slip, and they cannot stay here any longer. And in the next world, they find no place of rest at all. This opportunity shall not come again. In the end, they depart, regretting and repenting. Those whom the Lord blesses with His Glance of Grace are saved; they are lovingly attuned to the Lord. ||4|| They all show off and pretend, but the self-willed manmukhs do not understand. Those Gurmukhs who are pure of heart-their service is accepted. They sing the Glorious Praise of the Lord; they read about the Lord each day. Singing the Praise of the Lord, they merge in absorption. O Nanak, the words of those who are lovingly attuned to the Naam are true forever. ||5||4||37|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: Those who meditate single-mindedly on the Naam, and contemplate the Teachings of the Guru -their faces are forever radiant in the Court of the True Lord. They drink in the Ambrosial Nectar forever and ever, and they love the True Name. ||1|| O Siblings of Destiny, the Gurmukhs are honoured forever. They meditate forever on the Lord, Har, Har, and they wash off the filth of egotism. ||1||Pause|| The self-willed manmukhs do not know the Naam. Without the Name, they lose their honour. They do not savor the Taste of the Shabad; they are attached to the love of duality. They are worms in the filth of manure. They fall into manure, and into manure they are absorbed. ||2|| Fruitful are the lives of those who walk in harmony with the Will of the True Guru. Their families are saved; blessed are the mothers who gave birth to them. By His Will He grants His Grace; those who are so blessed, meditate on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||3|| The Gurmukhs meditate on the Naam; they eradicate selfishness and conceit from within. They are pure, inwardly and outwardly; they merge into the Truest of the True. O Nanak, blessed is the coming of those who follow the Guru's Teachings and meditate on the Lord. ||4||5||38|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: The devotees of the Lord have the Wealth and Capital of the Lord; with Guru's Advice, they carry on their trade. They praise the Name of the Lord forever and ever. The Name of the Lord is their Merchandise and Support. The Perfect Guru has implanted the Name of the Lord into the Lord's devotees; it is an Inexhaustible Treasure. ||1|| O Siblings of Destiny, instruct your minds in this way. O mind, why are you so lazy? Become Gurmukh, and meditate on the Naam. ||1||Pause|| Devotion to the Lord is love for the Lord. The Gurmukh reflects deeply and contemplates. Hypocrisy is not devotion-speaking words of duality leads only to misery. Those humble beings who are filled with keen understanding and meditative contemplation- even though they intermingle with others, they remain distinct. ||2|| Those who keep the Lord enshrined within their hearts are said to be the servants of the Lord. Placing mind and body in offering before the Lord, they conquer and eradicate egotism from within. Blessed and acclaimed is that Gurmukh, who shall never be defeated. ||3|| Those who receive His Grace find Him. Without His Grace, He cannot be found.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 016

The 8.4 million species of beings all yearn for the Lord. Those whom He unites, come to be united with the Lord. O Nanak, the Gurmukh finds the Lord, and remains forever absorbed in the Lord's Name. ||4||6||39|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: The Name of the Lord is the Ocean of Peace; the Gurmukhs obtain it. Meditating on the Naam, night and day, they are easily and intuitively absorbed in the Naam. Their inner beings are immersed in the True Lord; they sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||1|| O Siblings of Destiny, the world is in misery, engrossed in the love of duality. In the Sanctuary of the Guru, peace is found, meditating on the Naam night and day. ||1||Pause|| The truthful ones are not stained by filth. Meditating on the Lord, their minds remain pure. The Gurmukhs realise the Word of the Shabad; they are immersed in the Ambrosial Nectar of the Lord's Name. The Guru has lit the brilliant light of spiritual wisdom, and the darkness of ignorance has been dispelled. ||2|| The self-willed manmukhs are polluted. They are filled with the pollution of egotism, wickedness and desire. Without the Shabad, this pollution is not washed off; through the cycle of death and rebirth, they waste away in misery. Engrossed in this transitory drama, they are not at home in either this world or the next. ||3|| For the Gurmukh, the love of the Name of the Lord is chanting, deep meditation and self-discipline. The Gurmukh meditates forever on the Name of the One Creator Lord. O Nanak, meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the Support of all beings. ||4||7||40|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: The self-willed manmukhs are engrossed in emotional attachment; they are not balanced or detached. They do not comprehend the Word of the Shabad. They suffer in pain forever, and lose their honour in the Court of the Lord. The Gurmukhs shed their ego; attuned to the Naam, they find peace. ||1|| O my mind, day and night, you are always full of wishful hopes. Serve the True Guru, and your emotional attachment shall be totally burnt away; remain detached within the home of your heart. ||1||Pause|| The Gurmukhs do good deeds and blossom forth; balanced and detached in the Lord, they are in ecstasy. Night and day, they perform devotional worship, day and night; subduing their ego, they are carefree. By great good fortune, I found the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation; I have found the Lord, with intuitive ease and ecstasy. ||2|| That person is a Holy Saadhu, and a renouncer of the world, whose heart is filled with the Naam. His inner being is not touched by anger or dark energies at all; he has lost his selfishness and conceit. The True Guru has revealed to him the Treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord; he drinks in the Sublime Essence of the Lord, and is satisfied. ||3|| Whoever has found it, has done so in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Through perfect good fortune, such balanced detachment is attained. The self-willed manmukhs wander around lost, but they do not know the True Guru. They are inwardly attached to egotism. O Nanak, those who are attuned to the Shabad are dyed in the Colour of the Lord's Name. Without the Fear of God, how can they retain this Colour? ||4||8||41|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: Within the home of your own inner being, the merchandise is obtained. All commodities are within. Each and every moment, dwell on the Naam, the Name of the Lord; the Gurmukhs obtain it. The Treasure of the Naam is inexhaustible. By great good fortune, it is obtained. ||1|| O my mind, give up slander, egotism and arrogance.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 017

Become Gurmukh, and meditate forever on the Dear Lord, the One and Only Creator. ||1||Pause|| The faces of the Gurmukhs are radiant and bright; they reflect on the Word of the Guru's Shabad. They obtain peace in this world and the next, chanting and meditating within their hearts on the Lord. Within the home of their own inner being, they obtain the Mansion of the Lord's Presence, reflecting on the Guru's Shabad. ||2|| Those who turn their faces away from the True Guru shall have their faces blackened. Night and day, they suffer in pain; they see the noose of Death always hovering above them. Even in their dreams, they find no peace; they are consumed by the fires of intense anxiety. ||3|| The One Lord is the Giver of all; He Himself bestows all blessings. No one else has any say in this; He gives just as He pleases. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs obtain Him; He Himself knows Himself. ||4||9||42|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: Serve your True Lord and Master, and you shall be blessed with true greatness. By Guru's Grace, He abides in the mind, and egotism is driven out. This wandering mind comes to rest, when the Lord casts His Glance of Grace. ||1|| O Siblings of Destiny, become Gurmukh, and meditate on the Name of the Lord. The Treasure of the Naam abides forever within the mind, and one's place of rest is found in the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. ||1||Pause|| The minds and bodies of the self-willed manmukhs are filled with darkness; they find no shelter, no place of rest. Through countless incarnations they wander lost, like crows in a deserted house. Through the Guru's Teachings, the heart is illuminated. Through the Shabad, the Name of the Lord is received. ||2|| In the corruption of the three qualities, there is blindness; in attachment to Maya, there is darkness. The greedy people serve others, instead of the Lord, although they loudly announce their reading of scriptures. They are burnt to death by their own corruption; they are not at home, on either this shore or the one beyond. ||3|| In attachment to Maya, they have forgotten the Father, the Cherisher of the World. Without the Guru, all are unconscious; they are held in bondage by the Messenger of Death. O Nanak, through the Guru's Teachings, you shall be saved, contemplating the True Name. ||4||10||43|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: The three qualities hold people in attachment to Maya. The Gurmukh attains the fourth state of higher consciousness. Granting His Grace, God unites us with Himself. The Name of the Lord comes to abide within the mind. Those who have the treasure of goodness join the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. ||1|| O Siblings of Destiny, follow the Guru's Teachings and dwell in truth. Practice truth, and only truth, and merge in the True Word of the Shabad. ||1||Pause|| I am a sacrifice to those who recognise the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Renouncing selfishness, I fall at their feet, and walk in harmony with His Will. Earning the Profit of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, I am intuitively absorbed in the Naam. ||2|| Without the Guru, the Mansion of the Lord's Presence is not found, and the Naam is not obtained. Seek and find such a True Guru, who shall lead you to the True Lord. Destroy your evil passions, and you shall dwell in peace. Whatever pleases the Lord comes to pass. ||3|| As one knows the True Guru, so is the peace obtained. There is no doubt at all about this, but those who love Him are very rare. O Nanak, the One Light has two forms; through the Shabad, union is attained. ||4||11||44||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 018

Siree Raag, Third Mehl: Discarding the Ambrosial Nectar, they greedily grab the poison; they serve others, instead of the Lord. They lose their faith, they have no understanding; night and day, they suffer in pain. The blind, self-willed manmukhs do not even think of the Lord; they are drowned to death without water. ||1|| O mind, vibrate and meditate forever on the Lord; seek the Protection of His Sanctuary. If the Word of the Guru's Shabad abides deep within, then you shall not forget the Lord. ||1||Pause|| This body is the puppet of Maya. The evil of egotism is within it. Coming and going through birth and death, the self-willed manmukhs lose their honour. Serving the True Guru, eternal peace is obtained, and one's light merges into the Light. ||2|| Serving the True Guru brings a deep and profound peace, and one's desires are fulfilled. Abstinence, truthfulness and self-discipline are obtained, and the body is purified; the Lord, Har, Har, comes to dwell within the mind. Such a person remains blissful forever, day and night. Meeting the Beloved, peace is found. ||3|| I am a sacrifice to those who seek the Sanctuary of the True Guru. In the Court of the True One, they are blessed with true greatness; they are intuitively absorbed into the True Lord. O Nanak, by His Glance of Grace He is found; the Gurmukh is united in His Union. ||4||12||45|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: The self-willed manmukh performs religious rituals, like the unwanted bride decorating her body. Her Husband Lord does not come to her bed; day after day, she grows more and more miserable. She does not attain the Mansion of His Presence; she does not find the door to His House. ||1|| O Siblings of Destiny, meditate on the Naam with one-pointed mind. Remain united with the Society of the Saints; chant the Name of the Lord, and find peace. ||1||Pause|| The Gurmukh is the happy and pure soul-bride forever. She keeps her Husband Lord enshrined within her heart. Her speech is sweet, and her way of life is humble. She enjoys the Bed of her Husband Lord. The happy and pure soul-bride is noble; she has infinite love for the Guru. ||2|| By perfect good fortune, one meets the True Guru, when one's destiny is awakened. Suffering and doubt are cut out from within, and peace is obtained. One who walks in harmony with the Guru's Will shall not suffer in pain. ||3|| The Amrit, the Ambrosial Nectar, is in the Guru's Will. With intuitive ease, it is obtained. Those who are destined to have it, drink it in; their egotism is eradicated from within. O Nanak, the Gurmukh meditates on the Naam, and is united with the True Lord. ||4||13||46|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: If you know that He is your Husband Lord, offer your body and mind to Him. Behave like the happy and pure soul-bride. With intuitive ease, you shall merge with the True Lord, and He shall bless you with true greatness. ||1|| O Siblings of Destiny, without the Guru, there is no devotional worship. Without the Guru, devotion is not obtained, even though everyone may long for it. ||1||Pause|| The soul-bride in love with duality goes around the wheel of reincarnation, through 8.4 million incarnations. Without the Guru, she finds no sleep, and she passes her life-night in pain. Without the Shabad, she does not find her Husband Lord, and her life wastes away in vain. ||2||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 019

Practicing egotism, selfishness and conceit, she wanders around the world, but her wealth and property will not go with her. The spiritually blind do not even think of the Naam; they are all bound and gagged by the Messenger of Death. Meeting the True Guru, the wealth is obtained, contemplating the Name of the Lord in the heart. ||3|| Those who are attuned to the Naam are immaculate and pure; through the Guru, they obtain intuitive peace and poise. Their minds and bodies are dyed in the Colour of the Lord's Love, and their tongues savor His Sublime Essence. O Nanak, that Primal Colour which the Lord has applied, shall never fade away. ||4||14||47|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: By His Grace one becomes Gurmukh, worshipping the Lord with devotion. Without the Guru there is no devotional worship. Those whom He unites with Himself, understand and become pure. The Dear Lord is True, and True is the Word of His Bani. Through the Shabad, we merge with Him. ||1|| O Siblings of

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Destiny: those who lack devotion-why have they even bothered to come into the world? They do not serve the Perfect Guru; they waste away their lives in vain. ||1||Pause|| The Lord Himself, the Life of the World, is the Giver of Peace. He Himself forgives, and unites with Himself. So what about all these poor beings and creatures? What can anyone say? He Himself blesses the Gurmukh with glory. He Himself enjoins us to His Service. ||2|| Gazing upon their families, people are lured and trapped by emotional attachment, but none will go along with them in the end. Serving the True Guru, one finds the Lord, the Treasure of Excellence. His Value cannot be estimated. The Lord God is my Friend and Companion. God shall be my Helper and Support in the end. ||3|| Within your conscious mind, you may say anything, but without the Guru, selfishness is not removed. The Dear Lord is the Giver, the Lover of His devotees. By His Grace, He comes to dwell in the mind. O Nanak, by His Grace, He bestows enlightened awareness; God Himself blesses the Gurmukh with glorious greatness. ||4||15||48|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: Blessed is the mother who gave birth; blessed and respected is the father of one who serves the True Guru and finds peace. His arrogant pride is banished from within. Standing at the Lord's Door, the humble Saints serve Him; they find the Treasure of Excellence. ||1|| O my mind, become Gurmukh, and meditate on the Lord. The Word of the Guru's Shabad abides within the mind, and the body and mind become pure. ||1||Pause|| By His Grace, He has come into my home; He Himself has come to meet me. Singing His Praises through the Shabads of the Guru, we are dyed in His Colour with intuitive ease. Becoming truthful, we merge with the True One; remaining blended with Him, we shall never be separated again. ||2|| Whatever is to be done, the Lord is doing. No one else can do anything. Those separated from Him for so long are reunited with Him once again by the True Guru, who takes them into His Own Account. He Himself assigns all to their tasks; nothing else can be done. ||3|| One whose mind and body are imbued with the Lord's Love gives up egotism and corruption. Day and night, the Name of the One Lord, the Fearless and Formless One, dwells within the heart. O Nanak, He blends us with Himself, through the Perfect, Infinite Word of His Shabad. ||4||16||49|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: The Lord of the Universe is the Treasure of Excellence; His limits cannot be found. He is not obtained by mouthing mere words, but by rooting out ego from within.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 020

Meeting the True Guru, one is permeated forever with the Fear of God, who Himself comes to dwell within the mind. ||1|| O Siblings of Destiny, one who becomes Gurmukh and understands this is very rare. To act without understanding is to lose the treasure of this human life. ||1||Pause|| Those who have tasted it, enjoy its flavor; without tasting it, they wander in doubt, lost and deceived. The True Name is the Ambrosial Nectar; no one can describe it. Drinking it in, one becomes honourable, absorbed in the Perfect Word of the Shabad. ||2|| He Himself gives, and then we receive. Nothing else can be done. The Gift is in the Hands of the Great Giver. At the Guru's Door, in the Gurdwara, it is received. Whatever He does, comes to pass. All act according to His Will. ||3|| The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is abstinence, truthfulness, and self-restraint. Without the Name, no one becomes pure. Through perfect good fortune, the Naam comes to abide within the mind. Through the Shabad, we merge into Him. O Nanak, one who lives in intuitive peace and poise, imbued with the Lord's Love, obtains the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||4||17||50|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: You may torment your body with extremes of self-discipline, practice intensive meditation and hang upside-down, but your ego will not be eliminated from within. You may perform religious rituals, and still never obtain the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, remain dead while yet alive, and the Name of the Lord shall come to dwell within the mind. ||1|| Listen, O my mind: hurry to the Protection of the Guru's Sanctuary. By Guru's Grace you shall be saved. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, you shall cross over the terrifying world-ocean of poison. ||1||Pause|| Everything under the influence of the three qualities shall perish; the love of duality is corrupting. The Pandits, the religious scholars, read the scriptures, but they are trapped in the bondage of emotional attachment. In love with evil, they do not understand. Meeting the Guru, the bondage of the three qualities is cut away, and in the fourth state, the Door of Liberation is attained. ||2|| Through the Guru, the Path is found, and the darkness of emotional attachment is dispelled. If one dies through the Shabad, then salvation is obtained, and one finds the Door of Liberation. By Guru's Grace, one remains blended with the True Name of the Creator. ||3|| This mind is very powerful; we cannot escape it just by trying. In the love of duality, people suffer in pain, condemned to terrible punishment. O Nanak, those who are attached to the Naam are saved; through the Shabad, their ego is banished. ||4||18||51|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: By His Grace, the Guru is found, and the Name of the Lord is implanted within. Without the Guru, no one has obtained it; they waste away their lives in vain. The self-willed manmukhs create karma, and in the Court of the Lord, they receive their punishment. ||1|| O mind, give up the love of duality. The Lord dwells within you; serving the Guru, you shall find peace. ||Pause|| When you love the Truth, your words are true; they reflect the True Word of the Shabad. The Name of the Lord dwells within the mind; egotism and anger are wiped away. Meditating on the Naam with a pure mind, the Door of Liberation is found. ||2|| Engrossed in egotism, the world perishes. It dies and is re-born; it continues coming and going in reincarnation. The self-willed manmukhs do not recognise the Shabad; they forfeit their honour, and depart in disgrace. Serving the Guru, the Name is obtained, and one remains absorbed in the True Lord. ||3||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 021

With faith in the Shabad, the Guru is found, and selfishness is eradicated from within. Night and day, worship the True Lord with devotion and love forever. The Treasure of the Naam abides in the mind; O Nanak, in the poise of perfect balance, merge into the Lord. ||4||19||52|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: Those who do not serve the True Guru shall be miserable throughout the four ages. The Primal Being is within their own home, but they do not recognise Him. They are plundered by their egotistical pride and arrogance. Cursed by the True Guru, they wander around the world begging, until they are exhausted. They do not serve the True Word of the Shabad, which is the solution to all of their problems. ||1|| O my mind, see the Lord ever close at hand. He shall remove the pains of death and rebirth; the Word of the Shabad shall fill you to overflowing. ||1||Pause|| Those who praise the True One are true; the True Name is their Support. They act truthfully, in love with the True Lord. The True King has written His Order, which no one can erase. The self-willed manmukhs do not obtain the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. The false are plundered by falsehood. ||2|| Engrossed in egotism, the world perishes. Without the Guru, there is utter darkness. In emotional attachment to Maya, they have forgotten the Great Giver, the Giver of Peace. Those who serve the True Guru are saved; they keep the True One enshrined in their hearts. By His Grace, we find the Lord, and reflect on the True Word of the Shabad. ||3|| Serving the True Guru, the mind becomes immaculate and pure; egotism and corruption are discarded. So abandon your selfishness, and remain dead while yet alive. Contemplate the Word of the Guru's Shabad. The pursuit of worldly affairs comes to an end, when you embrace love for the True One. Those who are attuned to Truth-their faces are radiant in the Court of the True Lord. ||4|| Those who do not have faith in the Primal Being, the True Guru, and who do not enshrine love for the Shabad -they take their cleansing baths, and give to charity again and again, but they are ultimately consumed by their love of duality. When the Dear Lord Himself grants His Grace, they are inspired to love the Naam. O Nanak, immerse yourself in the Naam, through the Infinite Love of the Guru. ||5||20||53|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: Whom shall I serve? What shall I chant? I will go and ask the Guru. I will accept the Will of the True Guru, and eradicate selfishness from within. By this work and service, the Naam shall come to dwell within my mind. Through the Naam, peace is obtained; I am adorned and embellished by the True Word of the Shabad. ||1|| O my mind, remain awake and aware night and day, and think of the Lord. Protect your crops, or else the birds shall descend on your farm. ||1||Pause|| The desires of the mind are fulfilled, when one is filled to overflowing with the Shabad. One who fears, loves, and is devoted to the Dear Lord day and night, sees Him always close at hand. Doubt runs far away from the bodies of those, whose minds remain forever attuned to the True Word of the Shabad. The Immaculate Lord and Master is found. He is True; He is the Ocean of Excellence. ||2|| Those who remain awake and aware are saved, while those who sleep are plundered. They do not recognise the True Word of the Shabad, and like a dream, their lives fade away. Like guests in a deserted house, they leave just exactly as they have come.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 022

The life of the self-willed manmukh passes uselessly. What face will he show when he passes beyond? ||3|| God Himself is everything; those who are in their ego cannot even speak of this. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, He is realised, and the pain of egotism is eradicated from within. I fall at the feet of those who serve their True Guru. O Nanak, I am a sacrifice to those who are found to be true in the True Court. ||4||21||54|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: Consider the time and the moment-when should we worship the Lord? Night and day, one who is attuned to the Name of the True Lord is true. If someone forgets the Beloved Lord, even for an instant, what sort of devotion is that? One whose mind and body are cooled and soothed by the True Lord-no breath of his is wasted. ||1|| O my mind, meditate on the Name of the Lord. True devotional worship is performed when the Lord comes to dwell in the mind. ||1||Pause|| With intuitive ease, cultivate your farm, and plant the Seed of the True Name. The seedlings have sprouted luxuriantly, and with intuitive ease, the mind is satisfied. The Word of the Guru's Shabad is Ambrosial Nectar; drinking it in, thirst is quenched. This true mind is attuned to Truth, and it remains permeated with the True One. ||2|| In speaking, in seeing and in words, remain immersed in the Shabad. The Word of the Guru's Bani vibrates throughout the four ages. As Truth, it teaches Truth. Egotism and possessiveness are eliminated, and the True One absorbs them into Himself. Those who remain lovingly absorbed in the True One see the Mansion of His Presence close at hand. ||3|| By His Grace, we meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Without His Mercy, it cannot be obtained. Through perfect good destiny, one finds the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, and one comes to meet the True Guru. Night and day, remain attuned to the Naam, and the pain of corruption shall be dispelled from within. O Nanak, merging with the Shabad through the Name, one is immersed in the Name. ||4||22||55|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: Those who contemplate the Word of the Guru's Shabad are filled with the Fear of God. They remain forever merged with the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation; they dwell upon the Glories of the True One. They cast off the filth of their mental duality, and they keep the Lord enshrined in their hearts. True is their speech, and true are their minds. They are in love with the True One. ||1|| O my mind, you are filled with the filth of egotism. The Immaculate Lord is eternally Beautiful. We are adorned with the Word of the Shabad. ||1||Pause|| God joins to Himself those whose minds are fascinated with the True Word of His Shabad. Night and day, they are attuned to the Naam, and their light is absorbed into the Light. Through His Light, God is revealed. Without the True Guru, understanding is not obtained. The True Guru comes to meet those who have such pre-ordained destiny. ||2|| Without the Name, all are miserable. In the love of duality, they are ruined. Without Him, I cannot survive even for an instant, and my life-night passes in anguish. Wandering in doubt, the spiritually blind come and go in reincarnation, over and over again. When God Himself bestows His Glance of Grace, He blends us into Himself. ||3||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 023

He hears and sees everything. How can anyone deny Him? Those who sin again and again, shall rot and die in sin. God's Glance of Grace does not come to them; those self-willed manmukhs do not obtain understanding. They alone see the Lord, unto whom He reveals Himself. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs find Him. ||4||23||56|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: Without the Guru, the disease is not cured, and the pain of egotism is not removed. By Guru's Grace, He dwells in the mind, and one remains immersed in His Name. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the Lord is found; without the Shabad, people wander, deceived by doubt. ||1|| O mind, dwell in the balanced state of your own inner being. Praise the Lord's Name, and you shall no longer come and go in reincarnation. ||1||Pause|| The One Lord alone is the Giver, pervading everywhere. There is no other at all. Praise the Word of the Shabad, and He shall come to dwell in your mind; you shall be blessed with intuitive peace and poise. Everything is within the Lord's Glance of Grace. As He wishes, He gives. ||2|| In egotism, all must account for their actions. In this accounting, there is no peace. Acting in evil and corruption, people are immersed in corruption. Without the Name, they find no place of rest. In the City of Death, they suffer in agony. ||3|| Body and soul all belong to Him; He is the Support of all. By Guru's Grace, understanding comes, and then the Door of Liberation is found. O Nanak, sing the Praises of the Naam, the Name of the Lord; He has no end or limitation. ||4||24||57|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: Those who have the Support of the True Name are in ecstasy and peace forever. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, they obtain the True One, the Destroyer of pain. Forever and ever, they sing the Glorious Praises of the True One; they love the True Name. When the Lord Himself grants His Grace, He bestows the treasure of devotion. ||1|| O mind, sing His Glorious Praises, and be in ecstasy forever. Through the True Word of His Bani, the Lord is obtained, and one remains immersed in the Lord. ||1||Pause|| In true devotion, the mind is dyed in the deep crimson colour of the Lord's Love, with intuitive peace and poise. The mind is fascinated by the Word of the Guru's Shabad, which cannot be described. The tongue imbued with the True Word of the Shabad drinks in the Amrit with delight, singing His Glorious Praises. The Gurmukh obtains this love, when the Lord, in His Will, grants His Grace. ||2|| This world is an illusion; people pass their life-nights sleeping. By the Pleasure of His Will, He lifts some out, and unites them with Himself. He Himself abides in the mind, and drives out attachment to Maya. He Himself bestows glorious greatness; He inspires the Gurmukh to understand. ||3|| The One Lord is the Giver of all. He corrects those who make mistakes. He Himself has deceived some, and attached them to duality. Through the Guru's Teachings, the Lord is found, and one's light merges into the Light. Attuned to the Name of the Lord night and day, O Nanak, you shall be absorbed into the Name. ||4||25||58|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: The virtuous obtain

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Truth; they give up their desires for evil and corruption. Their minds are imbued with the Word of the Guru's Shabad; the Love of their Beloved is on their tongues.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 024

Without the True Guru, no one has found Him; reflect upon this in your mind and see. The filth of the self-willed manmukhs is not washed off; they have no love for the Guru's Shabad. ||1|| O my mind, walk in harmony with the True Guru. Dwell within the home of your own inner being, and drink in the Ambrosial Nectar; you shall attain the Peace of the Mansion of His Presence. ||1||Pause|| The unvirtuous have no merit; they are not allowed to sit in His Presence. The self-willed manmukhs do not know the Shabad; those without virtue are far removed from God. Those who recognise the True One are permeated and attuned to Truth. Their minds are pierced through by the Word of the Guru's Shabad, and God Himself ushers them into His Presence. ||2|| He Himself dyes us in the Colour of His Love; through the Word of His Shabad, He unites us with Himself. This True Colour shall not fade away, for those who are attuned to His Love. The self-willed manmukhs grow weary of wandering around in all four directions, but they do not understand. One who is united with the True Guru, meets and merges in the True Word of the Shabad. ||3|| I have grown weary of making so many friends, hoping that someone might be able to end my suffering. Meeting with my Beloved, my suffering has ended; I have attained Union with the Word of the Shabad. Earning Truth, and accumulating the Wealth of Truth, the truthful person gains a reputation of Truth. Meeting with the True One, O Nanak, the Gurmukh shall not be separated from Him again. ||4||26||59|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: The Creator Himself created the Creation; He produced the Universe, and He Himself watches over it. The One and Only Lord is pervading and permeating all. The Unseen cannot be seen. God Himself is Merciful; He Himself bestows understanding. Through the Guru's Teachings, the True One dwells forever in the mind of those who remain lovingly attached to Him. ||1|| O my mind, surrender to the Guru's Will. Mind and body are totally cooled and soothed, and the Naam comes to dwell in the mind. ||1||Pause|| Having created the creation, He supports it and takes care of it. The Word of the Guru's Shabad is realised, when He Himself bestows His Glance of Grace. Those who are beautifully adorned with the Shabad in the Court of the True Lord -those Gurmukhs are attuned to the True Word of the Shabad; the Creator unites them with Himself. ||2|| Through the Guru's Teachings, praise the True One, who has no end or limitation. He dwells in each and every heart, by the Hukam of His Command; by His Hukam, we contemplate Him. So praise Him through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, and drive out egotism from within. That soul-bride who lacks the Lord's Name acts without virtue, and so she grieves. ||3|| Praising the True One, attached to the True One, I am satisfied with the True Name. Contemplating His Virtues, I accumulate virtue and merit; I wash myself clean of demerits. He Himself unites us in His Union; there is no more separation. O Nanak, I sing the Praises of my Guru; through Him, I find that God. ||4||27||60|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: Listen, listen, O soul-bride: you are overtaken by sexual desire-why do you walk like that, swinging your arms in joy? You do not recognise your own Husband Lord! When you go to Him, what face will you show Him? I touch the feet of my sister soul-brides who have known their Husband Lord. If only I could be like them! Joining the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, I am united in His Union. ||1||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 025

O woman, the false ones are being cheated by falsehood. God is your Husband; He is Handsome and True. He is obtained by reflecting upon the Guru. ||1||Pause|| The self-willed manmukhs do not recognise their Husband Lord; how will they spend their life-night? Filled with arrogance, they burn with desire; they suffer in the pain of the love of duality. The happy soul-brides are attuned to the Shabad; their egotism is eliminated from within. They enjoy their Husband Lord forever, and their life-night passes in the most blissful peace. ||2|| She is utterly lacking in spiritual wisdom; she is abandoned by her Husband Lord. She cannot obtain His Love. In the darkness of intellectual ignorance, she cannot see her Husband, and her hunger does not depart. Come and meet with me, my sister soul-brides, and unite me with my Husband. She who meets the True Guru, by perfect good fortune, finds her Husband; she is absorbed in the True One. ||3|| Those upon whom He casts His Glance of Grace become His happy soul-brides. One who recognises her Lord and Master places her body and mind in offering before Him. Within her own home, she finds her Husband Lord; her egotism is dispelled. O Nanak, the happy soul-brides are embellished and exalted; night and day they are absorbed in devotional worship. ||4||28||61|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: Some enjoy their Husband Lord; unto whose door should I go to ask for Him? I serve my True Guru with love, that He may lead me to Union with my Husband Lord. He created all, and He Himself watches over us. Some are close to Him, and some are far away. She who knows her Husband Lord to be always with her, enjoys His Constant Presence. ||1|| O woman, you must walk in harmony with the Guru's Will. Night and day, you shall enjoy your Husband, and you shall intuitively merge into the True One. ||1||Pause|| Attuned to the Shabad, the happy soul-brides are adorned with the True Word of the Shabad. Within their own home, they obtain the Lord as their Husband, with love for the Guru. Upon her beautiful and cozy bed, she enjoys the Love of her Lord. She is overflowing with the treasure of devotion. That Beloved God abides in her mind; He gives His Support to all. ||2|| I am forever a sacrifice to those who praise their Husband Lord. I dedicate my mind and body to them, and give my head as well; I fall at their feet. Those who recognise the One renounce the love of duality. The Gurmukh recognises the Naam, O Nanak, and is absorbed into the True One. ||3||29||62|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: O Dear Lord, You are the Truest of the True. All things are in Your Power. The 8.4 million species of beings wander around searching for You, but without the Guru, they do not find You. When the Dear Lord grants His Forgiveness, this human body finds lasting peace. By Guru's Grace, I serve the True One, who is Immeasurably Deep and Profound. ||1|| O my mind, attuned to the Naam, you shall find peace. Follow the Guru's Teachings, and praise the Naam; there is no other at all. ||1||Pause|| The Righteous Judge of Dharma, by the Hukam of God's Command, sits and administers True Justice. Those evil souls, ensnared by the love of duality, are subject to Your Command. The souls on their spiritual journey chant and meditate within their minds on the One Lord, the Treasure of Excellence.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 026

The Righteous Judge of Dharma serves them; blessed is the Lord who adorns them. ||2|| One who eliminates mental wickedness from within the mind, and casts out emotional attachment and egotistical pride, comes to recognise the All-pervading Soul, and is intuitively absorbed into the Naam. Without the True Guru, the self-willed manmukhs do not find liberation; they wander around like lunatics. They do not contemplate the Shabad; engrossed in corruption, they utter only empty words. ||3|| He Himself is everything; there is no other at all. I speak just as He makes me speak, when He Himself makes me speak. The Word of the Gurmukh is God Himself. Through the Shabad, we merge in Him. O Nanak, remember the Naam; serving Him, peace is obtained. ||4||30||63|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: The world is polluted with the filth of egotism, suffering in pain. This filth sticks to them because of their love of duality. This filth of egotism cannot be washed away, even by taking cleansing baths at hundreds of sacred shrines. Performing all sorts of rituals, people are smeared with twice as much filth. This filth is not removed by studying. Go ahead, and ask the wise ones. ||1|| O my mind, coming to the Sanctuary of the Guru, you shall become immaculate and pure. The self-willed manmukhs have grown weary of chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, but their filth cannot be removed. ||1||Pause|| With a polluted mind, devotional service cannot be performed, and the Naam, the Name of the Lord, cannot be obtained. The filthy, self-willed manmukhs die in filth, and they depart in disgrace. By Guru's Grace, the Lord comes to abide in the mind, and the filth of egotism is dispelled. Like a lamp lit in the darkness, the spiritual wisdom of the Guru dispels ignorance. ||2|| "I have done this, and I will do that"-I am an idiotic fool for saying this! I have forgotten the Doer of all; I am caught in the love of duality. There is no pain as great as the pain of Maya; it drives people to wander all around the world, until they become exhausted. Through the Guru's Teachings, peace is found, with the True Name enshrined in the heart. ||3|| I am a sacrifice to those who meet and merge with the Lord. This mind is attuned to devotional worship; through the True Word of Gurbani, it finds its own home. With the mind so imbued, and the tongue imbued as well, sing the Glorious Praises of the True Lord. O Nanak, never forget the Naam; immerse yourself in the True One. ||4||31||64|| Siree Raag, Fourth Mehl, First House: Within my mind and body is the intense pain of separation; how can my Beloved come to meet me in my home? When I see my God, seeing God Himself, my pain is taken away. I go and ask my friends, "How can I meet and merge with God?"||1|| O my True Guru, without You I have no other at all. I am foolish and ignorant; I seek Your Sanctuary. Please be Merciful and unite me with the Lord. ||1||Pause|| The True Guru is the Giver of the Name of the Lord. God Himself causes us to meet Him. The True Guru understands the Lord God. There is no other as Great as the Guru. I have come and collapsed in the Guru's Sanctuary. In His Kindness, He has united me with God. ||2|| No one has found Him by stubborn-mindedness. All have grown weary of the effort.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 027

Thousands of clever mental tricks have been tried, but still, the raw and undisciplined mind does not absorb the Colour of the Lord's Love. By falsehood and deception, none have found Him. Whatever you plant, you shall eat. ||3|| O God, You are the Hope of all. All beings are Yours; You are the Wealth of all. O God, none return from You empty-handed; at Your Door, the Gurmukhs are praised and acclaimed. In the terrifying world-ocean of poison, people are drowning-please lift them up and save them! This is servant Nanak's humble prayer. ||4||1||65|| Siree Raag, Fourth Mehl: Receiving the Naam, the mind is satisfied; without the Naam, life is cursed. If I meet the Gurmukh, my Spiritual Friend, he will show me God, the Treasure of Excellence. I am every bit a sacrifice to one who reveals to me the Naam. ||1|| O my Beloved, I live by meditating on Your Name. Without Your Name, my life does not even exist. My True Guru has implanted the Naam within me. ||1||Pause|| The Naam is a Priceless Jewel; it is with the Perfect True Guru. When one is enjoined to serve the True Guru, He brings out this Jewel and bestows this enlightenment. Blessed, and most fortunate of the very fortunate, are those who come to meet the Guru. ||2|| Those who have not met the Primal Being, the True Guru, are most unfortunate, and are subject to death. They wander in reincarnation over and over again, as the most disgusting maggots in manure. Do not meet with, or even approach those people, whose hearts are filled with horrible anger. ||3|| The True Guru, the Primal Being, is the Pool of Ambrosial Nectar. The very fortunate ones come to bathe in it. The filth of many incarnations is washed away, and the Immaculate Naam is implanted within. Servant Nanak has obtained the most exalted state, lovingly attuned to the True Guru. ||4||2||66|| Siree Raag, Fourth Mehl: I sing His Glories, I describe His Glories, I speak of His Glories, O my mother. The Gurmukhs, my spiritual friends, bestow virtue. Meeting with my spiritual friends, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. The Diamond of the Guru has pierced the diamond of my mind, which is now dyed in the deep crimson colour of the Name. ||1|| O my Lord of the Universe, singing Your Glorious Praises, my mind is satisfied. Within me is the thirst for the Lord's Name; may the Guru, in His Pleasure, grant it to me. ||1||Pause|| Let your minds be imbued with His Love, O blessed and fortunate ones. By His Pleasure, the Guru bestows His Gifts. The Guru has lovingly implanted the Naam, the Name of the Lord, within me; I am a sacrifice to the True Guru. Without the True Guru, the Name of the Lord is not found, even though people may perform hundreds of thousands, even millions of rituals. ||2|| Without destiny, the True Guru is not found, even though He sits within the home of our own inner being, always near and close at hand. There is ignorance within, and the pain of doubt, like a separating screen. Without meeting with the True Guru, no one is transformed into gold. The self-willed manmukh sinks like iron, while the boat is very close. ||3|| The Boat of the True Guru is the Name of the Lord. How can we climb on board? One who walks in harmony with the True Guru's Will comes to sit in this Boat. Blessed, blessed are those very fortunate ones, O Nanak, who are united with the Lord through the True Guru. ||4||3||67||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 028

Siree Raag, Fourth Mehl: I stand by the wayside and ask the Way. If only someone would show me the Way to God-I would go with him. I follow in the footsteps of those who enjoy the Love of my Beloved. I beg of them, I implore them; I have such a yearning to meet God! ||1|| O my Siblings of Destiny, please unite me in Union with my Lord God. I am a sacrifice to the True Guru, who has shown me the Lord God. ||1||Pause|| In deep humility, I fall at the Feet of the Perfect True Guru. The Guru is the Honour of the dishonoured. The Guru, the True Guru, brings approval and applause. I am never tired of praising the Guru, who unites me with the Lord God. ||2|| Everyone, all over the world, longs for the True Guru. Without the good fortune of destiny, the Blessed Vision of His Darshan is not obtained. The unfortunate ones just sit and cry. All things happen according to the Will of the Lord God. No one can erase the pre-ordained Writ of Destiny. ||3|| He Himself is the True Guru; He Himself is the Lord. He Himself unites in His Union. In His Kindness, He unites us with Himself, as we follow the Guru, the True Guru. Over all the world, He is the Life of the World, O Nanak, like water mingled with water. ||4||4||68|| Siree Raag, Fourth Mehl: The Essence of the Ambrosial Naam is the most sublime essence; how can I get to taste this essence? I go and ask the happy soul-brides, "How did you come to meet God?" They are care-free and do not speak; I massage and wash their feet. ||1|| O Siblings of Destiny, meet with your spiritual friend, and dwell upon the Glorious Praises of the Lord. The True Guru, the Primal Being, is your Friend, who shall drive out pain and subdue your ego. ||1||Pause|| The Gurmukhs are the happy soul-brides; their minds are filled with kindness. The Word of the True Guru is the Jewel. One who believes in it tastes the Sublime Essence of the Lord. Those who partake of the Lord's Sublime Essence, through the Guru's Love, are known as great and very fortunate. ||2|| This Sublime Essence of the Lord is in the forests, in the fields and everywhere, but the unfortunate ones do not taste it. Without the True Guru, it is not obtained. The self-willed manmukhs continue to cry in misery. They do not bow before the True Guru; the demon of

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anger is within them. ||3|| The Lord Himself, Har, Har, Har, is the Sublime Essence. The Lord Himself is the Essence. In His Kindness, He blesses the Gurmukh with it; the Ambrosial Nectar of this Amrit trickles down. Then, the body and mind totally blossom forth and flourish; O Nanak, the Lord comes to dwell within the mind. ||4||5||69|| Siree Raag, Fourth Mehl: The day dawns, and then it ends, and the night passes away. Man's life is diminishing, but he does not understand. Each day, the mouse of death is gnawing away at the rope of life. Maya spreads out like sweet molasses; the self-willed manmukh is stuck like a fly, rotting away. ||1|| O Siblings of Destiny, God is my Friend and Companion. Emotional attachment to children and spouse is poison; in the end, no one will go along with you as your helper. ||1||Pause|| Through the Guru's Teachings, some embrace love for the Lord, and are saved. They remain detached and unaffected, and they find the Sanctuary of the Lord.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 029

They keep death constantly before their eyes; they gather the Provisions of the Lord's Name, and receive honour. The Gurmukhs are honoured in the Court of the Lord. The Lord Himself takes them in His Loving Embrace. ||2|| For the Gurmukhs, the Way is obvious. At the Lord's Door, they face no obstructions. They praise the Lord's Name, they keep the Naam in their minds, and they remain attached to the Love of the Naam. The Unstruck Celestial Music vibrates for them at the Lord's Door, and they are honoured at the True Door. ||3|| Those Gurmukhs who praise the Naam are applauded by everyone. Grant me their company, God-I am a beggar; this is my prayer. O Nanak, great is the good fortune of those Gurmukhs, who are filled with the Light of the Naam within. ||4||33||31||6||70|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl, First House: Why are you so thrilled by the sight of your son and your beautifully decorated wife? You enjoy tasty delicacies, you have lots of fun, and you indulge in endless pleasures. You give all sorts of commands, and you act so superior. The Creator does not come into the mind of the blind, idiotic, self-willed manmukh. ||1|| O my mind, the Lord is the Giver of peace. By Guru's Grace, He is found. By His Mercy, He is obtained. ||1||Pause|| People are entangled in the enjoyment of fine clothes, but gold and silver are only dust. They acquire beautiful horses and elephants, and ornate carriages of many kinds. They think of nothing else, and they forget all their relatives. They ignore their Creator; without the Name, they are impure. ||2|| Gathering the wealth of Maya, you earn an evil reputation. Those whom you work to please shall pass away along with you. The egotistical are engrossed in egotism, ensnared by the intellect of the mind. One who is deceived by God Himself, has no position and no honour. ||3|| The True Guru, the Primal Being, has led me to meet the One, my only Friend. The One is the Saving Grace of His humble servant. Why should the proud cry out in ego? As the servant of the Lord wills, so does the Lord act. At the Lord's Door, none of his requests are denied. Nanak is attuned to the Love of the Lord, whose Light pervades the entire Universe. ||4||1||71|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl: With the mind caught up in playful pleasures, involved in all sorts of amusements and sights that stagger the eyes, people are led astray. The emperors sitting on their thrones are consumed by anxiety. ||1|| O Siblings of Destiny, peace is found in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. If the Supreme Lord, the Architect of Destiny, writes such an order, then anguish and anxiety are erased. ||1||Pause|| There are so many places-I have wandered through them all. The masters of wealth and the great land-lords have fallen, crying out, "This is mine! This is mine!"||2|| They issue their commands fearlessly, and act in pride. They subdue all under their command, but without the Name, they are reduced to dust. ||3|| Even those who are served by the 33 million angelic beings, at whose door the Siddhas and the Saadhus stand, who live in wondrous affluence and rule over mountains, oceans and vast dominions-O Nanak, in the end, all this vanishes like a dream! ||4||2||72||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 030

Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl: Arising each day, you cherish your body, but you are idiotic, ignorant and without understanding. You are not conscious of God, and your body shall be cast into the wilderness. Focus your consciousness on the True Guru; you shall enjoy bliss forever and ever. ||1|| O mortal, you came here to earn a profit. What useless activities are you attached to? Your life-night is coming to its end. ||1||Pause|| The animals and the birds frolic and play-they do not see death. Mankind is also with them, trapped in the net of Maya. Those who always remember the Naam, the Name of the Lord, are considered to be liberated. ||2|| That dwelling which you will have to abandon and vacate-you are attached to it in your mind. And that place where you must go to dwell-you have no regard for it at all. Those who fall at the Feet of the Guru are released from this bondage. ||3|| No one else can save you-don't look for anyone else. I have searched in all four directions; I have come to find His Sanctuary. O Nanak, the True King has pulled me out and saved me from drowning! ||4||3||73|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl: For a brief moment, man is a guest of the Lord; he tries to resolve his affairs. Engrossed in Maya and sexual desire, the fool does not understand. He arises and departs with regret, and falls into the clutches of the Messenger of Death. ||1|| You are sitting on the collapsing riverbank-are you blind? If you are so pre-destined, then act according to the Guru's Teachings. ||1||Pause|| The Reaper does not look upon any as unripe, half-ripe or fully ripe. Picking up and wielding their sickles, the harvesters arrive. When the landlord gives the order, they cut and measure the crop. ||2|| The first watch of the night passes away in worthless affairs, and the second passes in deep sleep. In the third, they babble nonsense, and when the fourth watch comes, the day of death has arrived. The thought of the One who bestows body and soul never enters the mind. ||3|| I am devoted to the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; I sacrifice my soul to them. Through them, understanding has entered my mind, and I have met the All-knowing Lord God. Nanak sees the Lord always with him-the Lord, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. ||4||4||74|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl: Let me forget everything, but let me not forget the One Lord. All my evil pursuits have been burnt away; the Guru has blessed me with the Naam, the true object of life. Give up all other hopes, and rely on the One Hope. Those who serve the True Guru receive a place in the world hereafter. ||1|| O my mind, praise the Creator. Give up all your clever tricks, and fall at the Feet of the Guru. ||1||Pause|| Pain and hunger shall not oppress you, if the Giver of Peace comes into your mind. No undertaking shall fail, when the True Lord is always in your heart. No one can kill that one unto whom You, Lord, give Your Hand and protect. Serve the Guru, the Giver of Peace; He shall remove and wash off all your faults. ||2|| Your servant begs to serve those who are enjoined to Your service.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 031

The opportunity to work hard serving the Saadh Sangat is obtained, when the Divine Lord is pleased. Everything is in the Hands of our Lord and Master; He Himself is the Doer of deeds. I am a sacrifice to the True Guru, who fulfills all hopes and desires. ||3|| The One appears to be my Companion; the One is my Brother and Friend. The elements and the components are all made by the One; they are held in their order by the One. When the mind accepts, and is satisfied with the One, then the consciousness becomes steady and stable. Then, one's food is the True Name, one's garments are the True Name, and one's Support, O Nanak, is the True Name. ||4||5||75|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl: All things are received if the One is obtained. The precious gift of this human life becomes fruitful when one chants the True Word of the Shabad. One who has such destiny written on his forehead enters the Mansion of the Lord's Presence, through the Guru. ||1|| O my mind, focus your consciousness on the One. Without the One, all entanglements are worthless; emotional attachment to Maya is totally false. ||1||Pause|| Hundreds of thousands of princely pleasures are enjoyed, if the True Guru bestows His Glance of Grace. If He bestows the Name of the Lord, for even a moment, my mind and body are cooled and soothed. Those who have such pre-ordained destiny hold tight to the Feet of the True Guru. ||2|| Fruitful is that moment, and fruitful is that time, when one is in love with the True Lord. Suffering and sorrow do not touch those who have the Support of the Name of the Lord. Grasping him by the arm, the Guru lifts them up and out, and carries them across to the other side. ||3|| Embellished and immaculate is that place where the Saints gather together. He alone finds shelter, who has met the Perfect Guru. Nanak builds his house upon that site where there is no death, no birth, and no old age. ||4||6||76|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl: Meditate on Him, O my soul; He is the Supreme Lord over kings and emperors. Place the hopes of your mind in the One, in whom all have faith. Give up all your clever tricks, and grasp the Feet of the Guru. ||1|| O my mind, chant the Name with intuitive peace and poise. Twenty-four hours a day, meditate on God. Constantly sing the Glories of the Lord of the Universe. ||1||Pause|| Seek His Shelter, O my mind; there is no other as Great as He. Remembering Him in meditation, a profound peace is obtained. Pain and suffering will not touch you at all. Forever and ever, work for God; He is our True Lord and Master. ||2|| In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, you shall become absolutely pure, and the noose of death shall be cut away. So offer your prayers to Him, the Giver of Peace, the Destroyer of fear. Showing His Mercy, the Merciful Master shall resolve your affairs. ||3|| The Lord is said to be the Greatest of the Great; His Kingdom is the Highest of the High. He has no colour or mark; His Value cannot be estimated. Please show Mercy to Nanak, God, and bless him with Your True Name. ||4||7||77|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl: One who meditates on the Naam is at peace; his face is radiant and bright. Obtaining it from the Perfect Guru, he is honoured all over the world. In the Company of the Holy, the One True Lord comes to abide within the home of the self. ||1||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 032

O my mind, meditate on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. The Naam is your Companion; it shall always be with you. It shall save you in the world hereafter. ||1||Pause|| What good is worldly greatness? All the pleasures of Maya are tasteless and insipid. In the end, they shall all fade away. Perfectly fulfilled and supremely acclaimed is the one, in whose heart the Lord abides. ||2|| Become the dust of the Saints; renounce your selfishness and conceit. Give up all your schemes and your clever mental tricks, and fall at the Feet of the Guru. He alone receives the Jewel, upon whose forehead such wondrous destiny is written. ||3|| O Siblings of Destiny, it is received only when God Himself bestows it. People serve the True Guru only when the fever of egotism has been eradicated. Nanak has met the Guru; all his sufferings have come to an end. ||4||8||78|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl: The One is the Knower of all beings; He alone is our Savior. The One is the Support of the mind; the One is the Support of the breath of life. In His Sanctuary there is eternal peace. He is the Supreme Lord God, the Creator. ||1|| O my mind, give up all these efforts. Dwell upon the Perfect Guru each day, and attach yourself to the One Lord. ||1||Pause|| The One is my Brother, the One is my Friend. The One is my Mother and Father. The One is the Support of the mind; He has given us body and soul. May I never forget God from my mind; He holds all in the Power of His Hands. ||2|| The One is within the home of the self, and the One is outside as well. He Himself is in all places and interspaces. Meditate twenty-four hours a day on the One who created all beings and creatures. Attuned to the Love of the One, there is no sorrow or suffering. ||3|| There is only the One Supreme Lord God; there is no other at all. Soul and body all belong to Him; whatever pleases His Will comes to pass. Through the Perfect Guru, one becomes perfect; O Nanak, meditate on the True One. ||4||9||79|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl: Those who focus their consciousness on the True Guru are perfectly fulfilled and famous. Spiritual wisdom wells up in the minds of those unto whom the Lord Himself shows Mercy. Those who have such destiny written upon their foreheads obtain the Name of the Lord. ||1|| O my mind, meditate on the Name of the One Lord. The happiness of all happiness shall well up, and in the Court of the Lord, you shall be dressed in robes of honour. ||1||Pause|| The fear of death and rebirth is removed by performing loving devotional service to the Lord of the World. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, one becomes immaculate and pure; the Lord Himself takes care of such a one. The filth of birth and death is washed away, and one is uplifted, beholding the Blessed Vision of the Guru's Darshan. ||2|| The Supreme Lord God is pervading all places and interspaces. The One is the Giver of all-there is no other at all. In His Sanctuary, one is saved. Whatever He wishes, comes to pass. ||3|| Perfectly fulfilled and famous are those, in whose minds the Supreme Lord God abides. Their reputation is spotless and pure; they are famous all over the world. O Nanak, I am a sacrifice to those who meditate on my God. ||4||10||80||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 033

Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl: Meeting the True Guru, all my sufferings have ended, and the Peace of the Lord has come to dwell within my mind. The Divine Light illuminates my inner being, and I am lovingly absorbed in the One. Meeting with the Holy Saint, my face is radiant; I have realised my pre-ordained destiny. I constantly sing the Glories of the Lord of the Universe. Through the True Name, I have become spotlessly pure. ||1|| O my mind, you shall find peace through the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Working for the Perfect Guru, no one goes away empty-handed. ||1||Pause|| The desires of the mind are fulfilled, when the Treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is obtained. The Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts, is always with you; recognise Him as the Creator. By Guru's Grace, your face shall be radiant. Chanting the Naam, you shall receive the benefits of giving charity and taking cleansing baths. Sexual desire, anger and greed are eliminated, and all egotistical pride is abandoned. ||2|| The Profit of the Naam is obtained, and all affairs are brought to fruition. In His Mercy, God unites us with Himself, and He blesses us with the Naam. My comings and goings in reincarnation have come to an end; He Himself has bestowed His Mercy. I have obtained my home in the True Mansion of His Presence, realising the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||3|| His humble devotees are protected and saved; He Himself showers His Blessings upon us. In this world and in the world hereafter, radiant are the faces of those who cherish and enshrine the Glories of the True Lord. Twenty-four hours a day, they lovingly dwell upon His Glories; they are imbued with His Infinite Love. Nanak is forever a sacrifice to the Supreme Lord God, the Ocean of Peace. ||4||11||81|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl: If we meet the Perfect True Guru, we obtain the Treasure of the Shabad. Please grant Your Grace, God, that we may meditate on Your Ambrosial Naam. The pains of birth and death are taken away; we are intuitively centred on His Meditation. ||1|| O my mind, seek the Sanctuary of God. Without the Lord, there is no other at all. Meditate on the One and only Naam, the Name of the Lord.

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||1||Pause|| His Value cannot be estimated; He is the Vast Ocean of Excellence. O most fortunate ones, join the Sangat, the Blessed Congregation; purchase the True Word of the Shabad. Serve the Lord, the Ocean of Peace, the Supreme Lord over kings and emperors. ||2|| I take the Support of the Lord's Lotus Feet; there is no other place of rest for me. I lean upon You as my Support, O Supreme Lord God. I exist only by Your Power. O God, You are the Honour of the dishonoured. I seek to merge with You. ||3|| Chant the Lord's Name and contemplate the Lord of the World, twenty-four hours a day. He preserves our soul, our breath of life, body and wealth. By His Grace, He protects our soul. O Nanak, all pain has been washed away, by the Supreme Lord God, the Forgiver. ||4||12||82|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl: I have fallen in love with the True Lord. He does not die, He does not come and go. In separation, He is not separated from us; He is pervading and permeating amongst all. He is the Destroyer of the pain and suffering of the meek. He bears True Love for His servants. Wondrous is the Form of the Immaculate One. Through the Guru, I have met Him, O my mother! ||1|| O Siblings of Destiny, make God your Friend.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 034

Cursed is emotional attachment and love of Maya; no one is seen to be at peace. ||1||Pause|| God is Wise, Giving, Tender-hearted, Pure, Beautiful and Infinite. He is our Companion and Helper, Supremely Great, Lofty and Utterly Infinite. He is not known as young or old; His Court is Steady and Stable. Whatever we seek from Him, we receive. He is the Support of the unsupported. ||2|| Seeing Him, our evil inclinations vanish; mind and body become peaceful and tranquil. With one-pointed mind, meditate on the One Lord, and the doubts of your mind will be dispelled. He is the Treasure of Excellence, the Ever-fresh Being. His Gift is Perfect and Complete. Forever and ever, worship and adore Him. Day and night, do not forget Him. ||3|| One whose destiny is so pre-ordained, obtains the Lord of the Universe as his Companion. I dedicate my body, mind, wealth and all to Him. I totally sacrifice my soul to Him. Seeing and hearing, He is always close at hand. In each and every heart, God is pervading. Even the ungrateful ones are cherished by God. O Nanak, He is forever the Forgiver. ||4||13||83|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl: This mind, body and wealth were given by God, who naturally adorns us. He has blessed us with all our energy, and infused His Infinite Light deep within us. Forever and ever, meditate in remembrance on God; keep Him enshrined in your heart. ||1|| O my mind, without the Lord, there is no other at all. Remain in God's Sanctuary forever, and no suffering shall afflict you. ||1||Pause|| Jewels, treasures, pearls, gold and silver-all these are just dust. Mother, father, children and relatives-all relations are false. The self-willed manmukh is an insulting beast; he does not acknowledge the One who created him. ||2|| The Lord is pervading within and beyond, and yet people think that He is far away. They are engrossed in clinging desires; within their hearts there is ego and falsehood. Without devotion to the Naam, crowds of people come and go. ||3|| Please preserve Your beings and creatures, God; O Creator Lord, please be merciful! Without God, there is no saving grace. The Messenger of Death is cruel and unfeeling. O Nanak, may I never forget the Naam! Please bless me with Your Mercy, Lord! ||4||14||84|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl: "My body and my wealth; my ruling power, my beautiful form and country-mine!" You may have children, a wife and many mistresses; you may enjoy all sorts of pleasures and fine clothes. And yet, if the Name of the Lord does not abide within the heart, none of it has any use or value. ||1|| O my mind, meditate on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Always keep the Company of the Holy, and focus your consciousness on the Feet of the Guru. ||1||Pause|| Those who have such blessed destiny written on their foreheads meditate on the Treasure of the Naam. All their affairs are brought to fruition, holding onto the Guru's Feet. The diseases of ego and doubt are cast out; they shall not come and go in reincarnation. ||2|| Let the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, be your cleansing baths at the sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage. Your soul, breath of life, mind and body shall blossom forth in lush profusion; this is the true purpose of life.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 035

In this world you shall be blessed with greatness, and in the Court of the Lord you shall find your place of rest. ||3|| God Himself acts, and causes others to act; everything is in His Hands. He Himself bestows life and death; He is with us, within and beyond. Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of God, the Master of all hearts. ||4||15||85|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl: The Guru is Merciful; we seek the Sanctuary of God. Through the Teachings of the True Guru, all worldly entanglements are eliminated. The Name of the Lord is firmly implanted within my mind; through His Ambrosial Glance of Grace, I am exalted and enraptured. ||1|| O my mind, serve the True Guru. God Himself grants His Grace; do not forget Him, even for an instant. ||Pause|| Continually sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe, the Destroyer of demerits. Without the Name of the Lord, there is no peace. Having tried all sorts of ostentatious displays, I have come to see this. Intuitively imbued with His Praises, one is saved, crossing over the terrifying world-ocean. ||2|| The merits of pilgrimages, fasts and hundreds of thousands of techniques of austere self-discipline are found in the dust of the feet of the Holy. From whom are you trying to hide your actions? God sees all; He is Ever-present. My God is totally pervading all places and interspaces. ||3|| True is His Empire, and True is His Command. True is His Seat of True Authority. True is the Creative Power which He has created. True is the world which He has fashioned. O Nanak, chant the True Name; I am forever and ever a sacrifice to Him. ||4||16||86|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl: Make the effort, and chant the Lord's Name. O very fortunate ones, earn this wealth. In the Society of the Saints, meditate in remembrance on the Lord, and wash off the filth of countless incarnations. ||1|| O my mind, chant and meditate on the Name of the Lord. Enjoy the fruits of your mind's desires; all suffering and sorrow shall depart. ||Pause|| For His sake, you assumed this body; see God always with you. God is pervading the water, the land and the sky; He sees all with His Glance of Grace. ||2|| The mind and body become spotlessly pure, enshrining love for the True Lord. One who dwells upon the Feet of the Supreme Lord God has truly performed all meditations and austerities. ||3|| The Ambrosial Name of the Lord is a Gem, a Jewel, a Pearl. The essence of intuitive peace and bliss is obtained, O servant Nanak, by singing the Glories of God. ||4||17||87|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl: That is the essence of the scriptures, and that is a good omen, by which one comes to chant the Name of the Lord. The Guru has given me the Wealth of the Lotus Feet of the Lord, and I, without shelter, have now obtained Shelter. The True Capital, and the True Way of Life, comes by chanting His Glories, twenty-four hours a day. Granting His Grace, God meets us, and we no longer die, or come or go in reincarnation. ||1|| O my mind, vibrate and meditate forever on the Lord, with single-minded love. He is contained deep within each and every heart. He is always with you, as your Helper and Support. ||1||Pause|| How can I measure the happiness of meditating on the Lord of the Universe? Those who taste it are satisfied and fulfilled; their souls know this Sublime Essence.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 036

In the Society of the Saints, God, the Beloved, the Forgiver, comes to dwell within the mind. One who has served his God is the emperor of kings||2|| This is the time to speak and sing the Praise and the Glory of God, which brings the merit of millions of cleansing and purifying baths. The tongue which chants these Praises is worthy; there is no charity equal to this. Blessing us with His Glance of Grace, the Kind and Compassionate, All-powerful Lord comes to dwell within the mind and body. My soul, body and wealth are His. Forever and ever, I am a sacrifice to Him. ||3|| One whom the Creator Lord has met and joined to Himself shall never again be separated. The True Creator Lord breaks the bonds of His slave. The doubter has been put back on the path; his merits and demerits have not been considered. Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of the One who is the Support of every heart. ||4||18||88|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl: With your tongue, repeat the True Name, and your mind and body shall become pure. Your mother and father and all your relations-without Him, there are none at all. If God Himself bestows His Mercy, then He is not forgotten, even for an instant. ||1|| O my mind, serve the True One, as long as you have the breath of life. Without the True One, everything is false; in the end, all shall perish. ||1||Pause|| My Lord and Master is Immaculate and Pure; without Him, I cannot even survive. Within my mind and body, there is such a great hunger; if only someone would come and unite me with Him, O my mother! I have searched the four corners of the world-without our Husband Lord, there is no other place of rest. ||2|| Offer your prayers to Him, who shall unite you with the Creator. The True Guru is the Giver of the Naam; His Treasure is perfect and overflowing. Forever and ever, praise the One, who has no end or limitation. ||3|| Praise God, the Nurturer and Cherisher; His Wondrous Ways are unlimited. Forever and ever, worship and adore Him; this is the most wonderful wisdom. O Nanak, God's Flavor is sweet to the minds and bodies of those who have such blessed destiny written on their foreheads. ||4||19||89|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl: Meet with the humble Saints, O Siblings of Destiny, and contemplate the True Name. For the journey of the soul, gather those supplies which will go with you here and hereafter. These are obtained from the Perfect Guru, when God bestows His Glance of Grace. Those unto whom He is Merciful, receive His Grace. ||1|| O my mind, there is no other as great as the Guru. I cannot imagine any other place. The Guru leads me to meet the True Lord. ||1||Pause|| Those who go to see the Guru obtain all treasures. Those whose minds are attached to the Guru's Feet are very fortunate, O my mother. The Guru is the Giver, the Guru is All-powerful. The Guru is All-pervading, contained amongst all. The Guru is the Transcendent Lord, the Supreme Lord God. The Guru lifts up and saves those who are drowning. ||2|| How shall I praise the Guru, the All-powerful Cause of causes? Those, upon whose foreheads the Guru has placed His Hand, remain steady and stable. The Guru has led me to drink in the Ambrosial Nectar of the Naam, the Name of the Lord; He has released me from the cycle of birth and death. I serve the Guru, the Transcendent Lord, the Dispeller of fear; my suffering has been taken away. ||3||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 037

The True Guru is the Deep and Profound Ocean of Peace, the Destroyer of sin. For those who serve their Guru, there is no punishment at the hands of the Messenger of Death. There is none to compare with the Guru; I have searched and looked throughout the entire universe. The True Guru has bestowed the Treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. O Nanak, the mind is filled with peace. ||4||20||90|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl: People eat what they believe to be sweet, but it turns out to be bitter in taste. They attach their affections to brothers and friends, uselessly engrossed in corruption. They vanish without a moment's delay; without God's Name, they are stunned and amazed. ||1|| O my mind, attach yourself to the service of the True Guru. Whatever is seen, shall pass away. Abandon the intellectualisation s of your mind. ||1||Pause|| Like the mad dog running around in all directions, the greedy person, unaware, consumes everything, edible and non-edible alike. Engrossed in the intoxication of sexual desire and anger, people wander through reincarnation over and over again. ||2|| Maya has spread out her net, and in it, she has placed the bait. The bird of desire is caught, and cannot find any escape, O my mother. One who does not know the Lord who created him, comes and goes in reincarnation over and over again. ||3|| By various devices, and in so many ways, this world is enticed. They alone are saved, whom the All-powerful, Infinite Lord protects. The servants of the Lord are saved by the Love of the Lord. O Nanak, I am forever a sacrifice to them. ||4||21||91|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl, Second House: The herdsman comes to the pasture lands-what good are his ostentatious displays here? When your allotted time is up, you must go. Take care of your real hearth and home. ||1|| O mind, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and serve the True Guru with love. Why do you take pride in trivial matters? ||1||Pause|| Like an overnight guest, you shall arise and depart in the morning. Why are you so attached to your household? It is all like flowers in the garden. ||2|| Why do you say, "Mine, mine"? Look to God, who has given it to you. It is certain that you must arise and depart, and leave behind your hundreds of thousands and millions. ||3|| Through 8.4 million incarnations you have wandered, to obtain this rare and precious human life. O Nanak, remember the Naam, the Name of the Lord; the day of departure is drawing near! ||4||22||92|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl: As long as the soul-companion is with the body, it dwells in happiness. But when the companion arises and departs, then the body-bride mingles with dust. ||1|| My mind has become detached from the world; it longs to see the Vision of God's Darshan. Blessed is Your Place. ||1||Pause|| As long as the soul-husband dwells in the body-house, everyone greets you with respect. But when the soul-husband arises and departs, then no one cares for you at all. ||2|| In this world of your parents' home, serve your Husband Lord; in the world beyond, in your in-laws' home, you shall dwell in peace. Meeting with the Guru, be a sincere student of proper conduct, and suffering shall never touch you. ||3|| Everyone shall go to their Husband Lord. Everyone shall be given their ceremonial send-off after their marriage.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 038

O Nanak, blessed are the happy soul-brides, who are in love with their Husband Lord. ||4||23||93|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl, Sixth House: The One Lord is the Doer, the Cause of causes, who has created the creation. Meditate on the One, O my mind, who is the Support of all. ||1|| Meditate within your mind on the Guru's Feet. Give up all your clever mental tricks, and lovingly attune yourself to the True Word of the Shabad. ||1||Pause|| Suffering, agony and fear do not cling to one whose heart is filled with the GurMantra. Trying millions of things, people have grown weary, but without the Guru, none have been saved. ||2|| Gazing upon the Blessed Vision of the Guru's Darshan, the mind is comforted and all sins depart. I am a sacrifice to those who fall at the Feet of the Guru. ||3|| In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, the True Name of the Lord comes to dwell in the mind. Very fortunate are those, O Nanak, whose minds are filled with this love. ||4||24||94|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl: Gather in the Wealth of the Lord, worship the True Guru, and give up all your corrupt ways. Meditate in remembrance on the Lord who created and adorned you, and you shall be saved. ||1|| O mind, chant the Name of the One, the Unique and Infinite Lord. He gave you the praanaa, the breath of life, and your mind and body. He is the Support of the heart. ||1||Pause|| The world is drunk, engrossed in sexual desire, anger and egotism. Seek the Sanctuary of the Saints, and fall at their feet; your suffering and darkness shall be removed. ||2|| Practice truth, contentment and kindness; this is the most excellent way of life. One who is so blessed by the Formless Lord God renounces selfishness, and becomes the dust of all. ||3|| All that

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is seen is You, Lord, the expansion of the expanse. Says Nanak, the Guru has removed my doubts; I recognise God in all. ||4||25||95|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl: The whole world is engrossed in bad deeds and good deeds. God's devotee is above both, but those who understand this are very rare. ||1|| Our Lord and Master is all-pervading everywhere. What should I say, and what should I hear? O my Lord and Master, You are Great, All-powerful and All-knowing. ||1||Pause|| One who is influenced by praise and blame is not God's servant. One who sees the essence of reality with impartial vision, O Saints, is very rare-one among millions. ||2|| People talk on and on about Him; they consider this to be praise of God. But rare indeed is the Gurmukh, who is above this mere talk. ||3|| He is not concerned with deliverance or bondage. Nanak has obtained the gift of the dust of the feet of the Saints. ||4||26||96|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl, Seventh House: Relying on Your Mercy, Dear Lord, I have indulged in sensual pleasures. Like a foolish child, I have made mistakes. O Lord, You are my Father and Mother. ||1|| It is easy to speak and talk, but it is difficult to accept Your Will. ||1||Pause|| I stand tall; You are my Strength. I know that You are mine. Inside of all, and outside of all, You are our Self-sufficient Father. ||2|| O Father, I do not know-how can I know Your Way?

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 039

He frees us from bondage, O Saints, and saves us from possessiveness. ||3|| Becoming Merciful, my Lord and Master has ended my comings and goings in reincarnation. Meeting with the Guru, Nanak has recognised the Supreme Lord God. ||4||27||97|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl, First House: Meeting with the humble beings, O Siblings of Destiny, the Messenger of Death is conquered. The True Lord and Master has come to dwell within my mind; my Lord and Master has become Merciful. Meeting with the Perfect True Guru, all my worldly entanglements have ended. ||1|| O my True Guru, I am a sacrifice to You. I am a sacrifice to the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. By the Pleasure of Your Will, You have blessed me with the Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Those who have served You with love are truly wise. Those who have the Treasure of the Naam within emancipate others as well as themselves. There is no other Giver as great as the Guru, who has given the gift of the soul. ||2|| Blessed and acclaimed is the coming of those who have met the Guru with loving faith. Attuned to the True One, you shall obtain a place of honour in the Court of the Lord. Greatness is in the Hands of the Creator; it is obtained by pre-ordained destiny. ||3|| True is the Creator, True is the Doer. True is our Lord and Master, and True is His Support. So speak the Truest of the True. Through the True One, an intuitive and discerning mind is obtained. Nanak lives by chanting and meditating on the One, who is pervading within and contained amongst all. ||4||28||98|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl: Worship the Guru, the Transcendent Lord, with your mind and body attuned to love. The True Guru is the Giver of the soul; He gives Support to all. Act according to the Instructions of the True Guru; this is the true philosophy. Without being attuned to the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, all attachment to Maya is just dust. ||1|| O my friend, reflect upon the Name of the Lord, Har, Har . In the Saadh Sangat, He dwells within the mind, and one's works are brought to perfect fruition. ||1||Pause|| The Guru is All-powerful, the Guru is Infinite. By great good fortune, the Blessed Vision of His Darshan is obtained. The Guru is Imperceptible, Immaculate and Pure. There is no other as great as the Guru. The Guru is the Creator, the Guru is the Doer. The Gurmukh obtains true glory. Nothing is beyond the Guru; whatever He wishes comes to pass. ||2|| The Guru is the Sacred Shrine of Pilgrimage, the Guru is the Wish-fulfilling Elysian Tree. The Guru is the Fulfiller of the desires of the mind. The Guru is the Giver of the Name of the Lord, by which all the world is saved. The Guru is All-powerful, the Guru is Formless; the Guru is Lofty, Inaccessible and Infinite. The Praise of the Guru is so sublime-what can any speaker say? ||3|| All the rewards which the mind desires are with the True Guru. One whose destiny is so pre-ordained, obtains the Wealth of the True Name. Entering the Sanctuary of the True Guru, you shall never die again. Nanak: may I never forget You, Lord. This soul, body and breath are Yours. ||4||29||99|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl: O Saints, O Siblings of Destiny, listen: release comes only through the True Name. Worship the Feet of the Guru. Let the Name of the Lord be your sacred shrine of pilgrimage. Hereafter, you shall be honoured in the Court of the Lord; there, even the homeless find a home. ||1||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 040

O Siblings of Destiny, service to the True Guru alone is True. When the True Guru is pleased, we obtain the Perfect, Unseen, Unknowable Lord. ||1||Pause|| I am a sacrifice to the True Guru, who has bestowed the True Name. Night and day, I praise the True One; I sing the Glorious Praises of the True One. True is the food, and true are the clothes, of those who chant the True Name of the True One. ||2|| With each breath and morsel of food, do not forget the Guru, the Embodiment of Fulfillment. None is seen to be as great as the Guru. Meditate on Him twenty-four hours a day. As He casts His Glance of Grace, we obtain the True Name, the Treasure of Excellence. ||3|| The Guru and the Transcendent Lord are one and the same, pervading and permeating amongst all. Those who have such pre-ordained destiny, meditate on the Naam. Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of the Guru, who does not die, or come and go in reincarnation. ||4||30||100|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Siree Raag, First Mehl, First House, Ashtapadees: I speak and chant His Praises, vibrating the of my mind. The more I know Him, the more I vibrate it. The One, unto whom we vibrate and sing-how great is He, and where is His Place? Those who speak of Him and praise Him-they all continue speaking of Him with love. ||1|| O Baba, the Lord Allah is Inaccessible and Infinite. Sacred is His Name, and Sacred is His Place. He is the True Cherisher. ||1||Pause|| The extent of Your Command cannot be seen; no one knows how to write it. Even if a hundred poets met together, they could not describe even a tiny bit of it. No one has found Your Value; they all merely write what they have heard again and again. ||2|| The Pirs, the Prophets, the spiritual teachers, the faithful, the innocents and the martyrs, the Shaikhs, the mystics, the Qazis, the Mullahs and the Dervishes at His Door -they are blessed all the more as they continue reading their prayers in praise to Him. ||3|| He seeks no advice when He builds; He seeks no advice when He destroys. He seeks no advice while giving or taking. He alone knows His Creative Power; He Himself does all deeds. He beholds all in His Vision. He gives to those with whom He is pleased. ||4|| His Place and His Name are not known, no one knows how great is His Name. How great is that place where my Sovereign Lord dwells? No one can reach it; whom shall I go and ask? ||5|| One class of people does not like the other, when one has been made great. Greatness is only in His Great Hands; He gives to those with whom He is pleased. By the Hukam of His Command, He Himself regenerates, without a moment's delay. ||6|| Everyone cries out, "More! More!", with the idea of receiving. How great should we call the Giver? His Gifts are beyond estimation. O Nanak, there is no deficiency; Your Storehouses are filled to overflowing, age after age. ||7||1|| First Mehl: All are brides of the Husband Lord; all decorate themselves for Him.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 041

But when the time comes to settle their accounts, their red robes are corrupt. His Love is not obtained through hypocrisy. Her false coverings bring only ruin. ||1|| In this way, the Dear Husband Lord ravishes and enjoys His bride. The happy soul-bride is pleasing to You, Lord; by Your Grace, You adorn her. ||1||Pause|| She is decorated with the Word of the Guru's Shabad; her mind and body belong to her Husband Lord. With her palms pressed together, she stands, waiting on Him, and offers her True prayers to Him. Dyed in the deep crimson of the Love of her Darling Lord, she dwells in the Fear of the True One. Imbued with His Love, she is dyed in the colour of His Love. ||2|| She is said to be the hand-maiden of her Beloved Lord; His sweetheart surrenders to His Name. True Love is never broken; she is united in Union with the True One. Attuned to the Word of the Shabad, her mind is pierced through. I am forever a sacrifice to Him. ||3|| That bride, who is absorbed into the True Guru, shall never become a widow. Her Husband Lord is Beautiful; His Body is forever fresh and new. The True One does not die, and shall not go. He continually enjoys His happy soul-bride; He casts His Gracious Glance of Truth upon her, and she abides in His Will. ||4|| The bride braids her hair with Truth; her clothes are decorated with His Love. Like the essence of sandalwood, He permeates her consciousness, and the Temple of the Tenth Gate is opened. The lamp of the Shabad is lit, and the Name of the Lord is her necklace. ||5|| She is the most beautiful among women; upon her forehead she wears the Jewel of the Lord's Love. Her glory and her wisdom are magnificent; her love for the Infinite Lord is True. Other than her Beloved Lord, she knows no man. She enshrines love for the True Guru. ||6|| Asleep in the darkness of the night, how shall she pass her life-night without her Husband? Her limbs shall burn, her body shall burn, and her mind and wealth shall burn as well. When the Husband does not enjoy His bride, then her youth passes away in vain. ||7|| The Husband is on the Bed, but the bride is asleep, and so she does not come to know Him. While I am asleep, my Husband Lord is awake. Where can I go for advice? The True Guru has led me to meet Him, and now I dwell in the Fear of God. O Nanak, His Love is always with me. ||8||2|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: O Lord, You are Your Own Glorious Praise. You Yourself speak it; You Yourself hear it and contemplate it. You Yourself are the Jewel, and You are the Appraiser. You Yourself are of Infinite Value. O True Lord, You are Honour and Glory; You Yourself are the Giver. ||1|| O Dear Lord, You are the Creator and the Cause. If it is Your Will, please save and protect me; please bless me with the lifestyle of the Lord's Name. ||1||Pause|| You Yourself are the flawless diamond; You Yourself are the deep crimson colour. You Yourself are the perfect pearl; You Yourself are the devotee and the priest. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, You are praised. In each and every heart, the Unseen is seen. ||2|| You Yourself are the ocean and the boat. You Yourself are this shore, and the one beyond. O All-knowing Lord, You are the True Way. The Shabad is the Navigator to ferry us across. One who does not fear God shall live in fear; without the Guru, there is only pitch darkness. ||3|| The Creator alone is seen to be Eternal; all others come and go. Only You, Lord, are Immaculate and Pure. All others are bound up in worldly pursuits. Those who are protected by the Guru are saved. They are lovingly attuned to the True Lord. ||4||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 042

Through the Shabad, they recognise the Dear Lord; through the Guru's Word, they are attuned to Truth. Filth does not stick to the body of one who has secured a dwelling in his True Home. When the Lord bestows His Glance of Grace, we obtain the True Name. Without the Name, who are our relatives? ||5|| Those who have realised the Truth are at peace throughout the four ages. Subduing their egotism and desires, they keep the True Name enshrined in their hearts. In this world, the only real profit is the Name of the One Lord; it is earned by contemplating the Guru. ||6|| Loading the Merchandise of the True Name, you shall gather in your profits forever with the Capital of Truth. In the Court of the True One, you shall sit in truthful devotion and prayer. Your account shall be settled with honour, in the Radiant Light of the Name of the Lord. ||7|| The Lord is said to be the Highest of the High; no one can perceive Him. Wherever I look, I see only You. The True Guru has inspired me to see You. The Divine Light within is revealed, O Nanak, through this intuitive understanding. ||8||3|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: The fish did not notice the net in the deep and salty sea. It was so clever and beautiful, but why was it so confident? By its actions it was caught, and now death cannot be turned away from its head. ||1|| O Siblings of Destiny, just like this, see death hovering over your own heads! People are just like this fish; unaware, the noose of death descends upon them. ||1||Pause|| The whole world is bound by death; without the Guru, death cannot be avoided. Those who are attuned to Truth are saved; they renounce duality and corruption. I am a sacrifice to those who are found to be Truthful in the True Court. ||2|| Think of the hawk preying on the birds, and the net in the hands of the hunter. Those who are protected by the Guru are saved; the others are caught by the bait. Without the Name, they are picked up and thrown away; they have no friends or companions. ||3|| God is said to be the Truest of the True; His Place is the Truest of the True. Those who obey the True One-their minds abide in true meditation. Those who become Gurmukh, and obtain spiritual wisdom-their minds and mouths are known to be pure. ||4|| Offer your most sincere prayers to the True Guru, so that He may unite you with your Best Friend. Meeting your Best Friend, you shall find peace; the Messenger of Death shall take poison and die. I dwell deep within the Name; the Name has come to dwell within my mind. ||5|| Without the Guru, there is only pitch darkness; without the Shabad, understanding is not obtained. Through the Guru's Teachings, you shall be enlightened; remain absorbed in the Love of the True Lord. Death does not go there; your light shall merge with the Light. ||6|| You are my Best Friend; You are All-knowing. You are the One who unites us with Yourself. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, we praise You; You have no end or limitation. Death does not reach that place, where the Infinite Word of the Guru's Shabad resounds. ||7|| By the Hukam of His Command, all are created. By His Command, actions are performed. By His Command, all are subject to death; by His Command, they merge in Truth. O Nanak, whatever pleases His Will comes to pass. Nothing is in the hands of these beings. ||8||4|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: If the mind is polluted, then the body is polluted, and the tongue is polluted as well.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 043

With false mouths, people speak falsehood. How can they be made pure? Without the Holy Water of the Shabad, they are not cleansed. From the True One alone comes Truth. ||1|| O soul-bride, without virtue, what happiness can there be? The Husband Lord enjoys her with pleasure and delight; she is at peace in the love of the True Word of the Shabad. ||1||Pause|| When the Husband goes away, the bride suffers in the pain of separation, like the fish in shallow water, crying for mercy. As it pleases the Will of the Husband Lord, peace is obtained, when He Himself casts His Glance of Grace. ||2|| Praise your Husband Lord, together with your bridesmaids and friends. The body is beautified, and the mind is fascinated. Imbued with His Love, we are enraptured. Adorned with the Shabad, the beautiful bride enjoys her Husband with virtue. ||3|| The soul-bride is of no use at all, if she is evil and without virtue. She does not find peace in this world or the next; she burns in falsehood and corruption. Coming and going are very difficult for that bride who is abandoned and forgotten by her Husband Lord. ||4|| The beautiful soul-bride of the Husband Lord-by what sensual pleasures has she been doomed? She is of no use to her Husband if she babbles in useless arguments.

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At the Door of His Home, she finds no shelter; she is discarded for seeking other pleasures. ||5|| The Pandits, the religious scholars, read their books, but they do not understand the real meaning. They give instructions to others, and then walk away, but they deal in Maya themselves. Speaking falsehood, they wander around the world, while those who remain true to the Shabad are excellent and exalted. ||6|| There are so many Pandits and astrologers who ponder over the Vedas. They glorify their disputes and arguments, and in these controversies they continue coming and going. Without the Guru, they are not released from their karma, although they speak and listen and preach and explain. ||7|| They all call themselves virtuous, but I have no virtue at all. With the Lord as her Husband, the soul-bride is happy; I, too, love that God. O Nanak, through the Shabad, union is obtained; there is no more separation. ||8||5|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: You may chant and meditate, practice austerities and self-restraint, and dwell at sacred shrines of pilgrimage; you may give donations to charity, and perform good deeds, but without the True One, what is the use of it all? As you plant, so shall you harvest. Without virtue, this human life passes away in vain. ||1|| O young bride, be a slave to virtue, and you shall find peace. Renouncing wrongful actions, following the Guru's Teachings, you shall be absorbed into the Perfect One. ||1||Pause|| Without capital, the trader looks around in all four directions. He does not understand his own origins; the merchandise remains within the door of his own house. Without this commodity, there is great pain. The false are ruined by falsehood. ||2|| One who contemplates and appraises this Jewel day and night reaps new profits. He finds the merchandise within his own home, and departs after arranging his affairs. So trade with the true traders, and as Gurmukh, contemplate God. ||3|| In the Society of the Saints, He is found, if the Uniter unites us. One whose heart is filled with His Infinite Light meets with Him, and shall never again be separated from Him. True is his position; he abides in Truth, with love and affection for the True One. ||4|| One who understands himself finds the Mansion of the Lord's Presence within his own home. Imbued with the True Lord, Truth is gathered in.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 044

God is known throughout the three worlds. True is the Name of the True One. ||5|| The wife who knows that her Husband Lord is always with her is very beautiful. The soul-bride is called to the Mansion of the His Presence, and her Husband Lord ravishes her with love. The happy soul-bride is true and good; she is fascinated by the Glories of her Husband Lord. ||6|| Wandering around and making mistakes, I climb the plateau; having climbed the plateau, I go up the mountain. But now I have lost my way, and I am wandering around in the forest; without the Guru, I do not understand. If I wander around forgetting God's Name, I shall continue coming and going in reincarnation, over and over again. ||7|| Go and ask the travellers, how to walk on the Path as His slave. They know the Lord to be their King, and at the Door to His Home, their way is not blocked. O Nanak, the One is pervading everywhere; there is no other at all. ||8||6|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: Through the Guru, the Pure One is known, and the human body becomes pure as well. The Pure, True Lord abides within the mind; He knows the pain of our hearts. With intuitive ease, a great peace is found, and the arrow of death shall not strike you. ||1|| O Siblings of Destiny, filth is washed away by bathing in the Pure Water of the Name. You alone are Perfectly Pure, O True Lord; all other places are filled with filth. ||1||Pause|| The Temple of the Lord is beautiful; it was made by the Creator Lord. The sun and the moon are lamps of incomparably beautiful light. Throughout the three worlds, the Infinite Light is pervading. In the shops of the city of the body, in the fortresses and in the huts, the True Merchandise is traded. ||2|| The ointment of spiritual wisdom is the destroyer of fear; through love, the Pure One is seen. The mysteries of the seen and the unseen are all known, if the mind is kept centred and balanced. If one finds such a True Guru, the Lord is met with intuitive ease. ||3|| He draws us to His Touchstone, to test our love and consciousness. The counterfeit have no place there, but the genuine are placed in His Treasury. Let your hopes and anxieties depart; thus pollution is washed away. ||4|| Everyone begs for happiness; no one asks for suffering. But in the wake of happiness, there comes great suffering. The self-willed manmukhs do not understand this. Those who see pain and pleasure as one and the same find peace; they are pierced through by the Shabad. ||5|| The Vedas proclaim, and the words of Vyaasa tell us, that the silent sages, the servants of the Lord, and those who practice a life of spiritual discipline are attuned to the Naam, the Treasure of Excellence. Those who are attuned to the True Name win the game of life; I am forever a sacrifice to them. ||6|| Those who do not have the Naam in their mouths are filled with pollution; they are filthy throughout the four ages. Without loving devotion to God, their faces are blackened, and their honour is lost. Those who have forgotten the Naam are plundered by evil; they weep and wail in dismay. ||7|| I searched and searched, and found God. In the Fear of God, I have been united in His Union. Through self-realisation, people dwell within the home of their inner being; egotism and desire depart. O Nanak, those who are attuned to the Name of the Lord are immaculate and radiant. ||8||7|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: Listen, O deluded and demented mind: hold tight to the Guru's Feet. Chant and meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord; death will be afraid of you, and suffering shall depart. The deserted wife suffers terrible pain. How can her Husband Lord remain with her forever? ||1||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 045

O Siblings of Destiny, I have no other place to go. The Guru has given me the Treasure of the Wealth of the Naam; I am a sacrifice to Him. ||1||Pause|| The Guru's Teachings bring honour. Blessed is He-may I meet and be with Him! Without Him, I cannot live, even for a moment. Without His Name, I die. I am blind-may I never forget the Naam! Under His Protection, I shall reach my true home. ||2|| Those chaylaas, those devotees, whose spiritual teacher is blind, shall not find their place of rest. Without the True Guru, the Name is not obtained. Without the Name, what is the use of it all? People come and go, regretting and repenting, like crows in a deserted house. ||3|| Without the Name, the body suffers in pain; it crumbles like a wall of sand. As long as Truth does not enter into the consciousness, the Mansion of the Lord's Presence is not found. Attuned to the Shabad, we enter our home, and obtain the Eternal State of Nirvaanaa. ||4|| I ask my Guru for His Advice, and I follow the Guru's Advice. With the Shabads of Praise abiding in the mind, the pain of egotism is burnt away. We are intuitively united with Him, and we meet the Truest of the True. ||5|| Those who are attuned to the Shabad are spotless and pure; they renounce sexual desire, anger, selfishness and conceit. They sing the Praises of the Naam, forever and ever; they keep the Lord enshrined within their hearts. How could we ever forget Him from our minds? He is the Support of all beings. ||6|| One who dies in the Shabad is beyond death, and shall never die again. Through the Shabad, we find Him, and embrace love for the Name of the Lord. Without the Shabad, the world is deceived; it dies and is reborn, over and over again. ||7|| All praise themselves, and call themselves the greatest of the great. Without the Guru, one's self cannot be known. By merely speaking and listening, what is accomplished? O Nanak, one who realises the Shabad does not act in egotism. ||8||8|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: Without her Husband, the soul-bride's youth and ornaments are useless and wretched. She does not enjoy the pleasure of His Bed; without her Husband, her ornaments are absurd. The discarded bride suffers terrible pain; her Husband does not come to the bed of her home. ||1|| O mind, meditate on the Lord, and find peace. Without the Guru, love is not found. United with the Shabad, happiness is found. ||1||Pause|| Serving the Guru, she finds peace, and her Husband Lord adorns her with intuitive wisdom. Truly, she enjoys the Bed of her Husband, through her deep love and affection. As Gurmukh, she comes to know Him. Meeting with the Guru, she maintains a virtuous lifestyle. ||2|| Through Truth, meet your Husband Lord, O soul-bride. Enchanted by your Husband, enshrine love for Him. Your mind and body shall blossom forth in Truth. The value of this cannot be described. The soul-bride finds her Husband Lord in the home of her own being; she is purified by the True Name. ||3|| If the mind within the mind dies, then the Husband ravishes and enjoys His bride. They are woven into one texture, like pearls on a necklace around the neck. In the Society of the Saints, peace wells up; the Gurmukhs take the Support of the Naam. ||4|| In an instant, one is born, and in an instant, one dies. In an instant one comes, and in an instant one goes. One who recognises the Shabad merges into it, and is not afflicted by death.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 046

Our Lord and Master is Unweighable; He cannot be weighed. He cannot be found merely by talking. ||5|| The merchants and the traders have come; their profits are pre-ordained. Those who practice Truth reap the profits, abiding in the Will of God. With the Merchandise of Truth, they meet the Guru, who does not have a trace of greed. ||6|| As Gurmukh, they are weighed and measured, in the balance and the scales of Truth. The enticements of hope and desire are quieted by the Guru, whose Word is True. He Himself weighs with the scale; perfect is the weighing of the Perfect One. ||7|| No one is saved by mere talk and speech, nor by reading loads of books. The body does not obtain purity without loving devotion to the Lord. O Nanak, never forget the Naam; the Guru shall unite us with the Creator. ||8||9|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: Meeting the Perfect True Guru, we find the jewel of meditative reflection. Surrendering our minds to our Guru, we find universal love. We find the wealth of liberation, and our demerits are erased. ||1|| O Siblings of Destiny, without the Guru, there is no spiritual wisdom. Go and ask Brahma, Naarad and Vyaas, the writer of the Vedas. ||1||Pause|| Know that from the vibration of the Word, we obtain spiritual wisdom and meditation. Through it, we speak the Unspoken. He is the fruit-bearing Tree, luxuriantly green with abundant shade. The rubies, jewels and emeralds are in the Guru's Treasury. ||2|| From the Guru's Treasury, we receive the Love of the Immaculate Naam, the Name of the Lord. We gather in the True Merchandise, through the Perfect Grace of the Infinite. The True Guru is the Giver of peace, the Dispeller of pain, the Destroyer of demons. ||3|| The terrifying world-ocean is difficult and dreadful; there is no shore on this side or the one beyond. There is no boat, no raft, no oars and no boatman. The True Guru is the only boat on this terrifying ocean. His Glance of Grace carries us across. ||4|| If I forget my Beloved, even for an instant, suffering overtakes me and peace departs. Let that tongue be burnt in flames, which does not chant the Naam with love. When the pitcher of the body bursts, there is terrible pain; those who are caught by the Minister of Death regret and repent. ||5|| Crying out, "Mine! Mine!", they have departed, but their bodies, their wealth, and their wives did not go with them. Without the Name, wealth is useless; deceived by wealth, they have lost their way. So serve the True Lord; become Gurmukh, and speak the Unspoken. ||6|| Coming and going, people wander through reincarnation; they act according to their past actions. How can one's pre-ordained destiny be erased? It is written in accordance with the Lord's Will. Without the Name of the Lord, no one can be saved. Through the Guru's Teachings, we are united in His Union. ||7|| Without Him, I have no one to call my own. My soul and my breath of life belong to Him. May my egotism and possessiveness be burnt to ashes, and my greed and egotistical pride consigned to the fire. O Nanak, contemplating the Shabad, the Treasure of Excellence is obtained. ||8||10|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: O mind, love the Lord, as the lotus loves the water. Tossed about by the waves, it still blossoms with love. In the water, the creatures are created; outside of the water they die. ||1||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 047

O mind, how can you be saved without love? God permeates the inner beings of the Gurmukhs. They are blessed with the treasure of devotion. ||1||Pause|| O mind, love the Lord, as the fish loves the water. The more the water, the more the happiness, and the greater the peace of mind and body. Without water, she cannot live, even for an instant. God knows the suffering of her mind. ||2|| O mind, love the Lord, as the song-bird loves the rain. The pools are overflowing with water, and the land is luxuriantly green, but what are they to her, if that single drop of rain does not fall into her mouth? By His Grace, she receives it; otherwise, because of her past actions, she gives her head. ||3|| O mind, love the Lord, as the water loves the milk. The water, added to the milk, itself bears the heat, and prevents the milk from burning. God unites the separated ones with Himself again, and blesses them with true greatness. ||4|| O mind, love the Lord, as the chakvee duck loves the sun. She does not sleep, for an instant or a moment; the sun is so far away, but she thinks that it is near. Understanding does not come to the self-willed manmukh. But to the Gurmukh, the Lord is always close. ||5|| The self-willed manmukhs make their calculations and plans, but only the actions of the Creator come to pass. His Value cannot be estimated, even though everyone may wish to do so. Through the Guru's Teachings, it is revealed. Meeting with the True One, peace is found. ||6|| True love shall not be broken, if the True Guru is met. Obtaining the wealth of spiritual wisdom, the understanding of the three worlds is acquired. So become a customer of merit, and do not forget the Immaculate Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||7|| Those birds which peck at the shore of the pool have played and have departed. In a moment, in an instant, we too must depart. Our play is only for today or tomorrow. But those whom You unite, Lord, are united with You; they obtain a seat in the Arena of Truth. ||8|| Without the Guru, love does not well up, and the filth of egotism does not depart. One who recognises within himself that, "He is me", and who is pierced through by the Shabad, is satisfied. When one becomes Gurmukh and realises his own self, what more is there left to do or have done? ||9|| Why speak of union to those who are already united with the Lord? Receiving the Shabad, they are satisfied. The self-willed manmukhs do not understand; separated from Him, they endure beatings. O Nanak, there is only the one door to His Home; there is no other place at all. ||10||11|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: The self-willed manmukhs wander around, deluded and deceived. They find no place of rest. Without the Guru, no one is shown the Way. Like the blind, they continue coming and going. Having lost the treasure of spiritual wisdom, they depart, defrauded and plundered. ||1|| O Baba, Maya deceives with its illusion. Deceived by doubt, the discarded bride is not received into the Lap of her Beloved. ||1||Pause|| The deceived bride wanders around in foreign lands; she leaves, and abandons her own home. Deceived, she climbs the plateaus and mountains; her mind wavers in doubt. Separated from the Primal Being, how can she meet with Him again? Plundered by pride, she cries out and bewails. ||2|| The Guru unites the separated ones with the Lord again, through the love of the Delicious Name of the Lord.

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Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 048

Through truth and intuitive poise, great honour is obtained, with the Support of the Naam and the Glory of the Lord. As it pleases You, Lord, please save and protect me. Without You, O my Husband Lord, who else is there for me? ||3|| Reading their books over and over again, people continue making mistakes; they are so proud of their religious robes. But what is the use of bathing at sacred shrines of pilgrimage, when the filth of stubborn pride is within the mind? Other than the Guru, who can explain that within the mind is the Lord, the King, the Emperor? ||4|| The Treasure of the Lord's Love is obtained by the Gurmukh, who contemplates the essence of reality. The bride eradicates her selfishness, and adorns herself with the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Within her own home, she finds her Husband, through infinite love for the Guru. ||5|| Applying oneself to the service of the Guru, the mind is purified, and peace is obtained. The Word of the Guru's Shabad abides within the mind, and egotism is eliminated from within. The Treasure of the Naam is acquired, and the mind reaps the lasting profit. ||6|| If He grants His Grace, then we obtain it. We cannot find it by our own efforts. Remain attached to the Feet of the Guru, and eradicate selfishness from within. Attuned to Truth, you shall obtain the True One. ||7|| Everyone makes mistakes; only the Guru and the Creator are infallible. One who instructs his mind with the Guru's Teachings comes to embrace love for the Lord. O Nanak, do not forget the Truth; you shall receive the Infinite Word of the Shabad. ||8||12|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: The enticing desire for Maya leads people to become emotionally attached to their children, relatives, households and spouses. The world is deceived and plundered by riches, youth, greed and egotism. The drug of emotional attachment has destroyed me, as it has destroyed the whole world. ||1|| O my Beloved, I have no one except You. Without You, nothing else pleases me. Loving You, I am at peace. ||1||Pause|| I sing the Praises of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, with love; I am content with the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Whatever is seen shall pass away. So do not be attached to this false show. Like a traveller in his travels, you have come. Behold the caravan leaving each day. ||2|| Many preach sermons, but without the Guru, understanding is not obtained. If someone receives the Glory of the Naam, he is attuned to truth and blessed with honour. Those who are pleasing to You are good; no one is counterfeit or genuine. ||3|| In the Guru's Sanctuary we are saved. The assets of the self-willed manmukhs are false. The eight metals of the King are made into coins by the Word of His Shabad. The Assayer Himself assays them, and He places the genuine ones in His Treasury. ||4|| Your Value cannot be appraised; I have seen and tested everything. By speaking, His Depth cannot be found. Abiding in truth, honour is obtained. Through the Guru's Teachings, I praise You; otherwise, I cannot describe Your Value. ||5|| That body which does not appreciate the Naam-that body is infested with egotism and conflict. Without the Guru, spiritual wisdom is not obtained; other tastes are poison. Without virtue, nothing is of any use. The taste of Maya is bland and insipid. ||6|| Through desire, people are cast into the womb and reborn. Through desire, they taste the sweet and sour flavors. Bound by desire, they are led on, beaten and struck on their faces and mouths. Bound and gagged and assaulted by evil, they are released only through the Name, through the Guru's Teachings. ||7||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 049

In all places, You are the One and Only. As it pleases You, Lord, please save and protect me! Through the Guru's Teachings, the True One abides within the mind. The Companionship of the Naam brings the most excellent honour. Eradicate the disease of egotism, and chant the True Shabad, the Word of the True Lord. ||8|| You are pervading throughout the Akaashic Ethers, the nether regions and the three worlds. You Yourself are bhakti, loving devotional worship. You Yourself unite us in Union with Yourself. O Nanak, may I never forget the Naam! As is Your Pleasure, so is Your Will. ||9||13|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: My mind is pierced through by the Name of the Lord. What else should I contemplate? Focusing your awareness on the Shabad, happiness wells up. Attuned to God, the most excellent peace is found. As it pleases You, please save me, Lord. The Name of the Lord is my Support. ||1|| O mind, the Will of our Lord and Master is true. Focus your love upon the One who created and adorned your body and mind. ||1||Pause|| If I cut my body into pieces, and burn them in the fire, and if I make my body and mind into firewood, and night and day burn them in the fire, and if I perform hundreds of thousands and millions of religious rituals-still, all these are not equal to the Name of the Lord. ||2|| If my body were cut in half, if a saw was put to my head, and if my body were frozen in the Himalayas-even then, my mind would not be free of disease. None of these are equal to the Name of the Lord. I have seen and tried and tested them all. ||3|| If I made a donation of castles of gold, and gave lots of fine horses and wondrous elephants in charity, and if I made donations of land and cows-even then, pride and ego would still be within me. The Name of the Lord has pierced my mind; the Guru has given me this true gift. ||4|| There are so many stubborn-minded intelligent people, and so many who contemplate the Vedas. There are so many entanglements for the soul. Only as Gurmukh do we find the Gate of Liberation. Truth is higher than everything; but higher still is truthful living. ||5|| Call everyone exalted; no one seems lowly. The One Lord has fashioned the vessels, and His One Light pervades the three worlds. Receiving His Grace, we obtain Truth. No one can erase His Primal Blessing. ||6|| When one Holy person meets another Holy person, they abide in contentment, through the Love of the Guru. They contemplate the Unspoken Speech, merging in absorption in the True Guru. Drinking in the Ambrosial Nectar, they are contented; they go to the Court of the Lord in robes of honour. ||7|| In each and every heart the Music of the Lord's Flute vibrates, night and day, with sublime love for the Shabad. Only those few who become Gurmukh understand this by instructing their minds. O Nanak, do not forget the Naam. Practicing the Shabad you shall be saved. ||8||14|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: There are painted mansions to behold, white-washed, with beautiful doors; they were constructed to give pleasure to the mind, but this is only for the sake of the love of duality. The inner being is empty without love. The body shall crumble into a heap of ashes. ||1|| O Siblings of Destiny, this body and wealth shall not go along with you. The Lord's Name is the pure wealth; through the Guru, God bestows this gift. ||1||Pause|| The Lord's Name is the pure wealth; it is given only by the Giver. One who has the Guru, the Creator, as his Friend, shall not be questioned hereafter. He Himself delivers those who are delivered. He Himself is the Forgiver. ||2||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 050

The self-willed manmukh looks upon his daughters, sons and relatives as his own. Gazing upon his wife, he is pleased. But along with happiness, they bring grief. The Gurmukhs are attuned to the Word of the Shabad. Day and night, they enjoy the Sublime Essence of the Lord. ||3|| The consciousness of the wicked, faithless cynics wanders around in search of transitory wealth, unstable and distracted. Searching outside of themselves, they are ruined; the object of their search is in that sacred place within the home of the heart. The self-willed manmukhs, in their ego, miss it; the Gurmukhs receive it in their laps. ||4|| You worthless, faithless cynic-recognise your own origin! This body is made of blood and semen. It shall be consigned to the fire in the end. The body is under the power of the breath, according to the True Sign inscribed upon your forehead. ||5|| Everyone begs for a long life-no one wishes to die. A life of peace and comfort comes to that Gurmukh, within whom God dwells. Without the Naam, what good those who do not have the Blessed Vision, the Darshan of the Lord and Guru? ||6|| In their dreams at night, people wander around as long as they sleep; just so, they are under the power of the snake Maya, as long as their hearts are filled with ego and duality. Through the Guru's Teachings, they come to understand and see that this world is just a dream. ||7|| As thirst is quenched with water, and the baby is satisfied with mother's milk, and as the lotus does not exist without water, and as the fish dies without water -O Nanak, so does the Gurmukh live, receiving the Sublime Essence of the Lord, and singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||8||15|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: Beholding the terrifying mountain in this world of my father's home, I am terrified. It is so difficult to climb this high mountain; there is no ladder which reaches up there. But as Gurmukh, I know that it is within my self; the Guru has brought me to Union, and so I cross over. ||1|| O Siblings of Destiny, the terrifying world-ocean is so difficult to cross-I am terrified! The Perfect True Guru, in His Pleasure, has met with me; the Guru has saved me, through the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| I may say, "I am going, I am going", but I know that, in the end, I must really go. Whoever comes must also go. Only the Guru and the Creator are Eternal. So praise the True One continually, and love His Place of Truth. ||2|| Beautiful gates, houses and palaces, solidly built forts, elephants, saddled horses, hundreds of thousands of uncounted armies -none of these will go along with anyone in the end, and yet, the fools bother themselves to exhaustion with these, and then die. ||3|| You may gather gold and sliver, but wealth is just a net of entanglement. You may beat the drum and proclaim authority over the whole world, but without the Name, death hovers over your head. When the body falls, the play of life is over; what shall be the condition of the evil-doers then? ||4|| The husband is delighted seeing his sons, and his wife upon his bed. He applies sandalwood and scented oils, and dresses himself in his beautiful clothes. But dust shall mix with dust, and he shall depart, leaving hearth and home behind. ||5|| He may be called a chief, an emperor, a king, a governor or a lord; he may present himself as a leader or a chief, but this just burns him in the fire of egotistical pride. The self-willed manmukh has forgotten the Naam. He is like straw, burning in the forest fire. ||6|| Whoever comes into the world and indulges in ego, must depart.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 051

The whole world is a store-house of lamp-black; the body and mind are blackened with it. Those who are saved by the Guru are immaculate and pure; through the Word of the Shabad, they extinguish the fire of desire. ||7|| O Nanak, they swim across with the True Name of the Lord, the King above the heads of kings. May I never forget the Name of the Lord! I have purchased the Jewel of the Lord's Name. The self-willed manmukhs putrefy and die in the terrifying world-ocean, while the Gurmukhs cross over the bottomless ocean. ||8||16|| Siree Raag, First Mehl, Second House: They have made this their resting place and they sit at home, but the urge to depart is always there. This would be known as a lasting place of rest, only if they were to remain stable and unchanging. ||1|| What sort of a resting place is this world? Doing deeds of faith, pack up the supplies for your journey, and remain committed to the Name. ||1||Pause|| The Yogis sit in their Yogic postures, and the Mullahs sit at their resting stations. The Hindu Pandits recite from their books, and the Siddhas sit in the temples of their gods. ||2|| The angels, Siddhas, worshippers of Shiva, heavenly musicians, silent sages, Saints, priests, preachers, spiritual teachers and commanders -each and every one has left, and all others shall depart as well. ||3|| The sultans and kings, the rich and the mighty, have marched away in succession. In a moment or two, we shall also depart. O my heart, understand that you must go as well! ||4|| This is described in the Shabads; only a few understand this! Nanak offers this prayer to the One who pervades the water, the land and the air. ||5|| He is Allah, the Unknowable, the Inaccessible, All-powerful and Merciful Creator. All the world comes and goes-only the Merciful Lord is permanent. ||6|| Call permanent only the One, who does not have destiny inscribed upon His Forehead. The sky and the earth shall pass away; He alone is permanent. ||7|| The day and the sun shall pass away; the night and the moon shall pass away; the hundreds of thousands of stars shall disappear. He alone is permanent; Nanak speaks the Truth. ||8||17|| Seventeen Ashtapadees Of The First Mehl. Siree Raag, Third Mehl, First House, Ashtapadees: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: By God's Grace, the Gurmukh practices devotion; without the Guru, there is no devotional worship. One who merges his own self into Him understands, and so becomes pure. The Dear Lord is True, and True is the Word of His Bani. Through the Word of the Shabad, Union with Him is obtained. ||1|| O Siblings of Destiny, without devotion, why have people even come into the world? They have not served the Perfect Guru; they have wasted their lives in vain. ||1||Pause|| The Lord Himself, the Life of the World, is the Giver. He Himself forgives, and unites us with Himself. What are these poor beings and creatures? What can they speak and say? God Himself grants glory to the Gurmukhs; He joins them to His Service. ||2|| Beholding your family, you are lured away by emotional attachment, but when you leave, they will not go with you.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 052

Serving the True Guru, I have found the Treasure of Excellence. Its value cannot be estimated. The Dear Lord God is my Best Friend. In the end, He shall be my Companion and Support. ||3|| In this world of my father's home, the Great Giver is the Life of the World. The self-willed manmukhs have lost their honour. Without the True Guru, no one knows the Way. The blind find no place of rest. If the Lord, the Giver of Peace, does not dwell within the mind, then they shall depart with regret in the end. ||4|| In this world of my father's house, through the Guru's Teachings, I have cultivated within my mind the Great Giver, the Life of the World. Night and day, performing devotional worship, day and night, ego and emotional attachment are removed. And then, attuned to Him, we become like Him, truly absorbed in the True One. ||5|| Bestowing His Glance of Grace, He gives us His Love, and we contemplate the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Serving the True Guru, intuitive peace wells up, and ego and desire die. The Lord, the Giver of Virtue, dwells forever within the minds of those who keep Truth enshrined within their hearts. ||6|| My God is forever Immaculate and Pure; with a pure mind, He can be found. If the Treasure of the Name of the Lord abides within the mind, egotism and pain are totally eliminated. The True Guru has instructed me in the Word of the Shabad. I am forever a sacrifice to Him. ||7|| Within your own conscious mind, you may say anything, but without the Guru, selfishness and conceit are not eradicated. The Dear Lord is the Lover of His devotees, the Giver of Peace. By His Grace, He abides within the mind. O Nanak, God blesses us with the sublime awakening of consciousness; He Himself grants glorious greatness to the Gurmukh. ||8||1||18|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: Those who go around acting in egotism are struck down by the Messenger of Death with his club. Those who serve the True Guru are uplifted and saved, in love with the Lord. ||1|| O mind, become Gurmukh, and meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Those who are so pre-destined by the Creator are absorbed into the Naam, through the Guru's Teachings. ||1||Pause|| Without the True Guru, faith does not come, and love for the Naam is not embraced. Even

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in dreams, they find no peace; they sleep immersed in pain. ||2|| Even if you chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, with great longing, your past actions are still not erased. The Lord's devotees surrender to His Will; those devotees are accepted at His Door. ||3|| The Guru has lovingly implanted the Word of His Shabad within me. Without His Grace, it cannot be attained. Even if the poisonous plant is watered with ambrosial nectar a hundred times, it will still bear poisonous fruit. ||4|| Those humble beings who are in love with the True Guru are pure and true. They act in harmony with the Will of the True Guru; they shed the poison of ego and corruption. ||5|| Acting in stubborn-mindedness, no one is saved; go and study the Simritees and the Shaastras. Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, and practicing the Shabads of the Guru, you shall be saved. ||6|| The Name of the Lord is the Treasure, which has no end or limitation. The Gurmukhs are beauteous; the Creator has blessed them with His Mercy. ||7|| O Nanak, the One Lord alone is the Giver; there is no other at all. By Guru's Grace, He is obtained. By His Mercy, He is found. ||8||2||19||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 053

Siree Raag, Third Mehl: The soul-bird in the beautiful tree of the body pecks at Truth, with love for the Guru. She drinks in the Sublime Essence of the Lord, and abides in intuitive ease; she does not fly around coming and going. She obtains her home within her own heart; she is absorbed into the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1|| O mind, work to serve the Guru. If you walk in harmony with the Guru's Will, you shall remain immersed in the Lord's Name, night and day. ||1||Pause|| The birds in the beautiful trees fly around in all four directions. The more they fly around, the more they suffer; they burn and cry out in pain. Without the Guru, they do not find the Mansion of the Lord's Presence, and they do not obtain the Ambrosial Fruit. ||2|| The Gurmukh is like God's tree, always green, blessed with the Sublime Love of the True One, with intuitive peace and poise. He cuts off the three branches of the three qualities, and embraces love for the One Word of the Shabad. The Lord alone is the Ambrosial Fruit; He Himself gives it to us to eat. ||3|| The self-willed manmukhs stand there and dry up; they do not bear any fruit, and they do not provide any shade. Don't even bother to sit near them-they have no home or village. They are cut down and burnt each day; they have neither the Shabad, nor the Lord's Name. ||4|| According to the Lord's Command, people perform their actions; they wander around, driven by the karma of their past actions. By the Lord's Command, they behold the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. Wherever He sends them, there they go. By His Command, the Lord, Har, Har, abides within our minds; by His Command we merge in Truth. ||5|| The wretched fools do not know the Lord's Will; they wander around making mistakes. They go about their business stubborn-mindedly; they are disgraced forever and ever. Inner peace does not come to them; they do not embrace love for the True Lord. ||6|| Beautiful are the faces of the Gurmukhs, who bear love and affection for the Guru. Through true devotional worship, they are attuned to Truth; at the True Door, they are found to be true. Blessed is their coming into being; they redeem all their ancestors. ||7|| All do their deeds under the Lord's Glance of Grace; no one is beyond His Vision. According to the Glance of Grace with which the True Lord beholds us, so do we become. O Nanak, the Glorious Greatness of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is received only by His Mercy. ||8||3||20|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: The Gurmukhs meditate on the Naam; the self-willed manmukhs do not understand. The faces of the Gurmukhs are always radiant; the Lord has come to dwell within their minds. Through intuitive understanding they are at peace, and through intuitive understanding they remain absorbed in the Lord. ||1|| O Siblings of Destiny, be the slaves of the Lord's slaves. Service to the Guru is worship of the Guru. How rare are those who obtain it! ||1||Pause|| The happy soul-bride is always with her Husband Lord, if she walks in harmony with the Will of the True Guru. She attains her Eternal, Ever-stable Husband, who never dies or goes away. United with the Word of the Shabad, she shall not be separated again. She is immersed in the Lap of her Beloved. ||2|| The Lord is Immaculate and Radiantly Bright; without the Guru, He cannot be found. He cannot be understood by reading scriptures; the deceitful pretenders are deluded by doubt. Through the Guru's Teachings, the Lord is always found, and the tongue is permeated with the Sublime Essence of the Lord. ||3|| Emotional attachment to Maya is shed with intuitive ease, through the Guru's Teachings.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 054

Without the Shabad, the world wanders lost in pain. The self-willed manmukh is consumed. Through the Shabad, meditate on the Naam; through the Shabad, you shall merge in Truth. ||4|| The Siddhas wander around, deluded by Maya; they are not absorbed in the Samaadhi of the Lord's Sublime Love. The three worlds are permeated by Maya; they are totally covered by it. Without the Guru, liberation is not attained, and the double-mindedness of Maya does not go away. ||5|| What is called Maya? What does Maya do? These beings are bound by pleasure and pain; they do their deeds in egotism. Without the Shabad, doubt is not dispelled, and egotism is not eliminated from within. ||6|| Without love, there is no devotional worship. Without the Shabad, no one finds acceptance. Through the Shabad, egotism is conquered and subdued, and the illusion of Maya is dispelled. The Gurmukh obtains the Treasure of the Naam with intuitive ease. ||7|| Without the Guru, one's virtues do not shine forth; without virtue, there is no devotional worship. The Lord is the Lover of His devotees; He abides within their minds. They meet that God with intuitive ease. O Nanak, through the Shabad, praise the Lord. By His Grace, He is obtained. ||8||4||21|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: Emotional attachment to Maya is created by my God; He Himself misleads us through illusion and doubt. The self-willed manmukhs perform their actions, but they do not understand; they waste away their lives in vain. Gurbani is the Light to illuminate this world; by His Grace, it comes to abide within the mind. ||1|| O mind, chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and find peace. Praising the Perfect Guru, you shall easily meet with that God. ||1||Pause|| Doubt departs, and fear runs away, when you focus your consciousness on the Lord's Feet. The Gurmukh practices the Shabad, and the Lord comes to dwell within the mind. In the mansion of the home within the self, we merge in Truth, and the Messenger of Death cannot devour us. ||2|| Naam Dayv the printer, and Kabeer the weaver, obtained salvation through the Perfect Guru. Those who know God and recognise His Shabad lose their ego and class consciousness. Their Banis are sung by the angelic beings, and no one can erase them, O Siblings of Destiny! ||3|| The demon's son Prahlaad had not read about religious rituals or ceremonies, austerity or self-discipline; he did not know the love of duality. Upon meeting with the True Guru, he became pure; night and day, he chanted the Naam, the Name of the Lord. He read only of the One and he understood only the One Name; he knew no other at all. ||4|| The followers of the six different life-styles and world-views, the Yogis and the Sanyaasees have gone astray in doubt without the Guru. If they serve the True Guru, they find the state of salvation; they enshrine the Dear Lord within their minds. They focus their consciousness on the True Bani, and their comings and goings in reincarnation are over. ||5|| The Pandits, the religious scholars, read and argue and stir up controversies, but without the Guru, they are deluded by doubt. They wander around the cycle of 8.4 million reincarnations; without the Shabad, they do not attain liberation. But when they remember the Name, then they attain the state of salvation, when the True Guru unites them in Union. ||6|| In the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, the Name of the Lord wells up, when the True Guru unites us in His Sublime Love.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 055

I offer my mind and body, and I renounce my selfishness and conceit; I walk in Harmony with the Will of the True Guru. I am forever a sacrifice to my Guru, who has attached my consciousness to the Lord. ||7|| He alone is a Brahmin, who knows the Lord Brahma, and is attuned to the Love of the Lord. God is close at hand; He dwells deep within the hearts of all. How rare are those who, as Gurmukh, know Him. O Nanak, through the Naam, greatness is obtained; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, He is realised. ||8||5||22|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: Everyone longs to be centred and balanced, but without the Guru, no one can. The Pandits and the astrologers read and read until they grow weary, while the fanatics are deluded by doubt. Meeting with the Guru, intuitive balance is obtained, when God, in His Will, grants His Grace. ||1|| O Siblings of Destiny, without the Guru, intuitive balance is not obtained. Through the Word of the Shabad, intuitive peace and poise wells up, and that True Lord is obtained. ||1||Pause|| That which is sung intuitively is acceptable; without this intuition, all chanting is useless. In the state of intuitive balance, devotion wells up. In intuitive balance, love is balanced and detached. In the state of intuitive balance, peace and tranquility are produced. Without intuitive balance, life is useless. ||2|| In the state of intuitive balance, praise the Lord forever and ever. With intuitive ease, embrace Samaadhi. In the state of intuitive balance, chant His Glories, lovingly absorbed in devotional worship. Through the Shabad, the Lord dwells within the mind, and the tongue tastes the Sublime Essence of the Lord. ||3|| In the poise of intuitive balance, death is destroyed, entering the Sanctuary of the True One. Intuitively balanced, the Name of the Lord dwells within the mind, practicing the lifestyle of Truth. Those who have found Him are very fortunate; they remain intuitively absorbed in Him. ||4|| Within Maya, the poise of intuitive balance is not produced. Maya leads to the love of duality. The self-willed manmukhs perform religious rituals, but they are burnt down by their selfishness and conceit. Their births and deaths do not cease; over and over again, they come and go in reincarnation. ||5|| In the three qualities, intuitive balance is not obtained; the three qualities lead to delusion and doubt. What is the point of reading, studying and debating, if one loses his roots? In the fourth state, there is intuitive balance; the Gurmukhs gather it in. ||6|| The Naam, the Name of the Formless Lord, is the treasure. Through intuitive balance, understanding is obtained. The virtuous praise the True One; their reputation is true. The wayward are united with God through intuitive balance; through the Shabad, union is obtained. ||7|| Without intuitive balance, all are blind. Emotional attachment to Maya is utter darkness. In intuitive balance, understanding of the True, Infinite Shabad is obtained. Granting forgiveness, the Perfect Guru unites us with the Creator. ||8|| In intuitive balance, the Unseen is recognised-the Fearless, Luminous, Formless Lord. There is only the One Giver of all beings. He blends our light with His Light. So praise God through the Perfect Word of His Shabad; He has no end or limitation. ||9|| Those who are wise take the Naam as their wealth; with intuitive ease, they trade with Him. Night and day, they receive the Profit of the Lord's Name, which is an inexhaustible and over-flowing treasure. O Nanak, when the Great Giver gives, nothing at all is lacking. ||10||6||23||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 056

Siree Raag, Third Mehl: Meeting with the True Guru, you shall not have to go through the cycle of reincarnation again; the pains of birth and death will be taken away. Through the Perfect Word of the Shabad, all understanding is obtained; remain absorbed in the Name of the Lord. ||1|| O my mind, focus your consciousness on the True Guru. The Immaculate Naam itself, ever-fresh, comes to abide within the mind. ||1||Pause|| O Dear Lord, please protect and preserve me in Your Sanctuary. As You keep me, so do I remain. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the Gurmukh remains dead while yet alive, and swims across the terrifying world-ocean. ||2|| By great good fortune, the Name is obtained. Following the Guru's Teachings, through the Shabad, you shall be exalted. God, the Creator Himself, dwells within the mind; remain absorbed in the state of intuitive balance. ||3|| Some are self-willed manmukhs; they do not love the Word of the Shabad. Bound in chains, they wander lost in reincarnation. Through 8.4 million lifetimes, they wander over and over again; they waste away their lives in vain. ||4|| In the minds of the devotees there is bliss; they are attuned to the Love of the True Word of the Shabad. Night and day, they constantly sing the Glories of the Immaculate Lord; with intuitive ease, they are absorbed into the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||5|| The Gurmukhs speak the Ambrosial Bani; they recognise the Lord, the Supreme Soul in all. They serve the One; they worship and adore the One. The Gurmukhs speak the Unspoken Speech. ||6|| The Gurmukhs serve their True Lord and Master, who comes to dwell in the mind. They are forever attuned to the Love of the True One, who bestows His Mercy and unites them with Himself. ||7|| He Himself does, and He Himself causes others to do; He wakes some from their sleep. He Himself unites us in Union; Nanak is absorbed in the Shabad. ||8||7||24|| Siree Raag, Third Mehl: Serving the True Guru, the mind becomes immaculate, and the body becomes pure. The mind obtains bliss and eternal peace, meeting with the Deep and Profound Lord. Sitting in the Sangat, the True Congregation, the mind is comforted and consoled by the True Name. ||1|| O mind, serve the True Guru without hesitation. Serving the True Guru, the Lord abides within the mind, and no trace of filth shall attach itself to you. ||1||Pause|| From the True Word of the Shabad comes honour. True is the Name of the True One. I am a sacrifice to those who conquer their ego and recognise the Lord. The self-willed manmukhs do not know the True One; they find no shelter, and no place of rest anywhere. ||2|| Those who take the Truth as their food and the Truth as their clothing, have their home in the True One. They constantly praise the True One, and in the True Word of the Shabad they have their dwelling. They recognise the Lord, the Supreme Soul in all, and through the Guru's Teachings they dwell in the home of their own inner self. ||3|| They see the Truth, and they speak the Truth; their bodies and minds are True. True are their teachings, and True are their instructions; True are the reputations of the true ones. Those who have forgotten the True One are miserable-they depart weeping and wailing. ||4|| Those who have not served the True Guru-why did they even bother to come into the world? They are bound and gagged and beaten at Death's door, but no one hears their shrieks and cries. They waste their lives uselessly; they die and are reincarnated over and over again. ||5||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 057

Seeing this world on fire, I rushed to the Sanctuary of the True Guru. The True Guru has implanted the Truth within me; I dwell steadfastly in Truth and self-restraint. The True Guru is the Boat of Truth; in the Word of the Shabad, we cross over the terrifying world-ocean. ||6|| People continue wandering through the cycle of 8.4 million incarnations; without the True Guru, liberation is not obtained. Reading and studying, the Pandits and the silent sages have grown weary, but attached to the love of duality, they have lost their honour. The True Guru teaches the Word of the Shabad; without the True One, there is no other at all. ||7|| Those who

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are linked by the True One are linked to Truth. They always act in Truth. They attain their dwelling in the home of their own inner being, and they abide in the Mansion of Truth. O Nanak, the devotees are happy and peaceful forever. They are absorbed in the True Name. ||8||17||8||25|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl: When you are confronted with terrible hardships, and no one offers you any support, when your friends turn into enemies, and even your relatives have deserted you, and when all support has given way, and all hope has been lost -if you then come to remember the Supreme Lord God, even the hot wind shall not touch you. ||1|| Our Lord and Master is the Power of the powerless. He does not come or go; He is Eternal and Permanent. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, He is known as True. ||1||Pause|| If you are weakened by the pains of hunger and poverty, with no money in your pockets, and no one will give you any comfort, and no one will satisfy your hopes and desires, and none of your works is accomplished -if you then come to remember the Supreme Lord God, you shall obtain the eternal kingdom. ||2|| When you are plagued by great and excessive anxiety, and diseases of the body; when you are wrapped up in the attachments of household and family, sometimes feeling joy, and then other times sorrow; when you are wandering around in all four directions, and you cannot sit or sleep even for a moment -if you come to remember the Supreme Lord God, then your body and mind shall be cooled and soothed. ||3|| When you are under the power of sexual desire, anger and worldly attachment, or a greedy miser in love with your wealth; if you have committed the four great sins and other mistakes; even if you are a murderous fiend who has never taken the time to listen to sacred books, hymns and poetry -if you then come to remember the Supreme Lord God, and contemplate Him, even for a moment, you shall be saved. ||4|| People may recite by heart the Shaastras, the Simritees and the four Vedas; they may be ascetics, great, self-disciplined Yogis; they may visit sacred shrines of pilgrimage and perform the six ceremonial rituals, over and over again, performing worship services and ritual bathings. Even so, if they have not embraced love for the Supreme Lord God, then they shall surely go to hell. ||5|| You may possess empires, vast estates, authority over others, and the enjoyment of myriads of pleasures; you may have delightful and beautiful gardens, and issue unquestioned commands; you may have enjoyments and entertainments of all sorts and kinds, and continue to enjoy exciting pleasures - and yet, if you do not come to remember the Supreme Lord God, you shall be reincarnated as a snake. ||6|| You may possess vast riches, maintain virtuous conduct, have a spotless reputation and observe religious customs; you may have the loving affections of mother, father, children, siblings and friends; you may have armies well-equipped with weapons, and all may salute you with respect;

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But still, if you do not come to remember the Supreme Lord God, then you shall be taken and consigned to the most hideous hell! ||7|| You may have a body free of disease and deformity, and have no worries or grief at all; you may be unmindful of death, and night and day revel in pleasures; you may take everything as your own, and have no fear in your mind at all; but still, if you do not come to remember the Supreme Lord God, you shall fall under the power of the Messenger of Death. ||8|| The Supreme Lord showers His Mercy, and we find the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. The more time we spend there, the more we come to love the Lord. The Lord is the Master of both worlds; there is no other place of rest. When the True Guru is pleased and satisfied, O Nanak, the True Name is obtained. ||9||1||26|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl, Fifth House: I do not know what pleases my Lord. O mind, seek out the way! ||1||Pause|| The meditatives practice meditation, and the wise practice spiritual wisdom, but how rare are those who know God! ||1|| The worshipper of Bhagaauti practices self-discipline, the Yogi speaks of liberation, and the ascetic is absorbed in asceticism. ||2|| The men of silence observe silence, the Sanyaasees observe celibacy, and the Udaasees abide in detachment. ||3|| There are nine forms of devotional worship. The Pandits recite the Vedas. The householders assert their faith in family life. ||4|| Those who utter only One Word, those who take many forms, the naked renunciates, the wearers of patched coats, the magicians, those who remain always awake, and those who bathe at holy places of pilgrimage-||5|| Those who go without food, those who never touch others, the hermits who never show themselves, and those who are wise in their own minds-||6|| Of these, no one admits to any deficiency; all say that they have found the Lord. But he alone is a devotee, whom the Lord has united with Himself. ||7|| Abandoning all devices and contrivances, I have sought His Sanctuary. Nanak has fallen at the Feet of the Guru. ||8||2||27|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Siree Raag, First Mehl, Third House: Among Yogis, You are the Yogi; among pleasure seekers, You are the Pleasure Seeker. Your limits are not known to any of the beings in the heavens, in this world, or in the nether regions of the underworld. ||1|| I am devoted, dedicated, a sacrifice to Your Name. ||1||Pause|| You created the world, and assigned tasks to one and all. You watch over Your Creation, and through Your All-powerful Creative Potency, You cast the dice. ||2|| You are manifest in the Expanse of Your Workshop. Everyone longs for Your Name, but without the Guru, no one finds You. All are enticed and trapped by Maya. ||3|| I am a sacrifice to the True Guru. Meeting Him, the supreme status is obtained.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 059

The angelic beings and the silent sages long for Him; the True Guru has given me this understanding. ||4|| How is the Society of the Saints to be known? There, the Name of the One Lord is chanted. The One Name is the Lord's Command; O Nanak, the True Guru has given me this understanding. ||5|| This world has been deluded by doubt. You Yourself, Lord, have led it astray. The discarded soul-brides suffer in terrible agony; they have no luck at all. ||6|| What are the signs of the discarded brides? They miss their Husband Lord, and they wander around in dishonour. The clothes of those brides are filthy-they pass their life-night in agony. ||7|| What actions have the happy soul-brides performed? They have obtained the fruit of their pre-ordained destiny. Casting His Glance of Grace, the Lord unites them with Himself. ||8|| Those, whom God causes to abide by His Will, have the Shabad of His Word abiding deep within. They are the true soul-brides, who embrace love for their Husband Lord. ||9|| Those who take pleasure in God's Will remove doubt from within. O Nanak, know Him as the True Guru, who unites all with the Lord. ||10|| Meeting with the True Guru, they receive the fruits of their destiny, and egotism is driven out from within. The pain of evil-mindedness is eliminated; good fortune comes and shines radiantly from their foreheads. ||11|| The Bani of Your Word is Ambrosial Nectar. It permeates the hearts of Your devotees. Serving You, peace is obtained; granting Your Mercy, You bestow salvation. ||12|| Meeting with the True Guru, one comes to know; by this meeting, one comes to chant the Name. Without the True Guru, God is not found; all have grown weary of performing religious rituals. ||13|| I am a sacrifice to the True Guru; I was wandering in doubt, and He has set me on the right path. If the Lord casts His Glance of Grace, He unites us with Himself. ||14|| You, Lord, are pervading in all, and yet, the Creator keeps Himself concealed. O Nanak, the Creator is revealed to the Gurmukh, within whom He has infused His Light. ||15|| The Master Himself bestows honour. He creates and bestows body and soul. He Himself preserves the honour of His servants; He places both His Hands upon their foreheads. ||16|| All strict rituals are just clever contrivances. My God knows everything. He has made His Glory manifest, and all people celebrate Him. ||17 | | He has not considered my merits and demerits; this is God's Own Nature. Hugging me close in His Embrace, He protects me, and now, even the hot wind does not touch me. ||18|| Within my mind and body, I meditate on God. I have obtained the fruits of my soul's desire. You are the Supreme Lord and Master, above the heads of kings. Nanak lives by chanting Your Name. ||19||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 060

You Yourself created the Universe; You created the play of duality, and staged it. The Truest of the True is pervading everywhere; He instructs those with whom He is pleased. ||20|| By Guru's Grace, I have found God. By His Grace, I have shed emotional attachment to Maya. Showering His Mercy, He has blended me into Himself. ||21|| You are the Gopis, the milk-maids of Krishna; You are the sacred river Jamunaa; You are Krishna, the herdsman. You Yourself support the world. By Your Command, human beings are fashioned. You Yourself embellish them, and then again destroy them. ||22|| Those who have focused their consciousness on the True Guru have rid themselves of the love of duality. The light of those mortal beings is immaculate. They depart after redeeming their lives. ||23|| Forever and ever, night and day, I praise the Greatness of Your Goodness. You bestow Your Gifts, even if we do not ask for them. Says Nanak, contemplate the True Lord. ||24||1|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl: I fall at His Feet to please and appease Him. The True Guru has united me with the Lord, the Primal Being. There is no other as great as He. ||1||Pause|| The Lord of the Universe is my Sweet Beloved. He is sweeter than my mother or father. Among all sisters and brothers and friends, there is no one like You. ||1|| By Your Command, the month of Saawan has come. I have hooked up the plow of Truth, and I plant the seed of the Name in hopes that the Lord, in His Generosity, will bestow a bountiful harvest. ||2|| Meeting with the Guru, I recognise only the One Lord. In my consciousness, I do not know of any other account. The Lord has assigned one task to me; as it pleases Him, I perform it. ||3|| Enjoy yourselves and eat, O Siblings of Destiny. In the Guru's Court, He has blessed me with the Robe of Honour. I have become the Master of my body-village; I have taken the five rivals as prisoners. ||4|| I have come to Your Sanctuary. The five farm-hands have become my tenants; none dare to raise their heads against me. O Nanak, my village is populous and prosperous. ||5|| I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice to You. I meditate on You continually. The village was in ruins, but You have re-populated it. I am a sacrifice to You. ||6|| O Beloved Lord, I meditate on You continually; I obtain the fruits of my mind's desires. All my affairs are arranged, and the hunger of my mind is appeased. ||7|| I have forsaken all my entanglements; I serve the True Lord of the Universe. I have firmly attached the Name, the Home of the Nine Treasures to my robe. ||8|| I have obtained the comfort of comforts. The Guru has implanted the Word of the Shabad deep within me. The True Guru has shown me my Husband Lord; He has placed His Hand upon my forehead. ||9|| I have established the Temple of Truth. I sought out the Guru's Sikhs, and brought them into it. I wash their feet, and wave the fan over them. Bowing low, I fall at their feet. ||10||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 061

I heard of the Guru, and so I went to Him. He instilled within me the Naam, the goodness of charity and true cleansing. All the world is liberated, O Nanak, by embarking upon the Boat of Truth. ||11|| The whole Universe serves You, day and night. Please hear my prayer, O Dear Lord. I have thoroughly tested and seen all-You alone, by Your Pleasure, can save us. ||12|| Now, the Merciful Lord has issued His Command. Let no one chase after and attack anyone else. Let all abide in peace, under this Benevolent Rule. ||13|| Softly and gently, drop by drop, the Ambrosial Nectar trickles down. I speak as my Lord and Master causes me to speak. I place all my faith in You; please accept me. ||14|| Your devotees are forever hungry for You. O Lord, please fulfill my desires. Grant me the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan, O Giver of Peace. Please, take me into Your Embrace. ||15|| I have not found any other as Great as You. You pervade the continents, the worlds and the nether regions; You are permeating all places and interspaces. Nanak: You are the True Support of Your devotees. ||16|| I am a wrestler; I belong to the Lord of the World. I met with the Guru, and I have tied a tall, plumed turban. All have gathered to watch the wrestling match, and the Merciful Lord Himself is seated to behold it. ||17|| The bugles play and the drums beat. The wrestlers enter the arena and circle around. I have thrown the five challengers to the ground, and the Guru has patted me on the back. ||18|| All have gathered together, but we shall return home by different routes. The Gurmukhs reap their profits and leave, while the self-willed manmukhs lose their investment and depart. ||19|| You are without colour or mark. The Lord is seen to be manifest and present. Hearing of Your Glories again and again, Your devotees meditate on You; they are attuned to You, O Lord, Treasure of Excellence. ||20|| Through age after age, I am the servant of the Merciful Lord. The Guru has cut away my bonds. I shall not have to dance in the wrestling arena of life again. Nanak has searched, and found this opportunity. ||21||2||29|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Siree Raag, First Mehl, Pehray, First House: In the first watch of the night, O my merchant friend, you were cast into the womb, by the Lord's Command. Upside-down, within the womb, you performed penance, O my merchant friend, and you prayed to your Lord and Master. You uttered prayers to your Lord and Master, while upside-down, and you meditated on Him with deep love and affection. You came into this Dark Age of Kali Yuga naked, and you shall depart again naked. As God's Pen has written on your forehead, so it shall be with your soul. Says Nanak, in the first watch of the night, by the Hukam of the Lord's Command, you enter into the womb. ||1||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 062

In the second watch of the night, O my merchant friend, you have forgotten to meditate. From hand to hand, you are passed around, O my merchant friend, like Krishna in the house of Yashoda. From hand to hand, you are passed around, and your mother says, "This is my son." O, my thoughtless and foolish mind, think: In the end, nothing shall be yours. You do not know the One who created the creation. Gather spiritual wisdom within your mind. Says Nanak, in the second watch of the night, you have forgotten to meditate. ||2|| In the third watch of the night, O my merchant friend, your consciousness is focused on wealth and youth. You have not remembered the Name of the Lord, O my merchant friend, although it would release you from bondage. You do not remember the Name of the Lord, and you become confused by Maya. Revelling in your riches and intoxicated with youth, you waste your life uselessly. You have not traded in righteousness and Dharma; you have not made good deeds your friends. Says Nanak, in the third watch of the night, your mind is attached to wealth and youth. ||3|| In the fourth watch of the night, O my merchant friend, the Grim Reaper comes to the field. When the Messenger of Death seizes and dispatches you, O my merchant friend, no one knows the mystery of where you have gone. So think of the Lord! No one knows this secret, of when the Messenger of Death will seize you and take you away. All your weeping and wailing then is false. In an instant, you become a stranger. You obtain exactly what you have longed for. Says Nanak, in the fourth watch of the night, O mortal, the Grim Reaper has harvested your field.

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||4||1|| Siree Raag, First Mehl: In the first watch of the night, O my merchant friend, your innocent mind has a child-like understanding. You drink milk, and you are fondled so gently, O my merchant friend. The mother and father love their child so much, but in Maya, all are caught in emotional attachment. By the good fortune of good deeds done in the past, you have come, and now you perform actions to determine your future. Without the Lord's Name, liberation is not obtained, and you are drowned in the love of duality. Says Nanak, in the first watch of the night, O mortal, you shall be saved by remembering the Lord. ||1|| In the second watch of the night, O my merchant friend, you are intoxicated with the wine of youth and beauty. Day and night, you are engrossed in sexual desire, O my merchant friend, and your consciousness is blind to the Naam. The Lord's Name is not within your heart, but all sorts of other tastes seem sweet to you. You have no wisdom at all, no meditation, no virtue or self-discipline; in falsehood, you are caught in the cycle of birth and death. Pilgrimages, fasts, purification and self-discipline are of no use, nor are rituals, religious ceremonies or empty worship. O Nanak, emancipation comes only by loving devotional worship; through duality, people are engrossed in duality. ||2|| In the third watch of the night, O my merchant friend, the swans, the white hairs, come and land upon the pool of the head. Youth wears itself out, and old age triumphs, O my merchant friend; as time passes, your days diminish.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 063

At the last moment, you repent-you are so blind!-when the Messenger of Death seizes you and carries you away. You kept all your things for yourself, but in an instant, they are all lost. Your intellect left you, your wisdom departed, and now you repent for the evil deeds you committed. Says Nanak, O mortal, in the third watch of the night, let your consciousness be lovingly focused on God. ||3|| In the fourth watch of the night, O my merchant friend, your body grows old and weak. Your eyes go blind, and cannot see, O my merchant friend, and your ears do not hear any words. Your eyes go blind, and your tongue is unable to taste; you live only with the help of others. With no virtue within, how can you find peace? The self-willed manmukh comes and goes in reincarnation. When the crop of life has matured, it bends, breaks and perishes; why take pride in that which comes and goes? Says Nanak, O mortal, in the fourth watch of the night, the Gurmukh recognises the Word of the Shabad. ||4|| Your breath comes to its end, O my merchant friend, and your shoulders are weighed down by the tyrant of old age. Not one iota of virtue came into you, O my merchant friend; bound and gagged by evil, you are driven along. One who departs with virtue and self-discipline is not struck down, and is not consigned to the cycle of birth and death. The Messenger of Death and his trap cannot touch him; through loving devotional worship, he crosses over the ocean of fear. He departs with honour, and merges in intuitive peace and poise; all his pains depart. Says Nanak, when the mortal becomes Gurmukh, he is saved and honoured by the True Lord. ||5||2|| Siree Raag, Fourth Mehl: In the first watch of the night, O my merchant friend, the Lord places you in the womb. You meditate on the Lord, and chant the Lord's Name, O my merchant friend. You contemplate the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, and meditating on it within the fire of the womb, your life is sustained by dwelling on the Naam. You are born and you come out, and your mother and father are delighted to see your face. Remember the One, O mortal, to whom the child belongs. As Gurmukh, reflect upon Him within your heart. Says Nanak, O mortal, in the first watch of the night, dwell upon the Lord, who shall shower you with His Grace. ||1|| In the second watch of the night, O my merchant friend, the mind is attached to the love of duality. Mother and father hug you close in their embrace, claiming, "He is mine, he is mine"; so is the child brought up, O my merchant friend. Your mother and father constantly hug you close in their embrace; in their minds, they believe that you will provide for them and support them. The fool does not know the One who gives; instead, he clings to the gift. Rare is the Gurmukh who reflects upon, meditates upon, and within his mind, is lovingly attached to the Lord. Says Nanak, in the second watch of the night, O mortal, death never devours you. ||2|| In the third watch of the night, O my merchant friend, your mind is entangled in worldly and household affairs. You think of wealth, and gather wealth, O my merchant friend, but you do not contemplate the Lord or the Lord's Name. You never dwell upon the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, who will be your only Helper and Support in the end.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 064

This wealth, property and Maya are false. In the end, you must leave these, and depart in sorrow. Those whom the Lord, in His Mercy, unites with the Guru, reflect upon the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Says Nanak, in the third watch of the night, O mortal, they go, and are united with the Lord. ||3|| In the fourth watch of the night, O my merchant friend, the Lord announces the time of departure. Serve the Perfect True Guru, O my merchant friend; your entire life-night is passing away. Serve the Lord each and every instant-do not delay! You shall become eternal throughout the ages. Enjoy ecstasy forever with the Lord, and do away with the pains of birth and death. Know that there is no difference between the Guru, the True Guru, and your Lord and Master. Meeting with Him, take pleasure in the Lord's devotional service. Says Nanak, O mortal, in the fourth watch of the night, the life-night of the devotee is fruitful. ||4||1||3|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl: In the first watch of the night, O my merchant friend, the Lord placed your soul in the womb. In the tenth month, you were made into a human being, O my merchant friend, and you were given your allotted time to perform good deeds. You were given this time to perform good deeds, according to your pre-ordained destiny. God placed you with your mother, father, brothers, sons and wife. God Himself is the Cause of causes, good and bad-no one has control over these things. Says Nanak, O mortal, in the first watch of the night, the soul is placed in the womb. ||1|| In the second watch of the night, O my merchant friend, the fullness of youth rises in you like waves. You do not distinguish between good and evil, O my merchant friend-your mind is intoxicated with ego. Mortal beings do not distinguish between good and evil, and the road ahead is treacherous. They never serve the Perfect True Guru, and the cruel tyrant Death stands over their heads. When the Righteous Judge seizes you and interrogates you, O madman, what answer will you give him then? Says Nanak, in the second watch of the night, O mortal, the fullness of youth tosses you about like waves in the storm. ||2|| In the third watch of the night, O my merchant friend, the blind and ignorant person gathers poison. He is entangled in emotional attachment to his wife and sons, O my merchant friend, and deep within him, the waves of greed are rising up. The waves of greed are rising up within him, and he does not remember God. He does not join the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, and he suffers in terrible pain through countless incarnations. He has forgotten the Creator, his Lord and Master, and he does not meditate on Him, even for an instant. Says Nanak, in the third watch of the night, the blind and ignorant person gathers poison. ||3|| In the fourth watch of the night, O my merchant friend, that day is drawing near. As Gurmukh, remember the Naam, O my merchant friend. It shall be your Friend in the Court of the Lord. As Gurmukh, remember the Naam, O mortal; in the end, it shall be your only companion.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 065

This emotional attachment to Maya shall not go with you; it is false to fall in love with it. The entire night of your life has passed away in darkness; but by serving the True Guru, the Divine Light shall dawn within. Says Nanak, O mortal, in the fourth watch of the night, that day is drawing near! ||4|| Receiving the summons from the Lord of the Universe, O my merchant friend, you must arise and depart with the actions you have committed. You are not allowed a moment's delay, O my merchant friend; the Messenger of Death seizes you with firm hands. Receiving the summons, people are seized and dispatched. The self-willed manmukhs are miserable forever. But those who serve the Perfect True Guru are forever happy in the Court of the Lord. The body is the field of karma in this age; whatever you plant, you shall harvest. Says Nanak, the devotees look beautiful in the Court of the Lord; the self-willed manmukhs wander forever in reincarnation. ||5||1||4|| Siree Raag, Fourth Mehl, Second House, Chhant: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: How can the ignorant soul-bride obtain the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan, while she is in this world of her father's home? When the Lord Himself grants His Grace, the Gurmukh learns the duties of her Husband's Celestial Home. The Gurmukh learns the duties of her Husband's Celestial Home; she meditates forever on the Lord, Har, Har. She walks happily among her companions, and in the Lord's Court, she swings her arms joyfully. Her account is cleared by the Righteous Judge of Dharma, when she chants the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. The ignorant soul-bride becomes Gurmukh, and gains the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan, while she is still in her father's house. ||1|| My marriage has been performed, O my father. As Gurmukh, I have found the Lord. The darkness of ignorance has been dispelled. The Guru has revealed the blazing light of spiritual wisdom. This spiritual wisdom given by the Guru shines forth, and the darkness has been dispelled. I have found the Priceless Jewel of the Lord. The sickness of my ego has been dispelled, and my pain is over and done. Through the Guru's Teachings, my identity has consumed my identical identity. I have obtained my Husband Lord, the Akaal Moorat, the Undying Form. He is Imperishable; He shall never die, and He shall never ever leave. My marriage has been performed, O my father. As Gurmukh, I have found the Lord. ||2|| The Lord is the Truest of the True, O my father. Meeting with the humble servants of the Lord, the marriage procession looks beautiful. She who chants the Lord's Name is happy in this world of her father's home, and in the next world of her Husband Lord, she shall be very beautiful. In her Husband Lord's Celestial Home, she shall be most beautiful, if she has remembered the Naam in this world. Fruitful are the lives of those who, as Gurmukh, have conquered their minds-they have won the game of life. Joining with the humble Saints of the Lord, my actions bring prosperity, and I have obtained the Lord of Bliss as my Husband. The Lord is the Truest of the True, O my father. Joining with the humble servants of the Lord, the marriage party has been embellished. ||3|| O my father, give me the Name of the Lord God as my wedding gift and dowry.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 066

Give me the Lord as my wedding gown, and the Lord as my glory, to accomplish my works. Through devotional worship to the Lord, this ceremony is made blissful and beautiful; the Guru, the True Guru, has given this gift. Across the continents, and throughout the Universe, the Lord's Glory is pervading. This gift is not diminished by being diffused among all. Any other dowry, which the self-willed manmukhs offer for show, is only false egotism and a worthless display. O my father, please give me the Name of the Lord God as my wedding gift and dowry. ||4|| The Lord, Raam, Raam, is All-pervading, O my father. Meeting her Husband Lord, the soul-bride blossoms forth like the flourishing vine. In age after age, through all the ages, forever and ever, those who belong to the Guru's Family shall prosper and increase. Age after age, the Family of the True Guru shall increase. As Gurmukh, they meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. The Almighty Lord never dies or goes away. Whatever He gives, keeps on increasing. O Nanak, the One Lord is the Saint of Saints. Chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, the soul-bride is bountiful and beautiful. The Lord, Raam, Raam, is All-pervading, O my father. Meeting her Husband Lord, the soul-bride blossoms forth like the flourishing vine. ||5||1|| Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl, Chhant: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O dear beloved mind, my friend, reflect upon the Name of the Lord of the Universe. O dear beloved mind, my friend, the Lord shall always be with you. The Name of the Lord shall be with you as your Helper and Support. Meditate on Him-no one who does so shall ever return empty-handed. You shall obtain the fruits of your mind's desires, by focusing your consciousness on the Lord's Lotus Feet. He is totally pervading the water and the land; He is the Lord of the World-forest. Behold Him in exaltation in each and every heart. Nanak gives this advice: O beloved mind, in the Company of the Holy, burn away your doubts. ||1|| O dear beloved mind, my friend, without the Lord, all outward show is false. O dear beloved mind, my friend, the world is an ocean of poison. Let the Lord's Lotus Feet be your Boat, so that pain and skepticism shall not touch you. Meeting with the Perfect Guru, by great good fortune, meditate on God twenty-four hours a day. From the very beginning, and throughout the ages, He is the Lord and Master of His servants. His Name is the Support of His devotees. Nanak gives this advice: O beloved mind, without the Lord, all outward show is false. ||2|| O dear beloved mind, my friend, load the profitable cargo of the Lord's Name. O dear beloved mind, my friend, enter through the eternal Door of the Lord. One who serves at the Door of the Imperceptible and Unfathomable Lord, obtains this eternal position. There is no birth or death there, no coming or going; anguish and anxiety are ended. The accounts of Chitr and Gupt, the recording scribes of the conscious and the subconscious are torn up, and the Messenger of Death cannot do anything. Nanak gives this advice: O beloved mind, load the profitable cargo of the Lord's Name. ||3|| O dear beloved mind, my friend, abide in the Society of the Saints. O dear beloved mind, my friend, chanting the Lord's Name, the Divine Light shines within. Remember your Lord and Master, who is easily obtained, and all desires shall be fulfilled.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 067

By my past actions, I have found the Lord, the Greatest Lover. Separated from Him for so long, I am united with Him again. Inside and out, He is pervading everywhere. Faith in Him has welled up within my mind. Nanak gives this advice: O beloved mind, let the Society of the Saints be your dwelling. ||4|| O dear beloved mind, my friend, let your mind remain absorbed in loving devotion to the Lord. O dear beloved mind, my friend, the fish of the mind lives only when it is immersed in the Water of the Lord. Drinking in the Lord's Ambrosial Bani, the mind is satisfied, and all pleasures come to abide within. Attaining the Lord of Excellence, I sing the Songs of Joy. The True Guru, becoming merciful, has fulfilled my desires. He has attached me to the hem of His robe, and I have obtained the nine treasures. My Lord and Master has bestowed His Name, which is everything to me. Nanak instructs the Saints to teach, that the mind is imbued with loving devotion to the Lord. ||5||1||2|| Chhants Of Siree Raag, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Dakhanaa: My Beloved Husband Lord is deep within my heart. How can I see Him? In the Sanctuary of the Saints, O Nanak, the Support of the breath of life is found. ||1|| Chhant: To love the Lotus Feet of the Lord-this way of life has come into the minds of His Saints. The love of duality,

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this evil practice, this bad habit, is not liked by the Lord's slaves. It is not pleasing to the Lord's slaves; without the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan, how can they find peace, even for a moment? Without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the body and mind are empty; like fish out of water, they die. Please meet with me, O my Beloved-You are the Support of my breath of life. Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I sing Your Glorious Praises. O Lord and Master of Nanak, please grant Your Grace, and permeate my body, mind and being. ||1|| DAKHANAA: He is Beautiful in all places; I do not see any other at all. Meeting with the True Guru, O Nanak, the doors are opened wide. ||1|| Chhant: Your Word is Incomparable and Infinite. I contemplate the Word of Your Bani, the Support of the Saints. I remember Him in meditation with every breath and morsel of food, with perfect faith. How could I forget Him from my mind? How could I forget Him from my mind, even for an instant? He is the Most Worthy; He is my very life! My Lord and Master is the Giver of the fruits of the mind's desires. He knows all the useless vanities and pains of the soul. Meditating on the Patron of lost souls, the Companion of all, your life shall not be lost in the gamble. Nanak offers this prayer to God: Please shower me with Your Mercy, and carry me across the terrifying world-ocean. ||2|| DAKHANAA: People bathe in the dust of the feet of the Saints, when the Lord becomes merciful. I have obtained all things, O Nanak; the Lord is my Wealth and Property. ||1|| Chhant: My Lord and Master's Home is beautiful. It is the resting place of His devotees, who live in hopes of attaining it. Their minds and bodies are absorbed in meditation on the Name of God; they drink in the Lord's Ambrosial Nectar.

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They drink in the Lord's Ambrosial Nectar, and become eternally stable. They know that the water of corruption is insipid and tasteless. When my God, the Lord of the Universe became merciful, I came to look upon the Saadh Sangat as the treasure. All pleasures and supreme ecstasy, O my Beloved, come to those who sew the Jewel of the Lord into their minds. They do not forget, even for an instant, the Support of the breath of life. They live by constantly meditating on Him, O Nanak. ||3|| DAKHANAA: O Lord, You meet and merge with those whom you have made Your Own. You Yourself are entranced, O Nanak, hearing Your Own Praises. ||1|| Chhant: Administering the intoxicating drug of love, I have won over the Lord of the Universe; I have fascinated His Mind. By the Grace of the Saints, I am held in the loving embrace of the Unfathomable Lord, and I am entranced. Held in the Lord's loving embrace, I look beautiful, and all my pains have been dispelled. By the loving worship of His devotees, the Lord has come under their power. All pleasures have come to dwell in the mind; the Lord of the Universe is pleased and appeased. Birth and death have been totally eliminated. O my companions, sing the Songs of Joy. My desires have been fulfilled, and I shall never again be trapped or shaken by Maya. Taking hold of my hand, O Nanak, my Beloved God will not let me be swallowed up by the world-ocean. ||4|| DAKHANAA: The Master's Name is Priceless; no one knows its value. Those who have good destiny recorded upon their foreheads, O Nanak, enjoy the Love of the Lord. ||1|| Chhant: Those who chant are sanctified. All those who listen are blessed, and those who write save their ancestors. Those who join the Saadh Sangat are imbued with the Lord's Love; they reflect and meditate on God. Contemplating God, their lives are reformed and redeemed; God has showered His Perfect Mercy upon them. Taking them by the hand, the Lord has blessed them with His Praises. They no longer have to wander in reincarnation, and they never have to die. Through the Kind and Compassionate True Guru, I have met the Lord; I have conquered sexual desire, anger and greed. Our Indescribable Lord and Master cannot be described. Nanak is devoted, forever a sacrifice to Him. ||5||1||3|| Siree Raag, Fourth Mehl, Vanajaaraa ~ The Merchant: One Universal CREATOR GOD. TRUTH IS THE NAME. BY GURU'S GRACE: One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. By Guru's Grace: The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is Excellent and Sublime. He created everyone. The Lord cherishes all beings. He permeates each and every heart. Meditate forever on that Lord. Without Him, there is no other at all. Those who focus their consciousness on emotional attachment to Maya must leave; they depart crying out in despair. Servant Nanak meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, his only Companion in the end. ||1|| I have none other than You, O Lord. In the Guru's Sanctuary, the Lord is found, O my merchant friend; by great good fortune, He is obtained. ||1||Pause||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 069

Without the humble Saints, O Siblings of Destiny, no one has obtained the Lord's Name. Those who do their deeds in ego are like the prostitute's son, who has no name. The father's status is obtained only if the Guru is pleased and bestows His Favor. By great good fortune, the Guru is found; embrace love for the Lord, day and night. Servant Nanak has realised God; he sings the Lord's Praises through the actions he does. ||2|| In my mind there is such a deep yearning for the Lord, Har, Har. The Perfect Guru has implanted the Naam within me; I have found the Lord through the Lord God's Name. ||1||Pause|| As long as there is youth and health, meditate on the Naam. Along the way, the Lord shall go along with you, and in the end, He shall save you. I am a sacrifice to those, within whose minds the Lord has come to dwell. Those who have not remembered the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, shall leave with regret in the end. Those who have such pre-ordained destiny written upon their foreheads, O servant Nanak, meditate on the Naam. ||3|| O my mind, embrace love for the Lord, Har, Har. By great good fortune, the Guru is found; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, we are carried across to the other side. ||1||Pause|| The Lord Himself creates, He Himself gives and takes away. The Lord Himself leads us astray in doubt; the Lord Himself imparts understanding. The minds of the Gurmukhs are illuminated and enlightened; they are so very rare. I am a sacrifice to those who find the Lord, through the Guru's Teachings. Servant Nanak's heart-lotus has blossomed forth, and the Lord, Har, Har, has come to dwell in the mind. ||4|| O mind, chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Hurry to the Sanctuary of the Lord, the Guru, O my soul; all your sins shall be taken away. ||1||Pause|| The All-pervading Lord dwells within each and every person's heart-how can He be obtained? By meeting the Perfect Guru, the True Guru, the Lord comes to dwell within the conscious mind. The Naam is my Support and Sustenance. From the Lord's Name, I obtain salvation and understanding. My faith is in the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. The Lord's Name is my status and honour. Servant Nanak meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord; He is dyed in the deep crimson colour of the Lord's Love. ||5|| Meditate on the Lord, the True Lord God. Through the Guru's Word, you shall come to know the Lord God. From the Lord God, everything was created. ||1||Pause|| Those who have such pre-ordained destiny, come to the Guru and meet Him. They love to serve, O my merchant friend, and through the Guru, they are illuminated by the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Blessed, blessed is the trade of those traders who have loaded the merchandise of the Wealth of the Lord. The faces of the Gurmukhs are radiant in the Court of the Lord; they come to the Lord and merge with Him. O servant Nanak, they alone find the Guru, with whom the Lord, the Treasure of Excellence, is pleased. ||6|| Meditate on the Lord, with every breath and morsel of food. The Gurmukhs embrace the Love of the Lord in their minds; they are continually occupied with the Lord's Name. ||1||Pause||1||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 070

One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Vaar Of Siree Raag, Fourth Mehl, With Shaloks: Shalok, Third Mehl: Among the ragas, Siree Raag is the best, if it inspires you to enshrine love for the True Lord. The True Lord comes to abide forever in the mind, and your understanding becomes steady and unequalled. The priceless jewel is obtained, by contemplating the Word of the Guru's Shabad. The tongue becomes true, the mind becomes true, and the body becomes true as well. O Nanak, forever true are the dealings of those who serve the True Guru. ||1|| Third Mehl: All other loves are transitory, as long as people do not love their Lord and Master. This mind is enticed by Maya-it cannot see or hear. Without seeing her Husband Lord, love does not well up; what can the blind person do? O Nanak, the True One who takes away the eyes of spiritual wisdom-He alone can restore them. ||2|| Pauree: The Lord alone is the One Creator; there is only the One Court of the Lord. The One Lord's Command is the One and Only-enshrine the One Lord in your consciousness. Without that Lord, there is no other at all. Remove your fear, doubt and dread. Praise that Lord who protects you, inside your home, and outside as well. When that Lord becomes merciful, and one comes to chant the Lord's Name, one swims across the ocean of fear. ||1|| Shalok, First Mehl: The gifts belong to our Lord and Master; how can we compete with Him? Some remain awake and aware, and do not receive these gifts, while others are awakened from their sleep to be blessed. ||1|| First Mehl: Faith, contentment and tolerance are the food and provisions of the angels. They obtain the Perfect Vision of the Lord, while those who gossip find no place of rest. ||2|| Pauree: You Yourself created all; You Yourself delegate the tasks. You Yourself are pleased, beholding Your Own Glorious Greatness. O Lord, there is nothing at all beyond You. You are the True Lord. You Yourself are contained in all places. Meditate on that Lord, O Saints; He shall rescue and save you. ||2|| Shalok, First Mehl: Pride in social status is empty; pride in personal glory is useless. The One Lord gives shade to all beings. You may call yourself good; O Nanak, this will only be known when your honour is approved in God's Account. ||1|| Second Mehl: Die before the one whom you love; to live after he dies is to live a worthless life in this world. ||2|| Pauree: You Yourself created the earth, and the two lamps of the sun and the moon. You created the fourteen world-shops, in which Your Business is transacted. The Lord bestows His Profits on those who become Gurmukh. The Messenger of Death does not touch those who drink in the True Ambrosial Nectar. They themselves are saved, along with their family, and all those who follow them are saved as well. ||3|| Shalok, First Mehl: He created the Creative Power of the Universe, within which He dwells.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 071

One who reflects upon his allotted span of life, becomes the slave of God. The value of the Creative Power of the Universe cannot be known. Even if its value were known, it could not be described. Some think about religious rituals and regulations, but without understanding, how can they cross over to the other side? Let sincere faith be your bowing in prayer, and let the conquest of your mind be your objective in life. Wherever I look, there I see God's Presence. ||1|| Third Mehl: The Society of the Guru is not obtained like this, by trying to be near or far away. O Nanak, you shall meet the True Guru, if your mind remains in His Presence. ||2|| Pauree: The seven islands, seven seas, nine continents, four Vedas and eighteen Puraanas-O Lord, You pervade and permeate all. Lord, everyone loves You. All beings and creatures meditate on You, Lord. You hold the earth in Your Hands. I am a sacrifice to those Gurmukhs who worship and adore the Lord. You Yourself are All-pervading; You stage this wondrous drama! ||4|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Why ask for a pen, and why ask for ink? Write within your heart. Remain immersed forever in the Love of your Lord and Master, and your love for Him shall never break. Pen and ink shall pass away, along with what has been written. O Nanak, the Love of your Husband Lord shall never perish. The True Lord has bestowed it, as it was pre-ordained. ||1|| Third Mehl: That which is seen, shall not go along with you. What does it take to make you see this? The True Guru has implanted the True Name within; remain lovingly absorbed in the True One. O Nanak, the Word of His Shabad is True. By His Grace, it is obtained. ||2|| Pauree: O Lord, You are inside and outside as well. You are the Knower of secrets. Whatever anyone does, the Lord knows. O my mind, think of the Lord. The one who commits sins lives in fear, while the one who lives righteously rejoices. O Lord, You Yourself are True, and True is Your Justice. Why should anyone be afraid? O Nanak, those who recognise the True Lord are blended with the True One. ||5|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Burn the pen, and burn the ink; burn the paper as well. Burn the writer who writes in the love of duality. O Nanak, people do what is pre-ordained; they cannot do anything else. ||1|| Third Mehl: False is other reading, and false is other speaking, in the love of Maya. O Nanak, without the Name, nothing is permanent; those who read and read are ruined. ||2|| Pauree: Great is the Greatness of the Lord, and the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises. Great is the Greatness of the Lord; His Justice is totally Righteous. Great is the Greatness of the Lord; people receive the fruits of the soul. Great is the Greatness of the Lord; He does not hear the words of the back-biters. Great is the Greatness of the Lord; He gives His Gifts without being asked. ||6|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Those who act in ego shall all die. Their worldly possessions shall not go along with them. Because of their love of duality, they suffer in pain. The Messenger of Death is watching all.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 072

O Nanak, the Gurmukhs are saved, by contemplating the True Name. ||1|| First Mehl: We are good at talking, but our actions are bad. Mentally, we are impure and black, but outwardly, we appear white. We imitate those who stand and serve at the Lord's Door. They are attuned to the Love of their Husband Lord, and they experience the pleasure of His Love. They remain powerless, even while they have power; they remain humble and meek. O Nanak, our lives become profitable if we associate with them. ||2|| Pauree: You Yourself are the water, You Yourself are the fish, and You Yourself are the net. You Yourself cast the net, and You Yourself are the bait. You Yourself are the lotus, unaffected and still brightly-coloured in hundreds of feet of water. You Yourself liberate those who think of You for even an instant. O Lord, nothing is beyond You. I am delighted to behold You, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||7|| Shalok, Third Mehl: One who does not know the Hukam of the Lord's Command cries out in terrible pain. She is filled with deception, and she cannot sleep in peace. But if the soul-bride follows the Will of her Lord and Master, she shall be honoured in her own home, and called to the Mansion of His Presence. O Nanak, by His Mercy, this understanding is obtained. By Guru's Grace, she is absorbed into the True One. ||1|| Third Mehl: O self-willed manmukh, devoid of the Naam, do not be misled upon beholding the colour of the safflower. Its colour lasts for only a few days-it is worthless! Attached to duality, the foolish, blind and stupid people waste away and die. Like worms, they live in manure, and in it, they die over and over again. O Nanak, those who are attuned to the Naam are dyed in the colour of truth; they take on the intuitive peace and poise of the Guru. The colour of devotional worship does not fade away; they remain intuitively absorbed

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in the Lord. ||2|| Pauree: You created the entire universe, and You Yourself bring sustenance to it. Some eat and survive by practicing fraud and deceit; from their mouths they drop falsehood and lies. As it pleases You, You assign them their tasks. Some understand Truthfulness; they are given the inexhaustible treasure. Those who eat by remembering the Lord are prosperous, while those who do not remember Him stretch out their hands in need. ||8|| Shalok, Third Mehl: The Pandits, the religious scholars, constantly read and recite the Vedas, for the sake of the love of Maya. In the love of duality, the foolish people have forgotten the Lord's Name; they shall receive their punishment. They never think of the One who gave them body and soul, who provides sustenance to all. The noose of death shall not be cut away from their necks; they shall come and go in reincarnation over and over again. The blind, self-willed manmukhs do not understand anything. They do what they are pre-ordained to do. Through perfect destiny, they meet the True Guru, the Giver of peace, and the Naam comes to abide in the mind. They enjoy peace, they wear peace, and they pass their lives in the peace of peace. O Nanak, they do not forget the Naam from the mind; they are honoured in the Court of the Lord. ||1|| Third Mehl: Serving the True Guru, peace is obtained. The True Name is the Treasure of Excellence.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 073

Follow the Guru's Teachings, and recognise your own self; the Divine Light of the Lord's Name shall shine within. The true ones practice Truth; greatness rests in the Great Lord. Body, soul and all things belong to the Lord-praise Him, and offer your prayers to Him. Sing the Praises of the True Lord through the Word of His Shabad, and you shall abide in the peace of peace. You may practice chanting, penance and austere self-discipline within your mind, but without the Name, life is useless. Through the Guru's Teachings, the Name is obtained, while the self-willed manmukh wastes away in emotional attachment. Please protect me, by the Pleasure of Your Will. Nanak is Your slave. ||2|| Pauree: All are Yours, and You belong to all. You are the wealth of all. Everyone begs from You, and all offer prayers to You each day. Those, unto whom You give, receive everything. You are far away from some, and You are close to others. Without You, there is not even a place to stand begging. See this yourself and verify it in your mind. All praise You, O Lord; at Your Door, the Gurmukhs are enlightened. ||9|| Shalok, Third Mehl: The Pandits, the religious scholars, read and read, and shout out loud, but they are attached to the love of Maya. They do not recognise God within themselves-they are so foolish and ignorant! In the love of duality, they try to teach the world, but they do not understand meditative contemplation. They lose their lives uselessly; they die, only to be re-born, over and over again. ||1|| Third Mehl: Those who serve the True Guru obtain the Name. Reflect on this and understand. Eternal peace and joy abide in their minds; they abandon their cries and complaints. Their identity consumes their identical identity, and their minds become pure by contemplating the Word of the Guru's Shabad. O Nanak, attuned to the Shabad, they are liberated. They love their Beloved Lord. ||2|| Pauree: Service to the Lord is fruitful; through it, the Gurmukh is honoured and approved. That person, with whom the Lord is pleased, meets with the Guru, and meditates on the Name of the Lord. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the Lord is found. The Lord carries us across. Through stubborn-mindedness, none have found Him; go and consult the Vedas on this. O Nanak, he alone serves the Lord, whom the Lord attaches to Himself. ||10|| Shalok, Third Mehl: O Nanak, he is a brave warrior, who conquers and subdues his vicious inner ego. Praising the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the Gurmukhs redeem their lives. They themselves are liberated forever, and they save all their ancestors. Those who love the Naam look beauteous at the Gate of Truth. The self-willed manmukhs die in egotism-even their death is painfully ugly. Everything happens according to the Lord's Will; what can the poor people do? Attached to self-conceit and duality, they have forgotten their Lord and Master. O Nanak, without the Name, everything is painful, and happiness is forgotten. ||1|| Third Mehl: The Perfect Guru has implanted the Name of the Lord within me. It has dispelled my doubts from within. I sing the Lord's Name and the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises; the Divine Light shines, and now I see the Way. Conquering my ego, I am lovingly focused on the One Lord; the Naam has come to dwell within me.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 074

Following the Guru's Teachings, I cannot be touched by the Messenger of Death. I am absorbed in the True Name. The Creator Himself is All-pervading everywhere; He links those with whom He is pleased to His Name. Servant Nanak chants the Naam, and so he lives. Without the Name, he would die in an instant. ||2|| Pauree: One who is accepted at the Court of the Lord shall be accepted in courts everywhere. Wherever he goes, he is recognised as honourable. Seeing his face, all sinners are saved. Within him is the Treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Through the Naam, he is exalted. He worships the Name, and believes in the Name; the Name erases all his sinful mistakes. Those who meditate on the Name, with one-pointed mind and focused consciousness, remain forever stable in the world. ||11|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Worship the Divine, Supreme Soul, with the intuitive peace and poise of the Guru. If the individual soul has faith in the Supreme Soul, then it shall obtain realisation within its own home. The soul becomes steady, and does not waver, by the natural inclination of the Guru's Loving Will. Without the Guru, intuitive wisdom does not come, and the filth of greed does not depart from within. If the Lord's Name abides within the mind, for a moment, even for an instant, it is like bathing at all the sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage. Filth does not stick to those who are true, but filth attaches itself to those who love duality. This filth cannot be washed off, even by bathing at the sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage. The self-willed manmukh does deeds in egotism; he earns only pain and more pain. O Nanak, the filthy ones become clean only when they meet and surrender to the True Guru. ||1|| Third Mehl: The self-willed manmukhs may be taught, but how can they really be taught? The manmukhs do not fit in at all. Because of their past actions, they are condemned to the cycle of reincarnation. Loving attention to the Lord and attachment to Maya are the two separate ways; all act according to the Hukam of the Lord's Command. The Gurmukh has conquered his own mind, by applying the Touchstone of the Shabad. He fights with his mind, he settles with his mind, and he is at peace with his mind. All obtain the desires of their minds, through the Love of the True Word of the Shabad. They drink in the Ambrosial Nectar of the Naam forever; this is how the Gurmukhs act. Those who struggle with something other than their own mind, shall depart having wasted their lives. The self-willed manmukhs, through stubborn-mindedness and the practice of falsehood, lose the game of life. Those who conquer their own mind, by Guru's Grace, lovingly focus their attention on the Lord. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs practice Truth, while the self-willed manmukhs continue coming and going in reincarnation. ||2|| Pauree: O Saints of the Lord, O Siblings of Destiny, listen, and hear the Lord's Teachings, through the True Guru. Those who have good destiny pre-ordained and inscribed on their foreheads, grasp it and keep it enshrined in the heart. Through the Guru's Teachings, they intuitively taste the sublime, exquisite and ambrosial sermon of the Lord. The Divine Light shines in their hearts, and like the sun which removes the darkness of night, it dispels the darkness of ignorance. As Gurmukh, they behold with their eyes the Unseen, Imperceptible, Unknowable, Immaculate Lord. ||12|| Shalok, Third Mehl:

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 075

Those who serve their True Guru are certified and accepted. They eradicate selfishness and conceit from within; they remain lovingly absorbed in the True One. Those who do not serve the True Guru waste away their lives in vain. O Nanak, the Lord does just as He pleases. No one has any say in this. ||1|| Third Mehl: With the mind encircled by wickedness and evil, people do evil deeds. The ignorant worship the love of duality; in the Lord's Court they shall be punished. So worship the Lord, the Light of the soul; without the True Guru, understanding is not obtained. Meditation, penance and austere self-discipline are found by surrendering to the True Guru's Will. By His Grace this is received. O Nanak, serve with this intuitive awareness; only that which is pleasing to the Lord is approved. ||2|| Pauree: Chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, O my mind; it will bring you eternal peace, day and night. Chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, O my mind; meditating on it, all sins and misdeeds shall be erased. Chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, O my mind; through it, all poverty, pain and hunger shall be removed. Chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, O my mind; as Gurmukh, declare your love. One who has such pre-ordained destiny inscribed upon his forehead by the True Lord, chants the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||13|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Those who do not serve the True Guru, and who do not contemplate the Word of the Shabad -spiritual wisdom does not enter into their hearts; they are like dead bodies in the world. They go through the cycle of 8.4 million reincarnations, and they are ruined through death and rebirth. He alone serves the True Guru, whom the Lord Himself inspires to do so. The Treasure of the Naam is within the True Guru; by His Grace, it is obtained. Those who are truly attuned to the Word of the Guru's Shabad-their love is forever True. O Nanak, those who are united with Him shall not be separated again. They merge imperceptibly into God. ||1|| Third Mehl: One who knows the Benevolent Lord God is the true devotee of Bhagaautee. By Guru's Grace, he is self-realised. He restrains his wandering mind, and brings it back to its own home within the self. He remains dead while yet alive, and he chants the Name of the Lord. Such a Bhagaautee is most exalted. O Nanak, he merges into the True One. ||2|| Third Mehl: He is full of deceit, and yet he calls himself a devotee of Bhagaautee. Through hypocrisy, he shall never attain the Supreme Lord God. He slanders others, and pollutes himself with his own filth. Outwardly, he washes off the filth, but the impurity of his mind does not go away. He argues with the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. Night and day, he suffers, engrossed in the love of duality. He does not remember the Name of the Lord, but still, he performs all sorts of empty rituals. That which is pre-ordained cannot be erased. O Nanak, without serving the True Guru, liberation is not obtained. ||3|| Pauree: Those who meditate on the True Guru shall not be burnt to ashes. Those who meditate on the True Guru are satisfied and fulfilled. Those who meditate on the True Guru are not afraid of the Messenger of Death.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 076

Those upon whom the Lord showers His Mercy, fall at the Feet of the True Guru. Here and hereafter, their faces are radiant; they go to the Lord's Court in robes of honour. ||14|| Shalok, Second Mehl: Chop off that head which does not bow to the Lord. O Nanak, that human body, in which there is no pain of separation from the Lord-take that body and burn it. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Forgetting the Primal Lord, O Nanak, people are born and die, over and over again. Mistaking it for musk, they have fallen into the stinking pit of filth. ||2|| Pauree: Meditate on that Name of the Lord, O my mind, whose Command rules over all. Chant that Name of the Lord, O my mind, which will save you at the very last moment. Chant that Name of the Lord, O my mind, which shall drive out all hunger and desire from your mind. Very fortunate and blessed is that Gurmukh who chants the Naam; it shall bring all slanderers and wicked enemies to fall at his feet. O Nanak, worship and adore the Naam, the Greatest Name of all, before which all come and bow. ||15|| Shalok, Third Mehl: She may wear good clothes, but the bride is ugly and rude; her mind is false and impure. She does not walk in harmony with the Will of her Husband Lord. Instead, she foolishly gives Him orders. But she who walks in harmony with the Guru's Will, shall be spared all pain and suffering. That destiny which was pre-ordained by the Creator cannot be erased. She must dedicate her mind and body to her Husband Lord, and enshrine love for the Word of the Shabad. Without His Name, no one has found Him; see this and reflect upon it in your heart. O Nanak, she is beautiful and graceful; the Creator Lord ravishes and enjoys her. ||1|| Third Mehl: Attachment to Maya is an ocean of darkness; neither this shore nor the one beyond can be seen. The ignorant, self-willed manmukhs suffer in terrible pain; they forget the Lord's Name and drown. They arise in the morning and perform all sorts of rituals, but they are caught in the love of duality. Those who serve the True Guru cross over the terrifying world-ocean. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs keep the True Name enshrined in their hearts; they are absorbed into the True One. ||2|| Pauree: The Lord pervades and permeates the water, the land and the sky; there is no other at all. The Lord Himself sits upon His Throne and administers justice. He beats and drives out the false-hearted. The Lord bestows glorious greatness upon those who are truthful. He administers righteous justice. So praise the Lord, everybody; He protects the poor and the lost souls. He honours the righteous and punishes the sinners. ||16|| Shalok, Third Mehl: The self-willed manmukh, the foolish bride, is a filthy, rude and evil wife. Forsaking her Husband Lord and leaving her own home, she gives her love to another. Her desires are never satisfied, and she burns and cries out in pain. O Nanak, without the Name, she is ugly and ungraceful. She is abandoned and left behind by her Husband Lord. ||1||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 077

Third Mehl: The happy soul-bride is attuned to the Word of the Shabad; she is in love with the True Guru. She continually enjoys and ravishes her Beloved, with true love and affection. She is such a loveable, beautiful and noble woman. O Nanak, through the Naam, the happy soul-bride unites with the Lord of Union. ||2|| Pauree: Lord, everyone sings Your Praises. You have freed us from bondage. Lord, everyone bows in reverence to You. You have saved us from our sinful ways. Lord, You are the Honour of the dishonoured. Lord, You are the Strongest of the strong. The Lord beats down the egocentrics and corrects the foolish, self-willed manmukhs. The Lord bestows glorious greatness on His devotees, the poor, and the lost souls. ||17|| Shalok, Third Mehl: One who walks in harmony with the Will of the True Guru, obtains the greatest glory. The Exalted Name of the Lord abides in his mind, and no one can take it away. That person, upon whom the Lord bestows His Grace, receives His Mercy. O Nanak, creativity is under the control of the Creator; how rare are those who, as Gurmukh, realise this! ||1|| Third Mehl: O Nanak, those who worship and adore the Lord's Name night and day, vibrate the String of the Lord's Love. Maya, the maid-servant of our Lord and Master, serves them. The Perfect One has made them perfect; by the Hukam of His Command, they are embellished. By Guru's Grace, they understand Him, and they find the gate of salvation. The self-willed manmukhs do not know the Lord's Command; they are beaten down by the Messenger of Death. But the Gurmukhs, who worship and adore the Lord, cross over the terrifying world-ocean. All their demerits are erased, and replaced with merits. The Guru Himself is their Forgiver. ||2|| Pauree: The

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Lord's devotees have faith in Him. The Lord knows everything. No one is as great a Knower as the Lord; the Lord administers righteous justice. Why should we feel any burning anxiety, since the Lord does not punish without just cause? True is the Master, and True is His Justice; only the sinners are defeated. O devotees, praise the Lord with your palms pressed together; the Lord saves His humble devotees. ||18|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Oh, if only I could meet my Beloved, and keep Him enshrined deep within my heart! I praise that God forever and ever, through love and affection for the Guru. O Nanak, that one upon whom He bestows His Glance of Grace is united with Him; such a person is the true soul-bride of the Lord. ||1|| Third Mehl: Serving the Guru, the Lord is obtained, when He bestows His Glance of Grace. They are transformed from humans into angels, meditating on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. They conquer their egotism and merge with the Lord; they are saved through the Word of the Guru's Shabad. O Nanak, they merge imperceptibly into the Lord, who has bestowed His Favor upon them. ||2|| Pauree: The Lord Himself inspires us to worship Him; He reveals His Glorious Greatness. He Himself inspires us to place our faith in Him. Thus He performs His Own Service.

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 078

The Lord bestows bliss upon His devotees, and gives them a seat in the eternal home. He does not give the sinners any stability or place of rest; He consigns them to the depths of hell. The Lord blesses His devotees with His Love; He sides with them and saves them. ||19|| Shalok, First Mehl: False-mindedness is the drummer-woman; cruelty is the butcheress; slander of others in one's heart is the cleaning-woman, and deceitful anger is the outcast-woman. What good are the ceremonial lines drawn around your kitchen, when these four are seated there with you? Make Truth your self-discipline, and make good deeds the lines you draw; make chanting the Name your cleansing bath. O Nanak, those who do not walk in the ways of sin, shall be exalted in the world hereafter. ||1|| First Mehl: Which is the swan, and which is the crane? It is only by His Glance of Grace. Whoever is pleasing to Him, O Nanak, is transformed from a crow into a swan. ||2|| Pauree: Whatever work you wish to accomplish-tell it to the Lord. He will resolve your affairs; the True Guru gives His Guarantee of Truth. In the Society of the Saints, you shall taste the treasure of the Ambrosial Nectar. The Lord is the Merciful Destroyer of fear; He preserves and protects His slaves. O Nanak, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and see the Unseen Lord God. ||20|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Body and soul, all belong to Him. He gives His Support to all. O Nanak, become Gurmukh and serve Him, who is forever and ever the Giver. I am a sacrifice to those who meditate on the Formless Lord. Their faces are forever radiant, and the whole world bows in reverence to them. ||1|| Third Mehl: Meeting the True Guru, I am totally transformed; I have obtained the nine treasures to use and consume. The Siddhis-the eighteen supernatural spiritual powers-follow in my footsteps; I dwell in my own home, within my own self. The Unstruck Melody constantly vibrates within; my mind is exalted and uplifted-I am lovingly absorbed in the Lord. O Nanak, devotion to the Lord abides within the minds of those who have such pre-ordained destiny written on their foreheads. ||2|| Pauree: I am a minstrel of the Lord God, my Lord and Master; I have come to the Lord's Door. The Lord has heard my sad cries from within; He has called me, His minstrel, into His Presence. The Lord called His minstrel in, and asked, "Why have you come here?" "O Merciful God, please grant me the gift of continual meditation on the Lord's Name." And so the Lord, the Great Giver, inspired Nanak to chant the Lord's Name, and blessed him with robes of honour. ||21||1||Sudh|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Siree Raag, Kabeer Jee: To Be Sung To The Tune Of "Ayk Su-Aan" : The mother thinks that her son is growing up; she does not understand that, day by day, his life is diminishing. Calling him, "Mine, mine", she fondles him lovingly, while the Messenger of Death looks on and laughs. ||1||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 079

You have misled the world so deeply in doubt. How can people understand You, when they are entranced by Maya? ||1||Pause|| Says Kabeer, give up the pleasures of corruption, or else you will surely die of them. Meditate on the Lord, O mortal being, through the Word of His Bani; you shall be blessed with eternal life. In this way, shall you cross over the terrifying world-ocean. ||2|| As it pleases Him, people embrace love for the Lord, and doubt and delusion are dispelled from within. Intuitive peace and poise well up within, and the intellect is awakened to spiritual wisdom. By Guru's Grace, the inner being is touched by the Lord's Love. ||3|| In this association, there is no death. Recognising the Hukam of His Command, you shall meet with your Lord and Master. ||1||Second Pause|| Siree Raag, Trilochan: The mind is totally attached to Maya; the mortal has forgotten his fear of old age and death. Gazing upon his family, he blossoms forth like the lotus flower; the deceitful person watches and covets the homes of others. ||1|| When the powerful Messenger of Death comes, no one can stand against his awesome power. Rare, very rare, is that friend who comes and says, "O my Beloved, take me into Your Embrace! O my Lord, please save me!"||1||Pause|| Indulging in all sorts of princely pleasures, O mortal, you have forgotten God; you have fallen into the world-ocean, and you think that you have become immortal. Cheated and plundered by Maya, you do not think of God, and you waste your life in laziness. ||2|| The path you must walk is treacherous and terrifying, O mortal; neither the sun nor the moon shine there. Your emotional attachment to Maya will be forgotten, when you have to leave this world. ||3|| Today, it became clear to my mind that the Righteous Judge of Dharma is watching us. His messengers, with their awesome power, crush people between their hands; I cannot stand against them. ||4|| If someone is going to teach me something, let it be that the Lord is pervading the forests and fields. O Dear Lord, You Yourself know everything; so prays Trilochan, Lord. ||5||2|| Siree Raag, Devotee Kabeer Jee: Listen, O religious scholar: the One Lord alone is Wondrous; no one can describe Him. He fascinates the angels, the celestial singers and the heavenly musicians; he has strung the three worlds upon His Thread. ||1|| The Unstruck Melody of the Sovereign Lord's Harp vibrates; by His Glance of Grace, we are lovingly attuned to the Sound-current of the Naad. ||1||Pause|| The Tenth Gate of my crown chakra is the distilling fire, and the channels of the Ida and Pingala are the funnels, to pour in and empty out the golden vat. Into that vat, there trickles a gentle stream of the most sublime and pure essence of all distilled essences. ||2|| Something wonderful has happened-the breath has become the cup. In all the three worlds, such a Yogi is unique. What king can compare to him? ||3|| This spiritual wisdom of God, the Supreme Soul, has illuminated my being. Says Kabeer, I am attuned to His Love. All the rest of the world is deluded by doubt, while my mind is intoxicated with the Sublime Essence of the Lord. ||4||3||

Section 05 - Siree Raag - Part 080

Sree Raag, The Word Of Devotee Baynee Jee: TO BE SUNG TO THE TUNE OF "PEHRAY": One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O man, when you were coiled in the cradle of the womb, upside-down, you were absorbed in meditation. You took no pride in your perishable body; night and day were all the same to you-you lived unknowing, in the silence of the void. Remember the terrible pain and suffering of those days, now that you have spread out the net of your consciousness far and wide. Leaving the womb, you entered this mortal world; you have forgotten the Lord from your mind. ||1|| Later, you will regret and repent-you fool! Why are you engrossed in evil-mindedness and skepticism? Think of the Lord, or else you shall be led to the City of Death. Why are you wandering around, out of control? ||1||Pause|| You play like a child, craving sweets; moment by moment, you become more entangled in emotional attachment. Tasting good and bad, you eat nectar and then poison, and then the five passions appear and torture you. Abandoning meditation, penance and self-restraint, and the wisdom of good actions, you do not worship and adore the Lord's Name. You are overflowing with sexual desire, and your intellect is stained with darkness; you are held in the grip of Shakti's power. ||2|| In the heat of youthful passion, you look with desire upon the faces of other men's wives; you do not distinguish between good and evil. Drunk with sexual desire and other great sins, you go astray, and do not distinguish between vice and virtue. Gazing upon your children and your property, your mind is proud and arrogant; you cast out the Lord from your heart. When others die, you measure your own wealth in your mind; you waste your life in the pleasures of the mouth and sexual organs. ||3|| Your hair is whiter than the jasmine flower, and your voice has grown feeble, as if it comes from the seventh underworld. Your eyes water, and your intellect and strength have left you; but still, your sexual desire churns and drives you on. And so, your intellect has dried up through corruption, and the lotus flower of your body has wilted and withered. You have forsaken the Bani, the Word of the Immortal Lord, in this mortal world; in the end, you shall regret and repent. ||4|| Gazing upon the tiny bodies of your children, love has welled up within your heart; you are proud of them, but you do not understand. You long for the dignity of a long life, but your eyes can no longer see anything. Your light has gone out, and the bird of your mind has flown away; you are no longer welcome in your own home and courtyard. Says Baynee, listen, O devotee: who has ever attained liberation after such a death? ||5|| Sree Raag: You are me, and I am You-what is the difference between us? We are like gold and the bracelet, or water and the waves. ||1|| If I did not commit any sins, O Infinite Lord, how would You have acquired the name, 'Redeemer of sinners'? ||1||Pause|| You are my Master, the Inner-knower, Searcher of hearts. The servant is known by his God, and the Lord and Master is known by His servant. ||2|| Grant me the wisdom to worship and adore You with my body. O Ravi Daas, one who understands that the Lord is equally in all, is very rare. ||3||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 6 - RAAG MAAJH

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 001

Raag Maajh, Chau-Padas, First House, Fourth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. The Name Is Truth. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying, Beyond Birth, Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is pleasing to my mind. By great good fortune, I meditate on the Lord's Name. The Perfect Guru has attained spiritual perfection in the Name of the Lord. How rare are those who follow the Guru's Teachings. ||1|| I have loaded my pack with the provisions of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. The Companion of my breath of life shall always be with me. The Perfect Guru has implanted the Lord's Name within me. I have the Imperishable Treasure of the Lord in my lap. ||2|| The Lord, Har, Har, is my Best Friend; He is my Beloved Lord King. If only someone would come and introduce me to Him, the Rejuvenator of my breath of life. I cannot survive without seeing my Beloved. My eyes are welling up with tears. ||3|| My Friend, the True Guru, has been my Best Friend since I was very young. I cannot survive without seeing Him, O my mother! O Dear Lord, please show Mercy to me, that I may meet the Guru. Servant Nanak gathers the Wealth of the Lord's Name in his lap. ||4||1|| Maajh, Fourth Mehl: The Lord is my mind, body and breath of life. I do not know any other than the Lord. If only I could have the good fortune to meet some friendly Saint; he might show me the Way to my Beloved Lord God. ||1|| I have searched my mind and body, through and through. How can I meet my Darling Beloved, O my mother? Joining the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, I ask about the Path to God. In that Congregation, the Lord God abides. ||2|| My Darling Beloved True Guru is my Protector. I am a helpless child-please cherish me. The Guru, the Perfect True Guru, is my Mother and Father. Obtaining the Water of the Guru, the lotus of my heart blossoms forth. ||3|| Without seeing my Guru, sleep does not come. My mind and body are afflicted with the pain of separation from the Guru. O Lord, Har, Har, show mercy to me, that I may meet my Guru. Meeting the Guru, servant Nanak blossoms forth. ||4||2||

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 002

Maajh, Fourth Mehl: Read of the Lord's Glories and reflect upon the Lord's Glories. Listen continually to the Sermon of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Joining the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, and singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, you shall cross over the treacherous and terrifying world-ocean. ||1|| Come, friends, let us meet our Lord. Bring me a message from my Beloved. He alone is a friend, companion, beloved and brother of mine, who shows me the way to the Lord, the Lord of all. ||2|| My illness is known only to the Lord and the Perfect Guru. I cannot continue living without chanting the Naam. So give me the medicine, the Mantra of the Perfect Guru. Through the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, I am saved. ||3|| I am just a poor song-bird, in the Sanctuary of the True Guru, who has placed the Drop of Water, the Lord's Name, Har, Har, in my mouth. The Lord is the Treasure of Water; I am just a fish in that water. Without this Water, servant Nanak would die. ||4||3|| Maajh, Fourth Mehl: O servants of the Lord, O Saints, O my Siblings of Destiny, let us join together! Show me the way to my Lord God-I am so hungry for Him! Please reward my faith, O Life of the World, O Great Giver. Obtaining the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan, my mind is fulfilled. ||1|| Joining the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, I chant the Bani of the Lord's Word. The Sermon of the Lord, Har, Har, is pleasing to my mind. The Ambrosial Nectar of the Lord's Name, Har, Har, is so sweet to my mind. Meeting the True Guru, I drink in this Ambrosial Nectar. ||2|| By great good fortune, the Lord's Congregation is found, while the unfortunate ones wander around in doubt, enduring painful beatings. Without good fortune, the Sat Sangat is not found; without this Sangat, people are stained with filth and pollution. ||3|| Come and meet me, O Life of the World, my Beloved. Please bless me with Your Mercy, and enshrine Your Name, Har, Har, within my mind. Through the Guru's Teachings, the Sweet Name has become pleasing to my mind. Servant Nanak's mind is drenched and delighted with the Naam. ||4||4|| Maajh, Fourth Mehl: Through the Guru, I have obtained the Lord's spiritual wisdom. I have obtained the Sublime Essence of the Lord. My mind is imbued with the Love of the Lord; I drink in the Sublime Essence of the Lord. With my mouth, I chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har; my mind is filled to overflowing with the Sublime Essence of the Lord. ||1|| Come, O Saints, and lead me to my Lord's Embrace. Recite to me the Sermon of my Beloved. I dedicate my mind to those Saints of the Lord, who chant the Word of the Guru's Bani with their mouths. ||2|| By great good fortune, the Lord has led me to meet His Saint. The Perfect Guru has placed the Sublime Essence of the Lord into my mouth. The unfortunate ones do not find the True Guru; the self-willed manmukhs continually endure reincarnation through the womb. ||3|| God, the Merciful, has Himself bestowed His Mercy. He has totally removed the poisonous pollution of egotism. O Nanak, in the shops of the city of the human body, the Gurmukhs buy

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the merchandise of the Lord's Name. ||4||5|| Maajh, Fourth Mehl: I meditate on the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe, and the Name of the Lord. Joining the Sangat, the Holy Congregation, the Name comes to dwell in the mind. The Lord God is our Lord and Master, Inaccessible and Unfathomable. Meeting the True Guru, I enjoy the Sublime Essence of the Lord. ||1||

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 003

Blessed, blessed are the humble servants of the Lord, who know the Lord God. I go and ask those humble servants about the Mysteries of the Lord. I wash and massage their feet; joining with the humble servants of the Lord, I drink in the Sublime Essence of the Lord. ||2|| The True Guru, the Giver, has implanted the Naam, the Name of the Lord, within me. By great good fortune, I have obtained the Blessed Vision of the Guru's Darshan. The True Essence is Ambrosial Nectar; through the Ambrosial Words of the Perfect Guru, this Amrit is obtained. ||3|| O Lord, lead me to the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, and the true beings. Joining the Sat Sangat, I meditate on the Lord's Name. O Nanak, I listen and chant the Lord's Sermon; through the Guru's Teachings, I am fulfilled by the Name of the Lord. ||4||6|| Maajh, Fourth Mehl: Come, dear sisters-let us join together. I am a sacrifice to the one who tells me of my Beloved. Joining the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, I have found the Lord, my Best Friend. I am a sacrifice to the True Guru. ||1|| Wherever I look, there I see my Lord and Master. You are permeating each and every heart, O Lord, Inner-knower, Searcher of Hearts. The Perfect Guru has shown me that the Lord is always with me. I am forever a sacrifice to the True Guru. ||2|| There is only one breath; all are made of the same clay; the light within all is the same. The One Light pervades all the many and various beings. This Light intermingles with them, but it is not diluted or obscured. By Guru's Grace, I have come to see the One. I am a sacrifice to the True Guru. ||3|| Servant Nanak speaks the Ambrosial Bani of the Word. It is dear and pleasing to the minds of the GurSikhs. The Guru, the Perfect True Guru, shares the Teachings. The Guru, the True Guru, is Generous to all. ||4||7|| Seven Chau-Padas Of The Fourth Mehl. || Maajh, Fifth Mehl, Chau-Padas, First House: My mind longs for the Blessed Vision of the Guru's Darshan. It cries out like the thirsty song-bird. My thirst is not quenched, and I can find no peace, without the Blessed Vision of the Beloved Saint. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to the Blessed Vision of the Beloved Saint Guru. ||1||Pause|| Your Face is so Beautiful, and the Sound of Your Words imparts intuitive wisdom. It is so long since this rainbird has had even a glimpse of water. Blessed is that land where You dwell, O my Friend and Intimate Divine Guru. ||2|| I am a sacrifice, I am forever a sacrifice, to my Friend and Intimate Divine Guru. ||1||Pause|| When I could not be with You for just one moment, the Dark Age of Kali Yuga dawned for me. When will I meet You, O my Beloved Lord?

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 004

I cannot endure the night, and sleep does not come, without the Sight of the Beloved Guru's Court. ||3|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to that True Court of the Beloved Guru. ||1||Pause|| By good fortune, I have met the Saint Guru. I have found the Immortal Lord within the home of my own self. I will now serve You forever, and I shall never be separated from You, even for an instant. Servant Nanak is Your slave, O Beloved Master. ||4|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice; servant Nanak is Your slave, Lord. ||Pause||1||8|| Raag Maajh, Fifth Mehl: Sweet is that season when I remember You. Sublime is that work which is done for You. Blessed is that heart in which You dwell, O Giver of all. ||1|| You are the Universal Father of all, O my Lord and Master. Your nine treasures are an inexhaustible storehouse. Those unto whom You give are satisfied and fulfilled; they become Your devotees, Lord. ||2|| All place their hopes in You. You dwell deep within each and every heart. All share in Your Grace; none are beyond You. ||3|| You Yourself liberate the Gurmukhs; You Yourself consign the self-willed manmukhs to wander in reincarnation. Slave Nanak is a sacrifice to You; Your Entire Play is self-evident, Lord. ||4||2||9|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: The Unstruck Melody resounds and resonates in peaceful ease. I rejoice in the eternal bliss of the Word of the Shabad. In the cave of intuitive wisdom I sit, absorbed in the silent trance of the Primal Void. I have obtained my seat in the heavens. ||1|| After wandering through many other homes and houses, I have returned to my own home, and I have found what I was longing for. I am satisfied and fulfilled; O Saints, the Guru has shown me the Fearless Lord God. ||2|| He Himself is the King, and He Himself is the people. He Himself is in Nirvaanaa, and He Himself indulges in pleasures. He Himself sits on the throne of true justice, answering the cries and prayers of all. ||3|| As I have seen Him, so have I described Him. This Sublime Essence comes only to one who knows the Mystery of the Lord. His light merges into the Light, and he finds peace. O servant Nanak, this is all the Extension of the One. ||4||3||10|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: That house, in which the soul-bride has married her Husband Lord -in that house, O my companions, sing the songs of rejoicing. Joy and celebrations decorate that house, in which the Husband Lord has adorned His soul-bride. ||1|| She is virtuous, and she is very fortunate; she is blessed with sons and tender-hearted. The happy soul-bride is loved by her Husband. She is beautiful, wise, and clever. That soul-bride is the beloved of her Husband Lord. ||2|| She is well-mannered, noble and distinguished. She is decorated and adorned with wisdom. She is from a most respected family; she is the queen, adorned with the Love of her Husband Lord. ||3|| Her glory cannot be described; she melts in the Embrace of her Husband Lord.

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 005

Her marriage is eternal; her Husband is Inaccessible and Incomprehensible. O Servant Nanak, His Love is her only Support. ||4||4||11|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: I have searched and searched, seeking the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. I travelled through all sorts of woods and forests. My Lord, Har, Har, is both absolute and related, unmanifest and manifest; is there anyone who can come and unite me with Him? ||1|| People recite from memory the wisdom of the six schools of philosophy; they perform worship services, wear ceremonial religious marks on their foreheads, and take ritual cleansing baths at sacred shrines of pilgrimage. They perform the inner cleansing practice with water and adopt the eighty-four Yogic postures; but still, they find no peace in any of these. ||2|| They chant and meditate, practicing austere self-discipline for years and years; they wander on journeys all over the earth; and yet, their hearts are not at peace, even for an instant. The Yogi rises up and goes out, over and over again. ||3|| By His Mercy, I have met the Holy Saint. My mind and body have been cooled and soothed; I have been blessed with patience and composure. The Immortal Lord God has come to dwell within my heart. Nanak sings the songs of joy to the Lord. ||4||5||12|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: The Supreme Lord God is Infinite and Divine; He is Inaccessible, Incomprehensible, Invisible and Inscrutable. Merciful to the meek, Sustainer of the World, Lord of the Universe-meditating on the Lord, the Gurmukhs find salvation. ||1|| The Gurmukhs are emancipated by the Lord. The Lord Krishna becomes the Gurmukh's Companion. The Gurmukh finds the Merciful Lord. He is not found any other way. ||2|| He does not need to eat; His Hair is Wondrous and Beautiful; He is free of hate. Millions of people worship His Feet. He alone is a devotee, who becomes Gurmukh, whose heart is filled with the Lord, Har, Har. ||3|| Forever fruitful is the Blessed Vision of His Darshan; He is Infinite and Incomparable. He is Awesome and All-powerful; He is forever the Great Giver. As Gurmukh, chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and you shall be carried across. O Nanak, rare are those who know this state! ||4||6||13|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: As You command, I obey; as You give, I receive. You are the Pride of the meek and the poor. You are everything; You are my Beloved. I am a sacrifice to Your Creative Power. ||1|| By Your Will, we wander in the wilderness; by Your Will, we find the path. By Your Will, we become Gurmukh and sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. By Your Will, we wander in doubt through countless lifetimes. Everything happens by Your Will. ||2|| No one is foolish, and no one is clever. Your Will determines everything; You are Inaccessible, Incomprehensible, Infinite and Unfathomable. Your Value cannot be expressed. ||3|| Please bless me with the dust of the Saints, O my Beloved. I have come and fallen at Your Door, O Lord. Gazing upon the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, my mind is fulfilled. O Nanak, with natural ease, I merge into Him. ||4||7||14|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: They forget the Lord, and they suffer in pain. Afflicted with hunger, they run around in all directions. Meditating in remembrance on the Naam, they are happy forever. The Lord, Merciful to the meek, bestows it upon them. ||1|| My True Guru is absolutely All-powerful.

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 006

When I dwell upon Him in my soul, all my sorrows depart. The sickness of anxiety and the disease of ego are cured; He Himself cherishes me. ||2|| Like a child, I ask for everything. God is Bountiful and Beautiful; He never comes up empty. Again and again, I fall at His Feet. He is Merciful to the meek, the Sustainer of the World. ||3|| I am a sacrifice to the Perfect True Guru, who has shattered all my bonds. With the Naam, the Name of the Lord, in my heart, I have been purified. O Nanak, His Love has imbued me with nectar. ||4||8||15|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: O my Love, Sustainer of the World, Merciful, Loving Lord, Profoundly Deep, Infinite Lord of the Universe, Highest of the High, Unfathomable, Infinite Lord and Master: continually remembering You in deep meditation, I live. ||1|| O Destroyer of pain, Priceless Treasure, Fearless, free of hate, Unfathomable, Immeasurable, of Undying Form, Unborn, Self-illumined: remembering You in meditation, my mind is filled with a deep and profound peace. ||2|| The Joyous Lord, the Sustainer of the World, is my constant Companion. He cherishes the high and the low. The Nectar of the Name satisfies my mind. As Gurmukh, I drink in the Ambrosial Nectar. ||3|| In suffering and in comfort, I meditate on You, O Beloved. I have obtained this sublime understanding from the Guru. You are Nanak's Support, O my Lord and Master; through Your Love, I swim across to the other side. ||4||9||16|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: Blessed is that time when I meet the True Guru. Gazing upon the Fruitful Vision of His Darshan, I have been saved. Blessed are the hours, the minutes and the seconds-blessed is that Union with Him. ||1|| Making the effort, my mind has become pure. Walking on the Lord's Path, my doubts have all been cast out. The True Guru has inspired me to hear the Treasure of the Naam; all my illness has been dispelled. ||2|| The Word of Your Bani is inside and outside as well. You Yourself chant it, and You Yourself speak it. The Guru has said that He is One-All is the One. There shall never be any other. ||3|| I drink in the Lord's Ambrosial Essence from the Guru; the Lord's Name has become my clothing and food. The Name is my delight, the Name is my play and entertainment. O Nanak, I have made the Name my enjoyment. ||4||10||17|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: I beg of all the Saints: please, give me the merchandise. I offer my prayers-I have forsaken my pride. I am a sacrifice, hundreds of thousands of times a sacrifice, and I pray: please, give me the dust of the feet of the Saints. ||1|| You are the Giver, You are the Architect of Destiny. You are All-powerful, the Giver of Eternal Peace. You bless everyone. Please bring my life to fulfillment. ||2|| The body-temple is sanctified by the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan, and thus, the impregnable fort of the soul is conquered. You are the Giver, You are the Architect of Destiny. There is no other warrior as great as You. ||3||

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 007

I applied the dust of the feet of the Saints to my face. My evil-mindedness disappeared, along with my misfortune and false-mindedness. I sit in the true home of my self; I sing His Glorious Praises. O Nanak, my falsehood has vanished! ||4||11||18|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: I shall never forget You-You are such a Great Giver! Please grant Your Grace, and imbue me with the love of devotional worship. If it pleases You, let me meditate on You day and night; please, grant me this gift! ||1|| Into this blind clay, You have infused awareness. Everything, everywhere which You have given is good. Bliss, joyful celebrations, wondrous plays and entertainment-whatever pleases You, comes to pass. ||2|| Everything we receive is a gift from Him -the thirty-six delicious foods to eat, cozy beds, cooling breezes, peaceful joy and the experience of pleasure. ||3|| Give me that state of mind, by which I may not forget You. Give me that understanding, by which I may meditate on You. I sing Your Glorious Praises with each and every breath. Nanak takes the Support of the Guru's Feet. ||4||12||19|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: To praise You is to follow Your Command and Your Will. That which pleases You is spiritual wisdom and meditation. That which pleases God is chanting and meditation; to be in harmony with His Will is perfect spiritual wisdom. ||1|| He alone sings Your Ambrosial Naam, who is pleasing to Your Mind, O my Lord and Master. You belong to the Saints, and the Saints belong to You. The minds of the Saints are attuned to You, O my Lord and Master. ||2|| You cherish and nurture the Saints. The Saints play with You, O Sustainer of the World. Your Saints are very dear to You. You are the breath of life of the Saints. ||3|| My mind is a sacrifice to those Saints who know You, and are pleasing to Your Mind. In their company I have found a lasting peace. Nanak is satisfied and fulfilled with the Sublime Essence of the Lord. ||4||13||20|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl : You are the Ocean of Water, and I am Your fish. Your Name is the drop of water, and I am a thirsty rainbird. You are my hope, and You are my thirst. My mind is absorbed in You. ||1|| Just as the baby is satisfied by drinking milk, and the poor person is pleased by seeing wealth, and the thirsty person is refreshed by drinking cool water, so is this mind drenched with delight in the Lord. ||2|| Just as the darkness is lit up by the lamp, and the hopes of the wife are fulfilled by thinking about her husband, and people are filled with bliss upon meeting their beloved, so is my mind imbued with the Lord's Love. ||3|| The Saints have set me upon the Lord's Path. By the Grace of the Holy Saint, I have been attuned to the Lord. The Lord is mine, and I am the slave of the Lord. O Nanak, the Guru has blessed me with the True Word of the Shabad. ||4||14||21|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: The Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord, is eternally pure. The Lord is the Giver of Peace and the Dispeller of sorrow. I have seen and tasted all other flavors, but to my mind, the Subtle Essence of the Lord is the sweetest of all. ||1||

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 008

Whoever drinks this in, is satisfied. Whoever obtains the Sublime Essence of the Naam becomes immortal. The Treasure of the Naam is obtained by one whose mind is filled with the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||2|| One who obtains the Sublime Essence of the Lord is satisfied and fulfilled. One who obtains this Flavor of the Lord does not waver. One who has this destiny written on his forehead obtains the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||3|| The Lord has come into the hands of the One, the Guru, who has blessed so many with good fortune. Attached to Him, a great many have been liberated. The Gurmukh obtains the Treasure of the Naam; says Nanak,

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those who see the Lord are very rare. ||4||15||22|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: My Lord, Har, Har, Har, is the nine treasures, the supernatural spiritual powers of the Siddhas, wealth and prosperity. He is the Deep and Profound Treasure of Life. Hundreds of thousands, even millions of pleasures and delights are enjoyed by one who falls at the Guru's Feet. ||1|| Gazing upon the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, all are sanctified, and all family and friends are saved. By Guru's Grace, I meditate on the Inaccessible and Unfathomable True Lord. ||2|| The One, the Guru, who is sought by all-only a few, by great good fortune, receive His Darshan. His Place is lofty, infinite and unfathomable; the Guru has shown me that palace. ||3|| Your Ambrosial Name is deep and profound. That person is liberated, in whose heart You dwell. The Guru cuts away all his bonds; O Servant Nanak, he is absorbed in the poise of intuitive peace. ||4||16||23|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: By God's Grace, I meditate on the Lord, Har, Har. By God's Kindness, I sing the songs of joy. While standing and sitting, while sleeping and while awake, meditate on the Lord, all your life. ||1|| The Holy Saint has given me the Medicine of the Naam. My sins have been cut out, and I have become pure. I am filled with bliss, and all my pains have been taken away. All my suffering has been dispelled. ||2|| One who has my Beloved on his side, is liberated from the world-ocean. One who recognises the Guru practices Truth; why should he be afraid? ||3|| Since I found the Company of the Holy and met the Guru, the demon of pride has departed. With each and every breath, Nanak sings the Lord's Praises. The True Guru has covered my sins. ||4||17||24|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: Through and through, the Lord is intermingled with His servant. God, the Giver of Peace, cherishes His servant. I carry the water, wave the fan, and grind the grain for the servant of my Lord and Master. ||1|| God has cut the noose from around my neck; He has placed me in His Service. The Lord and Master's Command is pleasing to the mind of His servant. He does that which pleases his Lord and Master. Inwardly and outwardly, the servant knows his Lord. ||2|| You are the All-knowing Lord and Master; You know all ways and means.

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 009

The servant of the Lord and Master enjoys the Love and Affection of the Lord. That which belongs to the Lord and Master, belongs to His servant. The servant becomes distinguished in association with his Lord and Master. ||3|| He, whom the Lord and Master dresses in the robes of honour, is not called to answer for his account any longer. Nanak is a sacrifice to that servant. He is the pearl of the deep and unfathomable Ocean of God. ||4||18||25|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: Everything is within the home of the self; there is nothing beyond. One who searches outside is deluded by doubt. By Guru's Grace, one who has found the Lord within is happy, inwardly and outwardly. ||1|| Slowly, gently, drop by drop, the stream of nectar trickles down within. The mind drinks it in, hearing and reflecting on the Word of the Shabad. It enjoys bliss and ecstasy day and night, and plays with the Lord forever and ever. ||2|| I have now been united with the Lord after having been separated and cut off from Him for so many lifetimes; by the Grace of the Holy Saint, the dried-up branches have blossomed forth again in their greenery. I have obtained this sublime understanding, and I meditate on the Naam; as Gurmukh, I have met the Lord. ||3|| As the waves of water merge again with the water, so does my light merge again into the Light. Says Nanak, the veil of illusion has been cut away, and I shall not go out wandering any more. ||4||19||26|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: I am a sacrifice to those who have heard of You. I am a sacrifice to those whose tongues speak of You. Again and again, I am a sacrifice to those who meditate on You with mind and body. ||1|| I wash the feet of those who walk upon Your Path. With my eyes, I long to behold those kind people. I offer my mind to those friends, who have met the Guru and found God. ||2|| Very fortunate are those who know You. In the midst of all, they remain detached and balanced in Nirvaanaa. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, they cross over the terrifying world-ocean, and conquer all their evil passions. ||3|| My mind has entered their Sanctuary. I have renounced my pride in my own strength, and the darkness of emotional attachment. Please bless Nanak with the Gift of the Naam, the Name of the Inaccessible and Unfathomable God. ||4||20||27|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: You are the tree; Your branches have blossomed forth. From the very small and subtle, You have become huge and manifest. You are the Ocean of Water, and You are the foam and the bubbles on its surface. I cannot see any other except You, Lord. ||1|| You are the thread, and You are also the beads. You are the knot, and You are the primary bead of the maalaa. In the beginning, in the middle and in the end, there is God. I cannot see any other except You, Lord. ||2|| You transcend all qualities, and You possess the supreme qualities. You are the Giver of peace. You are detached in Nirvaanaa, and You are the Enjoyer, imbued with love. You Yourself know Your Own Ways; You dwell upon Yourself. ||3|| You are the Master, and then again, You are the servant. O God, You Yourself are the Manifest and the Unmanifest. Slave Nanak sings Your Glorious Praises forever. Please, just for a moment, bless him with Your Glance of Grace. ||4||21||28||

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 010

Maajh, Fifth Mehl: Blessed are those words, by which the Naam is chanted. Rare are those who know this, by Guru's Grace. Blessed is that time when one sings and hears the Lord's Name. Blessed and approved is the coming of such a one. ||1|| Those eyes which behold the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan are approved and accepted. Those hands which write the Praises of the Lord are good. Those feet which walk in the Lord's Way are beautiful. I am a sacrifice to that Congregation in which the Lord is recognised. ||2|| Listen, O my beloved friends and companions: in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, you shall be saved in an instant. Your sins will be cut out; your mind will be immaculate and pure. Your comings and goings shall cease. ||3|| With my palms pressed together, I offer this prayer: please bless me with Your Mercy, and save this sinking stone. God has become merciful to Nanak; God is pleasing to Nanak's mind. ||4||22||29|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: The Word of Your Bani, Lord, is Ambrosial Nectar. Hearing it again and again, I am elevated to the supreme heights. The burning within me has been extinguished, and my mind has been cooled and soothed, by the Blessed Vision of the True Guru. ||1|| Happiness is obtained, and sorrow runs far away, when the Saints chant the Lord's Name. The sea, the dry land, and the lakes are filled with the Water of the Lord's Name; no place is left empty. ||2|| The Creator has showered His Kindness; He cherishes and nurtures all beings and creatures. He is Merciful, Kind and Compassionate. All are satisfied and fulfilled through Him. ||3|| The woods, the meadows and the three worlds are rendered green. The Doer of all did this in an instant. As Gurmukh, Nanak meditates on the One who fulfills the desires of the mind. ||4||23||30|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: You are my Father, and You are my Mother. You are my Relative, and You are my Brother. You are my Protector everywhere; why should I feel any fear or anxiety? ||1|| By Your Grace, I recognise You. You are my Shelter, and You are my Honour. Without You, there is no other; the entire Universe is the Arena of Your Play. ||2|| You have created all beings and creatures. As it pleases You, You assign tasks to one and all. All things are Your Doing; we can do nothing ourselves. ||3|| Meditating on the Naam, I have found great peace. Singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, my mind is cooled and soothed. Through the Perfect Guru, congratulations are pouring in-Nanak is victorious on the arduous battlefield of life! ||4||24||31|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: God is the Breath of Life of my soul, the Support of my mind. His devotees live by singing the Glorious Praises of the Infinite Lord. The Ambrosial Name of the Lord is the Treasure of Excellence. Meditating, meditating on the Lord's Name, I have found peace. ||1|| One whose heart's desires lead him from his own home to the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, shall be rid of the cycle of birth and death.

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 011

His hopes and desires are fulfilled, when he gains the Blessed Vision of the Guru's Darshan. ||2|| The limits of the Inaccessible and Unfathomable Lord cannot be known. The seekers, the Siddhas, those beings of miraculous spiritual powers, and the spiritual teachers, all meditate on Him. Thus, their egos are erased, and their doubts are dispelled. The Guru has enlightened their minds. ||3|| I chant the Name of the Lord, the Treasure of bliss, joy, salvation, intuitive peace and poise. When my Lord and Master blessed me with His Mercy, O Nanak, then His Name entered the home of my mind. ||4||25||32|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: Hearing of You, I live. You are my Beloved, my Lord and Master, Utterly Great. You alone know Your Ways; I grasp Your Support, Lord of the World. ||1|| Singing Your Glorious Praises, my mind is rejuvenated. Hearing Your Sermon, all filth is removed. Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I meditate forever on the Merciful Lord. ||2|| I dwell on my God with each and every breath. This understanding has been implanted within my mind, by Guru's Grace. By Your Grace, the Divine Light has dawned. The Merciful Lord cherishes everyone. ||3|| True, True, True is that God. Forever, forever and ever, He Himself is. Your Playful Ways are revealed, O my Beloved. Beholding them, Nanak is enraptured. ||4||26||33|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: By His Command, the rain begins to fall. The Saints and friends have met to chant the Naam. Serene tranquility and peaceful ease have come; God Himself has brought a deep and profound peace. ||1|| God has produced everything in great abundance. Granting His Grace, God has satisfied all. Bless us with Your Gifts, O my Great Giver. All beings and creatures are satisfied. ||2|| True is the Master, and True is His Name. By Guru's Grace, I meditate forever on Him. The fear of birth and death has been dispelled; emotional attachment, sorrow and suffering have been erased. ||3|| With each and every breath, Nanak praises the Lord. Meditating in remembrance on the Name, all bonds are cut away. One's hopes are fulfilled in an instant, chanting the Glorious Praises of the Lord, Har, Har, Har. ||4||27||34|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: Come, dear friends, Saints and companions: let us join together and sing the Glorious Praises of the Inaccessible and Infinite Lord. Those who sing and hear these praises are liberated, so let us meditate on the One who created us. ||1|| The sins of countless incarnations depart, and we receive the fruits of the mind's desires. So meditate on that Lord, our True Lord and Master, who gives sustenance to all. ||2|| Chanting the Naam, all pleasures are obtained. All fears are erased, meditating on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. One who serves the Lord swims across to the other side, and all his affairs are resolved. ||3|| I have come to Your Sanctuary; if it pleases You, unite me with You.

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 012

Shower Your Mercy upon me, God; let me be committed to devotional worship. Nanak drinks in the Ambrosial Nectar of Truth. ||4||28||35|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: The Lord of the Universe, the Support of the earth, has become Merciful; the rain is falling everywhere. He is Merciful to the meek, always Kind and Gentle; the Creator has brought cooling relief. ||1|| He cherishes all His beings and creatures, as the mother cares for her children. The Destroyer of pain, the Ocean of Peace, the Lord and Master gives sustenance to all. ||2|| The Merciful Lord is totally pervading and permeating the water and the land. I am forever devoted, a sacrifice to Him. Night and day, I always meditate on Him; in an instant, He saves all. ||3|| God Himself protects all; He drives out all sorrow and suffering. Chanting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the mind and body are rejuvenated. O Nanak, God has bestowed His Glance of Grace. ||4||29||36|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: Where the Naam, the Name of God the Beloved is chanted -those barren places become mansions of gold. Where the Naam, the Name of my Lord of the Universe is not chanted-those towns are like the barren wilderness. ||1|| One who meditates as he eats dry bread, sees the Blessed Lord inwardly and outwardly. Know this well, that one who eats and eats while practicing evil, is like a field of poisonous plants. ||2|| One who does not feel love for the Saints, misbehaves in the company of the wicked shaaktas, the faithless cynics; he wastes this human body, so difficult to obtain. In his ignorance, he tears up his own roots. ||3|| I seek Your Sanctuary, O my Lord, Merciful to the meek, Ocean of Peace, my Guru, Sustainer of the world. Shower Your Mercy upon Nanak, that he may sing Your Glorious Praises; please, preserve my honour. ||4||30||37|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: I cherish in my heart the Feet of my Lord and Master. All my troubles and sufferings have run away. The music of intuitive peace, poise and tranquility wells up within; I dwell in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||1|| The bonds of love with the Lord are never broken. The Lord is totally permeating and pervading inside and out. Meditating, meditating, meditating in remembrance on Him, singing His Glorious Praises, the noose of death is cut away. ||2|| The Ambrosial Nectar, the Unstruck Melody of Gurbani rains down continually; deep within my mind and body, peace and tranquility have come. Your humble servants remain satisfied and fulfilled, and the True Guru blesses them with encouragement and comfort. ||3|| We are His, and from Him, we receive our rewards. Showering His Mercy upon us, God has united us with Him. Our comings and goings have ended, and through great good fortune, O Nanak, our hopes are fulfilled. ||4||31||38|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: The rain has fallen; I have found the Transcendent Lord God. All beings and creatures dwell in peace. Suffering has been dispelled, and true happiness has dawned, as we meditate on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1|| The One, to whom we belong, cherishes and nurtures us. The Supreme Lord God has become our Protector. My Lord and Master has heard my prayer; my efforts have been rewarded. ||2||

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 013

He is the Giver of all souls. By Guru's Grace, He blesses us with His Glance of Grace. The beings in the water, on the land and in the sky are all satisfied; I wash the Feet of the Holy. ||3|| He is the Fulfiller of the desires of the mind. Forever and ever, I am a sacrifice to Him. O Nanak, the Destroyer of pain has given this Gift; I am imbued with the Love of the Delightful Lord. ||4||32||39|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: Mind and body are Yours; all wealth is Yours. You are my God, my Lord and Master. Body and soul and all riches are Yours. Yours is the Power, O Lord of the World. ||1|| Forever and ever, You are the Giver of Peace. I bow down and fall at Your Feet. I act as it pleases You, as You cause me to act, Kind and Compassionate Dear Lord. ||2|| O God, from You I receive; You are my decoration. Whatever You give me, brings me happiness. Wherever You keep me, is heaven. You are the Cherisher of all. ||3|| Meditating, meditating in remembrance, Nanak has found peace. Twenty-four hours a day, I sing Your Glorious Praises. All my hopes and desires are fulfilled; I shall never again suffer sorrow. ||4||33||40|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: The Supreme Lord God has unleashed the rain clouds. Over the sea and over the land-over all the earth's surface, in all directions, He has brought the rain. Peace has come, and the thirst of all has been quenched; there is joy and ecstasy everywhere. ||1|| He is the Giver of Peace, the

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Destroyer of pain. He gives and forgives all beings. He Himself nurtures and cherishes His Creation. I fall at His Feet and surrender to Him. ||2|| Seeking His Sanctuary, salvation is obtained. With each and every breath, I meditate on the Lord's Name. Without Him, there is no other Lord and Master. All places belong to Him. ||3|| Yours is the Honour, God, and Yours is the Power. You are the True Lord and Master, the Ocean of Excellence. Servant Nanak utters this prayer: may I meditate on You twenty-four hours a day. ||4||34||41|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: All happiness comes, when God is pleased. The Feet of the Perfect Guru dwell in my mind. I am intuitively absorbed in the state of Samaadhi deep within. God alone knows this sweet pleasure. ||1|| My Lord and Master is Inaccessible and Unfathomable. Deep within each and every heart, He dwells near and close at hand. He is always detached; He is the Giver of souls. How rare is that person who understands his own self. ||2|| This is the sign of union with God: in the mind, the Command of the True Lord is recognised. Intuitive peace and poise, contentment, enduring satisfaction and bliss come through the Pleasure of the Master's Will. ||3|| God, the Great Giver, has given me His Hand. He has erased all the sickness of birth and death. O Nanak, those whom God has made His slaves, rejoice in the pleasure of singing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises. ||4||35||42||

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 014

Maajh, Fifth Mehl: The Life of the World, the Sustainer of the Earth, has showered His Mercy; the Guru's Feet have come to dwell within my mind. The Creator has made me His Own. He has destroyed the city of sorrow. ||1|| The True One abides within my mind and body; no place seems difficult to me now. All the evil-doers and enemies have now become my friends. I long only for my Lord and Master. ||2|| Whatever He does, He does all by Himself. No one can know His Ways. He Himself is the Helper and Support of His Saints. God has cast out my doubts and delusions. ||3|| His Lotus Feet are the Support of His humble servants. Twenty-four hours a day, they deal in the Name of the Lord. In peace and pleasure, they sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe. O Nanak, God is permeating everywhere. ||4||36||43|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: True is that temple, within which one meditates on the True Lord. Blessed is that heart, within which the Lord's Glorious Praises are sung. Beautiful is that land, where the Lord's humble servants dwell. I am a sacrifice to the True Name. ||1|| The extent of the True Lord's Greatness cannot be known. His Creative Power and His Bounties cannot be described. Your humble servants live by meditating, meditating on You. Their minds treasure the True Word of the Shabad. ||2|| The Praises of the True One are obtained by great good fortune. By Guru's Grace, the Glorious Praises of the Lord are sung. Those who are imbued with Your Love are pleasing to You. The True Name is their Banner and Insignia. ||3|| No one knows the limits of the True Lord. In all places and interspaces, the True One is pervading. O Nanak, meditate forever on the True One, the Searcher of hearts, the Knower of all. ||4||37||44|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: Beautiful is the night, and beautiful is the day, when one joins the Society of the Saints and chants the Ambrosial Naam. If you remember the Lord in meditation for a moment, even for an instant, then your life will become fruitful and prosperous. ||1|| Remembering the Naam, the Name of the Lord, all sinful mistakes are erased. Inwardly and outwardly, the Lord God is always with us. Fear, dread and doubt have been dispelled by the Perfect Guru; now, I see God everywhere. ||2|| God is All-powerful, Vast, Lofty and Infinite. The Naam is overflowing with the nine treasures. In the beginning, in the middle, and in the end, there is God. Nothing else even comes close to Him. ||3|| Take pity on me, O my Lord, Merciful to the meek. I am a beggar, begging for the dust of the feet of the Holy. Servant Nanak begs for this gift: let me meditate on the Lord, forever and ever. ||4||38||45|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: You are here, and You are hereafter. All beings and creatures were created by You. Without You, there is no other, O Creator. You are my Support and my Protection. ||1|| The tongue lives by chanting and meditating on the Lord's Name. The Supreme Lord God is the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. Those who serve the Lord find peace; they do not lose their lives in the gamble. ||2|| Your humble servant, who obtains the Medicine of the Naam,

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 015

is rid of the illnesses of countless lifetimes and incarnations. So sing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises, day and night. This is the most fruitful occupation. ||3|| Bestowing His Glance of Grace, He has adorned His slave. Deep within each and every heart, the Supreme Lord is humbly worshipped. Without the One, there is no other at all. O Baba Nanak, this is the most excellent wisdom. ||4||39||46|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: My mind and body are imbued with love for the Lord. I sacrifice everything for Him. Twenty-four hours a day, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe. Do not forget Him, for even one breath. ||1|| He is a companion, a friend, and a beloved of mine, who reflects upon the Lord's Name, in the Company of the Holy. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, cross over the world-ocean, and the noose of death shall be cut away. ||2|| The four cardinal blessings are obtained by serving the Lord. The Elysian Tree, the source of all blessings, is meditation on the Unseen and Unknowable Lord. The Guru has cut out the sinful mistakes of sexual desire and anger, and my hopes have been fulfilled. ||3|| That mortal who is blessed by perfect destiny meets the Lord, the Sustainer of the Universe, in the Company of the Holy. O Nanak, if the Naam, the Name of the Lord, dwells within the mind, one is approved and accepted, whether he is a house-holder or a renunciate. ||4||40||47|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: Meditating on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, my heart is filled with peace. By His Grace, His devotees become famous and acclaimed. Joining the Society of the Saints, I chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har; the disease of laziness has disappeared. ||1|| O Siblings of Destiny, the nine treasures are found in the Home of the Lord; He comes to meet those who deserve it by their past actions. The Perfect Transcendent Lord is spiritual wisdom and meditation. God is All-powerful to do all things. ||2|| In an instant, He establishes and disestablishes. He Himself is the One, and He Himself is the Many. Filth does not stick to the Giver, the Life of the World. Gazing upon the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, the pain of separation departs. ||3|| Holding on to the hem of His Robe, the entire Universe is saved. He Himself causes His Name to be chanted. The Boat of the Guru is found by His Grace; O Nanak, such blessed destiny is pre-ordained. ||4||41||48|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: People do whatever the Lord inspires them to do. Wherever He keeps us is a good place. That person is clever and honourable, unto whom the Hukam of the Lord's Command seems sweet. ||1|| Everything is strung upon the One String of the Lord. Those whom the Lord attaches, are attached to His Feet. Those, whose inverted lotus of the crown chakra is illuminated, see the Immaculate Lord everywhere. ||2|| Only You Yourself know Your Glory. You Yourself recognise Your Own Self. I am a sacrifice to Your Saints, who have crushed their sexual desire, anger and greed. ||3|| You have no hatred or vengeance; Your Saints are immaculate and pure. Seeing them, all sins depart. Nanak lives by meditating, meditating on the Naam. His stubborn doubt and fear have departed. ||4||42||49||

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 016

Maajh, Fifth Mehl: One who asks for a false gift, shall not take even an instant to die. But one who continually serves the Supreme Lord God and meets the Guru, is said to be immortal. ||1|| One whose mind is dedicated to loving devotional worship sings His Glorious Praises night and day, and remains forever awake and aware. Taking him by the hand, the Lord and Master merges into Himself that person, upon whose forehead such destiny is written. ||2|| His Lotus Feet dwell in the minds of His devotees. Without the Transcendent Lord, all are plundered. I long for the dust of the feet of His humble servants. The Name of the True Lord is my decoration. ||3|| Standing up and sitting down, I sing the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Meditating in remembrance on Him, I obtain my Eternal Husband Lord. God has become merciful to Nanak. I cheerfully accept Your Will. ||4||43||50|| Raag Maajh, Ashtapadees: First Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: By His Command, all are attuned to the Word of the Shabad, and all are called to the Mansion of His Presence, the True Court of the Lord. O my True Lord and Master, Merciful to the meek, my mind is pleased and appeased by the Truth. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those who are adorned with the Word of the Shabad. The Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord, is forever the Giver of Peace. Through the Guru's Teachings, it dwells in the mind. ||1||Pause|| No one is mine, and I am no one else's. The True Lord and Master of the three worlds is mine. Acting in egotism, so very many have died. After making mistakes, they later repent and regret. ||2|| Those who recognise the Hukam of the Lord's Command chant the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, they are glorified with the Naam. Everyone's account is kept in the True Court, and through the Beauty of the Naam, they are saved. ||3|| The self-willed manmukhs are deluded; they find no place of rest. Bound and gagged at Death's Door, they are brutally beaten. Without the Name, there are no companions or friends. Liberation comes only by meditating on the Naam. ||4|| The false shaaktas, the faithless cynics, do not like the Truth. Bound by duality, they come and go in reincarnation. No one can erase pre-recorded destiny; the Gurmukhs are liberated. ||5|| In this world of her parents' house, the young bride did not know her Husband. Through falsehood, she has been separated from Him, and she cries out in misery. Defrauded by demerits, she does not find the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. But through virtuous actions, her demerits are forgiven. ||6|| She, who knows her Beloved in her parents' house, as Gurmukh, comes to understand the essence of reality; she contemplates her Lord. Her comings and goings cease, and she is absorbed in the True Name. ||7|| The Gurmukhs understand and describe the Indescribable. True is our Lord and Master; He loves the Truth. Nanak offers this true prayer: singing His Glorious Praises, I merge with the True One. ||8||1|| Maajh, Third Mehl, First House: By His Mercy, we meet the True Guru.

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 017

Centre your awareness on seva-selfless service-and focus your consciousness on the Word of the Shabad. Subduing your ego, you shall find a lasting peace, and your emotional attachment to Maya will be dispelled. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, I am totally devoted to the True Guru. Through the Guru's Teachings, the Divine Light has dawned; I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, night and day. ||1||Pause|| Search your body and mind, and find the Name. Restrain your wandering mind, and keep it in check. Night and day, sing the Songs of the Guru's Bani; worship the Lord with intuitive devotion. ||2|| Within this body are countless objects. The Gurmukh attains Truth, and comes to see them. Beyond the nine gates, the Tenth Gate is found, and liberation is obtained. The Unstruck Melody of the Shabad vibrates. ||3|| True is the Master, and True is His Name. By Guru's Grace, He comes to dwell within the mind. Night and day, remain attuned to the Lord's Love forever, and you shall obtain understanding in the True Court. ||4|| Those who do not understand the nature of sin and virtue are attached to duality; they wander around deluded. The ignorant and blind people do not know the way; they come and go in reincarnation over and over again. ||5|| Serving the Guru, I have found eternal peace; my ego has been silenced and subdued. Through the Guru's Teachings, the darkness has been dispelled, and the heavy doors have been opened. ||6|| Subduing my ego, I have enshrined the Lord within my mind. I focus my consciousness on the Guru's Feet forever. By Guru's Grace, my mind and body are immaculate and pure; I meditate on the Immaculate Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||7|| From birth to death, everything is for You. You bestow greatness upon those whom You have forgiven. O Nanak, meditating forever on the Naam, you shall be blessed in both birth and death. ||8||1||2|| Maajh, Third Mehl: My God is Immaculate, Inaccessible and Infinite. Without a scale, He weighs the universe. One who becomes Gurmukh, understands. Chanting His Glorious Praises, he is absorbed into the Lord of Virtue. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those whose minds are filled with the Name of the Lord. Those who are committed to Truth remain awake and aware night and day. They are honoured in the True Court. ||1||Pause|| He Himself hears, and He Himself sees. Those, upon whom He casts His Glance of Grace, become acceptable. They are attached, whom the Lord Himself attaches; as Gurmukh, they live the Truth. ||2|| Those whom the Lord Himself misleads-whose hand can they take? That which is pre-ordained, cannot be erased. Those who meet the True Guru are very fortunate and blessed; through perfect karma, He is met. ||3|| The young bride is fast asleep in her parents' home, night and day. She has forgotten her Husband Lord; because of her faults and demerits, she is abandoned. She wanders around continually, crying out, night and day. Without her Husband Lord, she cannot get any sleep. ||4|| In this world of her parents' home, she may come to know the Giver of peace, if she subdues her ego, and recognises the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Her bed is beautiful; she ravishes and enjoys her Husband Lord forever. She is adorned with the Decorations of Truth. ||5||

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 018

He created the 8.4 million species of beings. Those, upon whom He casts His Glance of Grace, come to meet the Guru. Shedding their sins, His servants are forever pure; at the True Court, they are beautified by the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||6|| When they are called to settle their accounts, who will answer then? There shall be no peace then, from counting out by twos and threes. The True Lord God Himself forgives, and having forgiven, He unites them with Himself. ||7|| He Himself does, and He Himself causes all to be done. Through the Shabad, the Word of the Perfect Guru, He is met. O Nanak, through the Naam, greatness is obtained. He Himself unites in His Union. ||8||2||3|| Maajh, Third Mehl: The One Lord Himself moves about imperceptibly. As Gurmukh, I see Him, and then this mind is pleased and uplifted. Renouncing desire, I have found intuitive peace and poise; I have enshrined the One within my mind. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those who focus their consciousness on the One. Through the Guru's Teachings, my mind has come to its only home; it is imbued with the True Colour of the Lord's Love. ||1||Pause|| This world is deluded; You Yourself have deluded it. Forgetting the One, it has become engrossed in duality. Night and day, it wanders around endlessly, deluded by doubt; without the Name, it suffers in pain. ||2|| Those who are attuned to the Love of the Lord, the Architect of Destiny -by serving the Guru, they are known throughout the four ages. Those, upon whom the Lord bestows greatness, are absorbed in the Name of the Lord. ||3|| Being in love with Maya, they do not think of the Lord. Bound and gagged in the City of Death, they suffer in terrible pain. Blind and deaf, they see nothing at all; the self-willed manmukhs rot away in sin. ||4||

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Those, whom You attach to Your Love, are attuned to Your Love. Through loving devotional worship, they become pleasing to Your Mind. They serve the True Guru, the Giver of eternal peace, and all their desires are fulfilled. ||5|| O Dear Lord, I seek Your Sanctuary forever. You Yourself forgive us, and bless us with Glorious Greatness. The Messenger of Death does not draw near those who meditate on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||6|| Night and day, they are attuned to His Love; they are pleasing to the Lord. My God merges with them, and unites them in Union. Forever and ever, O True Lord, I seek the Protection of Your Sanctuary; You Yourself inspire us to understand the Truth. ||7|| Those who know the Truth are absorbed in Truth. They sing the Lord's Glorious Praises, and speak the Truth. O Nanak, those who are attuned to the Naam remain unattached and balanced; in the home of the inner self, they are absorbed in the primal trance of deep meditation. ||8||3||4|| Maajh, Third Mehl: One who dies in the Word of the Shabad is truly dead. Death does not crush him, and pain does not afflict him. His light merges and is absorbed into the Light, when he hears and merges in the Truth. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to the Lord's Name, which brings us to glory. One who serves the True Guru, and focuses his consciousness on Truth, following the Guru's Teachings, is absorbed in intuitive peace and poise. ||1||Pause|| This human body is transitory, and transitory are the garments it wears. Attached to duality, no one attains the Mansion of the Lord's Presence.

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 019

Night and day, day and night, they burn. Without her Husband Lord, the soul-bride suffers in terrible pain. ||2|| Her body and her status shall not go with her to the world hereafter. Where she is called to answer for her account, there, she shall be emancipated only by true actions. Those who serve the True Guru shall prosper; here and hereafter, they are absorbed in the Naam. ||3|| She who adorns herself with the Love and the Fear of God, by Guru's Grace, obtains the Mansion of the Lord's Presence as her home. Night and day, day and night, she constantly ravishes and enjoys her Beloved. She is dyed in the permanent colour of His Love. ||4|| The Husband Lord abides with everyone, always; but how rare are those few who, by Guru's Grace, obtain His Glance of Grace. My God is the Highest of the High; granting His Grace, He merges us into Himself. ||5|| This world is asleep in emotional attachment to Maya. Forgetting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, it ultimately comes to ruin. The One who put it to sleep shall also awaken it. Through the Guru's Teachings, understanding dawns. ||6|| One who drinks in this Nectar, shall have his delusions dispelled. By Guru's Grace, the state of liberation is attained. One who is imbued with devotion to the Lord, remains always balanced and detached. Subduing selfishness and conceit, he is united with the Lord. ||7|| He Himself creates, and He Himself assigns us to our tasks. He Himself gives sustenance to the 8.4 million species of beings. O Nanak, those who meditate on the Naam are atuned to Truth. They do that which is pleasing to His Will. ||8||4||5|| Maajh, Third Mehl: Diamonds and rubies are produced deep within the self. They are assayed and valued tthrough the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Those who have gathered Truth, speak Truth; they apply the Touch-stone of Truth. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those who enshrine the Word of the Guru's Bani within their minds. In the midst of the darkness of the world, they obtain the Immaculate One, and their light merges into the Light. ||1||Pause|| Within this body are countless vast vistas; the Immaculate Naam is totally Inaccessible and Infinite. He alone becomes Gurmukh and obtains it, whom the Lord forgives, and unites with Himself. ||2|| My Lord and Master implants the Truth. By Guru's Grace, one's consciousness is attached to the Truth. The Truest of the True is pervading everywhere; the true ones merge in Truth. ||3|| The True Carefree Lord is my Beloved. He cuts out our sinful mistakes and evil actions; with love and affection, meditate forever on Him. He implants the Fear of God and loving devotional worship within us. ||4|| Devotional worship is True, if it pleases the True Lord. He Himself bestows it; He does not regret it later. He alone is the Giver of all beings. The Lord kills with the Word of His Shabad, and then revives. ||5|| Other than You, Lord, nothing is mine. I serve You, Lord, and I praise You. You unite me with Yourself, O True God. Through perfect good karma You are obtained. ||6|| For me, there is no other like You. By Your Glance of Grace, my body is blessed and sanctified. Night and day, the Lord takes care of us and protects us. The Gurmukhs are absorbed in intuitive peace and poise. ||7|| For me, there is no other as Great as You. You Yourself create, and You Yourself destroy.

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 020

You Yourself create, destroy and adorn. O Nanak, we are adorned and embellished with the Naam. ||8||5||6|| Maajh, Third Mehl: He is the Enjoyer of all hearts. The Invisible, Inaccessible and Infinite is pervading everywhere. Meditating on my Lord God, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, I am intuitively absorbed in the Truth. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those who implant the Word of the Guru's Shabad in their minds. When someone understands the Shabad, then he wrestles with his own mind; subduing his desires, he merges with the Lord. ||1||Pause|| The five enemies are plundering the world. The blind, self-willed manmukhs do not understand or appreciate this. Those who become Gurmukh-their houses are protected. The five enemies are destroyed by the Shabad. ||2|| The Gurmukhs are forever imbued with love for the True One. They serve God with intuitive ease. Night and day, they are intoxicated with His Love. Meeting with their Beloved, they sing the Glorious Praises of the True one; they are honoured in the Court of the Lord. ||3|| First, the One created Himself; second, the sense of duality; third, the three-phased Maya. The fourth state, the highest, is obtained by the Gurmukh, who practices Truth, and only Truth. ||4|| Everything which is pleasing to the True Lord is true. Those who know the Truth merge in intuitive peace and poise. The life-style of the Gurmukh is to serve the True Lord. He goes and blends with the True Lord. ||5|| Without the True One, there is no other at all. Attached to duality, the world is distracted and distressed to death. One who becomes Gurmukh knows only the One. Serving the One, peace is obtained. ||6|| All beings and creatures are in the Protection of Your Sanctuary. You place the chessmen on the board; You see the imperfect and the perfect as well. Night and day, You cause people to act; You unite them in Union with Yourself. ||7|| You Yourself unite, and You see Yourself close at hand. You Yourself are totally pervading amongst all. O Nanak, God Himself is pervading and permeating everywhere; only the Gurmukhs understand this. ||8||6||7|| Maajh, Third Mehl: The Nectar of the Guru's Bani is very sweet. Rare are the Gurmukhs who see and taste it. The Divine Light dawns within, and the supreme essence is found. In the True Court, the Word of the Shabad vibrates. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those who focus their consciousness on the Guru's Feet. The True Guru is the True Pool of Nectar; bathing in it, the mind is washed clean of all filth. ||1||Pause|| Your limits, O True Lord, are not known to anyone. Rare are those who, by Guru's Grace, focus their consciousness on You. Praising You, I am never satisfied; such is the hunger I feel for the True Name. ||2|| I see only the One, and no other. By Guru's Grace, I drink in the Ambrosial Nectar. My thirst is quenched by the Word of the Guru's Shabad; I am absorbed in intuitive peace and poise. ||3|| The Priceless Jewel is discarded like straw; the blind self-willed manmukhs are attached to the love of duality. As they plant, so do they harvest. They shall not obtain peace, even in their dreams. ||4|| Those who are blessed with His Mercy find the Lord. The Word of the Guru's Shabad abides in the mind.

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 021

Night and day, they remain in the Fear of God; conquering their fears, their doubts are dispelled. ||5|| Dispelling their doubts, they find a lasting peace. By Guru's Grace, the supreme status is attained. Deep within, they are pure, and their words are pure as well; intuitively, they sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||6|| They recite the Simritees, the Shaastras and the Vedas, but deluded by doubt, they do not understand the essence of reality. Without serving the True Guru, they find no peace; they earn only pain and misery. ||7|| The Lord Himself acts; unto whom should we complain? How can anyone complain that the Lord has made a mistake? O Nanak, the Lord Himself does, and causes things to be done; chanting the Naam, we are absorbed in the Naam. ||8||7||8|| Maajh, Third Mehl: He Himself imbues us with His Love, with effortless ease. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, we are dyed in the colour of the Lord's Love. This mind and body are so imbued, and this tongue is dyed in the deep crimson colour of the poppy. Through the Love and the Fear of God, we are dyed in this colour. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those who enshrine the Fearless Lord within their minds. By Guru's Grace, I meditate on the Fearless Lord; the Shabad has carried me across the poisonous world-ocean. ||1||Pause|| The idiotic self-willed manmukhs try to be clever, but in spite of their bathing and washing, they shall not be acceptable. As they came, so shall they go, regretting the mistakes they made. ||2|| The blind, self-willed manmukhs do not understand anything; death was pre-ordained for them when they came into the world, but they do not understand. The self-willed manmukhs may practice religious rituals, but they do not obtain the Name; without the Name, they lose this life in vain. ||3|| The practice of Truth is the essence of the Shabad. Through the Perfect Guru, the gate of salvation is found. So, night and day, listen to the Word of the Guru's Bani, and the Shabad. Let yourself be coloured by this love. ||4|| The tongue, imbued with the Lord's Essence, delights in His Love. My mind and body are enticed by the Lord's Sublime Love. I have easily obtained my Darling Beloved; I am intuitively absorbed in celestial peace. ||5|| Those who have the Lord's Love within, sing His Glorious Praises; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, they are intuitively absorbed in celestial peace. I am forever a sacrifice to those who dedicate their consciousness to the Guru's Service. ||6|| The True Lord is pleased with Truth, and only Truth. By Guru's Grace, one's inner being is deeply imbued with His Love. Sitting in that blessed place, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, who Himself inspires us to accept His Truth. ||7|| That one, upon whom the Lord casts His Glance of Grace, obtains it. By Guru's Grace, egotism departs. O Nanak, that one, within whose mind the Name dwells, is honoured in the True Court. ||8||8||9|| Maajh Third Mehl: Serving the True Guru is the greatest greatness. The Dear Lord automatically comes to dwell in the mind. The Dear Lord is the fruit-bearing tree; drinking in the Ambrosial Nectar, thirst is quenched. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to the one who leads me to join the True Congregation. The Lord Himself unites me with the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||1||Pause||

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 022

I serve the True Guru; the Word of His Shabad is beautiful. Through it, the Name of the Lord comes to dwell within the mind. The Pure Lord removes the filth of egotism, and we are honoured in the True Court. ||2|| Without the Guru, the Naam cannot be obtained. The Siddhas and the seekers lack it; they weep and wail. Without serving the True Guru, peace is not obtained; through perfect destiny, the Guru is found. ||3|| This mind is a mirror; how rare are those who, as Gurmukh, see themselves in it. Rust does not stick to those who burn their ego. The Unstruck Melody of the Bani resounds through the Pure Word of the Shabad; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, we are absorbed into the True One. ||4|| Without the True Guru, the Lord cannot be seen. Granting His Grace, He Himself has allowed me to see Him. All by Himself, He Himself is permeating and pervading; He is intuitively absorbed in celestial peace. ||5|| One who becomes Gurmukh embraces love for the One. Doubt and duality are burned away by the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Within his body, he deals and trades, and obtains the Treasure of the True Name. ||6|| The life-style of the Gurmukh is sublime; he sings the Praises of the Lord. The Gurmukh finds the gate of salvation. Night and day, he is imbued with the Lord's Love. He sings the Lord's Glorious Praises, and he is called to the Mansion of His Presence. ||7|| The True Guru, the Giver, is met when the Lord leads us to meet Him. Through perfect destiny, the Shabad is enshrined in the mind. O Nanak, the greatness of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is obtained by chanting the Glorious Praises of the True Lord. ||8||9||10|| Maajh, Third Mehl: Those who lose their own selves obtain everything. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, they enshrine Love for the True one. They trade in Truth, they gather in Truth, and they deal only in Truth. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those who sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, night and day. I am Yours, You are my Lord and Master. You bestow greatness through the Word of Your Shabad. ||1||Pause|| That time, that moment is totally beautiful, when the True One becomes pleasing to my mind.Serving the True One, true greatness is obtained. By Guru's Grace, the True One is obtained. ||2|| The food of spiritual love is obtained when the True Guru is pleased. Other essences are forgotten, when the Lord's Essence comes to dwell in the mind. Truth, contentment and intuitive peace and poise are obtained from the Bani, the Word of the Perfect Guru. ||3|| The blind and ignorant fools do not serve the True Guru; how will they find the gate of salvation? They die and die, over and over again, only to be reborn, over and over again. They are struck down at Death's Door. ||4|| Those who know the essence of the Shabad, understand their own selves. Immaculate is the speech of those who chant the Word of the Shabad. Serving the True One, they find a lasting peace; they enshrine the nine treasures of the Naam within their minds. ||5|| Beautiful is that place, which is pleasing to the Lord's Mind. There, sitting in the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, the Glorious Praises of the Lord are sung. Night and day, the True One is praised; the Immaculate Sound-current of the Naad resounds there. ||6||

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 023

The wealth of the self-willed manmukhs is false, and false is their ostentatious display. They practice falsehood, and suffer terrible pain. Deluded by doubt, they wander day and night; through birth and death, they lose their lives. ||7|| My True Lord and Master is very dear to me. The Shabad of the Perfect Guru is my Support. O Nanak, one who obtains the Greatness of the Naam, looks upon pain and pleasure as one and the same. ||8||10||11|| Maajh, Third Mehl: The four sources of creation are Yours; the spoken word is Yours. Without the Name, all are deluded by doubt. Serving the Guru, the Lord's Name is obtained. Without the True Guru, no one can receive it. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those who focus their consciousness on the Lord. Through devotion to the Guru, the True One is found; He comes to abide in the mind, with intuitive ease. ||1||Pause|| Serving the True Guru, all things are obtained. As are the desires one harbors, so are the rewards one receives. The True Guru is the Giver of all things; through perfect destiny, He is met. ||2|| This mind is

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filthy and polluted; it does not meditate on the One. Deep within, it is soiled and stained by the love of duality. The egotists may go on pilgrimages to holy rivers, sacred shrines and foreign lands, but they only gather more of the dirt of egotism. ||3|| Serving the True Guru, filth and pollution are removed. Those who focus their consciousness on the Lord remain dead while yet alive. The True Lord is Pure; no filth sticks to Him. Those who are attached to the True One have their filth washed away. ||4|| Without the Guru, there is only pitch darkness. The ignorant ones are blind-there is only utter darkness for them. The maggots in manure do filthy deeds, and in filth they rot and putrefy. ||5|| Serving the Lord of Liberation, liberation is achieved. The Word of the Shabad eradicates egotism and possessiveness. So serve the Dear True Lord, night and day. By perfect good destiny, the Guru is found. ||6|| He Himself forgives and unites in His Union. From the Perfect Guru, the Treasure of the Naam is obtained. By the True Name, the mind is made true forever. Serving the True Lord, sorrow is driven out. ||7|| He is always close at hand-do not think that He is far away. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, recognise the Lord deep within your own being. O Nanak, through the Naam, glorious greatness is received. Through the Perfect Guru, the Naam is obtained. ||8||11||12|| Maajh, Third Mehl: Those who are True here, are True hereafter as well. That mind is true, which is attuned to the True Shabad. They serve the True One, and practice Truth; they earn Truth, and only Truth. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those whose minds are filled with the True Name. They serve the True One, and are absorbed into the True One, singing the Glorious Praises of the True One. ||1||Pause|| The Pandits, the religious scholars read, but they do not taste the essence. In love with duality and Maya, their minds wander, unfocused. The love of Maya has displaced all their understanding; making mistakes, they live in regret. ||2|| But if they should meet the True Guru, then they obtain the essence of reality; the Name of the Lord comes to dwell in their minds.

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 024

Those who die in the Shabad and subdue their own minds, obtain the door of liberation. ||3|| They erase their sins, and eliminate their anger; they keep the Guru's Shabad clasped tightly to their hearts. Those who are attuned to Truth, remain balanced and detached forever. Subduing their egotism, they are united with the Lord. ||4|| Deep within the nucleus of the self is the jewel; we receive it only if the Lord inspires us to receive it. The mind is bound by the three dispositions-the three modes of Maya. Reading and reciting, the Pandits, the religious scholars, and the silent sages have grown weary, but they have not found the supreme essence of the fourth state. ||5|| The Lord Himself dyes us in the colour of His Love. Only those who are steeped in the Word of the Guru's Shabad are so imbued with His Love. Imbued with the most beautiful colour of the Lord's Love, they sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, with great pleasure and joy. ||6|| To the Gurmukh, the True Lord is wealth, miraculous spiritual powers and strict self-discipline. Through the spiritual wisdom of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the Gurmukh is liberated. The Gurmukh practices Truth, and is absorbed in the Truest of the True. ||7|| The Gurmukh realises that the Lord alone creates, and having created, He destroys. To the Gurmukh, the Lord Himself is social class, status and all honour. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs meditate on the Naam; through the Naam, they merge in the Naam. ||8||12||13|| Maajh, Third Mehl: Creation and destruction happen through the Word of the Shabad. Through the Shabad, creation happens again. The Gurmukh knows that the True Lord is all-pervading. The Gurmukh understands creation and merger. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those who enshrine the Perfect Guru within their minds. From the Guru comes peace and tranquility; worship Him with devotion, day and night. Chanting His Glorious Praises, merge into the Glorious Lord. ||1||Pause|| The Gurmukh sees the Lord on the earth, and the Gurmukh sees Him in the water. The Gurmukh sees Him in wind and fire; such is the wonder of His Play. One who has no Guru, dies over and over again, only to be re-born. One who has no Guru continues coming and going in reincarnation. ||2|| The One Creator has set this play in motion. In the frame of the human body, He has placed all things. Those few who are pierced through by the Word of the Shabad, obtain the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. He calls them into His Wondrous Palace. ||3|| True is the Banker, and true are His traders. They purchase Truth, with infinite love for the Guru. They deal in Truth, and they practice Truth. They earn Truth, and only Truth. ||4|| Without investment capital, how can anyone acquire merchandise? The self-willed manmukhs have all gone astray. Without true wealth, everyone goes empty-handed; going empty-handed, they suffer in pain. ||5|| Some deal in Truth, through love of the Guru's Shabad. They save themselves, and save all their ancestors as well. Very auspicious is the coming of those who meet their Beloved and find peace. ||6|| Deep within the self is the secret, but the fool looks for it outside. The blind self-willed manmukhs wander around like demons; but where the secret is, there, they do not find it. The manmukhs are deluded by doubt. ||7|| He Himself calls us, and bestows the Word of the Shabad. The soul-bride finds intuitive peace and poise in the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. O Nanak, she obtains the glorious greatness of the Naam; she hears it again and again, and she meditates on it. ||8||13||14|| Maajh, Third Mehl: The True Guru has imparted the True Teachings.

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 025

Think of the Lord, who shall be your Help and Support in the end. The Lord is Inaccessible and Incomprehensible. He has no master, and He is not born. He is obtained through love of the True Guru. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those who eliminate selfishness and conceit. They eradicate selfishness and conceit, and then find the Lord; they are intuitively immersed in the Lord. ||1||Pause|| According to their pre-ordained destiny, they act out their karma. Serving the True Guru, a lasting peace is found. Without good fortune, the Guru is not found. Through the Word of the Shabad, they are united in the Lord's Union. ||2|| The Gurmukhs remain unaffected in the midst of the world. The Guru is their cushion, and the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is their Support. Who can oppress the Gurmukh? One who tries shall perish, writhing in pain. ||3|| The blind self-willed manmukhs have no understanding at all. They are the assassins of the self, and the butchers of the world. By continually slandering others, they carry a terrible load, and they carry the loads of others for nothing. ||4|| This world is a garden, and my Lord God is the Gardener. He always takes care of it-nothing is exempt from His Care. As is the fragrance which He bestows, so is the fragrant flower known. ||5|| The self-willed manmukhs are sick and diseased in the world. They have forgotten the Giver of peace, the Unfathomable, the Infinite. These miserable people wander endlessly, crying out in pain; without the Guru, they find no peace. ||6|| The One who created them, knows their condition. And if He inspires them, then they realise the Hukam of His Command. Whatever He places within them, that is what prevails, and so they outwardly appear. ||7|| I know of no other except the True One. Those, whom the Lord attaches to Himself, become pure. O Nanak, the Naam, the Name of the Lord, abides deep within the heart of those, unto whom He has given it. ||8||14||15|| Maajh, Third Mehl: Enshrining the Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord, in the mind, all the pains of egotism, selfishness and conceit are eliminated. By continually praising the Ambrosial Bani of the Word, I obtain the Amrit, the Ambrosial Nectar. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those who enshrine the Ambrosial Bani of the Word within their minds. Enshrining the Ambrosial Bani in their minds, they meditate on the Ambrosial Naam. ||1||Pause|| Those who continually chant the Ambrosial Words of Nectar see and behold this Amrit everywhere with their eyes. They continually chant the Ambrosial Sermon day and night; chanting it, they cause others to hear it. ||2|| Imbued with the Ambrosial Love of the Lord, they lovingly focus their attention on Him. By Guru's Grace, they receive this Amrit. They chant the Ambrosial Name with their tongues day and night; their minds and bodies are satisfied by this Amrit. ||3|| That which God does is beyond anyone's consciousness; no one can erase the Hukam of His Command. By His Command, the Ambrosial Bani of the Word prevails, and by His Command, we drink in the Amrit. ||4|| The actions of the Creator Lord are marvellous and wonderful. This mind is deluded, and goes around the wheel of reincarnation. Those who focus their consciousness on the Ambrosial Bani of the Word, hear the vibrations of the Ambrosial Word of the Shabad. ||5||

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 026

You Yourself created the counterfeit and the genuine. You Yourself appraise all people. You appraise the true, and place them in Your Treasury; You consign the false to wander in delusion. ||6|| How can I behold You? How can I praise You? By Guru's Grace, I praise You through the Word of the Shabad. In Your Sweet Will, the Amrit is found; by Your Will, You inspire us to drink in this Amrit. ||7|| The Shabad is Amrit; the Lord's Bani is Amrit. Serving the True Guru, it permeates the heart. O Nanak, the Ambrosial Naam is forever the Giver of peace; drinking in this Amrit, all hunger is satisfied. ||8||15||16|| Maajh, Third Mehl: The Ambrosial Nectar rains down, softly and gently. How rare are those Gurmukhs who find it. Those who drink it in are satisfied forever. Showering His Mercy upon them, the Lord quenches their thirst. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those Gurmukhs who drink in this Ambrosial Nectar. The tongue tastes the essence, and remains forever imbued with the Lord's Love, intuitively singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| By Guru's Grace, intuitive understanding is obtained; subduing the sense of duality, they are in love with the One. When He bestows His Glance of Grace, then they sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord; by His Grace, they merge in Truth. ||2|| Above all is Your Glance of Grace, O God. Upon some it is bestowed less, and upon others it is bestowed more. Without You, nothing happens at all; the Gurmukhs understand this. ||3|| The Gurmukhs contemplate the essence of reality; Your Treasures are overflowing with Ambrosial Nectar. Without serving the True Guru, no one obtains it. It is obtained only by Guru's Grace. ||4|| Those who serve the True Guru are beautiful. The Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord, entices their inner minds. Their minds and bodies are attuned to the Ambrosial Bani of the Word; this Ambrosial Nectar is intuitively heard. ||5|| The deluded, self-willed manmukhs are ruined through the love of duality. They do not chant the Naam, and they die, eating poison. Night and day, they continually sit in manure. Without selfless service, their lives are wasted away. ||6|| They alone drink in this Amrit, whom the Lord Himself inspires to do so. By Guru's Grace, they intuitively enshrine love for the Lord. The Perfect Lord is Himself perfectly pervading everywhere; through the Guru's Teachings, He is perceived. ||7|| He Himself is the Immaculate Lord. He who has created, shall Himself destroy. O Nanak, remember the Naam forever, and you shall merge into the True One with intuitive ease. ||8||16||17|| Maajh, Third Mehl: Those who please You are linked to the Truth. They serve the True One forever, with intuitive ease. Through the True Word of the Shabad, they praise the True One, and they merge in the merging of Truth. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those who praise the True One. Those who meditate on the True One are attuned to Truth; they are absorbed into the Truest of the True. ||1||Pause|| The True One is everywhere, wherever I look. By Guru's Grace, I enshrine Him in my mind. True are the bodies of those whose tongues are attuned to Truth. They hear the Truth, and speak it with their mouths. ||2||

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 027

Subduing their desires, they merge with the True One; they see in their minds that everyone comes and goes in reincarnation. Serving the True Guru, they become stable forever, and they obtain their dwelling in the home of the self. ||3|| Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the Lord is seen within one's own heart. Through the Shabad, I have burned my emotional attachment to Maya. I gaze upon the Truest of the True, and I praise Him. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, I obtain the True One. ||4|| Those who are attuned to Truth are blessed with the Love of the True One. Those who praise the Lord's Name are very fortunate. Through the Word of His Shabad, the True One blends with Himself, those who join the True Congregation and sing the Glorious Praises of the True One. ||5|| We could read the account of the Lord, if He were in any account. He is Inaccessible and Incomprehensible; through the Shabad, understanding is obtained. Night and day, praise the True Word of the Shabad. There is no other way to know His Worth. ||6|| People read and recite until they grow weary, but they do not find peace. Consumed by desire, they have no understanding at all. They purchase poison, and they are thirsty with their fascination for poison. Telling lies, they eat poison. ||7|| By Guru's Grace, I know the One. Subduing my sense of duality, my mind is absorbed into the True One. O Nanak, the One Name is pervading deep within my mind; by Guru's Grace, I receive it. ||8||17||18|| Maajh, Third Mehl: In all colours and forms, You are pervading. People die over and over again; they are re-born, and make their rounds on the wheel of reincarnation. You alone are Eternal and Unchanging, Inaccessible and Infinite. Through the Guru's Teachings, understanding is imparted. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those who enshrine the Lord's Name in their minds. The Lord has no form, features or colour. Through the Guru's Teachings, He inspires us to understand Him. ||1||Pause|| The One Light is all-pervading; only a few know this. Serving the True Guru, this is revealed. In the hidden and in the obvious, He is pervading all places. Our light merges into the Light. ||2|| The world is burning in the fire of desire, in greed, arrogance and excessive ego. People die over and over again; they are re-born, and lose their honour. They waste away their lives in vain. ||3|| Those who understand the Word of the Guru's Shabad are very rare. Those who subdue their egotism, come to know the three worlds. Then, they die, never to die again. They are intuitively absorbed in the True One. ||4|| They do not focus their consciousness on Maya again. They remain absorbed forever in the Word of the Guru's Shabad. They praise the True One, who is contained deep within all hearts. They are blessed and exalted by the Truest of the True. ||5|| Praise the True One, who is Ever-present. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, He is pervading everywhere. By Guru's Grace, we come to behold the True One; from the True One, peace is obtained. ||6|| The True One permeates and pervades the mind within. The True One is Eternal and Unchanging; He does not come and go in reincarnation. Those who are attached to the True One are immaculate and pure. Through the Guru's Teachings, they merge in the True One. ||7|| Praise the True One, and no other. Serving Him, eternal peace is obtained.

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Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 028

O Nanak, those who are attuned to the Naam, reflect deeply on the Truth; they practice only Truth. ||8||18||19|| Maajh, Third Mehl: The Word of the Shabad is Immaculate and Pure; the Bani of the Word is Pure. The Light which is pervading among all is Immaculate. So praise the Immaculate Word of the Lord's Bani; chanting the Immaculate Name of the Lord, all filth is washed away. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those who enshrine the Giver of peace within their minds. Praise the Immaculate Lord, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Listen to the Shabad, and quench your thirst. ||1||Pause|| When the Immaculate Naam comes to dwell in the mind, the mind and body become Immaculate, and emotional attachment to Maya departs. Sing the Glorious Praises of the Immaculate True Lord forever, and the Immaculate Sound-current of the Naad shall vibrate within. ||2|| The Immaculate Ambrosial Nectar is obtained from the Guru. When selfishness and conceit are eradicated from within, then there is no attachment to Maya. Immaculate is the spiritual wisdom, and utterly immaculate is the meditation, of those whose minds are filled with the Immaculate Bani of the Word. ||3|| One who serves the Immaculate Lord becomes immaculate. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the filth of egotism is washed away. The Immaculate Bani and the Unstruck Melody of the Sound-current vibrate, and in the True Court, honour is obtained. ||4|| Through the Immaculate Lord, all become immaculate. Immaculate is the mind which weaves the Word of the Lord's Shabad into itself. Blessed and very fortunate are those who are committed to the Immaculate Name; through the Immaculate Name, they are blessed and beautified. ||5|| Immaculate is the one who is adorned with the Shabad. The Immaculate Naam, the Name of the Lord, entices the mind and body. No filth ever attaches itself to the True Name; one's face is made radiant by the True One. ||6|| The mind is polluted by the love of duality. Filthy is that kitchen, and filthy is that dwelling; eating filth, the self-willed manmukhs become even more filthy. Because of their filth, they suffer in pain. ||7|| The filthy, and the immaculate as well, are all subject to the Hukam of God's Command. They alone are immaculate, who are pleasing to the True Lord. O Nanak, the Naam abides deep within the minds of the Gurmukhs, who are cleansed of all their filth. ||8||19||20|| Maajh, Third Mehl: The Lord of the Universe is radiant, and radiant are His soul-swans. Their minds and their speech are immaculate; they are my hope and ideal. Their minds are radiant, and their faces are always beautiful; they meditate on the most radiant Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those who sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe. So chant Gobind, Gobind, the Lord of the Universe, day and night; sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord Gobind, through the Word of His Shabad. ||1||Pause|| Sing of the Lord Gobind with intuitive ease, in the Fear of the Guru; you shall become radiant, and the filth of egotism shall depart. Remain in bliss forever, and perform devotional worship, day and night. Hear and sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord Gobind. ||2|| Channel your dancing mind in devotional worship, and through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, merge your mind with the Supreme Mind. Let your true and perfect tune be the subjugation of your love of Maya, and let yourself dance to the Shabad. ||3|| People shout out loud and move their bodies, but if they are emotionally attached to Maya, then the Messenger of Death shall hunt them down.

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 029

The love of Maya makes this mind dance, and the deceit within makes people suffer in pain. ||4|| When the Lord inspires one to become Gurmukh, and perform devotional worship, then his body and mind are attuned to His Love with intuitive ease. The Word of His Bani vibrates, and the Word of His Shabad resounds, for the Gurmukh whose devotional worship is accepted. ||5|| One may beat upon and play all sorts of instruments, but no one will listen, and no one will enshrine it in the mind. For the sake of Maya, they set the stage and dance, but they are in love with duality, and they obtain only sorrow. ||6|| Those whose inner beings are attached to the Lord's Love are liberated. They control their sexual desires, and their lifestyle is the self-discipline of Truth. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, they meditate forever on the Lord. This devotional worship is pleasing to the Lord. ||7|| To live as Gurmukh is devotional worship, throughout the four ages. This devotional worship is not obtained by any other means. O Nanak, the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is obtained only through devotion to the Guru. So focus your consciousness on the Guru's Feet. ||8||20||21|| Maajh, Third Mehl: Serve the True One, and praise the True One. With the True Name, pain shall never afflict you. Those who serve the Giver of peace find peace. They enshrine the Guru's Teachings within their minds. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those who intuitively enter into the peace of Samaadhi. Those who serve the Lord are always beautiful. The glory of their intuitive awareness is beautiful. ||1||Pause|| All call themselves Your devotees, but they alone are Your devotees, who are pleasing to Your mind. Through the True Word of Your Bani, they praise You; attuned to Your Love, they worship You with devotion. ||2|| All are Yours, O Dear True Lord. Meeting the Gurmukh, this cycle of reincarnation comes to an end. When it pleases Your Will, then we merge in the Name. You Yourself inspire us to chant the Name. ||3|| Through the Guru's Teachings, I enshrine the Lord within my mind. Pleasure and pain, and all emotional attachments are gone. I am lovingly centred on the One Lord forever. I enshrine the Lord's Name within my mind. ||4|| Your devotees are attuned to Your Love; they are always joyful. The nine treasures of the Naam come to dwell within their minds. By perfect destiny, they find the True Guru, and through the Word of the Shabad, they are united in the Lord's Union. ||5|| You are Merciful, and always the Giver of peace. You Yourself unite us; You are known only to the Gurmukhs. You Yourself bestow the glorious greatness of the Naam; attuned to the Naam, we find peace. ||6|| Forever and ever, O True Lord, I praise You. As Gurmukh, I know no other at all. My mind remains immersed in the One Lord; my mind surrenders to Him, and in my mind I meet Him. ||7|| One who becomes Gurmukh, praises the Lord. Our True Lord and Master is Carefree. O Nanak, the Naam, the Name of the Lord, abides deep within the mind; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, we merge with the Lord. ||8||21||22|| Maajh, Third Mehl: Your devotees look beautiful in the True Court. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, they are adorned with the Naam. They are forever in bliss, day and night; chanting the Glorious Praises of the Lord, they merge with the Lord of Glory. ||1||

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 030

I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those who hear and enshrine the Naam within their minds. The Dear Lord, the True One, the Highest of the High, subdues their ego and blends them with Himself. ||1||Pause|| True is the Dear Lord, and True is His Name. By Guru's Grace, some merge with Him. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, those who merge with the Lord shall not be separated from Him again. They merge with intuitive ease into the True Lord. ||2|| There is nothing beyond You; You are the One who does, sees, and knows. The Creator Himself acts, and inspires others to act. Through the Guru's Teachings, He blends us into Himself. ||3|| The virtuous soul-bride finds the Lord; she decorates herself with the Love and the Fear of God. She who serves the True Guru is forever a happy soul-bride. She is absorbed in the true teachings. ||4|| Those who forget the Word of the Shabad have no home and no place of rest. They are deluded by doubt, like a crow in a deserted house. They forfeit both this world and the next, and they pass their lives suffering in pain and misery. ||5|| Writing on and on endlessly, they run out of paper and ink. Through the love with duality, no one has found peace. They write falsehood, and they practice falsehood; they are burnt to ashes by focusing their consciousness on falsehood. ||6|| The Gurmukhs write and reflect on Truth, and only Truth. The true ones find the gate of salvation. True is their paper, pen and ink; writing Truth, they are absorbed in the True One. ||7|| My God sits deep within the self; He watches over us. Those who meet the Lord, by Guru's Grace, are acceptable. O Nanak, glorious greatness is received through the Naam, which is obtained through the Perfect Guru. ||8||22||23|| Maajh, Third Mehl: The Divine Light of the Supreme Soul shines forth from the Guru. The filth stuck to the ego is removed through the Word of the Guru's Shabad. One who is imbued with devotional worship to the Lord night and day becomes pure. Worshipping the Lord, He is obtained. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those who themselves worship the Lord, and inspire others to worship Him as well. I humbly bow to those devotees who chant the Glorious Praises of the Lord, night and day. ||1||Pause|| The Creator Lord Himself is the Doer of deeds. As He pleases, He applies us to our tasks. Through perfect destiny, we serve the Guru; serving the Guru, peace is found. ||2|| Those who die, and remain dead while yet alive, obtain it. By Guru's Grace, they enshrine the Lord within their minds. Enshrining the Lord within their minds, they are liberated forever. With intuitive ease, they merge into the Lord. ||3|| They perform all sorts of rituals, but they do not obtain liberation through them. They wander around the countryside, and in love with duality, they are ruined. The deceitful lose their lives in vain; without the Word of the Shabad, they obtain only misery. ||4|| Those who restrain their wandering mind, keeping it steady and stable, obtain the supreme status, by Guru's Grace. The True Guru Himself unites us in Union with the Lord. Meeting the Beloved, peace is obtained. ||5||

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 031

Some are stuck in falsehood, and false are the rewards they receive. In love with duality, they waste away their lives in vain. They drown themselves, and drown their entire family; speaking lies, they eat poison. ||6|| How rare are those who, as Gurmukh, look within their bodies, into their minds. Through loving devotion, their ego evaporates. The Siddhas, the seekers and the silent sages continually, lovingly focus their consciousness, but they have not seen the mind within the body. ||7|| The Creator Himself inspires us to work; what can anyone else do? What can be done by our doing? O Nanak, the Lord bestows His Name; we receive it, and enshrine it within the mind. ||8||23||24|| Maajh, Third Mehl: Within this cave, there is an inexhaustible treasure. Within this cave, the Invisible and Infinite Lord abides. He Himself is hidden, and He Himself is revealed; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, selfishness and conceit are eliminated. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those who enshrine the Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord, within their minds. The taste of the Ambrosial Naam is very sweet! Through the Guru's Teachings, drink in this Ambrosial Nectar. ||1||Pause|| Subduing egotism, the rigid doors are opened. The Priceless Naam is obtained by Guru's Grace. Without the Shabad, the Naam is not obtained. By Guru's Grace, it is implanted within the mind. ||2|| The Guru has applied the true ointment of spiritual wisdom to my eyes. Deep within, the Divine Light has dawned, and the darkness of ignorance has been dispelled. My light has merged into the Light; my mind has surrendered, and I am blessed with Glory in the Court of the Lord. ||3|| Those who look outside the body, searching for the Lord, shall not receive the Naam; they shall instead be forced to suffer the terrible pains of slavery. The blind, self-willed manmukhs do not understand; but when they return once again to their own home, then, as Gurmukh, they find the genuine article. ||4|| By Guru's Grace, the True Lord is found. Within your mind and body, see the Lord, and the filth of egotism shall depart. Sitting in that place, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord forever, and be absorbed in the True Word of the Shabad. ||5|| Those who close off the nine gates, and restrain the wandering mind, come to dwell in the Home of the Tenth Gate. There, the Unstruck Melody of the Shabad vibrates day and night. Through the Guru's Teachings, the Shabad is heard. ||6|| Without the Shabad, there is only darkness within. The genuine article is not found, and the cycle of reincarnation does not end. The key is in the hands of the True Guru; no one else can open this door. By perfect destiny, He is met. ||7|| You are the hidden and the revealed in all places. Receiving Guru's Grace, this understanding is obtained. O Nanak, praise the Naam forever; as Gurmukh, enshrine it within the mind. ||8||24||25|| Maajh, Third Mehl: The Gurmukhs meet the Lord, and inspire others to meet Him as well. Death does not see them, and pain does not afflict them. Subduing egotism, they break all their bonds; as Gurmukh, they are adorned with the Word of the Shabad. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those who look beautiful in the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. The Gurmukhs sing, the Gurmukhs dance, and focus their consciousness on the Lord. ||1||Pause||

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 032

The Gurmukhs are celebrated in life and death. Their lives are not wasted; they realise the Word of the Shabad. The Gurmukhs do not die; they are not consumed by death. The Gurmukhs are absorbed in the True Lord. ||2|| The Gurmukhs are honoured in the Court of the Lord. The Gurmukhs eradicate selfishness and conceit from within. They save themselves, and save all their families and ancestors as well. The Gurmukhs redeem their lives. ||3|| The Gurmukhs never suffer bodily pain. The Gurmukhs have the pain of egotism taken away. The minds of the Gurmukhs are immaculate and pure; no filth ever sticks to them again. The Gurmukhs merge in celestial peace. ||4|| The Gurmukhs obtain the Greatness of the Naam. The Gurmukhs sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and obtain honour. They remain in bliss forever, day and night. The Gurmukhs practice the Word of the Shabad. ||5|| The Gurmukhs are attuned to the Shabad, night and day. The Gurmukhs are known throughout the four ages. The Gurmukhs always sing the Glorious Praises of the Immaculate Lord. Through the Shabad, they practice devotional worship. ||6|| Without the Guru, there is only pitch-black darkness. Seized by the Messenger of Death, people cry out and scream. Night and day, they are diseased, like maggots in manure, and in manure they endure agony. ||7|| The Gurmukhs know that the Lord alone acts, and causes others to act. In the hearts of the Gurmukhs, the Lord Himself comes to dwell. O Nanak, through the Naam, greatness is obtained. It is received from the Perfect Guru. ||8||25||26|| Maajh, Third Mehl: The One Light is the light of all bodies. The Perfect True Guru reveals it through the Word of the Shabad. He Himself instills the sense of separation within our hearts; He Himself created the Creation. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those who sing the Glorious Praises of the True Lord. Without the Guru, no one obtains intuitive wisdom; the Gurmukh is absorbed in intuitive peace. ||1||Pause|| You Yourself are Beautiful, and You Yourself entice the world. You Yourself, by Your Kind Mercy, weave the thread of the world. You Yourself bestow pain and pleasure, O Creator. The Lord reveals Himself to the Gurmukh. ||2|| The Creator Himself acts, and causes others to act. Through Him, the Word of the Guru's Shabad is enshrined within the mind. The Ambrosial Word of the Guru's Bani emanates from the Word of the Shabad. The Gurmukh speaks it and hears it. ||3|| He Himself is the Creator, and He Himself is the Enjoyer. One who breaks

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out of bondage is liberated forever. The True Lord is liberated forever. The Unseen Lord causes Himself to be seen. ||4|| He Himself is Maya, and He Himself is the Illusion. He Himself has generated emotional attachment throughout the entire universe. He Himself is the Giver of Virtue; He Himself sings the Lord's Glorious Praises. He chants them and causes them to be heard. ||5|| He Himself acts, and causes others to act. He Himself establishes and disestablishes. Without You, nothing can be done. You Yourself have engaged all in their tasks. ||6|| He Himself kills, and He Himself revives. He Himself unites us, and unites us in Union with Himself. Through selfless service, eternal peace is obtained. The Gurmukh is absorbed in intuitive peace. ||7||

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 033

He Himself is the Highest of the High. How rare are those who behold Him. He causes Himself to be seen. O Nanak, the Naam, the Name of the Lord, abides deep within the hearts of those who see the Lord themselves, and inspire others to see Him as well. ||8||26||27|| Maajh, Third Mehl: My God is pervading and permeating all places. By Guru's Grace, I have found Him within the home of my own heart. I serve Him constantly, and I meditate on Him single-mindedly. As Gurmukh, I am absorbed in the True One. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those who enshrine the Lord, the Life of the World, within their minds. Through the Guru's Teachings, I merge with intuitive ease into the Lord, the Life of the World, the Fearless One, the Great Giver. ||1||Pause|| Within the home of the self is the earth, its support and the nether regions of the underworld. Within the home of the self is the Eternally Young Beloved. The Giver of peace is eternally blissful. Through the Guru's Teachings, we are absorbed in intuitive peace. ||2|| When the body is filled with ego and selfishness, the cycle of birth and death does not end. One who becomes Gurmukh subdues egotism, and meditates on the Truest of the True. ||3|| Within this body are the two brothers, sin and virtue. When the two joined together, the Universe was produced. Subduing both, and entering into the Home of the One, through the Guru's Teachings, we are absorbed in intuitive peace. ||4|| Within the home of the self is the darkness of the love of duality. When the Divine Light dawns, ego and selfishness are dispelled. The Giver of peace is revealed through the Shabad, meditating upon the Naam, night and day. ||5|| Deep within the self is the Light of God; It radiates throughout the expanse of His creation. Through the Guru's Teachings, the darkness of spiritual ignorance is dispelled. The heart-lotus blossoms forth, and eternal peace is obtained, as one's light merges into the Light. ||6|| Within the mansion is the treasure house, overflowing with jewels. The Gurmukh obtains the Infinite Naam, the Name of the Lord. The Gurmukh, the trader, always purchases the merchandise of the Naam, and always reaps profits. ||7|| The Lord Himself keeps this merchandise in stock, and He Himself distributes it. Rare is that Gurmukh who trades in this. O Nanak, those upon whom the Lord casts His Glance of Grace, obtain it. Through His Mercy, it is enshrined in the mind. ||8||27||28|| Maajh, Third Mehl: The Lord Himself leads us to merge with Him and serve Him. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the love of duality is eradicated. The Immaculate Lord is the Bestower of eternal virtue. The Lord Himself leads us to merge in His Virtuous Goodness. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those who enshrine the Truest of the True within their hearts. The True Name is eternally pure and immaculate. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, it is enshrined within the mind. ||1||Pause|| The Guru Himself is the Giver, the Architect of Destiny. The Gurmukh, the humble servant who serves the Lord, comes to know Him. Those humble beings look beautiful forever in the Ambrosial Naam. Through the Guru's Teachings, they receive the sublime essence of the Lord. ||2|| Within the cave of this body, there is one beautiful place. Through the Perfect Guru, ego and doubt are dispelled. Night and day, praise the Naam, the Name of the Lord; imbued with the Lord's Love, by Guru's Grace, you shall find Him. ||3||

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 034

Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, search this cave. The Immaculate Naam, the Name of the Lord, abides deep within the self. Sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and decorate yourself with the Shabad. Meeting with your Beloved, you shall find peace. ||4|| The Messenger of Death imposes his tax on those who are attached to duality. He inflicts punishment on those who forget the Name. They are called to account for each instant and each moment. Every grain, every particle, is weighed and counted. ||5|| One who does not remember her Husband Lord in this world is being cheated by duality; she shall weep bitterly in the end. She is from an evil family; she is ugly and vile. Even in her dreams, she does not meet her Husband Lord. ||6|| She who enshrines her Husband Lord in her mind in this world -His Presence is revealed to her by the Perfect Guru. That soul-bride keeps her Husband Lord clasped tightly to her heart, and through the Word of the Shabad, she enjoys her Husband Lord upon His Beautiful Bed. ||7|| The Lord Himself sends out the call, and He summons us to His Presence. He enshrines His Name within our minds. O Nanak, one who receives the greatness of the Naam night and day, constantly sings His Glorious Praises. ||8||28||29|| Maajh, Third Mehl: Sublime is their birth, and the place where they dwell. Those who serve the True Guru remain detached in the home of their own being. They abide in the Lord's Love, and constantly imbued with His Love, their minds are satisfied and fulfilled with the Lord's Essence. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those who read of the Lord, who understand and enshrine Him within their minds. The Gurmukhs read and praise the Lord's Name; they are honoured in the True Court. ||1||Pause|| The Unseen and Inscrutable Lord is permeating and pervading everywhere. He cannot be obtained by any effort. If the Lord grants His Grace, then we come to meet the True Guru. By His Kindness, we are united in His Union. ||2|| One who reads, while attached to duality, does not understand. He yearns for the three-phased Maya. The bonds of the three-phased Maya are broken by the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Through the Guru's Shabad, liberation is achieved. ||3|| This unstable mind cannot be held steady. Attached to duality, it wanders in the ten directions. It is a poisonous worm, drenched with poison, and in poison it rots away. ||4|| Practicing egotism and selfishness, they try to impress others by showing off. They perform all sorts of rituals, but they gain no acceptance. Without You, Lord, nothing happens at all. You forgive those who are adorned with the Word of Your Shabad. ||5|| They are born, and they die, but they do not understand the Lord. Night and day, they wander, in love with duality. The lives of the self-willed manmukhs are useless; in the end, they die, regretting and repenting. ||6|| The Husband is away, and the wife is getting dressed up. This is what the blind, self-willed manmukhs are doing. They are not honoured in this world, and they shall find no shelter in the world hereafter. They are wasting their lives in vain. ||7|| How rare are those who know the Name of the Lord! Through the Shabad, the Word of the Perfect Guru, the Lord is realised. Night and day, they perform the Lord's devotional service; day and night, they find intuitive peace. ||8|| That One Lord is pervading in all. Only a few, as Gurmukh, understand this. O Nanak, those who are attuned to the Naam are beautiful. Granting His Grace, God unites them with Himself. ||9||29||30||

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 035

Maajh, Third Mehl: The self-willed manmukhs read and recite; they are called Pandits-spiritual scholars. But they are in love with duality, and they suffer in terrible pain. Intoxicated with vice, they understand nothing at all. They are reincarnated, over and over again. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those who subdue their ego, and unite with the Lord. They serve the Guru, and the Lord dwells within their minds; they intuitively drink in the sublime essence of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| The Pandits read the Vedas, but they do not obtain the Lord's essence. Intoxicated with Maya, they argue and debate. The foolish intellectuals are forever in spiritual darkness. The Gurmukhs understand, and sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||2|| The Indescribable is described only through the beauteous Word of the Shabad. Through the Guru's Teachings, the Truth becomes pleasing to the mind. Those who speak of the truest of the true, day and night-their minds are imbued with the Truth. ||3|| Those who are attuned to Truth, love the Truth. The Lord Himself bestows this gift; He shall not take it back. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the True Lord is known forever; meeting the True One, peace is found. ||4|| The filth of fraud and falsehood does not stick to those who, by Guru's Grace, remain awake and aware, night and day. The Immaculate Naam, the Name of the Lord, abides deep within their hearts; their light merges into the Light. ||5|| They read about the three qualities, but they do not know the essential reality of the Lord. They forget the Primal Lord, the Source of all, and they do not recognise the Word of the Guru's Shabad. They are engrossed in emotional attachment; they do not understand anything at all. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the Lord is found. ||6|| The Vedas proclaim that Maya is of three qualities. The self-willed manmukhs, in love with duality, do not understand. They read of the three qualities, but they do not know the One Lord. Without understanding, they obtain only pain and suffering. ||7|| When it pleases the Lord, He unites us with Himself. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, skepticism and suffering are dispelled. O Nanak, True is the Greatness of the Name. Believing in the Name, peace is obtained. ||8||30||31|| Maajh, Third Mehl: The Lord Himself is Unmanifest and Unrelated; He is Manifest and Related as well. Those who recognise this essential reality are the true Pandits, the spiritual scholars. They save themselves, and save all their families and ancestors as well, when they enshrine the Lord's Name in the mind. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those who taste the essence of the Lord, and savor its taste. Those who taste this essence of the Lord are the pure, immaculate beings. They meditate on the Immaculate Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Those who reflect upon the Shabad are beyond karma. They subdue their ego, and find the essence of wisdom, deep within their being. They obtain the nine treasures of the wealth of the Naam. Rising above the three qualities, they merge into the Lord. ||2|| Those who act in ego do not go beyond karma. It is only by Guru's Grace that one is rid of ego. Those who have discriminating minds, continually examine their own selves. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, they sing the Lord's Glorious Praises. ||3|| The Lord is the most pure and sublime Ocean. The Saintly Gurmukhs continually peck at the Naam, like swans pecking at pearls in the ocean. They bathe in it continually, day and night, and the filth of ego is washed away. ||4|| The pure swans, with love and affection, dwell in the Ocean of the Lord, and subdue their ego.

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 036

Day and night, they are in love with the True Word of the Shabad. They obtain their home in the Ocean of the Lord. ||5|| The self-willed manmukhs shall always be filthy cranes, smeared with the filth of ego. They may bathe, but their filth is not removed. One who dies while yet alive, and contemplates the Word of the Guru's Shabad, is rid of this filth of ego. ||6|| The Priceless Jewel is found, in the home of one's own being, when one listens to the Shabad, the Word of the Perfect True Guru. By Guru's Grace, the darkness of spiritual ignorance is dispelled; I have come to recognise the Divine Light within my own heart. ||7|| The Lord Himself creates, and He Himself beholds. Serving the True Guru, one becomes acceptable. O Nanak, the Naam dwells deep within the heart; by Guru's Grace, it is obtained. ||8||31||32|| Maajh, Third Mehl: The whole world is engrossed in emotional attachment to Maya. Those who are controlled by the three qualities are attached to Maya. By Guru's Grace, a few come to understand; they centre their consciousness in the fourth state. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those who burn away their emotional attachment to Maya, through the Shabad. Those who burn away this attachment to Maya, and focus their consciousness on the Lord are honoured in the True Court, and the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. ||1||Pause|| The source, the root, of the gods and goddesses is Maya. For them, the Simritees and the Shaastras were composed. Sexual desire and anger are diffused throughout the universe. Coming and going, people suffer in pain. ||2|| The jewel of spiritual wisdom was placed within the universe. By Guru's Grace, it is enshrined within the mind. Celibacy, chastity, self-discipline and the practice of truthfulness are obtained from the Perfect Guru, by meditating on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||3|| In this world of her parents' home, the soul-bride has been deluded by doubt. Attached to duality, she later comes to regret it. She forfeits both this world and the next, and even in her dreams, she does not find peace. ||4|| The soul-bride who remembers her Husband Lord in this world, by Guru's Grace, sees Him close at hand. She remains intuitively attuned to the Love of her Beloved; she makes the Word of His Shabad her decoration. ||5|| Blessed and fruitful is the coming of those who find the True Guru; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, they burn their love of duality. The One Lord is permeating and pervading deep within the heart. Joining the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, they sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||6|| Those who do not serve the True Guru-why did they even come into this world? Cursed are their lives; they have uselessly wasted this human life. The self-willed manmukhs do not remember the Naam. Without the Naam, they suffer in terrible pain. ||7|| The One who created the Universe, He alone knows it. He unites with Himself those who realise the Shabad. O Nanak, they alone receive the Naam, upon whose foreheads such pre-ordained destiny is recorded. ||8||1||32||33|| Maajh, Fourth Mehl: The Primal Being is Himself remote and beyond. He Himself establishes, and having established, He disestablishes. The One Lord is pervading in all; those who become Gurmukh are honoured. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those who meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Formless Lord.

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 037

He has no form or shape; He is seen within each and every heart. The Gurmukh comes to know the unknowable. ||1||Pause|| You are God, Kind and Merciful. Without You, there is no other at all. When the Guru showers His Grace upon us, He blesses us with the Naam; through the Naam, we merge in the Naam. ||2|| You Yourself are the True Creator Lord. Your treasures are overflowing with devotional worship. The Gurmukhs obtain the Naam. Their minds are enraptured, and they easily and intuitively enter into Samaadhi. ||3|| Night and day, I sing Your Glorious Praises, God. I praise You, O my Beloved. Without You, there is no other for me to seek out. It is only by Guru's Grace that You are found. ||4|| The limits of the Inaccessible and Incomprehensible Lord cannot be found. Bestowing Your Mercy, You merge us into Yourself. Through the Shabad, the Word of the Perfect Guru, we meditate on the Lord. Serving the Shabad, peace is found. ||5|| Praiseworthy is the tongue which sings the Lord's Glorious Praises. Praising the Naam, one becomes pleasing to the True One. The Gurmukh remains forever imbued with the Lord's Love. Meeting the True Lord, glory is obtained. ||6|| The self-willed manmukhs do their

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deeds in ego. They lose their whole lives in the gamble. Within is the terrible darkness of greed, and so they come and go in reincarnation, over and over again. ||7|| The Creator Himself bestows Glory on those whom He Himself has so pre-destined. O Nanak, they receive the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the Destroyer of fear; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, they find peace. ||8||1||34|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl, First House: The Unseen Lord is within, but He cannot be seen. He has taken the Jewel of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and He keeps it well concealed. The Inaccessible and Incomprehensible Lord is the highest of all. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, He is known. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to those who chant the Naam, in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga. The Beloved Saints were established by the True Lord. By great good fortune, the Blessed Vision of their Darshan is obtained. ||1||Pause|| The One who is sought by the Siddhas and the seekers, upon whom Brahma and Indra meditate within their hearts, whom the three hundred thirty million demi-gods search for-meeting the Guru, one comes to sing His Praises within the heart. ||2|| Twenty-four hours a day, the wind breathes Your Name. The earth is Your servant, a slave at Your Feet. In the four sources of creation, and in all speech, You dwell. You are dear to the minds of all. ||3|| The True Lord and Master is known to the Gurmukhs. He is realised through the Shabad, the Word of the Perfect Guru. Those who drink it in are satisfied. Through the Truest of the True, they are fulfilled. ||4|| In the home of their own beings, they are peacefully and comfortably at ease. They are blissful, enjoying pleasures, and eternally joyful. They are wealthy, and the greatest kings; they centre their minds on the Guru's Feet. ||5|| First, You created nourishment; then, You created the living beings. There is no other Giver as Great as You, O my Lord and Master. None approach or equal You. ||6|| Those who are pleasing to You meditate on You. They practice the Mantra of the Holy. They themselves swim across, and they save all their ancestors and families as well. In the Court of the Lord, they meet with no obstruction. ||7||

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 038

You are so Great! You are the Highest of the High! You are Infinite, You are Everything! I am a sacrifice to You. Nanak is the slave of Your slaves. ||8||1||35|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: Who is liberated, and who is united? Who is a spiritual teacher, and who is a preacher? Who is a house-holder, and who is a renunciate? Who can estimate the Lord's Value? ||1|| How is one bound, and how is one freed of his bonds? How can one escape from the cycle of coming and going in reincarnation? Who is subject to karma, and who is beyond karma? Who chants the Name, and inspires others to chant it? ||2|| Who is happy, and who is sad? Who, as sunmukh, turns toward the Guru, and who, as vaymukh, turns away from the Guru? How can one meet the Lord? How is one separated from Him? Who can reveal the way to me? ||3|| What is that Word, by which the wandering mind can be restrained? What are those teachings, by which we may endure pain and pleasure alike? What is that lifestyle, by which we may come to meditate on the Supreme Lord? How may we sing the Kirtan of His Praises? ||4|| The Gurmukh is liberated, and the Gurmukh is linked. The Gurmukh is the spiritual teacher, and the Gurmukh is the preacher. Blessed is the Gurmukh, the householder and the renunciate. The Gurmukh knows the Lord's Value. ||5|| Egotism is bondage; as Gurmukh, one is emancipated. The Gurmukh escapes the cycle of coming and going in reincarnation. The Gurmukh performs actions of good karma, and the Gurmukh is beyond karma. Whatever the Gurmukh does, is done in good faith. ||6|| The Gurmukh is happy, while the self-willed manmukh is sad. The Gurmukh turns toward the Guru, and the self-willed manmukh turns away from the Guru. The Gurmukh is united with the Lord, while the manmukh is separated from Him. The Gurmukh reveals the way. ||7|| The Guru's Instruction is the Word, by which the wandering mind is restrained. Through the Guru's Teachings, we can endure pain and pleasure alike. To live as Gurmukh is the lifestyle by which we come to meditate on the Supreme Lord. The Gurmukh sings the Kirtan of His Praises. ||8|| The Lord Himself created the entire creation. He Himself acts, and causes others to act. He Himself establishes. From oneness, He has brought forth the countless multitudes. O Nanak, they shall merge into the One once again. ||9||2||36|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: God is Eternal and Imperishable, so why should anyone be anxious? The Lord is Wealthy and Prosperous, so His humble servant should feel totally secure. O Giver of peace of the soul, of life, of honour-as You ordain, I obtain peace. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, to that Gurmukh whose mind and body are pleased with You. You are my mountain, You are my shelter and shield. No one can rival You. ||1||Pause|| That person, unto whom Your actions seem sweet, comes to see the Supreme Lord God in each and every heart. In all places and interspaces, You exist. You are the One and Only Lord, pervading everywhere. ||2|| You are the Fulfiller of all the mind's desires. Your treasures are overflowing with love and devotion. Showering Your Mercy, You protect those who, through perfect destiny, merge into You. ||3||

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 039

You pulled me out of the deep, dark well onto the dry ground. Showering Your Mercy, You blessed Your servant with Your Glance of Grace. I sing the Glorious Praises of the Perfect, Immortal Lord. By speaking and hearing these Praises, they are not used up. ||4|| Here and hereafter, You are our Protector. In the womb of the mother, You cherish and nurture the baby. The fire of Maya does not affect those who are imbued with the Lord's Love; they sing His Glorious Praises. ||5|| What Praises of Yours can I chant and contemplate? Deep within my mind and body, I behold Your Presence. You are my Friend and Companion, my Lord and Master. Without You, I do not know any other at all. ||6|| O God, that one, unto whom You have given shelter, is not touched by the hot winds. O my Lord and Master, You are my Sanctuary, the Giver of peace. Chanting, meditating on You in the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, You are revealed. ||7|| You are Exalted, Unfathomable, Infinite and Invaluable. You are my True Lord and Master. I am Your servant and slave. You are the King, Your Sovereign Rule is True. Nanak is a sacrifice, a sacrifice to You. ||8||3||37|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl, Second House: Continually, continuously, remember the Merciful Lord. Never forget Him from your mind. ||Pause|| Join the Society of the Saints, and you shall not have to go down the path of Death. Take the Provisions of the Lord's Name with you, and no stain shall attach itself to your family. ||1|| Those who meditate on the Master shall not be thrown down into hell. Even the hot winds shall not touch them. The Lord has come to dwell within their minds. ||2|| They alone are beautiful and attractive, who abide in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Those who have gathered in the wealth of the Lord's Name-they alone are deep and thoughtful and vast. ||3|| Drink in the Ambrosial Essence of the Name, and live by beholding the face of the Lord's servant. Let all your affairs be resolved, by continually worshipping the Feet of the Guru. ||4|| He alone meditates on the Lord of the World, whom the Lord has made His Own. He alone is a warrior, and he alone is the chosen one, upon whose forehead good destiny is recorded. ||5|| Within my mind, I meditate on God. For me, this is like the enjoyment of princely pleasures. Evil does not well up within me, since I am saved, and dedicated to truthful actions. ||6|| I have enshrined the Creator within my mind; I have obtained the fruits of life's rewards. If your Husband Lord is pleasing to your mind, then your married life shall be eternal. ||7|| I have obtained everlasting wealth; I have found the Sanctuary of the Dispeller of fear. Grasping hold of the hem of the Lord's robe, Nanak is saved. He has won the incomparable life. ||8||4||38|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Maajh, Fifth Mehl, Third House: Chanting and meditating on the Lord, the mind is held steady. ||1||Pause|| Meditating, meditating in remembrance on the Divine Guru, one's fears are erased and dispelled. ||1|| Entering the Sanctuary of the Supreme Lord God, how could anyone feel grief any longer? ||2||

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 040

Serving at the Feet of the Holy Saints, all desires are fulfilled. ||3|| In each and every heart, the One Lord is pervading. He is totally permeating the water, the land, and the sky. ||4|| I serve the Destroyer of sin, and I am sanctified by the dust of the feet of the Saints. ||5|| My Lord and Master Himself has saved me completely; I am comforted by meditating on the Lord. ||6|| The Creator has passed judgement, and the evil-doers have been silenced and killed. ||7|| Nanak is attuned to the True Name; he beholds the Presence of the Ever-present Lord. ||8||5||39||1||32||1||5||39|| Baarah Maahaa ~ The Twelve Months: Maajh, Fifth Mehl, Fourth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: By the actions we have committed, we are separated from You. Please show Your Mercy, and unite us with Yourself, Lord. We have grown weary of wandering to the four corners of the earth and in the ten directions. We have come to Your Sanctuary, God. Without milk, a cow serves no purpose. Without water, the crop withers, and it will not bring a good price. If we do not meet the Lord, our Friend, how can we find our place of rest? Those homes, those hearts, in which the Husband Lord is not manifest-those towns and villages are like burning furnaces. All decorations, the chewing of betel to sweeten the breath, and the body itself, are all useless and vain. Without God, our Husband, our Lord and Master, all friends and companions are like the Messenger of Death. This is Nanak's prayer: "Please show Your Mercy, and bestow Your Name. O my Lord and Master, please unite me with Yourself, O God, in the Eternal Mansion of Your Presence". ||1|| In the month of Chayt, by meditating on the Lord of the Universe, a deep and profound joy arises. Meeting with the humble Saints, the Lord is found, as we chant His Name with our tongues. Those who have found God-blessed is their coming into this world. Those who live without Him, for even an instant-their lives are rendered useless. The Lord is totally pervading the water, the land, and all space. He is contained in the forests as well. Those who do not remember God-how much pain must they suffer! Those who dwell upon their God have great good fortune. My mind yearns for the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan. O Nanak, my mind is so thirsty! I touch the feet of one who unites me with God in the month of Chayt. ||2|| In the month of Vaisaakh, how can the bride be patient? She is separated from her Beloved. She has forgotten the Lord, her Life-companion, her Master; she has become attached to Maya, the deceitful one. Neither son, nor spouse, nor wealth shall go along with you-only the Eternal Lord. Entangled and enmeshed in the love of false occupations, the whole world is perishing. Without the Naam, the Name of the One Lord, they lose their lives in the hereafter. Forgetting the Merciful Lord, they are ruined. Without God, there is no other at all. Pure is the reputation of those who are attached to the Feet of the Beloved Lord.

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 041

Nanak makes this prayer to God: "Please, come and unite me with Yourself." The month of Vaisaakh is beautiful and pleasant, when the Saint causes me to meet the Lord. ||3|| In the month of Jayt'h, the bride longs to meet with the Lord. All bow in humility before Him. One who has grasped the hem of the robe of the Lord, the True Friend-no one can keep him in bondage. God's Name is the Jewel, the Pearl. It cannot be stolen or taken away. In the Lord are all pleasures which please the mind. As the Lord wishes, so He acts, and so His creatures act. They alone are called blessed, whom God has made His Own. If people could meet the Lord by their own efforts, why would they be crying out in the pain of separation? Meeting Him in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, O Nanak, celestial bliss is enjoyed. In the month of Jayt'h, the playful Husband Lord meets her, upon whose forehead such good destiny is recorded. ||4|| The month of Aasaarh seems burning hot, to those who are not close to their Husband Lord. They have forsaken God the Primal Being, the Life of the World, and they have come to rely upon mere mortals. In the love of duality, the soul-bride is ruined; around her neck she wears the noose of Death. As you plant, so shall you harvest; your destiny is recorded on your forehead. The life-night passes away, and in the end, one comes to regret and repent, and then depart with no hope at all. Those who meet with the Holy Saints are liberated in the Court of the Lord. Show Your Mercy to me, O God; I am thirsty for the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. Without You, God, there is no other at all. This is Nanak's humble prayer. The month of Aasaarh is pleasant, when the Feet of the Lord abide in the mind. ||5|| In the month of Saawan, the soul-bride is happy, if she falls in love with the Lotus Feet of the Lord. Her mind and body are imbued with the Love of the True One; His Name is her only Support. The pleasures of corruption are false. All that is seen shall turn to ashes. The drops of the Lord's Nectar are so beautiful! Meeting the Holy Saint, we drink these in. The forests and the meadows are rejuvenated and refreshed with the Love of God, the All-powerful, Infinite Primal Being. My mind yearns to meet the Lord. If only He would show His Mercy, and unite me with Himself! Those brides who have obtained God-I am forever a sacrifice to them. O Nanak, when the Dear Lord shows kindness, He adorns His bride with the Word of His Shabad. Saawan is delightful for those happy soul-brides whose hearts are adorned with the Necklace of the Lord's Name. ||6|| In the month of Bhaadon, she is deluded by doubt, because of her attachment to duality. She may wear thousands of ornaments, but they are of no use at all. On that day when the body perishes-at that time, she becomes a ghost. The Messenger of Death seizes and holds her, and does not tell anyone his secret. And her loved ones-in an instant, they move on, leaving her all alone. She wrings her hands, her body writhes in pain, and she turns from black to white. As she has planted, so does she harvest; such is the field of karma. Nanak seeks God's Sanctuary; God has given him the Boat of His Feet. Those who love the Guru, the Protector and Savior, in Bhaadon, shall not be thrown down into hell. ||7|| In the month of Assu, my love for the Lord overwhelms me. How can I go and meet the Lord?

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 042

My mind and body are so thirsty for the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. Won't someone please come and lead me to him, O my mother. The Saints are the helpers of the Lord's lovers; I fall and touch their feet. Without God, how can I find peace? There is nowhere else to go. Those who have tasted the sublime essence of His Love, remain satisfied and fulfilled. They renounce their selfishness and conceit, and they pray, "God, please attach me to the hem of Your robe." Those whom the Husband Lord has united with Himself, shall not be separated from Him again. Without God, there is no other at all. Nanak has entered the Sanctuary of the Lord. In Assu, the Lord, the Sovereign King, has granted His Mercy, and they dwell in peace. ||8|| In the month of Katak, do good deeds. Do not try to blame anyone else. Forgetting the Transcendent Lord, all sorts of illnesses are contracted. Those who turn their backs on the Lord shall be separated from Him and consigned to reincarnation, over and over again. In an instant,

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all of Maya's sensual pleasures turn bitter. No one can then serve as your intermediary. Unto whom can we turn and cry? By one's own actions, nothing can be done; destiny was pre-determined from the very beginning. By great good fortune, I meet my God, and then all pain of separation departs. Please protect Nanak, God; O my Lord and Master, please release me from bondage. In Katak, in the Company of the Holy, all anxiety vanishes. ||9|| In the month of Maghar, those who sit with their Beloved Husband Lord are beautiful. How can their glory be measured? Their Lord and Master blends them with Himself. Their bodies and minds blossom forth in the Lord; they have the companionship of the Holy Saints. Those who lack the Company of the Holy, remain all alone. Their pain never departs, and they fall into the grip of the Messenger of Death. Those who have ravished and enjoyed their God, are seen to be continually exalted and uplifted. They wear the Necklace of the jewels, emeralds and rubies of the Lord's Name. Nanak seeks the dust of the feet of those who take to the Sanctuary of the Lord's Door. Those who worship and adore God in Maghar, do not suffer the cycle of reincarnation ever again. ||10|| In the month of Poh, the cold does not touch those, whom the Husband Lord hugs close in His Embrace. Their minds are transfixed by His Lotus Feet. They are attached to the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan. Seek the Protection of the Lord of the Universe; His service is truly profitable. Corruption shall not touch you, when you join the Holy Saints and sing the Lord's Praises. From where it originated, there the soul is blended again. It is absorbed in the Love of the True Lord. When the Supreme Lord God grasps someone's hand, he shall never again suffer separation from Him. I am a sacrifice, 100,000 times, to the Lord, my Friend, the Unapproachable and Unfathomable. Please preserve my honour, Lord; Nanak begs at Your Door. Poh is beautiful, and all comforts come to that one, whom the Carefree Lord has forgiven. ||11|| In the month of Maagh, let your cleansing bath be the dust of the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Meditate and listen to the Name of the Lord, and give it to everyone. In this way, the filth of lifetimes of karma shall be removed, and egotistical pride shall vanish from your mind.

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 043

Sexual desire and anger shall not seduce you, and the dog of greed shall depart. Those who walk on the Path of Truth shall be praised throughout the world. Be kind to all beings-this is more meritorious than bathing at the sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage and the giving of charity. That person, upon whom the Lord bestows His Mercy, is a wise person. Nanak is a sacrifice to those who have merged with God. In Maagh, they alone are known as true, unto whom the Perfect Guru is Merciful. ||12|| In the month of Phalgun, bliss comes to those, unto whom the Lord, the Friend, has been revealed. The Saints, the Lord's helpers, in their mercy, have united me with Him. My bed is beautiful, and I have all comforts. I feel no sadness at all. My desires have been fulfilled-by great good fortune, I have obtained the Sovereign Lord as my Husband. Join with me, my sisters, and sing the songs of rejoicing and the Hymns of the Lord of the Universe. There is no other like the Lord-there is no equal to Him. He embellishes this world and the world hereafter, and He gives us our permanent home there. He rescues us from the world-ocean; never again do we have to run the cycle of reincarnation. I have only one tongue, but Your Glorious Virtues are beyond counting. Nanak is saved, falling at Your Feet. In Phalgun, praise Him continually; He has not even an iota of greed. ||13|| Those who meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord-their affairs are all resolved. Those who meditate on the Perfect Guru, the Lord-Incarnate-they are judged true in the Court of the Lord. The Lord's Feet are the Treasure of all peace and comfort for them; they cross over the terrifying and treacherous world-ocean. They obtain love and devotion, and they do not burn in corruption. Falsehood has vanished, duality has been erased, and they are totally overflowing with Truth. They serve the Supreme Lord God, and enshrine the One Lord within their minds. The months, the days, and the moments are auspicious, for those upon whom the Lord casts His Glance of Grace. Nanak begs for the blessing of Your Vision, O Lord. Please, shower Your Mercy upon me! ||14||1|| Maajh, Fifth Mehl: Day And Night: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I serve my True Guru, and meditate on Him all day and night. Renouncing selfishness and conceit, I seek His Sanctuary, and speak sweet words to Him. Through countless lifetimes and incarnations, I was separated from Him. O Lord, you are my Friend and Companion-please unite me with Yourself. Those who are separated from the Lord do not dwell in peace, O sister. Without their Husband Lord, they find no comfort. I have searched and seen all realms. My own evil actions have kept me separate from Him; why should I accuse anyone else? Bestow Your Mercy, God, and save me! No one else can bestow Your Mercy. Without You, Lord, we roll around in the dust. Unto whom should we utter our cries of distress? This is Nanak's prayer: "May my eyes behold the Lord, the Angelic Being."||1|| The Lord hears the anguish of the soul; He is the All-powerful and Infinite Primal Being. In death and in life, worship and adore the Lord, the Support of all.

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 044

In this world and in the next, the soul-bride belongs to her Husband Lord, who has such a vast family. He is Lofty and Inaccessible. His Wisdom is Unfathomable. He has no end or limitation. That service is pleasing to Him, which makes one humble, like the dust of the feet of the Saints. He is the Patron of the poor, the Merciful, Luminous Lord, the Redeemer of sinners. From the very beginning, and throughout the ages, the True Name of the Creator has been our Saving Grace. No one can know His Value; no one can weigh it. He dwells deep within the mind and body. O Nanak, He cannot be measured. I am forever a sacrifice to those who serve God, day and night. ||2|| The Saints worship and adore Him forever and ever; He is the Forgiver of all. He fashioned the soul and the body, and by His Kindness, He bestowed the soul. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, worship and adore Him, and chant His Pure Mantra. His Value cannot be evaluated. The Transcendent Lord is endless. That one, within whose mind the Lord abides, is said to be most fortunate. The soul's desires are fulfilled, upon meeting the Master, our Husband Lord. Nanak lives by chanting the Lord's Name; all sorrows have been erased. One who does not forget Him, day and night, is continually rejuvenated. ||3|| God is overflowing with all powers. I have no honour-He is my resting place. I have grasped the Support of the Lord within my mind; I live by chanting and meditating on His Name. Grant Your Grace, God, and bless me, that I may merge into the dust of the feet of the humble. As You keep me, so do I live. I wear and eat whatever You give me. May I make the effort, O God, to sing Your Glorious Praises in the Company of the Holy. I can conceive of no other place; where could I go to lodge a complaint? You are the Dispeller of ignorance, the Destroyer of darkness, O Lofty, Unfathomable and Unapproachable Lord. Please unite this separated one with Yourself; this is Nanak's yearning. That day shall bring every joy, O Lord, when I take to the Feet of the Guru. ||4||1|| Vaar In Maajh, And Shaloks Of The First Mehl: To Be Sung To The Tune Of "Malik Mureed And Chandrahraa Sohee-Aa" One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. By Guru's Grace: Shalok, First Mehl: The Guru is the Giver; the Guru is the House of ice. The Guru is the Light of the three worlds. O Nanak, He is everlasting wealth. Place your mind's faith in Him, and you shall find peace. ||1|| First Mehl: First, the baby loves mother's milk; second, he learns of his mother and father; third, his brothers, sisters-in-law and sisters; fourth, the love of play awakens. Fifth, he runs after food and drink; sixth, in his sexual desire, he does not respect social customs. Seventh, he gathers wealth and dwells in his house; eighth, he becomes angry, and his body is consumed. Ninth, he turns grey, and his breathing becomes labored; tenth, he is cremated, and turns to ashes. His companions send him off, crying out and lamenting. The swan of the soul takes flight, and asks which way to go.

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 045

He came and he went, and now, even his name has died. After he left, food was offered on leaves, and the birds were called to come and eat. O Nanak, the self-willed manmukhs love the darkness. Without the Guru, the world is drowning. ||2|| First Mehl: At the age of ten, he is a child; at twenty, a youth, and at thirty, he is called handsome. At forty, he is full of life; at fifty, his foot slips, and at sixty, old age is upon him. At seventy, he loses his intellect, and at eighty, he cannot perform his duties. At ninety, he lies in his bed, and he cannot understand his weakness. After seeking and searching for such a long time, O Nanak, I have seen that the world is just a mansion of smoke. ||3|| Pauree: You, O Creator Lord, are Unfathomable. You Yourself created the Universe, its colours, qualities and varieties, in so many ways and forms. You created it, and You alone understand it. It is all Your Play. Some come, and some arise and depart; but without the Name, all are bound to die. The Gurmukhs are imbued with the deep crimson colour of the poppy; they are dyed in the colour of the Lord's Love. So serve the True and Pure Lord, the Supremely Powerful Architect of Destiny. You Yourself are All-knowing. O Lord, You are the Greatest of the Great! O my True Lord, I am a sacrifice, a humble sacrifice, to those who meditate on You within their conscious mind. ||1|| Shalok, First Mehl: He placed the soul in the body which He had fashioned. He protects the Creation which He has created. With their eyes, they see, and with their tongues, they speak; with their ears, they bring the mind to awareness. With their feet, they walk, and with their hands, they work; they wear and eat whatever is given. They do not know the One who created the Creation. The blind fools do their dark deeds. When the pitcher of the body breaks and shatters into pieces, it cannot be re-created again. O Nanak, without the Guru, there is no honour; without honour, no one is carried across. ||1|| Second Mehl: They prefer the gift, instead of the Giver; such is the way of the self-willed manmukhs. What can anyone say about their intelligence, their understanding or their cleverness? The deeds which one commits, while sitting in one's own home, are known far and wide, in the four directions. One who lives righteously is known as righteous; one who commits sins is known as a sinner. You Yourself enact the entire play, O Creator. Why should we speak of any other? As long as Your Light is within the body, You speak through that Light. Without Your Light, who can do anything? Show me any such cleverness! O Nanak, the Lord alone is Perfect and All-knowing; He is revealed to the Gurmukh. ||2|| Pauree: You Yourself created the world, and You Yourself put it to work. Administering the drug of emotional attachment, You Yourself have led the world astray. The fire of desire is deep within; unsatisfied, people remain hungry and thirsty. This world is an illusion; it dies and it is re-born-it comes and it goes in reincarnation. Without the True Guru, emotional attachment is not broken. All have grown weary of performing empty rituals. Those who follow the Guru's Teachings meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Filled with a joyful peace, they surrender to Your Will. They save their families and ancestors; blessed are the mothers who gave birth to them.

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Beautiful and sublime is the glory and the understanding of those who focus their consciousness on the Lord. ||2|| Shalok, Second Mehl: To see without eyes; to hear without ears; to walk without feet; to work without hands; to speak without a tongue-like this, one remains dead while yet alive. O Nanak, recognise the Hukam of the Lord's Command, and merge with your Lord and Master. ||1|| Second Mehl: He is seen, heard and known, but His subtle essence is not obtained. How can the lame, armless and blind person run to embrace the Lord? Let the Fear of God be your feet, and let His Love be your hands; let His Understanding be your eyes. Says Nanak, in this way, O wise soul-bride, you shall be united with your Husband Lord. ||2|| Pauree: Forever and ever, You are the only One; You set the play of duality in motion. You created egotism and arrogant pride, and You placed greed within our beings. Keep me as it pleases Your Will; everyone acts as You cause them to act. Some are forgiven, and merge with You; through the Guru's Teachings, we are joined to You. Some stand and serve You; without the Name, nothing else pleases them. Any other task would be worthless to them-You have enjoined them to Your True Service. In the midst of children, spouse and relations, some still remain detached; they are pleasing to Your Will. Inwardly and outwardly, they are pure, and they are absorbed in the True Name. ||3|| Shalok, First Mehl: I may make a cave, in a mountain of gold, or in the water of the nether regions; I may remain standing on my head, upside-down, on the earth or up in the sky; I may totally cover my body with clothes, and wash them continually; I may shout out loud, the white, red, yellow and black Vedas; I may even live in dirt and filth. And yet, all this is just a product of evil-mindedness, and intellectual corruption. I was not, I am not, and I will never be anything at all! O Nanak, I dwell only on the Word of the Shabad. ||1|| First Mehl: They wash their clothes, and scrub their bodies, and try to practice self-discipline. But they are not aware of the filth staining their inner being, while they try and try to wash off the outer dirt. The blind go astray, caught by the noose of Death. They see other people's property as their own, and in egotism, they suffer in pain. O Nanak, the egotism of the Gurmukhs is broken, and then, they meditate on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. They chant the Naam, meditate on the Naam, and through the Naam, they are absorbed in peace. ||2|| Pauree: Destiny has brought together and united the body and the soul-swan. He who created them, also separates them. The fools enjoy their pleasures; they must also endure all their pains. From pleasures, arise diseases and the commission of sins. From sinful pleasures come sorrow, separation, birth and death. The fools try to account for their misdeeds, and argue uselessly. The judgement is in the Hands of the True Guru, who puts an end to the argument. Whatever the Creator does, comes to pass. It cannot be changed by anyone's efforts. ||4|| Shalok, First Mehl: Telling lies, they eat dead bodies.

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And yet, they go out to teach others. They are deceived, and they deceive their companions. O Nanak, such are the leaders of men. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: Those, within whom the Truth dwells, obtain the True Name; they speak only the Truth. They walk on the Lord's Path, and inspire others to walk on the Lord's Path as well. Bathing in a pool of holy water, they are washed clean of filth. But, by bathing in a stagnant pond, they are contaminated with even more filth. The True Guru is the Perfect Pool of Holy Water. Night and day, He meditates on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. He is saved, along with his family; bestowing the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, He saves the whole world. Servant Nanak is a sacrifice to one who himself chants the Naam, and inspires others to chant it as well. ||2|| Pauree: Some pick and eat fruits and roots, and live in the wilderness. Some wander around wearing saffron robes, as Yogis and Sanyaasees. But there is still so much desire

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within them-they still yearn for clothes and food. They waste their lives uselessly; they are neither householders nor renunciates. The Messenger of Death hangs over their heads, and they cannot escape the three-phased desire. Death does not even approach those who follow the Guru's Teachings, and become the slaves of the Lord's slaves. The True Word of the Shabad abides in their true minds; within the home of their own inner beings, they remain detached. O Nanak, those who serve their True Guru, rise from desire to desirelessness. ||5|| Shalok, First Mehl: If one's clothes are stained with blood, the garment becomes polluted. Those who suck the blood of human beings-how can their consciousness be pure? O Nanak, chant the Name of God, with heart-felt devotion. Everything else is just a pompous worldly show, and the practice of false deeds. ||1|| First Mehl: Since I am no one, what can I say? Since I am nothing, what can I be? As He created me, so I act. As He causes me to speak, so I speak. I am full and overflowing with sins-if only I could wash them away! I do not understand myself, and yet I try to teach others. Such is the guide I am! O Nanak, the one who is blind shows others the way, and misleads all his companions. But, going to the world hereafter, he shall be beaten and kicked in the face; then, it will be obvious, what sort of guide he was! ||2|| Pauree: Through all the months and the seasons, the minutes and the hours, I dwell upon You, O Lord. No one has attained You by clever calculations, O True, Unseen and Infinite Lord. That scholar who is full of greed, arrogant pride and egotism, is known to be a fool. So read the Name, and realise the Name, and contemplate the Guru's Teachings. Through the Guru's Teachings, I have earned the wealth of the Naam; I possess the storehouses, overflowing with devotion to the Lord. Believing in the Immaculate Naam, one is hailed as true, in the True Court of the Lord. The Divine Light of the Infinite Lord, who owns the soul and the breath of life, is deep within the inner being. You alone are the True Banker, O Lord; the rest of the world is just Your petty trader. ||6|| Shalok, First Mehl: Let mercy be your mosque, faith your prayer-mat, and honest living your Koran. Make modesty your circumcision, and good conduct your fast. In this way, you shall be a true Muslim. Let good conduct be your Kaabaa, Truth your spiritual guide, and the karma of good deeds your prayer and chant. Let your rosary be that which is pleasing to His Will. O Nanak, God shall preserve your honour. ||1||

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First Mehl : To take what rightfully belongs to another, is like a Muslim eating pork, or a Hindu eating beef. Our Guru, our Spiritual Guide, stands by us, if we do not eat those carcasses. By mere talk, people do not earn passage to Heaven. Salvation comes only from the practice of Truth. By adding spices to forbidden foods, they are not made acceptable. O Nanak, from false talk, only falsehood is obtained. ||2|| First Mehl: There are five prayers and five times of day for prayer; the five have five names. Let the first be truthfulness, the second honest living, and the third charity in the Name of God. Let the fourth be good will to all, and the fifth the praise of the Lord. Repeat the prayer of good deeds, and then, you may call yourself a Muslim. O Nanak, the false obtain falsehood, and only falsehood. ||3|| Pauree: Some trade in priceless jewels, while others deal in mere glass. When the True Guru is pleased, we find the treasure of the jewel, deep within the self. Without the Guru, no one has found this treasure. The blind and the false have died in their endless wanderings. The self-willed manmukhs putrefy and die in duality. They do not understand contemplative meditation. Without the One Lord, there is no other at all. Unto whom should they complain? Some are destitute, and wander around endlessly, while others have storehouses of wealth. Without God's Name, there is no other wealth. Everything else is just poison and ashes. O Nanak, the Lord Himself acts, and causes others to act; by the Hukam of His Command, we are embellished and exalted. ||7|| Shalok, First Mehl: It is difficult to be called a Muslim; if one is truly a Muslim, then he may be called one. First, let him savor the religion of the Prophet as sweet; then, let his pride of his possessions be scraped away. Becoming a true Muslim, a disciple of the faith of Mohammed, let him put aside the delusion of death and life. As he submits to God's Will, and surrenders to the Creator, he is rid of selfishness and conceit. And when, O Nanak, he is merciful to all beings, only then shall he be called a Muslim. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: Renounce sexual desire, anger, falsehood and slander; forsake Maya and eliminate egotistical pride. Renounce sexual desire and promiscuity, and give up emotional attachment. Only then shall you obtain the Immaculate Lord amidst the darkness of the world. Renounce selfishness, conceit and arrogant pride, and your love for your children and spouse. Abandon your thirsty hopes and desires, and embrace love for the Lord. O Nanak, the True One shall come to dwell in your mind. Through the True Word of the Shabad, you shall be absorbed in the Name of the Lord. ||2|| Pauree: Neither the kings, nor their subjects, nor the leaders shall remain. The shops, the cities and the streets shall eventually disintegrate, by the Hukam of the Lord's Command. Those solid and beautiful mansions-the fools think that they belong to them. The treasure-houses, filled with wealth, shall be emptied out in an instant. The horses, chariots, camels and elephants, with all their decorations; the gardens, lands, houses, tents, soft beds and satin pavilions-Oh, where are those things, which they believe to be their own? O Nanak, the True One is the Giver of all; He is revealed through His All-powerful Creative Nature. ||8|| Shalok, First Mehl: If the rivers became cows, giving milk, and the spring water became milk and ghee; If all the earth became sugar, to continually excite the mind;

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if the mountains became gold and silver, studded with gems and jewels -even then, I would worship and adore You, and my longing to chant Your Praises would not decrease. ||1|| First Mehl: If all the eighteen loads of vegetation became fruits, and the growing grass became sweet rice; if I were able to stop the sun and the moon in their orbits and hold them perfectly steady -even then, I would worship and adore You, and my longing to chant Your Praises would not decrease. ||2|| First Mehl: If my body were afflicted with pain, under the evil influence of unlucky stars; and if the blood-sucking kings were to hold power over me -even if this were my condition, I would still worship and adore You, and my longing to chant Your Praises would not decrease. ||3|| First Mehl: If fire and ice were my clothes, and the wind was my food; and even if the enticing heavenly beauties were my wives, O Nanak-all this shall pass away! Even then, I would worship and adore You, and my longing to chant Your Praises would not decrease. ||4|| Pauree: The foolish demon, who does evil deeds, does not know his Lord and Master. Call him a mad-man, if he does not understand himself. The strife of this world is evil; these struggles are consuming it. Without the Lord's Name, life is worthless. Through doubt, the people are being destroyed. One who recognises that all spiritual paths lead to the One shall be emancipated. One who speaks lies shall fall into hell and burn. In all the world, the most blessed and sanctified are those who remain absorbed in Truth. One who eliminates selfishness and conceit is redeemed in the Court of the Lord. ||9|| First Mehl, Shalok: They alone are truly alive, whose minds are filled with the Lord. O Nanak, no one else is truly alive; those who merely live shall depart in dishonour; everything they eat is impure. Intoxicated with power and thrilled with wealth, they delight in their pleasures, and dance about shamelessly. O Nanak, they are deluded and defrauded. Without the Lord's Name, they lose their honour and depart. ||1|| First Mehl: What good is food, and what good are clothes, if the True Lord does not abide within the mind? What good are fruits, what good is ghee, sweet jaggery, what good is flour, and what good is meat? What good are clothes, and what good is a soft bed, to enjoy pleasures and sensual delights? What good is an army, and what good are soldiers, servants and mansions to live in? O Nanak, without the True Name, all this paraphernalia shall disappear. ||2|| Pauree: What good is social class and status? Truthfulness is measured within. Pride in one's status is like poison-holding it in your hand and eating it, you shall die. The True Lord's Sovereign Rule is known throughout the ages. One who respects the Hukam of the Lord's Command is honoured and respected in the Court of the Lord. By the Order of our Lord and Master, we have been brought into this world. The Drummer, the Guru, has announced the Lord's meditation, through the Word of the Shabad. Some have mounted their horses in response, and others are saddling up. Some have tied up their bridles, and others have already ridden off. ||10|| Shalok, First Mehl: When the crop is ripe, then it is cut down; only the stalks are left standing. The corn on the cob is put into the thresher, and the kernels are separated from the cobs. Placing the kernels between the two mill-stones, people sit and grind the corn. Those kernels which stick to the central axle are spared-Nanak has seen this wonderful vision! ||1|| First Mehl: Look, and see how the sugar-cane is cut down. After cutting away its branches, its feet are bound together into bundles,

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and then, it is placed between the wooden rollers and crushed. What punishment is inflicted upon it! Its juice is extracted and placed in the cauldron; as it is heated, it groans and cries out. And then, the crushed cane is collected and burnt in the fire below. Nanak: come, people, and see how the sweet sugar-cane is treated! ||2|| Pauree: Some do not think of death; they entertain great hopes. They die, and are re-born, and die, over and over again. They are of no use at all! In their conscious minds, they call themselves good. The King of the Angels of Death hunts down those self-willed manmukhs, over and over again. The manmukhs are false to their own selves; they feel no gratitude for what they have been given. Those who merely perform rituals of worship are not pleasing to their Lord and Master. Those who attain the True Lord and chant His Name are pleasing to the Lord. They worship the Lord and bow at His Throne. They fulfill their pre-ordained destiny. ||11|| First Mehl, Shalok: What can deep water do to a fish? What can the vast sky do to a bird? What can cold do to a stone? What is married life to a eunuch? You may apply sandalwood oil to a dog, but he will still be a dog. You may try to teach a deaf person by reading the Simritees to him, but how will he learn? You may place a light before a blind man and burn fifty lamps, but how will he see? You may place gold before a herd of cattle, but they will pick out the grass to eat. You may add flux to iron and melt it, but it will not become soft like cotton. O Nanak, this is the nature of a fool-everything he speaks is useless and wasted. ||1|| First Mehl: When pieces of bronze or gold or iron break, the metal-smith welds them together again in the fire, and the bond is established. If a husband leaves his wife, their children may bring them back together in the world, and the bond is established. When the king makes a demand, and it is met, the bond is established. When the hungry man eats, he is satisfied, and the bond is established. In the famine, the rain fills the streams to overflowing, and the bond is established. There is a bond between love and words of sweetness. When one speaks the Truth, a bond is established with the Holy Scriptures. Through goodness and truth, the dead establish a bond with the living. Such are the bonds which prevail in the world. The fool establishes his bonds only when he is slapped in the face. Nanak says this after deep reflection: through the Lord's Praise, we establish a bond with His Court. ||2|| Pauree: He Himself created and adorned the Universe, and He Himself contemplates it. Some are counterfeit, and some are genuine. He Himself is the Appraiser. The genuine are placed in His Treasury, while the counterfeit are thrown away. The counterfeit are thrown out of the True Court-unto whom should they complain? They should worship and follow the True Guru-this is the lifestyle of excellence. The True Guru converts the counterfeit into genuine; through the Word of the Shabad, He embellishes and exalts us. Those who have enshrined love and affection for the Guru, are honoured in the True Court. Who can estimate the value of those who have been forgiven by the Creator Lord Himself? ||12|| Shalok, First Mehl: All the spiritual teachers, their disciples and the rulers of the world shall be buried under the ground. The emperors shall also pass away; God alone is Eternal. You alone, Lord, You alone. ||1|| First Mehl: Neither the angels, nor the demons, nor human beings, nor the Siddhas, nor the seekers shall remain on the earth. Who else is there?

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You alone, Lord, You alone. ||2|| First Mehl: Neither the just, nor the generous, nor any humans at all, nor the seven realms beneath the earth, shall remain. The One Lord alone exists. Who else is there? You alone, Lord, You alone. ||3|| First Mehl: Neither the sun, nor the moon, nor the planets, nor the seven continents, nor the oceans, nor food, nor the wind-nothing is permanent. You alone, Lord, You alone. ||4|| First Mehl: Our sustenance is not in the hands of any person. The hopes of all rest in the One Lord. The One Lord alone exists-who else is there? You alone, Lord, You alone. ||5|| First Mehl: The birds have no money in their pockets. They place their hopes on trees and water. He alone is the Giver. You alone, Lord, You alone. ||6|| First Mehl: O Nanak, that destiny which is pre-ordained and written on one's forehead - no one can erase it. The Lord infuses strength, and He takes it away again. You alone, O Lord, You alone. ||7|| Pauree: True is the Hukam of Your Command. To the Gurmukh, it is known. Through the Guru's Teachings, selfishness and conceit are eradicated, and the Truth is realised. True is Your Court. It is proclaimed and revealed through the Word of the Shabad. Meditating deeply on the True Word of the Shabad, I have merged into the Truth. The self-willed manmukhs are always false; they are deluded by doubt. They dwell in manure, and they do not know the taste of the Name. Without the Name, they suffer the agonies of coming and going. O Nanak, the Lord Himself is the Appraiser, who distinguishes the counterfeit from the genuine. ||13|| Shalok, First Mehl: Tigers, hawks, falcons and eagles-the Lord could make them eat grass. And those animals which eat grass-He could make them eat meat. He could make them follow this way of life. He could raise dry land from the rivers, and turn the deserts into bottomless oceans. He could appoint a worm as king, and reduce an army to ashes. All beings and creatures live by breathing, but He could keep us alive, even without the breath. O Nanak, as it pleases the True Lord, He gives us sustenance. ||1|| First Mehl: Some eat meat, while others eat grass. Some have all the thirty-six varieties of delicacies, while others live in the dirt and eat mud. Some control the breath, and regulate their breathing. Some live by the Support of the Naam, the Name of the Formless Lord. The Great Giver lives; no one dies. O Nanak, those who do not enshrine the Lord within their minds are deluded. ||2|| Pauree: By the karma of good actions, some come to serve the Perfect Guru. Through the Guru's Teachings, some eliminate selfishness and conceit, and meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Undertaking any other task, they waste their lives in vain. Without the Name, all that they wear and eat is poison. Praising the True Word of the Shabad, they merge with the True Lord. Without serving the True Guru, they do not obtain the home of peace; they are consigned to reincarnation, over and over again. Investing counterfeit capital, they earn only falsehood in the world. O Nanak, singing the Praises of

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the Pure, True Lord, they depart with honour. ||14|| Shalok, First Mehl: When it pleases You, we play music and sing; when it pleases You, we bathe in water.

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When it pleases You, we smear our bodies with ashes, and blow the horn and the conch shell. When it pleases You, we read the Islamic Scriptures, and are acclaimed as Mullahs and Shaykhs. When it pleases You, we become kings, and enjoy all sorts of tastes and pleasures. When it pleases You, we wield the sword, and cut off the heads of our enemies. When it pleases You, we go out to foreign lands; hearing news of home, we come back again. When it pleases You, we are attuned to the Name, and when it pleases You, we become pleasing to You. Nanak utters this one prayer; everything else is just the practice of falsehood. ||1|| First Mehl: You are so Great-all Greatness flows from You. You are So Good-Goodness radiates from You. You are True-all that flows from You is True. Nothing at all is false. Talking, seeing, speaking, walking, living and dying-all these are 265

transitory. By the Hukam of His Command, He creates, and in His Command, He keeps us. O Nanak, He Himself is True. ||2|| Pauree: Serve the True Guru fearlessly, and your doubt shall be dispelled. Do that work which the True Guru asks you to do. When the True Guru becomes merciful, we meditate on the Naam. The profit of devotional worship is excellent. It is obtained by the Gurmukh. The self-willed manmukhs are trapped in the darkness of falsehood; they practice nothing but falsehood. Go to the Gate of Truth, and speak the Truth. The True Lord calls the true ones to the Mansion of His Presence. O Nanak, the true ones are forever true; they are absorbed in the True Lord. ||15|| Shalok, First Mehl: The Dark Age of Kali Yuga is the knife, and the kings are butchers; righteousness has sprouted wings and flown away. In this dark night of falsehood, the moon of Truth is not visible anywhere. I have searched in vain, and I am so confused; in this darkness, I cannot find the path. In egotism, they cry out in pain. Says Nanak, how will they be saved? ||1|| Third Mehl: In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, the Kirtan of the Lord's Praise has appeared as a Light in the world. How rare are those few Gurmukhs who swim across to the other side! The Lord bestows His Glance of Grace; O Nanak, the Gurmukh receives the jewel. ||2|| Pauree: Between the Lord's devotees and the people of the world, there can never be any true alliance. The Creator Himself is infallible. He cannot be fooled; no one can fool Him. He blends His devotees with Himself; they practice Truth, and only Truth. The Lord Himself leads the people of the world astray; they tell lies, and by telling lies, they eat poison. They do not recognise the ultimate reality, that we all must go; they continue to cultivate the poisons of sexual desire and anger. The devotees serve the Lord; night and day, they meditate on the Naam. Becoming the slaves of the Lord's slaves, they eradicate selfishness and conceit from within. In the Court of their Lord and Master, their faces are radiant; they are embellished and exalted with the True Word of the Shabad. ||16|| Shalok, First Mehl: Those who praise the Lord in the early hours of the morning and meditate on Him single-mindedly, are the perfect kings; at the right time, they die fighting. In the second watch, the focus of the mind is scattered in all sorts of ways. So many fall into the bottomless pit; they are dragged under, and they cannot get out again.

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In the third watch, both hunger and thirst bark for attention, and food is put into the mouth. That which is eaten becomes dust, but they are still attached to eating. In the fourth watch, they become drowsy. They close their eyes and begin to dream. Rising up again, they engage in conflicts; they set the stage as if they will live for 100 years. If at all times, at each and every moment, they live in the fear of God - O Nanak, the Lord dwells within their minds, and their cleansing bath is true. ||1|| Second Mehl: They are the perfect kings, who have found the Perfect Lord. Twenty-four hours a day, they remain unconcerned, imbued with the Love of the One Lord. Only a few obtain the Darshan, the Blessed Vision of the Unimaginably Beauteous Lord. Through the perfect karma of good deeds, one meets the Perfect Guru, whose speech is perfect. O Nanak, when the Guru makes one perfect, one's weight does not decrease. ||2|| Pauree: When You are with me, what more could I want? I speak only the Truth. Plundered by the thieves of worldly affairs, she does not obtain the Mansion of His Presence. Being so stone-hearted, she has lost her chance to serve the Lord. That heart, in which the True Lord is not found, should be torn down and re-built. How can she be weighed accurately, upon the scale of perfection? No one will say that her weight has been shorted, if she rids herself of egotism. The genuine are assayed, and accepted in the Court of the All-knowing Lord. The genuine merchandise is found only in one shop-it is obtained from the Perfect Guru. ||17|| Shalok, Second Mehl: Twenty-four hours a day, destroy the eight things, and in the ninth place, conquer the body. Within the body are the nine treasures of the Name of the Lord-seek the depths of these virtues. Those blessed with the karma of good actions praise the Lord. O Nanak, they make the Guru their spiritual teacher. In the fourth watch of the early morning hours, a longing arises in their higher consciousness. They are attuned to the river of life; the True Name is in their minds and on their lips. The Ambrosial Nectar is distributed, and those with good karma receive this gift. Their bodies become golden, and take on the colour of spirituality. If the Jeweller casts His Glance of Grace, they are not placed in the fire again. Throughout the other seven watches of the day, it is good to speak the Truth, and sit with the spiritually wise. There, vice and virtue are distinguished, and the capital of falsehood is decreased. There, the counterfeit are cast aside, and the genuine are cheered. Speech is vain and useless. O Nanak, pain and pleasure are in the power of our Lord and Master. ||1|| Second Mehl: Air is the Guru, Water is the Father, and Earth is the Great Mother of all. Day and night are the two nurses, in whose lap all the world is at play. Good deeds and bad deeds-the record is read out in the Presence of the Lord of Dharma. According to their own actions, some are drawn closer, and some are driven farther away. Those who have meditated on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and departed after having worked by the sweat of their brow -O Nanak, their faces are radiant in the Court of the Lord, and many others are saved along with them! ||2|| Pauree: The True Food is the Love of the Lord; the True Guru has spoken. With this True Food, I am satisfied, and with the Truth, I am delighted. True are the cities and the villages, where one abides in the True Home of the self. When the True Guru is pleased, one receives the Lord's Name, and blossoms forth in His Love. No one enters the Court of the True Lord through falsehood. By uttering falsehood and only falsehood, the Mansion of the Lord's Presence is lost.

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 054

No one blocks the way of those who are blessed with the Banner of the True Word of the Shabad. Hearing, understanding and speaking Truth, one is called to the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. ||18|| Shalok, First Mehl: If I dressed myself in fire, and built my house of snow, and made iron my food; and if I were to drink in all pain like water, and drive the entire earth before me; and if I were to place the earth upon a scale and balance it with a single copper coin; and if I were to become so great that I could not be contained, and if I were to control and lead all; and if I were to possess so much power within my mind that I could cause others to do my bidding-so what? As Great as our Lord and Master is, so great are His gifts. He bestows them according to His Will. O Nanak, those upon whom the Lord casts His Glance of Grace, obtain the glorious greatness of the True Name. ||1|| Second Mehl: The mouth is not satisfied by speaking, and the ears are not satisfied by hearing. The eyes are not satisfied by seeing-each organ seeks out one sensory quality. The hunger of the hungry is not appeased; by mere words, hunger is not relieved. O Nanak, hunger is relieved only when one utters the Glorious Praises of the Praiseworthy Lord. ||2|| Pauree: Without the True One, all are false, and all practice falsehood. Without the True One, the false ones are bound and gagged and driven off. Without the True One, the body is just ashes, and it mingles again with ashes. Without the True Ome, all food and clothes are unsatisfying. Without the True One, the false ones do not attain the Lord's Court. Attached to false attachments, the Mansion of the Lord's Presence is lost. The whole world is deceived by deception, coming and going in reincarnation. Within the body is the fire of desire; through the Word of the Shabad, it is quenched. ||19|| Shalok, First Mehl: O Nanak, the Guru is the tree of contentment, with flowers of faith, and fruits of spiritual wisdom. Watered with the Lord's Love, it remains forever green; through the karma of good deeds and meditation, it ripens. Honour is obtained by eating this tasty dish; of all gifts, this is the greatest gift. ||1|| First Mehl: The Guru is the tree of gold, with leaves of coral, and blossoms of jewels and rubies. The Words from His Mouth are fruits of jewels. Within His Heart, He beholds the Lord. O Nanak, He is obtained by those, upon whose faces and foreheads such pre-recorded destiny is written. The sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage are contained in the constant worship of the feet of the Exalted Guru. Cruelty, material attachment, greed and anger are the four rivers of fire. Falling into them, one is burned, O Nanak! One is saved only by holding tight to good deeds. ||2|| Pauree: While you are alive, conquer death, and you shall have no regrets in the end. This world is false, but only a few understand this. People do not enshrine love for the Truth; they chase after worldly affairs instead. The terrible time of death and annihilation hovers over the heads of the world. By the Hukam of the Lord's Command, the Messenger of Death smashes his club over their heads. The Lord Himself gives His Love, and enshrines it within their minds. Not a moment or an instant's delay is permitted, when one's measure of life is full. By Guru's Grace, one comes to know the True One, and is absorbed into Him. ||20|| Shalok, First Mehl: Bitter melon, swallow-wort, thorn-apple and nim fruit -these bitter poisons lodge in the minds and mouths of those who do not remember You. O Nanak, how shall I tell them this? Without the karma of good deeds, they are only destroying themselves. ||1|| First Mehl: The intellect is a bird; on account of its actions, it is sometimes high, and sometimes low.

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 055

Sometimes it is perched on the sandalwood tree, and sometimes it is on the branch of the poisonous swallow-wort. Sometimes, it soars through the heavens. O Nanak, our Lord and Master leads us on, according to the Hukam of His Command; such is His Way. ||2|| Pauree: Some speak and expound, and while speaking and lecturing, they pass away. The Vedas speak and expound on the Lord, but they do not know His limits. Not by studying, but through understanding, is the Lord's Mystery revealed. There are six pathways in the Shaastras, but how rare are those who merge in the True Lord through them. The True Lord is Unknowable; through the Word of His Shabad, we are embellished. One who believes in the Name of the Infinite Lord, attains the Court of the Lord. I humbly bow to the Creator Lord; I am a minstrel singing His Praises. Nanak enshrines the Lord within his mind. He is the One, throughout the ages. ||21|| Shalok, Second Mehl: Those who charm scorpions and handle snakes only brand themselves with their own hands. By the pre-ordained Order of our Lord and Master, they are beaten badly, and struck down. If the self-willed manmukhs fight with the Gurmukh, they are condemned by the Lord, the True Judge. He Himself is the Lord and Master of both worlds. He beholds all and makes the exact determination. O Nanak, know this well: everything is in accordance with His Will. ||1|| Second Mehl: O Nanak, if someone judges himself, only then is he known as a real judge. If someone understands both the disease and the medicine, only then is he a wise physician. Do not involve yourself in idle business on the way; remember that you are only a guest here. Speak with those who know the Primal Lord, and renounce your evil ways. That virtuous person who does not walk in the way of greed, and who abides in Truth, is accepted and famous. If an arrow is shot at the sky, how can it reach there? The sky above is unreachable-know this well, O archer! ||2|| Pauree: The soul-bride loves her Husband Lord; she is embellished with His Love. She worships Him day and night; she cannot be restrained from doing so. In the Mansion of the Lord's Presence, she has made her home; she is adorned with the Word of His Shabad. She is humble, and she offers her true and sincere prayer. She is beautiful in the Company of her Lord and Master; she walks in the Way of His Will. With her dear friends, she offers her heart-felt prayers to her Beloved. Cursed is that home, and shameful is that life, which is without the Name of the Lord. But she who is adorned with the Word of His Shabad, drinks in the Amrit of His Nectar. ||22|| Shalok, First Mehl: The desert is not satisfied by rain, and the fire is not quenched by desire. The king is not satisfied with his kingdom, and the oceans are full, but still they thirst for more. O Nanak, how many times must I seek and ask for the True Name? ||1|| Second Mehl: Life is useless, as long as one does not know the Lord God. Only a few cross over the world-ocean, by Guru's Grace. The Lord is the All-powerful Cause of causes, says Nanak after deep deliberation. The creation is subject to the Creator, who sustains it by His Almighty Power. ||2|| Pauree: In the Court of the Lord and Master, His minstrels dwell. Singing the Praises of their True Lord and Master, the lotuses of their hearts have blossomed forth. Obtaining their Perfect Lord and Master, their minds are transfixed with ecstasy. Their enemies have been driven out and subdued, and their friends are very pleased. Those who serve the Truthful True Guru are shown the True Path.

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 056

Reflecting on the True Word of the Shabad, death is overcome. Speaking the Unspoken Speech of the Lord, one is adorned with the Word of His Shabad. Nanak holds tight to the Treasure of Virtue, and meets with the Dear, Beloved Lord. ||23|| Shalok, First Mehl: Born because of the karma of their past mistakes, they make more mistakes, and fall into mistakes. By washing, their pollution is not removed, even though they may wash hundreds of times. O Nanak, if God forgives, they are forgiven; otherwise, they are kicked and beaten. ||1|| First Mehl: O Nanak, it is absurd to ask to be spared from pain by begging for comfort. Pleasure and pain are the two garments given, to be worn in the Court of the Lord. Where you are bound to lose by speaking, there, you ought to remain silent. ||2|| Pauree: After looking around in the four directions, I looked within my own self. There, I saw the True, Invisible Lord Creator. I was wandering in the wilderness, but now the Guru has shown me the Way. Hail to the True, True Guru, through whom we merge in the Truth. I have found the jewel within the home of my own self; the lamp within has been lit. Those who praise the True Word of the Shabad, abide in the peace of Truth. But those who do not have the Fear of God, are overtaken by fear. They are destroyed by their own pride. Having forgotten the Name, the world is roaming around like a wild demon. ||24|| Shalok, Third Mehl: In fear we are born, and in fear we die. Fear is always present in the mind. O Nanak, if one dies in the fear of God, his coming into the world is blessed and approved. ||1||

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Third Mehl: Without the fear of God, you may live very, very long, and savor the most enjoyable pleasures. O Nanak, if you die without the fear of God, you will arise and depart with a blackened face. ||2|| Pauree: When the True Guru is merciful, then your desires will be fulfilled. When the True Guru is merciful, you will never grieve. When the True Guru is merciful, you will know no pain. When the True Guru is merciful, you will enjoy the Lord's Love. When the True Guru is merciful, then why should you fear death? When the True Guru is merciful, the body is always at peace. When the True Guru is merciful, the nine treasures are obtained. When the True Guru is merciful, you shall be absorbed in the True Lord. ||25|| Shalok, First Mehl: They pluck the hair out of their heads, and drink in filthy water; they beg endlessly and eat the garbage which others have thrown away. They spread manure, they suck in rotting smells, and they are afraid of clean water. Their hands are smeared with ashes, and the hair on their heads is plucked out-they are like sheep! They have renounced the lifestyle of their mothers and fathers, and their families and relatives cry out in distress. No one offers the rice dishes at their last rites, and no one lights the lamps for them. After their death, where will they be sent? The sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage give them no place of protection, and no Brahmin will eat their food. They remain polluted forever, day and night; they do not apply the ceremonial tilak mark to their foreheads. They sit together in silence, as if in mourning; they do not go to the Lord's Court. With their begging bowls hanging from their waists, and their fly-brushes in their hands, they walk along in single file. They are not Yogis, and they are not Jangams, followers of Shiva. They are not Qazis or Mullahs.

Section 06 - Raag Maajh - Part 057

Ruined by the Merciful Lord, they wander around in disgrace, and their entire troop is contaminated. The Lord alone kills and restores to life; no one else can protect anyone from Him. They go without giving alms or any cleansing baths; their shaven heads become covered with dust. The jewel emerged from the water, when the mountain of gold was used to churn it. The gods established the sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage, where the festivals are celebrated and hymns are chanted. After bathing, the Muslims recite their prayers, and after bathing, the Hindus perform their worship services. The wise always take cleansing baths. At the time of death, and at the time of birth, they are purified, when water is poured on their heads. O Nanak, the shaven-headed ones are devils. They are not pleased to hear these words. When it rains, there is happiness. Water is the key to all life. When it rains, the corn grows, and the sugar cane, and the cotton, which provides clothing for all. When it rains, the cows always have grass to graze upon, and housewives can churn the milk into butter. With that ghee, sacred feasts and worship services are performed; all these efforts are blessed. The Guru is the ocean, and all His Teachings are the river. Bathing within it, glorious greatness is obtained. O Nanak, if the shaven-headed ones do not bathe, then seven handfuls of ashes are upon their heads. ||1|| Second Mehl: What can the cold do to the fire? How can the night affect the sun? What can the darkness do to the moon? What can social status do to air and water? What are personal possessions to the earth, from which all things are produced? O Nanak, he alone is known as honourable, whose honour the Lord preserves. ||2|| Pauree: It is of You, O my True and Wondrous Lord, that I sing forever. Yours is the True Court. All others are subject to coming and going. Those who ask for the gift of the True Name are like You. Your Command is True; we are adorned with the Word of Your Shabad. Through faith and trust, we receive spiritual wisdom and meditation from You. By Your Grace, the banner of honour is obtained. It cannot be taken away or lost. You are the True Giver; You give continually. Your Gifts continue to increase. Nanak begs for that gift which is pleasing to You. ||26|| Shalok, Second Mehl: Those who have accepted the Guru's Teachings, and who have found the path, remain absorbed in the Praises of the True Lord. What teachings can be imparted to those who have the Divine Guru Nanak as their Guru? ||1|| First Mehl: We understand the Lord only when He Himself inspires us to understand Him. He alone knows everything, unto whom the Lord Himself gives knowledge. One may talk and preach and give sermons but still yearn after Maya. The Lord, by the Hukam of His Command, has created the entire creation. He Himself knows the inner nature of all. O Nanak, He Himself uttered the Word. Doubt departs from one who receives this gift. ||2|| Pauree: I was a minstrel, out of work, when the Lord took me into His service. To sing His Praises day and night, He gave me His Order, right from the start. My Lord and Master has summoned me, His minstrel, to the True Mansion of His Presence. He has dressed me in the robes of His True Praise and Glory. The Ambrosial Nectar of the True Name has become my food. Those who follow the Guru's Teachings, who eat this food and are satisfied, find peace. His minstrel spreads His Glory, singing and vibrating the Word of His Shabad. O Nanak, praising the True Lord, I have obtained His Perfection. ||27||SUDH||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 7 - RAAG GAUREE

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 001

Raag Gauree Gwaarayree, First Mehl, Chau-Padas & Du-Padas: One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying. Beyond Birth. Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: The Fear of God is overpowering, and so very heavy, while the intellect is lightweight, as is the speech one speaks. So place the Fear of God upon your head, and bear that weight; by the Grace of the Merciful Lord, contemplate the Guru. ||1|| Without the Fear of God, no one crosses over the world-ocean. This Fear of God adorns the Love of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| The fire of fear within the body is burnt away by the Fear of God. Through this Fear of God, we are adorned with the Word of the Shabad. Without the Fear of God, all that is fashioned is false. Useless is the mold, and useless are the hammer-strokes on the mold. ||2|| The desire for the worldly drama arises in the intellect, but even with thousands of clever mental tricks, the heat of the Fear of God does not come into play. O Nanak, the speech of the self-willed manmukh is just wind. His words are worthless and empty, like the wind. ||3||1|| Gauree, First Mehl: Place the Fear of God within the home of your heart; with this Fear of God in your heart, all other fears shall be frightened away. What sort of fear is that, which frightens other fears? Without You, I have other place of rest at all. Whatever happens is all according to Your Will. ||1|| Be afraid, if you have any fear, other than the Fear of God. Afraid of fear, and living in fear, the mind is held in tumult. ||1||Pause|| The soul does not die; it does not drown, and it does not swim across. The One who created everything does everything. By the Hukam of His Command we come, and by the Hukam of His Command we go. Before and after, His Command is pervading. ||2|| Cruelty, attachment, desire and egotism - there is great hunger in these, like the raging torrent of a wild stream. Let the Fear of God be your food, drink and support. Without doing this, the fools simply die. ||3|| If anyone really has anyone else - how rare is that person! All are Yours - You are the Lord of all. All beings and creatures, wealth and property belong to Him. O Nanak, it is so difficult to describe and contemplate Him. ||4||2|| Gauree, First Mehl: Let wisdom be your mother, and contentment your father. Let Truth be your brother - these are your best relatives. ||1|| He has been described, but He cannot be described at all. Your All-pervading creative nature cannot be estimated. ||1||Pause||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 002

Modesty, humility and intuitive understanding are my mother-in-law and father-in-law; I have made good deeds my spouse. ||2|| Union with the Holy is my wedding date, and separation from the world is my marriage. Says Nanak, Truth is the child born of this Union. ||3||3|| Gauree, First Mehl: The union of air, water and fire - the body is the play-thing of the fickle and unsteady intellect. It has nine doors, and then there is the Tenth Gate. Reflect upon this and understand it, O wise one. ||1|| The Lord is the One who speaks, teaches and listens. One who contemplates his own self is truly wise. ||1||Pause|| The body is dust; the wind speaks through it. Understand, O wise one, who has died. Awareness, conflict and ego have died, but the One who sees does not die. ||2|| For the sake of it, you journey to sacred shrines and holy rivers; but this priceless jewel is within your own heart. The Pandits, the religious scholars, read and read endlessly; they stir up arguments and controversies, but they do not know the secret deep within. ||3|| I have not died - that evil nature within me has died. The One who is pervading everywhere does not die. Says Nanak, the Guru has revealed God to me, and now I see that there is no such thing as birth or death. ||4||4|| Gauree, First Mehl, Dakhanee: I am forever a sacrifice to the one who listens and hears, who understands and believes in the Name. When the Lord Himself leads us astray, there is no other place of rest for us to find. You impart understanding, and You unite us in Your Union. ||1|| I obtain the Naam, which shall go along with me in the end. Without the Name, all are held in the grip of Death. ||1||Pause|| My farming and my trading are by the Support of the Name. The seeds of sin and virtue are bound together. Sexual desire and anger are the wounds of the soul. The evil-minded ones forget the Naam, and then depart. ||2|| True are the Teachings of the True Guru. The body and mind are cooled and soothed, by the touchstone of Truth. This is the true mark of wisdom: that one remains detached, like the water-lily, or the lotus upon the water. Attuned to the Word of the Shabad, one becomes sweet, like the juice of the sugar cane. ||3|| By the Hukam of the Lord's Command, the castle of the body has ten gates. The five passions dwell there, together with the Divine Light of the Infinite. The Lord Himself is the merchandise, and He Himself is the trader. O Nanak, through the Naam, the Name of the Lord, we are adorned and rejuvenated. ||4||5|| Gauree, First Mehl: How can we know where we came from? Where did we originate, and where will we go and merge? How are we bound, and how do we obtain liberation? How do we merge with intuitive ease into the Eternal, Imperishable Lord? ||1|| With the Naam in the heart and the Ambrosial Naam on our lips, through the Name of the Lord, we rise above desire, like the Lord. ||1||Pause|| With intuitive ease we come, and with intuitive ease we depart. From the mind we originate, and into the mind we are absorbed. As Gurmukh, we are liberated, and are not bound. Contemplating the Word of the Shabad, we are emancipated through the Name of the Lord. ||2|| At night, lots of birds settle on the tree. Some are happy, and some are sad. Caught in the desires of the mind, they perish. And when the life-night comes to its end, then they look to the sky. They fly away in all ten directions, according to their pre-ordained destiny. ||3||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 003

Those who are committed to the Naam, see the world as merely a temporary pasture. Sexual desire and anger are broken, like a jar of poison. Without the merchandise of the Name, the house of the body and the store of the mind are empty. Meeting the Guru, the hard and heavy doors are opened. ||4|| One meets the Holy Saint only through perfect destiny. The Lord's perfect people rejoice in the Truth. Surrendering their minds and bodies, they find the Lord with intuitive ease. Nanak falls at their feet. ||5||6|| Gauree, First Mehl: The conscious mind is engrossed in sexual desire, anger and Maya. The conscious mind is awake only to falsehood, corruption and attachment. It gathers in the assets of sin and greed. So swim across the river of life, O my mind, with the Sacred Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1|| Waaho! Waaho! - Great! Great is my True Lord! I seek Your All-powerful Support. I am a sinner - You alone are pure. ||1||Pause|| Fire and water join together, and the breath roars in its fury! The tongue and the sex organs each seek to taste. The eyes which look upon corruption do not know the Love and the Fear of God. Conquering self-conceit, one obtains the Name. ||2|| One who dies in the Word of the Shabad, shall never again have to die. Without such a death, how can one attain perfection? The mind is engrossed in deception, treachery and duality. Whatever the Immortal Lord does, comes to pass. ||3|| So get aboard that boat when your turn comes. Those who fail to embark upon that boat shall be beaten in the Court of the Lord. Blessed is that Gurdwara, the Guru's Gate, where the Praises of the True Lord are sung. O Nanak, the One Creator Lord is pervading hearth and home. ||4||7|| Gauree, First Mehl: The inverted heart-lotus has been turned upright, through reflective meditation on God. From the Sky of the Tenth Gate, the Ambrosial Nectar trickles down. The Lord Himself is pervading the three worlds. ||1|| O my mind, do not give in to doubt. When the mind surrenders to the Name, it drinks in the essence of Ambrosial Nectar. ||1||Pause|| So win the game of life; let your mind surrender and accept death. When the self dies, the individual mind comes to know the Supreme Mind. As the inner vision is awakened, one comes to know one's own home, deep within the self. ||2|| The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is austerity, chastity and cleansing baths at sacred shrines of pilgrimage. What good are ostentatious displays? The All-pervading Lord is the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. ||3|| If I had faith in someone else, then I would go to that one's house. But where should I go, to beg? There is no other place for me. O Nanak, through the Guru's Teachings, I am intuitively absorbed in the Lord. ||4||8|| Gauree, First Mehl: Meeting the True Guru, we are shown the way to die. Remaining alive in this death brings joy deep within. Overcoming egotistical pride, the Tenth Gate is found. ||1|| Death is pre-ordained - no one who comes can remain here. So chant and meditate on the Lord, and remain in the Sanctuary of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Meeting the True Guru, duality is dispelled. The heart-lotus blossoms forth, and the mind is attached to the Lord God. One who remains dead while yet alive obtains the greatest happiness hereafter. ||2|| Meeting the True Guru, one becomes truthful, chaste and pure. Climbing up the steps of the Guru's Path, one becomes the highest of the high. When the Lord grants His Mercy, the fear of death is conquered. ||3|| Uniting in Guru's Union, we are absorbed in His Loving Embrace. Granting His Grace, He reveals the Mansion of His Presence, within the home of the self. O Nanak, conquering egotism, we are absorbed into the Lord. ||4||9||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 004

Gauree, First Mehl: Past actions cannot be erased. What do we know of what will happen hereafter? Whatever pleases Him shall come to pass. There is no other Doer except Him. ||1|| I do not know about karma, or how great Your gifts are. The karma of actions, the Dharma of righteousness, social class and status, are contained within Your Name. ||1||Pause|| You are So Great, O Giver, O Great Giver! The treasure of Your devotional worship is never exhausted. One who takes pride in himself shall never be right. The soul and body are all at Your disposal. ||2|| You kill and rejuvenate. You forgive and merge us into Yourself. As it pleases You, You inspire us to chant Your Name. You are All-knowing, All-seeing and True, O my Supreme Lord. Please, bless me with the Guru's Teachings; my faith is in You alone. ||3|| One whose mind is attuned to the Lord, has no pollution in his body. Through the Guru's Word, the True Shabad is realised. All Power is Yours, through the greatness of Your Name. Nanak abides in

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the Sanctuary of Your devotees. ||4||10|| Gauree, First Mehl: Those who speak the Unspoken, drink in the Nectar. Other fears are forgotten, and they are absorbed into the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1|| Why should we fear, when fear is dispelled by the Fear of God? Through the Shabad, the Word of the Perfect Guru, I recognise God. ||1||Pause|| Those whose hearts are filled with the Lord's essence are blessed and acclaimed, and intuitively absorbed into the Lord. ||2|| Those whom the Lord puts to sleep, evening and morning - those self-willed manmukhs are bound and gagged by Death, here and hereafter. ||3|| Those whose hearts are filled with the Lord, day and night, are perfect. O Nanak, they merge into the Lord, and their doubts are cast away. ||4||11|| Gauree, First Mehl: One who loves the three qualities is subject to birth and death. The four Vedas speak only of the visible forms. They describe and explain the three states of mind, but the fourth state, union with the Lord, is known only through the True Guru. ||1|| Through devotional worship of the Lord, and service to the Guru, one swims across. Then, one is not born again, and is not subject to death. ||1||Pause|| Everyone speaks of the four great blessings; the Simritees, the Shaastras and the Pandits speak of them as well. But without the Guru, they do not understand their true significance. The treasure of liberation is obtained through devotional worship of the Lord. ||2|| Those, within whose hearts the Lord dwells, become Gurmukh; they receive the blessings of devotional worship. Through devotional worship of the Lord, liberation and bliss are obtained. Through the Guru's Teachings, supreme ecstasy is obtained. ||3|| One who meets the Guru, beholds Him, and inspires others to behold Him as well. In the midst of hope, the Guru teaches us to live above hope and desire. He is the Master of the meek, the Giver of peace to all. Nanak's mind is imbued with the Lotus Feet of the Lord. ||4||12|| Gauree Chaytee, First Mehl: With your nectar-like body, you live in comfort, but this world is just a passing drama. You practice greed, avarice and great falsehood, and you carry such a heavy burden. O body, I have seen you blowing away like dust on the earth. ||1|| Listen - listen to my advice! Only the good deeds which you have done shall remain with you, O my soul. This opportunity shall not come again! ||1||Pause||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 005

I say to you, O my body: listen to my advice! You slander, and then praise others; you indulge in lies and gossip. You gaze upon the wives of others, O my soul; you steal and commit evil deeds. But when the swan departs, you shall remain behind, like an abandoned woman. ||2|| O body, you are living in a dream! What good deeds have you done? When I stole something by deception, then my mind was pleased. I have no honour in this world, and I shall find no shelter in the world hereafter. My life has been lost, wasted in vain! ||3|| I am totally miserable! O Baba Nanak, no one cares for me at all! ||1||Pause|| Turkish horses, gold, silver and loads of gorgeous clothes - none of these shall go with you, O Nanak. They are lost and left behind, you fool! I have tasted all the sugar candy and sweets, but Your Name alone is Ambrosial Nectar. ||4|| Digging deep foundations, the walls are constructed, but in the end, the buildings return to heaps of dust. People gather and hoard their possessions, and give nothing to anyone else - the poor fools think that everything is theirs. Riches do not remain with anyone - not even the golden palaces of Sri Lanka. ||5|| Listen, you foolish and ignorant mind - only His Will prevails. ||1||Pause|| My Banker is the Great Lord and Master. I am only His petty merchant. This soul and body all are His. He Himself kills, and brings back to life. ||6||1||13|| Gauree Chaytee, First Mehl: There are five of them, but I am all alone. How can I protect my hearth and home, O my mind? They are beating and plundering me over and over again; unto whom can I complain? ||1|| Chant the Name of the Supreme Lord, O my mind. Otherwise, in the world hereafter, you will have to face the awesome and cruel army of Death. ||1||Pause|| God has erected the temple of the body; He has placed the nine doors, and the soul-bride sits within. She enjoys the sweet play again and again, while the five demons are plundering her. ||2|| In this way, the temple is being demolished; the body is being plundered, and the soul-bride, left all alone, is captured. Death strikes her down with his rod, the shackles are placed around her neck, and now the five have left. ||3|| The wife yearns for gold and silver, and her friends, the senses, yearn for good food. O Nanak, she commits sins for their sake; she shall go, bound and gagged, to the City of Death. ||4||2||14|| Gauree Chaytee, First Mehl: Let your ear-rings be those ear-rings which pierce deep within your heart. Let your body be your patched coat. Let the five passions be disciples under your control, O begging Yogi, and make this mind your walking stick. ||1|| Thus you shall find the Way of Yoga. There is only the One Word of the Shabad; everything else shall pass away. Let this be the fruits and roots of your mind's diet. ||1||Pause|| Some try to find the Guru by shaving their heads at the Ganges, but I have made the Guru my Ganges. The Saving Grace of the three worlds is the One Lord and Master, but those in darkness do not remember Him. ||2|| Practicing hypocrisy and attaching your mind to worldly objects, your doubt shall never depart.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 006

If you focus your consciousness on the Feet of the One Lord, what reason would you have to chase after greed? ||3|| Meditate on the Immaculate Lord, and saturate your mind with Him. Why, O Yogi, do you make so many false and deceptive claims? ||1||Pause|| The body is wild, and the mind is foolish. Practicing egotism, selfishness and conceit, your life is passing away. Prays Nanak, when the naked body is cremated, then you will come to regret and repent. ||4||3||15|| Gauree Chaytee, First Mehl: O mind, there is only the One medicine, mantra and healing herb - centre your consciousness firmly on the One Lord. Take to the Lord, the Destroyer of the sins and karma of past incarnations. ||1|| The One Lord and Master is pleasing to my mind. In Your three qualities, the world is engrossed; the Unknowable cannot be known. ||1||Pause|| Maya is so sweet to the body, like sugar or molasses. We all carry loads of it. In the dark of the night, nothing can be seen. The mouse of death is gnawing away at the rope of life, O Siblings of Destiny! ||2|| As the self-willed manmukhs act, they suffer in pain. The Gurmukh obtains honour and greatness. Whatever He does, that alone happens; past actions cannot be erased. ||3|| Those who are imbued with, and committed to the Lord's Love, are filled to overflowing; they never lack anything. If Nanak could be the dust of their feet, then he, the ignorant one, might also obtain some. ||4||4||16|| Gauree Chaytee, First Mehl: Who is our mother, and who is our father? Where did we come from? We are formed from the fire of the womb within, and the bubble of water of the sperm. For what purpose are we created? ||1|| O my Master, who can know Your Glorious Virtues? My own demerits cannot be counted. ||1||Pause|| I took the form of so many plants and trees, and so many animals. Many times I entered the families of snakes and flying birds. ||2|| I broke into the shops of the city and well-guarded palaces; stealing from them, I snuck home again. I looked in front of me, and I looked behind me, but where could I hide from You? ||3|| I saw the banks of sacred rivers, the nine continents, the shops and bazaars of the cities. Taking the scale, the merchant begins to weigh his actions within his own heart. ||4|| As the seas and the oceans are overflowing with water, so vast are my own sins. Please, shower me with Your Mercy, and take pity upon me. I am a sinking stone - please carry me across! ||5|| My soul is burning like fire, and the knife is cutting deep. Prays Nanak, recognising the Lord's Command, I am at peace, day and night. ||6||5||17|| Gauree Bairaagan, First Mehl: The nights are wasted sleeping, and the days are wasted eating. Human life is such a precious jewel, but it is being lost in exchange for a mere shell. ||1|| You do not know the Name of the Lord. You fool - you shall regret and repent in the end! ||1||Pause|| You bury your temporary wealth in the ground, but how can you love that which is temporary? Those who have departed, after craving for temporary wealth, have returned home without this temporary wealth. ||2|| If people could gather it in by their own efforts, then everyone would be so lucky.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 007

According to the karma of past actions, one's destiny unfolds, even though everyone wants to be so lucky. ||3|| O Nanak, the One who created the creation - He alone takes care of it. The Hukam of our Lord and Master's Command cannot be known; He Himself blesses us with greatness. ||4||1||18|| Gauree Bairaagan, First Mehl: What if I were to become a deer, and live in the forest, picking and eating fruits and roots - by Guru's Grace, I am a sacrifice to my Master. Again and again, I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice. ||1|| I am the shop-keeper of the Lord. Your Name is my merchandise and trade. ||1||Pause|| If I were to become a cuckoo, living in a mango tree, I would still contemplate the Word of the Shabad. I would still meet my Lord and Master, with intuitive ease; the Darshan, the Blessed Vision of His Form, is incomparably beautiful. ||2|| If I were to become a fish, living in the water, I would still remember the Lord, who watches over all beings and creatures. My Husband Lord dwells on this shore, and on the shore beyond; I would still meet Him, and hug Him close in my embrace. ||3|| If I were to become a snake, living in the ground, the Shabad would still dwell in my mind, and my fears would be dispelled. O Nanak, they are forever the happy soul-brides, whose light merges into His Light. ||4||2||19|| Gauree Poorbee Deepkee, First Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: In that house where the Praises of the Creator are chanted - in that house, sing the Songs of Praise, and meditate in remembrance on the Creator Lord. ||1|| Sing the Songs of Praise of my Fearless Lord. I am a sacrifice to that Song of Praise which brings eternal peace. ||1||Pause|| Day after day, He cares for His beings; the Great Giver watches over all. Your gifts cannot be appraised; how can anyone compare to the Giver? ||2|| The day of my wedding is pre-ordained. Come - let's gather together and pour the oil over the threshold. My friends, give me your blessings, that I may merge with my Lord and Master. ||3|| Unto each and every home, into each and every heart, this summons is sent out; the call comes each and every day. Remember in meditation the One who summons us; O Nanak, that day is drawing near! ||4||1||20|| Raag Gauree Gwaarayree: Third Mehl, Chau-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Meeting the Guru, we meet the Lord. He Himself unites us in His Union. My God knows all His Own Ways. By the Hukam of His Command, He unites those who recognise the Word of the Shabad. ||1|| By the Fear of the True Guru, doubt and fear are dispelled. Imbued with His Fear, we are absorbed in the Love of the True One. ||1||Pause|| Meeting the Guru, the Lord naturally dwells within the mind. My God is Great and Almighty; His value cannot be estimated. Through the Shabad, I praise Him; He has no end or limitations. My God is the Forgiver. I pray that He may forgive me. ||2|| Meeting the Guru, all wisdom and understanding are obtained.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 008

The mind becomes pure, when the True Lord dwells within. When one dwells in Truth, all actions become true. The ultimate action is to contemplate the Word of the Shabad. ||3|| Through the Guru, true service is performed. How rare is that Gurmukh who recognises the Naam, the Name of the Lord. The Giver, the Great Giver, lives forever. Nanak enshrines love for the Name of the Lord. ||4||1||21|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Third Mehl: Those who obtain spiritual wisdom from the Guru are very rare. Those who obtain this understanding from the Guru become acceptable. Through the Guru, we intuitively contemplate the True One. Through the Guru, the Gate of Liberation is found. ||1|| Through perfect good destiny, we come to meet the Guru. The true ones are intuitively absorbed in the True Lord. ||1||Pause|| Meeting the Guru, the fire of desire is quenched. Through the Guru, peace and tranquility come to dwell within the mind. Through the Guru, we become pure, holy and true. Through the Guru, we are absorbed in the Word of the Shabad. ||2|| Without the Guru, everyone wanders in doubt. Without the Name, they suffer in terrible pain. Those who meditate on the Naam become Gurmukh. True honour is obtained through the Darshan, the Blessed Vision of the True Lord. ||3|| Why speak of any other? He alone is the Giver. When He grants His Grace, union with the Shabad is obtained. Meeting with my Beloved, I sing the Glorious Praises of the True Lord. O Nanak, becoming true, I am absorbed in the True One. ||4||2||22|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Third Mehl: True is that place, where the mind becomes pure. True is the one who abides in Truth. The True Bani of the Word is known throughout the four ages. The True One Himself is everything. ||1|| Through the karma of good actions, one joins the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. Sing the Glories of the Lord, sitting in that place. ||1||Pause|| Burn this tongue, which loves duality, which does not taste the sublime essence of the Lord, and which utters insipid words. Without understanding, the body and mind become tasteless and insipid. Without the Name, the miserable ones depart crying out in pain. ||2|| One whose tongue naturally and intuitively tastes the Lord's sublime essence, by Guru's Grace, is absorbed in the True Lord. Imbued with Truth, one contemplates the Word of the Guru's Shabad, and drinks in the Ambrosial Nectar, from the immaculate stream within. ||3|| The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is collected in the vessel of the mind. Nothing is collected if the vessel is upside-down. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the Naam abides within the mind. O Nanak, True is that vessel of the mind, which thirsts for the Shabad. ||4||3||23|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Third Mehl: Some sing on and on, but their minds do not find happiness. In egotism, they sing, but it is wasted uselessly. Those who love the Naam, sing the song. They contemplate the True Bani of the Word, and the Shabad. ||1|| They sing on and on, if it pleases the True Guru. Their minds and bodies are embellished and adorned, attuned to the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Some sing, and some perform devotional worship. Without heart-felt love, the Naam is not obtained. True devotional worship consists of love for the Word of the Guru's Shabad. The devotee keeps his Beloved clasped tightly to his heart. ||2||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 009

The fools perform devotional worship by showing off; they dance and dance and jump all around, but they only suffer in terrible pain. By dancing and jumping, devotional worship is not performed. But one who dies in the Word of the Shabad, obtains devotional worship. ||3|| The Lord is the Lover of His devotees; He inspires them to perform devotional worship. True devotional worship consists of eliminating selfishness and conceit from within. My True God knows all ways and means. O Nanak, He forgives those who recognise the Naam. ||4||4||24|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Third Mehl: When someone kills and subdues his own mind, his wandering nature is also subdued. Without such a death, how can one find the Lord? Only a few know the medicine to kill the mind. One whose mind dies in the Word of the Shabad, understands Him. ||1|| He grants greatness to those whom He forgives. By Guru's

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Grace, the Lord comes to dwell within the mind. ||1||Pause|| The Gurmukh practices doing good deeds; thus he comes to understand this mind. The mind is like an elephant, drunk with wine. The Guru is the rod which controls it, and shows it the way. ||2|| The mind is uncontrollable; how rare are those who subdue it. Those who move the immovable become pure. The Gurmukhs embellish and beautify this mind. They eradicate egotism and corruption from within. ||3|| Those who, by pre-ordained destiny, are united in the Lord's Union, are never separated from Him again; they are absorbed in the Shabad. He Himself knows His Own Almighty Power. O Nanak, the Gurmukh realises the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||4||5||25|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Third Mehl: The entire world has gone insane in egotism. In the love of duality, it wanders deluded by doubt. The mind is distracted by great anxiety; no one recognises one's own self. Occupied with their own affairs, their nights and days are passing away. ||1|| Meditate on the Lord in your hearts, O my Siblings of Destiny. The Gurmukh's tongue savors the sublime essence of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| The Gurmukhs recognise the Lord in their own hearts; they serve the Lord, the Life of the World. They are famous throughout the four ages. They subdue egotism, and realise the Word of the Guru's Shabad. God, the Architect of Destiny, showers His Mercy upon them. ||2|| True are those who merge into the Word of the Guru's Shabad; they restrain their wandering mind and keep it steady. The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is the nine treasures. It is obtained from the Guru. By the Lord's Grace, the Lord comes to dwell in the mind. ||3|| Chanting the Name of the Lord, Raam, Raam, the body becomes peaceful and tranquil. He dwells deep within - the pain of death does not touch Him. He Himself is our Lord and Master; He is His Own Advisor. O Nanak, serve the Lord forever; He is the treasure of glorious virtue. ||4||6||26|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Third Mehl: Why forget Him, unto whom the soul and the breath of life belong? Why forget Him, who is all-pervading? Serving Him, one is honoured and accepted in the Court of the Lord. ||1|| I am a sacrifice to the Name of the Lord. If I were to forget You, at that very instant, I would die. ||1||Pause|| Those whom You Yourself have led astray, forget You.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 010

Thse who are in love with duality forget You. The ignorant, self-willed manmukhs are consigned to reincarnation. ||2|| Those who are pleasing to the One Lord are assigned to His service and enshrine Him within their minds. Through the Guru's Teachings, they are absorbed in the Lord's Name. ||3|| Those who have virtue as their treasure, contemplate spiritual wisdom. Those who have virtue as their treasure, subdue egotism. Nanak is a sacrifice to those who are attuned to the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||4||7||27|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Third Mehl: You are Indescribable; how can I describe You? Those who subdue their minds, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, are absorbed in You. Your Glorious Virtues are countless; their value cannot be estimated. ||1|| The Word of His Bani belongs to Him; in Him, it is diffused. Your Speech cannot be spoken; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, it is chanted. ||1||Pause|| Where the True Guru is - there is the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. Where the True Guru is - there, the Glorious Praises of the Lord are intuitively sung. Where the True Guru is - there egotism is burnt away, through the Word of the Shabad. ||2|| The Gurmukhs serve Him; they obtain a place in the Mansion of His Presence. The Gurmukhs enshrine the Naam within the mind. The Gurmukhs worship the Lord, and are absorbed in the Naam. ||3|| The Giver Himself gives His Gifts, as we enshrine love for the True Guru. Nanak celebrates those who are attuned to the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||4||8||28|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Third Mehl: All forms and colours come from the One Lord. Air, water and fire are all kept together. The Lord God beholds the many and various colours. ||1|| The One Lord is wondrous and amazing! He is the One, the One and Only. How rare is that Gurmukh who meditates on the Lord. ||1||Pause|| God is naturally pervading all places. Sometimes He is hidden, and sometimes He is revealed; thus God has made the world of His making. He Himself wakes us from sleep. ||2|| No one can estimate His value, although everyone has tried, over and over again, to describe Him. Those who merge in the Word of the Guru's Shabad, come to understand the Lord. ||3|| They listen to the Shabad continually; beholding Him, they merge into Him. They obtain glorious greatness by serving the Guru. O Nanak, those who are attuned to the Name are absorbed in the Lord's Name. ||4||9||29|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Third Mehl: The self-willed manmukhs are asleep, in love and attachment to Maya. The Gurmukhs are awake, contemplating spiritual wisdom and the Glory of God. Those humble beings who love the Naam, are awake and aware. ||1|| One who is awake to this intuitive wisdom does not fall asleep. How rare are those humble beings who understand this through the Perfect Guru. ||1||Pause|| The unsaintly blockhead shall never understand. He babbles on and on, but he is infatuated with Maya. Blind and ignorant, he shall never be reformed. ||2|| In this age, salvation comes only from the Lord's Name. How rare are those who contemplate the Word of the Guru's Shabad. They save themselves, and save all their family and ancestors as well. ||3||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 011

In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, no one is interested in good karma, or Dharmic faith. This Dark Age was born in the house of evil. O Nanak, without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, no one is liberated. ||4||10||30|| Gauree, Third Mehl, Gwaarayree: True is the Lord King, True is His Royal Command. Those whose minds are attuned to the True, Carefree Lord enter the True Mansion of His Presence, and merge in the True Name. ||1|| Listen, O my mind: contemplate the Word of the Shabad. Chant the Lord's Name, and cross over the terrifying world-ocean. ||1||Pause|| In doubt he comes, and in doubt he goes. This world is born out of the love of duality. The self-willed manmukh does not remember the Lord; he continues coming and going in reincarnation. ||2|| Does he himself go astray, or does God lead him astray? This soul is enjoined to the service of someone else. It earns only terrible pain, and this life is lost in vain. ||3|| Granting His Grace, He leads us to meet the True Guru. Remembering the One Name, doubt is cast out from within. O Nanak, chanting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the nine treasures of the Name are obtained. ||4||11||31|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Third Mehl: Go and ask the Gurmukhs, who meditate on the Lord. Serving the Guru, the mind is satisfied. Those who earn the Lord's Name are wealthy. Through the Perfect Guru, understanding is obtained. ||1|| Chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, O my Siblings of Destiny. The Gurmukhs serve the Lord, and so they are accepted. ||1||Pause|| Those who recognise the self - their minds become pure. They become Jivan-mukta, liberated while yet alive, and they find the Lord. Singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, the intellect becomes pure and sublime, and they are easily and intuitively absorbed in the Lord. ||2|| In the love of duality, no one can serve the Lord. In egotism and Maya, they are eating toxic poison. They are emotionally attached to their children, family and home. The blind, self-willed manmukhs come and go in reincarnation. ||3|| Those, unto whom the Lord bestows His Name, worship Him night and day, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad. How rare are those who understand the Guru's Teachings! O Nanak, they are absorbed in the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||4||12||32|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Third Mehl: The Guru's service has been performed throughout the four ages. Very few are those perfect ones who do this good deed. The wealth of the Lord's Name is inexhaustible; it shall never be exhausted. In this world, it brings a constant peace, and at the Lord's Gate, it brings honour. ||1|| O my mind, have no doubt about this. Those Gurmukhs who serve, drink in the Ambrosial Nectar. ||1||Pause|| Those who serve the True Guru are the greatest people of the world. They save themselves, and they redeem all their generations as well. They keep the Name of the Lord clasped tightly to their hearts. Attuned to the Naam, they cross over the terrifying world-ocean. ||2|| Serving the True Guru, the mind becomes humble forever. Egotism is subdued, and the heart-lotus blossoms forth. The Unstruck Melody vibrates, as they dwell within the home of the self. Attuned to the Naam, they remain detached within their own home. ||3|| Serving the True Guru, their words are true. Throughout the ages, the devotees chant and repeat these words. Night and day, they meditate on the Lord, the Sustainer of the Earth.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 012

O Nanak, attuned to the Naam, the Name of the Lord, they are detached, in the perfect balance of Nirvaanaa. ||4||13||33|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Third Mehl: Through great good fortune and high destiny, one meets the True Guru. The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is constantly within the heart, and one enjoys the sublime essence of the Lord. ||1|| O mortal, become Gurmukh, and meditate on the Name of the Lord. Be victorious in the game of life, and earn the profit of the Naam. ||1||Pause|| Spiritual wisdom and meditation come to those unto whom the Word of the Guru's Shabad is sweet. By Guru's Grace, a few have tasted, and seen it. ||2|| They may perform all sorts of religious rituals and good actions, but without the Name, the egotistical ones are cursed and doomed. ||3|| They are bound and gagged, and hung by Maya's noose; O servant Nanak, they shall be released only by Guru's Grace. ||4||14||34|| Third Mehl, Gauree Bairaagan: The clouds pour their rain down upon the earth, but isn't there water within the earth as well? Water is contained within the earth; without feet, the clouds run around and let down their rain. ||1|| O Baba, get rid of your doubts like this. As you act, so shall you become, and so you shall go and mingle. ||1||Pause|| As woman or man, what can anyone do? The many and various forms are always Yours, O Lord; they shall merge again into You. ||2|| In countless incarnations, I went astray. Now that I have found You, I shall no longer wander. It is His work; those who are absorbed in the Word of the Guru's Shabad come to know it well. ||3|| The Shabad is Yours; You are Yourself. Where is there any doubt? O Nanak, one whose essence is merged with the Lord's essence does not have to enter the cycle of reincarnation again. ||4||1||15||35|| Gauree Bairaagan, Third Mehl: The whole world is under the power of Death, bound by the love of duality. The self-willed manmukhs do their deeds in ego; they receive their just rewards. ||1|| O my mind, focus your consciousness on the Guru's Feet. As Gurmukh, you shall be awarded the treasure of the Naam. In the Court of the Lord, you shall be saved. ||1||Pause|| Through 8.4 million incarnations, people wander lost; in stubborn-mindedness, they come and go. They do not realise the Word of the Guru's Shabad; they are reincarnated over and over again. ||2|| The Gurmukh understands his own self. The Lord's Name comes to dwell within the mind. Imbued with devotion to the Lord's Name, night and day, he merges in peace. ||3|| When one's mind dies in the Shabad, one radiates faith and confidence, shedding egotism and corruption. O servant Nanak, through the karma of good actions, the treasure of devotional worship and the Name of the Lord are attained. ||4||2||16||36|| Gauree Bairaagan, Third Mehl: The Lord, Har, Har, has ordained that the soul is to stay in her parents' home for only a few short days. Glorious is that soul-bride, who as Gurmukh, sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. She who cultivates virtue in her parents' home, shall obtain a home at her in-laws. The Gurmukhs are intuitively absorbed into the Lord. The Lord is pleasing to their minds. ||1|| Our Husband Lord dwells in this world, and in the world beyond. Tell me, how can He be found? The Immaculate Lord Himself is unseen. He unites us with Himself. ||1||Pause||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 013

God Himself bestows wisdom; meditate on the Name of the Lord. By great good fortune, one meets the True Guru, who places the Ambrosial Nectar in the mouth. When egotism and duality are eradicated, one intuitively merges in peace. He Himself is All-pervading; He Himself links us to His Name. ||2|| The self-willed manmukhs, in their arrogant pride, do not find God; they are so ignorant and foolish! They do not serve the True Guru, and in the end, they regret and repent, over and over again. They are cast into the womb to be reincarnated, and within the womb, they rot. As it pleases my Creator Lord, the self-willed manmukhs wander around lost. ||3|| My Lord God inscribed the full pre-ordained destiny upon the forehead. When one meets the Great and Courageous Guru, one meditates on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. The Lord's Name is my mother and father; the Lord is my relative and brother. O Lord, Har, Har, please forgive me and unite me with Yourself. Servant Nanak is a lowly worm. ||4||3||17||37|| Gauree Bairaagan, Third Mehl: From the True Guru, I obtained spiritual wisdom; I contemplate the Lord's essence. My polluted intellect was enlightened by chanting the Naam, the Name of the Lord. The distinction between Shiva and Shakti - mind and matter - has been destroyed, and the darkness has been dispelled. The Lord's Name is loved by those, upon whose foreheads such pre-ordained destiny was written. ||1|| How can the Lord be obtained, O Saints? Seeing Him, my life is sustained. Without the Lord, I cannot live, even for an instant. Unite me with the Guru, so that I may drink in the sublime essence of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and I listen to them daily; the Lord, Har, Har, has emancipated me. I have obtained the Lord's essence from the Guru; my mind and body are drenched with it. Blessed, blessed is the Guru, the True Being, who has blessed me with devotional worship of the Lord. From the Guru, I have obtained the Lord; I have made Him my Guru. ||2|| The Sovereign Lord is the Giver of virtue. I am worthless and without virtue. The sinners sink like stones; through the Guru's Teachings, the Lord carries us across. You are the Giver of virtue, O Immaculate Lord; I am worthless and without virtue. I have entered Your Sanctuary, Lord; please save me, as You have saved the idiots and fools. ||3|| Eternal celestial bliss comes through the Guru's Teachings, by meditating continually on the Lord, Har, Har. I have obtained the Lord God as my Best Friend, within the home of my own self. I sing the Songs of Joy. Please shower me with Your Mercy, O Lord God, that I may meditate on Your Name, Har, Har. Servant Nanak begs for the dust of the feet of those who have found the True Guru. ||4||4||18||38|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fourth Mehl, Chau-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The Pandit - the religious scholar - recites the Shaastras and the Simritees; the Yogi cries out, "Gorakh, Gorakh". But I am just a fool - I just chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1|| I do not know what my condition shall be, Lord. O my mind, vibrate and meditate on the Name of the Lord. You shall cross over the terrifying world-ocean. ||1||Pause||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 014

The Sannyaasee smears his body with ashes; renouncing other men's women, he practices celibacy. I am just a fool, Lord; I place my hopes in You! ||2|| The Kh'shaatriya acts bravely, and is recognised as a warrior. The Shoodra and the Vaisha work and slave for others; I am just a fool - I am saved by the Lord's Name. ||3|| The entire Universe is Yours; You Yourself permeate and pervade it. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs

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are blessed with glorious greatness. I am blind - I have taken the Lord as my Support. ||4||1||39|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fourth Mehl: The Speech of the Lord is the most sublime speech, free of any attributes. Vibrate on it, meditate on it, and join the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Cross over the terrifying world-ocean, listening to the Unspoken Speech of the Lord. ||1|| O Lord of the Universe, unite me with the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. My tongue savors the sublime essence of the Lord, singing the Lord's Glorious Praises. ||1||Pause|| Those humble beings who meditate on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har - please make me the slave of their slaves, Lord. Serving Your slaves is the ultimate good deed. ||2|| One who chants the Speech of the Lord - that humble servant is pleasing to my conscious mind. Those who are blessed with great good fortune obtain the dust of the feet of the humble. ||3|| Those who are blessed with such pre-ordained destiny are in love with the humble Saints. Those humble beings, O Nanak, are absorbed in the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||4||2||40|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fourth Mehl: The mother loves to see her son eat. The fish loves to bathe in the water. The True Guru loves to place food in the mouth of His GurSikh. ||1|| If only I could meet those humble servants of the Lord, O my Beloved. Meeting with them, my sorrows depart. ||1||Pause|| As the cow shows her love to her strayed calf when she finds it, and as the bride shows her love for her husband when he returns home, so does the Lord's humble servant love to sing the Praises of the Lord. ||2|| The rainbird loves the rainwater, falling in torrents; the king loves to see his wealth on display. The humble servant of the Lord loves to meditate on the Formless Lord. ||3|| The mortal man loves to accumulate wealth and property. The GurSikh loves to meet and embrace the Guru. Servant Nanak loves to kiss the feet of the Holy. ||4||3||41|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fourth Mehl: The beggar loves to receive charity from the wealthy landlord. The hungry person loves to eat food. The GurSikh loves to find satisfaction by meeting the Guru. ||1|| O Lord, grant me the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan; I place my hopes in You, Lord. Shower me with Your Mercy, and fulfill my longing. ||1||Pause|| The song-bird loves the sun shining in her face. Meeting her Beloved, all her pains are left behind. The GurSikh loves to gaze upon the Face of the Guru. ||2|| The calf loves to suck its mother's milk; its heart blossoms forth upon seeing its mother. The GurSikh loves to gaze upon the Face of the Guru. ||3|| All other loves and emotional attachment to Maya are false. They shall pass away, like false and transitory decorations. Servant Nanak is fulfilled, through the Love of the True Guru. ||4||4||42||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 015

Gauree Gwaarayree, Fourth Mehl: Service to the True Guru is fruitful and rewarding; meeting Him, I meditate on the Name of the Lord, the Lord Master. So many are emancipated along with those who meditate on the Lord. ||1|| O GurSikhs, chant the Name of the Lord, O my Siblings of Destiny. Chanting the Lord's Name, all sins are washed away. ||1||Pause|| When one meets the Guru, then the mind becomes centred. The five passions, running wild, are brought to rest by meditating on the Lord. Night and day, within the body-village, the Glorious Praises of the Lord are sung. ||2|| Those who apply the dust of the Feet of the True Guru to their faces, renounce falsehood and enshrine love for the Lord. Their faces are radiant in the Court of the Lord, O Siblings of Destiny. ||3|| Service to the Guru is pleasing to the Lord Himself. Even Krishna and Balbhadar meditated on the Lord, falling at the Guru's Feet. O Nanak, the Lord Himself saves the Gurmukhs. ||4||5||43|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fourth Mehl: The Lord Himself is the Yogi, who wields the staff of authority. The Lord Himself practices tapa - intense self-disciplined meditation; He is deeply absorbed in His primal trance. ||1|| Such is my Lord, who is all-pervading everywhere. He dwells near at hand - the Lord is not far away. ||1||Pause|| The Lord Himself is the Word of the Shabad. He Himself is the awareness, attuned to its music. The Lord Himself beholds, and He Himself blossoms forth. The Lord Himself chants, and the Lord Himself inspires others to chant. ||2|| He Himself is the rainbird, and the Ambrosial Nectar raining down. The Lord is the Ambrosial Nectar; He Himself leads us to drink it in. The Lord Himself is the Doer; He Himself is our Saving Grace. ||3|| The Lord Himself is the Boat, the Raft and the Boatman. The Lord Himself, through the Guru's Teachings, saves us. O Nanak, the Lord Himself carries us across to the other side. ||4||6||44|| Gauree Bairaagan, Fourth Mehl: O Master, You are my Banker. I receive only that capital which You give me. I would purchase the Lord's Name with love, if You Yourself, in Your Mercy, would sell it to me. ||1|| I am the merchant, the peddler of the Lord. I trade in the merchandise and capital of the Lord's Name. ||1||Pause|| I have earned the profit, the wealth of devotional worship of the Lord. I have become pleasing to the Mind of the Lord, the True Banker. I chant and meditate on the Lord, loading the merchandise of the Lord's Name. The Messenger of Death, the tax collector, does not even approach me. ||2|| Those traders who trade in other merchandise, are caught up in the endless waves of the pain of Maya. According to the business in which the Lord has placed them, so are the rewards they obtain. ||3|| People trade in the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, when the God shows His Mercy and bestows it. Servant Nanak serves the Lord, the Banker; he shall never again be called to render his account. ||4||1||7||45|| Gauree Bairaagan, Fourth Mehl: The mother nourishes the fetus in the womb, hoping for a son, who will grow and earn and give her money to enjoy herself. In just the same way, the humble servant of the Lord loves the Lord, who extends His Helping Hand to us. ||1||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 016

O my Lord, I am so foolish; save me, O my Lord God! Your servant's praise is Your Own Glorious Greatness. ||1||Pause|| Those whose minds are pleased by the Praises of the Lord, Har, Har, are joyful in the palaces of their own homes. Their mouths savor all the sweet delicacies when they sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. The Lord's humble servants are the saviors of their families; they save their families for twenty-one generations - they save the entire world! ||2|| Whatever has been done, has been done by the Lord; it is the Glorious Greatness of the Lord. O Lord, in Your creatures, You are pervading; You inspire them to worship You. The Lord leads us to the treasure of devotional worship; He Himself bestows it. ||3|| I am a slave, purchased in Your market; what clever tricks do I have? If the Lord were to set me upon a throne, I would still be His slave. If I were a grass-cutter, I would still chant the Lord's Name. Servant Nanak is the slave of the Lord; contemplate the Glorious Greatness of the Lord||4||2||8||46|| Gauree Bairaagan, Fourth Mehl: The farmers love to work their farms; they plow and work the fields, so that their sons and daughters may eat. In just the same way, the Lord's humble servants chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, and in the end, the Lord shall save them. ||1|| I am foolish - save me, O my Lord! O Lord, enjoin me to work and serve the Guru, the True Guru. ||1||Pause|| The traders buy horses, planning to trade them. They hope to earn wealth; their attachment to Maya increases. In just the same way, the Lord's humble servants chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har; chanting the Lord's Name, they find peace. ||2|| The shop-keepers collect poison, sitting in their shops, carrying on their business. Their love is false, their displays are false, and they are engrossed in falsehood. In just the same way, the Lord's humble servants gather the wealth of the Lord's Name; they take the Lord's Name as their supplies. ||3|| This emotional attachment to Maya and family, and the love of duality, is a noose around the neck. Following the Guru's Teachings, the humble servants are carried across; they become the slaves of the Lord's slaves. Servant Nanak meditates on the Naam; the Gurmukh is enlightened. ||4||3||9||47|| Gauree Bairaagan, Fourth Mehl: Continuously, day and night, they are gripped by greed and deluded by doubt. The slaves labor in slavery, carrying the loads upon their heads. That humble being who serves the Guru is put to work by the Lord in His Home. ||1|| O my Lord, please break these bonds of Maya, and put me to work in Your Home. I continuously sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord; I am absorbed in the Lord's Name. ||1||Pause|| Mortal men work for kings, all for the sake of wealth and Maya. But the king either imprisons them, or fines them, or else dies himself. Blessed, rewarding and fruitful is the service of the True Guru; through it, I chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, and I have found peace. ||2|| Everyday, people carry on their business, with all sorts of devices to earn interest, for the sake of Maya. If they earn a profit, they are pleased, but their hearts are broken by losses. One who is worthy, becomes a partner with the Guru, and finds a lasting peace forever. ||3||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 017

The more one feels hunger for other tastes and pleasures, the more this hunger persists. Those unto whom the Lord Himself shows mercy, sell their head to the Guru. Servant Nanak is satisfied by the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. He shall never feel hungry again. ||4||4||10||48|| Gauree Bairaagan, Fourth Mehl: Within my conscious mind is the constant longing for the Lord. How can I behold the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan, Lord? One who loves the Lord knows this; the Lord is very dear to my conscious mind. I am a sacrifice to my Guru, who has re-united me with my Creator Lord; I was separated from Him for such a long time! ||1|| O my Lord, I am a sinner; I have come to Your Sanctuary, and fallen at Your Door, Lord. My intellect is worthless; I am filthy and polluted. Please shower me with Your Mercy sometime. ||1||Pause|| My demerits are so many and numerous. I have sinned so many times, over and over again. O Lord, they cannot be counted. You, Lord, are the Merciful Treasure of Virtue. When it pleases You, Lord, You forgive me. I am a sinner, saved only by the Company of the Guru. He has bestowed the Teachings of the Lord's Name, which saves me. ||2|| What Glorious Virtues of Yours can I describe, O my True Guru? When the Guru speaks, I am transfixed with wonder. Can anyone else save a sinner like me? The True Guru has protected and saved me. O Guru, You are my father. O Guru, You are my mother. O Guru, You are my relative, companion and friend. ||3|| My condition, O my True Guru - that condition, O Lord, is known only to You. I was rolling around in the dirt, and no one cared for me at all. In the Company of the Guru, the True Guru, I, the worm, have been raised up and exalted. Blessed, blessed is the Guru of servant Nanak; meeting Him, all my sorrows and troubles have come to an end. ||4||5||11||49|| Gauree Bairaagan, Fourth Mehl: The soul of the man is lured by gold and women; emotional attachment to Maya is so sweet to him. The mind has become attached to the pleasures of houses, palaces, horses and other enjoyments. The Lord God does not even enter his thoughts; how can he be saved, O my Lord King? ||1|| O my Lord, these are my lowly actions, O my Lord. O Lord, Har, Har, Treasure of Virtue, Merciful Lord: please bless me with Your Grace and forgive me for all my mistakes. ||1||Pause|| I have no beauty, no social status, no manners. With what face am I to speak? I have no virtue at all; I have not chanted Your Name. I am a sinner, saved only by the Company of the Guru. This is the generous blessing of the True Guru. ||2|| He gave all beings souls, bodies, mouths, noses and water to drink. He gave them corn to eat, clothes to wear, and other pleasures to enjoy. But they do not remember the One who gave them all this. The animals think that they made themselves! ||3|| You made them all; You are all-pervading. You are the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. What can these wretched creatures do? This whole drama is Yours, O Lord and Master. Servant Nanak was purchased in the slave-market. He is the slave of the Lord's slaves. ||4||6||12||50||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 018

Gauree Bairaagan, Fourth Mehl: Just as the mother, having given birth to a son, feeds him and keeps him in her vision - indoors and outdoors, she puts food in his mouth; each and every moment, she caresses him. In just the same way, the True Guru protects His GurSikhs, who love their Beloved Lord. ||1|| O my Lord, we are just the ignorant children of our Lord God. Hail, hail, to the Guru, the Guru, the True Guru, the Divine Teacher who has made me wise through the Lord's Teachings. ||1||Pause|| The white flamingo circles through the sky, but she keeps her young ones in her mind; she has left them behind, but she constantly remembers them in her heart. In just the same way, the True Guru loves His Sikhs. The Lord cherishes His GurSikhs, and keeps them clasped to His Heart. ||2|| Just as the tongue, made of flesh and blood, is protected within the scissors of the thirty-two teeth - who thinks that the power lies in the flesh or the scissors? Everything is in the Power of the Lord. In just the same way, when someone slanders the Saint, the Lord preserves the honour of His servant. ||3|| O Siblings of Destiny, let none think that they have any power. All act as the Lord causes them to act. Old age, death, fever, poisons and snakes - everything is in the Hands of the Lord. Nothing can touch anyone without the Lord's Order. Within your conscious mind, O servant Nanak, meditate forever on the Name of the Lord, who shall deliver you in the end. ||4||7||13||51|| Gauree Bairaagan, Fourth Mehl: Meeting Him, the mind is filled with bliss. He is called the True Guru. Double-mindedness departs, and the supreme status of the Lord is obtained. ||1|| How can I meet my Beloved True Guru? Each and every moment, I humbly bow to Him. How will I meet my Perfect Guru? ||1||Pause|| Granting His Grace, the Lord has led me to meet my Perfect True Guru. The desire of His humble servant has been fulfilled. I have received the dust of the Feet of the True Guru. ||2|| Those who meet the True Guru implant devotional worship to the Lord, and listen to this devotional worship of the Lord. They never suffer any loss; they continually earn the profit of the Lord. ||3|| One whose heart blossoms forth, is not in love with duality. O Nanak, meeting the Guru, one is saved, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||4||8||14||52|| Fourth Mehl, Gauree Poorbee: The Merciful Lord God showered me with His Mercy; with mind and body and mouth, I chant the Lord's Name. As Gurmukh, I have been dyed in the deep and lasting colour of the Lord's Love. The robe of my body is drenched with His Love. ||1|| I am the maid-servant of my Lord God. When my mind surrendered to the Lord, He made all the world my slave. ||1||Pause|| Consider this well, O Saints, O Siblings of Destiny - search your own hearts, seek and find Him there. The Beauty and the Light of the Lord, Har, Har, is present in all. In all places, the Lord dwells near by, close at hand. ||2||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 019

The Lord, Har, Har, dwells close by, all over the world. He is Infinite, All-powerful and Immeasurable. The Perfect Guru has revealed the Lord, Har, Har, to me. I have sold my head to the Guru. ||3|| O Dear Lord, inside and outside, I am in the protection of Your Sanctuary; You are the Greatest of the Great, All-powerful Lord. Servant Nanak sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord, night and day, meeting the Guru, the True Guru, the Divine Intermediary. ||4||1||15||53|| Gauree Poorbee, Fourth Mehl: Life of the World, Infinite Lord and Master, Master of the Universe, All-powerful Architect of Destiny. Whichever way You turn me, O my Lord and Master, that is the way I shall go. ||1|| O Lord, my mind is attuned to the Lord's Love. Joining the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, I have obtained the sublime essence of the Lord.

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I am absorbed in the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| The Lord, Har, Har, and the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is the panacea, the medicine for the world. The Lord, and the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, bring peace and tranquility. Those who partake of the Lord's sublime essence, through the Guru's Teachings - their sins and sufferings are all eliminated. ||2|| Those who have such pre-ordained destiny inscribed on their foreheads, bathe in the pool of contentment of the Guru. The filth of evil-mindedness is totally washed away, from those who are imbued with the Love of the Lord's Name. ||3|| O Lord, You Yourself are Your Own Master, O God. There is no other Giver as Great as You. Servant Nanak lives by the Naam, the Name of the Lord; by the Lord's Mercy, he chants the Lord's Name. ||4||2||16||54|| Gauree Poorbee, Fourth Mehl: Show Mercy to me, O Life of the World, O Great Giver, so that my mind may merge with the Lord. The True Guru has bestowed His most pure and sacred Teachings. Chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, Har, my mind is transfixed and enraptured. ||1|| O Lord, my mind and body have been pierced through by the True Lord. The whole world is caught and held in the mouth of Death. Through the Teachings of the Guru, the True Guru, O Lord, I am saved. ||1||Pause|| Those who are not in love with the Lord are foolish and false - they are faithless cynics. They suffer the most extreme agonies of birth and death; they die over and over again, and they rot away in manure. ||2|| You are the Merciful Cherisher of those who seek Your Sanctuary. I beg of You: please grant me Your gift, Lord. Make me the slave of the Lord's slaves, so that my mind might dance in Your Love. ||3|| He Himself is the Great Banker; God is our Lord and Master. I am His petty merchant. My mind, body and soul are all Your capital assets. You, O God, are the True Banker of servant Nanak. ||4||3||17||55|| Gauree Poorbee, Fourth Mehl: You are Merciful, the Destroyer of all pain. Please give me Your Ear and listen to my prayer. Please unite me with the True Guru, my breath of life; through Him, O my Lord and Master, You are known. ||1|| O Lord, I acknowledge the True Guru as the Supreme Lord God. I am foolish and ignorant, and my intellect is impure. Through the Teachings of the Guru, the True Guru, O Lord, I come to know You. ||1||Pause|| All the pleasures and enjoyments which I have seen - I have found them all to be bland and insipid.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 020

I have tasted the Ambrosial Nectar of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, by meeting the True Guru. It is sweet, like the juice of the sugarcane. ||2|| Those who have not met the Guru, the True Guru, are foolish and insane - they are faithless cynics. Those who were pre-ordained to have no good karma at all - gazing into the lamp of emotional attachment, they are burnt, like moths in a flame. ||3|| Those whom You, in Your Mercy, have met, Lord, are committed to Your Service. Servant Nanak chants the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, Har. He is famous, and through the Guru's Teachings, He merges in the Name. ||4||4||18||56|| Gauree Poorbee, Fourth Mehl: O my mind, God is always with you; He is your Lord and Master. Tell me, where could you run to get away from the Lord? The True Lord God Himself grants forgiveness; we are emancipated only when the Lord Himself emancipates us. ||1|| O my mind, chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, Har - chant it in your mind. Quickly now, run to the Sanctuary of the True Guru, O my mind; following the Guru, the True Guru, you shall be saved. ||1||Pause|| O my mind, serve God, the Giver of all peace; serving Him, you shall come to dwell in your own home deep within. As Gurmukh, go and enter your own home; anoint yourself with the sandalwood oil of the Lord's Praises. ||2|| O my mind, the Praises of the Lord, Har, Har, Har, Har, Har, are exalted and sublime. Earn the profit of the Lord's Name, and let your mind be happy. If the Lord, Har, Har, in His Mercy, bestows it, then we partake of the ambrosial essence of the Lord's Name. ||3|| O my mind, without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and attached to duality, those faithless cynics are strangled by the Messenger of Death. Such faithless cynics, who have forgotten the Naam, are thieves. O my mind, do not even go near them. ||4|| O my mind, serve the Unknowable and Immaculate Lord, the Man-lion; serving Him, your account will be cleared. The Lord God has made servant Nanak perfect; he is not diminished by even the tiniest particle. ||5||5||19||57|| Gauree Poorbee, Fourth Mehl: My breath of life is in Your Power, God; my soul and body are totally Yours. Be merciful to me, and show me the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. There is such a great longing within my mind and body! ||1|| O my Lord, there is such a great longing within my mind and body to meet the Lord. When the Guru, the Merciful Guru, showed just a little mercy to me, my Lord God came and met me. ||1||Pause|| Whatever is in my conscious mind, O Lord and Master - that condition of mine is known only to You, Lord. Night and day, I chant Your Name, and I find peace. I live by placing my hopes in You, Lord. ||2|| The Guru, the True Guru, the Giver, has shown me the Way; my Lord God came and met me. Night and day, I am filled with bliss; by great good fortune, all of the hopes of His humble servant have been fulfilled. ||3|| O Lord of the World, Master of the Universe, everything is under Your control. Servant Nanak has come to Your Sanctuary, Lord; please, preserve the honour of Your humble servant. ||4||6||20||58|| Gauree Poorbee, Fourth Mehl: This mind does not hold still, even for an instant. Distracted by all sorts of distractions, it wanders around aimlessly in the ten directions.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 021

I have found the Perfect Guru, through great good fortune; He has given me the Mantra of the Lord's Name, and my mind has become quiet and tranquil. ||1|| O Lord, I am the slave of the True Guru. ||1||Pause|| My forehead has been branded with His brand; I owe such a great debt to the Guru. He has been so generous and kind to me; He has carried me across the treacherous and terrifying world-ocean. ||2|| Those who do not have love for the Lord within their hearts, harbor only false intentions and goals. As paper breaks down and dissolves in water, the self-willed manmukh wastes away in arrogant pride. ||3|| I know nothing, and I do not know the future; as the Lord keeps me, so do I stand. For my failings and mistakes, O Guru, grant me Your Grace; servant Nanak is Your obedient dog. ||4||7||21||59|| Gauree Poorbee, Fourth Mehl: The body-village is filled to overflowing with sexual desire and anger, which were broken into bits when I met with the Holy Saint. By pre-ordained destiny, I have met with the Guru. I have entered into the realm of the Lord's Love. ||1|| Greet the Holy Saint with your palms pressed together; this is an act of great merit. Bow down before Him; this is a virtuous action indeed. ||1||Pause|| The wicked shaaktas, the faithless cynics, do not know the taste of the Lord's sublime essence. The thorn of egotism is embedded deep within them. The more they walk away, the deeper it sticks into them, and the more they suffer in pain, until finally, the Messenger of Death smashes his club against their heads. ||2|| The humble servants of the Lord are absorbed in the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. The pain of birth and the fear of death are eradicated. They have obtained the Imperishable Supreme Being, the Transcendent Lord God, and they obtain great honour throughout all the worlds and realms. ||3|| I am poor and meek, God, but I am Yours! Save me, please save me, O Greatest of the Great! Servant Nanak takes the Sustenance and Support of the Naam. In the Name of the Lord, he enjoys celestial peace. ||4||8||22||60|| Gauree Poorbee, Fourth Mehl: Within this body-fortress is the Lord, the Sovereign Lord King, but the stubborn ones do not find the taste. When the Lord, Merciful to the meek, showed His Mercy, I found and tasted it, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||1|| Lovingly focused upon the Guru, the Kirtan of the Lord's Praise has become sweet to me. ||1||Pause|| The Lord, the Supreme Lord God, is Inaccessible and Unfathomable. Those who are committed to the True Guru, the Divine Intermediary, meet the Lord. Those whose hearts are pleased with the Guru's Teachings - the Lord's Presence is revealed to them. ||2|| The hearts of the self-willed manmukhs are hard and cruel; their inner beings are dark. Even if the poisonous snake is fed large amounts of milk, it will still yield only poison. ||3|| O Lord God, please unite me with the Holy Guru, so that I might joyfully grind and eat the Shabad. Servant Nanak is the slave of the Guru; in the Sangat, the Holy Congregation, the bitter becomes sweet. ||4||9||23||61|| Gauree Poorbee, Fourth Mehl: For the sake of the Lord, Har, Har, I have sold my body to the Perfect Guru. The True Guru, the Giver, has implanted the Naam, the Name of the Lord, within me. A very blessed and fortunate destiny is recorded upon my forehead. ||1|| Through the Guru's Teachings, I am lovingly centred on the Lord. ||1||Pause||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 022

The All-pervading Sovereign Lord King is contained in each and every heart. Through the Guru, and the Word of the Guru's Shabad, I am lovingly centred on the Lord. Cutting my mind and body into pieces, I offer them to my Guru. The Guru's Teachings have dispelled my doubt and fear. ||2|| In the darkness, the Guru has lit the lamp of the Guru's wisdom; I am lovingly focused on the Lord. The darkness of ignorance has been dispelled, and my mind has been awakened; within the home of my inner being, I have found the genuine article. ||3|| The vicious hunters, the faithless cynics, are hunted down by the Messenger of Death. They have not sold their heads to the True Guru; those wretched, unfortunate ones continue coming and going in reincarnation. ||4|| Hear my prayer, O God, my Lord and Master: I beg for the Sanctuary of the Lord God. Servant Nanak's honour and respect is the Guru; he has sold his head to the True Guru. ||5||10||24||62|| Gauree Poorbee, Fourth Mehl: I am egotistical and conceited, and my intellect is ignorant. Meeting the Guru, my selfishness and conceit have been abolished. The illness of egotism is gone, and I have found peace. Blessed, blessed is the Guru, the Sovereign Lord King. ||1|| I have found the Lord, through the Teachings of the Guru. ||1||Pause|| My heart is filled with love for the Sovereign Lord King; the Guru has shown me the path and the way to find Him. My soul and body all belong to the Guru; I was separated, and He has led me into the Lord's Embrace. ||2|| Deep within myself, I would love to see the Lord; the Guru has inspired me to see Him within my heart. Within my mind, intuitive peace and bliss have arisen; I have sold myself to the Guru. ||3|| I am a sinner - I have committed so many sins; I am a villainous, thieving thief. Now, Nanak has come to the Lord's Sanctuary; preserve my honour, Lord, as it pleases Your Will. ||4||11||25||63|| Gauree Poorbee, Fourth Mehl: Through the Guru's Teachings, the unstruck music resounds; through the Guru's Teachings, the mind sings. By great good fortune, I received the Blessed Vision of the Guru's Darshan. Blessed, blessed is the Guru, who has led me to love the Lord. ||1|| The Gurmukh is lovingly centred on the Lord. ||1||Pause|| My Lord and Master is the Perfect True Guru. My mind works to serve the Guru. I massage and wash the Feet of the Guru, who recites the Sermon of the Lord. ||2|| The Teachings of the Guru are in my heart; the Lord is the Source of nectar. My tongue sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. My mind is immersed in, and drenched with the Lord's essence. Fulfilled with the Lord's Love, I shall never feel hunger again. ||3|| People try all sorts of things, but without the Lord's Mercy, His Name is not obtained. The Lord has showered His Mercy upon servant Nanak; through the wisdom of the Guru's Teachings, he has enshrined the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||4||12||26||64|| Raag Gauree Maajh, Fourth Mehl: O my soul, as Gurmukh, do this deed: chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Make that teaching your mother, that it may teach you to keep the Lord's Name in your mouth. Let contentment be your father; the Guru is the Primal Being, beyond 317

birth or incarnation.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 023

By great good fortune, you shall meet with the Lord. ||1|| I have met the Guru, the Yogi, the Primal Being; I am delighted with His Love. The Guru is imbued with the Love of the Lord; He dwells forever in Nirvaanaa. By great good fortune, I met the most accomplished and all-knowing Lord. My mind and body are drenched in the Love of the Lord. ||2|| Come, O Saints - let's meet together and chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord. In the Sangat, the Holy Congregation, let's earn the lasting profit of the Naam. Let's serve the Saints, and drink in the Ambrosial Nectar. By one's karma and pre-ordained destiny, they are met. ||3|| In the month of Saawan, the clouds of Ambrosial Nectar hang over the world. The peacock of the mind chirps, and receives the Word of the Shabad, in its mouth; the Ambrosial Nectar of the Lord rains down, and the Sovereign Lord King is met. Servant Nanak is imbued with the Love of the Lord. ||4||1||27||65|| Gauree Maajh, Fourth Mehl: Come, O sisters - let's make virtue our charms. Let's join the Saints, and enjoy the pleasure of the Lord's Love. The lamp of the Guru's spiritual wisdom burns steadily in my mind. The Lord, being pleased and moved by pity, has led me to meet Him. ||1|| My mind and body are filled with love for my Darling Lord. The True Guru, the Divine Intermediary, has united me with my Friend. I offer my mind to the Guru, who has led me to meet my God. I am forever a sacrifice to the Lord. ||2|| Dwell, O my Beloved, dwell, O my Lord of the Universe; O Lord, show mercy to me and come to dwell within my mind. I have obtained the fruits of my mind's desires, O my Lord of the Universe; I am transfixed with ecstasy, gazing upon the Perfect Guru. The happy soul-brides receive the Lord's Name, O my Lord of the Universe; night and day, their minds are blissful and happy. By great good fortune, the Lord is found, O my Lord of the Universe; earning profit continually, the mind laughs with joy. ||3|| The Lord Himself creates, and the Lord Himself beholds; the Lord Himself assigns all to their tasks. Some partake of the bounty of the Lord's favor, which never runs out, while others receive only a handful. Some sit upon thrones as kings, and enjoy constant pleasures, while others must beg for charity. The Word of the Shabad is pervading in everyone, O my Lord of the Universe; servant Nanak meditates on the Naam. ||4||2||28||66|| Gauree Maajh, Fourth Mehl: From within my mind, from within my mind, O my Lord of the Universe, I am imbued with the Love of the Lord, from within my mind. The Lord's Love is with me, but it cannot be seen, O my Lord of the Universe; the Perfect Guru has led me to see the unseen. He has revealed the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, O my Lord of the Universe; all poverty and pain have departed. I have obtained the supreme status of the Lord, O my Lord of the Universe; by great good fortune, I am absorbed in the Naam. ||1|| With his eyes, O my Beloved, with his eyes, O my Lord of the Universe - has anyone ever seen the Lord God with his eyes? My mind and body are sad and depressed, O my Lord of the Universe; without her Husband Lord, the soul-bride is withering away.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 024

Meeting the Saints, O my Lord of the Universe, I have found my Lord God, my Companion, my Best Friend. The Lord, the Life of the World, has come to meet me, O my Lord of the Universe. The night of my life now passes in peace. ||2|| O Saints, unite me with my Lord God, my Best Friend; my mind and body are hungry for Him. I cannot survive without seeing my Beloved; deep within, I feel the pain of separation

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from the Lord. The Sovereign Lord King is my Beloved, my Best Friend. Through the Guru, I have met Him, and my mind has been rejuvenated. The hopes of my mind and body have been fulfilled, O my Lord of the Universe; meeting the Lord, my mind vibrates with joy. ||3|| A sacrifice, O my Lord of the Universe, a sacrifice, O my Beloved; I am forever a sacrifice to You. My mind and body are filled with love for my Husband Lord; O my Lord of the Universe, please preserve my assets. Unite me with the True Guru, Your Advisor, O my Lord of the Universe; through His guidance, He shall lead me to the Lord. I have obtained the Lord's Name, by Your Mercy, O my Lord of the Universe; servant Nanak has entered Your Sanctuary. ||4||3||29||67|| Gauree Maajh, Fourth Mehl: Playful is my Lord of the Universe; playful is my Beloved. My Lord God is wondrous and playful. The Lord Himself created Krishna, O my Lord of the Universe; the Lord Himself is the milkmaids who seek Him. The Lord Himself enjoys every heart, O my Lord of the Universe; He Himself is the Ravisher and the Enjoyer. The Lord is All-knowing - He cannot be fooled, O my Lord of the Universe. He is the True Guru, the Yogi. ||1|| He Himself created the world, O my Lord of the Universe; the Lord Himself plays in so many ways! Some enjoy enjoyments, O my Lord of the Universe, while others wander around naked, the poorest of the poor. He Himself created the world, O my Lord of the Universe; the Lord gives His gifts to all who beg for them. His devotees have the Support of the Naam, O my Lord of the Universe; they beg for the sublime sermon of the Lord. ||2|| The Lord Himself inspires His devotees to worship Him, O my Lord of the Universe; the Lord fulfills the desires of the minds of His devotees. He Himself is permeating and pervading the waters and the lands, O my Lord of the Universe; He is All-pervading - He is not far away. The Lord Himself is within the self, and outside as well, O my Lord of the Universe; the Lord Himself is fully pervading everywhere. The Lord, the Supreme Soul, is diffused everywhere, O my Lord of the Universe. The Lord Himself beholds all; His Immanent Presence is pervading everywhere. ||3|| O Lord, the music of the praanic wind is deep within, O my Lord of the Universe; as the Lord Himself plays this music, so does it vibrate and resound. O Lord, the treasure of the Naam is deep within, O my Lord of the Universe; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the Lord God is revealed. He Himself leads us to enter His Sanctuary, O my Lord of the Universe; the Lord preserves the honour of His devotees.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 025

By great good fortune, one joins the Sangat, the Holy Congregation, O my Lord of the Universe; O servant Nanak, through the Naam, one's affairs are resolved. ||4||4||30||68|| Gauree Maajh, Fourth Mehl: The Lord has implanted a longing for the Lord's Name within me. I have met the Lord God, my Best Friend, and I have found peace. Beholding my Lord God, I live, O my mother. The Lord's Name is my Friend and Brother. ||1|| O Dear Saints, sing the Glorious Praises of my Lord God. As Gurmukh, chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord, O very fortunate ones. The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is my soul and my breath of life. I shall never again have to cross over the terrifying world-ocean. ||2|| How shall I behold my Lord God? My mind and body yearn for Him. Unite me with the Lord, Dear Saints; my mind is in love with Him. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, I have found the Sovereign Lord, my Beloved. O very fortunate ones, chant the Name of the Lord. ||3|| Within my mind and body, there is such a great longing for God, the Lord of the Universe. Unite me with the Lord, Dear Saints. God, the Lord of the Universe, is so close to me. Through the Teachings of the True Guru, the Naam is always revealed; the desires of servant Nanak's mind have been fulfilled. ||4||5||31||69|| Gauree Maajh, Fourth Mehl: If I receive my Love, the Naam, then I live. In the temple of the mind, is the Ambrosial Nectar of the Lord; through the Guru's Teachings, we drink it in. My mind is drenched with the Love of the Lord. I continually drink in the sublime essence of the Lord. I have found the Lord within my mind, and so I live. ||1|| The arrow of the Lord's Love has pierced by mind and body. The Lord, the Primal Being, is All-knowing; He is my Beloved and my Best Friend. The Saintly Guru has united me with the All-knowing and All-seeing Lord. I am a sacrifice to the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||2|| I seek my Lord, Har, Har, my Intimate, my Best Friend. Show me the way to the Lord, Dear Saints; I am searching all over for Him. The Kind and Compassionate True Guru has shown me the Way, and I have found the Lord. Through the Name of the Lord, I am absorbed in the Naam. ||3|| I am consumed with the pain of separation from the Love of the Lord. The Guru has fulfilled my desire, and I have received the Ambrosial Nectar in my mouth. The Lord has become merciful, and now I meditate on the Name of the Lord. Servant Nanak has obtained the sublime essence of the Lord. ||4||6||20||18||32||70|| Fifth Mehl, Raag Gauree Gwaarayree, Chau-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: How can happiness be found, O my Siblings of Destiny? How can the Lord, our Help and Support, be found? ||1||Pause|| There is no happiness in owning one's own home, in all of Maya, or in lofty mansions casting beautiful shadows. In fraud and greed, this human life is being wasted. ||1||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 026

He is pleased at the sight of his elephants and horses and his armies assembled, his servants and his soldiers. But the noose of egotism is tightening around his neck. ||2|| His rule may extend in all ten directions; he may revel in pleasures, and enjoy many women - but he is just a beggar, who in his dream, is a king. ||3|| The True Guru has shown me that there is only one pleasure. Whatever the Lord does, is pleasing to the Lord's devotee. Servant Nanak has abolished his ego, and he is absorbed in the Lord. ||4|| This is the way to find happiness, O my Siblings of Destiny. This is the way to find the Lord, our Help and Support. ||1||Second Pause|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fifth Mehl: Why do you doubt? What do you doubt? God is pervading the water, the land and the sky. The Gurmukhs are saved, while the self-willed manmukhs lose their honour. ||1|| One who is protected by the Merciful Lord - no one else can rival him. ||1||Pause|| The Infinite One is pervading among all. So sleep in peace, and don't worry. He knows everything which happens. ||2|| The self-willed manmukhs are dying in the thirst of duality. They wander lost through countless incarnations; this is their pre-ordained destiny. As they plant, so shall they harvest. ||3|| Beholding the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan, my mind has blossomed forth. And now everywhere I look, God is revealed to me. Servant Nanak's hopes have been fulfilled by the Lord. ||4||2||71|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fifth Mehl: In so many incarnations, you were a worm and an insect; in so many incarnations, you were an elephant, a fish and a deer. In so many incarnations, you were a bird and a snake. In so many incarnations, you were yoked as an ox and a horse. ||1|| Meet the Lord of the Universe - now is the time to meet Him. After so very long, this human body was fashioned for you. ||1||Pause|| In so many incarnations, you were rocks and mountains; in so many incarnations, you were aborted in the womb; in so many incarnations, you developed branches and leaves; you wandered through 8.4 million incarnations. ||2|| Through the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, you obtained this human life. Do seva - selfless service; follow the Guru's Teachings, and vibrate the Lord's Name, Har, Har. Abandon pride, falsehood and arrogance. Remain dead while yet alive, and you shall be welcomed in the Court of the Lord. ||3|| Whatever has been, and whatever shall be, comes from You, Lord. No one else can do anything at all. We are united with You, when You unite us with Yourself. Says Nanak, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, Har, Har. ||4||3||72|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fifth Mehl: In the field of karma, plant the seed of the Naam. Your works shall be brought to fruition. You shall obtain these fruits, and the fear of death shall be dispelled. Sing continually the Glorious Praises of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1|| Keep the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, enshrined in your heart, and your affairs shall be quickly resolved. ||1||Pause|| Be always attentive to your God; thus you shall be honoured in His Court.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 027

Give up all your clever tricks and devices, and hold tight to the Feet of the Saints. ||2|| The One, who holds all creatures in His Hands, is never separated from them; He is with them all. Abandon your clever devices, and grasp hold of His Support. In an instant, you shall be saved. ||3|| Know that He is always near at hand. Accept the Order of God as True. Through the Guru's Teachings, eradicate selfishness and conceit. O Nanak, chant and meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||4||4||73|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fifth Mehl: The Guru's Word is eternal and everlasting. The Guru's Word cuts away the noose of Death. The Guru's Word is always with the soul. Through the Guru's Word, one is immersed in the Love of the Lord. ||1|| Whatever the Guru gives, is useful to the mind. Whatever the Saint does - accept that as True. ||1||Pause|| The Guru's Word is infallible and unchanging. Through the Guru's Word, doubt and prejudice are dispelled. The Guru's Word never goes away; through the Guru's Word, we sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||2|| The Guru's Word accompanies the soul. The Guru's Word is the Master of the masterless. The Guru's Word saves one from falling into hell. Through the Guru's Word, the tongue savors the Ambrosial Nectar. ||3|| The Guru's Word is revealed in the world. Through the Guru's Word, no one suffers defeat. O Nanak, the True Guru is always kind and compassionate, unto those whom the Lord Himself has blessed with His Mercy. ||4||5||74|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fifth Mehl: He makes jewels out of the dust, and He managed to preserve you in the womb. He has given you fame and greatness; meditate on that God, twenty-four hours a day. ||1|| O Lord, I seek the dust of the feet of the Holy. Meeting the Guru, I meditate on my Lord and Master. ||1||Pause|| He transformed me, the fool, into a fine speaker, and He made the unconscious become conscious; by His Grace, I have obtained the nine treasures. May I never forget that God from my mind. ||2|| He has given a home to the homeless; He has given honour to the dishonoured. He has fulfilled all desires; remember Him in meditation, day and night, with every breath and every morsel of food. ||3|| By His Grace, the bonds of Maya are cut away. By Guru's Grace, the bitter poison has become Ambrosial Nectar. Says Nanak, I cannot do anything; I praise the Lord, the Protector. ||4||6||75|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fifth Mehl: In His Sanctuary, there is no fear or sorrow. Without Him, nothing at all can be done. I have renounced clever tricks, power and intellectual corruption. God is the Protector of His servant. ||1|| Meditate, O my mind, on the Lord, Raam, Raam, with love. Within your home, and beyond it, He is always with you. ||1||Pause|| Keep His Support in your mind.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 028

Taste the ambrosial essence, the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Of what use are other efforts? Showing His Mercy, the Lord Himself protects our honour. ||2|| What is the human? What power does he have? All the tumult of Maya is false. Our Lord and Master is the One who acts, and causes others to act. He is the Inner-knower, the Searcher of all hearts. ||3|| Of all comforts, this is the true comfort. Keep the Guru's Teachings in your mind. Those who bear love for the Name of the Lord - says Nanak, they are blessed, and very fortunate. ||4||7||76|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fifth Mehl: Listening to the Lord's sermon, my pollution has been washed away. I have become totally pure, and I now walk in peace. By great good fortune, I found the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; I have fallen in love with the Supreme Lord God. ||1|| Chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, His servant has been carried across. The Guru has lifted me up and carried me across the ocean of fire. ||1||Pause|| Singing the Kirtan of His Praises, my mind has become peaceful; the sins of countless incarnations have been washed away. I have seen all the treasures within my own mind; why should I now go out searching for them? ||2|| When God Himself becomes merciful, the work of His servant becomes perfect. He has cut away my bonds, and made me His slave. Remember, remember, remember Him in meditation; He is the treasure of excellence. ||3|| He alone is in the mind; He alone is everywhere. The Perfect Lord is totally permeating and pervading everywhere. The Perfect Guru has dispelled all doubts. Remembering the Lord in meditation, Nanak has found peace. ||4||8||77|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fifth Mehl: Those who have died have been forgotten. Those who survive have fastened their belts. They are busily occupied in their affairs; they cling twice as hard to Maya. ||1|| No one thinks of the time of death; people grasp to hold that which shall pass away. ||1||Pause|| The fools - their bodies are bound down by desires. They are mired in sexual desire, anger and attachment; the Righteous Judge of Dharma stands over their heads. Believing it to be sweet, the fools eat poison. ||2|| They say, "I shall tie up my enemy, and I shall cut him down. Who dares to set foot upon my land? I am learned, I am clever and wise." The ignorant ones do not recognise their Creator. ||3|| The Lord Himself knows His Own state and condition. What can anyone say? How can anyone describe Him? Whatever He attaches us to - to that we are attached. Everyone begs for their own good. ||4|| Everything is Yours; You are the Creator Lord. You have no end or limitation. Please give this gift to Your servant, that Nanak might never forget the Naam. ||5||9||78|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fifth Mehl: By all sorts of efforts, people do not find salvation. Through clever tricks, the weight is only piled on more and more. Serving the Lord with a pure heart, you shall be received with honour at God's Court. ||1||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 029

O my mind, hold tight to the Support of the Lord's Name. The hot winds shall never even touch you. ||1||Pause|| Like a boat in the ocean of fear; like a lamp which illumines the darkness; like fire which takes away the pain of cold - just so, chanting the Name, the mind becomes peaceful. ||2|| The thirst of your mind shall be quenched, and all hopes shall be fulfilled. Your consciousness shall not waver. Meditate on the Ambrosial Naam as Gurmukh, O my friend. ||3|| He alone receives the panacea, the medicine of the Naam, unto whom the Lord, in His Grace, bestows it. One whose heart is filled with the Name of the Lord, Har, Har - O Nanak, his pains and sorrows are eliminated. ||4||10||79|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fifth Mehl: Even with vast sums of wealth, the mind is not satisfied. Gazing upon countless beauties, the man is not satisfied. He is so involved with his wife and sons - he believes that they belong to him. That wealth shall pass away, and those relatives shall be reduced to ashes. ||1|| Without meditating and vibrating on the Lord, they are crying out in pain. Their bodies are cursed, and their wealth is cursed - they are imbued with Maya. ||1||Pause|| The servant carries the bags of money on his head, but it goes to his master's house, and he receives only pain. The man sits as a king in his dreams, but when he opens his eyes, he sees that it was all in vain. ||2|| The watchman oversees the field of another, but the field belongs to his master, while he must get up and depart. He works so hard, and suffers for that field, but still, nothing comes into his hands. ||3|| The dream is His, and the kingdom is His; He who has given the wealth of Maya, has infused the

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desire for it. He Himself annihilates, and He Himself restores. Nanak offers this prayer to God. ||4||11||80|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fifth Mehl: I have gazed upon the many forms of Maya, in so many ways. With pen and paper, I have written clever things. I have seen what it is to be a chief, a king, and an emperor, but they do not satisfy the mind. ||1|| Show me that peace, O Saints, which will quench my thirst and satisfy my mind. ||1||Pause|| You may have horses as fast as the wind, elephants to ride on, sandalwood oil, and beautiful women in bed, actors in dramas, singing in theaters - but even with them, the mind does not find contentment. ||2|| You may have a throne at the royal court, with beautiful decorations and soft carpets, all sorts of luscious fruits and beautiful gardens, the excitement of the chase and princely pleasures - but still, the mind is not made happy by such illusory diversions. ||3|| In their kindness, the Saints have told me of the True One, and so I have obtained all comforts and joy. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I sing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises. Says Nanak, through great good fortune, I have found this. ||4|| One who obtains the wealth of the Lord becomes happy. By God's Grace, I have joined the Saadh Sangat. ||1||Second Pause||12||81|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fifth Mehl:

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The mortal claims this body as his own. Again and again, he clings to it. He is entangled with his children, his wife and household affairs. He cannot be the slave of the Lord. ||1|| What is that way, by which the Lord's Praises might be sung? What is that intellect, by which this person might swim across, O mother? ||1||Pause|| That which is for his own good, he thinks is evil. If someone tells him the truth, he looks upon that as poison. He cannot tell victory from defeat. This is the way of life in the world of the faithless cynic. ||2|| The demented fool drinks in the deadly poison, while he believes the Ambrosial Naam to be bitter. He does not even approach the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; he wanders lost through 8.4 million incarnations. ||3|| The birds are caught in the net of Maya; immersed in the pleasures of love, they frolic in so many ways. Says Nanak, the Perfect Guru has cut away the noose from those, unto whom the Lord has shown His Mercy. ||4||13||82|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fifth Mehl: By Your Grace, we find the Way. By God's Grace, we meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. By God's Grace, we are released from our bondage. By Your Grace, egotism is eradicated. ||1|| As You assign me, so I take to Your service. By myself, I cannot do anything at all, O Divine Lord. ||1||Pause|| If it pleases You, then I sing the Word of Your Bani. If it pleases You, then I speak the Truth. If it pleases You, then the True Guru showers His Mercy upon me. All peace comes by Your Kindness, God. ||2|| Whatever pleases You is a pure action of karma. Whatever pleases You is the true faith of Dharma. The treasure of all excellence is with You. Your servant prays to You, O Lord and Master. ||3|| The mind and body become immaculate through the Lord's Love. All peace is found in the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. My mind remains attuned to Your Name; Nanak affirms this as his greatest pleasure. ||4||14||83|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fifth Mehl: You may taste the other flavors, but your thirst shall not depart, even for an instant. But when you taste the sweet flavor the the Lord's sublime essence - upon tasting it, you shall be wonder-struck and amazed. ||1|| O dear beloved tongue, drink in the Ambrosial Nectar. Imbued with this sublime essence, you shall be satisfied. ||1||Pause|| O tongue, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Each and every moment, meditate on the Lord, Har, Har, Har. Do not listen to any other, and do not go anywhere else. By great good fortune, you shall find the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||2|| Twenty-four hours a day, O tongue, dwell upon God, the Unfathomable, Supreme Lord and Master. Here and hereafter, you shall be happy forever. Chanting the Glorious Praises of the Lord, O tongue, you shall become priceless. ||3|| All the vegetation will blossom forth for you, flowering in fruition; imbued with this sublime essence, you shall never leave it again. No other sweet and tasty flavors can compare to it. Says Nanak, the Guru has become my Support. ||4||15||84|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fifth Mehl: The mind is the temple, and the body is the fence built around it.

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The infinite substance is within it. Within it, the great merchant is said to dwell. Who is the trader who deals there? ||1|| How rare is that trader who deals in the jewel of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. He takes the Ambrosial Nectar as his food. ||1||Pause|| He dedicates his mind and body to serving the Lord. How can we please the Lord? I fall at His Feet, and I renounce all sense of 'mine and yours'. Who can settle this bargain? ||2|| How can I attain the Mansion of the Lord's Presence? How can I get Him to call me inside? You are the Great Merchant; You have millions of traders. Who is the benefactor? Who can take me to Him? ||3|| Seeking and searching, I have found my own home, deep within my own being. The True Lord has shown me the priceless jewel. When the Great Merchant shows His Mercy, He blends us into Himself. Says Nanak, place your faith in the Guru. ||4||16||85|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl, Gwaarayree: Night and day, they remain in the Love of the One. They know that God is always with them. They make the Name of their Lord and Master their way of life; they are satisfied and fulfilled with the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan. ||1|| Imbued with the Love of the Lord, their minds and bodies are rejuvenated, entering the Sanctuary of the Perfect Guru. ||1||Pause|| The Lord's Lotus Feet are the Support of the soul. They see only the One, and obey His Order. There is only one trade, and one occupation. They know no other than the Formless Lord. ||2|| They are free of both pleasure and pain. They remain unattached, joined to the Lord's Way. They are seen among all, and yet they are distinct from all. They focus their meditation on the Supreme Lord God. ||3|| How can I describe the Glories of the Saints? Their knowledge is unfathomable; their limits cannot be known. O Supreme Lord God, please shower Your Mercy upon me. Bless Nanak with the dust of the feet of the Saints. ||4||17||86|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fifth Mehl: You are my Companion; You are my Best Friend. You are my Beloved; I am in love with You. You are my honour; You are my decoration. Without You, I cannot survive, even for an instant. ||1|| You are my Intimate Beloved, You are my breath of life. You are my Lord and Master; You are my Leader. ||1||Pause|| As You keep me, so do I survive. Whatever You say, that is what I do. Wherever I look, there I see You dwelling. O my Fearless Lord, with my tongue, I chant Your Name. ||2|| You are my nine treasures, You are my storehouse. I am imbued with Your Love; You are the Support of my mind. You are my Glory; I am blended with You. You are my Shelter; You are my Anchoring Support. ||3|| Deep within my mind and body, I meditate on You. I have obtained Your secret from the Guru. Through the True Guru, the One and only Lord was implanted within me; servant Nanak has taken to the Support of the Lord, Har, Har, Har. ||4||18||87|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fifth Mehl:

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It torments us with the expression of pleasure and pain. It torments us through incarnations in heaven and hell. It is seen to afflict the rich, the poor and the glorious. The source of this illness which torments us is greed. ||1|| Maya torments us in so many ways. But the Saints live under Your Protection, God. ||1||Pause|| It torments us through intoxication with intellectual pride. It torments us through the love of children and spouse. It torments us through elephants, horses and beautiful clothes. It torments us through the intoxication of wine and the beauty of youth. ||2|| It torments landlords, paupers and lovers of pleasure. It torments us through the sweet sounds of music and parties. It torments us through beautiful beds, palaces and decorations. It torments us through the darkness of the five evil passions. ||3|| It torments those who act, entangled in ego. It torments us through household affairs, and it torments us in renunciation. It torments us through character, lifestyle and social status. It torments us through everything, except for those who are imbued with the Love of the Lord. ||4|| The Sovereign Lord King has cut away the bonds of His Saints. How can Maya torment them? Says Nanak, Maya does not draw near those who have obtained the dust of the feet of the Saints. ||5||19||88|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fifth Mehl: The eyes are asleep in corruption, gazing upon the beauty of another. The ears are asleep, listening to slanderous stories. The tongue is asleep, in its desire for sweet flavors. The mind is asleep, fascinated by Maya. ||1|| Those who remain awake in this house are very rare; by doing so, they receive the whole thing. ||1||Pause|| All of my companions are intoxicated with their sensory pleasures; they do not know how to guard their own home. The five thieves have plundered them; the thugs descend upon the unguarded village. ||2|| Our mothers and fathers cannot save us from them; friends and brothers cannot protect us from them - they cannot be restrained by wealth or cleverness. Only through the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, can those villains be brought under control. ||3|| Have Mercy upon me, O Lord, Sustainer of the world. The dust of the feet of the Saints is all the treasure I need. In the Company of the True Guru, one's investment remains intact. Nanak is awake to the Love of the Supreme Lord. ||4|| He alone is awake, unto whom God shows His Mercy. This investment, wealth and property shall remain intact. ||1||Second Pause||20||89|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fifth Mehl: Kings and emperors are under His Power. The whole world is under His Power. Everything is done by His doing; other than Him, there is nothing at all. ||1|| Offer your prayers to your True Guru; He will resolve your affairs. ||1||Pause|| The Darbaar of His Court is the most exalted of all. His Name is the Support of all His devotees. The Perfect Master is pervading everywhere. His Glory is manifest in each and every heart. ||2|| Remembering Him in meditation, the home of sorrow is abolished. Remembering Him in meditation, the Messenger of Death shall not touch you. Remembering Him in meditation, the dry branches become green again.

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Remembering Him in meditation, sinking stones are made to float. ||3|| I salute and applaud the Society of the Saints. The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is the Support of the breath of life of His servant. Says Nanak, the Lord has heard my prayer; by the Grace of the Saints, I dwell in the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||4||21||90|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fifth Mehl: By the Blessed Vision of the True Guru's Darshan, the fire of desire is quenched. Meeting the True Guru, egotism is subdued. In the Company of the True Guru, the mind does not waver. The Gurmukh speaks the Ambrosial Word of Gurbani. ||1|| He sees the True One pervading the whole world; he is imbued with the True One. I have become cool and tranquil, knowing God, through the Guru. ||1||Pause|| By the Grace of the Saints, one chants the Lord's Name. By the Grace of the Saints, one sings the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises. By the Grace of the Saints, all pains are erased. By the Grace of the Saints, one is released from bondage. ||2|| By the kind Mercy of the Saints, emotional attachment and doubt are removed. Taking a bath in the dust of the feet of the Holy - this is true Dharmic faith. By the kindness of the Holy, the Lord of the Universe becomes merciful. The life of my soul is with the Holy. ||3|| Meditating on the Merciful Lord, the Treasure of Mercy, I have obtained a seat in the Saadh Sangat. I am worthless, but God has been kind to me. In the Saadh Sangat, Nanak has taken to the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||4||22||91|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fifth Mehl: In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I meditate on the Lord God. The Guru has given me the Mantra of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Shedding my ego, I have become free of hate. Twenty-four hours a day, I worship the Guru's Feet. ||1|| Now, my evil sense of alienation is eliminated, since I have heard the Praises of the Lord with my ears. ||1||Pause|| The Savior Lord is the treasure of intuitive peace, poise and bliss. He shall save me in the end. My pains, sufferings, fears and doubts have been erased. He has mercifully saved me from coming and going in reincarnation. ||2|| He Himself beholds, speaks and hears all. O my mind, meditate on the One who is always with you. By the Grace of the Saints, the Light has dawned. The One Lord, the Treasure of Excellence, is perfectly pervading everywhere. ||3|| Pure are those who speak, and sanctified are those who hear and sing, forever and ever, the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe. Says Nanak, when the Lord bestows His Mercy, all one's efforts are fulfilled. ||4||23||92|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fifth Mehl: He breaks our bonds, and inspires us to chant the Lord's Name. With the mind centred in meditation on the True Lord, anguish is eradicated, and one comes to dwell in peace. Such is the True Guru, the Great Giver. ||1|| He alone is the Giver of peace, who inspires us to chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord. By His Grace, He leads us to merge with Him. ||1||Pause|| He unites with Himself those unto whom He has shown His Mercy. All treasures are received from the Guru. Renouncing selfishness and conceit, coming and going come to an end. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, the Supreme Lord God is recognised. ||2|| God has become merciful to His humble servant.

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The One Lord of the Universe is the Support of His humble servants. They love the One Lord; their minds are filled with love for the Lord. The Name of the Lord is all treasures for them. ||3|| They are in love with the Supreme Lord God; their actions are pure, and their lifestyle is true. The Perfect Guru has dispelled the darkness. Nanak's God is Incomparable and Infinite. ||4||24||93|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fifth Mehl: Those whose minds are filled with the Lord, swim across. Those who have the blessing of good karma, meet with the Lord. Pain, disease and fear do not affect them at all. They meditate on the Ambrosial Name of the Lord within their hearts. ||1|| Meditate on the Supreme Lord God, the Transcendent Lord. From the Perfect Guru, this understanding is obtained. ||1||Pause|| The Merciful Lord is the Doer, the Cause of causes. He cherishes and nurtures all beings and creatures. He is Inaccessible, Incomprehensible, Eternal and Infinite. Meditate on Him, O my mind, through the Teachings of the Perfect Guru. ||2|| Serving Him, all treasures are obtained. Worshipping God, honour is obtained. Working for Him is never in vain; forever and ever, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||3|| Show Mercy to me, O God, O Searcher of hearts. The Unseen Lord and Master is the Treasure of Peace. All beings and creatures seek Your Sanctuary; Nanak is blessed to receive the greatness of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||4||25||94|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fifth Mehl: Our way of life is in His Hands; remember Him, the Master of the masterless. When God comes to mind, all pains depart. All fears are dispelled through the Name of the Lord. ||1|| Why do you fear any other than the Lord? Forgetting the Lord, why do you pretend to be at peace? ||1||Pause|| He established the many worlds and skies. The soul is illumined with His Light; no one can revoke His Blessing. Meditate, meditate in remembrance on God, and become fearless. ||2|| Twenty-four hours a day, meditate in remembrance on God's Name. In it are the many sacred shrines of pilgrimage and cleansing baths. Seek the

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Sanctuary of the Supreme Lord God. Millions of mistakes shall be erased in an instant. ||3|| The Perfect King is self-sufficient. God's servant has true faith in Him. Giving him His Hand, the Perfect Guru protects him. O Nanak, the Supreme Lord God is All-powerful. ||4||26||95|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fifth Mehl: By Guru's Grace, my mind is attached to the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Asleep for so many incarnations, it is now awakened. I chant the Ambrosial Bani, the Glorious Praises of God. The Pure Teachings of the Perfect Guru have been revealed to me. ||1|| Meditating in remembrance on God, I have found total peace. Within my home, and outside as well, there is peace and poise all around. ||1||Pause|| I have recognised the One who created me. Showing His Mercy, God has blended me with Himself. Taking me by the arm, He has made me His Own. I continually chant and meditate on the Sermon of the Lord, Har, Har. ||2|| Mantras, tantras, all-curing medicines and acts of atonement,

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are all in the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, the Support of the soul and the breath of life. I have obtained the true wealth of the Lord's Love. I have crossed over the treacherous world-ocean in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||3|| Sit in peace, O Saints, with the family of friends. Earn the wealth of the Lord, which is beyond estimation. He alone obtains it, unto whom the Guru has bestowed it. O Nanak, no one shall go away empty-handed. ||4||27||96|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fifth Mehl: The hands are sanctified instantly, and the entanglements of Maya are dispelled. Repeat constantly with your tongue the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and you shall find peace, O my friends, O Siblings of Destiny. ||1|| With pen and ink, write upon your paper the Name of the Lord, the Ambrosial Word of the Lord's Bani. ||1||Pause|| By this act, your sins shall be washed away. Remembering the Lord in meditation, you shall not be punished by the Messenger of Death. The couriers of the Righteous Judge of Dharma shall not touch you. The intoxication of Maya shall not entice you at all. ||2|| You shall be redeemed, and through you, the whole world shall be saved, if you chant the Name of the One and Only Lord. Practice this yourself, and teach others; instill the Lord's Name in your heart. ||3|| That person, who has this treasure upon his forehead - that person meditates on God. Twenty-four hours a day, chant the Glorious Praises of the Lord, Har, Har. Says Nanak, I am a sacrifice to Him. ||4||28||97|| Raag Gauree Gwaarayree, Fifth Mehl, Chau-Padas, Du-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: That which belongs to another - he claims as his own. That which he must abandon - to that, his mind is attracted. ||1|| Tell me, how can he meet the Lord of the World? That which is forbidden - with that, he is in love. ||1||Pause|| That which is false - he deems as true. That which is true - his mind is not attached to that at all. ||2|| He takes the crooked path of the unrighteous way; leaving the straight and narrow path, he weaves his way backwards. ||3|| God is the Lord and Master of both worlds. He, whom the Lord unites with Himself, O Nanak, is liberated. ||4||29||98|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fifth Mehl: In the Dark Age of Kali Yuga, they come together through destiny. As long as the Lord commands, they enjoy their pleasures. ||1|| By burning oneself, the Beloved Lord is not obtained. Only by the actions of destiny does she rise up and burn herself, as a 'satee'. ||1||Pause|| Imitating what she sees, with her stubborn mind-set, she goes into the fire. She does not obtain the Company of her Beloved Lord, and she wanders through countless incarnations. ||2|| With pure conduct and self-restraint, she surrenders to her Husband Lord's Will; that woman shall not suffer pain at the hands of the Messenger of Death. ||3|| Says Nanak, she who looks upon the Transcendent Lord as her Husband, is the blessed 'satee'; she is received with honour in the Court of the Lord. ||4||30||99|| Gauree Gwaarayree, Fifth Mehl: I am prosperous and fortunate, for I have received the True Name. I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, with natural, intuitive ease. ||1||Pause||

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When I opened it up and gazed upon the treasures of my father and grandfather, then my mind became very happy. ||1|| The storehouse is inexhaustible and immeasurable, overflowing with priceless jewels and rubies. ||2|| The Siblings of Destiny meet together, and eat and spend, but these resources do not diminish; they continue to increase. ||3|| Says Nanak, one who has such destiny written on his forehead, becomes a partner in these treasures. ||4||31||100|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: I was scared, scared to death, when I thought that He was far away. But my fear was removed, when I saw that He is pervading everywhere. ||1|| I am a sacrifice to my True Guru. He shall not abandon me; He shall surely carry me across. ||1||Pause|| Pain, disease and sorrow come when one forgets the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Eternal bliss comes when one sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||2|| Do not say that anyone is good or bad. Renounce your arrogant pride, and grasp the Feet of the Lord. ||3|| Says Nanak, remember the GurMantra; you shall find peace at the True Court. ||4||32||101|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Those who have the Lord as their Friend and Companion - tell me, what else do they need? ||1|| Those who are in love with the Lord of the Universe - pain, suffering and doubt run away from them. ||1||Pause|| Those who have enjoyed the flavor of the Lord's sublime essence are not attracted to any other pleasures. ||2|| Those whose speech is accepted in the Court of the Lord - what do they care about anything else? ||3|| Those who belong to the One, unto whom all things belong - O Nanak, they find a lasting peace. ||4||33||102|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Those who look alike upon pleasure and pain - how can anxiety touch them? ||1|| The Lord's Holy Saints abide in celestial bliss. They remain obedient to the Lord, the Sovereign Lord King. ||1||Pause|| Those who have the Carefree Lord abiding in their minds - no cares will ever bother them. ||2|| Those who have banished doubt from their minds are not afraid of death at all. ||3|| Those whose hearts are filled with the Lord's Name by the Guru - says Nanak, all treasures come to them. ||4||34||103|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: The Lord of Unfathomable Form has His Place in the mind. By Guru's Grace, a rare few come to understand this. ||1|| The Ambrosial Pools of the celestial sermon - those who find them, drink them in. ||1||Pause|| The unstruck melody of the Guru's Bani vibrates in that most special place. The Lord of the World is fascinated with this melody. ||2|| The numerous, countless places of celestial peace - there, the Saints dwell, in the Company of the Supreme Lord God. ||3|| There is infinite joy, and no sorrow or duality. The Guru has blessed Nanak with this home. ||4||35||104|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: What form of Yours should I worship and adore? What Yoga should I practice to control my body? ||1||

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What is that virtue, by which I may sing of You? What is that speech, by which I may please the Supreme Lord God? ||1||Pause|| What worship service shall I perform for You? How can I cross over the terrifying world-ocean? ||2|| What is that penance, by which I may become a penitent? What is that Name, by which the filth of egotism may be washed away? ||3|| Virtue, worship, spiritual wisdom, meditation and all service, O Nanak, are obtained from the True Guru, when, in His Mercy and Kindness, He meets us. ||4|| They alone receive this merit, and they alone know God, who are approved by the Giver of peace. ||1||Second Pause||36||105|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: The body which you are so proud of, does not belong to you. Power, property and wealth are not yours. ||1|| They are not yours, so why do you cling to them? Only the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is yours; it is received from the True Guru. ||1||Pause|| Children, spouse and siblings are not yours. Dear friends, mother and father are not yours. ||2|| Gold, silver and money are not yours. Fine horses and magnificent elephants are of no use to you. ||3|| Says Nanak, those whom the Guru forgives, meet with the Lord. Everything belongs to those who have the Lord as their King. ||4||37||106|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: I place the Guru's Feet on my forehead, and all my pains are gone. ||1|| I am a sacrifice to my True Guru. I have come to understand my soul, and I enjoy supreme bliss. ||1||Pause|| I have applied the dust of the Guru's Feet to my face, which has removed all my arrogant intellect. ||2|| The Word of the Guru's Shabad has become sweet to my mind, and I behold the Supreme Lord God. ||3|| The Guru is the Giver of peace; the Guru is the Creator. O Nanak, the Guru is the Support of the breath of life and the soul. ||4||38||107|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: O my mind, seek the One who lacks nothing. ||1|| Make the Beloved Lord your friend. Keep Him constantly in your mind; He is the Support of the breath of life. ||1||Pause|| O my mind, serve Him; He is the Primal Being, the Infinite Divine Lord. ||2|| Place your hopes in the One who is the Support of all beings, from the very beginning of time, and throughout the ages. ||3|| His Love brings eternal peace; meeting the Guru, Nanak sings His Glorious Praises. ||4||39||108|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Whatever my Friend does, I accept. My Friend's actions are pleasing to me. ||1|| Within my conscious mind, the One Lord is my only Support. One who does this is my Friend. ||1||Pause|| My Friend is Carefree. By Guru's Grace, I give my love to Him. ||2|| My Friend is the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. He is the All-powerful Being, the Supreme Lord and Master. ||3|| I am Your servant; You are my Lord and Master.

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Nanak: my honour and glory are Yours, God. ||4||40||109|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Those who have You on their side, O All-powerful Lord - no black stain can stick to them. ||1|| O Lord of wealth, those who place their hopes in You - nothing of the world can touch them at all. ||1||Pause|| Those whose hearts are filled with their Lord and Master - no anxiety can affect them. ||2|| Those, unto whom You give Your consolation, God - pain does not even approach them. ||3|| Says Nanak, I have found that Guru, who has shown me the Perfect, Supreme Lord God. ||4||41||110|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: This human body is so difficult to obtain; it is only obtained by great good fortune. Those who do not meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, are murderers of the soul. ||1|| Those who forget the Lord might just as well die. Without the Naam, of what use are their lives? ||1||Pause|| Eating, drinking, playing, laughing and showing off - what use are the ostentatious displays of the dead? ||2|| Those who do not listen to the Praises of the Lord of supreme bliss, are worse off than beasts, birds or creeping creatures. ||3|| Says Nanak, the GurMantra has been implanted within me; the Name alone is contained within my heart. ||4||42||111|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Whose mother is this? Whose father is this? They are relatives in name only- they are all false. ||1|| Why are you screaming and shouting, you fool? By good destiny and the Lord's Order, you have come into the world. ||1||Pause|| There is the one dust, the one light, the one praanic wind. Why are you crying? For whom do you cry? ||2|| People weep and cry out, "Mine, mine!" This soul is not perishable. ||3|| Says Nanak, the Guru has opened my shutters; I am liberated, and my doubts have been dispelled. ||4||43||112|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Those who seem to be great and powerful, are afflicted by the disease of anxiety. ||1|| Who is great by the greatness of Maya? They alone are great, who are lovingly attached to the Lord. ||1||Pause|| The landlord fights over his land each day. He shall have to leave it in the end, and yet his desire is still not satisfied. ||2|| Says Nanak, this is the essence of Truth: without the Lord's meditation, there is no salvation. ||3||44||113|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Perfect is the path; perfect is the cleansing bath. Everything is perfect, if the Naam is in the heart. ||1|| One's honour remains perfect, when the Perfect Lord preserves it. His servant takes to the Sanctuary of the Supreme Lord God. ||1||Pause|| Perfect is the peace; perfect is the contentment. Perfect is the penance; perfect is the Raja Yoga, the Yoga of meditation and success. ||2|| On the Lord's Path, sinners are purified. Perfect is their glory; perfect is their humanity. ||3|| They dwell forever in the Presence of the Creator Lord. Says Nanak, my True Guru is Perfect. ||4||45||114|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Millions of sins are wiped away by the dust of the feet of the Saints.

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By the Grace of the Saints, one is released from birth and death. ||1|| The Blessed Vision of the Saints is the perfect cleansing bath. By the Grace of the Saints, one comes to chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| In the Society of the Saints, egotism is shed, and the One Lord is seen everywhere. ||2|| By the pleasure of the Saints, the five passions are overpowered, and the heart is irrigated with the Ambrosial Naam. ||3|| Says Nanak, one whose karma is perfect, touches the feet of the Holy. ||4||46||115|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Meditating on the Glories of the Lord, the heart-lotus blossoms radiantly. Remembering the Lord in meditation, all fears are dispelled. ||1|| Perfect is that intellect, by which the Glorious Praises of the Lord are sung. By great good fortune, one finds the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||1||Pause|| In the Saadh Sangat, the treasure of the Name is obtained. In the Saadh Sangat, all one's works are brought to fruition. ||2|| Through devotion to the Lord, one's life is approved. By Guru's Grace, one chants the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||3|| Says Nanak, that humble being is accepted, within whose heart the Lord God abides. ||4||47||116|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Those whose minds are imbued with the One Lord, forget to feel jealous of others. ||1|| They see none other than the Lord of the Universe. The Creator is the Doer, the Cause of causes. ||1||Pause|| Those who work willingly, and chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har - they do not waver, here or hereafter. ||2|| Those who possess the wealth of the Lord are the true bankers. The Perfect Guru has established their line of credit. ||3|| The Giver of life, the Sovereign Lord King meets them. Says Nanak, they attain the supreme status. ||4||48||117|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is the Support of the breath of life of His devotees. The Naam is their wealth, the Naam is their occupation. ||1|| By the greatness of the Naam, His humble servants are blessed with glory. The Lord Himself bestows it, in His Mercy. ||1||Pause|| The Naam is the home of peace of His devotees. Attuned to the Naam, His devotees are approved. ||2|| The Name of the Lord is the support of His humble servants. With each and every breath, they remember the Naam. ||3|| Says Nanak, those who have perfect destiny - their minds are attached to the Naam. ||4||49||118|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: By the Grace of the Saints, I meditated on the Name of the Lord. Since then, my restless mind has been satisfied. ||1|| I have obtained the home of peace, singing His Glorious Praises. My troubles have ended, and the demon has been destroyed. ||1||Pause|| Worship and adore the Lotus Feet of the Lord God. Meditating in remembrance on the Lord, my anxiety has come to an end. ||2|| I have renounced all - I am an orphan. I have come to the Sanctuary of the One Lord. Since then, I have found the highest celestial home. ||3|| My pains, troubles, doubts and fears are gone. The Creator Lord abides in Nanak's mind. ||4||50||119|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: With my hands I do His work; with my tongue I sing His Glorious Praises.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 040

With my feet, I walk on the Path of my Lord and Master. ||1|| It is a good time, when I remember Him in meditation. Meditating on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, I cross over

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the terrifying world-ocean. ||1||Pause|| With your eyes, behold the Blessed Vision of the Saints. Record the Immortal Lord God within your mind. ||2|| Listen to the Kirtan of His Praises, at the Feet of the Holy. Your fears of birth and death shall depart. ||3|| Enshrine the Lotus Feet of your Lord and Master within your heart. Thus this human life, so difficult to obtain, shall be redeemed. ||4||51||120|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Those, upon whom the Lord Himself showers His Mercy, chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord, with their tongues. ||1|| Forgetting the Lord, superstition and sorrow shall overtake you. Meditating on the Naam, doubt and fear shall depart. ||1||Pause|| Listening to the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises, and singing the Lord's Kirtan, misfortune shall not even come near you. ||2|| Working for the Lord, His humble servants look beautiful. The fire of Maya does not touch them. ||3|| Within their minds, bodies and mouths, is the Name of the Merciful Lord. Nanak has renounced other entanglements. ||4||52||121|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Renounce your cleverness, and your cunning tricks. Seek the Support of the Perfect Guru. ||1|| Your pain shall depart, and in peace, you shall sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Meeting the Perfect Guru, let yourself be absorbed in the Lord's Love. ||1||Pause|| The Guru has given me the Mantra of the Name of the Lord. My worries are forgotten, and my anxiety is gone. ||2|| Meeting with the Merciful Guru, I am in ecstasy. Showering His Mercy, He has cut away the noose of the Messenger of Death. ||3|| Says Nanak, I have found the Perfect Guru; Maya shall no longer harass me. ||4||53||122|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: The Perfect Guru Himself has saved me. The self-willed manmukhs are afflicted with misfortune. ||1|| Chant and meditate on the Guru, the Guru, O my friend. Your face shall be radiant in the Court of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Enshrine the Feet of the Guru within your heart; your pains, enemies and bad luck shall be destroyed. ||2|| The Word of the Guru's Shabad is your Companion and Helper. O Siblings of Destiny, all beings shall be kind to you. ||3|| When the Perfect Guru granted His Grace, says Nanak, I was totally, completely fulfilled. ||4||54||123|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Like beasts, they consume all sorts of tasty treats. With the rope of emotional attachment, they are bound and gagged like thieves. ||1|| Their bodies are corpses, without the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. They come and go in reincarnation, and are destroyed by pain. ||1||Pause|| They wear all sorts of beautiful robes, but they are still just scarecrows in the field, frightening away the birds. ||2|| All bodies are of some use, but those who do not meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, are totally useless. ||3|| Says Nanak, those unto whom the Lord becomes Merciful, join the Saadh Sangat, and meditate on the Lord of the Universe. ||4||55||124|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl:

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 041

The Word of the Guru's Shabad quiets worries and troubles. Coming and going ceases, and all comforts are obtained. ||1|| Fear is dispelled, meditating on the Fearless Lord. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I chant the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| I have enshrined the Lotus Feet of the Lord within my heart. The Guru has carried me across the ocean of fire. ||2|| I was sinking down, and the Perfect Guru pulled me out. I was cut off from the Lord for countless incarnations, and now the Guru united me with Him again. ||3|| Says Nanak, I am a sacrifice to the Guru; meeting Him, I have been saved. ||4||56||125|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, seek His Sanctuary. Place your mind and body in offering before Him. ||1|| Drink in the Ambrosial Nectar of the Name, O my Siblings of Destiny. Meditating, meditating in remembrance on the Lord, the fire of desire is totally quenched. ||1||Pause|| Renounce your arrogant pride, and end the cycle of birth and death. Bow in humility to the feet of the Lord's slave. ||2|| Remember God in your mind, with each and every breath. Gather only that wealth, which shall go with you. ||3|| He alone obtains it, upon whose forehead such destiny is written. Says Nanak, fall at the Feet of that Lord. ||4||57||126|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: The dried branches are made green again in an instant. His Ambrosial Glance irrigates and revives them. ||1|| The Perfect Divine Guru has removed my sorrow. He blesses His servant with His service. ||1||Pause|| Anxiety is removed, and the desires of the mind are fulfilled, when the True Guru, the Treasure of Excellence, shows His Kindness. ||2|| Pain is driven far away, and peace comes in its place; there is no delay, when the Guru gives the Order. ||3|| Desires are fulfilled, when one meets the True Guru; O Nanak, His humble servant is fruitful and prosperous. ||4||58||127|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: The fever has departed; God has showered us with peace and tranquility. A cooling peace prevails; God has granted this gift. ||1|| By God's Grace, we have become comfortable. Separated from Him for countless incarnations, we are now reunited with Him. ||1||Pause|| Meditating, meditating in remembrance on God's Name, the dwelling of all disease is destroyed. ||2|| In intuitive peace and poise, chant the Word of the Lord's Bani. Twenty-four hours a day, O mortal, meditate on God. ||3|| Pain, suffering and the Messenger of Death do not even approach that one, says Nanak, who sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||4||59||128|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Auspicious is the day, and auspicious is the chance, which brought me to the Supreme Lord God, the Unjoined, Unlimited One. ||1|| I am a sacrifice to that time, when my mind chants the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Blessed is that moment, and blessed is that time, when my tongue chants the Name of the Lord, Har, Haree. ||2|| Blessed is that forehead, which bows in humility to the Saints. Sacred are those feet, which walk on the Lord's Path. ||3|| Says Nanak, auspicious is my karma, which has led me to touch the Feet of the Holy. ||4||60||129||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 042

Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Keep the Word of the Guru's Shabad in your mind. Meditating in remembrance on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, all anxiety is removed. ||1|| Without the Lord God, there is no one else at all. He alone preserves and destroys. ||1||Pause|| Enshrine the Guru's Feet in your heart. Meditate on Him and cross over the ocean of fire. ||2|| Focus your meditation on the Guru's Sublime Form. Here and hereafter, you shall be honoured. ||3|| Renouncing everything, I have come to the Guru's Sanctuary. My anxieties are over - O Nanak, I have found peace. ||4||61||130|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Remembering Him in meditation, all pains are gone. The jewel of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, comes to dwell in the mind. ||1|| O my mind, chant the Bani, the Hymns of the Lord of the Universe. The Holy People chant the Lord's Name with their tongues. ||1||Pause|| Without the One Lord, there is no other at all. By His Glance of Grace, eternal peace is obtained. ||2|| Make the One Lord your friend, intimate and companion. Write in your mind the Word of the Lord, Har, Har. ||3|| The Lord Master is totally pervading everywhere. Nanak sings the Praises of the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. ||4||62||131|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: The whole world is engrossed in fear. Those who have the Naam, the Name of the Lord, as their Support, feel no fear. ||1|| Fear does not affect those who take to Your Sanctuary. You do whatever You please. ||1||Pause|| In pleasure and in pain, the world is coming and going in reincarnation. Those who are pleasing to God, find peace. ||2|| Maya pervades the awesome ocean of fire. Those who have found the True Guru are calm and cool. ||3|| Please preserve me, O God, O Great Preserver! Says Nanak, what a helpless creature I am! ||4||63||132|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: By Your Grace, I chant Your Name. By Your Grace, I obtain a seat in Your Court. ||1|| Without You, O Supreme Lord God, there is no one. By Your Grace, everlasting peace is obtained. ||1||Pause|| If You abide in the mind, we do not suffer in sorrow. By Your Grace, doubt and fear run away. ||2|| O Supreme Lord God, Infinite Lord and Master, You are the Inner-knower, the Searcher of all hearts. ||3|| I offer this prayer to the True Guru: O Nanak, may I be blessed with the treasure of the True Name. ||4||64||133|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: As the husk is empty without the grain, so is the mouth empty without the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1|| O mortal, chant continually the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Without the Naam, cursed is the body, which shall be taken back by Death. ||1||Pause|| Without the Naam, no one's face shows good fortune. Without the Husband, where is the marriage? ||2|| Forgetting the Naam, and attached to other tastes, no desires are fulfilled. ||3|| O God, grant Your Grace, and give me this gift. Please, let Nanak chant Your Name, day and night. ||4||65||134||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 043

Gauree, Fifth Mehl: You are All-powerful, You are my Lord and Master. Everything comes from You; You are the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. ||1|| The Perfect Supreme Lord God is the Support of His humble servant. Millions are saved in Your Sanctuary. ||1||Pause|| As many creatures as there are - they are all Yours. By Your Grace, all sorts of comforts are obtained. ||2|| Whatever happens, is all according to Your Will. One who understands the Hukam of the Lord's Command, is absorbed in the True Lord. ||3|| Please grant Your Grace, God, and bestow this gift upon Nanak, that he may meditate on the treasure of the Naam. ||4||66||135|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: By great good fortune, the Blessed Vision of His Darshan is obtained, by those who are lovingly absorbed in the Lord's Name. ||1|| Those whose minds are filled with the Lord, do not suffer pain, even in dreams. ||1||Pause|| All treasures have been placed within the minds of His humble servants. In their company, sinful mistakes and sorrows are taken away. ||2|| The Glories of the Lord's humble servants cannot be described. The servants of the Supreme Lord God remain absorbed in Him. ||3|| Grant Your Grace, God, and hear my prayer: please bless Nanak with the dust of the feet of Your slave. ||4||67||136|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Remembering the Lord in meditation, your misfortune shall be taken away, and all joy shall come to abide in your mind. ||1|| Meditate, O my mind, on the One Name. It alone shall be of use to your soul. ||1||Pause|| Night and day, sing the Glorious Praises of the Infinite Lord, through the Pure Mantra of the Perfect Guru. ||2|| Give up other efforts, and place your faith in the Support of the One Lord. Taste the Ambrosial Essence of this, the greatest treasure. ||3|| They alone cross over the treacherous world-ocean, O Nanak, upon whom the Lord casts His Glance of Grace. ||4||68||137|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: I have enshrined the Lotus Feet of God within my heart. Meeting the Perfect True Guru, I am emancipated. ||1|| Sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe, O my Siblings of Destiny. Joining the Holy Saints, meditate on the Lord's Name. ||1||Pause|| This human body, so difficult to obtain, is redeemed when one receives the banner of the Naam from the True Guru. ||2|| Meditating in remembrance on the Lord, the state of perfection is attained. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, fear and doubt depart. ||3|| Wherever I look, there I see the Lord pervading. Slave Nanak has entered the Lord's Sanctuary. ||4||69||138|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: I am a sacrifice to the Blessed Vision of the Guru's Darshan. Chanting and meditating on the Name of the True Guru, I live. ||1|| O Supreme Lord God, O Perfect Divine Guru, show mercy to me, and commit me to Your service. ||1||Pause|| I enshrine His Lotus Feet within my heart. I offer my mind, body and wealth to the Guru, the Support of the breath of life. ||2|| My life is prosperous, fruitful and approved; I know that the Guru, the Supreme Lord God, is near me. ||3|| By great good fortune, I have obtained the dust of the feet of the Saints. O Nanak, meeting the Guru, I have fallen in love with the Lord. ||4||70||139||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 044

Gauree, Fifth Mehl: They do their evil deeds, and pretend otherwise; but in the Court of the Lord, they shall be bound and gagged like thieves. ||1|| Those who remember the Lord belong to the Lord. The One Lord is contained in the water, the land and the sky. ||1||Pause|| Their inner beings are filled with poison, and yet with their mouths, they preach words of Ambrosial Nectar. Bound and gagged in the City of Death, they are punished and beaten. ||2|| Hiding behind many screens, they commit acts of corruption, but in an instant, they are revealed to all the world. ||3|| Those whose inner beings are true, who are attuned to the ambrosial essence of the Naam, the Name of the Lord - O Nanak, the Lord, the Architect of Destiny, is merciful to them. ||4||71||140|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: The Lord's Love shall never leave or depart. They alone understand, unto whom the Perfect Guru gives it. ||1|| One whose mind is attuned to the Lord's Love is true. The Love of the Beloved, the Architect of Destiny, is perfect. ||1||Pause|| Sitting in the Society of the Saints, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. The colour of His Love shall never fade away. ||2|| Without meditating in remembrance on the Lord, peace is not found. All the other loves and tastes of Maya are bland and insipid. ||3|| Those who are imbued with love by the Guru become happy. Says Nanak, the Guru has become merciful to them. ||4||72||141|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Meditating in remembrance on the Lord Master, sinful mistakes are erased, and one comes to abide in peace, celestial joy and bliss. ||1|| The Lord's humble servants place their faith in the Lord. Chanting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, all anxieties are dispelled. ||1||Pause|| In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, there is no fear or doubt. The Glorious Praises of the Lord are sung there, day and night. ||2|| Granting His Grace, God has released me from bondage. He has given me the Support of His Lotus Feet. ||3|| Says Nanak, faith comes into the mind of His servant, who continually drinks in the Immaculate Praises of the Lord. ||4||73||142|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Those who keep their minds attached to the Lord's Feet - pain, suffering and doubt run away from them. ||1|| Those who deal in the Lord's wealth are perfect. Those who are honoured by the Lord are the true spiritual heroes. ||1||Pause|| Those humble beings, unto whom the Lord of the Universe shows mercy, fall at the Guru's Feet. ||2|| They are blessed with peace, celestial bliss, tranquility and ecstasy; chanting and meditating, they live in supreme bliss. ||3|| In the Saadh Sangat, I have earned the wealth of the Naam. Says Nanak, God has relieved my pain. ||4||74||143|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Meditating in remembrance on the Lord, all suffering is eradicated. The Lord's Lotus Feet are enshrined within my mind. ||1|| Chant the Lord's Name, hundreds of thousands of times, O my dear, and drink deeply of the Ambrosial Essence of God. ||1||Pause|| Peace, celestial bliss, pleasures and the greatest ecstasy are obtained; chanting and meditating, you shall live in supreme bliss. ||2|| Sexual desire, anger, greed and ego are eradicated; in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, all sinful mistakes are washed away. ||3|| Grant Your Grace, O God, O Merciful to the meek. Please bless Nanak with the dust of the feet of the Holy. ||4||75||144||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 045

Gauree, Fifth Mehl: They wear and eat the gifts from the Lord; how can laziness help them, O mother? ||1|| Forgetting her Husband Lord, and attaching herself to other affairs, the soul-bride throws away the precious jewel in exchange for a mere shell. ||1||Pause|| Forsaking God, she is attached to other desires. But who has gained honour by saluting the slave? ||2|| They consume food and drink, delicious and sublime as ambrosial nectar. But the dog does not know the One who has bestowed these. ||3|| Says Nanak, I have been unfaithful to my own nature. Please forgive me, O God, O Searcher of hearts.

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||4||76||145|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: I meditate on the Feet of God within my mind. This is my cleansing bath at all the sacred shrines of pilgrimage. ||1|| Meditate in remembrance on the Lord every day, O my Siblings of Destiny. Thus, the filth of millions of incarnations shall be taken away. ||1||Pause|| Enshrine the Lord's Sermon within your heart, and you shall obtain all the desires of your mind. ||2|| Redeemed is the life, death and birth of those, within whose hearts the Lord God abides. ||3|| Says Nanak, those humble beings are perfect, who are blessed with the dust of the feet of the Holy. ||4||77||146|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: They eat and wear what they are given, but still, they deny the Lord. The messengers of the Righteous Judge of Dharma shall hunt them down. ||1|| They are unfaithful to the One, who has given them body and soul. Through millions of incarnations, for so many lifetimes, they wander lost. ||1||Pause|| Such is the lifestyle of the faithless cynics; everything they do is evil. ||2|| Within their minds, they have forgotten that Lord and Master, who created the soul, breath of life, mind and body. ||3|| Their wickedness and corruption have increased - they are recorded in volumes of books. O Nanak, they are saved only by the Mercy of God, the Ocean of peace. ||4|| O Supreme Lord God, I have come to Your Sanctuary. Break my bonds, and carry me across, with the Lord's Name. ||1||Second Pause||78||147|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: For their own advantage, they make God their friend. He fulfills all their desires, and blesses them with the state of liberation. ||1|| Everyone should make Him such a friend. No one goes away empty-handed from Him. ||1||Pause|| For their own purposes, they enshrine the Lord in the heart; all pain, suffering and disease are taken away. ||2|| Their tongues learn the habit of chanting the Lord's Name, and all their works are brought to perfection. ||3|| So many times, Nanak is a sacrifice to Him; fruitful is the Blessed Vision, the Darshan, of my Lord of the Universe. ||4||79||148|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Millions of obstacles are removed in an instant, for those who listen to the Sermon of the Lord, Har, Har, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||1|| They drink in the sublime essence of the Lord's Name, the Ambrosial Elixir. Meditating on the Lord's Feet, hunger is taken away. ||1||Pause|| The treasure of all happiness, celestial peace and poise, are obtained by those, whose hearts are filled with the Lord God. ||2||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 046

All medicines and remedies, mantras and tantras are nothing more than ashes. Enshrine the Creator Lord within your heart. ||3|| Renounce all your doubts, and vibrate upon the Supreme Lord God. Says Nanak, this path of Dharma is eternal and unchanging. ||4||80||149|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: The Lord bestowed His Mercy, and led me to meet the Guru. By His power, no disease afflicts me. ||1|| Remembering the Lord, I cross over the terrifying world-ocean. In the Sanctuary of the spiritual warrior, the account books of the Messenger of Death are torn up. ||1||Pause|| The True Guru has given me the Mantra of the Lord's Name. By this Support, my affairs have been resolved. ||2|| Meditation, self-discipline, self-control and perfect greatness were obtained when the Merciful Lord, the Guru, became my Help and Support. ||3|| The Guru has dispelled pride, emotional attachment and superstition. Nanak sees the Supreme Lord God pervading everywhere. ||4||81||150|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: The blind beggar is better off than the vicious king. Overcome by pain, the blind man invokes the Lord's Name. ||1|| You are the glorious greatness of Your slave. The intoxication of Maya leads the others to hell. ||1||Pause|| Gripped by disease, they invoke the Name. But those who are intoxicated with vice shall find no home, no place of rest. ||2|| One who is in love with the Lord's Lotus Feet, does not think of any other comforts. ||3|| Forever and ever, meditate on God, your Lord and Master. O Nanak, meet with the Lord, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. ||4||82||151|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Twenty-four hours a day, the highway robbers are my companions. Granting His Grace, God has driven them away. ||1|| Everyone should dwell on the Sweet Name of such a Lord. God is overflowing with all power. ||1||Pause|| The world-ocean is burning hot! In an instant, God saves us, and carries us across. ||2|| There are so many bonds, they cannot be broken. Remembering the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the fruit of liberation is obtained. ||3|| By clever devices, nothing is accomplished. Grant Your Grace to Nanak, that he may sing the Glories of God. ||4||83||152|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Those who obtain the wealth of the Lord's Name move freely in the world; all their affairs are resolved. ||1|| By great good fortune, the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises are sung. O Supreme Lord God, as You give, so do I receive. ||1||Pause|| Enshrine the Lord's Feet within your heart. Get aboard this boat, and cross over the terrifying world-ocean. ||2|| Everyone who joins the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, obtains eternal peace; pain does not afflict them any longer. ||3|| With loving devotional worship, meditate on the treasure of excellence. O Nanak, you shall be honoured in the Court of the Lord. ||4||84||153|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: The Lord, our Friend, is totally pervading the water, the land and the skies. Doubts are dispelled by continually singing the Lord's Glorious Praises. ||1|| While rising up, and while lying down in sleep, the Lord is always with you, watching over you. Remembering Him in meditation, the fear of Death departs. ||1||Pause|| With God's Lotus Feet abiding in the heart,

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all suffering comes to an end. ||2|| The One Lord is my hope, honour, power and wealth. Within my mind is the Support of the True Banker. ||3|| I am the poorest and most helpless servant of the Holy. O Nanak, giving me His Hand, God has protected me. ||4||85||154|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Taking my cleansing bath in the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, I have been purified. Its reward surpasses the giving of charity at millions of solar eclipses. ||1||Pause|| With the Lord's Feet abiding in the heart, the sinful mistakes of countless incarnations are removed. ||1|| I have obtained the reward of the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. I no longer have to gaze upon the way of death. ||2|| In thought, word and deed, seek the Support of the Lord of the Universe; thus you shall be saved from the poisonous world-ocean. ||3|| Granting His Grace, God has made me His Own. Nanak chants and meditates on the Chant of the Lord's Name. ||4||86||155|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Seek the Sanctuary of those who have come to know the Lord. Your mind and body shall become cool and peaceful, imbued with the Feet of the Lord. ||1|| If God, the Destroyer of fear, does not dwell within your mind, you shall spend countless incarnations in fear and dread. ||1||Pause|| Those who have the Lord's Name dwelling within their hearts have all their desires and tasks fulfilled. ||2|| Birth, old age and death are in His Power, so remember that All-powerful Lord with each breath and morsel of food. ||3|| The One God is my Intimate, Best Friend and Companion. The Naam, the Name of my Lord and Master, is Nanak's only Support. ||4||87||156|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: When they are out and about, they keep Him enshrined in their hearts; returning home, the Lord of the Universe is still with them. ||1|| The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is the Companion of His Saints. Their minds and bodies are imbued with the Love of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| By Guru's Grace, one crosses over the world-ocean; the sinful mistakes of countless incarnations are all washed away. ||2|| Honour and intuitive awareness are acquired through the Name of the Lord God. The Teachings of the Perfect Guru are immaculate and pure. ||3|| Within your heart, meditate on the His Lotus Feet. Nanak lives by beholding the Lord's Expansive Power. ||4||88||157|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Blessed is this place, where the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe are sung. God Himself bestows peace and pleasure. ||1||Pause|| Misfortune occurs where the Lord is not remembered in meditation. There are millions of joys where the Glorious Praises of the Lord are sung. ||1|| Forgetting the Lord, all sorts of pains and diseases come. Serving God, the Messenger of Death will not even approach you. ||2|| Very blessed, stable and sublime is that place, where the Name of God alone is chanted. ||3|| Wherever I go, my Lord and Master is with me. Nanak has met the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. ||4||89||158|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: That mortal who meditates on the Lord of the Universe, whether educated or uneducated, obtains the state of supreme dignity. ||1|| In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, meditate on the Lord of the World. Without the Name, wealth and property are false. ||1||Pause||

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They alone are handsome, clever and wise, who surrender to the Will of God. ||2|| Blessed is their coming into this world, if they recognise their Lord and Master in each and every heart. ||3|| Says Nanak, their good fortune is perfect, if they enshrine the Lord's Feet within their minds. ||4||90||159|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: The Lord's servant does not associate with the faithless cynic. One is in the clutches of vice, while the other is in love with the Lord. ||1||Pause|| It would be like an imaginary rider on a decorated horse, or a eunuch caressing a woman. ||1|| It would be like tying up an ox and trying to milk it, or riding a cow to chase a tiger. ||2|| It would be like taking a sheep and worshipping it as the Elysian cow, the giver of all blessings; it would be like going out shopping without any money. ||3|| O Nanak, consciously meditate on the Lord's Name. Meditate in remembrance on the Lord Master, your Best Friend. ||4||91||160|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Pure and steady is that intellect, which drinks in the Lord's sublime essence. ||1|| Keep the Support of the Lord's Feet in your heart, and you shall be saved from the cycle of birth and death. ||1||Pause|| Pure is that body, in which sin does not arise. In the Love of the Lord is pure glory. ||2|| In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, corruption is eradicated. This is the greatest blessing of all. ||3|| Imbued with loving devotional worship of the Sustainer of the Universe, Nanak asks for the dust of the feet of the Holy. ||4||92||161|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Such is my love for the Lord of the Universe; through perfect good destiny, I have been united with Him. ||1||Pause|| As the wife is delighted upon beholding her husband, so does the Lord's humble servant live by chanting the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1|| As the mother is rejuvenated upon seeing her son, so is the Lord's humble servant imbued with Him, through and through. ||2|| As the greedy man rejoices upon beholding his wealth, so is the mind of the Lord's humble servant attached to His Lotus Feet. ||3|| May I never forget You, for even an instant, O Great Giver! Nanak's God is the Support of his breath of life. ||4||93||162|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Those humble beings who are accustomed to the Lord's sublime essence, are pierced through with loving devotional worship of the Lord's Lotus Feet. ||1||Pause|| All other pleasures look like ashes; without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the world is fruitless. ||1|| He Himself rescues us from the deep dark well. Wondrous and Glorious are the Praises of the Lord of the Universe. ||2|| In the woods and meadows, and throughout the three worlds, the Sustainer of the Universe is pervading. The Expansive Lord God is Merciful to all beings. ||3|| Says Nanak, that speech alone is excellent, which is approved by the Creator Lord. ||4||94||163|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Every day, take your bath in the Sacred Pool of the Lord. Mix and drink in the most delicious, sublime Ambrosial Nectar of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| The water of the Name of the Lord of the Universe is immaculate and pure. Take your cleansing bath in it, and all your affairs shall be resolved. ||1||

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In the Society of the Saints, spiritual conversations take place. The sinful mistakes of millions of incarnations are erased. ||2|| The Holy Saints meditate in remembrance, in ecstasy. Their minds and bodies are immersed in supreme ecstasy. ||3|| Slave Nanak is a sacrifice to those who have obtained the treasure of the Lord's Feet. ||4||95||164|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Do only that, by which no filth or pollution shall stick to you. Let your mind remain awake and aware, singing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises. ||1||Pause|| Meditate in remembrance on the One Lord; do not be in love with duality. In the Society of the Saints, chant only the Name. ||1|| The karma of good actions, the Dharma of righteous living, religious rituals, fasts and worship - practice these, but do not know any other than the Supreme Lord God. ||2|| Those who place their love in God - their works are brought to fruition. ||3|| Infinitely invaluable is that Vaishnaav, that worshipper of Vishnu, says Nanak, who has renounced corruption. ||4||96||165|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: They desert you even when you are alive, O madman; what good can they do when someone is dead? ||1|| Meditate in remembrance on the Lord of the Universe in your mind and body - this is your pre-ordained destiny. The poison of Maya is of no use at all. ||1||Pause|| Those who have eaten this poison of deception - their thirst shall never depart. ||2|| The treacherous world-ocean is filled with terrible pain. Without the Lord's Name, how can anyone cross over? ||3|| Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, you shall be saved here and hereafter. O Nanak, worship and adore the Name of the Lord. ||4||97||166|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: The bearded emperor who struck down the poor, has been burnt in the fire by the Supreme Lord God. ||1|| The Creator administers true justice. He is the Saving Grace of His slaves. ||1||Pause|| In the beginning, and throughout the ages, His glory is manifest. The slanderer died after contracting the deadly fever. ||2|| He is killed, and no one can save him. Here and hereafter, his reputation is evil. ||3|| The Lord hugs His slaves close in His Embrace. Nanak seeks the Lord's Sanctuary, and meditates on the Naam. ||4||98||167|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: The memorandum was proven to be false by the Lord Himself. The sinner is now suffering in despair. ||1|| Those who have my Lord of the Universe as their support - death does not even approach them. ||1||Pause|| In the True Court, they lie; the blind fools strike their own heads with their own hands. ||2|| Sickness afflicts those who commit sins; God Himself sits as the Judge. ||3|| By their own actions, they are bound and gagged. All their wealth is gone, along with their lives. ||4|| Nanak has taken to the Sanctuary of the Lord's Court; my Creator has preserved my honour. ||5||99||168|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: The dust of the feet of the humble beings is so sweet to my mind. Perfect karma is the mortal's pre-ordained destiny. ||1||Pause||

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The mind is overflowing with the greasy dirt of egotistical pride. With the dust of the feet of the Holy, it is scrubbed clean. ||1|| The body may be washed with loads of water, and yet its filth is not removed, and it does not become clean. ||2|| I have met the True Guru, who is merciful forever. Meditating, meditating in remembrance on the Lord, I am rid of the fear of death. ||3|| Liberation, pleasures and worldly success are all in the Lord's Name. With loving devotional worship, O Nanak, sing His Glorious Praises. ||4||100||169|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: The Lord's slaves attain the highest status of life. Meeting them, the soul is enlightened. ||1|| Those who listen with their mind and ears to the Lord's meditative remembrance, are blessed with peace at the Lord's Gate, O mortal. ||1||Pause|| Twenty-four hours a day, meditate on the Sustainer of the World. O Nanak, gazing on the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, I am enraptured. ||2||101||170|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Peace and tranquility have come; the Guru, the Lord of the Universe, has brought it. The burning

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sins have departed, O my Siblings of Destiny. ||1||Pause|| With your tongue, continually chant the Lord's Name. Disease shall depart, and you shall be saved. ||1|| Contemplate the Glorious Virtues of the Unfathomable Supreme Lord God. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, you shall be emancipated. ||2|| Sing the Glories of God each and every day; your afflictions shall be dispelled, and you shall be saved, my humble friend. ||3|| In thought, word and deed, I meditate on my God. Slave Nanak has come to Your Sanctuary. ||4||102||171|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: The Divine Guru has opened his eyes. Doubt has been dispelled; my service has been successful. ||1||Pause|| The Giver of joy has saved him from smallpox. The Supreme Lord God has granted His Grace. ||1|| O Nanak, he alone lives, who chants the Naam, the Name of the Lord. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, drink deeply of the Lord's Ambrosial Nectar. ||2||103||172|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Blessed is that forehead, and blessed are those eyes; blessed are those devotees who are in love with You. ||1|| Without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, how anyone find peace? With your tongue, chant the Praises of the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Nanak is a sacrifice to those who meditate on the Lord of Nirvaanaa. ||2||104||173|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: You are my Advisor; You are always with me. You preserve, protect and care for me. ||1|| Such is the Lord, our Help and Support in this world and the next. He protects the honour of His slave, O my Sibling of Destiny. ||1||Pause|| He alone exists hereafter; this place is in His Power. Twenty-four hours a day, O my mind, chant and meditate on the Lord. ||2|| His honour is acknowledged, and he bears the True Insignia; the Lord Himself issues His Royal Command. ||3|| He Himself is the Giver; He Himself is the Cherisher. Continually, continuously, O Nanak, dwell upon the Name of the Lord. ||4||105||174|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: When the Perfect True Guru becomes merciful, the Lord of the World abides in the heart forever. ||1|| Meditating on the Lord, I have found eternal peace.

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The Sovereign Lord, the Perfect King, has shown His Mercy to me. ||1||Pause|| Says Nanak, one whose destiny is perfect, meditates on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, the Everlasting Husband. ||2||106|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: He opens his loin-cloth, and spreads it out beneath him. Like a donkey, he gulps down all that comes his way. ||1|| Without good deeds, liberation is not obtained. The wealth of liberation is only obtained by meditating on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| He performs worship ceremonies, applies the ceremonial tilak mark to his forehead, and takes his ritual cleansing baths; he pulls out his knife, and demands donations. ||2|| With his mouth, he recites the Vedas in sweet musical measures, and yet he does not hesitate to take the lives of others. ||3|| Says Nanak, when God showers His Mercy, even his heart becomes pure, and he contemplates God. ||4||107|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Remain steady in the home of your own self, O beloved servant of the Lord. The True Guru shall resolve all your affairs. ||1||Pause|| The Transcendent Lord has struck down the wicked and the evil. The Creator has preserved the honour of His servant. ||1|| The kings and emperors are all under his power; he drinks deeply of the most sublime essence of the Ambrosial Naam. ||2|| Meditate fearlessly on the Lord God. Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, this gift is given. ||3|| Nanak has entered the Sanctuary of God, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts; he grasps the Support of God, his Lord and Master. ||4||108|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: One who is attuned to the Lord, shall not be burned in the fire. One who is attuned to the Lord, shall not be enticed by Maya. One who is attuned to the Lord, shall not be drowned in water. One who is attuned to the Lord, is prosperous and fruitful. ||1|| All fear is eradicated by Your Name. Joining the Sangat, the Holy Congregation, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, Har, Har. ||Pause|| One who is attuned to the Lord, is free of all anxieties. One who is attuned to the Lord, is blessed with the Mantra of the Holy. One who is attuned to the Lord, is not haunted by the fear of death. One who is attuned to the Lord, sees all his hopes fulfilled. ||2|| One who is attuned to the Lord, does not suffer in pain. One who is attuned to the Lord, remains awake and aware, night and day. One who is attuned to the Lord, dwells in the home of intuitive peace. One who is attuned to the Lord, sees his doubts and fears run away. ||3|| One who is attuned to the Lord, has the most sublime and exalted intellect. One who is attuned to the Lord, has a pure and spotless reputation. Says Nanak, I am a sacrifice to those who do not forget my God. ||4||109|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Through sincere efforts, the mind is made peaceful and calm. Walking on the Lord's Way, all pains are taken away. Chanting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the mind becomes blissful. Singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, supreme bliss is obtained. ||1|| There is joy all around, and peace has come to my home. Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, misfortune disappears. ||Pause|| My eyes are purified, beholding the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. Blessed is the forehead which touches His Lotus Feet. Working for the Lord of the Universe, the body becomes fruitful.

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By the Grace of the Saints, I have obtained the supreme status. ||2|| The Lord is the Help and Support of His humble servant. I have found peace, falling at the feet of His slaves. When selfishness is gone, then one becomes the Lord Himself; seek the Sanctuary of the treasure of mercy. ||3|| When someone finds the One he has desired, then where should he go to look for Him? I have become steady and stable, and I dwell in the seat of peace. By Guru's Grace, Nanak has entered the home of peace. ||4||110|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: The merits of taking millions of ceremonial cleansing baths, the giving of hundreds of thousands, billions and trillions in charity - these are obtained by those whose minds are filled with the Name of the Lord. ||1|| Those who sing the Glories of the Lord of the World are totally pure. Their sins are erased, in the Sanctuary of the Kind and Holy Saints. ||Pause|| The merits of performing all sorts of austere acts of penance and self-discipline, earning huge profits and seeing one's desires fulfilled - these are obtained by chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, with the tongue. ||2|| The merits of reciting the Simritees, the Shaastras and the Vedas, knowledge of the science of Yoga, spiritual wisdom and the pleasure of miraculous spiritual powers - these come by surrendering the mind and meditating on the Name of God. ||3|| The wisdom of the Inaccessible and Infinite Lord is incomprehensible. Meditating on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and contemplating the Naam within our hearts, O Nanak, God has showered His Mercy upon us. ||4||111|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Meditating, meditating, meditating in remembrance, I have found peace. I have enshrined the Lotus Feet of the Guru within my heart. ||1|| The Guru, the Lord of the Universe, the Supreme Lord God, is perfect. Worshipping Him, my mind has found a lasting peace. ||Pause|| Night and day, I meditate on the Guru, and the Name of the Guru. Thus all my works are brought to perfection. ||2|| Beholding the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, my mind has become cool and tranquil, and the sinful mistakes of countless incarnations have been washed away. ||3|| Says Nanak, where is fear now, O Siblings of Destiny? The Guru Himself has preserved the honour of His servant. ||4||112|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: The Lord Himself is the Help and Support of His servants. He always cherishes them, like their father and mother. ||1|| In God's Sanctuary, everyone is saved. That Perfect True Lord is the Doer, the Cause of causes. ||Pause|| My mind now dwells in the Creator Lord. My fears have been dispelled, and my soul has found the most sublime peace. ||2|| The Lord has granted His Grace, and saved His humble servant. The sinful mistakes of so many incarnations have been washed away. ||3|| The Greatness of God cannot be described. Servant Nanak is forever in His Sanctuary. ||4||113|| Raag Gauree Chaytee, Fifth Mehl, Du-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The power of the Lord is universal and perfect, O Siblings of Destiny. So no pain can ever afflict me. ||1||Pause|| Whatever the Lord's slave wishes, O mother, the Creator Himself causes that to be done. ||1|| God causes the slanderers to lose their honour. Nanak sings the Glorious Praises of the Fearless Lord. ||2||114||

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Gauree, Fifth Mehl: O Brave and Powerful God, Ocean of Peace, I fell into the pit - please, take my hand. ||1||Pause|| My ears do not hear, and my eyes are not beautiful. I am in such pain; I am a poor cripple, crying at Your Door. ||1|| O Master of the poor and helpless, O Embodiment of Compassion, You are my Friend and Intimate, my Father and Mother. Nanak holds tight to the Lord's Lotus Feet in his heart; thus the Saints cross over the terrifying world-ocean. ||2||2||115|| Raag Gauree Bairaagan, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O Dear Lord God, my Best Friend, please, abide with me. ||1||Pause|| Without You, I cannot live, even for an instant, and my life in this world is cursed. O Breath of Life of the soul, O Giver of peace, each and every instant I am a sacrifice to You. ||1|| Please, God, give me the Support of Your Hand; lift me up and pull me out of this pit, O Lord of the World. I am worthless, with such a shallow intellect; You are always Merciful to the meek. ||2|| What comforts of Yours can I dwell upon? How can I contemplate You? You lovingly absorb Your slaves into Your Sanctuary, O Lofty, Inaccessible and Infinite Lord. ||3|| All wealth, and the eight miraculous spiritual powers are in the supremely sublime essence of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Those humble beings, with whom the beautifully-haired Lord is thoroughly pleased, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||4|| You are my mother, father, son and relative; You are the Support of the breath of life. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, Nanak meditates on the Lord, and swims across the poisonous world-ocean. ||5||1||116|| Gauree Bairaagan, Chhants Of Rehoay, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Is there anyone who will sing of the Beloved Lord? Surely, this will bring all pleasures and comforts. ||Pause|| The renunciate goes out into the woods, searching for Him. But those who embrace love for the One Lord are very rare. Those who find the Lord are very fortunate and blessed. ||1|| The Gods like Brahma and Sanak yearn for Him; the Yogis, celibates and Siddhas yearn for the Lord. One who is so blessed, sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||2|| I seek the Sanctuary of those who have not forgotten Him. By great good fortune, one meets the Lord's Saint. They are not subject to the cycle of birth and death. ||3|| Show Your Mercy, and lead me to meet You, O my Darling Beloved. Hear my prayer, O Lofty and Infinite God; Nanak begs for the Support of Your Name. ||4||1||117||

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Raag Gauree Poorbee, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: By what virtues can I meet the Lord of life, O my mother? ||1||Pause|| I have no beauty, understanding or strength; I am a stranger, from far away. ||1|| I am not wealthy or youthful. I am an orphan - please, unite me with Yourself. ||2|| Searching and searching, I have become a renunciate, free of desire. I wander around, searching for the Blessed Vision of God's Darshan. ||3|| God is Compassionate, and Merciful to the meek; O Nanak, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, the fire of desire has been quenched. ||4||1||118|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: The loving desire to meet my Beloved has arisen within my mind. I touch His Feet, and offer my prayer to Him. If only I had the great good fortune to meet the Saint. ||1||Pause|| I surrender my mind to Him; I place my wealth before Him. I totally renounce my selfish ways. One who teaches me the Sermon of the Lord God - night and day, I shall follow Him. ||1|| When the seed of the karma of past actions sprouted, I met the Lord; He is both the Enjoyer and the Renunciate. My darkness was dispelled when I met the Lord. O Nanak, after being asleep for countless incarnations, I have awakened. ||2||2||119|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Come out, O soul-bird, and let the meditative remembrance of the Lord be your wings. Meet the Holy Saint, take to His Sanctuary, and keep the perfect jewel of the Lord enshrined in your heart. ||1||Pause|| Superstition is the well, thirst for pleasure is the mud, and emotional attachment is the noose, so tight around your neck. The only one who can cut this is the Guru of the World, the Lord of the Universe. So let yourself dwell at His Lotus Feet. ||1|| Bestow Your Mercy, O Lord of the Universe, O God, My Beloved, Master of the meek - please, listen to my prayer. Take my hand, O Lord and Master of Nanak; my body and soul all belong to You. ||2||3||120|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: My mind yearns to behold the Lord in meditation. I think of Him, I hope and thirst for Him, day and night; is there any Saint who may bring Him near me? ||1||Pause|| I serve the slaves of His slaves; in so many ways, I beg of Him. Setting them upon the scale, I have weighed all comforts and pleasures; without the Lord's Blessed Vision, they are all totally inadequate. ||1|| By the Grace of the Saints, I sing the Praises of the Ocean of virtue; after countless incarnations, I have been released. Meeting the Lord, Nanak has found peace and bliss; his life is redeemed, and prosperity dawns for him. ||2||4||121|| Raag Gauree Poorbee, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: How may I meet my Master, the King, the Lord of the Universe? Is there any Saint, who can bestow such celestial peace, and show me the Way to Him? ||1||Pause||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 055

The Unseen Lord is deep within the self; He cannot be seen; the curtain of egotism intervenes. In emotional attachment to Maya, all the world is asleep. Tell me, how can this doubt be dispelled? ||1|| The one lives together with the other in the same house, but they do not talk to one another, O Siblings of Destiny. Without the one substance, the five are miserable; that substance is in the unapproachable place. ||2|| And the one whose home it is, has locked it up, and given the key to the Guru. You may make all sorts of efforts, but it cannot be obtained, without the Sanctuary of the True Guru. ||3|| Those whose bonds have been broken by the True Guru, enshrine love for the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. The self-elect, the self-realised beings, meet together and sing the joyous songs of the Lord. Nanak, there is no difference between them, O Siblings of Destiny. ||4|| This is how my Sovereign Lord King, the Lord of the Universe, is met; celestial bliss is attained in an instant, and doubt is dispelled. Meeting Him, my light merges in the Light. ||1||Second Pause||1||122|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: I am intimate with Him; granting His Grace, my Kind Beloved has told me of the True Guru. ||1||Pause|| Wherever I look, there You are; I am totally convinced of this. Unto whom should I pray? The Lord Himself hears all. ||1|| My anxiety is over. The Guru has cut away my bonds, and I have found eternal peace. Whatever shall be, shall be in the end; so where can pain and pleasure be seen? ||2|| The continents and the solar systems rest in the support of the One Lord. The Guru has removed the veil of illusion, and shown this to me. The nine treasures of the wealth of the Name of the Lord are in that one place. Where else should we go? ||3|| The same gold is fashioned into various articles; just so, the Lord has made the many patterns of the creation. Says Nanak, the Guru has dispelled my doubt; in this way, my essence merges into God's essence. ||4||2||123|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: This life is diminishing, day and night.

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Meeting with the Guru, your affairs shall be resolved. ||1||Pause|| Listen, my friends, I beg of you: now is the time to serve the Saints! In this world, earn the profit of the Lord's Name, and hereafter, you shall dwell in peace. ||1|| This world is engrossed in corruption and cynicism. Only those who know God are saved. Those who are awakened by the Lord to drink in this sublime essence, come to know the Unspoken Speech of the Lord. ||2|| Purchase only that for which you have come into the world, and through the Guru, the Lord shall dwell within your mind. Within the home of your own inner being, you shall obtain the Mansion of the Lord's Presence with intuitive ease. You shall not be consigned again to the wheel of reincarnation. ||3|| O Inner-knower, Searcher of hearts, Primal Being, Architect of Destiny: please fulfill this yearning of my mind. Nanak, Your slave, begs for this happiness: let me be the dust of the feet of the Saints. ||4||3||124|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Save me, O My Father God. I am worthless and without virtue; all virtues are Yours. ||1||Pause|| The five vicious thieves are assaulting my poor being; save me, O Savior Lord! They are tormenting and torturing me. I have come, seeking Your Sanctuary. ||1||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 056

Trying all sorts of things, I have grown weary, but still, they will not leave me alone. But I have heard that they can be rooted out, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; and so I seek their Shelter. ||2|| In their Mercy, the Saints have met me, and from them, I have obtained satisfaction. The Saints have given me the Mantra of the Fearless Lord, and now I practice the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||3|| I have now conquered those terrible evil-doers, and my speech is now sweet and sublime. Says Nanak, the Divine Light has dawned within my mind; I have obtained the state of Nirvaanaa. ||4||4||125|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: He is the Eternal King. The Fearless Lord abides with you. So where does this fear come from? ||1||Pause|| In one person, You are arrogant and proud, and in another, You are meek and humble. In one person, You are all by Yourself, and in another, You are poor. ||1|| In one person, you are a Pandit, a religious scholar and a preacher, and in another, You are just a fool. In one person, You grab hold of everything, and in another, You accept nothing. ||2|| What can the poor wooden puppet do? The Master Puppeteer knows everything. As the Puppeteer dresses the puppet, so is the role the puppet plays. ||3|| The Lord has created the various chambers of assorted descriptions, and He Himself protects them. As is that vessel in which the Lord places the soul, so does it dwell. What can this poor being do? ||4|| The One who created the thing, understands it; He has fashioned all of this. Says Nanak, the Lord and Master is Infinite; He alone understands the value of His Creation. ||5||5||126|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Give them up - give up the pleasures of corruption; you are entangled in them, you crazy fool, like an animal grazing in the green fields. ||1||Pause|| That which you believe to be of use to you, shall not go even an inch with you. Naked you came, and naked you shall depart. You shall go round and round the cycle of birth and death, and you shall be food for Death. ||1|| Watching, watching the transitory dramas of the world, you are embroiled and enmeshed in them, and you laugh with delight. The string of life is wearing thin, day and night, and you have done nothing for your soul. ||2|| Doing your deeds, you have grown old; your voice fails you, and your body has become weak. You were enticed by Maya in your youth, and your attachment for it has not diminished, one little bit. ||3|| The Guru has shown me that this is the way of the world; I have abandoned the dwelling of pride, and entered Your Sanctuary. The Saint has shown me the Path of God; slave Nanak has implanted devotional worship and the Praise of the Lord. ||4||6||127|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Except for You, who is mine? O my Beloved, You are the Support of the breath of life. ||1||Pause|| You alone know the condition of my inner being. You are my Beautiful Friend. I receive all comforts from You, O my Unfathomable and Immeasurable Lord and Master. ||1||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 057

I cannot describe Your Manifestations, O Treasure of Excellence, O Giver of peace. God is Inaccessible, Incomprehensible and Imperishable; He is known through the Perfect Guru. ||2|| My doubt and fear have been taken away, and I have been made pure, since my ego was conquered. My fear of birth and death has been abolished, beholding Your Blessed Vision in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||3|| I wash the Guru's Feet and serve Him; I am a sacrifice to Him, 100,000 times. By His Grace, servant Nanak has crossed over this terrifying world-ocean; I am united with my Beloved. ||4||7||128|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Who can please You, except You Yourself? Gazing upon Your Beauteous Form, all are entranced. ||1||Pause|| In the heavenly paradise, in the nether regions of the underworld, on the planet earth and throughout the galaxies, the One Lord is pervading everywhere. Everyone calls upon You with their palms pressed together, saying, "Shiva, Shiva". O Merciful Lord and Master, everyone cries out for Your Help. ||1|| Your Name, O Lord and Master, is the Purifier of sinners, the Giver of peace, immaculate, cooling and soothing. O Nanak, spiritual wisdom, meditation and glorious greatness come from dialogue and discourse with Your Saints. ||2||8||129|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Meet with me, O my Dear Beloved. O God, whatever You do - that alone happens. ||1||Pause|| Wandering around through countless incarnations, I endured pain and suffering in so many lives, over and over again. By Your Grace, I obtained this human body; grant me the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan, O Sovereign Lord King. ||1|| That which pleases His Will has come to pass; no one else can do anything. By Your Will, enticed by the illusion of emotional attachment, the people are asleep; they do not wake up. ||2|| Please hear my prayer, O Lord of Life, O Beloved, Ocean of mercy and compassion. Save me, O my Father God. I am an orphan - please, cherish me! ||3|| You reveal the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan, for the sake of the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Grant Your Grace, and bless us with the dust of the feet of the Saints; Nanak yearns for this peace. ||4||9||130|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: I am a sacrifice to those who take the Support of the Naam. ||1||Pause|| How can I recount the praises of those humble beings who are attuned to the Love of the Supreme Lord God? Peace, intuitive poise and bliss are with them. There are no other givers equal to them. ||1|| They have come to save the world - those humble beings who thirst for His Blessed Vision. Those who seek their Sanctuary are carried across; in the Society of the Saints, their hopes are fulfilled. ||2|| If I fall at their Feet, then I live; associating with those humble beings, I remain happy. O God, please be merciful to me, that my mind might become the dust of the feet of Your devotees. ||3|| Power and authority, youth and age - whatever is seen in this world, all of it shall fade away. The treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is forever new and immaculate. Nanak has earned this wealth of the Lord. ||4||10||131||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 058

Gauree, Fifth Mehl: I came to the Guru, to learn the Way of Yoga. The True Guru has revealed it to me through the Word of the Shabad. ||1||Pause|| He is contained in the nine continents of the world, and within this body; each and every moment, I humbly bow to Him. I have made the Guru's Teachings my ear-rings, and I have enshrined the One Formless Lord within my being. ||1|| I have brought the five disciples together, and they are now under the control of the one mind. When the ten hermits become obedient to the Lord, then I became an immaculate Yogi. ||2|| I have burnt my doubt, and smeared my body with the ashes. My path is to see the One and Only Lord. I have made that intuitive peace my food; the Lord Master has written this pre-ordained destiny upon my forehead. ||3|| In that place where there is no fear, I have assumed my Yogic posture. The unstruck melody of His Bani is my horn. I have made contemplation upon the essential reality my Yogic staff. The Love of the Name in my mind is my Yogic lifestyle. ||4|| By great good fortune, such a Yogi is met, who cuts away the bonds of Maya. Nanak serves and adores this wondrous person, and kisses his feet. ||5||11||132|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is an incomparably beautiful treasure. Listen, everyone, and meditate on it, O friends. Those, unto whom the Guru has given the Lord's medicine - their minds become pure and immaculate. ||1||Pause|| Darkness is dispelled from within that body, in which the Divine Light of the Guru's Shabad shines. The noose of doubt is cut away from those who place their faith in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||1|| The treacherous and terrifying world-ocean is crossed over, in the boat of the Saadh Sangat. My mind's desires are fulfilled, meeting the Guru, in love with the Lord. ||2|| The devotees have found the treasure of the Naam; their minds and bodies are satisfied and satiated. O Nanak, the Dear Lord gives it only to those who surrender to the Lord's Command. ||3||12||133|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Please be kind and compassionate, O Lord of my life; I am helpless, and I seek Your Sanctuary, God. Please, give me Your Hand, and lift me up, out of the deep dark pit. I have no clever tricks at all. ||1||Pause|| You are the Doer, the Cause of causes - You are everything. You are All-powerful; there is no other than You. You alone know Your condition and extent. They alone become Your servants, upon whose foreheads such good destiny is recorded. ||1|| You are imbued with Your servant, God; Your devotees are woven into Your Fabric, through and through. O Darling Beloved, they yearn for Your Name and the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan, like the chakvee bird which longs to see the moon. ||2|| Between the Lord and His Saint, there is no difference at all. Among hundreds of thousands and millions, there is scarcely one humble being. Those whose hearts are illuminated by God, sing the Kirtan of His Praises night and day with their tongues. ||3|| You are All-powerful and Infinite, the most lofty and exalted, the Giver of peace; O God, You are the Support of the breath of life. Please show mercy to Nanak, O God, that he may remain in the Society of the Saints. ||4||13||134||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 059

Gauree, Fifth Mehl: O Saint, You are attuned to the Lord. Please stand my me, Architect of Destiny; please take me to my destination, Great Giver. ||1||Pause|| You alone know Your mystery; You are the Perfect Architect of Destiny. I am a helpless orphan - please keep me under Your Protection and save me. ||1|| Your Feet are the boat to carry us across the world-ocean; You alone know Your ways. Those whom You keep protected, by Your Kindness, cross over to the other side. ||2|| Here and hereafter, God, You are All-powerful; everything is in Your Hands. Please give me that treasure, which will go along with me, O servant of the Lord. ||3|| I am without virtue - please bless me with virtue, so that my mind might chant the Name of the Lord. By the Grace of the Saints, Nanak has met the Lord; his mind and body are soothed and satisfied. ||4||14||135|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: I am intuitively absorbed in the Divine Lord. The Divine True Guru has become Merciful to me. ||1||Pause|| Cutting away the halter, He has made me His slave, and now I work for the Saints. I have become a worshipper of the One Name; the Guru has shown me this amazing wonder. ||1|| The Divine Light has dawned, and everything is illuminated; the Guru has revealed this spiritual wisdom to my mind. Drinking deeply of the Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord, my mind is satisfied, and my fears have been vanquished. ||2|| Accepting the Command of the Lord's Will, I have found total peace; the home of suffering has been destroyed. When God, our Lord and Master was totally pleased, He revealed everything in the form of ecstasy. ||3|| Nothing comes, and nothing goes; this play is all set in motion by the Lord, the Sovereign King. Says Nanak, our Lord and Master is inaccessible and unfathomable. The Lord's devotees take His Name as their Support. ||4||15||136|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: He is the Supreme Lord God, the Perfect Transcendent Lord; O my mind, hold tight to the Support of the One who established the solar systems and galaxies. Chant the Name of that Lord. ||1||Pause|| Renounce the intellectual cleverness of your mind, O humble servants of the Lord; understanding the Hukam of His Command, peace is found. Whatever God does, accept that with pleasure; in comfort and in suffering, meditate on Him. ||1|| The Creator emancipates millions of sinners in an instant, without a moment's delay. The Lord, the Destroyer of the pain and sorrow of the poor, blesses those with whom He is pleased. ||2|| He is Mother and Father, the Cherisher of all; He is the Breath of life of all beings, the Ocean of peace. While giving so generously, the Creator does not diminish at all. The Source of jewels, He is All-pervading. ||3|| The beggar begs for Your Name, O Lord and Master; God is contained deep within the nucleus of each and every heart. Slave Nanak has entered His Sanctuary; no one returns from Him empty-handed. ||4||16||137||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 060

Raag Gauree Poorbee, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Never forget the Lord, Har, Har, from your mind. Here and hereafter, He is the Giver of all peace. He is the Cherisher of all hearts. ||1||Pause|| He removes the most terrible pains in an instant, if the tongue repeats His Name. In the Lord's Sanctuary there is soothing coolness, peace and tranquility. He has extinguished the burning fire. ||1|| He saves us from the hellish pit of the womb, and carries us across the terrifying world-ocean. Adoring His Lotus Feet in the mind, the fear of death is banished. ||2|| He is the Perfect, Supreme Lord God, the Transcendent Lord, lofty, unfathomable and infinite. Singing His Glorious Praises, and meditating on the Ocean of peace, one's life is not lost in the gamble. ||3|| My mind is engrossed in sexual desire, anger, greed and attachment, O Giver to the unworthy. Please grant Your Grace, and bless me with Your Name; Nanak is forever a sacrifice to You. ||4||1||138|| Raag Gauree Chaytee, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: There is no peace without devotional worship of the Lord. Be victorious, and win the priceless jewel of this human life, by meditating on Him in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, even for an instant. ||1||Pause|| Many have renounced and left their children, wealth, spouses, joyful games and pleasures. ||1|| Horses, elephants and the pleasures of power - leaving these behind, the fool must depart naked. ||2|| The body, scented with musk and sandalwood - that body shall come to roll in the dust. ||3|| Infatuated with emotional attachment, they think that God is far away. Says Nanak, he is Ever-present! ||4||1||139|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: O mind, cross over with the Support of the Lord's Name. The Guru is the boat to carry you across the world-ocean, through the waves of cynicism and doubt. ||1||Pause|| In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, there is only pitch darkness. The lamp of the Guru's spiritual wisdom illuminates and enlightens. ||1|| The poison of corruption is spread out far and wide. Only the virtuous are saved, chanting and meditating on the Lord. ||2|| Intoxicated with Maya, the people are asleep. Meeting the Guru, doubt and fear are dispelled. ||3|| Says Nanak, meditate on the One Lord; behold Him in each and every heart. ||4||2||140|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: You alone are my Chief Advisor. I serve You with the Support of the Guru. ||1||Pause|| By various devices, I

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could not find You. Taking hold of me, the Guru has made me Your slave. ||1|| I have conquered the five tyrants. By Guru's Grace, I have vanquished the army of evil. ||2|| I have received the One Name as His bounty and blessing. Now, I dwell in peace, poise and bliss. ||3||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 061

The slaves of God are good. O Nanak, their faces are radiant. ||4||3||141|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Hey, soul: your only Support is the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Whatever else you do or make happen, the fear of death still hangs over you. ||1||Pause|| He is not obtained by any other efforts. By great good fortune, meditate on the Lord. ||1|| You may know hundreds of thousands of clever tricks, but not even one will be of any use at all hereafter. ||2|| Good deeds done in the pride of ego are swept away, like the house of sand by water. ||3|| When God the Merciful shows His Mercy, Nanak receives the Naam in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||4||4||142|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: I am a sacrifice, dedicated hundreds of thousands of times, to my Lord and Master. His Name, and His Name alone, is the Support of the breath of life. ||1||Pause|| You alone are the Doer, the Cause of causes. You are the Support of all beings and creatures. ||1|| O God, You are my power, authority and youth. You are absolute, without attributes, and also related, with the most sublime attributes. ||2|| Here and hereafter, You are my Savior and Protector. By Guru's Grace, some understand You. ||3|| God is All-knowing, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. You are Nanak's strength and support. ||4||5||143|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Worship and adore the Lord, Har, Har, Har. In the Society of the Saints, He dwells in the mind; doubt, emotional attachment and fear are vanquished. ||1||Pause|| The Vedas, the Puraanas and the Simritees are heard to proclaim that the Lord's servant dwells as the highest of all. ||1|| All places are filled with fear - know this well. Only the Lord's servants are free of fear. ||2|| People wander through 8.4 million incarnations. God's people are not subject to birth and death. ||3|| Nanak has taken to the Sanctuary of the Lord's Holy Saints; he has given up power, wisdom, cleverness and egotism. ||4||6||144|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: O my mind, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord's Name. Serve the Lord continually and continuously; with each and every breath, meditate on the Lord. ||1||Pause|| In the Society of the Saints, the Lord dwells in the mind, and pain, suffering, darkness and doubt depart. ||1|| That humble being, who meditates on the Lord, by the Grace of the Saints, is not afflicted with pain. ||2|| Those unto whom the Guru gives the Mantra of the Lord's Name, are saved from the fire of Maya. ||3|| Be kind to Nanak, O God; let the Lord's Name dwell within my mind and body. ||4||7||145|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: With your tongue, chant the Name of the One Lord. In this world, it shall bring you peace, comfort and great joy; hereafter, it shall go with your soul, and shall be of use to you. ||1||Pause|| The disease of your ego shall be eradicated. By Guru's Grace, practice Raja Yoga, the Yoga of meditation and success. ||1|| Those who taste the sublime essence of the Lord have their thirst quenched. ||2|| Those who have found the Lord, the Treasure of peace, shall not go anywhere else again. ||3|| Those, unto whom the Guru has given the Lord's Name, Har, Har - O Nanak, their fears are removed. ||4||8||146||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 062

Gauree, Fifth Mehl: One who forgets the Lord's Name, suffers in pain. Those who join the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, and dwell upon the Lord, find the Ocean of virtue. ||1||Pause|| Those Gurmukhs whose hearts are filled with wisdom, hold the nine treasures, and the miraculous spiritual powers of the Siddhas in the palms of their hands. ||1|| Those who know the Lord God as their Master, do not lack anything. ||2|| Those who realise the Creator Lord, enjoy all peace and pleasure. ||3|| Those whose inner homes are filled with the Lord's wealth - says Nanak, in their company, pain departs. ||4||9||147|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Your pride is so great, but what about your origins? You cannot remain, no matter how much you try to hold on. ||1||Pause|| That which is forbidden by the Vedas and the Saints - with that, you are in love. Like the gambler losing the game of chance, you are held in the power of sensory desires. ||1|| The One who is All-powerful to empty out and fill up - you have no love for His Lotus Feet. O Nanak, I have been saved, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. I have been blessed by the Treasure of Mercy. ||2||10||148|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: I am the slave of my Lord and Master. I eat whatever God gives me. ||1||Pause|| Such is my Lord and Master. In an instant, He creates and embellishes. ||1|| I do that work which pleases my Lord and Master. I sing the songs of God's glory, and His wondrous play. ||2|| I seek the Sanctuary of the Lord's Prime Minister; beholding Him, my mind is comforted and consoled. ||3|| The One Lord is my support, the One is my steady anchor. Servant Nanak is engaged in the Lord's work. ||4||11||149|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Is there anyone, who can shatter his ego, and turn his mind away from this sweet Maya? ||1||Pause|| Humanity is in spiritual ignorance; people see things that do not exist. The night is dark and gloomy; how will the morning dawn? ||1|| Wandering, wandering all around, I have grown weary; trying all sorts of things, I have been searching. Says Nanak, He has shown mercy to me; I have found the treasure of the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||2||12||150|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: He is the Wish-fulfilling Jewel, the Embodiment of Mercy. ||1||Pause|| The Supreme Lord God is Merciful to the meek; meditating in remembrance on Him, peace is obtained. ||1|| The Wisdom of the Undying Primal Being is beyond comprehension. Hearing His Praises, millions of sins are erased. ||2|| O God, Treasure of Mercy, please bless Nanak with Your kindness, that he may repeat the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||3||13||151|| Gauree Poorbee, Fifth Mehl: O my mind, in the Sanctuary of God, peace is found. That day, when the Giver of life and peace is forgotten - that day passes uselessly. ||1||Pause|| You have come as a guest for one short night, and yet you hope to live for many ages. Households, mansions and wealth - whatever is seen, is like the shade of a tree. ||1|| My body, wealth, and all my gardens and property shall all pass away. You have forgotten your Lord and Master, the Great Giver. In an instant, these shall belong to somebody else. ||2||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 063

You wear white clothes and take cleansing baths, and anoint yourself with sandalwood oil. But you do not remember the Fearless, Formless Lord - you are like an elephant bathing in the mud. ||3|| When God becomes merciful, He leads you to meet the True Guru; all peace is in the Name of the Lord. The Guru has liberated me from bondage; servant Nanak sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||4||14||152|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: O my mind, dwell always upon the Guru, Guru, Guru. The Guru has made the jewel of this human life prosperous and fruitful. I am a sacrifice to the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. ||1||Pause|| As many breaths and morsels as you take, O my mind - so many times, sing His Glorious Praises. When the True Guru becomes merciful, then this wisdom and understanding is obtained. ||1|| O my mind, taking the Naam, you shall be released from the bondage of death, and the peace of all peace will be found. Serving your Lord and Master, the True Guru, the Great Giver, you shall obtain the fruits of your mind's desires. ||2|| The Name of the Creator is your beloved friend and child; it alone shall go along with you, O my mind. So serve your True Guru, and you shall receive the Name from the Guru. ||3|| When God, the Merciful Guru, showered His Mercy upon me, all my anxieties were dispelled. Nanak has found the peace of the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises. All his sorrows have been dispelled. ||4||15||153|| Raag Gauree, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The thirst of only a few is quenched. ||1||Pause|| People may accumulate hundreds of thousands, millions, tens of millions, and yet the mind is not restrained. They only yearn for more and more. ||1|| They may have all sorts of beautiful women, but still, they commit adultery in the homes of others. They do not distinguish between good and bad. ||2|| They wander around lost, trapped in the myriad bonds of Maya; they do not sing the Praises of the Treasure of Virtue. Their minds are engrossed in poison and corruption. ||3|| Those, unto whom the Lord shows His Mercy, remain dead while yet alive. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, they cross over the ocean of Maya. O Nanak, those humble beings are honoured in the Court of the Lord. ||4||1||154|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: The Lord is the essence of all. ||1||Pause|| Some practice Yoga, some indulge in pleasures; some live in spiritual wisdom, some live in meditation. Some are bearers of the staff. ||1|| Some chant in meditation, some practice deep, austere meditation; some worship Him in adoration, some practice daily rituals. Some live the life of a wanderer. ||2|| Some live by the shore, some live on the water; some study the Vedas. Nanak loves to worship the Lord. ||3||2||155|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: To sing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises is my treasure. ||1||Pause|| You are my delight, You are my praise. You are my beauty, You are my love. O God, You are my hope and support. ||1|| You are my pride, You are my wealth. You are my honour, You are my breath of life. The Guru has repaired that which was broken. ||2|| You are in the household, and You are in the forest. You are in the village, and You are in the wilderness.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 064

Nanak: You are near, so very near! ||3||3||156|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: I am intoxicated, intoxicated with the Love of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| I drink it in - I am drunk with it. The Guru has given it to me in charity. My mind is drenched with it. ||1|| It is my furnace, it is the cooling plaster. It is my love, it is my longing. My mind knows it as peace. ||2|| I enjoy intuitive peace, and I play in bliss; the cycle of reincarnation is ended for me, and I am merged with the Lord. Nanak is pierced through with the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||3||4||157|| Raag Gauree Maalwaa, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Chant the Lord's Name; O my friend, chant it. Hereafter, the path is terrifying and treacherous. ||1||Pause|| Serve, serve, forever serve the Lord. Death hangs over your head. Do seva, selfless service, for the Holy Saints, and the noose of Death shall be cut away. ||1|| You may make burnt offerings, sacrificial feasts and pilgrimages to sacred shrines in egotism, but your corruption only increases. You are subject to both heaven and hell, and you are reincarnated over and over again. ||2|| The realm of Shiva, the realms of Brahma and Indra as well - no place anywhere is permanent. Without serving the Lord, there is no peace at all. The faithless cynic comes and goes in reincarnation. ||3|| As the Guru has taught me, so have I spoken. Says Nanak, listen, people: sing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises, and you shall be saved. ||4||1||158|| Raag Gauree Maalaa, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Adopting the innocent mind of a child, I have found peace. Joy and sorrow, profit and loss, birth and death, pain and pleasure - they are all the same to my consciousness, since I met the Guru. ||1||Pause|| As long as I plotted and planned things, I was full of frustration. When I met the Kind, Perfect Guru, then I obtained bliss so easily. ||1|| The more clever tricks I tried, the more bonds I was saddled with. When the Holy Saint placed His Hand upon my forehead, then I was liberated. ||2|| As long as I claimed, "Mine, mine!", I was surrounded by wickedness and corruption. But when I dedicated my mind, body and intellect to my Lord and Master, then I began to sleep in peace. ||3|| As long as I walked along, carrying the load, I continued to pay the fine. But I threw away that bundle, when I met the Perfect Guru; O Nanak, then I became fearless. ||4||1||159|| Gauree Maalaa, Fifth Mehl: I have renounced my desires; I have renounced them. I have renounced them; meeting the Guru, I have renounced them. All peace, joy, happiness and pleasures have come since I surrendered to the Will of the Lord of the Universe. ||1||Pause||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 065

Honour and dishonour are the same to me; I have placed my forehead upon the Guru's Feet. Wealth does not excite me, and misfortune does not disturb me; I have embraced love for my Lord and Master. ||1|| The One Lord and Master dwells in the home; He is seen in the wilderness as well. I have become fearless; the Saint has removed my doubts. The All-knowing Lord is pervading everywhere. ||2|| Whatever the Creator does, my mind is not troubled. By the Grace of the Saints and the Company of the Holy, my sleeping mind has been awakened. ||3|| Servant Nanak seeks Your Support; he has come to Your Sanctuary. In the Love of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, he enjoys intuitive peace; pain no longer touches him. ||4||2||160|| Gauree Maalaa, Fifth Mehl: I have found the jewel of my Beloved within my mind. My body is cooled, my mind is cooled and soothed, and I am absorbed into the Shabad, the Word of the True Guru. ||1||Pause|| My hunger has departed, my thirst has totally departed, and all my anxiety is forgotten. The Perfect Guru has placed His Hand upon my forehead; conquering my mind, I have conquered the whole world. ||1|| Satisfied and satiated, I remain steady within my heart, and now, I do not waver at all. The True Guru has given me the inexhaustible treasure; it never decreases, and never runs out. ||2|| Listen to this wonder, O Siblings of Destiny: the Guru has given me this understanding. I threw off the veil of illusion, when I met my Lord and Master; then, I forgot my jealousy of others. ||3|| This is a wonder which cannot be described. They alone know it, who have tasted it. Says Nanak, the Truth has been revealed to me. The Guru has given me the treasure; I have taken it and enshrined it within my heart. ||4||3||161|| Gauree Maalaa, Fifth Mehl: Those who take to the Sanctuary of the Lord, the King, are saved. All other people, in the mansion of Maya, fall flat on their faces on the ground. ||1||Pause|| The great men have studied the Shaastras, the Simritees and the Vedas, and they have said this: "Without the Lord's meditation, there is no emancipation, and no one has ever found peace."||1|| People may accumulate the wealth of the three worlds, but the waves of greed are still not subdued. Without devotional worship of the Lord, where can anyone find stability? People wander around endlessly. ||2|| People engage in all sorts of mind-enticing pastimes, but their passions are not fulfilled. They burn and burn, and are never satisfied; without the Lord's Name, it is all useless. ||3|| Chant the Name of the Lord, my friend; this is the essence of perfect peace. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, birth and death are ended. Nanak is the dust of the feet of the humble. ||4||4||162|| Gauree Maalaa, Fifth Mehl: Who can help me understand my condition? Only the Creator knows it. ||1||Pause|| This person does things in ignorance; he does not chant in meditation, and does not perform any deep, self-disciplined meditation. This mind wanders around in the ten directions - how can it be restrained? ||1|| "I am the lord, the master of my mind, body, wealth and lands. These are mine."

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 066

In doubt and emotional attachment, this person understands nothing; with this leash, these feet are tied up. ||2|| What did this person do, when he did not exist? When the Immaculate and Formless Lord God was all alone, He did everything by Himself. ||3|| He alone knows His actions; He created this creation. Says Nanak, the Lord Himself is the

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Doer. The True Guru has dispelled my doubts. ||4||5||163|| Gauree Maalaa, Fifth Mehl: Without the Lord, other actions are useless. Meditative chants, intense deep meditation, austere self-discipline and rituals - these are plundered in this world. ||1||Pause|| Fasting, daily rituals, and austere self-discipline - those who keep the practice of these, are rewarded with less than a shell. Hereafter, the way is different, O Siblings of Destiny. There, these things are of no use at all. ||1|| Those who bathe at sacred shrines of pilgrimage, and wander over the earth, find no place of rest hereafter. There, these are of no use at all. By these things, they only please other people. ||2|| Reciting the four Vedas from memory, they do not obtain the Mansion of the Lord's Presence hereafter. Those who do not understand the One Pure Word, utter total nonsense. ||3|| Nanak voices this opinion: those who practice it, swim across. Serve the Guru, and meditate on the Naam; renounce the egotistical pride from your mind. ||4||6||164|| Gauree Maalaa, Fifth Mehl: O Lord, I chant Your Name, Har, Har, Har. I cannot do anything by myself, O Lord and Master. As You keep me, so I remain. ||1||Pause|| What can the mere mortal do? What is in the hands of this poor creature? As You attach us, so we are attached, O my Perfect Lord and Master. ||1|| Take pity on me, O Great Giver of all, that I may enshrine love for Your Form alone. Nanak offers this prayer to the Lord, that he may chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||2||7||165|| Raag Gauree Maajh, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O Merciful to the meek, O Dear Lord King, You have engaged millions of people in Your Service. You are the Lover of Your devotees; this is Your Nature. You are totally pervading all places. ||1|| How can I behold my Beloved? What is that way of life? Become the slave of the Saints, and serve at their feet. I dedicate this soul; I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice to them. Bowing low, I fall at the Feet of the Lord. ||2|| The Pandits, the religious scholars, study the books of the Vedas. Some become renunciates, and bathe at sacred shrines of pilgrimage. Some sing tunes and melodies and songs. But I meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Fearless Lord. ||3|| My Lord and Master has become merciful to me. I was a sinner, and I have been sanctified, taking to the Guru's Feet.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 067

Dispelling my doubts and fears, the Guru has rid me of hatred. The Guru has fulfilled the desires of my mind. ||4|| One who has obtained the Name is wealthy. One who meditates on God is glorified. Sublime are all the actions of those who join the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Servant Nanak is intuitively absorbed into the Lord. ||5||1||166|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl, Maajh: Come to me, O my Beloved Lord. Night and day, with each and every breath, I think of You. O Saints, give Him this message; I fall at Your Feet. Without You, how can I be saved? ||1|| In Your Company, I am in ecstasy. In the forest, the fields and the three worlds, there is peace and supreme bliss. My bed is beautiful, and my mind blossoms forth in ecstasy. Beholding the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan, I have found this peace. ||2|| I wash Your Feet, and constantly serve You. O Divine Lord, I worship and adore You; I bow down before You. I am the slave of Your slaves; I chant Your Name. I offer this prayer to my Lord and Master. ||3|| My desires are fulfilled, and my mind and body are rejuvenated. Beholding the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan, all my pains have been taken away. Chanting and meditating on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, I have been saved. Nanak endures this unendurable celestial bliss. ||4||2||167|| Gauree Maajh, Fifth Mehl: Listen, listen, O my friend and companion, O Beloved of my mind: my mind and body are Yours. This life is a sacrifice to You as well. May I never forget God, the Support of the breath of life. I have come to Your Eternal Sanctuary. ||1|| Meeting Him, my mind is revived, O Siblings of Destiny. By Guru's Grace, I have found the Lord, Har, Har. All things belong to God; all places belong to God. I am forever a sacrifice to God. ||2|| Very fortunate are those who meditate on this treasure. They enshrine love for the Naam, the Name of the One Immaculate Lord. Finding the Perfect Guru, all suffering is dispelled. Twenty-four hours a day, I sing the Glories of God. ||3|| Your Name is the treasure of jewels, Lord. You are the True Banker; Your devotee is the trader. True is the trade of those who have the wealth of the Lord's assets. Servant Nanak is forever a sacrifice. ||4||3||168|| Raag Gauree Maajh, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I am so proud of You, O Creator; I am so proud of You. Through Your Almighty Power, I dwell in peace. The True Word of the Shabad is my banner and insignia. ||1||Pause|| He hears and knows everything, but he keeps silent. Bewitched by Maya, he never regains awareness. ||1|| The riddles and hints are given, and he sees them with his eyes.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 068

But he is foolish and greedy, and he never listens to what he is told. ||2|| Why bother to count one, two, three, four? The whole world is defrauded by the same enticements. Hardly anyone loves the Lord's Name; how rare is that place which is in bloom. ||3|| The devotees look beautiful in the True Court; night and day, they are happy. They are imbued with the Love of the Transcendent Lord; servant Nanak is a sacrifice to them. ||4||1||169|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl, Maajh: The Destroyer of sorrow is Your Name, Lord; the Destroyer of sorrow is Your Name. Twenty-four hours a day, dwell upon the wisdom of the Perfect True Guru. ||1||Pause|| That heart, in which the Supreme Lord God abides, is the most beautiful place. The Messenger of Death does not even approach those who chant the Glorious Praises of the Lord with the tongue. ||1|| I have not understood the wisdom of serving Him, nor have I worshipped Him in meditation. You are my Support, O Life of the World; O my Lord and Master, Inaccessible and Incomprehensible. ||2|| When the Lord of the Universe became merciful, sorrow and suffering departed. The hot winds do not even touch those who are protected by the True Guru. ||3|| The Guru is the All-pervading Lord, the Guru is the Merciful Master; the Guru is the True Creator Lord. When the Guru was totally satisfied, I obtained everything. Servant Nanak is forever a sacrifice to Him. ||4||2||170|| Gauree Maajh, Fifth Mehl: The Lord, the Lord, Raam, Raam, Raam: meditating on Him, all affairs are resolved. ||1||Pause|| Chanting the Name of the Lord of the Universe, one's mouth is sanctified. One who recites to me the Praises of the Lord is my friend and brother. ||1|| All treasures, all rewards and all virtues are in the Lord of the Universe. Why forget Him from your mind? Remembering Him in meditation, pain departs. ||2|| Grasping the hem of His robe, we live, and cross over the terrifying world-ocean. Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, one is saved, and one's face becomes radiant in the Court of the Lord. ||3|| The Praise of the Sustainer of the Universe is the essence of life, and the wealth of His Saints. Nanak is saved, chanting the Naam, the Name of the Lord; in the True Court, he is cheered and applauded. ||4||3||171|| Gauree Maajh, Fifth Mehl: Sing the Sweet Praises of the Lord, O my soul, sing the Sweet Praises of the Lord. Attuned to the True One, even the homeless find a home. ||1||Pause|| All other tastes are bland and insipid; through them, the body and mind are rendered insipid as well. Without the Transcendent Lord, what can anyone do? Cursed is his life, and cursed his reputation. ||1|| Grasping the hem of the robe of the Holy Saint, we cross over the world-ocean. Worship and adore the Supreme Lord God, and all your family will be saved as well. ||2|| He is a companion, a relative, and a good friend of mine, who implants the Lord's Name within my heart. He washes off all my demerits, and is so generous to me. ||3|| Wealth, treasures, and household are all just ruins; the Lord's Feet are the only treasure. Nanak is a beggar standing at Your Door, God; he begs for Your charity. ||4||4||172||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 069

One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Raag Gauree, Ninth Mehl : Holy Saadhus: forsake the pride of your mind. Sexual desire, anger and the company of evil people - run away from them, day and night. ||1||Pause|| One who knows that pain and pleasure are both the same, and honour and dishonour as well, who remains detached from joy and sorrow, realises the true essence in the world. ||1|| Renounce both praise and blame; seek instead the state of Nirvaanaa. O servant Nanak, this is such a difficult game; only a few Gurmukhs understand it! ||2||1|| Gauree, Ninth Mehl: Holy Saadhus: the Lord fashioned the creation. One person passes away, and another thinks that he will live forever - this is a wonder beyond understanding! ||1||Pause|| The mortal beings are held in the power of sexual desire, anger and emotional attachment; they have forgotten the Lord, the Immortal Form. The body is false, but they believe it to be true; it is like a dream in the night. ||1|| Whatever is seen, shall all pass away, like the shadow of a cloud. O servant Nanak, one who knows the world to be unreal, dwells in the Sanctuary of the Lord. ||2||2|| Gauree, Ninth Mehl: The Praise of the Lord does not come to dwell in the minds of the mortal beings. Day and night, they remain engrossed in Maya. Tell me, how can they sing God's Glories? ||1||Pause|| In this way, they bind themselves to children, friends, Maya and possessiveness. Like the deer's delusion, this world is false; and yet, beholding it, they chase after it. ||1|| Our Lord and Master is the source of pleasures and liberation; and yet, the fool forgets Him. O servant Nanak, among millions, there is scarcely anyone who attains the Lord's meditation. ||2||3|| Gauree, Ninth Mehl: Holy Saadhus: this mind cannot be restrained. Fickle desires dwell with it, and so it cannot remain steady. ||1||Pause|| The heart is filled with anger and violence, which cause all sense to be forgotten. The jewel of spiritual wisdom has been taken away from everyone; nothing can withstand it. ||1|| The Yogis have tried everything and failed; the virtuous have grown weary of singing God's Glories. O servant Nanak, when the Lord becomes merciful, then every effort is successful. ||2||4|| Gauree, Ninth Mehl: Holy Saadhus: sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe. You have obtained the priceless jewel of this human life; why are you uselessly wasting it? ||1||Pause|| He is the Purifier of sinners, the Friend of the poor. Come, and enter the Lord's Sanctuary. Remembering Him, the elephant's fear was removed; so why do you forget Him? ||1|| Renounce your egotistical pride and your emotional attachment to Maya; focus your consciousness on the Lord's meditation. Says Nanak, this is the path to liberation. Become Gurmukh, and attain it. ||2||5|| Gauree, Ninth Mehl: O mother, if only someone would instruct my wayward mind.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 070

This mind listens to the Vedas, the Puraanas, and the ways of the Holy Saints, but it does not sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, for even an instant. ||1||Pause|| Having obtained this human body, so very difficult to obtain, it is now being uselessly wasted. Emotional attachment to Maya is such a treacherous wilderness, and yet, people are in love with it. ||1|| Inwardly and outwardly, God is always with them, and yet, they do not enshrine Love for Him. O Nanak, know that those whose hearts are filled with the Lord are liberated. ||2||6|| Gauree, Ninth Mehl: Holy Saadhus: rest and peace are in the Sanctuary of the Lord. This is the blessing of studying the Vedas and the Puraanas, that you may meditate on the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Greed, emotional attachment to Maya, possessiveness, the service of evil, pleasure and pain - those who are not touched by these, are the very embodiment of the Divine Lord. ||1|| Heaven and hell, ambrosial nectar and poison, gold and copper - these are all alike to them. Praise and slander are all the same to them, as are greed and attachment. ||2|| They are not bound by pleasure and pain - know that they are truly wise. O Nanak, recognise those mortal beings as liberated, who live this way of life. ||3||7|| Gauree, Ninth Mehl: O mind, why have you gone crazy? Don't you know that your life is decreasing, day and night? Your life is made worthless with greed. ||1||Pause|| That body, which you believe to be your own, and your beautiful home and spouse - none of these is yours to keep. See this, reflect upon it and understand. ||1|| You have wasted the precious jewel of this human life; you do not know the Way of the Lord of the Universe. You have not been absorbed in the Lord's Feet, even for an instant. Your life has passed away in vain! ||2|| Says Nanak, that man is happy, who sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord's Name. All the rest of the world is enticed by Maya; they do not obtain the state of fearless dignity. ||3||8|| Gauree, Ninth Mehl: You people are unconscious; you should be afraid of sin. Seek the Sanctuary of the Lord, Merciful to the meek, Destroyer of all fear. ||1||Pause|| The Vedas and the Puraanas sing His Praises; enshrine His Name within your heart. Pure and sublime is the Name of the Lord in the world. Remembering it in meditation, all sinful mistakes shall be washed away. ||1|| You shall not obtain this human body again; make the effort - try to achieve liberation! Says Nanak, sing of the Lord of compassion, and cross over the terrifying world-ocean. ||2||9||251|| Raag Gauree, Ashtapadees, First Mehl: Gauree Gwaarayree: One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. By Guru's Grace: The nine treasures and the miraculous spiritual powers come by contemplating the Immaculate Naam, the Name of the Lord. The Perfect Lord is All-pervading everywhere; He destroys the poison of Maya. I am rid of the three-phased Maya, dwelling in the Pure Lord.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 071

The Guru's Teachings are useful to my soul. ||1|| Chanting the Lord's Name in this way, my mind is satisfied. I have obtained the ointment of spiritual wisdom, recognising the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||1||Pause|| Blended with the One Lord, I enjoy intuitive peace. Through the Immaculate Bani of the Word, my doubts have been dispelled. Instead of the pale colour of Maya, I am imbued with the deep crimson colour of the Lord's Love. By the Lord's Glance of Grace, the poison has been eliminated. ||2|| When I turned away, and became dead while yet alive, I was awakened. Chanting the Word of the Shabad, my mind is attached to the Lord. I have gathered in the Lord's sublime essence, and cast out the poison. Abiding in His Love, the fear of death has run away. ||3|| My taste for pleasure ended, along with conflict and egotism. My consciousness is attuned to the Lord, by the Order of the Infinite. My pursuit for worldy pride and honour is over. When He blessed me with His Glance of Grace, peace was established in my soul. ||4|| Without You, I see no friend at all. Whom should I serve? Unto whom should I dedicate my consciousness? Whom should I ask? At whose feet should I fall? By whose teachings will I remain absorbed in His Love? ||5|| I serve the Guru, and I fall at the Guru's Feet. I worship Him, and I am absorbed in the Lord's Name. The Lord's Love is my instruction, sermon and food. Enjoined to the Lord's Command, I have entered the home of my inner self. ||6|| With the extinction of pride, my soul has found peace and meditation. The Divine Light has dawned, and I am absorbed in the Light. Pre-ordained destiny cannot be erased; the Shabad is my banner and insignia. I know the Creator, the Creator of His Creation. ||7|| I am not a learned Pandit, I am not clever or wise. I do not wander; I am not deluded by doubt. I do not speak empty speech; I have recognised the Hukam of His Command. Nanak is absorbed in intuitive peace through the Guru's Teachings. ||8||1|| Gauree

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Gwaarayree, First Mehl: The mind is an elephant in the forest of the body. The Guru is the controlling stick; when the Insignia of the True Shabad is applied, one obtains honour in the Court of God the King. ||1|| He cannot be known through clever tricks. Without subduing the mind, how can His value be estimated? ||1||Pause|| In the house of the self is the Ambrosial Nectar, which is being stolen by the thieves. No one can say no to them. He Himself protects us, and blesses us with greatness. ||2|| There are billions, countless billions of fires of desire at the seat of the mind. They are extinguished only with the water of understanding, imparted by the Guru. Offering my mind, I have attained it, and I joyfully sing His Glorious Praises. ||3|| Just as He is within the home of the self, so is He beyond. But how can I describe Him, sitting in a cave? The Fearless Lord is in the oceans, just as He is in the mountains. ||4|| Tell me, who can kill someone who is already dead? What does he fear? Who can frighten the fearless one? He recognises the Word of the Shabad, throughout the three worlds. ||5|| One who speaks, merely describes speech. But one who understands, intuitively realises. Seeing and reflecting upon it, my mind surrenders. ||6|| Praise, beauty and liberation are in the One Name. In it, the Immaculate Lord is permeating and pervading. He dwells in the home of the self, and in His own sublime place. ||7|| The many silent sages lovingly praise Him.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 072

Their bodies and minds are purified, as they enshrine the True Lord in their consciousness. O Nanak, meditate on the Lord, each and every day. ||8||2|| Gauree Gwaarayree, First Mehl: The mind does not die, so the job is not accomplished. The mind is under the power of the demons of evil intellect and duality. But when the mind surrenders, through the Guru, it becomes one. ||1|| The Lord is without attributes; the attributes of virtue are under His control. One who eliminates selfishness contemplates Him. ||1||Pause|| The deluded mind thinks of all sorts of corruption. When the mind is deluded, the load of wickedness falls on the head. But when the mind surrenders to the Lord, it realises the One and Only Lord. ||2|| The deluded mind enters the house of Maya. Engrossed in sexual desire, it does not remain steady. O mortal, lovingly vibrate the Lord's Name with your tongue. ||3|| Elephants, horses, gold, children and spouses - in the anxious affairs of all these, people lose the game and depart. In the game of chess, their pieces do not reach their destination. ||4|| They gather wealth, but only evil comes from it. Pleasure and pain stand in the doorway. Intuitive peace comes by meditating on the Lord, within the heart. ||5|| When the Lord bestows His Glance of Grace, then He unites us in His Union. Through the Word of the Shabad, merits are gathered in, and demerits are burned away. The Gurmukh obtains the treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||6|| Without the Name, all live in pain. The consciousness of the foolish, self-willed manmukh is the dwelling place of Maya. The Gurmukh obtains spiritual wisdom, according to pre-ordained destiny. ||7|| The fickle mind continuously runs after fleeting things. The Pure True Lord is not pleased by filth. O Nanak, the Gurmukh sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||8||3|| Gauree Gwaarayree, First Mehl: Acting in egotism, peace is not obtained. The intellect of the mind is false; only the Lord is True. All who love duality are ruined. People act as they are pre-ordained. ||1|| I have seen the world to be such a gambler; all beg for peace, but they forget the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| If the Unseen Lord could be seen, then He could be described. Without seeing Him, all descriptions are useless. The Gurmukh sees Him with intuitive ease. So serve the One Lord, with loving awareness. ||2|| People beg for peace, but they receive severe pain. They are all weaving a wreath of corruption. You are false - without the One, there is no liberation. The Creator created the creation, and He watches over it. ||3|| The fire of desire is quenched by the Word of the Shabad. Duality and doubt are automatically eliminated. Following the Guru's Teachings, the Naam abides in the heart. Through the True Word of His Bani, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||4|| The True Lord abides within the body of that Gurmukh who enshrines love for Him. Without the Naam, none obtain their own place. The Beloved Lord King is dedicated to love. If He bestows His Glance of Grace, then we realise His Name. ||5|| Emotional attachment to Maya is total entanglement. The self-willed manmukh is filthy, cursed and dreadful. Serving the True Guru, these entanglements are ended. In the Ambrosial Nectar of the Naam, you shall abide in lasting peace. ||6|| The Gurmukhs understand the One Lord, and enshrine love for Him. They dwell in the home of their own inner beings, and merge in the True Lord. The cycle of birth and death is ended. This understanding is obtained from the Perfect Guru. ||7|| Speaking the speech, there is no end to it.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 073

I have consulted the Guru, and I have seen that there is no other door than His. Pain and pleasure reside in the Pleasure of His Will and His Command. Nanak, the lowly, says embrace love for the Lord. ||8||4|| Gauree, First Mehl: The duality of Maya dwells in the consciousness of the people of the world. They are destroyed by sexual desire, anger and egotism. ||1|| Whom should I call the second, when there is only the One? The One Immaculate Lord is pervading among all. ||1||Pause|| The dual-minded evil intellect speaks of a second. One who harbors duality comes and goes and dies. ||2|| In the earth and in the sky, I do not see any second. Among all the women and the men, His Light is shining. ||3|| In the lamps of the sun and the moon, I see His Light. Dwelling among all is my ever-youthful Beloved. ||4|| In His Mercy, He attuned my consciousness to the Lord. The True Guru has led me to understand the One Lord. ||5|| The Gurmukh knows the One Immaculate Lord. Subduing duality, one comes to realise the Word of the Shabad. ||6|| The Command of the One Lord prevails throughout all the worlds. From the One, all have arisen. ||7|| There are two routes, but remember that their Lord and Master is only One. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, recognise the Hukam of the Lord's Command. ||8|| He is contained in all forms, colours and minds. Says Nanak, praise the One Lord. ||9||5|| Gauree, First Mehl: Those who live a spiritual lifestyle - they alone are true. What can the false know about the secrets of liberation? ||1|| Those who contemplate the Way are Yogis. They conquer the five thieves, and enshrine the True Lord in the heart. ||1||Pause|| Those who enshrine the True Lord deep within, realise the value of the Way of Yoga. ||2|| The sun and the moon are one and the same for them, as are household and wilderness. The karma of their daily practice is to praise the Lord. ||3|| They beg for the alms of the one and only Shabad. They remain awake and aware in spiritual wisdom and meditation, and the true way of life. ||4|| They remain absorbed in the fear of God; they never leave it. Who can estimate their value? They remain lovingly absorbed in the Lord. ||5|| The Lord unites them with Himself, dispelling their doubts. By Guru's Grace, the supreme status is obtained. ||6|| In the Guru's service is reflection upon the Shabad. Subduing ego, practice pure actions. ||7|| Chanting, meditation, austere self-discipline and the reading of the Puraanas, says Nanak, are contained in surrender to the Unlimited Lord. ||8||6|| Gauree, First Mehl: To practice forgiveness is the true fast, good conduct and contentment. Disease does not afflict me, nor does the pain of death. I am liberated, and absorbed into God, who has no form or feature. ||1|| What fear does the Yogi have? The Lord is among the trees and the plants, within the household and outside as well. ||1||Pause|| The Yogis meditate on the Fearless, Immaculate Lord. Night and day, they remain awake and aware, embracing love for the True Lord. Those Yogis are pleasing to my mind. ||2|| The trap of death is burnt by the Fire of God. Old age, death and pride are conquered. They swim across, and save their ancestors as well. ||3|| Those who serve the True Guru are the Yogis. Those who remain immersed in the Fear of God become fearless. They become just like the One they serve. ||4||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 074

The Name makes a man pure and fearless. It makes the masterless become the master of all. I am a sacrifice to him. Such a person is not reincarnated again; he sings the Glories of God. ||5|| Inwardly and outwardly, he knows the One Lord; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, he realises himself. He bears the Banner and Insignia of the True Shabad in the Lord's Court. ||6|| One who dies in the Shabad abides in his own home within. He does not come or go in reincarnation, and his hopes are subdued. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, his heart-lotus blossoms forth. ||7|| Whoever is seen, is driven by hope and despair, by sexual desire, anger, corruption, hunger and thirst. O Nanak, those detached recluses who meet the Lord are so very rare. ||8||7|| Gauree, First Mehl: Meeting such a slave, peace is obtained. Pain is forgotten, when the True Lord is found. ||1|| Beholding the blessed vision of his darshan, my understanding has become perfect. The cleansing baths at the sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage are in the dust of his feet. ||1||Pause|| My eyes are contented with the constant love of the One Lord. My tongue is purified by the most sublime essence of the Lord. ||2|| True are my actions, and deep within my being, I serve Him. My mind is satisfied by the Inscrutable, Mysterious Lord. ||3|| Wherever I look, there I find the True Lord. Without understanding, the world argues in falsehood. ||4|| When the Guru instructs, understanding is obtained. How rare is that Gurmukh who understands. ||5|| Show Your Mercy, and save me, O Savior Lord! Without understanding, people become beasts and demons. ||6|| The Guru has said that there is no other at all. So tell me, who should I see, and who should I worship? ||7|| For the sake of the Saints, God has established the three worlds. One who understands his own soul, contemplates the essence of reality. ||8|| One whose heart is filled with Truth and true love - prays Nanak, I am his servant. ||9||8|| Gauree, First Mehl: Brahma acted in pride, and did not understand. Only when he was faced with the downfall of the Vedas did he repent. Remembering God in meditation, the mind is conciliated. ||1|| Such is the horrible pride of the world. The Guru eliminates the pride of those who meet Him. ||1||Pause|| Bal the King, in Maya and egotism, held his ceremonial feasts, but he was puffed up with pride. Without the Guru's advice, he had to go to the underworld. ||2|| Hari Chand gave in charity, and earned public praise. But without the Guru, he did not find the limits of the Mysterious Lord. The Lord Himself misleads people, and He Himself imparts understanding. ||3|| The evil-minded Harnaakhash committed evil deeds. God, the Lord of all, is the Destroyer of pride. He bestowed His Mercy, and saved Prahlaad. ||4|| Raawan was deluded, foolish and unwise. Sri Lanka was plundered, and he lost his head. He indulged in ego, and lacked the love of the True Guru. ||5|| The Lord killed the thousand-armed Arjun, and the demons Madhu-keetab and Meh-khaasaa. He seized Harnaakhash and tore him apart with his nails. The demons were slain; they did not practice devotional worship. ||6|| The demons Jaraa-sandh and Kaal-jamun were destroyed. Rakat-beej and Kaal-naym were annihilated. Slaying the demons, the Lord saved His Saints. ||7|| He Himself, as the True Guru, contemplates the Shabad.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 075

Because of the love of duality, God killed the demons. By their true devotion, the Gurmukhs have been saved. ||8|| Sinking down, Durodhan lost his honour. He did not know the Creator Lord. One who makes the Lord's humble servant suffer, shall himself suffer and rot. ||9|| Janameja did not know the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Deluded by doubt, how could he find peace? Making a mistake, for even an instant, you shall regret and repent later on. ||10|| Kansa the King and his warriors Kays and Chandoor had no equals. But they did not remember the Lord, and they lost their honour. Without the Lord of the Universe, no one can be saved. ||11|| Without the Guru, pride cannot be eradicated. Following the Guru's Teachings, one obtains Dharmic faith, composure and the Lord's Name. O Nanak, singing the Glories of God, His Name is received. ||12||9|| Gauree, First Mehl: I may anoint my limbs with sandalwood oil. I may dress up and wear silk and satin clothes. But without the Lord's Name, where would I find peace? ||1|| So what should I wear? In what clothes should I display myself? Without the Lord of the Universe, how can I find peace? ||1||Pause|| I may wear ear-rings, and a pearl necklace around my neck; my bed may be adorned with red blankets, flowers and red powder; but without the Lord of the Universe, where can I search for peace? ||2|| I may have a beautiful woman with fascinating eyes; she may decorate herself with the sixteen adornments, and make herself appear gorgeous. But without meditating on the Lord of the Universe, there is only continual suffering. ||3|| In his hearth and home, in his palace, upon his soft and comfortable bed, day and night, the flower-girls scatter flower petals; but without the Lord's Name, the body is miserable. ||4|| Horses, elephants, lances, marching bands, armies, standard bearers, royal attendants and ostentatious displays - without the Lord of the Universe, these undertakings are all useless. ||5|| He may be called a Siddha, a man of spiritual perfection, and he may summon riches and supernatural powers; he may place a crown upon his head, and carry a royal umbrella; but without the Lord of the Universe, where can Truth be found? ||6|| He may be called an emperor, a lord, and a king; he may give orders - "Do this now, do this then" - but this is a false display. Without the Word of the Guru's Shabad, his works are not accomplished. ||7|| Egotism and possessiveness are dispelled by the Word of the Guru's Shabad. With the Guru's Teachings in my heart, I have come to know the Lord. Prays Nanak, I seek Your Sanctuary. ||8||10|| Gauree, First Mehl: Those who serve the One Lord, do not know any other. They abandon the bitter worldly conflicts. Through love and truth, they meet the Truest of the True. ||1|| Such are the humble devotees of the Lord. They sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and their pollution is washed away. ||1||Pause|| The heart-lotus of the entire universe is upside-down. The fire of evil-mindedness is burning up the world. They alone are saved, who contemplate the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||2|| The bumble bee, the moth, the elephant, the fish and the deer - all suffer for their actions, and die. Trapped by desire, they cannot see reality. ||3|| The lover of women is obsessed with sex. All the wicked are ruined by their anger. Honour and good sense are lost, when one forgets the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||4||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 076

The self-willed manmukh is lured by another man's wife. The noose is around his neck, and he is entangled in petty conflicts. The Gurmukh is emancipated, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||5|| The lonely widow gives her body to a stranger; she allows her mind to be controlled by others for lust or money , but without her husband, she is never satisfied. ||6|| You may read, recite and study the scriptures, the Simritees, Vedas and Puraanas; but without being imbued with the Lord's essence, the mind wanders endlessly. ||7|| As the rainbird thirsts longingly for the drop of rain, and as the fish delights in the water, Nanak is satisfied by the sublime essence of the Lord. ||8||11|| Gauree, First Mehl: One who dies in stubbornness shall not be approved, even though he may wear religious robes and smear his body all over with ashes. Forgetting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, he comes to

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regret and repent in the end. ||1|| Believe in the Dear Lord, and you shall find peace of mind. Forgetting the Naam, you shall have to endure the pain of death. ||1||Pause|| The smell of musk, sandalwood and camphor, and the intoxication of Maya, takes one far away from the state of supreme dignity. Forgetting the Naam, one becomes the most false of all the false. ||2|| Lances and swords, marching bands, thrones and the salutes of others only increase his desire; he is engrossed in sexual desire. Without seeking the Lord, neither devotional worship nor the Naam are obtained. ||3|| Union with God is not obtained by arguments and egotism. But by offering your mind, the comfort of the Naam is obtained. In the love of duality and ignorance, you shall suffer. ||4|| Without money, you cannot buy anything in the store. Without a boat, you cannot cross over the ocean. Without serving the Guru, everything is lost. ||5|| Waaho! Waaho! - Hail, hail, to the one who shows us the Way. Waaho! Waaho! - Hail, hail, to the one who teaches the Word of the Shabad. Waaho! Waaho! - Hail, hail, to the one who unites me in the Lord's Union. ||6|| Waaho! Waaho! - Hail, hail, to the one who is the Keeper of this soul. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, contemplate this Ambrosial Nectar. The Glorious Greatness of the Naam is bestowed according to the Pleasure of Your Will. ||7|| Without the Naam, how can I live, O mother? Night and day, I chant it; I remain in the Protection of Your Sanctuary. O Nanak, attuned to the Naam, honour is attained. ||8||12|| Gauree, First Mehl: Acting in egotism, the Lord is not known, even by wearing religious robes. How rare is that Gurmukh, who surrenders his mind in devotional worship. ||1|| By actions done in egotism, selfishness and conceit, the True Lord is not obtained. But when egotism departs, then the state of supreme dignity is obtained. ||1||Pause|| The kings act in egotism, and undertake all sorts of expeditions. But through their egotism, they are ruined; they die, only to be reborn over and over again. ||2|| Egotism is overcome only by contemplating the Word of the Guru's Shabad. One who restrains his fickle mind subdues the five passions. ||3|| With the True Lord deep within the self, the Celestial Mansion is intuitively found. Understanding the Sovereign Lord, the state of supreme dignity is obtained. ||4|| The Guru dispels the doubts of those whose actions are true. They focus their attention on the Home of the Fearless Lord. ||5|| Those who act in egotism, selfishness and conceit die; what do they gain? Those who meet the Perfect Guru are rid of all conflicts. ||6|| Whatever exists, is in reality nothing. Obtaining spiritual wisdom from the Guru, I sing the Glories of God. ||7||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 077

Egotism binds people in bondage, and causes them to wander around lost. O Nanak, peace is obtained through devotional worship of the Lord. ||8||13|| Gauree, First Mehl: First, Brahma entered the house of Death. Brahma entered the lotus, and searched the nether regions, but he did not find the end of it. He did not accept the Lord's Order - he was deluded by doubt. ||1|| Whoever is created, shall be destroyed by Death. But I am protected by the Lord; I contemplate the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||1||Pause|| All the gods and goddesses are enticed by Maya. Death cannot be avoided, without serving the Guru. That Lord is Imperishable, Invisible and Inscrutable. ||2|| The sultans, emperors and kings shall not remain. Forgetting the Name, they shall endure the pain of death. My only Support is the Naam, the Name of the Lord; as He keeps me, I survive. ||3|| The leaders and kings shall not remain. The bankers shall die, after accumulating their wealth and money. Grant me, O Lord, the wealth of Your Ambrosial Naam. ||4|| The people, rulers, leaders and chiefs - none of them shall be able to remain in the world. Death is inevitable; it strikes the heads of the false. ||5|| Only the One Lord, the Truest of the True, is permanent. He who created and fashioned everything, shall destroy it. One who becomes Gurmukh and meditates on the Lord is honoured. ||6|| The Qazis, Shaykhs and Fakeers in religious robes call themselves great; but through their egotism, their bodies are suffering in pain. Death does not spare them, without the Support of the True Guru. ||7|| The trap of Death is hanging over their tongues and eyes. Death is over their ears, when they hear talk of evil. Without the Shabad, they are plundered, day and night. ||8|| Death cannot touch those whose hearts are filled with the True Name of the Lord, and who sing the Glories of God. O Nanak, the Gurmukh is absorbed in the Word of the Shabad. ||9||14|| Gauree, First Mehl: They speak the Truth - not an iota of falsehood. The Gurmukhs walk in the Way of the Lord's Command. They remain unattached, in the Sanctuary of the True Lord. ||1|| They dwell in their true home, and Death does not touch them. The self-willed manmukhs come and go, in the pain of emotional attachment. ||1||Pause|| So, drink deeply of this Nectar, and speak the Unspoken Speech. Dwelling in the home of your own being within, you shall find the home of intuitive peace. One who is imbued with the Lord's sublime essence, is said to experience this peace. ||2|| Following the Guru's Teachings, one becomes perfectly stable, and never wavers. Following the Guru's Teachings, one intuitively chants the Name of the True Lord. Drinking in this Ambrosial Nectar, and churning it, the essential reality is discerned. ||3|| Beholding the True Guru, I have received His Teachings. I have offered my mind and body, after searching deep within my own being. I have come to realise the value of understanding my own soul. ||4|| The Naam, the Name of the Immaculate Lord, is the most excellent and sublime food. The pure swan-souls see the True Light of the Infinite Lord. Wherever I look, I see the One and Only Lord. ||5|| One who remains pure and unblemished and practices only true deeds, obtains the supreme status, serving at the Guru's Feet. The mind is reconciliated with the mind, and the ego's wandering ways come to an end. ||6|| In this way, who - who has not been saved? The Lord's Praises have saved His Saints and devotees.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 078

I have found God - I am not searching for any other. ||7|| The Guru has shown me the unseen Mansion of the True Lord. His Mansion is eternal and unchanging; it is not a mere reflection of Maya. Through truth and contentment, doubt is dispelled. ||8|| That person, within whose mind the True Lord dwells - in his company, one becomes Gurmukh. O Nanak, the True Name washes off the pollution. ||9||15|| Gauree, First Mehl: One whose consciousness is permeated with the Lord's Name - receive the blessing of his darshan in the early light of dawn. ||1|| If you do not meditate on the Lord, it is your own misfortune. In each and every age, the Great Giver is my Lord God. ||1||Pause|| Following the Guru's Teachings, the perfect humble beings meditate on the Lord. Within their hearts, the unstruck melody vibrates. ||2|| Those who worship the Lord and love the Lord - showering His Mercy, God protects them. ||3|| Those whose hearts are filled with the Lord, Har, Har - gazing upon the blessed vision of their darshan, peace is obtained. ||4|| Among all beings, the One Lord is pervading. The eogtistical, self-willed manmukhs wander in reincarnation. ||5|| They alone understand, who have found the True Guru. Subduing their ego, they receive the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||6|| How can anyone know of the Union between the being below and the Supreme Being above? The Gurmukhs obtain this Union; their minds are reconciliated. ||7|| I am a worthless sinner, without merit. What merit do I have? When God showers His Mercy, servant Nanak is emancipated. ||8||16|| Sixteen Ashtapadees Of Gwaarayree Gauree|| Gauree Bairaagan, First Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: As the dairy farmer watches over and protects his cows, so does the Lord cherish and protect us, night and day. He blesses the soul with peace. ||1|| Please protect me here and hereafter, O Lord, Merciful to the meek. I seek Your Sanctuary; please bless me with Your Glance of Grace. ||1||Pause|| Wherever I look, there You are. Save me, O Savior Lord! You are the Giver, and You are the Enjoyer; You are the Support of the breath of life. ||2|| According to the karma of past actions, people descend to the depths or rise to the heights, unless they contemplate spiritual wisdom. Without the Praises of the Lord of the Universe, the darkness is not dispelled. ||3|| I have seen the world being destroyed by greed and egotism. Only by serving the Guru is God obtained, and the true gate of liberation found. ||4|| The Mansion of the Infinite Lord's Presence is within the home of one's own being. He is beyond any boundaries. Without the Word of the Shabad, nothing shall endure. Through understanding, peace is obtained. ||5|| What have you brought, and what will you take away, when you are caught by the noose of Death? Like the bucket tied to the rope in the well, you are pulled up to the Akaashic Ethers, and then lowered down to the nether regions of the underworld. ||6|| Follow the Guru's Teachings, and do not forget the Naam, the Name of the Lord; you shall automatically obtain honour. Deep within the self is the treasure of the Shabad; it is obtained only by eradicating selfishness and conceit. ||7|| When God bestows His Glance of Grace, people settle in the Lap of the Virtuous Lord. O Nanak, this Union cannot be broken; the true profit is obtained. ||8||1||17||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 079

Gauree, First Mehl: By Guru's Grace, one comes to understand, and then, the account is settled. In each and every heart is the Name of the Immaculate Lord; He is my Lord and Master. ||1|| Without the Word of the Guru's Shabad, no one is emancipated. See this, and reflect upon it. Even though you may perform hundreds of thousands of rituals, without the Guru, there is only darkness. ||1||Pause|| What can you say, to one who is blind and without wisdom? Without the Guru, the Path cannot be seen. How can anyone proceed? ||2|| He calls the counterfeit genuine, and does not know the value of the genuine. The blind man is known as an appraiser; this Dark Age of Kali Yuga is so strange! ||3|| The sleeper is said to be awake, and those who are awake are like sleepers. The living are said to be dead, and no one mourns for those who have died. ||4|| One who is coming is said to be going, and one who is gone is said to have come. That which belongs to others, he calls his own, but he has no liking for that which is his. ||5|| That which is sweet is said to be bitter, and the bitter is said to be sweet. One who is imbued with the Lord's Love is slandered - his is what I have seen in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga. ||6|| He serves the maid, and does not see his Lord and Master. Churning the water in the pond, no butter is produced. ||7|| One who understands the meaning of this verse is my Guru. O Nanak, one who knows his own self, is infinite and incomparable. ||8|| He Himself is All-pervading; He Himself misleads the people. By Guru's Grace, one comes to understand, that God is contained in all. ||9||2||18|| Raag Gauree Gwaarayree, Third Mehl, Ashtapadees: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The pollution of the mind is the love of duality. Deluded by doubt, people come and go in reincarnation. ||1|| The pollution of the self-willed manmukhs will never go away, as long as they do not dwell on the Shabad, and the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| All the created beings are contaminated by emotional attachment; they die and are reborn, only to die over and over again. ||2|| Fire, air and water are polluted. The food which is eaten is polluted. ||3|| The actions of those who do not worship the Lord are polluted. Attuned to the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the mind becomes immaculate. ||4|| Serving the True Guru, pollution is eradicated, and then, one does not suffer death and rebirth, or get devoured by death. ||5|| You may study and examine the Shaastras and the Simritees, but without the Name, no one is liberated. ||6|| Throughout the four ages, the Naam is the ultimate; reflect upon the Word of the Shabad. In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, only the Gurmukhs cross over. ||7|| The True Lord does not die; He does not come or go. O Nanak, the Gurmukh remains absorbed in the Lord. ||8||1|| Gauree, Third Mehl: Selfless service is the support of the breath of life of the Gurmukh. Keep the Dear Lord enshrined in your heart. The Gurmukh is honoured in the Court of the True Lord. ||1|| O Pandit, O religious scholar, read about the Lord, and renounce your corrupt ways. The Gurmukh crosses over the terrifying world-ocean. ||1||Pause||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 080

The Gurmukh eradicates egotism from within. No filth sticks to the Gurmukh. The Naam, the Name of the Lord, comes to dwell within the mind of the Gurmukh. ||2|| Through karma and Dharma, good actions and righteous faith, the Gurmukh becomes true. The Gurmukh burns away egotism and duality. The Gurmukh is attuned to the Naam, and is at peace. ||3|| Instruct your own mind, and understand Him. You may preach to other people, but no one will listen. The Gurmukh understands, and is always at peace. ||4|| The self-willed manmukhs are such clever hypocrites. No matter what they do, it is not acceptable. They come and go in reincarnation, and find no place of rest. ||5|| The manmukhs perform their rituals, but they are totally selfish and conceited. They sit there, like storks, pretending to meditate. Caught by the Messenger of Death, they shall regret and repent in the end. ||6|| Without serving the True Guru, liberation is not obtained. By Guru's Grace, one meets the Lord. The Guru is the Great Giver, throughout the four ages. ||7|| For the Gurmukh, the Naam is social status, honour and glorious greatness. Maya, the daughter of the ocean, has been slain. O Nanak, without the Name, all clever tricks are false. ||8||2|| Gauree, Third Mehl: Learn the Dharma of this age, O Siblings of Destiny; all understanding is obtained from the Perfect Guru. Here and hereafter, the Lord's Name is our Companion. ||1|| Learn of the Lord, and contemplate Him in your mind. By Guru's Grace, your filth shall be washed away. ||1||Pause|| Through argument and debate, He cannot be found. The mind and body are made insipid through the love of duality. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, lovingly attune yourself to the True Lord. ||2|| This world is polluted with egotism. By taking cleansing baths daily at sacred shrines of pilgrimage, egotism is not eliminated. Without meeting the Guru, they are tortured by Death. ||3|| Those humble beings are true, who conquer their ego. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, they conquer the five thieves. They save themselves, and save all their generations as well. ||4|| The Actor has staged the drama of emotional attachment to Maya. The self-willed manmukhs cling blindly to it. The Gurmukhs remain detached, and lovingly attune themselves to the Lord. ||5|| The disguisers put on their various disguises. Desire rages within them, and they carry on egotistically. They do not understand themselves, and they lose the game of life. ||6|| Putting on religious robes, they act so clever, but they are totally deluded by doubt and emotional attachment to Maya. Without serving the Guru, they suffer in terrible pain. ||7|| Those who are attuned to the Naam, the Name of the Lord, remain detached forever. Even as householders, they lovingly attune themselves to the True Lord. O Nanak, those who serve the True Guru are blessed and very fortunate. ||8||3|| Gauree, Third Mehl: Brahma is the founder of the study of the Vedas. From him emanated the gods, enticed by desire. They wander in the three qualities, and they do not dwell within their own home. ||1|| The Lord has saved me; I have met the True Guru. He has implanted devotional worship of the Lord's Name, night and day. ||1||Pause|| The songs of Brahma entangle people in the three qualities. Reading about the debates and disputes, they are hit over the head by the Messenger of Death.

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Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 081

They do not understand the essence of reality, and they gather their worthless bundles of straw. ||2|| The self-willed manmukhs, in ignorance, take the path of evil. They forget the Lord's Name, and in its place, they establish all sorts of rituals. They drown in the terrifying world-ocean, in the love of duality. ||3|| Driven crazy, infatuated by Maya, they call themselves Pandits - religious scholars; stained with corruption, they suffer terrible pain. The noose of the Messenger of Death is around their necks; they are constantly tormented by death. ||4|| The Messenger of Death does not even approach the Gurmukhs. Through the Word of the Shabad, they burn away their ego and duality. Attuned to the Name, they sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||5|| Maya is the slave of the Lord's devotees; it works for them. One who falls at their feet attains the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. He is forever immaculate; he is absorbed in intuitive peace. ||6|| Those who listen to the Lord's Sermon are seen to be the wealthy people in this world. Everyone bows down to them, and adores them, night and day. They intuitively savor the Glories of the True Lord within their minds. ||7|| The Perfect True Guru has revealed the Shabad; it eradicates the three qualities, and attunes the consciousness to the fourth state. O Nanak, subduing egotism, one is absorbed into God. ||8||4|| Gauree, Third Mehl: Brahma studied the Vedas, but these lead only to debates and disputes. He is filled with darkness; he does not understand himself. And yet, if he chants the Word of the Guru's Shabad, he finds God. ||1|| So serve the Guru, and you shall not be consumed by death. The self-willed manmukhs have been consumed by the love of duality. ||1||Pause|| Becoming Gurmukh, the sinful mortals are purified. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, they find intuitive peace and poise deep within. I have found my God, through the Guru's Shabad, and I have been reformed. ||2|| God Himself unites us in Union with the True Guru, when we become pleasing to the Mind of my True God. They sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, in the poise of celestial peace. ||3|| Without the True Guru, they are deluded by doubt. The blind, self-willed manmukhs constantly eat poison. They are beaten by the Messenger of Death with his rod, and they suffer in constant pain. ||4|| The Messenger of Death does not catch sight of those who enter the Sanctuary of the Lord. Subduing egotism, they lovingly centre their consciousness on the True Lord. They keep their consciousness constantly focused on the Lord's Name. ||5|| Those humble beings who serve the True Guru are pure and immaculate. Merging their minds into the Mind, they conquer the entire world. In this way, you too shall find happiness, O my friend. ||6|| Those who serve the True Guru are blessed with fruitful rewards. The Naam, the Name of the Lord, abides in their hearts; selfishness and conceit depart from within them. The unstruck melody of the Shabad vibrates for them. ||7|| Who - who has not been purified by the True Guru, O my Siblings of Destiny? The devotees are purified, and honoured in His Court. O Nanak, greatness is in the Lord's Name. ||8||5|| Gauree, Third Mehl: Those who speak of the three qualities - their doubts do not depart. Their bonds are not broken, and they do not obtain liberation. The True Guru is the Bestower of liberation in this age. ||1|| Those mortals who become Gurmukh give up their doubts. The celestial music wells up, when they lovingly attune their consciousness to the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Those who are controlled by the three qualities have death hovering over their heads.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 082

They do not remember the Name of the Creator Lord. They die, and are reborn, over and over, again and again. ||2|| Those whose guru is spiritually blind - their doubts are not dispelled. Abandoning the Source of all, they have become attached to the love of duality. Infected with poison, they are immersed in poison. ||3|| Believing Maya to be the source of all, they wander in doubt. They have forgotten the Dear Lord, and they are in love with duality. The supreme status is obtained only by those who are blessed with His Glance of Grace. ||4|| One who has Truth pervading within, radiates Truth outwardly as well. The Truth does not remain hidden, even though one may try to hide it. The spiritually wise know this intuitively. ||5|| The Gurmukhs keep their consciousness lovingly centred on the Lord. Ego and Maya are burned away by the Word of the Shabad. My True God unites them in His Union. ||6|| The True Guru, The Giver, preaches the Shabad. He controls, and restrains, and holds still the wandering mind. Understanding is obtained through the Perfect Guru. ||7|| The Creator Himself has created the universe; He Himself shall destroy it. Without Him, there is no other at all. O Nanak, how rare are those who, as Gurmukh, understand this! ||8||6|| Gauree, Third Mehl: The Gurmukhs obtain the Naam, the Priceless Name of the Lord. They serve the Name, and through the Name, they are absorbed in intuitive peace and poise. With their tongues, they continually sing the Ambrosial Naam. They obtain the Lord's Name; the Lord showers His Mercy upon them. ||1|| Night and day, within your heart, meditate on the Lord of the Universe. The Gurmukhs obtain the supreme state of peace. ||1||Pause|| Peace comes to fill the hearts of those who, as Gurmukh, sing of the True Lord, the treasure of excellence. They become the constant slaves of the slaves of the Lord's slaves. Within their households and families, they remain always detached. ||2|| How rare are those who, as Gurmukh, become Jivan Mukta - liberated while yet alive. They alone obtain the supreme treasure. Eradicating the three qualities, they become pure. They are intuitively absorbed in the True Lord God. ||3|| Emotional attachment to family does not exist, when the True Lord abides within the heart. The mind of the Gurmukh is pierced through and held steady. One who recognises the Hukam of the Lord's Command understands the True Lord. ||4|| You are the Creator Lord - there is no other for me. I serve You, and through You, I obtain honour. God showers His Mercy, and I sing His Praises. The light of the jewel of the Naam permeates the entire world. ||5|| To the Gurmukhs, the Word of God's Bani seems so sweet. Deep within, their hearts blossom forth; night and day, they lovingly centre themselves on the Lord. The True Lord is intuitively obtained, by His Grace. The True Guru is obtained by the destiny of perfect good fortune. ||6|| Egotism, possessiveness, evil-mindedness and suffering depart, when the Lord's Name, the Ocean of Virtue, comes to dwell within the heart. The intellect of the Gurmukhs is awakened, and they praise God, when the Lord's Lotus Feet come to dwell within the heart. ||7|| They alone receive the Naam, unto whom it is given. The Gurmukhs shed their ego, and merge with the Lord. The True Name abides within their hearts. O Nanak, they are intuitively absorbed in the True Lord. ||8||7|| Gauree, Third Mehl: The mind has intuitively healed itself, through the Fear of God.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 083

The mind is attuned to the Word of the Shabad; it is lovingly attuned to the Lord. It abides within its own home, in harmony with the Lord's Will. ||1|| Serving the True Guru, egotistical pride departs, and the Lord of the Universe, the Treasure of Excellence, is obtained. ||1||Pause|| The mind becomes detached and free of desire, when it experiences the Fear of God, through the Shabad. My Immaculate God is pervading and contained among all. By Guru's Grace, one is united in His Union. ||2|| The slave of the Lord's slave attains peace. My Lord God is found in this way. By the Grace of the Lord, one comes to sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||3|| Cursed is that long life, during which love for the Lord's Name is not enshrined. Cursed is that comfortable bed which lures one into the darkness of attachment to sexual desire. Fruitful is the birth of that person who takes the Support of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||4|| Cursed, cursed is that home and family, in which the love of the Lord is not embraced. He alone is my friend, who sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Without the Lord's Name, there is no other for me. ||5|| From the True Guru, I have obtained salvation and honour. I have meditated on the Name of the Lord, and all my sufferings have been erased. I am in constant bliss, lovingly attuned to the Lord's Name. ||6|| Meeting the Guru, I came to understand my body. The fires of ego and desire have been totally quenched. Anger has been dispelled, and I have grasped hold of tolerance. ||7|| The Lord Himself showers His Mercy, and bestows the Naam. How rare is that Gurmukh, who receives the jewel of the Naam. O Nanak, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, the Unknowable, the Incomprehensible. ||8||8|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Raag Gauree Bairaagan, Third Mehl: Those who turn their faces away from the True Guru, are seen to be unfaithful and evil. They shall be bound and beaten night and day; they shall not have this opportunity again. ||1|| O Lord, please shower Your Mercy upon me, and save me! O Lord God, please lead me to meet the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, that I may dwell upon the Glorious Praises of the Lord within my heart. ||1||Pause|| Those devotees are pleasing to the Lord, who as Gurmukh, walk in harmony with the Way of the Lord's Will. Subduing their selfishness and conceit, and performing selfless service, they remain dead while yet alive. ||2|| The body and the breath of life belong to the One - perform the greatest service to Him. Why forget Him from your mind? Keep the Lord enshrined in your heart. ||3|| Receiving the Naam, the Name of the Lord, one obtains honour; believing in the Naam, one is at peace. The Naam is obtained from the True Guru; by His Grace, God is found. ||4|| They turn their faces away from the True Guru; they continue to wander aimlessly. They are not accepted by the earth or the sky; they fall into manure, and rot. ||5|| This world is deluded by doubt - it has taken the drug of emotional attachment. Maya does not draw near those who have met with the True Guru. ||6|| Those who serve the True Guru are very beautiful; they cast off the filth of selfishness and conceit.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 084

Those who are attuned to the Shabad are immaculate and pure. They walk in harmony with the Will of the True Guru. ||7|| O Lord God, You are the One and Only Giver; You forgive us, and unite us with Yourself. Servant Nanak seeks Your Sanctuary; if it is Your Will, please save him! ||8||1||9|| Raag Gauree Poorbee, Fourth Mehl, Karhalay: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O my wandering mind, you are like a camel - how will you meet the Lord, your Mother? When I found the Guru, by the destiny of perfect good fortune, my Beloved came and embraced me. ||1|| O camel-like mind, meditate on the True Guru, the Primal Being. ||1||Pause|| O camel-like mind, contemplate the Lord, and meditate on the Lord's Name. When you are called to answer for your account, the Lord Himself shall release you. ||2|| O camel-like mind, you were once very pure; the filth of egotism has now attached itself to you. Your Beloved Husband is now manifest before you in your own home, but you are separated from Him, and you suffer such pain! ||3|| O my beloved camel-like mind, search for the Lord within your own heart. He cannot be found by any device; the Guru will show you the Lord within your heart. ||4|| O my beloved camel-like mind, day and night, lovingly attune yourself to the Lord. Return to your own home, and find the palace of love; meet the Guru, and meet the Lord. ||5|| O camel-like mind, you are my friend; abandon hypocrisy and greed. The hypocritical and the greedy are struck down; the Messenger of Death punishes them with his club. ||6|| O camel-like mind, you are my breath of life; rid yourself of the pollution of hypocrisy and doubt. The Perfect Guru is the Ambrosial Pool of the Lord's Nectar; join the Holy Congregation, and wash away this pollution. ||7|| O my dear beloved camel-like mind, listen only to the Teachings of the Guru. This emotional attachment to Maya is so pervasive. Ultimately, nothing shall go along with anyone. ||8|| O camel-like mind, my good friend, take the supplies of the Lord's Name, and obtain honour. In the Court of the Lord, you shall be robed with honour, and the Lord Himself shall embrace you. ||9|| O camel-like mind, one who surrenders to the Guru becomes Gurmukh, and works for the Lord. Offer your prayers to the Guru; O servant Nanak, He shall unite you with the Lord. ||10||1|| Gauree, Fourth Mehl: O contemplative camel-like mind, contemplate and look carefully. The forest-dwellers have grown weary of wandering in the forests; following the Guru's Teachings, see your Husband Lord within your heart. ||1|| O camel-like mind, dwell upon the Guru and the Lord of the Universe. ||1||Pause|| O camel-like contemplative mind, the self-willed manmukhs are caught in the great net. The mortal who becomes Gurmukh is liberated, dwelling upon the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||2|| O my dear beloved camel-like mind, seek the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, and the True Guru. Joining the Sat Sangat, meditate on the Lord, and the Lord, Har, Har, shall go along with you. ||3|| O very fortunate camel-like mind, with one Glance of Grace from the Lord, you shall be enraptured.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 085

If the Lord Himself saves you, then you shall be saved. Dwell upon the Feet of the True Guru. ||4|| O my dear beloved camel-like mind, dwell upon the Divine Light within the body. The Guru has shown me the nine treasures of the Naam. The Merciful Lord has bestowed this gift. ||5|| O camel-like mind, you are so fickle; give up your cleverness and corruption. Dwell upon the Name of the Lord, Har, Har; at the very last moment, the Lord shall liberate you. ||6|| O camel-like mind, you are so very fortunate; dwell upon the jewel of spiritual wisdom. You hold in your hands the sword of the Guru's spiritual wisdom; with this destroyer of death, kill the Messenger of Death. ||7|| The treasure is deep within, O camel-like mind, but you wander around outside in doubt, searching for it. Meeting the Perfect Guru, the Primal Being, you shall discover that the Lord, your Best Friend, is with you. ||8|| You are engrossed in pleasures, O camel-like mind; dwell upon the Lord's lasting love instead! The colour of the Lord's Love never fades away; serve the Guru, and dwell upon the Word of the Shabad. ||9|| We are birds, O camel-like mind; the Lord, the Immortal Primal Being, is the tree. The Gurmukhs are very fortunate - they find it. O servant Nanak, dwell upon the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||10||2|| Raag Gauree Gwaarayree, Fifth Mehl, Ashtapadees: One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. By Guru's Grace: When this mind is filled with pride, then it wanders around like a madman and a lunatic. But when it becomes the dust of all, then it recognises the Lord in each and every heart. ||1|| The fruit of humility is intuitive peace and pleasure. My True Guru has given me this gift. ||1||Pause|| When he believes others to be bad, then everyone lays traps for him. But when he stops thinking in terms of 'mine' and 'yours', then no one is angry with him. ||2|| When he clings to 'my own, my own', then he is in deep trouble. But when he recognises the Creator Lord, then he is free of torment. ||3|| When he entangles himself in emotional attachment, he comes and goes in reincarnation, under the constant gaze of Death. But when all his doubts are removed, then there is no difference between him and the Supreme Lord God. ||4|| When he perceives differences, then he suffers pain, punishment and sorrow. But when he recognises the One and Only Lord, he understands everything. ||5|| When he runs around for the sake of Maya and riches, he is not satisfied, and his desires are

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not quenched. But when he runs away from Maya, then the Goddess of Wealth gets up and follows him. ||6|| When, by His Grace, the True Guru is met, the lamp is lit within the temple of the mind. When he realises what victory and defeat really are, then he comes to appreciate the true value of his own home. ||7||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 086

The One Lord is the Creator of all things, the Cause of causes. He Himself is wisdom, contemplation and discerning understanding. He is not far away; He is near at hand, with all. So praise the True One, O Nanak, with love! ||8||1|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Serving the Guru, one is committed to the Naam, the Name of the Lord. It is received only by those who have such good destiny inscribed upon their foreheads. The Lord dwells within their hearts. Their minds and bodies become peaceful and stable. ||1|| O my mind, sing such Praises of the Lord, which shall be of use to you here and hereafter. ||1||Pause|| Meditating on Him, fear and misfortune depart, and the wandering mind is held steady. Meditating on Him, suffering shall never again overtake you. Meditating on Him, this ego runs away. ||2|| Meditating on Him, the five passions are overcome. Meditating on Him, Ambrosial Nectar is collected in the heart. Meditating on Him, this desire is quenched. Meditating on Him, one is approved in the Court of the Lord. ||3|| Meditating on Him, millions of mistakes are erased. Meditating on Him, one becomes Holy, blessed by the Lord. Meditating on Him, the mind is cooled and soothed. Meditating on Him, all filth is washed away. ||4|| Meditating on Him, the jewel of the Lord is obtained. One is reconciled with the Lord, and shall not abandon Him again. Meditating on Him, many acquire a home in the heavens. Meditating on Him, one abides in intuitive peace. ||5|| Meditating on Him, one is not affected by this fire. Meditating on Him, one is not under the gaze of Death. Meditating on Him, your forehead shall be immaculate. Meditating on Him, all pains are destroyed. ||6|| Meditating on Him, no difficulties are encountered. Meditating on Him, one hears the unstruck melody. Meditating on Him, one acquires this pure reputation. Meditating on Him, the heart-lotus is turned upright. ||7|| The Guru has bestowed His Glance of Grace upon all, within whose hearts the Lord has implanted His Mantra. The unbroken Kirtan of the Lord's Praises is their food and nourishment. Says Nanak, they have the Perfect True Guru. ||8||2|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Those who implant the Word of the Guru's Shabad within their hearts cut their connexions with the five passions. They keep the ten organs under their control; their souls are enlightened. ||1|| They alone acquire such stability, whom God blesses with His Mercy and Grace. ||1||Pause|| Friend and foe are one and the same to them. Whatever they speak is wisdom. Whatever they hear is the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Whatever they see is meditation. ||2|| They awaken in peace and poise; they sleep in peace and poise. That which is meant to be, automatically happens. In peace and poise, they remain detached; in peace and poise, they laugh. In peace and poise, they remain silent; in peace and poise, they chant. ||3|| In peace and poise they eat; in peace and poise they love. The illusion of duality is easily and totally removed. They naturally join the Saadh Sangat, the Society of the Holy. In peace and poise, they meet and merge with the Supreme Lord God. ||4|| They are at peace in their homes, and they are at peace while detached.

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In peace, their bodies' duality is eliminated. Bliss comes naturally to their minds. They meet the Lord, the Embodiment of Supreme Bliss. ||5|| In peaceful poise, they drink in the Ambrosial Nectar of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. In peace and poise, they give to the poor. Their souls naturally delight in the Lord's Sermon. The Imperishable Lord abides with them. ||6|| In peace and poise, they assume the unchanging position. In peace and poise, the unstruck vibration of the Shabad resounds. In peace and poise, the celestial bells resound. Within their homes, the Supreme Lord God is pervading. ||7|| With intuitive ease, they meet the Lord, according to their karma. With intuitive ease, they meet with the Guru, in the true Dharma. Those who know, attain the poise of intuitive peace. Slave Nanak is a sacrifice to them. ||8||3|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: First, they come forth from the womb. They become attached to their children, spouses and families. The foods of various sorts and appearances will surely pass away, O wretched mortal! ||1|| What is that place which never perishes? What is that Word by which the dirt of the mind is removed? ||1||Pause|| In the Realm of Indra, death is sure and certain. The Realm of Brahma shall not remain permanent. The Realm of Shiva shall also perish. The three dispositions, Maya and the demons shall vanish. ||2|| The mountains, the trees, the earth, the sky and the stars; the sun, the moon, the wind, water and fire; day and night, fasting days and their determination; the Shaastras, the Simritees and the Vedas shall pass away. ||3|| The sacred shrines of pilgrimage, gods, temples and holy books; rosaries, ceremonial tilak marks on the forehead, meditative people, the pure, and the performers of burnt offerings; wearing loin cloths, bowing in reverence and the enjoyment of sacred foods - all these, and all people, shall pass away. ||4|| Social classes, races, Muslims and Hindus; beasts, birds and the many varieties of beings and creatures; the entire world and the visible universe - all forms of existence shall pass away. ||5|| Through the Praises of the Lord, devotional worship, spiritual wisdom and the essence of reality, eternal bliss and the imperishable true place are obtained. There, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, the Lord's Glorious Praises are sung with love. There, in the city of fearlessness, He dwells forever. ||6|| There is no fear, doubt, suffering or anxiety there; there is no coming or going, and no death there. There is eternal bliss, and the unstruck celestial music there. The devotees dwell there, with the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises as their support. ||7|| There is no end or limitation to the Supreme Lord God. Who can embrace His contemplation? Says Nanak, when the Lord showers His Mercy, the imperishable home is obtained; in the Saadh Sangat, you shall be saved. ||8||4|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: One who kills this is a spiritual hero. One who kills this is perfect. One who kills this obtains glorious greatness. One who kills this is freed of suffering. ||1|| How rare is such a person, who kills and casts off duality. Killing it, he attains Raja Yoga, the Yoga of meditation and success. ||1||Pause||

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One who kills this has no fear. One who kills this is absorbed in the Naam. One who kills this has his desires quenched. One who kills this is approved in the Court of the Lord. ||2|| One who kills this is wealthy and prosperous. One who kills this is honourable. One who kills this is truly a celibate. One who kills this attains salvation. ||3|| One who kills this - his coming is auspicious. One who kills this is steady and wealthy. One who kills this is very fortunate. One who kills this remains awake and aware, night and day. ||4|| One who kills this is Jivan Mukta, liberated while yet alive. One who kills this lives a pure lifestyle. One who kills this is spiritually wise. One who kills this meditates intuitively. ||5|| Without killing this, one is not acceptable, even though one may perform millions of rituals, chants and austerities. Without killing this, one does not escape the cycle of reincarnation. Without killing this, one does not escape death. ||6|| Without killing this, one does not obtain spiritual wisdom. Without killing this, one's impurity is not washed off. Without killing this, everything is filthy. Without killing this, everything is a losing game. ||7|| When the Lord, the Treasure of Mercy, bestows His Mercy, one obtains release, and attains total perfection. One whose duality has been killed by the Guru, says Nanak, contemplates God. ||8||5|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: When someone attaches himself to the Lord, then everyone is his friend. When someone attaches himself to the Lord, then his consciousness is steady. When someone attaches himself to the Lord, he is not afflicted by worries. When someone attaches himself to the Lord, he is emancipated. ||1|| O my mind, unite yourself with the Lord. Nothing else is of any use to you. ||1||Pause|| The great and powerful people of the world are of no use, you fool! The Lord's slave may be born of humble origins, but in his company, you shall be saved in an instant. ||2|| Hearing the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is equal to millions of cleansing baths. Meditating on it is equal to millions of worship ceremonies. Hearing the Word of the Lord's Bani is equal to giving millions in alms. To know the way, through the Guru, is equal to millions of rewards. ||3|| Within your mind, over and over again, think of Him, and your love of Maya shall depart. The Imperishable Lord is always with you. O my mind, immerse yourself in the Love of the Lord. ||4|| Working for Him, all hunger departs. Working for Him, the Messenger of Death will not be watching you. Working for Him, you shall obtain glorious greatness. Working for Him, you shall become immortal. ||5|| His servant does not suffer punishment. His servant suffers no loss. In His Court, His servant does not have to answer for his account. So serve Him with distinction. ||6|| He is not lacking in anything. He Himself is One, although He appears in so many forms. By His Glance of Grace, you shall be happy forever. So work for Him, O my mind. ||7|| No one is clever, and no one is foolish. No one is weak, and no one is a hero.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 089

As the Lord attaches someone, so is he attached. He alone is the Lord's servant, O Nanak, who is so blessed. ||8||6|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Without meditating in remembrance on the Lord, one's life is like that of a snake. This is how the faithless cynic lives, forgetting the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1|| One who lives in meditative remembrance, even for an instant, lives for hundreds of thousands and millions of days, and becomes stable forever. ||1||Pause|| Without meditating in remembrance on the Lord, one's actions and works are cursed. Like the crow's beak, he dwells in manure. ||2|| Without meditating in remembrance on the Lord, one acts like a dog. The faithless cynic is nameless, like the prostitute's son. ||3|| Without meditating in remembrance on the Lord, one is like a horned ram. The faithless cynic barks out his lies, and his face is blackened. ||4|| Without meditating in remembrance on the Lord, one is like a donkey. The faithless cynic wanders around in polluted places. ||5|| Without meditating in remembrance on the Lord, one is like a mad dog. The greedy, faithless cynic falls into entanglements. ||6|| Without meditating in remembrance on the Lord, he murders his own soul. The faithless cynic is wretched, without family or social standing. ||7|| When the Lord becomes merciful, one joins the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. Says Nanak, the Guru has saved the world. ||8||7|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Through the Guru's Word, I have attained the supreme status. The Perfect Guru has preserved my honour. ||1|| Through the Guru's Word, I meditate on the Name. By Guru's Grace, I have obtained a place of rest. ||1||Pause|| I listen to the Guru's Word, and chant it with my tongue. By Guru's Grace, my speech is like nectar. ||2|| Through the Guru's Word, my selfishness and conceit have been removed. Through the Guru's kindness, I have obtained glorious greatness. ||3|| Through the Guru's Word, my doubts have been removed. Through the Guru's Word, I see God everywhere. ||4|| Through the Guru's Word, I practice Raja Yoga, the Yoga of meditation and success. In the Company of the Guru, all the people of the world are saved. ||5|| Through the Guru's Word, my affairs are resolved. Through the Guru's Word, I have obtained the nine treasures. ||6|| Whoever places his hopes in my Guru, has the noose of death cut away. ||7|| Through the Guru's Word, my good karma has been awakened. O Nanak, meeting with the Guru, I have found the Supreme Lord God. ||8||8|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: I remember the Guru with each and every breath. The Guru is my breath of life, the True Guru is my wealth. ||1||Pause|| Beholding the Blessed Vision of the Guru's Darshan, I live. I wash the Guru's Feet, and drink in this water. ||1|| I take my daily bath in the dust of the Guru's Feet. The egotistical filth of countless incarnations is washed off. ||2|| I wave the fan over the Guru. Giving me His Hand, He has saved me from the great fire. ||3|| I carry water for the Guru's household; from the Guru, I have learned the Way of the One Lord. ||4|| I grind the corn for the Guru's household. By His Grace, all my enemies have become friends. ||5||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 090

The Guru who gave me my soul, has Himself purchased me, and made me His slave. ||6|| He Himself has blessed me with His Love. Forever and ever, I humbly bow to the Guru. ||7|| My troubles, conflicts, fears, doubts and pains have been dispelled; says Nanak, my Guru is All-powerful. ||8||9|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Meet me, O my Lord of the Universe. Please bless me with Your Name. Without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, cursed, cursed is love and intimacy. ||1||Pause|| Without the Naam, one who dresses and eats well is like a dog, who falls in and eats impure foods. ||1|| Without the Naam, all occupations are useless, like decorations on a dead body. ||2|| One who forgets the Naam and indulges in pleasures, shall find no peace, even in dreams; his body shall become diseased. ||3|| One who renounces the Naam and engages in other occupations, shall see all of his false pretenses fall away. ||4|| One whose mind does not embrace love for the Naam shall go to hell, even though he may perform millions of ceremonial rituals. ||5|| One whose mind does not contemplate the Name of the Lord is bound like a thief, in the City of Death. ||6|| Hundreds of thousands of ostentatious shows and great expanses - without the Naam, all these displays are false. ||7|| That humble being repeats the Name of the Lord, O Nanak, whom the Lord blesses with His Mercy. ||8||10|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: My mind longs for that Friend, who shall stand by me in the beginning, in the middle and in the end. ||1|| The Lord's Love goes with us forever. The Perfect and Merciful Lord cherishes all. ||1||Pause|| He shall never perish, and He shall never abandon me. Wherever I look, there I see Him pervading and permeating. ||2|| He is Beautiful, All-knowing, the most Clever, the Giver of life. God is my Brother, Son, Father and Mother. ||3|| He is the Support of the breath of life; He is my Wealth. Abiding within my heart, He inspires me to enshrine love for Him. ||4|| The Lord of the World has cut away the noose of Maya. He has made me His own, blessing me with His Glance of Grace. ||5|| Remembering, remembering Him in meditation, all diseases are healed. Meditating on His Feet, all comforts are enjoyed. ||6|| The Perfect Primal Lord is Ever-fresh and Ever-young. The Lord is with me, inwardly and outwardly, as my Protector. ||7|| Says Nanak, that devotee who realises the state of the Lord, Har, Har, is blessed with the treasure of the Naam. ||8||11|| Raag Gauree Maajh, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Countless are those who wander around searching for You, but they do not find Your limits. They alone are Your devotees, who are blessed by Your Grace. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, I am a sacrifice to You. ||1||Pause|| Continually hearing of the terrifying path, I am so afraid. I have sought the Protection of the Saints; please, save me! ||2||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 091

The Fascinating and Beauteous Beloved is the Giver of support to all. I bow low and fall at the Feet of the Guru; if only I could see the Lord! ||3|| I have made many friends, but I

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am a sacrifice to the One alone. No one has all virtues; the Lord alone is filled to overflowing with them. ||4|| His Name is chanted in the four directions; those who chant it are embellished with peace. I seek Your Protection; Nanak is a sacrifice to You. ||5|| The Guru reached out to me, and gave me His Arm; He lifted me up, out of the pit of emotional attachment. I have won the incomparable life, and I shall not lose it again. ||6|| I have obtained the treasure of all; His Speech is unspoken and subtle. In the Court of the Lord, I am honoured and glorified; I swing my arms in joy. ||7|| Servant Nanak has received the invaluable and incomparable jewel. Serving the Guru, I cross over the terrifying world-ocean; I proclaim this loudly to all. ||8||12|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Dye yourself in the colour of the Lord's Love. Chant the Name of the One Lord with your tongue, and ask for Him alone. ||1||Pause|| Renounce your ego, and dwell upon the spiritual wisdom of the Guru. Those who have such pre-ordained destiny, join the Sangat, the Holy Congregation. ||1|| Whatever you see, shall not go with you. The foolish, faithless cynics are attached - they waste away and die. ||2|| The Name of the Fascinating Lord is all-pervading forever. Among millions, how rare is that Gurmukh who attains the Name. ||3|| Greet the Lord's Saints humbly, with deep respect. You shall obtain the nine treasures, and receive infinite peace. ||4|| With your eyes, behold the holy people; in your heart, sing the treasure of the Naam. ||5|| Abandon sexual desire, anger, greed and emotional attachment. Thus you shall be rid of both birth and death. ||6|| Pain and darkness shall depart from your home, when the Guru implants spiritual wisdom within you, and lights that lamp. ||7|| One who serves the Lord crosses over to the other side. O servant Nanak, the Gurmukh saves the world. ||8||1||13|| Fifth Mehl, Gauree: Dwelling upon the Lord, Har, Har, and the Guru, the Guru, my doubts have been dispelled. My mind has obtained all comforts. ||1||Pause|| I was burning, on fire, and the Guru poured water on me; He is cooling and soothing, like the sandalwood tree. ||1|| The darkness of ignorance has been dispelled; the Guru has lit the lamp of spiritual wisdom. ||2|| The ocean of fire is so deep; the Saints have crossed over, in the boat of the Lord's Name. ||3|| I have no good karma; I have no Dharmic faith or purity. But God has taken me by the arm, and made me His own. ||4|| The Destroyer of fear, the Dispeller of pain, the Lover of His Saints - these are the Names of the Lord. ||5|| He is the Master of the masterless, Merciful to the meek, All-powerful, the Support of His Saints. ||6|| I am worthless - I offer this prayer, O my Lord King: "Please, grant me the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan."||7|| Nanak has come to Your Sanctuary, O my Lord and Master; Your servant has come to Your Door. ||8||2||14||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 092

Gauree, Fifth Mehl: He is immersed in the enjoyment of corrupt pleasures; engrossed in them, the blind fool does not understand. ||1|| "I am earning profits, I am getting rich", he says, as his life passes away. ||Pause|| "I am a hero, I am famous and distinguished; no one is equal to me."||2|| "I am young, cultured, and born of a good family." In his mind, he is proud and arrogant like this. ||3|| He is trapped by his false intellect, and he does not forget this until he dies. ||4|| Brothers, friends, relatives and companions who live after him - he entrusts his wealth to them. ||5|| That desire, to which the mind is attached, at the last moment, becomes manifest. ||6|| He may perform religious deeds, but his mind is egotistical, and he is bound by these bonds. ||7|| O Merciful Lord, please bless me Your Mercy, that Nanak may become the slave of Your slaves. ||8||3||15||44||Total|| One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. By Guru's Grace: Raag Gauree Poorbee, Chhant, First Mehl: For the bride, the night is painful; sleep does not come. The soul-bride has grown weak, in the pain of separation from her Husband Lord. The soul-bride is wasting away, in the pain of separation from her Husband; how can she see Him with her eyes? Her decorations, sweet foods, sensuous pleasures and delicacies are all false; they are of no account at all. Intoxicated with the wine of youthful pride, she has been ruined, and her breasts no longer yield milk. O Nanak, the soul-bride meets her Husband Lord, when He causes her to meet Him; without Him, sleep does not come to her. ||1|| The bride is dishonoured without her Beloved Husband Lord. How can she find peace, without enshrining Him in her heart? Without her Husband, her home is not worth living in; go and ask your sisters and companions. Without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, there is no love and affection; but with her True Lord, she abides in peace. Through mental truthfulness and contentment, union with the True Friend is attained; through the Guru's Teachings, the Husb O Nanak, that soul-bride who does not abandon the Naam, is intuitively absorbed in the Naam. ||2|| Come, O my sisters and companions - let's enjoy our Husband Lord. I will ask the Guru, and write His Word as my love-note. The Guru has shown me the True Word of the Shabad. The self-willed manmukhs will regret and repent. My wandering mind became steady, when I recognised the True One. The Teachings of Truth are forever new; the love of the Shabad is forever fresh. O Nanak, through the Glance of Grace of the True Lord, celestial peace is obtained; let's meet Him, O my sisters and companions. ||3|| My desire has been fulfilled - my Friend has come to my home. At the Union of husband and wife, the songs of rejoicing were sung. Singing the songs of joyful praise and love to Him, the soul-bride's mind is thrilled and delighted. My friends are happy, and my enemies are unhappy; meditating on the True Lord, the true profit is obtained. With her palms pressed together, the soul-bride prays, that she may remain immersed in the Love of her Lord, night and day. O Nanak, the Husband Lord and the soul-bride revel together; my desires are fulfilled. ||4||1||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 093

Gauree, Chhant, First Mehl: Hear me, O my Dear Husband God - I am all alone in the wilderness. How can I find comfort without You, O my Carefree Husband God? The soul-bride cannot live without her Husband; the night is so painful for her. Sleep does not come. I am in love with my Beloved. Please, listen to my prayer! Other than my Beloved, no one cares for me; I cry all alone in the wilderness. O Nanak, the bride meets Him when He causes her to meet Him; without her Beloved, she suffers in pain. ||1|| She is separated from her Husband Lord - who can unite her with Him? Tasting His Love, she meets Him, through the Beautiful Word of His Shabad. Adorned with the Shabad, she obtains her Husband, and her body is illuminated with the lamp of spiritual wisdom. Listen, O my friends and companions - she who is at peace dwells upon the True Lord and His True Praises. Meeting the True Guru, she is ravished and enjoyed by her Husband Lord; she blossoms forth with the Ambrosial Word of His Bani. O Nanak, the Husband Lord enjoys His bride when she is pleasing to His Mind. ||2|| Fascination with Maya made her homeless; the false are cheated by falsehood. How can the noose around her neck be untied, without the Most Beloved Guru? One who loves the Beloved Lord, and reflects upon the Shabad, belongs to Him. How can giving donations to charities and countless cleansing baths wash off the filth within the heart? Without the Naam, no one attains salvation. Stubborn self-discipline and living in the wilderness are of no use at all. O Nanak, the home of Truth is attained through the Shabad. How can the Mansion of His Presence be known through duality? ||3|| True is Your Name, O Dear Lord; True is contemplation of Your Shabad. True is the Mansion of Your Presence, O Dear Lord, and True is trade in Your Name. Trade in Your Name is very sweet; the devotees earn this profit night and day. Other than this, I can think of no other merchandise. So chant the Naam each and every moment. The account is read; by the Grace of the True Lord and good karma, the Perfect Lord is obtained. O Nanak, the Nectar of the Name is so sweet. Through the Perfect True Guru, it is obtained. ||4||2|| Raag Gauree Poorbee, Chhant, Third Mehl: One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. By Guru's Grace: The soul-bride offers her prayers to her Dear Lord; she dwells upon His Glorious Virtues. She cannot live without her Beloved Lord, for a moment, even for an instant. She cannot live without her Beloved Lord; without the Guru, the Mansion of His Presence is not found. Whatever the Guru says, she should surely do, to extinguish the fire of desire. The Lord is True; there is no one except Him. Without serving Him, peace is not found. O Nanak, that soul-bride, whom the Lord Himself unites, is united with Him; He Himself merges with her. ||1|| The life-night of the soul-bride is blessed and joyful, when she focuses her consciousness on her Dear Lord. She serves the True Guru with love; she eradicates selfishness from within. Eradicating selfishness and conceit from within, and singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, she is in love with the Lord, night and day. Listen, dear friends and companions of the soul - immerse yourselves in the Word of the Guru's Shabad.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 094

Dwell upon the Lord's Glories, and you shall be loved by your Husband, embracing love for the Naam, the Name of the Lord. O Nanak, the soul-bride who wears the necklace of the Lord's Name around her neck is loved by her Husband Lord. ||2|| The soul-bride who is without her beloved Husband is all alone. She is cheated by the love of duality, without the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Without the Shabad of her Beloved, how can she cross over the treacherous ocean? Attachment to Maya has led her astray. Ruined by falsehood, she is deserted by her Husband Lord. The soul-bride does not attain the Mansion of His Presence. But she who is attuned to the Guru's Shabad is intoxicated with celestial love; night and day, she remains absorbed in Him. O Nanak, that soul-bride who remains constantly steeped in His Love, is blended by the Lord into Himself. ||3|| If the Lord merges us with Himself, we are merged with Him. Without the Dear Lord, who can merge us with Him? Without our Beloved Guru, who can dispel our doubt? Through the Guru, doubt is dispelled. O my mother, this is the way to meet Him; this is how the soul-bride finds peace. Without serving the Guru, there is only pitch darkness. Without the Guru, the Way is not found. That wife who is intuitively imbued with the colour of His Love, contemplates the Word of the Guru's Shabad. O Nanak, the soul-bride obtains the Lord as her Husband, by enshrining love for the Beloved Guru. ||4||1|| Gauree, Third Mehl: Without my Husband, I am utterly dishonoured. Without my Husband Lord, how can I live, O my mother? Without my Husband, sleep does not come, and my body is not adorned with my bridal dress. The bridal dress looks beautiful upon my body, when I am pleasing to my Husband Lord. Following the Guru's Teachings, my consciousness is focused on Him. I become His happy soul-bride forever, when I serve the True Guru; I sit in the Lap of the Guru. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the soul-bride meets her Husband Lord, who ravishes and enjoys her. The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is the only profit in this world. O Nanak, the soul-bride is loved by her Husband, when she dwells upon the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||1|| The soul-bride enjoys the Love of her Beloved. Imbued with His Love night and day, she contemplates the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Contemplating the Guru's Shabad, she conquers her ego, and in this way, she meets her Beloved. She is the happy soul-bride of her Lord, who is forever imbued with the Love of the True Name of her Beloved. Abiding in the Company of our Guru, we grasp the Ambrosial Nectar; we conquer and cast out our sense of duality. O Nanak, the soul-bride attains her Husband Lord, and forgets all her pains. ||2|| The soul-bride has forgotten her Husband Lord, because of love and emotional attachment to Maya. The false bride is attached to falsehood; the insincere one is cheated by insincerity. She who drives out her falsehood, and acts according to the Guru's Teachings, does not lose her life in the gamble. One who serves the Word of the Guru's Shabad is absorbed in the True Lord; she eradicates egotism from within. So let the Name of the Lord abide within your heart; decorate yourself in this way. O Nanak, the soul-bride who takes the Support of the True Name is intuitively absorbed in the Lord. ||3|| Meet me, O my Dear Beloved. Without You, I am totally dishonoured. Sleep does not come to my eyes, and I have no desire for food or water. I have no desire for food or water, and I am dying from the pain of separation. Without my Husband Lord, how can I find peace?

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 095

I offer my prayers to the Guru; if it pleases the Guru, He shall unite me with Himself. The Giver of peace has united me with Himself; He Himself has come to my home to meet me. O Nanak, the soul-bride is forever the Lord's favorite wife; her Husband Lord does not die, and He shall never leave. ||4||2|| Gauree, Third Mehl: The soul-bride is pierced through with the sublime essence of the Lord, in intuitive peace and poise. The Enticer of hearts has enticed her, and her sense of duality has been easily dispelled. Her sense of duality has been easily dispelled, and the soul-bride obtains her Husband Lord; following the Guru's Teachings, she makes merry. This body is filled to overflowing with falsehood, deception and the commission of sins. The Gurmukh practices that devotional worship, by which the celestial music wells up; without this devotional worship, filth is not removed. O Nanak, the soul-bride who sheds selfishness and conceit from within, is dear to her Beloved. ||1|| The soul-bride has found her Husband Lord, through the love and affection of the Guru. She passes her life-night sleeping in peace, enshrining the Lord in her heart. Enshrining Him deep within her heart night and day, she meets her Beloved, and her pains depart. Deep within the mansion of her inner being, she enjoys her Husband Lord, reflecting upon the Guru's Teachings. She drinks deeply of the Nectar of the Naam, day and night; she conquers and casts off her sense of duality. O Nanak, the happy soul-bride meets her True Lord, through the Infinite Love of the Guru. ||2|| Come, and shower Your Mercy upon me, my most Darling, Dear Beloved. The soul-bride offers her prayers to You, to adorn her with the True Word of Your Shabad. Adorned with the True Word of Your Shabad, she conquers her ego, and as Gurmukh, her affairs are resolved. Throughout the ages, the One Lord is True; through the Guru's Wisdom, He is known. The self-willed manmukh is engrossed in sexual desire, and tormented by emotional attachment. With whom should she lodge her complaints? O Nanak, the self-willed manmukh finds no place of rest, without the most Beloved Guru. ||3|| The bride is foolish, ignorant and unworthy. Her Husband Lord is Unapproachable and Incomparable. He Himself unites us in His Union; He Himself forgives us. The soul-bride's Beloved Husband Lord is the Forgiver of sins; He is contained in each and every heart. The True Guru has made me understand this understanding, that the Lord is obtained through love, affection and loving devotion. She remains forever in bliss, day and night; she remains immersed in His Love, night and day. O Nanak, that soul-bride who obtains the nine treasures, intuitively obtains her Husband Lord. ||4||3|| Gauree, Third Mehl: The sea of Maya is agitated and turbulent; how can anyone cross over this terrifying world-ocean? Make the Lord's Name your boat, and install the Word of the Shabad as the boatman. With the Shabad installed as the boatman, the Lord Himself shall take you across. In this way, the difficult ocean is crossed. The

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Gurmukh obtains devotional worship of the Lord, and thus remains dead while yet alive. In an instant, the Lord's Name erases his sinful mistakes, and his body becomes pure. O Nanak, through the Lord's Name, emancipation is obtained, and the slag iron is transformed into gold. ||1||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 096

Men and women are obsessed with sex; they do not know the Way of the Lord's Name. Mother, father, children and siblings are very dear, but they drown, even without water. They are drowned to death without water - they do not know the path of salvation, and they wander around the world in egotism. All those who come into the world shall depart. Only those who contemplate the Guru shall be saved. Those who become Gurmukh and chant the Lord's Name, save themselves and save their families as well. O Nanak, the Naam, the Name of the Lord, abides deep within their hearts; through the Guru's Teachings, they meet their Beloved. ||2|| Without the Lord's Name, nothing is stable. This world is just a drama. Implant true devotional worship within your heart, and trade in the Name of the Lord. Trade in the Lord's Name is infinite and unfathomable. Through the Guru's Teachings, this wealth is obtained. This selfless service, meditation and devotion is true, if you eliminate selfishness and conceit from within. I am senseless, foolish, idiotic and blind, but the True Guru has placed me on the Path. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs are adorned with the Shabad; night and day, they sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||3|| He Himself acts, and inspires others to act; He Himself embellishes us with the Word of His Shabad. He Himself is the True Guru, and He Himself is the Shabad; in each and every age, He loves His devotees. In age after age, He loves His devotees; the Lord Himself adorns them, and He Himself enjoins them to worship Him with devotion. He Himself is All-knowing, and He Himself is All-seeing; He inspires us to serve Him. He Himself is the Giver of merits, and the Destroyer of demerits; He causes His Name to dwell within our hearts. Nanak is forever a sacrifice to the True Lord, who Himself is the Doer, the Cause of causes. ||4||4|| Gauree, Third Mehl: Serve the Guru, O my dear soul; meditate on the Lord's Name. Do not leave me, O my dear soul - you shall find the Lord while sitting within the home of your own being. You shall obtain the Lord while sitting within the home of your own being, focusing your consciousness constantly upon the Lord, with true intuitive faith. Serving the Guru brings great peace; they alone do it, whom the Lord inspires to do so. They plant the seed of the Name, and the Name sprouts within; the Name abides within the mind. O Nanak, glorious greatness rests in the True Name; It is obtained by perfect pre-ordained destiny. ||1|| The Name of the Lord is so sweet, O my dear; taste it, and focus your consciousness on it. Taste the sublime essence of the Lord with your tongue, my dear, and renounce the pleasures of other tastes. You shall obtain the everlasting essence of the Lord when it pleases the Lord; your tongue shall be adorned with the Word of His Shabad. Meditating on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, a lasting peace is obtained; so remain lovingly focused on the Naam. From the Naam we originate, and into the Naam we shall pass; through the Naam, we are absorbed in the Truth. O Nanak, the Naam is obtained through the Guru's Teachings; He Himself attaches us to it. ||2|| Working for someone else, O my dear, is like forsaking the bride, and going to foreign countries. In duality, no one has ever found peace, O my dear; you are greedy for corruption and greed. Greedy for corruption and greed, and deluded by doubt, how can anyone find peace? Working for strangers is very painful; doing so, one sells himself and loses his faith in the Dharma.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 097

Bound by Maya, the mind is not stable. Each and every moment, it suffers in pain. O Nanak, the pain of Maya is taken away by focusing one's consciousness on the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||3|| The self-willed manmukhs are foolish and crazy, O my dear; they do not enshrine the Shabad within their minds. The delusion of Maya has made them blind, O my dear; how can they find the Way of the Lord? How can they find the Way, without the Will of the True Guru? The manmukhs foolishly display themselves. The Lord's servants are forever comfortable. They focus their consciousness on the Guru's Feet. Those unto whom the Lord shows His Mercy, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord forever. O Nanak, the jewel of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is the only profit in this world. The Lord Himself imparts this understanding to the Gurmukh. ||4||5||7|| Raag Gauree, Chhant, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: My mind has become sad and depressed; how can I see God, the Great Giver? My Friend and Companion is the Dear Lord, the Guru, the Architect of Destiny. The One Lord, the Architect of Destiny, is the Master of the Goddess of Wealth; how can I, in my sadness, meet You? My hands serve You, and my head is at Your Feet. My mind, dishonoured, yearns for the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. With each and every breath, I think of You, day and night; I do not forget You, for an instant, even for a moment. O Nanak, I am thirsty, like the rainbird; how can I meet God, the Great Giver? ||1|| I offer this one prayer - please listen, O my Beloved Husband Lord. My mind and body are enticed, beholding Your wondrous play. Beholding Your wondrous play, I am enticed; but how can the sad, forlorn bride find contentment? My Lord is Meritorious, Merciful and Eternally Young; He is overflowing with all excellences. The fault is not with my Husband Lord, the Giver of peace; I am separated from Him by my own mistakes. Prays Nanak, please be merciful to me, and return home, O my Beloved Husband Lord. ||2|| I surrender my mind, I surrender my whole body; I surrender all my lands. I surrender my head to that beloved friend, who brings me news of God. I have offered my head to the Guru, the most exalted; He has shown me that God is with me. In an instant, all suffering is removed. I have obtained all my mind's desires. Day and night, the soul-bride makes merry; all her anxieties are erased. Prays Nanak, I have met the Husband Lord of my longing. ||3|| My mind is filled with bliss, and congratulations are pouring in. My Darling Beloved has come home to me, and all my desires have been satisfied. I have met my Sweet Lord and Master of the Universe, and my companions sing the songs of joy. All my friends and relatives are happy, and all traces of my enemies have been removed. The unstruck melody vibrates in my home, and the bed has been made up for my Beloved. Prays Nanak, I am in celestial bliss. I have obtained the Lord, the Giver of peace, as my Husband. ||4||1||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 098

Gauree, Fifth Mehl: O Mohan, your temple is so lofty, and your mansion is unsurpassed. O Mohan, your gates are so beautiful. They are the worship-houses of the Saints. In these incomparable worship-houses, they continually sing Kirtan, the Praises of their Lord and Master. Where the Saints and the Holy gather together, there they meditate on you. Be Kind and Compassionate, O Merciful Lord; be Merciful to the meek. Prays Nanak, I thirst for the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan; receiving Your Darshan, I am totally at peace. ||1|| O Mohan, your speech is incomparable; wondrous are your ways. O Mohan, you believe in the One. Everything else is dust to you. You adore the One Lord, the Unknowable Lord and Master; His Power gives Support to all. Through the Guru's Word, you have captured the heart of the Primal Being, the Lord of the World. You Yourself move, and You Yourself stand still; You Yourself support the whole creation. Prays Nanak, please preserve my honour; all Your servants seek the Protection of Your Sanctuary. ||2|| O Mohan, the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, meditates on you; they meditate on the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. O Mohan, the Messenger of Death does not even approach those who meditate on You, at the last moment. The Messenger of Death cannot touch those who meditate on You single-mindedly. Those who worship and adore You in thought, word and deed, obtain all fruits and rewards. Those who are foolish and stupid, filthy with urine and manure, become all-knowing upon gaining the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. Prays Nanak, Your Kingdom is Eternal, O Perfect Primal Lord God. ||3|| O Mohan, you have blossomed forth with the flower of your family. O Mohan, your children, friends, siblings and relatives have all been saved. You save those who give up their egotistical pride, upon gaining the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. The Messenger of Death does not even approach those who call you 'blessed'. Your Virtues are unlimited - they cannot be described, O True Guru, Primal Being, Destroyer of demons. Prays Nanak, Yours is that Anchor, holding onto which the whole world is saved. ||4||2|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl, Shalok: Countless sinners have been purified; I am a sacrifice, over and over again, to You. O Nanak, meditation on the Lord's Name is the fire which burns away sinful mistakes like straw. ||1|| Chhant: Meditate, O my mind, on the Lord God, the Lord of the Universe, the Lord, the Master of Wealth. Meditate, O my mind, on the Lord, the Destroyer of ego, the Giver of salvation, who cuts away the noose of agonising death. Meditate lovingly on the Lotus Feet of the Lord, the Destroyer of distress, the Protector of the poor, the Lord of excellence. The treacherous path of death and the terrifying ocean of fire are crossed over by meditating in remembrance on the Lord, even for an instant. Meditate day and night on the Lord, the Destroyer of desire, the Purifier of pollution. Prays Nanak, please be Merciful to me, O Cherisher of the world, Lord of the Universe, Lord of wealth. ||1|| O my mind, remember the Lord in meditation; He is the Destroyer of pain, the Eradicator of fear, the Sovereign Lord King. He is the Greatest Lover, the Merciful Master, the Enticer of the mind, the Support of His devotees - this is His very nature.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 099

The Perfect Lord is the Lover of His devotees; He fulfills the desires of the mind. He lifts us up out of the deep, dark pit; enshrine His Name within your mind. The gods, the Siddhas, the angels, the heavenly singers, the silent sages and the devotees sing Your countless Glorious Praises. Prays Nanak, please be merciful to me, O Supreme Lord God, my King. ||2|| O my mind, be conscious of the Supreme Lord God, the Transcendent Lord, who wields all power. He is All-powerful, the Embodiment of compassion. He is the Master of each and every heart; He is the Support of the breath of life. He is the Giver of the breath of life, of mind, body and soul. He is Infinite, Inaccessible and Unfathomable. The All-powerful Lord is our Sanctuary; He is the Enticer of the mind, who banishes all sorrows. All illnesses, sufferings and pains are dispelled, by chanting the Name of the Lord. Prays Nanak, please be merciful to me, All-powerful Lord; You are the Wielder of all power. ||3|| O my mind, sing the Glorious Praises of the Imperishable, Eternal, Merciful Master, the Highest of all. The One Lord is the Sustainer of the Universe, the Great Giver; He is the Cherisher of all. The Cherisher Lord is so very merciful and wise; He is compassionate to all. The pains of death, greed and emotional attachment simply vanish, when God comes to dwell in the soul. When the Lord is thoroughly pleased, then one's service becomes perfectly fruitful. Prays Nanak, my desires are fulfilled by meditating on the Lord, Merciful to the meek. ||4||3|| Gauree, Fifth Mehl: Listen, O my companions: let's join together and make the effort, to surrender to our Husband Lord. Renouncing our pride, let's charm Him with the potion of devotional worship, and the mantra of the Holy Saints. O my companions, when He comes under our power, He shall never leave us again. This is the good nature of the Lord God. O Nanak, God dispels the fear of old age, death and hell; He purifies His beings. ||1|| Listen, O my companions, to my sincere prayer: let's make this firm resolve. In the peaceful poise of intuitive bliss, violence will be gone, as we sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe. Our pains and troubles shall be eradicated, and our doubts shall be dispelled; we will receive the fruits of our minds' desires. O Nanak, meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Supreme Lord God, the Perfect, Transcendent Lord. ||2|| O my companions, I yearn for Him continually; I invoke His Blessings, and pray that God may fulfill my hopes. I thirst for His Feet, and I long for the Blessed Vision of His Darshan; I look for Him everywhere. I search for traces of the Lord in the Society of the Saints; they will unite me with the All-powerful Primal Lord God. O Nanak, those humble, noble beings who meet the Lord, the Giver of peace, are very blessed, O my mother. ||3|| O my companions, now I dwell with my Beloved Husband; my mind and body are attuned to the Lord. Listen, O my companions: now I sleep well, since I found my Husband Lord. My doubts have been dispelled, and I have found intuitive peace and tranquility through my Lord and Master. I have been enlightened, and my heart-lotus has blossomed forth. I have obtained God, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts, as my Husband; O Nanak, my marriage shall last forever. ||4||4||2||5||11||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 100

One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Gauree, Baavan Akhree ~ The 52 Letters, Fifth Mehl: Shalok: The Divine Guru is my mother, the Divine Guru is my father; the Divine Guru is my Transcendent Lord and Master. The Divine Guru is my companion, the Destroyer of ignorance; the Divine Guru is my relative and brother. The Divine Guru is the Giver, the Teacher of the Lord's Name. The Divine Guru is the Mantra which never fails. The Divine Guru is the Image of peace, truth and wisdom. The Divine Guru is the Philosopher's Stone - touching it, one is transformed. The Divine Guru is the sacred shrine of pilgrimage, and the pool of divine ambrosia; bathing in the Guru's wisdom, one experiences the Infinite. The Divine Guru is the Creator, and the Destroyer of all sins; the Divine Guru is the Purifier of sinners. The Divine Guru existed at the primal beginning, throughout the ages, in each and every age. The Divine Guru is the Mantra of the Lord's Name; chanting it, one is saved. O God, please be merciful to me, that I may be with the Divine Guru; I am a foolish sinner, but holding onto Him, I am carried across. The Divine Guru is the True Guru, the Supreme Lord God, the Transcendent Lord; Nanak bows in humble reverence to the Lord, the Divine Guru. ||1|| Shalok: He Himself acts, and causes others to act; He Himself can do everything. O Nanak, the One Lord is pervading everywhere; there has never been any other, and there never shall be. ||1|| Pauree: ONG: I humbly bow in reverence to the One Universal Creator, to the Holy True Guru. In the beginning, in the middle, and in the end, He is the Formless Lord. He Himself is in the absolute state of primal meditation; He Himself is in the seat of peace. He Himself listens to His Own Praises. He Himself created Himself. He is His Own Father, He is His Own Mother. He Himself is subtle and etheric; He Himself is manifest and obvious. O Nanak, His wondrous play cannot be understood. ||1|| O God, Merciful to the meek, please be kind to me, that my mind might become the dust of the feet of Your Saints. ||Pause|| Shalok: He Himself is formless, and also formed; the One Lord is without attributes, and also with attributes. Describe the One Lord as One, and Only One; O Nanak, He is the One, and the many. ||1|| Pauree: ONG: The One Universal Creator created the Creation through the Word of the Primal Guru. He strung it upon His one thread. He created the diverse expanse of the three qualities. From formless, He appeared as form. The Creator

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has created the creation of all sorts. The attachment of the mind has led to birth and death. He Himself is above both, untouched and unaffected. O Nanak, He has no end or limitation. ||2|| Shalok: Those who gather Truth, and the riches of the Lord's Name, are rich and very fortunate. O Nanak, truthfulness and purity are obtained from Saints such as these. ||1|| Pauree: SASSA: True, True, True is that Lord. No one is separate from the True Primal Lord. They alone enter the Lord's Sanctuary, whom the Lord inspires to enter. Meditating, meditating in remembrance, they sing and preach the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Doubt and skepticism do not affect them at all. They behold the manifest glory of the Lord. They are the Holy Saints - they reach this destination. Nanak is forever a sacrifice to them. ||3|| Shalok: Why are you crying out for riches and wealth? All this emotional attachment to Maya is false.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 101

Without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, O Nanak, all are reduced to dust. ||1|| Pauree: DHADHA: The dust of the feet of the Saints is sacred. Blessed are those whose minds are filled with this longing. They do not seek wealth, and they do not desire paradise. They are immersed in the deep love of their Beloved, and the dust of the feet of the Holy. How can worldly affairs affect those who do not abandon the One Lord, and who go nowhere else? One whose heart is filled with God's Name, O Nanak, is a perfect spiritual being of God. ||4|| Shalok: By all sorts of religious robes, knowledge, meditation and stubborn-mindedness, no one has ever met God. Says Nanak, those upon whom God showers His Mercy, are devotees of spiritual wisdom. ||1|| Pauree: NGANGA: Spiritual wisdom is not obtained by mere words of mouth. It is not obtained through the various debates of the Shaastras and scriptures. They alone are spiritually wise, whose minds are firmly fixed on the Lord. Hearing and telling stories, no one attains Yoga. They alone are spiritually wise, who remain firmly committed to the Lord's Command. Heat and cold are all the same to them. The true people of spiritual wisdom are the Gurmukhs, who contemplate the essence of reality; O Nanak, the Lord showers His Mercy upon them. ||5|| Shalok: Those who have come into the world without understanding are like animals and beasts. O Nanak, those who become Gurmukh understand; upon their foreheads is such pre-ordained destiny. ||1|| Pauree: They have come into this world to meditate on the One Lord. But ever since their birth, they have been enticed by the fascination of Maya. Upside-down in the chamber of the womb, they performed intense meditation. They remembered God in meditation with each and every breath. But now, they are entangled in things which they must leave behind. They forget the Great Giver from their minds. O Nanak, those upon whom the Lord showers His Mercy, do not forget Him, here or hereafter. ||6|| Shalok: By His Command, we come, and by His Command, we go; no one is beyond His Command. Coming and going in reincarnation is ended, O Nanak, for those whose minds are filled with the Lord. ||1|| Pauree: This soul has lived in many wombs. Enticed by sweet attachment, it has been trapped in reincarnation. This Maya has subjugated beings through the three qualities. Maya has infused attachment to itself in each and every heart. O friend, tell me some way, by which I may swim across this treacherous ocean of Maya. The Lord showers His Mercy, and leads us to join the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. O Nanak, Maya does not even come near. ||7|| Shalok: God Himself causes one to perform good and bad actions. The beast indulges in egotism, selfishness and conceit; O Nanak, without the Lord, what can anyone do? ||1|| Pauree: The One Lord Himself is the Cause of all actions. He Himself distributes sins and noble acts. In this age, people are attached as the Lord attaches them. They receive that which the Lord Himself gives. No one knows His limits. Whatever He does, comes to pass. From the One, the entire expanse of the Universe emanated. O Nanak, He Himself is our Saving Grace. ||8|| Shalok: Man remains engrossed in women and playful pleasures; the tumult of his passion is like the dye of the safflower, which fades away all too soon. O Nanak, seek God's Sanctuary, and your selfishness and conceit shall be taken away. ||1||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 102

Pauree: O mind: without the Lord, whatever you are involved in shall bind you in chains. The faithless cynic does those deeds which will never allow him to be emancipated. Acting in egotism, selfishness and conceit, the lovers of rituals carry the unbearable load. When there is no love for the Naam, then these rituals are corrupt. The rope of death binds those who are in love with the sweet taste of Maya. Deluded by doubt, they do not understand that God is always with them. When their accounts are called for, they shall not be released; their wall of mud cannot be washed clean. One who is made to understand - O Nanak, that Gurmukh obtains immaculate understanding. ||9|| Shalok: One whose bonds are cut away joins the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Those who are imbued with the Love of the One Lord, O Nanak, take on the deep and lasting colour of His Love. ||1|| Pauree: RARRA: Dye this heart of yours in the colour of the Lord's Love. Meditate on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har - chant it with your tongue. In the Court of the Lord, no one shall speak harshly to you. Everyone shall welcome you, saying, "Come, and sit down." In that Mansion of the Lord's Presence, you shall find a home. There is no birth or death, or destruction there. One who has such karma written on his forehead, O Nanak, has the wealth of the Lord in his home. ||10|| Shalok: Greed, falsehood, corruption and emotional attachment entangle the blind and the foolish. Bound down by Maya, O Nanak, a foul odor clings to them. ||1|| Pauree: LALLA: People are entangled in the love of corrupt pleasures; they are drunk with the wine of egotistical intellect and Maya. In this Maya, they are born and die. People act according to the Hukam of the Lord's Command. No one is perfect, and no one is imperfect. No one is wise, and no one is foolish. Wherever the Lord engages someone, there he is engaged. O Nanak, our Lord and Master is forever detached. ||11|| Shalok: My Beloved God, the Sustainer of the World, the Lord of the Universe, is deep, profound and unfathomable. There is no other like Him; O Nanak, He is not worried. ||1|| Pauree: LALLA: There is no one equal to Him. He Himself is the One; there shall never be any other. He is now, He has been, and He shall always be. No one has ever found His limit. In the ant and in the elephant, He is totally pervading. The Lord, the Primal Being, is known by everyone everywhere. That one, unto whom the Lord has given His Love - O Nanak, that Gurmukh chants the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||12|| Shalok: One who knows the taste of the Lord's sublime essence, intuitively enjoys the Lord's Love. O Nanak, blessed, blessed, blessed are the Lord's humble servants; how fortunate is their coming into the world! ||1|| Pauree: How fruitful is the coming into the world, of those whose tongues celebrate the Praises of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. They come and dwell with the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; night and day, they lovingly meditate on the Naam. Blessed is the birth of those humble beings who are attuned to the Naam; the Lord, the Architect of Destiny, bestows His Kind Mercy upon them. They are born only once - they shall not be reincarnated again. O Nanak, they are absorbed into the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan. ||13|| Shalok: Chanting it, the mind is filled with bliss; love of duality is eliminated, and pain, distress and desires are quenched. O Nanak, immerse yourself in the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1||

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Pauree: YAYYA: Burn away duality and evil-mindedness. Give them up, and sleep in intuitive peace and poise. Yaya: Go, and seek the Sanctuary of the Saints; with their help, you shall cross over the terrifying world-ocean. Yaya: One who weaves the One Name into his heart, does not have to take birth again. Yaya: This human life shall not be wasted, if you take the Support of the Perfect Guru. O Nanak, one whose heart is filled with the One Lord finds peace. ||14|| Shalok: The One who dwells deep within the mind and body is your friend here and hereafter. The Perfect Guru has taught me, O Nanak, to chant His Name continually. ||1|| Pauree: Night and day, meditate in remembrance on the One who will be your Help and Support in the end. This poison shall last for only a few days; everyone must depart, and leave it behind. Who is our mother, father, son and daughter? Household, wife, and other things shall not go along with you. So gather that wealth which shall never perish, so that you may go to your true home with honour. In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, those who sing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy - O Nanak, they do not have to endure reincarnation again. ||15|| Shalok: He may be very handsome, born into a highly respected family, very wise, a famous spiritual teacher, prosperous and wealthy; but even so, he is looked upon as a corpse, O Nanak, if he does not love the Lord God. ||1|| Pauree: NGANGA: He may be a scholar of the six Shaastras. He may practice inhaling, exhaling and holding the breath. He may practice spiritual wisdom, meditation, pilgrimages to sacred shrines and ritual cleansing baths. He may cook his own food, and never touch anyone else's; he may live in the wilderness like a hermit. But if he does not enshrine love for the Lord's Name within his heart, then everything he does is transitory. Even an untouchable pariah is superior to him, O Nanak, if the Lord of the World abides in his mind. ||16|| Shalok: He wanders around in the four quarters and in the ten directions, according to the dictates of his karma. Pleasure and pain, liberation and reincarnation, O Nanak, come according to one's pre-ordained destiny. ||1|| Pauree: KAKKA: He is the Creator, the Cause of causes. No one can erase His pre-ordained plan. Nothing can be done a second time. The Creator Lord does not make mistakes. To some, He Himself shows the Way. While He causes others to wander miserably in the wilderness. He Himself has set His own play in motion. Whatever He gives, O Nanak, that is what we receive. ||17|| Shalok: People continue to eat and consume and enjoy, but the Lord's warehouses are never exhausted. So many chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har; O Nanak, they cannot be counted. ||1|| Pauree: KHAKHA: The All-powerful Lord lacks nothing; whatever He is to give, He continues to give - let anyone go anywhere he pleases. The wealth of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is a treasure to spend; it is the capital of His devotees. With tolerance, humility, bliss and intuitive poise, they continue to meditate on the Lord, the Treasure of excellence. Those, unto whom the Lord shows His Mercy, play happily and blossom forth. Those who have the wealth of the Lord's Name in their homes are forever wealthy and beautiful. Those who are blessed with the Lord's Glance of Grace suffer neither torture, nor pain, nor punishment. O Nanak, those who are pleasing to God become perfectly successful. ||18||

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Shalok: See, that even by calculating and scheming in their minds, people must surely depart in the end. Hopes and desires for transitory things are erased for the Gurmukh; O Nanak, the Name alone brings true health. ||1|| Pauree: GAGGA: Chant the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe with each and every breath; meditate on Him forever. How can you rely on the body? Do not delay, my friend; there is nothing to stand in Death's way - neither in childhood, nor in youth, nor in old age. That time is not known, when the noose of Death shall come and fall on you. See, that even spiritual scholars, those who meditate, and those who are clever shall not stay in this place. Only the fool clings to that, which everyone else has abandoned and left behind. By Guru's Grace, one who has such good destiny written on his forehead remembers the Lord in meditation. O Nanak, blessed and fruitful is the coming of those who obtain the Beloved Lord as their Husband. ||19|| Shalok: I have searched all the Shaastras and the Vedas, and they say nothing except this: "In the beginning, throughout the ages, now and forevermore, O Nanak, the One Lord alone exists."||1|| Pauree: GHAGHA: Put this into your mind, that there is no one except the Lord. There never was, and there never shall be. He is pervading everywhere. You shall be absorbed into Him, O mind, if you come to His Sanctuary. In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, only the Naam, the Name of the Lord, shall be of any real use to you. So many work and slave continually, but they come to regret and repent in the end. Without devotional worship of the Lord, how can they find stability? They alone taste the supreme essence, and drink in the Ambrosial Nectar, O Nanak, unto whom the Lord, the Guru, gives it. ||20|| Shalok: He has counted all the days and the breaths, and placed them in people's destiny; they do not increase or decrease one little bit. Those who long to live in doubt and emotional attachment, O Nanak, are total fools. ||1|| Pauree: NGANGA: Death seizes those whom God has made into faithless cynics. They are born and they die, enduring countless incarnations; they do not realise the Lord, the Supreme Soul. They alone find spiritual wisdom and meditation, whom the Lord blesses with His Mercy; no one is emancipated by counting and calculating. The vessel of clay shall surely break. They alone live, who, while alive, meditate on the Lord. They are respected, O Nanak, and do not remain hidden. ||21|| Shalok: Focus your consciousness on His Lotus Feet, and the inverted lotus of your heart shall blossom forth. The Lord of the Universe Himself becomes manifest, O Nanak, through the Teachings of the Saints. ||1|| Pauree: CHACHA: Blessed, blessed is that day, when I became attached to the Lord's Lotus Feet. After wandering around in the four quarters and the ten directions, God showed His Mercy to me, and then I obtained the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. By pure lifestyle and meditation, all duality is removed. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, the mind becomes immaculate. Anxieties are forgotten, and the One Lord alone is seen, O Nanak, by those whose eyes are anointed with the ointment of spiritual wisdom. ||22|| Shalok: The heart is cooled and soothed, and the mind is at peace, chanting and singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe. Show such Mercy, O God, that Nanak may become the slave of Your slaves. ||1|| Pauree: CHHACHHA: I am Your child-slave. I am the water-carrier of the slave of Your slaves. Chhachha: I long to become the dust under the feet of Your Saints.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 105

Please shower me with Your Mercy, O Lord God! I have given up my excessive cleverness and scheming, and I have taken the support of the Saints as my mind's support. Even a puppet of ashes attains the supreme status, O Nanak, if it has the help and support of the Saints. ||23|| Shalok: Practicing oppression and tyranny, he puffs himself up; he acts in corruption with his frail, perishable body. He is bound by his egotistical intellect; O Nanak, salvation comes only through the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1|| Pauree: JAJJA: When someone, in his ego, believes that he has become something, he is caught in his error, like a parrot in a trap. When he believes, in his ego, that he is a devotee and a spiritual teacher, then, in the world hereafter, the Lord of the Universe shall have no regard for him at all. When he believes himself to be a preacher, he is merely a peddler wandering over the earth. But one who conquers his ego in the Company of the Holy, O Nanak, meets the Lord. ||24|| Shalok: Rise early in the morning, and chant the Naam; worship and adore the Lord,

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night and day. Anxiety shall not afflict you, O Nanak, and your misfortune shall vanish. ||1|| Pauree: JHAJHA: Your sorrows shall depart, when you deal with the Lord's Name. The faithless cynic dies in sorrow and pain; his heart is filled with the love of duality. Your evil deeds and sins shall fall away, O my mind, listening to the ambrosial speech in the Society of the Saints. Sexual desire, anger and wickedness fall away, O Nanak, from those who are blessed by the Mercy of the Lord of the World. ||25|| Shalok: You can try all sorts of things, but you still cannot remain here, my friend. But you shall live forevermore, O Nanak, if you vibrate and love the Naam, the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1|| Pauree: NYANYA: Know this as absolutely correct, that that this ordinary love shall come to an end. You may count and calculate as much as you want, but you cannot count how many have arisen and departed. Whoever I see shall perish. With whom should I associate? Know this as true in your consciousness, that the love of Maya is false. He alone knows, and he alone is a Saint, who is free of doubt. He is lifted up and out of the deep dark pit; the Lord is totally pleased with him. God's Hand is All-powerful; He is the Creator, the Cause of causes. O Nanak, praise the One, who joins us to Himself. ||26|| Shalok: The bondage of birth and death is broken and peace is obtained, by serving the Holy. O Nanak, may I never forget from my mind, the Treasure of Virtue, the Sovereign Lord of the Universe. ||1|| Pauree: Work for the One Lord; no one returns empty-handed from Him. When the Lord abides within your mind, body, mouth and heart, then whatever you desire shall come to pass. He alone obtains the Lord's service, and the Mansion of His Presence, unto whom the Holy Saint is compassionate. He joins the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, only when the Lord Himself shows His Mercy. I have searched and searched, across so many worlds, but without the Name, there is no peace. The Messenger of Death retreats from those who dwell in the Saadh Sangat. Again and again, I am forever devoted to the Saints. O Nanak, my sins from so long ago have been erased. ||27|| Shalok: Those beings, with whom the Lord is thoroughly pleased, meet with no obstacles at His Door. Those humble beings whom God has made His own, O Nanak, are blessed, so very blessed. ||1||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 106

Pauree: T'HAT'HA: Those who have abandoned all else, and who cling to the One Lord alone, do not make trouble for anyone's mind. Those who are totally absorbed and preoccupied with Maya are dead; they do not find happiness anywhere. One who dwells in the Society of the Saints finds a great peace; the Ambrosial Nectar of the Naam becomes sweet to his soul. That humble being, who is pleasing to his Lord and Master - O Nanak, his mind is cooled and soothed. ||28|| Shalok: I bow down, and fall to the ground in humble adoration, countless times, to the All-powerful Lord, who possesses all powers. Please protect me, and save me from wandering, God. Reach out and give Nanak Your Hand. ||1|| Pauree: DADDA: This is not your true place; you must know where that place really is. You shall come to realise the way to that place, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad. This place, here, is established by hard work, but not one iota of this shall go there with you. The value of that place beyond is known only to those, upon whom the Perfect Lord God casts His Glance of Grace. That permanent and true place is obtained in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; O Nanak, those humble beings do not waver or wander. ||29|| Shalok: When the Righteous Judge of Dharma begins to destroy someone, no one can place any obstacle in His Way. O Nanak, those who join the Saadh Sangat and meditate on the Lord are saved. ||1|| Pauree: DHADHA: Where are you going, wandering and searching? Search instead within your own mind. God is with you, so why do you wander around from forest to forest? In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, tear down the mound of your frightful, egotistical pride. You shall find peace, and abide in intuitive bliss; gazing upon the Blessed Vision of God's Darshan, you shall be delighted. One who has such a mound as this, dies and suffers the pain of reincarnation through the womb. One who is intoxicated by emotional attachment, entangled in egotism, selfishness and conceit, shall continue coming and going in reincarnation. Slowly and steadily, I have now surrendered to the Holy Saints; I have come to their Sanctuary. God has cut away the noose of my pain; O Nanak, He has merged me into Himself. ||30|| Shalok: Where the Holy people constantly vibrate the Kirtan of the Praises of the Lord of the Universe, O Nanak - the Righteous Judge says, "Do not approach that place, O Messenger of Death, or else neither you nor I shall escape!"||1|| Pauree: NANNA: One who conquers his own soul, wins the battle of life. One who dies, while fighting against egotism and alienation, becomes sublime and beautiful. One who eradicates his ego, remains dead while yet alive, through the Teachings of the Perfect Guru. He conquers his mind, and meets the Lord; he is dressed in robes of honour. He does not claim anything as his own; the One Lord is his Anchor and Support. Night and day, he continually contemplates the Almighty, Infinite Lord God. He makes his mind the dust of all; such is the karma of the deeds he does. Understanding the Hukam of the Lord's Command, he attains everlasting peace. O Nanak, such is his pre-ordained destiny. ||31|| Shalok: I offer my body, mind and wealth to anyone who can unite me with God. O Nanak, my doubts and fears have been dispelled, and the Messenger of Death does not see me any longer. ||1|| Pauree: TATTA: Embrace love for the Treasure of Excellence, the Sovereign Lord of the Universe. You shall obtain the fruits of your mind's desires, and your burning thirst shall be quenched.

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One whose heart is filled with the Name shall have no fear on the path of death. He shall obtain salvation, and his intellect shall be enlightened; he will find his place in the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. Neither wealth, nor household, nor youth, nor power shall go along with you. In the Society of the Saints, meditate in remembrance on the Lord. This alone shall be of use to you. There will be no burning at all, when He Himself takes away your fever. O Nanak, the Lord Himself cherishes us; He is our Mother and Father. ||32|| Shalok: They have grown weary, struggling in all sorts of ways; but they are not satisfied, and their thirst is not quenched. Gathering in and hoarding what they can, the faithless cynics die, O Nanak, but the wealth of Maya does not go with them in the end. ||1|| Pauree: T'HAT'HA: Nothing is permanent - why do you stretch out your feet? You commit so many fraudulent and deceitful actions as you chase after Maya. You work to fill up your bag, you fool, and then you fall down exhausted. But this shall be of no use to you at all at that very last instant. You shall find stability only by vibrating upon the Lord of the Universe, and accepting the Teachings of the Saints. Embrace love for the One Lord forever - this is true love! He is the Doer, the Cause of causes. All ways and means are in His Hands alone. Whatever You attach me to, to that I am attached; O Nanak, I am just a helpless creature. ||33|| Shalok: His slaves have gazed upon the One Lord, the Giver of everything. They continue to contemplate Him with each and every breath; O Nanak, the Blessed Vision of His Darshan is their Support. ||1|| Pauree: DADDA: The One Lord is the Great Giver; He is the Giver to all. There is no limit to His Giving. His countless warehouses are filled to overflowing. The Great Giver is alive forever. O foolish mind, why have you forgotten Him? No one is at fault, my friend. God created the bondage of emotional attachment to Maya. He Himself removes the pains of the Gurmukh; O Nanak, he is fulfilled. ||34|| Shalok: O my soul, grasp the Support of the One Lord; give up your hopes in others. O Nanak, meditating on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, your affairs shall be resolved. ||1|| Pauree: DHADHA: The mind's wanderings cease, when one comes to dwell in the Society of the Saints. If the Lord is Merciful from the very beginning, then one's mind is enlightened. Those who have the true wealth are the true bankers. The Lord, Har, Har, is their wealth, and they trade in His Name. Patience, glory and honour come to those who listen to the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. That Gurmukh whose heart remains merged with the Lord, O Nanak, obtains glorious greatness. ||35|| Shalok: O Nanak, one who chants the Naam, and meditates on the Naam with love inwardly and outwardly, receives the Teachings from the Perfect Guru; he joins the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, and does not fall into hell. ||1|| Pauree: NANNA: Those whose minds and bodies are filled with the Naam, the Name of the Lord, shall not fall into hell. Those Gurmukhs who chant the treasure of the Naam, are not destroyed by the poison of Maya. Those who have been given the Mantra of the Naam by the Guru, shall not be turned away.

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They are filled and fulfilled with the Ambrosial Nectar of the Lord, the Treasure of sublime wealth; O Nanak, the unstruck celestial melody vibrates for them. ||36|| Shalok: The Guru, the Supreme Lord God, preserved my honour, when I renounced hypocrisy, emotional attachment and corruption. O Nanak, worship and adore the One, who has no end or limitation. ||1|| Pauree: PAPPA: He is beyond estimation; His limits cannot be found. The Sovereign Lord King is inaccessible; He is the Purifier of sinners. Millions of sinners are purified; they meet the Holy, and chant the Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord. Deception, fraud and emotional attachment are eliminated, by those who are protected by the Lord of the World. He is the Supreme King, with the royal canopy above His Head. O Nanak, there is no other at all. ||37|| Shalok: The noose of Death is cut, and one's wanderings cease; victory is obtained, when one conquers his own mind. O Nanak, eternal stability is obtained from the Guru, and one's day-to-day wanderings cease. ||1|| Pauree: FAFFA: After wandering and wandering for so long, you have come; in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, you have obtained this human body, so very difficult to obtain. This opportunity shall not come into your hands again. So chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and the noose of Death shall be cut away. You shall not have to come and go in reincarnation over and over again, if you chant and meditate on the One and Only Lord. Shower Your Mercy, O God, Creator Lord, and unite poor Nanak with Yourself. ||38|| Shalok: Hear my prayer, O Supreme Lord God, Merciful to the meek, Lord of the World. The dust of the feet of the Holy is peace, wealth, great enjoyment and pleasure for Nanak. ||1|| Pauree: BABBA: One who knows God is a Brahmin. A Vaishnaav is one who, as Gurmukh, lives the righteous life of Dharma. One who eradicates his own evil is a brave warrior; no evil even approaches him. Man is bound by the chains of his own egotism, selfishness and conceit. The spiritually blind place the blame on others. But all debates and clever tricks are of no use at all. O Nanak, he alone comes to know, whom the Lord inspires to know. ||39|| Shalok: The Destroyer of fear, the Eradicator of sin and sorrow - enshrine that Lord in your mind. One whose heart abides in the Society of the Saints, O Nanak, does not wander around in doubt. ||1|| Pauree: BHABHA: Cast out your doubt and delusion - this world is just a dream. The angelic beings, goddesses and gods are deluded by doubt. The Siddhas and seekers, and even Brahma are deluded by doubt. Wandering around, deluded by doubt, people are ruined. It is so very difficult and treacherous to cross over this ocean of Maya. That Gurmukh who has eradicated doubt, fear and attachment, O Nanak, obtains supreme peace. ||40|| Shalok: Maya clings to the mind, and causes it to waver in so many ways. When You, O Lord, restrain someone from asking for wealth, then, O Nanak, he comes to love the Name. ||1|| Pauree: MAMMA: The beggar is so ignorant - the Great Giver continues to give. He is All-knowing. Whatever He gives, He gives once and for all. O foolish mind, why do you complain, and cry out so loud? Whenever you ask for something, you ask for worldly things; no one has obtained happiness from these. If you must ask for a gift, then ask for the One Lord. O Nanak, by Him, you shall be saved. ||41||

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Shalok: Perfect is the intellect, and most distinguished is the reputation, of those whose minds are filled with the Mantra of the Perfect Guru. Those who come to know their God, O Nanak, are very fortunate. ||1|| Pauree: MAMMA: Those who understand God's mystery are satisfied, joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. They look upon pleasure and pain as the same. They are exempt from incarnation into heaven or hell. They live in the world, and yet they are detached from it. The Sublime Lord, the Primal Being, is totally pervading each and every heart. In His Love, they find peace. O Nanak, Maya does not cling to them at all. ||42|| Shalok: Listen, my dear friends and companions: without the Lord, there is no salvation. O Nanak, one who falls at the Feet of the Guru, has his bonds cut away. ||1|| Pauree: YAYYA: People try all sorts of things, but without the One Name, how far can they succeed? Those efforts, by which emancipation may be attained - those efforts are made in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Everyone has this idea of salvation, but without meditation, there can be no salvation. The All-powerful Lord is the boat to carry us across. O Lord, please save these worthless beings! Those whom the Lord Himself instructs in thought, word and deed - O Nanak, their intellect is enlightened. ||43|| Shalok: Do not be angry with anyone else; look within your own self instead. Be humble in this world, O Nanak, and by His Grace you shall be carried across. ||1|| Pauree: RARRA: Be the dust under the feet of all. Give up your egotistical pride, and the balance of your account shall be written off. Then, you shall win the battle in the Court of the Lord, O Siblings of Destiny. As Gurmukh, lovingly attune yourself to the Lord's Name. Your evil ways shall be slowly and steadily blotted out, by the Shabad, the Incomparable Word of the Perfect Guru. You shall be imbued with the Lord's Love, and intoxicated with the Nectar of the Naam. O Nanak, the Lord, the Guru, has given this gift. ||44|| Shalok: The afflictions of greed, falsehood and corruption abide in this body. Drinking in the Ambrosial Nectar of the Lord's Name, Har, Har, O Nanak, the Gurmukh abides in peace. ||1|| Pauree: LALLA: One who takes the medicine of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is cured of his pain and sorrow in an instant. One whose heart is filled with the medicine of the Naam, is not infested with disease, even in his dreams. The medicine of the Lord's Name is in all hearts, O Siblings of Destiny. Without the Perfect Guru, no one knows how to prepare it. When the Perfect Guru gives the instructions to prepare it, then, O Nanak, one does not suffer illness again. ||45|| Shalok: The All-pervading Lord is in all places. There is no place where He does not exist. Inside and outside, He is with you. O Nanak, what can be hidden from Him? ||1|| Pauree: WAWWA: Do not harbor hatred against anyone. In each and every heart, God is contained. The All-pervading Lord is permeating and pervading the oceans and the land. How rare are those who, by Guru's Grace, sing of Him. Hatred and alienation depart from those who, as Gurmukh, listen to the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises. O Nanak, one who becomes Gurmukh chants the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, and rises above all social classes and status symbols. ||46||

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Shalok: Acting in egotism, selfishness and conceit, the foolish, ignorant, faithless cynic wastes his life. He dies in agony, like one dying of thirst; O Nanak, this is because of the deeds he has done. ||1|| Pauree: RARRA: Conflict is eliminated in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; meditate in adoration on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the essence of karma and Dharma. When the Beautiful Lord abides within the heart, conflict is erased and ended. The foolish, faithless cynic picks arguments - his heart is filled with corruption and egotistical intellect. RARRA: For the Gurmukh, conflict is eliminated in an instant, O Nanak, through the Teachings. ||47|| Shalok: O mind, grasp the Support of the Holy Saint; give up your clever arguments. One who has the Guru's Teachings within his mind, O Nanak, has good destiny inscribed upon his forehead. ||1|| Pauree: SASSA: I have now entered Your Sanctuary, Lord; I am so tired of reciting the Shaastras, the Simritees and the Vedas. I searched and searched and searched, and now I have come to realise, that without meditating on the Lord, there is no emancipation. With each and every breath, I make mistakes. You are All-powerful, endless and infinite. I seek Your Sanctuary - please save me, Merciful Lord! Nanak is Your child, O Lord of the World. ||48|| Shalok: When selfishness and conceit are erased, peace comes, and the mind and body are healed. O Nanak, then He comes to be seen - the One who is worthy of praise. ||1|| Pauree: KHAKHA: Praise and extol Him on High, who fills the empty to over-flowing in an instant. When the mortal being becomes totally humble, then he meditates night and day on God, the Detached Lord of Nirvaanaa. If it pleases the Will of our Lord and Master, then He blesses us with peace. Such is the Infinite, Supreme Lord God. He forgives countless sins in an instant. O Nanak, our Lord and Master is merciful forever. ||49|| Shalok: I speak the Truth - listen, O my mind: take to the Sanctuary of the Sovereign Lord King. Give up all your clever tricks, O Nanak, and He shall absorb you into Himself. ||1|| Pauree: SASSA: Give up your clever tricks, you ignorant fool! God is not pleased with clever tricks and commands. You may practice a thousand forms of cleverness, but not even one will go along with you in the end. Meditate on that Lord, that Lord, day and night. O soul, He alone shall go along with you. Those whom the Lord Himself commits to the service of the Holy, O Nanak, are not afflicted by suffering. ||50|| Shalok: Chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, and keeping it in your mind, you shall find peace. O Nanak, the Lord is pervading everywhere; He is contained in all spaces and interspaces. ||1|| Pauree: Behold! The Lord God is totally pervading each and every heart. Forever and ever, the Guru's wisdom has been the Destroyer of pain. Quieting the ego, ecstasy is obtained. Where the ego does not exist, God Himself is there. The pain of birth and death is removed, by the power of the Society of the Saints. He becomes kind to those who lovingly enshrine the Name of the Merciful Lord within their hearts, in the Society of the Saints.

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In this world, no one accomplishes anything by himself. O Nanak, everything is done by God. ||51|| Shalok: Because of the balance due on his account, he can never be released; he makes mistakes each and every moment. O Forgiving Lord, please forgive me, and carry Nanak across. ||1|| Pauree: The sinner is unfaithful to himself; he is ignorant, with shallow understanding. He does not know the essence of all, the One who gave him body, soul and peace. For the sake of personal profit and Maya, he goes out, searching in the ten directions. He does not enshrine the Generous Lord God, the Great Giver, in his mind, even for an instant. Greed, falsehood, corruption and emotional attachment - these are what he collects within his mind. The worst perverts, thieves and slanderers - he passes his time with them. But if it pleases You, Lord, then You forgive the counterfeit along with the genuine. O Nanak, if it pleases the Supreme Lord God, then even a stone will float on water. ||52|| Shalok: Eating, drinking, playing and laughing, I have wandered through countless incarnations. Please, God, lift me up and out of the terrifying world-ocean. Nanak seeks Your Support. ||1|| Pauree: Playing, playing, I have been reincarnated countless times, but this has only brought pain. Troubles are removed, when one meets with the Holy; immerse yourself in the Word of the True Guru. Adopting an attitude of tolerance, and gathering truth, partake of the Ambrosial Nectar of the Name. When my Lord and Master showed His Great Mercy, I found peace, happiness and bliss. My merchandise has arrived safely, and I have made a great profit; I have returned home with honour. The Guru has given me great consolation, and the Lord God has come to meet me. He Himself has acted, and He Himself acts. He was in the past, and He shall be in the future. O Nanak, praise the One, who is contained in each and every heart. ||53|| Shalok: O God, I have come to Your Sanctuary, O Merciful Lord, Ocean of compassion. One whose mind is filled with the One Word of the Lord, O Nanak, becomes totally blissful. ||1|| Pauree: In the Word, God established the three worlds. Created from the Word, the Vedas are contemplated. From the Word, came the Shaastras, Simritees and Puraanas. From the Word, came the sound current of the Naad, speeches and explanations. From the Word, comes the way of liberation from fear and doubt. From the Word, come religious rituals, karma, sacredness and Dharma. In the visible universe, the Word is seen. O Nanak, the Supreme Lord God remains unattached and untouched. ||54|| Shalok: With pen in hand, the Inaccessible Lord writes man's destiny on his forehead. The Lord of Incomparable Beauty is involved with all. I cannot describe Your Praises with my mouth, O Lord. Nanak is fascinated, gazing upon the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan; he is a sacrifice to You. ||1|| Pauree: O Immovable Lord, O Supreme Lord God, Imperishable, Destroyer of sins: O Perfect, All-pervading Lord, Destroyer of pain, Treasure of virtue: O Companion, Formless, Absolute Lord, Support of all: O Lord of the Universe, Treasure of excellence, with clear eternal understanding: Most Remote of the Remote, Lord God: You are, You were, and You shall always be. O Constant Companion of the Saints, You are the Support of the unsupported. O my Lord and Master, I am Your slave. I am worthless, I have no worth at all.

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Nanak: grant me the Gift of Your Name, Lord, that I may string it and keep it within my heart. ||55|| Shalok: The Divine Guru is our mother, the Divine Guru is our father; the Divine Guru is our Lord and Master, the Transcendent Lord. The Divine Guru is my companion, the Destroyer of ignorance; the Divine Guru is my relative and brother. The Divine Guru is the Giver, the Teacher of the Lord's Name. The Divine Guru is the Mantra which never fails. The Divine Guru is the image of peace, truth and wisdom. The Divine Guru is the Philosopher's Stone - touching it, one is transformed. The Divine Guru is the sacred shrine of pilgrimage, and the pool of divine nectar; bathing in the Guru's wisdom, one experiences the Infinite. The Divine Guru is the Creator, and the Destroyer of all sins; the Divine Guru is the Purifier of sinners. The Divine Guru existed in the very beginning, throughout the ages, in each and every age. The Divine Guru is the Mantra of the Lord's Name; chanting it, one is saved. O God, please be merciful to me, that I may be with the Divine Guru; I am a foolish sinner, but holding onto Him, I will be carried across. The Divine Guru is the True Guru, the Supreme Lord God, the Transcendent Lord; Nanak bows in humble reverence to the Lord, the Divine Guru. ||1|| Read this Shalok at the beginning, and at the end. || Gauree Sukhmani, Fifth Mehl, Shalok: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I bow to the Primal Guru. I bow to the Guru of the ages. I bow to the True Guru. I bow to the Great, Divine Guru. ||1|| ASHTAPADEE: Meditate, meditate, meditate in remembrance of Him, and find peace. Worry and anguish shall be dispelled from your body. Remember in praise the One who pervades the whole Universe. His Name is chanted by countless people, in so many ways. The Vedas, the Puraanas and the Simritees, the purest of utterances, were created from the One Word of the Name of the Lord. That one, in whose soul the One Lord dwells - the praises of his glory cannot be recounted. Those who yearn only for the blessing of Your Darshan - Nanak: save me along with them! ||1|| Sukhmani: Peace of Mind, the Nectar of the Name of God. The minds of the devotees abide in a joyful peace. ||Pause|| Remembering God, one does not have to enter into the womb again. Remembering God, the pain of death is dispelled. Remembering God, death is eliminated. Remembering God, one's enemies are repelled. Remembering God, no obstacles are met. Remembering God, one remains awake and aware, night and day. Remembering God, one is not touched by fear. Remembering God, one does not suffer sorrow. The meditative remembrance of God is in the Company of the Holy. All treasures, O Nanak, are in the Love of the Lord. ||2|| In the remembrance of God are wealth, miraculous spiritual powers and the nine treasures. In the remembrance of God are knowledge, meditation and the essence of wisdom. In the remembrance of God are chanting, intense meditation and devotional worship. In the remembrance of God, duality is removed. In the remembrance of God are purifying baths at sacred shrines of pilgrimage. In the remembrance of God, one attains honour in the Court of the Lord. In the remembrance of God, one becomes good. In the remembrance of God, one flowers in fruition. They alone remember Him in meditation, whom He inspires to meditate.

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Nanak grasps the feet of those humble beings. ||3|| The remembrance of God is the highest and most exalted of all. In the remembrance of God, many are saved. In the remembrance of God, thirst is quenched. In the remembrance of God, all things are known. In the remembrance of God, there is no fear of death. In the remembrance of God, hopes are fulfilled. In the remembrance of God, the filth of the mind is removed. The Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord, is absorbed into the heart. God abides upon the tongues of His Saints. Nanak is the servant of the slave of His slaves. ||4|| Those who remember God are wealthy. Those who remember God are honourable. Those who remember God are approved. Those who remember God are the most distinguished persons. Those who remember God are not lacking. Those who remember God are the rulers of all. Those who remember God dwell in peace. Those who remember God are immortal and eternal. They alone hold to the remembrance of Him, unto whom He Himself shows His Mercy. Nanak begs for the dust of their feet. ||5|| Those who remember God generously help others. Those who remember God - to them, I am forever a sacrifice. Those who remember God - their faces are beautiful. Those who remember God abide in peace. Those who remember God conquer their souls. Those who remember God have a pure and spotless lifestyle. Those who remember God experience all sorts of joys. Those who remember God abide near the Lord. By the Grace of the Saints, one remains awake and aware, night and day. O Nanak, this meditative remembrance comes only by perfect destiny. ||6|| Remembering God, one's works are accomplished. Remembering God, one never grieves. Remembering God, one speaks the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Remembering God, one is absorbed into the state of intuitive ease. Remembering God, one attains the unchanging position. Remembering God, the heart-lotus blossoms forth. Remembering God, the unstruck melody vibrates. The peace of the meditative remembrance of God has no end or limitation. They alone remember Him, upon whom God bestows His Grace. Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of those humble beings. ||7|| Remembering the Lord, His devotees are famous and radiant. Remembering the Lord, the Vedas were composed. Remembering the Lord, we become Siddhas, celibates and givers. Remembering the Lord, the lowly become known in all four directions. For the remembrance of the Lord, the whole world was established. Remember, remember in meditation the Lord, the Creator, the Cause of causes. For the remembrance of the Lord, He created the whole creation. In the remembrance of the Lord, He Himself is Formless. By His Grace, He Himself bestows understanding. O Nanak, the Gurmukh attains the remembrance of the Lord. ||8||1|| Shalok: O Destroyer of the pains and the suffering of the poor, O Master of each and every heart, O Masterless One: I have come seeking Your Sanctuary. O God, please be with Nanak! ||1||

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ASHTAPADEE: Where there is no mother, father, children, friends or siblings - O my mind, there, only the Naam, the Name of the Lord, shall be with you as your help and support. Where the great and terrible Messenger of Death shall try to crush you, there, only the Naam shall go along with you. Where the obstacles are so very heavy, the Name of the Lord shall rescue you in an instant. By performing countless religious rituals, you shall not be saved. The Name of the Lord washes off millions of sins. As Gurmukh, chant the Naam, O my mind. O Nanak, you shall obtain countless joys. ||1|| The rulers of the all the world are unhappy; one who chants the Name of the Lord becomes happy. Acquiring hundreds of thousands and millions, your desires shall not be contained. Chanting the Name of the Lord, you shall find release. By the countless pleasures of Maya, your thirst shall not be quenched. Chanting the Name of the Lord, you shall be satisfied. Upon that path where you must go all alone, there, only the Lord's Name shall go with you to sustain you. On such a Name, O my mind, meditate forever. O Nanak, as Gurmukh, you shall obtain the state of supreme dignity. ||2|| You shall not be saved by hundreds of thousands and millions of helping hands. Chanting the Naam, you shall be lifted up and carried across. Where countless misfortunes threaten to destroy you, the Name of the Lord shall rescue you in an instant. Through countless incarnations, people are born and die. Chanting the Name of the Lord, you shall come to rest in peace. The ego is polluted by a filth which can never be washed off. The Name of the Lord erases millions of sins. Chant such a Name with love, O my mind. O Nanak, it is obtained in the Company of the Holy. ||3|| On that path where the miles cannot be counted, there, the Name of the Lord shall be your sustenance. On that journey of total, pitch-black darkness, the Name of the Lord shall be the Light with you. On that journey where no one knows you, with the Name of the Lord, you shall be recognised. Where there is awesome and terrible heat and blazing sunshine, there, the Name of the Lord will give you shade. Where thirst, O my mind, torments you to cry out, there, O Nanak, the Ambrosial Name, Har, Har, shall rain down upon you. ||4|| Unto the devotee, the Naam is an article of daily use. The minds of the humble Saints are at peace. The Name of the Lord is the Support of His servants. By the Name of the Lord, millions have been saved. The Saints chant the Praises of the Lord, day and night. Har, Har - the Lord's Name - the Holy use it as their healing medicine. The Lord's Name is the treasure of the Lord's servant. The Supreme Lord God has blessed His humble servant with this gift. Mind and body are imbued with ecstasy in the Love of the One Lord. O Nanak, careful and discerning understanding is the way of the Lord's humble servant. ||5|| The Name of the Lord is the path of liberation for His humble servants. With the food of the Name of the Lord, His servants

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are satisfied. The Name of the Lord is the beauty and delight of His servants. Chanting the Lord's Name, one is never blocked by obstacles. The Name of the Lord is the glorious greatness of His servants. Through the Name of the Lord, His servants obtain honour.

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The Name of the Lord is the enjoyment and Yoga of His servants. Chanting the Lord's Name, there is no separation from Him. His servants are imbued with the service of the Lord's Name. O Nanak, worship the Lord, the Lord Divine, Har, Har. ||6|| The Lord's Name, Har, Har, is the treasure of wealth of His servants. The treasure of the Lord has been bestowed on His servants by God Himself. The Lord, Har, Har is the All-powerful Protection of His servants. His servants know no other than the Lord's Magnificence. Through and through, His servants are imbued with the Lord's Love. In deepest Samaadhi, they are intoxicated with the essence of the Naam. Twenty-four hours a day, His servants chant Har, Har. The devotees of the Lord are known and respected; they do not hide in secrecy. Through devotion to the Lord, many have been liberated. O Nanak, along with His servants, many others are saved. ||7|| This Elysian Tree of miraculous powers is the Name of the Lord. The Khaamadhayn, the cow of miraculous powers, is the singing of the Glory of the Lord's Name, Har, Har. Highest of all is the Lord's Speech. Hearing the Naam, pain and sorrow are removed. The Glory of the Naam abides in the hearts of His Saints. By the Saint's kind intervention, all guilt is dispelled. The Society of the Saints is obtained by great good fortune. Serving the Saint, one meditates on the Naam. There is nothing equal to the Naam. O Nanak, rare are those, who, as Gurmukh, obtain the Naam. ||8||2|| Shalok: The many Shaastras and the many Simritees - I have seen and searched through them all. They are not equal to Har, Haray - O Nanak, the Lord's Invaluable Name. ||1|| ASHTAPADEE: Chanting, intense meditation, spiritual wisdom and all meditations; the six schools of philosophy and sermons on the scriptures; the practice of Yoga and righteous conduct; the renunciation of everything and wandering around in the wilderness; the performance of all sorts of works; donations to charities and offerings of jewels to fire; cutting the body apart and making the pieces into ceremonial fire offerings; keeping fasts and making vows of all sorts - none of these are equal to the contemplation of the Name of the Lord, O Nanak, if, as Gurmukh, one chants the Naam, even once. ||1|| You may roam over the nine continents of the world and live a very long life; you may become a great ascetic and a master of disciplined meditation and burn yourself in fire; you may give away gold, horses, elephants and land; you may practice techniques of inner cleansing and all sorts of Yogic postures; you may adopt the self-mortifying ways of the Jains and great spiritual disciplines; piece by piece, you may cut your body apart; but even so, the filth of your ego shall not depart. There is nothing equal to the Name of the Lord. O Nanak, as Gurmukh, chant the Naam, and obtain salvation. ||2|| With your mind filled with desire, you may give up your body at a sacred shrine of pilgrimage; but even so, egotistical pride shall not be removed from your mind. You may practice cleansing day and night, but the filth of your mind shall not leave your body. You may subject your body to all sorts of disciplines, but your mind will never be rid of its corruption. You may wash this transitory body with loads of water, but how can a wall of mud be washed clean? O my mind, the Glorious Praise of the Name of the Lord is the highest; O Nanak, the Naam has saved so many of the worst sinners. ||3|| Even with great cleverness, the fear of death clings to you.

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You try all sorts of things, but your thirst is still not satisfied. Wearing various religious robes, the fire is not extinguished. Even making millions of efforts, you shall not be accepted in the Court of the Lord. You cannot escape to the heavens, or to the nether regions, if you are entangled in emotional attachment and the net of Maya. All other efforts are punished by the Messenger of Death, which accepts nothing at all, except meditation on the Lord of the Universe. Chanting the Name of the Lord, sorrow is dispelled. O Nanak, chant it with intuitive ease. ||4|| One who prays for the four cardinal blessings should commit himself to the service of the Saints. If you wish to erase your sorrows, sing the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, within your heart. If you long for honour for yourself, then renounce your ego in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. If you fear the cycle of birth and death, then seek the Sanctuary of the Holy. Those who thirst for the Blessed Vision of God's Darshan - Nanak is a sacrifice, a sacrifice to them. ||5|| Among all persons, the supreme person is the one who gives up his egotistical pride in the Company of the Holy. One who sees himself as lowly, shall be accounted as the highest of all. One whose mind is the dust of all, recognises the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, in each and every heart. One who eradicates cruelty from within his own mind, looks upon all the world as his friend. One who looks upon pleasure and pain as one and the same, O Nanak, is not affected by sin or virtue. ||6|| To the poor, Your Name is wealth. To the homeless, Your Name is home. To the dishonoured, You, O God, are honour. To all, You are the Giver of gifts. O Creator Lord, Cause of causes, O Lord and Master, Inner-knower, Searcher of all hearts: You alone know Your own condition and state. You Yourself, God, are imbued with Yourself. You alone can celebrate Your Praises. O Nanak, no one else knows. ||7|| Of all religions, the best religion is to chant the Name of the Lord and maintain pure conduct. Of all religious rituals, the most sublime ritual is to erase the filth of the dirty mind in the Company of the Holy. Of all efforts, the best effort is to chant the Name of the Lord in the heart, forever. Of all speech, the most ambrosial speech is to hear the Lord's Praise and chant it with the tongue. Of all places, the most sublime place, O Nanak, is that heart in which the Name of the Lord abides. ||8||3|| Shalok: You worthless, ignorant fool - dwell upon God forever. Cherish in your consciousness the One who created you; O Nanak, He alone shall go along with you. ||1|| ASHTAPADEE: Think of the Glory of the All-pervading Lord, O mortal; what is your origin, and what is your appearance? He who fashioned, adorned and decorated you - in the fire of the womb, He preserved you. In your infancy, He gave you milk to drink. In the flower of your youth, He gave you food, pleasure and understanding. As you grow old, family and friends are there to feed you as you rest.

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This worthless person has not appreciated in the least, all the good deeds done for him. If you bless him with forgiveness, O Nanak, only then will he be saved. ||1|| By His Grace, you abide in comfort upon the earth. With your children, siblings, friends and spouse, you laugh. By His Grace, you drink in cool water. You have peaceful breezes and priceless fire. By His Grace, you enjoy all sorts of pleasures. You are provided with all the necessities of life. He gave you hands, feet, ears, eyes and tongue, and yet, you forsake Him and attach yourself to others. Such sinful mistakes cling to the blind fools; Nanak: uplift and save them, God! ||2|| From beginning to end, He is our Protector, and yet, the ignorant do not give their love to Him. Serving Him, the nine treasures are obtained, and yet, the foolish do not link their minds with Him. Our Lord and Master is Ever-present, forever and ever, and yet, the spiritually blind believe that He is far away. In His service, one obtains honour in the Court of the Lord, and yet, the ignorant fool forgets Him. Forever and ever, this person makes mistakes; O Nanak, the Infinite Lord is our Saving Grace. ||3|| Forsaking the jewel, they are engrossed with a shell. They renounce Truth and embrace falsehood. That which passes away, they believe to be permanent. That which is immanent, they believe to be far off. They struggle for what they must eventually leave. They turn away from the Lord, their Help and Support, who is always with them. They wash off the sandalwood paste; like donkeys, they are in love with the mud. They have fallen into the deep, dark pit. Nanak: lift them up and save them, O Merciful Lord God! ||4|| They belong to the human species, but they act like animals. They curse others day and night. Outwardly, they wear religious robes, but within is the filth of Maya. They cannot conceal this, no matter how hard they try. Outwardly, they display knowledge, meditation and purification, but within clings the dog of greed. The fire of desire rages within; outwardly they apply ashes to their bodies. There is a stone around their neck - how can they cross the unfathomable ocean? Those, within whom God Himself abides - O Nanak, those humble beings are intuitively absorbed in the Lord. ||5|| By listening, how can the blind find the path? Take hold of his hand, and then he can reach his destination. How can a riddle be understood by the deaf? Say 'night', and he thinks you said 'day'. How can the mute sing the Songs of the Lord? He may try, but his voice will fail him. How can the cripple climb up the mountain? He simply cannot go there. O Creator, Lord of Mercy - Your humble servant prays; Nanak: by Your Grace, please save me. ||6|| The Lord, our Help and Support, is always with us, but the mortal does not remember Him. He shows love to his enemies. He lives in a castle of sand. He enjoys the games of pleasure and the tastes of Maya. He believes them to be permanent - this is the belief of his mind. Death does not even come to mind for the fool. Hate, conflict, sexual desire, anger, emotional attachment, falsehood, corruption, immense greed and deceit:

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So many lifetimes are wasted in these ways. Nanak: uplift them, and redeem them, O Lord - show Your Mercy! ||7|| You are our Lord and Master; to You, I offer this prayer. This body and soul are all Your property. You are our mother and father; we are Your children. In Your Grace, there are so many joys! No one knows Your limits. O Highest of the High, Most Generous God, the whole creation is strung on Your thread. That which has come from You is under Your Command. You alone know Your state and extent. Nanak, Your slave, is forever a sacrifice. ||8||4|| Shalok: One who renounces God the Giver, and attaches himself to other affairs - O Nanak, he shall never succeed. Without the Name, he shall lose his honour. ||1|| ASHTAPADEE: He obtains ten things, and puts them behind him; for the sake of one thing withheld, he forfeits his faith. But what if that one thing were not given, and the ten were taken away? Then, what could the fool say or do? Our Lord and Master cannot be moved by force. Unto Him, bow forever in adoration. That one, unto whose mind God seems sweet - all pleasures come to abide in his mind. One who abides by the Lord's Will, O Nanak, obtains all things. ||1|| God the Banker gives endless capital to the mortal, who eats, drinks and expends it with pleasure and joy. If some of this capital is later taken back by the Banker, the ignorant person shows his anger. He himself destroys his own credibility, and he shall not again be trusted. When one offers to the Lord, that which belongs to the Lord, and willingly abides by the Will of God's Order, the Lord will make him happy four times over. O Nanak, our Lord and Master is merciful forever. ||2|| The many forms of attachment to Maya shall surely pass away - know that they are transitory. People fall in love with the shade of the tree, and when it passes away, they feel regret in their minds. Whatever is seen, shall pass away; and yet, the blindest of the blind cling to it. One who gives her love to a passing traveler - nothing shall come into her hands in this way. O mind, the love of the Name of the Lord bestows peace. O Nanak, the Lord, in His Mercy, unites us with Himself. ||3|| False are body, wealth, and all relations. False are ego, possessiveness and Maya. False are power, youth, wealth and property. False are sexual desire and wild anger. False are chariots, elephants, horses and expensive clothes. False is the love of gathering wealth, and reveling in the sight of it. False are deception, emotional attachment and egotistical pride. False are pride and self-conceit. Only devotional worship is permanent, and the Sanctuary of the Holy. Nanak lives by meditating, meditating on the Lotus Feet of the Lord. ||4|| False are the ears which listen to the slander of others. False are the hands which steal the wealth of others.

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False are the eyes which gaze upon the beauty of another's wife. False is the tongue which enjoys delicacies and external tastes. False are the feet which run to do evil to others. False is the mind which covets the wealth of others. False is the body which does not do good to others. False is the nose which inhales corruption. Without understanding, everything is false. Fruitful is the body, O Nanak, which takes to the Lord's Name. ||5|| The life of the faithless cynic is totally useless. Without the Truth, how can anyone be pure? Useless is the body of the spiritually blind, without the Name of the Lord. From his mouth, a foul smell issues forth. Without the remembrance of the Lord, day and night pass in vain, like the crop which withers without rain. Without meditation on the Lord of the Universe, all works are in vain, like the wealth of a miser, which lies useless. Blessed, blessed are those, whose hearts are filled with the Name of the Lord. Nanak is a sacrifice, a sacrifice to them. ||6|| He says one thing, and does something else. There is no love in his heart, and yet with his mouth he talks tall. The Omniscient Lord God is the Knower of all. He is not impressed by outward display. One who does not practice what he preaches to others, shall come and go in reincarnation, through birth and death. One whose inner being is filled with the Formless Lord - by his teachings, the world is saved. Those who are pleasing to You, God, know You. Nanak falls at their feet. ||7|| Offer your prayers to the Supreme Lord God, who knows everything. He Himself values His own creatures. He Himself, by Himself, makes the decisions. To some, He appears far away, while others perceive Him near at hand. He is beyond all efforts and clever tricks. He knows all the ways and means of the soul. Those with whom He is pleased are attached to the hem of His robe. He is pervading all places and interspaces. Those upon whom He bestows His favor, become His servants. Each and every moment, O Nanak, meditate on the Lord. ||8||5|| Shalok: Sexual desire, anger, greed and emotional attachment - may these be gone, and egotism as well. Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of God; please bless me with Your Grace, O Divine Guru. ||1|| ASHTAPADEE: By His Grace, you partake of the thirty-six delicacies; enshrine that Lord and Master within your mind. By His Grace, you apply scented oils to your body; remembering Him, the supreme status is obtained. By His Grace, you dwell in the palace of peace; meditate forever on Him within your mind. By His Grace, you abide with your family in peace; keep His remembrance upon your tongue, twenty-four hours a day. By His Grace, you enjoy tastes and pleasures; O Nanak, meditate forever on the One, who is worthy of meditation. ||1|| By His Grace, you wear silks and satins; why abandon Him, to attach yourself to another? By His Grace, you sleep in a cozy bed; O my mind, sing His Praises, twenty-four hours a day. By His Grace, you are honoured by everyone;

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with your mouth and with your tongue, chant His Praises. By His Grace, you remain in the Dharma; O mind, meditate continually on the Supreme Lord God. Meditating on God,

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you shall be honoured in His Court; O Nanak, you shall return to your true home with honour. ||2|| By His Grace, you have a healthy, golden body; attune yourself to that Loving Lord. By His Grace, your honour is preserved; O mind, chant the Praises of the Lord, Har, Har, and find peace. By His Grace, all your deficits are covered; O mind, seek the Sanctuary of God, our Lord and Master. By His Grace, no one can rival you; O mind, with each and every breath, remember God on High. By His Grace, you obtained this precious human body; O Nanak, worship Him with devotion. ||3|| By His Grace, you wear decorations; O mind, why are you so lazy? Why don't you remember Him in meditation? By His Grace, you have horses and elephants to ride; O mind, never forget that God. By His Grace, you have land, gardens and wealth; keep God enshrined in your heart. O mind, the One who formed your form - standing up and sitting down, meditate always on Him. Meditate on Him - the One Invisible Lord; here and hereafter, O Nanak, He shall save you. ||4|| By His Grace, you give donations in abundance to charities; O mind, meditate on Him, twenty-four hours a day. By His Grace, you perform religious rituals and worldly duties; think of God with each and every breath. By His Grace, your form is so beautiful; constantly remember God, the Incomparably Beautiful One. By His Grace, you have such high social status; remember God always, day and night. By His Grace, your honour is preserved; by Guru's Grace, O Nanak, chant His Praises. ||5|| By His Grace, you listen to the sound current of the Naad. By His Grace, you behold amazing wonders. By His Grace, you speak ambrosial words with your tongue. By His Grace, you abide in peace and ease. By His Grace, your hands move and work. By His Grace, you are completely fulfilled. By His Grace, you obtain the supreme status. By His Grace, you are absorbed into celestial peace. Why forsake God, and attach yourself to another? By Guru's Grace, O Nanak, awaken your mind! ||6|| By His Grace, you are famous all over the world; never forget God from your mind. By His Grace, you have prestige; O foolish mind, meditate on Him! By His Grace, your works are completed; O mind, know Him to be close at hand. By His Grace, you find the Truth; O my mind, merge yourself into Him. By His Grace, everyone is saved; O Nanak, meditate, and chant His Chant. ||7|| Those, whom He inspires to chant, chant His Name. Those, whom He inspires to sing, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord.

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By God's Grace, enlightenment comes. By God's Kind Mercy, the heart-lotus blossoms forth. When God is totally pleased, He comes to dwell in the mind. By God's Kind Mercy, the intellect is exalted. All treasures, O Lord, come by Your Kind Mercy. No one obtains anything by himself. As You have delegated, so do we apply ourselves, O Lord and Master. O Nanak, nothing is in our hands. ||8||6|| Shalok: Unapproachable and Unfathomable is the Supreme Lord God; whoever speaks of Him shall be liberated. Listen, O friends, Nanak prays, to the wonderful story of the Holy. ||1|| ASHTAPADEE: In the Company of the Holy, one's face becomes radiant. In the Company of the Holy, all filth is removed. In the Company of the Holy, egotism is eliminated. In the Company of the Holy, spiritual wisdom is revealed. In the Company of the Holy, God is understood to be near at hand. In the Company of the Holy, all conflicts are settled. In the Company of the Holy, one obtains the jewel of the Naam. In the Company of the Holy, one's efforts are directed toward the One Lord. What mortal can speak of the Glorious Praises of the Holy? O Nanak, the glory of the Holy people merges into God. ||1|| In the Company of the Holy, one meets the Incomprehensible Lord. In the Company of the Holy, one flourishes forever. In the Company of the Holy, the five passions are brought to rest. In the Company of the Holy, one enjoys the essence of ambrosia. In the Company of the Holy, one becomes the dust of all. In the Company of the Holy, one's speech is enticing. In the Company of the Holy, the mind does not wander. In the Company of the Holy, the mind becomes stable. In the Company of the Holy, one is rid of Maya. In the Company of the Holy, O Nanak, God is totally pleased. ||2|| In the Company of the Holy, all one's enemies become friends. In the Company of the Holy, there is great purity. In the Company of the Holy, no one is hated. In the Company of the Holy, one's feet do not wander. In the Company of the Holy, no one seems evil. In the Company of the Holy, supreme bliss is known. In the Company of the Holy, the fever of ego departs. In the Company of the Holy, one renounces all selfishness. He Himself knows the greatness of the Holy. O Nanak, the Holy are at one with God. ||3|| In the Company of the Holy, the mind never wanders. In the Company of the Holy, one obtains everlasting peace. In the Company of the Holy, one grasps the Incomprehensible. In the Company of the Holy, one can endure the unendurable. In the Company of the Holy, one abides in the loftiest place. In the Company of the Holy, one attains the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. In the Company of the Holy, one's Dharmic faith is firmly established. In the Company of the Holy, one dwells with the Supreme Lord God. In the Company of the Holy, one obtains the treasure of the Naam. O Nanak, I am a sacrifice to the Holy. ||4|| In the Company of the Holy, all one's family is saved. In the Company of the Holy, one's friends, acquaintances and relatives are redeemed. In the Company of the Holy, that wealth is obtained. Everyone benefits from that wealth. In the Company of the Holy, the Lord of Dharma serves. In the Company of the Holy, the divine, angelic beings sing God's Praises. In the Company of the Holy, one's sins fly away. In the Company of the Holy, one sings the Ambrosial Glories. In the Company of the Holy, all places are within reach.

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O Nanak, in the Company of the Holy, one's life becomes fruitful. ||5|| In the Company of the Holy, there is no suffering. The Blessed Vision of their Darshan brings a sublime, happy peace. In the Company of the Holy, blemishes are removed. In the Company of the Holy, hell is far away. In the Company of the Holy, one is happy here and hereafter. In the Company of the Holy, the separated ones are reunited with the Lord. The fruits of one's desires are obtained. In the Company of the Holy, no one goes empty-handed. The Supreme Lord God dwells in the hearts of the Holy. O Nanak, listening to the sweet words of the Holy, one is saved. ||6|| In the Company of the Holy, listen to the Name of the Lord. In the Company of the Holy, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. In the Company of the Holy, do not forget Him from your mind. In the Company of the Holy, you shall surely be saved. In the Company of the Holy, God seems very sweet. In the Company of the Holy, He is seen in each and every heart. In the Company of the Holy, we become obedient to the Lord. In the Company of the Holy, we obtain the state of salvation. In the Company of the Holy, all diseases are cured. O Nanak, one meets with the Holy, by highest destiny. ||7|| The glory of the Holy people is not known to the Vedas. They can describe only what they have heard. The greatness of the Holy people is beyond the three qualities. The greatness of the Holy people is all-pervading. The glory of the Holy people has no limit. The glory of the Holy people is infinite and eternal. The glory of the Holy people is the highest of the high. The glory of the Holy people is the greatest of the great. The glory of the Holy people is theirs alone; O Nanak, there is no difference between the Holy people and God. ||8||7|| Shalok: The True One is on his mind, and the True One is upon his lips. He sees only the One. O Nanak, these are the qualities of the God-conscious being. ||1|| ASHTAPADEE: The God-conscious being is always unattached, as the lotus in the water remains detached. The God-conscious being is always unstained, like the sun, which gives its comfort and warmth to all. The God-conscious being looks upon all alike, like the wind, which blows equally upon the king and the poor beggar. The God-conscious being has a steady patience, like the earth, which is dug up by one, and anointed with sandal paste by another. This is the quality of the God-conscious being: O Nanak, his inherent nature is like a warming fire. ||1|| The God-conscious being is the purest of the pure; filth does not stick to water. The God-conscious being's mind is enlightened, like the sky above the earth. To the God-conscious being, friend and foe are the same. The God-conscious being has no egotistical pride. The God-conscious being is the highest of the high. Within his own mind, he is the most humble of all. They alone become God-conscious beings, O Nanak, whom God Himself makes so. ||2|| The God-conscious being is the dust of all. The God-conscious being knows the nature of the soul. The God-conscious being shows kindness to all. No evil comes from the God-conscious being. The God-conscious being is always impartial.

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Nectar rains down from the glance of the God-conscious being. The God-conscious being is free from entanglements. The lifestyle of the God-conscious being is spotlessly pure. Spiritual wisdom is the food of the God-conscious being. O Nanak, the God-conscious being is absorbed in God's meditation. ||3|| The God-conscious being centres his hopes on the One alone. The God-conscious being shall never perish. The God-conscious being is steeped in humility. The God-conscious being delights in doing good to others. The God-conscious being has no worldly entanglements. The God-conscious being holds his wandering mind under control. The God-conscious being acts in the common good. The God-conscious being blossoms in fruitfulness. In the Company of the God-conscious being, all are saved. O Nanak, through the God-conscious being, the whole world meditates on God. ||4|| The God-conscious being loves the One Lord alone. The God-conscious being dwells with God. The God-conscious being takes the Naam as his Support. The God-conscious being has the Naam as his Family. The God-conscious being is awake and aware, forever and ever. The God-conscious being renounces his proud ego. In the mind of the God-conscious being, there is supreme bliss. In the home of the God-conscious being, there is everlasting bliss. The God-conscious being dwells in peaceful ease. O Nanak, the God-conscious being shall never perish. ||5|| The God-conscious being knows God. The God-conscious being is in love with the One alone. The God-conscious being is carefree. Pure are the Teachings of the God-conscious being. The God-conscious being is made so by God Himself. The God-conscious being is gloriously great. The Darshan, the Blessed Vision of the God-conscious being, is obtained by great good fortune. To the God-conscious being, I make my life a sacrifice. The God-conscious being is sought by the great god Shiva. O Nanak, the God-conscious being is Himself the Supreme Lord God. ||6|| The God-conscious being cannot be appraised. The God-conscious being has all within his mind. Who can know the mystery of the God-conscious being? Forever bow to the God-conscious being. The God-conscious being cannot be described in words. The God-conscious being is the Lord and Master of all. Who can describe the limits of the God-conscious being? Only the God-conscious being can know the state of the God-conscious being. The God-conscious being has no end or limitation. O Nanak, to the God-conscious being, bow forever in reverence. ||7|| The God-conscious being is the Creator of all the world. The God-conscious being lives forever, and does not die. The God-conscious being is the Giver of the way of liberation of the soul. The God-conscious being is the Perfect Supreme Being, who orchestrates all. The God-conscious being is the helper of the helpless. The God-conscious being extends his hand to all. The God-conscious being owns the entire creation.

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The God-conscious being is himself the Formless Lord. The glory of the God-conscious being belongs to the God-conscious being alone. O Nanak, the God-conscious being is the Lord of all. ||8||8|| Shalok: One who enshrines the Naam within the heart, who sees the Lord God in all, who, each and every moment, bows in reverence to the Lord Master - O Nanak, such a one is the true 'touch-nothing Saint', who emancipates everyone. ||1|| ASHTAPADEE: One whose tongue does not touch falsehood; whose mind is filled with love for the Blessed Vision of the Pure Lord, whose eyes do not gaze upon the beauty of others' wives, who serves the Holy and loves the Saints' Congregation, whose ears do not listen to slander against anyone, who deems himself to be the worst of all, who, by Guru's Grace, renounces corruption, who banishes the mind's evil desires from his mind, who conquers his sexual instincts and is free of the five sinful passions - O Nanak, among millions, there is scarcely one such 'touch-nothing Saint'. ||1|| The true Vaishnaav, the devotee of Vishnu, is the one with whom God is thoroughly pleased. He dwells apart from Maya. Performing good deeds, he does not seek rewards. Spotlessly pure is the religion of such a Vaishnaav; he has no desire for the fruits of his labors. He is absorbed in devotional worship and the singing of Kirtan, the songs of the Lord's Glory. Within his mind and body, he meditates in remembrance on the Lord of the Universe. He is kind to all creatures. He holds fast to the Naam, and inspires others to chant it. O Nanak, such a Vaishnaav obtains the supreme status. ||2|| The true Bhagaautee, the devotee of Adi Shakti, loves the devotional worship of God. He forsakes the company of all wicked people. All doubts are removed from his mind. He performs devotional service to the Supreme Lord God in all. In the Company of the Holy, the filth of sin is washed away. The wisdom of such a Bhagaautee becomes supreme. He constantly performs the service of the Supreme Lord God. He dedicates his mind and body to the Love of God. The Lotus Feet of the Lord abide in his heart. O Nanak, such a Bhagaautee attains the Lord God. ||3|| He is a true Pandit, a religious scholar, who instructs his own mind. He searches for the Lord's Name within his own soul. He drinks in the Exquisite Nectar of the Lord's Name. By that Pandit's teachings, the world lives. He implants the Sermon of the Lord in his heart. Such a Pandit is not cast into the womb of reincarnation again. He understands the fundamental essence of the Vedas, the Puraanas and the Simritees. In the unmanifest, he sees the manifest world to exist. He gives instruction to people of all castes and social classes. O Nanak, to such a Pandit, I bow in salutation forever. ||4|| The Beej Mantra, the Seed Mantra, is spiritual wisdom for everyone. Anyone, from any class, may chant the Naam. Whoever chants it, is emancipated. And yet, rare are those who attain it, in the Company of the Holy. By His Grace, He enshrines it within. Even beasts, ghosts and the stone-hearted are saved. The Naam is the panacea, the remedy to cure all ills. Singing the Glory of God is the embodiment of bliss and emancipation. It cannot be obtained by any religious rituals. O Nanak, he alone obtains it, whose karma is so pre-ordained. ||5|| One whose mind is a home for the Supreme Lord God

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- his name is truly Ram Das, the Lord's servant. He comes to have the Vision of the Lord, the Supreme Soul. Deeming himself to be the slave of the Lord's slaves, he obtains it. He knows the Lord to be Ever-present, close at hand. Such a servant is honoured in the Court of the Lord. To His servant, He Himself shows His Mercy. Such a servant understands everything. Amidst all, his soul is unattached. Such is the way, O Nanak, of the Lord's servant. ||6|| One who, in his soul, loves the Will of God, is said to be Jivan Mukta - liberated

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while yet alive. As is joy, so is sorrow to him. He is in eternal bliss, and is not separated from God. As is gold, so is dust to him. As is ambrosial nectar, so is bitter poison to him. As is honour, so is dishonour. As is the beggar, so is the king. Whatever God ordains, that is his way. O Nanak, that being is known as Jivan Mukta. ||7|| All places belong to the Supreme Lord God. According to the homes in which they are placed, so are His creatures named. He Himself is the Doer, the Cause of causes. Whatever pleases God, ultimately comes to pass. He Himself is All-pervading, in endless waves. The playful sport of the Supreme Lord God cannot be known. As the understanding is given, so is one enlightened. The Supreme Lord God, the Creator, is eternal and everlasting. Forever, forever and ever, He is merciful. Remembering Him, remembering Him in meditation, O Nanak, one is blessed with ecstasy. ||8||9|| Shalok: Many people praise the Lord. He has no end or limitation. O Nanak, God created the creation, with its many ways and various species. ||1|| ASHTAPADEE: Many millions are His devotees. Many millions perform religious rituals and worldly duties. Many millions become dwellers at sacred shrines of pilgrimage. Many millions wander as renunciates in the wilderness. Many millions listen to the Vedas. Many millions become austere penitents. Many millions enshrine meditation within their souls. Many millions of poets contemplate Him through poetry. Many millions meditate on His eternally new Naam. O Nanak, none can find the limits of the Creator. ||1|| Many millions become self-centred. Many millions are blinded by ignorance. Many millions are stone-hearted misers. Many millions are heartless, with dry, withered souls. Many millions steal the wealth of others. Many millions slander others. Many millions struggle in Maya. Many millions wander in foreign lands. Whatever God attaches them to - with that they are engaged. O Nanak, the Creator alone knows the workings of His creation. ||2|| Many millions are Siddhas, celibates and Yogis. Many millions are kings, enjoying worldly pleasures. Many millions of birds and snakes have been created. Many millions of stones and trees have been produced. Many millions are the winds, waters and fires. Many millions are the countries and realms of the world. Many millions are the moons, suns and stars.

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Many millions are the demi-gods, demons and Indras, under their regal canopies. He has strung the entire creation upon His thread. O Nanak, He emancipates those with whom He is pleased. ||3|| Many millions abide in heated activity, slothful darkness and peaceful light. Many millions are the Vedas, Puraanas, Simritees and Shaastras. Many millions are the pearls of the oceans. Many millions are the beings of so many descriptions. Many millions are made long-lived. Many millions of hills and mountains have been made of gold. Many millions are the Yakhshas - the servants of the god of wealth, the Kinnars - the gods of celestial music, and the evil spirits of the Pisaach. Many millions are the evil nature-spirits, ghosts, pigs and tigers. He is near to all, and yet far from all; O Nanak, He Himself remains distinct, while yet pervading all. ||4|| Many millions inhabit the nether regions. Many millions dwell in heaven and hell. Many millions are born, live and die. Many millions are reincarnated, over and over again. Many millions eat while sitting at ease. Many millions are exhausted by their labors. Many millions are created wealthy. Many millions are anxiously involved in Maya. Wherever He wills, there He keeps us. O Nanak, everything is in the Hands of God. ||5|| Many millions become Bairaagees, who renounce the world. They have attached themselves to the Lord's Name. Many millions are searching for God. Within their souls, they find the Supreme Lord God. Many millions thirst for the Blessing of God's Darshan. They meet with God, the Eternal. Many millions pray for the Society of the Saints. They are imbued with the Love of the Supreme Lord God. Those with whom He Himself is pleased, O Nanak, are blessed, forever blessed. ||6|| Many millions are the fields of creation and the galaxies. Many millions are the etheric skies and the solar systems. Many millions are the divine incarnations. In so many ways, He has unfolded Himself. So many times, He has expanded His expansion. Forever and ever, He is the One, the One Universal Creator. Many millions are created in various forms. From God they emanate, and into God they merge once again. His limits are not known to anyone. Of Himself, and by Himself, O Nanak, God exists. ||7|| Many millions are the servants of the Supreme Lord God. Their souls are enlightened. Many millions know the essence of reality. Their eyes gaze forever on the One alone. Many millions drink in the essence of the Naam. They become immortal; they live forever and ever. Many millions sing the Glorious Praises of the Naam. They are absorbed in intuitive peace and pleasure. He remembers His servants with each and every breath. O Nanak, they are the beloveds of the Transcendent Lord God. ||8||10|| Shalok: God alone is the Doer of deeds - there is no other at all. O Nanak, I am a sacrifice to the One, who pervades the waters, the lands, the sky and all space. ||1|| ASHTAPADEE: The Doer, the Cause of causes, is potent to do anything. That which pleases Him, comes to pass. In an instant, He creates and destroys.

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He has no end or limitation. By His Order, He established the earth, and He maintains it unsupported. By His Order, the world was created; by His Order, it shall merge again into Him. By His Order, one's occupation is high or low. By His Order, there are so many colours and forms. Having created the Creation, He beholds His own greatness. O Nanak, He is pervading in all. ||1|| If it pleases God, one attains salvation. If it pleases God, then even stones can swim. If it pleases God, the body is preserved, even without the breath of life. If it pleases God, then one chants the Lord's Glorious Praises. If it pleases God, then even sinners are saved. He Himself acts, and He Himself contemplates. He Himself is the Master of both worlds. He plays and He enjoys; He is the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. As He wills, He causes actions to be done. Nanak sees no other than Him. ||2|| Tell me - what can a mere mortal do? Whatever pleases God is what He causes us to do. If it were in our hands, we would grab up everything. Whatever pleases God - that is what He does. Through ignorance, people are engrossed in corruption. If they knew better, they would save themselves. Deluded by doubt, they wander around in the ten directions. In an instant, their minds go around the four corners of the world and come back again. Those whom the Lord mercifully blesses with His devotional worship - O Nanak, they are absorbed into the Naam. ||3|| In an instant, the lowly worm is transformed into a king. The Supreme Lord God is the Protector of the humble. Even one who has never been seen at all, becomes instantly famous in the ten directions. And that one upon whom He bestows His blessings - the Lord of the world does not hold him to his account. Soul and body are all His property. Each and every heart is illuminated by the Perfect Lord God. He Himself fashioned His own handiwork. Nanak lives by beholding His greatness. ||4|| There is no power in the hands of mortal beings; the Doer, the Cause of causes is the Lord of all. The helpless beings are subject to His Command. That which pleases Him, ultimately comes to pass. Sometimes, they abide in exaltation; sometimes, they are depressed. Sometimes, they are sad, and sometimes they laugh with joy and delight. Sometimes, they are occupied with slander and anxiety. Sometimes, they are high in the Akaashic Ethers, sometimes in the nether regions of the underworld. Sometimes, they know the contemplation of God. O Nanak, God Himself unites them with Himself. ||5|| Sometimes, they dance in various ways. Sometimes, they remain asleep day and night. Sometimes, they are awesome, in terrible rage. Sometimes, they are the dust of the feet of all. Sometimes, they sit as great kings. Sometimes, they wear the coat of a lowly beggar. Sometimes, they come to have evil reputations. Sometimes, they are known as very, very good. As God keeps them, so they remain. By Guru's Grace, O Nanak, the Truth is told. ||6|| Sometimes, as scholars, they deliver lectures. Sometimes, they hold to silence in deep meditation. Sometimes, they take cleansing baths at places of pilgrimage. Sometimes, as Siddhas or seekers, they impart spiritual wisdom. Sometimes, they becomes worms, elephants, or moths. They may wander and roam through countless incarnations.

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In various costumes, like actors, they appear. As it pleases God, they dance. Whatever pleases Him, comes to pass. O Nanak, there is no other at all. ||7|| Sometimes, this being attains the Company of the Holy. From that place, he does not have to come back again. The light of spiritual wisdom dawns within. That place does not perish. The mind and body are imbued with the Love of the Naam, the Name of the One Lord. He dwells forever with the Supreme Lord God. As water comes to blend with water, his light blends into the Light. Reincarnation is ended, and eternal peace is found. Nanak is forever a sacrifice to God. ||8||11|| Shalok: The humble beings abide in peace; subduing egotism, they are meek. The very proud and arrogant persons, O Nanak, are consumed by their own pride. ||1|| ASHTAPADEE: One who has the pride of power within, shall dwell in hell, and become a dog. One who deems himself to have the beauty of youth, shall become a maggot in manure. One who claims to act virtuously, shall live and die, wandering through countless reincarnations. One who takes pride in wealth and lands is a fool, blind and ignorant. One whose heart is mercifully blessed with abiding humility, O Nanak, is liberated here, and obtains peace hereafter. ||1|| One who becomes wealthy and takes pride in it - not even a piece of straw shall go along with him. He may place his hopes on a large army of men, but he shall vanish in an instant. One who deems himself to be the strongest of all, in an instant, shall be reduced to ashes. One who thinks of no one else except his own prideful self - the Righteous Judge of Dharma shall expose his disgrace. One who, by Guru's Grace, eliminates his ego, O Nanak, becomes acceptable in the Court of the Lord. ||2|| If someone does millions of good deeds, while acting in ego, he shall incur only trouble; all this is in vain. If someone performs great penance, while acting in selfishness and conceit, he shall be reincarnated into heaven and hell, over and over again. He makes all sorts of efforts, but his soul is still not softened - how can he go to the Court of the Lord? One who calls himself good - goodness shall not draw near him. One whose mind is the dust of all - says Nanak, his reputation is spotlessly pure. ||3|| As long as someone thinks that he is the one who acts, he shall have no peace. As long as this mortal thinks that he is the one who does things, he shall wander in reincarnation through the womb. As long as he considers one an enemy, and another a friend, his mind shall not come to rest. As long as he is intoxicated with attachment to Maya, the Righteous Judge shall punish him. By God's Grace, his bonds are shattered; by Guru's Grace, O Nanak, his ego is eliminated. ||4|| Earning a thousand, he runs after a hundred thousand.

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Satisfaction is not obtained by chasing after Maya. He may enjoy all sorts of corrupt pleasures, but he is still not satisfied; he indulges again and again, wearing himself out, until he dies. Without contentment, no one is satisfied. Like the objects in a dream, all his efforts are in vain. Through the love of the Naam, all peace is obtained. Only a few obtain this, by great good fortune. He Himself is Himself the Cause of causes. Forever and ever, O Nanak, chant the Lord's Name. ||5|| The Doer, the Cause of causes, is the Creator Lord. What deliberations are in the hands of mortal beings? As God casts His Glance of Grace, they come to be. God Himself, of Himself, is unto Himself. Whatever He created, was by His Own Pleasure. He is far from all, and yet with all. He understands, He sees, and He passes judgment. He Himself is the One, and He Himself is the many. He does not die or perish; He does not come or go. O Nanak, He remains forever All-pervading. ||6|| He Himself instructs, and He Himself learns. He Himself mingles with all. He Himself created His own expanse. All things are His; He is the Creator. Without Him, what could be done? In the spaces and interspaces, He is the One. In His own play, He Himself is the Actor. He produces His plays with infinite variety. He Himself is in the mind, and the mind is in Him. O Nanak, His worth cannot be estimated. ||7|| True, True, True is God, our Lord and Master. By Guru's Grace, some speak of Him. True, True, True is the Creator of all. Out of millions, scarcely anyone knows Him. Beautiful, Beautiful, Beautiful is Your Sublime Form. You are Exquisitely Beautiful, Infinite and Incomparable. Pure, Pure, Pure is the Word of Your Bani, heard in each and every heart, spoken to the ears. Holy, Holy, Holy and Sublimely Pure - chant the Naam, O Nanak, with heart-felt love. ||8||12|| Shalok: One who seeks the Sanctuary of the Saints shall be saved. One who slanders the Saints, O Nanak, shall be reincarnated over and over again. ||1|| ASHTAPADEE: Slandering the Saints, one's life is cut short. Slandering the Saints, one shall not escape the Messenger of Death. Slandering the Saints, all happiness vanishes. Slandering the Saints, one falls into hell. Slandering the Saints, the intellect is polluted. Slandering the Saints, one's reputation is lost. One who is cursed by a Saint cannot be saved. Slandering the Saints, one's place is defiled. But if the Compassionate Saint shows His Kindness, O Nanak, in the Company of the Saints, the slanderer may still be saved. ||1|| Slandering the Saints, one becomes a wry-faced malcontent. Slandering the Saints, one croaks like a raven. Slandering the Saints, one is reincarnated as a snake. Slandering the Saints, one is reincarnated as a wiggling worm. Slandering the Saints, one burns in the fire of desire. Slandering the Saints, one tries to deceive everyone. Slandering the Saints, all one's influence vanishes. Slandering the Saints, one becomes the lowest of the low. For the slanderer of the Saint, there is no place of rest.

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O Nanak, if it pleases the Saint, even then, he may be saved. ||2|| The slanderer of the Saint is the worst evil-doer. The slanderer of the Saint has not even a moment's rest. The slanderer of the Saint is a brutal butcher. The slanderer of the Saint is cursed by the Transcendent Lord. The slanderer of the Saint has no kingdom. The slanderer of the Saint becomes miserable and poor. The slanderer of the Saint contracts all diseases. The slanderer of the Saint is forever separated. To slander a Saint is the worst sin of sins. O Nanak, if it pleases the Saint, then even this one may be liberated. ||3|| The slanderer of the Saint is forever impure. The slanderer of the Saint is nobody's friend. The slanderer of the Saint shall be punished. The slanderer of the Saint is abandoned by all. The slanderer of the Saint is totally egocentric. The slanderer of the Saint is forever corrupt. The slanderer of the Saint must endure birth and death. The slanderer of the Saint is devoid of peace. The slanderer of the Saint has no place of rest. O Nanak, if it pleases the Saint, then even such a one may merge in union. ||4|| The slanderer of the Saint breaks down mid-way. The slanderer of the Saint cannot accomplish his tasks. The slanderer of the Saint wanders in the wilderness. The slanderer of the Saint is misled into desolation. The slanderer of the Saint is empty inside, like the corpse of a dead man, without the breath of life. The slanderer of the Saint has no heritage at all. He himself must eat what he has planted. The slanderer of the Saint cannot be saved by anyone else. O Nanak, if it pleases the Saint, then even he may be saved. ||5||

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The slanderer of the Saint bewails like this - like a fish, out of water, writhing in agony. The slanderer of the Saint is hungry and is never satisfied, as fire is not satisfied by fuel. The slanderer of the Saint is left all alone, like the miserable barren sesame stalk abandoned in the field. The slanderer of the Saint is devoid of faith. The slanderer of the Saint constantly lies. The fate of the slanderer is pre-ordained from the very beginning of time. O Nanak, whatever pleases God's Will comes to pass. ||6|| The slanderer of the Saint becomes deformed. The slanderer of the Saint receives his punishment in the Court of the Lord. The slanderer of the Saint is eternally in limbo. He does not die, but he does not live either. The hopes of the slanderer of the Saint are not fulfilled. The slanderer of the Saint departs disappointed. Slandering the Saint, no one attains satisfaction. As it pleases the Lord, so do people become; no one can erase their past actions. O Nanak, the True Lord alone knows all. ||7|| All hearts are His; He is the Creator. Forever and ever, I bow to Him in reverence. Praise God, day and night. Meditate on Him with every breath and morsel of food. Everything happens as He wills. As He wills, so people become. He Himself is the play, and He Himself is the actor. Who else can speak or deliberate upon this?

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He Himself gives His Name to those, upon whom He bestows His Mercy. Very fortunate, O Nanak, are those people. ||8||13|| Shalok: Give up your cleverness, good people - remember the Lord God, your King! Enshrine in your heart, your hopes in the One Lord. O Nanak, your pain, doubt and fear shall depart. ||1|| ASHTAPADEE: Reliance on mortals is in vain - know this well. The Great Giver is the One Lord God. By His gifts, we are satisfied, and we suffer from thirst no longer. The One Lord Himself destroys and also preserves. Nothing at all is in the hands of mortal beings. Understanding His Order, there is peace. So take His Name, and wear it as your necklace. Remember, remember, remember God in meditation. O Nanak, no obstacle shall stand in your way. ||1|| Praise the Formless Lord in your mind. O my mind, make this your true occupation. Let your tongue become pure, drinking in the Ambrosial Nectar. Your soul shall be forever peaceful. With your eyes, see the wondrous play of your Lord and Master. In the Company of the Holy, all other associations vanish. With your feet, walk in the Way of the Lord. Sins are washed away, chanting the Lord's Name, even for a moment. So do the Lord's Work, and listen to the Lord's Sermon. In the Lord's Court, O Nanak, your face shall be radiant. ||2|| Very fortunate are those humble beings in this world, who sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, forever and ever. Those who dwell upon the Lord's Name, are the most wealthy and prosperous in the world. Those who speak of the Supreme Lord in thought, word and deed - know that they are peaceful and happy, forever and ever. One who recognises the One and only Lord as One, understands this world and the next. One whose mind accepts the Company of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, O Nanak, knows the Immaculate Lord. ||3|| By Guru's Grace, one understands himself; know that then, his thirst is quenched. In the Company of the Holy, one chants the Praises of the Lord, Har, Har. Such a devotee of the Lord is free of all disease. Night and day, sing the Kirtan, the Praises of the One Lord. In the midst of your household, remain balanced and unattached. One who places his hopes in the One Lord - the noose of Death is cut away from his neck. One whose mind hungers for the Supreme Lord God, O Nanak, shall not suffer pain. ||4|| One who focuses his conscious mind on the Lord God - that Saint is at peace; he does not waver. Those unto whom God has granted His Grace - who do those servants need to fear? As God is, so does He appear; in His Own creation, He Himself is pervading. Searching, searching, searching, and finally, success! By Guru's Grace, the essence of all reality is understood. Wherever I look, there I see Him, at the root of all things. O Nanak, He is the subtle, and He is also the manifest. ||5|| Nothing is born, and nothing dies. He Himself stages His own drama. Coming and going, seen and unseen, all the world is obedient to His Will.

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He Himself is All-in-Himself. In His many ways, He establishes and disestablishes. He is Imperishable; nothing can be broken. He lends His Support to maintain the Universe. Unfathomable and Inscrutable is the Glory of the Lord. As He inspires us to meditate, O Nanak, so do we meditate. ||6|| Those who know God are glorious. The whole world is redeemed by their teachings. God's servants redeem all. God's servants cause sorrows to be forgotten. The Merciful Lord unites them with Himself. Chanting the Word of the Guru's Shabad, they become ecstatic. He alone is committed to serve them, upon whom God bestows His Mercy, by great good fortune. Those who chant the Naam find their place of rest. O Nanak, respect those persons as the most noble. ||7|| Whatever you do, do it for the Love of God. Forever and ever, abide with the Lord. By its own natural course, whatever will be will be. Acknowledge that Creator Lord; God's doings are sweet to His humble servant. As He is, so does He appear. From Him we came, and into Him we shall merge again. He is the treasure of peace, and so does His servant become. Unto His own, He has given His honour. O Nanak, know that God and His humble servant are one and the same. ||8||14|| Shalok: God is totally imbued with all powers; He is the Knower of our troubles. Meditating in remembrance on Him, we are saved; Nanak is a sacrifice to Him. ||1|| ASHTAPADEE: The Lord of the World is the Mender of the broken. He Himself cherishes all beings. The cares of all are on His Mind; no one is turned away from Him. O my mind, meditate forever on the Lord. The Imperishable Lord God is Himself All-in-all. By one's own actions, nothing is accomplished, even though the mortal may wish it so, hundreds of times. Without Him, nothing is of any use to you. Salvation, O Nanak, is attained by chanting the Name of the One Lord. ||1|| One who is good-looking should not be vain; the Light of God is in all hearts. Why should anyone be proud of being rich? All riches are His gifts. One may call himself a great hero, but without God's Power, what can anyone do? One who brags about giving to charities - the Great Giver shall judge him to be a fool. One who, by Guru's Grace, is cured of the disease of ego - O Nanak, that person is forever healthy. ||2|| As a palace is supported by its pillars, so does the Guru's Word support the mind. As a stone placed in a boat can cross over the river, so is the mortal saved, grasping hold of the Guru's Feet. As the darkness is illuminated by the lamp, so does the mind blossom forth, beholding the Blessed Vision of the Guru's Darshan. The path is found through the great wilderness by joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, and one's light shines forth. I seek the dust of the feet of those Saints; O Lord, fulfill Nanak's longing! ||3|| O foolish mind, why do you cry and bewail?

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You shall obtain your pre-ordained destiny. God is the Giver of pain and pleasure. Abandon others, and think of Him alone. Whatever He does - take comfort in that. Why do you wander around, you ignorant fool? What things did you bring with you? You cling to worldly pleasures like a greedy moth. Dwell upon the Lord's Name in your heart. O Nanak, thus you shall return to your home with honour. ||4|| This merchandise, which you have come to obtai n - the Lord's Name is obtained in the home of the Saints. Renounce your egotistical pride, and with your mind, purchase the Lord's Name - measure it out within your heart. Load up this merchandise, and set out with the Saints. Give up other corrupt entanglements. "Blessed, blessed", everyone will call you, and your face shall be radiant in the Court of the Lord. In this trade, only a few are trading. Nanak is forever a sacrifice to them. ||5|| Wash the feet of the Holy, and drink in this water. Dedicate your soul to the Holy. Take your cleansing bath in the dust of the feet of the Holy. To the Holy, make your life a sacrifice. Service to the Holy is obtained by great good fortune. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, the Kirtan of the Lord's Praise is sung. From all sorts of dangers, the Saint saves us. Singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, we taste the ambrosial essence. Seeking the Protection of the Saints, we have come to their door. All comforts, O Nanak, are so obtained. ||6|| He infuses life back into the dead. He gives food to the hungry. All treasures are within His Glance of Grace. People obtain that which they are pre-ordained to receive. All things are His; He is the Doer of all. Other than Him, there has never been any other, and there shall never be. Meditate on Him forever and ever, day and night. This way of life is exalted and immaculate. One whom the Lord, in His Grace, blesses with His Name - O Nanak, that person becomes immaculate and pure. ||7|| One who has faith in the Guru in his mind comes to dwell upon the Lord God. He is acclaimed as a devotee, a humble devotee throughout the three worlds. The One Lord is in his heart. True are his actions; true are his ways. True is his heart; Truth is what he speaks with his mouth. True is his vision; true is his form. He distributes Truth and he spreads Truth. One who recognises the Supreme Lord God as True - O Nanak, that humble being is absorbed into the True One. ||8||15|| Shalok: He has no form, no shape, no colour; God is beyond the three qualities. They alone understand Him, O Nanak, with whom He is pleased. ||1|| ASHTAPADEE: Keep the Immortal Lord God enshrined within your mind. Renounce your love and attachment to people. Beyond Him, there is nothing at all. The One Lord is pervading among all. He Himself is All-seeing; He Himself is All-knowing, Unfathomable, Profound, Deep and All-knowing. He is the Supreme Lord God, the Transcendent Lord, the Lord of the Universe, the Treasure of mercy, compassion and forgiveness. To fall at the Feet of Your Holy Beings

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- this is the longing of Nanak's mind. ||1|| He is the Fulfiller of wishes, who can give us Sanctuary; that which He has written, comes to pass. He destroys and creates in the twinkling of an eye. No one else knows the mystery of His ways. He is the embodiment of ecstasy and everlasting joy. I have heard that all things are in His home. Among kings, He is the King; among yogis, He is the Yogi. Among ascetics, He is the Ascetic; among householders, He is the Enjoyer. By constant meditation, His devotee finds peace. O Nanak, no one has found the limits of that Supreme Being. ||2|| There is no limit to His play. All the demigods have grown weary of searching for it. What does the son know of his father's birth? All are strung upon His string. He bestows good sense, spiritual wisdom and meditation on His humble servants and slaves who meditate on the Naam. He leads some astray in the three qualities; they are born and die, coming and going over and over again. The high and the low are His places. As He inspires us to know Him, O Nanak, so is He known. ||3|| Many are His forms; many are His colours. Many are the appearances which He assumes, and yet He is still the One. In so many ways, He has extended Himself. The Eternal Lord God is the One, the Creator. He performs His many plays in an instant. The Perfect Lord is pervading all places. In so many ways, He created the creation. He alone can estimate His worth. All hearts are His, and all places are His. Nanak lives by chanting, chanting the Name of the Lord. ||4|| The Naam is the Support of all creatures. The Naam is the Support of the earth and solar systems. The Naam is the Support of the Simritees, the Vedas and the Puraanas. The Naam is the Support by which we hear of spiritual wisdom and meditation. The Naam is the Support of the Akaashic ethers and the nether regions. The Naam is the Support of all bodies. The Naam is the Support of all worlds and realms. Associating with the Naam, listening to it with the ears, one is saved. Those whom the Lord mercifully attaches to His Naam - O Nanak, in the fourth state, those humble servants attain salvation. ||5|| His form is true, and true is His place. His personality is true - He alone is supreme. His acts are true, and true is His Word. The True Lord is permeating all. True are His actions; His creation is true. His root is true, and true is what originates from it. True is His lifestyle, the purest of the pure. All goes well for those who know Him. The True Name of God is the Giver of peace. Nanak has obtained true faith from the Guru. ||6|| True are the Teachings, and the Instructions of the Holy. True are those into whose hearts He enters. One who knows and loves the Truth - chanting the Naam, he obtains salvation. He Himself is True, and all that He has made is true. He Himself knows His own state and condition.

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He is the Creator Lord of His world. No one else understands Him, although they may try. The created cannot know the extent of the Creator. O Nanak, whatever pleases Him comes to pass. ||7|| Gazing upon His wondrous wonder, I am wonder-struck and amazed! One who realises this, comes to taste this state of joy. God's humble servants remain absorbed in His Love. Following the Guru's Teachings, they receive the four cardinal blessings. They are the givers, the dispellers of pain. In their company, the world is saved. The slave of the Lord's servant is so very blessed. In the company of His servant, one becomes attached to the Love of the One. His humble servant sings the Kirtan, the songs of the glory of God. By Guru's Grace, O Nanak, he receives the fruits of his rewards. ||8||16|| Shalok: True in the beginning, True throughout the ages, True here and now. O Nanak, He shall forever be True. ||1|| ASHTAPADEE: His Lotus Feet are True, and True are those who touch Them. His devotional worship is True, and True are those who worship Him. The Blessing of His Vision is True, and True are those who behold it. His Naam is True, and True are those who meditate on it. He Himself is True, and True is all that He sustains. He Himself is virtuous goodness, and He Himself is the Bestower of virtue. The Word of His Shabad is True, and True are those who speak of God. Those ears are True, and True are those who listen to His Praises. All is True to one who understands. O Nanak, True, True is He, the Lord God. ||1|| One who believes in the Embodiment of Truth with all his heart recognises the Cause of causes as the Root of all. One whose heart is filled with faith in God - the essence of spiritual wisdom is revealed to his mind. Coming out of fear, he comes to live without fear. He is absorbed into the One, from whom he originated. When something blends with its own, it cannot be said to be separate from it. This is understood only by one of discerning understanding. Meeting with the Lord, O Nanak, he becomes one with Him. ||2|| The servant is obedient to his Lord and Master. The servant worships his Lord and Master forever. The servant of the Lord Master has faith in his mind. The servant of the Lord Master lives a pure lifestyle. The servant of the Lord Master knows that the Lord is with him. God's servant is attuned to the Naam, the Name of the Lord. God is the Cherisher of His servant. The Formless Lord preserves His servant. Unto His servant, God bestows His Mercy. O Nanak, that servant remembers Him with each and every breath. ||3|| He covers the faults of His servant. He surely preserves the honour of His servant. He blesses His slave with greatness. He inspires His servant to chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord. He Himself preserves the honour of His servant. No one knows His state and extent. No one is equal to the servant of

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God. The servant of God is the highest of the high. One whom God applies to His own service, O Nanak - that servant is famous in the ten directions. ||4|| He infuses His Power into the tiny ant; it can then reduce the armies of millions to ashes Those whose breath of life He Himself does not take away

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- He preserves them, and holds out His Hands to protect them. You may make all sorts of efforts, but these attempts are in vain. No one else can kill or preserve - He is the Protector of all beings. So why are you so anxious, O mortal? Meditate, O Nanak, on God, the invisible, the wonderful! ||5|| Time after time, again and again, meditate on God. Drinking in this Nectar, this mind and body are satisfied. The jewel of the Naam is obtained by the Gurmukhs; they see no other than God. Unto them, the Naam is wealth, the Naam is beauty and delight. The Naam is peace, the Lord's Name is their companion. Those who are satisfied by the essence of the Naam - their minds and bodies are drenched with the Naam. While standing up, sitting down and sleeping, the Naam, says Nanak, is forever the occupation of God's humble servant. ||6|| Chant His Praises with your tongue, day and night. God Himself has given this gift to His servants. Performing devotional worship with heart-felt love, they remain absorbed in God Himself. They know the past and the present. They recognise God's Own Command. Who can describe His Glory? I cannot describe even one of His virtuous qualities. Those who dwell in God's Presence, twenty-four hours a day - says Nanak, they are the perfect persons. ||7|| O my mind, seek their protection; give your mind and body to those humble beings. Those humble beings who recognises God are the givers of all things. In His Sanctuary, all comforts are obtained. By the Blessing of His Darshan, all sins are erased. So renounce all other clever devices, and enjoin yourself to the service of those servants. Your comings and goings shall be ended. O Nanak, worship the feet of God's humble servants forever. ||8||17|| Shalok: The one who knows the True Lord God, is called the True Guru. In His Company, the Sikh is saved, O Nanak, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||1|| ASHTAPADEE: The True Guru cherishes His Sikh. The Guru is always merciful to His servant. The Guru washes away the filth of the evil intellect of His Sikh. Through the Guru's Teachings, he chants the Lord's Name. The True Guru cuts away the bonds of His Sikh. The Sikh of the Guru abstains from evil deeds. The True Guru gives His Sikh the wealth of the Naam. The Sikh of the Guru is very fortunate. The True Guru arranges this world and the next for His Sikh. O Nanak, with the fullness of His heart, the True Guru mends His Sikh. ||1|| That selfless servant, who lives in the Guru's household, is to obey the Guru's Commands with all his mind. He is not to call attention to himself in any way. He is to meditate constantly within his heart on the Name of the Lord. One who sells his mind to the True Guru - that humble servant's affairs are resolved. One who performs selfless service, without thought of reward, shall attain his Lord and Master.

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He Himself grants His Grace; O Nanak, that selfless servant lives the Guru's Teachings. ||2|| One who obeys the Guru's Teachings one hundred per cent - that selfless servant comes to know the state of the Transcendent Lord. The True Guru's Heart is filled with the Name of the Lord. So many times, I am a sacrifice to the Guru. He is the treasure of everything, the Giver of life. Twenty-four hours a day, He is imbued with the Love of the Supreme Lord God. The servant is in God, and God is in the servant. He Himself is One - there is no doubt about this. By thousands of clever tricks, He is not found. O Nanak, such a Guru is obtained by the greatest good fortune. ||3|| Blessed is His Darshan; receiving it, one is purified. Touching His Feet, one's conduct and lifestyle become pure. Abiding in His Company, one chants the Lord's Praise, and reaches the Court of the Supreme Lord God. Listening to His Teachings, one's ears are satisfied. The mind is contented, and the soul is fulfilled. The Guru is perfect; His Teachings are everlasting. Beholding His Ambrosial Glance, one becomes saintly. Endless are His virtuous qualities; His worth cannot be appraised. O Nanak, one who pleases Him is united with Him. ||4|| The tongue is one, but His Praises are many. The True Lord, of perfect perfection - no speech can take the mortal to Him. God is Inaccessible, Incomprehensible, balanced in the state of Nirvaanaa. He is not sustained by food; He has no hatred or vengeance; He is the Giver of peace. No one can estimate His worth. Countless devotees continually bow in reverence to Him. In their hearts, they meditate on His Lotus Feet. Nanak is forever a sacrifice to the True Guru; by His Grace, he meditates on God. ||5|| Only a few obtain this ambrosial essence of the Lord's Name. Drinking in this Nectar, one becomes immortal. That person whose mind is illuminated by the treasure of excellence, never dies. Twenty-four hours a day, he takes the Name of the Lord. The Lord gives true instruction to His servant. He is not polluted by emotional attachment to Maya. In his mind, he cherishes the One Lord, Har, Har. In the pitch darkness, a lamp shines forth. O Nanak, doubt, emotional attachment and pain are erased. ||6|| In the burning heat, a soothing coolness prevails. Happiness ensues and pain departs, O Siblings of Destiny. The fear of birth and death is dispelled, by the perfect Teachings of the Holy Saint. Fear is lifted, and one abides in fearlessness. All evils are dispelled from the mind. He takes us into His favor as His own. In the Company of the Holy, chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Stability is attained; doubt and wandering cease, O Nanak, listening with one's ears to the Praises of the Lord, Har, Har. ||7|| He Himself is absolute and unrelated; He Himself is also involved and related. Manifesting His power, He fascinates the entire world. God Himself sets His play in motion. Only He Himself can estimate His worth. There is none, other than the Lord. Permeating all, He is the One. Through and through, He pervades in form and colour. He is revealed in the Company of the Holy.

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Having created the creation, He infuses His own power into it. So many times, Nanak is a sacrifice to Him. ||8||18|| Shalok: Nothing shall go along with you, except your devotion. All corruption is like ashes. Practice the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. O Nanak, this is the most excellent wealth. ||1|| ASHTAPADEE: Joining the Company of the Saints, practice deep meditation. Remember the One, and take the Support of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Forget all other efforts, O my friend - enshrine the Lord's Lotus Feet within your heart. God is All-powerful; He is the Cause of causes. Grasp firmly the object of the Lord's Name. Gather this wealth, and become very fortunate. Pure are the instructions of the humble Saints. Keep faith in the One Lord within your mind. All disease, O Nanak, shall then be dispelled. ||1|| The wealth which you chase after in the four directions - you shall obtain that wealth by serving the Lord. The peace, which you always yearn for, O friend - that peace comes by the love of the Company of the Holy. The glory, for which you perform good deeds - you shall obtain that glory by seeking the Lord's Sanctuary. All sorts of remedies have not cured the disease - the disease is cured only by giving the medicine of the Lord's Name. Of all treasures, the Lord's Name is the supreme treasure. Chant it, O Nanak, and be accepted in the Court of the Lord. ||2|| Enlighten your mind with the Name of the Lord. Having wandered around in the ten directions, it comes to its place of rest. No obstacle stands in the way of one whose heart is filled with the Lord. The Dark Age of Kali Yuga is so hot; the Lord's Name is soothing and cool. Remember, remember it in meditation, and obtain everlasting peace. Your fear shall be dispelled, and your hopes shall be fulfilled. By devotional worship and loving adoration, your soul shall be enlightened. You shall go to that home, and live forever. Says Nanak, the noose of death is cut away. ||3|| One who contemplates the essence of reality, is said to be the true person. Birth and death are the lot of the false and the insincere. Coming and going in reincarnation is ended by serving God. Give up your selfishness and conceit, and seek the Sanctuary of the Divine Guru. Thus the jewel of this human life is saved. Remember the Lord, Har, Har, the Support of the breath of life. By all sorts of efforts, people are not saved - not by studying the Simritees, the Shaastras or the Vedas. Worship the Lord with whole-hearted devotion. O Nanak, you shall obtain the fruits of your mind's desire. ||4|| Your wealth shall not go with you; why do you cling to it, you fool? Children, friends, family and spouse - who of these shall accompany you? Power, pleasure, and the vast expanse of Maya - who has ever escaped from these? Horses, elephants, chariots and pageantry - false shows and false displays. The fool does not acknowledge the One who gave this; forgetting the Naam, O Nanak, he will repent in the end. ||5|| Take the Guru's advice, you ignorant fool; without devotion, even the clever have drowned. Worship the Lord with heart-felt devotion, my friend; your consciousness shall become pure. Enshrine the Lord's Lotus Feet in your mind;

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the sins of countless lifetimes shall depart. Chant the Naam yourself, and inspire others to chant it as well. Hearing, speaking and living it, emancipation is obtained. The essential reality is the True Name of the Lord. With intuitive ease, O Nanak, sing His Glorious Praises. ||6|| Chanting His Glories, your filth shall be washed off. The all-consuming poison of ego will be gone. You shall become carefree, and you shall dwell in peace. With every breath and every morsel of food, cherish the Lord's Name. Renounce all clever tricks, O mind. In the Company of the Holy, you shall obtain the true wealth. So gather the Lord's Name as your capital, and trade in it. In this world you shall be at peace, and in the Court of the Lord, you shall be acclaimed. See the One permeating all; says Nanak, your destiny is pre-ordained. ||7|| Meditate on the One, and worship the One. Remember the One, and yearn for the One in your mind. Sing the endless Glorious Praises of the One. With mind and body, meditate on the One Lord God. The One Lord Himself is the One and Only. The Pervading Lord God is totally permeating all. The many expanses of the creation have all come from the One. Adoring the One, past sins are removed. Mind and body within are imbued with the One God. By Guru's Grace, O Nanak, the One is known. ||8||19|| Shalok: After wandering and wandering, O God, I have come, and entered Your Sanctuary. This is Nanak's prayer, O God: please, attach me to Your devotional service. ||1|| ASHTAPADEE: I am a beggar; I beg for this gift from You: please, by Your Mercy, Lord, give me Your Name. I ask for the dust of the feet of the Holy. O Supreme Lord God, please fulfill my yearning; may I sing the Glorious Praises of God forever and ever. With each and every breath, may I meditate on You, O God. May I enshrine affection for Your Lotus Feet. May I perform devotional worship to God each and every day. You are my only Shelter, my only Support. Nanak asks for the most sublime, the Naam, the Name of God. ||1|| By God's Gracious Glance, there is great peace. Rare are those who obtain the juice of the Lord's essence. Those who taste it are satisfied. They are fulfilled and realised beings - they do not waver. They are totally filled to over-flowing with the sweet delight of His Love. Spiritual delight wells up within, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Taking to His Sanctuary, they forsake all others. Deep within, they are enlightened, and they centre themselves on Him, day and night. Most fortunate are those who meditate on God. O Nanak, attuned to the Naam, they are at peace. ||2|| The wishes of the Lord's servant are fulfilled. From the True Guru, the pure teachings are obtained. Unto His humble servant, God has shown His kindness. He has made His servant eternally happy. The bonds of His humble servant are cut away, and he is liberated. The pains of birth and death, and doubt are gone. Desires are satisfied, and faith is fully rewarded, imbued forever with His all-pervading peace. He is His - he merges in Union with Him. Nanak is absorbed in devotional worship of the Naam. ||3|| Why forget Him, who does not overlook our efforts? Why forget Him, who acknowledges what we do?

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Why forget Him, who has given us everything? Why forget Him, who is the Life of the living beings? Why forget Him, who preserves us in the fire of the womb? By Guru's Grace, rare is the one who realises this. Why forget Him, who lifts us up out of corruption? Those separated from Him for countless lifetimes, are re-united with Him once again. Through the Perfect Guru, this essential reality is understood. O Nanak, God's humble servants meditate on Him. ||4|| O friends, O Saints, make this your work. Renounce everything else, and chant the Name of the Lord. Meditate, meditate, meditate in remembrance of Him, and find peace. Chant the Naam yourself, and inspire others to chant it. By loving devotional worship, you shall cross over the world-ocean. Without devotional meditation, the body will be just ashes. All joys and comforts are in the treasure of the Naam. Even the drowning can reach the place of rest and safety. All sorrows shall vanish. O Nanak, chant the Naam, the treasure of excellence. ||5|| Love and affection, and the taste of yearning, have welled up within; within my mind and body, this is my purpose: beholding with my eyes His Blessed Vision, I am at peace. My mind blossoms forth in ecstasy, washing the feet of the Holy. The minds and bodies of His devotees are infused with His Love. Rare is the one who obtains their company. Show Your mercy - please, grant me this one request: by Guru's Grace, may I chant the Naam. His Praises cannot be spoken; O Nanak, He is contained among all. ||6|| God, the Forgiving Lord, is kind to the poor. He loves His devotees, and He is always merciful to them. The Patron of the patronless, the Lord of the Universe, the Sustainer of the world, the Nourisher of all beings. The Primal Being, the Creator of the Creation. The Support of the breath of life of His devotees. Whoever meditates on Him is sanctified, focusing the mind in loving devotional worship. I am unworthy, lowly and ignorant. Nanak has entered Your Sanctuary, O Supreme Lord God. ||7|| Everything is obtained: the heavens, liberation and deliverance, if one sings the Lord's Glories, even for an instant. So many realms of power, pleasures and great glories, come to one whose mind is pleased with the Sermon of the Lord's Name. Abundant foods, clothes and music come to one whose tongue continually chants the Lord's Name, Har, Har. His actions are good, he is glorious and wealthy; the Mantra of the Perfect Guru dwells within his heart. O God, grant me a home in the Company of the Holy. All pleasures, O Nanak, are so revealed. ||8||20|| Shalok: He possesses all qualities; He transcends all qualities; He is the Formless Lord. He Himself is in Primal Samaadhi. Through His Creation, O Nanak, He meditates on Himself. ||1|| ASHTAPADEE: When this world had not yet appeared in any form, who then committed sins and performed good deeds? When the Lord Himself was in Profound Samaadhi, then against whom were hate and jealousy directed? When there was no colour or shape to be seen, then who experienced joy and sorrow? When the Supreme Lord Himself was Himself All-in-all, then where was emotional attachment, and who had doubts?

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He Himself has staged His own drama; O Nanak, there is no other Creator. ||1|| When there was only God the Master, then who was called bound or liberated? When there was only the Lord, Unfathomable and Infinite, then who entered hell, and who entered heaven? When God was without attributes, in absolute poise, then where was mind and where was matter - where was Shiva and Shakti? When He held His Own Light unto Himself, then who was fearless, and who was afraid? He Himself is the Performer in His own plays; O Nanak, the Lord Master is Unfathomable and Infinite. ||2|| When the Immortal Lord was seated at ease, then where was birth, death and dissolution? When there was only God, the Perfect Creator, then who was afraid of death? When there was only the One Lord, unmanifest and incomprehensible, then who was called to account by the recording scribes of the conscious and the subconscious? When there was only the Immaculate, Incomprehensible, Unfathomable Master, then who was emancipated, and who was held in bondage? He Himself, in and of Himself, is the most wonderful. O Nanak, He Himself created His Own Form. ||3|| When there was only the Immaculate Being, the Lord of beings, there was no filth, so what was there to be washed clean? When there was only the Pure, Formless Lord in Nirvaanaa, then who was honoured, and who was dishonoured? When there was only the Form of the Lord of the Universe, then who was tainted by fraud and sin? When the Embodiment of Light was immersed in His Own Light, then who was hungry, and who was satisfied? He is the Cause of causes, the Creator Lord. O Nanak, the Creator is beyond calculation. ||4|| When His Glory was contained within Himself, then who was mother, father, friend, child or sibling? When all power and wisdom was latent within Him, then where were the Vedas and the scriptures, and who was there to read them? When He kept Himself, All-in-all, unto His Own Heart, then who considered omens to be good or bad? When He Himself was lofty, and He Himself was near at hand, then who was called master, and who was called disciple? We are wonder-struck at the wondrous wonder of the Lord. O Nanak, He alone knows His own state. ||5|| When the Undeceiveable, Impenetrable, Inscrutable One was self-absorbed, then who was swayed by Maya? When He paid homage to Himself, then the three qualities were not prevailing. When there was only the One, the One and Only Lord God, then who was not anxious, and who felt anxiety? When He Himself was satisfied with Himself, then who spoke and who listened? He is vast and infinite, the highest of the high. O Nanak, He alone can reach Himself. ||6|| When He Himself fashioned the visible world of the creation, he made the world subject to the three dispositions. Sin and virtue then began to be spoken of.

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Some have gone to hell, and some yearn for paradise. Worldly snares and entanglements of Maya, egotism, attachment, doubt and loads of fear; pain and pleasure, honour and dishonour - these came to be described in various ways. He Himself creates and beholds His own drama. He winds up the drama, and then, O Nanak, He alone remains. ||7|| Wherever the Eternal Lord's devotee is, He Himself is there. He unfolds the expanse of His creation for the glory of His Saint. He Himself is the Master of both worlds. His Praise is to Himself alone. He Himself performs and plays His amusements and games. He Himself enjoys pleasures, and yet He is unaffected and untouched. He attaches whomever He pleases to His Name. He causes whomever He pleases to play in His play. He is beyond calculation, beyond measure, uncountable and unfathomable. As You inspire him to speak, O Lord, so does servant Nanak speak. ||8||21|| Shalok: O Lord and Master of all beings and creatures, You Yourself are prevailing everywhere. O Nanak, The One is All-pervading; where is any other to be seen? ||1|| ASHTAPADEE: He Himself is the speaker, and He Himself is the listener. He Himself is the One, and He Himself is the many. When it pleases Him, He creates the world. As He pleases, He absorbs it back into Himself. Without You, nothing can be done. Upon Your thread, You have strung the whole world. One whom God Himself inspires to understand - that person obtains the True Name. He looks impartially upon all, and he knows the essential reality. O Nanak, he conquers the whole world. ||1|| All beings and creatures are in His Hands. He is Merciful to the meek, the Patron of the patronless. No one can kill those who are protected by Him. One who is forgotten by God, is already dead. Leaving Him, where else could anyone go? Over the heads of all is the One, the Immaculate King. The ways and means of all beings are in His Hands. Inwardly and outwardly, know that He is with you. He is the Ocean of excellence, infinite and endless. Slave Nanak is forever a sacrifice to Him. ||2|| The Perfect, Merciful Lord is pervading everywhere. His kindness extends to all. He Himself knows His own ways. The Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts, is present everywhere. He cherishes His living beings in so many ways. That which He has created meditates on Him. Whoever pleases Him, He blends into Himself. They perform His devotional service and sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. With heart-felt faith, they believe in Him. O Nanak, they realise the One, the Creator Lord. ||3|| The Lord's humble servant is committed to His Name. His hopes do not go in vain. The servant's purpose is to serve; obeying the Lord's Command, the supreme status is obtained. Beyond this, he has no other thought. Within his mind, the Formless Lord abides. His bonds are cut away, and he becomes free of hatred. Night and day, he worships the Feet of the Guru. He is at peace in this world, and happy in the next.

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O Nanak, the Lord God unites him with Himself. ||4|| Join the Company of the Holy, and be happy. Sing the Glories of God, the embodiment of supreme bliss. Contemplate the essence of the Lord's Name. Redeem this human body, so difficult to obtain. Sing the Ambrosial Words of the Lord's Glorious Praises; this is the way to save your mortal soul. Behold God near at hand, twenty-four hours a day. Ignorance shall depart, and darkness shall be dispelled. Listen to the Teachings, and enshrine them in your heart. O Nanak, you shall obtain the fruits of your mind's desires. ||5|| Embellish both this world and the next; enshrine the Lord's Name deep within your heart. Perfect are the Teachings of the Perfect Guru. That person, within whose mind it abides, realises the Truth. With your mind and body, chant the Naam; lovingly attune yourself to it. Sorrow, pain and fear shall depart from your mind. Deal in the true trade, O trader, and your merchandise shall be safe in the Court of the Lord. Keep the Support of the One in your mind. O Nanak, you shall not have to come and go in reincarnation again. ||6|| Where can anyone go, to get away from Him? Meditating on the Protector Lord, you shall be saved. Meditating on the Fearless Lord, all fear departs. By God's Grace, mortals are released. One who is protected by God never suffers in pain. Chanting the Naam, the mind becomes peaceful. Anxiety departs, and ego is eliminated. No one can equal that humble servant. The Brave and Powerful Guru stands over his head. O Nanak, his efforts are fulfilled. ||7|| His wisdom is perfect, and His Glance is Ambrosial. Beholding His Vision, the universe is saved. His Lotus Feet are incomparably beautiful. The Blessed Vision of His Darshan is fruitful and rewarding; His Lordly Form is beautiful. Blessed is His service; His servant is famous. The Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts, is the most exalted Supreme Being. That one, within whose mind He abides, is blissfully happy. Death does not draw near him. One becomes immortal, and obtains the immortal status, meditating on the Lord, O Nanak, in the Company of the Holy. ||8||22|| Shalok: The Guru has given the healing ointment of spiritual wisdom, and dispelled the darkness of ignorance. By the Lord's Grace, I have met the Saint; O Nanak, my mind is enlightened. ||1|| ASHTAPADEE: In the Society of the Saints, I see God deep within my being. God's Name is sweet to me. All things are contained in the Heart of the One, although they appear in so many various colours. The nine treasures are in the Ambrosial Name of God. Within the human body is its place of rest. The Deepest Samaadhi, and the unstruck sound current of the Naad are there. The wonder and marvel of it cannot be described. He alone sees it, unto whom God Himself reveals it. O Nanak, that humble being understands. ||1|| The Infinite Lord is inside, and outside as well. Deep within each and every heart, the Lord God is pervading. In the earth, in the Akaashic ethers, and in the nether regions of the underworld - in all worlds, He is the Perfect Cherisher.

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In the forests, fields and mountains, He is the Supreme Lord God. As He orders, so do His creatures act. He permeates the winds and the waters. He is pervading in the four corners and in the ten directions. Without Him, there is no place at all. By Guru's Grace, O Nanak, peace is obtained. ||2|| See Him in the Vedas, the Puraanas and the Simritees. In the moon, the sun and the stars, He is the One. The Bani of God's Word is spoken by everyone. He Himself is unwavering - He never wavers. With absolute power, He plays His play. His value cannot be estimated; His virtues are invaluable. In all light, is His Light. The Lord and Master supports the weave of the fabric of the universe. By Guru's Grace, doubt is dispelled. O Nanak, this faith is firmly implanted within. ||3|| In the eye of the Saint, everything is God. In the heart of the Saint, everything is Dharma. The Saint hears words of goodness. He is absorbed in the All-pervading Lord. This is the way of life of one who knows God. True are all the words spoken by the Holy. Whatever happens, he peacefully accepts. He knows God as the Doer, the Cause of causes. He dwells inside, and outside as well. O Nanak, beholding the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, all are fascinated. ||4|| He Himself is True, and all that He has made is True. The entire creation came from God. As it pleases Him, He creates the expanse. As it pleases Him, He becomes the One and Only again. His powers are so numerous, they cannot be known. As it pleases Him, He merges us into Himself again. Who is near, and who is far away? He Himself is Himself pervading everywhere. One whom God causes to know that He is within the heart - O Nanak, He causes that person to understand Him. ||5|| In all forms, He Himself is pervading. Through all eyes, He Himself is watching. All the creation is His Body. He Himself listens to His Own Praise. The One has created the drama of coming and going. He made Maya subservient to His Will. In the midst of all, He remains unattached. Whatever is said, He Himself says. By His Will we come, and by His Will we go. O Nanak, when it pleases Him, then He absorbs us into Himself. ||6|| If it comes from Him, it cannot be bad. Other than Him, who can do anything? He Himself is good; His actions are the very best. He Himself knows His Own Being. He Himself is True, and all that He has established is True. Through and through, He is blended with His creation. His state and extent cannot be described. If there were another like Him, then only he could understand Him. His actions are all approved and accepted. By Guru's Grace, O Nanak, this is known. ||7|| One who knows Him, obtains everlasting peace. God blends that one into Himself. He is wealth and prosperous, and of noble birth. He is Jivan Mukta - liberated while yet alive; the Lord God abides in his heart. Blessed, blessed, blessed is the coming of that humble being;

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by his grace, the whole world is saved. This is his purpose in life; in the Company of this humble servant, the Lord's Name comes to mind. He Himself is liberated, and He liberates the universe. O Nanak, to that humble servant, I bow in reverence forever. ||8||23|| Shalok: I worship and adore the Perfect Lord God. Perfect is His Name. O Nanak, I have obtained the Perfect One; I sing the Glorious Praises of the Perfect Lord. ||1|| ASHTAPADEE: Listen to the Teachings of the Perfect Guru; see the Supreme Lord God near you. With each and every breath, meditate in remembrance on the Lord of the Universe, and the anxiety within your mind shall depart. Abandon the waves of fleeting desire, and pray for the dust of the feet of the Saints. Renounce your selfishness and conceit and offer your prayers. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, cross over the ocean of fire. Fill your stores with the wealth of the Lord. Nanak bows in humility and reverence to the Perfect Guru. ||1|| Happiness, intuitive peace, poise and bliss - in the Company of the Holy, meditate on the Lord of supreme bliss. You shall be spared from hell - save your soul! Drink in the ambrosial essence of the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe. Focus your consciousness on the One, the All-pervading Lord - He has One Form, but He has many manifestations. Sustainer of the Universe, Lord of the world, Kind to the poor, Destroyer of sorrow, perfectly Merciful. Meditate, meditate in remembrance on the Naam, again and again. O Nanak, it is the Support of the soul. ||2|| The most sublime hymns are the Words of the Holy. These are priceless rubies and gems. One who listens and acts on them is saved. He himself swims across, and saves others as well. His life is prosperous, and his company is fruitful; his mind is imbued with the love of the Lord. Hail, hail to him, for whom the sound current of the Shabad vibrates. Hearing it again and again, he is in bliss, proclaiming God's Praises. The Lord radiates from the foreheads of the Holy. Nanak is saved in their company. ||3|| Hearing that He can give Sanctuary, I have come seeking His Sanctuary. Bestowing His Mercy, God has blended me with Himself. Hatred is gone, and I have become the dust of all. I have received the Ambrosial Naam in the Company of the Holy. The Divine Guru is perfectly pleased; the service of His servant has been rewarded. I have been released from worldly entanglements and corruption, hearing the Lord's Name and chanting it with my tongue. By His Grace, God has bestowed His Mercy. O Nanak, my merchandise has arrived save and sound. ||4|| Sing the Praises of God, O Saints, O friends, with total concentration and one-pointedness of mind. Sukhmani is the peaceful ease, the Glory of God, the Naam. When it abides in the mind, one becomes wealthy. All desires are fulfilled. One becomes the most respected person, famous all over the world. He obtains the highest place of all. He does not come and go in reincarnation any longer. One who departs, after earning the wealth of the Lord's Name, O Nanak, realises it. ||5|| Comfort, peace and tranquility, wealth and the nine treasures; wisdom, knowledge, and all spiritual powers; learning, penance, Yoga and meditation on God;

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The most sublime wisdom and purifying baths; the four cardinal blessings, the opening of the heart-lotus; in the midst of all, and yet detached from all; beauty, intelligence, and the realisation of reality; to look impartially upon all, and to see only the One - these blessings come to one who, through Guru Nanak, chants the Naam with his mouth, and hears the Word with his ears. ||6|| One who chants this treasure in his mind - in every age, he attains salvation. In it is the Glory of God, the Naam, the chanting of Gurbani. The Simritees, the Shaastras and the Vedas speak of it. The essence of all religion is the Lord's Name alone. It abides in the minds of the devotees of God. Millions of sins are erased, in the Company of the Holy. By the Grace of the Saint, one escapes the Messenger of Death. Those, who have such pre-ordained

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destiny on their foreheads, O Nanak, enter the Sanctuary of the Saints. ||7|| One, within whose mind it abides, and who listens to it with love - that humble person consciously remembers the Lord God. The pains of birth and death are removed. The human body, so difficult to obtain, is instantly redeemed. Spotlessly pure is his reputation, and ambrosial is his speech. The One Name permeates his mind. Sorrow, sickness, fear and doubt depart. He is called a Holy person; his actions are immaculate and pure. His glory becomes the highest of all. O Nanak, by these Glorious Virtues, this is named Sukhmani, Peace of mind. ||8||24|| T'hitee ~ The Lunar Days: Gauree, Fifth Mehl, Shalok: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The Creator Lord and Master is pervading the water, the land, and the sky. In so many ways, the One, the Universal Creator has diffused Himself, O Nanak. ||1|| Pauree: The first day of the lunar cycle: Bow in humility and meditate on the One, the Universal Creator Lord God. Praise God, the Lord of the Universe, the Sustainer of the World; seek the Sanctuary of the Lord, our King. Place your hopes in Him, for salvation and peace; all things come from Him. I wandered around the four corners of the world and in the ten directions, but I saw nothing except Him. I listened to the Vedas, the Puraanas and the Simritees, and I pondered over them in so many ways. The Saving Grace of sinners, the Destroyer of fear, the Ocean of peace, the Formless Lord. The Great Giver, the Enjoyer, the Bestower - there is no place at all without Him. You shall obtain all that you desire, O Nanak, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||1|| Sing the Praises of the Lord, the Lord of the Universe, each and every day. Join the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, and vibrate, meditate on Him, O my friend. ||1||Pause|| Shalok: Bow in humility to the Lord, over and over again, and enter the Sanctuary of the Lord, our King. Doubt is eradicated, O Nanak, in the Company of the Holy, and the love of duality is eliminated. ||2|| Pauree: The second day of the lunar cycle: Get rid of your evil-mindedness, and serve the Guru continually. The jewel of the Lord's Name shall come to dwell in your mind and body, when you renounce sexual desire, anger and greed, O my friend. Conquer death and obtain eternal life; all your troubles will depart. Renounce your self-conceit and vibrate upon the Lord of the Universe; loving devotion to Him shall permeate your being.

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You shall earn profit and suffer no loss, and in the Court of the Lord you shall be honoured. Those who gather in the riches of the Lord's Name are truly wealthy, and very blessed. So, when standing up and sitting down, vibrate upon the Lord, and cherish the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. O Nanak, evil-mindedness is eradicated, when the Supreme Lord God comes to dwell in the mind. ||2|| Shalok: The world is in the grip of the three qualities; only a few attain the fourth state of absorption. O Nanak, the Saints are pure and immaculate; the Lord abides within their minds. ||3|| Pauree: The third day of the lunar cycle: Those who are bound by the three qualities gather poison as their fruit; now they are good, and now they are bad. They wander endlessly in heaven and hell, until death annihilates them. In pleasure and pain and worldly cynicism, they pass their lives acting in ego. They do not know the One who created them; they think up all sorts of schemes and plans. Their minds and bodies are distracted by pleasure and pain, and their fever never departs. They do not realise the glorious radiance of the Supreme Lord God, the Perfect Lord and Master. So many are being drowned in emotional attachment and doubt; they dwell in the most horrible hell. Please bless me with Your Mercy, God, and save me! Nanak places his hopes in You. ||3|| Shalok: One who renounces egotistical pride is intelligent, wise and refined. The four cardinal blessings, and the eight spiritual powers of the Siddhas are obtained, O Nanak, by meditating, vibrating on the Lord's Name. ||4|| Pauree: The fourth day of the lunar cycle: Listening to the four Vedas, and contemplating the essence of reality, I have come to realise that the treasure of all joy and comfort is found in sublime meditation on the Lord's Name. One is saved from hell, suffering is destroyed, countless pains depart, death is overcome, and one escapes the Messenger of Death, by absorption in the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises. Fear departs, and one savors the Ambrosial Nectar, imbued with the Love of the Formless Lord. Pain, poverty and impurity are removed, with the Support of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. The angels, the seers and the silent sages search for the Ocean of peace, the Sustainer of the world. The mind becomes pure, and one's face is radiant, O Nanak, when one becomes the dust of the feet of the Holy. ||4|| Shalok: The five evil passions dwell in the mind of one who is engrossed in Maya. In the Saadh Sangat, one becomes pure, O Nanak, imbued with the Love of God. ||5|| Pauree: The fifth day of the lunar cycle: They are the self-elect, the most distinguished, who know the true nature of the world. The many colours and scents of flowers - all worldly deceptions are transitory and false. People do not see, and they do not understand; they do not reflect upon anything. The world is pierced through with attachment to tastes and pleasures, engrossed in ignorance. Those who perform empty religious rituals will be born, only to die again. They wander through endless incarnations. They do not meditate in remembrance on the Creator Lord; their minds do not understand. By loving devotion to the Lord God, you shall not be polluted by Maya at all. O Nanak, how rare are those, who are not engrossed in worldly entanglements. ||5|| Shalok: The six Shaastras proclaim Him to be the greatest; He has no end or limitation. The devotees look beauteous, O Nanak, when they sing the Glories of God at His Door. ||6|| Pauree: The sixth day of the lunar cycle: The six Shaastras say, and countless Simritees assert,

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that the Supreme Lord God is the most sublime and lofty. Even the thousand-tongued serpent does not know the limits of His Glories. Naarad, the humble beings, Suk and Vyaasa sing the Praises of the Lord of the Universe. They are imbued with the Lord's essence; united with Him; they are absorbed in devotional worship of the Lord God. Emotional attachment, pride and doubt are eliminated, when one takes to the Sanctuary of the Merciful Lord. His Lotus Feet abide within my mind and body and I am enraptured, beholding the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. People reap their profits, and suffer no loss, when they embrace love for the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. They gather in the treasure of the Lord, the Ocean of Excellence, O Nanak, by meditating on the Naam. ||6|| Shalok: In the gathering of the Saints, chant the Praises of the Lord, and speak the Truth with love. O Nanak, the mind becomes contented, enshrining love for the One Lord. ||7|| Pauree: The seventh day of the lunar cycle: Gather the wealth of the Naam; this is a treasure which shall never be exhausted. In the Society of the Saints, He is obtained; He has no end or limitations. Renounce your selfishness and conceit, and meditate, vibrate on the Lord of the Universe; take to the Sanctuary of the Lord, our King. Your pains shall depart - swim across the terrifying world-ocean, and obtain the fruits of your mind's desires. One who meditates on the Lord twenty-four hours a day - fruitful and blessed is his coming into the world. Inwardly and outwardly, realise that the Creator Lord is always with you. He is your friend, your companion, your very best friend, who imparts the Teachings of the Lord. Nanak is a sacrifice to one who chants the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||7|| Shalok: Sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord twenty-four hours a day; renounce other entanglements. The Minister of Death cannot even see that person, O Nanak, unto whom God is merciful. ||8|| Pauree: The eighth day of the lunar cycle: The eight spiritual powers of the Siddhas, the nine treasures, all precious things, perfect intellect, the opening of the heart-lotus, eternal bliss, pure lifestyle, the infallible Mantra, all Dharmic virtues, sacred purifying baths, the most lofty and sublime spiritual wisdom - these are obtained by meditating, vibrating upon the Lord, Har, Har, in the Company of the Perfect Guru. You shall be saved, O Nanak, by lovingly chanting the Lord's Name. ||8|| Shalok: He does not remember the Lord in meditation; he is fascinated by the pleasures of corruption. O Nanak, forgetting the Naam, he is reincarnated into heaven and hell. ||9|| Pauree: The ninth day of the lunar cycle: The nine holes of the body are defiled. People do not chant the Lord's Name; instead, they practice evil. They commit adultery, slander the Saints, and do not listen to even a tiny bit of the Lord's Praise. They steal others' wealth for the sake of their own bellies, but the fire is not extinguished, and their thirst is not quenched. Without serving the Lord, these are their rewards. O Nanak, forgetting God, the unfortunate people are born, only to die. ||9|| Shalok: I have wandered, searching in the ten directions - wherever I look, there I see Him. The mind comes to be controlled, O Nanak, if He grants His Perfect Grace. ||10|| Pauree: The tenth day of the lunar cycle: Overpower the ten sensory and motor organs; your mind will be content, as you chant the Naam. With your ears, hear the Praises of the Lord of the World; with your eyes, behold the kind, Holy Saints. With your tongue, sing the Glorious Praises of the Infinite Lord. In your mind, remember the Perfect Lord God.

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With your hands and feet, work for the Saints. O Nanak, this way of life is obtained by God's Grace. ||10|| Shalok: Describe the Lord as the One, the One and Only. How rare are those who know the taste of this essence. The Glories of the Lord of the Universe cannot be known. O Nanak, He is totally amazing and wonderful! ||11|| Pauree: The eleventh day of the lunar cycle: Behold the Lord, the Lord, near at hand. Subdue the desires of your sexual organs, and listen to the Lord's Name. Let your mind be content, and be kind to all beings. In this way, your fast will be successful. Keep your wandering mind restrained in one place. Your mind and body shall become pure, chanting the Lord's Name. The Supreme Lord God is pervading amongst all. O Nanak, sing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises; this alone is the eternal faith of Dharma. ||11|| Shalok: Evil-mindedness is eliminated, by meeting with and serving the compassionate Holy Saints. Nanak is merged with God; all his entanglements have come to an end. ||12|| Pauree: The twelfth day of the lunar cycle: Dedicate yourself to giving charity, chanting the Naam and purification. Worship the Lord with devotion, and get rid of your pride. Drink in the Ambrosial Nectar of the Lord's Name, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. The mind is satisfied by lovingly singing the Kirtan of God's Praises. The Sweet Words of His Bani soothe everyone. The soul, the subtle essence of the five elements, cherishes the Nectar of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. This faith is obtained from the Perfect Guru. O Nanak, dwelling upon the Lord, you shall not enter the womb of reincarnation again. ||12|| Shalok: Engrossed in the three qualities, one's efforts do not succeed. When the Saving Grace of sinners dwells in the mind, O Nanak, then one is saved by the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||13|| Pauree: The thirteenth day of the lunar cycle: The world is in the fever of the three qualities. It comes and goes, and is reincarnated in hell. Meditation on the Lord, Har, Har, does not enter into the minds of the people. They do not sing the Praises of God, the Ocean of peace, even for an instant. This body is the embodiment of pleasure and pain. It suffers from the chronic and incurable disease of Maya. By day, people practice corruption, wearing themselves out. And then with sleep in their eyes, they mutter in dreams. Forgetting the Lord, this is their condition. Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of God, the kind and compassionate Primal Being. ||13|| Shalok: The Lord is pervading in all the four directions and the fourteen worlds. O Nanak, He is not seen to be lacking anything; His works are perfectly complete. ||14|| Pauree: The fourteenth day of the lunar cycle: God Himself is in all four directions. On all worlds, His radiant glory is perfect. The One God is diffused in the ten directions. Behold God in all the earth and sky. In the water, on the land, in the forests and mountains, and in the nether regions of the underworld, the Merciful Transcendent Lord is abiding. The Lord God is in all mind and matter, subtle and manifest. O Nanak, the Gurmukh realises God. ||14|| Shalok: The soul is conquered, through the Guru's Teachings, singing the Glories of God. By the Grace of the Saints, fear is dispelled, O Nanak, and anxiety is ended. ||15|| Pauree: The day of the new moon: My soul is at peace; the Divine Guru has blessed me with contentment.

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My mind and body are cooled and soothed, in intuitive peace and poise; I have dedicated myself to serving God. One who meditates in remembrance on the Name of the Lord - his bonds are broken, all his sins are erased, and his works are brought to perfect fruition; his evil-mindedness disappears, and his ego is subdued. Taking to the Sanctuary of the Supreme Lord God, his comings and goings in reincarnation are ended. He saves himself, along with his family, chanting the Praises of God, the Lord of the Universe. I serve the Lord, and I chant the Name of God. From the Perfect Guru, Nanak has obtained peace and comfortable ease. ||15|| Shalok: The perfect person never wavers; God Himself made him perfect. Day by day, he prospers; O Nanak, he shall not fail. ||16|| Pauree: The day of the full moon: God alone is Perfect; He is the All-powerful Cause of causes. The Lord is kind and compassionate to all beings and creatures; His Protecting Hand is over all. He is the Treasure of Excellence, the Lord of the Universe; through the Guru, He acts. God, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts, is All-knowing, Unseen and Immaculately Pure. The Supreme Lord God, the Transcendent Lord, is the Knower of all ways and means. He is the Support of His Saints, with the Power to give Sanctuary. Twenty-four hours a day, I bow in reverence to Him. His Unspoken Speech cannot be understood; I meditate on the Feet of the Lord. He is the Saving Grace of sinners, the Master of the masterless; Nanak has entered God's Sanctuary. ||16|| Shalok: My pain is gone, and my sorrows have departed, since I took to the Sanctuary of the Lord, my King. I have obtained the fruits of my mind's desires, O Nanak, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||17|| Pauree: Some sing, some listen, and some contemplate; some preach, and some implant the Name within; this is how they are saved. Their sinful mistakes are erased, and they become pure; the filth of countless incarnations is washed away. In this world and the next, their faces shall be radiant; they shall not be touched by Maya. They are intuitively wise, and they are Vaishnaavs, worshippers of Vishnu; they are spiritually wise, wealthy and prosperous. They are spiritual heros, of noble birth, who vibrate upon the Lord God. The Kh'shatriyas, the Brahmins, the low-caste Soodras, the Vaisha workers and the outcast pariahs are all saved, meditating on the Lord. Nanak is the dust of the feet of those who know his God. ||17|| Vaar In Gauree, Fourth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Shalok Fourth Mehl: The True Guru, the Primal Being, is kind and compassionate; all are alike to Him. He looks upon all impartially; with pure faith in the mind, He is obtained. The Ambrosial Nectar is within the True Guru; He is exalted and sublime, of Godly status. O Nanak, by His Grace, one meditates on the Lord; the Gurmukhs obtain Him. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: Egotism and Maya are total poison; in these, people continually suffer loss in this world. The Gurmukh earns the profit of the wealth of the Lord's Name, contemplating the Word of the Shabad. The

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poisonous filth of egotism is removed, when one enshrines the Ambrosial Name of the Lord within the heart.

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All the Gurmukh's affairs are brought to perfect completion; the Lord has showered him with His Mercy. O Nanak, one who meets the Primal Lord remains blended with the Lord, the Creator Lord. ||2|| Pauree: You are True, O True Lord and Master. You are the Truest of the True, O Lord of the World. Everyone meditates on You; everyone falls at Your Feet. Your Praises are graceful and beautiful; You save those who speak them. You reward the Gurmukhs, who are absorbed in the True Name. O my Great Lord and Master, great is Your glorious greatness. ||1|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: Without the Name, all other praise and speech is insipid and tasteless. The self-willed manmukhs praise their own egos; their attachment to egotism is useless. Those whom they praise, die; they all waste away in conflict. O servant Nanak, the Gurmukhs are saved, chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, the Embodiment of Supreme Bliss. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: O True Guru, tell me of my Lord God, that I may meditate on the Naam within my mind. O Nanak, the Lord's Name is sacred and pure; chanting it, all my pain has been taken away. ||2|| Pauree: You Yourself are the Formless Lord, the Immaculate Lord, our Sovereign King. Those who meditate on You, O True Lord with one-pointed mind, are rid of all their pain. You have no equal, next to whom I might sit and speak of You. You are the only Giver as great as Yourself. You are Immaculate; O True Lord, you are pleasing to my mind. O my True Lord and Master, Your Name is the Truest of the True. ||2|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: Deep within the mind is the disease of ego; the self-willed manmukhs, the evil beings, are deluded by doubt. O Nanak, this disease is eradicated, only when one meets the True Guru, our Holy Friend. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: The mind and body of the Gurmukh are imbued with the Love of the Lord, the Treasure of Virtue. Servant Nanak has taken to the Sanctuary of the Lord. Hail to the Guru, who has united me with the Lord. ||2|| Pauree: You are the Personification of Creativity, the Inaccessible Lord.With whom should I compare You? If there was anyone else as great as You, I would name him; You alone are like Yourself. You are the One, permeating each and every heart; You are revealed to the Gurmukh. You are the True Lord and Master of all; You are the Highest of all. Whatever You do, O True Lord - that is what happens, so why should we grieve? ||3|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: My mind and body are imbued with the Love of my Beloved, twenty-four hours a day. Shower Your Mercy upon servant Nanak, O God, that he may dwell in peace with the True Guru. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: Those whose inner beings are filled with the Love of their Beloved, look beautiful as they speak. O Nanak, the Lord Himself knows all; the Beloved Lord has infused His Love. ||2|| Pauree: O Creator Lord, You Yourself are infallible; You never make mistakes. Whatever You do is good, O True Lord; this understanding is obtained through the Word of the Guru's Shabad. You are the Cause of causes, the All-powerful Lord; there is no other at all. O Lord and Master, You are inaccessible and merciful. Everyone meditates on You.

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All beings are Yours; You belong to all. You deliver all. ||4|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: Listen, O my Friend, to my message of love; my eyes are fixed upon You. The Guru was pleased - He united servant Nanak with his friend, and now he sleeps in peace. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: The True Guru is the Merciful Giver; He is always compassionate. The True Guru has no hatred within Him; He beholds the One God everywhere. Anyone who directs hate against the One who has no hate, shall never be satisfied within. The True Guru wishes everyone well; how can anything bad happen to Him? As one feels towards the True Guru, so are the rewards he receives. O Nanak, the Creator knows everything; nothing can be hidden from Him. ||2|| Pauree: One who has been made great by his Lord and Master - know him to be great! By His Pleasure, the Lord and Master forgives those who are pleasing to His Mind. One who tries to compete with Him is a senseless fool. One who is united with the Lord by the True Guru, sings His Praises and speaks His Glories. O Nanak, the True Lord is True; one who understands Him is absorbed in Truth. ||5|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: The Lord is true, immaculate and eternal; He has no fear, hatred or form. Those who chant and meditate on Him, who single-mindedly focus their consciousness on Him, are rid of the burden of their ego. Those Gurmukhs who worship and adore the Lord - hail to those Saintly beings! If someone slanders the Perfect True Guru, he will be rebuked and reproached by the whole world. The Lord Himself abides within the True Guru; He Himself is His Protector. Blessed, Blessed is the Guru, who sings the Glories of God. Unto Him, I bow forever and ever in deepest reverence. Servant Nanak is a sacrifice to those who have meditated on the Creator Lord. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: He Himself made the earth; He Himself made the sky. He Himself created the beings there, and He Himself places food in their mouths. He Himself is All-pervading; He Himself is the Treasure of Excellence. O servant Nanak, meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord; He shall take away all your sinful mistakes. ||2|| Pauree: You, O True Lord and Master, are True; the Truth is pleasing to the True One. The Messenger of Death does not even approach those who praise You, O True Lord. Their faces are radiant in the Court of the Lord; the Lord is pleasing to their hearts. The false ones are left behind; because of the falsehood and deceit in their hearts, they suffer in terrible pain. Black are the faces of the false; the false remain just false. ||6|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: The True Guru is the field of Dharma; as one plants the seeds there, so are the fruits obtained. The GurSikhs plant ambrosial nectar, and obtain the Lord as their ambrosial fruit. Their faces are radiant in this world and the next; in the Court of the Lord, they are robed with honour. Some have cruelty in their hearts - they constantly act in cruelty; as they plant, so are the fruits which they eat.

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When the True Guru, the Tester, observes with His Glance, the selfish ones are all exposed. As one thinks, so does he receive, and so does the Lord make him known. O Nanak, the Lord and Master is pervading at both ends; He continually acts, and beholds His own play. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: The mortal is of one mind - whatever he dedicates it to, in that he is successful. Some talk a lot, but they eat only that which is in their own homes. Without the True Guru, understanding is not obtained, and egotism does not depart from within. Suffering and hunger cling to the egotistical people; they hold out their hands and beg from door to door. Their falsehood and fraud cannot remain concealed; their false appearances fall off in the end. One who has such pre-ordained destiny comes to meet God through the True Guru. Just as iron is transmuted into gold by the touch of the Philosopher's Stone, so are people transformed by joining the Sangat, the Holy Congregation. O God, You are the Master of servant Nanak; as it pleases You, You lead him. ||2|| Pauree: One who serves the Lord with all his heart - the Lord Himself unites him with Himself. He enters into a partnership with virtue and merit, and burns off all his demerits with the fire of the Shabad. Demerits are purchased cheap, like straw; he alone gathers merit, who is so blessed by the True Lord. I am a sacrifice to my Guru, who has erased my demerits, and revealed my virtuous merits. The Gurmukh chants the glorious greatness of the great Lord God. ||7|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: Great is the greatness within the True Guru, who meditates night and day on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. The repetition of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is his purity and self-restraint; with the Name of the Lord, He is satisfied. The Lord's Name is His power, and the Lord's Name is His Royal Court; the Lord's Name protects Him. One who centres his consciousness and worships the Guru, obtains the fruits of his mind's desires. But one who slanders the Perfect True Guru, shall be killed and destroyed by the Creator. This opportunity shall not come into his hands again; he must eat what he himself has planted. He shall be taken to the most horrible hell, with his face blackened like a thief, and a noose around his neck. But if he should again take to the Sanctuary of the True Guru, and meditate on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, then he shall be saved. Nanak speaks and proclaims the Lord's Story; as it pleases the Creator, so does he speak. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: One who does not obey the Hukam, the Command of the Perfect Guru - that self-willed manmukh is plundered by his ignorance and poisoned by Maya. Within him is falsehood, and he sees everyone else as false; the Lord has tied these useless conflicts around his neck. He babbles on and on, but the words he speaks please no one. He wanders from house to house like an abandoned woman; whoever associates with him is stained by the mark of evil as well. Those who become Gurmukh avoid him; they forsake his company and sit hear the Guru.

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O chosen people, O self-elect, one who does not publicly affirm his Guru is not a good person; he loses all his profits and capital. People used to chant and recite the Shaastras and the Vedas, O Nanak, but now the Words of the Perfect Guru have come to be the most exalted of all. The glorious greatness of the Perfect Guru is pleasing to the GurSikh; the self-willed manmukhs have lost this opportunity. ||2|| Pauree: The True Lord is truly the greatest of all; he alone obtains Him, who is anointed by the Guru. He is the True Guru, who meditates on the True Lord. The True Lord and the True Guru are truly One. He is the True Guru, the Primal Being, who has totally conquered his five passions. One who does not serve the True Guru, and who praises himself, is filled with falsehood within. Cursed, cursed is his ugly face. His words are not pleasing to anyone; his face is blackened, and he is separated from the True Guru. ||8|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: Everyone is the field of the Lord God; the Lord Himself cultivates this field. The Gurmukh grows the crop of forgiveness, while the self-willed manmukh loses even his roots. They all plant for their own good, but the Lord causes to grow only that field with which He is pleased. The GurSikh plants the seed of the Lord's Ambrosial Nectar, and obtains the Lord's Ambrosial Naam as his Ambrosial Fruit. The mouse of Death is continually gnawing away at the crop, but the Creator Lord has beaten it off and driven it away. The farm was successful, by the Love of the Lord, and the crop was produced by God's Grace. He has removed all the burning and anxiety of those, who have meditated on the True Guru, the Primal Being. O servant Nanak, one who worships and adores the Naam, the Name of the Lord, swims across, and saves the whole world as well. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: The self-willed manmukh is occupied with greed all day long, although he may claim otherwise. At night, he is overcome by fatigue, and all his nine holes are weakened. Over the head of the manmukh is the order of the woman; to her, he ever holds out his promises of goodness. Those men who act according to the orders of women are impure, filthy and foolish. Those impure men are engrossed in sexual desire; they consult their women and walk accordingly. One who walks as the True Guru tells him to, is the true man, the best of the best. He Himself created all women and men; the Lord Himself plays every play. You created the entire creation; O Nanak, it is the best of the best. ||2|| Pauree: You are carefree, unfathomable and immeasurable; how can You be measured? Those who have met the True Guru and who meditate on You are very fortunate. The Word of the True Guru's Bani is the embodiment of Truth; through Gurbani, one becomes perfect. Jealously emulating the True Guru, some others may speak of good and bad, but the false are destroyed by their falsehood. Deep within them is one thing, and in their mouths is another; they suck in the poison of Maya, and then they painfully waste away. ||9|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: Service to the True Guru is immaculate and pure; those humble beings who are pure perform this service. Those who have deceit, corruption and falsehood within - the True Lord Himself casts them out like lepers.

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The truthful Sikhs sit by the True Guru's side and serve Him. The false ones search, but find no place of rest. Those who are not pleased with the Words of the True Guru - their faces are cursed, and they wander around, condemned by God. Those who do not have the Love of the Lord within their hearts - how long can those demonic, self-willed manmukhs be consoled? One who meets the True Guru, keeps his mind in its own place; he spends only his own assets. O servant Nanak, some are united with the Guru; to some, the Lord grants peace, while others - deceitful cheats - suffer in isolation. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: Those who have the treasure of the Lord's Name deep within their hearts - the Lord resolves their affairs. They are no longer subservient to other people; the Lord God sits by them, at their side. When the Creator is on their side, then everyone is on their side. Beholding their vision, everyone applauds them. Kings and emperors are all created by the Lord; they all come and bow in reverence to the Lord's humble servant. Great is the greatness of the Perfect Guru. Serving the Great Lord, I have obtained immeasurable peace. The Lord has bestowed this eternal gift upon the Perfect Guru; His blessings increase day by day. The slanderer, who cannot endure His greatness, is destroyed by the Creator Himself. Servant Nanak chants the Glorious Praises of the Creator, who protects His devotees forever. ||2|| Pauree: You, O Lord and Master, are inaccessible and merciful; You are the Great Giver, All-knowing. I can see no other as great as You; O Lord of Wisdom, You are pleasing to my mind. Emotional attachment to your family and everything you see is temporary, coming and going. Those who attach their consciousness to anything except the True Lord are false, and false is their pride. O Nanak, meditate on the True Lord; without the True Lord, the ignorant rot away and putrefy to death. ||10|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: At first, he did not show respect to the Guru; later, he offered excuses, but it is no use. The wretched, self-willed manmukhs wander around and are stuck mid-way; how can they find peace by mere words? Those who have no love for the True Guru within their hearts come with falsehood, and leave with falsehood. When my Lord God, the Creator, grants His Grace, then they come to see the True Guru as the Supreme Lord God. Then, they drink in the Nectar, the Word of the Guru's Shabad; all burning, anxiety, and doubts are eliminated. They remain in ecstasy forever, day and night; O servant Nanak, they sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, night and day. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: One who calls himself a Sikh of the Guru, the True Guru, shall rise in the early morning hours and meditate on the Lord's Name. Upon arising early in the morning, he is to bathe, and cleanse himself in the pool of nectar. Following the Instructions of the Guru, he is to chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. All sins, misdeeds and negativity shall be erased. Then, at the rising of the sun, he is to sing Gurbani; whether sitting down or standing up, he is to meditate on the Lord's Name. One who meditates on my Lord, Har, Har, with every breath and every morsel of food - that GurSikh becomes pleasing to the Guru's Mind.

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That person, unto whom my Lord and Master is kind and compassionate - upon that GurSikh, the Guru's Teachings are bestowed. Servant Nanak begs for the dust of the feet of that GurSikh, who himself chants the Naam, and inspires others to chant it. ||2|| Pauree: Those who meditate on You, O True Lord - they are very rare. Those who worship and adore the One Lord in their conscious minds - through their generosity, countless millions are fed. All meditate on You, but they alone are accepted, who are pleasing to their Lord and Master. Those who eat and dress without serving the True Guru die; after death, those wretched lepers are consigned to reincarnation. In His Sublime Presence, they talk sweetly, but behind His back, they exude poison from their mouths. The evil-minded are consigned to separation from the Lord. ||11|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: The faithless baymukh sent out his faithless servant, wearing a blue-black coat, filled with filth and vermin. No one in the world will sit near him; the self-willed manmukh fell into manure, and returned with even more filth covering him. The faithless baymukh was sent to slander and back-bite others, but when he went there, the faces of both he and his faithless master were blackened instead. It was immediately heard throughout the whole world, O Siblings of Destiny, that this faithless man, along with his servant, was kicked and beaten with shoes; in humiliation, they got up and returned to their homes. The faithless baymukh was not allowed to mingle with others; his wife and niece then brought him home to lie down. He has lost both this world and the next; he cries out continually, in hunger and thirst. Blessed, blessed is the Creator, the Primal Being, our Lord and Master; He Himself sits and dispenses true justice. One who slanders the Perfect True Guru is punished and destroyed by the True Lord. This Word is spoken by the One who created the whole universe. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: One who has a poor beggar for a master - how can he be well-fed? If there is something in his master's house, he can get it; but how can he get what is not there? Serving him, who will be called to answer for his account? That service is painful and useless. O Nanak, serve the Guru, the Lord Incarnate; the Blessed Vision of His Darshan is profitable, and in the end, you shall not be called to account. ||2|| Pauree: O Nanak, the Saints consider, and the four Vedas proclaim, that whatever the Lord's devotees utter with their mouths, shall come to pass. He is manifest in His cosmic workshop. All people hear of this. The stubborn men who fight with the Saints shall never find peace. The Saints seek to bless them with virtue, but they only burn in their egos. What can those wretched ones do, since, from the very beginning, their destiny is cursed with evil. Those who are struck down by the Supreme Lord God are of no use to anyone. Those who hate the One who has no hatred - according to the true justice of Dharma, they shall perish. Those who are cursed by the Saints will continue wandering aimlessly. When the tree is cut off at its roots, the branches wither and die. ||12|| Shalok Fourth Mehl:

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Great is the greatness of the Guru, who meditates on the Lord within. By His Pleasure, the Lord has bestowed this upon the Perfect True Guru; it is not diminished one bit by anyone's efforts. The True Lord and Master is on the side of the True Guru; and so, all those who oppose Him waste away to death in anger, envy and conflict. The Lord, the Creator, blackens the faces of the slanderers, and increases the glory of the Guru. As the slanderers spread their slander, so does the Guru's glory increase day by day. Servant Nanak worships the Lord, who makes everyone fall at His Feet. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: One who enters into a calculated relationship with the True Guru loses everything, this world and the next. He grinds his teeth continually and foams at the mouth; screaming in anger, he perishes. He continually chases after Maya and wealth, but even his own wealth flies away. What shall he earn, and what shall he eat? Within his heart, there is only cynicism and pain. One who hates the One who has no hatred, shall bear the load of all the sins of the world on his head. He shall find no shelter here or hereafter; his mouth blisters with the slander in his heart. If gold comes into his hands, it turns to dust. But if he should come again to the Sanctuary of the Guru, then even his past sins shall be forgiven. Servant Nanak meditates on the Naam, night and day. Remembering the Lord in meditation, wickedness and sins are erased. ||2|| Pauree: You are the Truest of the True; Your Regal Court is the most exalted of all. Those who meditate on You, O True Lord, serve the Truth; O True Lord, they take pride in You. Within them is the Truth; their faces are radiant, and they speak the Truth. O True Lord, You are their strength. Those who, as Gurmukh, praise You are Your devotees; they have the insignia and the banner of the Shabad, the True Word of God. I am truly a sacrifice, forever devoted to those who serve the True Lord. ||13|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: Those who were cursed by the Perfect True Guru, from the very beginning, are even now cursed by the True Guru. Even though they may have a great longing to associate with the Guru, the Creator does not allow it. They shall not find shelter in the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation; in the Sangat, the Guru has proclaimed this. Whoever goes out to meet them now, will be destroyed by the tyrant, the Messenger of Death. Those who were condemned by Guru Nanak were declared counterfeit by Guru Angad as well. The Guru of the third generation thought, "What lies in the hands of these poor people?" The Guru of the fourth generation saved all these slanderers and evil-doers. If any son or Sikh serves the True Guru, then all of his affairs will be resolved. He obtains the fruits of his desires - children, wealth, property, union with the Lord and emancipation. All treasures are in the True Guru, who has enshrined the Lord within the heart. He alone obtains the Perfect True Guru, on whose forehead such blessed destiny is pre-ordained. Servant Nanak begs for the dust of the feet of those GurSikhs who love the Lord, their Friend. ||1||

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Fourth Mehl: The Lord Himself bestows glorious greatness; He Himself causes the world to come and fall at their feet. We should only be afraid, if we try to do things by ourselves; the Creator is increasing His Power in every way. Behold, O Siblings of Destiny: this is the Arena of the Beloved True Lord; His power brings everyone to bow in humility. The Lord, our Lord and Master, preserves and protects His devotees; He blackens the faces of the slanderers and evil-doers. The glorious greatness of the True Guru increases day by day; the Lord inspires His devotees to continually sing the Kirtan of His Praises. O GurSikhs, chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord, night and day; through the True Guru, the Creator Lord will come to dwell within the home of your inner being. O GurSikhs, know that the Bani, the Word of the True Guru, is true, absolutely true. The Creator Lord Himself causes the Guru to chant it. The Beloved Lord makes the faces of His GurSikhs radiant; He makes the whole world applaud and acclaim the Guru. Servant Nanak is the slave of the Lord; the Lord Himself preserves the honour of His slave. ||2|| Pauree: O My True Lord and Master, You Yourself are my True Lord King. Please, implant within me the true treasure of Your Name; O God, I am Your merchant. I serve the True One, and deal in the True One; I chant Your Wondrous Praises. Those humble beings who serve the Lord with love meet Him; they are adorned with the Word of the Guru's Shabad. O my True Lord and Master, You are unknowable; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, You are known. ||14|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: One whose heart is filled with jealousy of others, never comes to any good. No one pays any attention to what he says; he is just a fool, crying out endlessly in the wilderness. One whose heart is filled with malicious gossip, is known as a malicious gossip; everything he does is in vain. Night and day, he continually gossips about others; his face has been blackened, and he cannot show it to anyone. The body is the field of action, in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga; as you plant, so shall you harvest. Justice is not passed on mere words; if someone eats poison, he dies. O Siblings of Destiny, behold the justice of the True Creator; as people act, so they are rewarded. The Lord has bestowed total understanding upon servant Nanak; he speaks and proclaims the words of the Lord's Court. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: Those who separate themselves from the Guru, in spite of His Constant Presence - they find no place of rest in the Court of the Lord. If someone goes to meet with those dull-faced slanderers, he will find their faces covered with spit. Those who are cursed by the True Guru, are cursed by all the world. They wander around endlessly. Those who do not publicly affirm their Guru wander around, moaning and groaning. Their hunger shall never depart; afflicted by constant hunger, they cry out in pain. No one hears what they have to say; they live in constant fear and terror, until they finally die. They cannot bear the glorious greatness of the True Guru, and they find no place of rest, here or hereafter. Those who go out to meet with those who have been cursed by the True Guru, lose all remnants of their honour.

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They have already become like lepers; cursed by the Guru, whoever meets them is also afflicted with leprosy. O Lord, I pray that I may not even catch sight of those, who focus their consciousness on the love of duality. That which the Creator pre-ordained from the very beginning - there can be no escape from that. O servant Nanak, worship and adore the Naam, the Name of the Lord; no one can equal it. Great is the greatness of His Name; it increases, day by day. ||2|| Fourth Mehl: Great is the greatness of that humble being, whom the Guru Himself anointed in His Presence. All the world comes and bows to him, falling at his feet. His praises spread throughout the world. The galaxies and solar systems bow in reverence to him; the Perfect Guru has placed His hand upon his head, and he has become perfect. The glorious greatness of the Guru increases day by day; no one can equal it. O servant Nanak, the Creator Lord Himself established him; God preserves his honour. ||3|| Pauree: The human body is a great fortress, with its shops and streets within. The Gurmukh who comes to trade gathers the cargo of the Lord's Name. He deals in the treasure of the Lord's Name, the jewels and the diamonds. Those who search for this treasure outside of the body, in other places, are foolish demons. They wander around in the wilderness of doubt, like the deer who searches for the musk in the bushes. ||15|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: One who slanders the Perfect True Guru, shall have difficulty in this world. He is caught and thrown into the most horrible hell, the well of pain and suffering. No one listens to his shrieks and cries; he cries out in pain and misery. He totally loses this world and the next; he has lost all of his investment and profit. He is like the ox at the oil-press; each morning when he rises, God places the yoke upon him. The Lord always sees and hears everything; nothing can be concealed from Him. As you plant, so shall you harvest, according to what you planted in the past. One who is blessed by God's Grace washes the feet of the True Guru. He is carried across by the Guru, the True Guru, like iron which is carried across by wood. O servant Nanak, meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord; chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, peace is obtained. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: Very fortunate is the soul-bride, who, as Gurmukh, meets the Lord, her King. Her inner being is illiminated with His Divine Light; O Nanak, she is absorbed in His Name. ||2|| Pauree: This body is the home of Dharma; the Divine Light of the True Lord is within it. Hidden within it are the jewels of mystery; how rare is that Gurmukh, that selfless servant, who digs them out. When someone realises the All-pervading Soul, then he sees the One and Only Lord permeating, through and through. He sees the One, he believes in the One, and with his ears, he listens only to the One.

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O servant Nanak, praise the Naam, the Name of the Lord; this is your service to the Lord, the Truest of the True. ||16|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: All joy is in the hearts of those, within whose minds the Lord abides. In the Court of the Lord, their faces are radiant, and everyone goes to see them. Those who meditate on the Name of the Fearless Lord have no fear. Those who have such pre-destined destiny remember the Sublime Lord. Those, within whose minds the Lord abides, are robed with honour in the Court of the Lord. They are carried across, along with all their family, and the whole world is saved along with them. O Lord, please unite servant Nanak with Your humble servants; beholding them, beholding them, I live. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: That land, where my True Guru comes and sits, becomes green and fertile. Those beings who go and behold my True Guru are rejuvenated. Blessed, blessed is the father; blessed, blessed is the family; blessed, blessed is the mother, who gave birth to the Guru. Blessed, blessed is the Guru, who worships and adores the Naam; He saves Himself, and emancipates those who see Him. O Lord, be kind, and unite me with the True Guru, that servant Nanak may wash His feet. ||2|| Pauree: Truest of the True is the Immortal True Guru; He has enshrined the Lord deep within His heart. Truest of the True is the True Guru, the Primal Being, who has conquered sexual desire, anger and corruption. When I see the Perfect True Guru, then deep within, my mind is comforted and consoled. I am a sacrifice to my True Guru; I am devoted and dedicated to Him, forever and ever. A Gurmukh wins the battle of life whereas a self-willed manmukh loses it. ||17|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: By His Grace, He leads us to meet the True Guru; then, as Gurmukh, we chant the Lord's Name, and meditate on it. We do that which pleases the True Guru; the Perfect Guru comes to dwell in the home of the heart. Those who have the treasure of the Naam deep within - all their fears are removed. They are protected by the Lord Himself; others struggle and fight against them, but they only come to death. O servant Nanak, meditate on the Naam; the Lord shall deliver you, here and hereafter. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: The glorious greatness of the Guru, the True Guru, is pleasing to the GurSikh's mind. The Lord preserves the honour of the True Guru, which increases day by day. The Supreme Lord God is in the Mind of the Guru, the True Guru; the Supreme Lord God saves Him. The Lord is the Power and Support of the Guru, the True Guru; all come to bow before Him. Those who have gazed lovingly upon my True Guru - all their sins are taken away. Their faces are radiant in the Court of the Lord, and they obtain great glory. Servant Nanak begs for the dust of the feet of those GurSikhs, O my Siblings of Destiny. ||2|| Pauree: I chant the Praises and Glories of the True One. True is the glorious greatness of the True Lord. I praise the True Lord, and the Praises of the True Lord. His worth cannot be estimated.

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Those who have tasted the true essence of the True Lord, remain satisfied and fulfilled. They know this essence of the Lord, but they say nothing, like the mute who tastes the sweet candy, and says nothing. The Perfect Guru serves the Lord God; His vibration vibrates and resounds in the mind. ||18|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: Those who have a festering boil within - they alone know its pain. Those who know the pain of separation from the Lord - I am forever a sacrifice, a sacrifice to them. O Lord, please lead me to meet the Guru, the Primal

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Being, my Friend; my head shall roll in the dust under His feet. I am the slave of the slaves of those GurSikhs who serve Him. Those who are imbued with the deep crimson colour of the Lord's Love - their robes are drenched in the Love of the Lord. Grant Your Grace, and lead Nanak to meet the Guru; I have sold my head to Him. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: The body is full of mistakes and misdeeds; how can it become pure, O Saints? The Gurmukh purchases virtues, which wash off the sin of egotism. True is the trade which purchases the True Lord with love. No loss will come from this, and the profit comes by the Lord's Will. O Nanak, they alone purchase the Truth, who are blessed with such pre-ordained destiny. ||2|| Pauree: I praise the True One, who alone is worthy of praise. The True Primal Being is True - this is His unique quality. Serving the True Lord, the Truth comes to dwell in the mind. The Lord, the Truest of the True, is my Protector. Those who worship and adore the Truest of the True, shall go and merge with the True Lord. Those who do not serve the Truest of the True - those self-willed manmukhs are foolish demons. With their mouths, they babble on about this and that, like the drunkard who has drunk his wine. ||19|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Gauree Raga is auspicious, if, through it, one comes to think of his Lord and Master. He should walk in harmony with the Will of the True Guru; this should be his decoration. The True Word of the Shabad is our spouse; ravish and enjoy it, forever and ever. Like the deep crimson colour of the madder plant - such is the dye which shall colour you, when you dedicate your soul to the True One. One who loves the True Lord is totally imbued with the Lord's Love, like the deep crimson colour of the poppy. Falsehood and deception may be covered with false coatings, but they cannot remain hidden. False is the uttering of praises, by those who love falsehood. O Nanak, He alone is True; He Himself casts His Glance of Grace. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: In the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, the Lord's Praises are sung. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, the Beloved Lord is met. Blessed is that mortal being, who shares the Teachings for the good of others. He implants the Name of the Lord, and he preaches the Name of the Lord; through the Name of the Lord, the world is saved. Everyone longs to see the Guru; the world, and the nine continents, bow down to Him. You Yourself have established the True Guru; You Yourself have adorned the Guru. You Yourself worship and adore the True Guru; You inspire others to worship Him as well, O Creator Lord. If someone separates himself from the True Guru, his face is blackened, and he is destroyed by the Messenger of Death.

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He shall find no shelter, here or hereafter; the GurSikhs have realised this in their minds. That humble being who meets the True Guru is saved; he cherishes the Naam, the Name of the Lord, in his heart. Servant Nanak says: O GurSikhs, O my sons, meditate on the Lord; only the Lord shall save you. ||2|| Third Mehl: Egotism has led the world astray, along with evil-mindedness and the poison of corruption. Meeting with the True Guru, we are blessed by the Lord's Glance of Grace, while the self-willed manmukh gropes around in the darkness. O Nanak, the Lord absorbs into Himself those whom He inspires to love the Word of His Shabad. ||3|| Pauree: True are the Praises and the Glories of the True One; he alone speaks them, whose mind is softened within. Those who worship the One Lord with single-minded devotion - their bodies shall never perish. Blessed, blessed and acclaimed is that person, who tastes with his tongue the Ambrosial Nectar of the True Name. One whose mind is pleased with the Truest of the True is accepted in the True Court. Blessed, blessed is the birth of those true beings; the True Lord brightens their faces. ||20|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: The faithless cynics go and bow before the Guru, but their minds are corrupt and false, totally false. When the Guru says, "Rise up, my Siblings of Destiny", they sit down, crowded in like cranes. The True Guru prevails among His GurSikhs; they pick out and expel the wanderers. Sitting here and there, they hide their faces; being counterfeit, they cannot mix with the genuine. There is no food for them there; the false go into the filth like sheep. If you try to feed the faithless cynic, he will spit out poison from his mouth. O Lord, let me not be in the company of the faithless cynic, who is cursed by the Creator Lord. This drama belongs to the Lord; He performs it, and He watches over it. Servant Nanak cherishes the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: The True Guru, the Primal Being, is inaccessible; He has enshrined the Lord's Name within His heart. No one can equal the True Guru; the Creator Lord is on His side. Devotional worship of the Lord is the sword and armor of the True Guru; He has killed and cast out Death, the torturer. The Lord Himself is the Protector of the True Guru. The Lord saves all those who follow in the footsteps of the True Guru. One who thinks evil of the Perfect True Guru - the Creator Lord Himself destroys him. These words will be confirmed as true in the Court of the Lord; servant Nanak reveals this mystery. ||2|| Pauree: Those who dwell upon the True Lord while asleep, utter the True Name when they are awake. How rare in the world are those Gurmukhs who dwell upon the True Lord. I am a sacrifice to those who chant the True Name, night and day. The True Lord is pleasing to their minds and bodies; they go to the Court of the True Lord. Servant Nanak chants the True Name; truly, the True Lord is forever brand new. ||21|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: Who is asleep, and who is awake? Those who are Gurmukh are approved.

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Those who do not forget the Lord, with each and every breath and morsel of food, are the perfect and famous persons. By His Grace they find the True Guru; night and day, they meditate. I join the society of those persons, and in so doing, I am honoured in the Court of the Lord. While asleep, they chant, "Waaho! Waaho!", and while awake, they chant, "Waaho!" as well. O Nanak, radiant are the faces of those, who rise up early each day, and dwell upon the Lord. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: Serving his True Guru, one obtains the Naam, the Name of the Infinite Lord. The drowning person is lifted up and out of the terrifying world-ocean; the Great Giver gives the gift of the Lord's Name. Blessed, blessed are those bankers who trade the Naam. The Sikhs, the traders come, and through the Word of His Shabad, they are carried across. O servant Nanak, they alone serve the Creator Lord, who are blessed by His Grace. ||2|| Pauree: Those who truly worship and adore the True Lord, are truly the humble devotees of the True Lord. Those Gurmukhs who search and seek, find the True One within themselves. Those who truly serve their True Lord and Master, overwhelm and conquer Death, the torturer. The True One is truly the greatest of all; those who serve the True One are blended with the True One. Blessed and acclaimed is the Truest of the True; serving the Truest of the True, one blossoms forth in fruition. ||22|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: The self-willed manmukh is foolish; he wanders around without the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Without the Guru, his mind is not held steady, and he is reincarnated, over and over again. But when the Lord God Himself becomes merciful to him, then the True Guru comes to meet him. O servant Nanak, praise the Naam; the pains of birth and death shall come to an end. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: I praise my Guru in so many ways, with joyful love and affection. My mind is imbued with the True Guru; He has preserved the make of its making. My tongue is not satisfied by praising Him; He has linked my consciousness with the Lord, my Beloved. O Nanak, my mind hungers for the Name of the Lord; my mind is satisfied, tasting the sublime essence of the Lord. ||2|| Pauree: The True Lord is truly known for His all-powerful creative nature; He fashioned the days and the nights. I praise that True Lord, forever and ever; True is the glorious greatness of the True Lord. True are the Praises of the Praiseworthy True Lord; the value of the True Lord cannot be appraised. When someone meets the Perfect True Guru, then His Sublime Presence comes to be seen. Those Gurmukhs who praise the True Lord - all their hunger is gone. ||23|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: Searching and examining my mind and body, I have found that God, whom I longed for. I have found the Guru, the Divine Intermediary, who has united me with the Lord God. ||1|| Third Mehl: One who is attached to Maya is totally blind and deaf. He does not listen to the Word of the Shabad; he makes a great uproar and tumult. The Gurmukhs chant and meditate on the Shabad, and lovingly centre their consciousness on it. They hear and believe in the Name of the Lord; they are absorbed in the Name of the Lord. Whatever pleases God, He causes that to be done. O Nanak, human beings are the instruments which vibrate as God plays them. ||2||

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Pauree: You, O Creator, know everything which occurs within our beings. You Yourself, O Creator, are incalculable, while the entire world is within the realm of calculation. Everything happens according to Your Will; You created all. You are the One, pervading in each and every heart; O True Lord and Master, this is Your play. One who meets the True Guru meets the Lord; no one can turn him away. ||24|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: Hold this mind steady and stable; become Gurmukh and focus your consciousness. How could you ever forget Him, with each breath and morsel of food, sitting down or standing up? My anxiety about birth and death has ended; this soul is under the control of the Lord God. If it pleases You, then save servant Nanak, and bless him with Your Name. ||1|| Third Mehl: The egotistical, self-willed manmukh does not know the Mansion of the Lord's Presence; one moment he is here, and the next moment he is there. He is always invited, but he does not go to the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. How shall he be accepted in the Court of the Lord? How rare are those who know the Mansion of the True Guru; they stand with their palms pressed together. If my Lord grants His Grace, O Nanak, He restores them to Himself. ||2|| Pauree: Fruitful and rewarding is that service, which is pleasing to the Guru's Mind. When the Mind of the True Guru is pleased, then sins and misdeeds run away. The Sikhs listen to the Teachings imparted by the True Guru. Those who surrender to the True Guru's Will are imbued with the four-fold Love of the Lord. This is the unique and distinct life-style of the Gurmukhs: listening to the Guru's Teachings, their minds blossom forth. ||25|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Those who do not affirm their Guru shall have no home or place of rest. They lose both this world and the next; they have no place in the Court of the Lord. This opportunity to bow at the Feet of the True Guru shall never come again. If they miss out on being counted by the True Guru, they shall pass their lives in pain and misery. The True Guru, the Primal Being, has no hatred or vengeance; He unites with Himself those with whom He is pleased. O Nanak, those who behold the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, are emancipated in the Court of the Lord. ||1|| Third Mehl: The self-willed manmukh is ignorant, evil-minded and egotistical. He is filled with anger within, and he loses his mind in the gamble. He commits the sins of fraud and unrighteousness. What can he hear, and what can he tell others? He is blind and deaf; he loses his way, and wanders lost in the wilderness. The blind, self-willed manmukh comes and goes in reincarnation; without meeting the True Guru, he finds no place of rest. O Nanak, he acts according to his pre-ordained destiny. ||2|| Pauree: Those who have hearts as hard as stone, do not sit near the True Guru. Truth prevails there; the false ones do not attune their consciousness to it. By hook or by crook, they pass their time, and then they go back to sit with the false ones again. Falsehood does not mix with the Truth; O people, check it out and see. The false go and mingle with the false, while the truthful Sikhs sit by the side of the True Guru. ||26||

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Shalok, Fifth Mehl: By their own efforts, the slanderers have destroyed all remnants of themselves. The Support of the Saints, O Nanak, is manifest, pervading everywhere. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Those who went astray from the Primal Being in the very beginning - where can they find refuge? O Nanak, they are struck down by the All-powerful, the Cause of causes. ||2|| Pauree, Fifth Mehl: They take the noose in their hands, and go out at night to strangle others, but God knows everything, O mortal. They spy on other men's women, concealed in their hiding places. They break into well-protected places, and revel in sweet wine. But they shall come to regret their actions - they create their own karma. Azraa-eel, the Angel of Death, shall crush them like sesame seeds in the oil-press. ||27|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: The servants of the True King are acceptable and approved. Those ignorant ones who serve duality, O Nanak, rot, waste away and die. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: That destiny which was pre-ordained by God from the very beginning cannot be erased. The wealth of the Lord's Name is Nanak's capital; he meditates on it forever. ||2|| Pauree, Fifth Mehl: One who has received a kick from the Lord God - where can he place his foot? He commits countless sins, and continually eats poison. Slandering others, he wastes away and dies; within his body, he burns. One who has been struck down by the True Lord and Master - who can save him now? Nanak has entered the Sanctuary of the Unseen Lord, the Primal Being. ||28|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: In the most horrible hell, there is terrible pain and suffering. It is the place of the ungrateful. They are struck down by God, O Nanak, and they die a most miserable death. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: All kinds of medicines may be prepared, but there is no cure for the slanderer. Those whom the Lord Himself misleads, O Nanak, putrefy and rot in reincarnation. ||2|| Pauree, Fifth Mehl: By His Pleasure, the True Guru has blessed me with the inexhaustible wealth of the Name of the True Lord. All my anxiety is ended; I am rid of the fear of death. Sexual desire, anger and other evils have been subdued in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Those who serve another, instead of the True Lord, die unfulfilled in the end. The Guru has blessed Nanak with forgiveness; he is united with the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||29|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: He is not a penitent, who is greedy within his heart, and who constantly chases after Maya like a leper. When this penitent was first invited, he refused our charity; but later he repented and sent his son, who was seated in the congregation. The village elders all laughed, saying that the waves of greed have destroyed this penitent. If he sees only a little wealth, he does not bother to go there; but when he sees a lot of wealth, the penitent forsakes his vows. O Siblings of Destiny, he is not a penitent - he is only a stork. Sitting together, the Holy Congregation has so decided. The penitent slanders the True Primal Being, and sings the praises of the material world. For this sin, he is cursed by the Lord. Behold the fruit the penitent gathers, for slandering the Great Primal Being; all his labors have gone in vain. When he sits outside among the elders, he is called a penitent; but when he sits within the congregation, the penitent commits sin.

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The Lord has exposed the penitent's secret sin to the elders. The Righteous Judge of Dharma said to the Messenger of Death, "Take this penitent and put him with the worst of the worst murderers." No one is to look at the face of this penitent again. He has been cursed by the True Guru. Nanak speaks and reveals what has taken place in the Court of the Lord. He alone understands, who is blessed and adorned by

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the Lord. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: The devotees of the Lord worship and adore the Lord, and the glorious greatness of the Lord. The Lord's devotees continually sing the Kirtan of His Praises; the Name of the Lord is the Giver of peace. The Lord ever bestows upon His devotees the glorious greatness of His Name, which increases day by day. The Lord inspires His devotees to sit, steady and stable, in the home of their inner being. He preserves their honour. The Lord summons the slanderers to answer for their accounts, and He punishes them severely. As the slanderers think of acting, so are the fruits they obtain. Actions done in secrecy are sure to come to light, even if one does it underground. Servant Nanak blossoms forth in joy, beholding the glorious greatness of the Lord. ||2|| Pauree, Fifth Mehl: The Lord Himself is the Protector of His devotees; what can the sinner do to them? The proud fool acts in pride, and eating his own poison, he dies. His few days have come to an end, and he is cut down like the crop at harvest. According to one's actions, so is one spoken of. Glorious and great is the Lord and Master of servant Nanak; He is the Master of all. ||30|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: The self-willed manmukhs forget the Primal Lord, the Source of all; they are caught in greed and egotism. They pass their nights and days in conflict and struggle; they do not contemplate the Word of the Shabad. The Creator has taken away all their understanding and purity; all their speech is evil and corrupt. No matter what they are given, they are not satisfied; within their hearts there is great desire, ignorance and darkness. O Nanak, it is good to break away from the self-willed manmukhs, who have love and attachment to Maya. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: Those whose hearts are filled with the love of duality, do not love the Gurmukhs. They come and go, and wander in reincarnation; even in their dreams, they find no peace. They practice falsehood and they speak falsehood; attached to falsehood, they become false. The love of Maya is total pain; in pain they perish, and in pain they cry out. O Nanak, there can be no union between the love of worldliness and the love of the Lord, no matter how much everyone may desire it. Those who have the treasure of virtuous deeds find peace through the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||2|| Pauree, Fifth Mehl: O Nanak, the Saints and the silent sages think, and the four Vedas proclaim, that whatever the Lord's devotees speak comes to pass. He is revealed in His cosmic workshop; all people hear of it. The foolish people, who fight with the Saints, find no peace. The Saints seek to bless them with virtue, but they are burning with egotism. What can those wretched ones do? Their evil destiny was pre-ordained.

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Those who are struck down by the Supreme Lord God do not belong to anyone. Those who hate the One who has no hatred, are destroyed by righteous justice. Those who are cursed by the Saints wander around lost. When the tree is cut off at its roots, the branches wither and die. ||31|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: Guru Nanak implanted the Naam, the Name of the Lord, within me; He is All-powerful, to create and destroy. Remember God forever, my friend, and all your suffering will disappear. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: The hungry person does not care about honour, dishonour or harsh words. Nanak begs for the Name of the Lord; please grant Your Grace, and unite me with Yourself. ||2|| Pauree: According to the deeds which one does, so are the fruits one obtains. If someone chews on red-hot iron, his throat will be burned. The halter is put around his neck and he is led away, because of the evil deeds he has done. None of his desires are fulfilled; he continually steals the filth of others. The ungrateful wretch does not appreciate what he has been given; he wanders lost in reincarnation. He loses all support, when the Support of the Lord is taken away from him. He does not let the embers of strife die down, and so the Creator destroys him. Those who indulge in egotism crumble and fall to the ground. ||32|| Shalok, Third Mehl: The Gurmukh is blessed with spiritual wisdom and a discerning intellect. He sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and weaves this garland into his heart. He becomes the purest of the pure, a being of supreme understanding. Whoever he meets, he saves and carries across. The fragrance of the Lord's Name permeates his being deep within. He is honoured in the Court of the Lord, and his speech is the most sublime. Those who hear him are delighted. O Nanak, meeting the True Guru, one obtains the wealth and property of the Naam. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: The sublime state of the True Guru is not known; no one knows what pleases the Perfect True Guru. Deep within the hearts of His GurSikhs, the True Guru is pervading. The Guru is pleased with those who long for His Sikhs. As the True Guru directs them, they do their work and chant their prayers. The True Lord accepts the service of His GurSikhs. But those who want the GurSikhs to work for them, without the Order of the True Guru - the Guru's Sikhs shall not come near them again. One who works diligently for the Guru, the True Guru - the GurSikhs work for him. One who comes to deceive, who rises up and goes out to deceive - the GurSikhs shall never come near him. Nanak proclaims and announces this wisdom of God. One who is not pleasing to the Mind of the True Guru may do his deeds, but that being will only suffer in terrible pain. ||2|| Pauree: O True Lord and Master, You are so very great. As great as You are, You are the greatest of the great. He alone is united with You, whom You unite with Yourself. You Yourself bless and forgive us, and tear up our accounts. One whom You unite with Yourself, whole-heartedly serves the True Guru. You are the True One, the True Lord and Master; my soul, body, flesh and bones are all Yours. If it pleases You, then save me, True Lord. Nanak places the hopes of his mind in You alone, O greatest of the great! ||33||1||

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SUDH|| Gauree Kee Vaar, Fifth Mehl: Sung To The Tune Of Vaar Of Raa-I Kamaaldee-Mojadee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Shalok, Fifth Mehl: Auspicious and approved is the birth of that humble being who chants the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. I am a sacrifice to that humble being who vibrates and meditates on God, the Lord of Nirvaanaa. The pains of birth and death are eradicated, upon meeting the All-knowing Lord, the Primal Being. In the Society of the Saints, he crosses over the world-ocean; O servant Nanak, he has the strength and support of the True Lord. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: I rise up in the early morning hours, and the Holy Guest comes into my home. I wash His feet; He is always pleasing to my mind and body. I hear the Naam, and I gather in the Naam; I am lovingly attuned to the Naam. My home and wealth are totally sanctified as I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. The Trader in the Lord's Name, O Nanak, is found by great good fortune. ||2|| Pauree: Whatever pleases You is good; True is the Pleasure of Your Will. You are the One, pervading in all; You are contained in all. You are diffused throughout and permeating all places and interspaces; You are known to be deep within the hearts of all beings. Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, and submitting to His Will, the True Lord is found. Nanak takes to the Sanctuary of God; he is forever and ever a sacrifice to Him. ||1|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: If you are conscious, then be conscious of the True Lord, Your Lord and Master. O Nanak, come aboard upon the boat of the service of the True Guru, and cross over the terrifying world-ocean. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: He wears his body, like clothes of wind - what a proud fool he is! O Nanak, they will not go with him in the end; they shall be burnt to ashes. ||2|| Pauree: They alone are delivered from the world, who are preserved and protected by the True Lord. I live by beholding the faces of those who taste the Ambrosial Essence of the Lord. Sexual desire, anger, greed and emotional attachment are burnt away, in the Company of the Holy. God grants His Grace, and the Lord Himself tests them. O Nanak, His play is not known; no one can understand it. ||2|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: O Nanak, that day is beautiful, when God comes to mind. Cursed is that day, no matter how pleasant the season, when the Supreme Lord God is forgotten. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: O Nanak, become friends with the One, who holds everything in His hands. They are accounted as false friends, who do not go with you, for even one step. ||2|| Pauree: The treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is Ambrosial Nectar; meet together and drink it in, O Siblings of Destiny. Remembering Him in meditation, peace is found, and all thirst is quenched. So serve the Supreme Lord God and the Guru, and you shall never be hungry again. All your desires shall be fulfilled, and you shall obtain the status of immortality. You alone are as great as Yourself, O Supreme Lord God; Nanak seeks Your Sanctuary. ||3|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: I have seen all places; there is no place without Him. O Nanak, those who meet with the True Guru find the object of life. ||1||

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Fifth Mehl: Like the flash of lightning, worldly affairs last only for a moment. The only thing which is pleasing, O Nanak, is that which inspires one to meditate on the Name of the Master. ||2|| Pauree: People have searched all the Simritees and Shaastras, but no one knows the Lord's value. That being, who joins the Saadh Sangat enjoys the Love of the Lord. True is the Naam, the Name of the Creator, the Primal Being. It is the mine of precious jewels. That mortal, who has such pre-ordained destiny inscribed upon his forehead, meditates in remembrance on the Lord. O Lord, please bless Nanak, Your humble guest, with the supplies of the True Name. ||4|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: He harbors anxiety within himself, but to the eyes, he appears to be happy; his hunger never departs. O Nanak, without the True Name, no one's sorrows have ever departed. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Those caravans which did not load the Truth have been plundered. O Nanak, those who meet the True Guru, and acknowledge the One Lord, are congratulated. ||2|| Pauree: Beautiful is that place, where the Holy people dwell. They serve their All-powerful Lord, and they give up all their evil ways. The Saints and the Vedas proclaim, that the Supreme Lord God is the Saving Grace of sinners. You are the Lover of Your devotees - this is Your natural way, in each and every age. Nanak asks for the One Name, which is pleasing to his mind and body. ||5|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: The sparrows are chirping, and dawn has come; the wind stirs up the waves. Such a wondrous thing the Saints have fashioned, O Nanak, in the Love of the Naam. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Homes, palaces and pleasures are there, where You, O Lord, come to mind. All worldly grandeur, O Nanak, is like false and evil friends. ||2|| Pauree: The wealth of the Lord is the true capital; how rare are those who understand this. He alone receives it, O Siblings of Destiny, unto whom the Architect of Destiny gives it. His servant is imbued with the Love of the Lord; his body and mind blossom forth. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, he sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and all of his sufferings are removed. O Nanak, he alone lives, who acknowledges the One Lord. ||6|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: The fruit of the swallow-wort plant looks beautiful, attached to the branch of the tree; but when it is separated from the stem of its Master, O Nanak, it breaks apart into thousands of fragments. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Those who forget the Lord die, but they cannot die a complete death. Those who turn their backs on the Lord suffer, like the thief impaled on the gallows. ||2|| Pauree: The One God is the treasure of peace; I have heard that He is eternal and imperishable. He is totally pervading the water, the land and the sky; the Lord is said to be permeating each and every heart. He looks alike upon the high and the low, the ant and the elephant. Friends, companions, children and relatives are all created by Him. O Nanak, one who is blessed with the Naam, enjoys the Lord's love and affection. ||7|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: Those who do not forget the Lord, with each breath and morsel of food, whose minds are filled with the Mantra of the Lord's Name - they alone are blessed; O Nanak, they are the perfect Saints. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Twenty-four hours a day, he wanders around, driven by his hunger for food. How can he escape from falling into hell, when he does not remember the Prophet? ||2||

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Pauree: Serve Him, O mortals, who has the Lord's Name in His lap. You shall dwell in peace and ease in this world; in the world hereafter, it shall go with you. So build your home of true righteousness, with the unshakable pillars of Dharma. Take the Support of the Lord, who gives support in the spiritual and material worlds. Nanak grasps the Lotus Feet of the Lord; he humbly bows in His Court. ||8|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: The beggar begs for charity: give to me, O my Beloved! O Great Giver, O Giving Lord, my consciousness is continually centred on You. The immeasurable warehouses of the Lord can never be emptied out. O Nanak, the Word of the Shabad is infinite; it has arranged everything perfectly. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: O Sikhs, love the Word of the Shabad; in life and death, it is our only support. Your face shall be radiant, and you shall find a lasting peace, O Nanak, remembering the One Lord in meditation. ||2|| Pauree: There, the Ambrosial Nectar is distributed; the Lord is the Bringer of peace. They are not placed upon the path of Death, and they shall not have to die again. One who comes to savor the Lord's Love experiences it. The Holy beings chant the Bani of the Word, like nectar flowing from a spring. Nanak lives by beholding the Blessed Vision of the Darshan of those who have implanted the Lord's Name within their minds. ||9|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: Serving the Perfect True Guru, suffering ends. O Nanak, worshipping the Naam in adoration, one's affairs come to be resolved. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Remembering Him in meditation, misfortune departs, and one comes to abide in peace and bliss. O Nanak, meditate forever on the Lord - do not forget Him, even for an instant. ||2|| Pauree: How can I estimate the glory of those, who have found the Lord, Har, Har? One who seeks the Sanctuary of the Holy is released from bondage. One who sings the Glorious Praises of the Imperishable Lord does not burn in the womb of reincarnation. One who meets the Guru and the Supreme Lord God, who reads and understands, enters the state of Samaadhi. Nanak has obtained that Lord Master, who is inaccessible and unfathomable. ||10|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: People do not perform their duties, but instead, they wander around aimlessly. O Nanak, if they forget the Name, how can they ever find peace? ||1|| Fifth Mehl: The bitter poison of corruption is everywhere; it clings to the substance of the world. O Nanak, the humble being has realised that the Name of the Lord alone is sweet. ||2|| Pauree: This is the distinguishing sign of the Holy Saint, that by meeting with him, one is saved. The Messenger of Death does not come near him; he never has to die again. He crosses over the terrifying, poisonous world-ocean. So weave the garland of the Lord's Glorious Praises into your mind, and all your filth shall be washed away. Nanak remains blended with his Beloved, the Supreme Lord God. ||11|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: O Nanak, approved is the birth of those, within whose consciousness the Lord abides. Useless talk and babbling is useless, my friend. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: I have come to see the Supreme Lord God, the Perfect, Inaccessible, Wonderful Lord.

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Nanak has made the Lord's Name his wealth, by the Grace of the Perfect Guru. ||2|| Pauree: Deception does not work with our Lord and Master; through their greed and emotional attachment, people are ruined. They do their evil deeds, and sleep in the intoxication of Maya. Time and time again, they are consigned to reincarnation, and abandoned on the path of Death. They receive the consequences of their own

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actions, and are yoked to their pain. O Nanak, if one forgets the Name, all the seasons are evil. ||12|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: While standing up, sitting down and sleeping, be at peace; O Nanak, praising the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the mind and body are cooled and soothed. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Filled with greed, he constantly wanders around; he does not do any good deeds. O Nanak, the Lord abides within the mind of one who meets with the Guru. ||2|| Pauree: All material things are bitter; the True Name alone is sweet. Those humble servants of the Lord who taste it, come to savor its flavor. It comes to dwell within the mind of those who are so pre-destined by the Supreme Lord God. The One Immaculate Lord is pervading everywhere; He destroys the love of duality. Nanak begs for the Lord's Name, with his palms pressed together; by His Pleasure, God has granted it. ||13|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: The most excellent begging is begging for the One Lord. Other talk is corrupt, O Nanak, except that of the Lord Master. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: One who recognises the Lord is very rare; his mind is pierced through with the Love of the Lord. Such a Saint is the Uniter, O Nanak - he straightens out the path. ||2|| Pauree: Serve Him, O my soul, who is the Giver and the Forgiver. All sinful mistakes are erased, by meditating in remembrance on the Lord of the Universe. The Holy Saint has shown me the Way to the Lord; I chant the GurMantra. The taste of Maya is totally bland and insipid; the Lord alone is pleasing to my mind. Meditate, O Nanak, on the Transcendent Lord, who has blessed you with your soul and your life. ||14|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: The time has come to plant the seed of the Lord's Name; one who plants it, shall eat its fruit. He alone receives it, O Nanak, whose destiny is so pre-ordained. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: If one begs, then he should beg for the Name of the True One, which is given only by His Pleasure. Eating this gift from the Lord and Master, O Nanak, the mind is satisfied. ||2|| Pauree: They alone earn profit in this world, who have the wealth of the Lord's Name. They do not know the love of duality; they place their hopes in the True Lord. They serve the One Eternal Lord, and give up everything else. One who forgets the Supreme Lord God - useless is his breath. God draws His humble servant close in His loving embrace and protects him - Nanak is a sacrifice to Him. ||15|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: The Supreme Lord God gave the Order, and the rain automatically began to fall. Grain and wealth were produced in abundance; the earth was totally satisfied and satiated. Forever and ever, chant the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and pain and poverty shall run away. People obtain that which they are pre-ordained to receive, according to the Will of the Lord. The Transcendent Lord keeps you alive; O Nanak, meditate on Him. ||1|| Fifth Mehl:

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To obtain the state of life of Nirvaanaa, meditate in remembrance on the One Lord. There is no other place; how else can we be comforted? I have seen the whole world - without the Lord's Name, there is no peace at all. Body and wealth shall return to dust - hardly anyone realises this. Pleasure, beauty and delicious tastes are useless; what are you doing, O mortal? One whom the Lord Himself misleads, does not understand His awesome power. Those who are imbued with the Love of the Lord attain Nirvaanaa, singing the Praises of the True One. Nanak: those who are pleasing to Your Will, O Lord, seek Sanctuary at Your Door. ||2|| Pauree: Those who are attached to the hem of the Lord's robe, do not suffer birth and death. Those who remain awake to the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises - their lives are approved. Those who attain the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, are very fortunate. But those who forget the Name - their lives are cursed, and broken like thin strands of thread. O Nanak, the dust of the feet of the Holy is more sacred than hundreds of thousands, even millions of cleansing baths at sacred shrines. ||16|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: Like the beautiful earth, adorned with jewels of grass - such is the mind, within which the Love of the Lord abides. All one's affairs are easily resolved, O Nanak, when the Guru, the True Guru, is pleased. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Roaming and wandering in the ten directions, over water, mountains and forests - wherever the vulture sees a dead body, he flies down and lands. ||2|| Pauree: One who longs for all comforts and rewards should practice Truth. Behold the Supreme Lord God near you, and meditate on the Naam, the Name of the One Lord. Become the dust of all men's feet, and so merge with the Lord. Do not cause any being to suffer, and you shall go to your true home with honour. Nanak speaks of the Purifier of sinners, the Creator, the Primal Being. ||17|| Shalok, Dohaa, Fifth Mehl: I have made the One Lord my Friend; He is All-powerful to do everything. My soul is a sacrifice to Him; the Lord is the treasure of my mind and body. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Take my hand, O my Beloved; I shall never forsake You. Those who forsake the Lord, are the most evil people; they shall fall into the horrible pit of hell. ||2|| Pauree: All treasures are in His Home; whatever the Lord does, comes to pass. The Saints live by chanting and meditating on the Lord, washing off the filth of their sins. With the Lotus Feet of the Lord dwelling within the heart, all misfortune is taken away. One who meets the Perfect Guru, shall not have to suffer through birth and death. Nanak is thirsty for the Blessed Vision of God's Darshan; by His Grace, He has bestowed it. ||18|| Shalok, Dakhanaa, Fifth Mehl: If you can dispel your doubts, even for an instant, and love your only Beloved, then wherever you go, there you shall find Him. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Can they mount horses and handle guns, if all they know is the game of polo? Can they be swans, and fulfill their conscious desires, if they can only fly like chickens? ||2|| Pauree: Those who chant the Lord's Name with their tongues and hear it with their ears are saved, O my friend. Those hands which lovingly write the Praises of the Lord are pure. It is like performing all sorts of virtuous deeds, and bathing at the sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage. They cross over the world-ocean, and conquer the fortress of corruption.

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O Nanak, serve the Infinite Lord; grasp the hem of His robe, and He will save you. ||19|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: Worldly affairs are unprofitable, if the One Lord does not come to mind. O Nanak, the bodies of those who forget their Master shall burst apart. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: The ghost has been transformed into an angel by the Creator Lord. God has emancipated all the Sikhs and resolved their affairs. He has seized the slanderers and thrown them to the ground, and declared them false in His Court. Nanak's God is glorious and great; He Himself creates and adorns. ||2|| Pauree: God is unlimited; He has no limit; He is the One who does everything. The Inaccessible and Unapproachable Lord and Master is the Support of His beings. Giving His Hand, He nurtures and cherishes; He is the Filler and Fulfiller. He Himself is Merciful and Forgiving. Chanting the True Name, one is saved. Whatever pleases You - that alone is good; slave Nanak seeks Your Sanctuary. ||20|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: One who belongs to God has no hunger. O Nanak, everyone who falls at his feet is saved. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: If the beggar begs for the Lord's Name every day, his Lord and Master will grant his request. O Nanak, the Transcendent Lord is the most generous host; He does not lack anything at all. ||2|| Pauree: To imbue the mind with the Lord of the Universe is the true food and dress. To embrace love for the Name of the Lord is to possess horses and elephants. To meditate on the Lord steadfastly is to rule over kingdoms of property and enjoy all sorts of pleasures. The minstrel begs at God's Door - he shall never leave that Door. Nanak has this yearning in his mind and body - he longs continually for God. ||21||1|| Sudh Keechay|| Raag Gauree, The Word Of The Devotees: One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. By Guru's Grace: Gauree Gwaarayree, Fourteen Chau-Padas Of Kabeer Jee: I was on fire, but now I have found the Water of the Lord's Name. This Water of the Lord's Name has cooled my burning body. ||1||Pause|| To subdue their minds, some go off into the forests; but that Water is not found without the Lord God. ||1|| That fire has consumed angels and mortal beings, but the Water of the Lord's Name saves His humble servants from burning. ||2|| In the terrifying world-ocean, there is an ocean of peace. I continue to drink it in, but this Water is never exhausted. ||3|| Says Kabeer, meditate and vibrate upon the Lord, like the rainbird remembering the water. The Water of the Lord's Name has quenched my thirst. ||4||1|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee: O Lord, my thirst for the Water of Your Name will not go away. The fire of my thirst burns even more brightly in that Water. ||1||Pause|| You are the Ocean of Water, and I am just a fish in that Water. In that Water, I remain; without that Water, I would perish. ||1|| You are the cage, and I am Your parrot. So what can the cat of death do to me? ||2|| You are the tree, and I am the bird. I am so unfortunate - I cannot see the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan! ||3||

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You are the True Guru, and I am Your new disciple. Says Kabeer, O Lord, please meet me - this is my very last chance! ||4||2|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee: When I realise that there is One, and only One Lord, why then should the people be upset? ||1|| I am dishonoured; I have lost my honour. No one should follow in my footsteps. ||1||Pause|| I am bad, and bad in my mind as well. I have no partnership with anyone. ||2|| I have no shame about honour or dishonour. But you shall know, when your own false covering is laid bare. ||3|| Says Kabeer, honour is that which is accepted by the Lord. Give up everything - meditate, vibrate upon the Lord alone. ||4||3|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee: If Yoga could be obtained by wandering around naked, then all the deer of the forest would be liberated. ||1|| What does it matter whether someone goes naked, or wears a deer skin, if he does not remember the Lord within his soul? ||1||Pause|| If the spiritual perfection of the Siddhas could be obtained by shaving the head, then why haven't sheep found liberation? ||2|| If someone could save himself by celibacy, O Siblings of Destiny, why then haven't eunuchs obtained the state of supreme dignity? ||3|| Says Kabeer, listen, O men, O Siblings of Destiny: without the Lord's Name, who has ever found salvation? ||4||4|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee: Those who take their ritual baths in the evening and the morning are like the frogs in the water. ||1|| When people do not love the Lord's Name, they must all go to the Righteous Judge of Dharma. ||1||Pause|| Those who love their bodies and try different looks, do not feel compassion, even in dreams. ||2|| The wise men call them four-footed creatures; the Holy find peace in this ocean of pain. ||3|| Says Kabeer, why do you perform so many rituals? Renounce everything, and drink in the supreme essence of the Lord. ||4||5|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee: What use is chanting, and what use is penance, fasting or devotional worship, to one whose heart is filled with the love of duality? ||1|| O humble people, link your mind to the Lord. Through cleverness, the four-armed Lord is not obtained. ||Pause|| Set aside your greed and worldly ways. Set aside sexual desire, anger and egotism. ||2|| Ritual practices bind people in egotism; meeting together, they worship stones. ||3|| Says Kabeer, He is obtained only by devotional worship. Through innocent love, the Lord is met. ||4||6|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee: In the dwelling of the womb, there is no ancestry or social status. All have originated from the Seed of God. ||1|| Tell me, O Pandit, O religious scholar: since when have you been a Brahmin? Don't waste your life by continually claiming to be a Brahmin. ||1||Pause|| If you are indeed a Brahmin, born of a Brahmin mother, then why didn't you come by some other way? ||2|| How is it that you are a Brahmin, and I am of a low social status? How is it that I am formed of blood, and you are made of milk? ||3|| Says Kabeer, one who contemplates God, is said to be a Brahmin among us. ||4||7||

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Gauree, Kabeer Jee: In the darkness, no one can sleep in peace. The king and the pauper both weep and cry. ||1|| As long as the tongue does not chant the Lord's Name, the person continues coming and going in reincarnation, crying out in pain. ||1||Pause|| It is like the shadow of a tree; when the breath of life passes out of the mortal being, tell me, what becomes of his wealth? ||2|| It is like the music contained in the instrument; how can anyone know the secret of the dead? ||3|| Like the swan on the lake, death hovers over the body. Drink in the Lord's sweet elixir, Kabeer. ||4||8|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee: The creation is born of the Light, and the Light is in the creation. It bears two fruits: the false glass and the true pearl. ||1|| Where is that home, which is said to be free of fear? There, fear is dispelled and one lives without fear. ||1||Pause|| On the banks of sacred rivers, the mind is not appeased. People remain entangled in good and bad deeds. ||2|| Sin and virtue are both the same. In the home of your own being, is the Philosopher's Stone; renounce your search for any other virtue. ||3|| Kabeer: O worthless mortal, do not lose the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Keep this mind of yours involved in this involvement. ||4||9|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee: He claims to know the Lord, who is beyond measure and beyond thought; by mere words, he plans to enter heaven. ||1|| I do not know where heaven is. Everyone claims that he plans to go there. ||1||Pause|| By mere talk, the mind is not appeased. The mind is only appeased, when egotism is conquered. ||2|| As long as the mind is filled with the desire for heaven, he does not dwell at the Lord's Feet. ||3|| Says Kabeer, unto whom should I tell this? The Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, is heaven. ||4||10|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee: We are born, and we grow, and having grown, we pass away. Before our very eyes, this world is passing away. ||1|| How can you not die of shame, claiming, "This world is mine"? At the very last moment, nothing is yours. ||1||Pause|| Trying various methods, you cherish your body, but at the time of death, it is burned in the fire. ||2|| You apply sandalwood oil to your limbs, but that body is burned with the firewood. ||3|| Says Kabeer, listen, O virtuous people: your beauty shall vanish, as the whole world watches. ||4||11|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee: Why do you cry and mourn, when another person dies? Do so only if you yourself are to live. ||1|| I shall not die as the rest of the world dies, for now I have met the life-giving Lord. ||1||Pause|| People anoint their bodies with fragrant oils, and in that pleasure, they forget the supreme bliss. ||2|| There is one well, and five water-carriers. Even though the rope is broken, the fools continue trying to draw water. ||3|| Says Kabeer, through contemplation, I have obtained this one understanding. There is no well, and no water-carrier. ||4||12|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee: The mobile and immobile creatures, insects and moths - in numerous lifetimes, I have passed through those many forms. ||1||

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I lived in many such homes, O Lord, before I came into the womb this time. ||1||Pause|| I was a Yogi, a celibate, a penitent, and a Brahmchaaree, with strict self-discipline. Sometimes I was a king, sitting on the throne, and sometimes I was a beggar. ||2|| The faithless cynics shall die, while the Saints shall all survive. They drink in the Lord's Ambrosial Essence with their tongues. ||3|| Says Kabeer, O God, have mercy on me. I am so tired; now, please bless me with Your perfection. ||4||13|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee, With Writings Of The Fifth Mehl: Kabeer has seen such wonders! Mistaking it for cream, the people are churning water. ||1||Pause|| The donkey grazes upon the green grass; arising each day, he laughs and brays, and then dies. ||1|| The bull is intoxicated, and runs around

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wildly. He romps and eats and then falls into hell. ||2|| Says Kabeer, a strange sport has become manifest: the sheep is sucking the milk of her lamb. ||3|| Chanting the Lord's Name, my intellect is enlightened. Says Kabeer, the Guru has blessed me with this understanding. ||4||1||14|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee, Panch-Padas: I am like a fish out of water, because in my previous life, I did not practice penance and intense meditation. ||1|| Now tell me, Lord, what will my condition be? I left Benares - I had little common sense. ||1||Pause|| I wasted my whole life in the city of Shiva; at the time of my death, I moved to Magahar. ||2|| For many years, I practiced penance and intense meditation at Kaashi; now that my time to die has come, I have come to dwell at Magahar! ||3|| Kaashi and Magahar - I consider them the same. With inadequate devotion, how can anyone swim across? ||4|| Says Kabeer, the Guru and Ganaysha and Shiva all know that Kabeer died chanting the Lord's Name. ||5||15|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee: You may anoint your limbs with sandalwood oil, but in the end, that body will be burned with the firewood. ||1|| Why should anyone take pride in this body or wealth? They shall end up lying on the ground; they shall not go along with you to the world beyond. ||1||Pause|| They sleep by night and work during the day, but they do not chant the Lord's Name, even for an instant. ||2|| They hold the string of the kite in their hands, and chew betel leaves in their mouths, but at the time of death, they shall be tied up tight, like thieves. ||3|| Through the Guru's Teachings, and immersed in His Love, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Chant the Name of the Lord, Raam, Raam, and find peace. ||4|| In His Mercy, He implants the Naam within us; inhale deeply the sweet aroma and fragrance of the Lord, Har, Har. ||5|| Says Kabeer, remember Him, you blind fool! The Lord is True; all worldly affairs are false. ||6||16|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee, Ti-Padas And Chau-Tukas: I have turned away from death and turned to the Lord. Pain has been eliminated, and I dwell in peac and comfort. My enemies have been transformed into friends. The faithless cynics have been transformed into good-hearted people. ||1|| Now, I feel that everything brings me peace. Peace and tranquility have come, since I realised the Lord of the Universe. ||1||Pause||

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My body was afflicted with millions of diseases. They have been transformed into the peaceful, tranquil concentration of Samaadhi. When someone understands his own self, he no longer suffers from illness and the three fevers. ||2|| My mind has now been restored to its original purity. When I became dead while yet alive, only then did I come to know the Lord. Says Kabeer, I am now immersed in intuitive peace and poise. I do not fear anyone, and I do not strike fear into anyone else. ||3||17|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee: When the body dies, where does the soul go? It is absorbed into the untouched, unstruck melody of the Word of the Shabad. Only one who knows the Lord realises Him. The mind is satisfied and satiated, like the mute who eats the sugar candy and just smiles, without speaking. ||1|| Such is the spiritual wisdom which the Lord has imparted. O mind, hold your breath steady within the central channel of the Sushmanaa. ||1||Pause|| Adopt such a Guru, that you shall not have to adopt another again. Dwell in such a state, that you shall never have to dwell in any other. Embrace such a meditation, that you shall never have to embrace any other. Die in such a way, that you shall never have to die again. ||2|| Turn your breath away from the left channel, and away from the right channel, and unite them in the central channel of the Sushmanaa. At their confluence within your mind, take your bath there without water. To look upon all with an impartial eye - let this be your daily occupation. Contemplate this essence of reality - what else is there to contemplate? ||3|| Water, fire, wind, earth and ether - adopt such a way of life and you shall be close to the Lord. Says Kabeer, meditate on the Immaculate Lord. Go to that home, which you shall never have to leave. ||4||18|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee, Ti-Padas: He cannot be obtained by offering your weight in gold. But I have bought the Lord by giving my mind to Him. ||1|| Now I recognise that He is my Lord. My mind is intuitively pleased with Him. ||1||Pause|| Brahma spoke of Him continually, but could not find His limit. Because of my devotion to the Lord, He has come to sit within the home of my inner being. ||2|| Says Kabeer, I have renounced my restless intellect. It is my destiny to worship the Lord alone. ||3||1||19|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee: That death which terrifies the entire world - the nature of that death has been revealed to me, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||1|| Now, how shall I die? My mind has already accepted death. Those who do not know the Lord, die over and over again, and then depart. ||1||Pause|| Everyone says, "I will die, I will die." But he alone becomes immortal, who dies with intuitive understanding. ||2|| Says Kabeer, my mind is filled with bliss; my doubts have been eliminated, and I am in ecstasy. ||3||20|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee: There is no special place where the soul aches; where should I apply the ointment? I have searched the body, but I have not found such a place. ||1|| He alone knows it, who feels the pain of such love; the arrows of the Lord's devotional worship are so sharp! ||1||Pause|| I look upon all His soul-brides with an impartial eye; how can I know which ones are dear to the Husband Lord? ||2|| Says Kabeer, one who has such destiny inscribed upon her forehead - her Husband Lord turns all others away, and meets with her. ||3||21||

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Gauree, Kabeer Jee: One who has the Lord as his Master, O Siblings of Destiny - countless liberations knock at his door. ||1|| If I say now that my trust is in You alone, Lord, then what obligation do I have to anyone else? ||1||Pause|| He bears the burden of the three worlds; why should He not cherish you also? ||2|| Says Kabeer, through contemplation, I have obtained this one understanding. If the mother poisons her own child, what can anyone do? ||3||22|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee: Without Truth, how can the woman be a true satee - a widow who burns herself on her husband's funeral pyre? O Pandit, O religious scholar, see this and contemplate it within your heart. ||1|| Without love, how can one's affection increase? As long as there is attachment to pleasure, there can be no spiritual love. ||1||Pause|| One who, in his own soul, believes the Queen Maya to be true, does not meet the Lord, even in dreams. ||2|| One who surrenders her body, mind, wealth, home and self - she is the true soul-bride, says Kabeer. ||3||23|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee: The whole world is engrossed in corruption. This corruption has drowned entire families. ||1|| O man, why have you wrecked your boat and sunk it? You have broken with the Lord, and joined hands with corruption. ||1||Pause|| Angels and human beings alike are burning in the raging fire. The water is near at hand, but the beast does not drink it in. ||2|| By constant contemplation and awareness, the water is brought forth. That water is immaculate and pure, says Kabeer. ||3||24|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee: That family, whose son has no spiritual wisdom or contemplation - why didn't his mother just become a widow? ||1|| That man who has not practiced devotional worship of the Lord - why didn't such a sinful man die at birth? ||1||Pause|| So many pregnancies end in miscarriage - why was this one spared? He lives his life in this world like a deformed amputee. ||2|| Says Kabeer, without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, beautiful and handsome people are just ugly hunch-backs. ||3||25|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee: I am forever a sacrifice to those humble beings who take the Name of their Lord and Master. ||1|| Those who sing the Glorious Praises of the Pure Lord are pure. They are my Siblings of Destiny, so dear to my heart. ||1||Pause|| I am the dust of the lotus feet of those whose hearts are filled with the All-pervading Lord. ||2|| I am a weaver by birth, and patient of mind. Slowly, steadily, Kabeer chants the Glories of God. ||3||26|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee: From the Sky of the Tenth Gate, the nectar trickles down, distilled from my furnace. I have gathered in this most sublime essence, making my body into firewood. ||1|| He alone is called intoxicated with intuitive peace and poise, who drinks in the juice of the Lord's essence, contemplating spiritual wisdom. ||1||Pause|| Intuitive poise is the bar-maid who comes to serve it. I pass my nights and days in ecstasy. ||2|| Through conscious meditation, I linked my consciousness with the Immaculate Lord. Says Kabeer, then I obtained the Fearless Lord. ||3||27|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee: The natural tendency of the mind is to chase the mind.

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Who has established himself as a Siddha, a being of miraculous spiritual powers, by killing his mind? ||1|| Who is that silent sage, who has killed his mind? By killing the mind, tell me, who is saved? ||1||Pause|| Everyone speaks through the mind. Without killing the mind, devotional worship is not performed. ||2|| Says Kabeer, one who knows the secret of this mystery, beholds within his own mind the Lord of the three worlds. ||3||28|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee: The stars which are seen in the sky - who is the painter who painted them? ||1|| Tell me, O Pandit, what is the sky attached to? Very fortunate is the knower who knows this. ||1||Pause|| The sun and the moon give their light; God's creative extension extends everywhere. ||2|| Says Kabeer, he alone knows this, whose heart is filled with the Lord, and whose mouth is also filled with the Lord. ||3||29|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee: The Simritee is the daughter of the Vedas, O Siblings of Destiny. She has brought a chain and a rope. ||1|| She has imprisoned the people in her own city. She has tightened the noose of emotional attachment and shot the arrow of death. ||1||Pause|| By cutting, she cannot be cut, and she cannot be broken. She has become a serpent, and she is eating the world. ||2|| Before my very eyes, she has plundered the entire world. Says Kabeer, chanting the Lord's Name, I have escaped her. ||3||30|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee: I have grasped the reins and attached the bridle; abandoning everything, I now ride through the skies. ||1|| I made self-reflection my mount, and in the stirrups of intuitive poise, I placed my feet. ||1||Pause|| Come, and let me ride you to heaven. If you hold back, then I shall strike you with the whip of spiritual love. ||2|| Says Kabeer, those who remain detached from the Vedas, the Koran and the Bible are the best riders. ||3||31|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee: That mouth, which used to eat the five delicacies - I have seen the flames being applied to that mouth. ||1|| O Lord, my King, please rid me of this one affliction: may I not be burned in fire, or cast into the womb again. ||1||Pause|| The body is destroyed by so many ways and means. Some burn it, and some bury it in the earth. ||2|| Says Kabeer, O Lord, please reveal to me Your Lotus Feet; after that, go ahead and send me to my death. ||3||32|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee: He Himself is the fire, and He Himself is the wind. When our Lord and Master wishes to burn someone, then who can save him? ||1|| When I chant the Lord's Name, what does it matter if my body burns? My consciousness remains absorbed in the Lord's Name. ||1||Pause|| Who is burned, and who suffers loss? The Lord plays, like the juggler with his ball. ||2|| Says Kabeer, chant the two letters of the Lord's Name - Raa Maa. If He is your Lord and Master, He will protect you. ||3||33|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee, Du-Padas: I have not practiced Yoga, or focused my consciousness on meditation. Without renunciation, I cannot escape Maya. ||1|| How have I passed my life?

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I have not taken the Lord's Name as my Support. ||1||Pause|| Says Kabeer, I have searched the skies, and have not seen another, equal to the Lord. ||2||34|| Gauree, Kabeer Jee: That head which was once embellished with the finest turban - upon that head, the crow now cleans his beak. ||1|| What pride should we take in this body and wealth? Why not hold tight to the Lord's Name instead? ||1||Pause|| Says Kabeer, listen, O my mind: this may be your fate as well! ||2||35|| Thirty-Five Steps Of Gauree Gwaarayree. || Raag Gauree Gwaarayree, Ashtapadees Of Kabeer Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: People beg for pleasure, but pain comes instead. I would rather not beg for that pleasure. ||1|| People are involved in corruption, but still, they hope for pleasure. How will they find their home in the Sovereign Lord King? ||1||Pause|| Even Shiva and Brahma are afraid of this pleasure, but I have judged that pleasure to be true. ||2|| Even sages like Sanak and Naarad, and the thousand-headed serpent,

did not see the mind within the body. ||3|| Anyone can search for this mind, O Siblings of Destiny. When it escapes from the body, where does the mind go? ||4|| By Guru's Grace, Jai Dayv and Naam Dayv came to know this, through loving devotional worship of the Lord. ||5|| This mind does not come or go. One whose doubt is dispelled, knows the Truth. ||6|| This mind has no form or outline. By God's Command it was created; understanding God's Command, it will be absorbed into Him again. ||7|| Does anyone know the secret of this mind? This mind shall merge into the Lord, the Giver of peace and pleasure. ||8|| There is One Soul, and it pervades all bodies. Kabeer dwells upon this Mind. ||9||1||36|| Gauree Gwaarayree: Those who are awake to the One Name, day and night - many of them have become Siddhas - perfect spiritual beings - with their consciousness attuned to the Lord. ||1||Pause|| The seekers, the Siddhas and the silent sages have all lost the game. The One Name is the wish-fulfilling Elysian Tree, which saves them and carries them across. ||1|| Those who are rejuvenated by the Lord, do not belong to any other. Says Kabeer, they realise the Name of the Lord. ||2||37|| Gauree And Also Sorat'h: O shameless being, don't you feel ashamed? You have forsaken the Lord - now where will you go? Unto whom will you turn? ||1||Pause|| One whose Lord and Master is the highest and most exalted - it is not proper for him to go to the house of another. ||1|| That Lord and Master is pervading everywhere. The Lord is always with us; He is never far away. ||2|| Even Maya takes to the Sanctuary of His Lotus Feet. Tell me, what is there which is not in His home? ||3|| Everyone speaks of Him; He is All-powerful. He is His Own Master; He is the Giver. ||4|| Says Kabeer, he alone is perfect in this world, in whose heart there is none other than the Lord. ||5||38||

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Whose son is he? Whose father is he? Who dies? Who inflicts pain? ||1|| The Lord is the thug, who has drugged and robbed the whole world. I am separated from the Lord; how can I survive, O my mother? ||1||Pause|| Whose husband is he? Whose wife is she? Contemplate this reality within your body. ||2|| Says Kabeer, my mind is pleased and satisfied with the thug. The effects of the drug have vanished, since I recognised the thug. ||3||39|| Now, the Lord, my King, has become my help and support. I have cut away birth and death, and attained the supreme status. ||1||Pause|| He has united me with the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. He has rescued me from the five demons. I chant with my tongue and meditate on the Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord. He has made me his own slave. ||1|| The True Guru has blessed me with His generosity. He has lifted me up, out of the world-ocean. I have fallen in love with His Lotus Feet. The Lord of the Universe dwells continually within my consciousness. ||2|| The burning fire of Maya has been extinguished. My mind is contented with the Support of the Naam. God, the Lord and Master, is totally permeating the water and the land. Wherever I look, there is the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. ||3|| He Himself has implanted His devotional worship within me. By pre-ordained destiny, one meets Him, O my Siblings of Destiny. When He grants His Grace, one is perfectly fulfilled. Kabeer's Lord and Master is the Cherisher

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of the poor. ||4||40|| There is pollution in the water, and pollution on the land; whatever is born is polluted. There is pollution in birth, and more pollution in death; all beings are ruined by pollution. ||1|| Tell me, O Pandit, O religious scholar: who is clean and pure? Meditate on such spiritual wisdom, O my friend. ||1||Pause|| There is pollution in the eyes, and pollution in speech; there is pollution in the ears as well. Standing up and sitting down, one is polluted; one's kitchen is polluted as well. ||2|| Everyone knows how to be caught, but hardly anyone knows how to escape. Says Kabeer, those who meditate on the Lord within their hearts, are not polluted. ||3||41|| Gauree: Resolve this one conflict for me, O Lord, if you require any work from Your humble servant. ||1||Pause|| Is this mind greater, or the One to whom the mind is attuned? Is the Lord greater, or one who knows the Lord? ||1|| Is Brahma greater, or the One who created Him? Are the Vedas greater, or the One from which they came? ||2|| Says Kabeer, I have become depressed; is the sacred shrine of pilgrimage greater, or the slave of the Lord? ||3||42|| Raag Gauree Chaytee: Behold, O Siblings of Destiny, the storm of spiritual wisdom has come. It has totally blown away the thatched huts of doubt, and torn apart the bonds of Maya. ||1||Pause|| The two pillars of double-mindedness have fallen, and the beams of emotional attachment have come crashing down. The thatched roof of greed has caved in, and the pitcher of evil-mindedness has been broken. ||1||

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Your servant is drenched with the rain that has fallen in this storm. Says Kabeer, my mind became enlightened, when I saw the sun rise. ||2||43|| Gauree Chaytee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: They do not listen to the Lord's Praises, and they do not sing the Lord's Glories, but they try to bring down the sky with their talk. ||1|| What can anyone say to such people? You should always be careful around those whom God has excluded from His devotional worship. ||1||Pause|| They do not offer even a handful of water, while they slander the one who brought forth the Ganges. ||2|| Sitting down or standing up, their ways are crooked and evil. They ruin themselves, and then they ruin others. ||3|| They know nothing except evil talk. They would not even obey Brahma's orders. ||4|| They themselves are lost, and they mislead others as well. They set their own temple on fire, and then they fall asleep within it. ||5|| They laugh at others, while they themselves are one-eyed. Seeing them, Kabeer is embarrassed. ||6||1||44|| Raag Gauree Bairaagan, Kabeer Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: He does not honour his ancestors while they are alive, but he holds feasts in their honour after they have died. Tell me, how can his poor ancestors receive what the crows and the dogs have eaten up? ||1|| If only someone would tell me what real happiness is! Speaking of happiness and joy, the world is perishing. How can happiness be found? ||1||Pause|| Making gods and goddesses out of clay, people sacrifice living beings to them. Such are your dead ancestors, who cannot ask for what they want. ||2|| You murder living beings and worship lifeless things; at your very last moment, you shall suffer in terrible pain. You do not know the value of the Lord's Name; you shall drown in the terrifying world-ocean. ||3|| You worship gods and goddesses, but you do not know the Supreme Lord God. Says Kabeer, you have not remembered the Lord who has no ancestors; you are clinging to your corrupt ways. ||4||1||45|| Gauree: One who remains dead while yet alive, will live even after death; thus he merges into the Primal Void of the Absolute Lord. Remaining pure in the midst of impurity, he will never again fall into the terrifying world-ocean. ||1|| O my Lord, this is the milk to be churned. Through the Guru's Teachings, hold your mind steady and stable, and in this way, drink in the Ambrosial Nectar. ||1||Pause|| The Guru's arrow has pierced the hard core of this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, and the state of enlightenment has dawned. In the darkness of Maya, I mistook the rope for the snake, but that is over, and now I dwell in the eternal home of the Lord. ||2|| Maya has drawn her bow without an arrow, and has pierced this world, O Siblings of Destiny.

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The drowning person is blown around in the ten directions by the wind, but I hold tight to the string of the Lord's Love. ||3|| The disturbed mind has been absorbed in the Lord; duality and evil-mindedness have run away. Says Kabeer, I have seen the One Lord, the Fearless One; I am attuned to the Name of the Lord. ||4||2||46|| Gauree Bairaagan, Ti-Padas: I turned my breath inwards, and pierced through the six chakras of the body, and my awareness was centred on the Primal Void of the Absolute Lord. Search for the One who does not come or go, who does not die and is not born, O renunciate. ||1|| My mind has turned away from the world, and is absorbed in the Mind of God. By Guru's Grace, my understanding has been changed; otherwise, I was totally ignorant. ||1||Pause|| That which was near has become distant, and again, that which was distant is near, for those who realise the Lord as He is. It is like the sugar water made from the candy; only one who drinks it knows its taste. ||2|| Unto whom should I speak Your speech, O Lord; it is beyond the three qualities. Is there anyone with such discerning wisdom? Says Kabeer, as is the fuse which you apply, so is the flash you will see. ||3||3||47|| Gauree: There is no rainy season, ocean, sunshine or shade, no creation or destruction there. No life or death, no pain or pleasure is felt there. There is only the Primal Trance of Samaadhi, and no duality. ||1|| The description of the state of intuitive poise is indescribable and sublime. It is not measured, and it is not exhausted. It is neither light nor heavy. ||1||Pause|| Neither lower nor upper worlds are there; neither day nor night are there. There is no water, wind or fire; there, the True Guru is contained. ||2|| The Inaccessible and Unfathomable Lord dwells there within Himself; by Guru's Grace, He is found. Says Kabeer, I am a sacrifice to my Guru; I remain in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||3||4||48|| Gauree: With both sin and virtue, the ox of the body is purchased; the air of the breath is the capital which has appeared. The bag on its back is filled with desire; this is how we purchase the herd. ||1|| My Lord is such a wealthy merchant! He has made the whole world his peddler. ||1||Pause|| Sexual desire and anger are the tax-collectors, and the waves of the mind are the highway robbers. The five elements join together and divide up their loot. This is how our herd is disposed of! ||2|| Says Kabeer, listen, O Saints: This is the state of affairs now! Going uphill, the ox has grown weary; throwing off his load, he continues on his journey. ||3||5||49|| Gauree, Panch-Padas: For a few short days, the soul-bride stays in her parent's house; then, she must go to her in-laws. The blind, foolish and ignorant people do not know this. ||1|| Tell me, why is the bride wearing her ordinary clothes? The guests have arrived at her home, and her Husband has come to take her away. ||1||Pause|| Who has lowered the rope of the breath down, into the well of the world which we see? The rope of the breath breaks away from the pitcher of the body, and the water-carrier gets up and departs. ||2|| When the Lord and Master is kind and grants His Grace, then her affairs are all resolved.

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Then she is known as the happy soul-bride, if she contemplates the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||3|| Bound by the actions she has committed, she wanders around - see this and understand. What can we say to her? What can the poor soul-bride do? ||4|| Disappointed and hopeless, she gets up and departs. There is no support or encouragement in her consciousness. So remain attached to the Lord's Lotus Feet, and hurry to His Sanctuary, Kabeer! ||5||6||50|| Gauree : The Yogi says that Yoga is good and sweet, and nothing else is, O Siblings of Destiny. Those who shave their heads, and those who amputate their limbs, and those who utter only a single word, all say that they have attained the spiritual perfection of the Siddhas. ||1|| Without the Lord, the blind ones are deluded by doubt. And those, to whom I go to find release - they themselves are bound by all sorts of chains. ||1||Pause|| The soul is re-absorbed into that from which it originated, when one leaves this path of errors. The scholarly Pandits, the virtuous, the brave and the generous, all assert that they alone are great. ||2|| He alone understands, whom the Lord inspires to understand. Without understanding, what can anyone do? Meeting the True Guru, the darkness is dispelled, and in this way, the jewel is obtained. ||3|| Give up the evil actions of your left and right hands, and grasp hold of the Feet of the Lord. Says Kabeer, the mute has tasted the molasses, but what can he say about it if he is asked? ||4||7||51|| Raag Gauree Poorbee, Kabeer Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Where something existed, now there is nothing. The five elements are no longer there. The Ida, the Pingala and the Sushmanaa - O human being, how can the breaths through these be counted now? ||1|| The string has been broken, and the Sky of the Tenth Gate has been destroyed. Where has your speech gone? This cynicism afflicts me, night and day; who can explain this to me and help me understand? ||1||Pause|| Where the world is - the body is not there; the mind is not there either. The Joiner is forever unattached; now, within whom is the soul said to be contained? ||2|| By joining the elements, people cannot join them, and by breaking, they cannot be broken, until the body perishes. Of whom is the soul the master, and of whom is it the servant? Where, and to whom does it go? ||3|| Says Kabeer, I have lovingly focused my attention on that place where the Lord dwells, day and night. Only He Himself truly knows the secrets of His mystery; He is eternal and indestructible. ||4||1||52|| Gauree: Let contemplation and intuitive meditation be your two ear-rings, and true wisdom your patched overcoat. In the cave of silence, dwell in your Yogic posture; let the subjugation of desire be your spiritual path. ||1|| O my King, I am a Yogi, a hermit, a renunciate. I do not die or suffer pain or separation. ||1||Pause|| The solar systems and galaxies are my horn; the whole world is the bag to carry my ashes. Eliminating the three qualities and finding release from this world is my deep meditation. ||2|| My mind and breath are the two gourds of my fiddle, and the Lord of all the ages is its frame.

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 185

The string has become steady, and it does not break; this guitar vibrates with the unstruck melody. ||3|| Hearing it, the mind is enraptured and becomes perfect; it does not waver, and it is not affected by Maya. Says Kabeer, the bairaagee, the renunciate, who has played such a game, is not reincarnated again into the world of form and substance. ||4||2||53|| Gauree: Nine yards, ten yards, and twenty-one yards - weave these into the full piece of cloth; take the sixty threads and add nine joints to the seventy-two on the loom. ||1|| Life weaves itself into its patterns. Leaving her home, the soul goes to the world of the weaver. ||1||Pause|| This cloth cannot be measured in yards or weighed with weights; its food is two and a half measures. If it does not obtain food right away, it quarrels with the master of the house. ||2|| How many days will you sit here, in opposition to your Lord and Master? When will this opportunity come again? Leaving his pots and pans, and the bobbins wet with his tears, the weaver soul departs in jealous anger. ||3|| The wind-pipe is empty now; the thread of the breath does not come out any longer. The thread is tangled; it has run out. So renounce the world of form and substance while you remain here, O poor soul; says Kabeer: you must understand this! ||4||3||54|| Gauree: When one light merges into another, what becomes of it then? That person, within whose heart the Lord's Name does not well up - may that person burst and die! ||1|| O my dark and beautiful Lord, my mind is attached to You. ||1||Pause|| Meeting with the Holy, the perfection of the Siddhas is obtained. What good is Yoga or indulgence in pleasures? When the two meet together, the business is conducted, and the link with the Lord's Name is established. ||2|| People believe that this is just a song, but it is a meditation on God. It is like the instructions given to the dying man at Benares. ||3|| Whoever sings or listens to the Lord's Name with conscious awareness - says Kabeer, without a doubt, in the end, he obtains the highest status. ||4||1||4||55|| Gauree: Those who try to do things by their own efforts are drowned in the terrifying world-ocean; they cannot cross over. Those who practice religious rituals and strict self-discipline - their egotistical pride shall consume their minds. ||1|| Your Lord and Master has given you the breath of life and food to sustain you; Oh, why have you forgotten Him? Human birth is a priceless jewel, which has been squandered in exchange for a worthless shell. ||1||Pause|| The thirst of desire and the hunger of doubt afflict you; you do not contemplate the Lord in your heart. Intoxicated with pride, you cheat yourself; you have not enshrined the Word of the Guru's Shabad within your mind. ||2|| Those who are deluded by sensual pleasures, who are tempted by sexual delights and enjoy wine are corrupt. But those who, through destiny and good karma, join the Society of the Saints, float over the ocean, like iron attached to wood. ||3|| I have wandered in doubt and confusion, through birth and reincarnation; now, I am so tired. I am suffering in pain and wasting away. Says Kabeer, meeting with the Guru, I have obtained supreme joy; my love and devotion have saved me. ||4||1||5||56|| Gauree: Like the straw figure of a female elephant, fashioned to trap the bull elephant, O crazy mind, the Lord of the Universe has staged the drama of this world. Attracted by the lure of sexual desire, the elephant is captured, O crazy mind, and now the halter is placed around its neck. ||1||

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So escape from corruption and immerse yourself in the Lord; take this advice, O crazy mind. You have not meditated fearlessly on the Lord, O crazy mind; you have not embarked upon the Lord's Boat. ||1||Pause|| The monkey stretches out its hand, O crazy mind, and takes a handful of corn; now unable to escape, O crazy mind, it is made to dance door to door. ||2|| Like the parrot caught in the trap, O crazy mind, you trapped by the affairs of Maya. Like the weak dye of the safflower, O crazy mind, so is the expanse of this world of form and substance. ||3|| There are so many holy shrines in which to bathe, O crazy mind, and so many gods to worship. Says Kabeer, you shall not be saved like this, O crazy mind; only by serving the Lord will you find release. ||4||1||6||57|| Gauree: Fire does not burn it, and the wind does not blow it away; thieves cannot get near it. Accumulate the wealth of the Lord's Name; that wealth does not go anywhere. ||1|| My wealth is God, the Lord of Wealth, the Lord of the Universe, the Support of the earth: this is called the most excellent wealth. The peace which is obtained by serving God, the Lord of the Universe - that peace cannot be found in kingdoms or power. ||1||Pause|| Shiva and Sanak, in their search for this wealth, became Udaasees, and renounced the world. One whose mind is filled with the Lord of liberation, and whose tongue chants the Name of the Lord, shall not be caught by the noose of Death. ||2|| My own wealth is the spiritual wisdom and devotion given by the Guru; my mind is held steady in perfect neutral balance. It is like water for the burning soul, like an anchoring support for the wandering mind; the bondage of doubt and fear is dispelled. ||3|| Says Kabeer: O you who are intoxicated with sexual desire, reflect upon this in your heart, and see. Within your home there are hundreds of thousands, millions of horses and elephants; but

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within my home is the One Lord. ||4||1||7||58|| Gauree: Like the monkey with a handful of grain, who will not let go because of greed - just so, all the deeds committed in greed ultimately become a noose around one's neck. ||1|| Without devotional worship, human life passes away in vain. Without the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, without vibrating and meditating on the Lord God, one does not abide in Truth. ||1||Pause|| Like the flower which blossoms in the wilderness with no one to enjoy its fragrance, so do people wander in reincarnation; over and over again, they are destroyed by Death. ||2|| This wealth, youth, children and spouse which the Lord has given you - this is all just a passing show. Those who are caught and entangled in these are carried away by sensual desire. ||3|| Age is the fire, and the body is the house of straw; on all four sides, this play is being played out. Says Kabeer, to cross over the terriffying world-ocean, I have taken to the Shelter of the True Guru. ||4||1||8||59|| Gauree: The water of the sperm is cloudy, and the egg of the ovary is crimson. From this clay, the puppet is fashioned. ||1|| I am nothing, and nothing is mine. This body, wealth, and all delicacies are Yours, O Lord of the Universe. ||1||Pause|| Into this clay, the breath is infused.

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By Your Power, You have set this false contrivance in motion. ||2|| Some collect hundreds of thousands of dollars, but in the end, the pitcher of the body bursts. ||3|| Says Kabeer, that single foundation which you have laid will be destroyed in an instant - you are so egotistical. ||4||1||9||60|| Gauree: Just as Dhroo and Prahlaad meditated on the Lord, so should you meditate on the Lord, O my soul. ||1|| O Lord, Merciful to the meek, I have placed my faith in You; along with all my family, I have come aboard Your boat. ||1||Pause|| When it is pleasing to Him, then He inspires us to obey the Hukam of His Command. He causes this boat to cross over. ||2|| By Guru's Grace, such understanding is infused into me; my comings and goings in reincarnation have ended. ||3|| Says Kabeer, meditate, vibrate upon the Lord, the Sustainer of the earth. In this world, in the world beyond and everywhere, He alone is the Giver. ||4||2||10||61|| Gauree 9: He leaves the womb, and comes into the world; as soon as the air touches him, he forgets his Lord and Master. ||1|| O my soul, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| You were upside-down, living in the womb; you generated the intense meditative heat of 'tapas'. Then, you escaped the fire of the belly. ||2|| After wandering through 8.4 million incarnations, you came. If you stumble and fall now, you shall find no home or place of rest. ||3|| Says Kabeer, meditate, vibrate upon the Lord, the Sustainer of the earth. He is not seen to be coming or going; He is the Knower of all. ||4||1||11||62|| Gauree Poorbee: Don't wish for a home in heaven, and don't be afraid to live in hell. Whatever will be will be, so don't get your hopes up in your mind. ||1|| Sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, from whom the most excellent treasure is obtained. ||1||Pause|| What good is chanting, penance or self-mortification? What good is fasting or cleansing baths, unless you know the way to worship the Lord God with loving devotion? ||2|| Don't feel so delighted at the sight of wealth, and don't weep at the sight of suffering and adversity. As is wealth, so is adversity; whatever the Lord proposes, comes to pass. ||3|| Says Kabeer, now I know that the Lord dwells within the hearts of His Saints; that servant performs the best service, whose heart is filled with the Lord. ||4||1||12||63|| Gauree: O my mind, even if you carry someone's burden, they don't belong to you. This world is like the perch of the bird on the tree. ||1|| I drink in the sublime essence of the Lord. With the taste of this essence, I have forgotten all other tastes. ||1||Pause|| Why should we weep at the death of others, when we ourselves are not permanent? Whoever is born shall pass away; why should we cry out in grief? ||2|| We are re-absorbed into the One from whom we came; drink in the Lord's essence, and remain attached to Him. Says Kabeer, my consciousness is filled with thoughts of remembrance of the Lord; I have become detached from the world. ||3||2||13||64|| Raag Gauree: The bride gazes at the path, and sighs with tearful eyes.

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Her heart is not happy, but she does not retrace her steps, in hopes of seeing the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan. ||1|| So fly away, black crow, so that I may quickly meet my Beloved Lord. ||1||Pause|| Says Kabeer, to obtain the status of eternal life, worship the Lord with devotion. The Name of the Lord is my only Support; with my tongue, I chant the Lord's Name. ||2||1||14||65|| Raag Gauree 11: All around, there are thick bushes of sweet basil, and there in the midst of the forest, the Lord is singing with joy. Beholding His wondrous beauty, the milk-maid was entranced, and said, "Please don't leave me; please don't come and go!"||1|| My mind is attached to Your Feet, O Archer of the Universe; he alone meets You, who is blessed by great good fortune. ||1||Pause|| In Brindaaban, where Krishna grazes his cows, he entices and fascinates my mind. You are my Lord Master, the Archer of the Universe; my name is Kabeer. ||2||2||15||66|| Gauree Poorbee 12: Many people wear various robes, but what is the use of living in the forest? What good does it do if a man burns incense before his gods? What good does it do to dip one's body in water? ||1|| O soul, I know that I will have to depart. You ignorant idiot: understand the Imperishable Lord. Whatever you see, you will not see that again, but still, you cling to Maya. ||1||Pause|| The spiritual teachers, meditators and the great preachers are all engrossed in these worldly affairs. Says Kabeer, without the Name of the One Lord, this world is blinded by Maya. ||2||1||16||67|| Gauree 12: O people, O victims of this Maya, abandon your doubts and dance out in the open. What sort of a hero is one who is afraid to face the battle? What sort of satee is she who, when her time comes, starts collecting her pots and pans? ||1|| Stop your wavering, O crazy people! Now that you have taken up the challenge of death, let yourself burn and die, and attain perfection. ||1||Pause|| The world is engrossed in sexual desire, anger and Maya; in this way it is plundered and ruined. Says Kabeer, do not forsake the Lord, your Sovereign King, the Highest of the High. ||2||2||17||68|| Gauree 13: Your Command is upon my head, and I no longer question it. You are the river, and You are the boatman; salvation comes from You. ||1|| O human being, embrace the Lord's meditation, whether your Lord and Master is angry with you or in love with you. ||1||Pause|| Your Name is my Support, like the flower blossoming in the water. Says Kabeer, I am the slave of Your home; I live or die as You will. ||2||18||69|| Gauree: Wandering through 8.4 million incarnations, Krishna's father Nand was totally exhausted. Because of his devotion, Krishna was incarnated in his home; how great was the good fortune of this poor man! ||1|| You say that Krishna was Nand's son, but whose son was Nand himself? When there was no earth or ether or the ten directions, where was this Nand then? ||1||Pause||

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He does not fall into misfortune, and He does not take birth; His Name is the Immaculate Lord. Kabeer's Lord is such a Lord and Master, who has no mother or father. ||2||19||70|| Gauree: Slander me, slander me - go ahead, people, and slander me. Slander is pleasing to the Lord's humble servant. Slander is my father, slander is my mother. ||1||Pause|| If I am slandered, I go to heaven; the wealth of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, abides within my mind. If my heart is pure, and I am slandered, then the slanderer washes my clothes. ||1|| One who slanders me is my friend; the slanderer is in my thoughts. The slanderer is the one who prevents me from being slandered. The slanderer wishes me long life. ||2|| I have love and affection for the slanderer. Slander is my salvation. Slander is the best thing for servant Kabeer. The slanderer is drowned, while I am carried across. ||3||20||71|| O my Sovereign Lord King, You are Fearless; You are the Carrier to carry us across, O my Lord King. ||1||Pause|| When I was, then You were not; now that You are, I am not. Now, You and I have become one; seeing this, my mind is content. ||1|| When there was wisdom, how could there be strength? Now that there is wisdom, strength cannot prevail. Says Kabeer, the Lord has taken away my wisdom, and I have attained spiritual perfection. ||2||21||72|| Gauree: He fashioned the body chamber with six rings, and placed within it the incomparable thing. He made the breath of life the watchman, with lock and key to protect it; the Creator did this in no time at all. ||1|| Keep your mind awake and aware now, O Sibling of Destiny. You were careless, and you have wasted your life; your home is being plundered by thieves. ||1||Pause|| The five senses stand as guards at the gate, but now can they be trusted? When you are conscious in your consciousness, you shall be enlightened and illuminated. ||2|| Seeing the nine openings of the body, the soul-bride is led astray; she does not obtain that incomparable thing. Says Kabeer, the nine openings of the body are being plundered; rise up to the Tenth Gate, and discover the true essence. ||3||22||73|| Gauree: O mother, I do not know any other, except Him. My breath of life resides in Him, whose praises are sung by Shiva and Sanak and so many others. ||Pause|| My heart is illuminated by spiritual wisdom; meeting the Guru, I meditate in the Sky of the Tenth Gate. The diseases of corruption, fear and bondage have run away; my mind has come to know peace in its own true home. ||1|| Imbued with a balanced single-mindedness, I know and obey God; nothing else enters my mind. My mind has become fragrant with the scent of sandalwood; I have renounced egotistical selfishness and conceit. ||2|| That humble being, who sings and meditates on the Praises of his Lord and Master, is the dwelling-place of God. He is blessed with great good fortune; the Lord abides in his mind. Good karma radiates from his forehead. ||3|| I have broken the bonds of Maya; the intuitive peace and poise of Shiva has dawned within me, and I am merged in oneness with the One.

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Says Kabeer, meeting the Guru, I have found absolute peace. My mind has ceased its wanderings; I am happy. ||4||23||74|| Raag Gauree Poorbee, Baawan Akhree Of Kabeer Jee: One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. By Guru's Grace: Through these fifty-two letters, the three worlds and all things are described. These letters shall perish; they cannot describe the Imperishable Lord. ||1|| Wherever there is speech, there are letters. Where there is no speech, there, the mind rests on nothing. He is in both speech and silence. No one can know Him as He is. ||2|| If I come to know the Lord, what can I say; what good does it do to speak? He is contained in the seed of the banyan-tree, and yet, His expanse spreads across the three worlds. ||3|| One who knows the Lord understands His mystery, and bit by bit, the mystery disappears. Turning away from the world, one's mind is pierced through with this mystery, and one obtains the Indestructible, Impenetrable Lord. ||4|| The Muslim knows the Muslim way of life; the Hindu knows the Vedas and Puraanas. To instruct their minds, people ought to study some sort of spiritual wisdom. ||5|| I know only the One, the Universal Creator, the Primal Being. I do not believe in anyone whom the Lord writes and erases. If someone knows the One, the Universal Creator, he shall not perish, since he knows Him. ||6|| KAKKA: When the rays of Divine Light come into the heart-lotus, the moon-light of Maya cannot enter the basket of the mind. And if one obtains the subtle fragrance of that spiritual flower, he cannot describe the indescribable; he could speak, but who would understand? ||7|| KHAKHA: The mind has entered this cave. It does not leave this cave to wander in the ten directions. Knowing their Lord and Master, people show compassion; then, they become immortal, and attain the state of eternal dignity. ||8|| GAGGA: One who understands the Guru's Word does not listen to anything else. He remains like a hermit and does not go anywhere, when he grasps the Ungraspable Lord and dwells in the sky of the Tenth Gate. ||9|| GHAGHA: He dwells in each and every heart. Even when the body-pitcher bursts, he does not diminish. When someone finds the Path to the Lord within his own heart, why should he abandon that Path to follow some other path? ||10|| NGANGA: Restrain yourself, love the Lord, and dismiss your doubts. Even if you do not see the Path, do not run away; this is the highest wisdom. ||11|| CHACHA: He painted the great picture of the world. Forget this picture, and remember the Painter. This wondrous painting is now the problem. Forget this picture and focus your consciousness on the Painter. ||12|| CHHACHHA: The Sovereign Lord of the Universe is here with you. Why are you so unhappy? Why don't you abandon your desires? O my mind, each and every moment I try to instruct you, but you forsake Him, and entangle yourself with others. ||13|| JAJJA: If someone burns his body while he is still alive, and burns away the desires of his youth, then he finds the right way. When he burns his desire for his own wealth, and that of others, then he finds the Divine Light. ||14||

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JHAJHA: You are entangled in the world, and you do not know how to get untangled. You hold back in fear, and are not approved by the Lord. Why do you talk such nonsense, trying to convince others? Stirring up arguments, you shall only obtain more arguments. ||15|| NYANYA: He dwells near you, deep within your heart; why do you leave Him and go far away? I searched the whole world for Him, but I found Him near myself. ||16|| TATTA: It is such a difficult path, to find Him within your own heart. Open the doors within, and enter the Mansion of His Presence. Beholding the Immovable Lord, you shall not slip and go anywhere else. You shall remain firmly attached to the Lord, and your heart will be happy. ||17|| T'HAT'HA: Keep yourself far away from this mirage. With great difficulty, I have calmed my mind. That cheater, who cheated and devoured the whole world - I have cheated that cheater, and my mind is now at peace. ||18|| DADDA: When the Fear of God wells up, other fears depart. Other fears are absorbed into that Fear. When one rejects the Fear of God, then other fears cling to him. But if he becomes fearless, the fears of his heart run away. ||19|| DHADHA: Why do you search in other directions? Searching for Him like this, the breath of life runs out. When I returned after climbing the mountain, I found Him in the fortress - the fortress which He Himself made. ||20|| NANNA: The warrior who fights on the battle-field should keep up and press on. He should not yield, and he should not retreat. Blessed is the coming of one who conquers the one and renounces the many. ||21|| TATTA: The impassable world-ocean cannot be crossed over; the body remains embroiled in the three worlds. But when the Lord of the three worlds enters into the body, then one's essence merges with the essence of reality, and the True Lord is attained. ||22|| T'HAT'HA: He is Unfathomable; His depths cannot be fathomed. He is Unfathomable; this body is impermanent, and unstable. The mortal builds his dwelling upon this tiny space; without any pillars, he wishes to support a mansion. ||23|| DADDA: Whatever is seen shall perish. Contemplate the One who is unseen. When the key is inserted in the Tenth Gate, then the Blessed Vision of the Merciful Lord's Darshan is seen. ||24|| DHADHA: When one ascends from the lower realms of the earth to the higher realms of the heavens, then everything is resolved. The Lord dwells in both the lower and higher worlds. Leaving the earth, the soul ascends to the heavens; then, the lower and higher join together, and peace is obtained. ||25|| NANNA: The days and

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nights go by; I am looking for the Lord. Looking for Him, my eyes have become blood-shot. After looking and looking,when He is finally found, then the one who was looking merges into the One who was looked for. ||26|| PAPPA: He is limitless; His limits cannot be found. I have attuned myself to the Supreme Light. One who controls his five senses rises above both sin and virtue. ||27|| FAFFA: Even without the flower, the fruit is produced. One who looks at a slice of that fruit and reflects on it, will not be consigned to reincarnation. A slice of that fruit slices all bodies. ||28|| BABBA: When one drop blends with another drop, then these drops cannot be separated again. Become the Lord's slave, and hold tight to His meditation.

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If you turn your thoughts to the Lord, the Lord will take care of you like a relative. ||29|| BHABHA: When doubt is pierced, union is achieved. I have shattered my fear, and now I have come to have faith. I thought that He was outside of me, but now I know that He is within me. When I came to understand this mystery, then I recognised the Lord. ||30|| MAMMA: Clinging to the source, the mind is satisfied. One who knows this mystery understands his own mind. Let no one delay in uniting his mind. Those who obtain the True Lord are immersed in delight. ||31|| MAMMA: The mortal's business is with his own mind; one who disciplines his mind attains perfection. Only the mind can deal with the mind; says Kabeer, I have not met anything like the mind. ||32|| This mind is Shakti; this mind is Shiva. This mind is the life of the five elements. When this mind is channeled, and guided to enlightenment, it can describe the secrets of the three worlds. ||33|| YAYYA: If you know anything, then destroy your evil-mindedness, and subjugate the body-village. When you are engaged in the battle, don't run away; then, you shall be known as a spiritual hero. ||34|| RARRA: I have found tastes to be tasteless. Becoming tasteless, I have realised that taste. Abandoning these tastes, I have found that taste. Drinking in that taste, this taste is no longer pleasing. ||35|| LALLA: Embrace such love for the Lord in your mind, that you shall not have to go to any other; you shall attain the supreme truth. And if you embrace love and affection for Him there, then you shall obtain the Lord; obtaining Him, you shall be absorbed in His Feet. ||36|| WAWA: Time and time again, dwell upon the Lord. Dwelling upon the Lord, defeat shall not come to you. I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice to those, who sing the praises of the Saints, the sons of the Lord. Meeting the Lord, total Truth is obtained. ||37|| WAWA: Know Him. By knowing Him, this mortal becomes Him. When this soul and that Lord are blended, then, having been blended, they cannot be known separately. ||38|| SASSA: Discipline your mind with sublime perfection. Refrain from that talk which attracts the heart. The heart is attracted, when love wells up. The King of the three worlds is perfectly pervading and permeating there. ||39|| KHAKHA: Anyone who seeks Him, and by seeking Him, finds Him, shall not be born again. When someone seeks Him, and comes to understand and contemplate Him, then he crosses over the terrifying world-ocean in an instant. ||40|| SASSA: The bed of the soul-bride is adorned by her Husband Lord; her skepticism is dispelled. Renouncing the shallow pleasures of the world, she obtains the supreme delight. Then, she is the soul-bride; He is called her Husband Lord. ||41|| HAHA: He exists, but He is not known to exist. When He is known to exist, then the mind is pleased and appeased. Of course the Lord exists, if one could only understand Him. Then, He alone exists, and not this mortal being. ||42|| Everyone goes around saying, "I'll take this, and I'll take that." Because of that, they suffer in terrible pain. When someone comes to love the Lord of Lakhshmi, his sorrow departs, and he obtains total peace. ||43|| KHAKHA: Many have wasted their lives, and then perished. Wasting away, they do not remember the Lord, even now. But if someone, even now, comes to know the transitory nature of the world and restrain his mind, he shall find his permanent home, from which he was separated. ||44||

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The fifty-two letters have been joined together. But people cannot recognise the One Word of God. Kabeer speaks the Shabad, the Word of Truth. One who is a Pandit, a religious scholar, must remain fearless. It is the business of the scholarly person to join letters. The spiritual person contemplates the essence of reality. According to the wisdom within the mind, says Kabeer, so does one come to understand. ||45|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Raag Gauree, T'hitee ~ The Lunar Days Of Kabeer Jee: Shalok: There are fifteen lunar days, and seven days of the week. Says Kabeer, it is neither here nor there. When the Siddhas and seekers come to know the Lord's mystery, they themselves become the Creator; they themselves become the Divine Lord. ||1|| T'HITEE: On the day of the new moon, give up your hopes. Remember the Lord, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. You shall attain the Gate of Liberation while yet alive. You shall come to know the Shabad, the Word of the Fearless Lord, and the essence of your own inner being. ||1|| One who enshrines love for the Lotus Feet of the Lord of the Universe - by the Grace of the Saints, her mind becomes pure; night and day, she remains awake and aware, singing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises. ||1||Pause|| On the first day of the lunar cycle, contemplate the Beloved Lord. He is playing within the heart; He has no body - He is Infinite. The pain of death never consumes that person who remains absorbed in the Primal Lord God. ||2|| On the second day of the lunar cycle, know that there are two beings within the fiber of the body. Maya and God are blended with everything. God does not increase or decrease. He is unknowable and immaculate; He does not change. ||3|| On the third day of the lunar cycle, one who maintains his equilibrium amidst the three modes finds the source of ecstasy and the highest status. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, faith wells up. Outwardly, and deep within, God's Light is always radiant. ||4|| On the fourth day of the lunar cycle, restrain your fickle mind, and do not ever associate with sexual desire or anger. On land and sea, He Himself is in Himself. He Himself meditates and chants His Chant. ||5|| On the fifth day of the lunar cycle, the five elements expand outward. Men are occupied in the pursuit of gold and women. How rare are those who drink in the pure essence of the Lord's Love. They shall never again suffer the pains of old age and death. ||6|| On the sixth day of the lunar cycle, the six chakras run in six directions. Without enlightenment, the body does not remain steady. So erase your duality and hold tight to forgiveness, and you will not have to endure the torture of karma or religious rituals. ||7|| On the seventh day of the lunar cycle, know the Word as True, and you shall be accepted by the Lord, the Supreme Soul. Your doubts shall be eradicated, and your pains eliminated, and in the ocean of the celestial void, you shall find peace. ||8|| On the eighth day of the lunar cycle, the body is made of the eight ingredients. Within it is the Unknowable Lord, the King of the supreme treasure. The Guru, who knows this spiritual wisdom, reveals the secret of this mystery. Turning away from the world, He abides in the Unbreakable and Impenetrable Lord. ||9|| On the ninth day of the lunar cycle, discipline the nine gates of the body. Keep your pulsating desires restrained. Forget all your greed and emotional attachment;

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you shall live throughout the ages, eating the fruit of immortality. ||10|| On the tenth day of the lunar cycle, there is ecstasy in all directions. Doubt is dispelled, and the Lord of the Universe is met. He is the Embodiment of light, the incomparable essence. He is stainless, without stain, beyond both sunshine and shade. ||11|| On the eleventh day of the lunar cycle, if you run in the direction of the One, you will not have to suffer the pains of reincarnation again. Your body will become cool, immaculate and pure. The Lord was said to be far away, but He is found near at hand. ||12|| On the twelfth day of the lunar cycle, twelve suns rise. Day and night, the celestial bugles vibrate the unstruck melody. Then, one beholds the Father of the three worlds. This is wonderful! The human being has become God! ||13|| On the thirteenth day of the lunar cycle, the thirteen holy books proclaim that you must recognise the Lord in the nether regions of the underworld as well as the heavens. There is no high or low, no honour or dishonour. The Lord is pervading and permeating all. ||14|| On the fourteenth day of the lunar cycle, in the fourteen worlds and on each and every hair, the Lord abides. Centre yourself and meditate on truth and contentment. Speak the speech of God's spiritual wisdom. ||15|| On the day of the full moon, the full moon fills the heavens. Its power is diffused through its gentle light. In the beginning, in the end, and in the middle, God remains firm and steady. Kabeer is immersed in the ocean of peace. ||16|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Raag Gauree, The Seven Days Of The Week Of Kabeer Jee: Sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord each and every day. Meeting with the Guru, you shall come to know the mystery of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| On Sunday, begin the devotional worship of the Lord, and restrain the desires within the temple of the body. When your attention is focused day and night upon that imperishable place, then the celestial flutes play the unstruck melody in tranquil peace and poise. ||1|| On Monday, the Ambrosial Nectar trickles down from the moon. Tasting it, all poisons are removed in an instant. Restrained by Gurbani, the mind remains indoors; drinking in this Nectar, it is intoxicated. ||2|| On Tuesday, understand reality; you must know the way the five thieves work. Those who leave their own home to go out wandering shall feel the terrible wrath of the Lord, their King. ||3|| On Wednesday, one's understanding is enlightened. The Lord comes to dwell in the lotus of the heart. Meeting the Guru, one comes to look alike upon pleasure and pain, and the inverted lotus is turned upright. ||4|| On Thursday, wash off your corruption. Forsake the trinity, and attach yourself to the One God. At the confluence of the three rivers of knowledge, right action and devotion, there, why not wash away your sinful mistakes? ||5|| On Friday, keep up and complete your fast; day and night, you must fight against your own self. If you restrain your five senses, then you shall not cast your glance on another. ||6|| On Saturday, keep the candle of God's Light steady within your heart; you will be enlightened, inwardly and outwardly. All your karma will be erased. ||7||

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Know that as long as you place your hopes in others, you shall not find the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. When you embrace love for the Lord, says Kabeer, then, you shall become pure in your very fiber. ||8||1|| Raag Gauree Chaytee, The Word Of Naam Dayv Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: God makes even stones float. So why shouldn't Your humble slave also float across, chanting Your Name, O Lord? ||1||Pause|| You saved the prostitute, and the ugly hunch-back; You helped the hunter and Ajaamal swim across as well. The hunter who shot Krishna in the foot - even he was liberated. I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice to those who chant the Lord's Name. ||1|| You saved Bidur, the son of the slave-girl, and Sudama; You restored Ugrasain to his throne. Without meditation, without penance, without a good family, without good deeds, Naam Dayv's Lord and Master saved them all. ||2||1|| Raag Gauree, Padas Of Ravi Daas Jee, Gauree Gwaarayree: One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. By Guru's Grace: The company I keep is wretched and low, and I am anxious day and night; my actions are crooked, and I am of lowly birth. ||1|| O Lord, Master of the earth, Life of the soul, please do not forget me! I am Your humble servant. ||1||Pause|| Take away my pains, and bless Your humble servant with Your Sublime Love. I shall not leave Your Feet, even though my body may perish. ||2|| Says Ravi Daas, I seek the protection of Your Sanctuary; please, meet Your humble servant - do not delay! ||3||1|| Baygumpura, 'the city without sorrow', is the name of the town. There is no suffering or anxiety there. There are no troubles or taxes on commodities there. There is no fear, blemish or downfall there. ||1|| Now, I have found this most excellent city. There is lasting peace and safety there, O Siblings of Destiny. ||1||Pause|| God's Kingdom is steady, stable and eternal. There is no second or third status; all are equal there. That city is populous and eternally famous. Those who live there are wealthy and contented. ||2|| They stroll about freely, just as they please. They know the Mansion of the Lord's Presence, and no one blocks their way. Says Ravi Daas, the emancipated shoe-maker: whoever is a citizen there, is a friend of mine. ||3||2|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Gauree Bairaagan, Ravi Daas Jee: The path to God is very treacherous and mountainous, and all I have is this worthless ox. I offer this one prayer to the Lord, to preserve my capital. ||1|| Is there any merchant of the Lord to join me? My cargo is loaded, and now I am leaving. ||1||Pause||

Section 07 - Raag Gauree - Part 196

I am the merchant of the Lord; I deal in spiritual wisdom. I have loaded the Wealth of the Lord's Name; the world has loaded poison. ||2|| O you who know this world and the world beyond: write whatever nonsense you please about me. The club of the Messenger of Death shall not strike me, since I have cast off all entanglements. ||3|| Love of this world is like the pale, temporary colour of the safflower. The colour of my Lord's Love, however, is permanent, like the dye of the madder plant. So says Ravi Daas, the tanner. ||4||1|| Gauree Poorbee, Ravi Daas Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The frog in the deep well knows nothing of its own country or other lands; just so, my mind, infatuated with corruption, understands nothing about this world or the next. ||1|| O Lord of all worlds: reveal to me, even for an instant, the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. ||1||Pause|| My intellect is polluted; I cannot understand Your state, O Lord. Take pity on me, dispel my doubts, and teach me true wisdom. ||2|| Even the great Yogis cannot describe Your Glorious Virtues; they are beyond words. I am dedicated to Your loving devotional worship, says Ravi Daas the tanner. ||3||1|| Gauree Bairaagan: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: In the Golden Age of Sat Yuga, was Truth; in the Silver Age of Trayta Yuga, charitable feasts; in the Brass Age of Dwaapar Yuga, there was worship. In those three ages, people held to these three ways. But in the Iron Age of Kali Yuga, the Name of the Lord is your only Support. ||1|| How can I swim across? No one has explained to me, so that I might understand how I can escape reincarnation. ||1||Pause|| So many forms of religion have been described; the whole world is practicing them. What actions will bring emancipation, and total perfection? ||2|| One may distinguish between good and evil actions, and listen to the Vedas and the Puraanas, but doubt still persists. Skepticism continually dwells in the heart, so who can eradicate egotistical pride? ||3|| Outwardly, he washes with water, but deep within, his heart is tarnished by all sorts of vices. So how can he become pure? His method of purification is like that of an elephant, covering himself with dust right after his bath! ||4|| With the rising of the sun, the night is brought to its end; the whole world knows this. It is believed that with the touch of the Philosopher's Stone, copper is

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immediately transformed into gold. ||5|| When one meets the Supreme Philosopher's Stone, the Guru, if such pre-ordained destiny is written on one's forehead, then the soul blends with the Supreme Soul, and the stubborn doors are opened wide. ||6|| Through the way of devotion, the intellect is imbued with Truth; doubts, entanglements and vices are cut away. The mind is restrained, and one attains joy, contemplating the One Lord, who is both with and without qualities. ||7|| I have tried many methods, but by turning it away, the noose of doubt is not turned away. Love and devotion have not welled up within me, and so Ravi Daas is sad and depressed. ||8||1||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 8 - RAAG AASAA

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 001

One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying. Beyond Birth. Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: Raag Aasaa, First Mehl, First House, So Dar ~ That Gate: What is that Gate, and what is that Home, in which You sit and take care of all? Countless musical instruments of so many various kinds vibrate there for You; so many are the musicians there for You. There are so many Ragas there for You, along with their accompanying harmonies; so many minstrels sing to You. The winds sing to You, as do water and fire; the Righteous Judge of Dharma sings at Your Door. Chitar and Gupat, the recording angels of the conscious and the subconscious, sing to You; they know, and they write, and on the basis of what they write, the Lord of Dharma passes judgement. Shiva and Brahma and the Goddess Parvaati, so beautiful and ever adorned by You, sing to You. The Indras, seated upon their celestial thrones, with the deities at Your Gate, sing to You. The Siddhas in Samaadhi sing to You, and the Holy Saints, in their contemplative meditation, sing to You. The celibates, the truthful and the patient beings sing to You, and the mighty warriors sing to You. The scholarly Pandits sing to You, along with the holy Rishis and the readers of the Vedas throughout the ages. The Mohinis, the heavenly beauties who entice the heart in paradise, in this world and in the nether regions, sing to You. The fourteen priceless jewels created by You, and the sixty-eight holy places of pilgrimage, sing to You. The mighty warriors and the divine heroes sing to You, and the four sources of creation sing to You. The continents, the worlds and the solar systems, created and installed by Your Hand, sing to You. They alone sing to You, who are pleasing to Your Will, and who are imbued with the nectar of Your devotional worship. So many others sing to You, they do not come into my mind; how can Nanak think of them? That Lord and Master - He is True, forever True; He is True, and True is His Name. He who created the creation is True, and He shall always be True; He shall not depart, even when the creation departs. He created the world of Maya with its various colours and species. Having created the creation, He Himself watches over it, as it pleases His Greatness. Whatever pleases Him, that is what He does. No one can issue any commands to Him.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 002

He is the King, the King of Kings, the Emperor of Kings! Nanak lives in surrender to His Will. ||1||1|| Aasaa, Fourth Mehl: That Lord is Immaculate; the Lord God is Immaculate. The Lord is Unapproachable, Unfathomable and Incomparable. All meditate, all meditate on You, O Dear Lord, O True Creator. All beings are Yours; You are the Giver of all beings. So meditate on the Lord, O Saints; He is the One who takes away all pain. The Lord Himself is the Master, and He Himself is His own servant. O Nanak, how insignificant are mortal beings! ||1|| You are totally pervading within each and every heart; O Lord, You are the One Primal Being, All-permeating. Some are givers, and some are beggars; all of this is Your wondrous play! You Yourself are the Giver, and You Yourself are the Enjoyer. I know of no other than You. You are the Supreme Lord God, Infinite and Eternal; what Glorious Praises of Yours should I speak and chant? Unto those who serve, unto those who serve You, slave Nanak is a sacrifice. ||2|| Those who meditate on the Lord, those who meditate on You, O Dear Lord, those humble beings dwell in peace in this world. They are liberated, they are liberated, who meditate on the Lord; the noose of Death is cut away from them. Those who meditate on the Fearless One, on the Fearless Lord, all their fears are dispelled. Those who have served, those who have served my Dear Lord, are absorbed into the Being of the Lord, Har, Har. Blessed are they, blessed are they, who have meditated on the Dear Lord; slave Nanak is a sacrifice to them. ||3|| Devotion to You, devotion to You, is a treasure, overflowing, infinite and endless. Your devotees, Your devotees praise You, O Dear Lord, in many and various ways. For You, so many, for You, so very many, O Dear Lord, perform worship and adoration; they practice penance and endlessly chant in meditation. For You, many - for You, so very many read the various Simritees and Shaastras; they perform religious rituals and the six ceremonies. Those devotees, those devotees are good, O servant Nanak, who are pleasing to my Lord God. ||4|| You are the Primal Being, the Unrivalled Creator Lord; there is no other as Great as You. You are the One, age after age; forever and ever, You are One and the same. You are the Eternal, Unchanging Creator. Whatever pleases You comes to pass. Whatever You Yourself do, happens. You Yourself created the entire Universe, and having done so, You Yourself shall destroy it all. Servant Nanak sings the Glorious Praises of the Creator, the Knower of all. ||5||2|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Raag Aasaa, First Mehl, Chaupaday, Second House: Hearing, everyone calls You Great, but only one who has seen You, knows just how Great You are.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 003

No one can measure Your Worth, or describe You. Those who describe You, remain absorbed in You. ||1||

O my Great Lord and Master of Unfathomable Depth, You are the Ocean of Excellence. No one knows the greatness of Your expanse. ||1||Pause|| All the contemplators met together and practiced contemplation; all the appraisers met together and tried to appraise You. The theologians, the meditators and the teachers of teachers could not express even an iota of Your Greatness. ||2|| All Truth, all austerities, all goodness, and the greatness of the Siddhas, the beings of perfect spiritual powers - without You, none has attained such spiritual powers. They are obtained by Your Grace; their flow cannot be blocked. ||3|| What can the helpless speaker do? Your bounties are overflowing with Your Praises. And the one, unto whom You give - why should he think of any other? O Nanak, the True Lord is the Embellisher. ||4||1|| Aasaa, First Mehl: Chanting the Name, I live; forgetting it, I die. It is so difficult to chant the True Name. If someone feels hunger for the True Name, then that hunger shall consume his pains. ||1|| So how could I ever forget Him, O my Mother? True is the Master, and True is His Name. ||1||Pause|| People have grown weary of trying to appraise the greatness of the True Name, but they have not been able to appraise even an iota of it. Even if they were all to meet together and recount them, You would not be made any greater or lesser. ||2|| He does not die - there is no reason to mourn. He continues to give, but His Provisions are never exhausted. This Glorious Virtue is His alone - no one else is like Him; there has never been anyone like Him, and there never shall be. ||3|| As Great as You Yourself are, so Great are Your Gifts. It is You who created day and night as well. Those who forget their Lord and Master are vile and despicable. O Nanak, without the Name, people are wretched outcasts. ||4||2|| Aasaa, First Mehl: If a beggar cries out at the door, the Master hears it in His Mansion. Whether He receives him or pushes him away, it is the Gift of the Lord's Greatness. ||1|| Recognise the Lord's Light within all, and do not consider social class or status; there are no classes or castes in the world hereafter. ||1||Pause|| He Himself acts, and He Himself inspires us to act. He Himself considers our complaints. Since You, O Creator Lord, are the Doer, why should I submit to the world? ||2|| You Yourself created and You Yourself give. You Yourself eliminate evil-mindedness; by Guru's Grace, You come to abide in our minds, and then, pain and darkness are dispelled from within. ||3|| He Himself infuses love for the Truth. Unto others, the Truth is not bestowed. If He bestows it upon someone, says Nanak, then, in the world hereafter, that person is not called to account. ||4||3|| Aasaa, First Mehl: The urges of the heart are like cymbals and ankle-bells; the drum of the world resounds with the beat. Naarad dances to the tune of the Dark Age of Kali Yuga; where can the celibates and the men of truth place their feet? ||1|| Nanak is a sacrifice to the Naam, the Name of the Lord. The world is blind; our Lord and Master is All-seeing. ||1||Pause|| The disciple feeds on the Guru; out of love for bread, he comes to dwell in his home.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 004

If one were to live and eat for hundreds of years, that day alone would be auspicious, when he recognises his Lord and Master. ||2|| Beholding the sight of the petitioner, compassion is not aroused. No one lives without give and take. The king administers justice only if his palm is greased. No one is moved by the Name of God. ||3|| O Nanak, they are human beings in form and name only; by their deeds they are dogs - this is the Command of the Lord's Court. By Guru's Grace, if one sees himself as a guest in this world, then he gains honour in the Court of the Lord. ||4||4|| Aasaa, First Mehl: As much as the Shabad is in the mind, so much is Your melody; as much as the form of the universe is, so much is Your body, Lord. You Yourself are the tongue, and You Yourself are the nose. Do not speak of any other, O my mother. ||1|| My Lord and Master is One; He is the One and Only; O Siblings of Destiny, He is the One alone. ||1||Pause|| He Himself kills, and He Himself emancipates; He Himself gives and takes. He Himself beholds, and He Himself rejoices; He Himself bestows His Glance of Grace. ||2|| Whatever He is to do, that is what He is doing. No one else can do anything. As He projects Himself, so do we describe Him; this is all Your Glorious Greatness, Lord. ||3|| The Dark Age of Kali Yuga is the bottle of wine; Maya is the sweet wine, and the intoxicated mind continues to drink it in. He Himself assumes all sorts of forms; thus poor Nanak speaks. ||4||5|| Aasaa, First Mehl: Make your intellect your instrument, and love your tambourine; thus bliss and lasting pleasure shall be produced in your mind. This is devotional worship, and this is the practice of penance. So dance in this love, and keep the beat with your feet. ||1|| Know that the perfect beat is the Praise of the Lord; other dances produce only temporary pleasure in the mind. ||1||Pause|| Play the two cymbals of truth and contentment. Let your ankle bells be the lasting Vision of the Lord. Let your harmony and music be the elimination of duality. So dance in this love, and keep the beat with your feet. ||2|| Let the fear of God within your heart and mind be your spinning dance, and keep up, whether sitting or standing. To roll around in the dust is to know that the body is only ashes. So dance in this love, and keep the beat with your feet. ||3|| Keep the company of the disciples, the students who love the teachings. As Gurmukh, listen to the True Name. O Nanak, chant it, over and over again. So dance in this love, and keep the beat with your feet. ||4||6|| Aasaa, First Mehl: He created the air, and He supports the whole world; he bound water and fire together. The blind, ten-headed Raavan had his heads cut off, but what greatness was obtained by killing him? ||1|| What Glories of Yours can be chanted? You are totally pervading everywhere; You love and cherish all. ||1||Pause|| You created all beings, and You hold the world in Your Hands; what greatness is it to put a ring in the nose of the black cobra, as Krishna did? Whose Husband are You? Who is Your wife? You are subtly diffused and pervading in all. ||2|| Brahma, the bestower of blessings, entered the stem of the lotus, with his relatives, to find the extent of the universe. Proceeding on, he could not find its limits; what glory was obtained by killing Kansa, the king? ||3|| The jewels were produced and brought forth by churning the ocean of milk. The other gods proclaimed "We are the ones who did this!"

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 005

Says Nanak, by hiding, how can the Lord be hidden? He has given each their share, one by one. ||4||7|| Aasaa, First Mehl: The vine of good actions and character has spread out, and it bears the fruit of the Lord's Name. The Name has no form or outline; it vibrates with the unstruck Sound Current; through the Word of the Shabad, the Immaculate Lord is revealed. ||1|| One can speak on this only when he knows it. He alone drinks in the Ambrosial Nectar. ||1||Pause|| Those who drink it in are enraptured; their bonds and shackles are cut away. When one's light blends into the Divine Light, then the desire for Maya is ended. ||2|| Among all lights, I behold Your Form; all the worlds are Your Maya. Among the tumults and forms, He sits in serene detachment; He bestows His Glance of Grace upon those who are engrossed in the illusion. ||3|| The Yogi who plays on the instrument of the Shabad gains the Blessed Vision of the Infinitely Beautiful Lord. He, the Lord, is immersed in the Unstruck Shabad of the Word, says Nanak, the humble and meek. ||4||8|| Aasaa, First Mehl: My virtue is that I carry the load of my words upon my head. The real words are the Words of the Creator Lord. How useless are eating, drinking and laughing, if the Lord is not cherished in the heart! ||1|| Why should someone care for anything else, if throughout his life, he gathers in that which is truly worth gathering? ||1||Pause|| The intellect of the mind is like a drunken elephant. Whatever one utters is totally false, the most false of the false. So what face should we put on to offer our prayer, when both virtue and vice are close at hand as witnesses? ||2|| As You make us, so we become. Without You, there is no other at all. As is the understanding which You bestow, so do we receive. As it pleases Your Will, so do You lead us. ||3|| The divine crystalline harmonies, their consorts, and their celestial families - from them, the essence of Ambrosial Nectar is produced. O Nanak, this is the wealth and property of the Creator Lord. If only this essential reality were understood! ||4||9|| Aasaa, First Mehl: When by His Grace He came to my home, then my companions met together to celebrate my marriage. Beholding this play, my mind became blissful; my Husband Lord has come to marry me. ||1|| So sing - yes, sing the songs of wisdom and reflection, O brides. My spouse, the Life of the world, has come into my home. ||1||Pause|| When I was married within the Gurdwara, the Guru's Gate, I met my Husband Lord, and I came to know Him. The Word of His Shabad is pervading the three worlds; when my ego was quieted, my mind became happy. ||2|| He Himself arranges His own affairs; His affairs cannot be arranged by anyone else. By the affair of this marriage, truth, contentment, mercy and faith are 638

produced; but how rare is that Gurmukh who understands it! ||3|| Says Nanak, that Lord alone is the Husband of all. She, upon whom He casts His Glance of Grace, becomes the happy soul-bride. ||4||10|| Aasaa, First Mehl: Home and forest are the same, for one who dwells in the balance of intuitive peace and poise. His evil-mindedness departs, and the Praises of God take its place. To chant the True Name with one's mouth is the true ladder.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 006

Serving the True Guru, one finds one's own place within the self. ||1|| To conquer the mind is the knowledge of the six

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Shaastras. The Divine Light of the Lord God is perfectly pervading. ||1||Pause|| Excessive thirst for Maya makes people wear all sorts of religious robes. The pain of corruption destroys the body's peace. Sexual desire and anger steal the wealth of the self within. But by abandoning duality, one is emancipated through the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||2|| In the Lord's Praise and adoration is intuitive peace, poise and bliss. The Love of the Lord God is one's family and friends. He Himself is the Doer, and He Himself is the Forgiver. My body and mind belong to the Lord; my life is at His Command. ||3|| Falsehood and corruption cause terrible suffering. All the religious robes and social classes look just like dust. Whoever is born, continues to come and go. O Nanak, only the Naam and the Lord's Command are eternal and everlasting. ||4||11|| Aasaa, First Mehl: In the pool is the one incomparably beautiful lotus. It blossoms continually; its form is pure and fragrant. The swans pick up the bright jewels. They take on the essence of the All-powerful Lord of the Universe. ||1|| Whoever is seen, is subject to birth and death. In the pool without water, the lotus is not seen. ||1||Pause|| How rare are those who know and understand this secret. The Vedas continually speak of the three branches. One who merges into the knowledge of the Lord as absolute and related, serves the True Guru and obtains the supreme status. ||2|| One who is imbued with the Love of the Lord and dwells continually upon Him is liberated. He is the king of kings, and blossoms forth continually. That one whom You preserve, by bestowing Your Mercy, O Lord, even the sinking stone - You float that one across. ||3|| Your Light is pervading the three worlds; I know that You are permeating the three worlds. When my mind turned away from Maya, I came to dwell in my own home. Nanak falls at the feet of that person who immerses himself in the Lord's Love, and performs devotional worship night and day. ||4||12|| Aasaa, First Mehl: Receiving the True Teachings from the Guru, arguments depart. But through excessive cleverness, one is only plastered with dirt. The filth of attachment is removed by the True Name of the Lord. By Guru's Grace, one remains lovingly attached to the Lord. ||1|| He is the Presence Ever-present; offer your prayers to Him. Pain and pleasure are in the Hands of God, the True Creator. ||1||Pause|| One who practices falsehood comes and goes. By speaking and talking, His limits cannot be found. Whatever one sees, is not understood. Without the Name, satisfaction does not enter into the mind. ||2|| Whoever is born is afflicted by disease, tortured by the pain of egotism and Maya. They alone are saved, who are protected by God. Serving the True Guru, they drink in the Amrit, the Ambrosial Nectar. ||3|| The unstable mind is restrained by tasting this Nectar. Serving the True Guru, one comes to cherish the Ambrosial Nectar of the Shabad. Through the True Word of the Shabad, the state of liberation is obtained. O Nanak, self-conceit is eradicated from within. ||4||13|| Aasaa, First Mehl: Whatever He has done, has proved to be true. The True Guru bestows the Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord. With the Naam in the heart, the mind is not separated from the Lord. Night and day, one dwells with the Beloved. ||1|| O Lord, please keep me in the Protection of Your Sanctuary.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 007

By Guru's Grace, I have obtained the sublime essence of the Lord; I have received the wealth of the Naam and the nine treasures. ||1||Pause|| Those whose karma and Dharma - whose actions and faith - are in the True Name of the True Lord - I am forever a sacrifice to them. Those who are imbued with the Lord are accepted and respected. In their company, the supreme wealth is obtained. ||2|| Blessed is that bride, who has obtained the Lord as her Husband. She is imbued with the Lord, and she reflects upon the Word of His Shabad. She saves herself, and saves her family and friends as well. She serves the True Guru, and contemplates the essence of reality. ||3|| The True Name is my social status and honour. The love of the Truth is my karma and Dharma - my faith and my actions, and my self-control. O Nanak, one who is forgiven by the Lord is not called to account. The One Lord erases duality. ||4||14|| Aasaa, First Mehl: Some come, and after they come, they go. Some are imbued with the Lord; they remain absorbed in Him. Some find no place of rest at all, on the earth or in the sky. Those who do not meditate on the Name of the Lord are the most unfortunate. ||1|| From the Perfect Guru, the way to salvation is obtained. This world is a terrifying ocean of poison; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the Lord helps us cross over. ||1||Pause|| Those, whom God unites with Himself, cannot be crushed by death. The beloved Gurmukhs remain immaculately pure, like the lotus in the water, which remains untouched. ||2|| Tell me: who should we call good or bad? Behold the Lord God; the truth is revealed to the Gurmukh. I speak the Unspoken Speech of the Lord, contemplating the Guru's Teachings. I join the Sangat, the Guru's Congregation, and I find God's limits. ||3|| The Shaastras, the Vedas, the Simritees and all their many secrets; bathing at the sixty-eight holy places of pilgrimage - all this is found by enshrining the sublime essence of the Lord in the heart. The Gurmukhs are immaculately pure; no filth sticks to them. O Nanak, the Naam, the Name of the Lord, abides in the heart, by the greatest pre-ordained destiny. ||4||15|| Aasaa, First Mehl: Bowing down, again and again, I fall at the Feet of my Guru; through Him, I have seen the Lord, the Divine Self, within. Through contemplation and meditation, the Lord dwells within the heart; see this, and understand. ||1|| So speak the Lord's Name, which shall emancipate you. By Guru's Grace, the jewel of the Lord is found; ignorance is dispelled, and the Divine Light shines forth. ||1||Pause|| By merely saying it with the tongue, one's bonds are not broken, and egotism and doubt do not depart from within. But when one meets the True Guru, egotism departs, and then, one realises his destiny. ||2|| The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is sweet and dear to His devotees; it is the ocean of peace - enshrine it within the heart. The Lover of His devotees, the Life of the World, the Lord bestows the Guru's Teachings upon the intellect, and one is emancipated. ||3|| One who dies fighting against his own stubborn mind finds God, and the desires of the mind are quieted. O Nanak, if the Life of the World bestows His Mercy, one is intuitively attuned to the Love of the Lord. ||4||16|| Aasaa, First Mehl: Unto whom do they speak? Unto whom do they preach? Who understands? Let them understand themselves. Who do they teach? Through study, they come to realise the Lord's Glorious Virtues. Through the Shabad, the Word of the True Guru, they come to dwell in contentment. ||1||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 008

Through the Guru's Teachings, realise that He is pervading in all bodies; O my soul, vibrate on the Profound, Unfathomable Lord. ||1||Pause|| Loving devotion to the Lord brings endless waves of joy and delight. One who dwells with the Glorious Praises of the Lord, night and day, is sanctified. The birth into the world of the faithless cynic is totally useless. The humble devotee of the Lord remains unattached. ||2|| The body which sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord is sanctified. The soul remains conscious of the Lord, absorbed in His Love. The Lord is the Infinite Primal Being, beyond the beyond, the priceless jewel. My mind is totally content, imbued with my Beloved. ||3|| Those who speak and babble on and on, are truly dead. God is not far away - O God, You are right here. I have seen that the whole world is engrossed in Maya. O Nanak, through the Guru's Teachings, I meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||4||17|| Aasaa, First Mehl, Ti-Tukas: One is a beggar, living on charity; another is a king, absorbed in himself. One receives honour, and another dishonour. The Lord destroys and creates; He is enshrined in His meditation. There is no other as great as You. So whom should I present to You? Who is good enough? ||1|| The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is my only Support. You are the Great Giver, the Doer, the Creator. ||1||Pause|| I have not walked on Your Path; I have followed the crooked path. In the Court of the Lord, I find no place to sit. I am mentally blind, in the bondage of Maya. The wall of my body is breaking down, wearing away, growing weaker. You have such high hopes of eating and living - your breaths and morsels of food are already counted! ||2|| Night and day they are blind - please, bless them with Your Light. They are drowning in the terrifying world-ocean, crying out in pain. I am a sacrifice to those who chant, hear and believe in the Name. Nanak utters this one prayer; soul and body, all belong to You, Lord. ||3|| When You bless me, I chant Your Name. Thus I find my seat in the Court of the Lord. When it pleases You, evil-mindedness departs, and the jewel of spiritual wisdom comes to dwell in the mind. When the Lord bestows His Glance of Grace, then one comes to meet the True Guru. Prays Nanak, carry us across the terrifying world-ocean. ||4||18|| Aasaa, First Mehl, Panch-Padas: A cow without milk; a bird without wings; a garden without water - totally useless! What is an emperor, without respect? The chamber of the soul is so dark, without the Name of the Lord. ||1|| How could I ever forget You? It would be so painful! I would suffer such pain - no, I shall not forget You! ||1||Pause|| The eyes grow blind, the tongue does not taste, and the ears do not hear any sound. He walks on his feet only when supported by someone else; without serving the Lord, such are the fruits of life. ||2|| The Word is the tree; the garden of the heart is the farm; tend it, and irrigate it with the Lord's Love. All these trees bear the fruit of the Name of the One Lord; but without the karma of good actions, how can anyone obtain it? ||3|| As many living beings are there are, they are all Yours. Without selfless service, no one obtains any reward. Pain and pleasure come by Your Will; without the Name, the soul does not even exist. ||4|| To die in the Teachings is to live. Otherwise, what is life? That is not the way.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 009

Says Nanak, He grants life to the living beings; O Lord, please keep me according to Your Will. ||5||19|| Aasaa, First Mehl: Let the body be the Brahmin, and let the mind be the loin-cloth; let spiritual wisdom be the sacred thread, and meditation the ceremonial ring. I seek the Name of the Lord and His Praise as my cleansing bath. By Guru's Grace, I am absorbed into God. ||1|| O Pandit, O religious scholar, contemplate God in such a way that His Name may sanctify you, that His Name may be your study, and His Name your wisdom and way of life. ||1||Pause|| The outer sacred thread is worthwhile only as long as the Divine Light is within. So make the remembrance of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, your loin-cloth and the ceremonial mark on your forehead. Here and hereafter, the Name alone shall stand by you. Do not seek any other actions, except the Name. ||2|| Worship the Lord in loving adoration, and burn your desire for Maya. Behold only the One Lord, and do not seek out any other. Become aware of reality, in the Sky of the Tenth Gate; read aloud the Lord's Word, and contemplate it. ||3|| With the diet of His Love, doubt and fear depart. With the Lord as your night watchman, no thief will dare to break in. Let the knowledge of the One God be the ceremonial mark on your forehead. Let the realisation that God is within you be your discrimination. ||4|| Through ritual actions, God cannot be won over; by reciting sacred scriptures, His value cannot be estimated. The eighteen Puraanas and the four Vedas do not know His mystery. O Nanak, the True Guru has shown me the Lord God. ||5||20|| Aasaa, First Mehl: He alone is the selfless servant, slave and humble devotee, who as Gurmukh, becomes the slave of his Lord and Master. He, who created the Universe, shall ultimately destroy it. Without Him, there is no other at all. ||1|| Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the Gurmukh reflects upon the True Name; in the True Court, he is found to be true. ||1||Pause|| The true supplication, the true prayer - within the Mansion of His Sublime Presence, the True Lord Master hears and applauds these. He summons the truthful to His Heavenly Throne and bestows glorious greatness upon them; that which He wills, comes to pass. ||2|| The Power is Yours; You are my only Support. The Word of the Guru's Shabad is my true password. One who obeys the Hukam of the Lord's Command, goes to Him openly. With the password of truth, his way is not blocked. ||3|| The Pandit reads and expounds on the Vedas, but he does not know the secret of the thing within himself. Without the Guru, understanding and realisation are not obtained; but still God is True, pervading everywhere. ||4|| What should I say, or speak or describe? Only You Yourself know, O Lord of total wonder. Nanak takes the Support of the Door of the One God. There, at the True Door, the Gurmukhs sustain themselves. ||5||21|| Aasaa, First Mehl: The clay pitcher of the body is miserable; it suffers in pain through birth and death. How can this terrifying world-ocean be crossed over? Without the Lord - Guru, it cannot be crossed. ||1|| Without You, there is no other at all, O my Beloved; without you, there is no other at all. You are in all colours and forms; he alone is forgiven, upon whom You bestow Your Glance of Grace. ||1||Pause|| Maya, my mother-in-law, is evil; she does not let me live in my own home. The vicious one does not let me meet with my Husband Lord. I serve at the feet of my companions and friends; the Lord has showered me with His Mercy, through Guru's Grace. ||2||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 010

Reflecting upon my self, and conquering my mind, I have seen that there is no other friend like You. As You keep me, so do I live. You are the Giver of peace and pleasure. Whatever You do, comes to pass. ||3|| Hope and desire have both been dispelled; I have renounced my longing for the three qualities. The Gurmukh obtains the state of ecstasy, taking to the Shelter of the Saints' Congregation. ||4|| All wisdom and meditation, all chanting and penance, come to one whose heart is filled with the Invisible, Inscrutable Lord. O Nanak, one whose mind is imbued with the Lord's Name, finds the Guru's Teachings, and intuitively serves. ||5||22|| Aasaa, First Mehl, Panch-Padas: Your attachment to your family, your attachment to all your affairs - renounce all your attachments, for they are all corrupt. ||1|| Renounce your attachments and doubts, O brother, and dwell upon the True Name within your heart and body. ||1||Pause|| When one receives the nine treasures of the True Name, his children do not weep, and his mother does not grieve. ||2|| In this attachment, the world is drowning. Few are the Gurmukhs who swim across. ||3|| In this attachment, people are reincarnated over and over again. Attached to emotional attachment, they go to the city of Death. ||4|| You have received the Guru's Teachings - now practice meditation and penance. If attachment is not broken, no one is approved. ||5|| But if He bestows His Glance of Grace, then this attachment departs. O Nanak, then one remains merged in the Lord. ||6||23|| Aasaa, First Mehl: He Himself does everything, the True, Invisible, Infinite Lord. I am a sinner, You are the Forgiver. ||1|| By Your Will, everything come to pass. One who acts in stubborn-mindedness is ruined in the end. ||1||Pause|| The intellect of the self-willed manmukh is engrossed in falsehood. Without the meditative remembrance of the Lord, it suffers in sin. ||2|| Renounce evil-mindedness, and you shall reap the rewards. Whoever is born, comes through the Unknowable and Mysterious Lord. ||3|| Such is my Friend and Companion; meeting with the Guru, the Lord, devotion was implanted within me. ||4|| In all other transactions, one suffers loss. The Name of the Lord is pleasing to Nanak's mind. ||5||24|| Aasaa,

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First Mehl, Chau-Padas: Contemplate and reflect upon knowledge, and you will become a benefactor to others. When you conquer the five passions, then you shall come to dwell at the sacred shrine of pilgrimage. ||1|| You shall hear the vibrations of the tinkling bells, when your mind is held steady. So what can the Messenger of Death do to me hereafter? ||1||Pause|| When you abandon hope and desire, then you become a true Sannyaasi. When the Yogi practices abstinence, then he enjoys his body. ||2|| Through compassion, the naked hermit reflects upon his inner self. He slays his own self, instead of slaying others. ||3|| You, O Lord, are the One, but You have so many Forms. Nanak does not know Your wondrous plays. ||4||25|| Aasaa, First Mehl: I am not stained by only one sin, that could be washed clean by virtue. My Husband Lord is awake, while I sleep through the entire night of my life. ||1|| In this way, how can I become dear to my Husband Lord? My Husband Lord remains awake, while I sleep through the entire night of my life. ||1||Pause||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 011

With hope and desire, I approach His Bed, but I do not know whether He will be pleased with me or not. ||2|| How do I know what will happen to me, O my mother? Without the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan, I cannot survive. ||1||Pause|| I have not tasted His Love, and my thirst is not quenched. My beautiful youth has run away, and now I, the soul-bride, repent and regret. ||3|| Even now, I am held by hope and desire. I am depressed; I have no hope at all. ||1||Pause|| She overcomes her egotism, and adorns herself; the Husband Lord now ravishes and enjoys the soul-bride on His Bed. ||4|| Then, O Nanak, the bride becomes pleasing to the Mind of her Husband Lord; she sheds her self-conceit, and is absorbed in her Lord and Master. ||1||Pause||26|| Aasaa, First Mehl: In this world of my father's house, I, the soul-bride, have been very childish; I did not realise the value of my Husband Lord. ||1|| My Husband is the One; there is no other like Him. If He bestows His Glance of Grace, then I shall meet Him. ||1||Pause|| In the next world of my in-law's house, I, the the soul-bride, shall realise Truth; I shall come to know the celestial peace of my Husband Lord. ||2|| By Guru's Grace, such wisdom comes to me, so that the soul-bride becomes pleasing to the Mind of the Husband Lord. ||3|| Says Nanak, she who adorns herself with the Love and the Fear of God, enjoys her Husband Lord forever on His Bed. ||4||27|| Aasaa, First Mehl: No one is anyone else's son, and no one is anyone else's mother. Through false attachments, people wander around in doubt. ||1|| O My Lord and Master, I am created by You. If You give it to me, I will chant Your Name. ||1||Pause|| That person who is filled with all sorts of sins may pray at the Lord's Door, but he is forgiven only when the Lord so wills. ||2|| By Guru's Grace, evil-mindedness is destroyed. Wherever I look, there I find the One Lord. ||3|| Says Nanak, if one comes to such an understanding, then he is absorbed into the Truest of the True. ||4||28|| Aasaa, First Mehl, Du-Padas: In that pool of the world, the people have their homes; there, the Lord has created water and fire. In the mud of earthly attachment, their feet have become mired, and I have seen them drowning there. ||1|| O foolish people, why don't you remember the One Lord? Forgetting the Lord, your virtues shall wither away. ||1||Pause|| I am not a celibate, nor am I truthful, nor a scholar; I was born foolish and ignorant. Prays Nanak, I seek the Sanctuary of those who do not forget You, Lord. ||2||29|| Aasaa, First Mehl: There are six systems of philosophy, six teachers, and six doctrines; but the Teacher of teachers is the One Lord, who appears in so many forms. ||1|| That system, where the Praises of the Creator are sung - follow that system; in it rests greatness. ||1||Pause|| As the seconds, minutes, hours, days, weekdays months and seasons all originate from the one sun, O Nanak, so do all forms originate from the One Creator. ||2||30||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 012

One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Aasaa, Third House, First Mehl: You may have thousands of armies, thousands of marching bands and lances, and thousands of men to rise and salute you. Your rule may extend over thousands of miles, and thousands of men may rise to honour you. But, if your honour is of no account to the Lord, then all of your ostentatious show is useless. ||1|| Without the Name of the Lord, the world is in turmoil. Even though the fool may be taught again and again, he remains the blindest of the blind. ||1||Pause|| You may earn thousands, collect thousands, and spend thousands of dollars; thousands may come, and thousands may go. But, if your honour is of no account to the Lord, then where will you go to find a safe haven? ||2|| Thousands of Shaastras may be explained to the mortal, and thousands of Pandits may read the Puraanas to him; but, if his honour is of no account to the Lord, then all of this is unacceptable. ||3|| Honour comes from the True Name, the Name of the Merciful Creator. If it abides in the heart, day and night, O Nanak, then the mortal shall swim across, by His Grace. ||4||1||31|| Aasaa, First Mehl: The One Name is my lamp; I have put the oil of suffering into it. Its flame has dried up this oil, and I have escaped my meeting with the Messenger of Death. ||1|| O people, do not make fun of me. Thousands of wooden logs, piled up together, need only a tiny flame to burn. ||1||Pause|| The Lord is my festive dish, of rice balls on leafy plates; the True Name of the Creator Lord is my funeral ceremony. Here and hereafter, in the past and in the future, this is my support. ||2|| The Lord's Praise is my River Ganges and my city of Benares; my soul takes its sacred cleansing bath there. That becomes my true cleansing bath, if night and day, I enshrine love for You. ||3|| The rice balls are offered to the gods and the dead ancestors, but it is the Brahmins who eat them! O Nanak, the rice balls of the Lord are a gift which is never exhausted. ||4||2||32|| Aasaa, Fourth House, First Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The Gods, yearning for the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan, suffered through pain and hunger at the sacred shrines. The yogis and the celibates live their disciplined lifestyle, while others wear saffron robes and become hermits. ||1|| For Your sake, O Lord Master, they are imbued with love. Your Names are so many, and Your Forms are endless. No one can tell how may Glorious Virtues You have. ||1||Pause|| Leaving behind hearth and home, palaces, elephants, horses and native lands, mortals have journeyed to foreign lands. The spiritual leaders, prophets, seers and men of faith renounced the world, and became acceptable. ||2|| Renouncing tasty delicacies, comfort, happiness and pleasures, some have abandoned their clothes and now wear skins. Those who suffer in pain, imbued with Your Name, have become beggars at Your Door. ||3|| Some wear skins, and carry begging bowls, bearing wooden staffs, and sitting on deer skins. Others raise their hair in tufts and wear sacred threads and loin-cloths. You are the Lord Master, I am just Your puppet. Prays Nanak, what is my social status to be? ||4||1||33||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 013

Aasaa, Fifth House, First Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The five evil passions dwell hidden within the mind. They do not remain still, but move around like wanderers. ||1|| My soul does not stay held by the Merciful Lord. It is greedy, deceitful, sinful and hypocritical, and totally attached to Maya. ||1||Pause|| I will decorate my neck with garlands of flowers. When I meet my Beloved, then I will put on my decorations. ||2|| I have five companions and one Spouse. It is ordained from the very beginning, that the soul must ultimately depart. ||3|| The five companions will lament together. When the soul is trapped, prays Nanak, it is called to account. ||4||1||34|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Aasaa, Sixth House, First Mehl: If the pearl of the mind is strung like a jewel on the thread of the breath, and the soul-bride adorns her body with compassion, then the Beloved Lord will enjoy His lovely bride. ||1|| O my Love, I am fascinated by Your many glories; Your Glorious Virtues are not found in any other. ||1||Pause|| If the bride wears the garland of the Lord's Name, Har, Har, around her neck, and if she uses the toothbrush of the Lord; and if she fashions and wears the bracelet of the Creator Lord around her wrist, then she shall hold her consciousness steady. ||2|| She should make the Lord, the Slayer of demons, her ring, and take the Transcendent Lord as her silken clothes. The soul-bride should weave patience into the braids of her hair, and apply the lotion of the Lord, the Great Lover. ||3|| If she lights the lamp in the mansion of her mind, and makes her body the bed of the Lord, then, when the King of spiritual wisdom comes to her bed, He shall take her, and enjoy her. ||4||1||35|| Aasaa, First Mehl: The created being acts as he is made to act; what can be said to him, O Siblings of Destiny? Whatever the Lord is to do, He is doing; what cleverness could be used to affect Him? ||1|| The Order of Your Will is so sweet, O Lord; this is pleasing to You. O Nanak, he alone is honoured with greatness, who is absorbed in the True Name. ||1||Pause|| The deeds are done according to pre-ordained destiny; no one can turn back this Order. As it is written, so it comes to pass; no one can erase it. ||2|| He who talks on and on in the Lord's Court is known as a joker. He is not successful in the game of chess, and his chessmen do not reach their goal. ||3|| By himself, no one is literate, learned or wise; no one is ignorant or evil. When, as a slave, one praises the Lord, only then is he known as a human being. ||4||2||36|| Aasaa, First Mehl: Let the Word of the Guru's Shabad be the ear-rings in your mind, and wear the patched coat of tolerance. Whatever the Lord does, look upon that as good; thus you shall obtain the treasure of Sehj Yoga. ||1||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 014

O father, the soul which is united in union as a Yogi, remains united in the supreme essence throughout the ages. One who has obtained the Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Immaculate Lord - his body enjoys the pleasure of spiritual wisdom. ||1||Pause|| In the Lord's City, he sits in his Yogic posture, and he forsakes his desires and conflicts. The sound of the horn ever rings out its beautiful melody, and day and night, he is filled with the sound current of the Naad. ||2|| My cup is reflective meditation, and spiritual wisdom is my walking stick; to dwell in the Lord's Presence is the ashes I apply to my body. The Praise of the Lord is my occupation; and to live as Gurmukh is my pure religion. ||3|| My arm-rest is to see the Lord's Light in all, although their forms and colours are so numerous. Says Nanak, listen, O Bharthari Yogi: love only the Supreme Lord God. ||4||3||37|| Aasaa, First Mehl: Make spiritual wisdom your molasses, and meditation your scented flowers; let good deeds be the herbs. Let devotional faith be the distilling fire, and your love the ceramic cup. Thus the sweet nectar of life is distilled. ||1|| O Baba, the mind is intoxicated with the Naam, drinking in its Nectar. It remains absorbed in the Lord's Love. Night and day, remaining attached to the Love of the Lord, the celestial music of the Shabad resounds. ||1||Pause|| The Perfect Lord naturally gives the cup of Truth, to the one upon whom He casts His Glance of Grace. One who trades in this Nectar - how could he ever love the wine of the world? ||2|| The Teachings of the Guru, the Ambrosial Bani - drinking them in, one becomes acceptable and renowned. Unto the one who loves the Lord's Court, and the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, of what use is liberation or paradise? ||3|| Imbued with the Lord's Praises, one is forever a Bairaagee, a renunciate, and one's life is not lost in the gamble. Says Nanak, listen, O Bharthari Yogi: drink in the intoxicating nectar of the Lord. ||4||4||38|| Aasaa, First Mehl: Having attacked Khuraasaan, Baabar terrified Hindustan. The Creator Himself does not take the blame, but has sent the Mugal as the messenger of death. There was so much slaughter that the people screamed. Didn't You feel compassion, Lord? ||1|| O Creator Lord, You are the Master of all. If some powerful man strikes out against another man, then no one feels any grief in their mind. ||1||Pause|| But if a powerful tiger attacks a flock of sheep and kills them, then its master must answer for it. This priceless country has been laid waste and defiled by dogs, and no one pays any attention to the dead. You Yourself unite, and You Yourself separate; I gaze upon Your Glorious Greatness. ||2|| One may give himself a great name, and revel in the pleasures of the mind, but in the Eyes of the Lord and Master, he is just a worm, for all the corn that he eats. Only one who dies to his ego while yet alive, obtains the blessings, O Nanak, by chanting the Lord's Name. ||3||5||39|| Raag Aasaa, Second House, Third Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan is obtained by great good fortune. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, true detachment is obtained. The six systems of philosophy are pervasive,

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 015

but the Guru's system is profound and unequalled. ||1|| The Guru's system is the way to liberation. The True Lord Himself comes to dwell in the mind. ||1||Pause|| Through the Guru's system, the world is saved, if it is embraced with love and affection. How rare is that person who truly loves the Guru's Way. Through the Guru's system, everlasting peace is obtained. ||2|| Through the Guru's system, the Door of Salvation is obtained. Serving the True Guru, one's family is saved. There is no salvation for those who have no Guru. Beguiled by worthless sins, they are struck down. ||3|| Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the body finds peace and tranquility. The Gurmukh is not afflicted by pain. The Messenger of Death does not come near him. O Nanak, the Gurmukh is absorbed in the True Lord. ||4||1||40|| Aasaa, Third Mehl: One who dies in the Word of the Shabad, eradicates his self-conceit from within. He serves the True Guru, with no iota of self-interest. The Fearless Lord, the Great Giver, ever abides in his mind. The True Bani of the Word is obtained only by good destiny. ||1|| So gather merits, and let your demerits depart from within you. You shall be absorbed into the Shabad, the Word of the Perfect Guru. ||1||Pause|| One who purchases merits, knows the value of these merits. He chants the Ambrosial Nectar of the Word, and the Name of the Lord. Through the True Bani of the Word, he becomes pure. Through merit, the Name is obtained. ||2|| The invaluable merits cannot be acquired. The pure mind is absorbed into the True Word of the Shabad. How very fortunate are those who meditate on the Naam, and ever enshrine in their minds the Lord, the Giver of merit. ||3|| I am a sacrifice to those who gather merits. At the Gate of Truth, I sing the Glorious Praises of the True One. He Himself spontaneously bestows His gifts. O Nanak, the value of the Lord cannot be described. ||4||2||41|| Aasaa, Third Mehl: Great is the greatness of the True Guru; He merges in His Merger, those who have been separated for so long. He Himself merges the merged in His Merger. He Himself knows His own worth. ||1|| How can anyone appraise the Lord's worth? Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, one may merge with the Infinite, Unapproachable and Incomprehensible Lord. ||1||Pause|| Few are the Gurmukhs who know His worth. How rare are those who receive the Lord's Grace. Through the Sublime Bani of His Word, one becomes sublime. The Gurmukh chants the Word of the Shabad. ||2|| Without the Name, the body suffers in pain; but when one meets the True Guru, then that pain is removed. Without meeting the Guru, the mortal earns only pain. The self-willed manmukh receives only more punishment. ||3|| The

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essence of the Lord's Name is so very sweet; he alone drinks it, whom the Lord causes to drink it. By Guru's Grace, the essence of the Lord is obtained. O Nanak, imbued with the Naam, the Name of the Lord, salvation is attained. ||4||3||42|| Aasaa, Third Mehl: My God is True, deep and profound. Serving Him, the body acquires peace and tranquility. Through the Word of the Shabad, His humble servants easily swim across. I fall at their feet forever and ever. ||1||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 016

Those being whose minds are imbued and drenched with the Lord's Love - their pains of birth and death are taken away. They are automatically ushered into the Court of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| One who has tasted the Shabad, obtains the true flavor. The Name of the Lord abides within his mind. The Lord God is Eternal and All-pervading. He Himself is near, and He Himself is far away. ||2|| Everyone talks and speaks through speech; the Lord Himself forgives, and unites us with Himself. By merely speaking and talking, He is not obtained. By Guru's Grace, He comes to abide in the mind. ||3|| The Gurmukh eradicates his self-conceit from within. He is imbued with the Lord's Love, having discarded worldly attachment. He contemplates the utterly Immaculate Word of the Guru's Shabad. O Nanak, the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is our Salvation. ||4||4||43|| Aasaa, Third Mehl: Attached to the love of duality, one only incurs pain. Without the Word of the Shabad, one's life is wasted away in vain. Serving the True Guru, understanding is obtained, and then, one is not attached to the love of duality. ||1|| Those who hold fast to their roots, become acceptable. Night and day, they meditate within their hearts on the Lord's Name; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, they know the One Lord. ||1||Pause|| One who is attached to the branch, does not receive the fruits. For blind actions, blind punishment is received. The blind, self-willed manmukh finds no place of rest. He is a maggot in manure, and in manure he shall rot away. ||2|| Serving the Guru, everlasting peace is obtained. Joining the True Congregation, the Sat Sangat, the Glorious Praises of the Lord are sung. One who contemplates the Naam, the Name of the Lord, saves himself, and his family as well. ||3|| Through the Word of the Guru's Bani, the Naam resounds; O Nanak, through the Word of the Shabad, one finds the Mansion of the Lord's Presence within the home of the heart. Under Guru's Instruction, bathe in the Pool of Truth, in the Water of the Lord; thus the filth of evil-mindedness and sin shall all be washed away. ||4||5||44|| Aasaa, Third Mehl: The self-willed manmukhs are dying; they are wasting away in death. In the love of duality, they murder their own souls. Crying out, "Mine, mine!", they are ruined. They do not remember their souls; they are asleep in superstition. ||1|| He alone dies a real death, who dies in the Word of the Shabad. The Guru has inspired me to realise, that praise and slander are one and the same; in this world, the profit is obtained by chanting the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Those who lack the Naam, the Name of the Lord, are dissolved within the womb. Useless is the birth of those who are lured by duality. Without the Naam, all are burning in pain. The Perfect True Guru has given me this understanding. ||2|| The fickle mind is struck down so many times. Having lost this opportunity, no place of rest shall be found. Cast into the womb of reincarnation, the mortal lives in manure; in such a home, the self-willed manmukh takes up residence. ||3|| I am forever a sacrifice to my True Guru; the light of the Gurmukh blends with the Divine Light of the Lord. Through the Immaculate Bani of the Word, the mortal dwells within the home of his own inner self. O Nanak, he conquers his ego, and remains forever detached. ||4||6||45|| Aasaa, Third Mehl: The Lord's slave sets aside his own social status.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 017

He dedicates his mind and body to the True Guru, and seeks His Sanctuary. His greatest greatness is that the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is in his heart. The Beloved Lord God is his constant companion. ||1|| He alone is the Lord's slave, who remains dead while yet alive. He looks upon pleasure and pain alike; by Guru's Grace, he is saved through the Word of the Shabad. ||1||Pause|| He does his deeds according to the Lord's Primal Command. Without the Shabad, no one is approved. Singing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises, the Naam abides within the mind. He Himself gives His gifts, without hesitation. ||2|| The self-willed manmukh wanders around the world in doubt. Without any capital, he makes false transactions. Without any capital, he does not obtain any merchandise. The mistaken manmukh wastes away his life. ||3|| One who serves the True Guru is the Lord's slave. His social status is exalted, and his reputation is exalted. Climbing the Guru's Ladder, he becomes the most exalted of all. O Nanak, through the Naam, the Name of the Lord, greatness is obtained. ||4||7||46|| Aasaa, Third Mehl: The self-willed manmukh practices falsehood, only falsehood. He never attains the Mansion of the Lord Presence. Attached to duality, he wanders, deluded by doubt. Entangled in worldly attachments, he comes and goes. ||1|| Behold, the decorations of the discarded bride! Her consciousness is attached to children, spouse, wealth, and Maya, falsehood, emotional attachment, hypocrisy and corruption. ||1||Pause|| She who is pleasing to God is forever a happy soul-bride. She makes the Word of the Guru's Shabad her decoration. Her bed is so comfortable; she enjoys her Lord, night and day. Meeting her Beloved, the obtains eternal peace. ||2|| She is a true, virtuous soul-bride, who enshrines love for the True Lord. She keeps her Husband Lord always clasped to her heart. She sees Him near at hand, ever-present. My God is all-pervading everywhere. ||3|| Social status and beauty will not go with you hereafter. As are the deeds done here, so does one become. Through the Word of the Shabad, one becomes the highest of the high. O Nanak, he is absorbed in the True Lord. ||4||8||47|| Aasaa, Third Mehl: The Lord's humble servant is imbued with devotional love, effortlessly and spontaneously. Through awe and fear of the Guru, he is truly absorbed in the True One. Without the Perfect Guru, devotional love is not obtained. The self-willed manmukhs lose their honour, and cry out in pain. ||1|| O my mind, chant the Lord's Name, and meditate on Him forever. You shall always be in ecstasy, day and night, and you shall obtain the fruits of your desires. ||1||Pause|| Through the Perfect Guru, the Perfect Lord is obtained, and the Shabad, the True Name, is enshrined in the mind. One who bathes in the Pool of Ambrosial Nectar becomes immaculately pure within. He becomes forever sanctified, and is absorbed in the True Lord. ||2|| He sees the Lord God ever-present. By Guru's Grace, he sees the Lord permeating and pervading everywhere. Wherever I go, there I see Him. Without the Guru, there is no other Giver. ||3|| The Guru is the ocean, the perfect treasure, the most precious jewel and priceless ruby. By Guru's Grace, the Great Giver blesses us; O Nanak, the Forgiving Lord forgives us. ||4||9||48|| Aasaa, Third Mehl: The Guru is the Ocean; the True Guru is the Embodiment of Truth. Through perfect good destiny, one serves the Guru.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 018

He alone understands, whom the Lord Himself inspires to understand. By Guru's Grace, one serves Him. ||1|| With the jewel of spiritual wisdom, total understanding is obtained. By Guru's Grace, ignorance is dispelled; one then remains wakeful, night and day, and beholds the True Lord. ||1||Pause|| Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, attachment and pride are burnt away. From the Perfect Guru, true understanding is obtained. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, one realises the Lord's Presence within. Then, one's coming and going cease, and one becomes stable, absorbed in the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||2|| The world is tied to birth and death. The unconscious, self-willed manmukh is enveloped in the darkness of Maya and emotional attachment. He slanders others, and practices utter falsehood. He is a maggot in manure, and into manure he is absorbed. ||3|| Joining the True Congregation, the Sat Sangat, total understanding is obtained. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, devotional love for the Lord is implanted. One who surrenders to the Lord's Will is peaceful forever. O Nanak, he is absorbed into the True Lord. ||4||10||49|| Aasaa, Third Mehl, Panch-Padas: One who dies in the Word of the Shabad, finds eternal bliss. He is united with the True Guru, the Guru, the Lord God. He does not die any more, and he does not come or go. Through the Perfect Guru, he merges with the True Lord. ||1|| One who has the Naam, the Name of the Lord, written in his pre-ordained destiny, night and day, meditates forever on the Naam; he obtains the wondrous blessing of devotional love from the Perfect Guru. ||1||Pause|| Those, whom the Lord God has blended with Himself - their sublime state cannot be described. The Perfect True Guru has given the Glorious Greatness, of the most exalted order, and I am absorbed into the Lord's Name. ||2|| Whatever the Lord does, He does all by Himself. In an instant, He establishes, and disestablishes. By merely speaking, talking, shouting and preaching about the Lord, even hundreds of times, the mortal is not approved. ||3|| The Guru meets with those, who take virtue as their treasure; they listen to the True Word of the Guru's Bani, the Shabad. Pain departs, from that place where the Shabad abides. By the jewel of spiritual wisdom, one is easily absorbed into the True Lord. ||4|| No other wealth is as great as the Naam. It is bestowed only by the True Lord. Through the Perfect Word of the Shabad, it abides in the mind. O Nanak, imbued with the Naam, peace is obtained. ||5||11||50|| Aasaa, Third Mehl: One may dance and play numerous instruments; but this mind is blind and deaf, so for whose benefit is this speaking and preaching? Deep within is the fire of greed, and the dust-storm of doubt. The lamp of knowledge is not burning, and understanding is not obtained. ||1|| The Gurmukh has the light of devotional worship within his heart. Understanding his own self, he meets God. ||1||Pause|| The Gurmukh's dance is to embrace love for the Lord; to the beat of the drum, he sheds his ego from within. My God is True; He Himself is the Knower of all. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, recognise the Creator Lord within yourself. ||2|| The Gurmukh is filled with devotional love for the Beloved Lord. He intuitively reflects upon the Word of the Guru's Shabad. For the Gurmukh, loving devotional worship is the way to the True Lord. But the dances and the worship of the hypocrites bring only pain. ||3||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 019

True Devotion is to remain dead while yet alive. By Guru's Grace, one crosses over the terrible world-ocean. Through the Guru's Teachings, one's devotion is accepted, and then, the Dear Lord Himself comes to dwell in the mind. ||4|| When the Lord bestows His Mercy, He leads us to meet the True Guru. Then, one's devotion becomes steady, and the consciousness is centred upon the Lord. Those who are imbued with Devotion have truthful reputations. O Nanak, imbued with the Naam, the Name of the Lord, peace is obtained. ||5||12||51|| Aasaa, Eighth House, Kaafee, Third Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: By the Pleasure of the Lord's Will, one meets the True Guru, and true understanding is obtained. By Guru's Grace, the Lord abides in the mind, and one comes to understand the Lord. ||1|| My Husband Lord, the Great Giver, is One. There is no other at all. By Guru's merciful favor, He abides in the mind, and then, a lasting peace ensues. ||1||Pause|| In this age, the Lord's Name is fearless; it is obtained by meditative reflection upon the Guru. Without the Name, the blind, foolish, self-willed manmukh is under Death's power. ||2|| By the Pleasure of the Lord's Will, the humble being performs His service, and understands the True Lord. By the Pleasure of the Lord's Will, He is to be praised; surrendering to His Will, peace ensues. ||3|| By the Pleasure of the Lord's Will, the prize of this human birth is obtained, and the intellect is exalted. O Nanak, praise the Naam, the Name of the Lord; as Gurmukh, you shall be emancipated. ||4||39||13||52|| Aasaa, Fourth Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: You are the True Creator, my Lord Master. That which is pleasing to Your Will, comes to pass. Whatever You give, that is what I receive. ||1||Pause|| All are Yours; all meditate on You. He alone, whom You bless with Your Mercy, obtains the jewel of the Naam. The Gurmukhs obtain it, and the self-willed manmukhs lose it. You Yourself separate the mortals, and You Yourself unite them. ||1|| You are the River - all are within You. Other than You, there is no one at all. All beings and creatures are your play-things. The united ones are separated, and the separated ones are re-united. ||2|| That humble being, whom You inspire to understand, understands; he continually speaks and chants the Glorious Praises of the Lord. One who serves the Lord, obtains peace. He is easily absorbed in the Lord's Name. ||3|| You Yourself are the Creator; by Your doing, all things come to be. Without You, there is no other at all. You watch over the creation, and understand it. O servant Nanak, the Lord is revealed to the Gurmukh. ||4||1||53||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 020

One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Raag Aasaa, Second House, Fourth Mehl: Some form alliances with friends, children and siblings. Some form alliances with in-laws and relatives. Some form alliances with chiefs and leaders for their own selfish motives. My alliance is with the Lord, who is pervading everywhere. ||1|| I have formed my alliance with the Lord; the Lord is my only support. Other than the Lord, I have no other faction or alliance; I sing of the countless and endless Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Those with whom you form alliances, shall perish. Making false alliances, the mortals repent and regret in the end. Those who practice falsehood shall not last. I have formed my alliance with the Lord; there is no one more powerful than Him. ||2|| All these alliances are mere extensions of the love of Maya. Only fools argue over Maya. They are born, and they die, and they lose the game of life in the gamble. My alliance is with the Lord, who embellishes all, in this world and the next. ||3|| In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, the five thieves instigate alliances and conflicts. Sexual desire, anger, greed, emotional attachment and self-conceit have increased. One who is blessed by the Lord's Grace, joins the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. My alliance is with the Lord, who has destroyed all these alliances. ||4|| In the false love of duality, people sit and form alliances. They complain about other peoples' faults, while their own self-conceit only increases. As they plant, so shall they harvest. Servant Nanak has joined the Lord's alliance of Dharma, which shall conquer the whole world. ||5||2||54|| Aasaa, Fourth Mehl: Constantly listening to the Ambrosial Gurbani in the heart, it becomes pleasing to the mind. Through Gurbani, the Incomprehensible Lord is comprehended. ||1|| As Gurmukh, listen to the Naam, the Name of the Lord, O my sisters. The One Lord is pervading and permeating deep within the heart; with your mouth, recite the Ambrosial Hymns of the Guru. ||1||Pause|| My mind and body are filled with divine love, and great sadness. By great good fortune, I have obtained the True Guru, the Primal Being. ||2|| In the love of duality, the mortals wander through poisonous Maya. The unfortunate ones do not meet the True Guru. ||3|| The Lord Himself inspires us to drink in the Lord's Ambrosial Elixir. Through the Perfect Guru, O Nanak, the Lord is obtained. ||4||3||55|| Aasaa, Fourth Mehl: The Love of the Naam, the Name of the

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Lord, is the Support of my mind and body. I chant the Naam; the Naam is the essence of peace. ||1|| So chant the Naam, O my friends and companions. Without the Naam, there is nothing else for me. By great good fortune, as Gurmukh, I have received the Lord's Name. ||1||Pause|| Without the Naam, I cannot live. By great good fortune, the Gurmukhs obtain the Naam. ||2|| Those who lack the Naam have their faces rubbed in the dirt of Maya. Without the Naam, cursed, cursed are their lives. ||3||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 021

The Great Lord is obtained by great good destiny. O Nanak, the Gurmukh is blessed with the Naam. ||4||4||56|| Aasaa, Fourth Mehl: I sing His Glorious Praises, and through the Word of His Bani, I speak His Glorious Praises. As Gurmukh, I chant and recite the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||1|| Chanting and meditating on the Naam, my mind becomes blissful. The True Guru has implanted the True Name of the True Lord within me; I sing His Glorious Praises, and taste the supreme ecstasy. ||1||Pause|| The humble servants of the Lord sing the Lord's Glorious Praises. By great good fortune, the detached, absolute Lord is obtained. ||2|| Those without virtue are stained by Maya's filth. Lacking virtue, the egotistical die, and suffer reincarnation. ||3|| The ocean of the body yields pearls of virtue. O Nanak, the Gurmukh churns this ocean, and discovers this essence. ||4||5||57|| Aasaa, Fourth Mehl: I listen to the Naam, the Name of the Lord; the Naam is pleasing to my mind. By great good fortune, the Gurmukh obtains the Lord. ||1|| Chant the Naam, as Gurmukh, and be exalted. Without the Naam, I have no other support; the Naam is woven into all my breaths and morsels of food. ||1||Pause|| The Naam illuminates my mind; listening to it, my mind is pleased. One who speaks the Naam - he alone is my friend and companion. ||2|| Without the Naam, the fools depart naked. They burn away to death, chasing the poison of Maya, like the moth chasing the flame. ||3|| He Himself establishes, and, having established, disestablishes. O Nanak, the Lord Himself bestows the Naam. ||4||6||58|| Aasaa, Fourth Mehl: The vine of the Lord's Name, Har, Har, has taken root in the Gurmukh. It bears the fruit of the Lord; its taste is so tasty! ||1|| Chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, in endless waves of joy. Chant and repeat the Naam; through the Guru's Teachings praise the Lord, and slay the horrible serpent of the Messenger of Death. ||1||Pause|| The Lord has implanted His devotional worship in the Guru. When the Guru is pleased, He bestows it upon His Sikh, O my siblings of Destiny. ||2|| One who acts in ego, knows nothing about the Way. He acts like an elephant, who takes a bath, and then throws dust on his head. ||3|| If one's destiny is great and exalted, O Nanak, one chants the Naam, the Name of the Immaculate, True Lord. ||4||7||59|| Aasaa, Fourth Mehl: My mind suffers hunger for the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Hearing the Naam, my mind is satisfied, O my Siblings of Destiny. ||1|| Chant the Naam, O my friends, O GurSikhs. Chant the Naam, and through the Naam, obtain peace; through the Guru's Teachings, enshrine the Naam in your heart and mind. ||1||Pause|| Hearing the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the mind is in bliss. Reaping the profit of the Naam, through the Guru's Teachings, my soul has blossomed forth. ||2|| Without the Naam, the mortal is a leper, blinded by emotional attachment. All his actions are fruitless; they lead only to painful entanglements. ||3|| The very fortunate ones chant the Praises of the Lord, Har, Har, Har. O Nanak, through the Guru's Teachings, one embraces love for the Naam. ||4||8||60||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 022

One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Fourth Mehl, Raag Aasaa, 3 Of Sixth House : You may pluck the strings with your hand, O Yogi, but your playing of the harp is in vain. Under Guru's Instruction, chant the Glorious Praises of the Lord, O Yogi, and this mind of yours shall be imbued with the Lord's Love. ||1|| O Yogi, give your intellect the Teachings of the Lord. The Lord, the One Lord, is pervading throughout all the ages; I humbly bow down to Him. ||1||Pause|| You sing in so many Ragas and harmonies, and you talk so much, but this mind of yours is only playing a game. You work the well and irrigate the fields, but the oxen have already left to graze in the jungle. ||2|| In the field of the body, plant the Lord's Name, and the Lord will sprout there, like a lush green field. O mortal, hook up your unstable mind like an ox, and irrigate your fields with the Lord's Name, through the Guru's Teachings. ||3|| The Yogis, the wandering Jangams, and all the world is Yours, O Lord. According to the wisdom which You give them, so do they follow their ways. O Lord God of servant Nanak, O Inner-knower, Searcher of hearts, please link my mind to You. ||4||9||61|| Aasaa, Fourth Mehl: How long must one search for angle bells and cymbals, and how long must one play the guitar? In the brief instant between coming and going, I meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1|| Such is the devotional love which has been produced in my mind. Without the Lord, I cannot live even for an instant, like the fish which dies without water. ||1||Pause|| How long must one tune the five strings, and assemble the seven singers, and how long will they raise their voices in song? In the time it takes to select and assemble these musicians, a moment elapses, and my mind sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||2|| How long must one dance and stretch out one's feet, and how long must one reach out with one's hands? Stretching out one's hands and feet, there is a moment's delay; and then, my mind meditates on the Lord. ||3|| How long must one satisfy the people, in order to obtain honour? O servant Nanak, meditate forever in your heart on the Lord, and then everyone will congratulate you. ||4||10||62|| Aasaa, Fourth Mehl: Join the Sat Sangat, the Lord's True Congregation; joining the Company of the Holy, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. With the sparkling jewel of spiritual wisdom, the heart is illumined, and ignorance is dispelled. ||1|| O humble servant of the Lord, let your dancing be meditation on the Lord, Har, Har. If only I cold meet such Saints, O my Siblings of Destiny; I would wash the feet of such servants. ||1||Pause|| Meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, O my mind; night and day, centre your consciousness on the Lord. You shall have the fruits of your desires, and you shall never feel hunger again. ||2|| The Infinite Lord Himself is the Creator; the Lord Himself speaks, and causes us to speak. The Saints are good, who are pleasing to Your Will; their honour is approved by You. ||3|| Nanak is not satisfied by chanting the Lord's Glorious Praises; the more he chants them, the more he is at peace. The Lord Himself has bestowed the treasure of devotional love; His 668 customers purchase virtues, and carry them home. ||4||11||63||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 023

One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Raag Aasaa, Eighth House, Kaafee, Fourth Mehl: Death is ordained from the very beginning, and yet ego makes us cry. Meditating on the Naam, as Gurmukh, one becomes stable and steady. ||1|| Blessed is the Perfect Guru, through whom the way of Death is known. The sublime people earn the profit of the Naam, the Name of the Lord; they are absorbed in the Word of the Shabad. ||1||Pause|| The days of one's life are pre-ordained; they will come to their end, O mother. One must depart, today or tomorrow, according to the Lord's Primal Order. ||2|| Useless are the lives of those, who have forgotten the Naam. They play the game of chance in this world, and lose their mind. ||3|| Those who have found the Guru are at peace, in life and in death. O Nanak, the true ones are truly absorbed into the True Lord. ||4||12||64|| Aasaa, Fourth Mehl: Having obtained the treasure of this human birth, I meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. By Guru's Grace, I understand, and I am absorbed into the True Lord. ||1|| Those who have such pre-ordained destiny practice the Naam. The True Lord summons the truthful to the Mansion of His Presence. ||1||Pause|| Deep within is the treasure of the Naam; it is obtained by the Gurmukh. Night and day, meditate on the Naam, and sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||2|| Deep within are infinite substances, but the self-willed manmukh does not find them. In egotism and pride, the mortal's proud self consumes him. ||3|| O Nanak, his identity consumes his identical identity. Through the Guru's Teachings, the mind is illumined, and meets the True Lord. ||4||13||65|| Raag Aasaavaree, 2 Of Sixteenth House, Fourth Mehl, Sudhang: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Night and day, I sing the Kirtan, the Praises of the Name of the Lord. The True Guru has revealed to me the Name of the Lord; without the Lord, I cannot live, for a moment, even an instant. ||1||Pause|| My ears hear the Lord's Kirtan, and I contemplate Him; without the Lord, I cannot live, even for an instant. As the swan cannot live without the lake, how can the Lord's slave live without serving Him? ||1|| Some enshrine love for duality in their hearts, and some pledge love for worldly attachments and ego. The Lord's servant embraces love for the Lord and the state of Nirvaanaa; Nanak contemplates the Lord, the Lord God. ||2||14||66|| Aasaavaree, Fourth Mehl: O mother, my mother, tell me about my Beloved Lord. Without the Lord, I cannot live for a moment, even an instant; I love Him, like the camel loves the vine. ||1||Pause|| My mind has become sad and distant, longing for the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan, my Friend. As the bumblebee cannot live without the lotus, I cannot live without the Lord. ||1||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 024

Keep me under Your Protection, O Beloved Master of the Universe; fulfill my faith, O Lord of the World. Servant Nanak's mind is filled with bliss, when he beholds the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan, even for an instant. ||2||39||13||15||67|| Raag Aasaa, Second House, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: One who loves her, is ultimately devoured. One who seats her in comfort, is totally terrified by her. Siblings, friends and family, beholding her, argue. But she has come under my control, by Guru's Grace. ||1|| Beholding her, all are bewitched: the strivers, the Siddhas, the demi-gods, angels and mortals. All, except the Saadhus, are deceived by her deception. ||1||Pause|| Some wander around as renunciates, but they are engrossed in sexual desire. Some grow rich as householders, but she does not belong to them. Some call themselves men of charity, and she torments them terribly. The Lord has saved me, by attaching me to the Feet of the True Guru. ||2|| She leads astray the penitents who practice penance. The scholarly Pandits are all seduced by greed. The world of the three qualities is enticed, and the heavens are enticed. The True Guru has saved me, by giving me His Hand. ||3|| She is the slave of those who are spiritually wise. With her palms pressed together, she serves them and offers her prayer: "Whatever you wish, that is what I shall do." O servant Nanak, she does not draw near to the Gurmukh. ||4||1|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: I have been separated from my Beloved by Maya (my mother-in-law). Hope and desire (my younger brother-in-law and sister-in-law) are dying of grief. I am no longer swayed by the fear of Death (my elder brother-in-law). I am protected by my All-knowing, Wise Husband Lord. ||1|| Listen, O people: I have tasted the elixir of love. The evil ones are dead, and my enemies are destroyed. The True Guru has given me the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| First, I renounced my egotistical love of myself. Second, I renounced the ways of the world. Renouncing the three qualities, I look alike upon friend and enemy. And then, the fourth state of bliss was revealed to me by the Holy One. ||2|| In the cave of celestial bliss, I have obtained a seat. The Lord of Light plays the unstruck melody of bliss. I am in ecstasy, contemplating the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Imbued with my Beloved Husband Lord, I am the blessed, happy soul-bride. ||3|| Servant Nanak chants the wisdom of God; one who listens and practices it, is carried across and saved. He is not born, and he does not die; he does not come or go. He remains blended with the Lord. ||4||2|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: The bride shows such special devotion, and has such an agreeable disposition. Her beauty is incomparable, and her character is perfect. The house in which she dwells is such a praiseworthy house. But rare are those who, as Gurmukh, attain that state||1|| As the soul-bride of pure actions, I have met with the Guru.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 025

In worship, marriage and in the next world, such a soul-bride looks beautiful. ||1||Pause|| As long as she lived with her father, her Husband wandered around in sadness. I served and surrendered to the Lord, the True Being; the Guru brought my bride to my home, and I obtained total happiness. ||2|| She is blessed with all sublime attributes, and her generations are unblemished. Her Husband, her Lord and Master, fulfills her heart's desires. Hope and desire (my younger brother-in-law and sister-in-law) are now totally content. ||3|| She is the most noble of all the family. She counsels and advises her hope and desire. How blessed is that household, in which she has appeared. O servant Nanak, she passes her time in perfect peace and comfort. ||4||3|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Whatever I resolve, she does not allow it to come to pass. She stands blocking the way of goodness and self-discipline. She wears many disguises, and assumes many forms, and she does not allow me to dwell in my own home. She forces me to wander around in different directions. ||1|| She has become the mistress of my home, and she does not allow me to live in it. If I try, she fights with me. ||1||Pause|| In the beginning, she was sent as a helper, but she has overwhelmed the nine continents, all places and interspaces. She has not spared even the river banks, the sacred shrines of pilgrimage, the Yogis and Sannyaasees, or those who tirelessly read the Simritees and study the Vedas. ||2|| Wherever I sit, she sits there with me. She has imposed her power upon the whole world. Seeking meager protection, I am not protected from her. Tell me, O my friend: unto whom should I turn for protection? ||3|| I heard of His Teachings, and so I have come to the True Guru. The Guru has implanted the Mantra of the Lord's Name, Har, Har, within me. And now, I dwell in the home of my own inner self; I sing the Glorious Praises of the Infinite Lord. I have met God, O Nanak, and I have become care-free. ||4|| My home is now my own, and she is now my mistress. She is now my servant, and the Guru has made me intimate with the Lord. ||1||Second Pause||4||4|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: First, they advised me to send a letter. Second, they advised me to send two men. Third, they advised me to make the effort and do something. But I have renounced everything, and I meditate only on You, God. ||1|| Now, I am totally blissful, carefree and at ease. The enemies and evil-doers have perished, and I have obtained peace. ||1||Pause|| The True Guru has imparted the Teachings to me. My soul, body and everything belong to the Lord. Whatever I do, is by Your Almighty Power. You are my only Support, You are my only Court. ||2|| If I were to renounce You, God, unto whom could I turn? There is no other, comparable to You. Who else is Your servant to serve? The faithless cynics are deluded; they wander around in the wilderness. ||3|| Your Glorious Greatness cannot be described. Wherever I am, you save me, hugging me close in Your embrace. Nanak, Your slave, has entered Your Sanctuary. God has preserved his honour, and congratulations are pouring in. ||4||5||

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Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 026

Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Having wandered through foreign lands, I have come here to do business. I heard of the incomparable and profitable merchandise. I have gathered in my pockets my capital of virtue, and I have brought it here with me. Beholding the jewel, this mind is fascinated. ||1|| I have come to the door of the Trader. Please display the merchandise, so that the business may be transacted. ||1||Pause|| The Trader has sent me to the Banker. The jewel is priceless, and the capital is priceless. O my gentle brother, mediator and friend - I have obtained the merchandise, and my consciousness is now steady and stable. ||2|| I have no fear of thieves, of wind or water. I have easily made my purchase, and I easily take it away. I have earned Truth, and I shall have no pain. I have brought this merchandise home, safe and sound. ||3|| I have earned the profit, and I am happy. Blessed is the Banker, the Perfect Bestower. How rare is the Gurmukh who obtains this merchandise; Nanak has brought this profitable merchandise home. ||4||6|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: He does not consider my merits or demerits. He does not look at my beauty, colour or decorations. I do not know the ways of wisdom and good conduct. But taking me by the arm, my Husband Lord has led me to His Bed. ||1|| Hear, O my companions, my Husband, my Lord Master, possesses me. Placing His Hand upon my forehead, He protects me as His Own. What do these ignorant people know? ||1||Pause|| My married life now appears so beauteous; my Husband Lord has met me, and He sees all my pains. Within the courtyard of my heart, the glory of the moon shines. Night and day, I have fun with my Beloved. ||2|| My clothes are dyed the deep crimson colour of the poppy. All the ornaments and garlands around my neck adorn me. Gazing upon my Beloved with my eyes, I have obtained all treasures; I have shaken off the power of the evil demons. ||3|| I have obtained eternal bliss, and I constantly celebrate. With the nine treasures of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, I am satisfied in my own home. Says Nanak, when the happy soul-bride is adorned by her Beloved, she is forever happy with her Husband Lord. ||4||7|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: They give you donations and worship you. You take from them, and then deny that they have given anything to you. That door, through which you must ultimately go, O Brahmin - at that door, you will come to regret and repent. ||1|| Such Brahmins shall drown, O Siblings of Destiny; they think of doing evil to the innocent. ||1||Pause|| Within them is greed, and they wander around like mad dogs. They slander others and carry loads of sin upon their heads. Intoxicated by Maya, they do not think of the Lord. Deluded by doubt, they wander off on many paths. ||2|| Outwardly, they wear various religious robes, but within, they are enveloped by poison. They instruct others, but do not understand themselves. Such Brahmins will never be emancipated. ||3|| O foolish Brahmin, reflect upon God. He watches and hears, and is always with you. Says Nanak, if this is your destiny, renounce your pride, and grasp the Guru's Feet. ||4||8|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl:

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 027

Pain and disease have left my body, and my mind has become pure; I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, Har, Har. I am in bliss, meeting with the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, and now, my mind does not go wandering. ||1|| My burning desires are quenched, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, O mother. The fever of doubt has been totally eliminated; meeting the Guru, I am cooled and soothed, with intuitive ease. ||1||Pause|| My wandering has ended, since I have realised the One and Only Lord; now, I have come to dwell in the eternal place. Your Saints are the Saving Grace of the world; beholding the Blessed Vision of their Darshan, I remain satisfied. ||2|| I have left behind the sins of countless incarnations, now that I have grasped the feet of the eternal Holy Guru. My mind sings the celestial melody of bliss, and death shall no longer consume it. ||3|| My Lord, the Cause of all causes, is All-powerful, the Giver of peace; He is my Lord, my Lord King. Nanak lives by chanting Your Name, O Lord; You are my helper, with me, through and through. ||4||9|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: The slanderer cries out and bewails. He has forgotten the Supreme Lord, the Transcendent Lord; the slanderer reaps the rewards of his own actions. ||1||Pause|| If someone is his companion, then he shall be taken along with him. Like the dragon, the slanderer carries his huge, useless loads, and burns in his own fire. ||1|| Nanak proclaims and announces what happens at the Door of the Transcendent Lord. The humble devotees of the Lord are forever in bliss; singing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises, they blossom forth. ||2||10|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Even though I totally decorated myself, still, my mind was not satisfied. I applied various scented oils to my body, and yet, I did not obtain even a tiny bit of pleasure from this. Within my mind, I hold such a desire, that I may live only to behold my Beloved, O my mother. ||1|| O mother, what should I do? This mind cannot rest. It is bewitched by the tender love of my Beloved. ||1||Pause|| Garments, ornaments, and such exquisite pleasures - I look upon these as of no account. Likewise, honour, fame, dignity and greatness, obedience by the whole world, and a household as beautiful as a jewel. If I am pleasing to God's Will, then I shall be blessed, and forever in bliss. ||2|| With foods and delicacies of so many different kinds, and such abundant pleasures and entertainments, power and property and absolute command - with these, the mind is not satisfied, and its thirst is not quenched. Without meeting Him, this day does not pass. Meeting God, I find peace. ||3|| By searching and seeking, I have heard this news, that without the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, no one swims across. One who has this good destiny written upon his forehead, finds the True Guru. His hopes are fulfilled, and his mind is satisfied. When one meets God, then his thirst is quenched. Nanak has found the Lord, within his mind and body. ||4||11|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl, Panch-Padas:

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 028

First, your social status is high. Second, you are honoured in society. Third, your home is beautiful. But you are so ugly, with self-conceit in your mind. ||1|| O beautiful, attractive, wise and clever woman: you have been trapped by your pride and attachment. ||1||Pause|| Your kitchen is so clean. You take your bath, and worship, and apply the crimson mark upon your forehead; with your mouth you speak wisdom, but you are destroyed by pride. The dog of greed has ruined you in every way. ||2|| You wear your robes and enjoy pleasures; you practice good conduct to impress people; you apply scented oils of sandalwood and musk, but your constant companion is the demon of anger. ||3|| Other people may be your water-carriers; in this world, you may be a ruler. Gold, silver and wealth may be yours, but the goodness of your conduct has been destroyed by sexual promiscuity. ||4|| That soul, upon whom the Lord has bestowed His Glance of Grace, is delivered from bondage. Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, the Lord's sublime essence is obtained. Says Nanak, how fruitful is that body. ||5|| All graces and all comforts shall come to you, as the happy soul-bride; you shall be supremely beautiful and wise. ||1||Second Pause||12|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl, Ik-Tukas 2 : One who is seen to be alive, shall surely die. But he who is dead shall remain ever-lasting. ||1|| Those who die while yet alive, shall through this death, live on. They place the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, as medicine in their mouths, and through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, they drink in the Ambrosial Nectar. ||1||Pause|| The clay pot of the body shall be broken. One who has eliminated the three qualities dwells in the home of his inner self. ||2|| One who climbs high, shall fall into the nether regions of the underworld. One who lies upon the ground, shall not be touched by death. ||3|| Those who continue to wander around, achieve nothing. Those who practice the Guru's Teachings, become steady and stable. ||4|| This body and soul all belong to the Lord. O Nanak, meeting the Guru, I am enraptured. ||5||13|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: The puppet of the body has been fashioned with great skill. Know for sure that it shall turn to dust. ||1|| Remember your origins, O thoughtless fool. Why are you so proud of yourself? ||1||Pause|| You are a guest, given three meals a day; other things are entrusted to you. ||2|| you are just excrement, bones and blood, wrapped up in skin - this is what you are taking such pride in! ||3|| If you could understand even one thing, then you would be pure. Without understanding, you shall be forever impure. ||4|| Says Nanak, I am a sacrifice to the Guru; through Him, I obtain the Lord, the All-knowing Primal Being. ||5||14|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl, Ik-Tukas, Chau-Padas: One moment, one day, is for me many days. My mind cannot survive - how can I meet my Beloved? ||1|| I cannot endure one day, even one instant without Him.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 029

My mind's desire for the Blessed Vision of His Darshan is so great. Is there any Saint who can lead me to meet my Beloved? ||1||Pause|| The four watches of the day are like the four ages. And when night comes, I think that it shall never end. ||2|| The five demons have joined together, to separate me from my Husband Lord. Wandering and rambling, I cry out and wring my hands. ||3|| The Lord has revealed the Blessed Vision of His Darshan to servant Nanak; realising his own self, he has obtained supreme peace. ||4||15|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: In the Lord's service, are the greatest treasures. Serving the Lord, the Ambrosial Naam comes into one's mouth. ||1|| The Lord is my Companion; He is with me, as my Help and Support. In pain and pleasure, whenever I remember Him, He is present. How can the poor Messenger of Death frighten me now? ||1||Pause|| The Lord is my Support; the Lord is my Power. The Lord is my Friend; He is my mind's advisor. ||2|| The Lord is my capital; the Lord is my credit. As Gurmukh, I earn the wealth, with the Lord as my Banker. ||3|| By Guru's Grace, this wisdom has come. Servant Nanak has merged into the Being of the Lord. ||4||16|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: When God shows His Mercy, then this mind is focused on Him. Serving the True Guru, all rewards are obtained. ||1|| O my mind, why are you so sad? My True Guru is Perfect. He is the Giver of blessings, the treasure of all comforts; His Ambrosial Pool of Nectar is always overflowing. ||1||Pause|| One who enshrines His Lotus Feet within the heart, meets the Beloved Lord; the Divine Light is revealed to him. ||2|| The five companions have met together to sing the songs of joy. The unstruck melody, the sound current of the Naad, vibrates and resounds. ||3|| O Nanak, when the Guru is totally pleased, one meets the Lord, the King. Then, the night of one's life passes in peace and natural ease. ||4||17|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Showing His Mercy, the Lord has revealed Himself to me. Meeting the True Guru, I have received the perfect wealth. ||1|| Gather such a wealth of the Lord, O Siblings of Destiny. It cannot be burned by fire, and water cannot drown it; it does not forsake society, or go anywhere else. ||1||Pause|| It does not run short, and it does not run out. Eating and consuming it, the mind remains satisfied. ||2|| He is the true banker, who gathers the wealth of the Lord within his own home. With this wealth, the whole world profits. ||3|| He alone receives the Lord's wealth, who is pre-ordained to receive it. O servant Nanak, at that very last moment, the Naam shall be your only decoration. ||4||18|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Just like the farmer, He plants His crop, and, whether it is ripe or unripe, He cuts it down. ||1|| Just so, you must know this well, that whoever is born, shall die. Only the devotee of the Lord of the Universe becomes stable and permanent. ||1||Pause|| The day shall certainly be followed by the night. And when the night passes, the morning shall again dawn. ||2|| In the love of Maya, the unfortunate ones remain in sleep. By Guru's Grace, a rare few remain awake and aware. ||3||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 030

Says Nanak, sing continually the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Your face shall be radiant, and your consciousness shall be immaculately pure. ||4||19|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: The nine treasures are Yours - all treasures are Yours. The Fulfiller of desires saves mortals in the end. ||1|| You are my Beloved, so what hunger can I have? When You dwell within my mind, pain does not touch me. ||1||Pause|| Whatever You do, is acceptable to me. O True Lord and Master, True is Your Order. ||2|| When it is pleasing to Your Will, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Within Your Home, there is justice, forever and ever. ||3|| O True Lord and Master, You are unknowable and mysterious. Nanak is committed to Your service. ||4||20|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: He is near at hand; He is the eternal Companion of the soul. His Creative Power is all-pervading, in form and colour. ||1|| My mind does not worry; it does not grieve, or cry out. Imperishable, Unshakable, Unapproachable and forever safe and sound is my Husband Lord. ||1||Pause|| Unto whom does Your servant pay homage? His King preserves his honour. ||2|| That slave, whom God has released from the restrictions of social status - who can now hold him in bondage? ||3|| The Lord is absolutely independent, and totally care-free; O servant Nanak, chant His Glorious Praises. ||4||21|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Forsaking the Lord's sublime essence, the mortal is intoxicated with false essences. The substance is within the home of the self, but the mortal goes out to find it. ||1|| He cannot hear the true ambrosial discourse. Attached to false scriptures, he is engaged in argument. ||1||Pause|| He takes his wages from his Lord and Master, but he serves another. With such sins, the mortal is engrossed. ||2|| He tries to hide from the One who is always with him. He begs from Him, again and again. ||3|| Says Nanak, God is merciful to the meek. As it pleases Him, He cherishes us. ||4||22|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is my soul, my life, my wealth. Here and hereafter, it is with me, to help me. ||1|| Without the Lord's Name, everything else is useless. My mind is satisfied and satiated by the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan. ||1||Pause|| Gurbani is the jewel, the treasure of devotion. Singing, hearing and acting upon it, one is enraptured. ||2|| My mind is attached to the Lord's Lotus Feet. The True Guru, in His Pleasure, has given this gift. ||3|| Unto Nanak, the Guru has revealed these instructions: recognise the Imperishable Lord God in each and every heart. ||4||23|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: The All-pervading Lord has established joys and celebrations. He Himself embellishes His own works. ||1|| Perfect is the Creation of the Perfect Lord Master. His magnificent greatness is totally all-pervading. ||1||Pause|| His Name is the treasure; His reputation is immaculate. He Himself is the Creator; there is no other. ||2|| All beings and creatures are in His Hands. God is pervading in all, and is always with them. ||3||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 031

The Perfect Guru has fashioned His perfect fashion. O Nanak, the Lord's devotees are blessed with glorious greatness. ||4||24|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: I have shaped this mind in the mold of the Guru's Word. Beholding the Blessed Vision of the Guru's Darshan, I have gathered the wealth of the Lord. ||1|| O sublime understanding, come, enter into my mind, that I may meditate and sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe, and love so dearly the Lord's Name. ||1||Pause|| I am satisfied and satiated by the True Name. My cleansing bath at the sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage is the dust of the Saints. ||2|| I recognise that the One Creator is contained in all. Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, my understanding is refined. ||3|| I have become the servant of all; I have renounced my ego and pride. The Guru has given this gift to Nanak. ||4||25|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: My

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intellect has been enlightened, and my understanding is perfect. Thus my evil-mindedness, which kept me far from Him, has been removed. ||1|| Such are the Teachings which I have received from the Guru; while I was drowning in the pitch black well, I was saved, O my Siblings of Destiny. ||1||Pause|| The Guru is the boat to cross over the totally unfathomable ocean of fire; He is treasure of jewels. ||2|| This ocean of Maya is dark and treacherous. The Perfect Guru has revealed the way to cross over it. ||3|| I do not have the ability to chant or practice intense meditation. Guru Nanak seeks Your Sanctuary. ||4||26|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl, Ti-Padas: One who drinks in the Lord's sublime essence is forever imbued with it, while other essences wear off in an instant. Intoxicated with the Lord's sublime essence, the mind is forever in ecstasy. Other essences bring only anxiety. ||1|| One who drinks in the Lord's sublime essence, is intoxicated and enraptured; all other essences have no effect. ||1||Pause|| The value of the Lord's sublime essence cannot be described. The Lord's sublime essence permeates the homes of the Holy. One may spend thousands and millions, but it cannot be purchased. He alone obtains it, who is so pre-ordained. ||2|| Tasting it, Nanak is wonder-struck. Through the Guru, Nanak has obtained this taste. Here and hereafter, it does not leave him. Nanak is imbued and enraptured with the Lord's subtle essence. ||3||27|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: If she renounces and eliminates her sexual desire, anger, greed and attachment, and her evil-mindedness and self-conceit as well; and if, becoming humble, she serves Him, then she becomes dear to her Beloved's Heart. ||1|| Listen, O beautiful soul-bride: By the Word of the Holy Saint, you shall be saved. Your pain, hunger and doubt shall vanish, and you shall obtain peace, O happy soul-bride. ||1||Pause|| Washing the Guru's feet, and serving Him, the soul is sanctified, and the thirst for sin is quenched. If you become the slave of the slave of the Lord's slaves, then you shall obtain honour in the Court of the Lord. ||2|| This is right conduct, and this is the correct lifestyle, to obey the Command of the Lord's Will; this is your devotional worship. One who practices this Mantra, O Nanak, swims across the terrifying world-ocean. ||3||28||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 032

Aasaa, Fifth Mehl, Du-Padas: You have been blessed with this human body. This is your chance to meet the Lord of the Universe. Other efforts are of no use to you. Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, vibrate and meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1|| Make the effort, and cross over the terrifying world ocean. This human life is passing away in vain, in the love of Maya. ||1||Pause|| I have not practiced meditation, penance, self-restraint or righteous living; I have not served the Holy Saints, and I do not know the Lord, my King. Says Nanak, my actions are vile and despicable; O Lord, I seek Your Sanctuary - please, preserve my honour. ||2||29|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Without You, there is no other for me; You alone are in my mind. You are my Friend and Companion, God; why should my soul be afraid? ||1|| You are my support, You are my hope. While sitting down or standing up, while sleeping or waking, with every breath and morsel of food, I never forget You. ||1||Pause|| Protect me, please protect me, O God; I have come to Your Sanctuary; the ocean of fire is so horrible. The True Guru is the Giver of peace to Nanak; I am Your child, O Lord of the World. ||2||30|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: The Lord God has saved me, His slave. My mind has surrendered to my Beloved; my fever has taken poison and died. ||1||Pause|| Cold and heat do not touch me at all, when I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. My consciousness is not affected by the witch, Maya; I take to the Sanctuary of the Lord's Lotus Feet. ||1|| By the Grace of the Saints, the Lord has shown His Mercy to me; He Himself is my Help and Support. Nanak ever sings the Praises of the Lord, the treasure of excellence; his doubts and pains are eliminated. ||2||31|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: I have taken the medicine of the Name of the Lord. I have found peace, and the seat of pain has been removed. ||1|| The fever has been broken, by the Teachings of the Perfect Guru. I am in ecstasy, and all of my sorrows have been dispelled. ||1||Pause|| All beings and creatures obtain peace, O Nanak, meditating on the Supreme Lord God. ||2||32|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: That time, which the mortal does not wish for, eventually comes. Without the Lord's Command, how can understanding be understood? ||1|| The body is consumed by water, fire and earth. But the soul is neither young nor old, O Siblings of Destiny. ||1||Pause|| Servant Nanak has entered the Sanctuary of the Holy. By Guru's Grace, he has shaken off the fear of death. ||2||33|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Forever and ever, the soul is illumined; in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, it dwells at the Feet of the Lord. ||1|| Chant the Lord's Name each and every day, O my mind. You shall find lasting peace, contentment and tranquility, and all your sins shall depart. ||1||Pause|| Says Nanak, one who is blessed with perfect good karma, meets the True Guru, and obtains the Perfect Supreme Lord God. ||2||34|| Thirty-four Shabads in Second House. || Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: She who has the Lord God as her Friend

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 033

her pain is dispelled, and she shall not become sad again. ||1||Pause|| Showing His Mercy, He joins her with His Feet, and she attains celestial peace, joy and comfort. ||1|| In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, she sings the Glorious Praises of the Immeasurable Lord. Remembering the Lord in meditation, O Nanak, she becomes invaluable. ||2||35|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Sexual desire, anger, intoxication with Maya and jealousy - I have lost all of these in the game of chance. Purity, contentment, compassion, faith and truthfulness - I have ushered these into the home of my self. ||1|| All the loads of birth and death have been removed. Joining the Saints' Society, my mind has become pure; the Perfect Guru has saved me in an instant. ||1||Pause|| My mind has become the dust of all, and everyone seems a sweet friend to me. My Lord and Master is contained in all. He gives His Gifts to all beings, and cherishes them. ||2|| He Himself is the One and only; from the One, the One and only, came the expanse of the entire creation. Chanting and meditating, all the humble beings have become Holy; meditating on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, so many have been saved. ||3|| The Lord of the Universe is deep, profound and infinite; He has no end or limitation. By Your Grace, Nanak sings Your Glorious Praises; meditating, meditating, he humbly bows to God. ||4||36|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: You are Infinite, Eternal and Incomprehensible; all this is Your Creation. What clever games can we play, when everything is contained in You? ||1|| O my True Guru, protect me, Your child, through the power of Your play. Grant me the good sense to ever sing Your Glorious Praises, O my Inaccessible and Infinite Lord and Master. ||1||Pause|| The mortal is preserved in the womb of his mother, by the Support of the Naam, the Name of the Lord; he makes merry, and with each and every breath he remembers the Lord, and the fire does not touch him. ||2|| Others' wealth, others' wives, and the slander of others - renounce your craving for these. Serve the Lord's Lotus Feet within your heart, and hold to the Support of the Perfect Guru. ||3|| Houses, mansions and palaces which you see - none of these shall go with you. As long as you live in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, O servant Nanak, remember the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||4||37|| Aasaa, Third House, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Power, property, youth, household, fame and the beauty of youth; great wealth, elephants, horses and jewels, purchased with tens of thousands of dollars; hereafter, these shall be of no avail in the Court of the Lord; the proud must depart, leaving them behind. ||1|| Why centre your consciousness on any other than the Lord? Sitting down, standing up, sleeping and waking, forever and ever, meditate on the Lord. ||1||Pause|| He may have the most wondrous and beautiful arenas, and be victorious on the field of battle.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 034

He may proclaim, "I can kill anyone, I can capture anyone, and I can release anyone." But when the Order comes from the Supreme Lord God, he departs and leaves in a day. ||2|| He may perform all sorts of religious rituals and good actions, but he does not know the Creator Lord, the Doer of all. He teaches, but does not practice what he preaches; he does not realise the essential reality of the Word of the Shabad. Naked he came, and naked he shall depart; he is like an elephant, throwing dust on himself. ||3|| O Saints, and friends, listen to me: all this world is false. Continually claiming, "Mine, mine", the mortals are drowned; the fools waste away and die. Meeting the Guru, O Nanak, I meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord; through the True Name, I am emancipated. ||4||1||38|| Raag Aasaa, Fifth House, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The whole world is asleep in doubt; it is blinded by worldly entanglements. How rare is that humble servant of the Lord who is awake and aware. ||1|| The mortal is intoxicated with the great enticement of Maya, which is dearer to him than life. How rare is the one who renounces it. ||2|| The Lord's Lotus Feet are incomparably beautiful; so is the Mantra of the Saint. How rare is that holy person who is attached to them. ||3|| O Nanak, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, the love of divine knowledge is awakened; the Lord's Mercy is bestowed upon those who are blessed with such good destiny. ||4||1||39|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Raag Aasaa, Sixth House, Fifth Mehl: Whatever pleases You is acceptable to me; that alone brings peace and ease to my mind. You are the Doer, the Cause of causes, All-powerful and Infinite; there is none other than You. ||1|| Your humble servants sing Your Glorious Praises with enthusiasm and love. That alone is good advice, wisdom and cleverness for Your humble servant, which You do or cause to be done. ||1||Pause|| Your Name is Ambrosial Nectar, O Beloved Lord; in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I have obtained its sublime essence. Those humble beings are satisfied and fulfilled, singing the Praises of the Lord, the treasure of peace. ||2|| One who has Your Support, O Lord Master, is not afflicted by anxiety. One who is blessed by Your Kind Mercy, is the best, the most fortunate king. ||3|| Doubt, attachment, and deceit have all disappeared, since I obtained the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. Dealing in the Naam, O Nanak, we become truthful, and in the Love of the Lord's Name, we are absorbed. ||4||1 | 40|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: He washes off the filth of other peoples' incarnations, but he obtains the rewards of his own actions. He has no peace in this world, and he has no place in the Court of the Lord. In the City of Death, he is tortured. ||1|| The slanderer loses his life in vain. He cannot succeed in anything, and in the world hereafter, he finds no place at all. ||1||Pause|| Such is the fate of the wretched slanderer - what can the poor creature do? He is ruined there, where no one can protect him; with whom should he lodge his complaint? ||2||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 035

The slanderer shall never attain emancipation; this is the Will of the Lord and Master. The more the Saints are slandered, the more they dwell in peace. ||3|| The Saints have Your Support, O Lord and Master; You are the Saints' Help and Support. Says Nanak, the Saints are saved by the Lord; the slanderers are drowned in the deep. ||4||2||41|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: He washes outwardly, but within, his mind is filthy; thus he loses his place in both worlds. Here, he is engrossed in sexual desire, anger and emotional attachment; hereafter, he shall sigh and weep. ||1|| The way to vibrate and meditate on the Lord of the Universe is different. Destroying the snake-hole, the snake is not killed; the deaf person does not hear the Lord's Name. ||1||Pause|| He renounces the affairs of Maya, but he does not appreciate the value of devotional worship. He finds fault with the Vedas and the Shaastras, and does not know the essence of Yoga. ||2|| He stands exposed, like a counterfeit coin, when inspected by the Lord, the Assayer. The Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts, knows everything; how can we hide anything from Him? ||3|| Through falsehood, fraud and deceit, the mortal collapses in an instant - he has no foundation at all. Truly, truly, truly, Nanak speaks; look within your own heart, and realise this. ||4||3||42|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Making the effort, the mind becomes pure; in this dance, the self is silenced. The five passions are kept under control, and the One Lord dwells in the mind. ||1|| Your humble servant dances and sings Your Glorious Praises. He plays upon the guitar, tambourine and cymbals, and the unstruck sound current of the Shabad resounds. ||1||Pause|| First, he instructs his own mind, and then, he leads others. He chants the Lord's Name and meditates on it in his heart; with his mouth, he announces it to all. ||2|| He joins the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, and washes their feet; he applies the dust of the Saints to his body He surrenders his mind and body, and places them before the Guru; thus, he obtains the true wealth. ||3|| Whoever listens to, and beholds the Guru with faith, shall see his pains of birth and death taken away. Such a dance eliminates hell; O Nanak, the Gurmukh remains wakeful. ||4||4||43|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: The lowly outcaste becomes a Brahmin, and the untouchable sweeper becomes pure and sublime. The burning desire of the nether regions and the etheric realms is finally quenched and extinguished. ||1|| The house-cat has been taught otherwise, and is terrified upon seeing the mouse. The Guru has put the tiger under the control of the sheep, and now, the dog eats grass. ||1||Pause|| Without pillars, the roof is supported, and the homeless have found a home. Without the jeweller, the jewel has been set, and the wonderful stone shines forth. ||2|| The claimant does not succeed by placing his claim, but by keeping silent, he obtains justice. The dead sit on costly carpets, and what is seen with the eyes shall vanish. ||3||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 036

One who claims to know, is ignorant; he does not know the Knower of all. Says Nanak, the Guru has given me the Ambrosial Nectar to drink in; savoring it and relishing it, I blossom forth in bliss. ||4||5||44|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: He has cut away my bonds, and overlooked my shortcomings, and so He has confirmed His nature. Becoming merciful to me, like a mother or a father, he has come to cherish me as His own child. ||1|| The GurSikhs are preserved by the Guru, by the Lord of the Universe. He rescues them from the terrible world ocean, casting His Glance of Grace upon them. ||1||Pause|| Meditating in remembrance on Him, we escape from the Messenger of Death; here and hereafter, we obtain peace. With every breath and morsel of food, meditate, and chant with your tongue, continually, each and every day; sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||2|| Through loving devotional worship, the supreme status is obtained, and in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, sorrows are dispelled. I am not worn down, I do not die, and nothing strikes fear in me, since I have the wealth of the Lord's Immaculate Name in my purse. ||3|| At the very last moment, God becomes the mortal's Help and Support; here and hereafter, He is the Savior Lord. He is my breath of life, my friend, support and wealth; O Nanak, I am forever a sacrifice to Him. ||4||6||45|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Since You are my Lord and Master, what is there for me to fear? Other than You, who else should I praise? You are the One and only, and so do all things exist; without You, there is nothing at all for me. ||1|| O Father, I have seen that the world is poison. Save me, O Lord of the Universe! Your

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Name is my only Support. ||1||Pause|| You know completely the condition of my mind; who else could I go to tell of it? Without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the whole world has gone crazy; obtaining the Naam, it finds peace. ||2|| What shall I say? Unto whom shall I speak? What I have to say, I say to God. Everything which exists was created by You. You are my hope, forever and ever. ||3|| If you bestow greatness, then it is Your greatness; here and hereafter, I meditate on You. The Lord God of Nanak is forever the Giver of peace; Your Name is my only strength. ||4||7||46|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Your Name is Ambrosial Nectar, O Lord Master; Your humble servant drinks in this supreme elixir. The fearful load of sins from countless incarnations has vanished; doubt and duality are also dispelled. ||1|| I live by beholding the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. Listening to Your Words, O True Guru, my mind and body are cooled and soothed. ||1||Pause|| By Your Grace, I have joined the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; You Yourself have caused this to happen. Holding fast to Your Feet, O God, the poison is easily neutralised. ||2|| Your Name, O God, is the treasure of peace; I have received this everlasting Mantra. Showing His Mercy, the True Guru has given it to me, and my fever and pain and hatred are annulled. ||3|| Blessed is the attainment of this human body, by which God blends Himself with me. Blessed, in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, is the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, where the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises are sung.O Nanak, the Naam is my only Support. ||4||8||47||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 037

Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Everything is pre-ordained; what else can be known through study? The errant child has been forgiven by the Supreme Lord God. ||1|| My True Guru is always merciful; He has saved me, the meek one. He has cured me of my disease, and I have obtained the greatest peace; He has placed the Ambrosial Name of the Lord in my mouth. ||1||Pause|| He has washed away my countless sins; He has cut away my bonds, and I am liberated. He has taken me by the arm, and pulled me out of the terrible, deep dark pit. ||2|| I have become fearless, and all my fears have been erased. The Savior Lord has saved me. Such is Your generosity, O my God, that You have resolved all my affairs. ||3|| My mind has met with my Lord and Master, the treasure of excellence. Taking to His Sanctuary, Nanak has become blissful. ||4||9||48|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: If I forget You, then everyone becomes my enemy. When You come to mind, then they serve me. I do not know any other at all, O True, Invisible, Inscrutable Lord. ||1|| When You come to mind, You are always merciful to me; what can the poor people do to me? Tell me, who should I call good or bad, since all beings are Yours? ||1||Pause|| You are my Shelter, You are my Support; giving me Your hand, You protect me. That humble being, upon whom You bestow Your Grace, is not touched by slander or suffering. ||2|| That is peace, and that is greatness, which is pleasing to the mind of the Dear Lord God. You are all-knowing, You are forever compassionate; obtaining Your Name, I revel in it and make merry. ||3|| I offer my prayer to You; my body and soul are all Yours. Says Nanak, this is all Your greatness; no one even knows my name. ||4||10||49|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Show Your Mercy, O God, O Searcher of hearts, that in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I might obtain You, Lord. When You open Your Door, and reveal the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan, the mortal is not relegated to reincarnation again. ||1|| Meeting with my Beloved Lord aand Master, all my pains are taken away. I am saved and carried across, in the company of those who remember the Supreme Lord God in their hearts. ||1||Pause|| This world is a great wilderness, an ocean of fire, in which mortals abide, in pleasure and pain. Meeting with the True Guru, the mortal becomes immaculately pure; with his tongue, he chants the Ambrosial Name of the Lord. ||2|| He preserves his body and wealth, and takes everything as his own; such are the subtle bonds which bind him. By Guru's Grace, the mortal becomes liberated, meditating on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||3|| God, the Savior, has saved those, who are pleasing to the Will of God. The soul and body are all Yours, O Great Giver; O Nanak, I am forever a sacrifice. ||4||11||50|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: You have avoided the slumber of attachment and impurity - by whose favor has this happened? The great enticer does not affect you. Where has your laziness gone? ||1||Pause||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 038

How have you escaped from the treachery of sexual desire, anger and egotism? The holy beings, angels and demons of the three qualities, and all the worlds have been plundered. ||1|| The forest fire has burnt down so much of the grass; how rare are the plants which have remained green. He is so All-powerful, that I cannot even describe Him; no one can chant His Praises. ||2|| In the store-room of the lamp-black, I did not turn black; my colour remained immaculate and pure. The Guru has implanted the Maha Mantra, the Great Mantra, within my heart, and I have heard the wondrous Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||3|| Showing His Mercy, God has looked upon me with favor, and He has attached me to His feet. Through loving devotional worship, O Nanak, I have obtained peace; in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I am absorbed into the Lord. ||4||12||51|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Raag Aasaa, Seventh House, Fifth Mehl: That red dress looks so beautiful on your body. Your Husband Lord is pleased, and His heart is enticed. ||1|| Whose handiwork is this red beauty of yours? Whose love has rendered the poppy so red? ||1||Pause|| You are so beautiful; you are the happy soul-bride. Your Beloved is in your home; good fortune is in your home. ||2|| You are pure and chaste, you are most distinguished. You are pleasing to Your Beloved, and you have sublime understanding. ||3|| I am pleasing to my Beloved, and so I am imbued with the deep red colour. Says Nanak, I have been totally blessed with the Lord's Glance of Grace. ||4|| Listen, O companions: this is my only work; God Himself is the One who embellishes and adorns. ||1||Second Pause||1||52|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: I suffered in pain, when I thought He was far away; but now, He is Ever-present, and I receive His instructions. ||1|| My pride is gone, O friends and companions; my doubt is dispelled, and the Guru has united me with my Beloved. ||1||Pause|| My Beloved has drawn me near to Him, and seated me on His Bed; I have escaped the clutches of others. ||2|| In the mansion of my heart, shines the Light of the Shabad. My Husband Lord is blissful and playful. ||3|| According to the destiny written upon my forehead, my Husband Lord has come home to me. Servant Nanak has obtained the eternal marriage. ||4||2||53|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: My mind is attached to the True Name. My dealings with other people are only superficial. ||1|| Outwardly, I am on good terms with all; but I remain detached, like the lotus upon the water. ||1||Pause|| By word of mouth, I talk with everyone; but I keep God clasped to my heart. ||2|| I may appear utterly terrible, but my mind is the dust of all men's feet. Servant Nanak has found the Perfect Guru.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 039

Inwardly and outwardly, He has shown me the One Lord. ||4||3||54|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: The mortal revels in joy, in the vigor of youth; but without the Name, he mingles with dust. ||1|| He may wear ear-rings and fine clothes, and have a comfortable bed, and his mind may be so proud. ||1||Pause|| He may have elephants to ride, and golden umbrellas over his head; but without devotional worship to the Lord, he is buried beneath the dirt. ||2|| He may enjoy many women, of exquisite beauty; but without the sublime essence of the Lord, all tastes are tasteless. ||3|| Deluded by Maya, the mortal is led into sin and corruption. Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of God, the All-powerful, Compassionate Lord. ||4||4||55|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: There is a garden, in which so many plants have grown. They bear the Ambrosial Nectar of the Naam as their fruit. ||1|| Consider this, O wise one, by which you may attain the state of Nirvaanaa. All around this garden are pools of poison, but within it is the Ambrosial Nectar, O Siblings of Destiny. ||1||Pause|| There is only one gardener who tends it. He takes care of every leaf and branch. ||2|| He brings all sorts of plants and plants them there. They all bear fruit - none is without fruit. ||3|| One who receives the Ambrosial Fruit of the Naam from the Guru - O Nanak, such a servant crosses over the ocean of Maya. ||4||5||56|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: The pleasures of royalty are derived from Your Name. I attain Yoga, singing the Kirtan of Your Praises. ||1|| All comforts are obtained in Your Shelter. The True Guru has removed the veil of doubt. ||1||Pause|| Understanding the Command of the Lord's Will, I revel in pleasure and joy. Serving the True Guru, I obtain the supreme state of Nirvaanaa. ||2|| One who recognises You is recognised as a householder, and as a renunciate. Imbued with the Naam, the Name of the Lord, he dwells in Nirvaanaa. ||3|| One who has obtained the treasure of the Naam - prays Nanak, his treasure-house is filled to overflowing. ||4||6||57|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Journeying to sacred shrines of pilgrimage, I see the mortals acting in ego. If I ask the Pandits, I find them tainted by Maya. ||1|| Show me that place, O friend, where the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises are forever sung. ||1||Pause|| The Shaastras and the Vedas speak of sin and virtue; they say that mortals are reincarnated into heaven and hell, over and over again. ||2|| In the householder's life, there is anxiety, and in the life of the renunciate, there is egotism. Performing religious rituals, the soul is entangled. ||3|| By God's Grace, the mind is brought under control; O Nanak, the Gurmukh crosses over the ocean of Maya. ||4|| In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, sing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises. This place is found through the Guru. ||1||Second Pause||7||58|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Within my home there is peace, and outwardly there is peace as well. Remembering the Lord in meditation, all pains are erased. ||1|| There is total peace, when You come into my mind.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 040

He alone is pleasing to Your Will, who chants the Naam. ||1||Pause|| My body and mind are cooled and soothed, chanting the Name of the Lord. Meditating on the Lord, Har, Har, the house of pain is demolished. ||2|| He alone, who understands the Command of the Lord's Will, is approved. The True Shabad of the Word of God is his trademark and insignia. ||3|| The Perfect Guru has implanted the Lord's Name within me. Prays Nanak, my mind has found peace. ||4||8||59|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Wherever You send me, there I go. Whatever You give me, brings me peace. ||1|| I am forever the chaylaa, the humble disciple, of the Lord of the Universe, the Sustainer of the World. By Your Grace, I am satisfied and satiated. ||1||Pause|| Whatever You give me, I wear and eat. By Your Grace, O God, my life passes peacefully. ||2|| Deep within my mind and body, I meditate on You. I recognise none as equal to You. ||3|| Says Nanak, this is my continual meditation: that I may be emancipated, clinging to the Feet of the Saints. ||4||9||60|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: While standing up, and sitting down, and even while asleep, meditate on the Lord. Walking on the Way, sing the Praises of the Lord. ||1|| With your ears, listen to the Ambrosial Sermon. Listening to it, your mind shall be filled with bliss, and the troubles and diseases of your mind shall all depart. ||1||Pause|| While you work at your job, on the road and at the beach, meditate and chant. By Guru's Grace, drink in the Ambrosial Essence of the Lord. ||2|| The humble being who sings the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises, day and night, does not have to go with the Messenger of Death. ||3|| One who does not forget the Lord, twenty-four hours a day, is emancipated; O Nanak, I fall at his feet. ||4||10||61|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Remembering Him in meditation, one abides in peace; one becomes happy, and suffering is ended. ||1|| Celebrate, make merry, and sing God's Glories. Forever and ever, surrender to the True Guru. ||1||Pause|| Act in accordance with the Shabad, the True Word of the True Guru. Remain steady and stable within the home of your own self, and find God. ||2|| Do not harbor evil intentions against others in your mind, and you shall not be troubled, O Siblings of Destiny, O friends. ||3|| The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is the Tantric exercise, and the Mantra, given by the Guru. Nanak knows this peace alone, night and day. ||4||11||62|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: That wretched being, whom no one knows - chanting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, he is honoured in the four directions. ||1|| I beg for the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan; please, give it to me, O Beloved! Serving You, who, who has not been saved? ||1||Pause|| That person, whom no one wants to be near - the whole world comes to wash the dirt of his feet. ||2|| That mortal, who is of no use to anyone at all - by the Grace of the Saints, he meditates on the Naam. ||3|| In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, the sleeping mind awakens. Then, O Nanak, God seems sweet. ||4||12||63|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: With my eyes, I behold the One and Only Lord. Forever and ever, I contemplate the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 041

I sing the Praises of the Lord, Raam, Raam, Raam. By the graceful favor of the Saints, I meditate on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||1||Pause|| Everything is strung on His string. He is contained in each and every heart. ||2|| He creates and destroys in an instant. He Himself remains unattached, and without attributes. ||3|| He is the Creator, the Cause of causes, the Searcher of hearts. Nanak's Lord and Master celebrates in bliss. ||4||13||64|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: My wandering through millions of births has ended. I have won, and not lost, this human body, so difficult to obtain. ||1|| My sins have been erased, and my sufferings and pains are gone. I have been sanctified by the dust of the feet of the Saints. ||1||Pause|| The Saints of God have the ability to save us; they meet with those of us who have such pre-ordained destiny. ||2|| My mind is filled with bliss, since the Guru gave me the Mantra of the Lord's Name. My thirst has been quenched, and my mind has become steady and stable. ||3|| The wealth of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is for me the nine treasures, and the spiritual powers of the Siddhas. O Nanak, I have obtained understanding from the Guru. ||4||14||65|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: My thirst, and the darkness of ignorance have been removed. Serving the Holy Saints, countless sins are obliterated. ||1|| I have obtained celestial peace and immense joy. Serving the Guru, my mind has become immaculately pure, and I have heard the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, Har, Har. ||1||Pause|| The stubborn foolishness of my mind is gone; God's Will has become sweet to me. ||2|| I have grasped the Feet of the Perfect Guru, and the sins of countless incarnations have been washed away. ||3|| The jewel of this life has become fruitful. Says Nanak, God has shown mercy to me. ||4||15||66|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: I contemplate, forever and ever, the True Guru; with my hair, I dust the feet of the Guru. ||1|| Be wakeful, O my awakening mind! Without the Lord, nothing else shall be of use to you; false is emotional attachment, and useless are worldly entanglements. ||1||Pause|| Embrace love for the Word of the Guru's Bani. When the Guru shows His Mercy, pain is destroyed. ||2|| Without the Guru, there is no other place of rest. The Guru is the Giver, the Guru gives the Name. ||3|| The Guru is the Supreme Lord God; He Himself is the Transcendent Lord. Twenty-four hours a day, O Nanak, meditate on the Guru. ||4||16||67|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: He Himself is the tree, and the branches extending out. He Himself preserves His own crop. ||1|| Wherever I look, I see

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that One Lord alone. Deep within each and every heart, He Himself is contained. ||1||Pause|| He Himself is the sun, and the rays emanating from it. He is concealed, and He is revealed. ||2|| He is said to be of the highest attributes, and without attributes. Both converge onto His single point. ||3|| Says Nanak, the Guru has dispelled my doubt and fear. With my eyes, I perceive the Lord, the embodiment of bliss, to be everywhere. ||4||17||68|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: I know nothing of arguments or cleverness.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 042

Day and night, I chant Your Name. ||1|| I am worthless; I have no virtue at all. God is the Creator, the Cause of all causes. ||1||Pause|| I am foolish, stupid, ignorant and thoughtless; Your Name is my mind's only hope. ||2|| I have not practiced chanting, deep meditation, self-discipline or good actions; but within my mind, I have worshipped God's Name. ||3|| I know nothing, and my intellect is inadequate. Prays Nanak, O God, You are my only Support. ||4||18||69|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: These two words, Har, Har, make up my maalaa. Continually chanting and reciting this rosary, God has become merciful to me, His humble servant. ||1|| I offer my prayer to the True Guru. Shower Your Mercy upon me, and keep me safe in Your Sanctuary; please, give me the maalaa, the rosary of Har, Har. ||1||Pause|| One who enshrines this rosary of the Lord's Name within his heart, is freed of the pains of birth and death. ||2|| The humble being who contemplates the Lord within his heart, and chants the Lord's Name, Har, Har, with his mouth, never wavers, here or hereafter. ||3|| Says Nanak, one who is imbued with the Name, goes to the next world with the maalaa of the Lord's Name. ||4||19||70|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: All things belong to Him - let yourself belong to Him as well. No stain clings to such a humble being. ||1|| The Lord's servant is liberated forever. Whatever He does, is pleasing to His servant; the way of life of His slave is immaculately pure. ||1||Pause|| One who renounces everything, and enters the Lord's Sanctuary - how can Maya cling to him? ||2|| With the treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, in his mind, he suffers no anxiety, even in dreams. ||3|| Says Nanak, I have found the Perfect Guru. My doubts and attachments have been totally obliterated. ||4||20||71|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: When my God is totally pleased with me, then, tell me, how can suffering or doubt draw near me? ||1|| Continually listening to Your Glory, I live. I am worthless - save me, O Lord! ||1||Pause|| My suffering has been ended, and my anxiety is forgotten. I have obtained my reward, chanting the Mantra of the True Guru. ||2|| He is True, and True is His glory. Remembering, remembering Him in meditation, keep Him clasped to your heart. ||3|| Says Nanak, what action is there left to do, by one whose mind is filled with the Lord's Name? ||4||21||72|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Sexual desire, anger, and egotism lead to ruin. Meditating on the Lord, the Lord's humble servants are redeemed. ||1|| The mortals are asleep, intoxicated with the wine of Maya. The devotees remain awake, imbued with the Lord's meditation. ||1||Pause|| In emotional attachment and doubt, the mortals wander through countless incarnations. The devotees remain ever-stable, meditating on the Lord's Lotus Feet. ||2|| Bound to household and possessions, the mortals are lost in the deep, dark pit. The Saints are liberated, knowing the Lord to be near at hand. ||3|| Says Nanak, one who has taken to God's Sanctuary, obtains peace in this world, and salvation in the world hereafter. ||4||22||73||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 043

Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: You are my waves, and I am Your fish. You are my Lord and Master; I wait at Your Door. ||1|| You are my Creator, and I am Your servant. I have taken to Your Sanctuary, O God, most profound and excellent. ||1||Pause|| You are my life, You are my Support. Beholding You, my heart-lotus blossoms forth. ||2|| You are my salvation and honour; You make me acceptable. You are All-powerful, You are my strength. ||3|| Night and day, I chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the treasure of excellence. This is Nanak's prayer to God. ||4||23||74|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: The mourner practices falsehood; he laughs with glee, while mourning for others. ||1|| Someone has died, while there is singing in someone else's house. One mourns and bewails, while another laughs with glee. ||1||Pause|| From childhood to old age, the mortal does not attain his goals, and he comes to regret in the end. ||2|| The world is under the influence of the three qualities. The mortal is reincarnated, again and again, into heaven and hell. ||3|| Says Nanak, one who is attached to the Naam, the Name of the Lord, becomes acceptable, and his life becomes fruitful. ||4||24||75|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: She remains asleep, and does not know the news of God. The day dawns, and then, she regrets. ||1|| Loving the Beloved, the mind is filled with celestial bliss. You yearn to meet with God, so why do you delay? ||1||Pause|| He came and poured His Ambrosial Nectar into your hands, but it slipped through your fingers, and fell onto the ground. ||2|| You are burdened with desire, emotional attachment and egotism; it is not the fault of God the Creator. ||3|| In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, the darkness of doubt is dispelled. O Nanak, the Creator Lord blends us with Himself. ||4||25||76|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: I long for the Lotus Feet of my Beloved Lord. The wretched Messenger of Death has run away from me. ||1|| You enter into my mind, by Your Kind Mercy. Meditating on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, all diseases are destroyed. ||1||Pause|| Death gives so much pain to others, but it cannot even come near Your slave. ||2|| My mind thirsts for Your Vision; in peaceful ease and bliss, I dwell in detachment. ||3|| Hear this prayer of Nanak: please, infuse Your Name into his heart. ||4||26||77|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: My mind is satisfied, and my entanglements have been dissolved. God has become merciful to me. ||1|| By the Grace of the Saints, everything has turned out well. His House is overflowing with all things; I have met Him, the Fearless Master. ||1||Pause|| By the Kind Mercy of the Holy Saints, the Naam has been implanted within me. The most dreadful desires have been eliminated. ||2|| My Master has given me a gift; the fire has been extinguished, and my mind is now at peace. ||3|| My search has ended, and my mind is absorbed in celestial bliss.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 044

Nanak has obtained the treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||4||27||78|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Those who are attuned to their Lord and Master are satisfied and fulfilled with the perfect food. ||1|| The Lord's devotees never run short of anything. They have plenty to eat, spend, enjoy and give. ||1||Pause|| One who has the Unfathomable Lord of the Universe as his Master - how can any mere mortal stand up to him? ||2|| One who is served by the eighteen supernatural powers of the Siddhas - grasp his feet, even for an instant. ||3|| That one, upon whom You have showered Your Mercy, O my Lord Master - says Nanak, he does not lack anything. ||4||28||79|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: When I meditate on my True Guru, my mind becomes supremely peaceful. ||1|| The record of my account is erased, and my doubts are dispelled. Imbued with the Naam, the Name of the Lord, His humble servant is blessed with good fortune. ||1||Pause|| When I remember my Lord and Master, my fears are dispelled, O my friend. ||2|| When I took to Your Protection, O God, my desires were fulfilled. ||3|| Gazing upon the wonder of Your play, my mind has become encouraged. Servant Nanak relies on You alone. ||4||29||80|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Night and day, the mouse of time gnaws away at the rope of life. Falling into the well, the mortal eats the sweet treats of Maya. ||1|| Thinking and planning, the night of the life is passing away. Thinking of the many pleasures of Maya, the mortal never remembers the Lord, the Sustainer of the earth. ||1||Pause|| Believing the shade of the tree to be permanent, he builds his house beneath it. But the noose of death is around his neck, and Shakti, the power of Maya, has aimed her arrows at him. ||2|| The sandy shore is being washed away by the waves, but the fool still believes that place to be permanent. ||3|| In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, chant the Name of the Lord, the King. Nanak lives by singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||4||30||81|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl, Du-Tukas 9: With that, you are engaged in playful sport; with that, I am joined to you. With that, everyone longs for you; without it, no one would even look at your face. ||1|| Where is that detached soul now contained? Without it, you are miserable. ||1||Pause|| With that, you are the woman of the house; with that, you are respected. With that, you are caressed; without it, you are reduced to dust. ||2|| With that, you have honour and respect; with that, you have relatives in the world. With that, you are adorned in every way; without it, you are reduced to dust. ||3|| That detached soul is neither born, nor dies. It acts according to the Command of the Lord's Will. O Nanak, having fashioned the body, the Lord unites the soul with it, and separates them again; He alone knows His All-powerful creative nature. ||4||31||82|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl:

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 045

He does not die, so I do not fear. He does not perish, so I do not grieve. He is not poor, so I do not hunger. He is not in pain, so I do not suffer. ||1|| There is no other Destroyer than Him. He is my very life, the Giver of life. ||1||Pause|| He is not bound, so I am not in bondage. He has no occupation, so I have no entanglements. He has no impurities, so I have no impurities. He is in ecstasy, so I am always happy. ||2|| He has no anxiety, so I have no cares. He has no stain, so I have no pollution. He has no hunger, so I have no thirst. Since He is immaculately pure, I correspond to Him. ||3|| I am nothing; He is the One and only. Before and after, He alone exists. O Nanak, the Guru has taken away my doubts and mistakes; He and I, joining together, are of the same colour. ||4||32||83|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Serve Him in many different ways; Dedicate your soul, your breath of life and your wealth to Him. Carry water for Him, and wave the fan over Him - renounce your ego. Make yourself a sacrifice to Him, time and time again. ||1|| She alone is the happy soul-bride, who is pleasing to God. In her company, I may meet Him, O my mother. ||1||Pause|| I am the water-carrier of the slaves of His slaves. I treasure in my soul the dust of their feet. By that good destiny inscribed upon my forehead, I obtain their society. Through His Love, the Lord Master meets me. ||2|| I dedicate all to Him - chanting and meditation, austerity and religious observances. I offer all to Him - good actions, righteous conduct and incense burning. Renouncing pride and attachment, I become the dust of the feet of the Saints. In their society, I behold God with my eyes. ||3|| Each and every moment, I contemplate and adore Him. Day and night, I serve Him like this. The Lord of the Universe, the Cherisher of the World, has become merciful; in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, O Nanak, He forgives us. ||4||33||84|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: In the Love of God, eternal peace is obtained. In the Love of God, one is not touched by pain. In the Love of God, the filth of ego is washed away. In the Love of God, one becomes forever immaculate. ||1|| Listen, O friend: show such love and affection to God, the Support of the soul, the breath of life, of each and every heart. ||1||Pause|| In the Love of God, all treasures are obtained. In the Love of God, the Immaculate Naam fills the heart. In the Love of God, one is eternally embellished. In the Love of God, all anxiety is ended. ||2|| In the Love of God, one crosses over this terrible world-ocean. In the Love of God, one does not fear death. In the Love of God, all are saved. The Love of God shall go along with you. ||3|| By himself, no one is united, and no one goes astray. One who is blessed by God's Mercy, joins the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Says Nanak, I am a sacrifice to You. O God, You are the Support and the Strength of the Saints. ||4||34||85|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Becoming a king, the mortal wields his royal authority; oppressing the people, he gathers wealth.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 046

Gathering it and collecting it, he fills his bags. But God takes it away from him, and gives it to another. ||1|| The mortal is like an unbaked clay pot in water; indulging in pride and egotism, he crumbles down and dissolves. ||1||Pause|| Being fearless, he becomes unrestrained. He does not think of the Creator, who is ever with him. He raises armies, and collects arms. But when the breath leaves him, he turns to ashes. ||2|| He has lofty palaces, mansions and queens, elephants and pairs of horses, delighting the mind; he is blessed with a great family of sons and daughters. But, engrossed in attachment, the blind fool wastes away to death. ||3|| The One who created him destroys him. Enjoyments and pleasures are like just a dream. He alone is liberated, and possesses regal power and wealth, O Nanak, whom the Lord Master blesses with His Mercy. ||4||35||86|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: The mortal is in love with this, but the more he has, the more he longs for more. It hangs around his neck, and does not leave him. But falling at the feet of the True Guru, he is saved. ||1|| I have renounced and discarded Maya, the Enticer of the world. I have met the Absolute Lord, and congratulations are pouring in. ||1||Pause|| She is so beautiful, she captivates the mind. On the road, and the beach, at home, in the forest and in the wilderness, she touches us. She seems so sweet to the mind and body. But by Guru's Grace, I have seen her to be deceptive. ||2|| Her courtiers are also great deceivers. They do not spare even their fathers or mothers. They have enslaved their companions. By Guru's Grace, I have subjugated them all. ||3|| Now, my mind is filled with bliss; my fear is gone, and the noose is cut away. Says Nanak, when I met the True Guru, I came to dwell within my home in absolute peace. ||4||36||87|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Twenty-four hours a day, he knows the Lord to be near at hand; he surrenders to the Sweet Will of God. The One Name is the Support of the Saints; they remain the dust of the feet of all. ||1|| Listen, to the way of life of the Saints, O my Siblings of Destiny; their praises cannot be described. ||1||Pause|| Their occupation is the Naam, the Name of the Lord. The Kirtan, the Praise of the Lord, the embodiment of bliss, is their rest. Friends and enemies are one and the same to them. They know of no other than God. ||2|| They erase millions upon millions of sins. They dispel suffering; they are givers of the life of the soul. They are so brave; they are men of their word. The Saints have enticed Maya herself. ||3|| Their company is cherished even by the gods and the angels. Blessed is their Darshan, and fruitful is their service. With his palms pressed together, Nanak offers his prayer: O Lord, Treasure of Excellence, please bless me with the service of the Saints. ||4||37||88|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: All peace and comforts are in the meditation of the One Name. All righteous actions of Dharma are in the singing of the Lord's Glorious Praises. The Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, is so very pure and sacred.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 047

Meeting with them, love for God is embraced. ||1|| By Guru's Grace, bliss is obtained. Meditating upon Him in remembrance, the mind is illumined; his state and condition cannot be described. ||1||Pause|| Fasts, religious vows, cleansing baths, and worship to Him; listening to the Vedas, Puraanas, and Shaastras. Extremely pure is he, and immaculate is his place, who meditates upon the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, in the Saadh Sangat. ||2|| That humble being becomes renowned all over the world. Even sinners are purified, by the dust of his feet. One who has met the Lord, the Lord our King, his condition and state cannot be

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described. ||3|| Twenty-four hours a day, with palms pressed together, I meditate; I yearn to obtain the Blessed Vision of the Darshan of those Holy Saints. Merge me, the poor one, with You, O Lord; Nanak has come to Your Sanctuary. ||4||38||89|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Twenty-four hours a day, he takes his cleansing bath in water; he makes continual offerings to the Lord; he is a true man of wisdom. He never leaves anything uselessly. Again and again, he falls at the Lord's Feet. ||1|| Such is the Saalagraam, the stone idol, which I serve; such is my worship, flower-offerings and divine adoration as well. ||1||Pause|| His bell resounds to the four corners of the world. His seat is forever in heaven. His chauri, his fly-brush, waves over all. His incense is ever-fragrant. ||2|| He is treasured in each and every heart. The Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, is His Eternal Court. His Aartee, his lamp-lit worship service, is the Kirtan of His Praises, which brings lasting bliss. His Greatness is so beautiful, and ever limitless. ||3|| He alone obtains it, who is so pre-ordained; he takes to the Sanctuary of the Saints' Feet. I hold in my hands the Saalagraam of the Lord. Says Nanak, the Guru has given me this Gift. ||4||39||90|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl, Panch-Pada: That highway, upon which the water-carrier is plundered - that way is far removed from the Saints. ||1|| The True Guru has spoken the Truth. Your Name, O Lord, is the Way to Salvation; the road of the Messenger of Death is far away. ||1||Pause|| That place, where the greedy toll-collector dwells - that path remains far removed from the Lord's humble servant. ||2|| There, where so very many caravans of men are caught, the Holy Saints remain with the Supreme Lord. ||3|| Chitra and Gupat, the recording angels of the conscious and the unconscious, write the accounts of all mortal beings, but they cannot even see the Lord's humble devotees. ||4|| Says Nanak, one whose True Guru is Perfect - the unblown bugles of ecstasy vibrate for him. ||5||40||91|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl, Du-Pada 1: In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, the Naam is learned; all desires and tasks are fulfilled. My thirst has been quenched, and I am satiated with the Lord's Praise. I live by chanting and meditating upon the Lord, the Sustainer of the earth. ||1|| I have entered the Sanctuary of the Creator, the Cause of all causes. By Guru's Grace, I have entered the home of celestial bliss. Darkness is dispelled, and the moon of wisdom has risen. ||1||Pause||

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Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 048

My treasure-house is overflowing with rubies and jewels; I meditate on the Formless Lord, and so they never run short. How rare is that humble being, who drinks in the Ambrosial Nectar of the Word of the Shabad. O Nanak, he attains the state of highest dignity. ||2||41||92|| Aasaa, Seventh House, Fifth Mehl: Meditate continually on the Name of the Lord within your heart. Thus you shall save all your companions and associates. ||1|| My Guru is always with me, near at hand. Meditating, meditating in remembrance on Him, I cherish Him forever. ||1||Pause|| Your actions seem so sweet to me. Nanak begs for the treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||2||42||93|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: The world is saved by the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. The Name of the Lord is the Support of the mind. ||1|| The Saints worship and adore the Lotus Feet of the Divine Guru; they love the Beloved Lord. ||1||Pause|| She who has such good destiny written upon her forehead, says Nanak, is blessed with the eternal happy marriage with the Lord. ||2||43||94|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: The Order of my Husband Lord seems so sweet to me. My Husband Lord has driven out the one who was my rival. My Beloved Husband has decorated me, His happy soul-bride. He has quieted the burning thirst of my mind. ||1|| It is good that I submitted to the Will of my Beloved Lord. I have realised celestial peace and poise within this home of mine. ||Pause|| I am the hand-maiden, the attendant of my Beloved Lord. He is eternal and imperishable, inaccessible and infinite. Holding the fan, sitting at His Feet, I wave it over my Beloved. The five demons who tortured me have run away. ||2|| I am not from a noble family, and I am not beautiful. What do I know? Why am I pleasing to my Beloved? I am a poor orphan, destitute and dishonoured. My Husband took me in, and made me His queen. ||3|| When I saw my Beloved's face before me, I became so happy and peaceful; my married life was blessed. Says Nanak, my desires are fulfilled. The True Guru has united me with God, the treasure of excellence. ||4||1||95|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: A frown creases her forehead, and her look is evil. Her speech is bitter, and her tongue is rude. She is always hungry, and she believes her Husband to be far away. ||1|| Such is Maya, the woman, which the One Lord has created. She is devouring the whole world, but the Guru has saved me, O my Siblings of Destiny. ||Pause|| Administering her poisons, she has overcome the whole world. She has bewitched Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva. Only those Gurmukhs who are attuned to the Naam are blessed. ||2|| Performing fasts, religious observances and atonements, the mortals have grown weary. They wander over the entire planet, on pilgrimages to the banks of sacred rivers. But they alone are saved, who seek the Sanctuary of the True Guru. ||3|| Attached to Maya, the whole world is in bondage. The foolish self-willed manmukhs are consumed by their egotism. Taking me by the arm, Guru Nanak has saved me. ||4||2||96|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Everything is painful, when one forgets the Lord Master. Here and hereafter, such a mortal is useless. ||1|| The Saints are satisfied, meditating on the Lord, Har, Har.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 049

Bestowing Your Mercy, God, You attach us to Your Name; all peace comes by Your Will. ||Pause|| The Lord is Ever-present; one who deems Him to be far away, dies again and again, repenting. ||2|| The mortals do not remember the One, who has given them everything. Engrossed in such terrible corruption, their days and nights waste away. ||3|| Says Nanak, meditate in remembrance of the One Lord God. Salvation is obtained, in the Shelter of the Perfect Guru. ||4||3||97|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Meditating on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the mind and body are totally rejuvenated. All sins and sorrows are washed away. ||1|| How blessed is that day, O my Siblings of Destiny, when the Glorious Praises of the Lord are sung, and the supreme status is obtained. ||Pause|| Worshipping the feet of the Holy Saints, troubles and hatred are eliminated from the mind. ||2|| Meeting with the Perfect Guru, conflict is ended, and the five demons are totally subdued. ||3|| One whose mind is filled with the Name of the Lord, O Nanak - I am a sacrifice to him. ||4||4||98|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: O singer, sing of the One, who is the Support of the soul, the body and the breath of life. Serving Him, all peace is obtained. You shall no longer go to any other. ||1|| My Blissful Lord Master is forever in bliss; meditate continually and forever, on the Lord, the treasure of excellence. I am a sacrifice to the Beloved Saints; by their kind favor, God comes to dwell in the mind. ||Pause|| His gifts are never exhausted. In His subtle way, He easily absorbs all. His benevolence cannot be erased. So enshrine that True Lord within your mind. ||2|| His house is filled with all sorts of articles; God's servants never suffer pain. Holding to His Support, the state of fearless dignity is obtained. With each and every breath, sing of the Lord, the treasure of excellence. ||3|| He is not far from us, wherever we go. When He shows His Mercy, we obtain the Lord, Har, Har. I offer this prayer to the Perfect Guru. Nanak begs for the treasure of the Lord's Name. ||4||5||99|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: First, the pains of the body vanish; then, the mind becomes totally peaceful. In His Mercy, the Guru bestows the Lord's Name. I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice to that True Guru. ||1|| I have obtained the Perfect Guru, O my Siblings of Destiny. All illness, sorrows and sufferings are dispelled, in the Sanctuary of the True Guru. ||Pause|| The feet of the Guru abide within my heart; I have received all the fruits of my heart's desires. The fire is extinguished, and I am totally peaceful. Showering His Mercy, the Guru has given this gift. ||2|| The Guru has given shelter to the shelterless. The Guru has given honour to the dishonoured. Shattering his bonds, the Guru has saved His servant. I taste with my tongue the Ambrosial Bani of His Word. ||3|| By great good fortune, I worship the Guru's feet. Forsaking everything, I have obtained God's Sanctuary.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 050

That humble being, O Nanak, unto whom the Guru grants His Mercy, is forever enraptured. ||4||6||100|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: The True Guru has truly given a child. The long-lived one has been born to this destiny. He came to acquire a home in the womb, and his mother's heart is so very glad. ||1|| A son is born - a devotee of the Lord of the Universe. This pre-ordained destiny has been revealed to all. ||Pause|| In the tenth month, by the Lord's Order, the baby has been born. Sorrow is dispelled, and great joy has ensued. The companions blissfully sing the songs of the Guru's Bani. This is pleasing to the Lord Master. ||2|| The vine has grown, and shall last for many generations. The Power of the Dharma has been firmly established by the Lord. That which my mind wishes for, the True Guru has granted. I have become carefree, and I fix my attention on the One Lord. ||3|| As the child places so much faith in his father, I speak as it pleases the Guru to have me speak. This is not a hidden secret; Guru Nanak, greatly pleased, has bestowed this gift. ||4||7||101|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Giving His Hand, the Perfect Guru has protected the child. The glory of His servant has become manifest. ||1|| I contemplate the Guru, the Guru; I meditate on the Guru, the Guru. I offer my heart-felt prayer to the Guru, and it is answered. ||Pause|| I have taken to the Sanctuary of the True Divine Guru. The service of His servant has been fulfilled. ||2|| He has preserved my soul, body, youth and breath of life. Says Nanak, I am a sacrifice to the Guru. ||3||8||102|| Aasaa, Eighth House, Kaafee, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I am Your purchased slave, O True Lord Master. My soul and body, and all of this, everything is Yours. ||1|| You are the honour of the dishonoured. O Master, in You I place my trust. Without the True One, any other support is false - know this well. ||1||Pause|| Your Command is infinite; no one can find its limit. One who meets with the Perfect Guru, walks in the Way of the Lord's Will. ||2|| Cunning and cleverness are of no use. That which the Lord Master gives, by the Pleasure of His Will - that is pleasing to me. ||3|| One may perform tens of thousands of actions, but attachment to things is not satisfied. Servant Nanak has made the Naam his Support. He has renounced other entanglements. ||4||1||103|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: I have pursued all pleasures, but none is as great as the Lord. By the Pleasure of the Guru's Will, the True Lord Master is obtained. ||1|| I am a sacrifice to my Guru; I am forever and ever a sacrifice to Him. Please, grant me this one blessing, that I may never, even for an instant, forget Your Name. ||1||Pause|| How very fortunate are those who have the wealth of the Lord deep within the heart.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 051

They escape from the great noose of death; they are permeated with the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||2|| How can I chant the Glorious Praises of the Guru? The Guru is the ocean of Truth and clear understanding. He is the Perfect Transcendent Lord, from the very beginning, and throughout the ages. ||3|| Meditating on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, forever and ever, my mind is filled with the Love of the Lord, Har, Har. The Guru is my soul, my breath of life, and wealth; O Nanak, He is with me forever. ||4||2||104|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: If the Invisible and Infinite Lord dwells within my mind, even for a moment, then all my pains, troubles, and diseases vanish. ||1|| I am a sacrifice to my Lord Master. Meditating on Him, a great joy wells up within my mind and body. ||1||Pause|| I have heard only a little bit of news about the True Lord Master. I have obtained the peace of all peace, O my mother; I cannot estimate its worth. ||2|| He is so beautiful to my eyes; beholding Him, I have been bewitched. I am worthless, O my mother; He Himself has attached me to the hem of His robe. ||3|| He is beyond the world of the Vedas, the Koran and the Bible. The Supreme King of Nanak is immanent and manifest. ||4||3||105|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Tens of thousands of devotees worship and adore You, chanting, "Beloved, Beloved." How shall You unite me, the worthless and corrupt soul, with Yourself. ||1|| You are my Support, O Merciful God, Lord of the Universe, Sustainer of the World. You are the Master of all; the entire creation is Yours. ||1||Pause|| You are the constant help and support of the Saints, who behold You Ever-present. Those who lack the Naam, the Name of the Lord, shall die, engulfed in sorrow and pain. ||2|| Those servants, who lovingly perform the Lord's service, are freed from the cycle of reincarnation. What shall be the fate of those who forget the Naam? ||3|| As are the cattle which have strayed, so is the entire world. O God, please cut away Nanak's bonds, and unite him with Yourself. ||4||4||106|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Forget all other things, and dwell upon the Lord alone. Lay aside your false pride, and dedicate your mind and body to Him. ||1|| Twenty-four hours a day, praise the Creator Lord. I live by Your bountiful gifts - please, shower me with Your Mercy! ||1||Pause|| So, do that work, by which your face shall be made radiant. He alone becomes attached to the Truth, O Lord, unto whom You give it. ||2|| So build and adorn that house, which shall never be destroyed. Enshrine the One Lord within your consciousness; He shall never die. ||3|| The Lord is dear to those, who are pleasing to the Will of God. By Guru's Grace, Nanak describes the indescribable. ||4||5||107|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: What are they like - those who do not forget the Naam, the Name of the Lord? Know that there is absolutely no difference; they are exactly like the Lord. ||1|| The mind and body are enraptured, meeting with You, O Lord. Peace is obtained, by the favor of the Lord's humble servant; all pains are taken away. ||1||Pause|| As many as are the continents of the world, so many have been saved. Those, in whose minds You Yourself dwell, O Lord, are the perfect devotees. ||2||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 052

Those whom You approve, are approved. Such a celebrated and honoured person is known everywhere. ||3|| Day and night, with every breath to worship and adore the Lord - please, O True Supreme King, fulfill this, Nanak's desire. ||4||6||108|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: He, my Lord Master, is fully pervading all places. He is the One Lord Master, the roof over our heads; there is no other than Him. ||1|| As it pleases Your Will, please save me, O Savior Lord. Without You, my eyes see no other at all. ||1||Pause|| God Himself is the Cherisher; He takes care of each and every heart. That person, within whose mind You Yourself dwell, never forgets You. ||2|| He does that which is pleasing to Himself. He is known as the help and support of His devotees, throughout the ages. ||3|| Chanting and meditating up the Lord's Name, the mortal never comes to regret anything. O Nanak, I thirst for the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan; please, fulfill my desire, O Lord. ||4||7||109|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Why are you sleeping, and forgetting the Name, O careless and foolish mortal? So many have been washed away and carried off by this river of life. ||1|| O mortal, get aboard the boat of the Lord's Lotus Feet, and cross over. Twenty-four hours a day, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||1||Pause|| You may enjoy various pleasures, but they are useless without the Name. Without devotion to the Lord, you shall die in sorrow, again and

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again. ||2|| You may dress and eat and apply scented oils to your body, but without the meditative remembrance of the Lord, your body shall surely turn to dust, and you shall have to depart. ||3|| How very treacherous is this world-ocean; how very few realise this! Salvation rests in the Lord's Sanctuary; O Nanak, this is your pre-ordained destiny. ||4||8||110|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: No one is anyone's companion; why take any pride in others? With the Support of the One Name, this terrible world-ocean is crossed over. ||1|| You are the True Support of me, the poor mortal, O my Perfect True Guru. Gazing upon the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan, my mind is encouraged. ||1||Pause|| Royal powers, wealth, and worldly involvements are of no use at all. The Kirtan of the Lord's Praise is my Support; this wealth is everlasting. ||2|| As many as are the pleasures of Maya, so many are the shadows they leave. The Gurmukhs sing of the Naam, the treasure of peace. ||3|| You are the True Lord, the treasure of excellence; O God, You are deep and unfathomable. The Lord Master is the hope and support of Nanak's mind. ||4||9||111|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Remembering Him, suffering is removed, and celestial peace is obtained. Night and day, with your palms pressed together, meditate on the Lord, Har, Har. ||1|| He alone is Nanak's God, unto whom all beings belong. He is totally pervading everywhere, the Truest of the True. ||1||Pause|| Inwardly and outwardly, He is my companion and my helper; He is the One to be realised. Adoring Him, my mind is cured of all its ailments. ||2|| The Savior Lord is infinite; He saves us from the fire of the womb.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 053

The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is soothing and cool; remembering it in meditation, the inner fire is quenched. ||3|| Peace, poise, and immense bliss, O Nanak, are obtained, when one becomes the dust of the feet of the humble servants of the Lord. All of one's affairs are perfectly resolved, meeting with the Perfect Guru. ||4||10||112|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: The Lord of the Universe is the treasure of excellence; He is known only to the Gurmukh. When He shows His Mercy and Kindness, we revel in the Lord's Love. ||1|| Come, O Saints - let us join together and speak the Sermon of the Lord. Night and day, meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and ignore the criticism of others. ||1||Pause|| I live by chanting and meditating on the Naam, and so I obtain immense bliss. Attachment to the world is useless and vain; it is false, and perishes in the end. ||2|| How rare are those who embrace love for the Lord's Lotus Feet. Blessed and beautiful is that mouth, which meditates on the Lord. ||3|| The pains of birth, death and reincarnation are erased by meditating on the Lord. That alone is Nanak's joy, which is pleasing to God. ||4||11||113|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Come, O friends: let us meet together and enjoy all the tastes and flavors. Let us join together and chant the Ambrosial Name of the Lord, Har, Har, and so wipe away our sins. ||1|| Reflect upon the essence of reality, O Saintly beings, and no troubles shall afflict you. All of the thieves shall be destroyed, as the Gurmukhs remain wakeful. ||1||Pause|| Take wisdom and humility as your supplies, and burn away the poison of pride. True is that shop, and perfect the transaction; deal only in the merchandise of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||2|| They alone are accepted and approved, who dedicate their souls, bodies and wealth. Those who are pleasing to their God, celebrate in happiness. ||3|| Those fools, who drink in the wine of evil-mindedness, become the husbands of prostitutes. But those who are imbued with the sublime essence of the Lord, O Nanak, are intoxicated with the Truth. ||4||12||114|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: I made the effort; I did it, and made a beginning. I live by chanting and meditating on the Naam. The Guru has implanted this Mantra within me. ||1|| I fall at the Feet of the True Guru, who has dispelled my doubts. Bestowing His Mercy, God has dressed me, and decorated me with the Truth. ||1||Pause|| Taking me by the hand, He made me His own, through the True Order of His Command. That gift which God gave to me, is perfect greatness. ||2|| Forever and ever, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and chant the Name of the Destroyer of ego. My vows have been honoured, by the Grace of God and the True Guru, who has showered His Mercy. ||3|| The Perfect Guru has given the wealth of the Naam, and the profit of singing the Lord's Glorious Praises. The Saints are the traders, O Nanak, and the Infinite Lord God is their Banker. ||4||13||115|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: One who has You as His Master, O God, is blessed with great destiny. He is happy, and forever at peace; his doubts and fears are all dispelled. ||1|| I am the slave of the Lord of the Universe; my Master is the greatest of all. He is the Creator, the Cause of causes; He is my True Guru. ||1||Pause|| There is no other whom I should fear.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 054

Serving the Guru, the Mansion of the Lord's Presence is obtained, and the impassable world-ocean is crossed over. ||2|| By Your Glance of Grace, peace is obtained, and the treasure fills the mind. That servant, unto whom You bestow Your Mercy, is approved and accepted. ||3|| How rare is that person who drinks in the Ambrosial Essence of the Lord's Kirtan. Nanak has obtained the commodity of the One Name; he lives by chanting and meditating on it within his heart. ||4||14||116|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: I am God's maid-servant; He is the highest of all. All things, big and small, are said to belong to Him. ||1|| I surrender my soul, my breath of life, and my wealth, to my Lord Master. Through His Name, I become radiant; I am known as His slave. ||1||Pause|| You are Carefree, the Embodiment of Bliss. Your Name is a gem, a jewel. One who has You as her Master, is satisfied, satiated and happy forever. ||2|| O my companions and fellow maidens, please implant that balanced understanding within me. Serve the Holy Saints lovingly, and find the treasure of the Lord. ||3|| All are servants of the Lord Master, and all call Him their own. She alone dwells in peace, O Nanak, whom the Lord adorns. ||4||15||117|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Become the servant of the Saints, and learn this way of life. Of all virtues, the most sublime virtue is to see your Husband Lord near at hand. ||1|| So, dye this mind of yours with the colour of the Lord's Love. Renounce cleverness and cunning, and know that the Sustainer of the world is with you. ||1||Pause|| Whatever your Husband Lord says, accept that, and make it your decoration. Forget the love of duality, and chew upon this betel leaf. ||2|| Make the Word of the Guru's Shabad your lamp, and let your bed be Truth. Twenty-four hours a day, stand with your palms pressed together, and the Lord, your King, shall meet you. ||3|| She alone is cultured and embellished, and she alone is of incomparable beauty. She alone is the happy soul-bride, O Nanak, who is pleasing to the Creator Lord. ||4||16||118|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: As long as there are doubts in the mind, the mortal staggers and falls. The Guru removed my doubts, and I have obtained my place of rest. ||1|| Those quarrelsome enemies have been overcome, through the Guru. I have now escaped from them, and they have run away from me. ||1||Pause|| He is concerned with 'mine and yours', and so he is held in bondage. When the Guru dispelled my ignorance, then the noose of death was cut away from my neck. ||2|| As long as he does not understand the Command of God's Will, he remains miserable. Meeting with the Guru, he comes to recognise God's Will, and then, he becomes happy. ||3|| I have no enemies and no adversaries; no one is wicked to me. That servant, who performs the Lord's service, O Nanak, is the slave of the Lord Master. ||4||17||119|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Peace, celestial poise and absolute bliss are obtained, singing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises. Bestowing His Name, the True Guru removes the evil omens. ||1|| I am a sacrifice to my Guru; forever and ever, I am a sacrifice to Him.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 055

I am a sacrifice to the Guru; meeting Him, I am absorbed into the True Lord. ||1||Pause|| Good omens and bad omens affect those who do not keep the Lord in the mind. The Messenger of Death does not approach those who are pleasing to the Lord God. ||2|| Donations to charity, meditation and penance - above all of them is the Naam. One who chants with his tongue the Name of the Lord, Har, Har - his works are brought to perfect completion. ||3|| His fears are removed, and his doubts and attachments are gone; he sees none other than God. O Nanak, the Supreme Lord God preserves him, and no pain or sorrow afflicts him any longer. ||4||18||120|| Aasaa, Ninth House, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Contemplating Him within my consciousness, I obtain total peace; but hereafter, will I be pleasing to Him or not? There is only One Giver; all others are beggars. Who else can we turn to? ||1|| When I beg from others, I am ashamed. The One Lord Master is the Supreme King of all; who else is equal to Him? ||1||Pause|| Standing up and sitting down, I cannot live without Him. I search and search for the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. Even Brahma and the sages Sanak, Sanandan, Sanaatan and Sanat Kumar, find it difficult to obtain the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. ||2|| He is unapproachable and unfathomable; His wisdom is deep and profound; His value cannot be appraised. I have taken to the Sanctuary of the True Lord, the Primal Being, and I meditate on the True Guru. ||3|| God, the Lord Master, has become kind and compassionate; He has cut the noose of death away from my neck. Says Nanak, now that I have obtained the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I shall not have to be reincarnated again. ||4||1||121|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Inwardly, I sing His Praises, and outwardly, I sing His Praises; I sing His Praises while awake and asleep. I am a trader in the Name of the Lord of the Universe; He has given it to me as my supplies, to carry with me. ||1|| I have forgotten and forsaken other things. The Perfect Guru has given me the Gift of the Naam; this alone is my Support. ||1||Pause|| I sing His Praises while suffering, and I sing His Praises while I am at peace as well. I contemplate Him while I walk along the Path. The Guru has implanted the Naam within my mind, and my thirst has been quenched. ||2|| I sing His Praises during the day, and I sing His Praises during the night; I sing them with each and every breath. In the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, this faith is established, that the Lord is with us, in life and in death. ||3|| Bless servant Nanak with this gift, O God, that he may obtain, and enshrine in his heart, the dust of the feet of the Saints. Hear the Lord's Sermon with your ears, and behold the Blessed Vision of His Darshan with your eyes; place your forehead upon the Guru's Feet. ||4||2||122|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Aasaa, Tenth House, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Aasaa, Tenth House, Fifth Mehl: That which you believe to be permanent, is a guest here for only a few days.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 056

Children, wives, homes, and all possessions - attachment to all of these is false. ||1|| O mind, why do you burst out laughing? See with your eyes, that these things are only mirages. So earn the profit of meditation on the One Lord. ||1||Pause|| It is like the clothes which you wear on your body - they wear off in a few days. How long can you run upon a wall? Ultimately, you come to its end. ||2|| It is like salt, preserved in its container; when it is put into water, it dissolves. When the Order of the Supreme Lord God comes, the soul arises, and departs in an instant. ||3|| O mind, your steps are numbered, your moments spent sitting are numbered, and the breaths you are to take are numbered. Sing forever the Praises of the Lord, O Nanak, and you shall be saved, under the Shelter of the Feet of the True Guru. ||4||1||123|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: That which was upside-down has been set upright; the deadly enemies and adversaries have become friends. In the darkness, the jewel shines forth, and the impure understanding has become pure. ||1|| When the Lord of the Universe became merciful, I found peace, wealth and the fruit of the Lord's Name; I have met the True Guru. ||1||Pause|| No one knew me, the miserable miser, but now, I have become famous all over the world. Before, no one would even sit with me, but now, all worship my feet. ||2|| I used to wander in search of pennies, but now, all the desires of my mind are satisfied. I could not bear even one criticism, but now, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I am cooled and soothed. ||3|| What Glorious Virtues of the Inaccessible, Unfathomable, Profound Lord can one mere tongue describe? Please, make me the slave of the slave of Your slaves; servant Nanak seeks the Lord's Sanctuary. ||4||2||124|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: O fool, you are so slow to earn your profits, and so quick to run up losses. You do not purchase the inexpensive merchandise; O sinner, you are tied to your debts. ||1|| O True Guru, You are my only hope. Your Name is the Purifier of sinners, O Supreme Lord God; You are my only Shelter. ||1||Pause|| Listening to the evil talk, you are caught up in it, but you are hesitant to chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord. You are delighted by slanderous talk; your understanding is corrupt. ||2|| Others' wealth, others' wives and the slander of others - eating the uneatable, you have gone crazy. You have not enshrined love for the True Faith of Dharma; hearing the Truth, you are enraged. ||3|| O God, Merciful to the meek, Compassionate Lord Master, Your Name is the Support of Your devotees. Nanak has come to Your Sanctuary; O God, make him Your Own, and preserve his honour. ||4||3||125|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl : They are attached to falsehood; clinging to the transitory, they are trapped in emotional attachment to Maya. Wherever they go, they do not think of the Lord; they are blinded by intellectual egotism. ||1|| O mind, O renunciate, why don't you adore Him? You dwell in that flimsy chamber, with all the sins of corruption. ||1||Pause|| Crying out, "Mine, mine", your days and nights pass away; moment by moment, your life is running out.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 057

The sweet flavors tempt you, and you are occupied by your false and filthy business. ||2|| Your senses are beguiled by sensual pleasures of sex, by anger, greed and emotional attachment. The All-powerful Architect of Destiny has ordained that you shall be reincarnated over and over again. ||3|| When the Destroyer of the pains of the poor becomes merciful, then, as Gurmukh, you shall find absolute peace. Says Nanak, meditate on the Lord, day and night, and all your sickness shall be banished. ||4|| Meditate in this way, O Siblings of Destiny, on the Lord, the Architect of Destiny. The Destroyer of the pains of the poor has become merciful; He has removed the pains of birth and death. ||1||Second Pause||4||4||126|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: For a moment of sexual pleasure, you shall suffer in pain for millions of days. For an instant, you may savor pleasure, but afterwards, you shall regret it, again and again. ||1|| O blind man, meditate on the Lord, the Lord, your King. Your day is drawing near. ||1||Pause|| You are deceived, beholding with your eyes, the bitter melon and swallow-wort. But, like the companionship of a poisonous snake, so is the desire for another's spouse. ||2|| For the sake of your enemy, you commit sins, while you neglect the reality of your faith. Your friendship is with those who abandon you, and you are angry with your friends. ||3|| The entire world is entangled in this way; he alone is saved, who has the Perfect Guru. Says Nanak, I have crossed over the terrifying world-ocean; my body has become sanctified. ||4||5||127|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl Dupadas: O Lord, You behold whatever we do in secrecy; the fool may stubbornly deny it. By his own actions, he is tied down, and in the end, he regrets and repents. ||1|| My God knows, ahead of time, all things. Deceived by doubt, you may hide your actions, but in the end,

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you shall have to confess the secrets of your mind. ||1||Pause|| Whatever they are attached to, they remain joined to that. What can any mere mortal do? Please, forgive me, O Supreme Lord Master. Nanak is forever a sacrifice to You. ||2||6||128|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: He Himself preserves His servants; He causes them to chant His Name. Wherever the business and affairs of His servants are, there the Lord hurries to be. ||1|| The Lord appears near at hand to His servant. Whatever the servant asks of his Lord and Master, immediately comes to pass. ||1||Pause|| I am a sacrifice to that servant, who is pleasing to his God. Hearing of his glory, the mind is rejuvenated; Nanak comes to touch his feet. ||2||7||129|| Aasaa, Eleventh House, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The actor displays himself in many disguises, but he remains just as he is. The soul wanders through countless incarnations in doubt, but it does not come to dwell in peace. ||1||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 058

O Saints, my friends and companions, without the Lord, Har, Har, you shall perish. Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and win this precious treasure of human life. ||1||Pause|| God has created Maya of the three qualities; tell me, how can it be crossed over? The whirlpool is awesome and unfathomable; only through the Word of the Guru's Shabad is one carried across. ||2|| Searching and searching endlessly, seeking and deliberating, Nanak has realised the true essence of reality. Meditating on the invaluable treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the jewel of the mind is satisfied. ||3||1||130|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl, Dupadas: By Guru's Grace, He dwells within my mind; whatever I ask for, I receive. This mind is satisfied with the Love of the Naam, the Name of the Lord; it does not go out, anywhere, anymore. ||1|| My Lord and Master is the highest of all; night and day, I sing the Glories of His Praises. In an instant, He establishes and disestablishes; through Him, I frighten you. ||1||Pause|| When I behold my God, my Lord and Master, I do not pay any attention to any other. God Himself has adorned servant Nanak; his doubts and fears have been dispelled, and he writes the account of the Lord. ||2||2||131|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: The four castes and social classes, and the preachers with the six Shaastras on their finger-tips, the beautiful, the refined, the shapely and the wise - the five passions have enticed and beguiled them all. ||1|| Who has seized and conquered the five powerful fighters? Is there anyone strong enough? He alone, who conquers and defeats the five demons, is perfect in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga. ||1||Pause|| They are so awesome and great; they cannot be controlled, and they do not run away. Their army is mighty and unyielding. Says Nanak, that humble being who is under the protection of the Saadh Sangat, crushes those terrible demons. ||2||3||132|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: The Sublime Sermon of the Lord is the best thing for the soul. All other tastes are insipid. ||1||Pause|| The worthy beings, heavenly singers, silent sages and the knowers of the six Shaastras proclaim that nothing else is worthy of consideration. ||1|| It is the cure for evil passions, unique, unequalled and peace-giving; in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, O Nanak, drink it in. ||2||4||133|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: My Beloved has brought forth a river of nectar. The Guru has not held it back from my mind, even for an instant. ||1||Pause|| Beholding it, and touching it, I am sweetened and delighted. It is imbued with the Creator's Love. ||1|| Chanting it even for a moment, I rise to the Guru; meditating on it, one is not trapped by the Messenger of Death. The Lord has placed it as a garland around Nanak's neck, and within his heart. ||2||5||134|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: The Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, is exalted and sublime. ||Pause|| Every day, hour and moment, I continually sing and speak of Govind, Govind, the Lord of the Universe. ||1|| Walking, sitting and sleeping, I chant the Lord's Praises; I treasure His Feet in my mind and body. ||2|| I am so small, and You are so great, O Lord and Master; Nanak seeks Your Sanctuary. ||3||6||135||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 059

Raag Aasaa, Fifth Mehl, Twelfth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Renounce all your cleverness and remember the Supreme, Formless Lord God. Without the One True Name, everything appears as dust. ||1|| Know that God is always with you. By Guru's Grace, one understands, and is imbued with the Love of the One Lord. ||1||Pause|| Seek the Shelter of the One All-powerful Lord; there is no other place of rest. The vast and terrifying world-ocean is crossed over, singing continually the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||2|| Birth and death are overcome, and one does not have to suffer in the City of Death. He alone obtains the treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, unto whom God shows His Mercy. ||3|| The One Lord is my Anchor and Support; the One Lord alone is the power of my mind. O Nanak, joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, meditate on Him; without the Lord, there is no other at all. ||4||1||136|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: The soul, the mind, the body and the breath of life belong to God. He has given all tastes and pleasures. He is the Friend of the poor, the Giver of life, the Protector of those who seek His Sanctuary. ||1|| O my mind, meditate on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Here and hereafter, He is our Helper and Companion; embrace love and affection for the One Lord. ||1||Pause|| They meditate on the Vedas and the Shaastras, to swim across the world-ocean. The many religious rituals, good deeds of karma and Dharmic worship - above all of these is the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||2|| Sexual desire, anger, and egotism depart, meeting with the Divine True Guru. Implant the Naam within, perform devotional worship to the Lord and serve God - this is good. ||3|| I seek the Sanctuary of Your Feet, O Merciful Lord; You are the Honour of the dishonoured. You are the Support of my soul, my breath of life; O God, You are Nanak's strength. ||4||2||137|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: He wavers and falters, and suffers such great pain, without the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. The profit of the sublime essence of the Lord of the Universe is obtained, by the Love of the One Supreme Lord God. ||1|| Chant continually the Name of the Lord. With each and every breath, meditate on God, and renounce other love. ||1||Pause|| God is the Doer, the All-powerful Cause of causes; He Himself is the Giver of life. So renounce all your cleverness, and meditate on God, twenty-four hours a day. ||2|| He is our best friend and companion, our help and support; He is lofty, inaccessible and infinite. Enshrine His Lotus Feet within your heart; He is the Support of the soul. ||3|| Show Your Mercy, O Supreme Lord God, that I may sing Your Glorious Praises. Total peace, and the greatest greatness, O Nanak, are obtained by living to chant the Name of the Lord. ||4||3||138|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: I make the effort, as You cause me to do, my Lord and Master, to behold You in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. I am imbued with the colour of the Love of the Lord, Har, Har; God Himself has coloured me in His Love. ||1|| I chant the Lord's Name within my mind. Bestow Your Mercy, and dwell within my heart; please, become my Helper. ||1||Pause|| Listening continually to Your Name, O Beloved God, I yearn to behold You.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 060

Please, be kind to me - I am just a worm. This is my object and purpose. ||2|| My body and wealth are Yours; You are my God - nothing is in my power. As You keep me, so do I live; I eat what You give me. ||3|| The sins of countless incarnations are washed away, by bathing in the dust of the Lord's humble servants. By loving devotional worship, doubt and fear depart; O Nanak, the Lord is Ever-present. ||4||4||139|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: The Blessed Vision of Your Darshan is unapproachable and incomprehensible; he alone obtains it, who has such good destiny recorded upon his forehead. The Merciful Lord God has bestowed His Mercy, and the True Guru has granted the Lord's Name. ||1|| The Divine Guru is the Saving Grace in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga. Even those fools and idiots, stained with feces and urine, have all taken to Your service. ||1||Pause|| You Yourself are the Creator, who established the entire world. You are contained in all. The Righteous Judge of Dharma is wonder-struck, at the sight of everyone falling at the Lord's Feet. ||2|| The Golden Age of Sat Yuga, the Silver Age of Trayta Yuga, and the Brass Age of Dwaapar Yuga are good; but the best is the Dark Age, the Iron Age, of Kali Yuga. As we act, so are the rewards we receive; no one can take the place of another. ||3|| O Dear Lord, whatever Your devotees ask for, You do. This is Your Way, Your very nature. With my palms pressed together, O Nanak, I beg for this gift; Lord, please bless Your Saints with Your Vision. ||4||5||140|| Raag Aasaa, Fifth Mehl, Thirteenth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O True Guru, by Your Words, even the worthless have been saved. ||1||Pause|| Even the most argumentative, vicious and indecent people, have been purified in Your company. ||1|| Those who have wandered in reincarnation, and those who have been consigned to hell - even their families have been redeemed. ||2|| Those whom no one knew, and those whom no one respected - even they have become famous and respected at the Court of the Lord. ||3|| What praise, and what greatness should I attribute to You? Nanak is a sacrifice to You, each and every moment. ||4||1||141|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: The crazy people are asleep. ||1||Pause|| They are intoxicated with attachment to their families and sensory pleasures; they are held in the grip of falsehood. ||1|| The false desires, and the dream-like delights and pleasures - these, the self-willed manmukhs call true. ||2|| The wealth of the Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord, is with them, but they do not find even a tiny bit of its mystery. ||3|| By Your Grace, O Lord, You save those, who take to the Sanctuary of the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. ||4||2||142|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl, Tipadas: I seek the Love of my Beloved. ||1||Pause|| Gold, jewels, giant pearls and rubies - I have no need for them. ||1|| Imperial power, fortunes, royal command and mansions

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 061

- I have no desire for these. ||2|| The Sanctuary of the Lord's Feet, and dedication to the Saints - these bring me peace and pleasure. O Nanak, my burning fire has been put out, obtaining the Love of the Beloved. ||3||3||143|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: The Guru has revealed Him to my eyes. ||1||Pause|| Here and there, in each and every heart, and each and every being, You, O Fascinating Lord, You exist. ||1|| You are the Creator, the Cause of causes, the Support of the earth; You are the One and only, Beauteous Lord. ||2|| Meeting the Saints, and beholding the Blessed Vision of their Darshan, Nanak is a sacrifice to them; he sleeps in absolute peace. ||3||4||144|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is priceless. It brings peace and poise. ||1||Pause|| The Lord is my Companion and Helper; He shall not forsake me or leave me. He is unfathomable and unequalled. ||1|| He is my Beloved, my brother, father and mother; He is the Support of His devotees. ||2|| The Invisible Lord is seen through the Guru; O Nanak, this is the wondrous play of the Lord. ||3||5||145|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Please help me sustain my devotion. O Lord Master, I have come to You. ||1||Pause|| With the wealth of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, life becomes fruitful. Lord, please place Your Feet within my heart. ||1|| This is liberation, and this is the best way of life; please, keep me in the Society of the Saints. ||2|| Meditating on the Naam, I am absorbed in celestial peace; O Nanak, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||3||6||146|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: The Feet of my Lord and Master are so Beautiful! The Lord's Saints obtain them. ||1||Pause|| They eradicate their self-conceit and serve the Lord; drenched in His Love, they sing His Glorious Praises. ||1|| They place their hopes in Him, and they thirst for the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. Nothing else is pleasing to them. ||2|| This is Your Mercy, Lord; what can Your poor creatures do? Nanak is devoted, a sacrifice to You. ||3||7||147|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Remember the One Lord in meditation within your mind. ||1||Pause|| Meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and enshrine Him within your heart. Without Him there is no other. ||1|| Entering God's Sanctuary, all rewards are obtained, and all pains are taken away. ||2|| He is the Giver of all beings, the Architect of Destiny; O Nanak, He is contained in each and every heart. ||3||8||148|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: One who forgets the Lord is dead. ||1||Pause|| One who meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, obtains all rewards. That person becomes happy. ||1|| One who calls himself a king, and acts in ego and pride, is caught by his doubts, like a parrot in a trap. ||2|| Says Nanak, one who meets the True Guru, becomes permanent and immortal. ||3||9||149|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl, Fourteenth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: That love is forever fresh and new, which is for the Beloved Lord. ||1||Pause|| One who is pleasing to God shall not be reincarnated again. He remains absorbed in the loving devotional worship of the Lord, in the Love of the Lord. ||1||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 062

He is blended with God, by dedicating his mind to Him. Bless Nanak with Your Name, O Lord - please, shower Your Mercy upon him! ||2||1||150|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Please, come to me, O Beloved Lord; without You, no one can comfort me. ||1||Pause|| One may read the Simritees and the Shaastras, and perform all sorts of religious rituals; and yet, without the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan, God, there is no peace at all. ||1|| People have grown weary of observing fasts, vows and rigorous self-discipline; Nanak abides with God, in the Sanctuary of the Saints. ||2||2||151|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl, Fifteenth House, Partaal: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: He sleeps, intoxicated by corruption and Maya; he does not come to realise or understand. Seizing him by the hair, the Messenger of Death pulls him up; then, he comes to his senses. ||1|| Those who are attached to the poison of greed and sin grab at the wealth of others; they only bring pain on themselves. They are intoxicated by their pride in those things which shall be destroyed in an instant; those demons do not understand. ||1||Pause|| The Vedas, the Shaastras and the holy men proclaim it, but the deaf do not hear it. When the game of life is over, and he has lost, and he breathes his last, then the fool regrets and repents in his mind. ||2|| He paid the fine, but it is in vain - in the Court of the Lord, his account is not credited. Those deeds which would have covered him - those deeds, he has not done. ||3|| The Guru has shown me the world to be thus; I sing the Kirtan of the Praises of the One Lord. Renouncing his pride in strength and cleverness, Nanak has come to the Lord's Sanctuary. ||4||1||152|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Dealing in the Name of the Lord of the Universe, and pleasing the Saints and holy men, obtain the Beloved Lord and sing His Glorious Praises; play the sound current of the Naad with the five instruments. ||1||Pause|| Obtaining His Mercy, I easily gained the Blessed Vision of His Darshan; now, I am imbued with the Love of the Lord of the Universe. Serving the Saints, I feel love and affection for my Beloved Lord Master. ||1|| The Guru has implanted spiritual wisdom within my mind, and I rejoice that I shall not have to come back again. I have obtained celestial poise, and the treasure within my mind. I have renounced all of the affairs of my mind's desires. It has been so long, so long, so long, so very long, since my mind has felt such a great thirst. Please, reveal to me the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan, and show Yourself to me. Nanak the meek has

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entered Your Sanctuary; please, take me in Your embrace. ||2||2||153|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Who can destroy the fortress of sin, and release me from hope, thirst, deception, attachment and doubt? ||1||Pause|| How can I escape the afflictions of sexual desire, anger, greed and pride? ||1|| In the Society of the Saints, love the Naam, and sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe. Night and day, meditate on God. I have captured and demolished the walls of doubt. O Nanak, the Naam is my only treasure. ||2||3||154|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Renounce sexual desire, anger and greed; remember the Name of the Lord of the Universe in your mind. Meditation on the Lord is the only fruitful action. ||1||Pause||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 063

Renounce pride, attachment, corruption and falsehood, and chant the Name of the Lord, Raam, Raam, Raam. O mortal, attach yourself to the Feet of the Saints. ||1|| God is the Sustainer of the world, Merciful to the meek, the Purifier of sinners, the Transcendent Lord God. Awaken, and meditate on His Feet. Perform His devotional worship, O Nanak, and your destiny shall be fulfilled. ||2||4||155|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Pleasure and pain, detachment and ecstasy - the Lord has revealed His Play. ||1||Pause|| One moment, the mortal is in fear, and the next moment he is fearless; in a moment, he gets up and departs. One moment, he enjoys pleasures, and the next moment, he leaves and goes away. ||1|| One moment, he practices Yoga and intense meditation, and all sorts of worship; the next moment, he wanders in doubt. One moment, O Nanak, the Lord bestows His Mercy and blesses him with His Love, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||2||5||156|| Raag Aasaa, Fifth Mehl, Seventeenth House, Aasaavaree: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Meditate on the Lord, the Lord of the Universe. Cherish the Beloved Lord, Har, Har, in your mind. The Guru says to install it in your consciousness. Turn away from others, and turn to Him. Thus you shall obtain your Beloved, O my companion. ||1||Pause|| In the pool of the world is the mud of attachment. Stuck in it, his feet cannot walk towards the Lord. The fool is stuck; he cannot do anything else. Only by entering the Lord's Sanctuary, O my companion, will you be released. ||1|| Thus your consciousness shall be stable and steady and firm. Wilderness and household are the same. Deep within dwells the One Husband Lord; outwardly, there are many distractions. Practice Raja Yoga, the Yoga of meditation and success. Says Nanak, this is the way to dwell with the people, and yet remain apart from them. ||2||1||157|| Aasaavaree, Fifth Mehl: Cherish one desire only: meditate continually on the Guru. Install the wisdom of the Saints' Mantra. Serve the Feet of the Guru, and you shall meet Him, by Guru's Grace, O my mind. ||1||Pause|| All doubts are dispelled, and the Lord is seen to be pervading all places. The fear of death is dispelled, and the primal place is obtained. Then, all subservience is removed. ||1|| One who has such destiny recorded upon his forehead, obtains it; he crosses over the terrifying ocean of fire. He obtains a place in the home of his own self, and enjoys the most sublime essence of the Lord's essence. His hunger is appeased; Nanak, he is absorbed in celestial peace, O my mind. ||2||2||158|| Aasaavaree, Fifth Mehl: Sing the Praises of the Lord, Har, Har, Har. Meditate on the celestial music. The tongues of the holy Saints repeat it. I have heard that this is the way to emancipation. This is found by the greatest merit, O my mind. ||1||Pause|| The silent sages search for Him. God is the Master of all. It is so difficult to find Him in this world, in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga. He is the Dispeller of distress. God is the Fulfiller of desires, O my mind. ||1|| O my mind, serve Him.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 064

He is unknowable and inscrutable. Enshrine love for Him. He does not perish, or go away, or die. He is known only through the Guru. Nanak, my mind is satisfied with the Lord, O my mind. ||2||3||159|| Aasaavaree, Fifth Mehl: Grab hold of the Support of the One Lord. Chant the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Submit to the Order of the True Lord. Receive the treasure in your mind. Thus you shall be absorbed in peace, O my mind. ||1||Pause|| One who is dead while yet alive, crosses over the terrifying world-ocean. One who becomes the dust of all - he alone is called fearless. His anxieties are removed by the Teachings of the Saints, O my mind. ||1|| That humble being, who takes happiness in the Naam, the Name of the Lord - pain never draws near him. One who listens to the Praise of the Lord, Har, Har, is obeyed by all men. How fortunate it is that he came into the world; Nanak, he is pleasing to God, O my mind. ||2||4||160|| Aasaavaree, Fifth Mehl: Meeting together, let us sing the Praises of the Lord, and attain the supreme state. Those who obtain that sublime essence, obtain all of the spiritual powers of the Siddhas. They remain awake and aware night and day; Nanak, they are blessed by great good fortune, O my mind. ||1||Pause|| Let us wash the feet of the Saints; our evil-mindedness shall be cleansed. Becoming the dust of the feet of the Lord's slaves, one shall not be afflicted with pain. Taking to the Sanctuary of His devotees, he is no longer subject to birth and death. They alone become eternal, who chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, O my mind. ||1|| You are my Friend, my Best Friend. Please, implant the Naam, the Name of the Lord, within me. Without Him, there is not any other. Within my mind, I worship Him in adoration. I do not forget Him, even for an instant. How can I live without Him? I am a sacrifice to the Guru. Nanak, chant the Name, O my mind. ||2||5||161|| Aasaavaree, Fifth Mehl: You are the Creator, the Cause of causes. I cannot think of any other. Whatever You do, comes to pass. I sleep in peace and poise. My mind has become patient, since I fell at God's Door, O my mind. ||1||Pause|| Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I gained perfect control over my senses. Ever since I rid myself of my self-conceit, my sufferings have ended. He has showered His Mercy upon me. The Creator Lord has preserved my honour, O my mind. ||1|| Know that this is the only peace; accept whatever the Lord does. No one is bad. Become the dust of the Feet of the Saints. He Himself preserves those who taste the Ambrosial Nectar of the Lord, O my mind. ||2|| One who has no one to call his own - God belongs to him. God knows the state of our innermost being. He knows everything. Please, Lord, save the sinners. This is Nanak's prayer, O my mind. ||3||6||162|| Aasaavaree, Fifth Mehl, Ik-Tukas: O my stranger soul, listen to the call. ||1||Pause|| Whatever you are attached to,

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 065

you shall have to leave it all behind. These things seem like only a dream, to one who takes the Lord's Name. ||1|| Forsaking the Lord, and clinging to another, they run toward death and reincarnation. But those humble beings, who attach themselves to the Lord, Har, Har, continue to live. One who is blessed with the Lord's Mercy, O Nanak, becomes His devotee. ||2||7||163||232|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Raag Aasaa, Ninth Mehl: Who should I tell the condition of the mind? Engrossed in greed, running around in the ten directions, you hold to your hopes of wealth. ||1||Pause|| For the sake of pleasure, you suffer such great pain, and you have to serve each and every person. You wander from door to door like a dog, unconscious of the Lord's meditation. ||1|| You lose this human life in vain, and You are not even ashamed when others laugh at you. O Nanak, why not sing the Lord's Praises, so that you may be rid of the body's evil disposition? ||2||1||233|| Raag Aasaa, First Mehl, Ashtapadees, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: He descends the treacherous precipice, to bathe in the cleansing pool; without speaking or saying anything, he sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Like water vapor in the sky, he remains absorbed in the Lord. He churns the true pleasures to obtain the supreme nectar. ||1|| Listen to such spiritual wisdom, O my mind. The Lord is totally pervading and permeating all places. ||1||Pause|| One who makes Truthfulness his fast and religious vows, does not suffer the pain of death. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, he burns away his anger. He dwells in the Tenth Gate, immersed in the Samaadhi of deep meditation. Touching the philosopher's stone, he obtains the supreme status. ||2|| For the benefit of the mind, churn the true essence of reality; bathing in the over-flowing tank of nectar, filth is washed away. We become like the One with whom we are imbued. Whatever the Creator does, comes to pass. ||3|| The Guru is cool and soothing like ice; He puts out the fire of the mind. Smear your body with the ashes of dedicated service, and live in the home of peace - make this your religious order. Let the Immaculate Bani of the Word be your playing of the flute. ||4|| Spiritual wisdom within is the supreme, sublime nectar. Contemplation of the Guru is one's bathing at holy places of pilgrimage. Worship and adoration within is the Lord's dwelling. He is the One who blends one's light with the Divine Light. ||5|| He delights in the delightful wisdom of loving the One Lord. He is one of the self-elect - he merges with the Lord, who occupies the throne. He performs his works in obedience to the Will of his Lord and Master. The Unknowable Lord cannot be understood. ||6|| The lotus originates in the water, and yet it remains distinct from the water. Just so, the Divine Light pervades and permeates the water of the world. Who is near, and who is far away? I sing the Glories of the Lord, the treasure of virtue; I behold Him ever-present. ||7|| Inwardly and outwardly, there is none other than Him.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 066

Whatever pleases Him, comes to pass. Listen, O Bharthari Yogi - Nanak speaks after deliberation; the Immaculate Name is my only Support. ||8||1|| Aasaa, First Mehl: All meditation, all austerities, and all clever tricks, lead one to wander in the wilderness, but he does not find the Path. Without understanding, he is not approved; without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, ashes are thrown upon one's head. ||1|| True is the Master; the world comes and goes. The mortal is emancipated, as Gurmukh, as the Lord's slave. ||1||Pause|| The world is bound by its attachments to the many desires. Through the Guru's Teachings, some become free of desire. Within them is the Naam, and their heart lotus blossoms forth. They have no fear of death. ||2|| The men of the world are conquered by woman; they love the ladies. Attached to children and wife, they forget the Naam. They waste this human life in vain, and lose the game in the gamble. Serving the True Guru is the best occupation. ||3|| One who speaks egotistically in public, never attains liberation within. One who burns away his attachment to Maya, by the Word of the Guru's Shabad, meditates forever within his heart on the Immaculate Naam. ||4|| He restrains his wandering mind, and keeps it under control. The company of such a Sikh is obtained only by Grace. Without the Guru, he goes astray and continues coming and going. Bestowing His Mercy, the Lord unites him in Union. ||5|| I cannot describe the Beauteous Lord. I speak the unspoken; I cannot estimate His value. All pain and pleasure come by Your Will. All pain is eradicated by the True Name. ||6|| He plays the instrument without hands, and dances without feet. But if he understands the Word of the Shabad, then he shall behold the True Lord. With the True Lord within the self, all happiness comes. Showering His Mercy, the Preserving Lord preserves him. ||7|| He understands the three worlds; he eliminates his self-conceit. He understands the Bani of the Word, and he is absorbed into the True Lord. Contemplating the Shabad, he enshrines love for the One Lord. O Nanak, blessed is the Lord, the Embellisher. ||8||2|| Aasaa, First Mehl: There are innumerable writings; those who write them take pride in them. When one's mind accepts the Truth, he understands, and speaks of it. Words, spoken and read again and again, are useless loads. There are innumerable writings, but the Infinite Lord remains unwritten. ||1|| Know that such a True Lord is the One and only. Understand that birth and death come according to the Lord's Will. ||1||Pause|| Because of attachment to Maya, the world is bound by the Messenger of Death. These bonds are released when one remembers the Naam, the Name of the Lord. The Guru is the Giver of peace; do not look for any other. In this world, and the next, He shall stand by you. ||2|| One who dies in the Word of the Shabad, embraces love for the One Lord. One who eats the uneatable, has his doubts dispelled. He is Jivan Mukta - liberated while yet alive; the Naam abides in his mind. Becoming Gurmukh, he merges into the True Lord. ||3|| The One who created the earth and the Akaashic ethers of the sky, established all; He establishes and disestablishes. He Himself is permeating all. He does not consult anyone; He Himself forgives. ||4|| You are the Ocean, over-flowing with jewels and rubies. You are immaculate and pure, the true treasure of virtue.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 067

Peace is enjoyed, meeting the Guru, the Spiritual Teacher. The Lord is the only Master; He is the only Minister. ||5|| The world is held in bondage; he alone is emancipated, who conquers his ego. How rare in the world is that wise person, who practices this. How rare in this world is that scholar who reflects upon this. Without meeting the True Guru, all wander in ego. ||6|| The world is unhappy; only a few are happy. The world is diseased, from its indulgences; it weeps over its lost virtue. The world wells up, and then subsides, losing its honour. He alone, who becomes Gurmukh, understands. ||7|| His price is so costly; His weight is unbearable. He is immovable and undeceivable; enshrine Him in your mind, through the Guru's Teachings. Meet Him through love, become pleasing to Him, and act in fear of Him. Nanak the lowly says this, after deep contemplation. ||8||3|| Aasaa, First Mehl: When someone dies, the five passions meet and mourn his death. Overcoming self-conceit, he washes off his filth with the Word of the Shabad. One who knows and understands, enters the home of peace and poise. Without understanding, he loses all his honour. ||1|| Who dies, and who weeps for him? O Lord, Creator, Cause of causes, You are over the heads of all. ||1||Pause|| Who weeps over the pain of the dead? Those who weep, do so over their own troubles. God knows the condition of those who are so affected. Whatever the Creator does, comes to pass. ||2|| One who remains dead while yet alive, is saved, and saves others as well. Celebrate the Victory of the Lord; taking to His Sanctuary, the supreme status is obtained. I am a sacrifice to the feet of the True Guru. The Guru is the boat; through the Shabad of His Word, the terrifying world-ocean is crossed over. ||3|| He Himself is Fearless; His Divine Light is contained in all. Without the Name, the world is defiled and untouchable. Through evil-mindedness, they are ruined; why should they cry out and weep? They are born only to die, without hearing the music of devotional worship. ||4|| Only one's true friends mourn one's death. Those under the sway of the three dispositions continue to mourn on and on. Disregarding pain and pleasure, centre your consciousness on the Lord. Dedicate your body and mind to the Love of the Lord. ||5|| The One Lord dwells within the various and countless beings. There are so many rituals and religious faiths, their number is innumerable. Without the Fear of God, and devotional worship, one's life is in vain. Singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, the supreme wealth is obtained. ||6|| He Himself dies, and He Himself kills. He Himself establishes, and having established, disestablishes. He created the Universe, and by His Divine Nature, instilled His Divine Light into it. One who reflects upon the Word of the Shabad, meets the Lord,

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without doubt. ||7|| Pollution is the burning fire, which is consuming the world. Pollution is in the water, upon the land, and everywhere. O Nanak, people are born and die in pollution. By Guru's Grace, they drink in the Lord's sublime elixir. ||8||4|| Aasaa, First Mehl: One who contemplates his own self, tests the worth of the jewel. With a single glance, the Perfect Guru saves him. When the Guru is pleased, one's mind comforts itself. ||1|| He is such a banker, who tests us. By His True Glance of Grace, we are blessed with the Love of the One Lord, and are saved. ||1||Pause|| The capital of the Naam is immaculate and sublime. That peddler is rendered pure, who is imbued with the Truth. Praising the Lord, in the house of poise, he attains the Guru, the Creator. ||2|| One who burns away hope and desire through the Word of the Shabad, chants the Lord's Name, and inspires others to chant it as well. Through the Guru, he finds the Path home, to the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. ||3||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 068

His body becomes golden, by the Lord's Incomparable Light. He beholds the divine beauty in all the three worlds. That inexhaustible wealth of Truth is now in my lap. ||4|| In the five elements, the three worlds, the nine regions and the four directions, the Lord is pervading. He supports the earth and the sky, exercising His almighty power. He turns the outgoing mind around. ||5|| The fool does not realise what he sees with his eyes. He does not taste with his tongue, and does not understand what is said. Intoxicated with poison, he argues with the world. ||6|| In the uplifting society, one is uplifted. He chases after virtue and washes off his sins. Without serving the Guru, celestial poise is not obtained. ||7|| The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is a diamond, a jewel, a ruby. The pearl of the mind is the inner wealth. O Nanak, the Lord tests us, and blesses us with His Glance of Grace. ||8||5|| Aasaa, First Mehl: The Gurmukh obtains spiritual wisdom, meditation and satisfaction of the mind. The Gurmukh realises the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. The Gurmukh is attuned to the Word of the Shabad, as his Insignia. ||1|| Such is the loving devotional worship of the Lord's contemplation. The Gurmukh realises the True Name, the Destroyer of ego. ||1||Pause|| Day and night, he remains immaculately pure, and abides in the sublime place. He gains the wisdom of the three worlds. Through the True Guru, the Command of the Lord's Will is realised. ||2|| He enjoys true pleasure, and suffers no pain. He enjoys the ambrosial wisdom, and the highest sublime essence. He overcomes the five evil passions, and becomes the happiest of all men. ||3|| Your Divine Light is contained in all; everyone belongs to You. You Yourself join and separate again. Whatever the Creator does, comes to pass. ||4|| He demolishes, and He builds; by His Order, he merges us into Himself. Whatever is pleasing to His Will, happens. Without the Guru, no one obtains the Perfect Lord. ||5|| In childhood and old age, he does not understand. In the prime of youth, he is drowned in his pride. Without the Name, what can the fool obtain? ||6|| He does not know the One who blesses him with nourishment and wealth. Deluded by doubt, he later regrets and repents. The noose of death is around the neck of that crazy madman. ||7|| I saw the world drowning, and I ran away in fear. How very fortunate are those who have been saved by the True Guru. O Nanak, they are attached to the feet of the Guru. ||8||6|| Aasaa, First Mehl: They sing religious songs, but their consciousness is wicked. They sing the songs, and call themselves divine, but without the Name, their minds are false and wicked. ||1|| Where are you going? O mind, remain in your own home. The Gurmukhs are satisfied with the Lord's Name; searching, they easily find the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Sexual desire, anger and emotional attachment fill the mind and body; greed and egotism lead only to pain. How can the mind be comforted without the Lord's Name? ||2|| One who cleanses himself within, knows the True Lord. The Gurmukh knows the condition of his innermost being. Without the True Word of the Shabad, the Mansion of the Lord's Presence is not realised. ||3|| One who merges his form into the Formless Lord, abides in the True Lord, the Powerful, beyond power. Such a person does not enter into the womb of reincarnation again. ||4|| Go there, where you may obtain the Naam, the Name of the Lord.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 069

By Guru's Grace, perform good deeds. Imbued with the Naam, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||5|| Serving the Guru, I have come to understand myself. The Ambrosial Naam, the Giver of Peace, abides within my mind. Night and day, I am imbued with the Word of the Guru's Bani, and the Naam. ||6|| When my God attaches someone to Him, only then is that person attached. Conquering ego, he remains awake to the Word of the Shabad. Here and hereafter, he enjoys lasting peace. ||7|| The fickle mind does not know the way. The filthy self-willed manmukh does not understand the Shabad. The Gurmukh chants the Immaculate Naam. ||8|| I offer my prayer to the Lord, that I might dwell in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. There, sins and sufferings are erased, and one is illumined with the Lord's Name. ||9|| In reflective meditation, I have come to love good conduct. Through the Word of the True Guru, I recognise the One Lord. O Nanak, my mind is imbued with the Lord's Name. ||10||7|| Aasaa, First Mehl: The mind of the faithless cynic is like a crazy elephant. It wanders around the forest, distracted by attachment to Maya. It goes here and there, hounded by death. The Gurmukh seeks, and finds his own home. ||1|| Without the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the mind finds no place of rest. Remember in meditation the Lord's Name, the most pure and sublime; renounce your bitter egotism. ||1||Pause|| Tell me, how can this stupid mind be rescued? Without understanding, it shall suffer the pains of death. The Lord Himself forgives us, and unites us with the True Guru. The True Lord conquers and overcomes the tortures of death. ||2|| This mind commits its deeds of karma, and this mind follows the Dharma. This mind is born of the five elements. This foolish mind is perverted and greedy. Chanting the Naam, the mind of the Gurmukh becomes beautiful. ||3|| The mind of the Gurmukh finds the Lord's home. The Gurmukh comes to know the three worlds. This mind is a Yogi, an enjoyer, a practicer of austerities. The Gurmukh understands the Lord God Himself. ||4|| This mind is a detached renunciate, forsaking egotism. Desire and duality afflict each and every heart. The Gurmukh drinks in the Lord's sublime essence; at His Door, in the Mansion of the Lord's Presence, He preserves his honour. ||5|| This mind is the king, the hero of cosmic battles. The mind of the Gurmukh becomes fearless through the Naam. Overpowering and subduing the five passions, holding ego in its grip, it confines them to one place. ||6|| The Gurmukh renounces other songs and tastes. The mind of the Gurmukh is awakened to devotion. Hearing the unstruck music of the sound current, this mind contemplates the Shabad, and accepts it. Understanding itself, this soul becomes attuned to the Formless Lord. ||7|| This mind becomes immaculately pure, in the Court and the Home of the Lord. The Gurmukh shows his love through loving devotional worship. Night and day, by Guru's Grace, sing the Lord's Praises. God dwells in each and every heart, since the very beginning of time, and throughout the ages. ||8|| This mind is intoxicated with the sublime essence of the Lord; The Gurmukh realises the essence of totality. For the sake of devotional worship, he dwells at the Guru's Feet. Nanak is the humble servant of the slave of the Lord's slaves. ||9||8||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 070

Aasaa, First Mehl: When the body perishes, whose wealth is it? Without the Guru, how can the Lord's Name be obtained? The wealth of the Lord's Name is my Companion and Helper. Night and day, centre your loving attention on the Immaculate Lord. ||1|| Without the Lord's Name, who is ours? I look upon pleasure and pain alike; I shall not forsake the Naam, the Name of the Lord. The Lord Himself forgives me, and blends me with Himself. ||1||Pause|| The fool loves gold and women. Attached to duality, he has forgotten the Naam. O Lord, he alone chants the Naam, whom You have forgiven. Death cannot touch one who sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||2|| The Lord, the Guru, is the Giver; the Lord, the Sustainer of the World. If it is pleasing to Your Will, please preserve me, O Merciful Lord. As Gurmukh, my mind is pleased with the Lord. My diseases are cured, and my pains are taken away. ||3|| There is no other medicine, Tantric charm or mantra. Meditative remembrance upon the Lord, Har, Har, destroys sins. You Yourself cause us to stray from the path, and forget the Naam. Showering Your Mercy, You Yourself save us. ||4|| The mind is diseased with doubt, superstition and duality. Without the Guru, it dwells in doubt, and contemplates duality. The Guru reveals the Darshan, the Blessed Vision of the Primal Lord. Without the Word of the Guru's Shabad, what use is human life? ||5|| Beholding the Marvellous Lord, I am wonder-struck and astonished. In each and every heart, of the angels and holy men, He dwells in celestial Samaadhi. I have enshrined the All-pervading Lord within my mind. There is no one else equal to You. ||6|| For the sake of devotional worship, we chant Your Name. The Lord's devotees dwell in the Society of the Saints. Breaking his bonds, one comes to meditate on the Lord. The Gurmukhs are emancipated, by the Guru-given knowledge of the Lord. ||7|| The Messenger of Death cannot touch him with pain; the Lord's humble servant remains awake to the Love of the Naam. The Lord is the Lover of His devotees; He dwells with His devotees. O Nanak, they are liberated, through the Love of the Lord. ||8||9|| Aasaa, First Mehl, Ik-Tukee: One who serves the Guru, knows his Lord and Master. His pains are erased, and he realises the True Word of the Shabad. ||1|| Meditate on the Lord, O my friends and companions. Serving the True Guru, you shall behold God with your eyes. ||1||Pause|| People are entangled with mother, father and the world. They are entangled with sons, daughters and spouses. ||2|| They are entangled with religious rituals, and religious faith, acting in ego. They are entangled with sons, wives and others in their minds. ||3|| The farmers are entangled by farming. People suffer punishment in ego, and the Lord King exacts the penalty from them. ||4|| They are entangled in trade without contemplation. They are not satisfied by attachment to the expanse of Maya. ||5|| They are entangled with that wealth, amassed by bankers. Without devotion to the Lord, they do not become acceptable. ||6|| They are entangled with the Vedas, religious discussions and egotism. They are entangled, and perish in attachment and corruption. ||7|| Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of the Lord's Name. One who is saved by the True Guru, does not suffer entanglement. ||8||10||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 071

Raag Aasaa, First Mehl, Ashtapadees, Third House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Those heads adorned with braided hair, with their parts painted with vermillion - those heads were shaved with scissors, and their throats were choked with dust. They lived in palatial mansions, but now, they cannot even sit near the palaces. ||1|| Hail to You, O Father Lord, Hail to You! O Primal Lord. Your limits are not known; You create, and create, and behold the scenes. ||1||Pause|| When they were married, their husbands looked so handsome beside them. They came in palanquins, decorated with ivory; water was sprinkled over their heads, and glittering fans were waved above them. ||2|| They were given hundreds of thousands of coins when they sat, and hundreds of thousands of coins when they stood. They ate coconuts and dates, and rested comfortably upon their beds. But ropes were put around their necks, and their strings of pearls were broken. ||3|| Their wealth and youthful beauty, which gave them so much pleasure, have now become their enemies. The order was given to the soldiers, who dishonoured them, and carried them away. If it is pleasing to God's Will, He bestows greatness; if is pleases His Will, He bestows punishment. ||4|| If someone focuses on the Lord beforehand, then why should he be punished? The kings had lost their higher consciousness, reveling in pleasure and sensuality. Since Baabar's rule has been proclaimed, even the princes have no food to eat. ||5|| The Muslims have lost their five times of daily prayer, and the Hindus have lost their worship as well. Without their sacred squares, how shall the Hindu women bathe and apply the frontal marks to their foreheads? They never remembered their Lord as Raam, and now they cannot even chant Khudaa-i||6|| Some have returned to their homes, and meeting their relatives, they ask about their safety. For some, it is pre-ordained that they shall sit and cry out in pain. Whatever pleases Him, comes to pass. O Nanak, what is the fate of mankind? ||7||11|| Aasaa, First Mehl: Where are the games, the stables, the horses? Where are the drums and the bugles? Where are the sword-belts and chariots? Where are those scarlet uniforms? Where are the rings and the beautiful faces? They are no longer to be seen here. ||1|| This world is Yours; You are the Lord of the Universe. In an instant, You establish and disestablish. You distribute wealth as it pleases You. ||1||Pause|| Where are the houses, the gates, the hotels and palaces? Where are those beautiful way-stations? Where are those beautiful women, reclining on their beds, whose beauty would not allow one to sleep? Where are those betel leaves, their sellers, and the haremees? They have vanished like shadows. ||2|| For the sake of this wealth, so many were ruined; because of this wealth, so many have been disgraced. It was not gathered without sin, and it does not go along with the dead. Those, whom the Creator Lord would destroy - first He strips them of virtue. ||3|| Millions of religious leaders failed to halt the invader, when they heard of the Emperor's invasion.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 072

He burned the rest-houses and the ancient temples; he cut the princes limb from limb, and cast them into the dust. None of the Mugals went blind, and no one performed any miracle. ||4|| The battle raged between the Mugals and the Pat'haans, and the swords clashed on the battlefield. They took aim and fired their guns, and they attacked with their elephants. Those men whose letters were torn in the Lord's Court, were destined to die, O Siblings of Destiny. ||5|| The Hindu women, the Muslim women, the Bhattis and the Rajputs - some had their robes torn away, from head to foot, while others came to dwell in the cremation ground. Their husbands did not return home - how did they pass their night? ||6|| The Creator Himself acts, and causes others to act. Unto whom should we complain? Pleasure and pain come by Your Will; unto whom should we go and cry? The Commander issues His Command, and is pleased. O Nanak, we receive what is written in our destiny. ||7||12|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Aasaa, Kaafee, First Mehl, Eighth House, Ashtapadees: As the shepherd is in the field for only a short time, so is one in the world. Practicing falsehood, they build their homes. ||1|| Wake up! Wake up! O sleepers, see that the travelling merchant is leaving. ||1||Pause|| Go ahead and build your houses, if you think you will stay here forever and ever. The body shall fall, and the soul shall depart; if only they knew this. ||2|| Why do you cry out and mourn for the dead? The Lord is, and shall always be. You mourn for that person, but who will mourn for you? ||3|| You are engrossed in worldly entanglements, O Siblings of Destiny, and you are practicing falsehood. The dead person does not hear anything

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at all; your cries are heard only by other people. ||4|| Only the Lord, who causes the mortal to sleep, O Nanak, can awaken him again. One who understands his true home, does not sleep. ||5|| If the departing mortal can take his wealth with him, then go ahead and gather wealth yourself. See this, reflect upon it, and understand. ||6|| Make your deals, and obtain the true merchandise, or else you shall regret it later. Abandon your vices, and practice virtue, and you shall obtain the essence of reality. ||7|| Plant the seed of Truth in the soil of Dharmic faith, and practice such farming. Only then will you be known as a merchant, if you take your profits with you. ||8|| If the Lord shows His Mercy, one meets the True Guru; contemplating Him, one comes to understand. Then, one chants the Naam, hears the Naam, and deals only in the Naam. ||9|| As is the profit, so is the loss; this is the way of the world. Whatever pleases His Will, O Nanak, is glory for me. ||10||13|| Aasaa, First Mehl: I have searched in the four directions, but no one is mine. If it pleases You, O Lord Master, then You are mine, and I am Yours. ||1|| There is no other door for me; where shall I go to worship? You are my only Lord; Your True Name is in my mouth. ||1||Pause|| Some serve the Siddhas, the beings of spiritual perfection, and some serve spiritual teachers; they beg for wealth and miraculous powers. May I never forget the Naam, the Name of the One Lord. This is the wisdom of the True Guru. ||2||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 073

Why do the Yogis, the revellers, and the beggars wander in foreign lands? They do not understand the Word of the Guru's Shabad, and the essence of excellence within them. ||3|| The Pandits, the religious scholars, the teachers and astrologers, and those who endlessly read the Puraanas, do not know what is within; God is hidden deep within them. ||4|| Some penitents perform penance in the forests, and some dwell forever at sacred shrines. The unenlightened people do not understand themselves - why have they become renunciates? ||5|| Some control their sexual energy, and are known as celibates. But without the Guru's Word, they are not saved, and they wander in reincarnation. ||6|| Some are householders, servants, and seekers, attached to the Guru's Teachings. They hold fast to the Naam, to charity, to cleansing and purification; they remain awake in devotion to the Lord. ||7|| Through the Guru, the Gate of the Lord's Home is found, and that place is recognised. Nanak does not forget the Naam; his mind has surrendered to the True Lord. ||8||14|| Aasaa, First Mehl: Stilling the desires of the mind, the mortal truly crosses over the terrifying world-ocean. In the very beginning, and throughout the ages, You have been the Merciful Lord and Master; I seek Your Sanctuary. ||1|| You are the Giver, and I am a mere beggar. Lord, please grant me the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. The Gurmukh meditates on the Naam; the temple of his mind resounds with joy. ||1||Pause|| Renouncing false greed, one comes to realise the Truth. So let yourself be absorbed in the Word of the Guru's Shabad, and know this supreme realisation. ||2|| This mind is a greedy king, engrossed in greed. The Gurmukh eliminates his greed, and comes to an understanding with the Lord. ||3|| Planting the seeds in the rocky soil, how can one reap a profit? The self-willed manmukh is not pleased with Truth; the false are buried in falsehood. ||4|| So renounce greed - you are blind! Greed only brings pain. When the True Lord dwells within the mind, the poisonous ego is conquered. ||5|| Renounce the evil way of duality, or you shall be plundered, O Siblings of Destiny. Day and night, praise the Naam, in the Sanctuary of the True Guru's protection. ||6|| The self-willed manmukh is a rock, a stone. His life is cursed and useless. No matter now long a stone is kept under water, it still remains dry at its core. ||7|| The Name of the Lord is the treasure; the Perfect Guru has given it to me. O Nanak, one who does not forget the Naam, churns and drinks in the Ambrosial Nectar. ||8||15|| Aasaa, First Mehl: The travellers travel from one road to another. The world is engrossed in its entanglements, and does not appreciate the Truth. ||1|| Why wander around, and why go searching, when the Guru's Shabad reveals Him to us? Leaving behind egotism and attachment, I have arrived at my own home. ||1||Pause|| Through Truth, one meets the True One; He is not obtained through falsehood. Centering your consciousness on the True Lord, you shall not have to come into the world again. ||2|| Why do you weep for the dead? You do not know how to weep. Weep by praising the True Lord, and recognise His Command. ||3|| Blessed is the birth of one who is destined to abide by the Lord's Command. He obtains the true profit, realising the Lord's Command. ||4||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 074

If it pleases the Commander, one goes to His Court, robed in honour. By His Command, God's slaves are hit over the head. ||5|| The profit is earned by enshrining Truth and justice in the mind. They obtain what is written in their destiny, and overcome pride. ||6|| The self-willed manmukhs are hit over the head, and consumed by conflict. The cheaters are plundered by falsehood; they are chained and led away. ||7|| Enshrine the Lord Master in your mind, and you shall not have to repent. He forgives our sins, when we practice the Teachings of the Guru's Word. ||8|| Nanak begs for the True Name, which is obtained by the Gurmukh. Without You, I have no other at all; please, bless me with Your Glance of Grace. ||9||16|| Aasaa, First Mehl: Why should I go searching in the forests, when the woods of my home are so green? The True Word of the Shabad has instantaneously come and settled in my heart. ||1|| Wherever I look, there He is; I know no other. Working for the Guru, one realises the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. ||1||Pause|| The True Lord blends us with Himself, when it is pleasing to His Mind. One who ever walks in accordance with His Will, merges into His Being. ||2|| When the True Lord dwells in the mind, that mind flourishes. He Himself grants greatness; His Gifts are never exhausted. ||3|| Serving this and that person, how can one obtain the Lord's Court? If someone embarks on a boat of stone, he shall drown with its cargo. ||4|| So offer your mind, and surrender your head with it. The Gurmukh realises the true essence, and finds the home of his own self. ||5|| People discuss birth and death; the Creator created this. Those who conquer their selfhood and remain dead, shall never have to die again. ||6|| Do those deeds which the Primal Lord has ordered for you. If one surrenders his mind upon meeting the True Guru, who can estimate its value? ||7|| That Lord Master is the Assayer of the jewel of the mind; He places the value on it. O Nanak, True is the Glory of that one, in whose mind the Lord Master dwells. ||8||17|| Aasaa, First Mehl: Those who have forgotten the Naam, the Name of the Lord, are deluded by doubt and duality. Those who abandon the roots and cling to the branches, shall obtain only ashes. ||1|| Without the Name, how can one be emancipated? Who knows this? One who becomes Gurmukh is emancipated; the self-willed manmukhs lose their honour. ||1||Pause|| Those who serve the One Lord become perfect in their understanding, O Siblings of Destiny. The Lord's humble servant finds Sanctuary in Him, the Immaculate One, from the very beginning, and throughout the ages. ||2|| My Lord and Master is the One; there is no other, O Siblings of Destiny. By the Grace of the True Lord, celestial peace is obtained. ||3|| Without the Guru, no one has obtained Him, although many may claim to have done so. He Himself reveals the Way, and implants true devotion within. ||4|| Even if the self-willed manmukh is instructed, he stills goes into the wilderness. Without the Lord's Name, he shall not be emancipated; he shall die, and sink into hell. ||5|| He wanders through birth and death, and never chants the Lord's Name. He never realises his own value, without serving the Guru. ||6||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 075

Whatever service the Lord causes us to do, that is just what we do. He Himself acts; who else should be mentioned? He beholds His own greatness. ||7|| He alone serves the Guru, whom the Lord Himself inspires to do so. O Nanak, offering his head, one is emancipated, and honoured in the Court of the Lord. ||8||18|| Aasaa, First Mehl: Beautiful is the Supreme Lord and Master, and beautiful is the Word of the Guru's Bani. By great good fortune, one meets the True Guru, and the supreme status of Nirvaanaa is obtained. ||1|| I am the lowest slave of Your slaves; I am Your most humble servant. As You keep me, I live. Your Name is in my mouth. ||1||Pause|| I have such a great thirst for the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan; my mind accepts Your Will, and so You are pleased with me. Greatness is in the Hands of my Lord and Master; by His Will, honour is obtained. ||2|| Do not think that the True Lord is far away; He is deep within. Wherever I look, there I find Him pervading; how can I estimate His value? ||3|| He Himself does, and He Himself undoes. He Himself beholds His glorious greatness. Becoming Gurmukh, one beholds Him, and so, His value is appraised. ||4|| So earn your profits while you are alive, by serving the Guru. If it is so pre-ordained, then one finds the True Guru. ||5|| The self-willed manmukhs continually lose, and wander around, deluded by doubt. The blind manmukhs do not remember the Lord; how can they obtain the Blessed Vision of His Darshan? ||6|| One's coming into the world is judged worthwhile only if one lovingly attunes oneself to the True Lord. Meeting the Guru, one becomes invaluable; his light merges into the Light. ||7|| Day and night, he remains detached, and serves the Primal Lord. O Nanak, those who are imbued with the Lord's Lotus Feet, are content with the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||8||19|| Aasaa, First Mehl: No matter how much one may describe the Lord, His limits still cannot be known. I am without any support; You, O Lord, are my only Support; You are my almighty power. ||1|| This is Nanak's prayer, that he may be adorned with the True Name. When self-conceit is eradicated, and understanding is obtained, one meets the Lord, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||1||Pause|| Abandoning egotism and pride, one obtains contemplative understanding. When the mind surrenders to the Lord Master, He bestows the support of the Truth. ||2|| Day and night, remain content with the Naam, the Name of the Lord; that is the true service. No misfortune troubles one who follows the Command of the Lord's Will. ||3|| One who follows the Command of the Lord's Will is taken into the Lord's Treasury. The counterfeit find no place there; they are mixed with the false ones. ||4|| Forever and ever, the genuine coins are treasured; with them, the true merchandise is purchased. The false ones are not seen in the Lord's Treasury; they are seized and cast into the fire again. ||5|| Those who understand their own souls, are themselves the Supreme Soul. The One Lord is the tree of ambrosial nectar, which bears the ambrosial fruit. ||6|| Those who taste the ambrosial fruit remain satisfied with Truth. They have no doubt or sense of separation - their tongues taste the divine taste. ||7|| By His Command, and through your past actions, you came into the world; walk forever according to His Will. Please, grant virtue to Nanak, the virtueless one; bless him with the glorious greatness of the Truth. ||8||20|| Aasaa, First Mehl: One whose mind is attuned to the Lord's Name speaks the truth. What would the people lose, if I became pleasing to You, O Lord? ||1||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 076

As long as there is the breath of life, meditate on the True Lord. You shall receive the profit of singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and find peace. ||1||Pause|| True is Your Service; bless me with it, O Merciful Lord. I live by praising You; You are my Anchor and Support. ||2|| I am Your servant, the gate-keeper at Your Gate; You alone know my pain. How wonderful is Your devotional worship! It removes all pains. ||3|| The Gurmukhs know that by chanting the Naam, they shall dwell in His Court, in His Presence. True and acceptable is that time, when one recognises the Word of the Shabad. ||4|| Those who practice Truth, contentment and love, obtain the supplies of the Lord's Name. So banish corruption from your mind, and the True One will grant you Truth. ||5|| The True Lord inspires true love in the truthful. He Himself administers justice, as it pleases His Will. ||6|| True is the gift of the True, Compassionate Lord. Day and night, I serve the One whose Name is priceless. ||7|| You are so sublime, and I am so lowly, but I am called Your slave. Please, shower Nanak with Your Glance of Grace, that he, the separated one, may merge with You again, O Lord. ||8||21|| Aasaa, First Mehl: How can coming and going, the cycle of reincarnation be ended? And how can one meet the Lord? The pain of birth and death is so great, in constant skepticism and duality. ||1|| Without the Name, what is life? Cleverness is detestable and cursed. One who does not serve the Holy True Guru, is not pleased by devotion to the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Coming and going is ended only when one finds the True Guru. He gives the wealth and capital of the Lord's Name, and false doubt is destroyed. ||2|| Joining the humble Saintly beings, let us sing the blessed, blessed Praises of the Lord. The Primal Lord, the Infinite, is obtained by the Gurmukh. ||3|| The drama of the world is staged like the show of a buffoon. For an instant, for a moment, the show is seen, but it disappears in no time at all. ||4|| The game of chance is played on the board of egotism, with the pieces of falsehood and ego. The whole world loses; he alone wins, who reflects upon the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||5|| As is the cane in the hand of the blind man, so is the Lord's Name for me. The Lord's Name is my Support, night and day and morning. ||6|| As You keep me, Lord, I live; the Lord's Name is my only Support. It is my only comfort in the end; the gate of salvation is found by His humble servants. ||7|| The pain of birth and death is removed, by chanting and meditating on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. O Nanak, one who does not forget the Naam, is saved by the Perfect Guru. ||8||22|| Aasaa, Third Mehl, Ashtapadees, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The Shaastras, the Vedas and the Simritees are contained in the ocean of Your Name; the River Ganges is held in Your Feet. The intellect can understand the world of the three modes, but You, O Primal Lord, are totally astounding. ||1|| Servant Nanak meditates on His Feet, and chants the Ambrosial Word of His Bani. ||1||Pause|| Three hundred thirty million gods are Your servants. You bestow wealth, and the supernatural powers of the Siddhas; You are the Support of the breath of life.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 077

His beauteous forms cannot be comprehended; what can anyone accomplish by discussing and debating? ||2|| Throughout the ages, You are the three qualities, and the four sources of creation. If You show Your Mercy, then one obtains the supreme status, and speaks the Unspoken Speech. ||3|| You are the Creator; all are created by You. What can any mortal being do? He alone, upon whom You shower Your Grace, is absorbed into the Truth. ||4|| Everyone who comes and goes chants Your Name. When it is pleasing to Your Will, then the Gurmukh understands. Otherwise, the self-willed manmukhs wander in ignorance. ||5|| You gave the four Vedas to Brahma, for him to read and read continually, and reflect upon. The wretched one does not understand His Command, and is reincarnated into heaven and hell. ||6|| In each and every age, He creates the kings, who are sung of as His Incarnations. Even they have not found His limits; what can I speak of and contemplate? ||7|| You are True, and all that You do is True. If You bless me with the Truth, I will speak on it. One whom You inspire to understand the Truth, is easily absorbed into the Naam. ||8||1||23|| Aasaa, Third Mehl: The

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True Guru has dispelled my doubts. He has enshrined the Immaculate Name of the Lord within my mind. Focusing on the Word of the Shabad, I have obtained lasting peace. ||1|| Listen, O my mind, to the essence of spiritual wisdom. The Great Giver knows our condition completely; the Gurmukh obtains the treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| The great glory of meeting the True Guru is that it has quenched the fire of possessiveness and desire; imbued with peace and poise, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||2|| Without the Perfect Guru, no one knows the Lord. Attached to Maya, they are engrossed in duality. The Gurmukh receives the Naam, and the Bani of the Lord's Word. ||3|| Service to the Guru is the most excellent and sublime penance of penances. The Dear Lord dwells in the mind, and all suffering departs. Then, at the Gate of the True Lord, one appears truthful. ||4|| Serving the Guru, one comes to know the three worlds. Understanding his own self, he obtains the Lord. Through the True Word of His Bani, we enter the Mansion of His Presence. ||5|| Serving the Guru, all of one's generations are saved. Keep the Immaculate Naam enshrined within your heart. In the Court of the True Lord, you shall be adorned with True Glory. ||6|| How very fortunate are they, who are committed to the Guru's service. Night and day, they are engaged in devotional worship; the True Name is implanted within them. Through the Naam, all of one's generations are saved. ||7|| Nanak chants the true thought. Keep the Name of the Lord enshrined within your heart. Imbued with devotion to the Lord, the gate of salvation is found. ||8||2||24|| Aasaa, Third Mehl: Everyone lives, hoping in hope. Understanding His Command, one becomes free of desire. So many are asleep in hope. He alone wakes up, whom the Lord awakens. ||1|| The True Guru has led me to understand the Naam, the Name of the Lord; without the Naam, hunger does not go away.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 078

Through the Naam, the fire of desire is extinguished; the Naam is obtained by His Will. ||1||Pause|| In the Dark Age of Kali Yuga, realise the Word of the Shabad. By this devotional worship, egotism is eliminated. Serving the True Guru, one becomes approved. So know the One, who created hope and desire. ||2|| What shall we offer to one who proclaims the Word of the Shabad? By His Grace, the Naam is enshrined within our minds. Offer your head, and shed your self-conceit. One who understands the Lord's Command finds lasting peace. ||3|| He Himself does, and causes others to do. He Himself enshrines His Name in the mind of the Gurmukh. He Himself misleads us, and He Himself puts us back on the Path. Through the True Word of the Shabad, we merge into the True Lord. ||4|| True is the Shabad, and True is the Word of the Lord's Bani. In each and every age, the Gurmukhs speak it and chant it. The self-willed manmukhs are deluded by doubt and attachment. Without the Name, everyone wanders around insane. ||5|| Throughout the three worlds, is the one Maya. The fool reads and reads, but holds tight to duality. He performs all sorts of rituals, but still suffers terrible pain. Serving the True Guru, eternal peace is obtained. ||6|| Reflective meditation upon the Shabad is such sweet nectar. Night and day, one enjoys it, subduing his ego. When the Lord showers His Mercy, we enjoy celestial bliss. Imbued with the Naam, love the True Lord forever. ||7|| Meditate on the Lord, and read and reflect upon the Guru's Shabad. Subdue your ego and meditate on the Lord. Meditate on the Lord, and be imbued with fear and love of the True One. O Nanak, enshrine the Naam within your heart, through the Guru's Teachings. ||8||3||25|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Raag Aasaa, Third Mehl, Ashtapadees, Eighth House, Kaafee: Peace emanates from the Guru; He puts out the fire of desire. The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is obtained from the Guru; it is the greatest greatness. ||1|| Keep the One Name in your consciousness, O my Siblings of Destiny. Seeing the world on fire, I have hurried to the Lord's Sanctuary. ||1||Pause|| Spiritual wisdom emanates from the Guru; reflect upon the supreme essence of reality. Through the Guru, the Lord's Mansion and His Court are attained; His devotional worship is overflowing with treasures. ||2|| The Gurmukh meditates on the Naam; he achieves reflective meditation and understanding. The Gurmukh is the Lord's devotee, immersed in His Praises; the Infinite Word of the Shabad dwells within him. ||3|| Happiness emanates from the Gurmukh; he never suffers pain. The Gurmukh conquers his ego, and his mind is immaculately pure. ||4|| Meeting the True Guru, self-conceit is removed, and understanding of the three worlds is obtained. The Immaculate Divine Light is pervading and permeating everywhere; one's light merges into the Light. ||5|| The Perfect Guru instructs, and one's intellect becomes sublime. A cooling and soothing peace comes within, and through the Naam, peace is obtained. ||6|| One meets the Perfect True Guru only when the Lord bestows His Glance of Grace. All sins and vices are eradicated, and one shall never again suffer pain or distress. ||7||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 079

Glory is in His Hands; He bestows His Name, and attaches us to it. O Nanak, the treasure of the Naam abides within the mind, and glory is obtained. ||8||4||26|| Aasaa, Third Mehl: Listen, O mortal: enshrine His Name within your mind; He shall come to meet with you, O my Sibling of Destiny. Night and day, centre your consciousness on true devotional worship of the True Lord. ||1|| Meditate on the One Naam, and you shall find peace, O my Siblings of Destiny. Eradicate egotism and duality, and your glory shall be glorious. ||1||Pause|| The angels, humans and silent sages long for this devotional worship, but without the True Guru, it cannot be attained. The Pandits, the religious scholars, and the astrologers read their books, but they do not understand. ||2|| He Himself keeps all in His Hand; nothing else can be said. Whatever He gives, is received. The Guru has imparted this understanding to me. ||3|| All beings and creatures are His; He belongs to all. So who can we call bad, since there is no other? ||4|| The Command of the One Lord is pervading throughout; duty to the One Lord is upon the heads of all. He Himself has led them astray, and placed greed and corruption within their hearts. ||5|| He has sanctified those few Gurmukhs who understand Him, and reflect upon Him. He grants devotional worship to them, and within them is the treasure. ||6|| The spiritual teachers know nothing but the Truth; they obtain true understanding. They are led astray by Him, but they do not go astray, because they know the True Lord. ||7|| Within the homes of their bodies, the five passions are pervading, but here, the five are well-behaved. O Nanak, without the True Guru, they are not overcome; through the Naam, the ego is conquered. ||8||5||27|| Aasaa, Third Mehl: Everything is within the home of your own self; there is nothing beyond it. By Guru's Grace, it is obtained, and the doors of the inner heart are opened wide. ||1|| From the True Guru, the Lord's Name is obtained, O Siblings of Destiny. The treasure of the Naam is within; the Perfect True Guru has shown this to me. ||1||Pause|| One who is a buyer of the Lord's Name, finds it, and obtains the jewel of contemplation. He opens the doors deep within, and through the Eyes of Divine Vision, beholds the treasure of liberation. ||2|| There are so many mansions within the body; the soul dwells within them. He obtains the fruits of his mind's desires, and he shall not have to go through reincarnation again. ||3|| The appraisers cherish the commodity of the Name; they obtain understanding from the Guru. The wealth of the Naam is priceless; how few are the Gurmukhs who obtain it. ||4|| Searching outwardly, what can anyone find? The commodity is deep within the home of the self, O Siblings of Destiny. The entire world is wandering around, deluded by doubt; the self-willed manmukhs lose their honour. ||5|| The false one leaves his own hearth and home, and goes out to another's home. Like a thief, he is caught, and without the Naam, he is beaten and struck down. ||6|| Those who know their own home, are happy, O Siblings of Destiny. They realise God within their own hearts, through the glorious greatness of the Guru. ||7|| He Himself gives gifts, and He Himself bestows understanding; unto whom can we complain? O Nanak, meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and you shall obtain glory in the True Court. ||8||6||28||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 080

Aasaa, Third Mehl: Those who recognise their own selves, enjoy the sweet flavor, O Siblings of Destiny. Those who drink in the sublime essence of the Lord are emancipated; they love the Truth. ||1|| The Beloved Lord is the purest of the pure; He comes to dwell in the pure mind. Praising the Lord, through the Guru's Teachings, one remains unaffected by corruption. ||1||Pause|| Without the Word of the Shabad, they do not understand themselves -they are totally blind, O Siblings of Destiny. Through the Guru's Teachings, the heart is illuminated, and in the end, only the Naam shall be your companion. ||2|| They are occupied with the Naam, and only the Naam; they deal only in the Naam. Deep within their hearts is the Naam; upon their lips is the Naam; they contemplate the Word of God, and the Naam. ||3|| They listen to the Naam, believe in the Naam, and through the Naam, they obtain glory. They praise the Naam, forever and ever, and through the Naam, they obtain the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. ||4|| Through the Naam, their hearts are illumined, and through the Naam, they obtain honour. Through the Naam, peace wells up; I seek the Sanctuary of the Naam. ||5|| Without the Naam, no one is accepted; the self-willed manmukhs lose their honour. In the City of Death, they are tied down and beaten, and they lose their lives in vain. ||6|| Those Gurmukhs who realise the Naam, all serve the Naam. So believe in the Naam, and only the Naam; through the Naam, glorious greatness is obtained. ||7|| He alone receives it, unto whom it is given. Through the Guru's Teachings, the Naam is realised. O Nanak, everything is under the influence of the Naam; by perfect good destiny, a few obtain it. ||8||7||29|| Aasaa, Third Mehl: The deserted brides do not obtain the Mansion of their Husband's Presence, nor do they know His taste. They speak harsh words, and do not bow to Him; they are in love with another. ||1|| How can this mind come under control? By Guru's Grace, it is held in check; instructed in spiritual wisdom, it returns to its home. ||1||Pause|| He Himself adorns the happy soul-brides; they bear Him love and affection. They live in harmony with the Sweet Will of the True Guru, naturally adorned with the Naam. ||2|| They enjoy their Beloved forever, and their bed is decorated with Truth. They are fascinated with the Love of their Husband Lord; meeting their Beloved, they obtain peace. ||3|| Spiritual wisdom is the incomparable decoration of the happy soul-bride. She is so beautiful - she is the queen of all; she enjoys the love and affection of her Husband Lord. ||4|| The True Lord, the Unseen, the Infinite, has infused His Love among the happy soul-brides. They serve their True Guru, with true love and affection. ||5|| The happy soul-bride has adorned herself with the necklace of virtue. She applies the perfume of love to her body, and within her mind is the jewel of reflective meditation. ||6|| Those who are imbued with devotional worship are the most exalted. Their social standing and honour come from the Word of the Shabad. Without the Naam, all are low class, like maggots in manure. ||7|| Everyone proclaims, "Me, me!"; but without the Shabad, the ego does not depart. O Nanak, those who are imbued with the Naam lose their ego; they remain absorbed in the True Lord. ||8||8||30|| Aasaa, Third Mehl: Those who are imbued with the True Lord are spotless and pure; their reputation is forever true. Here, they are known in each and every home, and hereafter, they are famous throughout the ages. ||1||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 081

O beauteous and joyful mind, imbue yourself with your true colour. If you imbue yourself with the Beauteous Word of the Guru's Bani, then this colour shall never fade away. ||1||Pause|| I am lowly, filthy, and totally egotistical; I am attached to the corruption of duality. But meeting with the Guru, the Philosopher's Stone, I am transformed into gold; I am blended with the Pure Light of the Infinite Lord. ||2|| Without the Guru, no one is imbued with the colour of the Lord's Love; meeting with the Guru, this colour is applied. Those who are imbued with the Fear, and the Love of the Guru, are absorbed in the Praise of the True Lord. ||3|| Without fear, the cloth is not dyed, and the mind is not rendered pure. Without fear, the performance of rituals is false, and one finds no place of rest. ||4|| Only those whom the Lord imbues, are so imbued; they join the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. From the Perfect Guru, the Sat Sangat emanates, and one easily merges into the Love of the True One. ||5|| Without the Sangat, the Company of the Holy, all remain like beasts and animals. They do not know the One who created them; without the Name, all are thieves. ||6|| Some purchase merits and sell off their demerits; through the Guru, they obtain peace and poise. Serving the Guru, they obtain the Name, which comes to dwell deep within. ||7|| The One Lord is the Giver of all; He assigns tasks to each and every person. O Nanak, the Lord embellishes us with the Name; attached to the Word of the Shabad, we are merged into Him. ||8||9||31|| Aasaa, Third Mehl: Everyone longs for the Name, but he alone receives it, unto whom the Lord shows His Mercy. Without the Name, there is only pain; he alone obtains peace, whose mind is filled with the Name. ||1|| You are infinite and merciful; I seek Your Sanctuary. From the Perfect Guru, the glorious greatness of the Naam is obtained. ||1||Pause|| Inwardly and outwardly, there is only the One Lord. He has created the world, with its many varieties. According to the Order of His Will, He makes us act. What else can we talk about, O Siblings of Destiny? ||2|| Knowledge and ignorance are all your making; You have control over these. Some, You forgive, and unite with Yourself; while others, the wicked, you strike down and drive out of Your Court. ||3|| Some, from the very beginning, are pure and pious; You attach them to Your Name. Serving the Guru, peace wells up; through the True Word of the Shabad, one comes to understand. ||4|| Some are crooked, filthy and vicious; the Lord Himself has led them astray from the Name. They have no intuition, no understanding and no self-discipline; they wander around delirious. ||5|| He grants faith to those whom He has blessed with His Glance of Grace. This mind finds truth, contentment and self-discipline, hearing the Immaculate Word of the Shabad. ||6|| By reading books, one cannot reach Him; by speaking and talking, His limits cannot be found. Through the Guru, His value is found; through the True Word of the Shabad, understanding is obtained. ||7|| So reform this mind and body, by contemplating the Word of the Guru's Shabad. O Nanak, within this body is the treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord; it is found through the Love of the Infinite Guru. ||8||10||32|| Aasaa, Third Mehl: The happy soul-brides are imbued with Truth; they are adorned with the Word of the Guru's Shabad.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 082

They find their Husband Lord within their own home, contemplating the True Word of the Shabad. ||1|| Through merits, their demerits are forgiven, and they embrace love for the Lord. The soul-bride then obtains the Lord as her Husband; meeting the Guru, this union comes about. ||1||Pause|| Some do not know the Presence of their Husband

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Lord; they are deluded by duality and doubt. How can the forsaken brides meet Him? Their life night passes in pain. ||2|| Those whose minds are filled with the True Lord, perform truthful actions. Night and day, they serve the Lord with poise, and are absorbed in the True Lord. ||3|| The forsaken brides wander around, deluded by doubt; telling lies, they eat poison. They do not know their Husband Lord, and upon their deserted bed, they suffer in misery. ||4|| The True Lord is the One and only; do not be deluded by doubt, O my mind. Consult with the Guru, serve the True Lord, and enshrine the Immaculate Truth within your mind. ||5|| The happy soul-bride always finds her Husband Lord; she banishes egotism and self-conceit. She remains attached to her Husband Lord, night and day, and she finds peace upon His Bed of Truth. ||6|| Those who shouted, "Mine, mine!" have departed, without obtaining anything. The separated one does not obtain the Mansion of the Lord's Presence, and departs, repenting in the end. ||7|| That Husband Lord of mine is the One and only; I am in love with the One alone. O Nanak, if the soul-bride longs for peace, she should enshrine the Lord's Name within her mind. ||8||11||33|| Aasaa, Third Mehl: Those whom the Lord has caused to drink in the Ambrosial Nectar, naturally, intuitively, enjoy the sublime essence. The True Lord is care-free; he does not have even an iota of greed. ||1|| The True Ambrosial Nectar rains down, and trickles into the mouths of the Gurmukhs. Their minds are forever rejuvenated, and they naturally, intuitively, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| The self-willed manmukhs are forever forsaken brides; they cry out and bewail at the Lord's Gate. Those who do not enjoy the sublime taste of their Husband Lord, act according to their pre-ordained destiny. ||2|| The Gurmukh plants the seed of the True Name, and it sprouts. He deals in the True Name alone. Those whom the Lord has attached to this profitable venture, are granted the treasure of devotional worship. ||3|| The Gurmukh is forever the true, happy soul-bride; she adorns herself with the fear of God and devotion to Him. Night and day, she enjoys her Husband Lord; she keeps Truth enshrined within her heart. ||4|| I am a sacrifice to those who have enjoyed their Husband Lord. They dwell forever with their Husband Lord; they eradicate self-conceit from within. ||5|| Their bodies and minds are cooled and soothed, and their faces are radiant, from the love and affection of their Husband Lord. They enjoy their Husband Lord upon His cozy bed, having conquered their ego and desire. ||6|| Granting His Grace, He comes into our homes, through our infinite Love for the Guru. The happy soul-bride obtains the One Lord as her Husband. ||7|| All of her sins are forgiven; the Uniter unites her with Himself. O Nanak, chant such chants, that hearing them, He may enshrine love for you. ||8||12||34|| Aasaa, Third Mehl: Merit is obtained from the True Guru, when God causes us to meet Him.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 083

Meditating on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, with intuitive ease and poise, spiritual wisdom is revealed. ||1|| O my mind, do not think of the Lord as being far away; behold Him ever close at hand. He is always listening, and always watching over us; the Word of His Shabad is all-pervading everywhere. ||1||Pause|| The Gurmukhs understand their own selves; they meditate single-mindedly on the Lord. They enjoy their Husband Lord continually; through the True Name, they find peace. ||2|| O my mind, no one belongs to you; contemplate the Shabad, and see this. So run to the Lord's Sanctuary, and find the gate of salvation. ||3|| Listen to the Shabad, and understand the Shabad, and lovingly focus your consciousness on the True One. Through the Shabad, conquer your ego, and in the True Mansion of the Lord's Presence, you shall find peace. ||4|| In this age, the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is glory; without the Name, there is no glory. The glory of this Maya lasts for only a few days; it disappears in an instant. ||5|| Those who forget the Naam are already dead, and they continue dying. They do not enjoy the sublime essence of the Lord's taste; they sink into the manure. ||6|| Some are forgiven by the Lord; He unites them with Himself, and keeps them attached to the Naam, night and day. They practice Truth, and abide in Truth; being truthful, they merge into Truth. ||7|| Without the Shabad, the world does not hear, and does not see; deaf and blind, it wanders around. Without the Naam, it obtains only misery; the Naam is received only by His Will. ||8|| Those persons who link their consciousness with the Word of His Bani, are immaculately pure, and approved by the Lord. O Nanak, they never forget the Naam, and in the Court of the Lord, they are known as true. ||9||13||35|| Aasaa, Third Mehl: Through the Word of the Shabad, the devotees are known; their words are true. They eradicate ego from within themselves; they surrender to the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and meet with the True One. ||1|| Through the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, His humble servants obtain honour. How blessed is their coming into the world! Everyone adores them. ||1||Pause|| Ego, self-centredness, excessive anger and pride are the lot of mankind. If one dies in the Word of the Shabad, then he is rid of this, and his light is merged into the Light of the Lord God. ||2|| Meeting with the Perfect True Guru, my life has been blessed. I have obtained the nine treasures of the Naam, and my storehouse is inexhaustible, filled to overflowing. ||3|| Those who love the Naam come as dealers in the merchandise of the Naam. Those who become Gurmukh obtain this wealth; deep within, they contemplate the Shabad. ||4|| The egotistical, self-willed manmukhs do not appreciate the value of devotional worship. The Primal Lord Himself has beguiled them; they lose their lives in the gamble. ||5|| Without loving affection, devotional worship is not possible, and the body cannot be at peace. The wealth of love is obtained from the Guru; through devotion, the mind becomes steady. ||6|| He alone performs devotional worship, whom the Lord so blesses; he contemplates the Word of the Guru's Shabad. The One Name abides in his heart, and he conquers his ego and duality. ||7|| The One Name is the social status and honour of the devotees; the Lord Himself adorns them. They remain forever in the Protection of His Sanctuary. As it pleases His Will, He arranges their affairs. ||8||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 084

The worship of the Lord is unique - it is known only by reflecting upon the Guru. O Nanak, one whose mind is filled with the Naam, through the Lord's Fear and devotion, is embellished with the Naam. ||9||14||36|| Aasaa, Third Mehl: He wanders around, engrossed in other pleasures, but without the Naam, he suffers in pain. He does not meet the True Guru, the Primal Being, who imparts true understanding. ||1|| O my insane mind, drink in the sublime essence of the Lord, and savor its taste. Attached to other pleasures, you wander around, and your life wastes away uselessly. ||1||Pause|| In this age, the Gurmukhs are pure; they remain absorbed in the love of the True Name. Without the destiny of good karma, nothing can be obtained; what can we say or do? ||2|| He understands his own self, and dies in the Word of the Shabad; he banishes corruption from his mind. He hurries to the Guru's Sanctuary, and is forgiven by the Forgiving Lord. ||3|| Without the Name, peace is not obtained, and pain does not depart from within. This world is engrossed in attachment to Maya; it has gone astray in duality and doubt. ||4|| The forsaken soul-brides do not know the value of their Husband Lord; how can they decorate themselves? Night and day, they continually burn, and they do not enjoy the Bed of their Husband Lord. ||5|| The happy soul-brides obtain the Mansion of His Presence, eradicating their self-conceit from within. They decorate themselves with the Word of the Guru's Shabad, and their Husband Lord unites them with Himself. ||6|| He has forgotten death, in the darkness of attachment to Maya. The self-willed manmukhs die again and again, and are reborn; they die again, and are miserable at the Gate of Death. ||7|| They alone are united, whom the Lord unites with Himself; they contemplate the Word of the Guru's Shabad. O Nanak, they are absorbed in the Naam; their faces are radiant, in that True Court. ||8||22||15||37|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl, Ashtapadees, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: When the five virtues were reconciled, and the five passions were estranged, I enshrined the five within myself, and cast out the other five. ||1|| In this way, the village of my body became inhabited, O my Siblings of Destiny. Vice departed, and the Guru's spiritual wisdom was implanted within me. ||1||Pause|| The fence of true Dharmic religion has been built around it. The spiritual wisdom and reflective meditation of the Guru has become its strong gate. ||2|| So plant the seed of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, O friends, O Siblings of Destiny. Deal only in the constant service of the Guru. ||3|| With intuitive peace and happiness, all the shops are filled. The Banker and the dealers dwell in the same place. ||4|| There is no tax on non-believers, nor any fines or taxes at death. The True Guru has set the Seal of the Primal Lord upon these goods. ||5|| So load the merchandise of the Naam, and set sail with your cargo. Earn your profit, as Gurmukh, and you shall return to your own home. ||6|| The True Guru is the Banker, and His Sikhs are the traders. Their merchandise is the Naam, and meditation on the True Lord is their account. ||7|| One who serves the True Guru dwells in this house. O Nanak, the Divine City is eternal. ||8||1||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 085

Aasaavaree, Fifth Mehl, Third House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: My mind is in love with the Lord. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I meditate on the Lord, Har, Har; my lifestyle is pure and true. ||1||Pause|| I have such a great thirst for the Blessed Vision of His Darshan; I think of him in so many ways. So be Merciful, O Supreme Lord; shower Your Mercy upon me, O Lord, Destroyer of pride. ||1|| My stranger soul has come to join the Saadh Sangat. That commodity, which I longed for, I have found in the Love of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||2|| There are so many pleasures and delights of Maya, but they pass away in an instant. Your devotees are imbued with Your Name; they enjoy peace everywhere. ||3|| The entire world is seen to be passing away; only the Lord's Name is lasting and stable. So make friends with the Holy Saints, so that you may obtain a lasting place of rest. ||4|| Friends, acquaintances, children and relatives - none of these shall be your companion. The Lord's Name alone shall go with you; God is the Master of the meek. ||5|| The Lord's Lotus Feet are the Boat; attached to Them, you shall cross over the world-ocean. Meeting with the Perfect True Guru, I embrace True Love for God. ||6|| The prayer of Your Holy Saints is, "May I never forget You, for even one breath or morsel of food." Whatever is pleasing to Your Will is good; by Your Sweet Will, my affairs are adjusted. ||7|| I have met my Beloved, the Ocean of Peace, and Supreme Bliss has welled up within me. Says Nanak, all my pains have been eradicated, meeting with God, the Lord of Supreme Bliss. ||8||1||2|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl, Birharray ~ Songs Of Separation, To Be Sung In The Tune Of The Chhants. Fourth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Remember the Supreme Lord God, O Beloved, and make yourself a sacrifice to the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. ||1|| Remembering Him, sorrows are forgotten, O Beloved; how can one forsake Him? ||2|| I would sell this body to the Saint, O Beloved, if he would lead me to my Dear Lord. ||3|| The pleasures and adornments of corruption are insipid and useless; I have forsaken and abandoned them, O my Mother. ||4|| Lust, anger and greed left me, O Beloved, when I fell at the Feet of the True Guru. ||5|| Those humble beings who are imbued with the Lord, O Beloved, do not go anywhere else. ||6|| Those who have tasted the Lord's sublime essence, O Beloved, remain satisfied and satiated. ||7|| One who grasps the Hem of the Gown of the Holy Saint, O Nanak, crosses over the terrible world-ocean. ||8||1||3|| The pains of birth and death are removed, O Beloved, when the mortal meets with the Lord, the King. ||1|| God is so Beautiful, so Refined, so Wise - He is my very life! Reveal to me Your Darshan! ||2|| Those beings who are separated from You, O Beloved, are born only to die; they eat the poison of corruption. ||3|| He alone meets You, whom You cause to meet, O Beloved; I fall at his feet. ||4|| That happiness which one receives by beholding Your Darshan, O Beloved, cannot be described in words. ||5|| True Love cannot be broken, O Beloved; throughout the ages, it remains. ||6||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 086

Whatever pleases You is good, O Beloved; Your Will is Eternal. ||7|| Nanak, those who are imbued with the Love of the All-Pervading Lord, O Beloved, remain intoxicated with His Love, in natural ease. ||8||2||4|| You know all about my condition, O Beloved; who can I speak to about it? ||1|| You are the Giver of all beings; they eat and wear what You give them. ||2|| Pleasure and pain come by Your Will, O Beloved; they do not come from any other. ||3|| Whatever You cause me to do, that I do, O Beloved; I cannot do anything else. ||4|| All my days and nights are blessed, O Beloved, when I chant and meditate on the Lord's Name. ||5|| He does the deeds, O Beloved, which are pre-ordained, and inscribed upon his forehead. ||6|| The One is Himself prevailing everywhere, O Beloved; He is pervading in each and every heart. ||7|| Lift me up out of the deep pit of the world, O Beloved; Nanak has taken to Your Sanctuary. ||8||3||22||15||2||42|| Raag Aasaa, First Mehl, Patee Likhee ~ The Poem Of The Alphabet: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Sassa: He who created the world, is the One Lord and Master of all. Those whose consciousness remains committed to His Service - blessed is their birth and their coming into the world. ||1|| O mind, why forget Him? You foolish mind! When your account is adjusted, O brother, only then shall you be judged wise. ||1||Pause|| Eevree: The Primal Lord is the Giver; He alone is True. No accounting is due from the Gurmukh who understands the Lord through these letters. ||2|| Ooraa: Sing the Praises of the One whose limit cannot be found. Those who perform service and practice truth, obtain the fruits of their rewards. ||3|| Nganga: One who understands spiritual wisdom becomes a Pandit, a religious scholar. One who recognises the One Lord among all beings does not talk of ego. ||4|| Kakka: When the hair grows grey, then it shines without shampoo. The hunters of the King of Death come, and bind him in the chains of Maya. ||5|| Khakha: The Creator is the King of the world; He enslaves by giving nourishment. By His Binding, all the world is bound; no other Command prevails. ||6|| Gagga: One who renounces the singing of the songs of the Lord of the Universe, becomes arrogant in his speech. One who has shaped the pots, and made the world the kiln, decides when to put them in it. ||7|| Ghagha: The servant who performs service, remains attached to the Word of the Guru's Shabad. One who recognises bad and good as one and the same - in this way he is absorbed into the Lord and Master. ||8|| Chacha: He created the four Vedas, the four sources of creation, and the four ages - through each and every age, He Himself has been the Yogi, the enjoyer, the Pandit and the scholar. ||9||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 087

Chhachha: Ignorance exists within everyone; doubt is Your doing, O Lord. Having created doubt, You Yourself cause them to wander in delusion; those whom You bless with Your Mercy meet with the Guru. ||10|| Jajja: That humble being who begs for wisdom has wandered begging through 8.4

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million incarnations. The One Lord takes away, and the One Lord gives; I have not heard of any other. ||11|| Jhajha: O mortal being, why are you dying of anxiety? Whatever the Lord is to give, He shall keep on giving. He gives, and gives, and watches over us; according to the Orders which He issues, His beings receive nourishment. ||12|| Nyanya: When the Lord bestows His Glance of Grace, then I do not behold any other. The One Lord is totally pervading everywhere; the One Lord abides within the mind. ||13|| Tatta: Why do you practice hypocrisy, O mortal? In a moment, in an instant, you shall have to get up and depart. Don't lose your life in the gamble - hurry to the Lord's Sanctuary. ||14|| T'hat'ha: Peace pervades within those who link their consciousness to the Lord's Lotus Feet. Those humble beings, whose consciousness is so linked, are saved; by Your Grace, they obtain peace. ||15|| Dadda: Why do you make such ostentatious shows, O mortal? Whatever exists, shall all pass away. So serve Him, who is contained and pervading among everyone, and you shall obtain peace. ||16|| Dhadha: He Himself establishes and disestablishes; as it pleases His Will, so does He act. Having created the creation, He watches over it; He issues His Commands, and emancipates those, upon whom He casts His Glance of Grace. ||17|| Nanna: One whose heart is filled with the Lord, sings His Glorious Praises. One whom the Creator Lord unites with Himself, is not consigned to reincarnation. ||18|| Tatta: The terrible world-ocean is so very deep; its limits cannot be found. I do not have a boat, or even a raft; I am drowning - save me, O Savior King! ||19|| T'hat'ha: In all places and interspaces, He is; everything which exists, is by His doing. What is doubt? What is called Maya? Whatever pleases Him is good. ||20|| Dadda: Do not blame anyone else; blame instead your own actions. Whatever I did, for that I have suffered; I do not blame anyone else. ||21|| Dhadha: His power established and upholds the earth; the Lord has imparted His colour to everything. His gifts are received by everyone; all act according to His Command. ||22|| Nanna: The Husband Lord enjoys eternal pleasures, but He is not seen or understood. I am called the happy soul-bride, O sister, but my Husband Lord has never met me. ||23|| Pappa: The Supreme King, the Transcendent Lord, created the world, and watches over it. He sees and understands, and knows everything; inwardly and outwardly, he is fully pervading. ||24|| Faffa: The whole world is caught in the noose of Death, and all are bound by its chains. By Guru's Grace, they alone are saved, who hurry to enter the Lord's Sanctuary. ||25|| Babba: He set out to play the game, on the chess-board of the four ages.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 088

He made all beings and creatures his chessmen, and He Himself threw the dice. ||26|| Bhabha: Those who search, find the fruits of their rewards; by Guru's Grace, they live in the Fear of God. The self-willed manmukhs wander around, and they do not remember the Lord; the fools are consigned to the cycle of 8.4 million incarnations. ||27|| Mamma: In emotional attachment, he dies; he only thinks of the Lord, the Love of Nectar, when he dies. As long as the body is alive, he reads other things, and forgets the letter 'm', which stands for marnaa - death. ||28|| Yaya: He is never reincarnated again, if he recognises the True Lord. The Gurmukh speaks, the Gurmukh understands, and the Gurmukh knows only the One Lord. ||29|| Rarra: The Lord is contained among all; He created all beings. Having created His beings, He has put them all to work; they alone remember the Naam, upon whom He bestows His Grace. ||30|| Lalla: He has assigned people to their tasks, and made the love of Maya seem sweet to them. We eat and drink; we should endure equally whatever occurs, by His Will, by His Command. ||31|| Wawa: The all-pervading Transcendent Lord beholds the world; He created the form it wears. He beholds, tastes, and knows everything; He is pervading and permeating inwardly and outwardly. ||32|| Rarra: Why do you quarrel, O mortal? Meditate on the Imperishable Lord, and be absorbed into the True One. Become a sacrifice to Him. ||33|| Haha: There is no other Giver than Him; having created the creatures, He gives them nourishment. Meditate on the Lord's Name, be absorbed into the Lord's Name, and night and day, reap the Profit of the Lord's Name. ||34|| Airaa: He Himself created the world; whatever He has to do, He continues to do. He acts, and causes others to act, and He knows everything; so says Nanak, the poet. ||35||1|| Raag Aasaa, Third Mehl, Patee - The Alphabet: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Ayo, Angai: The whole world which was created - Kaahkai, Ghangai: It shall pass away. Reeree, Laalee: People commit sins, and falling into vice, forget virtue. ||1|| O mortal, why have you studied such an account, which shall call you to answer for payment? ||1||Pause|| Sidhan, Ngaayiyai: You do not remember the Lord. Nanna: You do not take the Lord's Name. Chhachha: You are wearing away, every night and day; you fool, how will you find release? You are held in the grip of death. ||2|| Babba: You do not understand, you fool; deluded by doubt, you are wasting your life. Without justification, you call yourself a teacher; thus you take on the loads of others. ||3|| Jajja: You have been robbed of your Light, you fool; in the end, you shall have to depart, and you shall regret and repent. You have not remembered the One Word of the Shabad, and so you shall have to enter the womb over and over again. ||4|| Read that which is written on your forehead, O Pandit, and do not teach wickedness to others.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 089

First, the teacher is tied down, and then, the noose is placed around the pupil's neck. ||5|| Sassa: You have lost your self-discipline, you fool, and you have accepted an offering under false pretenses. The daughter of the alms-giver is just like your own; by accepting this payment for performing the wedding ceremony, you have cursed your own life. ||6|| Mamma: You have been cheated out your intellect, you fool, and you are afflicted with the great disease of ego. Within your innermost self, you do not recognise God, and you compromise yourself for the sake of Maya. ||7|| Kakka: You wander around in sexual desire and anger, you fool; attached to possessiveness, you have forgotten the Lord. You read, and reflect, and proclaim out loud, but without understanding, you are drowned to death. ||8|| Tatta: In anger, you are burnt, you fool. T'hat'ha: That place where you live, is cursed. Ghagha: You go begging from door to door, you fool. Dadda: But still, you do not receive the gift. ||9|| Pappa: You shall not be able to swim across, you fool, since you are engrossed in worldly affairs. The True Lord Himself has ruined you, you fool; this is the destiny written on your forehead. ||10|| Bhabha: You have drowned in the terrifying world-ocean, you fool, and you have become engrossed in Maya. One who comes to know the One Lord, by Guru's Grace, is carried across in an instant. ||11|| Wawa: Your turn has come, you fool, but you have forgotten the Lord of Light. This opportunity shall not come again, you fool; you shall fall under the power of the Messenger of Death. ||12|| Jhajha: You shall never have to regret and repent, you fool, if you listen to the Teachings of the True Guru, for even an instant. Without the True Guru, there is no Guru at all; one who is without a Guru has a bad reputation. ||13|| Dhadha: Restrain your wandering mind, you fool; deep within you the treasure is to be found. When one becomes Gurmukh, then he drinks in the sublime essence of the Lord; throughout the ages, he continues to drink it in. ||14|| Gagga: Keep the Lord of the Universe in your mind, you fool; by mere words, no one has ever attained Him. Enshrine the Guru's feet within your heart, you fool, and all your past sins shall be forgiven. ||15|| Haha: Understand the Lord's Sermon, you fool; only then shall you attain eternal peace. The more the self-willed manmukhs read, the more pain they suffer. Without the True Guru, liberation is not obtained. ||16|| Rarra: Centre your consciousness on the Lord, you fool; abide with those whose hearts are filled with the Lord. By Guru's Grace, those who recognise the Lord, understand the absolute Lord. ||17|| Your limits cannot be known; the indescribable Lord cannot be described. O Nanak, whose who have met the True Guru, have their accounts settled. ||18||1||2|| Raag Aasaa, First Mehl, Chhant, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O beautiful young bride, my Beloved Lord is very playful. When the bride enshrines great love for her Husband Lord, He becomes merciful, and loves her in return.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 090

The soul-bride meets her Husband Lord, when the Lord Master Himself showers His favor upon her. Her bed is decorated in the company of her Beloved, and her seven pools are filled with ambrosial nectar. Be kind and compassionate to me, O Merciful True Lord, that I may obtain the Word of the Shabad, and sing Your Glorious Praises. O Nanak, gazing upon her Husband Lord, the soul-bride is delighted, and her mind is filled with joy. ||1|| O bride of natural beauty, offer your loving prayers to the Lord. The Lord is pleasing to my mind and body; I am intoxicated in my Lord God's Company. Imbued with the Love of God, I pray to the Lord, and through the Lord's Name, I abide in peace. If you recognise His Glorious Virtues, then you shall come to know God; thus virtue shall dwell in you, and sin shall run away. Without You, I cannot survive, even for an instant; by merely talking and listening about You, I am not satisfied. Nanak proclaims, "O Beloved, O Beloved!" His tongue and mind are drenched with the Lord's sublime essence. ||2|| O my companions and friends, my Husband Lord is the merchant. I have purchased the Lord's Name; its sweetness and value are unlimited. His value is invaluable; the Beloved dwells in His true home. If it is pleasing to God, then He blesses His bride. Some enjoy sweet pleasures with the Lord, while I stand crying at His door. The Creator, the Cause of causes, the All-powerful Lord Himself arranges our affairs. O Nanak, blessed is the soul-bride, upon whom He casts His Glance of Grace; she enshrines the Word of the Shabad in her heart. ||3|| In my home, the true songs of rejoicing resound; the Lord God, my Friend, has come to me. He enjoys me, and imbued with His Love, I have captivated His heart, and given mine to Him. I gave my mind, and obtained the Lord as my Husband; as it pleases His Will, He enjoys me. I have placed my body and mind before my Husband Lord, and through the Shabad, I have been blessed. Within the home of my own self, I have obtained the ambrosial fruit. He is not obtained by intellectual recitation or great cleverness; only by love does the mind obtain Him. O Nanak, the Lord Master is my Best Friend; I am not an ordinary person. ||4||1|| Aasaa, First Mehl: The unstruck melody of the sound current resounds with the vibrations of the celestial instruments. My mind, my mind is imbued with the Love of my Darling Beloved. Night and day, my detached mind remains absorbed in the Lord, and I obtain my home in the profound trance of the celestial void. The True Guru has revealed to me the Primal Lord, the Infinite, my Beloved, the Unseen. The Lord's posture and His seat are permanent; my mind is absorbed in reflective contemplation upon Him. O Nanak, the detached ones are imbued with His Name, the unstruck melody, and the celestial vibrations. ||1|| Tell me, how can I reach that unreachable, that unreachable city? By practicing truthfulness and self-restraint, by contemplating His Glorious Virtues, and living the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Practicing the True Word of the Shabad, one comes to the home of his own inner being, and obtains the treasure of virtue. He has no stems, roots, leaves or branches, but He is the Supreme Lord over the heads of all. Practicing intensive meditation, chanting and self-discipline, people have grown weary; stubbornly practicing these rituals, they still have not found Him. O Nanak, through spiritual wisdom, the Lord, the Life of the world, is met; the True Guru imparts this understanding. ||2|| The Guru is the ocean, the mountain of jewels, overflowing with jewels.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 091

Take your bath in the seven seas, O my mind, and become pure. One bathes in the water of purity when it is pleasing to God, and obtains the five virtues by reflective meditation. Renouncing sexual desire, anger, deceit and corruption, he enshrines the True Name in his heart. When the waves of ego, greed and avarice subside, he finds the Lord Master, Merciful to the meek. O Nanak, there is no place of pilgrimage comparable to the Guru; the True Guru is the Lord of the world. ||3|| I have searched the jungles and forests, and looked upon all the fields. You created the three worlds, the entire universe, everything. You created everything; You alone are permanent. Nothing is equal to You. You are the Giver - all are Your beggars; without You, who should we praise? You bestow Your gifts, even when we do not ask for them, O Great Giver; devotion to You is a treasure over-flowing. Without the Lord's Name, there is no liberation; so says Nanak, the meek. ||4||2|| Aasaa, First Mehl: My mind, my mind is attuned to the Love of my Beloved Lord. The True Lord Master, the Primal Being, the Infinite One, is the Support of the earth. He is unfathomable, unapproachable, infinite and incomparable. He is the Supreme Lord God, the Lord above all. He is the Lord, from the beginning, throughout the ages, now and forevermore; know that all else is false. If one does not appreciate the value of good deeds and Dharmic faith, how can one obtain clarity of consciousness and liberation? O Nanak, the Gurmukh realises the Word of the Shabad; night and day, he meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1|| My mind, my mind has come to accept, that the Naam is our only Friend. Egotism, worldly attachment, and the lures of Maya shall not go with you. Mother, father, famliy, children, cleverness, property and spouses - none of these shall go with you. I have renounced Maya, the daughter of the ocean; reflecting upon reality, I have trampled it under my feet. The Primal Lord has revealed this wondrous show; wherever I look, there I see Him. O Nanak, I shall not forsake the Lord's devotional worship; in the natural course, what shall be, shall be. ||2|| My mind, my mind has become immaculately pure, contemplating the True Lord. I have dispelled my vices, and now I walk in the company of the virtuous. Discarding my vices, I do good deeds, and in the True Court, I am judged as true. My coming and going has come to an end; as Gurmukh, I reflect upon the nature of reality. O my Dear Friend, You are my all-knowing companion; grant me the glory of Your True Name. O Nanak, the jewel of the Naam has been revealed to me; such are the Teachings I have received from the Guru. ||3|| I have carefully applied the healing ointment to my eyes, and I am attuned to the Immaculate Lord. He is permeating my mind and body, the Life of the world, the Lord, the Great Giver. My mind is imbued with the Lord, the Great Giver, the Life of the world; I have merged and blended with Him, with intuitive ease. In the Company of the Holy, and the Saints' Society, by God's Grace, peace is obtained. The renunciates remain absorbed in devotional worship to the Lord; they are rid of emotional attachment and desire. O Nanak, how rare is that unattached servant, who conquers his ego, and remains pleased with the Lord. ||4||3||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 092

Raag Aasaa, First Mehl, Chhant, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: You are everywhere, wherever I go, O True Creator Lord. You are the Giver of all, the Architect of Destiny, the Dispeller of distress. The Lord Master is the Dispeller of

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distress; all that happens is by His doing. Millions upon millions of sins, He destroys in an instant. He calls a swan a swan, and a crane a crane; He contemplates each and every heart. You are everywhere, wherever I go, O True Creator Lord. ||1|| Those who meditate on Him single-mindedly obtain peace; how rare are they in this world. The Messenger of Death does not draw near those who live the Guru's Teachings; they never return defeated. Those who appreciate the Glorious Praises of the Lord, Har, Har, never suffer defeat; the Messenger of Death does not even approach them. Birth and death are ended for those who are attached to the feet of the Lord. Through the Guru's Teachings, they obtain the sublime essence of the Lord, and the fruit of the Lord; they enshrine the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, in their hearts. Those who meditate on Him single-mindedly obtain peace; how rare are they in this world. ||2|| He who created the world and assigned all to their tasks - unto Him I am a sacrifice. So serve Him, and gather profit, and you shall obtain honour in the Court of the Lord. That humble being, who recognises the One Lord alone, obtains honour in the Court of the Lord. One who meditates on the Lord, through the Guru's Teachings, obtains the nine treasures; he chants and repeats continually the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Day and night, take the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the most sublime Primal Being. The One who created the world and assigned all to their tasks - I am a sacrifice to Him. ||3|| Those who chant the Naam look beautiful; they obtain the fruit of peace. Those who believe in the Name win the game of life. Their blessings are not exhausted, if it pleases the Lord, even though numerous ages may pass. Even though numerous ages may pass, O Lord Master, their blessings are not exhausted. They do not age, they do not die and fall into hell, if they meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Those who chant the Lord's Name, Har, Har, do not wither, O Nanak; they are not afflicted by pain. Those who chant the Naam look beautiful; they obtain the fruit of peace. Those who believe in the Name win the game of life. ||4||1||4|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Aasaa, First Mehl, Chhant, Third House: Listen, O black deer: why are you so attached to the orchard of passion? The fruit of sin is sweet for only a few days, and then it grows hot and bitter. That fruit which intoxicated you has now become bitter and painful, without the Naam.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 093

It is temporary, like the waves on the sea, and the flash of lightning. Without the Lord, there is no other protector, but you have forgotten Him. Nanak speaks the Truth. Reflect upon it, O mind; you shall die, O black deer. ||1|| O bumble bee, you wander among the flowers, but terrible pain awaits you. I have asked my Guru for true understanding. I have asked my True Guru for understanding about the bumble bee, who is so involved with the flowers of the garden. When the sun rises, the body will fall, and it will be cooked in hot oil. You shall be bound and beaten on the road of Death, without the Word of the Shabad, O madman. Nanak speaks the Truth. Reflect upon it, O mind; you shall die, O bumble bee. ||2|| O my stranger soul, why do you fall into entanglements? The True Lord abides within your mind; why are you trapped by the noose of Death? The fish leaves the water with tearful eyes, when the fisherman casts his net. The love of Maya is sweet to the world, but in the end, this delusion is dispelled. So perform devotional worship, link your consciousness to the Lord, and dispel anxiety from your mind. Nanak speaks the Truth; focus your consciousness on the Lord, O my stranger soul. ||3|| The rivers and streams which separate may sometime be united again. In age after age, that which is sweet, is full of poison; how rare is the Yogi who understands this. That rare person who centres his consciousness on the True Guru, knows intuitively and realises the Lord. Without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the thoughtless fools wander in doubt, and are ruined. Those whose hearts are not touched by devotional worship and the Name of the True Lord, shall weep and wail loudly in the end. Nanak speaks the Truth; through the True Word of the Shabad, those long separated from the Lord, are united once again. ||4||1||5|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Aasaa, Third Mehl, Chhant, First House: Within my home, the true wedding songs of rejoicing are sung; my home is adorned with the True Word of the Shabad. The soul-bride has met her Husband Lord; God Himself has consummated this union. God Himself has consummated this union; the soul-bride enshrines Truth within her mind, intoxicated with peaceful poise. Embellished with the Word of the Guru's Shabad, and beautified with Truth, she enjoys her Beloved forever, imbued with His Love. Eradicating her ego, she obtains her Husband Lord, and then, the sublime essence of the Lord dwells within her mind. Says Nanak, fruitful and prosperous is her entire life; she is embellished with the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||1|| The soul-bride who has been led astray by duality and doubt, does not attain her Husband Lord. That soul-bride has no virtue, and she wastes her life in vain. The self-willed, ignorant and disgraceful manmukh wastes her life in vain, and in the end, she comes to grief. But when she serves her True Guru, she obtains peace, and then she meets her Husband Lord, face to face. Beholding her Husband Lord, she blossoms forth; her heart is delighted, and she is beautified by the True Word of the Shabad. O Nanak, without the Name, the soul-bride wanders around, deluded by doubt. Meeting her Beloved, she obtains peace. ||2||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 094

The soul-bride knows that her Husband Lord is with her; the Guru unites her in this union. Within her heart, she is merged with the Shabad, and the fire of her desire is easily extinguished. The Shabad has quenched the fire of desire, and within her heart, peace and tranquility have come; she tastes the Lord's essence with intuitive ease. Meeting her Beloved, she enjoys His Love continually, and her speech rings with the True Shabad. Reading and studying continually, the Pandits, the religious scholars, and the silent sages have grown weary; wearing religious robes, liberation is not obtained. O Nanak, without devotional worship, the world has gone insane; through the True Word of the Shabad, one meets the Lord. ||3|| Bliss permeates the mind of the soul-bride, who meets her Beloved Lord. The soul-bride is enraptured with the sublime essence of the Lord, through the incomparable Word of the Guru's Shabad. Through the incomparable Word of the Guru's Shabad, she meets her Beloved; she continually contemplates and enshrines His Glorious Virtues in her mind. Her bed was adorned when she enjoyed her Husband Lord; meeting with her Beloved, her demerits were erased. That house, within which the Lord's Name is continually meditated upon, resounds with the wedding songs of rejoicing, throughout the four ages. O Nanak, imbued with the Naam, we are in bliss forever; meeting the Lord, our affairs are resolved. ||4||1||6|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Aasaa, Third Mehl, Chhant, Third House: O my beloved friend, dedicate yourself to the devotional worship of your Husband Lord. Serve your Guru constantly, and obtain the wealth of the Naam. Dedicate yourself to the worship of your Husband Lord; this is pleasing to your Beloved Husband. If you walk in accordance with your own will, then your Husband Lord will not be pleased with you. This path of loving devotional worship is very difficult; how rare are those who find it, through the Gurdwara, the Guru's Gate. Says Nanak, that one, upon whom the Lord casts His Glance of Grace, links his consciousness to the worship of the Lord. ||1|| O my detached mind, unto whom do you show your detachment? Those who sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord live in the joy of the Lord, forever and ever. So become detached, and renounce hypocrisy; Your Husband Lord knows everything. The One Lord is pervading the water, the land and the sky; the Gurmukh realises the Command of His Will. One who realises the Lord's Command, obtains all peace and comforts. Thus says Nanak: such a detached soul remains absorbed in the Lord's Love, day and night. ||2|| Wherever you wander, O my mind, the Lord is there with you. Renounce your cleverness, O my mind, and reflect upon the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Your Husband Lord is always with you, if you remember the Lord's Name, even for an instant. The sins of countless incarnations shall be washed away, and in the end, you shall obtain the supreme status. You shall be linked to the True Lord, and as Gurmukh, remember Him forever. Thus says Nanak: wherever you go, O my mind, the Lord is there with you. ||3|| Meeting the True Guru, the wandering mind is held steady; it comes to abide in its own home. It purchases the Naam, chants the Naam, and remains absorbed in the Naam.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 095

The outgoing, wandering soul, upon meeting the True Guru, opens the Tenth Gate. There, Ambrosial Nectar is food and the celestial music resounds; the world is held spell-bound by the music of the Word. The many strains of the unstruck melody resound there, as one merges in Truth. Thus says Nanak: by meeting the True Guru, the wandering soul becomes steady, and comes to dwell in the home of its own self. ||4|| O my mind, you are the embodiment of the Divine Light - recognise your own origin. O my mind, the Dear Lord is with you; through the Guru's Teachings, enjoy His Love. Acknowledge your origin, and then you shall know your Husband Lord, and so understand death and birth. By Guru's Grace, know the One; then, you shall not love any other. Peace comes to the mind, and gladness resounds; then, you shall be acclaimed. Thus says Nanak: O my mind, you are the very image of the Luminous Lord; recognise the true origin of your self. ||5|| O mind, you are so full of pride; loaded with pride, you shall depart. The fascinating Maya has fascinated you, over and over again, and lured you into reincarnation. Clinging to pride, you shall depart, O foolish mind, and in the end, you shall regret and repent. You are afflicted with the diseases of ego and desire, and you are wasting your life away in vain. The foolish self-willed manmukh does not remember the Lord, and shall regret and repent hereafter. Thus says Nanak: O mind, you are full of pride; loaded with pride, you shall depart. ||6|| O mind, don't be so proud of yourself, as if you know it all; the Gurmukh is humble and modest. Within the intellect are ignorance and ego; through the True Word of the Shabad, this filth is washed off. So be humble, and surrender to the True Guru; do not attach your identity to your ego. The world is consumed by ego and self-identity; see this, lest you lose your own self as well. Make yourself follow the Sweet Will of the True Guru; remain attached to His Sweet Will. Thus says Nanak: renounce your ego and self-conceit, and obtain peace; let your mind abide in humility. ||7|| Blessed is that time, when I met the True Guru, and my Husband Lord came into my consciousness. I became so very blissful, and my mind and body found such a natural peace. My Husband Lord came into my consciousness; I enshrined Him within my mind, and I renounced all vice. When it pleased Him, virtues appeared in me, and the True Guru Himself adorned me. Those humble beings become acceptable, who cling to the One Name and renounce the love of duality. Thus says Nanak: blessed is the time when I met the True Guru, and my Husband Lord came into my consciousness. ||8|| Some people wander around, deluded by doubt; their Husband Lord Himself has misled them. They wander around in the love of duality, and they do their deeds in ego. Their Husband Lord Himself has misled them, and put them on the path of evil. Nothing lies in their power. You alone know their ups and downs, You, who created the creation. The Command of Your Will is very strict; how rare is the Gurmukh who understands. Thus says Nanak: what can the poor creatures do, when You mislead them into doubt? ||9||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 096

O My True Lord Master, True is Your glorious greatness. You are the Supreme Lord God, the Infinite Lord and Master. Your creative power cannot be described. True is Your glorious greatness; when You enshrine it within the mind, one sings Your Glorious Praises forever. He sings Your Glorious Praises, when it is pleasing to You, O True Lord; he centres his consciousness on You. One whom You unite with Yourself, as Gurmukh, remains absorbed in You. Thus says Nanak: O my True Lord Master, True is Your Glorious Greatness. ||10||2||7||5||2||7|| Raag Aasaa, Chhant, Fourth Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Life - I have found real life, as Gurmukh, through His Love. The Lord's Name - He has given me the Lord's Name, and enshrined it within my breath of life. He has enshrined the Name of the Lord, Har, Har within my breath of life, and all my doubts and sorrows have departed. I have meditated on the invisible and unapproachable Lord, through the Guru's Word, and I have obtained the pure, supreme status. The unstruck melody resounds, and the instruments ever vibrate, singing the Bani of the True Guru. O Nanak, God the Great Giver has given me a gift; He has blended my light into the Light. ||1|| The self-willed manmukhs die in their self-willed stubbornness, declaring that the wealth of Maya is theirs. They attach their consciousness to the foul-smelling pile of filth, which comes for a moment, and departs in an instant. They attach their consciousness to the foul-smelling pile of filth, which is transitory, like the fading colour of the safflower. One moment, they are facing east, and the next instant, they are facing west; they continue spinning around, like the potter's wheel. In sorrow, they eat, and in sorrow, they gather things and try to enjoy them, but they only increase their stores of sorrow. O Nanak, one easily crosses over the terrifying world-ocean, when he comes to the Sanctuary of the Guru. ||2|| My Lord, my Lord Master is sublime, unapproachable and unfathomable. The wealth of the Lord - I seek the wealth of the Lord, from my True Guru, the Divine Banker. I seek the wealth of the Lord, to purchase the Naam; I sing and love the Glorious Praises of the Lord. I have totally renounced sleep and hunger, and through deep meditation, I am absorbed into the Absolute Lord. The traders of one kind come and take away the Name of the Lord as their profit. O Nanak, dedicate your mind and body to the Guru; one who is so destined, attains it. ||3|| The great ocean is full of the treasures of jewels upon jewels. Those who are committed to the Word of the Guru's Bani, see them come into their hands. This priceless, incomparable jewel comes into the hands of those who are committed to the Word of the Guru's Bani. They obtain the immeasurable Name of the Lord, Har, Har; their treasure is overflowing with devotional worship. I have churned the ocean of the body, and I have seen the incomparable thing come into view. The Guru is God, and God is the Guru, O Nanak; there is no difference between the two, O Siblings of Destiny. ||4||1||8|| Aasaa, Fourth Mehl: Slowly, slowly, slowly, very slowly, the drops of Ambrosial Nectar trickle down.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 097

As Gurmukh, the Gurmukh beholds the Lord, the Beloved Lord. The Name of the Lord, the Emancipator of the world, is dear to him; the Name of the Lord is his glory. In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, the Lord's Name is the boat, which carries the Gurmukh across. This world, and the world hereafter, are adorned with the Lord's Name; the Gurmukh's lifestyle is the most excellent. O Nanak, bestowing His kindness, the Lord gives the gift of His emancipating Name. ||1|| I chant the

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Name of the Lord, Raam, Raam, which destroys my sorrows and erases my sins. Associating with the Guru, associating with the Guru, I practice meditation; I have enshrined the Lord within my heart. I enshrined the Lord within my heart, and obtained the supreme status, when I came to the Sanctuary of the Guru. My boat was sinking under the weight of greed and corruption, but it was uplifted when the True Guru implanted the Naam, the Name of the Lord, within me. The Perfect Guru has given me the gift of spiritual life, and I centre my consciousness on the Lord's Name. The Merciful Lord Himself has mercifully given this gift to me; O Nanak, I take to the Sanctuary of the Guru. ||2|| Hearing the Bani of the Lord's Name, all my affairs were brought to perfection and embellished. With each and every hair, with each and every hair, as Gurmukh, I meditate on the Lord. I meditate on the Lord's Name, and become pure; He has no form or shape. The Name of the Lord, Raam, Raam, is permeating my heart deep within, and all of my desire and hunger has disappeared. My mind and body are totally adorned with peace and tranquility; through the Guru's Teachings, the Lord has been revealed to me. The Lord Himself has shown His kind mercy to Nanak; He has made me the slave of the slaves of His slaves. ||3|| Those who forget the Name of the Lord, Raam, Raam, are foolish, unfortunate, self-willed manmukhs. Within, they are engrossed in emotional attachment; each and every moment, Maya clings to them. The filth of Maya clings to them, and they become unfortunate fools - they do not love the Lord's Name. The egotistical and proud perform all sorts of rituals, but they shy away from the Lord's Name. The path of Death is very arduous and painful; it is stained with the darkness of emotional attachment. O Nanak, the Gurmukh meditates on the Naam, and finds the gate of salvation. ||4|| The Name of the Lord, Raam, Raam, and the Lord Guru, are known by the Gurmukh. One moment, this mind is in the heavens, and the next, it is in the nether regions; the Guru brings the wandering mind back to one-pointedness. When the mind returns to one-pointedness, one totally understands the value of salvation, and enjoys the subtle essence of the Lord's Name. The Lord's Name preserves the honour of His servant, as He preserved and emancipated Prahlaad. So repeat continually the Name of the Lord, Raam, Raam; chanting His Glorious Virtues, His limit cannot be found. Nanak is drenched in happiness, hearing the Name of the Lord; he is merged in the Name of the Lord. ||5|| Those beings, whose minds are filled the Lord's Name, forsake all anxiety. They obtain all wealth, and all Dharmic faith, and the fruits of their minds' desires. They obtain the fruits of their hearts' desires, meditating on the Lord's Name, and singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord's Name. Evil-mindedness and duality depart, and their understanding is enlightened. They attach their minds to the Name of the Lord.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 098

Their lives and bodies become totally blessed and fruitful; the Lord's Name illumines them. O Nanak, by continually vibrating upon the Lord, day and night, the Gurmukhs abide in the home of the inner self. ||6|| Those who place their faith in the Lord's Name, do not attach their consciousness to another. Even if the entire earth were to be transformed into gold, and given to them, without the Naam, they love nothing else. The Lord's Name is pleasing to their minds, and they obtain supreme peace; when they depart in the end, it shall go with them as their support. I have gathered the capital, the wealth of the Lord's Name; it does not sink, and does not depart. The Lord's Name is the only true support in this age; the Messenger of Death does not draw near it. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs recognise the Lord; in His Mercy, He unites them with Himself. ||7|| True, True is the Name of the Lord, Raam, Raam; the Gurmukh knows the Lord. The Lord's servant is the one who commits himself to the Guru's service, and dedicates his mind and body as an offering to Him. He dedicates his mind and body to Him, placing great faith in Him; the Guru lovingly unites His servant with Himself. The Master of the meek, the Giver of souls, is obtained through the Perfect Guru. The Guru's Sikh, and the Sikh's Guru, are one and the same; both spread the Guru's Teachings. The Mantra of the Lord's Name is enshrined within the heart, O Nanak, and we merge with the Lord so easily. ||8||2||9|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Aasaa, Chhant, Fourth Mehl, Second House: The Creator Lord, Har, Har, is the Destroyer of distress; the Name of the Lord is the Purifier of sinners. One who lovingly serves the Lord, obtains the supreme status. Service to the Lord, Har, Har, is more exalted than anything. Chanting the Name of the Lord is the most exalted occupation; chanting the Name of the Lord, one becomes immortal. The pains of both birth and death are eradicated, and one comes to sleep in peaceful ease. O Lord, O Lord and Master, shower Your Mercy upon me; within my mind, I chant the Name of the Lord. The Creator Lord, Har, Har, is the Destroyer of distress; the Name of the Lord is the Purifier of sinners. ||1|| The wealth of the Lord's Name is the most exalted in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga; chant the Lord's Name according to the Way of the True Guru. As Gurmukh, read of the Lord; as Gurmukh, hear of the Lord. Chanting and listening to the Lord's Name, pain departs. Chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, pains are removed. Through the Name of the Lord, supreme peace is obtained. The spiritual wisdom of the True Guru illumines the heart; this Light dispels the darkness of spiritual ignorance. They alone meditate on the Lord's Name, Har, Har, upon whose foreheads such destiny is written. The wealth of the Lord's Name is the most exalted in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga; chant the Lord's Name according to the Way of the True Guru. ||2|| One whose mind loves the Lord, Har, Har, obtains supreme peace. He reaps the profit of the Lord's Name, the state of Nirvaanaa. He embraces love for the Lord, and the Lord's Name becomes his companion. His doubts, and his comings and goings are ended.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 099

His comings and goings, doubts and fears come to an end, and he sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord, Har, Har, Har. The sins and pains of countless incarnations are washed away, and he merges into the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Those who are blessed by such pre-ordained destiny, meditate on the Lord, and their lives become fruitful and approved. One whose mind loves the Lord, Har, Har, obtains supreme peace. He reaps the profit of the Lord's Name, the state of Nirvaanaa. ||3|| Celebrated are those people, unto whom the Lord seems sweet; how exalted are those people of the Lord, Har, Har. The Lord's Name is their glorious greatness; the Lord's Name is their companion and helper. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, they enjoy the sublime essence of the Lord. They enjoy the sublime essence of the Lord, and remain totally detached. By great good fortune, they obtain the sublime essence of the Lord. So very blessed and truly perfect are those, who through Guru's Instruction meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Servant Nanak begs for the dust of the feet of the Holy; his mind is rid of sorrow and separation. Celebrated are those people, unto whom the Lord seems sweet; how exalted are those people of the Lord, Har, Har. ||4||3||10|| Aasaa, Fourth Mehl: In the Golden Age of Sat Yuga, everyone embodied contentment and meditation; religion stood upon four feet. With mind and body, they sang of the Lord, and attained supreme peace. In their hearts was the spiritual wisdom of the Lord's Glorious Virtues. Their wealth was the spiritual wisdom of the Lord's Glorious Virtues; the Lord was their success, and to live as Gurmukh was their glory. Inwardly and outwardly, they saw only the One Lord God; for them there was no other second. They centred their consciousness lovingly on the Lord, Har, Har. The Lord's Name was their companion, and in the Court of the Lord, they obtained honour. In the Golden Age of Sat Yuga, everyone embodied contentment and meditation; religion stood upon four feet. ||1|| Then came the Silver Age of Trayta Yuga; men's minds were ruled by power, and they practiced celibacy and self-discipline. The fourth foot of religion dropped off, and three remained. Their hearts and minds were inflamed with anger. Their hearts and minds were filled with the horribly poisonous essence of anger. The kings fought their wars and obtained only pain. Their minds were afflicted with the illness of egotism, and their self-conceit and arrogance increased. If my Lord, Har, Har, shows His Mercy, my Lord and Master eradicates the poison by the Guru's Teachings and the Lord's Name. Then came the Silver Age of Trayta Yuga; men's minds were ruled by power, and they practiced celibacy and self-discipline. ||2|| The Brass Age of Dwaapar Yuga came, and people wandered in doubt. The Lord created the Gopis and Krishna. The penitents practiced penance, they offered sacred feasts and charity, and performed many rituals and religious rites. They performed many rituals and religious rites; two legs of religion dropped away, and only two legs remained. So many heroes waged great wars; in their egos they were ruined, and they ruined others as well. The Lord, Compassionate to the poor, led them to meet the Holy Guru. Meeting the True Guru, their filth is washed away. The Brass Age of Dwaapar Yuga came, and the people wandered in doubt. The Lord created the Gopis and Krishna. ||3||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 100

The Lord ushered in the Dark Age, the Iron Age of Kali Yuga; three legs of religion were lost, and only the fourth leg remained intact. Acting in accordance with the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the medicine of the Lord's Name is obtained. Singing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises, divine peace is obtained. The season of singing the Lord's Praise has arrived; the Lord's Name is glorified, and the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, grows in the field of the body. In the Dark Age of Kali Yuga, if one plants any other seed than the Name, all profit and capital is lost. Servant Nanak has found the Perfect Guru, who has revealed to him the Naam within his heart and mind. The Lord ushered in the Dark Age, the Iron Age of Kali Yuga; three legs of religion were lost, and only the fourth leg remained intact. ||4||4||11|| Aasaa, Fourth Mehl: One whose mind is pleased with the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises, attains the supreme status; the Lord seems so sweet to her mind and body. She obtains the sublime essence of the Lord, Har, Har; through the Guru's Teachings, she meditates on the Lord, and the destiny written on her forehead is fulfilled. By that high destiny written on her forehead, she chants the Name of the Lord, her Husband, and through the Name of the Lord, she sings the Lord's Glorious Praises. The jewel of immense love sparkles on her forehead, and she is adorned with the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Her light blends with the Supreme Light, and she obtains God; meeting the True Guru, her mind is satisfied. One whose mind is pleased with the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises, attains the supreme status; the Lord seems sweet to her mind and body. ||1|| Those who sing the Praises of the Lord, Har, Har, obtain the supreme status; they are the most exalted and acclaimed people. I bow at their feet; each and every moment, I wash the feet of those, unto whom the Lord seems sweet. The Lord seems sweet to them, and they obtain the supreme status; their faces are radiant and beautiful with good fortune. Under Guru's Instruction, they sing the Lord's Name, and wear the garland of the Lord's Name around their necks; they keep the Lord's Name in their throats. They look upon all with equality, and recognise the Supreme Soul, the Lord, pervading among all. Those who sing the Praises of the Lord, Har, Har, obtain the supreme status; they are the most exalted and acclaimed people. ||2|| One whose mind is pleased with the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, savors the sublime essence of the Lord; in the Sangat, is this essence of the Lord. He meditates in adoration upon the Lord, Har, Har, and through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, he blossoms forth. He plants no other seed. There is no Nectar, other than the Lord's Ambrosial Nectar. One who drinks it in, knows the way. Hail, hail to the Perfect Guru; through Him, God is found. Joining the Sangat, the Naam is understood. I serve the Naam, and I meditate on the Naam. Without the Naam, there is no other at all. One whose mind is pleased with the Sat Sangat, savors the sublime essence of the Lord; in the Sangat, is this essence of the Lord. ||3|| O Lord God, shower Your Mercy upon me; I am just a stone. Please, carry me across, and lift me up with ease, through the Word of the Shabad. I am stuck in the swamp of emotional attachment, and I am sinking. O Lord God, please, take me by the arm. God took me by the arm, and I obtained the highest understanding; as His slave, I grasped the Guru's feet.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 101

I chant and meditate in adoration upon the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, according to the good destiny written upon my forehead. The Lord has showered His Mercy upon servant Nanak, and the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, seems so sweet to his mind. O Lord God, shower Your Mercy upon me; I am just a stone. Please, carry me across, and lift me up with ease, through the Word of the Shabad. ||4||5||12|| Aasaa, Fourth Mehl: One who chants the Naam, the Name of the Lord, Har, Har in his mind - the Lord is pleasing to his mind. In the mind of the devotees there is a great yearning for the Lord. Those humble beings who remain dead while yet alive, drink in the Ambrosial Nectar; through the Guru's Teachings, their minds embrace love for the Lord. Their minds love the Lord, Har, Har, and the Guru is Merciful to them. They are Jivan Mukta - liberated while yet alive, and they are at peace. Their birth and death, through the Name of the Lord, are illustrious, and in their hearts and minds, the Lord, Har, Har, abides. The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, abides in their minds, and through the Guru's Teachings, they savor the Lord, Har, Har; they drink in the sublime essence of the Lord with abandon. One who chants the Naam, the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, in his mind - the Lord is pleasing to his mind. In the mind of the devotees there is such a great yearning for the Lord. ||1|| The people of the world do not like death; they try to hide from it. They are afraid that the Messenger of Death may catch them and take them away. Inwardly and outwardly, the Lord God is the One and Only; this soul cannot be concealed from Him. How can one keep one's soul, when the Lord wishes to have it? All things belong to Him, and He shall take them away. The self-willed manmukhs wander around in pathetic lamentation, trying all medicines and remedies. God, the Master, unto whom all things belong, shall take them away; the Lord's servant is redeemed by living the Word of the Shabad. The people of the world do not like death; they try to hide from it. They are afraid that the Messenger of Death may catch them and take them away. ||2|| Death is pre-ordained; the Gurmukhs look beauteous, and the humble beings are saved, meditating on the Lord, Har, Har. Through the Lord they obtain honour, and through the Lord's Name, glorious greatness. In the Court of the Lord, they are robed in honour. Robed in honour in the Court of the Lord, in the perfection of the Lord's Name, they obtain peace through the Lord's Name. The pains of both birth and death are eliminated, and they merge into the Name of the Lord. The Lord's servants meet with God and merge into Oneness. The Lord's servant and God are one and the same. Death is pre-ordained; the Gurmukhs look beauteous, and the humble beings are saved, meditating on the Lord, Har, Har. ||3|| The people of the world are born, only to perish, and perish, and perish again. Only by attaching oneself to the Lord as

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Gurmukh, does one become permanent. The Guru implants His Mantra within the heart, and one savors the sublime essence of the Lord; the Ambrosial Nectar of the Lord trickles into his mouth. Obtaining the Ambrosial Essence of the Lord, the dead are restored to life, and do not die again. Through the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, one obtains the immortal status, and merges into the Lord's Name. The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is the only Support and Anchor of servant Nanak; without the Naam, there is nothing else at all. The people of the world are born, only to perish, and perish, and perish again. Only by attaching oneself to the Lord as Gurmukh, does one become permanent. ||4||6||13||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 102

Aasaa, Fourth Mehl, Chhant: My Lord of the Universe is great, unapproachable, unfathomable, primal, immaculate and formless. His condition cannot be described; His Glorious Greatness is immeasurable. My Lord of the Universe is invisible and infinite. The Lord of the Universe is invisible, infinite and unlimited. He Himself knows Himself. What should these poor creatures say? How can they speak of and describe You? That Gurmukh who is blessed by Your Glance of Grace contemplates You. My Lord of the Universe is great, unapproachable, unfathomable, primal, immaculate and formless. ||1|| You, O Lord, O Primal Being, are the Limitless Creator; Your limits cannot be found. You are pervading and permeating each and every heart, everywhere, You are contained in all. Within the heart is the Transcendent, Supreme Lord God, whose limits cannot be found. He has no form or shape; He is unseen and unknown. The Gurmukh sees the unseen Lord. He remains in continual ecstasy, day and night, and is spontaneously absorbed into the Naam. You, O Lord, O Primal Being, are the Limitless Creator; Your limits cannot be found. ||2|| You are the True, Transcendent Lord, forever imperishable. The Lord, Har, Har, is the treasure of virtue. The Lord God, Har, Har, is the One and only; there is no other at all. You Yourself are the all-knowing Lord. You are the all-knowing Lord, the most exalted and auspicious; there is no other as great as You. The Word of Your Shabad is pervading in all; whatever You do, comes to pass. The One Lord God is permeating all; the Gurmukh comes to understand the Lord's Name. You are the True, Transcendent Lord, forever imperishable. The Lord, Har, Har, is the treasure of virtue. ||3|| You are the Creator of all, and all greatness is Yours. As it pleases Your Will, so do we act. As it pleases Your Will, so do we act. All are merged into Your Shabad. When it pleases Your Will, we obtain greatness through Your Shabad. The Gurmukh obtains wisdom, and eliminates his self-conceit, and remains absorbed in the Shabad. The Gurmukh obtains Your incomprehensible Shabad; O Nanak, he remains merged in the Naam. You are the Creator of all, and all greatness is Yours. As it pleases Your Will, so do we act. ||4||7||14|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Aasaa, Fourth Mehl, Chhant, Fourth House: My eyes are wet with the Nectar of the Lord, and my mind is imbued with His Love, O Lord King. The Lord applied His touch-stone to my mind, and found it one hundred per cent gold. As Gurmukh, I am dyed in the deep red of the poppy, and my mind and body are drenched with His Love.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 103

Servant Nanak is drenched with His Fragrance; blessed, blessed is his entire life. ||1|| The Bani of the Lord's Love is the pointed arrow, which has pierced my mind, O Lord King. Only those who feel the pain of this love, know how to endure it. Those who die, and remain dead while yet alive, are said to be Jivan Mukta, liberated while yet alive. O Lord, unite servant Nanak with the True Guru, that he may cross over the terrifying world-ocean. ||2|| I am foolish and ignorant, but I have taken to His Sanctuary; may I merge in the Love of the Lord of the Universe, O Lord King. Through the Perfect Guru, I have obtained the Lord, and I beg for the one blessing of devotion to the Lord. My mind and body blossom forth through the Word of the Shabad; I meditate on the Lord of infinite waves. Meeting with the humble Saints, Nanak finds the Lord, in the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. ||3|| O Merciful to the meek, hear my prayer, O Lord God; You are my Master, O Lord King. I beg for the Sanctuary of the Lord's Name, Har, Har; please, place it in my mouth. It is the Lord's natural way to love His devotees; O Lord, please preserve my honour! Servant Nanak has entered His Sanctuary, and has been saved by the Name of the Lord. ||4||8||15|| Aasaa, Fourth Mehl: As Gurmukh, I searched and searched, and found the Lord, my Friend, my Sovereign Lord King. Within the walled fortress of my golden body, the Lord, Har, Har, is revealed. The Lord, Har, Har, is a jewel, a diamond; my mind and body are pierced through. By the great good fortune of pre-ordained destiny, I have found the Lord. Nanak is permeated with His sublime essence. ||1|| I stand by the roadside, and ask the way; I am just a youthful bride of the Lord King. The Guru has caused me to remember the Name of the Lord, Har, Har; I follow the Path to Him. The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is the Support of my mind and body; I have burnt away the poison of ego. O True Guru, unite me with the Lord, unite me with the Lord, adorned with garlands of flowers. ||2|| O my Love, come and meet me as Gurmukh; I have been separated from You for so long, Lord King. My mind and body are sad; my eyes are wet with the Lord's sublime essence. Show me my Lord God, my Love, O Guru; meeting the Lord, my mind is pleased. I am just a fool, O Nanak, but the Lord has appointed me to perform His service. ||3|| The Guru's body is drenched with Ambrosial Nectar; He sprinkles it upon me, O Lord King. Those whose minds are pleased with the Word of the Guru's Bani, drink in the Ambrosial Nectar again and again. As the Guru is pleased, the Lord is obtained, and you shall not be pushed around any more. The Lord's humble servant becomes the Lord, Har, Har; O Nanak, the Lord and His servant are one and the same. ||4||9||16|| Aasaa, Fourth Mehl: The treasure of Ambrosial Nectar, the Lord's devotional service, is found through the Guru, the True Guru, O Lord King. The Guru, the True Guru, is the True Banker, who gives to His Sikh the capital of the Lord. Blessed, blessed is the trader and the trade; how wonderful is the Banker, the Guru! O servant Nanak, they alone obtain the Guru, who have such pre-ordained destiny written upon their foreheads. ||1|| You are my True Banker, O Lord; the whole world is Your trader, O Lord King. You fashioned all vessels, O Lord, and that which dwells within is also Yours. Whatever You place in that vessel, that alone comes out again. What can the poor creatures do?

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 104

The Lord has given the treasure of His devotional worship to servant Nanak. ||2|| What Glorious Virtues of Yours can I describe, O Lord and Master? You are the most infinite of the infinite, O Lord King. I praise the Lord's Name, day and night; this alone is my hope and support. I am a fool, and I know nothing. How can I find Your limits? Servant Nanak is the slave of the Lord, the water-carrier of the slaves of the Lord. ||3|| As it pleases You, You save me; I have come seeking Your Sanctuary, O God, O Lord King. I am wandering around, ruining myself day and night; O Lord, please save my honour! I am just a child; You, O Guru, are my father. Please give me understanding and instruction. Servant Nanak is known as the Lord's slave; O Lord, please preserve his honour! ||4||10||17|| Aasaa, Fourth Mehl: Those who have the blessed pre-ordained destiny of the Lord written on their foreheads, meet the True Guru, the Lord King. The Guru removes the darkness of ignorance, and spiritual wisdom illuminates their hearts. They find the wealth of the jewel of the Lord, and then, they do not wander any longer. Servant Nanak meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and in meditation, he meets the Lord. ||1|| Those who have not kept the Lord's Name in their consciousness - why did they bother to come into the world, O Lord King? It is so difficult to obtain this human incarnation, and without the Naam, it is all futile and useless. Now, in this most fortunate season, he does not plant the seed of the Lord's Name; what will the hungry soul eat, in the world hereafter? The self-willed manmukhs are born again and again. O Nanak, such is the Lord's Will. ||2|| You, O Lord, belong to all, and all belong to You. You created all, O Lord King. Nothing is in anyone's hands; all walk as You cause them to walk. They alone are united with You, O Beloved, whom You cause to be so united; they alone are pleasing to Your Mind. Servant Nanak has met the True Guru, and through the Lord's Name, he has been carried across. ||3|| Some sing of the Lord, through musical Ragas and the sound current of the Naad, through the Vedas, and in so many ways. But the Lord, Har, Har, is not pleased by these, O Lord King. Those who are filled with fraud and corruption within - what good does it do for them to cry out? The Creator Lord knows everything, although they may try to hide their sins and the causes of their diseases. O Nanak, those Gurmukhs whose hearts are pure, obtain the Lord, Har, Har, by devotional worship. ||4||11||18|| Aasaa, Fourth Mehl: Those whose hearts are filled with the love of the Lord, Har, Har, are the wisest and most clever people, O Lord King. Even if they misspeak outwardly, they are still very pleasing to the Lord. The Lord's Saints have no other place. The Lord is the honour of the dishonoured. The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is the Royal Court for servant Nanak; the Lord's power is his only power. ||1|| Wherever my True Guru goes and sits, that place is beautiful, O Lord King. The Guru's Sikhs seek out that place; they take the dust and apply it to their faces. The works of the Guru's Sikhs, who meditate on the Lord's Name, are approved. Those who worship the True Guru, O Nanak - the Lord causes them to be worshipped in turn. ||2|| The Guru's Sikh keeps the Love of the Lord, and the Name of the Lord, in his mind. He loves You, O Lord, O Lord King.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 105

He serves the Perfect True Guru, and his hunger and self-conceit are eliminated. The hunger of the Gursikh is totally eliminated; indeed, many others are satisfied through them. Servant Nanak has planted the Seed of the Lord's Goodness; this Goodness of the Lord shall never be exhausted. ||3|| The minds of the Gursikhs rejoice, because they have seen my True Guru, O Lord King. If someone recites to them the story of the Lord's Name, it seems so sweet to the mind of those Gursikhs. The Gursikhs are robed in honour in the Court of the Lord; my True Guru is very pleased with them. Servant Nanak has become the Lord, Har, Har; the Lord, Har, Har, abides within his mind. ||4||12||19|| Aasaa, Fourth Mehl: Those who meet my Perfect True Guru - He implants within them the Name of the Lord, the Lord King. Those who meditate on the Lord's Name have all of their desire and hunger removed. Those who meditate on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har - the Messenger of Death cannot even approach them. O Lord, shower Your Mercy upon servant Nanak, that he may ever chant the Name of the Lord; through the Name of the Lord, he is saved. ||1|| Those who, as Gurmukh, meditate on the Naam, meet no obstacles in their path, O Lord King. Those who are pleasing to the almighty True Guru are worshipped by everyone. Those who serve their Beloved True Guru obtain eternal peace. Those who meet the True Guru, O Nanak - the Lord Himself meets them. ||2|| Those Gurmukhs, who are filled with His Love, have the Lord as their Saving Grace, O Lord King. How can anyone slander them? The Lord's Name is dear to them. Those whose minds are in harmony with the Lord - all their enemies attack them in vain. Servant Nanak meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the Lord Protector. ||3|| In each and every age, He creates His devotees and preserves their honour, O Lord King. The Lord killed the wicked Harnaakhash, and saved Prahlaad. He turned his back on the egotists and slanderers, and showed His Face to Naam Dayv. Servant Nanak has so served the Lord, that He will deliver him in the end. ||4||13||20|| Aasaa, Fourth Mehl, Chhant, Fifth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O my dear beloved stranger mind, please come home! Meet with the Lord-Guru, O my dear beloved, and He will dwell in the home of your self. Revel in His Love, O my dear beloved, as the Lord bestows His Mercy. As Guru Nanak is pleased, O my dear beloved, we are united with the Lord. ||1|| I have not tasted divine love, O my dear beloved, within my heart. The mind's desires are not quenched, O my dear beloved, but I still hold out hope. Youth is passing away, O my dear beloved, and death is stealing away the breath of life. The virtuous bride realises the good fortune of her destiny, O my dear beloved; O Nanak, she enshrines the Lord within her heart. ||2||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 106

My eyes are drenched with the Love of my Husband Lord, O my dear beloved, like the song-bird with the rain drop. My mind is cooled and soothed, O my dear beloved, by drinking in the rain drops of the Lord. Separation from my Lord keeps my body awake, O my dear beloved; I cannot sleep at all. Nanak has found the Lord, the True Friend, O my dear beloved, by loving the Guru. ||3|| In the month of Chayt, O my dear beloved, the pleasant season of spring begins. But without my Husband Lord, O my dear beloved, my courtyard is filled with dust. But my sad mind is still hopeful, O my dear beloved; my eyes are both fixed upon Him. Beholding the Guru, Nanak is filled with wondrous joy, like a child, gazing upon his mother. ||4|| The True Guru has preached the sermon of the Lord, O my dear beloved. I am a sacrifice to the Guru, O my dear beloved, who has united me with the Lord. The Lord has fulfilled all my hopes, O my dear beloved; I have obtained the fruits of my heart's desires. When the Lord is pleased, O my dear beloved, servant Nanak is absorbed into the Naam. ||5|| Without the Beloved Lord, there is no play of love. How can I find the Guru? Grasping hold of Him, I behold my Beloved. O Lord, O Great Giver, let me meet the Guru; as Gurmukh, may I merge with You. Nanak has found the Guru, O my dear beloved; such was the destiny inscribed upon his forehead. ||6||14||21|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Raag Aasaa, Fifth Mehl, Chhant, First House: Joy - great joy! I have seen the Lord God! Tasted - I have tasted the sweet essence of the Lord. The sweet essence of the Lord has rained down in my mind; by the pleasure of the True Guru, I have attained peaceful ease. I have come to dwell in the home of my own self, and I sing the songs of joy; the five villains have fled. I am soothed and satisfied with the Ambrosial Bani of His Word; the friendly Saint is my advocate. Says Nanak, my mind is in harmony with the Lord; I have seen God with my eyes. ||1|| Adorned - adorned are my beauteous gates, O Lord. Guests - my guests are the Beloved Saints, O Lord. The Beloved Saints have resolved my affairs; I humbly bowed to them, and committed myself to their service. He Himself is the groom's party, and He Himself the bride's party; He Himself is the Lord and Master; He Himself is the Divine Lord. He Himself resolves His own affairs; He Himself sustains the Universe. Says Nanak, my Bridegroom is sitting in my home; the gates of my body are beautifully adorned. ||2|| The nine treasures - the nine treasures come into my home, Lord. Everything - I obtain everything, meditating on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Meditating on the Naam, the Lord of the Universe becomes the one's eternal companion, and he dwells in peaceful ease. His calculations are ended, his wanderings cease, and his mind is no longer afflicted with anxiety. When the Lord of the

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Universe reveals Himself, and the unstruck melody of the sound current vibrates, the drama of wondrous splendor is enacted. Says Nanak, when my Husband Lord is with me, I obtain the nine treasures. ||3|| Over-joyed - over-joyed are all my brothers and friends.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 107

Meeting the Guru, I have won the most arduous battle in the arena of life. Meeting the Guru, I am victorious; praising the Lord, Har, Har, the walls of the fortress of doubt have been destroyed. I have obtained the wealth of so many treasures; the Lord Himself has stood by my side. He is the man of spiritual wisdom, and he is the leader, whom God has made His own. Says Nanak, when the Lord and Master is on my side, then my brothers and friends rejoice. ||4||1|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Inexpressible is the sermon of the inexpressible Lord; it cannot be known at all. The demi-gods, mortal beings, angels and silent sages express it in their peaceful poise. In their poise, they recite the Ambrosial Bani of the Lord's Word; they embrace love for the Lord's Lotus Feet. Meditating on the One incomprehensible and immaculate Lord, they obtain the fruits of their heart's desires. Renouncing self-conceit, emotional attachment, corruption and duality, their light merges into the Light. Prays Nanak, by Guru's Grace, one enjoys the Lord's Love forever. ||1|| The Lord's Saints - the Lord's Saints are my friends, my best friends and helpers. By great good fortune, by great good fortune, I have obtained the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. By great good fortune, I obtained it, and I meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord; my pains and sufferings have been taken away. I have grasped the Guru's Feet, and my doubts and fears are gone. He Himself has erased my self-conceit. Granting His Grace, God has united me with Himself; no longer do I suffer the pains of separation, and I shall not have to go anywhere. Prays Nanak, I am forever Your slave, Lord; I seek Your Sanctuary. ||2|| The Lord's Gate - at the Lord's Gate, Your beloved devotees look beautiful. I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice, again and again a sacrifice to them. I am forever a sacrifice, and I humbly bow to them; meeting them, I know God. The Perfect and All-powerful Lord, the Architect of Destiny, is contained in each and every heart, everywhere. Meeting the Perfect Guru, we meditate on the Naam, and do not lose this life in the gamble. Prays Nanak, I seek Your Sanctuary; please, shower Your Mercy upon me, and protect me. ||3|| Innumerable - innumerable are Your Glorious Virtues; how many of them can I sing? The dust of Your feet, of Your feet, I have obtained, by great good fortune. Bathing in the Lord's dust, my filth has been washed away, and the pains of birth and death have departed. Inwardly and outwardly, the Transcendent Lord God is ever-present, always with us. Suffering departs, and there is peace; singing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises, one is not consigned to reincarnation again. Prays Nanak, in the Guru's Sanctuary, one swims across, and is pleasing to God. ||4||2|| Aasaa, Chhant, Fifth Mehl, Fourth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: My mind is pierced by the Lord's Lotus Feet; He alone is sweet to my mind, the Lord King. Joining the Society of the Saints, I meditate on the Lord in adoration; I behold the Lord King in each and every heart. I behold the Lord in each and every heart, and the Ambrosial Nectar rains down upon me; the pains of birth and death are gone. Singing the Praises of the Lord, the treasure of virtue, all my pains are erased, and the knot of ego has been untied.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 108

My Beloved shall not leave me to go anywhere - this is His natural way; my mind is imbued with the lasting colour of the Lord's Love. The Lotus Feet of the Lord have pierced Nanak's mind, and now, nothing else seems sweet to him. ||1|| Just like the fish which revels in water, I am intoxicated with the sublime essence of the Lord, my Lord King. The Perfect Guru has instructed me, and blessed me with salvation in my life; I love the Lord, my King. The Lord Master, the Searcher of hearts, blesses me with salvation in my life; He Himself attaches me to His Love. The Lord is the treasure of jewels, the perfect manifestation; He shall not forsake us to go anywhere else. God, the Lord Master, is so accomplished, beauteous, and all-knowing; His gifts are never exhausted. As the fish is enraptured by the water, so is Nanak intoxicated by the Lord. ||2|| As the song-bird yearns for the rain-drop, the Lord, the Lord my King, is the Support of my breath of life. My Lord King is more beloved than all wealth, treasure, children, siblings and friends. The absolute Lord, the Primal Being, is more beloved than all; His condition cannot be known. I shall never forget the Lord, for an instant, for a single breath; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, I enjoy His Love. The Primal Lord God is the Life of the Universe; His Saints drink in the Lord's sublime essence. Meditating on Him, doubts, attachments and pains are shaken off. As the song-bird yearns for the rain-drop, so does Nanak love the Lord. ||3|| Meeting the Lord, my Lord King, my desires are fulfilled. The walls of doubt have been torn down, meeting the Brave Guru, O Lord King. The Perfect Guru is obtained by perfect pre-ordained destiny; God is the Giver of all treasures - He is merciful to the meek. In the beginning, in the middle, and in the end, is God, the most beautiful Guru, the Sustainer of the World. The dust of the feet of the Holy purifies sinners, and brings great joy, bliss and ecstasy. The Lord, the Infinite Lord, has met with Nanak, and his desires are fulfilled. ||4||1||3|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl, Chhant, Sixth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Shalok: Those beings, unto whom the Lord God shows His Mercy, meditate on the Lord, Har, Har. O Nanak, they embrace love for the Lord, meeting the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||1|| Chhant: Just like water, which loves milk so much that it will not let it burn - O my mind, so love the Lord. The bumble bee becomes enticed by the lotus, intoxicated by its fragrance, and does not leave it, even for a moment. Do not let up your love for the Lord, even for an instant; dedicate all your decorations and pleasures to Him. Where painful cries are heard, and the Way of Death is shown, there, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, you shall not be afraid. Sing the Kirtan, the Praises of the Lord of the Universe, and all sins and sorrows shall depart. Says Nanak, chant the Hymns of the Lord, the Lord of the Universe, O mind, and enshrine love for the Lord; love the Lord this way in your mind. ||1|| As the fish loves the water, and is not content even for an instant outside it, O my mind, love the Lord in this way.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 109

Like the song-bird, thirsting for the rain-drops, chirping each and every moment to the beautiful rain clouds. So love the Lord, and give to Him this mind of yours; totally focus your consciousness on the Lord. Do not take pride in yourself, but seek the Sanctuary of the Lord, and make yourself a sacrifice to the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. When the Guru is totally pleased, the separated soul-bride is re-united with her Husband Lord; she sends the message of her true love. Says Nanak, chant the Hymns of the Infinite Lord Master; O my mind, love Him and enshrine such love for Him. ||2|| The chakvi bird is in love with the sun, and thinks of it constantly; her greatest longing is to behold the dawn. The cuckoo is in love with the mango tree, and sings so sweetly. O my mind, love the Lord in this way. Love the Lord, and do not take pride in yourself; everyone is a guest for a single night. Now, why are you entangled in pleasures, and engrossed in emotional attachment? Naked we come, and naked we go. Seek the eternal Sanctuary of the Holy and fall at their feet, and the attachments which you feel shall depart. Says Nanak, chant the Hymns of the Merciful Lord God, and enshrine love for the Lord, O my mind; otherwise, how will you come to behold the dawn? ||3|| Like the deer in the night, who hears the sound of the bell and gives his heart - O my mind, love the Lord in this way. Like the wife, who is bound by love to her husband, and serves her beloved - like this, give your heart to the Beloved Lord. Give your heart to your Beloved Lord, and enjoy His bed, and enjoy all pleasure and bliss. I have obtained my Husband Lord, and I am dyed in the deep crimson colour of His Love; after such a long time, I have met my Friend. When the Guru became my advocate, then I saw the Lord with my eyes. No one else looks like my Beloved Husband Lord. Says Nanak, chant the Hymns of the merciful and fascinating Lord, O mind. Grasp the lotus feet of the Lord, and enshrine such love for Him in your mind. ||4||1||4|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl|| Shalok: From forest to forest, I wandered searching; I am so tired of taking baths at sacred shrines of pilgrimage. O Nanak, when I met the Holy Saint, I found the Lord within my mind. ||1|| Chhant: Countless silent sages and innumerable ascetics seek Him; millions of Brahmas meditate and adore Him; the spiritual teachers meditate and chant His Name. Through chanting, deep meditation, strict and austere self-discipline, religious rituals, sincere worship, endless purifications and humble salutations, wandering all over the earth and bathing at sacred shrines of pilgrimage, people seek to meet the Pure Lord. Mortals, forests, blades of grass, animals and birds all meditate on You. The Merciful Beloved Lord, the Lord of the Universe is found; O Nanak, joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, salvation is attained. ||1|| Millions of incarnations of Vishnu and Shiva, with matted hair yearn for You, O Merciful Lord; their minds and bodies are filled with infinite longing. The Lord Master, the Lord of the Universe, is infinite and unapproachable; God is the all-pervading Lord of all. The angels, the Siddhas, the beings of spiritual perfection, the heavenly heralds and celestial singers meditate on You. The Yakhsha demons, the guards of the divine treasures, and the Kinnars, the dancers of the god of wealth chant Your Gl Millions of Indras and countless gods and super-human beings meditate on the Lord Master and celebrate His Praises. The Merciful Lord is the Master of the masterless, O Nanak; joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, one is saved. ||2|| Millions of gods and goddesses of wealth serve Him in so many ways.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 110

The invisible and visible beings worship Him in adoration, along with wind and water, day and night. The stars, the moon and the sun meditate on Him; the earth and the sky sing to Him. All the sources of creation, and all languages meditate on Him, forever and ever. The Simritees, the Puraanas, the four Vedas and the six Shaastras meditate on Him. He is the Purifier of sinners, the Lover of His Saints; O Nanak, He is met in the Society of the Saints. ||3|| As much as God has revealed to us, that much we can speak with our tongues. Those unknown ones who serve You cannot be counted. Imperishable, incalculable, and unfathomable is the Lord and Master; He is everywhere, inside and out. We are all beggars, He is the One and only Giver; He is not far away, but is with us, ever-present. He is in the power of His devotees; those whose souls are united with Him - how can their praises be sung? May Nanak receive this gift and honour, of placing his head on the feet of the Holy Saints. ||4||2||5|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl, Shalok: Make the effort, O very fortunate ones, and meditate on the Lord, the Lord King. O Nanak, remembering Him in meditation, you shall obtain total peace, and your pains and troubles and doubts shall depart. ||1|| Chhant: Chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord of the Universe; don't be lazy. Meeting with the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, you shall not have to go to the City of Death. Pain, trouble and fear will not afflict you; meditating on the Naam, a lasting peace is found. With each and every breath, worship the Lord in adoration; meditate on the Lord God in your mind and with your mouth. O kind and compassionate Lord, O treasure of sublime essence, treasure of excellence, please link me to Your service. Prays Nanak: may I meditate on the Lord's lotus feet, and not be lazy in chanting the Naam, the Name of the Lord of the Universe. ||1|| The Purifier of sinners is the Naam, the Pure Name of the Immaculate Lord. The darkness of doubt is removed by the healing ointment of the Guru's spiritual wisdom. By the healing ointment of the Guru's spiritual wisdom, one meets the Immaculate Lord God, who is totally pervading the water, the land and the sky. If He dwells within the heart, for even an instant, sorrows are forgotten. The wisdom of the all-powerful Lord and Master is incomprehensible; He is the Destroyer of the fears of all. Prays Nanak, I meditate on the Lord's lotus feet. The Purifier of sinners is the Naam, the Pure Name of the Immaculate Lord. ||2|| I have grasped the protection of the merciful Lord, the Sustainer of the Universe, the treasure of grace. I take the support of Your lotus feet, and in the protection of Your Sanctuary, I attain perfection. The Lord's lotus feet are the cause of causes; the Lord Master saves even the sinners. So many are saved; they cross over the terrifying world-ocean, contemplating the Naam, the Name of the Lord. In the beginning and in the end, countless are those who seek the Lord. I have heard that the Society of the Saints is the way to salvation. Prays Nanak, I meditate on the Lord's lotus feet, and grasp the protection of the Lord of the Universe, the merciful, the ocean of kindness. ||3|| The Lord is the Lover of His devotees; this is His natural way. Wherever the Saints worship the Lord in adoration, there He is revealed. God blends Himself with His devotees in His natural way, and resolves their affairs. In the ecstasy of the Lord's Praises, they obtain supreme joy, and forget all their sorrows.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 111

The brilliant flash of the One Lord is revealed to them - they behold Him in the ten directions. Prays Nanak, I meditate on the Lord's lotus feet; the Lord is the Lover of His devotees; this is His natural way. ||4||3||6|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: The Husband Lord of the Saints is eternal; He does not die or go away. She, whose home is blessed by her Husband Lord, enjoys Him forever. God is eternal and immortal, forever young and immaculately pure. He is not far away, He is ever-present; the Lord and Master fills the ten directions, forever and ever. He is the Lord of souls, the source of salvation and wisdom. The Love of my Dear Beloved is pleasing to me. Nanak speaks what the Guru's Teachings have led him to know. The Husband Lord of the Saints is eternal; He does not die or go away. ||1|| One who has the Lord as her Husband enjoys great bliss. That soul-bride is happy, and her glory is perfect. She obtains honour, greatness and happiness, singing the Praise of the Lord. God, the Great Being, is always with her. She attains total perfection and the nine treasures; her home lacks nothing. - everything is there. Her speech is so sweet; she obeys her Beloved Lord; her marriage is permanent and everlasting. Nanak chants what he knows through the Guru's Teachings: One who has the Lord as her Husband enjoys great bliss. ||2|| Come, O my companions, let us dedicate ourselves to serving the Saints. Let us grind their corn, wash their feet and so renounce our self-conceit. Let us shed our egos, and our troubles shall be removed; let us not display ourselves. Let us take to His Sanctuary and obey Him, and be happy with whatever He does. Let us become the slaves of His slaves, and shed our sadness, and with our palms pressed together, remain wakeful day and night. Nanak chants what he knows through the Guru's Teachings; come, O my companions, let us dedicate ourselves to serving the Saints. ||3|| One who has such good destiny written upon his forehead, dedicates himself to His service. One who attains the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, has his desires fulfilled. In

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the Saadh Sangat, immerse yourself in the Love of the Lord; remember the Lord of the Universe in meditation. Doubt, emotional attachment, sin and duality - he renounces them all. Peace, poise and tranquility fill his mind, and he sings the Lord's Glorious Praises with joy and delight. Nanak chants what he knows through the Guru's Teachings: one who has such good destiny written upon his forehead, dedicates himself to His service. ||4||4||7|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl, Shalok: If you chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, the Messenger of Death will have nothing to say to you. O Nanak, the mind and body will be at peace, and in the end, you shall merge with the Lord of the world. ||1|| Chhant: Let me join the Society of the Saints - save me, Lord! With my palms pressed together, I offer my prayer: give me Your Name, O Lord, Har, Har. I beg for the Lord's Name, and fall at His feet; I renounce my self-conceit, by Your kindness. I shall not wander anywhere else, but take to Your Sanctuary. O God, embodiment of mercy, have mercy on me. O all-powerful, indescribable, infinite and immaculate Lord Master, listen to this, my prayer. With palms pressed together, Nanak begs for this blessing: O Lord, let my cycle of birth and death come to an end. ||1||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 112

I am a sinner, devoid of wisdom, worthless, destitute and vile. I am deceitful, hard-hearted, lowly and entangled in the mud of emotional attachment. I am stuck in the filth of doubt and egotistical actions, and I try not to think of death. In ignorance, I cling to the pleasures of woman and the joys of Maya. My youth is wasting away, old age is approaching, and Death, my companion, is counting my days. Prays Nanak, my hope is in You, Lord; please preserve me, the lowly one, in the Sanctuary of the Holy. ||2|| I have wandered through countless incarnations, suffering terrible pain in these lives. I am entangled in sweet pleasures and gold. After wandering around with such great loads of sin, I have come, after wandering through so many foreign lands. Now, I have taken the protection of God, and I have found total peace in the Name of the Lord. God, my Beloved, is my protector; nothing was done, or will ever be done, by myself alone. I have found peace, poise and bliss, O Nanak; by Your mercy, I swim across the world-ocean. ||3|| You saved those who only pretended to believe, so what doubts should Your true devotees have? By every means possible, listen to the Praises of the Lord with your ears. Listen with your ears to the Word of the Lord's Bani, the hymns of spiritual wisdom; thus you shall obtain the treasure in your mind. Attuned to the Love of the Lord God, the Architect of Destiny, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. The earth is the paper, the forest is the pen and the wind is the writer, but still, the end of the endless Lord cannot be found. O Nanak, I have taken to the Sanctuary of His lotus feet. ||4||5||8|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: The Primal Lord is the Lord God of all beings. I have taken to His Sanctuary. My life has become fearless, and all my anxieties have been removed. I know the Lord as my mother, father, son, friend, well-wisher and close relative. The Guru has led me to embrace Him; the Saints chant His Pure Praises. His Glorious Virtues are infinite, and His greatness is unlimited. His value cannot be described at all. God is the One and only, the Unseen Lord and Master; O Nanak, I have grasped His protection. ||1|| The world is a pool of nectar, when the Lord becomes our helper. One who wears the necklace of the Lord's Name - his days of suffering are ended. His state of doubt, attachment and sin is erased, and the cycle of reincarnation into the womb is totally ended. The ocean of fire becomes cool, when one grasps the hem of the robe of the Holy Saint. The Lord of the Universe, the Sustainer of the World, the merciful all-powerful Lord - the Holy Saints proclaim the victory of the Lord. O Nanak, meditating on the Naam, in the perfect Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I have obtained the supreme status. ||2|| Wherever I look, there I find the One Lord permeating and pervading all. In each and every heart, He Himself dwells, but how rare is that person who realises this. The Lord is permeating and pervading the water, the land and the sky; He is contained in the ant and the elephant. In the beginning, in the middle and in the end, He exists. By Guru's Grace, He is known. God created the expanse of the universe, God created the play of the world. His humble servants call Him the Lord of the Universe, the treasure of virtue. Meditate in remembrance on the Lord Master, the Searcher of hearts; O Nanak, He is the One, pervading and permeating all. ||3|| Day and night, become beauteous by remembering the Naam, the Name of the Lord.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 113

In love with the Lord's Lotus Feet, corruption and sin depart. Pain, hunger and poverty run away, and the path is clearly revealed. Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, one is attuned to the Naam, and obtains the desires of the mind. Beholding the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan, desires are fulfilled; all one's family and relatives are saved. Day and night, he is in bliss, night and day, remembering the Lord in meditation, O Nanak. ||4||6||9|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl, Chhant, Seventh House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Shalok: It is the most sublime contemplation, to speak of the Lord of the Universe in the pure Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. O Nanak, never the Naam, even for a moment; bless me with Your Grace, Lord God! ||1|| Chhant: The night is wet with dew, and the stars twinkle in the heavens. The Saints remain wakeful; they are the Beloveds of my Lord. The Beloveds of the Lord remain ever wakeful, remembering the Naam, the Name of the Lord, day and night. In their hearts, they meditate on the lotus feet of God; they do not forget Him, even for an instant. They renounce their pride, emotional attachment and mental corruption, and burn away the pain of wickedness. Prays Nanak, the Saints, the beloved servants of the Lord, remain ever wakeful. ||1|| My bed is adorned in splendor. My mind is filled with bliss, since I heard that God is coming. Meeting God, the Lord and Master, I have entered the realm of peace; I am filled with joy and delight. He is joined to me, in my very fiber; my sorrows have departed, and my body, mind and soul are all rejuvenated. I have obtained the fruits of my mind's desires, meditating on God; the day of my wedding is auspicious. Prays Nanak, when I meet the Lord of excellence, I came to experience all pleasure and bliss. ||2|| I meet with my companions and say, "Show me the insignia of my Husband Lord." I am filled with the sublime essence of His Love, and I do not know how to say anything. The Glorious Virtues of the Creator are profound, mysterious and infinite; even the Vedas cannot find His limits. With loving devotion, I meditate on the Lord Master, and sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord forever. Filled with all virtues and spiritual wisdom, I have become pleasing to my God. Prays Nanak, imbued with the colour of the Lord's Love, I am imperceptibly absorbed into Him. ||3|| When I began to sing the songs of rejoicing to the Lord, my friends became glad, and my troubles and enemies departed. My peace and happiness increased; I rejoiced in the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and God Himself blessed me with His mercy. I have grasped the Lord's feet, and remaining ever wakeful, I have met the Lord, the Creator. The appointed day came, and I attained peace and poise; all treasures are in the feet of God. Prays Nanak, the Lord's humble servants always seek the Sanctuary of the Lord and Master. ||4||1||10|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Rise up and go forth, O traveller; why do you delay? Your allotted time is now complete - why are you engrossed in falsehood? You desire that which is false; deceived by Maya, you commit innumerable sins. Your body shall become a pile of dust; the Messenger of Death has spotted you, and will conquer you.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 114

Abandoning your wealth and youth, you will have to leave, without any food or clothing. O Nanak, only your actions shall go with you; the consequences of your actions cannot be erased. ||1|| Like the deer, captured on a moon-lit night, so does the constant commission of sins turn pleasure into pain. The sins you have committed shall not leave you; placing the noose around your neck, they shall lead you away. Beholding an illusion, you are deceived, and on your bed, you enjoy a false lover. You are intoxicated with greed, avarice and egotism; you are engrossed in self-conceit. O Nanak, like the deer, you are being destroyed by your ignorance; your comings and goings shall never end. ||2|| The fly is caught in the sweet candy - how can it fly away? The elephant has fallen into the pit - how can it escape? It shall be so difficult to swim across, for one who does not remember the Lord and Master, even for an instant. His sufferings and punishments are beyond reckoning; he receives the consequences of his own actions. His secret deeds are exposed, and he is ruined here and hereafter. O Nanak, without the True Guru, the self-willed egotistical manmukh is defrauded. ||3|| The Lord's slaves live by holding on to God's feet. The Lord and Master embraces those who seek His Sanctuary. He blesses them with power, wisdom, knowledge and meditation; He Himself inspires them to chant His Name. He Himself is the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, and He Himself saves the world. The Preserver preserves those whose actions are always pure. O Nanak, they never have to go to hell; the Lord's Saints are under the Lord's Protection. ||4||2||11|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Be gone, O my laziness, that I may pray to the Lord. I enjoy my Husband Lord, and look beautiful with my God. I look beautiful in the Company of my Husband Lord; I enjoy my Lord Master day and night. I live by remembering God with each and every breath, beholding the Lord, and singing His Glorious Praises. The pain of separation has grown shy, for I have obtained the Blessed Vision of His Darshan; His Ambrosial Glance of Grace has filled me with bliss. Prays Nanak, my desires are fulfilled; I have met the One I was seeking. ||1|| Run away, O sins; the Creator has entered my home. The demons within me have been burnt; the Lord of the Universe has revealed Himself to me. The Beloved Lord of the Universe, the Lord of the World has revealed Himself; in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I chant His Name. I have seen the Wondrous Lord; He showers His Ambrosial Nectar upon me, and by Guru's Grace, I know Him. My mind is at peace, resounding with the music of bliss; the Lord's limits cannot be found. Prays Nanak, God brings us to union with Himself, in the poise of celestial peace. ||2|| They do not have to see hell, if they remember the Lord in meditation. The Righteous Judge of Dharma applauds them, and the Messenger of Death runs away from them. Dharmic faith, patience, peace and poise are obtained by vibrating upon the Lord in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Showering His Blessings, He saves those who renounce all attachments and egotism. The Lord embraces us; the Guru unites us with Him. Meditating on the Lord of the Universe, we are satisfied. Prays Nanak, remembering the Lord and Master in meditation, all hopes are fulfilled. ||3||

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 115

Grasping the Lord's Feet, the treasure of the Siddhas, what suffering can I feel? Everything is in His Power - He is my God. Holding me the the arm, He blesses me with His Name; placing His Hand upon my forehead, He saves me. The world-ocean does not trouble me, for I have drunk the sublime elixir of the Lord. In the Saadh Sangat, imbued with the Naam, the Name of the Lord, I am victorious on the great battlefield of life. Prays Nanak, I have entered the Sanctuary of the Lord and Master; the Messenger of Death shall not destroy me again. ||4||3||12|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl: Those actions you perform, day and night, are recorded upon your forehead. And the One, from whom you hide these actions - He sees them, and is always with you. The Creator Lord is with you; He sees you, so why commit sins? So perform good deeds, and chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord; you shall never have to go to hell. Twenty-four hours a day, dwell upon the Lord's Name in meditation; it alone shall go along with you. So vibrate continually in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, O Nanak, and the sins you committed shall be erased. ||1|| Practicing deceit, you fill your belly, you ignorant fool! The Lord, the Great Giver, continues to give you everything. The Great Giver is always merciful. Why should we forget the Lord Master from our minds? Join the Saadh Sangat, and vibrate fearlessly; all your relations shall be saved. The Siddhas, the seekers, the demi-gods, the silent sages and the devotees, all take the Naam as their support. Prays Nanak, vibrate continually upon God, the One Creator Lord. ||2|| Do not practice deception - God is the Assayer of all. Those who practice falsehood and deceit are reincarnated in the world. Those who meditate on the One Lord, cross over the world-ocean. Renouncing sexual desire, anger, flattery and slander, they enter the Sanctuary of God. The lofty, inaccessible and infinite Lord and Master is pervading the water, the land and the sky. Prays Nanak, He is the support of His servants; His Lotus Feet are their only sustenance. ||3|| Behold - the world is a mirage; nothing here is permanent. The pleasures of Maya which are here, shall not go with you. The Lord, your companion, is always with you; remember Him day and night. Without the One Lord, there is no other; burn away the love of duality. Know in your mind, that the One God is your friend, youth, wealth and everything. Prays Nanak, by great good fortune, we find the Lord, and merge in peace and celestial poise. ||4||4||13|| Aasaa, Fifth Mehl, Chhant, Eighth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Maya is the wall of doubt - Maya is the wall of doubt. It is such a powerful and destructive intoxicant; it corrupts and wastes away one's life. In the terrible, impenetrable world-forest - in the terrible, impenetrable world-forest, the thieves are plundering man's house in broad daylight; night and day, this life is being consumed. The days of your life are being consumed; they are passing away without God. So meet God, the Merciful Lord.

Section 08 - Raag Aasaa - Part 116

I passed through so many births and deaths; without Union with the Beloved, I did not obtain salvation. I am without the status of high birth, beauty, glory or spiritual wisdom; without You, who is mine, O Mother? With my palms pressed together, O Nanak, I enter the Lord's Sanctuary; O beloved almighty Lord and Master, please, save me! ||1|| Like a fish out of water - like a fish out of water, separated from the Lord, the mind and body perish; how can I live, without my Beloved? Facing the arrow head-on - facing the arrow head-on, the deer surrenders his mind, body and breath of life; he is struck by the hunter's soothing music. I have enshrined love for my Beloved. In order to meet Him, I have become a renunciate. Cursed is that body which remains without Him, even for an instant. My eyelids do not close, for I am absorbed in the love of my Beloved. Day and night, my mind thinks only of God. Attuned to the Lord, intoxicated with the Naam, fear, doubt and duality have all left me. Bestow Your mercy and compassion, O merciful and perfect Lord, that Nanak may be intoxicated with Your Love. ||2|| The bumble-bee is buzzing - the bumble-bee is buzzing, intoxicated with the honey, the flavor and the fragrance; because of its love for the lotus, it entangles itself. The mind of the rainbird thirsts - the mind of the rainbird thirsts; its mind longs for the beautiful rain-drops from the clouds. Drinking them in, its fever departs. O Destroyer of fever, Remover of pain, please unite me with You. My mind and body have such great love for You. O my beautiful, wise and all-knowing Lord and Master, with what

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tongue should I chant Your Praises? Take me by the arm, and grant me Your Name. One who is blessed with Your Glance of Grace, has his sins erased. Nanak meditates on the Lord, the Purifier of sinners; beholding His Vision, he suffers no more. ||3|| I focus my consciousness on the Lord - I focus my consciousness upon the Lord; I am helpless - please, keep me under Your Protection. I yearn to meet You, my soul hungers for You. I meditate on Your beautiful body - I meditate on Your beautiful body; my mind is fascinated by Your spiritual wisdom, O Lord of the world. Please, preserve the honour of Your humble servants and beggars. God bestows perfect honour and destroys pain; He has fulfilled all my desires. How very blessed was that day when the Lord embraced me; meeting my Husband Lord, my bed was beautified. When God granted His Grace and met me, all my sins were erased. Prays Nanak, my hopes are fulfilled; I have met the Lord, the Lord of Lakshmi, the treasure of excellence. ||4||1||14|| One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying. Beyond Birth. Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: Aasaa, First Mehl: Vaar With Shaloks, And Shaloks Written By The First Mehl. To Be Sung To The Tune Of 'Tunda-Asraajaa': Shalok, First Mehl: A hundred times a day, I am a sacrifice to my Guru; He made angels out of men, without delay. ||1||

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Second Mehl: If a hundred moons were to rise, and a thousand suns appeared, even with such light, there would still be pitch darkness without the Guru. ||2|| First Mehl: O Nanak, those who do not think of the Guru, and who think of themselves as clever, shall be left abandoned in the field, like the scattered sesame. They are abandoned in the field, says Nanak, and they have a hundred masters to please. The wretches bear fruit and flower, but within their bodies, they are filled with ashes. ||3|| Pauree: He Himself created Himself; He Himself assumed His Name. Secondly, He fashioned the creation; seated within the creation, He beholds it with delight. You Yourself are the Giver and the Creator; by Your Pleasure, You bestow Your Mercy. You are the Knower of all; You give life, and take it away again with a word. Seated within the creation, You behold it with delight. ||1|| Shalok, First Mehl: True are Your worlds, True are Your solar Systems. True are Your realms, True is Your creation. True are Your actions, and all Your deliberations. True is Your Command, and True is Your Court. True is the Command of Your Will, True is Your Order. True is Your Mercy, True is Your Insignia. Hundreds of thousands and millions call You True. In the True Lord is all power, in the True Lord is all might. True is Your Praise, True is Your Adoration. True is Your almighty creative power, True King. O Nanak, true are those who meditate on the True One. Those who are subject to birth and death are totally false. ||1|| First Mehl: Great is His greatness, as great as His Name. Great is His greatness, as True is His justice. Great is His greatness, as permanent as His Throne. Great is His greatness, as He knows our utterances. Great is His greatness, as He understands all our affections. Great is His greatness, as He gives without being asked. Great is His greatness, as He Himself is all-in-all. O Nanak, His actions cannot be described. Whatever He has done, or will do, is all by His Own Will. ||2|| Second Mehl: This world is the room of the True Lord; within it is the dwelling of the True Lord. By His Command, some are merged into Him, and some, by His Command, are destroyed. Some, by the Pleasure of His Will, are lifted up out of Maya, while others are made to dwell within it. No one can say who will be rescued. O Nanak, he alone is known as Gurmukh, unto whom the Lord reveals Himself. ||3|| Pauree: O Nanak, having created the souls, the Lord installed the Righteous Judge of Dharma to read and record their accounts. There, only the Truth is judged true; the sinners are picked out and separated. The false find no place there, and they go to hell with their faces blackened. Those who are imbued with Your Name win, while the cheaters lose. The Lord installed the Righteous Judge of Dharma to read and record the accounts. ||2|| Shalok, First Mehl: Wonderful is the sound current of the Naad, wonderful is the knowledge of the Vedas. Wonderful are the beings, wonderful are the species. Wonderful are the forms, wonderful are the colours. Wonderful are the beings who wander around naked.

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Wonderful is the wind, wonderful is the water. Wonderful is fire, which works wonders. Wonderful is the earth, wonderful the sources of creation. Wonderful are the tastes to which mortals are attached. Wonderful is union, and wonderful is separation. Wonderful is hunger, wonderful is satisfaction. Wonderful is His Praise, wonderful is His adoration. Wonderful is the wilderness, wonderful is the path. Wonderful is closeness, wonderful is distance. How wonderful to behold the Lord, ever-present here. Beholding His wonders, I am wonder-struck. O Nanak, those who understand this are blessed with perfect destiny. ||1|| First Mehl: By His Power we see, by His Power we hear; by His Power we have fear, and the essence of happiness. By His Power the nether worlds exist, and the Akaashic ethers; by His Power the entire creation exists. By His Power the Vedas and the Puraanas exist, and the Holy Scriptures of the Jewish, Christian and Islamic religions. By His Power all deliberations exist. By His Power we eat, drink and dress; by His Power all love exists. - By His Power come the species of all kinds and colours; by His Power the living beings of the world exist. By His Power virtues exist, and by His Power vices exist. By His Power come honour and dishonour. By His Power wind, water and fire exist; by His Power earth and dust exist. Everything is in Your Power, Lord; You are the all-powerful Creator. Your Name is the Holiest of the Holy. O Nanak, through the Command of His Will, He beholds and pervades the creation; He is absolutely unrivalled. ||2|| Pauree: Enjoying his pleasures, one is reduced to a pile of ashes, and the soul passes away. He may be great, but when he dies, the chain is thrown around his neck, and he is led away. There, his good and bad deeds are added up; sitting there, his account is read. He is whipped, but finds no place of rest, and no one hears his cries of pain. The blind man has wasted his life away. ||3|| Shalok, First Mehl: In the Fear of God, the wind and breezes ever blow. In the Fear of God, thousands of rivers flow. In the Fear of God, fire is forced to labor. In the Fear of God, the earth is crushed under its burden. In the Fear of God, the clouds move across the sky. In the Fear of God, the Righteous Judge of Dharma stands at His Door. In the Fear of God, the sun shines, and in the Fear of God, the moon reflects. They travel millions of miles, endlessly. In the Fear of God, the Siddhas exist, as do the Buddhas, the demi-gods and Yogis. In the Fear of God, the Akaashic ethers are stretched across the sky. In the Fear of God, the warriors and the most powerful heroes exist. In the Fear of God, multitudes come and go. God has inscribed the Inscription of His Fear upon the heads of all. O Nanak, the Fearless Lord, the Formless Lord, the True Lord, is One. ||1|| First Mehl: O Nanak, the Lord is fearless and formless; myriads of others, like Rama, are mere dust before Him. There are so many stories of Krishna, so many who reflect over the Vedas. So many beggars dance, spinning around to the beat. The magicians perform their magic in the market place, creating a false illusion. They sing as kings and queens, and speak of this and that. They wear earrings, and necklaces worth thousands of dollars. Those bodies on which they are worn, O Nanak, those bodies turn to ashes.

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Wisdom cannot be found through mere words. To explain it is as hard as iron. When the Lord bestows His Grace, then alone it is received; other tricks and orders are useless. ||2|| Pauree: If the Merciful Lord shows His Mercy, then the True Guru is found. This soul wandered through countless incarnations, until the True Guru instructed it in the Word of the Shabad. There is no giver as great as the True Guru; hear this, all you people. Meeting the True Guru, the True Lord is found; He removes self-conceit from within, and instructs us in the Truth of Truths. ||4|| Shalok, First Mehl: All the hours are the milk-maids, and the quarters of the day are the Krishnas. The wind, water and fire are the ornaments; the sun and moon are the incarnations. All of the earth, property, wealth and articles are all entanglements. O Nanak, without divine knowledge, one is plundered, and devoured by the Messenger of Death. ||1|| First Mehl: The disciples play the music, and the gurus dance. They move their feet and roll their heads. The dust flies and falls upon their hair. Beholding them, the people laugh, and then go home. They beat the drums for the sake of bread. They throw themselves upon the ground. They sing of the milk-maids, they sing of the Krishnas. They sing of Sitas, and Ramas and kings. The Lord is fearless and formless; His Name is True. The entire universe is His Creation. Those servants, whose destiny is awakened, serve the Lord. The night of their lives is cool with dew; their minds are filled with love for the Lord. Contemplating the Guru, I have been taught these teachings; granting His Grace, He carries His servants across. The oil-press, the spinning wheel, the grinding stones, the potter's wheel, the numerous, countless whirlwinds in the desert, the spinning tops, the churning sticks, the threshers, the breathless tumblings of the birds, and the men moving round and round on spindles - O Nanak, the tumblers are countless and endless. The Lord binds us in bondage - so do we spin around. According to their actions, so do all people dance. Those who dance and dance and laugh, shall weep on their ultimate departure. They do not fly to the heavens, nor do they become Siddhas. They dance and jump around on the urgings of their minds. O Nanak, those whose minds are filled with the Fear of God, have the love of God in their minds as well. ||2|| Pauree: Your Name is the Fearless Lord; chanting Your Name, one does not have to go to hell. Soul and body all belong to Him; asking Him to give us sustenance is a waste. If you yearn for goodness, then perform good deeds and feel humble. Even if you remove the signs of old age, old age shall still come in the guise of death. No one remains here when the count of the breaths is full. ||5|| Shalok, First Mehl: The Muslims praise the Islamic law; they read and reflect upon it. The Lord's bound servants are those who bind themselves to see the Lord's Vision. The Hindus praise the Praiseworthy Lord; the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, His form is incomparable. They bathe at sacred shrines of pilgrimage, making offerings of flowers, and burning incense before idols. The Yogis meditate on the absolute Lord there; they call the Creator the Unseen Lord.

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But to the subtle image of the Immaculate Name, they apply the form of a body. In the minds of the virtuous, contentment is produced, thinking about their giving. They give and give, but ask a thousand-fold more, and hope that the world will honour them. The thieves, adulterers, perjurers, evil-doers and sinners - after using up what good karma they had, they depart; have they done any good deeds here at all? There are beings and creatures in the water and on the land, in the worlds and universes, form upon form. Whatever they say, You know; You care for them all. O Nanak, the hunger of the devotees is to praise You; the True Name is their only support. They live in eternal bliss, day and night; they are the dust of the feet of the virtuous. ||1|| First Mehl: The clay of the Muslim's grave becomes clay for the potter's wheel. Pots and bricks are fashioned from it, and it cries out as it burns. The poor clay burns, burns and weeps, as the fiery coals fall upon it. O Nanak, the Creator created the creation; the Creator Lord alone knows. ||2|| Pauree: Without the True Guru, no one has obtained the Lord; without the True Guru, no one has obtained the Lord. He has placed Himself within the True Guru; revealing Himself, He declares this openly. Meeting the True Guru, eternal liberation is obtained; He has banished attachment from within. This is the highest thought, that one's consciousness is attached to the True Lord. Thus the Lord of the World, the Great Giver is obtained. ||6|| Shalok, First Mehl: In ego they come, and in ego they go. In ego they are born, and in ego they die. In ego they give, and in ego they take. In ego they earn, and in ego they lose. In ego they become truthful or false. In ego they reflect on virtue and sin. In ego they go to heaven or hell. In ego they laugh, and in ego they weep. In ego they become dirty, and in ego they are washed clean. In ego they lose social status and class. In ego they are ignorant, and in ego they are wise. They do not know the value of salvation and liberation. In ego they love Maya, and in ego they are kept in darkness by it. Living in ego, mortal beings are created. When one understands ego, then the Lord's gate is known. Without spiritual wisdom, they babble and argue. O Nanak, by the Lord's Command, destiny is recorded. As the Lord sees us, so are we seen. ||1|| Second Mehl: This is the nature of ego, that people perform their actions in ego. This is the bondage of ego, that time and time again, they are reborn. Where does ego come from? How can it be removed? This ego exists by the Lord's Order; people wander according to their past actions. Ego is a chronic disease, but it contains its own cure as well. If the Lord grants His Grace, one acts according to the Teachings of the Guru's Shabad. Nanak says, listen, people: in this way, troubles depart. ||2|| Pauree: Those who serve are content. They meditate on the Truest of the True.

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They do not place their feet in sin, but do good deeds and live righteously in Dharma. They burn away the bonds of the world, and eat a simple diet of grain and water. You are the Great Forgiver; You give continually, more and more each day. By His greatness, the Great Lord is obtained. ||7|| Shalok, First Mehl: Men, trees, sacred shrines of pilgrimage, banks of sacred rivers, clouds, fields, islands, continents, worlds, solar systems, and universes; the four sources of creation - born of eggs, born of the womb, born of the earth and born of sweat; oceans, mountains, and all beings - O Nanak, He alone knows their condition. O Nanak, having created the living beings, He cherishes them all. The Creator who created the creation, takes care of it as well. He, the Creator who formed the world, cares for it. Unto Him I bow and offer my reverence; His Royal Court is eternal. O Nanak, without the True Name, of what use is the frontal mark of the Hindus, or their sacred thread? ||1|| First Mehl: Hundreds of thousands of virtues and good actions, and hundreds of thousands of blessed charities, hundreds of thousands of penances at sacred shrines, and the practice of Sehj Yoga in the wilderness, hundreds of thousands of courageous actions and giving up the breath of life on the field of battle, hundreds of thousands of divine understandings, hundreds of thousands of divine wisdoms and meditations and readings of the Vedas and the Puraanas - before the Creator who created the creation, and who ordained coming and going, O Nanak, all these things are false. True is the Insignia of His Grace. ||2|| Pauree: You alone are the True Lord. The Truth of Truths is pervading everywhere. He alone receives the Truth, unto whom You give it; then, he practices Truth. Meeting the True Guru, Truth is found. In His Heart, Truth is abiding. The fools do not know the Truth. The self-willed manmukhs waste their lives away in vain. Why have they even come into the world? ||8|| Shalok, First Mehl: You may read and read loads of books; you may read and study vast multitudes of books. You may read and read boat-loads of books; you may read and read and fill pits

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with them. You may read them year after year; you may read them as many months are there are. You may read them all your life; you may read them with every breath. O Nanak, only one thing is of any account: everything else is useless babbling and idle talk in ego. ||1|| First Mehl: The more one write and reads, the more one burns. The more one wanders at sacred shrines of pilgrimage, the more one talks uselessly. The more one wears religious robes, the more pain he causes his body. O my soul, you must endure the consequences of your own actions. One who does not eat the corn, misses out on the taste. One obtains great pain, in the love of duality. One who does not wear any clothes, suffers night and day. Through silence, he is ruined. How can the sleeping one be awakened without the Guru? One who goes barefoot suffers by his own actions. One who eats filth and throws ashes on his head - the blind fool loses his honour. Without the Name, nothing is of any use. One who lives in the wilderness, in cemetaries and cremation grounds - that blind man does not know the Lord; he regrets and repents in the end.

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One who meets the True Guru finds peace. He enshrines the Name of the Lord in his mind. O Nanak, when the Lord grants His Grace, He is obtained. He becomes free of hope and fear, and burns away his ego with the Word of the Shabad. ||2|| Pauree: Your devotees are pleasing to Your Mind, Lord. They look beautiful at Your door, singing Your Praises. O Nanak, those who are denied Your Grace, find no shelter at Your Door; they continue wandering. Some do not understand their origins, and without cause, they display their self-conceit. I am the Lord's minstrel, of low social status; others call themselves high caste. I seek those who meditate on You. ||9|| Shalok, First Mehl: False is the king, false are the subjects; false is the whole world. False is the mansion, false are the skyscrapers; false are those who live in them. False is gold, and false is silver; false are those who wear them. False is the body, false are the clothes; false is incomparable beauty. False is the husband, false is the wife; they mourn and waste away. The false ones love falsehood, and forget their Creator. With whom should I become friends, if all the world shall pass away? False is sweetness, false is honey; through falsehood, boat-loads of men have drowned. Nanak speaks this prayer: without You, Lord, everything is totally false. ||1|| First Mehl: One knows the Truth only when the Truth is in his heart. The filth of falsehood departs, and the body is washed clean. One knows the Truth only when he bears love to the True Lord. Hearing the Name, the mind is enraptured; then, he attains the gate of salvation. One knows the Truth only when he knows the true way of life. Preparing the field of the body, he plants the Seed of the Creator. One knows the Truth only when he receives true instruction. Showing mercy to other beings, he makes donations to charities. One knows the Truth only when he dwells in the sacred shrine of pilgrimage of his own soul. He sits and receives instruction from the True Guru, and lives in accordance with His Will. Truth is the medicine for all; it removes and washes away our sins. Nanak speaks this prayer to those who have Truth in their laps. ||2|| Pauree: The gift I seek is the dust of the feet of the Saints; if I were to obtain it, I would apply it to my forehead. Renounce false greed, and meditate single-mindedly on the unseen Lord. As are the actions we commit, so are the rewards we receive. If it is so pre-ordained, then one obtains the dust of the feet of the Saints. But through small-mindedness, we forfeit the merits of selfless service. ||10|| Shalok, First Mehl: There is a famine of Truth; falsehood prevails, and the blackness of the Dark Age of Kali Yuga has turned men into demons. Those who planted their seed have departed with honour; now, how can the shattered seed sprout? If the seed is whole, and it is the proper season, then the seed will sprout. O Nanak, without treatment, the raw fabric cannot be dyed. In the Fear of God it is bleached white, if the treatment of modesty is applied to the cloth of the body. O Nanak, if one is imbued with devotional worship, his reputation is not false. ||1|| First Mehl: Greed and sin are the king and prime minister; falsehood is the treasurer. Sexual desire, the chief advisor, is summoned and consulted; they all sit together and contemplate their plans.

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Their subjects are blind, and without wisdom, they try to please the will of the dead. The spiritually wise dance and play their musical instruments, adorning themselves with beautiful decorations. They shout out loud, and sing epic poems and heroic stories. The fools call themselves spiritual scholars, and by their clever tricks, they love to gather wealth. The righteous waste their righteousness, by asking for the door of salvation. They call themselves celibate, and abandon their homes, but they do not know the true way of life. Everyone calls himself perfect; none call themselves imperfect. If the weight of honour is placed on the scale, then, O Nanak, one sees his true weight. ||2|| First Mehl: Evil actions become publicly known; O Nanak, the True Lord sees everything. Everyone makes the attempt, but that alone happens which the Creator Lord does. In the world hereafter, social status and power mean nothing; hereafter, the soul is new. Those few, whose honour is confirmed, are good. ||3|| Pauree: Only those whose karma You have pre-ordained from the very beginning, O Lord, meditate on You. Nothing is in the power of these beings; You created the various worlds. Some, You unite with Yourself, and some, You lead astray. By Guru's Grace You are known; through Him, You reveal Yourself. We are easily absorbed in You. ||11|| Shalok, First Mehl: Suffering is the medicine, and pleasure the disease, because where there is pleasure, there is no desire for God. You are the Creator Lord; I can do nothing. Even if I try, nothing happens. ||1|| I am a sacrifice to Your almighty creative power which is pervading everywhere. Your limits cannot be known. ||1||Pause|| Your Light is in Your creatures, and Your creatures are in Your Light; Your almighty power is pervading everywhere. You are the True Lord and Master; Your Praise is so beautiful. One who sings it, is carried across. Nanak speaks the stories of the Creator Lord; whatever He is to do, He does. ||2|| Second Mehl: The Way of Yoga is the Way of spiritual wisdom; the Vedas are the Way of the Brahmins. The Way of the Khshatriya is the Way of bravery; the Way of the Shudras is service to others. The Way of all is the Way of the One; Nanak is a slave to one who knows this secret; he himself is the Immaculate Divine Lord. ||3|| Second Mehl: The One Lord Krishna is the Divine Lord of all; He is the Divinity of the individual soul. Nanak is a slave to anyone who understands this mystery of the all-pervading Lord; he himself is the Immaculate Divine Lord. ||4|| First Mehl: Water remains confined within the pitcher, but without water, the pitcher could not have been formed; just so, the mind is restrained by spiritual wisdom, but without the Guru, there is no spiritual wisdom. ||5|| Pauree: If an educated person is a sinner, then the illiterate holy man is not to be punished. As are the deeds done, so is the reputation one acquires. So do not play such a game, which will bring you to ruin at the Court of the Lord. The accounts of the educated and the illiterate shall be judged in the world hereafter. One who stubbornly follows his own mind shall suffer in the world hereafter. ||12||

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Shalok, First Mehl: O Nanak, the soul of the body has one chariot and one charioteer. In age after age they change; the spiritually wise understand this. In the Golden Age of Sat Yuga, contentment was the chariot and righteousness the charioteer. In the Silver Age of Traytaa Yuga, celibacy was the chariot and power the charioteer. In the Brass Age of Dwaapar Yuga, penance was the chariot and truth the charioteer. In the Iron Age of Kali Yuga, fire is the chariot and falsehood the charioteer. ||1|| First Mehl: The Sama Veda says that the Lord Master is robed in white; in the Age of Truth, everyone desired Truth, abided in Truth, and was merged in the Truth. The Rig Veda says that God is permeating and pervading everywhere; among the deities, the Lord's Name is the most exalted. Chanting the Name, sins depart; O Nanak, then, one obtains salvation. In the Jujar Veda, Kaan Krishna of the Yaadva tribe seduced Chandraavali by force. He brought the Elysian Tree for his milk-maid, and revelled in Brindaaban. In the Dark Age of Kali Yuga, the Atharva Veda became prominent; Allah became the Name of God. Men began to wear blue robes and garments; Turks and Pat'haans assumed power. The four Vedas each claim to be true. Reading and studying them, four doctrines are found. With loving devotional worship, abiding in humility, O Nanak, salvation is attained. ||2|| Pauree: I am a sacrifice to the True Guru; meeting Him, I have come to cherish the Lord Master. He has taught me and given me the healing ointment of spiritual wisdom, and with these eyes, I behold the world. Those dealers who abandon their Lord and Master and attach themselves to another, are drowned. The True Guru is the boat, but few are those who realise this. Granting His Grace, He carries them across. ||13|| Shalok, First Mehl: The simmal tree is straight as an arrow; it is very tall, and very thick. But those birds which visit it hopefully, depart disappointed. Its fruits are tasteless, its flowers are nauseating, and its leaves are useless. Sweetness and humility, O Nanak, are the essence of virtue and goodness. Everyone bows down to himself; no one bows down to another. When something is placed on the balancing scale and weighed, the side which descends is heavier. The sinner, like the deer hunter, bows down twice as much. But what can be achieved by bowing the head, when the heart is impure? ||1|| First Mehl: You read your books and say your prayers, and then engage in debate; you worship stones and sit like a stork, pretending to be in Samaadhi. With your mouth you utter falsehood, and you adorn yourself with precious decorations; you recite the three lines of the Gayatri three times a day. Around your neck is a rosary, and on your forehead is a sacred mark; upon your head is a turban, and you wear two loin cloths. If you knew the nature of God, you would know that all of these beliefs and rituals are in vain. Says Nanak, meditate with deep faith; without the True Guru, no one finds the Way. ||2|| Pauree: Abandoning the world of beauty, and beautiful clothes, one must depart. He obtains the rewards of his good and bad deeds. He may issue whatever commands he wishes, but he shall have to take to the narrow path hereafter.

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He goes to hell naked, and he looks hideous then. He regrets the sins he committed. ||14|| Shalok, First Mehl: Make compassion the cotton, contentment the thread, modesty the knot and truth the twist. This is the sacred thread of the soul; if you have it, then go ahead and put it on me. It does not break, it cannot be soiled by filth, it cannot be burnt, or lost. Blessed are those mortal beings, O Nanak, who wear such a thread around their necks. You buy the thread for a few shells, and seated in your enclosure, you put it on. Whispering instructions into others' ears, the Brahmin becomes a guru. But he dies, and the sacred thread falls away, and the soul departs without it. ||1|| First Mehl: He commits thousands of robberies, thousands of acts of adultery, thousands of falsehoods and thousands of abuses. He practices thousands of deceptions and secret deeds, night and day, against his fellow beings. The thread is spun from cotton, and the Brahmin comes and twists it. The goat is killed, cooked and eaten, and everyone then says, "Put on the sacred thread." When it wears out, it is thrown away, and another one is put on. O Nanak, the thread would not break, if it had any real strength. ||2|| First Mehl: Believing in the Name, honour is obtained. The Lord's Praise is the true sacred thread. Such a sacred thread is worn in the Court of the Lord; it shall never break. ||3|| First Mehl: There is no sacred thread for the sexual organ, and no thread for woman. The man's beard is spat upon daily. There is no sacred thread for the feet, and no thread for the hands; no thread for the tongue, and no thread for the eyes. The Brahmin himself goes to the world hereafter without a sacred thread. Twisting the threads, he puts them on others. He takes payment for performing marriages; reading their horoscopes, he shows them the way. Hear, and see, O people, this wondrous thing. He is mentally blind, and yet his name is wisdom. ||4|| Pauree: One, upon whom the Merciful Lord bestows His Grace, performs His service. That servant, whom the Lord causes to obey the Order of His Will, serves Him. Obeying the Order of His Will, he becomes acceptable, and then, he obtains the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. One who acts to please His Lord and Master, obtains the fruits of his mind's desires. Then, he goes to the Court of the Lord, wearing robes of honour. ||15|| Shalok, First Mehl: They tax the cows and the Brahmins, but the cow-dung they apply to their kitchen will not save them. They wear their loin cloths, apply ritual frontal marks to their foreheads, and carry their rosaries, but they eat food with the Muslims. O Siblings of Destiny, you perform devotional worship indoors, but read the Islamic sacred texts, and adopt the Muslim way of life. Renounce your hypocrisy! Taking the Naam, the Name of the Lord, you shall swim across. ||1|| First Mehl: The man-eaters say their prayers. Those who wield the knife wear the sacred thread around their necks. In their homes, the Brahmins sound the conch. They too have the same taste. False is their capital, and false is their trade. Speaking falsehood, they take their food. The home of modesty and Dharma is far from them. O Nanak, they are totally permeated with falsehood. The sacred marks are on their foreheads, and the saffron loin-cloths are around their waists; in their hands they hold the knives - they are the butchers of the world!

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Wearing blue robes, they seek the approval of the Muslim rulers. Accepting bread from the Muslim rulers, they still worship the Puraanas. They eat the meat of the goats, killed after the Muslim prayers are read over them, but they do not allow anyone else to enter their kitchen areas. They draw lines around them, plastering the ground with cow-dung. The false come and sit within them. They cry out, "Do not touch our food, or it will be polluted!" But with their polluted bodies, they commit evil deeds. With filthy minds, they try to cleanse their mouths. Says Nanak, meditate on the True Lord. If you are pure, you will obtain the True Lord. ||2|| Pauree: All are within Your mind; You see and move them under Your Glance of Grace, O Lord. You Yourself grant them glory, and You Yourself cause them to act. The Lord is the greatest of the great; great is His world. He enjoins all to their tasks. If he should cast an angry glance, He can transform kings into blades of grass. Even though they may beg from door to door, no one will give them charity. ||16|| Shalok, First Mehl: The thief robs a house, and offers the stolen goods to his ancestors. In the world hereafter, this is recognised, and his ancestors are considered thieves as well. The hands of the go-between are cut off; this is the Lord's justice. O Nanak, in the world hereafter, that alone is received, which one gives to the needy from his own earnings and labor. ||1|| First Mehl: As a woman has her periods, month after month, so does falsehood dwell in the mouth of the false; they suffer forever, again and again. They are not called pure, who sit down after merely washing their bodies. Only they are pure, O Nanak, within whose minds the Lord abides. ||2|| Pauree: With saddled horses, as fast as the wind, and harems decorated in every way; in houses and pavilions and lofty mansions, they dwell, making ostentatious shows. They act out their minds' desires, but they do not understand the Lord, and so they are ruined. Asserting their authority, they eat, and beholding their mansions, they

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forget about death. But old age comes, and youth is lost. ||17|| Shalok, First Mehl: If one accepts the concept of impurity, then there is impurity everywhere. In cow-dung and wood there are worms. As many as are the grains of corn, none is without life. First, there is life in the water, by which everything else is made green. How can it be protected from impurity? It touches our own kitchen. O Nanak, impurity cannot be removed in this way; it is washed away only by spiritual wisdom. ||1|| First Mehl: The impurity of the mind is greed, and the impurity of the tongue is falsehood. The impurity of the eyes is to gaze upon the beauty of another man's wife, and his wealth. The impurity of the ears is to listen to the slander of others. O Nanak, the mortal's soul goes, bound and gagged to the city of Death. ||2|| First Mehl: All impurity comes from doubt and attachment to duality. Birth and death are subject to the Command of the Lord's Will; through His Will we come and go. Eating and drinking are pure, since the Lord gives nourishment to all. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs, who understand the Lord, are not stained by impurity. ||3||

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Pauree: Praise the Great True Guru; within Him is the greatest greatness. When the Lord causes us to meet the Guru, then we come to see them. When it pleases Him, they come to dwell in our minds. By His Command, when He places His hand on our foreheads, wickedness departs from within. When the Lord is thoroughly pleased, the nine treasures are obtained. ||18|| Shalok, First Mehl: First, purifying himself, the Brahmin comes and sits in his purified enclosure. The pure foods, which no one else has touched, are placed before him. Being purified, he takes his food, and begins to read his sacred verses. But it is then thrown into a filthy place - whose fault is this? The corn is sacred, the water is sacred; the fire and salt are sacred as well; when the fifth thing, the ghee, is added, then the food becomes pure and sanctified. Coming into contact with the sinful human body, the food becomes so impure that is is spat upon. That mouth which does not chant the Naam, and without the Name eats tasty foods - O Nanak, know this: such a mouth is to be spat upon. ||1|| First Mehl: From woman, man is born; within woman, man is conceived; to woman he is engaged and married. Woman becomes his friend; through woman, the future generations come. When his woman dies, he seeks another woman; to woman he is bound. So why call her bad? From her, kings are born. From woman, woman is born; without woman, there would be no one at all. O Nanak, only the True Lord is without a woman. That mouth which praises the Lord continually is blessed and beautiful. O Nanak, those faces shall be radiant in the Court of the True Lord. ||2|| Pauree: All call You their own, Lord; one who does not own You, is picked up and thrown away. Everyone receives the rewards of his own actions; his account is adjusted accordingly. Since one is not destined to remain in this world anyway, why should he ruin himself in pride? Do not call anyone bad; read these words, and understand. Don't argue with fools. ||19|| Shalok, First Mehl: O Nanak, speaking insipid words, the body and mind become insipid. He is called the most insipid of the insipid; the most insipid of the insipid is his reputation. The insipid person is discarded in the Court of the Lord, and the insipid one's face is spat upon. The insipid one is called a fool; he is beaten with shoes in punishment. ||1|| First Mehl: Those who are false within, and honourable on the outside, are very common in this world. Even though they may bathe at the sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage, still, their filth does not depart. Those who have silk on the inside and rags on the outside, are the good ones in this world. They embrace love for the Lord, and contemplate beholding Him. In the Lord's Love, they laugh, and in the Lord's Love, they weep, and also keep silent. They do not care for anything else, except their True Husband Lord. Sitting, waiting at the Lord's Door, they beg for food, and when He gives to them, they eat. There is only One Court of the Lord, and He has only one pen; there, you and I shall meet. In the Court of the Lord, the accounts are examined; O Nanak, the sinners are crushed, like oil seeds in the press. ||2||

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Pauree: You Yourself created the creation; You Yourself infused Your power into it. You behold Your creation, like the losing and winning dice of the earth. Whoever has come, shall depart; all shall have their turn. He who owns our soul, and our very breath of life - why should we forget that Lord and Master from our minds? With our own hands, let us resolve our own affairs. ||20|| Shalok, Second Mehl: What sort of love is this, which clings to duality? O Nanak, he alone is called a lover, who remains forever immersed in absorption. But one who feels good only when good is done for him, and feels bad when things go badly - do not call him a lover. He trades only for his own account. ||1|| Second Mehl: One who offers both respectful greetings and rude refusal to his master, has gone wrong from the very beginning. O Nanak, both of his actions are false; he obtains no place in the Court of the Lord. ||2|| Pauree: Serving Him, peace is obtained; meditate and dwell upon that Lord and Master forever. Why do you do such evil deeds, that you shall have to suffer so? Do not do any evil at all; look ahead to the future with foresight. So throw the dice in such a way, that you shall not lose with your Lord and Master. Do those deeds which shall bring you profit. ||21|| Shalok, Second Mehl: If a servant performs service, while being vain and argumentative, he may talk as much as he wants, but he shall not be pleasing to his Master. But if he eliminates his self-conceit and then performs service, he shall be honoured. O Nanak, if he merges with the one with whom he is attached, his attachment becomes acceptable. ||1|| Second Mehl: Whatever is in the mind, comes forth; spoken words by themselves are just wind. He sows seeds of poison, and demands Ambrosial Nectar. Behold - what justice is this? ||2|| Second Mehl: Friendship with a fool never works out right. As he knows, he acts; behold, and see that it is so. One thing can be absorbed into another thing, but duality keeps them apart. No one can issue commands to the Lord Master; offer instead humble prayers. Practicing falsehood, only falsehood is obtained. O Nanak, through the Lord's Praise, one blossoms forth. ||3|| Second Mehl: Friendship with a fool, and love with a pompous person, are like lines drawn in water, leaving no trace or mark. ||4|| Second Mehl: If a fool does a job, he cannot do it right. Even if he does something right, he does the next thing wrong. ||5|| Pauree: If a servant, performing service, obeys the Will of his Master, his honour increases, and he receives double his wages. But if he claims to be equal to his Master, he earns his Master's displeasure. He loses his entire salary, and is also beaten on his face with shoes. Let us all celebrate Him, from whom we receive our nourishment. O Nanak, no one can issue commands to the Lord Master; let us offer prayers instead. ||22|| Shalok, Second Mehl: What sort of gift is this, which we receive only by our own asking?

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O Nanak, that is the most wonderful gift, which is received from the Lord, when He is totally pleased. ||1|| Second Mehl: What sort of service is this, by which the fear of the Lord Master does not depart? O Nanak, he alone is called a servant, who merges with the Lord Master. ||2|| Pauree: O Nanak, the Lord's limits cannot be known; He has no end or limitation. He Himself creates, and then He Himself destroys. Some have chains around their necks, while some ride on many horses. He Himself acts, and He Himself causes us to act. Unto whom should I complain? O Nanak, the One who created the creation - He Himself takes care of it. ||23|| Shalok, First Mehl: He Himself fashioned the vessel of the body, and He Himself fills it. Into some, milk is poured, while others remain on the fire. Some lie down and sleep on soft beds, while others remain watchful. He adorns those, O Nanak, upon whom He casts His Glance of Grace. ||1|| Second Mehl: He Himself creates and fashions the world, and He Himself keeps it in order. Having created the beings within it, He oversees their birth and death. Unto whom should we speak, O Nanak, when He Himself is all-in-all? ||2|| Pauree: The description of the greatness of the Great Lord cannot be described. He is the Creator, all-lowerful and benevolent; He gives sustenance to all beings. The mortal does that work, which has been pre-destined from the very beginning. O Nanak, except for the One Lord, there is no other place at all. He does whatever He wills. ||24||1|| Sudh||One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying. Beyond Birth. Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: Raag Aasaa, The Word Of The Devotees: Kabeer, Naam Dayv And Ravi Daas. Aasaa, Kabeer Jee: Falling at the Feet of the Guru, I pray, and ask Him, "Why was man created? What deeds cause the world to come into being, and be destroyed? Tell me, that I may understand."||1|| O Divine Guru, please, show Mercy to me, and place me on the right path, by which the bonds of fear may be cut away. The pains of birth and death come from past actions and karma; peace comes when the soul finds release from reincarnation. ||1||Pause|| The mortal does not break free from the bonds of the noose of Maya, and he does not seek the shelter of the profound, absolute Lord. He does not realise the dignity of the self, and Nirvaanaa; because of this, his doubt does not depart. ||2|| The soul is not born, even though he thinks it is born; it is free from birth and death. When the mortal gives up his ideas of birth and death, he remains constantly absorbed in the Lord's Love. ||3|| As the reflection of an object blends in the water when the pitcher is broken, says Kabeer, just so virtue dispels doubt, and then the soul is absorbed in the profound, absolute Lord. ||4||1||

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Aasaa: They wear loin cloths, three and a half yards long, and triple-wound sacred threads. They have rosaries around their necks, and they carry glittering jugs in their hands. They are not called Saints of the Lord - they are thugs of Benares. ||1|| Such 'saints' are not pleasing to me; they eat the trees along with the branches. ||1||Pause|| They wash their pots and pans before putting them on the stove, and they wash the wood before lighting it. They dig up the earth and make two fireplaces, but they eat the whole person! ||2|| Those sinners continually wander in evil deeds, while they call themselves touch-nothing saints. They wander around forever and ever in their self-conceit, and all their families are drowned. ||3|| He is attached to that, to which the Lord has attached him, and he acts accordingly. Says Kabeer, one who meets the True Guru, is not reincarnated again. ||4||2|| Aasaa: My Father has comforted me. He has given me a cozy bed, and placed His Ambrosial Nectar in my mouth. How could I forget that Father from my mind? When I go to the world hereafter, I shall not lose the game. ||1|| Maya is dead, O mother, and I am very happy. I do not wear the patched coat, nor do I feel the chill. ||1||Pause|| I am a sacrifice to my Father, who gave me life. He put an end to my association with the five deadly sins. I have conquered those five demons, and trampled them underfoot. Remembering the Lord in meditation, my mind and body are drenched with His Love. ||2|| My Father is the Great Lord of the Universe. How shall I go to that Father? When I met the True Guru, He showed me the Way. The Father of the Universe is pleasing to my mind. ||3|| I am Your son, and You are my Father. We both dwell in the same place. Says Kabeer, the Lord's humble servant knows only the One. By Guru's Grace, I have come to know everything. ||4||3|| Aasaa: In one pot, they put a boiled chicken, and in the other pot, they put wine. The five Yogis of the Tantric ritual sit there, and in their midst sits the noseless one, the shameless queen. ||1|| The bell of the shameless queen, Maya, rings in both worlds. Some rare person of discriminating wisdom has cut off your nose. ||1||Pause|| Within all dwells the noseless Maya, who kills all, and destroys them. She says, "I am the sister, and the daughter of the sister of everyone; I am the hand-maiden of one who marries me."||2|| My Husband is the Great One of discriminating wisdom; He alone is called a Saint. He stands by me, and no one else comes near me. ||3|| I have cut off her nose, and cut off her ears, and cutting her into bits, I have expelled her. Says Kabeer, she is the darling of the three worlds, but the enemy of the Saints. ||4||4|| Aasaa: The Yogis, celibates, penitents and Sannyaasees make pilgrimages to all the sacred places. The Jains with shaven heads, the silent ones, the beggars with matted hair - in the end, they all shall die. ||1|| Meditate, therefore, on the Lord. What can the Messenger of Death do to one whose tongue loves the Name of the Lord? ||1||Pause|| Those who know the Shaastras and the Vedas, astrology and the rules of grammar of many languages;

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those who know Tantras and mantras and all medicines - even they shall die in the end. ||2|| Those who enjoy regal power and rule, royal canopies and thrones, many beautiful women, betel nuts, camphor and fragrant sandalwood oil - in the end, they too shall die. ||3|| I have searched all the Vedas, Puraanas and Simritees, but none of these can save anyone. Says Kabeer, meditate on the Lord, and eliminate birth and death. ||4||5|| Aasaa: The elephant is the guitar player, the ox is the drummer, and the crow plays the cymbals. Putting on the skirt, the donkey dances around, and the water buffalo performs devotional worship. ||1|| The Lord, the King, has cooked the cakes of ice, but only the rare man of understanding eats them. ||1||Pause|| Sitting in his den, the lion prepares the betel leaves, and the muskrat brings the betel nuts. Going from house to house, the mouse sings the songs of joy, and the turtle blows on the conch-shell. ||2|| The son of the sterile woman goes to get married, and the golden canopy is spread out for him. He marries a beautiful and enticing young woman; the rabbit and the lion sing their praises. ||3|| Says Kabeer, listen, O Saints - the ant has eaten the mountain. The turtle says, "I need a burning coal, also." Listen to this mystery of the Shabad. ||4||6|| Aasaa: The body is a bag with seventy-two chambers, and one opening, the Tenth Gate. He alone is a real Yogi on this earth, who asks for the primal world of the nine regions. ||1|| Such a Yogi obtains the nine treasures. He lifts his soul up from below, to the skies of the Tenth Gate. ||1||Pause|| He makes spiritual wisdom his patched coat, and meditation his needle. He twists the thread of the Word of the Shabad. Making the five elements his deer skin to sit on, he walks on the Guru's Path. ||2|| He makes compassion his shovel, his body the firewood, and he kindles the fire of divine vision. He places love within his heart, and he remains in deep meditation throughout the four ages. ||3|| All Yoga is in the Name of the Lord; the body and the breath of life belong to Him. Says Kabeer, if God grants His Grace, He bestows the insignia of Truth. ||4||7|| Aasaa: Where have the Hindus and Muslims come from? Who put them on their different paths? Think of this, and contemplate it within your mind, O men of evil intentions. Who will go to heaven and hell? ||1|| O Qazi, which book have you read? Such scholars and students have all died, and none of them have discovered the inner meaning. ||1||Pause|| Because of the love of woman, circumcision is done; I don't believe in it, O Siblings of Destiny. If God wished me to be a Muslim, it would be cut off by itself. ||2|| If circumcision makes one a Muslim, then what about a woman? She is the other half of a man's body, and she does not leave him, so he remains a Hindu. ||3|| Give up your holy books, and remember the Lord, you fool, and stop oppressing others so badly. Kabeer has grasped hold of the

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Lord's Support, and the Muslims have utterly failed. ||4||8|| Aasaa: As long as the oil and the wick are in the lamp, everything is illuminated.

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But when the oil is burnt, the wick goes out, and the mansion becomes desolate. ||1|| O mad-man, no one will keep you, for even a moment. Meditate on the Name of that Lord. ||1||Pause|| Tell me, whose mother is that, whose father is that, and which man has a wife? When the pitcher of the body breaks, no one cares for you at all. Everyone says, "Take him away, take him away!"||2|| Sitting on the threshold, his mother cries, and his brothers take away the coffin. Taking down her hair, his wife cries out in sorrow, and the swan-soul departs all alone. ||3|| Says Kabeer, listen, O Saints, about the terrifying world-ocean. This human suffers torture and the Messenger of Death will not leave him alone, O Lord of the World. ||4||9|| Du-Tukas One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Aasaa Of Kabeer Jee, Chau-Padas, Ik-Tukas: Sanak and Sanand, the sons of Brahma, could not find the Lord's limits. Brahma wasted his life away, continually reading the Vedas. ||1|| Churn the churn of the Lord, O my Siblings of Destiny. Churn it steadily, so that the essence, the butter, may not be lost. ||1||Pause|| Make your body the churning jar, and use the stick of your mind to churn it. Gather the curds of the Word of the Shabad. ||2|| The churning of the Lord is to reflect upon Him within your mind. By Guru's Grace, the Ambrosial Nectar flows into us. ||3|| Says Kabeer, if the Lord, our King casts His Glance of Grace, one is carried across to the other side, holding fast to the Lord's Name. ||4||1||10|| Aasaa: The wick has dried up, and the oil is exhausted. The drum does not sound, and the actor has gone to sleep. ||1|| The fire has gone out, and no smoke is produced. The One Lord is pervading and permeating everywhere; there is no other second. ||1||Pause|| The string has broken, and the guitar makes no sound. He mistakenly ruins his own affairs. ||2|| When one comes to understand, he forgets his preaching, ranting and raving, and arguing. ||3|| Says Kabeer, the state of supreme dignity is never far from those who conquer the five demons of the body passions. ||4||2||11|| Aasaa: As many mistakes as the son commits, his mother does not hold them against him in her mind. ||1|| O Lord, I am Your child. Why not destroy my sins? ||1||Pause|| If the son, in anger, runs away, even then, his mother does not hold it against him in her mind. ||2|| My mind has fallen into the whirlpool of anxiety. Without the Naam, how can I cross over to the other side? ||3|| Please, bless my body with pure and lasting understanding, Lord; in peace and poise, Kabeer chants the Praises of the Lord. ||4||3||12|| Aasaa: My pilgrimage to Mecca is on the banks of the Gomati River; the spiritual teacher in his yellow robes dwells there. ||1|| Waaho! Waaho! Hail! Hail! How wondrously he sings. The Name of the Lord is pleasing to my mind. ||1||Pause||

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Naarada the sage, and Shaarada the goddess of knowledge, serve the Lord. The goddess Lakhshmi sits by Him as His slave. ||2|| The mala is around my neck, and the Lord's Name is upon my tongue. I repeat the Naam, the Name of the Lord, a thousand times, and bow in reverence to Him. ||3|| Says Kabeer, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord; I teach both Hindus and Muslims. ||4||4||13|| Aasaa, Kabeer Jee, 9 Panch-Padas, 5 Du-Tukas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: You tear off the leaves, O gardener, but in each and every leaf, there is life. That stone idol, for which you tear off those leaves - that stone idol is lifeless. ||1|| In this, you are mistaken, O gardener. The True Guru is the Living Lord. ||1||Pause|| Brahma is in the leaves, Vishnu is in the branches, and Shiva is in the flowers. When you break these three gods, whose service are you performing? ||2|| The sculptor carves the stone and fashions it into an idol, placing his feet upon its chest. If this stone god was true, it would devour the sculptor for this! ||3|| Rice and beans, candies, cakes and cookies - the priest enjoys these, while he puts ashes into the mouth of the idol. ||4|| The gardener is mistaken, and the world is mistaken, but I am not mistaken. Says Kabeer, the Lord preserves me; the Lord, my King, has showered His Blessings upon me. ||5||1||14|| Aasaa: Twelve years pass in childhood, and for another twenty years, he does not practice self-discipline and austerity. For another thirty years, he does not worship God in any way, and then, when he is old, he repents and regrets. ||1|| His life wastes away as he cries out, "Mine, mine!" The pool of his power has dried up. ||1||Pause|| He makes a dam around the dried-up pool, and with his hands, he makes a fence around the harvested field. When the thief of Death comes, he quickly carries away what the fool had tried to preserve as his own. ||2|| His feet and head and hands begin to tremble, and the tears flow copiously from his eyes. His tongue has not spoken the correct words, but now, he hopes to practice religion! ||3|| If the Dear Lord shows His Mercy, one enshrines love for Him, and obtains the Profit of the Lord's Name. By Guru's Grace, he receives the wealth of the Lord's Name, which alone shall go with him, when he departs in the end. ||4|| Says Kabeer, listen, O Saints - he shall not take any other wealth with him. When the summons comes from the King, the Lord of the Universe, the mortal departs, leaving behind his wealth and mansions. ||5||2||15|| Aasaa: To some, the Lord has given silks and satins, and to some, beds decorated with cotton ribbons. Some do not even have a poor patched coat, and some live in thatched huts. ||1|| Do not indulge in envy and bickering, O my mind. By continually doing good deeds, these are obtained, O my mind. ||1||Pause|| The potter works the same clay, and colours the pots in different ways. Into some, he sets pearls, while to others, he attaches filth. ||2|| God gave wealth to the miser for him to preserve, but the fool calls it his own.

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When the Messenger of Death strikes him with his club, in an instant, everything is settled. ||3|| The Lord's humble servant is called the most exalted Saint; he obeys the Command of the Lord's Order, and obtains peace. Whatever is pleasing to the Lord, he accepts as True; he enshrines the Lord's Will within his mind. ||4|| Says Kabeer, listen, O Saints - it is false to call out, "Mine, mine." Breaking the bird cage, death takes the bird away, and only the torn threads remain. ||5||3||16|| Aasaa: I am Your humble servant, Lord; Your Praises are pleasing to my mind. The Lord, the Primal Being, the Master of the poor, does not ordain that they should be oppressed. ||1|| O Qazi, it is not right to speak before Him. ||1||Pause|| Keeping your fasts, reciting your prayers, and reading the Kalma, the Islamic creed, shall not take you to paradise. The Temple of Mecca is hidden within your mind, if you only knew it. ||2|| That should be your prayer, to administer justice. Let your Kalma be the knowledge of the unknowable Lord. Spread your prayer mat by conquering your five desires, and you shall recognise the true religion. ||3|| Recognise Your Lord and Master, and fear Him within your heart; conquer your egotism, and make it worthless. As you see yourself, see others as well; only then will you become a partner in heaven. ||4|| The clay is one, but it has taken many forms; I recognise the One Lord within them all. Says Kabeer, I have abandoned paradise, and reconciled my mind to hell. ||5||4||17|| Aasaa: From the city of the Tenth Gate, the sky of the mind, not even a drop rains down. Where is the music of the sound current of the Naad, which was contained in it? The Supreme Lord God, the Transcendent Lord, the Master of wealth has taken away the Supreme Soul. ||1|| O Father, tell me: where has it gone? It used to dwell within the body, and dance in the mind, teaching and speaking. ||1||Pause|| Where has the player gone - he who made this temple his own? No story, word or understanding is produced; the Lord has drained off all the power. ||2|| The ears, your companions, have gone deaf, and the power of your organs is exhausted. Your feet have failed, your hands have gone limp, and no words issue forth from your mouth. ||3|| Having grown weary, the five enemies and all the thieves have wandered away according to their own will. The elephant of the mind has grown weary, and the heart has grown weary as well; through its power, it used to pull the strings. ||4|| He is dead, and the bonds of the ten gates are opened; he has left all his friends and brothers. Says Kabeer, one who meditates on the Lord, breaks his bonds, even while yet alive. ||5||5||18|| Aasaa, 4 Ik-Tukas: No one is more powerful than the she-serpent Maya, who deceived even Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva. ||1|| Having bitten and struck them down, she now sits in the immaculate waters. By Guru's Grace, I have seen her, who has bitten the three worlds. ||1||Pause|| O Siblings of Destiny, why is she called a she-serpent? One who realises the True Lord, devours the she-serpent. ||2|| No one else is more frivolous than this she-serpent. When the she-serpent is overcome, what can the Messengers of the King of Death do? ||3||

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This she-serpent is created by Him. What power or weakness does she have by herself? ||4|| If she abides with the mortal, then his soul abides in his body. By Guru's Grace, Kabeer has easily crossed over. ||5||6||19|| Aasaa: Why bother to read the Simritees to a dog? Why bother to sing the Lord's Praises to the faithless cynic? ||1|| Remain absorbed in the Lord's Name, Raam, Raam, Raam. Do not bother to speak of it to the faithless cynic, even by mistake. ||1||Pause|| Why offer camphor to a crow? Why give the snake milk to drink? ||2|| Joining the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, discriminating understanding is attained. That iron which touches the Philosopher's Stone becomes gold. ||3|| The dog, the faithless cynic, does everything as the Lord causes him to do. He does the deeds pre-ordained from the very beginning. ||4|| If you take Ambrosial Nectar and irrigate the neem tree with it, still, says Kabeer, its natural qualities are not changed. ||5||7||20|| Aasaa: A fortress like that of Sri Lanka, with the ocean as a moat around it - there is no news about that house of Raavan. ||1|| What shall I ask for? Nothing is permanent. I see with my eyes that the world is passing away. ||1||Pause|| Thousands of sons and thousands of grandsons - but in that house of Raavan, the lamps and wicks have gone out. ||2|| The moon and the sun cooked his food. The fire washed his clothes. ||3|| Under Guru's Instructions, one whose mind is filled with the Lord's Name, becomes permanent, and does not go anywhere. ||4|| Says Kabeer, listen, people: without the Lord's Name, no one is liberated. ||5||8||21|| Aasaa: First, the son was born, and then, his mother. The guru falls at the feet of the disciple. ||1|| Listen to this wonderful thing, O Siblings of Destiny! I saw the lion herding the cows. ||1||Pause|| The fish of the water gives birth upon a tree. I saw a cat carrying away a dog. ||2|| The branches are below, and the roots are above. The trunk of that tree bears fruits and flowers. ||3|| Riding a horse, the buffalo takes him out to graze. The bull is away, while his load has come home. ||4|| Says Kabeer, one who understands this hymn, and chants the Lord's Name, comes to understand everything. ||5||9||22|| 22 Chau-Padas And Panch-Padas, Aasaa Of Kabeer Jee, 8 Tri-Padas, 7 Du-Tukas, 1 Ik-Tuka: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The Lord created the body from sperm, and protected it in the fire pit. For ten months He preserved you in your mother's womb, and then, after you were born, you became attached to Maya. ||1|| O mortal, why have you attached yourself to greed, and lost the jewel of life? You did not plant the seeds of good actions in the earth of your past lives. ||1||Pause|| From an infant, you have grown old. That which was to happen, has happened. When the Messenger of Death comes and grabs you by your hair, why do you cry out then? ||2||

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You hope for long life, while Death counts your breaths. The world is a game, O Kabeer, so throw the dice consciously. ||3||1||23|| Aasaa: I make my body the dying vat, and within it, I dye my mind. I make the five elements my marriage guests. I take my marriage vows with the Lord, my King; my soul is imbued with His Love. ||1|| Sing, sing, O brides of the Lord, the marriage songs of the Lord. The Lord, my King, has come to my house as my Husband. ||1||Pause|| Within the lotus of my heart, I have made my bridal pavilion, and I have spoken the wisdom of God. I have obtained the Lord King as my Husband - such is my great good fortune. ||2|| The angles, holy men, silent sages, and the 330,000,000 deities have come in their heavenly chariots to see this spectacle. Says Kabeer, I have been taken in marriage by the One Supreme Being, the Lord God. ||3||2||24|| Aasaa: I am bothered by my mother-in-law, Maya, and loved by my father-in-law, the Lord. I fear even the name of my husband's elder brother, Death. O my mates and companions, my husband's sister, misunderstanding has seized me, and I am burning with the pain of separation from my husband's younger brother, divine knowledge. ||1|| My mind has gone insane, since I forgot the Lord. How can I lead a virtuous lifestyle? He rests in the bed of my mind, but I cannot see Him with my eyes. Unto whom should I tell my sufferings? ||1||Pause|| My step-father, egotism, fights with me, and my mother, desire, is always intoxicated. When I stayed with my elder brother, meditation, then I was loved by my Husband Lord. ||2|| Says Kabeer, the five passions argue with me, and in these arguments, my life is wasting away. The false Maya has bound the whole world, but I have obtained peace, chanting the Name of the Lord. ||3||3||25|| Aasaa: In my house, I constantly weave the thread, while you wear the thread around your neck, O Brahmin. You read the Vedas and sacred hymns, while I have enshrined the Lord of the Universe in my heart. ||1|| Upon my tongue, within my eyes, and within my heart, abides the Lord, the Lord of the Universe. When you are interrogated at Death's door, O mad-man, what will you say then? ||1||Pause|| I am a cow, and You are the herdsman, the Sustainer of the World. You are my Saving Grace, lifetime after lifetime. You have never taken me across to graze there - what sort of a herdsman are You? ||2|| You are a Brahmin, and I am a weaver of Benares; can You understand my wisdom? You beg from emperors and kings, while I meditate on the Lord. ||3||4||26|| Aasaa: The life of the world is only a dream; life is just a dream. Believing it to be true, I grasped at it, and abandoned the supreme treasure. ||1|| O Father, I have enshrined love and affection for Maya, which has taken the jewel of spiritual wisdom away from me. ||1||Pause|| The moth sees with its eyes, but it still becomes entangled; the insect does not see the fire. Attached to gold and woman, the fool does not think of the noose of Death. ||2|| Reflect upon this, and abandon sin; the Lord is a boat to carry you across. Says Kabeer, such is the Lord, the Life of the World; there is no one equal to Him. ||3||5||27|| Aasaa:

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In the past, I have taken many forms, but I shall not take form again. The strings and wires of the musical instrument are worn out, and I am in the power of the Lord's Name. ||1|| Now, I no longer dance to the tune. My mind no longer beats the drum. ||1||Pause|| I have burnt away sexual desire, anger and attachment to Maya, and the pitcher of my desires has burst. The gown of sensuous pleasures is worn out, and all my doubts have been dispelled. ||2|| I look upon all beings alike, and my conflict and strife are ended. Says Kabeer, when the Lord showed His Favor, I obtained Him, the Perfect One. ||3||6||28|| Aasaa: You keep your fasts to please Allah, while you murder other beings for pleasure. You look after your

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own interests, and so not see the interests of others. What good is your word? ||1|| O Qazi, the One Lord is within you, but you do not behold Him by thought or contemplation. You do not care for others, you are a religious fanatic, and your life is of no account at all. ||1||Pause|| Your holy scriptures say that Allah is True, and that he is neither male nor female. But you gain nothing by reading and studying, O mad-man, if you do not gain the understanding in your heart. ||2|| Allah is hidden in every heart; reflect upon this in your mind. The One Lord is within both Hindu and Muslim; Kabeer proclaims this out loud. ||3||7||29|| Aasaa, Ti-Pada, Ik-Tuka: I have decorated myself to meet my Husband Lord. But the Lord, the Life of the Word, the Sustainer of the Universe, has not come to meet me. ||1|| The Lord is my Husband, and I am the Lord's bride. The Lord is so great, and I am infinitesimally small. ||1||Pause|| The bride and the Groom dwell together. They lie upon the one bed, but their union is difficult. ||2|| Blessed is the soul-bride, who is pleasing to her Husband Lord. Says Kabeer, she shall not have to be reincarnated again. ||3||8||30|| Aasaa Of Kabeer Jee, Du-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: When the Diamond of the Lord pierces the diamond of my mind, the fickle mind waving in the wind is easily absorbed into Him. This Diamond fills all with Divine Light; through the True Guru's Teachings, I have found Him. ||1|| The sermon of the Lord is the unstruck, endless song. Becoming a swan, one recognises the Diamond of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Says Kabeer, I have seen such a Diamond, permeating and pervading the world. The hidden diamond became visible, when the Guru revealed it to me. ||2||1||31|| Aasaa: My first wife, ignorance, was ugly, of low social status and bad character; she was evil in my home, and in her parents' home. My present bride, divine understanding, is beautiful, wise and well-behaved; I have taken her to my heart. ||1|| It has turned out so well, that my first wife has died. May she, whom I have now married, live throughout the ages. ||1||Pause|| Says Kabeer, when the younger bride came, the elder one lost her husband. The younger bride is with me now, and the elder one has taken another husband. ||2||2||32||

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Aasaa: My daughter-in-law was first called Dhannia, the woman of wealth, but now she is called Raam-jannia, the servant of the Lord. ||1|| These shaven-headed saints have ruined my house. They have caused my son to start chanting the Lord's Name. ||1||Pause|| Says Kabeer, listen, O mother: these shaven-headed saints have done away with my low social status. ||2||3||33|| Aasaa: Stay, stay, O daughter-in-law - do not cover your face with a veil. In the end, this shall not bring you even half a shell. ||1||Pause|| The one before you used to veil her face; do not follow in her footsteps. ||1|| The only merit in veiling your face is that for a few days, people will say, "What a noble bride has come". ||2|| Your veil shall be true only if you skip, dance and sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||3|| Says Kabeer, the soul-bride shall win, only if she passes her life singing the Lord's Praises. ||4||1||34|| Aasaa: I would rather be cut apart by a saw, than have You turn Your back on me. Hug me close, and listen to my prayer. ||1|| I am a sacrifice to You - please, turn Your face to me, O Beloved Lord. Why have You turned Your back to me? Why have You killed me? ||1||Pause|| Even if You cut my body apart, I shall not pull my limbs away from You. Even if my body falls, I shall not break my bonds of love with You. ||2|| Between You and I, there is no other. You are the Husband Lord, and I am the soul-bride. ||3|| Says Kabeer, listen, O people: now, I place no reliance in you. ||4||2||35|| Aasaa: No one knows the secret of God, the Cosmic Weaver. He has stretched out the fabric of the whole world. ||1||Pause|| When you listen to the Vedas and the Puraanas, you shall know that the whole world is only a small piece of His woven fabric. ||1|| He has made the earth and sky His loom. Upon it, He moves the two bobbins of the sun and the moon. ||2|| Placing my feet together, I have accomplished one thing - my mind is pleased with that Weaver. I have come to understand my own home, and recognise the Lord within my heart. ||3|| Says Kabeer, when my body workshop breaks, the Weaver shall blend my thread with His thread. ||4||3||36|| Aasaa: With filth within the heart, even if one bathes at sacred places of pilgrimage, still, he shall not go to heaven. Nothing is gained by trying to please others - the Lord cannot be fooled. ||1|| Worship the One Divine Lord. The true cleansing bath is service to the Guru. ||1||Pause|| If salvation can be obtained by bathing in water, then what about the frog, which is always bathing in water? As is the frog, so is that mortal; he is reincarnated, over and over again. ||2|| If the hard-hearted sinner dies in Benaares, he cannot escape hell. And even if the Lord's Saint dies in the cursed land of Haramba, still, he saves all his family. ||3|| Where there is neither day nor night, and neither Vedas nor Shaastras, there, the Formless Lord abides. Says Kabeer, meditate on Him, O mad-men of the world. ||4||4||37||

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One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Aasaa, The Word Of The Reverend Naam Dayv Jee: In the one and in the many, He is pervading and permeating; wherever I look, there He is. The marvellous image of Maya is so fascinating; how few understand this. ||1|| God is everything, God is everything. Without God, there is nothing at all. As one thread holds hundreds and thousands of beads, He is woven into His creation. ||1||Pause|| The waves of the water, the foam and bubbles, are not distinct from the water. This manifested world is the playful game of the Supreme Lord God; reflecting upon it, we find that it is not different from Him. ||2|| False doubts and dream objects - man believes them to be true. The Guru has instructed me to try to do good deeds, and my awakened mind has accepted this. ||3|| Says Naam Dayv, see the Creation of the Lord, and reflect upon it in your heart. In each and every heart, and deep within the very nucleus of all, is the One Lord. ||4||1|| Aasaa: Bringing the pitcher, I fill it with water, to bathe the Lord. But 4.2 million species of beings are in the water - how can I use it for the Lord, O Siblings of Destiny? ||1|| Wherever I go, the Lord is there. He continually plays in supreme bliss. ||1||Pause|| I bring flowers to weave a garland, in worshipful adoration of the Lord. But the bumble bee has already sucked out the fragrance - how can I use it for the Lord, O Siblings of Destiny? ||2|| I carry milk and cook it to make pudding, with which to feed the Lord. But the calf has already tasted the milk - how can I use it for the Lord, O Siblings of Destiny? ||3|| The Lord is here, the Lord is there; without the Lord, there is no world at all. Prays Naam Dayv, O Lord, You are totally permeating and pervading all places and interspaces. ||4||2|| Aasaa: My mind is the yardstick, and my tongue is the scissors. I measure it out and cut off the noose of death. ||1|| What do I have to do with social status? What do I have to with ancestry? I meditate on the Name of the Lord, day and night. ||1||Pause|| I dye myself in the colour of the Lord, and sew what has to be sewn. Without the Lord's Name, I cannot live, even for a moment. ||2|| I perform devotional worship, and sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Twenty-four hours a day, I meditate on my Lord and Master. ||3|| My needle is gold, and my thread is silver. Naam Dayv's mind is attached to the Lord. ||4||3|| Aasaa: The snake sheds its skin, but does not lose its venom. The heron appears to be meditating, but it is concentrating on the water. ||1|| Why do you practice meditation and chanting, when your mind is not pure? ||1||Pause|| That man who feeds like a lion, is called the god of thieves. ||2|| Naam Dayv's Lord and Master has settled my inner conflicts.

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Drink in the sublime elixir of the Lord, O deceitful one. ||3||4|| Aasaa: One who recognises the Supreme Lord God, dislikes other desires. He focuses his consciousness on the Lord's devotional worship, and keeps his mind free of anxiety. ||1|| O my mind, how will you cross over the world-ocean, if you are filled with the water of corruption? Gazing upon the falseness of Maya, you have gone astray, O my mind. ||1||Pause|| You have given me birth in the house of a calico-printer, but I have found the Teachings of the Guru. By the Grace of the Saint, Naam Dayv has met the Lord. ||2||5|| Aasaa, The Word Of The Reverend Ravi Daas Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The deer, the fish, the bumble bee, the moth and the elephant are destroyed, each for a single defect. So the one who is filled with the five incurable vices - what hope is there for him? ||1|| O Lord, he is in love with ignorance. His lamp of clear wisdom has grown dim. ||1||Pause|| The creeping creatures live thoughtless lives, and cannot discriminate between good and evil. It is so difficult to obtain this human incarnation, and yet, they keep company with the low. ||2|| Wherever the beings and creatures are, they are born according to the karma of their past actions. The noose of death is unforgiving, and it shall catch them; it cannot be warded off. ||3|| O servant Ravi Daas, dispel your sorrow and doubt, and know that Guru-given spiritual wisdom is the penance of penances. O Lord, Destroyer of the fears of Your humble devotees, make me supremely blissful in the end. ||4||1|| Aasaa: Your Saints are Your body, and their company is Your breath of life. By the True Guru-given spiritual wisdom, I know the Saints as the gods of gods. ||1|| O Lord, God of gods, grant me the Society of the Saints, the sublime essence of the Saints' conversation, and the Love of the Saints. ||1||Pause|| The Character of the Saints, the lifestyle of the Saints, and the service of the servant of the Saints. ||2|| I ask for these, and for one thing more - devotional worship, which shall fulfill my desires. Do not show me the wicked sinners. ||3|| Says Ravi Daas, he alone is wise, who knows this: there is no difference between the Saints and the Infinite Lord. ||4||2|| Aasaa: You are sandalwood, and I am the poor castor oil plant, dwelling close to you. From a lowly tree, I have become exalted; Your fragrance, Your exquisite fragrance now permeates me. ||1|| O Lord, I seek the Sanctuary of the company of Your Saints; I am worthless, and You are so benevolent. ||1||Pause|| You are the white and yellow threads of silk, and I am like a poor worm. O Lord, I seek to live in the Company of the Saints, like the bee with its honey. ||2|| My social status is low, my ancestry is low, and my birth is low as well. I have not performed the service of the Lord, the Lord, says Ravi Daas the cobbler. ||3||3|| Aasaa: What would it matter, if my body were cut into pieces? If I were to lose Your Love, Lord, then Your humble servant would be afraid. ||1|| Your lotus feet are the home of my mind. Drinking in Your Nectar, I have obtained the wealth of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Prosperity, adversity, property and wealth are just Maya.

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Your humble servant is not engrossed in them. ||2|| Your humble servant is tied by the rope of Your Love. Says Ravi Daas, what benefit would I get by escaping from it? ||3||4|| Aasaa: The Lord, Har, Har, Har, Har, Har, Har, Haray. Meditating on the Lord, the humble are carried across to salvation. ||1||Pause|| Through the Lord's Name, Kabeer became famous and respected. The accounts of his past incarnations were torn up. ||1|| Because of Naam Dayv's devotion, the Lord drank the milk he offered. He shall not have to suffer the pains of reincarnation into the world again. ||2|| Servant Ravi Daas is imbued with the Lord's Love. By Guru's Grace, he shall not have to go to hell. ||3||5|| How does the puppet of clay dance? He looks and listens, hears and speaks, and runs around. ||1||Pause|| When he acquires something, he is inflated with ego. But when his wealth is gone, then he cries and bewails. ||1|| In thought, word and deed, he is attached to the sweet and tangy flavors. When he dies, no one knows where he has gone. ||2|| Says Ravi Daas, the world is just a dramatic play, O Siblings of Destiny. I have enshrined love for the Lord, the star of the show. ||3||6|| Aasaa, The Word Of Devotee Dhanna Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I wandered through countless incarnations, but mind, body and wealth never remain stable. Attached to, and stained by the poisons of sexual desire and greed, the mind has forgotten the jewel of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| The poisonous fruit seems sweet to the demented mind, which does not know the difference between good and evil. Turning away from virtue, his love for other things increases, and he weaves again the web of birth and death. ||1|| He does not know the way to the Lord, who dwells within his heart; burning in the trap, he is caught by the noose of death. Gathering the poisonous fruits, he fills his mind with them, and he forgets God, the Supreme Being, from his mind. ||2|| The Guru has given the wealth of spiritual wisdom; practicing meditation, the mind becomes one with Him. Embracing loving devotional worship for the Lord, I have come to know peace; satisfied and satiated, I have been liberated. ||3|| One who is filled with the Divine Light, recognises the undeceivable Lord God. Dhanna has obtained the Lord, the Sustainer of the World, as his wealth; meeting the humble Saints, he merges in the Lord. ||4||1|| Fifth Mehl: Naam Dayv's mind was absorbed into God, Gobind, Gobind, Gobind. The calico-printer, worth half a shell, became worth millions. ||1||Pause|| Abandoning weaving and stretching thread, Kabeer enshrined love for the Lord's lotus feet. A weaver from a lowly family, he became an ocean of excellence. ||1|| Ravi Daas, who used to carry dead cows every day, renounced the world of Maya. He became famous in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, and obtained the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan. ||2|| Sain, the barber, the village drudge, became famous in each and every house. The Supreme Lord God dwelled in his heart, and he was counted among the devotees. ||3||

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Hearing this, Dhanna the Jaat applied himself to devotional worship. The Lord of the Universe met him personally; Dhanna was so very blessed. ||4||2|| O my consciousness, why don't you remain conscious of the Merciful Lord? How can you recognise any other? You may run around the whole universe, but that alone happens which the Creator Lord does. ||1||Pause|| In the water of the mother's womb, He fashioned the body with ten gates. He gives it sustenance, and preserves it in fire - such is my Lord and Master. ||1|| The mother turtle is in the water, and her babies are out of the water. She has no wings to protect them, and no milk to feed them. The Perfect Lord, the embodiment of supreme bliss, the Fascinating Lord takes care of them. See this, and understand it in your mind||2|| The worm lies hidden under the stone - there is no way for him to escape. Says Dhanna, the Perfect Lord takes care of him. Fear not, O my soul. ||3||3|| Aasaa, The Word Of Shaykh Fareed Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: They alone are true, whose love for God is deep and heart-felt. Those who have one thing in their heart, and something else in their mouth, are judged to be false. ||1|| Those who are imbued with love for the Lord, are delighted by His Vision. Those who forget the Naam, the Name of the Lord, are a burden on the earth. ||1||Pause|| Those whom the Lord attaches to the hem of His robe, are the true dervishes at His Door. Blessed are the mothers who gave birth to them, and fruitful is their coming into the world. ||2|| O Lord, Sustainer and Cherisher, You are infinite, unfathomable and endless. Those who recognise the True Lord - I kiss their feet. ||3|| I seek Your Protection - You are the Forgiving Lord. Please, bless Shaykh Fareed with the

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bounty of Your meditative worship. ||4||1|| Aasaa: Says Shaykh Fareed, O my dear friend, attach yourself to the Lord. This body shall turn to dust, and its home shall be a neglected graveyard. ||1|| You can meet the Lord today, O Shaykh Fareed, if you restrain your bird-like desires which keep your mind in turmoil. ||1||Pause|| If I had known that I was to die, and not return again, I would not have ruined myself by clinging to the world of falsehood. ||2|| So speak the Truth, in righteousness, and do not speak falsehood. The disciple ought to travel the route, pointed out by the Guru. ||3|| Seeing the youths being carried across, the hearts of the beautiful young soul-brides are encouraged. Those who side with the glitter of gold, are cut down with a saw. ||4|| O Shaykh, no one's life is permanent in this world. That seat, upon which we now sit - many others sat on it and have since departed. ||5|| As the swallows appear in the month of Katik, forest fires in the month of Chayt, and lightning in Saawan, and as the bride's arms adorn her husband's neck in winter;||6|| Just so, the transitory human bodies pass away. Reflect upon this in your mind. It takes six months to form the body, but it breaks in an instant. ||7|| O Fareed, the earth asks the sky, "Where have the boatmen gone?" Some have been cremated, and some lie in their graves; their souls are suffering rebukes. ||8||2||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 9 - RAAG GOOJAREE

Section 09 - Raag Goojaree - Part 001

One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying. Beyond Birth. Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: Raag Goojaree, First Mehl, Chau-Padas, First House: I would make Your Name the sandalwood, and my mind the stone to rub it on; for saffron, I would offer good deeds; thus, I perform worship and adoration within my heart. ||1|| Perform worship and adoration by meditating on the Naam, the Name of the Lord; without the Name, there is no worship and adoration. ||1||Pause|| If one were to wash his heart inwardly, like the stone idol which is washed on the outside, his filth would be removed, his soul would be cleansed, and he would be liberated when he departs. ||2|| Even beasts have value, as they eat grass and give milk. Without the Naam, the mortal's life is cursed, as are the actions he performs. ||3|| The Lord is hear at hand - do not think that He is far away. He always cherishes us, and remembers us. Whatever He gives us, we eat; says Nanak, He is the True Lord. ||4||1|| Goojaree, First Mehl: From the lotus of Vishnu's navel, Brahma was born; He chanted the Vedas with a melodious voice. He could not find the Lord's limits, and he remained in the darkness of coming and going. ||1|| Why should I forget my Beloved? He is the support of my very breath of life. The perfect beings perform devotional worship to Him. The silent sages serve Him through the Guru's Teachings. ||1||Pause|| His lamps are the sun and the moon; the One Light of the Destroyer of ego fills the three worlds. One who becomes Gurmukh remains immaculately pure, day and night, while the self-willed manmukh is enveloped by the darkness of night. ||2|| The Siddhas in Samaadhi are continually in conflict; what can they see with their two eyes? One who has the Divine Light within his heart, and is awakened to the melody of the Word of the Shabad - the True Guru settles his conflicts. ||3|| O Lord of angels and men, infinite and unborn, Your True Mansion is incomparable. Nanak merges imperceptibly into the Life of the world; shower Your mercy upon him, and save him. ||4||2||

Section 09 - Raag Goojaree - Part 002

Raag Goojaree, Third Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Cursed is that life, in which the Lord's Love is not obtained. Cursed is that occupation, in which the Lord is forgotten, and one becomes attached to duality. ||1|| Serve such a True Guru, O my mind, that by serving Him, God's Love may be produced, and all others may be forgotten. Your consciousness shall remain attached to the Lord; there shall be no fear of old age, and the supreme status shall be obtained. ||1||Pause|| A divine peace wells up from God's Love; behold, it comes from devotional worship. When my identity consumed my identical identity, then my mind became immaculately pure, and my light was blended with the Divine Light. ||2|| Without good fortune, such a True Guru cannot be found, no matter how much all may yearn for Him. If the veil of falsehood is removed from within, then lasting peace is obtained. ||3|| O Nanak, what service can the servant perform for such a True Guru? He should offer his life, his very soul, to the Guru. If he focuses his consciousness on the Will of the True Guru, then the True Guru Himself will bless him. ||4||1||3|| Goojaree, Third Mehl: Serve the Lord; do not serve anyone else. Serving the Lord, you shall obtain the fruits of your heart's desires; serving another, your life shall pass away in vain. ||1|| The Lord is my Love, the Lord is my way of life, the Lord is my speech and conversation. By Guru's Grace, my mind is saturated with the Lord's Love; this is what makes up my service. ||1||Pause|| The Lord is my Simritees, the Lord is my Shaastras; the Lord is my relative and the Lord is my brother. I am hungry for the Lord; my mind is satisfied with the Name of the Lord. The Lord is my relation, my helper in the end. ||2|| Without the Lord, other assets are false. They do not go with the mortal when he departs. The Lord is my wealth, which shall go with me; wherever I go, it will go. ||3|| One who is attached to falsehood is false; false are the deeds he does. Says Nanak, everything happens according to the Will of the Lord; no one has any say in this at all. ||4||2||4|| Goojaree, Third Mehl: It is so difficult to obtain the Naam, the Name of the Lord, in this age; only the Gurmukh obtains it. Without the Name, no one is liberated; let anyone make other efforts, and see. ||1|| I am a sacrifice to my Guru; I am forever a sacrifice to Him. Meeting the True Guru, the Lord comes to dwell in the mind, and one remains absorbed in Him. ||1||Pause|| When God instills His fear, a balanced detachment springs up in the mind. Through this detachment, the Lord is obtained, and one remains absorbed in the Lord. ||2|| He alone is liberated, who conquers his mind; Maya does not stick to him again. He dwells in the Tenth Gate, and obtains the understanding of the three worlds. ||3|| O Nanak, through the Guru, one becomes the Guru; behold, His Wondrous Will.

Section 09 - Raag Goojaree - Part 003

This deed was done by the Creator Lord; one's light merges into the Light. ||4||3||5|| Goojaree, Third Mehl: Everyone chants the Lord's Name, Raam, Raam; but by such chanting, the Lord is not obtained. By Guru's Grace, the Lord comes to dwell in the mind, and then, the fruits are obtained. ||1|| One who enshrines love for God within his mind, never forgets the Lord; he continually chants the Lord's Name, Har, Har, in his conscious mind. ||1||Pause|| Those whose hearts are filled with hypocrisy, who are called saints only for their outward show - their desires are never satisfied, and they depart grieving in the end. ||2|| Although one may bathe at many places of pilgrimage, still, his ego never departs. That man, whose sense of duality does not depart - the Righteous Judge of Dharma shall punish him. ||3|| That humble being, unto whom God showers His Mercy, obtains Him; how few are the Gurmukhs who understand Him. O Nanak, if one conquers his ego within, then he comes to meet the Lord. ||4||4||6|| Goojaree, Third Mehl: That humble being who eliminates his ego is at peace; he is blessed with an ever-stable intellect. That humble being is immaculately pure, who, as Gurmukh, understands the Lord, and focuses his consciousness on the Lord's Feet. ||1|| O my unconscious mind, remain conscious of the Lord, and you shall obtain the fruits of your desires. By Guru's Grace, you shall obtain the sublime elixir of the Lord; by continually drinking it in, you shall have eternal peace. ||1||Pause|| When one meets the True Guru, he becomes the philosopher's stone, with the ability to transform others, inspiring them to worship the Lord. One who worships the Lord in adoration, obtains his rewards; instructing others, he reveals the Truth. ||2|| Without becoming the philosopher's stone, he does not inspire others to worship the Lord; without instructing his own mind, how can he instruct others? The ignorant, blind man calls himself the guru, but to whom can he show the way? ||3|| O Nanak, without His Mercy, nothing can be obtained. One upon whom He casts His Glance of Grace, obtains Him. By Guru's Grace, God bestows greatness, and projects the Word of His Shabad. ||4||5||7|| Goojaree, Third Mehl, Panch-Padas: Wisdom is not produced in Benares, nor is wisdom lost in Benares. Meeting the True Guru, wisdom is produced, and then, one obtains this understanding. ||1|| Listen to the sermon of the Lord, O mind, and enshrine the Shabad of His Word within your mind. If your intellect remains stable and steady, then doubt shall depart from within you. ||1||Pause|| Enshrine the Lord's lotus feet within your heart, and your sins shall be erased. If your soul overcomes the five elements, then you shall come to have a home at the true place of pilgrimage. ||2|| This mind of the self-centred manmukh is so stupid; it does not obtain any understanding at all. It does not understand the Name of the Lord; it departs repenting in the end. ||3|| In this mind are found Benares, all sacred shrines of pilgrimage and the Shaastras; the True Guru has explained this. The sixty-eight places of pilgrimage remain with one, whose heart is filled with the Lord. ||4|| O Nanak, upon meeting the True Guru, the Order of the Lord's Will is understood, and the One Lord comes to dwell in the mind. Those who are pleasing to You, O True Lord, are true. They remain absorbed in You. ||5||6||8||

Section 09 - Raag Goojaree - Part 004

Goojaree, Third Mehl: The One Name is the treasure, O Pandit. Listen to these True Teachings. No matter what you read in duality, reading and contemplating it, you shall only continue to suffer. ||1|| So grasp the Lord's lotus feet; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, you shall come to understand. With your tongue, taste the sublime elixir of the Lord, and your mind shall be rendered immaculately pure. ||1||Pause|| Meeting the True Guru, the mind becomes content, and then, hunger and desire will not trouble you any longer. Obtaining the treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, one does not go knocking at other doors. ||2|| The self-willed manmukh babbles on and on, but he does not understand. One whose heart is illumined, by Guru's Teachings, obtains the Name of the Lord. ||3|| You may listen to the Shaastras, but you do not understand, and so you wander from door to door. He is a fool, who does not understand his own self, and who does not enshrine love for the True Lord. ||4|| The True Lord has fooled the world - no one has any say in this at all. O Nanak, He does whatever He pleases, according to His Will. ||5||7||9|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Raag Goojaree, Fourth Mehl, Chau-Padas, First House: O Servant of the Lord, O True Guru, O True Primal Being, I offer my prayers to You, O Guru. I am an insect and a worm; O True Guru, I seek Your Sanctuary; please, be merciful and bestow upon me the Light of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1|| O my Best Friend, O Divine Guru, please illuminate me with the Light of the Lord. By Guru's Instructions, the Naam is my breath of life, and the Praise of the Lord is my occupation. ||1||Pause|| The Lord's servants have the greatest good fortune; they have faith in the Lord, Har, Har, and a thirst for the Lord. Obtaining the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, they are satisfied; joining the Company of the Holy, their virtues shine forth. ||2|| Those who have not obtained the essence of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, are most unfortunate; they are taken away by the Messenger of Death. Those who have not sought the Sanctuary of the True Guru and the Company of the Holy - cursed are their lives, and cursed are their hopes of life. ||3|| Those humble servants of the Lord, who have obtained the Company of the True Guru, have such pre-ordained destiny written on their foreheads. Blessed, blessed is the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, where the sublime essence of the Lord is obtained. Meeting with His humble servant, O Nanak, the Naam shines forth. ||4||1|| Goojaree, Fourth Mehl: The Lord, the Lord of the Universe is the Beloved of the minds of those who join the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. The Shabad of His Word fascinates their minds. Chant, and meditate on the Lord, the Lord of the Universe; God is the One who gives gifts to all. ||1|| O my Siblings of Destiny, the Lord of the Universe, Govind, Govind, Govind, has enticed and fascinated my mind. I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe, Govind, Govind, Govind; joining the Holy Society of the Guru, Your humble servant is beautified. ||1||Pause|| Devotional worship to the Lord is an ocean of peace; through the Guru's Teachings, wealth, prosperity and the spiritual powers of the Siddhas fall at our feet. The Lord's Name is the Support of His humble servant; he chants the Lord's Name, and with the Lord's Name he is adorned. ||2||

Section 09 - Raag Goojaree - Part 005

Evil-minded, unfortunate and shallow-minded are those who feel anger in their minds, when they hear the Naam, the Name of the Lord. You may place ambrosial nectar before crows and ravens, but they will be satisfied only by eating manure and dung with their mouths. ||3|| The True Guru, the Speaker of Truth, is the pool of Ambrosial Nectar; bathing within it, the crow becomes a swan. O Nanak, blessed, blessed and very fortunate are those who, through the Guru's Teachings, with the Naam, wash away the filth of their hearts. ||4||2|| Goojaree, Fourth Mehl: The humble servants of the Lord are exalted, and exalted is their speech. With their mouths, they speak for the benefit of others. Those who listen to them with faith and devotion, are blessed by the Lord; showering His Mercy, He saves them. ||1|| Lord, please, let me meet the beloved servants of the Lord. The True Guru, the Perfect Guru, is my Beloved, my very breath of life; the Guru has saved me, the sinner. ||1||Pause|| The Gurmukhs are fortunate, so very fortunate; their Support is the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. They obtain the Ambrosial Nectar of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har; through the Guru's Teachings, they obtain this treasure-house of devotional worship. ||2|| Those who do not obtain the Blessed Vision of the Darshan of the True Guru, the True Primal Being, are most unfortunate; they are destroyed by the Messenger of Death. They are like dogs, pigs and jackasses; they are cast into the womb of reincarnation, and the Lord strikes them down as the worst of murderers. ||3|| O Lord, Kind to the poor, please shower Your mercy upon Your humble servant, and save him. Servant Nanak has entered the Lord's Sanctuary; if it pleases You, Lord, please save him. ||4||3|| Goojaree, Fourth Mehl: Be Merciful and attune my mind, so that I might meditate continually on the Lord's Name, night and day. The Lord is all peace, all virtue and all wealth; remembering Him, all misery and hunger depart. ||1|| O my mind, the Lord's Name is my companion and brother. Under Guru's Instruction, I sing the Praises of the Lord's Name; it shall be my help and support in the end, and it shall deliver me in the Court of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| You Yourself are the Giver, O God, Inner-knower, Searcher of hearts; by Your Grace, You have infused longing for You in my mind. My mind and body long for the Lord; God has fulfilled my longing. I have entered the Sanctuary of the True Guru. ||2|| Human birth is obtained through good actions; without the Name, it is cursed, totally cursed, and it passes away in vain. Without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, one obtains only suffering for his delicacies to eat. His mouth is insipid, and his face is spat upon, again and again. ||3|| Those humble beings, who have entered the Sanctuary of the Lord God, Har, Har, are blessed with glory

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in the Court of the Lord, Har, Har. Blessed, blessed and congratulations, says God to His humble servant. O servant Nanak, He embraces him, and blends him with Himself. ||4||4|| Goojaree, Fourth Mehl: O Gurmukhs, O my friends and companions, give me the gift of the Lord's Name, the life of my very life. I am the slave, the servant of the Guru's Sikhs, who meditate on the Lord God, the Primal Being, night and day. ||1|| Within my mind and body, I have enshrined love for the feet of the Guru's Sikhs. O my life-mates, O Sikhs of the Guru, O Siblings of Destiny, instruct me in the Teachings, that I might merge in the Lord's Merger. ||1||Pause||

Section 09 - Raag Goojaree - Part 006

When it pleases the Lord God, he causes us to meet the Gurmukhs; the Hymns of the Guru, the True Guru, are very sweet to their minds. Very fortunate are the beloved Sikhs of the Guru; through the Lord, they attain the supreme state of Nirvaanaa. ||2|| The Sat Sangat, the True Congregation of the Guru, is loved by the Lord. The Naam, the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is sweet and pleasing to their minds. One who does not obtain the Association of the True Guru, is a most unfortunate sinner; he is consumed by the Messenger of Death. ||3|| If God, the Kind Master, Himself shows His kindness, then the Lord causes the Gurmukh to merge into Himself. Servant Nanak chants the Glorious Words of the Guru's Bani; through them, one is absorbed into the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||4||5|| Goojaree, Fourth Mehl: One who has found the Lord God through the True Guru, has made the Lord seem so sweet to me, through the His Teachings. My mind and body have been cooled and soothed, and totally rejuvenated; by great good fortune, I meditate on the Name of the Lord. ||1|| O Siblings of Destiny, let anyone who can implant the Lord's Name within me, come and meet with me. Unto my Beloved, I give my mind and body, and my very breath of life. He speaks to me of the sermon of my Lord God. ||1||Pause|| Through the Guru's Teachings, I have obtained courage, faith and the Lord. He keeps my mind focused continually on the Lord, and the Name of the Lord. The Words of the True Guru's Teachings are Ambrosial Nectar; this Amrit trickles into the mouth of the one who chants them. ||2|| Immaculate is the Naam, which cannot be stained by filth. Through the Guru's Teachings, chant the Naam with love. That man who has not found the wealth of the Naam is most unfortunate; he dies over and over again. ||3|| The source of bliss, the Life of the world, the Great Giver brings bliss to all who meditate on the Lord. You are the Great Giver, all beings belong to You. O servant Nanak, You forgive the Gurmukhs, and merge them into Yourself. ||4||6|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Goojaree, Fourth Mehl, Third House: Mother, father and sons are all made by the Lord; the relationships of all are established by the Lord. ||1|| I have given up all my strength, O my brother. The mind and body belong to the Lord, and the human body is entirely under His control. ||1||Pause|| The Lord Himself infuses devotion into His humble devotees. In the midst of family life, they remain unattached. ||2|| When inner love is established with the Lord, then whatever one does, is pleasing to my Lord God. ||3|| I do those deeds and tasks which the Lord has set me to; I do that which He makes me to do. ||4|| Those whose devotional worship is pleasing to my God - O Nanak, those humble beings centre their minds lovingly on the Lord's Name. ||5||1||7||16||

Section 09 - Raag Goojaree - Part 007

Goojaree, Fifth Mehl, Chau-Padas, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Why, O mind, do you contrive your schemes, when the Dear Lord Himself provides for your care? From rocks and stones, He created the living beings, and He places before them their sustenance. ||1|| O my Dear Lord of Souls, one who meets with the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, is saved. By Guru's Grace, he obtains the supreme status, and the dry branch blossoms forth in greenery. ||1||Pause|| Mother, father, friends, children, and spouse - no one is the support of any other. For each and every individual, the Lord and Master provides sustenance; why do you fear, O my mind? ||2|| The flamingoes fly hundreds of miles, leaving their young ones behind. Who feeds them, and who teaches them to feed themselves? Have you ever thought of this in your mind? ||3|| All treasures and the eighteen supernatural spiritual powers of the Siddhas are held by the Lord and Master in the palm of His hand. Servant Nanak is devoted, dedicated, and forever a sacrifice to You - Your vast expanse has no limit. ||4||1|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl, Chau-Padas, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: They perform the four rituals and six religious rites; the world is engrossed in these. They are not cleansed of the filth of their ego within; without the Guru, they lose the game of life. ||1|| O my Lord and Master, please, grant Your Grace and preserve me. Out of millions, hardly anyone is a servant of the Lord. All the others are mere traders. ||1||Pause|| I have searched all the Shaastras, the Vedas and the Simritees, and they all affirm one thing: without the Guru, no one obtains liberation; see, and reflect upon this in your mind. ||2|| Even if one takes cleansing baths at the sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage, and wanders over the whole planet, and performs all the rituals of purification day and night, still, without the True Guru, there is only darkness. ||3|| Roaming and wandering around, I have travelled over the whole world, and now, I have arrived at the Lord's Door. The Lord has eliminated my evil-mindedness, and enlightened my intellect; O servant Nanak, the Gurmukhs are saved. ||4||1||2|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl: The wealth of the Lord is my chanting, the wealth of the Lord is my deep meditation; the wealth of the Lord is the food I enjoy. I do not forget the Lord, Har, Har, from my mind, even for an instant; I have found Him in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||1|| O mother, your son has returned home with a profit: the wealth of the Lord while walking, the wealth of the Lord while sitting, and the wealth of the Lord while waking and sleeping. ||1||Pause|| The wealth of the Lord is my cleansing bath, the wealth of the Lord is my wisdom; I centre my meditation on the Lord. The wealth of the Lord is my raft, the wealth of the Lord is my boat; the Lord, Har, Har, is the ship to carry me across. ||2||

Section 09 - Raag Goojaree - Part 008

Through the wealth of the Lord, I have forgotten my anxiety; through the wealth of the Lord, my doubt has been dispelled. From the wealth of the Lord, I have obtained the nine treasures; the true essence of the Lord has come into my hands. ||3|| No matter how much I eat and expend this wealth, it is not exhausted; here and hereafter, it remains with me. Loading the treasure, Guru Nanak has given it, and this mind is imbued with the Lord's Love. ||4||2||3|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl: Remembering Him, all sins are erased, and ones generations are saved. So meditate continually on the Lord, Har, Har; He has no end or limitation. ||1|| O son, this is your mother's hope and prayer, that you may never forget the Lord, Har, Har, even for an instant. May you ever vibrate upon the Lord of the Universe. ||1||Pause|| May the True Guru be kind to you, and may you love the Society of the Saints. May the preservation of your honour by the Transcendent Lord be your clothes, and may the singing of His Praises be your food. ||2|| So drink in forever the Ambrosial Nectar; may you live long, and may the meditative remembrance of the Lord give you infinite delight. May joy and pleasure be yours; may your hopes be fulfilled, and may you never be troubled by worries. ||3|| Let this mind of yours be the bumble bee, and let the Lord's feet be the lotus flower. Says servant Nanak, attach your mind to them, and blossom forth like the song-bird, upon finding the rain-drop. ||4||3||4|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl: He decides to go to the west, but the Lord leads him away to the east. In an instant, He establishes and disestablishes; He holds all matters in His hands. ||1|| Cleverness is of no use at all. Whatever my Lord and Master deems to be right - that alone comes to pass. ||1||Pause|| In his desire to acquire land and accumulate wealth, one's breath escapes him. He must leave all his armies, assistants and servants; rising up, he departs to the City of Death. ||2|| Believing himself to be unique, he clings to his stubborn mind, and shows himself off. That food, which the blameless people have condemned and discarded, he eats again and again. ||3|| One, unto whom the Lord shows His natural mercy, has the noose of Death cut away from him. Says Nanak, one who meets the Perfect Guru, is celebrated as a householder as well as a renunciate. ||4||4||5|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl: Those humble beings who chant the treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, have their bonds broken. Sexual desirer, anger, the poison of Maya and egotism - they are rid of these afflictions. ||1|| One who joins the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, and chants the Praises of the Lord, has his mind purified, by Guru's Grace, and he obtains the joy of all joys. ||1||Pause|| Whatever the Lord does, he sees that as good; such is the devotional service he performs. He sees friends and enemies as all the same; this is the sign of the Way of Yoga. ||2|| The all-pervading Lord is fully filling all places; why should I go anywhere else? He is permeating and pervading within each and every heart; I am immersed in His Love, dyed in the colour of His Love. ||3|| When the Lord of the Universe becomes kind and compassionate, then one enters the home of the Fearless Lord.

Section 09 - Raag Goojaree - Part 009

His troubles and worries are ended in an instant; O Nanak, he merges in celestial peace. ||4||5||6|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl: Whoever I approach to ask for help, I find him full of his own troubles. One who worships in his heart the Supreme Lord God, crosses over the terrifying world-ocean. ||1|| No one, except the Guru-Lord, can dispel our pain and sorrow. Forsaking God, and serving another, one's honour, dignity and reputation are decreased. ||1||Pause|| Relatives, relations and family bound through Maya are of no avail. The Lord's servant, although of lowly birth, is exalted. Associating with him, one obtains the fruits of his mind's desires. ||2|| Through corruption, one may obtain thousands and millions of enjoyments, but even so, his desires are not satisfied through them. Remembering the Naam, the Name of the Lord, millions of lights appear, and the incomprehensible is understood. ||3|| Wandering and roaming around, I have come to Your Door, Destroyer of fear, O Lord King. Servant Nanak yearns for the dust of the feet of the Holy; in it, he finds peace. ||4||6||7|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl, Panch-Pada, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: First, he came to dwell in his mother's womb; leaving it, he came into the world. Splendid mansions, beautiful gardens and palaces - none of these shall go with him. ||1|| All other greeds of the greedy are false. The Perfect Guru has given me the Name of the Lord, which my soul has come to treasure. ||1||Pause|| Surrounded by dear friends, relatives, children, siblings and spouse, he laughs playfully. But when the very last moment arrives, Death seizes him, while they merely look on. ||2|| By continual oppression and exploitation, he accumulates wealth, gold, silver and money, but the load-bearer gets only paltry wages, while the rest of the money passes on to others. ||3|| He grabs and collects horses, elephants and chariots, and claims them as his own. But when he sets out on the long journey, they will not go even one step with him. ||4|| The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is my wealth; the Naam is my princely pleasure; the Naam is my family and helper. The Guru has given Nanak the wealth of the Naam; it neither perishes, nor comes or goes. ||5||1||8|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl, Ti-Padas, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: My sorrows are ended, and I am filled with peace. The fire of desire within me has been quenched. The True Guru has implanted the treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, within me; it neither dies, nor goes anywhere. ||1|| Meditating on the Lord, the bonds of Maya are cut away. When my God becomes kind and compassionate, one joins the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, and is emancipated. ||1||Pause||

Section 09 - Raag Goojaree - Part 010

Twenty-four hours a day, he sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord, absorbed in loving devotional worship. He remains unaffected by both fortune and misfortune, and he recognises the Creator Lord. ||2|| The Lord saves those who belong to Him, and all pathways are opened to them. Says Nanak, the value of the Merciful Lord God cannot be described. ||3||1||9|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl, Du-Padas, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The Lord has sanctified the sinners and made them His own; all bow in reverence to Him. No one asks about their ancestry and social status; instead, they yearn for the dust of their feet. ||1|| O Lord Master, such is Your Name. You are called the Lord of all creation; You give Your unique support to Your servant. ||1||Pause|| In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, Nanak has obtained understanding; singing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises is his only support. The Lord's servants, Naam Dayv, Trilochan, Kabeer and Ravi Daas the shoe-maker have been liberated. ||2||1||10|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl: No one understands the Lord; who can understand His plans? Shiva, Brahma and all the silent sages cannot understand the state of the Lord. ||1|| God's sermon is profound and unfathomable. He is heard to be one thing, but He is understood to be something else again; He is beyond description and explanation. ||1||Pause|| He Himself is the devotee, and He Himself is the Lord and Master; He is imbued with Himself. Nanak's God is pervading and permeating everywhere; wherever he looks, He is there. ||2||2||11|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl: The humble servant of the Lord has no plans, politics or other clever tricks. Whenever the occasion arises, there, he meditates on the Lord. ||1|| It is the very nature of God to love His devotees; He cherishes His servant, and caresses him as His own child. ||1||Pause|| The Lord's servant sings the Kirtan of His Praises as his worship, deep meditation, self-discipline and religious observances. Nanak has entered the Sanctuary of his Lord and Master, and has received the blessings of fearlessness and peace. ||2||3||12|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl: Worship the Lord in adoration, day and night, O my dear - do not delay for a moment. Serve the Saints with loving faith, and set aside your pride and stubbornness. ||1|| The fascinating, playful Lord is my very breath of life and honour. He abides in my heart; beholding His playful games, my mind is fascinated. ||1||Pause|| Remembering Him, my mind is in bliss, and the rust of my mind is removed. The great honour of meeting the Lord cannot be described; O Nanak, it is infinite, beyond measure. ||2||4||13|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl: They call themselves silent sages, Yogis and scholars of the Shaastras, but Maya has has them all under her control. The three gods, and the 330,000,000 demi-gods, were astonished. ||1||

Section 09 - Raag Goojaree - Part 011

The power of Maya is pervading everywhere. Her secret is known only by Guru's Grace - no one else knows it. ||1||Pause|| Conquering and conquering, she has conquered everywhere, and she clings to the whole world. Says Nanak, she surrenders to the Holy Saint; becoming his servant, she falls at his feet. ||2||5||14|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl: With my palms pressed together, I offer my prayer, meditating on my Lord and Master. Giving me His hand, the Transcendent Lord has saved me, and erased all my sins. ||1|| The Lord and Master Himself has become merciful. I have been emancipated,

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the embodiment of bliss; I am the child of the Lord of the Universe - He has carried me across. ||1||Pause|| Meeting her Husband, the soul-bride sings the songs of joy, and celebrates her Lord and Master. Says Nanak, I am a sacrifice to the Guru, who has emancipated everyone. ||2||6||15|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl: Mother, father, siblings, children and relatives - their power is insignificant. I have seen the many pleasures of Maya, but none goes with them in the end. ||1|| O Lord Master, other than You, no one is mine. I am a worthless orphan, devoid of merit; I long for Your Support. ||1||Pause|| I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice to Your lotus feet; here and hereafter, Yours is the only power. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, Nanak has obtained the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan; my obligations to all others are annulled. ||2||7||16|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl: He rids us of entanglements, doubt and emotional attachment, and leads us to love God. He implants this instruction in our minds, for us to sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, in peace and poise. ||1|| O friend, the Saintly Guru is such a helper. Meeting Him, the bonds of Maya are released, and one never forgets the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Practicing, practicing various actions in so many ways, I came to recognise this as the best way. Joining the Company of the Holy, Nanak sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and crosses over the terrifying world-ocean. ||2||8||17|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl: In an instant, He establishes and disestablishes; His value cannot be described. He turns the king into a beggar in an instant, and He infuses splendor into the lowly. ||1|| Meditate forever on Your Lord. Why should I feel worry or anxiety, when I am here for only a short time. ||1||Pause|| You are my support, O my Perfect True Guru; my mind has taken to the protection of Your Sanctuary. Nanak, I am a foolish and ignorant child; reach out to me with Your hand, Lord, and save me. ||2||9||18|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl: You are the Giver of all beings; please, come to dwell within my mind. That heart, within which Your lotus feet are enshrined, suffers no darkness or doubt. ||1|| O Lord Master, wherever I remember You, there I find You. Show Mercy to me, O God, Cherisher of all, that I may sing Your Praises forever. ||1||Pause|| With each and every breath, I contemplate Your Name; O God, I long for You alone. O Nanak, my support is the Creator Lord; I have renounced all other hopes. ||2||10||19||

Section 09 - Raag Goojaree - Part 012

Goojaree, Fifth Mehl: Show Mercy to me, and grant me the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. I sing Your Praises night and day. With my hair, I wash the feet of Your slave; this is my life's purpose. ||1|| O Lord and Master, without You, there is no other at all. O Lord, in my mind I remain conscious of You; with my tongue I worship You, and with my eyes, I gaze upon You. ||1||Pause|| O Merciful Lord, O Lord and Master of all, with my palms pressed together I pray to You. Nanak, Your slave, chants Your Name, and is redeemed in the twinkling of an eye. ||2||11||20|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl: Overwhelming the realm of Brahma, the realm of Shiva and the realm of Indra, Maya has come running here. But she cannot touch the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; she washes and massages their feet. ||1|| Now, I have come and entered the Lord's Sanctuary. This awful fire has burned so many; the True Guru has cautioned me about it. ||1||Pause|| It clings to the necks of the Siddhas, and the seekers, the demi-gods, angels and mortals. Servant Nanak has the support of God the Creator, who has millions of slaves like her. ||2||12||21|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl: His bad reputation is erased, he is acclaimed all over the world, and he obtains a seat in the Court of the Lord. The fear of death is removed in an instant, and he goes to the Lord's House in peace and bliss. ||1|| His works do not go in vain. Twenty-four hours a day, remember your God in meditation; meditate on Him continually in your mind and body. ||1||Pause|| I seek Your Sanctuary, O Destroyer of the pains of the poor; whatever You give me, God, that is what I receive. Nanak is imbued with the love of Your lotus feet; O Lord, please preserve the honour of Your slave. ||2||13||22|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl: The all-sustaining Lord is the Giver of all beings; His devotional worship is an overflowing treasure. Service to Him is not wasted; in an instant, He emancipates. ||1|| O my mind, immerse yourself in the Lord's lotus feet. Seek from Him, who is worshipped by all beings. ||1||Pause|| Nanak has entered Your Sanctuary, O Creator Lord; You, O God, are the support of my breath of life. He who is protected by You, O Helper Lord - what can the world do to him? ||2||14||23|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl: The Lord Himself has protected the honour of His humble servant. The Guru has given the medicine of the Lord's Name, Har, Har, and all afflictions are gone. ||1||Pause|| The Transcendent Lord, in His Mercy, has preserved Har Gobind. The disease is over, and there is joy all around; we ever contemplate the Glories of God. ||1|| My Creator Lord has made me His own; such is the glorious greatness of the Perfect Guru. Guru Nanak laid the immovable foundation, which grows higher and higher each day. ||2||15||24|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl: You never focused your consciousness on the Lord.

Section 09 - Raag Goojaree - Part 013

You have spent your life engaged in worldly pursuits; you have not sung the Glorious Praises of the treasure of the Naam. ||1||Pause|| Shell by shell, you accumulate money; in various ways, you work for this. Forgetting God, you suffer awful pain beyond measure, and you are consumed by the Great Enticer, Maya. ||1|| Show Mercy to me, O my Lord and Master, and do not hold me to account for my actions. O merciful and compassionate Lord God, ocean of peace, Nanak has taken to Your Sanctuary, Lord. ||2||16||25|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl: With your tongue, chant the Lord's Name, Raam, Raam. Renounce other false occupations, and vibrate forever on the Lord God. ||1||Pause|| The One Name is the support of His devotees; in this world, and in the world hereafter, it is their anchor and support. In His mercy and kindness, the Guru has given me the divine wisdom of God, and a discriminating intellect. ||1|| The all-powerful Lord is the Creator, the Cause of causes; He is the Master of wealth - I seek His Sanctuary. Liberation and worldly success come from the dust of the feet of the Holy Saints; Nanak has obtained the Lord's treasure. ||2||17||26|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl, Fourth House, Chau-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Give up all your clever tricks, and seek the Sanctuary of the Holy Saint. Sing the Glorious Praises of the Supreme Lord God, the Transcendent Lord. ||1|| O my consciousness, contemplate and adore the Lotus Feet of the Lord. You shall obtain total peace and salvation, and all troubles shall depart. ||1||Pause|| Mother, father, children, friends and siblings - without the Lord, none of them are real. Here and hereafter, He is the companion of the soul; He is pervading everywhere. ||2|| Millions of plans, tricks, and efforts are of no use, and serve no purpose. In the Sanctuary of the Holy, one becomes immaculate and pure, and obtains salvation, through the Name of God. ||3|| God is profound and merciful, lofty and exalted; He gives Sanctuary to the Holy. He alone obtains the Lord, O Nanak, who is blessed with such pre-ordained destiny to meet Him. ||4||1||27|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl: Serve your Guru forever, and chant the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe. With each and every breath, worship the Lord, Har, Har, in adoration, and the anxiety of your mind will be dispelled. ||1|| O my mind, chant the Name of God. You shall be blessed with peace, poise and pleasure, and you shall find the immaculate place. ||1||Pause|| In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, redeem your mind, and adore the Lord, twenty-four hours a day. Sexual desire, anger and egotism will be dispelled, and all troubles shall end. ||2|| The Lord Master is immovable, immortal and inscrutable; seek His Sanctuary. Worship in adoration the lotus feet of the Lord in your heart, and centre your consciousness lovingly on Him alone. ||3|| The Supreme Lord God has shown mercy to me, and He Himself has forgiven me. The Lord has given me His Name, the treasure of peace; O Nanak, meditate on that God. ||4||2||28|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl: By Guru's Grace, I meditate on God, and my doubts are gone.

Section 09 - Raag Goojaree - Part 014

Pain, ignorance and fear have left me, and my sins have been dispelled. ||1|| My mind is filled with love for the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Meeting the Holy Saint, under His Instruction, I meditate on the Lord of the Universe, in the most immaculate way. ||1||Pause|| Chanting, deep meditation and various rituals are contained in the fruitful meditative remembrance of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Showing His Mercy, the Lord Himself has protected me, and all my works have been brought to fruition. ||2|| With each and every breath, may I never forget You, O God, Almighty Lord and Master. How can my tongue describe Your countless virtues? They are uncountable, and forever indescribable. ||3|| You are the Remover of the pains of the poor, the Savior, the Compassionate Lord, the Bestower of Mercy. Remembering the Naam in meditation, the state of eternal dignity is obtained; Nanak has grasped the protection of the Lord, Har, Har. ||4||3||29|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl: Intellectual egotism and great love for Maya are the most serious chronic diseases. The Lord's Name is the medicine, which is potent to cure everything. The Guru has given me the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1|| My mind and body yearn for the dust of the Lord's humble servants. With it, the sins of millions of incarnations are obliterated. O Lord of the Universe, please fulfill my desire. ||1||Pause|| In the beginning, in the middle, and in the end, one is hounded by dreadful desires. Through the Guru's spiritual wisdom, we sing the Kirtan of the Praises of the Lord of the Universe, and the noose of death is cut away. ||2|| Those who are cheated by sexual desire, anger, greed and emotional attachment suffer reincarnation forever. By loving devotional worship to God, and meditative remembrance of the Lord of the World, one's wandering in reincarnation is ended. ||3|| Friends, children, spouses and well-wishers are burnt by the three fevers. Chanting the Name of the Lord, Raam, Raam, one's miseries are ended, as one meets the Saintly servants of the Lord. ||4|| Wandering around in all directions, they cry out, "Nothing can save us!" Nanak has entered the Sanctuary of the Lotus Feet of the Infinite Lord; he holds fast to their Support. ||5||4||30|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl, Fourth House, Du-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Worship and adore the Lord of wealth, the fulfilling vision, the Almighty Cause of causes. Uttering His Praises, and hearing of His infinite glory, you shall never suffer separation from Him again. ||1|| O my mind, worship the Lord's Lotus Feet. Meditating in remembrance, strife and sorrow are ended, and the noose of the Messenger of Death is snapped. ||1||Pause|| Chant the Name of the Lord, and your enemies shall be consumed; there is no other way. Show Mercy, O my God, and bestow upon Nanak the taste of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||2||1||31|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl: You are the Almighty Lord, the Giver of Sanctuary, the Destroyer of pain, the King of happiness. Troubles depart, and fear and doubt are dispelled, singing the Glorious Praises of the Immaculate Lord God. ||1|| O Lord of the Universe, without You, there is no other place. Show Mercy to me, O Supreme Lord Master, that I may chant Your Name. ||Pause|| Serving the True Guru, I am attached to the Lord's Lotus Feet; by great good fortune, I have embraced love for Him.

Section 09 - Raag Goojaree - Part 015

My heart lotus blossoms forth in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; I have renounced evil-mindedness and intellectualism. ||2|| One who sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord, twenty-four hours a day, and remembers the Lord in meditation, who is Kind to the poor, saves himself, and redeems all his generations; all of his bonds are released. ||3|| I take the Support of Your Feet, O God, O Lord and Master; you are with me through and through, God. Nanak has entered Your Sanctuary, God; giving him His hand, the Lord has protected him. ||4||2||32|| Goojaree, Ashtapadees, First Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: In the one village of the body, live the five thieves; they have been warned, but they still go out stealing. One who keeps his assets safe from the three modes and the ten passions, O Nanak, attains liberation and emancipation. ||1|| Centre your mind on the all-pervading Lord, the Wearer of garlands of the jungles. Let your rosary be the chanting of the Lord's Name in your heart. ||1||Pause|| Its roots extend upwards, and its branches reach down; the four Vedas are attached to it. He alone reaches this tree with ease, O Nanak, who remains wakeful in the Love of the Supreme Lord God. ||2|| The Elysian Tree is the courtyard of my house; in it are the flowers, leaves and stems of reality. Meditate on the self-existent, immaculate Lord, whose Light is pervading everywhere; renounce all your worldly entanglements. ||3|| Listen, O seekers of Truth - Nanak begs you to renounce the traps of Maya. Reflect within your mind, that by enshrining love for the One Lord, you shall not be subject to birth and death again. ||4|| He alone is said to be a Guru, he alone is said to be a Sikh, and he alone is said to be a physician, who knows the patient's illness. He is not affected by actions, responsibilities and entanglements; in the entanglements of his household, he maintains the detachment of Yoga. ||5|| He renounces sexual desire, anger, egotism, greed, attachment and Maya. Within his mind, he meditates on the reality of the Imperishable Lord; by Guru's Grace he finds Him. ||6|| Spiritual wisdom and meditation are all said to be God's gifts; all of the demons are turned white before him. He enjoys the taste of the honey of God's lotus; he remains awake, and does not fall asleep. ||7|| This lotus is very deep; its leaves are the nether regions, and it is connected to the whole universe. Under Guru's Instruction, I shall not have to enter the womb again; I have renounced the poison of corruption, and I drink in the Ambrosial Nectar. ||8||1|| Goojaree, First Mehl: Those who beg of God the Great Giver - their numbers cannot be counted. You, Almighty True Lord, fulfill the desires within their hearts. ||1|| O Dear Lord, chanting, deep meditation, self-discipline and truth are my foundations. Bless me with Your Name, Lord, that I may find peace. Your devotional worship is a treasure over-flowing. ||1||Pause|| Some remain absorbed in Samaadhi, their minds fixed lovingly on the One Lord; they reflect only on the Word of the Shabad. In that state, there is no water, land, earth or sky; only the Creator Lord Himself exists. ||2|| There is no intoxication of Maya there, and no shadow, nor the infinite light of the sun or the moon. The eyes within the mind which see everything - with one glance, they see the three worlds. ||3||

Section 09 - Raag Goojaree - Part 016

He created air, water and fire, Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva - the whole creation. All are beggars; You alone are the Great Giver, God. You give Your gifts according to Your own considerations. ||4|| Three hundred thirty million gods beg of God the Master; even as He gives, His treasures are never exhausted. Nothing can be contained in a vessel turned upside-down; Ambrosial Nectar pours into the upright one. ||5|| The Siddhas in Samaadhi beg for wealth and miracles, and proclaim His victory. As is the thirst within their minds, so is the water which You give to them. ||6|| The most fortunate ones serve their Guru; there is no difference between the Divine Guru and the Lord. The Messenger of Death

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cannot see those who come to realise within their minds the contemplative meditation of the Word of the Shabad. ||7|| I shall never ask anything else of the Lord; please, bless me with the Love of Your Immaculate Name. Nanak, the song-bird, begs for the Ambrosial Water; O Lord, shower Your Mercy upon him, and bless him with Your Praise. ||8||2|| Goojaree, First Mehl: O Dear One, he is born, and then dies; he continues coming and going; without the Guru, he is not emancipated. Those mortals who become Gurmukhs are attuned to the Naam, the Name of the Lord; through the Name, they obtain salvation and honour. ||1|| O Siblings of Destiny, focus your consciousness lovingly on the Lord's Name. By Guru's Grace, one begs of the Lord God; such is the glorious greatness of the Naam. ||1||Pause|| O Dear One, so many wear various religious robes, for begging and filling their bellies. Without devotional worship to the Lord, O mortal, there can be no peace. Without the Guru, pride does not depart. ||2|| O Dear One, death hangs constantly over his head. Incarnation after incarnation, it is his enemy. Those who are attuned to the True Word of the Shabad are saved. The True Guru has imparted this understanding. ||3|| In the Guru's Sanctuary, the Messenger of Death cannot see the mortal, or torture him. I am imbued with the Imperishable and Immaculate Lord Master, and lovingly attached to the Fearless Lord. ||4|| O Dear One, implant the Naam within me; lovingly attached to the Naam, I lean on the True Guru's Support. Whatever pleases Him, He does; no one can erase His actions. ||5|| O Dear One, I have hurried to the Sanctuary of the Guru; I have no love for any other except You. I constantly call upon the One Lord; since the very beginning, and throughout the ages, He has been my help and support. ||6|| O Dear One, please preserve the Honour of Your Name; I am hand and glove with You. Bless me with Your Mercy, and reveal to me the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan, O Guru. Through the Word of the Shabad, I have burnt away my ego. ||7|| O Dear One, what should I ask of You? Nothing appears permanent; whoever comes into this world shall depart. Bless Nanak with the wealth of the Naam, to adorn his heart and neck. ||8||3|| Goojaree, First Mehl: O Dear One, I am not high or low or in the middle. I am the Lord's slave, and I seek the Lord's Sanctuary. Imbued with the Naam, the Name of the Lord, I am detached from the world; I have forgotten sorrow, separation and disease. ||1|| O Siblings of Destiny, by Guru's Grace, I perform devotional worship to my Lord and Master.

Section 09 - Raag Goojaree - Part 017

One whose heart is filled with the Hymns of the True Guru, obtains the Pure Lord. He is not under the power of the Messenger of Death, nor does he owe Death anything. ||1||Pause|| He chants the Glorious Praises of the Lord with his tongue, and abides with God; he does whatever pleases the Lord. Without the Lord's Name, life passes in vain in the world, and every moment is useless. ||2|| The false have no place of rest, either inside or outside; the slanderer does not find salvation. Even if one is resentful, God does not withhold His blessings; day by day, they increase. ||3|| No one can take away the Guru's gifts; my Lord and Master Himself has given them. The black-faced slanderers, with slander in their mouths, do not appreciate the Guru's gifts. ||4|| God forgives and blends with Himself those who take to His Sanctuary; He does not delay for an instant. He is the source of bliss, the Greatest Lord; through the True Guru, we are united in His Union. ||5|| Through His Kindness, the Kind Lord pervades us; through Guru's Teachings, our wanderings cease. Touching the philosopher's stone, metal is transformed into gold. Such is the glorious greatness of the Society of the Saints. ||6|| The Lord is the immaculate water; the mind is the bather, and the True Guru is the bath attendant, O Siblings of Destiny. That humble being who joins the Sat Sangat shall not be consigned to reincarnation again; his light merges into the Light. ||7|| You are the Great Primal Lord, the infinite tree of life; I am a bird perched on Your branches. Grant to Nanak the Immaculate Naam; throughout the ages, he sings the Praises of the Shabad. ||8||4|| Goojaree, First Mehl, Fourth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The devotees worship the Lord in loving adoration. They thirst for the True Lord, with infinite affection. They tearfully beg and implore the Lord; in love and affection, their consciousness is at peace. ||1|| Chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord, O my mind, and take to His Sanctuary. The Lord's Name is the boat to cross over the world-ocean. Practice such a way of life. ||1||Pause|| O mind, even death wishes you well, when you remember the Lord through the Word of the Guru's Shabad. The intellect receives the treasure, the knowledge of reality and supreme bliss, by repeating the Lord's Name in the mind. ||2|| The fickle consciousness wanders around chasing after wealth; it is intoxicated with worldly love and emotional attachment. Devotion to the Naam is permanently implanted within the mind, when it is attuned to the Guru's Teachings and His Shabad. ||3|| Wandering around, doubt is not dispelled; afflicted by reincarnation, the world is being ruined. The Lord's eternal throne is free of this affliction; he is truly wise, who takes the Naam as his deep meditation. ||4|| This world is engrossed in attachment and transitory love; it suffers the terrible pains of birth and death. Run to the Sanctuary of the True Guru, chant the Lord's Name in your heart, and you shall swim across. ||5|| Following the Guru's Teaching, the mind becomes stable; the mind accepts it, and reflects upon it in peaceful poise. That mind is pure, which enshrines Truth within, and the most excellent jewel of spiritual wisdom. ||6|| By the Fear of God, and Love of God, and by devotion, man crosses over the terrifying world-ocean, focusing his consciousness on the Lord's Lotus Feet.

Section 09 - Raag Goojaree - Part 018

The Name of the Lord, the most pure and sacred, is within my heart; this body is Your Sanctuary, Lord. ||7|| The waves of greed and avarice are subdued, by treasuring the Lord's Name in the mind. Subdue my mind, O Pure Immaculate Lord; says Nanak, I have entered Your Sanctuary. ||8||1||5|| Goojaree, Third Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I dance, and make this mind dance as well. By Guru's Grace, I eliminate my self-conceit. One who keeps his consciousness focused on the Lord is liberated; he obtains the fruits of his desires. ||1|| So dance, O mind, before your Guru. If you dance according to the Guru's Will, you shall obtain peace, and in the end, the fear of death shall leave you. ||Pause|| One whom the Lord Himself causes to dance, is called a devotee. He Himself links us to His Love. He Himself sings, He Himself listens, and He puts this blind mind on the right path. ||2|| One who dances night and day, and banishes Shakti's Maya, enters the House of the Lord Shiva, where there is no sleep. The world is asleep in Maya, the house of Shakti; it dances, jumps and sings in duality. The self-willed manmukh has no devotion. ||3|| The angels, mortals, renunciates, ritualists, silent sages and beings of spiritual wisdom dance. The Siddhas and seekers, lovingly focused on the Lord, dance, as do the Gurmukhs, whose minds dwell in reflective meditation. ||4|| The planets and solar systems dance in the three qualities, as do those who bear love for You, Lord. The beings and creatures all dance, and the four sources of creation dance. ||5|| They alone dance, who are pleasing to You, and who, as Gurmukhs, embrace love for the Word of the Shabad. They are devotees, with the essence of spiritual wisdom, who obey the Hukam of His Command. ||6|| This is devotional worship, that one loves the True Lord; without service, one cannot be a devotee. If one remains dead while yet alive, he reflects upon the Shabad, and then, he obtains the True Lord. ||7|| So many people dance for the sake of Maya; how rare are those who contemplate reality. By Guru's Grace, that humble being obtains You, Lord, upon whom You show Mercy. ||8|| If I forget the True Lord, even for an instant, that time passes in vain. With each and every breath, constantly remember the Lord; He Himself shall forgive you, according to His Will. ||9|| They alone dance, who are pleasing to Your Will, and who, as Gurmukhs, contemplate the Word of the Shabad. Says Nanak, they alone find celestial peace, whom You bless with Your Grace. ||10||1||6|| Goojaree, Fourth Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Without the Lord, my soul cannot survive, like an infant without milk. The inaccessible and incomprehensible Lord God is obtained by the Gurmukh; I am a sacrifice to my True Guru. ||1|| O my mind, the Kirtan of the Lord's Praise is a boat to carry you across. The Gurmukhs obtain the Ambrosial Water of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. You bless them with Your Grace. ||Pause||

Section 09 - Raag Goojaree - Part 019

Sanak, Sanandan and Naarad the sage serve You; night and day, they continue to chant Your Name, O Lord of the jungle. Slave Prahlaad sought Your Sanctuary, and You saved his honour. ||2|| The One unseen immaculate Lord is pervading everywhere, as is the Light of the Lord. All are beggars, You alone are the Great Giver. Reaching out our hands, we beg from You. ||3|| The speech of the humble devotees is sublime; they sing continually the wondrous, Unspoken Speech of the Lord. Their lives become fruitful; they save themselves, and all their generations. ||4|| The self-willed manmukhs are engrossed in duality and evil-mindedness; within them is the darkness of attachment. They do not love the sermon of the humble Saints, and they are drowned along with their families. ||5|| By slandering, the slanderer washes the filth off others; he is an eater of filth, and a worshipper of Maya. He indulges in the slander of the humble Saints; he is neither on this shore, nor the shore beyond. ||6|| All this worldly drama is set in motion by the Creator Lord; He has infused His almighty strength into all. The thread of the One Lord runs through the world; when He pulls out this thread, the One Creator alone remains. ||7|| With their tongues, they sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and savor Them. They place the sublime essence of the Lord upon their tongues, and savor it. O Nanak, other than the Lord, I ask for nothing else; I am in love with the Love of the Lord's sublime essence. ||8||1||7|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Among kings, You are called the King. Among land-lords, You are the Land-lord. Among masters, You are the Master. Among tribes, Yours is the Supreme Tribe. ||1|| My Father is wealthy, deep and profound. What praises should I chant, O Creator Lord? Beholding You, I am wonder-struck. ||1||Pause|| Among the peaceful, You are called the Peaceful One. Among givers, You are the Greatest Giver. Among the glorious, You are said to be the Most Glorious. Among revellers, You are the Reveller. ||2|| Among warriors, You are called the Warrior. Among indulgers, You are the Indulger. Among householders, You are the Great Householder. Among yogis, You are the Yogi. ||3|| Among creators, You are called the Creator. Among the cultured, You are the Cultured One. Among bankers, You are the True Banker. Among merchants, You are the Merchant. ||4|| Among courts, Yours is the Court. Yours is the Most Sublime of Sanctuaries. The extent of Your wealth cannot be determined. Your Coins cannot be counted. ||5|| Among names, Your Name, God, is the most respected. Among the wise, You are the Wisest. Among ways, Yours, God, is the Best Way. Among purifying baths, Yours is the Most Purifying. ||6|| Among spiritual powers, Yours, O God, are the Spiritual Powers. Among actions, Yours are the Greatest Actions. Among wills, Your Will, God, is the Supreme Will. Of commands, Yours is the Supreme Command. ||7||

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As You cause me to speak, so do I speak, O Lord Master. What other power do I have? In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, O Nanak, sing His Praises; they are so very dear to God. ||8||1||8|| Goojaree, Fifth Mehl, Fourth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O Lord, Man-lion Incarnate, Companion to the poor, Divine Purifier of sinners; O Destroyer of fear and dread, Merciful Lord Master, Treasure of Excellence, fruitful is Your service. ||1|| O Lord, Cherisher of the World, Guru-Lord of the Universe. I seek the Sanctuary of Your Feet, O Merciful Lord. Carry me across the terrifying world-ocean. ||1||Pause|| O Dispeller of sexual desire and anger, Eliminator of intoxication and attachment, Destroyer of ego, Honey of the mind; set me free from birth and death, O Sustainer of the earth, and preserve my honour, O Embodiment of supreme bliss. ||2|| The many waves of desire for Maya are burnt away, when the Guru's spiritual wisdom is enshrined in the heart, through the Guru's Mantra. Destroy my egotism, O Merciful Lord; dispel my anxiety, O Infinite Primal Lord. ||3|| Remember in meditation the Almighty Lord, every moment and every instant; meditate on God in the celestial peace of Samaadhi. O Merciful to the meek, perfectly blissful Lord, I beg for the dust of the feet of the Holy. ||4|| Emotional attachment is false, desire is filthy, and longing is corrupt. Please, preserve my faith, dispel these doubts from my mind, and save me, O Formless Lord. ||5|| They have become wealthy, loaded with the treasures of the Lord's riches; they were lacking even clothes. The idiotic, foolish and senseless people have become virtuous and patient, receiving the Gracious Glance of the Lord of wealth. ||6|| Become Jivan-Mukta, liberated while yet alive, by meditating on the Lord of the Universe, O mind, and maintaining faith in Him in your heart. Show kindness and mercy to all beings, and realise that the Lord is pervading everywhere; this is the way of life of the enlightened soul, the supreme swan. ||7|| He grants the Blessed Vision of His Darshan to those who listen to His Praises, and who, with their tongues, chant His Name. They are part and parcel, life and limb with the Lord God; O Nanak, they feel the Touch of God, the Savior of sinners. ||8||1||2||5||1||1||2||57|| Goojaree Ki Vaar, Third Mehl, Sung In The Tune Of The Vaar Of Sikandar & Biraahim: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Shalok, Third Mehl: This world perishing in attachment and possessiveness; no one knows the way of life. One who walks in harmony with the Guru's Will, obtains the supreme status of life. Those humble beings who focus their consciousness on the Lord's Feet, live forever and ever. O Nanak, by His Grace, the Lord abides in the minds of the Gurmukhs, who merge in celestial bliss. ||1|| Third Mehl: Within the self is the pain of doubt; engrossed in worldly affairs, they are killing themselves. Asleep in the love of duality, they never wake up; they are in love with, and attached to Maya. They do not think of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and they do not contemplate the Word of the Shabad. This is the conduct of the self-willed manmukhs.

Section 09 - Raag Goojaree - Part 021

They do not obtain the Lord's Name, and they waste away their lives in vain; O Nanak, the Messenger of Death punishes and dishonours them. ||2|| Pauree: He created Himself - at that time, there was no other. He consulted Himself for advice, and what He did came to pass. At that time, there were no Akaashic Ethers, no nether regions, nor the three worlds. At that time, only the Formless Lord Himself existed - there was no creation. As it pleased Him, so did He act; without Him, there was no other. ||1|| Shalok, Third Mehl: My Master is eternal. He is seen by practicing the Word of the Shabad. He never perishes; He does not come or go in reincarnation. So serve Him, forever and ever; He is contained in all. Why serve another who is born, and then dies? Fruitless is the life of

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those who do not know their Lord and Master, and who centre their consciousness on others. O Nanak, it cannot be known, how much punishment the Creator shall inflict on them. ||1|| Third Mehl: Meditate on the True Name; the True Lord is pervading everywhere. O Nanak, by understanding the Hukam of the Lord's Command, one becomes acceptable, and then obtains the fruit of Truth. He wanders around babbling and speaking, but he does not understand the Lord's Command at all. He is blind, the falsest of the false. ||2|| Pauree: Creating union and separation, He laid the foundations of the Universe. By His Command, the Lord of Light fashioned the Universe, and infused His Divine Light into it. From the Lord of Light, all light originates. The True Guru proclaims the Word of the Shabad. Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, under the influence of the three dispositions, were put to their tasks. He created the root of Maya, and the peace obtained in the fourth state of consciousness. ||2|| Shalok, Third Mehl: That alone is chanting, and that alone is deep meditation, which is pleasing to the True Guru. Pleasing the True Guru, glorious greatness is obtained. O Nanak, renouncing self-conceit, one merges into the Guru. ||1|| Third Mehl: How rare are those who receive the Guru's Teachings. O Nanak, he alone receives it, whom the Lord Himself blesses with glorious greatness. ||2|| Pauree: Emotional attachment to Maya is spiritual darkness; it is very difficult and such a heavy load. Loaded with so very many stones of sin, how can the boat cross over? Those who are attuned to the Lord's devotional worship night and day are carried across. Under the Instruction of the Guru's Shabad, one sheds egotism and corruption, and the mind becomes immaculate. Meditate on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har; the Lord, Har, Har, is our Saving Grace. ||3|| Shalok: O Kabeer, the gate of liberation is narrow, less than one-tenth of a mustard seed. The mind has become as big as an elephant; how can it pass through this gate? If one meets such a True Guru, by His Pleasure, He shows His Mercy. Then, the gate of liberation becomes wide open, and the soul easily passes through. ||1|| Third Mehl: O Nanak, the gate of liberation is very narrow; only the very tiny can pass through. Through egotism, the mind has become bloated. How can it pass through? Meeting the True Guru, egotism departs, and one is filled with the Divine Light.

Section 09 - Raag Goojaree - Part 022

Then, this soul is liberated forever, and it remains absorbed in celestial bliss. ||2|| Pauree: God created the Universe, and He keeps it under His power. God cannot be obtained by counting; the mortal wanders in doubt. Meeting the True Guru, one remains dead while yet alive; understanding Him, he is absorbed in the Truth. Through the Word of the Shabad, egotism is eradicated, and one is united in the Lord's Union. He knows everything, and Himself does everything; beholding His Creation, He rejoices. ||4|| Shalok, Third Mehl: One who has not focused his consciousness on the True Guru, and into whose mind the Naam does not come - cursed is such a life. What has he gained by coming into the world? Maya is false capital; in an instant, its false covering falls off. When it slips from his hand, his body turns black, and his face withers away. Those who focus their consciousness on the True Guru - peace comes to abide in their minds. They meditate on the Name of the Lord with love; they are lovingly attuned to the Name of the Lord. O Nanak, the True Guru has bestowed upon them the wealth, which remains contained within their hearts. They are imbued with supreme love; its colour increases day by day. ||1|| Third Mehl: Maya is a serpent, clinging to the world. Whoever serves her, she ultimately devours. The Gurmukh is a snake-charmer; he has trampled her and thrown her down, and crushed her underfoot. O Nanak, they alone are saved, who remain lovingly absorbed in the True Lord. ||2|| Pauree: The minstrel cries out, and God hears him. He is comforted within his mind, and he obtains the Perfect Lord. Whatever destiny is pre-ordained by the Lord, those are the deeds he does. When the Lord and Master becomes Merciful, then one obtains the Mansion of the Lord's Presence as his home. That God of mine is so very great; as Gurmukh, I have met Him. ||5|| Shalok, Third Mehl: There is One Lord God of all; He remains ever-present. O Nanak, if one does not obey the Hukam of the Lord's Command, then within one's own home, the Lord seems far away. They alone obey the Lord's Command, upon whom He casts His Glance of Grace. Obeying His Command, one obtains peace, and becomes the happy, loving soul-bride. ||1|| Third Mehl: She who does not love her Husband Lord, burns and wastes away all through the night of her life. O Nanak, the soul-brides dwell in peace; they have the Lord, their King, as their Husband. ||2|| Pauree: Roaming over the entire world, I have seen that the Lord is the only Giver. The Lord cannot be obtained by any device at all; He is the Architect of Karma. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the Lord comes to dwell in the mind, and the Lord is easily revealed within. The fire of desire within is quenched, and one bathes in the Lord's Pool of Ambrosial Nectar. The great greatness of the great Lord God - the Gurmukh speaks of this. ||6|| Shalok, Third Mehl: What love is this between the body and soul, which ends when the body falls? Why feed it by telling lies? When you leave, it does not go with you.

Section 09 - Raag Goojaree - Part 023

The body is merely blind dust; go, and ask the soul. The soul answers, "I am enticed by Maya, and so I come and go, again and again." O Nanak, I do not know my Lord and Master's Command, by which I would merge in the Truth. ||1|| Third Mehl: The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is the only permanent wealth; all other wealth comes and goes. Thieves cannot steal this wealth, nor can robbers take it away. This wealth of the Lord is embedded in the soul, and with the soul, it shall depart. It is obtained from the Perfect Guru; the self-willed manmukhs do not receive it. Blessed are the traders, O Nanak, who have come to earn the wealth of the Naam. ||2|| Pauree: My Master is so very great, true, profound and unfathomable. The whole world is under His power; everything is the projection of Him. By Guru's Grace, the eternal wealth is obtained, bringing peace and patience to the mind. By His Grace, the Lord dwells in the mind, and one meets the Brave Guru. The virtuous praise the ever-stable, permanent, perfect Lord. ||7|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Cursed is the life of those who forsake and throw away the peace of the Lord's Name, and suffer pain instead by practicing ego and sin. The ignorant self-willed manmukhs are engrossed in the love of Maya; they have no understanding at all. In this world and in the world beyond, they do not find peace; in the end, they depart regretting and repenting. By Guru's Grace, one may meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and egotism departs from within him. O Nanak, one who has such pre-ordained destiny, comes and falls at the Guru's Feet. ||1|| Third Mehl: The self-willed manmukh is like the inverted lotus; he has neither devotional worship, nor the Lord's Name. He remains engrossed in material wealth, and his efforts are false. His consciousness is not softened within, and the words from his mouth are insipid. He does not mingle with the righteous; within him are falsehood and selfishness. O Nanak, the Creator Lord has arranged things, so that the self-willed manmukhs are drowned by telling lies, while the Gurmukhs are saved by chanting the Lord's Name. ||2|| Pauree: Without understanding, one must wander around the cycle of reincarnation, and continue coming and going. One who has not served the True Guru, shall depart regretting and repenting in the end. But if the Lord shows His Mercy, one finds the Guru, and ego is banished from within. Hunger and thirst depart from within, and peace comes to dwell in the mind. Forever and ever, praise Him with love in your heart. ||8|| Shalok, Third Mehl: One who serves his True Guru, is worshipped by everyone. Of all efforts, the supreme effort is the attainment of the Lord's Name. Peace and tranquility come to dwell within the mind; meditating within the heart, there comes a lasting peace. The Ambrosial Amrit is his food, and the Ambrosial Amrit is his clothes; O Nanak, through the Naam, the Name of the Lord, greatness is obtained. ||1|| Third Mehl: O mind, listen to the Guru's Teachings, and you shall obtain the treasure of virtue.

Section 09 - Raag Goojaree - Part 024

The Lord, the Giver of peace, shall dwell in your mind, and your egotism and pride shall depart. O Nanak, when the Lord bestows His Glance of Grace, then, night and day, one centres his meditation on the Lord. ||2|| Pauree: The Gurmukh is totally truthful, content and pure. Deception and wickedness have departed from within him, and he easily conquers his mind. There, the Divine Light and the essence of bliss are manifest, and ignorance is eliminated. Night and day, he sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and manifests the excellence of the Lord. The One Lord is the Giver of all; the Lord alone is our friend. ||9|| Shalok, Third Mehl: One who understands God, who lovingly centres his mind on the Lord night and day, is called a Brahmin. Consulting the True Guru, he practices Truth and self-restraint, and he is rid of the disease of ego. He sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and gathers in His Praises; his light is blended with the Light. In this world, one who knows God is very rare; eradicating ego, he is absorbed in God. O Nanak, meeting him, peace is obtained; night and day, he meditates on the Lord's Name. ||1|| Third Mehl: Within the ignorant self-willed manmukh is deception; with his tongue, he speaks lies. Practicing deception, he does not please the Lord God, who always sees and hears with natural ease. In the love of duality, he goes to instruct the world, but he is engrossed in the poison of Maya and attachment to pleasure. By doing so, he suffers in constant pain; he is born and then dies, and comes and goes again and again. His doubts do not leave him at all, and he rots away in manure. One, unto whom my Lord Master shows His Mercy, listens to the Guru's Teachings. He meditates on the Lord's Name, and sings the Lord's Name; in the end, the Lord's Name will deliver him. ||2|| Pauree: Those who obey the Hukam of the Lord's Command, are the perfect persons in the world. They serve their Lord Master, and reflect upon the Perfect Word of the Shabad. They serve the Lord, and love the True Word of the Shabad. They attain the Mansion of the Lord's Presence, as they eradicate egotism from within. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs remain united with Him, chanting the Name of the Lord, and enshrining it within their hearts. ||10|| Shalok, Third Mehl: The Gurmukh meditates on the Lord; the celestial sound-current resounds within him, and he focuses his consciousness on the True Name. The Gurmukh remains imbued with the Lord's Love, night and day; his mind is pleased with the Name of the Lord. The Gurmukh beholds the Lord, the Gurmukh speaks of the Lord, and the Gurmukh naturally loves the Lord. O Nanak, the Gurmukh attains spiritual wisdom, and the pitch-black darkness of ignorance is dispelled. One who is blessed by the Perfect Lord's Grace - as Gurmukh, he meditates on the Lord's Name. ||1|| Third Mehl: Those who do not serve the True Guru do not embrace love for the Word of the Shabad. They do not meditate on the Celestial Naam, the Name of the Lord - why did they even bother to come into the world? Time and time again, they are reincarnated, and they rot away forever in manure. They are attached to false greed; they are not on this shore, nor on the one beyond.

Section 09 - Raag Goojaree - Part 025

O Nanak, the Gurmukhs are saved; the Creator Lord unites them with Himself. ||2|| Pauree: The devotees look beauteous in the True Court of the Lord; they abide in the True Word of the Shabad. The Lord's Love wells up in them; they are attracted by the Lord's Love. They abide in the Lord's Love, they remain imbued with the Lord's Love forever, and with their tongues, they drink in the sublime essence of the Lord. Fruitful are the lives of those Gurmukhs who recognise the Lord and enshrine Him in their hearts. Without the Guru, they wander around crying out in misery; in the love of duality, they are ruined. ||11|| Shalok, Third Mehl: In the Dark Age of Kali Yuga, the devotees earn the treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord; they obtain the supreme status of the Lord. Serving the True Guru, they enshrine the Lord's Name in their minds, and they meditate on the Naam, night and day. Within the home of their own selves, they remain unattached, through the Guru's Teachings; they burn away egotism and emotional attachment. They save themselves, and they save the whole world. Blessed are the mothers who gave birth to them. He alone finds such a True Guru, upon whose forehead the Lord inscribed such pre-ordained destiny. Servant Nanak is a sacrifice to his Guru; when he was wandering in doubt, He placed him on the Path. ||1|| Third Mehl: Beholding Maya with her three dispositions, he goes astray; he is like the moth, which sees the flame, and is consumed. The mistaken, deluded Pandits gaze upon Maya, and watch to see whether anyone has offered them something. In the love of duality, they read continually about sin, while the Lord has withheld His Name from them. The Yogis, the wandering hermits and the Sannyaasees have gone astray; their egotism and arrogance have increased greatly. They do not accept the true donations of clothes and food, and their lives are ruined by their stubborn minds. Among these, he alone is a man of poise, who, as Gurmukh, meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Unto whom should servant Nanak speak and complain? All act as the Lord causes them to act. ||2|| Pauree: Emotional attachment to Maya, sexual desire, anger and egotism are demons. Because of them, mortals are subject to death; above their heads hangs the heavy club of the Messenger of Death. The self-willed manmukhs, in love with duality, are led onto the path of Death. In the City of Death, they are tied up and beaten, and no one hears their cries. One who is blessed by the Lord's Grace meets the Guru; as Gurmukh, he is emancipated. ||12|| Shalok, Third Mehl: By egotism and pride, the self-willed manmukhs are enticed, and consumed. Those who centre their consciousness on duality are caught in it, and remain stuck. But when it is burnt away by the Word of the Guru's Shabad, only then does it depart from within. The body and mind become radiant and bright, and the Naam, the Name of the Lord, comes to dwell within the mind. O Nanak, the Lord's Name is the antidote to Maya; the Gurmukh obtains it. ||1|| Third Mehl: This mind has wandered through so many ages; it has not remained stable - it continues coming and going. When it is pleasing to the Lord's Will, then He causes the soul to wander; He has set the world-drama in motion. When the Lord forgives, then one meets the Guru, and becoming stable, he remains absorbed in the Lord.

Section 09 - Raag Goojaree - Part 026

O Nanak, through the mind, the mind is satisfied, and then, nothing comes or goes. ||2|| Pauree: The body is the fortress of the Infinite Lord; it is obtained only by destiny. The Lord Himself dwells within the body; He Himself is the Enjoyer of pleasures. He Himself remains detached and unaffected; while unattached, He is still attached. He does whatever He pleases, and whatever He does, comes to pass. The Gurmukh meditates on the Lord's Name, and separation from the Lord is ended. ||13|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Waaho! Waaho! The Lord Himself causes us to praise Him, through the True Word of the Guru's Shabad. Waaho! Waaho! is His Eulogy and Praise; how rare are the Gurmukhs who understand this. Waaho! Waaho! is the True Word of His Bani, by which we meet our True Lord.

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O Nanak, chanting Waaho! Waaho! God is attained; by His Grace, He is obtained. ||1|| Third Mehl: Chanting Waaho! Waaho! the tongue is adorned with the Word of the Shabad. Through the Perfect Shabad, one comes to meet God. How very fortunate are those, who with their mouths, chant Waaho! Waaho! How beautiful are those persons who chant Waaho! Waaho! ; people come to venerate them. Waaho! Waaho! is obtained by His Grace; O Nanak, honour is obtained at the Gate of the True Lord. ||2|| Pauree: Within the fortress of body, are the hard and rigid doors of falsehood, deception and pride. Deluded by doubt, the blind and ignorant self-willed manmukhs cannot see them. They cannot be found by any efforts; wearing their religious robes, the wearers have grown weary of trying. The doors are opened only by the Word of the Guru's Shabad, and then, one chants the Name of the Lord. The Dear Lord is the Tree of Ambrosial Nectar; those who drink in this Nectar are satisfied. ||14|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Chanting Waaho! Waaho! the night of one's life passes in peace. Chanting Waaho! Waaho! I am in eternal bliss, O my mother! Chanting Waaho! Waaho!, I have fallen in love with the Lord. Waaho! Waaho! Through the karma of good deeds, I chant it, and inspire others to chant it as well. Chanting Waaho! Waaho!, one obtains honour. O Nanak, Waaho! Waaho! is the Will of the True Lord. ||1|| Third Mehl: Waaho! Waaho! is the Bani of the True Word. Searching, the Gurmukhs have found it. Waaho! Waaho! They chant the Word of the Shabad. Waaho! Waaho! They enshrine it in their hearts. Chanting Waaho! Waaho! the Gurmukhs easily obtain the Lord, after searching. O Nanak, very fortunate are those who reflect upon the Lord, Har, Har, within their hearts. ||2|| Pauree: O my utterly greedy mind, you are constantly engrossed in greed. In your desire for the enticing Maya, you wander in the ten directions. Your name and social status shall not go with you hereafter; the self-willed manmukh is consumed by pain. Your tongue does not taste the sublime essence of the Lord; it utters only insipid words. Those Gurmukhs who drink in the Ambrosial Nectar are satisfied. ||15|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Chant Waaho! Waaho! to the Lord, who is True, profound and unfathomable. Chant Waaho! Waaho! to the Lord, who is the Giver of virtue, intelligence and patience.

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Chant Waaho! Waaho! to the Lord, who is permeating and pervading in all. Chant Waaho! Waaho! to the Lord, who is the Giver of sustenance to all. O Nanak, Waaho! Waaho! - praise the One Lord, revealed by the True Guru. ||1|| Third Mehl: Waaho! Waaho! The Gurmukhs praise the Lord continually, while the self-willed manmukhs eat poison and die. They have no love for the Lord's Praises, and they pass their lives in misery. The Gurmukhs drink in the Ambrosial Nectar, and they centre their consciousness on the Lord's Praises. O Nanak, those who chant Waaho! Waaho! are immaculate and pure; they obtain the knowledge of the three worlds. ||2|| Pauree: By the Lord's Will, one meets the Guru, serves Him, and worships the Lord. By the Lord's Will, the Lord comes to dwell in the mind, and one easily drinks in the sublime essence of the Lord. By the Lord's Will, one finds peace, and continually earns the Lord's Profit. He is seated on the Lord's throne, and he dwells continually in the home of his own being. He alone surrenders to the Lord's Will, who meets the Guru. ||16|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Waaho! Waaho! Those humble beings ever praise the Lord, unto whom the Lord Himself grants understanding. Chanting Waaho! Waaho!, the mind is purified, and egotism departs from within. The Gurmukh who continually chants Waaho! Waaho! attains the fruits of his heart's desires. Beauteous are those humble beings who chant Waaho! Waaho! O Lord, let me join them! Within my heart, I chant Waaho! Waaho!, and with my mouth, Waaho! Waaho! O Nanak, those who chant Waaho! Waaho! - unto them I dedicate my body and mind. ||1|| Third Mehl: Waaho! Waaho! is the True Lord Master; His Name is Ambrosial Nectar. Those who serve the Lord are blessed with the fruit; I am a sacrifice to them. Waaho! Waaho! is the treasure of virtue; he alone tastes it, who is so blessed. Waaho! Waaho! The Lord is pervading and permeating the oceans and the land; the Gurmukh attains Him. Waaho! Waaho! Let all the Gursikhs continually praise Him. Waaho! Waaho! The Perfect Guru is pleased with His Praises. O Nanak, one who chants Waaho! Waaho! with his heart and mind - the Messenger of Death does not approach him. ||2|| Pauree: The Dear Lord is the Truest of the True; True is the Word of the Guru's Bani. Through the True Guru, the Truth is realised, and one is easily absorbed in the True Lord. Night and day, they remain awake, and do not sleep; in wakefulness, the night of their lives passes. Those who taste the sublime essence of the Lord, through the Guru's Teachings, are the most worthy persons. Without the Guru, no one has obtained the Lord; the ignorant rot away and die. ||17|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Waaho! Waaho! is the Bani, the Word, of the Formless Lord. There is no other as great as He is. Waaho! Waaho! The Lord is unfathomable and inaccessible. Waaho! Waaho! He is the True One. Waaho! Waaho! He is the self-existent Lord. Waaho! Waaho! As He wills, so it comes to pass. Waaho! Waaho! is the Ambrosial Nectar of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, obtained by the Gurmukh. Waaho! Waaho! This is realised by His Grace, as He Himself grants His Grace.

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O Nanak, Waaho! Waaho! This is obtained by the Gurmukhs, who hold tight to the Naam, night and day. ||1|| Third Mehl: Without serving the True Guru, peace is not obtained, and the sense of duality does not depart. No matter how much one may wish, without the Lord's Grace, He is not found. Those who are filled with greed and corruption are ruined by the love of duality. They cannot escape birth and death, and with egotism within them, they suffer in misery. Those who centre their consciousness on the True Guru, never go empty-handed. They are not summoned by the Messenger of Death, and they do not suffer in pain. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs are saved; they merge in the True Lord. ||2|| Pauree: He alone is called a minstrel, who enshrines love for his Lord and Master. Standing at the Lord's Door, he serves the Lord, and reflects upon the Word of the Guru's Shabad. The minstrel attains the Lord's Gate and Mansion, and he keeps the True Lord clasped to his heart. The status of the minstrel is exalted; he loves the Name of the Lord. The service of the minstrel is to meditate on the Lord; he is emancipated by the Lord. ||18|| Shalok, Third Mehl: The milkmaid's status is very low, but she attains her Husband Lord when she reflects upon the Word of the Guru's Shabad, and chants the Lord's Name, night and day. She who meets the True Guru, lives in the Fear of God; she is a woman of noble birth. She alone realises the Hukam of her Husband Lord's Command, who is blessed by the Creator Lord's Mercy. She who is of little merit and ill-mannered, is discarded and forsaken by her Husband Lord. By the Fear of God, filth is washed off, and the body becomes immaculately pure. The soul is enlightened, and the intellect is exalted, meditating on the Lord, the ocean of excellence. One who dwells in the Fear of God, lives in the Fear of God, and acts in the Fear of God. He obtains peace and glorious greatness here, in the Lord's Court, and at the Gate of Salvation. Through the Fear of God, the Fearless Lord is obtained, and one's light merges in the Infinite Light. O Nanak, that bride alone is good, who is pleasing to her Lord and Master, and whom the Creator Lord Himself forgives. ||1|| Third Mehl: Praise the Lord, forever and ever, and make yourself a sacrifice to the True Lord. O Nanak, let that tongue be burnt, which renounces the One Lord, and attaches itself to another. ||2|| Pauree: From a single particle of His greatness, He created His incarnations, but they indulged in the love of duality. They ruled like kings, and fought for pleasure and pain. Those who serve Shiva and Brahma do not find the limits of the Lord. The Fearless, Formless Lord is unseen and invisible; He is revealed only to the Gurmukh. There, one does not suffer sorrow or separation; he becomes stable and immortal in the world. ||19|| Shalok, Third Mehl: All these things come and go, all these things of the world. One who knows this written account is acceptable and approved. O Nanak, anyone who takes pride in himself is foolish and unwise. ||1|| Third Mehl: The mind is the elephant, the Guru is the elephant-driver, and knowledge is the whip. Wherever the Guru drives the mind, it goes. O Nanak, without the whip, the elephant wanders into the wilderness, again and again. ||2|| Pauree: I offer my prayer to the One, from whom I was created.

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Serving my True Guru, I have obtained all the fruits. I meditate continually on the Ambrosial Name of the Lord. In the Society of the Saints, I am rid of my pain and suffering. O Nanak, I have become care-free; I have obtained the imperishable wealth of the Lord. ||20|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Raising the embankments of the mind's field, I gaze at the heavenly mansion. When devotion comes to the mind of the soul-bride, she is visited by the friendly guest. O clouds, if you are going to rain, then go ahead and rain; why rain after the season has passed? Nanak is a sacrifice to those Gurmukhs who obtain the Lord in their minds. ||1|| Third Mehl: That which is pleasing is sweet, and one who is sincere is a friend. O Nanak, he is known as a Gurmukh, whom the Lord Himself enlightens. ||2|| Pauree: O God, Your humble servant offers his prayer to You; You are my True Master. You are my Protector, forever and ever; I meditate on You. All the beings and creatures are Yours; You are pervading and permeating in them. One who slanders Your slave is crushed and destroyed. Falling at Your Feet, Nanak has renounced his cares, and has become care-free. ||21|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Building up its hopes, the world dies, but its hopes do not die or depart. O Nanak, hopes are fulfilled only by attaching one's consciousness to the True Lord. ||1|| Third Mehl: Hopes and desires shall die only when He, who created them, takes them away. O Nanak, nothing is permanent, except the Name of the Lord. ||2|| Pauree: He Himself created the world, with His perfect workmanship. He Himself is the true banker, He Himself is the merchant, and He Himself is the store. He Himself is the ocean, He Himself is the boat, and He Himself is the boatman. He Himself is the Guru, He Himself is the disciple, and He Himself shows the destination. O servant Nanak, meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and all your sins shall be eradicated. ||22||1||SUDH|| Raag Goojaree, Vaar, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Shalok, Fifth Mehl: Deep within yourself, worship the Guru in adoration, and with your tongue, chant the Guru's Name. Let your eyes behold the True Guru, and let your ears hear the Guru's Name. Attuned to the True Guru, you shall receive a place of honour in the Court of the Lord. Says Nanak, this treasure is bestowed on those who are blessed with His Mercy. In the midst of the world, they are known as the most pious - they are rare indeed. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: O Savior Lord, save us and take us across. Falling at the feet of the Guru, our works are embellished with perfection. You have become kind, merciful and compassionate; we do not forget You from our minds. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, we are carried across the terrifying world-ocean. In an instant, You have destroyed the faithless cynics and slanderous enemies. That Lord and Master is my Anchor and Support; O Nanak, hold firm in your mind.

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Remembering Him in meditation, happiness comes, and all sorrows and pains simply vanish. ||2|| Pauree: He is without relatives, immaculate, all-powerful, unapproachable and infinite. Truly, the True Lord is seen to be the Truest of the True. Nothing established by You appears to be false. The Great Giver gives sustenance to all those He has created. He has strung all on only one thread; He has infused His Light in them. By His Will, some drown in the terrifying world-ocean, and by His Will, some are carried across. O Dear Lord, he alone meditates on You, upon whose forehead such blessed destiny is inscribed. Your condition and state cannot be known; I am a sacrifice to You. ||1|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: When You are pleased, O Merciful Lord, you automatically come to dwell within my mind. When You are pleased, O Merciful Lord, I find the nine treasures within the home of my own self. When You are pleased, O Merciful Lord, I act according to the Guru's Instructions. When You are pleased, O Merciful Lord, then Nanak is absorbed in the True One. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Many sit on thrones, to the sounds of musical instruments. O Nanak, without the True Name, no one's honour is safe. ||2|| Pauree: The followers of the Vedas, the Bible and the Koran, standing at Your Door, meditate on You. Uncounted are those who fall at Your Door. Brahma meditates on You, as does Indra on his throne. Shiva and Vishnu, and their incarnations, chant the Lord's Praise with their mouths, as do the Pirs, the spiritual teachers, the prophets and the Shaykhs, the silent sages and the seers. Through and through, the Formless Lord is woven into each and every heart. One is destroyed through falsehood; through righteousness, one prospers. Whatever the Lord links him to, to that he is linked. ||2|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: He is reluctant to do good, but eager to practice evil. O Nanak, today or tomorrow, the feet of the careless fool shall fall into the trap. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: No matter how evil my ways are, still, Your Love for me is not concealed. Nanak: You, O Lord, conceal my short-comings and dwell within my mind; You are my true friend. ||2|| Pauree: I beg of You, O Merciful Lord: please, make me the slave of Your slaves. I obtain the nine treasures and royalty; chanting Your Name, I live. The great ambrosial treasure, the Nectar of the Naam, is in the home of the Lord's slaves. In their company, I am in ecstasy, listening to Your Praises with my ears. Serving them, my body is purified. I wave the fans over them, and carry water for them; I grind the corn for them, and washing their feet, I am over-joyed. By myself, I can do nothing; O God, bless me with Your Glance of Grace. I am worthless - please, bless me with a seat in the place of worship of the Saints. ||3|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: O Friend, I pray that I may remain forever the dust of Your Feet. Nanak has entered Your Sanctuary, and beholds You ever-present. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Countless sinners become pure, by fixing their minds on the Feet of the Lord. The Name of God is the sixty-eight holy places of pilgrimage, O Nanak, for one who has such destiny written upon his forehead. ||2|| Pauree: With every breath and morsel of food, chant the Name of the Lord, the Cherisher. The Lord does not forget one upon whom He has bestowed His Grace. He Himself is the Creator, and He Himself destroys.

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The Knower knows everything; He understands and contemplates. By His creative power, He assumes numerous forms in an instant. One whom the Lord attaches to the Truth is redeemed. One who has God on his side is never conquered. His Court is eternal and imperishable; I humbly bow to Him. ||4|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: Renounce sexual desire, anger and greed, and burn them in the fire. As long as you are alive, O Nanak, meditate continually on the True Name. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Meditating, meditating in remembrance on my God, I have obtained all the fruits. O Nanak, I worship the Naam, the Name of the Lord; the Perfect Guru has united me with the Lord. ||2|| Pauree: One who has been instructed by the

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Guru is liberated in this world. He avoids disaster, and his anxiety is dispelled. Beholding the blessed vision of his Darshan, the world is over-joyed. In the company of the Lord's humble servants, the world is over-joyed, and the filth of sin is washed away. There, they meditate on the Ambrosial Nectar of the True Name. The mind becomes content, and its hunger is satisfied. One whose heart is filled with the Name, has his bonds cut away. By Guru's Grace, some rare person earns the wealth of the Lord's Name. ||5|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: Within my mind, I think thoughts of always rising early, and making the effort. O Lord, my Friend, please bless Nanak with the habit of singing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Casting His Glance of Grace, God has saved me; my mind and body are imbued with the Primal Being. O Nanak, those who are pleasing to God, have their cries of suffering taken away. ||2|| Pauree: When your soul is feeling sad, offer your prayers to the Guru. Renounce all your cleverness, and dedicate your mind and body to Him. Worship the Feet of the Guru, and your evil-mindedness shall be burnt away. Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, you shall cross over the terrifying and difficult world-ocean. Serve the True Guru, and in the world hereafter, you shall not die of fear. In an instant, he shall make you happy, and the empty vessel shall be filled to overflowing. The mind becomes content, meditating forever on the Lord. He alone dedicates himself to the Guru's service, unto whom the Lord has granted His Grace. ||6|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: I am attached to the right place; the Uniter has united me. O Nanak, there are hundreds and thousands of waves, but my Husband Lord does not let me drown. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: In the dreadful wilderness, I have found the one and only companion; the Name of the Lord is the Destroyer of distress. I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice to the Beloved Saints, O Nanak; through them, my affairs have been brought to fulfillment. ||2|| Pauree: All treasures are obtained, when we are attuned to Your Love. One does not have to suffer regret and repentance, when he meditates on You. No one can equal Your humble servant, who has Your Support. Waaho! Waaho! How wonderful is the Perfect Guru! Cherishing Him in my mind, I obtain peace. The treasure of the Lord's Praise comes from the Guru; by His Mercy, it is obtained. When the True Guru bestows His Glance of Grace, one does not wander any more. The Merciful Lord preserves him - He makes him His own slave. Listening, hearing the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, Har, Har, I live. ||7||

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Shalok, Fifth Mehl: O Husband Lord, You have given me the silk gown of Your Love to cover and protect my honour. You are all-wise and all-knowing, O my Master; Nanak: I have not appreciated Your value, Lord. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: By Your meditative remembrance, I have found everything; nothing seems difficult to me. One whose honour the True Lord Master has preserved - O Nanak, no one can dishonour him. ||2|| Pauree: Meditating on the Lord, there comes a great peace. Multitudes of illnesses vanish, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Utter peace pervades within, when God comes to mind. One's hopes are fulfilled, when one's mind is filled with the Name. No obstacles stand in the way, when one eliminates his self-conceit. The intellect attains the blessing of spiritual wisdom from the Guru. He receives everything, unto whom the Lord Himself gives. You are the Lord and Master of all; all are under Your Protection. ||8|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: Crossing the stream, my foot does not get stuck - I am filled with love for You. O Lord, my heart is attached to Your Feet; the Lord is Nanak's raft and boat. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: The sight of them banishes my evil-mindedness; they are my only true friends. I have searched the whole world; O servant Nanak, how rare are such persons! ||2|| Pauree: You come to mind, O Lord and Master, when I behold Your devotees. The filth of my mind is removed, when I dwell in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. The fear of birth and death is dispelled, meditating on the Word of His humble servant. The Saints untie the bonds, and all the demons are dispelled. They inspire us to love Him, the One who established the entire universe. The seat of the inaccessible and infinite Lord is the highest of the high. Night and day, with your palms pressed together, with each and every breath, meditate on Him. When the Lord Himself becomes merciful, then we attain the Society of His devotees. ||9|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: In this wondrous forest of the world, there is chaos and confusion; shrieks emanate from the highways. I am in love with You, O my Husband Lord; O Nanak, I cross the jungle joyfully. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: The true society is the company of those who meditate on the Name of the Lord. Do not associate with those, O Nanak, who look out only for their own interests. ||2|| Pauree: Approved is that time, when one meets the True Guru. Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, he does not suffer pain again. When he attains the eternal place, he does not have to enter the womb again. He comes to see the One God everywhere. He focuses his meditation on the essence of spiritual wisdom, and withdraws his attention from other sights. All chants are chanted by one who chants them with his mouth. Realising the Hukam of the Lord's Command, he becomes happy, and he is filled with peace and tranquility. Those who are assayed, and placed in the Lord's treasury, are not declared counterfeit again. ||10|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: The pincers of separation are so painful to endure. If only the Master would come to meet me! O Nanak, I would then obtain all the true comforts. ||1||

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Fifth Mehl: The earth is in the water, and the fire is contained in the wood. O Nanak, yearn for that Lord, who is the Support of all. ||2|| Pauree: The works which You have done, O Lord, could only have been performed by You. That alone happens in the world, which You, O Master, have done. I am wonderstruck beholding the wonder of Your Almighty Creative Power. I seek Your Sanctuary - I am Your slave; if it is Your Will, I shall be emancipated. The treasure is in Your Hands; according to Your Will, You bestow it. One, upon whom You have bestowed Your Mercy, is blessed with the Lord's Name. You are unapproachable, unfathomable and infinite; Your limits cannot be found. One, unto whom You have been compassionate, meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||11|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: The ladles cruise through the food, but they do not know the taste of it. I long to see the faces of those, O Nanak, who are imbued with the essence of the Lord's Love. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Through the Tracker, I discovered the tracks of those who ruined my crops. You, O Lord, have put up the fence; O Nanak, my fields shall not be plundered again. ||2|| Pauree: Worship in adoration that True Lord; everything is under His Power. He Himself is the Master of both ends; in an instant, He adjusts our affairs. Renounce all your efforts, and hold fast to His Support. Run to His Sanctuary, and you shall obtain the comfort of all comforts. The karma of good deeds, the righteousness of Dharma and the essence of spiritual wisdom are obtained in the Society of the Saints. Chanting the Ambrosial Nectar of the Naam, no obstacle shall block your way. The Lord abides in the mind of one who is blessed by His Kindness. All treasures are obtained, when the Lord and Master is pleased. ||12|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: I have found the object of my search - my Beloved took pity on me. There is One Creator; O Nanak, I do not see any other. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Take aim with the arrow of Truth, and shoot down sin. Cherish the Words of the Guru's Mantra, O Nanak, and you shall not suffer in pain. ||2|| Pauree: Waaho! Waaho! The Creator Lord Himself has brought about peace and tranquility. He is Kind to all beings and creatures; meditate forever on Him. The all-powerful Lord has shown Mercy, and my cries of suffering are ended. My fevers, pains and diseases are gone, by the Grace of the Perfect Guru. The Lord has established me, and protected me; He is the Cherisher of the poor. He Himself has delivered me, breaking all my bonds. My thirst is quenched, my hopes are fulfilled, and my mind is contented and satisfied. The greatest of the great, the Infinite Lord and Master - He is not affected by virtue and vice. ||13|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: They alone meditate on the Lord God, Har, Har, unto whom the Lord is Merciful. O Nanak, they enshrine love for the Lord, meeting the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Contemplate the Lord, O very fortunate ones; He is pervading in the water, the land and the sky. O Nanak, worshipping the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the mortal encounters no misfortune. ||2|| Pauree: The speech of the devotees is approved; it is accepted in the Court of the Lord. Your devotees take to Your Support; they are imbued with the True Name. One unto whom You are Merciful, has his sufferings depart.

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O Merciful Lord, You bless Your devotees with Your Grace. Suffering, pain, terrible disease and Maya do not afflict them. This is the Support of the devotees, that they sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe. Forever and ever, day and night, they meditate on the One and Only Lord. Drinking in the Ambrosial Amrit of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, His humble servants remain satisfied with the Naam. ||14|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: Millions of obstacles stand in the way of one who forgets the Name. O Nanak, night and day, he croaks like a raven in a deserted house. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Beauteous is that season, when I am united with my Beloved. I do not forget Him for a moment or an instant; O Nanak, I contemplate Him constantly. ||2|| Pauree: Even brave and mighty men cannot withstand the powerful and overwhelming army which the five passions have gathered. The ten organs of sensation attach even detached renunciates to sensory pleasures. They seek to conquer and overpower them, and so increase their following. The world of the three dispositions is under their influence; no one can stand against them. So tell me - how can the fort of doubt and the moat of Maya be overcome? Worshipping the Perfect Guru, this awesome force is subdued. I stand before Him, day and night, with my palms pressed together. ||15|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: All sins are washed away, by continually singing the Lord's Glories. Millions of afflictions are produced, O Nanak, when the Name is forgotten. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: O Nanak, meeting the True Guru, one comes to know the Perfect Way. While laughing, playing, dressing and eating, he is liberated. ||2|| Pauree: Blessed, blessed is the True Guru, who has demolished the fortress of doubt. Waaho! Waaho! - Hail! Hail! to the True Guru, who has united me with the Lord. The Guru has given me the medicine of the inexhaustible treasure of the Naam. He has banished the great and terrible disease. I have obtained the great treasure of the wealth of the Naam. I have obtained eternal life, recognising my own self. The Glory of the all-powerful Divine Guru cannot be described. The Guru is the Supreme Lord God, the Transcendent Lord, infinite, unseen and unknowable. ||16|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: Make the effort, and you shall live; practicing it, you shall enjoy peace. Meditating, you shall meet God, O Nanak, and your anxiety shall vanish. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Bless me with sublime thoughts, O Lord of the Universe, and contemplation in the immaculate Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. O Nanak, may I never forget the Naam, the Name of the Lord, for even an instant; be merciful to me, Lord God. ||2|| Pauree: Whatever happens is according to Your Will, so why should I be afraid? Meeting Him, I meditate on the Name - I offer my soul to Him. When the Infinite Lord comes to mind, one is enraptured. Who can touch one who has the Formless Lord on his side? Everything is under His control; no one is beyond Him. He, the True Lord, dwells in the minds of His devotees. Your slaves meditate on You; You are the Savior, the Protector Lord.

Section 09 - Raag Goojaree - Part 035

You are the Almighty Overlord of all; You bless us with Your Glance of Grace. ||17|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: Take away my sexual desire, anger, pride, greed, emotional attachment and evil desires. Protect me, O my God; Nanak is forever a sacrifice to You. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: By eating and eating, the mouth is worn out; by wearing clothes, the limbs grow weary. O Nanak, cursed are the lives of those who are not attuned to the Love of the True Lord. ||2|| Pauree: As is the Hukam of Your Command, so do things happen. Wherever You keep me, there I go and stand. With the Love of Your Name, I wash away my evil-mindedness. By continually meditating on You, O Formless Lord, my doubts and fears are dispelled. Those who are attuned to Your Love, shall not be trapped in reincarnation. Inwardly and outwardly, they behold the One Lord with their eyes. Those who recognise the Lord's Command never weep. O Nanak, they are blessed with the gift of the Name, woven into the fabric of their minds. ||18|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: Those who do not remember the Lord while they are alive, shall mix with the dust when they die. O Nanak, the foolish and filthy faithless cynic passes his life engrossed in the world. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: One who remembers the Lord while he is alive, shall be imbued with the Lord's Love when he dies. The precious gift of his life is redeemed, O Nanak, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||2|| Pauree: From the beginning, and through the ages, You have been our Protector and Preserver. True is Your Name, O Creator Lord, and True is Your Creation. You do not lack anything; You are filling each and every heart. You are merciful and all-powerful; You Yourself cause us to serve You. Those whose minds in which You dwell are forever at peace. Having created the creation, You Yourself cherish it. You Yourself are everything, O infinite, endless Lord. Nanak seeks the Protection and Support of the Perfect Guru. ||19|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: In the beginning, in the middle and in the end, the Transcendent Lord has saved me. The True Guru has blessed me with the Lord's Name, and I have tasted the Ambrosial Nectar. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I chant the Glorious Praises of the Lord, night and day. I have obtained all my objectives, and I shall not wander in reincarnation again. Everything is in the Hands of the Creator; He does what is done. Nanak begs for the gift of the dust of the feet of the Holy, which shall deliver him. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Enshrine Him in your mind, the One who created you. Whoever meditates on the Lord and Master obtains peace. Fruitful is the birth, and approved is the coming of the Gurmukh. One who realises the Hukam of the Lord's Command shall be blessed - so has the Lord and Master ordained. One who is blessed with the Lord's Mercy does not wander. Whatever the Lord and Master gives him, with that he is content. O Nanak, one who is blessed with the kindness of the Lord, our Friend, realises the Hukam of His Command. But those whom the Lord Himself causes to wander, continue to die, and take reincarnation again. ||2|| Pauree: The slanderers are destroyed in an instant; they are not spared for even a moment. God will not endure the sufferings of His slaves, but catching the slanderers, He binds them to the cycle of reincarnation.

Section 09 - Raag Goojaree - Part 036

Grabbing them by the hair on their heads, the Lord throws them down, and leaves them on the path of Death. They cry out in pain, in the darkest of hells. But hugging His slaves close to His Heart, O Nanak, the True Lord saves them. ||20|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: Meditate on the Lord, O fortunate ones; He is pervading the waters and the earth. O Nanak, meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and no misfortune shall strike you. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Millions of misfortunes block the

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way of one who forgets the Name of the Lord. O Nanak, like a crow in a deserted house, he cries out, night and day. ||2|| Pauree: Meditating, meditating in remembrance of the Great Giver, one's heart's desires are fulfilled. The hopes and desires of the mind are realised, and sorrows are forgotten. The treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is obtained; I have searched for it for so long. My light is merged into the Light, and my labors are over. I abide in that house of peace, poise and bliss. My comings and goings have ended - there is no birth or death there. The Master and the servant have become one, with no sense of separation. By Guru's Grace, Nanak is absorbed in the True Lord. ||21||1||2||SUDH|| Raag Goojaree, The Words Of The Devotees: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Chau-Padas Of Kabeer Jee, Second House: With four feet, two horns and a mute mouth, how could you sing the Praises of the Lord? Standing up and sitting down, the stick shall still fall on you, so where will you hide your head? ||1|| Without the Lord, you are like a stray ox; with your nose torn, and your shoulders injured, you shall have only the straw of coarse grain to eat. ||1||Pause|| All day long, you shall wander in the forest, and even then, your belly will not be full. You did not follow the advice of the humble devotees, and so you shall obtain the fruits of your actions. ||2|| Enduring pleasure and pain, drowned in the great ocean of doubt, you shall wander in numerous reincarnations. You have lost the jewel of human birth by forgetting God; when will you have such an opportunity again? ||3|| You turn on the wheel of reincarnation, like an ox at the oil-press; the night of your life passes away without salvation. Says Kabeer, without the Name of the Lord, you shall pound your head, and regret and repent. ||4||1|| GOOJAREE, THIRD HOUSE: Kabeer's mother sobs, cries and bewails - O Lord, how will my grandchildren live? ||1|| Kabeer has given up all his spinning and weaving, and written the Name of the Lord on his body. ||1||Pause|| As long as I pass the thread through the bobbin, I forget the Lord, my Beloved. ||2|| My intellect is lowly - I am a weaver by birth, but I have earned the profit of the Name of the Lord. ||3|| Says Kabeer, listen, O my mother - the Lord alone is the Provider, for me and my children. ||4||2||

Section 09 - Raag Goojaree - Part 037

Goojaree, Padas Of Naam Dayv Jee, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: If You gave me an empire, then what glory would be in it for me? If You made me beg for charity, what would it take away from me? ||1|| Meditate and vibrate upon the Lord, O my mind, and you shall obtain the state of Nirvaanaa. You shall not have to come and go in reincarnation any longer. ||1||Pause|| You created all, and You lead them astray in doubt. They alone understand, unto whom You give understanding. ||2|| Meeting the True Guru, doubt is dispelled. Who else should I worship? I can see no other. ||3|| One stone is lovingly decorated, while another stone is walked upon. If one is a god, then the other must also be a god. Says Naam Dayv, I serve the Lord. ||4||1|| GOOJAREE, FIRST HOUSE: He does not have even a trace of impurity - He is beyond impurity. He is fragrantly scented - He has come to take His Seat in my mind. No one saw Him come - who can know Him, O Siblings of Destiny? ||1|| Who can describe Him? Who can understand Him? The all-pervading Lord has no ancestors, O Siblings of Destiny. ||1||Pause|| As the path of a bird's flight across the sky cannot be seen, and the path of a fish through the water cannot be seen;||2|| As the mirage leads one to mistake the sky for a pitcher filled with water - so is God, the Lord and Master of Naam Dayv, who fits these three comparisons. ||3||2|| Goojaree, Padas Of Ravi Daas Jee, Third House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The calf has contaminated the milk in the teats. The bumble bee has contaminated the flower, and the fish the water. ||1|| O mother, where shall I find any offering for the Lord's worship? I cannot find any other flowers worthy of the incomparable Lord. ||1||Pause|| The snakes encircle the sandalwood trees. Poison and nectar dwell there together. ||2|| Even with incense, lamps, offerings of food and fragrant flowers, how are Your slaves to worship You? ||3|| I dedicate and offer my body and mind to You. By Guru's Grace, I attain the immaculate Lord. ||4|| I cannot worship You, nor offer You flowers. Says Ravi Daas, what shall my condition be hereafter? ||5||1|| Goojaree, Padas Of Trilochan Jee, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: You have not cleansed the filth from within yourself, although outwardly, you wear the dress of a renunciate. In the heart-lotus of your self, you have not recognised God - why have you become a Sannyaasee? ||1||

Section 09 - Raag Goojaree - Part 038

Deluded by doubt, O Jai Chand, you have not realised the Lord, the embodiment of supreme bliss. ||1||Pause|| You eat in each and every house, fattening your body; you wear the patched coat and the ear-rings of the beggar, for the sake of wealth. You apply the ashes of cremation to your body, but without a Guru, you have not found the essence of reality. ||2|| Why bother to chant your spells? Why bother to practice austerities? Why bother to churn water? Meditate on the Lord of Nirvaanaa, who has created the 8.4 million species of beings. ||3|| Why bother to carry the water-pot, O saffron-robed Yogi? Why bother to visit the sixty-eight holy places of pilgrimage? Says Trilochan, listen, mortal: you have no corn - what are you trying to thresh? ||4||1|| GOOJAREE: At the very last moment, one who thinks of wealth, and dies in such thoughts, shall be reincarnated over and over again, in the form of serpents. ||1|| O sister, do not forget the Name of the Lord of the Universe. ||Pause|| At the very last moment, he who thinks of women, and dies in such thoughts, shall be reincarnated over and over again as a prostitute. ||2|| At the very last moment, one who thinks of his children, and dies in such thoughts, shall be reincarnated over and over again as a pig. ||3|| At the very last moment, one who thinks of mansions, and dies in such thoughts, shall be reincarnated over and over again as a goblin. ||4|| At the very last moment, one who thinks of the Lord, and dies in such thoughts, says Trilochan, that man shall be liberated; the Lord shall abide in his heart. ||5||2|| Goojaree, Padas Of Jai Dayv Jee, Fourth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: In the very beginning, was the Primal Lord, unrivalled, the Lover of Truth and other virtues. He is absolutely wonderful, transcending creation; remembering Him, all are emancipated. ||1|| Dwell only upon the beauteous Name of the Lord, the embodiment of ambrosial nectar and reality. Remembering Him in meditation, the fear of birth, old age and death will not trouble you. ||1||Pause|| If you desire to escape the fear of the Messenger of Death, then praise the Lord joyfully, and do good deeds. In the past, present and future, He is always the same; He is the embodiment of supreme bliss. ||2|| If you seek the path of good conduct, forsake greed, and do not look upon other men's property and women. Renounce all evil actions and evil inclinations, and hurry to the Sanctuary of the Lord. ||3|| Worship the immaculate Lord, in thought, word and deed. What is the good of practicing Yoga, giving feasts and charity, and practicing penance? ||4|| Meditate on the Lord of the Universe, the Lord of the Universe, O man; He is the source of all the spiritual powers of the Siddhas. Jai Dayv has openly come to Him; He is the salvation of all, in the past, present and future. ||5||1||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 10 - RAAG DAYV

Section 10 - Raag Dayv-Gandhaaree - Part 001

One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying. Beyond Birth. Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: Raag Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fourth Mehl, First House: Those who become the humble servants of the Lord and Master, lovingly focus their minds on Him. Those who chant Your Praises, through the Guru's Teachings, have great good fortune recorded upon their foreheads. ||1||Pause|| The bonds and shackles of Maya are shattered, by lovingly focusing their minds on the Name of the Lord. My mind is enticed by the Guru, the Enticer; beholding Him, I am wonder-struck. ||1|| I slept through the entire dark night of my life, but through the tiniest bit of the Guru's Grace, I have been awakened. O Beautiful Lord God, Master of servant Nanak, there is none comparable to You. ||2||1|| DAYV-GANDHAAREE: Tell me - on what path will I find my Beauteous Lord? O Saints of the Lord, show me the Way, and I shall follow. ||1||Pause|| I cherish in my heart the Words of my Beloved; this is the best way. The bride may be hunch-backed and short, but if she is loved by her Lord Master, she becomes beautiful, and she melts in the Lord's embrace. ||1|| There is only the One Beloved - we are all soul-brides of our Husband Lord. She who is pleasing to her Husband Lord is good. What can poor, helpless Nanak do? As it pleases the Lord, so does he walk. ||2||2|| DAYV-GANDHAAREE: O my mind, chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, Har. The Gurmukh is imbued with the deep red colour of the poppy. His shawl is saturated with the Lord's Love. ||1||Pause|| I wander around here and there, like a madman, bewildered, seeking out my Darling Lord. I shall be the slave of the slave of whoever unites me with my Darling Beloved. ||1|| So align yourself with the Almighty True Guru; drink in and savor the Ambrosial Nectar of the Lord. By Guru's Grace, servant Nanak has obtained the wealth of the Lord within. ||2||3|| DAYV-GANDHAAREE: Now, I have come, exhausted, to my Lord and Master. Now that I have come seeking Your Sanctuary, God, please, either save me, or kill me. ||1||Pause||

Section 10 - Raag Dayv-Gandhaaree - Part 002

I have burnt in the fire the clever devices and praises of the world. Some speak good of me, and some speak ill of me, but I have surrendered my body to You. ||1|| Whoever comes to Your Sanctuary, O God, Lord and Master, You save by Your Merciful Grace. Servant Nanak has entered Your Sanctuary, Dear Lord; O Lord, please, protect his honour! ||2||4|| DAYV-GANDHAAREE: I am a sacrifice to one who sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. I live by continuously beholding the Blessed Vision of the Holy Guru's Darshan; within His Mind is the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| You are pure and immaculate, O God, Almighty Lord and Master; how can I, the impure one, meet You? I have one thing in my mind, and another thing on my lips; I am such a poor, unfortunate liar! ||1|| I appear to chant the Lord's Name, but within my heart, I am the most wicked of the wicked. As it pleases You, save me, O Lord and Master; servant Nanak seeks Your Sanctuary. ||2||5|| DAYV-GANDHAAREE: Without the Name of the Lord, the beautiful are just like the noseless ones. Like the son, born into the house of a prostitute, his name is cursed. ||1||Pause|| Those who do not have the Name of their Lord and Master within their hearts, are the most wretched, deformed lepers. Like the person who has no Guru, they may know many things, but they are cursed in the Court of the Lord. ||1|| Those, unto whom my Lord Master becomes Merciful, long for the feet of the Holy. O Nanak, the sinners become pure, joining the Company of the Holy; following the Guru, the True Guru, they are emancipated. ||2||6|| First Set of Six|| Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O mother, I focus my consciousness on the Guru's feet. As God shows His Mercy, the lotus of my heart blossoms, and forever and ever, I meditate on the Lord. ||1||Pause|| The One Lord is within, and the One Lord is outside; the One Lord is contained in all. Within the heart, beyond the heart, and in all places, God, the Perfect One, is seen to be permeating. ||1|| So many of Your servants and silent sages sing Your Praises, but no one has found Your limits. O Giver of peace, Destroyer of pain, Lord and Master - servant Nanak is forever a sacrifice to You. ||2||1|| DAYV-GANDHAAREE: O mother, whatever is to be, shall be. God pervades His pervading creation; one gains, while another loses. ||1||Pause|| Sometimes he blossoms in bliss, while at other times, he suffers in mourning. Sometimes he laughs, and sometimes he weeps. Sometimes he is filled with the filth of ego, while at other times, he washes it off in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||1|| No one can erase the actions of God; I cannot see any other like Him. Says Nanak, I am a sacrifice to the Guru; by His Grace, I sleep in peace. ||2||2||

Section 10 - Raag Dayv-Gandhaaree - Part 003

DAYV-GANDHAAREE: O mother, I hear of death, and think of it, and I am filled with fear. Renouncing 'mine and yours' and egotism, I have sought the Sanctuary of the Lord and Master. ||1||Pause|| Whatever He says, I accept that as good. I do not say "No" to what He says. Let me not forget Him, even for an instant; forgetting Him, I die. ||1|| The Giver of peace, God, the Perfect Creator, endures my great ignorance. I am worthless, ugly and of low birth, O Nanak, but my Husband Lord is the embodiment of bliss. ||2||3|| DAYV-GANDHAAREE: O my mind, chant forever the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises. By singing, hearing and meditating on Him, all, whether of high or low status, are saved. ||1||Pause|| He is absorbed into the One from which he originated, when he understands the Way. Wherever this body was fashioned, it was not allowed to remain there. ||1|| Peace comes, and fear and doubt are dispelled, when God becomes Merciful. Says Nanak, my hopes have been fulfilled, renouncing my greed in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||2||4|| DAYV-GANDHAAREE: O my mind, act as it pleases God. Become the lowest of the low, the very least of the tiny, and speak in utmost humility. ||1||Pause|| The many ostentatious shows of Maya are useless; I withhold my love from these. As something pleases my Lord and Master, in that I find my glory. ||1|| I am the slave of His slaves; becoming the dust of the feet of his slaves, I serve His humble servants. I obtain all peace and greatness, O Nanak, living to chant His Name with my mouth. ||2||5|| DAYV-GANDHAAREE: Dear God, by Your Grace, my doubts have been dispelled. By Your Mercy, all are mine; I reflect upon this in my mind. ||1||Pause|| Millions of sins are erased, by serving You; the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan drives away sorrow. Chanting Your Name, I have obtained supreme peace, and my anxieties and diseases have been cast out. ||1|| Sexual desire, anger, greed, falsehood and slander are forgotten, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. The ocean of mercy has cut away the bonds of Maya; O Nanak, He has saved me. ||2||6|| DAYV-GANDHAAREE: All the cleverness of my mind is gone. The Lord and Master is the Doer, the Cause of causes; Nanak holds tight to His Support. ||1||Pause|| Erasing my self-conceit, I have entered His Sanctuary; these are the Teachings spoken by the Holy Guru. Surrendering to the Will of God, I attain peace, and the darkness of doubt is dispelled. ||1|| I know that You are all-wise, O God, my Lord and Master; I seek Your Sanctuary. In an instant, You establish and disestablish; the value of Your Almighty Creative Power cannot be estimated. ||2||7|| Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl: The Lord God is my praanaa, my breath of life; He is the Giver of peace. By Guru's Grace, only a few know Him. ||1||Pause|| Your Saints are Your Beloveds; death does not consume them. They are dyed in the deep crimson colour of Your Love, and they are intoxicated with the sublime essence of the Lord's Name. ||1||

Section 10 - Raag Dayv-Gandhaaree - Part 004

The greatest sins, and millions of pains and diseases are destroyed by Your Gracious Glance, O God. While sleeping

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and waking, Nanak sings the Lord's Name, Har, Har, Har; he falls at the Guru's feet. ||2||8|| Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl: I have seen that God with my eyes everywhere. The Giver of peace, the Giver of souls, His Speech is Ambrosial Nectar. ||1||Pause|| The Saints dispel the darkness of ignorance; the Guru is the Giver of the gift of life. Granting His Grace, the Lord has made me His own; I was on fire, but now I am cooled. ||1|| The karma of good deeds, and the Dharma of righteous faith, have not been produced in me, in the least; nor has pure conduct welled up in me. Renouncing cleverness and self-mortification, O Nanak, I fall at the Guru's feet. ||2||9|| Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl: Chant the Lord's Name, and earn the profit. You shall attain salvation, peace, poise and bliss, and the noose of Death shall be cut away. ||1||Pause|| Searching, searching, searching and reflecting, I have found that the Lord's Name is with the Saints. They alone obtain this treasure, who have such pre-ordained destiny. ||1|| They are very fortunate and honourable; they are the perfect bankers. They are beautiful, so very wise and handsome; O Nanak, purchase the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||2||10|| Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl: O mind, why are you so puffed up with egotism? Whatever is seen in this foul, impure and filthy world, is only ashes. ||1||Pause|| Remember the One who created you, O mortal; He is the Support of your soul, and the breath of life. One who forsakes Him, and attaches himself to another, dies to be reborn; he is such an ignorant fool! ||1|| I am blind, mute, crippled and totally lacking in understanding; O God, Preserver of all, please preserve me! The Creator, the Cause of causes is all-powerful; O Nanak, how helpless are His beings! ||2||11|| Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl: God is the nearest of the near. Remember Him, meditate on Him, and sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe, day and night, evening and morning. ||1||Pause|| Redeem your body in the invaluable Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Do not delay for an instant, even for a moment. Death is keeping you constantly in his vision. ||1|| Lift me up out of the dark dungeon, O Creator Lord; what is there which is not in Your home? Bless Nanak with the Support of Your Name, that he may find great happiness and peace. ||2||12|| Second Set of Six|| Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl: O mind, meet with the Guru, and worship the Naam in adoration. You shall obtain peace, poise, bliss, joy and pleasure, and lay the foundation of eternal life. ||1||Pause|| Showing His Mercy, the Lord has made me His slave, and shattered the bonds of Maya. Through loving devotion, and singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe, I have escaped the Path of Death. ||1|| When he became Merciful, the rust was removed, and I found the priceless treasure. O Nanak, I am a sacrifice, a hundred thousand times, to my unapproachable, unfathomable Lord and Master. ||2||13||

Section 10 - Raag Dayv-Gandhaaree - Part 005

Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl: O mother, how fruitful is the birth of one who sings the Glories of God, and enshrines love for the Supreme Lord God. ||1||Pause|| Beautiful, wise, brave and divine is one who obtains the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. He chants the Naam, the Name of the Lord, with his tongue, and does not have to wander in reincarnation again. ||1|| The Perfect Lord God pervades his mind and body; he does not look upon any other. Hell and disease do not afflict one who joins the Company of the Lord's humble servants, O Nanak; the Lord attaches him to the hem of His robe. ||2||14|| Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl: His fickle mind is entangled in a dream. He does not even understand this much, that someday he shall have to depart; he has gone crazy with Maya. ||1||Pause|| He is engrossed in the delight of the flower's colour; he strives only to indulge in corruption. Hearing about greed, he feels happy in his mind, and he runs after it. ||1|| Wandering and roaming all around, I have endured great pain, but now, I have come to the door of the Saint. Granting His Grace, the Supreme Lord Master has blended Nanak with Himself. ||2||15|| Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl: All peace is found in the Guru's feet. They drive away my sins and purify my mind; their Support carries me across. ||1||Pause|| This is the labor which I perform: worship, flower-offerings, service and devotion. My mind blossoms forth and is enlightened, and I am not cast into the womb again. ||1|| I behold the fruitful vision of the Saint; this is the meditation I have taken. The Lord Master has become Merciful to Nanak, and he has entered the Sanctuary of the Holy. ||2||16|| Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl: Offer your prayer to your Lord. You shall obtain the four blessings, and the treasures of bliss, pleasure, peace, poise and the spiritual powers of the Siddhas. ||1||Pause|| Renounce your self-conceit, and grasp hold of the Guru's feet; hold tight to the hem of God's robe. The heat of the ocean of fire does not affect one who longs for the Lord and Master's Sanctuary. ||1|| Again and again, God puts up with the millions of sins of the supremely ungrateful ones. The embodiment of mercy, the Perfect Transcendent Lord - Nanak longs for His Sanctuary. ||2||17|| Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl: Place the Guru's feet within your heart, and all illness, sorrow and pain shall be dispelled; all suffering shall come to an end. ||1||Pause|| The sins of countless incarnations are erased, as if one has taken purifying baths at millions of sacred shrines. The treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is obtained by singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe, and centering one's mind in meditation on Him. ||1|| Showing His Mercy, the Lord has made me His slave; breaking my bonds, He has saved me. I live by chanting and meditating on the Naam, and the Bani of Your Word; slave Nanak is a sacrifice to You. ||2||18|| Third Set of Six|| Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl: O mother, I long to see the Feet of God.

Section 10 - Raag Dayv-Gandhaaree - Part 006

Be Merciful to me, O my Lord and Master, that I might never forsake them from my mind. ||1||Pause|| Applying the dust of the feet of the Holy to my face and forehead, I burn away the poison of sexual desire and anger. I judge myself to be the lowest of all; in this way, I instill peace within my mind. ||1|| I sing the Glorious Praises of the Imperishable Lord and Master, and I shake off all my sins. I have found the gift of the treasure of the Naam, O Nanak; I hug it close, and enshrine it in my heart. ||2||19|| Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl: Dear God, I long to behold the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. I cherish this beautiful meditation day and night; You are dearer to me than my soul, dearer than life itself. ||1||Pause|| I have studied and contemplated the essence of the Shaastras, the Vedas and the Puraanas. Protector of the meek, Lord of the breath of life, O Perfect One, carry us across the terrifying world-ocean. ||1|| Since the very beginning, and throughout the ages, the humble devotees have been Your servants; in the midst of the world of corruption, You are their Support. Nanak longs for the dust of the feet of such humble beings; the Transcendent Lord is the Giver of all. ||2||20|| Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl: Your humble servant, O Lord, is intoxicated with Your sublime essence. One who obtains the treasure of the Nectar of Your Love, does not renounce it to go somewhere else. ||1||Pause|| While sitting, he repeats the Lord's Name, Har, Har; while sleeping, he repeats the Lord's Name, Har, Har; he eats the Nectar of the Lord's Name as his food. Bathing in the dust of the feet of the Holy is equal to taking cleansing baths at the sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage. ||1|| How fruitful is the birth of the Lord's humble servant; the Creator is his Father. O Nanak, one who recognises the Perfect Lord God, takes all with him, and saves everyone. ||2||21|| Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl: O mother, without the Guru, spiritual wisdom is not obtained. They wander around, weeping and crying out in various ways, but the Lord of the World does not meet them. ||1||Pause|| The body is tied up with emotional attachment, disease and sorrow, and so it is lured into countless reincarnations. He finds no place of rest without the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; to whom should he go and cry? ||1|| When my Lord and Master shows His Mercy, we lovingly focus our consciousness on the feet of the Holy. The most horrible agonies are dispelled in an instant, O Nanak, and we merge in the Blessed Vision of the Lord. ||2||22|| Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl: The Lord and Master Himself has become Merciful. I have been emancipated, and I have become the embodiment of bliss; I am the Lord's child - He has saved me. ||Pause|| With my palms pressed together, I offer my prayer; within my mind, I meditate on the Supreme Lord God. Giving me His hand, the Transcendent Lord has eradicated all my sins. ||1|| Husband and wife join together in rejoicing, celebrating the Victory of the Lord Master. Says Nanak, I am a sacrifice to the humble servant of the Lord, who emancipates everyone. ||2||23||

Section 10 - Raag Dayv-Gandhaaree - Part 007

One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl: I offer my prayer to my True Guru. The Destroyer of distress has become kind and merciful, and all my anxiety is over. ||Pause|| I am a sinner, hypocritical and greedy, but still, He puts up with all of my merits and demerits. Placing His hand on my forehead, He has exalted me. The wicked ones who wanted to destroy me have been killed. ||1|| He is generous and benevolent, the beautifier of all, the embodiment of peace; the Blessed Vision of His Darshan is so fruitful! Says Nanak, He is the Giver to the unworthy; I enshrine His Lotus Feet within my heart. ||2||24|| Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl: My God is the Master of the masterless. I have come to the Sanctuary of the Savior Lord. ||Pause|| Protect me on all sides, O Lord; protect me in the future, in the past, and at the very last moment. ||1|| Whenever something comes to mind, it is You. Contemplating Your virtues, my mind is sanctified. ||2|| I hear and sing the Hymns of the Guru's Word. I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice to the Blessed Vision of the Darshan of the Holy. ||3|| Within my mind, I have the Support of the One Lord alone. O Nanak, my God is the Creator of all. ||4||25|| Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl: God, this is my heart's desire: O treasure of kindness, O Merciful Lord, please make me the slave of your Saints. ||Pause|| In the early hours of the morning, I fall at the feet of Your humble servants; night and day, I obtain the Blessed Vision of their Darshan. Dedicating my body and mind, I serve the humble servant of the Lord; with my tongue, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||1|| With each and every breath, I meditate in remembrance on my God; I live continually in the Society of the Saints. The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is my only support and wealth; O Nanak, from this, I obtain bliss. ||2||26|| Raag Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl, Third House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O friend, such is the Dear Lord whom I have obtained. He does not leave me, and He always keeps me company. Meeting the Guru, night and day, I sing His Praises. ||1||Pause|| I met the Fascinating Lord, who has blessed me with all comforts; He does not leave me to go anywhere else. I have seen the mortals of many and various types, but they are not equal to even a hair of my Beloved. ||1|| His palace is so beautiful! His gate is so wonderful! The celestial melody of the sound current resounds there. Says Nanak, I enjoy eternal bliss; I have obtained a permanent place in the home of my Beloved. ||2||1||27|| Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl: My mind longs for the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan, and His Name. I have wandered everywhere, and now I have come to follow the Saint. ||1||Pause|| Whom should I serve? Whom should I worship in adoration? Whoever I see shall pass away.

Section 10 - Raag Dayv-Gandhaaree - Part 008

I have sought the Sanctuary of the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; my mind longs for the dust of their Feet. ||1|| I do not know the way, and I have no virtue. It is so difficult to escape from Maya! Nanak has come and fallen at the Guru's feet; all of his evil inclinations have vanished. ||2||2||28|| Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl: O Beloved, Your Words are Ambrosial Nectar. O supremely beautiful Enticer, O Beloved, You are among all, and yet distinct from all. ||1||Pause|| I do not seek power, and I do not seek liberation. My mind is in love with Your Lotus Feet. Brahma, Shiva, the Siddhas, the silent sages and Indra - I seek only the Blessed Vision of my Lord and Master's Darshan. ||1|| I have come, helpless, to Your Door, O Lord Master; I am exhausted - I seek the Sanctuary of the Saints. Says Nanak, I have met my Enticing Lord God; my mind is cooled and soothed - it blossoms forth in joy. ||2||3||29|| Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl: Meditating on the Lord, His servant swims across to salvation. When God becomes merciful to the meek, then one does not have to suffer reincarnation, only to die again. ||1||Pause|| In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, he sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and he does not lose the jewel of this human life. Singing the Glories of God, he crosses over the ocean of poison, and saves all his generations as well. ||1|| The Lotus Feet of the Lord abide within his heart, and with every breath and morsel of food, he chants the Lord's Name. Nanak has grasped the Support of the Lord of the Universe; again and again, he is a sacrifice to Him. ||2||4||30|| Raag Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl, Fourth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Some wander around the forests, wearing religious robes, but the Fascinating Lord remains distant from them. ||1||Pause|| They talk, preach, and sing their lovely songs, but within their minds, the filth of their sins remains. ||1|| They may be very beautiful, extremely clever, wise and educated, and they may speak very sweetly. ||2|| To forsake pride, emotional attachment, and the sense of 'mine and yours', is the path of the double-edged sword. ||3|| Says Nanak, they alone swim across the terrifying world-ocean, who, by God's Grace, join the Society of the Saints. ||4||1||31|| Raag Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl, Fifth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I have seen the Lord to be on high; the Fascinating Lord is the highest of all. No one else is equal to Him - I have made the most extensive search on this. ||1||Pause|| Utterly infinite, exceedingly great, deep and unfathomable - He is lofty, beyond reach. His weight cannot be weighed, His value cannot be estimated. How can the Enticer of the mind be obtained? ||1|| Millions search for Him, on various paths, but without the Guru, none find Him. Says Nanak, the Lord Master has become Merciful. Meeting the Holy Saint, I drink in the sublime essence. ||2||1||32||

Section 10 - Raag Dayv-Gandhaaree - Part 009

Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl: I have looked in so many ways, but there is no other like the Lord. On all the continents and islands, He is permeating and fully pervading; He is in all worlds. ||1||Pause|| He is the most unfathomable of the unfathomable; who can chant His Praises? My mind lives by hearing news of Him. People in the four stages of life, and in the four social classes are liberated, by serving You, Lord. ||1|| The Guru has implanted the Word of His Shabad within me; I have attained the supreme status. My sense of duality has been dispelled, and now, I am at peace. Says Nanak, I have easily crossed over the terrifying world-ocean, obtaining the treasure of the Lord's Name. ||2||2||33|| Raag Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl, Sixth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Know that there is One and only One Lord. O Gurmukh, know that He is One. ||1||Pause|| Why are you wandering around? O Siblings of Destiny, don't wander around; He is permeating and pervading everywhere. ||1|| As the fire in the forest, without control, cannot serve any purpose - just so, without the Guru,

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one cannot attain the Gate of the Lord. Joining the Society of the Saints, renounce your ego; says Nanak, in this way, the supreme treasure is obtained. ||2||1||34|| Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl: His state cannot be known. ||1||Pause|| How can I behold Him through clever tricks? Those who tell this story are wonder-struck and amazed. ||1|| The servants of God, the celestial singers, the Siddhas and the seekers, the angelic and divine beings, Brahma and those like Brahma, and the four Vedas proclaim, day and night, that the Lord and Master is inaccessible, unapproachable and unfathomable. Endless, endless are His Glories, says Nanak; they cannot be described - they are beyond our reach. ||2||2||35|| Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl: I meditate, and sing of the Creator Lord. I have become fearless, and I have found peace, poise and bliss, remembering the infinite Lord. ||1||Pause|| The Guru, of the most fruitful image, has placed His hand upon my forehead. Wherever I look, there, I find Him with me. The Lotus Feet of the Lord are the Support of my very breath of life. ||1|| My God is all-powerful, unfathomable and utterly vast. The Lord and Master is close at hand - He dwells in each and every heart. Nanak seeks the Sanctuary and the Support of God, who has no end or limitation. ||2||3||36|| Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl: Turn away, O my mind, turn away. Turn away from the faithless cynic. False is the love of the false one; break the ties, O my mind, and your ties shall be broken. Break your ties with the faithless cynic. ||1||Pause|| One who enters a house filled with soot is blackened. Run far away from such people! One who meets the Guru escapes from the bondage of the three dispositions. ||1|| I beg this blessing of You, O Merciful Lord, ocean of mercy - please, don't bring me face to face with the faithless cyincs.

Section 10 - Raag Dayv-Gandhaaree - Part 010

Make servant Nanak the slave of Your slave; let his head roll in the dust under the feet of the Holy. ||2||4||37|| Raag Dayv-Gandhaaree, Fifth Mehl, Seventh House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: You are all-powerful, at all times; You show me the Way; I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice to You. Your Saints sing to You with love; I fall at their feet. ||1||Pause|| O Praiseworthy Lord, Enjoyer of celestial peace, Embodiment of mercy, One Infinite Lord, Your place is so beautiful. ||1|| Riches, supernatural spiritual powers and wealth are in the palm of Your hand. O Lord, Life of the World, Master of all, infinite is Your Name. Show Kindness, Mercy and Compassion to Nanak; hearing Your Praises, I live. ||2||1||38||6||44|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Raag Dayv-Gandhaaree, Ninth Mehl: This mind does not follow my advice one tiny bit. I am so tired of giving it instructions - it will not refrain from its evil-mindedness. ||1||Pause|| It has gone insane with the intoxication of Maya; it does not chant the Lord's Praise. Practicing deception, it tries to cheat the world, and so it fills its belly. ||1|| Like a dog's tail, it cannot be straightened; it will not listen to what I tell it. Says Nanak, vibrate forever the Name of the Lord, and all your affairs shall be adjusted. ||2||1|| Raag Dayv-Gandhaaree, Ninth Mehl: All things are mere diversions of life: mother, father, siblings, children, relatives and the wife of your home. ||1||Pause|| When the soul is separated from the body, then they will cry out, calling you a ghost. No one will let you stay, for even half an hour; they drive you out of the house. ||1|| The created world is like an illusion, a mirage - see this, and reflect upon it in your mind. Says Nanak, vibrate forever the Name of the Lord, which shall deliver you. ||2||2|| Raag Dayv-Gandhaaree, Ninth Mehl: In this world, I have seen love to be false. Whether they are spouses or friends, all are concerned only with their own happiness. ||1||Pause|| All say, "Mine, mine", and attach their consciousness to you with love. But at the very last moment, none shall go along with you. How strange are the ways of the world! ||1|| The foolish mind has not yet reformed itself, although I have grown weary of continually instructing it. O Nanak, one crosses over the terrifying world-ocean, singing the Songs of God. ||2||3||6||38||47||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 11 - RAAG BIHAAGRA

Section 11 - Raag Bihaagra - Part 001

One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying. Beyond Birth. Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: Raag Bihaagraa, Chau-Padas, Fifth Mehl, Second House: To associate with your arch enemies, is to live with poisonous snakes; I have made the effort to shake them off. ||1|| Then, I repeated the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, and I obtained celestial peace. ||1||Pause|| False is the love of the many emotional attachments, which suck the mortal into the whirlpool of reincarnation. ||2|| All are travellers, who have gathered under the world-tree, and are bound by their many bonds. ||3|| Eternal is the Company of the Holy, where the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises are sung. Nanak seeks this Sanctuary. ||4||1|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Raag Bihaagraa, Ninth Mehl: No one knows the state of the Lord. The Yogis, the celibates, the penitents, and all sorts of clever people have failed. ||1||Pause|| In an instant, He changes the beggar into a king, and the king into a beggar. He fills what is empty, and empties what is full - such are His ways. ||1|| He Himself spread out the expanse of His Maya, and He Himself beholds it. He assumes so many forms, and plays so many games, and yet, He remains detached from it all. ||2|| Incalculable, infinite, incomprehensible and immaculate is He, who has misled the entire world. Cast off all your doubts; prays Nanak, O mortal, focus your consciousness on His Feet. ||3||1||2|| Raag Bihaagraa, Chhant, Fourth Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Meditate on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, O my soul; as Gurmukh, meditate on the invaluable Name of the Lord. My mind is pierced through by the sublime essence of the Lord's Name. The Lord is dear to my mind. With the sublime essence of the Lord's Name, my mind is washed clean.

Section 11 - Raag Bihaagra - Part 002 Under Guru's Instructions, hold your mind steady; O my soul, do not let it wander anywhere. One who utters the Bani of the Praises of the Lord God, O Nanak, obtains the fruits of his heart's desires. ||1|| Under Guru's Instruction, the Ambrosial Name abides within the mind, O my soul; with your mouth, utter the words of ambrosia. The Words of the devotees are Ambrosial Nectar, O my soul; hearing them in the mind, embrace loving affection for the Lord. Separated for so very long, I have found the Lord God; He holds me close in His loving embrace. Servant Nanak's mind is filled with bliss, O my soul; the unstruck sound-current of the Shabad vibrates within. ||2|| If only my friends and companions would come and unite me with my Lord God, O my soul. I offer my mind to the one who recites the sermon of my Lord God, O my soul. As Gurmukh, ever worship the Lord in adoration, O my soul, and you shall obtain the fruits of your heart's desires. O Nanak, hurry to the Lord's Sanctuary; O my soul, those who meditate on the Lord's Name are very fortunate. ||3|| By His Mercy, God comes to meet us, O my soul; through the Guru's Teachings, He reveals His Name. Without the Lord, I am so sad, O my soul - as sad as the lotus without water. The Perfect Guru has united me, O my soul, with the Lord, my best friend, the Lord God. Blessed, blessed is the Guru, who has shown me the Lord, O my soul; servant Nanak blossoms forth in the Name of the Lord. ||4||1|| Raag Bihaagraa, Fourth Mehl: The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is Ambrosial Nectar, O my soul; through the Guru's Teachings, this Nectar is obtained. Pride in Maya is poison, O my soul; through the Ambrosial Nectar of the Name, this poison is eradicated. The dry mind is rejuvenated, O my soul, meditating on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. The Lord has given me the pre-ordained blessing of high destiny, O my soul; servant Nanak merges in the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1|| My mind is attached to the Lord, O my soul, like the infant, sucking his mother's milk. Without the Lord, I find no peace, O my soul; I am like the song-bird, crying out without the rain drops. Go, and seek the Sanctuary of the True Guru, O my soul; He shall tell you of the Glorious Virtues of the Lord God. Servant Nanak has merged into the Lord, O my soul; the many melodies of the Shabad resound within his heart. ||2|| Through egotism, the self-willed manmukhs are separated, O my soul; bound to poison, they are burnt by egotism. Like the pigeon, which itself falls into the trap, O my soul, all the self-willed manmukhs fall under the influence of death. Those self-willed manmukhs who focus their consciousness on Maya, O my soul, are foolish, evil demons.

Section 11 - Raag Bihaagra - Part 003

The Lord's humble servants beseech and implore Him, and enter His Sanctuary, O my soul; Guru Nanak becomes their Divine Protector. ||3|| The Lord's humble servants are saved, through the Love of the Lord, O my soul; by their pre-ordained good destiny, they obtain the Lord. The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is the ship, O my soul, and the Guru is the helmsman. Through the Word of the Shabad, He ferries us across. The Lord, Har, Har, is all-powerful and very kind, O my soul; through the Guru, the True Guru, He seems so sweet. Shower Your Mercy upon me, and hear my prayer, O Lord, Har, Har; please, let servant Nanak meditate on Your Name. ||4||2|| Bihaagraa, Fourth Mehl: In this world, the best occupation is to sing the Praises of the Naam, O my soul. Singing the Praises of the Lord, the Lord is enshrined in the mind. The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is immaculate and pure, O my soul. Chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, one is saved. All sins and errors are erased, O my soul; with the Naam, the Gurmukh washes off this filth. By great good fortune, servant Nanak meditates on the Lord; even fools and idiots like me have been saved. ||1|| Those who meditate on the Lord's Name, O my soul, overpower the five passions. The nine treasures of the Naam are within, O my soul; the Great Guru has made me see the unseen Lord. The Guru has fulfilled my hopes and desires, O my soul; meeting the Lord, all my hunger is satisfied. O servant Nanak, he alone sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord, O my soul, upon whose forehead God has inscribed such pre-ordained destiny. ||2|| I am a deceitful sinner, O my soul, a cheat, and a robber of others' wealth. But, by great good fortune, I have found the Guru, O my soul; through the Perfect Guru, I have found the way to salvation. The Guru has poured the Ambrosial Nectar of the Lord's Name into my mouth, O my soul, and now, my dead soul has come to life again. O servant Nanak: those who meet the True Guru, O my soul, have all of their pains taken away. ||3|| The Name of the Lord is sublime, O my soul; chanting it, one's sins are washed away. The Guru, the Lord, has purified even the sinners, O my soul; now, they are famous and respected in the four directions and throughout the four ages. The filth of egotism is totally wiped away, O my soul, by bathing in the Ambrosial Pool of the Lord's Name. Even sinners are carried across, O my soul, if they are imbued with the Lord's Name, even for an instant, O servant Nanak. ||4||3|| Bihaagraa, Fourth Mehl: I am a sacrifice, O my soul, to those who take the Support of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. The Guru, the True Guru, implanted the Name within me, O my soul, and He has carried me across the terrifying world-ocean of poison. Those who have meditated one-pointedly on the Lord, O my soul - I proclaim the Victory of those saintly beings.

Section 11 - Raag Bihaagra - Part 004

Nanak has found peace, meditating on the Lord, O my soul; the Lord is the Destroyer of all pain. ||1|| Blessed, blessed is that tongue, O my soul, which sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord God. Sublime and splendid are those ears, O my soul, which listen to the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises. Sublime, pure and pious is that head, O my soul, which falls at the Guru's Feet. Nanak is a sacrifice to that Guru, O my soul; the Guru has placed the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, in my mind. ||2|| Blessed and approved are those eyes, O my soul, which gaze upon the Holy True Guru. Sacred and sanctified are those hands, O my soul, which write the Praises of the Lord, Har, Har. I worship continually the feet of that humble being, O my soul, who walks on the Path of Dharma - the path of righteousness. Nanak is a sacrifice to those, O my soul, who hear of the Lord, and believe in the Lord's Name. ||3|| The earth, the nether regions of the underworld, and the Akaashic ethers, O my soul, all meditate on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Wind, water and fire, O my soul, continually sing the Praises of the Lord, Har, Har, Har. The woods, the meadows and the whole world, O my soul, chant with their mouths the Lord's Name, and meditate on the Lord. O Nanak, one who, as Gurmukh, focuses his consciousness on the Lord's devotional worship - O my soul, he is robed in honour in the Court of the Lord. ||4||4|| Bihaagraa, Fourth Mehl: Those who do not remember the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, O my soul - those self-willed manmukhs are foolish and ignorant. Those who attach their consciousness to emotional attachment and Maya, O my soul, depart regretfully in the end. They find no place of rest in the Court of the Lord, O my soul; those self-willed manmukhs are deluded by sin. O servant Nanak, those who meet the Guru are saved, O my soul; chanting the Name of the Lord, they are absorbed in the Name of the Lord. ||1|| Go, everyone, and meet the True Guru; O my soul, He implants the Name of the Lord, Har, har, within the heart. Do not hesitate for an instant - meditate on the Lord, O my soul; who knows whether he shall draw another breath? That time, that moment, that instant, that second is so fruitful, O my soul, when my Lord comes into my mind. Servant Nanak has meditated on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, O my soul, and now, the Messenger of Death does not draw near him. ||2|| The Lord continually watches, and hears everything, O my soul; he alone is afraid, who commits sins. One whose heart is pure within, O my soul, casts off all his fears. One who has faith in the Fearless Name of the Lord, O my soul - all his enemies and attackers speak against him in vain.

Section 11 - Raag Bihaagra - Part 005

Nanak has served the Perfect Guru, O my soul, who causes all to fall at His feet. ||3|| Serve such a Lord continuously, O my soul, who is the Great Lord and Master of all. Those who single-mindedly worship Him in adoration, O my soul, are not subservient to anyone. Serving the Guru, I have obtained the Mansion of the Lord's Presence, O my soul; all the slanderers and trouble-makers bark in vain. Servant Nanak has meditated on the Name, O my soul; such is the pre-ordained destiny which the Lord written on his forehead. ||4||5|| Bihaagraa, Fourth Mehl: All beings are Yours - You permeate them all. O my Lord God, You know what they do in their hearts. The Lord is with them, inwardly and outwardly, O my soul; He sees everything, but the mortal denies the Lord in his mind. The Lord is far away from the self-willed manmukhs, O my soul; all their efforts are in vain. Servant Nanak, as Gurmukh, meditates on the Lord, O my soul; he beholds the Lord ever-present. ||1|| They are devotees, and they are servants, O my soul, who are pleasing to the Mind of my God. They are robed in honour in the Court of the Lord, O my soul; night and day, they remain absorbed in the True Lord. In their company, the filth of one's sins is washed away, O my soul; imbued with the Lord's Love, one comes to bear the Mark of His Grace. Nanak offers his prayer to God, O my soul; joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, he is satisfied. ||2|| O tongue, chant the Name of

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God; O my soul, chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, your desires shall be extinguished. He, unto whom my Supreme Lord God shows Mercy, O my soul, enshrines the Name in his mind. One who meets the Perfect True Guru, O my soul, obtains the treasure of the Lord's wealth. By great good fortune, one joins the Company of the Holy, O my soul. O Nanak, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||3|| In the places and interspaces, O my soul, the Supreme Lord God, the Great Giver, is pervading. His limits cannot be found, O my soul; He is the Perfect Architect of Destiny. He cherishes all beings, O my soul, as the mother and father cherish their child. By thousands of clever tricks, He cannot be obtained, O my soul; servant Nanak, as Gurmukh, has come to know the Lord. ||4||6|| First Set of Six|| Bihaagraa, Fifth Mehl, Chhant, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I have seen one miracle of the Lord, O my Dear Beloved - whatever He does is righteous and just. The Lord has fashioned this beautiful arena, O my Dear Beloved, where all come and go.

Section 11 - Raag Bihaagra - Part 006

The One who fashioned the world causes them to come and go. Some meet the True Guru - the Lord invites them into the Mansion of His Presence; others wander around, deluded by doubt. You alone know Your limits; You are contained in all. Nanak speaks the Truth: listen, Saints - the Lord dispenses even-handed justice. ||1|| Come and join me, O my beautiful dear beloveds; let's worship the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Let's serve the Perfect True Guru, O my dear beloveds, and clear away the Path of Death. Having cleared the treacherous path, as Gurmukhs, we shall obtain honour in the Court of the Lord. Those who have such pre-ordained destiny, lovingly focus their consciousness on the Lord, night and day. Self-conceit, egotism and emotional attachment are eradicated when one joins the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Says servant Nanak, one who contemplates the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is liberated. ||2|| Let's join hands, O Saints; let's come together, O my dear beloveds, and worship the imperishable, Almighty Lord. I sought Him through uncounted forms of adoration, O my dear beloveds; now, I dedicate my entire mind and body to the Lord. The mind, body and all wealth belong to God; so what can anyone offer to Him in worship? He alone merges in the lap of God, unto whom the Merciful Lord Master becomes compassionate. One who has such pre-ordained destiny written on his forehead, comes to bear love for the Guru. Says servant Nanak, joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, let's worship the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||3|| I wandered around, searching in the ten directions, O my dear beloveds, but I came to find the Lord in the home of my own being. The Dear Lord has fashioned the body as the temple of the Lord, O my dear beloveds; the Lord continues to dwell there. The Lord and Master Himself is pervading everywhere; through the Guru, He is revealed. Darkness is dispelled, and pains are removed, when the sublime essence of the Lord's Ambrosial Nectar trickles down. Wherever I look, the Lord and Master is there. The Supreme Lord God is everywhere. Says servant Nanak, meeting the True Guru, I have found the Lord, within the home of my own being. ||4||1|| Raag Bihaagraa, Fifth Mehl: He is dear to me; He fascinates my mind; He is the ornament of my heart, the support of the breath of life. The Glory of the Beloved, Merciful Lord of the Universe is beautiful; He is infinite and without limit. O Compassionate Sustainer of the World, Beloved Lord of the Universe, please, join with Your humble soul-bride. My eyes long for the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan; the night passes, but I cannot sleep. I have applied the healing ointment of spiritual wisdom to my eyes; the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is my food. These are all my decorations. Prays Nanak, let's meditate on the Saint, that he may unite us with our Husband Lord. ||1|| I endure thousands of reprimands, and still, my Lord has not met with me. I make the effort to meet with my Lord, but none of my efforts work. Unsteady is my consciousness, and unstable is my wealth; without my Lord, I cannot be consoled.

Section 11 - Raag Bihaagra - Part 007

Food, drink and decorations are useless; without my Husband Lord, how can I survive? I yearn for Him, and desire Him night and day. I cannot live without Him, even for an instant. Prays Nanak, O Saint, I am Your slave; by Your Grace, I meet my Husband Lord. ||2|| I share a bed with my Beloved, but I do not behold the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. I have endless demerits - how can my Lord call me to the Mansion of His Presence? The worthless, dishonoured and orphaned soul-bride prays, "Meet with me, O God, treasure of mercy." The wall of doubt has been shattered, and now I sleep in peace, beholding God, the Lord of the nine treasures, even for an instant. If only I could come into the Mansion of my Beloved Lord's Presence! Joining with Him, I sing the songs of joy. Prays Nanak, I seek the Sanctuary of the Saints; please, reveal to me the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. ||3|| By the Grace of the Saints, I have obtained the Lord, Har, Har. My desires are fulfilled, and my mind is at peace; the fire within has been quenched. Fruitful is that day, and beauteous is that night, and countless are the joys, celebrations and pleasures. The Lord of the Universe, the Beloved Sustainer of the World, has been revealed. With what tongue can I speak of His Glory? Doubt, greed, emotional attachment and corruption are taken away; joining with my companions, I sing the songs of joy. Prays Nanak, I meditate on the Saint, who has led me to merge with the Lord, Har, Har. ||4||2|| Bihaagraa, Fifth Mehl: Shower Your Mercy upon me, O Guru, O Perfect Supreme Lord God, that I might chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord, night and day. I speak the Ambrosial Words of the Guru's Bani, praising the Lord. Your Will is sweet to me, Lord. Show kindness and compassion, O Sustainer of the Word, Lord of the Universe; without You, I have no other. Almighty, sublime, infinite, perfect Lord - my soul, body, wealth and mind are Yours. I am foolish, stupid, masterless, fickle, powerless, lowly and ignorant. Prays Nanak, I seek Your Sanctuary - please save me from coming and going in reincarnation. ||1|| In the Sanctuary of the Holy Saints, I have found the Dear Lord, and I constantly sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Applying the dust of the devotees to the mind and body, O Dear Lord, all sinners are sanctified. The sinners are sanctified in the company of those who have met the Creator Lord. Imbued with the Naam, the Name of the Lord, they are given the gift of the life of the soul; their gifts increase day by day. Wealth, the supernatural spiritual powers of the Siddhas, and the nine treasures come to those who meditate on the Lord, and conquer their own soul. Prays Nanak, it is only by great good fortune that the Holy Saints, the Lord's companions, are found, O friends. ||2|| Those who deal in Truth, O Dear Lord, are the perfect bankers. They possess the great treasure, O Dear Lord, and they reap the profit of the Lord's Praise. Sexual desire, anger and greed do not cling to those who are attuned to God. They know the One, and they believe in the One; they are intoxicated with the Lord's Love. They fall at the Feet of the Saints, and seek their Sanctuary; their minds are filled with joy. Prays Nanak, those who have the Naam in their laps are the true bankers. ||3|| O Nanak, meditate on that Dear Lord, who supports all by His almighty strength.

Section 11 - Raag Bihaagra - Part 008

In their minds, the Gurmukhs do not forget the Dear Lord, the Primal Creator Lord. Pain, disease and fear do not cling to those who meditate on the Lord, Har, Har. By the Grace of the Saints, they cross over the terrifying world-ocean, and obtain their pre-ordained destiny. They are congratulated and applauded, their minds are at peace, and they meet the infinite Lord God. Prays Nanak, by meditating in remembrance on the Lord, Har, Har, my desires are fulfilled. ||4||3|| Bihaagraa, Fifth Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O peaceful night, grow longer - I have come to enshrine love for my Beloved. O painful sleep, grow shorter, so that I may constantly grasp His Feet. I long for the dust of His Feet, and beg for His Name; for His Love, I have renounced the world. I am imbued with the Love of my Beloved, and I am naturally intoxicated with it; I have forsaken my awful evil-mindedness. He has taken me by the arm, and I am saturated with His Love; I have met my Beloved on the Path of Truth. Prays Nanak, please Lord, shower Your Mercy on me, that I may remain attached to Your Feet. ||1|| O my friends and companions, let us remain attached to the Feet of God. Within my mind is great love for my Beloved; I beg for the Lord's devotional worship. The Lord's devotional worship is obtained, meditating on God. Let us go and meet the humble servants of the Lord. Renounce pride, emotional attachment and corruption, and dedicate this body, wealth and mind to Him. The Lord God is great, perfect, glorious, absolutely perfect; meeting the Lord, Har, Har, the wall of doubt is torn down. Prays Nanak, hear these teachings, O friends - chant the Lord's Name constantly, over and over again. ||2|| The Lord's bride is a happy wife; she enjoys all pleasures. She does not sit around like a widow, because the Lord God lives forever. She does not suffer pain - she meditates on God. She is blessed, and very fortunate. She sleeps in peaceful ease, her sins are erased, and she wakes to the joy and love of the Naam. She remains absorbed in her Beloved - the Lord's Name is her ornament. The Words of her Beloved are sweet and pleasing to her. Prays Nanak, I have obtained my mind's desires; I have met my eternal Husband Lord. ||3|| The songs of bliss resound, and millions of pleasures are found in that house; the mind and body are permeated by God, the Lord of supreme bliss. My Husband Lord is infinite and merciful; He is the Lord of wealth, the Lord of the Universe, the Saving Grace of sinners. God, the Giver of mercy, the Lord, the Destroyer of pride, carries us across the terrifying world-ocean of poison. The Lord lovingly embraces whoever comes to the Lord's Sanctuary - this is the way of the Lord and Master. Prays Nanak, I have met my Husband Lord, who plays with me forever. ||4||1||4|| Bihaagraa, Fifth Mehl: The Lord's Feet are the Pools of Ambrosial Nectar; your dwelling is there, O my mind.

Section 11 - Raag Bihaagra - Part 009

Take your cleansing bath in the Ambrosial Pool of the Lord, and all of your sins shall be wiped away, O my soul. Take your cleansing ever in the Lord God, O friends, and the pain of darkness shall be dispelled. Birth and death shall not touch you, and the noose of Death shall be cut away. So join the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, and be imbued with the Naam, the Name of the Lord; there, your hopes shall be fulfilled. Prays Nanak, shower Your Mercy upon me, O Lord, that I might dwell at Your Lotus Feet. ||1|| There is bliss and ecstasy there always, and the unstruck celestial melody resounds there. Meeting together, the Saints sing God's Praises, and celebrate His Victory. Meeting together, the Saints sing the Praises of the Lord Master; they are pleasing to the Lord, and saturated with the sublime essence of His love and affection. They obtain the profit of the Lord, eliminate their self-conceit, and meet Him, from whom they were separated for so long. Taking them by the arm, He makes them His own; God, the One, inaccessible and infinite, bestows His kindness. Prays Nanak, forever immaculate are those who sing the Praises of the True Word of the Shabad. ||2|| Listen, O most fortunate ones, to the Ambrosial Bani of the Word of the Lord. He alone, whose karma is so pre-ordained, has it enter into his heart. He alone knows the Unspoken Speech, unto whom God has shown His Mercy. He becomes immortal, and shall not die again; his troubles, disputes and pains are dispelled. He finds the Sanctuary of the Lord; he does not forsake the Lord, and does not leave. God's Love is pleasing to his mind and body. Prays Nanak, sing forever the Sacred Ambrosial Bani of His Word. ||3|| My mind and body are intoxicated - this state cannot be described. We originated from Him, and into Him we shall merge once again. I merge into God's Light, through and through, like water merging into water. The One Lord permeates the water, the land and the sky - I do not see any other. He is totally permeating the woods, meadows and the three worlds. I cannot express His worth. Prays Nanak, He alone knows - He who created this creation. ||4||2||5|| Bihaagraa, Fifth Mehl: The Saints go around, searching for God, the support of their breath of life. They lose the strength of their bodies, if they do not merge with their Beloved Lord. O God, my Beloved, please, bestow Your kindness upon me, that I may merge with You; by Your Mercy, attach me to the hem of Your robe. Bless me with Your Name, that I may chant it, O Lord and Master; beholding the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan, I live. He is all-powerful, perfect, eternal and unchanging, exalted, unapproachable and infinite. Prays Nanak, bestow Your Mercy upon me, O Beloved of my soul, that I may merge with You. ||1|| I have practiced chanting, intensive meditation and fasting, to see Your Feet, O Lord. But still, my burning is not quenched, without the Sanctuary of the Lord Master. I seek Your Sanctuary, God - please, cut away my bonds and carry me across the world-ocean. I am masterless, worthless, and I know nothing; please do not count up my merits and demerits. O Lord, Merciful to the meek, Sustainer of the world, O Beloved, Almighty Cause of causes. Nanak, the song-bird, begs for the rain-drop of the Lord's Name; meditating on the Feet of the Lord, Har, Har, he lives. ||2||

Section 11 - Raag Bihaagra - Part 010

Drink in the Ambrosial Nectar from the pool of the Lord; chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. In the Society of the Saints, one meets the Lord; meditating on Him, one's affairs are resolved. God is the One who accomplishes everything; He is the Dispeller of pain. Never forget Him from your mind, even for an instant. He is blissful, night and day; He is forever True. All Glories are contained in the Lord in the Universe. Incalculable, lofty and infinite is the Lord and Master. Unapproachable is His home. Prays Nanak, my desires are fulfilled; I have met the Lord, the Greatest Lover. ||3|| The fruits of many millions of charitable feasts come to those who listen to and sing the Lord's Praise. Chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, all one's generations are carried across. Chanting the Name of the Lord, one is beautified; what Praises of His can I chant? I shall never forget the Lord; He is the Beloved of my soul. My mind constantly yearns for the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. Auspicious is that day, when God, the lofty, inaccessible and infinite, hugs me close in His embrace. Prays Nanak, everything is fruitful - I have met my supremely beloved Lord God. ||4||3||6|| Bihaagraa, Fifth Mehl, Chhant: Why are you imbued with the love of another? That path is very dangerous. O sinner, no one is your friend. No one shall be your friend, and you shall forever regret your actions. You have not chanted with your tongue the Praises of the Sustainer of the World; when will these days come again? The leaf, separated from the branch, shall not be joined with it again; all alone, it falls on its way to death. Prays Nanak, without the Lord's Name, the soul wanders, forever suffering. ||1|| You are practicing deception secretly, but the Lord, the Knower, knows all. When the Righteous Judge of Dharma reads your account, you shall be squeezed like a sesame seed in the oil-press. For the actions you committed, you shall suffer the penalty; you shall be consigned to countless reincarnations. Imbued with the love of Maya, the great

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enticer, you shall lose the jewel of this human life. Except for the One Name of the Lord, you are clever in everything else. Prays Nanak, those who have such pre-ordained destiny are attracted to doubt and emotional attachment. ||2|| No one advocates for the ungrateful person, who is separated from the Lord. The hard-hearted Messenger of Death comes and seizes him. He seizes him, and leads him away, to pay for his evil deeds; he was imbued with Maya, the great enticer. He was not Gurmukh - he did not chant the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe; and now, the hot irons are put to his chest. He is ruined by sexual desire, anger and egotism; deprived of spiritual wisdom, he comes to regret. Prays Nanak, by his cursed destiny he has gone astray; with his tongue, he does not chant the Name of the Lord. ||3|| Without You, God, no one is our savior. It is Your Nature, Lord, to save the sinners. O Savior of sinners, I have entered Your Sanctuary, O Lord and Master, Compassionate Ocean of Mercy. Please, rescue me from the deep, dark pit, O Creator, Cherisher of all hearts. I seek Your Sanctuary; please, cut away these heavy bonds, and give me the Support of the One Name.

Section 11 - Raag Bihaagra - Part 011

Prays Nanak, please, give me Your Hand and save me, O Lord of the Universe, Merciful to the meek. ||4|| That day is judged to be fruitful, when I merged with my Lord. Total happiness was revealed, and pain was taken far away. Peace, tranquility, joy and eternal happiness come from constantly singing the Glorious Praises of the Sustainer of the World. Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I lovingly remember the Lord; I shall not wander again in reincarnation. He has naturally hugged me close in His Loving Embrace, and the seed of my primal destiny has sprouted. Prays Nanak, He Himself has met me, and He shall never again leave me. ||5||4||7|| Bihaagraa, Fifth Mehl, Chhant: Listen to my prayer, O my Lord and Master. I am filled with millions of sins, but still, I am Your slave. O Destroyer of pain, Bestower of Mercy, Fascinating Lord, Destroyer of sorrow and strife, I have come to Your Sanctuary; please preserve my honour. You are all-pervading, O Immaculate Lord. He hears and beholds all; God is with us, the nearest of the near. O Lord and Master, hear Nanak's prayer; please save the servants of Your household. ||1|| You are eternal and all-powerful; I am a mere beggar, Lord. I am intoxicated with the love of Maya - save me, Lord! Bound down by greed, emotional attachment and corruption, I have made so many mistakes. The creator is both attached and detached from entanglements; one obtains the fruits of his own actions. Show kindness to me, O Purifier of sinners; I am so tired of wandering through reincarnation. Prays Nanak, I am the slave of the Lord; God is the Support of my soul, and my breath of life. ||2|| You are great and all-powerful; my understanding is so inadequate, O Lord. You cherish even the ungrateful ones; Your Glance of Grace is perfect, Lord. Your wisdom is unfathomable, O Infinite Creator. I am lowly, and I know nothing. Forsaking the jewel, I have saved the shell; I am a lowly, ignorant beast. I have kept that which forsakes me, and is very fickle, continually committing sins, again and again. Nanak seeks Your Sanctuary, Almighty Lord and Master; please, preserve my honour. ||3|| I was separated from Him, and now, He has united me with Himself. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Singing the Praises of the Lord of the Universe, the ever-sublime blissful Lord is revealed to me. My bed is adorned with God; my God has made me His own. Abandoning anxiety, I have become carefree, and I shall not suffer in pain any longer. Nanak lives by beholding the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe, the ocean of excellence. ||4||5||8|| Bihaagraa, Fifth Mehl, Chhant: O you of sublime faith, chant the Lord's Name; why do you remain silent? with your eyes, you have seen the treacherous ways of Maya. Nothing shall go along with you, except the Name of the Lord of the Universe. Land, clothes, gold and silver - all of these things are useless. Children, spouse, worldly honours, elephants, horses and other corrupting influences shall not go with you. Prays Nanak, without the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, the whole world is false. ||1||

Section 11 - Raag Bihaagra - Part 012

O king, why are you sleeping? Why don't you wake up to reality? It is useless to cry and whine about Maya, but so many cry out and bewail. So many cry out for Maya, the great enticer, but without the Name of the Lord, there is no peace. Thousands of clever tricks and efforts will not succeed. One goes wherever the Lord wills him to go. In the beginning, in the middle, and in the end, He is all-pervading everywhere; He is in each and every heart. Prays Nanak, those who join the Saadh Sangat go to the house of the Lord with honour. ||2|| O king of mortals, know that your palaces and wise servants shall be of no use in the end. You shall certainly have to separate yourself from them, and their attachment shall make you feel regret. Beholding the phantom city, you have gone astray; how can you now find stability? Absorbed in things other than the Name of the Lord, this human life is wasted in vain. Indulging in egotistical actions, your thirst is not quenched. Your desires are not fulfilled, and you do not attain spiritual wisdom. Prays Nanak, without the Name of the Lord, so many have departed with regret. ||3|| Showering His blessings, the Lord has made me His own. Grasping me by the arm, He has pulled me out of the mud, and He has blessed me with the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Worshipping the Lord in the Saadh Sangat, all my sins and sufferings are burnt away. This is the greatest religion, and the best act of charity; this alone shall go along with you. My tongue chants in adoration the Name of the One Lord and Master; my mind and body are drenched in the Lord's Name. O Nanak, whoever the Lord unites with Himself, is filled with all virtues. ||4||6||9|| Vaar Of Bihaagraa, Fourth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Shalok, Third Mehl: Serving the Guru, peace is obtained; do not search for peace anywhere else. The soul is pierced by the Word of the Guru's Shabad. The Lord dwells ever with the soul. O Nanak, they alone obtain the Naam, the Name of the Lord, who are blessed by the Lord with His Glance of Grace. ||1|| Third Mehl: The treasure of the Lord's Praise is such a blessed gift; he alone obtains it to spend, unto whom the Lord bestows it. Without the True Guru, it does not come to hand; all have grown weary of performing religious rituals. O Nanak, the self-willed manmukhs of the world lack this wealth; when they are hungry in the next world, what will they have to eat there? ||2|| Pauree: All are Yours, and You belong to all. You created all. You are pervading within all - all meditate on You. You accept the devotional worship of those who are pleasing to Your Mind. Whatever pleases the Lord God happens; all act as You cause them to act. Praise the Lord, the greatest of all; He preserves the honour of the Saints. ||1|| Shalok, Third Mehl: O Nanak, the spiritually wise one has conquered all others. Through the Name, his affairs are brought to perfection; whatever happens is by His Will. Under Guru's Instruction, his mind is held steady; no one can make him waver. The Lord makes His devotee His own, and his affairs are adjusted.

Section 11 - Raag Bihaagra - Part 013

The self-willed manmukhs have been led astray from the very beginning; within them lurks greed, avarice and ego. Their nights and days pass in argument, and they do not reflect upon the Word of the Shabad. The Creator has taken away their subtle intellect, and all their speech is corrupt. No matter what they are given, they are not satisfied; within them is desire, and the great darkness of ignorance. O Nanak, it is right to break with the self-willed manmukhs; to them, the love of Maya is sweet. ||1|| Third Mehl: What can fear and doubt do to those, who have given their heads to the Creator, and to the True Guru? He who has preserved honour from the beginning of time, He shall preserve their honour as well. Meeting their Beloved, they find peace; they reflect upon the True Word of the Shabad. O Nanak, I serve the Giver of Peace; He Himself is the Assessor. ||2|| Pauree: All beings are Yours; You are the wealth of all. One unto whom You give, obtains everything; there is no one else to rival You. You alone are the Great Giver of all; I offer my prayer unto You, Lord. One with whom You are pleased, is accepted by You; how blessed is such a person! Your wondrous play is pervading everywhere. I place my pain and pleasure before You. ||2|| Shalok, Third Mehl: The Gurmukhs are pleasing to the True Lord; they are judged to be true in the True Court. The minds of such friends are filled with bliss, as they reflect upon the Word of the Guru's Shabad. They enshrine the Shabad within their hearts; their pain is dispelled, and the Creator blesses them with the Divine Light. O Nanak, the Savior Lord shall save them, and shower them with His Mercy. ||1|| Third Mehl: Serve the Guru, and wait upon Him; as you work, maintain the Fear of God. As you serve Him, you will become like Him, as you walk according to His Will. O Nanak, He Himself is everything; there is no other place to go. ||2|| Pauree: You alone know Your greatness - no one else is as great as You. If there were some other rival as great as You, then I would speak of him. You alone are as great as You are. One who serves You obtains peace; who else can compare to You? You are all-powerful to destroy and create, O Great Giver; with palms pressed together, all stand begging before You. I see none as great as You, O Great Giver; You give in charity to the beings of all the continents, worlds, solar systems, nether regions and universes. ||3|| Shalok, Third Mehl: O mind, you have no faith, and you have not embraced love for the Celestial Lord; you do not enjoy the sublime taste of the Word of the Shabad - what Praises of the Lord will you stubborn-mindedly sing? O Nanak, his coming alone is approved, who, as Gurmukh, merges into the True Lord. ||1|| Third Mehl: The fool does not understand his own self; he annoys others with his speech. His underlying nature does not leave him; separated from the Lord, he suffers cruel blows. Through the fear of the True Guru, he has not changed and reformed himself, so that he might merge in the lap of God.

Section 11 - Raag Bihaagra - Part 014

Night and day, his doubts never stop; without the Word of the Shabad, he suffers in pain. Sexual desire, anger and greed are so powerful within him; he passes his life constantly entangled in worldly affairs. His feet, hands, eyes and ears are exhausted; his days are numbered, and his death is immanent. The True Name does not seem sweet to him - the Name by which the nine treasures are obtained. But if he remains dead while yet alive, then by so dying, he truly lives; thus, he attains liberation. But if he is not blessed with such pre-ordained karma, then without this karma, what can he obtain? Meditate in remembrance on the Word of the Guru's Shabad, you fool; through the Shabad, you shall obtain salvation and wisdom. O Nanak, he alone finds the True Guru, who eliminates self-conceit from within. ||2|| Pauree: One whose consciousness is filled with my Lord Master - why should he feel anxious about anything? The Lord is the Giver of Peace, the Lord of all things; why would we turn our faces away from His meditation, even for a moment, or an instant? One who meditates on the Lord obtains all pleasures and comforts; let us go each and every day, to sit in the Saints' Society. All the pain, hunger, and disease of the Lord's servant are eradicated; the bonds of the humble beings are torn away. By the Lord's Grace, one becomes the Lord's devotee; beholding the face of the Lord's humble devotee, the whole world is saved and carried across. ||4|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Let that tongue, which has not tasted the Name of the Lord, be burnt. O Nanak, one whose mind is filled with the Name of the Lord, Har, Har - his tongue savors the Word of the Shabad. ||1|| Third Mehl: Let that tongue, which has forgotten the Name of the Lord, be burnt. O Nanak, the tongue of the Gurmukh chants the Lord's Name, and loves the Name of the Lord. ||2|| Pauree: The Lord Himself is the Master, the servant and the devotee; the Lord Himself is the Cause of causes. The Lord Himself beholds, and He Himself rejoices. As He wills, so does He enjoin us. The Lord places some on the Path, and the Lord leads others into the wilderness. The Lord is the True Master; True is His justice. He arranges and beholds all His plays. By Guru's Grace, servant Nanak speaks and sings the Glorious Praises of the True Lord. ||5|| Shalok, Third Mehl: How rare is the dervish, the Saintly renunciate, who understands renunciation. Cursed is the life, and cursed are the clothes, of one who wanders around, begging from door to door. But, if he abandons hope and anxiety, and as Gurmukh receives the Name as his charity, then Nanak washes his feet, and is a sacrifice to him. ||1|| Third Mehl: O Nanak, the tree has one fruit, but two birds are perched upon it. They are not seen coming or going; these birds have no wings. One enjoys so many pleasures, while the other, through the Word of the Shabad, remains in Nirvaanaa. Imbued with the subtle essence of the fruit of the Lord's Name, O Nanak, the soul bears the True Insignia of God's Grace. ||2|| Pauree: He Himself is the field, and He Himself is the farmer. He Himself grows and grinds the corn. He Himself cooks it, He Himself puts the food in the dishes, and He Himself sits down to eat.

Section 11 - Raag Bihaagra - Part 015

He Himself is the water, He Himself gives the tooth-pick, and He Himself offers the mouthwash. He Himself calls and seats the congregation, and He Himself bids them goodbye. One whom the Lord Himself blesses with His Mercy - the Lord causes him to walk according to His Will. ||6|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Rituals and religions are all just entanglements; bad and good are bound up with them. Those things done for the sake of children and spouse, in ego and attachment, are just more bonds. Wherever I look, there I see the noose of attachment to Maya. O Nanak, without the True Name, the world is engrossed in blind entanglements. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: The blind receive the Divine Light, when they merge with the Will of the True Guru. They break their bonds, and dwell in Truth, and the darkness of ignorance is dispelled. They see that everything belongs to the One who created and fashioned the body. Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of the Creator - the Creator preserves his honour. ||2|| Pauree: When the Creator, sitting all by Himself, created the Universe, he did not consult with any of His servants; so what can anyone take, and what can anyone give, when He did not create any other like Himself? Then, after fashioning the world, the Creator blessed all with His blessings. He Himself instructs us in His service, and as Gurmukh, we drink in His Ambrosial Nectar. He Himself is formless, and He Himself is formed; whatever He Himself does, comes to pass. ||7|| Shalok, Third Mehl: The Gurmukhs serve God forever; night and day, they are steeped in the Love of the True Lord. They are in bliss forever, singing the Glorious Praises of the True Lord; in this world and in the next, they keep Him clasped to their hearts. Their Beloved dwells deep within; the Creator pre-ordained this destiny. O Nanak, He blends them into Himself; He Himself showers His Mercy upon them. ||1|| Third Mehl: By merely talking and speaking, He is not found. Night and day, sing His Glorious Praises continually. Without His Merciful Grace, no one finds Him; many have died barking and bewailing. When the mind and body are saturated with the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the Lord Himself comes to dwell in his mind.

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O Nanak, by His Grace, He is found; He unites us in His Union. ||2|| Pauree: He Himself is the Vedas, the Puraanas and all the Shaastras; He Himself chants them, and He Himself is pleased. He Himself sits down to worship, and He Himself creates the world. He Himself is a householder, and He Himself is a renunciate; He Himself utters the Unutterable. He Himself is all goodness, and He Himself causes us to act; He Himself remains detached. He Himself grants pleasure and pain; the Creator Himself bestows His gifts. ||8|| Shalok, Third Mehl: O Shaykh, abandon your cruel nature; live in the Fear of God and give up your madness. Through the Fear of the Guru, many have been saved; in this fear, find the Fearless Lord. Pierce your stone heart with the Word of the Shabad; let peace and tranquility come to abide in your mind. If good deeds are done in this state of peace, they are approved by the Lord and Master. O Nanak, through sexual desire and anger, no one has ever found God - go, and ask any wise man. ||1|| Third Mehl:

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The self-willed manmukh is emotionally attached to Maya - he has no love for the Naam. He practices falsehood, gathers in falsehood, and makes falsehood his sustenance. He collects the poisonous wealth of Maya, and then dies; in the end, it is all reduced to ashes. He practices religious rituals, purity and austere self-discipline, but within, there is greed and corruption. O Nanak, whatever the self-willed manmukh does, is not acceptable; in the Court of the Lord, he is dishonoured. ||2|| Pauree: He Himself created the four sources of creation, and He Himself fashioned speech; He Himself formed the worlds and solar systems. He Himself is the ocean, and He Himself is the sea; He Himself puts the pearls in it. By His Grace, the Lord enables the Gurmukh to find these pearls. He Himself is the terrifying world-ocean, and He Himself is the boat; He Himself is the boatman, and He Himself ferries us across. The Creator Himself acts, and causes us to act; no one else can equal You, Lord. ||9|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Fruitful is service to the True Guru, if one does so with a sincere mind. The treasure of the Naam, is obtained, and the mind comes to be free of anxiety. The pains of birth and death are eradicated, and the mind is rid of egotism and self-conceit. One achieves the ultimate state, and remains absorbed in the True Lord. O Nanak, the True Guru comes and meets those who have such pre-ordained destiny. ||1|| Third Mehl: The True Guru is imbued with the Naam, the Name of the Lord; He is the boat in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga. One who becomes Gurmukh crosses over; the True Lord dwells within him. He remembers the Naam, he gathers in the Naam, and he obtains honour through the Naam. Nanak has found the True Guru; by His Grace, the Name is obtained. ||2|| Pauree: He Himself is the Philosopher's Stone, He Himself is the metal, and He Himself is transformed into gold. He Himself is the Lord and Master, He Himself is the servant, and He Himself is the Destroyer of sins. He Himself enjoys every heart; the Lord Master Himself is the basis of all illusion. He Himself is the discerning one, and He Himself is the Knower of all; He Himself breaks the bonds of the Gurmukhs. Servant Nanak is not satisfied by merely praising You, O Creator Lord; You are the Great Giver of peace. ||10|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: Without serving the True Guru, the deeds which are done are only chains binding the soul. Without serving the True Guru, they find no place of rest. They die, only to be born again - they continue coming and going. Without serving the True Guru, their speech is insipid. They do not enshrine the Naam, the Name of the Lord, in the mind. O Nanak, without serving the True Guru, they are bound and gagged, and beaten in the City of Death; they depart with blackened faces. ||1|| Third Mehl: Some wait upon and serve the True Guru; they embrace love for the Lord's Name. O Nanak, they reform their lives, and redeem their generations as well. ||2|| Pauree: He Himself is the school, He Himself is the teacher, and He Himself brings the students to be taught. He Himself is the father, He Himself is the mother, and He Himself makes the children wise. In one place, He teaches them to read and understand everything, while in another place, He Himself makes them ignorant. Some, You summon to the Mansion of Your Presence within, when they are pleasing to Your Mind, O True Lord.

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That Gurmukh, whom You have blessed with greatness - that humble being is known in Your True Court. ||11|| Shalok, Mardaanaa: The Dark Age of Kali Yuga is the vessel, filled with the wine of sexual desire; the mind is the drunkard. Anger is the cup, filled with emotional attachment, and egotism is the server. Drinking too much in the company of falsehood and greed, one is ruined. So let good deeds be your distillery, and Truth your molasses; in this way, make the most excellent wine of Truth. Make virtue your bread, good conduct the ghee, and modesty the meat to eat. As Gurmukh, these are obtained, O Nanak; partaking of them, one's sins depart. ||1|| MARDAANAA: The human body is the vat, self-conceit is the wine, and desire is the company of drinking buddies. The cup of the mind's longing is overflowing with falsehood, and the Messenger of Death is the cup-bearer. Drinking in this wine, O Nanak, one takes on countless sins and corruptions. So make spiritual wisdom your molasses, the Praise of God your bread, and the Fear of God the meat you eat. O Nanak, this is the true food; let the True Name be your only Support. ||2|| If the human body is the vat, and self-realisation is the wine, then a stream of Ambrosial Nectar is produced. Meeting with the Society of the Saints, the cup of the Lord's Love is filled with this Ambrosial Nectar; drinking it in, one's corruptions and sins are wiped away. ||3|| Pauree: He Himself is the angelic being, the heavenly herald, and the celestial singer. He Himself is the one who explains the six schools of philosophy. He Himself is Shiva, Shankara and Mahaysh; He Himself is the Gurmukh, who speaks the Unspoken Speech. He Himself is the Yogi, He Himself is the Sensual Enjoyer, and He Himself is the Sannyaasee, wandering through the wilderness. He discusses with Himself, and He teaches Himself; He Himself is discrete, graceful and wise. Staging His own play, He Himself watches it; He Himself is the Knower of all beings. ||12|| Shalok, Third Mehl: That evening prayer alone is acceptable, which brings the Lord God to my consciousness. Love for the Lord wells up within me, and my attachment to Maya is burnt away. By Guru's Grace, duality is conquered, and the mind becomes stable; I have made contemplative meditation my evening prayer. O Nanak, the self-willed manmukh may recite his evening prayers, but his mind is not centred on it; through birth and death, he is ruined. ||1|| Third Mehl: I wandered over the whole world, crying out, "Love, O Love!", but my thirst was not quenched. O Nanak, meeting the True Guru, my desires are satisfied; I found my Beloved, when I returned to my own home. ||2|| Pauree: He Himself is the supreme essence, He Himself is the essence of all. He Himself is the Lord and Master, and He Himself is the servant. He Himself created the people of the eighteen castes; God Himself acquired His domain. He Himself kills, and He Himself redeems; He Himself, in His Kindness, forgives us. He is infallible - He never errs; the justice of the True Lord is totally True. Those whom the Lord Himself instructs as Gurmukh - duality and doubt depart from within them. ||13|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: That body, which does not remember the Lord's Name in meditation in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, shall be reduced to dust. Cursed and insipid is that body, O Nanak, which does not know the One who created it. ||1||

Section 11 - Raag Bihaagra - Part 018

Fifth Mehl: Let the Lotus Feet of the Lord abide within your heart, and with your tongue, chant God's Name. O Nanak, meditate in remembrance on God, and nurture this body. ||2|| Pauree: The Creator Himself is the sixty-eight sacred places of pilgrimage; He Himself takes the cleansing bath in them. He Himself practices austere self-discipline; the Lord Master Himself causes us to chant His Name. He Himself becomes merciful to us; the Destroyer of fear Himself gives in charity to all. One whom He has enlightened and made Gurmukh, ever obtains honour in His Court. One whose honour the Lord Master has preserved, comes to know the True Lord. ||14|| Shalok, Third Mehl: O Nanak, without meeting the True Guru, the world is blind, and it does blind deeds. It does not focus its consciousness on the Word of the Shabad, which would bring peace to abide in the mind. Always afflicted with the dark passions of low energy, it wanders around, passing its days and nights burning. Whatever pleases Him, comes to pass; no one has any say in this. ||1|| Third Mehl: The True Guru has commanded us to do this: through the Guru's Gate, meditate on the Lord Master. The Lord Master is ever-present. He tears away the veil of doubt, and installs His Light within the mind. The Name of the Lord is Ambrosial Nectar - take this healing medicine! Enshrine the Will of the True Guru in your consciousness, and make the True Lord's Love your self-discipline. O Nanak, you shall be kept in peace here, and hereafter, you shall celebrate with the Lord. ||2|| Pauree: He Himself is the vast variety of Nature, and He Himself makes it bear fruit. He Himself is the Gardener, He Himself irrigates all the plants, and He Himself puts them in His mouth. He Himself is the Creator, and He Himself is the Enjoyer; He Himself gives, and causes others to give. He Himself is the Lord and Master, and He Himself is the Protector; He Himself is permeating and pervading everywhere. Servant Nanak speaks of the greatness of the Lord, the Creator, who has no greed at all. ||15|| Shalok, Third Mehl: One person brings a full bottle, and another fills his cup. Drinking the wine, his intelligence departs, and madness enters his mind; he cannot distinguish between his own and others, and he is struck down by his Lord and Master. Drinking it, he forgets his Lord and Master, and he is punished in the Court of the Lord. Do not drink the false wine at all, if it is in your power. O Nanak, the True Guru comes and meets the mortal; by His Grace, one obtains the True Wine. He shall dwell forever in the Love of the Lord Master, and obtain a seat in the Mansion of His Presence. ||1|| Third Mehl: When this world comes to understand, it remains dead while yet alive. When the Lord puts him to sleep, he remains asleep; when He wakes him up, he regains consciousness. O Nanak, when the Lord casts His Glance of Grace, He causes him to meet the True Guru. By Guru's Grace, remain dead while yet alive, and you shall not have to die again. ||2|| Pauree: By His doing, everything happens; what does He care for anyone else? O Dear Lord, everyone eats whatever You give - all are subservient to You.

Section 11 - Raag Bihaagra - Part 019

One who praises You obtains everything; You bestow Your Mercy upon him, O Immaculate Lord. He alone is a true banker and trader, who loads the merchandise of the wealth of the Your Name, O Lord. O Saints, let everyone praise the Lord, who has destroyed the pile of the love of duality. ||16|| Shalok: Kabeer, the world is dying - dying to death, but no one knows how to truly die. Whoever dies, let him die such a death, that he does not have to die again. ||1|| Third Mehl: What do I know? How will I die? What sort of death will it be? If I do not forget the Lord Master from my mind, then my death will be easy. The world is terrified of death; everyone longs to live. By Guru's Grace, one who dies while yet alive, understands the Lord's Will. O Nanak, one who dies such a death, lives forever. ||2|| Pauree: When the Lord Master Himself becomes merciful, the Lord Himself causes His Name to be chanted. He Himself causes us to meet the True Guru, and blesses us with peace. His servant is pleasing to the Lord. He Himself preserves the honour of His servants; He causes others to fall at the feet of His devotees. The Righteous Judge of Dharma is a creation of the Lord; he does not approach the humble servant of the Lord. One who is dear to the Lord, is dear to all; so many others come and go in vain. ||17|| Shalok, Third Mehl: The entire world roams around, chanting, "Raam, Raam, Lord, Lord", but the Lord cannot be obtained like this. He is inaccessible, unfathomable and so very great; He is unweighable, and cannot be weighed. No one can evaluate Him; He cannot be purchased at any price. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, His mystery is known; in this way, He comes to dwell in the mind. O Nanak, He Himself is infinite; by Guru's Grace, He is known to be permeating and pervading everywhere. He Himself comes to blend, and having blended, remains blended. ||1|| Third Mehl: O my soul, this is the wealth of the Naam; through it, comes peace, forever and ever. It never brings any loss; through it, one earns profits forever. Eating and spending it, it never decreases; He continues to give, forever and ever. One who has no skepticism at all never suffers humiliation. O Nanak, the Gurmukh obtains the Name of the Lord, when the Lord bestows His Glance of Grace. ||2|| Pauree: He Himself is deep within all hearts, and He Himself is outside them. He Himself is prevailing unmanifest, and He Himself is manifest. For thirty-six ages, He created the darkness, abiding in the void. There were no Vedas, Puraanas or Shaastras there; only the Lord Himself existed. He Himself sat in the absolute trance, withdrawn from everything. Only He Himself knows His state; He Himself is the unfathomable ocean. ||18|| Shalok, Third Mehl: In egotism, the world is dead; it dies and dies, again and again.

Section 11 - Raag Bihaagra - Part 020

As long as there is breath in the body, he does not remember the Lord; what will he do in the world hereafter? One who remembers the Lord is a spiritual teacher; the ignorant one acts blindly. O Nanak, whatever one does in this world, determines what he shall receive in the world hereafter. ||1|| Third Mehl: From the very beginning, it has been the Will of the Lord Master, that He cannot be remembered without the True Guru. Meeting the True Guru, he realises that the Lord is permeating and pervading deep within him; he remains forever absorbed in the Lord's Love. With each and every breath, he constantly remembers the Lord in meditation; not a single breath passes in vain. His fears of birth and death depart, and he obtains the honoured state of eternal life. O Nanak, He bestows this rank upon that mortal, upon whom He showers His Mercy. ||2|| Pauree: He Himself is all-wise and all-knowing; He Himself is supreme. He Himself reveals His form, and He Himself enjoins us to His meditation. He Himself poses as a silent sage, and He Himself speaks spiritual wisdom. He does not seem bitter to anyone; He is pleasing to all. His Praises cannot be described; forever and ever, I am a sacrifice to Him. ||19|| Shalok, First Mehl: In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, O Nanak, the demons have taken birth. The son is a demon, and the daughter is a demon; the wife is the chief of the demons. ||1|| First Mehl: The Hindus have forgotten the Primal Lord; they are going the wrong way. As Naarad instructed them, they are worshipping idols. They are blind and mute, the blindest of the blind. The ignorant fools pick up stones and worship them. But when those stones themselves sink, who will carry you across? ||2|| Pauree: Everything is in Your power; You are the True King. The devotees are imbued with the Love of the One Lord; they have perfect faith in Him. The Name of the Lord is the ambrosial food; His humble servants eat their fill. All treasures are obtained - meditative remembrance on the Lord is the true profit. The Saints are very dear to the Supreme Lord God, O Nanak; the Lord is unapproachable and unfathomable. ||20|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Everything comes by the Lord's Will, and everything goes by

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the Lord's Will. If some fool believes that he is the creator, he is blind, and acts in blindness. O Nanak, the Gurmukh understands the Hukam of the Lord's Command; the Lord showers His Mercy upon him. ||1|| Third Mehl: He alone is a Yogi, and he alone finds the Way, who, as Gurmukh, obtains the Naam. In the body-village of that Yogi are all blessings; this Yoga is not obtained by outward show. O Nanak, such a Yogi is very rare; the Lord is manifest in his heart. ||2|| Pauree: He Himself created the creatures, and He Himself supports them. He Himself is seen to be subtle, and He Himself is obvious. He Himself remains a solitary recluse, and He Himself has a huge family. Nanak asks for the gift of the dust of the feet of the Saints of the Lord. I cannot see any other Giver; You alone are the Giver, O Lord. ||21||1|| Sudh||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 12 - RAAG WADAHANS

Section 12 - Raag Wadahans - Part 001

One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying. Beyond Birth. Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: Raag Wadahans, First Mehl, First House: To the addict, there is nothing like the drug; to the fish, there is nothing else like water. Those who are attuned to their Lord - everyone is pleasing to them. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, cut apart into pieces, a sacrifice to Your Name, O Lord Master. ||1||Pause|| The Lord is the fruitful tree; His Name is ambrosial nectar. Those who drink it in are satisfied; I am a sacrifice to them. ||2|| You are not visible to me, although You dwell with everyone. How can the thirst of the thirsty be quenched, with that wall between me and the pond? ||3|| Nanak is Your merchant; You, O Lord Master, are my merchandise. My mind is cleansed of doubt, only when I praise You, and pray to You. ||4||1|| Wadahans, First Mehl: The virtuous bride enjoys her Husband Lord; why does the unworthy one cry out? If she were to become virtuous, then she too could enjoy her Husband Lord. ||1|| My Husband Lord is loving and playful; why should the soul-bride enjoy anyone else? ||1||Pause|| If the soul-bride does good deeds, and strings them on the thread of her mind, she obtains the jewel, which cannot be purchased for any price, strung upon the thread of her consciousness. ||2|| I ask, but do not follow the way shown to me; still, I claim to have reached my destination. I do not speak with You, O my Husband Lord; how then can I come to have a place in Your home? ||3|| O Nanak, without the One Lord, there is no other at all. If the soul-bride remains attached to You, then she shall enjoy her Husband Lord. ||4||2|| Wadahans, First Mehl, Second House: The peacocks are singing so sweetly, O sister; the rainy season of Saawan has come. Your beauteous eyes are like a string of charms, fascinating and enticing the soul-bride. I would cut myself into pieces for the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan; I am a sacrifice to Your Name. I take pride in You; without You, what could I be proud of? So smash your bracelets along with your bed, O soul-bride, and break your arms, along with the arms of your couch. In spite of all the decorations which you have made, O soul-bride, your Husband Lord is enjoying someone else.

Section 12 - Raag Wadahans - Part 002

You don't have the bracelets of gold, nor the good crystal jewelry; you haven't dealt with the true jeweller. Those arms, which do not embrace the neck of the Husband Lord, burn in anguish. All my companions have gone to enjoy their Husband Lord; which door should I, the wretched one, go to? O friend, I may look very attractive, but I am not pleasing to my Husband Lord at all. I have woven my hair into lovely braids, and saturated their partings with vermillion; but when I go before Him, I am not accepted, and I die, suffering in anguish. I weep; the whole world weeps; even the birds of the forest weep with me. The only thing which doesn't weep is my body's sense of separateness, which has separated me from my Lord. In a dream, He came, and went away again; I cried so many tears. I can't come to You, O my Beloved, and I can't send anyone to You. Come to me, O blessed sleep - perhaps I will see my Husband Lord again. One who brings me a message from my Lord and Master - says Nanak, what shall I give to Him? Cutting off my head, I give it to Him to sit upon; without my head, I shall still serve Him. Why haven't I died? Why hasn't my life just ended? My Husband Lord has become a stranger to me. ||1||3|| Wadahans, Third Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: When the mind is filthy, everything is filthy; by washing the body, the mind is not cleaned. This world is deluded by doubt; how rare are those who understand this. ||1|| O my mind, chant the One Name. The True Guru has given me this treasure. ||1||Pause|| Even if one learns the Yogic postures of the Siddhas, and holds his sexual energy in check, still, the filth of the mind is not removed, and the filth of egotism is not eliminated. ||2|| This mind is not controlled by any other discipline, except the Sanctuary of the True Guru. Meeting the True Guru, one is transformed beyond description. ||3|| Prays Nanak, one who dies upon meeting the True Guru, shall be rejuvenated through the Word of the Guru's Shabad. The filth of his attachment and possessiveness shall depart, and his mind shall become pure. ||4||1|| Wadahans, Third Mehl: By His Grace, one serves the True Guru; by His Grace, service is performed. By His grace, this mind is controlled, and by His Grace, it becomes pure. ||1|| O my mind, think of the True Lord. Think of the One Lord, and you shall obtain peace; you shall never suffer in sorrow again. ||1||Pause|| By His Grace, one dies while yet alive, and by His Grace, the Word of the Shabad is enshrined in the mind. By His Grace, one understands the Hukam of the Lord's Command, and by His Command, one merges into the Lord. ||2|| That tongue, which does not savor the sublime essence of the Lord - may that tongue be burned off! It remains attached to other pleasures, and through the love of duality, it suffers in pain. ||3|| The One Lord grants His Grace to all; He Himself makes distinctions. O Nanak, meeting the True Guru, the fruits are obtained, and one is blessed with the Glorious Greatness of the Naam. ||4||2||

Section 12 - Raag Wadahans - Part 003

Wadahans, Third Mehl: Emotional attachment to Maya is darkness; without the Guru, there is no wisdom. Those who are attached to the Word of the Shabad understand; duality has ruined the people. ||1|| O my mind, under Guru's Instruction, do good deeds. Dwell forever and ever upon the Lord God, and you shall find the gate of salvation. ||1||Pause|| The Lord alone is the treasure of virtue; He Himself gives, and then one receives. Without the Name, all are separated from the Lord; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, one meets the Lord. ||2|| Acting in ego, they lose, and nothing comes into their hands. Meeting the True Guru, they find Truth, and merge into the True Name. ||3|| Hope and desire abide in this body, but the Lord's Light shines within as well. O Nanak, the self-willed manmukhs remain in bondage; the Gurmukhs are liberated. ||4||3|| Wadahans, Third Mehl: The faces of the happy soul-brides are radiant forever; through the Guru, they are peacefully poised. They enjoy their Husband Lord constantly, eradicating their ego from within. ||1|| O my mind, meditate on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. The True Guru has led me to understand the Lord. ||1||Pause|| The abandoned brides cry out in their suffering; they do not attain the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. In the love of duality, they appear so ugly; they suffer in pain as they go to the world beyond. ||2|| The virtuous soul-bride constantly chants the Glorious Praises of the Lord; she enshrines the Naam, the Name of the Lord, within her heart. The unvirtuous woman suffers, and cries out in pain. ||3|| The One Lord and Master is the Husband Lord of all; His Praises cannot be expressed. O Nanak, He has separated some from Himself, while others are to His Name. ||4||4|| Wadahans, Third Mehl: The Ambrosial Nectar of the Naam is always sweet to me; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, I come to taste it. Through the True Word of the Guru's Bani, I am merged in peace and poise; the Dear Lord is enshrined in the mind. ||1|| The Lord, showing His Mercy, has caused me to meet the True Guru. Through the Perfect True Guru, I meditate on the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Through Brahma, the hymns of the Vedas were revealed, but the love of Maya spread. The wise one, Shiva, remains absorbed in himself, but he is engrossed in dark passions and excessive egotism. ||2|| Vishnu is always busy reincarnating himself - who will save the world? The Gurmukhs are imbued with spiritual wisdom in this age; they are rid of the darkness of emotional attachment. ||3|| Serving the True Guru, one is emancipated; the Gurmukh crosses over the world-ocean. The detached renunciates are imbued with the True Name; they attain the gate of salvation. ||4|| The One True Lord is pervading and permeating everywhere; He cherishes everyone. O Nanak, without the One Lord, I do not know any other; He is the Merciful Master of all. ||5||5|| Wadahans, Third Mehl: The Gurmukh practices true self-discipline, and attains the essence of wisdom. The Gurmukh meditates on the True Lord. ||1||

Section 12 - Raag Wadahans - Part 004

As Gurmukh, O my mind, remember the Naam, the Name of the Lord. It shall stand by you always, and go with you. ||Pause|| The True Lord is the social status and honour of the Gurmukh. Within the Gurmukh, is God, his friend and helper. ||2|| He alone becomes Gurmukh, whom the Lord so blesses. He Himself blesses the Gurmukh with greatness. ||3|| The Gurmukh lives the True Word of the Shabad, and practices good deeds. The Gurmukh, O Nanak, emancipates his family and relations. ||4||6|| Wadahans, Third Mehl: My tongue is intuitively attracted to the taste of the Lord. My mind is satisfied, meditating on the Name of the Lord. ||1|| Lasting peace is obtained, contemplating the Shabad, the True Word of God. I am forever a sacrifice to my True Guru. ||1||Pause|| My eyes are content, lovingly focused on the One Lord. My mind is content, having forsaken the love of duality. ||2|| The frame of my body is at peace, through the Shabad, and the Name of the Lord. The fragrance of the Naam permeates my heart. ||3|| O Nanak, one who has such great destiny written upon his forehead, through the Bani of the Guru's Word, easily and intuitively becomes free of desire. ||4||7|| Wadahans, Third Mehl: From the Perfect Guru, the Naam is obtained. Through the Shabad, the True Word of God, one merges in the True Lord. ||1|| O my soul, obtain the treasure of the Naam, by submitting to the Will of your Guru. ||1||Pause|| Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, filth is washed away from within. The Immaculate Naam comes to abide within the mind. ||2|| Deluded by doubt, the world wanders around. It dies, and is born again, and is ruined by the Messenger of Death. ||3|| O Nanak, very fortunate are those who meditate on the Name of the Lord. By Guru's Grace, they enshrine the Name within their minds. ||4||8|| Wadahans, Third Mehl: Ego is opposed to the Name of the Lord; the two do not dwell in the same place. In egotism, selfless service cannot be performed, and so the soul goes unfulfilled. ||1|| O my mind, think of the Lord, and practice the Word of the Guru's Shabad. If you submit to the Hukam of the Lord's Command, then you shall meet with the Lord; only then will your ego depart from within. ||Pause|| Egotism is within all bodies; through egotism, we come to be born. Egotism is total darkness; in egotism, no one can understand anything. ||2|| In egotism, devotional worship cannot be performed, and the Hukam of the Lord's Command cannot be understood. In egotism, the soul is in bondage, and the Naam, the Name of the Lord, does not come to abide in the mind. ||3|| O Nanak, meeting with the True Guru, egotism is eliminated, and then, the True Lord comes to dwell in the mind|| One starts practicing truth, abides in truth and by serving the True One gets absorbed in Him. ||4||9||12|| Wadahans, Fourth Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: There is one bed, and One Lord God. The Gurmukh enjoys the Lord, the ocean of peace. ||1|| My mind longs to meet my Beloved Lord.

Section 12 - Raag Wadahans - Part 005

The Perfect Guru leads me to meet my Beloved; I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice to my Guru. ||1||Pause|| My body is over-flowing with corruption; how can I meet my Perfect Beloved? ||2|| The virtuous ones obtain my Beloved; I do not have these virtues. How can I meet Him, O my mother? ||3|| I am so tired of making all these efforts. Please protect Nanak, the meek one, O my Lord. ||4||1|| Wadahans, Fourth Mehl: My Lord God is so beautiful. I do not know His worth. Abandoning my Lord God, I have become entangled in duality. ||1|| How can I meet with my Husband? I don't know. She who pleases her Husband Lord is a happy soul-bride. She meets with her Husband Lord - she is so wise. ||1||Pause|| I am filled with faults; how can I attain my Husband Lord? You have many loves, but I am not in Your thoughts, O my Husband Lord. ||2|| She who enjoys her Husband Lord, is the good soul-bride. I don't have these virtues; what can I, the discarded bride, do? ||3|| The soul-bride continually, constantly enjoys her Husband Lord. I have no good fortune; will He ever hold me close in His embrace? ||4|| You, O Husband Lord, are meritorious, while I am without merit. I am worthless; please forgive Nanak, the meek. ||5||2|| Wadahans, Fourth Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Within my mind there is such a great yearning; how will I attain the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan? I go and ask my True Guru; with the Guru's advice, I shall teach my foolish mind. The foolish mind is instructed in the Word of the Guru's Shabad, and meditates forever on the Lord, Har, Har. O Nanak, one who is blessed with the Mercy of my Beloved, focuses his consciousness on the Lord's Feet. ||1|| I dress myself in all sorts of robes for my Husband, so that my True Lord God will be pleased. But my Beloved Husband Lord does not even cast a glance in my direction; how can I be consoled? For His sake, I adorn myself with adornments, but my Husband is imbued with the love of another. O Nanak, blessed, blessed, blessed is that soul-bride, who enjoys her True, Sublime Husband Lord. ||2|| I go and ask the fortunate, happy soul-bride, "How did you attain Him - your Husband Lord, my God?" She answers, "My True Husband blessed me with His Mercy; I abandoned the distinction between mine and yours. Dedicate everything, mind, body and soul, to the Lord God; this is the Path to meet Him, O sister." If her God gazes upon her with favor, O Nanak, her light merges into the Light. ||3|| I dedicate my mind and body to the one who brings me a message from my Lord God. I wave the fan over him every day, serve him and carry water for him. Constantly and continuously, I serve the Lord's humble servant, who recites to me the sermon of the Lord, Har, Har.

Section 12 - Raag Wadahans - Part 006

Hail, hail unto the Guru, the Guru, the Perfect True Guru, who fulfills Nanak's heart's desires. ||4|| O Lord, let me meet the Guru, my best friend; meeting Him, I meditate on the Lord's Name. I seek the Lord's sermon from the Guru, the True Guru; joining with Him, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Each and every day, forever, I sing the Lord's Praises; my mind lives by hearing Your Name. O Nanak, that moment when I forget my Lord and Master - at that moment, my soul dies. ||5|| Everyone longs to see the Lord, but he alone sees Him, whom the Lord causes to see Him. One upon whom my Beloved bestows His Glance of Grace, cherishes the Lord, Har, Har forever. He alone cherishes the Lord, Har, Har,

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forever and ever, who meets my Perfect True Guru. O Nanak, the Lord's humble servant and the Lord become One; meditating on the Lord, he blends with the Lord. ||6||1||3|| Wadahans, Fifth Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: His Darbaar, His Court, is the most lofty and exalted. It has no end or limitations. Millions, millions, tens of millions seek, but they cannot find even a tiny bit of His Mansion. ||1|| What is that auspicious moment, when God is met? ||1||Pause|| Tens of thousands of devotees worship Him in adoration. Tens of thousands of ascetics practice austere discipline. Tens of thousands of Yogis practice Yoga. Tens of thousands of pleasure seekers seek pleasure. ||2|| He dwells in each and every heart, but only a few know this. Is there any friend who can rip apart the screen of separation? I can only make the effort, if the Lord is merciful to me. I sacrifice my body and soul to Him. ||3|| After wandering around for so long, I have finally come to the Saints; all of my pains and doubts have been eradicated. God summoned me to the Mansion of His Presence, and blessed me with the Ambrosial Nectar of His Name. Says Nanak, my God is lofty and exalted. ||4||1|| Wadahans, Fifth Mehl: Blessed is that time, when the Blessed Vision of His Darshan is given; I am a sacrifice to the feet of the True Guru. ||1|| You are the Giver of souls, O my Beloved God. My soul lives by reflecting upon the Name of God. ||1||Pause|| True is Your Mantra, Ambrosial is the Bani of Your Word. Cooling and soothing is Your Presence, all-knowing is Your gaze. ||2|| True is Your Command; You sit upon the eternal throne. My eternal God does not come or go. ||3|| You are the Merciful Master; I am Your humble servant. O Nanak, the Lord and Master is totally permeating and pervading everywhere. ||4||2|| Wadahans, Fifth Mehl: You are infinite - only a few know this. By Guru's Grace, some come to understand You through the Word of the Shabad. ||1|| Your servant offers this prayer, O Beloved:

Section 12 - Raag Wadahans - Part 007

I live by meditating on Your Feet, God. ||1||Pause|| O my Merciful and Almighty God, O Great Giver, he alone knows You, whom You so bless. ||2|| Forever and ever, I am a sacrifice to You. Here and hereafter, I seek Your Protection. ||3|| I am without virtue; I know none of Your Glorious Virtues. O Nanak, seeing the Holy Saint, my mind is imbued with You. ||4||3|| Wadahans, Fifth Mehl: God is perfect - He is the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. He blesses us with the gift of the dust of the feet of the Saints. ||1|| Bless me with Your Grace, God, O Merciful to the meek. I seek Your Protection, O Perfect Lord, Sustainer of the World. ||1||Pause|| He is totally pervading and permeating the water, the land and the sky. God is near at hand, not far away. ||2|| One whom He blesses with His Grace, meditates on Him. Twenty-four hours a day, he sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||3|| He cherishes and sustains all beings and creatures. Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of the Lord's Door. ||4||4|| Wadahans, Fifth Mehl: You are the Great Giver, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. God, the Perfect Lord and Master, is permeating and pervading in all. ||1|| The Name of my Beloved God is my only support. I live by hearing, continually hearing Your Name. ||1||Pause|| I seek Your Sanctuary, O my Perfect True Guru. My mind is purified by the dust of the Saints. ||2|| I have enshrined His Lotus Feet within my heart. I am a sacrifice to the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. ||3|| Show mercy unto me, that I may sing Your Glorious Praises. O Nanak, chanting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, I obtain peace. ||4||5|| Wadahans, Fifth Mehl: In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, drink in the Ambrosial Nectar of the Lord. The soul does not die, nor does it ever waste away. ||1|| By great good fortune, one meets the Perfect Guru. By Guru's Grace, one meditates on God. ||1||Pause|| The Lord is the jewel, the pearl, the gem, the diamond. Meditating, meditating in remembrance on God, I am in ecstasy. ||2|| Wherever I look, I see the Sanctuary of the Holy. Singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, my soul becomes immaculately pure. ||3|| Within each and every heart, dwells my Lord and Master. O Nanak, one obtains the Naam, the Name of the Lord, when God bestows His Mercy. ||4||6|| Wadahans, Fifth Mehl: Do not forget me, O God, Merciful to the meek. I seek Your Sanctuary, O Perfect, Compassionate Lord. ||1||Pause|| Wherever You come to mind, that place is blessed. The moment I forget You, I am stricken with regret. ||1|| All beings are Yours; You are their constant companion. Please, give me Your hand, and pull me up out of this world-ocean. ||2|| Coming and going are by Your Will. One whom You save is not afflicted by suffering. ||3|| You are the One and only Lord and Master; there is no other. Nanak offers this prayer with his palms pressed together. ||4||7|| Wadahans, Fifth Mehl: When You allow Yourself to be known, then we know You. We chant Your Name, which You have given to us. ||1|| You are wonderful! Your creative potency is amazing! ||1||Pause||

Section 12 - Raag Wadahans - Part 008

You Yourself are the Cause of causes, You Yourself are the Creator. By Your Will, we are born, and by Your Will, we die. ||2|| Your Name is the Support of our mind and body. This is Your blessing to Nanak, Your slave. ||3||8|| Wadahans, Fifth Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Deep within me, there is a longing to meet my Beloved; how can I attain my Perfect Guru? Even though a baby may play hundreds of games, he cannot survive without milk. The hunger within me is not satisfied, O my friend, even though I am served hundreds of dishes. My mind and body are filled with love for my Beloved; how can my soul find relief, without the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan? ||1|| Listen, O my dear friends and siblings - lead me to my True Friend, the Giver of peace. He knows all the troubles of my soul; every day, he tells me stories of the Lord. I cannot live without Him, even for an instant. I cry out for Him, just as the song-bird cries for the drop of water. Which of Your Glorious Virtues should I sing? You save even worthless beings like me. ||2|| I have become depressed, waiting for my Husband Lord, O my friend; when shall my eyes behold my Husband? I have forgotten how to enjoy all pleasures; without my Husband Lord, they are of no use at all. These clothes do not please my body; I cannot dress myself. I bow to those friends of mine, who have enjoyed their Beloved Husband Lord. ||3|| I have adorned myself with all sorts of decorations, O my friend, but without my Husband Lord, they are of no use at all. When my Husband does not care for me, O my friend, then my youth passes, totally useless. Blessed, blessed are the happy soul-brides, O my friend, who are blended with their Husband Lord. I am a sacrifice to those happy soul-brides; I wash their feet again and again. ||4|| As long as I suffered from duality and doubt, O my friend, I thought God was far away. But when I met the Perfect True Guru, O my friend, then all my hopes and desires were fulfilled. I have obtained all pleasures and comforts, O my friend; my Husband Lord is all-pervading everywhere. Servant Nanak enjoys the Lord's Love, O my friend; I fall at the feet of the Guru, the True Guru. ||5||1||9|| Wadahans, Third Mehl, Ashtapadees: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: True is the Bani of His Word, and True is the melody; True is contemplative meditation on the Word of the Shabad. Night and day, I praise the True Lord. Blessed, blessed is my great good fortune. ||1|| O my mind, let yourself be a sacrifice to the True Name. If you become the slave of the Lord's slaves, you shall obtain the True Name. ||1||Pause||

Section 12 - Raag Wadahans - Part 009

True is the tongue which is imbued with Truth, and true are the mind and body. By praising any other than the True Lord, one's whole life is wasted. ||2|| Let Truth be the farm, Truth the seed, and Truth the merchandise you trade. Night and day, you shall earn the profit of the Lord's Name; you shall have the treasure overflowing with the wealth of devotional worship. ||3|| Let Truth be your food, and let Truth be your clothes; let your True Support be the Name of the Lord. One who is so blessed by the Lord, obtains a seat in the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. ||4|| In Truth we come, and in Truth we go, and then, we are not consigned to reincarnation again. The Gurmukhs are hailed as True in the True Court; they merge in the True Lord. ||5|| Deep within they are True, and their minds are True; they sing the Glorious Praises of the True Lord. In the true place, they praise the True Lord; I am a sacrifice to the True Guru. ||6|| True is the time, and true is the moment, when one falls in love with the True Lord. Then, he sees Truth, and speaks the Truth; he realises the True Lord pervading the entire Universe. ||7|| O Nanak, one merges with the True Lord, when He merges with Himself. As it pleases Him, He preserves us; He Himself ordains His Will. ||8||1|| Wadahans, Third Mehl: His mind wanders in the ten directions - how can he sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord? The sensory organs are totally engrossed in sensuality; sexual desire and anger constantly afflict him. ||1|| Waaho! Waaho! Hail! Hail! Chant His Glorious Praises. The Lord's Name is so difficult to obtain in this age; under Guru's Instruction, drink in the subtle essence of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Remembering the Word of the Shabad, the mind becomes immaculately pure, and then, one sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Under Guru's Instruction, one comes to understand his own self, and then, he comes to dwell in the home of his inner self. ||2|| O my mind, be imbued forever with the Lord's Love, and sing forever the Glorious Praises of the Lord. The Immaculate Lord is forever the Giver of peace; from Him, one receives the fruits of his heart's desires. ||3|| I am lowly, but I have been exalted, entering the Sanctuary of the Lord. He has lifted up the sinking stone; True is His glorious greatness. ||4|| From poison, I have been transformed into Ambrosial Nectar; under Guru's Instruction, I have obtained wisdom. From bitter herbs, I have been transformed into sandalwood; this fragrance permeates me deep within. ||5|| This human birth is so precious; one must earn the right to come into the world. By perfect destiny, I met the True Guru, and I meditate on the Lord's Name. ||6|| The self-willed manmukhs are deluded; attached to corruption, they waste away their lives in vain. The Name of the Lord is forever an ocean of peace, but the manmukhs do not love the Word of the Shabad. ||7|| Everyone can chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har with their mouths, but only a few enshrine it within their hearts. O Nanak, those who enshrine the Lord within their hearts, attain liberation and emancipation. ||8||2|| Wadahans, First Mehl, Chhant: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Why bother to wash the body, polluted by falsehood? One's cleansing bath is only approved, if he practices Truth. When there is Truth within the heart, then one becomes True, and obtains the True Lord.

Section 12 - Raag Wadahans - Part 010

Without pre-ordained destiny, understanding is not attained; talking and babbling, one wastes his life away. Wherever you go and sit, speak well, and write the Word of the Shabad in your consciousness. Why bother to wash the body which is polluted by falsehood? ||1|| When I have spoken, I spoke as You made me speak. The Ambrosial Name of the Lord is pleasing to my mind. The Naam, the Name of the Lord, seems so sweet to my mind; it has destroyed the dwelling of pain. Peace came to dwell in my mind, when You gave the Order. It is Yours to bestow Your Grace, and it is mine to speak this prayer; You created Yourself. When I have spoken, I spoke as You made me speak. ||2|| The Lord and Master gives them their turn, according to the deeds they have done. Do not speak ill of others, or get involved in arguments. Do not get into arguments with the Lord, or you shall ruin yourself. If you challenge the One, with whom you must abide, you will cry in the end. Be satisfied with what God gives you; tell your mind not to complain uselessly. The Lord and Master gives them their turn, according to the deeds they have done. ||3|| He Himself created all, and He blesses then with His Glance of Grace. No one asks for that which is bitter; everyone asks for sweets. Let everyone ask for sweets, and behold, it is as the Lord wills. Giving donations to charity, and performing various religious rituals are not equal to the contemplation of the Naam. O Nanak, those who are blessed with the Naam have had such good karma pre-ordained. He Himself created all, and He blesses them with His Glance of Grace. ||4||1|| Wadahans, First Mehl: Show mercy to me, that I may chant Your Name. You Yourself created all, and You are pervading among all. You Yourself are pervading among all, and You link them to their tasks. Some, You have made kings, while others go about begging. You have made greed and emotional attachment seem sweet; they are deluded by this delusion. Be ever merciful to me; only then can I chant Your Name. ||1|| Your Name is True, and ever pleasing to my mind. My pains are dispelled, and I am permeated with peace. The angels, the mortals and the silent sages sing of You. The angels, the mortals and the silent sages sing of You; they are pleasing to Your Mind. Enticed by Maya, they do not remember the Lord, and they waste away their lives in vain. Some fools and idiots never think of the Lord; whoever has come, shall have to go. Your Name is True, and ever pleasing to my mind. ||2|| Beauteous is Your time, O Lord; the Bani of Your Word is Ambrosial Nectar. Your servants serve You with love; these mortals are attached to Your essence. Those mortals are attached to Your essence, who are blessed with the Ambrosial Name. Those who are imbued with Your Name, prosper more and more, day by day. Some do not practice good deeds, or live righteously; nor do they practice self-restraint. They do not realise the One Lord. Ever beauteous is Your time, O Lord; the Bani of Your Word is Ambrosial Nectar. ||3|| I am a sacrifice to the True Name.

Section 12 - Raag Wadahans - Part 011

Your rule shall never end. Your rule is eternal and unchanging; it shall never come to an end. He alone becomes Your servant, who contemplates You in peaceful ease. Enemies and pains shall never touch him, and sin shall never draw near him. I am forever a sacrifice to the One Lord, and Your Name. ||4|| Throughout the ages, Your devotees sing the Kirtan of Your Praises, O Lord Master, at Your Door. They meditate on the One True Lord. Only then do they meditate on the True Lord, when they enshrine Him in their minds. Doubt and delusion are Your making; when these are dispelled, then, by Guru's Grace, You grant Your Grace, and save them from the noose of Death. Throughout the ages, they are Your devotees. ||5|| O my Great Lord and Master, You are unfathomable and infinite. How should I make and offer my prayer? I do not know what to say. If You bless me with Your Glance of Grace, I realise the Truth. Only then do I come to realise the Truth, when You Yourself instruct me. The pain and hunger of the world are Your making; dispel this doubt. Prays Nanak, ones skepticism is taken away, when he understands the Guru's wisdom. The Great Lord Master is unfathomable and infinite. ||6|| Your eyes are so beautiful, and Your teeth are delightful. Your nose is so graceful, and Your hair is so long. Your body is so precious, cast in gold. His body is cast in gold, and He wears Krishna's mala; meditate on Him, O sisters. You shall not have to stand at Death's door, O sisters, if you listen to these teachings. From a crane, you shall be transformed into a swan, and the filth of your mind shall be removed. Your eyes are so beautiful, and Your teeth are delightful. ||7|| Your walk is so graceful, and Your speech

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is so sweet. You coo like a songbird, and your youthful beauty is alluring. Your youthful beauty is so alluring; it pleases You, and it fulfills the heart's desires. Like an elephant, You step with Your Feet so carefully; You are satisfied with Yourself. She who is imbued with the Love of such a Great Lord, flows intoxicated, like the waters of the Ganges. Prays Nanak, I am Your slave, O Lord; Your walk is so graceful, and Your speech is so sweet. ||8||2|| Wadahans, Third Mehl, Chhant: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Let yourself be imbued with the Love of your Husband Lord, O beautiful, mortal bride. Let yourself remain merged in the True Word of the Shabad, O mortal bride; savor and enjoy the Love of your Beloved Husband Lord. The Husband Lord embellishes His beloved bride with His True Love; she is in love with the Lord, Har, Har. Renouncing her self-centredness, she attains her Husband Lord, and remains merged in the Word of the Guru's Shabad. That soul bride is adorned, who is attracted by His Love, and who treasures the Love of her Beloved within her heart. O Nanak, the Lord blends that soul bride with Himself; the True King adorns her. ||1|| O worthless bride, see your Husband Lord ever-present. One who, as Gurmukh, enjoys her Husband Lord, O mortal bride, knows Him to be all-pervading everywhere.

Section 12 - Raag Wadahans - Part 012

The Lord is all-pervading everywhere; behold Him ever-present. Throughout the ages, know Him as the One. The young, innocent bride enjoys her Husband Lord; she meets Him, the Architect of karma. One who tastes the sublime essence of the Lord, and utters the sublime Word of the Shabad, remains immersed in the Lord's Ambrosial Pool. O Nanak, that soul bride is pleasing to her Husband Lord, who, through the Shabad, remains in His Presence. ||2|| Go and ask the happy soul-brides, O mortal bride, who have eradicated their self-conceit from within. Those who have not eradicated their self-conceit, O mortal bride, do not realise the Hukam of their Husband Lord's Command. Those who eradicate their self-conceit, obtain their Husband Lord; they delight in His Love. Ever imbued with His Love, in perfect poise and grace, she repeats His Name, night and day. Very fortunate is that bride, who focuses her consciousness on Him; her Lord's Love is so sweet to her. O Nanak, that soul-bride who is adorned with Truth, is imbued with her Lord's Love, in the state of perfect poise. ||3|| Overcome your egotism, O mortal bride, and walk in the Guru's Way. Thus you shall ever enjoy your Husband Lord, O mortal bride, and obtain an abode in the home of your own inner being. Obtaining an abode in the home of her inner being, she vibrates the Word of the Shabad, and is a happy soul-bride forever. The Husband Lord is delightful, and forever young; night and day, He embellishes His bride. Her Husband Lord activates the destiny written on her forehead, and she is adorned with the True Shabad. O Nanak, the soul-bride is imbued with the Love of the Lord, when she walks according to the Will of the True Guru. ||4||1|| Wadahans, Third Mehl: All dealings of the Gurmukh are good, if they are accomplished with poise and grace. Night and day, he repeats the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and he earns his profits, drinking in the subtle essence of the Lord. He earns the profit of the subtle essence of the Lord, meditating on the Lord, and repeating the Naam, night and day. He gathers in merits, and eliminates demerits, and realises his own self. Under Guru's Instruction, he is blessed with glorious greatness; he drinks in the essence of the True Word of the Shabad. O Nanak, devotional worship of the Lord is wonderful, but only a few Gurmukhs perform it. ||1|| As Gurmukh, plant the crop of the Lord within the field of your body, and let it grow. Within the home of your own being, enjoy the Lord's subtle essence, and earn profits in the world hereafter. This profit is earned by enshrining the Lord within your mind; blessed is this farming and trade. Meditating on the Lord's Name, and enshrining Him within your mind, you shall come to understand the Guru's Teachings. The self-willed manmukhs have grown weary of this farming and trade; their hunger and thirst will not go away. O Nanak, plant the seed of the Name within your mind, and adorn yourself with the True Word of the Shabad. ||2|| Those humble beings engage in the Lord's Trade, who have the jewel of such pre-ordained destiny upon their foreheads. Under Guru's Instruction, the soul dwells in the home of the self; through the True Word of the Shabad, she becomes unattached. By the destiny written upon their foreheads, they become truly unattached, and by reflective meditation, they are imbued with Truth. Without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the whole world is insane; through the Shabad, the ego is conquered. Attached to the True Word of the Shabad, wisdom comes forth. The Gurmukh obtains the Naam, the Name of the Husband Lord.

Section 12 - Raag Wadahans - Part 013

O Nanak, through the Shabad, one meets the Lord, the Destroyer of fear, and by the destiny written on her forehead, she enjoys Him. ||3|| All farming and trading is by Hukam of His Will; surrendering to the Lord's Will, glorious greatness is obtained. Under Guru's Instruction, one comes to understand the Lord's Will, and by His Will, he is united in His Union. By His Will, one merges and easily blends with Him. The Shabads of the Guru are incomparable. Through the Guru, true greatness is obtained, and one is embellished with Truth. He finds the Destroyer of fear, and eradicates his self-conceit; as Gurmukh, he is united in His Union. Says Nanak, the Name of the immaculate, inaccessible, unfathomable Commander is permeating and pervading everywhere. ||4||2|| Wadahans, Third Mehl: O my mind, contemplate the True Lord forever. Dwell in peace in the home of your own self, and the Messenger of Death shall not touch you. The noose of the Messenger of Death shall not touch you, when you embrace love for the True Word of the Shabad. Ever imbued with the True Lord, the mind becomes immaculate, and its coming and going is ended. The love of duality and doubt have ruined the self-willed manmukh, who is lured away by the Messenger of Death. Says Nanak, listen, O my mind: contemplate the True Lord forever. ||1|| O my mind, the treasure is within you; do not search for it on the outside. Eat only that which is pleasing to the Lord, and as Gurmukh, receive the blessing of His Glance of Grace. As Gurmukh, receive the blessing of His Glance of Grace, O my mind; the Name of the Lord, your help and support, is within you. The self-willed manmukhs are blind, and devoid of wisdom; they are ruined by the love of duality. Without the Name, no one is emancipated. All are bound by the Messenger of Death. O Nanak, the treasure is within you; do not search for it on the outside. ||2|| O my mind, obtaining the blessing of this human birth, some are engaged in the trade of Truth. They serve their True Guru, and the Infinite Word of the Shabad resounds within them. Within them is the Infinite Shabad, and the Beloved Naam, the Name of the Lord; through the Naam, the nine treasures are obtained. The self-willed manmukhs are engrossed in emotional attachment to Maya; they suffer in pain, and through duality, they lose their honour. But those who conquer their ego, and merge in the True Shabad, are totally imbued with Truth. O Nanak, it is so difficult to obtain this human life; the True Guru imparts this understanding. ||3|| O my mind, those who serve their True Guru are the most fortunate beings. Those who conquer their minds are beings of renunciation and detachment. They are beings of renunciation and detachment, who lovingly focus their consciousness on the True Lord; they realise and understand their own selves. Their intellect is steady, deep and profound; as Gurmukh, they naturally chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Some are lovers of beautiful young women; emotional attachment to Maya is very dear to them. The unfortunate self-willed manmukhs remain asleep. O Nanak, those who intuitively serve their Guru, have perfect destiny. ||4||3|| Wadahans, Third Mehl: Purchase the jewel, the invaluable treasure; the True Guru has given this understanding. The profit of profits is the devotional worship of the Lord; one's virtues merge into the virtues of the Lord.

Section 12 - Raag Wadahans - Part 014

One's virtues merge into the virtues of the Lord; he comes to understand his own self. He earns the profit of devotional worship in this world. Without devotion, there is no peace; through duality, one's honour is lost, but under Guru's Instruction, he is blessed with the Support of the Naam. He ever earns the profit of the merchandise of the Naam, whom the Lord employs in this Trade. He purchases the jewel, the invaluable treasure, unto whom the True Guru has given this understanding. ||1|| The love of Maya is totally painful; this is a bad deal. Speaking falsehood, one eats poison, and the evil within increases greatly. The evil within increases greatly, in this world of doubt; without the Name, one's honour is lost. Reading and studying, the religious scholars argue and debate; but without understanding, there is no peace. Their comings and goings never end; emotional attachment to Maya is dear to them. The love of Maya is totally painful; this is a bad deal. ||2|| The counterfeit and the genuine are all assayed in the Court of the True Lord. The counterfeit are cast out of the Court, and they stand there, crying out in misery. They stand there, crying out in misery; the foolish, idiotic, self-willed manmukhs have wasted their lives. Maya is the poison which has deluded the world; it does not love the Naam, the Name of the Lord. The self-willed manmukhs are resentful toward the Saints; they harvest only pain in this world. The counterfeit and the genuine are assayed in that True Court of the Lord. ||3|| He Himself acts; who else should I ask? No one else can do anything. As He pleases, He engages us; such is His glorious greatness. Such is His glorious greatness - He Himself causes all to act; no one is a warrior or a coward. The Life of the World, the Great Giver, the Architect of karma - He Himself grants forgiveness. By Guru's Grace, self-conceit is eradicated, O Nanak, and through the Naam, honour is obtained. He Himself acts; who else should I ask? No one else can do anything. ||4||4|| Wadahans, Third Mehl: The True merchandise is the Lord's Name. This is the true trade. Under Guru's Instruction, we trade in the Lord's Name; its value is very great. The value of this true trade is very great; those who are engaged in the true trade are very fortunate. Inwardly and outwardly, they are imbued with devotion, and they enshrine love for the True Name. One who is blessed with the Lord's Favor, obtains Truth, and reflects upon the Word of the Guru's Shabad. O Nanak, those who are imbued with the Name find peace; they deal only in the True Name. ||1|| Egotistical involvement in Maya is filth; Maya is overflowing with filth. Under Guru's Instruction, the mind is made pure and the tongue tastes the subtle essence of the Lord. The tongue tastes the subtle essence of the Lord, and deep within, the heart is drenched with His Love, contemplating the True Word of the Shabad. Deep within, the well of the heart is overflowing with the Lord's Ambrosial Nectar; the water-carrier draws and drinks in the water of the Shabad. One who is blessed with the Lord's favor is attuned to the Truth; with his tongue, he chants the Lord's Name. O Nanak, those who are attuned to the Naam, the Name of the Lord, are immaculate. The others are full of the filth of egotism. ||2|| All the religious scholars and astrologers read and study, and argue and shout. Who are they trying to teach?

Section 12 - Raag Wadahans - Part 015

The filth of attachment to Maya clings to their hearts; they deal in Maya alone. They love to deal in Maya in this world; coming and going, they suffer in pain. The worm of poison is addicted to poison; it is immersed in manure. He does what is pre-ordained for him; no one can erase his destiny. O Nanak, imbued with the Naam, the Name of the Lord, lasting peace is found; the ignorant fools die screaming. ||3|| Their minds are coloured by emotional attachment to Maya; because of this emotional attachment, they do not understand. The soul of the Gurmukh is imbued with the Lord's Love; the love of duality departs. The love of duality departs, and the soul merges in Truth; the warehouse is overflowing with Truth. One who becomes Gurmukh, comes to understand; the Lord embellishes him with Truth. He alone merges with the Lord, whom the Lord causes to merge; nothing else can be said or done. O Nanak, without the Name, one is deluded by doubt; but some, imbued with the Name, enshrine love for the Lord. ||4||5|| Wadahans, Third Mehl: O my mind, the world comes and goes in birth and death; only the True Name shall emancipate you in the end. When the True Lord Himself grants forgiveness, then one does not have to enter the cycle of reincarnation again. He does not have to enter the cycle of reincarnation again, and he is emancipated in the end; as Gurmukh, he obtains glorious greatness. Imbued with love for the True Lord, he is intoxicated with celestial bliss, and he remains absorbed in the Celestial Lord. The True Lord is pleasing to his mind; he enshrines the True Lord in his mind; attuned to the Word of the Shabad, he is emancipated in the end. O Nanak, those who are imbued with the Naam, merge in the True Lord; they are not cast into the terrifying world-ocean again. ||1|| Emotional attachment to Maya is total madness; through the love of duality, one is ruined. Mother and father - all are subject to this love; in this love, they are entangled. They are entangled in this love, on account of their past actions, which no one can erase. The One who created the Universe, beholds it; no other is as great as He. The blind, self-willed manmukh is consumed by his burning rage; without the Word of the Shabad, peace is not obtained. O Nanak, without the Name, everyone is deluded, ruined by emotional attachment to Maya. ||2|| Seeing that this world on fire, I have hurried to the Sanctuary of the Lord. I offer my prayer to the Perfect Guru: please save me, and bless me with Your glorious greatness. Preserve me in Your Sanctuary, and bless me with the glorious greatness of the Name of the Lord; there is no other Giver as great as You. Those who are engaged in serving You are very fortunate; throughout the ages, they know the One Lord. You may practice celibacy, truth, austere self-discipline and rituals, but without the Guru, you shall not be emancipated. O Nanak, he alone understands the Word of the Shabad, who goes and seeks the Lord's Sanctuary. ||3|| That understanding, imparted by the Lord, wells up; there is no other understanding. Deep within, and beyond as well, You alone are, O Lord; You Yourself impart this understanding. One whom He Himself blesses with this understanding, does not love any other. As Gurmukh, he tastes the subtle essence of the Lord. In the True Court, he is forever True; with love, he chants the True Word of the Shabad.

Section 12 - Raag Wadahans - Part 016

Within his home, he finds the home of his own being; the True Guru blesses him with glorious greatness. O Nanak, those who are attuned to the Naam find the Mansion of the Lord's Presence; their understanding is true, and approved. ||4||6|| Wadahans, Fourth Mehl, Chhant: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: My mind, my mind - the True Guru has blessed it with the Lord's Love. He has enshrined the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, Har, Har, within my mind. The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, dwells within my mind; He is the Destroyer of all pain. By great good fortune, I have obtained the Blessed Vision of the Guru's Darshan; blessed, blessed is my True Guru. While standing up and sitting down, I serve the True Guru; serving Him, I have found peace. My mind, my mind - the True Guru has blessed it

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with the Lord's Love. ||1|| I live, I live, and I blossom forth, beholding the True Guru. The Name of the Lord, the Name of the Lord, He has implanted within me; chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, I blossom forth. Chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, the heart-lotus blossoms forth, and through the Name of the Lord, I have obtained the nine treasures. The disease of egotism has been eradicated, suffering has been eliminated, and I have entered the Lord's state of celestial Samaadhi. I have obtained the glorious greatness of Name of the Lord from the True Guru; beholding the Divine True Guru, my mind is at peace. I live, I live, and I blossom forth, beholding the True Guru. ||2|| If only someone would come, if only someone would come, and lead me to meet my Perfect True Guru. My mind and body, my mind and body - I cut my body into pieces, and I dedicate these to Him. Cutting my mind and body apart, cutting them into pieces, I offer these to the one, who recites to me the Words of the True Guru. My unattached mind has renounced the world; obtaining the Blessed Vision of the Guru's Darshan, it has found peace. O Lord, Har, Har, O Giver of Peace, please, grant Your Grace, and bless me with the dust of the feet of the True Guru. If only someone would come, if only someone would come, and lead me to meet my Perfect True Guru. ||3|| A Giver as great as the Guru, as great as the Guru - I cannot see any other. He blesses me with the gift of the Lord's Name, the gift of the Lord's Name; He is the Immaculate Lord God. Those who worship in adoration the Name of the Lord, Har, Har - their pain, doubts and fears are dispelled. Through their loving service, those very fortunate ones, whose minds are attached to the Guru's Feet, meet Him. Says Nanak, the Lord Himself causes us to meet the Guru; meeting the Almighty True Guru, peace is obtained. A Giver as great as the Guru, as great as the Guru - I cannot see any other. ||4||1|| Wadahans, Fourth Mehl: Without the Guru, I am - without the Guru, I am totally dishonoured. The Life of the World, the Life of the World, the Great Giver has led me to meet and merge with the Guru. Meeting with the True Guru, I have merged into the Naam, the Name of the Lord. I chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, and meditate on it. I was seeking and searching for Him, the Lord, my best friend, and I have found Him within the home of my own being.

Section 12 - Raag Wadahans - Part 017

I see the One Lord, and I know the One Lord; I realise Him within my soul. Without the Guru, I am - without the Guru, I am totally dishonoured. ||1|| Those who have found the True Guru, the True Guru, the Lord God unites them in His Union. Their feet, their feet, I adore; I fall at their feet. O Lord, Har, Har, I adore the feet of those who meditate on the True Guru, and the Almighty Lord God. You are the Greatest Giver, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts; please, reward my faith, O Lord King. Meeting the Gursikh, my faith is rewarded; night and day, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Those who have found the True Guru, the True Guru, the Lord God unites them in His Union. ||2|| I am a sacrifice, I am a sacrifice to the Gursikhs, my dear friends. They chant the Lord's Name, the Lord's Name; the Beloved Naam, the Name of the Lord, is my only Support. The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is the companion of my breath of life; without it, I cannot live for an instant or a moment. The Lord, Har, Har, the Giver of peace, shows His Mercy, and the Gurmukh drinks in the Ambrosial Nectar. The Lord blesses him with faith, and unites him in His Union; He Himself adorns him. I am a sacrifice, I am a sacrifice to the Gursikhs, my dear friends. ||3|| The Lord Himself, the Lord Himself, is the Immaculate Almighty Lord God. The Lord Himself, the Lord Himself, unites us with Himself; that which He does, comes to pass. Whatever is pleasing to the Lord God, that alone comes to pass; nothing else can be done. Even by very clever tricks, He cannot be obtained; all have grown weary of practicing cleverness. By Guru's Grace, servant Nanak beholds the Lord; without the Lord, I have no other at all. The Lord Himself, the Lord Himself, is the Immaculate Almighty Lord God. ||4||2|| Wadahans, Fourth Mehl: The Lord, the True Guru, the Lord, the True Guru - if only I could meet the Lord, the True Guru; His Lotus Feet are so pleasing to me. The darkness of my ignorance was dispelled, when the Guru applied the healing ointment of spiritual wisdom to my eyes. The True Guru has applied the healing ointment of spiritual wisdom to my eyes, and the darkness of ignorance has been dispelled. Serving the Guru, I have obtained the supreme status; I meditate on the Lord with every breath, and every morsel of food. Those, upon whom the Lord God has bestowed His Grace, are committed to the service of the True Guru. The Lord, the True Guru, the Lord, the True Guru - if only I could meet the Lord, the True Guru; His Lotus Feet are so pleasing to me. ||1|| My True Guru, my True Guru is my Beloved; without the Guru, I cannot live. He gives me the Name of the Lord, the Name of the Lord, my only companion in the end. The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is my only companion in the end; the Guru, the True Guru, has implanted the Naam, the Name of the Lord, within me. There, where neither child nor spouse shall accompany you, the Name of the Lord, Har, Har shall emancipate you. Blessed, blessed is the True Guru, the Immaculate, Almighty Lord God; meeting Him, I meditate on the Name of the Lord. My True Guru, my True Guru is my Beloved; without the Guru, I cannot live. ||2||

Section 12 - Raag Wadahans - Part 018

Those who have not obtained the Blessed Vision, the Blessed Vision of the Darshan of the True Guru, the Almighty Lord God, they have fruitlessly, fruitlessly wasted their whole lives in vain. They have wasted away their whole lives in vain; those faithless cynics die a regretful death. They have the jewel-treasure in their own homes, but still, they are hungry; those unlucky wretches are far away from the Lord. O Lord, please, let me not see those who do not meditate on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, and who have not obtained the Blessed Vision, the Blessed Vision of the Darshan of the True Guru, the Almighty Lord God. ||3|| I am a song-bird, I am a meek song-bird; I offer my prayer to the Lord. If only I could meet the Guru, meet the Guru, O my Beloved; I dedicate myself to the devotional worship of the True Guru. I worship the Lord, Har, Har, and the True Guru; the Lord God has granted His Grace. Without the Guru, I have no other friend. The Guru, the True Guru, is my very breath of life. Says Nanak, the Guru has implanted the Naam within me; the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, the True Name. I am a song-bird, I am a meek song-bird; I offer my prayer to the Lord. ||4||3|| Wadahans, Fourth Mehl: O Lord, show Your Mercy, show Your Mercy, and let me meet the True Guru, the Giver of peace. I go and ask, I go and ask from the True Guru, about the sermon of the Lord. I ask about the sermon of the Lord from the True Guru, who has obtained the treasure of the Naam. I bow at His Feet constantly, and pray to Him; the Guru, the True Guru, has shown me the Way. He alone is a devotee, who looks alike upon pleasure and pain; he is imbued with the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. O Lord, show Your Mercy, show Your Mercy, and let me meet the True Guru, the Giver of peace. ||1|| Listen as Gurmukh, listen as Gurmukh, to the Naam, the Name of the Lord; all egotism and sins are eradicated. Chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, the troubles of the world vanish. Those who contemplate the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, are rid of their suffering and sins. The True Guru has placed the sword of spiritual wisdom in my hands; I have overcome and slain the Messenger of Death. The Lord God, the Giver of peace, has granted His Grace, and I am rid of pain, sin and disease. Listen as Gurmukh, listen as Gurmukh, to the Naam, the Name of the Lord; all egotism and sins are eradicated. ||2|| Chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is so pleasing to my mind. Speaking as Gurmukh, speaking as Gurmukh, chanting the Naam, all disease is eradicated. As Gurmukh, chanting the Naam, all disease is eradicated, and the body becomes free of disease. Night and day, one remains absorbed in the Perfect Poise of Samaadhi; meditate on the Name of the Lord, the inaccessible and unfathomable Lord. Whether of high or low social status, one who meditates on the Naam obtains the supreme treasure. Chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is pleasing to my mind. ||3||

Section 12 - Raag Wadahans - Part 019

Grant Your Grace, grant Your Grace, O Lord, and save me. I am a sinner, I am a worthless sinner, I am meek, but I am Yours, O Lord. I am a worthless sinner, and I am meek, but I am Yours; I seek Your Sanctuary, O Merciful Lord. You are the Destroyer of pain, the Giver of absolute peace; I am a stone - carry me across and save me. Meeting the True Guru, servant Nanak has obtained the subtle essence of the Lord; through the Naam, the Name of the Lord, he is saved. Grant Your Grace, grant Your Grace, Lord, and save me. ||4||4|| Wadahans, Fourth Mehl, Ghorees ~ The Wedding Procession Songs: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: This body-horse was created by the Lord. Blessed is human life, which is obtained by virtuous actions. Human life is obtained only by the most virtuous actions; this body is radiant and golden. The Gurmukh is imbued with the deep red colour of the poppy; he is imbued with the new colour of the Lord's Name, Har, Har, Har. This body is so very beautiful; it chants the Name of the Lord, and it is adorned with the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. By great good fortune, the body is obtained; the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is its companion; O servant Nanak, the Lord has created it. ||1|| I place the saddle on the body-horse, the saddle of realisation of the Good Lord. Riding this horse, I cross over the terrifying world-ocean. The terrifying world-ocean is rocked by countless waves, but the Gurmukh is carried across. Embarking upon the boat of the Lord, the very fortunate ones cross over; the Guru, the Boatman, carries them across through the Word of the Shabad. Night and day, imbued with the Lord's Love, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, the Lord's lover loves the Lord. Servant Nanak has obtained the state of Nirvaanaa, the state of ultimate goodness, the state of the Lord. ||2|| For a bridle in my mouth, the Guru has implanted spiritual wisdom within me. He has applied the whip of the Lord's Love to my body. Applying the whip of the Lord's Love to his body, the Gurmukh conquers his mind, and wins the battle of life. He trains his untrained mind with the Word of the Shabad, and drinks in the rejuvenating essence of the Lord's Nectar. Listen with your ears to the Word, uttered by the Guru, and attune your body-horse to the Lord's Love. Servant Nanak has crossed over the long and treacherous path. ||3|| The transitory body-horse was created by the Lord. Blessed, blessed is that body-horse which meditates on the Lord God. Blessed and acclaimed is that body-horse which meditates on the Lord God; it is obtained by the merits of past actions. Riding the body-horse, one crosses over the terrifying world ocean; the Gurmukh meets the Lord, the embodiment of supreme bliss. The Lord, Har, Har, has perfectly arranged this wedding; the Saints have come together as a marriage party. Servant Nanak has obtained the Lord as his Spouse; joining together, the Saints sing the songs of joy and congratulations. ||4||1||5|| Wadahans, Fourth Mehl: The body is the Lord's horse; the Lord imbues it with the fresh and new colour. From the Guru, I ask for the Lord's spiritual wisdom.

Section 12 - Raag Wadahans - Part 020

I ask for the Lord's spiritual wisdom, and the Lord's sublime sermon; through the Name of the Lord, I have come to know His value and His state. The Creator has made my life totally fruitful; I chant the Name of the Lord. The Lord's humble servant begs for the Lord's Name, for the Lord's Praises, and for devotional worship of the Lord God. Says servant Nanak, listen, O Saints: devotional worship of the Lord, the Lord of the Universe, is sublime and good. ||1|| The golden body is saddled with the saddle of gold. It is adorned with the jewel of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Adorned with the jewel of the Naam, one obtains the Lord of the Universe; he meets the Lord, sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and obtains all sorts of comforts. He obtains the Word of the Guru's Shabad, and he meditates on the Name of the Lord; by great good fortune, he assumes the colour of the Lord's Love. He meets his Lord and Master, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts; His body is ever-new, and His colour is ever-fresh. Nanak chants and realises the Naam; he begs for the Name of the Lord, the Lord God. ||2|| The Guru has placed the reins in the mouth of the body-horse. The mind-elephant is overpowered by the Word of the Guru's Shabad. The bride obtains the supreme status, as her mind is brought under control; she is the beloved of her Husband Lord. Deep within her inner self, she is in love with her Lord; in His home, she is beautiful - she is the bride of her Lord God. Imbued with the Lord's Love, she is intuitively absorbed in bliss; she obtains the Lord God, Har, Har. Servant Nanak, the Lord's slave, says that only the very fortunate meditate on the Lord, Har, Har. ||3|| The body is the horse, upon which one rides to the Lord. Meeting with the True Guru, one sings the songs of joy. Sing the songs of joy to the Lord, serve the Name of the Lord, and become the servant of His servants. You shall go and enter the Mansion of the Beloved Lord's Presence, and lovingly enjoy His Love. I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, so pleasing to my mind; following the Guru's Teachings, I meditate on the Lord within my mind. The Lord has showered His Mercy upon servant Nanak; mounting the body-horse, he has found the Lord. ||4||2||6|| Raag Wadahans, Fifth Mehl, Chhant, Fourth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Meeting with the Guru, I have found my Beloved Lord God. I have made this body and mind a sacrifice, a sacrificial offering to my Lord. Dedicating my body and mind, I have crossed over the terrifying world-ocean, and shaken off the fear of death. Drinking in the Ambrosial Nectar, I have become immortal; my comings and goings have ceased. I have found that home, of celestial Samaadhi; the Name of the Lord is my only Support. Says Nanak, I enjoy peace and pleasure; I bow in reverence to the Perfect Guru. ||1|| Listen, O my friend and companion - the Guru has given the Mantra of the Shabad, the True Word of God. Meditating on this True Shabad, I sing the songs of joy, and my mind is rid of anxiety. I have found God, who never leaves; forever and ever, He sits with me. One who is pleasing to God receives true honour. The Lord God blesses him with wealth.

Section 12 - Raag Wadahans - Part 021

Says Nanak, I am a sacrifice to such a humble being. O Lord, You bless all with Your bountiful blessings. ||2|| When it pleases You, then I am satisfied and satiated. My mind is soothed and calmed, and all my thirst is quenched. My mind is soothed and calmed, the burning has ceased, and I have found so many treasures. All the Sikhs and servants partake of them; I am a sacrifice to my True Guru. I have become fearless, imbued with the Love of my Lord Master, and I have shaken off the fear of death. Slave Nanak, Your humble servant, lovingly embraces Your meditation; O Lord, be with me always. ||3|| My hopes and desires have been fulfilled, O my Lord. I am worthless, without virtue; all virtues are Yours, O Lord. All virtues are Yours, O my Lord and Master; with what mouth should I praise You? You did not consider my merits and demerits; you forgave me in an instant. I have

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obtained the nine treasures, congratulations are pouring in, and the unstruck melody resounds. Says Nanak, I have found my Husband Lord within my own home, and all my anxiety is forgotten. ||4||1|| Shalok: Why do you listen to falsehood? It shall vanish like a gust of wind. O Nanak, those ears are acceptable, which listen to the True Master. ||1|| Chhant: I am a sacrifice to those who listen with their ears to the Lord God. Blissful and comfortable are those, who with their tongues chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. They are naturally embellished, with priceless virtues; they have come to save the world. God's Feet are the boat, which carries so many across the terrifying world-ocean. Those who are blessed with the favor of my Lord and Master, are not asked to render their account. Says Nanak, I am a sacrifice to those who listen to God with their ears. ||1|| Shalok: With my eyes, I have seen the Light of the Lord, but my great thirst is not quenched. O Nanak, those eyes are different, which behold my Husband Lord. ||1|| Chhant: I am a sacrifice to those who have seen the Lord God. In the True Court of the Lord, they are approved. They are approved by their Lord and Master, and acclaimed as supreme; they are imbued with the Lord's Love. They are satiated with the sublime essence of the Lord, and they merge in celestial peace; in each and every heart, they see the all-pervading Lord. They alone are the friendly Saints, and they alone are happy, who are pleasing to their Lord and Master. Says Nanak, I am forever a sacrifice to those who have seen the Lord God. ||2|| Shalok: The body is blind, totally blind and desolate, without the Naam. O Nanak, fruitful is the life of that being, within whose heart the True Lord and Master abides. ||1|| Chhant: I am cut into pieces as a sacrifice, to those who have seen my Lord God. His humble servants partake of the Sweet Ambrosial Nectar of the Lord, Har, Har, and are satiated. The Lord seems sweet to their minds; God is merciful to them, His Ambrosial Nectar rains down upon them, and they are at peace. Pain is eliminated and doubt is dispelled from the body; chanting the Name of the Lord of the World, their victory is celebrated. They are rid of emotional attachment, their sins are erased, and their association with the five passions is broken off.

Section 12 - Raag Wadahans - Part 022

Says Nanak, I am every bit a sacrifice to those, within whose hearts my Lord God abides. ||3|| Shalok: Those who long for the Lord, are said to be His servants. Nanak knows this Truth, that the Lord is not different from His Saint. ||1|| Chhant: As water mixes and blends with water, so does one's light mix and blend with the Lord's Light. Merging with the perfect, all-powerful Creator, one comes to know his own self. Then, he enters the celestial state of absolute Samaadhi, and speaks of the One and Only Lord. He Himself is unmanifest, and He Himself is liberated; He Himself speaks of Himself. O Nanak, doubt, fear and the limitations of the three qualities are dispelled, as one merges into the Lord, like water blending with water. ||4||2|| Wadahans, Fifth Mehl: God is the all-powerful Creator, the Cause of causes. He preserves the whole world, reaching out with His hand. He is the all-powerful, safe Sanctuary, Lord and Master, Treasure of mercy, Giver of peace. I am a sacrifice to Your slaves, who recognise only the One Lord. His colour and shape cannot be seen; His description is indescribable. Prays Nanak, hear my prayer, O God, Almighty Creator, Cause of causes. ||1|| These beings are Yours; You are their Creator. God is the Destroyer of pain, suffering and doubt. Eliminate my doubt, pain and suffering in an instant, and preserve me, O Lord, Merciful to the meek. You are mother, father and friend, O Lord and Master; the whole world is Your child, O Lord of the World. One who comes seeking Your Sanctuary, obtains the treasure of virtue, and does not have to enter the cycle of birth and death again. Prays Nanak, I am Your slave. All beings are Yours; You are their Creator. ||2|| Meditating on the Lord, twenty-four hours a day, the fruits of the heart's desires are obtained. Your heart's desires are obtained, meditating on God, and the fear of death is dispelled. I sing of the Lord of the Universe in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, and my hopes are fulfilled. Renouncing egotism, emotional attachment and all corruption, we become pleasing to the Mind of God. Prays Nanak, day and night, meditate forever on the Lord, Har, Har. ||3|| At the Lord's Door, the unstruck melody resounds. In each and every heart, the Lord, the Lord of the Universe, sings. The Lord of the Universe sings, and abides forever; He is unfathomable, profoundly deep, lofty and exalted. His virtues are infinite - none of them can be described. No one can reach Him. He Himself creates, and He Himself sustains; all beings and creatures are fashioned by Him. Prays Nanak, happiness comes from devotional worship of the Naam; at His Door, the unstruck melody resounds. ||4||3|| Raag Wadahans, First Mehl, Fifth House, Alaahanees ~ Songs Of Mourning: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Blessed is the Creator, the True King, who has linked the whole world to its tasks. When one's time is up, and the measure is full, this dear soul is caught, and driven off.

Section 12 - Raag Wadahans - Part 023

This dear soul is driven off, when the pre-ordained Order is received, and all the relatives cry out in mourning. The body and the swan-soul are separated, when one's days are past and done, O my mother. As is one's pre-ordained Destiny, so does one receive, according to one's past actions. Blessed is the Creator, the True King, who has linked the whole world to its tasks. ||1|| Meditate in remembrance on the Lord and Master, O my Siblings of Destiny; everyone has to pass this way. These false entanglements last for only a few days; then, one must surely move on to the world hereafter. He must surely move on to the world hereafter, like a guest; so why does he indulge in ego? Chant the Name of the Lord; serving Him, you shall obtain peace in His Court. In the world hereafter, no one's commands will be obeyed. According to their actions, each and every person proceeds. Meditate in remembrance on the Lord and Master, O my Siblings of Destiny; everyone has to pass this way. ||2|| Whatever pleases the Almighty Lord, that alone comes to pass; this world is an opportunity to please Him. The True Creator Lord is pervading and permeating the water, the land and the air. The True Creator Lord is invisible and infinite; His limits cannot be found. Fruitful is the coming of those, who meditate single-mindedly on Him. He destroys, and having destroyed, He creates; by His Order, He adorns us. Whatever pleases the Almighty Lord, that alone comes to pass; this world is an opportunity to please Him. ||3|| Nanak: he alone truly weeps, O Baba, who weeps in the Lord's Love. One who weeps for the sake of worldly objects, O Baba, weeps totally in vain. This weeping is all in vain; the world forgets the Lord, and weeps for the sake of Maya. He does not distinguish between good and evil, and wastes away this life in vain. Everyone who comes here, shall have to leave; to act in ego is false. Nanak: he alone truly weeps, O Baba, who weeps in the Lord's Love. ||4||1|| Wadahans, First Mehl: Come, O my companions - let us meet together and dwell upon the True Name. Let us weep over the body's separation from the Lord and Master; let us remember Him in contemplation. Let us remember the Lord and Master in contemplation, and keep a watchful eye on the Path. We shall have to go there as well. He who has created, also destroys; whatever happens is by His Will. Whatever He has done, has come to pass; how can we command Him? Come, O my companions - let us meet together and dwell upon the True Name. ||1|| Death would not be called bad, O people, if one knew how to truly die. Serve your Almighty Lord and Master, and your path in the world hereafter will be easy. Take this easy path, and you shall obtain the fruits of your rewards, and receive honour in the world hereafter. Go there with your offering, and you shall merge in the True Lord; your honour shall be confirmed. You shall obtain a place in the Mansion of the Lord Master's Presence; being pleasing to Him, you shall enjoy the pleasures of His Love. Death would not be called bad, O people, if one knew how to truly die. ||2|| The death of brave heroes is blessed, if it is approved by God.

Section 12 - Raag Wadahans - Part 024

They alone are acclaimed as brave warriors in the world hereafter, who receive true honour in the Court of the Lord. They are honoured in the Court of the Lord; they depart with honour, and they do not suffer pain in the world hereafter. They meditate on the One Lord, and obtain the fruits of their rewards. Serving the Lord, their fear is dispelled. Do not indulge in egotism, and dwell within your own mind; the Knower Himself knows everything. The death of brave heroes is blessed, if it is approved by God. ||3|| Nanak: for whom should we mourn, O Baba? This world is merely a play. The Lord Master beholds His work, and contemplates His creative potency. He contemplates His creative potency, having established the Universe. He who created it, He alone knows. He Himself beholds it, and He Himself understands it. He Himself realises the Hukam of His Command. He who created these things, He alone knows. His subtle form is infinite. Nanak: for whom should we mourn, O Baba? This world is merely a play. ||4||2|| Wadahans, First Mehl, Dakhanee: The True Creator Lord is True - know this well; He is the True Sustainer. He Himself fashioned His Own Self; the True Lord is invisible and infinite. He brought together, and then separated, the two grinding stones of the earth and the sky; without the Guru, there is only pitch darkness. He created the sun and the moon; night and day, they move according to His Thought. ||1|| O True Lord and Master, You are True. O True Lord, bless me with Your Love. ||Pause|| You created the Universe; You are the Giver of pain and pleasure. You created woman and man, the love of poison, and emotional attachment to Maya. The four sources of creation, and the power of the Word, are also of Your making. You give Support to all beings. You have made the Creation as Your Throne; You are the True Judge. ||2|| You created comings and goings, but You are ever-stable, O Creator Lord. In birth and death, in coming and going, this soul is held in bondage by corruption. The evil person has forgotten the Naam; he has drowned - what can he do now? Forsaking merit, he has loaded the poisonous cargo of demerits; he is a trader of sins. ||3|| The beloved soul has received the Call, the Command of the True Creator Lord. The soul, the husband, has become separated from the body, the bride. The Lord is the Re-uniter of the separated ones. No one cares for your beauty, O beautiful bride.; the Messenger of Death is bound only by the Lord Commander's Command. He does not distinguish between young children and old people; he tears apart love and affection. ||4|| The nine doors are closed by the True Lord's Command, and the swan-soul takes flight into the skies. The body-bride is separated, and defrauded by falsehood; she is now a widow - her husband's body lies dead in the courtyard. The widow cries out at the door, "The light of my mind has gone out, O my mother, with his death." So cry out, O soul-brides of the Husband Lord, and dwell on the Glorious Praises of the True Lord. ||5|| Her loved one is cleansed, bathed in water, and dressed in silken robes. The musicians play, and the Bani of the True Lord's Words are sung; the five relatives feel as if they too are dead, so deadened are their minds. "Separation from my beloved is like death to me!" cries the widow. "My life in this world is cursed and worthless!" But she alone is approved, who dies, while yet still alive; she lives for the sake of the Love of her Beloved. ||6|| So cry out in mourning, you who have come to mourn; this world is false and fraudulent.

Section 12 - Raag Wadahans - Part 025

I too have been defrauded, chasing after worldly entanglements; my Husband Lord has forsaken me - I practice the evil deeds of a wife without a spouse. In each and every home, are the brides of the Husband Lord; they gaze upon their Handsome Lord with love and affection. I sing the Praises of my True Husband Lord, and through the Naam, the Name of my Husband Lord, I blossom forth. ||7|| Meeting with the Guru, the soul-bride's dress is transformed, and she is adorned with Truth. Come and meet with me, O brides of the Lord; let's meditate in remembrance on the Creator Lord. Through the Naam, the soul-bride becomes the Lord's favorite; she is adorned with Truth. Do not sing the songs of separation, O Nanak; reflect upon God. ||8||3|| Wadahans, First Mehl: The One who creates and dissolves the world - that Lord and Master alone knows His creative power. Do not search for the True Lord far away; recognise the Word of the Shabad in each and every heart. Recognise the Shabad, and do not think that the Lord is far away; He created this creation. Meditating on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, one obtains peace; without the Naam, he plays a losing game. The One who established the Universe, He alone knows the Way; what can anyone say? The One who established the world cast the net of Maya over it; accept Him as your Lord and Master. ||1|| O Baba, he has come, and now he must get up and depart; this world is only a way-station. Upon each and every head, the True Lord writes their destiny of pain and pleasure, according to their past actions. He bestows pain and pleasure, according to the deeds done; the record of these deeds stays with the soul. He does those deeds which the Creator Lord causes him to do; he attempts no other actions. The Lord Himself is detached, while the world is entangled in conflict; by His Command, He emancipates it. He may put this off today, but tomorrow he is seized by death; in love with duality, he practices corruption. ||2|| The path of death is dark and dismal; the way cannot be seen. There is no water, no quilt or mattress, and no food there. He receives no food there, no honour or water, no clothes or decorations. The chain is put around his neck, and the Messenger of Death standing over his head strikes him; he cannot see the door of his home. The seeds planted on this path do not sprout; bearing the weight of his sins upon his head, he regrets and repents. Without the True Lord, no one is his friend; reflect upon this as true. ||3|| O Baba, they alone are known to truly weep and wail, who meet together and weep, chanting the Praises of the Lord. Defrauded by Maya and worldly affairs, the weepers weep. They weep for the sake of worldly affairs, and they do not wash off their own filth; the world is merely a dream. Like the juggler, deceiving by his tricks, one is deluded by egotism, falsehood and illusion. The Lord Himself reveals the Path; He Himself is the Doer of deeds. Those who are imbued with the Naam, are protected by the Perfect Guru, O Nanak; they merge in celestial bliss. ||4||4|| Wadahans, First Mehl: O Baba, whoever has come, will rise up and leave; this world is merely a false show. One's true home is obtained by serving the True Lord; real Truth is obtained by being truthful. By falsehood and greed, no place of rest is found, and no place in the world hereafter is obtained. No one invites him to come in and sit down. He is like a crow in a deserted home. Trapped by birth and death, he is separated from the Lord for such a long time; the whole world is wasting away. Greed, worldly entanglements and Maya deceive the world. Death hovers over its head, and causes it to weep. ||1||

Section 12 - Raag Wadahans - Part 026

Come, O Baba, and Siblings of Destiny - let's join together; take me in your arms, and bless me with your prayers. O Baba, union with the True Lord cannot be broken; bless me with your prayers for union with my Beloved. Bless me with your prayers, that I may perform devotional worship service to my

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Lord; for those already united with Him, what is there to unite? Some have wandered away from the Name of the Lord, and lost the Path. The Word of the Guru's Shabad is the true game. Do not go on Death's path; remain merged in the Word of the Shabad, the true form throughout the ages. Through good fortune, we meet such friends and relatives, who meet with the Guru, and escape the noose of Death. ||2|| O Baba, we come into the world naked, into pain and pleasure, according to the record of our account. The call of our pre-ordained destiny cannot be altered; it follows from our past actions. The True Lord sits and writes of ambrosial nectar, and bitter poison; as the Lord attaches us, so are we attached. The Charmer, Maya, has worked her charms, and the multi-coloured thread is around everyone's neck. Through shallow intellect, the mind becomes shallow, and one eats the fly, along with the sweets. Contrary to custom, he comes into the Dark Age of Kali Yuga naked, and naked he is bound down and sent away again. ||3|| O Baba, weep and mourn if you must; the beloved soul is bound and driven off. The pre-ordained record of destiny cannot be erased; the summons has come from the Lord's Court. The messenger comes, when it pleases the Lord, and the mourners begin to mourn. Sons, brothers, nephews and very dear friends weep and wail. Let him weep, who weeps in the Fear of God, cherishing the virtues of God. No one dies with the dead. O Nanak, throughout the ages, they are known as wise, who weep, remembering the True Lord. ||4||5|| Wadahans, Third Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Praise God, the True Lord; He is all-powerful to do all things. The soul-bride shall never be a widow, and she shall never have to endure suffering. She shall never suffer - night and day, she enjoys pleasures; that soul-bride merges in the Mansion of her Lord's Presence. She knows her Beloved, the Architect of karma, and she speaks words of ambrosial sweetness. The virtuous soul-brides dwell on the Lord's virtues; they keep their Husband Lord in their remembrance, and so they never suffer separation from Him. So praise your True Husband Lord, who is all-powerful to do all things. ||1|| The True Lord and Master is realised through the Word of His Shabad; He blends all with Himself. That soul-bride is imbued with the Love of her Husband Lord, who banishes her self-conceit from within. Eradicating her ego from within herself, death shall not consume her again; as Gurmukh, she knows the One Lord God. The desire of the soul-bride is fulfilled; deep within herself, she is drenched in His Love. She meets the Great Giver, the Life of the World. Imbued with love for the Shabad, she is like a youth intoxicated; she merges into the very being of her Husband Lord. The True Lord Master is realised through the Word of His Shabad. He blends all with Himself. ||2|| Those who have realised their Husband Lord - I go and ask those Saints about Him.

Section 12 - Raag Wadahans - Part 027

Renouncing ego, I serve them; thus I meet my True Husband Lord, with intuitive ease. The True Husband Lord comes to meet the soul-bride who practices Truth, and is imbued with the True Word of the Shabad. She shall never become a widow; she shall always be a happy bride. Deep within herself, she dwells in the celestial bliss of Samaadhi. Her Husband Lord is fully pervading everywhere; beholding Him ever-present, she enjoys His Love, with intuitive ease. Those who have realised their Husband Lord - I go and ask those Saints about Him. ||3|| The separated ones also meet with their Husband Lord, if they fall at the Feet of the True Guru. The True Guru is forever merciful; through the Word of His Shabad, demerits are burnt away. Burning away her demerits through the Shabad, the soul-bride eradicates her love of duality, and remains absorbed in the True, True Lord. Through the True Shabad, everlasting peace is obtained, and egotism and doubt are dispelled. The Immaculate Husband Lord is forever the Giver of peace; O Nanak, through the Word of His Shabad, He is met. The separated ones also meet with their Husband Lord, if they fall at the feet of the True Guru. ||4||1|| Wadahans, Third Mehl: Listen, O brides of the Lord: serve your Beloved Husband Lord, and contemplate the Word of His Shabad. The worthless bride does not know her Husband Lord - she is deluded; forgetting her Husband Lord, she weeps and wails. She weeps, thinking of her Husband Lord, and she cherishes His virtues; her Husband Lord does not die, and does not leave. As Gurmukh, she knows the Lord; through the Word of His Shabad, He is realised; through True Love, she merges with Him. She who does not know her Husband Lord, the Architect of karma, is deluded by falsehood - she herself is false. Listen, O brides of the Lord: serve your Beloved Husband Lord, and contemplate the Word of His Shabad. ||1|| He Himself created the whole world; the world comes and goes. The love of Maya has ruined the world; people die, to be re-born, over and over again. People die to be re-born, over and over again, while their sins increase; without spiritual wisdom, they are deluded. Without the Word of the Shabad, the Husband Lord is not found; the worthless, false bride wastes her life away, weeping and wailing. He is my Beloved Husband Lord, the Life of the World - for whom should I weep? They alone weep, who forget their Husband Lord. He Himself created the whole world; the world comes and goes. ||2|| That Husband Lord is True, forever True; He does not die, and He does not leave. The ignorant soul-bride wanders in delusion; in the love of duality, she sits like a widow. She sits like a widow, in the love of duality; through emotional attachment to Maya, she suffers in pain. She is growing old, and her body is withering away. Whatever has come, all that shall pass away; through the love of duality, they suffer in pain. They do not see the Messenger of Death; they long for Maya, and their consciousness is attached to greed. That Husband Lord is True, forever True; He does not die, and He does not leave. ||3|| Some weep and wail, separated from their Husband Lord; the blind ones do not know that their Husband is with them. By Guru's Grace, they may meet with their True Husband, and cherish Him always deep within. She cherishes her Husband deep within herself - He is always with her; the self-willed manmukhs think that He is far away. This body rolls in the dust, and is totally useless; it does not realise the Presence of the Lord and Master.

Section 12 - Raag Wadahans - Part 028

O Nanak, that soul-bride is united in Union; she cherishes her Beloved Husband forever, deep within herself. Some weep and wail, separated from their Husband Lord; the blind ones do not know that their Husband is with them. ||4||2|| Wadahans, Third Mehl: Those who are separated from their Beloved Husband Lord weep and wail, but my True Husband Lord is always with me. Those who know that they must depart, serve the True Guru, and dwell upon the Naam, the Name of the Lord. They dwell constantly upon the Naam, and the True Guru is with them; they serve the True Guru, and so obtain peace. Through the Shabad, they kill death, and enshrine the True Lord within their hearts; they shall not have to come and go again. True is the Lord and Master, and True is His Name; bestowing His Gracious Glance, one is enraptured. Those who are separated from their Beloved Husband Lord weep and wail, but my True Husband Lord is always with me. ||1|| God, my Lord and Master, is the highest of all; how can I meet my Dear Beloved? When the True Guru united me, then I was naturally united with my Husband Lord, and now, I keep Him clasped to my heart. I constantly, lovingly cherish my Beloved within my heart; through the True Guru, I see my Beloved. The cloak of Maya's love is false; wearing it, one slips and loses his footing. That cloak is true, which is dyed in the colour of the Love of my Beloved; wearing it, my inner thirst is quenched. God, my Lord and Master, is the highest of all; how can I meet my Dear Beloved? ||2|| I have realised my True Lord God, while the other worthless ones have gone astray. I dwell constantly upon my Beloved Husband Lord, and reflect upon the True Word of the Shabad. The bride reflects upon the True Shabad, and is imbued with His Love; she meets with the True Guru, and finds her Beloved. Deep within, she is imbued with His Love, and intoxicated with delight; her enemies and sufferings are all taken away. Surrender body and soul to your Guru, and then you shall become happy; your thirst and pain shall be taken away. I have realised my True Lord God, while the other worthless ones have gone astray. ||3|| The True Lord Himself created the world; without the Guru, there is only pitch darkness. He Himself unites, and causes us to unite with Him; He Himself blesses us with His Love. He Himself blesses us with His Love, and deals in celestial peace; the life of the Gurmukh is reformed. Blessed is his coming into the world; he banishes his self-conceit, and is acclaimed as true in the Court of the True Lord. The light of the jewel of spiritual wisdom shines within his heart, O Nanak, and he loves the Naam, the Name of the Lord. The True Lord Himself created the world; without the Guru, there is only pitch darkness. ||4||3|| Wadahans, Third Mehl: This body is frail; old age is overtaking it. Those who are protected by the Guru are saved, while others die, to be reincarnated; they continue coming and going. Others die, to be reincarnated; they continue coming and going, and in the end, they depart regretfully. Without the Name, there is no peace. As one acts here, so does he obtain his rewards; the self-willed manmukh loses his honour. In the City of Death, there is pitch darkness, and huge clouds of dust; neither sister nor brother is there. This body is frail; old age is overtaking it. ||1|| The body becomes like gold, when the True Guru unites one with Himself.

Section 12 - Raag Wadahans - Part 029

Doubt and Maya have been removed from within me, and I am merged in the Naam, the True Name of the Lord. Merged in the True Name of the Lord, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord; meeting my Beloved, I have found peace. I am in constant bliss, day and night; egotism has been dispelled from within me. I fall at the feet of those who enshrine the Naam within their consciousness. The body becomes like gold, when the True Guru unites one with Himself. ||2|| We truly praise the True Lord, when the True Guru imparts understanding. Without the True Guru, they are deluded by doubt; going to the world hereafter, what face will they display? What face will they show, when they go there? They will regret and repent for their sins; their actions will bring them only pain and suffering. Those who are imbued with the Naam are dyed in the deep crimson colour of the Lord's Love; they merge into the Being of their Husband Lord. I can conceive of no other as great as the Lord; unto whom should I go and speak? We truly praise the True Lord, when the True Guru imparts understanding. ||3|| I fall at the feet of those who praise the Truest of the True. Those humble beings are true, and immaculately pure; meeting them, all filth is washed off. Meeting them, all filth is washed off; bathing in the Pool of Truth, one becomes truthful, with intuitive ease. The True Guru has given me the realisation of the Naam, the Immaculate Name of the Lord, the unfathomable, the imperceptible. Those who perform devotional worship to the Lord night and day, are imbued with His Love; O Nanak, they are absorbed in the True Lord. I fall at the feet of those who meditate on the Truest of the True. ||4||4|| Vaar Of Wadahans, Fourth Mehl: To Be Sung In The Tune Of Lalaa-Behleemaa: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Shalok, Third Mehl: The great swans are imbued with the Word of the Shabad; they enshrine the True Name within their hearts. They gather Truth, remain always in Truth, and love the True Name. They are always pure and immaculate - filth does not touch them; they are blessed with the Grace of the Creator Lord. O Nanak, I am a sacrifice to those who, night and day, meditate on the Lord. ||1|| Third Mehl: I thought that he was a great swan, so I associated with him. If I had known that he was only a wretched heron from birth, I would not have touched him. ||2|| Third Mehl: Seeing the swans swimming, the herons became envious. But the poor herons drowned and died, and floated with their heads down, and their feet above. ||3|| Pauree: You Yourself are Yourself, all by Yourself; You Yourself created the creation. You Yourself are Yourself the Formless Lord; there is no other than You. You are the all-powerful Cause of causes; what You do, comes to be. You give gifts to all beings, without their asking. Everyone proclaims, "Waaho! Waaho! Blessed, blessed is the True Guru, who has given the supreme gift of the Name of the Lord. ||1||

Section 12 - Raag Wadahans - Part 030

Shalok, Third Mehl: The entire universe is in fear; only the Dear Lord is fearless. Serving the True Guru, the Lord comes to dwell in the mind, and then, fear cannot stay there. Enemies and pain cannot come close, and no one can touch him. The Gurmukh reflects upon the Lord in his mind; whatever pleases the Lord - that alone comes to pass. O Nanak, He Himself preserves one's honour; He alone resolves our affairs. ||1||- Third Mehl: Some friends are leaving, some have already left, and those remaining will eventually leave. Those who do not serve the True Guru, come and go regretting. O Nanak, those who are attuned to Truth are not separated; serving the True Guru, they merge into the Lord. ||2|| Pauree: Meet with that True Guru, the True Friend, within whose mind the Lord, the virtuous One, abides. Meet with that Beloved True Guru, who has subdued ego from within himself. Blessed, blessed is the Perfect True Guru, who has given the Lord's Teachings to reform the whole world. O Saints, meditate constantly on the Lord's Name, and cross over the terrifying, poisonous world-ocean. The Perfect Guru has taught me about the Lord; I am forever a sacrifice to the Guru. ||2|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Service to, and obedience to the True Guru, is the essence of comfort and peace. Doing so, one obtains honour here, and the door of salvation in the Court of the Lord. In this way, perform the tasks of Truth, wear Truth, and take the Support of the True Name. Associating with Truth, obtain Truth, and love the True Name. Through the True Word of the Shabad, be always happy, and you shall be acclaimed as True in the True Court. O Nanak, he alone serves the True Guru, whom the Creator has blessed with His Glance of Grace. ||1|| Third Mehl: Cursed is the life, and cursed is the dwelling, of those who serve another. Abandoning the Ambrosial Nectar, they turn to poison; they earn poison, and poison is their only wealth. Poison is their food, and poison is their dress; they fill their mouths with morsels of poison. In this world, they earn only pain and suffering, and dying, they go to abide in hell. The self-willed manmukhs have filthy faces; they do not know the Word of the Shabad; in sexual desire and anger they waste away. They forsake the Fear of the True Guru, and because of their stubborn ego, their efforts do not come to fruition. In the City of Death, they are bound and beaten, and no one hears their prayers. O Nanak, they act according to their pre-ordained destiny; the Gurmukh abides in the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||2|| Pauree: Serve the True Guru, O Holy people; He implants the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, in our minds. Worship the True Guru day and night; He leads us the meditate on the Lord of the Universe, the Master of the Universe. Behold the True Guru, each and every moment; He shows us the Divine Path of the Lord. Let everyone fall at the feet of the True Guru; He has dispelled the darkness of emotional attachment. Let everyone hail and praise the True Guru, who has led us to find the treasure of the Lord's devotional worship. ||3|| Shalok, Third Mehl:

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Meeting with the True Guru, hunger departs; by wearing the robes of a beggar, hunger does not depart.

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Afflicted with pain, he wanders from house to house, and in the world hereafter, he receives double punishment. Peace does not come to his heart - he is not content to eat what comes his way. With his stubborn mind, he begs, and grabs, and annoys those who give. Instead of wearing these beggar's robes, it is better to be a householder, and give to others. Those who are attuned to the Word of the Shabad, acquire understanding; the others wander, deluded by doubt. They act according to their past actions; it is useless to talk to them. O Nanak, those who are pleasing unto the Lord are good; He upholds their honour. ||1|| Third Mehl: Serving the True Guru, one finds a lasting peace; the pains of birth and death are removed. He is not troubled by anxiety, and the carefree Lord comes to dwell in the mind. Deep within himself, is the sacred shrine of spiritual wisdom, revealed by the True Guru. His filth is removed, and his soul becomes immaculately pure, bathing in the sacred shrine, the pool of Ambrosial Nectar. The friend meets with the True Friend, the Lord, through the love of the Shabad. Within the home of his own being, he finds the Divine Self, and his light blends with the Light. The Messenger of Death does not leave the hypocrite; he is led away in dishonour. O Nanak, those who are imbued with the Naam are saved; they are in love with the True Lord. ||2|| Pauree: Go, and sit in the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, where the Name of the Lord is churned. In peace and poise, contemplate the Lord's Name - don't lose the essence of the Lord. Chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, constantly, day and night, and you shall be accepted in the Court of the Lord. He alone finds the Perfect True Guru, on whose forehead such a pre-ordained destiny is written. Let everyone bow in worship to the Guru, who utters the sermon of the Lord. ||4|| Shalok, Third Mehl: The friends who love the True Guru, meet with the Lord, the True Friend. Meeting their Beloved, they meditate on the True Lord with love and affection. Their minds are appeased by their own minds, through the incomparable Word of the Guru's Shabad. These friends are united, and will not be separated again; they have been united by the Creator Lord Himself. Some do not believe in the Blessed Vision of the Guru's Darshan; they do not contemplate the Shabad. The separated ones are in love with duality - what more separation can they suffer? Friendship with the self-willed manmukhs lasts for only a few short days. This friendship is broken in an instant; this friendship leads to corruption. They do not fear the True Lord within their hearts, and they do not love the Naam. O Nanak, why become friends with those whom the Creator Lord Himself has misled? ||1|| Third Mehl: Some remain constantly imbued with the Lord's Love; I am forever a sacrifice to them. I dedicate my mind, soul and wealth to them; bowing low, I fall at their feet. Meeting them, the soul is satisfied, and one's hunger and thirst all depart. O Nanak, those who are attuned to the Naam are happy forever; they lovingly focus their minds on the True Lord. ||2|| Pauree: I am a sacrifice to the Guru, who recites the sermon of the Lord's Teachings.

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I am forever a sacrifice to that Guru, who has led me to serve the Lord. That Beloved True Guru is always with me; wherever I may be, He will save me. Most blessed is that Guru, who imparts understanding of the Lord. O Nanak, I am a sacrifice to the Guru, who has given me the Lord's Name, and fulfilled the desires of my mind. ||5|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Consumed by desires, the world is burning and dying; burning and burning, it cries out. But if it meets with the cooling and soothing True Guru, it does not burn any longer. O Nanak, without the Name, and without contemplating the Word of the Shabad, no one becomes fearless. ||1|| Third Mehl: Wearing ceremonial robes, the fire is not quenched, and the mind is filled with anxiety. Destroying the snake's hole, the snake is not killed; it is just like doing deeds without a Guru. Serving the Giver, the True Guru, the Shabad comes to abide in the mind. The mind and body are cooled and soothed; peace ensues, and the fire of desire is quenched. The supreme comforts and lasting peace are obtained, when one eradicates ego from within. He alone becomes a detached Gurmukh, who lovingly focuses his consciousness on the True Lord. Anxiety does not affect him at all; he is satisfied and satiated with the Name of the Lord. O Nanak, without the Naam, no one is saved; they are utterly ruined by egotism. ||2|| Pauree: Those who meditate on the Lord, Har, Har, obtain all peace and comforts. Fruitful is the entire life of those, who hunger for the Name of the Lord in their minds. Those who worship the Lord in adoration, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, forget all their pains and suffering. Those Gursikhs are good Saints, who care for nothing other than the Lord. Blessed, blessed is their Guru, whose mouth tastes the Ambrosial Fruit of the Lord's Name. ||6|| Shalok, Third Mehl: In the Dark Age of Kali Yuga, the Messenger of Death is the enemy of life, but he acts according to the Lord's Command. Those who are protected by the Guru are saved, while the self-willed manmukhs receive their punishment. The world is under the control, and in the bondage of the Messenger of Death; no one can hold him back. So serve the One who created Death; as Gurmukh, no pain shall touch you. O Nanak, Death serves the Gurmukhs; the True Lord abides in their minds. ||1|| Third Mehl: This body is filled with disease; without the Word of the Shabad, the pain of the disease of ego does not depart. When one meets the True Guru, then he becomes immaculately pure, and he enshrines the Lord's Name within his mind. O Nanak, meditating on the Naam, the Name of the Peace-Giving Lord, his pains are automatically forgotten. ||2|| Pauree: I am forever a sacrifice to the Guru, who has taught me about the Lord, the Life of the World. I am every bit a sacrifice to the Guru, the Lover of Nectar, who has revealed the Name of the Lord. I am a sacrifice to the Guru, who has totally cured me of the fatal disease of egotism. Glorious and great are the virtues of the Guru, who has eradicated evil, and instructed me in virtue.

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The True Guru meets with those upon whose foreheads such blessed destiny is recorded. ||7|| Shalok, Third Mehl: They alone worship the Lord, who remain dead while yet alive; the Gurmukhs worship the Lord continually. The Lord blesses them with the treasure of devotional worship, which no one can destroy. They obtain the treasure of virtue, the One True Lord, within their minds. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs remain united with the Lord; they shall never be separated again. ||1|| Third Mehl: He does not serve the True Guru; how can he reflect upon the Lord? He does not appreciate the value of the Shabad; the fool wanders in corruption and sin. The blind and ignorant perform all sorts of ritualistic actions; they are in love with duality. Those who take unjustified pride in themselves, are punished and humiliated by the Messenger of Death. O Nanak, who else is there to ask? The Lord Himself is the Forgiver. ||2|| Pauree: You, O Creator, know all things; all beings belong to You. Those who are pleasing to You, You unite with Yourself; what can the poor creatures do? You are all-powerful, the Cause of causes, the True Creator Lord. Only those unite with you, Beloved Lord, whom you approve and who meditate on Guru's Word. I am a sacrifice to my True Guru, who has allowed me to see my unseen Lord. ||8|| Shalok, Third Mehl: He is the Assayer of jewels; He contemplates the jewel. He is ignorant and totally blind - he does not appreciate the value of the jewel. The Jewel is the Word of the Guru's Shabad; the Knower alone knows it. The fools take pride in themselves, and are ruined in birth and death. O Nanak, he alone obtains the jewel, who, as Gurmukh, enshrines love for it. Chanting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, forever and ever, make the Name of the Lord your daily occupation. If the Lord shows His Mercy, then I keep Him enshrined within my heart. ||1|| Third Mehl: They do not serve the True Guru, and they do not embrace love for the Lord's Name. Do not even think that they are alive - the Creator Lord Himself has killed them. Egotism is such a terrible disease; in the love of duality, they do their deeds. O Nanak, the self-willed manmukhs are in a living death; forgetting the Lord, they suffer in pain. ||2|| Pauree: Let all bow in reverence, to that humble being whose heart is pure within. I am a sacrifice to that humble being whose mind is filled with the treasure of the Naam. He has a discriminating intellect; he meditates on the Name of the Lord. That True Guru is a friend to all; everyone is dear to Him. The Lord, the Supreme Soul, is pervading everywhere; reflect upon the wisdom of the Guru's Teachings. ||9|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Without serving the True Guru, the soul is in the bondage of deeds done in ego. Without serving the True Guru, one finds no place of rest; he dies, and is reincarnated, and continues coming and going. Without serving the True Guru, one's speech is vapid and insipid; the Naam, the Name of the Lord, does not abide in his mind.

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O Nanak, without serving the True Guru, they are bound and beaten in the City of Death; they arise and depart with blackened faces. ||1|| First Mehl: Burn away those rituals which lead you to forget the Beloved Lord. O Nanak, sublime is that love, which preserves my honour with my Lord Master. ||2|| Pauree: Serve the One Lord, the Great Giver; meditate on the One Lord. Beg from the One Lord, the Great Giver, and you shall obtain your heart's desires. But if you beg from another, then you shall be shamed and destroyed. One who serves the Lord obtains the fruits of his rewards; all of his hunger is satisfied. Nanak is a sacrifice to those, who night and day, meditate within their hearts on the Name of the Lord. ||10|| Shalok, Third Mehl: He Himself is pleased with His humble devotees; my Beloved Lord attaches them to Himself. The Lord blesses His humble devotees with royalty; He fashions the true crown upon their heads. They are always at peace, and immaculately pure; they perform service for the True Guru. They are not said to be kings, who die in conflict, and then enter again the cycle of reincarnation. O Nanak, without the Name of the Lord, they wander about with their noses cut off in disgrace; they get no respect at all. ||1|| Third Mehl: Hearing the teachings, he does not appreciate them, as long as he is not Gurmukh, attached to the Word of the Shabad. Serving the True Guru, the Naam comes to abide in the mind, and doubts and fears run away. As he knows the True Guru, so he is transformed, and then, he lovingly focuses his consciousness on the Naam. O Nanak, through the Naam, the Name of the Lord, greatness is obtained; he shall be resplendent in the Court of the Lord hereafter. ||2|| Pauree: The minds of the Gursikhs are filled with the love of the Lord; they come and worship the Guru. They trade lovingly in the Lord's Name, and depart after earning the profit of the Lord's Name. The faces of the Gursikhs are radiant; in the Court of the Lord, they are approved. The Guru, the True Guru, is the treasure of the Lord's Name; how very fortunate are the Sikhs who share in this treasure of virtue. I am a sacrifice to those Gursikhs who, sitting and standing, meditate on the Lord's Name. ||11|| Shalok, Third Mehl: O Nanak, the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is the treasure, which the Gurmukhs obtain. The self-willed manmukhs are blind; they do not realise that it is within their own home. They die barking and crying. ||1|| Third Mehl: That body is golden and immaculate, which is attached to the True Name of the True Lord. The Gurmukh obtains the Pure Light of the Luminous Lord, and his doubts and fears run away. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs find lasting peace; night and day, they remain detached, while in the Love of the Lord. ||2|| Pauree: Blessed, blessed are those Gursikhs, who, with their ears, listen to the Guru's Teachings about the Lord. The Guru, the True Guru, implants the Naam within them, and their egotism and duality are silenced. There is no friend, other than the Name of the Lord; the Lord's humble servants reflect upon this and see.

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Those Gursikhs, with whom the Lord is pleased, accept the Word of the True Guru. Those Gurmukhs who meditate on the Naam are imbued with the four-fold colour of the Lord's Love. ||12|| Shalok, Third Mehl: The self-willed manmukh is cowardly and ugly; lacking the Name of the Lord, his nose is cut off in disgrace. Night and day, he is engrossed in worldly affairs, and even in his dreams, he finds no peace. O Nanak, if he becomes Gurmukh, then he shall be saved; otherwise, he is held in bondage, and suffers in pain. ||1|| Third Mehl: The Gurmukhs always look beautiful in the Court of the Lord; they practice the Word of the Guru's Shabad. There is a lasting peace and happiness deep within them; at the Court of the True Lord, they receive honour. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs are blessed with the Name of the Lord; they merge imperceptibly into the True Lord. ||2|| Pauree: As Gurmukh, Prahlaad meditated on the Lord, and was saved. As Gurmukh, Janak lovingly centred his consciousness on the Lord's Name. As Gurmukh, Vashisht taught the Teachings of the Lord. Without the Guru, no one has found the Lord's Name, O my Siblings of Destiny. The Lord blesses the Gurmukh with devotion. ||13|| Shalok, Third Mehl: One who has no faith in the True Guru, and who does not love the Word of the Shabad, shall find no peace, even though he may come and go hundreds of times. O Nanak, the Gurmukh meets the True Lord with natural ease; he is in love with the Lord. ||1|| Third Mehl: O mind, search for such a True Guru, by serving whom the pains of birth and death are dispelled. Doubt shall never afflict you, and your ego shall be burnt away through the Word of the Shabad. The veil of falsehood shall be torn down from within you, and Truth shall come to dwell in the mind. Peace and happiness shall fill your mind deep within, if you act according to truth and self-discipline. O Nanak, by perfect good karma, you shall meet the True Guru, and then the Dear Lord, by His Sweet Will, shall bless you with His Mercy. ||2|| Pauree: The whole world comes under the control of one whose home is filled with the Lord, the King. He is subject to no one else's rule, and the Lord, the King, causes everyone to fall at his feet. One may run away from the courts of other men, but where can one go to escape the Lord's Kingdom? The Lord is such a King, who abides in the hearts of His devotees; He brings the others, and makes them stand before His devotees. The glorious greatness of the Lord's Name is obtained only by His Grace; how few are the Gurmukhs who meditate on Him. ||14|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Without serving the True Guru, the people of the world are dead; they waste their lives away in vain. In love with duality, they suffer terrible pain; they die, and are reincarnated, and continue coming and going. They live in manure, and are reincarnated again and again. O Nanak, without the Name, the Messenger of Death punishes them; in the end, they depart regretting and repenting. ||1|| Third Mehl: In this world, there is one Husband Lord; all other beings are His brides.

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He enjoys the hearts of all, and yet He remains detached; He is unseen; He cannot be described. The Perfect Guru reveals Him, and through the Word of His Shabad, we come to understand Him. Those who serve their Husband Lord, become like Him; their egos are burnt away by His Shabad. He has no rival, no attacker, no enemy. His rule is unchanging and eternal; He does not come or go. Night and day, His

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servant serves Him, singing the Glorious Praises of the True Lord. Beholding the Glorious Greatness of the True Lord, Nanak blossoms forth. ||2|| Pauree: Those whose hearts are forever filled with the Name of the Lord, have the Name of the Lord as their Protector. The Lord's Name is my father, the Lord's Name is my mother; the Lord's Name is my helper and friend. My conversation is with the Lord's Name, and my counseling is with the Lord's Name; the Lord's Name always takes care of me. The Lord's Name is my most beloved society, the Lord's Name is my ancestry, and the Lord's Name is my family. The Guru, the Lord Incarnate, has bestowed upon servant Nanak the Name of the Lord; in this world, and in the next, the Lord ever saves me. ||15|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Those who meet the True Guru, ever sing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises. The Lord's Name naturally fills their minds, and they are absorbed in the Shabad, the Word of the True Lord. They redeem their generations, and they themselves obtain the state of liberation. The Supreme Lord God is pleased with those who fall at the Guru's Feet. Servant Nanak is the Lord's slave; by His Grace, the Lord preserves his honour. ||1|| Third Mehl: In egotism, one is assailed by fear; he passes his life totally troubled by fear. Egotism is such a terrible disease; he dies, to be reincarnated - he continues coming and going. Those who have such pre-ordained destiny meet with the True Guru, God Incarnate. O Nanak, by Guru's Grace, they are redeemed; their egos are burnt away through the Word of the Shabad. ||2|| Pauree: The Lord's Name is my immortal, unfathomable, imperishable Creator Lord, the Architect of Destiny. I serve the Lord's Name, I worship the Lord's Name, and my soul is imbued with the Lord's Name. I know of no other as great as the Lord's Name; the Lord's Name shall deliver me in the end. The Generous Guru has given me the Lord's Name; blessed, blessed are the Guru's mother and father. I ever bow in humble reverence to my True Guru; meeting Him, I have come to know the Lord's Name. ||16|| Shalok, Third Mehl: One who does not serve the Guru as Gurmukh, who does not love the Lord's Name, and who does not savor the taste of the Shabad, shall die, and be reborn, over and over again. The blind, self-willed manmukh does not think of the Lord; why did he even come into the world? O Nanak, that Gurmukh, upon whom the Lord casts His Glance of Grace, crosses over the world-ocean. ||1|| Third Mehl: Only the Guru is awake; the rest of the world is asleep in emotional attachment and desire. Those who serve the True Guru and remain wakeful, are imbued with the True Name, the treasure of virtue.

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The blind, self-willed manmukhs do not think of the Lord; they are ruined through birth and death. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord; this is their destiny, pre-ordained by the Primal Lord God. ||2|| Pauree: The Lord's Name is my food; eating the thirty-six varieties of it, I am satisfied and satiated. The Lord's Name is my clothing; wearing it, I shall never be naked again, and my desire to wear other clothing is gone. The Lord's Name is my business, the Lord's Name is my commerce; the True Guru has blessed me with its use. I record the account of the Lord's Name, and I shall not be subject to death again. Only a few, as Gurmukh, meditate on the Lord's Name; they are blessed by the Lord, and receive their pre-ordained destiny. ||17|| Shalok, Third Mehl: The world is blind and ignorant; in the love of duality, it engages in actions. But those actions which are performed in the love of duality, cause only pain to the body. By Guru's Grace, peace wells up, when one acts according to the Word of the Guru's Shabad. He acts according to the True Word of the Guru's Bani; night and day, he meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. O Nanak, as the Lord Himself engages him, so is he engaged; no one has any say in this matter. ||1|| Third Mehl: Within the home of my own being, is the everlasting treasure of the Naam; it is a treasure house, overflowing with devotion. The True Guru is the Giver of the life of the soul; the Great Giver lives forever. Night and day, I continually sing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praise, through the Infinite Word of the Guru's Shabad. I recite continually the Guru's Shabads, which have been effective throughout the ages. This mind ever abides in peace, dealing in peace and poise. Deep within me is the Guru's Wisdom, the Lord's jewel, the Bringer of liberation. O Nanak, one who is blessed by the Lord's Glance of Grace obtains this, and is judged to be True in the Court of the Lord. ||2|| Pauree: Blessed, blessed is that Sikh of the Guru, who goes and falls at the Feet of the True Guru. Blessed, blessed is that Sikh of the Guru, who with his mouth, utters the Name of the Lord. Blessed, blessed is that Sikh of the Guru, whose mind, upon hearing the Lord's Name, becomes blissful. Blessed, blessed is that Sikh of the Guru, who serves the True Guru, and so obtains the Lord's Name. I bow forever in deepest respect to that Sikh of the Guru, who walks in the Way of the Guru. ||18|| Shalok, Third Mehl: No one has ever found the Lord through stubborn-mindedness. All have grown weary of performing such actions. Through their stubborn-mindedness, and by wearing their disguises, they are deluded; they suffer in pain from the love of duality. Riches and the supernatural spiritual powers of the Siddhas are all emotional attachments; through them, the Naam, the Name of the Lord, does not come to dwell in the mind. Serving the Guru, the mind becomes immaculately pure, and the darkness of spiritual ignorance is dispelled. The jewel of the Naam is revealed in the home of one's own being; O Nanak, one merges in celestial bliss. ||1|| Third Mehl:

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One who does not savor the taste of the Shabad, who does not love the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and who speaks insipid words with his tongue, is ruined, again and again. O Nanak, he acts according to the karma of his past actions, which no one can erase. ||2|| Pauree: Blessed, blessed is the True Being, my True Guru; meeting Him, I have found peace. Blessed, blessed is the True Being, my True Guru; meeting Him, I have attained the Lord's devotional worship. Blessed, blessed is the Lord's devotee, my True Guru; serving Him, I have come to enshrine love for the Name of the Lord. Blessed, blessed is the Knower of the Lord, my True Guru; He has taught me to look upon friend and foe alike. Blessed, blessed is the True Guru, my best friend; He has led me to embrace love for the Name of the Lord. ||19|| Shalok, First Mehl: The soul-bride is at home, while the Husband Lord is away; she cherishes His memory, and mourns His absence. She shall meet Him without delay, if she rids herself of duality. ||1|| First Mehl: O Nanak, false is the speech of one who acts without loving the Lord. He judges things to be good, only as long as the Lord gives and he receives. ||2|| Pauree: The Lord, who created the creatures, also protects them. I have tasted the food of Ambrosial Nectar, the True Name. I am satisfied and satiated, and my hunger is appeased. The One Lord is pervading in all, but rare are those who realise this. Servant Nanak is enraptured, in the Protection of God. ||20|| Shalok, Third Mehl: All the living beings of the world behold the True Guru. One is not liberated by merely seeing Him, unless one contemplates the Word of His Shabad. The filth of ego is not removed, and he does not enshrine love for the Naam. The Lord forgives some, and unites them with Himself; they forsake their duality and sinful ways. O Nanak, some behold the Blessed Vision of the True Guru's Darshan, with love and affection; conquering their ego, they meet with the Lord. ||1|| Third Mehl: The foolish, blind clown does not serve the True Guru. In love with duality, he endures terrible suffering, and burning, he cries out in pain. He forgets the Guru, for the sake of mere objects, but they will not come to his rescue in the end. Through the Guru's Instructions, Nanak has found peace; the Forgiving Lord has forgiven him. ||2|| Pauree: You Yourself, all by Yourself, are the Creator of all. If there were any other, then I would speak of another. The Lord Himself speaks, and causes us to speak; He Himself is pervading the water and the land. The Lord Himself destroys, and the Lord Himself saves. O mind, seek and remain in the Lord's Sanctuary. Other than the Lord, no one can kill or rejuvenate. O mind, do not be anxious - remain fearless. While standing, sitting, and sleeping, forever and ever, meditate on the Lord's Name; O servant Nanak, as Gurmukh, you shall attain the Lord. ||21||1||SUDH||

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GURU GRANTH SAHIB 13 - RAAG SORAT'H

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 001

One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying. Beyond Birth. Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: Sorat'h, First Mehl, First House, Chau-Padas: Death comes to all, and all must suffer separation. Go and ask the clever people, whether they shall meet in the world hereafter. Those who forget my Lord and Master shall suffer in terrible pain. ||1|| So praise the True Lord, by whose Grace peace ever prevails. ||Pause|| Praise Him as great; He is, and He shall ever be. You alone are the Great Giver; mankind cannot give anything. Whatever pleases Him, comes to pass; what good does it do to cry out in protest? ||2|| Many have proclaimed their sovereignty over millions of fortresses on the earth, but they have now departed. And those, whom even the sky could not contain, had ropes put through their noses. O mind, if you only knew the torment in your future, you would not relish the sweet pleasures of the present. ||3|| O Nanak, as many as are the sins one commits, so many are the chains around his neck. If he possesses virtues, then the chains are cut away; these virtues are his brothers, his true brothers. Going to the world hereafter, those who have no Guru are not accepted; they are beaten, and expelled. ||4||1|| Sorat'h, First Mehl, First House: Make your mind the farmer, good deeds the farm, modesty the water, and your body the field. Let the Lord's Name be the seed, contentment the plow, and your humble dress the fence. Doing deeds of love, the seed shall sprout, and you shall see your home flourish. ||1|| O Baba, the wealth of Maya does not go with anyone. This Maya has bewitched the world, but only a rare few understand this. ||Pause|| Make your ever-decreasing life your shop, and make the Lord's Name your merchandise. Make understanding and contemplation your warehouse, and in that warehouse, store the Lord's Name. Deal with the Lord's dealers, earn your profits, and rejoice in your mind. ||2|| Let your trade be listening to scripture, and let Truth be the horses you take to sell. Gather up merits for your travelling expenses, and do not think of tomorrow in your mind. When you arrive in the land of the Formless Lord, you shall find peace in the Mansion of His Presence. ||3|| Let your service be the focusing of your consciousness, and let your occupation be the placing of faith in the Naam.

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 002

Let your work be restraint from sin; only then will people call you blessed. O Nanak, the Lord shall look upon you with His Glance of Grace, and you shall be blessed with honour four times over. ||4||2|| Sorat'h, First Mehl, Chau-Tukas: The son is dear to his mother and father; he is the wise son-in-law to his father-in-law. The father is dear to his son and daughter, and the brother is very dear to his brother. By the Order of the Lord's Command, he leaves his house and goes outside, and in an instant, everything becomes alien to him. The self-willed manmukh does not remember the Name of the Lord, does not give in charity, and does not cleanse his consciousness; his body rolls in the dust. ||1|| The mind is comforted by the Comforter of the Naam. I fall at the Guru's feet - I am a sacrifice to Him; He has given me to understand the true understanding. ||Pause|| The mind is impressed with the false love of the world; he quarrels with the Lord's humble servant. Infatuated with Maya, night and day, he sees only the worldly path; he does not chant the Naam, and drinking poison, he dies. He is imbued and infatuated with vicious talk; the Word of the Shabad does not come into his consciousness. He is not imbued with the Lord's Love, and he is not impressed by the taste of the Name; the self-willed manmukh loses his honour. ||2|| He does not enjoy celestial peace in the Company of the Holy, and there is not even a bit of sweetness on his tongue. He calls his mind, body and wealth his own; he has no knowledge of the Court of the Lord. Closing his eyes, he walks in darkness; he cannot see the home of his own being, O Siblings of Destiny. Tied up at Death's door, he finds no place of rest; he receives the rewards of his own actions. ||3|| When the Lord casts His Glance of Grace, then I see Him with my own eyes; He is indescribable, and cannot be described. With my ears, I continually listen to the Word of the Shabad, and I praise Him; His Ambrosial Name abides within my heart. He is Fearless, Formless and absolutely without vengeance; I am absorbed in His Perfect Light. O Nanak, without the Guru, doubt is not dispelled; through the True Name, glorious greatness is obtained. ||4||3|| Sorat'h, First Mehl, Du-Tukas: In the realm of land, and in the realm of water, Your seat is the chamber of the four directions. Yours is the one and only form of the entire universe; Your mouth is the mint to fashion all. ||1|| O my Lord Master, Your play is so wonderful! You are pervading and permeating the water, the land and the sky; You Yourself are contained in all. ||Pause|| Wherever I look, there I see Your Light, but what is Your form? You have one form, but it is unseen; there is none like any other. ||2|| The beings born of eggs, born of the womb, born of the earth and born of sweat, all are created by You. I have seen one glory of Yours, that You are pervading and permeating in all. ||3|| Your Glories are so numerous, and I do not know even one of them; I am such a fool - please, give me some of them! Prays Nanak, listen, O my Lord Master: I am sinking like a stone - please, save me! ||4||4|| Sorat'h, First Mehl: I am a wicked sinner and a great hypocrite; You are the Immaculate and Formless Lord. Tasting the Ambrosial Nectar, I am imbued with supreme bliss; O Lord and Master, I seek Your Sanctuary. ||1|| O Creator Lord, You are the honour of the dishonoured. In my lap is the honour and glory of the wealth of the Name; I merge into the True Word of the Shabad. ||Pause|| You are perfect, while I am worthless and imperfect. You are profound, while I am trivial.

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 003

My mind is imbued with You, day and night and morning, O Lord; my tongue chants Your Name, and my mind meditates on You. ||2|| You are True, and I am absorbed into You; through the mystery of the Shabad, I shall ultimately become True as well. Those who are imbued with the Naam day and night are pure, while those who die to be reborn are impure. ||3|| I do not see any other like the Lord; who else should I praise? No one is equal to Him. Prays Nanak, I am the slave of His slaves; by Guru's Instruction, I know Him. ||4||5|| Sorat'h, First Mehl: He is unknowable, infinite, unapproachable and imperceptible. He is not subject to death or karma. His caste is casteless; He is unborn, self-illumined, and free of doubt and desire. ||1|| I am a sacrifice to the Truest of the True. He has no form, no colour and no features; through the True Word of the Shabad, He reveals Himself. ||Pause|| He has no mother, father, sons or relatives; He is free of sexual desire; He has no wife. He has no ancestry; He is immaculate. He is infinite and endless; O Lord, Your Light is pervading all. ||2|| Deep within each and every heart, God is hidden; His Light is in each and every heart. The heavy doors are opened by Guru's Instructions; one becomes fearless, in the trance of deep meditation. ||3|| The Lord created all beings, and placed death over the heads of all; all the world is under

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His Power. Serving the True Guru, the treasure is obtained; living the Word of the Shabad, one is emancipated. ||4|| In the pure vessel, the True Name is contained; how few are those who practice true conduct. The individual soul is united with the Supreme Soul; Nanak seeks Your Sanctuary, Lord. ||5||6|| Sorat'h, First Mehl: Like a fish without water is the faithless cynic, who dies of thirst. So shall you die, O mind, without the Lord, as your breath goes in vain. ||1|| O mind, chant the Lord's Name, and praise Him. Without the Guru, how will you obtain this juice? The Guru shall unite you with the Lord. ||Pause|| For the Gurmukh, meeting with the Society of the Saints is like making a pilgrimage to a sacred shrine. The benefit of bathing at the sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage is obtained by the Blessed Vision of the Guru's Darshan. ||2|| Like the Yogi without abstinence, and like penance without truth and contentment, so is the body without the Lord's Name; death will slay it, because of the sin within. ||3|| The faithless cynic does not obtain the Lord's Love; the Lord's Love is obtained only through the True Guru. One who meets with the Guru, the Giver of pleasure and pain, says Nanak, is absorbed in the Lord's Praise. ||4||7|| Sorat'h, First Mehl: You, God, are the Giver of gifts, the Lord of perfect understanding; I am a mere beggar at Your Door. What should I beg for? Nothing remains permanent; O Lord, please, bless me with Your Beloved Name. ||1|| In each and every heart, the Lord, the Lord of the forest, is permeating and pervading. In the water, on the land, and in the sky, He is pervading but hidden; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, He is revealed. ||Pause|| In this world, in the nether regions of the underworld, and in the Akaashic Ethers, the Guru, the True Guru, has shown me the Lord; He has showered me with His Mercy. He is the unborn Lord God; He is, and shall ever be. Deep within your heart, behold Him, the Destroyer of ego. ||2||

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 004

This wretched world is caught in birth and death; in the love of duality, it has forgotten devotional worship of the Lord. Meeting the True Guru, the Guru's Teachings are obtained; the faithless cynic loses the game of life. ||3|| Breaking my bonds, the True Guru has set me free, and I shall not be cast into the womb of reincarnation again. O Nanak, the jewel of spiritual wisdom shines forth, and the Lord, the Formless Lord, dwells within my mind. ||4||8|| Sorat'h, First Mehl: The treasure of the Name, for which you have come into the world - that Ambrosial Nectar is with the Guru. Renounce costumes, disguises and clever tricks; this fruit is not obtained by duplicity. ||1|| O my mind, remain steady, and do not wander away. By searching around on the outside, you shall only suffer great pain; the Ambrosial Nectar is found within the home of your own being. ||Pause|| Renounce corruption, and seek virtue; committing sins, you shall only come to regret and repent. You do not know the difference between good and evil; again and again, you sink into the mud. ||2|| Within you is the great filth of greed and falsehood; why do you bother to wash your body on the outside? Chant the Immaculate Naam, the Name of the Lord always, under Guru's Instruction; only then will your innermost being be emancipated. ||3|| Let greed and slander be far away from you, and renounce falsehood; through the True Word of the Guru's Shabad, you shall obtain the true fruit. As it pleases You, You preserve me, Dear Lord; servant Nanak sings the Praises of Your Shabad. ||4||9|| Sorat'h, First Mehl, Panch-Padas: You cannot save your own home from being plundered; why do you spy on the houses of others? That Gurmukh who joins himself to the Guru's service, saves his own home, and tastes the Lord's Nectar. ||1|| O mind, you must realise what your intellect is focused on. Forgetting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, one is involved with other tastes; the unfortunate wretch shall come to regret it in the end. ||Pause|| When things come, he is pleased, but when they go, he weeps and wails; this pain and pleasure remains attached to him. The Lord Himself causes him to enjoy pleasure and endure pain; the Gurmukh, however, remains unaffected. ||2|| What else can be said to be above the subtle essence of the Lord? One who drinks it in is satisfied and satiated. One who is lured by Maya loses this juice; that faithless cynic is tied to his evil-mindedness. ||3|| The Lord is the life of the mind, the Master of the breath of life; the Divine Lord is contained in the body. If You so bless us, Lord, then we sing Your Praises; the mind is satisfied and fulfilled, lovingly attached to the Lord. ||4|| In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, the subtle essence of the Lord is obtained; meeting the Guru, the fear of death departs. O Nanak, chant the Name of the Lord, as Gurmukh; you shall obtain the Lord, and realise your pre-ordained destiny. ||5||10|| Sorat'h, First Mehl: Destiny, pre-ordained by the Lord, looms over the heads of all beings; no one is without this pre-ordained destiny. Only He Himself is beyond destiny; creating the creation by His creative power, He beholds it, and causes His Command to be followed. ||1|| O mind, chant the Name of the Lord, and be at peace. Day and night, serve at the Guru's feet; the Lord is the Giver, and the Enjoyer. ||Pause||

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 005

He is within - see Him outside as well; there is no one, other than Him. As Gurmukh, look upon all with the single eye of equality; in each and every heart, the Divine Light is contained. ||2|| Restrain your fickle mind, and keep it steady within its own home; meeting the Guru, this understanding is obtained. Seeing the unseen Lord, you shall be amazed and delighted; forgetting your pain, you shall be at peace. ||3|| Drinking in the ambrosial nectar, you shall attain the highest bliss, and dwell within the home of your own self. So sing the Praises of the Lord, the Destroyer of the fear of birth and death, and you shall not be reincarnated again. ||4|| The essence, the immaculate Lord, the Light of all - I am He and He is me - there is no difference between us. The Infinite Transcendent Lord, the Supreme Lord God - Nanak has met with Him, the Guru. ||5||11|| Sorat'h, First Mehl, Third House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: When I am pleasing to Him, then I sing His Praises. Singing His Praises, I receive the fruits of my rewards. The rewards of singing His Praises are obtained when He Himself gives them. ||1|| O my mind, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the treasure is obtained; this is why I remain immersed in the True Name. ||Pause|| When I awoke within myself to the Guru's Teachings, then I renounced my fickle intellect. When the Light of the Guru's Teachings dawned, and then all darkness was dispelled. ||2|| When the mind is attached to the Guru's Feet, then the Path of Death recedes. Through the Fear of God, one attains the Fearless Lord; then, one enters the home of celestial bliss. ||3|| Prays Nanak, how rare are those who reflect and understand, the most sublime action in this world. The noblest deed is to sing the Lord's Praises, and so meet the Lord Himself. ||4||1||12|| Sorat'h, Third Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: All of Your servants, who relish the Word of Your Shabad, serve You. By Guru's Grace, they become pure, eradicating self-conceit from within. Night and day, they continually sing the Glorious Praises of the True Lord; they are adorned with the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||1|| O my Lord and Master, I am Your child; I seek Your Sanctuary. You are the One and Only Lord, the Truest of the True; You Yourself are the Destroyer of ego. ||Pause|| Those who remain wakeful obtain God; through the Word of the Shabad, they conquer their ego. Immersed in family life, the Lord's humble servant ever remains detached; he reflects upon the essence of spiritual wisdom. Serving the True Guru, he finds eternal peace, and he keeps the Lord enshrined in his heart. ||2|| This mind wanders in the ten directions; it is consumed by the love of duality.

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 006

The foolish self-willed manmukh does not remember the Lord's Name; he wastes away his life in vain. But when he meets the True Guru, then he obtains the Name; he sheds egotism and emotional attachment. ||3|| The Lord's humble servants are True - they practice Truth, and reflect upon the Word of the Guru's Shabad. The True Lord God unites them with Himself, and they keep the True Lord enshrined in their hearts. O Nanak, through the Name, I have obtained salvation and understanding; this alone is my wealth. ||4||1|| Sorat'h, Third Mehl: The True Lord has blessed His devotees with the treasure of devotional worship, and the wealth of the Lord's Name. The wealth of the Naam, shall never be exhausted; no one can estimate its worth. With the wealth of the Naam, their faces are radiant, and they attain the True Lord. ||1|| O my mind, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the Lord is found. Without the Shabad, the world wanders around, and receives its punishment in the Court of the Lord. ||Pause|| Within this body dwell the five thieves: sexual desire, anger, greed, emotional attachment and egotism. They plunder the Nectar, but the self-willed manmukh does not realise it; no one hears his complaint. The world is blind, and its dealings are blind as well; without the Guru, there is only pitch darkness. ||2|| Indulging in egotism and possessiveness, they are ruined; when they depart, nothing goes along with them. But one who becomes Gurmukh meditates on the Naam, and ever contemplates the Lord's Name. Through the True Word of Gurbani, he sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord; blessed with the Lord's Glance of Grace, he is enraptured. ||3|| The spiritual wisdom of the True Guru is a steady light within the heart. The Lord's decree is over the heads of even kings. Night and day, the Lord's devotees worship Him; night and day, they gather in the true profit of the Lord's Name. O Nanak, through the Lord's Name, one is emancipated; attuned to the Shabad, he finds the Lord. ||4||2|| Sorat'h, Third Mehl: If one becomes the slave of the Lord's slaves, then he finds the Lord, and eradicates ego from within. The Lord of bliss is his object of devotion; night and day, he sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Attuned to the Word of the Shabad, the Lord's devotees remain ever as one, absorbed in the Lord. ||1|| O Dear Lord, Your Glance of Grace is True. Show mercy to Your slave, O Beloved Lord, and preserve my honour. ||Pause|| Continually praising the Word of the Shabad, I live; under Guru's Instruction, my fear has been dispelled. My True Lord God is so beautiful! Serving the Guru, my consciousness is focused on Him. One who chants the True Word of the Shabad, and the Truest of the True, the Word of His Bani, remains wakeful, day and night. ||2|| He is so very deep and profound, the Giver of eternal peace; no one can find His limit. Serving the Perfect Guru, one becomes carefree, enshrining the Lord within the mind. The mind and body become immaculately pure, and a lasting peace fills the heart; doubt is eradicated from within. ||3|| The Way of the Lord is always such a difficult path; only a few find it, contemplating the Guru. Imbued with the Lord's Love, and intoxicated with the Shabad, he renounces ego and corruption. O Nanak, imbued with the Naam, and the Love of the One Lord, he is embellished with the Word of the Shabad. ||4||3||

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 007

Sorat'h, Third Mehl: Dear Beloved Lord, I praise You continually, as long as there is the breath within my body. If I were to forget You, for a moment, even for an instant, O Lord Master, it would be like fifty years for me. I was always such a fool and an idiot, O Siblings of Destiny, but now, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, my mind is enlightened. ||1|| Dear Lord, You Yourself bestow understanding. Dear Lord, I am forever a sacrifice to You; I am dedicated and devoted to Your Name. ||Pause|| I have died in the Word of the Shabad, and through the Shabad, I am dead while yet alive, O Siblings of Destiny; through the Shabad, I have been liberated. Through the Shabad, my mind and body have been purified, and the Lord has come to dwell within my mind. The Guru is the Giver of the Shabad; my mind is imbued with it, and I remain absorbed in the Lord. ||2|| Those who do not know the Shabad are blind and deaf; why did they even bother to come into the world? They do not obtain the subtle essence of the Lord's elixir; they waste away their lives, and are reincarnated over and over again. The blind, idiotic, self-willed manmukhs are like maggots in manure, and in manure they rot away. ||3|| The Lord Himself creates us, watches over us, and places us on the Path, O Siblings of Destiny; there is no one other than Him. No one can erase that which is pre-ordained, O Siblings of Destiny; whatever the Creator wills, comes to pass. O Nanak, the Naam, the Name of the Lord, abides deep within the mind; O Siblings of Destiny, there is no other at all. ||4||4|| Sorat'h, Third Mehl: The Gurmukhs practice devotional worship, and become pleasing to God; night and day, they chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord. You Yourself protect and take care of Your devotees, who are pleasing to Your Mind. You are the Giver of virtue, realised through the Word of Your Shabad. Uttering Your Glories, we merge with You, O Glorious Lord. ||1|| O my mind, remember always the Dear Lord. At the very last moment, He alone shall be your best friend; He shall always stand by you. ||Pause|| The gathering of the wicked enemies shall always practice falsehood; they do not contemplate understanding. Who can obtain fruit from the slander of evil enemies? Remember that Harnaakhash was torn apart by the Lord's claws. Prahlaad, the Lord's humble servant, constantly sang the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and the Dear Lord saved him. ||2|| The self-willed manmukhs see themselves as being very virtuous; they have absolutely no understanding at all. They indulge in slander of the humble spiritual people; they waste their lives away, and then they have to depart. They never think of the Lord's Name, and in the end, they depart, regretting and repenting. ||3|| The Lord makes the lives of His devotees fruitful; He Himself links them to the Guru's service. Imbued with the Word of the Shabad, and intoxicated with celestial bliss, night and day, they sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Slave Nanak utters this prayer: O Lord, please, let me fall at their feet. ||4||5|| Sorat'h, Third Mehl: He alone is a Sikh, a friend, a relative and a sibling, who walks in the Way of the Guru's Will. One who walks according to his own will, O Siblings of Destiny, suffers separation from the Lord, and shall be punished. Without the True Guru, peace is never obtained, O Siblings of Destiny; again and again, he regrets and repents. ||1|| The Lord's slaves are happy, O Siblings of Destiny.

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 008

The sins and sorrows of countless lifetimes are eradicated; the Lord Himself unites them in His Union. ||Pause|| All of these relatives are like chains upon the soul, O Siblings of Destiny; the world is deluded by doubt. Without the Guru, the chains cannot be broken; the Gurmukhs find the door of salvation. One who performs rituals without realising the Word of the Guru's Shabad, shall die and be reborn, again and again. ||2|| The world is entangled in egotism and possessiveness, O Siblings of Destiny, but no one belongs to anyone else. The Gurmukhs attain the Mansion of the Lord's Presence, singing the Glories of the Lord; they dwell in the home of their own inner being. One who understands here, realises himself; the Lord God belongs to him. ||3|| The True Guru is forever merciful, O Siblings of Destiny; without good destiny, what can anyone obtain? He looks alike upon all with His Glance of Grace, but people receive the fruits of their rewards according to their love for the Lord. O Nanak, when the Naam, the Name of the Lord, comes to dwell within the

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mind, then self-conceit is eradicated from within. ||4||6|| Sorat'h, Third Mehl, Chau-Tukas: True devotional worship is obtained only through the True Guru, when the True Word of His Bani is in the heart. Serving the True Guru, eternal peace is obtained; egotism is obliterated through the Word of the Shabad. Without the Guru, there is no true devotion; otherwise, people wander around, deluded by ignorance. The self-willed manmukhs wander around, suffering in constant pain; they drown and die, even without water. ||1|| O Siblings of Destiny, remain forever in the Lord's Sanctuary, under His Protection. Bestowing His Glance of Grace, He preserves our honour, and blesses us with the glory of the Lord's Name. ||Pause|| Through the Perfect Guru, one comes to understand himself, contemplating the True Word of the Shabad. The Lord, the Life of the world, ever abides in his heart, and he renounces sexual desire, anger and egotism. The Lord is ever-present, permeating and pervading all places; the Name of the Infinite Lord is enshrined within the heart. Throughout the ages, through the Word of His Bani, His Shabad is realised, and the Name becomes so sweet and beloved to the mind. ||2|| Serving the Guru, one realises the Naam, the Name of the Lord; fruitful is his life, and his coming into the world. Tasting the sublime elixir of the Lord, his mind is satisfied and satiated forever; singing the Glories of the Glorious Lord, he is fulfilled and satisfied. The lotus of his heart blossoms forth, he is ever imbued with the Lord's Love, and the unstruck melody of the Shabad resounds within him. His body and mind become immaculately pure; his speech becomes immaculate as well, and he merges in the Truest of the True. ||3|| No one knows the state of the Lord's Name; through the Guru's Teachings, it comes to abide in the heart. One who becomes Gurmukh, understands the Path; his tongue savors the sublime essence of the Lord's Nectar. Meditation, austere self-discipline and self-restraint are all obtained from the Guru; the Naam, the Name of the Lord, comes to abide within the heart. O Nanak, those humble beings who praise the Naam are beautiful; they are honoured in the Court of the True Lord. ||4||7|| Sorat'h, Third Mehl, Du-Tukas: Meeting the True Guru, one turns away from the world, O Siblings of Destiny; when he remains dead while yet alive, he obtains true understanding. He alone is the Guru, and he alone is a Sikh, O Siblings of Destiny, whose light merges in the Light. ||1|| O my mind, be lovingly attuned to the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Chanting the Name of the Lord, it seems so sweet to the mind, O Siblings of Destiny; the Gurmukhs obtain a place in the Court of the Lord. ||Pause||

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 009

Without the Guru, love for the Lord does not well up, O Siblings of Destiny; the self-willed manmukhs are engrossed in the love of duality. Actions performed by the manmukh are like the threshing of the chaff - they obtain nothing for their efforts. ||2|| Meeting the Guru, the Naam comes to permeate the mind, O Siblings of Destiny, with true love and affection. He always sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord, O Siblings of Destiny, with infinite love for the Guru. ||3|| How blessed and approved is his coming into the world, O Siblings of Destiny, who focuses his mind on serving the Guru. O Nanak, the Name of the Lord is obtained, O Siblings of Destiny, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, and we merge with the Lord. ||4||8|| Sorat'h, Third Mehl, First House: The three worlds are entangled in the three qualities, O Siblings of Destiny; the Guru imparts understanding. Attached to the Lord's Name, one is emancipated, O Siblings of Destiny; go and ask the wise ones about this. ||1|| O mind, renounce the three qualities, and focus your consciousness on the fourth state. The Dear Lord abides in the mind, O Siblings of Destiny; ever sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||Pause|| From the Naam, everyone originated, O Siblings of Destiny; forgetting the Naam, they die away. The ignorant world is blind, O Siblings of Destiny; those who sleep are plundered. ||2|| Those Gurmukhs who remain awake are saved, O Siblings of Destiny; they cross over the terrifying world-ocean. In this world, the Name of the Lord is the true profit, O Siblings of Destiny; keep it enshrined within your heart. ||3|| In the Guru's Sanctuary, O Siblings of Destiny, you shall be saved; be lovingly attuned to the Lord's Name. O Nanak, the Name of the Lord is the boat, and the Name is the raft, O Siblings of Destiny; setting out on it, the Lord's humble servant crosses over the world-ocean. ||4||9|| Sorat'h, Third Mehl, First House: The True Guru is the ocean of peace in the world; there is no other place of rest and peace. The world is afflicted with the painful disease of egotism; dying, only to be reborn, it cries out in pain. ||1|| O mind, serve the True Guru, and obtain peace. If you serve the True Guru, you shall find peace; otherwise, you shall depart, after wasting away your life in vain. ||Pause|| Led around by the three qualities, he does many deeds, but he does not come to taste and savor the subtle essence of the Lord. He says his evening prayers, and makes offerings of water, and recites his morning prayers, but without true understanding, he still suffers in pain. ||2|| One who serves the True Guru is very fortunate; as the Lord so wills, he meets with the Guru. Drinking in the sublime essence of the Lord, His humble servants remain ever satisfied; they eradicate self-conceit from within themselves. ||3|| This world is blind, and all act blindly; without the Guru, no one finds the Path. O Nanak, meeting with the True Guru, one sees with his eyes, and finds the True Lord within the home of his own being. ||4||10|| Sorat'h, Third Mehl: Without serving the True Guru, he suffers in terrible pain, and throughout the four ages, he wanders aimlessly. I am poor and meek, and throughout the ages, You are the Great Giver - please, grant me the understanding of the Shabad. ||1|| O Dear Beloved Lord, please show mercy to me. Unite me in the Union of the True Guru, the Great Giver, and give me the support of the Lord's Name. ||Pause|| Conquering my desires and duality, I have merged in celestial peace, and I have found the Naam, the Name of the Infinite Lord. I have tasted the sublime essence of the Lord, and my soul has become immaculately pure; the Lord is the Destroyer of sins. ||2||

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 010

Dying in the Word of the Shabad, you shall live forever, and you shall never die again. The Ambrosial Nectar of the Naam is ever-sweet to the mind; but how few are those who obtain the Shabad. ||3|| The Great Giver keeps His Gifts in His Hand; He gives them to those with whom He is pleased. O Nanak, imbued with the Naam, they find peace, and in the Court of the Lord, they are exalted. ||4||11|| Sorat'h, Third Mehl: Serving the True Guru, the divine melody wells up within, and one is blessed with wisdom and salvation. The True Name of the Lord comes to abide in the mind, and through the Name, one merges in the Name. ||1|| Without the True Guru, the whole world is insane. The blind, self-willed manmukhs do not realise the Word of the Shabad; they are deluded by false doubts. ||Pause|| The three-faced Maya had led them astray in doubt, and they are snared by the noose of egotism. Birth and death hang over their heads, and being reborn from the womb, they suffer in pain. ||2|| The three qualities permeate the whole world; acting in ego, it loses its honour. But one who becomes Gurmukh comes to realise the fourth state of celestial bliss; he finds peace through the Name of the Lord. ||3|| The three qualities are all Yours, O Lord; You Yourself created them. Whatever You do, comes to pass. O Nanak, through the Lord's Name, one is emancipated; through the Shabad, he is rid of egotism. ||4||12|| Sorat'h, Fourth Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: My Beloved Lord Himself pervades and permeates all; He Himself is, all by Himself. My Beloved Himself is the trader in this world; He Himself is the true banker. My Beloved Himself is the trade and the trader; He Himself is the true credit. ||1|| O mind, meditate on the Lord, Har, Har, and praise His Name. By Guru's Grace, the Beloved, Ambrosial, unapproachable and unfathomable Lord is obtained. ||Pause|| The Beloved Himself sees and hears everything; He Himself speaks through the mouths of all beings. The Beloved Himself leads us into the wilderness, and He Himself shows us the Way. The Beloved Himself is Himself all-in-all; He Himself is carefree. ||2|| The Beloved Himself, all by Himself, created everything; He Himself links all to their tasks. The Beloved Himself creates the Creation, and He Himself destroys it. He Himself is the wharf, and He Himself is the ferryman, who ferries us across. ||3|| The Beloved Himself is the ocean, and the boat; He Himself is the Guru, the boatman who steers it . The Beloved Himself sets sail and crosses over; He, the King, beholds His wondrous play. The Beloved Himself is the Merciful Master; O servant Nanak, He forgives and blends with Himself. ||4||1|| Sorat'h, Fourth Mehl: He Himself is born of the egg, from the womb, from sweat and from the earth; He Himself is the continents and all the worlds. He Himself is the thread, and He Himself is the many beads; through His Almighty Power, He has strung the worlds.

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 011

He holds the thread, and when He withdraws the thread, the beads scatter into heaps. ||1|| O my mind, there is no other than the Lord for me. The treasure of the Beloved Naam is within the True Guru; in His Mercy, he pours the Ambrosial Nectar into my mouth. ||Pause|| The Beloved Himself is in all the oceans and lands; whatever God does, comes to pass. The Beloved brings nourishment to all; there is no other than Him. The Beloved Himself plays, and whatever He Himself does, comes to pass. ||2|| The Beloved Himself, all by Himself, is immaculate and pure; He Himself is immaculate and pure. The Beloved Himself determines the value of all; whatever He does comes to pass. The Beloved Himself is unseen - He cannot be seen; He Himself causes us to see. ||3|| The Beloved Himself is deep and profound and unfathomable; there is no other as great as He. The Beloved Himself enjoys every heart; He is contained within every woman and man. O Nanak, the Beloved is pervading everywhere, but He is hidden; through the Guru, He is revealed. ||4||2|| Sorat'h, Fourth Mehl: He Himself, the Beloved, is Himself all-in-all; He Himself establishes and disestablishes. The Beloved Himself beholds, and rejoices; God Himself works wonders, and beholds them. The Beloved Himself is contained in all the woods and meadows; as Gurmukh, He reveals Himself. ||1|| Meditate, O mind, on the Lord, Har, Har; through the sublime essence of Lord's Name, you shall be satisfied. The Ambrosial Nectar of the Naam, is the sweetest juice; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, its taste is revealed. ||Pause|| The Beloved is Himself the place of pilgrimage and the raft; God Himself ferries Himself across. The Beloved Himself casts the net over all the world; the Lord Himself is the fish. The Beloved Himself is infallible; He makes no mistakes. There is no other like Him to be seen. ||2|| The Beloved Himself is the Yogi's horn, and the sound current of the Naad; He Himself plays the tune. The Beloved Himself is the Yogi, the Primal Being; He Himself practices intense meditation. He Himself is the True Guru, and He Himself is the disciple; God Himself imparts the Teachings. ||3|| The Beloved Himself inspires us to chant His Name, and He Himself practices meditation. The Beloved Himself is the Ambrosial Nectar; He Himself is the juice of it. The Beloved Himself praises Himself; servant Nanak is satisfied, with the sublime essence of the Lord. ||4||3|| Sorat'h, Fourth Mehl: God Himself is the balance scale, He Himself is the weigher, and He Himself weighs with the weights. He Himself is the banker, He Himself is the trader, and He Himself makes the trades. The Beloved Himself fashioned the world, and He Himself counter-balances it with a gram. ||1|| My mind meditates on the Lord, Har, Har, and finds peace. The Name of the Beloved Lord, Har, Har, is a treasure; the Perfect Guru has made it seem sweet to me. ||Pause|| The Beloved Himself is the earth, and He Himself is the water; He Himself acts, and causes others to act. The Beloved Himself issues His Commands, and keeps the water and the land bound down. The Beloved Himself instills the Fear of God; He binds the tiger and the goat together. ||2||

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 012

The Beloved Lord Himself is the firewood, and He Himself keeps the fire within the wood. The Beloved Lord Himself, all by Himself, permeates them, and because of the Fear of God, the fire cannot burn the wood. The Beloved Himself kills and revives; all draw the breath of life, given by Him. ||3|| The Beloved Himself is power and presence; He Himself engages us in our work. As the Beloved makes me walk, I walk, as it pleases my Lord God. The Beloved Himself is the musician, and the musical instrument; servant Nanak vibrates His vibration. ||4||4|| Sorat'h, Fourth Mehl: The Beloved Himself created the Universe; He made the light of the sun and the moon. The Beloved Himself is the power of the powerless; He Himself is the honour of the dishonoured. The Beloved Himself grants His Grace and protects us; He Himself is wise and all-knowing. ||1|| O my mind, chant the Name of the Lord, and receive His Insignia. Join the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, and meditate on the Lord, Har, Har; you shall not have to come and go in reincarnation again. ||Pause|| The Beloved Himself pervades His Glorious Praises, and He Himself approves them. The Beloved Himself grants His forgiveness, and He Himself bestows the Insignia of Truth. The Beloved Himself obeys His Will, and He Himself issues His Command. ||2|| The Beloved Himself is the treasure of devotion; He Himself gives His gifts. The Beloved Himself commits some to His service, and He Himself blesses them with honour. The Beloved Himself is absorbed in Samaadhi; He Himself is the treasure of excellence. ||3|| The Beloved Himself is the greatest; He Himself is supreme. The Beloved Himself appraises the value; He Himself is the scale, and the weights. The Beloved Himself is unweighable - He weighs Himself; servant Nanak is forever a sacrifice to Him. ||4||5|| Sorat'h, Fourth Mehl: The Beloved Himself commits some to His service; He Himself blesses them with the joy of devotional worship. The Beloved Himself causes us to sing His Glorious Praises; He Himself is absorbed in the Word of His Shabad. He Himself is the pen, and He Himself is the scribe; He Himself inscribes His inscription. ||1|| O my mind, joyfully chant the Name of the Lord. Those very fortunate ones are in ecstasy night and day; through the Perfect Guru, they obtain the profit of the Lord's Name. ||Pause|| The Beloved Himself is the milk-maid and Krishna; He Himself herds the cows in the woods. The Beloved Himself is the blue-skinned, handsome one; He Himself plays on His flute. The Beloved Himself took the form of a child, and destroyed Kuwalia-peer, the mad elephant. ||2|| The Beloved Himself sets the stage; He performs the plays, and He Himself watches them. The Beloved Himself assumed the form of the child, and killed the demons Chandoor, Kansa and Kaysee. The Beloved Himself, by Himself, is the embodiment of power; He shatters the power of the fools and idiots. ||3|| The Beloved Himself created the whole world. In His hands He holds the power of the ages.

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 013

The Beloved Himself puts the chains around their necks; as God pulls them, must they go. Whoever harbors pride shall be destroyed, O Beloved; meditating on the Lord, Nanak is absorbed in devotional worship. ||4||6|| Sorat'h, Fourth Mehl, Du-Tukas: Separated from the Lord for countless lifetimes, the self-willed manmukh suffers in pain, engaged in acts of egotism. Beholding the Holy Saint, I found God; O Lord of the Universe, I seek Your Sanctuary. ||1|| The Love of God is very dear to me. When I joined the Sat Sangat, the Company

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of the Holy People, the Lord, the embodiment of peace, came into my heart. ||Pause|| You dwell, hidden, within my heart day and night, Lord; but the poor fools do not understand Your Love. Meeting with the Almighty True Guru, God was revealed to me; I sing His Glorious Praises, and reflect upon His Glories. ||2|| As Gurmukh, I have become enlightened; peace has come, and evil-mindedness has been dispelled from my mind. Understanding the relationship of the individual soul with God, I have found peace, in Your Sat Sangat, Your True Congregation, O Lord. ||3|| Those who are blessed by Your Kind Mercy, meet the Almighty Lord, and find the Guru. Nanak has found the immeasurable, celestial peace; night and day, he remains awake to the Lord, the Master of the Forest of the Universe. ||4||7|| Sorat'h, Fourth Mehl: The inner depths of my mind are pierced by love for the Lord; I cannot live without the Lord. Just as the fish dies without water, I die without the Lord's Name. ||1|| O my God, please bless me with the water of Your Name. I beg for Your Name, deep within myself, day and night; through the Name, I find peace. ||Pause|| The song-bird cries out for lack of water - without water, its thirst cannot be quenched. The Gurmukh obtains the water of celestial bliss, and is rejuvenated, blossoming forth through the blessed Love of the Lord. ||2|| The self-willed manmukhs are hungry, wandering around in the ten directions; without the Name, they suffer in pain. They are born, only to die, and enter into reincarnation again; in the Court of the Lord, they are punished. ||3|| But if the Lord shows His Mercy, then one comes to sing His Glorious Praises; deep within the nucleus of his own self, he finds the sublime essence of the Lord's elixir. The Lord has become Merciful to meek Nanak, and through the Word of the Shabad, his desires are quenched. ||4||8|| Sorat'h, Fourth Mehl, Panch-Padas: If one eats the uneatable, then he becomes a Siddha, a being of perfect spirituality; through this perfection, he obtains wisdom. When the arrow of the Lord's Love pierces his body, then his doubt is eradicated. ||1|| O my Lord of the Universe, please bless Your humble servant with glory. Under Guru's Instructions, enlighten me with the Lord's Name, that I may dwell forever in Your Sanctuary. ||Pause|| This whole world is engrossed in coming and going; O my foolish and ignorant mind, be mindful of the Lord. O Dear Lord, please, take pity upon me, and unite me with the Guru, that I may merge in the Lord's Name. ||2|| Only one who has it knows God; he alone has it, to whom God has given it - so very beautiful, unapproachable and unfathomable. Through the Perfect Guru, the unknowable is known. ||3|| Only one who tastes it knows it, like the mute, who tastes the sweet candy, but cannot speak of it.

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 014

The jewel is concealed, but it is not concealed, even though one may try to conceal it. ||4|| Everything is Yours, O Inner-knower, Searcher of hearts; You are the Lord God of all. He alone receives the gift, unto whom You give it; O servant Nanak, there is no one else. ||5||9|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl, First House, Ti-Tukas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Who should I ask? Who should I worship? All were created by Him. Whoever appears to be the greatest of the great, shall ultimately be mixed with the dust. The Fearless, Formless Lord, the Destroyer of Fear bestows all comforts, and the nine treasures. ||1|| O Dear Lord, Your gifts alone satisfy me. Why should I praise the poor helpless man? Why should I feel subservient to him? ||Pause|| All things come to one who meditates on the Lord; the Lord satisfies his hunger. The Lord, the Giver of peace, bestows such wealth, that it can never be exhausted. I am in ecstasy, absorbed in celestial peace; the True Guru has united me in His Union. ||2|| O mind, chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord; worship the Naam, night and day, and recite the Naam. Listen to the Teachings of the Holy Saints, and all fear of death will be dispelled. Those blessed by God's Grace are attached to the Word of the Guru's Bani. ||3|| Who can estimate Your worth, God? You are kind and compassionate to all beings. Everything which You do, prevails; I am just a poor child - what can I do? Protect and preserve Your servant Nanak; be kind to him, like a father to his son. ||4||1|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl, First House, Chau-Tukas: Praise the Guru, and the Lord of the Universe, O Siblings of Destiny; enshrine Him in your mind, body and heart. Let the True Lord and Master abide in your mind, O Siblings of Destiny; this is the most excellent way of life. Those bodies, in which the Name of the Lord does not well up, O Siblings of Destiny - those bodies are reduced to ashes. I am a sacrifice to the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, O Siblings of Destiny; they take the Support of the One and Only Lord. ||1|| So worship and adore that True Lord, O Siblings of Destiny; He alone does everything. The Perfect Guru has taught me, O Siblings of Destiny, that without Him, there is no other at all. ||Pause|| Without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, they putrefy and die, O Siblings of Destiny; their numbers cannot be counted. Without Truth, purity cannot be achieved, O Siblings of Destiny; the Lord is true and unfathomable. Coming and going do not end, O Siblings of Destiny; pride in worldly valuables is false. The Gurmukh saves millions of people, O Siblings of Destiny, blessing them with even a particle of the Name. ||2|| I have searched through the Simritees and the Shaastras, O Siblings of Destiny - without the True Guru, doubt does not depart. They are so tired of performing their many deeds, O Siblings of Destiny, but they fall into bondage again and again. I have searched in the four directions, O Siblings of Destiny, but without the True Guru, there is no place at all.

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 015

By great good fortune, I found the Guru, O Siblings of Destiny, and I meditate on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||3|| The Truth is forever pure, O Siblings of Destiny; those who are true are pure. When the Lord bestows His Glance of Grace, O Siblings of Destiny, then one obtains Him. Among millions, O Siblings of Destiny, hardly one humble servant of the Lord is found. Nanak is imbued with the True Name, O Siblings of Destiny; hearing it, the mind and body become immaculately pure. ||4||2|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl, Du-Tukas: As long as this person believes in love and hate, it is difficult for him to meet the Lord. As long as he discriminates between himself and others, he will distance himself from the Lord. ||1|| O Lord, grant me such understanding, that I might serve the Holy Saints, and seek the protection of their feet, and not forget them, for a moment, even an instant. ||Pause|| O foolish, thoughtless and fickle mind, such understanding did not come into your heart. Renouncing the Lord of Life, you have become engrossed in other things, and you are involved with your enemies. ||2|| Sorrow does not afflict one who does not harbor self-conceit; in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I have attained this understanding. Know that the babbling of the faithless cynic is like wind passing by. ||3|| This mind is inundated by millions of sins - what can I say? Nanak, Your humble servant has come to Your Sanctuary, God; please, erase all his accounts. ||4||3|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: Children, spouses, men and women in one's household, are all bound by Maya. At the very last moment, none of them shall stand by you; their love is totally false. ||1|| O man, why do you pamper your body so? It shall disperse like a cloud of smoke; vibrate upon the One, the Beloved Lord. ||Pause|| There are three ways in which the body can be consumed - it can be thrown into water, given to the dogs, or cremated to ashes. He considers himself to be immortal; he sits in his home, and forgets the Lord, the Cause of causes. ||2|| In various ways, the Lord has fashioned the beads, and strung them on a slender thread. The thread shall break, O wretched man, and then, you shall repent and regret. ||3|| He created you, and after creating you, He adorned you - meditate on Him day and night. God has showered His Mercy upon servant Nanak; I hold tight to the Support of the True Guru. ||4||4|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: I met the True Guru, by great good fortune, and my mind has been enlightened. No one else can equal me, because I have the loving support of my Lord and Master. ||1|| I am a sacrifice to my True Guru. I am at peace in this world, and I shall be in celestial peace in the next; my home is filled with bliss. ||Pause|| He is the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts, the Creator, my Lord and Master. I have become fearless, attached to the Guru's feet; I take the Support of the Name of the One Lord. ||2|| Fruitful is the Blessed Vision of His Darshan; the Form of God is deathless; He is and shall always be. He hugs His humble servants close, and protects and preserves them; their love for Him is sweet to Him. ||3|| Great is His glorious greatness, and wondrous is His magnificence; through Him, all affairs are resolved.

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 016

Nanak has met with the Perfect Guru; all his sorrows have been dispelled. ||4||5|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: To the happy person, everyone seems happy; to the sick person, everyone seems sick. The Lord and Master acts, and causes us to act; union is in His Hands. ||1|| O my mind, no one appears to be mistaken, to one who has dispelled his own doubts; he realises that everyone is God. ||Pause|| One whose mind is comforted in the Society of the Saints, believes that all are joyful. One whose mind is afflicted by the disease of egotism, cries out in birth and death. ||2|| Everything is clear to one whose eyes are blessed with the ointment of spiritual wisdom. In the darkness of spiritual ignorance, he sees nothing at all; he wanders around in reincarnation, over and over again. ||3|| Hear my prayer, O Lord and Master; Nanak begs for this happiness: whereever Your Holy Saints sing the Kirtan of Your Praises, let my mind be attached to that place. ||4||6|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: My body belongs to the Saints, my wealth belongs to the Saints, and my mind belongs to the Saints. By the Grace of the Saints, I meditate on the Lord's Name, and then, all comforts come to me. ||1|| Without the Saints, there are no other givers. Whoever takes to the Sanctuary of the Holy Saints, is carried across. ||Pause|| Millions of sins are erased by serving the humble Saints, and singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord with love. One finds peace in this world, and one's face is radiant in the next world, by associating with the humble Saints, through great good fortune. ||2|| I have only one tongue, and the Lord's humble servant is filled with countless virtues; how can I sing his praises? The inaccessible, unapproachable and eternally unchanging Lord is obtained in the Sanctuary of the Saints. ||3|| I am worthless, lowly, without friends or support, and full of sins; I long for the Shelter of the Saints. I am drowning in the deep, dark pit of household attachments - please save me, Lord! ||4||7|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl, First House: O Creator Lord, You fulfill the desires of those, within whose heart You abide. Your slaves do not forget You; the dust of Your feet is pleasing to their minds. ||1|| Your Unspoken Speech cannot be spoken. O treasure of excellence, Giver of peace, Lord and Master, Your greatness is the highest of all. ||Pause|| The mortal does those deeds, and those alone, which You ordained by destiny. Your servant, whom You bless with Your service, is satisfied and fulfilled, beholding the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. ||2|| You are contained in all, but he alone realises this, whom You bless with understanding. By Guru's Grace, his spiritual ignorance is dispelled, and he is respected everywhere. ||3|| He alone is spiritually enlightened, he alone is a meditator, and he alone is a man of good nature. Says Nanak, one unto whom the Lord becomes Merciful, does not forget the Lord from his mind. ||4||8|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: The whole creation is engrossed in emotional attachment; sometimes, one is high, and at other times, low. No one can be purified by any rituals or devices; they cannot reach their goal. ||1||

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 017

O my mind, emancipation is attained in the Sanctuary of the Holy Saints. Without the Perfect Guru, births and deaths do not cease, and one comes and goes, over and over again. ||Pause|| The whole world is entangled in what is called the delusion of doubt. The perfect devotee of the Primal Lord God remains detached from everything. ||2|| Don't indulge in slander for any reason, for everything is the creation of the Lord and Master. One who is blessed with the Mercy of my God, dwells on the Name in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||3|| The Supreme Lord God, the Transcendent Lord, the True Guru, saves all. Says Nanak, without the Guru, no one crosses over; this is the perfect essence of all contemplation. ||4||9|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: I have searched and searched and searched, and found that the Lord's Name is the most sublime reality. Contemplating it for even an instant, sins are erased; the Gurmukh is carried across and saved. ||1|| Drink in the sublime essence of the Lord's Name, O man of spiritual wisdom. Listening to the Ambrosial Words of the Holy Saints, the mind finds absolute fulfillment and satisfaction. ||Pause|| Liberation, pleasures, and the true way of life are obtained from the Lord, the Giver of all peace. The Perfect Lord, the Architect of Destiny, blesses His slave with the gift of devotional worship. ||2|| Hear with your ears, and sing with your tongue, and meditate within your heart on Him. The Lord and Master is all-powerful, the Cause of causes; without Him, there is nothing at all. ||3|| By great good fortune, I have obtained the jewel of human life; have mercy on me, O Merciful Lord. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, Nanak sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and contemplates Him forever in meditation. ||4||10|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: After taking your cleansing bath, remember your God in meditation, and your mind and body shall be free of disease. Millions of obstacles are removed, in the Sanctuary of God, and good fortune dawns. ||1|| The Word of God's Bani, and His Shabad, are the best utterances. So constantly sing them, listen to them, and read them, O Siblings of Destiny, and the Perfect Guru shall save you. ||Pause|| The glorious greatness of the True Lord is immeasurable; the Merciful Lord is the Lover of His devotees. He has preserved the honour of His Saints; from the very beginning of time, His Nature is to cherish them. ||2|| So eat the Ambrosial Name of the Lord as your food; put it into your mouth at all times. The pains of old age and death shall all depart, when you constantly sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe. ||3|| My Lord and Master has heard my prayer, and all my affairs have been resolved. The glorious greatness of Guru Nanak is manifest, throughout all the ages. ||4||11|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl, Second House, Chau-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The One God is our father; we are the children of the One God. You are our Guru. Listen, friends: my soul is a sacrifice, a sacrifice to You; O Lord, reveal to me the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. ||1||

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 018

Listen, friends: I am a sacrifice to the dust of Your feet. This mind is yours, O Siblings of Destiny. ||Pause|| I wash your feet, I massage and clean them; I give this mind to you. Listen, friends: I have come to Your Sanctuary; teach me, that I might unite with God. ||2|| Do not be proud; seek His Sanctuary, and accept as good all that He does. Listen, friends: dedicate your soul, body and your whole being to Him; thus you shall receive the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. ||3|| He has shown mercy to me, by the Grace of the Saints; the Lord's Name is sweet to me. The Guru has shown mercy to servant Nanak; I see the casteless, immaculate Lord everywhere. ||4||1||12|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: God is the Lord and Master of millions of universes; He is the Giver of all beings. He ever

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cherishes and cares for all beings, but the fool does not appreciate any of His virtues. ||1|| I do not know how to worship the Lord in adoration. I can only repeat, "Lord, Lord, Guru, Guru." O Dear Lord, I go by the name of the Lord's slave. ||Pause|| The Compassionate Lord is Merciful to the meek, the ocean of peace; He fills all hearts. He sees, hears, and is always with me; but I am a fool, and I think that He is far away. ||2|| The Lord is limitless, but I can only describe Him within my limitations; what do I know, about what He is like? I offer my prayer to my True Guru; I am so foolish - please, teach me! ||3|| I am just a fool, but millions of sinners just like me have been saved. Those who have heard, and seen Guru Nanak, do not descend into the womb of reincarnation again. ||4||2||13|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: Those things, which caused me such anxiety, have all vanished. Now, I sleep in peace and tranquility, and my mind is in a state of deep and profound peace; the inverted lotus of my heart has blossomed forth. ||1|| Behold, a wondrous miracle has happened! That Lord and Master, whose wisdom is said to be unfathomable, has been enshrined within my heart, by the Guru. ||Pause|| The demons which tormented me so much, have themselves become terrified. They pray: please, save us from your Lord Master; we seek your protection. ||2|| When the treasure of the Lord of the Universe is opened, those who are pre-destined, receive it. The Guru has given me the one jewel, and my mind and body have become peaceful and tranquil. ||3|| The Guru has blessed me with the one drop of Ambrosial Nectar, and so I have become stable, unmoving and immortal - I shall not die. The Lord blessed Guru Nanak with the treasure of devotional worship, and did not call him to account again. ||4||3||14|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: Those whose minds are attached to the lotus feet of the Lord - those humble beings are satisfied and fulfilled. But those, within whose hearts the priceless virtue does not abide - those men remain thirsty and unsatisfied. ||1|| Worshipping the Lord in adoration, one becomes happy, and free of disease. But one who forgets my Dear Lord - know him to be afflicted with tens of thousands of illnesses. ||Pause||

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 019

Those who hold tightly to Your Support, God, are happy in Your Sanctuary. But those humble beings who forget the Primal Lord, the Architect of Destiny, are counted among the most miserable beings. ||2|| One who has faith in the Guru, and who is lovingly attached to God, enjoys the delights of supreme ecstasy. One who forgets God and forsakes the Guru, falls into the most horrible hell. ||3|| As the Lord engages someone, so he is engaged, and so does he perform. Nanak has taken to the Shelter of the Saints; his heart is absorbed in the Lord's feet. ||4||4||15|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: As the king is entangled in kingly affairs, and the egotist in his own egotism, and the greedy man is enticed by greed, so is the spiritually enlightened being absorbed in the Love of the Lord. ||1|| This is what befits the Lord's servant. Beholding the Lord near at hand, he serves the True Guru, and he is satisfied through the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises. ||Pause|| The addict is addicted to his drug, and the landlord is in love with his land. As the baby is attached to his milk, so the Saint is in love with God. ||2|| The scholar is absorbed in scholarship, and the eyes are happy to see. As the tongue savors the tastes, so does the humble servant of the Lord sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||3|| As is the hunger, so is the fulfiller; He is the Lord and Master of all hearts. Nanak thirsts for the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan; he has met God, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. ||4||5||16|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: We are filthy, and You are immaculate, O Creator Lord; we are worthless, and You are the Great Giver. We are fools, and You are wise and all-knowing. You are the knower of all things. ||1|| O Lord, this is what we are, and this is what You are. We are sinners, and You are the Destroyer of sins. Your abode is so beautiful, O Lord and Master. ||Pause|| You fashion all, and having fashioned them, You bless them. You bestow upon them soul, body and the breath of life. We are worthless - we have no virtue at all; please, bless us with Your gift, O Merciful Lordand Master. ||2|| You do good for us, but we do not see it as good; You are kind and compassionate, forever and ever. You are the Giver of peace, the Primal Lord, the Architect of Destiny; please, save us, Your children! ||3|| You are the treasure, eternal Lord King; all beings and creatures beg of You. Says Nanak, such is our condition; please, Lord, keep us on the Path of the Saints. ||4||6||17|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl, Second House: In our mother's womb, You blessed us with Your meditative remembrance, and You preserved us there. Through the countless waves of the ocean of fire, please, carry us across and save us, O Savior Lord! ||1|| O Lord, You are the Master above my head. Here and hereafter, You alone are my Support. ||Pause|| He looks upon the creation like a mountain of gold, and sees the Creator as a blade of grass. You are the Great Giver, and we are all mere beggars; O God, You give gifts according to Your Will. ||2|| In an instant, You are one thing, and in another instant, You are another. Wondrous are Your ways! You are beautiful, mysterious, profound, unfathomable, lofty, inaccessible and infinite. ||3||

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 020

When You brought me to the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, then I heard the Bani of Your Word. Nanak is in ecstasy, beholding the Glory of the Primal Lord of Nirvaanaa. ||4||7||18|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: I am the dust of the feet of the Beloved Saints; I seek the Protection of their Sanctuary. The Saints are my all-powerful Support; the Saints are my ornament and decoration. ||1|| I am hand and glove with the Saints. I have realised my pre-ordained destiny. This mind is yours, O Siblings of Destiny. ||Pause|| My dealings are with the Saints, and my business is with the Saints. I have earned the profit with the Saints, and the treasure filled to over-flowing with devotion to the Lord. ||2|| The Saints entrusted to me the capital, and my mind's delusion was dispelled. What can the Righteous Judge of Dharma do now? All my accounts have been torn up. ||3|| I have found the greatest bliss, and I am at peace, by the Grace of the Saints. Says Nanak, my mind is reconciled with the Lord; it is imbued with the wondrous Love of the Lord. ||4||8||19|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: All the things that you see, O man, you shall have to leave behind. Let your dealings be with the Lord's Name, and you shall attain the state of Nirvaanaa. ||1|| O my Beloved, You are the Giver of peace. The Perfect Guru has given me these Teachings, and I am attuned to You. ||Pause|| In sexual desire, anger, greed, emotional attachment and self-conceit, peace is not to be found. So be the dust of the feet of all, O my mind, and then you shall find bliss, joy and peace. ||2|| He knows the condition of your inner self, and He will not let your work go in vain - serve Him, O mind. Worship Him, and dedicate this mind unto Him, the Image of the Undying Lord, the Divine Guru. ||3|| He is the Lord of the Universe, the Compassionate Lord, the Supreme Lord God, the Formless Lord. The Naam is my merchandise, the Naam is my nourishment; the Naam, O Nanak, is the Support of my breath of life. ||4||9||20|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: He infuses the breath into the dead bodies, and he reunited the separated ones. Even beasts, demons and fools become attentive listeners, when He sings the Praises of the Lord's Name. ||1|| Behold the glorious greatness of the Perfect Guru. His worth cannot be described. ||Pause|| He has demolished the abode of sorrow and disease, and brought bliss, joy and happiness. He effortlessly awards the fruits of the mind's desire, and all works are brought to perfection. ||2|| He finds peace in this world, and his face is radiant in the world hereafter; his comings and goings are finished. He becomes fearless, and his heart is filled with the Naam, the Name of the Lord; his mind is pleasing to the True Guru. ||3|| Standing up and sitting down, he sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord; his pain, sorrow and doubt are dispelled. Says Nanak, his karma is perfect; his mind is attached to the Guru's feet. ||4||10||21|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: Forsaking the jewel, he is attached to the shell; nothing will come of it.

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 021

O my mind, meditate forever on the Perfect, Supreme Lord God, the Transcendent Lord. ||1|| Meditate in remembrance on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, O mortal. Your frail body shall perish, you ignorant fool. ||Pause|| Illusions and dream-objects possess nothing of greatness. Without meditating on the Lord, nothing succeeds, and nothing will go along with you. ||2|| Acting in egotism and pride, his life passes away, and he does nothing for his soul. Wandering and wandering all around, he is never satisfied; he does not remember the Name of the Lord. ||3|| Intoxicated with the taste of corruption, cruel pleasures and countless sins, he is consigned to the cycle of reincarnation. Nanak offers his prayer to God, to eradicate his demerits. ||4||11||22|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: Sing the Glorious Praises of the Perfect, Imperishable Lord, and the poison of sexual desire and anger shall be burnt away. You shall cross over the awesome, arduous ocean of fire, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||1|| The Perfect Guru has dispelled the darkness of doubt. Remember God with love and devotion; He is near at hand. ||Pause|| Drink in the sublime essence, the treasure of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, and your mind and body shall remain satisfied. The Transcendent Lord is totally permeating and pervading everywhere; where would He come from, and where would He go? ||2|| One whose mind is filled with the Lord, is a person of meditation, penance, self-restraint and spiritual wisdom, and a knower of reality. The Gurmukh obtains the jewel of the Naam; his efforts come to perfect fruition. ||3|| All his struggles, sufferings and pains are dispelled, and the noose of death is cut away from him. Says Nanak, God has extended His Mercy, and so his mind and body blossom forth. ||4||12||23|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: God is the Doer, the Cause of causes, the Great Giver; God is the Supreme Lord and Master. The Merciful Lord created all beings; God is the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. ||1|| My Guru is Himself my friend and support. I am in celestial peace, bliss, joy, pleasure and wondrous glory. ||Pause|| Seeking the Sanctuary of the Guru, my fears have been dispelled, and I am accepted in the Court of the True Lord. Singing His Glorious Praises, and worshipping in adoration the Name of the Lord, I have reached my destination. ||2|| Everyone applauds and congratulates me; the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, is dear to me. I am forever a sacrifice to my God, who has totally protected and preserved my honour. ||3|| They are saved, who receive the Blessed Vision of His Darshan; they listen to the spiritual dialogue of the Naam. Nanak's God has become Merciful to him; he has arrived home in ecstasy. ||4||13||24|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: In God's Sanctuary, all fears depart, suffering disappears, and peace is obtained. When the Supreme Lord God and Master becomes merciful, we meditate on the Perfect True Guru. ||1|| O Dear God, You are my Lord Master and Great Giver. By Your Mercy, O God, Merciful to the meek, imbue me with Your Love, that I might sing Your Glorious Praises. ||Pause|| The True Guru has implanted the treasure of the Naam within me, and all my anxieties have been dispelled.

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 022

By His Mercy, He has made me His own, and the imperishable Lord has come to dwell within my mind. ||2|| No misfortune afflicts one who is protected by the True Guru. The Lotus Feet of God come to abide within his heart, and he savors the sublime essence of the Lord's Ambrosial Nectar. ||3|| So, as a servant, serve your God, who fulfills your mind's desires. Slave Nanak is a sacrifice to the Perfect Lord, who has protected and preserved his honour. ||4||14||25|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: Infatuated with the darkness of emotional attachment to Maya, he does not know the Lord, the Great Giver. The Lord created his body and fashioned his soul, but he claims that his power is his own. ||1|| O foolish mind, God, your Lord and Master is watching over you. Whatever you do, He knows; nothing can remain concealed from Him. ||Pause|| You are intoxicated with the tastes of the tongue, with greed and pride; countless sins spring from these. You wandered in pain through countless incarnations, weighed down by the chains of egotism. ||2|| Behind closed doors, hidden by many screens, the man takes his pleasure with another man's wife. When Chitr and Gupt, the celestial accountants of the conscious and subconscious, call for your account, who will screen you then? ||3|| O Perfect Lord, Merciful to the meek, Destroyer of pain, without You, I have no shelter at all. Please, lift me up out of the world-ocean; O God, I have come to Your Sanctuary. ||4||15||26|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: The Supreme Lord God has become my helper and friend; His sermon and the Kirtan of His Praises have brought me peace. Chant the Word of the Perfect Guru's Bani, and be ever in bliss, O mortal. ||1|| Remember the True Lord in meditation, O Siblings of Destiny. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, eternal peace is obtained, and the Lord is never forgotten. ||Pause|| Your Name, O Transcendent Lord, is Ambrosial Nectar; whoever meditates on it, lives. One who is blessed with God's Grace - that humble servant becomes immaculate and pure. ||2|| Obstacles are removed, and all pains are eliminated; my mind is attached to the Guru's feet. Singing the Glorious Praises of the immovable and imperishable Lord, one remains awake to the Lord's Love, day and night. ||3|| He obtains the fruits of his mind's desires, listening to the comforting sermon of the Lord. In the beginning, in the middle, and in the end, God is Nanak's best friend. ||4||16||27|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl, Panch-Padas: May my emotional attachment, my sense of mine and yours, and my self-conceit be dispelled. ||1|| O Saints, show me such a way, by which my egotism and pride might be eliminated. ||1||Pause|| I see the Supreme Lord God in all beings, and I am the dust of all. ||2|| I see God always with me, and the wall of doubt has been shattered. ||3|| The medicine of the Naam, and the Immaculate Water of Ambrosial Nectar, are obtained through the Guru's Gate. ||4|| Says Nanak, one who has such pre-ordained destiny inscribed upon his forehead, meets with the Guru, and his diseases are cured. ||5||17||28||

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 023

Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl, Second House, Du-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Fire is contained in all firewood, and butter is contained in all milk. God's Light is contained in the high and the low; the Lord is in the hearts of all beings. ||1|| O Saints, He is pervading and permeating each and every heart. The Perfect Lord is completely permeating everyone, everywhere; He is diffused in the water and the land. ||1||Pause|| Nanak sings the Praises of the Lord, the treasure of excellence; the True Guru has dispelled his doubt. The Lord is pervading everywhere, permeating all, and yet, He is unattached from all. ||2||1||29|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: Meditating on Him, one is in ecstasy; the pains of birth and death and fear are removed. The four cardinal blessings, and the nine treasures are received; you shall never feel hunger or thirst again. ||1|| Chanting His Name, you shall be at peace. With each and every breath, meditate on the Lord and Master, O my soul, with mind, body and mouth. ||1||Pause|| You shall find peace, and your mind shall be soothed and cooled; the fire of desire shall not burn within you. The Guru has revealed God to Nanak, in the three worlds, in the water, the earth and the woods. ||2||2||30|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: Sexual desire, anger, greed, falsehood and slander - please, save me from these, O Lord. Please eradicate these from within me, and call me to come close to

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You. ||1|| You alone teach me Your Ways. With the Lord's humble servants, I sing His Praises. ||1||Pause|| May I never forget the Lord within my heart; please, instill such understanding within my mind. By great good fortune, servant Nanak has met with the Perfect Guru, and now, he will not go anywhere else. ||2||3||31|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: Meditating in remembrance on Him, all things are obtained, and one's efforts shall not be in vain. Forsaking God, why do you attach yourself to another? He is contained in everything. ||1|| O Saints, meditate in remembrance on the World-Lord, Har, Har. Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord; your efforts shall be rewarded. ||1||Pause|| He ever preserves and cherishes His servant; with Love, He hugs him close. Says Nanak, forgetting You, O God, how can the world find life? ||2||4||32|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: He is imperishable, the Giver of all beings; meditating on Him, all filth is removed. He is the treasure of excellence, the object of His devotees, but rare are those who find Him. ||1|| O my mind, meditate on the Guru, and God, the Cherisher of the world. Seeking His Sanctuary, one finds peace, and he shall not suffer in pain again. ||1||Pause|| By great good fortune, one obtains the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Meeting them, evil-mindedness is eliminated.

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 024

Slave Nanak yearns for the dust of the feet of those, who have woven the Lord's Name into their hearts. ||2||5||33|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: He dispels the pains of countless incarnations, and lends support to the dry and shrivelled mind. Beholding the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, one is enraptured, contemplating the Name of the Lord. ||1|| My physician is the Guru, the Lord of the Universe. He places the medicine of the Naam into my mouth, and cuts away the noose of Death. ||1||Pause|| He is the all-powerful, Perfect Lord, the Architect of Destiny; He Himself is the Doer of deeds. The Lord Himself saves His slave; Nanak takes the Support of the Naam. ||2||6||34|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: Only You know the state of my innermost self; You alone can judge me. Please forgive me, O Lord God Master; I have committed thousands of sins and mistakes. ||1|| O my Dear Lord God Master, You are always near me. O Lord, please bless Your disciple with the shelter of Your feet. ||1||Pause|| Infinite and endless is my Lord and Master; He is lofty, virtuous and profoundly deep. Cutting away the noose of death, the Lord has made Nanak His slave, and now, what does he owe to anyone else? ||2||7||35|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: The Guru, the Lord of the Universe, became merciful to me, and I obtained all of my mind's desires. I have become stable and steady, touching the Lord's Feet, and singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe. ||1|| It is a good time, a perfectly auspicious time. I am in celestial peace, tranquility and ecstasy, chanting the Naam, the Name of the Lord; the unstruck melody of the sound current vibrates and resounds. ||1||Pause|| Meeting with my Beloved Lord and Master, my home has become a mansion filled with happiness. Servant Nanak has attained the treasure of the Lord's Name; all his desires have been fulfilled. ||2||8||36|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: The Guru's feet abide within my heart; God has blessed me with good fortune. The Perfect Transcendent Lord became merciful to me, and I found the treasure of the Naam within my mind. ||1|| My Guru is my Saving Grace, my only best friend. Over and over again, He blesses me with double, even four-fold, greatness. ||1||Pause|| God saves all beings and creatures, giving them the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. Wondrous is the glorious greatness of the Perfect Guru; Nanak is forever a sacrifice to Him. ||2||9||37|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: I gather in and collect the immaculate wealth of the Naam; this commodity is inaccessible and incomparable. Revel in it, delight in it, be happy and enjoy peace, and live long, O Sikhs and brethren. ||1|| I have the support of the Lotus Feet of the Lord. By the Grace of the Saints, I have found the boat of Truth; embarking on it, I sail across the ocean of poison. ||1||Pause|| The perfect, imperishable Lord has become merciful; He Himself has taken care of me. Beholding, beholding His Vision, Nanak has blossomed forth in ecstasy. O Nanak, He is beyond estimation. ||2||10||38|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: The Perfect Guru has revealed His power, and compassion has welled up in every heart. Blending me with Himself, He has blessed me with glorious greatness, and I have found pleasure and happiness. ||1|| The Perfect True Guru is always with me.

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 025

Meditating on the Supreme Lord God, I am forever in ecstasy. ||Pause|| Inwardly and outwardly, in all places and interspaces, wherever I look, He is there. Nanak has found the Guru, by great good fortune; no one else is as great as He. ||2||11||39|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: I have been blessed with peace, pleasure, bliss, and the celestial sound current, gazing upon the feet of God. The Savior has saved His child, and the True Guru has cured his fever. ||1|| I have been saved, in the True Guru's Sanctuary; service to Him does not go in vain. ||1||Pause|| There is peace within the home of one's heart, and there is peace outside as well, when God becomes kind and compassionate. O Nanak, no obstacles block my way; my God has become gracious and merciful to me. ||2||12||40|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, my mind became excited, and I sang the Praises of the jewel of the Naam. My anxiety was dispelled, meditating in remembrance on the Infinite Lord; I have crossed over the world ocean, O Siblings of Destiny. ||1|| I enshrine the Lord's Feet within my heart. I have found peace, and the celestial sound current resounds within me; countless diseases have been eradicated. ||Pause|| Which of Your Glorious Virtues can I speak and describe? Your worth cannot be estimated. O Nanak, the Lord's devotees become imperishable and immortal; their God becomes their friend and support. ||2||13||41|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: My sufferings have come to an end, and all diseases have been eradicated. God has showered me with His Grace. Twenty-four hours a day, I worship and adore my Lord and Master; my efforts have come to fruition. ||1|| O Dear Lord, You are my peace, wealth and capital. Please, save me, O my Beloved! I offer this prayer to my God. ||Pause|| Whatever I ask for, I receive; I have total faith in my Master. Says Nanak, I have met with the Perfect Guru, and all my fears have been dispelled. ||2||14||42|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: Meditating, meditating in remembrance on my Guru, the True Guru, all pains have been eradicated. The fever and the disease are gone, through the Word of the Guru's Teachings, and I have obtained the fruits of my mind's desires. ||1|| My Perfect Guru is the Giver of peace. He is the Doer, the Cause of causes, the Almighty Lord and Master, the Perfect Primal Lord, the Architect of Destiny. ||Pause|| Sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord in bliss, joy and ecstasy; Guru Nanak has become kind and compassionate. Shouts of cheers and congratulations ring out all over the world; the Supreme Lord God has become my Savior and Protector. ||2||15||43|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: He did not take my accounts into account; such is His forgiving nature. He gave me His hand, and saved me and made me His own; forever and ever, I enjoy His Love. ||1|| The True Lord and Master is forever merciful and forgiving. My Perfect Guru has bound me to Him, and now, I am in absolute ecstasy. ||Pause|| The One who fashioned the body and placed the soul within, who gives you clothing and nourishment - He Himself preserves the honour of His slaves. Nanak is forever a sacrifice to Him. ||2||16||44||

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 026

Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: The Lord God Himself has rid the whole world of its sins, and saved it. The Supreme Lord God extended His mercy, and confirmed His innate nature. ||1|| I have attained the Protective Sanctuary of the Lord, my King. In celestial peace and ecstasy, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and my mind, body and being are at peace. ||Pause|| My True Guru is the Savior of sinners; I have placed my trust and faith in Him. The True Lord has heard Nanak's prayer, and He has forgiven everything. ||2||17||45|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: The Supreme Lord God, the Transcendent Lord, has forgiven me, and all diseases have been cured. Those who come to the Sanctuary of the True Guru are saved, and all their affairs are resolved. ||1|| The Lord's humble servant meditates in remembrance on the Naam, the Name of the Lord; this is his only support. The Perfect True Guru extended His Mercy, and the fever has been dispelled. ||Pause|| So celebrate and be happy, my beloveds - the Guru has saved Hargobind. Great is the glorious greatness of the Creator, O Nanak; True is the Word of His Shabad, and True is the sermon of His Teachings. ||2||18||46|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: My Lord and Master has become Merciful, in His True Court. The True Guru has taken away the fever, and the whole world is at peace, O Siblings of Destiny. The Lord Himself protects His beings and creatures, and the Messenger of Death is out of work. ||1|| Enshrine the Lord's feet within your heart. Forever and ever, meditate in remembrance on God, O Siblings of Destiny. He is the Eradicator of suffering and sins. ||1||Pause|| He fashioned all beings, O Siblings of Destiny, and His Sanctuary saves them. He is the Almighty Creator, the Cause of causes, O Siblings of Destiny; He, the True Lord, is True. Nanak: meditate on God, O Siblings of Destiny, and your mind and body shall be cool and calm. ||2||19||47|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: O Saints, meditate on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Never forget God, the ocean of peace; thus you shall obtain the fruits of your mind's desires. ||1||Pause|| Extending His Mercy, the Perfect True Guru has dispelled the fever. The Supreme Lord God has become kind and compassionate, and my whole family is now free of pain and suffering. ||1|| The Treasure of absolute joy, sublime elixir and beauty, the Name of the Lord is my only Support. O Nanak, the Transcendent Lord has preserved my honour, and saved the whole world. ||2||20||48|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: My True Guru is my Savior and Protector. Showering us with His Mercy and Grace, God extended His Hand, and saved Hargobind, who is now safe and secure. ||1||Pause|| The fever is gone - God Himself eradicated it, and preserved the honour of His servant. I have obtained all blessings from the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; I am a sacrifice to the True Guru. ||1|| God has saved me, both here and hereafter. He has not taken my merits and demerits into account.

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 027

Your Word is eternal, O Guru Nanak; You placed Your Hand of blessing upon my forehead. ||2||21||49|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: All beings and creatures were created by Him; He alone is the support and friend of the Saints. He Himself preserves the honour of His servants; their glorious greatness becomes perfect. ||1|| The Perfect Supreme Lord God is always with me. The Perfect Guru has perfectly and totally protected me, and now everyone is kind and compassionate to me. ||1||Pause|| Night and day, Nanak meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord; He is the Giver of the soul, and the breath of life itself. He hugs His slave close in His loving embrace, like the mother and father hug their child. ||2||22||50|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl, Third House, Chau-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Meeting with the council, my doubts were not dispelled. The chiefs did not give me satisfaction. I presented my dispute to the noblemen as well. But it was only settled by meeting with the King, my Lord. ||1|| Now, I do not go searching anywhere else, because I have met the Guru, the Lord of the Universe. ||Pause|| When I came to God's Darbaar, His Holy Court, then all of my cries and complaints were settled. Now that I have attained what I had sought, where should I come and where should I go? ||2|| There, true justice is administered. There, the Lord Master and His disciple are one and the same. The Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts, knows. Without our speaking, He understands. ||3|| He is the King of all places. There, the unstruck melody of the Shabad resounds. Of what use is cleverness when dealing with Him? Meeting with Him, O Nanak, one loses his self-conceit. ||4||1||51|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: Enshrine the Naam, the Name of the Lord, within your heart; sitting within your own home, meditate on the Guru. The Perfect Guru has spoken the Truth; the True Peace is obtained only from the Lord. ||1|| My Guru has become merciful. In bliss, peace, pleasure and joy, I have returned to my own home, after my purifying bath. ||Pause|| True is the glorious greatness of the Guru; His worth cannot be described. He is the Supreme Overlord of kings. Meeting with the Guru, the mind is enraptured. ||2|| All sins are washed away, meeting with the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. The Lord's Name is the treasure of excellence; chanting it, one's affairs are perfectly resolved. ||3|| The Guru has opened the door of liberation, and the entire world applauds Him with cheers of victory. O Nanak, God is always with me; my fears of birth and death are gone. ||4||2||52|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: The Perfect Guru has granted His Grace, and God has fulfilled my desire. After taking my bath of purification, I returned to my home, and I found bliss, happiness and peace. ||1|| O Saints, salvation comes from the Lord's Name. While standing up and sitting down, meditate on the Lord's Name. Night and day, do good deeds. ||1||Pause||

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 028

The way of the Saints is the ladder of righteous living, found only by great good fortune. The sins of millions of incarnations are washed away, by focusing your consciousness on the Lord's feet. ||2|| So sing the Praises of your God forever; His almighty power is perfect. All beings and creatures are purified, listening to the True Teachings of the True Guru. ||3|| The True Guru has implanted the Naam, the Name of the Lord, within me; it is the Eliminator of obstructions, the Destroyer of all pains. All of my sins were erased, and I have been purified; servant Nanak has returned to his home of peace. ||4||3||53|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: O Lord Master, You are the ocean of excellence. My home and all my possessions are Yours. The Guru, the Lord of the world, is my Savior. All beings have become kind and compassionate to me. ||1|| Meditating on the Guru's feet, I am in bliss. There is no fear at all, in God's Sanctuary. ||Pause|| You dwell in the hearts of Your slaves, Lord. God has laid the eternal foundation. You are my strength, wealth and support. You are my Almighty Lord and Master. ||2|| Whoever finds the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, is saved by God Himself. By His Grace, He has blessed me with the sublime essence of the Naam. All joy and pleasure then came to me. ||3|| God became my helper and my best friend; everyone rises up and bows down at my feet. With each and every breath, meditate on God; O Nanak, sing the songs of joy to the Lord. ||4||4||54|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: Celestial peace and bliss have come, meeting God, who is so pleasing to my mind. The Perfect Guru showered me with His Mercy, and I attained salvation. ||1|| My mind is absorbed in loving devotional worship of the Lord, and the unstruck melody of the celestial sound current ever resounds within me. ||Pause|| The Lord's feet are my all-powerful shelter and support; my dependence on other people is totally finished. I have found the Life of the world, the Great Giver; in joyful rapture, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||2|| God has cut away the noose of death. My mind's desires have been fulfilled; wherever I look, He is there. Without the Lord God, there is no other at all. ||3|| In His Mercy, God has protected and preserved me. I am rid of all the pains of countless incarnations. I have meditated on the Naam, the Name of the Fearless Lord; O Nanak, I have found eternal peace. ||4||5||55|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: The Creator has

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brought utter peace to my home; the fever has left my family. The Perfect Guru has saved us. I sought the Sanctuary of the True Lord. ||1|| The Transcendent Lord Himself has become my Protector. Tranquility, intuitive peace and poise welled up in an instant, and my mind was comforted forever. ||Pause|| The Lord, Har, Har, gave me the medicine of His Name, which has cured all disease. He extended His Mercy to me, and resolved all these affairs. ||2|| God confirmed His loving nature; He did not take my merits or demerits into account. The Word of the Guru's Shabad has become manifest,

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and through it, my honour was totally preserved. ||3|| I speak as You cause me to speak; O Lord and Master, You are the ocean of excellence. Nanak chants the Naam, the Name of the Lord, according to the Teachings of Truth. God preserves the honour of His slaves. ||4||6||56|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: The Creator Lord Himself stood between us, and not a hair upon my head was touched. The Guru made my cleansing bath successful; meditating on the Lord, Har, Har, my sins were erased. ||1|| O Saints, the purifying pool of Ram Das is sublime. Whoever bathes in it, his family and ancestry are saved, and his soul is saved as well. ||1||Pause|| The world sings cheers of victory, and the fruits of his mind's desires are obtained. Whoever comes and bathes here, and meditates on his God, is safe and sound. ||2|| One who bathes in the healing pool of the Saints, that humble being obtains the supreme status. He does not die, or come and go in reincarnation; he meditates on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||3|| He alone knows this about God, whom God blesses with His kindness. Baba Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of God; all his worries and anxieties are dispelled. ||4||7||57|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: The Supreme Lord God has stood by me and fulfilled me, and nothing is left unfinished. Attached to the Guru's feet, I am saved; I contemplate and cherish the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1|| He is forever the Savior of His slaves. Bestowing His Mercy, He made me His own and preserved me; like a mother or father, He cherishes me. ||1||Pause|| By great good fortune, I found the True Guru, who obliterated the path of the Messenger of Death. My consciousness is focused on loving, devotional worship of the Lord. One who lives in this meditation is very fortunate indeed. ||2|| He sings the Ambrosial Word of the Guru's Bani, and bathes in the dust of the feet of the Holy. He Himself bestows His Name. God, the Creator, saves us. ||3|| The Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan is the support of the breath of life. This is the perfect, pure wisdom. The Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts, has granted His Mercy; slave Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of his Lord and Master. ||4||8||58|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: The Perfect Guru has attached me to His feet. I have obtained the Lord as my companion, my support, my best friend. Wherever I go, I am happy there. By His Kind Mercy, God united me with Himself. ||1|| So sing forever the Glorious Praises of the Lord with loving devotion. You shall obtain all the fruits of your mind's desires, and the Lord shall become the companion and the support of your soul. ||1||Pause|| The Lord is the support of the breath of life. I am the dust of the feet of the Holy people. I am a sinner, but the Lord made me pure. By His Kind Mercy, the Lord blessed me with His Praises. ||2|| The Supreme Lord God cherishes and nurtures me. He is always with me, the Protector of my soul. Singing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises day and night, I shall not be consigned to reincarnation again. ||3|| One who is blessed by the Primal Lord, the Architect of Destiny, realises the subtle essence of the Lord. The Messenger of Death does not come near him. In the Lord's Sanctuary, Nanak has found peace. ||4||9||59||

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Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: The Perfect Guru has made me perfect. God is totally pervading and permeating everywhere. With joy and pleasure, I take my purifying bath. I am a sacrifice to the Supreme Lord God. ||1|| I enshrine the lotus feet of the Guru within my heart. Not even the tiniest obstacle blocks my way; all my affairs are resolved. ||1||Pause|| Meeting with the Holy Saints, my evil-mindedness was eradicated. All the sinners are purified. Bathing in the sacred pool of Guru Ram Das, all the sins one has committed are washed away. ||2|| So sing forever the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe; joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, meditate on Him. The fruits of your mind's desires are obtained by meditating on the Perfect Guru within your heart. ||3|| The Guru, the Lord of the World, is blissful; chanting, meditating on the Lord of supreme bliss, He lives. Servant Nanak meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. God has confirmed His innate nature. ||4||10||60|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: In the ten directions, the clouds cover the sky like a canopy; through the dark clouds, lightning flashes, and I am terrified. By bed is empty, and my eyes are sleepless; my Husband Lord has gone far away. ||1|| Now, I receive no messages from Him, O mother! When my Beloved used to go even a mile away, He would send me four letters. ||Pause|| How could I forget this Dear Beloved of mine? He is the Giver of peace, and all virtues. Ascending to His Mansion, I gaze upon His path, and my eyes are filled with tears. ||2|| The wall of egotism and pride separates us, but I can hear Him nearby. There is a veil between us, like the wings of a butterfly; without being able to see Him, He seems so far away. ||3|| The Lord and Master of all has become merciful; He has dispelled all my sufferings. Says Nanak, when the Guru tore down the wall of egotism, then, I found my Merciful Lord and Master. ||4|| All my fears have been dispelled, O mother! Whoever I seek, the Guru leads me to find. The Lord, our King, is the treasure of all virtue. ||Second Pause||11||61|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: The Restorer of what was taken away, the Liberator from captivity; the Formless Lord, the Destroyer of pain. I do not know about karma and good deeds; I do not know about Dharma and righteous living. I am so greedy, chasing after Maya. I go by the name of God's devotee; please, save this honour of Yours. ||1|| O Dear Lord, You are the honour of the dishonoured. You make the unworthy ones worthy, O my Lord of the Universe; I am a sacrifice to Your almighty creative power. ||Pause|| Like the child, innocently making thousands of mistakes - his father teaches him, and scolds him so many times, but still, he hugs him close in his embrace. Please forgive my past actions, God, and place me on Your path for the future. ||2|| The Lord, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts, knows all about my state of mind; so who else should I go to and speak to? The Lord, the Lord of the Universe, is not pleased by mere recitation of words; if it is pleasing to His Will, He preserves our honour. I have seen all other shelters, but Yours alone remains for me. ||3||

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 031

Becoming kind and compassionate, God the Lord and Master Himself listens to my prayer. He unites me in Union with the Perfect True Guru, and all the cares and anxieties of my mind are dispelled. The Lord, Har, Har, has placed the medicine of the Naam into my mouth; servant Nanak abides in peace. ||4||12||62|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: Remembering, remembering God in meditation, bliss ensues, and one is rid of all suffering and pain. Singing the Glorious Praises of God, and meditating on Him, all my affairs are brought into harmony. ||1|| Your Name is the Life of the world. The Perfect Guru has taught me, that by meditating, I cross over the terrifying world-ocean. ||Pause|| You are Your own advisor; You hear everything, God, and You do everything. You Yourself are the Giver, and You Yourself are the Enjoyer. What can this poor creature do? ||2|| Which of Your Glorious Virtues should I describe and speak of? Your value cannot be described. I live by beholding, beholding You, O God. Your glorious greatness is wonderful and amazing! ||3|| Granting His Grace, God my Lord and Master Himself saved my honour, and my intellect has been made perfect. Forever and ever, Nanak is a sacrifice, longing for the dust of the feet of the Saints. ||4||13||63|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: I bow in reverence to the Perfect Guru. God has resolved all my affairs. The Lord has showered me with His Mercy. God has perfectly preserved my honour. ||1|| He has become the help and support of His slave. The Creator has achieved all my goals, and now, nothing is lacking. ||Pause|| The Creator Lord has caused the pool of nectar to be constructed. The wealth of Maya follows in my footsteps, and now, nothing is lacking at all. This is pleasing to my Perfect True Guru. ||2|| Remembering, remembering the Merciful Lord in meditation, all beings have become kind and compassionate to me. Hail! Hail to the Lord of the world, who created the perfect creation. ||3|| You are my Great Lord and Master. These blessings and wealth are Yours. Servant Nanak has meditated on the One Lord; he has obtained the fruitful rewards for all good deeds. ||4||14||64|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl, Third House, Du-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Bathing in the nectar tank of Ram Das, all sins are erased. One becomes immaculately pure, taking this cleansing bath. The Perfect Guru has bestowed this gift. ||1|| God has blessed all with peace and pleasure. Everything is safe and sound, as we contemplate the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||Pause|| In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, filth is washed off. The Supreme Lord God has become our friend and helper. Nanak meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. He has found God, the Primal Being. ||2||1||65|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: The Supreme Lord God has established that home, in which He comes to mind.

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 032

I found the Guru, the ocean of peace, and all my doubts were dispelled. ||1|| This is the glorious greatness of the Naam. Twenty-four hours a day, I sing His Glorious Praises. I obtained this from the Perfect Guru. ||Pause|| God's sermon is inexpressible. His humble servants speak words of Ambrosial Nectar. Slave Nanak has spoken. Through the Perfect Guru, it is known. ||2||2||66|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: The Guru has blessed me with peace here, and the Guru has arranged peace and pleasure for me hereafter. I have all treasures and comforts, meditating on the Guru in my heart. ||1|| This is the glorious greatness of my True Guru; I have obtained the fruits of my mind's desires. O Saints, His Glory increases day by day. ||Pause|| All beings and creatures have become kind and compassionate to me; my God has made them so. Nanak has met with the Lord of the world with intuitive ease, and with Truth, he is pleased. ||2||3||67|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: The Word of the Guru's Shabad is my Saving Grace. It is a guardian posted on all four sides around me. My mind is attached to the Lord's Name. The Messenger of Death has run away in shame. ||1|| O Dear Lord, You are my Giver of peace. The Perfect Lord, the Architect of Destiny, has shattered my bonds, and made my mind immaculately pure. ||Pause|| O Nanak, God is eternal and imperishable. Service to Him shall never go unrewarded. Your slaves are in bliss; chanting and meditating, their desires are fulfilled. ||2||4||68|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: I am a sacrifice to my Guru. He has totally preserved my honour. I have obtained the fruits of my mind's desires. I meditate forever on my God. ||1|| O Saints, without Him, there is no other at all. He is God, the Cause of causes. ||Pause|| My God has given me His Blessing. He has made all creatures subject to me. Servant Nanak meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and all his sorrows depart. ||2||5||69|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: The Perfect Guru has dispelled the fever. The unstruck melody of the sound current resounds. God has bestowed all comforts. In His Mercy, He Himself has given them. ||1|| The True Guru Himself has eradicated the disease. All the Sikhs and Saints are filled with joy, meditating on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||Pause|| They obtain that which they ask for. God gives to His Saints. God saved Hargobind. Servant Nanak speaks the Truth. ||2||6||70|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: You make me do what pleases You. I have no cleverness at all. I am just a child - I seek Your Protection. God Himself preserves my honour. ||1|| The Lord is my King; He is my mother and father. In Your Mercy, You cherish me; I do whatever You make me do. ||Pause|| The beings and creatures are Your creation. O God, their reins are in Your hands.

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 033

Whatever You cause us to do, we do. Nanak, Your slave, seeks Your Protection. ||2||7||71|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: I have woven the Lord's Name into the fabric of my heart. All my affairs are resolved. His mind is attached to God's feet, whose destiny is perfect. ||1|| Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I meditate on the Lord. Twenty-four hours a day, I worship and adore the Lord, Har, Har; I have obtained the fruits of my mind's desires. ||Pause|| The seeds of my past actions have sprouted. My mind is attached to the Lord's Name. My mind and body are absorbed into the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan. Slave Nanak sings the Glorious Praises of the True Lord. ||2||8||72|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: Meeting with the Guru, I contemplate God. All of my affairs have been resolved. No one speaks ill of me. Everyone congratulates me on my victory. ||1|| O Saints, I seek the True Sanctuary of the Lord and Master. All beings and creatures are in His hands; He is God, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. ||Pause|| He has resolved all of my affairs. God has confirmed His innate nature. God's Name is the Purifier of sinners. Servant Nanak is forever a sacrifice to Him. ||2||9||73|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: The Supreme Lord God created and embellished him. The Guru has saved this small child. So celebrate and be happy, father and mother. The Transcendent Lord is the Giver of souls. ||1|| Your slaves, O Lord, focus on pure thoughts. You preserve the honour of Your slaves, and You Yourself arrange their affairs. ||Pause|| My God is so benevolent. His Almighty Power is manifest. Nanak has come to His Sanctuary. He has obtained the fruits of his mind's desires. ||2||10||74|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: Forever and ever, I chant the Lord's Name. God Himself has saved my child. He healed him from the smallpox. My troubles have been removed through the Lord's Name. ||1|| My God is forever Merciful. He heard the prayer of His devotee, and now all beings are kind and compassionate to him. ||Pause|| God is Almighty, the Cause of causes. Remembering the Lord in meditation, all pains and sorrows vanish. He has heard the prayer of His slave. O Nanak, now everyone sleeps in peace. ||2||11||75|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: I meditated on my Guru. I met with Him, and returned home in joy. This is the glorious greatness of the Naam. Its value cannot be estimated. ||1|| O Saints, worship and adore the Lord, Har, Har, Har. Worship the Lord in adoration, and you shall obtain everything; your affairs shall all be resolved. ||Pause|| He alone is attached in loving devotion to God, who realises his great destiny. Servant Nanak meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. He obtains the rewards of all joys and peace. ||2||12||76|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: The Transcendent Lord has given me His support. The house of pain and disease has been demolished. The men and women celebrate. The Lord God, Har, Har, has extended His Mercy. ||1||

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 034

O Saints, there is peace everywhere. The Supreme Lord God, the Perfect Transcendent Lord, is pervading everywhere. ||Pause|| The Bani of His Word emanated from the Primal Lord. It eradicates all anxiety. The Lord is merciful, kind and compassionate. Nanak chants the Naam, the Name of the True Lord. ||2||13||77|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: Here and hereafter, He is our Savior. God, the True Guru, is Merciful to the meek. He Himself protects His slaves. In each and every

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heart, the Beautiful Word of His Shabad resounds. ||1|| I am a sacrifice to the Guru's Feet. Day and night, with each and every breath, I remember Him; He is totally pervading and permeating all places. ||Pause|| He Himself has become my help and support. True is the support of the True Lord. Glorious and great is devotional worship to You. Nanak has found God's Sanctuary. ||2||14||78|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: When it was pleasing to the Perfect True Guru, then I chanted the Naam, the Name of the Pervading Lord. The Lord of the Universe extended His Mercy to me, and God saved my honour. ||1|| The Lord's feet are forever peace-giving. Whatever fruit one desires, he receives; his hopes shall not go in vain. ||1||Pause|| That Saint, unto whom the Lord of Life, the Great Giver, extends His Mercy - he alone sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. His soul is absorbed in loving devotional worship; his mind is pleasing to the Supreme Lord God. ||2|| Twenty-four hours a day, he chants the Praises of the Lord, and the bitter poison does not affect him. My Creator Lord has united me with Himself, and the Holy Saints have become my companions. ||3|| Taking me by the hand, He has given me everything, and blended me with Himself. Says Nanak, everything has been perfectly resolved; I have found the Perfect True Guru. ||4||15||79|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: Humility is my spiked club. My dagger is to be the dust of all men's feet. No evil-doer can withstand these weapons. The Perfect Guru has given me this understanding. ||1|| The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is the support and shelter of the Saints. One who remembers the Lord in meditation, is emancipated; millions have been saved in this way. ||1||Pause|| In the Society of the Saints, I sing His Praises. I have found this, the perfect wealth of the Lord. Says Nanak, I have eradicated my self-conceit. I see the Supreme Lord God everywhere. ||2||16||80|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: The Perfect Guru has done it perfectly. He blessed me with forgiveness. I have found lasting peace and bliss. Everywhere, the people dwell in peace. ||1|| Devotional worship to the Lord is what gives rewards. The Perfect Guru, by His Grace, gave it to me; how rare are those who know this. ||Pause|| Sing the Word of the Guru's Bani, O Siblings of Destiny. That is always rewarding and peace-giving. Nanak has meditated on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. He has realised his pre-ordained destiny. ||2||17||81|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl:

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I worship and adore the Perfect Guru. All my affairs have been resolved. All desires have been fulfilled. The unstruck melody of the sound current resounds. ||1|| O Saints, meditating on the Lord, we obtain peace. In the home of the Saints, celestial peace is pervading; all pain and suffering is dispelled. ||1||Pause|| The Word of the Perfect Guru's Bani is pleasing to the Mind of the Supreme Lord God. Slave Nanak speaks the Unspoken, immaculate sermon of the Lord. ||2||18||82|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: The hungry man is not ashamed to eat. Just so, the humble servant of the Lord sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||1|| Why are you so lazy in your own affairs? Remembering Him in meditation, your face shall be radiant in the Court of the Lord; you shall find peace, forever and ever. ||1||Pause|| Just as the lustful man is enticed by lust, so is the Lord's slave pleased with the Lord's Praise. ||2|| Just as the mother holds her baby close, so does the spiritual person cherish the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||3|| This is obtained from the Perfect Guru. Servant Nanak meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||4||19||83|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: Safe and sound, I have returned home. The slanderer's face is blackened with ashes. The Perfect Guru has dressed in robes of honour. All my pains and sufferings are over. ||1|| O Saints, this is the glorious greatness of the True Lord. He has created such wonder and glory! ||1||Pause|| I speak according to the Will of my Lord and Master. God's slave chants the Word of His Bani. O Nanak, God is the Giver of peace. He has created the perfect creation. ||2||20||84|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: Within my heart, I meditate on God. I have returned home safe and sound. The world has become contented. The Perfect Guru has saved me. ||1|| O Saints, my God is forever merciful. The Lord of the world does not call His devotee to account; He protects His children. ||1||Pause|| I have enshrined the Lord's Name within my heart. He has resolved all my affairs. The Perfect Guru was pleased, and blessed me, and now, Nanak shall never again suffer pain. ||2||21||85|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: The Lord abides in my mind and body. Everyone congratulates me on my victory. This is the glorious greatness of the Perfect Guru. His value cannot be described. ||1|| I am a sacrifice to Your Name. He alone, whom You have forgiven, O my Beloved, sings Your Praises. ||1||Pause|| You are my Great Lord and Master. You are the support of the Saints. Nanak has entered God's Sanctuary. The faces of the slanderers are blackened with ashes. ||2||22||86|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: Peace in this world, O my friends, and bliss in the world hereafter - God has given me this. The Transcendent Lord has arranged these arrangements; I shall never waver again. ||1|| My mind is pleased with the True Lord Master. I know the Lord to be pervading all. ||1||Pause||

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 036

All beings are Yours, O Merciful Lord. You cherish Your devotees. Your glorious greatness is wonderful and marvellous. Nanak ever meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||2||23||87|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: The Lord is always with me. The Messenger of Death does not approach me. God holds me close in His embrace, and protects me. True are the Teachings of the True Guru. ||1|| The Perfect Guru has done it perfectly. He has beaten and driven off my enemies, and given me, His slave, the sublime understanding of the neutral mind. ||1||Pause|| God has blessed all places with prosperity. I have returned again safe and sound. Nanak has entered God's Sanctuary. It has eradicated all disease. ||2||24||88|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: The True Guru is the Giver of all peace and comfort - seek His Sanctuary. Beholding the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, bliss ensues, pain is dispelled, and one sings the Lord's Praises. ||1|| Drink in the sublime essence of the Lord, O Siblings of Destiny. Chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord; worship the Naam in adoration, and enter the Sanctuary of the Perfect Guru. ||Pause|| Only one who has such pre-ordained destiny receives it; he alone becomes perfect, O Siblings of Destiny. Nanak's prayer, O Dear God, is to remain lovingly absorbed in the Naam. ||2||25||89|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: The Lord is the Cause of Causes, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts; He preserves the honour of His servant. He is hailed and congratulated throughout the world, and he tastes the sublime essence of the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||1|| Dear God, Lord of the world, You are my only support. You are all-powerful, the Giver of Sanctuary; twenty-four hours a day, I meditate on You. ||Pause|| That humble being, who vibrates upon You, O God, is not afflicted by anxiety. Attached to the Feet of the True Guru, his fear is dispelled, and within his mind, he sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||2|| He abides in celestial peace and utter ecstasy; the True Guru has comforted him. He has returned home victorious, with honour, and his hopes have been fulfilled. ||3|| Perfect are the Teachings of the Perfect Guru; Perfect are the actions of God. Grasping hold of the Guru's feet, Nanak has crossed over the terrifying world-ocean, chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||4||26||90|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: Becoming merciful, the Destroyer of the pains of the poor has Himself devised all devices. In an instant, He has saved His humble servant; the Perfect Guru has cut away his bonds. ||1|| O my mind, meditate forever on the Guru, the Lord of the Universe. All illness shall depart from this body, and you shall obtain the fruits of your mind's desires. ||Pause|| God created all beings and creatures; He is lofty, inaccessible and infinite. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, Nanak meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord; his face is radiant in the Court of the Lord. ||2||27||91|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: I meditate in remembrance on my Lord. Day and night, I ever meditate on Him. He gave me His hand, and protected me. I drink in the most sublime essence of the Lord's Name. ||1||

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 037

I am a sacrifice to my Guru. God, the Great Giver, the Perfect One, has become merciful to me, and now, all are kind to me. ||Pause|| Servant Nanak has entered His Sanctuary. He has perfectly preserved his honour. All suffering has been dispelled. So enjoy peace, O my Siblings of Destiny! ||2||28||92|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: Hear my prayer, O my Lord and Master; all beings and creatures were created by You. You preserve the honour of Your Name, O Lord, Cause of causes. ||1|| O Dear God, Beloved, please, make me Your own. Whether good or bad, I am Yours. ||Pause|| The Almighty Lord and Master heard my prayer; cutting away my bonds, He has adorned me. He dressed me in robes of honour, and blended His servant with Himself; Nanak is revealed in glory throughout the world. ||2||29||93|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: All beings and creatures are subservient to all those who serve in the Lord's Court. Their God made them His own, and carried them across the terrifying world-ocean. ||1|| He resolves all the affairs of His Saints. He is merciful to the meek, kind and compassionate, the ocean of kindness, my Perfect Lord and Master. ||Pause|| I am asked to come and be seated, everywhere I go, and I lack nothing. The Lord blesses His humble devotee with robes of honour; O Nanak, the Glory of God is manifest. ||2||30||94|| Sorat'h, Ninth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O mind, love the Lord. With your ears, hear the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe, and with your tongue, sing His song. ||1||Pause|| Join the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, and meditate in remembrance on the Lord; even a sinner like yourself will become pure. Death is on the prowl, with its mouth wide open, friend. ||1|| Today or tomorrow, eventually it will seize you; understand this in your consciousness. Says Nanak, meditate, and vibrate upon the Lord; this opportunity is slipping away! ||2||1|| Sorat'h, Ninth Mehl: The mind remains in the mind. He does not meditate on the Lord, nor does he perform service at sacred shrines, and so death seizes him by the hair. ||1||Pause|| Wife, friends, children, carriages, property, total wealth, the entire world - know that all of these things are false. The Lord's meditation alone is true. ||1|| Wandering, wandering around for so many ages, he has grown weary, and finally, he obtained this human body. Says Nanak, this is the opportunity to meet the Lord; why don't you remember Him in meditation? ||2||2|| Sorat'h, Ninth Mehl: O mind, what evil-mindedness have you developed? You are engrossed in the pleasures of other men's wives, and slander; you have not worshipped the Lord at all. ||1||Pause|| You do not know the way to liberation, but you run all around chasing wealth.

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 038

In the end, nothing shall go along with you; you have entrapped yourself in vain. ||1|| You have not meditated or vibrated upon the Lord; you have not served the Guru, or His humble servants; spiritual wisdom has not welled up within you. The Immaculate Lord is within your heart, and yet you search for Him in the wilderness. ||2|| You have wandered through many many births; you are exhausted but have still not found a way out of this endless cycle. Now that you have obtained this human body, meditate on the Lord's Feet; Nanak advises with this advice. ||3||3|| Sorat'h, Ninth Mehl: O mind, contemplate the Sanctuary of God. Meditating on Him in remembrance, Ganika the prostitute was saved; enshrine His Praises within your heart. ||1||Pause|| Meditating on Him in remembrance, Dhroo became immortal, and obtained the state of fearlessness. The Lord and Master removes suffering in this way - why have you forgotten Him? ||1|| As soon as the elephant took to the protective Sanctuary of the Lord, the ocean of mercy, he escaped from the crocodile. How much can I describe the Glorious Praises of the Naam? Whoever chants the Lord's Name, his bonds are broken. ||2|| Ajaamal, known throughout the world as a sinner, was redeemed in an instant. Says Nanak, remember the Chintaamani, the jewel which fulfills all desires, and you too shall be carried across and saved. ||3||4|| Sorat'h, Ninth Mehl: What efforts should the mortal make, to attain devotional worship of the Lord, and eradicate the fear of death? ||1||Pause|| Which actions, what sort of knowledge, and what religion - what Dharma should one practice? What Name of the Guru should one remember in meditation, to cross over the terrifying world-ocean? ||1|| In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, the Name of the One Lord is the treasure of mercy; chanting it, one obtains salvation. No other religion is comparable to this; so speak the Vedas. ||2|| He is beyond pain and pleasure, forever unattached; He is called the Lord of the world. He dwells deep within your inner self, O Nanak, like the image in a mirror. ||3||5|| Sorat'h, Ninth Mehl: O mother, how can I see the Lord of the world? In the utter darkness of emotional attachment and spiritual ignorance, my mind remains entangled. ||1||Pause|| Deluded by doubt, I have wasted my whole life; I have not obtained a stable intellect. I remain under the influence of corrupting sins, night and day, and I have not renounced wickedness. ||1|| I never joined the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, and I did not sing the Kirtan of God's Praises. O servant Nanak, I have no virtues at all; keep me in Your Sanctuary, Lord. ||2||6|| Sorat'h, Ninth Mehl: O mother, my mind is out of control. Night and day, it runs after sin and corruption. How can I restrain it? ||1||Pause|| He listens to the teachings of the Vedas, the Puraanas and the Simritees, but he does not enshrine them in his heart, even for an instant. Engrossed in the wealth and women of others, his life passes away uselessly. ||1|| He has gone insane with the wine of Maya, and does not understand even a bit of spiritual wisdom. Deep within his heart, the Immaculate Lord dwells, but he does not know this secret. ||2||

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 039

When I came to the Sanctuary of the Holy Saints, all my evil-mindedness was dispelled. Then, O Nanak, I remembered the Chintaamani, the jewel which fulfills all desires, and the noose of Death was snapped. ||3||7|| Sorat'h, Ninth Mehl: O man, grasp this Truth firmly in your soul. The whole world is just like a dream; it will pass away in an instant. ||1||Pause|| Like a wall of sand, built up and plastered with great care, which does not last even a few days, just so are the pleasures of Maya. Why are you entangled in them, you ignorant fool? ||1|| Understand this today - it is not yet too late! Chant and vibrate the Name of the Lord. Says Nanak, this is the subtle wisdom of the Holy Saints, which I proclaim out loud to you. ||2||8|| Sorat'h, Ninth Mehl: In this world, I have not found any true friend. The whole world is attached to its own pleasures, and when trouble comes, no one is with you. ||1||Pause|| Wives, friends, children and relatives - all are attached to wealth. When they see a poor man, they all forsake his company and run away. ||1|| So what should I say to this crazy mind, which is affectionately attached to them? The Lord is the Master of the meek, the Destroyer of all fears, and I have forgotten to praise Him. ||2|| Like a dog's tail, which will never straighten out, the mind will not change, no matter how many things are tried. Says Nanak, please, Lord, uphold the honour of Your innate nature; I chant Your Name. ||3||9|| Sorat'h, Ninth Mehl: O mind, you have not accepted the Guru's Teachings. What is the use of shaving your head, and wearing saffron robes? ||1||Pause|| Abandoning Truth, you cling to falsehood; your life is uselessly wasting away.

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Practicing hypocrisy, you fill your belly, and then sleep like an animal. ||1|| You do not know the Way of the Lord's meditation; you have sold yourself into Maya's hands. The madman remains entangled in vice and corruption; he has forgotten the jewel of the Naam. ||2|| He remains thoughtless, not thinking of the Lord of the Universe; his life is uselessly passing away. Says Nanak, O Lord, please, confirm your innate nature; this mortal is continually making mistakes. ||3||10|| Sorat'h, Ninth Mehl: That man, who in the midst of pain, does not feel pain, who is not affected by pleasure, affection or fear, and who looks alike upon gold and dust;||1||Pause|| Who is not swayed by either slander or praise, nor affected by greed, attachment or pride; who remains unaffected by joy and sorrow, honour and dishonour;||1|| who renounces all hopes and desires and remains desireless in the world; who is not touched by sexual desire or anger - within his heart, God dwells. ||2|| That man, blessed by Guru's Grace, understands this way. O Nanak, he merges with the Lord of the Universe, like water with water. ||3||11||

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 040

Sorat'h, Ninth Mehl: O dear friend, know this in your mind. The world is entangled in its own pleasures; no one is for anyone else. ||1||Pause|| In good times, many come and sit together, surrounding you on all four sides. But when hard times come, they all leave, and no one comes near you. ||1|| Your wife, whom you love so much, and who has remained ever attached to you, runs away crying, "Ghost! Ghost!", as soon as the swan-soul leaves this body. ||2|| This is the way they act - those whom we love so much. At the very last moment, O Nanak, no one is any use at all, except the Dear Lord. ||3||12||139|| Sorat'h, First Mehl, First House, Ashtapadees, Chau-Tukas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I am not torn by duality, because I do not worship any other than the Lord; I do not visit tombs or crematoriums. I do not enter the houses of strangers, engrossed in desire. The Naam, the Name of the Lord, has satisfied my desires. Deep within my heart, the Guru has shown me the home of my being, and my mind is imbued with peace and poise, O Siblings of Destiny. You Yourself are all-knowing, and You Yourself are all-seeing; You alone bestow intelligence, O Lord. ||1|| My mind is detached, imbued with detachment; the Word of the Shabad has pierced my mind, O my mother. God's Light shines continually within the nucleus of my deepest self; I am lovingly attached to the Bani, the Word of the True Lord Master. ||Pause|| Countless detached renunciates talk of detachment and renunciation, but he alone is a true renunciate, who is pleasing to the Lord Master. The Word of the Shabad is ever in his heart; he is absorbed in the Fear of God, and he works to serve the Guru. He remembers the One Lord, his mind does not waver, and he restrains its wanderings. He is intoxicated with celestial bliss, and is ever imbued with the Lord's Love; he sings the Glorious Praises of the True Lord. ||2|| The mind is like the wind, but if it comes to rest in peace, even for an instant, then he shall abide in the peace of the Name, O Siblings of Destiny. His tongue, eyes and ears are imbued with Truth; O Lord, You quench the fires of desire. In hope, the renunciate remains free of hopes; in the home of his own inner self, he is absorbed in the trance of deep meditation. He remains content, satisfied with the charity of the Naam; he drinks in the Ambrosial Amrit with ease. ||3|| There is no renunciation in duality, as long as there is even a particle of duality. The whole world is Yours, Lord; You alone are the Giver. There is not any other, O Siblings of Destiny. The self-willed manmukh dwells in misery forever, while the Lord bestows greatness upon the Gurmukh. God is infinite, endless, inaccessible and unfathomable; His worth cannot be described. ||4|| The consciousness in deep Samaadhi, the Supreme Being, the Lord of the three worlds - these are Your Names, Lord. The creatures born into this world have their destiny inscribed upon their foreheads; they experience according to their destinies. The Lord Himself causes them to do good and bad deeds; He Himself makes them steadfast in devotional worship. The filth of their mind and mouth is washed off when they live in the Fear of God; the inaccessible Lord Himself blesses them with spiritual wisdom. ||5||

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 041

Only those who taste it know its sweet taste, like the mute, who eats the candy, and only smiles. How can I describe the indescribable, O Siblings of Destiny? I shall follow His Will forever. If one meets with the Guru, the Generous Giver, then he understands; those who have no Guru cannot understand this. As the Lord causes us to act, so do we act, O Siblings of Destiny. What other clever tricks can anyone try? ||6|| Some are deluded by doubt, while others are imbued with devotional worship; Your play is infinite and endless. As You engage them, they receive the fruits of their rewards; You alone are the One who issues Your Commands. I would serve You, if anything were my own; my soul and body are Yours. One who meets with the True Guru, by His Grace, takes the Support of the Ambrosial Naam. ||7|| He dwells in the heavenly realms, and his virtues radiantly shine forth; meditation and spiritual wisdom are found in virtue. The Naam is pleasing to his mind; he speaks it, and causes others to speak it as well. He speaks the essential essence of wisdom. The Word of the Shabad is his Guru and spiritual teacher, profound and unfathomable; without the Shabad, the world is insane. He is a perfect renunciate, naturally at ease, O Nanak, whose mind is pleased with the True Lord. ||8||1|| Sorat'h, First Mehl, Ti-Tukas: Hope and desire are entrapments, O Siblings of Destiny. Religious rituals and ceremonies are traps. Because of good and bad deeds, one is born into the world, O Siblings of Destiny; forgetting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, he is ruined. This Maya is the enticer of the world, O Siblings of Destiny; all such actions are corrupt. ||1|| Listen, O ritualistic Pandit: that religious ritual which produces happiness, O Siblings of Destiny, is contemplation of the essence of the soul. ||Pause|| You may stand and recite the Shaastras and the Vedas, O Siblings of Destiny, but these are just worldly actions. Filth cannot be washed away by hypocrisy, O Siblings of Destiny; the filth of corruption and sin is within you. This is how the spider is destroyed, O Siblings of Destiny, by falling head-long in its own web. ||2|| So many are destroyed by their own evil-mindedness, O Siblings of Destiny; in the love of duality, they are ruined. Without the True Guru, the Name is not obtained, O Siblings of Destiny; without the Name, doubt does not depart. If one serves the True Guru, then he obtains peace, O Siblings of Destiny; his comings and goings are ended. ||3|| True celestial peace comes from the Guru, O Siblings of Destiny; the immaculate mind is absorbed into the True Lord. One who serves the Guru, understands, O Siblings of Destiny; without the Guru, the way is not found. What can anyone do, with greed within? O Siblings of Destiny, by telling lies, they eat poison. ||4|| O Pandit, by churning cream, butter is produced. By churning water, you shall only see water, O Siblings of Destiny; this world is like that. Without the Guru, he is ruined by doubt, O Siblings of Destiny; the unseen Divine Lord is in each and every heart. ||5|| This world is like a thread of cotton, O Siblings of Destiny, which Maya has tied on all ten sides. Without the Guru, the knots cannot be untied, O Siblings of Destiny; I am so tired of religious rituals. This world is deluded by doubt, O Siblings of Destiny; no one can say anything about it. ||6|| Meeting with the Guru, the Fear of God comes to abide in the mind; to die in the Fear of God is one's true destiny. In the Court of the Lord, the Naam is far superior to ritualistic cleansing baths, charity and good deeds, O Siblings of Destiny.

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 042

One who implants the Naam within himself, through the Guru's halter - O Siblings of Destiny, the Lord dwells in his mind, and he is free of hypocrisy. ||7|| This body is the jeweller's shop, O Siblings of Destiny; the incomparable Naam is the merchandise. The merchant secures this merchandise, O Siblings of Destiny, by contemplating the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Blessed is the merchant, O Nanak, who meets the Guru, and engages in this trade. ||8||2|| Sorat'h, First Mehl: Those who serve the True Guru, O Beloved, their companions are saved as well. No one blocks their way, O Beloved, and the Lord's Ambrosial Nectar is on their tongue. Without the Fear of God, they are so heavy that they sink and drown, O Beloved; but the Lord, casting His Glance of Grace, carries them across. ||1|| I ever praise You, O Beloved, I ever sing Your Praises. Without the boat, one is drowned in the sea of fear, O Beloved; how can I reach the distant shore? ||1||Pause|| I praise the Praiseworthy Lord, O Beloved; there is no other one to praise. Those who praise my God are good, O Beloved; they are imbued with the Word of the Shabad, and His Love. If I join them, O Beloved, I can churn the essence and so find joy. ||2|| The gateway to honour is Truth, O Beloved; it bears the Insignia of the True Name of the Lord. We come into the world, and we depart, with our destiny written and pre-ordained, O Beloved; realise the Command of the Commander. Without the Guru, this Command is not understood, O Beloved; True is the Power of the True Lord. ||3|| By His Command, we are conceived, O Beloved, and by His Command, we grow in the womb. By His Command, we are born, O Beloved, head-first, and upside-down. The Gurmukh is honoured in the Court of the Lord, O Beloved; he departs after resolving his affairs. ||4|| By His Command, one comes into the world, O Beloved, and by His Will, he goes. By His Will, some are bound and gagged and driven away, O Beloved; the self-willed manmukhs suffer their punishment. By His Command, the Word of the Shabad, is realised, O Beloved, and one goes to the Court of the Lord robed in honour. ||5|| By His Command, some accounts are accounted for, O Beloved; by His Command, some suffer in egotism and duality. By His Command, one wanders in reincarnation, O Beloved; deceived by sins and demerits, he cries out in his suffering. If he comes to realise the Command of the Lord's Will, O Beloved, then he is blessed with Truth and Honour. ||6|| It is so difficult to speak it, O Beloved; how can we speak, and hear, the True Name? I am a sacrifice to those who praise the Lord, O Beloved. I have obtained the Name, and I am satisfied, O Beloved; by His Grace, I am united in His Union. ||7|| If my body were to become the paper, O Beloved, and my mind the inkpot; and if my tongue became the pen, O Beloved, I would write, and contemplate, the Glorious Praises of the True Lord. Blessed is that scribe, O Nanak, who writes the True Name, and enshrines it within his heart. ||8||3|| Sorat'h, First Mehl, Du-Tukas: You are the Giver of virtue, O Immaculate Lord, but my mind is not immaculate, O Siblings of Destiny. I am a worthless sinner, O Siblings of Destiny; virtue is obtained from You alone, Lord. ||1|| O my Beloved Creator Lord, You create, and You behold. I am a hypocritical sinner, O Siblings of Destiny. Bless my mind and body with Your Name, O Lord. ||Pause||

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 043

The poisonous Maya has enticed the consciousness, O Siblings of Destiny; through clever tricks, one loses his honour. The True Lord and Master abides in the consciousness, O Siblings of Destiny, if the Guru's spiritual wisdom permeates it. ||2|| Beautiful, beautiful, the Lord is called, O Siblings of Destiny; beautiful, like the deep crimson colour of the poppy. If man loves the Lord with detachment, O Siblings of Destiny, he is judged to be true and infallible in the Lord's court and home. ||3|| You are pervading the realms of the underworld and the heavenly skies; Your wisdom and glories are in each and every heart. Meeting with the Guru, one finds peace, O Siblings of Destiny, and pride is dispelled from the mind. ||4|| Scrubbing with water, the body can be cleaned, O Siblings of Destiny, but the body becomes dirty again. Bathing in the supreme essence of spiritual wisdom, O Siblings of Destiny, the mind and body become pure. ||5|| Why worship gods and goddesses, O Siblings of Destiny? What can we ask of them? What can they give us? The stone gods are washed with water, O Siblings of Destiny, but they just sink in the water. ||6|| Without the Guru, the unseen Lord cannot be seen, O Siblings of Destiny; the world is drowning, having lost its honour. Greatness is in the hands of my Lord and Master, O Siblings of Destiny; as He is pleased, He gives. ||7|| That soul-bride, who talks sweetly and speaks the Truth, O Siblings of Destiny, becomes pleasing to her Husband Lord. Pierced by His Love, she abides in Truth, O Siblings of Destiny, deeply imbued with the Lord's Name. ||8|| Everyone calls God his own, O Siblings of Destiny, but the all-knowing Lord is known only through the Guru. Those who are pierced by His Love are saved, O Siblings of Destiny; they bear the Insignia of the True Word of the Shabad. ||9|| A large pile of firewood, O Siblings of Destiny, will burn if a small fire is applied. In the same way, if the Naam, the Name of the Lord, dwells in the heart for a moment, even for an instant, O Siblings of Destiny, then one meets the Lord with ease, O Nanak. ||10||4|| Sorat'h, Third Mehl, First House, Ti-Tukas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: You always preserve the honour of Your devotees, O Dear Lord; You have protected them from the very beginning of time. You protected Your servant Prahlaad, O Dear Lord, and annihilated Harnaakhash. The Gurmukhs place their faith in the Dear Lord, but the self-willed manmukhs are deluded by doubt. ||1|| O Dear Lord, this is Your Glory. You preserve the honour of Your devotees, O Lord Master; Your devotees seek Your Sanctuary. ||Pause|| The Messenger of Death cannot touch Your devotees; death cannot even approach them. The Name of the Lord alone abides in their minds; through the Naam, the Name of the Lord, they find liberation. Wealth and all the spiritual powers of the Siddhis fall at the feet of the Lord's devotees; they obtain peace and poise from the Guru. ||2|| The self-willed manmukhs have no faith; they are filled with greed and self-interest. They are not Gurmukh - they do not understand the Word of the Shabad in their hearts; they do not love the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Their masks of falsehood and hypocrisy shall fall off; the self-willed manmukhs speak with insipid words. ||3|| You are pervading through Your devotees, O Dear God; through Your devotees, You are known. All the people are enticed by Maya; they are Yours, Lord - You alone are the Architect of Destiny.

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 044

Overcoming my egotism and quieting the desires within my mind, I have come to realise the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||4|| God automatically does the work of those who love the Name of the Lord. By Guru's Grace, he ever dwells in their minds, and He resolves all their affairs. Whoever challenges them is destroyed; they have the Lord God as their Savior. ||5|| Without serving the True Guru, no one finds the Lord; the self-willed manmukhs die crying out in pain. They come and go, and find no place of rest; in pain and suffering, they perish. But one who becomes Gurmukh drinks in the Ambrosial Nectar, and is easily absorbed in the True Name. ||6|| Without serving the True Guru, one cannot escape reincarnation, even by performing numerous rituals. Those who read the Vedas, and argue and debate without the Lord, lose their honour. True is the True Guru, and True is the Word of His Bani; in the Guru's Sanctuary, one is saved. ||7|| Those whose minds are filled with the Lord are judged as true in the Court of the Lord; they are hailed as true in the True

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Court. Their praises echo throughout the ages, and no one can erase them. Nanak is forever a sacrifice to those who enshrine the Lord within their hearts. ||8||1|| Sorat'h, Third Mehl, Du-Tukas: He Himself forgives the worthless, O Siblings of Destiny; He commits them to the service of the True Guru. Service to the True Guru is sublime, O Siblings of Destiny; through it, one's consciousness is attached to the Lord's Name. ||1|| The Dear Lord forgives, and unites with Himself. I am a sinner, totally without virtue, O Siblings of Destiny; the Perfect True Guru has blended me. ||Pause|| So many, so many sinners have been forgiven, O beloved one, by contemplating the True Word of the Shabad. They got on board the boat of the True Guru, who carried them across the terrifying world-ocean, O Siblings of Destiny. ||2|| I have been transformed from rusty iron into gold, O Siblings of Destiny, united in Union with the Guru, the Philosopher's Stone. Eliminating my self-conceit, the Name has come to dwell within my mind, O Siblings of Destiny; my light has merged in the Light. ||3|| I am a sacrifice, I am a sacrifice, O Siblings of Destiny, I am forever a sacrifice to my True Guru. He has given me the treasure of the Naam; O Siblings of Destiny, through the Guru's Teachings, I am absorbed in celestial bliss. ||4|| Without the Guru, celestial peace is not produced, O Siblings of Destiny; go and ask the spiritual teachers about this. Serve the True Guru forever, O Siblings of Destiny, and eradicate self-conceit from within. ||5|| Under Guru's Instruction, the Fear of God is produced, O Siblings of Destiny; true and excellent are the deeds done in the Fear of God. Then, one is blessed with the treasure of the Lord's Love, O Siblings of Destiny, and the Support of the True Name. ||6|| I fall at the feet of those who serve their True Guru, O Siblings of Destiny. I have fulfilled my life, O Siblings of Destiny, and my family has been saved as well. ||7|| The True Word of the Guru's Bani, and the True Word of the Shabad, O Siblings of Destiny, are obtained only by Guru's Grace. O Nanak, with the Name of the Lord abiding in one's mind, no obstacles stand in one's way, O Siblings of Destiny. ||8||2||

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 045

Sorat'h, Third Mehl: The Dear Lord is realised through the Word of His Shabad, O Siblings of Destiny, which is found only by perfect destiny. The happy soul-brides are forever in peace, O Siblings of Destiny; night and day, they are attuned to the Lord's Love. ||1|| O Dear Lord, You Yourself colour us in Your Love. Sing, continually sing His Praises, imbued with His Love, O Siblings of Destiny; be in love with the Lord. ||Pause|| Work to serve the Guru, O Siblings of Destiny; abandon self-conceit, and focus your consciousness. You shall be in peace forever, and you shall not suffer in pain any longer, O Siblings of Destiny; the Lord Himself shall come and abide in your mind. ||2|| She who does not know the Will of her Husband Lord, O Siblings of Destiny, is an ill-mannered and bitter bride. She does things with a stubborn mind, O Siblings of Destiny; without the Name, she is false. ||3|| They alone sing the Lord's Praises, who have such pre-ordained destiny written upon their foreheads, O Siblings of Destiny; through the Love of the True Lord, they find detachment. Night and day, they are imbued with His Love; they utter His Glorious Praises, O Siblings of Destiny, and they lovingly focus their consciousness on the Fearless Guru. ||4|| He kills and revives all, O Siblings of Destiny; serve Him, day and night. How can we forget Him from our minds, O Siblings of Destiny? His gifts are glorious and great. ||5|| The self-willed manmukh is filthy and double-minded, O Siblings of Destiny; the finds no place of rest in the Court of the Lord. But if she becomes Gurmukh, then she chants the Glorious Praises of the Lord, O Siblings of Destiny; the meets her True Beloved, and merges in Him. ||6|| In this life, she has not focused her consciousness on the Lord, O Siblings of Destiny; how can she show her face when she leaves? In spite of the warning calls which were sounded, she has been plundered, O Siblings of Destiny; she yearned only for corruption. ||7|| Those who dwell upon the Naam, O Siblings of Destiny, their bodies are ever peaceful and tranquil. O Nanak, dwell upon the Naam; the Lord is infinite, virtuous and unfathomable, O Siblings of Destiny. ||8||3|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl, First House, Ashtapadees: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The One who created the whole world, O Siblings of Destiny, is the Almighty Lord, the Cause of causes. He fashioned the soul and the body, O Siblings of Destiny, by His own power. How can He be described? How can He be seen, O Siblings of Destiny? The Creator is One; He is indescribable. Praise the Guru, the Lord of the Universe, O Siblings of Destiny; through Him, the essence is known. ||1|| O my mind, meditate on the Lord, the Lord God. He blesses His servant with the gift of the Naam; He is the Destroyer of pain and suffering. ||Pause|| Everything is in His home, O Siblings of Destiny; His warehouse is overflowing with the nine treasures. His worth cannot be estimated, O Siblings of Destiny; He is lofty, inaccessible and infinite. He cherishes all beings and creatures, O Siblings of Destiny; he continually takes care of them. So meet with the Perfect True Guru, O Siblings of Destiny, and merge in the Word of the Shabad. ||2|| Adoring the feet of the True Guru, O Siblings of Destiny, doubt and fear are dispelled. Joining the Society of the Saints, cleanse your mind, O Siblings of Destiny, and dwell in the Name of the Lord. The darkness of ignorance shall be dispelled, O Siblings of Destiny, and the lotus of your heart shall blossom forth. By the Guru's Word, peace wells up, O Siblings of Destiny; all fruits are with the True Guru. ||3||

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 046

Give up your sense of mine and yours, O Siblings of Destiny, and become the dust of the feet of all. In each and every heart, God is contained, O Siblings of Destiny; He sees, and hears, and is ever-present with us. On that day when one forgets the Supreme Lord God, O Siblings of Destiny, on that day, one ought to die crying out in pain. He is the all-powerful Cause of Causes, O Siblings of Destiny; he is totally filled with all powers. ||4|| The Love of the Name is the greatest treasure, O Siblings of Destiny; through it, emotional attachment to Maya is dispelled. If it is pleasing to His Will, then He unites us in His Union, O Siblings of Destiny; the Naam, the Name of the Lord, comes to abide in the mind. The heart-lotus of the Gurmukh blossoms forth, O Siblings of Destiny, and the heart is illumined. The Glory of God has been revealed, O Siblings of Destiny, and the earth and sky have blossomed forth. ||5|| The Perfect Guru has blessed me with contentment, O Siblings of Destiny; day and night, I remain attached to the Lord's Love. My tongue continually chants the Lord's Name, O Siblings of Destiny; this is the true taste, and the object of human life. Listening with my ears, I hear and so I live, O Siblings of Destiny; I have obtained the unchanging, unmoving state. That soul,which does not place its faith in the Lord shall burn, O Siblings of Destiny. ||6|| My Lord and Master has so many virtues, O Siblings of Destiny; I am a sacrifice to Him. He nurtures even the most worthless, O Siblings of Destiny, and gives home to the homeless. He gives us nourishment with each and every breath, O Siblings of Destiny; His Name is everlasting. One who meets with the True Guru, O Siblings of Destiny, does so only by perfect destiny. ||7|| Without Him, I cannot live, even for an instant, O Siblings of Destiny; He is totally filled with all powers. With every breath and morsel of food, I will not forget Him, O Siblings of Destiny; I behold Him ever-present. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I meet Him, O Siblings of Destiny; He is totally pervading and permeating everywhere. Those who do not embrace love for the Lord, O Siblings of Destiny, always die crying out in pain. ||8|| Grasping hold of the hem of His robe, O Siblings of Destiny, we are carried across the world-ocean of fear and pain. By His Glance of Grace, He has blessed us, O Siblings of Destiny; He shall be with us until the very end. My mind and body are soothed and calmed, O Siblings of Destiny, nourished by the food of the Naam. Nanak has entered His Sanctuary, O Siblings of Destiny; the Lord is the Destroyer of sins. ||9||1|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl: The womb of the mother is an ocean of pain, O Beloved; even there, the Lord causes His Name to be chanted. When he emerges, he finds corruption pervading everywhere, O Beloved, and he becomes increasingly attached to Maya. One whom the Lord blesses with His kind favor, O Beloved, meets the Perfect Guru. He worships the Lord in adoration with each and every breath, O Beloved; he is lovingly attached to the Lord's Name. ||1|| You are the support of my mind and body, O Beloved; You are the support of my mind and body. There is no other Creator except for You, O Beloved; You alone are the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. ||Pause|| After wandering in doubt for millions of incarnations, he comes into the world, O Beloved; for uncounted lifetimes, he has suffered in pain. He has forgotten his True Lord and Master, O Beloved, and so he suffers terrible punishment. Those who meet with the Perfect True Guru, O Beloved, are attached to the True Name.

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 047

We are saved by following those, O Beloved, who seek the Sanctuary of the True Lord. ||2|| He thinks that his food is so sweet, O Beloved, but it makes his body ill. It turns out to be bitter, O Beloved, and it produces only sadness. The Lord leads him astray in the enjoyment of pleasures, O Beloved, and so his sense of separation does not depart. Those who meet the Guru are saved, O Beloved; this is their pre-ordained destiny. ||3|| He is filled with longing for Maya, O Beloved, and so the Lord does not ever come into his mind. Those who forget You, O Supreme Lord Master, their bodies turn to dust. They cry out and scream horribly, O Beloved, but their torment does not end. Those who meet the Guru, and reform themselves, O Beloved, their capital remains intact. ||4|| As far as possible, do not associate with the faithless cynics, O Beloved. Meeting with them, the Lord is forgotten, O Beloved, and you rise and depart with a blackened face. The self-willed manmukh finds no rest or shelter, O Beloved; in the Court of the Lord, they are punished. Those who meet with the Guru, and reform themselves, O Beloved, their affairs are resolved. ||5|| One may have thousands of clever tricks and techniques of austere self-discipline, O Beloved, but not even one of them will go with him. Those who turn their backs on the Lord of the Universe, O Beloved, their families are stained with disgrace. They do not realise that they do have Him , O Beloved; falsehood will not go with them. Those who meet with the True Guru, O Beloved, dwell upon the True Name. ||6|| When the Lord casts His Glance of Grace, O Beloved, one is blessed with Truth, contentment, wisdom and meditation. Night and day, he sings the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises, O Beloved, totally filled with Ambrosial Nectar. He crosses over the sea of pain, O Beloved, and swims across the terrifying world-ocean. One who is pleasing to His Will, He unites with Himself, O Beloved; he is forever true. ||7|| The all-powerful Divine Lord is compassionate, O Beloved; He is the Support of His devotees. I seek His Sanctuary, O Beloved; He is the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. He has adorned me in this world and the next, O Beloved; He has placed the Emblem of Truth upon my forehead. I shall never forget that God, O Beloved; Nanak is forever a sacrifice to Him. ||8||2|| Sorat'h, Fifth Mehl, Second House, Ashtapadees: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: They read scriptures, and contemplate the Vedas; they practice the inner cleansing techniques of Yoga, and control of the breath. But they cannot escape from the company of the five passions; they are increasingly bound to egotism. ||1|| O Beloved, this is not the way to meet the Lord; I have performed these rituals so many times. I have collapsed, exhausted, at the Door of my Lord Master; I pray that He may grant me a discerning intellect. ||Pause|| One may remain silent and use his hands as begging bowls, and wander naked in the forest. He may make pilgrimages to river banks and sacred shrines all over the world, but his sense of duality will not leave him. ||2||

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 048

His mind's desires may lead him to go and dwell at sacred places of pilgrimage, and offer his head to be sawn off; but this will not cause the filth of his mind to depart, even though he may make thousands of efforts. ||3|| He may give gifts of all sorts - gold, women, horses and elephants. He may make offerings of corn, clothes and land in abundance, but this will not lead him to the Lord's Door. ||4|| He may remain devoted to worship and adoration, bowing his forehead to the floor, practicing the six religious rituals. He indulges in egotism and pride, and falls into entanglements, but he does not meet the Lord by these devices. ||5|| He practices the eighty-four postures of Yoga, and acquires the supernatural powers of the Siddhas, but he gets tired of practicing these. He lives a long life, but is reincarnated again and again; he has not met with the Lord. ||6|| He may enjoy princely pleasures, and regal pomp and ceremony, and issue unchallenged commands. He may lie on beautiful beds, perfumed with sandalwood oil, but this will led him only to the gates of the most horrible hell. ||7|| Singing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, is the highest of all actions. Says Nanak, he alone obtains it, who is pre-destined to receive it. ||8|| Your slave is intoxicated with this Love of Yours. The Destroyer of the pains of the poor has become merciful to me, and this mind is imbued with the Praises of the Lord, Har, Har. ||Second Pause||1||3|| Vaar Of Raag Sorat'h, Fourth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Shalok, First Mehl: Sorat'h is always beautiful, if it brings the True Lord to dwell in the mind of the soul-bride. Her teeth are clean and her mind is not split by duality; the Name of the True Lord is on her tongue. Here and hereafter, she abides in the Fear of God, and serves the True Guru without hesitation. Discarding worldly adornments, she meets her Husband Lord, and she celebrates joyfully with Him. She is adorned forever with the Name in her mind, and she does not have even an iota of filth. Her husband's younger and elder brothers, the corrupt desires, have died, suffering in pain; and now, who fears Maya, the mother-in-law? If she becomes pleasing to her Husband Lord, O Nanak, she bears the jewel of good karma upon her forehead, and everything is Truth to her. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: Sorat'h is beautiful only when it leads the soul-bride to seek the Lord's Name. She pleases her Guru and God; under Guru's Instruction, she speaks the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. She is attracted to the Lord's Name, day and night, and her body is drenched in the colour of the Love of the Lord, Har, Har. No other being like the Lord God can be found; I have looked and searched over the whole world. The Guru, the True Guru, has implanted the Naam within me; my mind does not waver any more. Servant Nanak is the Lord's slave, the slave of the slaves of the Guru, the True Guru. ||2|| Pauree: You Yourself are the Creator, the Fashioner of the world. You Yourself have arranged the play, and You Yourself arrange it. You Yourself are the Giver and the Creator; You Yourself are the Enjoyer. The Word of Your Shabad is pervading everywhere, O Creator Lord. As Gurmukh, I ever praise the Lord; I am a sacrifice to the Guru. ||1||

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 049

Shalok, Third Mehl: In the flames of egotism, he is burnt to death; he wanders in doubt and the love of duality. The Perfect True Guru saves him, making him His own. This world is burning; through the Sublime Word of the Guru's Shabad, this comes to be seen. Those who are attuned to the

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Shabad are cooled and soothed; O Nanak, they practice Truth. ||1|| Third Mehl: Service to the True Guru is fruitful and rewarding; blessed and acceptable is such a life. Those who do not forget the True Guru, in life and in death, are truly wise people. Their families are saved, and they are approved by the Lord. The Gurmukhs are approved in death as in life, while the self-willed manmukhs continue the cycle of birth and death. O Nanak, they are not described as dead, who are absorbed in the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||2|| Pauree: Serve the Immaculate Lord God, and meditate on the Lord's Name. Join the Society of the Holy Saints, and be absorbed in the Lord's Name. O Lord, glorious and great is service to You; I am so foolish - please, commit me to it. I am Your servant and slave; command me, according to Your Will. As Gurmukh, I shall serve You, as Guru has instructed me. ||2|| Shalok, Third Mehl: He acts according to pre-ordained destiny, written by the Creator Himself. Emotional attachment has drugged him, and he has forgotten the Lord, the treasure of virtue. Don't think that he is alive in the world - he is dead, through the love of duality. Those who do not meditate on the Lord, as Gurmukh, are not permitted to sit near the Lord. They suffer the most horrible pain and suffering, and neither their sons nor their wives go along with them. Their faces are blackened among men, and they sigh in deep regret. No one places any reliance in the self-willed manmukhs; trust in them is lost. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs live in absolute peace; the Naam, the Name of the Lord, abides within them. ||1|| Third Mehl: They alone are relatives, and they alone are friends, who, as Gurmukh, join together in love. Night and day, they act according to the True Guru's Will; they remain absorbed in the True Name. Those who are attached to the love of duality are not called friends; they practice egotism and corruption. The self-willed manmukhs are selfish; they cannot resolve anyone's affairs. O Nanak, they act according to their pre-ordained destiny; no one can erase it. ||2|| Pauree: You Yourself created the world, and You Yourself arranged the play of it. You Yourself created the three qualities, and fostered emotional attachment to Maya. He is called to account for his deeds done in egotism; he continues coming and going in reincarnation. The Guru instructs those whom the Lord Himself blesses with Grace. I am a sacrifice to my Guru; forever and ever, I am a sacrifice to Him. ||3|| Shalok, Third Mehl: The love of Maya is enticing; without teeth, it has eaten up the world. The self-willed manmukhs are eaten away, while the Gurmukhs are saved; they focus their consciousness on the True Name. Without the Name, the world wanders around insane; the Gurmukhs come to see this.

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 050

Involved in worldly affairs, he wastes his life in vain; the peace-giving Lord does not come to abide in his mind. O Nanak, they alone obtain the Name, who have such pre-ordained destiny. ||1|| Third Mehl: The home within is filled with Ambrosial Nectar, but the self-willed manmukh does not get to taste it. He is like the deer, who does not recognise its own musk-scent; it wanders around, deluded by doubt. The manmukh forsakes the Ambrosial Nectar, and instead gathers poison; the Creator Himself has fooled him. How rare are the Gurmukhs, who obtain this understanding; they behold the Lord God within themselves. Their minds and bodies are cooled and soothed, and their tongues enjoy the sublime taste of the Lord. Through the Word of the Shabad, the Name wells up; through the Shabad, we are united in the Lord's Union. Without the Shabad, the whole world is insane, and it loses its life in vain. The Shabad alone is Ambrosial Nectar; O Nanak, the Gurmukhs obtain it. ||2|| Pauree: The Lord God is inaccessible; tell me, how can we find Him? He has no form or feature, and He cannot be seen; tell me, how can we meditate on Him? The Lord is formless, immaculate and inaccessible; which of His Virtues should we speak of and sing? They alone walk on the Lord's Path, whom the Lord Himself instructs. The Perfect Guru has revealed Him to me; serving the Guru, He is found. ||4|| Shalok, Third Mehl: It is as if my body has been crushed in the oil-press, without yielding even a drop of blood; it is as if my soul has been cut apart into pieces for the sake of the Love of the True Lord; O Nanak, still, night and day, my Union with the Lord is not broken. ||1|| Third Mehl: My Friend is so full of joy and love; He colours my mind with the colour of His Love, like the fabric which is treated to retain the colour of the dye. O Nanak, this colour does not depart, and no other colour can be imparted to this fabric. ||2|| Pauree: The Lord Himself is pervading everywhere; the Lord Himself causes us to chant His Name. The Lord Himself created the creation; He commits all to their tasks. He engages some in devotional worship, and others, He causes to stray. He places some on the Path, while He leads others into the wilderness. Servant Nanak meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord; as Gurmukh, he sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||5|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Service to the True Guru is fruitful and rewarding, if one performs it with his mind focused on it. The fruits of the mind's desires are obtained, and egotism departs from within. His bonds are broken, and he is liberated; he remains absorbed in the True Lord. It is so difficult to obtain the Naam in this world; it comes to dwell in the mind of the Gurmukh. O Nanak, I am a sacrifice to one who serves his True Guru. ||1|| Third Mehl: The mind of the self-willed manmukh is so very stubborn; it is stuck in the love of duality. He does not find peace, even in dreams; he passes his life in misery and suffering. The Pandits have grown weary of going door to door, reading and reciting their scriptures; the Siddhas have gone into their trances of Samaadhi. This mind cannot be controlled; they are tired of performing religious rituals. The impersonators have grown weary of wearing false costumes, and bathing at the sixty-eight sacred shrines.

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 051

They do not know the state of their own minds; they are deluded by doubt and egotism. By Guru's Grace, the Fear of God is obtained; by great good fortune, the Lord comes to abide in the mind. When the Fear of God comes, the mind is restrained, and through the Word of the Shabad, the ego is burnt away. Those who are imbued with Truth are immaculate; their light merges in the Light. Meeting the True Guru, one obtains the Name; O Nanak, he is absorbed in peace. ||2|| Pauree: The pleasures of kings and emperors are pleasing, but they last for only a few days. These pleasures of Maya are like the colour of the safflower, which wears off in a moment. They do not go with him when he departs; instead, he carries the load of sins upon his head. When death seizes him, and marches him away, then he looks absolutely hideous. That lost opportunity will not come into his hands again, and in the end, he regrets and repents. ||6|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Those who turn their faces away from the True Guru, suffer in sorrow and bondage. Again and again, they are born only to die; they cannot meet their Lord. The disease of doubt does not depart, and they find only pain and more pain. O Nanak, if the Gracious Lord forgives, then one is united in Union with the Word of the Shabad. ||1|| Third Mehl: Those who turn their faces away from the True Guru, shall find no place of rest or shelter. They wander around from door to door, like a woman forsaken, with a bad character and a bad reputation. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs are forgiven, and united in Union with the True Guru. ||2|| Pauree: Those who serve the True Lord, the Destroyer of ego, cross over the terrifying world-ocean. Those who chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, are passed over by the Messenger of Death. Those who meditate on the Lord, go to His Court in robes of honour. They alone serve You, O Lord, whom You bless with Grace. I sing continually Your Glorious Praises, O Beloved; as Gurmukh, my doubts and fears have been dispelled. ||7|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Upon the plate, three things have been placed; this is the sublime, ambrosial food of the Lord. Eating this, the mind is satisfied, and the Door of Salvation is found. It is so difficult to obtain this food, O Saints; it is obtained only by contemplating the Guru. Why should we cast this riddle out of our minds? We should keep it ever enshrined in our hearts. The True Guru has posed this riddle. The Guru's Sikhs have found its solution. O Nanak, he alone understands this, whom the Lord inspires to understand. The Gurmukhs work hard, and find the Lord. ||1|| Third Mehl: Those whom the Primal Lord unites, remain in Union with Him; they focus their consciousness on the True Guru. Those whom the Lord Himself separates, remain separated; in the love of duality, they are ruined. O Nanak, without good karma, what can anyone obtain? He earns what he is pre-destined to receive. ||2|| Pauree: Sitting together, the companions sing the Songs of the Lord's Praises. They praise the Lord's Name continually; they are a sacrifice to the Lord. Those who hear, and believe in the Lord's Name, to them I am a sacrifice. O Lord, let me unite with the Gurmukhs, who are united with You. I am a sacrifice to those who, day and night, behold their Guru. ||8|| Shalok, Third Mehl:

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 052

Without the Name of the Lord, everyone wanders around the world, losing. The self-willed manmukhs do their deeds in the pitch black darkness of egotism. The Gurmukhs drink in the Ambrosial Nectar, O Nanak, contemplating the Word of the Shabad. ||1|| Third Mehl: He wakes in peace, and he sleeps in peace. The Gurmukh praises the Lord night and day. The self-willed manmukh remains deluded by his doubts. He is filled with anxiety, and he cannot even sleep. The spiritually wise wake and sleep in peace. Nanak is a sacrifice to those who are imbued with the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||2|| Pauree: They alone meditate on the Lord's Name, who are imbued with the Lord. They meditate on the One Lord; the One and Only Lord is True. The One Lord is pervading everywhere; the One Lord created the Universe. Those who meditate on the Lord's Name, cast out their fears. The Lord Himself blesses them with Guru's Instruction; the Gurmukh meditates on the Lord. ||9|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Spiritual wisdom, which would bring understanding, does not enter into his mind. Without seeing, how can he praise the Lord? The blind act in blindness. O Nanak, when one realises the Word of the Shabad, then the Naam comes to abide in the mind. ||1|| Third Mehl: There is One Bani; there is One Guru; there is one Shabad to contemplate. True is the merchandise, and true is the shop; the warehouses are overflowing with jewels. By Guru's Grace, they are obtained, if the Great Giver gives them. Dealing in this true merchandise, one earns the profit of the incomparable Naam. In the midst of poison, the Ambrosial Nectar is revealed; by His Mercy, one drinks it in. O Nanak, praise the True Lord; blessed is the Creator, the Embellisher. ||2|| Pauree: Those who are permeated by falsehood, do not love the Truth. If someone speaks the Truth, falsehood is burnt away. The false are satisfied by falsehood, like the crows who eat manure. When the Lord grants His Grace, then one meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. As Gurmukh, worship the Lord's Name in adoration; fraud and sin shall disappear. ||10|| Shalok, Third Mehl: O Shaykh, you wander in the four directions, blown by the four winds; bring your mind back to the home of the One Lord. Renounce your petty arguments, and realise the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Bow in humble respect before the True Guru; He is the Knower who knows everything. Burn away your hopes and desires, and live like a guest in this world. If you walk in harmony with the True Guru's Will, then you shall be honoured in the Court of the Lord. O Nanak, those who do not contemplate the Naam, the Name of the Lord - cursed are their clothes, and cursed is their food. ||1|| Third Mehl: There is no end to the Lord's Glorious Praises; His worth cannot be described. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs chant the Glorious Praises of the Lord; they are absorbed in His Glorious Virtues. ||2|| Pauree: The Lord has adorned the coat of the body; He has embroidered it with devotional worship. The Lord has woven His silk into it, in so many ways and fashions. How rare is that man of understanding, who understands, and deliberates within. He alone understands these deliberations, whom the Lord Himself inspires to understand. Poor servant Nanak speaks: the Gurmukhs know the Lord, the Lord is True. ||11||

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Shalok, Third Mehl: Great men speak the teachings by relating them to individual situations, but the whole world shares in them. One who becomes Gurmukh knows the Fear of God, and realises his own self. If, by Guru's Grace, one remains dead while yet alive, the mind becomes content in itself. Those who have no faith in their own minds, O Nanak - how can they speak of spiritual wisdom? ||1|| Third Mehl: Those who do not focus their consciousness on the Lord, as Gurmukh, suffer pain and grief in the end. They are blind, inwardly and outwardly, and they do not understand anything. O Pandit, O religious scholar, the whole world is fed for the sake of those who are attuned to the Lord's Name. Those who praise the Word of the Guru's Shabad, remain blended with the Lord. O Pandit, O religious scholar, no one is satisfied, and no one finds true wealth through the love of duality. They have grown weary of reading scriptures, but still, they do not find contentment, and they pass their lives burning, night and day. Their cries and complaints never end, and doubt does not depart from within them. O Nanak, without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, they rise up and depart with blackened faces. ||2|| Pauree: O Beloved, lead me to meet my True Friend; meeting with Him, I shall ask Him to show me the Path. I am a sacrifice to that Friend, who shows it to me. I share His Virtues with Him, and meditate on the Lord's Name. I serve my Beloved Lord forever; serving the Lord, I have found peace. I am a sacrifice to the True Guru, who has imparted this understanding to me. ||12|| Shalok, Third Mehl: O Pandit, O religious scholar, your filth shall not be erased, even if you read the Vedas for four ages. The three qualities are the roots of Maya; in egotism, one forgets the Naam, the Name of the Lord. The Pandits are deluded, attached to duality, and they deal only in Maya. They are filled with thirst and hunger; the ignorant fools starve to death. Serving the True Guru, peace is obtained, contemplating the True Word of the Shabad. Hunger and thirst have departed from within me; I am in love with the True Name. O Nanak, those who are imbued with the Naam, who keep the Lord clasped tightly to their hearts, are automatically satisfied. ||1|| Third Mehl: The self-willed manmukh does not serve the Lord's Name, and so he suffers in horrible pain. He is filled with the darkness of ignorance, and he does not understand anything. Because of his stubborn mind, he does not plant the seeds of intuitive peace; what will he eat in the world hereafter, to satisfy his hunger? He has forgotten the treasure of the Naam; he is caught in the love of duality. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs are honoured with glory, when the Lord Himself unites them in His Union. ||2|| Pauree: The tongue which sings the Lord's Praises, is so very beautiful. One who speaks the Lord's Name, with mind, body and mouth, is pleasing to the Lord. That Gurmukh tastes the the sublime taste of the Lord, and is satisfied. She sings continually the Glorious Praises of her Beloved; singing His Glorious Praises, she is uplifted. She is blessed with the Lord's Mercy, and she chants the Words of the Guru, the True Guru. ||13|| Shalok, Third Mehl: The elephant offers its head to the reins, and the anvil offers itself to the hammer; just so, we offer our minds and bodies to our Guru; we stand before Him, and serve Him.

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This is how the Gurmukhs eliminate their self-conceit, and come to rule the whole world. O Nanak, the Gurmukh understands, when the Lord casts His Glance of Grace. ||1|| Third Mehl: Blessed and approved is the coming into the world, of those Gurmukhs who meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. O Nanak, they save their families, and they are honoured in the Court of the Lord. ||2|| Pauree: The Guru unites His Sikhs, the Gurmukhs, with the Lord. The Guru keeps some of them with Himself, and engages others in His Service. Those who cherish their Beloved in their conscious minds, the Guru blesses them with His Love. The Guru loves all of His Gursikhs equally well, like friends, children and siblings. So chant the Name of the Guru, the True Guru, everyone! Chanting the Name of the Guru, Guru, you shall be rejuvenated. ||14|| Shalok, Third Mehl: O Nanak, the blind, ignorant fools do not remember the Naam, the Name of the Lord; they involve themselves in other activities. They are bound and gagged at the door of the Messenger of Death; they are punished, and in the end, they rot away in manure. ||1|| Third Mehl: O Nanak, those humble beings are true and approved, who serve their True Guru. They remain absorbed in the Name of the Lord, and their comings and goings cease. ||2|| Pauree: Gathering the wealth and property of Maya, brings only pain in the end. Homes, mansions and adorned palaces will not go with anyone. He may breed horses of various colours, but these will not be of any use to him. O human, link your consciousness to the Lord's Name, and in the end, it shall be your companion and helper. Servant Nanak meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord; the Gurmukh is blessed with peace. ||15|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Without the karma of good actions, the Name is not obtained; it can be obtained only by perfect good karma. O Nanak, if the Lord casts His Glance of Grace, then under Guru's Instruction, one is united in His Union. ||1|| First Mehl: Some are cremated, and some are buried; some are eaten by dogs. Some are thrown into water, while others are thrown into wells. O Nanak, it is not known, where they go and into what they merge. ||2|| Pauree: The food and clothes, and all the worldly possessions of those who are attuned to the Lord's Name are sacred. All the homes, temples, palaces and way-stations are sacred, where the Gurmukhs, the selfless servants, the Sikhs and the renouncers of the world, go and take their rest. All the horses, saddles and horse blankets are sacred, upon which the Gurmukhs, the Sikhs, the Holy and the Saints, mount and ride. All the rituals and Dharmic practices and deeds are sacred, for those who utter the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, the True Name of the Lord. Those Gurmukhs, those Sikhs, who have purity as their treasure, go to their Guru. ||16|| Shalok, Third Mehl: O Nanak, forsaking the Name, he loses everything, in this world and the next. Chanting, deep meditation and austere self-disciplined practices are all wasted; he is deceived by the love of duality. He is bound and gagged at the door of the Messenger of Death. He is beaten, and receives terrible punishment. ||1||

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Third Mehl: They inflict their hatred upon the Saints, and they love the wicked sinners. They find no peace in either this world or the next; they are born only to die, again and again. Their hunger is never satisfied, and they are ruined by duality. The faces of these slanderers are blackened in the Court of the True Lord. O Nanak, without the Naam, they find no shelter on either this shore, or the one beyond. ||2|| Pauree: Those who meditate on the Lord's Name, are imbued with the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, in their minds. For those who worship the One Lord in their conscious minds, there is no other than the One Lord. They alone serve the Lord, upon whose foreheads such pre-ordained destiny is written. They continually sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and singing the Glories of the Glorious Lord, they are uplifted. Great is the greatness of the Gurmukhs, who, through the Perfect Guru, remain absorbed in the Lord's Name. ||17|| Shalok, Third Mehl: It is very difficult to serve the True Guru; offer your head, and eradicate self-conceit. One who dies in the Word of the Shabad shall never have to die again; his service is totally approved. Touching the philosopher's stone, one becomes the philosopher's stone, which transforms lead into gold; remain lovingly attached to the True Lord. One who has such pre-ordained destiny, comes to meet the True Guru and God. O Nanak, the Lord's servant does not meet Him because of his own account; he alone is acceptable, whom the Lord forgives. ||1|| Third Mehl: The fools do not know the difference between good and bad; they are deceived by their self-interests. But if they contemplate the Word of the Shabad, they obtain the Mansion of the Lord's Presence, and their light merges in the Light. The Fear of God is always on their minds, and so they come to understand everything. The True Guru is pervading the homes within; He Himself blends them with the Lord. O Nanak, they meet the True Guru, and all their desires are fulfilled, if the Lord grants His Grace and so wills. ||2|| Pauree: Blessed, blessed is the good fortune of those devotees, who, with their mouths, utter the Name of the Lord. Blessed, blessed is the good fortune of those Saints, who, with their ears, listen to the Lord's Praises. Blessed, blessed is the good fortune of those holy people, who sing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises, and so become virtuous. Blessed, blessed is the good fortune of those Gurmukhs, who live as Gursikhs, and conquer their minds. But the greatest good fortune of all, is that of the Guru's Sikhs, who fall at the Guru's feet. ||18|| Shalok, Third Mehl: One who knows God, and who lovingly focuses his attention on the One Word of the Shabad, keeps his spirituality intact. The nine treasures and the eighteen spiritual powers of the Siddhas follow him, who keeps the Lord enshrined in his heart. Without the True Guru, the Name is not found; understand this, and reflect upon it. O Nanak, through perfect good destiny, one meets the True Guru, and finds peace, throughout the four ages. ||1|| Third Mehl: Whether he is young or old, the self-willed manmukh cannot escape hunger and thirst. The Gurmukhs are imbued with the Word of the Shabad; they are at peace, having lost their self-conceit. They are satisfied and satiated within; they never feel hungry again.

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O Nanak, whatever the Gurmukhs do is acceptable; they remain lovingly absorbed in the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||2|| Pauree: I am a sacrifice to those Sikhs who are Gurmukhs. I behold the Blessed Vision, the Darshan of those who meditate on the Lord's Name. Listening to the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises, I contemplate His virtues; I write His Praises on the fabric of my mind. I praise the Lord's Name with love, and eradicate all my sins. Blessed, blessed and beauteous is that body and place, where my Guru places His feet. ||19|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Without the Guru, spiritual wisdom is not obtained, and peace does not come to abide in the mind. O Nanak, without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the self-willed manmukhs depart, after having wasted their lives. ||1|| Third Mehl: All the Siddhas, spiritual masters and seekers search for the Name; they have grown weary of concentrating and focusing their attention. Without the True Guru, no one finds the Name; the Gurmukhs unite in Union with the Lord. Without the Name, all food and clothes are worthless; cursed is such spirituality, and cursed are such miraculous powers. That alone is spirituality, and that alone is miraculous power, which the Carefree Lord spontaneously bestows. O Nanak, the Lord's Name abides in the mind of the Gurmukh; this is spirituality, and this is miraculous power. ||2|| Pauree: I am a minstrel of God, my Lord and Master; every day, I sing the songs of the Lord's Glorious Praises. I sing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises, and I listen to the Praises of the Lord, the Master of wealth and Maya. The Lord is the Great Giver; all the world is begging; all beings and creatures are beggars. O Lord, You are kind and compassionate; You give Your gifts to even worms and insects among the rocks. Servant Nanak meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord; as Gurmukh, he has become truly wealthy. ||20|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Reading and studying are just worldly pursuits, if there is thirst and corruption within. Reading in egotism, all have grown weary; through the love of duality, they are ruined. He alone is educated, and he alone is a wise Pandit, who contemplates the Word of the Guru's Shabad. He searches within himself, and finds the true essence; he finds the Door of Salvation. He finds the Lord, the treasure of excellence, and peacefully contemplates Him. Blessed is the trader, O Nanak, who, as Gurmukh, takes the Name as his only Support. ||1|| Third Mehl: Without conquering his mind, no one can be successful. See this, and concentrate on it. The wandering holy men are tired of of making pilgrimages to sacred shrines; they have not been able to conquer their minds. The Gurmukh has conquered his mind, and he remains lovingly absorbed in the True Lord. O Nanak, this is how the filth of the mind is removed; the Word of the Shabad burns away the ego. ||2|| Pauree: O Saints of the Lord, O my Siblings of Destiny, please meet with me, and implant the Name of the One Lord within me. O humble servants of the Lord, adorn me with the decorations of the Lord, Har, Har; let me wear the robes of the Lord's forgiveness. Such decorations are pleasing to my God; such love is dear to the Lord. I chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, day and night; in an instant, all sins are eradicated. That Gurmukh, unto whom the Lord becomes merciful, chants the Lord's Name, and wins the game of life. ||21||

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Shalok, Third Mehl: The filth of countless incarnations sticks to this mind; it has become pitch black. The oily rag cannot be cleaned by merely washing it, even if it is washed a hundred times. By Guru's Grace, one remains dead while yet alive; his intellect is transformed, and he becomes detached from the world. O Nanak, no filth sticks to him, and he does not fall into the womb again. ||1|| Third Mehl: Kali Yuga is called the Dark Age, but the most sublime state is attained in this age. The Gurmukh obtains the fruit, the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises; this is his destiny, ordained by the Lord. O Nanak, by Guru's Grace, he worships the Lord night and day; he chants the Lord's Name, and remains absorbed in the Lord's devotional worship. ||2|| Pauree: O Lord, unite me with the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, so that with my mouth, I may speak the sublime Word of the Guru's Bani. I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and constantly chant the Lord's Name; through the Guru's Teachings, I enjoy the Lord's Love constantly. I take the medicine of meditation on the Lord's Name, which has cured all diseases and multitudes of sufferings. Those who do not forget the Lord, while breathing or eating - know them to be the perfect servants of the Lord. Those Gurmukhs who worship the Lord in adoration end their subservience to the Messenger of Death, and to the world. ||22|| Shalok, Third Mehl: O man, you have been tormented by a nightmare, and you have passed your life in sleep. You did not wake to hear the Word of the True Guru's Shabad; you have no inspiration within yourself. That body burns, which has no virtue, and which does not serve the Guru. I have seen that the world is burning, in egotism and the love of duality. O Nanak, those who seek the Guru's Sanctuary are saved; within their minds, they meditate on the True Word of the Shabad. ||1|| Third Mehl: Attuned to the Word of the Shabad, the soul-bride is rid of egotism, and she is glorified. If she walks steadily in the way of His Will, then she is adorned with decorations. Her couch becomes beautiful, and she constantly enjoys her Husband Lord; she obtains the Lord as her Husband. The Lord does not die, and she never suffers pain; she is a happy soul-bride forever. O Nanak, the Lord God unites her with Himself; she enshrines love and affection for the Guru. ||2|| Pauree: Those who conceal and deny their Guru, are the most evil people. O Dear Lord, let me not even see them; they are the worst sinners and murderers. They wander from house to house, with impure minds, like wicked, forsaken women. But by great good fortune, they may meet the Company of the Holy; as Gurmukhs, they are reformed. O Lord, please be kind and let me meet the True Guru; I am a sacrifice to the Guru. ||23|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Serving the Guru, peace is produced, and then, one does not suffer in pain. The cycle of birth and death is brought to an end, and death has no power over at all. His mind is imbued with the Lord, and he remains merged in the True Lord. O Nanak, I am a sacrifice to those who walk in the Way of the True Guru's Will. ||1|| Third Mehl: Without the Word of the Shabad, purity is not obtained, even though the soul-bride may adorn herself with all sorts of decorations.

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She does not know the value of her Husband Lord; she is attached to the love of duality. She is impure, and ill-mannered, O Nanak; among women, she is the most evil woman. ||2|| Pauree: Be kind to me, Lord, that I might chant the Word of Your Bani. May I meditate on the Lord's Name, chant the Lord's Name, and obtain the profit of the Lord's Name. I am a sacrifice to those who chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, day and night. May I behold with my eyes those who worship and adore my Beloved True Guru. I am a sacrifice to my Guru, who has united me with my Lord, my friend, my very best friend. ||24|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: The Lord loves His slaves; the Lord is the friend of His slaves. The Lord is under the control of His slaves, like the musical instrument under the control of the musician. The Lord's slaves meditate on the Lord; they love their Beloved. Please, hear me, O God - let Your Grace rain over the whole world. The praise of the Lord's slaves is the Glory of the Lord. The Lord loves His Own Glory, and so His humble servant is celebrated and hailed. That humble servant of the Lord meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord; the Lord, and the Lord's humble servant, are one and the same. Servant Nanak is the slave of the Lord; O Lord, O God, please, preserve his honour. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: Nanak loves the True Lord; without Him, he cannot even survive. Meeting the True Guru, one finds the Perfect Lord, and the tongue enjoys the sublime essence of the Lord. ||2|| Pauree: Night and day, morning and night, I sing to You, Lord. All beings and creatures meditate on Your Name. You are the Giver, the Great Giver; we eat whatever You give us. In the congregation of the devotees, sins are eradicated. Servant Nanak is forever a sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice, O Lord. ||25|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: He has spiritual ignorance within, and his intellect is dull and dim; he does not place his faith in the True Guru. He has deceit within himself, and so he sees deception in all others; through his deceptions, he is totally ruined. The True Guru's Will does not enter into his consciousness, and so he wanders around, pursuing his own interests. If He grants His Grace, then Nanak is absorbed into the Word of the Shabad. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: The self-willed manmukhs are engrossed in emotional attachment to Maya; in the love of duality, their minds are unsteady. Night and day, they are burning; day and night, they are totally ruined by their egotism. Within them, is the total pitch darkness of greed, and no one even approaches them. They themselves are miserable, and they never find peace; they are born, only to die, and die again. O Nanak, the True Lord God forgives those, who focus their consciousness on the Guru's feet. ||2|| Pauree: That Saint, that devotee, is acceptable, who is loved by God. Those beings are wise, who meditate on the Lord. They eat the food, the treasure of the Ambrosial Naam, the

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Name of the Lord. They apply the dust of the feet of the Saints to their foreheads.

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O Nanak, they are purified, bathing in the sacred shrine of the Lord. ||26|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: Within the Gurmukh is peace and tranquility; his mind and body are absorbed in the Naam, the Name of the Lord. He contemplates the Naam, he studies the Naam, and he remains lovingly absorbed in the Naam. He obtains the treasure of the Naam, and his anxiety is dispelled. Meeting with the Guru, the Naam wells up, and his thirst and hunger are completely relieved. O Nanak, imbued with the Naam, he gathers in the Naam. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: One who is cursed by the True Guru, abandons his home, and wanders around aimlessly. He is jeered at, and his face is blackened in the world hereafter. He babbles incoherently, and foaming at the mouth, he dies. What can anyone do? Such is his destiny, according to his past deeds. Wherever he goes, he is a liar, and by telling lies, he not liked by anyone. O Siblings of Destiny, behold this, the glorious greatness of our Lord and Master, O Saints; as one behaves, so does he receive. This shall be God's determination in His True Court; servant Nanak predicts and proclaims this. ||2|| Pauree: The True Guru has established the village; the Guru has appointed its guards and protectors. My hopes are fulfilled, and my mind is imbued with the love of the Guru's Feet. The Guru is infinitely merciful; He has erased all my sins. The Guru has showered me with His Mercy, and He has made me His own. Nanak is forever a sacrifice to the Guru, who has countless virtues. ||27|| Shalok, First Mehl: By His Command, we receive our pre-ordained rewards; so what can we do now, O Pandit? When His Command is received, then it is decided; all beings move and act accordingly. ||1|| Second Mehl: The string through the nose is in the hands of the Lord Master; one's own actions drive him on. Wherever his food is, there he eats it; O Nanak, this is the Truth. ||2|| Pauree: The Lord Himself puts everything in its proper place. He Himself created the creation, and He Himself destroys it. He Himself fashions His creatures, and He Himself nourishes them. He hugs His slaves close in His embrace, and blesses them with His Glance of Grace. O Nanak, His devotees are forever in bliss; they have burnt away the love of duality. ||28|| Shalok, Third Mehl: O mind, meditate on the Dear Lord, with single-minded conscious concentration. The glorious greatness of the Lord shall last forever and ever; He never regrets what He gives. I am forever a sacrifice to the Lord; serving Him, peace is obtained. O Nanak, the Gurmukh remains merged with the Lord; he burns away his ego through the Word of the Shabad. ||1|| Third Mehl: He Himself enjoins us to serve Him, and He Himself blesses us with forgiveness. He Himself is the father and mother of all; He Himself cares for us. O Nanak, those who meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, abide in the home of their inner being; they are honoured throughout the ages. ||2|| Pauree: You are the Creator, all-powerful, able to do anything. Without You, there is no other at all.

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You Yourself created the world, and You Yourself shall destroy it in the end. The Word of Your Shabad alone is pervading everywhere; whatever You do, comes to pass. God blesses the Gurmukh with glorious greatness, and then, he finds the Lord. As Gurmukh, Nanak worships and adores the Lord; let everyone proclaim, "Blessed, blessed, blessed is He, the Guru!"||29||1||SUDH|| Raag Sorat'h, The Word Of Devotee Kabeer Jee, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Worshipping their idols, the Hindus die; the Muslims die bowing their heads. The Hindus cremate their dead, while the Muslims bury theirs; neither finds Your true state, Lord. ||1|| O mind, the world is a deep, dark pit. On all four sides, Death has spread his net. ||1||Pause|| Reciting their poems, the poets die; the mystical ascetics die while journeying to Kaydaar Naat'h. The Yogis die, with their matted hair, but even they do not find Your state, Lord. ||2|| The kings die, gathering and hoarding their money, burying great quantities of gold. The Pandits die, reading and reciting the Vedas; women die, gazing at their own beauty. ||3|| Without the Lord's Name, all come to ruin; behold, and know this, O body. Without the Name of the Lord, who can find salvation? Kabeer speaks the Teachings. ||4||1|| When the body is burnt, it turns to ashes; if it is not cremated, then it is eaten by armies of worms. The unbaked clay pitcher dissolves, when water is poured into it; this is also the nature of the body. ||1|| Why, O Siblings of Destiny, do you strut around, all puffed up with pride? Have you forgotten those days, when you were hanging, face down, for ten months? ||1||Pause|| Like the bee which collects honey, the fool eagerly gathers and collects wealth. At the time of death, they shout, "Take him away, take him away! Why leave a ghost lying around?"||2|| His wife accompanies him to the threshold, and his friends and companions beyond. All the people and relatives go as far as the cremation grounds, and then, the soul-swan goes on alone. ||3|| Says Kabeer, listen, O mortal being: you have been seized by Death, and you have fallen into the deep, dark pit. You have entangled yourself in the false wealth of Maya, like the parrot caught in the trap. ||4||2|| Listening to all the teachings of the Vedas and the Puraanas, I wanted to perform the religious rituals. But seeing all the wise men caught by Death, I arose and left the Pandits; now I am free of this desire. ||1|| O mind, you have not completed the only task you were given; you have not meditated on the Lord, your King. ||1||Pause|| Going to the forests, they practice Yoga and deep, austere meditation; they live on roots and the fruits they gather. The musicians, the Vedic scholars, the chanters of one word and the men of silence, all are listed on the Register of Death. ||2|| Loving devotional worship does not enter into your heart; pampering and adorning your body, you must still give it up. You sit and play music, but you are still a hypocrite; what do you expect to receive from the Lord? ||3|| Death has fallen on the whole world; the doubting religious scholars are also listed on the Register of Death.

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Says Kabeer, those humble people become pure - they become Khalsa - who know the Lord's loving devotional worship. ||4||3|| SECOND HOUSE|| With both of my eyes, I look around; I don't see anything except the Lord. My eyes gaze lovingly upon Him, and now, I cannot speak of anything else. ||1|| My doubts were removed, and my fear ran away, when my consciousness became attached to the Lord's Name. ||1||Pause|| When the magician beats his tambourine, everyone comes to see the show. When the magician winds up his show, then he enjoys its play all alone. ||2|| By preaching sermons, one's doubt is not dispelled. Everyone is tired of preaching and teaching. The Lord causes the Gurmukh to understand; his heart remains permeated with the Lord. ||3|| When the Guru grants even a bit of His Grace, one's body, mind and entire being are absorbed into the Lord. Says Kabeer, I am imbued with the Lord's Love; I have met with the Life of the world, the Great Giver. ||4||4|| Let the sacred scriptures be your milk and cream, and the ocean of the mind the churning vat. Be the butter-churner of the Lord, and your buttermilk shall not be wasted. ||1|| O soul-bride slave, why don't you take the Lord as your Husband? He is the Life of the world, the Support of the breath of life. ||1||Pause|| The chain is around your neck, and the cuffs are on your feet. The Lord has sent you wandering around from house to house. And still, you do not meditate on the Lord, O soul-bride, slave. Death is watching you, O wretched woman. ||2|| The Lord God is the Cause of causes. What is in the hands of the poor soul-bride, the slave? She awakens from her slumber, and she becomes attached to whatever the Lord attaches her. ||3|| O soul-bride, slave, where did you obtain that wisdom, by which you erased your inscription of doubt? Kabeer has tasted that subtle essence; by Guru's Grace, his mind is reconciled with the Lord. ||4||5|| Without Him, we cannot even live; when we meet Him, then our task is completed. People say it is good to live forever, but without dying, there is no life. ||1|| So now, what sort wisdom should I contemplate and preach? As I watch, worldly things dissipate. ||1||Pause|| Saffron is ground up, and mixed with sandalwood; without eyes, the world is seen. The son has given birth to his father; without a place, the city has been established. ||2|| The humble beggar has found the Great Giver, but he is unable to eat what he has been given. He cannot leave it alone, but it is never exhausted. He shall not go to beg from others any longer. ||3|| Those select few, who know how to die while yet alive, enjoy great peace. Kabeer has found that wealth; meeting with the Lord, he has erased his self-conceit. ||4||6|| What use is it to read, and what use is it to study? What use is it to listen to the Vedas and the Puraanas? What use is reading and listening, if celestial peace is not attained? ||1|| The fool does not chant the Name of the Lord. So what does he think of, over and over again? ||1||Pause|| In the darkness, we need a lamp

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 062

to find the incomprehensible thing. I have found this incomprehensible thing; my mind is illuminated and enlightened. ||2|| Says Kabeer, now I know Him; since I know Him, my mind is pleased and appeased. My mind is pleased and appeased, and yet, people do not believe it. They do not believe it, so what can I do? ||3||7|| In his heart there is deception, and yet in his mouth are words of wisdom. You are false - why are you churning water? ||1|| Why do you bother to wash your body? Your heart is still full of filth. ||1||Pause|| The gourd may be washed at the sixty-eight sacred shrines, but even then, its bitterness is not removed. ||2|| Says Kabeer after deep contemplation, please help me cross over the terrifying world-ocean, O Lord, O Destroyer of ego. ||3||8|| Sorat'h: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Practicing great hypocrisy, he acquires the wealth of others. Returning home, he squanders it on his wife and children. ||1|| O my mind, do not practice deception, even inadvertently. In the end, your own soul shall have to answer for its account. ||1||Pause|| Moment by moment, the body is wearing away, and old age is asserting itself. And then, when you are old, no one shall pour water into your cup. ||2|| Says Kabeer, no one belongs to you. Why not chant the Lord's Name in your heart, when you are still young? ||3||9|| O Saints, my windy mind has now become peaceful and still. It seems that I have learned something of the science of Yoga. ||Pause|| The Guru has shown me the hole, through which the deer carefully enters. I have now closed off the doors, and the unstruck celestial sound current resounds. ||1|| The pitcher of my heart-lotus is filled with water; I have spilled out the water, and set it upright. Says Kabeer, the Lord's humble servant, this I know. Now that I know this, my mind is pleased and appeased. ||2||10|| Raag Sorat'h: I am so hungry, I cannot perform devotional worship service. Here, Lord, take back Your mala. I beg for the dust of the feet of the Saints. I do not owe anyone anything. ||1|| O Lord, how can I be with You? If You do not give me Yourself, then I shall beg until I get You. ||Pause|| I ask for two kilos of flour, and half a pound of ghee, and salt. I ask for a pound of beans, which I shall eat twice a day. ||2|| I ask for a cot, with four legs, and a pillow and mattress. I ask for a quit to cover myself. Your humble servant shall perform Your devotional worship service with love. ||3|| I have no greed; Your Name is the only ornament I wish for. Says Kabeer, my mind is pleased and appeased; now that my mind is pleased and appeased, I have come to know the Lord. ||4||11|| Raag Sorat'h, The Word Of Devotee Naam Dayv Jee, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: When I see Him, I sing His Praises. Then I, his humble servant, become patient. ||1||

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 063

Meeting the Divine True Guru, I merge into the sound current of the Naad. ||1||Pause|| Where the dazzling white light is seen, there the unstruck sound current of the Shabad resounds. One's light merges in the Light; by Guru's Grace, I know this. ||2|| The jewels are in the treasure chamber of the heart-lotus. They sparkle and glitter like lightning. The Lord is near at hand, not far away. He is totally permeating and pervading in my soul. ||3|| Where the light of the undying sun shines, the light of burning lamps seems insignificant. By Guru's Grace, I know this. Servant Naam Dayv is absorbed in the Celestial Lord. ||4||1|| FOURTH HOUSE, SORAT'H: The woman next door asked Naam Dayv, "Who built your house? I shall pay him double wages. Tell me, who is your carpenter?"||1|| O sister, I cannot give this carpenter to you. Behold, my carpenter is pervading everywhere. My carpenter is the Support of the breath of life. ||1||Pause|| This carpenter demands the wages of love, if someone wants Him to build their house. When one breaks his ties with all the people and relatives, then the carpenter comes of His own accord. ||2|| I cannot describe such a carpenter, who is contained in everything, everywhere. The mute tastes the most sublime ambrosial nectar, but if you ask him to describe it, he cannot. ||3|| Listen to the virtues of this carpenter, O sister; He stopped the oceans, and established Dhroo as the pole star. Naam Dayv's Lord Master brought Sita back, and gave Sri Lanka to Bhabheekhan. ||4||2|| SORAT'H, THIRD HOUSE: The skinless drum plays. Without the rainy season, the clouds shake with thunder. Without clouds, the rain falls, if one contemplates the essence of reality. ||1|| I have met my Beloved Lord. Meeting with Him, my body is made beauteous and sublime. ||1||Pause|| Touching the philosopher's stone, I have been transformed into gold. I have threaded the jewels into my mouth and mind. I love Him as my own, and my doubt has been dispelled. Seeking the Guru's guidance, my mind is content. ||2|| The water is contained within the pitcher; I know that the One Lord is contained in all. The mind of the disciple has faith in the Guru. Servant Naam Dayv understands the essence of reality. ||3||3|| Raag Sorat'h, The Word Of Devotee Ravi Daas Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: When I am in my ego, then You are not with me. Now that You are with me, there is no egotism within me. The wind may raise up huge waves in the vast ocean, but they are just water in water. ||1|| O Lord, what can I say about such an illusion? Things are not as they seem. ||1||Pause|| It is like the king, who falls asleep upon his throne, and dreams that he is a beggar. His kingdom is intact, but separated from it, he suffers in sorrow. Such is my own condition. ||2||

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 064

Like the story of the rope mistaken for a snake, the mystery has now been explained to me. Like the many bracelets, which I mistakenly thought were gold; now, I do not say what I said then. ||3|| The One Lord is pervading the many forms; He enjoys Himself in all hearts. Says Ravi Daas, the Lord is nearer than our own hands and feet. Whatever will be, will be. ||4||1|| If I am bound by the noose of emotional attachment, then I shall bind You, Lord, with the bonds of love. Go ahead and try to escape, Lord; I have escaped by worshipping and adoring You. ||1|| O Lord, You know my love for You. Now, what will You do? ||1||Pause|| A fish is caught, cut up, and cooked it in many different ways. Bit by bit, it is eaten, but still, it does not forget the water. ||2|| The Lord, our King, is father to no one, except those who love Him. The veil of emotional attachment has been cast over the entire world, but it does not bother the Lord's devotee. ||3|| Says Ravi Daas, my

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devotion to the One Lord is increasing; now, who can I tell this to? That which brought me to worship and adore You - I am still suffering that pain. ||4||2|| I obtained this precious human life as a reward for my past actions, but without discriminating wisdom, it is wasted in vain. Tell me, without devotional worship of the Lord, of what use are mansions and thrones like those of King Indra? ||1|| You have not considered the sublime essence of the Name of the Lord, our King; this sublime essence shall cause you to forget all other essences. ||1||Pause|| We do not know what we need to know, and we have become insane. We do not consider what we should consider; our days are passing away. Our passions are strong, and our discriminating intellect is weak; we have no access to the supreme objective. ||2|| We say one thing, and do something else; entangled in endless Maya, we do not understand anything. Says Ravi Daas, Your slave, O Lord, I am disillusioned and detached; please, spare me Your anger, and have mercy on my soul. ||3||3|| He is the ocean of peace; the miraculous tree of life, the wish-fulfilling jewel, and the Kaamadhayna, the cow which fulfills all desires, all are in His power. The four great blessings, the eighteen supernatural spiritual powers of the Siddhas, and the nine treasures, are all in the palm of His hand. ||1|| You do not chant with your tongue the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, Har. Abandon your involvement in all other words. ||1||Pause|| The various Shaastras, Puranaas, and the Vedas of Brahma, are made up of thirty-four letters. After deep contemplation, Vyaas spoke of the supreme objective; there is nothing equal to the Lord's Name. ||2|| Very fortunate are those who are absorbed in celestial bliss, and released from their entanglements; they are lovingly attached to the Lord. Says Ravi Daas, enshrine the Lord's Light within your heart, and your fear of birth and death shall run away from you. ||3||4|| If You are the mountain, Lord, then I am the peacock. If You are the moon, then I am the partridge in love with it. ||1|| O Lord, if You will not break with me, then I will not break with You. For, if I were to break with You, with whom would I then join? ||1||Pause|| If You are the lamp, then I am the wick. If You are the sacred place of pilgrimage, then I am the pilgrim. ||2||

Section 13 - Raag Sorat'h - Part 065

I am joined in true love with You, Lord. I am joined with You, and I have broken with all others. ||3|| Wherever I go, there I serve You. There is no other Lord Master than You, O Divine Lord. ||4|| Meditating, vibrating upon You, the noose of death is cut away. To attain devotional worship, Ravi Daas sings to You, Lord. ||5||5|| The body is a wall of water, supported by the pillars of air; the egg and sperm are the mortar. The framework is made up of bones, flesh and veins; the poor soul-bird dwells within it. ||1|| O mortal, what is mine, and what is yours? The soul is like a bird perched upon a tree. ||1||Pause|| You lay the foundation and build the walls. But in the end, three and a half cubits will be your measured space. ||2|| You make your hair beautiful, and wear a stylish turban on your head. But in the end, this body shall be reduced to a pile of ashes. ||3|| Your palaces are lofty, and your brides are beautiful. But without the Lord's Name, you shall lose the game entirely. ||4|| My social status is low, my ancestry is low, and my life is wretched. I have come to Your Sanctuary, O Luminous Lord, my King; so says Ravi Daas, the shoemaker. ||5||6|| I am a shoemaker, but I do not know how to mend shoes. People come to me to mend their shoes. ||1||Pause|| I have no awl to stitch them; I have no knife to patch them. ||1|| Mending, mending, people waste their lives and ruin themselves. Without wasting my time mending, I have found the Lord. ||2|| Ravi Daas chants the Lord's Name; he is not concerned with the Messenger of Death. ||3||7|| Raag Sorat'h, The Word Of Devotee Bheekhan Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Tears well up in my eyes, my body has become weak, and my hair has become milky-white. My throat is tight, and I cannot utter even one word; what can I do now? I am a mere mortal. ||1|| O Lord, my King, Gardener of the world-garden, be my Physician, and save me, Your Saint. ||1||Pause|| My head aches, my body is burning, and my heart is filled with anguish. Such is the disease that has struck me; there is no medicine to cure it. ||2|| The Name of the Lord, the ambrosial, immaculate water, is the best medicine in the world. By Guru's Grace, says servant Bheekhan, I have found the Door of Salvation. ||3||1|| Such is the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the invaluable jewel, the most sublime wealth, which I have found through good deeds. By various efforts, I have enshrined it within my heart; this jewel cannot be hidden by hiding it. ||1|| The Glorious Praises of the Lord cannot be spoken by speaking. They are like the sweet candies given to a mute. ||1||Pause|| The tongue speaks, the ears listen, and the mind contemplates the Lord; they find peace and comfort. Says Bheekhan, my eyes are content; wherever I look, there I see the Lord. ||2||2||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 14 - RAAG DHANAASAREE

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 001

Dhanaasaree, First Mehl, First House, Chau-Padas: One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying. Beyond Birth. Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: My soul is afraid; to whom should I complain? I serve Him, who makes me forget my pains; He is the Giver, forever and ever. ||1|| My Lord and Master is forever new; He is the Giver, forever and ever. ||1||Pause|| Night and day, I serve my Lord and Master; He shall save me in the end. Hearing and listening, O my dear sister, I have crossed over. ||2|| O Merciful Lord, Your Name carries me across. I am forever a sacrifice to You. ||1||Pause|| In all the world, there is only the One True Lord; there is no other at all. He alone serves the Lord, upon whom the Lord casts His Glance of Grace. ||3|| Without You, O Beloved, how could I even live? Bless me with such greatness, that I may remain attached to Your Name. There is no other, O Beloved, to whom I can go and speak. ||1||Pause|| I serve my Lord and Master; I ask for no other. Nanak is His slave; moment by moment, bit by bit, he is a sacrifice to Him. ||4|| O Lord Master, I am a sacrifice to Your Name, moment by moment, bit by bit. ||1||Pause||4||1|| Dhanaasaree, First Mehl: We are human beings of the briefest moment; we do not know the appointed time of our departure. Prays Nanak, serve the One, to whom our soul and breath of life belong. ||1|| You are blind - see and consider, how many days your life shall last. ||1||Pause|| My breath, my flesh and my soul are all Yours, Lord; You are so very dear to me. Nanak, the poet, says this, O True Lord Cherisher. ||2|| If you gave nothing, O my Lord and Master, what could anyone pledge to You? Nanak prays, we receive that which we are pre-destined to receive. ||3|| The deceitful person does not remember the Lord's Name; he practices only deceit. When he is marched in chains to Death's door, then, he regrets his actions. ||4||

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 002

As long as we are in this world, O Nanak, we should listen, and speak of the Lord. I have searched, but I have found no way to remain here; so, remain dead while yet alive. ||5||2|| Dhanaasaree, First Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: How can I remember the Lord in meditation? I cannot meditate on Him in remembrance. My heart is burning, and my soul is crying out in pain. The True Lord creates and adorns. Forgetting Him, how can one be good? ||1|| By clever tricks and commands, He cannot be found. How am I to meet my True Lord, O my mother? ||1||Pause|| How rare is the one who goes out, and searches for the merchandise of the Naam. No one tastes it, and no one eats it. Honour is not obtained by trying to please other people. One's honour is preserved, only if the Lord preserves it. ||2|| Wherever I look, there I see Him, pervading and permeating. Without You, I have no other place of rest. He may try, but what can anyone do by his own doing? He alone is blessed, whom the True Lord forgives. ||3|| Now, I shall have to get up and depart, in an instant, in the clapping of hands. What face will I show the Lord? I have no virtue at all. As is the Lord's Glance of Grace, so it is. Without His Glance of Grace, O Nanak, no one is blessed. ||4||1||3|| Dhanaasaree, First Mehl: If the Lord bestows His Glance of Grace, then one remembers Him in meditation. The soul is softened, and he remains absorbed in the Lord's Love. His soul and the Supreme Soul become one. The duality of the inner mind is overcome. ||1|| By Guru's Grace, God is found. One's consciousness is attached to the Lord, and so Death does not devour him. ||1||Pause|| Remembering the True Lord in meditation, one is enlightened. Then, in the midst of Maya, he remains detached. Such is the Glory of the True Guru; in the midst of children and spouses, they attain emancipation. ||2|| Such is the service which the Lord's servant performs, that he dedicates his soul to the Lord, to whom it belongs. One who is pleasing to the Lord and Master is acceptable. Such a servant obtains honour in the Court of the Lord. ||3|| He enshrines the image of the True Guru in his heart. He obtains the rewards which he desires. The True Lord and Master grants His Grace; how can such a servant be afraid of death? ||4|| Prays Nanak, practice contemplation, and enshrine love for the True Word of His Bani. Then, you shall find the Gate of Salvation. This Shabad is the most excellent of all chanting and austere meditations. ||5||2||4|| Dhanaasaree, First Mehl: My soul burns, over and over again. Burning and burning, it is ruined, and it falls into evil. That body, which forgets the Word of the Guru's Bani, cries out in pain, like a chronic patient. ||1|| To speak too much and babble is useless. Even without our speaking, He knows everything. ||1||Pause|| He created our ears, eyes and nose. He gave us our tongue to speak so fluently.

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 003

He preserved the mind in the fire of the womb; at His Command, the wind blows everywhere. ||2|| These worldly attachments, loves and pleasurable tastes, all are just black stains. One who departs, with these black stains of sin on his face shall find no place to sit in the Court of the Lord. ||3|| By Your Grace, we chant Your Name. Becoming attached to it, one is saved; there is no other way. Even if one is drowning, still, he may be saved. O Nanak, the True Lord is the Giver of all. ||4||3||5|| Dhanaasaree, First Mehl: If a thief praises someone, his mind is not pleased. If a thief curses him, no damage is done. No one will take responsibility for a thief. How can a thief's actions be good? ||1|| Listen, O mind, you blind, false dog! Even without your speaking, the Lord knows and understands. ||1||Pause|| A thief may be handsome, and a thief may be wise, but he is still just a counterfeit coin, worth only a shell. If it is kept and mixed with other coins, it will be found to be false, when the coins are inspected. ||2|| As one acts, so does he receive. As he plants, so does he eat. He may praise himself gloriously, but still, according to his understanding, so is the path he must follow. ||3|| He may tell hundreds of lies to conceal his falsehood, and all the world may call him good. If it pleases You, Lord, even the foolish are approved. O Nanak, the Lord is wise, knowing, all-knowing. ||4||4||6|| Dhanaasaree, First Mehl: The body is the paper, and the mind is the inscription written upon it. The ignorant fool does not read what is written on his forehead. In the Court of the Lord, three inscriptions are recorded. Behold, the counterfeit coin is worthless there. ||1|| O Nanak, if there is silver in it, then everyone proclaims, "It is genuine, it is genuine."||1||Pause|| The Qazi tells lies and eats filth; the Brahmin kills and then takes cleansing baths. The Yogi is blind, and does not know the Way. The three of them devise their own destruction. ||2|| He alone is a Yogi, who understands the Way. By Guru's Grace, he knows the One Lord. He alone is a Qazi, who turns away from the world, and who, by Guru's Grace, remains dead while yet alive. He alone is a Brahmin, who contemplates God. He saves himself, and saves all his generations as well. ||3|| One who cleanses his own mind is wise. One who cleanses himself of impurity is a Muslim. One who reads and understands is acceptable. Upon his forehead is the Insignia of the Court of the Lord. ||4||5||7|| Dhanaasaree, First Mehl, Third House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: No, no, this is not the time, when people know the way to Yoga and Truth. The holy places of worship in the world are polluted, and so the world is drowning. ||1|| In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, the Lord's Name is the most sublime. Some people try to deceive the world by closing their eyes and holding their nostrils closed. ||1||Pause|| They close off their nostrils with their fingers, and claim to see the three worlds.

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 004

But they cannot even see what is behind them. What a strange lotus pose this is! ||2|| The K'shatriyas have abandoned their religion, and have adopted a foreign language. The whole world has been reduced to the same social status; the state of righteousness and Dharma has been lost. ||3|| They analyze eight chapters of (Panini's) grammar and the Puraanas. They study the Vedas, but without the Lord's Name, no one is liberated; so says Nanak, the Lord's slave. ||4||1||6||8|| Dhanaasaree, First Mehl, Aartee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: In the bowl of the sky, the sun and moon are the lamps; the stars in the constellations are the pearls. The fragrance of sandalwood is the incense, the wind is the fan, and all the vegetation are flowers in offering to You, O Luminous Lord. ||1|| What a beautiful lamp-lit worship service this is! O Destroyer of fear, this is Your Aartee, Your worship service. The sound current of the Shabad is the sounding of the temple drums. ||1||Pause|| Thousands are Your eyes, and yet You have no eyes. Thousands are Your forms, and yet You have not even one form. Thousands are Your lotus feet, and yet You have no feet. Without a nose, thousands are Your noses. I am enchanted with Your play! ||2|| The Divine Light is within everyone; You are that Light. Yours is that Light which shines within everyone. By the Guru's Teachings, this Divine Light is revealed. That which pleases the Lord is the true worship service. ||3|| My soul is enticed by the honey-sweet lotus feet of the Lord; night and day, I thirst for them. Bless Nanak, the thirsty song-bird, with the water of Your Mercy, that he may come to dwell in Your Name. ||4||1||7||9|| Dhanaasaree, Third Mehl, Second House, Chau-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: This wealth is inexhaustible. It shall never be exhausted, and it shall never be lost. The Perfect True Guru has revealed it to me. I am forever a sacrifice to my True Guru. By Guru's Grace, I have enshrined the Lord within my mind. ||1|| They alone are wealthy, who lovingly attune themselves to the Lord's Name. The Perfect Guru has revealed to me the Lord's treasure; by the Lord's Grace, it has come to abide in my mind. ||Pause|| He is rid of his demerits, and his heart is permeated with merit and virtue. By Guru's Grace, he naturally dwells in celestial peace. True is the Word of the Perfect Guru's Bani. They bring peace to the mind, and celestial peace is absorbed within. ||2|| O my humble Siblings of Destiny, behold this strange and wonderful thing: duality is overcome, and the Lord dwells within his mind. The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is priceless; it cannot be taken. By Guru's Grace, it comes to abide in the mind. ||3|| He is the One God, abiding within all. Through the Guru's Teachings, He is revealed in the heart. One who intuitively knows and realises God,

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 005

O Nanak, obtains the Naam; his mind is pleased and appeased. ||4||1|| Dhanaasaree, Third Mehl: The wealth of the

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Lord's Name is immaculate, and absolutely infinite. The Word of the Guru's Shabad is over-flowing with treasure. Know that, except for the wealth of the Name, all other wealth is poison. The egotistical people are burning in their attachment to Maya. ||1|| How rare is that Gurmukh who tastes the sublime essence of the Lord. He is always in bliss, day and night; through perfect good destiny, he obtains the Name. ||Pause|| The Word of the Shabad is a lamp, illuminating the three worlds. One who tastes it, becomes immaculate. The immaculate Naam, the Name of the Lord, washes off the filth of ego. True devotional worship brings lasting peace. ||2|| One who tastes the sublime essence of the Lord is the Lord's humble servant. He is forever happy; he is never sad. He himself is liberated, and he liberates others as well. He chants the Lord's Name, and through the Lord, he finds peace. ||3|| Without the True Guru, everyone dies, crying out in pain. Night and day, they burn, and find no peace. But meeting the True Guru, all thirst is quenched. O Nanak, through the Naam, one finds peace and tranquility. ||4||2|| Dhanaasaree, Third Mehl: Gather in and cherish forever the wealth of the Lord's Name, deep within; He cherishes and nurtures all beings and creatures. They alone obtain the treasure of Liberation, who are lovingly imbued with, and focused on the Lord's Name. ||1|| Serving the Guru, one obtains the wealth of the Lord's Name. He is illumined and enlightened within, and he meditates on the Lord's Name. ||Pause|| This love for the Lord is like the love of the bride for her husband. God ravishes and enjoys the soul-bride who is adorned with peace and tranquility. No one finds God through egotism. Wandering away from the Primal Lord, the root of all, one wastes his life in vain. ||2|| Tranquility, celestial peace, pleasure and the Word of His Bani come from the Guru. True is that service, which leads one to merge in the Naam. Blessed with the Word of the Shabad, he meditates forever on the Lord, the Beloved. Through the True Name, glorious greatness is obtained. ||3|| The Creator Himself abides throughout the ages. If He casts His Glance of Grace, then we meet Him. Through the Word of Gurbani, the Lord comes to dwell in the mind. O Nanak, God unites with Himself those who are imbued with Truth. ||4||3|| Dhanaasaree, Third Mehl: The world is polluted, and those in the world become polluted as well. In attachment to duality, it comes and goes. This love of duality has ruined the entire world. The self-willed manmukh suffers punishment, and forfeits his honour. ||1|| Serving the Guru, one becomes immaculate. He enshrines the Naam, the Name of the Lord, within, and his state becomes exalted. ||Pause|| The Gurmukhs are saved, taking to the Lord's Sanctuary. Attuned to the Lord's Name, they commit themselves to devotional worship. The Lord's humble servant performs devotional worship, and is blessed with greatness. Attuned to Truth, he is absorbed in celestial peace. ||2|| Know that one who purchases the True Name is very rare. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, he comes to understand himself. True is his capital, and true is his trade. Blessed is that person, who loves the Naam. ||3|| God, the True Lord, has attached some to His True Name. They listen to the most sublime Word of His Bani, and the Word of His Shabad.

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 006

True is service to the True Lord God. O Nanak, the Naam is the Embellisher. ||4||4|| Dhanaasaree, Third Mehl: I am a sacrifice to those who serve the Lord. The Truth is in their hearts, and the True Name is on their lips. Dwelling upon the Truest of the True, their pains are dispelled. Through the True Word of the Shabad, the Lord comes to dwell in their minds. ||1|| Listening to the Word of Gurbani, filth is washed off, and they naturally enshrine the Lord's Name in their minds. ||1||Pause|| One who conquers fraud, deceit and the fire of desire finds tranquility, peace and pleasure within. If one walks in harmony with the Guru's Will, he eliminates his self-conceit. He finds the True Mansion of the Lord's Presence, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||2|| The blind, self-willed manmukh does not understand the Shabad; he does not know the Word of the Guru's Bani, and so he passes his life in misery. But if he meets the True Guru, then he finds peace, and the ego within is silenced. ||3|| Who else should I speak to? The One Lord is the Giver of all. When He grants His Grace, then we obtain the Word of the Shabad. Meeting with my Beloved, I sing the Glorious Praises of the True Lord. O Nanak, becoming truthful, I have become pleasing to the True Lord. ||4||5|| Dhanaasaree, Third Mehl: When the mind is conquered, its turbulent wanderings are stopped. Without conquering the mind, how can the Lord be found? Rare is the one who knows the medicine to conquer the mind. The mind is conquered through the Word of the Shabad; this is known to the Lord's humble servant. ||1|| The Lord forgives him, and blesses him with glory. By Guru's Grace, the Lord comes to dwell in the mind. ||Pause|| The Gurmukh does good deeds, and so, he comes to understand this mind. The mind is intoxicated, like the elephant with wine. The Guru places the harness upon it, and rejuvenates it. ||2|| The mind is undisciplined; only a rare few can discipline it. If someone eats the uneatable, then he becomes immaculate. As Gurmukh, his mind is embellished. Egotism and corruption are eradicated from within. ||3|| Those whom the Primal Lord keeps united in His Union, shall never be separated from Him; they are merged in the Word of the Shabad. Only God Himself knows His own power. O Nanak, the Gurmukh realises the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||4||6|| Dhanaasaree, Third Mehl: The ignorant fools amass false wealth. The blind, foolish, self-willed manmukhs have gone astray. Poisonous wealth brings constant pain. It will not go with you, and it will not yield any profit. ||1|| True wealth is obtained through the Guru's Teachings. False wealth continues coming and going. ||Pause|| The foolish self-willed manmukhs all go astray and die. They drown in the terrifying world-ocean, and they cannot reach either this shore, or the one beyond. But by perfect destiny, they meet the True Guru; imbued with the True Name, day and night, they remain detached from the world. ||2|| Throughout the four ages, the True Bani of His Word is Ambrosial Nectar. By perfect destiny, one is absorbed in the True Name. The Siddhas, the seekers and all men long for the Name. It is obtained only by perfect destiny. ||3|| The True Lord is everything; He is True. Only a few realise the exalted Lord God. He is the Truest of the True; He Himself implants the True Name within.

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 007

O Nanak, the Lord Himself sees all; He Himself links us to the Truth. ||4||7|| Dhanaasaree, Third Mehl: The value and worth of the Lord's Name cannot be described. Blessed are those humble beings, who lovingly focus their minds on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. True are the Guru's Teachings, and True is contemplative meditation. God Himself forgives, and bestows contemplative meditation. ||1|| The Lord's Name is wonderful! God Himself imparts it. In the Dark Age of Kali Yuga, the Gurmukhs obtain it. ||1||Pause|| We are ignorant; ignorance fills our minds. We do all our deeds in ego. By Guru's Grace, egotism is eradicated. Forgiving us, the Lord blends us with Himself. ||2|| Poisonous wealth gives rise to great arrogance. Drowning in egotism, no one is honoured. Forsaking self-conceit, one finds lasting peace. Under Guru's Instruction, he praises the True Lord. ||3|| The Creator Lord Himself fashions all. Without Him, there is no other at all. He alone is attached to Truth, whom the Lord Himself so attaches. O Nanak, through the Naam, lasting peace is attained in the hereafter. ||4||8|| Raag Dhanaasaree, Third Mehl, Fourth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I am just a poor beggar of Yours; You are Your Own Lord Master, You are the Great Giver. Be Merciful, and bless me, a humble beggar, with Your Name, so that I may forever remain imbued with Your Love. ||1|| I am a sacrifice to Your Name, O True Lord. The One Lord is the Cause of causes; there is no other at all. ||1||Pause|| I was wretched; I wandered through so many cycles of reincarnation. Now, Lord, please bless me with Your Grace. Be merciful, and grant me the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan; please grant me such a gift. ||2|| Prays Nanak, the shutters of doubt have been opened wide; by Guru's Grace, I have come to know the Lord. I am filled to overflowing with true love; my mind is pleased and appeased by the True Guru. ||3||1||9|| Dhanaasaree, Fourth Mehl, First House, Chau-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Those Saints and devotees who serve the Lord have all their sins washed away. Have Mercy on me, O Lord and Master, and keep me in the Sangat, the Congregation that You love. ||1|| I cannot even speak the Praises of the Lord, the Gardener of the world. We are sinners, sinking like stones in water; grant Your Grace, and carry us stones across. ||Pause|| The rust of poison and corruption from countless incarnations sticks to us; joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, it is cleaned away. It is just like gold, which is heated in the fire, to remove the impurities from it. ||2|| I chant the chant of the Name of the Lord, day and night; I chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, Har, and enshrine it within my heart. The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, Har, is the most perfect medicine in this world; chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, I have conquered my ego. ||3||

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 008

The Lord, Har, Har, is unapproachable, of unfathomable wisdom, unlimited, all-powerful and infinite. Show Mercy to Your humble servant, O Life of the world, and save the honour of servant Nanak. ||4||1|| Dhanaasaree, Fourth Mehl: The humble Saints of the Lord meditate on the Lord; their pain, doubt and fear have run away. The Lord Himself inspires them to serve Him; they are awakened within to the Guru's Teachings. ||1|| Imbued with the Lord's Name, they are unattached to the world. Listening to the sermon of the Lord, Har, Har, their minds are pleased; through Guru's Instruction, they enshrine love for the Lord. ||1||Pause|| God, the Lord and Master, is the caste and social status of His humble Saints. You are the Lord and Master; I am just Your puppet. As is the understanding You bless us with, so are the words we speak. ||2|| What are we? Tiny worms, and microscopic germs. You are our great and glorious Lord and Master. I cannot describe Your state and extent. O God, how can we unfortunate ones meet with You? ||3|| O God, my Lord and Master, shower me with Your Mercy, and commit me to Your service. Make Nanak the slave of Your slaves, God; I speak the speech of the Lord's sermon. ||4||2|| Dhanaasaree, Fourth Mehl: The True Guru is the Lord's Saint, the True Being, who chants the Bani of the Lord, Har, Har. Whoever chants it, and listens to it, is liberated; I am forever a sacrifice to him. ||1|| O Saints of the Lord, listen to the Lord's Praises with your ears. Listen to the sermon of the Lord, Har, Har, for a moment, for even an instant, and all your sins and mistakes shall be erased. ||1||Pause|| Those who find such humble, Holy Saints, are the greatest of the great persons. I beg for the dust of their feet; I long for the longing for God, my Lord and Master. ||2|| The Name of God, the Lord and Master, Har, Har, is the fruit-bearing tree; those who meditate on it are satisfied. Drinking in the ambrosia of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, I am satisfied; all my hunger and thirst is quenched. ||3|| Those who are blessed with the highest, loftiest destiny, chant and meditate on the Lord. Let me join their congregation, O God, my Lord and Master; Nanak is the slave of their slaves. ||4||3|| Dhanaasaree, Fourth Mehl: I am blind, totally blind, entangled in corruption and poison. How can I walk on the Guru's Path? If the True Guru, the Giver of peace, shows His kindness, He attaches us to the hem of His robe. ||1|| O Sikhs of the Guru, O friends, walk on the Guru's Path. Whatever the Guru says, accept that as good; the sermon of the Lord, Har, Har, is unique and wonderful. ||1||Pause|| O Saints of the Lord, O Siblings of Destiny, listen: serve the Guru, quickly now! Let your service to the True Guru be your supplies on the Lord's Path; pack them up, and don't think of today or tomorrow. ||2|| O Saints of the Lord, chant the chant of the Lord's Name; the Lord's Saints walk with the Lord. Those who meditate on the Lord, become the Lord; the playful, wondrous Lord meets them. ||3|| To chant the chant of the Lord's Name, Har, Har, is the longing I long for; have Mercy upon me, O Lord of the world-forest. O Lord, unite servant Nanak with the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; make me the dust of the feet of the Holy. ||4||4||

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 009

Dhanaasaree, Fourth Mehl: The Lord, Har, Har, is the rain-drop; I am the song-bird, crying, crying out for it. O Lord God, please bless me with Your Mercy, and pour Your Name into my mouth, even if for only an instant. ||1|| Without the Lord, I cannot live for even a second. Like the addict who dies without his drug, I die without the Lord. ||Pause|| You, Lord, are the deepest, most unfathomable ocean; I cannot find even a trace of Your limits. You are the most remote of the remote, limitless and transcendent; O Lord Master, You alone know Your state and extent. ||2|| The Lord's humble Saints meditate on the Lord; they are imbued with the deep crimson colour of the Guru's Love. Meditating on the Lord, they attain great glory, and the most sublime honour. ||3|| He Himself is the Lord and Master, and He Himself is the servant; He Himself creates His environments. Servant Nanak has come to Your Sanctuary, O Lord; protect and preserve the honour of Your devotee. ||4||5|| Dhanaasaree, Fourth Mehl: Tell me, O Siblings of Destiny, the religion for this Dark Age of Kali Yuga. I seek emancipation - how can I be emancipated? Meditation on the Lord, Har, Har, is the boat, the raft; meditating on the Lord, the swimmer swims across. ||1|| O Dear Lord, protect and preserve the honour of Your humble servant. O Lord, Har, Har, please make me chant the chant of Your Name; I beg only for Your devotional worship. ||Pause|| The Lord's servants are very dear to the Lord; they chant the Word of the Lord's Bani. The account of the recording angels, Chitr and Gupt, and the account with the Messenger of Death is totally erased. ||2|| The Saints of the Lord meditate on the Lord in their minds; they join the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. The piercing sun of desires has set, and the cool moon has risen. ||3|| You are the Greatest Being, absolutely unapproachable and unfathomable; You created the Universe from Your Own Being. O God, take pity on servant Nanak, and make him the slave of the slave of Your slaves. ||4||6|| Dhanaasaree, Fourth Mehl, Fifth House, Du-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Enshrine the Lord within your heart, and contemplate Him. Dwell upon Him, reflect upon Him, and chant the Name of the Lord, the Enticer of hearts. The Lord Master is unseen, unfathomable and unreachable; through the Perfect Guru, He is revealed. ||1|| The Lord is the philosopher's stone, which transforms lead into gold, and sandalwood, while I am just dry wood and iron. Associating with the Lord, and the Sat Sangat, the Lord's True Congregation, the Lord has transformed me into gold and sandalwood. ||1||Pause|| One may repeat, verbatim, the nine grammars and the six Shaastras, but my Lord God is not pleased by this. O servant Nanak, meditate forever on the Lord in your heart; this is what pleases my Lord God. ||2||1||7|| Dhanaasaree, Fourth Mehl:

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 010

Chant His Praises, learn of the Lord, and serve the True Guru; in this way, meditate on the Name of the Lord, Har,

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Har. In the Court of the Lord, He shall be pleased with you, and you shall not have to enter the cycle of reincarnation again; you shall merge in the Divine Light of the Lord, Har, Har, Har. ||1|| Chant the Name of the Lord, O my mind, and you shall be totally at peace. The Lord's Praises are the most sublime, the most exalted; serving the Lord, Har, Har, Har, you shall be emancipated. ||Pause|| The Lord, the treasure of mercy, blessed me, and so the Guru blessed me with the Lord's devotional worship; I have come to be in love with the Lord. I have forgotten my cares and anxieties, and enshrined the Lord's Name in my heart; O Nanak, the Lord has become my friend and companion. ||2||2||8|| Dhanaasaree, Fourth Mehl: Read about the Lord, write about the Lord, chant the Lord's Name, and sing the Lord's Praises; the Lord will carry you across the terrifying world-ocean. In your mind, by your words, and within your heart, meditate on the Lord, and He will be pleased. In this way, repeat the Name of the Lord. ||1|| O mind, meditate on the Lord, the Lord of the World. Join the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, O friend. You shall be happy forever, day and night; sing the Praises of the Lord, the Lord of the world-forest. ||Pause|| When the Lord, Har, Har, casts His Glance of Grace, then I made the effort in my mind; meditating on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, I have been emancipated. Preserve the honour of servant Nanak, O my Lord and Master; I have come seeking Your Sanctuary. ||2||3||9|| Dhanaasaree, Fourth Mehl: The eighty-four Siddhas, the spiritual masters, the Buddhas, the three hundred thirty million gods and the silent sages, all long for Your Name, O Dear Lord. By Guru's Grace, a rare few obtain it; upon their foreheads, the pre-ordained destiny of loving devotion is written. ||1|| O mind, chant the Name of the Lord; singing the Lord's Praises is the most exalted activity. I am forever a sacrifice to those who sing, and hear Your Praises, O Lord and Master. ||Pause|| I seek Your Sanctuary, O Cherisher God, my Lord and Master; whatever You give me, I accept. O Lord, Merciful to the meek, give me this blessing; Nanak longs for the Lord's meditative remembrance. ||2||4||10|| Dhanaasaree, Fourth Mehl: All the Sikhs and servants come to worship and adore You; they sing the sublime Bani of the Lord, Har, Har. Their singing and listening is approved by the Lord; they accept the Order of the True Guru as True, totally True. ||1|| Chant the Lord's Praises, O Siblings of Destiny; the Lord is the sacred shrine of pilgrimage in the terrifying world-ocean. They alone are praised in the Court of the Lord, O Saints, who know and understand the Lord's sermon. ||Pause|| He Himself is the Guru, and He Himself is the disciple; the Lord God Himself plays His wondrous games. O servant Nanak, he alone merges with the Lord, whom the Lord Himself merges; all the others are forsaken, but the Lord loves him. ||2||5||11|| Dhanaasaree, Fourth Mehl: The Lord is the Fulfiller of desires, the Giver of total peace; the Kaamadhaynaa, the wish-fulfilling cow, is in His power. So meditate on such a Lord, O my soul. Then, you shall obtain total peace, O my mind. ||1||

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 011

Chant, O my mind, the True Name, Sat Naam, the True Name. In this world, and in the world beyond, your face shall be radiant, by meditating continually on the immaculate Lord God. ||Pause|| Wherever anyone remembers the Lord in meditation, disaster runs away from that place. By great good fortune, we meditate on the Lord. The Guru has blessed servant Nanak with this understanding, that by meditating on the Lord, we cross over the terrifying world-ocean. ||2||6||12|| Dhanaasaree, Fourth Mehl: O my King, beholding the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan, I am at peace. You alone know my inner pain, O King; what can anyone else know? ||Pause|| O True Lord and Master, You are truly my King; whatever You do, all that is True. Who should I call a liar? There is no other than You, O King. ||1|| You are pervading and permeating in all; O King, everyone meditates on You, day and night. Everyone begs of You, O my King; You alone give gifts to all. ||2|| All are under Your Power, O my King; none at all are beyond You. All beings are Yours- You belong to all, O my King. All shall merge and be absorbed in You. ||3|| You are the hope of all, O my Beloved; all meditate on You, O my King. As it pleases You, protect and preserve me, O my Beloved; You are the True King of Nanak. ||4||7||13|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl, First House, Chau-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O Destroyer of fear, Remover of suffering, Lord and Master, Lover of Your devotees, Formless Lord. Millions of sins are eradicated in an instant when, as Gurmukh, one contemplates the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1|| My mind is attached to my Beloved Lord. God, Merciful to the meek, granted His Grace, and placed the five enemies under my control. ||1||Pause|| Your place is so beautiful; Your form is so beautiful; Your devotees look so beautiful in Your Court. O Lord and Master, Giver of all beings, please, grant Your Grace, and save me. ||2|| Your colour is not known, and Your form is not seen; who can contemplate Your Almighty Creative Power? You are contained in the water, the land and the sky, everywhere, O Lord of unfathomable form, Holder of the mountain. ||3|| All beings sing Your Praises; You are the imperishable Primal Being, the Destroyer of ego. As it pleases You, please protect and preserve me; servant Nanak seeks Sanctuary at Your Door. ||4||1|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: The fish out of water loses its life; it is deeply in love with the water. The bumble bee, totally in love with the lotus flower, is lost in it; it cannot find the way to escape from it. ||1|| Now, my mind has nurtured love for the One Lord. He does not die, and is not born; He is always with me. Through the Word of the True Guru's Shabad, I know Him. ||1||Pause||

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 012

Lured by sexual desire, the elephant is trapped; the poor beast falls into the power of another. Lured by the sound of the hunter's bell, the deer offers its head; because of this enticement, it is killed. ||2|| Gazing upon his family, the mortal is enticed by greed; he clings in attachment to Maya. Totally engrossed in worldly things, he considers them to be his own; but in the end, he shall surely have to leave them behind. ||3|| Know it well, that anyone who loves any other than God, shall be miserable forever. Says Nanak, the Guru has explained this to me, that love for God brings lasting bliss. ||4||2|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: Granting His Grace, God has blessed me with His Name, and released me of my bonds. I have forgotten all worldly entanglements, and I am attached to the Guru's feet. ||1|| In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I have renounced my other cares and anxieties. I dug a deep pit, and buried my egotistical pride, emotional attachment and the desires of my mind. ||1||Pause|| No one is my enemy, and I am no one's enemy. God, who expanded His expanse, is within all; I learned this from the True Guru. ||2|| I am a friend to all; I am everyone's friend. When the sense of separation was removed from my mind, then I was united with the Lord, my King. ||3|| My stubbornness is gone, Ambrosial Nectar rains down, and the Word of the Guru's Shabad seems so sweet to me. He is pervading everywhere, in the water, on the land and in the sky; Nanak beholds the all-pervading Lord. ||4||3|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: Ever since I obtained the Blessed Vision of the Darshan of the Holy, my days have been blessed and prosperous. I have found lasting bliss, singing the Kirtan of the Praises of the Primal Lord, the Architect of destiny. ||1|| Now, I sing the Praises of the Lord within my mind. My mind has been illumined and enlightened, and it is always at peace; I have found the Perfect True Guru. ||1||Pause|| The Lord, the treasure of virtue, abides deep within the heart, and so pain, doubt and fear have been dispelled. I have obtained the most incomprehensible thing, enshrining love for the Name of the Lord. ||2|| I was anxious, and now I am free of anxiety; I was worried, and now I am free of worry; my grief, greed and emotional attachments are gone. By His Grace, I am cured of the disease of egotism, and the Messenger of Death no longer terrifies me. ||3|| Working for the Guru, serving the Guru and the Guru's Command, all are pleasing to me. Says Nanak, He has released me from the clutches of Death; I am a sacrifice to that Guru. ||4||4|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: Body, mind, wealth and everything belong to Him; He alone is all-wise and all-knowing. He listens to my pains and pleasures, and then my condition improves. ||1|| My soul is satisfied with the One Lord alone. People make all sorts of other efforts, but they have no value at all. ||Pause|| The Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord, is a priceless jewel. The Guru has given me this advice. It cannot be lost, and it cannot be shaken off; it remains steady, and I am perfectly satisfied with it. ||2|| Those things which tore me away from You, Lord, are now gone.

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 013

When golden ornaments are melted down into a lump, they are still said to be gold. ||3|| The Divine Light has illuminated me, and I am filled with celestial peace and glory; the unstruck melody of the Lord's Bani resounds within me. Says Nanak, I have built my eternal home; the Guru has constructed it for me. ||4||5|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: The desires of the greatest of the great kings and landlords cannot be satisfied. They remain engrossed in Maya, intoxicated with the pleasures of their wealth; their eyes see nothing else at all. ||1|| No one has ever found satisfaction in sin and corruption. The flame is not satisfied by more fuel; how can one be satisfied without the Lord? ||Pause|| Day after day, he eats his meals with many different foods, but his hunger is not eradicated. He runs around like a dog, searching in the four directions. ||2|| The lustful, lecherous man desires many women, and he never stops peeking into the homes of others. Day after day, he commits adultery again and again, and then he regrets his actions; he wastes away in misery and greed. ||3|| The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is incomparable and priceless; it is the treasure of Ambrosial Nectar. The Saints abide in peace, poise and bliss; O Nanak, through the Guru, this is known. ||4||6|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: Nothing which this mortal being runs after, can compare to it. He alone comes to have it, whom the Guru blesses with this Ambrosial Nectar. ||1|| The desire to eat, to wear new clothes, and all other desires, do not abide in the mind of one who comes to know the subtle essence of the One Lord. ||Pause|| The mind and body blossom forth in abundance, when one receives even a drop of this Nectar. I cannot express His glory; I cannot describe His worth. ||2|| We cannot meet the Lord by our own efforts, nor can we meet Him through service; He comes and meets us spontaneously. One who is blessed by my Lord Master's Grace, practices the Teachings of the Guru's Mantra. ||3|| He is merciful to the meek, always kind and compassionate; He cherishes and nurtures all beings. The Lord is mingled with Nanak, through and through; He cherishes him, like the mother her child. ||4||7|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: I am a sacrifice to my Guru, who has implanted the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, within me. In the utter darkness of the wilderness, He showed me the straight path. ||1|| The Lord of the universe, the Cherisher of the world, He is my breath of life. Here and hereafter, he takes care of everything for me. ||1||Pause|| Meditating on Him in remembrance, I have found all treasures, respect, greatness and perfect honour. Remembering His Name, millions of sins are erased; all His devotees long for the dust of His feet. ||2|| If someone wishes for the fulfillment of all his hopes and desires, he should serve the one supreme treasure. He is the Supreme Lord God, infinite Lord and Master; meditating on Him in remembrance, one is carried across. ||3|| I have found total peace and tranquility in the Society of the Saints; my honour has been preserved. To gather in the Lord's wealth, and to taste the food of the Lord's Name - Nanak has made this his feast. ||4||8||

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 014

Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: You have made it your habit to practice those deeds which will bring you shame. You slander the Saints, and you worship the faithless cynics; such are the corrupt ways you have adopted. ||1|| Deluded by your emotional attachment to Maya, you love other things, like the enchanted city of Hari-chandauree, or the green leaves of the forest - such is your way of life. ||1||Pause|| Its body may be anointed with sandalwood oil, but the donkey still loves to roll in the mud. He is not fond of the Ambrosial Nectar; instead, he loves the poisonous drug of corruption. ||2|| The Saints are noble and sublime; they are blessed with good fortune. They alone are pure and holy in this world. The jewel of this human life is passing away uselessly, lost in exchange for mere glass. ||3|| The sins and sorrows of uncounted incarnations run away, when the Guru applies the healing ointment of spiritual wisdom to the eyes. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I have escaped from these troubles; Nanak loves the One Lord. ||4||9|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: I carry the water, wave the fan, and grind the corn for the Saints; I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe. With each and every breath, my mind remembers the Naam, the Name of the Lord; in this way, it finds the treasure of peace. ||1|| Have pity on me, O my Lord and Master. Bless me with such understanding, O my Lord and Master, that I may forever and ever meditate on You. ||1||Pause|| By Your Grace, emotional attachment and egotism are eradicated, and doubt is dispelled. The Lord, the embodiment of bliss, is pervading and permeating in all; wherever I go, there I see Him. ||2|| You are kind and compassionate, the treasure of mercy, the Purifier of sinners, Lord of the world. I obtain millions of joys, comforts and kingdoms, if You inspire me to chant Your Name with my mouth, even for an instant. ||3|| That alone is perfect chanting, meditation, penance and devotional worship service, which is pleasing to God's Mind. Chanting the Naam, all thirst and desire is satisfied; Nanak is satisfied and fulfilled. ||4||10|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: She controls the three qualities and the four directions of the world. She destroys sacrificial feasts, cleansing baths, penances and sacred places of pilgrimage; what is this poor person to do? ||1|| I grasped God's Support and Protection, and then I was emancipated. By the Grace of the Holy Saints, I sang the Praises of the Lord, Har, Har, Har, and my sins and afflictions were taken away. ||1||Pause|| She is not heard - she does not speak with a mouth; she is not seen enticing mortals. She administers her intoxicating drug, and so confuses them; thus she seems sweet to everyone's mind. ||2|| In each and every home, she has implanted the sense of duality in mother, father, children, friends and siblings. Some have more, and some have less; they fight and fight, to the death. ||3|| I am a sacrifice to my True Guru, who has shown me this wondrous play. The world is being consumed by this hidden fire, but Maya does not cling to the Lord's devotees. ||4|| By the Grace of the Saints, I have obtained supreme bliss, and all my bonds have been broken. Nanak has obtained the wealth of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har; having earned his profits, he has now returned home. ||5||11|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: You are the Giver, O Lord, O Cherisher, my Master, my Husband Lord.

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 015

Each and every moment, You cherish and nurture me; I am Your child, and I rely upon You alone. ||1|| I have only one tongue - which of Your Glorious Virtues can I describe? Unlimited, infinite Lord and Master - no one knows Your limits. ||1||Pause|| You destroy millions of my sins, and teach me in so many ways. I am so ignorant - I understand nothing at all. Please honour Your innate nature, and save me! ||2|| I seek Your Sanctuary - You are my only hope. You are my companion, and my best friend. Save me, O Merciful Saviour

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Lord; Nanak is the slave of Your home. ||3||12|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: Worship, fasting, ceremonial marks on one's forehead, cleansing baths, generous donations to charities and self-mortification - the Lord Master is not pleased with any of these rituals, no matter how sweetly one may speak. ||1|| Chanting the Name of God, the mind is soothed and pacified. Everyone searches for Him in different ways, but the search is so difficult, and He cannot be found. ||1||Pause|| Chanting, deep meditation and penance, wandering over the face of the earth, the performance of austerities with the arms stretched up to the sky - the Lord is not pleased by any of these means, though one may follow the path of Yogis and Jains. ||2|| The Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord, and the Praises of the Lord are priceless; he alone obtains them, whom the Lord blesses with His Mercy. Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, Nanak lives in the Love of God; his life-night passes in peace. ||3||13|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: Is there anyone who can release me from my bondage, unite me with God, recite the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, and make this mind steady and stable, so that it no longer wanders around? ||1|| Do I have any such friend? I would give him all my property, my soul and my heart; I would devote my consciousness to him. ||1||Pause|| Others' wealth, others' bodies, and the slander of others - do not attach your love to them. Associate with the Saints, speak with the Saints, and keep your mind awake to the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises. ||2|| God is the treasure of virtue, kind and compassionate, the source of all comfort. Nanak begs for the gift of Your Name; O Lord of the world, love him, like the mother loves her child. ||3||14|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: The Lord saves His Saints. One who wishes misfortune upon the Lord's slaves, shall be destroyed by the Lord eventually. ||1||Pause|| He Himself is the help and support of His humble servants; He defeats the slanderers, and chases them away. Wandering around aimlessly, they die out there; they never return to their homes again. ||1|| Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of the Destroyer of pain; he sings the Glorious Praises of the infinite Lord forever. The faces of the slanderers are blackened in the courts of this world, and the world beyond. ||2||15|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: Now, I contemplate and meditate on the Lord, the Saviour Lord. He purifies sinners in an instant, and cures all diseases. ||1||Pause|| Talking with the Holy Saints, my sexual desire, anger and greed have been eradicated. Remembering, remembering the Perfect Lord in meditation, I have saved all my companions. ||1||

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 016

The Mul Mantra, the Root Mantra, is the only cure for the mind; I have installed faith in God in my mind. Nanak ever longs for the dust of the Lord's feet; again and again, he is a sacrifice to the Lord. ||2||16|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: I have fallen in love with the Lord. My True Guru is always my help and support; He has torn down the banner of pain. ||1||Pause|| Giving me His hand, He has protected me as His own, and removed all my troubles. He has blackened the faces of the slanderers, and He Himself has become the help and support of His humble servant. ||1|| The True Lord and Master has become my Saviour; hugging me close in His embrace, He has saved me. Nanak has become fearless, and he enjoys eternal peace, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||2||17|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: Your Name is the medicine, O Merciful Lord. I am so miserable, I do not know Your state; You Yourself cherish me, Lord. ||1||Pause|| Take pity on me, O my Lord and Master, and remove the love of duality from within me. Break my bonds, and take me as Your own, so that I may never come to lose. ||1|| Seeking Your Sanctuary, I live, almighty and merciful Lord and Master. Twenty-four hours a day, I worship God; Nanak is forever a sacrifice to Him. ||2||18|| Raag Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O God, please save me! By myself, I cannot do anything, O my Lord and Master; by Your Grace, please bless me with Your Name. ||1||Pause|| Family and worldly affairs are an ocean of fire. Through doubt, emotional attachment and ignorance, we are enveloped in darkness. ||1|| High and low, pleasure and pain. Hunger and thirst are not satisfied. ||2|| The mind is engrossed in passion, and the disease of corruption. The five thieves, the companions, are totally incorrigible. ||3|| The beings and souls and wealth of the world are all Yours. O Nanak, know that the Lord is always near at hand. ||4||1||19|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: The Lord and Master destroys the pain of the poor; He preserves and protects the honour of His servants. The Lord is the ship to carry us across; He is the treasure of virtue - pain cannot touch Him. ||1|| In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, meditate, vibrate upon the Lord of the world. I cannot think of any other way; make this effort, and make it in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga. ||Pause|| In the beginning, and in the end, there is none other than the perfect, merciful Lord. The cycle of birth and death is ended, chanting the Lord's Name, and remembering the Lord Master in meditation. ||2|| The Vedas, the Simritees, the Shaastras and the Lord's devotees contemplate Him; liberation is attained in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, and the darkness of ignorance is dispelled. ||3|| The lotus feet of the Lord are the support of His humble servants. They are his only capital and investment.

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 017

The True Lord is Nanak's strength, honour and support; He alone is his protection. ||4||2||20|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: Wandering and roaming around, I met the Holy Perfect Guru, who has taught me. All other devices did not work, so I meditate on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1|| For this reason, I sought the Protection and Support of my Lord, the Cherisher of the Universe. I sought the Sanctuary of the Perfect Transcendent Lord, and all my entanglements were dissolved. ||Pause|| Paradise, the earth, the nether regions of the underworld, and the globe of the world - all are engrossed in Maya. To save your soul, and liberate all your ancestors, meditate on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||2|| O Nanak, singing the Naam, the Name of the Immaculate Lord, all treasures are obtained. Only that rare person, whom the Lord and Master blesses with His Grace, comes to know this. ||3||3||21|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl, Second House, Chau-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: You shall have to abandon the straw which you have collected. These entanglements shall be of no use to you. You are in love with those things that will not go with you. You think that your enemies are friends. ||1|| In such confusion, the world has gone astray. The foolish mortal wastes this precious human life. ||Pause|| He does not like to see Truth and righteousness. He is attached to falsehood and deception; they seem sweet to him. He loves gifts, but he forgets the Giver. The wretched creature does not even think of death. ||2|| He cries for the possessions of others. He forfeits all the merits of his good deeds and religion. He does not understand the Hukam of the Lord's Command, and so he continues coming and going in reincarnation. He sins, and then regrets and repents. ||3|| Whatever pleases You, Lord, that alone is acceptable. I am a sacrifice to Your Will. Poor Nanak is Your slave, Your humble servant. Save me, O my Lord God Master! ||4||1||22|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: I am meek and poor; the Name of God is my only Support. The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is my occupation and earnings. I gather only the Lord's Name. It is useful in both this world and the next. ||1|| Imbued with the Love of the Lord God's Infinite Name, the Holy Saints sing the Glorious Praises of the One Lord, the Formless Lord. ||Pause|| The Glory of the Holy Saints comes from their total humility. The Saints realise that their greatness rests in the Praises of the Lord. Meditating on the Lord of the Universe, the Saints are in bliss. The Saints find peace, and their anxieties are dispelled. ||2|| Wherever the Holy Saints gather, there they sing the Praises of the Lord, in music and poetry. In the Society of the Saints, there is bliss and peace. They alone obtain this Society, upon whose foreheads such destiny is written. ||3|| With my palms pressed together, I offer my prayer. I wash their feet, and chant the Praises of the Lord, the treasure of virtue. O God, merciful and compassionate, let me remain in Your Presence. Nanak lives, in the dust of the Saints. ||4||2||23||

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 018

Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: One who contemplates his Lord and Master - why should he be afraid? The wretched self-willed manmukhs are ruined through fear and dread. ||1||Pause|| The Divine Guru, my mother and father, is over my head. His image brings prosperity; serving Him, we become pure. The One Lord, the Immaculate Lord, is our capital. Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, we are illumined and enlightened. ||1|| The Giver of all beings is totally pervading everywhere. Millions of pains are removed by the Lord's Name. All the pains of birth and death are taken away from the Gurmukh, within whose mind and body the Lord dwells. ||2|| He alone, whom the Lord has attached to the hem of His robe, obtains a place in the Court of the Lord. They alone are devotees, who are pleasing to the True Lord. They are freed from the Messenger of Death. ||3|| True is the Lord, and True is His Court. Who can contemplate and describe His value? He is within each and every heart, the Support of all. Nanak begs for the dust of the Saints. ||4||3||24|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: At home, and outside, I place my trust in You; You are always with Your humble servant. Bestow Your Mercy, O my Beloved God, that I may chant the Lord's Name with love. ||1|| God is the strength of His humble servants. Whatever You do, or cause to be done, O Lord and Master, that outcome is acceptable to me. ||Pause|| The Transcendent Lord is my honour; the Lord is my emancipation; the glorious sermon of the Lord is my wealth. Slave Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of the Lord's feet; from the Saints, he has learned this way of life. ||2||1||25|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: God has fulfilled all my desires. Holding me close in His embrace, the Guru has saved me. He has saved me from burning in the ocean of fire, and now, no one calls it impassible. ||1|| Those who have true faith in their minds, continually behold the Glory of the Lord; they are forever happy and blissful. ||Pause|| I seek the Sanctuary of the feet of the Perfect Transcendent Lord, the Searcher of hearts; I behold Him ever-present. In His wisdom, the Lord has made Nanak His own; He has preserved the roots of His devotees. ||2||2||26|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: Wherever I look, there I see Him present; He is never far away. He is all-pervading, everywhere; O my mind, meditate on Him forever. ||1|| He alone is called your companion, who will not be separated from you, here or hereafter. That pleasure, which passes away in an instant, is trivial. ||Pause|| He cherishes us, and gives us sustenance; He does not lack anything. With each and every breath, my God takes care of His creatures. ||2|| God is undeceiveable, impenetrable and infinite; His form is lofty and exalted. Chanting and meditating on the embodiment of wonder and beauty, His humble servants are in bliss. ||3|| Bless me with such understanding, O Merciful Lord God, that I might remember You.

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 019

Nanak begs God for the gift of the dust of the feet of the Saints. ||4||3||27|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: The One who sent you, has now recalled you; return to your home now in peace and pleasure. In bliss and ecstasy, sing His Glorious Praises; by this celestial tune, you shall acquire your everlasting kingdom. ||1|| Come back to your home, O my friend. The Lord Himself has eliminated your enemies, and your misfortunes are past. ||Pause|| God, the Creator Lord, has glorified you, and your running and rushing around has ended. In your home, there is rejoicing; the musical instruments continually play, and your Husband Lord has exalted you. ||2|| Remain firm and steady, and do not ever waver; take the Guru's Word as your Support. You shall be applauded and congratulated all over the world, and your face shall be radiant in the Court of the Lord. ||3|| All beings belong to Him; He Himself transforms them, and He Himself becomes their help and support. The Creator Lord has worked a wondrous miracle; O Nanak, His glorious greatness is true. ||4||4||28|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl, Sixth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Listen, O Dear Beloved Saints, to my prayer. Without the Lord, no one is liberated. ||Pause|| O mind, do only deeds of purity; the Lord is the only boat to carry you across. Other entanglements shall be of no use to you. True living is serving the Divine, Supreme Lord God; the Guru has imparted this teaching to me. ||1|| Do not fall in love with trivial things; in the end, they shall not go along with you. Worship and adore the Lord with your mind and body, O Beloved Saint of the Lord; in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, you shall be released from bondage. ||2|| In your heart, hold fast to the Sanctuary of the lotus feet of the Supreme Lord God; do not place your hopes in any other support. He alone is a devotee, spiritually wise, a meditator, and a penitent, O Nanak, who is blessed by the Lord's Mercy. ||3||1||29|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: O my dear beloved, it is good, it is better, it is best, to ask for the Lord's Name. Behold, with your eyes wide-open, and listen to the Words of the Holy Saints; enshrine in your consciousness the Lord of Life - remember that all must die. ||Pause|| The application of sandalwood oil, the enjoyment of pleasures and the practice of many corrupt sins - look upon all of these as insipid and worthless. The Name of the Lord of the Universe alone is sublime; so say the Holy Saints. You claim that your body and wealth are your own; you do not chant the Lord's Name even for an instant. Look and see, that none of your possessions or riches shall go along with you. ||1|| One who has good karma, grasps the Protection of the hem of the Saint's robe; in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, the Messenger of Death cannot threaten him. I have obtained the supreme treasure, and my egotism has been eradicated; Nanak's mind is attached to the One Formless Lord. ||2||2||30||

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 020

Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl, Seventh House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Meditate in remembrance on the One Lord; meditate in remembrance on the One Lord; meditate in remembrance on the One Lord, O my Beloved. He shall save you from strife, suffering, greed, attachment, and the most terrifying world-ocean. ||Pause|| With each and every breath, each and every instant, day and night, dwell upon Him. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, meditate on Him fearlessly, and enshrine the treasure of His Name in your mind. ||1|| Worship His lotus feet, and contemplate the glorious virtues of the Lord of the Universe. O Nanak, the dust of the feet of the Holy shall bless you with pleasure and peace. ||2||1||31|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl, Eighth House, Du-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Remembering, remembering, remembering Him in meditation, I find peace; with each and every breath, I dwell upon Him. In this world, and in the world beyond, He is with me, as my help and support; wherever I go, He protects me. ||1|| The Guru's Word abides with my soul. It does not sink in water; thieves cannot steal it, and fire cannot burn it. ||1||Pause|| It is like wealth to the poor, a cane for the blind, and mother's milk for the infant. In the ocean of the world, I have found the boat of the Lord; the Merciful Lord has bestowed His Mercy upon Nanak.

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||2||1||32|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: The Lord of the Universe has become kind and merciful; His Ambrosial Nectar permeates my heart. The nine treasures, riches and the miraculous spiritual powers of the Siddhas cling to the feet of the Lord's humble servant. ||1|| The Saints are in ecstasy everywhere. Within the home, and outside as well, the Lord and Master of His devotees is totally pervading and permeating everywhere. ||1||Pause|| No one can equal one who has the Lord of the Universe on his side. The fear of the Messenger of Death is eradicated, remembering Him in meditation; Nanak meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||2||2||33|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: The rich man gazes upon his riches, and is proud of himself; the landlord takes pride in his lands. The king believes that the whole kingdom belongs to him; in the same way, the humble servant of the Lord looks upon the support of his Lord and Master. ||1|| When one considers the Lord to be his only support, then the Lord uses His power to help him; this power cannot be defeated. ||1||Pause|| Renouncing all others, I have sought the Support of the One Lord; I have come to Him, pleading, "Save me, save me!" By the kindness and the Grace of the Saints, my mind has been purified; Nanak sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||2||3||34|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: He alone is called a warrior, who is attached to the Lord's Love in this age. Through the Perfect True Guru, he conquers his own soul, and then everything comes under his control. ||1||

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 021

Sing the Praises of the Lord and Master, with the love of your soul. Those who seek His Sanctuary, and meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, are blended with the Lord in celestial peace. ||1||Pause|| The feet of the Lord's humble servant abide in my heart; with them, my body is made pure. O treasure of mercy, please bless Nanak with the dust of the feet of Your humble servants; this alone brings peace. ||2||4||35|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: People try to deceive others, but the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts, knows everything. They commit sins, and then deny them, while they pretend to be in Nirvaanaa. ||1|| They believe that You are far away, but You, O God, are near at hand. Looking around, this way and that, the greedy people come and go. ||Pause|| As long as the doubts of the mind are not removed, liberation is not found. Says Nanak, he alone is a Saint, a devotee, and a humble servant of the Lord, to whom the Lord and Master is merciful. ||2||5||36|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: My Guru gives the Naam, the Name of the Lord, to those who have such karma written on their foreheads. He implants the Naam, and inspires us to chant the Naam; this is Dharma, true religion, in this world. ||1|| The Naam is the glory and greatness of the Lord's humble servant. The Naam is his salvation, and the Naam is his honour; he accepts whatever comes to pass. ||1||Pause|| That humble servant, who has the Naam as his wealth, is the perfect banker. The Naam is his occupation, O Nanak, and his only support; the Naam is the profit he earns. ||2||6||37|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: My eyes have been purified, gazing upon the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan, and touching my forehead to the dust of His feet. With joy and happiness, I sing the Glorious Praises of my Lord and Master; the Lord of the World abides within my heart. ||1|| You are my Merciful Protector, Lord. O beautiful, wise, infinite Father God, be Merciful to me, God. ||1||Pause|| O Lord of supreme ecstasy and blissful form, Your Word is so beautiful, so drenched with Nectar. With the Lord's lotus feet enshrined in his heart, Nanak has tied the Shabad, the Word of the True Guru, to the hem of his robe. ||2||7||38|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: In His own way, He provides us with our food; in His own way, He plays with us. He blesses us with all comforts, enjoyments and delicacies, and he permeates our minds. ||1|| Our Father is the Lord of the World, the Merciful Lord. Just as the mother protects her children, God nurtures and cares for us. ||1||Pause|| You are my friend and companion, the Master of all excellences, O eternal and permanent Divine Lord. Here, there and everywhere, You are pervading; please, bless Nanak to serve the Saints. ||2||8||39|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: The Saints are kind and compassionate; they burn away their sexual desire, anger and corruption. My power, wealth, youth, body and soul are a sacrifice to them. ||1|| With my mind and body, I love the Lord's Name. With peace, poise, pleasure and joy, He has carried me across the terrifying world-ocean. ||Pause||

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 022

Blessed is that place, and blessed is that house, in which the Saints dwell. Fulfill this desire of servant Nanak, O Lord Master, that he may bow in reverence to Your devotees. ||2||9||40|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: He has saved me from the awful power of Maya, by attaching me to His feet. He gave my mind the Mantra of the Naam, the Name of the One Lord, which shall never perish or leave me. ||1|| The Perfect True Guru has given this gift. He has blessed me with the Kirtan of the Praises of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, and I am emancipated. ||Pause|| My God has made me His own, and saved the honour of His devotee. Nanak has grasped the feet of his God, and has found peace, day and night. ||2||10||41|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: Stealing the property of others, acting in greed, lying and slandering - in these ways, he passes his life. He places his hopes in false mirages, believing them to be sweet; this is the support he installs in his mind. ||1|| The faithless cynic passes his life uselessly. He is like the mouse, gnawing away at the pile of paper, making it useless to the poor wretch. ||Pause|| Have mercy on me, O Supreme Lord God, and release me from these bonds. The blind are sinking, O Nanak; God saves them, uniting them with the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||2||11||42|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: Remembering, remembering God, the Lord Master in meditation, my body, mind and heart are cooled and soothed. The Supreme Lord God is my beauty, pleasure, peace, wealth, soul and social status. ||1|| My tongue is intoxicated with the Lord, the source of nectar. I am in love, in love with the Lord's lotus feet, the treasure of riches. ||Pause|| I am His - He has saved me; this is God's perfect way. The Giver of peace has blended Nanak with Himself; the Lord has preserved his honour. ||2||12||43|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: All demons and enemies are eradicated by You, Lord; Your glory is manifest and radiant. Whoever harms Your devotees, You destroy in an instant. ||1|| I look to You continually, Lord. O Lord, Destroyer of ego, please, be the helper and companion of Your slaves; take my hand, and save me, O my Friend! ||Pause|| My Lord and Master has heard my prayer, and given me His protection. Nanak is in ecstasy, and his pains are gone; he meditates on the Lord, forever and ever. ||2||13||44|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: He has extended His power in all four directions, and placed His hand upon my head. Gazing upon me with his Eye of Mercy, He has dispelled the pains of His slave. ||1|| The Guru, the Lord of the Universe, has saved the Lord's humble servant. Hugging me close in His embrace, the merciful, forgiving Lord has erased all my sins. ||Pause|| Whatever I ask for from my Lord and Master, he gives that to me. Whatever the Lord's slave Nanak utters with his mouth, proves to be true, here and hereafter. ||2||14||45||

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 023

Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: He does not let His devotees see the difficult times; this is His innate nature. Giving His hand, He protects His devotee; with each and every breath, He cherishes him. ||1|| My consciousness remains attached to God. In the beginning, and in the end, God is always my helper and companion; blessed is my friend. ||Pause|| My mind is delighted, gazing upon the marvellous, glorious greatness of the Lord and Master. Remembering, remembering the Lord in meditation, Nanak is in ecstasy; God, in His perfection, has protected and preserved his honour. ||2||15||46|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: One who forgets the Lord of life, the Great Giver - know that he is most unfortunate. One whose mind is in love with the Lord's lotus feet, obtains the pool of ambrosial nectar. ||1|| Your humble servant awakes in the Love of the Lord's Name. All laziness has departed from his body, and his mind is attached to the Beloved Lord. ||Pause|| Wherever I look, the Lord is there; He is the string, upon which all hearts are strung. Drinking in the water of the Naam, servant Nanak has renounced all other loves. ||2||16||47|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: All the affairs of the Lord's humble servant are perfectly resolved. In the utterly poisonous Dark Age of Kali Yuga, the Lord preserves and protects his honour. ||1||Pause|| Remembering, remembering God, his Lord and Master in meditation, the Messenger of Death does not approach him. Liberation and heaven are found in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; his humble servant finds the home of the Lord. ||1|| The Lord's lotus feet are the treasure of His humble servant; in them, he finds millions of pleasures and comforts. He remembers the Lord God in meditation, day and night; Nanak is forever a sacrifice to him. ||2||17||48|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: I beg for one gift only from the Lord. May all my desires be fulfilled, meditating on, and remembering Your Name, O Lord. ||1||Pause|| May Your feet abide within my heart, and may I find the Society of the Saints. May my mind not be afflicted by the fire of sorrow; may I sing Your Glorious Praises, twenty-four hours a day. ||1|| May I serve the Lord in my childhood and youth, and meditate on God in my middle and old age. O Nanak, one who is imbued with the Love of the Transcendent Lord, is not reincarnated again to die. ||2||18||49|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: I beg only from the Lord for all things. I would hesitate to beg from other people. Remembering God in meditation, liberation is obtained. ||1||Pause|| I have studied with the silent sages, and carefully read the Simritees, the Puraanas and the Vedas; they all proclaim that, by serving the Lord, the ocean of mercy, Truth is obtained, and both this world and the next are embellished. ||1|| All other rituals and customs are useless, without remembering the Lord in meditation. O Nanak, the fear of birth and death has been removed; meeting the Holy Saint, sorrow is dispelled. ||2||19||50|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: Desire is quenched, through the Lord's Name. Great peace and contentment come through the Guru's Word, and one's meditation is perfectly focused upon God. ||1||Pause||

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 024

Please shower Your Mercy upon me, and permit me to ignore the great enticements of Maya, O Lord, Merciful to the meek. Give me Your Name - chanting it, I live; please bring the efforts of Your slave to fruition. ||1|| All desires, power, pleasure, joy and lasting bliss, are found by chanting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and singing the Kirtan of His Praises. That humble servant of the Lord, who has such karma pre-ordained by the Creator Lord, O Nanak - his efforts are brought to perfect fruition. ||2||20||51|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: The Supreme Lord God takes care of His humble servant. The slanderers are not allowed to stay; they are pulled out by their roots, like useless weeds. ||1||Pause|| Wherever I look, there I see my Lord and Master; no one can harm me. Whoever shows disrespect to the Lord's humble servant, is instantly reduced to ashes. ||1|| The Creator Lord has become my protector; He has no end or limitation. O Nanak, God has protected and saved His slaves; He has driven out and destroyed the slanderers. ||2||21||52|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl, Ninth House, Partaal: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O Lord, I seek the Sanctuary of Your feet; Lord of the Universe, Destroyer of pain, please bless Your slave with Your Name. Be Merciful, God, and bless me with Your Glance of Grace; take my arm and save me - pull me up out of this pit! ||Pause|| He is blinded by sexual desire and anger, bound by Maya; his body and clothes are filled with countless sins. Without God, there is no other protector; help me to chant Your Name, Almighty Warrior, Sheltering Lord. ||1|| Redeemer of sinners, Saving Grace of all beings and creatures, even those who recite the Vedas have not found Your limit. God is the ocean of virtue and peace, the source of jewels; Nanak sings the Praises of the Lover of His devotees. ||2||1||53|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: Peace in this world, peace in the next world and peace forever, remembering Him in meditation. Chant forever the Name of the Lord of the Universe. The sins of past lives are erased, by joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; new life is infused into the dead. ||1||Pause|| In power, youth and Maya, the Lord is forgotten; this is the greatest tragedy - so say the spiritual sages. Hope and desire to sing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises - this is the treasure of the most fortunate devotees. ||1|| O Lord of Sanctuary, all-powerful, imperceptible and unfathomable - Your Name is the Purifier of sinners. The Inner-knower, the Lord and Master of Nanak is totally pervading and permeating everywhere; He is my Lord and Master. ||2||2||54|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl, Twelfth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I bow in reverence to the Lord, I bow in reverence. I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, my King. ||Pause|| By great good fortune, one meets the Divine Guru. Millions of sins are erased by serving the Lord. ||1||

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 025

One whose mind is imbued with the Lord's lotus feet is not afflicted by the fire of sorrow. ||2|| He crosses over the world-ocean in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. He chants the Name of the Fearless Lord, and is imbued with the Lord's Love. ||3|| One who does not steal the wealth of others, who does not commit evil deeds or sinful acts - the Messenger of Death does not even approach him. ||4|| God Himself quenches the fires of desire. O Nanak, in God's Sanctuary, one is saved. ||5||1||55|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: I am satisfied and satiated, eating the food of Truth. With my mind, body and tongue, I meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1|| Life, spiritual life, is in the Lord. Spiritual life consists of chanting the Lord's Name in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||1||Pause|| He is dressed in robes of all sorts, if he sings the Kirtan of the Lord's Glorious Praises, day and night. ||2|| He rides upon elephants, chariots and horses, if he sees the Lord's Path within his own heart. ||3|| Meditating on the Lord's Feet, deep within his mind and body, slave Nanak has found the Lord, the treasure of peace. ||4||2||56|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: The Guru's feet emancipate the soul. They carry it across the world-ocean in an instant. ||1||Pause|| Some love rituals, and some bathe at sacred shrines of pilgrimage. The Lord's slaves meditate on His Name. ||1|| The Lord Master is the Breaker of bonds. Servant Nanak meditates in remembrance on the Lord, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. ||2||3||57|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl: The lifestyle of Your slave is so pure, that nothing can break his love for You. ||1||Pause|| He is more dear to me than my soul, my breath of life, my mind and my wealth. The Lord is the Giver, the Restrainer of the ego. ||1|| I am in love with the Lord's lotus feet. This alone is Nanak's prayer. ||2||4||58|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Dhanaasaree, Ninth Mehl: Why do you go looking for Him in the forest? Although he is unattached, he dwells everywhere. He is always with you as your companion. ||1||Pause|| Like the fragrance which remains in the flower, and like the reflection in the mirror, the Lord dwells deep within; search for Him within your own heart, O Siblings of Destiny. ||1|| Outside and inside, know that there is only the One Lord; the Guru has imparted this wisdom to me. O servant Nanak, without knowing one's own self, the moss of doubt is not removed. ||2||1||

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Dhanaasaree, Ninth Mehl: O Holy people, this world is deluded by doubt. It has forsaken the meditative remembrance of the Lord's Name, and sold itself out to Maya. ||1||Pause|| Mother, father, siblings, children and spouse - he is entangled in their love.

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 026

In the pride of youth, wealth and glory, day and night, he remains intoxicated. ||1|| God is merciful to the meek, and forever the Destroyer of pain, but the mortal does not centre his mind on Him. O servant Nanak, among millions, only a rare few, as Gurmukh, realise God. ||2||2|| Dhanaasaree, Ninth Mehl: That Yogi does not know the way. Understand that his heart is filled with greed, emotional attachment, Maya and egotism. ||1||Pause|| One who does not slander or praise others, who looks upon gold and iron alike, who is free from pleasure and pain - he alone is called a true Yogi. ||1|| The restless mind wanders in the ten directions - it needs to be pacified and restrained. Says Nanak, whoever knows this technique is judged to be liberated. ||2||3|| Dhanaasaree, Ninth Mehl: Now, what efforts should I make? How can I dispel the anxieties of my mind? How can I cross over the terrifying world-ocean? ||1||Pause|| Obtaining this human incarnation, I have done no good deeds; this makes me very afraid! In thought, word and deed, I have not sung the Lord's Praises; this thought worries my mind. ||1|| I listened to the Guru's Teachings, but spiritual wisdom did not well up within me; like a beast, I fill my belly. Says Nanak, O God, please confirm Your Law of Grace; for only then can I, the sinner, be saved. ||2||4||9||9||13||58||4||93|| Dhanaasaree, First Mehl, Second House, Ashtapadees: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The Guru is the ocean, filled with pearls. The Saints gather in the Ambrosial Nectar; they do not go far away from there. They taste the subtle essence of the Lord; they are loved by God. Within this pool, the swans find their Lord, the Lord of their souls. ||1|| What can the poor crane accomplish by bathing in the mud puddle? It sinks into the mire, and its filth is not washed away. ||1||Pause|| After careful deliberation, the thoughtful person takes a step. Forsaking duality, he becomes a devotee of the Formless Lord. He obtains the treasure of liberation, and enjoys the sublime essence of the Lord. His comings and goings end, and the Guru protects him. ||2|| The swan do not leave this pool. In loving devotional worship, they merge in the Celestial Lord. The swans are in the pool, and the pool is in the swans. They speak the Unspoken Speech, and they honour and revere the Guru's Word. ||3|| The Yogi, the Primal Lord, sits within the celestial sphere of deepest Samaadhi. He is not male, and He is not female; how can anyone describe Him? The three worlds continue to centre their attention on His Light. The silent sages and the Yogic masters seek the Sanctuary of the True Lord. ||4|| The Lord is the source of bliss, the support of the helpless. The Gurmukhs worship and contemplate the Celestial Lord. God is the Lover of His devotees, the Destroyer of fear. Subduing ego, one meets the Lord, and places his feet on the Path. ||5|| He makes many efforts, but still, the Messenger of Death tortures him. Destined only to die, he comes into the world.

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 027

He wastes this precious human life through duality. He does not know his own self, and trapped by doubts, he cries out in pain. ||6|| Speak, read and hear of the One Lord. The Support of the earth shall bless you with courage, righteousness and protection. Chastity, purity and self-restraint are infused into the heart, when one centres his mind in the fourth state. ||7|| They are immaculate and true, and filth does not stick to them. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, their doubt and fear depart. The form and personality of the Primal Lord are incomparably beautiful. Nanak begs for the Lord, the Embodiment of Truth. ||8||1|| Dhanaasaree, First Mehl: That union with the Lord is acceptable, which is united in intuitive poise. Thereafter, one does not die, and does not come and go in reincarnation. The Lord's slave is in the Lord, and the Lord is in His slave. Wherever I look, I see none other than the Lord. ||1|| The Gurmukhs worship the Lord, and find His celestial home. Without meeting the Guru, they die, and come and go in reincarnation. ||1||Pause|| So make Him your Guru, who implants the Truth within you, who leads you to speak the Unspoken Speech, and who merges you in the Word of the Shabad. God's people have no other work to do; they love the True Lord and Master, and they love the Truth. ||2|| The mind is in the body, and the True Lord is in the mind. Merging into the True Lord, one is absorbed into Truth. God's servant bows at His feet. Meeting the True Guru, one meets with the Lord. ||3|| He Himself watches over us, and He Himself makes us see. He is not pleased by stubborn-mindedness, nor by various religious robes. He fashioned the body-vessels, and infused the Ambrosial Nectar into them; God's Mind is pleased only by loving devotional worship. ||4|| Reading and studying, one becomes confused, and suffers punishment. By great cleverness, one is consigned to coming and going in reincarnation. One who chants the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and eats the food of the Fear of God becomes Gurmukh, the Lord's servant, and remains absorbed in the Lord. ||5|| He worships stones, dwells at sacred shrines of pilgrimage and in the jungles, wanders, roams around and becomes a renunciate. But his mind is still filthy - how can he become pure? One who meets the True Lord obtains honour. ||6|| One who embodies good conduct and contemplative meditation, his mind abides in intuitive poise and contentment, since the beginning of time, and throughout the ages. In the twinkling of an eye, he saves millions. Have mercy on me, O my Beloved, and let me meet the Guru. ||7|| Unto whom, O God, should I praise You? Without You, there is no other at all. As it pleases You, keep me under Your Will. Nanak, with intuitive poise and natural love, sings Your Glorious Praises. ||8||2|| Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl, Sixth House, Ashtapadee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Whoever is born into the world, is entangled in it; human birth is obtained only by good destiny. I look to Your support, O Holy Saint; give me Your hand, and protect me. By Your Grace, let me meet the Lord, my King. ||1|| I wandered through countless incarnations, but I did not find stability anywhere. I serve the Guru, and I fall at His feet, praying, "O Dear Lord of the Universe, please, show me the way."||1||Pause|| I have tried so many things to acquire the wealth of Maya, and to cherish it in my mind; I have passed my life constantly crying out, "Mine, mine!"

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 028

Is there any such Saint, who would meet with me, take away my anxiety, and lead me to enshrine love for my Lord and Master. ||2|| I have read all the Vedas, and yet the sense of separation in my mind still has not been removed; the five thieves of my house are not quieted, even for an instant. Is there any devotee, who is unattached to Maya, who may irrigate my mind with the Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the One Lord? ||3|| In spite of the many places of pilgrimage for people to bathe in, their minds are still stained by their stubborn ego; the Lord Master is not pleased by this at all. When will I find the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy? There, I shall be always in the ecstasy of the Lord, Har, Har, and my mind shall take its cleansing bath in the healing ointment of spiritual wisdom. ||4|| I have followed the four stages of life, but my mind is not satisfied; I wash my body, but it is totally lacking in understanding. If only I could meet some devotee of the Supreme Lord God, imbued with the Lord's Love, who could eradicate the filthy evil-mindedness from my mind. ||5|| One who is attached to religious rituals, does not love the Lord, even for an instant; he is filled with pride, and he is of no account. One who meets with the rewarding personality of the Guru, continually sings the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises. By Guru's Grace, such a rare one beholds the Lord with his eyes. ||6|| One who acts through stubbornness is of no account at all; like a crane, he pretends to meditate, but he is still stuck in Maya. Is there any such Giver of peace, who can recite to me the sermon of God? Meeting him, I would be emancipated. ||7|| When the Lord, my King, is totally pleased with me, He will break the bonds of Maya for me; my mind is imbued with the Word of the Guru's Shabad. I am in ecstasy, forever and ever, meeting the Fearless Lord, the Lord of the Universe. Falling at the Lord's Feet, Nanak has found peace. ||8|| My Yatra, my life pilgrimage, has become fruitful, fruitful, fruitful. My comings and goings have ended, since I met the Holy Saint. ||1||Second Pause||1||3|| Dhanaasaree, First Mehl, Chhant: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Why should I bathe at sacred shrines of pilgrimage? The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is the sacred shrine of pilgrimage. My sacred shrine of pilgrimage is spiritual wisdom within, and contemplation on the Word of the Shabad. The spiritual wisdom given by the Guru is the True sacred shrine of pilgrimage, where the ten festivals are always observed. I constantly beg for the Name of the Lord; grant it to me, O God, Sustainer of the world. The world is sick, and the Naam is the medicine to cure it; without the True Lord, filth sticks to it. The Guru's Word is immaculate and pure; it radiates a steady Light. Constantly bathe in such a true shrine of pilgrimage. ||1|| Filth does not stick to the true ones; what filth do they have to wash off? If one strings a garland of virtues for oneself, what is there to cry for? One who conquers his own self through contemplation is saved, and saves others as well; he does not come to be born again. The supreme meditator is Himself the philosopher's stone, which transforms lead into gold. The true man is pleasing to the True Lord. He is in ecstasy, truly happy, night and day; his sorrows and sins are taken away. He finds the True Name, and beholds the Guru; with the True Name in his mind, no filth sticks to him. ||2|| O friend, association with the Holy is the perfect cleansing bath.

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 029

The singer who sings the Lord's Praises is adorned with the Word of the Shabad. Worship the True Lord, and believe in the True Guru; this brings the merit of making donations to charity, kindness and compassion. The soul-bride who loves to be with her Husband Lord bathes at the Triveni, the sacred place where the Ganges, Jamuna and Saraswaati Rivers converge, the Truest of the True. Worship and adore the One Creator, the True Lord, who constantly gives, whose gifts continually increase. Salvation is attained by associating with the Society of the Saints, O friend; granting His Grace, God unites us in His Union. ||3|| Everyone speaks and talks; how great should I say He is? I am foolish, lowly and ignorant; it is only through the Guru's Teachings that I understand. True are the Teachings of the Guru. His Words are Ambrosial Nectar; my mind is pleased and appeased by them. Loaded down with corruption and sin, people depart, and then come back again; the True Shabad is found through my Guru. There is no end to the treasure of devotion; the Lord is pervading everywhere. Nanak utters this true prayer; one who purifies his mind is True. ||4||1|| Dhanaasaree, First Mehl: I live by Your Name; my mind is in ecstasy, Lord. True is the Name of the True Lord. Glorious are the Praises of the Lord of the Universe. Infinite is the spiritual wisdom imparted by the Guru. The Creator Lord who created, shall also destroy. The call of death is sent out by the Lord's Command; no one can challenge it. He Himself creates, and watches; His written command is above each and every head. He Himself imparts understanding and awareness. O Nanak, the Lord Master is inaccessible and unfathomable; I live by His True Name. ||1|| No one can compare to You, Lord; all come and go. By Your Command, the account is settled, and doubt is dispelled. The Guru dispels doubt, and makes us speak the Unspoken Speech; the true ones are absorbed into Truth. He Himself creates, and He Himself destroys; I accept the Command of the Commander Lord. True greatness comes from the Guru; You alone are the mind's companion in the end. O Nanak, there is no other than the Lord and Master; greatness comes from Your Name. ||2|| You are the True Creator Lord, the unknowable Maker. There is only the One Lord and Master, but there are two paths, by which conflict increases. All follow these two paths, by the Hukam of the Lord's Command; the world is born, only to die. Without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the mortal has no friend at all; he carries loads of sin on his head. By the Hukam of the Lord's Command, he comes, but he does not understand this Hukam; the Lord's Hukam is the Embellisher. O Nanak, through the Shabad, the Word of the Lord and Master, the True Creator Lord is realised. ||3|| Your devotees look beautiful in Your Court, embellished with the Shabad. They chant the Ambrosial Word of His Bani, savoring it with their tongues. Savoring it with their tongues, they thirst for the Naam; they are a sacrifice to the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Touching the philosopher's stone, they become the philosopher's stone, which transforms lead into gold; O Lord, they become pleasing to your mind. They attain the immortal status and eradicate their self-conceit; how rare is that person, who contemplates spiritual wisdom. O Nanak, the devotees look beautiful in the Court of the True Lord; they are dealers in the Truth. ||4|| I am hungry and thirsty for wealth; how will I be able to go to the Lord's Court?

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 030

I shall go and ask the True Guru, and meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. I meditate on the True Name, chant the True Name, and as Gurmukh, I realise the True Name. Night and day, I chant the Name of the merciful, immaculate Lord, the Master of the poor. The Primal Lord has ordained the tasks to be done; self-conceit is overcome, and the mind is subdued. O Nanak, the Naam is the sweetest essence; through the Naam, thirst and desire are stilled. ||5||2|| Dhanaasaree, Chhant, First Mehl: Your Husband Lord is with you, O deluded soul-bride, but you do are not aware of Him. Your destiny is written on your forehead, according to your past actions. This inscription of past deeds cannot be erased; what do I know about what will happen? You have not adopted a virtuous lifestyle, and you are not attuned to the Lord's Love; you sit there, crying over your past misdeeds. Wealth and youth are like the shade of the bitter swallow-wort plant; you are growing old, and your days are coming to their end. O Nanak, without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, you shall end up as a discarded, divorced bride; your own falsehood shall separate you from the Lord. ||1|| You have drowned, and your house is ruined; walk in the Way of the Guru's Will. Meditate on the True Name, and you shall find peace in the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. Meditate on the Lord's Name, and you shall find peace; your stay in this world shall last only four days. Sit in the home of your own being, and you shall find Truth; night and day, be with your Beloved. Without loving devotion, you cannot dwell in your own home - listen, everyone! O Nanak, she is happy, and she obtains her Husband Lord, if she is attuned to the True Name. ||2|| If the soul-bride is pleasing to her Husband Lord, then the Husband Lord will love His bride. Imbued with the love of her Beloved, she contemplates the Word of the Guru's Shabad. She contemplates the Guru's Shabads, and her Husband Lord loves her; in deep humility, she worships Him in loving devotion. She burns away her emotional attachment to Maya, and in love, she loves her Beloved. She is imbued and drenched with the Love of the True Lord; she has become beautiful, by conquering her mind. O Nanak, the happy soul-bride abides

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in Truth; she loves to love her Husband Lord. ||3|| The soul-bride looks so beautiful in the home of her Husband Lord, if she is pleasing to Him. It is of no use at all to speak false words. If she speaks false, it is of no use to her, and she does not see her Husband Lord with her eyes. Worthless, forgotten and abandoned by her Husband Lord, she passes her life-night without her Lord and Master. Such a wife does not believe in the Word of the Guru's Shabad; she is caught in the net of the world, and does not obtain the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. O Nanak, if she understands her own self, then, as Gurmukh, she merges in celestial peace. ||4|| Blessed is that soul-bride, who knows her Husband Lord. Without the Naam, she is false, and her actions are false as well. Devotional worship of the Lord is beautiful; the True Lord loves it. So immerse yourself in loving devotional worship of God. My Husband Lord is playful and innocent; imbued with His Love, I enjoy Him. She blossoms forth through the Word of the Guru's Shabad; she ravishes her Husband Lord, and obtains the most noble reward. O Nanak, in Truth, she obtains glory; in her Husband's home, the soul-bride looks beautiful. ||5||3||

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 031

Dhanaasaree, Chhant, Fourth Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: When the Dear Lord grants His Grace, one meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Meeting the True Guru, through loving faith and devotion, one intuitively sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Singing His Glorious Praises continually, night and day, one blossoms forth, when it is pleasing to the True Lord. Egotism, self-conceit and Maya are forsaken, and he is intuitively absorbed into the Naam. The Creator Himself acts; when He gives, then we receive. When the Dear Lord grants His Grace, we meditate on the Naam. ||1|| Deep within, I feel true love for the Perfect True Guru. I serve Him day and night; I never forget Him. I never forget Him; I remember Him night and day. When I chant the Naam, then I live. With my ears, I hear about Him, and my mind is satisfied. As Gurmukh, I drink in the Ambrosial Nectar. If He bestows His Glance of Grace, then I shall meet the True Guru; my discriminating intellect would contemplate Him, night and day. Deep within, I feel true love for the Perfect True Guru. ||2|| By great good fortune, one joins the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation; then, one comes to savor the subtle essence of the Lord. Night and day, he remains lovingly focused on the Lord; he merges in celestial peace. Merging in celestial peace, he becomes pleasing to the Lord's Mind; he remains forever unattached and untouched. He receives honour in this world and the next, lovingly focused on the Lord's Name. He is liberated from both pleasure and pain; he is pleased by whatever God does. By great good fortune, one joins the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, and then, one comes to savor the subtle essence of the Lord. ||3|| In the love of duality, there is pain and suffering; the Messenger of Death eyes the self-willed manmukhs. They cry and howl, day and night, caught by the pain of Maya. Caught by the pain of Maya, provoked by his ego, he passes his life crying out, "Mine, mine!". He does not remember God, the Giver, and in the end, he departs regretting and repenting. Without the Name, nothing shall go along with him; not his children, spouse or the enticements of Maya.In the love of duality, there is pain and suffering; the Messenger of Death eyes the self-willed manmukhs. ||4|| Granting His Grace, the Lord has merged me with Himself; I have found the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. I remain standing with my palms pressed together; I have become pleasing to God's Mind. When one is pleasing to God's Mind, then he merges in the Hukam of the Lord's Command; surrendering to His Hukam, he finds peace. Night and day, he chants the Lord's Name, day and night; intuitively, naturally, he meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Through the Naam, the glorious greatness of the Naam is obtained; the Naam is pleasing to Nanak's mind. Granting His Grace, the Lord has merged me with Himself; I have found the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. ||5||1||

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 032

Dhanaasaree, Fifth Mehl, Chhant: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The True Guru is merciful to the meek; in His Presence, the Lord's Praises are sung. The Ambrosial Name of the Lord is chanted in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Vibrating, and worshipping the One Lord in the Company of the Holy, the pains of birth and death are removed. Those who have such karma pre-ordained, study and learn the Truth; the noose of Death is removed from their necks. Their fears and doubts are dispelled, the knot of death is untied, and they never have to walk on Death's path. Prays Nanak, shower me with Your Mercy, Lord; let me sing Your Glorious Praises forever. ||1|| The Name of the One, Immaculate Lord is the Support of the unsupported. You are the Giver, the Great Giver, the Dispeller of all sorrow. O Destroyer of pain, Creator Lord, Master of peace and bliss, I have come seeking the Sanctuary of the Holy; please, help me to cross over the terrifying and difficult world-ocean in an instant. I saw the Lord pervading and permeating everywhere, when the healing ointment of the Guru's wisdom was applied to my eyes. Prays Nanak, remember Him forever in meditation, the Destroyer of all sorrow and fear. ||2|| He Himself has attached me to the hem of His robe; He has showered me with His Mercy. I am worthless, lowly and helpless; God is unfathomable and infinite. My Lord and Master is always merciful, kind and compassionate; He uplifts and establishes the lowly. All beings and creatures are under Your power; You take care of all. He Himself is the Creator, and He Himself is the Enjoyer; He Himself is the Contemplator of all. Prays Nanak, singing Your Glorious Praises, I live, chanting the Chant of the Lord, the Lord of the world-forest. ||3|| The Blessed Vision of Your Darshan is incomparable; Your Name is utterly priceless. O my Incomputable Lord, Your humble servants ever meditate on You. You dwell on the tongues of the Saints, by Your own pleasure; they are intoxicated with Your sublime essence, O Lord. Those who are attached to Your feet are very blessed; night and day, they remain always awake and aware. Forever and ever, meditate in remembrance on the Lord and Master; with each and every breath, speak His Glorious Praises. Prays Nanak, let me become the dust of the feet of the Saints. God's Name is invaluable. ||4||1|| Raag Dhanaasaree, The Word Of Devotee Kabeer Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace of The True Guru: Beings like Sanak, Sanand, Shiva and Shaysh-naaga - none of them know Your mystery, Lord. ||1|| In the Society of the Saints, the Lord dwells within the heart. ||1||Pause|| Beings like Hanumaan, Garura, Indra the King of the gods and the rulers of humans - none of them know Your Glories, Lord. ||2|| The four Vedas, the Simritees and the Puraanas, Vishnu the Lord of Lakshmi and Lakshmi herself - none of them know the Lord. ||3|| Says Kabeer, one who falls at the Lord's feet, and remains in His Sanctuary, does not wander around lost. ||4||1||

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 033

Day by day, hour by hour, life runs its course, and the body withers away. Death, like a hunter, a butcher, is on the prowl; tell me, what can we do? ||1|| That day is rapidly approaching. Mother, father, siblings, children and spouse - tell me, who belongs to whom? ||1||Pause|| As long as the light remains in the body, the beast does not understand himself. He acts in greed to maintain his life and status, and sees nothing with his eyes. ||2|| Says Kabeer, listen, O mortal: Renounce the doubts of your mind. Chant only the One Naam, the Name of the Lord, O mortal, and seek the Sanctuary of the One Lord. ||3||2|| That humble being, who knows even a little about loving devotional worship - what surprises are there for him? Like water, dripping into water, which cannot be separated out again, so is the weaver Kabeer, with softened heart, merged into the Lord. ||1|| O people of the Lord, I am just a simple-minded fool. If Kabeer were to leave his body at Benares, and so liberate himself, what obligation would he have to the Lord? ||1||Pause|| Says Kabeer, listen, O people - do not be deluded by doubt. What is the difference between Benares and the barren land of Maghar, if the Lord is within one's heart? ||2||3|| Mortals may go to the Realm of Indra, or the Realm of Shiva, but because of their hypocrisy and false prayers, they must leave again. ||1|| What should I ask for? Nothing lasts forever. Enshrine the Lord's Name within your mind. ||1||Pause|| Fame and glory, power, wealth and glorious greatness - none of these will go with you or help you in the end. ||2|| Children, spouse, wealth and Maya - who has ever obtained peace from these? ||3|| Says Kabeer, nothing else is of any use. Within my mind is the wealth of the Lord's Name. ||4||4|| Remember the Lord, remember the Lord, remember the Lord in meditation, O Siblings of Destiny. Without remembering the Lord's Name in meditation, a great many are drowned. ||1||Pause|| Your spouse, children, body, house and possessions - you think these will give you peace. But none of these shall be yours, when the time of death comes. ||1|| Ajaamal, the elephant, and the prostitute committed many sins, but still, they crossed over the world-ocean, by chanting the Lord's Name. ||2|| You have wandered in reincarnation, as pigs and dogs - did you feel no shame? Forsaking the Ambrosial Name of the Lord, why do you eat poison? ||3|| Abandon your doubts about do's and dont's, and take to the Lord's Name. By Guru's Grace, O servant Kabeer, love the Lord. ||4||5|| Dhanaasaree, The Word Of Devotee Naam Dayv Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: They dig deep foundations, and build lofty palaces. Can anyone live longer than Markanda, who passed his days with only a handful of straw upon his head? ||1|| The Creator Lord is our only friend. O man, why are you so proud? This body is only temporary - it shall pass away. ||1||Pause||

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 034

The Kaurvas, who had brothers like Duryodhan, used to proclaim, "This is ours! This is ours!" Their royal procession extended over sixty miles, and yet their bodies were eaten by vultures. ||2|| Sri Lanka was totally rich with gold; was anyone greater than its ruler Raavan? What happened to the elephants, tethered at his gate? In an instant, it all belonged to someone else. ||3|| The Yaadvas deceived Durbaasaa, and received their rewards. The Lord has shown mercy to His humble servant, and now Naam Dayv sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||4||1|| I have brought the ten sensory organs under my control, and erased every trace of the five thieves. I have filled the seventy-two thousand nerve channels with Ambrosial Nectar, and drained out the poison. ||1|| I shall not come into the world again. I chant the Ambrosial Bani of the Word from the depths of my heart, and I have instructed my soul. ||1||Pause|| I fell at the Guru's feet and begged of Him; with the mighty axe, I have chopped off emotional attachment. Turning away from the world, I have become the servant of the Saints; I fear no one except the Lord's devotees. ||2|| I shall be released from this world, when I stop clinging to Maya. Maya is the name of the power which causes us to be born; renouncing it, we obtain the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan. ||3|| That humble being, who performs devotional worship in this way, is rid of all fear. Says Naam Dayv, why are you wandering around out there? This is the way to find the Lord. ||4||2|| As water is very precious in the desert, and the creeper weeds are dear to the camel, and the tune of the hunter's bell at night is enticing to the deer, so is the Lord to my mind. ||1|| Your Name is so beautiful! Your form is so beautiful! Your Love is so very beautiful, O my Lord. ||1||Pause|| As rain is dear to the earth, and the flower's fragrance is dear to the bumble bee, and the mango is dear to the cuckoo, so is the Lord to my mind. ||2|| As the sun is dear to the chakvi duck, and the lake of Man Sarovar is dear to the swan, and the husband is dear to his wife, so is the Lord to my mind. ||3|| As milk is dear to the baby, and the raindrop is dear to the mouth of the rainbird, and as water is dear to the fish, so is the Lord to my mind. ||4|| All the seekers, Siddhas and silent sages seek Him, but only a rare few behold Him. Just as Your Name is dear to all the Universe, so is the Lord dear to Naam Dayv's mind. ||5||3|| First of all, the lotuses bloomed in the woods; from them, all the swan-souls came into being. Know that, through Krishna, the Lord, Har, Har, the dance of creation dances. ||1|| First of all, there was only the Primal Being. From that Primal Being, Maya was produced. All that is, is His. In this Garden of the Lord, we all dance, like water in the pots of the Persian wheel. ||1||Pause|| Women and men both dance. There is no other than the Lord. Don't dispute this, and don't doubt this. The Lord says, "This creation and I are one and the same."||2||

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 035

Like the pots on the Persian wheel, sometimes the world is high, and sometimes it is low. Wandering and roaming around, I have come at last to Your Door. "Who are you?" "I am Naam Dayv, Sir." O Lord, please save me from Maya, the cause of death. ||3||4|| O Lord, You are the Purifier of sinners - this is Your innate nature. Blessed are those silent sages and humble beings, who meditate on my Lord God. ||1|| I have applied to my forehead the dust of the feet of the Lord of the Universe. This is something which is far away from the gods, mortal men and silent sages. ||1||Pause|| O Lord, Merciful to the meek, Destroyer of pride - Naam Dayv seeks the Sanctuary of Your feet; he is a sacrifice to You. ||2||5|| Dhanaasaree, Devotee Ravi Daas Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: There is none as forlorn as I am, and none as Compassionate as You; what need is there to test us now? May my mind surrender to Your Word; please, bless Your humble servant with this perfection. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice to the Lord. O Lord, why are You silent? ||Pause|| For so many incarnations, I have been separated from You, Lord; I dedicate this life to You. Says Ravi Daas: placing my hopes in You, I live; it is so long since I have gazed upon the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. ||2||1|| In my consciousness, I remember You in meditation; with my eyes, I behold You; I fill my ears with the Word of Your Bani, and Your Sublime Praise. My mind is the bumble bee; I enshrine Your feet within my heart, and with my tongue, I chant the Ambrosial Name of the Lord. ||1|| My love for the Lord of the Universe does not decrease. I paid for it dearly, in exchange for my soul. ||1||Pause|| Without the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, love for the Lord does not well up; without this love, Your devotional worship cannot be performed. Ravi Daas offers this one prayer unto the Lord: please preserve and protect my honour, O Lord, my King. ||2||2|| Your Name, Lord, is my adoration and cleansing bath. Without the Name of the Lord, all ostentatious displays are useless. ||1||Pause|| Your Name is my prayer mat, and Your Name is the stone to grind the sandalwood. Your Name is the saffron which I take and sprinkle in offering to You. Your Name is the water, and Your Name is the sandalwood. The chanting of Your Name is the grinding of the sandalwood. I take it and offer all this to You. ||1|| Your Name is the lamp, and Your Name is the wick. Your Name is the oil I pour into it. Your Name is the light applied to this lamp, which enlightens and illuminates the entire world. ||2|| Your Name is the thread, and Your Name is the garland of flowers. The eighteen loads of vegetation are all too impure to offer to You. Why should I offer to You, that which You Yourself created? Your Name is the fan, which I wave over You. ||3|| The whole world is engrossed in the eighteen Puraanas, the sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage, and the four sources of creation. Says Ravi Daas,

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Your Name is my Aartee, my lamp-lit worship-service. The True Name, Sat Naam, is the food which I offer to You. ||4||3||

Section 14 - Raag Dhanaasaree - Part 036

Dhanaasaree, The Word Of Devotee Trilochan Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Why do you slander the Lord? You are ignorant and deluded. Pain and pleasure are the result of your own actions. ||1||Pause|| The moon dwells in Shiva's forehead; it takes its cleansing bath in the Ganges. Among the men of the moon's family, Krishna was born; even so, the stains from its past actions remain on the moon's face. ||1|| Aruna was a charioteer; his master was the sun, the lamp of the world. His brother was Garuda, the king of birds; and yet, Aruna was made a cripple, because of the karma of his past actions. ||2|| Shiva, the destroyer of countless sins, the Lord and Master of the three worlds, wandered from sacred shrine to sacred shrine; he never found an end to them. And yet, he could not erase the karma of cutting off Brahma's head. ||3|| Through the nectar, the moon, the wish-fulfilling cow, Lakshmi, the miraculous tree of life, Sikhar the sun's horse, and Dhanavantar the wise physician - all arose from the ocean, the lord of rivers; and yet, because of its karma, its saltiness has not left it. ||4|| Hanuman burnt the fortress of Sri Lanka, uprooted the garden of Raawan, and brought healing herbs for the wounds of Lachhman, pleasing Lord Raamaa; and yet, because of his karma, he could not be rid of his loin cloth. ||5|| The karma of past actions cannot be erased, O wife of my house; this is why I chant the Name of the Lord. So prays Trilochan, Dear Lord. ||6||1|| Sri Sain: With incense, lamps and ghee, I offer this lamp-lit worship service. I am a sacrifice to the Lord of Lakshmi. ||1|| Hail to You, Lord, hail to You! Again and again, hail to You, Lord King, Ruler of all! ||1||Pause|| Sublime is the lamp, and pure is the wick. You are immaculate and pure, O Brilliant Lord of Wealth! ||2|| Raamaanand knows the devotional worship of the Lord. He says that the Lord is all-pervading, the embodiment of supreme joy. ||3|| The Lord of the world, of wondrous form, has carried me across the terrifying world-ocean. Says Sain, remember the Lord, the embodiment of supreme joy! ||4||2|| Peepaa: Within the body, the Divine Lord is embodied. The body is the temple, the place of pilgrimage, and the pilgrim. Within the body are incense, lamps and offerings. Within the body are the flower offerings. ||1|| I searched throughout many realms, but I found the nine treasures within the body. Nothing comes, and nothing goes; I pray to the Lord for Mercy. ||1||Pause|| The One who pervades the Universe also dwells in the body; whoever seeks Him, finds Him there. Peepaa prays, the Lord is the supreme essence; He reveals Himself through the True Guru. ||2||3|| Dhannaa: O Lord of the world, this is Your lamp-lit worship service. You are the Arranger of the affairs of those humble beings who perform Your devotional worship service. ||1||Pause|| Lentils, flour and ghee - these things, I beg of You. My mind shall ever be pleased. Shoes, fine clothes, and grain of seven kinds - I beg of You. ||1|| A milk cow, and a water buffalo, I beg of You, and a fine Turkestani horse. A good wife to care for my home - Your humble servant Dhanna begs for these things, Lord. ||2||4||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 15 - RAAG JAITSREE

Section 15 - Raag Jaitsree - Part 001

Jaitsree, Fourth Mehl, First House, Chau-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The Jewel of the Lord's Name abides within my heart; the Guru has placed His hand on my forehead. The sins and pains of countless incarnations have been cast out. The Guru has blessed me with the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and my debt has been paid off. ||1|| O my mind, vibrate the Lord's Name, and all your affairs shall be resolved. The Perfect Guru has implanted the Lord's Name within me; without the Name, life is useless. ||Pause|| Without the Guru, the self-willed manmukhs are foolish and ignorant; they are forever entangled in emotional attachment to Maya. They never serve the feet of the Holy; their lives are totally useless. ||2|| Those who serve at the feet of the Holy, the feet of the Holy, their lives are made fruitful, and they belong to the Lord. Make me the slave of the slave of the slaves of the Lord; bless me with Your Mercy, O Lord of the Universe. ||3|| I am blind, ignorant and totally without wisdom; how can I walk on the Path? I am blind - O Guru, please let me grasp the hem of Your robe, so that servant Nanak may walk in harmony with You. ||4||1|| Jaitsree, Fourth Mehl: A jewel or a diamond may be very valuable and heavy, but without a purchaser, it is worth only straw. When the Holy Guru, the Purchaser, saw this jewel, He purchased it for hundreds of thousands of dollars. ||1|| The Lord has kept this jewel hidden within my mind. The Lord, merciful to the meek, led me to meet the Holy Guru; meeting the Guru, I came to appreciate this jewel. ||Pause|| The rooms of the self-willed manmukhs are dark with ignorance; in their homes, the jewel is not visible. Those fools die, wandering in the wilderness, eating the poison of the snake, Maya. ||2|| O Lord, Har, Har, let me meet the humble, holy beings; O Lord, keep me in the Sanctuary of the Holy. O Lord, make me Your own; O God, Lord and Master, I have hurried to Your side. ||3|| What Glorious Virtues of Yours can I speak and describe? You are great and unfathomable, the Greatest Being. The Lord has bestowed His Mercy on servant Nanak; He has saved the sinking stone. ||4||2||

Section 15 - Raag Jaitsree - Part 002

Jaitsree, Fourth Mehl: I am Your child; I know nothing about Your state and extent; I am foolish, idiotic and ignorant. O Lord, shower me with Your Mercy; bless me with an enlightened intellect; I am foolish - make me clever. ||1|| My mind is lazy and sleepy. The Lord, Har, Har, has led me to meet the Holy Guru; meeting the Holy, the shutters have been opened wide. ||Pause|| O Guru, each and every instant, fill my heart with love; the Name of my Beloved is my breath of life. Without the Name, I would die; the Name of my Lord and Master is to me like the drug to the addict. ||2|| Those who enshrine love for the Lord within their minds fulfill their pre-ordained destiny. I worship their feet, each and every instant; the Lord seems very sweet to them. ||3|| My Lord and Master, Har, Har, has showered His Mercy upon His humble servant; separated for so long, he is now re-united with the Lord. Blessed, blessed is the True Guru, who has implanted the Naam, the Name of the Lord within me; servant Nanak is a sacrifice to Him. ||4||3|| Jaitsree, Fourth Mehl: I have found the True Guru, my Friend, the Greatest Being. Love and affection for the Lord has blossomed forth. Maya, the snake, has seized the mortal; through the Word of the Guru, the Lord neutralises the venom. ||1|| My mind is attached to the sublime essence of the Lord's Name. The Lord has purified the sinners, uniting them with the Holy Guru; now, they taste the Lord's Name, and the sublime essence of the Lord. ||Pause|| Blessed, blessed is the good fortune of those who meet the Holy Guru; meeting with the Holy, they lovingly centre themselves in the state of absolute absorption. The fire of desire within them is quenched, and they find peace; they sing the Glorious Praises of the Immaculate Lord. ||2|| Those who do not obtain the Blessed Vision of the True Guru's Darshan, have misfortune pre-ordained for them. In the love of duality, they are consigned to reincarnation through the womb, and they pass their lives totally uselessly. ||3|| O Lord, please, bless me with pure understanding, that I may serve the Feet of the Holy Guru; the Lord seems sweet to me. Servant Nanak begs for the dust of the feet of the Holy; O Lord, be Merciful, and bless me with it. ||4||4|| Jaitsree, Fourth Mehl: The Lord's Name does not abide within their hearts - their mothers should have been sterile. These bodies wander around, forlorn and abandoned, without the Name; their lives waste away, and they die, crying out in pain. ||1|| O my mind, chant the Name of the Lord, the Lord within you. The Merciful Lord God, Har, Har, has showered me with His Mercy; the Guru has imparted spiritual wisdom to me, and my mind has been instructed. ||Pause|| In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, the Kirtan of the Lord's Praise brings the most noble and exalted status; the Lord is found through the True Guru. I am a sacrifice to my True Guru, who has revealed the Lord's hidden Name to me. ||2|| By great good fortune, I obtained the Blessed Vision of the Darshan of the Holy; it removes all stains of sin. I have found the True Guru, the great, all-knowing King; He has shared with me the many Glorious Virtues of the Lord. ||3||

Section 15 - Raag Jaitsree - Part 003

Those, unto whom the Lord, the Life of the world, has shown Mercy, enshrine Him within their hearts, and cherish Him in their minds. The Righteous Judge of Dharma, in the Court of the Lord, has torn up my papers; servant Nanak's account has been settled. ||4||5|| Jaitsree, Fourth Mehl: In the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, I found the Holy, by great good fortune; my restless mind has been quieted. The unstruck melody ever vibrates and resounds; I have taken in the sublime essence of the Lord's Ambrosial Nectar, showering down. ||1|| O my mind, chant the Name of the Lord, the beauteous Lord. The True Guru has drenched my mind and body with the Love of the Lord, who has met me and lovingly embraced me. ||Pause|| The faithless cynics are bound and gagged in the chains of Maya; they are actively engaged, gathering in the poisonous wealth. They cannot spend this in harmony with the Lord, and so they must endure the pain which the Messenger of Death inflicts upon their heads. ||2|| The Holy Guru has dedicated His Being to the Lord's service; with great devotion, apply the dust of His feet to your face. In this world and the next, you shall receive the Lord's honour, and your mind shall be imbued with the permanent colour of the Lord's Love. ||3|| O Lord, Har, Har, please unite me with the Holy; compared to these Holy people, I am just a worm. Servant Nanak has enshrined love for the feet of the Holy Guru; meeting with this Holy One, my foolish, stone-like mind has blossomed forth in lush profusion. ||4||6|| Jaitsree, Fourth Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Remember in meditation the Lord, Har, Har, the unfathomable, infinite Lord. Remembering Him in meditation, pains are dispelled. O Lord, Har, Har, lead me to meet the True Guru; meeting the Guru, I am at peace. ||1|| Sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, O my friend. Cherish the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, in your heart. Read the Ambrosial Words of the Lord, Har, Har; meeting with the Guru, the Lord is revealed. ||2|| The Lord, the Slayer of demons, is my breath of life. His Ambrosial Amrit is so sweet to my mind and body. O Lord, Har, Har, have mercy upon me, and lead me to meet the Guru, the immaculate Primal Being. ||3|| The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is forever the Giver of peace. My mind is imbued with the Lord's Love. O Lord Har, Har, lead me to meet the Guru, the Greatest Being; through the Name of Guru Nanak, I have found peace. ||4||1||7|| Jaitsree, Fourth Mehl: Chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, Har, Har. As Gurmukh, ever earn the profit of the Naam. Implant within yourself devotion to the Lord, Har, Har, Har, Har; sincerely dedicate yourself to the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1|| Meditate on the Name of the Merciful Lord, Har, Har. WIth love, forever sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Dance to the Praises of the Lord, Har, Har, Har; meet with the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, with sincerity. ||2|| Come, O companions - let us unite in the Lord's Union. Listening to the sermon of the Lord, earn the profit of the Naam.

Section 15 - Raag Jaitsree - Part 004

O Lord, Har, Har, be merciful to me, and lead me to meet the Guru; meeting the Guru, a sincere yearning for the Lord wells up in me. ||3|| Praise Him, the unfathomable and inaccessible Lord. Each and every moment, sing the Lord's Name. Be merciful, and meet me, O Guru, Great Giver; Nanak yearns for the Lord's devotional worship. ||4||2||8|| Jaitsree, Fourth Mehl: With love and energetic affection, praise the Lord, the storehouse of Nectar. My mind is drenched with the Lord's Name, and so it earns this profit. Each and every moment, worship Him in devotion, day and night; through the Guru's Teachings, sincere love and devotion well up. ||1|| Chant the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe, Har, Har. Conquering mind and body, I have earned the profit of the Shabad. Through the Guru's Teachings, the five demons are over-powered, and the mind and body are filled with a sincere yearning for the Lord. ||2|| The Name is a jewel - chant the Lord's Name. Sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and forever earn this profit. O Lord, merciful to the meek, be kind to me, and bless me with sincere longing for the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||3|| Meditate on the Lord of the world - meditate within your mind. The Lord of the Universe, Har, Har, is the only real profit in this world. Blessed, blessed, is my Great Lord and Master God; O Nanak, meditate on Him, worship Him with sincere love and devotion. ||4||3||9|| Jaitsree, Fourth Mehl: He Himself is the Yogi, and the way throughout the ages. The Fearless Lord Himself is absorbed in Samaadhi. He Himself, all by Himself, is all-pervading; He Himself blesses us with sincere love for the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1|| He Himself is the lamp, and the Light pervading all the worlds. He Himself is the True Guru; He Himself churns the ocean. He Himself churns it, churning up the essence; meditating on the jewel of the Naam, sincere love comes to the surface. ||2|| O my companions, let us meet and join together, and sing His Glorious Praises. As Gurmukh, chant the Naam, and earn the profit of the Lord's Name. Devotional worship of the Lord, Har, Har, has been implanted within me; it is pleasing to my mind. The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, brings a sincere love. ||3|| He Himself is supremely wise, the greatest King. As Gurmukh, purchase the merchandise of the Naam. O Lord God, Har, Har, bless me with such a gift, that Your Glorious Virtues seem pleasing to me; Nanak is filled with sincere love and yearning for the Lord. ||4||4||10|| Jaitsree, Fourth Mehl: Joining the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, and associating with the Guru, the Gurmukh gathers in the merchandise of the Naam. O Lord, Har, Har, Destroyer of demons, have mercy upon me; bless me with a sincere yearning to join the Sat Sangat. ||1|| Let me hear with my ears the Banis, the Hymns, in praise of the Lord; be merciful, and let me meet the True Guru. I sing His Glorious Praises, I speak the Bani of His Word; chanting His Glorious Praises, a sincere yearning for the Lord wells up. ||2|| I have tried visiting all the sacred shrines of pilgrimage, fasting, ceremonial feasts and giving to charities. They do not measure up to the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. The Lord's Name is unweighable, utterly heavy in weight; through the Guru's Teachings, a sincere yearning to chant the Name has welled up in me. ||3|| All good karma and righteous living are found in meditation on the Lord's Name. It washes away the stains of sins and mistakes. Be merciful to meek, humble Nanak; bless him with sincere love and yearning for the Lord. ||4||5||11||

Section 15 - Raag Jaitsree - Part 005

Jaitsree, Fifth Mehl, Third House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Does anyone know, who is our friend in this world? He alone understands this, whom the Lord blesses with His Mercy. Immaculate and unstained is his way of life. ||1||Pause|| Mother, father, spouse, children, relatives, lovers, friends and siblings meet, having been associated in previous lives; but none of them will be your companion and support in the end. ||1|| Pearl necklaces, gold, rubies and diamonds please the mind, but they are only

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Maya. Possessing them, one passes his life in agony; he obtains no contentment from them. ||2|| Elephants, chariots, horses as fast as the wind, wealth, land, and armies of four kinds - none of these will go with him; he must get up and depart, naked. ||3|| The Lord's Saints are the beloved lovers of God; sing of the Lord, Har, Har, with them. O Nanak, in the Society of the Saints, you shall obtain peace in this world, and in the next world, your face shall be radiant and bright. ||4||1|| Jaitsree, Fifth Mehl, Third House, Du-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Give me a message from my Beloved - tell me, tell me! I am wonder-struck, hearing the many reports of Him; tell them to me, O my happy sister soul-brides. ||1||Pause|| Some say that He is beyond the world - totally beyond it, while others say that He is totally within it. His colour cannot be seen, and His pattern cannot be discerned. O happy soul-brides, tell me the truth! ||1|| He is pervading everywhere, and He dwells in each and every heart; He is not stained - He is unstained. Says Nanak, listen, O people: He dwells upon the tongues of the Saints. ||2||1||2|| Jaitsree, Fifth Mehl: I am calmed, calmed and soothed, hearing of God. ||1||Pause|| I dedicate my soul, my breath of life, my mind, body and everything to Him: I behold God near, very near. ||1|| Beholding God, the inestimable, infinite and Great Giver, I cherish Him in my mind. ||2|| Whatever I wish for, I receive; my hopes and desires are fulfilled, meditating on God. ||3|| By Guru's Grace, God dwells in Nanak's mind; he never suffers or grieves, having realised God. ||4||2||3|| Jaitsree, Fifth Mehl: I seek my Friend the Lord. In each and every home, sing the sublime songs of rejoicing; He abides in each and every heart. ||1||Pause|| In good times, worship and adore Him; in bad times, worship and adore Him; do not ever forget Him. Chanting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the light of millions of suns shines forth, and the darkness of doubt is dispelled. ||1|| In all the spaces and interspaces, everywhere, whatever we see is Yours. One who finds the Society of the Saints, O Nanak, is not consigned to reincarnation again. ||2||3||4||

Section 15 - Raag Jaitsree - Part 006

Jaitsree, Fifth Mehl, Fourth House, Du-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Now, I have found peace, bowing before the Guru. I have abandoned cleverness, quieted my anxiety, and renounced my egotism. ||1||Pause|| When I looked, I saw that everyone was enticed by emotional attachment; then, I hurried to the Guru's Sanctuary. In His Grace, the Guru engaged me in the Lord's service, and then, the Messenger of Death gave up pursuing me. ||1|| I swam across the ocean of fire, when I met the Saints, through great good fortune. O servant Nanak, I have found total peace; my consciousness is attached to the Lord's feet. ||2||1||5|| Jaitsree, Fifth Mehl: Within my mind, I cherish and meditate on the True Guru. He has implanted within me spiritual wisdom and the Mantra of the Lord's Name; Dear God has shown mercy to me. ||1||Pause|| Death's noose and its mighty entanglements have vanished, along with the fear of death. I have come to the Sanctuary of the Merciful Lord, the Destroyer of pain; I am holding tight to the Support of His feet. ||1|| The Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, has assumed the form of a boat, to cross over the terrifying world-ocean. I drink in the Ambrosial Nectar, and my doubts are shattered; says Nanak, I can bear the unbearable. ||2||2||6|| Jaitsree, Fifth Mehl: One who has the Lord of the Universe as his help and support is blessed with all peace, poise and bliss; no afflictions cling to him. ||1||Pause|| He appears to keep company with everyone, but he remains detached, and Maya does not cling to him. He is absorbed in love of the One Lord; he understands the essence of reality, and he is blessed with wisdom by the True Guru. ||1|| Those whom the Lord and Master blesses with His kindness, compassion and mercy are the sublime and sanctified Saints. Associating with them, Nanak is saved; with love and exuberant joy, they sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||2||3||7|| Jaitsree, Fifth Mehl: The Lord of the Universe is my existence, my breath of life, wealth and beauty. The ignorant are totally intoxicated with emotional attachment; in this darkness, the Lord is the only lamp. ||1||Pause|| Fruitful is the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan, O Beloved God; Your lotus feet are incomparably beautiful! So many times, I bow in reverence to Him, offering my mind as incense to Him. ||1|| Exhausted, I have fallen at Your Door, O God; I am holding tight to Your Support. Please, lift Your humble servant Nanak up, out of the pit of fire of the world. ||2||4||8|| Jaitsree, Fifth Mehl: If only someone would unite me with the Lord! I hold tight to His feet, and utter sweet words with my tongue; I make my breath of life an offering to Him. ||1||Pause|| I make my mind and body into pure little gardens, and irrigate them with the sublime essence of the Lord. I am drenched with this sublime essence by His Grace, and the powerful hold of Maya's corruption has been broken. ||1|| I have come to Your Sanctuary, O Destroyer of the suffering of the innocent; I keep my consciousness focused on You.

Section 15 - Raag Jaitsree - Part 007

Bless me with the gifts of the state of fearlessness, and meditative remembrance, Lord and Master; O Nanak, God is the Breaker of bonds. ||2||5||9|| Jaitsree, Fifth Mehl: The rainbird longs for the rain to fall. O God, ocean of mercy, shower Your mercy on me, that I may yearn for loving devotional worship of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| The chakvi duck does not desire many comforts, but it is filled with bliss upon seeing the dawn. The fish cannot survive any other way - without water, it dies. ||1|| I am a helpless orphan - I seek Your Sanctuary, O My Lord and Master; please bless me with Your mercy. Nanak worships and adores the Lord's lotus feet; without Him, there is no other at all. ||2||6||10|| Jaitsree, Fifth Mehl: The Lord, my very breath of life, abides in my mind and body. Bless me with Your mercy, and unite me with the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, O perfect, all-knowing Lord God. ||1||Pause|| Those, unto whom You give the intoxicating herb of Your Love, drink in the supreme sublime essence. I cannot describe their value; what power do I have? ||1|| The Lord attaches His humble servants to the hem of His robe, and they swim across the world-ocean. Meditating, meditating, meditating in remembrance on God, peace is obtained; Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of Your Door. ||2||7||11|| Jaitsree, Fifth Mehl: After wandering through so many incarnations, I have come to Your Sanctuary. Save me - lift my body up out of the deep, dark pit of the world, and attach me to Your feet. ||1||Pause|| I do not know anything about spiritual wisdom, meditation or karma, and my way of life is not clean and pure. Please attach me to the hem of the robe of the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; help me to cross over the terrible river. ||1|| Comforts, riches and the sweet pleasures of Maya - do not implant these within your mind. Slave Nanak is satisfied and satiated by the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan; his only ornamentation is the love of the Lord's Name. ||2||8||12|| Jaitsree, Fifth Mehl: O humble servants of the Lord, remember the Lord in meditation within your heart. Misfortune does not even approach the Lord's humble servant; the works of His slave are perfectly fulfilled. ||1||Pause|| Millions of obstacles are removed, by serving the Lord, and one enters into the eternal dwelling of the Lord of the Universe. The Lord's devotee is very fortunate; he has absolutely no fear. Even the Messenger of Death pays homage to him. ||1|| Forsaking the Lord of the world, he does other deeds, but these are temporary and transitory. Grasp the Lord's lotus feet, and hold them in your heart, O Nanak; you shall obtain absolute peace and bliss. ||2||9||13|| Jaitsree, Ninth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: My mind is deluded, entangled in Maya. Whatever I do, while engaged in greed, only serves to bind me down. ||1||Pause|| I have no understanding at all; I am engrossed in the pleasures of corruption, and I have forgotten the Praises of the Lord. The Lord and Master is with me, but I do not know Him. Instead, I run into the forest, looking for Him. ||1||

Section 15 - Raag Jaitsree - Part 008

The Jewel of the Lord is deep within my heart, but I do not have any knowledge of Him. O servant Nanak, without vibrating, meditating on the Lord God, human life is uselessly wasted and lost. ||2||1|| Jaitsree, Ninth Mehl: O Dear Lord, please, save my honour! The fear of death has entered my heart; I cling to the Protection of Your Sanctuary, O Lord, ocean of mercy. ||1||Pause|| I am a great sinner, foolish and greedy; but now, at last, I have grown weary of committing sins. I cannot forget the fear of dying; this anxiety is consuming my body. ||1|| I have been trying to liberate myself, running around in the ten directions. The pure, immaculate Lord abides deep within my heart, but I do not understand the secret of His mystery. ||2|| I have no merit, and I know nothing about meditation or austerities; what should I do now? O Nanak, I am exhausted; I seek the shelter of Your Sanctuary; O God, please bless me with the gift of fearlessness. ||3||2|| Jaitsree, Ninth Mehl: O mind, embrace true contemplation. Without the Lord's Name, know that this whole world is false. ||1||Pause|| The Yogis are tired of searching for Him, but they have not found His limit. You must understand that the Lord and Master is near at hand, but He has no form or feature. ||1|| The Naam, the Name of the Lord is purifying in the world, and yet you never remember it. Nanak has entered the Sanctuary of the One, before whom the whole world bows down; please, preserve and protect me, by Your innate nature. ||2||3|| Jaitsree, Fifth Mehl, Chhant, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Shalok: I am thirsty for the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan, day and night; I yearn for Him constantly, night and day. Opening the door, O Nanak, the Guru has led me to meet with the Lord, my Friend. ||1|| Chhant: Listen, O my intimate friend - I have just one prayer to make. I have been wandering around, searching for that enticing, sweet Beloved. Whoever leads me to my Beloved - I would cut off my head and offer it to him, even if I were granted the Blessed Vision of His Darshan for just an instant. My eyes are drenched with the Love of my Beloved; without Him, I do not have even a moment's peace. My mind is attached to the Lord, like the fish to the water, and the rainbird, thirsty for the raindrops. Servant Nanak has found the Perfect Guru; his thirst is totally quenched. ||1|| O intimate friend, my Beloved has all these loving companions; I cannot compare to any of them. O intimate friend, each of them is more beautiful than the others; who could consider me? Each of them is more beautiful than the others; countless are His lovers, constantly enjoying bliss with Him. Beholding them, desire wells up in my mind; when will I obtain the Lord, the treasure of virtue? I dedicate my mind to those who please and attract my Beloved. Says Nanak, hear my prayer, O happy soul-brides; tell me, what does my Husband Lord look like? ||2|| O intimate friend, my Husband Lord does whatever He pleases; He is not dependent on anyone.

Section 15 - Raag Jaitsree - Part 009

O intimate friend, you have enjoyed your Beloved; please, tell me about Him. They alone find their Beloved, who eradicate self-conceit; such is the good destiny written on their foreheads. Taking me by the arm, the Lord and Master has made me His own; He has not considered my merits or demerits. She, whom You have adorned with the necklace of virtue, and dyed in the deep crimson colour of His Love - everything looks beautiful on her. O servant Nanak, blessed is that happy soul-bride, who dwells with her Husband Lord. ||3|| O intimate friend, I have found that peace which I sought. My sought-after Husband Lord has come home, and now, congratulations are pouring in. Great joy and happiness welled up, when my Husband Lord, of ever-fresh beauty, showed mercy to me. By great good fortune, I have found Him; the Guru has united me with Him, through the Saadh Sangat, the True Congregation of the Holy. My hopes and desires have all been fulfilled; my Beloved Husband Lord has hugged me close in His embrace. Prays Nanak, I have found that peace which I sought, meeting with the Guru. ||4||1|| Jaitsree, Fifth Mehl, Second House, Chhant: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Shalok: God is lofty, unapproachable and infinite. He is indescribable - He cannot be described. Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of God, who is all-powerful to save us. ||1|| Chhant: Save me, any way You can; O Lord God, I am Yours. My demerits are uncountable; how many of them should I count? The sins and crimes I committed are countless; day by day, I continually make mistakes. I am intoxicated by emotional attachment to Maya, the treacherous one; by Your Grace alone can I be saved. Secretly, I commit hideous sins of corruption, even though God is the nearest of the near. Prays Nanak, shower me with Your Mercy, Lord, and lift me up, out of the whirlpool of the terrifying world-ocean. ||1|| Shalok: Countless are His virtues; they cannot be enumerated. God's Name is lofty and exalted. This is Nanak's humble prayer, to bless the homeless with a home. ||2|| Chhant: There is no other place at all - where else should I go? Twenty-four hours a day, with my palms pressed together, I meditate on God. Meditating forever on my God, I receive the fruits of my mind's desires. Renouncing pride, attachment, corruption and duality, I lovingly centre my attention on the One Lord. Dedicate your mind and body to God; eradicate all your self-conceit. Prays Nanak, shower me with Your mercy, Lord, that I may be absorbed in Your True Name. ||2|| Shalok: O mind, meditate on the One, who holds everything in His hands. Gather the wealth of the Lord's Name; O Nanak, it shall always be with You. ||3|| Chhant: God is our only True Friend; there is not any other. In the places and interspaces, in the water and on the land, He Himself is pervading everywhere. He is totally permeating the water, the land and the sky; God is the Great Giver, the Lord and Master of all. The Lord of the world, the Lord of the universe has no limit; His Glorious Virtues are unlimited - how can I count them? I have hurried to the Sanctuary of the Lord Master, the Bringer of peace; without Him, there is no other at all. Prays Nanak, that being, unto whom the Lord shows mercy - he alone obtains the Naam. ||3||

Section 15 - Raag Jaitsree - Part 010

Shalok: Whatever I wish for, that I receive. Meditating on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, Nanak has found total peace. ||4|| Chhant: My mind is now emancipated; I have joined the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. As Gurmukh, I chant the Naam, and my light has merged into the Light. Remembering the Lord's Name in meditation, my sins have been erased; the fire has been extinguished, and I am satisfied. He has taken me by the arm, and blessed me with His kind mercy; He has accepted me His own. The Lord has hugged me in His embrace, and merged me with Himself; the pains of birth and death have been burnt away. Prays Nanak, He has blessed me with His kind mercy; in an instant, He unites me with Himself. ||4||2|| Jaitsree, Chhant, Fifth Mehl: The world is like a temporary way-station, but it is filled with pride. People commit countless sins; they are dyed in the colour of the love of Maya. In greed, emotional attachment and egotism, they are drowning; they do not even think of dying. Children, friends, worldly occupations and spouses - they talk of these things, while their lives are passing away. When their pre-ordained days have run their course, O mother, they behold

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the Messengers of the Righteous Judge of Dharma, and they suffer. The karma of their past deeds cannot be erased, O Nanak, if they have not earned the wealth of the Lord's Name. ||1|| He makes all sorts of efforts, but he does not sing the Lord's Name. He wanders around in countless incarnations; he dies, only to be born again. As beasts, birds, stones and trees - their number cannot be known. As are the seeds he plants, so are the pleasures he enjoys; he receives the consequences of his own actions. He loses the jewel of this human life in the gamble, and God is not pleased with him at all. Prays Nanak, wandering in doubt, he does not find any rest, even for an instant. ||2|| Youth has passed, and old age has taken its place. The hands tremble, the head shakes, and the eyes do not see. The eyes do not see, without vibrating and meditating on the Lord; he must leave behind the attractions of Maya, and depart. He burnt his mind and body for his relatives, but now, they do not listen to him, and they throw dust on his head. Love for the infinite, Perfect Lord does not abide in his mind, even for an instant. Prays Nanak, the fort of paper is false - it is destroyed in an instant. ||3|| Nanak has come to the Sanctuary of the Lord's lotus feet. God Himself has carried Him across the impassable, terrifying world-ocean. Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I vibrate and meditate on the Lord; God has made me His own, and saved me. The Lord has approved of me, and blessed me with His Name; He did not take anything else into consideration. I have found the infinite Lord and Master, the treasure of virtue, which my mind had yearned for. Prays Nanak, I am satisfied forever; I have eaten the food of the Lord's Name. ||4||2||3|| Jaitsree, Fifth Mehl, Vaar With Shaloks: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Shalok: In the beginning, He was pervading; in the middle, He is pervading; in the end, He will be pervading. He is the Transcendent Lord. The Saints remember in meditation the all-pervading Lord God. O Nanak, He is the Destroyer of sins, the Lord of the universe. ||1||

Section 15 - Raag Jaitsree - Part 011

See, hear, speak and implant the True Lord within your mind. He is all-pervading, permeating everywhere; O Nanak, be absorbed in the Lord's Love. ||2|| Pauree: Sing the Praise of the One, the Immaculate Lord; He is contained within all. The Cause of causes, the Almighty Lord God; whatever He wills, comes to pass. In an instant, He establishes and disestablishes; without Him, there is no other. He pervades the continents, solar systems, nether worlds, islands and all worlds. He alone understands, whom the Lord Himself instructs; he alone is a pure and unstained being. ||1|| Shalok: Creating the soul, the Lord places this creation in the womb of the mother. With each and every breath, it meditates in remembrance on the Lord, O Nanak; it is not consumed by the great fire. ||1|| With its head down, and feet up, it dwells in that slimy place. O Nanak, how could we forget the Master? Through His Name, we are saved. ||2|| Pauree: From egg and sperm, you were conceived, and placed in the fire of the womb. Head downwards, you abided restlessly in that dark, dismal, terrible hell. Remembering the Lord in meditation, you were not burnt; enshrine Him in your heart, mind and body. In that treacherous place, He protected and preserved you; do not forget Him, even for an instant. Forgetting God, you shall never find peace; you shall forfeit your life, and depart. ||2|| Shalok: He grants our hearts' desires, and fulfills all our hopes. He destroys pain and suffering; remember God in meditation, O Nanak - He is not far away. ||1|| Love Him, with whom you enjoy all pleasures. Do not forget that Lord, even for an instant; O Nanak, He fashioned this beautiful body. ||2|| Pauree: He gave you your soul, breath of life, body and wealth; He gave you pleasures to enjoy. He gave you households, mansions, chariots and horses; He ordained your good destiny. He gave you your children, spouse, friends and servants; God is the all-powerful Great Giver. Meditating in remembrance on the Lord, the body and mind are rejuvenated, and sorrow departs. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, chant the Praises of the Lord, and all your sickness shall vanish. ||3|| Shalok: For his family, he works very hard; for the sake of Maya, he makes countless efforts. But without loving devotional worship of the Lord, O Nanak, he forgets God, and then, he is a mere ghost. ||1|| That love shall break, which is established with any other than the Lord. O Nanak, that way of life is true, which inspires love of the Lord. ||2|| Pauree: Forgetting Him, one's body turns to dust, and everyone calls him a ghost. And those, with whom he was so much in love - they do not let him stay in their home, even for an instant. Practicing exploitation, he gathers wealth, but what use will it be in the end? As one plants, so does he harvest; the body is the field of actions. The ungrateful wretches forget the Lord, and wander in reincarnation. ||4|| Shalok: The benefits of millions of charitable donations and cleansing baths, and countless ceremonies of purification and piety, O Nanak, are obtained by chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har with one's tongue; all sins are washed away. ||1|| I gathered together a great stack of firewood, and applied a tiny flame to light it.

Section 15 - Raag Jaitsree - Part 012

When the True Lord and Master abides in one's mind, O Nanak, all sins are dispelled. ||2|| Pauree: Millions of sins are totally erased, by meditating on the Lord's Name. The fruits of one's heart's desires are obtained, by singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. The fear of birth and death is eradicated, and one's eternal, unchanging true home is obtained. If it is so pre-ordained, one is absorbed in the Lord's lotus feet. Bless me with Your mercy, God - please preserve and save me! Nanak is a sacrifice to You. ||5|| Shalok: They are involved in their beautiful houses, and the pleasures of the mind's desires. They never remember the Lord in meditation; O Nanak, they are like maggots in manure. ||1|| They are engrossed in ostentatious displays, lovingly attached to all their possessions. That body which forgets the Lord, O Nanak, shall be reduced to ashes. ||2|| Pauree: He may enjoy a beautiful bed, countless pleasures and all sorts of enjoyments. He may possess mansions of gold, studded with pearls and rubies, plastered with fragrant sandalwood oil. He may relish in the pleasures of his mind's desires, and have no anxiety at all. But if he does not remember God, he is like a maggot in manure. Without the Lord's Name, there is no peace at all. How can the mind be comforted? ||6|| Shalok: One who loves the Lord's lotus feet searches for Him in the ten directions. He renounces the deceptive illusion of Maya, and joins the blissful form of the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||1|| The Lord is in my mind, and with my mouth I chant His Name; I seek Him in all the lands of the world. O Nanak, all ostentatious displays are false; hearing the Praises of the True Lord, I live. ||2|| Pauree: He dwells in a broken-down shack, in tattered clothes, with no social status, no honour and no respect; he wanders in the wilderness, with no friend or lover, without wealth, beauty, relatives or relations. Even so, he is the king of the whole world, if his mind is imbued with the Lord's Name. With the dust of his feet, men are redeemed, because God is very pleased with him. ||7|| Shalok: The various sorts of pleasures, powers, joys, beauty, canopies, cooling fans and thrones to sit on - the foolish, ignorant and blind are engrossed in these things. O Nanak, desire for Maya is just a dream. ||1|| In a dream, he enjoys all sorts of pleasures, and emotional attachment seems so sweet. O Nanak, without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the beauty of Maya's illusion is fake. ||2|| Pauree: The fool attaches his consciousness to the dream. When he awakes, he forgets the power, pleasures and enjoyments, and he is sad. He passes his life chasing after worldly affairs. His works are not completed, because he is enticed by Maya. What can the poor helpless creature do? The Lord Himself has deluded him. ||8|| Shalok: They may live in heavenly realms, and conquer the nine regions of the world, but if they forget the Lord of the world, O Nanak, they are just wanderers in the wilderness. ||1|| In the midst of millions of games and entertainments, the Lord's Name does not come to their minds. O Nanak, their home is like a wilderness, in the depths of hell. ||2|| Pauree: He sees the terrible, awful wilderness as a city. Gazing upon the false objects, he believes them to be real.

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Engrossed in sexual desire, anger and egotism, he wanders around insane. When the Messenger of Death hits him on the head with his club, then he regrets and repents. Without the Perfect, Divine Guru, he roams around like Satan. ||9|| Shalok: Power is fraudulent, beauty is fraudulent, and wealth is fraudulent, as is pride of ancestry. One may gather poison through deception and fraud, O Nanak, but without the Lord, nothing shall go along with him in the end. ||1|| Beholding the bitter melon, he is deceived, since it appears so pretty But it is not worth even a shell, O Nanak; the riches of Maya will not go along with anyone. ||2|| Pauree: It shall not go along with you when you depart - why do you bother to collect it? Tell me, why do you try so hard to acquire that which you must leave behind in the end? Forgetting the Lord, how can you be satisfied? Your mind cannot be pleased. One who forsakes God, and attaches himself to another, shall be immersed in hell. Be kind and compassionate to Nanak, O Lord, and dispel his fear. ||10|| Shalok: Princely pleasures are not sweet; sensual enjoyments are not sweet; the pleasures of Maya are not sweet. The Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, is sweet, O slave Nanak; the Blessed Vision of God's Darshan is sweet. ||1|| I have enshrined that love which drenches my soul. I have been pierced by the Truth, O Nanak; the Master seems so sweet to me. ||2|| Pauree: Nothing seems sweet to His devotees, except the Lord. All other tastes are bland and insipid; I have tested them and seen them. Ignorance, doubt and suffering are dispelled, when the Guru becomes one's advocate. The Lord's lotus feet have pierced my mind, and I am dyed in the deep crimson colour of His Love. My soul, breath of life, body and mind belong to God; all falsehood has left me. ||11|| Shalok: Leaving the water, the fish cannot live; the rainbird cannot live without the raindrops from the clouds. The deer is enticed by the sound of the hunter's bell, and shot through with the arrow; the bumble bee is entangled in the fragrance of the flowers. The Saints are entranced by the Lord's lotus feet; O Nanak, they desire nothing else. ||1|| Show me Your face, for even an instant, Lord, and I will not give my consciousness to any other. My life is with the Lord Master, O Nanak, the Friend of the Saints. ||2|| Pauree: How can the fish live without water? Without the raindrops, how can the rainbird be satisfied? The deer, entranced by the sound of the hunter's bell, runs straight to him; the bumble bee is greedy for the flower's fragrance; finding it, he traps himself in it. Just so, the humble Saints love the Lord; beholding the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, they are satisfied and satiated. ||12|| Shalok: They contemplate the Lord's lotus feet; they worship and adore Him with each and every breath. They do not forget the Name of the imperishable Lord; O Nanak, the Transcendent Lord fulfills their hopes. ||1|| He is woven into the fabric of my mind; He is not outside of it, even for an instant. O Nanak, the True Lord and Master fulfills my hopes, and always watches over me. ||2|| Pauree: My hopes rest in You, O Lord of the universe; please, fulfill them. Meeting with the Lord of the world, the Lord of the universe, I shall never grieve. Grant me the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan, the desire of my mind, and my worries shall be over.

Section 15 - Raag Jaitsree - Part 014

By body is sanctified, by the dust of Your feet. O Supreme Lord God, Divine Guru, You are always with me, ever-present. ||13|| Shalok: With my tongue, I chant the Lord's Name; with my ears, I listen to the Ambrosial Word of His Shabad. Nanak is forever a sacrifice to those who meditate on the Supreme Lord God. ||1|| All concerns are false, except those of the One Lord. O Nanak, blessed are those, who are in love with their True Lord. ||2|| Pauree: I am forever a sacrifice to those who listen to the sermon of the Lord. Those who bow their heads before God are perfect and distinguished. Those hands, which write the Praises of the infinite Lord are beautiful. Those feet which walk on God's Path are pure and holy. In the Society of the Saints, they are emancipated; all their sorrows depart. ||14|| Shalok: One's destiny is activated, when one chants the Lord's Name, through perfect good fortune. Fruitful is that moment, O Nanak, when one obtains the Blessed Vision of the Darshan of the Lord of the Universe. ||1|| Its value cannot be estimated; it brings peace beyond measure. O Nanak, that time alone is approved, when my Beloved meets with me. ||2|| Pauree: Tell me, what is that time, when I shall find God? Blessed and auspicious is that moment, and that destiny, when I shall find the Lord of the Universe. Meditating on the Lord, twenty-four hours a day, my mind's desires are fulfilled. By great good fortune, I have found the Society of the Saints; I bow and touch their feet. My mind thirsts for the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan; Nanak is a sacrifice to Him. ||15|| Shalok: The Lord of the Universe is the Purifier of sinners; He is the Dispeller of all distress. The Lord God is Mighty, giving His Protective Sanctuary; Nanak chants the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1|| Renouncing all self-conceit, I hold tight to the Lord's Feet. My sorrows and troubles have departed, O Nanak, beholding God. ||2|| Pauree: Unite with me, O Merciful Lord; I have fallen at Your Door. O Merciful to the meek, save me. I have wandered enough; now I am tired. It is Your very nature to love Your devotees, and save sinners. Without You, there is no other at all; I offer this prayer to You. Take me by the hand, O Merciful Lord, and carry me across the world-ocean. ||16|| Shalok: The Merciful Lord is the Savior of the Saints; their only support is to sing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises. One becomes immaculate and pure, by associating with the Saints, O Nanak, and taking the Protection of the Transcendent Lord. ||1|| The burning of the heart is not dispelled at all, by sandalwood paste, the moon, or the cold season. It only becomes cool, O Nanak, by chanting the Name of the Lord. ||2|| Pauree: Through the Protection and Support of the Lord's lotus feet, all beings are saved. Hearing of the Glory of the Lord of the Universe, the mind becomes fearless. Nothing at all is lacking, when one gathers the wealth of the Naam. The Society of the Saints is obtained, by very good deeds. Twenty-four hours a day, meditate on the Lord, and listen continually to the Lord's Praises. ||17|| Shalok: The Lord grants His Grace, and dispels the pains of those who sing the Kirtan of the Praises of His Name. When the Lord God shows His Kindness, O Nanak, one is no longer engrossed in Maya. ||1||

Section 15 - Raag Jaitsree - Part 015

The burning fire has been put out; God Himself has saved me. Meditate on that God, O Nanak, who created the universe. ||2|| Pauree: When God becomes merciful, Maya does not cling. Millions of sins are eliminated, by meditating on the Naam, the Name of the One Lord. The body is made immaculate and pure, bathing in the dust of the feet of the Lord's humble servants. The mind and body become contented, finding the Perfect Lord God. One is saved, along with his family, and all his ancestors. ||18|| Shalok: The Guru is the Lord of the Universe; the Guru is the Lord of the world; the Guru is the Perfect Pervading Lord God. The Guru is compassionate; the Guru is all-powerful; the Guru, O Nanak, is the Saving Grace of sinners. ||1|| The Guru is the boat, to cross over the dangerous, treacherous, unfathomable world-ocean. O Nanak, by perfect good karma, one is attached to the feet of the True

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Guru. ||2|| Pauree: Blessed, blessed is the Divine Guru; associating with Him, one meditates on the Lord. When the Guru becomes merciful, then all one's demerits are dispelled. The Supreme Lord God, the Divine Guru, uplifts and exalts the lowly. Cutting away the painful noose of Maya, He makes us His own slaves. With my tongue, I sing the Glorious Praises of the infinite Lord God. ||19|| Shalok: I see only the One Lord; I hear only the One Lord; the One Lord is all-pervading. Nanak begs for the gift of the Naam; O Merciful Lord God, please grant Your Grace. ||1|| I serve the One Lord, I contemplate the One Lord, and to the One Lord, I offer my prayer. Nanak has gathered in the wealth, the merchandise of the Naam; this is the true capital. ||2|| Pauree: God is merciful and infinite. The One and Only is all-pervading. He Himself is all-in-all. Who else can we speak of? God Himself grants His gifts, and He Himself receives them. Coming and going are all by the Hukam of Your Will; Your place is steady and unchanging. Nanak begs for this gift; by Your Grace, Lord, please grant me Your Name. ||20||1|| Jaitsree, The Word Of The Devotees: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O my Lord and Master, I know nothing. My mind has sold out, and is in Maya's hands. ||1||Pause|| You are called the Lord and Master, the Guru of the World. I am called a lustful being of the Dark Age of Kali Yuga. ||1|| The five vices have corrupted my mind. Moment by moment, they lead me further away from the Lord. ||2|| Wherever I look, I see loads of pain and suffering. I do not have faith, even though the Vedas bear witness to the Lord. ||3|| Shiva cut off Brahma's head, and Gautam's wife and the Lord Indra mated; Brahma's head got stuck to Shiva's hand, and Indra came to bear the marks of a thousand female organs. ||4|| These demons have fooled, bound and destroyed me. I am very shameless - even now, I am not tired of them. ||5|| Says Ravi Daas, what am I to do now? Without the Sanctuary of the Lord's Protection, who else's should I seek? ||6||1||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 16 - RAAG TODEE

Section 16 - Raag Todee - Part 001

One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying. Beyond Birth. Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: Raag Todee, Chau-Padas, Fourth Mehl, First House: Without the Lord, my mind cannot survive. If the Guru unites me with my Beloved Lord God, my breath of life, then I shall not have to face the wheel of reincarnation again in the terrifying world-ocean. ||1||Pause|| My heart is gripped by a yearning for my Lord God, and with my eyes, I behold my Lord God. The merciful True Guru has implanted the Name of the Lord within me; this is the Path leading to my Lord God. ||1|| Through the Lord's Love, I have found the Naam, the Name of my Lord God, the Lord of the Universe, the Lord my God. The Lord seems so very sweet to my heart, mind and body; upon my face, upon my forehead, my good destiny is inscribed. ||2|| Those whose minds are attached to greed and corruption forget the Lord, the good Lord God. Those self-willed manmukhs are called foolish and ignorant; misfortune and bad destiny are written on their foreheads. ||3|| From the True Guru, I have obtained a discriminating intellect; the Guru has revealed the spiritual wisdom of God. Servant Nanak has obtained the Naam from the Guru; such is the destiny inscribed upon his forehead. ||4||1|| Todee, Fifth Mehl, First House, Du-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The Saints do not know any other. They are carefree, ever in the Lord's Love; the Lord and Master is on their side. ||Pause|| Your canopy is so high, O Lord and Master; no one else has any power. Such is the immortal Lord and Master the devotees have found; the spiritually wise remain absorbed in His Love. ||1|| Disease, sorrow, pain, old age and death do not even approach the humble servant of the Lord. They remain fearless, in the Love of the One Lord; O Nanak, they have surrendered their minds to the Lord. ||2||1|| Todee, Fifth Mehl: Forgetting the Lord, one is ruined forever. How can anyone be deceived, who has Your Support, O Lord? ||Pause||

Section 16 - Raag Todee - Part 002

Without meditating in remembrance on the Lord, life is like a burning fire, even if one lives long, like a snake. One may rule over the nine regions of the earth, but in the end, he shall have to depart, losing the game of life. ||1|| He alone sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord, the treasure of virtue, upon whom the Lord showers His Grace. He is at peace, and his birth is blessed; Nanak is a sacrifice to him. ||2||2|| Todee, Fifth Mehl, Second House, Chau-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The mind wanders, wandering in the ten directions. It is intoxicated by Maya, enticed by the taste of greed. God Himself has deluded it. ||Pause|| He does not focus his mind, even for a moment, on the Lord's sermon, or the Lord's Praises, or the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. He is excited, gazing on the transitory colour of the safflower, and looking at other men's wives. ||1|| He does not love the Lord's lotus feet, and he does not please the True Lord. He runs around chasing the fleeting objects of the world, in all directions, like the ox around the oil press. ||2|| He does not practice the Naam, the Name of the Lord; nor does he practice charity or inner cleansing. He does not sing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises, even for an instant. Clinging to his many falsehoods, he does not please his own mind, and he does not understand his own self. ||3|| He never does good deeds for others; he does not serve or meditate on the True Guru. He is entangled in the company and the advice of the five demons, intoxicated by the wine of Maya. ||4|| I offer my prayer in the Saadh Sangat; hearing that the Lord is the Lover of His devotees, I have come. Nanak runs after the Lord, and pleads, "Protect my honour, Lord, and make me Your own."||5||1||3|| Todee, Fifth Mehl: Without understanding, his coming into the world is useless. He puts on various ornaments and many decorations, but it is like dressing a corpse. ||Pause|| With great effort and exertion, the miser works to gather in the riches of Maya. He does not give anything in charity or generosity, and he does not serve the Saints; his wealth does not do him any good at all. ||1|| The soul-bride puts on her ornaments, embellishes her bed, and fashions decorations. But if she does not obtain the company of her Husband Lord, the sight of these decorations only brings her pain. ||2|| The man works all day long, threshing the husks with the pestle. He is depressed, like a forced laborer, and so he is of no use to his own home. ||3|| But when God shows His Mercy and Grace, He implants the Naam, the Name of the Lord, within the heart. Search the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, O Nanak, and find the sublime essence of the Lord. ||4||2||4|| Todee, Fifth Mehl: O Lord, ocean of mercy, please abide forever in my heart. Please awaken such understanding within me, that I may be in love with You, God. ||Pause|| Please, bless me with the dust of the feet of Your slaves; I touch it to my forehead. I was a great sinner, but I have been made pure, singing the Kirtan of the Lord's Glorious Praises. ||1||

Section 16 - Raag Todee - Part 003

Your Will seems so sweet to me; whatever You do, is pleasing to me. Whatever You give me, with that I am satisfied; I shall chase after no one else. ||2|| I know that my Lord and Master God is always with me; I am the dust of all men's feet. If I find the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I shall obtain God. ||3|| Forever and ever, I am Your child; You are my God, my King. Nanak is Your child; You are my mother and father; please, give me Your Name, like milk in my mouth. ||4||3||5|| Todee, Fifth Mehl, Second House, Du-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I beg for the Gift of Your Name, O my Lord and Master. Nothing else shall go along with me in the end; by Your Grace, please allow me to sing Your Glorious Praises. ||1||Pause|| Power, wealth, various pleasures and enjoyments, all are just like the shadow of a tree. He runs, runs, runs around in many directions, but all of his pursuits are useless. ||1|| Except for the Lord of the Universe, everything he desires appears transitory. Says Nanak, I beg for the dust of the feet of the Saints, so that my mind may find peace and tranquility. ||2||1||6|| Todee, Fifth Mehl: The Naam, the Name of the Dear Lord, is the Support of my mind. It is my life, my breath of life, my peace of mind; for me, it is an article of daily use. ||1||Pause|| The Naam is my social status, the Naam is my honour; the Naam is my family. The Naam is my companion; it is always with me. The Lord's Name is my emancipation. ||1|| Sensual pleasures are talked about a lot, but none of them goes along with anyone in the end. The Naam is Nanak's dearest friend; the Lord's Name is my treasure. ||2||2||7|| Todee, Fifth Mehl: Sing the sublime Praises of the Lord, and your disease shall be eradicated. Your face shall become radiant and bright, and your mind shall be immaculately pure. You shall be saved here and hereafter. ||1||Pause|| I wash the Guru's feet and serve Him; I dedicate my mind as an offering to Him. Renounce self-conceit, negativity and egotism, and accept what comes to pass. ||1|| He alone commits himself to the service of the Saints, upon whose forehead such destiny is inscribed. Says Nanak, other than the One Lord, there is not any other able to act. ||2||3||8|| Todee, Fifth Mehl: O True Guru, I have come to Your Sanctuary. Grant me the peace and glory of the Lord's Name, and remove my anxiety. ||1||Pause|| I cannot see any other place of shelter; I have grown weary, and collapsed at Your door. Please ignore my account; only then may I be saved. I am worthless - please, save me! ||1|| You are always forgiving, and always merciful; You give support to all. Slave Nanak follows the Path of the Saints; save him, O Lord, this time. ||2||4||9|| Todee, Fifth Mehl: My tongue sings the Praises of the Lord of the world, the ocean of virtue. Peace, tranquility, poise and delight well up in my mind, and all sorrows run away. ||1||Pause||

Section 16 - Raag Todee - Part 004

Whatever I ask for, I receive; I serve at the Lord's feet, the source of nectar. I am released from the bondage of birth and death, and so I cross over the terrifying world-ocean. ||1|| Searching and seeking, I have come to understand the essence of reality; the slave of the Lord of the Universe is dedicated to Him. If you desire eternal bliss, O Nanak, ever remember the Lord in meditation. ||2||5||10|| Todee, Fifth Mehl: The slanderer, by Guru's Grace, has been turned away. The Supreme Lord God has become merciful; with Shiva's arrow, He shot his head off. ||1||Pause|| Death, and the noose of death, cannot see me; I have adopted the Path of Truth. I have earned the wealth, the jewel of the Lord's Name; eating and spending, it is never used up. ||1|| In an instant, the slanderer was reduced to ashes; he received the rewards of his own actions. Servant Nanak speaks the truth of the scriptures; the whole world is witness to it. ||2||6||11|| Todee, Fifth Mehl: O miser, your body and mind are full of sin. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, vibrate, meditate on the Lord and Master; He alone can cover your sins. ||1||Pause|| When many holes appear in your boat, you cannot plug them with your hands. Worship and adore the One, to whom your boat belongs; He saves the counterfeit along with the genuine. ||1|| People want to lift up the mountain with mere words, but it just stays there. Nanak has no strength or power at all; O God, please protect me - I seek Your Sanctuary. ||2||7||12|| Todee, Fifth Mehl: Meditate on the lotus feet of the Lord within your mind. The Name of the Lord is the medicine; it is like an axe, which destroys the diseases caused by anger and egotism. ||1||Pause|| The Lord is the One who removes the three fevers; He is the Destroyer of pain, the warehouse of peace. No obstacles block the path of one who prays before God. ||1|| By the Grace of the Saints, the Lord has become my physician; God alone is the Doer, the Cause of causes. He is the Giver of perfect peace to the innocent-minded people; O Nanak, the Lord, Har, Har, is my support. ||2||8||13|| Todee, Fifth Mehl: Chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, forever and ever. Showering His Kind Mercy, the Supreme Lord God Himself has blessed the town. ||1||Pause|| The One who owns me, has again taken care of me; my sorrow and suffering is past. He gave me His hand, and saved me, His humble servant; the Lord is my mother and father. ||1|| All beings and creatures have become kind to me; my Lord and Master blessed me with His Kind Mercy. Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of the Lord, the Destroyer of pain; His glory is so great! ||2||9||14|| Todee, Fifth Mehl: O Lord and Master, I seek the Sanctuary of Your Court. Destroyer of millions of sins, O Great Giver, other than You, who else can save me? ||1||Pause|| Searching, searching in so many ways, I have contemplated all the objects of life. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, the supreme state is attained. But those who are engrossed in the bondage of Maya, lose the game of life. ||1||

Section 16 - Raag Todee - Part 005

My mind is in love with the Lord's lotus feet; I have met the Beloved Guru, the noble, heroic being. Nanak celebrates in bliss; chanting and meditating on the Lord, all sickness has been cured. ||2||10||15|| Todee, Fifth Mehl, Third House, Chau-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Oh! Oh! You cling to Maya, you fool; this is not a trivial matter. That which you consider to be yours, is not yours. ||Pause|| You do not remember your Lord, even for an instant. That which belongs to others, you believe to be your own. ||1|| The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is always with you, but you do not enshrine it within your mind. You have attached your consciousness to that which you must eventually abandon. ||2|| You collect that which will bring you only hunger and thirst. You have not obtained the supplies of the Ambrosial Naam. ||3|| You have fallen into the pit of sexual desire, anger and emotional attachment. By Guru's Grace, O Nanak, a rare few are saved. ||4||1||16|| Todee, Fifth Mehl: I have only the One Lord, my God. I do not recognise any other. ||Pause|| By great good fortune, I have found my Guru. The Guru has implanted the Name of the Lord within me. ||1|| The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is my meditation, austerity, fasting and daily religious practice. Meditating on the Lord, Har, Har, I have found total joy and bliss. ||2|| The Praises of the Lord are my good conduct, occupation and social class. Listening to the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises, I am in absolute ecstasy. ||3|| Says Nanak, everything comes to the homes of those who have found their Lord and Master. ||4||2||17|| Todee, Fifth Mehl, Fourth House, Du-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: My beautiful mind longs for the Love of the Lord. By mere words, the Lord's Love does not come. ||Pause|| I have searched for the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, looking in each and every street. Meeting with the Guru, my doubts have been dispelled. ||1|| I have obtained this wisdom from the Holy Saints, according to the pre-ordained destiny inscribed upon my forehead. In this way, Nanak has seen the Lord with his eyes. ||2||1||18|| Todee, Fifth Mehl: My foolish heart is in the grip of pride. By the Will of my Lord God, Maya, like a witch, has swallowed my soul. ||Pause|| More and more, he continually yearns for more; but unless he is destined to receive, how can he obtain it? He is entangled in wealth, bestowed by the Lord God; the unfortunate one attaches himself to the fire of desires. ||1|| Listen, O mind, to the Teachings of the Holy Saints, and all your sins shall be totally washed away. One who is destined to receive from the Lord, O servant Nanak, shall not be cast into the womb of reincarnation again. ||2||2||19||

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Section 16 - Raag Todee - Part 006

Todee, Fifth Mehl, Fifth House, Du-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Such is the blessing my God has bestowed upon me. He has totally banished the five evils and the illness of egotism from my body. ||Pause|| Breaking my bonds, and releasing me from vice and corruption, He has enshrined the Word of the Guru's Shabad within my heart. The Lord has not considered my beauty or ugliness; instead, He has held me with love. I am drenched with His Love. ||1|| I behold my Beloved, now that the curtain has been torn away. My mind is happy, pleased and satisfied. My house is His; He is my God. Nanak is obedient to His Lord and Master. ||2||1||20|| Todee, Fifth Mehl: O my mother, my mind is in love. This is my karma and my Dharma; this is my meditation. The Lord's Name is my immaculate, unstained way of life. ||Pause|| The Support of my breath of life, the wealth of my life, is to gaze upon the Blessed Vision of God's Darshan. On the road, and on the river, these supplies are always with me. I have made my mind the Lord's companion. ||1|| By the Grace of the Saints, my mind has become immaculate and pure. In His mercy, He has made me His own. Remembering, remembering Him in meditation, Nanak has found peace. From the very beginning, and throughout the ages, He is the friend of His devotees. ||2||2||21|| Todee, Fifth Mehl: Dear God, please meet me; You are my breath of life. Do not let me forget You from my heart, even for an instant; please, bless Your devotee with Your gift of perfection. ||Pause|| Dispel my doubt, and save me, O my Beloved, all-knowing Lord, O Inner-knower, O Searcher of hearts. The wealth of the Naam is worth millions of kingdoms to me; O God, please bless me with Your Ambrosial Glance of Grace. ||1|| Twenty-four hours a day, I sing Your Glorious Praises. They totally satisfy my ears, O my all-powerful Lord. I seek Your Sanctuary, O Lord, O Giver of life to the soul; forever and ever, Nanak is a sacrifice to You. ||2||3||22|| Todee, Fifth Mehl: O God, I am the dust of Your feet. O merciful to the meek, Beloved mind-enticing Lord, by Your Kind Mercy, please fulfill my yearning. ||Pause|| In the ten directions, Your Praises are permeating and pervading, O Inner-knower, Searcher of hearts, O Lord ever-present. Those who sing Your Praises, O Creator Lord, those humble beings never die or grieve. ||1|| The worldly affairs and entanglements of Maya disappear, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; all sorrows are taken away. The comforts of wealth and the enjoyments of the soul - O Nanak, without the Lord, know them to be false. ||2||4||23|| Todee, Fifth Mehl: O my mother, my mind is so thirsty. I cannot survive, even for an instant, without my Beloved. My mind is filled with the desire to behold the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. ||Pause|| I meditate in remembrance on the Naam, the Name of the immaculate Creator Lord; all the sins and errors of my mind and body are washed away. The Perfect Supreme Lord God, the eternal, imperishable Giver of peace - spotless and pure are His Praises. ||1|| By the Grace of the Saints, my desires have been fulfilled; in His Mercy, the Lord, the treasure of virtue, has met me.

Section 16 - Raag Todee - Part 007

Peace and tranquility, poise and pleasure, have welled up within my mind; millions of suns, O Nanak, illuminate me. ||2||5||24|| Todee, Fifth Mehl: The Lord, Har, Har, is the Purifier of sinners; He is the soul, the breath of life, the Giver of peace and honour, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts; He is pleasing to my mind. ||Pause|| He is beautiful and wise, clever and all-knowing. He dwells within the hearts of His slaves; His devotees sing His Glorious Praises. His form is immaculate and pure; He is the incomparable Lord and Master. Upon the field of actions and karma, whatever one plants, one eats. ||1|| I am amazed, and wonder-struck by His wonder. There is none other than Him. Meditating in remembrance on His Praises with my tongue, I live; slave Nanak is forever a sacrifice to Him. ||2||6||25|| Todee, Fifth Mehl: O my mother, Maya is so misleading and deceptive. Without meditating on the Lord of the Universe, it is like straw on fire, or the shadow of a cloud, or the running of the flood-waters. ||Pause|| Renounce your cleverness and all your mental tricks; with your palms pressed together, walk on the Path of the Holy Saints. Remember the Lord, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts; this is the most sublime reward of this human incarnation. ||1|| The Holy Saints preach the teachings of the Vedas, but the unfortunate fools do not understand them. Servant Nanak is absorbed in loving devotional worship; meditating in remembrance on the Lord, one's dirt is burnt away. ||2||7||26|| Todee, Fifth Mehl: O mother, the Guru's feet are so sweet. By great good fortune, the Transcendent Lord has blessed me with them. Millions of rewards come from the Blessed Vision of the Guru's Darshan. ||Pause|| Singing the Glorious Praises of the imperishable, indestructible Lord, sexual desire, anger and stubborn pride vanish. Those who are imbued with the Love of the True Lord become permanent and eternal; birth and death do not grind them down any more. ||1|| Without the Lord's meditation, all joys and pleasures are totally false and worthless; by the Kind Mercy of the Saints, I know this. Servant Nanak has found the jewel of the Naam; without the Naam, all must depart, cheated and plundered. ||2||8||27|| Todee, Fifth Mehl: In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I contemplate the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. I am in peaceful poise and bliss, day and night; the seed of my destiny has sprouted. ||Pause|| I have met the True Guru, by great good fortune; He has no end or limitation. Taking His humble servant by the hand, He pulls him out of the poisonous world-ocean. ||1|| Birth and death are ended for me, by the Word of the Guru's Teachings; I shall no longer pass through the door of pain and suffering. Nanak holds tight to the Sanctuary of his Lord and Master; again and again, he bows in humility and reverence to Him. ||2||9||28|| Todee, Fifth Mehl: O my mother, my mind is at peace. I enjoy the ecstasy of millions of princely pleasures; remembering the Lord in meditation, all pains have been dispelled. ||1||Pause|| The sins of millions of lifetimes are erased, by meditating on the Lord; becoming pure, my mind and body have found peace. Gazing upon the Lord's form of perfect beauty, my hopes have been fulfilled; attaining the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, my hunger has been appeased. ||1|| The four great blessings, the eight supernatural spiritual powers of the Siddhas, the wish-fulfilling Elysian cow, and the wish-fulfilling tree of life - all these come from the Lord, Har, Har. O Nanak, holding tight to the Sanctuary of the Lord, the ocean of peace, you shall not suffer the pains of birth and death, or fall into the womb of reincarnation again. ||2||10||29||

Section 16 - Raag Todee - Part 008

Todee, Fifth Mehl: I have enshrined the Lord's Feet within my heart. Contemplating my Lord and Master, my True Guru, all my affairs have been resolved. ||1||Pause|| The merits of giving donations to charity and devotional worship come from the Kirtan of the Praises of the Transcendent Lord; this is the true essence of wisdom. Singing the Praises of the unapproachable, infinite Lord and Master, I have found immeasurable peace. ||1|| The Supreme Lord God does not consider the merits and demerits of those humble beings whom He makes His own. Hearing, chanting and meditating on the jewel of the Naam, I live; Nanak wears the Lord as his necklace. ||2||11||30|| Todee, Ninth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: What can I say about my base nature? I am entangled in the love of gold and women, and I have not sung the Kirtan of God's Praises. ||1||Pause|| I judge the false world to be true, and I have fallen in love with it. I have never contemplated the friend of the poor, who shall be my companion and helper in the end. ||1|| I remain intoxicated by Maya, night and day, and the filth of my mind will not depart. Says Nanak, now, without the Lord's Sanctuary, I cannot find salvation in any other way. ||2||1||31|| Todee, The Word Of The Devotees: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Some say that He is near, and others say that He is far away. We might just as well say that the fish climbs out of the water, up the tree. ||1|| Why do you speak such nonsense? One who has found the Lord, keeps quiet about it. ||1||Pause|| Those who become Pandits, religious scholars, recite the Vedas, but foolish Naam Dayv knows only the Lord. ||2||1|| Whose blemishes remain, when one chants the Lord's Name? Sinners become pure, chanting the Lord's Name. ||1||Pause|| With the Lord, servant Naam Dayv has come to have faith. I have stopped fasting on the eleventh day of each month; why should I bother to go on pilgrimages to sacred shrines? ||1|| Prays Naam Dayv, I have become a man of good deeds and good thoughts. Chanting the Lord's Name, under Guru's Instructions, who has not gone to heaven? ||2||2|| Here is a verse with a three-fold play on words. ||1||Pause|| In the potter's home there are pots, and in the king's home there are camels. In the Brahmin's home there are widows. So here they are: haandee, saandee, raandee. ||1|| In the home of the grocer there is asafoetida; on the forehead of the buffalo there are horns. In the temple of Shiva there are lingams. So here they are: heeng, seeng, leeng. ||2|| In the house of the oil-presser there is oil; in the forest there are vines. In the gardener's home there are bananas. So here they are: tayl, bayl, kayl. ||3|| The Lord of the Universe, Govind, is within His Saints; Krishna, Shyaam, is in Gokal. The Lord, Raam, is in Naam Dayv. So here they are: Raam, Shyaam, Govind. ||4||3||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 17 - RAAG BAIRAAREE

Section 17 - Raag Bairaaree - Part 001

Raag Bairaaree, Fourth Mehl, First House, Du-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Listen, O mind, to the Unspoken Speech of the Lord's Name. Riches, wisdom, supernatural spiritual powers and peace are obtained, by vibrating, meditating on the Lord God, under Guru's Instruction. ||1||Pause|| Numerous legends, the Puraanas, and the six Shaastras, sing the sublime Praises of the Lord. Shiva and the three hundred thirty million gods meditate on the Lord, but they do not know the secret of His mystery. ||1|| The angelic and divine beings, and the celestial singers sing His Praises; all Creation sings of Him. O Nanak, those whom the Lord blesses with His Kind Mercy, become the good Saints of the Lord God. ||2||1|| Bairaaree, Fourth Mehl: O mind, those who meet the Lord's humble servants, sing His Praises. They are blessed with the gift of the jewel of the Lord, Har, Har, the sublime jewel of the Lord, by the Guru, the True Guru. ||1||Pause|| I offer my mind, body and everything to that humble being who recites the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. I offer my wealth, the riches of Maya and my property to that one who leads me to meet the Lord, my friend. ||1|| When the Lord of the world bestowed just a tiny bit of His Mercy, for just an instant, then I meditated on the Praise of the Lord, Har, Har, Har. The Lord and Master has met servant Nanak, and the pain of the sickness of egotism has been eliminated. ||2||2|| Bairaaree, Fourth Mehl: The Lord's humble servant sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord's Name. Even if someone slanders the Lord's humble servant, he does not give up his own goodness. ||1||Pause|| Whatever the Lord and Master does, He does by Himself; the Lord Himself does the deeds. The Lord and Master Himself imparts understanding; the Lord Himself inspires us to speak. ||1||

Section 17 - Raag Bairaaree - Part 002

The Lord Himself directs the evolution of the world of the five elements; He Himself infuses the five senses into it. O servant Nanak, the Lord Himself unites us with the True Guru; He Himself resolves the conflicts. ||2||3|| Bairaaree, Fourth Mehl: Chant the Name of the Lord, O mind, and you shall be emancipated. The Lord shall destroy all the sins of millions upon millions of incarnations, and carry you across the terrifying world-ocean. ||1||Pause|| In the body-village, the Lord Master abides; the Lord is without fear, without vengeance, and without form. The Lord is dwelling near at hand, but He cannot be seen. By the Guru's Teachings, the Lord is obtained. ||1|| The Lord Himself is the banker, the jeweller, the jewel, the gem; the Lord Himself created the entire expanse of the creation. O Nanak, one who is blessed by the Lord's Kind Mercy, trades in the Lord's Name; He alone is the true banker, the true trader. ||2||4|| Bairaaree, Fourth Mehl: Meditate, O mind, on the immaculate, formless Lord. Forever and ever, meditate on the Lord, the Giver of peace; He has no end or limitation. ||1||Pause|| In the fiery pit of the womb, when you were hanging upside-down, the Lord absorbed You in His Love, and preserved You. So serve such a Lord, O my mind; the Lord shall deliver you in the end. ||1|| Bow down in reverence to that humble being, within whose heart the Lord, Har, Har, abides. By the Lord's Kind Mercy, O Nanak, one obtains the Lord's meditation, and the support of the Naam. ||2||5|| Bairaaree, Fourth Mehl: O my mind, chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har; meditate on it continually. You shall obtain the fruits of your heart's desires, and pain shall never touch you again. ||1||Pause|| That is chanting, that is deep meditation and austerity, that is fasting and worship, which inspires love for the Lord. Without the Lord's Love, every other love is false; in an instant, it is all forgotten. ||1|| You are infinite, the Master of all power; Your value cannot be described at all. Nanak has come to Your Sanctuary, O Dear Lord; as it pleases You, save him. ||2||6|| Raag Bairaaree, Fifth Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Meeting with the humble Saints, sing the Praises of the Lord. The pains of millions of incarnations shall be eradicated. ||1||Pause|| Whatever your mind desires, that you shall obtain. By His Kind Mercy, the Lord blesses us with His Name. ||1|| All happiness and greatness are in the Lord's Name. By Guru's Grace, Nanak has gained this understanding. ||2||1||7||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 18 - RAAG TILANG

Section 18 - Raag Tilang - Part 001

Raag Tilang, First Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying. Beyond Birth. Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: I offer this one prayer to You; please listen to it, O Creator Lord. You are true, great, merciful and spotless, O Cherisher Lord. ||1|| The world is a transitory place of mortality - know this for certain in your mind. Azraa-eel, the Messenger of Death, has caught me by the hair on my head, and yet, I do not know it at all in my mind. ||1||Pause|| Spouse, children, parents and siblings - none of them will be there to hold your hand. And when at last I fall, and the time of my last prayer has come, there shall be no one to rescue me. ||2|| Night and day, I wandered around in greed, contemplating evil schemes. I never did good deeds; this is my condition. ||3|| I am unfortunate, miserly, negligent, shameless and without the Fear of God. Says Nanak, I am Your humble servant, the dust of the feet of Your slaves. ||4||1|| Tilang, First Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The Fear of You, O Lord God, is my marijuana; my consciousness is the pouch which holds it. I have become an intoxicated hermit. My hands are my begging bowl; I am so hungry for the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. I beg at Your Door, day after day. ||1|| I long for the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. I am a beggar at Your Door - please bless me with Your charity. ||1||Pause|| Saffron, flowers, musk oil and gold embellish the bodies of all. The Lord's devotees are like sandalwood, which imparts its fragrance to everyone. ||2|| No one says that ghee or silk are polluted. Such is the Lord's devotee, no matter

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what his social status is. Those who bow in reverence to the Naam, the Name of the Lord, remain absorbed in Your Love. Nanak begs for charity at their door. ||3||1||2|| Tilang, First Mehl, Third House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: This body fabric is conditioned by Maya, O beloved; this cloth is dyed in greed.

Section 18 - Raag Tilang - Part 002

My Husband Lord is not pleased by these clothes, O Beloved; how can the soul-bride go to His bed? ||1|| I am a sacrifice, O Dear Merciful Lord; I am a sacrifice to You. I am a sacrifice to those who take to Your Name. Unto those who take to Your Name, I am forever a sacrifice. ||1||Pause|| If the body becomes the dyer's vat, O Beloved, and the Name is placed within it as the dye, and if the Dyer who dyes this cloth is the Lord Master - O, such a colour has never been seen before! ||2|| Those whose shawls are so dyed, O Beloved, their Husband Lord is always with them. Bless me with the dust of those humble beings, O Dear Lord. Says Nanak, this is my prayer. ||3|| He Himself creates, and He Himself imbues us. He Himself bestows His Glance of Grace. O Nanak, if the soul-bride becomes pleasing to her Husband Lord, He Himself enjoys her. ||4||1||3|| Tilang, First Mehl: O foolish and ignorant soul-bride, why are you so proud? Within the home of your own self, why do you not enjoy the Love of your Lord? Your Husband Lord is so very near, O foolish bride; why do you search for Him outside? Apply the Fear of God as the maascara to adorn your eyes, and make the Love of the Lord your ornament. Then, you shall be known as a devoted and committed soul-bride, when you enshrine love for your Husband Lord. ||1|| What can the silly young bride do, if she is not pleasing to her Husband Lord? She may plead and implore so many times, but still, such a bride shall not obtain the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. Without the karma of good deeds, nothing is obtained, although she may run around frantically. She is intoxicated with greed, pride and egotism, and engrossed in Maya. She cannot obtain her Husband Lord in these ways; the young bride is so foolish! ||2|| Go and ask the happy, pure soul-brides, how did they obtain their Husband Lord? Whatever the Lord does, accept that as good; do away with your own cleverness and self-will. By His Love, true wealth is obtained; link your consciousness to His lotus feet. As your Husband Lord directs, so you must act; surrender your body and mind to Him, and apply this perfume to yourself. So speaks the happy soul-bride, O sister; in this way, the Husband Lord is obtained. ||3|| Give up your selfhood, and so obtain your Husband Lord; what other clever tricks are of any use? When the Husband Lord looks upon the soul-bride with His Gracious Glance, that day is historic - the bride obtains the nine treasures. She who is loved by her Husband Lord, is the true soul-bride; O Nanak, she is the queen of all. Thus she is imbued with His Love, intoxicated with delight; day and night, she is absorbed in His Love. She is beautiful, glorious and brilliant; she is known as truly wise. ||4||2||4|| Tilang, First Mehl: As the Word of the Forgiving Lord comes to me, so do I express it, O Lalo. Bringing the marriage party of sin, Babar has invaded from Kaabul, demanding our land as his wedding gift, O Lalo. Modesty and righteousness both have vanished, and falsehood struts around like a leader, O Lalo. The Qazis and the Brahmins have lost their roles, and Satan now conducts the marriage rites, O Lalo. The Muslim women read the Koran, and in their misery, they call upon God, O Lalo. The Hindu women of high social status, and others of lowly status as well, are put into the same category, O Lalo.

Section 18 - Raag Tilang - Part 003

The wedding songs of murder are sung, O Nanak, and blood is sprinkled instead of saffron, O Lalo. ||1|| Nanak sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord and Master in the city of corpses, and voices this account. The One who created, and attached the mortals to pleasures, sits alone, and watches this. The Lord and Master is True, and True is His justice. He issues His Commands according to His judgement. The body-fabric will be torn apart into shreds, and then India will remember these words. Coming in seventy-eight (1521 A.D.), they will depart in ninety-seven (1540 A.D.), and then another disciple of man will rise up. Nanak speaks the Word of Truth; he proclaims the Truth at this, the right time. ||2||3||5|| Tilang, Fourth Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Everyone comes by Command of the Lord and Master. The Hukam of His Command extends to all. True is the Lord and Master, and True is His play. The Lord is the Master of all. ||1|| So praise the True Lord; the Lord is the Master over all. No one is equal to Him; am I of any account? ||Pause|| Air, water, earth and sky - the Lord has made these His home and temple. He Himself is pervading everywhere, O Nanak. Tell me: what can be counted as false? ||2||1|| Tilang, Fourth Mehl: The evil-minded person continually does fruitless deeds, all puffed up with pride. When he brings home what he has acquired, by practicing deception and falsehood, he thinks that he has conquered the world. ||1|| Such is the drama of the world, that he does not contemplate the Lord's Name. In an instant, all this false play shall perish; O my mind, meditate on the Lord. ||Pause|| He does not think of that time, when Death, the Torturer, shall come and seize him. O Nanak, the Lord saves that one, within whose heart the Lord, in His Kind Mercy, dwells. ||2||2|| Tilang, Fifth Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The Lord infused His Light into the dust, and created the world, the universe. The sky, the earth, the trees, and the water - all are the Creation of the Lord. ||1|| O human being, whatever you can see with your eyes, shall perish. The world eats dead carcasses, living by neglect and greed. ||Pause|| Like a goblin, or a beast, they kill and eat the forbidden carcasses of meat. So control your urges, or else you will be seized by the Lord, and thrown into the tortures of hell. ||2|| Your benefactors, presents, companions, courts, lands and homes - when Azraa-eel, the Messenger of Death seizes you, what good will these be to you then? ||3|| The Pure Lord God knows your condition. O Nanak, recite your prayer to the holy people. ||4||1|| Tilang, Second House, Fifth Mehl: There is no other than You, Lord. You are the Creator; whatever You do, that alone happens. You are the strength, and You are the support of the mind. Forever and ever, meditate, O Nanak, on the One. ||1|| The Great Giver is the Supreme Lord God over all. You are our support, You are our sustainer. ||Pause||

Section 18 - Raag Tilang - Part 004

You are, You are, and You shall ever be, O inaccessible, unfathomable, lofty and infinite Lord. Those who serve You, are not touched by fear or suffering. By Guru's Grace, O Nanak, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||2|| Whatever is seen, is Your form, O treasure of virtue, O Lord of the Universe, O Lord of incomparable beauty. Remembering, remembering, remembering the Lord in meditation, His humble servant becomes like Him. O Nanak, by His Grace, we obtain Him. ||3|| I am a sacrifice to those who meditate on the Lord. Associating with them, the whole world is saved. Says Nanak, God fulfills our hopes and aspirations. I long for the dust of the feet of the Saints. ||4||2|| Tilang, Fifth Mehl, Third House: Merciful, the Lord Master is Merciful. My Lord Master is Merciful. He gives His gifts to all beings. ||Pause|| Why do you waver, O mortal being? The Creator Lord Himself shall protect you. He who created you, will also give you nourishment. ||1|| The One who created the world, takes care of it. In each and every heart and mind, the Lord is the True Cherisher. ||2|| His creative potency and His value cannot be known; He is the Great and carefree Lord. O human being, meditate on the Lord, as long as there is breath in your body. ||3|| O God, You are all-powerful, inexpressible and imperceptible; my soul and body are Your capital. By Your Mercy, may I find peace; this is Nanak's lasting prayer. ||4||3|| Tilang, Fifth Mehl, Third House: O Creator, through Your creative potency, I am in love with You. You alone are my spiritual and temporal Lord; and yet, You are detached from all Your creation. ||Pause|| In an instant, You establish and disestablish. Wondrous is Your form! Who can know Your play? You are the Light in the darkness. ||1|| You are the Master of Your creation, the Lord of all the world, O Merciful Lord God. One who worships You day and night - why should he have to go to hell? ||2|| Azraa-eel, the Messenger of Death, is the friend of the human being who has Your support, Lord. His sins are all forgiven; Your humble servant gazes upon Your Vision. ||3|| All worldly considerations are for the present only. True peace comes only from Your Name. Meeting the Guru, Nanak understands; He sings only Your Praises forever, O Lord. ||4||4|| Tilang, Fifth Mehl: Think of the Lord in your mind, O wise one. Enshrine love for the True Lord in your mind and body; He is the Liberator from bondage. ||1||Pause|| The value of seeing the Vision of the Lord Master cannot be estimated. You are the Pure Cherisher; You Yourself are the great and immeasurable Lord and Master. ||1|| Give me Your help, O brave and generous Lord; You are the One, You are the Only Lord. O Creator Lord, by Your creative potency, You created the world; Nanak holds tight to Your support. ||2||5|| Tilang, First Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The One who created the world watches over it; what more can we say, O Siblings of Destiny?

Section 18 - Raag Tilang - Part 005

He Himself knows, and He Himself acts; He laid out the garden of the world. ||1|| Savor the story, the story of the Beloved Lord, which brings a lasting peace. ||Pause|| She who does not enjoy the Love of her Husband Lord, shall come to regret and repent in the end. She wrings her hands, and bangs her head, when the night of her life has passed away. ||2|| Nothing comes from repentance, when the game is already finished. She shall have the opportunity to enjoy her Beloved, only when her turn comes again. ||3|| The happy soul-bride attains her Husband Lord - she is so much better than I am. I have none of her merits or virtues; whom should I blame? ||4|| I shall go and ask those sisters who have enjoyed their Husband Lord. I touch their feet, and ask them to show me the Path. ||5|| She who understands the Hukam of His Command, O Nanak, applies the Fear of God as her sandalwood oil; she charms her Beloved with her virtue, and so obtains Him. ||6|| She who meets her Beloved in her heart, remains united with Him; this is truly called union. As much as she may long for Him, she shall not meet Him through mere words. ||7|| As metal melts into metal again, so does love melt into love. By Guru's Grace, this understanding is obtained, and then, one obtains the Fearless Lord. ||8|| There may be an orchard of betel nut trees in the garden, but the donkey does not appreciate its value. If someone savors a fragrance, then he can truly appreciate its flower. ||9|| One who drinks in the ambrosia, O Nanak, abandons his doubts and wanderings. Easily and intuitively, he remains blended with the Lord, and obtains the immortal status. ||10||1|| Tilang, Fourth Mehl: The Guru, my friend, has told me the stories and the sermon of the Lord. I am a sacrifice to my Guru; to the Guru, I am a sacrifice. ||1|| Come, join with me, O Sikh of the Guru, come and join with me. You are my Guru's Beloved. ||Pause|| The Glorious Praises of the Lord are pleasing to the Lord; I have obtained them from the Guru. I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice to those who surrender to, and obey the Guru's Will. ||2|| I am dedicated and devoted to those who gaze upon the Beloved True Guru. I am forever a sacrifice to those who perform service for the Guru. ||3|| Your Name, O Lord, Har, Har, is the Destroyer of sorrow. Serving the Guru, it is obtained, and as Gurmukh, one is emancipated. ||4|| Those humble beings who meditate on the Lord's Name, are celebrated and acclaimed. Nanak is a sacrifice to them, forever and ever a devoted sacrifice. ||5|| O Lord, that alone is Praise to You, which is pleasing to Your Will, O Lord God. Those Gurmukhs, who serve their Beloved Lord, obtain Him as their reward. ||6|| Those who cherish love for the Lord, their souls are always with God. Chanting and meditating on their Beloved, they live in, and gather in, the Lord's Name. ||7|| I am a sacrifice to those Gurmukhs who serve their Beloved Lord. They themselves are saved, along with their families, and through them, all the world is saved. ||8|| My Beloved Guru serves the Lord. Blessed is the Guru, Blessed is the Guru. The Guru has shown me the Lord's Path; the Guru has done the greatest good deed. ||9||

Section 18 - Raag Tilang - Part 006

Those Sikhs of the Guru, who serve the Guru, are the most blessed beings. Servant Nanak is a sacrifice to them; He is forever and ever a sacrifice. ||10|| The Lord Himself is pleased with the Gurmukhs, the fellowship of the companions. In the Lord's Court, they are given robes of honour, and the Lord Himself hugs them close in His embrace. ||11|| Please bless me with the Blessed Vision of the Darshan of those Gurmukhs, who meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. I wash their feet, and drink in the dust of their feet, dissolved in the wash water. ||12|| Those who eat betel nuts and betel leaf and apply lipstick, but do not contemplate the Lord, Har, Har - the Messenger of Death will seize them and take them away. ||13|| The Messenger of Death does not even approach those who contemplate the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, and keep Him enshrined in their hearts. The Guru's Sikhs are the Guru's Beloveds. ||14|| The Name of the Lord is a treasure, known only to the few Gurmukhs. O Nanak, those who meet with the True Guru, enjoy peace and pleasure. ||15|| The True Guru is called the Giver; in His Mercy, He grants His Grace. I am forever a sacrifice to the Guru, who has blessed me with the Lord's Name. ||16|| Blessed, very blessed is the Guru, who brings the Lord's message. I gaze upon the Guru, the Guru, the True Guru embodied, and I blossom forth in bliss. ||17|| The Guru's tongue recites Words of Ambrosial Nectar; He is adorned with the Lord's Name. Those Sikhs who hear and obey the Guru - all their desires depart. ||18|| Some speak of the Lord's Path; tell me, how can I walk on it? O Lord, Har, Har, Your Name is my supplies; I will take it with me and set out. ||19|| Those Gurmukhs who worship and adore the Lord, are wealthy and very wise. I am forever a sacrifice to the True Guru; I am absorbed in the Words of the Guru's Teachings. ||20|| You are the Master, my Lord and Master; You are my Ruler and King. If it is pleasing to Your Will, then I worship and serve You; You are the treasure of virtue. ||21|| The Lord Himself is absolute; He is The One and Only; but He Himself is also manifested in many forms. Whatever pleases Him, O Nanak, that alone is good. ||22||2|| Tilang, Ninth Mehl, Kaafee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: If you are conscious, then be conscious of Him night and day, O mortal. Each and every moment, your life is passing away, like water from a cracked pitcher. ||1||Pause|| Why do you not sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, you ignorant fool? You are attached to false greed, and you do not even consider death. ||1|| Even now, no harm has been done, if you will only sing God's Praises. Says Nanak, by meditating and vibrating upon Him, you shall obtain the state of fearlessness. ||2||1|| Tilang, Ninth Mehl: Wake up, O mind! Wake up! Why are you sleeping unaware? That body, which you were born with, shall not go along with you in the end. ||1||Pause|| Mother, father, children and relatives whom you love, will throw your body into the fire, when your soul departs from it. ||1||

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Section 18 - Raag Tilang - Part 007

Your worldly affairs exist only as long as you are alive; know this well. O Nanak, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord; everything is like a dream. ||2||2|| Tilang, Ninth Mehl: Sing the Lord's Praises, O mind; He is your only true companion. Your time is passing away; listen carefully to what I say. ||1||Pause|| You are so in love with property, chariots, wealth and power. When the noose of death tightens around your neck, they will all belong to others. ||1|| Know this well, O madman - you have ruined your affairs. You did not restrain yourself from committing sins, and you did not eradicate your ego. ||2|| So listen to the Teachings imparted by the Guru, O Siblings of Destiny. Nanak proclaims: hold tight to the Protection and the Sanctuary of God. ||3||3|| Tilang, The Word Of Devotee Kabeer Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The Vedas and the Scriptures are only make-believe, O Siblings of Destiny; they do not relieve the anxiety of the heart. If you will only centre yourself on the Lord, even for just a breath, then you shall see the Lord face-to-face, present before you. ||1|| O human being, search your own heart every day, and do not wander around in confusion. This world is just a magic-show; no one will be holding your hand. ||1||Pause|| Reading and studying falsehood, people are happy; in their ignorance, they speak nonsense. The True Creator Lord is diffused into His creation; He is not just the dark-skinned Krishna of legends. ||2|| Through the Tenth Gate, the stream of nectar flows; take your bath in this. Serve the Lord forever; use your eyes, and see Him ever-present everywhere. ||3|| The Lord is the purest of the pure; only through doubt could there be another. O Kabeer, mercy flows from the Merciful Lord; He alone knows who acts. ||4||1|| Naam Dayv Jee: I am blind; Your Name, O Creator Lord, is my only anchor and support. I am poor, and I am meek. Your Name is my only support. ||1||Pause|| O beautiful Lord, benevolent and merciful Lord, You are so wealthy and generous. You are ever-present in every presence, within and before me. ||1|| You are the river of life, You are the Giver of all; You are so very wealthy. You alone give, and You alone take away; there is no other at all. ||2|| You are wise, You are the supreme seer; how could I make You an object of thought? O Lord and Master of Naam Dayv, You are the merciful Lord of forgiveness. ||3||1||2|| Hello, my friend, hello my friend. Is there any good news? I am a sacrifice, a devoted sacrifice, a dedicated and devoted sacrifice, to You. Slavery to You is so sublime; Your Name is noble and exalted. ||1||Pause|| Where did you come from? Where have You been? And where are You going? Tell me the truth, in the holy city of Dwaarikaa. ||1|| How handsome is your turban! And how sweet is your speech. Why are there Moghals in the holy city of Dwaarikaa? ||2|| You alone are the Lord of so many thousands of worlds. You are my Lord King, like the dark-skinned Krishna. ||3|| You are the Lord of the sun, Lord Indra and Lord Brahma, the King of men. You are the Lord and Master of Naam Dayv, the King, the Liberator of all. ||4||2||3||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 19 - RAAG SOOHEE

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 001

One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying. Beyond Birth. Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: Raag Soohee, First Mehl, Chau-Padas, First House: Wash the vessel, sit down and anoint it with fragrance; then, go out and get the milk. Add the rennet of clear consciousness to the milk of good deeds, and then, free of desire, let it curdle. ||1|| Chant the Name of the One Lord. All other actions are fruitless. ||1||Pause|| Let your mind be the handles, and then churn it, without sleeping. If you chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord ,with your tongue, then the curd will be churned. In this way, the Ambrosial Nectar is obtained. ||2|| Wash your mind in the pool of Truth, and let it be the vessel of the Lord; let this be your offering to please Him. That humble servant who dedicates and offers his life, and who serves in this way, remains absorbed in his Lord and Master. ||3|| The speakers speak and speak and speak, and then they depart. There is no other to compare to You. Servant Nanak, lacking devotion, humbly prays: may I sing the Praises of the True Lord. ||4||1|| Soohee, First Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Deep within the self, the Lord abides; do not go outside looking for Him. You have renounced the Ambrosial Nectar - why are you eating poison? ||1|| Meditate on such spiritual wisdom, O my mind, and become the slave of the True Lord. ||1||Pause|| Everyone speaks of wisdom and meditation; but bound in bondage, the whole world is wandering around in confusion. ||2|| One who serves the Lord is His servant. The Lord is pervading and permeating the water, the land, and the sky. ||3|| I am not good; no one is bad. Prays Nanak, He alone saves us! ||4||1||2||

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 002

Soohee, First Mehl, Sixth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Bronze is bright and shiny, but when it is rubbed, its blackness appears. Washing it, its impurity is not removed, even if it is washed a hundred times. ||1|| They alone are my friends, who travel along with me; and in that place, where the accounts are called for, they appear standing with me. ||1||Pause|| There are houses, mansions and tall buildings, painted on all sides; but they are empty within, and they crumble like useless ruins. ||2|| The herons in their white feathers dwell in the sacred shrines of pilgrimage. They tear apart and eat the living beings, and so they are not called white. ||3|| My body is like the simmal tree; seeing me, other people are fooled. Its fruits are useless - just like the qualities of my body. ||4|| The blind man is carrying such a heavy load, and his journey through the mountains is so long. My eyes can see, but I cannot find the Way. How can I climb up and cross over the mountain? ||5|| What good does it do to serve, and be good, and be clever? O Nanak, contemplate the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and you shall be released from bondage. ||6||1||3|| Soohee, First Mehl: Build the raft of meditation and self-discipline, to carry you across the river. There will be no ocean, and no rising tides to stop you; this is how comfortable your path shall be. ||1|| Your Name alone is the colour, in which the robe of my body is dyed. This colour is permanent, O my Beloved. ||1||Pause|| My beloved friends have departed; how will they meet the Lord? If they have virtue in their pack, the Lord will unite them with Himself. ||2|| Once united with Him, they will not be separated again, if they are truly united. The True Lord brings their comings and goings to an end. ||3|| One who subdues and eradicates egotism, sews the robe of devotion. Following the Word of the Guru's Teachings, she receives the fruits of her reward, the Ambrosial Words of the Lord. ||4|| Says Nanak, O soul-brides, our Husband Lord is so dear! We are the servants, the hand-maidens of the Lord; He is our True Lord and Master. ||5||2||4|| Soohee, First Mehl: Those whose minds are filled with love of the Lord, are blessed and exalted. They are blessed with peace, and their pains are forgotten. He will undoubtedly, certainly save them. ||1|| The Guru comes to meet those whose destiny is so pre-ordained. He blesses them with the Teachings of the Ambrosial Name of the Lord. Those who walk in the Will of the True Guru, never wander begging. ||2|| And one who lives in the Mansion of the Lord's Presence, why should he bow down to any other? The gate-keeper at the Lord's Gate shall not stop him to ask any questions. And one who is blessed with the Lord's Glance of Grace - by his words, others are emancipated as well. ||3|| The Lord Himself sends out, and recalls the mortal beings; no one else gives Him advice. He Himself demolishes, constructs and creates; He knows everything. O Nanak, the Naam, the Name of the Lord is the blessing, given to those who receive His Mercy, and His Grace. ||4||3||5||

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 003

Soohee, First Mehl: That vessel alone is pure, which is pleasing to Him. The filthiest vessel does not become pure, simply by being washed. Through the Gurdwara, the Guru's Gate, one obtains understanding. By being washed through this Gate, it becomes pure. The Lord Himself sets the standards to differentiate between the dirty and the pure. Do not think that you will automatically find a place of rest hereafter. According to the actions one has committed, so does the mortal become. He Himself bestows the Ambrosial Name of the Lord. Such a mortal departs with honour and renown; his life is embellished and redeemed, and the trumpets resound with his glory. Why speak of poor mortals? His glory shall echo throughout the three worlds. O Nanak, he himself shall be enraptured, and he shall save his entire ancestry. ||1||4||6|| Soohee, First Mehl: The Yogi practices yoga, and the pleasure-seeker practices eating. The austere practice austerities, bathing and rubbing themselves at sacred shrines of pilgrimage. ||1|| Let me hear some news of You, O Beloved; if only someone would come and sit with me, and tell me. ||1||Pause|| As one plants, so does he harvest; whatever he earns, he eats. In the world hereafter, his account is not called for, if he goes with the insignia of the Lord. ||2|| According to the actions the mortal commits, so is he proclaimed. And that breath which is drawn without thinking of the Lord, that breath goes in vain. ||3|| I would sell this body, if someone would only purchase it. O Nanak, that body is of no use at all, if it does not enshrine the Name of the True Lord. ||4||5||7|| Soohee, First Mehl, Seventh House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Yoga is not the patched coat, Yoga is not the walking stick. Yoga is not smearing the body with ashes. Yoga is not the ear-rings, and not the shaven head. Yoga is not the blowing of the horn. Remaining unblemished in the midst of the filth of the world - this is the way to attain Yoga. ||1|| By mere words, Yoga is not attained. One who looks upon all with a single eye, and knows them to be one and the same - he alone is known as a Yogi. ||1||Pause|| Yoga is not wandering to the tombs of the dead; Yoga is not sitting in trances. Yoga is not wandering through foreign lands; Yoga is not bathing at sacred shrines of pilgrimage. Remaining unblemished in the midst of the filth of the world - this is the way to attain Yoga. ||2|| Meeting with the True Guru, doubt is dispelled, and the wandering mind is restrained. Nectar rains down, celestial music resounds, and deep within, wisdom is obtained. Remaining unblemished in the midst of the filth of the world - this is the way to attain Yoga. ||3|| O Nanak, remain dead while yet alive - practice such a Yoga. When the horn is blown without being blown, then you shall attain the state of fearless dignity. Remaining unblemished in the midst of the filth of the world - this is the way to attain Yoga. ||4||1||8|| Soohee, First Mehl: What scale, what weights, and what assayer shall I call for You, Lord? From what guru should I receive instruction? By whom should I have Your value appraised? ||1||

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 004

O my Dear Beloved Lord, Your limits are not known. You pervade the water, the land, and the sky; You Yourself are All-pervading. ||1||Pause|| Mind is the scale, consciousness the weights, and the performance of Your service is the appraiser. Deep within my heart, I weigh my Husband Lord; in this way I focus my consciousness. ||2|| You Yourself are the balance, the weights and the scale; You Yourself are the weigher. You Yourself see, and You Yourself understand; You Yourself are the trader. ||3|| The blind, low class wandering soul, comes for a moment, and departs in an instant. In its company, Nanak dwells; how can the fool attain the Lord? ||4||2||9|| Raag Soohee, Fourth Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: My mind worships and adores the Lord's Name, through the Guru, and the Word of the Guru's Shabad. All the desires of my mind and body have been fulfilled; all fear of death has been dispelled. ||1|| O my mind, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord's Name. And when the Guru is pleased and satisfied, the mind is instructed; it then joyfully drinks in the subtle essence of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| The Sat Sangat, the True Congregation of the True Guru, is sublime and exalted. They sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord God. Bless me with Your Mercy, Lord, and unite me with the Sat Sangat; I wash the feet of Your humble servants. ||2|| The Lord's Name is all. The Lord's Name is the essence of the Guru's Teachings, the juice, the sweetness of it. I have found the Ambrosial Nectar, the Divine Water of the Lord's Name, and all my thirst for it is quenched. ||3|| The Guru, the True Guru, is my social status and honour; I have sold my head to the Guru. Servant Nanak is called the chaylaa, the disciple of the Guru; O Guru, save the honour of Your servant. ||4||1|| Soohee, Fourth Mehl: I chant and vibrate the Name of the Lord God, the Supreme Being, Har, Har; my poverty and problems have all been eradicated. The fear of birth and death has been erased, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad; serving the Unmoving, Unchanging Lord, I am absorbed in peace. ||1|| O my mind, vibrate the Name of the most Beloved, Darling Lord. I have dedicated my mind and body, and placed them in offering before the Guru; I have sold my head to the Guru, for a very dear price. ||1||Pause|| The kings and the rulers of men enjoy pleasures and delights, but without the Name of the Lord, death seizes and dispatches them all. The Righteous Judge of Dharma strikes them over the heads with his staff, and when the fruits of their actions come into their hands, then they regret and repent. ||2|| Save me, save me, Lord; I am Your humble servant, a mere worm. I seek the Protection of Your Sanctuary, O Primal Lord, Cherisher and Nourisher. Please bless me with the Blessed Vision of the Saint's Darshan, that I may find peace. O God, please fulfill the desires of Your humble servant. ||3|| You are the All-powerful, Great, Primal God, my Lord and Master. O Lord, please bless me with the gift of humility. Servant Nanak has found the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and is at peace; I am forever a sacrifice to the Naam. ||4||2|| Soohee, Fourth Mehl: The Lord's Name is the Love of the Lord. The Lord's Love is the permanent colour. When the Guru is totally satisfied and pleased, He colours us with the Lord's Love; this colour shall never fade away. ||1||

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 005

O my mind, enshrine love for the Name of the Lord. The Guru, satisfied and pleased, taught me about the Lord, and my Sovereign Lord King met with me at once. ||1||Pause|| The self-willed manmukh is like the ignorant bride, who comes and goes again and again in reincarnation. The Lord God does not come into her consciousness, and her mind is stuck in the love of duality. ||2|| I am full of filth, and I practice evil deeds; O Lord, save me, be with me, merge me into Your Being! The Guru has bathed me in the pool of Ambrosial Nectar, and all my dirty sins and mistakes have been washed away. ||3|| O Lord God, Merciful to the meek and the poor, please unite me with the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. Joining the Sangat, servant Nanak has obtained the Lord's Love; my mind and body are drenched in it. ||4||3|| Soohee, Fourth Mehl: One who chants the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, while constantly practicing deception, shall never become pure of heart. He may perform all sorts of rituals, night and day, but he shall not find peace, even in dreams. ||1|| O wise ones, without the Guru, there is no devotional worship. The untreated cloth does not take up the dye, no matter how much everyone may wish it. ||1||Pause|| The self-willed manmukh may perform chants, meditations, austere self-discipline, fasts and devotional worship, but his sickness does not go away. Deep within him is the sickness of excessive

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egotism; in the love of duality he is ruined. ||2|| Outwardly, he wears religious robes and he is very clever, but his mind wanders in the ten directions. Engrossed in ego, he does not remember the Word of the Shabad; over and over again, he is reincarnated. ||3|| O Nanak, that mortal who is blessed with the Lord's Glance of Grace, understands Him; that humble servant meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. By Guru's Grace, he understands the One Lord, and is absorbed into the One Lord. ||4||4|| Soohee, Fourth Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Following the Guru's Teachings, I searched and searched the body-village; I found the wealth of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1|| The Lord, Har, Har, has enshrined peace within my mind. The fire of desire was extinguished in an instant, when I met the Guru; all my hunger has been satisfied. ||1||Pause|| Singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, I live, O my mother. The Merciful True Guru implanted the Glorious Praises of the Naam within me. ||2|| I search for and seek out my Beloved Lord God, Har, Har. Joining the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, I have obtained the subtle essence of the Lord. ||3|| By the pre-ordained destiny inscribed upon my forehead, I have found the Lord. Guru Nanak, pleased and satisfied, has united me with the Lord, O Siblings of Destiny. ||4||1||5|| Soohee, Fourth Mehl: Showering His Mercy, the Lord imbues the mind with His Love. The Gurmukh merges in the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1|| Imbued with the Lord's Love, the mortal enjoys the pleasure of His Love. He remains always blissful, day and night, and he merges into the Shabad, the Word of the Perfect Guru. ||1||Pause|| Everyone longs for the Lord's Love; the Gurmukh is imbued with the deep red colour of His Love. ||2|| The foolish, self-willed manmukh is left pale and uncoloured.

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 006

Even if he wishes it a hundred times, he does not obtain the Lord's Love. ||3|| But if the Lord blesses him with His Glance of Grace, then he meets the True Guru. Nanak is absorbed into the subtle essence of the Lord's Love. ||4||2||6|| Soohee, Fourth Mehl: My tongue remains satisfied with the subtle essence of the Lord. The Gurmukh drinks it in, and merges in celestial peace. ||1|| If you taste the subtle essence of the Lord, O humble Siblings of Destiny, then how can you be enticed by other flavors? ||1||Pause|| Under Guru's Instructions, keep this subtle essence enshrined in your heart. Those who are imbued with the subtle essence of the Lord, are immersed in celestial bliss. ||2|| The self-willed manmukh cannot even taste the subtle essence of the Lord. He acts out in ego, and suffers terrible punishment. ||3|| But if he is blessed with the Lord's Kind Mercy, then he obtains the subtle essence of the Lord. O Nanak, absorbed in this subtle essence of the Lord, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||4||3||7|| Soohee, Fourth Mehl, Sixth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: When someone of low social class chants the Lord's Name, he obtains the state of highest dignity. Go and ask Bidar, the son of a maid; Krishna himself stayed in his house. ||1|| Listen, O humble Siblings of Destiny, to the Unspoken Speech of the Lord; it removes all anxiety, pain and hunger. ||1||Pause|| Ravi Daas, the leather-worker, praised the Lord, and sang the Kirtan of His Praises each and every instant. although he was of low social status, he was exalted and elevated, and people of all four castes came and bowed at his feet. ||2|| Naam Dayv loved the Lord; the people called him a fabric dyer. The Lord turned His back on the high-class Kh'shaatriyas and Brahmins, and showed His face to Naam Dayv. ||3|| All of the devotees and servants of the Lord have the tilak, the ceremonial mark, applied to their foreheads at the sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage. Servant Nanak shall touch their feet night and day, if the Lord, the King, grants His Grace. ||4||1||8|| Soohee, Fourth Mehl: They alone worship and adore the Lord deep within, who are blessed with such pre-ordained destiny from the very beginning of time. What can anyone do to undermine them? My Creator Lord is on their side. ||1|| So meditate on the Lord, Har, Har, O my mind. Meditate on the Lord, O mind; He is the Eliminator of all the pains of reincarnation. ||1||Pause|| In the very beginning, the Lord blessed His devotees with the Ambrosial Nectar, the treasure of devotion. Anyone who tries to compete with them is a fool; his face shall be blackened here and hereafter. ||2|| They alone are devotees, and they alone are selfless servants, who love the Lord's Name. By their selfless service, they find the Lord, while ashes fall on the heads of the slanderers. ||3|| He alone knows this, who experiences it within the home of his own self. Ask Guru Nanak, the Guru of the world, and reflect upon it. Throughout the four generations of the Gurus, from the beginning of time and throughout the ages, no one has ever found the Lord by back-biting and undermining. Only by serving the Lord with love, is one emancipated. ||4||2||9|| Soohee, Fourth Mehl: Wherever the Lord is worshipped in adoration, there the Lord becomes one's friend and helper.

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 007

By Guru's Grace, the Lord comes to dwell in the mind; He cannot be obtained in any other way. ||1|| So gather in the wealth of the Lord, O Siblings of Destiny, so that in this world and the next, the Lord shall be your friend and companion. ||1||Pause|| In the company of the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, you shall earn the wealth of the Lord; this wealth of the Lord is not obtained anywhere else, by any other means, at all. The dealer in the Lord's Jewels purchases the wealth of the Lord's jewels; the dealer in cheap glass jewels cannot acquire the Lord's wealth by empty words. ||2|| The Lord's wealth is like jewels, gems and rubies. At the appointed time in the Amrit Vaylaa, the ambrosial hours of the morning, the Lord's devotees lovingly centre their attention on the Lord, and the wealth of the Lord. The devotees of the Lord plant the seed of the Lord's wealth in the ambrosial hours of the Amrit Vaylaa; they eat it, and spend it, but it is never exhausted. In this world and the next, the devotees are blessed with glorious greatness, the wealth of the Lord. ||3|| The wealth of the Fearless Lord is permanent, forever and ever, and true. This wealth of the Lord cannot be destroyed by fire or water; neither thieves nor the Messenger of Death can take it away. Thieves cannot even approach the Lord's wealth; Death, the tax collector cannot tax it. ||4|| The faithless cynics commit sins and gather in their poisonous wealth, but it shall not go along with them for even a single step. In this world, the faithless cynics become miserable, as it slips away through their hands. In the world hereafter, the faithless cynics find no shelter in the Court of the Lord. ||5|| The Lord Himself is the Banker of this wealth, O Saints; when the Lord gives it, the mortal loads it and takes it away. This wealth of the Lord is never exhausted; the Guru has given this understanding to servant Nanak. ||6||3||10|| Soohee, Fourth Mehl: That mortal, with whom the Lord is pleased, repeats the Glorious Praises of the Lord; he alone is a devotee, and he alone is approved. How can his glory be described? Within his heart, the Primal Lord, the Lord God, abides. ||1|| Sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe; focus your meditation on the True Guru. ||1||Pause|| He is the True Guru - service to the True Guru is fruitful and rewarding. By this service, the greatest treasure is obtained. The faithless cynics in their love of duality and sensual desires, harbor foul-smelling urges. They are totally useless and ignorant. ||2|| One who has faith - his singing is approved. He is honoured in the Court of the Lord. Those who lack faith may close their eyes, hypocritically pretending and faking devotion, but their false pretenses shall soon wear off. ||3|| My soul and body are totally Yours, Lord; You are the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts, my Primal Lord God. So speaks servant Nanak, the slave of Your slaves; as You make me speak, so do I speak. ||4||4||11||

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 008

Soohee, Fourth Mehl, Seventh House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Which, which of Your Glorious Virtues should I sing and recount, Lord? You are my Lord and Master, the treasure of excellence. I cannot express Your Glorious Praises. You are my Lord and Master, lofty and benevolent. ||1|| The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is my only support. If it pleases You, please save me, O my Lord and Master; without You, I have no other at all. ||1||Pause|| You alone are my strength, and my Court, O my Lord and Master; unto You alone I pray. There is no other place where I can offer my prayers; I can tell my pains and pleasures only to You. ||2|| Water is locked up in the earth, and fire is locked up in wood. The sheep and the lions are kept in one place; O mortal, meditate on the Lord, and your doubts and fears shall be removed. ||3|| So behold the glorious greatness of the Lord, O Saints; the Lord blesses the dishonoured with honour. As dust rises from underfoot, O Nanak, so does the Lord make all people fall at the feet of the Holy. ||4||1||12|| Soohee, Fourth Mehl: You Yourself, O Creator, know everything; what can I possibly tell You? You know all the bad and the good; as we act, so are we rewarded. ||1|| O my Lord and Master, You alone know the state of my inner being. You know all the bad and the good; as it pleases You, so You make us speak. ||1||Pause|| The Lord has infused the love of Maya into all bodies; through this human body, there comes the opportunity to worship the Lord with devotion. You unite some with the True Guru, and bless them with peace; while others, the self-willed manmukhs, are engrossed in worldly affairs. ||2|| All belong to You, and You belong to all, O my Creator Lord; You wrote the words of destiny on the forehead of everyone. As You bestow Your Glance of Grace, so are mortals made; without Your Gracious Glance, no one assumes any form. ||3|| You alone know Your Glorious Greatness; everyone constantly meditates on You. That being, with whom You are pleased, is united with You; O servant Nanak, only such a mortal is accepted. ||4||2||13|| Soohee, Fourth Mehl: Those beings, within whose inner selves my Lord, Har, Har, dwells - all their diseases are cured. They alone become liberated, who meditate on the Name of the Lord; they obtain the supreme status. ||1|| O my Lord, the Lord's humble servants become healthy. Those who meditate on my Lord, Har, Har, through the Word of the Guru's Teachings, are rid of the disease of ego. ||1||Pause|| Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva suffer from the disease of the three gunas - the three qualities; they do their deeds in egotism. The poor fools do not remember the One who created them; this understanding of the Lord is only obtained by those who become Gurmukh. ||2|| The entire world is afflicted by the disease of egotism. They suffer the terrible pains of birth and death.

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 009

By Guru's Grace, a few rare ones are saved; I am a sacrifice to those humble beings. ||3|| The One who created the Universe, that Lord alone knows. His beauty is incomparable. O Nanak, the Lord Himself gazes upon it, and is pleased. The Gurmukh contemplates God. ||4||3||14|| Soohee, Fourth Mehl: All that happens, and all that will happen, is by His Will. If we could do something by ourselves, we would. By ourselves, we cannot do anything at all. As it pleases the Lord, He preserves us. ||1|| O my Dear Lord, everything is in Your power. I have no power to do anything at all. As it pleases You, You forgive us. ||1||Pause|| You Yourself bless us with soul, body and everything. You Yourself cause us to act. As You issue Your Commands, so do we act, according to our pre-ordained destiny. ||2|| You created the entire Universe out of the five elements; if anyone can create a sixth, let him. You unite some with the True Guru, and cause them to understand, while others, the self-willed manmukhs, do their deeds and cry out in pain. ||3|| I cannot describe the glorious greatness of the Lord; I am foolish, thoughtless, idiotic and lowly. Please, forgive servant Nanak, O my Lord and Master; I am ignorant, but I have entered Your Sanctuary. ||4||4||15||24|| Raag Soohee, Fifth Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The actor stages the play, playing the many characters in different costumes; but when the play ends, he takes off the costumes, and then he is one, and only one. ||1|| How many forms and images appeared and disappeared? Where have they gone? Where did they come from? ||1||Pause|| Countless waves rise up from the water. Jewels and ornaments of many different forms are fashioned from gold. I have seen seeds of all kinds being planted - when the fruit ripens, the seeds appear in the same form as the original. ||2|| The one sky is reflected in thousands of water jugs, but when the jugs are broken, only the sky remains. Doubt comes from greed, emotional attachment and the corruption of Maya. Freed from doubt, one realises the One Lord alone. ||3|| He is imperishable; He will never pass away. He does not come, and He does not go. The Perfect Guru has washed away the filth of ego. Says Nanak, I have obtained the supreme status. ||4||1|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: Whatever God wills, that alone happens. Without You, there is no other at all. The humble being serves Him, and so all his works are perfectly successful. O Lord, please preserve the honour of Your slaves. ||1|| I seek Your Sanctuary, O Perfect, Merciful Lord. Without You, who would cherish and love me? ||1||Pause|| He is permeating and pervading the water, the land and the sky. God dwells near at hand; He is not far away. By trying to please other people, nothing is accomplished. When someone is attached to the True Lord, his ego is taken away. ||2||

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 010

He alone is attached, whom the Lord Himself attaches. The jewel of spiritual wisdom is awakened deep within. Evil-mindedness is eradicated, and the supreme status is attained. By Guru's Grace, meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||3|| Pressing my palms together, I offer my prayer; if it pleases You, Lord, please bless me and fulfill me. Grant Your Mercy, Lord, and bless me with devotion. Servant Nanak meditates on God forever. ||4||2|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: Blessed is that soul-bride, who realises God. She obeys the Hukam of His Order, and abandons her self-conceit. Imbued with her Beloved, she celebrates in delight. ||1|| Listen, O my companions - these are the signs on the Path to meet God. Dedicate your mind and body to Him; stop living to please others. ||1||Pause|| One soul-bride counsels another, to do only that which pleases God. Such a soul-bride merges into the Being of God. ||2|| One who is in the grip of pride does not obtain the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. She regrets and repents, when her life-night passes away. The unfortunate self-willed manmukhs suffer in pain. ||3|| I pray to God, but I think that He is far away. God is imperishable and eternal; He is pervading and permeating everywhere. Servant Nanak sings of Him; I see Him Ever-present everywhere. ||4||3|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: The Giver has put this household of my being under my own control. I am now the mistress of the Lord's Home. My Husband Lord has made the ten senses and organs of actions my slaves. I have gathered together all the faculties and facilities of this house. I am thirsty with desire and longing for my Husband Lord. ||1|| What Glorious Virtues of my Beloved Husband Lord should I describe? He is All-knowing, totally beautiful and merciful; He is the Destroyer of ego. ||1||Pause|| I am adorned with Truth, and I have applied the mascara of the Fear of God to my eyes. I have chewed the betel-leaf of the Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord. My bracelets, robes and ornaments beautifully adorn me. The soul-bride becomes totally happy, when her Husband Lord comes to her home. ||2|| By the charms of virtue, I have

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enticed and fascinated my Husband Lord. He is under my power - the Guru has dispelled my doubts. My mansion is lofty and elevated. Renouncing all other brides, my Beloved has become my lover. ||3|| The sun has risen, and its light shines brightly. I have prepared my bed with infinite care and faith. My Darling Beloved is new and fresh; He has come to my bed to enjoy me. O Servant Nanak, my Husband Lord has come; the soul-bride has found peace. ||4||4|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: An intense yearning to meet God has welled up in my heart. I have gone out searching to find my Beloved Husband Lord. Hearing news of my Beloved, I have laid out my bed in my home. Wandering, wandering all around, I came, but I did not even see Him. ||1|| How can this poor heart be comforted? Come and meet me, O Friend; I am a sacrifice to You. ||1||Pause|| One bed is spread out for the bride and her Husband Lord. The bride is asleep, while her Husband Lord is always awake. The bride is intoxicated, as if she has drunk wine. The soul-bride only awakens when her Husband Lord calls to her. ||2|| She has lost hope - so many days have passed. I have travelled through all the lands and the countries.

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 011

I cannot survive, even for an instant, without the feet of my Beloved. When God becomes Merciful, I become fortunate, and then I meet Him. ||3|| Becoming Merciful, He has united me with the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. The fire has been quenched, and I have found my Husband Lord within my own home. I am now adorned with all sorts of decorations. Says Nanak, the Guru has dispelled my doubt. ||4|| Wherever I look, I see my Husband Lord there, O Siblings of Destiny. When the door is opened, then the mind is restrained. ||1||Second Pause||5|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: What virtues and excellences of Yours should I cherish and contemplate? I am worthless, while You are the Great Giver. I am Your slave - what clever tricks could I ever try? This soul and body are totally Yours||1|| O my Darling, Blissful Beloved, who fascinates my mind - I am a sacrifice to the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. ||1||Pause|| O God, You are the Great Giver, and I am just a poor beggar; You are forever and ever benevolent. I cannot accomplish anything by myself, O my Unapproachable and Infinite Lord and Master. ||2|| What service can I perform? What should I say to please You? How can I gain the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan? Your extent cannot be found - Your limits cannot be found. My mind longs for Your Feet. ||3|| I beg with persistence to receive this gift, that the dust of the Saints might touch my face. The Guru has showered His Mercy upon servant Nanak; reaching out with His Hand, God has delivered him. ||4||6|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl, Third House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: His service is insignificant, but his demands are very great. He does not obtain the Mansion of the Lord's Presence, but he says that he has arrived there||1|| He competes with those who have been accepted by the Beloved Lord. This is how stubborn the false fool is! ||1||Pause|| He wears religious robes, but he does not practice Truth. He says that he has found the Mansion of the Lord's Presence, but he cannot even get near it. ||2|| He says that he is unattached, but he is intoxicated with Maya. There is no love in his mind, and yet he says that he is imbued with the Lord. ||3|| Says Nanak, hear my prayer, God: I am silly, stubborn and filled with sexual desire - please, liberate me! ||4|| I gaze upon the glorious greatness of the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. You are the Giver of Peace, the Loving Primal Being. ||1||Second Pause||1||7|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: He gets up early, to do his evil deeds, but when it is time to meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, then he sleeps. ||1|| The ignorant person does not take advantage of the opportunity. He is attached to Maya, and engrossed in worldly delights. ||1||Pause|| He rides the waves of greed, puffed up with joy. He does not see the Blessed Vision of the Darshan of the Holy. ||2|| The ignorant clown will never understand. Again and again, he becomes engrossed in entanglements. ||1||Pause|| He listens to the sounds of sin and the music of corruption, and he is pleased. His mind is too lazy to listen to the Praises of the Lord. ||3|| You do not see with your eyes - you are so blind! You shall have to leave all these false affairs. ||1||Pause|| Says Nanak, please forgive me, God.

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 012

Have Mercy upon me, and bless me with the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||4|| He alone obtains something, who becomes the dust under the feet of all. And he alone repeats the Naam, whom God causes to understand. ||1||Pause||2||8|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: Within the home of his own self, he does not even come to see his Lord and Master. And yet, around his neck, he hangs a stone god. ||1|| The faithless cynic wanders around, deluded by doubt. He churns water, and after wasting his life away, he dies. ||1||Pause|| That stone, which he calls his god, that stone pulls him down and drowns him. ||2|| O sinner, you are untrue to your own self; a boat of stone will not carry you across. ||3|| Meeting the Guru, O Nanak, I know my Lord and Master. The Perfect Architect of Destiny is pervading and permeating the water, the land and the sky. ||4||3||9|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: How have you enjoyed your Dear Beloved? O sister, please teach me, please show me. ||1|| Crimson, crimson, crimson - this is the colour of the soul-bride who is imbued with the Love of her Beloved. ||1||Pause|| I wash Your Feet with my eye-lashes. Wherever You send me, there I will go. ||2|| I would trade meditation, austerity, self-discipline and celibacy, if I could only meet the Lord of my life, for even an instant. ||3|| She who eradicates her self-conceit, power and arrogant intellect, O Nanak, is the true soul-bride. ||4||4||10|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: You are my Life, the very Support of my breath of life. Gazing upon You, beholding You, my mind is soothed and comforted. ||1|| You are my Friend, You are my Beloved. I shall never forget You. ||1||Pause|| I am Your indentured servant; I am Your slave. You are my Great Lord and Master, the treasure of excellence. ||2|| There are millions of servants in Your Court - Your Royal Darbaar. Each and every instant, You dwell with them. ||3|| I am nothing; everything is Yours. Through and through, You abide with Nanak. ||4||5||11|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: His Mansions are so comfortable, and His gates are so lofty. Within them, His beloved devotees dwell. ||1|| The Natural Speech of God is so very sweet. How rare is that person, who sees it with his eyes. ||1||Pause|| There, in the arena of the congregation, the divine music of the Naad, the sound current, is sung. There, the Saints celebrate with their Lord. ||2|| Neither birth nor death is there, neither pain nor pleasure. The Ambrosial Nectar of the True Name rains down there. ||3|| From the Guru, I have come to know the mystery of this speech. Nanak speaks the Bani of the Lord, Har, Har. ||4||6||12|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: By the Blessed Vision of their Darshan, millions of sins are erased. Meeting with them, this terrifying world-ocean is crossed over||1|| They are my companions, and they are my dear friends, who inspire me to remember the Lord's Name. ||1||Pause|| Hearing the Word of His Shabad, I am totally at peace. When I serve Him, the Messenger of Death is chased away. ||2|| His comfort and consolation soothes and supports my mind. Remembering Him in meditation, my face is radiant and bright. ||3|| God embellishes and supports His servants. Nanak seeks the Protection of their Sanctuary; he is forever a sacrifice to them. ||4||7||13||

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 013

Soohee, Fifth Mehl: The angelic beings and demi-gods are not permitted to remain here. The silent sages and humble servants also must arise and depart. ||1|| Only those who meditate on the Lord, Har, Har, are seen to live on. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, they obtain the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan. ||1||Pause|| Kings, emperors and merchants must die. Whoever is seen shall be consumed by death. ||2|| Mortal beings are entangled, clinging to false worldly attachments. And when they must leave them behind, then they regret and grieve. ||3|| O Lord, O treasure of mercy, please bless Nanak with this gift, that he may chant Your Name, day and night. ||4||8||14|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: You dwell deep within the heart of each and every being. The entire universe is strung on Your Thread. ||1|| You are my Beloved, the Support of my breath of life. Beholding You, gazing upon You, my mind blossoms forth. ||1||Pause|| Wandering, wandering, wandering through countless incarnations, I have grown so weary. Now, I hold tight to the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||2|| You are inaccessible, incomprehensible, invisible and infinite. Nanak remembers You in meditation, day and night. ||3||9||15|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: What is the use of the glory of Maya? It disappears in no time at all. ||1|| This is a dream, but the sleeper does not know it. In his unconscious state, he clings to it. ||1||Pause|| The poor fool is enticed by the great attachments of the world. Gazing upon them, watching them, he must still arise and depart. ||2|| The Royal Court of His Darbaar is the highest of the high. He creates and destroys countless beings. ||3|| There has never been any other, and there shall never be. O Nanak, meditate on the One God. ||4||10||16|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: Meditating, meditating in remembrance on Him, I live. I wash Your Lotus Feet, and drink in the wash water. ||1|| He is my Lord, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. My Lord and Master abides with His humble devotees. ||1||Pause|| Hearing, hearing Your Ambrosial Naam, I meditate on it. Twenty-four hours a day, I sing Your Glorious Praises. ||2|| Beholding, beholding Your divine play, my mind is in bliss. Your Glorious Virtues are infinite, O God, O Lord of supreme bliss. ||3|| Meditating in remembrance on Him, fear cannot touch me. Forever and ever, Nanak meditates on the Lord. ||4||11||17|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: Within my heart, I meditate on the Word of the Guru's Teachings. With my tongue, I chant the Chant of the Lord. ||1|| The image of His vision is fruitful; I am a sacrifice to it. His Lotus Feet are the Support of the mind, the Support of the very breath of life. ||1||Pause|| In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, the cycle of birth and death is ended. To hear the Ambrosial Sermon is the support of my ears. ||2|| I have renounced sexual desire, anger, greed and emotional attachment. I have enshrined the Naam within myself, with charity, true cleansing and righteous conduct. ||3|| Says Nanak, I have contemplated this essence of reality; chanting the Name of the Lord, I am carried across. ||4||12||18|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: The sinner is absorbed in greed and emotional attachment.

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 014

He has not performed any service to the Creator Lord. ||1|| O God, Your Name is the Purifier of sinners. I am worthless - please save me! ||1||Pause|| O God, You are the Great Giver, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. The body of the egotistical human is perishable. ||2|| Tastes and pleasures, conflicts and jealousy, and intoxication with Maya - attached to these, the jewel of human life is wasted. ||3|| The Sovereign Lord King is the Destroyer of pain, the Life of the world. Forsaking everything, Nanak has entered His Sanctuary. ||4||13||19|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: He sees with his eyes, but he is called blind; he hears, but he does not hear. And the One who dwells near at hand, he thinks that He is far away; the sinner is committing sins. ||1|| Do only those deeds which will save you, O mortal being. Chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, and the Ambrosial Word of His Bani. ||1||Pause|| You are forever imbued with the love of horses and mansions. Nothing shall go along with you. ||2|| You may clean and decorate the vessel of clay, but it is so very filthy; it shall receive its punishment from the Messenger of Death. ||3|| You are bound by sexual desire, anger, greed and emotional attachment. You are sinking down into the great pit. ||4|| Hear this prayer of Nanak, O Lord; I am a stone, sinking down - please, rescue me! ||5||14||20|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: One who remains dead while yet alive understands God. He meets that humble being according to the karma of his past actions. ||1|| Listen, O friend - this is how to cross over the terrifying world-ocean. Meet with the Holy, and chant the Lord's Name||1||Pause|| There is no other to know, except for the One Lord. So realise that the Supreme Lord God is within each and every heart. ||2|| Whatever He does, accept that as good. Know the value of the beginning and the end. ||3|| Says Nanak, I am a sacrifice to that humble being, within whose heart the Lord dwells. ||4||15||21|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: The Guru is the Transcendent Lord, the Creator Lord. He gives His Support to the entire Universe. ||1|| Meditate within your mind on the Lotus Feet of the Guru. Pain and suffering shall leave this body. ||1||Pause|| The True Guru saves the drowning being from the terrifying world-ocean. He reunites those who were separated for countless incarnations. ||2|| Serve the Guru, day and night. Your mind shall come to have peace, pleasure and poise. ||3|| By great good fortune, one obtains the dust of the feet of the True Guru. Nanak is forever a sacrifice to the True Guru. ||4||16||22|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: I am a sacrifice to my True Guru. Twenty-four hours a day, I sing the Praises of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1|| Meditate in remembrance on God, your Lord and Master. He is the Inner-knower, the Searcher of all hearts. ||1||Pause|| So love the Lord's Lotus Feet, and live a lifestyle which is true, perfect and spotless. ||2|| By the Grace of the Saints, the Lord comes to dwell within the mind, and the sins of countless incarnations are eradicated. ||3|| Please be Merciful, O God, O Merciful to the meek. Nanak begs for the dust of the Saints. ||4||17||23||

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 015

Soohee, Fifth Mehl: Gazing upon the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan, I live. My karma is perfect, O my God. ||1|| Please, listen to this prayer, O my God. Please bless me with Your Name, and make me Your chaylaa, Your disciple. ||1||Pause|| Please keep me under Your Protection, O God, O Great Giver. By Guru's Grace, a few people understand this. ||2|| Please hear my prayer, O God, my Friend. May Your Lotus Feet abide within my consciousness. ||3|| Nanak makes one prayer: may I never forget You, O perfect treasure of virtue. ||4||18||24|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: He is my friend, companion, child, relative and sibling. Wherever I look, I see the Lord as my companion and helper. ||1|| The Lord's Name is my social status, my honour and wealth. He is my pleasure, poise, bliss and peace. ||1||Pause|| I have strapped on the armor of meditation on the Supreme Lord God. It cannot be pierced, even by millions of weapons. ||2|| The Sanctuary of the Lord's Feet is my fortress and battlement. The Messenger of Death, the torturer, cannot demolish it. ||3|| Slave Nanak is forever a sacrifice to the selfless servants and Saints of the Sovereign Lord, the Destroyer of ego. ||4||19||25|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: Where the Glorious Praises of God, the Lord of the world are continually sung, there is bliss, joy, happiness and peace. ||1|| Come, O my companions - let us go and enjoy God. Let us fall at the feet of the holy, humble beings. ||1||Pause|| I pray for the dust of the feet of the humble. It shall wash away the sins of countless incarnations. ||2|| I dedicate my mind, body, breath of life and soul to God. Remembering the Lord in meditation, I have eradicated pride and emotional attachment. ||3|| O Lord, O Merciful to the meek, please give me faith and confidence, so that slave Nanak may remain absorbed in Your Sanctuary. ||4||20||26|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: The city of heaven is where the Saints dwell. They enshrine the Lotus Feet of God within their hearts. ||1|| Listen, O my mind and body, and let me show you the way to find peace, so that you may eat and enjoy the various delicacies of the

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Lord||1||Pause|| Taste the Ambrosial Nectar of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, within your mind. Its taste is wondrous - it cannot be described. ||2|| Your greed shall die, and your thirst shall be quenched. The humble beings seek the Sanctuary of the Supreme Lord God. ||3|| The Lord dispels the fears and attachments of countless incarnations. God has showered His Mercy and Grace upon slave Nanak. ||4||21||27|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: God covers the many shortcomings of His slaves. Granting His Mercy, God makes them His own. ||1|| You emancipate Your humble servant, and rescue him from the noose of the world, which is just a dream. ||1||Pause|| Even huge mountains of sin and corruption are removed in an instant by the Merciful Lord. ||2|| Sorrow, disease and the most terrible calamities are removed by meditating on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||3|| Bestowing His Glance of Grace, He attaches us to the hem of His robe.

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 016

Grasping the Lord's Feet, O Nanak, we enter His Sanctuary. ||4||22||28|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: One who withdraws from God's Path, and attaches himself to the world, is known as a sinner in both worlds. ||1|| He alone is approved, who pleases the Lord. Only He Himself knows His creative omnipotence. ||1||Pause|| One who practices truth, righteous living, charity and good deeds, has the supplies for God's Path. Worldly success shall not fail him. ||2|| Within and among all, the One Lord is awake. As He attaches us, so are we attached. ||3|| You are inaccessible and unfathomable, O my True Lord and Master. Nanak speaks as You inspire him to speak. ||4||23||29|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: In the early hours of the morning, I chant the Lord's Name. I have fashioned a shelter for myself, hear and hereafter. ||1|| Forever and ever, I chant the Lord's Name, and the desires of my mind are fulfilled. ||1||Pause|| Sing the Praises of the Eternal, Imperishable Lord God, night and day. In life, and in death, you shall find your eternal, unchanging home. ||2|| So serve the Sovereign Lord, and you shall never lack anything. While eating and consuming, you shall pass your life in peace. ||3|| O Life of the World, O Primal Being, I have found the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. By Guru's Grace, O Nanak, I meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||4||24||30|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: When the Perfect Guru becomes merciful, my pains are taken away, and my works are perfectly completed. ||1|| Gazing upon, beholding the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan, I live; I am a sacrifice to Your Lotus Feet. Without You, O my Lord and Master, who belongs to me? ||1||Pause|| I have fallen in love with the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, by the karma of my past actions and my pre-ordained destiny. ||2|| Chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har; how wondrous is His glory! The three types of illness cannot consume it. ||3|| May I never forget, even for an instant, the Lord's Feet. Nanak begs for this gift, O my Beloved. ||4||25||31|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: May there be such an auspicious time, O my Beloved, when, with my tongue, I may chant the Lord's Name||1|| Hear my prayer, O God, O Merciful to the meek. The Holy Saints ever sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, the Source of Nectar. ||1||Pause|| Your meditation and remembrance is life-giving, God. You dwell near those upon whom You show mercy. ||2|| Your Name is the food to satisfy the hunger of Your humble servants. You are the Great Giver, O Lord God. ||3|| The Saints take pleasure in repeating the Lord's Name. O Nanak, the Lord, the Great Giver, is All-knowing. ||4||26||32|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: Your life is slipping away, but you never even notice. You are constantly entangled in false attachments and conflicts. ||1|| Meditate, vibrate constantly, day and night, on the Lord. You shall be victorious in this priceless human life, in the Protection of the Lord's Sanctuary. ||1||Pause|| You eagerly commit sins and practice corruption, but you do not enshrine the jewel of the Lord's Name within your heart, even for an instant. ||2|| Feeding and pampering your body, your life is passing away,

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but you do not experience the state of victory of the Lord of the Universe. ||3|| So enter the Sanctuary of the All-powerful, Unfathomable Lord and Master. O God, O Searcher of hearts, please, save Nanak! ||4||27||33|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: Cross over the terrifying world-ocean in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Remember in meditation the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, the source of jewels. ||1|| Remembering, remembering the Lord in meditation, I live. All pain, disease and suffering is dispelled, meeting the Perfect Guru; sin has been eradicated. ||1||Pause|| The immortal status is obtained through the Name of the Lord; the mind and body become spotless and pure, which is the true purpose of life. ||2|| Twenty-four hours a day, meditate on the Supreme Lord God. By pre-ordained destiny, the Name is obtained. ||3|| I have entered His Sanctuary, and I meditate on the Lord, Merciful to the meek. Nanak longs for the dust of the Saints. ||4||28||34|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: The beautiful one does not know the work of his own home. The fool is engrossed in false attachments. ||1|| As You attach us, so we are attached. When You bless us with Your Name, we chant it. ||1||Pause|| The Lord's slaves are imbued with the Love of the Lord. They are intoxicated with the Lord, night and day. ||2|| Reaching out to grasp hold of our arms, God lifts us up. Separated for countless incarnations, we are united with Him again. ||3|| Save me, O God, O my Lord and Master - shower me with Your Mercy. Slave Nanak seeks Sanctuary at Your Door, O Lord. ||4||29||35|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: By the Grace of the Saints, I have found my eternal home. I have found total peace, and I shall not waver again. ||1|| I meditate on the Guru, and the Lord's Feet, within my mind. In this way, the Creator Lord has made me steady and stable. ||1||Pause|| I sing the Glorious Praises of the unchanging, eternal Lord God, and the noose of death is snapped. ||2|| Showering His Mercy, he has attached me to the hem of His robe. In constant bliss, Nanak sings His Glorious Praises. ||3||30||36|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: The Words, the Teachings of the Holy Saints, are Ambrosial Nectar. Whoever meditates on the Lord's Name is emancipated; he chants the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, with his tongue. ||1||Pause|| The pains and sufferings of the Dark Age of Kali Yuga are eradicated, when the One Name abides within the mind. ||1|| I apply the dust of the feet of the Holy to my face and forehead. Nanak has been saved, in the Sanctuary of the Guru, the Lord. ||2||31||37|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: Third House: I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe, the Merciful Lord. Please, bless me with the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan, O Perfect, Compassionate Lord. ||Pause|| Please, grant Your Grace, and cherish me. My soul and body are all Your property. ||1|| Only meditation on the Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord, will go along with you. Nanak begs for the dust of the Saints. ||2||32||38|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: Without Him, there is no other at all. The True Lord Himself is our anchor. ||1|| The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is our only support. The Creator, the Cause of causes, is All-powerful and Infinite. ||1||Pause|| He has eradicated all illness, and healed me. O Nanak, He Himself has become my Savior. ||2||33||39||

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Soohee, Fifth Mehl: Everyone longs for the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan. By perfect destiny, it is obtained. ||Pause|| Forsaking the Beautiful Lord, how can they go to sleep? The great enticer Maya has led them down the path of sin. ||1|| This butcher has separated them from the Beloved Lord. This merciless one shows no mercy at all to the poor beings. ||2|| Countless lifetimes have passed away, wandering aimlessly. The terrible, treacherous Maya does not even allow them to dwell in their own home. ||3|| Day and night, they receive the rewards of their own actions. Don't blame anyone else; your own actions lead you astray. ||4|| Listen, O Friend, O Saint, O humble Sibling of Destiny: in the Sanctuary of the Lord's Feet, Nanak has found Salvation. ||5||34||40|| Raag Soohee, Fifth Mehl, Fourth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Even a crude hut is sublime and beautiful, if the Lord's Praises are sung within it. Those mansions where the Lord is forgotten are useless. ||1||Pause|| Even poverty is bliss, if God comes to mind in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. This worldly glory might just as well burn; it only traps the mortals in Maya. ||1|| One may have to grind corn, and wear a coarse blanket, but still, one can find peace of mind and contentment. Even empires are of no use at all, if they do not bring satisfaction. ||2|| Someone may wander around naked, but if he loves the One Lord, he receives honour and respect. Silk and satin clothes are worthless, if they lead to greed. ||3|| Everything is in Your Hands, God. You Yourself are the Doer, the Cause of causes. With each and every breath, may I continue to remember You. Please, bless Nanak with this gift. ||4||1||41|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: The Lord's Saint is my life and wealth. I am his water-carrier. He is dearer to me than all my siblings, friends and children. ||1||Pause|| I make my hair into a fan, and wave it over the Saint. I bow my head low, to touch his feet, and apply his dust to my face. ||1|| I offer my prayer with sweet words, in sincere humility. Renouncing egotism, I enter His Sanctuary. I have found the Lord, the treasure of virtue. ||2|| I gaze upon the Blessed Vision of the Lord's humble servant, again and again. I cherish and gather in His Ambrosial Words within my mind; time and time again, I bow to Him. ||3|| In my mind, I wish, hope and beg for the Society of the Lord's humble servants. Be Merciful to Nanak, O God, and lead him to the feet of Your slaves. ||4||2||42|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: She has enticed the worlds and solar systems; I have fallen into her clutches. O Lord, please save this corrupt soul of mine; please bless me with Your Name. ||1||Pause|| She has not brought anyone peace, but still, I chase after her. She forsakes everyone, but still, I cling to her, again and again. ||1|| Have Mercy on me, O Lord of Compassion; please let me sing Your Glorious Praises, O Lord. This is Nanak's prayer, O Lord, that he may join and merge with the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||2||3||43||

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Raag Soohee, Fifth Mehl, Fifth House, Partaal: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Love of the enticing Beloved Lord is the most glorious love. Meditate, O mind, on the One Lord of the Universe - nothing else is of any account. Attach your mind to the Saints, and abandon the path of duality. ||1||Pause|| The Lord is absolute and unmanifest; He has assumed the most sublime manifestation. He has fashioned countless body chambers of many, varied, different, myriad forms. Within them, the mind is the policeman; my Beloved lives in the temple of my inner self. He plays there in ecstasy. He does not die, and he never grows old. ||1|| He is engrossed in worldly activities, wandering around in various ways. He steals the property of others, and is surrounded by corruption and sin. But now, he joins the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, and stands before the Lord's Gate. He obtains the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan. Nanak has met the Guru; he shall not be reincarnated again. ||2||1||44|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: The Lord has made this world a stage; He fashioned the expanse of the entire creation. ||1||Pause|| He fashioned it in various ways, with limitless colours and forms. He watches over it with joy, and He never tires of enjoying it. He enjoys all the delights, and yet He remains unattached. ||1|| He has no colour, no sign, no mouth and no beard. I cannot describe Your play. Nanak is the dust of the feet of the Saints. ||2||2||45|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: I have come to You. I have come to Your Sanctuary. I have come to place my faith in You. I have come seeking Mercy. If it pleases You, save me, O my Lord and Master. The Guru has placed me upon the Path. ||1||Pause|| Maya is very treacherous and difficult to pass through. It is like a violent wind-storm. ||1|| I am so afraid to hear that the Righteous Judge of Dharma is so strict and stern. ||2|| The world is a deep, dark pit; it is all on fire. ||3|| I have grasped the Support of the Holy Saints. Nanak meditates on the Lord. Now, I have found the Perfect Lord. ||4||3||46|| Raag Soohee, Fifth Mehl, Sixth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I offer this prayer to the True Guru, to bless me with the sustenance of the Naam. When the True King is pleased, the world is rid of its diseases. ||1|| You are the Support of Your devotees, and the Shelter of the Saints, O True Creator Lord. ||1||Pause|| True are Your devices, and True is Your Court. True are Your treasures, and True is Your expanse. ||2|| Your Form is inaccessible, and Your Vision is incomparably beautiful. I am a sacrifice to Your servants; they love Your Name, O Lord. ||3||

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All desires are fulfilled, when the Inaccessible and Infinite Lord is obtained. Guru Nanak has met the Supreme Lord God; I am a sacrifice to Your Feet. ||4||1||47|| Raag Soohee, Fifth Mehl, Seventh House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: He alone obeys Your Will, O Lord, unto whom You are Merciful. That alone is devotional worship, which is pleasing to Your Will. You are the Cherisher of all beings. ||1|| O my Sovereign Lord, You are the Support of the Saints. Whatever pleases You, they accept. You are the sustenance of their minds and bodies. ||1||Pause|| You are kind and compassionate, the treasure of mercy, the fulfiller of our hopes. You are the Beloved Lord of life of all Your devotees; You are the Beloved of Your devotees. ||2|| You are unfathomable, infinite, lofty and exalted. There is no one else like You. This is my prayer, O my Lord and Master; may I never forget You, O Peace-giving Lord. ||3|| Day and night, with each and every breath, I sing Your Glorious Praises, if it is pleasing to Your Will. Nanak begs for the peace of Your Name, O Lord and Master; as it is pleasing to Your Will, I shall attain it. ||4||1||48|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: Where is that place, where You are never forgotten, Lord? Twenty-four hours a day, they meditate on You, and their bodies become spotless and pure. ||1|| O my Lord, I have come searching for that place. After seeking and searching, I found Sanctuary in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||1||Pause|| Reading and reciting the Vedas, Brahma grew weary, but he did not find even a tiny bit of God's worth. The seekers and Siddhas wander around bewailing; they too are enticed by Maya. ||2|| There were ten regal incarnations of Vishnu; and then there was Shiva, the renunciate. He did not find Your limits either, although he grew weary of smearing his body with ashes. ||3|| Peace, poise and bliss are found in the subtle essence of the Naam. The Lord's Saints sing the songs of joy. I have obtained the Fruitful Vision of Guru Nanak's Darshan, and with my mind and body I meditate on the Lord, Har, Har. ||4||2||49|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: The religious rites, rituals and hypocrisies which are seen, are plundered by the Messenger of Death, the ultimate tax collector. In the state of Nirvaanaa, sing the Kirtan of the Creator's Praises; contemplating Him in meditation, even for an instant, one is saved. ||1|| O Saints, cross over the world-ocean. One who practices the Teachings of the Saints, by Guru's Grace, is carried across. ||1||Pause|| Millions of cleansing baths at sacred shrines of pilgrimage only fill the mortal with filth in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga. One who sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, becomes spotlessly pure. ||2|| One may read all the books of the Vedas, the Bible, the Simritees and the Shaastras, but they will not bring liberation. One who, as Gurmukh, chants the One Word, acquires a spotlessly pure reputation. ||3|| The four castes - the Kh'shaatriyas,

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Brahmins, Soodras and Vaishyas - are equal in respect to the teachings.

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One who, as Gurmukh, chants the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is saved. In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, O Nanak, God is permeating the hearts of each and every being. ||4||3||50|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: Whatever God causes to happen is accepted, by those who are attuned to the Love of the Lord's Name. Those who fall at the Feet of God are respected everywhere. ||1|| O my Lord, no one is as great as the Lord's Saints. The devotees are in harmony with their God; He is in the water, the land, and the sky. ||1||Pause|| Millions of sinners have been saved in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; the Messenger of Death does not even approach them. Those who have been separated from the Lord, for countless incarnations, are reunited with the Lord again. ||2|| Attachment to Maya, doubt and fear are eradicated, when one enters the Sanctuary of the Saints. Whatever wishes one harbors, are obtained from the Saints. ||3|| How can I describe the glory of the Lord's humble servants? They are pleasing to their God. Says Nanak, those who meet the True Guru, become independent of all obligations. ||4||4||51|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: Giving me Your Hand, You saved me from the terrible fire, when I sought Your Sanctuary. Deep within my heart, I respect Your strength; I have abandoned all other hopes. ||1|| O my Sovereign Lord, when You enter my consciousness, I am saved. You are my support. I count on You. Meditating on You, I am saved. ||1||Pause|| You pulled me up out of the deep, dark pit. You have become merciful to me. You care for me, and bless me with total peace; You Yourself cherish me. ||2|| The Transcendent Lord has blessed me with His Glance of Grace; breaking my bonds, He has delivered me. God Himself inspires me to worship Him; He Himself inspires me to serve Him. ||3|| My doubts have gone, my fears and infatuations have been dispelled, and all my sorrows are gone. O Nanak, the Lord, the Giver of peace has been merciful to me. I have met the Perfect True Guru. ||4||5||52|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: When nothing existed, what deeds were being done? And what karma caused anyone to be born at all? The Lord Himself set His play in motion, and He Himself beholds it. He created the Creation. ||1|| O my Sovereign Lord, I cannot do anything at all by myself. He Himself is the Creator, He Himself is the Cause. He is pervading deep within all. ||1||Pause|| If my account were to be judged, I would never be saved. My body is transitory and ignorant. Take pity upon me, O Creator Lord God; Your Forgiving Grace is singular and unique. ||2|| You created all beings and creatures. Each and every heart meditates on You. Your condition and expanse are known only to You; the value of Your creative omnipotence cannot be estimated. ||3|| I am worthless, foolish, thoughtless and ignorant. I know nothing about good actions and righteous living. Take pity on Nanak, that he may sing Your Glorious Praises; and that Your Will may seem sweet to him. ||4||6||53|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl:

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Your Saints are very fortunate; their homes are filled with the wealth of the Lord's Name. Their birth is approved, and their actions are fruitful. ||1|| O my Lord, I am a sacrifice to the humble servants of the Lord. I make my hair into a fan, and wave it over them; I apply the dust of their feet to my face. ||1||Pause|| Those generous, humble beings are above both birth and death. They give the gift of the soul, and practice devotional worship; they inspire others to meet the Lord. ||2|| True are their commands, and true are their empires; they are attuned to the Truth. True is their happiness, and true is their greatness. They know the Lord, to whom they belong. ||3|| I wave the fan over them, carry water for them, and grind corn for the humble servants of the Lord. Nanak offers this prayer to God - please, grant me the sight of Your humble servants. ||4||7||54|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: The True Guru is the Transcendent Lord, the Supreme Lord God; He Himself is the Creator Lord. Your servant begs for the dust of Your feet. I am a sacrifice to the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. ||1|| O my Sovereign Lord, as You keep me, so do I remain. When it pleases You, I chant Your Name. You alone can grant me peace. ||1||Pause|| Liberation, comfort and proper lifestyle come from serving You; You alone cause us to serve You. That place is heaven, where the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises are sung. You Yourself instill faith into us. ||2|| Meditating, meditating, meditating in remembrance on the Naam, I live; my mind and body are enraptured. I wash Your Lotus Feet, and drink in this water, O my True Guru, O Merciful to the meek. ||3|| I am a sacrifice to that most wonderful time when I came to Your Door. God has become compassionate to Nanak; I have found the Perfect True Guru. ||4||8||55|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: When You come to mind, I am totally in bliss. One who forgets You might just as well be dead. That being, whom You bless with Your Mercy, O Creator Lord, constantly meditates on You. ||1|| O my Lord and Master, You are the honour of the dishonoured such as me. I offer my prayer to You, God; listening, listening to the Word of Your Bani, I live. ||1||Pause|| May I become the dust of the feet of Your humble servants. I am a sacrifice to the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. I enshrine Your Ambrosial Word within my heart. By Your Grace, I have found the Company of the Holy. ||2|| I place the state of my inner being before You; there is no other as great as You. He alone is attached, whom You attach; he alone is Your devotee. ||3|| With my palms pressed together, I beg for this one gift; O my Lord and Master, if it pleases You, I shall obtain it. With each and every breath, Nanak adores You; twenty-four hours a day, I sing Your Glorious Praises. ||4||9||56|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: When You stand over our heads, O Lord and Master, how can we suffer in pain? The mortal being does not know how to chant Your Name - he is intoxicated with the wine of Maya, and the thought of death does not even enter his mind. ||1|| O my Sovereign Lord, You belong to the Saints, and the Saints belong to You.

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Your servant is not afraid of anything; the Messenger of Death cannot even approach him. ||1||Pause|| Those who are attuned to Your Love, O my Lord and Master, are released from the pains of birth and death. No one can erase Your Blessings; the True Guru has given me this assurance. ||2|| Those who meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, obtain the fruits of peace. Twenty-four hours a day, they worship and adore You. In Your Sanctuary, with Your Support, they subdue the five villains. ||3|| I know nothing about wisdom, meditation and good deeds; I know nothing about Your excellence. Guru Nanak is the greatest of all; He saved my honour in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga. ||4||10||57|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: Renouncing everything, I have come to the Guru's Sanctuary; save me, O my Savior Lord! Whatever You link me to, to that I am linked; what can this poor creature do? ||1|| O my Dear Lord God, You are the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. Be Merciful to me, O Divine, Compassionate Guru, that I may constantly sing the Glorious Praises of my Lord and Master. ||1||Pause|| Twenty-four hours a day, I meditate on my God; by Guru's Grace, I cross over the terrifying world-ocean. Renouncing self-conceit, I have become the dust of all men's feet; in this way, I die, while I am still alive. ||2|| How fruitful is the life of that being in this world, who chants the Name in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. All desires are fulfilled, for the one who is blessed with God's Kindness and Mercy. ||3|| O Merciful to the meek, Kind and Compassionate Lord God, I seek Your Sanctuary. Take pity upon me, and bless me with Your Name. Nanak is the dust of the feet of the Holy. ||4||11||58|| Raag Soohee, Ashtapadee, First Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I am totally without virtue; I have no virtue at all. How can I meet my Husband Lord? ||1|| I have no beauty, no enticing eyes. I do not have a noble family, good manners or a sweet voice. ||1||Pause|| The soul-bride adorns herself with peace and poise. But she is a happy soul-bride, only if her Husband Lord is pleased with her. ||2|| He has no form or feature; at the very last instant, he cannot suddenly be contemplated. ||3|| I have no understanding, intellect or cleverness. Have Mercy upon me, God, and attach me to Your Feet. ||4|| She may be very clever, but this does not please her Husband Lord. Attached to Maya, she is deluded by doubt. ||5|| But if she gets rid of her ego, then she merges in her Husband Lord. Only then can the soul-bride obtain the nine treasures of her Beloved. ||6|| Separated from You for countless incarnations, I have suffered in pain. Please take my hand, O my Beloved Sovereign Lord God. ||7|| Prays Nanak, the Lord is, and shall always be. She alone is ravished and enjoyed, with whom the Beloved Lord is pleased. ||8||1||

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Soohee, First Mehl, Ninth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The colour of safflower is transitory; it lasts for only a few days. Without the Name, the false woman is deluded by doubt and plundered by thieves. But those who are attuned to the True Lord, are not reincarnated again. ||1|| How can one who is already dyed in the colour of the Lord's Love, be coloured any other colour? So serve God the Dyer, and focus your consciousness on the True Lord. ||1||Pause|| You wander around in the four directions, but without the good fortune of destiny, you shall never obtain wealth. If you are plundered by corruption and vice, you shall wander around, but like a fugitive, you shall find no place of rest. Only those who are protected by the Guru are saved; their minds are attuned to the Word of the Shabad. ||2|| Those who wear white clothes, but have filthy and stone-hearted minds, may chant the Lord's Name with their mouths, but they are engrossed in duality; they are thieves. They do not understand their own roots; they are beasts. They are just animals! ||3|| Constantly, continually, the mortal seeks pleasures. Constantly, continually, he begs for peace. But he does not think of the Creator Lord, and so he is overtaken by pain, again and again. But one, within whose mind the Giver of pleasure and pain dwells - how can his body feel any need? ||4|| One who has a karmic debt to pay off is summoned, and the Messenger of Death smashes his head. When his account is called for, it has to be given. After it is reviewed, payment is demanded. Only love for the True One will save you; the Forgiver forgives. ||5|| If you make any friend other than God, you shall die and mingle with the dust. Gazing upon the many games of love, you are beguiled and bewildered; you come and go in reincarnation. Only by God's Grace can you be saved. By His Grace, He unites in His Union. ||6|| O careless one, you are totally lacking any wisdom; do not seek wisdom without the Guru. By indecision and inner conflict, you shall come to ruin. Good and bad both pull at you. Without being attuned to the Word of the Shabad and the Fear of God, all come under the gaze of the Messenger of Death. ||7|| He who created the creation and sustains it, gives sustenance to all. How can you forget Him from your mind? He is the Great Giver, forever and ever. Nanak shall never forget the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the Support of the unsupported. ||8||1||2|| Soohee, First Mehl, Kaafee, Tenth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: This human birth is so difficult to obtain; the Gurmukh obtains it. The mind and body are dyed in the deep red colour of devotional love, if it pleases the True Guru. ||1|| He departs with his life embellished and successful, taking the merchandise of the True Name. He is honoured in the Darbaar, the Royal Court, of the Lord, through the Shabad, the Word of the True Guru, and the Fear of God. ||1||Pause|| One who praises the True Lord with his mind and body, pleases the Mind of the True Lord.

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 025

Attuned to the Beloved Lord, the mind is appeased, and finds the Perfect Guru. ||2|| I live, by cherishing Your Glorious Virtues; You dwell deep within me. You dwell within my mind, and so it naturally celebrates in joyful delight. ||3|| O my foolish mind, how can I teach and instruct you? As Gurmukh, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and so become attuned to His Love. ||4|| Continually, continuously, remember and cherish your Beloved Lord in your heart. For if you depart with virtue, then pain shall never afflict you. ||5|| The self-willed manmukh wanders around, deluded by doubt; he does not enshrine love for the Lord. He dies as a stranger to his own self, and his mind and body are spoiled. ||6|| Performing service to the Guru, you shall go home with the profit. Through the Word of the Guru's Bani, and the Shabad, the Word of God, the state of Nirvaanaa is attained. ||7|| Nanak makes this one prayer: if it pleases Your Will, bless me with a home in Your Name, Lord, that I may sing Your Glorious Praises. ||8||1||3|| Soohee, First Mehl: As iron is melted in the forge and re-shaped, so is the godless materialist reincarnated, and forced to wander aimlessly. ||1|| Without understanding, everything is suffering, earning only more suffering. In his ego, he comes and goes, wandering in confusion, deluded by doubt. ||1||Pause|| You save those who are Gurmukh, O Lord, through meditation on Your Naam. You blend with Yourself, by Your Will, those who practice the Word of the Shabad. ||2|| You created the Creation, and You Yourself gaze upon it; whatever You give, is received. You watch, establish and disestablish; You keep all in Your vision at Your Door. ||3|| The body shall turn to dust, and the soul shall fly away. So where are their homes and resting places now? They do not find the Mansion of the Lord's Presence, either. ||4|| In the pitch darkness of broad daylight, their wealth is being plundered. Pride is looting their homes like a thief; where can they file their complaint? ||5|| The thief does not break into the home of the Gurmukh; he is awake in the Name of the Lord. The Word of the Shabad puts out the fire of desire; God's Light illuminates and enlightens. ||6|| The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is a jewel, a ruby; the Guru has taught me the Word of the Shabad. One who follows the Guru's Teachings remains forever free of desire. ||7|| Night and day, enshrine the Lord's Name within your mind. Please unite Nanak in Union, O Lord, if it is pleasing to Your Will. ||8||2||4|| Soohee, First Mehl: Never forget the Naam, the Name of the Lord, from your mind; night and day, meditate on it. As You keep me, in Your Merciful Grace, so do I find peace. ||1|| I am blind, and the Lord's Name is my cane. I remain under the Sheltering Support of my Lord and Master; I am not enticed by Maya the enticer. ||1||Pause|| Wherever I look, there the Guru has shown me that God is always with me. Searching inwardly and outwardly as well, I came to see Him, through the Word of the Shabad. ||2|| So serve the True Guru with love, through the Immaculate Naam, the Name of the Lord. As it pleases You, so by Your Will, You destroy my doubts and fears. ||3|| At the very moment of birth, he is afflicted with pain, and in the end, he comes only to die. Birth and death are validated and approved, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||4|| When there is no ego, there You are; You fashioned all of this.

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 026

You Yourself establish and disestablish; through the Word of Your Shabad, You elevate and exalt. ||5|| When the body rolls in the dust, it is not known where the soul has gone. He Himself is permeating and pervading; this is wonderful and amazing! ||6|| You are not far away, God; You know everything. The Gurmukh sees You ever-present; You are

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deep within the nucleus of our inner self. ||7|| Please, bless me with a home in Your Name; may my inner self be at peace. May slave Nanak sing Your Glorious Praises; O True Guru, please share the Teachings with me. ||8||3||5|| Raag Soohee, Third Mehl, First House, Ashtapadees: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Everything comes from the Naam, the Name of the Lord; without the True Guru, the Naam is not experienced. The Word of the Guru's Shabad is the sweetest and most sublime essence, but without tasting it, its flavor cannot be experienced. He wastes this human life in exchange for a mere shell; he does not understand his own self. But, if he becomes Gurmukh, then he comes to know the One Lord, and the disease of egotism does not afflict him. ||1|| I am a sacrifice to my Guru, who has lovingly attached me to the True Lord. Concentrating on the Word of the Shabad, the soul is illumined and enlightened. I remain absorbed in celestial ecstasy. ||1||Pause|| The Gurmukh sings the Praises of the Lord; the Gurmukh understands. The Gurmukh contemplates the Word of the Shabad. Body and soul are totally rejuvenated through the Guru; the Gurmukh's affairs are resolved in his favor. The blind self-willed manmukh acts blindly, and earns only poison in this world. Enticed by Maya, he suffers in constant pain, without the most Beloved Guru. ||2|| He alone is a selfless servant, who serves the True Guru, and walks in harmony with the True Guru's Will. The True Shabad, the Word of God, is the True Praise of God; enshrine the True Lord within your mind. The Gurmukh speaks the True Word of Gurbani, and egotism departs from within. He Himself is the Giver, and True are His actions. He proclaims the True Word of the Shabad. ||3|| The Gurmukh works, and the Gurmukh earns; the Gurmukh inspires others to chant the Naam. He is forever unattached, imbued with the Love of the True Lord, intuitively in harmony with the Guru. The self-willed manmukh always tells lies; he plants the seeds of poison, and eats only poison. He is bound and gagged by the Messenger of Death, and burnt in the fire of desire; who can save him, except the Guru? ||4|| True is that place of pilgrimage, where one bathes in the pool of Truth, and achieves self-realisation as Gurmukh. The Gurmukh understands his own self. The Lord has shown that the Word of the Guru's Shabad is the sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage; bathing in it, filth is washed away. True and Immaculate is the True Word of His Shabad; no filth touches or clings to Him. True Praise, True Devotional Praise, is obtained from the Perfect Guru. ||5|| Body, mind, everything belongs to the Lord; but the evil-minded ones cannot even say this. If such is the Hukam of the Lord's Command, then one becomes pure and spotless, and the ego is taken away from within. I have intuitively tasted the Guru's Teachings, and the fire of my desire has been quenched. Attuned to the Word of the Guru's Shabad, one is naturally intoxicated, merging imperceptibly into the Lord. ||6||

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 027

The Name of the Lord is known as True, through the Love of the Beloved Guru. True Glorious Greatness is obtained from the Guru, through the Beloved True Name. The One True Lord is permeating and pervading among all; how rare is the one who contemplates this. The Lord Himself unites us in Union, and forgives us; He embellishes us with true devotional worship. ||7|| All is Truth; Truth, and Truth alone is pervading; how rare is the Gurmukh who knows this. Birth and death occur by the Hukam of His Command; the Gurmukh understands his own self. He meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and so pleases the True Guru. He receives whatever rewards he desires. O Nanak, one who eradicates self-conceit from within, has everything. ||8||1|| Soohee, Third Mehl: The body-bride is very beautiful; she dwells with her Husband Lord. She becomes the happy soul-bride of her True Husband Lord, contemplating the Word of the Guru's Shabad. The Lord's devotee is forever attuned to the Lord's Love; her ego is burnt away from within. ||1|| Waaho! Waaho! Blessed, blessed is the Word of the Perfect Guru's Bani. It wells up and springs forth from the Perfect Guru, and merges into Truth. ||1||Pause|| Everything is within the Lord - the continents, worlds and nether regions. The Life of the World, the Great Giver, dwells within the body; He is the Cherisher of all. The body-bride is eternally beautiful; the Gurmukh contemplates the Naam. ||2|| The Lord Himself dwells within the body; He is invisible and cannot be seen. The foolish self-willed manmukh does not understand; he goes out searching for the Lord externally. One who serves the True Guru is always at peace; the True Guru has shown me the Invisible Lord. ||3|| Within the body there are jewels and precious treasures, the over-flowing treasure of devotion. Within this body are the nine continents of the earth, its markets, cities and streets. Within this body are the nine treasures of the Naam; contemplating the Word of the Guru's Shabad, it is obtained. ||4|| Within the body, the Lord estimates the weight; He Himself is the weigher. This mind is the jewel, the gem, the diamond; it is absolutely priceless. The Naam, the Name of the Lord, cannot be purchased at any price; the Naam is obtained by contemplating the Guru. ||5|| One who becomes Gurmukh searches this body; all others just wander around in confusion. That humble being alone obtains it, unto whom the Lord bestows it. What other clever tricks can anyone try? Within the body, the Fear of God and Love for Him abides; by Guru's Grace, they are obtained. ||6|| Within the body, are Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, from whom the whole world emanated. The True Lord has staged and contrived His own play; the expanse of the Universe comes and goes. The Perfect True Guru Himself has made it clear, that emancipation comes through the True Name. ||7|| That body, which serves the True Guru, is embellished by the True Lord Himself. Without the Name, the mortal finds no place of rest in the Court of the Lord; he shall be tortured by the Messenger of Death. O Nanak, true glory is bestowed, when the Lord showers His Mercy. ||8||2||

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 028

Raag Soohee, Third Mehl, Tenth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Do not praise the world; it shall simply pass away. Do not praise other people; they shall die and turn to dust. ||1|| Waaho! Waaho! Hail, hail to my Lord and Master. As Gurmukh, forever praise the One who is forever True, Independent and Carefree. ||1||Pause|| Making worldly friendships, the self-willed manmukhs burn and die. In the City of Death, they are bound and gagged and beaten; this opportunity shall never come again. ||2|| The lives of the Gurmukhs are fruitful and blessed; they are committed to the True Word of the Shabad. Their souls are illuminated by the Lord, and they dwell in peace and pleasure. ||3|| Those who forget the Word of the Guru's Shabad are engrossed in the love of duality. Their hunger and thirst never leave them, and night and day, they wander around burning. ||4|| Those who make friendships with the wicked, and harbor animosity to the Saints, shall drown with their families, and their entire lineage shall be obliterated. ||5|| It is not good to slander anyone, but the foolish, self-willed manmukhs still do it. The faces of the slanderers turn black, and they fall into the most horrible hell. ||6|| O mind, as you serve, so do you become, and so are the deeds that you do. Whatever you yourself plant, that is what you shall have to eat; nothing else can be said about this. ||7|| The speech of the great spiritual beings has a higher purpose. They are filled to over-flowing with Ambrosial Nectar, and they have absolutely no greed at all. ||8|| The virtuous accumulate virtue, and teach others. Those who meet with them are so very fortunate; night and day, they chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||9|| He who created the Universe, gives sustenance to it. The One Lord alone is the Great Giver. He Himself is the True Master. ||10|| That True Lord is always with you; the Gurmukh is blessed with His Glance of Grace. He Himself shall forgive you, and merge you into Himself; forever cherish and contemplate God. ||11|| The mind is impure; only the True Lord is pure. So how can it merge into Him? God merges it into Himself, and then it remains merged; through the Word of His Shabad, the ego is burnt away. ||12|| Cursed is the life in this world, of one who forgets her True Husband Lord. The Lord grants His Mercy, and she does not forget Him, if she contemplates the Guru's Teachings. ||13|| The True Guru unites her, and so she remains united with Him, with the True Lord enshrined within her heart. And so united, she will not be separated again; she remains in the love and affection of the Guru. ||14|| I praise my Husband Lord, contemplating the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Meeting with my Beloved, I have found peace; I am His most beautiful and happy soul-bride. ||15|| The mind of the self-willed manmukh is not softened; his consciousness is totally polluted and stone-hearted. Even if the venomous snake is fed on milk, it shall still be filled with poison. ||16|| He Himself does - who else should I ask? He Himself is the Forgiving Lord. Through the Guru's Teachings, filth is washed away, and then, one is embellished with the ornament of Truth. ||17||

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 029

True is the Banker, and True are His traders. The false ones cannot remain there. They do not love the Truth - they are consumed by their pain. ||18|| The world wanders around in the filth of egotism; it dies, and is re-born, over and again. He acts in accordance with the karma of his past actions, which no one can erase. ||19|| But if he joins the Society of the Saints, then he comes to embrace love for the Truth. Praising the True Lord with a truthful mind, he becomes true in the Court of the True Lord. ||20|| The Teachings of the Perfect Guru are perfect; meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, day and night. Egotism and self-conceit are terrible diseases; tranquility and stillness come from within. ||21|| I praise my Guru; bowing down to Him again and again, I fall at His Feet. I place my body and mind in offering unto Him, eradicating self-conceit from within. ||22|| Indecision leads to ruin; focus your attention on the One Lord. Renounce egotism and self-conceit, and remain merged in Truth. ||23|| Those who meet with the True Guru are my Siblings of Destiny; they are committed to the True Word of the Shabad. Those who merge with the True Lord shall not be separated again; they are judged to be True in the Court of the Lord. ||24|| They are my Siblings of Destiny, and they are my friends, who serve the True Lord. They sell off their sins and demerits like straw, and enter into the partnership of virtue. ||25|| In the partnership of virtue, peace wells up, and they perform true devotional worship service. They deal in Truth, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, and they earn the profit of the Naam. ||26|| Gold and silver may be earned by committing sins, but they will not go with you when you die. Nothing will go with you in the end, except the Name; all are plundered by the Messenger of Death. ||27|| The Lord's Name is the nourishment of the mind; cherish it, and preserve it carefully within your heart. This nourishment is inexhaustible; it is always with the Gurmukhs. ||28|| O mind, if you forget the Primal Lord, you shall depart, having lost your honour. This world is engrossed in the love of duality; follow the Guru's Teachings, and meditate on the True Lord. ||29|| The Lord's value cannot be estimated; the Lord's Praises cannot be written down. When one's mind and body are attuned to the Word of the Guru's Shabad, one remains merged in the Lord. ||30|| My Husband Lord is playful; He has imbued me with His Love, with natural ease. The soul-bride is imbued with His Love, when her Husband Lord merges her into His Being. ||31|| Even those who have been separated for so very long, are reunited with Him, when they serve the True Guru. The nine treasures of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, are deep within the nucleus of the self; consuming them, they are still never exhausted. Chant the Glorious Praises of the Lord, with natural ease. ||32|| They are not born, and they do not die; they do not suffer in pain. Those who are protected by the Guru are saved. They celebrate with the Lord. ||33|| Those who are united with the Lord, the True Friend, are not separated again; night and day, they remain blended with Him. In this world, only a rare few are known, O Nanak, to have obtained the True Lord. ||34||1||3|| Soohee, Third Mehl: The Dear Lord is subtle and inaccessible; how can we ever meet Him? Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, doubt is dispelled, and the Carefree Lord comes to abide in the mind. ||1|| The Gurmukhs chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har.

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 030

I am a sacrifice to those who chant the Glorious Praises of the Lord in their minds forever. ||1||Pause|| The Guru is like the Mansarovar Lake; only the very fortunate beings find Him. The Gurmukhs, the selfless servants, seek out the Guru; the swan-souls feed there on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||2|| The Gurmukhs meditate on the Naam, and remain linked to the Naam. Whatever is pre-ordained, accept it as the Will of the Guru. ||3|| By great good fortune, I searched my home, and found the treasure of the Naam. The Perfect Guru has shown God to me; I have realised the Lord, the Supreme Soul. ||4|| There is One God of all; there is no other at all. By Guru's Grace, the Lord comes to abide in the mind; in the heart of such a one, He is revealed. ||5|| God is the Inner-knower of all hearts; God dwells in every place. So who should we call evil? Behold the Word of the Shabad, and lovingly dwell upon it. ||6|| He calls others bad and good, as long as he is in duality. The Gurmukh understands the One and Only Lord; He is absorbed in the One Lord. ||7|| That is selfless service, which pleases God, and which is approved by God. Servant Nanak worships the Lord in adoration; he focuses his consciousness on the Guru's Feet. ||8||2||4||9|| Raag Soohee, Ashtapadees, Fourth Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: If only someone would come, and lead me to meet my Darling Beloved; I would sell myself to him. ||1|| I long for the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan. When the Lord shows Mercy unto me, then I meet the True Guru; I meditate on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1||Pause|| If You will bless me with happiness, then I will worship and adore You. Even in pain, I will meditate on You. ||2|| Even if You give me hunger, I will still feel satisfied; I am joyful, even in the midst of sorrow. ||3|| I would cut my mind and body apart into pieces, and offer them all to You; I would burn myself in fire. ||4|| I wave the fan over You, and carry water for You; whatever You give me, I take. ||5|| Poor Nanak has fallen at the Lord's Door; please, O Lord, unite me with Yourself, by Your Glorious Greatness. ||6|| Taking out my eyes, I place them at Your Feet; after travelling over the entire earth, I have come to understand this. ||7|| If You seat me near You, then I worship and adore You. Even if You beat me and drive me out, I will still meditate on You. ||8|| If people praise me, the praise is Yours. Even if they slander me, I will not leave You. ||9|| If You are on my side, then anyone can say anything. But if I were to forget You, then I would die. ||10|| I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice to my Guru; falling at His Feet, I surrender to the Saintly Guru. ||11|| Poor Nanak has gone insane, longing for the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan. ||12|| Even in violent storms and torrential rain, I go out to catch a glimpse of my Guru. ||13|| Even though the oceans and the salty seas are very vast, the GurSikh will cross over it to get to his Guru. ||14|| Just as the mortal dies without water, so does the Sikh die without the Guru. ||15||

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 031

Just as the earth looks beautiful when the rain falls, so does the Sikh blossom forth meeting the Guru. ||16|| I long to be

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the servant of Your servants; I call upon You reverently in prayer. ||17|| Nanak offers this prayer to the Lord, that he may meet the Guru, and find peace. ||18|| You Yourself are the Guru, and You Yourself are the chaylaa, the disciple; through the Guru, I meditate on You. ||19|| Those who serve You, become You. You preserve the honour of Your servants. ||20|| O Lord, Your devotional worship is a treasure over-flowing. One who loves You, is blessed with it. ||21|| That humble being alone receives it, unto whom You bestow it. All other clever tricks are fruitless. ||22|| Remembering, remembering, remembering my Guru in meditation, my sleeping mind is awakened. ||23|| Poor Nanak begs for this one blessing, that he may become the slave of the slaves of the Lord. ||24|| Even if the Guru rebukes me, He still seems very sweet to me. And if He actually forgives me, that is the Guru's greatness. ||25|| That which Gurmukh speaks is certified and approved. Whatever the self-willed manmukh says is not accepted. ||26|| Even in the cold, the frost and the snow, the GurSikh still goes out to see his Guru. ||27|| All day and night, I gaze upon my Guru; I install the Guru's Feet in my eyes. ||28|| I make so many efforts for the sake of the Guru; only that which pleases the Guru is accepted and approved. ||29|| Night and day, I worship the Guru's Feet in adoration; have Mercy upon me, O my Lord and Master. ||30|| The Guru is Nanak's body and soul; meeting the Guru, he is satisfied and satiated. ||31|| Nanak's God is perfectly permeating and all-pervading. Here and there and everywhere, the Lord of the Universe. ||32||1|| Raag Soohee, Fourth Mehl, Ashtapadees, Tenth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Deep within myself, I have enshrined true love for my Beloved. My body and soul are in ecstasy; I see my Guru before me. ||1|| I have purchased the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. I have obtained the Inaccessible and Unfathomable Ambrosial Nectar from the Perfect Guru. ||1||Pause|| Gazing upon the True Guru, I blossom forth in ecstasy; I am in love with the Name of the Lord. Through His Mercy, the Lord has united me with Himself, and I have found the Door of Salvation. ||2|| The True Guru is the Lover of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Meeting Him, I dedicate my body and mind to Him. And if it is so pre-ordained, then I shall automatically drink in the Ambrosial Nectar. ||3|| Praise the Guru while you are asleep, and call on the Guru while you are up. If only I could meet such a Gurmukh; I would wash His Feet. ||4|| I long for such a Friend, to unite me with my Beloved. Meeting the True Guru, I have found the Lord. He has met me, easily and effortlessly. ||5||

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 032

The True Guru is the Ocean of Virtue of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. I have such a yearning to see Him! Without Him, I cannot live, even for an instant. If I do not see Him, I die. ||6|| As the fish cannot survive at all without water, the Saint cannot live without the Lord. Without the Lord's Name, he dies. ||7|| I am so much in love with my True Guru! How could I even live without the Guru, O my mother? I have the Support of the Word of the Guru's Bani. Attached to Gurbani, I survive. ||8|| The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is a jewel; by the Pleasure of His Will, the Guru has given it, O my mother. The True Name is my only Support. I remain lovingly absorbed in the Lord's Name. ||9|| The wisdom of the Guru is the treasure of the Naam. The Guru implants and enshrines the Lord's Name. He alone receives it, he alone gets it, who comes and falls at the Guru's Feet. ||10|| If only someone would come and tell me the Unspoken Speech of the Love of my Beloved. I would dedicate my mind to him; I would bow down in humble respect, and fall at his feet. ||11|| You are my only Friend, O my All-knowing, All-powerful Creator Lord. You have brought me to meet with my True Guru. Forever and ever, You are my only strength. ||12|| My True Guru, forever and ever, does not come and go. He is the Imperishable Creator Lord; He is permeating and pervading among all. ||13|| I have gathered in the wealth of the Lord's Name. My facilities and faculties are intact, safe and sound. O Nanak, I am approved and respected in the Court of the Lord; the Perfect Guru has blessed me! ||14||1||2||11|| Raag Soohee, Ashtapadees, Fifth Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: He is entangled in sinful associations; his mind is troubled by so very many waves. ||1|| O my mind, how can the Unapproachable and Incomprehensible Lord be found? He is the Perfect Transcendent Lord. ||1||Pause|| He remains entangled in the intoxication of worldly love. His excessive thirst is never quenched. ||2|| Anger is the outcaste which hides within his body; he is in the utter darkness of ignorance, and he does not understand. ||3|| Afflicted by doubt, the shutters are shut tight; he cannot go to God's Court. ||4|| The mortal is bound and gagged by hope and fear; he cannot find the Mansion of the Lord's Presence, and so he wanders around like a stranger. ||5|| He falls under the power of all negative influences; he wanders around thirsty like a fish out of water. ||6|| I have no clever tricks or techniques; You are my only hope, O my Lord God Master. ||7|| Nanak offers this prayer to the Saints - please let me merge and blend with You. ||8|| God has shown Mercy, and I have found the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Nanak is satisfied, finding the Perfect Lord. ||1||Second Pause||1||

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 033

Raag Soohee, Fifth Mehl, Third House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Attachment to sex is an ocean of fire and pain. By Your Grace, O Sublime Lord, please save me from it. ||1|| I seek the Sanctuary of the Lotus Feet of the Lord. He is the Master of the meek, the Support of His devotees. ||1||Pause|| Master of the masterless, Patron of the forlorn, Eradicator of fear of His devotees. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, the Messenger of Death cannot even touch them. ||2|| The Merciful, Incomparably Beautiful, Embodiment of Life. Vibrating the Glorious Virtues of the Lord, the noose of the Messenger of Death is cut away. ||3|| One who constantly chants the Ambrosial Nectar of the Naam with his tongue, is not touched or affected by Maya, the embodiment of disease. ||4|| Chant and meditate on God, the Lord of the Universe, and all of your companions shall be carried across; the five thieves will not even approach. ||5|| One who meditates on the One God in thought, word and deed - that humble being receives the fruits of all rewards. ||6|| Showering His Mercy, God has made me His own; He has blessed me with the unique and singular Naam, and the sublime essence of devotion. ||7|| In the beginning, in the middle, and in the end, He is God. O Nanak, without Him, there is no other at all. ||8||1||2|| Raag Soohee, Fifth Mehl, Ashtapadees, Ninth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Gazing upon them, my mind is enraptured. How can I join them and be with them? They are Saints and friends, good friends of my mind, who inspire me and help me tune in to God's Love. My love for them shall never die; it shall never, ever be broken. ||1|| O Supreme Lord God, please grant me Your Grace, that I might constantly sing Your Glorious Praises. Come, and meet with me, O Saints, and good friends; let us chant and meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the Best Friend of my mind. ||1||Pause|| He does not see, he does not hear, and he does not understand; he is blind, enticed and bewitched by Maya. His body is false and transitory; it shall perish. And still, he entangles himself in false pursuits. They alone depart victorious, who have meditated on the Naam; they stick with the Perfect Guru. ||2|| By the Hukam of God's Will, they come into this world, and they leave upon receipt of His Hukam. By His Hukam, the Expanse of the Universe is expanded. By His Hukam, they enjoy pleasures. One who forgets the Creator Lord, suffers sorrow and separation. ||3|| One who is pleasing to his God, goes to His Court dressed in robes of honour. One who meditates on the Naam, the One Name, finds peace in this world; his face is radiant and bright. The Supreme Lord confers honour and respect on those who serve the Guru with true love. ||4|| He is pervading and permeating the spaces and interspaces; He loves and cherishes all beings. I have accumulated the true treasure, the wealth and riches of the One Name. I shall never forget Him from my mind, since He has been so merciful to me. ||5||

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 034

My comings and goings have ended; the Formless Lord now dwells within my mind. His limits cannot be found; He is lofty and exalted, inaccessible and infinite. One who forgets His God, shall die and be reincarnated, hundreds of thousands of times. ||6|| They alone bear true love for their God, within whose minds He Himself dwells. So dwell only with those who share their virtues; chant and meditate on God, twenty-four hours a day. They are attuned to the Love of the Transcendent Lord; all their sorrows and afflictions are dispelled. ||7|| You are the Creator, You are the Cause of causes; You are the One and the many. You are All-powerful, You are present everywhere; You are the subtle intellect, the clear wisdom. Nanak chants and meditates forever on the Naam, the Support of the humble devotees. ||8||1||3|| Raag Soohee, Fifth Mehl, Ashtapadees, Tenth House, Kaafee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Even though I have made mistakes, and even though I have been wrong, I am still called Yours, O my Lord and Master. Those who enshrine love for another, die regretting and repenting. ||1|| I shall never leave my Husband Lord's side. My Beloved Lover is always and forever beautiful. He is my hope and inspiration. ||1||Pause|| You are my Best Friend; You are my relative. I am so proud of You. And when You dwell within me, I am at peace. I am without honour - You are my honour. ||2|| And when You are pleased with me, O treasure of mercy, then I do not see any other. Please grant me this blessing, that that I may forever dwell upon You and cherish You within my heart. ||3|| Let my feet walk on Your Path, and let my eyes behold the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. With my ears, I will listen to Your Sermon, if the Guru becomes merciful to me. ||4|| Hundreds of thousands and millions do not equal even one hair of Yours, O my Beloved. You are the King of kings; I cannot even describe Your Glorious Praises. ||5|| Your brides are countless; they are all greater than I am. Please bless me with Your Glance of Grace, even for an instant; please bless me with Your Darshan, that I may revel in Your Love. ||6|| Seeing Him, my mind is comforted and consoled, and my sins and mistakes are far removed. How could I ever forget Him, O my mother? He is permeating and pervading everywhere. ||7|| In humility, I bowed down in surrender to Him, and He naturally met me. I have received what was pre-ordained for me, O Nanak, with the help and assistance of the Saints. ||8||1||4|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: The Simritees, the Vedas, the Puraanas and the other holy scriptures proclaim that without the Naam, everything is false and worthless. ||1|| The infinite treasure of the Naam abides within the minds of the devotees. Birth and death, attachment and suffering, are erased in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||1||Pause|| Those who indulge in attachment, conflict and egotism shall surely weep and cry. Those who are separated from the Naam shall never find any peace. ||2|| Crying out, "Mine! Mine!", he is bound in bondage. Entangled in Maya, he is reincarnated in heaven and hell. ||3|| Searching, searching, searching, I have come to understand the essence of reality. Without the Naam, there is no peace at all, and the mortal will surely fail. ||4||

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 035

Many come and go; they die, and die again, and are reincarnated. Without understanding, they are totally useless, and they wander in reincarnation. ||5|| They alone join the Saadh Sangat, unto whom the Lord becomes Merciful. They chant and meditate on the Ambrosial Name of the Lord. ||6|| Uncounted millions, so many they are endless, search for Him. But only that one, who understands his own self, sees God near at hand. ||7|| Never forget me, O Great Giver - please bless me with Your Naam. To sing Your Glorious Praises day and night - O Nanak, this is my heart-felt desire. ||8||2||5||16|| Raag Soohee, First Mehl, Kuchajee ~ The Ungraceful Bride: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I am ungraceful and ill-mannered, full of endless faults. How can I go to enjoy my Husband Lord? Each of His soul-brides is better than the rest - who even knows my name? Those brides who enjoy their Husband Lord are very blessed, resting in the shade of the mango tree. I do not have their virtue - who can I blame for this? Which of Your Virtues, O Lord, should I speak of? Which of Your Names should I chant? I cannot even reach one of Your Virtues. I am forever a sacrifice to You. Gold, silver, pearls and rubies are pleasing. My Husband Lord has blessed me with these things, and I have focused my thoughts on them. Palaces of brick and mud are built and decorated with stones; I have been fooled by these decorations, and I do not sit near my Husband Lord. The cranes shriek overhead in the sky, and the herons have come to rest. The bride has gone to her father-in-law's house; in the world hereafter, what face will she show? She kept sleeping as the day dawned; she forgot all about her journey. She separated herself from her Husband Lord, and now she suffers in pain. Virtue is in You, O Lord; I am totally without virtue. This is Nanak's only prayer: You give all Your nights to the virtuous soul-brides. I know I am unworthy, but isn't there a night for me as well? ||1|| Soohee, First Mehl, Suchajee ~ The Noble And Graceful Bride: When I have You, then I have everything. O my Lord and Master, You are my wealth and capital. Within You, I abide in peace; within You, I am congratulated. By the Pleasure of Your Will, You bestow thrones and greatness. And by the Pleasure of Your Will, You make us beggars and wanderers. By the Pleasure of Your Will, the ocean flows in the desert, and the lotus blossoms in the sky. By the Pleasure of Your Will, one crosses over the terrifying world-ocean; by the Pleasure of Your Will, he sinks down into it. By the Pleasure of His Will, that Lord becomes my Husband, and I am imbued with the Praises of the Lord, the treasure of virtue. By the Pleasure of Your Will, O my Husband Lord, I am afraid of You, and I come and go, and die. You, O my Husband Lord, are inaccessible and immeasurable; talking and speaking of You, I have fallen at Your Feet. What should I beg for? What should I say and hear? I am hungry and thirsty for the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. Through the Word of the Guru's Teachings, I have found my Husband Lord. This is Nanak's true prayer. ||2||

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 036

Soohee, Fifth Mehl, Gunvantee ~ The Worthy And Virtuous Bride: When I see a Sikh of the Guru, I humbly bow and fall at his feet. I tell to him the pain of my soul, and beg him to unite me with the Guru, my Best Friend. I ask that he impart to me such an understanding, that my mind will not go out wandering anywhere else. I dedicate this mind to you. Please, show me the Path to God. I have come so far, seeking the Protection of Your Sanctuary. Within my mind, I place my hopes in You; please, take my pain and suffering away! So walk on this Path, O sister soul-brides; do that work which the Guru tells you to do. Abandon the intellectual pursuits of the mind, and forget the love of duality. In this way, you shall obtain the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan; the hot winds shall not even touch you. By myself, I do not even know how to speak; I speak all that the Lord commands. I am blessed with the treasure of the Lord's devotional worship; Guru Nanak has been kind and compassionate to me. I shall never again feel hunger or thirst; I am satisfied, satiated and

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fulfilled. When I see a Sikh of the Guru, I humbly bow and fall at his feet. ||3|| Raag Soohee, Chhant, First Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Intoxicated with the wine of youth, I did not realise that I was only a guest at my parents' home (in this world). My consciousness is polluted with faults and mistakes; without the Guru, virtue does not even enter into me. I have not known the value of virtue; I have been deluded by doubt. I have wasted away my youth in vain. I have not known my Husband Lord, His celestial home and gate, or the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. I have not had the pleasure of my Husband Lord's celestial peace. After consulting the True Guru, I have not walked on the Path; the night of my life is passing away in sleep. O Nanak, in the prime of my youth, I am a widow; without my Husband Lord, the soul-bride is wasting away. ||1|| O father, give me in marriage to the Lord; I am pleased with Him as my Husband. I belong to Him. He is pervading throughout the four ages, and the Word of His Bani permeates the three worlds. The Husband Lord of the three worlds ravishes and enjoys His virtuous brides, but He keeps the ungraceful and unvirtuous ones far away. As are our hopes, so are our minds' desires, which the All-pervading Lord brings to fulfillment. The bride of the Lord is forever happy and virtuous; she shall never be a widow, and she shall never have to wear dirty clothes. O Nanak, I love my True Husband Lord; my Beloved is the same, age after age. ||2|| O Baba, calculate that auspicious moment, when I too shall be going to my in-laws' house. The moment of that marriage will be set by the Hukam of God's Command; His Will cannot be changed. The karmic record of past deeds, written by the Creator Lord, cannot be erased by anyone. The most respected member of the marriage party, my Husband, is the independent Lord of all beings, pervading and permeating the three worlds. Maya, crying out in pain, leaves, seeing that the bride and the groom are in love. O Nanak, the peace of the Mansion of God's Presence comes through the True Word of the Shabad; the bride keeps the Guru's Feet enshrined in her mind. ||3||

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 037

My father has given me in marriage far away, and I shall not return to my parents' home. I am delighted to see my Husband Lord near at hand; in His Home, I am so beautiful. My True Beloved Husband Lord desires me; He has joined me to Himself, and made my intellect pure and sublime. By good destiny I met Him, and was given a place of rest; through the Guru's Wisdom, I have become virtuous. I gather lasting Truth and contentment in my lap, and my Beloved is pleased with my truthful speech. O Nanak, I shall not suffer the pain of separation; through the Guru's Teachings, I merge into the loving embrace of the Lord's Being. ||4||1|| Raag Soohee, First Mehl, Chhant, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: My friends have come into my home. The True Lord has united me with them. The Lord automatically united me with them when it pleased Him; uniting with the chosen ones, I have found peace. I have obtained that thing, which my mind desired. Meeting with them, night and day, my mind is pleased; my home and mansion are beautified. The unstruck sound current of the Panch Shabad, the Five Primal Sounds, vibrates and resounds; my friends have come into my home. ||1|| So come, my beloved friends, and sing the songs of joy, O sisters. Sing the true songs of joy and God will be pleased. You shall be celebrated throughout the four ages. My Husband Lord has come into my home, and my place is adorned and decorated. Through the Shabad, my affairs have been resolved. Applying the ointment, the supreme essence, of divine wisdom to my eyes, I see the Lord's form throughout the three worlds. So join with me, my sisters, and sing the songs of joy and delight; my friends have come into my home. ||2|| My mind and body are drenched with Ambrosial Nectar; deep within the nucleus of my self, is the jewel of the Lord's Love. This invaluable jewel is deep within me; I contemplate the supreme essence of reality. Living beings are mere beggars; You are the Giver of rewards; You are the Giver to each and every being. You are Wise and All-knowing, the Inner-knower; You Yourself created the creation. So listen, O my sisters - the Enticer has enticed my mind. My body and mind are drenched with Nectar. ||3|| O Supreme Soul of the World, Your play is true. Your play is true, O Inaccessible and Infinite Lord; without You, who can make me understand? There are millions of Siddhas and enlightened seekers, but without You, who can call himself one? Death and rebirth drive the mind insane; only the Guru can hold it in its place. O Nanak, one who burns away his demerits and faults with the Shabad, accumulates virtue, and finds God. ||4||1||2|| Raag Soohee, First Mehl, Third House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Come, my friend, so that I may behold the blessed Vision of Your Darshan. I stand in my doorway, watching for You; my mind is filled with such a great yearning. My mind is filled with such a great yearning; hear me, O God - I place my faith in You. Gazing upon the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan, I have become free of desire; the pains of birth and death are taken away.

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 038

Your Light is in everyone; through it, You are known. Through love, You are easily met. O Nanak, I am a sacrifice to my Friend; He has come home to meet with those who are true. ||1|| When her Friend comes to her home, the bride is very pleased. She is fascinated with the True Word of the Lord's Shabad; gazing upon her Lord and Master, she is filled with joy. She is filled with virtuous joy, and is totally pleased, when she is ravished and enjoyed by her Lord, and imbued with His Love. Her faults and demerits are eradicated, and she roofs her home with virtue, through the Perfect Lord, the Architect of Destiny. Conquering the thieves, she dwells as the mistress of her home, and administers justice wisely. O Nanak, through the Lord's Name, she is emancipated; through the Guru's Teachings, she meets her Beloved. ||2|| The young bride has found her Husband Lord; her hopes and desires are fulfilled. She enjoys and ravishes her Husband Lord, and blends into the Word of the Shabad, pervading and permeating everywhere; the Lord is not far away. God is not far away; He is in each and every heart. All are His brides. He Himself is the Enjoyer, He Himself ravishes and enjoys; this is His glorious greatness. He is imperishable, immovable, invaluable and infinite. The True Lord is obtained through the Perfect Guru. O Nanak, He Himself unites in Union; by His Glance of Grace, He lovingly attunes them to Himself. ||3|| My Husband Lord dwells in the loftiest balcony; He is the Supreme Lord of the three worlds. I am amazed, gazing upon His glorious excellence; the unstruck sound current of the Shabad vibrates and resonates. I contemplate the Shabad, and perform sublime deeds; I am blessed with the insignia, the banner of the Lord's Name. Without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the false find no place of rest; only the jewel of the Naam brings acceptance and renown. Perfect is my honour, perfect is my intellect and password. I shall not have to come or go. O Nanak, the Gurmukh understands her own self; she becomes like her Imperishable Lord God. ||4||1||3|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Raag Soohee, Chhant, First Mehl, Fourth House: The One who created the world, watches over it; He enjoins the people of the world to their tasks. Your gifts, O Lord, illuminate the heart, and the moon casts its light on the body. The moon glows, by the Lord's gift, and the darkness of suffering is taken away. The marriage party of virtue looks beautiful with the Groom; He chooses His enticing bride with care. The wedding is performed with glorious splendor; He has arrived, accompanied by the vibrations of the Panch Shabad, the Five Primal Sounds. The One who created the world, watches over it; He enjoins the people of the world to their tasks. ||1|| I am a sacrifice to my pure friends, the immaculate Saints. This body is attached to them, and we have shared our minds. We have shared our minds - how could I forget those friends? Seeing them brings joy to my heart; I keep them clasped to my soul. They have all virtues and merits, forever and ever; they have no demerits or faults at all. I am a sacrifice to my pure friends, the immaculate Saints. ||2|| One who has a basket of fragrant virtues, should enjoy its fragrance. If my friends have virtues, I will share in them.

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 039

Let us form a partnership, and share our virtues; let us abandon our faults, and walk on the Path. Let us wear our virtues like silk clothes; let us decorate ourselves, and enter the arena. Let us speak of goodness, wherever we go and sit; let us skim off the Ambrosial Nectar, and drink it in. One who has a basket of fragrant virtues, should enjoy its fragrance. ||3|| He Himself acts; unto whom should we complain? No one else does anything. Go ahead and complain to Him, if He makes a mistake. If He makes a mistake, go ahead and complain to Him; but how can the Creator Himself make a mistake? He sees, He hears, and without our asking, without our begging, He gives His gifts. The Great Giver, the Architect of the Universe, gives His gifts. O Nanak, He is the True Lord. He Himself acts; unto whom should we complain? No one else does anything. ||4||1||4|| Soohee, First Mehl: My mind is imbued with His Glorious Praises; I chant them, and He is pleasing to my mind. Truth is the ladder to the Guru; climbing up to the True Lord, peace is obtained. Celestial peace comes; the Truth pleases me. How could these True Teachings ever be erased? He Himself is Undeceivable; how could He ever be deceived by cleansing baths, charity, spiritual wisdom or ritual bathings? Fraud, attachment and corruption are taken away, as are falsehood, hypocrisy and duality. My mind is imbued with His Glorious Praises; I chant them, and He is pleasing to my mind. ||1|| So praise your Lord and Master, who created the creation. Filth sticks to the polluted mind; how rare are those who drink in the Ambrosial Nectar. Churn this Ambrosial Nectar, and drink it in; dedicate this mind to the Guru, and He will value it highly. I intuitively realised my God, when I linked my mind to the True Lord. I will sing the Lord's Glorious Praises with Him, if it pleases Him; how could I meet Him by being a stranger to Him? So praise your Lord and Master, who created the creation. ||2|| When He comes, what else remains behind? How can there be any coming or going then? When the mind is reconciled with its Beloved Lord, it is blended with Him. True is the speech of one who is imbued with the Love of his Lord and Master, who fashioned the body fortress from a mere bubble. He is the Master of the five elements; He Himself is the Creator Lord. He embellished the body with Truth. I am worthless; please hear me, O my Beloved! Whatever pleases You is True. One who is blessed with true understanding, does not come and go. ||3|| Apply such an ointment to your eyes, which is pleasing to your Beloved. I realise, understand and know Him, only if He Himself causes me to know Him. He Himself shows me the Way, and He Himself leads me to it, attracting my mind. He Himself causes us to do good and bad deeds; who can know the value of the Mysterious Lord? I know nothing of Tantric spells, magical mantras and hypocritical rituals; enshrining the Lord within my heart, my mind is satisfied. The ointment of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is only understood by one who realises the Lord, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||4|| I have my own friends; why should I go to the home of a stranger? My friends are imbued with the True Lord; He is with them, in their minds. In their minds, these friends celebrate in happiness; all good karma, righteousness and Dharma, the sixty-eight holy places of pilgrimage, charity and worship, are found in the love of the True Name.

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 040

He Himself creates, establishes and beholds all, by the Pleasure of His Will. My friends are happy in the Love of the Lord; they nurture love for their Beloved. ||5|| If a blind man is made the leader, how will he know the way? He is impaired, and his understanding is inadequate; how will he know the way? How can he follow the path and reach the Mansion of the Lord's Presence? Blind is the understanding of the blind. Without the Lord's Name, they cannot see anything; the blind are drowned in worldly entanglements. Day and night, the Divine Light shines forth and joy wells up, when the Word of the Guru's Shabad abides in the mind. With your palms pressed together, pray to the Guru to show you the way. ||6|| If the man becomes a stranger to God, then all the world becomes a stranger to him. Unto whom should I tie up and give the bundle of my pains? The whole world is overflowing with pain and suffering; who can know the state of my inner self? Comings and goings are terrible and dreadful; there is no end to the rounds of reincarnation. Without the Naam, he is vacant and sad; he does not listen to the Word of the Guru's Shabad. If the mind becomes a stranger to God, then all the world becomes a stranger to him. ||7|| One who finds the Guru's Mansion within the home of his own being, merges in the All-pervading Lord. The sevadar performs selfless service when he is pleased, and confirmed in the True Word of the Shabad. Confirmed in the Shabad, with her being softened by devotion, the bride dwells in the Mansion of the Lord's Presence, deep within her being. The Creator Himself creates; God Himself, in the end, is endless. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the mortal is united, and then embellished; the unstruck melody of the sound current resounds. One who finds the Guru's Mansion within the home of his own being, merges in the All-pervading Lord. ||8|| Why praise that which is created? Praise instead the One who created it and watches over it. His value cannot be estimated, no matter how much one may wish. He alone can estimate the Lord's value, whom the Lord Himself causes to know. He is not mistaken; He does not make mistakes. He alone celebrates victory, who is pleasing to You, through the Invaluable Word of the Guru's Shabad. I am lowly and abject - I offer my prayer; may I never forsake the True Name, O Sibling of Destiny. O Nanak, the One who created the creation, watches over it; He alone bestows understanding. ||9||2||5|| Raag Soohee, Chhant, Third Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Meditate on the Lord, and find peace and pleasure. As Gurmukh, obtain the Lord's fruitful rewards. As Gurmukh, obtain the fruit of the Lord, and meditate on the Lord's Name; the pains of countless lifetimes shall be erased. I am a sacrifice to my Guru, who has arranged and resolved all my affairs. The Lord God will bestow His Grace, if you meditate on the Lord; O humble servant of the Lord, you shall obtain the fruit of peace. Says Nanak, listen O humble Sibling of Destiny: meditate on the Lord, and find peace and pleasure. ||1|| Hearing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, I am intuitively drenched with His Love. Under Guru's Instruction, I meditate intuitively on the Naam. Those who have such pre-ordained destiny, meet the Guru, and their fears of birth and death leave them.

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 041

One who eliminates evil-mindedness and duality from within himself, that humble being lovingly focuses his mind on the Lord. Those, upon whom my Lord and Master bestows His Grace, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, night and day. Hearing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, I am intuitively drenched with His Love. ||2|| In this age, emancipation comes only from the Lord's Name. Contemplative meditation on the Word of the Shabad emanates from the Guru. Contemplating the Guru's Shabad,

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one comes to love the Lord's Name; he alone obtains it, unto whom the Lord shows Mercy. In peace and poise, he sings the Lord's Praises day and night, and all sins are eradicated. All are Yours, and You belong to all. I am Yours, and You are mine. In this age, emancipation comes only from the Lord's Name. ||3|| The Lord, my Friend has come to dwell within the home of my heart; singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, one is satisfied and fulfilled. Singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, one is satisfied forever, never to feel hunger again. That humble servant of the Lord, who meditates on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is worshipped in the ten directions. O Nanak, He Himself joins and separates; there is no other than the Lord. The Lord, my Friend has come to dwell within the home of my heart. ||4||1|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Raag Soohee, Third Mehl, Third House: The Dear Lord protects His humble devotees; throughout the ages, He has protected them. Those devotees who become Gurmukh burn away their ego, through the Word of the Shabad. Those who burn away their ego through the Shabad, become pleasing to my Lord; their speech becomes True. They perform the Lord's true devotional service, day and night, as the Guru has instructed them. The devotees' lifestyle is true, and absolutely pure; the True Name is pleasing to their minds. O Nanak, the those devotees, who practice Truth, and only Truth, look beauteous in the Court of the True Lord. ||1|| The Lord is the social class and honour of His devotees; the Lord's devotees merge in the Naam, the Name of the Lord. They worship the Lord in devotion, and eradicate self-conceit from within themselves; they understand merits and demerits. They understand merits and demerits, and chant the Lord's Name; devotional worship is sweet to them. Night and day, they perform devotional worship, day and night, and in the home of the self, they remain detached. Imbued with devotion, their minds remain forever immaculate and pure; they see their Dear Lord always with them. O Nanak, those devotees are True in the Court of the Lord; night and day, they dwell upon the Naam. ||2|| The self-willed manmukhs practice devotional rituals without the True Guru, but without the True Guru, there is no devotion. They are afflicted with the diseases of egotism and Maya, and they suffer the pains of death and rebirth. The world suffers the pains of death and rebirth, and through the love of duality, it is ruined; without the Guru, the essence of reality is not known. Without devotional worship, everyone in the world is deluded and confused, and in the end, they depart with regrets.

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 042

Among millions, there is scarcely one who realises the Name of the True Lord. O Nanak, through the Naam, greatness is obtained; in the love of duality, all honour is lost. ||3|| In the home of the devotees, is the joy of true marriage; they chant the Glorious Praises of the Lord forever. He Himself blesses them with the treasure of devotion; conquering the thorny pain of death, they merge in the Lord. Conquering the thorny pain of death, they merge in the Lord; they are pleasing to the Lord's Mind, and they obtain the true treasure of the Naam. This treasure is inexhaustible; it will never be exhausted. The Lord automatically blesses them with it. The humble servants of the Lord are exalted and elevated, forever on high; they are adorned with the Word of the Guru's Shabad. O Nanak, He Himself forgives them, and merges them with Himself; throughout the ages, they are glorified. ||4||1||2|| Soohee, Third Mehl: Through the True Word of the Shabad, true happiness prevails, there where the True Lord is contemplated. Egotism and all sins are eradicated, when one keeps the True Lord enshrined in the heart. One who keeps the True Lord enshrined in the heart, crosses over the terrible and dreadful world-ocean; he shall not have to cross over it again. True is the True Guru, and True is the Word of His Bani; through it, the True Lord is seen. One who sings the Glorious Praises of the True Lord merges in Truth; he beholds the True Lord everywhere. O Nanak, True is the Lord and Master, and True is His Name; through Truth, comes emancipation. ||1|| The True Guru reveals the True Lord; the True Lord preserves our honour. The true food is love for the True Lord; through the True Name, peace is obtained. Through the True Name, the mortal finds peace; he shall never die, and never again enter the womb of reincarnation. His light blends with the Light, and he merges into the True Lord; he is illuminated and enlightened with the True Name. Those who know the Truth are True; night and day, they meditate on Truth. O Nanak, those whose hearts are filled with the True Name, never suffer the pains of separation. ||2|| In that home, and in that heart, where the True Bani of the Lord's True Praises are sung, the songs of joy resound. Through the immaculate virtues of the True Lord, the body and mind are rendered True, and God, the True Primal Being, dwells within. Such a person practices only Truth, and speaks only Truth; whatever the True Lord does, that alone comes to pass. Wherever I look, there I see the True Lord pervading; there is no other at all. From the True Lord, we emanate, and into the True Lord, we shall merge; death and birth come from duality. O Nanak, He Himself does everything; He Himself is the Cause. ||3|| The true devotees look beautiful in the Darbaar of the Lord's Court. They speak Truth, and only Truth. Deep within the nucleus of their heart, is the True Word of the Lord's Bani. Through the Truth, they understand themselves. They understand themselves, and so know the True Lord, through their true intuition. True is the Shabad, and True is its Glory; peace comes only from Truth. Imbued with Truth, the devotees love the One Lord; they do not love any other. O Nanak, he alone obtains the True Lord, who has such pre-ordained destiny written upon his forehead. ||4||2||3|| Soohee, Third Mehl: The soul-bride may wander throughout the four ages, but still, without the True Guru, she will not find her True Husband Lord.

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 043

The Kingdom of the Lord is permanent, and forever unchanging; there is no other than Him. There is no other than Him - He is True forever; the Gurmukh knows the One Lord. That soul-bride, whose mind accepts the Guru's Teachings, meets her Husband Lord. Meeting the True Guru, she finds the Lord; without the Lord's Name, there is no liberation. O Nanak, the soul-bride ravishes and enjoys her Husband Lord; her mind accepts Him, and she finds peace. ||1|| Serve the True Guru, O young and innocent bride; thus you shall obtain the Lord as your Husband. You shall be the virtuous and happy bride of the True Lord forever; and you shall never again wear soiled clothes. Your clothes shall never again be soiled; how rare are those few, who, as Gurmukh, recognise this, and conquer their ego. So make your practice the practice of good deeds; merge into the Word of the Shabad, and deep within, come to know the One Lord. The Gurmukh enjoys God, day and night, and so obtains true glory. O Nanak, the soul-bride enjoys and ravishes her Beloved; God is pervading and permeating everywhere. ||2|| Serve the Guru, O young and innocent soul-bride, and he will lead to you meet your Husband Lord. The bride is imbued with the Love of her Lord; meeting with her Beloved, she finds peace. Meeting her Beloved, she finds peace, and merges in the True Lord; the True Lord is pervading everywhere. The bride makes Truth her decorations, day and night, and remains absorbed in the True Lord. The Lord, the Giver of peace, is realised through His Shabad; He hugs His bride close in His embrace. O Nanak, the bride obtains the Mansion of His Presence; through the Guru's Teachings, she finds her Lord. ||3|| The Primal Lord, my God, has united His young and innocent bride with Himself. Through the Guru's Teachings, her heart is illumined and enlightened; God is permeating and pervading everywhere. God is permeating and pervading everywhere; He dwells in her mind, and she realises her pre-ordained destiny. On his cozy bed, she is pleasing to my God; she fashions her decorations of Truth. The bride is immaculate and pure; she washes away the filth of egotism, and through the Guru's Teachings, she merges in the True Lord. O Nanak, the Creator Lord blends her into Himself, and she obtains the nine treasure of the Naam. ||4||3||4|| Soohee, Third Mehl: Sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, Har, Har, Har; the Gurmukh obtains the Lord. Night and day, chant the Word of the Shabad; night and day, the Shabad shall vibrate and resound. The unstruck melody of the Shabad vibrates, and the Dear Lord comes into the home of my heart; O ladies, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. That soul-bride, who performs devotional worship service to the Guru night and day, becomes the Beloved bride of her Lord. Those humble beings, whose hearts are filled with the Word of the Guru's Shabad, are adorned with the Shabad. O Nanak, their hearts are forever filled with happiness; the Lord, in His Mercy, enters into their hearts. ||1|| The minds of the devotees are filled with bliss; they remain lovingly absorbed in the Lord's Name. The mind of the Gurmukh is immaculate and pure; she sings the Immaculate Praises of the Lord. Singing His Immaculate Praises, she enshrines in her mind the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and the Ambrosial Word of His Bani. Those humble beings, within whose minds it abides, are emancipated; the Shabad permeates each and every heart.

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 044

Singing Your Glorious Praises, they merge naturally into You, O Lord; through the Shabad, they are united in Union with You. O Nanak, their lives are fruitful; the True Guru places them on the Lord's Path. ||2|| Those who join the Society of the Saints are absorbed in the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, they are forever 'jivan mukta' - liberated while yet alive; they are lovingly absorbed in the Name of the Lord. They centre their consciousness on the Lord's Name; through the Guru, they are united in His Union. Their minds are imbued with the Lord's Love. They find the Lord, the Giver of peace, and they eradicate attachments; night and day, they contemplate the Naam. They are imbued with the Word of the Guru's Shabad, and intoxicated with celestial peace; the Naam abides in their minds. O Nanak, the homes of their hearts are filled with happiness, forever and always; they are absorbed in serving the True Guru. ||3|| Without the True Guru, the world is deluded by doubt; it does not obtain the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. As Gurmukh, some are united in the Lord's Union, and their pains are dispelled. Their pains are dispelled, when it is pleasing to the Lord's Mind; imbued with His Love, they sing His Praises forever. The Lord's devotees are pure and humble forever; throughout the ages, they are forever respected. They perform true devotional worship service, and are honoured in the Lord's Court; the True Lord is their hearth and home. O Nanak, true are their songs of joy, and true is their word; through the Word of the Shabad, they find peace. ||4||4||5|| Shalok, Third Mehl: If you long for your Husband Lord, O young and innocent bride, then focus your consciousness on the Guru's feet. You shall be a happy soul bride of your Dear Lord forever; He does not die or leave. The Dear Lord does not die, and He does not leave; through the peaceful poise of the Guru, the soul bride becomes the lover of her Husband Lord. Through truth and self-control, she is forever immaculate and pure; she is embellished with the Word of the Guru's Shabad. My God is True, forever and ever; He Himself created Himself. O Nanak, she who focuses her consciousness on the Guru's feet, enjoys her Husband Lord. ||1|| When the young, innocent bride finds her Husband Lord, she is automatically intoxicated with Him, night and day. Through the Word of the Guru's Teachings, her mind becomes blissful, and her body is not tinged with filth at all. Her body is not tinged with filth at all, and she is imbued with her Lord God; my God unites her in Union. Night and day, she enjoys her Lord God; her egotism is banished from within. Through the Guru's Teachings, she easily finds and meets Him. She is imbued with her Beloved. O Nanak, through the Naam, the Name of the Lord, she obtains glorious greatness. She ravishes and enjoys her God; she is imbued with His Love. ||2|| Ravishing her Husband Lord, she is imbued with His Love; she obtains the Mansion of His Presence. She is utterly immaculate and pure; the Great Giver banishes self-conceit from within her. The Lord drives out attachment from within her, when it pleases Him. The soul bride becomes pleasing to the Lord's Mind. Night and day, she continually sings the Glorious Praises of the True Lord; she speaks the Unspoken Speech. Throughout the four ages, the One True Lord is permeating and pervading; without the Guru, no one finds Him.

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 045

O Nanak, she revels in joy, imbued with His Love; she focuses her consciousness on the Lord. ||3|| The mind of the soul bride is very happy, when she meets her Friend, her Beloved Lord. Through the Guru's Teachings, her mind becomes immaculate; she enshrines the Lord within her heart. Keeping the Lord enshrined within her heart, her affairs are arranged and resolved; through the Guru's Teachings, she knows her Lord. My Beloved has enticed my mind; I have obtained the Lord, the Architect of Destiny. Serving the True Guru, she finds lasting peace; the Lord, the Destroyer of pride, dwells in her mind. O Nanak, she merges with her Guru, embellished and adorned with the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||4||5||6|| Shalok, Third Mehl: The song of joy is the Naam, the Name of the Lord; contemplate it, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad. The mind and body of the Gurmukh is drenched with the Lord, the Beloved Lord. Through the Name of the Beloved Lord, all one's ancestors and generations are redeemed; chant the Lord's Name with your mouth. Comings and goings cease, peace is obtained, and in the home of the heart, one's awareness is absorbed in the unstruck melody of the sound current. I have found the One and only Lord, Har, Har. The Lord God has showered His Mercy upon Nanak. The song of joy is the Naam, the Name of the Lord; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, contemplate it. ||1|| I am lowly, and God is lofty and exalted. How will I ever meet Him? The Guru has very mercifully blessed me and united me with the Lord; through the Shabad, the Word of the Lord, I am lovingly embellished. Merging in the Word of the Shabad, I am lovingly embellished; my ego is eradicated, and I revel in joyous love. My bed is so comfortable, since I became pleasing to God; I am absorbed in the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. O Nanak, that soul bride is so very blessed, who walks in harmony with the True Guru's Will. I am lowly, and God is lofty and exalted. How will I ever meet Him? ||2|| In each and every heart, and deep within all, is the One Lord, the Husband Lord of all. God dwells far away from some, while for others, He is the Support of the mind. For some, the Creator Lord is the Support of the mind; He is obtained by great good fortune, through the Guru. The One Lord God, the Master, is in each and every heart; the Gurmukh sees the unseen. The mind is satisfied, in natural ecstasy, O Nanak, contemplating God. In each and every heart, and deep within all, is the One Lord, the Husband Lord of all. ||3|| Those who serve the Guru, the True Guru, the Giver, merge in the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. O Lord, please bless me with the dust of the feet of the Perfect Guru, so that I, a sinner, may be liberated. Even sinners are liberated, by eradicating their egotism; they obtain a home within their own heart. With clear unerstanding, the night of their lives passes peacefully; through the Guru's Teachings, the Naam is revealed to them. Through the Lord, Har, Har, I am in ecstasy, day and night. O Nanak, the Lord seems sweet. Those who serve the Guru, the True Guru, the Giver, merge in the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||4||6||7||5||7||12||

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Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 046

Raag Soohee, Fourth Mehl, Chhant, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: If only I could meet the True Guru, the Primal Being. Discarding my faults and sins, I would chant the Lord's Glorious Praises. I meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Continuously, continually, I chant the Word of the Guru's Bani. Gurbani always seems so sweet; I have eradicated the sins from within. The disease of egotism is gone, fear has left, and I am absorbed in celestial peace. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the bed of my body has become cozy and beautiful, and I enjoy the essence of spiritual wisdom. Night and day, I continually enjoy peace and pleasure. O Nanak, this is my pre-ordained destiny. ||1|| The soul-bride is lovingly embellished with truth and contentment; her Father, the Guru, has come to engage her in marriage to her Husband Lord. Joining with the humble Saints, I sing Gurbani. Singing the Guru's Bani, I have obtained the supreme status; meeting with the Saints, the self-elect, I am blessed and adorned. Anger and attachment have left my body and run away; I have eradicated hypocrisy and doubt. The pain of egotism is gone, and I have found peace; my body has become healthy and free of disease. By Guru's Grace, O Nanak, I have realised God, the ocean of virtue. ||2|| The self-willed manmukh is separated, far away from God; she does not obtain the Mansion of His Presence, and she burns. Egotism and falsehood are deep within her; deluded by falsehood, she deals only in falsehood. Practicing fraud and falsehood, she suffers terrible pain; without the True Guru, she does not find the way. The foolish soul-bride wanders along dismal pathways; each and every moment, she is bumped and pushed. God, the Great Giver, shows His Mercy, and leads her to meet the True Guru, the Primal Being. Those beings who have been separated for countless incarnations, O Nanak, are reunited with the Lord, with intuitive ease. ||3|| Calculating the most auspicious moment, the Lord comes into the bride's home; her heart is filled with ecstasy. The Pandits and astrologers have come, to sit and consult the almanacs. They have consulted the almanacs, and the bride's mind vibrates with bliss, when she hears that her Friend is coming into the home of her heart. The virtuous and wise men sat down and decided to perform the marriage immediately. She has found her Husband, the Inaccessible, Unfathomable Primal Lord, who is forever young; He is her Best Friend from her earliest childhood. O Nanak, he has mercifully united the bride with Himself. She shall never be separated again. ||4||1|| Soohee, Fourth Mehl: In the first round of the marriage ceremony, the Lord sets out His Instructions for performing the daily duties of married life. Instead of the hymns of the Vedas to Brahma, embrace the righteous conduct of Dharma, and renounce sinful actions. Meditate on the Lord's Name; embrace and enshrine the contemplative remembrance of the Naam. Worship and adore the Guru, the Perfect True Guru, and all your sins shall be dispelled. By great good fortune, celestial bliss is attained, and the Lord, Har, Har, seems sweet to the mind.

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 047

Servant Nanak proclaims that, in this, the first round of the marriage ceremony, the marriage ceremony has begun. ||1|| In the second round of the marriage ceremony, the Lord leads you to meet the True Guru, the Primal Being. With the Fear of God, the Fearless Lord in the mind, the filth of egotism is eradicated. In the Fear of God, the Immaculate Lord, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and behold the Lord's Presence before you. The Lord, the Supreme Soul, is the Lord and Master of the Universe; He is pervading and permeating everywhere, fully filling all spaces. Deep within, and outside as well, there is only the One Lord God. Meeting together, the humble servants of the Lord sing the songs of joy. Servant Nanak proclaims that, in this, the second round of the marriage ceremony, the unstruck sound current of the Shabad resounds. ||2|| In the third round of the marriage ceremony, the mind is filled with Divine Love. Meeting with the humble Saints of the Lord, I have found the Lord, by great good fortune. I have found the Immaculate Lord, and I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. I speak the Word of the Lord's Bani. By great good fortune, I have found the humble Saints, and I speak the Unspoken Speech of the Lord. The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, Har, vibrates and resounds within my heart; meditating on the Lord, I have realised the destiny inscribed upon my forehead. Servant Nanak proclaims that, in this, the third round of the marriage ceremony, the mind is filled with Divine Love for the Lord. ||3|| In the fourth round of the marriage ceremony, my mind has become peaceful; I have found the Lord. As Gurmukh, I have met Him, with intuitive ease; the Lord seems so sweet to my mind and body. The Lord seems so sweet; I am pleasing to my God. Night and day, I lovingly focus my consciousness on the Lord. I have obtained my Lord and Master, the fruit of my mind's desires. The Lord's Name resounds and resonates. The Lord God, my Lord and Master, blends with His bride, and her heart blossoms forth in the Naam. Servant Nanak proclaims that, in this, the fourth round of the marriage ceremony, we have found the Eternal Lord God. ||4||2|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Raag Soohee, Chhant, Fourth Mehl, Second House: The Gurmukhs sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord; in their hearts, and on their tongues, they enjoy and savor His taste. They enjoy and savor His taste, and are pleasing to my God, who meets them with natural ease. Night and day, they enjoy enjoyments, and they sleep in peace; they remain lovingly absorbed in the Word of the Shabad. By great good fortune, one obtains the Perfect Guru; night and day, meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. In absolute ease and poise, one meets the Life of the World. O Nanak, one is absorbed in the state of absolute absorption. ||1|| Joining the Society of the Saints, I bathe in the Immaculate Pool of the Lord. Bathing in these Immaculate Waters, my filth is removed, and my body is purified and sanctified. The filth of intellectual evil-mindedness is removed, doubt is gone, and the pain of egotism is dispelled. By God's Grace, I found the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. I dwell in the home of my own inner being.

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 048

My tongue tastes the taste of the Lord's joyous song; O Nanak, the Naam shines forth brightly. ||2|| The Gurmukh loves the Name of the Lord; deep within, she contemplates the jewel of the Naam. Those who love the Lord's Name are emancipated through the Word of the Shabad. The darkness of ignorance is dispelled. Spiritual wisdom burns brilliantly, illuminating the heart; their homes and temples are embellished and blessed. I have made my body and mind into adornments, and dedicated them to the True Lord God, pleasing Him. Whatever God says, I gladly do. O Nanak, I have merged into the fiber of His Being. ||3|| The Lord God has arranged the marriage ceremony; He has come to marry the Gurmukh. He has come to marry the Gurmukh, who has found the Lord. That bride is very dear to her Lord. The humble Saints join together and sing the songs of joy; the Dear Lord Himself has adorned the soul-bride. The angels and mortal beings, the heavenly heralds and celestial singers, have come together and formed a wondrous wedding party. O Nanak, I have found my True Lord God, who never dies, and is not born. ||4||1||3|| Raag Soohee, Chhant, Fourth Mehl, Third House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Come, humble Saints, and sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe. Let us gather together as Gurmukh; within the home of our own heart, the Shabad vibrates and resonates. The many melodies of the Shabad are Yours, O Lord God; O Creator Lord, You are everywhere. Day and night, I chant His Praises forever, lovingly focusing on the True Word of the Shabad. Night and day, I remain intuitively attuned to the Lord's Love; in my heart, I worship the Lord's Name. O Nanak, as Gurmukh, I have realised the One Lord; I do not know any other. ||1|| He is contained amongst all; He is God, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. One who meditates and dwells upon God, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, knows that God, my Lord and Master, is pervading everywhere. God, my Lord and Master, is the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts; He pervades and permeates each and every heart. Through the Guru's Teachings, Truth is obtained, and then, one merges in celestial bliss. There is no other than Him. I sing His Praises with intuitive ease. If it pleases God, He shall unite me with Himself. O Nanak, through the Shabad, God is known; meditate on the Naam, day and night. ||2|| This world is treacherous and impassable; the self-willed manmukh cannot cross over. Within him is egotism, self-conceit, sexual desire, anger and cleverness. Within him is cleverness; he is not approved, and his life is uselessly wasted and lost. On the Path of Death, he suffers in pain, and must endure abuse; in the end, he departs regretfully. Without the Name, he has no friends, no children, family or relatives. O Nanak, the wealth of Maya, attachment and ostentatious shows - none of them shall go along with him to the world hereafter. ||3|| I ask my True Guru, the Giver, how to cross over the treacherous and difficult world-ocean. Walk in harmony with the True Guru's Will, and remain dead while yet alive. Remaining dead while yet alive, cross over the terrifying world-ocean; as Gurmukh, merge in the Naam.

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 049

One obtains the Perfect Primal Lord, by great good fortune, lovingly focusing on the True Name. The intellect is enlightened, and the mind is satisfied, through the glory of the Lord's Name. O Nanak, God is found, merging in the Shabad, and one's light blends into the Light. ||4||1||4|| Soohee, Fourth Mehl, Fifth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O humble Saints, I have met my Beloved Guru; the fire of my desire is quenched, and my yearning is gone. I dedicate my mind and body to the True Guru; I pray that may He unite me with God, the treasure of virtue. Blessed, blessed is the Guru, the Supreme Being, who tells me of the most blessed Lord. By great good fortune, servant Nanak has found the Lord; he blossoms forth in the Naam. ||1|| I have met my Beloved Friend, the Guru, who has shown me the Path to the Lord. Come home - I have been separated from You for so long! Please, let me merge with You, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, O my Lord God. Without You, I am so sad; like a fish out of water, I shall die. The very fortunate ones meditate on the Lord; servant Nanak merges into the Naam. ||2|| The mind runs around in the ten directions; the self-willed manmukh wanders around, deluded by doubt. In his mind, he continually conjures up hopes; his mind is gripped by hunger and thirst. There is an infinite treasure buried within the mind, but still, he goes out, searching for poison. O servant Nanak, praise the Naam, the Name of the Lord; without the Name, he rots away, and wastes away to death. ||3|| Finding the beautiful and fascinating Guru, I have conquered my mind, through the Bani, the Word of my Beloved Lord. My heart has forgotten its common sense and wisdom; my mind has forgotten its hopes and cares. Deep within my self, I feel the pains of divine love. Beholding the Guru, my mind is comforted and consoled. Awaken my good destiny, O God - please, come and meet me! Each and every instant, servant Nanak is a sacrifice to You. ||4||1||5|| Soohee, Chhant, Fourth Mehl: Eradicate the poison of egotism, O human being; it is holding you back from meeting your Lord God. This golden-coloured body has been disfigured and ruined by egotism. Attachment to Maya is total darkness; this foolish, self-willed manmukh is attached to it. O servant Nanak, the Gurmukh is saved; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, he is released from egotism. ||1|| Overcome and subdue this mind; your mind wanders around continually, like a falcon. The mortal's life-night passes painfully, in constant hope and desire. I have found the Guru, O humble Saints; my mind's hopes are fulfilled, chanting the Lord's Name. Please bless servant Nanak, O God, with such understanding, that abandoning false hopes, he may always sleep in peace. ||2|| The bride hopes in her mind, that her Sovereign Lord God will come to her bed. My Lord and Master is infinitely compassionate; O Sovereign Lord, be merciful, and merge me into Yourself.

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 050

My mind and body long to behold the Guru's face. O Sovereign Lord, I have spread out my bed of loving faith. O servant Nanak, when the bride pleases her Lord God, her Sovereign Lord meets her with natural ease. ||3|| My Lord God, my Sovereign Lord, is on the one bed. The Guru has shown me how to meet my Lord. My mind and body are filled with love and affection for my Sovereign Lord. In His Mercy, the Guru has united me with Him. I am a sacrifice to my Guru, O my Sovereign Lord; I surrender my soul to the True Guru. When the Guru is totally pleased, O servant Nanak, he unites the soul with the Lord, the Sovereign Lord. ||4||2||6||5||7||6||18|| Raag Soohee, Chhant, Fifth Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Listen, madman: gazing upon the world, why have you gone crazy? Listen, madman: you have been trapped by false love, which is transitory, like the fading colour of the safflower. Gazing upon the false world, you are fooled. It is not worth even half a shell. Only the Name of the Lord of the Universe is permanent. You shall take on the deep and lasting red colour of the poppy, contemplating the sweet Word of the Guru's Shabad. You remain intoxicated with false emotional attachment; you are attached to falsehood. Nanak, meek and humble, seeks the Sanctuary of the Lord, the treasure of mercy. He preserves the honour of His devotees. ||1|| Listen, madman: serve your Lord, the Master of the breath of life. Listen, madman: whoever comes, shall go. Listen, O wandering stranger: that which you believe to be permanent, shall all pass away; so remain in the Saints' Congregation. Listen, renunciate: by your good destiny, obtain the Lord, and remain attached to God's Feet. Dedicate and surrender this mind to the Lord, and have no doubts; as Gurmukh, renounce your great pride. O Nanak, the Lord carries the meek and humble devotees across the terrifying world-ocean. What Glorious Virtues of Your should I chant and recite? ||2|| Listen, madman: why do you harbor false pride? Listen, madman: all your egotism and pride shall be overcome. What you think is permanent, shall all pass away. Pride is false, so become the slave of God's Saints. Remain dead while still alive, and you shall cross over the terrifying world-ocean, if it is your pre-ordained destiny. One whom the Lord causes to meditate intuitively, serves the Guru, and drinks in the Ambrosial Nectar. Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of the Lord's Door; I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice, forever a sacrifice to Him. ||3|| Listen, madman: do not think that you have found God. Listen, madman: be the dust under the feet of those who meditate on God. Those who meditate on God find peace. By great good fortune, the Blessed Vision of their Darshan is obtained. Be humble, and be forever a sacrifice, and your self-conceit shall be totally eradicated. One who has found God is pure, with blessed destiny. I would sell myself to him. Nanak, the meek and humble, seeks the Sanctuary of the Lord, the ocean of peace. Make him Your own, and preserve his honour. ||4||1|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: The True Guru was satisfied with me, and blessed me with the Support of the Lord's Lotus Feet. I am a sacrifice to the Lord.

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Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 051

The Lord's Ambrosial Nectar is an overflowing treasure; everything is in His Home. I am a sacrifice to the Lord. My Father is absolutely all-powerful. God is the Doer, the Cause of causes. Remembering Him in meditation, pain does not touch me; thus I cross over the terrifying world-ocean. In the beginning, and throughout the ages, He is the Protector of His devotees. Praising Him continually, I live. O Nanak, the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is the sweetest and most sublime essence. Night and day, I drink it in with my mind and body. ||1|| The Lord unites me with Himself; how could I feel any separation? I am a sacrifice to the Lord. One who has Your Support lives forever and ever. I am a sacrifice to the Lord. I take my support from You alone, O True Creator Lord. No one lacks this Support; such is my God. Meeting with the humble Saints, I sing the songs of joy; day and night, I place my hopes in You. I have obtained the Blessed Vision, the Darshan of the Perfect Guru. Nanak is forever a sacrifice. ||2|| Contemplating, dwelling upon the Lord's true home, I receive honour, greatness and truth. I am a sacrifice to the Lord. Meeting the Merciful True Guru, I sing the Praises of the Imperishable Lord. I am a sacrifice to the Lord. Sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe, continually, continuously; He is the Beloved Master of the breath of life. Good times have come; the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts, has met me, and hugged me close in His Embrace. The musical instruments of truth and contentment vibrate, and the unstruck melody of the sound current resounds. Hearing this, all my fears have been dispelled; O Nanak, God is the Primal Being, the Creator Lord. ||3|| The essence of spiritual wisdom has welled up; in this world, and the next, the One Lord is pervading. I am a sacrifice to the Lord. When God meets the God within the self, no one can separate them. I am a sacrifice to the Lord. I gaze upon the Wondrous Lord, and listen to the Wondrous Lord; the Wondrous Lord has come into my vision. The Perfect Lord and Master is pervading the water, the land and the sky, in each and every heart. I have merged again into the One from whom I originated. The value of this cannot be described. Nanak meditates on Him. ||4||2|| Raag Soohee, Chhant, Fifth Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe. I am awake, night and day, in the Lord's Love. Awake to the Lord's Love, my sins have left me. I meet with the Beloved Saints. Attached to the Guru's Feet, my doubts are dispelled, and all my affairs are resolved. Listening to the Word of the Guru's Bani with my ears, I know celestial peace. By great good fortune, I meditate on the Lord's Name. Prays Nanak, I have entered my Lord and Master's Sanctuary. I dedicate my body and soul to God. ||1|| The unstruck melody of the Shabad, the Word of God is so very beautiful. True joy comes from singing the Lord's Praises. Singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, Har, Har, pain is dispelled, and my mind is filled with tremendous joy. My mind and body have become immaculate and pure, gazing upon the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan; I chant the Name of God.

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I am the dust of the feet of the Holy. Worshipping God in adoration, my God is pleased with me. Prays Nanak, please bless me with Your Mercy, that I may sing Your Glorious Praises forever. ||2|| Meeting with the Guru, I cross over the world-ocean. Meditating on the Lord's Feet, I am emancipated. Meditating on the Lord's Feet, I have obtained the fruits of all rewards, and my comings and goings have ceased. With loving devotional worship, I meditate intuitively on the Lord, and my God is pleased. Meditate on the One, Unseen, Infinite, Perfect Lord; there is no other than Him. Prays Nanak, the Guru has erased my doubts; wherever I look, there I see Him. ||3|| The Lord's Name is the Purifier of sinners. It resolves the affairs of the humble Saints. I have found the Saintly Guru, meditating on God. All my desires have been fulfilled. The fever of egotism has been dispelled, and I am always happy. I have met God, from whom I was separated for so long. My mind has found peace and tranquility; congratulations are pouring in. I shall never forget Him from my mind. Prays Nanak, the True Guru has taught me this, to vibrate and meditate forever on the Lord of the Universe. ||4||1||3|| Raag Soohee, Chhant, Fifth Mehl, Third House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O my Lord and Master, You are unattached; You have so many hand-maidens like me, Lord. You are the ocean, the source of jewels; I do not know Your value, Lord. I do not know Your value; You are the wisest of all; please show Mercy unto me, O Lord. Show Your Mercy, and bless me with such understanding, that I may meditate on You, twenty-four hours a day. O soul, don't be so arrogant - become the dust of all, and you shall be saved. Nanak's Lord is the Master of all; He has so many hand-maidens like me. ||1|| Your depth is profound and utterly unfathomable; You are my Husband Lord, and I am Your bride. You are the greatest of the great, exalted and lofty on high; I am infinitesimally small. I am nothing; You are the One and only. You Yourself are All-knowing. With just a momentary Glance of Your Grace, God, I live; I enjoy all pleasures and delights. I seek the Sanctuary of Your Feet; I am the slave of Your slaves. My mind has blossomed forth, and my body is rejuvenated. O Nanak, the Lord and Master is contained amongst all; He does just as He pleases. ||2|| I take pride in You; You are my only Strength, Lord. You are my understanding, intellect and knowledge. I know only what You cause me to know, Lord. He alone knows, and he alone understands, upon whom the Creator Lord bestows His Grace. The self-willed manmukh wanders along many paths, and is trapped in the net of Maya. She alone is virtuous, who is pleasing to her Lord and Master. She alone enjoys all the pleasures. You, O Lord, are Nanak's only support. You are Nanak's only pride. ||3|| I am a sacrifice, devoted and dedicated to You; You are my sheltering mountain, Lord. I am a sacrifice, thousands, hundreds of thousands of times, to the Lord. He has torn away the veil of doubt;

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darkness has been eliminated, and I have renounced corruption and sin. My mind is reconciled with my Lord and Master. I have become pleasing to my Dear God, and I have become carefree. My life is fulfilled and approved. I have become invaluable, of tremendous weight and value. The Door, and the Path of liberation are open to me now. Says Nanak, I am fearless; God has become my Shelter and Shield. ||4||1||4|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: My Perfect True Guru is my Best Friend, the Primal Being. I do not know any other than Him, Lord. He is my mother, father, sibling, child, relative, soul and breath of life. He is so pleasing to my mind, O Lord. My body and soul are all His blessings. He is overflowing with every quality of virtue. My God is the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. He is totally permeating and pervading everywhere. In His Sanctuary, I receive every comfort and pleasure. I am totally, completely happy. Forever and ever, Nanak is a sacrifice to God, forever, a devoted sacrifice. ||1|| By great good fortune, one finds such a Guru, meeting whom, the Lord God is known. The sins of countless lifetimes are erased, bathing continually in the dust of the feet of God's Saints. Bathing in the dust of the feet of the Lord, and meditating on God, you shall not have to enter into the womb of reincarnation again. Grasping hold of the Guru's Feet, doubt and fear are dispelled, and you receive the fruits of your mind's desires. Continually singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and meditating on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, you shall no longer suffer in pain and sorrow. O Nanak, God is the Giver of all souls; His radiant glory is perfect! ||2|| The Lord, Har, Har, is the treasure of virtue; the Lord is under the power of His Saints. Those who are dedicated to the feet of the Saints, and to serving the Guru, obtain the supreme status, O Lord. They obtain the supreme status, and eradicate self-conceit; the Perfect Lord showers His Grace upon them. Their lives are fruitful, their fears are dispelled, and they meet the One Lord, the Destroyer of ego. He blends into the One, to whom he belongs; his light merges into the Light. O Nanak, chant the Naam, the Name of the Immaculate Lord; meeting the True Guru, peace is obtained. ||3|| Sing continually the songs of joy, O humble beings of the Lord; all your desires shall be fulfilled. Those who are imbued with the Love of their Lord and Master do not die, or come or go in reincarnation. The Imperishable Lord is obtained, meditating on the Naam, and all one's wishes are fulfilled. Peace, poise, and all ecstasy are obtained, attaching one's mind to the Guru's feet. The Imperishable Lord is permeating and pervading each and every heart; He is in all places and interspaces. Says Nanak, all affairs are perfectly resolved, focusing one's mind on the Guru's Feet. ||4||2||5|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: Be Merciful, O my Beloved Lord and Master, that I may behold the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan with my eyes. Please bless me, O my Beloved, with thousands of tongues, to worship and adore You with my mouth, O Lord. Worshipping the Lord in adoration, the Path of Death is overcome, and no pain or suffering will afflict you. The Lord and Master is pervading and permeating the water, the land and the sky; wherever I look, there He is. Doubt, attachment and corruption are gone. God is the nearest of the near.

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Please bless Nanak with Your Merciful Grace, O God, that his eyes may behold the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. ||1|| Please bless me, O Beloved God, with millions of ears, with which I may hear the Glorious Praises of the Imperishable Lord. Listening, listening to these, this mind becomes spotless and pure, and the noose of Death is cut. The noose of Death is cut, meditating on the Imperishable Lord, and all happiness and wisdom are obtained. Chant, and meditate, day and night, on the Lord, Har, Har. Focus your meditation on the Celestial Lord. The painful sins are burnt away, by keeping God in one's thoughts; evil-mindedness is erased. Says Nanak, O God, please be Merciful to me, that I may listen to Your Glorious Praises, O Imperishable Lord. ||2|| Please give me millions of hands to serve You, God, and let my feet walk on Your Path. Service to the Lord is the boat to carry us across the terrifying world-ocean. So cross over the terrifying world-ocean, meditating in remembrance on the Lord, Har, Har; all wishes shall be fulfilled. Even the worst corruption is taken away; peace wells up, and the unstruck celestial harmony vibrates and resounds. All the fruits of the mind's desires are obtained; His creative power is infinitely valuable. Says Nanak, please be Merciful to me, God, that my mind may follow Your Path forever. ||3|| This opportunity, this glorious greatness, this blessing and wealth, come by great good fortune. These pleasures, these delightful enjoyments, come when my mind is attached to the Lord's Feet. My mind is attached to God's Feet; I seek His Sanctuary. He is the Creator, the Cause of causes, the Cherisher of the world. Everything is Yours; You are my God, O my Lord and Master, Merciful to the meek. I am worthless, O my Beloved, ocean of peace. In the Saints' Congregation, my mind is awakened. Says Nanak, God has been Merciful to me; my mind is attached to His Lotus Feet. ||4||3||6|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: Meditating on the Lord, the Lord's Temple has been built; the Saints and devotees sing the Lord's Glorious Praises. Meditating, meditating in remembrance of God, their Lord and Master, they discard and renounce all their sins. Singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, the supreme status is obtained. The Word of God's Bani is sublime and exalted. God's Sermon is so very sweet. It brings celestial peace. It is to speak the Unspoken Speech. The time and the moment were auspicious, blessed and true, when the eternal foundation of this Temple was placed. O servant Nanak, God has been kind and compassionate; with all His powers, He has blessed me. ||1|| The sounds of ecstasy vibrate through me continuously. I have enshrined the Supreme Lord within my mind. As Gurmukh, my lifestyle is excellent and true; my false hopes and doubts are dispelled. The Gurmukh chants the Bani of the unstruck melody; hearing it, listening to it, my mind and body are rejuvenated. All pleasures are obtained, by that one whom God makes His Own. Within the home of the heart are the nine treasures, filled to overflowing. He has fallen in love with the Lord's Name. Servant Nanak shall never forget God; his destiny is perfectly fulfilled. ||2|| God, the King, has given me shade under His canopy, and the fire of desire has been totally extinguished. The home of sorrow and sin has been demolished, and all affairs have been resolved. When the Lord God so commands, misfortune is averted; true righteousness, Dharma and charity flourish.

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Meditate forever on your God, when you sleep and sit and stand. The Lord and Master is the treasure of virtue, the ocean of peace; He pervades the water, the land and the sky. Servant Nanak has entered God's Sanctuary; there is no other than Him. ||3|| My home is made, the garden and pool are made, and my Sovereign Lord God has met me. My mind is adorned, and my friends rejoice; I sing the songs of joy, and the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Singing the Glorious Praises of the True Lord God, all desires are fulfilled. Those who are attached to the Guru's Feet are always awake and aware; His Praises resound and resonate through their minds. My Lord and Master, the bringer of peace, has blessed me with His Grace; He has arranged this world, and the world hereafter for me. Prays Nanak, chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord forever; He is the Support of the body and soul. ||4||4||7|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: The terrifying world-ocean, the terrifying world-ocean - I have crossed over it, meditating on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. I worship and adore the Lord's Feet, the boat to carry me across. Meeting the True Guru, I am carried over. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, I cross over, and I shall not die again; my comings and goings are ended. Whatever He does, I accept as good, and my mind merges in celestial peace. Neither pain, nor hunger, nor disease afflicts me. I have found the Sanctuary of the Lord, the ocean of peace. Meditating, meditating in remembrance on the Lord, Nanak is imbued with His Love; his mind's anxieties are dispelled. ||1|| The humble Saints have implanted the Lord's Mantra within me, and the Lord, my Best Friend, has come under my power. I have dedicated my mind to my Lord and Master, and offered it to Him, and He has blessed me with everything. He has made me His hand-maiden and slave; my sadness is dispelled, and in the Lord's Temple, I have found stability. My joy and bliss are in meditating on my True God; I shall never be separated from Him again. She alone is very fortunate, and a true soul-bride, who contemplates the Glorious Vision of the Lord's Name. Says Nanak, I am imbued with His Love, drenched in the supreme, sublime essence of His Love. ||2|| I am in continual bliss and ecstasy, O my companions; I sing the songs of joy forever. God Himself has embellished her, and she has become His virtuous soul-bride. With natural ease, He has become Merciful to her. He does not consider her merits or demerits. He hugs His humble servants close in His Loving Embrace; they enshrine the Lord's Name in their hearts. Everyone is engrossed in arrogant pride, attachment and intoxication; in His Mercy, He has freed me of them. Says Nanak, I have crossed over the terrifying world-ocean, and all my affairs are perfectly resolved. ||3|| Continually sing the Glorious Praises of the World-Lord, O my companions; all your wishes shall be

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granted. Life becomes fruitful, meeting with the Holy Saints, and meditating on the One God, the Creator of the Universe. Chant, and meditate on the One God, who permeates and pervades the many beings of the whole Universe. God created it, and God spreads through it everywhere. Everywhere I look, I see God. The Perfect Lord is perfectly pervading and permeating the water, the land and the sky; there is no place without Him.

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Beholding the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, Nanak has blossomed forth; the Lord has united him in Union. ||4||5||8|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: Eternal and immovable is the City of God and Guru; chanting His Name, I have found peace. I have obtained the fruits of my mind's desires; the Creator Himself established it. The Creator Himself established it. I have found total peace; my children, siblings and Sikhs have all blossomed forth in bliss. Singing the Glorious Praises of the Perfect Transcendent Lord, my affairs have come to be resolved. God Himself is my Lord and Master. He Himself is my Saving Grace; He Himself is my father and mother. Says Nanak, I am a sacrifice to the True Guru, who has embellished and adorned this place. ||1|| Homes, mansions, stores and markets are beautiful, when the Lord's Name abides within. The Saints and devotees worship the Lord's Name in adoration, and the noose of Death is cut away. The noose of Death is cut away, meditating on the Name of the Eternal, Unchanging Lord, Har, Har. Everything is perfect for them, and they obtain the fruits of their mind's desires. The Saints and friends enjoy peace and pleasure; their pain, suffering and doubts are dispelled. The Perfect True Guru has embellished them with the Word of the Shabad; Nanak is forever a sacrifice to them. ||2|| The gift of our Lord and Master is perfect; it increases day by day. The Supreme Lord God has made me His own; His Glorious Greatness is so great! From the very beginning, and throughout the ages, He is the Protector of His devotees; God has become merciful to me. All beings and creatures now dwell in peace; God Himself cherishes and cares for them. The Praises of the Lord and Master are totally pervading in the ten directions; I cannot express His worth. Says Nanak, I am a sacrifice to the True Guru, who has laid this eternal foundation. ||3|| The spiritual wisdom and meditation of the Perfect Transcendent Lord, and the Sermon of the Lord, Har, Har, are continually heard there. The devotees of the Lord, the Destroyer of fear, play endlessly there, and the unstruck melody resounds and vibrates there. The unstruck melody resounds and resonates, and the Saints contemplate the essence of reality; this discourse is their daily routine. They worship the Lord's Name, and all their filth is washed away; they rid themselves of all sins. There is no birth or death there, no coming or going, and no entering into the womb of reincarnation again. Nanak has found the Guru, the Transcendent Lord; by His Grace, desires are fulfilled. ||4||6||9|| Soohee, Fifth Mehl: The Lord Himself has stood up to resolve the affairs of the Saints; He has come to complete their tasks. The land is beautiful, and the pool is beautiful; within it is contained the Ambrosial Water. The Ambrosial Water is filling it, and my job is perfectly complete; all my desires are fulfilled. Congratulations are pouring in from all over the world; all my sorrows are eliminated. The Vedas and the Puraanas sing the Praises of the Perfect, Unchanging, Imperishable Primal Lord. The Transcendent Lord has kept His promise, and confirmed His nature; Nanak meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1|| The Creator has given me the nine treasures, wealth and spiritual powers, and I do not lack anything.

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 057

Eating, spending and enjoying, I have found peace; the gifts of the Creator Lord continually increase. His gifts increase and shall never be exhausted; I have found the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. Millions of obstacles have all been removed, and pain does not even approach me. Tranquility, peace, poise and bliss in abundance prevail, and all my hunger is satisfied. Nanak sings the Glorious Praises of his Lord and Master, whose Glorious Greatness is wonderful and amazing. ||2|| It was His job, and He has done it; what can the mere mortal being do? The devotees are adorned, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord; they proclaim His eternal victory. Singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe, bliss wells up, and we are friends with the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. He who made the effort to construct this sacred pool - how can his praises be recounted? The merits of the sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage, charity, good deeds and immaculate lifestyle, are found in this sacred pool. It is the natural way of the Lord and Master to purify sinners; Nanak takes the Support of the Word of the Shabad. ||3|| The treasure of virtue is my God, the Creator Lord; what Praises of Yours should I sing, O Lord? The prayer of the Saints is, "O Lord and Master, please bless us with the supreme, sublime essence of Your Name." Please, grant us Your Name, grant us this blessing, and do not forget us, even for an instant. Chant the Glorious Praises of the World-Lord, O my tongue; sing them forever, night and day. One who enshrines love for the Naam, the Name of the Lord, his mind and body are drenched with Ambrosial Nectar. Prays Nanak, my desires have been fulfilled; gazing upon the Blessed Vision of the Lord, I live. ||4||7||10|| Raag Soohee, Fifth Mehl, Chhant: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: My Dear Lord and Master, my Friend, speaks so sweetly. I have grown weary of testing Him, but still, He never speaks harshly to me. He does not know any bitter words; the Perfect Lord God does not even consider my faults and demerits. It is the Lord's natural way to purify sinners; He does not overlook even an iota of service. He dwells in each and every heart, pervading everywhere; He is the nearest of the near. Slave Nanak seeks His Sanctuary forever; the Lord is my Ambrosial Friend. ||1|| I am wonder-struck, gazing upon the incomparable Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan. My Dear Lord and Master is so beautiful; I am the dust of His Lotus Feet. Gazing upon God, I live, and I am at peace; no one else is as great as He is. Present at the beginning, end and middle of time, He pervades the sea, the land and the sky. Meditating on His Lotus Feet, I have crossed over the sea, the terrifying world-ocean. Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of the Perfect Transcendent Lord; You have no end or limitation, Lord. ||2|| I shall not forsake, even for an instant, my Dear Beloved Lord, the Support of the breath of life. The Guru, the True Guru, has instructed me in the contemplation of the True, Inaccessible Lord. Meeting with the humble, Holy Saint, I obtained the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and the pains of birth and death left me. I have been blessed with peace, poise and abundant bliss, and the knot of egotism has been untied.

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 058

He is inside all, and outside of all; He is untouched by love or hate. Slave Nanak has entered the Sanctuary of the Lord of the Universe; the Beloved Lord is the Support of the mind. ||3|| I searched and searched, and found the immovable, unchanging home of the Lord. I have seen that everything is transitory and perishable, and so I have linked my consciousness to the Lotus Feet of the Lord. God is eternal and unchanging, and I am just His hand-maiden; He does not die, or come and go in reincarnation. He is overflowing with Dharmic faith, wealth and success; He fulfills the desires of the mind. The Vedas and the Simritees sing the Praises of the Creator, while the Siddhas, seekers and silent sages meditate on Him. Nanak has entered the Sanctuary of his Lord and Master, the treasure of mercy; by great good fortune, he sings the Praises of the Lord, Har, Har. ||4||1||11|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Vaar Of Soohee, With Shaloks Of The Third Mehl: Shalok, Third Mehl: In her red robes, the discarded bride goes out, seeking enjoyment with another's husband. She leaves the husband of her own home, enticed by her love of duality. She finds it sweet, and eats it up; her excessive sensuality only makes her disease worse. She forsakes the Lord, her sublime Husband, and then later, she suffers the pain of separation from Him. But she who becomes Gurmukh, turns away from corruption and adorns herself, attuned to the Love of the Lord. She enjoys her celestial Husband Lord, and enshrines the Lord's Name within her heart. She is humble and obedient; she is His virtuous bride forever; the Creator unites her with Himself. O Nanak, she who has obtained the True Lord as her husband, is a happy soul-bride forever. ||1|| Third Mehl: O meek, red-robed bride, keep your Husband Lord always in your thoughts. O Nanak, your life shall be embellished, and your generations shall be saved along with you. ||2|| Pauree: He Himself established His throne, in the Akaashic ethers and the nether worlds. By the Hukam of His Command, He created the earth, the true home of Dharma. He Himself created and destroys; He is the True Lord, merciful to the meek. You give sustenance to all; how wonderful and unique is the Hukam of Your Command! You Yourself are permeating and pervading; You Yourself are the Cherisher. ||1|| Shalok, Third Mehl: The red-robed woman becomes a happy soul-bride, only when she accepts the True Name. Become pleasing to your True Guru, and you shall be totally beautified; otherwise, there is no place of rest. So decorate yourself with the decorations that will never stain, and love the Lord day and night. O Nanak, what is the character of the happy soul-bride? Within her, is Truth; her face is bright and radiant, and she is absorbed in her Lord and Master. ||1|| Third Mehl: O people: I am in red, dressed in a red robe. But my Husband Lord is not obtained by any robes; I have tried and tried, and given up wearing robes. O Nanak, they alone obtain their Husband Lord, who listen to the Guru's Teachings. Whatever pleases Him, happens. In this way, the Husband Lord is met. ||2||

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 059

Pauree: By His Command, He created the creation, the world with its many species of beings. I do not know how great Your Command is, O Unseen and Infinite True Lord. You join some with Yourself; they reflect on the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Those who are imbued with the True Lord are immaculate and pure; they conquer egotism and corruption. He alone is united with You, whom You unite with Yourself; he alone is true. ||2|| Shalok, Third Mehl: O red-robed woman, the whole world is red, engrossed in evil-mindedness and the love of duality. In an instant, this falsehood totally vanishes; like the shade of a tree, it is gone. The Gurmukh is the deepest crimson of crimson, dyed in the permanent colour of the Lord's Love. She turns away from Maya, and enters the celestial home of the Lord; the Ambrosial Name of the Lord dwells within her mind. O Nanak, I am a sacrifice to my Guru; meeting Him, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||1|| Third Mehl: The red colour is vain and useless; it cannot help you obtain your Husband Lord. This colour does not take long to fade; she who loves duality, ends up a widow. She who loves to wear her red dress is foolish and double-minded. So make the True Word of the Shabad your red dress, and let the Fear of God, and the Love of God, be your ornaments and decorations. O Nanak, she is a happy soul-bride forever, who walks in harmony with the Will of the True Guru. ||2|| Pauree: He Himself created Himself, and He Himself evaluates Himself. His limits cannot be known; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, He is understood. In the darkness of attachment to Maya, the world wanders in duality. The self-willed manmukhs find no place of rest; they continue coming and going. Whatever pleases Him, that alone happens. All walk according to His Will. ||3|| Shalok, Third Mehl: The red-robed bride is vicious; she forsakes God, and cultivates love for another man. She has neither modesty or self-discipline; the self-willed manmukh constantly tells lies, and is ruined by the bad karma of evil deeds. She who has such pre-ordained destiny, obtains the True Guru has her Husband. She discards all her red dresses, and wears the ornaments of mercy and forgiveness around her neck. In this world and the next, she receives great honour, and the whole world worships her. She who is enjoyed by her Creator Lord stands out, and does not blend in with the crowd. O Nanak, the Gurmukh is the happy soul-bride forever; she has the Imperishable Lord God as her Husband. ||1|| First Mehl: The red colour is like a dream in the night; it is like a necklace without a string. The Gurmukhs take on the permanent colour, contemplating the Lord God. O Nanak, with the supreme sublime essence of the Lord's Love, all sins and evil deeds are turned to ashes. ||2|| Pauree: He Himself created this world, and staged this wondrous play. Into the body of the five elements, He infused attachment, falsehood and self-conceit. The ignorant, self-willed manmukh comes and goes, wandering in reincarnation. He Himself teaches some to become Gurmukh, through the spiritual wisdom of the Lord. He blesses them with the treasure of devotional worship, and the wealth of the Lord's Name. ||4|| Shalok, Third Mehl: O red-robed woman, discard your red dress, and then, you shall come to love your Husband Lord.

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 060

By wearing her red dress, no one has found her Husband Lord; the self-willed manmukh is burnt to death. Meeting the True Guru, she discards her red dress, and eradicates egotism from within. Her mind and body are imbued with the deep red colour of His Love, and her tongue is imbued, singing His Praises and excellences. She becomes His soul-bride forever, with the Word of the Shabad in her mind; she makes the Fear of God and the Love of God her ornaments and decorations. O Nanak, by His Merciful Grace, she obtains the Mansion of the Lord's Presence, and keeps Him enshrined in her heart. ||1|| Third Mehl: O bride, forsake your red dress, and decorate yourself with the crimson colour of His Love. Your comings and goings shall be forgotten, contemplating the Word of the Guru's Shabad. The soul-bride is adorned and beautiful; the Celestial Lord, her Husband, abides in her home. O Nanak, the bride ravishes and enjoys Him; and He, the Ravisher, ravishes and enjoys her. ||2|| Pauree: The foolish, self-willed manmukh is engrossed in false attachment to family. Practicing egotism and self-conceit, he dies and departs, taking nothing along with him. He does not understand that the Messenger of Death is hovering over his head; he is deluded by duality. This opportunity will not come into his hands again; the Messenger of Death will seize him. He acts according to his pre-ordained destiny. ||5|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Do not call them 'satee', who burn themselves along with their husbands' corpses. O Nanak, they alone are known as 'satee', who die from the shock of separation. ||1|| Third Mehl: They are also known as 'satee', who abide in modesty and contentment. They serve their Lord, and rise in the early hours to contemplate Him. ||2|| Third Mehl: The widows burn themselves in the fire, along with their husbands' corpses. If they truly knew their husbands, then they suffer terrible bodily pain. O Nanak, if they did not truly know their husbands, why should they burn themselves in the fire? Whether their husbands are alive or dead, those wives remain far away from them. ||3|| Pauree: You created pain along with pleasure; O Creator, such is the writ You have written. There is no other gift as great as the Name; it has no form or sign. The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is an inexhaustible treasure; it abides in the mind of the Gurmukh. In His Mercy, He blesses us with the Naam, and then, the writ of pain and

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pleasure is not written. Those humble servants who serve with love, meet the Lord, chanting the Chant of the Lord. ||6|| Shalok, Second Mehl: They know that they will have to depart, so why do they make such ostentatious displays? Those who do not know that they will have to depart, continue to arrange their affairs. ||1|| Second Mehl: He accumulates wealth during the night of his life, but in the morning, he must depart. O Nanak, it shall not go along with him, and so he regrets. ||2|| Second Mehl: Paying a fine under pressure, does not bring either merit or goodness. That alone is a good deed, O Nanak, which is done by one's own free will. ||3|| Second Mehl: Stubborn-mindedness will not win the Lord to one's side, no matter how much it is tried. The Lord is won over to your side, by offering Him your true love, O servant Nanak, and contemplating the Word of the Shabad. ||4|| Pauree: The Creator created the world; He alone understands it. He Himself created the Universe, and He Himself shall destroy it afterwards.

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 061

All have grown weary of wandering throughout the four ages, but none know the Lord's worth. The True Guru has shown me the One Lord, and my mind and body are at peace. The Gurmukh praises the Lord forever; that alone happens, which the Creator Lord does. ||7|| Shalok, Second Mehl: Those who have the Fear of God, have no other fears; those who do not have the Fear of God, are very afraid. O Nanak, this mystery is revealed at the Court of the Lord. ||1|| Second Mehl: That which flows, mingles with that which flows; that which blows, mingles with that which blows. The living mingle with the living, and the dead mingle with the dead. O Nanak, praise the One who created the creation. ||2|| Pauree: Those who meditate on the True Lord are true; they contemplate the Word of the Guru's Shabad. They subdue their ego, purify their minds, and enshrine the Lord's Name within their hearts. The fools are attached to their homes, mansions and balconies. The self-willed manmukhs are caught in darkness; they do not know the One who created them. He alone understands, whom the True Lord causes to understand; what can the helpless creatures do? ||8|| Shalok, Third Mehl: O bride, decorate yourself, after you surrender and accept your Husband Lord. Otherwise, your Husband Lord will not come to your bed, and your ornaments will be useless. O bride, your decorations will adorn you, only when your Husband Lord's Mind is pleased. Your ornaments will be acceptable and approved, only when your Husband Lord loves you. So make the Fear of God your ornaments, joy your betel nuts to chew, and love your food. Surrender your body and mind to your Husband Lord, and then, O Nanak, He will enjoy you. ||1|| Third Mehl: The wife takes flowers, and fragrance of betel, and decorates herself. But her Husband Lord does not come to her bed, and so these efforts are useless. ||2|| Third Mehl: They are not said to be husband and wife, who merely sit together. They alone are called husband and wife, who have one light in two bodies. ||3|| Pauree: Without the Fear of God, there is no devotional worship, and no love for the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Meeting with the True Guru, the Fear of God wells up, and one is embellished with the Fear and the Love of God. When the body and mind are imbued with the Lord's Love, egotism and desire are conquered and subdued. The mind and body become immaculately pure and very beautiful, when one meets the Lord, the Destroyer of ego. Fear and love all belong to Him; He is the True Lord, permeating and pervading the Universe. ||9|| Shalok, First Mehl: Waaho! Waaho! You are wonderful and great, O Lord and Master; You created the creation, and made us. You made the waters, waves, oceans, pools, plants, clouds and mountains. You Yourself stand in the midst of what You Yourself created. The selfless service of the Gurmukhs is approved; in celestial peace, they live the essence of reality. They receive the wages of their labor, begging at the Door of their Lord and Master. O Nanak, the Court of the Lord is overflowing and carefree; O my True Carefree Lord, no one returns empty-handed from Your Court. ||1|| First Mehl: The teeth are like brilliant, beautiful pearls, and the eyes are like sparkling jewels. Old age is their enemy, O Nanak; when they grow old, they waste away. ||2||

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 062

Pauree: Praise the Lord, forever and ever; dedicate your body and mind to Him. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, I have found the True, Profound and Unfathomable Lord. The Lord, the jewel of jewels, is permeating my mind, body and heart. The pains of birth and death are gone, and I shall never again be consigned to the cycle of reincarnation. O Nanak, praise the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the ocean of excellence. ||10|| Shalok, First Mehl: O Nanak, burn this body; this burnt body has forgotten the Naam, the Name of the Lord. The dirt is piling up, and in the world hereafter, your hand shall not be able to reach down into this stagnant pond to clean it out. ||1|| First Mehl: O Nanak, wicked are the uncountable actions of the mind. They bring terrible and painful retributions, but if the Lord forgives me, then I will be spared this punishment. ||2|| Pauree: True is the Command He sends forth, and True are the Orders He issues. Forever unmoving and unchanging, permeating and pervading everywhere, He is the All-knowing Primal Lord. By Guru's Grace, serve Him, through the True Insignia of the Shabad. That which He makes is perfect; through the Guru's Teachings, enjoy His Love. He is inaccessible, unfathomable and unseen; as Gurmukh, know the Lord. ||11|| Shalok, First Mehl: O Nanak, the bags of coins are brought in and placed in the Court of our Lord and Master, and there, the genuine and the counterfeit are separated. ||1|| First Mehl: They go and bathe at sacred shrines of pilgrimage, but their minds are still evil, and their bodies are thieves. Some of their filth is washed off by these baths, but they only accumulate twice as much. Like a gourd, they may be washed off on the outside, but on the inside, they are still filled with poison. The holy man is blessed, even without such bathing, while a thief is a thief, no matter how much he bathes. ||2|| Pauree: He Himself issues His Commands, and links the people of the world to their tasks. He Himself joins some to Himself, and through the Guru, they find peace. The mind runs around in the ten directions; the Guru holds it still. Everyone longs for the Name, but it is only found through the Guru's Teachings. Your pre-ordained destiny, written by the Lord in the very beginning, cannot be erased. ||12|| Shalok, First Mehl: The two lamps light the fourteen markets. There are just as many traders as there are living beings. The shops are open, and trading is going on; whoever comes there, is bound to depart. The Righteous Judge of Dharma is the broker, who gives his sign of approval. O Nanak, those who earn the profit of the Naam are accepted and approved. And when they return home, they are greeted with cheers; they obtain the glorious greatness of the True Name. ||1|| First Mehl: Even when the night is dark, whatever is white retains its white colour. And even when the light of day is dazzlingly bright, whatever is black retains its black colour. The blind fools have no wisdom at all; their understanding is blind. O Nanak, without the Lord's Grace, they will never receive honour. ||2|| Pauree: The True Lord Himself created the body-fortress. Some are ruined through the love of duality, engrossed in egotism. This human body is so difficult to obtain; the self-willed manmukhs suffer in pain. He alone understands, whom the Lord Himself causes to understand; he is blessed by the True Guru. He created the entire world for His play; He is pervading amongst all. ||13||

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 063

Shalok, First Mehl: Thieves, adulterers, prostitutes and pimps, make friendships with the unrighteous, and eat with the unrighteous. They do not know the value of the Lord's Praises, and Satan is always with them. If a donkey is anointed with sandalwood paste, he still loves to roll in the dirt. O Nanak, by spinning falsehood, a fabric of falsehood is woven. False is the cloth and its measurement, and false is pride in such a garment. ||1|| First Mehl: The callers to prayer, the flute-players, the horn-blowers, and also the singers - some are givers, and some are beggars; they become acceptable only through Your Name, Lord. O Nanak, I am a sacrifice to those who hear and accept the Name. ||2|| Pauree: Attachment to Maya is totally false, and false are those who go that way. Through egotism, the world is caught in conflict and strife, and it dies. The Gurmukh is free of conflict and strife, and sees the One Lord, pervading everywhere. Recognising that the Supreme Soul is everywhere, he crosses over the terrifying world-ocean. His light merges into the Light, and he is absorbed into the Lord's Name. ||14|| Shalok: First Mehl: O True Guru, bless me with Your charity; You are the All-powerful Giver. May I subdue and quiet my egotism, pride, sexual desire, anger and self-conceit. Burn away all my greed, and give me the Support of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Day and night, keep me ever-fresh and new, spotless and pure; let me never be soiled by sin. O Nanak, in this way I am saved; by Your Grace, I have found peace. ||1|| First Mehl: There is only the one Husband Lord, for all who stand at His Door. O Nanak, they ask for news of their Husband Lord, from those who are imbued with His Love. ||2|| First Mehl: All are imbued with love for their Husband Lord; I am a discarded bride - what good am I? My body is filled with so many faults; my Lord and Master does not even turn His thoughts to me. ||3|| First Mehl: I am a sacrifice to those who praise the Lord with their mouths. All the nights are for the happy soul-brides; I am a discarded bride - if only I could have even one night with Him! ||4|| Pauree: I am a beggar at Your Door, begging for charity; O Lord, please grant me Your Mercy, and give to me. As Gurmukh, unite me, your humble servant, with You, that I may receive Your Name. Then, the unstruck melody of the Shabad will vibrate and resound, and my light will blend with the Light. Within my heart, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and celebrate the Word of the Lord's Shabad. The Lord Himself is pervading and permeating the world; so fall in love with Him! ||15|| Shalok, First Mehl: Those who do not obtain the sublime essence, the love and delight of their Husband Lord, are like guests in a deserted house; they leave just as they have come, empty-handed. ||1|| First Mehl: He receives hundreds and thousands of reprimands, day and night; the swan-soul has renounced the Lord's Praises, and attached itself to a rotting carcass. Cursed is that life, in which one only eats to fill his belly. O Nanak, without the True Name, all one's friends turn to enemies. ||2|| Pauree: The minstrel continually sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord, to embellish his life. The Gurmukh serves and praises the True Lord, enshrining Him within his heart.

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 064

He obtains his own home and mansion, by loving the Naam, the Name of the Lord. As Gurmukh, I have obtained the Naam; I am a sacrifice to the Guru. You Yourself embellish and adorn us, O Creator Lord. ||16|| Shalok, First Mehl: When the lamp is lit, the darkness is dispelled; reading the Vedas, sinful intellect is destroyed. When the sun rises, the moon is not visible. Wherever spiritual wisdom appears, ignorance is dispelled. Reading the Vedas is the world's occupation; the Pandits read them, study them and contemplate them. Without understanding, all are ruined. O Nanak, the Gurmukh is carried across. ||1|| First Mehl: Those who do not savor the Word of the Shabad, do not love the Naam, the Name of the Lord. They speak insipidly with their tongues, and are continually disgraced. O Nanak, they act according to the karma of their past actions, which no one can erase. ||2|| Pauree: One who praises his God, receives honour. He drives out egotism from within himself, and enshrines the True Name within his mind. Through the True Word of the Guru's Bani, he chants the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and finds true peace. He is united with the Lord, after being separated for so long; the Guru, the Primal Being, unites him with the Lord. In this way, his filthy mind is cleansed and purified, and he meditates on the Name of the Lord. ||17|| Shalok, First Mehl: With the fresh leaves of the body, and the flowers of virtue, Nanak has weaved his garland. The Lord is pleased with such garlands, so why pick any other flowers? ||1|| Second Mehl: O Nanak, it is the spring season for those, within whose homes their Husband Lord abides. But those, whose Husband Lord is far away in distant lands, continue burning, day and night. ||2|| Pauree: The Merciful Lord Himself forgives those who dwell upon the Word of the Guru, the True Guru. Night and day, I serve the True Lord, and chant His Glorious Praises; my mind merges into Him. My God is infinite; no one knows His limit. Grasping hold of the feet of the True Guru, meditate continually on the Lord's Name. Thus you shall obtain the fruits of your desires, and all wishes shall be fulfilled within your home. ||18|| Shalok, First Mehl: Spring brings forth the first blossoms, but the Lord blossoms earlier still. By His blossoming, everything blossoms; no one else causes Him to blossom forth. ||1|| Second Mehl: He blossoms forth even earlier than the spring; reflect upon Him. O Nanak, praise the One who gives Support to all. ||2|| Second Mehl: By uniting, the united one is not united; he unites, only if he is united. But if he unites deep within his soul, then he is said to be united. ||3|| Pauree: Praise the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, and practice truthful deeds. Attached to other deeds, one is consigned to wander in reincarnation. Attuned to the Name, one obtains the Name, and through the Name, sings the Lord's Praises. Praising the Word of the Guru's Shabad, he merges in the Lord's Name. Service to the True Guru is fruitful and rewarding; serving Him, the fruits are obtained. ||19|| Shalok, Second Mehl: Some people have others, but I am forlorn and dishonoured; I have only You, Lord.

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 065

I might as well just die crying, if You will not come into my mind. ||1|| Second Mehl: When there is peace and pleasure, that is the time to remember your Husband Lord. In times of suffering and pain, remember Him then as well. Says Nanak, O wise bride, this is the way to meet your Husband Lord. ||2|| Pauree: I am a worm - how can I praise You, O Lord; Your glorious greatness is so great! You are inaccessible, merciful and unapproachable; You Yourself unite us with Yourself. I have no other friend except You; in the end, You alone will be my Companion and Support. You save those who enter Your Sanctuary. O Nanak, He is care-free; He has no greed at all. ||20||1|| Raag Soohee, TheWord Of Kabeer Jee, And Other Devotees. Of Kabeer One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Since your birth, what have you done? You have never even chanted the Name of the Lord. ||1|| You have not meditated on the Lord; what thoughts are you attached to? What preparations are you making for your death, O unfortunate one? ||1||Pause|| Through pain and pleasure, you have taken care of your family. But at the time of death, you shall have to endure the agony all alone. ||2|| When you are seized by the neck, then you shall cry out. Says Kabeer, why didn't you remember the Lord before this? ||3||1|| Soohee, Kabeer Jee: My innocent soul trembles and shakes. I do not know how my Husband Lord will deal with me. ||1|| The night of my youth has passed away; will the day of old age also pass away? My dark hairs, like bumble bees, have gone away, and grey hairs, like cranes, have settled upon my head. ||1||Pause|| Water does not remain in the unbaked clay pot; when the soul-swan departs, the body withers away. ||2|| I decorate myself like a young virgin; but how can I enjoy

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pleasures, without my Husband Lord? ||3|| My arm is tired, driving away the crows. Says Kabeer, this is the way the story of my life ends. ||4||2|| Soohee, Kabeer Jee: Your time of service is at its end, and you will have to give your account. The hard-hearted Messenger of Death has come to take you away. What have you earned, and what have you lost? Come immediately! You are summoned to His Court! ||1|| Get going! Come just as you are! You have been summoned to His Court. The Order has come from the Court of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| I pray to the Messenger of Death: please, I still have some outstanding debts to collect in the village. I will collect them tonight; I will also pay you something for your expenses, and I will recite my morning prayers on the way. ||2|| Blessed, blessed is the most fortunate servant of the Lord, who is imbued with the Lord's Love, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Here and there, the humble servants of the Lord are always happy. They win the priceless treasure of this human life. ||3|| When he is awake, he is sleeping, and so he loses this life. The property and wealth he has accumulated passes on to someone else. Says Kabeer, those people are deluded, who forget their Lord and Master, and roll in the dust. ||4||3||

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 066

Soohee, Kabeer Jee, Lallit: My eyes are exhausted, and my ears are tired of hearing; my beautiful body is exhausted. Driven forward by old age, all my senses are exhausted; only my attachment to Maya is not exhausted. ||1|| O mad man, you have not obtained spiritual wisdom and meditation. You have wasted this human life, and lost. ||1||Pause|| O mortal, serve the Lord, as long as the breath of life remains in the body. And even when your body dies, your love for the Lord shall not die; you shall dwell at the Feet of the Lord. ||2|| When the Word of the Shabad abides deep within, thirst and desire are quenched. When one understands the Hukam of the Lord's Command, he plays the game of chess with the Lord; throwing the dice, he conquers his own mind. ||3|| Those humble beings, who know the Imperishable Lord and meditate on Him, are not destroyed at all. Says Kabeer, those humble beings who know how to throw these dice, never lose the game of life. ||4||4|| Soohee, Lalit, Kabeer Jee: In the one fortress of the body, there are five rulers, and all five demand payment of taxes. I have not farmed anyone's land, so such payment is difficult for me to pay. ||1|| O people of the Lord, the tax-collector is constantly torturing me! Raising my arms up, I complained to my Guru, and He has saved me. ||1||Pause|| The nine tax-assessors and the ten magistrates go out; they do not allow their subjects to live in peace. They do not measure with a full tape, and they take huge amounts in bribes. ||2|| The One Lord is contained in the seventy-two chambers of the body, and He has written off my account. The records of the Righteous Judge of Dharma have been searched, and I owe absolutely nothing. ||3|| Let no one slander the Saints, because the Saints and the Lord are as one. Says Kabeer, I have found that Guru, whose Name is Clear Understanding. ||4||5|| Raag Soohee, The Word Of Sree Ravi Daas Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The happy soul-bride knows the worth of her Husband Lord. Renouncing pride, she enjoys peace and pleasure. She surrenders her body and mind to Him, and does not remain separate from Him. She does not see or hear, or speak to another. ||1|| How can anyone know the pain of another, if there is no compassion and sympathy within? ||1||Pause|| The discarded bride is miserable, and loses both worlds; she does not worship her Husband Lord. The bridge over the fire of hell is difficult and treacherous. No one will accompany you there; you will have to go all alone. ||2|| Suffering in pain, I have come to Your Door, O Compassionate Lord. I am so thirsty for You, but You do not answer me. Says Ravi Daas, I seek Your Sanctuary, God; as You know me, so will You save me. ||3||1|| SOOHEE: That day which comes, that day shall go. You must march on; nothing remains stable. Our companions are leaving, and we must leave as well. We must go far away. Death is hovering over our heads. ||1||

Section 19 - Raag Soohee - Part 067

Why are you asleep? Wake up, you ignorant fool! You believe that your life in the world is true. ||1||Pause|| The One who gave you life shall also provide you with nourishment. In each and every heart, He runs His shop. Meditate on the Lord, and renounce your egotism and self-conceit. Within your heart, contemplate the Naam, the Name of the Lord, sometime. ||2|| Your life has passed away, but you have not arranged your path. Evening has set in, and soon there will be darkness on all sides. Says Ravi Daas, O ignorant mad-man, don't you realise, that this world is the house of death?! ||3||2|| SOOHEE: You may have lofty mansions, halls and kitchens. But you cannot stay in them, even for an instant, after death. ||1|| This body is like a house of straw. When it is burnt, it mixes with dust. ||1||Pause|| Even relatives, family and friends begin to say, "Take his body out, immediately!"||2|| And the wife of his house, who was so attached to his body and heart, runs away, crying out, "Ghost! Ghost!"||3|| Says Ravi Daas, the whole world has been plundered, but I have escaped, chanting the Name of the One Lord. ||4||3|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Raag Soohee, The Word Of Shaykh Fareed Jee: Burning and burning, writhing in pain, I wring my hands. I have gone insane, seeking my Husband Lord. O my Husband Lord, You are angry with me in Your Mind. The fault is with me, and not with my Husband Lord. ||1|| O my Lord and Master, I do not know Your excellence and worth. Having wasted my youth, now I come to regret and repent. ||1||Pause|| O black bird, what qualities have made you black? "I have been burnt by separation from my Beloved." Without her Husband Lord, how can the soul-bride ever find peace? When He becomes merciful, then God unites us with Himself. ||2|| The lonely soul-bride suffers in the pit of the world. She has no companions, and no friends. In His Mercy, God has united me with the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. And when I look again, then I find God as my Helper. ||3|| The path upon which I must walk is very depressing. It is sharper than a two-edged sword, and very narrow. That is where my path lies. O Shaykh Fareed, think of that path early on. ||4||1|| SOOHEE, LALIT: You were not able to make yourself a raft when you should have. When the ocean is churning and over-flowing, then it is very difficult to cross over it. ||1|| Do not touch the safflower with your hands; its colour will fade away, my dear. ||1||Pause|| First, the bride herself is weak, and then, her Husband Lord's Order is hard to bear. Milk does not return to the breast; it will not be collected again. ||2|| Says Fareed, O my companions, when our Husband Lord calls, the soul departs, sad at heart, and this body returns to dust. ||3||2||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 20 - RAAG BILAAVAL

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 001

One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying. Beyond Birth. Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: Raag Bilaaval, First Mehl, Chau-Padas, First House: You are the Emperor, and I call You a chief - how does this add to Your greatness? As You permit me, I praise You, O Lord and Master; I am ignorant, and I cannot chant Your Praises. ||1|| Please bless me with such understanding, that I may sing Your Glorious Praises. May I dwell in Truth, according to Your Will. ||1||Pause|| Whatever has happened, has all come from You. You are All-knowing. Your limits cannot be known, O my Lord and Master; I am blind - what wisdom do I have? ||2|| What should I say? While talking, I talk of seeing, but I cannot describe the indescribable. As it pleases Your Will, I speak; it is just the tiniest bit of Your greatness. ||3|| Among so many dogs, I am an outcast; I bark for my body's belly. Without devotional worship, O Nanak, even so, still, my Master's Name does not leave me. ||4||1|| Bilaawal, First Mehl: My mind is the temple, and my body is the simple cloth of the humble seeker; deep within my heart, I bathe at the sacred shrine. The One Word of the Shabad abides within my mind; I shall not come to be born again. ||1|| My mind is pierced through by the Merciful Lord, O my mother! Who can know the pain of another? I think of none other than the Lord. ||1||Pause|| O Lord, inaccessible, unfathomable, invisible and infinite: please, take care of me! In the water, on the land and in sky, You are totally pervading. Your Light is in each and every heart. ||2|| All teachings, instructions and understandings are Yours; the mansions and sanctuaries are Yours as well. Without You, I know no other, O my Lord and Master; I continually sing Your Glorious Praises. ||3|| All beings and creatures seek the Protection of Your Sanctuary; all thought of their care rests with You. That which pleases Your Will is good; this alone is Nanak's prayer. ||4||2|| Bilaawal, First Mehl: He Himself is the Word of the Shabad, and He Himself is the Insignia. He Himself is the Listener, and He Himself is the Knower. He Himself created the creation, and He Himself beholds His almighty power. You are the Great Giver; Your Name alone is approved. ||1||

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 002

Such is the Name of the Immaculate, Divine Lord. I am just a beggar; You are invisible and unknowable. ||1||Pause|| Love of Maya is like a cursed woman, ugly, dirty and promiscuous. Power and beauty are false, and last for only a few days. But when one is blessed with the Naam, the darkness within is illuminated. ||2|| I tasted Maya and renounced it, and now, I have no doubts. One whose father is known, cannot be illegitimate. One who belongs to the One Lord, has no fear. The Creator acts, and causes all to act. ||3|| One who dies in the Word of the Shabad conquers his mind, through his mind. Keeping his mind restrained, he enshrines the True Lord within his heart. He does not know any other, and he is a sacrifice to the Guru. O Nanak, attuned to the Naam, he is emancipated. ||4||3|| Bilaaval, First Mehl: Through the Word of the Guru's Teachings, the mind intuitively meditates on the Lord. Imbued with the Lord's Love, the mind is satisfied. The insane, self-willed manmukhs wander around, deluded by doubt. Without the Lord, how can anyone survive? Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, He is realised. ||1|| Without the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, how can I live, O my mother? Without the Lord, my soul cannot survive, even for an instant; the True Guru has helped me understand this. ||1||Pause|| Forgetting my God, I die in pain. With each breath and morsel of food, I meditate on my Lord, and seek Him. I remain always detached, but I am enraptured with the Lord's Name. Now, as Gurmukh, I know that the Lord is always with me. ||2|| The Unspoken Speech is spoken, by the Will of the Guru. He shows us that God is unapproachable and unfathomable. Without the Guru, what lifestyle could we practice, and what work could we do? Eradicating egotism, and walking in harmony with the Guru's Will, I am absorbed in the Word of the Shabad. ||3|| The self-willed manmukhs are separated from the Lord, gathering false wealth. The Gurmukhs are celebrated with the glory of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. The Lord has showered His Mercy upon me, and made me the slave of His slaves. The Name of the Lord is the wealth and capital of servant Nanak. ||4||4|| Bilaaval, Third Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Cursed, cursed is the food; cursed, cursed is the sleep; cursed, cursed are the clothes worn on the body. Cursed is the body, along with family and friends, when one does not find his Lord and Master in this life. He misses the step of the ladder, and this opportunity will not come into his hands again; his life is wasted, uselessly. ||1|| The love of duality does not allow him to lovingly focus his attention on the Lord; he forgets the Feet of the Lord. O Life of the World, O Great Giver, you eradicate the sorrows of your humble servants. ||1||Pause|| You are Merciful, O Great Giver of Mercy; what are these poor beings? All are liberated or placed into bondage by You; this is all one can say. One who becomes Gurmukh is said to be liberated, while the poor self-willed manmukhs are in bondage. ||2|| He alone is liberated, who lovingly focuses his attention on the One Lord, always dwelling with the Lord. His depth and condition cannot be described. The True Lord Himself embellishes him.

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 003

Those who wander around, deluded by doubt, are called manmukhs; they are neither on this side, nor on the other side. ||3|| That humble being, who is blessed by the Lord's Glance of Grace obtains Him, and contemplates the Word of the Guru's Shabad. In the midst of Maya, the Lord's servant is emancipated. O Nanak, one who has such destiny inscribed upon his forehead, conquers and destroys death. ||4||1|| Bilaaval, Third Mehl: How can the unweighable be weighed? If there is anyone else as great, then he alone could understand the Lord. There is no other than Him. How can His value be estimated? ||1|| By Guru's Grace, He comes to dwell in the mind. One comes to know Him, when duality departs. ||1||Pause|| He Himself is the Assayer, applying the touch-stone to test it. He Himself analyzes the coin, and He Himself approves it as currency. He Himself weights it perfectly. He alone knows; He is the One and Only Lord. ||2|| All the forms of Maya emanate from Him. He alone becomes pure and immaculate, who is united with the Lord. He alone is attached, whom the Lord attaches. All Truth is revealed to him, and then, he merges in the True Lord. ||3|| He Himself leads the mortals to focus on Him, and He Himself causes them to chase after Maya. He Himself imparts understanding, and He reveals Himself. He Himself is the True Guru, and He Himself is the Word of the Shabad. O Nanak, He Himself speaks and teaches. ||4||2|| Bilaaval, Third Mehl: My Lord and Master has made me His servant, and blessed me with His service; how can anyone argue about this? Such is Your play, One and Only Lord; You are the One, contained among all. ||1|| When the True Guru is pleased and appeased, one is absorbed in the Lord's Name. One who is blessed by the Lord's Mercy, finds the True Guru; night and day, he automatically remains focused on the Lord's meditation. ||1||Pause|| How can I serve You? How can I be proud of this? When You withdraw Your Light, O Lord and Master, then who can speak and teach? ||2|| You Yourself are the Guru, and You Yourself are the chaylaa, the humble disciple; You Yourself are the treasure of virtue. As You cause us to move, so do we move, according to the Pleasure of Your Will, O Lord God. ||3|| Says Nanak, You are the True Lord and Master; who can know Your actions? Some are blessed with glory in their own homes, while others wander in doubt and pride. ||4||3|| Bilaaval, Third Mehl: The perfect Lord has fashioned the Perfect Creation. Behold the Lord pervading everywhere. In this play of the world, is the glorious greatness of the True Name. No one should take pride in himself. ||1|| One who accepts the wisdom of the True Guru's Teachings, is absorbed into the True Guru. The Lord's Name abides deep within the nucleus of one who realises the Bani of the Guru's Word within his soul. ||1||Pause|| Now, this is the essence of the teachings of the four ages: for the human race, the Name of the One Lord is the greatest treasure. Celibacy, self-discipline and pilgrimages were the essence of Dharma in those past ages; but in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, the Praise of the Lord's Name is the essence of Dharma. ||2|| Each and every age has its own essence of Dharma; study the Vedas and the Puraanas, and see this as true. They are Gurmukh, who meditate on the Lord, Har, Har; in this world, they are perfect and approved. ||3||

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Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 004

Says Nanak, loving the True Lord, the mind's egotism and self-conceit is eradicated. Those who speak and listen to the Lord's Name, all find peace. Those who believe in it, obtain the supreme treasure. ||4||4|| Bilaaval, Third Mehl: The Lord Himself attaches the Gurmukh to His Love; joyful melodies permeate his home, and he is embellished with the Word of the Guru's Shabad. The women come and sing the songs of joy. Meeting with their Beloved, lasting peace is obtained. ||1|| I am a sacrifice to those, whose minds are filled with the Lord. Meeting with the humble servant of the Lord, peace is obtained, and one intuitively sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| They are always imbued with Your Joyful Love; O Dear Lord, You Yourself come to dwell in their minds. They obtain eternal glory. The Gurmukhs are united in the Lord's Union. ||2|| The Gurmukhs are imbued with the love of the Word of the Shabad. They abide in the home of their own being, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. They are dyed in the deep crimson colour of the Lord's Love; they look so beautiful. This dye never fades away; they are absorbed in the True Lord. ||3|| The Shabad deep within the nucleus of the self dispels the darkness of ignorance. Meeting with my Friend, the True Guru, I have obtained spiritual wisdom. Those who are attuned to the True Lord, do not have to enter the cycle of reincarnation again. O Nanak, my Perfect Guru implants the Naam, the Name of the Lord, deep within. ||4||5|| Bilaaval, Third Mehl: From the Perfect Guru, I have obtained glorious greatness. The Naam, the Name of the Lord, has spontaneously come to abide in my mind. Through the Word of the Shabad, I have burnt away egotism and Maya. Through the Guru, I have obtained honour in the Court of the True Lord. ||1|| I serve the Lord of the Universe; I have no other work to do. Night and day, my mind is in ecstasy; as Gurmukh, I beg for the bliss-giving Naam. ||1||Pause|| From the mind itself, mental faith is obtained. Through the Guru, I have realised the Shabad. How rare is that person, who looks upon life and death alike. She shall never die again, and shall not have to see the Messenger of Death. ||2|| Within the home of the self are all the millions of treasures. The True Guru has revealed them, and my egotistical pride is gone. I keep my meditation always focused on the Cosmic Lord. Night and day, I sing the One Name. ||3|| I have obtained glorious greatness in this age, from the Perfect Guru, meditating on the Naam. Wherever I look, I see the Lord permeating and pervading. He is forever the Giver of peace; His worth cannot be estimated. ||4|| By perfect destiny, I have found the Perfect Guru. He has revealed to me the treasure of the Naam, deep within the nucleus of my self. The Word of the Guru's Shabad is so very sweet. O Nanak, my thirst is quenched, and my mind and body have found peace. ||5||6||4||6||10|| Raag Bilaaval, Fourth Mehl, Third House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Effort and intelligence come from God, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts; as He wills, they act. As the violinist plays upon the strings of the violin, so does the Lord play the living beings. ||1||

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 005

Chant the Name of the Lord with your tongue, O mind. According to the pre-ordained destiny written upon my forehead, I have found the Guru, and the Lord abides within my heart. ||1||Pause|| Entangled in Maya, the mortal wanders around. Save Your humble servant, O Lord, as you saved Prahlaad from the clutches of Harnaakash; keep him in Your Sanctuary, Lord. ||2|| How can I describe the state and the condition, O Lord, of those many sinners you have purified? Ravi Daas, the leather-worker, who worked with hides and carried dead animals was saved, by entering the Lord's Sanctuary. ||3|| O God, Merciful to the meek, carry Your devotees across the world-ocean; I am a sinner - save me from sin! O Lord, make me the slave of the slave of Your slaves; servant Nanak is the slave of Your slaves. ||4||1|| Bilaaval, Fourth Mehl: I am foolish, idiotic and ignorant; I seek Your Sanctuary, O Primal Being, O Lord beyond birth. Have Mercy upon me, and save me, O my Lord and Master; I am a lowly stone, with no good karma at all. ||1|| O my mind, vibrate and meditate on the Lord, the Name of the Lord. Under Guru's Instructions, obtain the sublime, subtle essence of the Lord; renounce other fruitless actions. ||1||Pause|| The humble servants of the Lord are saved by the Lord; I am worthless - it is Your glory to save me. I have no other than You, O my Lord and Master; I meditate on the Lord, by my good karma. ||2|| Those who lack the Naam, the Name of the Lord, their lives are cursed, and they must endure terrible pain. They are consigned to reincarnation over and over again; they are the most unfortunate fools, with no good karma at all. ||3|| The Naam is the Support of the Lord's humble servants; their good karma is pre-ordained. The Guru, the True Guru, has implanted the Naam within servant Nanak, and his life is fruitful. ||4||2|| Bilaaval, Fourth Mehl: My consciousness is lured by emotional attachment and corruption; is is filled with evil-minded filth. I cannot serve You, O God; I am ignorant - how can I cross over? ||1|| O my mind, chant the Name of the Lord, the Lord, the Lord of man. God has showered His Mercy upon His humble servant; meeting with the True Guru, he is carried across. ||1||Pause|| O my Father, my Lord and Master, Lord God, please bless me with such understanding, that I may sing Your Praises. Those who are attached to You are saved, like iron which is carried across with wood. ||2|| The faithless cynics have little or no understanding; they do not serve the Lord, Har, Har. Those beings are unfortunate and vicious; they die, and are consigned to reincarnation, over and over again. ||3|| Those whom You unite with Yourself, O Lord and Master, bathe in the Guru's cleansing pool of contentment. Vibrating upon the Lord, the filth of their evil-mindedness is washed away; servant Nanak is carried across. ||4||3|| Bilaaval, Fourth Mehl: Come, O Saints, and join together, O my Siblings of Destiny; let us tell the Stories of the Lord, Har, Har. The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is the boat in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga; the Word of the Guru's Shabad is the boatman to ferry us across. ||1|| O my mind, chant the Glorious Praises of the Lord. According to the pre-ordained destiny inscribed upon your forehead, sing the Praises of the Lord; join the Holy Congregation, and cross over the world-ocean. ||1||Pause||

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 006

Within the body-village is the Lord's supreme, sublime essence. How can I obtain it? Teach me, O humble Saints. Serving the True Guru, you shall obtain the Fruitful Vision of the Lord's Darshan; meeting Him, drink in the ambrosial essence of the Lord's Nectar. ||2|| The Ambrosial Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is so sweet; O Saints of the Lord, taste it, and see. Under Guru's Instruction, the Lord's essence seems so sweet; through it, all corrupt sensual pleasures are forgotten. ||3|| The Name of the Lord is the medicine to cure all diseases; so serve the Lord, O humble Saints. The four great blessings are obtained, O Nanak, by vibrating upon the Lord, under Guru's Instruction. ||4||4|| Bilaaval, Fourth Mehl: Anyone, from any class - Kh'shaatriya, Brahman, Soodra or Vaishya - can chant, and meditate on the Mantra of the Lord's Name. Worship the Guru, the True Guru, as the Supreme Lord God; serve Him constantly, all day and night. ||1|| O humble servants of the Lord, behold the True Guru with your eyes. Whatever you wish for, you shall receive, chanting the Word of the Lord's Name, under Guru's Instruction. ||1||Pause|| People think of many and various efforts, but that alone happens, which is to happen. All beings seek goodness for themselves, but what the Lord does - that may not be what we think and expect. ||2|| So renounce the clever intellect of your mind, O humble servants of the Lord, no matter how hard this may be. Night and day, meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, Har, Har; accept the wisdom of the Guru, the True Guru. ||3|| Wisdom, balanced wisdom is in Your power, O Lord and Master; I am the instrument, and You are the player, O Primal Lord. O God, O Creator, Lord and Master of servant Nanak, as You wish, so do I speak. ||4||5|| Bilaaval, Fourth Mehl: I meditate on the source of bliss, the Sublime Primal Being; night and day, I am in ecstasy and bliss. The Righteous Judge of Dharma has no power over me; I have cast off all subservience to the Messenger of Death. ||1|| Meditate, O mind, on the Naam, the Name of the Lord of the Universe. By great good fortune, I have found the Guru, the True Guru; I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of supreme bliss. ||1||Pause|| The foolish faithless cynics are held captive by Maya; in Maya, they continue wandering, wandering around. Burnt by desire, and bound by the karma of their past actions, they go round and round, like the ox at the mill press. ||2|| The Gurmukhs, who focus on serving the Guru, are saved; by great good fortune, they perform service. Those who meditate on the Lord obtain the fruits of their rewards, and the bonds of Maya are all broken. ||3|| He Himself is the Lord and Master, and He Himself is the servant. The Lord of the Universe Himself is all by Himself. O servant Nanak, He Himself is All-pervading; as He keeps us, we remain. ||4||6|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Raag Bilaaval, Fourth Mehl, Partaal, Thirteenth House: O Siblings of Destiny, chant the Name of the Lord, the Purifier of sinners. The Lord emancipates his Saints and devotees.

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 007

The Lord is totally permeating and pervading everywhere; the Name of the Lord is pervading the water and the land. So sing continuously of the Lord, the Dispeller of pain. ||1||Pause|| The Lord has made my life fruitful and rewarding. I meditate on the Lord, the Dispeller of pain. I have met the Guru, the Giver of liberation. The Lord has made my life's journey fruitful and rewarding. Joining the Sangat, the Holy Congregation, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||1|| O mortal, place your hopes in the Name of the Lord, and your love of duality shall simply vanish. One who, in hope, remains unattached to hope, such a humble being meets with his Lord. And one who sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord's Name - servant Nanak falls at his feet. ||2||1||7||4||6||7||17|| Raag Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl, Chau-Padas, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: He is attached to what he sees. How can I meet You, O Imperishable God? Have Mercy upon me, and place me upon the Path; let me be attached to the hem of the robe of the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||1|| How can I cross over the poisonous world-ocean? The True Guru is the boat to carry us across. ||1||Pause|| The wind of Maya blows and shakes us, but the Lord's devotees remain ever-stable. They remain unaffected by pleasure and pain. The Guru Himself is the Savior above their heads. ||2|| Maya, the snake, holds all in her coils. They burn to death in egotism, like the moth lured by seeing the flame. They make all sorts of decorations, but they do not find the Lord. When the Guru becomes Merciful, He leads them to meet the Lord. ||3|| I wander around, sad and depressed, seeking the jewel of the One Lord. This priceless jewel is not obtained by any efforts. That jewel is within the body, the Temple of the Lord. The Guru has torn away the veil of illusion, and beholding the jewel, I am delighted. ||4|| One who has tasted it, comes to know its flavor; he is like the mute, whose mind is filled with wonder. I see the Lord, the source of bliss, everywhere. Servant Nanak speaks the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and merges in Him. ||5||1|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: The Divine Guru has blessed me with total happiness. He has linked His servant to His service. No obstacles block my path, meditating on the incomprehensible, inscrutable Lord. ||1|| The soil has been sanctified, singing the Glories of His Praises. The sins are eradicated, meditating on the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| He Himself is pervading everywhere; from the very beginning, and throughout the ages, His Glory has been radiantly manifest. By Guru's Grace, sorrow does not touch me. ||2|| The Guru's Feet seem so sweet to my mind. He is unobstructed, dwelling everywhere. I found total peace, when the Guru was pleased. ||3|| The Supreme Lord God has become my Savior. Wherever I look, I see Him there with me. O Nanak, the Lord and Master protects and cherishes His slaves. ||4||2|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: You are the treasure of peace, O my Beloved God.

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 008

Your Glories are uncounted, O God, my Lord and Master. I am an orphan, entering Your Sanctuary. Have Mercy on me, O Lord, that I may meditate on Your Feet. ||1|| Take pity upon me, and abide within my mind; I am worthless - please let me grasp hold of the hem of Your robe. ||1||Pause|| When God comes into my consciousness, what misfortune can strike me? The Lord's servant does not suffer pain from the Messenger of Death. All pains are dispelled, when one remembers the Lord in meditation; God abides with him forever. ||2|| The Name of God is the Support of my mind and body. Forgetting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the body is reduced to ashes. When God comes into my consciousness, all my affairs are resolved. Forgetting the Lord, one becomes subservient to all. ||3|| I am in love with the Lotus Feet of the Lord. I am rid of all evil-minded ways. The Mantra of the Lord's Name, Har, Har, is deep within my mind and body. O Nanak, eternal bliss fills the home of the Lord's devotees. ||4||3|| Raag Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl, Second House, To Be Sung To The Tune Of Yaan-Ree-Ay: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: You are the Support of my mind, O my Beloved, You are the Support of my mind. All other clever tricks are useless, O Beloved; You alone are my Protector. ||1||Pause|| One who meets with the Perfect True Guru, O Beloved, that humble person is enraptured. He alone serves the Guru, O Beloved, unto whom the Lord becomes merciful. Fruitful is the form of the Divine Guru, O Lord and Master; He is overflowing with all powers. O Nanak, the Guru is the Supreme Lord God, the Transcendent Lord; He is ever-present, forever and ever. ||1|| I live by hearing, hearing of those who know their God. They contemplate the Lord's Name, they chant the Lord's Name, and their minds are imbued with the Lord's Name. I am Your servant; I beg to serve Your humble servants. By the karma of perfect destiny, I do this. This is Nanak's prayer: O my Lord and Master, may I obtain the Blessed Vision of Your humble servants. ||2|| They are said to be very fortunate, O Beloved, who who dwell in the Society of the Saints. They contemplate the Immaculate, Ambrosial Naam, and their minds are illuminated. The pains of birth and death are eradicated, O Beloved, and the fear of the Messenger of Death is ended. They alone obtain the Blessed Vision of this Darshan, O Nanak, who are pleasing to their God. ||3|| O my lofty, incomparable and infinite Lord and Master, who can know Your Glorious Virtues? Those who sing them are saved, and those who listen to them are saved; all their sins are erased. You save the beasts, demons and fools, and even stones are carried across. Slave Nanak seeks Your Sanctuary; he is forever and ever a sacrifice to You. ||4||1||4|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Renounce the tasteless water of corruption, O my companion, and drink in the supreme nectar of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Without the taste of this nectar, all have drowned, and their souls have not found happiness. You have no honour, glory or power - become the slave of the Holy Saints.

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 009

O Nanak, they alone look beautiful in the Court of the Lord, whom the Lord has made His Own. ||1|| Maya is a mirage, which deludes the mind, O my companion, like the scent-crazed deer, or the transitory shade of a tree. Maya is fickle,

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and does not go with you, O my companion; in the end, it will leave you. He may enjoy pleasures and sensual delights with supremely beautiful women, but no one finds peace in this way. Blessed, blessed are the humble, Holy Saints of the Lord, O my companion. O Nanak, they meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||2|| Go, O my very fortunate companion: dwell in the Company of the Saints, and merge with the Lord. There, neither pain nor hunger nor disease will afflict you; enshrine love for the Lord's Lotus Feet. There is no birth or death there, no coming or going in reincarnation, when you enter the Sanctuary of the Eternal Lord. Love does not end, and attachment does not grip you, O Nanak, when you meditate on the One Lord. ||3|| Bestowing His Glance of Grace, my Beloved has pierced my mind, and I am intuitively attuned to His Love. My bed is embellished, meeting with my Beloved; in ecstasy and bliss, I sing His Glorious Praises. O my friends and companions, I am imbued with the Lord's Love; the desires of my mind and body are satisfied. O Nanak, the wonder-struck soul blends with the Wonderful Lord; this state cannot be described. ||4||2||5|| Raag Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl, Fourth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The entire Universe is the form of the One Lord. He Himself is the trade, and He Himself is the trader. ||1|| How rare is that one who is blessed with such spiritual wisdom. Wherever I go, there I see Him. ||1||Pause|| He manifests many forms, while still unmanifest and absolute, and yet He has One Form. He Himself is the water, and He Himself is the waves. ||2|| He Himself is the temple, and He Himself is selfless service. He Himself is the worshipper, and He Himself is the idol. ||3|| He Himself is the Yoga; He Himself is the Way. Nanak's God is forever liberated. ||4||1||6|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: He Himself creates, and He Himself supports. He Himself causes all to act; He takes no blame Himself. ||1|| He Himself is the teaching, and He Himself is the teacher. He Himself is the splendor, and He Himself is the experiencer of it. ||1||Pause|| He Himself is silent, and He Himself is the speaker. He Himself is undeceivable; He cannot be deceived. ||2|| He Himself is hidden, and He Himself is manifest. He Himself is in each and every heart; He Himself is unattached. ||3|| He Himself is absolute, and He Himself is with the Universe. Says Nanak, all are beggars of God. ||4||2||7|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: He places the one who strays back on the Path; such a Guru is found by great good fortune. ||1|| Meditate, contemplate the Name of the Lord, O mind. The Beloved Feet of the Guru abide within my heart. ||1||Pause||

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 010

The mind is engrossed in sexual desire, anger, greed and emotional attachment. Breaking my bonds, the Guru has liberated me. ||2|| Experiencing pain and pleasure, one is born, only to die again. The Lotus Feet of the Guru bring peace and shelter. ||3|| The world is drowning in the ocean of fire. O Nanak, holding me by the arm, the True Guru has saved me. ||4||3||8|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Body, mind, wealth and everything, I surrender to my Lord. What is that wisdom, by which I may come to chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har? ||1|| Nurturing hope, I have come to beg from God. Gazing upon You, the courtyard of my heart is embellished. ||1||Pause|| Trying several methods, I reflect deeply upon the Lord. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, this mind is saved. ||2|| I have neither intelligence, wisdom, common sense nor cleverness. I meet You, only if You lead me to meet You. ||3|| My eyes are content, gazing upon the Blessed Vision of God's Darshan. Says Nanak, such a life is fruitful and rewarding. ||4||4||9|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Mother, father, children and the wealth of Maya, will not go along with you. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, all pain is dispelled. ||1|| God Himself is pervading, and permeating all. Chant the Name of the Lord with your tongue, and pain will not afflict you. ||1||Pause|| One who is afflicted by the terrible fire of thirst and desire, becomes cool, chanting the Praises of the Lord, Har, Har. ||2|| By millions of efforts, peace is not obtained; the mind is satisfied only by singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||3|| Please bless me with devotion, O God, O Searcher of hearts. This is Nanak's prayer, O Lord and Master. ||4||5||10|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: By great good fortune, the Perfect Guru is found. Meeting with the Holy Saints, meditate on the Name of the Lord. ||1|| O Supreme Lord God, I seek Your Sanctuary. Meditating on the Guru's Feet, sinful mistakes are erased. ||1||Pause|| All other rituals are just worldly affairs; joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, one is saved. ||2|| One may contemplate the Simritees, Shaastras and Vedas, but only by chanting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is one saved and carried across. ||3|| Have Mercy upon servant Nanak, O God, and bless him with the dust of the feet of the Holy, that he may be emancipated. ||4||6||11|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: I contemplate the Word of the Guru's Shabad within my heart; all my hopes and desires are fulfilled. ||1|| The faces of the humble Saints are radiant and bright; the Lord has mercifully blessed them with the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Holding them by the hand, He has lifted them up out of the deep, dark pit, and their victory is celebrated throughout the world. ||2|| He elevates and exalts the lowly, and fills the empty. They receive the supreme, sublime essence of the Ambrosial Naam. ||3|| The mind and body are made immaculate and pure, and sins are burnt to ashes. Says Nanak, God is pleased with me. ||4||7||12|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: All desires are fulfilled, O my friend,

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 011

lovingly centering your consciousness on the Lord's Lotus Feet. ||1|| I am a sacrifice to those who meditate on God. The fire of desire is quenched, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1||Pause|| One's life become fruitful and rewarding, by great good fortune. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, enshrine love for the Lord. ||2|| Wisdom, honour, wealth, peace and celestial bliss are attained, if one does not forget the Lord of supreme bliss, even for an instant. ||3|| My mind is so very thirsty for the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan. Prays Nanak, O God, I seek Your Sanctuary. ||4||8||13|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: I am worthless, totally lacking all virtues. Bless me with Your Mercy, and make me Your Own. ||1|| My mind and body are embellished by the Lord, the Lord of the World. Granting His Mercy, God has come into the home of my heart. ||1||Pause|| He is the Lover and Protector of His devotees, the Destroyer of fear. Now, I have been carried across the world-ocean. ||2|| It is God's Way to purify sinners, say the Vedas. I have seen the Supreme Lord with my eyes. ||3|| In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, the Lord becomes manifest. O slave Nanak, all pains are relieved. ||4||9||14|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Who can know the value of serving You, God? God is imperishable, invisible and incomprehensible. ||1|| His Glorious Virtues are infinite; God is profound and unfathomable. The Mansion of God, my Lord and Master, is lofty and high. You are unlimited, O my Lord and Master. ||1||Pause|| There is no other than the One Lord. You alone know Your worship and adoration. ||2|| No one can do anything by himself, O Siblings of Destiny. He alone obtains the Naam, the Name of the Lord, unto whom God bestows it. ||3|| Says Nanak, that humble being who pleases God, he alone finds God, the treasure of virtue. ||4||10||15|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Extending His Hand, the Lord protected you in your mother's womb. Renouncing the sublime essence of the Lord, you have tasted the fruit of poison. ||1|| Meditate, vibrate on the Lord of the Universe, and renounce all entanglements. When the Messenger of Death comes to murder you, O fool, then your body will be shattered and helplessly crumble. ||1||Pause|| You hold onto your body, mind and wealth as your own, and you do not meditate on the Creator Lord, even for an instant. ||2|| You have fallen into the deep, dark pit of great attachment. Caught in the illusion of Maya, you have forgotten the Supreme Lord. ||3|| By great good fortune, one sings the Kirtan of God's Praises. In the Society of the Saints, Nanak has found God. ||4||11||16|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Mother, father, children, relatives and siblings - O Nanak, the Supreme Lord is our help and support. ||1|| He blesses us with peace, and abundant celestial bliss. Perfect is the Bani, the Word of the Perfect Guru. His Virtues are so many, they cannot be counted. ||1||Pause|| God Himself makes all arrangements. Meditating on God, desires are fulfilled. ||2|| He is the Giver of wealth, Dharmic faith, pleasure and liberation.

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 012

Meditating, meditating in remembrance on the Creator Lord, the Architect of Destiny, I am fulfilled. ||3|| In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, Nanak enjoys the Lord's Love. He has returned home, with the Perfect Guru. ||4||12||17|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: All treasures come from the Perfect Divine Guru. ||1||Pause|| Chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, the man lives. The faithless cynic dies in shame and misery. ||1|| The Name of the Lord has become my Protector. The wretched, faithless cynic makes only useless efforts. ||2|| Spreading slander, many have been ruined. Their necks, heads and feet are tied by death's noose. ||3|| Says Nanak, the humble devotees chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord. The Messenger of Death does not even approach them. ||4||13||18|| Raag Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl, Fourth House, Du-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: What blessed destiny will lead me to meet my God? Each and every moment and instant, I continually meditate on the Lord. ||1|| I meditate continually on the Lotus Feet of God. What wisdom will lead me to attain my Beloved? ||1||Pause|| Please, bless me with such Mercy, O my God, that Nanak may never, ever forget You. ||2||1||19|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Within my heart, I meditate on the Lotus Feet of God. Disease is gone, and I have found total peace. ||1|| The Guru relieved my sufferings, and blessed me with the gift. My birth has been rendered fruitful, and my life is approved. ||1||Pause|| The Ambrosial Bani of God's Word is the Unspoken Speech. Says Nanak, the spiritually wise live by meditating on God. ||2||2||20|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: The Guru, the Perfect True Guru, has blessed me with peace and tranquility. Peace and joy have welled up, and the mystical trumpets of the unstruck sound current vibrate. ||1||Pause|| Sufferings, sins and afflictions have been dispelled. Remembering the Lord in meditation, all sinful mistakes have been erased. ||1|| Joining together, O beautiful soul-brides, celebrate and make merry. Guru Nanak has saved my honour. ||2||3||21|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Intoxicated with the wine of attachment, love of worldly possessions and deceit, and bound in bondage, he is wild and hideous. Day by day, his life is winding down; practicing sin and corruption, he is trapped by the noose of Death. ||1|| I seek Your Sanctuary, O God, Merciful to the meek. I have crossed over the terrible, treacherous, enormous world-ocean, with the dust of the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||1||Pause|| O God, Giver of peace, All-powerful Lord and Master, my soul, body and all wealth are Yours. Please, break my bonds of doubt, O Transcendent Lord, forever Merciful God of Nanak. ||2||4||22|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: The Transcendent Lord has brought bliss to all; He has confirmed His Natural Way. He has become Merciful to the humble, holy Saints, and all my relatives blossom forth in joy. ||1|| The True Guru Himself has resolved my affairs.

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 013

He has blessed Hargobind with long life, and taken care of my comfort, happiness and well-being. ||1||Pause|| The forests, meadows and the three worlds have blossomed forth in greenery; He gives His Support to all beings. Nanak has obtained the fruits of his mind's desires; his desires are totally fulfilled. ||2||5||23|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: One who is blessed by the Lord's Mercy, passes his time in contemplative meditation. ||1||Pause|| In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, meditate, and vibrate upon the Lord of the Universe. Singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, the noose of death is cut away. ||1|| He Himself is the True Guru, and He Himself is the Cherisher. Nanak begs for the dust of the feet of the Holy. ||2||6||24|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Irrigate your mind with the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Night and day, sing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises. ||1|| Enshrine such love, O my mind, that twenty-four hours a day, God will seem near to you. ||1||Pause|| Says Nanak, one who has such immaculate destiny - his mind is attached to the Lord's Feet. ||2||7||25|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: The disease is gone; God Himself took it away. I sleep in peace; peaceful poise has come to my home. ||1||Pause|| Eat to your fill, O my Siblings of Destiny. Meditate on the Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord, within your heart. ||1|| Nanak has entered the Sanctuary of the Perfect Guru, who has preserved the honour of His Name. ||2||8||26|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: The True Guru has protected my hearth and home, and made them permanent. ||Pause|| Whoever slanders these homes, is pre-destined by the Creator Lord to be destroyed. ||1|| Slave Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of God; the Word of His Shabad is unbreakable and infinite. ||2||9||27|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: The fever and sickness are gone, and the diseases are all dispelled. The Supreme Lord God has forgiven you, so enjoy the happiness of the Saints. ||Pause|| All joys have entered your world, and your mind and body are free of disease. So chant continuously the Glorious Praises of the Lord; this is the only potent medicine. ||1|| So come, and dwell in your home and native land; this is such a blessed and auspicious occasion. O Nanak, God is totally pleased with you; your time of separation has come to an end. ||2||10||28|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: The entanglements of Maya do not go along with anyone. Even kings and rulers must arise and depart, according to the wisdom of the Saints. ||Pause|| Pride goes before the fall - this is a primal law. Those who practice corruption and sin, are born into countless incarnations, only to die again. ||1|| The Holy Saints chant Words of Truth; they meditate continually on the Lord of the Universe. Meditating, meditating in remembrance, O Nanak, those who are imbued with the colour of the Lord's Love are carried across. ||2||11||29|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: The Perfect Guru has blessed me with celestial Samaadhi, bliss and peace. God is always my Helper and Companion; I contemplate His Ambrosial Virtues. ||Pause||

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 014

Triumphant cheers greet me all across the world, and all beings yearn for me. The True Guru and God are totally pleased with me; no obstacle blocks my way. ||1|| One who has the Merciful Lord God on his side - everyone becomes his slave. Forever and ever, O Nanak, glorious greatness rests with the Guru. ||2||12||30|| Raag Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl, Fifth House, Chau-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: This perishable realm and world has been made like a house of sand. In no time at all, it is destroyed, like the paper drenched with water. ||1|| Listen to me, people: behold, and consider this within your mind. The Siddhas, the seekers, house-holders and Yogis have forsaken their homes and left. ||1||Pause|| This world is like a dream in the night. All that is seen shall perish. Why are you attached to it, you fool? ||2|| Where are your brothers and friends? Open your eyes and see! Some have gone, and some will go; everyone must take his turn. ||3|| Those who serve the Perfect True Guru, remain ever-stable at the Door of the Lord. Servant Nanak is the Lord's slave; preserve his honour, O Lord, Destroyer of ego. ||4||1||31|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: The glories

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of the world, I cast into the fire. I chant those words, by which I may meet my Beloved. ||1|| When God becomes Merciful, then He enjoins me to His devotional service. My mind clings to worldly desires; meeting with the Guru, I have renounced them. ||1||Pause|| I pray with intense devotion, and offer this soul to Him. I would sacrifice all other riches, for a moment's union with my Beloved. ||2|| Through the Guru, I am rid of the five villains, as well as emotional love and hate. My heart is illumined, and the Lord has become manifest; night and day, I remain awake and aware. ||3|| The blessed soul-bride seeks His Sanctuary; her destiny is recorded on her forehead. Says Nanak, she obtains her Husband Lord; her body and mind are cooled and soothed. ||4||2||32|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: One is dyed in the colour of the Lord's Love, by great good fortune. This colour is never muddied; no stain ever sticks to it. ||1|| He finds God, the Giver of peace, with feelings of joy. The Celestial Lord blends into his soul, and he can never leave Him. ||1||Pause|| Old age and death cannot touch him, and he shall not suffer pain again. Drinking in the Ambrosial Nectar, he is satisfied; the Guru makes him immortal. ||2|| He alone knows its taste, who tastes the Priceless Name of the Lord. Its value cannot be estimated; what can I say with my mouth? ||3|| Fruitful is the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan, O Supreme Lord God. The Word of Your Bani is the treasure of virtue.

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 015

Please bless me with the dust of the feet of Your slaves; Nanak is a sacrifice. ||4||3||33|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Keep me under Your Protection, God; shower me with Your Mercy. I do not know how to serve You; I am just a low-life fool. ||1|| I take pride in You, O my Darling Beloved. I am a sinner, continuously making mistakes; You are the Forgiving Lord. ||1||Pause|| I make mistakes each and every day. You are the Great Giver; I am worthless. I associate with Maya, your hand-maiden, and I renounce You, God; such are my actions. ||2|| You bless me with everything, showering me with Mercy; And I am such an ungrateful wretch! I am attached to Your gifts, but I do not even think of You, O my Lord and Master. ||3|| There is none other than You, O Lord, Destroyer of fear. Says Nanak, I have come to Your Sanctuary, O Merciful Guru; I am so foolish - please, save me! ||4||4||34|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Don't blame anyone else; meditate on your God. Serving Him, great peace is obtained; O mind, sing His Praises. ||1|| O Beloved, other than You, who else should I ask? You are my Merciful Lord and Master; I am filled with all faults. ||1||Pause|| As You keep me, I remain; there is no other way. You are the Support of the unsupported; You Name is my only Support. ||2|| One who accepts whatever You do as good - that mind is liberated. The entire creation is Yours; all are subject to Your Ways. ||3|| I wash Your Feet and serve You, if it pleases You, O Lord and Master. Be Merciful, O God of Compassion, that Nanak may sing Your Glorious Praises. ||4||5||35|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Death hovers over his head, laughing, but the beast does not understand. Entangled in conflict, pleasure and egotism, he does not even think of death. ||1|| So serve your True Guru; why wander around miserable and unfortunate? You gaze upon the transitory, beautiful safflower, but why do you get attached to it? ||1||Pause|| You commit sins again and again, to gather wealth to spend. But your dust shall mix with dust; you shall arise and depart naked. ||2|| Those for whom you work, will become your spiteful enemies. In the end, they will run away from you; why do you burn for them in anger? ||3|| He alone becomes the dust of the Lord's slaves, who has such good karma upon his forehead. Says Nanak, he is released from bondage, in the Sanctuary of the True Guru. ||4||6||36|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: The cripple crosses over the mountain, the fool becomes a wise man, and the blind man sees the three worlds, by meeting with the True Guru and being purified. ||1|| This is the Glory of the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; listen, O my friends. Filth is washed away, millions of sins are dispelled, and the consciousness becomes immaculate and pure. ||1||Pause|| Such is devotional worship of the Lord of the Universe, that the ant can overpower the elephant. Whoever the Lord makes His own, is blessed with the gift of fearlessness. ||2|| The lion becomes a cat, and the mountain looks like a blade of grass.

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 016

Those who worked for half a shell, will be judged very wealthy. ||3|| What glorious greatness of Yours can I describe, O Lord of infinite excellences? Please bless me with Your Mercy, and grant me Your Name; O Nanak, I am lost without the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. ||4||7||37|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: He is constantly entangled in pride, conflict, greed and tasty flavors. He is involved in deception, fraud, household affairs and corruption. ||1|| I have seen this with my eyes, by the Grace of the Perfect Guru. Power, property, wealth and youth are useless, without the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Beauty, incense, scented oils, beautiful clothes and foods - when they come into contact with the body of the sinner, they stink. ||2|| Wandering, wandering around, the soul is reincarnated as a human, but this body lasts only for an instant. Losing this opportunity, he must wander again through countless incarnations. ||3|| By God's Grace, he meets the Guru; contemplating the Lord, Har, Har, he is wonderstruck. He is blessed with peace, poise and bliss, O Nanak, through the perfect sound current of the Naad. ||4||8||38|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: The feet of the Saints are the boat, to cross over the world-ocean. In the wilderness, the Guru places them on the Path, and reveals the secrets of the Lord's Mystery. ||1|| O Lord, Har Har Har, Har Har Haray, Har Har Har, I love You. While standing up, sitting down and sleeping, think of the Lord, Har Har Har. ||1||Pause|| The five thieves run away, when one joins the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. His investment is intact, and he earns great profits; his household is blessed with honour. ||2|| His position is unmoving and eternal, his anxiety is ended, and he wavers no more. His doubts and misgivings are dispelled, and he sees God everywhere. ||3|| The Virtues of our Virtuous Lord and Master are so profound; how many of His Glorious Virtues should I speak? Nanak has obtained the Ambrosial Nectar of the Lord, Har, Har, in the Company of the Holy. ||4||9||39|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: That life, which has no contact with the Holy, is useless. Joining their congregation, all doubts are dispelled, and I am emancipated. ||1|| That day, when I meet with the Holy - I am a sacrifice to that day. Again and again, I sacrifice my body, mind and soul to them. ||1||Pause|| They have helped me renounce this ego, and implant this humility within myself. This mind has become the dust of all men's feet, and my self-conceit has been dispelled. ||2|| In an instant, I burnt away the ideas of slander and ill-will towards others. I see close at hand, the Lord of mercy and compassion; He is not far away at all. ||3|| My body and mind are cooled and soothed, and now, I am liberated from the world. Love, consciousness, the breath of life, wealth and everything, O Nanak, are in the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan. ||4||10||40|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: I perform service for Your slave, O Lord, and wipe his feet with my hair. I offer my head to him, and listen to the Glorious Praises of the Lord, the source of bliss. ||1|| Meeting You, my mind is rejuvenated, so please meet me, O Merciful Lord. Night and day, my mind enjoys bliss, contemplating the Lord of Compassion. ||1||Pause||

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 017

God's Holy people are the saviors of the world; I grab hold of the hem of their robes. Bless me, O God, with the gift of the dust of the feet of the Saints. ||2|| I have no skill or wisdom at all, nor any work to my credit. Please, protect me from doubt, fear and emotional attachment, and cut away the noose of Death from my neck. ||3|| I beg of You, O Lord of Mercy, O my Father, please cherish me! I sing Your Glorious Praises, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, O Lord, Home of peace. ||4||11||41|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Whatever You wish, You do. Without You, there is nothing. Gazing upon Your Glory, the Messenger of Death leaves and goes away. ||1|| By Your Grace, one is emancipated, and egotism is dispelled. God is omnipotent, possessing all powers; He is obtained through the Perfect, Divine Guru. ||1||Pause|| Searching, searching, searching - without the Naam, everything is false. All the comforts of life are found in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; God is the Fulfiller of desires. ||2|| Whatever You attach me to, to that I am attached; I have burnt away all my cleverness. You are permeating and pervading everywhere, O my Lord, Merciful to the meek. ||3|| I ask for everything from You, but only the very fortunate ones obtain it. This is Nanak's prayer, O God, I live by singing Your Glorious Praises. ||4||12||42|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Dwelling in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, all sins are erased. One who is attuned to the Love of God, is not cast into the womb of reincarnation. ||1|| Chanting the Name of the Lord of the Universe, the tongue becomes holy. The mind and body become immaculate and pure, chanting the Chant of the Guru. ||1||Pause|| Tasting the subtle essence of the Lord, one is satisfied; receiving this essence, the mind becomes happy. The intellect is brightened and illuminated; turning away from the world, the heart-lotus blossoms forth. ||2|| He is cooled and soothed, peaceful and content; all his thirst is quenched. The mind's wandering in the ten directions is stopped, and one dwells in the immaculate place. ||3|| The Savior Lord saves him, and his doubts are burnt to ashes. Nanak is blessed with the treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. He finds peace, gazing upon the Blessed Vision of the Saints' Darshan. ||4||13||43|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Carry water for the Lord's slave, wave the fan over him, and grind his corn; then, you shall be happy. Burn in the fire your power, property and authority. ||1|| Grasp hold of the feet of the servant of the humble Saints. Renounce and abandon the wealthy, the regal overlords and kings. ||1||Pause|| The dry bread of the Saints is equal to all treasures. The thirty-six tasty dishes of the faithless cynic, are just like poison. ||2|| Wearing the old blankets of the humble devotees, one is not naked. But by putting on the silk clothes of the faithless cynic, one loses one's honour. ||3|| Friendship with the faithless cynic breaks down mid-way. But whoever serves the humble servants of the Lord, is emancipated here and hereafter. ||4|| Everything comes from You, O Lord; You Yourself created the creation. Blessed with the Blessed Vision of the Darshan of the Holy, Nanak sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||5||14||44||

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 018

Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: With my ears, I listen to the Lord, Har, Har; I sing the Praises of my Lord and Master. I place my hands and my head upon the feet of the Saints, and meditate on the Lord's Name. ||1|| Be kind to me, O Merciful God, and bless me with this wealth and success. Obtaining the dust of the feet of the Saints, I apply it to my forehead. ||1||Pause|| I am the lowest of the low, absolutely the lowest; I offer my humble prayer. I wash their feet, and renounce my self-conceit; I merge in the Saints' Congregation. ||2|| With each and every breath, I never forget the Lord; I never go to another. Obtaining the Fruitful Vision of the Guru's Darshan, I discard my pride and attachment. ||3|| I am embellished with truth, contentment, compassion and Dharmic faith. My spiritual marriage is fruitful, O Nanak; I am pleasing to my God. ||4||15||45|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: The words of the Holy are eternal and unchanging; this is apparent to everyone. That humble being, who joins the Saadh Sangat, meets the Sovereign Lord. ||1|| This faith in the Lord of the Universe, and peace, are found by meditating on the Lord. Everyone is speaking in various ways, but the Guru has brought the Lord into the home of my self. ||1||Pause|| He preserves the honour of those who seek His Sanctuary; there is no doubt about this at all. In the field of actions and karma, plant the Lord's Name; this opportunity is so difficult to obtain! ||2|| God Himself is the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts; He does, and causes everything to be done. He purifies so many sinners; this is the natural way of our Lord and Master. ||3|| Don't be fooled, O mortal being, by the illusion of Maya. O Nanak, God saves the honour of those of whom He approves. ||4||16||46|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: He fashioned you from clay, and made your priceless body. He covers the many faults in your mind, and makes you look immaculate and pure. ||1|| So why do you forget God from your mind? He has done so many good things for you. One who forsakes God, and blends himself with another, in the end is blended with dust. ||1||Pause|| Meditate, meditate in remembrance with each and every breath - do not delay! Renounce worldly affairs, and merge yourself into God; forsake false loves. ||2|| He is many, and He is One; He takes part in the many plays. This is as He is, and shall be. So serve that Supreme Lord God, and accept the Guru's Teachings. ||3|| God is said to be the highest of the high, the greatest of all, our companion. Please, let Nanak be the slave of the slave of Your slaves. ||4||17||47|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: The Lord of the Universe is my only Support. I have renounced all other hopes. God is All-powerful, above all; He is the perfect treasure of virtue. ||1|| The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is the Support of the humble servant who seeks God's Sanctuary. In their minds, the Saints take the Support of the Transcendent Lord. ||1||Pause|| He Himself preserves, and He Himself gives. He Himself cherishes.

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 019

Merciful to the meek, the treasure of mercy, He remembers and protects us with each and every breath. ||2|| Whatever the Creator Lord does is glorious and great. The Perfect Guru has instructed me, that peace comes by the Will of our Lord and Master. ||3|| Anxieties, worries and calculations are dismissed; the Lord's humble servant accepts the Hukam of His Command. He does not die, and He does not leave; Nanak is attuned to His Love. ||4||18||48|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: The great fire is put out and cooled; meeting with the Guru, sins run away. I fell into the deep dark pit; giving me His Hand, He pulled me out. ||1|| He is my friend; I am the dust of His Feet. Meeting with Him, I am at peace; He blesses me with the gift of the soul. ||1||Pause|| I have now received my pre-ordained destiny. Dwelling with the Lord's Holy Saints, my hopes are fulfilled. ||2|| The fear of the three worlds is dispelled, and I have found my place of rest and peace. The all-powerful Guru has taken pity upon me, and the Naam has come to dwell in my mind. ||3|| O God, You are the Anchor and Support of Nanak. He is the Doer, the Cause of causes; the All-powerful Lord God is inaccessible and infinite. ||4||19||49|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: One who forgets God is filthy, poor and low. The fool does not understand the Creator Lord; instead, he thinks that he himself is the doer. ||1|| Pain comes, when one forgets Him. Peace comes when one remembers God. This is the way the Saints are in bliss - they continually sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| The high, He makes low, and the low, he elevates in an instant. The value of the glory of our Lord and Master cannot be estimated. ||2|| While he gazes upon beautiful dramas and plays, the day of his departure dawns. The dream becomes the dream, and his actions do not go along with him. ||3|| God is All-powerful, the Cause of causes; I seek Your Sanctuary. Day and night, Nanak meditates on the Lord; forever and ever he is a sacrifice. ||4||20||50|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: I carry water on my head, and with my hands I wash their feet. Tens of thousands of times, I am a sacrifice to them; gazing upon the Blessed Vision of their Darshan, I live. ||1|| The hopes which I

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cherish in my mind - my God fulfills them all. With my broom, I sweep the homes of the Holy Saints, and wave the fan over them. ||1||Pause|| The Saints chant the Ambrosial Praises of the Lord; I listen, and my mind drinks it in. That sublime essence calms and soothes me, and quenches the fire of sin and corruption. ||2|| When the galaxy of Saints worship the Lord in devotion, I join them, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. I bow in reverence to the humble devotees, and apply the dust of their feet to my face. ||3|| Sitting down and standing up, I chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord; this is what I do. This is Nanak's prayer to God, that he may merge in the Lord's Sanctuary. ||4||21||51|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: He alone crosses over this world-ocean, who sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. He dwells with the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; by great good fortune, he finds the Lord. ||1||

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 020

Your slave lives by hearing, hearing the Word of Your Bani, chanted by Your humble servant. The Guru is revealed in all the worlds; He saves the honour of His servant. ||1||Pause|| God has pulled me out of the ocean of fire, and quenched my burning thirst. The Guru has sprinkled the Ambrosial Water of the Naam, the Name of the Lord; He has become my Helper. ||2|| The pains of birth and death are removed, and I have obtained a resting place of peace. The noose of doubt and emotional attachment has been snapped; I have become pleasing to my God. ||3|| Let no one think that there is any other at all; everything is in the Hands of God. Nanak has found total peace, in the Society of the Saints. ||4||22||52|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: My bonds have been snapped; God Himself has become compassionate. The Supreme Lord God is Merciful to the meek; by His Glance of Grace, I am in ecstasy. ||1|| The Perfect Guru has shown mercy to me, and eradicated my pains and illnesses. My mind and body have been cooled and soothed, meditating on God, most worthy of meditation. ||1||Pause|| The Name of the Lord is the medicine to cure all disease; with it, no disease afflicts me. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, the mind and body are tinged with the Lord's Love, and I do not suffer pain any longer. ||2|| I chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, Har, Har, lovingly centering my inner being on Him. Sinful mistakes are erased and I am sanctified, in the Sanctuary of the Holy Saints. ||3|| Misfortune is kept far away from those who hear and chant the Praises of the Lord's Name. Nanak chants the Mahaa Mantra, the Great Mantra, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||4||23||53|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: From the Fear of God, devotion wells up, and deep within, there is peace. Chanting the Name of the Lord of the Universe, doubt and delusions are dispelled. ||1|| One who meets with the Perfect Guru, is blessed with peace. So renounce the intellectual cleverness of your mind, and listen to the Teachings. ||1||Pause|| Meditate, meditate, meditate in remembrance on the Primal Lord, the Great Giver. May I never forget that Primal, Infinite Lord from my mind. ||2|| I have enshrined love for the Lotus Feet of the Wondrous Divine Guru. One who is blessed by Your Mercy, God, is committed to Your service. ||3|| I drink in the Ambrosial Nectar, the treasure of wealth, and my mind and body are in bliss. Nanak never forgets God, the Lord of supreme bliss. ||4||24||54|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Desire is stilled, and egotism is gone; fear and doubt have run away. I have found stability, and I am in ecstasy; the Guru has blessed me with Dharmic faith. ||1|| Worshipping the Perfect Guru in adoration, my anguish is eradicated. My body and mind are totally cooled and soothed; I have found peace, O my brother. ||1||Pause|| I have awakened from sleep, chanting the Name of the Lord; gazing upon Him, I am filled with wonder. Drinking in the Ambrosial Nectar, I am satisfied. How wondrous is its taste! ||2|| I myself am liberated, and my companions swim across; my family and ancestors are also saved. Service to the Divine Guru is fruitful; it has made me pure in the Court of the Lord. ||3|| I am lowly, without a master, ignorant, worthless and without virtue.

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 021

Nanak has been blessed with God's Mercy; God has made him His Slave. ||4||25||55|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: The Lord is the Hope and Support of His devotees; there is nowhere else for them to go. O God, Your Name is my power, realm, relatives and riches. ||1|| God has granted His Mercy, and saved His slaves. The slanderers rot in their slander; they are seized by the Messenger of Death. ||1||Pause|| The Saints meditate on the One Lord, and no other. They offer their prayers to the One Lord, who is pervading and permeating all places. ||2|| I have heard this old story, spoken by the devotees, that all the wicked are cut apart into pieces, while His humble servants are blessed with honour. ||3|| Nanak speaks the true words, which are obvious to all. God's servants are under God's Protection; they have absolutely no fear. ||4||26||56|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: God breaks the bonds which hold us; He holds all power in His hands. No other actions will bring release; save me, O my Lord and Master. ||1|| I have entered Your Sanctuary, O Perfect Lord of Mercy. Those whom You preserve and protect, O Lord of the Universe, are saved from the trap of the world. ||1||Pause|| Hope, doubt, corruption and emotional attachment - in these, he is engrossed. The false material world abides in his mind, and he does not understand the Supreme Lord God. ||2|| O Perfect Lord of Supreme Light, all beings belong to You. As You keep us, we live, O infinite, inaccessible God. ||3|| Cause of causes, All-powerful Lord God, please bless me with Your Name. Nanak is carried across in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, Har, Har. ||4||27||57|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Who? Who has not fallen, by placing their hopes in you? You are enticed by the great enticer - this is the way to hell! ||1|| O vicious mind, no faith can be placed in you; you are totally intoxicated. The donkey's leash is only removed, after the load is placed on his back. ||1||Pause|| You destroy the value of chanting, intensive meditation and self-discipline; you shall suffer in pain, beaten by the Messenger of Death. You do not meditate, so you shall suffer the pains of reincarnation, you shameless buffoon! ||2|| The Lord is your Companion, your Helper, your Best Friend; but you disagree with Him. You are in love with the five thieves; this brings terrible pain. ||3|| Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of the Saints, who have conquered their minds. He gives body, wealth and everything to the slaves of God. ||4||28||58|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Try to meditate, and contemplate the source of peace, and bliss will come to you. Chanting, and meditating on the Name of the Lord of the Universe, perfect understanding is achieved. ||1|| Meditating on the Lotus Feet of the Guru, and chanting the Name of the Lord, I live. Worshipping the Supreme Lord God in adoration, my mouth drinks in the Ambrosial Nectar. ||1||Pause|| All beings and creatures dwell in peace; the minds of all yearn for the Lord. Those who continually remember the Lord, do good deeds for others; they harbor no ill will towards anyone. ||2||

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 022

Blessed is that place, and blessed are those who dwell there, where they chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord. The Sermon and the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises are sung there very often; there is peace, poise and tranquility. ||3|| In my mind, I never forget the Lord; He is the Master of the masterless. Nanak has entered the Sanctuary of God; everything is in His hands. ||4||29||59|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: The One who bound you in the womb and then released you, placed you in the world of joy. Contemplate His Lotus Feet forever, and you shall be cooled and soothed. ||1|| In life and in death, this Maya is of no use. He created this creation, but rare are those who enshrine love for Him. ||1||Pause|| O mortal, the Creator Lord made summer and winter; He saves you from the heat. From the ant, He makes an elephant; He reunites those who have been separated. ||2|| Eggs, wombs, sweat and earth - these are God's workshops of creation. It is fruitful for all to practice contemplation of the Lord. ||3|| I cannot do anything; O God, I seek the Sanctuary of the Holy. Guru Nanak pulled me up, out of the deep, dark pit, the intoxication of attachment. ||4||30||60|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Searching, searching, I wander around searching, in the woods and other places. He is undeceivable, imperishable, inscrutable; such is my Lord God. ||1|| When shall I behold my God, and delight my soul? Even better than being awake, is the dream in which I dwell with God. ||1||Pause|| Listening to the Shaastras teaching about the four social classes and the four stages of life, I grow thirsty for the Blessed Vision of the Lord. He has no form or outline, and He is not made of the five elements; our Lord and Master is imperishable. ||2|| How rare are those Saints and great Yogis, who describe the beautiful form of the Lord. Blessed, blessed are they, whom the Lord meets in His Mercy. ||3|| They know that He is deep within, and outside as well; their doubts are dispelled. O Nanak, God meets those, whose karma is perfect. ||4||31||61|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: All beings and creatures are totally pleased, gazing on God's glorious radiance. The True Guru has paid off my debt; He Himself did it. ||1|| Eating and expending it, it is always available; the Word of the Guru's Shabad is inexhaustible. Everything is perfectly arranged; it is never exhausted. ||1||Pause|| In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I worship and adore the Lord, the infinite treasure. He does not hesitate to bless me with Dharmic faith, wealth, sexual success and liberation. ||2|| The devotees worship and adore the Lord of the Universe with single-minded love. They gather in the wealth of the Lord's Name, which cannot be estimated. ||3|| O God, I seek Your Sanctuary, the glorious greatness of God. Nanak: Your end or limitation cannot be found, O Infinite World-Lord. ||4||32||62|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Meditate, meditate in remembrance of the Perfect Lord God, and your affairs shall be perfectly resolved. In Kartaarpur, the City of the Creator Lord, the Saints dwell with the Creator. ||1||Pause|| No obstacles will block your way, when you offer your prayers to the Guru. The Sovereign Lord of the Universe is the Saving Grace, the Protector of the capital of His devotees. ||1||

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 023

There is never any deficiency at all; the Lord's treasures are over-flowing. His Lotus Feet are enshrined within my mind and body; God is inaccessible and infinite. ||2|| All those who work for Him dwell in peace; you can see that they lack nothing. By the Grace of the Saints, I have met God, the Perfect Lord of the Universe. ||3|| Everyone congratulates me, and celebrates my victory; the home of the True Lord is so beautiful! Nanak chants the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the treasure of peace; I have found the Perfect Guru. ||4||33||63|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Worship and adore the Lord, Har, Har, Har, and you shall be free of disease. This is the Lord's healing rod, which eradicates all disease. ||1||Pause|| Meditating on the Lord, through the Perfect Guru, he constantly enjoys pleasure. I am devoted to the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; I have been united with my Lord. ||1|| Contemplating Him, peace is obtained, and separation is ended. Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of God, the All-powerful Creator, the Cause of causes. ||2||34||64|| Raag Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl, Du-Padas, Fifth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I have given up all other efforts, and have taken the medicine of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Fevers, sins and all diseases are eradicated, and my mind is cooled and soothed. ||1|| Worshipping the Perfect Guru in adoration, all pains are dispelled. The Savior Lord has saved me; He has blessed me with His Kind Mercy. ||1||Pause|| Grabbing hold of my arm, God has pulled me up and out; He has made me His own. Meditating, meditating in remembrance, my mind and body are at peace; Nanak has become fearless. ||2||1||65|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Placing His Hand upon my forehead, God has given me the gift of His Name. One who performs fruitful service for the Supreme Lord God, never suffers any loss. ||1|| God Himself saves the honour of His devotees. Whatever God's Holy servants wish for, He grants to them. ||1||Pause|| God's humble servants seek the Sanctuary of His Lotus Feet; they are God's very breath of life. O Nanak, they automatically, intuitively meet God; their light merges into the Light. ||2||2||66|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: God Himself has given me the Support of His Lotus Feet. God's humble servants seek His Sanctuary; they are respected and famous forever. ||1|| God is the unparalleled Savior and Protector; service to Him is immaculate and pure. The Divine Guru has built the City of Ramdaspur, the royal domain of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Forever and ever, meditate on the Lord, and no obstacles will obstruct you. O Nanak, praising the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the fear of enemies runs away. ||2||3||67|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Worship and adore God in your mind and body; join the Company of the Holy. Chanting the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe, the Messenger of Death runs far away. ||1|| That humble being who chants the Lord's Name, remains always awake and aware, night and day.

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 024

He is not affected by charms and spells, nor is he harmed by the evil eye. ||1||Pause|| Sexual desire, anger, the intoxication of egotism and emotional attachment are dispelled, by loving devotion. One who enters the Lord's Sanctuary, O Nanak, remains merged in ecstasy in the subtle essence of the Lord's Love. ||2||4||68|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: The living creatures and their ways are in God's power. Whatever He says, they do. When the Sovereign Lord of the Universe is pleased, there is nothing at all to fear. ||1|| Pain shall never afflict you, if you remember the Supreme Lord God. The Messenger of Death does not even approach the beloved Sikhs of the Guru. ||1||Pause|| The All-powerful Lord is the Cause of causes; there is no other than Him. Nanak has entered the Sanctuary of God; the True Lord has given strength to the mind. ||2||5||69|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Remembering, remembering my God in meditation, the house of pain is removed. Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I have found peace and tranquility; I shall not wander away from there again. ||1|| I am devoted to my Guru; I am a sacrifice to His Feet. I am blessed with ecstasy, peace and happiness, gazing upon the Guru, and singing the Lord's Glorious Praises. ||1||Pause|| This is my life's purpose, to sing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises, and listen to the vibrations of the sound current of the Naad. O Nanak, God is totally pleased with me; I have obtained the fruits of my desires. ||2||6||70|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: This is the prayer of Your slave: please elighten my heart. By Your Mercy, O Supreme Lord God, please erase my sins. ||1|| I take the Support of Your Lotus Feet, O God, Primal Lord, treasure of virtue. I shall meditate in remembrance on the Praises of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, as long as there is breath in my body. ||1||Pause|| You are my mother, father and relative; You are abiding within all. Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of God; His Praise is immaculate and pure. ||2||7||71|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: All perfect spiritual powers are obtained, when one sings the Lord's Praises; everyone wishes him well. Everyone calls him holy and spiritual; hearing of him, the Lord's slaves come to meet him. ||1|| The Perfect Guru blesses him with peace, poise, salvation and happiness. All living beings become compassionate to him; he remembers the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1||Pause|| He is permeating and pervading everywhere; God is the ocean of virtue. O Nanak, the devotees are in bliss, gazing upon God's abiding stability. ||2||8||72|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: God, the

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Great Giver, has become merciful; He has listened to my prayer. He has saved His servant, and put ashes into the mouth of the slanderer. ||1|| No one can threaten you now, O my humble friend, for you are the slave of the Guru. The Supreme Lord God reached out with His Hand and saved you. ||1||Pause|| The One Lord is the Giver of all beings; there is no other at all. Nanak prays, You are my only strength, God. ||2||9||73|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: The Lord of the Universe has saved my friends and companions. The slanderers have died, so do not worry. ||1||Pause|| God has fulfilled all hopes and desires; I have met the Divine Guru.

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 025

God is celebrated and acclaimed all over the world; it is fruitful and rewarding to serve Him. ||1|| Lofty, infinite and immeasurable is the Lord; all beings are in His Hands. Nanak has entered the Sanctuary of God; He is with me everywhere. ||2||10||74|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: I worship the Perfect Guru in adoration; He has become merciful to me. The Saint has shown me the Way, and the noose of Death has been cut away. ||1|| Pain, hunger and scepticism have been dispelled, singing the Name of God. I am blessed with celestial peace, poise, bliss and pleasure, and all my affairs have been perfectly resolved. ||1||Pause|| The fire of desire has been quenched, and I am cooled and soothed; God Himself saved me. Nanak has entered the Sanctuary of God; His glorious radiance is so great! ||2||11||75|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: The earth is beautified, all places are fruitful, and my affairs are perfectly resolved. Fear runs away, and doubt is dispelled, dwelling constantly upon the Lord. ||1|| Dwelling with the humble Holy people, one finds peace, poise and tranquility. Blessed and auspicious is that time, when one meditates in remembrance on the Lord's Name. ||1||Pause|| They have become famous throughout the world; before this, no one even knew their names. Nanak has come to the Sanctuary of the One who knows each and every heart. ||2||12||76|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: God Himself eradicated the disease; peace and tranquility have welled up. The Lord blessed me with the gifts of great, glorious radiance and wondrous form. ||1|| The Guru, the Lord of the Universe, has shown mercy to me, and saved my brother. I am under His Protection; He is always my help and support. ||1||Pause|| The prayer of the Lord's humble servant is never offered in vain. Nanak takes the strength of the Perfect Lord of the Universe, the treasure of excellence. ||2||13||77|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Those who forget the Giver of life, die, over and over again, only to be reborn and die. The humble servant of the Supreme Lord God serves Him; night and day, he remains imbued with His Love. ||1|| I have found peace, tranquility and great ecstasy; my hopes have been fulfilled. I have found peace in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; I meditate in remembrance on the Lord, the treasure of virtue. ||1||Pause|| O my Lord and Master, please listen to the prayer of Your humble servant; You are the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. Nanak's Lord and Master is permeating and pervading all places and interspaces. ||2||14||78|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: The hot wind does not even touch one who is under the Protection of the Supreme Lord God. On all four sides I am surrounded by the Lord's Circle of Protection; pain does not afflict me, O Siblings of Destiny. ||1|| I have met the Perfect True Guru, who has done this deed. He has given me the medicine of the Lord's Name, and I enshrine love for the One Lord. ||1||Pause|| The Savior Lord has saved me, and eradicated all my sickness. Says Nanak, God has showered me with His Mercy; He has become my help and support. ||2||15||79|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: The Supreme Lord God, through the Divine Guru, has Himself protected and preserved His children. Celestial peace, tranquility and bliss have come to pass; my service has been perfect. ||1||Pause||

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 026

God Himself has heard the prayers of His humble devotees. He dispelled my disease, and rejuvenated me; His glorious radiance is so great! ||1|| He has forgiven me for my sins, and interceded with His power. I have been blessed with the fruits of my mind's desires; Nanak is a sacrifice to Him. ||2||16||80|| Raag Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl, Chau-Padas And Du-Padas, Sixth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O my fascinating Lord, let me not listen to the faithless cynic, singing his songs and tunes, and chanting his useless words. ||1||Pause|| I serve, serve, serve, serve the Holy Saints; forever and ever, I do this. The Primal Lord, the Great Giver, has blessed me with the gift of fearlessness. Joining the Company of the Holy, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||1|| My tongue is imbued with the Praises of the inaccessible and unfathomable Lord, and my eyes are drenched with the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. Be Merciful to me, O Destroyer of the pains of the meek, that I may enshrine Your Lotus Feet within my heart. ||2|| Beneath all, and above all; this is the vision I saw. I have destroyed, destroyed, destroyed my pride, since the True Guru implanted His Mantra within me. ||3|| Immeasurable, immeasurable, immeasurable is the Merciful Lord; he cannot be weighed. He is the Lover of His devotees. Whoever enters the Sanctuary of Guru Nanak, is blessed with the gifts of fearlessness and peace. ||4||||1||81|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: O Dear God, You are the Support of my breath of life. I how in humility and reverence to You; so many times, I am a sacrifice. ||1||Pause|| Sitting down, standing up, sleeping and waking, this mind thinks of You. I describe to You my pleasure and pain, and the state of this mind. ||1|| You are my shelter and support, power, intellect and wealth; You are my family. Whatever You do, I know that is good. Gazing upon Your Lotus Feet, Nanak is at peace. ||2||2||82|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: I have heard that God is the Savior of all. Intoxicated by attachment, in the company of sinners, the mortal has forgotten such a Lord from his mind. ||1||Pause|| He has collected poison, and grasped it firmly. But he has cast out the Ambrosial Nectar from his mind. He is imbued with sexual desire, anger, greed and slander; he has abandoned truth and contentment. ||1|| Lift me up, and pull me out of these, O my Lord and Master. I have entered Your Sanctuary. Nanak prays to God: I am a poor beggar; carry me across, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||2||3||83|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: I listen to God's Teachings from the Saints. The Lord's Sermon, the Kirtan of His Praises and the songs of bliss perfectly resonate, day and night. ||1||Pause|| In His Mercy, God has made them His own, and blessed them with the gift of His Name. Twenty-four hours a day, I sing the Glorious Praises of God. Sexual desire and anger have left this body. ||1||

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 027

I am satisfied and satiated, gazing upon the Blessed Vision of God's Darshan. I eat the Ambrosial Nectar of the Lord's sublime food. Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of Your Feet, O God; in Your Mercy, unite him with the Society of the Saints. ||2||4||84|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: He Himself has saved His humble servant. In His Mercy, the Lord, Har, Har, has blessed me with His Name, and all my pains and afflictions have been dispelled. ||1||Pause|| Sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe, all you humble servants of the Lord; chant the jewels, the songs of the Lord with your tongue. The desires of millions of incarnations shall be quenched, and your soul shall be satisfied with the sweet, sublime essence of the Lord. ||1|| I have grasped the Sanctuary of the Lord's Feet; He is the Giver of peace; through the Word of the Guru's Teachings, I meditate and chant the Chant of the Lord. I have crossed over the world-ocean, and my doubt and fear are dispelled, says Nanak, through the glorious granduer of our Lord and Master. ||2||5||85|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Through the Guru, the Creator Lord has subdued the fever. I am a sacrifice to my True Guru, who has saved the honour of the whole world. ||1||Pause|| Placing His Hand on the child's forehead, He saved him. God blessed me with the supreme, sublime essence of the Ambrosial Naam. ||1|| The Merciful Lord saves the honour of His slave. Guru Nanak speaks - it is confirmed in the Court of the Lord. ||2||6||86|| Raag Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl, Chau-Padas And Du-Padas, Seventh House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The Shabad, the Word of the True Guru, is the light of the lamp. It dispels the darkness from the body-mansion, and opens the beautiful chamber of jewels. ||1||Pause|| I was wonderstruck and astonished, when I looked inside; I cannot even describe its glory and grandeur. I am intoxicated and enraptured with it, and I am wrapped in it, through and through. ||1|| No worldly entanglements or snares can trap me, and no trace of egotistical pride remains. You are the highest of the high, and no curtain separates us; I am Yours, and You are mine. ||2|| The One Creator Lord created the expanse of the one universe; the One Lord is unlimited and infinite. The One Lord pervades the one universe; the One Lord is totally permeating everywhere; the One Lord is the Support of the breath of life. ||3|| He is the most immaculate of the immaculate, the purest of the pure, so pure, so pure. He has no end or limitation; He is forever unlimited. Says Nanak, He is the highest of the high. ||4||1||87|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Without the Lord, nothing is of any use. You are totally attached to that Enticer Maya; she is enticing you. ||1||Pause|| You shall have to leave behind your gold, your woman and your beautiful bed; you shall have to depart in an instant. You are entangled in the lures of sexual pleasures, and you are eating poisonous drugs. ||1|| You have built and adorned a palace of straw, and under it, you light a fire. Sitting all puffed-up in such a castle, you stubborn-minded fool, what do you think you will gain? ||2|| The five thieves stand over your head and seize you. Grabbing you by your hair, they will drive you on.

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 028

You do not see them, you blind and ignorant fool; intoxicated with ego, you just keep sleeping. ||3|| The net has been spread out, and the bait has been scattered; like a bird, you are being trapped. Says Nanak, my bonds have been broken; I meditate on the True Guru, the Primal Being. ||4||2||88|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is infinite and priceless. It is the Beloved of my breath of life, and the Support of my mind; I remember it, as the betel leaf chewer remembers the betel leaf. ||1||Pause|| I have been absorbed in celestial bliss, following the Guru's Teachings; my body-garment is imbued with the Lord's Love. I come face to face with my Beloved, by great good fortune; my Husband Lord never wavers. ||1|| I do not need any image, or incense, or perfume, or lamps; through and through, He is blossoming forth, with me, life and limb. Says Nanak, my Husband Lord has ravished and enjoyed His soul-bride; my bed has become very beautiful and sublime. ||2||3||89|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Chanting the Name of the Lord of the Universe, Gobind, Gobind, Gobind, we become like Him. Since I met the compassionate, Holy Saints, my evil-mindedness has been driven far away. ||1||Pause|| The Perfect Lord is perfectly pervading everywhere. He is cool and calm, peaceful and compassionate. Sexual desire, anger and egotistical desires have all been eliminated from my body. ||1|| Truth, contentment, compassion, Dharmic faith and purity - I have received these from the Teachings of the Saints. Says Nanak, one who realises this in his mind, achieves total understanding. ||2||4||90|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: What am I? Just a poor living being. I cannot even describe one of Your hairs, O Lord. Even Brahma, Shiva, the Siddhas and the silent sages do not know Your State, O Infinite Lord and Master. ||1|| What can I say? I cannot say anything. Wherever I look, I see the Lord pervading. ||1||Pause|| And there, where the most terrible tortures are heard to be inflicted by the Messenger of Death, You are my only help and support, O my God. I have sought His Sanctuary, and grasped hold of the Lord's Lotus Feet; God has helped Guru Nanak to understand this understanding. ||2||5||91|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: O Inaccessible, Beautiful, Imperishable Creator Lord, Purifier of sinners, let me meditate on You, even for an instant. O Wondrous Lord, I have heard that You are found by meeting the Saints, and focusing the mind on their feet, their holy feet. ||1|| In what way, and by what discipline, is He obtained? Tell me, O good man, by what means can we meditate on Him? ||1||Pause|| If one human being serves another human being, the one served stands by him. Nanak seeks Your Sanctuary and Protection, O Lord, ocean of peace; He takes the Support of Your Name alone. ||2||6||92|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: I seek the Sanctuary of the Saints, and I serve the Saints. I am rid of all worldly concerns, bonds, entanglements and other affairs. ||1||Pause|| I have obtained peace, poise and great bliss from the Guru, through the Lord's Name.

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 029

Such is the sublime essence of the Lord, that I cannot describe it. The Perfect Guru has turned me away from the world. ||1|| I behold the Fascinating Lord with everyone. No one is without Him - He is pervading everywhere. The Perfect Lord, the treasure of mercy, is permeating everywhere. Says Nanak, I am fully fulfilled. ||2||7||93|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: What does the mind say? What can I say? You are wise and all-knowing, O God, my Lord and Master; what can I say to You? ||1||Pause|| You know even what is not said, whatever is in the soul. O mind, why do you deceive others? How long will you do this? The Lord is with you; He hears and sees everything. ||1|| Knowing this, my mind has become blissful; there is no other Creator. Says Nanak, the Guru has become kind to me; my love for the Lord shall never wear off. ||2||8||94|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Thus, the slanderer crumbles away. This is the distinctive sign - listen, O Siblings of Destiny: he collapses like a wall of sand. ||1||Pause|| When the slanderer sees a fault in someone else, he is pleased. Seeing goodness, he is depressed. Twenty-four hours a day, he plots, but nothing works. The evil man dies, constantly thinking up evil plans. ||1|| The slanderer forgets God, death approaches him, and he starts to argue with the humble servant of the Lord. God Himself, the Lord and Master, is Nanak's protector. What can any wretched person do to him? ||2||9||95|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Why do you wander in delusion like this? You act, and incite others to act, and then deny it. The Lord is always with you; He sees and hears everything. ||1||Pause|| You purchase glass, and discard gold; you are in love with your enemy, while you renounce your true friend. That which exists, seems bitter; that which does not exist, seems sweet to you. Engrossed in corruption, you are burning away. ||1|| The mortal has fallen into the deep, dark pit, and is entangled in the darkness of doubt, and the bondage of emotional attachment. Says Nanak, when God becomes merciful, one meets with the Guru, who takes him by the arm, and lifts him out. ||2||10||96|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: With my mind, body and tongue, I remember the Lord. I am in ecstasy, and my anxieties are dispelled; the Guru has blessed me with total peace. ||1||Pause|| My ignorance has been totally transformed into wisdom. My God is wise and all-knowing. Giving me His Hand, He saved me, and now no one can harm me at all. ||1|| I am a sacrifice to the Blessed Vision of the Holy; by their Grace, I contemplate the Lord's Name. Says Nanak, I place my faith in my Lord and Master; within my mind, I do not believe in any other, even for an instant. ||2||11||97|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: The Perfect Guru has has saved me. He has enshrined the Ambrosial Name of the Lord within my heart, and the filth of countless incarnations has been washed away. ||1||Pause|| The demons and wicked enemies are driven out, by meditating, and chanting the Chant of the Perfect Guru.

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Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 030

What can any wretched creature do to me? The radiance of my God is gloriously great. ||1|| Meditating, meditating, meditating in remembrance, I have found peace; I have enshrined His Lotus Feet within my mind. Slave Nanak has entered His Sanctuary; there is none above Him. ||2||12||98|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Forever and ever, chant the Name of God. The pains of old age and death shall not afflict you, and in the Court of the Lord hereafter, your affairs shall be perfectly resolved. ||1||Pause|| So forsake your self-conceit, and ever seek Sanctuary. This treasure is obtained only from the Guru. The noose of birth and death is snapped; this is the insignia, the hallmark, of the Court of the True Lord. ||1|| Whatever You do, I accept as good. I have eradicated all egotistical pride from my mind. Says Nanak, I am under His protection; He created the entire Universe. ||2||13||99|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Deep within the nucleus of his mind and body, is God. He continually sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and always does good for others; his tongue is priceless. ||1||Pause|| All his generations are redeemed and saved in an instant, and the filth of countless incarnations is washed away. Meditating, meditating in remembrance on God, his Lord and Master, he passes blissfully through the forest of poison. ||1|| I have obtained the boat of God's Feet, to carry me across the terrifying world-ocean. The Saints, servants and devotees belong to the Lord; Nanak's mind is attached to Him. ||2||14||100|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: I am reassured, gazing upon Your wondrous play. You are my Lord and Master, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts; You dwell with the Holy Saints. ||1||Pause|| In an instant, our Lord and Master establishes and exalts. From a lowly worm, He creates a king. ||1|| May I never forget You from my heart; slave Nanak prays for this blessing. ||2||15||101|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: The imperishable Lord God is worthy of worship and adoration. Dedicating my mind and body, I place them before the Lord, the Cherisher of all beings. ||1||Pause|| His Sanctuary is All-powerful; He cannot be described; He is the Giver of peace, the ocean of mercy, supremely compassionate. Holding him close in His embrace, the Lord protects and saves him, and then even the hot wind cannot touch him. ||1|| Our Merciful Lord and Master is wealth, property and everything to His humble Saints. Nanak, a beggar, asks for the Blessed Vision of God's Darshan; please, bless him with the dust of the feet of the Saints. ||2||16||102|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Meditating on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is equal to millions of efforts. Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and the Messenger of Death will be frightened away. ||1||Pause|| To enshrine the Feet of God in one's mind and body, is to perform all sorts of acts of atonement. Coming and going, doubt and fear have run away, and the sins of countless incarnations are burnt away. ||1|| So become fearless, and vibrate upon the Lord of the Universe. This is true wealth, obtained only by great good fortune.

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 031

Be merciful, O Perfect God, Great Giver, that slave Nanak may chant Your immaculate Praises. ||2||17||103|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: The Lord saved me from Sulhi Khan. The emperor did not succeed in his plot, and he died in disgrace. ||1||Pause|| The Lord and Master raised His axe, and chopped off his head; in an instant, he was reduced to dust. ||1|| Plotting and planning evil, he was destroyed. The One who created him, gave him a push. Of his sons, friends and wealth, nothing remains; he departed, leaving behind all his brothers and relatives. Says Nanak, I am a sacrifice to God, who fulfilled the word of His slave. ||2||18||104|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Perfect is service to the Perfect Guru. Our Lord and Master Himself is Himself all-pervading. The Divine Guru has resolved all my affairs. ||1||Pause|| In the beginning, in the middle and in the end, God is our only Lord and Master. He Himself fashioned His Creation. He Himself saves His servant. Great is the glorious grandeur of my God! ||1|| The Supreme Lord God, the Transcendent Lord is the True Guru; all beings are in His power. Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of His Lotus Feet, chanting the Lord's Name, the immaculate Mantra. ||2||19||105|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: He Himself protects me from suffering and sin. Falling at the Guru's Feet, I am cooled and soothed; I meditate on the Lord's Name within my heart. ||1||Pause|| Granting His Mercy, God has extended His Hands. He is the Emancipator of the World; His glorious radiance pervades the nine continents. My pain has been dispelled, and peace and pleasure have come; my desire is quenched, and my mind and body are truly satisfied. ||1|| He is the Master of the masterless, All-powerful to give Sanctuary. He is the Mother and Father of the whole Universe. He is the Lover of His devotees, the Destroyer of fear; Nanak sings and chants the Glorious Praises of his Lord and Master. ||2||20||106|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Acknowledge the One, from whom You originated. Meditating on the Supreme Lord God, the Transcendent Lord, I have found peace, pleasure and salvation. ||1||Pause|| I met the Perfect Guru, by great good fortune, and so found the wise and all-knowing Lord, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. He gave me His Hand, and making me His own, He saved me; He is absolutely all-powerful, the honour of the dishonoured. ||1|| Doubt and fear have been dispelled in an instant, and in the darkness, the Divine Light shines forth. With each and every breath, Nanak worships and adores the Lord; forever and ever, I am a sacrifice to Him. ||2||21||107|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Both here and hereafter, the Mighty Guru protects me. God has embellished this world and the next for me, and all my affairs are perfectly resolved. ||1||Pause|| Chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, I have found peace and poise, bathing in the dust of the feet of the Holy. Comings and goings have ceased, and I have found stability; the pains of birth and death are eradicated. ||1|| I cross over the ocean of doubt and fear, and the fear of death is gone; the One Lord is permeating and pervading in each and every heart.

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 032

Nanak has entered the Sanctuary of the Destroyer of pain; I behold His Presence deep within, and all around as well. ||2||22||108|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Gazing upon the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan, all pains run away. Please, never leave my vision, O Lord; please abide with my soul. ||1||Pause|| My Beloved Lord and Master is the Support of the breath of life. God, the Inner-knower, is all-pervading. ||1|| Which of Your Glorious Virtues should I contemplate and remember? With each and every breath, O God, I remember You. ||2|| God is the ocean of mercy, merciful to the meek; He cherishes all beings and creatures. ||3|| Twenty-four hours a day, Your humble servant chants Your Name. You Yourself, O God, have inspired Nanak to love You. ||4||23||109|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Body, wealth and youth pass away. You have not meditated and vibrated upon the Lord's Name; while you commit your sins of corruption in the night, the light of day dawns upon you. ||1||Pause|| Continually eating all sorts of foods, the teeth in your mouth crumble, decay and fall out. Living in egotism and possessiveness, you are deluded; committing sins, you have no kindness for others. ||1|| The great sins are the terrible ocean of pain; the mortal is engrossed in them. Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of his Lord and Master; taking him by the arm, God has lifted him up and out. ||2||24||110|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: God Himself has come into my consciousness. My enemies and opponents have grown weary of attacking me, and now, I have become happy, O my friends and Siblings of Destiny. ||1||Pause|| The disease is gone, and all misfortunes have been averted; the Creator Lord has made me His own. I have found peace, tranquility and total bliss, enshrining the Name of my Beloved Lord within my heart. ||1|| My soul, body and wealth are all Your capital; O God, You are my All-powerful Lord and Master. You are the Saving Grace of Your slaves; slave Nanak is forever Your slave. ||2||25||111|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Meditating in remembrance on the Lord of the Universe, I am emancipated. Suffering is eradicated, and true peace has come, meditating on the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. ||1||Pause|| All beings belong to Him - He makes them happy. He is the true power of His humble devotees. He Himself saves and protects His slaves, who believe in their Creator, the Destroyer of fear. ||1|| I have found friendship, and hatred has been eradicated; the Lord has rooted out the enemies and villains. Nanak has been blessed with celestial peace and poise and total bliss; chanting the Glorious Praises of the Lord, he lives. ||2||26||112|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: The Supreme Lord God has become Merciful. The True Guru has arranged all my affairs; chanting and meditating with the Holy Saints, I have become happy. ||1||Pause|| God has made me His own, and all my enemies have been reduced to dust. He hugs us close in His embrace, and protects His humble servants; attaching us to the hem of His robe, he saves us. ||1||

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 033

Safe and sound, we have returned home, while the slanderer's face is blackened. Says Nanak, my True Guru is Perfect; by the Grace of God and Guru, I am so happy. ||2||27||113|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: I have fallen in love with my Beloved Lord. ||Pause|| Cutting it, it does not break, and releasing it, it does not let go. Such is the string the Lord has tied me with. ||1|| Day and night, He dwells within my mind; please bless me with Your Mercy, O my God. ||2|| I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice to my beauteous Lord; I have heard his Unspoken Speech and Story. ||3|| Servant Nanak is said to be the slave of His slaves; O my Lord and Master, please bless me with Your Mercy. ||4||28||114|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: I meditate on the Lord's Feet; I am a sacrifice to Them. My Guru is the Supreme Lord God, the Transcendent Lord; I enshrine Him within my heart, and meditate on Him within my mind. ||1||Pause|| Meditate, meditate, meditate in remembrance on the Giver of peace, who created the whole Universe. With your tongue, savor the One Lord, and you shall be honoured in the Court of the True Lord. ||1|| He alone obtains this treasure, who joins the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. O Lord and Master, mercifully bless Nanak with this gift, that he may ever sing the Glorious Praises of Your Kirtan. ||2||29||115|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: I have been saved, in the Sanctuary of the True Guru. I am cheered and applauded throughout the world; my Supreme Lord God carries me across. ||1||Pause|| The Perfect Lord fills the Universe; He is the Giver of peace; He cherishes and fulfills the whole Universe. He is completely filling all places and interspaces; I am a devoted sacrifice to the Lord's Feet. ||1|| The ways of all beings are in Your Power, O my Lord and Master. All supernatural spiritual powers are Yours; You are the Creator, the Cause of causes. In the beginning, and throughout the ages, God is our Savior and Protector; remembering the Lord in meditation, O Nanak, fear is eliminated. ||2||30||116|| Raag Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl, Du-Padas, Eighth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I am nothing, God; everything is Yours. In this world, You are the absolute, formless Lord; in the world hereafter, You are the related Lord of form. You play it both ways, O my Lord and Master. ||1||Pause|| You exist within the city, and beyond it as well; O my God, You are everywhere. You Yourself are the King, and You Yourself are the subject. In one place, You are the Lord and Master, and in another place, You are the slave. ||1|| From whom should I hide? Whom should I try to deceive? Wherever I look, I see Him near at hand. I have met with Guru Nanak, the Embodiment of the Holy Saints. When the drop of water merges into the ocean, it cannot be distinguished as separate again. ||2||1||117|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl:

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 034

You are the all-powerful Cause of causes. Please cover my faults, Lord of the Universe, O my Guru; I am a sinner - I seek the Sanctuary of Your Feet. ||1||Pause|| Whatever we do, You see and know; there is no way anyone can stubbornly deny this. Your glorious radiance is great! So I have heard, O God. Millions of sins are destroyed by Your Name. ||1|| It is my nature to make mistakes, forever and ever; it is Your Natural Way to save sinners. You are the embodiment of kindness, and the treasure of compassion, O Merciful Lord; through the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan, Nanak has found the state of redemption in life. ||2||2||118|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Bless me with such mercy, Lord, that my forehead may touch the feet of the Saints, and my eyes may behold the Blessed Vision of their Darshan, and my body may fall at the dust of their feet. ||1||Pause|| May the Word of the Guru's Shabad abide within my heart, and the Lord's Name be enshrined within my mind. Drive out the five thieves, O my Lord and Master, and let my doubts all burn like incense. ||1|| Whatever You do, I accept as good; I have driven out the sense of duality. You are Nanak's God, the Great Giver; in the Congregation of the Saints, emancipate me. ||2||3||119|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: I ask for such advice from Your humble servants, that I may meditate on You, and love You, and serve You, and become part and parcel of Your Being. ||1||Pause|| I serve His humble servants, and speak with them, and abide with them. I apply the dust of the feet of His humble servants to my face and forehead; my hopes, and the many waves of desire, are fulfilled. ||1|| Immaculate and pure are the praises of the humble servants of the Supreme Lord God; the feet of His humble servants are equal to millions of sacred shrines of pilgrimage. Nanak bathes in the dust of the feet of His humble servants; the sinful resides of countless incarnations have been washed away. ||2||4||120|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: If it pleases You, then cherish me. O Supreme Lord God, Transcendent Lord, O True Guru, I am Your child, and You are my Merciful Father. ||1||Pause|| I am worthless; I have no virtues at all. I cannot understand Your actions. You alone know Your state and extent. My soul, body and property are all Yours. ||1|| You are the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts, the Primal Lord and Master; You know even what is unspoken. My body and mind are cooled and soothed, O Nanak, by God's Glance of Grace. ||2||5||121|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Keep me with You forever, O God. You are my Beloved, the Enticer of my mind; without You, my life is totally useless. ||1||Pause|| In an instant, You transform the beggar into a king; O my God, You are the Master of the masterless. You save Your humble servants from the burning fire; You make them Your own, and with Your Hand, You protect them. ||1|| I have found peace and cool tranquility, and my mind is satisfied; meditating in remembrance on the Lord, all struggles are ended. Service to the Lord, O Nanak, is the treasure of treasures; all other clever tricks are useless. ||2||6||122||

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Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Never forget Your servant, O Lord. Hug me close in Your embrace, O God, my Lord and Master; consider my primal love for You, O Lord of the Universe. ||1||Pause|| It is Your Natural Way, God, to purify sinners; please do not keep my errors in Your Heart. You are my life, my breath of life, O Lord, my wealth and peace; be merciful to me, and burn away the curtain of egotism. ||1|| Without water, how can the fish survive? Without milk, how can the baby survive? Servant Nanak thirsts for the Lord's Lotus Feet; gazing upon the Blessed Vision of his Lord and Master's Darshan, he finds the essence of peace. ||2||7||123|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Here, and hereafter, there is happiness. The Perfect Guru has perfectly, totally saved me; the Supreme

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Lord God has been kind to me. ||1||Pause|| The Lord, my Beloved, is pervading and permeating my mind and body; all my pains and sufferings are dispelled. In celestial peace, tranquility and bliss, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord; my enemies and adversaries have been totally destroyed. ||1|| God has not considered my merits and demerits; in His Mercy, He has made me His own. Unweighable is the greatness of the immovable and imperishable Lord; Nanak proclaims the victory of the Lord. ||2||8||124|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Without the Fear of God, and devotional worship, how can anyone cross over the world-ocean? Be kind to me, O Saving Grace of sinners; preserve my faith in You, O my Lord and Master. ||1||Pause|| The mortal does not remember the Lord in meditation; he wanders around intoxicated by egotism; he is engrossed in corruption like a dog. Utterly cheated, his life is slipping away; committing sins, he is sinking away. ||1|| I have come to Your Sanctuary, Destroyer of pain; O Primal Immaculate Lord, may I dwell upon You in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. O Lord of beautiful hair, Destroyer of pain, Eradicator of sins, Nanak lives, gazing upon the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. ||2||9||125|| Raag Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl, Du-Padas, Ninth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: He Himself merges us with Himself. When I came to Your Sanctuary, my sins vanished. ||1||Pause|| Renouncing egotistical pride and other anxieties, I have sought the Sanctuary of the Holy Saints. Chanting, meditating on Your Name, O my Beloved, disease is eradicated from my body. ||1|| Even utterly foolish, ignorant and thoughtless persons have been saved by the Kind Lord. Says Nanak, I have met the Perfect Guru; my comings and goings have ended. ||2||1||126|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Hearing Your Name, I live. When the Perfect Guru became pleased with me, then my hopes were fulfilled. ||1||Pause|| Pain is gone, and my mind is comforted; the music of bliss fascinates me. The yearning to meet my Beloved God has welled up within me. I cannot live without Him, even for an instant. ||1||

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 036

You have saved so many devotees, so many humble servants; so many silent sages contemplate You. The support of the blind, the wealth of the poor; Nanak has found God, of endless virtues. ||2||2||127|| Raag Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl, Thirteenth House, Partaal: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O Enticing Lord, I cannot sleep; I sigh. I am adorned with necklaces, gowns, ornaments and make-up. I am sad, sad and depressed. When will You come home? ||1||Pause|| I seek the Sanctuary of the happy soul-brides; I place my head upon their feet. Unite me with my Beloved. When will He come to my home? ||1|| Listen, my companions: tell me how to meet Him. Eradicate all egotism, and then you shall find your Beloved Lord within the home of your heart. Then, in delight, you shall sing the songs of joy and praise. Meditate on the Lord, the embodiment of bliss. O Nanak, I came to the Lord's Door, and then, I found my Beloved. ||2|| The Enticing Lord has revealed His form to me, and now, sleep seems sweet to me. My thirst is totally quenched, and now, I am absorbed in celestial bliss. How sweet is the story of my Husband Lord. I have found my Beloved, Enticing Lord. ||Second Pause||1||128|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: My ego is gone; I have obtained the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan. I am absorbed in my Lord and Master, the help and support of the Saints. Now, I hold tight to His Feet. ||1||Pause|| My mind longs for Him, and does not love any other. I am totally absorbed, in love with His Lotus Feet, like the bumble bee attached to the honey of the lotus flower. I do not desire any other taste; I seek only the One Lord. ||1|| I have broken away from the others, and I have been released from the Messenger of Death. O mind, drink in the subtle essence of the Lord; join the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, and turn away from the world. There is no other, none other than the Lord. O Nanak, love the Feet, the Feet of the Lord. ||2||2||129|| Raag Bilaaval, Ninth Mehl, Du-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The Name of the Lord is the Dispeller of sorrow - realise this. Remembering Him in meditation, even Ajaamal the robber and Ganikaa the prostitute were liberated; let your soul know this. ||1||Pause|| The elephant's fear was taken away in an instant, as soon as he chanted the Lord's Name. Listening to Naarad's teachings, the child Dhroo was absorbed in deep meditation. ||1|| He obtained the immovable, eternal state of fearlessness, and all the world was amazed. Says Nanak, the Lord is the Saving Grace and the Protector of His devotees; believe it - He is close to you. ||2||1|| Bilaaval, Ninth Mehl: Without the Name of the Lord, you shall only find pain. Without devotional worship, doubt is not dispelled; the Guru has revealed this secret. ||1||Pause|| Of what use are sacred shrines of pilgrimage, if one does not enter the Sanctuary of the Lord?

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 037

Know that Yoga and sacrificial feasts are fruitless, if one forgets the Praises of God. ||1|| One who lays aside both pride and attachment, sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe. Says Nanak, the mortal who does this is said to be 'jivan mukta' - liberated while yet alive. ||2||2|| Bilaaval, Ninth Mehl: There is no meditation on the Lord within him. That man wastes his life uselessly - keep this in mind. ||1||Pause|| He bathes at sacred shrines of pilgrimage, and adheres to fasts, but he has no control over his mind. Know that such religion is useless to him. I speak the Truth for his sake. ||1|| It's like a stone, kept immersed in water; still, the water does not penetrate it. So, understand it: that mortal being who lacks devotional worship is just like that. ||2|| In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, liberation comes from the Naam. The Guru has revealed this secret. Says Nanak, he alone is a great man, who sings the Praises of God. ||3||3|| Bilaaval, Ashtapadees, First Mehl, Tenth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: He dwells close at hand, and sees all, but how rare is the Gurmukh who understands this. Without the Fear of God, there is no devotional worship. Imbued with the Word of the Shabad, eternal peace is attained. ||1|| Such is the spiritual wisdom, the treasure of the Naam; obtaining it, the Gurmukhs enjoy the subtle essence of this nectar. ||1||Pause|| Everyone talks about spiritual wisdom and spiritual knowledge. Talking, talking, they argue, and suffer. No one can stop talking and discussing it. Without being imbued with the subtle essence, there is no liberation. ||2|| Spiritual wisdom and meditation all come from the Guru. Through the lifestyle of Truth, the True Lord comes to dwell in the mind. The self-willed manmukh talks about it, but does not practice it. Forgetting the Name, he finds no place of rest. ||3|| Maya has caught the mind in the trap of the whirlpool. Each and every heart is trapped by this bait of poison and sin. See that whoever has come, is subject to death. Your affairs shall be adjusted, if you contemplate the Lord in your heart. ||4|| He alone is a spiritual teacher, who lovingly focuses his consciousness on the Word of the Shabad. The self-willed, egotistical manmukh loses his honour. The Creator Lord Himself inspires us to His devotional worship. He Himself blesses the Gurmukh with glorious greatness. ||5|| The life-night is dark, while the Divine Light is immaculate. Those who lack the Naam, the Name of the Lord, are false, filthy and untouchable. The Vedas preach sermons of devotional worship. Listening, hearing and believing, one beholds the Divine Light. ||6|| The Shaastras and Simritees implant the Naam within. The Gurmukh lives in peace and tranquility, doing deeds of sublime purity. The self-willed manmukh suffers the pains of reincarnation. His bonds are broken, enshrining the Name of the One Lord. ||7|| Believing in the Naam, one obtains true honour and adoration. Who should I see? There is none other than the Lord. I see, and I say, that He alone is pleasing to my mind. Says Nanak, there is no other at all. ||8||1||

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 038

Bilaaval, First Mehl: The human acts according to the wishes of the mind. This mind feeds on virtue and vice. Intoxicated with the wine of Maya, satisfaction never comes. Satisfaction and liberation come, only to one whose mind is pleasing to the True Lord. ||1|| Gazing upon his body, wealth, wife and all his possessions, he is proud. But without the Name of the Lord, nothing shall go along with him. ||1||Pause|| He enjoys tastes, pleasures and joys in his mind. But his wealth will pass on to other people, and his body will be reduced to ashes. The entire expanse, like dust, shall mix with dust. Without the Word of the Shabad, his filth is not removed. ||2|| The various songs, tunes and rhythms are false. Trapped by the three qualities, people come and go, far from the Lord. In duality, the pain of their evil-mindedness does not leave them. But the Gurmukh is emancipated by taking the medicine, and singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||3|| He may wear a clean loin-cloth, apply the ceremonial mark to his forehead, and wear a mala around his neck; but if there is anger within him, he is merely reading his part, like an actor in a play. Forgetting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, he drinks in the wine of Maya. Without devotional worship to the Guru, there is no peace. ||4|| The human is a pig, a dog, a donkey, a cat, a beast, a filthy, lowly wretch, an outcast, if he turns his face away from the Guru. He shall wander in reincarnation. Bound in bondage, he comes and goes. ||5|| Serving the Guru, the treasure is found. With the Naam in the heart, one always prospers. And in the Court of the True Lord, you shall not called to account. One who obeys the Hukam of the Lord's Command, is approved at the Lord's Door. ||6|| Meeting the True Guru, one knows the Lord. Understanding the Hukam of His Command, one acts according to His Will. Understanding the Hukam of His Command, he dwells in the Court of the True Lord. Through the Shabad, death and birth are ended. ||7|| He remains detached, knowing that everything belongs to God. He dedicates his body and mind unto the One who owns them. He does not come, and he does not go. O Nanak, absorbed in Truth, he merges in the True Lord. ||8||2|| Bilaaval, Third Mehl, Ashtapadees, Tenth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The world is like a crow; with its beak, it croaks spiritual wisdom. But deep within there is greed, falsehood and pride. Without the Name of the Lord, your thin outer covering shall wear off, you fool. ||1|| Serving the True Guru, the Naam shall dwell in your conscious mind. Meeting with the Guru, the Name of the Lord comes to mind. Without the Name, other loves are false. ||1||Pause|| So do that work, which the Guru tells you to do. Contemplating the Word of the Shabad, you shall come to the home of celestial bliss. Through the True Name, you shall obtain glorious greatness. ||2|| One who does not understand his own self, but still tries to instruct others, is mentally blind, and acts in blindness. How can he ever find a home and a place of rest, in the Mansion of the Lord's Presence? ||3|| Serve the Dear Lord, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts; deep within each and every heart, His Light is shining forth. How can anyone hide anything from Him? ||4||

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 039

The True Name is known through the True Word of the Shabad. The Lord Himself meets that one who eradicates egotistical pride. The Gurmukh chants the Naam, forever and ever. ||5|| Serving the True Guru, duality and evil-mindedness are taken away. Guilty mistakes are erased, and the sinful intellect is cleansed. One's body sparkles like gold, and one's light merges into the Light. ||6|| Meeting with the True Guru, one is blessed with glorious greatness. Pain is taken away, and the Naam comes to dwell within the heart. Imbued with the Naam, one finds eternal peace. ||7|| Obeying the Gur's instructions, one's actions are purified. Obeying the Guru's Instructions, one finds the state of salvation. O Nanak, those who follow the Guru's Teachings are saved, along with their families. ||8||1||3|| Bilaaval, Fourth Mehl, Ashtapadees, Eleventh House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: One who eliminates his self-centredness, and eradicates his ego, night and day sings the songs of the Lord's Love. The Gurmukh is inspired, his body is golden, and his light merges into the Light of the Fearless Lord. ||1|| I take the Support of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. I cannot live, for a moment, even for an instant, without the Name of the Lord; the Gurmukh reads the Sermon of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1||Pause|| In the one house of the body, there are ten gates; night and day, the five thieves break in. They steal the entire wealth of one's Dharmic faith, but the blind, self-willed manmukh does not know it. ||2|| The fortress of the body is overflowing with gold and jewels; when it is awakened by spiritual wisdom, one enshrines love for the essence of reality. The thieves and robbers hide out in the body; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, they are arrested and locked up. ||3|| The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is the boat, and the Word of the Guru's Shabad is the boatman, to carry us across. The Messenger of Death, the tax collector, does not even come close, and no thieves or robbers can plunder you. ||4|| I continuously sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, day and night; singing the Lord's Praises, I cannot find His limits. The mind of the Gurmukh returns to its own home; it meets the Lord of the Universe, to the beat of the celestial drum. ||5|| Gazing upon the Blessed Vision of His Darshan with my eyes, my mind is satisfied; with my ears, I listen to the Guru's Bani, and the Word of His Shabad. Listening, listening, my soul is softened, delighted by His subtle essence, chanting the Name of the Lord of the Universe. ||6|| In the grip of the three qualities, they are engrossed in love and attachment to Maya; only as Gurmukh do they find the absolute quality, absorption in bliss. With a single, impartial eye, look upon all alike, and see God pervading all. ||7|| The Light of the Lord's Name permeates all; the Gurmukh knows the unknowable. O Nanak, the Lord has become merciful to the meek; through loving adoration, he merges in the Lord's Name. ||8||1||4|| Bilaaval, Fourth Mehl: Meditate on the cool water of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Perfume yourself with the fragrant scent of the Lord, the sandalwood tree.

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 040

Joining the Society of the Saints, I have obtained the supreme status. I am just a castor-oil tree, made fragrant by their association. ||1|| Meditate on the Lord of the Universe, the Master of the world, the Lord of creation. Those humble beings who seek the Lord's Sanctuary are saved, like Prahlaad; they are emancipated and merge with the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Of all plants, the sandalwood tree is the most sublime. Everything near the sandalwood tree becomes fragrant like sandalwood. The stubborn, false faithless cynics are dried up; their egotistical pride separates them far from the Lord. ||2|| Only the Creator Lord Himself knows the state and condition of everyone; the Lord Himself makes all the arrangements. One who meets the True Guru is transformed into gold. Whatever is pre-ordained, is not erased by erasing. ||3|| The treasure of jewels is found in the ocean of the Guru's Teachings. The treasure of devotional worship is opened to me. Focused on the Guru's Feet, faith wells up within me; chanting the Glorious Praises of the Lord, I hunger for more. ||4|| I am totally detached, continually, continuously meditating on the Lord; chanting the Glorious Praises of the Lord, I express my love for Him. Time and time again, each and every moment and instant, I express it. I cannot find the Lord's limits; He is the farthest of the far. ||5|| The Shaastras,

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the Vedas and the Puraanas advise righteous actions, and the performance of the six religious rituals. The hypocritical, self-willed manmukhs are ruined by doubt; in the waves of greed, their boat is heavily loaded, and it sinks. ||6|| So chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and through the Naam, find emancipation. The Simritees and Shaastras recommend the Naam. Eradicating egotism, one becomes pure. The Gurmukh is inspired, and obtains the supreme status. ||7|| This world, with its colours and forms, is all Yours, O Lord; as You attach us, so do we do our deeds. O Nanak, we are the instruments upon which He plays; as He wills, so is the path we take. ||8||2||5|| Bilaaval, Fourth Mehl: The Gurmukh meditates on the Inaccessible, Unfathomable Lord. I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice to the True Guru, the True Primal Being. He has brought the Lord's Name to dwell upon my breath of life; meeting with the True Guru, I am absorbed into the Lord's Name. ||1|| The Name of the Lord is the only Support of His humble servants. I shall live under the protection of the True Guru. By Guru's Grace, I shall attain the Court of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| This body is the field of karma; the Gurmukhs plow and work it, and harvest the essence. The priceless jewel of the Naam becomes manifest, and it pours into their vessels of love. ||2|| Become the slave of the slave of the slave, of that humble being who has become the devotee of the Lord. I dedicate my mind and intellect, and place them in offering before my Guru; by Guru's Grace, I speak the Unspoken. ||3|| The self-willed manmukhs are engrossed in attachment to Maya; their minds are thirsty, burning with desire. Following the Guru's Teachings, I have obtained the Ambrosial Water of the Naam, and the fire has been put out. The Word of the Guru's Shabad has put it out. ||4|| This mind dances before the True Guru. The unstruck sound current of the Shabad resounds, vibrating the celestial melody.

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 041

I praise the Lord, day and night, moving my feet to the beat of the drum. ||5|| Imbued with the Lord's Love, my mind sings His Praise, joyfully chanting the Shabad, the source of nectar and bliss. The stream of immaculate purity flows through the home of the self within; one who drinks it in, finds peace. ||6|| The stubborn-minded, egotistical, proud-minded person performs rituals, but these are like sand castles built by children. When the waves of the ocean come in, they crumble and dissolve in an instant. ||7|| The Lord is the pool, and the Lord Himself is the ocean; this world is all a play which He has staged. As the waves of water merge into the water again, O Nanak, so does He merge into Himself. ||8||3||6|| Bilaaval, Fourth Mehl: My mind wears the ear-rings of the True Guru's acquaintance; I apply the ashes of the Word of the Guru's Shabad to my body. By body has become immortal, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Both birth and death have come to an end for me. ||1|| O my mind, remain united with the Saadh Sangat. Be merciful to me, O Lord; each and every instant, let me wash the Feet of the Holy. ||1||Pause|| Forsaking family life, he wanders in the forest, but his mind does not remain at rest, even for an instant. The wandering mind returns home, only when it seeks the Sanctuary of the Lord's Holy people. ||2|| The Sannyaasi renounces his daughters and sons, but his mind still conjures up all sorts of hopes and desires. With these hopes and desires, he still does not understand, that only through the Word of the Guru's Shabad does one become free of desires, and find peace. ||3|| When detachment from the world wells up within, he become a naked hermit, but still, his mind roams, wanders and rambles in the ten directions. He wanders around, but his desires are not satisfied; joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, he finds the house of kindness and compassion. ||4|| The Siddhas learn many Yogis postures, but their minds still yearn for riches, miraculous powers and energy. Satisfaction, contentment and tranquility do not come to their minds; but meeting the Holy Saints, they are satisfied, and through the Name of the Lord, spiritual perfection is attained. ||5|| Life is born from the egg, from the womb, from sweat and from the earth; God created the beings and creatures of all colours and forms. One who seeks the Sanctuary of the Holy is saved, whether he is a Kh'shaatriya, a Brahmin, a Soodra, a Vaishya or the most untouchable of the untouchables. ||6|| Naam Dayv, Jai Dayv, Kabeer, Trilochan and Ravi Daas the low-caste leather-worker, blessed Dhanna and Sain; all those who joined the humble Saadh Sangat, met the Merciful Lord. ||7|| The Lord protects the honour of His humble servants; He is the Lover of His devotees - He makes them His own. Nanak has entered the Sanctuary of the Lord, the Life of the world, who has showered His Mercy upon him, and saved him. ||8||||4||7|| Bilaaval, Fourth Mehl: The thirst for God has welled up deep within me; hearing the Word of the Guru's Teachings, my mind is pierced by His arrow.

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 042

The pain of my mind is known only to my own mind; who can know the pain of another? ||1|| The Lord, the Guru, the Enticer, has enticed my mind. I am stunned and amazed, gazing upon my Guru; I have entered the realm of wonder and bliss. ||1||Pause|| I wander around, exploring all lands and foreign countries; within my mind, I have such a great longing to see my God. I sacrifice my mind and body to the Guru, who has shown me the Way, the Path to my Lord God. ||2|| If only someone would bring me news of God; He seems so sweet to my heart, mind and body. I would cut off my head and place it under the feet of that one who leads me to meet and unite with my Lord God. ||3|| Let us go, O my companions, and understand our God; with the spell of virtue, let us obtain our Lord God. He is called the Lover of His devotees; let us follow in the footsteps of those who seek God's Sanctuary. ||4|| If the soul-bride adorns herself with compassion and forgiveness, God is pleased, and her mind is illumined with the lamp of the Guru's wisdom. With happiness and ecstasy, my God enjoys her; I offer each and every bit of my soul to Him. ||5|| I have made the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, my necklace; my mind tinged with devotion is the intricate ornament of crowning glory. I have spread out my bed of faith in the Lord, Har, Har. I cannot abandon Him - my mind is filled with such a great love for Him. ||6|| If God says one thing, and the soul-bride does something else, then all her decorations are useless and false. She may adorn herself to meet her Husband Lord, but still, only the virtuous soul-bride meets God, and the other's face is spat upon. ||7|| I am Your hand-maiden, O Inaccessible Lord of the Universe; what can I do by myself? I am under Your power. Be merciful, Lord, to the meek, and save them; Nanak has entered the Sanctuary of the Lord, and the Guru. ||8||5||8|| Bilaaval, Fourth Mehl: My mind and body are filled with love for my Inaccessible Lord and Master. Each and every instant, I am filled with immense faith and devotion. Gazing upon the Guru, my mind's faith is fulfilled, like the song-bird, which cries and cries, until the rain-drop falls into its mouth. ||1|| Join with me, join with me, O my companions, and teach me the Sermon of the Lord. The True Guru has mercifully united me with God. Cutting off my head, and chopping it into pieces, I offer it to Him. ||1||Pause|| Each and every hair on my head, and my mind and body, suffer the pains of separation; without seeing my God, I cannot sleep. The doctors and healers look at me, and are perplexed. Within my heart, mind and body, I feel the pain of divine love. ||2|| I cannot live for a moment, for even an instant, without my Beloved, like the opium addict who cannot live without opium. Those who thirst for God, do not love any other. Without the Lord, there is no other at all. ||3|| If only someone would come and unite me with God; I am devoted, dedicated, a sacrifice to him. After being separated from the Lord for countless incarnations, I am re-united with Him, entering the Sanctuary of the True, True, True Guru. ||4||

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 043

There is one bed for the soul-bride, and the same bed for God, her Lord and Master. The self-willed manmukh does not obtain the Mansion of the Lord's Presence; she wanders around, in limbo. Uttering, "Guru, Guru", she seeks His Sanctuary; so God comes to meet her, without a moment's delay. ||5|| One may perform many rituals, but the mind is filled with hypocrisy, evil deeds and greed. When a son is born in the house of a prostitute, who can tell the name of his father? ||6|| Because of devotional worship in my past incarnations, I have been born into this life. The Guru has inspired me to worship the Lord, Har, Har, Har, Har. Worshipping, worshipping Him with devotion, I found the Lord, and then I merged into the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, Har, Har. ||7|| God Himself came and ground the henna leaves into powder, and applied it to my body. Our Lord and Master showers His Mercy upon us, and grasps hold of our arms; O Nanak, He lifts us up and saves us. ||8||6||9||2||1||6||9|| Raag Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl, Ashtapadees, Twelfth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I cannot express the Praises of my God; I cannot express His Praises. I have abandoned all others, seeking His Sanctuary. ||1||Pause|| God's Lotus Feet are Infinite. I am forever a sacrifice to Them. My mind is in love with Them. If I were to abandon Them, there is nowhere else I could go. ||1|| I chant the Lord's Name with my tongue. The filth of my sins and evil mistakes is burnt off. Climbing aboard the Boat of the Saints, I am emancipated. I have been carried across the terrifying world-ocean. ||2|| My mind is tied to the Lord with the string of love and devotion. This is the Immaculate Way of the Saints. They forsake sin and corruption. They meet the Formless Lord God. ||3|| Gazing upon God, I am wonderstruck. I taste the Perfect Flavor of Bliss. I do not waver or wander here or there. The Lord God, Har, Har, dwells within my consciousness. ||4|| Those who constantly remember God, the treasure of virtue, will never go to hell. Those who listen, fascinated, to the Unstruck Sound-Current of the Word, will never have to see the Messenger of Death with their eyes. ||5|| I seek the Sanctuary of the Lord, the Heroic Lord of the World. The Merciful Lord God is under the power of His devotees. The Vedas do not know the Mystery of the Lord. The silent sages constantly serve Him. ||6|| He is the Destroyer of the pains and sorrows of the poor. It is so very difficult to serve Him. No one knows His limits. He is pervading the water, the land and the sky. ||7|| Hundreds of thousands of times, I humbly bow to Him. I have grown weary, and I have collapsed at God's Door. O God, make me the dust of the feet of the Holy. Please fulfill this, Nanak's wish. ||8||1|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: God, please release me from birth and death. I have grown weary, and collapsed at Your door. I grasp Your Feet, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. The Love of the Lord, Har, Har, is sweet to my mind.

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 044

Be Merciful, and attach me to the hem of Your robe. Nanak meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1|| O Merciful Master of the meek, You are my Lord and Master, O Merciful Master of the meek. I yearn for the dust of the feet of the Saints. ||1||Pause|| The world is a pit of poison, filled with the utter darkness of ignorance and emotional attachment. Please take my hand, and save me, Dear God. Please bless me with Your Name, Lord. Without You, God, I have no place at all. Nanak is a sacrifice, a sacrifice to You. ||2|| The human body is in the grip of greed and attachment. Without meditating and vibrating upon the Lord, it is reduced to ashes. The Messenger of Death is dreadful and horrible. The recording scribes of the conscious and the unconscious, Chitr and Gupt, know all actions and karma. Day and night, they bear witness. Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of the Lord. ||3|| O Lord, Destroyer of fear and egotism, be merciful, and save the sinners. My sins cannot even be counted. Without the Lord, who can hide them? I thought of Your Support, and seized it, O my Lord and Master. Please, give Nanak Your hand and save him, Lord! ||4|| The Lord, the treasure of virtue, the Lord of the world, cherishes and and sustains every heart. My mind is thirsty for Your Love, and the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. O Lord of the Universe, please fulfill my hopes. I cannot survive, even for an instant. By great good fortune, Nanak has found the Lord. ||5|| Without You, God, there is no other at all. My mind loves You, as the partridge loves the moon, as the fish loves the water, as the bee and the lotus cannot be separated. As the chakvi bird longs for the sun, so does Nanak thirst for the Lord's feet. ||6|| As the young bride places the hopes of her life in her husband, as the greedy person looks upon the gift of wealth, as milk is joined to water, as food is to the very hungry man, and as the mother loves her son, so does Nanak constantly remember the Lord in meditation. ||7|| As the moth falls into the lamp, as the thief steals without hesitation, as the elephant is trapped by its sexual urges, as the sinner is caught in his sins, as the gambler's addiction does not leave him, so is this mind of Nanak's attached to the Lord. ||8|| As the deer loves the sound of the bell, and as the song-bird longs for the rain, the Lord's humble servant lives in the Society of the Saints, lovingly meditating and vibrating upon the Lord of the Universe. My tongue chants the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Please bless Nanak with the gift of the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. ||9|| One who sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and hears them, and writes them, receives all fruits and rewards from the Lord. He saves all his ancestors and generations, and crosses over the world-ocean. The Lord's Feet are the boat to carry him across. Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, he sings the Praises of the Lord. The Lord protects his honour. Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of the Lord's door. ||10||2|| Bilaaval, First Mehl, T'hitee ~ The Lunar Days, Tenth House, To The Drum-Beat Jat: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The First Day: The One Universal Creator is unique, immortal, unborn, beyond social class or involvement. He is inaccessible and unfathomable, with no form or feature. Searching, searching, I have seen Him in each and every heart.

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 045

I am a sacrifice to one who sees, and inspires others to see Him. By Guru's Grace, I have obtained the supreme status. ||1|| Whose Name should I chant, and meditate on, except the Lord of the Universe? Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the Mansion of the Lord's Presence is revealed within the home of one's own heart. ||1||Pause|| The Second Day: Those who are in love with another, come to regret and repent. The are tied up at Death's door, and continue coming and going. What have they brought, and what will they take with them when they go? The Messenger of Death looms over their heads, and they endure his beating. Without the Word of the Guru's Shabad, no one finds release. Practicing hypocrisy, no one finds liberation. ||2|| The True Lord Himself created the universe, joining the elements together. Breaking the cosmic egg, He united, and separated. He made the earth and the sky into places to live. He created day and night, fear and love. The One who created the Creation, also watches over it. There is no other Creator Lord. ||3|| The Third Day: He created Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, the gods, goddesses and various manifestations. The lights and forms cannot be counted. The One who fashioned them, knows their value. He evaluates them, and totally pervades them. Who is close, and who is far away? ||4|| The Fourth Day: He created the four Vedas, the four sources of creation, and distinct forms of speech. He created the eighteen Puraanas, the six Shaastras and the three qualities. He alone understands, whom the Lord

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causes to understand. One who overcomes the three qualities, dwells in the fourth state. Prays Nanak, I am his slave. ||5|| The Fifth Day: The five elements are demons. The Lord Himself is unfathomable and detached. Some are gripped by doubt, hunger, emotional attachment and desire. Some taste the sublime essence of the Shabad, and are satisfied. Some are imbued with the Lord's Love, while some die, and are reduced to dust. Some attain the Court and the Mansion of the True Lord, and behold Him, ever-present. ||6|| The false one has no honour or fame; like the black crow, he never becomes pure. He is like the bird, imprisoned in a cage; he paces back and forth behind the bars, but he is not released. He alone is emancipated, whom the Lord and Master emancipates. He follows the Guru's Teachings, and enshrines devotional worship. ||7|| The Sixth Day: God organised the six systems of Yoga. The unstruck sound current of the Shabad vibrates of itself. If God wills it so, then one is summoned to the Mansion of His Presence. One who is pierced through by the Shabad, obtains honour. Those who wear religious robes burn, and are ruined. Through Truth, the truthful ones merge into the True Lord. ||8|| The Seventh Day: When the body is imbued with Truth and contentment, the seven seas within are filled with the Immaculate Water. Bathing in good conduct, and contemplating the True Lord within the heart, one obtains the Word of the Guru's Shabad, and carries everyone across. With the True Lord in the mind, and the True Lord lovingly on one's lips, one is blessed with the banner of Truth, and meets with no obstructions. ||9|| The Eighth Day: The eight miraculous powers come when one subdues his own mind, and contemplates the True Lord through pure actions. Forget the three qualities of wind, water and fire, and concentrate on the pure True Name. That human who remains lovingly focused on the Lord, prays Nanak, shall not be consumed by death. ||10|| The Ninth Day: The Name is the supreme almighty Master of the nine masters of Yoga, the nine realms of the earth, and each and every heart.

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 046

This whole world is the child of Maya. I bow in submission to God, my Protector from the very beginning of time. He was in the beginning, He has been throughout the ages, He is now, and He shall always be. He is unlimited, and capable of doing everything. ||11|| The Tenth Day: Meditate on the Naam, give to charity, and purify yourself. Night and day, bathe in spiritual wisdom and the Glorious Virtues of the True Lord. Truth cannot be polluted; doubt and fear run away from it. The flimsy thread breaks in an instant. Know that the world is just like this thread. Your consciousness shall become steady and stable, enjoying the Love of the True Lord. ||12|| The Eleventh Day: Enshrine the One Lord within your heart. Eradicate cruelty, egotism and emotional attachment. Earn the fruitful rewards, by observing the fast of knowing your own self. One who is engrossed in hypocrisy, does not see the true essence. The Lord is immaculate, self-sustaining and unattached. The Pure, True Lord cannot be polluted. ||13|| Wherever I look, I see the One Lord there. He created the other beings, of many and various kinds. Eating only fruits, one loses the fruits of life. Eating only delicacies of various sorts, one loses the true taste. In fraud and greed, people are engrossed and entangled. The Gurmukh is emancipated, practicing Truth. ||14|| The Twelfth Day: One whose mind is not attached to the twelve signs, remains awake day and night, and never sleeps. He remains awake and aware, lovingly centred on the Lord. With faith in the Guru, he is not consumed by death. Those who become detached, and conquer the five enemies - prays Nanak, they are lovingly absorbed in the Lord. ||15|| The Twelfth Day: Know, and practice, compassion and charity. Bring your out-going mind back home. Observe the fast of remaining free of desire. Chant the unchanted Chant of the Naam with your mouth. Know that the One Lord is contained in the three worlds. Purity and self-discipline are all contained in knowing the Truth. ||16|| The Thirteenth Day: He is like a tree on the sea-shore. But his roots can become immortal, if his mind is attuned to the Lord's Love. Then, he will not die of fear or anxiety, and he will never drown. Without the Fear of God, he drowns and dies, and loses his honour. With the Fear of God in his heart, and his heart in the Fear of God, he knows God. He sits on the throne, and becomes pleasing to the Mind of the True Lord. ||17|| The Fourteenth Day: One who enters into the fourth state, overcomes time, and the three qualities of raajas, taamas and satva. Then the sun enters into the house of the moon, and one knows the value of the technology of Yoga. He remains lovingly focused on God, who is permeating the fourteen worlds, the nether regions of the underworld, the galaxies and solar systems. ||18|| Amaavas - The Night of the New Moon: The moon is hidden in the sky. O wise one, understand and contemplate the Word of the Shabad. The moon in the sky illuminates the three worlds. Creating the creation, the Creator beholds it. One who sees, through the Guru, merges into Him. The self-willed manmukhs are deluded, coming and going in reincarnation. ||19|| One who establishes his home within his own heart, obtains the most beautiful, permanent place. One comes to understand his own self, when he finds the True Guru. Wherever there is hope, there is destruction and desolation. The bowl of duality and selfishness breaks. Prays Nanak, I am the slave of that one, who remains detached amidst the traps of attachment. ||20||1||

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 047

Bilaaval, Third Mehl, The Seven Days, Tenth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Sunday: He, the Lord, is the Primal Being. He Himself is the Pervading Lord; there is no other at all. Through and through, He is woven into the fabric of the world. Whatever the Creator Himself does, that alone happens. Imbued with the Naam, the Name of the Lord, one is forever in peace. But how rare is the one, who, as Gurmukh, understands this. ||1|| Within my heart, I chant the Chant of the Lord, the treasure of virtue. The Lord, my Lord and Master, is inaccessible, unfathomable and unlimited. Grasping the feet of the Lord's humble servants, I meditate on Him, and become the slave of His slaves. ||1||Pause|| Monday: The True Lord is permeating and pervading. His value cannot be described. Talking and speaking about Him, all keep themselves lovingly focused on Him. Devotion falls into the laps of those whom He so blesses. He is inaccessible and unfathomable; He cannot be seen. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the Lord is seen to be permeating and pervading everywhere. ||2|| Tuesday: The Lord created love and attachment to Maya. He Himself has enjoined each and every being to their tasks. He alone understands, whom the Lord causes to understand. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, one understands his heart and home. He worships the Lord in loving devotion. His egotism and self-conceit are burnt away by the Shabad. ||3|| Wednesday: He Himself bestows sublime understanding. The Gurmukh does good deeds, and contemplates the Word of the Shabad. Imbued with the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the mind become pure and immaculate. He sings the Glorious Glorious Praises of the Lord, and washes off the filth of egotism. In the Court of the True Lord, he obtains lasting glory. Imbued with the Naam, he is embellished with the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||4|| The profit of the Naam is obtained through the Door of the Guru. The Great Giver Himself gives it. I am a sacrifice to the One who gives it. By Guru's Grace, self-conceit is eradicated. O Nanak, enshrine the Naam within your heart. I celebrate the victory of the Lord, the Great Giver. ||5|| Thursday: The fifty-two warriors were deluded by doubt. All the goblins and demons are attached to duality. God Himself created them, and sees each one distinct. O Creator Lord, You are the Support of all. The beings and creatures are under Your protection. He alone meets You, whom You Yourself meet. ||6|| Friday: God is permeating and pervading everywhere. He Himself created all, and appraises the value of all. One who become Gurmukh, contemplates the Lord. He practices truth and self-restraint. Without genuine understanding, all fasts, religious rituals and daily worship services lead only to the love of duality. ||7|| Saturday: Contemplating good omens and the Shaastras, in egotism and self-conceit, the world wanders in delusion. The blind, self-willed manmukh in engrossed in the love of duality. Bound and gagged at death's door, he is beaten and punished. By Guru's Grace, one finds lasting peace. He practices Truth, and lovingly focuses on the Truth. ||8|| Those who serve the True Guru are very fortunate. Conquering their ego, they embrace love for the True Lord. They are automatically imbued with Your Love, O Lord.

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 048

You are the Giver of peace; You merge them into Yourself. Everything comes from the One and only Lord; there is no other at all. The Gurmukh realises this, and understands. ||9|| The fifteen lunar days, the seven days of the week, the months, seasons, days and nights, come over and over again; so the world goes on. Coming and going were created by the Creator Lord. The True Lord remains steady and stable, by His almighty power. O Nanak, how rare is that Gurmukh who understands, and contemplates the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||10||1|| Bilaaval, Third Mehl: The Primal Lord Himself formed the Universe. The beings and creatures are engrossed in emotional attachment to Maya. In the love of duality, they are attached to the illusory material world. The unfortunate ones die, and continue to come and go. Meeting with the True Guru, understanding is obtained. Then, the illusion of the material world is shattered, and one merges in Truth. ||1|| One who has such pre-ordained destiny inscribed upon his forehead - the One God abides within his mind. ||1||Pause|| He created the Universe, and He Himself beholds all. No one can erase Your record, Lord. If someone calls himself a Siddha or a seeker, he is deluded by doubt, and will continue coming and going. That humble being alone understands, who serves the True Guru. Conquering his ego, he finds the Lord's Door. ||2|| From the One Lord, all others were formed. The One Lord is pervading everywhere; there is no other at all. Renouncing duality, one comes to know the One Lord. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, one knows the Lord's Door, and His Banner. Meeting the True Guru, one finds the One Lord. Duality is subdued within. ||3|| One who belongs to the All-powerful Lord and Master - no one can destroy him. The Lord's servant remains under His protection; The Lord Himself forgives him, and blesses him with glorious greatness. There is none higher than Him. Why should he be afraid? What should he ever fear? ||4|| Through the Guru's Teachings, peace and tranquility abide within the body. Remember the Word of the Shabad, and you shall never suffer pain. You shall not have to come or go, or suffer in sorrow. Imbued with the Naam, the Name of the Lord, you shall merge in celestial peace. O Nanak, the Gurmukh beholds Him ever-present, close at hand. My God is always fully pervading everywhere. ||5|| Some are selfless servants, while others wander, deluded by doubt. The Lord Himself does, and causes everything to be done. The One Lord is all-pervading; there is no other at all. The mortal might complain, if there were any other. Serve the True Guru; this is the most excellent action. In the Court of the True Lord, you shall be judged true. ||6|| All the lunar days, and the days of the week are beautiful, when one contemplates the Shabad. If one serves the True Guru, he obtains the fruits of his rewards. The omens and days all come and go. But the Word of the Guru's Shabad is eternal and unchanging. Through it, one merges in the True Lord. The days are auspicious, when one is imbued with Truth. Without the Name, all the false ones wander deluded. ||7|| The self-willed manmukhs die, and dead, they fall into the most evil state. They do not remember the One Lord; they are deluded by duality. The human body is unconscious, ignorant and blind. Without the Word of the Shabad, how can anyone cross over? The Creator Himself creates. He Himself contemplates the Guru's Word. ||8|| The religious fanatics wear all sorts of religious robes. They roll around and wander around, like the false dice on the board. They find no peace, here or hereafter.

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 049

The self-willed manmukhs waste away their lives, and die. Serving the True Guru, doubt is driven away. Deep within the home of the heart, one finds the Mansion of the True Lord's Presence. ||9|| Whatever the Perfect Lord does, that alone happens. Concern with these omens and days leads only to duality. Without the True Guru, there is only pitch darkness. Only idiots and fools worry about these omens and days. O Nanak, the Gurmukh obtains understanding and realisation; he remains forever merged in the Name of the One Lord. ||10||2|| Bilaaval, First Mehl, Chhant, Dakhnee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The young, innocent soul-bride has come to the pasture lands of the world. Laying aside her pitcher of worldly concern, she lovingly attunes herself to her Lord. She remains lovingly absorbed in the pasture of the Lord, automatically embellished with the Word of the Shabad. With her palms pressed together, she prays to the Guru, to unite her with her True Beloved Lord. Seeing His bride's loving devotion, the Beloved Lord eradicates unfulfilled sexual desire and unresolved anger. O Nanak, the young, innocent bride is so beautiful; seeing her Husband Lord, she is comforted. ||1|| Truthfully, O young soul-bride, your youth keeps you innocent. Do not come and go anywhere; stay with your Husband Lord. I will stay with my Husband Lord; I am His hand-maiden. Devotional worship to the Lord is pleasing to me. I know the unknowable, and speak the unspoken; I sing the Glorious Praises of the Celestial Lord God. She who chants and savors the taste of the Lord's Name is loved by the True Lord. The Guru grants her the gift of the Shabad; O Nanak, she contemplates and reflects upon it. ||2|| She who is fascinated by the Supreme Lord, sleeps with her Husband Lord. She walks in harmony with the Guru's Will, attuned to the Lord. The soul-bride is attuned to the Truth, and sleeps with the Lord, along with her companions and sister soul-brides. Loving the One Lord, with one-pointed mind, the Naam dwells within; I am united with the True Guru. Day and night, with each and every breath, I do not forget the Immaculate Lord, for a moment, even for an instant. So light the lamp of the Shabad, O Nanak, and burn away your fear. ||3|| O soul-bride, the Lord's Light pervades all the three worlds. He is pervading each and every heart, the Invisible and Infinite Lord. He is Invisible and Infinite, Infinite and True; subduing his self-conceit, one meets Him. So burn away your egotistical pride, attachment and greed, with the Word of the Shabad; wash away your filth. When you go to the Lord's Door, you shall receive the Blessed Vision of His Darshan; by His Will, the Savior will carry you across and save you. Tasting the Ambrosial Nectar of the Lord's Name, the soul-bride is satisfied; O Nanak, she enshrines Him in her heart. ||4||1|| Bilaaval, First Mehl: My mind is filled with such a great joy; I have blossomed forth in Truth. I am enticed by the love of my Husband Lord, the Eternal, Imperishable Lord God. The Lord is everlasting, the Master of masters. Whatever He wills, happens. O Great Giver, You are always kind and compassionate. You infuse life into all living beings.

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 050

I have no other spiritual wisdom, meditation or worship; the Name of the Lord alone dwells deep within me. I know

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nothing about religious robes, pilgrimages or stubborn fanaticism; O Nanak, I hold tight to the Truth. ||1|| The night is beautiful, drenched with dew, and the day is delightful, when her Husband Lord wakes the sleeping soul-bride, in the home of the self. The young bride has awakened to the Word of the Shabad; she is pleasing to her Husband Lord. So renounce falsehood, fraud, love of duality and working for people. The Name of the Lord is my necklace, and I am anointed with the True Shabad. With his palms pressed together, Nanak begs for the gift of the True Name; please, bless me with Your Grace, through the pleasure of Your Will. ||2|| Awake, O bride of splendored eyes, and chant the Word of the Guru's Bani. Listen, and place your faith in the Unspoken Speech of the Lord. The Unspoken Speech, the state of Nirvaanaa - how rare is the Gurmukh who understands this. Merging in the Word of the Shabad, self-conceit is eradicated, and the three worlds are revealed to her understanding. Remaining detached, with infinity infusing, the true mind cherishes the virtues of the Lord. He is fully pervading and permeating all places; Nanak has enshrined Him within his heart. ||3|| The Lord is calling you to the Mansion of His Presence; O soul-bride, He is the Lover of His devotees. Following the Guru's Teachings, your mind shall be delighted, and your body shall be fulfilled. Conquer and subdue your mind, and love the Word of the Shabad; reform yourself, and realise the Lord of the three worlds. Her mind shall not waver or wander anywhere else, when she comes to know her Husband Lord. You are my only Support, You are my Lord and Master. You are my strength and anchor. She is forever truthful and pure, O Nanak; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, conflicts are resolved. ||4||2|| Chhant, Bilaaval, Fourth Mehl, Mangal ~ The Song Of Joy: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: My Lord God has come to my bed, and my mind is merged with the Lord. As it pleases the Guru, I have found the Lord God, and I revel and delight in His Love. Very fortunate are those happy soul-brides, who have the jewel of the Naam upon their foreheads. The Lord, the Lord God, is Nanak's Husband Lord, pleasing to his mind. ||1|| The Lord is the honour of the dishonoured. The Lord, the Lord God is Himself by Himself. The Gurmukh eradicates self-conceit, and constantly chants the Name of the Lord. My Lord God does whatever He pleases; the Lord imbues mortal beings with the colour of His Love. Servant Nanak is easily merged into the Celestial Lord. He is satisfied with the sublime essence of the Lord. ||2|| The Lord is found only through this human incarnation. This is the time to contemplate the Lord. As Gurmukhs, the happy soul-brides meet Him, and their love for Him is abundant. Those who have not attained human incarnation, are cursed by evil destiny. O Lord, God, Har, Har, Har, Har, save Nanak; he is Your humble servant. ||3|| The Guru has implanted within me the Name of the Inaccessible Lord God; my mind and body are drenched with the Lord's Love.

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The Name of the Lord is the Lover of His devotees; the Gurmukhs attain the Lord. Without the Name of the Lord, they cannot even live, like the fish without water. Finding the Lord, my life has become fruitful; O Nanak, the Lord God has fulfilled me. ||4||1||3|| Bilaaval, Fourth Mehl, Shalok: Seek out the Lord God, your only true Friend. He shall dwell in your mind, by great good fortune. The True Guru shall reveal Him to you; O Nanak, lovingly focus yourself on the Lord. ||1|| Chant: The soul-bride has come to ravish and enjoy her Lord God, after eradicating the poison of egotism. Following the Guru's Teachings, she has eliminated her self-conceit; she is lovingly attuned to her Lord, Har, Har. Her heart-lotus deep within has blossomed forth, and through the Guru, spiritual wisdom has been awakened within her. Servant Nanak has found the Lord God, by perfect, great good fortune. ||1|| The Lord, the Lord God, is pleasing to her mind; the Lord's Name resounds within her. Through the Perfect Guru, God is obtained; she is lovingly focused on the Lord, Har, Har. The darkness of ignorance is dispelled, and the Divine Light radiantly shines forth. The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is Nanak's only Support; he merges into the Lord's Name. ||2|| The soul-bride is ravished and enjoyed by her Beloved Lord God, when the Lord God is pleased with her. My eyes are drawn to His Love, like the cat to the mouse. The Perfect Guru has united me with the Lord; I am satisfied by the subtle essence of the Lord. Servant Nanak blossoms forth in the Naam, the Name of the Lord; he is lovingly attuned to the Lord, Har, Har. ||3|| I am a fool and an idiot, but the Lord showered me with His Mercy, and united me with Himself. Blessed, blessed is the most wonderful Guru, who has conquered egotism. Very fortunate, of blessed destiny are those, who enshrine the Lord, Har, Har, in their hearts. O servant Nanak, praise the Naam, and be a sacrifice to the Naam. ||4||2||4|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl, Chhant: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The time of rejoicing has come; I sing of my Lord God. I have heard of my Imperishable Husband Lord, and happiness fills my mind. My mind is in love with Him; when shall I realise my great good fortune, and meet with my Perfect Husband? If only I could meet the Lord of the Universe, and be automatically absorbed into Him; tell me how, O my companions! Day and night, I stand and serve my God; how can I attain Him? Prays Nanak, have mercy on me, and attach me to the hem of Your robe, O Lord. ||1|| Joy has come! I have purchased the jewel of the Lord. Searching, the seeker has found the Lord with the Saints. I have met the Beloved Saints, and they have blessed me with their kindness; I contemplate the Unspoken Speech of the Lord. With my consciousness centred, and my mind one-pointed, I meditate on my Lord and Master, with love and affection. With my palms pressed together, I pray unto God, to bless me with the profit of the Lord's Praise. Prays Nanak, I am Your slave. My God is inaccessible and unfathomable. ||2||

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 052

The date for my wedding is set, and cannot be changed; my union with the Lord is perfect. I am totally at peace, and my separation from Him has ended. The Saints meet and come together, and meditate on God; they form a wondrous wedding party. Gathering together, they arrive with poise and grace, and love fills the minds of the bride's family. Her light blends with His Light, through and through, and everyone enjoys the Nectar of the Lord's Name. Prays Nanak, the Saints have totally united me with God, the All-powerful Cause of causes. ||3|| Beautiful is my home, and beauteous is the earth. God has entered the home of my heart; I touch the Guru's feet. Grasping the Guru's feet, I awake in peace and poise. All my desires are fulfilled. My hopes are fulfilled, through the dust of the feet of the Saints. After such a long separation, I have met my Husband Lord. Night and day, the sounds of ecstasy resound and resonate; I have forsaken my stubborn-minded intellect. Prays Nanak, I seek the Sanctuary of my Lord and Master; in the Society of the Saints, I am lovingly attuned to Him. ||4||1|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: By blessed destiny, I have found my Husband Lord. The unstruck sound current vibrates and resounds in the Court of the Lord. Night and day, the sounds of ecstasy resound and resonate; day and night, I am enraptured. Disease, sorrow and suffering do not afflict anyone there; there is no birth or death there. There are treasures overflowing there - wealth, miraculous powers, ambrosial nectar and devotional worship. Prays Nanak, I am a sacrifice, devoted to the Supreme Lord God, the Support of the breath of life. ||1|| Listen, O my companions, and sister soul-brides, let's join together and sing the songs of joy. Loving our God with mind and body, let's ravish and enjoy Him. Lovingly enjoying Him, we become pleasing to Him; let's not reject Him, for a moment, even for an instant. Let's hug Him close in our embrace, and not feel shy; let's bathe our minds in the dust of His feet. With the intoxicating drug of devotional worship, let's entice Him, and not wander anywhere else. Prays Nanak, meeting with our True Friend, we attain the immortal status. ||2|| I am wonder-struck and amazed, gazing upon the Glories of my Imperishable Lord. He took my hand, and held my arm, and cut away the noose of Death. Holding me by the arm, He made me His slave; the branch has sprouted in abundance. Pollution, attachment and corruption have run away; the immaculate day has dawned. Casting His Glance of Grace, the Lord loves me with His Mind; my immense evil-mindedness is dispelled. Prays Nanak, I have become immaculate and pure; I have met the Imperishable Lord God. ||3|| The rays of light merge with the sun, and water merges with water. One's light blends with the Light, and one becomes totally perfect. I see God, hear God, and speak of the One and only God. The soul is the Creator of the expanse of creation. Without God, I know no other at all. He Himself is the Creator, and He Himself is the Enjoyer. He created the Creation. Prays Nanak, they alone know this, who drink in the subtle essence of the Lord. ||4||2||

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Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl, Chhant: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Come, O my sisters, come, O my companions, and let us remain under the Lord's control. Let's sing the Songs of Bliss of our Husband Lord. Renounce your pride, O my companions, renounce your egotistical pride, O my sisters, so that you may become pleasing to your Beloved. Renounce pride, emotional attachment, corruption and duality, and serve the One Immaculate Lord. Hold tight to the Sanctuary of the Feet of the Merciful Lord, your Beloved, the Destroyer of all sins. Be the slave of His slaves, forsake sorrow and sadness, and do not bother with other devices. Prays Nanak, O Lord, please bless me with Your Mercy, that I may sing Your songs of bliss. ||1|| The Ambrosial Naam, the Name of my Beloved, is like a cane to a blind man. Maya seduces in so many ways, like a beautiful enticing woman. This enticer is so incredibly beautiful and clever; she entices with countless suggestive gestures. Maya is stubborn and persistent; she seems so sweet to the mind, and then he does not chant the Naam. At home, in the forest, on the banks of sacred rivers, fasting, worshipping, on the roads and on the shore, she is spying. Prays Nanak, please bless me with Your Kindness, Lord; I am blind, and Your Name is my cane. ||2|| I am helpless and masterless; You, O my Beloved, are my Lord and Master. As it pleases You, so do You protect me. I have no wisdom or cleverness; what face should I put on to please You? I am not clever, skillful or wise; I am worthless, without any virtue at all. I have no beauty or pleasing smell, no beautiful eyes. As it pleases You, please preserve me, O Lord. His victory is celebrated by all; how can I know the state of the Lord of Mercy? Prays Nanak, I am the servant of Your servants; as it pleases You, please preserve me. ||3|| I am the fish, and You are the water; without You, what can I do? I am the rainbird, and You are the rain-drop; when it falls into my mouth, I am satisfied. When it falls into my mouth, my thirst is quenched; You are the Lord of my soul, my heart, my breath of life. Touch me, and caress me, O Lord, You are in all; let me meet You, so that I may be emancipated. In my consciousness I remember You, and the darkness is dispelled, like the chakvi duck, which longs to see the dawn. Prays Nanak, O my Beloved, please unite me with Yourself; the fish never forgets the water. ||4|| Blessed, blessed is my destiny; my Husband Lord has come into my home. The gate of my mansion is so beautiful, and all my gardens are so green and alive. My peace-giving Lord and Master has rejuvenated me, and blessed me with great joy, bliss and love. My Young Husband Lord is eternally young, and His body is forever youthful; what tongue can I use to chant His Glorious Praises? My bed is beautiful; gazing upon Him, I am fascinated, and all my doubts and pains are dispelled. Prays Nanak, my hopes are fulfilled; my Lord and Master is unlimited. ||5||1||3|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl, Chhant, Mangal ~ The Song Of Joy: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Shalok: God is beautiful, tranquil and merciful; He is the treasure of absolute peace, my Husband Lord.

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 054

Meeting with God, the Ocean of Peace, O Nanak, this soul becomes happy. ||1|| Chhant: One finds God, the Ocean of Peace, when destiny is activated. Abandoning the distinctions of honour and dishonour, grasp the Feet of the Lord. Renounce cleverness and trickery, and forsake your evil-minded intellect. O Nanak, seek the Sanctuary of the Sovereign Lord, Your King, and your marriage will be permanent and stable. ||1|| Why forsake God, and attach yourself to another? Without the Lord, you cannot even live. The ignorant fool does not feel any shame; the evil man wanders around deluded. God is the Purifier of sinners; if he forsakes God, tell me, where he can find a place of rest? O Nanak, by loving devotional worship of the Merciful Lord, he attains the state of eternal life. ||2|| May that vicious tongue that does not chant the Name of the Great Lord of the World, be burnt. One who does not serve God, the Lover of His devotees, shall have his body eaten by crows. Enticed by doubt, he does not understand the pain it brings; he wanders through millions of incarnations. O Nanak, if you desire anything other than the Lord, you shall be consumed, like a maggot in manure. ||3|| Embrace love for the Lord God, and in detachment, unite with Him. Give up your sandalwood oil, expensive clothes, perfumes, tasty flavors and the poison of egotism. Do not waver this way or that, but remain wakeful in the service of the Lord. O Nanak, she who has obtained her God, is a happy soul-bride forever. ||4||1||4|| Bilaaval, Fifth Mehl: Seek the Lord, O fortunate ones, and join the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe forever, imbued with the Love of the Supreme Lord God. Serving God forever, you shall obtain the fruitful rewards you desire. O Nanak, seek the Sanctuary of God; meditate on the Lord, and ride the many waves of the mind. ||1|| I shall not forget God, even for an instant; He has blessed me with everything. By great good fortune, I have met Him; as Gurmukh, I contemplate my Husband Lord. Holding me by the arm, He has lifted me up and pulled me out of the darkness, and made me His own. Chanting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, Nanak lives; his mind and heart are cooled and soothed. ||2|| What virtues of Yours can I speak, O God, O Searcher of hearts? Meditating, meditating in remembrance on the Lord, I have crossed over to the other shore. Singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe, all my desires are fulfilled. Nanak is saved, meditating on the Lord, the Lord and Master of all. ||3|| Sublime are those eyes, which are drenched with the Love of the Lord. Gazing upon God, my desires are fulfilled; I have met the Lord, the Friend of my soul. I have obtained the Ambrosial Nectar of the Lord's Love, and now the taste of corruption is insipid and tasteless to me. O Nanak, as water mingles with water, my light has merged into the Light. ||4||2||5||9||

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 055

Vaar Of Bilaaval, Fourth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Shalok, Fourth Mehl: I sing of the sublime Lord, the Lord God, in the melody of Raag Bilaaval. Hearing the Guru's Teachings, I obey them; this is the pre-ordained destiny written upon my forehead. All day and night, I chant the Glorious Praises of the Lord, Har, Har, Har; within my heart, I am lovingly attuned to Him. My body and mind are totally rejuvenated, and the garden of my mind

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has blossomed forth in lush abundance. The darkness of ignorance has been dispelled, with the light of the lamp of the Guru's wisdom. Servant Nanak lives by beholding the Lord. Let me behold Your face, for a moment, even an instant! ||1|| Third Mehl: Be happy and sing in Bilaaval, when the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is in your mouth. The melody and music, and the Word of the Shabad are beautiful, when one focuses his meditation on the celestial Lord. So leave behind the melody and music, and serve the Lord; then, you shall obtain honour in the Court of the Lord. O Nanak, as Gurmukh, contemplate God, and rid your mind of egotistical pride. ||2|| Pauree: O Lord God, You Yourself are inaccessible; You formed everything. You Yourself are totally permeating and pervading the entire universe. You Yourself are absorbed in the state of deep meditation; You Yourself sing Your Glorious Praises. Meditate on the Lord, O devotees, day and night; He shall deliver you in the end. Those who serve the Lord, find peace; they are absorbed in the Name of the Lord. ||1|| Shalok, Third Mehl: In the love of duality, the happiness of Bilaaval does not come; the self-willed manmukh finds no place of rest. Through hypocrisy, devotional worship does not come, and the Supreme Lord God is not found. By stubborn-mindedly performing religious rituals, no one obtains the approval of the Lord. O Nanak, the Gurmukh understands himself, and eradicates self-conceit from within. He Himself is the Supreme Lord God; the Supreme Lord God comes to dwell in his mind. Birth and death are erased, and his light blends with the Light. ||1|| Third Mehl: Be happy in Bilaaval, O my beloveds, and embrace love for the One Lord. The pains of birth and death shall be eradicated, and you shall remain absorbed in the True Lord. You shall be blissful forever in Bilaaval, if you walk in harmony with the Will of the True Guru. Sitting in the Saints' Congregation, sing with love the Glorious Praises of the Lord forever. O Nanak, beautiful are those humble beings, who, as Gurmukh, are united in the Lord's Union. ||2|| Pauree: The Lord Himself is within all beings. The Lord is the friend of His devotees. Everyone is under the Lord's control; in the home of the devotees there is bliss. The Lord is the friend and companion of His devotees; all His humble servants stretch out and sleep in peace. The Lord is the Lord and Master of all; O humble devotee, remember Him. No one can equal You, Lord. Those who try, struggle and die in frustration. ||2||

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 056

Shalok, Third Mehl: He alone knows God, and he alone is a Brahmin, who walks in harmony with the Will of the True Guru. One whose heart is filled with the Lord, is freed of egotism and disease. He chants the Lord's Praises, gathers virtue, and his light merges into the Light. How rare are those Brahmins who, in this age, come to know God, by lovingly focusing their consciousness on Him. O Nanak, those who are blessed by the Lord's Glance of Grace, remain lovingly attuned to the Name of the True Lord. ||1|| Third Mehl: One who does not serve the True Guru, and who does not love the Word of the Shabad, earns the very painful disease of egotism; he is so very selfish. Acting stubborn-mindedly, he is reincarnated over and over again. The birth of the Gurmukh is fruitful and auspicious. The Lord unites him with Himself. O Nanak, when the Merciful Lord grants His Mercy, one obtains the wealth of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||2|| Pauree: All glorious greatness is in the Name of the Lord; as Gurmukh, meditate on the Lord. One obtains all that he asks for, if he keeps his consciousness focused on the Lord. If he tells the secrets of his soul to the True Guru, then he finds absolute peace. When the Perfect Guru bestows the Lord's Teachings, then all hunger departs. One who is blessed with such pre-ordained destiny, sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||3|| Shalok, Third Mehl: No one goes away empty-handed from the True Guru; He unites me in Union with my God. Fruitful is the Blessed Vision of the Darshan of the True Guru; through it, one obtains whatever fruitful rewards he desires. The Word of the Guru's Shabad is Ambrosial Nectar. It banishes all hunger and thirst. Drinking in the sublime essence of the Lord brings contentment; the True Lord comes to dwell in the mind. Meditating on the True Lord, the status of immortality is obtained; the Unstruck Word of the Shabad vibrates and resounds. The True Lord is pervading in the ten directions; through the Guru, this is intuitively known. O Nanak, those humble beings who have the Truth deep within, are never hidden, even if others try to hide them. ||1|| Third Mehl: Serving the Guru, one finds the Lord, when the Lord blesses him with His Glance of Grace. Human beings become angels, when the Lord blesses them with true devotional worship. Conquering egotism, they are blended with the Lord; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, they are purified. O Nanak, they remain merged with the Lord; they are blessed with the glorious greatness of the Naam. ||2|| Pauree: Within the Guru, the True Guru, is the glorious greatness of the Name. The Creator Lord Himself has magnified it. All His servants and Sikhs live by gazing, gazing upon it. It is pleasing to their hearts deep within. The slanderers and evil-doers cannot see this glorious greatness; they do not appreciate the goodness of others. What can be achieved by anyone babbling? The Guru is in love with the True Lord. That which is pleasing to the Creator Lord, increases day by day, while all the people babble uselessly. ||4|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Cursed are the hopes in the love of duality; they tie the consciousness to love and attachment to Maya. One who forsakes the peace of the Lord in exchange for straw, and forgets the Naam, suffers in pain.

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 057

The ignorant self-willed manmukhs are blind. They are born, only to die again, and continue coming and going. Their affairs are not resolved, and in the end, they depart, regretting and repenting. One who is blessed with the Lord's Grace, meets the True Guru; he alone meditates on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Imbued with the Naam, the humble servants of the Lord find a lasting peace; servant Nanak is a sacrifice to them. ||1|| Third Mehl: Hope and desire entice the world; they entice the whole universe. Everyone, and all that has been created, is under the domination of Death. By the Hukam of the Lord's Command, Death seizes the mortal; he alone is saved, whom the Creator Lord forgives. O Nanak, by Guru's Grace, this mortal swims across, if he abandons his ego. Conquer hope and desire, and remain unattached; contemplate the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||2|| Pauree: Wherever I go in this world, I see the Lord there. In the world hereafter as well, the Lord, the True Judge Himself, is pervading and permeating everywhere. The faces of the false are cursed, while the true devotees are blessed with glorious greatness. True is the Lord and Master, and true is His justice. The heads of the slanderers are covered with ashes. Servant Nanak worships the True Lord in adoration; as Gurmukh, he finds peace. ||5|| Shalok, Third Mehl: By perfect destiny, one finds the True Guru, if the Lord God grants forgiveness. Of all efforts, the best effort is to attain the Lord's Name. It brings a cooling, soothing tranquility deep within the heart, and eternal peace. Then, one eats and wears the Ambrosial Nectar; O Nanak, through the Name, comes glorious greatness. ||1|| Third Mehl: O mind, listening to the Guru's Teachings, you shall obtain the treasure of virtue. The Giver of peace shall dwell in your mind; you shall be rid of egotism and pride. O Nanak, by His Grace, one is blessed with the Ambrosial Nectar of the treasure of virtue. ||2|| Pauree: The kings, emperors, rulers, lords, nobles and chiefs, are all created by the Lord. Whatever the Lord causes them to do, they do; they are all beggars, dependent on the Lord. Such is God, the Lord of all; He is on the True Guru's side. All castes and social classes, the four sources of creation, and the whole universe are slaves of the True Guru; God makes them work for Him. See the glorious greatness of serving the Lord, O Saints of the Lord; He has conquered and driven all the enemies and evil-doers out of the body-village. The Lord, Har, Har, is Merciful to His humble devotees; granting His Grace, the Lord Himself protects and preserves them. ||6|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Fraud and hypocrisy within bring constant pain; the self-willed manmukh does not practice meditation. Suffering in pain, he does his deeds; he is immersed in pain, and he shall suffer in pain hereafter. By his karma, he meets the True Guru, and then, he is lovingly attuned to the True Name. O Nanak, he is naturally at peace; doubt and fear run away and leave him. ||1|| Third Mehl: The Gurmukh is in love with the Lord forever. The Name of the Lord is pleasing to his mind.

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 058

The Gurmukh beholds and speaks the Naam, the Name of the Lord; chanting the Naam, he finds peace. O Nanak, the spiritual wisdom of the Gurmukh shines forth; the black darkness of ignorance is dispelled. ||2|| Third Mehl: The filthy, foolish, self-willed manmukhs die. The Gurmukhs are immaculate and pure; they keep the Lord enshrined within their hearts. Prays Nanak, listen, O Siblings of Destiny! Serve the True Guru, and the filth of your ego shall be gone. Deep within, the pain of skepticism afflicts them; their heads are constantly assaulted by worldly entanglements. Asleep in the love of duality, they never wake up; they are attached to the love of Maya. They do not remember the Name, and they do not contemplate the Word of the Shabad; this is the view of the self-willed manmukhs. They do not love the Lord's Name, and they lose their life uselessly. O Nanak, the Messenger of Death attacks them, and humiliates them. ||3|| Pauree: He alone is a true king, whom the Lord blesses with true devotion. People pledge their allegiance to him; no other store stocks this merchandise, nor deals in this trade. That humble devotee who turns his face towards the Guru and becomes sunmukh, receives the Lord's wealth; the faithless baymukh, who turns his face away from the Guru, gathers only ashes. The Lord's devotees are dealers in the Name of the Lord. The Messenger of Death, the tax-collector, does not even approach them. Servant Nanak has loaded the wealth of the Name of the Lord, who is forever independent and care-free. ||7|| Shalok, Third Mehl: In this age, the devotee earns the wealth of the Lord; all the rest of the world wanders deluded in doubt. By Guru's Grace, the Naam, the Name of the Lord, comes to dwell in his mind; night and day, he meditates on the Naam. In the midst of corruption, he remains detached; through the Word of the Shabad, he burns away his ego. He crosses over, and saves his relatives as well; blessed is the mother who gave birth to him. Peace and poise fill his mind forever, and he embraces love for the True Lord. Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva wander in the three qualities, while their egotism and desire increase. The Pandits, the religious scholars and the silent sages read and debate in confusion; their consciousness is centred on the love of duality. The Yogis, wandering pilgrims and Sanyaasees are deluded; without the Guru, they do not find the essence of reality. The miserable self-willed manmukhs are forever deluded by doubt; they waste away their lives uselessly. O Nanak, those who are imbued with the Naam are balanced and poised; forgiving them, the Lord blends them with Himself. ||1|| Third Mehl: O Nanak, praise Him, who has control over everything. Remember Him, O mortals - without Him, there is no other at all. He dwells deep within those who are Gurmukh; forever and ever, they are at peace. ||2|| Pauree: Those who do not become Gurmukh and earn the wealth of the Lord's Name, are bankrupt in this age. They wander around begging all over the world, but no one even spits in their faces. They gossip about others, and lose their credit, and expose themselves as well. That wealth, for which they slander others, does not come into their hands, no matter where they go.

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 059

Through loving service, the Gurmukhs receive the wealth of the Naam, but the unfortunate ones cannot receive it. This wealth is not found anywhere else, in this country or in any other. ||8|| Shalok, Third Mehl: The Gurmukh does not have an iota of skepticism or doubt; worries depart from within him. Whatever he does, he does with grace and poise. Nothing else can be said about him. O Nanak, the Lord Himself hears the speech of those whom He makes His own. ||1|| Third Mehl: He conquers death, and subdues the desires of his mind; the Immaculate Name abides deep within him. Night and day, he remains awake and aware; he never sleeps, and he intuitively drinks in the Ambrosial Nectar. His speech is sweet, and his words are nectar; night and day, he sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. He dwells in the home of his own self, and appears beautiful forever; meeting him, Nanak finds peace. ||2|| Pauree: The wealth of the Lord is a jewel, a gem; the Guru has caused the Lord to grant that wealth of the Lord. If someone sees something, he may ask for it; or, someone may cause it to be given to him. But no one can take a share of this wealth of the Lord by force. He alone obtains a share of the wealth of the Lord, who is blessed by the Creator with faith and devotion to the True Guru, according to his pre-ordained destiny. No one is a share-holder in this wealth of the Lord, and no one owns any of it. It has no boundaries or borders to be disputed. If anyone speaks ill of the wealth of the Lord, his face will be blackened in the four directions. No one's power or slander can prevail against the gifts of the Lord; day by day they continually, continuously increase. ||9|| Shalok, Third Mehl: The world is going up in flames - shower it with Your Mercy, and save it! Save it, and deliver it, by whatever method it takes. The True Guru has shown the way to peace, contemplating the True Word of the Shabad. Nanak knows no other than the Lord, the Forgiving Lord. ||1|| Third Mehl: Through egotism, fascination with Maya has trapped them in duality. It cannot be killed, it does not die, and it cannot be sold in a store. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, it is burnt away, and then it departs from within. The body and mind become pure, and the Naam, the Name of the Lord, comes to dwell within the mind. O Nanak, the Shabad is the killer of Maya; the Gurmukh obtains it. ||2|| Pauree: The glorious greatness of the True Guru was bestowed by the True Guru; He understood this as the Insignia, the Mark of the Primal Lord's Will. He tested His sons, nephews, sons-in-law and relatives, and subdued the egotistical pride of them all. Wherever anyone looks, my True Guru is there; the Lord blessed Him with the whole world. One who meets with, and believes in the True Guru, is embellished here and hereafter. Whoever turns his back on the Guru and becomes baymukh, shall wander in cursed and evil places.

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 060

My Lord and Master is on the side of servant Nanak. The All-powerful and All-knowing Lord God is my Best Friend. Seeing the food being distributed, everyone came and fell at the feet of the True Guru, who cleansed the minds of all of their egotistical pride. ||10|| Shalok, First Mehl: One plants the seed, another harvests the crop, and still another beats the grain from the chaff. O Nanak, it is not known, who will ultimately eat the grain. ||1|| First Mehl: He alone is carried across, within whose mind the Lord abides. O Nanak, that alone happens, which is pleasing to His Will. ||2|| Pauree: The Merciful Supreme Lord God has carried me across the world-ocean. The compassionate perfect Guru has eradicated my doubts and fears. Unsatisfied sexual desire and unresolved anger, the horrible demons, have been totally destroyed. I have enshrined the treasure of the Ambrosial Naam within my throat and heart. O Nanak, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, my birth and death have been adorned

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and redeemed. ||11|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Those who forget the Naam, the Name of the Lord, are said to be false. The five thieves plunder their homes, and egotism breaks in. The faithless cynics are defrauded by their own evil-mindedness; they do not know the sublime essence of the Lord. Those who lose the Ambrosial Nectar through doubt, remain engrossed and entangled in corruption. They make friends with the wicked, and argue with the humble servants of the Lord. O Nanak, the faithless cynics are bound and gagged by the Messenger of Death, and suffer agony in hell. They act according to the karma of the actions they committed before; as the Lord keeps them, so do they live. ||1|| Third Mehl: Those who serve the True Guru, are transformed from powerless into powerful. With every breath and morsel of food, the Lord abides in their minds forever, and the Messenger of Death cannot even see them. The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, fills their hearts, and Maya is their servant. One who becomes the slave of the Lord's slaves, obtains the greatest treasure. O Nanak, I am forever a sacrifice to that one, within whose mind and body God dwells. One who has such pre-ordained destiny, he alone is in love with the humble Saints. ||2|| Pauree: Whatever the Perfect True Guru says, the Transcendent Lord hears. It pervades and permeates the whole world, and it is on the mouth of each and every being. So numerous are the great glories of the Lord, they cannot even be counted. Truth, poise and bliss rest in the True Guru; the Guru bestows the jewel of Truth. O Nanak, the Supreme Lord God embellishes the Saints, who become like the True Lord. ||12|| Shalok, Third Mehl: He does not understand himself; he believes the Lord God to be far away. He forgets to serve the Guru; how can his mind remain in the Lord's Presence? The self-willed manmukh wastes away his life in worthless greed and falsehood. O Nanak, the Lord forgives, and blends them with Himself; through the True Word of the Shabad, He is ever-present. ||1|| Third Mehl: True is the Praise of the Lord God; the Gurmukh chants the Name of the Lord of the Universe. Praising the Naam night and day, and meditating on the Lord, the mind becomes blissful. By great good fortune, I have found the Lord, the perfect embodiment of supreme bliss. Servant Nanak praises the Naam; his mind and body shall never again be shattered. ||2||

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 061

Pauree: If someone slanders the True Guru, and then comes seeking the Guru's Protection, the True Guru forgives him for his past sins, and unites him with the Saints' Congregation. When the rain falls, the water in the streams, rivers and ponds flows into the Ganges; flowing into the Ganges, it is made sacred and pure. Such is the glorious greatness of the True Guru, who has no vengeance; meeting with Him, thirst and hunger are quenched, and instantly, one attains celestial peace. O Nanak, behold this wonder of the Lord, my True King! Everyone is pleased with one who obeys and believes in the True Guru. ||13||1|| Sudh|| Bilaaval, The Word Of The Devotees. Of Kabeer Jee: One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified By Guru's Grace: This world is a drama; no one can remain here. Walk the straight path; otherwise, you will be pushed around. ||1||Pause|| The children, the young and the old, O Siblings of Destiny, will be taken away by the Messenger of Death. The Lord has made the poor man a mouse, and the cat of Death is eating him up. ||1|| It gives no special consideration to either the rich or the poor. The king and his subjects are equally killed; such is the power of Death. ||2|| Those who are pleasing to the Lord are the servants of the Lord; their story is unique and singular. They do not come and go, and they never die; they remain with the Supreme Lord God. ||3|| Know this in your soul, that by renouncing your children, spouse, wealth and property - says Kabeer, listen, O Saints - you shall be united with the Lord of the Universe. ||4||1|| BILAAVAL: I do not read books of knowledge, and I do not understand the debates. I have gone insane, chanting and hearing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||1|| O my father, I have gone insane; the whole world is sane, and I am insane. I am spoiled; let no one else be spoiled like me. ||1||Pause|| I have not made myself go insane - the Lord made me go insane. The True Guru has burnt away my doubt. ||2|| I am spoiled; I have lost my intellect. Let no one go astray in doubt like me. ||3|| He alone is insane, who does not understand himself. When he understands himself, then he knows the One Lord. ||4|| One who is not intoxicated with the Lord now, shall never be intoxicated. Says Kabeer, I am imbued with the Lord's Love. ||5||2|| BILAAVAL: Abandoning his household, he may go to the forest, and live by eating roots; but even so, his sinful, evil mind does not renounce corruption. ||1|| How can anyone be saved? How can anyone cross over the terrifying world-ocean? Save me, save me, O my Lord! Your humble servant seeks Your Sanctuary. ||1||Pause|| I cannot escape my desire for sin and corruption. I make all sorts of efforts to hold back from this desire, but it clings to me, again and again. ||2||

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 062

Youth and old age - my entire life has passed, but I haven't done any good. This priceless soul has been treated as if if were worth no more than a shell. ||3|| Says Kabeer, O my Lord, You are contained in all. There is none as merciful as You are, and none as sinful as I am. ||4||3|| BILAAVAL: Every day, he rises early, and brings a fresh clay pot; he passes his life embellishing and glazing it. He does not think at all of worldly weaving; he is absorbed in the subtle essence of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1|| Who in our family has ever chanted the Name of the Lord? Ever since this worthless son of mine began chanting with his mala, we have had no peace at all! ||1||Pause|| Listen, O my sisters-in-law, a wondrous thing has happened! This boy has ruined our weaving business. Why didn't he simply die? ||2|| O mother, the One Lord, the Lord and Master, is the source of all peace. The Guru has blessed me with His Name. He preserved the honour of Prahlaad, and destroyed Harnaakhash with his nails. ||3|| I have renounced the gods and ancestors of my house, for the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Says Kabeer, God is the Destroyer of all sins; He is the Saving Grace of His Saints. ||4||4|| BILAAVAL: There is no king equal to the Lord. All these lords of the world last for only a few days, putting on their false displays. ||1||Pause|| How can Your humble servant waver? You spread Your shadow over the three worlds. Who can raise his hand against Your humble servant? No one can describe the Lord's expanse. ||1|| Remember Him, O my thoughtless and foolish mind, and the unstruck melody of the sound current will resonate and resound. Says Kabeer, my skepticism and doubt have been dispelled; the Lord has exalted me, as He did Dhroo and Prahlaad. ||2||5|| BILAAVAL: Save me! I have disobeyed You. I have not practiced humility, righteousness or devotional worship; I am proud and egotistical, and I have taken a crooked path. ||1||Pause|| Believing this body to be immortal, I pampered it, but it is a fragile and perishable vessel. Forgetting the Lord who formed, fashioned and embellished me, I have become attached to another. ||1|| I am Your thief; I cannot be called holy. I have fallen at Your feet, seeking Your Sanctuary. Says Kabeer, please listen to this prayer of mine, O Lord; please do not send me sommons of the Messenger of Death. ||2||6|| BILAAVAL: I stand humbly at Your Court. Who else can take care of me, other than You? Please open Your door, and grant me the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. ||1||Pause|| You are the richest of the rich, generous and unattached. With my ears, I listen to Your Praises. From whom should I beg? I see that all are beggars. My salvation comes only from You. ||1|| You blessed Jai Dayv, Naam Dayv and Sudaamaa the Brahmin with Your infinite mercy. Says Kabeer, You are the All-powerful Lord, the Great Giver; in an instant, You bestow the four great blessings. ||2||7|| BILAAVAL: He has a walking stick, ear-rings, a patched coat and a begging bowl. Wearing the robes of a beggar, he wanders around, deluded by doubt. ||1||

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 063

Abandon your Yogic postures and breath control exercises, O madman. Renounce fraud and deception, and meditate continuously on the Lord, O madman. ||1||Pause|| That which you beg for, has been enjoyed in the three worlds. Says Kabeer, the Lord is the only Yogi in the world. ||2||8|| BILAAVAL: This Maya has made me forget Your feet, O Lord of the World, Master of the Universe. Not even a bit of love wells up in Your humble servant; what can Your poor servant do? ||1||Pause|| Cursed is the body, cursed is the wealth, and cursed is this Maya; cursed, cursed is the clever intellect and understanding. Restrain and hold back this Maya; overcome it, through the Word of the Guru's Teachings. ||1|| What good is farming, and what good is trading? Worldly entanglements and pride are false. Says Kabeer, in the end, they are ruined; ultimately, Death will come for them. ||2||9|| BILAAVAL: Within the pool of the body, there is an incomparably beautiful lotus flower. Within it, is the Supreme Light, the Supreme Soul, who has no feature or form. ||1|| O my mind, vibrate, meditate on the Lord, and forsake your doubt. The Lord is the Life of the World. ||1||Pause|| Nothing is seen coming into the world, and nothing is seen leaving it. Where the body is born, there it dies, like the leaves of the water-lily. ||2|| Maya is false and transitory; forsaking it, one obtains peaceful, celestial contemplation. Says Kabeer, serve Him within your mind; He is the Enemy of ego, the Destroyer of demons. ||3||10|| BILAAVAL: The illusion of birth and death is gone; I lovingly focus on the Lord of the Universe. In my life, I am absorbed in deep silent meditation; the Guru's Teachings have awakened me. ||1||Pause|| The sound made from bronze, that sound goes into the bronze again. But when the bronze is broken, O Pandit, O religious scholar, where does the sound go then? ||1|| I gaze upon the world, the confluence of the three qualities; God is awake and aware in each and every heart. Such is the understanding revealed to me; within my heart, I have become a detached renunciate. ||2|| I have come to know my own self, and my light has merged in the Light. Says Kabeer, now I know the Lord of the Universe, and my mind is satisfied. ||3||11|| BILAAVAL: When Your Lotus Feet dwell within one's heart, why should that person waver, O Divine Lord? I know that all comforts, and the nine treasures, come to one who intuitively, naturally, chants the Praise of the Divine Lord. ||Pause|| Such wisdom comes, only when one sees the Lord in all, and unties the knot of hypocrisy. Time and time again, he must hold himself back from Maya; let him take the scale of the Lord, and weigh his mind. ||1|| Then wherever he goes, he will find peace, and Maya will not shake him. Says Kabeer, my mind believes in the Lord; I am absorbed in the Love of the Divine Lord. ||2||12|| Bilaaval, The Word Of Devotee Naam Dayv Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The Guru has made my life fruitful.

Section 20 - Raag Bilaaval - Part 064

My pain is forgotten, and I have found peace deep within myself. ||1|| The Guru has blessed me with the ointment of spiritual wisdom. Without the Lord's Name, life is mindless. ||1||Pause|| Meditating in remembrance, Naam Dayv has come to know the Lord. His soul is blended with the Lord, the Life of the World. ||2||1|| Bilaaval, The Word Of Devotee Ravi Daas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Seeing my poverty, everyone laughed. Such was my condition. Now, I hold the eighteen miraculous spiritual powers in the palm of my hand; everything is by Your Grace. ||1|| You know, and I am nothing, O Lord, Destroyer of fear. All beings seek Your Sanctuary, O God, Fulfiller, Resolver of our affairs. ||1||Pause|| Whoever enters Your Sanctuary, is relieved of his burden of sin. You have saved the high and the low from the shameless world. ||2|| Says Ravi Daas, what more can be said about the Unspoken Speech? Whatever You are, You are, O Lord; how can anything compare with Your Praises? ||3||1|| BILAAVAL: That family, into which a holy person is born, whether of high or low social class, whether rich or poor, shall have its pure fragrance spread all over the world. ||1||Pause|| Whether he is a Brahmin, a Vaishya, a Soodra, or a Kh'shaatriya; whether he is a poet, an outcaste, or a filthy-minded person, he becomes pure, by meditating on the Lord God. He saves himself, and the families of both his parents. ||1|| Blessed is that village, and blessed is the place of his birth; blessed is his pure family, throughout all the worlds. One who drinks in the sublime essence abandons other tastes; intoxicated with this divine essence, he discards sin and corruption. ||2|| Among the religious scholars, warriors and kings, there is no other equal to the Lord's devotee. As the leaves of the water lily float free in the water, says Ravi Daas, so is their life in the world. ||3||2|| The Word Of Sadhana, Raag Bilaaval: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: For a king's daughter, a man disguised himself as Vishnu. He did it for sexual exploitation, and for selfish motives, but the Lord protected his honour. ||1|| What is Your value, O Guru of the world, if You will not erase the karma of my past actions? Why seek safety from a lion, if one is to be eaten by a jackal? ||1||Pause|| For the sake of a single rain-drop, the rainbird suffers in pain. When its breath of life is gone, even an ocean is of no use to it. ||2|| Now, my life has grown weary, and I shall not last much longer; how can I be patient? If I drown and die, and then a boat comes along, tell me, how shall I climb aboard? ||3|| I am nothing, I have nothing, and nothing belongs to me. Now, protect my honour; Sadhana is Your humble servant. ||4||1||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 21 - RAAG GOND

Section 21 - Raag Gond - Part 001

One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying. Beyond Birth. Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: Raag Gond, Chau-Padas, Fourth Mehl, First House: If, in his conscious mind, he places his hopes in the Lord, then he shall obtain the fruits of all the many desires of his mind. The Lord knows everything which happens to the soul. Not even an iota of one's effort goes to waste. Place your hopes in the Lord, O my mind; the Lord and Master is pervading and permeating all. ||1|| O my mind, place your hopes in the Lord of the World, the Master of the Universe. That hope which is placed in any other than the Lord - that hope is fruitless, and totally useless. ||1||Pause|| That which you can see, Maya, and all attachment to family - don't place your hopes in them, or your life will be wasted and lost. Nothing is in their hands; what can these poor creatures do? By their actions, nothing can be done. O my mind, place your hopes in the Lord, your Beloved, who shall carry you across, and save your whole family as well. ||2|| If you place your hopes in any other, in any friend other than the Lord, then you shall come to know that it is of no use at all. This hope placed in other friends comes from the love of duality. In an instant, it is gone; it is totally false. O my mind, place your hopes in the Lord, your True Beloved, who shall approve and reward you for all your efforts. ||3|| Hope and desire are all Yours, O my Lord and Master. As You inspire hope, so are the hopes held.

Section 21 - Raag Gond - Part 002

Nothing is in the hands of anyone, O my Lord and Master; such is the understanding the True Guru has given me to understand. You alone know the hope of servant Nanak, O Lord; gazing upon the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan, he is satisfied. ||4||1|| Gond, Fourth Mehl: Serve such a Lord, and ever meditate on Him, who in an instant erases all sins

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and mistakes. If someone forsakes the Lord and places his hopes in another, then all his service to the Lord is rendered fruitless. O my mind, serve the Lord, the Giver of peace; serving Him, all your hunger shall depart. ||1|| O my mind, place your faith in the Lord. Wherever I go, my Lord and Master is there with me. The Lord saves the honour of His humble servants and slaves. ||1||Pause|| If you tell your sorrows to another, then he, in return, will tell you of his greater sorrows. So tell your sorrows to the Lord, your Lord and Master, who shall instantly dispel your pain. Forsaking such a Lord God, if you tell your sorrows to another, then you shall die of shame. ||2|| The relatives, friends and siblings of the world that you see, O my mind, all meet with you for their own purposes. And that day, when their self-interests are not served, on that day, they shall not come near you. O my mind, serve your Lord, day and night; He shall help you in good times and bad. ||3|| Why place your faith in anyone, O my mind, who cannot come to your rescue at the last instant? Chant the Lord's Mantra, take the Guru's Teachings, and meditate on Him. In the end, the Lord saves those who love Him in their consciousness. Servant Nanak speaks: night and day, chant the Lord's Name, O Saints; this is the only true hope for emancipation. ||4||2|| Gond, Fourth Mehl: Remembering the Lord in meditation, you shall find bliss and peace forever deep within, and your mind will become tranquil and cool. It is like the harsh sun of Maya, with its burning heat; seeing the moon, the Guru, its heat totally vanishes. ||1|| O my mind, night and day, meditate, and chant the Lord's Name. Here and hereafter, He shall protect you, everywhere; serve such a God forever. ||1||Pause|| Meditate on the Lord, who contains all treasures, O my mind; as Gurmukh, search for the jewel, the Lord. Those who meditate on the Lord, find the Lord, my Lord and Master; I wash the feet of those slaves of the Lord. ||2|| One who realises the Word of the Shabad, obtains the sublime essence of the Lord; such a Saint is lofty and sublime, the greatest of the great. The Lord Himself magnifies the glory of that humble servant. No one can lessen or decrease that glory, not even a bit. ||3||

Section 21 - Raag Gond - Part 003

He shall give you peace, O my mind; meditate forever, every day on Him, with your palms pressed together. Please bless servant Nanak with this one gift, O Lord, that Your feet may dwell within my heart forever. ||4||3|| Gond, Fourth Mehl: All the kings, emperors, nobles, lords and chiefs are false and transitory, engrossed in duality - know this well. The eternal Lord is permanent and unchanging; meditate on Him, O my mind, and you shall be approved. ||1|| O my mind, vibrate, and meditate on the Lord's Name, which shall be your defender forever. One who obtains the Mansion of the Lord's Presence, through the Word of the Guru's Teachings - no one else's power is as great as his. ||1||Pause|| All the wealthy, high class property owners which you see, O my mind, shall vanish, like the fading colour of the safflower. Serve the True, Immaculate Lord forever, O my mind, and you shall be honoured in the Court of the Lord. ||2|| There are four castes: Brahmin, Kh'shaatriya, Soodra and Vaishya, and there are four stages of life. One who meditates on the Lord, is the most distinguished and renowned. The poor castor oil plant, growing near the sandalwood tree, becomes fragrant; in the same way, the sinner, associating with the Saints, becomes acceptable and approved. ||3|| He, within whose heart the Lord abides, is the highest of all, and the purest of all. Servant Nanak washes the feet of thM at humble servant of the Lord; he may be from a low class family, but he is now the Lord's servant. ||4||4|| Gond, Fourth Mehl: The Lord, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts, is all-pervading. As the Lord causes them to act, so do they act. So serve forever such a Lord, O my mind, who will protect you from everything. ||1|| O my mind, meditate on the Lord, and read about the Lord every day. Other than the Lord, no one can kill you or save you; so why do you worry, O my mind? ||1||Pause|| The Creator created the entire universe, and infused His Light into it. The One Lord speaks, and the One Lord causes all to speak.The Perfect Guru has revealed the One Lord. ||2|| The Lord is with you, inside and out; tell me, O mind, how can You hide anything from Him? Serve the Lord open-heartedly, and then, O my mind, you shall find total peace. ||3|| Everything is under His control; He is the greatest of all. O my mind, meditate forever on Him. O Servant Nanak, that Lord is always with you. Meditate forever on your Lord, and He shall emancipate you. ||4||5|| Gond, Fourth Mehl: My mind yearns so deeply for the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan, like the thirsty man without water. ||1|| My mind is pierced through by the arrow of the Lord's Love. The Lord God knows my anguish, and the pain deep within my mind. ||1||Pause|| Whoever tells me the Stories of my Beloved Lord is my Sibling of Destiny, and my friend. ||2||

Section 21 - Raag Gond - Part 004

Come, and join together, O my companions; let's sing the Glorious Praises of my God, and follow the comforting advice of the True Guru.. ||3|| Please fulfill the hopes of servant Nanak, O Lord; his body finds peace and tranquility in the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan. ||4||6|| First set of six. || Raag Gond, Fifth Mehl, Chau-Padas, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: He is the Creator of all, He is the Enjoyer of all. ||1||Pause|| The Creator listens, and the Creator sees. The Creator is unseen, and the Creator is seen. The Creator forms, and the Creator destroys. The Creator touches, and the Creator is detached. ||1|| The Creator is the One who speaks, and the Creator is the One who understands. The Creator comes, and the Creator also goes. The Creator is absolute and without qualities; the Creator is related, with the most excellent qualities. By Guru's Grace, Nanak looks upon all the same. ||2||1|| Gond, Fifth Mehl: You are caught, like the fish and the monkey; you are entangled in the transitory world. Your foot-steps and your breaths are numbered; only by singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord will you be saved. ||1|| O mind, reform yourself, and forsake your aimless wandering. You have found no place of rest for yourself; so why do you try to teach others? ||1||Pause|| Like the elephant, driven by sexual desire, you are attached to your family. People are like birds that come together, and fly apart again; you shall become stable and steady, only when you meditate on the Lord, Har, Har, in the Company of the Holy. ||2|| Like the fish, which perishes because of its desire to taste, the fool is ruined by his greed. You have fallen under the power of the five thieves; escape is only possible in the Sanctuary of the Lord. ||3|| Be Merciful to me, O Destroyer of the pains of the meek; all beings and creatures belong to You. May I obtain the gift of always seeing the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan; meeting with You, Nanak is the slave of Your slaves. ||4||2|| Raag Gond, Fifth Mehl, Chau-Padas, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: He fashioned the soul and the breath of life, and infused His Light into the dust; He exalted you and gave you everything to use, and food to eat and enjoy - how can you forsake that God, you fool! Where else will you go? ||1|| Commit yourself to the service of the Transcendent Lord. Through the Guru, one understands the Immaculate, Divine Lord. ||1||Pause|| He created plays and dramas of all sorts; He creates and destroys in an instant; His state and condition cannot be described. Meditate forever on that God, O my mind. ||2|| The unchanging Lord does not come or go. His Glorious Virtues are infinite; how many of them can I count?

Section 21 - Raag Gond - Part 005

His treasure is overflowing with the rubies of the Name. He gives Support to all hearts. ||3|| The Name is the True Primal Being; millions of sins are washed away in an instant, singing His Praises. The Lord God is your best friend, your playmate from earliest childhood. He is the Support of the breath of life; O Nanak, He is love, He is consciousness. ||4||1||3|| Gond, Fifth Mehl: I trade in the Naam, the Name of the Lord. The Naam is the Support of the mind. My consciousness takes to the Shelter of the Naam. Chanting the Naam, millions of sins are erased. ||1|| The Lord has blessed me with the wealth of the Naam, the Name of the One Lord. The wish of my mind is to meditate on the Naam, in association with the Guru. ||1||Pause|| The Naam is the wealth of my soul. Wherever I go, the Naam is with me. The Naam is sweet to my mind. In the water, on the land, and everywhere, I see the Naam. ||2|| Through the Naam, one's face becomes radiant in the Court of the Lord. Through the Naam, all one's generations are saved. Through the Naam, my affairs are resolved. My mind is accustomed to the Naam. ||3|| Through the Naam, I have become fearless. Through the Naam, my comings and goings have ceased. The Perfect Guru has united me with the Lord, the treasure of virtue. Says Nanak, I dwell in celestial peace. ||4||2||4|| Gond, Fifth Mehl: He grants honour to the dishonoured, and gives gifts to all the hungry; he protects those in the terrible womb. So humbly bow forever to that Lord and Master. ||1|| Meditate on such a God in your mind. He shall be your help and support everywhere, in good times and bad. ||1||Pause|| The beggar and the king are all the same to Him. He sustains and fulfills both the ant and the elephant. He does not consult or seek anyone's advice. Whatever He does, He does Himself. ||2|| No one knows His limit. He Himself is the Immaculate Lord. He Himself is formed, and He Himself is formless. In the heart, in each and every heart, He is the Support of all hearts. ||3|| Through the Love of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the devotees become His Beloveds. Singing the Praises of the Creator, the Saints are forever in bliss. Through the Love of the Naam, the Lord's humble servants remain satisfied. Nanak falls at the feet of those humble servants of the Lord. ||4||3||5|| Gond, Fifth Mehl: Associating with them, this mind becomes immaculate and pure. Associating with them, one meditates in remembrance on the Lord, Har, Har. Associating with them, all the sins are erased. Associating with them, the heart is illumined. ||1|| Those Saints of the Lord are my friends. It is their custom to sing only the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| By their mantra, the Lord, Har, Har, dwells in the mind. By their teachings, doubt and fear are dispelled. By their kirtan, they become immaculate and sublime. The world longs for the dust of their feet. ||2|| Millions of sinners are saved by associating with them. They have the Support of the Name of the One Formless Lord. He knows the secrets of all beings; He is the treasure of mercy, the divine immaculate Lord. ||3|| When the Supreme Lord God becomes merciful, then one meets the Merciful Holy Guru.

Section 21 - Raag Gond - Part 006

Day and night, Nanak meditates on the Naam. Through the Lord's Name, he is blessed with peace, poise and bliss. ||4||4||6|| Gond, Fifth Mehl: Meditate on the image of the Guru within your mind; let your mind accept the Word of the Guru's Shabad, and His Mantra. Enshrine the Guru's feet within your heart. Bow in humility forever before the Guru, the Supreme Lord God. ||1|| Let no one wander in doubt in the world. Without the Guru, no one can cross over. ||1||Pause|| The Guru shows the Path to those who have wandered off. He leads them to renounce others, and attaches them to devotional worship of the Lord. He obliterates the fear of birth and death. The glorious greatness of the Perfect Guru is endless. ||2|| By Guru's Grace, the inverted heart-lotus blossoms forth, and the Light shines forth in the darkness. Through the Guru, know the One who created you. By the Guru's Mercy, the foolish mind comes to believe. ||3|| The Guru is the Creator; the Guru has the power to do everything. The Guru is the Transcendent Lord; He is, and always shall be. Says Nanak, God has inspired me to know this. Without the Guru, liberation is not obtained, O Siblings of Destiny. ||4||5||7|| Gond, Fifth Mehl: Chant Guru, Guru, Guru, O my mind. I have no other than the Guru. I lean upon the Support of the Guru, day and night. No one can decrease His bounty. ||1|| Know that the Guru and the Transcendent Lord are One. Whatever pleases Him is acceptable and approved. ||1||Pause|| One whose mind is attached to the Guru's feet - his pains, sufferings and doubts run away. Serving the Guru, honour is obtained. I am forever a sacrifice to the Guru. ||2|| Gazing upon the Blessed Vision of the Guru's Darshan, I am exalted. The work of the Guru's servant is perfect. Pain does not afflict the Guru's servant. The Guru's servant is famous in the ten directions. ||3|| The Guru's glory cannot be described. The Guru remains absorbed in the Supreme Lord God. Says Nanak, one who is blessed with perfect destiny - his mind is attached to the Guru's feet. ||4||6||8|| Gond, Fifth Mehl: I worship and adore my Guru; the Guru is the Lord of the Universe. My Guru is the Supreme Lord God; the Guru is the Lord God. My Guru is divine, invisible and mysterious. I serve at the Guru's feet, which are worshipped by all. ||1|| Without the Guru, I have no other place at all. Night and day, I chant the Name of Guru, Guru. ||1||Pause|| The Guru is my spiritual wisdom, the Guru is the meditation within my heart. The Guru is the Lord of the World, the Primal Being, the Lord God. With my palms pressed together, I remain in the Guru's Sanctuary. Without the Guru, I have no other at all. ||2|| The Guru is the boat to cross over the terrifying world-ocean. Serving the Guru, one is released from the Messenger of Death. In the darkness, the Guru's Mantra shines forth. With the Guru, all are saved. ||3|| The Perfect Guru is found, by great good fortune. Serving the Guru, pain does not afflict anyone. No one can erase the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Nanak is the Guru; Nanak is the Lord Himself. ||4||7||9||

Section 21 - Raag Gond - Part 007

Gond, Fifth Mehl: Deal and trade only with the Lord, Raam, Raam. The Lord, Raam, Raam, Raam, is the Support of the breath of life. Sing the Kirtan of the Praises of the Lord, Raam, Raam, Raam. The Lord is ever-present, all-pervading. ||1|| Joining the humble Saints, chant the Lord's Name. This is the most immaculate and perfect occupation of all. ||1||Pause|| Gather the treasure, the wealth of the Lord, Raam, Raam. Let your sustenance be the Lord, Raam, Raam, Raam. Never forget the Lord, Raam, Raam. In His Mercy, the Guru has revealed this to me. ||2|| The Lord, Raam, Raam, Raam, is always our help and support. Embrace love for the Lord, Raam, Raam, Raam. Through the Lord, Raam, Raam, Raam, I have become immaculate. The sins of countless incarnations have been taken away. ||3|| Uttering the Lord's Name, birth and death are finished. Repeating the Lord's Name, one crosses over the terrifying world-ocean. The Luminous Lord is the highest of all. Night and day, servant Nanak meditates on Him. ||4||8||10|| Gond, Fifth Mehl: My Lord and Master has held back the five demons. He conquered them, and scared them away from the Lord's slave. They cannot find the mansion of the Lord's devotee. Joining together, the Lord's humble servants sing the songs of joy. ||1|| The five demons are the rulers of the whole world, but they are just water-carriers for the Lord's devotee. ||1||Pause|| They collect taxes from the world, but they bow in subservience to God's devotees. They plunder and dishonour the faithless cynics, but they massage and wash the feet of the Holy. ||2|| The One Mother gave birth to the five sons, and began the play of the created world. With the three qualities joined together, they celebrate. Renouncing these three qualities, the Lord's humble servants rise above them. ||3|| In His Mercy, He saves His humble servants. They belong to Him, and so He saves them by driving out the five. Says Nanak, devotion to God is noble

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and sublime. Without devotion, all just waste away uselessly. ||4||9||11|| Gond, Fifth Mehl: Suffering and troubles are eradicated by the Lord's Name. Pain is dispelled, and peace takes its place. Meditating, chanting the Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord, I am satisfied. By the Grace of the Saints, I have received all fruitful rewards. ||1|| Meditating on the Lord, His humble servant is carried across, and the sins of countless incarnations are taken away. ||1||Pause|| I have enshrined the Guru's feet within my heart, and crossed over the ocean of fire. All the painful diseases of birth and death have been eradicated. I am attached to God in celestial Samaadhi. ||2|| In all places and interspaces, the One, our Lord and Master is contained. He is the Inner-knower of all hearts. One whom the Lord blesses with understanding, chants the Name of God, twenty-four hours a day. ||3|| Deep within, God Himself abides; within his heart, the Divine Light shines forth. With loving devotion, sing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises. Meditate on the Supreme Lord God, O Nanak, and you shall be saved. ||4||10||12|| Gond, Fifth Mehl:

Section 21 - Raag Gond - Part 008

Bow in humility to the lotus feet of the Guru. Eliminate sexual desire and anger from this body. Be the dust of all, and see the Lord in each and every heart, in all. ||1|| In this way, dwell upon the Lord of the World, the Lord of the Universe. My body and wealth belong to God; my soul belongs to God. ||1||Pause|| Twenty-four hours a day, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. This is the purpose of human life. Renounce your egotistical pride, and know that God is with you. By the Grace of the Holy, let your mind be imbued with the Lord's Love. ||2|| Know the One who created you, and in the world hereafter you shall be honoured in the Court of the Lord. Your mind and body will be immaculate and blissful; chant the Name of the Lord of the Universe with your tongue. ||3|| Grant Your Kind Mercy, O my Lord, Merciful to the meek. My mind begs for the dust of the feet of the Holy. Be merciful, and bless me with this gift, that Nanak may live, chanting God's Name. ||4||11||13|| Gond, Fifth Mehl: My incense and lamps are my service to the Lord. Time and time again, I humbly bow to the Creator. I have renounced everything, and grasped the Sanctuary of God. By great good fortune, the Guru has become pleased and satisfied with me. ||1|| Twenty-four hours a day, I sing of the Lord of the Universe. My body and wealth belong to God; my soul belongs to God. ||1||Pause|| Chanting the Glorious Praises of the Lord, I am in bliss. The Supreme Lord God is the Perfect Forgiver. Granting His Mercy, He has linked His humble servants to His service. He has rid me of the pains of birth and death, and merged me with Himself. ||2|| This is the essence of karma, righteous conduct and spiritual wisdom, to chant the Lord's Name in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. God's Feet are the boat to cross over the world-ocean. God, the Inner-knower, is the Cause of causes. ||3|| Showering His Mercy, He Himself has saved me. The five hideous demons have run away. Do not lose your life in the gamble. The Creator Lord has taken Nanak's side. ||4||12||14|| Gond, Fifth Mehl: In His Mercy, He has blessed me with peace and bliss. The Divine Guru has saved His child. God is kind and compassionate; He is the Lord of the Universe. He forgives all beings and creatures. ||1|| I seek Your Sanctuary, O God, O Merciful to the meek. Meditating on the Supreme Lord God, I am forever in ecstasy. ||1||Pause|| There is no other like the Merciful Lord God. He is contained deep within each and every heart. He embellishes His slave, here and hereafter. It is Your nature, God, to purify sinners. ||2|| Meditation on the Lord of the Universe is the medicine to cure millions of illnesses. My Tantra and Mantra is to meditate, to vibrate upon the Lord God. Illnesses and pains are dispelled, meditating on God. The fruits of the mind's desires are fulfilled. ||3|| He is the Cause of causes, the All-powerful Merciful Lord. Contemplating Him is the greatest of all treasures. God Himself has forgiven Nanak; forever and ever, he chants the Name of the One Lord. ||4||13||15|| Gond, Fifth Mehl: Chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, O my friend.

Section 21 - Raag Gond - Part 009

Your consciousness shall become immaculate and pure. All the misfortunes of your mind and body shall be taken away, and all your pain and darkness will be dispelled. ||1|| Singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, cross over the world-ocean. By great good fortune, one attains the Infinite Lord, the Primal Being. ||1||Pause|| The Messenger of Death cannot even touch that humble being, who sings the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises. The Gurmukh realises his Lord and Master; his coming into this world is approved. ||2|| He sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord, by the Grace of the Saints; his sexual desire, anger and madness are eradicated. He knows the Lord God to be ever-present. This is the Perfect Teaching of the Perfect Guru. ||3|| He earns the treasure of the Lord's wealth. Meeting with the True Guru, all his affairs are resolved. He is awake and aware in the Love of the Lord's Name; O Nanak, his mind is attached to the Lord's Feet. ||4||14||16|| Gond, Fifth Mehl: The Lord's Feet are the boat to cross over the terrifying world-ocean. Meditating in remembrance on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, he does not die again. Chanting the Glorious Praises of the Lord, he does not have to walk on the Path of Death. Contemplating the Supreme Lord, the five demons are conquered. ||1|| I have entered Your Sanctuary, O Perfect Lord and Master. Please give Your hand to Your creatures. ||1||Pause|| The Simritees, Shaastras, Vedas and Puraanas expound upon the Supreme Lord God. The Yogis, celibates, Vaishnavs and followers of Ram Das cannot find the limits of the Eternal Lord God. ||2|| Shiva and the gods lament and moan, but they do not understand even a tiny bit of the unseen and unknown Lord. One whom the Lord Himself blesses with loving devotional worship, is very rare in this world. ||3|| I am worthless, with absolutely no virtue at all; all treasures are in Your Glance of Grace. Nanak, the meek, desires only to serve You. Please be merciful, and grant him this blessing, O Divine Guru. ||4||15||17|| Gond, Fifth Mehl: One who is cursed by the Saints, is thrown down on the ground. The slanderer of the Saints is thrown down from the skies. I hold the Saints close to my soul. The Saints are saved instantaneously. ||1|| He alone is a Saint, who is pleasing to the Lord. The Saints, and God, have only one job to do. ||1||Pause|| God gives His hand to shelter the Saints. He dwells with His Saints, day and night. With each and every breath, He cherishes His Saints. He takes the power away from the enemies of the Saints. ||2|| Let no one slander the Saints. Whoever slanders them, will be destroyed. One who is protected by the Creator Lord, cannot be harmed, no matter how much the whole world may try. ||3|| I place my faith in my God. My soul and body all belong to Him. This is the faith which inspires Nanak: the self-willed manmukhs will fail, while the Gurmukhs will always win. ||4||16||18|| Gond, Fifth Mehl: The Name of the Immaculate Lord is the Ambrosial Water. Chanting it with the tongue, sins are washed away. ||1||Pause||

Section 21 - Raag Gond - Part 010

The Lord abides in everyone. The Lord illumines each and every heart. Chanting the Lord's Name, one does not fall into hell. Serving the Lord, all fruitful rewards are obtained. ||1|| Within my mind is the Support of the Lord. The Lord is the boat to cross over the world-ocean. Chant the Lord's Name, and the Messenger of Death will run away. The Lord breaks the teeth of Maya, the witch. ||2|| The Lord is forever and ever the Forgiver. The Lord blesses us with peace and bliss. The Lord has revealed His glory. The Lord is the mother and father of His Saint. ||3|| The Lord, the Lord, is in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Time and time again, I sing the Lord's Praises. Meeting with the Guru, I have attained the incomprehensible object. Slave Nanak has grasped the Support of the Lord. ||4||17||19|| Gond, Fifth Mehl: One who is protected by the Protector Lord - the Formless Lord is on his side. ||1||Pause|| In the mother's womb, the fire does not touch him. Sexual desire, anger, greed and emotional attachment do not affect him. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, he meditates on the Formless Lord. Dust is thrown into the faces of the slanderers. ||1|| The Lord's protective spell is the armor of His slave. The wicked, evil demons cannot even touch him. Whoever indulges in egotistical pride, shall waste away to ruin. God is the Sanctuary of His humble slave. ||2|| Whoever enters the Sanctuary of the Sovereign Lord - He saves that slave, hugging him close in His embrace. Whoever takes great pride in himself, in an instant, shall be like dust mixing with dust. ||3|| The True Lord is, and shall always be. Forever and ever, I am a sacrifice to Him. Granting His Mercy, He saves His slaves. God is the Support of Nanak's breath of life. ||4||18||20|| Gond, Fifth Mehl: Wondrous and beautiful is the description of the beauty of the Supreme Soul, the Supreme Lord God. ||Pause|| He is not old; He is not young. He is not in pain; He is not caught in Death's noose. He does not die; He does not go away. In the beginning, and throughout the ages, He is permeating everywhere. ||1|| He is not hot; He is not cold. He has no enemy; He has no friend. He is not happy; He is not sad. Everything belongs to Him; He can do anything. ||2|| He has no father; He has no mother. He is beyond the beyond, and has always been so. He is not affected by virtue or vice. Deep within each and every heart, He is always awake and aware. ||3|| From the three qualities, the one mechanism of Maya was produced. The great Maya is only His shadow. He is undeceivable, impenetrable, unfathomable and merciful. He is merciful to the meek, forever compassionate. His state and limits cannot ever be known. Nanak is a sacrifice, a sacrifice to Him. ||4||19||21||

Section 21 - Raag Gond - Part 011

Gond, Fifth Mehl: I am a sacrifice to the Saints. Associating with the Saints, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. By the Grace of the Saints, all the sins are taken away. By great good fortune, one finds the Sanctuary of the Saints. ||1|| Meditating on the Lord, no obstacles will block your way. By Guru's Grace, meditate on God. ||1||Pause|| When the Supreme Lord God becomes merciful, he makes me the dust of the feet of the Holy. Sexual desire and anger leave his body, and the Lord, the jewel, comes to dwell in his mind. ||2|| Fruitful and approved is the life of one who knows the Supreme Lord God to be close. One who is committed to loving devotional worship of God, and the Kirtan of His Praises, awakens from the sleep of countless incarnations. ||3|| The Lord's Lotus Feet are the Support of His humble servant. To chant the Praises of the Lord of the Universe is the true trade. Please fulfill the hopes of Your humble slave. Nanak finds peace in the dust of the feet of the humble. ||4||20||22||6||28|| Raag Gond, Ashtapadees, Fifth Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Humbly bow to the Perfect Divine Guru. Fruitful is His image, and fruitful is service to Him. He is the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts, the Architect of Destiny. Twenty-four hours a day, he remains imbued with the love of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1|| The Guru is the Lord of the Universe, the Guru is the Lord of the World. He is the Saving Grace of His slaves. ||1||Pause|| He satisfies the kings, emperors and nobles. He destroys the egotistical villains. He puts illness into the mouths of the slanderers. All the people celebrate His victory. ||2|| Supreme bliss fills the minds of the Saints. The Saints meditate on the Divine Guru, the Lord God. The faces of His companions become radiant and bright. The slanderers lose all places of rest. ||3|| With each and every breath, the Lord's humble slaves praise Him. The Supreme Lord God and the Guru are care-free. All fears are eradicated, in His Sanctuary. Smashing all the slanderers, the Lord knocks them to the ground. ||4|| Let no one slander the Lord's humble servants. Whoever does so, will be miserable. Twenty-four hours a day, the Lord's humble servant meditates on Him alone. The Messenger of Death does not even approach him. ||5|| The Lord's humble servant has no vengeance. The slanderer is egotistical. The Lord's humble servant wishes well, while the slanderer dwells on evil. The Sikh of the Guru meditates on the True Guru. The Lord's humble servants are saved, while the slanderer is cast into hell. ||6|| Listen, O my beloved friends and companions: these words shall be true in the Court of the Lord. As you plant, so shall you harvest. The proud, egotistical person will surely be uprooted. ||7|| O True Guru, You are the Support of the unsupported. Be merciful, and save Your humble servant. Says Nanak, I am a sacrifice to the Guru; remembering Him in meditation, my honour has been saved. ||8||1||29||

Section 21 - Raag Gond - Part 012

Raag Gond, The Word Of The Devotees. Kabeer Jee, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: When you meet a Saint, talk to him and listen. Meeting with an unsaintly person, just remain silent. ||1|| O father, if I speak, what words should I utter? Speak such words, by which you may remain absorbed in the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Speaking with the Saints, one becomes generous. To speak with a fool is to babble uselessly. ||2|| By speaking and only speaking, corruption only increases. If I do not speak, what can the poor wretch do? ||3|| Says Kabeer, the empty pitcher makes noise, but that which is full makes no sound. ||4||1|| GOND: When a man dies, he is of no use to anyone. But when an animal dies, it is used in ten ways. ||1|| What do I know, about the state of my karma? What do I know, O Baba? ||1||Pause|| His bones burn, like a bundle of logs; his hair burns like a bale of hay. ||2|| Says Kabeer, the man wakes up, only when the Messenger of Death hits him over the head with his club. ||3||2|| GOND: The Celestial Lord is in the Akaashic ethers of the skies, the Celestial Lord is in the nether regions of the underworld; in the four directions, the Celestial Lord is pervading. The Supreme Lord God is forever the source of bliss. When the vessel of the body perishes, the Celestial Lord does not perish. ||1|| I have become sad, wondering where the soul comes from, and where it goes. ||1||Pause|| The body is formed from the union of the five tatvas; but where were the five tatvas created? You say that the soul is tied to its karma, but who gave karma to the body? ||2|| The body is contained in the Lord, and the Lord is contained in the body. He is permeating within all. Says Kabeer, I shall not renounce the Lord's Name. I shall accept whatever happens. ||3||3|| Raag Gond, The Word Of Kabeer Jee, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: They tied my arms, bundled me up, and threw me before an elephant. The elephant driver struck him on the head, and infuriated him. But the elephant ran away, trumpeting, "I am a sacrifice to this image of the Lord."||1|| O my Lord and Master, You are my strength. The Qazi shouted at the driver to drive the elephant on. ||1||Pause|| He yelled out, "O driver, I shall cut you into pieces. Hit him, and drive him on!" But the elephant did not move; instead, he began to meditate. The Lord God abides within his mind. ||2|| What sin has this Saint committed, that you have made him into a bundle and thrown him before the elephant? Lifting up the bundle, the elephant bows down before it. The Qazi could not understand it; he was blind. ||3|| Three times, he tried to do it.

Section 21 - Raag Gond - Part 013

Even then, his hardened mind was not satisfied. Says Kabeer, such is my Lord and Master. The soul of His humble servant dwells in the fourth state. ||4||1||4|| GOND: It is not human,

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and it is not a god. It is not called celibate, or a worshipper of Shiva. It is not a Yogi, and it is not a hermit. It is not a mother, or anyone's son. ||1|| Then what is it, which dwells in this temple of the body? No one can find its limits. ||1||Pause|| It is not a house-holder, and it is not a renouncer of the world. It is not a king, and it is not a beggar. It has no body, no drop of blood. It is not a Brahmin, and it is not a Kh'shaatriya. ||2|| It is not called a man of austere self-discipline, or a Shaykh. It does not live, and it is not seen to die. If someone cries over its death, that person loses his honour. ||3|| By Guru's Grace, I have found the Path. Birth and death have both been erased. Says Kabeer, this is formed of the same essence as the Lord. It is like the ink on the paper which cannot be erased. ||4||2||5|| GOND: The threads are broken, and the starch has run out. Bare reeds glisten at the front door. The poor brushes are scattered in pieces. Death has entered this shaven head. ||1|| This shaven-headed mendicant has wasted all his wealth. All this coming and going has irritated him. ||1||Pause|| He has given up all talk of his weaving equipment. His mind is attuned to the Lord's Name. His daughters and sons have nothing to eat, while the shaven-headed mendicants night and day eat their fill. ||2|| One or two are in the house, and one or two more are on the way. We sleep on the floor, while they sleep in the beds. They rub their bare heads, and carry prayer-books in their waist-bands. We get dry grains, while they get loaves of bread. ||3|| He will become one of these shaven-headed mendicants. They are the support of the drowning. Listen, O blind and unguided Loi: Kabeer has taken shelter with these shaven-headed mendicants. ||4||3||6|| GOND: When her husband dies, the woman does not cry. Someone else becomes her protector. When this protector dies, he falls into the world of hell hereafter, for the sexual pleasures he enjoyed in this world. ||1|| The world loves only the one bride, Maya. She is the wife of all beings and creatures. ||1||Pause|| With her necklace around her neck, this bride looks beautiful. She is poison to the Saint, but the world is delighted with her. Adorning herself, she sits like a prostitute. Cursed by the Saints, she wanders around like a wretch. ||2|| She runs around, chasing after the Saints. She is afraid of being beaten by those blessed with the Guru's Grace. She is the body, the breath of life, of the faithless cynics. She appears to me like a blood-thirsty witch. ||3|| I know her secrets well - in His Mercy, the Divine Guru met me. Says Kabeer, now I have thrown her out. She clings to the skirt of the world. ||4||4||7||

Section 21 - Raag Gond - Part 014

GOND: When someone's household has no glory, the guests who come there depart still hungry. Deep within, there is no contentment. Without his bride, the wealth of Maya, he suffers in pain. ||1|| So praise this bride, which can shake the consciousness of even the most dedicated ascetics and sages. ||1||Pause|| This bride is the daughter of a wretched miser. Abandoning the Lord's servant, she sleeps with the world. Standing at the door of the holy man, she says, "I have come to your sanctuary; now save me!"||2|| This bride is so beautiful. The bells on her ankles make soft music. As long as there is the breath of life in the man, she remains attached to him. But when it is no more, she quickly gets up and departs, barefooted. ||3|| This bride has conquered the three worlds. The eighteen Puraanas and the sacred shrines of pilgrimage love her as well. She pierced the hearts of Brahma, Shiva and Vishnu. She destroyed the great emperors and kings of the world. ||4|| This bride has no restraint or limits. She is in collusion with the five thieving passions. When the clay pot of these five passions bursts, then, says Kabeer, by Guru's Mercy, one is released. ||5||5||8|| GOND: As the house will not stand when the supporting beams are removed from within it, just so, without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, how can anyone be carried across? Without the pitcher, the water is not contained; just so, without the Holy Saint, the mortal departs in misery. ||1|| One who does not remember the Lord - let him burn; his body and mind have remained absorbed in this field of the world. ||1||Pause|| Without a farmer, the land is not planted; without a thread, how can the beads be strung? Without a loop, how can the knot be tied? Just so, without the Holy Saint, the mortal departs in misery. ||2|| Without a mother or father there is no child; just so, without water, how can the clothes be washed? Without a horse, how can there be a rider? Without the Holy Saint, one cannot reach the Court of the Lord. ||3|| Just as without music, there is no dancing, the bride rejected by her husband is dishonoured. Says Kabeer, do this one thing: become Gurmukh, and you shall never die again. ||4||6||9|| GOND: He alone is a pimp, who pounds down his mind. Pounding down his mind, he escapes from the Messenger of Death. Pounding and beating his mind, he puts it to the test; such a pimp attains total liberation. ||1|| Who is called a pimp in this world? In all speech, one must carefully consider. ||1||Pause|| He alone is a dancer, who dances with his mind. The Lord is not satisfied with falsehood; He is pleased only with Truth. So play the beat of the drum in the mind. The Lord is the Protector of the dancer with such a mind. ||2|| She alone is a street-dancer, who cleanses her body-street, and educates the five passions. She who embraces devotional worship for the Lord - I accept such a street-dancer as my Guru. ||3|| He alone is a thief, who is above envy, and who uses his sense organs to chant the Lord's Name. Says Kabeer, these are the qualities of the one I know as my Blessed Divine Guru, who is the most beautiful and wise. ||4||7||10||

Section 21 - Raag Gond - Part 015

GOND: Blessed is the Lord of the World. Blessed is the Divine Guru. Blessed is that grain, by which the heart-lotus of the hungry blossoms forth. Blessed are those Saints, who know this. Meeting with them, one meets the Lord, the Sustainer of the World. ||1|| This grain comes from the Primal Lord God. One chants the Naam, the Name of the Lord, only when he tastes this grain. ||1||Pause|| Meditate on the Naam, and meditate on this grain. Mixed with water, its taste becomes sublime. One who abstains from this grain, loses his honour in the three worlds. ||2|| One who discards this grain, is practicing hypocrisy. She is neither a happy soul-bride, nor a widow. Those who claim in this world that they live on milk alone, secretly eat whole loads of food. ||3|| Without this grain, time does not pass in peace. Forsaking this grain, one does not meet the Lord of the World. Says Kabeer, this I know: blessed is that grain, which brings faith in the Lord and Master to the mind. ||4||8||11|| Raag Gond, The Word Of Naam Dayv Jee, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The ritual sacrifice of horses, giving one's weight in gold to charities, and ceremonial cleansing baths -||1|| These are not equal to singing the Praises of the Lord's Name. Meditate on your Lord, you lazy man! ||1||Pause|| Offering sweet rice at Gaya, living on the river banks at Benares, reciting the four Vedas by heart;||2|| Completing all religious rituals, restraining sexual passion by the spiritual wisdom given by the Guru, and performing the six rituals;||3|| Expounding on Shiva and Shakti - O man, renounce and abandon all these things. Meditate, meditate in remembrance on the Lord of the Universe. Meditate, O Naam Dayv, and cross over the terrifying world-ocean. ||4||1|| GOND: The deer is lured by the sound of the hunter's bell; it loses its life, but it cannot stop thinking about it. ||1|| In the same way, I look upon my Lord. I will not abandon my Lord, and turn my thoughts to another. ||1||Pause|| As the fisherman looks upon the fish, and the goldsmith looks upon the gold he fashions;||2|| As the man driven by sex looks upon another man's wife, and the gambler looks upon the throwing of the dice -||3|| In the same way, wherever Naam Dayv looks, he sees the Lord. Naam Dayv meditates continuously on the Feet of the Lord. ||4||2|| GOND: Carry me across, O Lord, carry me across. I am ignorant, and I do not know how to swim. O my Beloved Father, please give me Your arm. ||1||Pause|| I have been transformed from a mortal being into an angel, in an instant; the True Guru has taught me this. Born of human flesh, I have conquered the heavens; such is the medicine I was given. ||1|| Please place me where You placed Dhroo and Naarad, O my Master. With the Support of Your Name, so many have been saved; this is Naam Dayv's understanding. ||2||3||

Section 21 - Raag Gond - Part 016

GOND: I am restless and unhappy. Without her calf, the cow is lonely. ||1|| Without water, the fish writhes in pain. So is poor Naam Dayv without the Lord's Name. ||1||Pause|| Like the cow's calf, which, when let loose, sucks at her udders and drinks her milk -||2|| So has Naam Dayv found the Lord. Meeting the Guru, I have seen the Unseen Lord. ||3|| As the man driven by sex wants another man's wife, so does Naam Dayv love the Lord. ||4|| As the earth burns in the dazzling sunlight, so does poor Naam Dayv burn without the Lord's Name. ||5||4|| Raag Gond, The Word Of Naam Dayv Jee, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, all doubts are dispelled. Chanting the Name of the Lord is the highest religion. Chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, erases social classes and ancestral pedigrees. The Lord is the walking stick of the blind. ||1|| I bow to the Lord, I humbly bow to the Lord. Chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, you will not be tormented by the Messenger of Death. ||1||Pause|| The Lord took the life of Harnaakhash, and gave Ajaamal a place in heaven. Teaching a parrot to speak the Lord's Name, Ganika the prostitute was saved. That Lord is the light of my eyes. ||2|| Chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, Pootna was saved, even though she was a deceitful child-killer. Contemplating the Lord, Dropadi was saved. Gautam's wife, turned to stone, was saved. ||3|| The Lord, who killed Kaysee and Kans, gave the gift of life to Kali. Prays Naam Dayv, such is my Lord; meditating on Him, fear and suffering are dispelled. ||4||1||5|| GOND: One who chases after the god Bhairau, evil spirits and the goddess of smallpox, is riding on a donkey, kicking up the dust. ||1|| I take only the Name of the One Lord. I have given away all other gods in exchange for Him. ||1||Pause|| That man who chants "Shiva, Shiva", and meditates on him, is riding on a bull, shaking a tambourine. ||2|| One who worships the Great Goddess Maya will be reincarnated as a woman, and not a man. ||3|| You are called the Primal Goddess. At the time of liberation, where will you hide then? ||4|| Follow the Guru's Teachings, and hold tight to the Lord's Name, O friend. Thus prays Naam Dayv, and so says the Gita as well. ||5||2||6|| BILAAVAL GOND: Today, Naam Dayv saw the Lord, and so I will instruct the ignorant. ||Pause|| O Pandit, O religious scholar, your Gayatri was grazing in the fields. Taking a stick, the farmer broke its leg, and now it walks with a limp. ||1|| O Pandit, I saw your great god Shiva, riding along on a white bull. In the merchant's house, a banquet was prepared for him - he killed the merchant's son. ||2||

Section 21 - Raag Gond - Part 017

O Pandit, I saw your Raam Chand coming too ; he lost his wife, fighting a war against Raawan. ||3|| The Hindu is sightless; the Muslim has only one eye. The spiritual teacher is wiser than both of them. The Hindu worships at the temple, the Muslim at the mosque. Naam Dayv serves that Lord, who is not limited to either the temple or the mosque. ||4||3||7|| Raag Gond, The Word Of Ravi Daas Jee, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Meditate on the Lord Mukanday, the Liberator, O people of the world. Without Mukanday, the body shall be reduced to ashes. Mukanday is the Giver of liberation. Mukanday is my father and mother. ||1|| Meditate on Mukanday in life, and meditate on Mukanday in death. His servant is blissful forever. ||1||Pause|| The Lord, Mukanday, is my breath of life. Meditating on Mukanday, one's forehead will bear the Lord's insignia of approval. The renunciate serves Mukanday. Mukanday is the wealth of the poor and forlorn. ||2|| When the One Liberator does me a favor, then what can the world do to me? Erasing my social status, I have entered His Court. You, Mukanday, are potent throughout the four ages. ||3|| Spiritual wisdom has welled up, and I have been enlightened. In His Mercy, the Lord has made this worm His slave. Says Ravi Daas, now my thirst is quenched; I meditate on Mukanday the Liberator, and I serve Him. ||4||1|| GOND: Someone may bathe at the sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage, and worship the twelve Shiva-lingam stones, and dig wells and pools, but if he indulges in slander, then all of this is useless. ||1|| How can the slanderer of the Holy Saints be saved? Know for certain, that he shall go to hell. ||1||Pause|| Someone may bathe at Kuruk-shaytra during a solar eclipse, and give his decorated wife in offering, and listen to all the Simritees, but if he indulges in slander, these are of no account. ||2|| Someone may give countless feasts, and donate land, and build splendid buildings; he may neglect his own affairs to work for others, but if he indulges in slander, he shall wander in countless incarnations. ||3|| Why do you indulge in slander, O people of the world? The emptiness of the slanderer is soon exposed. I have thought, and determined the fate of the slanderer. Says Ravi Daas, he is a sinner; he shall go to hell. ||4||2||11||7||2||49|| Total||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 22 - RAAG RAAMKALEE

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 001

Raamkalee, First Mehl, First House, Chau-Padas: One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying. Beyond Birth. Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: Some read the Sanskrit scriptures, and some read the Puraanas. Some meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and chant it on their malas, focusing on it in meditation. I know nothing, now or ever; I recognise only Your One Name, Lord. ||1|| I do not know, Lord, what my condition shall be. I am foolish and ignorant; I seek Your Sanctuary, God. Please, save my honour and my self-respect. ||1||Pause|| Sometimes, the soul soars high in the heavens, and sometimes it falls to the depths of the nether regions. The greedy soul does not remain stable; it searches in the four directions. ||2|| With death pre-ordained, the soul comes into the world, gathering the riches of life. I see that some have already gone, O my Lord and Master; the burning fire is coming closer! ||3|| No one has any friend, and no one has any brother; no one has any father or mother. Prays Nanak, if You bless me with Your Name, it shall be my help and support in the end. ||4||1|| Raamkalee, First Mehl: Your Light is prevailing everywhere. Wherever I look, there I see the Lord. ||1|| Please rid me of the desire to live, O my Lord and Master. My mind is entangled in the deep dark pit of Maya. How can I cross over, O Lord and Master? ||1||Pause|| He dwells deep within, inside the heart; how can He not be outside as well? Our Lord and Master always takes care of us, and keeps us in His thoughts. ||2|| He Himself is near at hand, and He is far away. He Himself is all-pervading, permeating everywhere. Meeting the True Guru, the darkness is dispelled.

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 002

Wherever I look, there I see Him pervading. ||3|| There is doubt within me, and Maya is outside; it hits me in the eyes like an arrow. Prays Nanak, the slave of the Lord's slaves: such a mortal suffers terribly. ||4||2|| Raamkalee, First Mehl: Where is that door, where You live, O Lord? What is that door called? Among all doors, who can find that door? For the sake of that door, I wander around sadly, detached from the world; if only someone would come and tell me about that

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door. ||1|| How can I cross over the world-ocean? While I am living, I cannot be dead. ||1||Pause|| Pain is the door, and anger is the guard; hope and anxiety are the two shutters. Maya is the water in the moat; in the middle of this moat, he has built his home. The Primal Lord sits in the Seat of Truth. ||2|| You have so many Names, Lord, I do not know their limit. There is no other equal to You. Do not speak out loud - remain in your mind. The Lord Himself knows, and He Himself acts. ||3|| As long as there is hope, there is anxiety; so how can anyone speak of the One Lord? In the midst of hope, remain untouched by hope; then, O Nanak, you shall meet the One Lord. ||4|| In this way, you shall cross over the world-ocean. This is the way to remain dead while yet alive. ||1||Second Pause||3|| Raamkalee, First Mehl: Awareness of the Shabad and the Teachings is my horn; the people hear the sound of its vibrations. Honour is my begging-bowl, and the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is the charity I receive. ||1|| O Baba, Gorakh is the Lord of the Universe; He is always awake and aware. He alone is Gorakh, who sustains the earth; He created it in an instant. ||1||Pause|| Binding together water and air, He infused the breath of life into the body, and made the lamps of the sun and the moon. To die and to live, He gave us the earth, but we have forgotten these blessings. ||2|| There are so many Siddhas, seekers, Yogis, wandering pilgrims, spiritual teachers and good people. If I meet them, I chant the Lord's Praises, and then, my mind serves Him. ||3|| Paper and salt, protected by ghee, remain untouched by water, as the lotus remains unaffected in water. Those who meet with such devotees, O servant Nanak - what can death do to them? ||4||4|| Raamkalee, First Mehl: Listen, Machhindra, to what Nanak says. One who subdues the five passions does not waver. One who practices Yoga in such a way, saves himself, and saves all his generations. ||1|| He alone is a hermit, who attains such understanding. Day and night, he remains absorbed in deepest Samaadhi. ||1||Pause|| He begs for loving devotion to the Lord, and lives in the Fear of God. He is satisfied, with the priceless gift of contentment. Becoming the embodiment of meditation, he attains the true Yogic posture. He focuses his consciousness in the deep trance of the True Name. ||2|| Nanak chants the Ambrosial Bani. Listen, O Machhindra: this is the insignia of the true hermit. One who, in the midst of hope, remains untouched by hope, shall truly find the Creator Lord. ||3|| Prays Nanak, I share the mysterious secrets of God. The Guru and His disciple are joined together! One who eats this food, this medicine of the Teachings,

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 003

has the wisdom of the six Shaastras. ||4||5|| Raamkalee, First Mehl: My boat is wobbly and unsteady; it is filled with sins. The wind is rising - what if it tips over? As sunmukh, I have turned to the Guru; O my Perfect Master; please be sure to bless me with Your glorious greatness. ||1|| O Guru, my Saving Grace, please carry me across the world-ocean. Bless me with devotion to the perfect, imperishable Lord God; I am a sacrifice to You. ||1||Pause|| He alone is a Siddha, a seeker, a Yogi, a wandering pilgrim, who meditates on the One Perfect Lord. Touching the feet of the Lord Master, they are emancipated; they come to receive the Word of the Teachings. ||2|| I know nothing of charity, meditation, self-discipline or religious rituals; I only chant Your Name, God. Nanak has met the Guru, the Transcendent Lord God; through the True Word of His Shabad, he is set free. ||3||6|| Raamkalee, First Mehl: Focus your consciousness in deep absorption on the Lord. Make your body a raft, to cross over. Deep within is the fire of desire; keep it in check. Day and night, that lamp shall burn unceasingly. ||1|| Float such a lamp upon the water; this lamp will bring total understanding. ||1||Pause|| This understanding is good clay; a lamp made of such clay is acceptable to the Lord. So shape this lamp on the wheel of good actions. In this world and in the next, this lamp shall be with you. ||2|| When He Himself grants His Grace, then, as Gurmukh, one may understand Him. Within the heart, this lamp is permanently lit. It is not extinguished by water or wind. Such a lamp will carry you across the water. ||3|| Wind does not shake it, or put it out. Its light reveals the Divine Throne. The Kh'shaatriyas, Brahmins, Soodras and Vaishyas cannot find its value, even by thousands of calculations. If any of them lights such a lamp, O Nanak, he is emancipated. ||4||7|| Raamkalee, First Mehl: To place one's faith in Your Name, Lord, is true worship. With an offering of Truth, one obtains a place to sit. If a prayer is offered with truth and contentment, the Lord will hear it, and call him in to sit by Him. ||1|| O Nanak, no one returns empty-handed; such is the Court of the True Lord. ||1||Pause|| The treasure I seek is the gift of Your Grace. Please bless this humble beggar - this is what I seek. Please, pour Your Love into the cup of my heart. This is Your pre-determined value. ||2|| The One who created everything, does everything. He Himself appraises His own value. The Sovereign Lord King becomes manifest to the Gurmukh. He does not come, and He does not go. ||3|| People curse at the beggar; by begging, he does not receive honour. O Lord, You inspire me to speak Your Words, and tell the Story of Your Court. ||4||8|| Raamkalee, First Mehl: The drop is in the ocean, and the ocean is in the drop. Who understands, and knows this? He Himself creates the wondrous play of the world. He Himself contemplates it, and understands its true essence. ||1||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 004

How rare are those who contemplate this spiritual wisdom. Through this, the supreme state of liberation is attained. ||1||Pause|| The night is in the day, and the day is in the night. The same is true of hot and cold. No one else knows His state and extent; without the Guru, this is not understood. ||2|| The female is in the male, and the male is in the female. Understand this, O God-realised being! The meditation is in the music, and knowledge is in meditation. Become Gurmukh, and speak the Unspoken Speech. ||3|| The Light is in the mind, and the mind is in the Light. The Guru brings the five senses together, like brothers. Nanak is forever a sacrifice to those who enshrine love for the One Word of the Shabad. ||4||9|| Raamkalee, First Mehl: When the Lord God showered His Mercy, egotism was eradicated from within me. That humble servant who contemplates the Word of the Guru's Shabad, is very dear to the Lord. ||1|| That humble servant of the Lord is pleasing to his Lord God; day and night, he performs devotional worship, day and night. Disregarding his own honour, he sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| The unstruck melody of the sound current resonates and resounds; my mind is appeased by the subtle essence of the Lord. Through the Perfect Guru, I am absorbed in Truth. Through the Guru, I have found the Lord, the Primal Being. ||2|| Gurbani is the sound current of the Naad, the Vedas, everything. My mind is attuned to the Lord of the Universe. He is my sacred shrine of pilgrimage, fasting and austere self-discipline. The Lord saves, and carries across, those who meet with the Guru. ||3|| One whose self-conceit is gone, sees his fears run away. That servant grasps the Guru's feet. The Guru, the True Guru, has expelled my doubts. Says Nanak, I have merged into the Word of the Shabad. ||4||10|| Raamkalee, First Mehl: He runs around, begging for clothes and food. He burns with hunger and corruption, and will suffer in the world hereafter. He does not follow the Guru's Teachings; through his evil-mindedness, he loses his honour. Only through the Guru's Teachings will such a person become devoted. ||1|| The way of the Yogi is to dwell in the celestial home of bliss. He looks impartially, equally upon all. He receives the charity of the Lord's Love, and the Word of the Shabad, and so he is satisfied. ||1||Pause|| The five bulls, the senses, pull the wagon of the body around. By the Lord's power, one's honour is preserved. But when the axle breaks, the wagon falls and crashes. It falls apart, like a pile of logs. ||2|| Contemplate the Word of the Guru's Shabad, Yogi. Look upon pain and pleasure as one and the same, sorrow and separation. Let your food be contemplative meditation upon the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Your wall shall be permanent, by meditating on the Formless Lord. ||3|| Wear the loin-cloth of poise, and be free of entanglements. The Guru's Word shall release you from sexual desire and anger. In your mind, let your ear-rings be the Sanctuary of the Guru, the Lord. O Nanak, worshipping the Lord in deep devotion, the humble are carried across. ||4||11||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 005

One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Raamkalee, Third Mehl, First House: In the Golden Age of Sat Yuga, everyone spoke the Truth. In each and every home, devotional worship was performed by the people, according to the Guru's Teachings. In that Golden Age, Dharma had four feet. How rare are those people who, as Gurmukh, contemplate this and understand. ||1|| In all four ages, the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is glory and greatness. One who holds tight to the Naam is liberated; without the Guru, no one obtains the Naam. ||1||Pause|| In the Silver Age of Traytaa Yuga, one leg was removed. Hypocrisy became prevalent, and people thought that the Lord was far away. The Gurmukhs still understood and realised; the Naam abided deep within them, and they were at peace. ||2|| In the Brass Age of Dwaapur Yuga, duality and double-mindedness arose. Deluded by doubt, they knew duality. In this Brass Age, Dharma was left with only two feet. Those who became Gurmukh implanted the Naam deep within. ||3|| In the Iron Age of Kali Yuga, Dharma was left with only one power. It walks on just one foot; love and emotional attachment to Maya have increased. Love and emotional attachment to Maya bring total darkness. If someone meets the True Guru, he is saved, through the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||4|| Throughout the ages, there is only the One True Lord. Among all, is the True Lord; there is no other at all. Praising the True Lord, true peace is attained. How rare are those, who as Gurmukh, chant the Naam. ||5|| Throughout all the ages, the Naam is the ultimate, the most sublime. How rare are those, who as Gurmukh, understand this. One who meditates on the Lord's Name is a humble devotee. O Nanak, in each and every age, the Naam is glory and greatness. ||6||1|| Raamkalee, Fourth Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: If someone is very fortunate, and is blessed with great high destiny, then he meditates on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Chanting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, he finds peace, and merges in the Naam. ||1|| O mortal, as Gurmukh, worship the Lord in devotion forever. Your heart shall be illumined; through the Guru's Teachings, lovingly attune yourself to the Lord. You shall merge in the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1||Pause|| The Great Giver is filled with diamonds, emeralds, rubies and pearls; one who has good fortune and great destiny inscribed upon his forehead, digs them out, by following the Guru's Teachings. ||2|| The Lord's Name is the jewel, the emerald, the ruby; digging it out, the Guru has placed it in your palm. The unfortunate, self-willed manmukh does not obtain it; this priceless jewel remains hidden behind a curtain of straw. ||3|| If such pre-ordained destiny is written upon one's forehead, then the True Guru enjoins him to serve Him. O Nanak, then he obtains the jewel, the gem; blessed, blessed is that one who follows the Guru's Teachings, and finds the Lord. ||4||1|| Raamkalee, Fourth Mehl: Meeting with the humble servants of the Lord, I am in ecstasy; they preach the sublime sermon of the Lord. The filth of evil-mindedness is totally washed away; joining the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, one is blessed with understanding. ||1||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 006

O humble servant of the Lord, follow the Guru's Teachings, and chant the Name of the Lord. Whoever hears and speaks it is liberated; chanting the Lord's Name, one is embellished with beauty. ||1||Pause|| If someone has supremely high destiny written on his forehead, the Lord leads him to meet the humble servants of the Lord. Be merciful, and grant me the Blessed Vision of the Saints' Darshan, which shall rid me of all poverty and pain. ||2|| The Lord's people are good and sublime; the unfortunate ones do not like them at all. The more the Lord's exalted servants speak of Him, the more the slanderers attack and sting them. ||3|| Cursed, cursed are the slanderers who do not like the humble, the friends and companions of the Lord. Those who do not like the honour and glory of the Guru are faithless, black-faced thieves, who have turned their backs on the Lord. ||4|| Have mercy, have mercy, please save me, Dear Lord. I am meek and humble - I seek Your protection. I am Your child, and You are my father, God. Please forgive servant Nanak and merge him with Yourself. ||5||2|| Raamkalee, Fourth Mehl: The friends of the Lord, the humble, Holy Saints are sublime; the Lord spreads out His protecting hands above them. The Gurmukhs are the Holy Saints, pleasing to God; in His mercy, He blends them with Himself. ||1|| O Lord, my mind longs to meet with the humble servants of the Lord. The sweet, subtle essence of the Lord is immortalising ambrosia. Meeting the Saints, I drink it in. ||1||Pause|| The Lord's people are the most lofty and exalted. Meeting with them, the most exalted status is obtained. I am the slave of the slave of the Lord's slaves; my Lord and Master is pleased with me. ||2|| The humble servant serves; one who enshrines love for the Lord in his heart, mind and body is very fortunate. One who talks too much without love, speaks falsely, and obtains only false rewards. ||3|| Take pity on me, O Lord of the World, O Great Giver; let me fall at the feet of the Saints. I would cut off my head, and cut it into pieces, O Nanak, and set it down for the Saints to walk upon. ||4||3|| Raamkalee, Fourth Mehl: If I am blessed with supreme high destiny, I will meet the humble servants of the Lord, without delay. The Lord's humble servants are pools of ambrosial nectar; by great good fortune, one bathes in them. ||1|| O Lord, let me work for the humble servants of the Lord. I carry water, wave the fan and grind the corn for them; I massage and wash their feet. I apply the dust of their feet to my forehead. ||1||Pause|| The Lord's humble servants are great, very great, the greatest and most exalted; they lead us to meet the True Guru. No one else is as great as the True Guru; meeting the True Guru, I meditate on the Lord, the Primal Being. ||2|| Those who seek the Sanctuary of the True Guru find the Lord. My Lord and Master saves their honour. Some come for their own purposes, and sit before the Guru; they pretend to be in Samaadhi, like storks with their eyes closed. ||3|| Associating with the wretched and the lowly, like the stork and the crow, is like feeding on a carcass of poison. Nanak: O God, unite me with the Sangat, the Congregation. United with the Sangat, I will become a swan. ||4||4||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 007

Raamkalee, Fourth Mehl: O True Guru, please be kind, and unite me with the Lord. My Sovereign Lord is the Beloved of my breath of life. I am a slave; I fall at the Guru's feet. He has shown me the Path, the Way to my Lord God. ||1|| The Name of my Lord, Har, Har, is pleasing to my mind. I have no friend except the Lord; the Lord is my father, my mother, my companion. ||1||Pause|| My breath of life will not survive for an instant, without my Beloved; unless I see Him, I will die, O my mother! Blessed, blessed is my great, high destiny, that I have come to the Guru's Sanctuary. Meeting with the Guru, I have obtained the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan. ||2|| I do not know or understand any other within my mind; I meditate and chant the Lord's Chant. Those who lack the

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Naam, wander in shame; their noses are chopped off, bit by bit. ||3|| O Life of the World, rejuvenate me! O my Lord and Master, enshrine Your Name deep within my heart. O Nanak, perfect is the Guru, the Guru. Meeting the True Guru, I meditate on the Naam. ||4||5|| Raamkalee, Fourth Mehl: The True Guru, the Great Giver, is the Great, Primal Being; meeting Him, the Lord is enshrined within the heart. The Perfect Guru has granted me the life of the soul; I meditate in remembrance on the Ambrosial Name of the Lord. ||1|| O Lord, the Guru has implanted the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, within my heart. As Gurmukh, I have heard His sermon, which pleases my mind; blessed, blessed is my great destiny. ||1||Pause|| Millions, three hundred thirty millions of gods meditate on Him, but they cannot find His end or limitation. With sexual urges in their hearts, they beg for beautiful women; stretching out their hands, they beg for riches. ||2|| One who chants the Praises of the Lord is the greatest of the great; the Gurmukh keeps the Lord clasped to his heart. If one is blessed with high destiny, he meditates on the Lord, who carries him across the terrifying world-ocean. ||3|| The Lord is close to His humble servant, and His humble servant is close to the Lord; He keeps His humble servant clasped to His Heart. O Nanak, the Lord God is our father and mother. I am His child; the Lord cherishes me. ||4||6||18|| Raag Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Have mercy on me, O Generous Giver, Lord of the meek; please do not consider my merits and demerits. How can dust be washed? O my Lord and Master, such is the state of mankind. ||1|| O my mind, serve the True Guru, and be at peace. Whatever you desire, you shall receive that reward, and you shall not be afflicted by pain any longer. ||1||Pause|| He creates and adorns the earthen vessels; He infuses His Light within them. As is the destiny pre-ordained by the Creator, so are the deeds we do. ||2|| He believes the mind and body are all his own; this is the cause of his coming and going. He does not think of the One who gave him these; he is blind, entangled in emotional attachment. ||3||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 008

One who knows that God created him, reaches the Incomparable Mansion of the Lord's Presence. Worshipping the Lord, I sing His Glorious Praises. Nanak is Your slave. ||4||1|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: Place yourself beneath all men's feet, and you will be uplifted; serve Him in this way. Know that all are above you, and you shall find peace in the Court of the Lord. ||1|| O Saints, speak that speech which purifies the gods and sanctifies the divine beings. As Gurmukh, chant the Word of His Bani, even for an instant. ||1||Pause|| Renounce your fraudulent plans, and dwell in the celestial palace; do not call anyone else false. Meeting with the True Guru, you shall receive the nine treasures; in this way, you shall find the essence of reality. ||2|| Eradicate doubt, and as Gurmukh, enshrine love for the Lord; understand your own soul, O Siblings of Destiny. Know that God is near at hand, and ever-present. How could you try to hurt anyone else? ||3|| Meeting with the True Guru, your path shall be clear, and you shall easily meet your Lord and Master. Blessed, blessed are those humble beings, who, in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, find the Lord. Nanak is forever a sacrifice to them. ||4||2|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: Coming does not please me, and going does not bring me pain, and so my mind is not afflicted by disease. I am in bliss forever, for I have found the Perfect Guru; my separation from the Lord is totally ended. ||1|| This is how I have joined my mind to the Lord. Attachment, sorrow, disease and public opinion do not affect me, and so, I enjoy the subtle essence of the Lord, Har, Har, Har. ||1||Pause|| I am pure in the heavenly realm, pure on this earth, and pure in the nether regions of the underworld. I remain apart from the people of the world. Obedient to the Lord, I enjoy peace forever; wherever I look, I see the Lord of glorious virtues. ||2|| There is no Shiva or Shakti, no energy or matter, no water or wind, no world of form there, where the True Guru, the Yogi, dwells, where the Imperishable Lord God, the Unapproachable Master abides. ||3|| Body and mind belong to the Lord; all wealth belongs to the Lord; what glorious virtues of the Lord can I describe? Says Nanak, the Guru has destroyed my sense of 'mine and yours'. Like water with water, I am blended with God. ||4||3|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: It is beyond the three qualities; it remains untouched. The seekers and Siddhas do not know it. There is a chamber filled with jewels, overflowing with Ambrosial Nectar, in the Guru's Treasury. ||1|| This thing is wonderful and amazing! It cannot be described. It is an unfathomable object, O Siblings of Destiny! ||1||Pause|| Its value cannot be estimated at all; what can anyone say about it? By speaking and describing it, it cannot be understood; only one who sees it realises it. ||2|| Only the Creator Lord knows it; what can any poor creature do? Only He Himself knows His own state and extent. The Lord Himself is the treasure overflowing. ||3|| Tasting such Ambrosial Nectar, the mind remains satisfied and satiated. Says Nanak, my hopes are fulfilled; I have found the Guru's Sanctuary. ||4||4||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 009

Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: God has made me His own, and vanquished all my enemies. Those enemies who have plundered this world, have all been placed in bondage. ||1|| The True Guru is my Transcendent Lord. I enjoy countless pleasures of power and tasty delights, chanting Your Name, and placing my faith in You. ||1||Pause|| I do not think of any other at all. The Lord is my protector, above my head. I am carefree and independent, when I have the Support of Your Name, O my Lord and Master. ||2|| I have become perfect, meeting with the Giver of peace, and now, I lack nothing at all. I have obtained the essence of excellence, the supreme status; I shall not forsake it to go anywhere else. ||3|| I cannot describe how You are, O True Lord, unseen, infinite, immeasurable, unfathomable and unmoving Lord. O Nanak, He is my Lord and Master. ||4||5|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: You are wise; You are eternal and unchanging. You are my social class and honour. You are unmoving - You never move at all. How can I be worried? ||1|| You alone are the One and only Lord; You alone are the king. By Your Grace, I have found peace. ||1||Pause|| You are the ocean, and I am Your swan; the pearls and rubies are in You. You give, and You do not hesitate for an instant; I receive, forever enraptured. ||2|| I am Your child, and You are my father; You place the milk in my mouth. I play with You, and You caress me in every way. You are forever the ocean of excellence. ||3|| You are perfect, perfectly all-pervading; I am fulfilled with You as well. I am merged, merged, merged and remain merged; O Nanak, I cannot describe it! ||4||6|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: Make your hands the cymbals, your eyes the tambourines, and your forehead the guitar you play. Let the sweet flute music resound in your ears, and with your tongue, vibrate this song. Move your mind like the rhythmic hand-motions; do the dance, and shake your ankle bracelets. ||1|| This is the rhythmic dance of the Lord. The Merciful Audience, the Lord, sees all your make-up and decorations. ||1||Pause|| The whole earth is the stage, with the canopy of the sky overhead. The wind is the director; people are born of water. From the five elements, the puppet was created with its actions. ||2|| The sun and the moon are the two lamps which shine, with the four corners of the world placed between them. The ten senses are the dancing girls, and the five passions are the chorus; they sit together within the one body. They all put on their own shows, and speak in different languages. ||3|| In each and every home there is dancing, day and night; in each and every home, the bugles blow. Some are made to dance, and some are whirled around; some come and some go, and some are reduced to dust. Says Nanak, one who meets with the True Guru, does not have to dance the dance of reincarnation again. ||4||7||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 010

Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: He sings the song of the One Universal Creator; he sings the tune of the One Lord. He lives in the land of the One Lord, shows the way to the One Lord, and remains attuned to the One Lord. He centres his consciousness on the One Lord, and serves only the One Lord, who is known through the Guru. ||1|| Blessed and good is such a kirtanee, who sings such Praises. He sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and renounces the entanglements and pursuits of Maya. ||1||Pause|| He makes the five virtues, like contentment, his musical instruments, and plays the seven notes of the love of the Lord. The notes he plays are the renunciation of pride and power; his feet keep the beat on the straight path. He does not enter the cycle of reincarnation ever again; he keeps the One Word of the Shabad tied to the hem of his robe. ||2|| To play like Naarad, is to know that the Lord is ever-present. The tinkling of the ankle bells is the shedding of sorrows and worries. The dramatic gestures of acting are celestial bliss. Such a dancer is not reincarnated again. ||3|| If anyone, out of millions of people, becomes pleasing to his Lord and Master, he sings the Lord's Praises in this way. I have taken the Support of the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Says Nanak, the Kirtan of the One Lord's Praises are sung there. ||4||8|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: Some call Him, 'Raam, Raam', and some call Him, 'Khudaa-i'. Some serve Him as 'Gusain', others as 'Allaah'. ||1|| He is the Cause of causes, the Generous Lord. He showers His Grace and Mercy upon us. ||1||Pause|| Some bathe at sacred shrines of pilgrimage, and some make the pilgrimage to Mecca.| Some perform devotional worship services, and some bow their heads in prayer. ||2|| Some read the Vedas, and some the Koran. Some wear blue robes, and some wear white. ||3|| Some call themselves Muslim, and some call themselves Hindu. Some yearn for paradise, and others long for heaven. ||4|| Says Nanak, one who realises the Hukam of God's Will, knows the secrets of his Lord and Master. ||5||9|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: The wind merges into the wind. The light blends into the light. The dust becomes one with the dust. What support is there for the one who is lamenting? ||1|| Who has died? O, who has died? O God-realised beings, meet together and consider this. What a wondrous thing has happened! ||1||Pause|| No one knows what happens after death. The one who is lamenting will also arise and depart. Mortal beings are bound by the bonds of doubt and attachment. When life becomes a dream, the blind man babbles and grieves in vain. ||2|| The Creator Lord created this creation. It comes and goes, subject to the Will of the Infinite Lord. No one dies; no one is capable of dying. The soul does not perish; it is imperishable. ||3|| That which is known, does not exist. I am a sacrifice to the one who knows this. Says Nanak, the Guru has dispelled my doubt. No one dies; no one comes or goes. ||4||10|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: Meditate on the Lord of the Universe, the Beloved Lord of the World. Meditating in remembrance on the Lord's Name, you shall live, and the Great Death shall not consume you ever again. ||1||Pause|| Through millions of incarnations, you have come, wandering, wandering, wandering.

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 011

By the highest destiny, you found the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||1|| Without the Perfect Guru, no one is saved. This is what Baba Nanak says, after deep reflection. ||2||11|| Raag Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The four Vedas proclaim it, but you don't believe them. The six Shaastras also say one thing. The eighteen Puraanas all speak of the One God. Even so, Yogi, you do not understand this mystery. ||1|| The celestial harp plays the incomparable melody, but in your intoxication, you do not hear it, O Yogi. ||1||Pause|| In the first age, the Golden Age, the village of truth was inhabited. In the Silver Age of Traytaa Yuga, things began to decline. In the Brass Age of Dwaapur Yuga, half of it was gone. Now, only one leg of Truth remains, and the One Lord is revealed. ||2|| The beads are strung upon the one thread. By means of many, various, diverse knots, they are tied, and kept separate on the string. The beads of the mala are lovingly chanted upon in many ways. When the thread is pulled out, the beads come together in one place. ||3|| Throughout the four ages, the One Lord made the body His temple. It is a treacherous place, with several windows. Searching and searching, one comes to the Lord's door. Then, O Nanak, the Yogi attains a home in the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. ||4|| Thus, the celestial harp plays the incomparable melody; hearing it, the Yogi's mind finds it sweet. ||1||Second Pause||1||12|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: The body is a patch-work of threads. The muscles are stitched together with the needles of the bones. The Lord has erected a pillar of water. O Yogi, why are you so proud? ||1|| Meditate on your Lord Master, day and night. The patched coat of the body shall last for only a few days. ||1||Pause|| Smearing ashes on your body, you sit in a deep meditative trance. You wear the ear-rings of 'mine and yours'. You beg for bread, but you are not satisfied. Abandoning your Lord Master, you beg from others; you should feel ashamed. ||2|| Your consciousness is restless, Yogi, as you sit in your Yogic postures. You blow your horn, but still feel sad. You do not understand Gorakh, your guru. Again and again, Yogi, you come and go. ||3|| He, unto whom the Master shows Mercy - unto Him, the Guru, the Lord of the World, I offer my prayer. One who has the Name as his patched coat, and the Name as his robe, O servant Nanak, such a Yogi is steady and stable. ||4|| One who meditates on the Master in this way, night and day, finds the Guru, the Lord of the World, in this life. ||1||Second Pause||2||13|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: He is the Creator, the Cause of causes; I do not see any other at all. My Lord and Master is wise and all-knowing. Meeting with the Gurmukh, I enjoy His Love. ||1|| Such is the sweet, subtle essence of the Lord. How rare are those who, as Gurmukh, taste it. ||1||Pause|| The Light of the Ambrosial Name of the Lord is immaculate and pure.

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 012

Drinking it in, one becomes immortal and free of desire. The body and mind are cooled and soothed, and the fire is extinguished. Such a being is the embodiment of bliss, famous throughout the world. ||2|| What can I offer You, Lord? Everything belongs to You. I am forever a sacrifice to You, hundreds of thousands of times. You blessed me, and fashioned my body, mind and soul. By Guru's Grace, this lowly being was exalted. ||3|| Opening the door, You summoned me to the Mansion of Your Presence. As You are, so You have revealed Yourself to me. Says Nanak, the screen is totally torn away; I am Yours, and You are enshrined within my mind. ||4||3||14|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: He has linked His servant to His service. The Divine Guru has poured the Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord, into his mouth. He has subdued all his anxiety. I am forever a sacrifice to that Guru. ||1|| The True Guru has perfectly resolved my affairs. The True Guru vibrates the unstruck melody of the sound current. ||1||Pause|| His Glory is profound and unfathomable. One whom He blesses with patience becomes blissful. One whose bonds are shattered by the Sovereign Lord is not cast into the womb of reincarnation again. ||2|| One who is illuminated by the Lord's radiance within, is not touched by pain and sorrow. He holds in his robe the gems and jewels. That humble being is saved, along with all his generations. ||3|| He has no doubt, double-mindedness or duality at all. He worships and adores the One Immaculate Lord alone.

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Wherever I look, I see the Merciful Lord. Says Nanak, I have found God, the source of nectar. ||4||4||15|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: My self-conceit has been eliminated from my body. The Will of God is dear to me. Whatever He does, seems sweet to my mind. And then, these eyes behold the wondrous Lord. ||1|| Now, I have become wise and my demons are gone. My thirst is quenched, and my attachment is dispelled. The Perfect Guru has instructed me. ||1||Pause|| In His Mercy, the Guru has kept me under His protection. The Guru has attached me to the Lord's Feet. When the mind is totally held in check, one sees the Guru and the Supreme Lord God as one and the same. ||2|| Whoever You have created, I am his slave. My God dwells in all. I have no enemies, no adversaries. I walk arm in arm, like brothers, with all. ||3|| One whom the Guru, the Lord, blesses with peace, does not suffer in pain any longer. He Himself cherishes all. Nanak is imbued with the love of the Lord of the World. ||4||5||16|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: You read the scriptures, and the commentaries, but the Perfect Lord does not dwell in your heart. You preach to others to have faith, but you do not practice what you preach. ||1|| O Pandit, O religious scholar, contemplate the Vedas. Eradicate anger from your mind, O Pandit. ||1||Pause|| You place your stone god before yourself,

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 013

but your mind wanders in the ten directions. You apply a ceremonial tilak mark to its forehead, and fall at its feet. You try to appease the people, and act blindly. ||2|| You perform the six religious rituals, and sit wearing your loin-cloth. In the homes of the wealthy, you read the prayer book. You chant on your mala, and beg for money. No one has ever been saved in this way, friend. ||3|| He alone is a Pandit, who lives the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Maya, of the three qualities, leaves him. The four Vedas are completely contained within the Lord's Name. Nanak seeks His Sanctuary. ||4||6||17|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: Millions of troubles do not come near him; the many manifestations of Maya are his hand-maidens; countless sins are his water-carriers; he is blessed with the Grace of the Creator Lord. ||1|| One who has the Lord God as his help and support - all his efforts are fulfilled. ||1||Pause|| He is protected by the Creator Lord; what harm can anyone do to him? Even an ant can conquer the whole world. His glory is endless; how can I describe it? I am a sacrifice, a devoted sacrifice, to His feet. ||2|| He alone performs worship, austerities and meditation; he alone is a giver to various charities; he alone is approved in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, whom the Lord Master blesses with honour. ||3|| Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I am enlightened. I have found celestial peace, and my hopes are fulfilled. The Perfect True Guru has blessed me with faith. Nanak is the slave of His slaves. ||4||7||18|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: Don't blame others, O people; as you plant, so shall you harvest. By your actions, you have bound yourself. You come and go, entangled in Maya. ||1|| Such is the understanding of the Saintly people. You shall be enlightened, through the Word of the Perfect Guru. ||1||Pause|| Body, wealth, spouse and ostentatious displays are false. Horses and elephants will pass away. Power, pleasures and beauty are all false. Without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, everything is reduced to dust. ||2|| The egotistical people are deluded by useless doubt. Of all this expanse, nothing shall go along with you. Through pleasure and pain, the body is growing old. Doing these things, the faithless cynics are passing their lives. ||3|| The Name of the Lord is Ambrosial Nectar in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga. This treasure is obtained from the Holy. O Nanak, whoever pleases the Guru, the Lord of the Universe, beholds the Lord in each and every heart. ||4||8||19|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: The Panch Shabad, the five primal sounds, echo the perfect sound current of the Naad. The wondrous, amazing unstruck melody vibrates. The Saintly people play there with the Lord. They remain totally detached, absorbed in the Supreme Lord God. ||1|| It is the realm of celestial peace and bliss. The Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, sits and sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. There is no disease or sorrow there, no birth or death. ||1||Pause|| There, they meditate only on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. How rare are those who find this place of rest. The love of God is their food, and the Kirtan of the Lord's Praise is their support.

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 014

They obtain a permanent seat in the infinite. ||2|| No one falls there, or wavers, or goes anywhere. By Guru's Grace, some find this mansion. They are not touched by doubt, fear, attachment or the traps of Maya. They enter the deepest state of Samaadhi, through the kind mercy of God. ||3|| He has no end or limitation. He Himself is unmanifest, and He Himself is manifest. One who enjoys the taste of the Lord, Har, Har, deep within himself, O Nanak, his wondrous state cannot be described. ||4||9||20|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: Meeting with the Sangat, the Congregation, the Supreme Lord God has come into my consciousness. In the Sangat, my mind has found contentment. I touch my forehead to the feet of the Saints. Countless times, I humbly bow to the Saints. ||1|| This mind is a sacrifice to the Saints; holding tight to their support, I have found peace, and in their mercy, they have protected me. ||1||Pause|| I wash the feet of the Saints, and drink in that water. Gazing upon the Blessed Vision of the Saints' Darshan, I live. My mind rests its hopes in the Saints. The Saints are my immaculate wealth. ||2|| The Saints have covered my faults. By the Grace of the Saints, I am no longer tormented. The Merciful Lord has blessed me with the Saints' Congregation. The Compassionate Saints have become my help and support. ||3|| My consciousness, intellect and wisdom have been enlightened. The Lord is profound, unfathomable, infinite, the treasure of virtue. He cherishes all beings and creatures. Nanak is enraptured, seeing the Saints. ||4||10||21|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: Your home, power and wealth will be of no use to you. Your corrupt worldly entanglements will be of no use to you. Know that all your dear friends are fake. Only the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, will go along with you. ||1|| Sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord's Name, O friend; remembering the Lord in meditation, your honour shall be saved. Remembering the Lord in meditation, the Messenger of Death will not touch you. ||1||Pause|| Without the Lord, all pursuits are useless. Gold, silver and wealth are just dust. Chanting the Word of the Guru's Shabad, your mind shall be at peace. Here and hereafter, your face shall be radiant and bright. ||2|| Even the greatest of the great worked and worked until they were exhausted. None of them ever accomplished the tasks of Maya. Any humble being who chants the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, will have all his hopes fulfilled. ||3|| The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is the anchor and support of the Lord's devotees. The Saints are victorious in this priceless human life. Whatever the Lord's Saint does, is approved and accepted. Slave Nanak is a sacrifice to him. ||4||11||22|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: You gather wealth by exploiting people. It is of no use to you; it was meant for others. You practice egotism, and act like a blind man. In the world hereafter, you shall be tied to the leash of the Messenger of Death. ||1|| Give up your envy of others, you fool! You only live here for a night, you fool! You are intoxicated with Maya, but you must soon arise and depart. You are totally involved in the dream. ||1||Pause|| In his childhood, the child is blind. In the fullness of youth, he is involved in foul-smelling sins.

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 015

In the third stage of life, he gathers the wealth of Maya. And when he grows old, he must leave all this; he departs regretting and repenting. ||2|| After a very long time, one obtains this precious human body, so difficult to obtain. Without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, it is reduced to dust. Worse than a beast, a demon or an idiot, is that one who does not understand who created him. ||3|| Listen, O Creator Lord, Lord of the Universe, Lord of the World, Merciful to the meek, forever compassionate - If You emancipate the human, then his bonds are broken. O Nanak, the people of world are blind; please, Lord, forgive them, and unite them with Yourself. ||4||12||23|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: Joining the elements together, the robe of the body is fashioned. The ignorant fool is engrossed in it. He cherishes it, and constantly takes care of it. But at the very last moment, he must arise and depart. ||1|| Without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, everything is false, O mortal. Those who do not vibrate and meditate on the Lord of the Universe, but instead are imbued with other things, - all those mortals are plundered by Maya. ||1||Pause|| Bathing at sacred shrines of pilgrimage, filth is not washed off. Religious rituals are all just egotistical displays. By pleasing and appeasing people, no one is saved. Without the Naam, they shall depart weeping. ||2|| Without the Lord's Name, the screen is not torn away. I have studied all the Shaastras and Simritees. He alone chants the Naam, whom the Lord Himself inspires to chant. He obtains all fruits and rewards, and merges in peace. ||3|| O Savior Lord, please save me! All peace and comforts are in Your Hand, God. Whatever you attach me to, to that I am attached, O my Lord and Master. O Nanak, the Lord is the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. ||4||13||24|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: Whatever He does makes me happy. The ignorant mind is encouraged, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Now, it does not waver at all; it has become stable and steady. Receiving Truth, it is merged in the True Lord. ||1|| Pain is gone, and all illness is gone. I have accepted the Will of God in my mind, associating with the Great Person, the Guru. ||1||Pause|| All is pure; all is immaculate. Whatever exists is good. Wherever He keeps me, that is the place of liberation for me. Whatever He makes me chant, is His Name. ||2|| That is the sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage, where the Holy place their feet, and that is heaven, where the Naam is chanted. All bliss comes, when one obtains the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan. I sing continuously, continually, the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||3|| The Lord Himself is pervading in each and every heart. The glory of the Merciful Lord is radiant and manifest. The shutters are opened, and doubts have run away. Nanak has met with the Perfect Guru. ||4||14||25|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: Millions of meditations and austerities rest in him, along with wealth, wisdom, miraculous spiritual powers and angelic spiritual insight. He enjoys the various shows and forms, pleasures and delicacies; the Naam, the Name of the Lord, dwells within the heart of the Gurmukh. ||1|| Such is the glorious greatness of the Name of the Lord. Its value cannot be described. ||1||Pause|| He alone is brave, patient and perfectly wise;

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 016

he is intuitively in Samaadhi, profound and unfathomable. He is liberated forever and all his affairs are perfectly resolved; the Lord's Name abides within his heart. ||2|| He is totally peaceful, blissful and healthy; he looks upon all impartially, and is perfectly detached. He does not come and go, and he never wavers; the Naam abides in his mind. ||3|| God is Merciful to the meek; He is the Lord of the World, the Lord of the Universe. The Gurmukh meditates on Him, and his worries are gone. The Guru has blessed Nanak with the Naam; he serves the Saints, and works for the Saints. ||4||15||26|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: Sing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises, and the Beej Mantra, the Seed Mantra. Even the homeless find a home in the world hereafter. Fall at the feet of the Perfect Guru; you have slept for so many incarnations - wake up! ||1|| Chant the Chant of the Lord's Name, Har, Har. By Guru's Grace, it shall be enshrined within your heart, and you shall cross over the terrifying world-ocean. ||1||Pause|| Meditate on the eternal treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, O mind, and then, the screen of Maya shall be torn away. Drink in the Ambrosial Nectar of the Guru's Shabad, and then your soul shall be rendered immaculate and pure. ||2|| Searching, searching, searching, I have realised that without devotional worship of the Lord, no one is saved. So vibrate, and meditate on that Lord in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; your mind and body shall be imbued with love for the Lord. ||3|| Renounce all your cleverness and trickery. O mind, without the Lord's Name, there is no place of rest. The Lord of the Universe, the Lord of the World, has taken pity on me. Nanak seeks the protection and support of the Lord, Har, Har. ||4||16||27|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: In the Saints' Congregation, play joyfully with the Lord, and you will not have to meet the Messenger of Death hereafter. Your egotistical intellect shall be dispelled, and your evil-mindedness will be totally taken away. ||1|| Sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord's Name, O Pandit. Religious rituals and egotism are of no use at all. You shall go home with happiness, O Pandit. ||1||Pause|| I have earned the profit, the wealth of the Lord's praise. All my hopes have been fulfilled. Pain has left me, and peace has come to my home. By the Grace of the Saints, my heart-lotus blossoms forth. ||2|| One who is blessed with the gift of the jewel of the Name, obtains all treasures. His mind becomes content, finding the Perfect Lord. Why should he ever go begging again? ||3|| Hearing the Lord's sermon, he becomes pure and holy. Chanting it with his tongue, he finds the way to salvation. He alone is approved, who enshrines the Lord within his heart. Nanak: such a humble being is exalted, O Siblings of Destiny. ||4||17||28|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: No matter how hard you try to grab it, it does not come into your hands. No matter how much you may love it, it does not go along with you. Says Nanak, when you abandon it, then it comes and falls at your feet. ||1|| Listen, O Saints: this is the pure philosophy. Without the Lord's Name, there is no salvation. Meeting with the Perfect Guru, one is saved. ||1||Pause||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 017

When someone tries to appease her, then she takes pride in herself. But when someone puts her out of his thoughts, then she serves him like a slave. ||2|| She seems to please, but in the end, she deceives. She does not remain in any one place. She has bewitched a great many worlds. The Lord's humble servants cut her apart into pieces. ||3|| Whoever begs from her remains hungry. Whoever is infatuated with her obtains nothing. But one who renounces her, and joins the Society of the Saints, by great good fortune, O Nanak, is saved. ||4||18||29|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: See the Lord, the Universal Soul, in all. The One God is perfect, and all-pervading. Know that the priceless jewel is within your own heart. Realise that your essence is within your own self. ||1|| Drink in the Ambrosial Nectar, by the Grace of the Saints. One who is blessed with high destiny, obtains it. Without a tongue, how can one know the taste? ||1||Pause|| How can a deaf person listen to the eighteen Puraanas and the Vedas? The blind man cannot see even a million lights. The beast loves grass, and remains attached to it. One who has not been taught - how can he understand? ||2|| God, the Knower, knows all. He is with His devotees, through and through. Those who sing God's Praises with joy and delight, O Nanak - the Messenger of Death does not even approach them. ||3||19||30|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: Blessing me with His Name, He has purified and sanctified me. The Lord's wealth is my capital. False hope has left me; this is my wealth. Breaking my bonds, the Lord has linked me to His service. I am a devotee of the Lord, Har, Har; I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||1|| The unstruck sound current vibrates and resounds. The Lord's humble servants sing His Glorious Praises with love and delight; they are honoured by the Divine Guru. ||1||Pause|| My pre-ordained destiny has been

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activated; I have awakened from the sleep of countless incarnations. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, my aversion is gone. My mind and body are imbued with love for the Lord. ||2|| The Merciful Savior Lord has saved me. I have no service or work to my credit. In His Mercy, God has taken pity on me; He lifted me up and pulled me out, when I was suffering in pain. ||3|| Listening, listening to His Praises, joy has welled up within my mind. Twenty-four hours a day, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Singing, singing His Praises, I have obtained the supreme status. By Guru's Grace, Nanak is lovingly focused on the Lord. ||4||20||31|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: In exchange for a shell, he gives up a jewel. He tries to get what he must give up. He collects those things which are worthless. Enticed by Maya, he takes the crooked path. ||1|| You unfortunate man - have you no shame? You do not remember in your mind the ocean of peace, the perfect Transcendent Lord God. ||1||Pause|| Nectar seems bitter to you, and poison is sweet. Such is your condition, you faithless cynic, which I have seen with my own eyes. You are fond of falsehood, fraud and egotism.

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 018

If you hear the Naam, the Name of the Lord, you feel like you have been stung by a scorpion. ||2|| You continually yearn for Maya, and you never chant the Lord's Praises with your mouth. The Lord is fearless and formless; He is the Great Giver. But you do not love Him, you fool! ||3|| God, the True King, is above the heads of all kings. He is the independent, perfect Lord King. People are intoxicated by emotional attachment, entangled in doubt and family life. Nanak: they are saved only by Your Mercy, Lord. ||4||21||32|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: Night and day, I chant the Lord's Name. Hereafter, I shall obtain a seat in the Court of the Lord. I am in bliss forever; I have no sorrow. The disease of ego never afflicts me. ||1|| O Saints of the Lord, seek out those who know God. You shall be wonderstruck with wonder at the wonderful Lord; meditate in remembrance on the Lord, O mortal, and obtain the supreme status. ||1||Pause|| Calculating, measuring, and thinking in every way, see that without the Naam, no one can be carried across. Of all your efforts, none will go along with you. You can cross over the terrifying world-ocean only through the love of God. ||2|| By merely washing the body, one's filth is not removed. Afflicted by egotism, duality only increases. That humble being who takes the medicine of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har - all his diseases are eradicated. ||3|| Take pity on me, O merciful, Supreme Lord God; let me never forget the Lord of the World from my mind. Let me be the dust of the feet of Your slaves; O God, please fulfill Nanak's hope. ||4||22||33|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: You are my Protection, O perfect Divine Guru. There is no other than You. You are all-powerful, O perfect Supreme Lord God. He alone meditates on You, whose karma is perfect. ||1|| You Name, God, is the boat to carry us across. My mind has grasped Your protection alone. Other than You, I have no place of rest at all. ||1||Pause|| Chanting, meditating on Your Name, I live, and hereafter, I will obtain a seat in the Court of the Lord. Pain and darkness are gone from my mind; my evil-mindedness is dispelled, and I am absorbed in the Lord's Name. ||2|| I have enshrined love for the Lord's lotus feet. The lifestyle of the Perfect Guru is immaculate and pure. My fear has run away, and the fearless Lord dwells within my mind. My tongue continually chants the Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||3|| The nooses of millions of incarnations are cut away. I have obtained the profit of the true wealth. This treasure is inexhaustible; it will never run out. O Nanak, the devotees look beautiful in the Court of the Lord. ||4||23||34|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is a jewel, a ruby. It brings Truth, contentment and spiritual wisdom. The Lord entrusts the treasures of peace, intuition and kindness to His devotees. ||1|| This is the treasure of my Lord. Consuming and expending it, it is never used up. The Lord has no end or limitation. ||1||Pause|| The Kirtan of the Lord's Praise is a priceless diamond. It is the ocean of bliss and virtue. In the Word of the Guru's Bani is the wealth of the unstruck sound current. The Saints hold the key to it in their hands. ||2||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 019

They sit there, in the cave of deep Samaadhi; the unique, perfect Lord God dwells there. God holds conversations with His devotees. There is no pleasure or pain, no birth or death there. ||3|| One whom the Lord Himself blesses with His Mercy, obtains the Lord's wealth in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Nanak prays to the merciful Primal Lord; the Lord is my merchandise, and the Lord is my capital. ||4||24||35|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: The Vedas do not know His greatness. Brahma does not know His mystery. Incarnated beings do not know His limit. The Transcendent Lord, the Supreme Lord God, is infinite. ||1|| Only He Himself knows His own state. Others speak of Him only by hearsay. ||1||Pause|| Shiva does not know His mystery. The gods gave grown weary of searching for Him. The goddesses do not know His mystery. Above all is the unseen, Supreme Lord God. ||2|| The Creator Lord plays His own plays. He Himself separates, and He Himself unites. Some wander around, while others are linked to His devotional worship. By His actions, He makes Himself known. ||3|| Listen to the true story of the Saints. They speak only of what they see with their eyes. He is not involved with virtue or vice. Nanak's God is Himself all-in-all. ||4||25||36|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: I have not tried to do anything through knowledge. I have no knowledge, intelligence or spiritual wisdom. I have not practiced chanting, deep meditation, humility or righteousness. I know nothing of such good karma. ||1|| O my Beloved God, my Lord and Master, there is none other than You. Even though I wander and make mistakes, I am still Yours, God. ||1||Pause|| I have no wealth, no intelligence, no miraculous spiritual powers; I am not enlightened. I dwell in the village of corruption and sickness. O my One Creator Lord God, Your Name is the support of my mind. ||2|| Hearing, hearing Your Name, I live; this is my mind's consolation. Your Name, God, is the Destroyer of sins. You, O Limitless Lord, are the Giver of the soul. He alone knows You, unto whom You reveal Yourself. ||3|| Whoever has been created, rests his hopes in You. All worship and adore You, God, O treasure of excellence. Slave Nanak is a sacrifice to You. My merciful Lord and Master is infinite. ||4||26||37|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: The Savior Lord is merciful. Millions of incarnations are eradicated in an instant, contemplating the Lord. All beings worship and adore Him. Receiving the Guru's Mantra, one meets God. ||1|| My God is the Giver of souls. The Perfect Transcendent Lord Master, my God, imbues each and every heart. ||1||Pause|| My mind has grasped His Support. My bonds have been shattered. Within my heart, I meditate on the Lord, the embodiment of supreme bliss. My mind is filled with ecstasy. ||2|| The Lord's Sanctuary is the boat to carry us across. The Lord's Feet are the embodiment of life itself.

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 020

They are the Support of the breath of life of the Saints. God is infinite, the highest of the high. ||3|| That mind is excellent and sublime, which meditates in remembrance on the Lord. In His Mercy, the Lord Himself bestows it. Peace, intuitive poise and bliss are found in the Lord's Name. Meeting with the Guru, Nanak chants the Name. ||4||27||38|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: Abandon all your clever tricks. Become His servant, and serve Him. Totally erase your self-conceit. You shall obtain the fruits of your mind's desires. ||1|| Be awake and aware with your Guru. Your hopes and desires shall be fulfilled, and you shall obtain all treasures from the Guru. ||1||Pause|| Let no one think that God and Guru are separate. The True Guru is the Immaculate Lord. Do not believe that He is a mere human being; He gives honour to the dishonoured. ||2|| Hold tight to the Support of the Guru, the Lord. Give up all other hopes. Ask for the treasure of the Name of the Lord, and then you shall be honoured in the Court of the Lord. ||3|| Chant the Mantra of the Guru's Word. This is the essence of true devotional worship. When the True Guru becomes merciful, slave Nanak is enraptured. ||4||28||39|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: Whatever happens, accept that as good. Leave your egotistical pride behind. Day and night, continually sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. This is the perfect purpose of human life. ||1|| Meditate on the Lord, O Saints, and be in bliss. Renounce your cleverness and all your tricks. Chant the Immaculate Chant of the Guru's Mantra. ||1||Pause|| Place the hopes of your mind in the One Lord. Chant the Immaculate Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Bow down to the Guru's Feet, and cross over the terrifying world-ocean. ||2|| The Lord God is the Great Giver. He has no end or limitation. All treasures are in His home. He will be your Saving Grace in the end. ||3|| Nanak has obtained this treasure, the immaculate Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Whoever chants it, is emancipated. It is obtained only by His Grace. ||4||29||40|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: Make this invaluable human life fruitful. You shall not be destroyed when you go to the Lord's Court. In this world and the next, you shall obtain honour and glory. At the very last moment, He will save you. ||1|| Sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. In both this world and the next, you shall be embellished with beauty, meditating on the wondrous Primal Lord God. ||1||Pause|| While standing up and sitting down, meditate on the Lord, and all your troubles shall depart. All your enemies will become friends. Your consciousness shall be immaculate and pure. ||2|| This is the most exalted deed. Of all faiths, this is the most sublime and excellent faith. Meditating in remembrance on the Lord, you shall be saved. You shall be rid of the burden of countless incarnations. ||3|| Your hopes shall be fulfilled, and the noose of the Messenger of Death will be cut away. So listen to the Guru's Teachings. O Nanak, you shall be absorbed in celestial peace. ||4||30||41||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 021

Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: Honour the One, to whom everything belongs. Leave your egotistical pride behind. You belong to Him; everyone belongs to Him. Worship and adore Him, and you shall be at peace forever. ||1|| Why do you wander in doubt, you fool? Without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, nothing is of any use at all. Crying out, 'Mine, mine', a great many have departed, regretfully repenting. ||1||Pause|| Whatever the Lord has done, accept that as good. Without accepting, you shall mingle with dust. His Will seems sweet to me. By Guru's Grace, He comes to dwell in the mind. ||2|| He Himself is carefree and independent, imperceptible. Twenty-four hours a day, O mind, meditate on Him. When He comes into the consciousness, pain is dispelled. Here and hereafter, your face shall be radiant and bright. ||3|| Who, and how many have been saved, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord? They cannot be counted or evaluated. Even the sinking iron is saved, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, O Nanak, as His Grace is received. ||4||31||42|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: In your mind, meditate on the Lord God. This is the Teaching given by the Perfect Guru. All fears and terrors are taken away, and your hopes shall be fulfilled. ||1|| Service to the Divine Guru is fruitful and rewarding. His value cannot be described; the True Lord is unseen and mysterious. ||1||Pause|| He Himself is the Doer, the Cause of causes. Meditate on Him forever, O my mind, and continually serve Him. You shall be blessed with truth, intuition and peace, O my friend. ||2|| My Lord and Master is so very great. In an instant, He establishes and disestablishes. There is no other than Him. He is the Saving Grace of His humble servant. ||3|| Please take pity on me, and hear my prayer, that Your servant may behold the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. Nanak chants the Chant of the Lord, whose glory and radiance are the highest of all. ||4||32||43|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: Reliance on mortal man is useless. O God, my Lord and Master, You are my only Support. I have discarded all other hopes. I have met with my carefree Lord and Master, the treasure of virtue. ||1|| Meditate on the Name of the Lord alone, O my mind. Your affairs shall be perfectly resolved; sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, Har, Har, Har, O my mind. ||1||Pause|| You are the Doer, the Cause of causes. Your lotus feet, Lord, are my Sanctuary. I meditate on the Lord in my mind and body. The blissful Lord has revealed His form to me. ||2|| I seek His eternal support; He is the Creator of all beings. Remembering the Lord in meditation, the treasure is obtained. At the very last instant, He shall be your Savior. ||3|| Be the dust of all men's feet. Eradicate self-conceit, and merge in the Lord. Night and day, meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. O Nanak, this is the most rewarding activity. ||4||33||44|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: He is the Doer, the Cause of causes, the bountiful Lord. The merciful Lord cherishes all. The Lord is unseen and infinite. God is great and endless. ||1||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 022

I humbly pray to invoke the Universal Lord God, the Lord of the World. The Creator Lord is all-pervading, everywhere. ||1||Pause|| He is the Lord of the Universe, the Life of the World. Within your heart, worship and adore the Destroyer of fear. The Master Rishi of the senses, Lord of the World, Lord of the Universe. He is perfect, ever-present everywhere, the Liberator. ||2|| You are the One and only merciful Master, spiritual teacher, prophet, religious teacher. Master of hearts, Dispenser of justice, more sacred than the Koran and the Bible. ||3|| The Lord is powerful and merciful. The all-pervading Lord is the support of each and every heart. The luminous Lord dwells everywhere. His play cannot be known. ||4|| Be kind and compassionate to me, O Creator Lord. Bless me with devotion and meditation, O Lord Creator. Says Nanak, the Guru has rid me of doubt. The Muslim God Allah and the Hindu God Paarbrahm are one and the same. ||5||34||45|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: The sins of millions of incarnations are eradicated. Meditating on the Lord, Har, Har, pain will not afflict you. When the Lord's lotus feet are enshrined in the mind, all terrible evils are taken away from the body. ||1|| Sing the Praise of the Lord of the World, O mortal being. The Unspoken Speech of the True Lord God is perfect. Dwelling upon it, one's light merges into the Light. ||1||Pause|| Hunger and thirst are totally quenched; by the Grace of the Saints, meditate on the immortal Lord. Night and day, serve God. This is the sign that one has met with the Lord. ||2|| Worldly entanglements are ended, when God becomes merciful. Gazing upon the Blessed Vision of the Guru's Darshan, I am enraptured. My perfect pre-destined karma has been activated. With my tongue, I continually sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||3|| The Saints of the Lord are accepted and approved forever. The foreheads of the Saintly people are marked with the Lord's insignia. One who is blessed with the dust of the feet of the Lord's slave, O Nanak, obtains the supreme status. ||4||35||46|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: Let yourself be a sacrifice to the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan. Focus your heart's meditation on the Lord's lotus feet. Apply the dust of the feet of the Saints to your forehead, and the filthy evil-mindedness of countless incarnations will be washed off. ||1|| Meeting Him, egotistical pride is eradicated, and you will come to see the Supreme Lord God in all. The Perfect Lord God has showered His Mercy. ||1||Pause|| This is the Guru's Praise, to chant the Name of the Lord. This is devotion to the Guru, to sing forever the Glorious Praises of the Lord. This is contemplation upon the Guru, to know that the Lord is close

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at hand. Accept the Word of the Guru's Shabad as Truth. ||2|| Through the Word of the Guru's Teachings, look upon pleasure and pain as one and the same. Hunger and thirst shall never afflict you. The mind becomes content and satisfied through the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Meditate on the Lord of the Universe, and He will cover all your faults. ||3|| The Guru is the Supreme Lord God; the Guru is the Lord of the Universe. The Guru is the Great Giver, merciful and forgiving. One whose mind is attached to the Guru's feet, O slave Nanak, is blessed with perfect destiny. ||4||36||47||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 023

Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: What supports you in this world? You ignorant fool, who is your companion? The Lord is your only companion; no one knows His condition. You look upon the five thieves as your friends. ||1|| Serve that home, which will save you, my friend. Chant the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe, day and night; in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, love Him in your mind. ||1||Pause|| This human life is passing away in egotism and conflict. You are not satisfied; such is the flavor of sin. Wandering and roaming around, you suffer terrible pain. You cannot cross over the impassable sea of Maya. ||2|| You do the deeds which do not help you at all. As you plant, so shall you harvest. There is none other than the Lord to save you. You will be saved, only if God grants His Grace. ||3|| Your Name, God, is the Purifier of sinners. Please bless Your slave with that gift. Please grant Your Grace, God, and emancipate me. Nanak has grasped Your Sanctuary, God. ||4||37||48|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: I have found peace in this world. I will not have to appear before the Righteous Judge of Dharma to give my account. I will be respected in the Court of the Lord, and I will not have to enter the womb of reincarnation ever again. ||1|| Now, I know the value of friendship with the Saints. In His Mercy, the Lord has blessed me with His Name. My pre-ordained destiny has been fulfilled. ||1||Pause|| My consciousness is attached to the Guru's feet. Blessed, blessed is this fortunate time of union. I have applied the dust of the Saints' feet to my forehead, and all my sins and pains have been eradicated. ||2|| Performing true service to the Holy, the mortal's mind is purified. I have seen the fruitful vision of the Lord's humble slave. God's Name dwells within each and every heart. ||3|| All my troubles and sufferings have been taken away; I have merged into the One, from whom I originated. The Lord of the Universe, incomparably beautiful, has become merciful. O Nanak, God is perfect and forgiving. ||4||38||49|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: The tiger leads the cow to the pasture, the shell is worth thousands of dollars, and the elephant nurses the goat, when God bestows His Glance of Grace. ||1|| You are the treasure of mercy, O my Beloved Lord God. I cannot even describe Your many Glorious Virtues. ||1||Pause|| The cat sees the meat, but does not eat it, and the great butcher throws away his knife; the Creator Lord God abides in the heart; the net holding the fish breaks apart. ||2|| The dry wood blossoms forth in greenery and red flowers; in the high desert, the beautiful lotus flower blooms. The Divine True Guru puts out the fire. He links His servant to His service. ||3|| He saves even the ungrateful; my God is forever merciful. He is forever the helper and support of the humble Saints. Nanak has found the Sanctuary of His lotus feet. ||4||39||50|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl:

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 024

God killed the five tigers. He has driven out the ten wolves. The three whirl-pools have stopped spinning. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, the fear of reincarnation is gone. ||1|| Meditating, meditating in remembrance on the Lord of the Universe, I live. In His Mercy, He protects His slave; the True Lord is forever and ever the forgiver. ||1||Pause|| The mountain of sin is burnt down, like straw, by chanting and meditating on the Name, and worshipping God's feet. God, the embodiment of bliss, becomes manifest everywhere. Linked to His loving devotional worship, I enjoy peace. ||2|| I have crossed over the world-ocean, as if it were no bigger than a calf's footprint on the ground. I shall never again have to endure suffering or grief. The ocean is contained in the pitcher. This is not such an amazing thing for the Creator to do. ||3|| When I am separated from Him, then I am consigned to the nether regions. When He lifts me up and pulls me out, then I am enraptured by His Glance of Grace. Vice and virtue are not under my control. With love and affection, Nanak sings His Glorious Praises. ||4||40||51|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: Neither your body nor your mind belong to you. Attached to Maya, you are entangled in fraud. You play like a baby lamb. But suddenly, Death will catch you in its noose. ||1|| Seek the Sanctuary of the Lord's lotus feet, O my mind. Chant the Name of the Lord, which will be your help and support. As Gurmukh, you shall obtain the true wealth. ||1||Pause|| Your unfinished worldly affairs will never be resolved. You shall always regret your sexual desire, anger and pride. You act in corruption in order to survive, but not even an iota will go along with you, you ignorant fool! ||2|| You practice deception, and you know many tricks; for the sake of mere shells, you throw dust upon your head. You never even think of the One who gave you life. The pain of false greed never leaves you. ||3|| When the Supreme Lord God becomes merciful, this mind becomes the dust of the feet of the Holy. With His lotus hands, He has attached us to the hem of His robe. Nanak merges in the Truest of the True. ||4||41||52|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: I seek the Sanctuary of the Sovereign Lord. I have become fearless, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, my pains have been taken away. ||1||Pause|| That person, within whose mind the Lord abides, does not see the impassible world-ocean. All one's affairs are resolved, by chanting continually the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1|| Why should His slave feel any anxiety? The Guru places His hand upon my forehead. The fear of birth and death is dispelled; I am a sacrifice to the Perfect Guru. ||2|| I am enraptured, meeting with the Guru, the Transcendent Lord. He alone obtains the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan, who is blessed by His Mercy. One who is blessed by the Grace of the Supreme Lord God, crosses over the terrifying world-ocean in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||3|| Drink in the Ambrosial Nectar, O Beloved Holy people. Your face shall be radiant and bright in the Court of the Lord. Celebrate and be blissful, and abandon all corruption. O Nanak, meditate on the Lord and cross over. ||4||42||53||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 025

Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: The fire runs away from the fuel. The water runs away from the dust in all directions. The feet are above, and the sky is beneath. The ocean appears in the cup. ||1|| Such is our all-powerful dear Lord. His devotees do not forget Him, even for an instant. Twenty-four hours a day, O mind, meditate on Him. ||1||Pause|| First comes the butter, and then the milk. The dirt cleans the soap. The fearless are afraid of fear. The living are killed by the dead. ||2|| The visible body is hidden, and the etheric body is seen. The Lord of the world does all these things. The one who is cheated, is not cheated by the cheat. With no merchandise, the trader trades again and again. ||3|| So join the Society of the Saints, and chant the Lord's Name. So say the Simritees, Shaastras, Vedas and Puraanas. Rare are those who contemplate and meditate on God. O Nanak, they attain the supreme status. ||4||43||54|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: Whatever pleases Him happens. Forever and ever, I seek the Sanctuary of the Lord.There is none other than God. ||1||Pause|| You look upon your children, spouse and wealth; none of these will go along with you. Eating the poisonous potion, you have gone astray. You will have to go, and leave Maya and your mansions. ||1|| Slandering others, you are totally ruined; because of your past actions, you shall be consigned to the womb of reincarnation. Your past actions will not just go away; the most horrible Messenger of Death shall seize you. ||2|| You tell lies, and do not practice what you preach. Your desires are not satisfied - what a shame. You have contracted an incurable disease; slandering the Saints, your body is wasting away; you are utterly ruined. ||3|| He embellishes those whom He has fashioned. He Himself gave life to the Saints. O Nanak, He hugs His slaves close in His Embrace. Please grant Your Grace, O Supreme Lord God, and be kind to me as well. ||4||44||55|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: Such is the Perfect Divine Guru, my help and support. Meditation on Him is not wasted. ||1||Pause|| Gazing upon the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, I am enraptured. The dust of His feet snaps the noose of Death. His lotus feet dwell within my mind, and so all the affairs of my body are arranged and resolved. ||1|| One upon whom He places His Hand, is protected. My God is the Master of the masterless. He is the Savior of sinners, the treasure of mercy. Forever and ever, I am a sacrifice to Him. ||2|| One whom He blesses with His Immaculate Mantra, renounces corruption; his egotistical pride is dispelled. Meditate on the One Lord in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Sins are erased, through the love of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||3|| The Guru, the Transcendent Lord, dwells among all. The treasure of virtue pervades and permeates each and every heart. Please grant me the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan; O God, I place my hopes in You. Nanak continually offers this true prayer. ||4||45||56||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 026

Raag Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl, Second House, Du-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Sing the songs of Praise of the Lord. Chanting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, total peace is obtained; coming and going is ended, my friend. ||1||Pause|| Singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, one is enlightened, and comes to dwell in His lotus feet. ||1|| In the Society of the Saints, one is saved. O Nanak, he crosses over the terrifying world-ocean. ||2||1||57|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: My Guru is perfect, my Guru is perfect. Chanting the Lord's Name, I am always at peace; all my illness and fraud is dispelled. ||1||Pause|| Worship and adore that One Lord alone. In His Sanctuary, eternal peace is obtained. ||1|| One who feels hunger for the Naam sleeps in peace. Meditating in remembrance on the Lord, all pains are dispelled. ||2|| Enjoy celestial bliss, O my Siblings of Destiny. The Perfect Guru has eradicated all anxiety. ||3|| Twenty-four hours a day, chant God's Chant. O Nanak, He Himself shall save you. ||4||2||58|| Raag Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl, Partaal, Third House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I humbly bow to the Lord, the Supreme Being. The One, the One and Only Creator Lord permeates the water, the land, the earth and the sky. ||1||Pause|| Over and over again, the Creator Lord destroys, sustains and creates. He has no home; He needs no nourishment. ||1|| The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is deep and profound, strong, poised, lofty, exalted and infinite. He stages His plays; His Virtues are priceless. Nanak is a sacrifice to Him. ||2||1||59|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: You must abandon your beauty, pleasures, fragrances and enjoyments; beguiled by gold and sexual desire, you must still leave Maya behind. ||1||Pause|| You gaze upon billions and trillions of treasures and riches, which delight and comfort your mind, but these will not go along with you. ||1|| Entangled with children, spouse, siblings and friends, you are enticed and fooled; these pass like the shadow of a tree. Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of His lotus feet; He has found peace in the faith of the Saints. ||2||2||60|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Raag Raamkalee, Ninth Mehl, Ti-Padas: O mind, take the sheltering support of the Lord's Name. Remembering Him in meditation, evil-mindedness is dispelled, and the state of Nirvaanaa is obtained. ||1||Pause|| Know that one who sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord is very fortunate. The sins of countless incarnations are washed off, and he attains the heavenly realm. ||1||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 027

At the very last moment, Ajaamal became aware of the Lord; that state which even the supreme Yogis desire - he attained that state in an instant. ||2|| The elephant had no virtue and no knowledge; what religious rituals has he performed? O Nanak, behold the way of the Lord, who bestowed the gift of fearlessness. ||3||1|| Raamkalee, Ninth Mehl: Holy people: what way should I now adopt, by which all evil-mindedness may be dispelled, and the mind may vibrate in devotional worship to the Lord? ||1||Pause|| My mind is entangled in Maya; it knows nothing at all of spiritual wisdom. What is that Name, by which the world, contemplating it, might attain the state of Nirvaanaa? ||1|| When the Saints became kind and compassionate, they told me this. Understand, that whoever sings the Kirtan of God's Praises, has performed all religious rituals. ||2|| One who enshrines the Lord's Name in his heart night and day - even for an instant - has his fear of Death eradicated. O Nanak, his life is approved and fulfilled. ||3||2|| Raamkalee, Ninth Mehl: O mortal, focus your thoughts on the Lord. Moment by moment, your life is running out; night and day, your body is passing away in vain. ||1||Pause|| You have wasted your youth in corrupt pleasures, and your childhood in ignorance. You have grown old, and even now, you do not understand, the evil-mindedness in which you are entangled. ||1|| Why have you forgotten your Lord and Master, who blessed you with this human life? Remembering Him in meditation, one is liberated. And yet, you do not sing His Praises, even for an instant. ||2|| Why are you intoxicated with Maya? It will not go along with you. Says Nanak, think of Him, remember Him in your mind. He is the Fulfiller of desires, who will be your help and support in the end. ||3||3||81|| Raamkalee, First Mehl, Ashtapadees: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The same moon rises, and the same stars; the same sun shines in the sky. The earth is the same, and the same wind blows. The age in which we dwell affects living beings, but not these places. ||1|| Give up your attachment to life. Those who act like tyrants are accepted and approved - recognise that this is the sign of the Dark Age of Kali Yuga. ||1||Pause|| Kali Yuga has not been heard to have come to any country, or to be sitting at any sacred shrine. It is not where the generous person gives to charities, nor seated in the mansion he has built. ||2|| If someone practices Truth, he is frustrated; prosperity does not come to the home of the sincere. If someone chants the Lord's Name, he is scorned. These are the signs of Kali Yuga. ||3|| Whoever is in charge, is humiliated. Why should the servant be afraid, when the master is put in chains? He dies at the hands of his servant. ||4||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 028

Chant the Praises of the Lord; Kali Yuga has come. The justice of the previous three ages is gone. One obtains virtue, only if the Lord bestows it. ||1||Pause|| In this turbulent age of Kali Yuga, Muslim law decides the cases, and the blue-robed Qazi is the judge. The Guru's Bani has taken the place of Brahma's Veda, and the singing of the Lord's Praises are good deeds. ||5|| Worship without faith; self-discipline without truthfulness; the ritual of the sacred thread without chastity - what good are these? You may bathe and wash, and apply a ritualistic tilak mark to your forehead, but without inner purity, there is no understanding. ||6|| In Kali Yuga, the Koran and the Bible have become famous. The Pandit's scriptures and the Puraanas are not respected. O Nanak, the Lord's Name now is Rehmaan, the Merciful. Know that there is only One Creator of the creation. ||7|| Nanak has obtained the glorious greatness of the Naam, the Name of the Lord.

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There is no action higher than this. If someone goes out to beg for what is already in his own home, then he should be chastised. ||8||1|| Raamkalee, First Mehl: You preach to the world, and set up your house. Abandoning your Yogic postures, how will you find the True Lord? You are attached to possessiveness and the love of sexual pleasure. You are not a renunciate, nor a man of the world. ||1|| Yogi, remain seated, and the pain of duality will run away from you. You beg from door to door, and you don't feel ashamed. ||1||Pause|| You sing the songs, but you do not understand your own self. How will the burning pain within be relieved? Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, let your mind be absorbed in the Lord's Love, and you will intuitively experience the charity of contemplation. ||2|| You apply ashes to your body, while acting in hypocrisy. Attached to Maya, you will be beaten by Death's heavy club. Your begging bowl is broken; it will not hold the charity of the Lord's Love. Bound in bondage, you come and go. ||3|| You do not control your seed and semen, and yet you claim to practice abstinence. You beg from Maya, lured by the three qualities. You have no compassion; the Lord's Light does not shine in you. You are drowned, drowned in worldly entanglements. ||4|| You wear religious robes, and your patched coat assumes many disguises. You play all sorts of false tricks, like a juggler. The fire of anxiety burns brightly within you. Without the karma of good actions, how can you cross over? ||5|| You make ear-rings of glass to wear in your ears. But liberation does not come from learning without understanding. You are lured by the tastes of the tongue and sex organs. You have become a beast; this sign cannot be erased. ||6|| The people of the world are entangled in the three modes; the Yogis are entangled in the three modes. Contemplating the Word of the Shabad, sorrows are dispelled. Through the Shabad, one becomes radiant, pure and truthful. One who contemplates the true lifestyle is a Yogi. ||7|| The nine treasures are with You, Lord; You are potent, the Cause of causes. You establish and disestablish; whatever You do, happens. One who practices celibacy, chastity, self-control, truth and pure consciousness - O Nanak, that Yogi is the friend of the three worlds. ||8||2|| Raamkalee, First Mehl: Above the six chakras of the body dwells the detached mind. Awareness of the vibration of the Word of the Shabad has been awakened deep within. The unstruck melody of the sound current resonates and resounds within; my mind is attuned to it. Through the Guru's Teachings, my faith is confirmed in the True Name. ||1|| O mortal, through devotion to the Lord, peace is obtained. The Lord, Har, Har, seems sweet to the Gurmukh, who merges in the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1||Pause||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 029

Eradicating attachment to Maya, one merges into the Lord. Meeting with the True Guru, we unite in His Union. The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is a priceless jewel, a diamond. Attuned to it, the mind is comforted and encouraged. ||2|| The diseases of egotism and possessiveness do not afflict one who worships the Lord. Fear of the Messenger of Death runs away. The Messenger of Death, the enemy of the soul, does not touch me at all. The Immaculate Name of the Lord illuminates my heart. ||3|| Contemplating the Shabad, we become Nirankaari - we come to belong to the Formless Lord God. Awakening to the Guru's Teachings, evil-mindedness is taken away. Remaining awake and aware night and day, lovingly focused on the Lord, one becomes Jivan Mukta - liberated while yet alive. He finds this state deep within himself. ||4|| In the secluded cave, I remain unattached. With the Word of the Shabad, I have killed the five thieves. My mind does not waver or go to the home of any other. I remain intuitively absorbed deep within. ||5|| As Gurmukh, I remain awake and aware, unattached. Forever detached, I am woven into the essence of reality. The world is asleep; it dies, and comes and goes in reincarnation. Without the Word of the Guru's Shabad, it does not understand. ||6|| The unstruck sound current of the Shabad vibrates day and night. The Gurmukh knows the state of the eternal, unchanging Lord God. When someone realises the Shabad, then he truly knows. The One Lord is permeating and pervading everywhere in Nirvaanaa. ||7|| My mind is intuitively absorbed in the state of deepest Samaadhi; renouncing egotism and greed, I have come to know the One Lord. When the disciple's mind accepts the Guru, O Nanak, duality is eradicated, and he merges in the Lord. ||8||3|| Raamkalee, First Mehl: You calculate the auspicious days, but you do not understand that the One Creator Lord is above these auspicious days. He alone knows the way, who meets the Guru. When one follows the Guru's Teachings, then he realises the Hukam of God's Command. ||1|| Do not tell lies, O Pandit; O religious scholar, speak the Truth. When egotism is eradicated through the Word of the Shabad, then one finds His home. ||1||Pause|| Calculating and counting, the astrologer draws the horoscope. He studies it and announces it, but he does not understand reality. Understand, that the Word of the Guru's Shabad is above all. Do not speak of anything else; it is all just ashes. ||2|| You bathe, wash, and worship stones. But without being imbued with the Lord, you are the filthiest of the filthy. Subduing your pride, you shall receive the supreme wealth of God. The mortal is liberated and emancipated, meditating on the Lord. ||3|| You study the arguments, but do not contemplate the Vedas. You drown yourself - how will you save your ancestors? How rare is that person who realises that God is in each and every heart. When one meets the True Guru, then he understands. ||4|| Making his calculations, cynicism and suffering afflict his soul. Seeking the Sanctuary of the Guru, peace is found. I sinned and made mistakes, but now I seek Your Sanctuary. The Guru led me to meet the Lord, according to my past actions. ||5|| If one does not enter the Guru's Sanctuary, God cannot be found. Deluded by doubt, one is born, only to die, and come back again. Dying in corruption, he is bound and gagged at Death's door. The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is not in his heart, and he does not act according to the Shabad. ||6|| Some call themselves Pandits, religious scholars and spiritual teachers. Tinged with double-mindedness, they do not find the Mansion of the Lord's Presence.

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 030

One who takes the Support of the Naam, by Guru's Grace, is a rare person, one among millions, incomparable. ||7|| One is bad, and another good, but the One True Lord is contained in all. Understand this, O spiritual teacher, through the support of the True Guru: rare indeed is that Gurmukh, who realises the One Lord. His comings and goings cease, and he merges in the Lord. ||8|| Those who have the One Universal Creator Lord within their hearts, possess all virtues; they contemplate the True Lord. One who acts in harmony with the Guru's Will, O Nanak, is absorbed in the Truest of the True. ||9||4|| Raamkalee, First Mehl: Practicing restraint by Hatha Yoga, the body wears away. The mind is not softened by fasting or austerities. Nothing else is equal to worship of the Lord's Name. ||1|| Serve the Guru, O mind, and associate with the humble servants of the Lord. The tyrannical Messenger of Death cannot touch you, and the serpent of Maya cannot sting you, when you drink in the sublime essence of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| The world reads the arguments, and is softened only by music. In the three modes and corruption, they are born and die. Without the Lord's Name, they endure suffering and pain. ||2|| The Yogi draws the breath upwards, and opens the Tenth Gate. He practices inner cleansing and the six rituals of purification. But without the Lord's Name, the breath he draws is useless. ||3|| The fire of the five passions burns within him; how can he be calm? The thief is within him; how can he taste the taste? One who becomes Gurmukh conquers the body-fortress. ||4|| With filth within, he wanders around at places of pilgrimage. His mind is not pure, so what is the use of performing ritual cleansings? He carries the karma of his own past actions; who else can he blame? ||5|| He does not eat food; he tortures his body. Without the Guru's wisdom, he is not satisfied. The self-willed manmukh is born only to die, and be born again. ||6|| Go, and ask the True Guru, and associate with the Lord's humble servants. Your mind shall merge into the Lord, and you shall not be reincarnated to die again. Without the Lord's Name, what can anyone do? ||7|| Silence the mouse scurrying around within you. Serve the Primal Lord, by chanting the Lord's Name. O Nanak, God blesses us with His Name, when He grants His Grace. ||8||5|| Raamkalee, First Mehl: The created Universe emanated from within You; there is no other at all. Whatever is said to be, is from You, O God. He is the True Lord and Master, throughout the ages. Creation and destruction do not come from anyone else. ||1|| Such is my Lord and Master, profound and unfathomable. Whoever meditates on Him, finds peace. The arrow of the Messenger of Death does not strike one who has the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is a priceless jewel, a diamond. The True Lord Master is immortal and immeasurable. That tongue which chants the True Name is pure. The True Lord is in the home of the self; there is no doubt about it. ||2|| Some sit in the forests, and some make their home in the mountains. Forgetting the Naam, they rot away in egotistical pride. Without the Naam, what is the use of spiritual wisdom and meditation? The Gurmukhs are honoured in the Court of the Lord. ||3|| Acting stubbornly in egotism, one does not find the Lord. Studying the scriptures, reading them to other people,

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and wandering around at places of pilgrimage, the disease is not taken away. Without the Naam, how can one find peace? ||4|| No matter how much he tries, he cannot control his semen and seed. His mind wavers, and he falls into hell. Bound and gagged in the City of Death, he is tortured. Without the Name, his soul cries out in agony. ||5|| The many Siddhas and seekers, silent sages and demi-gods cannot satisfy themselves by practicing restraint through Hatha Yoga. One who contemplates the Word of the Shabad, and serves the Guru - his mind and body become immaculate, and his egotistical pride is obliterated. ||6|| Blessed with Your Grace, I obtain the True Name. I remain in Your Sanctuary, in loving devotion. Love for Your devotional worship has welled up within me. As Gurmukh, I chant and meditate on the Lord's Name. ||7|| When one is rid of egotism and pride, his mind is drenched in the Lord's Love. Practicing fraud and hypocrisy, he does not find God. Without the Word of the Guru's Shabad, he cannot find the Lord's Door. O Nanak, the Gurmukh contemplates the essence of reality. ||8||6|| Raamkalee, First Mehl: As you come, so will you leave, you fool; as you were born, so will you die. As you enjoy pleasures, so will you suffer pain. Forgetting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, you will fall into the terrifying world-ocean. ||1|| Gazing upon your body and wealth, you are so proud. Your love for gold and sexual pleasures increases; why have you forgotten the Naam, and why do you wander in doubt? ||1||Pause|| You do not practice truth, abstinence, self-discipline or humility; the ghost within your skeleton has turned to dry wood. You have not practiced charity, donations, cleansing baths or austerities. Without the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, your life has gone in vain. ||2|| Attached to greed, you have forgotten the Naam. Coming and going, your life has been ruined. When the Messenger of Death grabs you by your hair, you will be punished. You are unconscious, and have fallen into Death's mouth. ||3|| Day and night, you jealously slander others; in your heart, you have neither the Naam, nor compassion for all. Without the Word of the Guru's Shabad, you will not find salvation or honour. Without the Lord's Name, you shall go to hell. ||4|| In an instant, you change into various costumes, like a juggler; you are entangled in emotional attachment and sin. You gaze here and there upon the expanse of Maya; you are intoxicated with attachment to Maya. ||5|| You act in corruption, and put on ostentatious shows, but without awareness of the Shabad, you have fallen into confusion. You suffer great pain from the disease of egotism. Following the Guru's Teachings, you shall be rid of this disease. ||6|| Seeing peace and wealth come to him, the faithless cynic become proud in his mind. But He who owns this body and wealth, takes them back again, and then the mortal feels anxiety and pain deep within. ||7|| At the very last instant, nothing goes along with you; all is visible only by His Mercy. God is our Primal and Infinite Lord; enshrining the Lord's Name in the heart, one crosses over. ||8|| You weep for the dead, but who hears you weeping? The dead have fallen to the serpent in the terrifying world-ocean. Gazing upon his family, wealth, household and mansions, the faithless cynic is entangled in worthless worldly affairs. ||9||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 032

He comes when the Lord sends him; when the Lord calls him back, he goes. Whatever he does, the Lord is doing. The Forgiving Lord forgives him. ||10|| I seek to be with those who have tasted this sublime essence of the Lord. Wealth, miraculous spiritual powers, wisdom and spiritual knowledge, are obtained from the Guru. The treasure of liberation is obtained in His Sanctuary. ||11|| The Gurmukh looks upon pain and pleasure as one and the same; he remains untouched by joy and sorrow. Conquering his self-conceit, the Gurmukh finds the Lord; O Nanak, he intuitively merges into the Lord. ||12||7|| Raamkalee, Dakhanee, First Mehl: Abstinence, chastity, self-control and truthfulness have been implanted within me; I am imbued with the sublime essence of the True Word of the Shabad. ||1|| My Merciful Guru remains forever imbued with the Lord's Love. Day and night, He remains lovingly focused on the One Lord; gazing upon the True Lord, He is pleased. ||1||Pause|| He abides in the Tenth Gate, and looks equally upon all; He is imbued with the unstruck sound current of the Shabad. ||2|| Wearing the loin-cloth of chastity, He remains absorbed in the all-pervading Lord; His tongue enjoys the taste of God's Love. ||3|| The One who created the creation has met the True Guru; contemplating the Guru's lifestyle, He is pleased. ||4|| All are in the One, and the One is in all. This is what the True Guru has shown me. ||5|| He who created the worlds, solar systems and galaxies - that God cannot be known. ||6|| From the lamp of God, the lamp within is lit; the Divine Light illuminates the three worlds. ||7|| The Guru sits on the true throne in the true mansion; He is attuned, absorbed in the Fearless Lord. ||8|| The Guru, the detached Yogi, has enticed the hearts of all; He plays His harp in each and every heart. ||9|| O Nanak, in God's Sanctuary, one is emancipated; the True Guru becomes our true help and support. ||10||8|| Raamkalee, First Mehl: He has made His home in the monastery of the heart; He has infused His power into the earth and the sky. ||1|| Through the Word of the Shabad, the Gurmukhs have saved so very many, O Saints. ||1||Pause|| He conquers attachment, and eradicates egotism, and sees Your Divine Light pervading the three worlds, Lord. ||2|| He conquers desire, and enshrines the Lord within his mind; he contemplates the Word of the True Guru's Shabad. ||3|| The horn of consciousness vibrates the unstruck sound current; Your Light illuminates each and every heart, Lord. ||4|| He plays the flute of the universe in his mind, and lights the fire of God. ||5|| Bringing together the five elements, day and night, the Lord's lamp shines with the Immaculate Light of the Infinite. ||6|| The right and left nostrils, the sun and the moon channels, are the strings of the body-harp; they vibrate the wondrous melody of the Shabad. ||7|| The true hermit obtains a seat in the City of God, the invisible, inaccessible,

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infinite. ||8|| The mind is the king of the city of the body; the five sources of knowledge dwell within it. ||9|| Seated in his home, this king chants the Shabad; he administers justice and virtue. ||10|| What can poor death or birth say to him? Conquering his mind, he remains dead while yet alive. ||11||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 033

Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva are manifestations of the One God. He Himself is the Doer of deeds. ||12|| One who purifies his body, crosses over the terrifying world-ocean; he contemplates the essence of his own soul. ||13|| Serving the Guru, he finds everlasting peace; deep within, the Shabad permeates him, colouring him with virtue. ||14|| The Giver of virtue unites with Himself, one who conquers egotism and desire. ||15|| Eradicating the three qualities, dwell in the fourth state. This is the unparalleled devotional worship. ||16|| This is the Yoga of the Gurmukh: Through the Shabad, he understands his own soul, and he enshrines within his heart the One Lord. ||17|| Imbued with the Shabad, his mind becomes steady and stable; this is the most excellent action. ||18|| This true hermit does not enter into religious debates or hypocrisy; the Gurmukh contemplates the Shabad. ||19|| The Gurmukh practices Yoga - he is the true hermit; he practices abstinence and truth, and contemplates the Shabad. ||20|| One who dies in the Shabad and conquers his mind is the true hermit; he understands the Way of Yoga. ||21|| Attachment to Maya is the terrifying world-ocean; through the Shabad, the true hermit saves himself, and his ancestors as well. ||22|| Contemplating the Shabad, you shall be a hero throughout the four ages, O hermit; contemplate the Word of the Guru's Bani in devotion. ||23|| This mind is enticed by Maya, O hermit; contemplating the Shabad, you shall find release. ||24|| He Himself forgives, and unites in His Union; Nanak seeks Your Sanctuary, Lord. ||25||9|| Raamkalee, Third Mehl, Ashtapadees: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Make humility your ear-rings, Yogi, and compassion your patched coat. Let coming and going be the ashes you apply to your body, Yogi, and then you shall conquer the three worlds. ||1|| Play that harp, Yogi, which vibrates the unstruck sound current, and remain lovingly absorbed in the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Make truth and contentment your plate and pouch, Yogi; take the Ambrosial Naam as your food. Make meditation your walking stick, Yogi, and make higher consciousness the horn you blow. ||2|| Make your stable mind the Yogic posture you sit in, Yogi, and then you shall be rid of your tormenting desires. Go begging in the village of the body, Yogi, and then, you shall obtain the Naam in your lap. ||3|| This harp does not centre you in meditation, Yogi, nor does it bring the True Name into your lap. This harp does not bring you peace, Yogi, nor eliminate egotism from within you. ||4|| Make the Fear of God, and the Love of God, the two gourds of your lute, Yogi, and make this body its neck. Become Gurmukh, and then vibrate the strings; in this way, your desires shall depart. ||5|| One who understands the Hukam of the Lord's Command is called a Yogi; he links his consciousness to the One Lord. His cynicism is dispelled, and he becomes immaculately pure; this is how he finds the Way of Yoga. ||6|| Everything that comes into view shall be destroyed; focus your consciousness on the Lord. Enshrine love for the True Guru, and then you shall obtain this understanding. ||7||

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This is not Yoga, O Yogi, to abandon your family and wander around. The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is within the household of the body. By Guru's Grace, you shall find your Lord God. ||8|| This world is a puppet of clay, Yogi; the terrible disease, the desire for Maya is in it. Making all sorts of efforts, and wearing religious robes, Yogi, this disease cannot be cured. ||9|| The Name of the Lord is the medicine, Yogi; the Lord enshrines it in the mind. One who becomes Gurmukh understands this; he alone finds the Way of Yoga. ||10|| The Path of Yoga is very difficult, Yogi; he alone finds it, whom God blesses with His Grace. Inside and outside, he sees the One Lord; he eliminates doubt from within himself. ||11|| So play the harp which vibrates without being played, Yogi. Says Nanak, thus you shall be liberated, Yogi, and remain merged in the True Lord. ||12||1||10|| Raamkalee, Third Mehl: The treasure of devotional worship is revealed to the Gurmukh; the True Guru has inspired me to understand this understanding. ||1|| O Saints, the Gurmukh is blessed with glorious greatness. ||1||Pause|| Dwelling always in Truth, celestial peace wells up; sexual desire and anger are eliminated from within. ||2|| Eradicating self-conceit, remain lovingly focused on the Naam, the Name of the Lord; through the Word of the Shabad, burn away possessiveness. ||3|| By Him we are created, and by Him we are destroyed; in the end, the Naam will be our only help and support. ||4|| He is ever-present; don't think that He is far away. He created the creation. ||5|| Deep within your heart, chant the True Word of the Shabad; remain lovingly absorbed in the True Lord. ||6|| The Priceless Naam is in the Society of the Saints; by great good fortune, it is obtained. ||7|| Do not be deluded by doubt; serve the True Guru, and keep your mind steady in one place. ||8|| Without the Name, everyone wanders around in confusion; they waste away their lives in vain. ||9|| Yogi, you have lost the Way; you wander around confused. Through hypocrisy, Yoga is not attained. ||10|| Sitting in Yogic postures in the City of God, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, you shall find Yoga. ||11|| Restrain your restless wanderings through the Shabad, and the Naam will come to dwell in your mind. ||12|| This body is a pool, O Saints; bathe in it, and enshrine love for the Lord. ||13|| Those who cleanse themselves through the Naam, are the most immaculate people; through the Shabad, they wash off their filth. ||14|| Trapped by the three qualities, the unconscious person does not think of the Naam; without the Name, he wastes away. ||15|| The three forms of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva are trapped in the three qualities, lost in confusion. ||16|| By Guru's Grace, this triad is eradicated, and one is lovingly absorbed in the fourth state. ||17|| The Pandits, the religious scholars, read, study and discuss the arguments; they do not understand. ||18|| Engrossed in corruption, they wander in confusion; who can they possibly instruct, O Siblings of Destiny? ||19|| The Bani, the Word of the humble devotee is the most sublime and exalted; it prevails throughout the ages. ||20|| One who is committed to this Bani is emancipated, and through the Shabad, merges in Truth. ||21||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 035

One who searches the village of the body, through the Shabad, obtains the nine treasures of the Naam. ||22|| Conquering desire, the mind is absorbed in intuitive ease, and then one chants the Lord's Praises without speaking. ||23|| Let your eyes gaze upon the Wondrous Lord; let your consciousness be attached to the Unseen Lord. ||24|| The Unseen Lord is forever absolute and immaculate; one's light merges into the Light. ||25|| I praise my Guru forever, who has inspired me to understand this true understanding. ||26|| Nanak offers this one prayer: through the Name, may I find salvation and honour. ||27||2||11|| Raamkalee, Third Mehl: It is so hard to obtain that devotional worship of the Lord, O Saints. It cannot be described at all. ||1|| O Saints, as Gurmukh, find the Perfect Lord, and worship the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Without the Lord, everything is filthy, O Saints; what offering should I place before Him? ||2|| Whatever pleases the True Lord is devotional worship; His Will abides in the mind. ||3|| Everyone worships Him, O Saints, but the self-willed manmukh is not accepted or approved. ||4|| If someone dies in the Word of the Shabad, his mind become immaculate, O Saints; such worship is accepted and approved. ||5|| Sanctified and pure are those true beings, who enshrine love for the Shabad. ||6|| There is no worship of the Lord, other than the Name; the world wanders, deluded by doubt. ||7|| The Gurmukh understands his own self, O Saints; he lolvingly centres his mind on the Lord's Name. ||8|| The Immaculate Lord Himself inspires worship of Him; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, it is accepted and approved. ||9|| Those who worship Him, but do not know the Way, are polluted with the love of duality. ||10|| One who becomes Gurmukh, knows what worship is; the Lord's Will abides within his mind. ||11|| One who accepts the Lord's Will obtains total peace, O Saints; in the end, the Naam will be our help and support. ||12|| One who does not understand his own self, O Saints, falsely flatters himself. ||13|| The Messenger of Death does not give up on those who practices hypocrisy; they are dragged away in disgrace. ||14|| Those who have the Shabad deep within, understand themselves; they find the way of salvation. ||15|| Their minds enter into the deepest state of Samaadhi, and their light is absorbed into the Light. ||16|| The Gurmukhs listen constantly to the Naam, and chant it in the True Congregation. ||17|| The Gurmukhs sing the Lord's Praises, and erase self-conceit; they obtain true honour in the Court of the Lord. ||18|| True are their words; they speak only the Truth; they lovingly focus on the True Name. ||19|| My God is the Destroyer of fear, the Destroyer of sin; in the end, He is our only help and support. ||20|| He Himself pervades and permeates everything; O Nanak, glorious greatness is obtained through the Naam. ||21||3||12|| Raamkalee, Third Mehl: I am filthy and polluted, proud and egotistical; receiving the Word of the Shabad, my filth is taken away. ||1|| O Saints, the Gurmukhs are saved through the Naam, the Name of the Lord. The True Name abides deep within their hearts. The Creator Himself embellishes them. ||1||Pause||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 036

Touching the philosopher's stone, they themselves become the philosopher's stone; the Dear Lord Himself blesses them with His Mercy. ||2|| Some wear religious robes, and wander around in pride; they lose their life in the gamble. ||3|| Some worship the Lord in devotion, night and day; day and night, they keep the Lord's Name enshrined in their hearts. ||4|| Those who are imbued with Him night and day, are spontaneously intoxicated with Him; they intuitively conquer their ego. ||5|| Without the Fear of God, devotional worship is never performed; through the Love and the Fear of God, devotional worship is embellished. ||6|| The Shabad burns away emotional attachment to Maya, and then one contemplates the essence of spiritual wisdom. ||7|| The Creator Himself inspires us to act; He Himself blesses us with His treasure. ||8|| The limits of His virtues cannot be found; I sing His Praises and contemplate the Word of the Shabad. ||9|| I chant the Lord's Name, and praise my Dear Lord; egotism is eradicated from within me. ||10|| The treasure of the Naam is obtained from the Guru; the treasures of the True Lord are inexhaustible. ||11|| He Himself is pleased with His devotees; by His Grace, He infuses His strength within them. ||12|| They always feel hunger for the True Name; they sing and contemplate the Shabad. ||13|| Soul, body and everything are His; it is so difficult to speak of, and contemplate Him. ||14|| Those humble beings who are attached to the Shabad are saved; they cross over the terrifying world-ocean. ||15|| Without the True Lord, no one can cross over; how rare are those who contemplate and understand this. ||16|| We obtain only that which is pre-ordained; receiving the Lord's Shabad, we are embellished. ||17|| Imbued with the Shabad, the body becomes golden, and loves only the True Name. ||18|| The body is then filled to overflowing with Ambrosial Nectar, obtained by contemplating the Shabad. ||19|| Those who seek God, find Him; others burst and die from their own egotism. ||20|| The debaters waste away, while the servants serve, with love and affection for the Guru. ||21|| He alone is a Yogi, who contemplates the essence of spiritual wisdom, and conquers egotism and thirsty desire. ||22|| The True Guru, the Great Giver, is revealed to those upon whom You bestow Your Grace, O Lord. ||23|| Those who do not serve the True Guru, and who are attached to Maya, are drowned; they die in their own egotism. ||24|| As long as there is breath within you, so long you should serve the Lord; then, you will go and meet the Lord. ||25|| Night and day, she remains awake and aware, day and night; she is the darling bride of her Beloved Husband Lord. ||26|| I offer my body and mind in sacrifice to my Guru; I am a sacrifice to Him. ||27|| Attachment to Maya will end and go away; only by contemplating the Shabad will you be saved. ||28|| They are awake and aware, whom the Lord Himself awakens; so contemplate the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||29|| O Nanak, those who do not remember the Naam are dead. The devotees live in contemplative meditation. ||30||4||13|| Raamkalee, Third Mehl: Receiving the treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, from the Guru, I remain satisfied and fulfilled. ||1|| O Saints, the Gurmukhs attain the state of liberation.

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 037

The One Name abides deep within my heart; such is the glorious greatness of the Perfect Lord. ||1||Pause|| He Himself is the Creator, and He Himself is the Enjoyer. He Himself gives sustenance to all. ||2|| Whatever He wants to do, He is doing; no one else can do anything. ||3|| He Himself fashions and creates the creation; He links each and every person to their task. ||4|| If you serve Him, then you will find peace; the True Guru will unite you in His Union. ||5|| The Lord Himself creates Himself; the Unseen Lord cannot be seen. ||6|| He Himself kills, and brings back to life; He does not have even an iota of greed. ||7|| Some are made givers, and some are made beggars; He Himself inspires us to devotional worship. ||8|| Those who know the One Lord are very fortunate; they remain absorbed in the True Lord. ||9|| He Himself is beautiful, He Himself is wise and clever; His worth cannot be expressed. ||10|| He Himself infuses pain and pleasure; He Himself makes them wander around in doubt. ||11|| The Great Giver is revealed to the Gurmukh; without the Guru, the world wanders in darkness. ||12|| Those who taste, enjoy the flavor; the True Guru imparts this understanding. ||13|| Some, the Lord causes to forget and lose the Name; others become Gurmukh, and are granted this understanding. ||14|| Forever and ever, praise the Lord, O Saints; how glorious is His greatness! ||15|| There is no other King except Him; He administers justice, as He has made it. ||16|| His justice is always True; how rare are those who accept His Command. ||17|| O mortal, meditate forever on the Lord, who has made the Gurmukh in His making. ||18|| That humble being who meets with the True Guru is fulfilled; the Naam abides in his heart. ||19|| The True Lord is Himself forever True; He announces His Bani, the Word of His Shabad. ||20|| Nanak is wonderstruck, hearing and seeing His Lord; my God is all-pervading, everywhere. ||21||5||14|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl, Ashtapadees: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Some make a big show of their worldly influence. Some make a big show of devotional worship. Some practice inner cleansing teahniques, and control the breath through Kundalini Yoga. I am meek; I worship and adore the Lord, Har, Har. ||1|| I place my faith in You alone, O Beloved Lord. I do not know any other way. ||1||Pause|| Some abandon their homes, and live in the forests. Some put themselves on silence, and call themselves hermits. Some claim that they are devotees of the One Lord alone. I am meek; I seek the shelter and support of the Lord, Har, Har. ||2|| Some say that they live at sacred shrines of pilgrimage. Some refuse food and become Udaasis, shaven-headed renunciates. Some have wandered all across the earth. I am meek; I have fallen at

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the door of the Lord, Har, Har. ||3|| Some say that they belong to great and noble families.

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Some say that they have the arms of their many brothers to protect them. Some say that they have great expanses of wealth. I am meek; I have the support of the Lord, Har, Har. ||4|| Some dance, wearing ankle bells. Some fast and take vows, and wear malas. Some apply ceremonial tilak marks to their foreheads. I am meek; I meditate on the Lord, Har, Har, Har. ||5|| Some work spells using the miraculous spiritual powers of the Siddhas. Some wear various religious robes and establish their authority. Some perform Tantric spells, and chant various mantras. I am meek; I serve the Lord, Har, Har, Har. ||6|| One calls himself a wise Pandit, a religious scholar. One performs the six rituals to appease Shiva. One maintains the rituals of pure lifestyle, and does good deeds. I am meek; I seek the Sanctuary of the Lord, Har, Har, Har. ||7|| I have studied the religions and rituals of all the ages. Without the Name, this mind is not awakened. Says Nanak, when I found the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, my thirsty desires were satisfied, and I was totally cooled and soothed. ||8||1|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: He created you out of this water. From clay, He fashioned your body. He blessed you with the light of reason and clear consciousness. In your mother's womb, He preserved you. ||1|| Contemplate your Savior Lord. Give up all others thoughts, O mind. ||1||Pause|| He gave you your mother and father; he gave you your charming children and siblings; he gave you your spouse and friends; enshrine that Lord and Master in your consciousness. ||2|| He gave you the invaluable air; He gave you the priceless water; He gave you burning fire; let your mind remain in the Sanctuary of that Lord and Master. ||3|| He gave you the thirty-six varieties of tasty foods; He gave you a place within to hold them; He gave you the earth, and things to use; enshrine in your consciousness the feet of that Lord and Master. ||4|| He gave you eyes to see, and ears to hear; He gave you hands to work with, and a nose and a tongue; He gave you feet to walk upon, and the crowning glory of your head; O mind, worship the Feet of that Lord and Master. ||5|| He transformed you from impure to pure; He installed you above the heads of all creatures; now, you may fulfill your destiny or not; Your affairs shall be resolved, O mind, meditating on God. ||6|| Here and there, only the One God exists. Wherever I look, there You are. My mind is reluctant to serve Him; forgetting Him, I cannot survive, even for an instant. ||7|| I am a sinner, without any virtue at all. I do not serve You, or do any good deeds. By great good fortune, I have found the boat - the Guru. Slave Nanak has crossed over, with Him. ||8||2|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: Some pass their lives enjoying pleasures and beauty.

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 039

Some pass their lives with their mothers, fathers and children. Some pass their lives in power, estates and trade. The Saints pass their lives with the support of the Lord's Name. ||1|| The world is the creation of the True Lord. He alone is the Master of all. ||1||Pause|| Some pass their lives in arguments and debates about scriptures. Some pass their lives tasting flavors. Some pass their lives attached to women. The Saints are absorbed only in the Name of the Lord. ||2|| Some pass their lives gambling. Some pass their lives getting drunk. Some pass their lives stealing the property of others. The humble servants of the Lord pass their lives meditating on the Naam. ||3|| Some pass their lives in Yoga, strict meditation, worship and adoration. Some, in sickness, sorrow and doubt. Some pass their lives practicing control of the breath. The Saints pass their lives singing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises. ||4|| Some pass their lives walking day and night. Some pass their lives on the fields of battle. Some pass their lives teaching children. The Saints pass their lives singing the Lord's Praise. ||5|| Some pass their lives as actors, acting and dancing. Some pass their lives taking the lives of others. Some pass their lives ruling by intimidation. The Saints pass their lives chanting the Lord's Praises. ||6|| Some pass their lives counseling and giving advice. Some pass their lives forced to serve others. Some pass their lives exploring life's mysteries. The Saints pass their lives drinking in the sublime essence of the Lord. ||7|| As the Lord attaches us, so we are attached. No one is foolish, and no one is wise. Nanak is a sacrifice, a sacrifice to those who are blessed by His Grace to receive His Name. ||8||3|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: Even in a forest fire, some trees remain green. The infant is released from the pain of the mother's womb. Meditating in remembrance on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, fear is dispelled. Just so, the Sovereign Lord protects and saves the Saints. ||1|| Such is the Merciful Lord, my Protector. Wherever I look, I see You cherishing and nurturing. ||1||Pause|| As thirst is quenched by drinking water; as the bride blossoms forth when her husband comes home; as wealth is the support of the greedy person - just so, the humble servant of the Lord loves the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||2|| As the farmer protects his fields; as the mother and father show compassion to their child; as the lover merges on seeing the beloved; just so does the Lord hug His humble servant close in His Embrace. ||3|| As the blind man is in ecstasy, when he can see again; and the mute, when he is able to speak and sing songs; and the cripple, being able to climb over the mountain - just so, the Name of the Lord saves all. ||4|| As cold is dispelled by fire, sins are driven out in the Society of the Saints. As cloth is cleaned by soap, just so, by chanting the Naam, all doubts and fears are dispelled. ||5|| As the chakvi bird longs for the sun, as the rainbird thirsts for the rain drop, as the deer's ears are attuned to the sound of the bell, the Lord's Name is pleasing to the mind of the Lord's humble servant. ||6||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 040

By Your Grace, we love You. When You show Mercy, then You come into our minds. When the Support of the earth granted His Grace, then I was released from my bonds. ||7|| I have seen all places with my eyes wide open. There is no other than Him. Doubt and fear are dispelled, by Guru's Grace. Nanak sees the wondrous Lord everywhere. ||8||4|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: All beings and creatures that are seen, God, depend on Your Support. ||1|| This mind is saved through the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| In an instant, He establishes and disestablishes, by His Creative Power. All is the Creation of the Creator. ||2|| Sexual desire, anger, greed, falsehood and slander are banished in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||3|| Chanting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the mind becomes immaculate, and life is passed in absolute peace. ||4|| That mortal who enters the Sanctuary of the devotees, does not lose out, here or hereafter. ||5|| Pleasure and pain, and the condition of this mind, I place before You, Lord. ||6|| You are the Giver of all beings; You cherish what You have made. ||7|| So many millions of times, Nanak is a sacrifice to Your humble servants. ||8||5|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl, Ashtapadee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Receiving the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, all sins are erased, and He unites me with the Lord. ||1|| My Guru is the Transcendent Lord, the Giver of peace. He implants the Naam, the Name of the Supreme Lord God within us; in the end, He is our help and support. ||1||Pause|| The source of all pain within is destroyed; I apply the dust of the feet of the Saints to my forehead. ||2|| In an instant, He purifies the sinners, and dispels the darkness of ignorance. ||3|| The Lord is all-powerful, the Cause of causes. Nanak seeks His Sanctuary. ||4|| Shattering the bonds, the Guru implants the Lord's lotus feet within, and lovingly attunes us to the One Word of the Shabad. ||5|| He has lifted me up, and pulled me out of the deep, dark pit of sin; I am attuned to the True Shabad. ||6|| The fear of birth and death is taken away; I shall never wander again. ||7|| This mind is imbued with the sublime elixir of the Naam; drinking in the Ambrosial Nectar, it is satisfied. ||8|| Joining the Society of the Saints, I sing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises; I dwell in the eternal, unchanging place. ||9|| The Perfect Guru has given me the perfect teachings; there is nothing except the Lord, O Siblings of Destiny. ||10|| I have obtained the treasure of the Naam, by great good fortune; O Nanak, I shall not fall into hell. ||11|| Clever tricks have not worked for me; I shall act according to the Instructions of the Perfect Guru. ||12|| He is chanting, intense meditation, austere self-discipline and purification. He Himself acts, and causes us to act. ||13|| In the midst of children and spouse, and utter corruption, the True Guru has carried me across. ||14||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 041

You Yourself take care of Your beings; You Yourself attach them to the hem of Your robe. ||15|| I have built the boat of true Dharmic faith, to cross over the terrifying world-ocean. ||16|| The Lord Master is unlimited and endless; Nanak is a sacrifice, a sacrifice to Him. ||17|| Being of Immortal Manifestation, He is not born; He is self-existent; He is the Light in the darkness of Kali Yuga. ||18|| He is the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts, the Giver of souls; gazing upon Him, I am satisfied and fulfilled. ||19|| He is the One Universal Creator Lord, immaculate and fearless; He is permeating and pervading all the water and the land. ||20|| He blesses His devotees with the Gift of devotional worship; Nanak longs for the Lord, O my mother. ||21||1||6|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl, Shalok: Study the Word of the Shabad, O beloveds. It is your anchoring support in life and in death. Your face shall be radiant, and you will be at peace forever, O Nanak, meditating in remembrance on the One Lord. ||1|| My mind and body are imbued with my Beloved Lord; I have been blessed with loving devotion to the Lord, O Saints. ||1|| The True Guru has approved my cargo, O Saints. He has blessed His slave with the profit of the Lord's Name; all my thirst is quenched, O Saints. ||1||Pause|| Searching and searching, I have found the One Lord, the jewel; I cannot express His value, O Saints. ||2|| I focus my meditation on His Lotus Feet; I am absorbed in the True Vision of His Darshan, O Saints. ||3|| Singing, singing His Glorious Praises, I am enraptured; meditating in remembrance on the Lord, I am satisfied and fulfilled, O Saints. ||4|| The Lord, the Supreme Soul, is permeating within all; what comes, and what goes, O Saints? ||5|| At the very beginning of time, and throughout the ages, He is, and He shall always be; He is the Giver of peace to all beings, O Saints. ||6|| He Himself is endless; His end cannot be found. He is totally pervading and permeating everywhere, O Saints. ||7|| Nanak: the Lord is my friend, companion, wealth, youth, son, father and mother, O Saints. ||8||2||7|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: In thought, word and deed, I contemplate the Lord's Name. The horrible world-ocean is very treacherous; O Nanak, the Gurmukh is carried across. ||1||Pause|| Inwardly, peace, and outwardly, peace; meditating on the Lord, evil tendencies are crushed. ||1|| He has rid me of what was clinging to me; my Dear Lord God has blessed me with His Grace. ||2|| The Saints are saved, in His Sanctuary; the very egotistical people rot away and die. ||3|| In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I have obtained this fruit, the Support of the One Name alone. ||4|| No one is strong, and no one is weak; all are manifestations of Your Light, Lord. ||5|| You are the all-powerful, indescribable, unfathomable, all-pervading Lord. ||6|| Who can estimate Your value, O Creator Lord? God has no end or limitation. ||7|| Please bless Nanak with the glorious greatness of the gift of the Naam, and the dust of the feet of Your Saints. ||8||3||8||22||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 042

Raamkalee, Third Mehl, Anand ~ The Song Of Bliss: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I am in ecstasy, O my mother, for I have found my True Guru. I have found the True Guru, with intuitive ease, and my mind vibrates with the music of bliss. The jewelled melodies and their related celestial harmonies have come to sing the Word of the Shabad. The Lord dwells within the minds of those who sing the Shabad. Says Nanak, I am in ecstasy, for I have found my True Guru. ||1|| O my mind, remain always with the Lord. Remain always with the Lord, O my mind, and all sufferings will be forgotten. He will accept You as His own, and all your affairs will be perfectly arranged. Our Lord and Master is all-powerful to do all things, so why forget Him from your mind? Says Nanak, O my mind, remain always with the Lord. ||2|| O my True Lord and Master, what is there which is not in Your celestial home? Everything is in Your home; they receive, unto whom You give. Constantly singing Your Praises and Glories, Your Name is enshrined in the mind. The divine melody of the Shabad vibrates for those, within whose minds the Naam abides. Says Nanak, O my True Lord and Master, what is there which is not in Your home? ||3|| The True Name is my only support. The True Name is my only support; it satisfies all hunger. It has brought peace and tranquility to my mind; it has fulfilled all my desires. I am forever a sacrifice to the Guru, who possesses such glorious greatness. Says Nanak, listen, O Saints; enshrine love for the Shabad. The True Name is my only support. ||4|| The Panch Shabad, the five primal sounds, vibrate in that blessed house. In that blessed house, the Shabad vibrates; He infuses His almighty power into it. Through You, we subdue the five demons of desire, and slay Death, the torturer. Those who have such pre-ordained destiny are attached to the Lord's Name. Says Nanak, they are at peace, and the unstruck sound current vibrates within their homes. ||5|| Without the true love of devotion, the body is without honour. The body is dishonoured without devotional love; what can the poor wretches do? No one except You is all-powerful; please bestow Your Mercy, O Lord of all nature. There is no place of rest, other than the Name; attached to the Shabad, we are embellished with beauty. Says Nanak, without devotional love, what can the poor wretches do? ||6|| Bliss, bliss - everyone talks of bliss; bliss is known only through the Guru. Eternal bliss in known only through the Guru, when the Beloved Lord grants His Grace. Granting His Grace, He cuts away our sins; He blesses us with the healing ointment of spiritual wisdom. Those who eradicate attachment from within themselves, are adorned with the Shabad, the Word of the True Lord. Says Nanak, this alone is bliss - bliss which is known through the Guru. ||7||

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O Baba, he alone receives it, unto whom You give it. He alone receives it, unto whom You give it; what can the other poor wretched beings do? Some are deluded by doubt, wandering in the ten directions; some are adorned with attachment to the Naam. By Guru's Grace, the mind becomes immaculate and pure, for those who follow God's Will. Says Nanak, he alone receives it, unto whom You give it, O Beloved Lord. ||8|| Come, Beloved Saints, let us speak the Unspoken Speech of the Lord. How can we speak the Unspoken Speech of the Lord? Through which door will we find Him? Surrender body, mind, wealth, and everything to the Guru; obey the Order of His Will, and you will find Him. Obey the Hukam of the Guru's Command, and sing the True Word of His Bani. Says Nanak, listen, O Saints, and speak the Unspoken Speech of the Lord. ||9|| O fickle mind, through cleverness, no one has found the Lord. Through cleverness, no one has found Him; listen, O my mind. This Maya is so fascinating; because of it, people wander in doubt. This fascinating Maya was created by the One who has administered this potion. I am a sacrifice to the One who has made emotional attachment sweet. Says Nanak, O fickle mind,

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no one has found Him through cleverness. ||10|| O beloved mind, contemplate the True Lord forever. This family which you see shall not go along with you. They shall not go along with you, so why do you focus your attention on them? Don't do anything that you will regret in the end. Listen to the Teachings of the True Guru - these shall go along with you. Says Nanak, O beloved mind, contemplate the True Lord forever. ||11|| O inaccessible and unfathomable Lord, Your limits cannot be found. No one has found Your limits; only You Yourself know. All living beings and creatures are Your play; how can anyone describe You? You speak, and You gaze upon all; You created the Universe. Says Nanak, You are forever inaccessible; Your limits cannot be found. ||12|| The angelic beings and the silent sages search for the Ambrosial Nectar; this Amrit is obtained from the Guru. This Amrit is obtained, when the Guru grants His Grace; He enshrines the True Lord within the mind. All living beings and creatures were created by You; only some come to see the Guru, and seek His blessing. Their greed, avarice and egotism are dispelled, and the True Guru seems sweet. Says Nanak, those with whom the Lord is pleased, obtain the Amrit, through the Guru. ||13|| The lifestyle of the devotees is unique and distinct. The devotees' lifestyle is unique and distinct; they follow the most difficult path. They renounce greed, avarice, egotism and desire; they do not talk too much. The path they take is sharper than a two-edged sword, and finer than a hair.

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 044

By Guru's Grace, they shed their selfishness and conceit; their hopes are merged in the Lord. Says Nanak, the lifestyle of the devotees, in each and every age, is unique and distinct. ||14|| As You make me walk, so do I walk, O my Lord and Master; what else do I know of Your Glorious Virtues? As You cause them to walk, they walk - You have placed them on the Path. In Your Mercy, You attach them to the Naam; they meditate forever on the Lord, Har, Har. Those whom You cause to listen to Your sermon, find peace in the Gurdwara, the Guru's Gate. Says Nanak, O my True Lord and Master, you make us walk according to Your Will. ||15|| This song of praise is the Shabad, the most beautiful Word of God. This beauteous Shabad is the everlasting song of praise, spoken by the True Guru. This is enshrined in the minds of those who are so pre-destined by the Lord. Some wander around, babbling on and on, but none obtain Him by babbling. Says Nanak, the Shabad, this song of praise, has been spoken by the True Guru. ||16|| Those humble beings who meditate on the Lord become pure. Meditating on the Lord, they become pure; as Gurmukh, they meditate on Him. They are pure, along with their mothers, fathers, family and friends; all their companions are pure as well. Pure are those who speak, and pure are those who listen; those who enshrine it within their minds are pure. Says Nanak, pure and holy are those who, as Gurmukh, meditate on the Lord, Har, Har. ||17|| By religious rituals, intuitive poise is not found; without intuitive poise, skepticism does not depart. Skepticism does not depart by contrived actions; everybody is tired of performing these rituals. The soul is polluted by skepticism; how can it be cleansed? Wash your mind by attaching it to the Shabad, and keep your consciousness focused on the Lord. Says Nanak, by Guru's Grace, intuitive poise is produced, and this skepticism is dispelled. ||18|| Inwardly polluted, and outwardly pure. Those who are outwardly pure and yet polluted within, lose their lives in the gamble. They contract this terrible disease of desire, and in their minds, they forget about dying. In the Vedas, the ultimate objective is the Naam, the Name of the Lord; but they do not hear this, and they wander around like demons. Says Nanak, those who forsake Truth and cling to falsehood, lose their lives in the gamble. ||19|| Inwardly pure, and outwardly pure. Those who are outwardly pure and also pure within, through the Guru, perform good deeds. Not even an iota of falsehood touches them; their hopes are absorbed in the Truth. Those who earn the jewel of this human life, are the most excellent of merchants. Says Nanak, those whose minds are pure, abide with the Guru forever. ||20|| If a Sikh turns to the Guru with sincere faith, as sunmukh - if a Sikh turns to the Guru with sincere faith, as sunmukh, his soul abides with the Guru. Within his heart, he meditates on the lotus feet of the Guru; deep within his soul, he contemplates Him. Renouncing selfishness and conceit, he remains always on the side of the Guru; he does not know anyone except the Guru.

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 045

Says Nanak, listen, O Saints: such a Sikh turns toward the Guru with sincere faith, and becomes sunmukh. ||21|| One who turns away from the Guru, and becomes baymukh - without the True Guru, he shall not find liberation. He shall not find liberation anywhere else either; go and ask the wise ones about this. He shall wander through countless incarnations; without the True Guru, he shall not find liberation. But liberation is attained, when one is attached to the feet of the True Guru, chanting the Word of the Shabad. Says Nanak, contemplate this and see, that without the True Guru, there is no liberation. ||22|| Come, O beloved Sikhs of the True Guru, and sing the True Word of His Bani. Sing the Guru's Bani, the supreme Word of Words. Those who are blessed by the Lord's Glance of Grace - their hearts are imbued with this Bani. Drink in this Ambrosial Nectar, and remain in the Lord's Love forever; meditate on the Lord, the Sustainer of the world. Says Nanak, sing this True Bani forever. ||23|| Without the True Guru, other songs are false. The songs are false without the True Guru; all other songs are false. The speakers are false, and the listeners are false; those who speak and recite are false. They may continually chant, 'Har, Har' with their tongues, but they do not know what they are saying. Their consciousness is lured by Maya; they are just reciting mechanically. Says Nanak, without the True Guru, other songs are false. ||24|| The Word of the Guru's Shabad is a jewel, studded with diamonds. The mind which is attached to this jewel, merges into the Shabad. One whose mind is attuned to the Shabad, enshrines love for the True Lord. He Himself is the diamond, and He Himself is the jewel; one who is blessed, understands its value. Says Nanak, the Shabad is a jewel, studded with diamonds. ||25|| He Himself created Shiva and Shakti, mind and matter; the Creator subjects them to His Command. Enforcing His Order, He Himself sees all. How rare are those who, as Gurmukh, come to know Him. They break their bonds, and attain liberation; they enshrine the Shabad within their minds. Those whom the Lord Himself makes Gurmukh, lovingly focus their consciousness on the One Lord. Says Nanak, He Himself is the Creator; He Himself reveals the Hukam of His Command. ||26|| The Simritees and the Shaastras discriminate between good and evil, but they do not know the true essence of reality. They do not know the true essence of reality without the Guru; they do not know the true essence of reality. The world is asleep in the three modes and doubt; it passes the night of its life sleeping. Those humble beings remain awake and aware, within whose minds, by Guru's Grace, the Lord abides; they chant the Ambrosial Word of the Guru's Bani. Says Nanak, they alone obtain the essence of reality, who night and day remain lovingly absorbed in the Lord; they pass the night of their life awake and aware. ||27|| He nourished us in the mother's womb; why forget Him from the mind? Why forget from the mind such a Great Giver, who gave us sustenance in the fire of the womb? Nothing can harm one, whom the Lord inspires to embrace His Love.

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He Himself is the love, and He Himself is the embrace; the Gurmukh contemplates Him forever. Says Nanak, why forget such a Great Giver from the mind? ||28|| As is the fire within the womb, so is Maya outside. The fire of Maya is one and the same; the Creator has staged this play. According to His Will, the child is born, and the family is very pleased. Love for the Lord wears off, and the child becomes attached to desires; the script of Maya runs its course. This is Maya, by which the Lord is forgotten; emotional attachment and love of duality well up. Says Nanak, by Guru's Grace, those who enshrine love for the Lord find Him, in the midst of Maya. ||29|| The Lord Himself is priceless; His worth cannot be estimated. His worth cannot be estimated, even though people have grown weary of trying. If you meet such a True Guru, offer your head to Him; your selfishness and conceit will be eradicated from within. Your soul belongs to Him; remain united with Him, and the Lord will come to dwell in your mind. The Lord Himself is priceless; very fortunate are those, O Nanak, who attain to the Lord. ||30|| The Lord is my capital; my mind is the merchant. The Lord is my capital, and my mind is the merchant; through the True Guru, I know my capital. Meditate continually on the Lord, Har, Har, O my soul, and you shall collect your profits daily. This wealth is obtained by those who are pleasing to the Lord's Will. Says Nanak, the Lord is my capital, and my mind is the merchant. ||31|| O my tongue, you are engrossed in other tastes, but your thirsty desire is not quenched. Your thirst shall not be quenched by any means, until you attain the subtle essence of the Lord. If you do obtain the subtle essence of the Lord, and drink in this essence of the Lord, you shall not be troubled by desire again. This subtle essence of the Lord is obtained by good karma, when one comes to meet with the True Guru. Says Nanak, all other tastes and essences are forgotten, when the Lord comes to dwell within the mind. ||32|| O my body, the Lord infused His Light into you, and then you came into the world. The Lord infused His Light into you, and then you came into the world. The Lord Himself is your mother, and He Himself is your father; He created the created beings, and revealed the world to them. By Guru's Grace, some understand, and then it's a show; it seems like just a show. Says Nanak, He laid the foundation of the Universe, and infused His Light, and then you came into the world. ||33|| My mind has become joyful, hearing of God's coming. Sing the songs of joy to welcome the Lord, O my companions; my household has become the Lord's Mansion. Sing continually the songs of joy to welcome the Lord, O my companions, and sorrow and suffering will not afflict you. Blessed is that day, when I am attached to the Guru's feet and meditate on my Husband Lord. I have come to know the unstruck sound current and the Word of the Guru's Shabad; I enjoy the sublime essence of the Lord, the Lord's Name.

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 047

Says Nanak, God Himself has met me; He is the Doer, the Cause of causes. ||34|| O my body, why have you come into this world? What actions have you committed? And what actions have you committed, O my body, since you came into this world? The Lord who formed your form - you have not enshrined that Lord in your mind. By Guru's Grace, the Lord abides within the mind, and one's pre-ordained destiny is fulfilled. Says Nanak, this body is adorned and honoured, when one's consciousness is focused on the True Guru. ||35|| O my eyes, the Lord has infused His Light into you; do not look upon any other than the Lord. Do not look upon any other than the Lord; the Lord alone is worthy of beholding. This whole world which you see is the image of the Lord; only the image of the Lord is seen. By Guru's Grace, I understand, and I see only the One Lord; there is no one except the Lord. Says Nanak, these eyes were blind; but meeting the True Guru, they became all-seeing. ||36|| O my ears, you were created only to hear the Truth. To hear the Truth, you were created and attached to the body; listen to the True Bani. Hearing it, the mind and body are rejuvenated, and the tongue is absorbed in Ambrosial Nectar. The True Lord is unseen and wondrous; His state cannot be described. Says Nanak, listen to the Ambrosial Naam and become holy; you were created only to hear the Truth. ||37|| The Lord placed the soul to the cave of the body, and blew the breath of life into the musical instrument of the body. He blew the breath of life into the musical instrument of the body, and revealed the nine doors; but He kept the Tenth Door hidden. Through the Gurdwara, the Guru's Gate, some are blessed with loving faith, and the Tenth Door is revealed to them. There are many images of the Lord, and the nine treasures of the Naam; His limits cannot be found. Says Nanak, the Lord placed the soul to the cave of the body, and blew the breath of life into the musical instrument of the body. ||38|| Sing this true song of praise in the true home of your soul. Sing the song of praise in your true home; meditate there on the True Lord forever. They alone meditate on You, O True Lord, who are pleasing to Your Will; as Gurmukh, they understand. This Truth is the Lord and Master of all; whoever is blessed, obtains it. Says Nanak, sing the true song of praise in the true home of your soul. ||39|| Listen to the song of bliss, O most fortunate ones; all your longings shall be fulfilled. I have obtained the Supreme Lord God, and all sorrows have been forgotten. Pain, illness and suffering have departed, listening to the True Bani. The Saints and their friends are in ecstasy, knowing the Perfect Guru. Pure are the listeners, and pure are the speakers; the True Guru is all-pervading and permeating. Prays Nanak, touching the Guru's Feet, the unstruck sound current of the celestial bugles vibrates and resounds. ||40||1||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 048

Raamkalee, Sadd ~ The Call Of Death: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: He is the Great Giver of the Universe, the Lover of His devotees, throughout the three worlds. One who is merged in the Word of the Guru's Shabad does not know any other. Dwelling upon the Word of the Guru's Shabad, he does not know any other; he meditates on the One Name of the Lord. By the Grace of Guru Nanak and Guru Angad, Guru Amar Das obtained the supreme status. And when the call came for Him to depart, He merged in the Name of the Lord. Through devotional worship in this world, the imperishable, immovable, immeasurable Lord is found. ||1|| The Guru gladly accepted the Lord's Will, and so the Guru easily reached the Lord God's Presence. The True Guru prays to the Lord, "Please, save my honour. This is my prayer". Please save the honour of Your humble servant, O Lord; please bless him with Your Immaculate Name. At this time of final departure, it is our only help and support; it destroys death, and the Messenger of Death. The Lord God heard the prayer of the True Guru, and granted His request. The Lord showered His Mercy, and blended the True Guru with Himself; He said, "Blessed! Blessed! Wonderful!"||2|| Listen O my Sikhs, my children and Siblings of Destiny; it is my Lord's Will that I must now go to Him. The Guru gladly accepted the Lord's Will, and my Lord God applauded Him. One who is pleased with the Lord God's Will is a devotee, the True Guru, the Primal Lord. The unstruck sound current of bliss resounds and vibrates; the Lord hugs him close in His embrace. O my children, siblings and family, look carefully in your minds, and see. The pre-ordained death warrant cannot be avoided; the Guru is going to be with the Lord God. ||3|| The True Guru, in His Own Sweet Will, sat up and summoned His family. Let no one weep for me after I am gone. That would not please me at all. When a friend receives a robe of honour, then his friends are pleased with his honour. Consider this and see, O my children and siblings; the Lord has given the True Guru the robe of supreme honour. The True Guru Himself sat up, and appointed the successor to the Throne of Raja Yoga, the Yoga of Meditation and Success. All the Sikhs, relatives,

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children and siblings have fallen at the Feet of Guru Ram Das. ||4|| Finally, the True Guru said, "When I am gone, sing Kirtan in Praise of the Lord, in Nirvaanaa." Call in the long-haired scholarly Saints of the Lord, to read the sermon of the Lord, Har, Har. Read the sermon of the Lord, and listen to the Lord's Name; the Guru is pleased with love for the Lord. Do not bother with offering rice-balls on leaves, lighting lamps, and other rituals like floating the body out on the Ganges; instead, let my remains be given up to the Lord's Pool. The Lord was pleased as the True Guru spoke; he was blended then with the all-knowing Primal Lord God. The Guru then blessed the Sodhi Ram Das with the ceremonial tilak mark, the insignia of the True Word of the Shabad. ||5||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 049

And as the True Guru, the Primal Lord spoke, and the Gursikhs obeyed His Will. His son Mohri turned sunmukh, and become obedient to Him; he bowed, and touched Ram Das' feet. Then, everyone bowed and touched the feet of Ram Das, into whom the Guru infused His essence. And any that did not bow then because of envy - later, the True Guru brought them around to bow in humility. It pleased the Guru, the Lord, to bestow glorious greatness upon Him; such was the pre-ordained destiny of the Lord's Will. Says Sundar, listen, O Saints: all the world fell at His feet. ||6||1|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl, Chhant: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Friend, my Friend - standing so near to me is my Friend! Beloved, the Lord my Beloved - with my eyes, I have seen the Lord, my Beloved! With my eyes I have seen Him, sleeping upon the bed within each and every heart; my Beloved is the sweetest ambrosial nectar. He is with all, but he cannot be found; the fool does not know His taste. Intoxicated with the wine of Maya, the mortal babbles on about trivial affairs; giving in to the illusion, he cannot meet the Lord. Says Nanak, without the Guru, he cannot understand the Lord, the Friend who is standing near everyone. ||1|| God, my God - the Support of the breath of life is my God. Merciful Lord, my Merciful Lord - the Giver of gifts is my Merciful Lord. The Giver of gifts is infinite and unlimited; deep within each and every heart, He is so beautiful! He created Maya, His slave, so powerfully pervasive - she has enticed all beings and creatures. One whom the Lord saves, chants the True Name, and contemplates the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Says Nanak, one who is pleasing to God - God is very dear to him. ||2|| I take pride, I take pride in God; I take pride in my God. Wise, God is wise; my Lord and Master is all-wise, and all-knowing. All-wise and all-knowing, and forever supreme; the Name of the Lord is Ambrosial Nectar. Those who have such pre-ordained destiny recorded upon their foreheads, taste it, and are satisfied with the Lord of the Universe. They meditate on Him, and find Him; they place all their pride in Him. Says Nanak, He is seated on His eternal throne; True is His royal court. ||3|| The song of joy, the Lord's song of joy; listen to the song of joy of my God. The wedding song, God's wedding song; the unstruck sound current of His wedding song resounds. The unstruck sound current vibrates, and the Word of the Shabad resounds; there is continuous, continual rejoicing. Meditating on that God, everything is obtained; He does not die, or come or go. Thirst is quenched, and hopes are fulfilled; the Gurmukh meets with the absolute, unmanifest Lord. Says Nanak, in the Home of my God, the songs of joy are continuously, continually heard. ||4||1||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 050

Raamkalee Fifth Mehl: Meditate on the Lord, Har, Har, O mind; don't forget Him, even for an instant. Enshrine the Lord, Raam, Raam, Raam, Raam, within your heart and throat. Enshrine within your heart the Primal Lord, Har, Har, the all-pervading, supreme, immaculate Lord God. He sends fear far away; He is the Destroyer of sin; He eradicates the unbearable pains of the terrifying world-ocean. Contemplate the Lord of the World, the Cherisher of the World, the Lord, the Virtuous Lord of the Universe. Prays Nanak, joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, remember the Lord, day and night. ||1|| His lotus feet are the support and anchor of His humble servants. He takes the Naam, the Name of the Infinite Lord, as his wealth, property and treasure. Those who have the treasure of the Lord's Name, enjoy the taste of the One Lord. They meditate on the Infinite Lord with each and every breath, as their pleasure, joy and beauty. The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is the Destroyer of sins, the only deed of redemption. The Naam drives out the fear of the Messenger of Death. Prays Nanak, the support of His lotus feet is the capital of His humble servant. ||2|| Your Glorious Virtues are endless, O my Lord and Master; no one knows them all. Seeing and hearing of Your wondrous plays, O Merciful Lord, Your devotees narrate them. All beings and creatures meditate on You, O Primal Transcendent Lord, Master of men. All beings are beggars; You are the One Giver, O Lord of the Universe, Embodiment of mercy. He alone is holy, a Saint, a truly wise person, who is accepted by the Dear Lord. Prays Nanak, they alone realise You, unto whom You show Mercy. ||3|| I am unworthy and without any master; I seek Your Sanctuary, Lord. I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice to the Divine Guru, who has implanted the Naam within me. The Guru blessed me with the Naam; happiness came, and all my desires were fulfilled. The fire of desire has been quenched, and peace and tranquility have come; after such a long separation, I have met my Lord again. I have found ecstasy, pleasure and true intuitive poise, singing the great glories, the song of bliss of the Lord. Prays Nanak, I have obtained the Name of God from the Perfect Guru. ||4||2|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: Rise early each morning, and with the Saints, sing the melodious harmony, the unstruck sound current of the Shabad. All sins and sufferings are erased, chanting the Lord's Name, under Guru's Instructions. Dwell upon the Lord's Name, and drink in the Nectar; day and night, worship and adore Him. The merits of Yoga, charity and religious rituals are obtained by grasping His lotus feet. Loving devotion to the merciful, enticing Lord takes away all pain. Prays Nanak, cross over the world-ocean, meditating on the Lord, your Lord and Master. ||1|| Meditation on the Lord of the Universe is an ocean of peace; Your devotees sing Your Glorious Praises, Lord. Ecstasy, bliss and great happiness are obtained by grasping hold of the Guru's feet. Meeting with the treasure of peace, their pains are taken away; granting His Grace, God protects them. Those who grasp the Lord's feet - their fears and doubts run away, and they chant the Name of the Lord. He thinks of the One Lord, and he sings of the One God; he gazes upon the One Lord alone.

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 051

Prays Nanak, God has granted His Grace, and I have found the Perfect True Guru. ||2|| Meet with the holy, humble servants of God; meeting with the Lord, listen to the Kirtan of His Praises. God is the Merciful Master, the Lord of wealth; there is no end to His Virtues. The Merciful Lord is the Dispeller of pain, the Giver of Sanctuary, the Eradicator of all evil. Emotional attachment, sorrow, corruption and pain - chanting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, one is saved from these. All beings are Yours, O my God; bless me with Your Mercy, that I may become the dust under the feet of all men. Prays Nanak, O God, be kind to me, that I may chant Your Name, and live. ||3|| God saves His humble devotees, attaching them to His feet. Twenty-four hours a day, they meditate in remembrance on their God; they meditae on the One Name. Meditating on that God, they cross over the terrifying world-ocean, and their comings and goings cease. They enjoy eternal peace and pleasure, singing the Kirtan of God's Praises; His Will seems so sweet to them. All my desires are fulfilled, meeting with the Perfect True Guru. Prays Nanak, God has blended me with Himself; I shall never suffer pain or sorrow again. ||4||3|| Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl, Chhant. Shalok: In the Sanctuary of His lotus feet, I sing His Glorious Praises in ecstasy and bliss. O Nanak, worship God in adoration, the Eradicator of misfortune. ||1|| Chhant: God is the Eradicator of misfortune; there is none other than Him. Forever and ever, remember the Lord in meditation; He is permeating the water, the land and the sky. He is permeating and pervading the water, the land and the sky; do not forget Him from your mind, even for an instant. Blessed was that day, when I grasped the Guru's feet; all virtues rest in the Lord of the Universe. So serve Him day and night, O servant; whatever pleases Him, happens. Nanak is a sacrifice to the Giver of peace; his mind and body are enlightened. ||1|| Shalok: Meditating in remembrance on the Lord, the mind and body find peace; the thought of duality is dispelled. Nanak takes the support of the Lord of the World, the Lord of the Universe, the Destroyer of troubles. ||1|| Chhant: The Merciful Lord has eradicated my fears and troubles. In ecstasy, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord; God is the Cherisher, the Master of the meek. The Cherishing Lord is imperishable, the One and only Primal Lord; I am imbued with His Love. When I placed my hands and forehead upon His Feet, He blended me with Himself; I became awake and aware forever, night and day. My soul, body, household and home belong to Him, along with my body, youth, wealth and property. Forever and ever, Nanak is a sacrifice to Him, who cherishes and nurtures all beings. ||2|| Shalok: My tongue chants the Name of the Lord, and chants the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe. Nanak has grasped the sheltering support of the One Transcendent Lord, who shall save him in the end. ||1|| Chhant: He is God, our Lord and Master, our Saving Grace. Grab hold of the hem of His robe. Vibrate, and meditate on the Merciful Divine Lord in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; renounce your intellectual mind.

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 052

Seek the Support of the One Lord, and surrender your soul to Him; place your hopes only in the Sustainer of the World. Those who are imbued with the Lord's Name, in the Saadh Sangat, cross over the terrifying world-ocean. The corrupting sins of birth and death are eradicated, and no stain ever sticks to them again. Nanak is a sacrifice to the Perfect Primal Lord; His marriage is eternal. ||3|| Shalok: Righteous faith, wealth, sexual success and salvation; the Lord bestows these four blessings. One who has such pre-ordained destiny upon his forehead, O Nanak, has all his desires fulfilled. ||1|| Chhant: All my desires are fulfilled, meeting with my Immaculate, Sovereign Lord. I am in ecstasy, O very fortunate ones; the Dear Lord has become manifest in my own home. My Beloved has come to my home, because of my past actions; how can I count His Glories? The Lord, the Giver of peace and intuition, is infinite and perfect; with what tongue can I describe His Glorious Virtues? He hugs me close in His embrace, and merges me into Himself; there is no place of rest other than Him. Nanak is forever a sacrifice to the Creator, who is contained in, and permeating all. ||4||4|| Raag Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: Sing the melodious harmonies, O my companions, and meditate on the One Lord. Serve your True Guru, O my companions, and you shall obtain the fruits of your mind's desires. Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl, Ruti ~ The Seasons. Shalok: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Bow to the Supreme Lord God, and seek the dust of the feet of the Holy. Cast out your self-conceit, and vibrate, meditate, on the Lord, Har, Har. O Nanak, God is all-pervading. ||1|| He is the Eradicator of sins, the Destroyer of fear, the Ocean of peace, the Sovereign Lord King. Merciful to the meek, the Destroyer of pain: O Nanak, always meditate on Him. ||2|| Chhant: Sing His Praises, O very fortunate ones, and the Dear Lord God shall bless you with His Mercy. Blessed and auspicious is that season, that month, that moment, that hour, when you chant the Lord's Glorious Praises. Blessed are those humble beings, who are imbued with love for His Praises, and who meditate single-mindedly on Him. Their lives become fruitful, and they find that Lord God. Donations to charities and religious rituals are not equal to meditation on the Lord, who destroys all sins. Prays Nanak, meditating in remembrance on Him, I live; birth and death are finished for me. ||1|| Shalok: Strive for the inaccessible and unfathomable Lord, and bow in humility to His lotus feet. O Nanak, that sermon alone is pleasing to You, Lord, which inspires us to take the Support of the Name. ||1|| Seek the Sanctuary of the Saints, O friends; meditate in remembrance on your infinite Lord and Master. The dried branch shall blossom forth in its greenery again, O Nanak, meditating on the Lord God. ||2|| Chhant: The season of spring is delightful; the months of Chayt and Baisaakhi are the most pleasant months. I have obtained the Dear Lord as my Husband, and my mind, body and breath have blossomed forth. The eternal, unchanging Lord has come into my home as my Husband, O my companions; dwelling upon His lotus feet, I blossom forth in bliss.

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 053

The Lord of the Universe is beautiful, proficient, wise and all-knowing; His Virtues are priceless. By great good fortune, I have found Him; my pain is dispelled, and my hopes are fulfilled. Prays Nanak, I have entered Your Sanctuary, Lord, and my fear of death is eradicated. ||2|| Shalok: Without the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, one dies wandering around in confusion, performing all sorts of rituals. O Nanak, all are bound by the attractive bonds of Maya, and the karmic record of past actions. ||1|| Those who are pleasing to God are united with Him; He separates others from Himself. Nanak has entered the Sanctuary of God; His greatness is glorious! ||2|| Chhant: In the summer season, in the months of Jayt'h and Asaarh, the heat is terrible, intense and severe. The discarded bride is separated from His Love, and the Lord does not even look at her. She does not see her Lord, and she dies with an aching sigh; she is defrauded and plundered by her great pride. She flails around, like a fish out of water; attached to Maya, she is alienated from the Lord. She sins, and so she is fearful of reincarnation; the Messenger of Death will surely punish her. Prays Nanak, take me under Your sheltering support, Lord, and protect me; You are the Fulfiller of desire. ||3|| Shalok: With loving faith, I am attached to my Beloved; I cannot survive without Him, even for an instant. He is permeating and pervading my mind and body, O Nanak, with intuitive ease. ||1|| My Friend has taken me by the hand; He has been my best friend, lifetime after lifetime. He has made me the slave of His feet; O Nanak, my consciousness is filled with love for God. ||2|| Chhant: The rainy season is beautiful; the months of Saawan and Bhaadon bring bliss. The clouds are low, and heavy with rain; the waters and the lands are filled with honey. God is all-pervading everywhere; the nine treasures of the Lord's Name fill the homes of all hearts. Meditating in remembrance on the Lord and Master, the Searcher of hearts, all one's ancestry is saved. No blemish sticks to that being who remains awake and aware in the Love of the Lord; the Merciful Lord is forever forgiving. Prays Nanak, I have found my Husband Lord, who is forever pleasing to my mind. ||4|| Shalok: Thirsty with desire, I wander around; when will I behold the Lord of the World? Is there any humble Saint, any friend, O Nanak, who can lead me to meet with God? ||1|| Without meeting Him, I have no peace or tranquility; I cannot survive for a moment, even for an instant. Entering the Sanctuary of the Lord's Holy Saints, O Nanak, my desires are fulfilled. ||2|| Chhant: In the cool, autumn season, in the months of Assu and Katik, I am thirsty for the Lord. Searching for the Blessed Vision of His

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Darshan, I wander around wondering, when will I meet my Lord, the treasure of virtue? Without my Beloved Husband Lord, I find no peace, and all my necklaces and bracelets become cursed. So beautiful, so wise, so clever and knowing; still, without the breath, it is just a body. I look here and there, in the ten directions; my mind is so thirsty to meet God! Prays Nanak, shower Your Mercy upon me; unite me with Yourself, O God, O treasure of virtue. ||5|| Shalok: The fire of desire is cooled and quenched; my mind and body are filled with peace and tranquility. O Nanak, I have met my Perfect God; the illusion of duality is dispelled. ||1||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 054

The Lord Himself sent His Holy Saints, to tell us that He is not far away. O Nanak, doubt and fear are dispelled, chanting the Name of the all-pervading Lord. ||2|| Chhant: In the cold season of Maghar and Poh, the Lord reveals Himself. My burning desires were quenched, when I obtained the Blessed Vision of His Darshan; the fraudulent illusion of Maya is gone. All my desires have been fulfilled, meeting the Lord face-to-face; I am His servant, I serve at His feet. My necklaces, hair-ties, all decorations and adornments, are in singing the Glorious Praises of the unseen, mysterious Lord. I long for loving devotion to the Lord of the Universe, and so the Messenger of Death cannot even see me. Prays Nanak, God has united me with Himself; I shall never suffer separation from my Beloved again. ||6|| Shalok: The happy soul bride has found the wealth of the Lord; her consciousness does not waver. Joining together with the Saints, O Nanak, God, my Friend, has revealed Himself in my home. ||1|| With her Beloved Husband Lord, she enjoys millions of melodies, pleasures and joys. The fruits of the mind's desires are obtained, O Nanak, chanting the Lord's Name. ||2|| Chhant: The snowy winter season, the months of Maagh and Phagun, are pleasing and ennobling to the mind. O my friends and companions, sing the songs of joy; my Husband Lord has come into my home. My Beloved has come into my home; I meditate on Him in my mind. The bed of my heart is beautifully adorned. The woods, the meadows and the three worlds have blossomed forth in their greenery; gazing upon the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, I am fascinated. I have met my Lord and Master, and my desires are fulfilled; my mind chants His Immaculate Mantra. Prays Nanak, I celebrate continuously; I have met my Husband Lord, the Lord of excellence. ||7|| Shalok: The Saints are the helpers, the support of the soul; they carry us cross the terrifying world-ocean. Know that they are the highest of all; O Nanak, they love the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1|| Those who know Him, cross over; they are the brave heroes, the heroic warriors. Nanak is a sacrifice to those who meditate on the Lord, and cross over to the other shore. ||2|| Chhant: His feet are exalted above all. They eradicate all suffering. They destroy the pains of coming and going. They bring loving devotion to the Lord. Imbued with the Lord's Love, one is intoxicated with intuitive peace and poise, and does not forget the Lord from his mind, even for an instant. Shedding my self-conceit, I have entered the Sanctuary of His Feet; all virtues rest in the Lord of the Universe. I bow in humility to the Lord of the Universe, the treasure of virtue, the Lord of excellence, our Primal Lord and Master. Prays Nanak, shower me with Your Mercy, Lord; throughout the ages, You take the same form. ||8||1||6||8|| Raamkalee, First Mehl, Dakhanee, Ongkaar: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: From Ongkaar, the One Universal Creator God, Brahma was created. He kept Ongkaar in his consciousness. From Ongkaar, the mountains and the ages were created. Ongkaar created the Vedas.3

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 055

Ongkaar saves the world through the Shabad. Ongkaar saves the Gurmukhs. Listen to the Message of the Universal, Imperishable Creator Lord. The Universal, Imperishable Creator Lord is the essence of the three worlds. ||1|| Listen, O Pandit, O religious scholar, why are you writing about worldly debates? As Gurmukh, write only the Name of the Lord, the Lord of the World. ||1||Pause|| Sassa: He created the entire universe with ease; His One Light pervades the three worlds. Become Gurmukh, and obtain the real thing; gather the gems and pearls. If one understands, realises and comprehends what he reads and studies, in the end he shall realise that the True Lord dwells deep within his nucleus. The Gurmukh sees and contemplates the True Lord; without the True Lord, the world is false. ||2|| Dhadha: Those who enshrine Dharmic faith and dwell in the City of Dharma are worthy; their minds are steadfast and stable. Dhadha: If the dust of their feet touches one's face and forehead, he is transformed from iron into gold. Blessed is the Support of the Earth; He Himself is not born; His measure and speech are perfect and True. Only the Creator Himself knows His own extent; He alone knows the Brave Guru. ||3|| In love with duality, spiritual wisdom is lost; the mortal rots away in pride, and eats poison. He thinks that the sublime essence of the Guru's song is useless, and he does not like to hear it. He loses the profound, unfathomable Lord. Through the Guru's Words of Truth, the Ambrosial Nectar is obtained, and the mind and body find joy in the True Lord. He Himself is the Gurmukh, and He Himself bestows the Ambrosial Nectar; He Himself leads us to drink it in. ||4|| Everyone says that God is the One and only, but they are engrossed in egotism and pride. Realise that the One God is inside and outside; understand this, that the Mansion of His Presence is within the home of your heart. God is near at hand; do not think that God is far away. The One Lord permeates the entire universe. There in One Universal Creator Lord; there is no other at all. O Nanak, merge into the One Lord. ||5|| How can you keep the Creator under your control? He cannot be seized or measured. Maya has made the mortal insane; she has administered the poisonous drug of falsehood. Addicted to greed and avarice, the mortal is ruined, and then later, he regrets and repents. So serve the One Lord, and attain the state of Salvation; your comings and goings shall cease. ||6|| The One Lord is in all actions, colours and forms. He manifests in many shapes through wind, water and fire. The One Soul wanders through the three worlds. One who understands and comprehends the One Lord is honoured. One who gathers in spiritual wisdom and meditation, dwells in the state of balance. How rare are those who, as Gurmukh, attain the One Lord. They alone find peace, whom the Lord blesses with His Grace. In the Gurdwara, the Guru's Door, they speak and hear of the Lord. ||7|| His Light illuminates the ocean and the earth. Throughout the three worlds, is the Guru, the Lord of the World. The Lord reveals His various forms; granting His Grace, He enters the home of the heart. The clouds hang low, and the rain is pouring down. The Lord embellishes and exalts with the Sublime Word of the Shabad. One who knows the mystery of the One God, is Himself the Creator, Himself the Divine Lord. ||8|| When the sun rises, the demons are slain; the mortal looks upwards, and contemplates the Shabad. The Lord is beyond the beginning and the end, beyond the three worlds. He Himself acts, speaks and listens.

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 056

He is the Architect of Destiny; He blesses us with mind and body. That Architect of Destiny is in my mind and mouth. God is the Life of the world; there is no other at all. O Nanak, imbued with the Naam, the Name of the Lord, one is honoured. ||9|| One who lovingly chants the Name of the Sovereign Lord King, fights the battle and conquers his own mind; day and night, he remains imbued with the Lord's Love. He is famous throughout the three worlds and the four ages. One who knows the Lord, becomes like Him. He becomes absolutely immaculate, and his body is sanctified. His heart is happy, in love with the One Lord. He lovingly centres his attention deep within upon the True Word of the Shabad. ||10|| Don't be angry - drink in the Ambrosial Nectar; you shall not remain in this world forever. The ruling kings and the paupers shall not remain; they come and go, throughout the four ages. Everyone says that they will remain, but none of them remain; unto whom should I offer my prayer? The One Shabad, the Name of the Lord, will never fail you; the Guru grants honour and understanding. ||11|| My shyness and hesitation have died and gone, and I walk with my face unveiled. The confusion and doubt from my crazy, insane mother-in-law has been removed from over my head. My Beloved has summoned me with joyful caresses; my mind is filled with the bliss of the Shabad. Imbued with the Love of my Beloved, I have become Gurmukh, and carefree. ||12|| Chant the jewel of the Naam, and earn the profit of the Lord. Greed, avarice, evil and egotism; slander, inuendo and gossip; the self-willed manmukh is blind, foolish and ignorant. For the sake of earning the profit of the Lord, the mortal comes into the world. But he becomes a mere slave laborer, and is mugged by the mugger, Maya. One who earns the profit of the Naam, with the capital of faith, O Nanak, is truly honoured by the True Supreme King. ||13|| The world is ruined on the path of Death. No one has the power to erase Maya's influence. If wealth visits the home of the lowliest clown, seeing that wealth, all pay their respects to him. Even an idiot is thought of as clever, if he is rich. Without devotional worship, the world is insane. The One Lord is contained among all. He reveals Himself, unto those whom He blesses with His Grace. ||14|| Throughout the ages, the Lord is eternally established; He has no vengeance. He is not subject to birth and death; He is not entangled in worldly affairs. Whatever is seen, is the Lord Himself. Creating Himself, He establishes Himself in the heart. He Himself is unfathomable; He links people to their affairs. He is the Way of Yoga, the Life of the World. Living a righteous lifestyle, true peace is found. Without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, how can anyone find liberation? ||15|| Without the Name, even one's own body is an enemy. Why not meet the Lord, and take away the pain of your mind? The traveller comes and goes along the highway. What did he bring when he came, and what will he take away when he goes? Without the Name, one loses everywhere. The profit is earned, when the Lord grants understanding. In merchandise and trade, the merchant is trading. Without the Name, how can one find honour and nobility? ||16|| One who contemplates the Lord's Virtues is spiritually wise. Through His Virtues, one receives spiritual wisdom. How rare in this world, is the Giver of virtue. The True way of life comes through contemplation of the Guru. The Lord is inaccessible and unfathomable. His worth cannot be estimated.

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 057

They alone meet Him, whom the Lord causes to meet. The virtuous soul bride continually contemplates His Virtues. O Nanak, following the Guru's Teachings, one meets the Lord, the true friend. ||17|| Unfulfilled sexual desire and unresolved anger waste the body away, as gold is dissolved by borax. The gold is touched to the touchstone, and tested by fire; when its pure colour shows through, it is pleasing to the eye of the assayer. The world is a beast, and arrogent Death is the butcher. The created beings of the Creator receive the karma of their actions. He who created the world, knows its worth. What else can be said? There is nothing at all to say. ||18|| Searching, searching, I drink in the Ambrosial Nectar. I have adopted the way of tolerance, and given my mind to the True Guru. Everyone calls himself true and genuine. He alone is true, who obtains the jewel throughout the four ages. Eating and drinking, one dies, but still does not know. He dies in an instant, when he realises the Word of the Shabad. His consciousness becomes permanently stable, and his mind accepts death. By Guru's Grace, he realises the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||19|| The Profound Lord dwells in the sky of the mind, the Tenth Gate; singing His Glorious Praises, one dwells in intuitive poise and peace. He does not go to come, or come to go. By Guru's Grace, he remains lovingly focused on the Lord. The Lord of the mind-sky is inaccessible, independent and beyond birth. The most worthy Samaadhi is to keep the consciousness stable, focused on Him. Remembering the Lord's Name, one is not subject to reincarnation. The Guru's Teachings are the most Excellent; all other ways lack the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||20|| Wandering to countless doorsteps and homes, I have grown weary. My incarnations are countless, without limit. I have had so many mothers and fathers, sons and daughters. I have had so many gurus and disciples. Through a false guru, liberation is not found. There are so many brides of the One Husband Lord - consider this. The Gurmukh dies, and lives with God. Searching in the ten directions, I found Him within my own home. I have met Him; the True Guru has led me to meet Him. ||21|| The Gurmukh sings, and the Gurmukh speaks. The Gurmukh evaluates the value of the Lord, and inspires others to evaluate Him as well. The Gurmukh comes and goes without fear. His filth is taken away, and his stains are burnt off. The Gurmukh contemplates the sound current of the Naad for his Vedas. The Gurmukh's cleansing bath is the performance of good deeds. For the Gurmukh, the Shabad is the most excellent Ambrosial Nectar. O Nanak, the Gurmukh crosses over. ||22|| The fickle consciousness does not remain stable. The deer secretly nibbles at the green sprouts. One who enshrines the Lord's lotus feet in his heart and consciousness lives long, always remembering the Lord. Everyone has worries and cares. He alone finds peace, who thinks of the One Lord. When the Lord dwells in the consciousness, and one is absorbed in the Lord's Name, one is liberated, and returns home with honour. ||23|| The body falls apart, when one knot is untied. Behold, the world is on the decline; it will be totally destroyed. Only one who looks alike upon sunshine and shade has his bonds shattered; he is liberated and returns home. Maya is empty and petty; she has defrauded the world. Such destiny is pre-ordained by past actions. Youth is wasting away; old age and death hover above the head.

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 058

The body falls apart, like algae upon the water. ||24|| God Himself appears throughout the three worlds. Throughout the ages, He is the Great Giver; there is no other at all. As it pleases You, You protect and preserve us. I ask for the Lord's Praises, which bless me with honour and credit. Remaining awake and aware, I am pleasing to You, O Lord. When You unite me with Yourself, then I am merged in You. I chant Your Victorious Praises, O Life of the World. Accepting the Guru's Teachings, one is sure to merge in the One Lord. ||25|| Why do you speak such nonsense, and argue with the world? You shall die repenting, when you see your own insanity. He is born, only to die, but he does not wish to live. He comes hopeful, and then goes, without hope. Regretting, repenting and grieving, he is dust mixing with dust. Death does not chew up one who sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. The nine treasures are obtained through the Name of the Lord; the Lord bestows intuitive peace and poise. ||26|| He speaks spiritual wisdom, and He Himself understands it. He Himself knows it, and He Himself comprehends it. One who takes the Words of the Guru into his very fiber, is immaculate and holy, and is pleasing to the True Lord. In the ocean of the Guru, there is no shortage of pearls. The treasure of jewels is truly inexhaustible. Do those deeds which the Guru has ordained. Why are you chasing after the Guru's actions? O Nanak, through the Guru's Teachings, merge in the True Lord. ||27|| Love is broken, when one speaks in defiance. The arm is

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broken, when it is pulled from both sides. Love breaks, when the speech goes sour. The Husband Lord abandons and leaves behind the evil-minded bride. The broken knot is tied again, through contemplation and meditation. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, one's affairs are resolved in one's own home. One who earns the profit of the True Name, will not lose it again; the Lord and Master of the three worlds is your best friend. ||28|| Control your mind, and keep it in its place. The world is destroyed by conflict, regretting its sinful mistakes. There is one Husband Lord, and all are His brides. The false bride wears many costumes. He stops her from going into the homes of others; He summons her to the Mansion of His Presence, and no obstacles block her path. She is embellished with the Word of the Shabad, and is loved by the True Lord. She is the happy soul bride, who takes the Support of her Lord and Master. ||29|| Wandering and roaming around, O my companion, your beautiful robes are torn. In jealousy, the body is not at peace; without the Fear of God, multitudes are ruined. One who remains dead within her own home, through the Fear of God, is looked upon with favor by her all-knowing Husband Lord. She maintains fear of her Guru, and chants the Name of the Fearless Lord. Living on the mountain, I suffer such great thirst; when I see Him, I know that He is not far away. My thirst is quenched, and I have accepted the Word of the Shabad. I drink my fill of the Ambrosial Nectar. Everyone says, "Give! Give!" As He pleases, He gives. Through the Gurdwara, the Guru's Door, He gives, and quenches the thirst. ||30|| Searching and seeking, I fell down and collapsed upon the bank of the river of life. Those who are heavy with sin sink down, but those who are light swim across. I am a sacrifice to those who meet the immortal and immeasurable Lord. The dust of their feet brings emancipation; in their company, we are united in the Lord's Union. I gave my mind to my Guru, and received the Immaculate Name.

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I serve the One who gave me the Naam; I am a sacrifice to Him. He who builds, also demolishes; there is no other than Him. By Guru's Grace, I contemplate Him, and then my body does not suffer in pain. ||31|| No one is mine - whose gown should I grasp and hold? No one ever was, and no one shall ever be mine. Coming and going, one is ruined, afflicted with the disease of dual-mindedness. Those beings who lack the Naam, the Name of the Lord, collapse like pillars of salt. Without the Name, how can they find release? They fall into hell in the end. Using a limited number of words, we describe the unlimited True Lord. The ignorant lack understanding. Without the Guru, there is no spiritual wisdom. The separated soul is like the broken string of a guitar, which does not vibrate its sound. God unites the separated souls with Himself, awakening their destiny. ||32|| The body is the tree, and the mind is the bird; the birds in the tree are the five senses. They peck at the essence of reality, and merge with the One Lord. They are never trapped at all. But the others fly away in a hurry, when they see the food. Their feathers are clipped, and they are caught in the noose; through their mistakes, they are caught in disaster. Without the True Lord, how can anyone find release? The jewel of the Lord's Glorious Praises comes by the karma of good actions. When He Himself releases them, only then are they released. He Himself is the Great Master. By Guru's Grace, they are released, when He Himself grants His Grace. Glorious greatness rests in His Hands. He blesses those with whom He is pleased. ||33|| The soul trembles and shakes, when it loses its mooring and support. Only the support of the True Lord brings honour and glory. Through it, one's works are never in vain. The Lord is eternal and forever stable; the Guru is stable, and contemplation upon the True Lord is stable. O Lord and Master of angels, men and Yogic masters, You are the support of the unsupported. In all places and interspaces, You are the Giver, the Great Giver. Wherever I look, there I see You, Lord; You have no end or limitation. You are pervading and permeating the places and interspaces; reflecting upon the Word of the Guru's Shabad, You are found. You give gifts even when they are not asked for; You are great, inaccessible and infinite. ||34|| O Merciful Lord, You are the embodiment of mercy; creating the Creation, You behold it. Please shower Your Mercy upon me, O God, and unite me with Yourself. In an instant, You destroy and rebuild. You are all-wise and all-seeing; You are the Greatest Giver of all givers. He is the Eradicator of poverty, and the Destroyer of pain; the Gurmukh realises spiritual wisdom and meditation. ||35|| Losing his wealth, he cries out in anguish; the fool's consciousness is engrossed in wealth. How rare are those who gather the wealth of Truth, and love the Immaculate Naam, the Name of the Lord. If by losing your wealth, you may become absorbed in the Love of the One Lord, then just let it go. Dedicate your mind, and surrender your head; seek only the Support of the Creator Lord. Worldly affairs and wanderings cease, when the mind is filled with the bliss of the Shabad. Even one's enemies become friends, meeting with the Guru, the Lord of the Universe. Wandering from forest to forest searching, you will find that those things are within the home of your own heart. United by the True Guru, you shall remain united, and the pains of birth and death will be ended. ||36|| Through various rituals, one does not find release. Without virtue, one is sent to the City of Death. One will not have this world or the next; committing sinful mistakes, one comes to regret and repent in the end.

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 060

He has neither spiritual wisdom or meditation; neither Dharmic faith mor meditation. Without the Name, how can one be fearless? How can he understand egotistical pride? I am so tired - how can I get there? This ocean has no bottom or end. I have no loving companions, whom I can ask for help. O Nanak, crying out, "Beloved, Beloved", we are united with the Uniter. He who separated me, unites me again; my love for the Guru is infinite. ||37|| Sin is bad, but it is dear to the sinner. He loads himself with sin, and expands his world through sin. Sin is far away from one who understands himself. He is not afflicted by sorrow or separation. How can one avoid falling into hell? How can he cheat the Messenger of Death? How can coming and going be forgotten? Falsehood is bad, and death is cruel. The mind is enveloped by entanglements, and into entanglements it falls. Without the Name, how can anyone be saved? They rot away in sin. ||38|| Again and again, the crow falls into the trap. Then he regrets it, but what can he do now? Even though he is trapped, he pecks at the food; he does not understand. If he meets the True Guru, then he sees with his eyes. Like a fish, he is caught in the noose of death. Do not seek liberation from anyone else, except the Guru, the Great Giver. Over and over again, he comes; over and over again, he goes. Be absorbed in love for the One Lord, and remain lovingly focused on Him. In this way you shall be saved, and you shall not fall into the trap again. ||39|| She calls out, "Brother, O brother - stay, O brother!" But he becomes a stranger. Her brother departs for his own home, and his sister burns with the pain of separation. In this world, her father's home, the daughter, the innocent soul bride, loves her Young Husband Lord. If you long for your Husband Lord, O soul bride, then serve the True Guru with love. How rare are the spiritually wise, who meet the True Guru, and truly understand. All glorious greatness rests in the Lord and Master's Hands. He grants them, when He is pleased. How rare are those who contemplate the Word of the Guru's Bani; they become Gurmukh. This is the Bani of the Supreme Being; through it, one dwells within the home of his inner being. ||40|| Shattering and breaking apart, He creates and re-creates; creating, He shatters again. He builds up what He has demolished, and demolishes what He has built. He dries up the pools which are full, and fills the dried tanks again. He is all-powerful and independent. Deluded by doubt, they have gone insane; without destiny, what do they obtain? The Gurmukhs know that God holds the string; wherever He pulls it, they must go. Those who sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, are forever imbued with His Love; they never again feel regret. Bhabha: If someone seeks, and then becomes Gurmukh, then he comes to dwell in the home of his own heart. Bhabha: The way of the terrifying world-ocean is treacherous. Remain free of hope, in the midst of hope, and you shall cross over. By Guru's Grace, one comes to understand himself; in this way, he remains dead while yet alive. ||41|| Crying out for the wealth and riches of Maya, they die; but Maya does not go along with them. The soul-swan arises and departs, sad and depressed, leaving its wealth behind. The false mind is hunted by the Messenger of Death; it carries its faults along when it goes. The mind turns inward, and merges with mind, when it is with virtue.

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 061

Crying out, "Mine, mine!", they have died, but without the Name, they find only pain. So where are their forts, mansions, palaces and courts? They are like a short story. O Nanak, without the True Name, the false just come and go. He Himself is clever and so very beautiful; He Himself is wise and all-knowing. ||42|| Those who come, must go in the end; they come and go, regretting and repenting. They will pass through 8.4 millions species; this number does not decrease or rise. They alone are saved, who love the Lord. Their worldly entanglements are ended, and Maya is conquered. Whoever is seen, shall depart; who should I make my friend? I dedicate my soul, and place my body and mind in offering before Him. You are eternally stable, O Creator, Lord and Master; I lean on Your Support. Conquered by virtue, egotism is killed; imbued with the Word of the Shabad, the mind rejects the world. ||43|| Neither the kings nor the nobles will remain; neither the rich nor the poor will remain. When one's turn comes, no one can stay here. The path is difficult and treacherous; the pools and mountains are impassable. My body is filled with faults; I am dying of grief. Without virtue, how can I enter my home? The virtuous take virtue, and meet God; how can I meet them with love? If ony I could be like them, chanting and meditating within my heart on the Lord. He is overflowing with faults and demerits, but virtue dwells within him as well. Without the True Guru, he does not see God's Virtues; he does not chant the Glorious Virtues of God. ||44|| God's soldiers take care of their homes; their pay is pre-ordained, before they come into the world. They serve their Supreme Lord and Master, and obtain the profit. They renounce greed, avarice and evil, and forget them from their minds. In the fortress of the body, they announce the victory of their Supreme King; they are never ever vanquished. One who calls himself a servant of his Lord and Master, and yet speaks defiantly to Him, shall forfeit his pay, and not be seated upon the throne. Glorious greatness rests in the hands of my Beloved; He gives, according to the Pleasure of His Will. He Himself does everything; who else should we address? No one else does anything. ||45|| I cannot conceive of any other, who could be seated upon the royal cushions. The Supreme Man of men eradicates hell; He is True, and True is His Name. I wandered around searching for Him in the forests and meadows; I contemplate Him within my mind. The treasures of myriads of pearls, jewels and emeralds are in the hands of the True Guru. Meeting with God, I am exalted and elevated; I love the One Lord single-mindedly. O Nanak, one who lovingly meets with his Beloved, earns profit in the world hereafter. He who created and formed the creation, made your form as well. As Gurmukh, meditate on the Infinite Lord, who has no end or limitation. ||46|| Rharha: The Dear Lord is beautiful; There is no other king, except Him. Rharha: Listen to the spell, and the Lord will come to dwell in your mind. By Guru's Grace, one finds the Lord; do not be deluded by doubt. He alone is the true banker, who has the capital of the wealth of the Lord. The Gurmukh is perfect - applaud him! Through the beautiful Word of the Guru's Bani, the Lord is obtained; contemplate the Word of the Guru's Shabad.

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 062

Self-conceit is eliminated, and pain is eradicated; the soul bride obtains her Husband Lord. ||47|| He hoards gold and silver, but this wealth is false and poisonous, nothing more than ashes. He calls himself a banker, gathering wealth, but he is ruined by his dual-mindedness. The truthful ones gather Truth; the True Name is priceless. The Lord is immaculate and pure; through Him, their honour is true, and their speech is true. You are my friend and companion, all-knowing Lord; You are the lake, and You are the swan. I am a sacrifice to that being, whose mind is filled with the True Lord and Master. Know the One who created love and attachment to Maya, the Enticer. One who realises the all-knowing Primal Lord, looks alike upon poison and nectar. ||48|| Without patience and forgiveness, countless hundreds of thousands have perished. Their numbers cannot be counted; how could I count them? Bothered and bewildered, uncounted numbers have died. One who realises his Lord and Master is set free, and not bound by chains. Through the Word of the Shabad, enter the Mansion of the Lord's Presence; you shall be blessed with patience, forgiveness, truth and peace. Partake of the true wealth of meditation, and the Lord Himself shall abide within your body. With mind, body and mouth, chant His Glorious Virtues forever; courage and composure shall enter deep within your mind. Through egotism, one is distracted and ruined; other than the Lord, all things are corrupt. Forming His creatures, He placed Himself within them; the Creator is unattached and infinite. ||49|| No one knows the mystery of the Creator of the World. Whatever the Creator of the World does, is certain to occur. For wealth, some meditate on the Lord. By pre-ordained destiny, wealth is obtained. For the sake of wealth, some become servants or thieves. Wealth does not go along with them when they die; it passes into the hands of others. Without Truth, honour is not obtained in the Court of the Lord. Drinking in the subtle essence of the Lord, one is emancipated in the end. ||50|| Seeing and perceiving, O my companions, I am wonder-struck and amazed. My egotism, which proclaimed itself in possessiveness and self-conceit, is dead. My mind chants the Word of the Shabad, and attains spiritual wisdom. I am so tired of wearing all these necklaces, hair-ties and bracelets, and decorating myself. Meeting with my Beloved, I have found peace; now, I wear the necklace of total virtue. O Nanak, the Gurmukh attains the Lord, with love and affection. Without the Lord, who has found peace? Reflect upon this in your mind, and see. Read about the Lord, understand the Lord, and enshrine love for the Lord. Chant the Lord's Name, and meditate on the Lord; hold tight to the Support of the Name of the Lord. ||51|| The inscription inscribed by the Creator Lord cannot be erased, O my companions. He who created the universe, in His Mercy, installs His Feet within us. Glorious greatness rests in the Hands of the Creator; reflect upon the Guru, and understand this. This inscription cannot be challenged. As it pleases You, You care for me. By Your Glance of Grace, I have found peace; O Nanak, reflect upon the Shabad. The self-willed manmukhs are confused; they rot away and die. Only by reflecting upon the Guru can they be saved. What can anyone say, about that Primal Lord, who cannot be seen? I am a sacrifice to my Guru, who has revealed Him to me, within my own heart. ||52|| That Pandit, that religious scholar, is said to be well-educated, if he contemplates knowledge with intuitive ease.

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Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 063

Considering his knowledge, he finds the essence of reality, and lovingly focuses his attention on the Name of the Lord. The self-willed manmukh sells his knowledge; he earns poison, and eats poison. The fool does not think of the Word of the Shabad. He has no understanding, no comprehension. ||53|| That Pandit is called Gurmukh, who imparts understanding to his students. Contemplate the Naam, the Name of the Lord; gather in the Naam, and earn the true profit in this world. With the true notebook of the true mind, study the most sublime Word of the Shabad. O Nanak, he alone is learned, and he alone is a wise Pandit, who wears the necklace of the Lord's Name. ||54||1|| Raamkalee, First Mehl, Sidh Gosht ~ Conversations With The Siddhas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The Siddhas formed an assembly; sitting in their Yogic postures, they shouted, "Salute this gathering of Saints." I offer my salutation to the One who is true, infinite and incomparably beautiful. I cut off my head, and offer it to Him; I dedicate my body and mind to Him. O Nanak, meeting with the Saints, Truth is obtained, and one is spontaneously blessed with distinction. ||1|| What is the use of wandering around? Purity comes only through Truth. Without the True Word of the Shabad, no one finds liberation. ||1||Pause|| "Who are you? What is your name? What is your way? What is your goal? We pray that you will answer us truthfully; we are a sacrifice to the humble Saints. Where is your seat? Where do you live, boy? Where did you come from, and where are you going? Tell us, Nanak - the detached Siddhas wait to hear your reply. What is your path?"||2|| He dwells deep within the nucleus of each and every heart. This is my seat and my home. I walk in harmony with the Will of the True Guru. I came from the Celestial Lord God; I go wherever He orders me to go. I am Nanak, forever under the Command of His Will. I sit in the posture of the eternal, imperishable Lord. These are the Teachings I have received from the Guru. As Gurmukh, I have come to understand and realise myself; I merge in the Truest of the True. ||3|| "The world-ocean is treacherous and impassable; how can one cross over? Charpat the Yogi says, O Nanak, think it over, and give us your true reply." What answer can I give to someone, who claims to understand himself? I speak the Truth; if you have already crossed over, how can I argue with you? ||4|| The lotus flower floats untouched upon the surface of the water, and the duck swims through the stream; with one's consciousness focused on the Word of the Shabad, one crosses over the terrifying world-ocean. O Nanak, chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord. One who lives alone, as a hermit, enshrining the One Lord in his mind, remaining unaffected by hope in the midst of hope, sees and inspires others to see the inaccessible, unfathomable Lord. Nanak is his slave. ||5|| "Listen, Lord, to our prayer. We seek your true opinion. Don't be angry with us - please tell us: How can we find the Guru's Door?" This fickle mind sits in its true home, O Nanak, through the Support of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. The Creator Himself unites us in Union, and inspires us to love the Truth. ||6|| "Away from stores and highways, we live in the woods, among plants and trees. For food, we take fruits and roots. This is the spiritual wisdom spoken by the renunciates.

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 064

We bathe at sacred shrines of pilgrimage, and obtain the fruits of peace; not even an iota of filth sticks to us. Luhaareepaa, the disciple of Gorakh says, this is the Way of Yoga."||7|| In the stores and on the road, do not sleep; do not let your consciousness covet anyone else's home. Without the Name, the mind has no firm support; O Nanak, this hunger never departs. The Guru has revealed the stores and the city within the home of my own heart, where I intuitively carry on the true trade. Sleep little, and eat little; O Nanak, this is the essence of wisdom. ||8|| "Wear the robes of the sect of Yogis who follow Gorakh; put on the ear-rings, begging wallet and patched coat. Among the twelve schools of Yoga, ours is the highest; among the six schools of philosophy, ours is the best path. This is the way to instruct the mind, so you will never suffer beatings again." Nanak speaks: the Gurmukh understands; this is the way that Yoga is attained. ||9|| Let constant absorption in the Word of the Shabad deep within be your ear-rings; eradicate egotism and attachment. Discard sexual desire, anger and egotism, and through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, attain true understanding. For your patched coat and begging bowl, see the Lord God pervading and permeating everywhere; O Nanak, the One Lord will carry you across. True is our Lord and Master, and True is His Name. Analyze it, and you shall find the Word of the Guru to be True. ||10|| Let your mind turn away in detachment from the world, and let this be your begging bowl. Let the lessons of the five elements be your cap. Let the body be your meditation mat, and the mind your loin cloth. Let truth, contentment and self-discipline be your companions. O Nanak, the Gurmukh dwells on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||11|| "Who is hidden? Who is liberated? Who is united, inwardly and outwardly? Who comes, and who goes? Who is permeating and pervading the three worlds?"||12|| He is hidden within each and every heart. The Gurmukh is liberated. Through the Word of the Shabad, one is united, inwardly and outwardly. The self-willed manmukh perishes, and comes and goes. O Nanak, the Gurmukh merges in Truth. ||13|| "How is one placed in bondage, and consumed by the serpent of Maya? How does one lose, and how does one gain? How does one become immaculate and pure? How is the darkness of ignorance removed? One who understands this essence of reality is our Guru."||14|| Man is bound by evil-mindedness, and consumed by Maya, the serpent. The self-willed manmukh loses, and the Gurmukh gains. Meeting the True Guru, darkness is dispelled. O Nanak, eradicating egotism, one merges in the Lord. ||15|| Focused deep within, in perfect absorption, the soul-swan does not fly away, and the body-wall does not collapse. Then, one knows that his true home is in the cave of intuitive poise. O Nanak, the True Lord loves those who are truthful. ||16|| "Why have you left your house and become a wandering Udaasee? Why have you adopted these religious robes? What merchandise do you trade? How will you carry others across with you?"||17|| I became a wandering Udaasee, searching for the Gurmukhs. I have adopted these robes seeking the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan. I trade in the merchandise of Truth. O Nanak, as Gurmukh, I carry others across. ||18|| "How have you changed the course of your life? With what have you linked your mind?

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 065

How have you subdued your hopes and desires? How have you found the Light deep within your nucleus? Without teeth, how can you eat iron? Give us your true opinion, Nanak."||19|| Born into the House of the True Guru, my wandering in reincarnation ended. My mind is attached and attuned to the unstruck sound current. Through the Word of the Shabad, my hopes and desires have been burnt away. As Gurmukh, I found the Light deep within the nucleus of my self. Eradicating the three qualities, one eats iron. O Nanak, the Emancipator emancipates. ||20|| "What can you tell us about the beginning? In what home did the absolute dwell then? What are the ear-rings of spiritual wisdom? Who dwells in each and every heart? How can one avoid the attack of death? How can one enter the home of fearlessness? How can one know the posture of intuition and contentment, and overcome one's adversaries?" Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, egotism and corruption are conquered, and then one comes to dwell in the home of the self within. One who realises the Shabad of the One who created the creation - Nanak is his slave. ||21|| "Where did we come from? Where are we going? Where will we be absorbed? One who reveals the meaning of this Shabad is the Guru, who has no greed at all. How can one find the essence of the unmanifest reality? How does one become Gurmukh, and enshrine love for the Lord? He Himself is consciousness, He Himself is the Creator; share with us, Nanak, your wisdom." By His Command we come, and by His Command we go; by His Command, we merge in absorption. Through the Perfect Guru, live the Truth; through the Word of the Shabad, the state of dignity is attained. ||22|| We can only express a sense of wonder about the beginning. The absolute abided endlessly deep within Himself then. Consider freedom from desire to be the ear-rings of the Guru's spiritual wisdom. The True Lord, the Soul of all, dwells within each and every heart. Through the Guru's Word, one merges in the absolute, and intuitively receives the immaculate essence. O Nanak, that Sikh who seeks and finds the Way does not serve any other. Wonderful and amazing is His Command; He alone realises His Command and knows the true way of life of His creatures. One who eradicates his self-conceit becomes free of desire; he alone is a Yogi, who enshrines the True Lord deep within. ||23|| From His state of absolute existence, He assumed the immaculate form; from formless, He assumed the supreme form. By pleasing the True Guru, the supreme status is obtained, and one is absorbed in the True Word of the Shabad. He knows the True Lord as the One and only; he sends his egotism and duality far away. He alone is a Yogi, who realises the Word of the Guru's Shabad; the lotus of the heart blossoms forth within. If one remains dead while yet alive, then he understands everything; he knows the Lord deep within himself, who is kind and compassionate to all. O Nanak, he is blessed with glorious greatness; he realises himself in all beings. ||24|| We emerge from Truth, and merge into Truth again. The pure being merges into the One True Lord. The false come, and find no place of rest; in duality, they come and go. This coming and going in reincarnation is ended through the Word of the Guru's Shabad; the Lord Himself analyzes and grants His forgiveness. One who suffers from the disease of duality, forgets the Naam, the source of nectar.

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He alone understands, whom the Lord inspires to understand. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, one is liberated. O Nanak, the Emancipator emancipates one who drives out egotism and duality. ||25|| The self-willed manmukhs are deluded, under the shadow of death. They look into the homes of others, and lose. The manmukhs are confused by doubt, wandering in the wilderness. Having lost their way, they are plundered; they chant their mantras at cremation grounds. They do not think of the Shabad; instead, they utter obscenities. O Nanak, those who are attuned to the Truth know peace. ||26|| The Gurmukh lives in the Fear of God, the True Lord. Through the Word of the Guru's Bani, the Gurmukh refines the unrefined. The Gurmukh sings the immaculate, Glorious Praises of the Lord. The Gurmukh attains the supreme, sanctified status. The Gurmukh meditates on the Lord with every hair of his body. O Nanak, the Gurmukh merges in Truth. ||27|| The Gurmukh is pleasing to the True Guru; this is contemplation on the Vedas. Pleasing the True Guru, the Gurmukh is carried across. Pleasing the True Guru, the Gurmukh receives the spiritual wisdom of the Shabad. Pleasing the True Guru, the Gurmukh comes to know the path within. The Gurmukh attains the unseen and infinite Lord. O Nanak, the Gurmukh finds the door of liberation. ||28|| The Gurmukh speaks the unspoken wisdom. In the midst of his family, the Gurmukh lives a spiritual life. The Gurmukh lovingly meditates deep within. The Gurmukh obtains the Shabad, and righteous conduct. He knows the mystery of the Shabad, and inspires others to know it. O Nanak, burning away his ego, he merges in the Lord. ||29|| The True Lord fashioned the earth for the sake of the Gurmukhs. There, he set in motion the play of creation and destruction. One who is filled with the Word of the Guru's Shabad enshrines love for the Lord. Attuned to the Truth, he goes to his home with honour. Without the True Word of the Shabad, no one receives honour. O Nanak, without the Name, how can one be absorbed in Truth? ||30|| The Gurmukh obtains the eight miraculous spiritual powers, and all wisdom. The Gurmukh crosses over the terrifying world-ocean, and obtains true understanding. The Gurmukh knows the ways of truth and untruth. The Gurmukh knows worldliness and renunciation. The Gurmukh crosses over, and carries others across as well. O Nanak, the Gurmukh is emancipated through the Shabad. ||31|| Attuned to the Naam, the Name of the Lord, egotism is dispelled. Attuned to the Naam, they remain absorbed in the True Lord. Attuned to the Naam, they contemplate the Way of Yoga. Attuned to the Naam, they find the door of liberation. Attuned to the Naam, they understand the three worlds. O Nanak, attuned to the Naam, eternal peace is found. ||32|| Attuned to the Naam, they attain Sidh Gosht - conversation with the Siddhas. Attuned to the Naam, they practice intense meditation forever. Attuned to the Naam, they live the true and excellent lifestyle. Attuned to the Naam, they contemplate the Lord's virtues and spiritual wisdom. Without the Name, all that is spoken is useless. O Nanak, attuned to the Naam, their victory is celebrated. ||33|| Through the Perfect Guru, one obtains the Naam, the Name of the Lord. The Way of Yoga is to remain absorbed in Truth. The Yogis wander in the twelve schools of Yoga; the Sannyaasis in six and four. One who remains dead while yet alive, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, finds the door of liberation.

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Without the Shabad, all are attached to duality. Contemplate this in your heart, and see. O Nanak, blessed and very fortunate are those who keep the True Lord enshrined in their hearts. ||34|| The Gurmukh obtains the jewel, lovingly focused on the Lord. The Gurmukh intuitively recognises the value of this jewel. The Gurmukh practices Truth in action. The mind of the Gurmukh is pleased with the True Lord. The Gurmukh sees the unseen, when it pleases the Lord. O Nanak, the Gurmukh does not have to endure punishment. ||35|| The Gurmukh is blessed with the Name, charity and purification. The Gurmukh centres his meditation on the celestial Lord. The Gurmukh obtains honour in the Court of the Lord. The Gurmukh obtains the Supreme Lord, the Destroyer of fear. The Gurmukh does good deeds, an inspires others to do so. O Nanak, the Gurmukh unites in the Lord's Union. ||36|| The Gurmukh understands the Simritees, the Shaastras and the Vedas. The Gurmukh knows the secrets of each and every heart. The Gurmukh eliminates hate and envy. The Gurmukh erases all accounting. The Gurmukh is imbued with love for the Lord's Name. O Nanak, the Gurmukh realises his Lord and Master. ||37|| Without the Guru, one wanders, coming and going in reincarnation. Without the Guru, one's work is useless. Without the Guru, the mind is totally unsteady. Without the Guru, one is unsatisfied, and eats poison. Without the Guru, one is stung by the poisonous snake of Maya, and dies. O Nanak without the Guru, all is lost. ||38|| One who meets the Guru is carried across. His sins are erased, and he is emancipated through virtue. The supreme peace of liberation is attained, contemplating the Word of the Guru's Shabad. The Gurmukh is never defeated. In the store of the body, this mind is the merchant; O Nanak, it deals intuitively in Truth. ||39|| The Gurmukh is the bridge, built by the Architect of Destiny. The demons of passion which plundered Sri Lanka - the body - have been conquered. Ram Chand - the mind - has slaughtered Raawan - pride; the Gurmukh understands the secret revealed by Babheekhan. The Gurmukh carries even stones across the ocean. The Gurmukh saves

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millions of people. ||40|| The comings and goings in reincarnation are ended for the Gurmukh. The Gurmukh is honoured in the Court of the Lord. The Gurmukh distinguishes the true from the false. The Gurmukh focuses his meditation on the celestial Lord. In the Court of the Lord, the Gurmukh is absorbed in His Praises. O Nanak, the Gurmukh is not bound by bonds. ||41|| The Gurmukh obtains the Name of the Immaculate Lord. Through the Shabad, the Gurmukh burns away his ego. The Gurmukh sings the Glorious Praises of the True Lord. The Gurmukh remains absorbed in the True Lord. Through the True Name, the Gurmukh is honoured and exalted. O Nanak, the Gurmukh understands all the worlds. ||42|| "What is the root, the source of all? What teachings hold for these times? Who is your guru? Whose disciple are you? What is that speech, by which you remain unattached? Listen to what we say, O Nanak, you little boy. Give us your opinion on what we have said. How can the Shabad carry us across the terrifying world-ocean?"||43||

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From the air came the beginning. This is the age of the True Guru's Teachings. The Shabad is the Guru, upon whom I lovingly focus my consciousness; I am the chaylaa, the disciple. Speaking the Unspoken Speech, I remain unattached. O Nanak, throughout the ages, the Lord of the World is my Guru. I contemplate the sermon of the Shabad, the Word of the One God. The Gurmukh puts out the fire of egotism. ||44|| "With teeth of wax, how can one chew iron? What is that food, which takes away pride? How can one live in the palace, the home of snow, wearing robes of fire? Where is that cave, within which one may remain unshaken? Who should we know to be pervading here and there? What is that meditation, which leads the mind to be absorbed in itself?"||45|| Eradicating egotism and individualism from within, and erasing duality, the mortal becomes one with God. The world is difficult for the foolish, self-willed manmukh; practicing the Shabad, one chews iron. Know the One Lord, inside and out. O Nanak, the fire is quenched, through the Pleasure of the True Guru's Will. ||46|| Imbued with the True Fear of God, pride is taken away; realise that He is One, and contemplate the Shabad. With the True Shabad abiding deep within the heart, the body and mind are cooled and soothed, and coloured with the Lord's Love. The fire of sexual desire, anger and corruption is quenched. O Nanak, the Beloved bestows His Glance of Grace. ||47|| "The moon of the mind is cool and dark; how is it enlightened? How does the sun blaze so brilliantly? How can the constant watchful gaze of Death be turned away? By what understanding is the honour of the Gurmukh preserved? Who is the warrior, who conquers Death? Give us your thoughtful reply, O Nanak."||48|| Giving voice to the Shabad, the moon of the mind is illuminated with infinity. When the sun dwells in the house of the moon, the darkness is dispelled. Pleasure and pain are just the same, when one takes the Support of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. He Himself saves, and carries us across. With faith in the Guru, the mind merges in Truth, and then, prays Nanak, one is not consumed by Death. ||49|| The essence of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is known to be the most exalted and excellent of all. Without the Name, one is afflicted by pain and death. When one's essence merges into the essence, the mind is satisfied and fulfilled. Duality is gone, and one enters into the home of the One Lord. The breath blows across the sky of the Tenth Gate and vibrates. O Nanak, the mortal then intuitively meets the eternal, unchanging Lord. ||50|| The absolute Lord is deep within; the absolute Lord is outside us as well. The absolute Lord totally fills the three worlds. One who knows the Lord in the fourth state, is not subject to virtue or vice. One who knows the mystery of God the Absolute, who pervades each and every heart, knows the Primal Being, the Immaculate Divine Lord. That humble being who is imbued with the Immaculate Naam, O Nanak, is himself the Primal Lord, the Architect of Destiny. ||51|| "Everyone speaks of the Absolute Lord, the unmanifest void. How can one find this absolute void? Who are they, who are attuned to this absolute void?" They are like the Lord, from whom they originated. They are not born, they do not die; they do not come and go. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs instruct their minds. ||52|| By practicing control over the nine gates, one attains perfect control over the Tenth Gate. There, the unstruck sound current of the absolute Lord vibrates and resounds. Behold the True Lord ever-present, and merge with Him. The True Lord is pervading and permeating each and every heart.

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The hidden Bani of the Word is revealed. O Nanak, the True Lord is revealed and known. ||53|| Meeting with the Lord through intuition and love, peace is found. The Gurmukh remains awake and aware; he does not fall sleep. He enshrines the unlimited, absolute Shabad deep within. Chanting the Shabad, he is liberated, and saves others as well. Those who practice the Guru's Teachings are attuned to the Truth. O Nanak, those who eradicate their self-conceit meet with the Lord; they do not remain separated by doubt. ||54|| "Where is that place, where evil thoughts are destroyed? The mortal does not understand the essence of reality; why must he suffer in pain?" No one can save one who is tied up at Death's door. Without the Shabad, no one has any credit or honour. "How can one obtain understanding and cross over?" O Nanak, the foolish self-willed manmukh does not understand. ||55|| Evil thoughts are erased, contemplating the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Meeting with the True Guru, the door of liberation is found. The self-willed manmukh does not understand the essence of reality, and is burnt to ashes. His evil-mindedness separates him from the Lord, and he suffers. Accepting the Hukam of the Lord's Command, he is blessed with all virtues and spiritual wisdom. O Nanak, he is honoured in the Court of the Lord. ||56|| One who possesses the merchandise, the wealth of the True Name, crosses over, and carries others across with him as well. One who intuitively understands, and is attuned to the Lord, is honoured. No one can estimate his worth. Wherever I look, I see the Lord permeating and pervading. O Nanak, through the Love of the True Lord, one crosses over. ||57|| "Where is the Shabad said to dwell? What will carry us across the terrifying world-ocean? The breath, when exhaled, extends out ten finger lengths; what is the support of the breath? Speaking and playing, how can one be stable and steady? How can the unseen be seen?" Listen, O master; Nanak prays truly. Instruct your own mind. The Gurmukh is lovingly attuned to the True Shabad. Bestowing His Glance of Grace, He unites us in His Union. He Himself is all-knowing and all-seeing. By perfect destiny, we merge in Him. ||58|| That Shabad dwells deep within the nucleus of all beings. God is invisible; wherever I look, there I see Him. The air is the dwelling place of the absolute Lord. He has no qualities; He has all qualities. When He bestows His Glance of Grace, the Shabad comes to abide within the heart, and doubt is eradicated from within. The body and mind become immaculate, through the Immaculate Word of His Bani. Let His Name be enshrined in your mind. The Shabad is the Guru, to carry you across the terrifying world-ocean. Know the One Lord alone, here and hereafter. He has no form or colour, shadow or illusion; O Nanak, realise the Shabad. ||59|| O reclusive hermit, the True, Absolute Lord is the support of the exhaled breath, which extends out ten finger lengths. The Gurmukh speaks and churns the essence of reality, and realises the unseen, infinite Lord. Eradicating the three qualities, he enshrines the Shabad within, and then, his mind is rid of egotism. Inside and out, he knows the One Lord alone; he is in love with the Name of the Lord. He understands the Sushmana, Ida and Pingala, when the unseen Lord reveals Himself. O Nanak, the True Lord is above these three energy channels. Through the Word, the Shabad of the True Guru, one merges with Him. ||60|| "The air is said to be the soul of the mind. But what does the air feed on? What is the way of the spiritual teacher, and the reclusive hermit? What is the occupation of the Siddha?"

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 070

Without the Shabad, the essence does not come, O hermit, and the thirst of egotism does not depart. Imbued with the Shabad, one finds the ambrosial essence, and remains fulfilled with the True Name. "What is that wisdom, by which one remains steady and stable? What food brings satisfaction?" O Nanak, when one looks upon pain and pleasure alike, through the True Guru, then he is not consumed by Death. ||61|| If one is not imbued with the Lord's Love, nor intoxicated with His subtle essence, without the Word of the Guru's Shabad, he is frustrated, and consumed by his own inner fire. He does not preserve his semen and seed, and does not chant the Shabad. He does not control his breath; he does not worship and adore the True Lord. But one who speaks the Unspoken Speech, and remains balanced, O Nanak, attains the Lord, the Supreme Soul. ||62|| By Guru's Grace, one is attuned to the Lord's Love. Drinking in the Ambrosial Nectar, he is intoxicated with the Truth. Contemplating the Guru, the fire within is put out. Drinking in the Ambrosial Nectar, the soul settles in peace. Worshipping the True Lord in adoration, the Gurmukh crosses over the river of life. O Nanak, after deep contemplation, this is understood. ||63|| "Where does this mind-elephant live? Where does the breath reside? Where should the Shabad reside, so that the wanderings of the mind may cease?" When the Lord blesses one with His Glance of Grace, he leads him to the True Guru. Then, this mind dwells in its own home within. When the individual consumes his egotism, he becomes immaculate, and his wandering mind is restrained. "How can the root, the source of all be realised? How can the soul know itself? How can the sun enter into the house of the moon?" The Gurmukh eliminates egotism from within; then, O Nanak, the sun naturally enters into the home of the moon. ||64|| When the mind becomes steady and stable, it abides in the heart, and then the Gurmukh realises the root, the source of all. The breath is seated in the home of the navel; the Gurmukh searches, and finds the essence of reality. This Shabad permeates the nucleus of the self, deep within, in its own home; the Light of this Shabad pervades the three worlds. Hunger for the True Lord shall consume your pain, and through the True Lord, you shall be satisfied. The Gurmukh knows the unstruck sound current of the Bani; how rare are those who understand. Says Nanak, one who speaks the Truth is dyed in the colour of Truth, which will never fade away. ||65|| "When this heart and body did not exist, where did the mind reside? When there was no support of the navel lotus, then in which home did the breath reside? When there was no form or shape, then how could anyone lovingly focus on the Shabad? When there was no dungeon formed from egg and sperm, who could measure the Lord's value and extent? When colour, dress and form could not be seen, how could the True Lord be known?" O Nanak, those who are attuned to the Naam, the Name of the Lord, are detached. Then and now, they see the Truest of the True. ||66|| When the heart and the body did not exist, O hermit, then the mind resided in the absolute, detached Lord. When there was no support of the lotus of the navel, the breath remained in its own home, attuned to the Lord's Love. When there was no form or shape or social class, then the Shabad, in its essence, resided in the unmanifest Lord. When the world and the sky did not even exist, the Light of the Formless Lord filled the three worlds.

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 071

Colour, dress and form were contained in the One Lord; the Shabad was contained in the One, Wondrous Lord. Without the True Name, no one can become pure; O Nanak, this is the Unspoken Speech. ||67|| "How, in what way, was the world formed, O man? And what disaster will end it?" In egotism, the world was formed, O man; forgetting the Naam, it suffers and dies. One who becomes Gurmukh contemplates the essence of spiritual wisdom; through the Shabad, he burns away his egotism. His body and mind become immaculate, through the Immaculate Bani of the Word. He remains absorbed in Truth. Through the Naam, the Name of the Lord, he remains detached; he enshrines the True Name in his heart. O Nanak, without the Name, Yoga is never attained; reflect upon this in your heart, and see. ||68|| The Gurmukh is one who reflects upon the True Word of the Shabad. The True Bani is revealed to the Gurmukh. The mind of the Gurmukh is drenched with the Lord's Love, but how rare are those who understand this. The Gurmukh dwells in the home of the self, deep within. The Gurmukh realises the Way of Yoga. O Nanak, the Gurmukh knows the One Lord alone. ||69|| Without serving the True Guru, Yoga is not attained; without meeting the True Guru, no one is liberated. Without meeting the True Guru, the Naam cannot be found. Without meeting the True Guru, one suffers in terrible pain. Without meeting the True Guru, there is only the deep darkness of egotistical pride. O Nanak, without the True Guru, one dies, having lost the opportunity of this life. ||70|| The Gurmukh conquers his mind by subduing his ego. The Gurmukh enshrines Truth in his heart. The Gurmukh conquers the world; he knocks down the Messenger of Death, and kills it. The Gurmukh does not lose in the Court of the Lord. The Gurmukh is united in God's Union; he alone knows. O Nanak, the Gurmukh realises the Word of the Shabad. ||71|| This is the essence of the Shabad - listen, you hermits and Yogis. Without the Name, there is no Yoga. Those who are attuned to the Name, remain intoxicated night and day; through the Name, they find peace. Through the Name, everything is revealed; through the Name, understanding is obtained. Without the Name, people wear all sorts of religious robes; the True Lord Himself has confused them. The Name is obtained only from the True Guru, O hermit, and then, the Way of Yoga is found. Reflect upon this in your mind, and see; O Nanak, without the Name, there is no liberation. ||72|| You alone know Your state and extent, Lord; What can anyone say about it? You Yourself are hidden, and You Yourself are revealed. You Yourself enjoy all pleasures. The seekers, the Siddhas, the many gurus and disciples wander around searching for You, according to Your Will. They beg for Your Name, and You bless them with this charity. I am a sacrifice to the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. The eternal imperishable Lord God has staged this play; the Gurmukh understands it. O Nanak, He extends Himself throughout the ages; there is no other than Him. ||73||1||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 072

One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Vaar Of Raamkalee, Third Mehl, To Be Sung To The Tune Of 'Jodha And Veera Poorbaanee': Shalok, Third Mehl: The True Guru is the field of intuitive wisdom. One who is inspired to love Him, plants the seed of the Name there. The Name sprouts up, and he remains absorbed in the Name. But this egotism is the seed of skepticism; it has been uprooted. It is not planted there, and it does not sprout; whatever God grants us, we eat. When water mixes with water, it cannot be separated again. O Nanak, the Gurmukh is wonderful; come, poeple, and see! But what can the poor people see? They do not understand. He alone sees, whom the Lord causes to see; the Lord comes to dwell in his mind. ||1|| Third Mehl: The self-willed manmukh is the field of sorrow and suffering. He plains sorrow, and eats sorrow. In sorrow he is born, and in sorrow he dies. Acting in egotism, his life passes away. He does not understand the coming and going of reincarnation;

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the blind man acts in blindness. He does not know the One who gives, but he is attached to what is given. O Nanak, he acts according to his pre-ordained destiny. He cannot do anything else. ||2|| Third Mehl: Meeting the True Guru, everlasting peace is obtained. He Himself leads us to meet Him. This is the true meaning of peace, that one becomes immaculate within oneself. The doubt of ignorance is eradicated, and spiritual wisdom is obtained. Nanak comes to gaze upon the One Lord alone; wherever he looks, there He is. ||3|| Pauree: The True Lord created His throne, upon which He sits. He Himself is everything; this is what the Word of the Guru's Shabad says. Through His almighty creative power, He created and fashioned the mansions and hotels. He made the two lamps, the sun and the moon; He formed the perfect form. He Himself sees, and He Himself hears; meditate on the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||1|| Waaho! Waaho! Hail, hail, O True King! True is Your Name. ||1||Pause|| Shalok: Kabeer, I have ground myself into henna paste. O my Husband Lord, You took no notice of me; You never applied me to Your feet. ||1|| Third Mehl: O Nanak, my Husband Lord keeps me like henna paste; He blesses me with His Glance of Grace. He Himself grinds me, and He Himself rubs me; He Himself applies me to His feet. This is the cup of love of my Lord and Master; He gives it as He chooses. ||2|| Pauree: You created the world with its variety; by the Hukam of Your Command, it comes, goes, and merges again in You. You Yourself see, and blossom forth; there is no one else at all. As it pleases You, You keep me. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, I understand You. You are the strength of all. As it pleases You, You lead us on. There is no other as great as You; unto whom should I speak and talk? ||2|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Deluded by doubt, I wandered over the whole world. Searching, I 1687
became frustrated.

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My Husband Lord has not blessed me with peace and tranquility; what will work with Him? By Guru's Grace, I meditate on the Lord; I enshrine Him deep within my heart. O Nanak, seated in his her own home, she finds her Husband Lord, when the Creator Lord grants His Grace. ||1|| Third Mehl: Chasing after worldly affairs, the day is wasted, and the night passes in sleep. Speaking lies, one eats poison; the self-willed manmukh departs, crying out in pain. The Mesenger of Death holds his club over the mortal's head; in the love of duality, he loses his honour. He never even thinks of the Name of the Lord; over and over again, he comes and goes in reincarnation. But if, by Guru's Grace, the Lord's Name comes to dwell in his mind, then the Messenger of Death will not strike him down with his club. Then, O Nanak, he merges intuitively into the Lord, receiving His Grace. ||2|| Pauree: Some are linked to His Praises, when the Lord blesses them with the Guru's Teachings. Some are blessed with the Name of the eternal, unchanging True Lord. Water, air and fire, by His Will, worship Him. They are held in the Fear of God; He has formed the perfect form. The Hukam, the Command of the One Lord is all-pervasive; accepting it, peace is found. ||3|| Shalok: Kabeer, such is the touchstone of the Lord; the false cannot even touch it. He alone passes this test of the Lord, who remains dead while yet alive. ||1|| Third Mehl: How can this mind be conquered? How can it be killed? If one does not accept the Word of the Shabad, egotism does not depart. By Guru's Grace, egotism is eradicated, and then, one is Jivan Mukta - liberated while yet alive. O Nanak, one whom the Lord forgives is united with Him, and then no obstacles block his way. ||2|| Third Mehl: Everyone can say that they are dead while yet alive; how can they be liberated while yet alive? If someone restrains himself through the Fear of God, and takes the medicine of the Love of God, night and day, he sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. In celestial peace and poise, he crosses over the poisonous, terrifying world-ocean, through the Naam, the Name of the Lord. O Nanak, the Gurmukh finds the Lord; he is blessed with His Glance of Grace. ||3|| Pauree: God created the love of duality, and the three modes which pervade the universe. He created Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, who act according to His Will. The Pandits, the religious scholars, and the astrologers study their books, but they do not understand contemplation. Everything is Your play, O True Creator Lord. As it pleases You, You bless us with forgiveness, and merge us in the True Word of the Shabad. ||4|| Shalok, Third Mehl: The man of false mind practices falsehood. He runs after Maya, and yet pretends to be a man of disciplined meditation. Deluded by doubt, he visits all the sacred shrines of pilgrimage. How can such a man of disciplined meditation attain the supreme status? By Guru's Grace, one lives the Truth. O Nanak, such a man of disciplined meditation attains liberation. ||1|| Third Mehl: He alone is a man of disciplined meditation, who practices this self-discipline. Meeting with the True Guru, he contemplates the Word of the Shabad. Serving the True Guru - this is the only acceptable disciplined meditation. O Nanak, such a man of disciplined meditation is honoured in the Court of the Lord. ||2|| Pauree: He created the night and the day, for the activities of the world.

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 074

Following the Guru's Teachings, one's heart is illumined, and the darkness is dispelled. By the Hukam of His Command, He creates everything; He pervades and permeates all the woods and meadows. He Himself is everything; the Gurmukh constantly chants the Lord's Name. Through the Shabad, understanding comes; the True Lord Himself inspires us to understand. ||5|| Shalok, Third Mehl: He is not called a renunciate, whose consciousness is filled with doubt. Donations to him bring proportionate rewards. He hungers for the supreme status of the Fearless, Immaculate Lord; O Nanak, how rare are those who offer him this food. ||1|| Third Mehl: They are not called renunciates, who take food in the homes of others. For the sake of their bellies, they wear various religious robes. They alone are renunciates, O Nanak, who enter into their own souls. They seek and find their Husband Lord; they dwell within the home of their own inner self. ||2|| Pauree: They sky and the earth are separate, but the True Lord supports them from within. True are all those homes and gates, within which the True Name is enshrined. The Hukam of the True Lord's Command is effective everywhere. The Gurmukh merges in the True Lord. He Himself is True, and True is His throne. Seated upon it, He administers true justice. The Truest of the True is all-pervading everywhere; the Gurmukh sees the unseen. ||6|| Shalok, Third Mehl: In the world-ocean, the Infinite Lord abides. The false come and go in reincarnation. One who walks according to his own will, suffers terrible punishment. All things are in the world-ocean, but they are obtained only by the karma of good actions. O Nanak, he alone obtains the nine treasures, who walks in the Will of the Lord. ||1|| Third Mehl: One who intuitively serves the True Guru, loses his life in egotism. His tongue does not taste the sublime essence of the Lord, and his heart-lotus does not blossom forth. The self-willed manmukh eats poison and dies; he is ruined by love and attachment to Maya. Without the Name of the One Lord, his life is cursed, and his home is cursed as well. When God Himself bestows His Glance of Grace, then one becomes the slave of His slaves. And then, night and day, he serves the True Guru, and never leaves His side. As the lotus flower floats unaffected in the water, so does he remain detached in his own household. O servant Nanak, the Lord acts, and inspires everyone to act, according to the Pleasure of His Will. He is the treasure of virtue. ||2|| Pauree: For thirty-six ages, there was utter darkness. Then, the Lord revealed Himself. He Himself created the entire universe. He Himself blessed it with understanding. He created the Simritees and the Shaastras; He calculates the accounts of virtue and vice. He alone understands, whom the Lord inspires to understand and to be pleased with the True Word of the Shabad. He Himself is all-pervading; He Himself forgives, and unites with Himself. ||7|| Shalok, Third Mehl: This body is all blood; without blood, the body cannot exist. Those who are attuned to their Lord - their bodies are not filled with the blood of greed. In the Fear of God, the body becomes thin, and the blood of greed passes out of the body.

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As fire purifies metal, so does the Fear of the Lord eradicate the filth of evil-mindedness. O Nanak, beautiful are those humble beings, who are imbued with the Lord's Love. ||1|| Third Mehl: In Raamkalee, I have enshrined the Lord in my mind; thus I have been embellished. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, my heart-lotus has blossomed forth; the Lord blessed me with the treasure of devotional worship. My doubt was dispelled, and I woke up; the darkness of ignorance was dispelled. She who is in love with her Lord, is the most infinitely beautiful. Such a beautiful, happy soul-bride enjoys her Husband Lord forever. The self-willed manmukhs do not know how to decorate themselves; wasting their whole lives, they depart. Those who decorate themselves without devotional worship to the Lord, are continually reincarnated to suffer. They do not obtain respect in this world; the Creator Lord alone knows what will happen to them in the world hereafter. O Nanak, the True Lord is the One and only; duality exists only in the world. He Himself enjoins them to good and bad; they do only that which the Creator Lord causes them to do. ||2|| Third Mehl: Without serving the True Guru, tranquility is not obtained. It cannot be found anywhere else. No matter how much one may long for it, without the karma of good actions, it cannot be found. Those whose inner beings are filled with greed and corruption, are ruined through the love of duality. The cycle of birth and death is not ended, and filled with egotism, they suffer in pain. Those who focus their consciousness on the True Guru, do not remain unfulfilled. They are not summoned by the Messenger of Death, and they do not suffer in pain. O Nanak, the Gurmukh is saved, merging in the True Word of the Shabad. ||3|| Pauree: He Himself remains unattached forever; all others run after worldly affairs. He Himself is eternal, unchanging and unmoving; the others continue coming and going in reincarnation. Meditating on the Lord forever and ever, the Gurmukh finds peace. He dwells in the home of his own inner being, absorbed in the Praise of the True Lord. The True Lord is profound and unfathomable; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, He is understood. ||8|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Meditate on the True Name; the True Lord is all-pervading. O Nanak, one who realises the Hukam of the Lord's Command, obtains the fruit of Truth. One who merely mouths the words, does not understand the Hukam of the True Lord's Command. O Nanak, one who accepts the Will of the Lord is His devotee. Without accepting it, he is the falsest of the false. ||1|| Third Mehl: The self-willed manmukhs do not know what they are saying. They are filled with sexual desire, anger and egotism. They do not understand right places and wrong places; they are filled with greed and corruption. They come, and sit and talk for their own purposes. The Messenger of Death strikes them down. Hereafter, they are called to account in the Court of the Lord; the false ones are struck down and humiliated. How can this filth of falsehood be washed off? Can anyone think about this, and find the way? If one meets with the True Guru, He implants the Naam, the Name of the Lord within; all his sins are destroyed. Let all bow in humility to that humble being who chants the Naam, and worships the Naam in adoration.

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The Naam washes off the filth of falsehood; chanting the Naam, one becomes truthful. O servant Nanak, wondrous are the plays of the Lord, the Giver of life. ||2|| Pauree: You are the Great Giver; no other is as great as You. Unto whom should I speak and talk? By Guru's Grace, I find You; You eradicate egotism from within. You are beyond sweet and salty flavors; True is Your glorious greatness. You bless those whom You forgive, and unite them with Yourself. You have placed the Ambrosial Nectar deep within the heart; the Gurmukh drinks it in. ||9|| Shalok, Third Mehl: The stories of one's ancestors make the children good children. They accept what is pleasing to the Will of the True Guru, and act accordingly. Go and consult the Simritees, the Shaastras, the writings of Vyaas, Suk Dayv, Naarad, and all those who preach to the world. Those, whom the True Lord attaches, are attached to the Truth; they contemplate the True Name forever. O Nanak, their coming into the world is approved; they redeem all their ancestors. ||1|| Third Mehl: The disciples whose teacher is blind, act blindly as well. They walk according to their own wills, and continually speak falsehood and lies. They practice falsehood and deception, and endlessly slander others. Slandering others, they drown themselves, and drown all their generations as well. O Nanak, whatever the Lord links them to, to that they are linked; what can the poor creatures do? ||2|| Pauree: He keeps all under His Gaze; He created the entire Universe. He has linked some to falsehood and deception; these self-willed manmukhs are plundered. The Gurmukhs meditate on the Lord forever; their inner beings are filled with love. Those who have the treasure of virtue, chant the Praises of the Lord. O Nanak, meditate on the Naam, and the Glorious Praises of the True Lord. ||10|| Shalok, First Mehl: Men of charity gather wealth by committing sins, and then give it away in donations to charity. Their spiritual teachers go to their homes to instruct them. The woman loves the man only for his wealth; they come and go as they please. No one obeys the Shaastras or the Vedas. Everyone worships himself. Becoming judges, they sit and administer justice. They chant on their malas, and call upon God. They accept bribes, and block justice. If someone asks them, they read quotations from their books. The Muslim scriptures are in their ears and in their hearts. They plunder the people, and engage in gossip and flattery. They anoint their kitchens to try to become pure. Behold, such is the Hindu. The Yogi, with matted hair and ashes on his body, has become a householder. The children weep in front of him and behind him. He does not attain Yoga - he has lost his way. Why does he apply ashes to his forehead? O Nanak, this is the sign of the Dark Age of Kali Yuga; everyone says that he himself knows. ||1|| First Mehl: The Hindu comes to the house of a Hindu. He puts the sacred thread around his neck and reads the scriptures. He puts on the thread, but does evil deeds. His cleansings and washings will not be approved. The Muslim glorifies his own faith.

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Without the Guru or a spiritual teacher, no one is accepted. They may be shown the way, but only a few go there. Without the karma of good actions, heaven is not attained. The Way of Yoga is demonstrated in the Yogi's monastery. They wear ear-rings to show the way. Wearing ear-rings, they wander around the world. The Creator Lord is everywhere. There are as many travellers as there are beings. When one's death warrant is issued, there is no delay. One who knows the Lord here, realises Him there as well. Others, whether Hindu or Muslim, are just babbling. Everyone's account is read in the Court of the Lord; without the karma of good actions, no one crosses over. One who speaks the True Name of the True Lord, O Nanak, is not called to account hereafter. ||2|| Pauree: The fortress of the body is called the Mansion of the Lord. The rubies and gems are found within it; the Gurmukh chants the Name of the Lord. The body, the Mansion of the Lord, is very

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beautiful, when the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is implanted deep within. The self-willed manmukhs ruin themselves; they boil continuously in attachment to Maya. The One Lord is the Master of all. He is found only by perfect destiny. ||11|| Shalok, First Mehl: There is no Truth in suffering, there is no Truth in comfort. There is no Truth in wandering like animals through the water. There is no Truth in shaving one's head; there is no Truth is studying the scriptures or wandering in foreign lands. There is no Truth in trees, plants or stones, in mutilating oneself or suffering in pain. There is no Truth in binding elephants in chains; there is no Truth in grazing cows. He alone grants it, whose hands hold spritual perfection; he alone receives it, unto whom it is given. O Nanak, he alone is blessed with glorious greatness, whose heart is filled with the Word of the Shabad. God says, all hearts are mine, and I am in all hearts. Who can explain this to one who is confused? Who can confuse that being, unto whom I have shown the Way? And who can show the Path to that being whom I have confused since the beginning of time? ||1|| First Mehl: He alone is a householder, who restrains his passions and begs for meditation, austerity and self-discipline. He gives donations to charity with his body; such a householder is as pure as the water of the Ganges. Says Eeshar, the Lord is the embodiment of Truth. The supreme essence of reality has no shape or form. ||2|| First Mehl: He alone is a detached hermit, who burns away his self-conceit. He begs for suffering as his food. In the city of the heart, he begs for charity. Such a renunciate ascends to the City of God. Says Gorakh, God is the embodiment of Truth; the supreme essence of reality has no shape or form. ||3|| First Mehl: He alone is an Udasi, a shaven-headed renunciate, who embraces renunciation. He sees the Immaculate Lord dwelling in both the upper and lower regions. He balances the sun and the moon energies. The body-wall of such an Udasi does not collapse. Says Gopi Chand, God is the embodiment of Truth; the supreme essence of reality has no shape or form. ||4|| First Mehl: He alone is a Paakhandi, who cleanses his body of filth. The fire of his body illuminates God within. He does not waste his energy in wet dreams.

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Such a Paakhandi does not grow old or die. Says Charpat, God is the embodiment of Truth; the supreme essence of reality has no shape or form. ||5|| First Mehl: He alone is a Bairaagi, who turns himself toward God. In the Tenth Gate, the sky of the mind, he erects his pillar. Night and day, he remains in deep inner meditation. Such a Bairaagi is just like the True Lord. Says Bhart'har, God is the embodiment of Truth; the supreme essence of reality has no shape or form. ||6|| First Mehl: How is evil eradicated? How can the true way of life be found? What is the use of piercing the ears, or begging for food? Throughout existence and non-existence, there is only the Name of the One Lord. What is that Word, which holds the heart in its place? When you look alike upon sunshine and shade, says Nanak, then the Guru will speak to you. The students follow the six systems. They are neither worldly people, nor detached renunciates. One who remains absorbed in the Formless Lord - why should he go out begging? ||7|| Pauree: That alone is said to be the Lord's temple, where the Lord is known. In the human body, the Guru's Word is found, when one understands that the Lord, the Supreme Soul, is in all. Don't look for Him outside your self. The Creator, the Architect of Destiny, is within the home of your own heart. The self-willed manmukh does not appreciate the value of the Lord's temple; they waste away and lose their lives. The One Lord is pervading in all; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, He can be found. ||12|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Only a fool listens to the words of the fool. What are the signs of the fool? What does the fool do? A fool is stupid; he dies of egotism. His actions always bring him pain; he lives in pain. If someone's beloved friend falls into the pit, what can be used to pull him out? One who becomes Gurmukh contemplates the Lord, and remains detached. Chanting the Lord's Name, he saves himself, and he carries across those who are drowning as well. O Nanak, he acts in accordance with the Will of God; he endures whatever he is given. ||1|| First Mehl: Says Nanak, listen, O mind, to the True Teachings. Opening His ledger, God will call you to account. Those rebels who have unpaid accounts shall be called out. Azraa-eel, the Angel of Death, shall be appointed to punish them. They will find no way to escape coming and going in reincarnation; they are trapped in the narrow path. Falsehood will come to an end, O Nanak, and Truth will prevail in the end. ||2|| Pauree: The body and everything belongs to the Lord; the Lord Himself is all-pervading. The Lord's value cannot be estimated; nothing can be said about it. By Guru's Grace, one praises the Lord, imbued with feelings of devotion. The mind and body are totally rejuvenated, and egotism is eradicated. Everything is the play of the Lord. The Gurmukh understands this. ||13|| Shalok, First Mehl: Branded with a thousand marks of disgrace, Indra cried in shame. Paras Raam returned home crying. Ajai cried and wept, when he was made to eat the manure he had given, pretending it was charity. Such is the punishment received in the Court of the Lord. Rama wept when he was sent into exile,

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and separated from Sita and Lakhshman. The ten-headed Raawan, who stole away Sita with the beat of his tambourine, wept when he lost Sri Lanka. The Paandavas once lived in the Presence of the Lord; they were made slaves, and wept. Janmayjaa wept, that he had lost his way. One mistake, and he became a sinner. The Shaykhs, Pirs and spiritual teachers weep; at the very last instant, they suffer in agony. The kings weep - their ears are cut; they go begging from house to house. The miser weeps; he has to leave behind the wealth he has gathered. The Pandit, the religious scholar, weeps when his learning is gone. The young woman weeps because she has no husband. O Nanak, the whole world is suffering. He alone is victorious, who believes in the Lord's Name. No other action is of any account. ||1|| Second Mehl: Meditation, austerity and everything come through belief in the Lord's Name. All other actions are useless. O Nanak, believe in the One who is worth believing in. By Guru's Grace, he is realised. ||2|| Pauree: The union of the body and the soul-swan was pre-ordained by the Creator Lord. He is hidden, and yet pervading all. He is revealed to the Gurmukh. Singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and chanting His Praises, one merges in His Glories. True is the True Word of the Guru's Bani. One unites in Union with the True Lord. He Himself is everything; He Himself grants glorious greatness. ||14|| Shalok, Second Mehl: O Nanak, the blind man may go to appraise the jewels, but he will not know their value; he will return home after exposing his ignorance. ||1|| Second Mehl: The Jeweller has come, and opened up the bag of jewels. The merchandise and the merchant are merged together. They alone purchase the gem, O Nanak, who have virtue in their purse. Those who do not appreciate the value of the jewels, wander like blind men in the world. ||2|| Pauree: The fortress of the body has nine gates; the tenth gate is kept hidden. The rigid door is not open; only through the Word of the Guru's Shabad can it be opened. The unstruck sound current resounds and vibrates there. The Word of the Guru's Shabad is heard. Deep within the nucleus of the heart, the Divine Light shines forth. Through devotional worship, one meets the Lord. The One Lord is pervading and permeating all. He Himself created the creation. ||15|| Shalok, Second Mehl: He is truly blind, who follows the way shown by the blind man. O Nanak, why should the one who can see, get lost? Do not call them blind, who have no eyes in their face. They alone are blind, O Nanak, who wander away from their Lord and Master. ||1|| Second Mehl: One whom the Lord has made blind - the Lord can make him see again. He acts only as he knows, although he may be spoken to a hundred times. Where the real thing is not seen, self-conceit prevails there - know this well. O Nanak, how can the purshaser purchase the real thing, if he cannot recognise it? ||2|| Second Mehl: How can someone be called blind, if he was made blind by the Lord's Command? O Nanak, one who does not understand the Hukam of the Lord's Command should be called blind. ||3||

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Pauree: Deep within the body is the fortress of the Lord, and all lands and countries. He Himself sits in primal, profound Samaadhi; He Himself is all-pervading. He Himself created the Universe, and He Himself remains hidden within it. Serving the Guru, the Lord is known, and the Truth is revealed. He is True, the Truest of the True; the Guru has imparted this understanding. ||16|| Shalok, First Mehl: Night is the summer season, and day is the winter season; sexual desire and anger are the two fields planted. Greed prepares the soil, and the seed of falsehood is planted; attachment and love are the farmer and hired hand. Contemplation is the plow, and corruption is the harvest; this is what one earns and eats, according to the Hukam of the Lord's Command. O Nanak, when one is called to give his account, he will be barren and infertile. ||1|| First Mehl: Make the Fear of God the farm, purity the water, truth and contentment the cows and bulls, humility the plow, consciousness the plowman, remembrance the preparation of the soil, and union with the Lord the planting time. Let the Lord's Name be the seed, and His Forgiving Grace the harvest. Do this, and the whole world will seem false. O Nanak, if He bestows His Merciful Glance of Grace, then all your separation will be ended. ||2|| Pauree: The self-willed manmukh is trapped in the darkness of emotional attachment; in the love of duality he speaks. The love of duality brings pain forever; he churns the water endlessly. The Gurmukh meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord; he churns, and obtains the essence of reality. The Divine Light illuminates his heart deep within; he seeks the Lord, and obtains Him. He Himself deludes in doubt; no one can comment on this. ||17|| Shalok, Second Mehl: O Nanak, don't be anxious; the Lord will take care of you. He created the creatures in water, and He gives them their nourishment. There are no stores open there, and no one farms there. No business is ever transacted there, and no one buys or sells. Animals eat other animals; this is what the Lord has given them as food. He created them in the oceans, and He provides for them as well. O Nanak, don't be anxious; the Lord will take care of you. ||1|| First Mehl: O Nanak, this soul is the fish, and death is the hungry fisherman. The blind man does not even think of this. And suddenly, the net is cast. O Nanak, his consciousness is unconscious, and he departs, bound by anxiety. But if the Lord bestows His Glance of Grace, then He unites the soul with Himself. ||2|| Pauree: They are true, forever true, who drink in the sublime essence of the Lord. The True Lord abides in the mind of the Gurmukh; He strikes the true bargain. Everything is in the home of the self within; only the very fortunate obtain it. The hunger within is conquered and overcome, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. He Himself unites in His Union; He Himself blesses them with understanding. ||18|| Shalok, First Mehl: The cotton is ginned, woven and spun; the cloth is laid out, washed and bleached white. The tailor cuts it with his scissors, and sews it with his thread. Thus, the torn and tattered honour is sewn up again, through the Lord's Praise, O Nanak, and one lives the true life. Becoming worn, the cloth is torn; with needle and thread it is sewn up again. It will not last for a month, or even a week. It barely lasts for an hour, or even a moment.

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But the Truth does not grow old; and when it is stitched, it is never torn again. O Nanak, the Lord and Master is the Truest of the True. While we meditate on Him, we see Him. ||1|| First Mehl: The knife is Truth, and its steel is totally True. Its workmanship is incomparably beautiful. It is sharpened on the grindstone of the Shabad. It is placed in the scabbard of virtue. If the Shaykh is killed with that, then the blood of greed will spill out. One who is slaughtered in this ritualistic way, will be attached to the Lord. O Nanak, at the Lord's door, he is absorbed into His Blessed Vision. ||2|| First Mehl: A beautiful dagger hangs by your waist, and you ride such a beautiful horse. But don't be too proud; O Nanak, you may fall head first to the ground. ||3|| Pauree: They alone walk as Gurmukh, who receive the Shabad in the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. Meditating on the True Lord, they become truthful; they carry in their robes the supplies of the Lord's wealth. The devotees look beautiful, singing the Praises of the Lord; following the Guru's Teachings, they become stable and unchanging. They enshrine the jewel of contemplation within their minds, and the most sublime Word of the Guru's Shabad. He Himself unites in His Union; He Himself grants glorious greatness. ||19|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Everyone is filled with hope; hardly anyone is free of hope. O Nanak, blessed is the birth of one, who remains dead while yet alive. ||1|| Third Mehl: Nothing is in the hands of hope. How can one become free of hope? What can this poor being do? The Lord Himself creates confusion. ||2|| Pauree: Cursed is the life in this world, without the True Name. God is the Great Giver of givers. His wealth is permanent and unchanging. That humble being is immaculate, who worships the Lord with each and every breath. With your tongue, vibrate the One Inaccessible Lord, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. He is all-pervading everywhere. Nanak is a sacrifice to Him. ||20|| Shalok, First Mehl: The union between the lake of the True Guru, and the swan of the soul, was pre-ordained from the very beginning, by the Pleasure of the Lord's Will. The diamonds are in this lake; they are the food of the swans. The cranes and the ravens may be very wise, but they do not remain in this lake. They do not find their food there; their food is different. Practicing Truth, the True Lord is found. False is the pride of the false. O Nanak, they alone meet the True Guru, who are so pre-destined by the Lord's Command. ||1|| First Mehl: My Lord and Master is immaculate, as are those who think of Him. O Nanak, serve Him, who gives to you forever and ever. O Nanak, serve Him; by serving Him, sorrow is dispelled. Faults and demerits vanish, and virtues take their place; peace comes to dwell in the mind. ||2|| Pauree: He Himself is all-pervading; He Himself is absorbed in the profound state of Samaadhi. He Himself instructs; the Gurmukh is satisfied and fulfilled. Some, He causes to wander in the wilderness, while others are committed to His devotional worship. He alone understands, whom the Lord causes to understand; He Himself attaches mortals to His Name. O Nanak, meditating on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, true greatness is obtained. ||21||1|| Sudh||

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Vaar Of Raamkalee, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Shalok, Fifth Mehl: As I have heard of the True Guru, so I have seen Him. He re-unites the separated ones with God; He is the Mediator at the Court of the Lord. He implants the Mantra of the Lord's Name, and eradicates the illness of egotism. O Nanak, he alone meets the True Guru, who has such union pre-ordained. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: If the One Lord is my Friend, then all are my friends. If the One Lord is my enemy, then all fight with me. The Perfect Guru has shown me that, without the Name, everything is useless. The faithless cynics and the evil people wander in reincarnation; they are attached to other tastes. Servant Nanak has realised the Lord God, by the Grace of the

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Guru, the True Guru. ||2|| Pauree: The Creator Lord created the Creation. He Himself is the perfect Banker; He Himself earns His profit. He Himself made the expansive Universe; He Himself is imbued with joy. The value of God's almighty creative power cannot be estimated. He is inaccessible, unfathomable, endless, the farthest of the far. He Himself is the greatest Emperor; He Himself is His own Prime Minister. No one knows His worth, or the greatness of His resting place. He Himself is our True Lord and Master. He reveals Himself to the Gurmukh. ||1|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: Listen, O my beloved friend: please show me the True Guru. I dedicate my mind to Him; I keep Him continually enshrined within my heart. Without the One and Only True Guru, life in this world is cursed. O servant Nanak, they alone meet the True Guru, with whom He constantly abides. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Deep within me is the longing to meet You; how can I find You, God? I will search for someone, some friend, who will unite me with my Beloved. The Perfect Guru has united me with Him; wherever I look, there He is. Servant Nanak serves that God; there is no other as great as He is. ||2|| Pauree: He is the Great Giver, the Generous Lord; with what mouth can I praise Him? In His Mercy, He protects, preserves and sustains us. No one is under anyone else's control; He is the One Support of all. He cherishes all as His children, and reaches out with His hand. He stages His joyous plays, which no one understands at all. The all-powerful Lord gives His Support to all; I am a sacrifice to Him. Night and day, sing the Praises of the One who is worthy of being praised. Those who fall at the Guru's Feet, enjoy the sublime essence of the Lord. ||2|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: He has widened the narrow path for me, and preserved my integrity, along with that of my family. He Himself has arranged and resolved my affairs. I dwell upon that God forever. God is my mother and father; He hugs me close in His embrace, and cherishes me, like His tiny baby. All beings and creatures have become kind and compassionate to me. O Nanak, the Lord has blessed me with His Glance of Grace. ||1||

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Fifth Mehl: To ask for any other than You, Lord, is the most miserable of miseries. Please bless me with Your Name, and make me content; may the hunger of my mind be satisfied. The Guru has made the woods and meadows green again. O Nanak, is it any wonder that He blesses human beings as well? ||2|| Pauree: Such is that Great Giver; may I never forget Him from my mind. I cannot survive without Him, for an instant, for a moment, for a second. Inwardly and outwardly, He is with us; how can we hide anything from Him? One whose honour He Himself has preserved, crosses over the terrifying world-ocean. He alone is a devotee, a spiritual teacher, and a disciplined pratictioner of meditation, whom the Lord has so blessed. He alone is perfect and renowned as supreme, whom the Lord has blessed with His power. He alone endures the unendurable, whom the Lord inspires to endure it. And he alone meets the True Lord, within whose mind the Guru's Mantra is implanted. ||3|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: Blessed are those beautiful Ragas which, when chanted, quench all thirst. Blessed are those beautiful people who, as Gurmukh, chant the Name of the Lord. I am a sacrifice to those who single-mindedly worship and adore the One Lord. I yearn for the dust of their feet; by His Grace, it is obtained. I am a sacrifice to those who are imbued with love for the Lord of the Universe. I tell them the state of my soul, and pray that I may be united with the Sovereign Lord King, my Friend. The Perfect Guru has united me with Him, and the pains of birth and death have departed. Servant Nanak has found the inaccessible, infinitely beautiful Lord, and he will not go anywhere else. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Blessed is that time, blessed is that hour, blessed is that second, excellent is that instant; blessed is that day, and that opportunity, when I gazed upon the Blessed Vision of the Guru's Darshan. The mind's desires are fulfilled, when the inaccessible, unfathomable Lord is obtained. Egotism and emotional attachment are eradicated, and one leans only on the Support of the True Name. O servant Nanak, one who is committed to the Lord's service - the whole world is saved along with him. ||2|| Pauree: How rare are those who are blessed to praise the Lord, in devotional worship. Those who are blessed with the Lord's treasures are not called to give their account again. Those who are imbued with His Love are absorbed in ecstasy. They take the Support of the One Name; the One Name is their only food. For their sake, the world eats and enjoys. Their Beloved Lord belongs to them alone. The Guru comes and meets them; they alone know God. I am a sacrifice to those who are pleasing to their Lord and Master. ||4|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: My friendship is with the One Lord alone; I am in love with the One Lord alone. The Lord is my only friend; my companionship is with the One Lord alone. My conversation is with the One Lord alone; He never frowns, or turns His face away. He alone knows the state of my soul; He never ignores my love. He is my only counselor, all-powerful to destroy and create. The Lord is my only Giver. He places His hand upon the heads of the generous in the world. I take the Support of the One Lord alone; He is all-powerful, over the heads of all. The Saint, the True Guru, has united me with the Lord. He placed His hand on my forehead.

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The Guru led me to meet the greatest Lord and Master; He saved the whole world. The desires of the mind are fulfilled; I have attained my pre-destined Union with God. Nanak has obtained the True Name; He enjoys the enjoyments forever. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Friendship with the self-willed manmukhs is an alliance with Maya. As we watch, they run away; they never stand firm. As long as they get food and clothing, they stick around. But on that day when they receive nothing, then they start to curse. The self-willed manmukhs are ignorant and blind; they do not know the secrets of the soul. The false bond does not last; it is like stones joined with mud. The blind do not understand themselves; they are engrossed in false worldly entanglements. Entangled in false attachments, they pass their lives in egotism and self-conceit. But that being, whom the Lord has blessed with His Mercy from the very beginning, does perfect deeds, and accumulates good karma. O servant Nanak, those humble beings alone are saved, who enter the Sanctuary of the True Guru. ||2|| Pauree: Those who are imbued with the Lord's Vision, speak the Truth. How can I obtain the dust of those who realise their Lord and Master? The mind, stained by corruption, becomes pure by associating with them. One sees the Mansion of the Lord's Presence, when the door of doubt is opened. That one, unto whom the Mansion of the Lord's Presence is revealed, is never pushed or shoved. My mind and body are enraptured, when the Lord blesses me, even for an instant, with His Glance of Grace. The nine treasures, and the treasure of the Naam are obtained by commitment to the Word of the Guru's Shabad. He alone is blessed with the dust of the feet of the Saints, upon whose forehead such pre-ordained desiny is inscribed. ||5|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: O deer-eyed bride, I speak the Truth, which shall save you. Listen to these beautiful words, O beauteous bride; your Beloved Lord is your mind's only support. You have fallen in love with an evil person; tell me - show me why! I lack nothing, and I am not sad or depressed; I have no deficiency at all. I abandoned and lost my fascinating and beautiful Husband Lord; in this evil-mindedness, I have lost my good fortune. I am not mistaken, and I am not confused; I have no egotism, and commit no offence. As You have linked me, so I am linked; listen to my true message. She alone is the blessed soul-bride, and she alone is fortunate, upon whom the Husband Lord has showered His Mercy. Her Husband Lord takes away all her faults and mistakes; hugging her close in His embrace, He embellishes her. The unfortunate soul-bride makes this prayer: O Nanak, when will my turn come? All the blessed soul-brides celebrate and make merry; bless me as well with a night of bliss, O Lord. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Why do you waver, O my mind? The Lord is the Fulfiller of hopes and desires. Meditate on the True Guru, the Primal Being; He is the Destroyer of all pains. Worship and adore the Lord's Name, O my mind; all sins and corruption shall be washed away. Those who are blessed with such pre-ordained destiny, are in love with the Formless Lord. They abandon the tastes of Maya, and gather in the infinite wealth of the Naam. Twenty-four hours a day, they are lovingly absorbed in the One Lord; they surrender and accept the Will of the Infinite Lord.

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Servant Nanak begs for this one gift: please bless me, Lord, with the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan; my mind is in love with You. ||2|| Pauree: One who is conscious of You finds everlasting peace. One who is conscious of You does not suffer at the hands of the Messenger of Death. One who is conscious of You is not anxious. One who has the Creator as his Friend - all his affairs are resolved. One who is conscious of You is renowned and respected. One who is conscious of You becomes very wealthy. One who is conscious of You has a great family. One who is conscious of You saves his ancestors. ||6|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: Blind inwardly, and blind outwardly, he sings falsely, falsely. He washes his body, and draws ritual marks on it, and totally runs after wealth. But the filth of his egotism is not removed from within, and over and over again, he comes and goes in reincarnation. Engulfed in sleep, and tormented by frustrated sexual desire, he chants the Lord's Name with his mouth. He is called a Vaishnav, but he is bound to deeds of egotism; by threshing only husks, what rewards can be obtained? Sitting among the swans, the crane does not become one of them; sitting there, he keeps staring at the fish. And when the gathering of swans looks and sees, they realise that they can never form an alliance with the crane. The swans peck at the diamonds and pearls, while the crane chases after frogs. The poor crane flies away, so that his secret will not be exposed. Whatever the Lord attaches one to, to that he is attached. Who is to blame, when the Lord wills it so? The True Guru is the lake, overflowing with pearls. One who meets the True Guru obtains them. The Sikh-swans gather at the lake, according to the Will of the True Guru. The lake is filled with the wealth of these jewels and pearls; they are spent and consumed, but they never run out. The swan never leaves the lake; such is the Pleasure of the Creator's Will. O servant Nanak, one who has such pre-ordained destiny inscribed upon his forehead - that Sikh comes to the Guru. He saves himself, and saves all his generations as well; he emancipates the whole world. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: He is called a Pandit, a religious scholar, and yet he wanders along many pathways. He is as hard as uncooked beans. He is filled with attachment, and constantly engrossed in doubt; his body cannot hold still. False is his coming, and false is his going; he is continually on the lookout for Maya. If someone speaks the truth, then he is aggravated; he is totally filled with anger. The evil fool is engrossed in evil-mindedness and false intellectualisation s; his mind is attached to emotional attachment. The deceiver abides with the five deceivers; it is a gathering of like minds. And when the Jeweller, the True Guru, appraises him, then he is exposed as mere iron. Mixed and mingled with others, he was passed off as genuine in many places; but now, the veil has been lifted, and he stands naked before all. One who comes to the Sanctuary of the True Guru, shall be transformed from iron into gold. The True Guru has no anger or vengeance; He looks upon son and enemy alike. Removing faults and mistakes, He purifies the human body. O Nanak, one who has such pre-ordained destiny inscribed upon his forehead, is in love with the True Guru.

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The Word of the Perfect True Guru's Bani is Ambrosial Nectar; it dwells in the heart of one who is blessed by the Guru's Mercy. His coming and going in reincarnation is ended; forever and ever, he is at peace. ||2|| Pauree: He alone understands You, Lord, with whom You are pleased. He alone is approved in the Court of the Lord, with whom You are pleased. Egotism is eradicated, when You bestow Your Grace. Sins are erased, when You are thoroughly pleased. One who has the Lord Master on his side, becomes fearless. One who is blessed with Your Mercy, becomes truthful. One who is blessed with Your Kindness, is not touched by fire. You are forever Merciful to those who are receptive to the Guru's Teachings. ||7|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: Please grant Your Grace, O Merciful Lord; please forgive me. Forever and ever, I chant Your Name; I fall at the feet of the True Guru. Please, dwell within my mind and body, and end my sufferings. Please give me Your hand, and save me, that fear may not afflict me. May I sing Your Glorious Praises day and night; please commit me to this task. Associating with the humble Saints, the disease of egotism is eradicated. The One Lord and Master is all-pervading, permeating everywhere. By Guru's Grace, I have truly found the Truest of the True. Please bless me with Your Kindness, O Kind Lord, and bless me with Your Praises. Gazing upon the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan, I am in ecstasy; this is what Nanak loves. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Meditate on the One Lord within your mind, and enter the Sanctuary of the One Lord alone. Be in love with the One Lord; there is no other at all. Beg from the One Lord, the Great Giver, and you will be blessed with everything. In your mind and body, with each breath and morsel of food, meditate on the One and only Lord God. The Gurmukh obtains the true treasure, the Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord. Very fortunate are those humble Saints, within whose minds the Lord has come to abide. He is pervading and permeating the water, the land and the sky; there is no other at all. Meditating on the Naam, and chanting the Naam, Nanak abides in the Will of his Lord and Master. ||2|| Pauree: One who has You as his Saving Grace - who can kill him? One who has You as his Saving Grace conquers the three worlds. One who has You on his side - his face is radiant and bright. One who has You on his side, is the purest of the Pure. One who is blessed with Your Grace is not called to give his account. One with whom You are pleased, obtains the nine treasures. One who has You on his side, God - unto whom is he subservient? One who is blessed with Your Kind Mercy is dedicated to Your worship. ||8|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: Be Merciful, O my Lord and Master, that I may pass my life in the Society of the Saints. Those who forget You are born only to die and be reincarnated again; their sufferings will never end. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Meditate in remembrance within your heart on the True Guru, whether you are on the most difficult path, on the mountain or by the river bank. Chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, no one shall block your way. ||2|| Pauree:

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Where You are, Almighty Lord, there is no one else. There, in the fire of the mother's womb, You protected us. Hearing Your Name, the Messenger of Death runs away. The terrifying, treacherous, impassible world-ocean is crossed over, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Those who feel thirst for You, take in Your Ambrosial Nectar. This is the only act of goodness in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, to sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe. He is Merciful to all; He sustains us with each and every breath. Those who come to You with love and faith are never turned away empty-handed. ||9|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: Those whom You bless with the Support of Your Name, O Supreme Lord God, do not know any other. Inaccessible, Unfathomable

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Lord and Master, All-powerful True Great Giver: You are eternal and unchanging, without vengeance and True; True is the Darbaar of Your Court. Your worth cannot be described; You have no end or limitation. To forsake God, and ask for something else, is all corruption and ashes. They alone find peace, and they are the true kings, whose dealings are true. Those who are in love with God's Name, intuitively enjoy the essence of peace. Nanak worships and adores the One Lord; he seeks the dust of the Saints. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Singing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises, bliss, peace and rest are obtained. Forsake other clever tricks, O Nanak; only through the Name will you be saved. ||2|| Pauree: No one can bring You under control, by despising the world. No one can bring You under control, by studying the Vedas. No one can bring You under control, by bathing at the holy places. No one can bring You under control, by wandering all over the world. No one can bring You under control, by any clever tricks. No one can bring You under control, by giving huge donations to charities. Everyone is under Your power, O inaccessible, unfathomable Lord. You are under the control of Your devotees; You are the strength of Your devotees. ||10|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: The Lord Himself is the true physician. These physicians of the world only burden the soul with pain. The Word of the Guru's Shabad is Ambrosial Nectar; it is so delicious to eat. O Nanak, one whose mind is filled with this Nectar - all his pains are dispelled. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: By the Hukam of Lord's Command, they move about; by the Lord's Command, they remain still. By His Hukam, they endure pain and pleasure alike. By His Hukam, they chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord, day and night. O Nanak, he alone does so, who is blessed. By the Hukam of the Lord's Command, they die; by the Hukam of His Command, they live. By His Hukam, they become tiny, and huge. By His Hukam, they receive pain, happiness and bliss. By His Hukam, they chant the Guru's Mantra, which always works. By His Hukam, coming and going in reincarnation cease, O Nanak, when He links them to His devotional worship. ||2|| Pauree: I am a sacrifice to that musician who is Your servant, O Lord. I am a sacrifice to that musician who sings the Glorious Praises of the Infinite Lord. Blessed, blessed is that musician, for whom the Formless Lord Himself longs. Very fortunate is that musician who comes to the gate of the Court of the True Lord. That musician meditates on You, Lord, and praises You day and night. He begs for the Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord, and will never be defeated. His clothes and his food are true, and he enshrines love for the Lord within. Praiseworthy is that musician who loves God. ||11||

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Shalok, Fifth Mehl: The Bani of the Guru's Word is Ambrosial Nectar; its taste is sweet. The Name of the Lord is Ambrosial Nectar. Meditate in remembrance on the Lord in your mind, body and heart; twenty-four hours a day, sing His Glorious Praises. Listen to these Teachings, O Sikhs of the Guru. This is the true purpose of life. This priceless human life will be made fruitful; embrace love for the Lord in your mind. Celestial peace and absolute bliss come when one meditates on God - suffering is dispelled. O Nanak, chanting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, peace wells up, and one obtains a place in the Court of the Lord. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: O Nanak, meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord; this is the Teaching imparted by the Perfect Guru. In the Lord's Will, they practice meditation, austerity and self-discipline; in the Lord's Will, they are released. In the Lord's Will, they are made to wander in reincarnation; in the Lord's Will, they are forgiven. In the Lord's Will, pain and pleasure are experienced; in the Lord's Will, actions are performed. In the Lord's Will, clay is fashioned into form; in the Lord's Will, His Light is infused into it. In the Lord's Will, enjoyments are enjoyed; in the Lord's Will, these enjoyments are denied. In the Lord's Will, they are incarnated in heaven and hell; in the Lord's Will, they fall to the ground. In the Lord's Will, they are committed to His devotional worship and Praise; O Nanak, how rare are these! ||2|| Pauree: Hearing, hearing of the glorious greatness of the True Name, I live. Even ignorant beasts and goblins can be saved, in an instant. Day and night, chant the Name, forever and ever. The most horrible thirst and hunger is satisfied through Your Name, O Lord. Disease, sorrow and pain run away, when the Name dwells within the mind. He alone attains his Beloved, who loves the Word of the Guru's Shabad. The worlds and solar systems are saved by the Infinite Lord. Your glory is Yours alone, O my Beloved True Lord. ||12|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: I abandoned and lost my Beloved Friend, O Nanak; I was fooled by the transitory colour of the safflower, which fades away. I did not know Your value, O my Friend; without You, I am not worth even half a shell. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: My mother-in-law is my enemy, O Nanak; my father-in-law is argumentative and my brother-in-law burns me at every step. They can all just play in the dust, when You are my Friend, O Lord. ||2|| Pauree: You relieve the pains of those, within whose consciousness You dwell, O Lord. Those, within whose consciousness You dwell, never lose. One who meets the Perfect Guru will surely be saved. One who is attached to Truth, contemplates Truth. One, into whose hands the treasure comes, stops searching. He alone is known as a devotee, who loves the One Lord. He is the dust under the feet of all; he is the lover of the Lord's feet. Everything is Your wonderful play; the whole creation is Yours. ||13|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: I have totally discarded praise and slander, O Nanak; I have forsaken and abandoned everything. I have seen that all relationships are false, and so I have grasped hold of the hem of Your robe, Lord. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: I wandered and wandered and went crazy, O Nanak, in countless foreign lands and pathways. But then, I slept in peace and comfort, when I met the Guru, and found my Friend. ||2||

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Pauree: When I forget You, I endure all pains and afflictions. Making thousands of efforts, they are still not eliminated. One who forgets the Name, is known as a poor person. One who forgets the Name, wanders in reincarnation. One who does not remember his Lord and Master, is punished by the Messenger of Death. One who does not remember his Lord and Master, is judged to be a sick person. One who does not remember his Lord and Master, is egotistical and proud. One who forgets the Name is miserable in this world. ||14|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: I have not seen any other like You. You alone are pleasing to Nanak's mind. I am a dedicated, devoted sacrifice to that friend, that mediator, who leads me to recognise my Husband Lord. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Beautiful are those feet which walk towards You; beautiful is that head which falls at Your Feet. Beautiful is that mouth which sings Your Praises; beautiful is that soul which seeks Your Sanctuary. ||2|| Pauree: Meeting the Lord's brides, in the True Congregation, I sing the songs of joy. The home of my heart is now held steady, and I shall not go out wandering again. Evil-mindedness has been dispelled, along with sin and my bad reputation. I am well-known as being calm and good-natured; my heart is filled with Truth. Inwardly and outwardly, the One and only Lord is my way. My mind is thirsty for the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. I am a slave at His feet. I am glorified and embellished, when my Lord and Master enjoys me. I meet Him through my blessed destiny, when it is pleasing to His Will. ||15|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: All virtues are Yours, Dear Lord; You bestow them upon us. I am unworthy - what can I achieve, O Nanak? There is no other Giver as great as You. I am a beggar; I beg from You forever. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: My body was wasting away, and I was depressed. The Guru, my Friend, has encouraged and consoled me. I sleep in total peace and comfort; I have conquered the whole world. ||2|| Pauree: The Darbaar of Your Court is glorious and great. Your holy throne is True. You are the Emperor over the heads of kings. Your canopy and chauree (fly-brush) are permanent and unchanging. That alone is true justice, which is pleasing to the Will of the Supreme Lord God. Even the homeless receive a home, when it is pleasing to the Will of the Supreme Lord God. Whatever the Creator Lord does, is a good thing. Those who recognise their Lord and Master, are seated in the Court of the Lord. True is Your Command; no one can challenge it. O Merciful Lord, Cause of causes, Your creative power is all-powerful. ||16|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: Hearing of You, my body and mind have blossomed forth; chanting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, I am flushed with life. Walking on the Path, I have found cool tranquility deep within; gazing upon the Blessed Vision of the Guru's Darshan, I am enraptured. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: I have found the jewel within my heart. I was not charged for it; the True Guru gave it to me. My search has ended, and I have become stable. O Nanak, I have conquered this priceless human life. ||2|| Pauree: One who has such good karma inscribed upon his forehead, is committed to the Lord's service. One whose heart lotus blossoms forth upon meeting the Guru, remains awake and aware, night and day. All doubt and fear run away from one who is in love with the Lord's lotus feet.

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He conquers his soul, following the Guru's Teachings, and attains the Imperishable Lord. He alone keeps up in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, who meditates on the Supreme Lord God. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, he is immaculate, as if he has bathed at the sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage. He alone is a man of good fortune, who has met with God. Nanak is a sacrifice to such a one, whose destiny is so great! ||17|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: When the Husband Lord is within the heart, then Maya, the bride, goes outside. When one's Husband Lord is outside of oneself, then Maya, the bride, is supreme. Without the Name, one wanders all around. The True Guru shows us that the Lord is with us. Servant Nanak merges in the Truest of the True. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Making all sorts of efforts, they wander around; but they do not make even one effort. O Nanak, how rare are those who understand the effort which saves the world. ||2|| Pauree: The greatest of the great, infinite is Your dignity. Your colours and hues are so numerous; no one can know Your actions. You are the Soul within all souls; You alone know everything. Everything is under Your control; Your home is beautiful. Your home is filled with bliss, which resonates and resounds throughout Your home. Your honour, majesty and glory are Yours alone. You are overflowing with all powers; wherever we look, there You are. Nanak, the slave of Your slaves, prays to You alone. ||18|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: Your streets are covered with canopies; under them, the traders look beautiful. O Nanak, he alone is truly a banker, who buys the infinite commodity. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Kabeer, no one is mine, and I belong to no one. I am absorbed in the One, who created this creation. ||2|| Pauree: The Lord is the most beautiful fruit tree, bearing fruits of Ambrosial Nectar. My mind longs to meet Him; how can I ever find Him? He has no colour or form; He is inaccessible and unconquerable. I love Him with all my soul; He opens the door for me. I shall serve you forever, if you tell me of my Friend. I am a sacrifice, a dedicated, devoted sacrifice to Him. The Beloved Saints tell us, to listen with our consciousness. One who has such pre-ordained destiny, O slave Nanak, is blessed with the Ambrosial Name by the True Guru. ||19|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: Kabeer, the earth belongs to the Holy, but the thieves have come and now sit among them. The earth does not feel their weight; even they profit. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Kabeer, for the sake of the rice, the husks are beaten and threshed. When one sits in the company of evil people, then he will be called to account by the Righteous Judge of Dharma. ||2|| Pauree: He Himself has the greatest family; He Himself is all alone. He alone knows His own worth. He Himself, by Himself, created everything. Only He Himself can describe His own creation. Blessed is Your place, where You dwell, Lord.

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Blessed are Your devotees, who see You, O True Lord. He alone praises You, who is blessed by Your Grace. One who meets the Guru, O Nanak, is immaculate and sanctified. ||20|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: Fareed, this world is beautiful, but there is a thorny garden within it. Those who are blessed by their spiritual teacher are not even scratched. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Fareed, blessed is the life, with such a beautiful body. How rare are those who are found to love their Beloved Lord. ||2|| Pauree: He alone obtains meditation, austerities, self-discipline, compassion and Dharmic faith, whom the Lord so blesses. He alone meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, whose fire the Lord puts out. The Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts, the Inaccessible Primal Lord, inspires us to look upon all with an impartial eye. With the support of the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, one falls in love with God. One's faults are eradicated, and one's face becomes radiant and bright; through the Lord's Name, one crosses over. The fear of birth and death is removed, and he is not reincarnated again. God lifts him up and pulls him out of the deep, dark pit, and attaches him to the hem of His robe. O Nanak, God forgives him, and holds him close in His embrace. ||21|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: One who loves God is imbued with the deep crimson colour of His love. O Nanak, such a person is rarely found; the value of such a humble person can never be estimated. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: The True Name has pierced the nucleus of my self deep within. Outside, I see the True Lord as well. O Nanak, He is pervading and permeating all places, the forests and the meadows, the three worlds, and every hair. ||2|| Pauree: He Himself created the Universe; He Himself imbues it. He Himself is One, and He Himself has numerous forms. He Himself is within all, and He Himself is beyond them. He Himself is known to be far away, and He Himself is right here. He Himself is hidden, and He Himself is revealed. No one can estimate the value of Your Creation, Lord. You are deep and profound, unfathomable, infinite and invaluable. O Nanak, the One Lord is all-pervading. You are the One and only. ||22||1||2|| Sudh|| Vaar Of Raamkalee, Uttered By Satta And Balwand The Drummer: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: One who chants the Name of the Almighty Creator - how can his words be judged? His divine virtues are the true sisters and brothers; through them, the gift of supreme status is obtained. Nanak established the kingdom; He built the true fortress on the strongest foundations. He installed the royal canopy over Lehna's head; chanting the Lord's Praises, He drank in the Ambrosial Nectar. The Guru implanted the almighty sword of the Teachings to illuminate his soul. The Guru bowed down to His disciple, while Nanak was still alive. The King, while still alive, applied the ceremonial mark to his forehead. ||1|| Nanak proclaimed Lehna's succession - he earned it. They shared the One Light and the same way; the King just changed His body. The immaculate canopy waves over Him, and He sits on the throne in the Guru's shop. He does as the Guru commands; He tasted the tasteless stone of Yoga.

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 092

The Langar - the Kitchen of the Guru's Shabad has been opened, and its supplies never run short. Whatever His Master gave, He spent; He distributed it all to be eaten. The Praises of the Master were sung, and the Divine Light descended from the heavens to the earth. Gazing upon You, O True King, the filth of countless past lives is washed away. The Guru gave the True Command; why should we hesitate to proclaim this? His sons did not obey His Word; they turned their backs on Him

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as Guru. These evil-hearted ones became rebellious; they carry loads of sin on their backs. Whatever the Guru said, Lehna did, and so he was installed on the throne. Who has lost, and who has won? ||2|| He who did the work, is accepted as Guru; so which is better - the thistle or the rice? The Righteous Judge of Dharma considered the arguments and made the decision. Whatever the True Guru says, the True Lord does; it comes to pass instantaneously. Guru Angad was proclaimed, and the True Creator confirmed it. Nanak merely changed his body; He still sits on the throne, with hundreds of branches reaching out. Standing at His door, His followers serve Him; by this service, their rust is scraped off. He is the Dervish - the Saint, at the door of His Lord and Master; He loves the True Name, and the Bani of the Guru's Word. Balwand says that Khivi, the Guru's wife, is a noble woman, who gives soothing, leafy shade to all. She distributes the bounty of the Guru's Langar; the kheer - the rice pudding and ghee, is like sweet ambrosia. The faces of the Guru's Sikhs are radiant and bright; the self-willed manmukhs are pale, like straw. The Master gave His approval, when Angad exerted Himself heroically. Such is the Husband of mother Khivi; He sustains the world. ||3|| It is as if the Guru made the Ganges flow in the opposite direction, and the world wonders: what has he done? Nanak, the Lord, the Lord of the World, spoke the words out loud. Making the mountain his churning stick, and the snake-king his churning string, He has churned the Word of the Shabad. From it, He extracted the fourteen jewels, and illuminated the world. He revealed such creative power, and touched such greatness. He raised the royal canopy to wave over the head of Lehna, and raised His glory to the skies. His Light merged into the Light, and He blended Him into Himself. Guru Nanak tested His Sikhs and His sons, and everyone saw what happened. When Lehna alone was found to be pure, then He was set on the throne. ||4|| Then, the True Guru, the son of Pheru, came to dwell at Khadoor. Meditation, austerities and self-discipline rest with You, while the others are filled with excessive pride. Greed ruins mankind, like the green algae in the water. In the Guru's Court, the Divine Light shines in its creative power. You are the cooling peace, whose depth cannot be found. You are overflowing with the nine treasures, and the treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Whoever slanders You will be totally ruined and destroyed. People of the world can see only what is near at hand, but You can see far beyond. Then the True Guru, the son of Pheru, came to dwell at Khadoor. ||5||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 093

The same mark on the forehead, the same throne, and the same Royal Court. Just like the father and grandfather, the son is approved. He took the thousand-headed serpent as his churning string, and with the force of devotional love, he churned the ocean of the world with his churning stick, the Sumayr mountain. He extracted the fourteen jewels, and brought forth the Divine Light. He made intuition his horse, and chastity his saddle. He placed the arrow of the Lord's Praise in the bow of Truth. In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, there was only pitch darkness. Then, He rose like the sun to illuminate the darkness. He farms the field of Truth, and spreads out the canopy of Truth. Your kitchen always has ghee and flour to eat. You understand the four corners of the universe; in your mind, the Word of the Shabad is approved and supreme. You eliminate the comings and goings of reincarnation, and bestow the insignia of Your Glance of Grace. You are the Avataar, the Incarnation of the all-knowing Primal Lord. You are not pushed or shaken by the storm and the wind; you are like the Sumayr Mountain. You know the inner state of the soul; You are the Knower of knowers. How can I praise You, O True Supreme King, when You are so wise and all-knowing? Those blessings granted by the Pleasure of the True Guru - please bless Satta with those gifts. Seeing Nanak's canopy waving over Your head, everyone was astonished. The same mark on the forehead, the same throne, and the same Royal Court. Just like the father and grandfather, the son is approved. ||6|| Blessed, blessed is Guru Raam Daas; He who created You, has also exalted You. Perfect is Your miracle; the Creator Lord Himself has installed You on the throne. The Sikhs and all the Congregation recognise You as the Supreme Lord God, and bow down to You. You are unchanging, unfathomable and immeasurable; You have no end or limitation. Those who serve You with love - You carry them across. Greed, envy, sexual desire, anger and emotional attachment - You have beaten them and driven them out. Blessed is Your place, and True is Your magnificent glory. You are Nanak, You are Angad, and You are Amar Daas; so do I recognise You. When I saw the Guru, then my mind was comforted and consoled. ||7|| The four Gurus enlightened the four ages; the Lord Himself assumed the fifth form. He created Himself, and He Himself is the supporting pillar. He Himself is the paper, He Himself is the pen, and He Himself is the writer. All His followers come and go; He alone is fresh and new. Guru Arjun sits on the throne; the royal canopy waves over the True Guru. From east to west, He illuminates the four directions. Those self-willed manmukhs who do not serve the Guru die in shame. Your miracles increase two-fold, even four-fold; this is the True Lord's true blessing. The four Gurus enlightened the four ages; the Lord Himself assumed the fifth form. ||8||1|| Raamkalee, The Word Of The Devotees. Kabeer Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Make your body the vat, and mix in the yeast. Let the Word of the Guru's Shabad be the molasses.

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 094

Cut up desire, sexuality, anger, pride and envy, and let them be the fermenting bark. ||1|| Is there any Saint, with intuitive peace and poise deep within, unto whom I might offer my meditation and austerities as payment? I dedicate my body and mind to whoever gives me even a drop of this wine from such a vat. ||1||Pause|| I have made the fourteen worlds the furnace, and I have burnt my body with the fire of God. My mudra - my hand-gesture, is the pipe; tuning into the celestial sound current within, the Shushmanaa - the central spinal channel, is my cooling pad. ||2|| Pilgrimages, fasting, vows, purifications, self-discipline, austerities and breath control through the sun and moon channels - all these I pledge. My focused consciousness is the cup, and the Ambrosial Nectar is the pure juice. I drink in the supreme, sublime essence of this juice. ||3|| The pure stream constantly trickles forth, and my mind is intoxicated by this sublime essence. Says Kabeer, all other wines are trivial and tasteless; this is the only true, sublime essence. ||4||1|| Make spiritual wisdom the molasses, meditation the flowers, and the Fear of God the fire enshrined in your mind. The Shushmanaa, the central spinal channel, is intuitively balanced, and the drinker drinks in this wine. ||1|| O hermit Yogi, my mind is intoxicated. When that wine rises up, one tastes the sublime essence of this juice, and sees across the three worlds. ||1||Pause|| Joining the two channels of the breath, I have lit the furnace, and I drink in the supreme, sublime essence. I have burnt both sexual desire and anger, and I have been emancipated from the world. ||2|| The light of spiritual wisdom enlightens me; meeting with the Guru, the True Guru, I have obtained this understanding. Slave Kabeer is intoxicated with that wine, which never wears off. ||3||2|| You are my Sumayr Mountain, O my Lord and Master; I have grasped Your Support. You do not shake, and I do not fall. You have preserved my honour. ||1|| Now and then, here and there, You, only You. By Your Grace, I am forever in peace. ||1||Pause|| Relying upon You, I can live even in the cursed place of Magahar; You have put out the fire of my body. First, I obtained the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan in Magahar; then, I came to dwell at Benares. ||2|| As is Magahar, so is Benares; I see them as one and the same. I am poor, but I have obtained this wealth of the Lord; the proud are bursting with pride, and die. ||3|| One who takes pride in himself is stuck with thorns; no one can pull them out. Here, he cries bitterly, and hereafter, he burns in the most hideous hell. ||4|| What is hell, and what is heaven? The Saints reject them both. I have no obligation to either of them, by the Grace of my Guru. ||5|| Now, I have mounted to the throne of the Lord; I have met the Lord, the Sustainer of the World. The Lord and Kabeer have become one. No one can tell them apart. ||6||3|| I honour and obey the Saints, and punish the wicked; this is my duty as God's police officer. Day and night, I wash Your feet, Lord; I wave my hair as the chauree, to brush away the flies. ||1|| I am a dog at Your Court, Lord. I open my snout and bark before it. ||1||Pause||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 095

In my past life, I was Your servant; now, I cannot leave You. The celestial sound current resounds at Your Door. Your insignia is stamped upon my forehead. ||2|| Those who are branded with Your brand fight bravely in battle; those without Your brand run away. One who becomes a Holy person, appreciates the value of devotional worship to the Lord. The Lord places him in His treasury. ||3|| In the fortress is the chamber; by contemplative meditation it becomes the supreme chamber. The Guru has blessed Kabeer with the commodity, saying, "Take this commodity; cherish it and keep it secure."||4|| Kabeer gives it to the world, but he alone receives it, upon whose forehead such destiny is recorded. Permanent is the marriage, of one who receives this ambrosial essence. ||5||4|| O Brahmin, how can you forget the One, from whose mouth the Vedas and the Gayitri prayer issured forth? The whole world falls at His feet; why don't you chant the Name of that Lord, O Pandit? ||1|| Why, O my Brahmin, do you not chant the Lord's Name? If you don't chant the Lord's Name, O Pandit, you will only suffer in hell. ||1||Pause|| You think that you are high, but you take food from the houses of the lowly; you fill up your belly by forcibly practicing your rituals. On the fourteenth day, and the night of the new moon, you go out begging; even though you hold the lamp in your hands, still, you fall into the pit. ||2|| You are a Brahmin, and I am only a weaver from Benares. How can I compare to you? Chanting the Lord's Name, I have been saved; relying on the Vedas, O Brahmin, you shall drown and die. ||3||5|| There is a single tree, with countless branches and twigs; its flowers and leaves are filled with its juice. This world is a garden of Ambrosial Nectar. The Perfect Lord created it. ||1|| I have come to know the story of my Sovereign Lord. How rare is that Gurmukh who knows, and whose inner being is illumined by the Lord's Light. ||1||Pause|| The bumble bee, addicted to the nectar of the twelve-petalled flowers, enshrines it in the heart. He holds his breath suspended in the sixteen-petalled sky of the Akaashic Ethers, and beats his wings in esctasy. ||2|| In the profound void of intuitive Samaadhi, the one tree rises up; it soaks up the water of desire from the ground. Says Kabeer, I am the servant of those who have seen this celestial tree. ||3||6|| Make silence your ear-rings, and compassion your wallet; let meditation be your begging bowl. Sew this body as your patched coat, and take the Lord's Name as your support. ||1|| Practice such Yoga, O Yogi. As Gurmukh, enjoy meditation, austerities and self-discipline. ||1||Pause|| Apply the ashes of wisdom to your body; let your horn be your focused consciousness. Become detached, and wander through the city of your body; play the harp of your mind. ||2|| Enshrine the five tatvas - the five elements, within your heart; let your deep meditative trance be undisturbed. Says Kabeer, listen, O Saints: make righteousness and compassion your garden. ||3||7|| For what purpose were you created and brought into the world? What rewards have you received in this life? God is the boat to carry you across the terrifying world-ocean; He is the Fulfiller of the mind's desires. You have not centred your mind on Him, even for an instant. ||1||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 096

O Lord of the Universe, I am such a sinner! God gave me body and soul, but I have not practiced loving devotional worship to Him. ||1||Pause|| Others' wealth, others' bodies, others' wives, others' slander and others' fights - I have not given them up. For the sake of these, coming and going in reincarnation happens over and over again, and this story never ends. ||2|| That house, in which the Saints speak of the Lord - I have not visited it, even for an instant. Drunkards, thieves, and evil-doers - I constantly dwell with them. ||3|| Sexual desire, anger, the wine of Maya, and envy - these are what I collect within myself. Compassion, righteousness, and service to the Guru - these do not visit me, even in my dreams. ||4|| He is merciful to the meek, compassionate and benevolent, the Lover of His devotees, the Destroyer of fear. Says Kabeer, please protect Your humble servant from disaster; O Lord, I serve only You. ||5||8|| Remembering Him in meditation, the door of liberation is found. You shall go to heaven, and not return to this earth. In the home of the Fearless Lord, the celestial trumpets resound. The unstruck sound current will vibrate and resonate forever. ||1|| Practice such meditative remembrance in your mind. Without this meditative remembrance, liberation will never be found. ||1||Pause|| Remembering Him in meditation, you will meet with no obstruction. You will be liberated, and the great load will be taken away. Bow in humility within your heart, and you will not have to be reincarnated over and over again. ||2|| Remember Him in meditation, celebrate and be happy. God has placed His lamp deep within you, which burns without any oil. That lamp makes the world immortal; it conquers and drives out the poisons of sexual desire and anger. ||3|| Remembering Him in meditation, you shall obtain salvation. Wear that meditative remembrance as your necklace. Practice that meditative remembrance, and never let it go. By Guru's Grace, you shall cross over. ||4|| Remembering Him in meditation, you shall not be obligated to others. You shall sleep in your mansion, in blankets of silk. Your soul shall blossom forth in happiness, on this comfortable bed. So drink in this meditative remembrance, night and day. ||5|| Remembering Him in meditation, your troubles will depart. Remembering Him in meditation, Maya will not bother you. Meditate, meditate in remembrance on the Lord, Har, Har, and sing His Praises in your mind. This meditative remembrance is obtained from the True Guru. ||6|| Forever and ever, remember Him, day and night, while standing up and sitting down, with every breath and morsel of food. While awake and asleep, enjoy the essence of this meditative remembrance. The Lord's meditative remembrance is obtained by good destiny. ||7|| Remembering Him in meditation, you shall not be loaded down. Make this meditative remembrance of the Lord's Name your Support. Says Kabeer, He has no limits; no tantras or mantras can be used against Him. ||8||9|| Raamkalee, Second House, The Word Of Kabeer Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Maya, the Trapper, has sprung her trap. The Guru, the Liberated One, has put out the fire.

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 097

When I came to understand this mind, from the tips of my toes to the crown of my head, then I took my cleansing bath, deep within my self. ||1|| The mind, the master of the breath, abides in the state of supreme bliss. There is no death, no re-birth, and no aging for me now. ||1||Pause|| Turning away from materialism, I have found intuitive support. I have entered into the sky of the mind, and opened the Tenth Gate. The chakras of the coiled Kundalini energy have been opened, and I have met my Sovereign Lord King without fear. ||2|| My

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attachment to Maya has been eradicated; the moon energy has devoured the sun energy. When I was focused and merged into the all-pervading Lord, then the unstruck sound current began to vibrate. ||3|| The Speaker has spoken, and proclaimed the Word of the Shabad. The hearer has heard, and enshrined it in the mind. Chanting to the Creator, one crosses over. Says Kabeer, this is the essence. ||4||1||10|| The moon and the sun are both the embodiment of light. Within their light, is God, the incomparable. ||1|| O spiritual teacher, contemplate God. In this light is contained the expanse of the created universe. ||1||Pause|| Gazing upon the diamond, I humbly salute this diamond. Says Kabeer, the Immaculate Lord is indescribable. ||2||2||11|| People of the world, remain awake and aware. Even though you are awake, you are being robbed, O Siblings of Destiny. While the Vedas stand guard watching, the Messenger of Death carries you away. ||1||Pause|| He thinks that the bitter nimm fruit is a mango, and the mango is a bitter nimm. He imagines the ripe banana on the thorny bush. He thinks that the ripe coconut hangs on the barren simmal tree; what a stupid, idiotic fool he is! ||1|| The Lord is like sugar, spilled onto the sand; the elephant cannot pick it up. Says Kabeer, give up your ancestry, social status and honour; be like the tiny ant - pick up and eat the sugar. ||2||3||12|| The Word Of Naam Dayv Jee, Raamkalee, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The boy takes paper, cuts it and makes a kite, and flies it in the sky. Talking with his friends, he still keeps his attention on the kite string. ||1|| My mind has been pierced by the Name of the Lord, like the goldsmith, whose attention is held by his work. ||1||Pause|| The young girl in the city takes a pitcher, and fills it with water. She laughs, and plays, and talks with her friends, but she keeps her attention focused on the pitcher of water. ||2|| The cow is let loose, out of the mansion of the ten gates, to graze in the field. It grazes up to five miles away, but keeps its attention focused on its calf. ||3|| Says Naam Dayv, listen, O Trilochan: the child is laid down in the cradle. Its mother is at work, inside and outside, but she holds her child in her thoughts. ||4||1|| There are countless Vedas, Puraanas and Shaastras; I do not sing their songs and hymns.

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 098

In the imperishable realm of the Formless Lord, I play the flute of the unstruck sound current. ||1|| Becoming detached, I sing the Lord's Praises. Imbued with the unattached, unstruck Word of the Shabad, I shall go to the home of the Lord, who has no ancestors. ||1||Pause|| Then, I shall no longer control the breath through the energy channels of the Ida, Pingala and Shushmanaa. I look upon both the moon and the sun as the same, and I shall merge in the Light of God. ||2|| I do not go to see sacred shrines of pilgrimage, or bathe in their waters; I do not bother any beings or creatures. The Guru has shown me the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage within my own heart, where I now take my cleansing bath. ||3|| I do not pay attention to anyone praising me, or calling me good and nice. Says Naam Dayv, my consciousness is imbued with the Lord; I am absorbed in the profound state of Samaadhi. ||4||2|| When there was no mother and no father, no karma and no human body, when I was not and you were not, then who came from where? ||1|| O Lord, no one belongs to anyone else. We are like birds perched on a tree. ||1||Pause|| When there was no moon and no sun, then water and air were blended together. When there were no Shaastras and no Vedas, then where did karma come from? ||2|| Control of the breath and positioning of the tongue, focusing at the third eye and wearing malas of tulsi beads, are all obtained through Guru's Grace. Naam Dayv prays, this is the supreme essence of reality; the True Guru has inspired this realisation. ||3||3|| RAAMKALEE, SECOND HOUSE: Someone may practice austerities at Benares, or die upside-down at a sacred shrine ofpilgrimage, or burn his body in fire, or rejuvenate his body to life almost forever; he may perform the horse-sacrifice ceremony, or give donations of gold covered over, but none of these is equal to the worship of the Lord's Name. ||1|| O hypocrite, renounce and abandon your hypocrisy; do not practice deception. Constantly, continually, chant the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Someone may go to the Ganges or the Godaavari, or to the Kumbha festival, or bathe at Kaydaar Naat'h, or make donations of thousands of cows at Gomti; he may make millions of pilgrimages to sacred shrines, or freeze his body in the Himalayas; still, none of these is equal to the worship of the Lord's Name. ||2|| Someone may give away horses and elephants, or women on their beds, or land; he may give such gifts over and over again. He may purify his soul, and give away in charity his body weight in gold; none of these is equal to the worship of the Lord's Name. ||3|| Do not harbor anger in your mind, or blame the Messenger of Death; instead, realise the immaculate state of Nirvaanaa. My Sovereign Lord King is Raam Chandra, the Son of the King Dasrat'h; prays Naam Dayv, I drink in the Ambrosial Nectar. ||4||4|| Raamkalee, The Word Of Ravi Daas Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: They read and reflect upon all the Names of God; they listen, but they do not see the Lord, the embodiment of love and intuition. How can iron be transformed into gold, unless it touches the Philosopher's Stone? ||1||

Section 22 - Raag Raamkalee - Part 099

O Divine Lord, the knot of skepticism cannot be untied. Sexual desire, anger, Maya, intoxication and jealousy - these five have combined to plunder the world. ||1||Pause|| I am a great poet, of noble heritage; I am a Pandit, a religious scholar, a Yogi and a Sannyaasi; I am a spiritual teacher, a warrior and a giver - such thinking never ends. ||2|| Says Ravi Daas, no one understands; they all run around, deluded like madmen. The Lord's Name is my only Support; He is my life, my breath of life, my wealth. ||3||1|| Raamkalee, The Word Of Baynee Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The energy channels of the Ida, Pingala and Shushmanaa: these three dwell in one place. This is the true place of confluence of the three sacred rivers: this is where my mind takes its cleansing bath. ||1|| O Saints, the Immaculate Lord dwells there; how rare are those who go to the Guru, and understand this. The all-pervading immaculate Lord is there. ||1||Pause|| What is the insignia of the Divine Lord's dwelling? The unstruck sound current of the Shabad vibrates there. There is no moon or sun, no air or water there. The Gurmukh becomes aware, and knows the Teachings. ||2|| Spiritual wisdom wells up, and evil-mindedness departs; the nucleus of the mind sky is drenched with Ambrosial Nectar. One who knows the secret of this device, meets the Supreme Divine Guru. ||3|| The Tenth Gate is the home of the inaccessible, infinite Supreme Lord. Above the store is a niche, and within this niche is the commodity. ||4|| One who remains awake, never sleeps. The three qualities and the three worlds vanish, in the state of Samaadhi. He takes the Beej Mantra, the Seed Mantra, and keeps it in his heart. Turning his mind away from the world, he focuses on the cosmic void of the absolute Lord. ||5|| He remains awake, and he does not lie. He keeps the five sensory organs under his control. He cherishes in his consciousness the Guru's Teachings. He dedicates his mind and body to the Lord's Love. ||6|| He considers his hands to be the leaves and branches of the tree. He does not lose his life in the gamble. He plugs up the source of the river of evil tendencies. Turning away from the west, he makes the sun rise in the east. He bears the unbearable, and the drops trickle down within; then, he speaks with the Lord of the world. ||7|| The four-sided lamp illuminates the Tenth Gate. The Primal Lord is at the centre of the countless leaves. He Himself abides there with all His powers. He weaves the jewels into the pearl of the mind. ||8|| The lotus is at the forehead, and the jewels surround it. Within it is the Immaculate Lord, the Master of the three worlds. The Panch Shabad, the five primal sounds, resound and vibrate their in their purity. The chauris - the fly brushes wave, and the conch shells blare like thunder. The Gurmukh tramples the demons underfoot with his spiritual wisdom. Baynee longs for Your Name, Lord. ||9||1||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 23 - RAAG NAT NAARAAYAN

Section 23 - Raag Nat Naaraayan - Part 001

Raag Nat Naaraayan, Fourth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying. Beyond Birth. Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: O my mind, chant the Name of the Lord, day and night. Millions and millions of sins and mistakes, committed through countless lifetimes, shall all be put aside and sent away. ||1||Pause|| Those who chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, and worship Him in adoration, and serve Him with love, are genuine. All their sins are erased, just as water washes off the dirt. ||1|| That being, who sings the Lord's Praises each and every instant, chants with his mouth the Name of the Lord. In a moment, in an instant, the Lord rids him of the five incurable diseases of the body-village. ||2|| Very fortunate are those who meditate on the Lord's Name; they alone are the Lord's devotees. I beg for the Sangat, the Congregation; O God, please bless me with them. I am a fool, and an idiot - please save me! ||3|| Shower me with Your Mercy and Grace, O Life of the World; save me, I seek Your Sanctuary. Servant Nanak has entered Your Sanctuary; O Lord, please preserve my honour! ||4||1|| Nat, Fourth Mehl: Meditating on the Lord, His humble servants are blended with the Lord's Name. Chanting the Lord's Name, following the Guru's Teachings, the Lord showers His Mercy upon them. ||1||Pause|| Our Lord and Master, Har, Har, is inaccessible and unfathomable. Meditating on Him, His humble servant merges with Him, like water with water. Meeting with the Lord's Saints, I have obtained the sublime essence of the Lord. I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice to His humble servants. ||1|| The Lord's humble servant sings the Praises of the Name of the Supreme, Primal Soul, and all poverty and pain are destroyed. Within the body are the five evil and uncontrollable passions. The Lord destroys them in an instant. ||2|| The Lord's Saint loves the Lord in his mind, like the lotus flower gazing at the moon. The clouds hang low, the clouds tremble with thunder, and the mind dances joyfully like the peacock. ||3|| My Lord and Master has placed this yearning within me; I live by seeing and meeting my Lord. Servant Nanak is addicted to the intoxication of the Lord; meeting with the Lord, he finds sublime bliss. ||4||2|| Nat, Fourth Mehl: O my mind, chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, your only Friend.

Section 23 - Raag Nat Naaraayan - Part 002

By Guru's Grace, I meditate on the Name of the Lord; I wash the Feet of the True Guru. ||1||Pause|| The Exalted Lord of the World, the Master of the Universe, keeps a sinner like me in His Sanctuary You are the Greatest Being, Lord, Destroyer of the pains of the meek; You have placed Your Name in my mouth, Lord. ||1|| I am lowly, but I sing the Lofty Praises of the Lord, meeting with the Guru, the True Guru, my Friend. Like the bitter nimm tree, growing near the sandalwood tree, I am permeated with the fragrance of sandalwood. ||2|| My faults and sins of corruption are countless; over and over again, I commit them. I am unworthy, I am a heavy stone sinking down; but the Lord has carried me across, in association with His humble servants. ||3|| Those whom You save, Lord - all their sins are destroyed. O Merciful God, Lord and Master of servant Nanak, You have carried across even evil villains like Harnaakhash. ||4||3|| Nat, Fourth Mehl: O my mind, chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, with love. When the Lord of the Universe, Har, Har, granted His Grace, then I fell at the feet of the humble, and I meditate on the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Mistaken and confused for so many past lives, I have now come and entered the Sanctuary of God. O my Lord and Master, You are the Cherisher of those who come to Your Sanctuary. I am such a great sinner - please save me! ||1|| Associating with You, Lord, who would not be saved? Only God sanctifies the sinners. Naam Dayv, the calico printer, was driven out by the evil villains, as he sang Your Glorious Praises; O God, You protected the honour of Your humble servant. ||2|| Those who sing Your Glorious Praises, O my Lord and Master - I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice to them. Those houses and homes are sanctified, upon which the dust of the feet of the humble settles. ||3|| I cannot describe Your Glorious Virtues, God; You are the greatest of the great, O Great Primal Lord God. Please shower Your Mercy upon servant Nanak, God; I serve at the feet of Yor humble servants. ||4||4|| Nat, Fourth Mehl: O my mind, believe in and chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. God, the Master of the Universe, has showered His Mercy upon me, and through the Guru's Teachings, my intellect has been molded by the Naam. ||1||Pause|| The Lord's humble servant sings the Praises of the Lord, Har, Har, listening to the Guru's Teachings. The Lord's Name cuts down all sins, like the farmer cutting down his crops. ||1|| You alone know Your Praises, God; I cannot even describe Your Glorious Virtues, Lord. You are what You are, God; You alone know Your Glorious Virtues, God. ||2|| The mortals are bound by the many bonds of Maya's noose. Meditating on the Lord, the knot is untied, like the elephant, which was caught in the water by the crocodile; it remembered the Lord, and chanted the Lord's Name, and was released. ||3|| O my Lord and Master, Supreme Lord God, Transcendent Lord, throughout the ages, mortals search for You. Your extent cannot be estimated or known, O Great God of servant Nanak. ||4||5|| Nat, Fourth Mehl: O my mind, in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises is worthy and commendable. When the Merciful Lord God shows kindness and compassion, then one falls at the feet of the True Guru, and meditates on the Lord. ||1||Pause||

Section 23 - Raag Nat Naaraayan - Part 003

O my Lord and Master, You are great, inaccessible and unfathomable; all meditate on You, O Beautiful Lord. Those whom You view with Your Great Eye of Grace, meditate on You, Lord, and become Gurmukh. ||1|| The expanse of this creation is Your work, O God, my Lord and Master, Life of the entire universe, united with all. Countless waves rise up from the water, and then they merge into the water again. ||2|| You alone, God, know whatever You do. O Lord, I do not know. I am Your child; please enshrine Your Praises within my heart, God, so that I may remember You in meditation. ||3|| You are the treasure of water, O Lord, the Maansarovar Lake. Whoever serves You receives all fruitful rewards. Servant Nanak longs for the Lord, Har, Har, Har, Har; bless him, Lord, with Your Mercy. ||4||6|| Nat Naaraayan, Fourth Mehl, Partaal: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O my mind, serve the Lord, and receive the fruits of your rewards. Receive the dust of the Guru's feet. All poverty will be eliminated, and your pains will disappear. The Lord shall bless you with His Glance of Grace, and you shall be enraptured. ||1||Pause|| The Lord Himself embellishes His household. The Lord's Mansion of Love is studded with countless jewels, the jewels of the Beloved Lord. The Lord Himself has granted His Grace, and He has come into my home.The Guru is my advocate before the Lord. Gazing upon the Lord, I have become blissful, blissful, blissful. ||1|| From the Guru, I received news of the Lord's arrival. My mind and body became ecstatic and blissful, hearing of the arrival of the Lord, my Beloved Love, my Lord. Servant Nanak has met with the Lord, Har, Har; he is intoxicated, enraptured, enraptured. ||2||1||7|| Nat, Fourth Mehl: O mind, join the

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Society of the Saints, and become noble and exalted. Listen to the Unspoken Speech of the peace-giving Lord. All sins will be washed away. Meet with the Lord, according to your pre-ordained destiny. ||1||Pause|| In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, the Kirtan of the Lord's Praise is lofty and exalted. Following the Guru's Teachings, the intellect dwells on the sermon of the Lord. I am a sacrifice to that person who listens and believes. ||1|| One who tastes the sublime essence of the Unspoken Speech of the Lord - all his hunger is satisfied. Servant Nanak listens to the sermon of the Lord, and is satisfied; chanting the Lord's Name, Har, Har, Har, he has become like the Lord. ||2||2||8|| Nat, Fourth Mehl: If only someone would come and tell me the Lord's sermon. I would be a sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice to him. That humble servant of the Lord is the best of the best.

Section 23 - Raag Nat Naaraayan - Part 004

Meeting with the Lord, you be enraptured. ||1||Pause|| The Guru, the Saint, has shown me the Lord's Path. The Guru has shown me the way to walk on the Lord's Path. Cast out deception from within yourself, O my Gursikhs, and without deception, serve the Lord. You shall be enraptured, enraptured, enraptured. ||1|| Those Sikhs of the Guru, who realise that my Lord God is with them, are pleasing to my Lord God. The Lord God has blessed servant Nanak with understanding; seeing his Lord hear at hand, his is enraptured, enraptured, enraptured, enraptured. ||2||3||9|| Raag Nat Naaraayan, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O Lord, how can I know what pleases You? Within my mind is such a great thirst for the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. ||1||Pause|| He alone is a spiritual teacher, and he alone is Your humble servant, to whom You have given Your approval. He alone meditates on You forever and ever, O Primal Lord, O Architect of Destiny, unto whom You grant Your Grace. ||1|| What sort of Yoga, what spiritual wisdom and meditation, and what virtues please You? He alone is a humble servant, and he alone is God's own devotee, with whom You are in love. ||2|| That alone is intelligence, that alone is wisdom and cleverness, which inspires one to never forget God, even for an instant. Joining the Society of the Saints, I have found this peace, singing forever the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||3|| I have seen the Wondrous Lord, the embodiment of supreme bliss, and now, I see nothing else at all. Says Nanak, the Guru has rubbed sway the rust; now how could I ever enter the womb of reincarnation again? ||4||1|| Raag Nat Naaraayan, Fifth Mehl, Du-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I don't blame anyone else. Whatever You do is sweet to my mind. ||1||Pause|| Understanding and obeying Your Order, I have found peace; hearing, listening to Your Name, I live. Here and hereafter, O Lord, You, only You. The Guru has implanted this Mantra within me. ||1|| Since I came to realise this, I have been blessed with total peace and pleasure. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, this has been revealed to Nanak, and now, there is no other for him at all. ||2||1||2|| Nat, Fifth Mehl: Whoever has You for support, has the fear of death removed; peace is found, and the disease of egotism is taken away. ||1||Pause|| The fire within is quenched, and one is satisfied through the Ambrosial Word of the Guru's Bani, as the baby is satisfied by milk. The Saints are my mother, father and friends. The Saints are my help and support, and my brothers. ||1||

Section 23 - Raag Nat Naaraayan - Part 005

The doors of doubt are thrown open, and I have met the Lord of the World; God's diamond has pierced the diamond of my mind. Nanak blossoms forth in ecstasy, singing the Lord's Praises; my Lord and Master is the ocean of virtue. ||2||2||3|| Nat, Fifth Mehl: He Himself saves His humble servant. Twenty-four hours a day, He dwells with His humble servant; He never forgets him from His Mind. ||1||Pause|| The Lord does not look at his colour or form; He does not consider the ancestry of His slave. Granting His Grace, the Lord blesses him with His Name, and embellishes him with intuitive ease. ||1|| The ocean of fire is treacherous and difficult, but he is carried across. Seeing, seeing Him, Nanak blossoms forth, over and over again, a sacrifice to Him. ||2||3||4|| Nat, Fifth Mehl: One who chants the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, within his mind - millions of sins are erased in an instant, and pain is relieved. ||1||Pause|| Seeking and searching, I have become detached; I have found the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Renouncing everything, I am lovingly focused on the One Lord. I grab hold of the feet of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1|| Whoever chants His Name is liberated; whoever listens to it is saved, as is anyone who seeks His Sanctuary. Meditating, meditating in remembrance on God the Lord and Master, says Nanak, I am in ecstasy! ||2||4||5|| Nat, Fifth Mehl: I am in love with Your Lotus Feet. O Lord, ocean of peace, please bless me with the supreme status. ||1||Pause|| He has inspired His humble servant to grasp the hem of His robe; his mind is pierced through with the intoxication of divine love. Singing His Praises, love wells up within the devotee, and the trap of Maya is broken. ||1|| The Lord, the ocean of mercy, is all-pervading, permeating everywhere; I do not see any other at all. He has united slave Nanak with Himself; His Love never diminishes. ||2||5||6|| Nat, Fifth Mehl: O my mind, chant, and meditate on the Lord. I shall never forget Him from my mind; twenty-four hours a day, I sing His Glorious Praises. ||1||Pause|| I take my daily cleansing bath in the dust of the feet of the Holy, and I am rid of all my sins. The Lord, the ocean of mercy, is all-pervading, permeating everywhere; He is seen to be contained in each and every heart. ||1|| Hundreds of thousands and millions of meditations, austerities and worships are not equal to remembering the Lord in meditation. With his palms pressed together, Nanak begs for this blessing, that he may become the slave of the slaves of Your slaves. ||2||6||7|| Nat, Fifth Mehl: The treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is everything for me. Granting His Grace, He has led me to join the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; the True Guru has granted this gift. ||1||Pause|| Sing the Kirtan, the Praises of the Lord, the Giver of peace, the Destroyer of pain; He shall bless you with perfect spiritual wisdom. Sexual desire, anger and greed shall be shattered and destroyed, and your foolish ego will be dispelled. ||1|| What Glorious Virtues of Yours should I chant? O God, You are the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. I seek the Sanctuary of Your Lotus Feet, O Lord, ocean of peace; Nanak is forever a sacrifice to You. ||2||7||8||

Section 23 - Raag Nat Naaraayan - Part 006

Nat, Fifth Mehl: I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice to the Guru, the Lord of the World. ||1||Pause|| I am unworthy; You are the Perfect Giver. You are the Merciful Master of the meek. ||1|| While standing up and sitting down, while sleeping and awake, You are my soul, my breath of life, my wealth and property. ||2|| Within my mind there is such a great thirst for the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. Nanak is enraptured with Your Glance of Grace. ||3||8||9|| Nat Partaal, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Is there any friend or companion of mine, who will constantly share the Lord's Name with me? Will he rid me of my pains and evil tendencies? I would surrender my mind, body, consciousness and everything. ||1||Pause|| How rare is that one whom the Lord makes His own, and whose mind is sewn into the Lord's Lotus Feet. Granting His Grace, the Lord blesses him with His Praise. ||1|| Vibrating, meditating on the Lord, he is victorious in this precious human life, and millions of sinners are sanctified. Slave Nanak is a sacrifice, a sacrifice to Him. ||2||1||10||19|| Nat Ashtapadees, Fourth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O Lord, Your Name is the support of my mind and body. I cannot survive for a moment, even for an instant, without serving You. Following the Guru's Teachings, I dwell upon the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Within my mind, I meditate on the Lord, Har, Har, Har, Har, Har. The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is so dear to me. When God, my Lord and Master, became merciful to me the meek one, I was exalted by the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||1|| Almighty Lord, Slayer of demons, Life of the World, my Lord and Master, inaccessible and infinite: I offer this one prayer to the Guru, to bless me, that I may wash the feet of the Holy. ||2|| The thousands of eyes are the eyes of God; the One God, the Primal Being, remains unattached. The One God, our Lord and Master, has thousands of forms; God alone, through the Guru's Teachings, saves us. ||3|| Following the Guru's Teachings, I have been blessed with the Naam, the Name of the Lord. I have enshrined within my heart the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. The sermon of the Lord, Har, Har, is so very sweet; like the mute, I taste its sweetness, but I cannot describe it at all. ||4|| The tongue savors the bland, insipid taste of the love of duality, greed and corruption. The Gurmukh tastes the flavor of the Lord's Name, and all other tastes and flavors are forgotten. ||5|| Following the Guru's Teachings, I have obtained the wealth of the Lord's Name; hearing it, and chanting it, sins are eradicated. The Messenger of Death and the Righteous Judge of Dharma do not even approach the beloved servant of my Lord and Master. ||6|| With as many breaths as I have, I chant the Naam, under Guru's Instructions. Each and every breath which escapes me without the Naam - that breath is useless and corrupt. ||7|| Please grant Your Grace; I am meek; I seek Your Sanctuary, God. Unite me with Your beloved, humble servants.

Section 23 - Raag Nat Naaraayan - Part 007

Nanak, the slave of Your slaves, says, I am the water-carrier of Your slaves. ||8||1|| Nat, Fourth Mehl: O Lord, I am an unworthy stone. The Merciful Lord, in His Mercy, has led me to meet the Guru; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, this stone is carried across. ||1||Pause|| The True Guru has implanted within me the exceedingly sweet Naam, the Name of the Lord; it is like the most fragrant sandalwood. Through the Name, my awareness extends in the ten directions; the fragrance of the fragrant Lord permeates the air. ||1|| Your unlimited sermon is the most sweet sermon; I contemplate the most Sublime Word of the Guru. Singing, singing, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord; singing His Glorious Praises, the Guru saves me. ||2|| The Guru is wise and clear; the Guru looks upon all alike. Meeting with Him, doubt and skepticism are removed. Meeting with the True Guru, I have obtained the supreme status. I am a sacrifice to the True Guru. ||3|| Practicing hypocrisy and deception, people wander around in confusion. Greed and hypocrisy are evils in this world. In this world and the next, they are miserable; the Messenger of Death hovers over their heads, and strikes them down. ||4|| At the break of day, they take care of their affairs, and the poisonous entanglements of Maya. When night falls, they enter the land of dreams, and even in dreams, they take care of their corruptions and pains. ||5|| Taking a barren field, they plant falsehood; they shall harvest only falsehood. The materialistic people shall all remain hungry; the brutal Messenger of Death stands waiting at their door. ||6|| The self-willed manmukh has accumulated a tremendous load of debt in sin; only by contemplating the Word of the Shabad, can this debt be paid off. As much debt and as many creditors as there are, the Lord makes them into servants, who fall at his feet. ||7|| All the beings which the Lord of the Universe created - He puts the rings through their noses, and leads them all along. O Nanak, as God drives us on, so do we follow; it is all the Will of the Beloved Lord. ||8||2|| Nat, Fourth Mehl: The Lord has bathed me in the pool of Ambrosial Nectar. The spiritual wisdom of the True Guru is the most excellent cleansing bath; bathing in it, all the filthy sins are washed away. ||1||Pause|| The virtues of the Sangat, the Holy Congregation, are so very great. Even the prostitute was saved, by teaching the parrot to speak the Lord's Name. Krishna was pleased, and so he touched the hunch-back Kubija, and she was transported to the heavens. ||1|| Ajaamal loved his son Naaraayan, and called out his name. His loving devotion pleased my Lord and Master, who struck down and drove off the Messengers of Death. ||2|| The mortal speaks and by speaking, makes the people listen; but he does not reflect upon what he himself says. But when he joins the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, he is confirmed in his faith, and he is saved by the Name of the Lord. ||3|| As long as his soul and body are healthy and strong, he does not remember the Lord at all. But when his home and mansion catch fire, then, he wants to dig the well to draw water. ||4|| O mind, do not join with the faithless cynic, who has forgotten the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. The word of the faithless cynic stings like a scorpion; leave the faithless cynic far, far behind. ||5||

Section 23 - Raag Nat Naaraayan - Part 008

Fall in love, fall deeply in love with the Lord; clinging to the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, you will be exalted and embellished. Those who accept the Word of the Guru as True, totally True, are very dear to my Lord and Master. ||6|| Because of actions committed in past lives, one comes to love the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, Har. By Guru's Grace, you shall obtain the ambrosial essence; sing of this essence, and reflect upon this essence. ||7|| O Lord, Har, Har, all forms and colours are Yours; O my Beloved, my deep crimson ruby. Only that colour which You impart, Lord, exists; O Nanak, what can the poor wretched being do? ||8||3|| Nat, Fourth Mehl: In the Sanctuary of the Guru, the Lord God saves and protects us, as He protected the elephant, when the crocodile seized it and pulled it into the water; He lifted him up and pulled him out. ||1||Pause|| God's servants are sublime and exalted; they enshrine faith for Him in their minds. Faith and devotion are pleasing to my God's Mind; He saves the honour of His humble servants. ||1|| The servant of the Lord, Har, Har, is committed to His service; He sees God pervading the entire expanse of the universe. He sees the One and only Primal Lord God, who blesses all with His Glance of Grace. ||2|| God, our Lord and Master, is permeating and pervading all places; He takes care of the whole world as His slave. The Merciful Lord Himself mercifully gives His gifts, even to worms in stones. ||3|| Within the deer is the heavy fragrance of musk, but he is confused and deluded, and he shakes his horns looking for it. Wandering, rambling and roaming through the forests and woods, I exhausted myself, and then in my own home, the Perfect Guru saved me. ||4|| The Word, the Bani is Guru, and Guru is the Bani. Within the Bani, the Ambrosial Nectar is contained. If His humble servant believes, and acts according to the Words of the Guru's Bani, then the Guru, in person, emancipates him. ||5|| All is God, and God is the whole expanse; man eats what he has planted. When Dhrishtabudhi tormented the humble devotee Chandrahaans, he only set his own house on fire. ||6|| God's humble servant longs for Him within his heart; God watches over each breath of His humble servant. Mercifully, mercifully, He implants devotion within his humble servant; for his sake, God saves the whole world. ||7|| God, our Lord and Master, is Himself by Himself; God Himself embellishes the universe. O servant Nanak, He Himself is all-pervading; in His Mercy, He Himself emancipates all. ||8||4|| Nat, Fourth Mehl: Grant Your Grace, Lord, and save me, as You saved Dropadi from shame when she was seized and brought before the court by the evil villians. ||1||Pause|| Bless me with Your Grace - I am just a humble beggar of Yours; I beg for a single blessing, O my Beloved. I long constantly for the True Guru. Lead me to meet the Guru, O Lord, that I may be exalted and embellished. ||1|| The actions of the faithless cynic are like the

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churning of water; he churns, constantly churning only water. Joining the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, the supreme status is obtained; the butter is produced, and eaten with delight. ||2|| He may constantly and continually wash his body; he may constantly rub, clean and polish his body.

Section 23 - Raag Nat Naaraayan - Part 009

But if the Word of my True Guru is not pleasing to his mind, then all his preparations and beautiful decorations are useless. ||3|| Walk playfully and carefree, O my friends and companions; cherish the Glorious Virtues of my Lord and Master. To serve, as Gurmukh, is pleasing to my God. Through the True Guru, the unknown is known. ||4|| Women and men, all the men and women, all came from the One Primal Lord God. My mind loves the dust of the feet of the humble; the Lord emancipates those who meet with the Lord's humble servants. ||5|| From village to village, throughout all the cities I wandered; and then, inspired by the Lord's humble servants, I found Him deep within the nucleus of my heart. Faith and longing have welled up within me, and I have been blended with the Lord; the Guru, the Guru, has saved me. ||6|| The thread of my breath has been made totally sublime and pure; I contemplate the Shabad, the Word of the True Guru. I came back to the home of my own inner self; drinking in the ambrosial essence, I see the world, without my eyes. ||7|| I cannot describe Your Glorious Virtues, Lord; You are the temple, and I am just a tiny worm. Bless Nanak with Your Mercy, and unite him with the Guru; meditating on my Lord, my mind is comforted and consoled. ||8||5|| Nat, Fourth Mehl: O my mind, vibrate, meditate on the inaccessible and infinite Lord and Master. I am such a great sinner; I am so unworthy. And yet the Guru, in His Mercy, has saved me. ||1||Pause|| I have found the Holy Person, the Holy and humble servant of the Lord; I offer a prayer to Him, my Beloved Guru. Please, bless me with the wealth, the capital of the Lord's Name, and take away all my hunger and thirst. ||1|| The moth, the deer, the bumble bee, the elephant and the fish are ruined, each by the one passion that controls them. The five powerful demons are in the body; the Guru, the True Guru turns out these sins. ||2|| I searched and searched through the Shaastras and the Vedas; Naarad the silent sage proclaimed these words as well. Chanting the Lord's Name, salvation is attained; the Guru saves those in the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. ||3|| In love with the Beloved Lord God, one looks at Him as the lotus looks at the sun. The peacock dances on the mountain, when the clouds hang low and heavy. ||4|| The faithless cyinc may be totally drenched with ambrosial nectar, but even so, all his branches and flowers are filled with venom. The more one bows down in humility before the faithless cyinc, the more he provokes, and stabs, and spits out his poison. ||5|| Remain with the Holy man, the Saint of the Saints, who chants the Lord's Praises for the benefit of all. Meeting the Saint of Saints, the mind blossoms forth, like the lotus, exalted by obtaining the water. ||6|| The waves of greed are like mad dogs with rabies. Their madness ruins everything. When the news reached the Court of my Lord and Master, the Guru took up the sword of spiritual wisdom, and killed them. ||7|| Save me, save me, save me, O my God; shower me with Your Mercy, and save me! O Nanak, I have no other support; the Guru, the True Guru, has saved me. ||8||6|| First Set of Six Hymns||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 24 - RAAG MAALE GAAURA

Section 24 - Raag Maale Gaaura - Part 001

Raag Maalee Gauraa, Fourth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying. Beyond Birth. Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: Countless have tried, but none have found the Lord's limit. The Lord is inaccessible, unapproachable and unfathomable; I humbly bow to the Lord God, my King. ||1||Pause|| Sexual desire, anger, greed and emotional attachment bring continual conflict and strife. Save me, save me, I am your humble creature, O Lord; I have come to Your Sanctuary, O my Lord God. ||1|| You protect and preserve those who take to Your Sanctuary, God; You are called the Lover of Your devotees. Prahlaad, Your humble servant, was caught by Harnaakhash; but You saved Him and carried him across, Lord. ||2|| Remember the Lord, O mind, and rise up to the Mansion of His Presence; the Sovereign Lord is the Destroyer of pain. Our Lord and Master takes away the fear of birth and death; following the Guru's Teachings, the Lord God is found. ||3|| The Name of the Lord, our Lord and Master, is the Purifier of sinners; I sing of the Lord, the Destroyer of the fears of His devotees. One who wears the necklace of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, in his heart, O servant Nanak, merges in the Naam. ||4||1|| Maalee Gauraa, Fourth Mehl: O my mind, chant the Name of the Lord, the Giver of peace. One who joins the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, and enjoys the sublime taste of the Lord, as Gurmukh, comes to realise God. ||1||Pause|| By great good fortune, one obtains the Blessed Vision of the Guru's Darshan; meeting with the Guru, the Lord God is known. The filth of evil-mindedness is totally washed away, bathing in the Lord's ambrosial pool of nectar. ||1|| Blessed, blessed are the Holy, who have found their Lord God; I ask them to tell me the stories of the Lord. I fall at their feet, and always pray to them, to mercifully unite me with my Lord, the Architect of Destiny. ||2|| Through the destiny written on my forehead, I have found the Holy Guru; my mind and body are imbued with the Guru's Word. The Lord God has come to meet me; I have found peace, and I am rid of all the sins. ||3|| Those who follow the Guru's Teachings find the Lord, the source of nectar; their words are sublime and exalted. By great good fortune, one is blessed with the dust of their feet; servant Nanak falls at their feet. ||4||2||

Section 24 - Raag Maale Gaaura - Part 002

Maalee Gauraa, Fourth Mehl: All the Siddhas, seekers and silent sages, with their minds full of love, meditate on the Lord. The Supreme Lord God, my Lord and Master, is limitless; the Guru has inspired me to know the unknowable Lord. ||1||Pause|| I am low, and I commit evil actions; I have not remembered my Sovereign Lord. The Lord has led me to meet the True Guru; in an instant, He liberated me from bondage. ||1|| Such is the destiny God wrote on my forehead; following the Guru's Teachings, I enshrine love for the Lord. The Panch Shabad, the five primal sounds, vibrate and resound in the Court of the Lord; meeting the Lord, I sing the songs of joy. ||2|| The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is the Purifier of sinners; the unfortunate wretches do not like this. They rot away in the womb of reincarnation; they fall apart like salt in water. ||3|| Please bless me with such understanding, O Inaccessible Lord God, my Lord and Master, that my mind may remain attached to the Guru's feet. Servant Nanak remains attached to the Name of the Lord; he is merged in the Naam. ||4||3|| Maalee Gauraa, Fourth Mehl: My mind is addicted to the juice of the Lord's Name. My heart-lotus has blossomed forth, and I have found the Guru. Meditating on the Lord, my doubts and fears have run away. ||1||Pause|| In the Fear of God, my heart is committed in loving devotion to Him; following the Guru's Teachings, my sleeping mind has awakened. All my sins have been erased, and I have found peace and tranquility; I have enshrined the Lord within my heart, by great good fortune. ||1|| The self-willed manmukh is like the false colour of the safflower, which fades away; its colour lasts for only a few days. He perishes in an instant; he is tormented, and punished by the Righteous Judge of Dharma. ||2|| The Lord's Love, found in the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, is absolutely permanent, and colourfast. The cloth of the body may be torn to shreds, but still, this beautiful colour of the Lord's Love does not fade away. ||3|| Meeting with the Blessed Guru, one is dyed in the colour of the Lord's Love, imbued with this deep crimson colour. Servant Nanak washes the feet of that humble being, who is attached to the feet of the Lord. ||4||4|| Maalee Gauraa, Fourth Mehl: O my mind, meditate, vibrate upon the Name of the Lord, the Lord of the World, Har, Har. My mind and body are merged in the Lord's Name, and through the Guru's Teachings, my intellect is imbued with the Lord, the source of nectar. ||1||Pause|| Follow the Guru's Teachings, and meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Chant, and meditate, on the beads of the mala of the Lord. Those who have such destiny inscribed upon their foreheads, meet with the Lord, adorned with garlands of flowers. ||1|| Those who meditate on the Name of the Lord - all their entanglements are ended. The Messenger of Death does not even approach them; the Guru, the Savior Lord, saves them. ||2|| I am a child; I know nothing at all. The Lord cherishes me, as my mother and father. I continually put my hands into the fire of Maya, but the Guru saves me; He is merciful to the meek. ||3|| I was filthy, but I have become immaculate. Singing the Lord's Praises, all sins have been burnt to ashes. My mind is in esctasy, having found the Guru; servant Nanak is enraptured through the Word of the Shabad. ||4||5|| Maalee Gauraa, Fourth Mehl:

Section 24 - Raag Maale Gaaura - Part 003

O my mind, meditate, vibrate on the Lord, and all sins will be eradicated. The Guru has enshried the Lord, Har, Har, within my heart; I place my head on the Guru's Path. ||1||Pause|| Whoever tells me the stories of my Lord God, I would cut my mind into slices, and dedicate it to him. The Perfect Guru has united me with the Lord, my Friend; I have sold myself at each and every store for the Guru's Word. ||1|| One may give donations in charity at Prayaag, and cut the body in two at Benares, but without the Lord's Name, no one attains liberation, even though one may give away huge amounts of gold. ||2|| When one follows the Guru's Teachings, and sings the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises, the doors of the mind, held shut by deception, are thrown open again. The three qualities are shattered, doubt and fear run away, and the clay pot of public opinion is broken. ||3|| They alone find the Perfect Guru in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, upon whose foreheads such pre-ordained destiny is inscribed. Servant Nanak drinks in the Ambrosial Nectar; all his hunger and thirst are quenched. ||4||6|| Set of Six Hymns 1|| Maalee Gauraa, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O mind, true peace comes from serving the Lord. Other services are false, and as punishment for them, the Messenger of Death bashes in one's head. ||1||Pause|| They alone join the Sangat, the Congregation, upon whose forehead such destiny is inscribed. They are carried across the terrifying world-ocean by the Saints of the Infinite, Primal Lord God. ||1|| Serve forever at the feet of the Holy; renounce greed, emotional attachment and corruption. Abandon all other hopes, and rest your hopes in the One Formless Lord. ||2|| Some are faithless cynics, deluded by doubt; without the Guru, there is only pitch darkness. Whatever is pre-ordained, comes to pass; no one can erase it. ||3|| The beauty of the Lord of the Universe is profound and unfathomable; the Names of the Infinite Lord are immunerable. Blessed, blessed are those humble beings, O Nanak, who enshrine the Lord's Name in their hearts. ||4||1|| Maalee Gauraa, Fifth Mehl: I humbly bow to the Name of the Lord. Chanting it, one is saved. ||1||Pause|| Meditating on Him in remembrance, conflicts are ended. Meditating on Him, one's bonds are untied. Meditating on Him, the fool becomes wise. Meditating on Him, one's ancestors are saved. ||1|| Meditating on Him, fear and pain are taken away. Meditating on Him, misfortune is avoided. Meditating on Him, sins are erased. Meditating on Him, agony is ended. ||2|| Meditating on Him, the heart blossoms forth. Meditating on Him, Maya becomes one's slave. Meditating on Him, one is blessed with the treasures of wealth. Meditating on Him, one crosses over in the end. ||3|| The Name of the Lord is the Purifier of sinners. It saves millions of devotees. I am meek; I seek the Sanctuary of the slaves of the Lord's slaves. Nanak lays his forehead on the feet of the Saints. ||4||2|| Maalee Gauraa, Fifth Mehl: This is the sort of helper the Name of the Lord is. Meditating in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, one's affairs are perfectly resolved. ||1||Pause|| It is like a boat to a drowning man.

Section 24 - Raag Maale Gaaura - Part 004

It is like oil to the lamp whose flame is dying out. It is like water poured on the burning fire.

It is like milk poured into the baby's mouth. ||1|| As one's brother becomes a helper on the field of battle; as one's hunger is satisfied by food; as the cloudburst saves the crops; as one is protected in the tiger's lair;||2|| As with the magic spell of Garuda the eagle upon one's lips, one does not fear the snake; as the cat cannot eat the parrot in its cage; as the bird cherishes her eggs in her heart; as the grains are spared, by sticking to the central post of the mill;||3|| Your Glory is so great; I can describe only a tiny bit of it. O Lord, You are inaccessible, unapproachable and unfathomable. You are lofty and high, utterly great and infinite. Meditating in remembrance on the Lord, O Nanak, one is carried across. ||4||3|| Maalee Gauraa, Fifth Mehl: Please let my works be rewarding and fruitful. Please cherish and exalt Your slave. ||1||Pause|| I lay my forehead on the feet of the Saints, and with my eyes, I gaze upon the Blessed Vision of their Darshan, day and night. With my hands, I work for the Saints. I dedicate my breath of life, my mind and wealth to the Saints. ||1|| My mind loves the Society of the Saints. The Virtues of the Saints abide within my consciousness. The Will of the Saints is sweet to my mind. Seeing the Saints, my heart-lotus blossoms forth. ||2|| I dwell in the Society of the Saints. I have such a great thirst for the Saints. The Words of the Saints are the Mantras of my mind. By the Grace of the Saints, my corruption is taken away. ||3|| This way of liberation is my treasure. O Merciful God, please bless me with this gift. O God, shower Your Mercy upon Nanak. I have enshrined the feet of the Saints within my heart. ||4||4|| Maalee Gauraa, Fifth Mehl: He is with all; He is not far away. He is the Cause of causes, ever-present here and now. ||1||Pause|| Hearing His Name, one comes to life. Pain is dispelled; peace and tranquility come to dwell within. The Lord, Har, Har, is all treasure. The silent sages serve Him. ||1|| Everything is contained in His home. No one is turned away empty-handed. He cherishes all beings and creatures. Forever and ever, serve the Merciful Lord. ||2|| Righteous justice is dispensed in His Court forever. He is carefree, and owes allegiance to no one. He Himself, by Himself, does everything. O my mind, meditate on Him. ||3|| I am a sacrifice to the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Joining them, I am saved. My mind and body are attuned to the Naam, the Name of the Lord. God has blessed Nanak with this gift. ||4||5|| Maalee Gauraa, Fifth Mehl, Du-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I seek the Sanctuary of the all-powerful Lord. My soul, body, wealth and capital belong to the One God, the Cause of causes. ||1||Pause|| Meditating, meditating in remembrance on Him, I have found everlasting peace. He is the source of life. He is all-pervading, permeating all places; He is in subtle essence and manifest form. ||1||

Section 24 - Raag Maale Gaaura - Part 005

Abandon all your entanglements and corruption; sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord forever. With palms pressed together, Nanak begs for this blessing; please bless me with Your Name. ||2||1||6|| Maalee Gauraa, Fifth Mehl: God is all-powerful, divine and infinite. Who knows Your wondrous plays? You have no end or limitation. ||1||Pause|| In an instant,

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You establish and disestablish; You create and destroy, O Creator Lord. As many beings as You created, God, so many You bless with Your blessings. ||1|| I have come to Your Sanctuary, Lord; I am Your slave, O Inaccessible Lord God. Lift me up and pull me out of the terrifying, treacherous world-ocean; servant Nanak is forever a sacrifice to You. ||2||2||7|| Maalee Gauraa, Fifth Mehl: The Lord of the World abides in my mind and body. Friend of the meek, Lover of His devotees, forever and ever merciful. ||1||Pause|| In the beginning, in the end and in the middle, You alone exist, God; there is none other than You. He is totally permeating and pervading all worlds; He is the One and only Lord and Master. ||1|| With my ears I hear God's Praises, and with my eyes I behold the Blessed Vision of His Darshan; with my tongue I sing the Lord's Glorious Praises. Nanak is forever a sacrifice to You; please, bless me with Your Name. ||2||3||8||6||14|| Maalee Gauraa, The Word Of Devotee Naam Dayv Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Blessed, blessed is that flute which the Lord plays. The sweet, sweet unstruck sound current sings forth. ||1||Pause|| Blessed, blessed is the wool of the sheep; blessed, blessed is the blanket worn by Krishna. ||1|| Blessed, blessed are you, O mother Dayvakee; into your home the Lord was born. ||2|| Blessed, blessed are the forests of Brindaaban; the Supreme Lord plays there. ||3|| He plays the flute, and herds the cows; Naam Dayv's Lord and Master plays happily. ||4||1|| O my Father, Lord of wealth, blessed are You, long-haired, dark-skinned, my darling. ||1||Pause|| You hold the steel chakra in Your hand; You came down from Heaven, and saved the life of the elephant. In the court of Duhsaasan, You saved the honour of Dropati, when her clothes were being removed. ||1|| You saved Ahliyaa, the wife of Gautam; how many have You purified and carried across? Such a lowly outcaste as Naam Dayv has come seeking Your Sanctuary. ||2||2|| Within all hearts, the Lord speaks, the Lord speaks. Who else speaks, other than the Lord? ||1||Pause|| Out of the same clay, the elephant, the ant, and the many sorts of species are formed. In stationary life forms, moving beings, worms, moths and within each and every heart, the Lord is contained. ||1|| Remember the One, Infinite Lord; abandon all other hopes. Naam Dayv prays, I have become dispassionate and detached; who is the Lord and Master, and who is the slave? ||2||3||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 25 - RAAG MAAROO

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 001

Raag Maaroo, First Mehl, First House, Chau-Padas: One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying. Beyond Birth. Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: Shalok: O my Friend, I shall forever remain the dust of Your feet. Nanak seeks Your protection, and beholds You ever-present, here and now. ||1|| SHABAD: Those who receive the call in the last hours of the night, chant the Name of their Lord and Master. Tents, canopies, pavilions and carriages are prepared and made ready for them. You send out the call, Lord, to those who meditate on Your Name. ||1|| Father, I am unfortunate, a fraud. I have not found Your Name; my mind is blind and deluded by doubt. ||1||Pause|| I have enjoyed the tastes, and now my pains have come to fruition; such is my pre-ordained destiny, O my mother. Now my joys are few, and my pains are many. In utter agony, I pass my life. ||2|| What separation could be worse than separation from the Lord? For those who are united with Him, what other union can there be? Praise the Lord and Master, who, having created this play, beholds it. ||3|| By good destiny, this union comes about; this body enjoys its pleasures. Those who have lost their destiny, suffer separation from this union. O Nanak, they may still be united once again! ||4||1|| Maaroo, First Mehl: The union of the mother and father brings the body into being. The Creator inscribes upon it the inscription of its destiny. According to this inscription, gifts, light and glorious greatness are received. Joining with Maya, the spiritual consciousness is lost. ||1|| O foolish mind, why are you so proud? You shall have to arise and depart when it pleases your Lord and Master. ||1||Pause|| Abandon the tastes of the world, and find intuitive peace. All must abandon their worldly homes; no one remains here forever. Eat some, and save the rest, if you are destined to return to the world again. ||2|| He adorns his body and ress in silk robes. He issues all sorts of commands. Preparing his comfortable bed, he sleeps. When he falls into the hands of the Messenger of Death, what good does it do to cry out? ||3|| Household affairs are whirlpools of entanglements, O Siblings of Destiny.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 002

Sin is a stone which does not float. So let the Fear of God be the boat to carry your soul across. Says Nanak, rare are those who are blessed with this Boat. ||4||2|| Maaroo, First Mehl, First House: Actions are the paper, and the mind is the ink; good and bad are both recorded upon it. As their past actions drive them, so are mortals driven. There is no end to Your Glorious Virtues, Lord. ||1|| Why do you not keep Him in your consciousness, you mad man? Forgetting the Lord, your own virtues shall rot away. ||1||Pause|| The night is a net, and the day is a net; there are as many traps as there are moments. With relish and delight, you continually bite at the bait; you are trapped, you fool - how will you ever escape? ||2|| The body is a furnace, and the mind is the iron within it; the five fires are heating it. Sin is the charcoal placed upon it, which burns the mind; the tongs are anxiety and worry. ||3|| What was turned to slag is again transformed into gold, if one meets with the Guru. He blesses the mortal with the Ambrosial Name of the One Lord, and then, O Nanak, the body is held steady. ||4||3|| Maaroo, First Mehl: In the pure, immaculate waters, both the lotus and the slimy scum are found. The lotus flower is with the scum and the water, but it remains untouched by any pollution. ||1|| You frog, you will never understand. You eat the dirt, while you dwell in the immaculate waters. You know nothing of the ambrosial nectar there. ||1||Pause|| You dwell continually in the water; the bumble bee does not dwell there, but it is intoxicated with its fragrance from afar. Intuitively sensing the moon in the distance, the lotus bows its head. ||2|| The realms of nectar are irrigated with milk and honey; you think you are clever to live in the water. You can never escape your own inner tendencies, like the love of the flea for blood. ||3|| The fool may live with the Pandit, the religious scholar, and listen to the Vedas and the Shaastras. You can never escape your own inner tendencies, like the crooked tail of the dog. ||4|| Some are hypocrites; they do not merge with the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Some are absorbed in the Feet of the Lord, Har, Har. The mortals obtain what they are predestined to receive; O Nanak, with your tongue, chant the Naam. ||5||4|| Maaroo, First Mehl, Shalok: Countless sinners are sanctified, attaching their minds to the Feet of the Lord. The merits of the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage are found in God's Name, O Nanak, when such destiny is inscribed upon one's forehead. ||1|| SHABAD: O friends and companions, so puffed up with pride, listen to this one joyous story of your Husband Lord. ||1|| Who can I tell about my pain, O my mother? Without the Lord, my soul cannot survive; how can I comfort it, O my mother? ||1||Pause|| I am a dejected, discarded bride, totally miserable. I have lost my youth; I regret and repent. ||2|| You are my wise Lord and Master, above my head. I serve You as Your humble slave. ||3|| Nanak humbly prays, this is my only concern: without the Blessed Vision of my Beloved, how can I enjoy Him? ||4||5||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 003

Maaroo, First Mehl: I am Your slave, Your bonded servant, and so I am called fortunate. I sold myself at Your store in exchange for the Guru's Word; whatever You link me to, to that I am linked. ||1|| What cleverness can Your servant try with You? O my Lord and Master, I cannot carry out the Hukam of Your Command. ||1||Pause|| My mother is Your slave, and my father is Your slave; I am the child of Your slaves. My slave mother dances, and my slave father sings; I practice devotional worship to You, O my Sovereign Lord. ||2|| If You wish to drink, then I shall get water for You; if You wish to eat, I shall grind the corn for You. I wave the fan over You, and wash Your feet, and continue to chant Your Name. ||3|| I have been untrue to myself, but Nanak is Your slave; please forgive him, by Your glorious greatness. Since the very beginning of time, and throughout the ages, You have been the merciful and generous Lord. Without You, liberation cannot be attained. ||4||6|| Maaroo, First Mehl: Some call him a ghost; some say that he is a demon. Some call him a mere mortal; O, poor Nanak! ||1|| Crazy Nanak has gone insane, after his Lord, the King. I know of none other than the Lord. ||1||Pause|| He alone is known to be insane, when he goes insane with the Fear of God. He recognises none other than the One Lord and Master. ||2|| He alone is known to be insane, if he works for the One Lord. Recognising the Hukam, the Command of his Lord and Master, what other cleverness is there? ||3|| He alone is known to be insane, when he falls in love with his Lord and Master. He sees himself as bad, and all the rest of the world as good. ||4||7|| Maaroo, First Mehl: This wealth is all-pervading, permeating all. The self-willed manmukh wanders around, thinking that it is far away. ||1|| That commodity, the wealth of the Naam, is within my heart. Whoever You bless with it, is emancipated. ||1||Pause|| This wealth does not burn; it cannot be stolen by a thief. This wealth does not drown, and its owner is never punished. ||2|| Gaze upon the glorious greatness of this wealth, and your nights and days will pass, imbued with celestial peace. ||3|| Listen to this incomparably beautiful story, O my brothers, O Siblings of Destiny. Tell me, without this wealth, who has ever obtained the supreme status? ||4|| Nanak humbly prays, I proclaim the Unspoken Speech of the Lord. If one meets the True Guru, then this wealth is obtained. ||5||8|| Maaroo, First Mehl: Heat up the sun energy of the right nostril, and cool down the moon energy of the left nostril; practicing this breath-control, bring them into perfect balance. In this way, the fickle fish of the mind will be held steady; the swan-soul shall not fly away, and the body-wall will not crumble. ||1|| You fool, why are you deluded by doubt? You do not remember the detached Lord of supreme bliss. ||1||Pause|| Seize and burn the unbearable; seize and kill the imperishable; leave behind your doubts, and then, you shall drink in the Nectar. In this way, the fickle fish of the mind will be held steady; the swan-soul shall not fly away, and the body-wall shall not crumble. ||2||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 004

Nanak humbly prays, if the Lord's humble servant dwells upon Him, in his mind of minds, with his every breath, then he drinks in the Ambrosial Nectar. In this way, the fickle fish of the mind will be held steady; the swan-soul shall not fly away, and the body-wall shall not crumble. ||3||9|| Maaroo, First Mehl: Maya is not conquered, and the mind is not subdued; the waves of desire in the world-ocean are intoxicating wine. The boat crosses over the water, carrying the true merchandise. The jewel within the mind subdues the mind; attached to the Truth, it is not broken. The king is seated upon the throne, imbued with the Fear of God and the five qualities. ||1|| O Baba, do not see your True Lord and Master as being far away. He is the Light of all, the Life of the world; The True Lord writes His Inscription on each and every head. ||1||Pause|| Brahma and Vishnu, the Rishis and the silent sages, Shiva and Indra, penitents and beggars - whoever obeys the Hukam of the Lord's Command, looks beautiful in the Court of the True Lord, while the stubborn rebels die. The wandering beggars, warriors, celibates and Sannyaasee hermits - through the Perfect Guru, consider this: without selfless service, no one ever receives the fruits of their rewards. Serving the Lord is the most excellent action. ||2|| You are the wealth of the poor, the Guru of the guru-less, the honour of the dishonoured. I am blind; I have grasped hold of the jewel, the Guru. You are the strength of the weak. He is not known through burnt offerings and ritual chanting; the True Lord is known through the Guru's Teachings. Without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, no one finds shelter in the Court of the Lord; the false come and go in reincarnation. ||3|| So praise the True Name, and through the True Name, you will find satisfaction. When the mind is cleaned with the jewel of spiritual wisdom, it does not become dirty again. As long as the Lord and Master dwells in the mind, no obstacles are encountered. O Nanak, giving one's head, one is emancipated, and the mind and body become true. ||4||10|| Maaroo, First Mehl: The Yogi who is joined to the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is pure; he is not stained by even a particle of dirt. The True Lord, his Beloved, is always with him; the rounds of birth and death are ended for him. ||1|| O Lord of the Universe, what is Your Name, and what is it like? If You summon me into the Mansion of Your Presence, I will ask You, how I can become one with You. ||1||Pause|| He alone is a Brahmin, who takes his cleansing bath in the spiritual wisdom of God, and whose leaf-offerings in worship are the Glorious Praises of the Lord. The One Name, the One Lord, and His One Light pervade the three worlds. ||2|| My tongue is the balance of the scale, and this heart of mine is the pan of the scale; I weigh the immeasurable Naam. There is one store, and one banker above all; the merchants deal in the one commodity. ||3|| The True Guru saves us at both ends; he alone understands, who is lovingly focused on the One Lord; his inner being remains free of doubt. The Word of the Shabad abides within, and doubt is ended, for those who constantly serve, day and night. ||4|| Above is the sky of the mind, and beyond this sky is the Lord, the Protector of the World; the Inaccessible Lord God; the Guru abides there as well. According to the Word of the Guru's Teachings, what is outside is the same as what is inside the home of the self. Nanak has become a detached renunciate. ||5||11||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 005

Raag Maaroo, First Mehl, Fifth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Day and night, he remains awake and aware; he never sleeps or dreams. He alone knows this, who feels the pain of separation from God. My body is pierced through with the arrow of love. How can any physician know the cure? ||1|| Rare is that one, who as Gurmukh, understands, and whom the True Lord links to His Praise. He alone appreciates the value of the Ambsosial Nectar, who deals in this Ambrosia. ||1||Pause|| The soul-bride is in love with her Husband Lord; the focuses her consciousness on the Word of the Guru's Shabad. The soul-bride is joyously embellished with intuitive ease; her hunger and thirst are taken away. ||2|| Tear down skepticism and dispel your doubt; with your intuition, draw the bow of the Praise of the Lord. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, conquer and subdue your mind; take the support of Yoga - Union with the beautiful Lord. ||3|| Burnt by egotism, one forgets the Lord from his mind. In the City of Death, he is attacked with massive swords. Then, even if he asks for it, he will not receive the Lord's Name; O soul, you shall suffer terrible punishment. ||4|| You are distracted by thoughts of Maya and worldly attachment. In the City of Death, you will be caught by the noose of the Messenger of Death. You cannot break free from the bondage of loving attachment, and so the Messenger of Death will torture you. ||5|| I have done nothing; I am doing nothing now. The True Guru has blessed me with the Ambrosial Nectar of the Naam. What other efforts can

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anyone make, when You bestow Your blessing? Nanak seeks Your Sanctuary. ||6||1||12|| Maaroo, Third Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Wherever You seat me, there I sit, O my Lord and Master; wherever You send me, there I go. In the entire village, there is only One King; all places are sacred. ||1|| O Baba, while I dwell in this body, let me sing Your True Praises, that I may intuitively merge with You. ||1||Pause|| He thinks that good and bad deeds come from himself; this is the source of all evil. Whatever happens in this world is only by the Order of our Lord and Master. ||2|| Sexual desires are so strong and compelling; where has this sexual desire come from? The Creator Himself stages all the plays; how rare are those who realise this. ||3|| By Guru's Grace, one is lovingly focused on the One Lord, and then, duality is ended. Whatever is in harmony with His Will, he accepts as True; the noose of Death is loosened from around his neck. ||4|| Prays Nanak, who can call him to account, when the egotistical pride of his mind has been silenced? Even the Righteous Judge of Dharma is intimidated and afraid of him; he has entered the Sanctuary of the True Lord. ||5||1|| Maaroo, Third Mehl: Coming and going in reincarnation no longer exist, when one dwells in the home of the self within. He bestowed the Blessing of His treasure of truth; only He Himself knows. ||1||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 006

O my mind, remember the Dear Lord, and abandon the corruption of your mind. Meditate on the Word of the Guru's Shabad; focus lovingly on the Truth. ||1||Pause|| One who forgets the Name in this world, shall not find any place of rest anywhere else. He shall wander in all sorts of reincarnations, and rot away in manure. ||2|| By great good fortune, I have found the Guru, according to my pre-ordained destiny, O my mother. Night and day, I practice true devotional worship; I am united with the True Lord. ||3|| He Himself fashioned the entire universe; He Himself bestows His Glance of Grace. O Nanak, the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is glorious and great; as He pleases, He bestows His Blessings. ||4||2|| Maaroo, Third Mehl: Please forgive my past mistakes, O my Dear Lord; now, please place me on the Path. I remain attached to the Lord's Feet, and eradicate self-conceit from within. ||1|| O my mind, as Gurmukh, meditate on the Name of the Lord. Remain attached forever to the Lord's Feet, single-mindedly, with love for the One Lord. ||1||Pause|| I have no social status or honour; I have no place or home. Pierced through by the Word of the Shabad, my doubts have been cut away. The Guru has inspired me to understand the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||2|| This mind wanders around, driven by greed, totally attached to greed. He is engrossed in false pursuits; he shall endure beatings in the City of Death. ||3|| O Nanak, God Himself Himself is all-in-all. There is no other at all. He bestows the treasure of devotional worship, and the Gurmukhs abide in peace. ||4||3|| Maaroo, Third Mehl: Seek and find those who are imbued with Truth; they are so rare in this world. Meeting with them, one's face becomes radiant and bright, chanting the Name of the Lord. ||1|| O Baba, contemplate and cherish the True Lord and Master within your heart. Seek out and see, and ask your True Guru, and obtain the true commodity. ||1||Pause|| All serve the One True Lord; through pre-ordained destiny, they meet Him. The Gurmukhs merge with Him, and will not be separated from Him again; they attain the True Lord. ||2|| Some do not appreciate the value of devotional worship; the self-willed manmukhs are deluded by doubt. They are fillled with self-conceit; they cannot accomplish anything. ||3|| Stand and offer your prayer, to the One who cannot be moved by force. O Nanak, the Naam, the Name of the Lord, abides within the mind of the Gurmukh; hearing his prayer, the Lord applauds him. ||4||4|| Maaroo, Third Mehl: He transforms the burning desert into a cool oasis; he transmutes rusted iron into gold. So praise the True Lord; there is none other as great as He is. ||1|| O my mind, night and day, meditate on the Lord's Name. Contemplate the Word of the Guru's Teachings, and sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, night and day. ||1||Pause|| As Gurmukh, one comes to know the One Lord, when the True Guru instructs him. Praise the True Guru, who imparts this understanding. ||2|| Those who forsake the True Guru, and attach themselves to duality - what will they do when they go to the world hereafter? Bound and gagged in the City of Death, they will be beaten. They will be punished severely. ||3||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 007

My God is independent and self-sufficient; he does not have even an iota of greed. O Nanak, run to His Sanctuary; granting His forgiveness, He merges us into Himself. ||4||5|| Maaroo, Fourth Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Suk-deva and Janak meditated on the Naam; following the Guru's Teachings, they sought the Sanctuary of the Lord, Har, Har. God met Sudama and removed his poverty; through loving devotional worship, he crossed over. God is the Lover of His devotees; the Lord's Name is fufilling; God showers His Mercy on the Gurmukhs. ||1|| O my mind, chanting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, you will be saved. Dhroo, Prahlaad and Bidar the slave-girl's son, became Gurmukh, and through the Naam, crossed over. ||1||Pause|| In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, the Naam is the supreme wealth; it saves the humble devotees. All the faults of Naam Dayv, Jai Dayv, Kabeer, Trilochan and Ravi Daas the leather-worker were covered. Those who become Gurmukh, and remain attached to the Naam, are saved; all their sins are washed off. ||2|| Whoever chants the Naam, all his sins and mistakes are taken away. Ajaamal, who had sex with prostitites, was saved, by chanting the Name of the Lord. Chanting the Naam, Ugar Sain obtained salvation; his bonds were broken, and he was liberated. ||3|| God Himself takes pity on His humble servants, and makes them His own. My Lord of the Universe saves the honour of His servants; those who seek His Sanctuary are saved. The Lord has showered servant Nanak with His Mercy; he has enshrined the Lord's Name within his heart. ||4||1|| Maaroo, Fourth Mehl: The Siddhas in Samaadhi meditate on Him; they are lovingly focused on Him. The seekers and the silent sages meditate on Him as well. The celibates, the true and contented beings meditate on Him; Indra and the other gods chant His Name with their mouths. Those who seek His Sanctuary meditate on Him; they become Gurmukh and swim across. ||1|| O my mind, chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and cross over. Dhanna the farmer, and Balmik the highway robber, became Gurmukh, and crossed over. ||1||Pause|| Angels, men, heavenly heralds and celestial singers meditate on Him; even the humble Rishis sing of the Lord. Shiva, Brahma and the goddess Lakhshmi, meditate, and chant with their mouths the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Those whose minds are drenched with the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, as Gurmukh, cross over. ||2|| Millions and millions, three hundred thirty million gods meditate on Him; there is no end to those who meditate on the Lord. The Vedas, the Puraanas and the Simritees meditate on the Lord; the Pandits, the religious scholars, sing the Lord's Praises as well. Those whose minds are filled with the Naam, the source of nectar - as Gurmukh, they cross over. ||3|| Those who chant the Naam in endless waves - I cannot even count their number. The Lord of the Universe bestows His Mercy, and those who are pleasing to the Mind of the Lord God, find their place. The Guru, granting His Grace, implants the Lord's Name within; servant Nanak chants the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||4||2||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 008

Maaroo, Fourth Mehl, Third House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Take the treasure of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Follow the Guru's Teachings, and the Lord shall bless you with honour. Here and hereafter, the Lord goes with you; in the end, He shall deliver you. Where the path is difficult and the street is narrow, there the Lord shall liberate you. ||1|| O my True Guru, implant within me the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. The Lord is my mother, father, child and relative; I have none other than the Lord, O my mother. ||1||Pause|| I feel the pains of love and yearning for the Lord, and the Name of the Lord. If only someone would come and unite me with Him, O my mother. I bow in humble devotion to one who inspires me to meet with my Beloved. The almighty and merciful True Guru unites me with the Lord God instantaneously. ||2|| Those who do not remember the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, are most unfortunate, and are slaughtered. They wander in reincarnation, again and again; they die, and are re-born, and continue coming and going. Bound and gagged at Death's Door, they are cruelly beaten, and punished in the Court of the Lord. ||3|| O God, I seek Your Sanctuary; O my Sovereign Lord King, please unite me with Yourself. O Lord, Life of the World, please shower me with Your Mercy; grant me the Sanctuary of the Guru, the True Guru. The Dear Lord, becoming merciful, has blended servant Nanak with Himself. ||4||1||3|| Maaroo, Fourth Mehl: I inquire about the commodity of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Is there anyone who can show me the wealth, the capital of the Lord? I cut myself into pieces, and make myself a sacrifice to that one who leads me to meet my Lord God. I am filled with the Love of my Beloved; how can I meet my Friend, and merge with Him? ||1|| O my beloved friend, my mind, I take the wealth, the capital of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. The Perfect Guru has implanted the Naam within me; the Lord is my support - I celebrate the Lord. ||1||Pause|| O my Guru, please unite me with the Lord, Har, Har; show me the wealth, the capital of the Lord. Without the Guru, love does not well up; see this, and know it in your mind. The Lord has installed Himself within the Guru; so praise the Guru, who unites us with the Lord. ||2|| The ocean, the treasure of devotional worship of the Lord, rests with the Perfect True Guru. When it pleases the True Guru, He opens the treasure, and and the Gurmukhs are illuminated by the Lord's Light. The unfortunate self-willed manmukhs die of thirst, on the very bank of the river. ||3|| The Guru is the Great Giver; I beg for this gift from the Guru, that He may unite me with God, from whom I was separated for so long! This is the great hope of my mind and body. If it pleases You, O my Guru, please listen to my prayer; this is servant Nanak's prayer. ||4||2||4|| Maaroo, Fourth Mehl: O Lord God, please preach Your sermon to me. Through the Guru's Teachings, the Lord is merged into my heart. Meditate on the sermon of the Lord, Har, Har, O very fortunate ones; the Lord shall bless you with the most sublime status of Nirvaanaa.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 009

The minds of the Gurmukhs are filled with faith; through the Perfect Guru, they merge in the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1|| O my mind, the sermon of the Lord, Har, Har, is pleasing to my mind. Continually and forever, speak the sermon of the Lord, Har, Har; as Gurmukh, speak the Unspoken Speech. ||1||Pause|| I have searched through and through my mind and body; how can I attain this Unspoken Speech? Meeting with the humble Saints, I have found it; listening to the Unspoken Speech, my mind is pleased. The Lord's Name is the Support of my mind and body; I am united with the all-knowing Primal Lord God. ||2|| The Guru, the Primal Being, has united me with the Primal Lord God. My consciousness has merged into the supreme consciousness. By great good fortune, I serve the Guru, and I have found my Lord, all-wise and all-knowing. The self-willed manmukhs are very unfortunate; they pass their life-night in misery and pain. ||3|| I am just a meek beggar at Your Door, God; please, place the Ambrosial Word of Your Bani in my mouth. The True Guru is my friend; He unites me with my all-wise, all-knowing Lord God. Servant Nanak has entered Your Sanctuary; grant Your Grace, and merge me into Your Name. ||4||3||5|| Maaroo, Fourth Mehl: Detached from the world, I am in love with the Lord; by great good fortune, I have enshrined the Lord within my mind. Joining the Sangat, the Holy Congregation, faith has welled up within me; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, I taste the sublime essence of the Lord. My mind and body have totally blossomed forth; through the Word of the Guru's Bani, I chant the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||1|| O my beloved mind, my friend, taste the sublime essence of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Through the Perfect Guru, I have found the Lord, who saves my honour, here and hereafter. ||1||Pause|| Meditate on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har; as Gurmukh, taste the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises. Plant the seed of the Lord in the body-farm. The Lord God is enshrined within the Sangat, the Holy Congregation. The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is Ambrosial Nectar. Through the Perfect Guru, taste the sublime essence of the Lord. ||2|| The self-willed manmukhs are filled with hunger and thirst; their minds run around in the ten directions, hoping for great wealth. Without the Name of the Lord, their life is cursed; the manmukhs are stuck in manure. They come and go, and are consigned to wander through uncounted incarnations, eating stinking rot. ||3|| Begging, imploring, I seek Your Sanctuary; Lord, shower me with Your Mercy, and save me, God. Lead me to join the Society of the Saints, and bless me with the honour and glory of the Lord's Name. I have obtained the wealth of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har; servant Nanak chants the Lord's Name, through the Guru's Teachings. ||4||4||6|| Maaroo, Fourth Mehl, Fifth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Devotional worship to the Lord, Har, Har, is an overflowing treasure. The Gurmukh is emancipated by the Lord. One who is blessed by the Mercy of my Lord and Master sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||1|| O Lord, Har, Har, take pity on me, that within my heart, I may dwell upon You, Lord, forever and ever. Chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, O my soul; chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, you shall be emancipated. ||1||Pause||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 010

The Ambrosial Name of the Lord is the ocean of peace. The beggar begs for it; O Lord, please bless him, in Your kindness. True, True is the Lord; the Lord is forever True; the True Lord is pleasing to my mind. ||2|| The nine holes pour out filth. Chanting the Lord's Name, they are all purified and sanctified. When my Lord and Master is totally pleased, He leads the mortal to meditate in remembrance on the Lord, and then his filth is taken away. ||3|| Attachment to Maya is terribly treacherous. How can one cross over the difficult world-ocean? The True Lord bestows the boat of the True Guru; meditating on the Lord, Har, Har, one is carried across. ||4|| You are everywhere; all are Yours. Whatever You do, God, that alone comes to pass. Poor servant Nanak sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord; as it pleases the Lord, He bestows His approval. ||5||1||7|| Maaroo, Fourth Mehl: Chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, O my mind. The Lord shall eradicate all your sins. Treasure the Lord's wealth, and gather in the Lord's wealth; when you depart in the end, the Lord shall go along with you as your only friend and companion. ||1|| He alone meditates on the Lord, unto whom He grants His Grace. He continually chants the Lord's Chant; meditating on the Lord, one finds peace. By Guru's Grace, the sublime essence of the Lord is obtained. Meditating on the Lord, Har, Har, one is carried across. ||1||Pause|| The fearless, formless Lord - the Name is Truth. To chant it is the most sublime and exalted activity in this world. Doing so, the Messenger of Death, the evil enemy, is killed. Death does not even approach the Lord's servant.

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||2|| One whose mind is satisfied with the Lord - that servant is known throughout the four ages, in all four directions. If some sinner speaks evil of him, the Messenger of Death chews him up. ||3|| The One Pure Creator Lord is in all. He stages all His wondrous plays, and watches them. Who can kill that person, whom the Lord has saved? The Creator Lord Himself delivers him. ||4|| I chant the Name of the Creator Lord, night and day. He saves all His servants and devotees. Consult the eighteen Puraanas and the four Vedas; O servant Nanak, only the Naam, the Name of the Lord, will deliver you. ||5||2||8|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The earth, the Akaashic ethers and the stars abide in the Fear of God. The almighty Order of the Lord is over the heads of all. Wind, water and fire abide in the Fear of God; poor Indra abides in the Fear of God as well. ||1|| I have heard one thing, that the One Lord alone is fearless. He alone is at peace, and he alone is embellished forever, who meets with the Guru, and sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| The embodied and the divine beings abide in the Fear of God. The Siddhas and seekers die in the Fear of God. The 8.4 millions species of beings die, and die again, and are born over 1779
and over again. They are consigned to reincarnation. ||2||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 011

Those who embody the energies of sattva-white light, raajas-red passion, and taamas-black darkness, abide in the Fear of God, along with the many created forms. This miserable deceiver Maya abides in the Fear of God; the Righteous Judge of Dharma is utterly afraid of Him as well. ||3|| The entire expanse of the Universe is in the Fear of God; only the Creator Lord is without this Fear. Says Nanak, God is the companion of His devotees; His devotees look beautiful in the Court of the Lord. ||4||1|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: The five year old orphan boy Dhroo, by meditating in remembrance on the Lord, became stationary and permanent. For the sake of his son, Ajaamal called out, "O Lord, Naaraayan", who struck down and killed the Messenger of Death. ||1|| My Lord and Master has saved many, countless beings. I am meek, with little or no understanding, and unworthy; I seek protection at the Lord's Door. ||1||Pause|| Baalmeek the outcaste was saved, and the poor hunter was saved as well. The elephant remembered the Lord in his mind for an instant, and so was carried across. ||2|| He saved His devotee Prahlaad, and tore Harnaakhash with his nails. Bidar, the son of a slave-girl, was purified, and all his generations were redeemed. ||3|| What sins of mine should I speak of? I am intoxicated with false emotional attachment. Nanak has entered the Sanctuary of the Lord; please, reach out and take me into Your embrace. ||4||2|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: For the sake of riches, I wandered around in so many ways; I rushed around, making all sorts of efforts. The deeds I did in egotism and pride, have all been done in vain. ||1|| Other days are of no use to me; please bless me with those days, O Dear God, on which I may sing the Lord's Praises. ||1||Pause|| Gazing upon children, spouse, household and possessions, one is entangled in these. Tasting the wine of Maya, one is intoxicated, and never sings of the Lord, Har, Har. ||2|| In this way, I have examined lots of methods, but without the Saints, it is not found. You are the Great Giver, the great and almighty God; I have come to beg a gift from You. ||3|| Abandoning all pride and self-importance, I have sought the Sanctuary of the dust of the feet of the Lord's slave. Says Nanak, meeting with the Lord, I have become one with Him; I have found supreme bliss and peace. ||4||3|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: In what place is the Name established? Where does egotism dwell? What injury have you suffered, listening to abuse from someone else's mouth? ||1|| Listen: who are you, and where did you come from? You don't even know how long you will stay here; you have no hint of when you shall leave. ||1||Pause|| Wind and water have patience and tolerance; the earth has compassion and forgiveness, no doubt. The union of the five tattvas - the five elements - has brought you into being. Which of these is evil? ||2|| The Primal Lord, the Architect of Destiny, formed your form; He also burdened you with egotism. He alone is born and dies; He alone comes and goes. ||3|| Nothing of the colour and the form of the creation shall remain; the entire expanse is transitory. Prays Nanak, when He brings His play to its close, then only the One, the One Lord remains. ||4||4||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 012

Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: Pride, emotional attachment, greed and corruption are gone; I have not placed anything else, other than the Lord, within my consciousness. I have purchased the jewel of the Naam and the Glorious Praises of the Lord; loading this merchandise, I have set out on my journey. ||1|| The love which the Lord's servant feels for the Lord lasts forever. In my life, I served my Lord and Master, and as I depart, I keep Him enshrined in my consciousness. ||1||Pause|| I have not turned my face away from my Lord and Master's Command. He fills my household with celestial peace and bliss; if He asks me to leave, I leave at once. ||2|| When I am under the Lord's Command, I find even hunger pleasurable; I know no difference between sorrow and joy. Whatever the Command of my Lord and Master is, I bow my forehead and accept it. ||3|| The Lord and Master has become merciful to His servant; He has embellished both this world and the next. Blessed is that servant, and fruitful is his birth; O Nanak, he realises his Lord and Master. ||4||5|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: Good karma has dawned for me - my Lord and Master has become merciful. I sing the Kirtan of the Praises of the Lord, Har, Har. My struggle is ended; I have found peace and tranquility. All my wanderings have ceased. ||1|| Now, I have obtained the state of eternal life. The Primal Lord, the Architect of Destiny, has come into my conscious mind; I seek the Sanctuary of the Saints. ||1||Pause|| Sexual desire, anger, greed and emotional attachment are eradicated; all my enemies are eliminated. He is always ever-present, here and now, watching over me; He is never far away. ||2|| In peace and cool tranquility, my faith has been totally fulfilled; the Saints are my Helpers and Support. He has purified the sinners in an instant; I cannot express His Glorious Praises. ||3|| I have become fearless; all fear has departed. The feet of the Lord of the Universe are my only Shelter. Nanak sings the Praises of his Lord and Master; night and day, he is lovingly focused on Him. ||4||6|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: He is all-powerful, the Master of all virtues, but you never sing of Him! You shall have to leave all this in an instant, but again and again, you chase after it. ||1|| Why do you not contemplate your God? You are entangled in association with your enemies, and the enjoyment of pleasures; your soul is burning up with them! ||1||Pause|| Hearing His Name, the Messenger of Death will release you, and yet, you do not enter His Sanctuary! Turn out this wretched jackal, and seek the Shelter of that God. ||2|| Praising Him, you shall cross over the terrifying world-ocean, and yet, you have not fallen in love with Him! This meager, short-lived dream, this thing - you are engrossed in it, over and over again. ||3|| When our Lord and Master, the ocean of mercy, grants His Grace, one finds honour in the Society of the Saints. Says Nanak, I am rid of the illusion of the three-phased Maya, when God becomes my help and support. ||4||7|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: The Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts, knows everything; what can anyone hide from Him? Your hands and feet will fall off in an instant, when you are burnt in the fire. ||1||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 013

You fool, you have forgotten the Lord from your mind! You eat His salt, and then you are untrue to Him; before your very eyes, you shall be torn apart. ||1||Pause|| The incurable disease has arisen in your body; it cannot be removed or overcome. Forgetting God, one endures utter agony; this is the essence of reality which Nanak has realised. ||2||8|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: I have enshrined the lotus feet of God within my consciousness. I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, continually, continuously. There is none other than Him at all. He alone exists, in the beginning, in the middle, and in the end. ||1|| He Himself is the Shelter of the Saints. ||1||Pause|| The entire universe is under His control. He Himself, the Formless Lord, is Himself by Himself. Nanak holds tight to that True Lord. He has found peace, and shall never suffer pain again. ||2||9|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl, Third House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: He is the Giver of peace to the breath of life, the Giver of life to the soul; how can you forget Him, you ignorant person? You taste the weak, insipid wine, and you have gone insane. You have uselessly wasted this precious human life. ||1|| O man, such is the foolishness you practice. Renouncing the Lord, the Support of the earth, you wander, deluded by doubt; you are engrossed in emotional attachment, associating with Maya, the slave-girl. ||1||Pause|| Abandoning the Lord, the Support of the earth, you serve her of lowly ancestry, and you pass you life acting egotistically. You do useless deeds, you ignorant person; this is why you are called a blind, self-willed manmukh. ||2|| That which is true, you believe to be untrue; what is transitory, you believe to be permanent. You grasp as your own, what belongs to others; in such delusions you are deluded. ||3|| The Kh'shaatriyas, Brahmins, Soodras and Vaishyas all cross over, through the Name of the One Lord. Guru Nanak speaks the Teachings; whoever listens to them is carried across. ||4||1||10|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: You may act in secrecy, but God is still with you; you can only deceive other people. Forgetting your Dear Lord, you enjoy corrupt pleasures, and so you shall have to embrace red-hot pillars. ||1|| O man, why do you go out to the households of others? You filthy, heartless, lustful donkey! Haven't you heard of the Righteous Judge of Dharma? ||1||Pause|| The stone of corruption is tied around your neck, and the load of slander is on your head. You must cross over the vast open ocean, but you cannot cross over to the other side. ||2|| You are engrossed in sexual desire, anger, greed and emotional attachment; you have turned your eyes away from the Truth. You cannot even raise your head above the water of the vast, impassable sea of Maya. ||3|| The sun is liberated, and the moon is liberated; the God-realised being is pure and untouched. His inner nature is like that of fire, untouched and forever immaculate. ||4|| When good karma dawns, the wall of doubt is torn down. He lovingly accepts the Guru's Will.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 014

One who is blessed with the medicine of the GurMantra, the Name of the Lord, O servant Nanak, does not suffer the agonies of reincarnation. ||5||2|| O man, in this way, you shall cross over to the other side. Meditate on your Dear Lord, and be dead to the world; renounce your love of duality. ||Second Pause||2||11|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: I have quit searching outside; the Guru has shown me that God is within the home of my own heart. I have seen God, fearless, of wondrous beauty; my mind shall never leave Him to go anywhere else. ||1|| I have found the jewel; I have found the Perfect Lord. The invaluable value cannot be obtained; in His Mercy, the Guru bestows it. ||1||Pause|| The Supreme Lord God is imperceptible and unfathomable; meeting the Holy Saint, I speak the Unspoken Speech. The unstruck sound current of the Shabad vibrates and resounds in the Tenth Gate; the Ambrosial Naam trickles down there. ||2|| I lack nothing; the thirsty desires of my mind are satisfied. The inexhaustible treasure has entered into my being. I serve the feet, the feet, the feet of the Guru, and manage the unmanageable. I have found the juice, the sublime essence. ||3|| Intuitively I come, and intuively I go; my mind intuitively plays. Says Nanak, when the Guru drives out doubt, then the soul-bride enters the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. ||4||3||12|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: You feel no love for the One who created and embellished you. The seed, planted out season, does not germinate; it does not produce flower or fruit. ||1|| O mind, this is the time to plant the seed of the Name. Focus your mind, and cultivate this crop; at the proper time, make this your purpose. ||1||Pause|| Eradicate the stubbornness and doubt of your mind, and go to the Sanctuary of the True Guru. He alone does such deeds, who has such pre-ordained karma. ||2|| He falls in love with the Lord of the Universe, and his efforts are approved. My crop has germinated, and it shall never be used up. ||3|| I have obtained the priceless wealth, which shall never leave me or go anywhere else. Says Nanak, I have found peace; I am satisfied and fulfilled. ||4||4||13|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: The egg of doubt has burst; my mind has been enlightened. The Guru has shattered the shackles on my feet, and has set me free. ||1|| My coming and going in reincarnation is ended. The boiling cauldron has cooled down; the Guru has blessed me with the cooling, soothing Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Since I joined the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, those who were eyeing me have left. The one who tied me up, has released me; what can the Watchman of Death do to me now? ||2|| The load of my karma has been removed, and I am now free of karma. I have crossed the world-ocean, and reached the other shore; the Guru has blessed me with this Dharma. ||3|| True is my place, and True is my seat; I have made Truth my life's purpose. True is my capital, and True is the merchandise, which Nanak has placed into the home of the heart. ||4||5||14|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl:

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 015

The Pandit, the religious scholar, proclaims the Vedas, but he is slow to act on them. Another person on silence sits alone, but his heart is tied in knots of desire. Another becomes an Udaasi, a renunciate; he abandons his home and walks out on his family, but his wandering impulses do not leave him. ||1|| Who can I tell about the state of my soul? Where can I find such a person who is liberated, and who can unite me with my God? ||1||Pause|| Someone may practice intensive meditation, and discipline his body, but his mind still runs around in ten directions. The celibate practices celibacy, but his heart is filled with pride. The Sannyaasi wanders around at sacred shrines of pilgrimage, but his mindless anger is still within him. ||2|| The temple dancers tie bells around their ankles to earn their living. Others go on fasts, take vows, perform the six rituals and wear religious robes for show. Some sing songs and melodies and hymns, but their minds do not sing of the Lord, Har, Har. ||3|| The Lord's Saints are immaculately pure; they are beyond pleasure and pain, beyond greed and attachment. My mind obtains the dust of their feet, when the Lord God shows mercy. Says Nanak, I met the Perfect Guru, and then the anxiety of my mind was removed. ||4|| My Sovereign Lord is the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. The Beloved of my soul knows everything; all trivial talk is forgotten. ||1||Second Pause||6||15|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: One who has Your Name in his heart is the king of all the hundreds of thousands and millions of beings. Those, whom my True Guru has not blessed with Your Name, are poor idiots, who die and are reborn. ||1|| My True Guru protects and preserves my honour. When You come to mind, Lord, then I obtain perfect honour. Forgetting You, I roll in the dust. ||1||Pause|| The mind's pleasures of love and beauty bring just as many blames and sins. The Name of the Lord is the treasure of Emancipation; it is absolute peace and poise. ||2|| The pleasures of Maya fade away in an instant, like the shade of a passing cloud. They alone are dyed in the deep crimson of the Lord's Love, who meet the Guru, and sing the Praises of the Lord, Har, Har. ||3|| My Lord and Master is lofty and exalted, grand and infinite. The Darbaar of His Court is inaccessible. Through the Naam, glorious greatness and respect are obtained; O Nanak, my Lord and Master is my

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Beloved. ||4||7||16|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl, Fourth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The One Universal Creator Lord created the creation. He made all the days and the nights. The forests, meadows, three worlds, water, the four Vedas, the four sources of creation, the countries, the continents and all the worlds, have all come from the One Word of the Lord. ||1|| Hey - understand the Creator Lord. If you meet the True Guru, then you'll understand. ||1||Pause|| He formed the expanse of the entire universe from the three gunas, the three qualities. People are incarnated in heaven and in hell. In egotism, they come and go. The mind cannot hold still, even for an instant.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 016

Without the Guru, there is only pitch darkness. Meeting with the True Guru, one is emancipated. ||2|| All the deeds done in egotism, are just chains around the neck. Harboring self-conceit and self-interest is just like placing chains around one's ankles. He alone meets with the Guru, and realises the One Lord, who has such destiny written on his forehead. ||3|| He alone meets the Lord, who is pleasing to His Mind. He alone is deluded, who is deluded by God. No one, by himself, is ignorant or wise. He alone chants the Naam, whom the Lord inspires to do so. You have no end or limitation. Servant Nanak is forever a sacrifice to You. ||4||1||17|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: Maya, the enticer, has enticed the world of the three gunas, the three qualities. The false world is engrossed in greed. Crying out, "Mine, mine!" they collect possessions, but in the end, they are all deceived. ||1|| The Lord is fearless, formless and merciful. He is the Cherisher of all beings and creatures. ||1||Pause|| Some collect wealth, and bury it in the ground. Some cannot abandon wealth, even in their dreams. The king exercises his power, and fills his money-bags, but this fickle companion will not go along with him. ||2|| Some love this wealth even more than their body and breath of life. Some collect it, forsaking their fathers and mothers. Some hide it from their children, friends and siblings, but it will not remain with them. ||3|| Some become hermits, and sit in meditative trances. Some are Yogis, celibates, religious scholars and thinkers. Some dwell in homes, graveyards, cremation grounds and forests; but Maya still clings to them there. ||4|| When the Lord and Master releases one from his bonds, the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, comes to dwell in his soul. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, His humble servants are liberated; O Nanak, they are redeemed and enraptured by the Lord's Glance of Grace. ||5||2||18|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: Meditate in remembrance on the One Immaculate Lord. No one is turned away from Him empty-handed. He cherished and preserved you in your mother's womb; He blessed you with body and soul, and embellished you. Each and every instant, meditate on that Creator Lord. Meditating in remembrance on Him, all faults and mistakes are covered. Enshrine the Lord's lotus feet deep within the nucleus of your self. Save your soul from the waters of corruption. Your cries and shrieks shall be ended; meditating on the Lord of the Universe, your doubts and fears shall be dispelled. Rare is that being, who finds the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Nanak is a sacrifice, a sacrifice to Him. ||1|| The Lord's Name is the support of my mind and body. Whoever meditates on Him is emancipated. ||1||Pause|| He believes that the false thing is true. The ignorant fool falls in love with it. He is intoxicated with the wine of sexual desire, anger and greed; he loses this human life in exchance for a mere shell. He abandons his own, and loves that of others. His mind and body are permeated with the intoxication of Maya. His thirsty desires are not quenched, although he indulges in pleasures. His hopes are not fulfilled, and all his words are false. He comes alone, and he goes alone.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 017

False is all his talk of me and you. The Lord Himself administers the poisonous potion, to mislead and delude. O Nanak, the the karma of past actions cannot be erased. ||2|| Beasts, birds, demons and ghosts - in these many ways, the false wander in reincarnation. Wherever they go, they cannot remain there. They have no place of rest; they rise up again and again and run around. Their minds and bodies are filled with immense, expansive desires. The poor wretches are cheated by egotism. They are filled with countless sins, and are severely punished. The extent of this cannot be estimated. Forgetting God, they fall into hell. There are no mothers there, no siblings, no friends and no spouses. Those humble beings, unto whom the Lord and Master becomes Merciful, O Nanak, cross over. ||3|| Rambling and roaming, wandering around, I came to seek the Sanctuary of God. He is the Master of the meek, the father and mother of the world. The Merciful Lord God is the Destroyer of sorrow and suffering. He emancipates whoever He pleases. He lifts them up and pulls him out of the deep dark pit. Emancipation comes through loving devotional worship. The Holy Saint is the very embodiment of the Lord's form. He Himself saves us from the great fire. By myself, I cannot practice meditation, austerities, penance and self-discipline. In the beginning and in the end, God is inaccessible and unfathomable. Please bless me with Your Name, Lord; Your slave begs only for this. O Nanak, my Lord God is the Giver of the true state of life. ||4||3||19|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: Why do you try to deceive others, O people of the world? The Fascinating Lord is Merciful to the meek. ||1|| This is what I have come to know. The brave and heroic Guru, the Generous Giver, gives Sanctuary and preserves our honour. ||1||Pause|| He submits to the Will of His devotees; He is forever and ever the Giver of peace. ||2|| Please bless me with Your Mercy, that I may meditate on Your Name alone. ||3|| Nanak, the meek and humble, begs for the Naam, the Name of the Lord; it eradicates duality and doubt. ||4||4||20|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: My Lord and Master is utterly powerful. I am just His poor servant. ||1|| My Enticing Beloved is very dear to my mind and my breath of life. He blesses me with His gift. ||1||Pause|| I have seen and tested all. There is none other than Him. ||2|| He sustains and nurtures all beings. He was, and shall always be. ||3|| Please bless me with Your Mercy, O Divine Lord, and link Nanak to Your service. ||4||5||21|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: The Redeemer of sinners, who carries us across; I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice to Him. If only I could meet with such a Saint, who would inspire me to meditate on the Lord, Har, Har, Har. ||1|| No one knows me; I am called Your slave. This is my support and sustenance. ||1||Pause|| You support and cherish all; I am meek and humble - this is my only prayer. You alone know Your Way; You are the water, and I am the fish. ||2|| O Perfect and Expansive Lord and Master, I follow You in love. O God, You are pervading all the worlds, solar systems and galaxies. ||3||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 018

You are eternal and unchanging, imperishable, invisible and infinite, O divine fascinating Lord. Please bless Nanak with the gift of the Society of the Saints, and the dust of the feet of Your slaves. ||4||6||22|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: The Saints are fulfilled and satisfied; they know the Guru's Mantra and the Teachings. They cannot even be described; they are blessed with the glorious greatness of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1|| My Beloved is a priceless jewel. His Name is unattainable and immeasurable. ||1||Pause|| One whose mind is satisfied believing in the imperishable Lord God, becomes Gurmukh and attains the essence of spiritual wisdom. He sees all in his meditation. He banishes egotistical pride from his mind. ||2|| Permanent is the place of those who, through the Guru, realise the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. Meeting the Guru, they remain awake and aware night and day; they are committed to the Lord's service. ||3|| They are perfectly fulfilled and satisfied, intuitively absorbed in Samaadhi. The Lord's treasure comes into their hands; O Nanak, through the Guru, they attain it. ||4||7||23|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl, Sixth House, Du-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Abandon all your clever tricks; meet with the Holy, and renounce your egotistical pride. Everything else is false; with your tongue, chant the Name of the Lord, Raam, Raam. ||1|| O my mind, with your ears, listen to the Name of the Lord. The sins of your many past lifetimes shall be washed away; then, what can the wretched Messenger of Death do to you? ||1||Pause|| Pain, poverty and fear shall not afflict you, and you shall find peace and pleasure. By Guru's Grace, Nanak speaks; meditation on the Lord is the essence of spiritual wisdom. ||2||1||24|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: Those who have forgotten the Naam, the Name of the Lord - I have seen them reduced to dust. The love of children and friends, and the pleasures of married life are torn apart. ||1|| O my mind, continually, continuously chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord. You shall not burn in the ocean of fire, and your mind and body shall be blessed with peace. ||1||Pause|| Like the shade of a tree, these things shall pass away, like the clouds blown away by the wind. Meeting with the Holy, devotional worship to the Lord is implanted within; O Nanak, only this shall work for you. ||2||2||25|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: The perfect, primal Lord is the Giver of peace; He is always with you. He does not die, and he does not come or go in reincarnation. He does not perish, and He is not affected by heat or cold. ||1|| O my mind, be in love with the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Within the mind, think of the Lord, Har, Har, the treasure. This is the purest way of life. ||1||Pause|| Whoever meditates on the merciful compassionate Lord, the Lord of the Universe, is successful. He is always new, fresh and young, clever and beautiful; Nanak's mind is pierced through with His Love. ||2||3||26|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: While walking and sitting, sleeping and waking, contemplate within your heart the GurMantra. Run to the Lord's lotus feet, and join the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Cross over the terrifying world-ocean, and reach the other side. ||1||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 019

O my mind, enshrine the Naam, the Name of the Lord, within your heart. Love the Lord, and commit your mind and body to Him; forget everything else. ||1||Pause|| Soul, mind, body and breath of life belong to God; eliminate your self-conceit. Meditate, vibrate on the Lord of the Universe, and all your desires shall be fulfilled; O Nanak, you shall never be defeated. ||2||4||27|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: Renounce your self-conceit, and the fever shall depart; become the dust of the feet of the Holy. He alone receives Your Name, Lord, whom You bless with Your Mercy. ||1|| O my mind, drink in the Ambrosial Nectar of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Abandon other bland, insipid tastes; become immortal, and live throughout the ages. ||1||Pause|| Savor the essence of the One and only Naam; love the Naam, focus and attune yourself to the Naam. Nanak has made the One Lord his only friend, companion and relative. ||2||5||28|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: He nourishes and preserves mortals in the womb of the mother, so that the fiery heat does not hurt them. That Lord and Master protects us here. Understand this in your mind. ||1|| O my mind, take the Support of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Understand the One who created you; the One God is the Cause of causes. ||1||Pause|| Remember the One Lord in your mind, renounce your clever tricks, and give up all your religious robes. Meditating in remembrance forever on the Lord, Har, Har, O Nanak, countless beings have been saved. ||2||6||29|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: His Name is the Purifier of sinners; He is the Master of the masterless. In the vast and terrifying world-ocean, he is the raft for those who have such destiny inscribed on their foreheads. ||1|| Without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, huge numbers of companions have drowned. Even if someone does not remember the Lord, the Cause of causes, still, the Lord reaches out with His hand, and saves him. ||1||Pause|| In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, chant the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and take the Path of the Ambrosial Name of the Lord. Shower me with Your Mercy, O Lord; listening to Your sermon, Nanak lives. ||2||7||30|| Maaroo, Anjulee ~ With Hands Cupped In Prayer, Fifth Mehl, Seventh House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Union and separation are ordained by the Primal Lord God. The puppet is made from the five elements. By the Command of the Dear Lord King, the soul came and entered into the body. ||1|| In that place, where the fire rages like an oven, in that darkness where the body lies face down - there, one remembers his Lord and Master with each and every breath, and then he is rescued. ||2|| Then, one comes out from within the womb, and forgetting his Lord and Master, he attaches his consciousness to the world. He comes and goes, and wanders in reincarnation; he cannot remain anywhere. ||3|| The Merciful Lord Himself emancipates. He created and established all beings and creatures. Those who depart after having been victorious in this priceless human life - O Nanak, their coming into the world is approved. ||4||1||31||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 020

Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: The One Lord alone is our help and support; neither physician nor friend, nor sister nor brother can be this. ||1|| His actions alone come to pass; He washes off the filth of sins. Meditate in remembrance on that Supreme Lord. ||2|| He abides in each and every heart, and dwells in all; His seat and place are eternal. ||3|| He does not come or go, and He is always with us. His actions are perfect. ||4|| He is the Savior and the Protector of His devotees. The Saints live by meditating on God, the support of the breath of life. The Almighty Lord and Master is the Cause of causes; Nanak is a sacrifice to Him. ||5||2||32|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Maaroo, Ninth Mehl: The Name of the Lord is forever the Giver of peace. Meditating in remembrance on it, Ajaamal was saved, and Ganika the prostitute was emancipated. ||1||Pause|| Dropadi the princess of Panchaala remembered the Lord's Name in the royal court. The Lord, the embodiment of mercy, removed her suffering; thus His own glory was increased. ||1|| That man, who sings the Praise of the Lord, the treasure of mercy, has the help and support of the Lord. Says Nanak, I have come to rely on this. I seek the Sanctuary of the Lord. ||2||1|| Maaroo, Ninth Mehl: What should I do now, O mother? I have wasted my whole life in sin and corruption; I never remembered the Lord. ||1||Pause|| When Death places the noose around my neck, then I lose all my senses. Now, in this disaster, other than the Name of the Lord, who will be my help and support? ||1|| That wealth, which he believes to be his own, in an instant, belongs to another. Says Nanak, this still really bothers my mind - I never sang the Praises of the Lord. ||2||2|| Maaroo, Ninth Mehl: O my mother, I have not renounced the pride of my mind. I have wasted my life intoxicated with Maya; I have not focused myself in meditation on the Lord. ||1||Pause|| When Death's club falls on my head, then I will be wakened from my sleep. But what good will it do to repent at that time? I cannot escape by running away. ||1|| When this anxiety arises in the heart, then, one comes to love the Guru's feet. My life becomes fruitful, O Nanak, only when I am absorbed in the Praises of God. ||2||3|| Maaroo, Ashtapadees, First Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Reciting and listening to the Vedas and the Puraanas, countless wise men have grown weary. So many in their various religious robes have grown weary, wandering to the sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage. The True Lord and Master is immaculate and pure. The mind is satisfied only by the One Lord. ||1|| You are eternal; You do not grow old.

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All others pass away. One who lovingly focuses on the Naam, the source of nectar - his pains are taken away. ||1||Pause||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 021

Study the Lord's Name, and understand the Lord's Name; follow the Guru's Teachings, and through the Naam, you shall be saved. Perfect are the Teachings of the Perfect Guru; contemplate the Perfect Word of the Shabad. The Lord's Name is the sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage, and the Eradicator of sins. ||2|| The blind ignorant mortal stirs the water and churns the water, wishing to obtain butter. Following the Guru's Teachings, one churns the cream, and the treasure of the Ambrosial Naam is obtained. The self-willed manmukh is a beast; he does not know the essence of reality that is contained within himself. ||3|| Dying in egotism and self-conceit, one dies, and dies again, only to be reincarnated over and over again. But when he dies in the Word of the Guru's Shabad, then he does not die, ever again. When he follows the Guru's Teachings, and enshrines the Lord, the Life of the World, within his mind, he redeems all his generations. ||4|| The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is the true object, the true commodity. The Naam is the only true profit in this world. Follow the Guru's Teachings, and contemplate it. To work in the love of duality, brings constant loss in this world. ||5|| True is one's association, true is one's place, and true is one's hearth and home, when one has the support of the Naam. Contemplating the True Word of the Guru's Bani, and the True Word of the Shabad, one becomes content. ||6|| Enjoying princely pleasures, one shall be destroyed in pain and pleasure. Adopting a name of greatness, one strings heavy sins around his neck. Mankind cannot give gifts; You alone are the Giver of everything. ||7|| You are inaccessible and unfathomable; O Lord, You are imperishable and infinite. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, seeking at the Lord's Door, one finds the treasure of liberation. O Nanak, this union is not broken, if one deals in the merchandise of Truth. ||8||1|| Maaroo, First Mehl: The boat is loaded with sin and corruption, and launched into the sea. The shore cannot be seen on this side, nor on the shore beyond. There are no oars, nor any boatmen, to cross over the terrifying world-ocean. ||1|| O Baba, the world is caught in the great noose. By Guru's Grace, they are saved, contemplating the True Name. ||1||Pause|| The True Guru is the boat; the Word of the Shabad will carry them across. There is neither wind nor fire, neither water nor form there. The True Name of the True Lord is there; it carries them across the terrifying world-ocean. ||2|| The Gurmukhs reach the shore beyond, lovingly focusing on the True Lord. Their comings and goings are ended, and their light merges into the Light. Following the Guru's Teachings, intuitive peace wells up within them, and they remain merged in the True Lord. ||3|| The snake may be locked in a basket, but it is still poisonous, and the anger within its mind remains. One obtains what is pre-ordained; why does he blame others? If one, as Gurmukh, hears and believes in the Name, the charm against poison, his mind becomes content. ||4|| The crocodile is caught by the hook and line; caught in the trap of evil-mindedness, he regrets and repents, again and again. He does not understand birth and death; the inscription of one's past actions cannot be erased. ||5|| Injecting the poison of egotism, the world was created; with the Shabad enshrined within, the poison is eliminated. Old age cannot torment one who remains lovingly absorbed in the True Lord. He alone is called Jivan-Mikta, liberated while yet alive, from within whom egotism is eradicated. ||6||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 022

The world is chasing after worldly affairs; caught and bound, it does not understand contemplative meditation. The foolish, ignorant, self-willed manmukh has forgotten birth and death. Those whom the Guru has protected are saved, contemplating the True Word of the Shabad. ||7|| In the cage of divine love, the parrot, speaks. It pecks at the Truth, and drinks in the Ambrosial Nectar; it flies away, only once. Meeting with the Guru, one recognises his Lord and Master; says Nanak, he finds the gate of liberation. ||8||2|| Maaroo, First Mehl: One who dies in the Word of the Shabad conquers death; otherwise, where can you run? Through the Fear of God, fear runs away; His Name is Ambrosial Nectar. You alone kill and protect; except for You, there is no place at all. ||1|| O Baba, I am filthy, shallow and totally without understanding. Without the Naam, no one is anything; the Perfect Guru has made my intellect perfect. ||1||Pause|| I am full of faults, and I have no virtue at all. Without virtues, how can I go home? Through the Word of the Shabad, intuitive peace wells up; without good destiny, the wealth is not obtained. Those whose minds are not filled with the Naam are bound and gagged, and suffer in pain. ||2|| Those who have forgotten the Naam - why have they even come into the world? Here and hereafter, they do not find any peace; they have loaded their carts with ashes. Those who are separated, do not meet with the Lord; they suffer in terrible pain at Death's Door. ||3|| I do not know what will happen in the world hereafter; I am so confused - please teach me, Lord! I am confused; I would fall at the feet of one who shows me the Way. Without the Guru, there is no giver at all; His value cannot be described. ||4|| If I see my friend, then I will embrace Him; I have sent Him the letter of Truth. His soul-bride stands waiting expectantly; as Gurmukh, I see Him with my eyes. By the Pleasure of Your Will, You abide in my mind, and bless me with Your Glance of Grace. ||5|| One who is wandering hungry and thirsty - what can he give, and what can anyone ask from him? I cannot conceive of any other, who can bless my mind and body with perfection. The One who created me takes care of me; He Himself blesses me with glory. ||6|| In the body-village is my Lord and Master, whose body is ever-new, Innocent and child-like, incomparably playful. He is neither a woman, nor a man, nor a bird; the True Lord is so wise and beautiful. Whatever pleases Him, happens; You are the lamp, and You are the incense. ||7|| He hears the songs and tastes the flavors, but these flavors are useless and insipid, and bring only disease to the body. One who loves the Truth and speaks the Truth, escapes from the sorrow of separation. Nanak does not forget the Naam; whatever happens is by the Lord's Will. ||8||3|| Maaroo, First Mehl: Practice Truth - other greed and attachments are useless. The True Lord has fascinated this mind, and my tongue enjoys the taste of Truth. Without the Name, there is no juice; the others depart, loaded with poison. ||1|| I am such a slave of Yours, O my Beloved Lord and Master. I walk in harmony with Your Command, O my True, Sweet Beloved. ||1||Pause|| Night and day, the slave works for his overlord. I have sold my mind for the Word of the Guru's Shabad; my mind is comforted and consoled by the Shabad.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 023

The Perfect Guru is honoured and celebrated; He has taken away the pains of my mind. ||2|| I am the servant and slave of my Master; what glorious greatness of His can I describe? The Perfect Master, by the Pleasure of His Will, forgives, and then one practices Truth. I am a sacrifice to my Guru, who re-unites the separated ones. ||3|| The intellect of His servant and slave is noble and true; it is made so by the Guru's intellect. The intuition of those who are true is beautiful; the intellect of the self-willed manmukh is insipid. My mind and body belong to You, God; from the very beginning, Truth has been my only support. ||4|| In Truth I sit and stand; I eat and speak the Truth. With Truth in my consciousness, I gather the wealth of Truth, and drink in the sublime essence of Truth. In the home of Truth, the True Lord protects me; I speak the Words of the Guru's Teachings with love. ||5|| The self-willed manmukh is very lazy; he is trapped in the wilderness. He is drawn to the bait, and continually pecking at it, he is trapped; his link to the Lord is ruined. By Guru's Grace, one is liberated, absorbed in the primal trance of Truth. ||6|| His slave remains continually pierced through with love and affection for God. Without the True Lord, the soul of the false, corrupt person is burnt to ashes. Abandoning all evil actions, he crosses over in the boat of Truth. ||7|| Those who have forgotten the Naam have no home, no place of rest. The Lord's slave renounces greed and attachment, and obtains the Lord's Name. If You forgive him, Lord, then He is united with You; Nanak is a sacrifice. ||8||4|| Maaroo, First Mehl: The Lord's slave renounces his egotistical pride, through the Guru's Fear, intuitively and easily. The slave realises his Lord and Master; glorious is his greatness! Meeting with his Lord and Master, he finds peace; His value cannot be desribed. ||1|| I am the slave and servant of my Lord and Master; all glory is to my Master. By Guru's Grace, I am saved, in the Sanctuary of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| The slave has been given the most excellent task, by the Primal Command of the Master. The slave realises the Hukam of His Command, and submits to His Will forever. The Lord King Himself grants forgiveness; how glorious is His greatness! ||2|| He Himself is True, and everything is True; this is revealed through the Word of the Guru's Shabad. He alone serves You, whom You have enjoined to do so. Without serving Him, no one finds Him; in duality and doubt, they are ruined. ||3|| How could we forget Him from our minds? The gifts which he bestows increase day by day. Soul and body, all belong to Him; He infused the breath into us. If he shows His Mercy, then we serve Him; serving Him, we merge in Truth. ||4|| He alone is the Lord's slave, who remains dead while yet alive, and eradicates egotism from within. His bonds are broken, the fire of his desire is quenched, and he is liberated. The treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is within all, but how rare are those who, as Gurmukh, obtain it. ||5|| Within the Lord's slave, there is no virtue at all; the Lord's slave is totally unworthy. There is no Giver as great as You, Lord; You alone are the Forgiver. Your slave obeys the Hukam of Your Command; this is the most excellent action. ||6|| The Guru is the pool of nectar in the world-ocean; whatever one desires, that fruit is obtained. The treasure of the Naam brings immortality; enshrine it in your heart and mind.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 024

Serving the Guru, eternal peace is obtained, by those whom the Lord inspires to obey the Hukam of His Command. ||7|| Gold and silver, and all metals, mix with dust in the end Without the Name, nothing goes along with you; the True Guru has imparted this understanding. O Nanak, those who are attuned to the Naam are immaculate and pure; they remain merged in the Truth. ||8||5|| Maaroo, First Mehl: The Order is issued, and he cannot remain; the permit to stay has been torn up. This mind is tied to its faults; it suffers terrible pain in its body. The Perfect Guru forgives all the mistakes of the beggar at His Door. ||1|| How can he stay here? He must get up and depart. Contemplate the Word of the Shabad, and understand this. He alone is united, whom You, O Lord, unite. Such is the Primal Command of the Infinite Lord. ||1||Pause|| As You keep me, I remain; whatever You give me, I eat. As You lead me, I follow, with the Ambrosial Name in my mouth. All glorious greatness rests in the hands of my Lord and Master; my mind yearns to unite with You. ||2|| Why should anyone praise any other created being? That Lord acts and sees. The One who created me, abides within my mind; there is no other at all. So praise that True Lord, and you shall be blessed with true honour. ||3|| The Pandit, the religious scholar, reads, but does not reach the Lord; he is totally entangled in worldly affairs. He keeps the company of both virtue and vice, tormented by hunger and the Messenger of Death. One who is protected by the Perfect Lord, forgets separation and fear. ||4|| They alone are perfect, O Siblings of Destiny, whose honour is certified. Perfect is the intellect of the Perfect Lord. True is His glorious greatness. His gifts never run short, although those who receive may grow weary of receiving. ||5|| Searching the salty sea, one finds the pearl. It looks beautiful for a few days, but in the end, it is eaten away by dust. If one serves the Guru, the ocean of Truth, the gifts one receives never run short. ||6|| They alone are pure, who are pleasing to my God; all others are soiled with filth. The filthy become pure, when they meet with the Guru, the Philosopher's Stone. Who can estimate the value of the colour of the true jewel? ||7|| Wearing religious robes, the Lord is not obtained, nor is He obtained by giving donations at sacred shrines of pilgrimage. Go and ask the readers of the Vedas; without faith, the world is cheated. O Nanak, he alone values the jewel, who is blessed with the spiritual wisdom of the Perfect Guru. ||8||6|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: The self-willed manmukh, in a fit of passion, abandons his home, and is ruined; then, he spies on the homes of others. He neglects his household duties, and does not meet with the True Guru; he is caught in the whirlpool of evil-mindedness. Wandering in foreign lands and reading scriptures, he grows weary, and his thirsty desires only increase. His perishable body does not remember the Word of the Shabad; like a beast, he fills his belly. ||1|| O Baba, this is the way of life of the Sannyaasi, the renunciate. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, he is to enshrine love for the One Lord. Imbued with Your Name, Lord, he remains satisfied and fulfilled. ||1||Pause|| He dyes his robes with saffron dye, and wearing these robes, he goes out begging. Tearing his robes, he makes a patched coat, and puts the money in his wallet. From house to house he goes begging, and tries to teach the world; but his mind is blind, and so he loses his honour. He is deluded by doubt, and does not remember the Word of the Shabad. He loses his life in the gamble. ||2||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 025

Without the Guru, the fire within is not quenched; and outside, the fire still burns. Without serving the Guru, there is no devotional worship. How can anyone, by himself, know the Lord? Slandering others, one lives in hell; within him is hazy darkness. Wandering to the eixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage, he is ruined. How can the filth of sin be washed away? ||3|| He sifts through the dust, and applies ashes to his body, but he is searching for the path of Maya's wealth. Inwardly and outwardly, he does not know the One Lord; if someone tells him the Truth, he grows angry. He reads the scriptures, but tells lies; such is the intellect of one who has no guru. Without chanting the Naam, how can he find peace? Without the Name, how can he look good? ||4|| Some shave their heads, some keep their hair in matted tangles; some keep it in braids, while some keep silent, filled with egotistical pride. Their minds waver and wander in ten directions, without loving devotion and enlightenment of the soul. They abandon the Ambrosial Nectar, and drink the deadly poison, driven mad by Maya. Past actions cannot be erased; without understanding the Hukam of the Lord's Command, they become beasts. ||5|| With bowl in hand, wearing his patched coat, great desires well up in his mind. Abandoning his own wife, he is engrossed in sexual desire; his thoughts are on the wives of others. He teaches and preaches, but does not contemplate the Shabad; he is bought and sold on the street. With poison within, he pretends to be free of doubt; he is ruined and humiliated by the Messenger of Death. ||6|| He alone is a Sannyaasi, who serves the True Guru, and removes his self-conceit from within. He does not ask for clothes or food; without asking, he accepts whatever he receives. He does not speak empty words; he gathers in the wealth of tolerance, and burns away his anger with the Naam. Blessed is such a householder, Sannyaasi and Yogi, who focuses his consciousness on the Lord's feet. ||7|| Amidst hope, the

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Sannyaasi remains unmoved by hope; he remains lovingly focused on the One Lord. He drinks in the sublime essence of the Lord, and so finds peace and tranquility; in the home of his own being, he remains absorbed in the deep trance of meditation. His mind does not waver; as Gurmukh, he understands. He restrains it from wandering out. Following the Guru's Teachings, he searches the home of his body, and obtains the wealth of the Naam. ||8|| Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva are exalted, imbued with contemplative meditation on the Naam. The sources of creation, speech, the heavens and the underworld, all beings and creatures, are infused with Your Light. All comforts and liberation are found in the Naam, and the vibrations of the Guru's Bani; I have enshrined the True Name within my heart. Without the Naam, no one is saved; O Nanak, with the Truth, cross over to the other side. ||9||7|| Maaroo, First Mehl: Through the union of mother and father, the fetus is formed. The egg and sperm join together to make the body. Upside-down within the womb, it lovingly dwells on the Lord; God provides for it, and gives it nourishment there. ||1|| How can he cross over the terrifying world-ocean? The Gurmukh obtains the Immaculate Naam, the Name of the Lord; the unbearable load of sins is removed. ||1||Pause|| I have forgotten Your Virtues, Lord; I am insane - what can I do now? You are the Merciful Giver, above the heads of all. Day and night, You give gifts, and take care of all. ||2|| One is born to achieve the four great objectives of life. The spirit has taken up its home in the material world.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 026

Driven by hunger, it sees the path of Maya's riches; this emotional attachment takes away the treasure of liberation. ||3|| Weeping and wailing, he does not receive them; he searches here and there, and grows weary. Engrossed in sexual desire, anger and egotism, he falls in love with his false relatives. ||4|| He eats and enjoys, listens and watches, and dresses up to show off in this house of death. Without the Word of the Guru's Shabad, he does not undersand himself. Without the Lord's Name, death cannot be avoided. ||5|| The more attachment and egotism delude and confuse him, the more he cries out, "Mine, mine!", and the more he loses out. His body and wealth pass away, and he is torn by skepticism and cynicism; in the end, he regrets and repents, when the dust falls on his face. ||6|| He grows old, his body and youth waste away, and his throat is plugged with mucous; water flows from his eyes. He feet fail him, and his hands shake and tremble; the faithless cynic does not enshrine the Lord in his heart. ||7|| His intellect fails him, his black hair turns white, and no one wants to keep him in their home. Forgetting the Naam, these are the stigmas which stick to him; the Messenger of Death beats him, and drags him to hell. ||8|| The record of one's past actions cannot be erased; who else is to blame for one's birth and death? Without the Guru, life and death are pointless; without the Word of the Guru's Shabad, life just burns away. ||9|| The pleasures enjoyed in happiness bring ruin; acting in corruption is useless indulgence. Forgetting the Naam, and caught by greed, he betrays his own source; the club of the Righteous Judge of Dharma will strike him over the head. ||10|| The Gurmukhs sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord's Name; the Lord God blesses them with His Glance of Grace. Those beings are pure, perfect unlimited and infinite; in this world, they are the embodiment of the Guru, the Lord of the Universe. ||11|| Meditate in remembrance on the Lord; meditate and contemplate the Guru's Word, and love to associate with the humble servants of the Lord. The Lord's humble servants are the embodiment of the Guru; they are supreme and respected in the Court of the Lord. Nanak seeks the dust of the feet of those humble servants of the Lord. ||12||8|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Maaroo, Kaafee, First Mehl, Second House: The double-minded person comes and goes, and has numerous friends. The soul-bride is separated from her Lord, and she has no place of rest; how can she be comforted? ||1|| My mind is attuned to the Love of my Husband Lord. I am devoted, dedicated, a sacrifice to the Lord; if only He would bless me with His Glance of Grace, even for an instant! ||1||Pause|| I am a rejected bride, abandoned in my parents' home; how can I go to my in-laws now? I wear my faults around my neck; without my Husband Lord, I am grieving, and wasting away to death. ||2|| But if, in my parents' home, I remember my Husband Lord, then I will come to dwell in the home of my in-laws yet. The happy soul-brides sleep in peace; they find their Husband Lord, the treasure of virtue. ||3|| Their blankets and mattresses are made of silk, and so are the clothes on their bodies. The Lord rejects the impure soul-brides. Their life-night passes in misery. ||4||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 027

I have tasted many flavors, and worn many robes, but without my Husband Lord, my youth is slipping away uselessly; I am separated from Him, and I cry out in pain. ||5|| I have heard the True Lord's message, contemplating the Guru. True is the home of the True Lord; by His Gracious Grace, I love Him. ||6|| The spiritual teacher applies the ointment of Truth to his eyes, and sees God, the Seer. The Gurmukh comes to know and understand; ego and pride are subdued. ||7|| O Lord, You are pleased with those who are like Yourself; there are many more like me. O Nanak, the Husband does not separate from those who are imbued with Truth. ||8||1||9|| Maaroo, First Mehl: Neither the sisters, nor the sisters-in-law, nor the mothers-in-law, shall remain. The true relationship with the Lord cannot be broken; it was established by the Lord, O sister soul-brides. ||1|| I am a sacrifice to my Guru; I am forever a sacrifice to Him. Wandering so far without the Guru, I grew weary; now, the Guru has united me in Union with my Husband Lord. ||1||Pause|| Aunts, uncles, grandparents and sisters-in-law - they all come and go; they cannot remain. They are like boatloads of passengers embarking. ||2|| Uncles, aunts, and cousins of all sorts, cannot remain. The caravans are full, and great crowds of them are loading up at the riverbank. ||3|| O sister-friends, my Husband Lord is dyed in the colour of Truth. She who lovingly remembers her True Husband Lord is not separated from Him again. ||4|| All the seasons are good, in which the soul-bride falls in love with the True Lord. That soul-bride, who knows her Husband Lord, sleeps in peace, night and day. ||5|| At the ferry, the ferryman announces, "O travellers, hurry up and cross over." I have seen them crossing over there, on the boat of the True Guru. ||6|| Some are getting on board, and some have already set out; some are weighed down with their loads. Those who deal in Truth, remain with their True Lord God. ||7||I am not called good, and I see none who are bad. O Nanak, one who conquers and subdues his ego, becomes just like the True Lord. ||8||2||10|| Maaroo, First Mehl: I do not believe that anyone is foolish; I do not believe that anyone is clever. Imbued forever with the Love of my Lord and Master, I chant His Name, night and day. ||1|| O Baba, I am so foolish, but I am a sacrifice to the Name. You are the Creator, You are wise and all-seeing. Through Your Name, we are carried across. ||1||Pause|| The same person is foolish and wise; the same light within has two names. The most foolish of the foolish are those who do not believe in the Name. ||2|| Through the Guru's Gate, the Gurdwara, the Name is obtained. Without the True Guru, it is not received. Through the Pleasure of the True Guru's Will, the Name comes to dwell in the mind, and then, night and day, one remains lovingly absorbed in the Lord. ||3|| In power, pleasures, beauty, wealth and youth, one gambles his life away. Bound by the Hukam of God's Command, the dice are thrown; he is just a piece in the game of chess. ||4|| The world is clever and wise, but it is deluded by doubt, and forgets the Name; the Pandit, the religious scholar, studies the scriptures, but he is still a fool. Forgetting the Name, he dwells upon the Vedas; he writes, but he is confused by his poisonous corruption. ||5||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 028

He is like the crop planted in the salty soil, or the tree growing on the river bank, or the white clothes sprinkled with dirt. This world is the house of desire; whoever enters it, is burnt down by egotistical pride. ||6|| Where are all the kings and their subjects? Those who are immersed in duality are destroyed. Says Nanak, these are the steps of the ladder, of the Teachings of the True Guru; only the Unseen Lord shall remain. ||7||3||11|| Maaroo, Third Mehl, Fifth House, Ashtapadees: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: One whose mind is filled with the Lord's Love, is intuitively exalted by the True Word of the Shabad. He alone knows the pain of this love; what does anyone else know about its cure? ||1|| He Himself unites in His Union. He Himself inspires us with His Love. He alone appreciates the value of Your Love, upon whom You shower Your Grace, O Lord. ||1||Pause|| One whose spiritual vision is awakened - his doubt is driven out. By Guru's Grace, he obtains the supreme status. He alone is a Yogi, who understands this way, and contemplates the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||2|| By good destiny, the soul-bride is united with her Husband Lord. Following the Guru's Teachings, she eradicates her evil-mindedness from within. With love, she continually enjoys pleasure with Him; she becomes the beloved of her Husband Lord. ||3|| Other than the True Guru, there is no physician. He Himself is the Immaculate Lord. Meeting with the True Guru, evil is conquered, and spiritual wisdom is contemplated. ||4|| One who is committed to this most sublime Shabad becomes Gurmukh, and is rid of thirst and hunger. By one's own efforts, nothing can be accomplished; the Lord, in His Mercy, bestows power. ||5|| The True Guru has revealed the essence of the Shaastras and the Vedas. In His Mercy, He has come into the home of my self. In the midst of Maya, the Immaculate Lord is known, by those upon whom You bestow Your Grace. ||6|| One who becomes Gurmukh, obtains the essence of reality; he eradictes his self-conceit from within. Without the True Guru, all are entangled in worldly affairs; consider this in your mind, and see. ||7|| Some are deluded by doubt; they strut around egotistically. Some, as Gurmukh, subdue their egotism. Attuned to the True Word of the Shabad, they remain detached from the world. The other ignorant fools wander, confused and deluded by doubt. ||8|| Those who have not become Gurmukh, and who have not found the Naam, the Name of the Lord - those self-willed manmukhs waste their lives uselessly. In the world hereafter, nothing except the Name will be of any assistance; this is understood by contemplating the Guru. ||9|| The Ambrosial Naam is the Giver of peace forever. Throughout the four ages, it is known through the Perfect Guru. He alone receives it, unto whom You bestow it; this is the essence of reality which Nanak has realised. ||10||1||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 029

Maaroo, Fifth Mehl, Third House, Ashtapadees: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Wandering and roaming through 8.4 million incarnations, you have now been given this human life, so difficult to obtain. ||1|| You fool! You are attached and clinging to such trivial pleasures! The Ambrosial Nectar abides with you, but you are engrossed in sin and corruption. ||1||Pause|| You have come to trade in gems and jewels, but you have loaded only barren soil. ||2|| That home within which you live - you have not kept that home in your thoughts. ||3|| He is immovable, indestructible, the Giver of peace to the soul; and yet you do not sing His Praises, even for an instant. ||4|| You have forgotten that place where you must go; you have not attached your mind to the Lord, even for an instant. ||5|| Gazing upon your children, spouse, household and paraphernalia, you are entangled in them. ||6|| As God links the mortals, so are they linked, and so are the deeds they do. ||7|| When He becomes Merciful, then the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, is found; servant Nanak meditates on God. ||8||1|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: Granting His Grace, He has protected me; I have found the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. My tongue lovingly chants the Lord's Name; this love is so sweet and intense! ||1|| He is the place of rest for my mind, my friend, companion, associate and relative; He is the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. ||1||Pause|| He created the world-ocean; I seek the Sanctuary of that God. By Guru's Grace, I worship and adore God; the Messenger of Death can't say anything to me. ||2|| Emancipation and liberation are at His Door; He is the treasure in the hearts of the Saints. The all-knowing Lord and Master shows us the true way of life; He is our Savior and Protector forever. ||3|| Pain, suffering and troubles are eradicated, when the Lord abides in the mind. Death, hell and the most horrible dwelling of sin and corruption cannot even touch such a person. ||4|| Wealth, miraculous spiritual powers and the nine treasures come from the Lord, as do the streams of Ambrosial Nectar. In the beginning, in the middle, and in the end, He is perfect, lofty, unapproachable and unfathomable. ||5|| The Siddhas, seekers, angelic beings, silent sages, and the Vedas speak of Him. Meditating in remembrance on the Lord and Master, celestial peace is enjoyed; He has no end or limitation. ||6|| Countless sins are erased in an instant, meditating on the Benevolent Lord within the heart. Such a person becomes the purest of the pure, and is blessed with the merits of millions of donations to charity and cleansing baths. ||7|| God is power, intellect, understanding, the breath of life, wealth, and everything for the Saints. May I never forget Him from my mind, even for an instant - this is Nanak's prayer. ||8||2|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: The sharp tool cuts down the tree, but it does not feel anger in its mind. It serves the purpose of the cutter, and does not blame him at all. ||1|| O my mind, continually, continuously, meditate on the Lord. The Lord of the Universe is merciful, divine and compassionate. Listen - this is the way of the Saints. ||1||Pause||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 030

He plants his feet in the boat, and then sits down in it; the fatigue of his body is relieved. The great ocean does not even affect him; in an instant, he arrives on the other shore. ||2|| Sandalwood, aloe, and camphor-paste - the earth does not love them. But it doesn't mind, if someone digs it up bit by bit, and applies manure and urine to it. ||3|| High and low, bad and good - the comforting canopy of the sky stretches evenly over all. It knows nothing of friend and enemy; all beings are alike to it. ||4|| Blazing with its dazzling light, the sun rises, and dispels the darkness. Touching both the pure and the impure, it harbors no hatred to any. ||5|| The cool and fragrant wind gently blows upon all places alike. Wherever anything is, it touches it there, and does not hesitate a bit. ||6|| Good or bad, whoever comes close to the fire - his cold is taken away. It knows nothing of its own or others'; it is constant in the same quality. ||7|| Whoever seeks the Sancuary of the feet of the Sublime Lord - his mind is attuned to the Love of the Beloved. Constantly singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the World, O Nanak, God becomes merciful to us. ||8||3|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl, Fourth House, Ashtapadees: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Moonlight, moonlight - in the courtyard of the mind, let the moonlight of God shine down. ||1|| Meditation, meditation - sublime is meditation on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||2|| Renunciation, renunciation - noble is the renunciation of sexual desire, anger and greed. ||3|| Begging, begging - it is noble to beg for the Lord's Praise from the Guru. ||4|| Vigils, vigils - sublime is the vigil spent singing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises. ||5|| Attachment, attachment - sublime is the

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attachment of the mind to the Guru's Feet. ||6|| He alone is blessed with this way of life, upon whose forehead such destiny is recorded. ||7|| Says Nanak, everything is sublime and noble, for one who enters the Sanctuary of God. ||8||1||4|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: Please come, O please come into the home of my heart, that I may hear with my ears the Lord's Praises. ||1||Pause|| With your coming, my soul and body are rejuvenated, and I sing with you the Lord's Praises. ||1|| By the Grace of the Saint, the Lord dwells within the heart, and the love of duality is eradicated. ||2|| By the kindness of the devotee, the intellect is enlightened, and pain and evil-mindedness are eradicated. ||3|| Beholding the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, one is sanctified, and is no longer consigned to the womb of reincarnation. ||4|| The nine treasures, wealth and miraculous spiritual powers are obtained, by one who is pleasing to Your mind. ||5|| Without the Saint, I have no place of rest at all; I cannot think of any other place to go. ||6|| I am unworthy; no one gives me sanctuary. But in the Society of the Saints, I merge in God. ||7|| Says Nanak, the Guru has revealed this miracle; within my mind, I enjoy the Lord, Har, Har. ||8||2||5||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 031

Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: Fruitful is the life, the life of one who hears about the Lord, and chants and meditates on Him; he lives forever. ||1||Pause|| The real drink is that which satisfies the mind; this drink is the sublime essence of the Ambrosial Naam. ||1|| The real food is that which will never leave you hungry again; it will leave you contented and satisfied forever. ||2|| The real clothes are those which protect your honour before the Transcendent Lord, and do not leave you naked ever again. ||3|| The real enjoyment within the mind is to be absorbed in the sublime essence of the Lord, in the Society of the Saints. ||4|| Sew devotional worship to the Lord into the mind, without any needle or thread. ||5|| Imbued and intoxicated with the sublime essence of the Lord, this experience will never wear off again. ||6|| One is blessed with all treasures, when God, in His Mercy, gives them. ||7|| O Nanak, service to the Saints beings peace; I drink in the wash water of the feet of the Saints. ||8||3||6|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl, Eighth House, Anjulees ~ With Hands Cupped In Prayer: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The household which is filled with abundance - that household suffers anxiety. One whose household has little, wanders around searching for more. He alone is happy and at peace, who is liberated from both conditions. ||1|| Householders and kings fall into hell, along with renunciates and angry men, and all those who study and recite the Vedas in so many ways. Perfect is the work of that humble servant, who remains unattached while in the body. ||2|| The mortal sleeps, even while he is awake; he is being plundered by doubt. Without the Guru, liberation is not obtained, friend. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, the bonds of egotism are released, and one comes to behold the One and only Lord. ||3|| Doing deeds, one is placed in bondage; but if he does not act, he is slandered. Intoxicated with emotional attachment, the mind is afflicted with anxiety. One who looks alike upon pleasure and pain, by Guru's Grace, sees the Lord in each and every heart. ||4|| Within the world, one is afflicted by skepticism; he does not know the imperceptible Unspoken Speech of the Lord. He alone understands, whom the Lord inspires to understand. The Lord cherishes him as His child. ||5|| He may try to abandon Maya, but he is not released. If he collects things, then his mind is afraid of losing them. I wave the fly-brush over that holy person, whose honour is protected in the midst of Maya. ||6|| He alone is a warrior hero, who remains dead to the world. One who runs away will wander in reincarnation. Whatever happens, accept that as good. Realise the Hukam of His Command, and your evil-mindedness will be burnt away. ||7|| Whatever He links us to, to that we are linked. He acts, and does, and watches over His Creation. You are the Giver of peace, the Perfect Lord of Nanak; as You grant Your blessings, I dwell upon Your Name. ||8||1||7|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: Beneath the tree, all beings have gathered. Some are hot-headed, and some speak very sweetly. Sunset has come, and they rise up and depart; their days have run their course and expired. ||1|| Those who committed sins are sure to be ruined. Azraa-eel, the Angel of Death, seizes and tortures them.

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They are consigned to hell by the Creator Lord, and the Accountant calls them to give their account. ||2|| No brothers or sisters can go with them. Leaving behind their property, youth and wealth, they march off. They do not know the kind and compassionate Lord; they shall be crushed like sesame seeds in the oil-press. ||3|| You happily, cheerfully steal the possessions of others, but the Lord God is with you, watching and listening. Through worldly greed, you have fallen into the pit; you know nothing of the future. ||4|| You shall be born and born again, and die and die again, only to be reincarnated again. You shall suffer terrible punishment, on your way to the land beyond. The mortal does not know the One who created him; he is blind, and so he shall suffer. ||5|| Forgetting the Creator Lord, he is ruined. The drama of the world is bad; it brings sadness and then happiness. One who does not meet the Saint does not have faith or contentment; he wanders just as he pleases. ||6|| The Lord Himself stages all this drama. Some, he lifts up, and some he throws into the waves. As He makes them dance, so do they dance. Everyone lives their lives according to their past actions. ||7|| When the Lord and Master grants His Grace, then we meditate on Him. In the Society of the Saints, one is not consigned to hell. Please bless Nanak with the gift of the Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord; he continually sings the songs of Your Glories. ||8||2||8||12||20|| Maaroo, Solahas, First Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The True Lord is True; there is no other at all. He who created, shall in the end destroy. As it pleases You, so You keep me, and so I remain; what excuse could I offer to You? ||1|| You Yourself create, and You Yourself destroy. You yourself link each and every person to their tasks. You contemplate Yourself, You Yourself make us worthy; You Yourself place us on the Path. ||2|| You Yourself are all-wise, You Yourself are all-knowing. You Yourself created the Universe, and You are pleased. You Yourself are the air, water and fire; You Yourself unite in Union. ||3|| You Yourself are the moon, the sun, the most perfect of the perfect. You Yourself are spiritual wisdom, meditation, and the Guru, the Warrior Hero. The Messenger of Death, and his noose of death, cannot touch one, who is lovingly focused on You, O True Lord. ||4|| You Yourself are the male, and You Yourself are the female. You Yourself are the chess-board, and You Yourself are the chessman. You Yourself staged the drama in the arena of the world, and You Yourself evaluate the players. ||5|| You Yourself are the bumble bee, the flower, the fruit and the tree. You Yourself are the water, the desert, the ocean and the pool. You Yourself are the great fish, the tortoise, the Cause of causes; Your form cannot be known. ||6|| You Yourself are the day, and You Yourself are the night. You Yourself are pleased by the Word of the Guru's Bani. From the very beginning, and throughout the ages, the unstruck sound current resounds, night and day; in each and every heart, the Word of the Shabad, echoes Your Will. ||7|| You Yourself are the jewel, incomparably beautiful and priceless. You Yourself are the Assessor, the Perfect Weigher.

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You Yourself test and forgive. You Yourself give and take, O Siblings of Destiny. ||8|| He Himself is the bow, and He Himself is the archer. He Himself is all-wise, beautiful and all-knowing. He is the speaker, the orator and the listener. He Himself made what is made. ||9|| Air is the Guru, and water is known to be the father. The womb of the great mother earth gives birth to all. Night and day are the two nurses, male and female; the world plays in this play. ||10|| You Yourself are the fish, and You Yourself are the net. You Yourself are the cows, and You yourself are their keeper. Your Light fills all the beings of the world; they walk according to Your Command, O God. ||11|| You Yourself are the Yogi, and You Yourself are the enjoyer. You Yourself are the reveller; You form the supreme Union. You Yourself are speechless, formless and fearless, absorbed in the primal ecstasy of deep meditation. ||12|| The sources of creation and speech are contained within You, Lord. All that is seen, is coming and going. They are the true bankers and traders, whom the True Guru has inspired to understand. ||13|| The Word of the Shabad is understood through the Perfect True Guru. The True Lord is overflowing with all powers. You are beyond our grasp, and forever independent. You do not have even an iota of greed. ||14|| Birth and death are meaningless, for those who enjoy the sublime celestial essence of the Shabad within their minds. He Himself is the Giver of liberation, satisfaction and blessings, to those devotees who love Him in their minds. ||15|| He Himself is immaculate; by contact with the Guru, spiritual wisdom is obtained. Whatever is seen, shall merge into You. Nanak, the lowly, begs for charity at Your Door; please, bless him with the glorious greatness of Your Name. ||16||1|| Maaroo, First Mehl: He Himself is the earth, the mythical bull which supports it and the Akaashic ethers. The True Lord Himself reveals His Glorious Virtues. He Himself is celibate, chaste and contented; He Himself is the Doer of deeds. ||1|| He who created the creation, beholds what He has created. No one can erase the Inscription of the True Lord. He Himself is the Doer, the Cause of causes; He Himself is the One who bestows glorious greatness. ||2|| The five thieves cause the fickle consciousness to waver. It looks into the homes of others, but does not search its own home. The body-village crumbles into dust; without the Word of the Shabad, one's honour is lost. ||3|| One who realises the Lord through the Guru, comprehends the three worlds. He subdues his desires, and struggles with his mind. Those who serve You, become just like You; O Fearless Lord, You are their best friend from infancy. ||4|| You Yourself are the heavenly realms, this world and the nether regions of the underworld. You Yourself are the embodiment of light, forever young. With matted hair, and a horrible, dreadful form, still, You have no form or feature. ||5|| The Vedas and the Bible do not know the mystery of God. He has no mother, father, child or brother. He created all the mountains, and levels them again; the Unseen Lord cannot be seen. ||6|| I have grown weary of making so many friends. No one can rid me of my sins and mistakes. God is the Supreme Lord and Master of all the angels and mortal beings; blessed with His Love, their fear is dispelled. ||7|| He puts back on the Path those who have wandered and strayed. You Yourself make them stray, and You teach them again. I cannot see anything except the Name. Through the Name comes salvation and merit. ||8||

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The Ganges, the Jamunaa where Krishna played, Kaydar Naat'h, Benares, Kanchivaram, Puri, Dwaarkaa, Ganga Saagar where the Ganges empties into the ocean, Trivaynee where the three rivers come together, and the sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage, are all merged in the Lord's Being. ||9|| He Himself is the Siddha, the seeker, in meditative contemplation. He Himself is the King and the Council. God Himself, the wise Judge, sits on the throne; He takes away doubt, duality and fear. ||10|| He Himself is the Qazi; He Himself is the Mullah. He Himself is infallible; He never makes mistakes. He Himself is the Giver of Grace, compassion and honour; He is no one's enemy. ||11|| Whoever He forgives, He blesses with glorious greatness. He is the Giver of all; He does not have even an iota of greed. The Immaculate Lord is all pervading, permeating everywhere, both hidden and manifest. ||12|| How can I praise the inaccessible, infinite Lord? The True Creator Lord is the Enemy of ego. He unites those whom He blesses with His Grace; uniting them in His Union, they are united. ||13|| Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva stand at His Door; they serve the unseen, infinite Lord. Millions of others can be seen crying at His door; I cannot even estimate their numbers. ||14|| True is the Kirtan of His Praise, and True is the Word of His Bani. I can see no other in the Vedas and the Puraanas. Truth is my capital; I sing the Glorious Praises of the True Lord. I have no other support at all. ||15|| In each and every age, the True Lord is, and shall always be. Who has not died? Who shall not die? Nanak the lowly offers this prayer; see Him within your own self, and lovingly focus on the Lord. ||16||2|| Maaroo, First Mehl: In duality and evil-mindedness, the soul-bride is blind and deaf. She wears the dress of sexual desire and anger. Her Husband Lord is within the home of her own heart, but she does not know Him; without her Husband Lord, she cannot go to sleep. ||1|| The great fire of desire blazes within her. The self-willed manmukh looks around in the four directions. Without serving the True Guru, how can she find peace? Glorious greatness rests in the hands of the True Lord. ||2|| Eradicating sexual desire, anger and egotism, she destroys the five thieves through the Word of the Shabad. Taking up the sword of spiritual wisdom, she struggles with her mind, and hope and desire are smoothed over in her mind. ||3|| From the union of the mother's egg and the father's sperm, the form of infinite beauty has been created. The blessings of light all come from You; You are the Creator Lord, pervading everywhere. ||4|| You have created birth and death. Why should anyone fear, if they come to understand through the Guru? When You, O Merciful Lord, look with Your kindness, then pain and suffering leave the body. ||5|| One who sits in the home of his own self, eats his own fears. He quiets and holds his wandering mind still. His heart-lotus blossoms forth in the overflowing green pool, and the Lord of his soul becomes his companion and helper. ||6|| With their death already ordained, mortals come into this world. How can they remain here? They have to go to the world beyond. True is the Lord's Command; the true ones dwell in the eternal city. The True Lord blesses them with glorious greatness. ||7|| He Himself created the whole world. The One who made it, assigns the tasks to it.

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I cannot see any other above the True Lord. The True Lord does the appraisal. ||8|| In this green pasture, the mortal stays only a few days. He plays and frolics in utter darkness. The jugglers have staged their show, and left, like people mumbling in a dream. ||9|| They alone are blessed with glorious greatness at the Lord's throne, who enshrine the fearless Lord in their minds, and lovingly centre themselves on Him. In the galaxies and solar systems, nether regions, celestial realms and the three worlds, the Lord is in the primal void of deep absorption. ||10|| True is the village, and true is the throne, of those Gurmukhs who meet with the True Lord, and find peace. In Truth, seated upon the true throne, they are blessed with glorious greatness; their egotism is eradicated, along with the calculation of their account. ||11|| Calculating its account, the soul becomes anxious. How can one find peace, through duality and the three gunas - the three qualities? The One Lord is immaculate and formless, the Great Giver; through the Perfect Guru, honour is obtained. ||12|| In each and every age, very rare are those who, as Gurmukh, realise the Lord. Their minds are imbued with the True, all-pervading Lord. Seeking His Shelter, they find peace, and their minds and bodies are not stained with filth. ||13|| Their tongues are imbued with the True Lord, the source of nectar;

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abiding with the Lord God, they have no fear or doubt. Hearing the Word of the Guru's Bani, their ears are satisfied, and their light merges into the Light. ||14|| Carefully, carefully, I place my feet upon the ground. Wherever I go, I behold Your Sanctuary. Whether You grant me pain or pleasure, You are pleasing to my mind. I am in harmony with You. ||15|| No one is anyone's companion or helper at the very last moment; as Gurmukh, I realise You and praise You. O Nanak, imbued with the Naam, I am detached; in the home of my own self deep within, I am absorbed in the primal void of deep meditation. ||16||3|| Maaroo, First Mehl: From the very beginning of time, and throughout the ages, You are infinite and incomparable. You are my primal, immaculate Lord and Master. I contemplate the Way of Yoga, the Way of Union with the True Lord. I am truly absorbed in the primal void of deep meditation. ||1|| For so many ages, there was only pitch darkness; the Creator Lord was absorbed in the primal void. There was the True Name, the glorious greatness of the Truth, and the glory of His true throne. ||2|| In the Golden Age of Truth, Truth and contentment filled the bodies. Truth was pervasive, Truth, deep, profound and unfathomable. The True Lord appraises the mortals on the Touchstone of Truth, and issues His True Command. ||3|| The Perfect True Guru is true and contented. He alone is a spiritual hero, who believes in the Word of the Guru's Shabad. He alone obtains a true seat in the True Court of the Lord, who surrenders to the Command of the Commander. ||4|| In the Golden Age of Truth, everyone spoke the Truth. Truth was pervasive - the Lord was Truth. With Truth in their minds and mouths, mortals were rid of doubt and fear. Truth was the friend of the Gurmukhs. ||5|| In the Silver Age of Traytaa Yoga, one power of Dharma was lost. Three feet remained; through duality, one was cut off. Those who were Gurmukh spoke the Truth, while the self-willed manmukhs wasted away in vain. ||6|| The manmukh never succeeds in the Court of the Lord. Without the Word of the Shabad, how can one be pleased within? In bondage they come, and in bondage they go; they understand and comprehend nothing. ||7|| In the Brass Age of Dwaapur Yuga, compassion was cut in half.

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Only a few, as Gurmukh, remembered the Lord. Dharmic faith, which upholds and supports the earth, had only two feet; Truth was revealed to the Gurmukhs. ||8|| The kings acted righteously only out of self-interest. Tied to hopes of reward, they gave to charities. Without the Lord's Name, liberation did not come, although they grew weary of performing rituals. ||9|| Practicing religious rituals, they sought liberation, but the treasure of liberation comes only by praising the Shabad. Without the Word of the Guru's Shabad, liberation is not obtained; practicing hypocrisy, they wander around confused. ||10|| Love and attachment to Maya cannot be abandoned. They alone find release, who practice deeds of Truth. Day and night, the devotees remain imbued with contemplative meditation; they become just like their Lord and Master. ||11|| Some chant and practice intensive meditation, and take cleansing baths at sacred shrines of pilgrimage. They walk as You will them to walk. By stubborn rituals of self-suppression, the Lord is not pleased. No one has ever obtained honour, without the Lord, without the Guru. ||12|| In the Iron Age, the Dark Age of Kali Yuga, only one power remains. Without the Perfect Guru, no one has even described it. The self-willed manmukhs have staged the show of falsehood. Without the True Guru, doubt does not depart. ||13|| The True Guru is the Creator Lord, independent and carefree. He does not fear death, and He is not dependent on mortal men. Whoever serves Him becomes immortal and imperishable, and will not be tortured by death. ||14|| The Creator Lord has enshrined Himself within the Guru. The Gurmukh saves countless millions. The Life of the World is the Great Giver of all beings. The Fearless Lord has no filth at all. ||15|| Everyone begs from the Guru, God's Treasurer. He Himself is the immaculate, unknowable, infinite Lord. Nanak speaks the Truth; he begs from God. Please bless me with the Truth, by Your Will. ||16||4|| Maaroo, First Mehl: The True Lord unites with those who are united with the Word of the Shabad. When it pleases Him, we intuitively merge with Him. The Light of the Transcendent Lord pervades the three worlds; there is no other at all, O Siblings of Destiny. ||1|| I am His servant; I serve Him. He is unknowable and mysterious; He is pleased by the Shabad. The Creator is the Benefactor of His devotees. He forgives them - such is His greatness. ||2|| The True Lord gives and gives; His blessings never run short. The false ones receive, and then deny having received. They do not understand their origins, they are not pleased with the Truth, and so they wander in duality and doubt. ||3|| The Gurmukhs remain awake and aware, day and night. Following the Guru's Teachings, they know the Love of the True Lord. The self-willed manmukhs remain asleep, and are plundered. The Gurmukhs remain safe and sound, O Siblings of Destiny. ||4|| The false come, and the false go; imbued with falsehood, they practice only falsehood. Those who are imbued with the Shabad are robed in honour in the Court of the Lord; the Gurmukhs focus their consciousness on Him. ||5|| The false are cheated, and robbed by the robbers. The garden is laid waste, like the rough wilderness. Without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, nothing tastes sweet; forgetting the Lord, they suffer in sorrow. ||6|| Receiving the food of Truth, one is satisfied. True is the glorious greatness of the jewel of the Name. One who understands his own self, realises the Lord. His light merges into the Light. ||7||

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Wandering from the Name, he endures beatings. Even great cleverness does not dispel doubt. The unconscious fool does not remain conscious of the Lord; he putrifies and rots away to death, carrying his heavy load of sin. ||8|| No one is free of conflict and strife. Show me anyone who is, and I will praise him. Dedicating mind and body to God, one meets the Lord, the Life of the World, and becomes just like Him. ||9|| No one knows the state and extent of God. Whoever calls himself great, will be eaten by his greatness. There is no lack of gifts of our True Lord and Master. He created all. ||10|| Great is the glorious greatness of the independent Lord. He Himself created, and gives sustanance to all. The Merciful Lord is not far away; the Great Giver spontaneously unites with Himself, by His Will. ||11|| Some are sad, and some are afflicted with disease. Whatever God does, He does by Himself. Through loving devotion, and the Perfect Teachings of the Guru, the unstruck sound current of the Shabad is realised. ||12|| Some wander and roam around, hungry and naked. Some act in stubbornness and die, but do not know the value of God. They do not know the difference between good and bad; this is understood only through the practice of the Word of the Shabad. ||13|| Some bathe at sacred shrines and refuse to eat. Some torment their bodies in burning fire. Without the Lord's Name, liberation is not obtained; how can anyone cross over? ||14|| Abandoning the Guru's Teachings, some wander in the wilderness. The self-willed manmukhs are destitute; they do not meditate on the Lord. They are ruined, destroyed and drowned from practicing falsehood; death is the enemy of the false. ||15|| By the Hukam of the Lord's Command, they come, and by the Hukam of His Command, they go. One who realises His Hukam, merges in the True Lord. O Nanak, he merges in the True Lord, and his mind is pleased with the Lord. The Gurmukhs do His work. ||16||5|| Maaroo, First Mehl: He Himself is the Creator Lord, the Architect of Destiny. He evaluates those whom He Himself has created. He Himself is the True Guru, and He Himself is the servant; He Himself created the Universe. ||1|| He is near at hand, not far away. The Gurmukhs understand Him; perfect are those humble beings. Associating with them night and day is profitable. This is the glorious greatness of associating with the Guru. ||2|| Throughout the ages, Your Saints are holy and sublime, O God. They sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, savoring it with their tongues. They chant His Praises, and their pain and poverty are taken away; they are not afraid of anyone else. ||3|| They remain awake and aware, and do not appear to sleep. They serve up Truth, and so save their companions and relatives. They are not stained with the filth of sins; they are immaculate and pure, and remain absorbed in loving devotional worship. ||4|| O humble servants of the Lord, understand the Word of the Guru's Bani. This youth, breath and body shall pass away. O mortal, you shall die today or tomorrow; chant, and meditate on the Lord within your heart. ||5|| O mortal, abandon falsehood and your worthless ways. Death viciously kills the false beings. The faithless cynic is ruined through falsehood and his egotistical mind.On the path of duality, he rots away and decomposes. ||6||

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Abandon slander and envy of others. Reading and studying, they burn, and do not find tranquility. Joining the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, praise the Naam, the Name of the Lord. The Lord, the Supreme Soul, shall be your helper and companion. ||7|| Abandon sexual desire, anger and wickedness. Abandon your involvement in egotistical affairs and conflicts. If you seek the Sanctuary of the True Guru, then you shall be saved. In this way you shall cross over the terrifying world-ocean, O Siblings of Destiny. ||8|| In the hereafter, you shall have to cross over the fiery river of poisonous flames. No one else will be there; your soul shall be all alone. The ocean of fire spits out waves of searing flames; the self-willed manmukhs fall into it, and are roasted there. ||9|| Liberation comes from the Guru; He grants this blessing by the Pleasure of His Will. He alone knows the way, who obtains it. So ask one who has obtained it, O Siblings of Destiny. Serve the True Guru, and find peace. ||10|| Without the Guru, he dies entangled in sin and corruption. The Messenger of Death smashes his head and humiliates him. The slanderous person is not freed of his bonds; he is drowned, slandering others. ||11|| So speak the Truth, and realise the Lord deep within. He is not far away; look, and see Him. No obstacles shall block your way; become Gurmukh, and cross over to the other side. This is the way to cross over the terrifying world-ocean. ||12|| The Naam, the Name of the Lord, abides deep within the body. The Creator Lord is eternal and imperishable. The soul does not die, and it cannot be killed; God creates and watches over all. Through the Word of the Shabad, His Will is manifest. ||13|| He is immaculate, and has no darkness. The True Lord Himself sits upon His throne. The faithless cynics are bound and gagged, and forced to wander in reincarnation. They die, and are reborn, and continue coming and going. ||14|| The Guru's servants are the Beloveds of the True Guru. Contemplating the Shabad, they sit upon His throne. They realise the essence of reality, and know the state of their inner being. This is the true glorious greatness of those who join the Sat Sangat. ||15|| He Himself saves His humble servant, and saves his ancestors as well. His companions are liberated; He carries them across. Nanak is the servant and slave of that Gurmukh who lovingly focuses his consciousness on the Lord. ||16||6|| Maaroo, First Mehl: For many ages, only darkness prevailed; the infinite, endless Lord was absorbed in the primal void. He sat alone and unaffected in absolute darkness; the world of conflict did not exist. ||1|| Thirty-six ages passed like this. He causes all to happen by the Pleasure of His Will. No rival of His can be seen. He Himself is infinite and endless. ||2|| God is hidden throughout the four ages - understand this well. He pervades each and every heart, and is contained within the belly. The One and Only Lord prevails throughout the ages. How rare are those who contemplate the Guru, and understand this. ||3|| From the union of the sperm and the egg, the body was formed. From the union of air, water and fire, the living being is made. He Himself plays joyfully in the mansion of the body; all the rest is just attachment to Maya's expanse. ||4|| Within the mother's womb, upside-down, the mortal meditated on God. The Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts, knows everything. With each and every breath, he contemplated the True Name, deep within himself, within the womb. ||5||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 039

He came into the world to obtain the four great blessings. He came to dwell in the home of the Shiva and Shakti, energy and matter. But he forgot the One Lord, and he has lost the game. The blind person forgets the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||6|| The child dies in his childish games. They cry and mourn, saying that he was such a playful child. The Lord who owns him has taken him back. Those who weep and mourn are mistaken. ||7|| What can they do, if he dies in his youth? They cry out, "His is mine, he is mine!" They cry for the sake of Maya, and are ruined; their lives in this world are cursed. ||8|| Their black hair eventually turns grey. Without the Name, they lose their wealth, and then leave. They are evil-minded and blind - they are totally ruined; they are plundered, and cry out in pain. ||9|| One who understands himself, does not cry. When he meets the True Guru, then he understands. Without the Guru, the heavy, hard doors are not opened. Obtaining the Word of the Shabad, one is emancipated. ||10|| The body grows old, and is beaten out of shape. But he does not meditate on the Lord, His only friend, even at the end. Forgetting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, he departs with his face blackened. The false are humiliated in the Court of the Lord. ||11|| Forgetting the Naam, the false ones depart. Coming and going, dust falls on their heads. The soul-bride finds no home in her in-laws' home, the world hereafter; she suffers in agony in this world of her parents' home. ||12|| She eats, dresses and plays joyfully, but without loving devotional worship of the Lord, she dies uselessly. One who does not distinguish between good and evil, is beaten by the Messenger of Death; how can anyone escape this? ||13|| One who realises what he has to possess, and what he has to abandon, associating with the Guru, comes to know the Word of the Shabad, within the home of his own self. Do not call anyone else bad; follow this way of life. Those who are true are judged to be genuine by the True Lord. ||14|| Without Truth, no one succeeds in the Court of the Lord. Through the True Shabad, one is robed in honour. He forgives those with whom He is pleased; they silence their egotism and pride. ||15|| One who realises the Hukam of God's Command, by the Grace of the Guru, comes to know the lifestyle of the ages. O Nanak, chant the Naam, and cross over to the other side. The True Lord will carry you across. ||16||1||7|| Maaroo, First Mehl: I have no other friend like the Lord. He gave me body and mind, and infused consciousness into my being. He cherishes and cares for all beings; He is deep within, the wise, all-knowing Lord. ||1|| The Guru is the sacred pool, and I am His beloved swan. In the ocean, there are so many jewels and rubies. The Lord's Praises are pearls, gems and diamonds. Singing His Praises, my mind and body are drenched with His Love. ||2|| The Lord is inaccessible, inscrutable, unfathomable and unattached. The Lord's limits cannot be found; the Guru is the Lord of the World. Through the Teachings of the True Guru, the Lord carries us across to the other side. He unites in His Union those who are coloured by His Love. ||3|| Without the True Guru, how can anyone be liberated? He has been the Friend of the Lord, from the very beginning of time, and all throughout the ages. By His Grace, He grants liberation in His Court; He forgives them for their sins. ||4||

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The True Guru, the Giver, grants liberation; all diseases are eradicated, and one is blessed with the Ambrosial Nectar. Death, the tax collector, does not impose any tax on one whose inner fire has been put out, whose heart is cool and tranquil. ||5|| The body has developed a great love for the soul-swan. He is a Yogi, and she is a beautiful woman. Day and night, he enjoys her with delight, and then he arises and departs without consulting her. ||6|| Creating the Universe, God remains diffused throughout it. In the wind, water and fire, He vibrates and resounds. The mind wavers, keeping company with evil passions; one obtains the rewards of his own actions. ||7|| Forgetting the Naam, one suffers the misery of his evil ways. When the order to depart is issued, how can he remain here? He falls into the pit of hell, and suffers like a fish out of water. ||8|| The faithless cynic has to endure 8.4 million hellish incarnations. As he acts, so does he suffer. Without the True Guru, there is no liberation. Bound and gagged by his own actions, he is helpless. ||9|| This path is very narrow, like the sharp edge of a sword. When his account is read, he shall be crushed like the sesame seed in the mill. Mother, father, spouse and child - none is anyone's friend in the end. Without the Lord's Love, no one is liberated. ||10|| You may have many friends and companions in the world, but without the Guru, the Transcendent Lord Incarnate, there is no one at all. Service to the Guru is the way to liberation. Night and day, sing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises. ||11|| Abandon falsehood, and pursue the Truth, and you shall obtain the fruits of your desires. Very few are those who trade in the merchandise of Truth. Those who deal in it, obtain the true profit. ||12|| Depart with the merchandise of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, and you shall intuitively obtain the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, in the Mansion of His Presence. The Gurmukhs search for Him and find Him; they are the perfect humble beings. In this way, they see Him, who looks upon all alike. ||13|| God is endless; following the Guru's Teachings, some find Him. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, they instruct their minds. Accept as True, Perfectly True, the Word of the True Guru's Bani. In this way, you shall merge in the Lord, the Supreme Soul. ||14|| Naarad and Saraswati are Your servants. Your servants are the greatest of the great, throughout the three worlds. Your creative power permeates all; You are the Great Giver of all. You created the whole creation. ||15|| Some serve at Your Door, and their sufferings are dispelled. They are robed with honour in the Court of the Lord, and emancipated by the True Guru. The True Guru breaks the bonds of egotism, and restrains the fickle consciousness. ||16|| Meet the True Guru, and search for the way, by which you may find God, and not have to answer for your account. Subdue your egotism, and serve the Guru; O servant Nanak, you shall be drenched with the Lord's Love. ||17||2||8|| Maaroo, First Mehl: My Lord is the Destroyer of demons. My Beloved Lord is pervading each and every heart. The unseen Lord is always with us, but He is not seen at all. The Gurmukh contemplates the record. ||1|| The Holy Gurmukh seeks Your Sanctuary.

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God grants His Grace, and carries him across to the other side. The ocean is very deep, filled with fiery water; the Guru, the True Guru, carries us across to the other side. ||2|| The blind, self-willed manmukh does not understand. He comes and goes in reincarnation, dying, and dying again. The primal inscription of destiny cannot be erased. The spiritually blind suffer terribly at Death's door. ||3|| Some come and go, and do not find a home in their own heart. Bound by their past actions, they commit sins. The blind ones have no understanding, no wisdom; they are trapped and ruined by greed and egotism. ||4|| Without her Husband Lord, what good are the soul-bride's decorations? She has forgotten her Lord and Master, and is infatuated with another's husband. Just as no one knows who is the father of the prostitute's son, such are the worthless, useless deeds that are done. ||5|| The ghost, in the body-cage, suffers all sorts of afflictions. Those who are blind to spiritual wisdom, putrefy in hell. The Righteous Judge of Dharma collects the balance due on the account, of those who forget the Name of the Lord. ||6|| The scorching sun blazes with flames of poison. The self-willed manmukh is dishonoured, a beast, a demon. Trapped by hope and desire, he practices falsehood, and is afflicted by the terrible disease of corruption. ||7|| He carries the heavy load of sins on his forehead and head. How can he cross the terrifying world-ocean? From the very beginning of time, and throughout the ages, the True Guru has been the boat; through the Lord's Name, He carries us across. ||8|| The love of one's children and spouse is so sweet in this world. The expansive expanse of the Universe is attachment to Maya. The True Guru snaps the noose of Death, for that Gurmukh who contemplates the essence of reality. ||9|| Cheated by falsehood, the self-willed manmukh walks along many paths; he may be highly educated, but he burns in the fire. The Guru is the Great Giver of the Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord. Chanting the Naam, sublime peace is obtained. ||10|| The True Guru, in His Mercy, implants Truth within. All suffering is eradicated, and one is placed on the Path. Not even a thorn ever pierces the foot of one who has the True Guru as his Protector. ||11|| Dust mixes with dust, when the body wastes away. The self-willed manmukh is like a stone slab, which is impervious to water. He cries out and weeps and wails; he is reincarnated into heaven and then hell. ||12|| They live with the poisonous snake of Maya. This duality has ruined so many homes. Without the True Guru, love does not well up. Imbued with devotional worship, the soul is satisfied. ||13|| The faithless cynics chase after Maya. Forgetting the Naam, how can they find peace? In the three qualities, they are destroyed; they cannot cross over to the other side. ||14|| The false are called pigs and dogs. They bark themselves to death; they bark and bark and howl in fear. False in mind and body, they practice falsehood; through their evil-mindedness, they lose out in the Court of the Lord. ||15|| Meeting the True Guru, the mind is stabilised. One who seeks His Sanctuary is blessed with the Lord's Name. They are given the priceless wealth of the Lord's Name; singing His Praises, they are His beloveds in His court. ||16||

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In the Sanctuary of the Holy, chant the Lord's Name. Through the True Guru's Teachings, one comes to know His state and extent. Nanak: chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, O my mind; the Lord, the Uniter, shall unite you with Himself. ||17||3||9|| Maaroo, First Mehl: Remain in your own home, O my foolish and ignorant mind. Meditate on the Lord - concentrate deep within your being and meditate on Him. Renounce your greed, and merge with the infinite Lord. In this way, you shall find the door of liberation. ||1|| If you forget Him, the Messenger of Death will catch sight of you. All peace will be gone, and you will suffer in pain in the world hereafter. Chant the Name of the Lord as Gurmukh, O my soul; this is the supreme essence of contemplation. ||2|| Chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, the sweetest essence. As Gurmukh, see the essence of the Lord deep within. Day and night, remain imbued with the Lord's Love. This is the essence of all chanting, deep meditation and self-discipline. ||3|| Speak the Guru's Word, and the Name of the Lord. In the Society of the Saints, search for this essence. Follow the Guru's Teachings - seek and find the home of your own self, and you shall never be consigned to the womb of reincarnation again. ||4|| Bathe at the sacred shrine of Truth, and sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Reflect upon the essence of reality, and lovingly focus your consciousness on the Lord. At the very last moment, the Messenger of Death will not be able to touch you, if you chant the Name of the Beloved Lord. ||5|| The True Guru, the Primal Being, the Great Giver, is all-knowing. Whoever has Truth within himself, merges in the Word of the Shabad. One whom the True Guru unites in Union, is rid of the overpowering fear of death. ||6|| The body is formed from the union of the five elements. Know that the Lord's jewel is within it. The soul is the Lord, and the Lord is the soul; contemplating the Shabad, the Lord is found. ||7|| Abide in truth and contentment, O humble Siblings of Destiny. Hold tight to compassion and the Sanctuary of the True Guru. Know your soul, and know the Supreme Soul; associating with the Guru, you shall be emancipated. ||8|| The faithless cynics are stuck in falsehood and deceit. Day and night, they slander many others. Without meditative remembrance, they come and then go, and are cast into the hellish womb of reincarnation. ||9|| The faithless cynic is not rid of his fear of death. The Messenger of Death's club is never taken away. He has to answer to the Righteous Judge of Dharma for the account of his actions; the egotistical being carries the unbearable load. ||10|| Tell me: without the Guru, what faithless cynic has been saved? Acting egotistically, he falls into the terrifying world-ocean. Without the Guru, no one is saved; meditating on the Lord, they are carried across to the other side. ||11|| No one can erase the Guru's blessings. The Lord carries across those whom He forgives. The pains of birth and death do not even approach those whose minds are filled with God, the infinite and endless. ||12|| Those who forget the Guru come and go in reincarnation. They are born, only to die again, and continue committing sins. The unconscious, foolish, faithless cynic does not remember the Lord; but when he is stricken with pain, then he cries out for the Lord. ||13|| Pleasure and pain are the consequences of the actions of past lives. The Giver, who blesses us with these - He alone knows. So who can you blame, O mortal being? The hardships you suffer are from your own actions. ||14||

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Practicing egotism and possessiveness, you have come into the world. Hope and desire bind you and lead you on. Indulging in egotism and self-conceit, what will you be able to carry with you, except the load of ashes from poison and corruption? ||15|| Worship the Lord in devotion, O humble Siblings of Destiny. Speak the Unspoken Speech, and the mind will merge back into the Mind. Restrain your restless mind within its own home, and the Lord, the Destroyer, shall destroy your pain. ||16|| I seek the support of the Perfect Guru, the Lord. The Gurmukh loves the Lord; the Gurmukh realises the Lord. O Nanak, through the Lord's Name, the intellect is exalted; granting His forgiveness, the Lord carries him across to the other side. ||17||4||10|| Maaroo, First Mehl: O Divine Guru, I have entered Your Sanctuary. You are the Almighty Lord, the Merciful Lord. No one knows Your wondrous plays; You are the perfect Architect of Destiny. ||1|| From the very beginning of time, and throughout the ages, You cherish and sustain Your beings. You are in each and every heart, O Merciful Lord of incomparable beauty. As You will, You cause all to walk; everyone acts according to Your Command. ||2|| Deep within the nucleus of all, is the Light of the Life of the World. The Lord enjoys the hearts of all, and drinks in their essence. He Himself gives, and He himself takes; He is the generous father of the beings of the three worlds. ||3|| Creating the world, He has set His play into motion. He placed the soul in the body of air, water and fire. The body-village has nine gates; the Tenth Gate remains hidden. ||4|| There are four horrible rivers of fire. How rare is that Gurmukh who understands this, and through the Word of the Shabad, remains unattached. The faithless cynics are drowned and burnt through their evil-mindedness. The Guru saves those who are imbued with the Love of the Lord. ||5|| Water, fire, air, earth and ether - in that house of the five elements, they dwell. Those who remain imbued with the Word of the True Guru's Shabad, renounce Maya, egotism and doubt. ||6|| This mind is drenched with the Shabad, and satisfied. Without the Name, what support can anyone have? The temple of the body is being plundered by the thieves within, but this faithless cynic does not even recognise these demons. ||7|| They are argumentative demons, terrifying goblins. These demons stir up conflict and strife. Without awareness of the Shabad, one comes and goes in reincarnation; he loses his honour in this coming and going. ||8|| The body of the false person is just a pile of barren dirt. Without the Name, what honour can you have? Bound and gagged throughout the four ages, there is no liberation; the Messenger of Death keeps such a person under his gaze. ||9|| At Death's door, he is tied up and punished; such a sinner does not obtain salvation. He cries out in pain, like the fish pierced by the hook. ||10|| The faithless cynic is caught in the noose all alone. The miserable spiritually blind person is caught in the power of Death. Without the Lord's Name, liberation is not known. He shall waste away, today or tomorrow. ||11|| Other than the True Guru, no one is your friend. Here and hereafter, God is the Savior. He grants His Grace, and bestows the Lord's Name. He merges with Him, like water with water. ||12||

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The Guru instructs His wandering Sikhs; if they go astray, He sets them on the right path. So serve the Guru, forever, day and night; He is the Destroyer of pain - He is with you as your companion. ||13|| O mortal being, what devotional worship have you performed to the Guru? Even Brahma, Indra and Shiva do not know it. Tell me, how can the unknowable True Guru be known? He alone attains this realisation, whom the Lord forgives. ||14|| One who has love within, obtains the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. One who enshrines love for the Word of the Guru's Bani, meets with Him. Day and night, the Gurmukh sees the immaculate Divine Light everywhere; this lamp illuminates his heart. ||15|| The food of spiritual wisdom is the supremely sweet essence. Whoever tastes it, sees the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan. Beholding His Darshan, the unattached one meets the Lord; subduing the mind's desires, he merges into the Lord. ||16|| Those who serve the True Guru are supreme and famous. Deep within each and every heart, they recognise God. Please bless Nanak with the Lord's Praises, and the Sangat, the Congregation of the Lord's humble servants; through the True Guru, they know their Lord God. ||17||5||11|| Maaroo, First Mehl: The True Lord is the Creator of the Universe. He established and contemplates the worldly sphere. He Himself created the creation, and beholds it; He is True and independent. ||1|| He created the beings of different kinds. The two travellers have set out in two directions. Without the Perfect Guru, no one is liberated. Chanting the True Name, one profits. ||2|| The self-willed manmukhs read and study, but they do not know the way. They do not understand the Naam, the Name of the Lord; they wander, deluded by doubt. They take bribes, and give false testimony; the noose of evil-mindedness is around their necks. ||3|| They read the Simritees, the Shaastras and the Puraanas; they argue and debate, but do not know the essence of reality. Without the Perfect Guru, the essence of reality is not obtained. The true and pure beings walk the Path of Truth. ||4|| All praise God and listen, and listen and speak. He Himself is wise, and He Himself judges the Truth. Those whom God blesses with His Glance of Grace become Gurmukh, and praise the Word of the Shabad. ||5|| Many listen and listen, and speak the Guru's Bani. Listening and speaking, no one knows His limits. He alone is wise, unto whom the unseen Lord reveals Himself; he speaks the Unspoken Speech. ||6|| At birth, the congratulations pour in; the ignorant sing songs of joy. Whoever is born, is sure to die, according to the destiny of past deeds inscribed upon his head by the Sovereign Lord

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King. ||7|| Union and separation were created by my God. Creating the Universe, He gave it pain and pleasure. The Gurmukhs remain unaffected by pain and pleasure; they wear the armor of humility. ||8|| The noble people are traders in Truth. They purchase the true merchandise, contemplating the Guru. One who has the wealth of the true commodity in his lap, is blessed with the rapture of the True Shabad. ||9|| The false dealings lead only to loss. The trades of the Gurmukh are pleasing to God. His stock is safe, and his capital is safe and sound. The noose of Death is cut away from around his neck. ||10||

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Everyone speaks as they please. The self-willed manmukh, in duality, does not know how to speak. The blind person has a blind and deaf intellect; coming and going in reincarnation, he suffers in pain. ||11|| In pain he is born, and in pain he dies. His pain is not relieved, without seeking the Sanctuary of the Guru. In pain he is created, and in pain he perishes. What has he brought with himself? And what will he take away? ||12|| True are the actions of those who are under the Guru's influence. They do not come and go in reincarnation, and they are not subject to the laws of Death. Whoever abandons the branches, and clings to the true root, enjoys true ecstasy within his mind. ||13|| Death cannot strike down the people of the Lord. They do not see pain on the most difficult path. Deep within the nucleus of their hearts, they worship and adore the Lord's Name; there is nothing else at all for them. ||14|| There is no end to the Lord's sermon and Praise. As it pleases You, I remain under Your Will. I am embellished with robes of honour in the Court of the Lord, by the Order of the True King. ||15|| How can I chant Your uncounted glories? Even the greatest of the great do not know Your limits. Please bless Nanak with the Truth, and preserve his honour; You are the supreme emperor above the heads of kings. ||16||6||12|| Maaroo, First Mehl, Dakhanee: Deep within the body-village is the fortress. The dwelling of the True Lord is within the city of the Tenth Gate. This place is permanent and forever immaculate. He Himself created it. ||1|| Within the fortress are balconies and bazaars. He Himself takes care of His merchandise. The hard and heavy doors of the Tenth Gate are closed and locked. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, they are thrown open. ||2|| Within the fortress is the cave, the home of the self. He established the nine gates of this house, by His Command and His Will. In the Tenth Gate, the Primal Lord, the unknowable and infinite dwells; the unseen Lord reveals Himself. ||3|| Within the body of air, water and fire, the One Lord dwells. He Himself stages His wondrous dramas and plays. By His Grace, water puts out the burning fire; He Himself stores it up in the watery ocean. ||4|| Creating the earth, He established it as the home of Dharma. Creating and destroying, He remains unattached. He stages the play of the breath everywhere. Withdrawing His power, He lets the beings crumble. ||5|| Your gardener is the vast vegetation of nature. The wind blowing around is the chauree, the fly-brush, waving over You. The Lord placed the two lamps, the sun and the moon; the sun merges in the house of the moon. ||6|| The five birds do not fly wild. The tree of life is fruitful, bearing the fruit of Ambrosial Nectar. The Gurmukh intuitively sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord; he eats the food of the Lord's sublime essence. ||7|| The dazzling light glitters, although neither the moon nor the stars are shining; neither the sun's rays nor the lightning flashes across the sky. I describe the indescribable state, which has no sign, where the all-pervading Lord is still pleasing to the mind. ||8|| The rays of Divine Light have spread out their brilliant radiance. Having created the creation, the Merciful Lord Himself gazes upon it. The sweet, melodious, unstruck sound current vibrates continuously in the home of the fearless Lord. ||9||

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When the unstruck sound current resounds, doubt and fear run away. God is all-pervading, giving shade to all. All belong to You; to the Gurmukhs, You are known. Singing Your Praises, they look beautiful in Your Court. ||10|| He is the Primal Lord, immaculate and pure. I know of no other at all. The One Universal Creator Lord dwells within, and is pleasing to the mind of those who banishe egotism and pride. ||11|| I drink in the Ambrosial Nectar, given by the True Guru. I do not know any other second or third. He is the One, Unique, Infinite and Endless Lord; He evaluates all beings and places some in His treasury. ||12|| Spiritual wisdom and meditation on the True Lord are deep and profound. No one knows Your expanse. All that are, beg from You; You are attained only by Your Grace. ||13|| You hold karma and Dharma in Your hands, O True Lord. O Independent Lord, Your treasures are inexhaustible. You are forever kind and compassionate, God. You unite in Your Union. ||14|| You Yourself see, and cause Yourself to be seen. You Yourself establish, and You Yourself disestablish. The Creator Himself unites and separates; He Himself kills and rejuvenates. ||15|| As much as there is, is contained within You. You gaze upon Your creation, sitting within Your royal palace. Nanak offers this true prayer; gazing upon the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan, I have found peace. ||16||1||13|| Maaroo, First Mehl: If I am pleasing to You, Lord, then I obtain the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. In loving devotional worship, O True Lord, I sing Your Glorious Praises. By Your Will, O Creator Lord, You have become pleasing to me, and so sweet to my tongue. ||1|| The devotees look beautiful in the Darbaar, the Court of God. Your slaves, Lord, are liberated. Eradicating self-conceit, they are attuned to Your Love; night and day, they meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||2|| Shiva, Brahma, gods and goddesses, Indra, ascetics and silent sages serve You. Celibates, givers of charity and the many forest-dwellers have not found the Lord's limits. ||3|| No one knows You, unless You let them know You. Whatever is done, is by Your Will. You created the 8.4 million species of beings; by Your Will, they draw their breath. ||4|| Whatever is pleasing to Your Will, undoubtedly comes to pass. The self-willed manmukh shows off, and comes to grief. Forgetting the Name, he finds no place of rest; coming and going in reincarnation, he suffers in pain. ||5|| Pure is the body, and immaculate is the swan-soul; within it is the immaculate essence of the Naam. Such a being drinks in all his pains like Ambrosial Nectar; he never suffers sorrow again. ||6|| For his excessive indulgences, he receives only pain; from his enjoyments, he contracts diseases, and in the end, he wastes away. His pleasure can never erase his pain; without accepting the Lord's Will, he wanders lost and confused. ||7|| Without spiritual wisdom, they all just wander around. The True Lord is pervading and permeating everywhere, lovingly engaged. The Fearless Lord is known through the Shabad, the Word of the True Guru; one's light merges into the Light. ||8|| He is the eternal, unchanging, immeasurable Lord. In an instant, He destroys, ang then reconstructs. He has no form or shape, no limit or value. Pierced by the Shabad, one is satisfied. ||9||

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I am the slave of Your slaves, O my Beloved. The seekers of Truth and goodness contemplate You. Whoever believes in the Name, wins; He Himself implants Truth within. ||10|| The Truest of the True has the Truth is His lap. The True Lord is pleased with those who love the Shabad. Exerting His power, the Lord has established Truth throughout the three worlds; with Truth He is pleased. ||11|| Everyone calls Him the greatest of the great. Without the Guru, no one understands Him. The True Lord is pleased with those who merge in Truth; they are not separated again, and they do not suffer. ||12|| Separated from the Primal Lord, they loudly weep and wail. They die and die, only to be reborn, when their time has passed. He blesses those whom He forgives with glorious greatness; united with Him, they do not regret or repent. ||13 | | He Himself is the Creator, and He Himself is the Enjoyer. He Himself is satisfied, and He Himself is liberated. The Lord of liberation Himself grants liberation; He eradicates possessiveness and attachment. ||14|| I consider Your gifts to be the most wonderful gifts. You are the Cause of causes, Almighty Infinite Lord. Creating the creation, You gaze upon what You have created; You cause all to do their deeds. ||15|| They alone sing Your Glorious Praises, who are pleasing to You, O True Lord. They issue forth from You, and merge again into You. Nanak offers this true prayer; meeting with the True Lord, peace is obtained. ||16||2||14|| Maaroo, First Mehl: For endless eons, there was only utter darkness. There was no earth or sky; there was only the infinite Command of His Hukam. There was no day or night, no moon or sun; God sat in primal, profound Samaadhi. ||1|| There were no sources of creation or powers of speech, no air or water. There was no creation or destruction, no coming or going. There were no continents, nether regions, seven seas, rivers or flowing water. ||2|| There were no heavenly realms, earth or nether regions of the underworld. There was no heaven or hell, no death or time. There was no hell or heaven, no birth or death, no coming or going in reincarnation. ||3|| There was no Brahma, Vishnu or Shiva. No one was seen, except the One Lord. There was no female or male, no social class or caste of birth; no one experienced pain or pleasure. ||4|| There were no people of celibacy or charity; no one lived in the forests. There were no Siddhas or seekers, no one living in peace. There were no Yogis, no wandering pilgrims, no religious robes; no one called himself the master. ||5|| There was no chanting or meditation, no self-discipline, fasting or worship. No one spoke or talked in duality. He created Himself, and rejoiced; He evaluates Himself. ||6|| There was no purification, no self-restraint, no malas of basil seeds. There were no Gopis, no Krishna, no cows or cowherds. There were no tantras, no mantras and no hypocrisy; no one played the flute. ||7|| There was no karma, no Dharma, no buzzing fly of Maya. Social class and birth were not seen with any eyes. There was no noose of attachment, no death inscribed upon the forehead; no one meditated on anything. ||8|| There was no slander, no seed, no soul and no life. There was no Gorakh and no Maachhindra. There was no spiritual wisdom or meditation, no ancestry or creation, no reckoning of accounts. ||9||

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There were no castes or social classes, no religious robes, no Brahmin or Kh'shaatriya. There were no demi-gods or temples, no cows or Gaayatri prayer. There were no burnt offerings, no ceremonial feasts, no cleansing rituals at sacred shrines of pilgrimage; no one worshipped in adoration. ||10|| There was no Mullah, there was no Qazi. There was no Shaykh, or pilgrims to Mecca. There was no king or subjects, and no worldly egotism; no one spoke of himself. ||11|| There was no love or devotion, no Shiva or Shakti - no energy or matter. There were no friends or companions, no semen or blood. He Himself is the banker, and He Himself is the merchant. Such is the Pleasure of the Will of the True Lord. ||12|| There were no Vedas, Korans or Bibles, no Simritees or Shaastras. There was no recitation of the Puraanas, no sunrise or sunset. The Unfathomable Lord Himself was the speaker and the preacher; the unseen Lord Himself saw everything. ||13|| When He so willed, He created the world. Without any supporting power, He sustained the universe. He created Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva; He fostered enticement and attachment to Maya. ||14|| How rare is that person who listens to the Word of the Guru's Shabad. He created the creation, and watches over it; the Hukam of His Command is over all. He formed the planets, solar systems and nether regions, and brought what was hidden to manifestation. ||15|| No one knows His limits. This understanding comes from the Perfect Guru. O Nanak, those who are attuned to the Truth are wonderstruck; singing His Glorious Praises, they are filled with wonder. ||16||3||15|| Maaroo, First Mehl: He Himself created the creation, remaining unattached. The Merciful Lord has established His True Home. Binding together air, water and fire, He created the fortress of the body. ||1|| The Creator established the nine gates. In the Tenth Gate, is the dwelling of the infinite, unseen Lord. The seven seas are overflowing with the Ambrosial Water; the Gurmukhs are not stained with filth. ||2|| The lamps of the sun and the moon fill all with light. Creating them, He beholds His own glorious greatness. The Giver of peace is forever the embodiment of Light; from the True Lord, glory is obtained. ||3|| Within the fortress are the stores and markets; the business is transacted there. The Supreme Merchant weighs with the perfect weights. He Himself buys the jewel, and He Himself appraises its value. ||4|| The Appraiser appraises its value. The Independent Lord is overflowing with His treasures. He holds all powers, He is all-pervading; how few are those who, as Gurmukh, understand this. ||5|| When He bestows His Glance of Grace, one meets the Perfect Guru. The tyrannical Messenger of Death cannot strike him then. He blossoms forth like the lotus flower in the water; he blossoms forth in joyful meditation. ||6|| He Himself rains down the Ambrosial Stream of jewels, diamonds, and rubies of priceless value. When they meet the True Guru, then they find the Perfect Lord; they obtain the treasure of Love. ||7|| Whoever receives the priceless treasure of Love - his weight never decreases; he has perfect weight. The trader of Truth becomes true, and obtains the merchandise. ||8|| How rare are those who obtain the true merchandise. Meeting the Perfect True Guru, one meets with the Lord.

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One who becomes Gurmukh realises the Hukam of His command; surrendering to His Command, one merges in the Lord. ||9|| By His Command we come, and by His command we merge into Him again. By His Command, the world was formed. By His Command, the heavens, this world and the nether regions were created; by His Command, His Power supports them. ||10|| The Hukam of His Command is the mythical bull which supports the burden of the earth on its head. By His Hukam, air, water and fire came into being. By His Hukam, one dwells in the house of matter and energy - Shiva and Shakti. By His Hukam, He plays His plays. ||11|| By the Hukam of His command, the sky is spread above. By His Hukam, His creatures dwell in the water, on the land and throughout the three worlds. By His Hukam, we draw our breath and receive our food; by His Hukam, He watches over us, and inspires us to see. ||12|| By His Hukam, He created His ten incarnations, and the uncounted and infinite gods and devils. Whoever obeys the Hukam of His Command, is robed with honour in the Court of the Lord; united with the Truth, He merges in the Lord. ||13|| By the Hukam of His Command, the thirty-six ages passed. By His Hukam, the Siddhas and seekers contemplate Him. The Lord Himself has brought all under His control. Whoever He forgives, is liberated. ||14|| In the strong fortress of the body with its beautiful doors, is the king, with his special assistants and ministers. Those gripped by falsehood and greed do not dwell in the celestial home; engrossed in greed and sin, they come to regret and repent. ||15|| Truth and contentment govern this body-village. Chastity, truth and self-control are in the Sanctuary of the Lord. O Nanak, one intuitively meets the Lord, the Life of the World; the Word of the Guru's Shabad brings honour. ||16||4||16|| Maaroo, First Mehl: In the Primal Void, the Infinite Lord assumed His Power. He Himself is unattached, infinite and incomparable. He Himself exercised His Creative

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Power, and He gazes upon His creation; from the Primal Void, He formed the Void. ||1|| From this Primal Void, He fashioned air and water. He created the universe, and the king in the fortress of the body. Your Light pervades fire, water and souls; Your Power rests in the Primal Void. ||2|| From this Primal Void, Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva issued forth. This Primal Void is pervasive throughout all the ages. That humble being who contemplates this state is perfect; meeting with him, doubt is dispelled. ||3|| From this Primal Void, the seven seas were established. The One who created them, Himself contemplates them. That human being who becomes Gurmukh, who bathes in the pool of Truth, is not cast into the womb of reincarnation again. ||4|| From this Primal Void, came the moon, the sun and the earth. His Light pervades all the three worlds. The Lord of this Primal Void is unseen, infinite and immaculate; He is absorbed in the Primal Trance of Deep Meditation. ||5|| From this Primal Void, the earth and the Akaashic Ethers were created. He supports them without any visible support, by exercising His True Power. He fashioned the three worlds, and the rope of Maya; He Himself creates and destroys. ||6|| From this Primal Void, came the four sources of creation, and the power of speech. They were created from the Void, and they will merge into the Void. The Supreme Creator created the play of Nature; through the Word of His Shabad, He stages His Wondrous Show. ||7|| From this Primal Void, He made both night and day; creation and destruction, pleasure and pain. The Gurmukh is immortal, untouched by pleasure and pain. He obtains the home of his own inner being. ||8||

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The Saam Veda, the Rig Veda, the Jujar Veda and the At'harva Veda form the mouth of Brahma; they speak of the three gunas, the three qualities of Maya. None of them can describe His worth. We speak as He inspires us to speak. ||9|| From the Primal Void, He created the seven nether regions. From the Primal Void, He established this world to lovingly dwell upon Him. The Infinite Lord Himself created the creation. Everyone acts as You make them act, Lord. ||10|| Your Power is diffused through the three gunas: raajas, taamas and satva. Through egotism, they suffer the pains of birth and death. Those blessed by His Grace become Gurmukh; they attain the fourth state, and are liberated. ||11|| From the Primal Void, the ten incarnations welled up. Creating the Universe, He made the expanse. He fashioned the demi-gods and demons, the heavenly heralds and celestial musicians; everyone acts according to their past karma. ||12|| The Gurmukh understands, and does not suffer the disease. How rare are those who understand this ladder of the Guru. Throughout the ages, they are dedicated to liberation, and so they become liberated; thus they are honoured. ||13|| From the Primal Void, the five elements became manifest. They joined to form the body, which engages in actions. Both bad and good are written on the forehead, the seeds of vice and virtue. ||14|| The True Guru, the Primal Being, is sublime and detached. Attuned to the Word of the Shabad, He is intoxicated with the sublime essence of the Lord. Riches, intellect, miraculous spiritual powers and spiritual wisdom are obtained from the Guru; through perfect destiny, they are received. ||15|| This mind is so in love with Maya. Only a few are spiritually wise enough to understand and know this. In hope and desire, egotism and skepticism, the greedy man acts falsely. ||16|| From the True Guru, contemplative meditation is obtained. And then, one dwells with the True Lord in His celestial home, the Primal State of Absorption in Deepest Samaadhi. O Nanak, the immaculate sound current of the Naad, and the Music of the Shabad resound; one merges into the True Name of the Lord. ||17||5||17|| Maaroo, First Mehl: Wherever I look, I see the Lord, merciful to the meek. God is compassionate; He does not come or go in reincarnation. He pervades all beings in His mysterious way; the Sovereign Lord remains detached. ||1|| The world is a reflection of Him; He has no father or mother. He has not acquired any sister or brother. There is no creation or destruction for Him; He has no ancestry or social status. The Ageless Lord is pleasing to my mind. ||2|| You are the Deathless Primal Being. Death does not hover over Your head. You are the unseen inaccessible and detached Primal Lord. You are true and content; the Word of Your Shabad is cool and soothing. Through it, we are lovingly, intuitively attuned to You. ||3|| The three qualities are pervasive; the Lord dwells in His home, the fourth state. He has made death and birth into a bite of food. The immaculate Light is the Life of the whole world. The Guru reveals the unstruck melody of the Shabad. ||4|| Sublime and good are those humble Saints, the Beloveds of the Lord. They are intoxicated with the sublime essence of the Lord, and are carried across to the other side. Nanak is the dust of the Society of the Saints; by Guru's Grace, he finds the Lord. ||5|| You are the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. All beings belong to You.

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You are the Great Giver; I am Your slave. Please be merciful and bless me with Your Ambrosial Naam, and the jewel, the lamp of the Guru's spiritual wisdom. ||6|| From the union of the five elements, this body was made. Finding the Lord, the Supreme Soul, peace is established. The good karma of past actions brings fruitful rewards, and man is blessed with the jewel of the Lord's Name. ||7|| His mind does not feel any hunger or thirst. He knows the Immaculate Lord to be everywhere, in each and every heart. Imbued with the Lord's Ambrosial essence, he becomes a pure, detached renunciate; he is lovingly absorbed in the Guru's Teachings. ||8|| Whoever does the deeds of the soul, day and night, sees the immaculate Divine Light deep within. Enraptured with the delightful essence of the Shabad, the source of nectar, my tongue plays the sweet music of the flute. ||9|| He alone plays the sweet music of this flute, who knows the three worlds. O Nanak, know this, through the Guru's Teachings, and lovingly focus yourself on the Lord's Name. ||10|| Rare are those beings in this world, who contemplate the Word of the Guru's Shabad, and remain detached. They save themselves, and save all their associates and ancestors; fruitful is their birth and coming into this world. ||11|| He alone knows the home of his own heart, and the door to the temple, who obtains perfect understanding from the Guru. In the body-fortress is the palace; God is the True Master of this Palace. The True Lord established His True Throne there. ||12|| The fourteen realms and the two lamps are the witnesses. The Lord's servants, the self-elect, do not taste the poison of corruption. Deep within, is the priceless, incomparable commodity; meeting with the Guru, the wealth of the Lord is obtained. ||13|| He alone sits on the throne, who is worthy of the throne. Following the Guru's Teachings, he subdues the five demons, and becomes the Lord's foot soldier. He has existed from the very beginning of time and throughout the ages; He exists here and now, and will always exist. Meditating on Him, skepticism and doubt are dispelled. ||14|| The Lord of the Throne is greeted and worshipped day and night. This true glorious greatness comes to those who love the Guru's Teachings. O Nanak, meditate on the Lord, and swim across the river; they find the Lord, their best friend, in the end. ||15||1||18|| Maaroo, First Mehl: Gather in the wealth of the Lord, O humble Siblings of Destiny. Serve the True Guru, and remain in His Sanctuary. This wealth cannot be stolen; the celestial melody of the Shabad wells up and keeps us awake and aware. ||1|| You are the One Universal Creator, the Immaculate King. You Yourself arrange and resolve the affairs of Your humble servant. You are immortal, immovable, infinite and priceless; O Lord, Your place is beautiful and eternal. ||2|| In the body-village, the most sublime place, the supremely noble people dwell. Above them is the Immaculate Lord, the One Universal Creator; they are lovingly absorbed in the profound, primal state of Samaadhi. ||3|| There are nine gates to the body-village; the Creator Lord fashioned them for each and every person. Within the Tenth Gate, dwells the Primal Lord, detached and unequalled. The unknowable reveals Himself. ||4|| The Primal Lord cannot be held to account; True is His Celestial Court. The Hukam of His Command is in effect; True is His Insignia. O Nanak, search and examine your own home, and you shall find the Supreme Soul, and the Name of the Lord. ||5||

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The Primal Lord is everywhere, immaculate and all-knowing. He administers justice, and is absorbed in the spiritual wisdom of the Guru. He seizes sexual desire and anger by their necks, and kills them; He eradicates egotism and greed. ||6|| In the True Place, the Formless Lord abides. Whoever understands his own self, contemplates the Word of the Shabad. He comes to abide deep within the True Mansion of His Presence, and his comings and goings are ended. ||7|| His mind does not waver, and he is not buffeted by the winds of desire. Such a Yogi vibrates the unstruck sound current of the Shabad. God Himself plays the pure music of the Panch Shabad, the five primal sounds to hear. ||8|| In the Fear of God, in detachment, one intuitively merges into the Lord. Renouncing egotism, he is imbued with the unstruck sound current. With the ointment of enlightenment, the Immaculate Lord is known; the Immaculate Lord King is pervading everywhere. ||9|| God is eternal and imperishable; He is the Destroyer of pain and fear. He cures the disease, and cuts away the noose of death. O Nanak, the Lord God is the Destroyer of fear; meeting the Guru, the Lord God is found. ||10|| One who knows the Immaculate Lord chews up death. One who understands karma, realises the Word of the Shabad. He Himself knows, and He Himself realises. This whole world is all His play. ||11|| He Himself is the Banker, and He Himself is the Merchant. The Appraiser Himself appraises. He Himself tests upon His Touchstone, and He Himself estimates the value. ||12|| God Himself, the Merciful Lord, grants His Grace. The Gardener pervades and permeates each and every heart. The pure, primal, detached Lord abides within all. The Guru, the Lord Incarnate, leads us to meet the Lord God. ||13|| God is wise and all-knowing; He purges men of their pride. Eradicating duality, the One Lord reveals Himself. Such a being remains unattached amidst hope, singing the Praise of the Immaculate Lord, who has no ancestry. ||14|| Eradicating egotism, he obtains the peace of the Shabad. He alone is spiritually wise, who contemplates his own self. O Nanak, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, the true profit is obtained; in the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, the fruit of Truth is obtained. ||15||2||19|| Maaroo, First Mehl: Speak the Truth, and remain in the home of Truth. Remain dead while yet alive, and cross over the terrifying world-ocean. The Guru is the boat, the ship, the raft; meditating on the Lord in your mind, you shall be carried across to the other side. ||1|| Eliminating egotism, possessiveness and greed, one is liberated from the nine gates, and obtains a place in the Tenth Gate. Lofty and high, the farthest of the far and infinite, He created Himself. ||2|| Receiving the Guru's Teachings, and lovingly attuned to the Lord, one crosses over. Singing the Praises of the absolute Lord, why should anyone be afraid of death? Wherever I look, I see only You; I do not sing of any other at all. ||3|| True is the Lord's Name, and True is His Sanctuary. True is the Word of the Guru's Shabad, grasping it, one is carries across. Speaking the Unspoken, one sees the Infinite Lord, and then, he does not have to enter the womb of reincarnation again. ||4|| Without the Truth, no one finds sincerity or contentment. Without the Guru, no one is liberated; coming and going in reincarnation continue. Chanting the Mool Mantra, and the Name of the Lord, the source of nectar, says Nanak, I have found the Perfect Lord. ||5||

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Without the Truth, the terrifying world-ocean cannot be crossed. This ocean is vast and unfathomable; it is overflowing with the worst poison. One who receives the Guru's Teachings, and remains aloof and detached, obtains a place in the home of the Fearless Lord. ||6|| False is the cleverness of loving attachment to the world. In no time at all, it comes and goes. Forgetting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the proud egotistical people depart; in creation and destruction they are wasted away. ||7|| In creation and destruction, they are bound in bondage. The noose of egotism and Maya is around their necks. Whoever does not accept the Guru's Teachings, and does not dwell upon the Lord's Name, is bound and bagged, and dragged into the City of Death. ||8|| Without the Guru, how can anyone be emancipated or liberated? Without the Guru, how can anyone meditate on the Lord's Name? Accepting the Guru's Teachings, cross over the arduous, terrifying world-ocean; you shall be emancipated, and find peace. ||9|| Through the Guru's Teachings, Krishna lifted up the mountain of Govardhan. Through the Guru's Teachings, Rama floated stones across the ocean. Accepting the Guru's Teachings, the supreme status is obtained; O Nanak, the Guru eradicates doubt. ||10|| Accepting the Guru's Teachings, cross over to the other side through Truth. O soul, remember the Lord within your heart. The noose of death is cut away, meditating on the Lord; you shall obtain the Immaculate Lord, who has no ancestry. ||11|| Through the Guru's Teachings, the Holy become one's friends and Siblings of Destiny. Through the Guru's Teachings, the inner fire is subdued and extinguished. Chant the Naam with your mind and mouth; know the unknowable Lord, the Life of the World, deep within the nucleus of your heart. ||12|| The Gurmukh understands, and is pleased with the Word of the Shabad. Who does he praise or slander? Know yourself, and meditate on the Lord of the Universe; let your mind be pleased with the Lord, the Master of the Universe. ||13|| Know the One who pervades all the realms of the universe. As Gurmukh, understand and realise the Shabad. The Enjoyer enjoys each and every heart, and yet He remains detached from all. ||14|| Through the Guru's Teachings, chant the Pure Praises of the Lord. Through the Guru's Teachings, behold the lofty Lord with your eyes. Whoever listens to the Lord's Name, and the Word of His Bani, O Nanak, is imbued with the colour of the Lord's Love. ||15||3||20|| Maaroo, First Mehl: Leave behind sexual desire, anger and the slander of others. Renounce greed and possessiveness, and become carefree. Break the chains of doubt, and remain unattached; you shall find the Lord, and the Lord's sublime essence, deep within yourself. ||1|| As one sees the flash of lightning in the night, see the Divine Light deep within your nucleus, day and night. The Lord, the embodiment of bliss, incomparably beautiful, reveals the Perfect Guru. ||2|| So meet with the True Guru, and God Himself will save you. He placed the lamps of the sun and the moon in the home of the sky. See the invisible Lord, and remain absorbed in loving devotion. God is all throughout the three worlds. ||3|| Obtaining the sublime ambrosial essence, desire and fear are dispelled. The state of inspired illumination is obtained, and self-conceit is eradicated. The lofty and exalted state, the highest of the high is obtained, practicing the immaculate Word of the Shabad. ||4|| The Naam, the Name of the invisible and unfathomable Lord, is infinite.

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The sublime essence of the Beloved Naam is utterly sweet. O Lord, please bless Nanak with Your Praise in each and every age; meditating on the Lord, I cannot find His limits. ||5||

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With the Naam deep within the nucleus of the self, the jewel is obtained. Meditating on the Lord, the mind is comforted and consoled by the mind itself. On that most difficult path, the Destroyer of fear is found, and one does not have to enter the womb of reincarnation again. ||6|| Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, inspiration for loving devotional worship wells up. I beg for the treasure of the Naam, and the Lord's Praise. When it pleases the Lord, He unites me in Union with the Guru; the Lord saves the whole world. ||7|| One who chants the Lord's Chant, attains the Wisdom of the True Guru. The tyrant, the Messenger of Death, becomes a servant at his feet. In the noble congregation of the Sangat, one's state and way of life become noble as well, and one crosses over the terrifying world-ocean. ||8|| Through the Shabad, one crosses over this terrifying world-ocean. The duality within is burnt away from within. Taking up the five arrows of virtue, Death is killed, drawing the Bow of the Tenth Gate in the Mind's Sky. ||9|| How can the faithless cynics attain enlightened awareness of the Shabad? Without awareness of the Shabad, they come and go in reincarnation. O Nanak, the Gurmukh obtains the support of liberation; by perfect destiny, he meets the Lord. ||10|| The Fearless True Guru is our Savior and Protector. Devotional worship is obtained through the Guru, the Lord of the world. The blissful music of the unstruck sound current vibrates and resounds; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the Immaculate Lord is obtained. ||11|| He alone is fearless, who has no destiny written on His head. God Himself is unseen; He reveals Himself through His wondrous creative power. He Himself is unattached, unborn and self-existent. O Nanak, through the Guru's Teachings, He is found. ||12|| The True Guru knows the state of one's inner being. He alone is fearless, who realises the Word of the Guru's Shabad. He looks within his own inner being, and realises the Lord within all; his mind does not waver at all. ||13|| He alone is fearless, within whose being the Lord abides. Day and night, he is delighted with the Immaculate Naam, the Name of the Lord. O Nanak, in the Sangat, the Holy Congregation, the Lord's Praise is obtained, and one easily, intuitively meets the Lord. ||14|| One who knows God, within the self and beyond, remains detached, and brings his wandering mind back to its home. The True Primal Lord is over all the three worlds; O Nanak, His Ambrosial Nectar is obtained. ||15||4||21|| Maaroo, First Mehl: The Creator Lord is infinite; His creative power is wondrous. Created beings have no power over Him. He formed the living beings, and He Himself sustains them; the Hukam of His Command controls each and every one. ||1|| The all-pervading Lord orchestrates all through His Hukam. Who is near, and who is far away? Behold the Lord, both hidden and manifest, in each and every heart; the unique Lord is permeating all. ||2|| One whom the Lord unites with Himself, merges in conscious awareness. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, meditate on the Lord's Name. God is the embodiment of bliss, incomparably beautiful and unfathomable; meeting with the Guru, doubt is dispelled. ||3|| The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is more dear to me than my mind, body and wealth. In the end, when I must depart, it shall be my only help and support.

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In this world of love and attachment, no one is anyone else's friend or companion; without the Lord, without the Guru, who has ever found peace? ||4|| He, unto whom the Perfect Guru grants His Grace, is merged in the Word of the Shabad, through the Teachings of the brave, heroic Guru. O Nanak, dwell upon, and serve at the Guru's feet; He places those who wander back on the Path. ||5|| The wealth of the Lord's Praise is very dear to the humble Saints. Through the Guru's Teachings, I have obtained Your Name, Lord. The beggar serves at the Lord's door, and in the Court of the Lord, sings His Praises. ||6|| When one meets the True Guru, he is called into the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. In the True Court, he is blessed with salvation and honour. The faithless cynic has no place of rest in the Lord's palace; he suffers the pains of birth and death. ||7|| So serve the True Guru, the unfathomable ocean, and you shall obtain the profit, the wealth, the jewel of the Naam. The filth of corruption is washed away, by bathing in the pool of Ambrosial Nectar. In the Guru's pool, contentment is obtained. ||8|| So serve the Guru without hesitation. And in the midst of hope, remain unmoved by hope. Serve the Eradicator of cynicism and suffering, and you shall never again be afflicted by the disease. ||9|| One who is pleasing to the True Lord is blessed with glorious greatness. Who else can teach him anything? The Lord and the Guru are pervading in one form. O Nanak, the Lord loves the Guru. ||10|| Some read scriptures, the Vedas and the Puraanas. Some sit and listen, and read to others. Tell me, how can the heavy, rigid doors be opened? Without the True Guru, the essence of reality is not realised. ||11|| Some collect dust, and smear their bodies with ashes; but deep within them are the outcasts of anger and egotism. Practicing hypocrisy, Yoga is not obtained; without the True Guru, the unseen Lord is not found. ||12|| Some make vows to visit sacred shrines of pilgrimage, keep fasts and live in the forest. Some practice chastity, charity and self-discipline, and speak of spiritual wisdom. But without the Lord's Name, how can anyone find peace? Without the True Guru, doubt is not dispelled. ||13|| Inner cleansing techniques, channeling the energy to raise the Kundalini to the Tenth Gate, inhaling, exhaling and holding the breath by the force of the mind - by empty hypocritical practices, Dharmic love for the Lord is not produced. Only through the Word of the Guru's Shabad is the sublime, supreme essence obtained. ||14|| Seeing the Lord's creative power, my mind remains satisfied. Through the Guru's Shabad, I have realised that all is God. O Nanak, the Lord, the Supreme Soul, is in all. The Guru, the True Guru, has inspired me to see the unseen Lord. ||15||5||22|| Maaroo, Solhay, Third Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: By the Hukam of His Command, He effortlessly created the Universe. Creating the creation, He gazes upon His own greatness. He Himself acts, and inspires all to act; in His Will, He pervades and permeates all. ||1|| The world is in the darkness of love and attachment to Maya. How rare is that Gurmukh who contemplates, and understands. He alone attains the Lord, unto whom He grants His Grace. He Himself unites in His Union. ||2||

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Uniting with Himself, He bestows glorious greatness. By Guru's Grace, one comes to know the Lord's worth. The self-willed manmukh wanders everywhere, weeping and wailing; he is utterly ruined by the love of duality. ||3|| Egotism was instilled into the illusion of Maya. The self-willed manmukh is deluded, and loses his honour. But one who becomes Gurmukh is absorbed in the Name; he remains immersed in the True Lord. ||4|| Spiritual wisdom is obtained from the Guru, along with the jewel of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Desires are subdued, and one remains immersed in the mind. The Creator Himself stages all His plays; He Himself bestows understanding. ||5|| One who serves the True Guru eradicates self-conceit. Meeting with his Beloved, he finds peace through the Word of the Shabad. Deep within his inner being, he is imbued with loving devotion; intuitively, he becomes one with the Lord. ||6|| The Destroyer of pain is known through the Guru. The Great Giver, the Life of the world, Himself has met me. He alone understands, whom the Lord joins with Himself. Fear and doubt are taken away from his body. ||7|| He Himself is the Gurmukh, and He Himself bestows His blessings. Through the True Word of the Shabad, serve the True Guru. Old age and death cannot even touch one who is in harmony with the True Lord. ||8|| The world is burning up in the fire of desire. It burns and burns, and is destroyed in all its corruption. The self-willed manmukh finds no place of rest anywhere. The True Guru has imparted this understanding. ||9|| Those who serve the True Guru are very fortunate. They remain lovingly focused on the True Name forever. The Immaculate Naam, the Name of the Lord, permeates the nucleus of their inner being; through the Shabad, their desires are quenched. ||10|| True is the Word of the Shabad, and True is the Bani of His Word. How rare is that Gurmukh who realises this. Those who are imbued with the True Shabad are detached. Their comings and goings in reincarnation are ended. ||11|| One who realises the Shabad is cleansed of impurities. The Immaculate Naam abides within his mind. He serves his True Guru forever, and egotism is eradicated from within. ||12|| If one comes to understand, through the Guru, then he comes to know the Lord's Door. But without the Naam, one babbles and argues in vain. The glory of serving the True Guru is that it eradicates hunger and thirst. ||13|| When the Lord unites them with Himself, then they come to understand. Without spiritual wisdom, they understand nothing at all. One whose mind is filled with the Guru's gift forever - his inner being resounds with the Shabad, and the Word of the Guru's Bani. ||14|| He acts according to his pre-ordained destiny. No one can erase the Command of the Primal Lord. They alone dwell in the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, who have such pre-ordained destiny. ||15|| He alone finds the Lord, unto whom He grants His Grace. He links his consciousness to the deep meditative state of the True Shabad. Nanak, Your slave, offers this humble prayer; I stand at Your Door, begging for Your Name. ||16||1|| Maaroo, Third Mehl: The One and only Lord is pervading and permeating everywhere. How rare is that person, who as Gurmukh, understands this. The One Lord is permeating and pervading, deep within the nucleus of all. Without Him, there is no other at all. ||1|| He created the 8.4 millions species of beings.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 057

The spiritual teachers and meditators proclaim this. He Himself nourishes all; no one else can estimate His value. ||2|| Love and attachment to Maya are utter darkness. Egotism and possessiveness have spread throughout the expanse of the universe. Night and day, they burn, day and night; without the Guru, there is no peace or tranquility. ||3|| He Himself unites, and He Himself separates. He Himself establishes, and He Himself disestablishes. True is the Hukam of His Command, and True is the expanse of His universe. No one else can issue any Command. ||4|| He alone is attached to the Lord, whom the Lord attaches to Himself. By Guru's Grace, the fear of death runs away. The Shabad, the Giver of peace, dwells forever deep within the nucleus of the self. One who is Gurmukh understands. ||5|| God Himself unites those united in His Union. Whatever is pre-ordained by destiny, cannot be erased. Night and day, His devotees worship Him, day and night; one who becomes Gurmukh serves Him. ||6|| Serving the True Guru, lasting peace is experienced. He Himself, the Giver of all, has come and met me. Subduing egotism, the fire of thirst has been extinguished; contemplating the Word of the Shabad, peace is found. ||7|| One who is attached to his body and family, does not understand. But one who becomes Gurmukh, sees the Lord with his eyes. Night and day, he chants the Naam, day and night; meeting with his Beloved, he finds peace. ||8|| The self-willed manmukh wanders distracted, attached to duality. That unfortunate wretch - why didn't he just die as soon as he was born? Coming and going, he wastes away his life in vain. Without the Guru, liberation is not obtained. ||9|| That body which is stained with the filth of egotism is false and impure. It may be washed a hundred times, but its filth is still not removed. But if it is washed with the Word of the Shabad, then it is truly cleansed, and it shall never be soiled again. ||10|| The five demons destroy the body. He dies and dies again, only to be reincarnated; he does not contemplate the Shabad. The darkness of emotional attachment to Maya is within his inner being; as if in a dream, he does not understand. ||11|| Some conquer the five demons, by being attached to the Shabad. They are blessed and very fortunate; the True Guru comes to meet them. Within the nucleus of their inner being, they dwell upon the Truth; attuned to the Lord's Love, they intuitively merge in Him. ||12|| The Guru's Way is known through the Guru. His perfect servant attains realisation through the Shabad. Deep within his heart, he dwells forever upon the Shabad; he tastes the sublime essence of the True Lord with his tongue. ||13|| Egotism is conquered and subdued by the Shabad. I have enshrined the Name of the Lord within my heart. Other than the One Lord, I know nothing at all. Whatever will be, will automatically be. ||14|| Without the True Guru, no one obtains intuitive wisdom. The Gurmukh understands, and is immersed in the True Lord. He serves the True Lord, and is attuned to the True Shabad. The Shabad banishes egotism. ||15|| He Himself is the Giver of virtue, the Contemplative Lord. The Gurmukh is given the winning dice. O Nanak, immersed in the Naam, the Name of the Lord, one becomes true; from the True Lord, honour is obtained. ||16||2|| Maaroo, Third Mehl: One One True Lord is the Life of the World, the Great Giver. Serving the Guru, through the Word of the Shabad, He is realised.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 058

There is only One Command, and there is only One Supreme King. In each and every age, He links each to their tasks. ||1|| That humble being is immaculate, who knows his own self. The Lord, the Giver of peace, Himself comes and meets him. His tongue is imbued with the Shabad, and he sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord; he is honoured in the Court of the True Lord. ||2|| The Gurmukh is blessed with the glorious greatness of the Naam. The self-willed manmukh, the slanderer, loses his honour. Attuned to the Naam, the supreme soul-swans remain detached; in the home of the self, they remain absorbed in deep meditative trance. ||3|| That humble being who dies in the Shabad is perfect. The brave, heroic True Guru chants and proclaims this. Deep within the body is the true pool of Ambrosial Nectar; the mind drinks it in with loving devotion. ||4|| The Pandit, the religious scholar, reads and instructs others, but he does not realise that his own home is on fire. Without serving the True Guru, the Naam is not obtained. You can read until you are exhausted, but you shall not find peace and tranquility. ||5|| Some smear their bodies with ashes, and wander around in religious disguises. Without the Word of the Shabad, who has ever subdued egotism? Night and day, they continue burning, day and night; they are deluded and confused by their doubt and religious costumes. ||6|| Some, in the midst of their household and family, remain always unattached. They die in the Shabad, and dwell in the Lord's Name. Night and day, they remain forever attuned to His Love; they focus their consciousness on loving devotion and the Fear of God. ||7|| The self-willed manmukh indulges in slander, and is ruined. The dog of greed barks within him. The Messenger of Death never leaves him, and in the end, he leaves, regretting and repenting. ||8|| Through the True Word of the Shabad, true honour is obtained. Without the Name, no one attains liberation. Without the True Guru, no one finds the Name. Such is the making which God has made. ||9|| Some are Siddhas and seekers, and great contemplators. Some remain imbued with the Naam, the Name of the Formless Lord, day and night. He alone understands, whom the Lord unites with Himself; through loving devotional worship, fear is dispelled. ||10|| Some take cleansing baths and give donations to charities, but they do not understand. Some struggle with their minds, and conquer and subdue their minds. Some are imbued with love for the True Word of the Shabad; they merge with the True

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Shabad. ||11|| He Himself creates and bestows glorious greatness. By the Pleasure of His Will, He bestows union. Bestowing His Grace, He comes to dwell in the mind; such is the Command ordained by my God. ||12|| Those humble beings who serve the True Guru are true. The false, self-willed manmukhs do not know how to serve the Guru. The Creator Himself creates the creation and watches over it; he attaches all according to the Pleasure of His Will. ||13|| In each and every age, the True Lord is the one and only Giver. Through perfect destiny, one realises the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Those who are immersed in the Shabad are not separated again. By His Grace, they are intuitively immersed in the Lord. ||14|| Acting in egotism, they are stained with the filth of Maya. They die and die again, only to be reborn in the love of duality. Without serving the True Guru, no one finds liberation. O mind, tune into this, and see. ||15||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 059

He does whatever He pleases. No one has done, or can do anything by himself. O Nanak, through the Name, one is blessed with glorious greatness, and obtains honour in the Court of the True Lord. ||16||3|| Maaroo, Third Mehl: All who come shall have to depart. In the love of duality, they are caught by the noose of the Messenger of Death. Those humble beings who are protected by the True Guru, are saved. They merge into the Truest of the True. ||1|| The Creator Himself creates the creation, and watches over it. Thay alone are acceptable, upon whom He bestows His Glance of Grace. The Gurmukh attains spiritual wisdom, and understands everything. The ignorant ones act blindly. ||2|| The self-willed manmukh is cynical; he doesn't understand. He dies and dies again, only to be reborn, and loses his life uselessly again. The Gurmukh is imbued with the Naam, the Name of the Lord; he find peace, and is intuitively immersed in the True Lord. ||3|| Chasing after worldly affairs, the mind has become corroded and rusty. But meeting with the Perfect Guru, it is transmuted into gold once again. When the Lord Himself grants forgiveness, then peace is obtained; through the Perfect Word of the Shabad, one is united with Him. ||4|| The false and evil-minded are the most wicked of the wicked. They are the most unworthy of the unworthy. With false intellect, and insipid words of mouth, evil-minded, they do not obtain the Naam. ||5|| The unworthy soul-bride is not pleasing to her Husband Lord. False-minded, her actions are false. The foolish person does not know the excellence of her Husband Lord. Without the Guru, she does not understand at all. ||6|| The evil-minded, wicked soul-bride practices wickedness. She decorates herself, but her Husband Lord is not pleased. The virtuous soul-bride enjoys and ravishes her Husband Lord forever; the True Guru unites her in His Union. ||7|| God Himself issues the Hukam of His Command, and beholds all. Some are forgiven, according to their pre-ordained destiny. Night and day, they are imbued with the Naam, and they find the True Lord. He Himself unites them in His Union. ||8|| Egotism attaches them to the juice of emotional attachment, and makes them run around. The Gurmukh is intuitively immersed in the True Love of the Lord. He Himself unites, He Himself acts, and beholds. Without the True Guru, understanding is not obtained. ||9|| Some contemplate the Word of the Shabad; these humble beings remain always awake and aware. Some are attached to the love of Maya; these unfortunate ones remain asleep. He Himself acts, and inspires all to act; no one else can do anything. ||10|| Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, death is conquered and killed. Keep the Name of the Lord enshrined within your heart. Serving the True Guru, peace is obtained, and one merges in the Name of the Lord. ||11|| In the love of duality, the world wanders around insane. Immersed in love and attachment to Maya, it suffers in pain. Wearing all sorts of religious robes, He is not obtained. Without the True Guru, peace is not found. ||12|| Who is to blame, when He Himself does everything? As He wills, so is the path we take. He Himself is the Merciful Giver of peace; as He wills, so do we follow. ||13|| He Himself is the Creator, and He Himself is the Enjoyer. He Himself is detached, and He Himself is attached. He Himself is immaculate, compassionate, the lover of nectar; the Hukam of His Command cannot be erased. ||14|| Those who know the One Lord are very fortunate.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 060

He dwells in each and every heart, the Great Giver, the Life of the world. At the same time, He is both hidden and revealed. For the Gurmukh, doubt and fear are dispelled. ||15|| The Gurmukh knows the One, the Dear Lord. Deep within the nucleus of his inner being, is the Naam, the Name of the Lord; he realises the Word of the Shabad. He alone receives it, unto whom You give it. O Nanak, the Naam is glorious greatness. ||16||4|| Maaroo, Third Mehl: I praise the true, profound and unfathomable Lord. All the world is in His power. He enjoys all hearts forever, day and night; He Himself dwells in peace. ||1|| True is the Lord and Master, and True is His Name. By Guru's Grace, I enshrine Him in my mind. He Himself has come to dwell deep within the nucleus of my heart; the noose of death has been snapped. ||2|| Whom should I serve, and whom should I praise? I serve the True Guru, and praise the Word of the Shabad. Through the True Shabad, the intellect is exalted and ennobled forever, and the lotus deep within blossoms forth. ||3|| The body is frail and perishable, like paper. When the drop of water falls upon it, it crumbles and dissolves instantaneously. But the body of the Gurmukh, who understands, is like gold; the Naam, the Name of the Lord, dwells deep within. ||4|| Pure is that kitchen, which is enclosed by spiritual awareness. The Lord's Name is my food, and Truth is my support. Forever satisfied, sanctified and pure is that person, within whose heart the Lord's Name abides. ||5|| I am a sacrifice to those who are attached to the Truth. They sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and remain awake and aware night and day. True peace fills them forever, and their tongues savor the sublime essence of the Lord. ||6|| I remember the Lord's Name, and no other at all. I serve the One Lord, and no other at all. The Perfect Guru has revealed the whole Truth to me; I dwell in the True Name. ||7|| Wandering, wandering in reincarnation, again and again, he comes into the world. He is deluded and confused, when the Lord and Master confuses him. He meets with the Dear Lord, when, as Gurmukh, he understands; he remembers the Shabad, the Word of the immortal, eternal Lord God. ||8|| I am a sinner, overflowing with sexual desire and anger. With what mouth should I speak? I have no virtue, and I have rendered no service. I am a sinking stone; please, Lord, unite me with Yourself. Your Name is eternal and imperishable. ||9|| No one does anything; no one is able to do anything. That alone happens, which the Lord Himself does, and causes to be done. Those whom He Himself forgives, find peace; they dwell forever in the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||10|| This body is the earth, and the infinite Shabad is the seed. Deal and trade with the True Name alone. The True wealth increases; it is never exhausted, when the Naam dwells deep within. ||11|| O Dear Lord, please bless me, the worthless sinner, with virtue. Forgive me, and bless me with Your Name. One who becomes Gurmukh, is honoured; he dwells in the Name of the One Lord alone. ||12|| The wealth of the Lord is deep within one's inner being, but he does not realise it. By Guru's Grace, one comes to understand. One who becomes Gurmukh is blessed with this wealth; he lives forever in the Naam. ||13|| Fire and wind lead him into delusions of doubt.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 061

In love and attachment to Maya, he has no understanding at all. The blind, self-willed manmukh sees nothing; through the Guru's Teachings, the Naam is gloriously revealed. ||14|| The manmukhs are asleep in egotism and Maya. They do not watch over their own homes, and are ruined in the end. They slander others, and burn in great anxiety; they dwell in pain and suffering. ||15|| The Creator Himself has created the creation. He blesses the Gurmukh with understanding. O Nanak, those who are attuned to the Naam - their minds become immaculate; they dwell in the Naam, and only the Naam. ||16||5|| Maaroo, Third Mehl: I serve the One Lord, who is eternal, stable and True. Attached to duality, the whole world is false. Following the Guru's Teachings, I praise the True Lord forever, pleased with the Truest of the True. ||1|| Your Glorious Virtues are so many, Lord; I do not know even one. The Life of the world, the Great Giver, attaches us to himself. He Himself forgives, and bestows glorious greatness. Following the Guru's Teachings, this mind is delighted. ||2|| The Word of the Shabad has subdued the waves of Maya. Egotism has been conquered, and this mind has become immaculate. I intuitively sing His Glorious Praises, imbued with the Lord's Love. My tongue chants and savors the Lord's Name. ||3|| Crying out, "Mine, mine!" he spends his life. The self-willed manmukh does not understand; he wanders around in ignorance. The Messenger of Death watches over him every moment, every instant; night and day, his life is wasting away. ||4|| He practices greed within, and does not understand. He does not see the Messenger of Death hovering over his head. Whatever one does in this world, will come to face him in the hereafter; what can he do at that very last moment? ||5|| Those who are attached to the Truth are true. The self-willed manmukhs, attached to duality, weep and wail. He is the Lord and Master of both worlds; He Himself delights in virtue. ||6|| Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, His humble servant is exalted forever. This mind is enticed by the Naam, the source of nectar. It is not stained at all by the dirt of attachment to Maya; through the Guru's Teachings, it is pleased and saturated with the Lord's Name. ||7|| The One Lord is contained within all. By Guru's Grace, He is revealed. One who subdues his ego, finds lasting peace; he drinks in the Ambrosial Nectar of the True Name. ||8|| God is the Destroyer of sin and pain. The Gurmukh serves Him, and contemplates the Word of the Shabad. He Himself is pervading everything. The Gurmukh's body and mind are saturated and pleased. ||9|| The world is burning in the fire of Maya. The Gurmukh extinguishes this fire, by contemplating the Shabad. Deep within are peace and tranquility, and lasting peace is obtained. Following the Guru's Teachings, one is blessed with the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||10|| Even Indra, seated upon his throne, is caught in the fear of death. The Messenger of Death will not spare them, even though they try all sorts of things. When one meets with the True Guru, one is liberated, drinking in and savoring the sublime essence of the Lord, Har, Har. ||11|| There is no devotion within the self-willed manmukh. Through devotional worship, the Gurmukh obtains peace and tranquility. Forever pure and sanctified is the Word of the Guru's Bani; following the Guru's Teachings, one's inner being is drenched in it. ||12|| I have considered Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva. They are bound by the three qualities - the three gunas; they are far away from liberation.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 062

The Gurmukh knows the spiritual wisdom of the One Lord. Night and day, he chants the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||13|| He may read the Vedas, but he does not realise the Lord's Name. For the sake of Maya, he reads and recites and argues. The ignorant and blind person is filled with filth within. How can he cross over the impassable world-ocean? ||14|| He voices all the controversies of the Vedas, but his inner being is not saturated or satisfied, and he does not realise the Word of the Shabad. The Vedas tell all about virtue and vice, but only the Gurmukh drinks in the Ambrosial Nectar. ||15|| The One True Lord is all by Himself. There is no one else except Him. O Nanak, true is the mind of one who is attuned to the Naam; he speaks Truth, and nothing but Truth. ||16||6|| Maaroo, Third Mehl: The True Lord has established the Throne of Truth. He dwells in His own home deep within the self, where there is no emotional attachment to Maya. The True Lord dwells deep within the nucleus of the Gurmukh's heart forever; his actions are excellent. ||1|| True is his merchandise, and true is his trade. There is no doubt within him, and no expanse of duality. He has earned the true wealth, which is never exhausted. How few are those who contemplate this, and understand. ||2|| They alone are attached to the True Name, whom the Lord Himself attaches. The Word of the Shabad is deep within the nucleus of the self; good fortune is recorded upon their foreheads. Through the True Word of the Shabad, they sing the True Praises of the Lord; they are attuned to contemplative meditation on the Shabad. ||3|| I praise the True Lord, the Truest of the True. I see the One Lord, and no other. The Guru's Teachings are the ladder to reach the highest of the high. the jewel of spiritual wisdom conquers egotism. ||4|| Emotional attachment to Maya is burnt away by the Word of the Shabad. The True One comes to dwell in the mind, when it pleases You, O Lord. True are all the actions of the truthful; the thirst of egotism is subdued. ||5|| All by Himself, God created emotional attachment to Maya. How rare are those who, as Gurmukh, realise the Lord. One who becomes Gurmukh practices Truth; true and excellent are his actions. ||6|| He does those deeds which are pleasing to my God; through the Shabad, he burns away egotism and the thirst of desire. Following the Guru's Teachings, he remains forever cool and calm deep within; he conquers and subdues his ego. ||7|| Those who are attached to the Truth are pleased with everything. They are embellished with the True Word of the Shabad. Those who are true in this world, are true in the Court of the Lord. The Merciful Lord adorns them with His Mercy. ||8|| Those who are attached to duality, and not the Truth, are trapped in emotional attachment to Maya; they totally suffer in pain. Without the Guru, they do not understand pain and pleasure; attached to Maya, they suffer in terrible pain. ||9|| Those whose minds are pleased with the True Word of the Shabad act according to pre-ordained destiny. They serve the True Lord, and meditate on the True Lord; they are imbued with contemplative meditation on the True Lord. ||10|| Service to the Guru seems sweet to them. Night and day, they are intuitively immersed in celestial peace. Chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, their minds become immaculate; they love to serve the Guru. ||11|| Those humble beings are at peace, whom the True Guru attaches to the Truth. He Himself, in His Will, merges them into Himself. Those humble beings, whom the True Guru protects, are saved. The rest are ruined through emotional attachment to Maya. ||12||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 063

The Gurmukh realises the True Word of the Shabad. He has no family, and he has no mother. The One and Only Lord is pervading and permeating deep within the nucleus of all. He is the Support of all beings. ||13|| Egotism, possessiveness, and the love of duality - none of these shall go along with you; such is the pre-ordained will of our Lord and Master. Through the True Guru, practice Truth, and the True Lord shall take away your pains. ||14|| If You so bless me, then I shall find lasting peace. Through the True Word of the Shabad, I live the Truth. The True Lord is within me, and my mind and body have become True. I am blessed with the overflowing treasure of devotional worship. ||15|| He Himself watches, and issues His Command. He Himself inspires us to obey His Will. O Nanak, only those who are attuned to the Naam are detached; their minds, bodies and tongues are embellished with the Naam. ||16||7|| Maaroo, Third Mehl: He Himself created Himself, and came into being. The One Lord

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is pervading in all, remaining hidden. The Lord, the Life of the world, takes care of all. Whoever knows his own self, realises God. ||1|| He who created Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, links each and every being to its tasks. He merges into Himself, whoever is pleasing to His Will. The Gurmukh knows the One Lord. ||2|| The world is coming and going in reincarnation. Attached to Maya, it dwells on its many sins. One who realises the Word of the Guru's Shabad, praises forever the eternal, unchanging True Lord. ||3|| Some are attached to the root - they find peace. But those who are attached to the branches, waste their lives away uselessly. Those humble beings, who chant the Name of the Ambrosial Lord, produce the ambrosial fruit. ||4|| I have no virtues; what words should I speak? You see all, and weigh them on Your scale. By Your will, You preserve me, and so do I remain. The Gurmukh knows the One Lord. ||5|| According to Your Will, You link me to my true tasks. Renouncing vice, I am immersed in virtue. The One Immaculate True Lord abides in virtue; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, He is realised. ||6|| Wherever I look, there I see Him. Duality and evil-mindedness are destroyed through the Shabad. The One Lord God is immersed in His Oneness. He is attuned forever to His own delight. ||7|| The body-lotus is withering away, but the ignorant, self-willed manmukh does not understand the Shabad. By Guru's Grace, he searches his body, and finds the Great Giver, the Life of the world. ||8|| The Lord frees up the body-fortress, which was seized by sins, when one keeps the Dear Lord enshrined forever in the heart. The fruits of his desires are obtained, and he is dyed in the permanent colour of the Lord's Love. ||9|| The self-willed manmukh speaks of spiritual wisdom, but does not understand. Again and again, he comes into the world, but he finds no place of rest. The Gurmukh is spiritually wise, and praises the Lord forever. Throughout each and every age, the Gurmukh knows the One Lord. ||10|| All the deeds which the manmukh does bring pain - nothing but pain. The Word of the Shabad is not within him; how can he go to the Court of the Lord? The True Shabad dwells deep within the mind of the Gurmukh; he serves the Giver of peace forever. ||11||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 064

Wherever I look, I see You, everywhere. Through the Perfect Guru, all this is known. I meditate forever and ever on the Naam; this mind is imbued with the Naam. ||12|| Imbued with the Naam, the body is sanctified. Without the Naam, they are drowned and die without water. They come and go, but do not understand the Naam. Some, as Gurmukh, realise the Word of the Shabad. ||13|| The Perfect True Guru has imparted this understanding. Without the Name, no one attains liberation. Through the Naam, the Name of the Lord, one is blessed with glorious greatness; he remains intuitively attuned to the Lord's Love. ||14|| The body-village crumbles and collapses into a pile of dust. Without the Shabad, the cycle of reincarnation is not brought to an end. One who knows the One Lord, through the True Guru, praises the True Lord, and remains immersed in the True Lord. ||15|| The True Word of the Shabad comes to dwell in the mind, when the Lord bestows His Glance of Grace. O Nanak, those who are attuned to the Naam, the Name of the Formless Lord, realise the True Lord in His True Court. ||16||8|| Maaroo, Solhay, Third Mehl: O Creator, it is You Yourself who does all. All beings and creatures are under Your Protection. You are hidden, and yet permeating within all; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, You are realised. ||1|| Devotion to the Lord is a treasure overflowing. He Himself blesses us with contemplative meditation on the Shabad. You do whatever You please; my mind is attuned to the True Lord. ||2|| You Yourself are the priceless diamond and jewel. In Your Mercy, You weigh with Your scale. All beings and creatures are under Your protection. One who is blessed by Your Grace realises his own self. ||3|| One who receives Your Mercy, O Primal Lord, does not die, and is not reborn; he is released from the cycle of reincarnation. He sings the Glorious Praises of the True Lord, day and night, and, throughout the ages, he knows the One Lord. ||4|| Emotional attachment to Maya wells up throughout the whole world, from Brahma, Vishnu and all the demi-gods. Those who are pleasing to Your Will, are attached to the Naam; through spiritual wisdom and understanding, You are recognised. ||5|| The world is engrossed in vice and virtue. Happiness and misery are totally loaded with pain. One who becomes Gurmukh finds peace; such a Gurmukh recognises the Naam. ||6|| No one can erase the record of one's actions. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, one finds the door of salvation. One who conquers self-conceit and recognises the Lord, obtains the fruits of his pre-destined rewards. ||7|| Emotionally attached to Maya, one's consciousness is not attached to the Lord. In the love of duality, he will suffer terrible agony in the world hereafter. The hypocritical, self-willed manmukhs are deluded by doubt; at the very last moment, they regret and repent. ||8|| In accordance with the Lord's Will, he sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. He is rid of all sins, and all suffering. The Lord is immaculate, and immaculate is the Word of His Bani. My mind is imbued with the Lord. ||9|| One who is blessed with the Lord's Glance of Grace, obtains the Lord, the treasure of virtue. Egotism and possessiveness are brought to an end. The One Lord is the only Giver of virtue and vice, merits and demerits; how rare are those who, as Gurmukh, understand this. ||10|| My God is immaculate, and utterly infinite. God unites with Himself, through contemplation of the Word of the Guru's Shabad.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 065

He Himself forgives, and implants the Truth. The mind and body are then attuned to the True Lord. ||11|| Within the polluted mind and body is the Light of the Infinite Lord. One who understands the Guru's Teachings, contemplates this. Conquering egotism, the mind becomes immaculate forever; with his tongue, he serves the Lord, the Giver of peace. ||12|| In the fortress of the body there are many shops and bazaars; within them is the Naam, the Name of the utterly infinite Lord. In His Court, one is embellished forever with the Word of the Guru's Shabad; he conquers egotism and realises the Lord. ||13|| The jewel is priceless, inaccessible and infinite. How can the poor wretch estimate its worth? Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, it is weighed, and so the Shabad is realised deep within. ||14|| The great volumes of the Simritees and the Shaastras only extend the extension of attachment to Maya. The fools read them, but do not understand the Word of the Shabad. How rare are those who, as Gurmukh, understand. ||15|| The Creator Himself acts, and causes all to act. Through the True Word of His Bani, Truth is implanted deep within. O Nanak, through the Naam, one is blessed with glorious greatness, and throughout the ages, the One Lord is known. ||16||9|| Maaroo, Third Mehl: Serve the True Creator Lord. The Word of the Shabad is the Destroyer of pain. He is inaccessible and unfathomable; He cannot be evaluated. He Himself is inaccessible and immeasurable. ||1|| The True Lord Himself makes Truth pervasive. He attaches some humble beings to the Truth. They serve the True Lord and practice Truth; through the Name, they are absorbed in the True Lord. ||2|| The Primal Lord unites His devotees in His Union. He attaches them to true devotional worship. One who sings forever the Glorious Praises of the Lord, through the True Word of His Bani, earns the profit of this life. ||3|| The Gurmukh trades, and understands his own self. He knows no other than the One Lord. True is the banker, and True are His traders, who buy the merchandise of the Naam. ||4|| He Himself fashions and creates the Universe. He inspires a few to realise the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Those humble beings who serve the True Guru are true. He snaps the noose of death from around their necks. ||5|| He destroys, creates, embellishes and fashions all beings, and attaches them to duality, attachment and Maya. The self-willed manmukhs wander around forever, acting blindly. Death has strung his noose around their necks. ||6|| He Himself forgives, and enjoins us to serve the Guru. Through the Guru's Teachings, the Naam comes to dwell within the mind. Night and day, meditate on the Naam, the Name of the True Lord, and earn the profit of the Naam in this world. ||7|| He Himself is True, and True is His Name. The Gurmukh bestows it, and enshrines it within the mind. Noble and exalted are those, within whose mind the Lord abides. Their heads are free of strife. ||8|| He is inaccessible and unfathomable; His value cannot be appraised. By Guru's Grace, He dwells within the mind. No one calls that person to account, who praises the Word of the Shabad, the Giver of virtue. ||9|| Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva serve Him. Even they cannot find the limits of the unseen, unknowable Lord. Those who are blessed by Your Glance of Grace, become Gurmukh, and comprehend the incomprehensible. ||10||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 066

The Perfect True Guru has imparted this understanding. I have enshrined the Naam, the One Name, within my mind. I chant the Naam, and meditate on the Naam. Singing His Glorious Praises, I enter the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. ||11|| The servant serves, and obeys the Command of the Infinite Lord. The self-willed manmukhs do not know the value of the Lord's Command. By the Hukam of the Lord's Command, one is exalted; by His Hukam, one is glorified; by His Hukam, one becomes carefree. ||12|| By Guru's Grace, one recognises the Lord's Hukam. The wandering mind is restrained, and brought back to the home of the One Lord. Imbued with the Naam, one remains forever detached; the jewel of the Naam rests within the mind. ||13|| The One Lord is pervasive throughout all the world. By Guru's Grace, He is revealed. Those humble beings who praise the Shabad are immaculate; they dwell within the home of their own inner self. ||14|| The devotees abide forever in Your Sanctuary, Lord. You are inaccessible and unfathomable; Your value cannot be estimated. As it pleases Your Will, You keep us; the Gurmukh meditates on the Naam. ||15|| Forever and ever, I sing Your Glorious Praises. O my True Lord and Master, may I become pleasing to Your Mind. Nanak offers this true prayer: O Lord, please bless me with Truth, that I may merge in the Truth. ||16||1||10|| Maaroo, Third Mehl: Those who serve the True Guru are very fortunate. Night and day, they remain lovingly attuned to the True Name. The Lord, the Giver of peace, abides forever deep within their hearts; they delight in the True Word of the Shabad. ||1|| When the Lord grants His Grace, one meets with the Guru. The Name of the Lord is enshrined within the mind. The Lord, the Giver of peace, abides forever within the mind; the mind is delighted with the Word of the Shabad. ||2|| When the Lord bestows His Mercy, He unites in His Union. Egotism and attachment are burned away by the Shabad. In the Love of the One Lord, one remains liberated forever; he is not in conflict with anyone. ||3|| Without serving the True Guru, there is only pitch-black darkness. Without the Shabad, no one crosses over to the other side. Those who are imbued with the Shabad, are very detached. They earn the profit of the True Word of the Shabad. ||4|| Pain and pleasure are pre-ordained by the Creator. He Himself has caused the love of duality to be pervasive. One who becomes Gurmukh remains detached; how can anyone trust the self-willed manmukh? ||5|| Those who do not recognise the Shabad are manmukhs. They do not know the essence of the Fear of the Guru. Without this Fear, how can anyone find the Fearless True Lord? The Messenger of Death will pull the breath out. ||6|| The invulnerable Messenger of Death cannot be killed. The Word of the Guru's Shabad prevents him from approaching. When he hears the Word of the Shabad, he runs far away. He is afraid that the self-sufficient Dear Lord will kill him. ||7|| The Dear Lord is the Ruler above all. What can this wretched Messenger of Death do? As slave to the Hukam of the Lord's Command, the mortal acts according to His Hukam. According to His Hukam, he is deprived of his breath. ||8|| The Gurmukh realises that the True Lord created the creation. The Gurmukh knows that the Lord has expanded the entire expanse. One who becomes Gurmukh, understands the True Lord. Through the True Word of the Shabad, he finds peace. ||9|| The Gurmukh knows that the Lord is the Architect of karma.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 067

Throughout the four ages, he recognises the Word of the Guru's Shabad. The Gurmukh does not die, the Gurmukh is not reborn; the Gurmukh is immersed in the Shabad. ||10|| The Gurmukh praises the Naam, and the Shabad. God is inaccessible, unfathomable and self-sufficient. The Naam, the Name of the One Lord, saves and redeems throughout the four ages. Through the Shabad, one trades in the Naam. ||11|| The Gurmukh obtains eternal peace and tranquility. The Gurmukh enshrines the Naam within his heart. One who becomes Gurmukh recognises the Naam, and the noose of evil-mindedness is snapped. ||12|| The Gurmukh wells up from, and then merges back into Truth. He does not die and take birth, and is not consigned to reincarnation. The Gurmukh remains forever imbued with the colour of the Lord's Love. Night and day, he earns a profit. ||13|| The Gurmukhs, the devotees, are exalted and beautified in the Court of the Lord. They are embellished with the True Word of His Bani, and the Word of the Shabad. Night and day, they sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, day and night, and they intuitively go to their own home. ||14|| The Perfect True Guru proclaims the Shabad; night and day, remain lovingly attuned to devotional worship. One who sings forever the Glorious Praises of the Lord, becomes immaculate; Immaculate are the Glorious Praises of the Sovereign Lord . ||15|| The True Lord is the Giver of virtue. How rare are those who, as Gurmukh, understand this. Servant Nanak praises the Naam; he blossoms forth in the ecstasy of the Name of the self-sufficient Lord. ||16||2||11|| Maaroo, Third Mehl: Serve the Dear Lord, the inaccessible and infinite. He has no end or limitation. By Guru's Grace, one who dwells upon the Lord deep within his heart - his heart is filled with infinite wisdom. ||1|| The One Lord is pervading and permeating amidst all. By Guru's Grace, He is revealed. The Life of the world nurtures and cherishes all, giving sustenance to all. ||2|| The Perfect True Guru has imparted this understanding. By the Hukam of His Command, He created the entire Universe. Whoever submits to His Command, finds peace; His Command is above the heads of kings and emperors. ||3|| True is the True Guru. Infinite is the Word of His Shabad. Through His Shabad, the world is saved. The Creator Himself created the creation; He gazes upon it, and blesses it with breath and nourishment. ||4|| Out of millions, only a few understand. Imbued with the Word of the Guru's Shabad, they are coloured in His Love. They praise the Lord, the Giver of peace forever; the Lord forgives His devotees, and blesses them with His Praise. ||5|| Those humble beings who serve the True Guru are true. The falsest of the false die, only to be reborn. The inaccessible, unfathomable, self-sufficient, incomprehensible Lord is the Lover of His devotees. ||6|| The Perfect True Guru implants Truth within. Through the True Word of the Shabad, they sing His Glorious Praises forever. The Giver of virtue is pervading deep within the nucleus of all beings; He inscribes the time of destiny upon each and every person's head. ||7|| The Gurmukh knows that God is always ever-present. That humble being who serves the Shabad, is comforted and fulfilled. Night and day, he serves the True Word of the Guru's Bani; he delights

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in the True Word of the Shabad. ||8|| The ignorant and blind cling to all sorts of rituals. They stubborn-mindedly perform these rituals, and are consigned to reincarnation.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 068

For the sake of poison, they act in greed and possessiveness, and evil-minded duality. ||9|| The Perfect True Guru implants devotional worship within. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, he lovingly centres his consciousness on the Lord's Name. The Lord pervades his mind, body and heart; deep within, his mind is drenched with devotional worship and praise of the Lord. ||10|| My True Lord God is the Destroyer of demons. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, His devotees are saved. My True Lord God is forever True. He is the Emperor over the heads of kings. ||11|| True are those devotees, who are pleasing to Your Mind. They sing the Kirtan of His Praises at His Door; they are embellished and exalted by the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Night and day, they sing the True Word of His Bani. The Naam is the wealth of the poor. ||12|| Those whom You unite, Lord, are never separated again. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, they praise You forever. You are the One Lord and Master over all. Through the Shabad, the Naam is praised. ||13|| Without the Shabad, no one knows You. You Yourself speak the Unspoken Speech. You Yourself are the Shabad forever, the Guru, the Great Giver; chanting the Lord's Name, You bestow Your treasure. ||14|| You Yourself are the Creator of the Universe. No one can erase what You have written. You Yourself bless the Gurmukh with the Naam, who is no longer skeptical, and is not held to account. ||15|| Your true devotees stand at the Door of Your Court. They serve the Shabad with love and affection. O Nanak, those who are attuned to the Naam remain detached; through the Naam, their affairs are resolved. ||16||3||12|| Maaroo, Third Mehl: My True Lord God has staged a play. He has created no one like anyone else. He made them different, and he gazes upon them with pleasure; he placed all the flavors in the body. ||1|| You Yourself vibrate the beat of the breath. Shiva and Shakti, energy and matter - You have placed them into the body. By Guru's Grace, one turns away from the world, and attains the jewel of spiritual wisdom, and the Word of the Shabad. ||2|| He Himself created darkness and light. He alone is pervasive; there is no other at all. One who realises his own self - by Guru's Grace, the lotus of his mind blossoms forth. ||3|| Only He Himself knows His depth and extent. Other people can only listen and hear what is spoken and said. One who is spiritually wise, understands himself as Gurmukh; he praises the True Lord. ||4|| Deep within the body is the priceless object. He Himself opens the doors. The Gurmukh intuitively drings in the Ambrosial Nectar, and the fire of desire is quenched. ||5|| He placed all the flavors within the body. How rare are those who understand, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad. So search within yourself, and praise the Shabad. Why run around outside your self? ||6|| Without tasting, no one enjoys the flavor. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, one drinks in the Ambrosial Nectar. The Ambrosial Nectar is drunk, and the immoral status is obtained, when one obtains the sublime essence of the Guru's Shabad. ||7|| One who realises himself, knows all virtues.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 069

Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, he chants the Name of the Lord. Night and day, he remains imbued with the Naam, day and night; he is rid of emotional attachment to Maya. ||8|| Serving the Guru, all things are obtained; egotism, possessiveness and self-conceit are taken away. The Lord, the Giver of peace Himself grants His Grace; He exalts and adorns with the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||9|| The Guru's Shabad is the Ambrosial Bani. Night and day, chant the Name of the Lord. That heart becomes immaculate, which is filled with the True Lord, Har, Har. ||10|| His servants serve, and praise His Shabad. Imbued forever with the colour of His Love, they sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. He Himself forgives, and unites them with the Shabad; the fragrance of sandalwood permeates their minds. ||11|| Through the Shabad, they speak the Unspoken, and praise the Lord. My True Lord God is self-sufficient. The Giver of virtue Himself unites them with the Shabad; they enjoy the sublime essence of the Shabad. ||12|| The confused, self-willed manmukhs find no place of rest. They do those deeds which they are pre-destined to do. Imbued with poison, they search out poison, and suffer the pains of death and rebirth. ||13|| He Himself praises Himself. Your Glorious Virtues are within You alone, God. You Yourself are True, and True is the Word of Your Bani. You Yourself are invisible and unknowable. ||14|| Without the Guru, the Giver, no one finds the Lord, though one may make hundreds of thousands and millions of attempts. By Guru's Grace, He dwells deep within the heart; through the Shabad, praise the True Lord. ||15|| They alone meet Him, whom the Lord unites with Himself. They are adorned and exalted with the True Word of His Bani, and the Shabad. Servant Nanak continually sings the Glorious Praises of the True Lord; singing His Glories, he is immersed in the Glorious Lord of Virtue. ||16||4||13|| Maaroo, Third Mehl: The One Lord is eternal and unchanging, forever True. Through the Perfect Guru, this understanding is obtained. Those who are drenched with the sublime essence of the Lord, meditate forever on Him; following the Guru's Teachings, they obtain the armor of humility. ||1|| Deep within, they love the True Lord forever. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, they love the Lord's Name. The Naam, the embodiment of the nine treasures, abides within their hearts; they renounce the profit of Maya. ||2|| Both the king and his subjects are involved in evil-mindedness and duality. Without serving the True Guru, they do not become one with the Lord. Those who meditate on the One Lord find eternal peace. Their power is eternal and unfailing. ||3|| No one can save them from coming and going. Birth and death come from Him. The Gurmukh meditates forever on the True Lord. Emancipation and liberation are obtained from Him. ||4|| Truth and self-control are found through the Door of the True Guru. Egotism and anger are silenced through the Shabad. Serving the True Guru, lasting peace is found; humility and contentment all come from Him. ||5|| Out of egotism and attachment, the Universe welled up. Forgetting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, all the world perishes. Without serving the True Guru, the Naam is not obtained. The Naam is the True profit in this world. ||6|| True is His Will, beauteous and pleasing through the Word of the Shabad. The Panch Shabad, the five primal sounds, vibrate and resonate.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 070

Through the True Name, one's actions are forever embellished. Without the Shabad, what can anyone do? ||7|| One instant, he laughs, and the next instant, he cries. Because of duality and evil-mindedness, his affairs are not resolved. Union and separation are pre-ordained by the Creator. Actions already committed cannot be taken back. ||8|| One who lives the Word of the Guru's Shabad becomes Jivan Mukta - liberated while yet alive. He remains forever immersed in the Lord. By Guru's Grace, one is blessed with glorious greatness; he is not afflicted by the disease of egotism. ||9|| Eating tasty delicacies, he fattens up his body and wears religious robes, but he does not live to the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Deep with the nucleus of his being is the great disease; he suffers terrible pain, and eventually sinks into the manure. ||10|| He reads and studies the Vedas, and argues about them; God is within his own heart, but he does not recognise the Word of the Shabad. One who becomes Gurmukh churns the essence of reality; his tongue savors the sublime essence of the Lord. ||11|| Those who forsake the object within their own hearts, wander outside. The blind, self-willed manmukhs do not taste the flavor of God. Imbued with the taste of another, their tongues speak tasteless, insipid words. They never taste the sublime essence of the Lord. ||12|| The self-willed manmukh has doubt as his spouse. He dies of evil-mindedness, and suffers forever. His mind is attached to sexual desire, anger and duality, and he does not find peace, even in dreams. ||13|| The body becomes golden, with the Word of the Shabad as its spouse. Night and day, enjoy the enjoyments, and be in love with the Lord. Deep within the mansion of the self, one finds the Lord, who transcends this mansion. Realising His Will, we merge in Him. ||14|| The Great Giver Himself gives. No one has any power to stand against Him. He Himself forgives, and unites us with the Shabad; The Word of His Shabad is unfathomable. ||15|| Body and soul, all belong to Him. The True Lord is my only Lord and Master. O Nanak, through the Word of the Guru's Bani, I have found the Lord. Chanting the Lord's Chant, I merge in Him. ||16||5||14|| Maaroo, Third Mehl: The Gurmukh contemplates the sound current of the Naad instead of the Vedas. The Gurmukh attains infinite spiritual wisdom and meditation. The Gurmukh acts in harmony with God's Will; the Gurmukh finds perfection. ||1|| The mind of the Gurmukh turns away from the world. The Gurmukh vibrates the Naad, the sound current of the Guru's Bani. The Gurmukh, attuned to the Truth, remains detached, and dwells in the home of the self deep within. ||2|| I speak the Ambrosial Teachings of the Guru. I lovingly chant the Truth, through the True Word of the Shabad. My mind remains forever imbued with the Love of the True Lord. I am immersed in the Truest of the True. ||3|| Immaculate and pure is the mind of the Gurmukh, who bathes in the Pool of Truth. No filth attaches to him; he merges in the True Lord. He truly practices Truth forever; true devotion is implanted within him. ||4|| True is the speech of the Gurmukh; true are the eyes of the Gurmukh. The Gurmukh practices and lives the Truth. He speaks the Truth forever, day and night, and inspires others to speak the Truth. ||5|| True and exalted is the speech of the Gurmukh. The Gurmukh speaks Truth, only Truth. The Gurmukh serves the Truest of the True forever; the Gurmukh proclaims the Word of the Shabad. ||6||

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One who becomes Gurmukh understands. He rids himself of egotism, Maya and doubt. He ascends the sublime, exalted ladder of the Guru, and he sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord at His True Door. ||7|| The Gurmukh practices true self-control, and acts in excellence. The Gurmukh obtains the gate of salvation. Through loving devotion, he remains forever imbued with the Lord's Love; eradicating self-conceit, he merges in the Lord. ||8|| One who becomes Gurmukh examines his own mind, and instructs others. He is lovingly attuned to the True Name forever. They act in harmony with the Mind of the True Lord. ||9|| As it pleases His Will, He unites us with the True Guru. As it pleases His Will, He comes to dwell within the mind. As it pleases His Will, He imbues us with His Love; as it pleases His Will, He comes to dwell in the mind. ||10|| Those who act stubborn-mindedly are destroyed. Wearing all sorts of religious robes, they do not please the Lord. Tinged by corruption, they earn only pain; they are immersed in pain. ||11|| One who becomes Gurmukh earns peace. He comes to understand death and birth. One who looks alike upon death and birth, is pleasing to my God. ||12|| The Gurmukh, while remaining dead, is respected and approved. He realises that coming and going are according to God's Will. He does not die, he is not reborn, and he does not suffer in pain; his mind merges in the Mind of God. ||13|| Very fortunate are those who find the True Guru. They eradicate egotism and attachment from within. Their minds are immaculate, and they are never again stained with filth. They are honoured at the Door of the True Court. ||14|| He Himself acts, and inspires all to act. He Himself watches over all; He establishes and disestablishes. The service of the Gurmukh is pleasing to my God; one who listens to the Truth is approved. ||15|| The Gurmukh practices Truth, and only Truth. The Gurmukh is immaculate; no filth attaches to him. O Nanak, those who contemplate the Naam are imbued with it. They merge in the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||16||1||15|| Maaroo, Third Mehl: He Himself fashioned the Universe, through the Hukam of His Command. He Himself establishes and disestablishes, and embellishes with grace. The True Lord Himself administers all justice; through Truth, we merge in the True Lord. ||1|| The body takes the form of a fortress. Emotional attachment to Maya has expanded throughout its expanse. Without the Word of the Shabad, the body is reduced to a pile of ashes; in the end, dust mingles with dust. ||2|| The body is the infinite fortress of gold; it is permeated by the Infinite Word of the Shabad. The Gurmukh sings the Glorious Praises of the True Lord forever; meeting his Beloved, he finds peace. ||3|| The body is the temple of the Lord; the Lord Himself embellishes it. The Dear Lord dwells within it. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the merchants trade, and in His Grace, the Lord merges them with Himself. ||4|| He alone is pure, who eradicates anger. He realises the Shabad, and reforms himself. The Creator Himself acts, and inspires all to act; He Himself abides in the mind. ||5|| Pure and unique is devotional worship. The mind and body are washed clean, contemplating the Shabad.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 072

One who remains forever imbued with His Love, night and day - in His Mercy, the Lord inspires him to perform devotional worship service. ||6|| In this temple of the mind, the mind wanders around. Discarding joy like straw, it suffers in terrible pain. Without meeting the True Guru, it finds no place of rest; He Himself has staged this play. ||7|| He Himself is infinite; He contemplates Himself. He Himself bestows Union through actions of excellence. What can the poor creatures do? Granting forgiveness, He unites them with Himself. ||8|| The Perfect Lord Himself unites them with the True Guru. Through the True Word of the Shabad, he makes them brave spiritual heroes. Uniting them with Himself, He bestows glorious greatness; He inspires them to focus their consciousness on the True Lord. ||9|| The True Lord is deep within the heart. How rare are those who, as Gurmukh, realise this. The treasure of the Naam abides deep within their hearts; they meditate on the Naam with their tongues. ||10|| He wanders through foreign lands, but does not look within himself. Attached to Maya, he is bound and gagged by the Messenger of Death. The noose of death around his neck will never be untied; in the love of duality, he wanders in reincarnation. ||11|| There is no real chanting, meditation, penance or self-control, as long as one does not live to the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Accepting the Word of the Guru's Shabad, one obtains Truth; through Truth, one merges in the True Lord. ||12|| Sexual desire and anger are very powerful in the world. They lead to all sorts of actions, but these only add to all the pain. Those who serve the True Guru find peace; they are united with the True Shabad. ||13|| Air, water and fire make up the body. Emotional attachment to Maya rules deep within all. When one realises the One who created him, emotional attachment to Maya is dispelled. ||14|| Some are engrossed in emotional attachment to Maya and pride. They are self-conceited and egotistical. They never think about the Messenger of Death; in the end, they leave, regretting and repenting. ||15|| He alone knows the Way, who created it. The Gurmukh, who is blessed with the Shabad, realises Him. Slave Nanak offers ths prayer; O Lord, let my consciousness be attached to the True Name. ||16||2||16|| Maaroo, Third Mehl: From the very beginning of time, and throughout the ages, the Merciful Lord has been the Great

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Giver. Through the Shabad, the Word of the Perfect Guru, He is realised. Those who serve You are immersed in You. You unite them in Union with Yourself. ||1|| You are inaccessible and unfathomable; Your limits cannot be found. All beings and creatures seek Your Sanctuary. As is pleases Your Will, You guide us along; You Yourself place us on the Path. ||2|| The True Lord is, and shall always be. He Himself creates - there is no other at all. The Giver of peace takes care of all; He Himself sustains them. ||3|| You are inaccessible, unfathomable, invisible and infinite; no one knows Your extent. You Yourself realise Yourself. Through the Guru's Teachings, You reveal Yourself. ||4|| Your Almighty Command prevails throughout the nether worlds, realms and worlds of form.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 073

By the Hukam of Your Command, You create, and by Your Command, You destroy. By Your Command, You unite in Union. ||5|| One who realises Your Command, praises Your Command. You are Inaccessible, Unfathomable and Self-Sufficient. As is the understanding You give, so do I become. You Yourself reveal the Shabad. ||6|| Night and day, the days of our lives wear away. Night and day both bear witness to this loss. The blind, foolish, self-willed manmukh is not aware of this; death is hovering over his head. ||7|| The mind and body are cooled and soothed, holding tight to the Guru's Feet. Doubt is eliminated from within, and fear runs away. One is in bliss forever, singing the Glorious Praises of the True Lord, and speaking the True Word of His Bani. ||8|| One who knows You as the Architect of Karma, has the good fortune of perfect destiny, and recognises the Word of the Guru's Shabad. The Lord, the Truest of the True, is his social class and honour. Conquering his ego, he is united with the Lord. ||9|| The stubborn and insensitive mind is attached to the love of duality. Deluded by doubt, the unfortunate wander around in confusion. But if they are blessed by God's Grace, they serve the True Guru, and easily obtain peace. ||10|| He Himself created the 8.4 million species of beings. Only in this human life, is devotional worship to the Guru implanted within. Without devotion, one lives in manure; he falls into manure again and again. ||11|| If one is blessed with His Grace, devotional worship to the Guru is implanted within. Without God's Grace, how can anyone find Him? The Creator Himself acts, and inspires all to act; as He wills, he leads us on. ||12|| The Simritees and the Shaastras do not know His limits. The blind fool does not recognise the essence of reality. The Creator Himself acts, and inspires all to act; He Himself deludes with doubt. ||13|| He Himself causes everything to be done. He Himself joins each and every person to his tasks. He Himself establishes and disestablishes, and watches over all; He reveals Himself to the Gurmukh. ||14|| The True Lord and Master is profoundly deep and unfathomable. Praising Him forever, the mind is comforted and consoled. He is inaccessible and unfathomable; His value cannot be estimated. He dwells in the mind of the Gurmukh. ||15|| He Himself is detached; all others are entangled in their affairs. By Guru's Grace, one comes to understand Him. O Nanak, the Naam, the Name of the Lord, comes to dwell deep within the heart; through the Guru's Teachings, one is united in His Union. ||16||3||17|| Maaroo, Third Mehl: For thirty-six ages, utter darkness prevailed. Only You Yourself know this, O Creator Lord. What can anyone else say? What can anyone explain? Only You Yourself can estimate Your worth. ||1|| The One Universal Creator created the entire Universe. All the plays and dramas are to Your glory and greatness. The True Lord Himself makes all distinctions; He Himself breaks and builds. ||2|| The Juggler has staged His juggling show. Through the Perfect Guru, one comes to behold it. One who remains forever detached in the Word of the Guru's Shabad - his consciousness is attuned to the True Lord. ||3|| The musical instruments of the body vibrate and resound. The Player Himself plays them. The breath flows equally through the hearts of each and every being. Receiving the breath, all the instruments sing. ||4||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 074

Whatever the Creator does, surely comes to pass. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, egotism is consumed. By Guru's Grace, some are blessed with glorious greatness; they meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||5|| There is no other profit as great as service to the Guru. The Naam abides within my mind, and I praise the Naam. The Naam is forever the Giver of peace. Through the Naam, we earn the profit. ||6|| Without the Name, all the world suffers in misery. The more actions one does, the more the corruption increases. Without serving the Naam, how can anyone find peace? Without the Naam, one suffers in pain. ||7|| He Himself acts, and inspires all to act. By Guru's Grace, He reveals Himself to a few. One who becomes Gurmukh breaks his bonds, and attains the home of liberation. ||8|| One who calculates his accounts, burns in the world. His skepticism and corruption are never dispelled. One who becomes Gurmukh abandons his calculations; through Truth, we merge in the True Lord. ||9|| If God grants Truth, then we may attain it. By Guru's Grace, it is revealed. One who praises the True Name, and remains imbued with the Lord's Love, by Guru's Grace, finds peace. ||10|| The Beloved Naam, the Name of the Lord, is chanting, meditation, penance and self-control. God, the Destroyer, destroys sins. Through the Name of the Lord, the body and mind are cooled and soothed, and one is intuitively, easily absorbed into the Celestial Lord. ||11|| With greed within them, their minds are filthy, and they spread filth around. They do filthy deeds, and suffer in pain. They deal in falsehood, and nothing but falsehood; telling lies, they suffer in pain. ||12|| Rare is that person who enshrines the Immaculate Bani of the Guru's Word within his mind. By Guru's Grace, his skepticism is removed. He walks in harmony with the Guru's Will, day and night; remembering the Naam, the Name of the Lord, he finds peace. ||13|| The True Lord Himself is the Creator. He Himself creates and destroys. One who becomes Gurmukh, praises the Lord forever. Meeting the True Lord, he finds peace. ||14|| Making countless efforts, sexual desire is not overcome. Everyone is burning in the fires of sexuality and anger. Serving the True Guru, one brings his mind under control; conquering his mind, he merges in the Mind of God. ||15|| You Yourself created the sense of 'mine' and 'yours.' All creatures are Yours; You created all beings. O Nanak, contemplate the Naam forever; through the Guru's Teachings, the Lord abides in the mind. ||16||4||18|| Maaroo, Third Mehl: The Dear Lord is the Giver, inaccessible and unfathomable. He does not have even an iota of greed; He is self-sufficient. No one can reach up to Him; He Himself unites in His Union. ||1|| Whatever He does, surely comes to pass. There is no other Giver, except for Him. Whoever the Lord blesses with His gift, obtains it. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, He unites him with Himself. ||2|| The fourteen worlds are Your markets. The True Guru reveals them, along with one's inner being. One who deals in the Name, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, obtains it. ||3||

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Serving the True Guru, one obtains intuitive bliss. The Lord of the Universe comes to dwell within the heart. He intuitively practices devotional worship day and night; God Himself practices devotional worship. ||4|| Those who are separated from the True Guru, suffer in misery. Night and day, they are punished, and they suffer in total agony. Their faces are blackened, and they do not obtain the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. They suffer in sorrow and agony. ||5|| Those who serve the True Guru are very fortunate. They intuitively enshrine love for the True Lord. They practice Truth, forever Truth; they are united in Union with the True Lord. ||6|| He alone obtains the Truth, unto whom the True Lord gives it. His inner being is filled with Truth, and his doubt is dispelled. The True Lord Himself is the Giver of Truth; he alone obtains the Truth, unto whom He gives it. ||7|| He Himself is the Creator of all. Only one whom He instructs, understands Him. He Himself forgives, and grants glorious greatness. He himself unites in His Union. ||8|| Acting egotistically, one loses his life. Even in the world hereafter, emotioal attachment to Maya does not leave him. In the world hereafter, the Messenger of Death calls him to account, and crushes him like sesame seeds in the oil-press. ||9|| By perfect destiny, one serves the Guru. If God grants His Grace, then one serves. The Messenger of Death cannot even approach him, and in the Mansion of the True Lord's Presence, he finds peace. ||10|| They alone find peace, who are pleasing to Your Will. By perfect destiny, they are attached to the Guru's service. All glorious greatness rests in Your Hands; he alone obtains it, unto whom You give it. ||11|| Through the Guru, one's inner being is enlightened and illumined. The wealth of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, comes to dwell in the mind. The jewel of spiritual wisdom ever illumines the heart, and the darkness of spiritual ignorance is dispelled. ||12|| The blind and ignorant are attached to duality. The unfortunates are drowned without water, and die. When they depart from the world, they do not find the Lord's door and home; bound and gagged at Death's door, they suffer in pain. ||13|| Without serving the True Guru, no one finds liberation. Go ask any spiritual teacher or meditator. Whoever serves the True Guru is blessed with glorious greatness, and honoured in the Court of the True Lord. ||14|| One who serves the True Guru, the Lord merges into Himself. Cutting away attachment, one lovingly focuses on the True Lord. The merchants deal forever in Truth; they earn the profit of the Naam. ||15|| The Creator Himself acts, and inspires all to act. He alone is liberated, who dies in the Word of the Shabad. O Nanak, the Naam dwells deep within the mind; meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||16||5||19|| Maaroo, Third Mehl: Whatever You do, is done. How rare are those who walk in harmony with the Lord's Will. One who surrenders to the Lord's Will finds peace; he finds peace in the Lord's Will. ||1|| Your Will is pleasing to the Gurmukh. Practicing Truth, he intuitively finds peace. Many long to walk in harmony with the Lord's Will; He Himself inspires us to surrender to His Will. ||2|| One who surrenders to Your Will, meets with You, Lord.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 076

One who is pleased with Your Will is immersed in You. Glorious greatness rests in God's Will; rare are those who accept it. ||3|| When it pleases His Will, He leads us to meet the Guru. The Gurmukh finds the treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. By Your Will, You created the whole Universe; those whom You bless with Your favor are pleased with Your Will. ||4|| The blind, self-willed manmukhs practice cleverness. They do not surrender to the Lord's Will, and suffer terrible pain. Deluded by doubt, they come and go in reincarnation; they never find the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. ||5|| The True Guru brings Union, and grants glorious greatness. The Primal Lord ordained service to the True Guru. Serving the True Guru, the Naam is obtained. Through the Naam, one finds peace. ||6|| Everything wells up from the Naam, and through the Naam, perishes. By Guru's Grace, the mind and body are pleased with the Naam. Meditating on the Naam, the tongue is drenched with the Lord's sublime essence. Through this essence, the Essence is obtained. ||7|| Rare are those who find the Mansion of the Lord's Presence within the mansion of their own body. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, they lovingly focus their consciousness on the True Lord. Whoever the Lord blesses with Truth obtains Truth; he merges in Truth, and only Truth. ||8|| Forgetting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the mind and body suffer in pain. Attached to the love of Maya, he earns nothing but disease. Without the Name, his mind and body are afflicted with leprosy, and he obtains his home in hell. ||9|| Those who are imbued with the Naam - their bodies are immaculate and pure. Their soul-swan is immaculate, and in the Lord's Love, they find eternal peace. Praising the Naam, they find eternal peace, and dwell in the home of their own inner being. ||10|| Everyone deals and trades. Without the Name, all the world loses. Naked they come, and naked they go; without the Name, they suffer in pain. ||11|| He alone obtains the Naam, unto whom the Lord gives it. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the Lord comes to dwell in the mind. By Guru's Grace, the Naam dwells deep within the heart, and one meditates upon the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||12|| Everyone who comes into the world, longs for the Name. They alone are blessed with the Name, whose past actions were so ordained by the Primal Lord. Those who obtain the Name are very fortunate. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, they are united with God. ||13|| Utterly incomparable is the fortress of the body. Within it, God sits in contemplation. He administers true justice, and trades in Truth; through Him, one finds the eternal, unchanging dwelling. ||14|| Deep within the inner self are glorious homes and beautiful places. But rare is that person who, as Gurmukh, finds these places. If one stays in these places, and praises the True Lord, the True Lord comes to dwell in the mind. ||15|| My Creator Lord has formed this formation. He has placed everything within this body. O Nanak, those who deal in the Naam are imbued with His Love. The Gurmukh obtains the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||16||6||20|| Maaroo, Third Mehl: Contemplating the Word of the Shabad, the body becomes golden. The Lord abides there; He has no end or limitation. Night and day, serve the Lord, and chant the True Word of the Guru's Bani. Through the Shabad, meet the Dear Lord. ||1||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 077

I am a sacrifice to those who remember the Lord. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, I unite in Union with the Lord. I touch the dust of their feet to my face and forehead; sitting in the Society of the Saints, I sing His Glorious Praises. ||2|| I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, as I am pleasing to the Lord God. With the Lord's Name deep within my inner being, I am adorned with the Word of the Shabad. The Word of the Guru's Bani is heard throughout the four corners of the world; through it, we merge in the True Name. ||3|| That humble being, who searches within himself, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, sees the Lord with his eyes. Through the Guru's Shabad, he applies the ointment of spiritual wisdom to his eyes; the Gracious Lord, in His Grace, unites him with Himself. ||4|| By great good fortune, I obtained this body; in this human life, I have focused my consciousness on the Word of the Shabad. Without the Shabad, everything is enveloped in utter darkness; only the Gurmukh understands. ||5|| Some merely waste away their lives - why have they even come into the world? The self-willed manmukhs are attached to the love of duality. This opportunity shall not into their hands again; their foot slips, and they come to regret and repent. ||6|| Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the body is sanctified. The True Lord, the ocean of virtue, dwells within it. One who sees the Truest of the True everywhere, hears the Truth, and enshrines it within his mind. ||7|| Egotism and mental calculations are relieved through the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Keep the Dear Lord close, and enshrine Him in your heart. One who praises the Lord forever, through the Guru's Shabad, meets with the True Lord, and finds peace. ||8|| He alone remembers the Lord, whom the Lord inspires to remember. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, He comes to dwell in the mind. He Himself

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sees, and He Himself understands; He merges all into Himself. ||9|| He alone knows, who has placed the object within his mind. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, he comes to understand himself. That humble being who understands himself is immaculate. He proclaims the Guru's Bani, and the Word of the Shabad. ||10|| This body is sanctified and purified; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, it contemplates the Lord, the ocean of virtue. One who chants the Glorious Praises of the Lord night and day, and remains attuned to His Love, chants His Glorious Virtues, immersed in the Glorious Lord. ||11|| This body is the source of all Maya; in love with duality, it is deluded by doubt. It does not remember the Lord, and suffers in eternal pain. Without remembering the Lord, it suffers in pain. ||12|| One who serves the True Guru is approved and respected. His body and soul-swan are immaculate and pure; in the Court of the Lord, he is known to be true. He serves the Lord, and enshrines the Lord in his mind; he is exalted, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||13|| Without good destiny, no one can serve the True Guru. The self-willed manmukhs are deluded, and die weeping and wailing. Those who are blessed by the Guru's Glance of Grace - the Dear Lord unites them with Himself. ||14|| In the body fortress, are the solidly-constructed markets. The Gurmukh purchases the object, and takes care of it. Meditating on the Name of the Lord, day and night, he attains the sublime, exalted status. ||15|| The True Lord Himself is the Giver of peace. Through the Shabad of the Perfect Guru, He is realised. Nanak praises the Naam, the True Name of the Lord; through perfect destiny, He is found. ||16||7||21||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 078

Maaroo, Third Mehl: The Formless Lord created the universe of form. By the Hukam of His Command, He created attachment to Maya. The Creator Himself stages all the plays; hearing of the True Lord, enshrine Him in your mind. ||1|| Maya, the mother, gave birth to the three gunas, the three qualities, and proclaimed the four Vedas to Brahma. Creating the years, months, days and dates, He infused intelligence into the world. ||2|| Service to the Guru is the most excellent action. Enshrine the Lord's Name within your heart. The Word of the Guru's Bani prevails throughout the world; through this Bani, the Lord's Name is obtained. ||3|| He reads the Vedas, but he starts arguments night and day. He does not remember the Naam, the Name of the Lord; he is bound and gagged by the Messenger of Death. In the love of duality, he suffers in pain forever; he is deluded by doubt, and confused by the three gunas. ||4|| The Gurmukh is in love with the One Lord alone; he submerges in his mind the three-phased desire. Through the True Word of the Shabad, he is liberated forever; he renounces emotional attachment to Maya. ||5|| Those who are so pre-ordained to be imbued, are imbued with love for the Lord. By Guru's Grace, they are intuitively intoxicated. Serving the True Guru forever, they find God; He Himself unites them with Himself. ||6|| In attachment to Maya and doubt, the Lord is not found. Attached to the love of duality, one suffers in pain. The crimson colour lasts for only a few days; all too soon, it fades away. ||7|| So colour this mind in the Fear and the Love of God. Dyed in this colour, one merges in the True Lord. By perfect destiny, some may obtain this colour. Through the Guru's Teachings, this colour is applied. ||8|| The self-willed manmukhs take great pride in themselves. In the Court of the Lord, they are never honoured. Attached to duality, they waste their lives; without understanding, they suffer in pain. ||9|| My God has hidden Himself deep within the self. By Guru's Grace, one is united in the Lord's Union. God is True, and True is His trade, through which the priceless Naam is obtained. ||10|| No one has found this body's value. My Lord and Master has worked His handiwork. One who becomes Gurmukh purifies his body, and then the Lord unites him with Himself. ||11|| Within the body, one loses, and within the body, one wins. The Gurmukh seeks the self-sustaining Lord. The Gurmukh trades, and finds peace forever; he intuitively merges in the Celestial Lord. ||12|| True is the Lord's Mansion, and True is His treasure. The Great Giver Himself gives. The Gurmukh praises the Giver of peace; his mind is united with the Lord, and he comes to know His worth. ||13|| Within the body is the object; its value cannot be estimated. He Himself grants glorious greatness to the Gurmukh. He alone knows this object, to whom this store belongs; the Gurmukh is blessed with it, and does not come to regret. ||14|| The Dear Lord is pervading and permeating all. By Guru's Grace, He is found. He Himself unites in His Union; through the Word of the Shabad, one intuitively merges with Him. ||15||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 079

The True Lord Himself unites us in the Word of His Shabad. Within the Shabad, doubt is driven out. O Nanak, He blesses us with His Naam, and throgh the Naam, peace is found. ||16||8||22|| Maaroo, Third Mehl: He is inaccessible, unfathomable and self-sustaining. He Himself is merciful, inaccessible and unlimited. No one can reach up to Him; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, He is met. ||1|| He alone serves You, who pleases You. Through the Guru's Shabad, he merges in the True Lord. Night and day, he chants the Lord's Praises, day and night; his tongue savors and delights in the sublime essence of the Lord. ||2|| Those who die in the Shabad - their death is exalted and glorified. They enshrine the Lord's Glories in their hearts. Holding tight to the Guru's feet, their lives becomes prosperous, and they are rid of the love of duality. ||3|| The Dear Lord unites them in Union with Himself. Through the Guru's Shabad, self-conceit is dispelled. Those who remain attuned to devotional worship to the Lord, night and day, earn the profit in this world. ||4|| What Glorious Virtues of Yours should I describe? I cannot describe them. You have no end or limitation. Your value cannot be estimated. When the Giver of peace Himself bestows His Mercy, the virtuous are absorbed in virtue. ||5|| In this world, emotional attachment is spread all over. The ignorant, self-willed manmukh is immersed in utter darkness. Chasing after worldly affairs, he wastes away his life in vain; without the Name, he suffers in pain. ||6|| If God grants His Grace, then one finds the True Guru. Through the Shabad, the filth of egotism is burned away. The mind becomes immaculate, and the jewel of spiritual wisdom brings enlightenment; the darkness of spiritual ignorance is dispelled. ||7|| Your Names are countless; Your value cannot be estimated. I enshrine the Lord's True Name within my heart. Who can estimate Your value, God? You are immersed and absorbed in Yourself. ||8|| The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is priceless, inaccessible and infinite. No one can weigh it. You Yourself weigh, and estimate all; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, You unite, when the weight is perfect. ||9|| Your servant serves, and offers this prayer. Please, let me sit near You, and unite me with Yourself. You are the Giver of peace to all beings; by perfect karma, we meditate on You. ||10|| Chastity, truth and self-control come by practicing and living the Truth. This mind becomes immaculate and pure, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. In this world of poison, the Ambrosial Nectar is obtained, if it pleases my Dear Lord. ||11|| He alone understands, whom God inspires to understand. Singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, one's inner being is awakened. Egotism and possessiveness are silenced and subdued, and one intuitively finds the True Lord. ||12|| Without good karma, countless others wander around. They die, and die again, only to be reborn; they cannot escape the cycle of reincarnation. Imbued with poison, they practice poison and corruption, and they never find peace. ||13|| Many disguise themselves with religious robes. Without the Shabad, no one has conquered egotism. One who remains dead while yet alive is liberated, and merges in the True Name. ||14|| Spiritual ignorance and desire burn this human body.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 080

He alone puts out this fire, who practices and lives the Guru's Shabad. His body and mind are cooled and soothed, and his anger is silenced; conquering egotism, he merges in the Lord. ||15|| True is the Lord and Master, and True is His glorious greatness. By Guru's Grace, a rare few attain this. Nanak offers this one prayer: through the Naam, the Name of the Lord, may I merge in the Lord. ||16||1||23|| Maaroo, Third Mehl: By Your Grace, please unite with Your devotees. Your devotees ever praise You, lovingly focusing on You. In Your Sanctuary, they are saved, O Creator Lord; You unite them in Union with Yourself. ||1|| Sublime and exalted is devotion to the Perfect Word of the Shabad. Peace prevails within; they are pleasing to Your Mind. One whose mind and body are imbued with true devotion, focuses his consciousness on the True Lord. ||2|| In egotism, the body is forever burning. When God grants His Grace, one meets the Perfect Guru. The Shabad dispels the spiritual ignorance within, and through the True Guru, one finds peace. ||3|| The blind, self-willed manmukh acts blindly. He is in terrible trouble, and wanders in reincarnation. He can never snap the noose of Death, and in the end, he suffers in horrible pain. ||4|| Through the Shabad, one's comings and goings in reincarnation are ended. He keeps the True Name enshrined within his heart. He dies in the Word of the Guru's Shabad, and conquers his mind; stilling his egotism, he merges in the Lord. ||5|| Coming and going, the people of the world are wasting away. Without the True Guru, no one finds permanence and stability. The Shabad shines its Light deep within the self, and one dwells in peace; one's light merges into the Light. ||6|| The five demons think of evil and corruption. The expanse is the manifestation of emotional attachment to Maya. Serving the True Guru, one is liberated, and the five demons are put under his control. ||7|| Without the Guru, there is only the darkness of attachment. Over and over, time and time again, they are drowned. Meeting the True Guru, Truth is implanted within, and the True Name becomes pleasing to the mind. ||8|| True is His Door, and True is His Court, His Royal Darbaar. The true ones serve Him, through the Beloved Word of the Shabad. Singing the Glorious Praises of the True Lord, in the true melody, I am immersed and absorbed in Truth. ||9|| Deep within the home of the self, one finds the home of the Lord. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, one easily, intuitively finds it. There, one is not afflicted with sorrow or separation; merge into the Celestial Lord with intuitive ease. ||10|| The evil people live in the love of duality. They wander around, totally attached and thirsty. They sit in evil gatherings, and suffer in pain forever; they earn pain, nothing but pain. ||11|| Without the True Guru, there is no Sangat, no Congregation. Without the Shabad, no one can cross over to the other side. One who intuitively chants God's Glorious Praises day and night - his light merges into the Light. ||12|| The body is the tree; the bird of the soul dwells within it. It drinks in the Ambrosial Nectar, resting in the Word of the Guru's Shabad. It never flies away, and it does not come or go; it dwells within the home of its own self. ||13|| Purify the body, and contemplate the Shabad. Remove the poisonous drug of emotional attachment, and eradicate doubt. The Giver of peace Himself bestows His Mercy, and unites us in Union with Himself. ||14||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 081

He is always near at hand; He is never far away. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, realise that He is very near. Your heart-lotus shall blossom forth, and the ray of God's Divine Light shall illuminate your heart; He shall be revealed to You. ||15|| The True Lord is Himself the Creator. He Himself kills, and gives life; there is no other at all. O Nanak, through the Naam, the Name of the Lord, glorious greatness is obtained. Eradicating self-conceit, peace is found. ||16||2||24|| Maaroo, Solahas, Fourth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The Lord Lord Himself is the One who exalts and embellishes. Do not consider any other work. The True Lord abides deep within the heart of the Gurmukh, who intuitively merges in the True Lord. ||1|| The True Lord dwells within the minds of all. By Guru's Grace, they are intuitively absorbed in Him. Calling out, "Guru, Guru", I have found eternal peace; my consciousness is focused on the Guru's feet. ||2|| The True Guru is spiritual wisdom; the True Guru is worship and adoration. I serve the True Guru, and no other. From the True Guru, I have obtained the wealth, the jewel of the Naam. Service to the True Guru is pleasing to me. ||3|| Without the True Guru, those who are attached to duality come and go, and wander in reincarnation; these unfortunate ones die. O Nanak, even after they are emancipated, those who become Gurmukh remain in the Guru's Sanctuary. ||4|| The love of the Gurmukh is forever true. I beg for the invaluable Naam, the Name of the Lord, from the Guru. O Dear Lord, please be kind, and grant Your Grace; please keep me in the Guru's Sanctuary. ||5|| The True Guru trickles the Ambrosial Nectar into my mouth. My Tenth Gate has been opened and revealed. The unstruck sound current of the Shabad vibrates and resounds there, with the melody of the Guru's Bani; one is easily, intuitively absorbed in the Lord. ||6|| Those who are so pre-ordained by the Creator, pass their nights and days calling on the Guru. Without the True Guru, no one understands; focus your consciousness on the Guru's Feet. ||7|| The Lord Himself blesses those with whom He is pleased. The Gurmukh receives the wealth of the Naam. When the Lord grants His Grace, He bestows the Naam; Nanak is immersed and absorbed in the Naam. ||8|| The jewel of spiritual wisdom is revealed within the mind. The wealth of the Naam is easily, intuitively received. This glorious greatness is obtained from the Guru; I am forever a sacrifice to the True Guru. ||9|| With the rising of the sun, the darkness of the night is dispelled. Spiritual ignorance is eradicated, by the priceless jewel of the Guru. The True Guru is the fantastically valuable jewel of spiritual wisdom; blessed by God's Mercy, peace is found. ||10|| The Gurmukh obtains the Naam, and his good reputation increases. In all four ages he is considered to be pure and good. Imbued with the Naam, the Name of the Lord, he finds peace. He remains lovingly focused on the Naam. ||11|| The Gurmukh receives the Naam. In intuitive peace he wakes, and in intuitive peace he sleeps.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 082

The Gurmukh is immersed and absorbed in the Naam; Nanak meditates on the Naam. ||12|| The Ambrosial Nectar of the Guru's Bani is in the mouth of the devotees. The Gurmukhs chant and repeat the Lord's Name. Chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, their minds forever blossom forth; they focus their minds on the Lord's Feet. ||13|| I am foolish and ignorant; I have no wisdom at all. From the True Guru, I have obtained understanding in my mind. O Dear Lord, please be kind to me, and grant Your Grace; let me be committed to serving the True Guru. ||14|| Those who know the True Guru realise the One Lord. The Giver of peace is all-pervading, permeating everywhere. Understanding my own soul, I have obtained the Supreme Status; my awareness is immersed in selfless service. ||15|| Those who are blessed with glorious greatness by the Primal Lord God are lovingly focused on the True Guru, who dwells within their minds. The Giver of life to the world Himself meets them; O Nanak, they are absorbed in His Being. ||16||1|| Maaroo, Fourth Mehl: The Lord is inaccessible and unfathomable; He is eternal and imperishable. He dwells in the heart, and is all-pervading, permeating everywhere. There is no other Giver except Him; worship the Lord, O mortals. ||1|| No one can kill anyone who

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is saved by the Savior Lord. So serve such a Lord, O Saints, whose Bani is exalted and sublime. ||2|| When it seems that a place is empty and void, there, the Creator Lord is permeating and pervading. He causes the dried-up branch to blossom forth in greenery again; so meditate on the Lord - wondrous are His ways! ||3|| The One who knows the anguish of all beings - unto that Lord and Master, I am a sacrifice. Offer your prayers to the One who is the Giver of all peace and joy. ||4|| But one who does not know the state of the soul - do not say anything to such an ignorant person. Do not argue with fools, O mortals. Meditate on the Lord, in the state of Nirvaanaa. ||5|| Don't worry - let the Creator take care of it. The Lord gives to all creatures in the water and on the land. My God bestows His blessings without being asked, even to worms in soil and stones. ||6|| Do not place your hopes in friends, children and siblings. Do not place your hopes in kings or the business of others. Without the Lord's Name, no one will be your helper; so meditate on the Lord, the Lord of the world. ||7|| Night and day, chant the Naam. All your hopes and desires shall be fulfilled. O servant Nanak, chant the Naam, the Name of the Destroyer of fear, and your life-night shall pass in intuitive peace and poise. ||8|| Those who serve the Lord find peace. They are intuitively absorbed in the Lord's Name. The Lord preserves the honour of those who seek His Sanctuary; go and consult the Vedas and the Puraanas. ||9|| That humble being is attached to the Lord's service, whom the Lord so attaches. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, doubt and fear are dispelled. In his own home, he remains unattached, like the lotus flower in the water. ||10||

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One who serves in egotism is not accepted or approved. Such a person is born, only to die again, and come and go in reincarnation. Perfect is that penance and that service, which is pleasing to the Mind of my Lord. ||11|| What Glorious Virtues of Yours should I chant, O my Lord and Master? You are the Inner-knower, the Searcher of all souls. I beg for blessings from You, O Creator Lord; I repeat Your Name night and day. ||12|| Some speak in egotistical power. Some have the power of authority and Maya. I have no other Support at all, except the Lord. O Creator Lord, please save me, meek and dishonoured. ||13|| You bless the meek and dishonoured with honour, as it pleases You, O Lord. Many others argue in conflict, coming and going in reincarnation. Those people, whose side You take, O Lord and Master, are elevated and successful. ||14|| Those who meditate forever on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, by Guru's Grace, obtain the supreme status. Those who serve the Lord find peace; without serving Him, they regret and repent. ||15|| You are pervading all, O Lord of the world. He alone meditates on the Lord, upon whose forehead the Guru places His hand. Entering the Sanctuary of the Lord, I meditate on the Lord; servant Nanak is the slave of His slaves. ||16||2|| Maaroo, Solahas, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: He infused His power into the earth. He suspends the heavens upon the feet of His Command. He created fire and locked it into wood. That God protects all, O Siblings of Destiny. ||1|| He gives nourishment to all beings and creatures. He Himself is the all-powerful Creator, the Cause of causes. In an instant, He establishes and disestablishes; He is your help and support. ||2|| He cherished you in your mother's womb. With every breath and morsel of food, He is with you, and takes care of you. Forever and ever, meditate on that Beloved; Great is His glorious greatness! ||3|| The sultans and nobles are reduced to dust in an instant. God cherishes the poor, and makes them into rulers. He is the Destroyer of egotistical pride, the Support of all. His value cannot be estimated. ||4|| He alone is honourable, and he alone is wealthy, within whose mind the Lord God abides. He alone is my mother, father, child, relative and sibling, who created this Universe. ||5|| I have come to God's Sanctuary, and so I fear nothing. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I am sure to be saved. One who adores the Creator in thought, word and deed, shall never be punished. ||6|| One whose mind and body are permeated with the Lord, the treasure of virtue, does not wander in birth, death and reincarnation. Pain vanishes and peace prevails, when one is satisfied and fulfilled. ||7|| My Lord and Master is my best friend.

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The Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts, is in all places and interspaces. Meditating, meditating in remembrance on the Perfect Transcendent Lord, I am rid of all anxieties and calculations. ||8|| One who has the Name of the Lord has hundreds of thousands and millions of arms. The wealth of the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises is with him. In His Mercy, God has blessed me with the sword of spiritual wisdom; I have attacked and killed the demons. ||9|| Chant the Chant of the Lord, the Chant of Chants. Be a winner of the game of life and come to abide in your true home. You shall not see the 8.4 million types of hell; sing His Glorious Praises and remain saturated with loving devotion||10|| He is the Savior of worlds and galaxies. He is lofty, unfathomable, inaccessible and infinite. That humble being, unto whom God grants His Grace, meditates on Him. ||11|| God has broken my bonds, and claimed me as His own. In His Mercy, He has made me the slave of His home. The unstruck celestial sound current resounds and vibrates, when one performs acts of true service. ||12|| O God, I have enshrined faith in You within my mind. My egotistical intellect has been driven out. God has made me His own, and now I have a glorious reputation in this world. ||13|| Proclaim His Glorious Victory, and meditate on the Lord of the Universe. I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice to my Lord God. I do not see any other except Him. The One Lord pervades the whole world. ||14|| True, True, True is God. By Guru's Grace, my mind is attuned to Him forever. Your humble servants live by meditating, meditating in remembrance on You, merging in You, O One Universal Creator. ||15|| The Dear Lord is the Beloved of His humble devotees. My Lord and Master is the Savior of all. Meditating in remembrance on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, all desires are fulfilled. He has saved the honour of servant Nanak. ||16||1|| Maaroo, Solahas, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The body-bride is attached to the Yogi, the husband-soul. She is involved with him, enjoying pleasure and delights. As a consequence of past actions, they have come together, enjoying pleasurable play. ||1|| Whatever the husband does, the bride willingly accepts. The husband adorns his bride, and keeps her with himself. Joining together, they live in harmony day and night; the husband comforts his wife. ||2|| When the bride asks, the husband runs around in all sorts of ways. Whatever he finds, he brings to show his bride. But there is one thing he cannot reach, and so his bride remains hungry and thirsty. ||3|| With her palms pressed together, the bride offers her prayer, "O my beloved, do not leave me and go to foreign lands; please stay here with me. Do such business within our home, that my hunger and thirst may be relieved."||4|| All sorts of religious rituals are performed in this age, but without the sublime essence of the Lord, not an iota of peace is found. When the Lord becomes Merciful, O Nanak, then in the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, the bride and the husband enjoy ecstasy and bliss. ||5||

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The body-bride is blind, and the groom is clever and wise. The creation was created of the five elements. That merchandise, for which you have come into the world, is received only from the True Guru. ||6|| The body-bride says, "Please live with me, O my beloved, peaceful, young lord. Without you, I am of no account. Please give me your word, that you will not leave me". ||7|| The soul-husband says, "I am the slave of my Commander. He is my Great Lord and Master, who is fearless and independent. As long as He wills, I will remain with you. When He summons me, I shall arise and depart."||8|| The husband speaks words of Truth to the bride, but the bride is restless and inexperienced, and she does not understand anything. Again and again, she begs her husband to stay; she thinks that he is just joking when he answers her. ||9|| The Order comes, and the husband-soul is called. He does not consult with his bride, and does not ask her opinion. He gets up and marches off, and the discarded body-bride mingles with dust. O Nanak, behold the illusion of emotional attachment and hope. ||10|| O greedy mind - listen, O my mind! Serve the True Guru day and night forever. Without the True Guru, the faithless cynics rot away and die. The noose of Death is around the necks of those who have no guru. ||11|| The self-willed manmukh comes, and the self-willed manmukh goes. The manmukh suffers beatings again and again. The manmukh endures as many hells as there are; the Gurmukh is not even touched by them. ||12|| He alone is Gurmukh, who is pleasing to the Dear Lord. Who can destroy anyone who is robed in honour by the Lord? The blissful one is forever in bliss; he is dressed in robes of honour. ||13|| I am a sacrifice to the Perfect True Guru. He is the Giver of Sanctuary, the Heroic Warrior who keeps His Word. Such is the Lord God, the Giver of peace, whom I have met; He shall never leave me or go anywhere else. ||14|| He is the treasure of virtue; His value cannot be estimated. He is perfectly permeating each and every heart, prevailing everywhere. Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of the Destroyer of the pains of the poor; I am the dust of the feet of Your slaves. ||15||1||2|| Maaroo, Solahas, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: My Blissful Lord is forever in bliss. He fills each and every heart, and judges each and everyone. The True Lord and Master is above the heads of all kings; there is none other than Him. ||1|| He is joyful, blissful and merciful. God's Light is manifest everywhere. He creates forms, and gazing upon them, He enjoys them; He Himself worships Himself. ||2|| He contemplates His own creative power. The True Lord Himself creates the expanse of the Universe. He Himself stages the play, day and night; He Himself listens, and hearing, rejoices. ||3|| True is His throne, and True is His kingdom. True is the treasure of the True Banker.

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He Himself is True, and true is all that He has established. True is the prevailing Order of the True Lord. ||4|| True is the justice of the True Lord. Your place is forever True, O God. True is Your Creative Power, and True is the Word of Your Bani. True is the peace which You give, O my Lord and Master. ||5|| You alone are the greatest king. By the Hukam of Your Command, O True Lord, our affairs are fulfilled. Inwardly and outwardly, You know everything; You Yourself are pleased with Yourself. ||6|| You are the great party-goer, You are the great enjoyer. You are detached in Nirvaanaa, You are the Yogi. All celestial comforts are in Your home; Your Glance of Grace rains Nectar. ||7|| You alone give Your gifts. You grant Your gifts unto all the beings of the world. Your treasures are overflowing, and are never exhausted; through them, we remain satisfied and fulfilled. ||8|| The Siddhas, seekers and forest-dwellers beg from You. The celibates and abstainers, and those who abide in peace beg from You. You alone are the Great Giver; all are beggars of You. You bless all the world with Your gifts. ||9|| Your devotees worship You with infinite love. In an instant, You establish and disestablish. Your weight is so heavy, O my infinite Lord and Master. Your devotees surrender to the Hukam of Your Command. ||10|| They alone know You, whom You bless with Your Glance of Grace. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, they enjoy Your Love forever. They alone are clever, handsome and wise, who are pleasing to Your Mind. ||11|| One who keeps You in his consciousness, becomes carefree and independent. One who keeps You in his consciousness, is the true king. One who keeps You in his consciousness - what does he have to fear? And what else does he need to do? ||12|| Thirst and desire are quenched, and one's inner being is cooled and soothed. The True Guru has mended the broken one. Awareness of the Word of the Shabad has awakened within my heart. Shaking it and vibrating it, I drink in the Ambrosial Nectar. ||13|| I shall not die; I shall live forever and ever. I have become immortal; I am eternal and imperishable. I do not come, and I do not go. The Guru has driven out my doubts. ||14|| Perfect is the Word of the Perfect Guru. One who is attached to the Perfect Lord, is immersed in the Perfect Lord. His love increases day by day, and when it is weighed, it does not decrease. ||15|| When the gold is made one hundred percent pure, its colour is true to the jeweller's eye. Assaying it, it is placed in the treasury by God the Jeweller, and it is not melted down again. ||16|| Your Naam is Ambrosial Nectar, O my Lord and Master. Nanak, Your slave, is forever a sacrifice to You. In the Society of the Saints, I have found great peace; gazing upon the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan, this mind is pleased and satisfied. ||17||1||3|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl, Solhas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The Guru is the Lord of the World, the Guru is the Master of the Universe. The Guru is merciful, and always forgiving. The Guru is the Shaastras, the Simritees and the six rituals. The Guru is the Holy Shrine. ||1||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 087

Meditating in remembrance on the Guru, all the sins are erased. Meditating in remembrance on the Guru, one is not strangled by the noose of Death. Meditating in remembrance on the Guru, the mind becomes immaculate; the Guru eliminates egotistical pride. ||2|| The Guru's servant is not consigned to hell. The Guru's servant meditates on the Supreme Lord God. The Guru's servant joins the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; the Guru ever gives the life of the soul. ||3|| At the Gurdwara, the Guru's Gate, the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises are sung. Meeting with the True Guru, one chants the Lord's Praises. The True Guru eradicates sorrow and suffering, and bestows honour in the Court of the Lord. ||4|| The Guru has revealed the inaccessible and unfathomable Lord. The True Guru returns to the Path, those who have wandered away. No obstacles stand in the way of devotion to the Lord, for one who serves the Guru. The Guru implants perfect spiritual wisdom. ||5|| The Guru has revealed the Lord everywhere. The Lord of the Universe is permeating and pervading the water and the land. The high and the low are all the same to Him. Focus your mind's meditation intuitively on Him. ||6|| Meeting with the Guru, all thirst is quenched. Meeting with the Guru, one is not watched by Maya. The Perfect Guru bestows truth and contentment; I drink in the Ambrosial Nectar of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||7|| The Word of the Guru's Bani is contained in all. He Himself hears it, and He Himself repeats it. Those who meditate on it, are all emancipated; they attain the eternal and unchanging home. ||8|| The Glory of the True Guru is known only to the True Guru. Whatever He does, is according to the Pleasure of His Will. Your humble servants beg for the dust of the feet of the Holy; Nanak is forever a sacrifice to You. ||9||1||4|| Maaroo, Solahas, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The Primal, Immaculate Lord God is formless. The Detached Lord is Himself prevailing in all. He has no race or social class, no identifying mark. By the Hukam of His Will, He created the entire universe. ||1|| Out of all the 8.4 million species of beings, God blessed mankind with glory. That human who

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misses this chance, shall suffer the pains of coming and going in reincarnation. ||2|| What should I say, to one who has been created. The Gurmukh receives the treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. He alone is confused, whom the Lord Himself confuses. He alone understands, whom the Lord inspires to understand. ||3|| This body has been made the village of joy and sorrow. They alone are emancipated, who seek the Sanctuary of the True Guru. One who remains untouched by the three qualities, the three gunas - such a Gurmukh is blessed with glory. ||4|| You can do anything, but whatever you do, only serves to tie your feet. The seed which is planted out of season does not sprout, and all one's capital and profits are lost. ||5|| In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises are most sublime and exalted. Become Gurmukh, chant and focus your meditation.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 088

You shall save yourself, and save all your generations as well. You shall go to the Court of the Lord with honour. ||6|| All the continents, nether worlds, islands and worlds - God Himself has made them all subject to death. The One Imperishable Lord Himself is unmoving and unchanging. Meditating on Him, one becomes unchanging. ||7|| The Lord's servant becomes like the Lord. Do not think that, because of his human body, he is different. The waves of the water rise up in various ways, and then the water merges again in water. ||8|| A beggar begs for charity at His Door. When God pleases, He takes pity on him. Please bless me with the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan, to satisfy my mind, O Lord. Through the Kirtan of Your Praises, my mind is held steady. ||9|| The Beauteous Lord and Master is not controlled in any way. The Lord does that which pleases the Saints of the Lord. He does whatever they wish to be done; nothing blocks their way at His Door. ||10|| Wherever the mortal is confronted with difficulty, there he should meditate on the Lord of the Universe. Where there are no children, spouse or friends, there the Lord Himself comes to the rescue. ||11|| The Great Lord and Master is inaccessible and unfathomable. How can anyone meet with God, the self-suficient One? Those who have had the noose cut away from around their necks, whom God has set back upon the Path, obtain a place in the Sangat, the Congregation. ||12|| One who realises the Hukam of the Lord's Command is said to be His servant. He endures both bad and good equally. When egotism is silenced, then one comes to know the One Lord. Such a Gurmukh intuitively merges in the Lord. ||13|| The devotees of the Lord dwell forever in peace. With a child-like, innocent nature, they remain detached, turning away from the world. They enjoy various pleasures in many ways; God caresses them, like a father caressing his son. ||14|| He is inaccessible and unfathomable; His value cannot be estimated. We meet Him, only when He causes us to meet. The Lord is revealed to those humble Gurmukhs, who have such pre-ordained destiny inscribed upon their foreheads. ||15|| You Yourself are the Creator Lord, the Cause of causes. You created the Universe, and You support the whole earth. Servant Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of Your Door, O Lord; if it is Your Will, please preserve his honour. ||16||1||5|| Maaroo, Solahas, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Whatever is seen is You, O One Lord. What the ears hear is the Word of Your Bani. There is nothing else to be seen at all. You give support to all. ||1|| You Yourself are conscious of Your Creation. You Yourself established Yourself, O God. Creating Yourself, You formed the expanse of the Universe; You Yourself cherish and sustain each and every heart. ||2|| You created some to hold great and royal courts. Some turn away from the world in renunciation, and some maintain their households.

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Some are hungry and some are satisfied and satiated, but all lean on Your Support. ||3|| The True Lord Himself is True, True, True. He is woven into the essence of His devotees, through and through. He Himself is hidden, and He Himself is revealed. He Himself spreads Himself out. ||4|| Forever, forever and ever, He shall always exist. He is lofty, inaccessible, unfathomable and infinite. He fills the empty, and empties out the filled; such are the plays and dramas of my Lord and Master. ||5|| With my mouth, I praise my True Lord King. With my eyes, I behold the inaccessible and unfathomable Lord. Listening, listening with my ears, my mind and body are rejuvenated; my Lord and Master saves all. ||6|| He created the creation, and gazes upon what He has created. All beings and creatures meditate on Him. He Himself knows His creative power; He blesses with His Glance of Grace. ||7|| Where the Saints gather together and sit, God dwells close at hand. They abide in bliss and joy, beholding the Lord's wondrous play. They sing the Glories of the Lord, and the unstruck sound current of His Bani; O Nanak, His slaves remain conscious of Him. ||8|| Coming and going is all Your wondrous play. Creating the Creation, You gaze upon Your infinite play. Creating the Creation, You Yourself cherish and nurture it. ||9|| Listening, listening to Your Glory, I live. Forever and ever, I am a sacrifice to You. With my palms pressed together, I meditate in remembrance on You, day and night, O my inaccessible, infinite Lord and Master. ||10|| Other than You, who else should I praise? I meditate on the One and Only Lord within my mind. Realising the Hukam of Your Will, Your humble servants are enraptured; this is the achievement of Your devotees. ||11|| Following the Guru's Teachings, I meditate on the True Lord within my mind. Following the Guru's Teachings, I am immersed in the Lord's Love. Following the Guru's Teachings, all bonds are broken, and this doubt and emotional attachment are burnt away. ||12|| Wherever He keeps me, is my place of rest. Whatever naturally happens, I accept that as good. Hatred is gone - I have no hatred at all; I see the One Lord in all. ||13|| Fear has been removed, and darkness has been dispelled. The all-powerful, primal, detached Lord God has been revealed. Forsaking self-conceit, I have entered His Sanctuary, and I work for Him. ||14|| Rare are those few, very blessed people, who come into the world, and meditate on their Lord and Master, twenty-four hours a day. Associating with such humble people, all are saved, and their families are saved as well. ||15|| This is the blessing which I have received from my Lord and Master. Twenty-four hours a day, with my palms pressed together, I meditate on Him. I chant the Naam, and through the Naam, I intuitively merge into the Lord; O Nanak, may I be blessed with the Naam, and ever repeat it. ||16||1||6|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: Do not be fooled by appearances, you fool. This is a false attachment to the expanse of an illusion. No one can remain in this world; only the One Lord is permanent and unchanging. ||1|| Seek the Sanctuary of the Perfect Guru. He shall eradicate all emotional attachment, sorrow and doubt. He shall administer the medicine, the Mantra of the One Name. Sing the True Name within your heart. ||2||

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So many gods yearn for the Naam, the Name of the Lord. All the devotees serve Him. He is the Master of the masterless, the Destroyer of the pains of the poor. His Name is obtained from the Perfect Guru. ||3|| I cannot conceive of any other door. One who wanders through the three worlds, understands nothing. The True Guru is the banker, with the treasure of the Naam. This jewel is obtained from Him. ||4|| The dust of His feet purifies. Even the angelic beings and gods cannot obtain it, O friend. The True Guru is the True Primal Being, the Transcendent Lord God; meeting with Him, one is carried across to the other side. ||5|| O my beloved mind, if you wish for the 'tree of life'; if you wish for Kaamadhayna, the wish-fulfilling cow to adorn your court; if you wish to be satisfied and contented, then serve the Perfect Guru, and practice the Naam, the source of nectar. ||6|| Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the five thieves of desire are conquered. In the Fear of the Supreme Lord God, you shall become immaculate and pure. When one meets the Perfect Guru, the Philosopher's Stone, His touch reveals the Lord, the Philosopher's Stone. ||7|| Myriads of heavens do not equal the Lord's Name. The spiritually wise forsake mere liberation. The One Universal Creator Lord is found through the True Guru. I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice to the Blessed Vision of the Guru's Darshan. ||8|| No one knows how to serve the Guru. The Guru is the unfathomable, Supreme Lord God. He alone is the Guru's servant, whom the Guru Himself links to His service, and upon whose forehead such blessed destiny is inscribed. ||9|| Even the Vedas do not know the Guru's Glory. They narrate only a tiny bit of what is heard. The True Guru is the Supreme Lord God, the Incomparable One; meditating in remembrance on Him, the mind is cooled and soothed. ||10|| Hearing of Him, the mind comes to life. When He dwells within the heart, one becomes peaceful and cool. Chanting the Guru's Name with the mouth, one obtains glory, and does not have to walk on the Path of Death. ||11|| I have entered the Sanctuary of the Saints, and placed before them my soul, my breath of life and wealth. I know nothing about service and awareness; please take pity upon this worm. ||12|| I am unworthy; please merge me into Yourself. Please bless me with Your Grace, and link me to Your service. I wave the fan, and grind the corn for the Saints; washing their feet, I find peace. ||13|| After wandering around at so many doors, I have come to Yours, O Lord. By Your Grace, I have entered Your Sanctuary. Forever and ever, keep me in the Company of the Saints; please bless me with this Gift of Your Name. ||14|| My World-Lord has become merciful, and I have obtained the Blessed Vision of the Darshan of the Perfect True Guru. I have found eternal peace, poise and bliss; Nanak is the slave of Your slaves. ||15||2||7|| Maaroo, Solahas, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The earth and the Akaashic ethers meditate in remembrance. The moon and the sun meditate in remembrance on You, O treasure of virtue. Air, water and fire meditate in remembrance. All creation meditates in remembrance. ||1||

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All the continents, islands and worlds meditate in remembrance. The nether worlds and spheres meditate in remembrance on that True Lord. The sources of creation and speech meditate in remembrance; all the Lord's humble servants meditate in remembrance. ||2|| Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva meditate in remembrance. The three hundred thirty million gods meditate in remembrance. The titans and demons all meditate in remembrance; Your Praises are uncountable - they cannot be counted. ||3|| All the beasts, birds and demons meditate in remembrance. The forests, mountains and hermits meditate in remembrance. All the vines and branches meditate in remembrance; O my Lord and Master, You are permeating and pervading all minds. ||4|| All beings, both subtle and gross, meditate in remembrance. The Siddhas and seekers meditate in remembrance on the Lord's Mantra. Both the visible and the invisible meditate in remembrance on my God; God is the Master of all worlds. ||5|| Men and women, throughout the four stages of life, meditate in remembrance on You. All social classes and souls of all races meditate in remembrance on You. All the virtuous, clever and wise people meditate in remembrance; night and day meditate in remembrance. ||6|| Hours, minutes and seconds meditate in remembrance. Death and life, and thoughts of purification, meditate in remembrance. The Shaastras, with their lucky signs and joinings, meditate in remembrance; the invisible cannot be seen, even for an instant. ||7|| The Lord and Master is the Doer, the Cause of causes. He is the Inner-knower, the Searcher of all hearts. That person, whom You bless with Your Grace, and link to Your devotional service, wins this invaluable human life. ||8|| He, within whose mind God dwells, has perfect karma, and chants the Chant of the Guru. One who realises God pervading deep within all, does not wander crying in reincarnation again. ||9|| Pain, sorrow and doubt run away from that one, within whose mind the Word of the Guru's Shabad abides. Intuitive peace, poise and bliss come from the sublime essence of the Naam; the unstruck sound current of the Guru's Bani intuitively vibrates and resounds. ||10|| He alone is wealthy, who meditates on God. He alone is honourable, who joins the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. That person, within whose mind the Supreme Lord God abides, has perfect karma, and becomes famous. ||11|| The Lord and Master is pervading the water, land and sky. There is no other said to be so. The ointment of the Guru's spiritual wisdom has eradicated all doubts; except the One Lord, I do not see any other at all. ||12|| The Lord's Court is the highest of the high. His limit and extent cannot be described. The Lord and Master is profoundly deep, unfathomable and unweighable; how can He be measured? ||13|| You are the Creator; all is created by You. Without You, there is no other at all. You alone, God, are in the beginning, the middle and the end. You are the root of the entire expanse. ||14|| The Messenger of Death does not even approach that person who sings the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. All desires are fulfilled, for one who listens with his ears to the Praises of God. ||15|| You belong to all, and all belong to You, O my true, deep and profound Lord and Master.

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Says Nanak, those humble beings are exalted, who are pleasing to Your Mind, O my Lord and Master. ||16||1||8|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: God is the almighty Giver of all peace and joy. Be merciful to me, that I may meditate in remembrance on Your Name. The Lord is the Great Giver; all beings and creatures are beggars; His humble servants yearn to beg from Him. ||1|| I beg for the dust of the feet of the humble, that I may be blessed with the supreme status, and the filth of countless lifetimes may be erased. The chronic diseases are cured by the medicine of the Lord's Name; I beg to be imbued with the Immaculate Lord. ||2|| With my ears, I listen to the Pure Praises of my Lord and Master. With the Support of the One Lord, I have abandoned corruption, sexuality and desire. I humbly bow and fall at the feet of Your slaves; I do not hesitate to do good deeds. ||3|| O Lord, with my tongue I sing Your Glorious Praises. The sins which I have committed are erased. Meditating, meditating in remembrance on my Lord and Master, my mind lives; I am rid of the five oppressive demons. ||4|| Meditating on Your lotus feet, I have come aboard Your boat. Joining the Society of the Saints, I cross over the world-ocean. My flower-offering and worship is to realise that the Lord is dwelling alike in all; I shall not be reincarnated naked again. ||5|| Please make me the slave of Your slaves, O Lord of the world. You are the treasure of Grace, merciful to the meek. Meet with your companion and helper, the Perfect Transcendent Lord God; you shall never be separated from Him again. ||6|| I dedicate my mind and body, and place them in offering before the Lord. Asleep for countless lifetimes, I have awakened. He, to whom I belong, is my cherisher and nurturer. I have killed and discarded my murderous self-conceit. ||7|| The Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts, is pervading the water and the land. The undeceivable Lord and Master is permeating each and every heart. The Perfect Guru has demolished the wall of doubt, and now I see the One Lord pervading everywhere. ||8|| Wherever I look, there I see God, the ocean of peace. The Lord's treasure is never exhausted; He is the storehouse of jewels. He cannot be seized; He is inaccessible, and His limits

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cannot be found. He is realised when the Lord bestows His Grace. ||9|| My heart is cooled, and my mind and body are calmed and soothed. The craving for birth and death is quenched. Grasping hold of my hand, He has lifted me up and out; He has blessed me with His Ambrosial Glance of Grace. ||10|| The One and Only Lord is permeating and pervading everywhere. There is none other than Him at all. God permeates the beginning, the middle and the end; He has subdued my desires and doubts. ||11|| The Guru is the Transcendent Lord, the Guru is the Lord of the Universe. The Guru is the Creator, the Guru is forever forgiving. Meditating, chanting the Guru's Chant, I have obtained the fruits and rewards; in the Company of the Saints, I have been blessed with the lamp of spiritual wisdom. ||12|| Whatever I see, is my Lord and Master God. Whatever I hear, is the Bani of God's Word. Whatever I do, You make me do; You are the Sanctuary, the help and support of the Saints, Your children. ||13|| The beggar begs, and worships You in adoration. You are the Purifier of the sinners, O Perfectly Holy Lord God. Please bless me with this one gift, O treasure of all bliss and virtue; I do not ask for anything else. ||14||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 093

God is the Creator of the body-vessel. In the Society of the Saints, the dye is produced. Through the Word of the Lord's Bani, one's reputation becomes immaculate, and the mind is coloured by the dye of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||15|| The sixteen powers, absolute perfection and fruitful rewards are obtained, when the Lord and Master of infinite power is revealed. The Lord's Name is Nanak's bliss, play and peace; he drinks in the Ambrosial Nectar of the Lord. ||16||2||9|| Maaroo, Solhas, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: You are my Lord and Master; You have made me Your servant. My soul and body are all gifts from You. You are the Creator, the Cause of causes; nothing belongs to me. ||1|| When You sent me, I came into the world. Whatever is pleasing to Your Will, I do. Without You, nothing is done, so I am not anxious at all. ||2|| In the world hereafter, the Hukam of Your Command is heard. In this world, I chant Your Praises, Lord. You Yourself write the account, and You Yourself erase it; no one can argue with You. ||3|| You are our father; we are all Your children. We play as You cause us to play. The wilderness and the path are all made by You. No one can take the wrong path. ||4|| Some remain seated within their homes. Some wander across the country and through foreign lands. Some are grass-cutters, and some are kings. Who among these can be called false? ||5|| Who is liberated, and who will land in hell? Who is worldly, and who is a devotee? Who is wise, and who is shallow? Who is aware, and who is ignorant? ||6|| By the Hukam of the Lord's Command, one is liberated, and by His Hukam, one falls into hell. By His Hukam, one is worldly, and by His Hukam, one is a devotee. By His Hukam, one is shallow, and by His Hukam, one is wise. There is no other side except His. ||7|| You made the ocean vast and huge. You made some into foolish self-willed manmukhs, and dragged them into hell. Some are carried across, in the ship of Truth of the True Guru. ||8|| You issue Your Command for this amazing thing, death. You create all beings and creatures, and absorb them back into Yourself. You gaze in delight upon the one arena of the world, and enjoy all the pleasures. ||9|| Great is the Lord and Master, and Great is His Name. He is the Great Giver; Great is His place. He is inaccessible and unfathomable, infinite and unweighable. He cannot be measureed. ||10|| No one else knows His value. Only You Yourself, O Immaculate Lord, are equal to Yourself. You Yourself are the spiritual teacher, You Yourself are the One who meditates. You Yourself are the great and immense Being of Truth. ||11|| For so many days, You remained invisible. For so many days, You were absorbed in silent absorption. For so many days, there was only pitch darkness, and then the Creator revealed Himself. ||12|| You Yourself are called the God of Supreme Power.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 094

You Yourself are the hero, exerting Your regal power. You Yourself spread peace within; You are cool and icy calm. ||13|| One whom You bless and make Gurmukh - the Naam abides within him, and the unstruck sound current vibrates for him. He is peaceful, and he is the master of all; the Messenger of Death does not even approach him. ||14|| His value cannot be described on paper. Says Nanak, the Lord of the world is infinite. In the beginning, in the middle and in the end, God exists. Judgement is in His Hands alone. ||15|| No one is equal to Him. No one can stand up against Him by any means. Nanak's God is Himself all-in-all. He creates and stages and watches His wondrous plays. ||16||1||10|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: The Supreme Lord God is imperishable, the Transcendent Lord, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. He is the Slayer of demons, our Supreme Lord and Master. The Supreme Rishi, the Master of the sensory organs, the uplifter of mountains, the joyful Lord playing His enticing flute. ||1|| The Enticer of Hearts, the Lord of wealth, Krishna, the Enemy of ego. The Lord of the Universe, the Dear Lord, the Destroyer of demons. The Life of the World, our eternal and ever-stable Lord and Master dwells within each and every heart, and is always with us. ||2|| The Support of the Earth, the man-lion, the Supreme Lord God. The Protector who tears apart demons with His teeth, the Upholder of the earth. O Creator, You assumed the form of the pygmy to humble the demons; You are the Lord God of all. ||3|| You are the Great Raam Chand, who has no form or feature. Adorned with flowers, holding the chakra in Your hand, Your form is incomparably beautiful. You have thousands of eyes, and thousands of forms. You alone are the Giver, and all are beggars of You. ||4|| You are the Lover of Your devotees, the Master of the masterless. The Lord and Master of the milk-maids, You are the companion of all. O Lord, Immacuate Great Giver, I cannot describe even an iota of Your Glorious Virtues. ||5|| Liberator, Enticing Lord, Lord of Lakshmi, Supreme Lord God. Savior of Dropadi's honour. Lord of Maya, miracle-worker, absorbed in delightful play, unattached. ||6|| The Blessed Vision of His Darshan is fruitful and rewarding; He is not born, He is self-existent. His form is undying; it is never destroyed. O imperishable, eternal, unfathomable Lord, everything is attached to You. ||7|| The Lover of greatness, who dwells in heaven. By the Pleasure of His Will, He took incarnation as the great fish and the tortoise. The Lord of beauteous hair, the Worker of miraculous deeds, whatever He wishes, comes to pass. ||8|| He is beyond need of any sustenance, free of hate and all-pervading. He has staged His play; He is called the four-armed Lord. He assumed the beautiful form of the blue-skinned Krishna; hearing His flute, all are fascinated and enticed. ||9|| He is adorned with garlands of flowers, with lotus eyes. His ear-rings, crown and flute are so beautiful. He carries the conch, the chakra and the war club; He is the Great Charioteer, who stays with His Saints. ||10|| The Lord of yellow robes, the Master of the three worlds. The Lord of the Universe, the Lord of the world; with my mouth, I chant His Name. The Archer who draws the bow, the Beloved Lord God; I cannot count all His limbs. ||11|| He is said to be free of anguish, and absolutely immaculate. The Lord of prosperity, pervading the water, the land and the sky.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 095

He is near this world and the nether regions of the underworld; His Place is permanent, ever-stable and imperishable. ||12|| The Purifier of sinners, the Destroyer of pain and fear. The Eliminator of egotism, the Eradicator of coming and going. He is pleased with devotional worship, and merciful to the meek; He cannot be appeased by any other qualities. ||13|| The Formless Lord is undeceivable and unchanging. He is the Embodiment of Light; through Him, the whole world blossoms forth. He alone unites with Him, whom He unites with Himself. No one can attain the Lord by himself. ||14|| He Himself is the milk-maid, and He Himself is Krishna. He Himself grazes the cows in the forest. You Yourself create, and You Yourself destroy. Not even a particle of filth attaches to You. ||15|| Which of Your Glorious Virtues can I chant with my one tongue? Even the thousand-headed serpent does not know Your limit. One may chant new names for You day and night, but even so, O God, no one can describe even one of Your Glorious Virtues. ||16|| I have grasped the Support, and entered the Sanctuary of the Lord, the Father of the world. The Messenger of Death is terrifying and horrendous, and sea of Maya is impassable. Please be merciful, Lord, and save me, if it is Your Will; please lead me to join with the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||17|| All that is seen is an illusion. I beg for this one gift, for the dust of the feet of the Saints, O Lord of the Universe. Applying it to my forehead, I obtain the supreme status; he alone obtains it, unto whom You give it. ||18|| Those, unto whom the Lord, the Giver of peace, grants His Mercy, grasp the feet of the Holy, and weave them into their hearts. They obtain all the wealth of the Naam, the Name of the Lord; the unstruck sound current of the Shabad vibrates and resounds within their minds. ||19|| With my tongue I chant the Names given to You. 'Sat Naam' is Your perfect, primal Name. Says Nanak, Your devotees have entered Your Sanctuary. Please bestow the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan; their minds are filled with love for You. ||20|| You alone know Your state and extent. You Yourself speak, and You Yourself describe it. Please make Nanak the slave of Your slaves, O Lord; as it pleases Your Will, please keep him with Your slaves. ||21||2||11|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: O slave of the inaccessible Lord God Allah, forsake thoughts of worldly entanglements. Become the dust of the feet of the humble fakeers, and consider yourself a traveller on this journey. O saintly dervish, you shall be approved in the Court of the Lord. ||1|| Let Truth be your prayer, and faith your prayer-mat. Subdue your desires, and overcome your hopes. Let your body be the mosque, and your mind the priest. Let true purity be God's Word for you. ||2|| Let your practice be to live the spiritual life. Let your spiritual cleansing be to renounce the world and seek God. Let control of the mind be your spiritual wisdom, O holy man; meeting with God, you shall never die again. ||3|| Practice within your heart the teachings of the Koran and the Bible; restrain the ten sensory organs from straying into evil. Tie up the five demons of desire with faith, charity and contentment, and you shall be acceptable. ||4|| Let compassion be your Mecca, and the dust of the feet of the holy your fast. Let Paradise be your practice of the Prophet's Word. God is the beauty, the light and the fragrance. Meditation on Allah is the secluded meditation chamber. ||5||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 096

He alone is a Qazi, who practices the Truth. He alone is a Haji, a pilgrim to Mecca, who purifies his heart. He alone is a Mullah, who banishes evil; he alone is a saintly dervish, who takes the Support of the Lord's Praise. ||6|| Always, at every moment, remember God, the Creator within your heart. Let your meditation beads be the subjugation of the ten senses. Let good conduct and self-restraint be your circumcision. ||7|| You must know in your heart that everything is temporary. Family, household and siblings are all entanglements. Kings, rulers and nobles are mortal and transitory; only God's Gate is the permanent place. ||8|| First, is the Lord's Praise; second, contentment; third, humility, and fourth, giving to charities. Fifth is to hold one's desires in restraint. These are the five most sublime daily prayers. ||9|| Let your daily worship be the knowledge that God is everywhere. Let renunciation of evil actions be the water-jug you carry. Let realisation of the One Lord God be your call to prayer; be a good child of God - let this be your trumpet. ||10|| Let what is earned righteously be your blessed food. Wash away pollution with the river of your heart. One who realises the Prophet attains heaven. Azraa-eel, the Messenger of Death, does not cast him into hell. ||11|| Let good deeds be your body, and faith your bride. Play and enjoy the Lord's love and delight. Purify what is impure, and let the Lord's Presence be your religious tradition. Let your total awareness be the turban on your head. ||12|| To be Muslim is to be kind-hearted, and wash away pollution from within the heart. He does not even approach worldly pleasures; he is pure, like flowers, silk, ghee and the deer-skin. ||13|| One who is blessed with the mercy and compassion of the Merciful Lord, is the manliest man among men. He alone is a Shaykh, a preacher, a Haji, and he alone is God's slave, who is blessed with God's Grace. ||14|| The Creator Lord has Creative Power; the Merciful Lord has Mercy. The Praises and the Love of the Merciful Lord are unfathomable. Realise the True Hukam, the Command of the Lord, O Nanak; you shall be released from bondage, and carried across. ||15||3||12|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: The Abode of the Supreme Lord God is above all. He Himself establishes, establishes and creates. Holding tight to the Sanctuary of God, peace is found, and one is not afflicted by the fear of Maya. ||1|| He saved you from the fire of the womb, and did not destroy you, when you were an egg in your mother's ovary. Blessing you with meditative remembrance upon Himself, He nurtured you and cherished you; He is the Master of all hearts. ||2|| I have come to the Sanctuary of His lotus feet. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I sing the Praises of the Lord. I have erased all the pains of birth and death; meditating on the Lord, Har, Har, I have no fear of death. ||3|| God is all-powerful, indescribable, unfathomable and divine. All beings and creatures serve Him. In so many ways, He cherishes those born from eggs, from the womb, from sweat and from the earth. ||4|| He alone obtains this wealth, who savors and enjoys, deep within his mind, the Name of the Lord. Grasping hold of his arm, God lifts him up and pulls him out of the deep, dark pit. Such a devotee of the Lord is very rare. ||5||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 097

God exists in the beginning, in the middle and in the end. Whatever the Creator Lord Himself does, comes to pass. Doubt and fear are erased, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, and then one is not afflicted by deadly pain. ||6|| I sing the most Sublime Bani, the Word of the Lord of the Universe. I beg for the dust of the feet of the Saadh Sangat. Eradicating desire, I have become free of desire; I have burnt away all my sins. ||7|| This is the unique way of the Saints; they behold the Supreme Lord God with them. With each and every breath, they worship and adore the Lord, Har, Har. How could anyone be too lazy to meditate on Him? ||8|| Wherever I look, there I see the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. I never forget God, my Lord and Master, even for an instant. Your slaves live by meditating, meditating in remembrance on the Lord; You are permeating the woods, the water and the land. ||9|| Even the hot wind does not touch one who remains awake in meditative remembrance, night and day. He delights and enjoys meditative remembrance on the Lord; he has no attachment to Maya. ||10|| Disease, sorrow and pain do not affect him; he sings the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Please bless me with Your Name, O my Beloved Lord God; please listen to my prayer, O Creator. ||11|| Your Name is a jewel, O my Beloved Lord. Your slaves are imbued with Your Infinite Love. Those who are imbued with Your Love, become like You; it is so rare that they are found. ||12|| My mind longs for the dust of the feet of those who never forget the Lord. Associating with them, I obtain the supreme status; the Lord, my Companion, is always with me. ||13|| He alone is my

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beloved friend and companion, who implants the Name of the One Lord within, and eradicates evil-mindedness. Immaculate are the teachings of that humble servant of the Lord, who casts out sexual desire, anger and egotism. ||14|| Other than You, O Lord, no one is mine. The Guru has led me to grasp the feet of God. I am a sacrifice to the Perfect True Guru, who has destroyed the illusion of duality. ||15|| With each and every breath, I never forget God. Twenty-four hours a day, I meditate on the Lord, Har, Har. O Nanak, the Saints are imbued with Your Love; You are the great and all-powerful Lord. ||16||4||13|| Maaroo, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I enshrine the Lord's lotus feet continually within my heart. Each and every moment, I humbly bow to the Perfect Guru. I dedicate my body, mind and everything, and place it in offering before the Lord. His Name is the most beautiful in this world. ||1|| Why forget the Lord and Master from your mind? He blessed you with body and soul, creating and embellishing you. With every breath and morsel of food, the Creator takes care of His beings, who receive according to what they have done. ||2|| No one returns empty-handed from Him; twenty-four hours a day, keep the Lord in your mind.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 098

In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, meditate and vibrate upon your imperishable Lord and Master, and you shall be honoured in the Court of the Lord. ||3|| The four great blessings, and the eighteen miraculous spiritual powers, are found in the treasure of the Naam, which brings celestial peace and poise, and the nine treasures. If you yearn in your mind for all joys, then join the Saadh Sangat, and dwell upon your Lord and Master. ||4|| The Shaastras, the Simritees and the Vedas proclaim that the mortal must be victorious in this priceless human life. Forsaking sexual desire, anger and slander, sing of the Lord with your tongue, O Nanak. ||5|| He has no form or shape, no ancestry or social class. The Perfect Lord is perfectly pervading day and night. Whoever meditates on Him is very fortunate; he is not consigned to reincarnation again. ||6|| One who forgets the Primal Lord, the Architect of karma, wanders around burning, and remains tormented. No one can save such an ungrateful person; he is thrown into the most horrible hell. ||7|| He blessed you with your soul, the breath of life, your body and wealth; He preserved and nurtured you in your mother's womb. Forsaking His Love, you are imbued with another; you shall never achieve your goals like this. ||8|| Please shower me with Your Merciful Grace, O my Lord and Master. You dwell in each and every heart, and are near everyone. Nothing is in my hands; he alone knows, whom You inspire to know. ||9|| One who has such pre-ordained destiny inscribed upon his forehead, that person is not afflicted by Maya. Slave Nanak seeks Your Sanctuary forever; there is no other equal to You. ||10|| In His Will, He made all pain and pleasure. How rare are those who remember the Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord. His value cannot be described. He is prevailing everywhere. ||11|| He is the devotee; He is the Great Giver. He is the Perfect Primal Lord, the Architect of karma. He is your help and support, since infancy; He fulfills your mind's desires. ||12|| Death, pain and pleasure are ordained by the Lord. They do not increase or decrease by anyone's efforts. That alone happens, which is pleasing to the Creator; speaking of himself, the mortal ruins himself. ||13|| He lifts us up and pulls us out of the deep dark pit; He unites with Himself, those who were separated for so many incarnations. Showering them with His Mercy, He protects them with His own hands. Meeting with the Holy Saints, they meditate on the Lord of the Universe. ||14|| Your worth cannot be described. Wondrous is Your form, and Your glorious greatness. Your humble servant begs for the gift of devotional worship. Nanak is a sacrifice, a sacrifice to You. ||15||1||14||22||24||2||14||62|| Vaar Of Maaroo, Third Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Shalok, First Mehl: If virtue is sold when there is no buyer, then it is sold very cheap. But if one meets a buyer of virtue, then virtue sells for hundreds of thousands.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 099

Meeting with a virtuous person, virtue is obtained, and one is immersed in the True Guru. Priceless virtues are not obtained for any price; they cannot be purchased in a store. O Nanak, their weight is full and perfect; it never decreases at all. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: Without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, they wander around, continually coming and going in reincarnation. Some are in bondage, and some are set free; some are happy in the Love of the Lord. O Nanak, believe in the True Lord, and practice Truth, through the lifestyle of Truth. ||2|| Pauree: From the Guru, I have obtained the supremely powerful sword of spiritual wisdom. I have cut down the fortress of duality and doubt, attachment, greed and egotism. The Name of the Lord abides within my mind; I contemplate the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Through Truth, self-discipline and sublime understanding, the Lord has become very dear to me. Truly, truly, the True Creator Lord is all-pervading. ||1|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Among the ragas, Kaydaaraa Raga is known as good, O Siblings of Destiny, if through it, one comes to love the Word of the Shabad, and if one remains in the Soceity of the Saints, and enshrines love for the True Lord. Such a person washes away the pollution from within, and saves his generations as well. He gathes in the capital of virtue, and destroys and drives out unvirtuous sins. O Nanak, he alone is known as united, who does not forsake his Guru, and who does not love duality. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: Gazing upon the world-ocean, I am afraid of death; but if I live in the Fear of You, God, then I am not afraid. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, I am content; O Nanak, I blossom forth in the Name. ||2|| Fourth Mehl: I get on board the boat and set out, but the ocean is churning with waves. The boat of Truth encounters no obstruction, if the Guru gives encouragement. He takes us across to the door on the other side, as the Guru keeps watch. O Nanak, if I am blessed with His Grace, I shall go to His Court with honour. ||3|| Pauree: Enjoy your kingdom of bliss; as Gurmukh, practice Truth. Sitting upon the throne of Truth, the Lord administers justice; He unites us in Union with the Society of the Saints. Meditating on the Lord, through the True Teachings, we become just like the Lord. If the Lord, the Giver of peace, abides in the mind, in this world, then in the end, He becomes our help and support. Love for the Lord wells up, when the Guru imparts understanding. ||2|| Shalok, First Mehl: Confused and deluded, I wander around, but no one shows me the way. I go and ask the clever people, if there is there anyone who can rid me of my pain. If the True Guru abides within my mind, then I see the Lord, my best friend, there. O Nanak, my mind is satisfied and fulfilled, contemplating the Praises of the True Name. ||1|| Third Mehl: He Himself is the Doer, and He is the deed; He Himself issues the Command. He Himself forgives some, and He Himself does the deed. O Nanak, receiving the Divine Light from the Guru, suffering and corruption are burnt away, through the Name. ||2|| Pauree: Don't be fooled by gazing at the riches of Maya, you foolish self-willed manmukh. It shall not go along with you when you must depart; all the wealth you see is false. The blind and ignorant do not understand, that the sword of death is hanging over their heads. By Guru's Grace, those who drink in the sublime essence of the Lord are saved.

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He Himself is the Doer, and He Himself is the Cause; the Lord Himself is our Saving Grace. ||3|| Shalok, Third Mehl:

Those who do not meet with the Guru, who have no Fear of God at all, continue coming and going in reincarnation, and suffer terrible pain; their anxiety is never relieved. They are beaten like clothes being washed on the rocks, and struck every hour like chimes. O Nanak, without the True Name, these entanglements are not removed from hanging over one's head. ||1|| Third Mehl: I have searched throughout the three worlds, O my friend; egotism is bad for the world. Don't worry, O my soul; speak the Truth, O Nanak, the Truth, and only the Truth. ||2|| Pauree: The Lord Himself forgives the Gurmukhs; they are absorbed and immersed in the Lord's Name. He Himself links them to devotional worship; they bear the Insignia of the Guru's Shabad. Those who turn towards the Guru, as sunmukh, are beautiful. They are famous in the Court of the True Lord. In this world, and in the world hereafter, they are liberated; they realise the Lord. Blessed, blessed are those humble beings who serve the Lord. I am a sacrifice to them. ||4|| Shalok, First Mehl: The rude, ill-mannered bride is encased in the body-tomb; she is blackened, and her mind is impure. She can enjoy her Husband Lord, only if she is virtuous. O Nanak, the soul-bride is unworthy, and without virtue. ||1|| First Mehl: She has good conduct, true self-discipline, and a perfect family. O Nanak, day and night, she is always good; she loves her Beloved Husband Lord. ||2|| Pauree: One who realises his own self, is blessed with the treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Granting His Mercy, the Guru merges him in the Word of His Shabad. The Word of the Guru's Bani is immaculate and pure; through it, one drinks in the sublime essence of the Lord. Those who taste the sublime essence of the Lord, forsake other flavors. Drinking in the sublime essence of the Lord, they remain satisfied forever; their hunger and thirst are quenched. ||5|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Her Husband Lord is pleased, and He enjoys His bride; the soul-bride adorns her heart with the Naam, the Name of the Lord. O Nanak, that bride who stands before Him, is the most noble and respected woman. ||1|| First Mehl: In her father-in-law's home hereafter, and in her parents' home in this world, she belongs to her Husband Lord. Her Husband is inaccessible and unfathomable. O Nanak, she is the happy soul-bride, who is pleasing to her carefree, independent Lord. ||2|| Pauree: That king sits upon the throne, who is worthy of that throne. Those who realise the True Lord, they alone are the true kings. These mere earthly rulers are not called kings; in the love of duality, they suffer. Why should someone praise someone else who is also created? They depart in no time at all. The One True Lord is eternal and imperishable. One who, as Gurmukh, understands becomes eternal as well. ||6|| Shalok, Third Mehl: The One Lord is the Husband of all. No one is without the Husband Lord. O Nanak, they are the pure soul-brides, who merge in the True Guru. ||1|| Third Mehl: The mind is churning with so many waves of desire. How can one be emancipated in the Court of the Lord? Be absorbed in the Lord's True Love, and imbued with the deep colour of the Lord's Infinite Love. O Nanak, by Guru's Grace, one is emancipated, if the consciousness is attached to the True Lord. ||2|| Pauree: The Name of the Lord is priceless. How can its value be estimated?

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He Himself created the entire universe, and He Himself is pervading it. The Gurmukhs praise the Lord forever, and through the Truth, they assess Him. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the heart-lotus blossoms forth, and in this way, one drinks in the sublime essence of the Lord. Coming and going in reincarnation ceases, and one sleeps in peace and poise. ||7|| Shalok, First Mehl: Neither dirty, nor dull, nor saffron, nor any colour that fades. O Nanak, crimson - deep crimson is the colour of one who is imbued with the True Lord. ||1|| Third Mehl: The bumble bee intuitively and fearlessly dwells among the vegetation, flowers and fruits. O Nanak, there is only one tree, one flower, and one bumble bee. ||2|| Pauree: Those humble beings who struggle with their minds are brave and distinguished heroes. Those who realise their own selves, remain forever united with the Lord. This is the glory of the spiritual teachers, that they remain absorbed in their mind. They attain the Mansion of the Lord's Presence, and focus their meditation on the True Lord. Those who conquer their own minds, by Guru's Grace, conquer the world. ||8|| Shalok, Third Mehl: If I were to become a Yogi, and wander around the world, begging from door to door, then, when I am summoned to the Court of the Lord, what answer could I give? The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is the charity I beg for; contentment is my temple. The True Lord is always with me. Nothing is obtained by wearing religious robes; all will be seized by the Messenger of Death. O Nanak, talk is false; contemplate the True Name. ||1|| Third Mehl: Through that door, you will be called to account; do not serve at that door. Seek and find such a True Guru, who has no equal in His greatness. In His Sanctuary, one is released, and no one calls him to account. Truth is implanted within Him, and He implants Truth within others. He bestows the blessing of the True Shabad. One who has Truth within his heart - his body and mind are also true. O Nanak, if one submits to the Hukam, the Command of the True Lord God, he is blessed with true glory and greatness. He is immersed and merged in the True Lord, who blesses him with His Glance of Grace. ||2|| Pauree: They are not called heroes, who die of egotism, suffering in pain. The blind ones do not realise their own selves; in the love of duality, they rot. They struggle with great anger; here and hereafter, they suffer in pain. The Dear Lord is not pleased by egotism; the Vedas proclaim this clearly. Those who die of egotism, shall not find salvation. They die, and are reborn in reincarnation. ||9|| Shalok, Third Mehl: The crow does not become white, and an iron boat does not float across. One who puts his faith in the treasure of his Beloved Lord is blessed; he exalts and embellishes others as well. One who realises the Hukam of God's Command - his face is radiant and bright; he floats across, like iron upon wood. Forsake thirst and desire, and abide in the Fear of God; O Nanak, these are the most excellent actions. ||1|| Third Mehl: The ignorant people who go to the desert to conquer their minds, are not able to conquer them. O Nanak, if this mind is to be conquered, one must contemplate the Word of the Guru's Shabad. This mind is not conquered by conquering it, even though everyone longs to do so. O Nanak, the mind itself conquers the mind, if one meets with the True Guru. ||2||

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Pauree: He created both sides; Shiva dwells within Shakti (the soul dwells within the material universe). Through the material universe of Shakti, no one has ever found the Lord; they continue to be born and die in reincarnation. Serving the Guru, peace is found, meditating on the Lord with every breath and morsel of food. Searching and looking through the Simritees and the Shaastras, I have found that the most sublime person is the slave of the Lord. O Nanak, without the Naam, nothing is permanent and stable; I am a sacrifice to the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||10|| Shalok, Third Mehl: I might become a Pandit, a religious scholar, or an astrologer, and recite the four Vedas with my mouth; I might be worshipped throughout the nine regions of the earth for my wisdom and thought; let me not forget the Word of Truth, that no one can touch my sacred cooking square. Such cooking squares are false, O Nanak; only the One Lord is True. ||1|| Third Mehl: He Himself creates and He Himself acts; He bestows His Glance of Grace. He Himself grants glorious greatness; says Nanak, He is the True Lord. ||2|| Pauree: Only death is painful; I cannot conceive of anything else as painful. It is unstoppable; it stalks and pervades the world, and fights with the sinners. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, one is immersed in the Lord. Meditating on the Lord, one comes to realise the Lord. He alone is emancipated in the Sanctuary of the Lord, who struggles with his own mind. One

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who contemplates and meditates on the Lord in his mind, succeeds in the Court of the Lord. ||11|| Shalok, First Mehl: Submit to the Will of the Lord Commander; in His Court, only Truth is accepted. Your Lord and Master shall call you to account; do not go astray on beholding the world. One who keeps watch over his heart, and keeps his heart pure, is a dervish, a saintly devotee. Love and affection, O Nanak, are in the accounts placed before the Creator. ||1|| First Mehl: One who is unattached like the bumble bee, sees the Lord of the world everywhere. The diamond of his mind is pierced through with the Diamond of the Lord's Name; O Nanak, his neck is embellished with it. ||2|| Pauree: The self-willed manmukhs are afflicted by death; they cling to Maya in emotional attachment. In an instant, they are thrown to the ground and killed; in the love of duality, they are deluded. This opportunity shall not come into their hands again; they are beaten by the Messenger of Death with his stick. But Death's stick does not even strike those who remain awake and aware in the Love of the Lord. All are Yours, and cling to You; only You can save them. ||12|| Shalok, First Mehl: See the imperishable Lord everywhere; attachment to wealth brings only great pain. Loaded with dust, you have to cross over the world-ocean; you are not carrying the profit and capital of the Name with you. ||1|| First Mehl: My capital is Your True Name, O Lord; this wealth is inexhaustible and infinite. O Nanak, this merchandise is immaculate; blessed is the banker who trades in it. ||2|| First Mehl: Know and enjoy the primal, eternal Love of the Great Lord and Master. Blessed with the Naam, O Nanak, you shall strike down the Messenger of Death, and push his face to the ground. ||3|| Pauree: He Himself has embellished the body, and placed the nine treasures of the Naam within it. He confuses some in doubt; fruitless are their actions. Some, as Gurmukh, realise their Lord, the Supreme Soul. Some listen to the Lord, and obey Him; sublime and exalted are their actions. Love for the Lord wells up deep within, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord's Name. ||13|| Shalok, First Mehl:

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The Fear of God abides in the mind of the innocent; this is the straight path to the One Lord. Jealousy and envy bring terrible pain, and one is cursed throughout the three worlds. ||1|| First Mehl: The drum of the Vedas vibrates, bringing dispute and divisiveness. O Nanak, contemplate the Naam, the Name of the Lord; there is none except Him. ||2|| First Mehl: The world-ocean of the three qualities is unfathomably deep; how can its bottom be seen? If I meet with the great, self-sufficient True Guru, then I am carried across. This ocean is filled up with pain and suffering. O Nanak, without the True Name, no one's hunger is appeased. ||3|| Pauree: Those who search their inner beings, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, are exalted and adorned. They obtain what they wish for, meditating on the Lord's Name. One who is blessed by God's Grace, meets with the Guru; he sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. The Righteous Judge of Dharma is his friend; he does not have to walk on the Path of Death. He meditates on the Lord's Name, day and night; he is absorbed and immersed in the Lord's Name. ||14|| Shalok, First Mehl: Listen to and speak the Name of the One Lord, who permeates the heavens, this world and the nether regions of the underworld. The Hukam of His Command cannot be erased; whatever He has written, shall go with the mortal. Who has died, and who kills? Who comes and who goes? Who is enraptured, O Nanak, and whose consciousness merges in the Lord? ||1|| First Mehl: In egotism, he dies; possessiveness kills him, and the breath flows out like a river. Desire is exhausted, O Nanak, only when the mind is imbued with the Name. His eyes are imbued with the eyes of the Lord, and his ears ring with celestial consciousness. His tongue drinks in the sweet nectar, dyed crimson by chanting the Name of the Beloved Lord. His inner being is drenched with the Lord's fragrance; his worth cannot be described. ||2|| Pauree: In this age, the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is the treasure. Only the Naam goes along in the end. It is inexhaustible; it is never empty, no matter how much one may eat, consume or spend. The Messenger of Death does not even approach the humble servant of the Lord. They alone are the true bankers and traders, who have the wealth of the Lord in their laps. By the Lord's Mercy, one finds the Lord, only when the Lord Himself sends for him. ||15|| Shalok, Third Mehl: The self-willed manmukh does not appreciate the excellence of trading in Truth. He deals in poison, collects poison, and is in love with poison. Outwardly, they call themselves Pandits, religious scholars, but in their minds they are foolish and ignorant. They do not focus their consciousness on the Lord; they love to engage in arguments. They speak to cause arguments, and earn their living by telling lies. In this world, only the Lord's Name is immaculate and pure. All other objects of creation are polluted. O Nanak, those who do not remember the Naam, the Name of the Lord, are polluted; they die in ignorance. ||1|| Third Mehl: Without serving the Lord, he suffers in pain; accepting the Hukam of God's Command, pain is gone. He Himself is the Giver of peace; He Himself awards punishment. O Nanak, know this well; all that happens is according to His Will. ||2|| Pauree: Without the Lord's Name, the world is poor. Without the Name, no one is satisfied. He is deluded by duality and doubt. In egotism, he suffers in pain.

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Without good karma, he does not obtain anything, no matter how much he may wish for it. Coming and going in reincarnation, and birth and death are ended, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad. He Himself acts, so unto whom should we complain? There is no other at all. ||16|| Shalok, Third Mehl: In this world, the Saints earn the wealth; they come to meet God through the True Guru. The True Guru implants the Truth within; the value of this wealth cannot be described. Obtaining this wealth, hunger is relieved, and peace comes to dwell in the mind. Only those who have such pre-ordained destiny, come to receive this. The world of the self-willed manmukh is poor, crying out for Maya. Night and day, it wanders continually, and its hunger is never relieved. It never finds calm tranquility, and peace never comes to dwell in its mind. It is always plagued by anxiety, and its cynicism never departs. O Nanak, without the True Guru, the intellect is perverted; if one meets the True Guru, then one practices the Word of the Shabad. Forever and ever, he dwells in peace, and merges in the True Lord. ||1|| Third Mehl: The One who created the world, takes care of it. Meditate in remembrance on the One Lord, O Siblings of Destiny; there is none other than Him. So eat the food of the Shabad and goodness; eating it, you shall remain satisfied forever. Dress yourself in the Praise of the Lord. Forever and ever, it is radiant and bright; it is never polluted. I have intuitively earned the true wealth, which never decreases. The body is adorned with the Shabad, and is at peace forever and ever. O Nanak, the Gurmukh realises the Lord, who reveals Himself. ||2|| Pauree: Deep within the self are meditation and austere self-discipline, when one realises the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Meditating on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, egotism and ignorance are eliminated. One's inner being is overflowing with Ambrosial Nectar; tasting it, the flavor is known. Those who taste it become fearless; they are satisfied with the sublime essence of the Lord. Those who drink it in, by the Grace of the Lord, are never again afflicted by death. ||17|| Shalok, Third Mehl: People tie up bundles of demerits; no one deals in virtue. Rare is that person, O Nanak, who purchases virtue. By Guru's Grace, one is blessed with virtue, when the Lord bestows His Glance of Grace. ||1|| Third Mehl: Merits and demerits are the same; they are both created by the Creator. O Nanak, one who obeys the Hukam of the Lord's Command, finds peace, contemplating the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||2|| Pauree: The King sits on the throne within the self; He Himself administers justice. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the Lord's Court is known; within the self is the Sanctuary, the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. The coins are assayed, and the genuine coins are placed in His treasury, while the counterfeit ones find no place. The Truest of the True is all-pervading; His justice is forever True. One comes to enjoy the Ambrosial essence, when the Name is enshrined in the mind. ||18|| Shalok, First Mehl: When one acts in egotism, then You are not there, Lord. Wherever You are, there is no ego.

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O spiritual teachers, understand this: the Unspoken Speech is in the mind. Without the Guru, the essence of reality is not found; the Invisible Lord dwells everywhere. One meets the True Guru, and then the Lord is known, when the Word of the Shabad comes to dwell in the mind. When self-conceit departs, doubt and fear also depart, and the pain of birth and death is removed. Following the Guru's Teachings, the Unseen Lord is seen; the intellect is exalted, and one is carried across. O Nanak, chant the chant of 'Sohang hansaa' - 'He is me, and I am Him.' The three worlds are absorbed in Him. ||1|| Third Mehl: Some assay their mind-jewel, and contemplate the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Only a few of those humble beings are known in this world, in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga. One's self remains blended with the Lord's Self, when egotism and duality are conquered. O Nanak, those who are imbued with the Naam cross over the difficult, treacherous and terrifying world-ocean. ||2|| Pauree: The self-willed manmukhs do not search within their own selves; they are deluded by their egotistical pride. Wandering in the four directions, they grow weary, tormented by burning desire within. They do not study the Simritees and the Shaastras; the manmukhs waste away and are lost. Without the Guru, no one finds the Naam, the Name of the True Lord. One who contemplates the essence of spiritual wisdom and meditates on the Lord is saved. ||19|| Shalok, Second Mehl: He Himself knows, He Himself acts, and He Himself does it right. So stand before Him, O Nanak, and offer your prayers. ||1|| First Mehl: He who created the creation, watches over it; He Himself knows. Unto whom should I speak, O Nanak, when everything is contained within the home of the heart? ||2|| Pauree: Forget everything, and be friends with the One Lord alone. Your mind and body shall be enraptured, and the Lord shall burn away your sins. Your comings and goings in reincarnation shall cease; you shall not be reborn and die again. The True Name shall be your Support, and you shall not burn in sorrow and attachment. O Nanak, gather in the treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, within your mind. ||20|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: You do not forget Maya from your mind; you beg for it with each and every breath. You do not even think of that God; O Nanak, it is not in your karma. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Maya and its wealth shall not go along with you, so why do you cling to it - are you blind? Meditate on the Guru's Feet, and the bonds of Maya shall be cut away from you. ||2|| Pauree: By the Pleasure of His Will, the Lord inspires us to obey the Hukam of His Command; by the Pleasure of His Will, we find peace. By the Pleasure of His Will, He leads us to meet the True Guru; by the Pleasure of His Will, we meditate on the Truth. There is no other gift as great as the Pleasure of His Will; this Truth is spoken and proclaimed. Those who have such pre-ordained destiny, practice and live the Truth. Nanak has entered His Sanctuary; He created the world. ||21|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Those who do not have spiritual wisdom within, do not have even an iota of the Fear of God. O Nanak, why kill those who are already dead? The Lord of the Universe Himself has killed them. ||1|| Third Mehl: To read the horoscope of the mind, is the most sublime joyful peace. He alone is called a good Brahmin, who understands God in contemplative meditation. He praises the Lord, and reads of the Lord, and contemplates the Word of the Guru's Shabad.

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Celebrated and approved is the coming into the world of such a person, who saves all his generations as well. Hereafter, no one is questioned about social status; excellent and sublime is the practice of the Word of the Shabad. Other study is false, and other actions are false; such people are in love with poison. They do not find any peace within themselves; the self-willed manmukhs waste away their lives. O Nanak, those who are attuned to the Naam are saved; they have infinite love for the Guru. ||2|| Pauree: He Himself creates the creation, and gazes upon it; He Himself is totally True. One who does not understand the Hukam, the Command of his Lord and Master, is false. By the Pleasure of His Will, the True Lord joins the Gurmukh to Himself. He is the One Lord and Master of all; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, we are blended with Him. The Gurmukhs praise Him forever; all are beggars of Him. O Nanak, as He Himself makes us dance, we dance. ||22||1|| Sudh|| Vaar Of Maaroo, Fifth Mehl, Dakhanay, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: If You tell me to, O my Friend, I will cut off my head and give it to You. My eyes long for You; when will I see Your Vision? ||1|| Fifth Mehl: I am in love with You; I have seen that other love is false. Even clothes and food are frightening to me, as long as I do not see my Beloved. ||2|| Fifth Mehl: I rise early, O my Husband Lord, to behold Your Vision. Eye make-up, garlands of flowers, and the flavor of betel leaf, are all nothing but dust, without seeing You. ||3|| Pauree: You are True, O my True Lord and Master; You uphold all that is true. You created the world, making a place for the Gurmukhs. By the Will of the Lord, the Vedas came into being; they discriminate between sin and virtue. You created Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, and the expanse of the three qualities. Creating the world of the nine regions, O Lord, You have embellished it with beauty. Creating the beings of various kinds, You infused Your power into them. No one knows Your limit, O True Creator Lord. You Yourself know all ways and means; You Yourself save the Gurmukhs. ||1|| Dakhanay, Fifth Mehl: If You are my friend, then don't separate Yourself from me, even for an instant. My soul is fascinated and enticed by You; when will I see You, O my Love? ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Burn in the fire, you evil person; O separation, be dead. O my Husband Lord, please sleep upon my bed, that all my sufferings may be gone. ||2|| Fifth Mehl: The evil person is engrossed in the love of duality; through the disease of egotism, he suffers separation. The True Lord King is my friend; meeting with Him, I am so happy. ||3|| Pauree: You are inaccessible, merciful and infinite; who can estimate Your worth? You created the entire universe; You are the Master of all the worlds. No one knows Your creative power, O my all-pervading Lord and Master. No one can equal You; You are imperishable and eternal, the Savior of the world.

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You established the four ages; You are the Creator of all worlds. You created the comings and goings of reincarnation; not even a particle of filth sticks to You. As you are merciful, You attach us to the Feet of the True Guru. You cannot be found by any other efforts; You are the eternal, imperishable Creator of the Universe. ||2|| Dakhanay, Fifth Mehl: If You come into my courtyard, all the earth becomes beautiful. Other than the One Lord, my Husband, no one else cares for me. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: All my adornments become beautiful, when You, O Lord, sit in my courtyard and make it Yours. Then no traveller who comes to my home shall leave empty-handed. ||2|| Fifth Mehl: I have spread out my bed for You, O my Husband Lord, and applied all my decorations. But even this is not pleasing to me, to wear a garland around my neck.

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||3|| Pauree: O Supreme Lord God, O Transcendent Lord, You do not take birth. By the Hukam of Your Command, You formed the Universe; forming it, You merge into it. Your Form cannot be known; how can one meditate on You? You are pervading and permeating all; You Yourself reveal Your creative potency. Your treasures of devotional worship are overflowing; they never decrease. These gems, jewels and diamonds - their value cannot be estimated. As You Yourself become merciful, Lord, You link us to the service of the True Guru. One who sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord, never suffers any deficiency. ||3|| Dakhanay, Fifth Mehl: When I look within my being, I find that my Beloved is with me. All pains are relieved, O Nanak, when He bestows His Glance of Grace. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Nanak sits, waiting for news of the Lord, and stands at the Lord's Door; serving Him for so long. O my Beloved, only You know my objective; I stand, waiting to see the Lord's face. ||2|| Fifth Mehl: What should I say to you, you fool? Don't look at the vines of others - be a true husband. O Nanak, the entire world is blooming, like a garden of flowers. ||3|| Pauree: You are Wise, all-knowing and beautiful; You are pervading and permeating all. You Yourself are the Lord and Master, and the servant; You worship and adore Yourself. You are all-wise and all-seeing; You Yourself are true and pure. The Immaculate Lord, my Lord God, is celibate and True. God spreads out the expanse of the entire universe, and He Himself plays in it. He created this coming and going of reincarnation; creating the wondrous play, He gazes upon it. One who is blessed with the Guru's Teachings, is not consigned to the womb of reincarnation, ever again. All walk as He makes them walk; nothing is under the control of the created beings. ||4|| Dakhanay, Fifth Mehl: You are walking along the river-bank, but the land is giving way beneath you. Watch out! Your foot might slip, and you'll fall in and die. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: You believe what is false and temporary to be true, and so you run on and on. O Nanak, like butter in the fire, it shall melt away; it shall fade away like the water-lily. ||2|| Fifth Mehl: O my foolish and silly soul, why are you too lazy to serve? Such a long time has passed. When will this opportunity come again? ||3||

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Pauree: You have no form or shape, no social class or race. These humans believe that You are far away; but You are quite obviously apparent. You enjoy Yourself in every heart, and no filth sticks to You. You are the blissful and infinite Primal Lord God; Your Light is all-pervading. Among all divine beings, You are the most divine, O Creator-architect, Rejuvenator of all. How can my single tongue worship and adore You? You are the eternal, imperishable, infinite Lord God. One whom You Yourself unite with the True Guru - all his generations are saved. All Your servants serve You; Nanak is a humble servant at Your Door. ||5|| Dakhanay, Fifth Mehl: He builds a hut of straw, and the fool lights a fire in it. Only those who have such pre-ordained destiny on their foreheads, find Shelter with the Master. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: O Nanak, he grinds the corn, cooks it and places it before himself. But without his True Guru, he sits and waits for his food to be blessed. ||2|| Fifth Mehl: O Nanak, the loaves of bread are baked and placed on the plate. Those who obey their Guru, eat and are totally satisfied. ||3|| Pauree: You have staged this play in the world, and infused egotism into all beings. In the one temple of the body are the five thieves, who continually misbehave. The ten brides, the sensory organs were created, and the one husband, the self; the ten are engrossed in flavors and tastes. This Maya fascinates and entices them; they wander continually in doubt. You created both sides, spirit and matter, Shiva and Shakti. Matter loses out to spirit; this is pleasing to the Lord. You enshrined spirit within, which leads to merger with the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. Within the bubble, You formed the bubble, which shall once again merge into the water. ||6|| Dakhanay, Fifth Mehl: Look ahead; don't turn your face backwards. O Nanak, be successful this time, and you shall not be reincarnated again. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: My joyful friend is called the friend of all. All think of Him as their own; He never breaks anyone's heart. ||2|| Fifth Mehl: The hidden jewel has been found; it has appeared on my forehead. Beautiful and exalted is that place, O Nanak, where You dwell, O my Dear Lord. ||3|| Pauree: When You are on my side, Lord, what do I need to worry about? You entrusted everything to me, when I became Your slave. My wealth is inexhaustible, no matter how much I spend and consume. The 8.4 million species of beings all work to serve me. All these enemies have become my friends, and no one wishes me ill. No one calls me to account, since God is my forgiver. I have become blissful, and I have found peace, meeting with the Guru, the Lord of the Universe. All my affairs have been resolved, since You are pleased with me. ||7|| Dakhanay, Fifth Mehl: I am so eager to see You, O Lord; what does Your face look like? I wandered around in such a miserable state, but when I saw You, my mind was comforted and consoled. ||1||

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Fifth Mehl: The miserable endure so much suffering and pain; You alone know their pain, Lord. I may know hundreds of thousands of remedies, but I shall live only if I see my Husband Lord. ||2|| Fifth Mehl: I have seen the river-bank washed away by the raging waters of the river. They alone remain intact, who meet with the True Guru. ||3|| Pauree: No pain afflicts that humble being who hungers for You, Lord. That humble Gurmukh who understands, is celebrated in the four directions. Sins run away from that man, who seeks the Sanctuary of the Lord. The filth of countless incarnations is washed away, bathing in the dust of the Guru's feet. Whoever submits to the Lord's Will does not suffer in sorrow. O Dear Lord, You are the friend of all; all believe that You are theirs. The glory of the Lord's humble servant is as great as the Glorious Radiance of the Lord. Among all, His humble servant is pre-eminent; through His humble servant, the Lord is known. ||8|| Dakhanay, Fifth Mehl: Those whom I followed, now follow me. Those in whom I placed my hopes, now place their hopes in me. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: The fly flies around, and comes to the wet lump of molasses. Whoever sits on it, is caught; they alone are saved, who have good destiny on their foreheads. ||2|| Fifth Mehl: I see Him within all. No one is without Him. Good destiny is inscribed on the forehead of that companion, who who enjoys the Lord, my Friend. ||3|| Pauree: I am a minstrel at His Door, singing His Glorious Praises, to please to my Lord God. My God is permanent and stable; others continue coming and going. I beg for that gift from the Lord of the World, which will satisfy my hunger. O Dear Lord God, please bless Your minstrel with the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan, that I might be satisfied and fulfilled. God, the Great Giver, hears the prayer, and summons the minstrel to the Mansion of His Presence. Gazing upon God, the minstrel is rid of pain and hunger; he does not think to ask for anything else. All desires are fulfilled, touching the feet of God. I am His humble, unworthy minstrel; the Primal Lord God has forgiven me. ||9|| Dakhanay, Fifth Mehl: When the soul leaves, you shall become dust, O vacant body; why do you not realise your Husband Lord? You are in love with evil people; by what virtues will you enjoy the Lord's Love? ||1|| Fifth Mehl: O Nanak, without Him, you cannot survive, even for an instant; you cannot afford to forget Him, even for a moment. Why are you alienated from Him, O my mind? He takes care of you. ||2|| Fifth Mehl: Those who are imbued with the Love of the Supreme Lord God, their minds and bodies are coloured deep crimson. O Nanak, without the Name, other thoughts are polluted and corrupt. ||3|| Pauree: O Dear Lord, when You are my friend, what sorrow can afflict me? You have beaten off and destroyed the cheats that cheat the world. The Guru has carried me across the terrifying world-ocean, and I have won the battle. Through the Guru's Teachings, I enjoy all the pleasures in the great world-arena. The True Lord has brought all my senses and organs under my control.

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Wherever I join them, there they are joined; they do not struggle against me. I obtain the fruits of my desires; the Guru has directed me within. When Guru Nanak is pleased, O Siblings of Destiny, the Lord is seen to be dwelling near at hand. ||10|| Dakhanay, Fifth Mehl: When You come into my consciousness, then I obtain all peace and comfort. Nanak: with Your Name within my mind, O my Husband Lord, I am filled with delight. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Enjoyment of clothes and corrupt pleasures - all these are nothing more than dust. I long for the dust of the feet of those who are imbued with the Lord's Vision. ||2|| Fifth Mehl: Why do you look in other directions? O my heart, take the Support of the Lord alone. Become the dust of the feet of the Saints, and find the Lord, the Giver of peace. ||3|| Pauree: Without good karma, the Dear Lord is not found; without the True Guru, the mind is not joined to Him. Only the Dharma remains stable in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga; these sinners will not last at all. Whatever one does with this hand, he obtains with the other hand, without a moment's delay. I have examined the four ages, and without the Sangat, the Holy Congregation, egotism does not depart. Egotism is never eradicated without the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. As long as one's mind is torn away from his Lord and Master, he finds no place of rest. That humble being, who, as Gurmukh, serves the Lord, has the Support of the Imperishable Lord in the home of his heart. By the Lord's Grace, peace is obtained, and one is attached to the feet of the Guru, the True Guru. ||11|| Dakhanay, Fifth Mehl: I have searched everywhere for the King over the heads of kings. That Master is within my heart; I chant His Name with my mouth. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: O my mother, the Master has blessed me with the jewel. My heart is cooled and soothed, chanting the True Name with my mouth. ||2|| Fifth Mehl: I have become the bed for my Beloved Husband Lord; my eyes have become the sheets. If You look at me, even for an instant, then I obtain peace beyond all price. ||3|| Pauree: My mind longs to meet the Lord; how can I obtain the Blessed Vision of His Darshan? I obtain hundreds of thousands, if my Lord and Master speaks to me, even for an instant. I have searched in four directions; there is no other as great as You, Lord. Show me the Path, O Saints. How can I meet God? I dedicate my mind to Him, and renounce my ego. This is the Path which I shall take. Joining the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, I serve my Lord and Master continually. All my hopes are fulfilled; the Guru has ushered me into the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. I cannot conceive of any other as great as You, O my Friend, O Lord of the World. ||12|| Dakhanay, Fifth Mehl: I have become the throne for my Beloved Lord King. If You place Your foot on me, I blossom forth like the lotus flower. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: If my Beloved becomes hungry, I will become food, and place myself before Him. I may be crushed, again and again, but like sugarcane, I do not stop yielding sweet juice. ||2|| Fifth Mehl: Break off your love with the cheaters; realise that it is a mirage. Your pleasure lasts for only two moments; this traveller wanders through countless homes. ||3|| Pauree: God is not found by intellectual devices; He is unknowable and unseen.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 111

The followers of the six orders wander and roam around wearing religious robes, but they do not meet God. They keep the lunar fasts, but they are of no account. Those who read the Vedas in their entirety, still do not see the sublime essence of reality. They apply ceremonial marks to their foreheads, and take cleansing baths, but they are blackened within. They wear religious robes, but without the True Teachings, God is not found. One who had strayed, finds the Path again, if such pre-ordained destiny is written on his forehead. One who sees the Guru with his eyes, embellishes and exalts his human life. ||13|| Dakhanay, Fifth Mehl: Focus on that which will not pass away. Abandon your false actions, and meditate on the True Master. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: God's Light is permeating all, like the moon reflected in the water. He Himself is revealed, O Nanak, to one who has such destiny inscribed upon his forehead. ||2|| Fifth Mehl: One's face becomes beautiful, chanting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and singing His Glorious Praises, twenty-four hours a day. O Nanak, in the Court of the Lord, you shall be accepted; even the homeless find a home there. ||3|| Pauree: By wearing religious robes outwardly, God, the Inner-knower is not found. Without the One Dear Lord, all wander around aimlessly. Their minds are imbued with attachment to family, and so they continually wander around, puffed up with pride. The arrogant wander around the world; why are they so proud of their wealth? Their wealth shall not go with them when they depart; in an instant, it is gone. They wander around in the world, according to the Hukam of the Lord's Command. When one's karma is activated, one finds the Guru, and through Him, the Lord and Master is found. That humble being, who serves the Lord, has his affairs resolved by the Lord. ||14|| Dakhanay, Fifth Mehl: All speak with their mouths, but rare are those one who realise death. Nanak is the dust of the feet of those who have faith in the One Lord. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Know that He dwells within all; rare are those who realise this. There is no obscuring veil on the body of that one, O Nanak, who meets the Guru. ||2|| Fifth Mehl: I drink in the water which has washed the feet of those who share the Teachings. My body is filled with infinite love to see my True Master. ||3|| Pauree: Forgetting the Naam, the Name of the Fearless Lord, he becomes attached to Maya. He comes and goes, and wanders, dancing in countless incarnations. He gives his word, but then backs out. All that he says is false. The false person is hollow within; he is totally engrossed in falsehood. He tries to take vengeance upon the Lord, who bears no vengeance; such a person is trapped by falsehood and greed. The True King, the Primal Lord God, kills him when He sees what he has done. The Messenger of Death sees him, and he rots away in pain. Even-handed justice is administered, O Nanak, in the Court of the True Lord. ||15|| Dakhanay, Fifth Mehl: In the early hours of the morning, chant the Name of God, and meditate on the Feet of the Guru. The filth of birth and death is erased, singing the Glorious Praises of the True Lord. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: The body is dark, blind and empty, without the Naam, the Name of the Lord. O Nanak, fruitful is the birth of one, within whose heart the True Master dwells. ||2|| Fifth Mehl: With my eyes, I have seen the Light; my great thirst for Him is not quenched.

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O Nanak, these are not the eyes which can see my Beloved Husband Lord. ||3|| Pauree: That humble being, who, as Gurmukh, serves the Lord, obtains all peace and pleasure. He Himself is saved, along with his family, and all the world is saved as well. He collects the wealth of the Lord's Name, and all his thirst is quenched. He renounces worldly greed, and his inner being is lovingly attuned to the Lord. Forever and ever, the home of his heart is filled with bliss; the Lord is his companion, help and support. He looks alike upon enemy and friend, and wishes well to all. He alone is fulfilled in this world, who meditates on the spiritual wisdom of the Guru. He obtains what is pre-ordained for him, according to the Lord. ||16|| Dakhanay, Fifth Mehl: The true person is said to be beautiful; false is the reputation of the false. O Nanak, rare

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are those who have Truth in their laps. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: The face of my friend, the Lord, is incomparably beautiful; I would watch Him, twenty-four hours a day. In sleep, I saw my Husband Lord; I am a sacrifice to that dream. ||2|| Fifth Mehl: O my friend, realise the True Lord. Just to talk about Him is useless. See Him within your mind; your Beloved is not far away. ||3|| Pauree: The earth, the Akaashic ethers of the sky, the nether regions of the underworld, the moon and the sun shall pass away. Emperors, bankers, rulers and leaders shall depart, and their homes shall be demolished. The poor and the rich, the humble and the intoxicated, all these people shall pass away. The Qazis, Shaykhs and preachers shall all arise and depart. The spiritual teachers, prophets and disciples - none of these shall remain permanently. Fasts, calls to prayer and sacred scriptures - without understanding, all these shall vanish. The 8.4 million species of beings of the earth shall all continue coming and going in reincarnation. The One True Lord God is eternal and unchanging. The Lord's slave is also eternal. ||17|| Dakhanay, Fifth Mehl: I have seen and examined all; without the One Lord, there is none at all. Come, and show me Your face, O my friend, so that my body and mind may be cooled and soothed. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: The lover is without hope, but within my mind, there is great hope. In the midst of hope, only You, O Lord, remain free of hope; I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice to You. ||2|| Fifth Mehl: Even if I just hear of separation from You, I am in pain; without seeing You, O Lord, I die. Without her Beloved, the separated lover takes no comfort. ||3|| Pauree: River-banks, sacred shrines, idols, temples, and places of pilgrimage like Kaydarnaat'h, Mat'huraa and Benares, the three hundred thirty million gods, along with Indra, shall all pass away. The Simritees, Shaastras, the four Vedas and the six systems of philosophy shall vanish. Prayer books, Pandits, religious scholars, songs, poems and poets shall also depart. Those who are celibate, truthful and charitiable, and the Sannyaasee hermits are all subject to death. The silent sages, the Yogis and the nudists, along with the Messengers of Death, shall pass away. Whatever is seen shall perish; all will dissolve and disappear. Only the Supreme Lord God, the Transcendent Lord, is permanent. His servant becomes permanent as well. ||18|| Shalok Dakhanay, Fifth Mehl: Hundreds of times naked does not make the person naked; tens of thousands of hungers do not make him hungry; millions of pains do not cause him pain. O Nanak, the Husband Lord blesses him with his Glance of Grace. ||1||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 113

Fifth Mehl: Even if one were to enjoy all pleasures, and be master of the entire earth, O Nanak, all of that is just a disease. Without the Naam, he is dead. ||2|| Fifth Mehl: Yearn for the One Lord, and make Him your friend. O Nanak, He alone fulfills your hopes; you should feel embarrassed, visiting other places. ||3|| Pauree: The One and only Lord is eternal, imperishable, inaccessible and incomprehensible. The treasure of the Naam is eternal and imperishable. Meditating in remembrance on Him, the Lord is attained. The Kirtan of His Praises is eternal and imperishable; the Gurmukh sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe. Truth, righteousness, Dharma and intense meditation are eternal and imperishable. Day and night, worship the Lord in adoration. Compassion, righteousness, Dharma and intense meditation are eternal and imperishable; they alone obtain these, who have such pre-ordained destiny. The inscription inscribed upon one's forehead is eternal and imperishable; it cannot be avoided by avoidance. The Congregation, the Company of the Holy, and the word of the humble, are eternal and imperishable. The Holy Guru is eternal and imperishable. Those who have such pre-ordained destiny worship and adore the Lord, forever and ever. ||19|| Shalok, Dakhanay, Fifth Mehl: One who himself has drowned - how can he carry anyone else across? One who is imbued with the Love of the Husband Lord - O Nanak, he himself is saved, and he saves others as well. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Wherever someone speaks and hears the Name of my Beloved Lord, that is where I go, O Nanak, to see Him, and blossom forth in bliss. ||2|| Fifth Mehl: You are in love with your children and your wife; why do you keep calling them your own? O Nanak, without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the human body has no foundation. ||3|| Pauree: With my eyes, I gaze upon the Blessed Vision of the Guru's Darshan; I touch my forehead to the Guru's feet. With my feet I walk on the Guru's Path; with my hands, I wave the fan over Him. I meditate on Akaal Moorat, the undying form, within my heart; day and night, I meditate on Him. I have renounced all possessiveness, and have placed my faith in the all-powerful Guru. The Guru has blessed me with the treasure of the Naam; I am rid of all sufferings. Eat and enjoy the Naam, the Name of the indescribable Lord, O Siblings of Destiny. Confirm your faith in the Naam, charity and self-purification; chant the Guru's sermon forever. Blessed with intuitive poise, I have found God; I am rid of the fear of the Messenger of Death. ||20|| Shalok, Dakhanay, Fifth Mehl: I am centred and focused on my Beloved, but I am not satisfied, even by seeing Him. The Lord and Master is within all; I do not see any other. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: The sayings of the Saints are the paths of peace. O Nanak, they alone obtain them, upon whose foreheads such destiny is written. ||2|| Fifth Mehl: He is totally permeating the mountains, oceans, deserts, lands, forests, orchards, caves, the nether regions of the underworld, the Akaashic ethers of the skies, and all hearts. Nanak sees that they are all strung on the same thread. ||3|| Pauree: The Dear Lord is my mother, the Dear Lord is my father; the Dear Lord cherishes and nurtures me. The Dear Lord takes care of me; I am the child of the Lord. Slowly and steadily, He feeds me; He never fails. He does not remind me of my faults; He hugs me close in His embrace. Whatever I ask for, He give me; the Lord is my peace-giving father.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 114

He has blessed me with the capital, the wealth of spiritual wisdom; He has made me worthy of this merchandise. He has made me a partner with the Guru; I have obtained all peace and comforts. He is with me, and shall never separate from me; the Lord, my father, is potent to do everything. ||21|| Shalok, Dakhanay, Fifth Mehl: O Nanak, break away from the false, and seek out the Saints, your true friends. The false shall leave you, even while you are still alive; but the Saints shall not forsake you, even when you are dead. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: O Nanak, the lightning flashes, and thunder echoes in the dark black clouds. The downpour from the clouds is heavy; O Nanak, the soul-brides are exalted and embellished with their Beloved. ||2|| Fifth Mehl: The ponds and the lands are overflowing with water, and the cold wind is blowing. Her bed is adorned with gold, diamonds and rubies; she is blessed with beautiful gowns and delicacies, O Nanak, but without her Beloved, she burns in agony. ||3|| Pauree: He does the dees which the Creator causes him to do. Even if you run in hundreds of directions, O mortal, you shall still receive what you are pre-destined to receive. Without good karma, you shall obtain nothing, even if you wander across the whole world. Meeting with the Guru, you shall know the Fear of God, and other fears shall be taken away. Through the Fear of God, the attitude of detachment wells up, and one sets out in search of the Lord. Searching and searching, intuitive wisdom wells up, and then, one is not born to die again. Practicing meditation within my heart, I have found the Sanctuary of the Holy. Whoever the Lord places on the boat of Guru Nanak, is carried across the terrifying world-ocean. ||22|| Shalok, Dakhanay Fifth Mehl: First, accept death, and give up any hope of life. Become the dust of the feet of all, and then, you may come to me. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: See, that only one who has died, truly lives; one who is alive, consider him dead. Those who are in love with the One Lord, are the supreme people. ||2|| Fifth Mehl: Pain does not even approach that person, within whose mind God abides. Hunger and thirst do not affect him, and the Messenger of Death does not approach him. ||3|| Pauree: Your worth cannot be estimated, O True, Unmoving Lord God. The Siddhas, seekers, spiritual teachers and meditators - who among them can measure You? You are all-powerful, to form and break; You create and destroy all. You are all-powerful to act, and inspire all to act; You speak through each and every heart. You give sustanance to all; why should mankind waver? You are deep, profound and unfathomable; Your virtuous spiritual wisdom is priceless. They do the deeds which they are pre-ordained to do. Without You, there is nothing at all; Nanak chants Your Glorious Praises. ||23||1||2|| Raag Maaroo, The Word Of Kabeer Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O Pandit, O religious scholar, in what foul thoughts are you engaged? You shall be drowned, along with your family, if you do not meditate on the Lord, you unfortunate person. ||1||Pause|| What is the use of reading the Vedas and the Puraanas? It is like loading a donkey with sandalwood.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 115

You do not know the exalted state of the Lord's Name; how will you ever cross over? ||1|| You kill living beings, and call it a righteous action. Tell me, brother, what would you call an unrighteous action? You call yourself the most excellent sage; then who would you call a butcher? ||2|| You are blind in your mind, and do not understand your own self; how can you make others understand, O brother? For the sake of Maya and money, you sell knowledge; your life is totally worthless. ||3|| Naarad and Vyaasa say these things; go and ask Suk Dayv as well. Says Kabeer, chanting the Lord's Name, you shall be saved; otherwise, you shall drown, brother. ||4||1|| Living in the forest, how will you find Him? Not until you remove corruption from your mind. Those who look alike upon home and forest, are the most perfect people in the world. ||1|| You shall find real peace in the Lord, if you lovingly dwell on the Lord within your being. ||1||Pause|| What is the use of wearing matted hair, smearing the body with ashes, and living in a cave? Conquering the mind, one conquers the world, and then remains detached from corruption. ||2|| They all apply make-up to their eyes; there is little difference between their objectives. But those eyes, to which the ointment of spiritual wisdom is applied, are approved and supreme. ||3|| Says Kabeer, now I know my Lord; the Guru has blessed me with spiritual wisdom. I have met the Lord, and I am emancipated within; now, my mind does not wander at all. ||4||2|| You have riches and miraculous spiritual powers; so what business do you have with anyone else? What should I say about the reality of your talk? I am embarrassed even to speak to you. ||1|| One who has found the Lord, does not wander from door to door. ||1||Pause|| The false world wanders all around, in hopes of finding wealth to use for a few days. That humble being, who drinks in the Lord's water, never becomes thirsty again. ||2|| Whoever understands, by Guru's Grace, becomes free of hope in the midst of hope. One comes to see the Lord everywhere, when the soul becomes detached. ||3|| I have tasted the sublime essence of the Lord's Name; the Lord's Name carries everyone across. Says Kabeer, I have become like gold; doubt is dispelled, and I have crossed over the world-ocean. ||4||3|| Like drops of water in the water of the ocean, and like waves in the stream, I merge in the Lord. Merging my being into the Absolute Being of God, I have become impartial and transparent, like the air. ||1|| Why should I come into the world again? Coming and going is by the Hukam of His Command; realising His Hukam, I shall merge in Him. ||1||Pause|| When the body, formed of the five elements, perishes, then any such doubts shall end. Giving up the different schools of philosophy, I look upon all equally; I meditate only on the One Name. ||2|| Whatever I am attached to, to that I am attached; such are the deeds I do. When the Dear Lord grants His Grace, then I am merged in the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||3|| Die while yet alive, and by so dying, be alive; thus you shall not be reborn again.

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 116

Says Kabeer, whoever is absorbed in the Naam remains lovingly absorbed in the Primal, Absolute Lord. ||4||4|| If You keep me far away from You, then tell me, what is liberation? The One has many forms, and is contained within all; how can I be fooled now? ||1|| O Lord, where will You take me, to save me? Tell me where, and what sort of liberation shall You give me? By Your Grace, I have already obtained it. ||1||Pause|| People talk of salvation and being saved, as long as they do not understand the essence of reality. I have now become pure within my heart, says Kabeer, and my mind is pleased and appeased. ||2||5|| Raawan made castles and fortresses of gold, but he had to abandon them when he left. ||1|| Why do you act only to please your mind? When Death comes and grabs you by the hair, then only the Name of the Lord will save you. ||1||Pause|| Death, and deathlessness are the creations of our Lord and Master; this show, this expanse, is only an entanglement. Says Kabeer, those who have the sublime essence of the Lord in their hearts - in the end, they are liberated. ||2||6|| The body is a village, and the soul is the owner and farmer; the five farm-hands live there. The eyes, nose, ears, tongue and sensory organs of touch do not obey any order. ||1|| O father, now I shall not live in this village. The accountants summoned Chitar and Gupat, the recording scribes of the conscious and the unconscious, to ask for an account of each and every moment. ||1||Pause|| When the Righteous Judge of Dharma calls for my account, there shall be a very heavy balance against me. The five farm-hands shall then run away, and the bailiff shall arrest the soul. ||2|| Says Kabeer, listen, O Saints: settle your accounts in this farm. O Lord, please forgive Your slave now, in this life, so that he may not have to return again to this terrifying world-ocean. ||3||7|| Raag Maaroo, The Word Of Kabeer Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: No one has seen the Fearless Lord, O renunciate. Without the Fear of God, how can the Fearless Lord be obtained? ||1|| If one sees the Presence of his Husband Lord near at hand, then he feels the Fear of God, O renunciate. If he realises the Hukam of the Lord's Command, then he becomes fearless. ||2|| Don't practice hypocrisy with the Lord, O renunciate! The whole world is filled with hypocrisy. ||3|| Thirst and desire do not just go away, O renunciate. The body is burning in the fire of worldly love and attachment. ||4|| Anxiety is burned, and the body is burned, O renunciate, only if one lets his mind become dead. ||5|| Without the True Guru, there can be no renunciation, even though all the people may wish for it. ||6|| When God grants His Grace, one meets the True Guru, O renunciate, and automatically, intuitively finds that Lord. ||7|| Says Kabeer, I offer this one prayer, O renunciate. Carry me across the terrifying world-ocean. ||8||1||8||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 117

O king, who will come to you? I have seen such love from Bidur, that the poor man is pleasing to me. ||1||Pause|| Gazing upon your elephants, you have gone astray in doubt; you do not know the Great Lord God. I judge Bidur's water to be like ambrosial nectar, in comparison with your milk. ||1|| I find his rough vegetables to be like rice pudding; the night of my life passes singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Kabeer's Lord and Master is joyous and blissful; He does not care about anyone's social class. ||2||9|| Shalok, Kabeer: The battle-drum beats in the sky of the mind; aim is taken, and the wound is inflicted. The spiritual warriors enter the field of battle; now is the time to fight! ||1|| He alone is known as a

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spiritual hero, who fights in defence of religion. He may be cut apart, piece by piece, but he never leaves the field of battle. ||2||2|| Shabad Of Kabeer, Raag Maaroo, The Word Of Naam Dayv Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I have obtained the four kinds of liberation, and the four miraculous spiritual powers, in the Sanctuary of God, my Husband Lord. I am liberated, and famous throughout the four ages; the canopy of praise and fame waves over my head. ||1|| Meditating on the Sovereign Lord God, who has not been saved? Whoever follows the Guru's Teachings and joins the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, is called the most devoted of the devotees. ||1||Pause|| He is adorned with the conch, the chakra, the mala and the ceremonial tilak mark on his forehead; gazing upon his radiant glory, the Messenger of Death is scared away. He becomes fearless, and the power of the Lord thunders through him; the pains of birth and death are taken away. ||2|| The Lord blessed Ambreek with fearless dignity, and elevated Bhabhikhan to become king. Sudama's Lord and Master blessed him with the nine treasures; he made Dhroo permanent and unmoving; as the north star, he still hasn't moved. ||3|| For the sake of His devotee Prahlaad, God assumed the form of the man-lion, and killed Harnaakhash. Says Naam Dayv, the beautiful-haired Lord is in the power of His devotees; He is standing at Balraja's door, even now! ||4||1|| Maaroo, Kabeer Jee: You have forgotten your religion, O madman; you have forgotten your religion. You fill your belly, and sleep like an animal; you have wasted and lost this human life. ||1||Pause|| You never joined the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. You are engrossed in false pursuits. You wander like a dog, a pig, a crow; soon, you shall have to get up and leave. ||1|| You believe that you yourself are great, and that others are small. Those who are false in thought, word and deed, I have seen them going to hell. ||2|| The lustful, the angry, the clever, the deceitful and the lazy waste their lives in slander, and never remember their Lord in meditation. ||3|| Says Kabeer, the fools, the idiots and the brutes do not remember the Lord. They do not know the Lord's Name; how can they be carried across? ||4||1||

Section 25 - Raag Maaroo - Part 118

Raag Maaroo, The Word Of Jai Dayv Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The breath is drawn in through the left nostril; it is held in the central channel of the Sushmanaa, and exhaled through the right nostril, repeating the Lord's Name sixteen times. I am powerless; my power has been broken. My unstable mind has been stabliised, and my unadorned soul has been adorned. I drink in the Ambrosial Nectar. ||1|| Within my mind, I chant the Name of the Primal Lord God, the Source of virtue. My vision, that You are I are separate, has melted away. ||1||Pause|| I worship the One who is worthy of being worshipped. I trust the One who is worthy of being trusted. Like water merging in water, I merge in the Lord. Says Jai Dayv, I meditate and contemplate the Luminous, Triumphant Lord. I am lovingly absorbed in the Nirvaanaa of God. ||2||1|| Kabeer, Maaroo: Meditate in remembrance on the Lord, or else you will regret it in the end, O mind. O sinful soul, you act in greed, but today or tomorrow, you will have to get up and leave. ||1||Pause|| Clinging to greed, you have wasted your life, deluded in the doubt of Maya. Do not take pride in your wealth and youth; you shall crumble apart like dry paper. ||1|| When the Messenger of Death comes and grabs you by the hair, and 1974

knocks you down, on that day, you shall be powerless. You do not remember the Lord, or vibrate upon Him in meditation, and you do not practice compassion; you shall be beaten on your face. ||2|| When the Righteous Judge of Dharma calls for your account, what face will you show Him then? Says Kabeer, listen, O Saints: in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, you shall be saved. ||3||1|| Raag Maaroo, The Word Of Ravi Daas Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O Love, who else but You could do such a thing? O Patron of the poor, Lord of the World, You have put the canopy of Your Grace over my head. ||1||Pause|| Only You can grant Mercy to that person whose touch pollutes the world. You exalt and elevate the lowly, O my Lord of the Universe; You are not afraid of anyone. ||1|| Naam Dayv, Kabeer, Trilochan, Sadhana and Sain crossed over. Says Ravi Daas, listen, O Saints, through the Dear Lord, all is accomplished. ||2||1|| MAAROO: The Lord is the ocean of peace; the miraculous tree of life, the jewel of miracles and the wish-fulfilling cow are all under His power. The four great blessings, the eight great miraculous spiritual powers and the nine treasures are in the palm of His hand. ||1|| Why don't you chant the Lord's Name, Har, Har, Har? Abandon all other devices of words. ||1||Pause|| The many epics, the Puraanas and the Vedas are all composed out of the letters of the alphabet. After careful thought, Vyaasa spoke the supreme truth, that there is nothing equal to the Lord's Name. ||2|| In intuitive Samaadhi, their troubles are eliminated; the very fortunate ones lovingly focus on the Lord. Says Ravi Daas, the Lord's slave remains detached from the world; the fear of birth and death runs away from his mind. ||3||2||15||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 26 - RAAG TUKHAARI

Section 26 - Raag Tukhaari - Part 001

Tukhaari Chhant, First Mehl, Baarah Maahaa ~ The Twelve Months: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Listen: according to the karma of their past actions, each and every person experiences happiness or sorrow; whatever You give, Lord, is good. O Lord, the Created Universe is Yours; what is my condition? Without the Lord, I cannot survive, even for an instant. Without my Beloved, I am miserable; I have no friend at all. As Gurmukh, I drink in the Ambrosial Nectar. The Formless Lord is contained in His Creation. To obey God is the best course of action. O Nanak, the soul-bride is gazing upon Your Path; please listen, O Supreme Soul. ||1|| The rainbird cries out, "Pri-o! Beloved!", and the song-bird sings the Lord's Bani. The soul-bride enjoys all the pleasures, and merges in the Being of her Beloved. She merges into the Being of her Beloved, when she becomes pleasing to God; she is the happy, blessed soul-bride. Establishing the nine houses, and the Royal Mansion of the Tenth Gate above them, the Lord dwells in that home deep within the self. All are Yours, You are my Beloved; night and day, I celebrate Your Love. O Nanak, the rainbird cries out, "Pri-o! Pri-o! Beloved! Beloved!" The song-bird is embellished with the Word of the Shabad. ||2|| Please listen, O my Beloved Lord - I am drenched with Your Love. My mind and body are absorbed in dwelling on You; I cannot forget You, even for an instant. How could I forget You, even for an instant? I am a sacrifice to You; singing Your Glorious Praises, I live. No one is mine; unto whom do I belong? Without the Lord, I cannot survive. I have grasped the Support of the Lord's Feet; dwelling there, my body has become immaculate. O Nanak, I have obtained profound insight, and found peace; my mind is comforted by the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||3|| The Ambrosial Nectar rains down on us! Its drops are so delightful! Meeting the Guru, the Best Friend, with intuitive ease, the mortal falls in love with the Lord. The Lord comes into the temple of the body, when it pleases God's Will; the soul-bride rises up, and sings His Glorious Praises. In each and every home, the Husband Lord ravishes and enjoys the happy soul-brides; so why has He forgotten me? The sky is overcast with heavy, low-hanging clouds; the rain is delightful, and my Beloved's Love is pleasing to my mind and body. O Nanak, the Ambrosial Nectar of Gurbani rains down; the Lord, in His Grace, has come into the home of my heart. ||4|| In the month of Chayt, the lovely spring has come, and the bumble bees hum with joy.

Section 26 - Raag Tukhaari - Part 002

The forest is blossoming in front of my door; if only my Beloved would return to my home! If her Husband Lord does not return home, how can the soul-bride find peace? Her body is wasting away with the sorrow of separation. The beautiful song-bird sings, perched on the mango tree; but how can I endure the pain in the depths of my being? The bumble bee is buzzing around the flowering branches; but how can I survive? I am dying, O my mother! O Nanak, in Chayt, peace is easily obtained, if the soul-bride obtains the Lord as her Husband, within the home of her own heart. ||5|| Baisakhi is so pleasant; the branches blossom with new leaves. The soul-bride yearns to see the Lord at her door. Come, O Lord, and take pity on me! Please come home, O my Beloved; carry me across the treacherous world-ocean. Without You, I am not worth even a shell. Who can estimate my worth, if I am pleasing to You? I see You, and inspire others to see You, O my Love. I know that You are not far away; I believe that You are deep within me, and I realise Your Presence. O Nanak, finding God in Baisakhi, the consciousness is filled with the Word of the Shabad, and the mind comes to believe. ||6|| The month of Jayt'h is so sublime. How could I forget my Beloved? The earth burns like a furnace, and the soul-bride offers her prayer. The bride offers her prayer, and sings His Glorious Praises; singing His Praises, she becomes pleasing to God. The Unattached Lord dwells in His true mansion. If He allows me, then I will come to Him. The bride is dishonoured and powerless; how will she find peace without her Lord? O Nanak, in Jayt'h, she who knows her Lord becomes just like Him; grasping virtue, she meets with the Merciful Lord. ||7|| The month of Aasaarh is good; the sun blazes in the sky. The earth suffers in pain, parched and roasted in the fire. The fire dries up the moisture, and she dies in agony. But even then, the sun does not grow tired. His chariot moves on, and the soul-bride seeks shade; the crickets are chirping in the forest. She ties up her bundle of faults and demerits, and suffers in the world hereafter. But dwelling on the True Lord, she finds peace. O Nanak, I have given this mind to Him; death and life rest with God. ||8|| In Saawan, be happy, O my mind. The rainy season has come, and the clouds have burst into showers. My mind and body are pleased by my Lord, but my Beloved has gone away. My Beloved has not come home, and I am dying of the sorrow of separation. The lightning flashes, and I am scared. My bed is lonely, and I am suffering in agony. I am dying in pain, O my mother! Tell me - without the Lord, how can I sleep, or feel hungry? My clothes give no comfort to my body. O Nanak, she alone is a happy soul-bride, who merges in the Being of her Beloved Husband Lord. ||9|| In Bhaadon, the young woman is confused by doubt; later, she regrets and repents. The lakes and fields are overflowing with water; the rainy season has come - the time to celebrate! In the dark of night it rains; how can the young bride find peace? The frogs and peacocks send out their noisy calls. "Pri-o! Pri-o! Beloved! Beloved!" cries the rainbird, while the snakes slither around, biting. The mosquitoes bite and sting, and the ponds are filled to overflowing; without the Lord, how can she find peace? O Nanak, I will go and ask my Guru; wherever God is, there I will go. ||10|| In Assu, come, my Beloved; the soul-bride is grieving to death. She can only meet Him, when God leads her to meet Him; she is ruined by the love of duality. If she is plundered by falsehood, then her Beloved forsakes her. Then, the white flowers of old age blossom in my hair.

Section 26 - Raag Tukhaari - Part 003

Summer is now behind us, and the winter season is ahead. Gazing upon this play, my shaky mind wavers. In all ten directions, the branches are green and alive. That which ripens slowly, is sweet. O Nanak, in Assu, please meet me, my Beloved. The True Guru has become my Advocate and Friend. ||11|| In Katak, that alone comes to pass, which is pleasing to the Will of God. The lamp of intuition burns, lit by the essence of reality. Love is the oil in the lamp, which unites the soul-bride with her Lord. The bride is delighted, in ecstasy. One who dies in faults and demerits - her death is not successful. But one who dies in glorious virtue, really truly dies. Those who are blessed with devotional worship of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, sit in the home of their own inner being. They place their hopes in You. Nanak: please open the shutters of Your Door, O Lord, and meet me. A single moment is like six months to me. ||12|| The month of Maghar is good, for those who sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and merge in His Being. The virtuous wife utters His Glorious Praises; my Beloved Husband Lord is Eternal and Unchanging. The Primal Lord is Unmoving and Unchanging, Clever and Wise; all the world is fickle. By virtue of spiritual wisdom and meditation, she merges in His Being; she is pleasing to God, and He is pleasing to her. I have heard the songs and the music, and the poems of the poets; but only the Name of the Lord takes away my pain. O Nanak, that soul-bride is pleasing to her Husband Lord, who performs loving devotional worship before her Beloved. ||13|| In Poh, the snow falls, and the sap of the trees and the fields dries up. Why have You not come? I keep You in my mind, body and mouth. He is permeating and pervading my mind and body; He is the Life of the World. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, I enjoy His Love. His Light fills all those born of eggs, born from the womb, born of sweat and born of the earth, each and every heart. Grant me the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan, O Lord of Mercy and Compassion. O Great Giver, grant me understanding, that I might find salvation. O Nanak, the Lord enjoys, savors and ravishes the bride who is in love with Him. ||14|| In Maagh, I become pure; I know that the sacred shrine of pilgrimage is within me. I have met my Friend with intuitive ease; I grasp His Glorious Virtues, and merge in His Being. O my Beloved, Beauteous Lord God, please listen: I sing Your Glories, and merge in Your Being. If it is pleasing to Your Will, I bathe in the sacred pool within. The Ganges, Jamunaa, the sacred meeting place of the three rivers, the seven seas, charity, donations, adoration and worship all rest in the Transcendent Lord God; throughout the ages, I realise the One. O Nanak, in Maagh, the most sublime essence is meditation on the Lord; this is the cleansing bath of the sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage. ||15|| In Phalgun, her mind is enraptured, pleased by the Love of her Beloved. Night and day, she is enraptured, and her selfishness is gone. Emotional attachment is eradicated from her mind, when it pleases Him; in His Mercy, He comes to my home. I dress in various clothes, but without my Beloved, I shall not find a place in the Mansion of His Presence. I have adorned myself with garlands of flowers, pearl necklaces, scented oils and silk robes. O Nanak, the Guru has united me with Him. The soul-bride has found her Husband Lord, within the home of her own heart. ||16|| The twelve months, the seasons, the weeks, the days, the hours, the minutes and the seconds are all sublime, when the True Lord comes and meets her with natural ease. God, my Beloved, has met me, and my affairs are all resolved. The Creator Lord knows all ways and means. I am loved by the One who has embellished and exalted me; I have met Him, and I savor His Love. The bed of my heart becomes beautiful, when my Husband Lord ravishes me. As Gurmukh, the destiny on my forehead has been awakened and activated.

Section 26 - Raag Tukhaari - Part 004

O Nanak, day and night, my Beloved enjoys me; with the Lord as my Husband, my Marriage is Eternal. ||17||1|| Tukhaari, First Mehl: In the first watch of the dark night, O bride of splendored eyes, protect your riches; your turn is coming soon. When your turn comes, who will wake you? While you sleep, your juice shall be sucked out by the Messenger of Death. The night is so dark; what will become of

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your honour? The thieves will break into your home and rob you. O Saviour Lord, Inaccessible and Infinite, please hear my prayer. O Nanak, the fool never remembers Him; what can he see in the dark of night? ||1|| The second watch has begun; wake up, you unconscious being! Protect your riches, O mortal; your farm is being eaten. Protect your crops, and love the Lord, the Guru. Stay awake and aware, and the thieves shall not rob you. You shall not have to go on the path of Death, and you shall not suffer in pain; your fear and terror of death shall run away. The lamps of the sun and the moon are lit by the Guru's Teachings, through His Door, meditating on the True Lord, in the mind and with the mouth. O Nanak, the fool still does not remember the Lord. How can he find peace in duality? ||2|| The third watch has begun, and sleep has set in. The mortal suffers in pain, from attachment to Maya, children and spouse. Maya, his children, his wife and the world are so dear to him; he bites the bait, and is caught. Meditating on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, he shall find peace; following the Guru's Teachings, he shall not be seized by death. He cannot escape from birth, dying and death; without the Name, he suffers. O Nanak, in the third watch of the three-phased Maya, the world is engrossed in attachment to Maya. ||3|| The fourth watch has begun, and the day is about to dawn. Those who remain awake and aware, night and day, preserve and protect their homes. The night is pleasant and peaceful, for those who remain awake; following the Guru's advice, they focus on the Naam. Those who practice the Word of the Guru's Shabad are not reincarnated again; the Lord God is their Best Friend. The hands shake, the feet and body totter, the vision goes dark, and the body turns to dust. O Nanak, people are miserable throughout the four ages, if the Name of the Lord does not abide in the mind. ||4|| The knot has been untied; rise up - the order has come! Pleasures and comforts are gone; like a prisoner, you are driven on. You shall be bound and gagged, when it pleases God; you will not see or hear it coming. Everyone will have their turn; the crop ripens, and then it is cut down. The account is kept for every second, every instant; the soul suffers for the bad and the good. O Nanak, the angelic beings are united with the Word of the Shabad; this is the way God made it. ||5||2|| Tukhaari, First Mehl: The meteor shoots across the sky. How can it be seen with the eyes? The True Guru reveals the Word of the Shabad to His servant who has such perfect karma. The Guru reveals the Shabad; dwelling on the True Lord, day and night, he beholds and reflects on God. The five restless desires are restrained, and he knows the home of his own heart. He conquers sexual desire, anger and corruption. His inner being is illuminated, by the Guru's Teachings; He beholds the Lord's play of karma.

Section 26 - Raag Tukhaari - Part 005

O Nanak, killing his ego, he is satisfied; the meteor has shot across the sky. ||1|| The Gurmukhs remain awake and aware; their egotistical pride is eradicated. Night and day, it is dawn for them; they merge in the True Lord. The Gurmukhs are merged in the True Lord; they are pleasing to His Mind. The Gurmukhs are intact, safe and sound, awake and awake. The Guru blesses them with the Ambrosial Nectar of the True Name; they are lovingly attuned to the Lord's Feet. The Divine Light is revealed, and in that Light, they achieve realisation; the self-willed manmukhs wander in doubt and confusion. O Nanak, when the dawn breaks, their minds are satisfied; they pass their life-night awake and aware. ||2|| Forgetting faults and demerits, virtue and merit enter one's home. The One Lord is permeating everywhere; there is no other at all. He is All-pervading; there is no other. The mind comes to believe, from the mind. The One who established the water, the land, the three worlds, each and every heart - that God is known by the Gurmukh. The Infinite, All-powerful Lord is the Creator, the Cause of causes; erasing the three-phased Maya, we merge in Him. O Nanak, then, demerits are dissolved by merits; such are the Guru's Teachings. ||3|| My coming and going in reincarnation have ended; doubt and hesitation are gone. Conquering my ego, I have met the True Lord, and now I wear the robe of Truth. The Guru has rid me of egotism; my sorrow and suffering are dispelled. My might merges into the Light; I realise and understand my own self. In this world of my parents' home, I am satisfied with the Shabad; at my in-laws' home, in the world beyond, I shall be pleasing to my Husband Lord. O Nanak, the True Guru has united me in His Union; my dependence on people has ended. ||4||3|| Tukhaari, First Mehl: Deluded by doubt, misled and confused, the soul-bride later regrets and repents. Abandoning her Husband Lord, she sleeps, and does not appreciate His Worth. Leaving her Husband Lord, she sleeps, and is plundered by her faults and demerits. The night is so painful for this bride. Sexual desire, anger and egotism destroy her. She burns in egotism. When the soul-swan flies away, by the Command of the Lord, her dust mingles with dust. O Nanak, without the True Name, she is confused and deluded, and so she regrets and repents. ||1|| Please listen, O my Beloved Husband Lord, to my one prayer. You dwell in the home of the self deep within, while I roll around like a dust-ball. Without my Husband Lord, no one likes me at all; what can I say or do now? The Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord, is the sweetest nectar of nectars. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, with my tongue, I drink in this nectar. Without the Name, no one has any friend or companion; millions come and go in reincarnation. Nanak: the profit is earned and the soul returns home. True, true are Your Teachings. ||2|| O Friend, You have travelled so far from Your homeland; I send my message of love to You. I cherish and remember that Friend; the eyes of this soul-bride are filled with tears. The eyes of the soul-bride are filled with tears; I dwell upon Your Glorious Virtues. How can I meet my Beloved Lord God? I do not know the treacherous path, the way to You. How can I find You and cross over, O my Husband Lord? Through the Shabad, the Word of the True Guru, the separated soul-bride meets with the Lord; I place my body and mind before You. O Nanak, the ambrosial tree bears the most delicious fruits; meeting with my Beloved, I taste the sweet essence. ||3|| The Lord has called you to the Mansion of His Presence - do not delay!

Section 26 - Raag Tukhaari - Part 006

Night and day, imbued with His Love, you shall meet with Him with intuitive ease. In celestial peace and poise, you shall meet Him; do not harbor anger - subdue your proud self! Imbued with Truth, I am united in His Union, while the self-willed manmukhs continue coming and going. When you dance, what veil covers you? Break the water pot, and be unattached. O Nanak, realise your own self; as Gurmukh, contemplate the essence of reality. ||4||4|| Tukhaari, First Mehl: O my Dear Beloved, I am the slave of Your slaves. The Guru has shown me the Invisible Lord, and now, I do not seek any other. The Guru showed me the Invisible Lord, when it pleased Him, and when God showered His Blessings. The Life of the World, the Great Giver, the Primal Lord, the Architect of Destiny, the Lord of the woods - I have met Him with intuitive ease. Bestow Your Glance of Grace and carry me across, to save me. Please bless me with the Truth, O Lord, Merciful to the meek. Prays Nanak, I am the slave of Your slaves. You are the Cherisher of all souls. ||1|| My Dear Beloved is enshrined throughout the Universe. The Shabad is pervading, through the Guru, the Embodiment of the Lord. The Guru, the Embodiment of the Lord, is enshrined throughout the three worlds; His limits cannot be found. He created the beings of various colours and kinds; His Blessings increase day by day. The Infinite Lord Himself establishes and disestablishes; whatever pleases Him, happens. O Nanak, the diamond of the mind is pierced through by the diamond of spiritual wisdom. The garland of virtue is strung. ||2|| The virtuous person merges in the Virtuous Lord; his forehead bears the insignia of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. The true person merges in the True Lord; his comings and goings are over. The true person realises the True Lord, and is imbued with Truth. He meets the True Lord, and is pleasing to the Lord's Mind. No one else is seen to be above the True Lord; the true person merges in the True Lord. The Fascinating Lord has fascinated my mind; releasing me from bondage, He has set me free. O Nanak, my light merged into the Light, when I met my most Darling Beloved. ||3|| By searching, the true home, the place of the True Guru is found. The Gurmukh obtains spiritual wisdom, while the self-willed manmukh does not. Whoever the Lord has blessed with the gift of Truth is accepted; the Supremely Wise Lord is forever the Great Giver. He is known to be Immortal, Unborn and Permanent; the True Mansion of His Presence is everlasting. The day-to-day account of deeds is not recorded for that person, who manifests the radiance of the Divine Light of the Lord. O Nanak, the true person is absorbed in the True Lord; the Gurmukh crosses over to the other side. ||4||5|| Tukhaari, First Mehl: O my ignorant, unconscious mind, reform yourself. O my mind, leave behind your faults and demerits, and be absorbed in virtue. You are deluded by so many flavors and pleasures, and you act in such confusion. You are separated, and you will not meet your Lord. How can the impassible world-ocean be crossed? The fear of the Messenger of Death is deadly. The path of Death is agonisingly painful. The mortal does not know the Lord in the evening, or in the morning; trapped on the treacherous path, what will he do then? Bound in bondage, he is released only by this method: as Gurmukh, serve the Lord. ||1|| O my mind, abandon your household entanglements. O my mind, serve the Lord, the Primal, Detached Lord.

Section 26 - Raag Tukhaari - Part 007

Meditate in remembrance on the One Universal Creator; the True Lord created the entire Universe. The Guru controls the air, water and fire; He has staged the drama of the world. Reflect on your own self, and so practice good conduct; chant the Name of the Lord as your self-discipline and meditation. The Name of the Lord is your Companion, Friend and Dear Beloved; chant it, and meditate on it. ||2|| O my mind, remain steady and stable, and you will not have to endure beatings. O my mind, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, you shall merge into Him with intuitive ease. Singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, be happy. Apply the ointment of spiritual wisdom to your eyes. The Word of the Shabad is the lamp which illuminates the three worlds; it slaughters the five demons. Quieting your fears, become fearless, and you shall cross over the impassible world ocean. Meeting the Guru, your affairs shall be resolved. You shall find the joy and the beauty of the Lord's Love and Affection; the Lord Himself shall shower you with His Grace. ||3|| O my mind, why did you come into the world? What will you take with you when you go? O my mind, you shall be emancipated, when you eliminate your doubts. So gather the wealth and capital of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, you shall realise its value. Filth shall be taken away, through the Immaculate Word of the Shabad; you shall know the Mansion of the Lord's Presence, your true home. Through the Naam, you shall obtain honour, and come home. Eagerly drink in the Ambrosial Amrit. Meditate on the Lord's Name, and you shall obtain the sublime essence of the Shabad; by great good fortune, chant the Praises of the Lord. ||4|| O my mind, without a ladder, how will you climb up to the Temple of the Lord? O my mind, without a boat, you shall not reach the other shore. On that far shore is Your Beloved, Infinite Friend. Only your awareness of the Guru's Shabad will carry you across. Join the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, and you shall enjoy ecstasy; you shall not regret or repent later on. Be Merciful, O Merciful True Lord God: please give me the Blessing of the Lord's Name, and the Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Nanak prays: please hear me, O my Beloved; instruct my mind through the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||5||6|| Tukhaari Chhant, Fourth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: My inner being is filled with love for my Beloved Husband Lord. How can I live without Him? As long as I do not have the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, how can I drink in the Ambrosial Nectar? How can I drink in the Ambrosial Nectar without the Lord? I cannot survive without Him. Night and day, I cry out, "Pri-o! Pri-o! Beloved! Beloved!", day and night. Without my Husband Lord, my thirst is not quenched. Please, bless me with Your Grace, O my Beloved Lord, that I may dwell on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, forever. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, I have met my Beloved; I am a sacrifice to the True Guru. ||1|| When I see my Beloved Husband Lord, I chant the Lord's Glorious Praises with love.

Section 26 - Raag Tukhaari - Part 008

My inner being blossoms forth; I continually utter, "Pri-o! Pri-o! Beloved! Beloved!" I speak of my Dear Beloved, and through the Shabad, I am saved. Unless I can see Him, I am not satisfied. That soul-bride who is ever adorned with the Shabad, meditates on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Please bless this beggar, Your humble servant, with the Gift of Mercy; please unite me with my Beloved. Night and day, I meditate on the Guru, the Lord of the World; I am a sacrifice to the True Guru. ||2|| I am a stone in the Boat of the Guru. Please carry me across the terrifying ocean of poison. O Guru, please, lovingly bless me with the Word of the Shabad. I am such a fool - please save me! I am a fool and an idiot; I know nothing of Your extent. You are known as Inaccessible and Great. You Yourself are Merciful; please, mercifully bless me. I am unworthy and dishonoured - please, unite me with Yourself! Through countless lifetimes, I wandered in sin; now, I have come seeking Your Sanctuary. Take pity on me and save me, Dear Lord; I have grasped the Feet of the True Guru. ||3|| The Guru is the Philosopher's Stone; by His touch, iron is transformed into gold. My light merges into the Light, and my body-fortress is so beautiful. My body-fortress is so beautiful; I am fascinated by my God. How could I forget Him, for even a breath, or a morsel of food? I have seized the Unseen and Unfathomable Lord, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad. I am a sacrifice to the True Guru. I place my head in offering before the True Guru, if it truly pleases the True Guru. Take pity on me, O God, Great Giver, that Nanak may merge in Your Being. ||4||1|| Tukhaari, Fourth Mehl: The Lord, Har, Har, is Inaccessible, Unfathomable, Infinite, the Farthest of the Far. Those who meditate on You, O Lord of the Universe - those humble beings cross over the terrifying, treacherous world-ocean. Those who meditate on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, easily cross over the terrifying, treacherous world-ocean. Those who lovingly walk in harmony with the Word of the Guru, the True Guru - the Lord, Har, Har, unites them with Himself. The mortal's light meets the Light of God, and blends with that Divine Light when the Lord, the Support of the Earth, grants His Grace. The Lord, Har, Har, is Inaccessible, Unfathomable, Infinite, the Farthest of the Far. ||1|| O my Lord and Master, You are Inaccessible and Unfathomable. You are totally pervading and permeating each and every heart. You are Unseen, Unknowable and Unfathomable; You are found through the Word of the Guru, the True Guru. Blessed, blessed are those humble, powerful and perfect people, who join the Guru's Sangat, the Society of the Saints, and chant His Glorious Praises. With clear and precise understanding, the Gurmukhs contemplate the Guru's Shabad; each and every instant, they continually speak of the Lord. When the Gurmukh sits down,

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he chants the Lord's Name. When the Gurmukh stands up, he chants the Lord's Name, Har, Har. O my Lord and Master, You are Inaccessible and Unfathomable. You are totally pervading and permeating each and every heart. ||2|| Those humble servants who serve are accepted. They serve the Lord, and follow the Guru's Teachings. All their millions of sins are taken away in an instant; the Lord takes them far away. All their sin and blame is washed away. They worship and adore the One Lord with their conscious minds.

Section 26 - Raag Tukhaari - Part 009

The Creator makes fruitful the lives of all those who, through the Guru's Word, chant the True Name. Blessed are those humble beings, those great and perfect people, who follow the Guru's Teachings and meditate on the Lord; they cross over the terrifying and treacherous world-ocean. Those humble servants who serve are accepted. They follow the Guru's Teachings, and serve the Lord. ||3|| You Yourself, Lord, are the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts; as You make me walk, O my Beloved, so do I walk. Nothing is in my hands; when You unite me, then I come to be united. Those whom You unite with Yourself, O my Lord and Master - all their accounts are settled. No one can go through the accounts of those, O Siblings of Destiny, who through the Word of the Guru's Teachings are united with the Lord. O Nanak, the Lord shows Mercy to those who accept the Guru's Will as good. You Yourself, Lord, are the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts; as You make me walk, O my Beloved, so do I walk. ||4||2|| Tukhaari, Fourth Mehl: You are the Life of the World, the Lord of the Universe, our Lord and Master, the Creator of all the Universe. They alone meditate on You, O my Lord, who have such destiny recorded on their foreheads. Those who are so pre-destined by their Lord and Master, worship and adore the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. All sins are erased in an instant, for those who meditate on the Lord, through the Guru's Teachings. Blessed, blessed are those humble beings who meditate on the Lord's Name. Seeing them, I am uplifted. You are the Life of the World, the Lord of the Universe, our Lord and Master, the Creator of all the Universe. ||1|| You are totally pervading the water, the land and the sky. O True Lord, You are the Master of all. Those who meditate on the Lord in their conscious minds - all those who chant and meditate on the Lord are liberated. Those mortal beings who meditate on the Lord are liberated; their faces are radiant in the Court of the Lord. Those humble beings are exalted in this world and the next; the Savior Lord saves them. Listen to the Lord's Name in the Society of the Saints, O humble Siblings of Destiny. The Gurmukh's service to the Lord is fruitful. You are totally pervading the water, the land and the sky. O True Lord, You are the Master of all. ||2|| You are the One Lord, the One and Only Lord, pervading all places and interspaces. The forests and fields, the three worlds and the entire Universe, chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. All chant the Name of the Creator Lord, Har, Har; countless, uncountable beings meditate on the Lord. Blessed, blessed are those Saints and Holy People of the Lord, who are pleasing to the Creator Lord God. O Creator, please bless me with the Fruitful Vision, the Darshan, of those who chant the Lord's Name in their hearts forever. You are the One Lord, the One and Only Lord, pervading all places and interspaces. ||3|| The treasures of devotional worship to You are countless; he alone is blessed with them, O my Lord and Master, whom You bless. The Lord's Glorious Virtues abide within the heart of that person, whose forehead the Guru has touched. The Glorious Virtues of the Lord dwell in the heart of that person, whose inner being is filled with the Fear of God, and His Love.

Section 26 - Raag Tukhaari - Part 010

Without the Fear of God, His Love is not obtained. Without the Fear of God, no one is carried across to the other side. O Nanak, he alone is blessed with the Fear of God, and God's Love and Affection, whom You, Lord, bless with Your Mercy. The treasures of devotional worship to You are countless; he alone is blessed with Them, O my Lord and Master, whom You bless. ||4||3|| Tukhaari, Fourth Mehl: To receive the Blessed Vision of the Darshan of the Guru, the True Guru, is to truly bathe at the Abhaijit festival. The filth of evil-mindedness is washed off, and the darkness of ignorance is dispelled. Blessed by the Guru's Darshan, spiritual ignorance is dispelled, and the Divine Light illuminates the inner being. The pains of birth and death vanish in an instant, and the Eternal, Imperishable Lord God is found. The Creator Lord God Himself created the festival, when the True Guru went to bathe at the festival in Kuruk-shaytra. To receive the Blessed Vision of the Darshan of the Guru, the True Guru, is to truly bathe at the Abhaijit festival. ||1|| The Sikhs travelled with the Guru, the True Guru, on the path, along the road. Night and day, devotional worship services were held, each and every instant, with each step. Devotional worship services to the Lord God were held, and all the people came to see the Guru. Whoever was blessed with the Darshan of the Guru, the True Guru, the Lord united with Himself. The True Guru made the pilgrimage to the sacred shrines, for the sake of saving all the people. The Sikhs travelled with the Guru, the True Guru, on the path, along the road. ||2|| When the Guru, the True Guru, first arrived at Kuruk-shaytra, it was a very auspicious time. The news spread throughout the world, and the beings of the three worlds came. The angelic beings and silent sages from all the three worlds came to see Him. Those who are touched by the Guru, the True Guru - all their sins and mistakes were erased and dispelled. The Yogis, the nudists, the Sannyaasees and those of the six schools of philosophy spoke with Him, and then bowed and departed. When the Guru, the True Guru, first arrived at Kuruk-shaytra, it was a very auspicious time. ||3|| Second, the Guru went to the river Jamunaa, where He chanted the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. The tax collectors met the Guru and gave Him offerings; they did not impose the tax on His followers. All the True Guru's followers were excused from the tax; they meditated on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. The Messenger of Death does not even approach those who have walked on the path, and followed the Guru's Teachings. All the world said, "Guru! Guru! Guru!" Uttering the Guru's Name, they were all emancipated. Second, the Guru went to the river Jamunaa, where He chanted the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||4|| Third, He went to the Ganges, and a wonderful drama was played out there. All were fascinated, gazing upon the Blessed Vision of the Saintly Guru's Darshan; no tax at all was imposed upon anyone. No tax at all was collected, and the mouths of the tax collectors were sealed. They said, "O brothers, what should we do? Who should we ask? Everyone is running after the True Guru."

Section 26 - Raag Tukhaari - Part 011

The tax collectors were smart; they thought about it, and saw. They broke their cash-boxes and left. Third, He went to the Ganges, and a wonderful drama was played out there. ||5|| The important men of the city met together, and sought the Protection of the Guru, the True Guru. The Guru, the True Guru, the Guru is the Lord of the Universe. Go ahead and consult the Simritees - they will confirm this. The Simritees and the Shaastras all confirm that Suk Dayv and Prahlaad meditated on the Guru, the Lord of the Universe, and knew Him as the Supreme Lord. The five thieves and the highway robbers dwell in the fortress of the body-village; the Guru has destroyed their home and place. The Puraanas continually praise the giving of charity, but devotional worship of the Lord is only obtained through the Word of Guru Nanak. The important men of the city met together, and sought the Protection of the Guru, the True Guru. ||6||4||10|| Tukhaari Chhant, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O my Beloved, I am a sacrifice to You. Through the Guru, I have dedicated my mind to You. Hearing the Word of Your Shabad, my mind is enraptured. This mind is enraptured, like the fish in the water; it is lovingly attached to the Lord. Your Worth cannot be described, O my Lord and Master; Your Mansion is Incomparable and Unrivalled. O Giver of all Virtue, O my Lord and Master, please hear the prayer of this humble person. Please bless Nanak with the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. I am a sacrifice, my soul is a sacrifice, a sacrifice to You. ||1|| This body and mind are Yours; all virtues are Yours. I am a sacrifice, every little bit, to Your Darshan. Please hear me, O my Lord God; I live only by seeing Your Vision, even if only for an instant. I have heard that Your Name is the most Ambrosial Nectar; please bless me with Your Mercy, that I may drink it in. My hopes and desires rest in You, O my Husband Lord; like the rainbird, I long for the rain-drop. Says Nanak, my soul is a sacrifice to You; please bless me with Your Darshan, O my Lord God. ||2|| You are my True Lord and Master, O Infinite King. You are my Dear Beloved, so dear to my life and consciousness. You bring peace to my soul; You are known to the Gurmukh. All are blessed by Your Love. The mortal does only those deeds which You ordain, Lord. One who is blessed by Your Grace, O Lord of the Universe, conquers his mind in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Says Nanak, my soul is a sacrifice to You; You gave me my soul and body. ||3|| I am unworthy, but He has saved me, for the sake of the Saints. The True Guru has covered by faults; I am such a sinner. God has covered for me; He is the Giver of the soul, life and peace. My Lord and Master is Eternal and Unchanging, Ever-present; He is the Perfect Creator, the Architect of Destiny. Your Praise cannot be described; who can say where You are? Slave Nanak is a sacrifice to the one who blesses him with the Lord's Name, even for an instant. ||4||1||11||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 27 - RAAG KAYDAARAA

Section 27 - Raag Kaydaaraa - Part 001

Kaydaaraa, Fourth Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O my mind, sing continually the Name of the Lord. The Inaccessible, Unfathomable Lord cannot be seen; meeting with the Perfect Guru, He is seen. ||Pause|| That person, upon whom my Lord and Master showers His Mercy - the Lord attunes that one to Himself. Everyone worships the Lord, but only that person who is pleasing to the Lord is accepted. ||1|| The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is priceless. It rests with the Lord. If the Lord bestows it, then we meditate on the Naam. That person, whom my Lord and Master blesses with His Name - his entire account is forgiven. ||2|| Those humble beings who worship and adore the Lord's Name, are said to be blessed. Such is the good destiny written on their foreheads. Gazing upon them, my mind blossoms forth, like the mother who meets with her son and hugs him close. ||3|| I am a child, and You, O my Lord God, are my Father; please bless me with such understanding, that I may find the Lord. Like the cow, which is happy upon seeing her calf, O Lord, please hug Nanak close in Your Embrace. ||4||1|| Kaydaaraa, Fourth Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O my mind, chant the Glorious Praises of the Lord, Har, Har. Wash the Feet of the True Guru, and worship them. In this way, you shall find my Lord God. ||Pause|| Sexual desire, anger, greed, attachment, egotism and corrupt pleasures - stay away from these. Join the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, and speak with the Holy People about the Lord. The Love of the Lord is the healing remedy; the Name of the Lord is the healing remedy. Chant the Name of the Lord, Raam, Raam. ||1||

Section 27 - Raag Kaydaaraa - Part 002

So you think that the egotistical pride in power which you harbor deep within is everything. Let it go, and restrain your self-conceit. Please be kind to servant Nanak, O Lord, my Lord and Master; please make him the dust of the Feet of the Saints. ||2||1||2|| Kaydaaraa, Fifth Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O mother, I have awakened in the Society of the Saints. Seeing the Love of my Beloved, I chant His Name, the greatest treasure||Pause|| I am so thirsty for the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. my eyes are focused on Him; I have forgotten other thirsts. ||1|| Now, I have found my Peace-giving Guru with ease; seeing His Darshan, my mind clings to Him. Seeing my Lord, joy has welled up in my mind; O Nanak, the speech of my Beloved is so sweet! ||2||1|| Kaydaaraa, Fifth Mehl, Third House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Please listen to the prayers of the humble, O Merciful Lord. The five thieves and the three dispositions torment my mind. O Merciful Lord, Master of the masterless, please save me from them. ||Pause|| I make all sorts of efforts and go on pilgrimages; I perform the six rituals, and meditate in the right way. I am so tired of making all these efforts, but the horrible demons still do not leave me. ||1|| I seek Your Sanctuary, and bow to You, O Compassionate Lord. You are the Destroyer of fear, O Lord, Har, Har, Har, Har. You alone are Merciful to the meek. Nanak takes the Support of God's Feet. I have been rescued from the ocean of doubt, holding tight to the feet and the robes of the Saints. ||2||1||2|| Kaydaaraa, Fifth Mehl, Fourth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I have come to Your Sanctuary, O Lord, O Supreme Treasure. Love for the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is enshrined within my mind; I beg for the gift of Your Name. ||1||Pause|| O Pefect Transcendent Lord, Giver of Peace, please grant Your Grace and save my honour. Please bless me with such love, O my Lord and Master, that in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I may chant the Glorious Praises of the Lord with my tongue. ||1|| O Lord of the World, Merciful Lord of the Universe, Your sermon and spiritual wisdom are immaculate and pure. Please attune Nanak to Your Love, O Lord, and focus his meditation on Your Lotus Feet. ||2||1||3|| Kaydaaraa, Fifth Mehl: My mind yearns for the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan. Please grant Your Grace, and unite me with the Society of the Saints; please bless me with Your Name. ||Pause|| I serve my True Beloved Lord. Wherever I hear His Praise, there my mind is in ecstasy.

Section 27 - Raag Kaydaaraa - Part 003

I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice, forever devoted to You. Your place is incomparably beautiful! ||1|| You cherish and nurture all; You take care of all, and Your shade covers all. You are the Primal Creator, the God of Nanak; I behold You in each and every heart. ||2||2||4|| Kaydaaraa, Fifth Mehl: I love the Love of my Beloved. My mind is intoxicated with delight, and my consciousness is filled with hope; my eyes are drenched with Your Love. ||Pause|| Blessed is that day, that hour, minute and second when the heavy, rigid shutters are opened, and desire is quenched. Seeing the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan, I live. ||1|| What is the method, what is the effort, and what is the service, which inspires me to contemplate You? Abandon your egotistical pride and attachment; O Nanak, you shall be saved in the Society of the Saints. ||2||3||5|| Kaydaaraa, Fifth Mehl: Sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, Har, Har, Har. Have Mercy on me, O Life of the World, O Lord of the Universe, that I may chant Your Name. ||Pause|| Please lift me up, God, out of vice and corruption, and attach my mind to the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Doubt, fear and attachment are eradicated from that person who follows the Guru's Teachings, and gazes on the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. ||1|| Let my mind become the dust of all; may I abandon my egotistical intellect. Please bless me with Your devotional worship, O Merciful Lord; by great

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good fortune, O Nanak, I have found the Lord. ||2||4||6|| Kaydaaraa, Fifth Mehl: Without the Lord, life is useless. Those who forsake the Lord, and become engrossed in other pleasures - false and useless are the clothes they wear, and the food they eat. ||Pause|| The pleasures of wealth, youth, property and comforts will not stay with you, O mother. Seeing the mirage, the madman is entangled in it; he is imbued with pleasures that pass away, like the shade of a tree. ||1|| Totally intoxicated with the wine of pride and attachment, he has fallen into the pit of sexual desire and anger. O Dear God, please be the Help and Support of servant Nanak; please take me by the hand, and uplift me. ||2||5||7|| Kaydaaraa, Fifth Mehl: Nothing goes along with the mortal, except for the Lord. He is the Master of the meek, the Lord of Mercy, my Lord and Master, the Master of the masterless. ||Pause|| Children, possessions and the enjoyment of corrupt pleasures do not go along with the mortal on the path of Death. Singing the Glorious Praises of the treasure of the Naam, and the Lord of the Universe, the mortal is carried across the deep ocean. ||1|| In the Sanctuary of the All-powerful, Indescribable, Unfathomable Lord, meditate in remembrance on Him, and your pains shall vanish. Nanak longs for the dust of the feet of the Lord's humble servant; he shall obtain it only if such pre-ordained destiny is written on his forehead. ||2||6||8|| Kaydaaraa, Fifth Mehl, Fifth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I do not forget the Lord in my mind. This love has now become very strong; it has burnt away other corruption. ||Pause|| How can the rainbird forsake the rain-drop? The fish cannot survive without water, even for an instant.

Section 27 - Raag Kaydaaraa - Part 004

My tongue chants the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the World; this has become part of my very nature. ||1|| The deer is fascinated by the sound of the bell, and so it is shot with the sharp arrow. God's Lotus Feet are the Source of Nectar; O Nanak, I am tied to them by a knot. ||2||1||9|| Kaydaaraa, Fifth Mehl: My Beloved dwells in the cave of my heart. Shatter the wall of doubt, O my Lord and Master; please grab hold of me, and lift me up towards Yourself. ||1||Pause|| The world-ocean is so vast and deep; please be kind, lift me up and place me on the shore. In the Society of the Saints, the Lord's Feet are the boat to carry us across. ||1|| The One who placed you in the womb of your mother's belly - no one else shall save you in the wilderness of corruption. The power of the Lord's Sanctuary is all-powerful; Nanak does not rely on any other. ||2||2||10|| Kaydaaraa, Fifth Mehl: With your tongue, chant the Name of the Lord. Chanting the Glorious Praises of the Lord, day and night, your sins shall be eradicated. ||Pause|| You shall have to leave behind all your riches when you depart. Death is hanging over your head - know this well! Transitory attachments and evil hopes are false. Surely you must believe this! ||1|| Within your heart, focus your meditation on the True Primal Being, Akaal Moorat, the Undying Form. Only this profitable merchandise, the treasure of the Naam, O Nanak, shall be accepted. ||2||3||11|| Kaydaaraa, Fifth Mehl: I take only the Support of the Name of the Lord. Suffering and conflict do not afflict me; I deal only with the Society of the Saints. ||Pause|| Showering His Mercy on me, the Lord Himself has saved me, and no evil thoughts arise within me. Whoever receives this Grace, contemplates Him in meditation; he is not burned by the fire of the world. ||1|| Peace, joy and bliss come from the Lord, Har, Har. God's Feet are sublime and excellent. Slave Nanak seeks Your Sanctuary; he is the dust of the feet of Your Saints. ||2||4||12|| Kaydaaraa, Fifth Mehl: Without the Name of the Lord, one's ears are cursed. Those who forget the Embodiment of Life - what is the point of their lives? ||Pause|| One who eats and drinks countless delicacies is no more than a donkey, a beast of burden. Twenty-four hours a day, he endures terrible suffering, like the bull, chained to the oil-press. ||1|| Forsaking the Life of the World, and attached to another, they weep and wail in so many ways. With his palms pressed together, Nanak begs for this gift; O Lord, please keep me strung around Your Neck. ||2||5||13|| Kaydaaraa, Fifth Mehl: I take the dust of the feet of the Saints and apply it to my face. Hearing of the Imperishable, Eternally Perfect Lord, pain does not afflict me, even in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga. ||Pause|| Through the Guru's Word, all affairs are resolved, and the mind is not tossed about here and there. Whoever sees the One God to be pervading in all the many beings, does not burn in the fire of corruption. ||1|| The Lord grasps His slave by the arm, and his light merges into the Light. Nanak, the orphan, has come seeking the Sanctuary of God's Feet; O Lord, he walks with You. ||2||6||14|| Kaydaaraa, Fifth Mehl:

Section 27 - Raag Kaydaaraa - Part 005

My mind is filled with yearning for the Name of the Lord. I am totally filled with tranquility and bliss; the burning desire within has been quenched. ||Pause|| Walking on the path of the Saints, millions of mortal sinners have been saved. One who applies the dust of the feet of the humble to his forehead, is purified, as if he has bathed at countless sacred shrines. ||1|| Meditating on His Lotus Feet deep within, one realises the Lord and Master in each and every heart. In the Sanctuary of the Divine, Infinite Lord, Nanak shall never again be tortured by the Messenger of Death. ||2||7||15|| Kaydaaraa Chhant, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Please meet me, O my Dear Beloved. ||Pause|| He is All-pervading amongst all, the Architect of Destiny. The Lord God has created His Path, which is known in the Society of the Saints. The Creator Lord, the Architect of Destiny, is known in the Society of the Saints; You are seen in each and every heart. One who comes to His Sanctuary, finds absolute peace; not even a bit of his work goes unnoticed. One who sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord, the Treasure of Virtue, is easily, naturally intoxicated with the supreme, sublime essence of divine love. Slave Nanak seeks Your Sanctuary; You are the Perfect Creator Lord, the Architect of Destiny. ||1|| The Lord's humble servant is pierced through with loving devotion to Him; where else can he go? The fish cannot endure separation, and without water, it will die. Without the Lord, how can I survive? How can I endure the pain? I am like the rainbird, thirsty for the rain-drop. "When will the night pass?," asks the chakvi bird. "I shall find peace only when the rays of the sun shine on me." My mind is attached to the Blessed Vision of the Lord. Blessed are the nights and days, when I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, Slave Nanak utters this prayer; without the Lord, how can the breath of life continue to flow through me? ||2|| Without the breath, how can the body obtain glory and fame? Without the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan, the humble, holy person does not find peace, even for an instant. Those who are without the Lord suffer in hell; my mind is pierced through with the Lord's Feet. The Lord is both sensual and unattached; lovingly attune yourself to the Naam, the Name of the Lord. No one can ever deny Him. Go and meet with the Lord, and dwell in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; no one can contain that peace within his being. Please be kind to me, O Lord and Master of Nanak, that I may merge in You. ||3|| Searching and searching, I have met with my Lord God, who has showered me with His Mercy. I am unworthy, a lowly orphan, but He does not even consider my faults. He does not consider my faults; He has blessed me with Perfect Peace. It is said that it is His Way to purify us. Hearing that He is the Love of His devotees, I have grasped the hem of His robe. He is totally permeating each and every heart. I have found the Lord, the Ocean of Peace, with intuitive ease; the pains of birth and death are gone. Taking him by the hand, the Lord has saved Nanak, His slave; He has woven the garland of His Name into his heart. ||4||1||

Section 27 - Raag Kaydaaraa - Part 006

Raag Kaydaaraa, The Word Of Kabeer Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Those who ignore both praise and slander, who reject egotistical pride and conceit, who look alike upon iron and gold - they are the very image of the Lord God. ||1|| Hardly anyone is a humble servant of Yours, O Lord. Ignoring sexual desire, anger, greed and attachment, such a person becomes aware of the Lord's Feet. ||1||Pause|| Raajas, the quality of energy and activity; Taamas, the quality of darkness and inertia; and Satvas, the quality of purity and light, are all called the creations of Maya, Your illusion. That man who realises the fourth state - he alone obtains the supreme state. ||2|| Amidst pilgrimages, fasting, rituals, purification and self-discipline, he remains always without thought of reward. Thirst and desire for Maya and doubt depart, remembering the Lord, the Supreme Soul. ||3|| When the temple is illuminated by the lamp, its darkness is dispelled. The Fearless Lord is All-pervading. Doubt has run away, says Kabeer, the Lord's humble slave. ||4||1|| Some deal in bronze and copper, some in cloves and betel nuts. The Saints deal in the Naam, the Name of the Lord of the Universe. Such is my merchandise as well. ||1|| I am a trader in the Name of the Lord. The priceless diamond has come into my hands. I have left the world behind. ||1||Pause|| When the True Lord attached me, then I was attached to Truth. I am a trader of the True Lord. I have loaded the commodity of Truth; It has reached the Lord, the Treasurer. ||2|| He Himself is the pearl, the jewel, the ruby; He Himself is the jeweller. He Himself spreads out in the ten directions. The Merchant is Eternal and Unchanging. ||3|| My mind is the bull, and meditation is the road; I have filled my packs with spiritual wisdom, and loaded them on the bull. Says Kabeer, listen, O Saints: my merchandise has reached its destination! ||4||2|| You barbaric brute, with your primitive intellect - reverse your breath and turn it inward. Let your mind be intoxicated with the stream of Ambrosial Nectar which trickles down from the furnace of the Tenth Gate. ||1|| O Siblings of Destiny, call on the Lord. O Saints, drink in this wine forever; it is so difficult to obtain, and it quenches your thirst so easily. ||1||Pause|| In the Fear of God, is the Love of God. Only those few who understand His Love obtain the sublime essence of the Lord, O Siblings of Destiny. As many hearts as there are - in all of them, is His Ambrosial Nectar; as He pleases, He causes them to drink it in. ||2|| There are nine gates to the one city of the body; restrain your mind from escaping through them. When the knot of the three qualities is untied, then the Tenth Gate opens up, and the mind is intoxicated, O Siblings of Destiny. ||3|| When the mortal fully realises the state of fearless dignity, then his sufferings vanish; so says Kabeer after careful deliberation. Turning away from the world, I have obtained this wine, and I am intoxicated with it. ||4||3|| You are engrossed with unsatisfied sexual desire and unresolved anger; you do not know the State of the One Lord. Your eyes are blinded, and you see nothing at all. You drown and die without water. ||1||

Section 27 - Raag Kaydaaraa - Part 007

Why do you walk in that crooked, zig-zag way? You are nothing more than a bundle of bones, wrapped in skin, filled with manure; you give off such a rotten smell! ||1||Pause|| You do not meditate on the Lord. What doubts have confused and deluded you? Death is not far away from you! Making all sorts of efforts, you manage to preserve this body, but it shall only survive until its time is up. ||2|| By one's own efforts, nothing is done. What can the mere mortal accomplish? When it pleases the Lord, the mortal meets the True Guru, and chants the Name of the One Lord. ||3|| You live in a house of sand, but you still puff up your body - you ignorant fool! Says Kabeer, those who do not remember the Lord may be very clever, but they still drown. ||4||4|| Your turban is crooked, and you walk crooked; and now you have started chewing betel leaves. You have no use at all for loving devotional worship; you say you have business in court. ||1|| In your egotistical pride, you have forgotten the Lord. Gazing upon your gold, and your very beautiful wife, you believe that they are permanent. ||1||Pause|| You are engrossed in greed, falsehood, corruption and great arrogance. Your life is passing away. Says Kabeer, at the very last moment, death will come and seize you, you fool! ||2||5|| The mortal beats the drum for a few days, and then he must depart. With so much wealth and cash and buried treasure, still, he cannot take anything with him. ||1||Pause|| Sitting on the threshhold, his wife weeps and wails; his mother accompanies him to the outer gate. All the people and relatives together go to the crematorium, but the swan-soul must go home all alone. ||1|| Those children, that wealth, that city and town - he shall not come to see them again. Says Kabeer, why do you not meditate on the Lord? Your life is uselessly slipping away! ||2||6|| Raag Kaydaaraa, The Word Of Ravi Daas Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: One who performs the six religious rituals and comes from a good family, but who does not have devotion to the Lord in his heart, one who does not appreciate talk of the Lord's Lotus Feet, is just like an outcaste, a pariah. ||1|| Be conscious, be conscious, be conscious, O my unconscious mind. Why do you not look at Baalmeek? From such a low social status, what a high status he obtained! Devotional worship to the Lord is sublime! ||1||Pause|| The killer of dogs, the lowest of all, was lovingly embraced by Krishna. See how the poor people praise him! His praise extends throughout the three worlds. ||2|| Ajaamal, Pingulaa, Lodhia and the elephant went to the Lord. Even such evil-minded beings were emancipated. Why should you not also be saved, O Ravi Daas? ||3||1||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 28 - RAAG BHAIRAO

Section 28 - Raag Bhairao - Part 001

Raag Bhairao, First Mehl, First House, Chau-Padas: One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying. Beyond Birth. Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: Without You, nothing happens. You create the creatures, and gazing on them, you know them. ||1|| What can I say? I cannot say anything. Whatever exists, is by Your Will. ||Pause|| Whatever is to be done, rests with You. Unto whom should I offer my prayer? ||2|| I speak and hear the Bani of Your Word. You Yourself know all Your Wondrous Play. ||3|| You Yourself act, and inspire all to act; only You Yourself know. Says Nanak, You, Lord, see, establish and disestablish. ||4||1|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Raag Bhairao, First Mehl, Second House: Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, so many silent sages have been saved; Indra and Brahma have also been saved. Sanak, Sanandan and many humble men of austerity, by Guru's Grace, have been carried across to the other side. ||1|| Without the Word of the Shabad, how can anyone cross over the terrifying world-ocean? Without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the world is entangled in the disease of duality, and is drowned, drowned, and dies. ||1||Pause|| The Guru is Divine; the Guru is Inscrutable and Mysterious. Serving the Guru, the three worlds are known and understood. The Guru, the Giver, has Himself given me the Gift; I have obtained the Inscrutable, Mysterious Lord. ||2|| The mind is the king; the mind is appeased and satisfied through the mind itself, and desire is stilled in the mind. The mind is the Yogi, the mind wastes away in separation from the Lord; singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, the mind is instructed and reformed. ||3|| How very rare are those in this world who, through the Guru, subdue their minds, and contemplate the Word of the Shabad. O Nanak, our Lord and Master is All-pervading; through the

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True Word of the Shabad, we are emancipated. ||4||1||2|| Bhairao, First Mehl: The eyes lose their sight, and the body withers away; old age overtakes the mortal, and death hangs over his head. Beauty, loving attachment and the pleasures of life are not permanent. How can anyone escape from the noose of death? ||1|| O mortal, meditate on the Lord - your life is passing away!

Section 28 - Raag Bhairao - Part 002

Without the True Word of the Shabad, you shall never be released, and your life shall be totally useless. ||1||Pause|| Within the body are sexual desire, anger, egotism and attachment. This pain is so great, and so difficult to endure. As Gurmukh, chant the Lord's Name, and savor it with your tongue; in this way, you shall cross over to the other side. ||2|| Your ears are deaf, and your intellect is worthless, and still, you do not intuitively understand the Word of the Shabad. The self-willed manmukh wastes this priceless human life and loses it. Without the Guru, the blind person cannot see. ||3|| Whoever remains detached and free of desire in the midst of desire - and whoever, unattached, intuitively meditates on the Celestial Lord - prays Nanak, as Gurmukh, he is released. He is lovingly attuned to the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||4|||2||3|| Bhairao, First Mehl: His walk becomes weak and clumsy, his feet and hands shake, and the skin of his body is withered and wrinkled. His eyes are dim, his ears are deaf, and yet, the self-willed manmukh does not know the Naam. ||1|| O blind man, what have you obtained by coming into the world? The Lord is not in your heart, and you do not serve the Guru. After wasting your capital, you shall have to depart. ||1||Pause|| Your tongue is not imbued with the Love of the Lord; whatever you say is tasteless and insipid. You indulge in slander of the Saints; becoming a beast, you shall never be noble. ||2|| Only a few obtain the sublime essence of the Ambrosial Amrit, united in Union with the True Guru. As long as the mortal does not come to understand the mystery of the Shabad, the Word of God, he shall continue to be tormented by death. ||3|| Whoever finds the door of the One True Lord, does not know any other house or door. By Guru's Grace, I have obtained the supreme status; so says poor Nanak. ||4||3||4|| Bhairao, First Mehl: He spends the entire night in sleep; the noose is tied around his neck. His day is wasted in worldly entanglements. He does not know God, who created this world, for a moment, for even an instant. ||1|| O mortal, how will you escape this terrible disaster? What did you bring with you, and what will you take away? Meditate on the Lord, the Most Worthy and Generous Lord. ||1||Pause|| The heart-lotus of the self-willed manmukh is upside-down; his intellect is shallow; his mind is blind, and his head is entangled in worldly affairs. Death and re-birth constantly hang over your head; without the Name, your neck shall be caught in the noose. ||2|| Your steps are unsteady, and your eyes are blind; you are not aware of the Word of the Shabad, O Sibling of Destiny. The Shaastras and the Vedas keep the mortal bound to the three modes of Maya, and so he performs his deeds blindly. ||3|| He loses his capital - how can he earn any profit? The evil-minded person has no spiritual wisdom at all. Contemplating the Shabad, he drinks in the sublime essence of the Lord; O Nanak, his faith is confirmed in the Truth. ||4||4||5|| Bhairao, First Mehl: He remains with the Guru, day and night, and his tongue savors the savory taste of the Lord's Love. He does not know any other; he realises the Word of the Shabad. He knows and realises the Lord deep within his own being. ||1|| Such a humble person is pleasing to my mind. He conquers his self-conceit, and is imbued with the Infinite Lord. He serves the Guru. ||1||Pause|| Deep within my being, and outside as well, is the Immaculate Lord God. I bow humbly before that Primal Lord God. Deep within each and every heart, and amidst all, the Embodiment of Truth is permeating and pervading. ||2||

Section 28 - Raag Bhairao - Part 003

Those who are imbued with Truth - their tongues are tinged with Truth; they do not have even an iota of the filth of falsehood. They taste the sweet Ambrosial Nectar of the Immaculate Naam, the Name of the Lord; imbued with the Shabad, they are blessed with honour. ||3|| The virtuous meet with the virtuous, and earn the profit; as Gurmukh, they obtain the glorious greatness of the Naam. All sorrows are erased, by serving the Guru; O Nanak, the Naam is our only Friend and Companion. ||4||5||6|| Bhairao, First Mehl: The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is the wealth and support of all; It is enshrined in the heart, by Guru's Grace. One who gathers this imperishable wealth is fulfilled, and through intuitive meditation, is lovingly focused on the Lord. ||1|| O mortal, focus your consciousness on devotional worship of the Lord. As Gurmukh, meditate on the Name of the Lord in your heart, and you shall return to your home with intuitive ease. ||1||Pause|| Doubt, separation and fear are never eradicated, and the mortal continues coming and going in reincarnation, as long as he does not know the Lord. Without the Name of the Lord, no one is liberated; they drown and die without water. ||2|| Busy with his worldly affairs, all honour is lost; the ignorant one is not rid of his doubts. Without the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the mortal is never liberated; he remains blindly entangled in the expanse of worldly affairs. ||3|| My mind is pleased and appeased with the Immaculate Lord, who has no ancestry. Through the mind itself, the mind is subdued. Deep within my being, and outside as well, I know only the One Lord. O Nanak, there is no other at all. ||4||6||7|| Bhairao, First Mehl: You may give feasts, make burnt offerings, donate to charity, perform austere penance and worship, and endure pain and suffering in the body. But without the Lord's Name, liberation is not obtained. As Gurmukh, obtain the Naam and liberation. ||1|| Without the Lord's Name, birth into the world is useless. Without the Name, the mortal eats poison and speaks poisonous words; he dies fruitlessly, and wanders in reincarnation. ||1||Pause|| The mortal may read scriptures, study grammar and say his prayers three times a day. Without the Word of the Guru's Shabad, where is liberation, O mortal? Without the Lord's Name, the mortal is entangled and dies. ||2|| Walking sticks, begging bowls, hair tufts, sacred threads, loin cloths, pilgrimages to sacred shrines and wandering all around - without the Lord's Name, peace and tranquility are not obtained. One who chants the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, crosses over to the other side. ||3|| The mortal's hair may be matted and tangled upon his head, and he may smear his body with ashes; he may take off his clothes and go naked. But without the Lord's Name, he is not satisfied; he wears religious robes, but he is bound by the karma of the actions he committed in past lives. ||4|| As many beings and creatures as there are in the water, on the land and in the sky - wherever they are, You are with them all, O Lord. By Guru's Grace, please preserve Your humble servant; O Lord, Nanak stirs up this juice, and drinks it in. ||5||7||8|| Raag Bhairao, Third Mehl, Chaupadas, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: No one should be proud of his social class and status. He alone is a Brahmin, who knows God. ||1|| Do not be proud of your social class and status, you ignorant fool!

Section 28 - Raag Bhairao - Part 004

So much sin and corruption comes from this pride. ||1||Pause|| Everyone says that there are four castes, four social classes. They all emanate from the drop of God's Seed. ||2|| The entire universe is made of the same clay. The Potter has shaped it into all sorts of vessels. ||3|| The five elements join together, to make up the form of the human body. Who can say which is less, and which is more? ||4|| Says Nanak, this soul is bound by its actions. Without meeting the True Guru, it is not liberated. ||5||1|| Bhairao, Third Mehl: The Yogis, the householders, the Pandits, the religious scholars, and the beggars in religious robes - they are all asleep in egotism. ||1|| They are asleep, intoxicated with the wine of Maya. Only those who remain awake and aware are not robbed. ||1||Pause|| One who has met the True Guru, remains awake and aware. Such a person overpowers the five thieves. ||2|| One who contemplates the essence of reality remains awake and aware. He kills his self-conceit, and does not kill anyone else. ||3|| One who knows the One Lord remains awake and aware. He abandons the service of others, and realises the essence of reality. ||4|| Of the four castes, whoever remains awake and aware is released from birth and death. ||5|| Says Nanak, that humble being remains awake and aware, who applies the ointment of spiritual wisdom to his eyes. ||6||2|| Bhairao, Third Mehl: Whoever the Lord keeps in His Sanctuary, is attached to the Truth, and receives the fruit of Truth. ||1|| O mortal, unto whom will you complain? The Hukam of the Lord's Command is pervasive; by the Hukam of His Command, all things happen. ||1||Pause|| This Creation was established by You. In an instant You destroy it, and You create it again without a moment's delay. ||2|| By His Grace, He has staged this Play. By the Guru's Merciful Grace, I have obtained the supreme status. ||3|| Says Nanak, He alone kills and revives. Understand this well - do not be confused by doubt. ||4||3|| Bhairao, Third Mehl: I am the bride; the Creator is my Husband Lord. As He inspires me, I adorn myself. ||1|| When it pleases Him, He enjoys me. I am joined, body and mind, to my True Lord and Master. ||1||Pause|| How can anyone praise or slander anyone else? The One Lord Himself is pervading and permeating all. ||2|| By Guru's Grace, I am attracted by His Love. I shall meet with my Merciful Lord, and vibrate the Panch Shabad, the Five Primal Sounds. ||3|| Prays Nanak, what can anyone do? He alone meets with the Lord, whom the Lord Himself meets. ||4||4|| Bhairao, Third Mehl: He alone is a silent sage, who subdues his mind's duality. Subduing his duality, he contemplates God. ||1|| Let each person examine his own mind, O Siblings of Destiny. Examine your mind, and you shall obtain the nine treasures of the Naam. ||1||Pause|| The Creator created the world, upon the foundation of worldly love and attachment. Attaching it to possessiveness, He has led it into confusion with doubt. ||2|| From this Mind come all bodies, and the breath of life. By mental contemplation, the mortal realises the Hukam of the Lord's Command, and merges in Him. ||3||

Section 28 - Raag Bhairao - Part 005

When the mortal has good karma, the Guru grants His Grace. Then this mind is awakened, and the duality of this mind is subdued. ||4|| It is the innate nature of the mind to remain forever detached. The Detached, Dispassionate Lord dwells within all. ||5|| Says Nanak, one who understands this mystery, becomes the embodiment of the Primal, Immaculate, Divine Lord God. ||6||5|| Bhairao, Third Mehl: The world is saved through Name of the Lord. It carries the mortal across the terrifying world-ocean. ||1|| By Guru's Grace, dwell upon the Lord's Name. It shall stand by you forever. ||1||Pause|| The foolish self-willed manmukhs do not remember the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Without the Name, how will they cross over? ||2|| The Lord, the Great Giver, Himself gives His Gifts. Celebrate and praise the Great Giver! ||3|| Granting His Grace, the Lord unites the mortals with the True Guru. O Nanak, the Naam is enshrined within the heart. ||4||6|| Bhairao, Third Mehl: All people are saved through the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Those who become Gurmukh are blessed to receive It. ||1|| When the Dear Lord showers His Mercy, He blesses the Gurmukh with the glorious greatness of the Naam. ||1||Pause|| Those who love the Beloved Name of the Lord save themselves, and save all their ancestors. ||2|| Without the Name, the self-willed manmukhs go to the City of Death. They suffer in pain and endure beatings. ||3|| When the Creator Himself gives, O Nanak, then the mortals receive the Naam. ||4||7|| Bhairao, Third Mehl: Love of the Lord of the Universe saved Sanak and his brother, the sons of Brahma. They contemplated the Word of the Shabad, and the Name of the Lord. ||1|| O Dear Lord, please shower me with Your Mercy, that as Gurmukh, I may embrace love for Your Name. ||1||Pause|| Whoever has true loving devotional worship deep within his being meets the Lord, through the Perfect Guru. ||2|| He naturally, intuitively dwells within the home of his own inner being. The Naam abides within the mind of the Gurmukh. ||3|| The Lord, the Seer, Himself sees. O Nanak, enshrine the Naam within your heart. ||4||8|| Bhairao, Third Mehl: In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, enshrine the Lord's Name within your heart. Without the Name, ashes will be blown in your face. ||1|| The Lord's Name is so difficult to obtain, O Siblings of Destiny. By Guru's Grace, it comes to dwell in the mind. ||1||Pause|| That humble being who seeks the Lord's Name, receives it from the Perfect Guru. ||2|| Those humble beings who accept the Will of the Lord, are approved and accepted. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, they bear the insignia of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||3|| So serve the One, whose power supports the Universe. O Nanak, the Gurmukh loves the Naam. ||4||9|| Bhairao, Third Mehl: In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, many rituals are performed. But it is not the time for them, and so they are of no use. ||1|| In Kali Yuga, the Lord's Name is the most sublime. As Gurmukh, be lovingly attached to Truth. ||1||Pause|| Searching my body and mind, I found Him within the home of my own heart. The Gurmukh centres his consciousness on the Lord's Name. ||2||

Section 28 - Raag Bhairao - Part 006

The ointment of spiritual wisdom is obtained from the True Guru. The Lord's Name is pervading the three worlds. ||3|| In Kali Yuga, it is the time for the One Dear Lord; it is not the time for anything else. O Nanak, as Gurmukh, let the Lord's Name grow within your heart. ||4||10|| Bhairao, Third Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The self-willed manmukhs are afflicted with the disease of duality; they are burnt by the intense fire of desire. They die and die again, and are reborn; they find no place of rest. They waste their lives uselessly. ||1|| O my Beloved, grant Your Grace, and give me understanding. The world was created in the disease of egotism; without the Word of the Shabad, the disease is not cured. ||1||Pause|| There are so many silent sages, who read the Simritees and the Shaastras; without the Shabad, they have no clear awareness. All those under the influence of the three qualities are afflicted with the disease; through possessiveness, they lose their awareness. ||2|| O God, you save some, and you enjoin others to serve the Guru. They obtain the treasure of the Name of the Lord; peace comes to abide within their minds. ||3|| The Gurmukhs dwell in the fourth state; they obtain a dwelling in the home of their own inner being. The Perfect True Guru shows His Mercy to them; they eradicate their self-conceit from within. ||4|| Everyone must serve the One Lord, who created Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva. O Nanak, the One True Lord is permanent and stable. He does not die, and He is not born. ||5||1||11|| Bhairao, Third Mehl: The self-willed manmukh is afflicted with the disease of duality forever; the entire universe is diseased. The Gurmukh understands, and is cured of the disease, contemplating the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||1|| O Dear Lord, please let me join the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. O Nanak, the Lord blesses with glorious greatness, those who focus their consciousness on the Lord's Name. ||1||Pause|| Death takes all those who are afflicted with the disease of possessiveness. They are subject to the Messenger of Death. The Messenger of Death does not even approach that mortal who, as Gurmukh, enshrines the Lord within his heart. ||2|| One who does not know the Lord's Name, and who

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does not become Gurmukh - why did he even come into the world? He never serves the Guru; he wastes his life uselessly. ||3|| O Nanak, those whom the True Guru enjoins to His service, have perfect good fortune. They obtain the fruits of their desires, and find peace in the Word of the Guru's Bani. ||4||2||12|| Bhairao, Third Mehl: In pain he is born, in pain he dies, and in pain he does his deeds. He is never released from the womb of reincarnation; he rots away in manure. ||1|| Cursed, cursed is the self-willed manmukh, who wastes his life away. He does not serve the Perfect Guru; he does not love the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| The Word of the Guru's Shabad cures all diseases; he alone is attached to it, whom the Dear Lord attaches.

Section 28 - Raag Bhairao - Part 007

Through the Naam, glorious greatness is obtained; he alone obtains it, whose mind is filled with the Lord. ||2|| Meeting the True Guru, the fruitful rewards are obtained. This true lifestyle beings sublime peace. Those humble beings who are attached to the Lord are immaculate; they enshrine love for the Lord's Name. ||3|| If I obtain the dust of their feet, I apply it to my forehead. They meditate on the Perfect True Guru. O Nanak, this dust is obtained only by perfect destiny. They focus their consciousness on the Lord's Name. ||4||3||13|| Bhairao, Third Mehl: That humble being who contemplates the Word of the Shabad is true; the True Lord is within his heart. If someone performs true devotional worship day and night, then his body will not feel pain. ||1|| Everyone calls him, "Devotee, devotee." But without serving the True Guru, devotional worship is not obtained. Only through perfect destiny does one meet God. ||1||Pause|| The self-willed manmukhs lose their capital, and still, they demand profits. How can they earn any profit? The Messenger of Death is always hovering above their heads. In the love of duality, they lose their honour. ||2|| Trying on all sorts of religious robes, they wander around day and night, but the disease of their egotism is not cured. Reading and studying, they argue and debate; attached to Maya, they lose their awareness. ||3|| Those who serve the True Guru are blessed with the supreme status; through the Naam, they are blessed with glorious greatness. O Nanak, those whose minds are filled with the Naam, are honoured in the Court of the True Lord. ||4||4||14|| Bhairao, Third Mehl: The self-willed manmukh cannot escape false hope. In the love of duality, he is ruined. His belly is like a river - it is never filled up. He is consumed by the fire of desire. ||1|| Eternally blissful are those who are imbued with the sublime essence of the Lord. The Naam, the Name of the Lord, fills their hearts, and duality runs away from their minds. Drinking in the Ambrosial Nectar of the Lord, Har, Har, they are satisfied. ||1||Pause|| The Supreme Lord God Himself created the Universe; He links each and every person to their tasks. He Himself created love and attachment to Maya; He Himself attaches the mortals to duality. ||2|| If there were any other, then I would speak to him; all will be merged in You. The Gurmukh contemplates the essence of spiritual wisdom; his light merges into the Light. ||3|| God is True, Forever True, and all His Creation is True. O Nanak, the True Guru has given me this understanding; the True Name brings emancipation. ||4||5||15|| Bhairao, Third Mehl: In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, those who do not realise the Lord are goblins. In the Golden Age of Sat Yuga, the supreme soul-swans contemplated the Lord. In the Silver Age of Dwaapur Yuga, and the Brass Age of Traytaa Yuga, mankind prevailed, but only a rare few subdued their egos. ||1|| In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, glorious greatness is obtained through the Lord's Name. In each and every age, the Gurmukhs know the One Lord; without the Name, liberation is not attained. ||1||Pause|| The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is revealed in the heart of the True Lord's humble servant. It dwells in the mind of the Gurmukh. Those who are lovingly focused on the Lord's Name save themselves; they save all their ancestors as well. ||2|| My Lord God is the Giver of virtue. The Word of the Shabad burns away all faults and demerits.

Section 28 - Raag Bhairao - Part 008

Those whose minds are filled with the Naam are beautiful; they enshrine the Naam within their hearts. ||3|| The True Guru has revealed to me the Lord's Home and His Court, and the Mansion of His Presence. I joyfully enjoy His Love. Whatever He says, I accept as good; Nanak chants the Naam. ||4||6||16|| Bhairao, Third Mehl: The desires of the mind are absorbed in the mind, contemplating the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Understanding is obtained from the Perfect Guru, and then the mortal does not die over and over again. ||1|| My mind takes the Support of the Lord's Name. By Guru's Grace, I have obtained the supreme status; the Lord is the Fulfiller of all desires. ||1||Pause|| The One Lord is permeating and pervading amongst all; without the Guru, this understanding is not obtained. My Lord God has been revealed to me, and I have become Gurmukh. Night and day, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||2|| The One Lord is the Giver of peace; peace is not found anywhere else. Those who do not serve the Giver, the True Guru, depart regretfully in the end. ||3|| Serving the True Guru, lasting peace is obtained, and the mortal does not suffer in pain any longer. Nanak has been blessed with devotional worship of the Lord; his light has merged into the Light. ||4||7||17|| Bhairao, Third Mehl: Without the Guru, the world is insane; confused and deluded, it is beaten, and it suffers. It dies and dies again, and is reborn, always in pain, but it is unaware of the Lord's Gate. ||1|| O my mind, remain always in the Protection of the True Guru's Sanctuary. Those people, to whose hearts the Lord's Name seems sweet, are carried across the terrifying world-ocean by the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||1||Pause|| The mortal wears various religious robes, but his consciousness is unsteady; deep within, he is filled with sexual desire, anger and egotism. Deep within is the great thirst and immense hunger; he wanders from door to door. ||2|| Those who die in the Word of the Guru's Shabad are reborn; they find the door of liberation. With constant peace and tranquility deep within, they enshrine the Lord within their hearts. ||3|| As it pleases Him, He inspires us to act. Nothing else can be done. O Nanak, the Gurmukh contemplates the Word of the Shabad, and is blessed with the glorious greatness of the Lord's Name. ||4||8||18|| Bhairao, Third Mehl: Lost in egotism, Maya and attachment, the mortal earns pain, and eats pain. The great disease, the rabid disease of greed, is deep within him; he wanders around indiscriminately. ||1|| The life of the self-willed manmukh in this world is cursed. He does not remember the Lord's Name, even in his dreams. He is never in love with the Lord's Name. ||1||Pause|| He acts like a beast, and does not understand anything. Practicing falsehood, he becomes false. But when the mortal meets the True Guru, his way of looking at the world changes. How rare are those humble beings who seek and find the Lord. ||2|| That person, whose heart is forever filled with the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, obtains the Lord, the Treasure of Virtue. By Guru's Grace, he finds the Perfect Lord; the egotistical pride of his mind is eradicated. ||3|| The Creator Himself acts, and causes all to act. He Himself places us on the path.

Section 28 - Raag Bhairao - Part 009

He Himself blesses the Gurmukh with glorious greatness; O Nanak, he merges in the Naam. ||4||9||19|| Bhairao, Third Mehl: Upon my writing tablet, I write the Name of the Lord, the Lord of the Universe, the Lord of the World. In the love of duality, the mortals are caught in the noose of the Messenger of Death. The True Guru nurtures and sustains me. The Lord, the Giver of peace, is always with me. ||1|| Following his Guru's instructions, Prahlaad chanted the Lord's Name; he was a child, but he was not afraid when his teacher yelled at him. ||1||Pause|| Prahlaad's mother gave her beloved son some advice: "My son, you must abandon the Lord's Name, and save your life!" Prahlaad said: "Listen, O my mother; I shall never give up the Lord's Name. My Guru has taught me this."||2|| Sandaa and Markaa, his teachers, went to his father the king, and complained: "Prahlaad himself has gone astray, and he leads all the other pupils astray." In the court of the wicked king, a plan was hatched. God is the Savior of Prahlaad. ||3|| With sword in hand, and with great egotistical pride, Prahlaad's father ran up to him. "Where is your Lord, who will save you?" In an instant, the Lord appeared in a dreadful form, and shattered the pillar. Harnaakhash was torn apart by His claws, and Prahlaad was saved. ||4|| The Dear Lord completes the tasks of the Saints. He saved twenty-one generations of Prahlaad's descendents. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the poison of egotism is neutralised. O Nanak, through the Name of the Lord, the Saints are emancipated. ||5||10||20|| Bhairao, Third Mehl: The Lord Himself makes demons pursue the Saints, and He Himself saves them. Those who remain forever in Your Sanctuary, O Lord - their minds are never touched by sorrow. ||1|| In each and every age, the Lord saves the honour of His devotees. Prahlaad, the demon's son, knew nothing of the Hindu morning prayer, the Gayatri, and nothing about ceremonial water-offerings to his ancestors; but through the Word of the Shabad, he was united in the Lord's Union. ||1||Pause|| Night and day, he performed devotional worship service, day and night, and through the Shabad, his duality was eradicated. Those who are imbued with Truth are immaculate and pure; the True Lord abides within their minds. ||2|| The fools in duality read, but they do not understand anything; they waste their lives uselessly. The wicked demon slandered the Saint, and stirred up trouble. ||3|| Prahlaad did not read in duality, and he did not abandon the Lord's Name; he was not afraid of any fear. The Dear Lord became the Savior of the Saint, and the demonic Death could not even approach him. ||4|| The Lord Himself saved his honour, and blessed his devotee with glorious greatness. O Nanak, Harnaakhash was torn apart by the Lord with His claws; the blind demon knew nothing of the Lord's Court. ||5||11||21|| Raag Bhairao, Fourth Mehl, Chaupadas, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The Lord, in His Mercy, attaches mortals to the feet of the Saints.

Section 28 - Raag Bhairao - Part 010

Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, vibrate and meditate on the Lord; let your awareness be absorbed in Him. ||1|| O my mind, vibrate and meditate on the Lord and the Name of the Lord. The Lord, Har, Har, the Giver of Peace, grants His Grace; the Gurmukh crosses over the terrifying world-ocean through the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, sing of the Lord. Follow the Guru's Teachings, and you shall obtain the Lord, the Source of Nectar. ||2|| Bathe in the pool of ambrosial nectar, the spiritual wisdom of the Holy Guru. All sins will be eliminated and eradicated. ||3|| You Yourself are the Creator, the Support of the Universe. Please unite servant Nanak with Yourself; he is the slave of Your slaves. ||4||1|| Bhairao, Fourth Mehl: Fruitful is that moment when the Lord's Name is spoken. Following the Guru's Teachings, all pains are taken away. ||1|| O my mind, vibrate the Name of the Lord. O Lord, be merciful, and unite me with the Perfect Guru. Joining with the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, I shall cross over the terrifying world-ocean. ||1||Pause|| Meditate on the Life of the World; remember the Lord in your mind. Millions upon millions of your sins shall be taken away. ||2|| In the Sat Sangat, apply the dust of the feet of the holy to your face; this is how to bathe in the sixty-eight sacred shrines, and the Ganges. ||3|| I am a fool; the Lord has shown mercy to me. The Savior Lord has saved servant Nanak. ||4||2|| Bhairao, Fourth Mehl: To do good deeds is the best rosary. Chant on the beads within your heart, and it shall go along with you. ||1|| Chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, the Lord of the forest. Have mercy on me, Lord, and unite me with the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, so that I may be released from Maya's noose of death. ||1||Pause|| Whoever, as Gurmukh, serves and works hard, is molded and shaped in the true mint of the Shabad, the Word of God. ||2|| The Guru has revealed to me the Inaccessible and Unfathomable Lord. Searching within the body-village, I have found the Lord. ||3|| I am just a child; the Lord is my Father, who nurtures and cherishes me. Please save servant Nanak, Lord; bless him with Your Glance of Grace. ||4||3|| Bhairao, Fourth Mehl: All hearts are Yours, Lord; You are in all. There is nothing at all except You. ||1|| O my mind, meditate on the Lord, the Giver of peace. I praise You, O Lord God, You are my Father. ||1||Pause|| Wherever I look, I see only the Lord God. All are under Your control; there is no other at all. ||2|| O Lord, when it is Your Will to save someone, then nothing can threaten him. ||3|| You are totally pervading and permeating the waters, the lands, the skies and all places. Servant Nanak meditates on the Ever-present Lord. ||4||4|| Bhairao, Fourth Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The Lord's Saint is the embodiment of the Lord; within his heart is the Name of the Lord. One who has such destiny inscribed on his forehead, follows the Guru's Teachings, and contemplates the Name of the Lord within his heart. ||1||

Section 28 - Raag Bhairao - Part 011

Enshrine Him in your heart, and meditate on the Lord. The five plundering thieves are in the body-village; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the Lord has beaten them and driven them out. ||1||Pause|| Those whose minds are satisfied with the Lord - the Lord Himself resolves their affairs. Their subservience and their dependence on other people is ended; the Creator Lord is on their side. ||2|| If something were beyond the realm of the Lord's Power, only then would we have recourse to consult someone else. Whatever the Lord does is good. Meditate on the Name of the Lord, night and day. ||3|| Whatever the Lord does, He does by Himself. He does not ask or consult anyone else. O Nanak, meditate forever on God; granting His Grace, He unites us with the True Guru. ||4||1||5|| Bhairao, Fourth Mehl: O my Lord and Master, please unite me with the Holy people; meditating on You, I am saved. Gazing upon the Blessed Vision of their Darshan, my mind blossoms forth. Each and every moment, I am a sacrifice to them. ||1|| Meditate within your heart on the Name of the Lord. Show Mercy, Mercy to me, O Father of the World, O my Lord and Master; make me the water-carrier of the slave of Your slaves. ||1||Pause|| Their intellect is sublime and exalted, and so is their honour; the Lord, the Lord of the forest, abides within their hearts. O my Lord and Master, please link me to the service of those who meditate in remembrance on You, and are saved. ||2|| Those who do not find such a Holy True Guru are beaten, and driven out of the Court of the Lord. These slanderous people have no honour or reputation; their noses are cut by the Creator Lord. ||3|| The Lord Himself speaks, and the Lord Himself inspires all to speak; He is Immaculate and Formless, and needs no sustenance. O Lord, he alone meets You, whom You cause to meet. Says servant Nanak, I am a wretched creature. What can I do? ||4||2||6|| Bhairao, Fourth Mehl: That is Your True Congregation, Lord, where the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises are heard. The minds of those who listen to the Lord's Name are drenched with bliss; I worship their feet continually. ||1|| Meditating on the Lord, the Life of the World, the mortals cross over. Your Names are so many, they are countless, O

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Lord. This tongue of mine cannot even count them. ||1||Pause|| O Gursikhs, chant the Lord's Name, and sing the Praises of the Lord. Take the Guru's Teachings, and meditate on the Lord. Whoever listens to the Guru's Teachings - that humble being receives countless comforts and pleasures from the Lord. ||2|| Blessed is the ancestry, blessed is the father, and blessed is that mother who gave birth to this humble servant. Those who meditate on my Lord, Har, Har, with every breath and morsel of food - those humble servants of the Lord look beautiful in the True Court of the Lord. ||3|| O Lord, Har, Har, Your Names are profound and infinite; Your devotees cherish them deep within. Servant Nanak has obained the wisdom of the Guru's Teachings; meditating on the Lord, Har, Har, he crosses over to the other side. ||4||3||7||

Section 28 - Raag Bhairao - Part 012

Bhairao, Fifth Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Setting aside all other days, it is said that the Lord was born on the eighth lunar day. ||1|| Deluded and confused by doubt, the mortal practices falsehood. The Lord is beyond birth and death. ||1||Pause|| You prepare sweet treats and feed them to your stone god. God is not born, and He does not die, you foolish, faithless cynic! ||2|| You sing lullabyes to your stone god - this is the source of all your mistakes. Let that mouth be burnt, which says that our Lord and Master is subject to birth. ||3|| He is not born, and He does not die; He does not come and go in reincarnation. The God of Nanak is pervading and permeating everywhere. ||4||1|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: Standing up, I am at peace; sitting down, I am at peace. I feel no fear, because this is what I understand. ||1|| The One Lord, my Lord and Master, is my Protector. He is the Inner-knower, the Searcher of Hearts. ||1||Pause|| I sleep without worry, and I awake without worry. You, O God, are pervading everywhere. ||2|| I dwell in peace in my home, and I am at peace outside. Says Nanak, the Guru has implanted His Mantra within me. ||3||2|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: I do not keep fasts, nor do I observe the month of Ramadaan. I serve only the One, who will protect me in the end. ||1|| The One Lord, the Lord of the World, is my God Allah. He adminsters justice to both Hindus and Muslims. ||1||Pause|| I do not make pilgrimages to Mecca, nor do I worship at Hindu sacred shrines. I serve the One Lord, and not any other. ||2|| I do not perform Hindu worship services, nor do I offer the Muslim prayers. I have taken the One Formless Lord into my heart; I humbly worship Him there. ||3|| I am not a Hindu, nor am I a Muslim. My body and breath of life belong to Allah - to Raam - the God of both. ||4|| Says Kabeer, this is what I say: meeting with the Guru, my Spiritual Teacher, I realise God, my Lord and Master. ||5||3|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: I easily tied up the deer - the ten sensory organs. I shot five of the desires with the Word of the Lord's Bani. ||1|| I go out hunting with the Saints, and we capture the deer without horses or weapons. ||1||Pause|| My mind used to run around outside hunting. But now, I have found the game within the home of my body-village. ||2|| I caught the deer and brought them home. Dividing them up, I shared them, bit by bit. ||3|| God has given this gift. Nanak's home is filled with the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||4||4|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: Even though he may be fed with hundreds of longings and yearnings, still the faithless cynic does not remember the Lord, Har, Har. ||1|| Take in the teachings of the humble Saints. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, you shall obtain the supreme status. ||1||Pause|| Stones may be kept under water for a long time. Even so, they do not absorb the water; they remain hard and dry. ||2||

Section 28 - Raag Bhairao - Part 013

The six Shaastras may be read to a fool, but it is like the wind blowing in the ten directions. ||3|| It is like threshing a crop without any corn - nothing is gained. In the same way, no benefit comes from the faithless cynic. ||4|| As the Lord attaches them, so are all attached. Says Nanak, God has formed such a form. ||5||5|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: He created the soul, the breath of life and the body. He created all beings, and knows their pains. ||1|| The Guru, the Lord of the Universe, is the Helper of the soul. Here and herafter, He always provides shade. ||1||Pause|| Worship and adoration of God is the pure way of life. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, the love of duality vanishes. ||2|| Friends, well-wishers and wealth will not support you. Blessed, blessed is my Lord. ||3|| Nanak utters the Ambrosial Bani of the Lord. Except the One Lord, he does not know any other at all. ||4||6|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: The Lord is in front of me, and the Lord is behind me. My Beloved Lord, the Source of Nectar, is in the middle as well. ||1|| God is my Shaastra and my favorable omen. In His Home and Mansion, I find peace, poise and bliss. ||1||Pause|| Chanting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, with my tongue, and hearing it with my ears, I live. Meditating, meditating in remembrance on God, I have become eternal, permanent and stable. ||2|| The pains of countless lifetimes have been erased. The Unstruck Sound-current of the Shabad, the Word of God, vibrates in the Court of the Lord. ||3|| Granting His Grace, God has blended me with Himself. Nanak has entered the Sanctuary of God. ||4||7|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: It brings millions of desires to fulfillment. On the Path of Death, It will go with you and help you. ||1|| The Naam, the Name of the Lord of the Universe, is the holy water of the Ganges. Whoever meditates on it, is saved; drinking it in, the mortal does not wander in reincarnation again. ||1||Pause|| It is my worship, meditation, austerity and cleansing bath. Meditating in remembrance on the Naam, I have become free of desire. ||2|| It is my domain and empire, wealth, mansion and court. Meditating in remembrance on the Naam brings perfect conduct. ||3|| Slave Nanak has deliberated, and has come to this conclusion: Without the Lord's Name, everything is false and worthless, like ashes. ||4||8|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: The poison had absolutely no harmful effect. But the wicked Brahmin died in pain. ||1|| The Supreme Lord God Himself has saved His humble servant. The sinner died through the Power of the Guru. ||1||Pause|| The humble servant of the Lord and Master meditates on Him. He Himself has destroyed the ignorant sinner. ||2|| God is the Mother, the Father and the Protector of His slave. The face of the slanderer, here and hereafter, is blackened. ||3|| The Transcendent Lord has heard the prayer of servant Nanak. The filthy sinner lost hope and died. ||4||9|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: Excellent, excellent, excellent, excellent, excellent is Your Name. False, false, false, false is pride in the world. ||1||Pause|| The glorious vision of Your slaves, O Infinite Lord, is wonderful and beauteous.

Section 28 - Raag Bhairao - Part 014

Without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the whole world is just ashes. ||1|| Your Creative Power is marvellous, and Your Lotus Feet are admirable. Your Praise is priceless, O True King. ||2|| God is the Support of the unsupported. Meditate day and night on the Cherisher of the meek and humble. ||3|| God has been merciful to Nanak. May I never forget God; He is my heart, my soul, my breath of life. ||4||10|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: As Gurmukh, obtain the true wealth. Accept the Will of God as True. ||1|| Live, live, live forever. Rise early each day, and drink in the Nectar of the Lord. With your tongue, chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, Har, Har. ||1||Pause|| In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, the One Name alone shall save you. Nanak speaks the wisdom of God. ||2||11|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: Serving the True Guru, all fruits and rewards are obtained. The filth of so many lifetimes is washed away. ||1|| Your Name, God, is the Purifier of sinners. Because of the karma of my past deeds, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I am saved. I am blessed with honour in God's Court. ||2|| Serving at God's Feet, all comforts are obtained. All the angels and demi-gods long for the dust of the feet of such beings. ||3|| Nanak has obtained the treasure of the Naam. Chanting and meditating on the Lord, the whole world is saved. ||4||12|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: God hugs His slave close in His Embrace. He throws the slanderer into the fire. ||1|| The Lord saves His servants from the sinners. No one can save the sinner. The sinner is destroyed by his own actions. ||1||Pause|| The Lord's slave is in love with the Dear Lord. The slanderer loves something else. ||2|| The Supreme Lord God has revealed His Innate Nature. The evil-doer obtains the fruits of his own actions. ||3|| God does not come or go; He is All-pervading and permeating. Slave Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of the Lord. ||4||13|| Raag Bhairao, Fifth Mehl, Chaupadas, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The Fascinating Lord, the Creator of all, the Formless Lord, is the Giver of Peace. You have abandoned this Lord, and you serve another. Why are you intoxicated with the pleasures of corruption? ||1|| O my mind, meditate on the Lord of the Universe. I have seen all other sorts of efforts; whatever you can think of, will only bring failure. ||1||Pause|| The blind, ignorant, self-willed manmukhs forsake their Lord and Master, and dwell on His slave Maya. They slander those who worship their Lord; they are like beasts, without a Guru. ||2|| Soul, life, body and wealth all belong to God, but the faithless cynics claim that they own them.

Section 28 - Raag Bhairao - Part 015

They are proud and arrogant, evil-minded and filthy; without the Guru, they are reincarnated into the terrifying world-ocean. ||3|| Through burnt offerings, charitable feasts, ritualistic chants, penance, all sorts of austere self-discipline and pilgrimages to sacred shrines and rivers, they do not find God. Self-conceit is only erased when one seeks the Lord's Sanctuary and becomes Gurmukh; O Nanak, he crosses over the world-ocean. ||4||1||14|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: I have seen Him in the woods, and I have seen Him in the fields. I have seen Him in the household, and in renunciation. I have seen Him as a Yogi carrying His staff, as a Yogi with matted hair, fasting, making vows, and visiting sacred shrines of pilgrimage. ||1|| I have seen Him in the Society of the Saints, and within my own mind. In the sky, in the nether regions of the underworld, and in everything, He is pervading and permeating. With love and joy, I sing His Glorious Praises. ||1||Pause|| I have seen Him among the Yogis, the Sannyaasees, the celibates, the wandering hermits and the wearers of patched coats. I have seen Him among the men of severe self-discipline, the silent sages, the actors, dramas and dances. ||2|| I have seen Him in the four Vedas, I have seen Him in the six Shaastras, in the eighteen Puraanas and the Simritees as well. All together, they declare that there is only the One Lord. So tell me, from whom is He hidden? ||3|| Unfathomable and Inaccessible, He is our Infinite Lord and Master; His Value is beyond valuation. Servant Nanak is a sacrifice, a sacrifice to those, within whose heart He is revealed. ||4||2||15|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: How can anyone do evil, if he realises that the Lord is near? One who gathers corruption, constantly feels fear. He is near, but this mystery is not understood. Without the True Guru, all are enticed by Maya. ||1|| Everyone says that He is near, near at hand. But rare is that person, who, as Gurmukh, understands this mystery. ||1||Pause|| The mortal does not see the Lord near at hand; instead, he goes to the homes of others. He steals their wealth and lives in falsehood. Under the influence of the drug of illusion, he does not know that the Lord is with him. Without the Guru, he is confused and deluded by doubt. ||2|| Not understanding that the Lord is near, he tells lies. In love and attachment to Maya, the fool is plundered. That which he seeks is within his own self, but he looks for it outside. Without the Guru, he is confused and deluded by doubt. ||3|| One whose good karma is recorded on his forehead serves the True Guru; thus the hard and heavy shutters of his mind are opened wide. Within his own being and beyond, he sees the Lord near at hand. O servant Nanak, he does not come and go in reincarnation. ||4||3||16|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: Who can kill that person whom You protect, O Lord? All beings, and the entire universe, is within You. The mortal thinks up millions of plans, but that alone happens, which the Lord of wondrous plays does. ||1|| Save me, save me, O Lord; shower me with Your Mercy. I seek Your Sanctuary, and Your Court. ||1||Pause|| Whoever serves the Fearless Lord, the Giver of Peace, is rid of all his fears; he knows the One Lord. Whatever You do, that alone comes to pass in the end. There is no other who can kill or protect us. ||2|| What do you think, with your human understanding? The All-knowing Lord is the Searcher of Hearts. The One and only Lord is my Support and Protection. The Creator Lord knows everything. ||3|| That person who is blessed by the Creator's Glance of Grace

Section 28 - Raag Bhairao - Part 016

- all his affairs are resolved. The One Lord is his Protector. O servant Nanak, no one can equal him. ||4||4||17|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: We should feel sad, if God were beyond us. We should feel sad, if we forget the Lord. We should feel sad, if we are in love with duality. But why should we feel sad? The Lord is pervading everywhere. ||1|| In love and attachment to Maya, the mortals are sad, and are consumed by sadness. Without the Name, they wander and wander and wander, and waste away. ||1||Pause|| We should feel sad, if there were another Creator Lord. We should feel sad, if someone dies by injustice. We should feel sad, if something were not known to the Lord. But why should we feel sad? The Lord is totally permeating everywhere. ||2|| We should feel sad, if God were a tyrant. We should feel sad, if He made us suffer by mistake. The Guru says that whatever happens is all by God's Will. So I have abandoned sadness, and I now sleep without anxiety. ||3|| O God, You alone are my Lord and Master; all belong to You. According to Your Will, You pass judgement. There is no other at all; the One Lord is permeating and pervading everywhere. Please save Nanak's honour; I have come to Your Sanctuary. ||4||5||18|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: Without music, how is one to dance? Without a voice, how is one to sing? Without strings, how is a guitar to be played? Without the Naam, all affairs are useless. ||1|| Without the Naam - tell me: who has ever been saved? Without the True Guru, how can anyone cross over to the other side? ||1||Pause|| Without a tongue, how can anyone speak? Without ears, how can anyone hear? Without eyes, how can anyone see? Without the Naam, the mortal is of no account at all. ||2|| Without learning, how can one be a Pandit - a religious scholar? Without power, what is the glory of an empire? Without understanding, how can the mind become steady? Without the Naam, the whole world is insane. ||3|| Without detachment, how can one be a detached hermit? Without renouncing egotism, how can anyone be a renunciate? Without overcoming the five thieves, how can the mind be subdued? Without the Naam, the mortal regrets and repents forever and ever. ||4|| Without the Guru's Teachings, how can anyone obtain spiritual wisdom? Without seeing - tell me: how can anyone visualise in meditation? Without the Fear of God, all speech in useless. Says Nanak, this is the wisdom of the Lord's Court. ||5||6||19|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: Mankind is afflicted with the disease of egotism. The disease of sexual desire overwhelms the elephant. Because of the disease of vision, the moth is burnt to death. Because of the disease of the sound of the bell, the deer is lured to its death. ||1|| Whoever I see is diseased. Only my True Guru, the True Yogi, is free of disease. ||1||Pause|| Because of the disease of taste, the fish is caught. Because of the disease of smell, the bumble bee is destroyed.

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The whole world is caught in the disease of attachment. In the disease of the three qualities, corruption is multiplied. ||2|| In disease the mortals die, and in disease they are born. In disease they wander in reincarnation again and again.

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Entangled in disease, they cannot stay still, even for an instant. Without the True Guru, the disease is never cured. ||3|| When the Supreme Lord God grants His Mercy, He grabs hold of the mortal's arm, and pulls him up and out of the disease. Reaching the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, the mortal's bonds are broken. Says Nanak, the Guru cures him of the disease. ||4||7||20|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: When He comes to mind, then I am in supreme bliss. When He comes to mind, then all my pains are shattered. When He comes to mind, my hopes are fulfilled. When He comes to mind, I never feel sadness. ||1|| Deep within my being, my Sovereign Lord King has revealed Himself to me. The Perfect Guru has inspired me to love Him. ||1||Pause|| When He comes to mind, I am the king of all. When He comes to mind, all my affairs are completed. When He comes to mind, I am dyed in the deep crimson of His Love. When He comes to mind, I am ecstatic forever. ||2|| When He comes to mind, I am wealthy forever. When He comes to mind, I am free of doubt forever. When He comes to mind, then I enjoy all pleasures. When He comes to mind, I am rid of fear. ||3|| When He comes to mind, I find the home of peace and poise. When He comes to mind, I am absorbed in the Primal Void of God. When He comes to mind, I continually sing the Kirtan of His Praises. Nanak's mind is pleased and satisfied with the Lord God. ||4||8||21|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: My Father is Eternal, forever alive. My brothers live forever as well. My friends are permanent and imperishable. My family abides in the home of the self within. ||1|| I have found peace, and so all are at peace. The Perfect Guru has united me with my Father. ||1||Pause|| My mansions are the highest of all. My countries are infinite and uncountable. My kingdom is eternally stable. My wealth is inexhaustible and permanent. ||2|| My glorious reputation resounds throughout the ages. My fame has spread in all places and interspaces. My praises echo in each and every house. My devotional worship is known to all people. ||3|| My Father has revealed Himself within me. The Father and son have joined together in partnership. Says Nanak, when my Father is pleased, then the Father and son are joined together in love, and become one. ||4||9||22|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: The True Guru, the Primal Being, is free of revenge and hate; He is God, the Great Giver. I am a sinner; You are my Forgiver. That sinner, who finds no protection anywhere - if he comes seeking Your Sanctuary, then he becomes immaculate and pure. ||1|| Pleasing the True Guru, I have found peace. Meditating on the Guru, I have obtained all fruits and rewards. ||1||Pause|| I humbly bow to the Supreme Lord God, the True Guru. My mind and body are Yours; all the world is Yours. When the veil of illusion is removed, then I come to see You. You are my Lord and Master; You are the King of all. ||2|| When it pleases Him, even dry wood becomes green. When it pleases Him, rivers flow across the desert sands. When it pleases Him, all fruits and rewards are obtained. Grasping hold of the Guru's feet, my anxiety is dispelled. ||3||

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I am unworthy and ungrateful, but He has been merciful to me. My mind and body have been cooled and soothed; the Ambrosial Nectar rains down in my mind. The Supreme Lord God, the Guru, has become kind and compassionate to me. Slave Nanak beholds the Lord, enraptured. ||4||10||23|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: My True Guru is totally independent. My True Guru is adorned with Truth. My True Guru is the Giver of all. My True Guru is the Primal Creator Lord, the Architect of Destiny. ||1|| There is no deity equal to the Guru. Whoever has good destiny inscribed on his forehead, applies himself to seva - selfless service. ||1||Pause|| My True Guru is the Sustainer and Cherisher of all. My True Guru kills and revives. The glorious greatness of my True Guru has become manifest everywhere. ||2|| My True Guru is the power of the powerless. My True Guru is my home and court. I am forever a sacrifice to the True Guru. He has shown me the path. ||3|| One who serves the Guru is not afflicted with fear. One who serves the Guru does not suffer in pain. Nanak has studied the Simritees and the Vedas. There is no difference between the Supreme Lord God and the Guru. ||4||11||24|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: Repeating the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the mortal is exalted and glorified. Repeating the Naam, sin is banished from the body. Repeating the Naam, all festivals are celebrated. Repeating the Naam, one is cleansed at the sixty-eight sacred shrines. ||1|| My sacred shrine of pilgrimage is the Name of the Lord. The Guru has instructed me in the true essence of spiritual wisdom. ||1||Pause|| Repeating the Naam, the mortal's pains are taken away. Repeating the Naam, the most ignorant people become spiritual teachers. Repeating the Naam, the Divine Light blazes forth. Repeating the Naam, one's bonds are broken. ||2|| Repeating the Naam, the Messenger of Death does not draw near. Repeating the Naam, one finds peace in the Court of the Lord. Repeating the Naam, God gives His Approval. The Naam is my true wealth. ||3|| The Guru has instructed me in these sublime teachings. The Kirtan of the Lord's Praises and the Naam are the Support of the mind. Nanak is saved through the atonement of the Naam. Other actions are just to please and appease the people. ||4||12||25|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: I bow in humble worship, tens of thousands of times. I offer this mind as a sacrifice. Meditating in remembrance on Him, sufferings are erased. Bliss wells up, and no disease is contracted. ||1|| Such is the diamond, the Immaculate Naam, the Name of the Lord. Chanting it, all works are perfectly completed. ||1||Pause|| Beholding Him, the house of pain is demolished. The mind seizes the cooling, soothing, Ambrosial Nectar of the Naam. Millions of devotees worship His Feet. He is the Fulfiller of all the mind's desires. ||2|| In an instant, He fills the empty to over-flowing. In an instant, He transforms the dry into green. In an instant, He gives the homeless a home. In an instant, He bestows honour on the dishonoured. ||3||

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The One Lord is totally pervading and permeating all. He alone meditates on the Lord, whose True Guru is Perfect. Such a person has the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises for his Support. Says Nanak, the Lord Himself is merciful to him. ||4||13||26|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: I was discarded and abandoned, but He has embellished me. He has blessed me with beauty and His Love; through His Name, I am exalted. All my pains and sorrows have been eradicated. The Guru has become my Mother and Father. ||1|| O my friends and companions, my household is in bliss. Granting His Grace, my Husband Lord has met me. ||1||Pause|| The fire of desire has been extinguished, and all my desires have been fulfilled. The darkness has been dispelled, and the Divine Light blazes forth. The Unstruck Sound-current of the Shabad, the Word of God, is wondrous and amazing! Perfect is the Grace of the Perfect Guru. ||2|| That person, unto whom the Lord reveals Himself - by the Blessed Vision of his Darshan, I am forever enraptured. He obtains all virtues and so many treasures. The True Guru blesses him with the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||3|| That person who meets with his Lord and Master - his mind and body are cooled and soothed, chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Says Nanak, such a humble being is pleasing to God; only a rare few are blessed with the dust of his feet. ||4||14||27|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: The mortal does not hesitate to think about sin. He is not ashamed to spend time with prostitutes. He works all day long, but when it is time to remember the Lord, then a heavy stone falls on his head. ||1|| Attached to Maya, the world is deluded and confused. The Deluder Himself has deluded the mortal, and now he is engrossed in worthless worldly affairs. ||1||Pause|| Gazing on Maya's illusion, its pleasures pass away. He loves the shell, and ruins his life. Bound to blind worldly affairs, his mind wavers and wanders. The Creator Lord does not come into his mind. ||2|| Working and working like this, he only obtains pain, and his affairs of Maya are never completed. His mind is saturated with sexual desire, anger and greed. Wiggling like a fish out of water, he dies. ||3|| One who has the Lord Himself as his Protector, chants and meditates forever on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, he chants the Glorious Praises of the Lord. O Nanak, he has found the Perfect True Guru. ||4||15||28|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: He alone obtains it, unto whom the Lord shows Mercy. He enshrines the Name of the Lord in his mind. With the True Word of the Shabad in his heart and mind, the sins of countless incarnations vanish. ||1|| The Lord's Name is the Support of the soul. By Guru's Grace, chant the Name continually, O Siblings of Destiny; It shall carry you across the world-ocean. ||1||Pause|| Those who have this treasure of the Lord's Name written in their destiny, those humble beings are honoured in the Court of the Lord. Singing His Glorious Praises with peace, poise and bliss, even the homeless obtain a home hereafter. ||2|| Throughout the ages, this has been the essence of reality. Meditate in remembrance on the Lord, and contemplate the Truth.

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He alone is attached to the hem of the Lord's robe, whom the Lord Himself attaches. Asleep for countless incarnations, he now awakens. ||3|| Your devotees belong to You, and You belong to Your devotees. You Yourself inspire them to chant Your Praises. All beings and creatures are in Your Hands. Nanak's God is always with him. ||4||16||29|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is the Inner-knower of my heart. The Naam is so useful to me. The Lord's Name permeates each and every hair of mine. The Perfect True Guru has given me this gift. ||1|| The Jewel of the Naam is my treasure. It is inaccessible, priceless, infinite and incomparable. ||1||Pause|| The Naam is my unmoving, unchanging Lord and Master. The glory of the Naam spreads over the whole world. The Naam is my perfect master of wealth. The Naam is my independence. ||2|| The Naam is my food and love. The Naam is the objective of my mind. By the Grace of the Saints, I never forget the Naam. Repeating the Naam, the Unstruck Sound-current of the Naad resounds. ||3|| By God's Grace, I have obtained the nine treasures of the Naam. By Guru's Grace, I am tuned in to the Naam. They alone are wealthy and supreme, O Nanak, who have the treasure of the Naam. ||4||17||30|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: You are my Father, and You are my Mother. You are my Soul, my Breath of Life, the Giver of Peace. You are my Lord and Master; I am Your slave. Without You, I have no one at all. ||1|| Please bless me with Your Mercy, God, and give me this gift, that I may sing Your Praises, day and night. ||1||Pause|| I am Your musical instrument, and You are the Musician. I am Your beggar; please bless me with Your charity, O Great Giver. By Your Grace, I enjoy love and pleasures. You are deep within each and every heart. ||2|| By Your Grace, I chant the Name. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I sing Your Glorious Praises. In Your Mercy, You take away our pains. By Your Mercy, the heart-lotus blossoms forth. ||3|| I am a sacrifice to the Divine Guru. The Blessed Vision of His Darshan is fruitful and rewarding; His service is immaculate and pure. Be Merciful to me, O my Lord God and Master, that Nanak may continually sing Your Glorious Praises. ||4||18||31|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: His Regal Court is the highest of all. I humbly bow to Him, forever and ever. His place is the highest of the high. Millions of sins are erased by the Name of the Lord. ||1|| In His Sanctuary, we find eternal peace. He Mercifully unites us with Himself. ||1||Pause|| His wondrous actions cannot even be described. All hearts rest their faith and hope in Him. He is manifest in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. The devotees lovingly worship and adore Him night and day. ||2|| He gives, but His treasures are never exhausted. In an instant, He establishes and disestablishes. No one can erase the Hukam of His Command. The True Lord is above the heads of kings. ||3|| He is my Anchor and Support; I place my hopes in Him.

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I place my pain and pleasure before Him. He covers the faults of His humble servant. Nanak sings His Praises. ||4||19||32|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: The whiner whines every day. His attachment to his household and entanglements cloud his mind. If someone becomes detached through understanding, he will not have to suffer in birth and death again. ||1|| All of his conflicts are extensions of his corruption. How rare is that person who takes the Naam as his Support. ||1||Pause|| The three-phased Maya infects all. Whoever clings to it suffers pain and sorrow. There is no peace without meditating on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. By great good fortune, the treasure of the Naam is received. ||2|| One who loves the actor in his mind, later regrets it when the actor takes off his costume. The shade from a cloud is transitory, like the worldly paraphernalia of attachment and corruption. ||3|| If someone is blessed with the singular substance, then all of his tasks are accomplished to perfection. One who obtains the Naam, by Guru's Grace - O Nanak, his coming into the world is certified and approved. ||4||20||33|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: Slandering the Saints, the mortal wanders in reincarnation. Slandering the Saints, he is diseased. Slandering the Saints, he suffers in pain. The slanderer is punished by the Messenger of Death. ||1|| Those who argue and fight with the Saints - those slanderers find no happiness at all. ||1||Pause|| Slandering the devotees, the wall of the mortal's body is shattered. Slandering the devotees, he suffers in hell. Slandering the devotees, he rots in the womb. Slandering the devotees, he loses his realm and power. ||2|| The slanderer finds no salvation at all. He eats only that which he himself has planted. He is worse than a thief, a lecher, or a gambler. The slanderer places an unbearable burden upon his head. ||3|| The devotees of the Supreme Lord God are beyond hate and vengeance. Whoever worships their feet is emancipated. The Primal Lord God has deluded and confused the slanderer. O Nanak, the record of one's past actions cannot be erased. ||4||21||34|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is for me the Vedas and the Sound-current of the Naad. Through the Naam, my tasks are perfectly accomplished. The Naam is my worship of deities. The Naam is my service to the Guru. ||1|| The Perfect Guru has implanted the Naam within me. The highest task of all is the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1||Pause|| The Naam is my cleansing bath and purification. The Naam is my perfect donation of charity. Those who repeat the Naam are totally purified. Those who chant the Naam are my friends and Siblings of Destiny. ||2|| The Naam is my auspicious omen and good fortune. The Naam is the sublime food which satisfies me. The Naam is my good conduct. The Naam is my immaculate occupation. ||3|| All those humble beings whose minds are filled with the One God have the Support of the Lord, Har, Har. O Nanak, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord with your mind and body. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, the Lord bestows His Name. ||4||22||35||

Section 28 - Raag Bhairao - Part 022

Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: You bless the poor with wealth, O Lord. Countless sins are taken away, and the mind becomes immaculate and pure. All the mind's desires are fulfilled, and one's tasks are perfectly accomplished. You bestow Your

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Name upon Your devotee. ||1|| Service to the Lord, our Sovereign King, is fruitful and rewarding. Our Lord and Master is the Creator, the Cause of causes; no one is turned away from His Door empty-handed. ||1||Pause|| God eradicates the disease from the diseased person. God takes away the sorrows of the suffering. And those who have no place at all - You seat them upon the place. You link Your slave to devotional worship. ||2|| God bestows honour on the dishonoured. He makes the foolish and ignorant become clever and wise. The fear of all fear disappears. The Lord dwells within the mind of His humble servant. ||3|| The Supreme Lord God is the Treasure of Peace. The Ambrosial Name of the Lord is the essence of reality. Granting His Grace, He enjoins the mortals to serve the Saints. O Nanak, such a person merges in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||4||23||36|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: In the Realm of the Saints, the Lord dwells in the mind. In the Realm of the Saints, all sins run away. In the Realm of the Saints, one's lifestyle is immaculate. In the Society of the Saints, one comes to love the One Lord. ||1|| That alone is called the Realm of the Saints, where only the Glorious Praises of the Supreme Lord God are sung. ||1||Pause|| In the Realm of the Saints, birth and death are ended. In the Realm of the Saints, the Messenger of Death cannot touch the mortal. In the Society of the Saints, one's speech becomes immaculate In the realm of the saints, the Lord's Name is chanted. ||2|| The Realm of the Saints is the eternal, ever-stable place. In the Realm of the Saints, sins are destroyed. In the Realm of the Saints, the immaculate sermon is spoken. In the Society of the Saints, the pain of egotism runs away. ||3|| The Realm of the Saints cannot be destroyed. In the Realm of the Saints, is the Lord, the Treasure of Virtue. The Realm of the Saints is the resting place of our Lord and Master. O Nanak, He is woven into the fabric of His devotees, through and through. ||4||24||37|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: Why worry about disease, when the Lord Himself protects us? That person whom the Lord protects, does not suffer pain and sorrow. That person, upon whom God showers His Mercy - Death hovering above him is turned away. ||1|| The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is forever our Help and Support. When He comes to mind, the mortal finds lasting peace, and the Messenger of Death cannot even approach him. ||1||Pause|| When this being did not exist, who created him then? What has been produced from the source? He Himself kills, and He Himself rejuvenates. He cherishes His devotees forever. ||2|| Know that everything is in His Hands. My God is the Master of the masterless. His Name is the Destroyer of pain. Singing His Glorious Praises, you shall find peace. ||3|| O my Lord and Master, please listen to the prayer of Your Saint. I place my soul, my breath of life and wealth before You. All this world is Yours; it meditates on You.

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Please shower Nanak with Your Mercy and bless him with peace. ||4||25||38|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: With Your Support, I survive in the Dark Age of Kali Yuga. With Your Support, I sing Your Glorious Praises. With Your Support, death cannot even touch me. With Your Support, my entanglements vanish. ||1|| In this world and the next, I have Your Support. The One Lord, our Lord and Master, is all-pervading. ||1||Pause|| With Your Support, I celebrate blissfully. With Your Support, I chant the Guru's Mantra. With Your Support, I cross over the terrifying world-ocean. The Perfect Lord, our Protector and Savior, is the Ocean of Peace. ||2|| With Your Support, I have no fear. The True Lord is the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. With Your Support, my mind is filled with Your Power. Here and there, You are my Court of Appeal. ||3|| I take Your Support, and place my faith in You. All meditate on God, the Treasure of Virtue. Chanting and meditating on You, Your slaves celebrate in bliss. Nanak meditates in remembrance on the True Lord, the Treasure of Virtue. ||4||26||39|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: First, I gave up slandering others. All the anxiety of my mind was dispelled. Greed and attachment were totally banished. I see God ever-present, close at hand; I have become a great devotee. ||1|| Such a renunciate is very rare. Such a humble servant chants the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1||Pause|| I have forsaken my egotistical intellect. The love of sexual desire and anger has vanished. I meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. In the Company of the Holy, I am emancipated. ||2|| Enemy and friend are all the same to me. The Perfect Lord God is permeating all. Accepting the Will of God, I have found peace. The Perfect Guru has implanted the Name of the Lord within me. ||3|| That person, whom the Lord, in His Mercy, saves - that devotee chants and meditates on the Naam. That person, whose mind is illumined, and who obtains understanding through the Guru - says Nanak, he is totally fulfilled. ||4||27||40|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: There is no peace in earning lots of money. There is no peace in watching dances and plays. There is no peace in conquering lots of countries. All peace comes from singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1|| You shall obtain peace, poise and bliss, when you find the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, by great good fortune. As Gurmukh, utter the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1||Pause|| Mother, father, children and spouse - all place the mortal in bondage. Religious rituals and actions done in ego place the mortal in bondage. If the Lord, the Shatterer of bonds, abides in the mind, then peace is obtained, dwelling in the home of the self deep within. ||2|| Everyone is a beggar; God is the Great Giver. The Treasure of Virtue is the Infinite, Endless Lord. That person, unto whom God grants His Mercy - that humble being chants the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||3|| I offer my prayer to my Guru. O Primal Lord God, Treasure of Virtue, please bless me with Your Grace. Says Nanak, I have come to Your Sanctuary. If it pleases You, please protect me, O Lord of the World. ||4||28||41|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: Meeting with the Guru, I have forsaken the love of duality.

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As Gurmukh, I chant the Name of the Lord. My anxiety is gone, and I am in love with the Naam, the Name of the Lord. I was asleep for countless lifetimes, but I have now awakened. ||1|| Granting His Grace, He has linked me to His service. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, all pleasures are found. ||1||Pause|| The Word of the Guru's Shabad has eradicated disease and evil. My mind has absorbed the medicine of the Naam. Meeting with the Guru, my mind is in bliss. All treasures are in the Name of the Lord God. ||2|| My fear of birth and death and the Messenger of Death has been dispelled. In the Saadh Sangat, the inverted lotus of my heart has blossomed forth. Singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, I have found eternal, abiding peace. All my tasks are perfectly accomplished. ||3|| This human body, so difficult to obtain, is approved by the Lord. Chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, it has become fruitful. Says Nanak, God has blessed me with His Mercy. With every breath and morsel of food, I meditate on the Lord, Har, Har. ||4||29||42|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: His Name is the Highest of all. Sing His Glorious Praises, forever and ever. Meditating in remembrance on Him, all pain is dispelled. All pleasures come to dwell in the mind. ||1|| O my mind, meditate in remembrance on the True Lord. In this world and the next, you shall be saved. ||1||Pause|| The Immaculate Lord God is the Creator of all. He gives sustenance to all beings and creatures. He forgives millions of sins and mistakes in an instant. Through loving devotional worship, one is emancipated forever. ||2|| True wealth and true glorious greatness, and eternal, unchanging wisdom, are obtained from the Perfect Guru. When the Protector, the Savior Lord, bestows His Mercy, all spiritual darkness is dispelled. ||3|| I focus my meditation on the Supreme Lord God. The Lord of Nirvaanaa is totally pervading and permeating all. Eradicating doubt and fear, I have met the Lord of the World. The Guru has become merciful to Nanak. ||4||30||43|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: Meditating in remembrance on Him, the mind is illumined. Suffering is eradicated, and one comes to dwell in peace and poise. They alone receive it, unto whom God gives it. They are blessed to serve the Perfect Guru. ||1|| All peace and comfort are in Your Name, God. Twenty-four hours a day, O my mind, sing His Glorious Praises. ||1||Pause|| You shall receive the fruits of your desires, when the Name of the Lord comes to dwell in the mind. Meditating on the Lord, your comings and goings cease. Through loving devotional worship, lovingly focus your attention on God. ||2|| Sexual desire, anger and egotism are dispelled. Love and attachment to Maya are broken. Lean on God's Support, day and night. The Supreme Lord God has given this gift. ||3|| Our Lord and Master is the Creator, the Cause of causes. He is the Inner-knower, the Searcher of all hearts. Bless me with Your Grace, Lord, and link me to Your service. Slave Nanak has come to Your Sanctuary. ||4||31||44|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: One who does not repeat the Naam, the Name of the Lord, shall die of shame. Without the Name, how can he ever sleep in peace? The mortal abandons meditative remembrance of the Lord, and then wishes for the state of supreme salvation;

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but without roots, how can there be any branches? ||1|| O my mind, meditate on the Guru, the Lord of the Universe. The filth of countless incarnations shall be washed away. Breaking your bonds, you shall be united with the Lord. ||1||Pause|| How can a stone be purified by bathing at a sacred shrine of pilgrimage? The filth of egotism clings to the mind. Millions of rituals and actions taken are the root of entanglements. Without meditating and vibrating on the Lord, the mortal gathers only worthless bundles of straw. ||2|| Without eating, hunger is not satisfied. When the disease is cured, then the pain goes away. The mortal is engrossed in sexual desire, anger, greed and attachment. He does not meditate on God, that God who created him. ||3|| Blessed, blessed is the Holy Saint, and blessed is the Name of the Lord. Twenty-four hours a day, sing the Kirtan, the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Blessed is the devotee of the Lord, and blessed is the Creator Lord. Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of God, the Primal, the Infinite. ||4||32||45|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: When the Guru was totally pleased, my fear was taken away. I enshrine the Name of the Immaculate Lord within my mind. He is Merciful to the meek, forever Compassionate. All my entanglements are finished. ||1|| I have found peace, poise, and myriads of pleasures. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, fear and doubt are dispelled. My tongue chants the Ambrosial Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1||Pause|| I have fallen in love with the Lord's Lotus Feet. In an instant, the terrible demons are destroyed. Twenty-four hours a day, I meditate and chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. The Guru is Himself the Savior Lord, the Lord of the Universe. ||2|| He Himself cherishes His servant forever. He watches over every breath of His humble devotee. Tell me, what is the nature of human beings? The Lord extends His Hand, and saves them from the Messenger of Death. ||3|| Immaculate is the Glory, and Immaculate is the way of life, of those who remember the Supreme Lord God in their minds. The Guru, in His Mercy, has granted this Gift. Nanak has obtained the treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||4||33||46|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: My Guru is the All-powerful Lord, the Creator, the Cause of causes. He is the Soul, the Breath of Life, the Giver of Peace, always near. He is the Destroyer of fear, the Eternal, Unchanging, Sovereign Lord King. Gazing upon the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, all fear is dispelled. ||1|| Wherever I look, is the Protection of Your Sanctuary. I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice to the Feet of the True Guru. ||1||Pause|| My tasks are perfectly accomplished, meeting the Divine Guru. He is the Giver of all rewards. Serving Him, I am immaculate. He reaches out with His Hand to His slaves. The Name of the Lord abides in their hearts. ||2|| They are forever in bliss, and do not suffer at all. No pain, sorrow or disease afflicts them. Everything is Yours, O Creator Lord. The Guru is the Supreme Lord God, the Inaccessible and Infinite. ||3|| His Glorious Grandeur is immaculate, and the Bani of His Word is wonderful! The Perfect Supreme Lord God is pleasing to my mind. He is permeating the waters, the lands and the skies. O Nanak, everything comes from God. ||4||34||47|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: My mind and body are imbued with the Love of the Lord's Feet.

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All the desires of my mind have been perfectly fulfilled. Twenty-four hours a day, I sing of the Lord God. The True Guru has imparted this perfect wisdom. ||1|| Very fortunate are those who love the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Associating with them, we cross over the world-ocean. ||1||Pause|| They are spiritual teachers, who meditate in remembrance on the One Lord. Wealthy are those who have a discriminating intellect. Noble are those who remember their Lord and Master in meditation. Honourable are those who understand their own selves. ||2|| By Guru's Grace, I have obtained the supreme status. Day and night I meditate on the Glories of God. My bonds are broken, and my hopes are fulfilled. The Feet of the Lord now abide in my heart. ||3|| Says Nanak, one whose karma is perfect - that humble being enters the Sanctuary of God. He himself is pure, and he sanctifies all. His tongue chants the Name of the Lord, the Source of Nectar. ||4||35||48|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: Repeating the Naam, the Name of the Lord, no obstacles block the way. Listening to the Naam, the Messenger of Death runs far away. Repeating the Naam, all pains vanish. Chanting the Naam, the Lord's Lotus Feet dwell within. ||1|| Meditating, vibrating the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is unobstructed devotional worship. Sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord with loving affection and energy. ||1||Pause|| Meditating in remembrance on the Lord, the Eye of Death cannot see you. Meditating in remembrance on the Lord, demons and ghosts shall not touch you. Meditating in remembrance on the Lord, attachment and pride shall not bind you. Meditating in remembrance on the Lord, you shall not be consigned to the womb of reincarnation. ||2|| Any time is a good time to meditate in remembrance on the Lord. Among the masses, only a few meditate in remembrance on the Lord. Social class or no social class, anyone may meditate on the Lord. Whoever meditates on Him is emancipated. ||3|| Chant the Name of the Lord in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Perfect is the Love of the Lord's Name. O God, shower Your Mercy on Nanak, that he may think of you with each and every breath. ||4||36||49|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: He Himself is the Shaastras, and He Himself is the Vedas. He knows the secrets of each and every heart. He is the Embodiment of Light; all beings belong to Him. The Creator, the Cause of causes, the Perfect All-powerful Lord. ||1|| Grab hold of the Support of God, O my mind. As Gurmukh, worship and adore His Lotus Feet; enemies and pains shall not even approach you. ||1||Pause|| He Himself is the Essence of the forests and fields, and all the three worlds. The universe is strung on His Thread. He is the Uniter of Shiva and Shakti - mind and matter. He Himself is in the detachment of Nirvaanaa, and He Himself is the Enjoyer. ||2|| Wherever I look, there He is. Without Him, there is no one at all. In the Love of the Naam, the world-ocean is crossed. Nanak sings His Glorious Praises in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||3|| Liberation, the ways and means of enjoyment and union are under His Control. His humble servant lacks nothing. That person, with whom the Lord, in His Mercy, is pleased - O slave Nanak, that humble servant is blessed. ||4||37||50|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl:

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The minds of the Lord's devotee are filled with bliss. They become stable and permanent, and all their anxiety is gone.

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Their fears and doubts are dispelled in an instant. The Supreme Lord God comes to dwell in their minds. ||1|| The Lord is forever the Help and Support of the Saints. Inside the home of the heart, and outside as well, the Transcendent Lord is always with us, permeating and pervading all places. ||1||Pause|| The Lord of the World is my wealth, property, youth and ways and means. He continually cherishes and brings peace to my soul and breath of life. He reaches out with His Hand and saves His slave. He does not abandon us, even for an instant; He is always with us. ||2|| There is no other Beloved like the Lord. The True Lord takes care of all. The Lord is our Mother, Father, Son and Relation. Since the beginning of time, and throughout the ages, His devotees sing His Glorious Praises. ||3|| My mind is filled with the Support and the Power of the Lord. Without the Lord, there is no other at all. Nanak's mind is encouraged by this hope, that God will accomplish my objectives in life. ||4||38||51|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: Fear itself becomes afraid, when the mortal remembers the Lord's Name in meditation. All the diseases of the three gunas - the three qualities - are cured, and tasks of the Lord's slaves are perfectly accomplished. ||1||Pause|| The people of the Lord always sing His Glorious Praises; they attain His Perfect Mansion. Even the Righteous Judge of Dharma and the Messenger of Death yearn, day and night, to be sanctified by the Blessed Vision of the Lord's humble servant. ||1|| Sexual desire, anger, intoxication, egotism, slander and egotistical pride are eradicted in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. By great good fortune, such Saints are met. Nanak is forever a sacrifice to them. ||2||39||52|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: One who harbors the five thieves, becomes the embodiment of these five. He gets up each day and tells lies. He applies ceremonial religious marks to his body, but practices hypocrisy. He wastes away in sadness and pain, like a lonely widow. ||1|| Without the Name of the Lord, everything is false. Without the Perfect Guru, liberation is not obtained. In the Court of the True Lord, the faithless cynic is plundered. ||1||Pause|| One who does not know the Lord's Creative Power is polluted. Ritualistically plastering one's kitchen square does not make it pure in the Eyes of the Lord. If a person is polluted within, he may wash himself everyday on the outside, but in the Court of the True Lord, he forfeits his honour. ||2|| He works for the sake of Maya, but he never places his feet on the right path. He never even remembers the One who created him. He speaks falsehood, only falsehood, with his mouth. ||3|| That person, unto whom the Creator Lord shows Mercy, deals with the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. One who lovingly worships the Lord's Name, says Nanak - no obstacles ever block his way. ||4||40||53|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: The entire universe curses the slanderer. False are the dealings of the slanderer. The slanderer's lifestyle is filthy and polluted. The Lord is the Saving Grace and the Protector of His slave. ||1|| The slanderer dies with the rest of the slanderers. The Supreme Lord God, the Transcendent Lord, protects and saves His humble servant. Death roars and thunders over the head of the slanderer. ||1||Pause||

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No one belives what the slanderer says. The slanderer tells lies, and later regrets and repents. He wrings his hands, and hits his head against the ground. The Lord does not forgive the slanderer. ||2|| The Lord's slave does not wish anyone ill. The slanderer suffers, as if stabbed by a spear. Like a crane, he spreads his feathers, to look like a swan. When he speaks with his mouth, then he is exposed and driven out. ||3|| The Creator is the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. That person, whom the Lord makes His Own, becomes stable and steady. The Lord's slave is true in the Court of the Lord. Servant Nanak speaks, after contemplating the essence of reality. ||4||41||54|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: With my palms pressed together, I offer this prayer. My soul, body and wealth are His property. He is the Creator, my Lord and Master. Millions of times, I am a sacrifice to Him. ||1|| The dust of the feet of the Holy brings purity. Remembering God in meditation, the mind's corruption is eradicated, and the filth of countless incarnations is washed away. ||1||Pause|| All treasures are in His household. Serving Him, the mortal attains honour. He is the Fulfiller of the mind's desires. He is the Support of the soul and the breath of life of His devotees. ||2|| His Light shines in each and every heart. Chanting and meditating on God, the Treasure of Virtue, His devotees live. Service to Him does not go in vain. Deep within your mind and body, meditate on the One Lord. ||3|| Following the Guru's Teachings, compassion and contentment are found. This Treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is the immaculate object. Please grant Your Grace, O Lord, and attach me to the hem of Your robe. Nanak meditates continually on the Lord's Lotus Feet. ||4||42||55|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: The True Guru has listened to my prayer. All my affairs have been resolved. Deep within my mind and body, I meditate on God. The Perfect Guru has dispelled all my fears. ||1|| The All-powerful Divine Guru is the Greatest of all. Serving Him, I obtain all comforts. ||Pause|| Everything is done by Him. No one can erase His Eternal Decree. The Supreme Lord God, the Transcendent Lord, is incomparably beautiful. The Guru is the Image of Fulfillment, the Embodiment of the Lord. ||2|| The Name of the Lord abides deep within him. Wherever he looks, he sees the Wisdom of God. His mind is totally enlightened and illuminated. Within that person, the Supreme Lord God abides. ||3|| I humbly bow to that Guru forever. I am forever a sacrifice to that Guru. I wash the feet of the Guru, and drink in this water. Chanting and meditating forever on Guru Nanak, I live. ||4||43||56||

Section 28 - Raag Bhairao - Part 029

Raag Bhairao, Fifth Mehl, Partaal, Third House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: God is the Compassionate Cherisher. Who can count His Glorious Virtues? Countless colours, and countless waves of joy; He is the Master of all. ||1||Pause|| Endless spiritual wisdom, endless meditations, endless chants, intense meditations and austere self-disciplines. Countless virtues, musical notes and playful sports; countless silent sages enshrine Him in their hearts. ||1|| Countless melodies, countless instruments, countless tastes, each and every instant. Countless mistakes and countless diseases are removed by hearing His Praise. O Nanak, serving the Infinite, Divine Lord, one earns all the rewards and merits of performing the six rituals, fasts, worship services, pilgrimages to sacred rivers, and journeys to sacred shrines. ||2||1||57||8||21||7||57||93|| Bhairao, Ashtapadees, First Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The Lord is in the soul, and the soul is in the Lord. This is realised through the Guru's Teachings. The Ambrosial Word of the Guru's Bani is realised through the Word of the Shabad. Sorrow is dispelled, and egotism is eliminated. ||1|| O Nanak, the disease of egotism is so very deadly. Wherever I look, I see the pain of the same disease. The Primal Lord Himself bestows the Shabad of His Word. ||1||Pause|| When the Appraiser Himself appraises the mortal, then he is not tested again. Those who are blessed with His Grace meet with the Guru. They alone are true, who are pleasing to God. ||2|| Air, water and fire are diseased; the world with its enjoyments is diseased. Mother, father, Maya and the body are diseased; those united with their relatives are diseased. ||3|| Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva are diseased; the whole world is diseased. Those who remember the Lord's Feet and contemplate the Word of the Guru's Shabad are liberated. ||4|| The seven seas are diseased, along with the rivers; the continents and the nether regions of the underworlds are full of disease. The people of the Lord dwell in Truth and peace; He blesses them with His Grace everywhere. ||5|| The six Shaastras are diseased, as are the many who follow the different religious orders. What can the poor Vedas and Bibles do? People do not understand the One and Only Lord. ||6|| Eating sweet treats, the mortal is filled with disease; he finds no peace at all. Forgetting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, they walk on other paths, and at the very last moment, they regret and repent. ||7|| Wandering around at sacred shrines of pilgrimage, the mortal is not cured of his disease. Reading scripture, he gets involved in useless arguments. The disease of duality is so very deadly; it causes dependence on Maya. ||8|| One who becomes Gurmukh and praises the True Shabad with the True Lord in his mind is cured of his disease. O Nanak, the humble servant of the Lord is immaculate, night and day; he bears the insignia of the Lord's Grace. ||9||1||

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Bhairao, Third Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The Creator has staged His Wondrous Play. I listen to the Unstruck Sound-current of the Shabad, and the Bani of His Word. The self-willed manmukhs are deluded and confused, while the Gurmukhs understand. The Creator creates the Cause that causes. ||1|| Deep within my being, I meditate on the Word of the Guru's Shabad. I shall never forsake the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Prahlaad's father sent him to school, to learn to read. He took his writing tablet and went to the teacher. He said, "I shall not read anything except the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Write the Lord's Name on my tablet."||2|| Prahlaad's mother said to her son, "I advise you not to read anything except what you are taught." He answered, "The Great Giver, my Fearless Lord God is always with me. If I were to forsake the Lord, then my family would be disgraced."||3|| "Prahlaad has corrupted all the other students. He does not listen to what I say, and he does his own thing. He instigated devotional worship in the townspeople." The gathering of the wicked people could not do anything against him. ||4|| Sanda and Marka, his teachers, made the complaint. All the demons kept trying in vain. The Lord protected His humble devotee, and preserved his honour. What can be done by mere created beings? ||5|| Because of his past karma, the demon ruled over his kingdom. He did not realise the Lord; the Lord Himself confused him. He started an argument with his son Prahlaad. The blind one did not understand that his death was approaching. ||6|| Prahlaad was placed in a cell, and the door was locked. The fearless child was not afraid at all. He said, "Within my being, is the Guru, the Lord of the World." The created being tried to compete with his Creator, but he assumed this name in vain. That which was predestined for him has come to pass; he started an argument with the Lord's humble servant. ||7|| The father raised the club to strike down Prahlaad, saying, "Where is your God, the Lord of the Universe, now?" He replied, "The Life of the World, the Great Giver, is my Help and Support in the end. Wherever I look, I see Him permeating and prevailing."||8|| Tearing down the pillars, the Lord Himself appeared. The egotistical demon was killed and destroyed. The minds of the devotees were filled with bliss, and congratulations poured in. He blessed His servant with glorious greatness. ||9|| He created birth, death and attachment. The Creator has ordained coming and going in reincarnation. For the sake of Prahlaad, the Lord Himself appeared. The word of the devotee came true. ||10|| The gods proclaimed the victory of Lakshmi, and said, "O mother, make this form of the Man-lion disappear!" Lakshmi was afraid, and did not approach.

Section 28 - Raag Bhairao - Part 031

The humble servant Prahlaad came and fell at the Lord's Feet. ||11|| The True Guru implanted the treasure of the Naam within. Power, property and all Maya is false. But still, the greedy people continue clinging to them. Without the Name of the Lord, the mortals are punished in His Court. ||12|| Says Nanak, everyone acts as the Lord makes them act. They alone are approved and accepted, who focus their consciousness on the Lord. He has made His devotees His Own. The Creator has appeared in His Own Form. ||13||1||2|| Bhairao, Third Mehl: Serving the Guru, I obtain the Ambrosial Fruit; my egotism and desire have been quenched. The Name of the Lord dwells within my heart and mind, and the desires of my mind are quieted. ||1|| O Dear Lord, my Beloved, please bless me with Your Mercy. Night and day, Your humble servant begs for Your Glorious Praises; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, he is saved. ||1||Pause|| The Messenger of Death cannot even touch the humble Saints; it does not cause them even an iota of suffering or pain. Those who enter Your Sanctuary, Lord, save themselves, and save all their ancestors as well. ||2|| You Yourself save the honour of Your devotees; this is Your Glory, O Lord. You cleanse them of the sins and the pains of countless incarnations; You love them without even an iota of duality. ||3|| I am foolish and ignorant, and understand nothing. You Yourself bless me with understanding. You do whatever You please; nothing else can be done at all. ||4|| Creating the world, You have linked all to their tasks - even the evil deeds which men do. They lose this precious human life in the gamble, and do not understand the Word of the Shabad. ||5|| The self-willed manmukhs die, understanding nothing; they are enveloped by the darkness of evil-mindedness and ignorance. They do not cross over the terrible world-ocean; without the Guru, they drown and die. ||6|| True are those humble beings who are imbued with the True Shabad; the Lord God unites them with Himself. Through the Word of the Guru's Bani, they come to understand the Shabad. They remain lovingly focused on the True Lord. ||7|| You Yourself are Immaculate and Pure, and pure are Your humble servants who contemplate the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Nanak is forever a sacrifice to those, who enshrine the Lord's Name within their hearts. ||8||2||3|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl, Ashtapadees, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: He alone is a great king, who keeps the Naam, the Name of the Lord, within his heart. One who keeps the Naam in his heart - his tasks are perfectly accomplished. One who keeps the Naam in his heart, obtains millions of treasures. Without the Naam, life is useless. ||1|| I praise that person, who has the capital of the Lord's Wealth. He is very fortunate, on whose forehead the Guru has placed His Hand. ||1||Pause|| One who keeps the Naam in his heart, has many millions of armies on his side. One who keeps the Naam in his heart, enjoys peace and poise.

Section 28 - Raag Bhairao - Part 032

One who keeps the Naam in his heart becomes cool and calm. Without the Naam, both life and death are cursed. ||2|| One who keeps the Naam in his heart is Jivan-mukta, liberated while yet alive. One who keeps the Naam in his heart knows all ways and means. One who keeps the Naam in his heart obtains the nine treasures. Without the Naam, the mortal wanders, coming and going in reincarnation. ||3|| One who keeps the Naam in his heart is carefree and independent. One who keeps the Naam in his heart always earns a profit. One who keeps the Naam in his heart has a large family. Without the Naam, the mortal is just an ignorant, self-willed manmukh. ||4|| One who keeps the Naam in his heart has a permanent position. One who keeps the Naam in his heart is seated on the throne. One who keeps the Naam in his heart is the true king. Without the Naam, no one has any honour or respect. ||5|| One who keeps the Naam in his heart is famous everywhere. One who keeps the Naam in his heart is the

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Embodiment of the Creator Lord. One who keeps the Naam in his heart is the highest of all. Without the Naam, the mortal wanders in reincarnation. ||6|| One who keeps the Naam in his heart sees the Lord manifested in His Creation. One who keeps the Naam in his heart - his darkness is dispelled. One who keeps the Naam in his heart is approved and accepted. Without the Naam, the mortal continues coming and going in reincarnation. ||7|| He alone receives the Naam, who is blessed by the Lord's Mercy. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, the Lord of the World is understood. Coming and going in reincarnation ends, and peace is found. Says Nanak, my essence has merged in the Essence of the Lord. ||8||1||4|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: He created millions of incarnations of Vishnu. He created millions of universes as places to practice righteousness. He created and destroyed millions of Shivas. He employed millions of Brahmas to create the worlds. ||1|| Such is my Lord and Master, the Lord of the Universe. I cannot even describe His Many Virtues. ||1||Pause|| Millions of Mayas are His maid-servants. Millions of souls are His beds. Millions of universes are the limbs of His Being. Millions of devotees abide with the Lord. ||2|| Millions of kings with their crowns and canopies bow before Him. Millions of Indras stand at His Door. Millions of heavenly paradises are within the scope of His Vision. Millions of His Names cannot even be appraised. ||3|| Millions of celestial sounds resound for Him. HisWondrous Plays are enacted on millions of stages. Millions of Shaktis and Shivas are obedient to Him. He gives sustenance and support to millions of beings. ||4|| In His Feet are millions of sacred shrines of pilgrimage. Millions chant His Sacred and Beautiful Name. Millions of worshippers worship Him. Millions of expanses are His; there is no other at all. ||5|| Millions of swan-souls sing His Immaculate Praises. Millions of Brahma's sons sing His Praises. He creates and destroys millions, in an instant. Millions are Your Virtues, Lord - they cannot even be counted. ||6|| Millions of spiritual teachers teach His spiritual wisdom. Millions of meditators focus on His meditation. Millions of austere penitents practice austerities.

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Millions of silent sages dwell in silence. ||7|| Our Eternal, Imperishable, Incomprehensible Lord and Master, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts, is permeating all hearts. Wherever I look, I see Your Dwelling, O Lord. The Guru has blessed Nanak with enlightenment. ||8||2||5|| Bhairao, Fifth Mehl: The True Guru has blessed me with this gift. He has given me the Priceless Jewel of the Lord's Name. Now, I intuitively enjoy endless pleasures and wondrous play. God has spontaneously met with Nanak. ||1|| Says Nanak, True is the Kirtan of the Lord's Praise. Again and again, my mind remains immersed in it. ||1||Pause|| Spontaneously, I feed on the Love of God. Spontaneously, I take God's Name. Spontaneously, I am saved by the Word of the Shabad. Spontaneously, my treasures are filled to overflowing. ||2|| Spontaneously, my works are perfectly accomplished. Spontaneously, I am rid of sorrow. Spontaneously, my enemies have become friends. Spontaneously, I have brought my mind under control. ||3|| Spontaneously, God has comforted me. Spontaneously, my hopes have been fulfilled. Spontaneously, I have totally realised the essence of reality. Spontaneously, I have been blessed with the Guru's Mantra. ||4|| Spontaneously, I am rid of hatred. Spontaneously, my darkness has been dispelled. Spontaneously, the Kirtan of the Lord's Praise seems so sweet to my mind. Spontaneously, I behold God in each and every heart. ||5|| Spontaneously, all my doubts have been dispelled. Spontaneously, peace and celestial harmony fill my mind. Spontaneously, the Unstruck Melody of the Sound-current resounds within me. Spontaneously, the Lord of the Universe has revealed Himself to me. ||6|| Spontaneously, my mind has been pleased and appeased. I have spontaneously realised the Eternal, Unchanging Lord. Spontaneously, all wisdom and knowledge has welled up within me. Spontaneously, the Support of the Lord, Har, Har, has come into my hands. ||7|| Spontaneously, God has recorded my pre-ordained destiny. Spontaneously, the One Lord and Master God has met me. Spontaneously, all my cares and worries have been taken away. Nanak, Nanak, Nanak, has merged into the Image of God. ||8||3||6|| Bhairao, The Word Of The Devotees, Kabeer Jee, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The Name of the Lord - this alone is my wealth. I do not tie it up to hide it, nor do I sell it to make my living. ||1||Pause|| The Name is my crop, and the Name is my field. As Your humble servant, I perform devotional worship to You; I seek Your Sanctuary. ||1|| The Name is Maya and wealth for me; the Name is my capital. I do not forsake You; I do not know any other at all. ||2|| The Name is my family, the Name is my brother. The Name is my companion, who will help me in the end. ||3|| One whom the Lord keeps detached from Maya - says Kabeer, I am his slave. ||4||1|| Naked we come, and naked we go. No one, not even the kings and queens, shall remain. ||1||

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The Sovereign Lord is the nine treasures for me. The possessions and the spouse to which the mortal is lovingly attached, are Your wealth, O Lord. ||1||Pause|| They do not come with the mortal, and they do not go with him. What good does it do him, if he has elephants tied up at his doorway? ||2|| The fortress of Sri Lanka was made out of gold, but what could the foolish Raawan take with him when he left? ||3|| Says Kabeer, think of doing some good deeds. In the end, the gambler shall depart empty-handed. ||4||2|| Brahma is polluted, and Indra is polluted. The sun is polluted, and the moon is polluted. ||1|| This world is polluted with pollution. Only the One Lord is Immaculate; He has no end or limitation. ||1||Pause|| The rulers of kingdoms are polluted. Nights and days, and the days of the month are polluted. ||2|| The pearl is polluted, the diamond is polluted. Wind, fire and water are polluted. ||3|| Shiva, Shankara and Mahaysh are polluted. The Siddhas, seekers and strivers, and those who wear religious robes, are polluted. ||4|| The Yogis and wandering hermits with their matted hair are polluted. The body, along with the swan-soul, is polluted. ||5|| Says Kabeer, those humble beings are approved and pure, who know the Lord. ||6||3|| Let your mind be Mecca, and your body the temple of worship. Let the Supreme Guru be the One who speaks. ||1|| O Mullah, utter the call to prayer. The one mosque has ten doors. ||1||Pause|| So slaughter your evil nature, doubt and cruelty; consume the five demons and you shall be blessed with contentment. ||2|| Hindus and Muslims have the same One Lord and Master. What can the Mullah do, and what can the Shaykh do? ||3|| Says Kabeer, I have gone insane. Slaughtering, slaughtering my mind, I have merged into the Celestial Lord. ||4||4|| When the stream flows into the Ganges, then it becomes the Ganges. ||1|| Just so, Kabeer has changed. He has become the Embodiment of Truth, and he does not go anywhere else. ||1||Pause|| Associating with the sandalwood tree, the tree nearby is changed; that tree begins to smell just like the sandalwood tree. ||2|| Coming into contact with the philosophers' stone, copper is transformed; that copper is transformed into gold. ||3|| In the Society of the Saints, Kabeer is transformed; that Kabeer is transformed into the Lord. ||4||5|| Some apply ceremonial marks to their foreheads, hold malas in their hands, and wear religious robes. Some people think that the Lord is a play-thing. ||1|| If I am insane, then I am Yours, O Lord. How can people know my secret? ||1||Pause|| I do not pick leaves as offerings, and I do not worship idols. Without devotional worship of the Lord, service is useless. ||2|| I worship the True Guru; forever and ever, I surrender to Him. By such service, I find peace in the Court of the Lord. ||3|| People say that Kabeer has gone insane. Only the Lord realises the secret of Kabeer. ||4||6|| Turning away from the world, I have forgotten both my social class and ancestry. My weaving now is in the most profound celestial stillness. ||1|| I have no quarrel with anyone.

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I have abandoned both the Pandits, the Hindu religious scholars, and the Mullahs, the Muslim priests. ||1||Pause|| I weave and weave, and wear what I weave. Where egotism does not exist, there I sing God's Praises. ||2|| Whatever the Pandits and Mullahs have written, I reject; I do not accept any of it. ||3|| My heart is pure, and so I have seen the Lord within. Searching, searching within the self, Kabeer has met the Lord. ||4||7|| No one respects the poor man. He may make thousands of efforts, but no one pays any attention to him. ||1||Pause|| When the poor man goes to the rich man, and sits right in front of him, the rich man turns his back on him. ||1|| But when the rich man goes to the poor man, the poor man welcomes him with respect. ||2|| The poor man and the rich man are both brothers. God's pre-ordained plan cannot be erased. ||3|| Says Kabeer, he alone is poor, who does not have the Naam, the Name of the Lord, in his heart. ||4||8|| Serving the Guru, devotional worship is practiced. Then, this human body is obtained. Even the gods long for this human body. So vibrate that human body, and think of serving the Lord. ||1|| Vibrate, and meditate on the Lord of the Universe, and never forget Him. This is the blessed opportunity of this human incarnation. ||1||Pause|| As long as the disease of old age has not come to the body, and as long as death has not come and seized the body, and as long as your voice has not lost its power, O mortal being, vibrate and meditate on the Lord of the World. ||2|| If you do not vibrate and meditate on Him now, when will you, O Sibing of Destiny? When the end comes, you will not be able to vibrate and meditate on Him. Whatever you have to do - now is the best time to do it. Otherwise, you shall regret and repent afterwards, and you shall not be carried across to the other side. ||3|| He alone is a servant, whom the Lord enjoins to His service. He alone attains the Immaculate Divine Lord. Meeting with the Guru, his doors are opened wide, and he does not have to journey again on the path of reincarnation. ||4|| This is your chance, and this is your time. Look deep into your own heart, and reflect on this. Says Kabeer, you can win or lose. In so many ways, I have proclaimed this out loud. ||5||1||9|| In the City of God, sublime understanding prevails. There, you shall meet with the Lord, and reflect on Him. Thus, you shall understand this world and the next. What is the use of claiming that you own everything, if you only die in the end? ||1|| I focus my meditation on my inner self, deep within. The Name of the Sovereign Lord is my spiritual wisdom. ||1||Pause|| In the first chakra, the root chakra, I have grasped the reins and tied them. I have firmly placed the moon above the sun. The sun blazes forth at the western gate. Through the central channel of the Shushmanaa, it rises up above my head. ||2|| There is a stone at that western gate, and above that stone, is another window. Above that window is the Tenth Gate. Says Kabeer, it has no end or limitation. ||3||2||10|| He alone is a Mullah, who struggles with his mind, and through the Guru's Teachings, fights with death. He crushes the pride of the Messenger of Death. Unto that Mullah, I ever offer greetings of respect. ||1||

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God is present, right here at hand; why do you say that He is far away? Tie up your disturbing passions, and find the Beauteous Lord. ||1||Pause|| He alone is a Qazi, who contemplates the human body, and through the fire of the body, is illumined by God. He does not lose his semen, even in his dreams; for such a Qazi, there is no old age or death. ||2|| He alone is a sultan and a king, who shoots the two arrows, gathers in his outgoing mind, and assembles his army in the realm of the mind's sky, the Tenth Gate. The canopy of royalty waves over such a sultan. ||3|| The Yogi cries out, "Gorakh, Gorakh". The Hindu utters the Name of Raam. The Muslim has only One God. The Lord and Master of Kabeer is all-pervading. ||4||3||11|| Fifth Mehl: Those who call a stone their god - their service is useless. Those who fall at the feet of a stone god - their work is wasted in vain. ||1|| My Lord and Master speaks forever. God gives His gifts to all living beings. ||1||Pause|| The Divine Lord is within the self, but the spiritually blind one does not know this. Deluded by doubt, he is caught in the noose. The stone does not speak; it does not give anything to anyone. Such religious rituals are useless; such service is fruitless. ||2|| If a corpse is anointed with sandalwood oil, what good does it do? If a corpse is rolled in manure, what does it lose from this? ||3|| Says Kabeer, I proclaim this out loud - behold, and understand, you ignorant, faithless cynic. The love of duality has ruined countless homes. The Lord's devotees are forever in bliss. ||4||4||12|| The fish in the water is attached to Maya. The moth fluttering around the lamp is pierced through by Maya. The sexual desire of Maya afflicts the elephant. The snakes and bumble bees are destroyed through Maya. ||1|| Such are the enticements of Maya, O Siblings of Destiny. As many living beings are there are, have been deceived. ||1||Pause|| The birds and the deer are imbued with Maya. Sugar is a deadly trap for the flies. Horses and camels are absorbed in Maya. The eighty-four Siddhas, the beings of miraculous spiritual powers, play in Maya. ||2|| The six celibates are slaves of Maya. So are the nine masters of Yoga, and the sun and the moon. The austere disciplinarians and the Rishis are asleep in Maya. Death and the five demons are in Maya. ||3|| Dogs and jackals are imbued with Maya. Monkeys, leopards and lions, cats, sheep, foxes, trees and roots are planted in Maya. ||4|| Even the gods are drenched with Maya, as are the oceans, the sky and the earth. Says Kabeer, whoever has a belly to fill, is under the spell of Maya. The mortal is emancipated only when he meets the Holy Saint. ||5||5||13|| As long as he cries out, "Mine! Mine!", none of his tasks is accomplished. When such possessiveness is erased and removed,

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then God comes and resolves his affairs. ||1|| Contemplate such spiritual wisdom, O mortal man. Why not meditate in remembrance on the Lord, the Destroyer of pain? ||1||Pause|| As long as the tiger lives in the forest, the forest does not flower. But when the jackal eats the tiger, then the entire forest flowers. ||2|| The victorious are drowned, while the defeated swim across. By Guru's Grace, one crosses over and is saved. Slave Kabeer speaks and teaches: remain lovingly absorbed, attuned to the Lord alone. ||3||6||14|| He has 7,000 commanders, and hundreds of thousands of prophets; He is said to have 88,000,000 shaykhs, and 56,000,000 attendants. ||1|| I am meek and poor - what chance do I have of being heard there? His Court is so far away; only a rare few attain the Mansion of His Presence. ||1||Pause|| He has 33,000,000 play-houses. His beings wander insanely through 8.4 million incarnations. He bestowed His Grace on Adam, the father of mankind, who then lived in paradise for a long time. ||2|| Pale are the faces of those whose hearts are disturbed. They have forsaken their Bible, and practice Satanic evil. One who blames the world, and is angry with people, shall receive the fruits of his own actions. ||3|| You are the Great Giver, O Lord; I am forever a beggar at Your Door. If I were to deny You, then I would be a wretched sinner. Slave Kabeer has entered Your Shelter. Keep me near You, O Merciful Lord God - that is heaven for me. ||4||7||15|| Everyone speaks of going there, but I do not even know where heaven is. ||1||Pause|| One who does not even know the mystery of his

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own self, speaks of heaven, but it is only talk. ||1|| As long as the mortal hopes for heaven, he will not dwell at the Lord's Feet. ||2|| Heaven is not a fort with moats and ramparts, and walls plastered with mud; I do not know what heaven's gate is like. ||3|| Says Kabeer, now what more can I say? The Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, is heaven itself. ||4||8||16|| How can the beautiful fortress be conquered, O Siblings of Destiny? It has double walls and triple moats. ||1||Pause|| It is defended by the five elements, the twenty-five categories, attachment, pride, jealousy and the awesomely powerful Maya. The poor mortal being does not have the strength to conquer it; what should I do now, O Lord? ||1|| Sexual desire is the window, pain and pleasure are the gate-keepers, virtue and sin are the gates. Anger is the great supreme commander, full of argument and strife, and the mind is the rebel king there. ||2|| Their armor is the pleasure of tastes and flavors, their helmets are worldly attachments; they take aim with their bows of corrupt intellect. The greed that fills their hearts is the arrow; with these things, their fortress is impregnable. ||3|| But I have made divine love the fuse, and deep meditation the bomb; I have launched the rocket of spiritual wisdom. The fire of God is lit by intuition, and with one shot, the fortress is taken. ||4|| Taking truth and contentment with me, I begin the battle and storm both the gates. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, and by Guru's Grace, I have captured the king of the fortress. ||5||

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With the army of God's devotees, and Shakti, the power of meditation, I have snapped the noose of the fear of death. Slave Kabeer has climbed to the top of the fortress; I have obtained the eternal, imperishable domain. ||6||9||17|| The mother Ganges is deep and profound. Tied up in chains, they took Kabeer there. ||1|| My mind was not shaken; why should my body be afraid? My consciousness remained immersed in the Lotus Feet of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| The waves of the Ganges broke the chains, and Kabeer was seated on a deer skin. ||2|| Says Kabeer, I have no friend or companion. On the water, and on the land, the Lord is my Protector. ||3||10||18|| Bhairao, Kabeer Jee, Ashtapadees, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: God constructed a fortress, inaccessible and unreachable, in which He dwells. There, His Divine Light radiates forth. Lightning blazes, and bliss prevails there, where the Eternally Young Lord God abides. ||1|| This soul is lovingly attuned to the Lord's Name. It is saved from old age and death, and its doubt runs away. ||1||Pause|| Those who believe in high and low social classes, only sing songs and chants of egotism. The Unstruck Sound-current of the Shabad, the Word of God, resounds in that place, where the Supreme Lord God abides. ||2|| He creates planets, solar systems and galaxies; He destroys the three worlds, the three gods and the three qualities. The Inaccessible and Unfathomable Lord God dwells in the heart. No one can find the limits or the secrets of the Lord of the World. ||3|| The Lord shines forth in the plantain flower and the sunshine. He dwells in the pollen of the lotus flower. The Lord's secret is within the twelve petals of the heart-lotus. The Supreme Lord, the Lord of Lakshmi dwells there. ||4|| He is like the sky, stretching across the lower, upper and middle realms. In the profoundly silent celestial realm, He radiates forth. Neither the sun nor the moon are there, but the Primal Immaculate Lord celebrates there. ||5|| Know that He is in the universe, and in the body as well. Take your cleansing bath in the Mansarovar Lake. Chant "Sohang" - "He is me." He is not affected by either virtue or vice. ||6|| He is not affected by either high or low social class, sunshine or shade. He is in the Guru's Sanctuary, and nowhere else. He is not diverted by diversions, comings or goings. Remain intuitively absorbed in the celestial void. ||7|| One who knows the Lord in the mind - whatever he says, comes to pass. One who firmly implants the Lord's Divine Light, and His Mantra within the mind - says Kabeer, such a mortal crosses over to the other side. ||8||1|| Millions of suns shine for Him, millions of Shivas and Kailash mountains. Millions of Durga goddesses massage His Feet. Millions of Brahmas chant the Vedas for Him. ||1|| When I beg, I beg only from the Lord. I have nothing to do with any other deities. ||1||Pause|| Millions of moons twinkle in the sky.

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Three hundred thirty million gods eat the Lord's offerings. The nine stars, a million times over, stand at His Door. Millions of Righteous Judges of Dharma are His gate-keepers. ||2|| Millions of winds blow around Him in the four directions. Millions of serpents prepare His bed. Millions of oceans are His water-carriers. The eighteen million loads of vegetation are His Hair. ||3|| Millions of treasurers fill His Treasury. Millions of Lakshmis adorn themselves for Him. Many millions of vices and virtues look up to Him. Millions of Indras serve Him. ||4|| Fifty-six million clouds are His. In each and every village, His infinite fame has spread. Wild demons with dishevelled hair move about. The Lord plays in countless ways. ||5|| Millions of charitable feasts are held in His Court, and millions of celestial singers celebrate His victory. Millions of sciences all sing His Praises. Even so, the limits of the Supreme Lord God cannot be found. ||6|| Rama, with millions of monkeys, conquered Raawan's army. Billions of Puraanas greatly praise Him; He humbled the pride of Duyodhan. ||7|| Millions of gods of love cannot compete with Him. He steals the hearts of mortal beings. Says Kabeer, please hear me, O Lord of the World. I beg for the blessing of fearless dignity. ||8||2||18||20|| Bhairao, The Word Of Naam Dayv Jee, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O my tongue, I will cut you into a hundred pieces, if you do not chant the Name of the Lord. ||1|| O my tongue, be imbued with the Lord's Name. Meditate on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, and imbue yourself with this most excellent colour. ||1||Pause|| O my tongue, other occupations are false. The state of Nirvaanaa comes only through the Lord's Name. ||2|| The performance of countless millions of other devotions is not equal to even one devotion to the Name of the Lord. ||3|| Prays Naam Dayv, this is my occupation. O Lord, Your Forms are endless. ||4||1|| One who stays away from others' wealth and others' spouses - the Lord abides near that person. ||1|| Those who do not meditate and vibrate on the Lord - I do not even want to see them. ||1||Pause|| Those whose inner beings are not in harmony with the Lord, are nothing more than beasts. ||2|| Prays Naam Dayv, a man without a nose does not look handsome, even if he has the thirty-two beauty marks. ||3||2|| Naam Dayv milked the brown cow, and brought a cup of milk and a jug of water to his family god. ||1|| "Please drink this milk, O my Sovereign Lord God. Drink this milk and my mind will be happy. Otherwise, my father will be angry with me."||1||Pause|| Taking the golden cup, Naam Dayv filled it with the ambrosial milk, and placed it before the Lord. ||2|| The Lord looked upon Naam Dayv and smiled. "This one devotee abides within my heart."||3|| The Lord drank the milk, and the devotee returned home.

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Thus did Naam Dayv come to receive the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan. ||4||3|| I am crazy - the Lord is my Husband. I decorate and adorn myself for Him. ||1|| Slander me well, slander me well, slander me well, O people. My body and mind are united with my Beloved Lord. ||1||Pause|| Do not engage in any arguments or debates with anyone. With your tongue, savor the Lord's sublime essence. ||2|| Now, I know within my soul, that such an arrangement has been made; I will meet with my Lord by the beat of the drum. ||3|| Anyone can praise or slander me. Naam Dayv has met the Lord. ||4||4|| Sometimes, people do not appreciate milk, sugar and ghee. Sometimes, they have to beg for bread from door to door. Sometimes, they have to pick out the grain from the chaff. ||1|| As the Lord keeps us, so do we live, O Siblings of Destiny. The Lord's Glory cannot even be described. ||1||Pause|| Sometimes, people prance around on horses. Sometimes, they do not even have shoes for their feet. ||2|| Sometimes, people sleep on cozy beds with white sheets. Sometimes, they do not even have straw to put down on the ground. ||3|| Naam Dayv prays, only the Naam, the Name of the Lord, can save us. One who meets the Guru, is carried across to the other side. ||4||5|| Laughing and playing, I came to Your Temple, O Lord. While Naam Dayv was worshipping, he was grabbed and driven out. ||1|| I am of a low social class, O Lord; why was I born into a family of fabric dyers? ||1||Pause|| I picked up my blanket and went back, to sit behind the temple. ||2|| As Naam Dayv uttered the Glorious Praises of the Lord, the temple turned around to face the Lord's humble devotee. ||3||6|| Bhairao, Naam Dayv Jee, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: As the hungry person loves food, and the thirsty person is obsessed with water, and as the fool is attached to his family - just so, the Lord is very dear to Naam Dayv. ||1|| Naam Dayv is in love with the Lord. He has naturally and intuitively become detached from the world. ||1||Pause|| Like the woman who falls in love with another man, and the greedy man who loves only wealth, and the sexually promiscuous man who loves women and sex, just so, Naam Dayv is in love with the Lord. ||2|| But that alone is real love, which the Lord Himself inspires; by Guru's Grace, duality is eradicated. Such love never breaks; through it, the mortal remains merged in the Lord. Naam Dayv has focused his consciousness on the True Name. ||3|| Like the love between the child and its mother, so is my mind imbued with the Lord. Prays Naam Dayv, I am in love with the Lord. The Lord of the Universe abides within my consciousness. ||4||1||7|| The blind fool abandons the wife of his own home,

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and has an affair with another woman. He is like the parrot, who is pleased to see the simbal tree; but in the end, he dies, stuck to it. ||1|| The home of the sinner is on fire. It keeps burning, and the fire cannot be extinguished. ||1||Pause|| He does not go to see where the Lord is being worshipped. He abandons the Lord's Path, and takes the wrong path. He forgets the Primal Lord God, and is caught in the cycle of reincarnation. He throws away the Ambrosial Nectar, and gathers poison to eat. ||2|| He is like the prostitute, who comes to dance, wearing beautiful clothes, decorated and adorned. She dances to the beat, exciting the breath of those who watch her. But the noose of the Messenger of Death is around her neck. ||3|| One who has good karma recorded on his forehead, hurries to enter the Guru's Sanctuary. Says Naam Dayv, consider this: O Saints, this is the way to cross over to the other side. ||4||2||8|| Sanda and Marka went and complained to Harnaakhash, "Your son does not read his lessons. We are tired of trying to teach him. He chants the Lord's Name, clapping his hands to keep the beat; he has spoiled all the other students. ||1|| He chants the Lord's Name, and he has enshrined meditative remembrance of the Lord within his heart."||1||Pause|| "Your father the king has conquered the whole world", said his mother the queen. "O Prahlad my son, you do not obey him, so he has decided to deal with you in another way."||2|| The council of villians met and resolved to send Prahlaad into the life hereafter. Prahlaad was thrown off a mountain, into the water, and into a fire, but the Sovereign Lord God saved him, by changing the laws of nature. ||3|| Harnaakhash thundered with rage and threatened to kill Prahlaad. "Tell me, who can save you?" Prahlaad answered, "The Lord, the Master of the three worlds, is contained even in this pillar to which I am tied."||4|| The Lord who tore Harnaakhash apart with His nails proclaimed Himself the Lord of gods and men. Says Naam Dayv, I meditate on the Lord, the Man-lion, the Giver of fearless dignity. ||5||3||9|| The Sultan said, "Listen, Naam Dayv: let me see the actions of your Lord."||1|| The Sultan arrested Naam Dayv, and said, "Let me see your Beloved Lord."||1||Pause|| "Bring this dead cow back to life. Otherwise, I shall cut off your head here and now."||2|| Naam Dayv answered, "O king, how can this happen? No one can bring the dead back to life. ||3|| I cannot do anything by my own actions. Whatever the Lord does, that alone happens."||4|| The arrogant king was enraged at this reply. He incited an elephant to attack. ||5|| Naam Dayv's mother began to cry, and she said, "Why don't you abandon your Lord Raam, and worship his Lord Allah?"||6|| Naam Dayv answered, "I am not your son, and you are not my mother. Even if my body dies, I will still sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord."||7|| The elephant attacked him with his trunk, but Naam Dayv was saved, protected by the Lord. ||8|| The king said, "The Qazis and the Mullahs bow down to me, but this Hindu has trampled my honour."||9|| The people pleaded with the king, "Hear our prayer, O king.

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Here, take Naam Dayv's weight in gold, and release him."||10|| The king replied, "If I take the gold, then I will be consigned to hell, by forsaking my faith and gathering worldly wealth."||11|| With his feet in chains, Naam Dayv kept the beat with his hands, singing the Praises of the Lord. ||12|| "Even if the Ganges and the Jamunaa rivers flow backwards, I will still continue singing the Praises of the Lord."||13|| Three hours passed, and even then, the Lord of the three worlds had not come. ||14|| Playing on the instrument of the feathered wings, the Lord of the Universe came, mounted on the eagle garura. ||15|| He cherished His devotee, and the Lord came, mounted on the eagle garura. ||16|| The Lord said to him, "If you wish, I shall turn the earth sideways. If you wish, I shall turn it upside down. ||17|| If you wish, I shall bring the dead cow back to life. Everyone will see and be convinced."||18|| Naam Dayv prayed, and milked the cow. He brought the calf to the cow, and milked her. ||19|| When the pitcher was filled with milk, Naam Dayv took it and placed it before the king. ||20|| The king went into his palace, and his heart was troubled. ||21|| Through the Qazis and the Mullahs, the king offered his prayer, "Forgive me, please, O Hindu; I am just a cow before you."||22|| Naam Dayv said, "Listen, O king: have I done this miracle? ||23|| The purpose of this miracle is that you, O king, should walk on the path of truth and humility."||24|| Naam Dayv became famous everywhere for this. The Hindus all went together to Naam Dayv. ||25|| If the cow had not been revived, people would have lost faith in Naam Dayv. ||26|| The fame of Naam Dayv spread throughout the world. The humble devotees were saved and carried across with him. ||27|| All sorts of troubles and pains afflicted the slanderer. There is no difference between Naam Dayv and the Lord. ||28||1||10|| SECOND HOUSE: By the Grace of the Divine Guru, one meets the Lord. By the Grace of the Divine Guru, one is carried across to the other side. By the Grace of the Divine Guru, one swims across to heaven. By the Grace of the Divine Guru, one remains dead while yet alive. ||1|| True, True, True True, True is the Divine Guru. False, false, false, false is all other service. ||1||Pause|| When the Divine Guru grants His Grace, the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is implanted within. When the Divine Guru grants His Grace, one does not wander in the ten directions. When the Divine Guru grants His Grace, the five demons are kept far away. When the Divine Guru grants His Grace, one does not die regretting. ||2|| When the Divine Guru grants His Grace, one is blessed with the Ambrosial Bani of the Word. When the Divine Guru grants His Grace, one speaks the Unspoken Speech. When the Divine Guru grants His Grace, one's body becomes like ambrosial

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nectar. When the Divine Guru grants His Grace, one utters and chants the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||3|| When the Divine Guru grants His Grace, one sees the three worlds. When the Divine Guru grants His Grace, one understands the state of supreme dignity. When the Divine Guru grants His Grace, one's head is in the Akaashic ethers. When the Divine Guru grants His Grace, one is always congratulated everywhere. ||4|| When the Divine Guru grants His Grace, one remains detached forever. When the Divine Guru grants His Grace, one forsakes the slander of others.

Section 28 - Raag Bhairao - Part 043

When the Divine Guru grants His Grace, one looks upon good and bad as the same. When the Divine Guru grants His Grace, one has good destiny written on his forehead. ||5|| When the Divine Guru grants His Grace, the wall of the body is not eroded. When the Divine Guru grants His Grace, the temple turns itself towards the mortal. When the Divine Guru grants His Grace, one's home is constructed. When the Divine Guru grants His Grace, one's bed is lifted up out of the water. ||6|| When the Divine Guru grants His Grace, one has bathed at the sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage. When the Divine Guru grants His Grace, one's body is stamped with the sacred mark of Vishnu. When the Divine Guru grants His Grace, one has performed the twelve devotional services. When the Divine Guru grants His Grace, all poison is transformed into fruit. ||7|| When the Divine Guru grants His Grace, skepticism is shattered. When the Divine Guru grants His Grace, one escapes from the Messenger of Death. When the Divine Guru grants His Grace, one crosses over the terrifying world-ocean. When the Divine Guru grants His Grace, one is not subject to the cycle of reincarnation. ||8|| When the Divine Guru grants His Grace, one understands the rituals of the eighteen Puraanas. When the Divine Guru grants His Grace, it is as if one has made an offering of the eighten loads of vegetation. When the Divine Guru grants His Grace, one needs no other place of rest. Naam Dayv has entered the Sanctuary of the Guru. ||9||1||2||11|| Bhairao, The Word Of Ravi Daas Jee, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Without seeing something, the yearning for it does not arise. Whatever is seen, shall pass away. Whoever chants and praises the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is the true Yogi, free of desire. ||1|| When someone utters the Name of the Lord with love, it is as if he has touched the philosopher's stone; his sense of duality is eradicated. ||1||Pause|| He alone is a silent sage, who destroys the duality of his mind. Keeping the doors of his body closed, he merges in the Lord of the three worlds. Everyone acts according to the inclinations of the mind. Attuned to the Creator Lord, one remains free of fear. ||2|| Plants blossom forth to produce fruit. When the fruit is produced, the flowers wither away. For the sake of spiritual wisdom, people act and practice rituals. When spiritual wisdom wells up, then actions are left behind. ||3|| For the sake of ghee, wise people churn milk. Those who are Jivan-mukta, liberated while yet alive - are forever in the state of Nirvaanaa. Says Ravi Daas, O you unfortunate people, why not meditate on the Lord with love in your heart? ||4||1|| NAAM DAYV: Come, O Lord of beautiful hair, wearing the robes of a Sufi Saint. ||Pause|| Your cap is the realm of the Akaashic ethers; the seven nether worlds are Your sandals. The body covered with skin is Your temple; You are so beautiful, O Lord of the World. ||1|| The fifty-six million clouds are Your gowns, the 16,000 milkmaids are your skirts. The eighteen loads of vegetation is Your stick, and all the world is Your plate. ||2|| The human body is the mosque, and the mind is the priest, who peacefully leads the prayer. You are married to Maya, O Formless Lord, and so You have taken form. ||3|| Performing devotional worship services to You, my cymbals were taken away; unto whom should I complain? Naam Dayv's Lord and Master, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts, wanders everywhere; He has no specific home. ||4||1||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 29 - RAAG BASANT

Section 29 - Raag Basant - Part 001

Raag Basant, First Mehl, First House, Chau-Padas, Du-Tukas: One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying. Beyond Birth. Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: Among the months, blessed is this month, when spring always comes. Blossom forth, O my consciousness, contemplating the Lord of the Universe, forever and ever. ||1|| O ignorant one, forget your egotistical intellect. Subdue your ego, and contemplate Him in your mind; gather in the virtues of the Sublime, Virtuous Lord. ||1||Pause|| Karma is the tree, the Lord's Name the branches, Dharmic faith the flowers, and spiritual wisdom the fruit. Realisation of the Lord are the leaves, and eradication of the pride of the mind is the shade. ||2|| Whoever sees the Lord's Creative Power with his eyes, and hears the Guru's Bani with his ears, and utters the True Name with his mouth, attains the perfect wealth of honour, and intuitively focuses his meditation on the Lord. ||3|| The months and the seasons come; see, and do your deeds. O Nanak, those Gurmukhs who remain merged in the Lord do not wither away; they remain green forever. ||4||1|| First Mehl, Basant: The season of spring, so delightful, has come. Those who are imbued with love for You, O Lord, chant Your Name with joy. Whom else should I worship? At whose feet should I bow? ||1|| I am the slave of Your slaves, O my Sovereign Lord King. O Life of the Universe, there is no other way to meet You. ||1||Pause|| You have only One Form, and yet You have countless forms. Which one should I worship? Before which one should I burn incense? Your limits cannot be found. How can anyone find them? I am the slave of Your slaves, O my Sovereign Lord King. ||2|| The cycles of years and the places of pilgrimage are Yours, O Lord. Your Name is True, O Transcendent Lord God. Your State cannot be known, O Eternal, Unchanging Lord God. Although You are unknown, still we chant Your Name. ||3|| What can poor Nanak say? All people praise the One Lord. Nanak places his head on the feet of such people. I am a sacrifice to Your Names, as many as there are, O Lord. ||4||2|| Basant, First Mehl: The kitchen is golden, and the cooking pots are golden. The lines marking the cooking square are silver. The water is from the Ganges, and the firewood is sanctified. The food is soft rice, cooked in milk. ||1|| O my mind, these things are worthless,

Section 29 - Raag Basant - Part 002

if you are not drenched with the True Name. ||1||Pause|| One may have the eighteen Puraanas written in his own hand; he may recite the four Vedas by heart, and take ritual baths at holy festivals and give charitable donations; he may observe the ritual fasts, and perform religious ceremonies day and night. ||2|| He may be a Qazi, a Mullah or a Shaykh, a Yogi or a wandering hermit wearing saffron-coloured robes; he may be a householder, working at his job; but without understanding the essence of devotional worship, all people are eventually bound and gagged, and driven along by the Messenger of Death. ||3|| Each person's karma is written on his forehead. According to their deeds, they shall be judged. Only the foolish and the ignorant issue commands. O Nanak, the treasure of praise belongs to the True Lord alone. ||4||3|| Basant, Third Mehl: A person may take off his clothes and be naked. What Yoga does he practice by having matted and tangled hair? If the mind is not pure, what use is it to hold the breath at the Tenth Gate? The fool wanders and wanders, entering the cycle of reincarnation again and again. ||1|| Meditate on the One Lord, O my foolish mind, and you shall cross over to the other side in an instant. ||1||Pause|| Some recite and expound on the Simritees and the Shaastras; some sing the Vedas and read the Puraanas; but they practice hypocrisy and deception with their eyes and minds. The Lord does not even come near them. ||2|| Even if someone practices such self-discipline, compassion and devotional worship - if he is filled with greed, and his mind is engrossed in corruption, how can he find the Immaculate Lord? ||3|| What can the created being do? The Lord Himself moves him. If the Lord casts His Glance of Grace, then his doubts are dispelled. If the mortal realises the Hukam of the Lord's Command, he obtains the True Lord. ||4|| If someone's soul is polluted within, what is the use of his traveling to sacred shrines of pilgrimage all over the world? O Nanak, when one joins the Society of the True Guru, then the bonds of the terrifying world-ocean are broken. ||5||4|| Basant, First Mehl: All the worlds have been fascinated and enchanted by Your Maya, O Lord. I do not see any other at all - You are everywhere. You are the Master of Yogis, the Divinity of the divine. Serving at the Guru's Feet, the Name of the Lord is received. ||1|| O my Beauteous, Deep and Profound Beloved Lord. As Gurmukh, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord's Name. You are Infinite, the Cherisher of all. ||1||Pause|| Without the Holy Saint, association with the Lord is not obtained. Without the Guru, one's very fiber is stained with filth. Without the Lord's Name, one cannot become pure. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, sing the Praises of the True Lord. ||2|| O Savior Lord, that person whom You have saved - You lead him to meet the True Guru, and so take care of him. You take away his poisonous egotism and attachment. You dispel all his sufferings, O Sovereign Lord God. ||3|| His state and condition are sublime; the Lord's Glorious Virtues permeate his body. Through the Word of the Guru's Teachings, the diamond of the Lord's Name is revealed. He is lovingly attuned to the Naam; he is rid of the love of duality. O Lord, let servant Nanak meet the Guru. ||4||5|| Basant, First Mehl: O my friends and companions, listen with love in your heart. My Husband Lord is Incomparably Beautiful; He is always with me. He is Unseen - He cannot be seen. How can I describe Him?

Section 29 - Raag Basant - Part 003

The Guru has shown me that my Sovereign Lord God is with me. ||1|| Joining together with my friends and companions, I am adorned with the Lord's Glorious Virtues. The sublime soul-brides play with their Lord God. The Gurmukhs look within themselves; their minds are filled with faith. ||1||Pause|| The self-willed manmukhs, suffering in separation, do not understand this mystery. The Beloved Lord of all celebrates in each and every heart. The Gurmukh is stable, knowing that God is always with him. The Guru has implanted the Naam within me; I chant it, and meditate on it. ||2|| Without the Guru, devotional love does not well up within. Without the Guru, one is not blessed with the Society of the Saints. Without the Guru, the blind cry out, entangled in worldly affairs. That mortal who becomes Gurmukh becomes immaculate; the Word of the Shabad washes away his filth. ||3|| Uniting with the Guru, the mortal conquers and subdues his mind. Day and night, he savors the Yoga of devotional worship. Associating with the Saint Guru, suffering and sickness are ended. Servant Nanak merges with his Husband Lord, in the Yoga of intuitive ease. ||4||6|| Basant, First Mehl: By His Creative Power, God fashioned the creation. The King of kings Himself adminsters true justice. The most sublime Word of the Guru's Teachings is always with us. The wealth of the Lord's Name, the source of nectar, is easily acquired. ||1|| So chant the Name of the Lord; do not forget it, O my mind. The Lord is Infinite, Inaccessible and Incomprehensible; His weight cannot be weighed, but He Himself allows the Gurmukh to weigh Him. ||1||Pause|| Your GurSikhs serve at the Guru's Feet. Serving the Guru, they are carried across; they have abandoned any distinction between 'mine' and 'yours'. The slanderous and greedy people are hard-hearted. Those who do not love to serve the Guru are the most thieving of thieves. ||2|| When the Guru is pleased, He blesses the mortals with loving devotional worship of the Lord. When the Guru is pleased, the mortal obtains a place in the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. So renounce slander, and awaken in devotional worship of the Lord. Devotion to the Lord is wonderful; it comes through good karma and destiny. ||3|| The Guru unites in union with the Lord, and grants the gift of the Name. The Guru loves His Sikhs, day and night. They obtain the fruit of the Naam, when the Guru's favor is bestowed. Says Nanak, those who receive it are very rare indeed. ||4||7|| Basant, Third Mehl, Ik-Tukas: When it pleases our Lord and Master, His servant serves Him. He remains dead while yet alive, and redeems all his ancestors. ||1|| I shall not renounce Your devotional worship, O Lord; what does it matter if people laugh at me? The True Name abides within my heart. ||1||Pause|| Just as the mortal remains engrossed in attachment to Maya, so does the Lord's humble Saint remain absorbed in the Lord's Name. ||2|| I am foolish and ignorant, O Lord; please be merciful to me. May I remain in Your Sanctuary. ||3|| Says Nanak, worldly affairs are fruitless. Only by Guru's Grace does one receive the Nectar of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||4||8|| First Mehl, Basant Hindol, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O Brahmin, you worship and believe in your stone-god, and wear your ceremonial rosary beads. Chant the Name of the Lord. Build your boat, and pray, "O Merciful Lord, please be merciful to me."||1||

Section 29 - Raag Basant - Part 004

Why do you irrigate the barren, alkaline soil? You are wasting your life away! This wall of mud is crumbling. Why bother to patch it with plaster? ||1||Pause|| Let your hands be the buckets, strung on the chain, and yoke the mind as the ox to pull it; draw the water up from the well. Irrigate your fields with the Ambrosial Nectar, and you shall be owned by God the Gardener. ||2|| Let sexual desire and anger be your two shovels, to dig up the dirt of your farm, O Siblings of Destiny. The more you dig, the more peace you shall find. Your past actions cannot be erased. ||3|| The crane is again transformed into a swan, if You so will, O Merciful Lord. Prays Nanak, the slave of Your slaves: O Merciful Lord, have mercy on me. ||4||1||9|| Basant, First Mehl, Hindol: In the House of the Husband Lord - in the world hereafter, everything is jointly owned; but in this world - in the house of the soul-bride's parents, the soul-bride owns them separately. She herself is ill-mannered; how can she blame anyone else? She does not know how to take care of these things. ||1|| O my Lord and Master, I am deluded by doubt. I sing the Word which You have written; I do not know any other Word. ||1||Pause|| She alone is known as the Lord's bride, who embroiders her gown in the Name. She who preserves and protects the home of her own heart and does not taste of evil, shall be the Beloved of her Husband Lord. ||2|| If you are a learned and wise religious scholar, then make a boat of the letters of the Lord's Name. Prays Nanak, the One Lord shall carry you across, if you merge in the True Lord. ||3||2||10|| Basant Hindol, First Mehl: The king is just a boy, and his city is vulnerable. He is in love with his wicked enemies. He reads of his two mothers and his two fathers; O Pandit, reflect on this. ||1|| O Master Pandit, teach me about this. How can I obtain the Lord of life? ||1||Pause|| There is fire within the plants which bloom; the ocean is tied into a bundle. The sun and the moon dwell in the same home in the sky. You have not obtained this knowledge. ||2|| One who knows the All-pervading Lord, eats up the one mother - Maya. Know that the sign of such a person is that he gathers the wealth of compassion. ||3|| The mind lives with those who do not listen, and do not admit what they eat. Prays Nanak, the slave of the Lord's slave: one instant the mind is huge, and the next instant, it is tiny. ||4||3||11|| Basant Hindol, First Mehl: The Guru is the True Banker, the Giver of peace; He unites the

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mortal with the Lord, and satisfies his hunger. Granting His Grace, He implants devotional worship of the Lord within; and then night and day, we sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||1|| O my mind, do not forget the Lord; keep Him in your consciousness. Without the Guru, no one is liberated anywhere in the three worlds. The Gurmukh obtains the Lord's Name. ||1||Pause|| Without devotional worship, the True Guru is not obtained. Without good destiny, devotional worship of the Lord is not obtained. Without good destiny, the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, is not obtained. By the grace of one's good karma, the Lord's Name is received. ||2|| In each and every heart, the Lord is hidden; He creates and watches over all. He reveals Himself in the humble, Saintly Gurmukhs. Those who chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, are drenched with the Lord's Love. Their minds are drenched with the Ambrosial Water of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||3||

Section 29 - Raag Basant - Part 005

Those who are blessed with the glory of the Lord's Throne - those Gurmukhs are renowned as supreme. Touching the philosopher's stone, they themselves becomes the philosopher's stone; they become the companions of the Lord, the Guru. ||4||4||12|| Basant, Third Mehl, First House, Du-Tukas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Throughout the months and the seasons, the Lord is always in bloom. He rejuvenates all beings and creatures. What can I say? I am just a worm. No one has found Your beginning or Your end, O Lord. ||1|| Those who serve You, Lord, obtain the greatest peace; their souls are so divine. ||1||Pause|| If the Lord is merciful, then the mortal is allowed to serve Him. By Guru's Grace, he remains dead while yet alive. Night and day, he chants the True Name; in this way, he crosses over the treacherous world-ocean. ||2|| The Creator created both poison and nectar. He attached these two fruits to the world-plant. The Creator Himself is the Doer, the Cause of all. He feeds all as He pleases. ||3|| O Nanak, when He casts His Glance of Grace, He Himself bestows His Ambrosial Naam. Thus, the desire for sin and corruption is ended. The Lord Himself carries out His Own Will. ||4||1|| Basant, Third Mehl: Those who are attuned to the True Lord's Name are happy and exalted. Take pity on me, O God, Merciful to the meek. Without Him, I have no other at all. As it pleases His Will, He keeps me. ||1|| The Guru, the Lord, is pleasing to my mind. I cannot even survive, without the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. But I shall easily unite with the Guru, if He unites me in His Union. ||1||Pause|| The greedy mind is enticed by greed. Forgetting the Lord, it regrets and repents in the end. The separated ones are reunited, when they are inspired to serve the Guru. They are blessed with the Lord's Name - such is the destiny written on their foreheads. ||2|| This body is built of air and water. The body is afflicted with the terribly painful illness of egotism. The Gurmukh has the Medicine: singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord's Name. Granting His Grace, the Guru has cured the illness. ||3|| The four evils are the four rivers of fire flowing through the body. It is burning in desire, and burning in egotism. Those whom the Guru protects and saves are very fortunate. Servant Nanak enshrines the Ambrosial Name of the Lord in his heart. ||4||2|| Basant, Third Mehl: One who serves the Lord is the Lord's person. He dwells in intuitive peace, and never suffers in sorrow. The self-willed manmukhs are dead; the Lord is not within their minds. They die and die again and again, and are reincarnated, only to die once more. ||1|| They alone are alive, whose minds are filled with the Lord. They contemplate the True Lord, and are absorbed in the True Lord. ||1||Pause|| Those who do not serve the Lord are far away from the Lord. They wander in foreign lands, with dust thrown on their heads. The Lord Himself enjoins His humble servants to serve Him. They live in peace forever, and have no greed at all. ||2||

Section 29 - Raag Basant - Part 006

When the Lord bestows His Glance of Grace, egotism is eradicated. Then, the mortal is honoured in the Court of the True Lord. He sees the Dear Lord always close at hand, ever-present. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, he sees the Lord pervading and permeating all. ||3|| The Lord cherishes all beings and creatures. By Guru's Grace, contemplate Him forever. You shall go to your true home in the Lord's Court with honour. O Nanak, through the Naam, the Name of the Lord, you shall be blessed with glorious greatness. ||4||3|| Basant, Third Mehl: One who worships the Lord within his mind, sees the One and Only Lord, and no other. People in duality suffer terrible pain. The True Guru has shown me the One Lord. ||1|| My God is in bloom, forever in spring. This mind blossoms forth, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe. ||1||Pause|| So consult the Guru, and reflect upon His wisdom; then, you shall be in love with the True Lord God. Abandon your self-conceit, and be His loving servant. Then, the Life of the World shall come to dwell in your mind. ||2|| Worship Him with devotion, and see Him always ever-present, close at hand. My God is forever permeating and pervading all. Only a rare few know the mystery of this devotional worship. My God is the Enlightener of all souls. ||3|| The True Guru Himself unites us in His Union. He Himself links our consciousness to the Lord, the Life of the World. Thus, our minds and bodies are rejuvenated with intuitive ease. O Nanak, through the Naam, the Name of the Lord, we remain attuned to the String of His Love. ||4||4|| Basant, Third Mehl: The Lord is the Lover of His devotees; He dwells within their minds, by Guru's Grace, with intuitive ease. Through devotional worship, self-conceit is eradicated from within, and then, one meets the True Lord. ||1|| His devotees are forever beauteous at the Door of the Lord God. Loving the Guru, they have love and affection for the True Lord. ||1||Pause|| That humble being who worships the Lord with devotion becomes immaculate and pure. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, egotism is eradicated from within. The Dear Lord Himself comes to dwell within the mind, and the mortal remains immersed in peace, tranquility and intuitive ease. ||2|| Those who are imbued with Truth, are forever in the bloom of spring. Their minds and bodies are rejuvenated, uttering the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe. Without the Lord's Name, the world is dry and parched. It burns in the fire of desire, over and over again. ||3|| One who does only that which is pleasing to the Dear Lord - his body is forever at peace, and his consciousness is attached to the Lord's Will. He serves His God with intuitive ease. O Nanak, the Naam, the Name of the Lord, comes to abide in his mind. ||4||5|| Basant, Third Mehl: Attachment to Maya is burnt away by the Word of the Shabad. The mind and body are rejuvenated by the Love of the True Guru. The tree bears fruit at the Lord's Door, in love with the True Bani of the Guru's Word, and the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1|| This mind is rejuvenated, with intuitive ease; loving the True Guru, it bears the fruit of truth. ||1||Pause|| He Himself is near, and He Himself is far away. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, He is seen to be ever-present, close at hand. The plants have blossomed forth, giving a dense shade. The Gurmukh blossoms forth, with intuitive ease. ||2|| Night and day, he sings the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises, day and night. The True Guru drives out sin and doubt from within.

Section 29 - Raag Basant - Part 007

Gazing upon the wonder of God's Creation, I am wonder-struck and amazed. The Gurmukh obtains the Naam, the Name of the Lord, by His Grace. ||3|| The Creator Himself enjoys all delights. Whatever He does, surely comes to pass. He is the Great Giver; He has no greed at all. O Nanak, living the Word of the Shabad, the mortal meets with God. ||4||6|| Basant, Third Mehl: By perfect destiny, one acts in truth. Remembering the One Lord, one does not have to enter the cycle of reincarnation. Fruitful is the coming into the world, and the life of one who remains intuitively absorbed in the True Name. ||1|| The Gurmukh acts, lovingly attuned to the Lord. Be dedicated to the Lord's Name, and eradicate self-conceit from within. ||1||Pause|| True is the speech of that humble being; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, it is spread throughout the world. Throughout the four ages, his fame and glory spread. Imbued with the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the Lord's humble servant is recognised and renowned. ||2|| Some remain lovingly attuned to the True Word of the Shabad. True are those humble beings who love the True Lord. They meditate on the True Lord, and behold Him near at hand, ever-present. They are the dust of the lotus feet of the humble Saints. ||3|| There is only One Creator Lord; there is no other at all. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, comes Union with the Lord. Whoever serves the True Lord finds joy. O Nanak, he is intuitively absorbed in the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||4||7|| Basant, Third Mehl: The Lord's humble servant worships Him, and beholds Him ever-present, near at hand. He is the dust of the lotus feet of the humble Saints. Those who remain lovingly attuned to the Lord forever are blessed with understanding by the Perfect True Guru. ||1|| How rare are those who become the slave of the Lord's slaves. They attain the supreme status. ||1||Pause|| So serve the One Lord, and no other. Serving Him, eternal peace is obtained. He does not die; He does not come and go in reincarnation. Why should I serve any other than Him, O my mother? ||2|| True are those humble beings who realise the True Lord. Conquering their self-conceit, they merge intuitively into the Naam, the Name of the Lord. The Gurmukhs gather in the Naam. Their minds are immaculate, and their reputations are immaculate. ||3|| Know the Lord, who gave you spiritual wisdom, and realise the One God, through the True Word of the Shabad. When the mortal tastes the sublime essence of the Lord, he becomes pure and holy. O Nanak, those who are imbued with the Naam - their reputations are true. ||4||8|| Basant, Third Mehl: Those who are imbued with the Naam, the Name of the Lord - their generations are redeemed and saved. True is their speech; they love the Naam. Why have the wandering self-willed manmukhs even come into the world? Forgetting the Naam, the mortals waste their lives away. ||1|| One who dies while yet alive, truly dies, and embellishes his death. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, he enshrines the True Lord within his heart. ||1||Pause|| Truth is the food of the Gurmukh; his body is sanctified and pure. His mind is immaculate; he is forever the ocean of virtue. He is not forced to come and go in the cycle of birth and death. By Guru's Grace, he merges in the True Lord. ||2|| Serving the True Lord, one realises Truth. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, he goes to the Lord's Court with his banners flying proudly.

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In the Court of the True Lord, he obtains true glory. He comes to dwell in the home of his own inner being. ||3|| He cannot be fooled; He is the Truest of the True. All others are deluded; in duality, they lose their honour. So serve the True Lord, through the True Bani of His Word. O Nanak, through the Naam, merge in the True Lord. ||4||9|| Basant, Third Mehl: Without the grace of good karma, all are deluded by doubt. In attachment to Maya, they suffer in terrible pain. The blind, self-willed manmukhs find no place of rest. They are like maggots in manure, rotting away in manure. ||1|| That humble being who obeys the Hukam of the Lord's Command is accepted. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, he is blessed with the insignia and the banner of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Those who have such pre-ordained destiny are imbued with the Naam. The Name of the Lord is forever pleasing to their minds. Through the Bani, the Word of the True Guru, eternal peace is found. Through it, one's light merges into the Light. ||2|| Only the Naam, the Name of the Lord, can save the world. By Guru's Grace, one comes to love the Naam. Without the Naam, no one obtains liberation. Through the Perfect Guru, the Naam is obtained. ||3|| He alone understands, whom the Lord Himself causes to understand. Serving the True Guru, the Naam is implanted within. Those humble beings who know the One Lord are approved and accepted. O Nanak, imbued with the Naam, they go to the Lord's Court with His banner and insignia. ||4||10|| Basant, Third Mehl: Granting His Grace, the Lord leads the mortal to meet the True Guru. The Lord Himself comes to abide in his mind. His intellect becomes steady and stable, and his mind is strengthened forever. He sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord, the Ocean of Virtue. ||1|| Those who forget the Naam, the Name of the Lord - those mortals die eating poison. Their lives are wasted uselessly, and they continue coming and going in reincarnation. ||1||Pause|| They wear all sorts of religious robes, but their minds are not at peace. In great egotism, they lose their honour. But those who realise the Word of the Shabad, are blessed by great good fortune. They bring their distractible minds back home. ||2|| Within the home of the inner self is the inaccessible and infinite substance. Those who find it, by following the Guru's Teachings, contemplate the Shabad. Those who obtain the nine treasures of the Naam within the home of their own inner being, are forever dyed in the colour of the Lord's Love; they are absorbed in the Truth. ||3|| God Himself does everything; no one can do anything at all by himself. When God so wills, He merges the mortal into Himself. All are near Him; no one is far away from Him. O Nanak, the Naam is permeating and pervading everywhere. ||4||11|| Basant, Third Mehl: Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, remember the Lord with love, and you shall remain satisfied by the sublime essence of the Lord's Name. The sins of millions upon millions of lifetimes shall be burnt away. Remaining dead while yet alive, you shall be absorbed in the Lord's Name. ||1|| The Dear Lord Himself knows His own bountiful blessings. This mind blossoms forth in the Guru's Shabad, chanting the Name of the Lord, the Giver of virtue. ||1||Pause|| No one is liberated by wandering around in saffron-coloured robes. Tranquility is not found by strict self-discipline. But by following the Guru's Teachings, one is blessed to receive the Naam, the Name of the Lord. By great good fortune, one finds the Lord. ||2|| In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, glorious greatness comes through the Lord's Name.

Section 29 - Raag Basant - Part 009

Through the Perfect Guru, it is obtained. Those who are imbued with the Naam find everlasting peace. But without the Naam, mortals burn in egotism. ||3|| By great good furtune, some contemplate the Lord's Name. Through the Lord's Name, all sorrows are eradicated. He dwells within the heart, and pervades the external universe as well. O Nanak, the Creator Lord knows all. ||4||12|| Basant, Third Mehl, Ik-Tukas: I am just a worm, created by You, O Lord. If you bless me, then I chant Your Primal Mantra. ||1|| I chant and reflect on His Glorious Virtues, O my mother. Meditating on the Lord, I fall at the Lord's Feet. ||1||Pause|| By Guru's Grace, I am addicted to the favor of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Why waste your life in hatred, vengeance and conflict? ||2|| When the Guru granted His Grace, my egotism was eradicated, and then, I obtained the Lord's Name with intuitive ease. ||3|| The most lofty and exalted occupation is to contemplate the Word of the Shabad. Nanak chants the True Name. ||4||1||13|| Basant, Third Mehl: The season of spring has come, and all the plants have blossomed forth. This mind blossoms forth, in association with the True Guru. ||1|| So meditate on the True Lord, O my foolish mind. Only then shall you find peace, O my mind. ||1||Pause|| This mind

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blossoms forth, and I am in ecstasy. I am blessed with the Ambrosial Fruit of the Naam, the Name of the Lord of the Universe. ||2|| Everyone speaks and says that the Lord is the One and Only. By understanding the Hukam of His Command, we come to know the One Lord. ||3|| Says Nanak, no one can describe the Lord by speaking through ego. All speech and insight comes from our Lord and Master. ||4||2||14|| Basant, Third Mehl: All the ages were created by You, O Lord. Meeting with the True Guru, one's intellect is awakened. ||1|| O Dear Lord, please blend me with Yourself; let me merge in the True Name, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||1||Pause|| When the mind is in spring, all people are rejuvenated. Blossoming forth and flowering through the Lord's Name, peace is obtained. ||2|| Contemplating the Word of the Guru's Shabad, one is in spring forever, with the Lord's Name enshrined in the heart. ||3|| When the mind is in spring, the body and mind are rejuvenated. O Nanak, this body is the tree which bears the fruit of the Lord's Name. ||4||3||15|| Basant, Third Mehl: They alone are in the spring season, who sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. They come to worship the Lord with devotion, through their perfect destiny. ||1|| This mind is not even touched by spring. This mind is burnt by duality and double-mindedness. ||1||Pause|| This mind is entangled in worldly affairs, creating more and more karma. Enchanted by Maya, it cries out in suffering forever. ||2|| This mind is released, only when it meets with the True Guru. Then, it does not suffer beatings by the Messenger of Death. ||3|| This mind is released, when the Guru emancipates it. O Nanak, attachment to Maya is burnt away through the Word of the Shabad. ||4||4||16|| Basant, Third Mehl: Spring has come, and all the plants are flowering. These beings and creatures blossom forth when they focus their consciousness on the Lord. ||1||

Section 29 - Raag Basant - Part 010

In this way, this mind is rejuvenated. Chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, day and night, egotism is removed and washed away from the Gurmukhs. ||1||Pause|| The True Guru speaks the Bani of the Word, and the Shabad, the Word of God. This world blossoms forth in its greenery, through the love of the True Guru. ||2|| The mortal blossoms forth in flower and fruit, when the Lord Himself so wills. He is attached to the Lord, the Primal Root of all, when he finds the True Guru. ||3|| The Lord Himself is the season of spring; the whole world is His Garden. O Nanak, this most unique devotional worship comes only by perfect destiny. ||4||5||17|| Basant Hindol, Third Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I am a sacrifice to the Word of the Guru's Bani, O Siblings of Destiny. I am devoted and dedicated to the Word of the Guru's Shabad. I praise my Guru forever, O Siblings of Destiny. I focus my consciousness on the Guru's Feet. ||1|| O my mind, focus your consciousness on the Lord's Name. Your mind and body shall blossom forth in lush greenery, and you shall obtain the fruit of the Name of the One Lord. ||1||Pause|| Those who are protected by the Guru are saved, O Siblings of Destiny. They drink in the Ambrosial Nectar of the Lord's sublime essence. The pain of egotism within is eradicated and banished, O Siblings of Destiny, and peace comes to dwell in their minds. ||2|| Those whom the Primal Lord Himself forgives, O Siblings of Destiny, are united with the Word of the Shabad. The dust of their feet brings emancipation; in the company of Sadh Sangat, the True Congregation, we are united with the Lord. ||3|| He Himself does, and causes all to be done, O Siblings of Destiny; He makes everything blossom forth in green abundance. O Nanak, peace fills their minds and bodies forever, O Siblings of Destiny; they are united with the Shabad. ||4||1||18||12||18||30|| Raag Basant, Fourth Mehl, First House, Ik-Tukay: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Just as the light of the sun's rays spread out, the Lord permeates each and every heart, through and through. ||1|| The One Lord is permeating and pervading all places. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, we merge with Him, O my mother. ||1||Pause|| The One Lord is deep within each and every heart. Meeting with the Guru, the One Lord becomes manifest, radiating forth. ||2|| The One and Only Lord is present and prevailing everywhere. The greedy, faithless cynic thinks that God is far away. ||3|| The One and Only Lord permeates and pervades the world. O Nanak, whatever the One Lord does comes to pass. ||4||1|| Basant, Fourth Mehl: Day and night, the two calls are sent out. O mortal, meditate in remembrance on the Lord, who protects you forever, and saves you in the end. ||1|| Concentrate forever on the Lord, Har, Har, O my mind. God the Destroyer of all depression and suffering is found, through the Guru's Teachings, singing the Glorious Praises of God. ||1||Pause|| The self-willed manmukhs die of their egotism, over and over again.

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They are destroyed by Death's demons, and they must go to the City of Death. ||2|| The Gurmukhs are lovingly attached to the Lord, Har, Har, Har. Their pains of both birth and death are taken away. ||3|| The Lord showers His Mercy on His humble devotees. Guru Nanak has shown mercy to me; I have met the Lord, the Lord of the forest. ||4||2|| Basant Hindol, Fourth Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The Lord's Name is a jewel, hidden in a chamber of the palace of the body-fortress. When one meets the True Guru, then he searches and finds it, and his light merges with the Divine Light. ||1|| O Lord, lead me to meet with the Holy Person, the Guru. Gazing upon the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, all my sins are erased, and I obtain the supreme, sublime, sanctified status. ||1||Pause|| The five thieves join together and plunder the body-village, stealing the wealth of the Lord's Name. But through the Guru's Teachings, they are traced and caught, and this wealth is recovered intact. ||2|| Practicing hypocrisy and superstition, people have grown weary of the effort, but still, deep within their hearts, they yearn for Maya, Maya. By the Grace of the Holy Person, I have met with the Lord, the Primal Being, and the darkness of ignorance is dispelled. ||3|| The Lord, the Lord of the Earth, the Lord of the Universe, in His Mercy, leads me to meet the Holy Person, the Guru. O Nanak, peace then comes to abide deep within my mind, and I

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constantly sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord within my heart. ||4||1||3|| Basant, Fourth Mehl, Hindol: You are the Great Supreme Being, the Vast and Inaccessible Lord of the World; I am a mere insect, a worm created by You. O Lord, Merciful to the meek, please grant Your Grace; O God, I long for the feet of the Guru, the True Guru. ||1|| O Dear Lord of the Universe, please be merciful and unite me with the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. I was overflowing with the filthy sins of countless past lives. But joining the Sangat, God made me pure again. ||1||Pause|| Your humble servant, whether of high class or low class, O Lord - by meditating on You, the sinner becomes pure. The Lord exalts and elevates him above the whole world, and the Lord God blesses him with the Lord's Glory. ||2|| Anyone who meditates on God, whether of high class or low class, will have all of his hopes and desires fulfilled. Those humble servants of the Lord who enshrine the Lord within their hearts, are blessed, and are made great and totally perfect. ||3|| I am so low, I am an utterly heavy lump of clay. Please shower Your Mercy on me, Lord, and unite me with Yourself. The Lord, in His Mercy, has led servant Nanak to find the Guru; I was a sinner, and now I have become immaculate and pure. ||||4||2||4|| Basant Hindol, Fourth Mehl: My mind cannot survive, even for an instant, without the Lord. I drink in continually the sublime essence of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. It is like a baby, who joyfully sucks at his mother's breast; when the breast is withdrawn, he weeps and cries. ||1|| O Dear Lord of the Universe, my mind and body are pierced through by the Name of the Lord. By great good fortune, I have found the Guru, the True Guru, and in the body-village, the Lord has revealed Himself. ||1||Pause||

Each and every breath of the Lord's humble servant is pierced through with love of the Lord God. As the lotus is totally in love with the water and withers away without seeing the water, so am I in love with the Lord. ||2|| The Lord's humble servant chants the Immaculate Naam, the Name of the Lord; through the Guru's Teachings, the Lord reveals Himself. The filth of egotism which stained me for countless lifetimes has been washed away, by the Ambrosial Water of the Ocean of the Lord. ||3|| Please, do not take my karma into account, O my Lord and Master; please save the honour of Your slave. O Lord, if it pleases You, hear my prayer; servant Nanak seeks Your Sanctuary. ||4||3||5|| Basant Hindol, Fourth Mehl: Each and every moment, my mind roams and rambles, and runs all over the place. It does not stay in its own home, even for an instant. But when the bridle of the Shabad, the Word of God, is placed over its head, it returns to dwell in its own home. ||1|| O Dear Lord of the Universe, lead me to join the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, so that I may meditate on You, Lord. I am cured of the disease of egotism, and I have found peace; I have intuitively entered into the state of Samaadhi. ||1||Pause|| This house is loaded with countless gems, jewels, rubies and emeralds, but the wandering mind cannot find them. As the water-diviner finds the hidden water, and the well is then dug in an instant, so do we find the object of the Name through the True Guru. ||2|| Those who do not find such a Holy True Guru - cursed, cursed are the lives of those people. The treasure of this human life is obtained when one's virtues bear fruit, but it is lost in exchange for a mere shell. ||3|| O Lord God, please be merciful to me; be merciful, and lead me to meet the Guru. Servant Nanak has attained the state of Nirvaanaa; meeting with the Holy people, he sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||4||4||6|| Basant Hindol, Fourth Mehl: Coming and going, he suffers the pains of vice and corruption; the body of the self-willed manmukh is desolate and vacant. He does not dwell on the Lord's Name, even for an instant, and so the Messenger of Death seizes him by his hair. ||1|| O Dear Lord of the Universe, please rid me of the poison of egotism and attachment. The Sat Sangat, Guru's True Congregation is so dear to the Lord. So join the Sangat, and taste the sublime essence of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Please be kind to me, and unite me with the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation of the Holy; I seek the Sanctuary of the Holy. I am a heavy stone, sinking down - please lift me up and pull me out! O God, Merciful to the meek, You are the Destroyer of sorrow. ||2|| I enshrine the Praises of my Lord and Master within my heart; joining the Sat Sangat, my intellect is enlightened. I have fallen in love with the Lord's Name; I am a sacrifice to the Lord. ||3|| O Lord God, please fulfill the desires of Your humble servant; please bless me with Your Name, O Lord. Servant Nanak's mind and body are filled with ecstasy; the Guru has blessed him with the Mantra of the Lord's Name. ||4||5||7||12||18||7||37||

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Basant, Fifth Mehl, First House, Du-Tukay: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I serve the Guru, and humbly bow to Him. Today is a day of celebration for me. Today I am in supreme bliss. My anxiety is dispelled, and I have met the Lord of the Universe. ||1|| Today, it is springtime in my household. I sing Your Glorious Praises, O Infinite Lord God. ||1||Pause|| Today, I am celebrating the festival of Phalgun. Joining with God's companions, I have begun to play. I celebrate the festival of Holi by serving the Saints. I am imbued with the deep crimson colour of the Lord's Divine Love. ||2|| My mind and body have blossomed forth, in utter, incomparable beauty. They do not dry out in either sunshine or shade; they flourish in all seasons. It is always springtime, when I meet with the Divine Guru. ||3|| The wish-fulfilling Elysian Tree has sprouted and grown. It bears flowers and fruits, jewels of all sorts. I am satisfied and fulfilled, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Servant Nanak meditates on the Lord, Har, Har, Har. ||4||1|| Basant, Fifth Mehl: The shopkeeper deals in merchandise for profit. The gambler's consciousness is focused on gambling. The opium addict lives by consuming opium. In the same way, the humble servant of the Lord lives by meditating on the Lord. ||1|| Everyone is absorbed in his own pleasures. He is attached to whatever God attaches him to. ||1||Pause|| When the clouds and the rain come, the peacocks dance. Seeing the moon, the lotus blossoms. When the mother sees her infant, she is happy. In the same way, the humble servant of the Lord lives by meditating on the Lord of the Universe. ||2|| The tiger always wants to eat meat. Gazing upon the battlefield, the warrior's mind is exalted. The miser is totally in love with his wealth. The humble servant of the Lord leans on the Support of the Lord, Har, Har. ||3|| All love is contained in the Love of the One Lord. All comforts are contained in the Comfort of the Lord's Name. He alone receives this treasure, O Nanak, unto whom the Guru gives His gift. ||4||2|| Basant, Fifth Mehl: He alone experiences this springtime of the soul, unto whom God grants His Grace. He alone experiences this springtime of the soul, unto whom the Guru is merciful. He alone is joyful, who works for the One Lord. He alone experiences this eternal springtime of the soul, within whose heart the Naam, the Name of the Lord, abides. ||1|| This spring comes only to those homes, in which the melody of the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises resounds. ||1||Pause|| O mortal, let your love for the Supreme Lord God blossom forth. Practice spiritual wisdom, and consult the humble servants of the Lord. He alone is an ascetic, who joins the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. He alone dwells in deep, continual meditation, who loves his Guru. ||2|| He alone is fearless, who has the Fear of God. He alone is peaceful, whose doubts are dispelled. He alone is a hermit, who heart is steady and stable. He alone is steady and unmoving, who has found the true place. ||3|| He seeks the One Lord, and loves the One Lord. He loves to gaze upon the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan. He intuitively enjoys the Love of the Lord. Slave Nanak is a sacrifice to that humble being. ||4||3||

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Basant, Fifth Mehl: You gave us our soul, breath of life and body. I am a fool, but You have made me beautiful, enshrining Your Light within me. We are all beggars, O God; You are merciful to us. Chanting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, we are uplifted and exalted. ||1|| O my Beloved, only You have the potency to act, and cause all to be done. ||1||Pause|| Chanting the Naam, the mortal is saved. Chanting the Naam, sublime peace and poise are found. Chanting the Naam, honour and glory are received. Chanting the Naam, no obstacles shall block your way. ||2|| For this reason, you have been blessed with this body, so difficult to obtain. O my Dear God, please bless me to speak the Naam. This tranquil peace is found in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. May I always chant and meditate within my heart on Your Name, O God. ||3|| Other than You, there is no one at all. Everything is Your play; it all merges again into You. As it pleases Your Will, save me, Lord. O Nanak, peace is obtained by meeting with the Perfect Guru. ||4||4|| Basant, Fifth Mehl: My Beloved God, my King is with me. Gazing upon Him, I live, O my mother. Remembering Him in meditation, there is no pain or suffering. Please, take pity on me, and lead me on to meet Him. ||1|| My Beloved is the Support of my breath of life and mind.

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This soul, breath of life, and wealth are all Yours, O Lord. ||1||Pause|| He is sought by the angels, mortals and divine beings. The silent sages, the humble, and the religious teachers do not understand His mystery. His state and extent cannot be described. In each and every home of each and every heart, He is permeating and pervading. ||2|| His devotees are totally in bliss. His devotees cannot be destroyed. His devotees are not afraid. His devotees are victorious forever. ||3|| What Praises of Yours can I utter? God, the Giver of peace, is all-pervading, permeating everywhere. Nanak begs for this one gift. Be merciful, and bless me with Your Name. ||4||5|| Basant, Fifth Mehl: As the plant turns green upon receiving water, just so, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, egotism is eradicated. Just as the servant is encouraged by his ruler, we are saved by the Guru. ||1|| You are the Great Giver, O Generous Lord God. Each and every instant, I humbly bow to You. ||1||Pause|| Whoever enters the Saadh Sangat - that humble being is imbued with the Love of the Supreme Lord God. He is liberated from bondage. His devotees worship Him in adoration; they are united in His Union. ||2|| My eyes are content, gazing upon the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. My tongue sings the Infinite Praises of God. My thirst is quenched, by Guru's Grace. My mind is satisfied, with the sublime taste of the Lord's subtle essence. ||3|| Your servant is committed to the service of Your Feet, O Primal Infinite Divine Being. Your Name is the Saving Grace of all. Nanak has received this teasure. ||4||6|| Basant, Fifth Mehl: You are the Great Giver; You continue to give. You permeate and pervade my soul, and my breath of life. You have given me all sorts of foods and dishes. I am unworthy; I know none of Your Virtues at all. ||1|| I do not understand anything of Your Worth.

Section 29 - Raag Basant - Part 015

Save me, O my Merciful Lord God. ||1||Pause|| I have not practiced meditation, austerities or good actions. I do not know the way to meet You. Within my mind, I have placed my hopes in the One Lord alone. The Support of Your Name shall carry me across. ||2|| You are the Expert, O God, in all powers. The fish cannot find the limits of the water. You are Inaccessible and Unfathomable, the Highest of the High. I am small, and You are so very Great. ||3|| Those who meditate on You are wealthy. Those who attain You are rich. Those who serve You are peaceful. Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of the Saints. ||4||7|| Basant, Fifth Mehl: Serve the One who created You. Worship the One who gave you life. Become His servant, and you shall never again be punished. Become His trustee, and you shall never again suffer sorrow. ||1|| That mortal who is blessed with such great good fortune, attains this state of Nirvaanaa. ||1||Pause|| Life is wasted uselessly in the service of duality. No efforts shall be rewarded, and no works brought to fruition. It is so painful to serve only mortal beings. Service to the Holy brings lasting peace and bliss. ||2|| If you long for eternal peace, O Siblings of Destiny, then join the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; this is the Guru's advice. There, the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is meditated on. In the Saadh Sangat, you shall be emancipated. ||3|| Among all essences, this is the essence of spiritual wisdom. Among all meditations, meditation on the One Lord is the most sublime. The Kirtan of the Lord's Praises is the ultimate melody. Meeting with the Guru, Nanak sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||4||8|| Basant, Fifth Mehl: Chanting His Name, one's mouth becomes pure. Meditating in remembrance on Him, one's reputation becomes stainless. Worshipping Him in adoration, one is not tortured by the Messenger of Death. Serving Him, everything is obtained. ||1|| The Lord's Name - chant the Lord's Name. Abandon all the desires of your mind. ||1||Pause|| He is the Support of the earth and the sky. His Light illuminates each and every heart. Meditating in remembrance on Him, even fallen sinners are sanctified; in the end, they will not weep and wail over and over again. ||2|| Among all religions, this is the ultimate religion. Among all rituals and codes of conduct, this is above all. The angels, mortals and divine beings long for Him. To find Him, commit yourself to the service of the Society of the Saints. ||3|| One whom the Primal Lord God blesses with His bounties, obtains the treasure of the Lord. His state and extent cannot be described. Servant Nanak meditates on the Lord, Har, Har. ||4||9|| Basant, Fifth Mehl: My mind and body are gripped by thirst and desire. The Merciful Guru has fulfilled my hopes. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, all my sins have been taken away. I chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord; I am in love with the Name of the Lord. ||1|| By Guru's Grace, this spring of the soul has come. I enshrine the Lord's Lotus Feet within my heart; I listen to the Lord's Praise, forever and ever. ||1||Pause||

Section 29 - Raag Basant - Part 016

Our All-powerful Lord and Master is the Doer of all, the Cause of all causes. I am an orphan - I seek Your Sanctuary, God. All beings and creatures take Your Support. Be merciful, God, and save me. ||2|| God is the Destroyer of fear, the Remover of pain and suffering. The angelic beings and silent sages serve Him. The earth and the sky are in His Power. All beings eat what You give them. ||3|| O Merciful God, O Searcher of hearts, please bless Your slave with Your Glance of Grace. Please be kind and bless me with this gift, that Nanak may live in Your Name. ||4||10|| Basant, Fifth Mehl: Loving the Lord, one's sins are taken away. Meditating on the Lord, one does not suffer at all. Meditating on the Lord of the Universe, all darkness is dispelled. Meditating in remembrance on the Lord, the cycle of reincarnation comes to an end. ||1|| The love of the Lord is springtime for me. I am always with the humble Saints. ||1||Pause|| The Saints have shared the Teachings with me. Blessed is that country where the devotees of the Lord of the Universe dwell. But that place where the Lord's devotees are not, is wilderness. By Guru's Grace, realise the Lord in each and every heart. ||2|| Sing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises, and enjoy the nectar of His Love. O mortal, you must always restrain yourself from committing sins. Behold the Creator Lord God near at hand. Here and hereafter, God shall resolve your affairs. ||3|| I focus my meditation on the Lord's Lotus Feet. Granting His Grace, God has blessed me with this Gift. I yearn for the dust of the feet of Your Saints. Nanak meditates on his Lord and Master, who is ever-present, near at hand. ||4||11|| Basant, Fifth Mehl: The True Transcendent Lord is always new, forever fresh. By Guru's Grace, I continually chant His Name. God is my Protector, my Mother and Father. Meditating in remembrance on Him, I do not suffer in sorrow. ||1|| I meditate on my Lord and Master, single-mindedly, with love. I seek the Sanctuary of the Perfect Guru forever. My True Lord and Master hugs me close in His Embrace. ||1||Pause|| God Himself protects His humble servants. The demons and wicked enemies have grown weary of struggling against Him. Without the True Guru, there is no place to go. Wandering through the lands and foreign countries, people only grow tired and suffer in pain. ||2|| The record of their past actions cannot be erased. They harvest and eat what they have planted. The Lord Himself is the Protector of His humble servants. No one can rival the humble servant of the Lord. ||3|| By His own efforts, God protects His slave. God's Glory is perfect and unbroken. So sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe with your tongue forever. Nanak lives by meditating on the Feet of the Lord. ||4||12|| Basant, Fifth Mehl: Dwelling at the Guru's Feet, pain and suffering go away. The Supreme Lord God has shown mercy to me. All my desires and tasks are fulfilled. Chanting the Lord's Name, Nanak lives. ||1|| How beautiful is that season, when the Lord fills the mind. Without the True Guru, the world weeps. The faithless cynic comes and goes in reincarnation, over and over again. ||1||Pause||

Section 29 - Raag Basant - Part 017

They alone are rich, who have the Wealth of the Lord God. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, sexual desire and anger are eradicated. Their fear is dispelled, and they attain the state of fearlessness. Meeting with the Guru, Nanak meditates on his Lord and Master. ||2|| God dwells in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Chanting and meditating on the Lord, one's hopes are fulfilled. God permeates and pervades the water, the land and the sky. Meeting with the Guru, Nanak chants the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||3|| The eight miraculous spiritual powers and the nine treasures are contained in the Naam, the Name of the Lord. This is bestowed when God grants His Grace. Your slaves, O God, live by chanting and meditating on Your Name. O Nanak, the heart-lotus of the Gurmukh blossoms forth. ||4||13|| Basant, Fifth Mehl, First House, Ik-Tukay: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Meditating on the Lord, all desires are fulfilled, and the mortal is re-united with God, after having been separated for so long. ||1|| Meditate on the Lord of the Universe, who is worthy of meditation. Meditating on Him, enjoy celestial peace and poise. ||1||Pause|| Bestowing His Mercy, He blesses us with His Glance of Grace. God Himself takes care of His slave. ||2|| My bed has been beautified by His Love. God, the Giver of Peace, has come to meet me. ||3|| He does not consider my merits and demerits. Nanak worships at the Feet of God. ||4||1||14|| Basant, Fifth Mehl: The sins are erased, singing the Glories of God; night and day, celestial joy wells up. ||1|| My mind has blossomed forth, by the touch of the Lord's Feet. By His Grace, He has led me to meet the Holy men, the humble servants of the Lord. I remain continually imbued with the love of the Lord's Name. ||1||Pause|| In His Mercy, the Lord of the World has revealed Himself to me. The Lord, Merciful to the meek, has attached me to the hem of His robe and saved me. ||2|| This mind has become the dust of the Holy; I behold my Lord and Master, continually, ever-present. ||3|| Sexual desire, anger and desire have vanished. O Nanak, God has become kind to me. ||4||2||15|| Basant, Fifth Mehl: God Himself has cured the disease. He laid on His Hands, and protected His child. ||1|| Celestial peace and tranquility fill my home forever, in this springtime of the soul. I have sought the Sanctuary of the Perfect Guru; I chant the Mantra of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, the Embodiment of emancipation. ||1||Pause|| God Himself has dispelled my sorrow and suffering. I meditate continually, continuously, on my Guru. ||2|| That humble being who chants Your Name, obtains all fruits and rewards; singing the Glories of God, he becomes steady and stable. ||3|| O Nanak, the way of the devotees is good. They meditate continually, continuously, on the Lord, the Giver of peace. ||4||3||16|| Basant, Fifth Mehl: By His Will, He makes us happy. He shows Mercy to His servant. ||1|| The Perfect Guru makes everything perfect. He implants the Amrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord, in the heart. ||1||Pause|| He does not consider the karma of my actions, or my Dharma, my spiritual practice.

Section 29 - Raag Basant - Part 018

Taking me by the arm, He saves me and carries me across the terrifying world-ocean. ||2|| God has rid me of my filth, and made me stainless and pure. I have sought the Sanctuary of the Perfect Guru. ||3|| He Himself does, and causes everything to be done. By His Grace, O Nanak, He saves us. ||4||4||17|| Basant, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Behold the flowers flowering, and the blossoms blossoming forth! Renounce and abandon your egotism. Grasp hold of His Lotus Feet. Meet with God, O blessed one. O my mind, remain conscious of the Lord. ||Pause|| The tender young plants smell so good, while others remain like dry wood. The season of spring has come; it blossoms forth luxuriantly. ||1|| Now, the Dark Age of Kali Yuga has come. Plant the Naam, the Name of the One Lord. It is not the season to plant other seeds. Do not wander lost in doubt and delusion. One who has such destiny written on his forehead, shall meet with the Guru and find the Lord. O mortal, this is the season of the Naam. Nanak utters the Glorious Praises of the Lord, Har, Har, Har, Har. ||2||18|| Basant, Fifth Mehl, Second House, Hindol: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Come and join together, O my Siblings of Destiny; dispel your sense of duality and let yourselves be lovingly absorbed in the Lord. Let yourselves be joined to the Name of the Lord; become Gurmukh, spread out your mat, and sit down. ||1|| In this way, throw the dice, O brothers. As Gurmukh, chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord, day and night. At the very last moment, you shall not have to suffer in pain. ||1||Pause|| Let righteous actions be your gameboard, and let the truth be your dice. Conquer sexual desire, anger, greed and worldly attachment; only such a game as this is dear to the Lord. ||2|| Rise in the early hours of the morning, and take your cleansing bath. Before you go to bed at night, remember to worship the Lord. My True Guru will assist you, even on your most difficult moves; you shall reach your true home in celestial peace and poise. ||3|| The Lord Himself plays, and He Himself watches; the Lord Himself created the creation. O servant Nanak, that person who plays this game as Gurmukh, wins the game of life, and returns to his true home. ||4||1||19|| Basant, Fifth Mehl, Hindol: You alone know Your Creative Power, O Lord; no one else knows it. He alone realises You, O my Beloved, unto whom You show Your Mercy. ||1|| I am a sacrifice to Your devotees. Your place is eternally beautiful, God; Your wonders are infinite. ||1||Pause|| Only You Yourself can perform Your service. No one else can do it. He alone is Your devotee, who is pleasing to You. You bless them with Your Love. ||2||

Section 29 - Raag Basant - Part 019

You are the Great Giver; You are so very Wise. There is no other like You. You are my All-powerful Lord and Master; I do not know how to worship You. ||3|| Your Mansion is imperceptible, O my Beloved; it is so difficult to accept Your Will. Says Nanak, I have collapsed at Your Door, Lord. I am foolish and ignorant - please save me! ||4||2||20|| Basant Hindol, Fifth Mehl: The mortal does not know the Primal Lord God; he does not understand hmself. He is engrossed in doubt and egotism. ||1|| My Father is the Supreme Lord God, my Master. I am unworthy, but please save me anyway. ||1||Pause|| Creation and destruction come only from God; this is what the Lord's humble servants believe. ||2|| Only those who are imbued with God's Name are judged to be peaceful in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga. ||3|| It is the Guru's Word that carries us across; Nanak cannot think of any other way. ||4||3||21|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Raag Basant Hindol, Ninth Mehl: O Holy Saints, know that this body is false. The Lord who dwells within it - recognise that He alone is real. ||1||Pause|| The wealth of this world is only a dream; why are you so proud of it? None of it shall go along with you in the end; why do you cling to it? ||1|| Leave behind both praise and slander; enshrine the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises within your heart. O servant Nanak, the One Primal Being, the Lord God, is totally permeating everywhere. ||2||1|| Basant, Ninth Mehl: The heart of the sinner is filled with unfulfilled sexual desire. He cannot control his fickle mind. ||1||Pause|| The Yogis, wandering ascetics and renunciates - this net is cast over them all. ||1|| Those who contemplate the Name of the Lord cross over the terrifying world-ocean. ||2|| Servant Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of the Lord. Please bestow the blessing of Your Name, that he may continue to sing Your Glorious Praises. ||3||2|| Basant, Ninth Mehl: O mother, I have gathered the wealth of the Lord's Name. My mind has stopped its

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wanderings, and now, it has come to rest. ||1||Pause|| Attachment to Maya has run away from my body, and immaculate spiritual wisdom has welled up within me. Greed and attachment cannot even touch me; I have grasped hold of devotional worship of the Lord. ||1|| The cynicism of countless lifetimes has been eradicated, since I obtained the jewel of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. My mind was rid of all its desires, and I was absorbed in the peace of my own inner being. ||2|| That person, unto whom the Merciful Lord shows compassion, sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe. Says Nanak, this wealth is gathered only by the Gurmukh. ||3||3|| Basant, Ninth Mehl: O my mind, how can you forget the Lord's Name? When the body perishes, you shall have to deal with the Messenger of Death. ||1||Pause|| This world is just a hill of smoke.

Section 29 - Raag Basant - Part 020

What makes you think that it is real? ||1|| Wealth, spouse, property and household - none of them shall go along with you; you must know that this is true! ||2|| Only devotion to the Lord shall go with you. Says Nanak, vibrate and meditate on the Lord with single-minded love. ||3||4|| Basant, Ninth Mehl: Why do you wander lost, O mortal, attached to falsehood and greed? Nothing has been lost yet - there is still time to wake up! ||1||Pause|| You must realise that this world is nothing more than a dream. In an instant, it shall perish; know this as true. ||1|| The Lord constantly abides with you. Night and day, vibrate and meditate on Him, O my friend. ||2|| At the very last instant, He shall be your Help and Support. Says Nanak, sing His Praises. ||3||5|| Basant, First Mehl, Ashtapadees, First House, Du-Tukees: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The world is a crow; it does not remember the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Forgetting the Naam, it sees the bait, and pecks at it. The mind wavers unsteadily, in guilt and deceit. I have shattered my attachment to the false world. ||1|| The burden of sexual desire, anger and corruption is unbearable. Without the Naam, how can the mortal maintain a virtuous lifestyle? ||1||Pause|| The world is like a house of sand, built on a whirlpool; it is like a bubble formed by drops of rain. It is formed from a mere drop, when the Lord's wheel turns round. The lights of all souls are the servants of the Lord's Name. ||2|| My Supreme Guru has created everything. I perform devotional worship service to You, and fall at Your Feet, O Lord. Imbued with Your Name, I long to be Yours. Those who do not let the Naam become manifest within themselves, depart like thieves in the end. ||3|| The mortal loses his honour, gathering sin and corruption. But imbued with the Lord's Name, you shall go to your true home with honour. God does whatever He wills. One who abides in the Fear of God, becomes fearless, O my mother. ||4|| The woman desires beauty and pleasure. But betel leaves, garlands of flowers and sweet tastes lead only to disease. The more she plays and enjoys, the more she suffers in sorrow. But when she enters into the Sanctuary of God, whatever she wishes comes to pass. ||5|| She wears beautiful clothes with all sorts of decorations. But the flowers turn to dust, and her beauty leads her into evil. Hope and desire have blocked the doorway. Without the Naam, one's hearth and home are deserted. ||6|| O princess, my daughter, run away from this place! Chant the True Name, and embellish your days. Serve your Beloved Lord God, and lean on the Support of His Love. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, abandon your thirst for corruption and poison. ||7|| My Fascinating Lord has fascinated my mind. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, I have realised You, Lord. Nanak stands longingly at God's Door. I am content and satisfied with Your Name; please shower me with Your Mercy. ||8||1|| Basant, First Mehl: The mind is deluded by doubt; it comes and goes in reincarnation. It is lured by the poisonous lure of Maya. It does not remain stable in the Love of the One Lord. Like the fish, its neck is pierced by the hook. ||1|| The deluded mind is instructed by the True Name. It contemplates the Word of the Guru's Shabad, with intuitive ease. ||1||Pause||

Section 29 - Raag Basant - Part 021

The mind, deluded by doubt, buzzes around like a bumble bee. The holes of the body are worthless, if the mind is filled with such great desire for corrupt passions. It is like the elephant, trapped by its own sexual desire. It is caught and held tight by the chains, and beaten on its head. ||2|| The mind is like a foolish frog, without devotional worship. It is cursed and condemned in the Court of the Lord, without the Naam, the Name of the Lord. He has no class or honour, and no one even mentions his name. That person who lacks virtue - all of his pains and sorrows are his only companions. ||3|| His mind wanders out, and cannot be brought back or restrained. Without being imbued with the sublime essence of the Lord, it has no honour or credit. You Yourself are the Listener, Lord, and You Yourself are our Protector. You are the Support of the earth; You Yourself behold and understand it. ||4|| When You Yourself make me wander, unto whom can I complain? Meeting the Guru, I will tell Him of my pain, O my mother. Abandoning my worthless demerits, now I practice virtue. Imbued with the Word of the Guru's Shabad, I am absorbed in the True Lord. ||5|| Meeting with the True Guru, the intellect is elevated and exalted. The mind becomes immaculate, and egotism is washed away. He is liberated forever, and no one can put him in bondage. He chants the Naam forever, and nothing else. ||6|| The mind comes and goes according to the Will of the Lord. The One Lord is contained amongst all; nothing else can be said. The Hukam of His Command pervades everywhere, and all merge in His Command. Pain and pleasure all come by His Will. ||7|| You are infallible; You never make mistakes. Those who listen to the Word of the Guru's Shabad - their intellects become deep and profound. You, O my Great Lord and Master, are contained in the Shabad. O Nanak, my mind is pleased, praising the True Lord. ||8||2|| Basant, First Mehl: That person, who thirsts for the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan, is absorbed in the One Lord, leaving duality behind. His pains are taken away, as he churns and drinks in the Ambrosial Nectar. The Gurmukh understands, and merges in the One Lord. ||1|| So many cry out for Your Darshan, Lord. How rare are those who realise the Word of the Guru's Shabad and merge with Him. ||1||Pause|| The Vedas say that we should chant the Name of the One Lord. He is endless; who can find His limits? There is only One Creator, who created the world. Without any pillars, He supports the earth and the sky. ||2|| Spiritual wisdom and meditation are contained in the melody of the Bani, the Word of the One Lord. The One Lord is Untouched and Unstained; His story is unspoken. The Shabad, the Word, is the Insignia of the One True Lord. Through the Perfect Guru, the Knowing Lord is known. ||3|| There is only one religion of Dharma; let everyone grasp this truth. Through the Guru's Teachings, one becomes perfect, all the ages through. Imbued with the Unmanifest Celestial Lord, and lovingly absorbed in the One, the Gurmukh attains the invisible and infinite. ||4|| There is one celestial throne, and One Supreme King. The Independent Lord God is pervading all places. The three worlds are the creation of that Sublime Lord. The One Creator of the Creation is Unfathomable and Incomprehensible. ||5|| His Form is One, and True is His Name. True justice is administered there. Those who practice Truth are honoured and accepted. They are honoured in the Court of the True Lord. ||6|| Devotional worship of the One Lord is the expression of love for the One Lord. Without the Fear of God and devotional worship of Him, the mortal comes and goes in reincarnation. One who obtains this understanding from the Guru dwells like an honoured guest in this world.

Section 29 - Raag Basant - Part 022

That humble being who is imbued with the sublime essence of the Lord is certified and approved. ||7|| I see Him here and there; I dwell on Him intuitively. I do not love any other than You, O Lord and Master. O Nanak, my ego has been burnt away by the Word of the Shabad. The True Guru has shown me the Blessed Vision of the True Lord. ||8||3|| Basant, First Mehl: The fickle consciousness cannot find the Lord's limits. It is caught in non-stop coming and going. I am suffering and dying, O my Creator. No one cares for me, except my Beloved. ||1|| All are high and exalted; how can I call anyone low? Devotional worship of the Lord and the True Name has satisfied me. ||1||Pause|| I have taken all sorts of medicines; I am so tired of them. How can this disease be cured, without my Guru? Without devotional worship of the Lord, the pain is so great. My Lord and Master is the Giver of pain and pleasure. ||2|| The disease is so deadly; how can I find the courage? He knows my disease, and only He can take away the pain. My mind and body are filled with faults and demerits. I searched and searched, and found the Guru, O my brother! ||3|| The Word of the Guru's Shabad, and the Lord's Name are the cures. As You keep me, so do I remain. The world is sick; where should I look? The Lord is Pure and Immaculate; Immaculate is His Name. ||4|| The Guru sees and reveals the Lord's home, deep within the home of the self; He ushers the soul-bride into the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. When the mind remains in the mind, and the consciousness in the consciousness, such people of the Lord remain unattached. ||5|| They remain free of any desire for happiness or sorrow; tasting the Amrit, the Ambrosial Nectar, they abide in the Lord's Name. They recognise their own selves, and remain lovingly attuned to the Lord. They are victorious on the battlefield of life, following the Guru's Teachings, and their pains run away. ||6|| The Guru has given me the True Ambrosial Nectar; I drink it in. Of course, I have died, and now I am alive to live. Please, protect me as Your Own, if it pleases You. One who is Yours, merges into You. ||7|| Painful diseases afflict those who are sexually promiscuous. God appears permeating and pervading in each and every heart. One who remains unattached, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad - O Nanak, his heart and consciousness dwell upon and savor the Lord. ||8||4|| Basant, First Mehl, Ik-Tukee: Do not make such a show of rubbing ashes on your body. O naked Yogi, this is not the way of Yoga! ||1|| You fool! How can you have forgotten the Lord's Name? At the very last moment, it and it alone shall be of any use to you. ||1||Pause|| Consult the Guru, reflect and think it over. Wherever I look, I see the Lord of the World. ||2|| What can I say? I am nothing. All my status and honour are in Your Name. ||3|| Why do you take such pride in gazing upon your property and wealth? When you must leave, nothing shall go along with you. ||4|| So subdue the five thieves, and hold your consciousness in its place. This is the basis of the way of Yoga. ||5|| Your mind is tied with the rope of egotism. You do not even think of the Lord - you fool! He alone shall liberate you. ||6|| If you forget the Lord, you will fall into the clutches of the Messenger of Death. At that very last moment, you fool, you shall be beaten. ||7||

Section 29 - Raag Basant - Part 023

Contemplate the Word of the Guru's Shabad, and be rid of your ego. True Yoga shall come to dwell in your mind. ||8|| He blessed you with body and soul, but you do not even think of Him. You fool! Visiting graves and cremation grounds is not Yoga. ||9|| Nanak chants the sublime, glorious Bani of the Word. Understand it, and appreciate it. ||10||5|| Basant, First Mehl: In duality and evil-mindedness, the mortal acts blindly. The self-willed manmukh wanders, lost in the darkness. ||1|| The blind man follows blind advice. Unless one takes the Guru's Way, his doubt is not dispelled. ||1||Pause|| The manmukh is blind; he does not like the Guru's Teachings. He has become a beast; he cannot get rid of his egotistical pride. ||2|| God created 8.4 million species of beings. My Lord and Master, by the Pleasure of His Will, creates and destroys them. ||3|| All are deluded and confused, without the Word of the Shabad and good conduct. He alone is instructed in this, who is blessed by the Guru, the Creator. ||4|| The Guru's servants are pleasing to our Lord and Master. The Lord forgives them, and they no longer fear the Messenger of Death. ||5|| Those who love the One Lord with all their heart - He dispels their doubts and unites them with Himself. ||6|| God is Independent, Endless and Infinite. The Creator Lord is pleased with Truth. ||7|| O Nanak, the Guru instructs the mistaken soul. He implants the Truth within him, and shows him the One Lord. ||8||6|| Basant, First Mehl: He Himself is the bumble bee, the fruit and the vine. He Himself unites us with the Sangat - the Congregation, and the Guru, our Best Friend. ||1|| O bumble bee, suck in that fragrance, which causes the trees to flower, and the woods to grow lush foliage. ||1||Pause|| He Himself is Lakshmi, and He Himself is her husband. He established the world by Word of His Shabad, and He Himself ravishes it. ||2|| He Himself is the calf, the cow and the milk. He Himself is the Support of the body-mansion. ||3|| He Himself is the Deed, and He Himself is the Doer. As Gurmukh, He contemplates Himself. ||4|| You create the creation, and gaze upon it, O Creator Lord. You give Your Support to the uncounted beings and creatures. ||5|| You are the Profound, Unfathomable Ocean of Virtue. You are the Unknowable, the Immaculate, the most Sublime Jewel. ||6|| You Yourself are the Creator, with the Potency to create. You are the Independent Ruler, whose people are at peace. ||7|| Nanak is satisfied with the subtle taste of the Lord's Name. Without the Beloved Lord and Master, life is meaningless. ||8||7|| Basant Hindol, First Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The nine regions, the seven continents, the fourteen worlds, the three qualities and the four ages - You established them all through the four sources of creation, and You seated them in Your mansions. He placed the four lamps, one by one, into the hands of the four ages. ||1|| O Merciful Lord, Destroyer of demons, Lord of Lakshmi, such is Your Power - Your Shakti. ||1||Pause|| Your army is the fire in the home of each and every heart. And Dharma - righteous living is the ruling chieftain. The earth is Your great cooking pot; Your beings receive their portions only once. Destiny is Your gate-keeper. ||2|| But the mortal becomes unsatisfied, and begs for more; his fickle mind brings him disgrace.

Section 29 - Raag Basant - Part 024

Greed is the dark dungeon, and demerits are the shackles on his feet. ||3|| His wealth constantly batters him, and sin acts as the police officer. Whether the mortal is good or bad, he is as You look upon him, O Lord. ||4|| The Primal Lord God is called Allah. The Shaykh's turn has now come. The temples of the gods are subject to taxes; this is what it has come to. ||5|| The Muslim devotional pots, calls to prayer, prayers and prayer mats are everywhere; the Lord appears in blue robes. In each and every home, everyone uses Muslim greetings; your speech has changed, O people. ||6|| You, O my Lord and Master, are the King of the earth; what power do I have to challenge You? In the four directions, people bow in humble adoration to You; Your Praises are sung in each and every heart. ||7|| Making pilgrimages to sacred shrines, reading the Simritees and giving donations in charity - these do bring any profit. O Nanak, glorious greatness is obtained in an instant, remembering the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||8||1||8|| Basant Hindol, Second House, Fourth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Within the body-village there lives a child who cannot hold still, even for an instant. It makes so many efforts, and grows weary, but still, it wanders restlessly again and again. ||1|| O my Lord and

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Master, Your child has come home, to be one with You. Meeting the True Guru, he finds the Perfect Lord. Meditating and vibrating on the Name of the Lord, he receives the Insignia of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| These are dead corpses, these bodies of all the people of the world; the Name of the Lord does not dwell in them. The Guru leads us to taste the water of the Lord's Name, and then we savor and enjoy it, and our bodies are rejuvenated. ||2|| I have examined and studied and searched my entire body, and as Gurmukh, I behold a miraculous wonder. All the faithless cynics searched outside and died, but following the Guru's Teachings, I have found the Lord within the home of my own heart. ||3|| God is Merciful to the meekest of the meek; Krishna came to the house of Bidar, a devotee of low social status. Sudama loved God, who came to meet him; God sent everything to his home, and ended his poverty. ||4|| Great is the glory of the Name of the Lord. My Lord and Master Himself has enshrined it within me. Even if all the faithless cynics continue slandering me, it is not diminished by even one iota. ||5|| The Lord's Name is the praise of His humble servant. It brings him honour in the ten directions. The slanderers and the faithless cynics cannot endure it at all; they have set fire to their own houses. ||6|| The humble person meeting with another humble person obtains honour. In the glory of the Lord, their glory shines forth. The servants of my Lord and Master are loved by the Beloved. They are the slaves of His slaves. ||7|| The Creator Himself is the Water; He Himself unites us in His Union. O Nanak, the Gurmukh is absorbed in celestial peace and poise, like water blending with water. ||8||1||9||

Section 29 - Raag Basant - Part 025

Basant, Fifth Mehl, First House, Du-Tukee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Listen to the stories of the devotees, O my mind, and meditate with love. Ajaamal uttered the Lord's Name once, and was saved. Baalmeek found the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. The Lord definitely met Dhroo. ||1|| I beg for the dust of the feet of Your Saints. Please bless me with Your Mercy, Lord, that I may apply it to my forehead. ||1||Pause|| Ganika the prostitute was saved, when her parrot uttered the Lord's Name. The elephant meditated on the Lord, and was saved. He delivered the poor Brahmin Sudama out of poverty. O my mind, you too must meditate and vibrate on the Lord of the Universe. ||2|| Even the hunter who shot an arrow at Krishna was saved. Kubija the hunchback was saved, when God placed His Feet on her thumb. Bidar was saved by his attitude of humility. O my mind, you too must meditate on the Lord. ||3|| The Lord Himself saved the honour of Prahlaad. Even when she was being disrobed in court, Dropatee's honour was preserved. Those who have served the Lord, even at the very last instant of their lives, are saved. O my mind, serve Him, and you shall be carried across to the other side. ||4|| Dhanna served the Lord, with the innocence of a child. Meeting with the Guru, Trilochan attained the perfection of the Siddhas. The Guru blessed Baynee with His Divine Illumination. O my mind, you too must be the Lord's slave. ||5|| Jai Dayv gave up his egotism. Sain the barber was saved through his selfless service. Do not let your mind waver or wander; do not let it go anywhere. O my mind, you too shall cross over; seek the Sanctuary of God. ||6|| O my Lord and Master, You have shown Your Mercy to them. You saved those devotees. You do not take their merits and demerits into account. Seeing these ways of Yours, I have dedicated my mind to Your service. ||7|| Kabeer meditated on the One Lord with love. Naam Dayv lived with the Dear Lord. Ravi Daas meditated on God, the Incomparably Beautiful. Guru Nanak Dayv is the Embodiment of the Lord of the Universe. ||8||1|| Basant, Fifth Mehl: The mortal wanders in reincarnation through countless lifetimes. Without meditating in remembrance on the Lord, he falls into hell. Without devotional worship, he is cut apart into pieces. Without understanding, he is punished by the Messenger of Death. ||1|| Meditate and vibrate forever on the Lord of the Universe, O my friend. Love forever the True Word of the Shabad. ||1||Pause|| Contentment does not come by any endeavors. All the show of Maya is just a cloud of smoke. The mortal does not hesitate to commit sins. Intoxicated with poison, he comes and goes in reincarnation. ||2|| Acting in egotism and self-conceit, his corruption only increases. The world is drowning in attachment and greed. Sexual desire and anger hold the mind in its power. Even in his dreams, he does not chant the Lord's Name. ||3|| Sometimes he is a king, and sometimes he is a beggar. The world is bound by pleasure and pain. The mortal makes no arrangements to save himself. The bondage of sin continues to hold him. ||4|| He has no beloved friends or companions. He himself eats what he himself plants.

Section 29 - Raag Basant - Part 026

He gathers up that which brings corruption; leaving them, the fool must depart in an instant. ||5|| He wanders in attachment to Maya. He acts in accordance with the karma of his past actions. Only the Creator Himself remains detached. God is not affected by virtue or vice. ||6|| Please save me, O Merciful Lord of the Universe! I seek Your Sanctuary, O Perfect Compassionate Lord. Without You, I have no other place of rest. Please take pity on me, God, and bless me with Your Name. ||7|| You are the Creator, and You are the Doer. You are High and Exalted, and You are totally Infinite. Please be merciful, and attach me to the hem of Your robe. Slave Nanak has entered the Sanctuary of God. ||8||2|| Basant Kee Vaar, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Meditate on the Lord's Name, and blossom forth in green abundance. By your high destiny, you have been blessed with this wondrous spring of the soul. See all the three worlds in bloom, and obtain the Fruit of Ambrosial Nectar. Meeting with the Holy Saints, peace wells up, and all sins are erased. O Nanak, remember in meditation the One Name, and you shall never again be consigned to the womb of reincarnation.. ||1|| The five powerful desires are bound down, when you lean on the True Lord. The Lord Himself leads us to dwell at His Feet. He stands right in our midst. All sorrows and sicknesses are eradicated, and you become ever-fresh and rejuvenated. Night and day, meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. You shall never again die. And the One, from whom we came, O Nanak, into Him we merge once again. ||2|| Where do we come from? Where do we live? Where do we go in the end? All creatures belong to God, our Lord and Master. Who can place a value on Him? Those who meditate, listen and chant, those devotees are blessed and beautified. The Lord God is Inaccessible and Unfathomable; there is no other equal to Him. The Perfect Guru has taught this Truth. Nanak proclaims it to the world. ||3||1|| Basant, The Word Of The Devotees, Kabeer Jee, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The earth is in bloom, and the sky is in bloom. Each and every heart has blossomed forth, and the soul is illumined. ||1|| My Sovereign Lord King blossoms forth in countless ways. Wherever I look, I see Him there pervading. ||1||Pause|| The four Vedas blossom forth in duality. The Simritees blossom forth, along with the Koran and the Bible. ||2|| Shiva blossoms forth in Yoga and meditation. Kabeer's Lord and Master pervades in all alike. ||3||1|| The Pandits, the Hindu religious scholars, are intoxicated, reading the Puraanas. The Yogis are intoxicated in Yoga and meditation. The Sannyaasees are intoxicated in egotism. The penitents are intoxicated with the mystery of penance. ||1|| All are intoxicated with the wine of Maya; no one is awake and aware. The thieves are with them, plundering their homes. ||1||Pause|| Suk Dayv and Akrur are awake and aware.

Section 29 - Raag Basant - Part 027

Hanuman with his tail is awake and aware. Shiva is awake, serving at the Lord's Feet. Naam Dayv and Jai Dayv are awake in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga. ||2|| There are many ways of being awake, and sleeping. To be awake as Gurmukh is the most excellent way. The most sublime of all the actions of this body, says Kabeer, is to meditate and vibrate on the Lord's Name. ||3||2|| The wife gives birth to her husband. The son leads his father in play. Without breasts, the mother nurses her baby. ||1|| Behold, people! This is how it is in the Dark Age of Kali Yuga. The son marries his mother. ||1||Pause|| Without feet, the mortal jumps. Without a mouth, he bursts into laughter. Without feeling sleepy, he lays down and sleeps. Without a churn, the milk is churned. ||2|| Without udders, the cow gives milk. Without travelling, a long journey is made. Without the True Guru, the path is not found. Says Kabeer, see this, and understand. ||3||3|| Prahlaad was sent to school. He took many of his friends along with him. He asked his teacher, "Why do you teach me about worldly affairs? Write the Name of the Dear Lord on my tablet."||1|| O Baba, I will not forsake the Name of the Lord. I will not bother with any other lessons. ||1||Pause|| Sanda and Marka went to the king to complain. He sent for Prahlaad to come at once. He said to him, "Stop uttering the Lord's Name. I shall release you at once, if you obey my words."||2|| Prahlaad answered, "Why do you annoy me, over and over again? God created the water, land, hills and mountains. I shall not forsake the One Lord; if I did, I would be going against my Guru. You might as well throw me into the fire and kill me."||3|| The king became angry and drew his sword. "Show me your protector now!" So God emerged out of the pillar, and assumed a mighty form. He killed Harnaakhash, tearing him apart with his nails. ||4|| The Supreme Lord God, the Divinity of the divine, for the sake of His devotee, assumed the form of the man-lion. Says Kabeer, no one can know the Lord's limits. He saves His devotees like Prahlaad over and over again. ||5||4|| Within the body and mind are thieves like sexual desire, which has stolen my jewel of spiritual wisdom. I am a poor orphan, O God; unto whom should I complain? Who has not been ruined by sexual desire? What am I? ||1|| O Lord, I cannot endure this agonising pain. What power does my fickle mind have against it? ||1||Pause|| Sanak, Sanandan, Shiva and Suk Dayv were born out of Brahma's naval chakra. The poets and the Yogis with their matted hair all lived their lives with good behavior. ||2|| You are Unfathomable; I cannot know Your depth. O God, Master of the meek, unto whom should I tell my pains? Please rid me of the pains of birth and death, and bless me with peace. Kabeer utters the Glorious Praises of God, the Ocean of peace. ||3||5|| There is one merchant and five traders. The twenty-five oxen carry false merchandise. There are nine poles which hold the ten bags. The body is tied by the seventy-two ropes. ||1|| I don't care at all about such commerce.

Section 29 - Raag Basant - Part 028

It depletes my capital, and the interest charges only increase. ||Pause|| Weaving the seven threads together, they carry on their trade. They are led on by the karma of their past actions. The three tax-collectors argue with them. The traders depart empty-handed. ||2|| Their capital is exhausted, and their trade is ruined. The caravan is scattered in the ten directions. Says Kabeer, O mortal, your tasks will be accomplished, when you merge in the Celestial Lord; let your doubts run away. ||3||6|| Basant Hindol, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The mother is impure, and the father is impure. The fruit they produce is impure. Impure they come, and impure they go. The unfortunate ones die in impurity. ||1|| Tell me, O Pandit, O religious scholar, which place is uncontaminated? Where should I sit to eat my meal? ||1||Pause|| The tongue is impure, and its speech is impure. The eyes and ears are totally impure. The impurity of the sexual organs does not depart; the Brahmin is burnt by the fire. ||2|| The fire is impure, and the water is impure. The place where you sit and cook is impure. Impure is the ladle which serves the food. Impure is the one who sits down to eat it. ||3|| Impure is the cow dung, and impure is the kitchen square. Impure are the lines that mark it off. Says Kabeer, they alone are pure, who have obtained pure understanding. ||4||1||7|| Raamaanand Jee, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Where should I go? My home is filled with bliss. My consciousness does not go out wandering. My mind has become crippled. ||1||Pause|| One day, a desire welled up in my mind. I ground up sandalwood, along with several fragrant oils. I went to God's place, and worshipped Him there. That God showed me the Guru, within my own mind. ||1|| Wherever I go, I find water and stones. You are totally pervading and permeating in all. I have searched through all the Vedas and the Puraanas. I would go there, only if the Lord were not here. ||2|| I am a sacrifice to You, O my True Guru. You have cut through all my confusion and doubt. Raamaanand's Lord and Master is the All-pervading Lord God. The Word of the Guru's Shabad eradicates the karma of millions of past actions. ||3||1|| Basant, The Word Of Naam Dayv Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: If the servant runs away when his master is in trouble, he will not have a long life, and he brings shame to all his family. ||1|| I shall not abandon devotional worship of You, O Lord, even if the people laugh at me. The Lord's Lotus Feet abide within my heart. ||1||Pause|| The mortal will even die for the sake of his wealth; in the same way, the Saints do not forsake the Lord's Name. ||2|| Pilgrimages to the Ganges, the Gaya and the Godawari are merely worldly affairs.

Section 29 - Raag Basant - Part 029

If the Lord were totally pleased, then He would let Naam Dayv be His servant. ||3||1|| The tidal waves of greed constantly assault me. My body is drowning, O Lord. ||1|| Please carry me across the world-ocean, O Lord of the Universe. Carry me across, O Beloved Father. ||1||Pause|| I cannot steer my ship in this storm. I cannot find the other shore, O Beloved Lord. ||2|| Please be merciful, and unite me with the True Guru; carry me across, O Lord. ||3|| Says Naam Dayv, I do not know how to swim. Give me Your Arm, give me Your Arm, O Beloved Lord. ||4||2|| Slowly at first, the body-cart loaded with dust starts to move. Later, it is driven on by the stick. ||1|| The body moves along like the ball of dung, driven on by the dung-beetle. The beloved soul goes down to the pool to wash itself clean. ||1||Pause|| The washerman washes, imbued with the Lord's Love. My mind is imbued with the Lord's Lotus Feet. ||2|| Prays Naam Dayv, O Lord, You are All-pervading. Please be kind to Your devotee. ||3||3|| Basant, The Word Of Ravi Daas Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: You know nothing. Seeing your clothes, you are so proud of yourself. The proud bride shall not find a place with the Lord. Above your head, the crow of death is cawing. ||1|| Why are you so proud? You are insane. Even the mushrooms of summer live longer than you. ||1||Pause|| The deer does not know the secret; the musk is within its own body, but it searches for it outside. Whoever reflects on his own body - the Messenger of Death does not abuse him. ||2|| The man is so proud of his sons and his wife; his Lord and Master shall call for his account. The soul suffers in pain for the actions it has committed. Afterwards, whom shall you call, "Dear, Dear."||3|| If you seek the Support of the Holy, millions upon millions of your sins shall be totally erased. Says Ravi Daas, one who chants the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is not concerned with social class, birth and rebirth. ||4||1|| Basant, Kabeer Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: You walk like a cow. The hair on your tail is shiny and lustrous. ||1|| Look around, and eat anything in this house.

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But do not go out to any other. ||1||Pause|| You lick the grinding bowl, and eat the flour. Where have you taken the kitchen rags? ||2|| Your gaze is fixed on the basket in the cupboard. Watch out - a stick may strike you from behind. ||3|| Says Kabeer, you have over-indulged in your pleasures. Watch out - someone may throw a brick at you. ||4||1||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 30 - RAAG SAARANG

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 001

Raag Saarang, Chau-Padas, First Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying. Beyond Birth. Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: I am the hand-maiden of my Lord and Master. I have grasped the Feet of God, the Life of the world. He has killed and eradicated my egotism. ||1||Pause|| He is the Perfect, Supreme Light, the Supreme Lord God, my Beloved, my Breath of Life. The Fascinating Lord has fascinated my mind; contemplating the Word of the Shabad, I have come to understand. ||1|| The worthless self-willed manmukh, with false and shallow understanding - his mind and body are held in pain's grip. Since I came to be imbued with the Love of my Beautiful Lord, I meditate on the Lord, and my mind is encouraged. ||2|| Abandoning egotism, I have become detached. And now, I absorb true intuitive understanding. The mind is pleased and appeased by the Pure, Immaculate Lord; the opinions of other people are irrelevant. ||3|| There is no other like You, in the past or in the future, O my Beloved, my Breath of Life, my Support. The soul-bride is imbued with the Name of the Lord; O Nanak, the Lord is her Husband. ||4||1|| Saarang, First Mehl: How can I survive without the Lord? I am suffering in pain. My tongue does not taste - all is bland without the Lord's sublime essence. Without God, I suffer and die. ||1||Pause|| As long as I do not attain the Blessed Vision of my Beloved, I remain hungry and thirsty. Gazing upon the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, my mind is pleased and appeased. The lotus blossoms forth in the water. ||1|| The low-hanging clouds crack with thunder and burst. The cuckoos and the peacocks are filled with passion, along with the birds in the trees, the bulls and the snakes. The soul-bride is happy when her Husband Lord returns home. ||2|| She is filthy and ugly, unfeminine and ill-mannered - she has no intuitive understanding of her Husband Lord. She is not satisfied by the sublime essence of her Lord's Love; she is evil-minded, immersed in her pain. ||3|| The soul-bride does not come and go in reincarnation or suffer in pain; her body is not touched by the pain of disease. O Nanak, she is intuitively embellished by God; seeing God, her mind is encouraged. ||4||2|| Saarang, First Mehl: My Beloved Lord God is not far away. My mind is pleased and appeased by the Word of the True Guru's Teachings. I have found the Lord, the Support of my breath of life. ||1||Pause||

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 002

This is the way to meet your Husband Lord. Blessed is the soul-bride who is loved by her Husband Lord. Social class and status, race, ancestry and skepticism are eliminated, following the Guru's Teachings and contemplating the Word of the Shabad. ||1|| One whose mind is pleased and appeased, has no egotistical pride. Violence and greed are forgotten. The soul-bride intuitively ravishes and enjoys her Husband Lord; as Gurmukh, she is embellished by His Love. ||2|| Burn away any love of family and relatives, which increases your attachment to Maya. One who does not savor the Lord's Love deep within, lives in duality and corruption. ||3|| His Love is a priceless jewel deep within my being; the Lover of my Beloved is not hidden. O Nanak, as Gurmukh, enshrine the Priceless Naam deep within your being, all the ages through. ||4||3|| Saarang, Fourth Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I am the dust of the feet of the humble Saints of the Lord. Joining the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, I have obtained the supreme status. The Lord, the Supreme Soul, is all-pervading everywhere. ||1||Pause|| Meeting the Saintly True Guru, I have found peace and tranquility. Sins and painful mistakes are totally erased and taken away. The Divine Light of the soul radiates forth, gazing upon the Presence of the Immaculate Lord God. ||1|| By great good fortune, I have found the Sat Sangat; the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is all-prevading everywhere. I have taken my cleansing bath at the sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage, bathing in the dust of the feet of the True Congregation. ||2|| Evil-minded and corrupt, filthy-minded and shallow, with impure heart, attached to enticement and falsehood. Without good karma, how can I find the Sangat? Engrossed in egotism, the mortal remains stuck in regret. ||3|| Be kind and show Your Mercy, O Dear Lord; I beg for the dust of the feet of the Sat Sangat. O Nanak, meeting with the Saints, the Lord is attained. The Lord's humble servant obtains the Presence of the Lord. ||4||1|| Saarang, Fourth Mehl: I am a sacrifice to the Feet of the Lord of the Universe. I cannot swim across the terrifying world ocean. But chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, I am carried across across. ||1||Pause|| Faith in God came to fill my heart; I serve Him intuitively, and contemplate Him. Night and day, I chant the Lord's Name within my heart; it is all-powerful and virtuous. ||1|| God is Inaccessible and Unfathomable, All-pervading everywhere, in all minds and bodies; He is Infinite and Invisible. When the Guru bebomes merciful, then the Unseen Lord is seen within the heart. ||2|| Deep within the inner being is the Name of the Lord, the Support of the entire earth, but to the egotistical shaakta, the faithless cynic, He seems far away. His burning desire is never quenched, and he loses the game of life in the gamble. ||3|| Standing up and sitting down, the mortal sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord, when the Guru bestows even a tiny bit of His Grace. O Nanak, those who are blessed by His Glance of Grace - He saves and protects their honour. ||4||2||

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 003

Saarang, Fourth Mehl: O my Beloved Lord, Har, Har, please bless me with Your Ambrosial Name. Those whose minds are pleased to be Gurmukh - the Lord completes their projects. ||1||Pause|| Those humble beings who become meek before the Guru-their pains are taken away. Night and day, they perform devotional worship services to the Guru; they are embellished with the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||1|| Within their hearts is the ambrosial essence of the Naam, the Name of the Lord; they savor this essence, sing the praises of this essence, and contemplate this essence. By Guru's Grace, they are aware of this ambrosial essence; they find the Gate of Salvation. ||2|| The True is the Primal Being, Unmoving and Unchanging. One who takes the Support of the Naam, the Name of the Lord - his intellect becomes focused and steady. I offer my soul to Him; I am a sacrifice to my True Guru. ||3|| The self-willed manmukhs are stuck in doubt and attached to duality; the darkness of spiritual ignorance is within them. They do not see the True Guru, the Giver; they are not on this shore, or the other. ||4|| Our Lord and Master is permeating and pervading each and every heart; He is supremely Potent to exercise His Might. Nanak, the slave of His slaves, says, please, be merciful and save me! ||5||3|| Saarang, Fourth Mehl: This is the way to work for the Lord. Whatever He does, accept that as true. As Gurmukh, remain lovingly absorbed in His Name. ||1||Pause|| The Love of the Lord of the Universe seems supremely sweet. Everything else is forgotten. Night and day, he is in ecstasy; his mind is pleased and appeased, and his light merges into the Light. ||1|| Singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, his mind is satisfied. Peace and tranquility come to abide within his mind. When the Guru becomes merciful, the mortal finds the Lord; he focuses his consciousness on the Lord's Lotus Feet. ||2|| The intellect is enlightened, meditating on the Lord. He remains lovingly attuned to the essence of spiritual wisdom. The Divine Light radiates forth deep within his being; his mind is pleased and appeased. He merges intuitively into Celestial Samaadhi. ||3|| One whose heart is filled with falsehood, continues to practice falsehood, even while he teaches and preaches about the Lord. Within him is the utter darkness of greed. He is thrashed like wheat, and suffers in pain. ||4|| When my God is totally pleased, the mortal tunes in and becomes Gurmukh. Nanak has obtained the Immaculate Naam, the Name of the Lord. Chanting the Naam, he has found peace. ||5||4|| Saarang, Fourth Mehl: My mind is pleased and appeased by the Name of the Lord. The True Guru has implanted divine love within my heart. The Sermon of the Lord, Har, Har, is pleasing to my mind. ||1||Pause|| Please be merciful to Your meek and humble servant; please bless Your humble servant with Your Unspoken Speech. Meeting with the humble Saints, I have found the sublime essence of the Lord. The Lord seems so sweet to my mind and body. ||1|| They alone are unattached, who are imbued with the Lord's Love; through the Guru's Teachings, they realise the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Meeting with the Primal Being, one finds peace, and one's comings and goings in reincarnation are ended. ||2|| With my eyes, I gaze lovingly upon God, my Lord and Master. I chant His Name with my tongue.

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 004

With my ears, I listen to the Kirtan of His Praises, day and night. I love the Lord, Har, Har, with all my heart. ||3|| When the Guru helped me to overcome the five thieves, then I found ultimate bliss, attached to the Naam. The Lord has showered His Mercy on servant Nanak; he merges in the Lord, in the Name of the Lord. ||4||5|| Saarang, Fourth Mehl: O my mind, chant the Name of the Lord, and study His Excellence. Without the Lord's Name, nothing is steady or stable. All the rest of the show is useless. ||1||Pause|| What is there to accept, and what is there to reject, O madman? Whatever is seen shall turn to dust. That poison which you believe to be your own - you must abandon it and leave it behind. What a load you have to carry on your head! ||1|| Moment by moment, instant by instant, your life is running out. The fool cannot understand this. He does things which will not go along with him in the end. This is the lifestyle of the faithless cynic. ||2|| So join together with the humble Saints, O madman, and you shall find the Gate of Salvation. Without the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, no one finds any peace. Go and ask the scholars of the Vedas. ||3|| All the kings and queens shall depart; they must leave this false expanse. O Nanak, the Saints are eternally steady and stable; they take the Support of the Name of the Lord. ||4||6|| Saarang, Fourth Mehl, Third House, Du-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O son, why do you argue with your father? It is a sin to argue with the one who fathered you and raised you. ||1||Pause|| That wealth, which you are so proud of - that wealth does not belong to anyone. In an instant, you shall have to leave behind all your corrupt pleasures; you shall be left to regret and repent. ||1|| He is God, your Lord and Master - chant the Chant of that Lord. Servant Nanak spreads the Teachings; if you listen to it, you shall be rid of your pain. ||2||1||7|| Saarang, Fourth Mehl, Fifth House, Du-Padas, Partaal: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O my mind, meditate on the Lord of the World, the Master of the Universe, the Life of the World, the Enticer of the mind; fall in love with Him. I take the Support of the Lord, Har, Har, Har, all day and all night. ||1||Pause|| Endless, endless, endless are the Praises of the Lord. Suk Dayv, Naarad and the gods like Brahma sing His Glorious Praises. Your Glorious Virtues, O my Lord and Master, cannot even be counted. O Lord, You are Infinite, O Lord, You are Infinite, O Lord, You are my Lord and Master; only You Yourself know Your Own Ways. ||1|| Those who are near, near to the Lord - those who dwell near the Lord - those humble servants of the Lord are the Holy, the devotees of the Lord. Those humble servants of the Lord merge with their Lord, O Nanak, like water merging with water. ||2||1||8||

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 005

Saarang, Fourth Mehl: O my mind, meditate on the Lord, the Lord, your Lord and Master. The Lord is the Most Divine of all the divine beings. Chant the Name of the Lord, Raam, Raam, the Lord, my most Dear Beloved. ||1||Pause|| That household, in which the Glorious Praises of the Lord are sung, in which the Glorious Praises of the Lord are sung, in which His Glorious Praises are sung, where the Panch Shabad, the Five Primal Sounds, resound - great is the destiny w All the sins of that humble being are taken away, all the pains are taken away, all diseases are taken away; sexual desire, anger, greed, attachment and egotistical pride are taken away. The Lord drives the five thieves out of such a person Chant the Name of the Lord, O Holy Saints of the Lord; meditate on the Lord of the Universe, O Holy people of the Lord. Meditate in thought, word and deed on the Lord, Har, Har. Worship and adore the Lord, O Holy people of the Lord. Chant the Name of the Lord, chant the Name of the Lord. It shall rid you of all your sins. Continually and continuously remain awake and aware. You shall be in ecstasy forever and ever, meditating on the Lord of the Universe. Servant Nanak: O Lord, Your devotees obtain the fruits of their minds' desires; they obtain all the fruits and rewards, and the four great blessings - Dharmic faith, wealth and riches, sexual success and liberation. ||2||2||9|| Saarang, Fourth Mehl: O my mind, meditate on the Lord, the Lord of Wealth, the Source of Nectar, the Supreme Lord God, the True Transcendent Being, God, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. He is the Destroyer of all suffering, the Giver of all peace; sing the Praises of my Beloved Lord God. ||1||Pause|| The Lord dwells in the home of each and every heart. The Lord dwells in the water, and the Lord dwells on the land. The Lord dwells in the spaces and interspaces. I have such a great longing to see the Lord. If only some Saint, some humble Saint of the Lord, my Holy Beloved, would come, to show me the way. I would wash and massage the feet of that humble being. ||1|| The Lord's humble servant meets the Lord, through his faith in the Lord; meeting the Lord, he becomes Gurmukh. My mind and body are in ecstasy; I have seen my Sovereign Lord King. Servant Nanak has been blessed with Grace, blessed with the Lord's Grace, blessed with the Grace of the Lord of the Universe. I meditate on the Lord, the Name of the Lord, night and day, forever, forever and ever. ||2||3||10|| Saarang, Fourth Mehl: O my mind, meditate on the Fearless Lord, who is True, True, Forever True. He is free of vengeance, the Image of the Undying, beyond birth, Self-existent. O my mind, meditate night and day on the Formless, Self-sustaining Lord. ||1||Pause|| For the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan, for the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan, the three hundred thirty million gods, and millions of Siddhas, celibates and Yogis make their pilgrimages to sacred shrines and rivers, and go on f The service of the humble person is approved, unto whom the Lord of the World shows His Mercy. ||1|| They alone are the good Saints of the Lord, the best and most exalted devotees, who are pleasing to their Lord. Those who have my Lord and Master on their side - O Nanak, the Lord saves their honour. ||2||4||11||

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Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 006

Saarang, Fourth Mehl, Partaal: O my mind, meditate on the Lord of the Universe, the Lord, the Lord of the Universe, the Treasure of Virtue, the God of all creation. O my mind, chant the Name of the Lord, the Lord, the Eternal, Imperishable, Primal Lord God. ||1||Pause|| The Name of the

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Lord is the Ambrosial Nectar, Har, Har, Har. He alone drinks it in, whom the Lord inspires to drink it. The Merciful Lord Himself bestows His Mercy, and He leads the mortal to meet with the True Guru. That humble being tastes the Ambrosial Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1|| Those who serve my Lord, forever and ever - all their pain, doubt and fear are taken away. Servant Nanak chants the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and so he lives, like the song-bird, which is satisfied only by drinking in the water. ||2||5||12|| Saarang, Fourth Mehl: O my mind, meditate on the Supreme Lord. The Lord, the Lord is All-pervading. True, True is the Lord. O Siblings of Destiny, chant the Name of the Lord, Raam, Raam, Raam, forever. He is All-pervading everywhere. ||1||Pause|| The Lord Himself is Himself the Creator of all. The Lord Himself is Himself pervading the whole world. That person, upon whom my Sovereign Lord King, Raam, Raam, Raam, bestows His Mercy - that person is lovingly attuned to the Lord's Name. ||1|| O Saints of the Lord, behold the Glory of the Name of the Lord; His Name saves the honour of His humble devotees in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga. My Sovereign Lord King has taken servant Nanak's side; his enemies and attackers have all run away. ||2||6||13|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl, Chau-Padas, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: I am a sacrifice to the Image of the True Guru. My inner being is filled with a great thirst, like that of the song-bird for water. When shall I find the Fruitful Vision of His Darshan? ||1||Pause|| He is the Master of the masterless, the Cherisher of all. He is the Lover of the devotees of His Name. That mortal, whom no one can protect - You bless him with Your Support, O Lord. ||1|| Support of the unsupported, Saving Grace of the unsaved, Home of the homeless. Wherever I go in the ten directions, You are there with me. The only thing I do is sing the Kirtan of Your Praises. ||2|| From Your Oneness, You become tens of thousands, and from tens of thousands, You become One. I cannot describe Your state and extent. You are Infinite - Your value cannot be appraised. Everything I see is Your play. ||3|| I speak with the Company of the Holy; I am in love with the Holy people of the Lord. Servant Nanak has found the Lord through the Guru's Teachings; please bless me with Your Blessed Vision; O Lord, my mind yearns for it. ||4||1|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: The Dear Lord is the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. The mortal does evil deeds, and hides from others, but like the air, the Lord is present everywhere. ||1||Pause|| You call yourself a devotee of Vishnu and you practice the six rituals, but your inner being is polluted with greed. Those who slander the Society of the Saints, shall all be drowned in their ignorance. ||1||

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 007

The mortal eats the food which he has carefully prepared, and then steals the wealth of others. His inner being is filled with falsehood and pride. He knows nothing of the Vedas or the Shaastras; his mind is gripped by pride. ||2|| He says his evening prayers, and observes all the fasts, but this is all just a show. God made him stray from the path, and sent him into the wilderness. All his actions are useless. ||3|| He alone is a spiritual teacher, and he alone is a devotee of Vishnu and a scholar, whom the Lord God blesses with His Grace. Serving the True Guru, he obtains the supreme status and saves the whole world. ||4|| What can I say? I don't know what to say. As God wills, so do I speak. I ask only for the dust of the feet of the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Servant Nanak seeks their Sanctuary. ||5||2|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Now, my dancing is over. I have intuitively obtained my Darling Beloved. Through the Word of the True Guru's Teachings, I found Him. ||1||Pause|| The virgin speaks with her friends about her husband and they laugh together; but when he comes home, she becomes shy, and modestly covers her face. ||1|| When gold is melted in the crucible, it flows freely everywhere. But when it is made into pure solid bars of gold, then it remains stationary. ||2|| As long as the days and the nights of one's life last, the clock strikes the hours, minutes and seconds. But when the gong player gets up and leaves, the gong is not sounded again. ||3|| When the pitcher is filled with water, the water contained within it seems distinct. Says Nanak, when the pitcher is emptied out, the water mingles again with water. ||4||3|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Now if he is asked, what can he say? He was supposed to have gathered the sublime essence of the Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord, but instead, the mad-man was busy with poison. ||1||Pause|| This human life, so difficult to obtain, was finally obtained after such a long time. He is losing it in exchange for a shell. He came to buy musk, but instead, he has loaded dust and thistle grass. ||1|| He comes in search of profits, but he is entangled in the enticing illusion of Maya. He loses the jewel, in exchange for mere glass. When will he have this blessed opportunity again? ||2|| He is full of sins, and he has not even one redeeming virtue. Forsaking his Lord and Master, he is involved with Maya, God's slave. And when the final silence comes, like inanimate matter, he is caught like a thief at the door. ||3|| I cannot see any other way out. I seek the Sanctuary of the Lord's slaves. Says Nanak, the mortal is emancipated, only when all his demerits and faults are erased and eradicated. ||4||4|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: O mother, my patience is gone. I am in love with my Husband Lord. There are so many kinds of incomparable pleasures, but I am not interested in any of them. ||1||Pause|| Night and day, I utter, "Pri-a, Pri-a - Beloved, Beloved" with my mouth. I cannot sleep, even for an instant; I remain awake and aware. Necklaces, eye make-up, fancy clothes and decorations - without my Husband Lord, these are all poison to me. ||1||

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 008

I ask and ask, with humility, "Who can tell me which country my Husband Lord lives in?" I would dedicate my heart to him, I offer my mind and body and everything; I place my head at his feet. ||2|| I bow at the feet of the voluntary slave of the Lord; I beg him to bless me with the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Show Mercy to me, that I may meet God, and gaze upon the Blessed Vision of His Darshan every moment. ||3|| When He is Kind to me, He comes to dwell within my being. Night and day, my mind is calm and peaceful. Says Nanak, I sing the Songs of Joy; the Unstruck Word of the Shabad resounds within me. ||4||5|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: O mother, True, True True is the Lord, and True, True, True is His Holy Saint. The Word which the Perfect Guru has spoken, I have tied to my robe. ||1||Pause|| Night and day, and the stars in the sky shall vanish. The sun and the moon shall vanish. The mountains, the earth, the water and the air shall pass away. Only the Word of the Holy Saint shall endure. ||1|| Those born of eggs shall pass away, and those born of the womb shall pass away. Those born of the earth and sweat shall pass away as well. The four Vedas shall pass away, and the six Shaastras shall pass away. Only the Word of the Holy Saint is eternal. ||2|| Raajas, the quality of energetic activity shall pass away. Taamas, the quality of lethargic darkness shall pass away. Saatvas, the quality of peaceful light shall pass away as well. All that is seen shall pass away. Only the Word of the Holy Saint is beyond destruction. ||3|| He Himself is Himself by Himself. All that is seen is His play. He cannot be found by any means. O Nanak, meeting with the Guru, God is found. ||4||6|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: The Guru, the Lord of the Universe, dwells within my mind. Wherever my Lord and Master is remembered in meditation - that village is filled with peace and bliss. ||1||Pause|| Wherever my Beloved Lord and Master is forgotten - all misery and misfortune is there. Where the Praises of my Lord, the Embodiment of Bliss and Joy are sung - eternal peace and wealth are there. ||1|| Wherever they do not listen to the Stories of the Lord with their ears - the utterly desolate wilderness is there. Where the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises are sung with love in the Saadh Sangat - there is fragrance and fruit and joy in abundance. ||2|| Without meditative remembrance on the Lord, one may live for millions of years, but his life would be totally useless. But if he vibrates and meditates on the Lord of the Universe, for even a moment, then he shall live forever and ever. ||3|| O God, I seek Your Sanctuary, Your Sanctuary, Your Sanctuary; please mercifully bless me with the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. O Nanak, the Lord is All-pervading everywhere, amongst all. He knows the qualities and the condition of all. ||4||7|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Now, I have obtained the Support of the Lord. Those who seek the Sanctuary of the Ocean of Mercy are carried across the world-ocean. ||1||Pause|| They sleep in peace, and intuitively merge into the Lord. The Guru takes away their cynicism and doubt. Whatever they wish for, the Lord does; they obtain the fruits of their minds' desires. ||1|| In my heart, I meditate on Him; with my eyes, I focus my meditation on Him. With my ears, I listen to His Sermon.

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 009

With my feet, I walk on my Lord and Mater's Path. With my tongue, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||2|| With my eyes, I see the Lord, the Embodiment of Absolute Bliss; the Saint has turned away from the world. I have found the Priceless Name of the Beloved Lord; it never leaves me or goes anywhere else. ||3|| What praise, what glory and what virtues should I utter, in order to please the Lord? That humble being, unto whom the Merciful Lord is kind - O servant Nanak, he is the slave of God's slaves. ||4||8|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Who can I tell, and with whom can I speak, about this state of peace and bliss? I am in ecstasy and delight, gazing upon the Blessed Vision of God's Darshan. My mind sings His Songs of Joy and His Glories. ||1||Pause|| I am wonderstruck, gazing upon the Wondrous Lord. The Merciful Lord is All-pervading everywhere. I drink in the Invaluable Nectar of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Like the mute, I can only smile - I cannot speak of its flavor. ||1|| As the breath is held in bondage, no one can understand its coming in and going out. So is that person, whose heart is enlightened by the Lord - his story cannot be told. ||2|| As many other efforts as you can think of - I have seen them and studied them all. My Beloved, Carefree Lord has revealed Himself within the home of my own heart; thus I have realised the Inaccessible Lord. ||3|| The Absolute, Formless, Eternally Unchanging, Immeasurable Lord cannot be masured. Says Nanak, whoever endures the unendurable - this state belongs to him alone. ||4||9|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: The corrupt person passes his days and nights uselessly. He does not vibrate and meditate on the Lord of the Universe; he is intoxicated with egotistical intellect. He loses his life in the gamble. ||1||Pause|| The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is priceless, but he is not in love with it. He loves only to slander others. Weaving the grass, he builds his house of straw. At the door, he builds a fire. ||1|| He carries a load of sulfur on his head, and drives the Ambrosial Nectar out of his mind. Wearing his good clothes, the mortal falls into the coal-pit; again and again, he tries to shake it off. ||2|| Standing on the branch, eating and eating and smiling, he cuts down the tree. He falls down head-first and is shattered into bits and pieces. ||3|| He bears vengeance against the Lord who is free of vengeance. The fool is not up to the task. Says Nanak, the Saving Grace of the Saints is the Formless, Supreme Lord God. ||4||10|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: All the others are deluded by doubt; they do not understand. That person, within whose heart the One Pure Word abides, realises the essence of the Vedas. ||1||Pause|| He walks in the ways of the world, trying to please people. But as long as his heart is not enlightened, he is stuck in pitch black darkness. ||1|| The land may be prepared in every way, but nothing sprouts without being planted. Just so, without the Lord's Name, no one is liberated, nor is egotistical pride eradicated. ||2|| The mortal may churn water until he is sore, but how can butter be produced? Without meeting the Guru, no one is liberated, and the Lord of the Universe is not met. ||3||

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 010

Searching and searching, I have come to this realisation: all peace and bliss are in the Name of the Lord. Says Nanak, he alone receives it, upon whose forehead such destiny is inscribed. ||4||11|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Night and day, utter the Glorious Praises of the Lord. You shall obtain all wealth, all pleasures and successes, and the fruits of your mind's desires. ||1||Pause|| Come, O Saints, let us meditate in remembrance on God; He is the Eternal, Imperishable Giver of Peace and Praanaa, the Breath of Life. Master of the masterless, Destroyer of the pains of the meek and the poor; He is All-pervading and permeating, abiding in all hearts. ||1|| The very fortunate ones drink in the Sublime Essence of the Lord, singing, reciting and listening to the Lord's Praises. All their sufferings and struggles are wiped away from their bodies; they remain lovingly awake and aware in the Name of the Lord. ||2|| So abandon your sexual desire, greed, falsehood and slander; meditating in remembrance on the Lord, you shall be released from bondage. The intoxication of loving attachments, egotism and blind possessiveness are eradicated by Guru's Grace. ||3|| You are All-Powerful, O Supreme Lord God and Master; please be Merciful to Your humble servant. My Lord and Master is All-pervading and prevailing everywhere; O Nanak, God is Near. ||4||12|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: I am a sacrifice to the Feet of the Divine Guru. I meditate with Him on the Supreme Lord God; His Teachings have emancipated me. ||1||Pause|| All pains, diseases and fears are erased, for one who comes to the Sanctuary of the Lord's Saints. He Himself chants, and inspires others to chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord. He is Utterly All-Powerful; He carries us across to the other side. ||1|| His Mantra drives out cynicism, and totally fills the empty one. Those who obey the Order of the Lord's slaves, do not enter into the womb of reincarnation ever again. ||2|| Whoever works for the Lord's devotees and sings His Praises - his pains of birth and death are taken away. Those unto whom my Beloved becomes Merciful, endure the Unendurable Ecstasy of the Lord, Har, Har. ||3|| Those who are satisfied by the Sublime Essence of the Lord, merge intuitively into the Lord; no mouth can describe their state. By Guru's Grace, O Nanak, they are content; chanting and meditating on God's Name, they are saved. ||4||13|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: I sing, O I sing the Songs of Joy of my Lord, the Treasure of Virtue. Fortunate is the time, fortunate is the day and the moment, when I become pleasing to the Lord of the World. ||1||Pause|| I touch my forehead to the Feet of the Saints. The Saints have placed their hands on my forehead. ||1|| My mind is filled with the Mantra of the Holy Saints, and I have risen above the three qualities||2|| Gazing upon the Blessed Vision, the Darshan of God's devotees, my eyes are filled with love. Greed and attachment are gone, along with doubt. ||3|| Says Nanak, I have found intuitive peace, poise and bliss. Tearing down the wall, I have met the Lord, the Embodiment of Supreme Bliss. ||4||14|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: How can I express the pain of my soul? I am so thirsty for the Blessed Vision, the Darshan of my Enticing and Lovely Beloved. My mind cannot survive - it yearns for Him in so many ways. ||1||Pause||

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 011

I think thoughts of Him; I miss the Love of my Beloved. When will I obtain the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan? I try, but this mind is not encouraged. Is there any Saint who can lead me to God? ||1|| Chanting, penance, self-control,

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good deeds and charity - I sacrifice all these in fire; I dedicate all peace and places to Him. One who helps me to behold the Blessed Vision of my Beloved, for even an instant - I am a sacrifice to that Saint. ||2|| I offer all my prayers and entreaties to him; I serve him, day and night. I have renounced all pride and egotism; he tells me the stories of my Beloved. ||3|| I am wonder-struck, gazing upon the wondrous play of God. The Guru, the True Guru, has led me to meet the Primal Lord. I have found God, my Merciful Loving Lord, within the home of my own heart. O Nanak, the fire within me has been quenched. ||4||1||15|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: You fool, why are you not meditating on the Lord now? In the awful hell of the fire of the womb, you did penance, upside-down; each and every instant, you sang His Glorious Praises. ||1||Pause|| You wandered through countless incarnations, until finally you attained this priceless human birth. Leaving the womb, you were born, and when you came out, you became attached to other places. ||1|| You practiced evil and fraud day and night, and did useless deeds. You thrash the straw, but it has no wheat; running around and hurrying, you obtain only pain. ||2|| The false person is attached to falsehood; he is entangled with transitory things. And when the Righteous Judge of Dharma seizes you, O madman, you shall arise and depart with your face blackened. ||3|| He alone meets with God, whom God Himself meets, by such pre-ordained destiny written on his forehead. Says Nanak, I am a sacrifice to that humble being, who remains unattached within his mind. ||4||2||16|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: How can I live without my Beloved, O my mother? Separated from Him, the mortal becomes a corpse, and is not allowed to remain within the house. ||1||Pause|| He is the Giver of the soul, the heart, the breath of life. Being with Him, we are embellished with joy. Please bless me with Your Gace, O Saint, that I may sing the songs of joyful praise to my God. ||1|| I touch my forehead to the feet of the Saints. My eyes long for their dust. By His Grace, we meet God; O Nanak, I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice to Him. ||2||3||17|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: I am a sacrifice to that occasion. Twenty-four hours a day, I meditate in remembrance on my God; by great good fortune, I have found the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Kabeer is good, the slave of the Lord's slaves; the humble barber Sain is sublime. Highest of the high is Naam Dayv, who looked upon all alike; Ravi Daas was in tune with the Lord. ||1|| My soul, body and wealth belong to the Saints; my mind longs for the dust of the Saints. And by the radiant Grace of the Saints, all my doubts have been erased. O Nanak, I have met the Lord. ||2||4||18|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: The True Guru fulfills the mind's desires.

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 012

All wealth and treasures are obtained by remembering Him in meditation; twenty-four hours a day, O my mind, meditate on Him. ||1||Pause|| Your Name is Ambrosial Nectar, O my Lord and Master. Whoever drinks it in is satisfied. The sins of countless incarnations are erased, and hereafter, he shall be saved and redeemed in the Court of the Lord. ||1|| I have come to Your Sanctuary, O Creator, O Perfect Supreme Eternal Lord God. Please be kind to me, that I may meditate on Your Lotus Feet. O Nanak, my mind and body thirst for the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. ||2||5||19|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl, Third House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O my mind, why are you lured away by otherness? Here and hereafter, God is forever your Help and Support. He is your soul-mate; He will help you succeed. ||1||Pause|| The Name of your Beloved Lover, the Fascinating Lord, is Ambrosial Nectar. Drinking it in, you shall find satisfaction. The Being of Immortal Manifestation is found in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Meditate on Him in that most sublime place. ||1|| The Bani, the Word of the Supreme Lord God, is the greatest Mantra of all. It eradicates pride from the mind. Searching, Nanak found the home of peace and bliss in the Name of the Lord. ||2||1||20|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: O my mind, sing forever the Songs of Joy of the Lord of the Universe. All your disease, sorrow and sin will be erased, if you meditate on the Lord's Name, even for an instant. ||1||Pause|| Abandon all your clever tricks; go and enter the Sanctuary of the Holy. When the Lord, the Destroyer of the pains of the poor becomes merciful, the Messenger of Death is changed into the Righteous Judge of Dharma. ||1|| Without the One Lord, there is no other at all. No one else can equal Him. The Lord is Nanak's Mother, Father and Sibling, the Giver of Peace, his Breath of Life. ||2||2||21|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: The Lord's humble servant saves those who accompany him. Their minds are sanctified and rendered pure, and they are rid of the pains of countless incarnations. ||1||Pause|| Those who walk on the path find peace; they are saved, along with those who speak with them. Even those who are drowning in the horrible, deep dark pit are carried across in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||1|| Those who have such high destiny turn their faces toward the Saadh Sangat. Nanak longs for the dust of their feet; O God, please shower Your Mercy on me! ||2||3||22|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: The humble servant of the Lord meditates on the Lord, Raam, Raam, Raam. One who enjoys peace in the Company of the Holy, even for an instant, obtains millions of heavenly paradises. ||1||Pause|| This human body, so difficult to obtain, is sanctified by meditating on the Lord. It takes away the fear of death. Even the sins of terrible sinners are washed away, by cherishing the Lord's Name within the heart. ||1|| Whoever listens to the Immaculate Praises of the Lord - his pains of birth and death are dispelled. Says Nanak, the Lord is found by great good fortune, and then the mind and body blossom forth. ||2||4||23||

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 013

Saarang, Fifth Mehl, Du-Padas, Fourth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O my Fascinating Lord, I pray to You: come into my house. I act in pride, and speak in pride. I am mistaken and wrong, but I am still Your hand-maiden, O my Beloved. ||1||Pause|| I hear that You are near, but I cannot see You. I wander in suffering, deluded by doubt. The Guru has become merciful to me; He has removed the veils. Meeting with my Beloved, my mind blossoms forth in abundance. ||1|| If I were to forget my Lord and Master, even for an instant, it would be like millions of days, tens of thousands of years. When I joined the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, O Nanak, I met my Lord. ||2||1||24|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Now what should I think? I have given up thinking. You do whatever You wish to do. Please bless me with Your Name - I am a sacrifice to You. ||1||Pause|| The poison of corruption is flowering forth in the four directions; I have taken the GurMantra as my antidote. Giving me His Hand, He has saved me as His Own; like the lotus in the water, I remain unattached. ||1|| I am nothing. What am I? You hold all in Your Power. Nanak has run to Your Sanctuary, Lord; please save him, for the sake of Your Saints. ||2||2||25|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Now I have abandoned all efforts and devices. My Lord and Master is the All-powerful Creator, the Cause of causes, my only Saving Grace. ||1||Pause|| I have seen numerous forms of incomparable beauty, but nothing is like You. You give Your Support to all, O my Lord and Master; You are the Giver of peace, of the soul and the breath of life. ||1|| Wandering, wandering, I grew so tired; meeting the Guru, I fell at His Feet. Says Nanak, I have found total peace; this life-night of mine passes in peace. ||2||3||26|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Now I have found the Support of my Lord. The Guru, the Giver of peace, has become merciful to me. I was blind - I see the jewel of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| I have cut away the darkness of ignorance and become immaculate; my discriminationg intellect has blossomed forth. As the waves of water and the foam become water again, the Lord and His servant become One. ||1|| He is taken in again, into what from which he came; all is one in the One Lord. O Nanak, I have come to see the Master of the breath of life, all-pervading everywhere. ||2||4||27|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: My mind longs for the One Beloved Lord. I have looked everywhere in every country, but nothing equals even a hair of my Beloved. ||1||Pause|| All sorts of delicacies and dainties are placed before me, but I do not even want to look at them. I long for the sublime essence of the Lord, calling, "Pri-o! Pri-o! - Beloved! Beloved!", like the Bumble bee longing for the lotus flower. ||1||

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 014

The Treasure of Virtue, the Enticer of the mind, my Beloved is the Giver of peace to all. Guru Nanak has led me to You, O God. Join with me, O my Best Friend, and hold me close in Your Embrace. ||2||5||28|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Now my mind is pleased and appeased by my Lord and Master. The Holy Saint has become kind and compassionate to me, and has destroyed this demon of duality. ||1||Pause|| You are so beautiful, and You are so wise; You are elegant and all-knowing. All the Yogis, spiritual teachers and meditators do not know even a bit of Your value. ||1|| You are the Master, You are the Lord under the royal canopy; You are the perfectly pervading Lord God. Please bless me with the gift of service to the Saints; O Nanak, I am a sacrifice to the Lord. ||2||6||29|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: The Love of my Beloved comes into my conscious mind. I have forgotten the entangling affairs of Maya, and I spend my life-night fighting with evil. ||1||Pause|| I serve the Lord; the Lord abides within my heart. I have found my Lord in the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. So I have met with my enticingly beautiful Beloved; I have obtained the peace which I asked for. ||1|| The Guru has brought my Beloved under my control, and I enjoy Him with unrestrained pleasure. I have become fearless; O Nanak, my fears have been eradicated. Chanting the Word, I have found the Lord. ||2||7||30|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: I am a sacrifice to the Blessed Vision, the Darshan of my Dear Lord. The Naad, the Sound-current of His Word fills my ears; my body has settled gently into the Lap of my Beloved. ||1||Pause|| I was a discarded bride, and the Guru has made me a happy soul-bride. I have found the Elegant and All-knowing Lord. That home, in which I was not even allowed to sit - I have found that place in which I can dwell. ||1|| God, the Love of His devotees, has come under the control of those who protect the honour of His Saints. Says Nanak, my mid is pleased and appeased with the Lord, and my subservience to other people has come to an end. ||2||8||31|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Now my association with the five thieves has come to an end. Gazing upon the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan, my mind is in ecstasy; by Guru's Grace, I am released. ||1||Pause|| The impregnable place is guarded by countless ramparts and warriors. This impregnable fortress cannot be touched, but with the assistance of the Saints, I have entered and robbed it. ||1|| I have found such a great treasure, a priceless, inexhaustible supply of jewels. O servant Nanak, when God showered His Mercy on me, my mind drank in the sublime essence of the Lord. ||2||9||32|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Now my mind is absorbed in my Lord and Master. The Perfect Guru has blessed me with the gift of the breath of life. I am involved with the Lord, like the fish with the water. ||1||Pause|| I have cast out sexual desire, anger, greed, egotism and envy; I have offered all this as a gift. The Guru has implanted the medicine of the Lord's Mantra within me, and I have met with the All-knowing Lord God. ||1|| My household belongs to You, O my Lord and Master; the Guru has blessed me with God, and rid me of egotism.

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 015

Says Nanak, I have found the Lord with intuitive ease, within the home of my own heart. Devotional worship of the Lord is a treasure over-flowing. ||2||10||33|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: O my Enticing Lord, all beings are Yours - You save them. Even a tiny bit of Your Mercy ends all cruelty and tyranny. You save and redeem millions of universes. ||1||Pause|| I offer countless prayers; I remember You each and every instant. Please be merciful to me, O Destroyer of the pains of the poor; please give me Your hand and save me. ||1|| And what about these poor kings? Tell me, who can they kill? Save me, save me, save me, O Giver of peace; O Nanak, all the world is Yours. ||2||11||34|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Now I have obtained the wealth of the Lord's Name. I have become carefree, and all my thirsty desires are satisfied. Such is the destiny written on my forehead. ||1||Pause|| Searching and searching, I became depressed; I wandered all around, and finally came back to my body-village. The Merciful Guru made this deal, and I have obtained the priceless jewel. ||1|| The other deals and trades which I did, brought only sorrow and suffering. Fearless are those traders who deal in meditation on the Lord of the Universe. O Nanak, the Lord's Name is their capital. ||2||12||35|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: The Speech of my Beloved seems so sweet to my mind. The Guru has taken hold of my arm, and linked me to God's service. My Beloved Lord is forever merciful to me. ||1||Pause|| O God, You are my Lord and Master; You are the Cherisher of all. My wife and I are totally Your slaves. You are all my honour and power - You are. Your Name is my only Support. ||1|| If You seat me on the throne, then I am Your slave. If You make me a grass-cutter, then what can I say? Servant Nanak's God is the Primal Lord, the Architect of Destiny, Unfathomable and Immeasurable. ||2||13||36|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: The tongue becomes beautiful, uttering the Glorious Praises of the Lord. In an instant, He creates and destroys. Gazing upon His Wondrous Plays, my mind is fascinated. ||1||Pause|| Listening to His Praises, my mind is in utter ecstasy, and my heart is rid of pride and pain. I have found peace, and my pains have been taken away, since I became one with God. ||1|| Sinful resides have been wiped away, and my mind is immaculate. The Guru has lifted me up and pulled me out of the deception of Maya. Says Nanak, I have found God, the All-powerful Creator, the Cause of causes. ||2||14||37|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: With my eyes, I have seen the marvellous wonders of the Lord. He is far from all, and yet near to all. He is Inaccessible and Unfathomable, and yet He dwells in the heart. ||1||Pause|| The Infallible Lord never makes a mistake. He does not have to write His Orders, and He does not have to consult with anyone. In an instant, He creates, embellishes and destroys. He is the Lover of His devotees, the Treasure of Excellence. ||1|| Lighting the lamp in the deep dark pit, the Guru illumines and enlightens the heart.

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 016

Says Nanak, gazing upon the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, I have found peace, and all my hopes have been fulfilled. ||2||15||38|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: The most beautiful path for the feet is to follow the Lord of the Universe. The more you walk on any other path, the more you suffer in pain. ||1||Pause|| The eyes are sanctified, gazing upon the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan. Serving Him, the hands are sanctified. The heart is sanctified, when the Lord abides within the heart; that forehead which touches the dust of the feet of the Saints is sanctified. ||1|| All treasures are in the Name of the Lord, Har, Har; he alone obtains it, who has it written in his karma. Servant Nanak has met with the Perfect Guru; he passes his life-night in peace, poise and pleasure. ||2||16||39|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord; at the very last instant, it shall be your Help and Support. In that place where your mother, father, children and siblings shall be of no use to you at all, there, the Name alone shall save you. ||1||Pause|| He alone meditates on the Lord in the deep dark pit of his own household, upon whose forehead such destiny is written. His bonds are

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loosened, and the Guru liberates him. He sees You, O Lord, everywhere. ||1|| Drinking in the Ambrosial Nectar of the Naam, his mind is satisfied. Tasting it, his tongue is satiated. Says Nanak, I have obtained celestial peace and poise; the Guru has quenched all my thirst. ||2||17||40|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Meeting the Guru, I meditate on God in such a way, that He has become kind and compassionate to me. He is the Destroyer of pain; He does not allow the hot wind to even touch me. ||1||Pause|| With each and every breath I take, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. He is not separated from me, even for an instant, and I never forget Him. He is always with me, wherever I go. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice to His Lotus Feet. I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice to the Blessed Vision of the Guru's Darshan. Says Nanak, I do not care about anything else; I have found the Lord, the Ocean of peace. ||2||18||41|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: The Word of the Guru's Shabad seems so sweet to my mind. My karma has been activated, and the Divine Radiance of the Lord, Har, Har, is manifest in each and every heart. ||1||Pause|| The Supreme Lord God, beyond birth, Self-existent, is seated within every heart everywhere. I have come to obtain the Ambrosial Nectar of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice to the Lotus Feet of God. ||1|| I anoint my forehead with the dust of the Society of the Saints; it is as if I have bathed at all the sacred shrines of pilgrimage. Says Nanak, I am dyed in the deep crimson colour of His Love; the Love of my Lord shall never fade away. ||2||19||42|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: The Guru has given me the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, as my Companion. If the Word of God dwells within my heart for even an instant, all my hunger is relieved. ||1||Pause|| O Treasure of Mercy, Master of Excellence, my Lord and Master, Ocean of peace, Lord of all. My hopes rest in You alone, O my Lord and Master; hope in anything else is useless. ||1|| My eyes were satisfied and fulfilled, gazing upon the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, when the Guru placed His Hand on my forehead.

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 017

Says Nanak, I have found immeasurable peace; my fear of birth and death is gone. ||2||20||43|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: You fool: why are you going somewhere else? The Enticing Ambrosial Amrit is with you, but you are deluded, totally deluded, and you eat poison. ||1||Pause|| God is Beautiful, Wise and Incomparable; He is the Creator, the Architect of Destiny, but you have no love for Him. The mad-man's mind is enticed by Maya, the enticer; he has taken the intoxicating drug of falsehood. ||1|| The Destroyer of pain has become kind and compassionate to me, and I am in tune with the Saints. I have obtained all treasures within the home of my own heart; says Nanak, my light has merged into the Light. ||2||21||44|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: My consciousness has loved my Beloved God, since the very beginning of time. When You blessed me with the Teachings, O my True Guru, I was embellished with beauty. ||1||Pause|| I am mistaken; You are never mistaken. I am a sinner; You are the Saving Grace of sinners. I am a lowly thorn-tree, and You are the sandalwood tree. Please preserve my honour by staying with me; please stay with me. ||1|| You are deep and profound, calm and benevolent. What am I? Just a poor helpless being. The Merciful Guru Nanak has united me with the Lord. I lay on His Bed of Peace. ||2||22||45|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: O my mind, blessed and approved is that day, and fruitful is that hour, and lucky is that moment, when the True Guru blesses me with spirtual wisdom. ||1||Pause|| Blessed is my good destiny, and blessed is my Husband Lord. Blessed are those upon whom honour is bestowed. This body is Yours, all my home and wealth are Yours; I offer my heart as a sacrifice to You. ||1|| I obtain tens of thousands and millions of regal pleasures, if I gaze upon Your Blessed Vision, even for an instant. When You, O God, say, "My servant, stay here with me", Nanak knows unlimited peace. ||2||23||46|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Now I am rid of my skepticism and sorrow. I have abandoned and forsaken all other efforts, and come to the Sanctuary of the True Guru. ||1||Pause|| I have attained total perfection, and all my works are perfectly completed; the illness of egotism has been totally eradicated. Millions of sins are destroyed in an instant; meeting with the Guru, I chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1|| Subduing the five thieves, he Guru has made them my slaves; my mind has become stable and steady and fearless. It does not come or go in reincarnation; it does not waver or wander anywhere. O Nanak, my empire is eternal. ||2||24||47|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Here and hereafter, God is forever my Help and Support. He is the Enticer of my mind, the Beloved of my soul. What Glorious Praises of His can I sing and chant? ||1||Pause|| He plays with me, He fondles and caresses me. Forever and ever, He blesses me with bliss. He cherishes me, like the father and the mother love their child. ||1|| I cannot survive without Him, even for an instant; I shall never forget Him.

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 018

Says Nanak, joining the Society of the Saints, I am enraptured, lovingly attuned to my Lord. ||2||25||48|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Sing of your Lord and Master, your Best Friend. Do not place your hopes in anyone else; meditate on God, the Giver of peace. ||1||Pause|| Peace, joy and salvation are in His Home. Seek the Protection of His Sanctuary. But if you forsake Him, and serve mortal beings, your honour will dissolve like salt in water. ||1|| I have grasped the Anchor and Support of my Lord and Master; meeting with the Guru, I have found wisdom and understanding. Nanak has met God, the Treasure of Excellence; all dependence on others is gone. ||2||26||49|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: I have the Almighty Support of my Dear Lord God. I do not look up to anyone else. My honour and glory are Yours, O God. ||1||Pause|| God has taken my side; He has lifted me up and pulled me out of the whirlpool of corruption. He has poured the medicine of the Naam, the Ambrosial Name of the Lord, into my mouth; I have fallen at the Guru's Feet. ||1|| How can I praise You with only one mouth? You are generous, even to the unworthy. You cut away the noose, and now You own me; Nanak is blessed with myriad joys. ||2||27||50|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Remembering God in meditation, pains are dispelled. When the Giver of peace to the soul becomes merciful, the mortal is totally redeemed. ||1||Pause|| I know of none other than God; tell me, who else should I approach? As You know me, so do You keep me, O my Lord and Master.I have surrendered everything to You. ||1|| God gave me His Hand and saved me; He has blessed me with eternal life. Says Nanak, my mind is in ecstasy; the noose of death has been cut away from my neck. ||2||28||51|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: My mind contemplates You, O Lord, all the time. I am Your meek and helpless child; You are God my Father. As You know me, You save me. ||1||Pause|| When I am hungry, I ask for food; when I am full, I am totally at peace. When I dwell with You, I am free of disease; if I become separated from You, I turn to dust. ||1|| What power does the slave of Your slave have, O Establisher and Disestablisher? If I do not forget the Naam, the Name of the Lord, then I die. Nanak offers this prayer. ||2||29||52|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: I have shaken off fear and dread from my mind. With intuitive ease, peace and poise, I sing the Glorious Praises of my Kind, Sweet, Darling Beloved. ||1||Pause|| Practicing the Guru's Word, by His Grace, I do not wander anywhere anymore. The illusion has been dispelled; I am in Samaadhi, Sukh-aasan, the position of peace. I have found the Lord, the Lover of His devotees, within the home of my own heart. ||1|| | The Sound-current of the Naad, playful joys and pleasures - I am intuitively, easily absorbed into the Celestial Lord. He Himself is the Creator, the Cause of causes. Says Nanak, He Himself is All-in-all. ||2||30||53||

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 019

Saarang, Fifth Mehl: The Ambrosial Nectar of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is the Support of the mind. I am a sacrifice to the One who gave it to me; I humbly bow to the Perfect Guru. ||1||Pause|| My thirst is quenched, and I have been intuitively embellished. The poisons of sexual desire and anger have been burnt away. This mind does not come and go; it abides in that place, where the Formless Lord sits. ||1|| The One Lord is manifest and radiant; the One Lord is hidden and mysterious. The One Lord is abysmal darkness. From the beginning, throughout the middle and until the end, is God. Says Nanak, reflect on the Truth. ||2||31||54|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Without God, I cannot survive, even for an instant. One who finds joy in the Lord finds total peace and perfection. ||1||Pause|| God is the Embodiment of bliss, the Breath of Life and Wealth; remembering Him in meditation, I am blessed with absolute bliss. He is utterly All-powerful, with me forever and ever; what tongue can utter His Glorious Praises? ||1|| His Place is sacred, and His Glory is sacred; sacred are those who listen and speak of Him. Says Nanak, that dwelling is sacred, in which Your Saints live. ||2||32||55|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: My tongue chants Your Name, Your Name. In the mother's womb, You sustained me, and in this mortal world, You alone help me. ||1||Pause|| You are my Father, and You are my Mother; You are my Loving Friend and Sibling. You are my Family, and You are my Support. You are the Giver of the Breath of Life. ||1|| You are my Treasure, and You are my Wealth. You are my Gems and Jewels. You are the wish-fulfilling Elysian Tree. Nanak has found You through the Guru, and now he is enraptured. ||2||33||56|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Wherever he goes, his consciousness turns to his own. Whoever is a chaylaa (a servant) goes only to his Lord and Master. ||1||Pause|| He shares his sorrows, his joys and his condition only with his own. He obtains honour from his own, and strength from his own; he gets an advantage from his own. ||1|| Some have regal power, youth, wealth and property; some have a father and a mother. I have obtained all things, O Nanak, from the Guru. My hopes have been fulfilled. ||2||34||57|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: False is intoxication and pride in Maya. Get rid of your fraud and attachment, O wretched mortal, and remember that the Lord of the World is with you. ||1||Pause|| False are royal powers, youth, nobility, kings, rulers and aristocrats. False are the fine clothes, perfumes and clever tricks; false are the foods and drinks. ||1|| O Patron of the meek and the poor, I am the slave of Your slaves; I seek the Sanctuary of Your Saints. I humbly ask, I beg of You, please relieve my anxiety; O Lord of Life, please unite Nanak with Yourself. ||2||35||58|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: By himself, the mortal cannot accomplish anything. He runs around chasing all sorts of projects, engrossed in other entanglements. ||1||Pause|| His companions of these few days will not be there when he is in trouble.

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 020

He is hand and glove with those who are of no use to him; the poor wretch is affectionately involved with them. ||1|| I am nothing; nothing belongs to me. I have no power or control. O Creator, Cause of causes, Lord God of Nanak, I am saved and redeemed in the Society of the Saints. ||2||36||59|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: The Great Enticer Maya keeps enticing, and cannot be stopped. She is the Beloved of all the Siddhas and seekers; no one can fend her off. ||1||Pause|| Reciting the six Shaastras and visiting sacred shrines of pilgrimage do not decrease her power. Devotional worship, ceremonial religious marks, fasting, vows and penance - none of these will make her release her hold. ||1|| The world has fallen into the deep dark pit. O Saints, please bless me with the supreme status of salvation. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, Nanak has been liberated, gazing upon the Blessed Vision of their Darshan, even for an instant. ||2||37||60|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Why are you working so hard to earn profits? You are puffed up like a bag of air, and your skin is very brittle. Your body has grown old and dusty. ||1||Pause|| You move things from here to there, like the hawk swooping down on the flesh of its prey. You are blind - you have forgotten the Great Giver. You fill your belly like a traveller at an inn. ||1|| You are entangled in the taste of false pleasures and corrupt sins; the path which you have to take is very narrow. Says Nanak: figure it out, you ignorant fool! Today or tomorrow, the knot will be untied! ||2||38||61|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: O Dear Guru, by associating with You, I have come to know the Lord. There are millions of heroes, and no one pays any attention to them, but in the Court of the Lord, I am honoured and respected. ||1||Pause|| What is the origin of the human beings? How beautiful they are! When God infuses His Light into clay, the human body is judged to be precious. ||1|| From You, I have learned to serve; from You, I have learned to chant and meditate; from You, I have realised the essence of reality. Placing His Hand on my forehead, He has cut away the bonds which held me; O Nanak, I am the slave of His slaves. ||2||39||62|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: The Lord has blessed His servant with His Name. What can any poor mortal do to someone who has the Lord as his Savior and Protector? ||1||Pause|| He Himself is the Great Being; He Himself is the Leader. He Himself accomplishes the tasks of His servant. Our Lord and Master destroys all demons; He is the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. ||1|| He Himself saves the honour of His servants; He Himself blesses them with stability. From the very beginning of time, and throughout the ages, He saves His servants. O Nanak, how rare is the person who knows God. ||2||40||63|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: O Lord, You are my Best Friend, my Companion, my Breath of Life. My mind, wealth, body and soul are all Yours; this body is sewn together by Your Blessing. ||1||Pause|| You have blessed me with all sorts of gifts; you have blessed me with honour and respect. Forever and ever, You preserve my honour, O Inner-knower, O Searcher of hearts. ||1||

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 021

Those Saints who know You, O Lord and Master - blessed and approved is their coming into the world. The Congregation of those humble beings is obtained by great good fortune; Nanak is a sacrifice to the Saints. ||2||41||64|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Save me, O Merciful Saint! You are the All-powerful Cause of causes. You have ended my separation, and joined me with God. ||1||Pause|| You save us from the corruption and sins of countless incarnations; associating with You, we obtain sublime understanding. Forgetting God, we wandered through countless incarnations; with each and every breath, we sing the Lord's Praises. ||1|| Whoever meets with the Holy Saints - those sinners are sanctified. Says Nanak, those who have such high destiny, win this invaluable human life. ||2||42||65|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: O my Lord and Master, Your humble servant has come to offer this prayer. Hearing Your Name, I am blessed with total peace, bliss, poise and pleasure. ||1||Pause|| The Treasure of Mercy, the Ocean of Peace - His Praises are diffused everywhere. O Lord, You celebrate in the Society of the Saints; You reveal Yourself to them. ||1|| With my eyes I see the Saints, and dedicate myself to serving them; I wash their feet with my hair. Twenty-four hours a day, I gaze upon the Blessed Vision, the Darshan of the Saints; this is the peace and comfort which Nanak has received. ||2||43||66|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: One who is lovingly absorbed in the Lord's Name is a good-hearted friend, intuitively embellished with happiness. He is said to be blessed and fortunate. ||1||Pause|| He is rid of sin and corruption, and detached from Maya; he has renounced the poison of egotistical intellect. He thirsts for the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan, and he places his hopes in the One Lord alone. The Feet of his Beloved are the Support of his heart. ||1|| He sleeps, wakes, rises up and sits down without anxiety; he laughs and cries without anxiety. Says Nanak, she who has cheated the world - that Maya is cheated by the humble

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servant of the Lord. ||2||44||67|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Now, no one complains about the Lord's humble servant. Whoever tries to complain is destroyed by the Guru, the Transcendent Lord God. ||1||Pause|| Whoever harbors vengeance against the One who is beyond all vengenace, shall lose in the Court of the Lord. From the very beginning of time, and throughout the ages, it is the glorious greatness of God, that He preserves the honour of His humble servants. ||1|| The mortal becomes fearless, and all his fears are taken away, when he leans on the Support of the Lord's Lotus Feet. Chanting the Name, through the Guru's Word, Nanak has become famous throughout the world. ||2||45||68|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: The Lord's humble servant has discarded all self-conceit. As You see fit, You save us, O Lord of the World. Beholding Your Glorious Grandeur, I live. ||1||Pause|| Through the Guru's Instruction, and the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, all sorrow and suffering is taken away. I look upon friend and enemy alike; all that I speak is the Lord's meditation. ||1|| The fire within me is quenched; I am cool, calm and tranquil. Hearing the unstruck celestial melody, I am wonder-struck and amazed. I am in ecstasy, O Nanak, and my mind is filled with Truth, through the perfect perfection of the Sound-current of the Naad. ||2||46||69||

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 022

Saarang, Fifth Mehl: My Guru has rid me of my cynicism. I am a sacrifice to that Guru; I am devoted to Him, forever and ever. ||1||Pause|| I chant the Guru's Name day and night; I enshrine the Guru's Feet within my mind. I bathe continually in the dust of the Guru's Feet, washing off my dirty sins. ||1|| I continually serve the Perfect Guru; I humbly bow to my Guru. The Perfect Guru has blessed me with all fruitful rewards; O Nanak, the Guru has emancipated me. ||2||47||70|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Meditating in remembrance on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the mortal attains salvation. His sorrows are dispelled, and his fears are all erased; he is in love with the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||1||Pause|| His mind worships and adores the Lord, Har, Har, Har, Har; his tongue sings the Praises of the Lord. Abandoning egotistical pride, sexual desire, anger and slander, he embraces love for the Lord. ||1|| Worship and adore the Merciful Lord God; chanting the Name of the Lord of the Universe, you shall be embellished and exalted. Says Nanak, whoever becomes the dust of all, merges in the Blesed Vision of the Lord, Har, Har. ||2||48||71|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: I am a sacrifice to my Perfect Guru. My Savior Lord has saved me; He has revealed the Glory of His Name. ||1||Pause|| He makes His servants and slaves fearless, and takes away all their pain. So renounce all other efforts, and enshrine the Lord's Lotus Feet within your mind. ||1|| God is the Support of the breath of life, my Best Friend and Companion, the One and Only Creator of the Universe. Nanak's Lord and Master is the Highest of all; again and again, I humbly bow to Him. ||2||49||72|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Tell me: other than the Lord, who exists? The Creator, the Embodiment of Mercy, bestows all comforts; meditate forever on that God. ||1||Pause|| All creatures are strung on His Thread; sing the Praises of that God. Meditate in remembrance on that Lord and Master who gives you everything. Why would you go to anyone else? ||1|| Service to my Lord and Master is fruitful and rewarding; from Him, you shall obtain the fruits of your mind's desires. Says Nanak, take your profits and leave; you shall go to your true home in peace. ||2||50||73|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: O my Lord and Master, I have come to Your Sanctuary. The anxiety of my mind departed, when I gazed upon the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. ||1||Pause|| You know my condition, without my speaking. You inspire me to chant Your Name. My pains are gone, and I am absorbed in peace, poise and bliss, singing Your Glorious Praises. ||1|| Taking me by the arm, You lifted me up, out of the deep dark pit of household and Maya. Says Nanak, the Guru has broken my bonds, and ended my separaation; He has united me with God. ||2||51||74||

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 023

Saarang, Fifth Mehl: The Name of the Lord is cooling and soothing. Searching, searching the Vedas, the Puraanas and the Simritees, the Holy Saints have realised this. ||1||Pause|| In the worlds of Shiva, Brahma and Indra, I wandered around, burning up with envy. Meditating, meditating in remembrance on my Lord and Master, I became cool and calm; my pains, sorrows and doubts are gone. ||1|| Whoever has been saved in the past or the present, was saved through loving devotional worship of the Divine Lord. This is Nanak's prayer: O Dear God, please let me serve the humble Saints. ||2||52||75|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl; O my tongue, sing the Ambrosial Praises of the Lord. Chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, listen to the Lord's Sermon, and chant God's Name. ||1||Pause|| So gather in the jewel, the wealth of the Lord's Name; love God with your mind and body. You must realise that all other wealth is false; this alone is the true purpose of life. ||1|| He is the Giver of the soul, the breath of life and liberation; lovingly tune in to the One and Only Lord. Says Nanak, I have entered His Sanctuary; He gives sustenance to all. ||2||53||76|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: I cannot do anything else. I have taken this Support, meeting the Saints; I have entered the Sanctuary of the One Lord of the World. ||1||Pause|| The five wicked enemies are within this body; they lead the mortal to practice evil and corruption. He has infinite hope, but his days are numbered, and old age is sapping his strength. ||1|| He is the Help of the helpless, the Merciful Lord, the Ocean of Peace, the Destroyer of all pains and fears. Slave Nanak longs for this blessing, that he may live, gazing upon the Feet of God. ||2||54||77|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Without the Lord's Name, flavors are tasteless and insipid. Sing the Sweet Ambrosial Praises of the Lord's Kirtan; day and night, the Sound-current of the Naad will resonate and resound. ||1||Pause|| Meditating in remembrance on the Lord, total peace and bliss are obtained, and all sorrows are taken away. The profit of the Lord, Har, Har, is found in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; so load it and bring it on home. ||1|| He is the Highest of all, the Highest of the high; His celestial ecomony has no limit. Nanak cannot even express His Glorious Grandeur; gazing upon Him, he is wonder-struck. ||2||55||78|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: The mortal came to hear and chant the Word of the Guru's Bani. But he has forgotten the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and he has become attached to other temptations. His life is totally worthless! ||1||Pause|| O my unconscious mind, become conscious and figure it out; the Saints speak the Unspoken Speech of the Lord. So gather in your profits - worship and adore the Lord within your heart; your coming and going in reincarnation shall end. ||1|| Efforts, powers and clever tricks are Yours; if You bless me with them, I repeat Your Name. They alone are devotees, and they alone are attached to devotional worship, O Nanak, who are pleasing to God. ||2||56||79|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Those who deal in the Naam, the Name of the Lord, are wealthy. So become a partner with them, and earn the wealth of the Naam. Contemplate the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||1||Pause||

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 024

Abandon your deception, and go beyond vengeance; see God who is always with you. Deal only in this true wealth and gather in this true wealth, and you shall never suffer loss. ||1|| Eating and consuming it, it is never exhausted; God's treasures are overflowing. Says Nanak, you shall go home to the Court of the Supreme Lord God with honour and respect. ||2||57||80|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: O Dear God, I am wretched and helpless! From what source did you create humans? This is Your Glorious Grandeur. ||1||Pause|| You are the Giver of the soul and the breath of life to all; Your Infinite Glories cannot be spoken. You are the Beloved Lord of all, the Cherisher of all, the Support of all hearts. ||1|| No one knows Your state and extent. You alone created the expanse of the Universe. Please, give me a seat in the boat of the Holy; O Nanak, thus I shall cross over this terrifying world-ocean, and reach the other shore. ||2||58||81|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: One who comes to the Lord's Sanctuary is very fortunate. He knows of no other than the One Lord. He has renounced all other efforts. ||1||Pause|| He worships and adores the Lord, Har, Har, in thought, word and deed; in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, he finds peace. He enjoys bliss and pleasure, and savors the Unspoken Speech of the Lord; he merges intuitively into the True Lord. ||1|| Sublime and exalted is the speech of one whom the Lord, in His Mercy makes His Own. Those who are imbued with God in the state of Nirvaanaa, O Nanak, are emancipated in the Saadh Sangat. ||2||59||82|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Since I grasped hold of the Sanctuary of the Holy, my mind is illuminated with tranquility, peace and poise, and I am rid of all my pain. ||1||Pause|| Please be merciful to me, O Lord, and bless me with Your Name; this is the prayer I offer to You. I have forgotten my other occupations; remembering God in meditation, I have obtained the true profit. ||1|| We shall merge again into the One from whom we came; He is the Essence of Being. Says Nanak, the Guru has eradicated my doubt; my light has merged into the Light. ||2||60||83|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: O my tongue, sing the Praises of the Lord. Abandon all other tastes and flavors; the taste of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is so sublime. ||1||Pause|| Enshrine the Lord's Lotus Feet within your heart; let yourself be lovingly attuned to the One Lord. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, you shall become immaculate and pure; you shall not come to be reincarnated again. ||1|| You are the Support of the soul and the breath of life; You are the Home of the homeless. With each and every breath, I dwell on the Lord, Har, Har; O Nanak, I am forever a sacrifice to Him. ||2||61||84|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: To meditate on the Lotus Feet of the Lord of the Universe is heaven for me. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, is the treasure of liberation and the Lord's Ambrosial Name. ||1||Pause|| O Lord God, please be kind to me, that I may hear with my ears Your Sublime and Exalted Sermon. My cycle of coming and going is finally completed, and I have attained peace and tranquility. ||1||

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 025

Searching and searching, I have realised the essence of reality: devotional worship is the most sublime fulfillment. Says Nanak, without the Name of the One Lord, all other ways are imperfect. ||2||62||85|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: The True Guru is the True Giver. Gazing upon the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, all my pains are dispelled. I am a sacrifice to His Lotus Feet. ||1||Pause|| The Supreme Lord God is True, and True are the Holy Saints; the Name of the Lord is steady and stable. So worship the Imperishable, Supreme Lord God with love, and sing His Glorious Praises. ||1|| The limits of the Inaccessible, Unfathomable Lord cannot be found; He is the Support of all hearts. O Nanak, chant, "Waaho! Waaho!" to Him, who has no end or limitation. ||2||63||86|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: The Feet of the Guru abide within my mind. My Lord and Master is permeating and pervading all places; He dwells nearby, close to all. ||1||Pause|| Breaking my bonds, I have lovingly tuned in to the Lord, and now the Saints are pleased with me. This precious human life has been sanctified, and all my desires have been fulfilled. ||1|| O my God, whoever You bless with Your Mercy - he alone sings Your Glorious Praises. Servant Nanak is a sacrifice to that person who sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe, twenty-four hours a day. ||2||64||87|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: A person is judged to be alive, only if he sees the Lord. Please be merciful to me, O my Enticing Beloved Lord, and erase the record of my doubts. ||1||Pause|| By speaking and listening, tranquility and peace are not found at all. What can anyone learn without faith? One who renounces God and longs for another - his face is blackened with filth. ||1|| One who is blessed with the wealth of our Lord and Master, the Embodiment of Peace, does not believe in any other religious doctrine. O Nanak, one whose mind is fascinated and intoxicated with the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan - his tasks are perfectly accomplished. ||2||65||88|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Meditate in remembrance on the Naam, the Name of the One Lord. In this way, the sins of your past mistakes shall be burnt off in an instant. It is like giving millions in charity, and bathing at sacred shrines of pilgrimage. ||1||Pause|| Entangled in other affairs, the mortal suffers uselessly in sorrow. Without the Lord, wisdom is useless. The mortal is freed of the anguish of death and birth, meditating and vibrating on the Blissful Lord of the Universe. ||1|| I seek Your Sancutary, O Perfect Lord, Ocean of Peace. Please be merciful, and bless me with this gift. Meditating, meditating in remembrance on God, Nanak lives; his egotistical pride has been eradicated. ||2||66||89|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: He alone is a Dhoorat, who is attached to the Primal Lord God. He alone is a Dhurandhar, and he alone is a Basundhar, who is absorbed in the sublime essence of Love of the One Lord. ||1||Pause|| One who practices deception and does not know where true profit lies is not a Dhoorat - he is a fool. He abandons profitable enterprises and is involved in unprofitable ones. He does not meditate on the Beauteous Lord God. ||1|| He alone is clever and wise and a religious scholar, he alone is a brave warrior, and he alone is intelligent, who chants the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. O Nanak, he alone is approved. ||2||67||90||

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 026

Saarang, Fifth Mehl: The Lord, Har, Har, is the life of the humble Saints. Instead of enjoying corrupt pleasures, they drink in the Ambrosial Essence of the Name of the Lord, the Ocean of Peace. ||1||Pause|| They gather up the priceless wealth of the Lord's Name, and weave it into the fabric of their mind and body. Imbued with the Lord's Love, their minds are dyed in the deep crimson colour of devotional love; they are intoxicated with the sublime essence of the Lord's Name. ||1|| As the fish is immersed in water, they are absorbed in the Lord's Name. O Nanak, the Saints are like the rainbirds; they are comforted, drinking in the drops of the Lord's Name. ||2||68||91|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Without the Name of the Lord, the mortal is a ghost. All the actions he commits are just shackles and bonds. ||1||Pause|| Without serving God, one who serves another wastes his time uselessly. When the Messenger of Death comes to kill you, O mortal, what will your condition be then? ||1|| Please protect Your slave, O Eternally Merciful Lord. O Nanak, my God is the Treasure of Peace; He is the wealth and property of the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||2||69||92|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: My mind and body deal only in the Lord. Imbued with loving devotional worship, I sing His Glorious Praises; I am not affected by worldly affairs. ||1||Pause|| This is the way of life of the Holy Saint: he listens to the Kirtan, the Praises of his Lord and Master, and meditates in remembrance on Him. He implants the Lord's Lotus Feet deep within his heart; worship of the Lord is the support of his breath of life. ||1|| O God, Merciful to the meek, please hear my prayer, and shower Your Blessings upon me. I continually chant the treasure of the Naam with my tongue; Nanak is forever a sacrifice. ||2||70||93|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Without the Name of the Lord, his intellect is shallow. He does not meditate in remembrance on the Lord, his Lord and Master; the blind fool suffers in terrible agony. ||1||Pause|| He does not embrace

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love for the Name of the Lord; he is totally attached to various religious robes. His attachments are shattered in an instant; when the pitcher is broken, the water runs out. ||1|| Please bless me, that I may worship You in loving devotion. My mind is absorbed and intoxicated with Your Delicious Love. Nanak, Your slave, has entered Your Sanctuary; without God, there is no other at all. ||2||71||94|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: In my mind, I think about that moment, when I join the Gathering of the Friendly Saints, constantly singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe. ||1||Pause|| Without vibrating and meditating on the Lord, whatever deeds you do will be useless. The Perfect Embodiment of Supreme Bliss is so sweet to my mind. Without Him, there is no other at all. ||1|| Chanting, deep meditation, austere self-discipline, good deeds and other techniques to being peace - they are not equal to even a tiny bit of the Lord's Name. Nanak's mind is pierced through by the Lotus Feet of the Lord; it is absorbed in His Lotus Feet. ||2||72||95|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: My God is always with me; He is the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. I find happiness in the world hereafter, and peace and pleasure in this world, meditating in remembrance on the Name of my Lord and Master. ||1||Pause||

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 027

The Lord is my Best Friend, my Buddy, my Companion. I sing the Glorious Praises of my Sovereign Lord King. I shall not forget Him in my heart, even for an instant; I have met with the Perfect Guru. ||1|| In His Mercy, He protects His slave; all beings and creatures are in His Power. One who is lovingly attuned to the One, the Perfect Transcendent Lord God, O Nanak, is rid of all fear. ||2||73||96|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: One who has the Lord's Power on his side - all his desires are fulfilled, and no pain afflicts him. ||1||Pause|| That humble devotee is a slave of his God, who listens to Him, and so lives. I have made the effort to gaze upon the Blessed Vision of His Darshan; it is obtained only by good karma. ||1|| It is only by Guru's Grace that I see His Vision with my eyes which none can equal. Please bless Nanak with this Gift, that he may wash the Feet of the Saints, and so live. ||2||74||97|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: I live by singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Please be Merciful to me, O my Loving Lord of the Universe, that I may never forget You. ||1||Pause|| My mind, body, wealth and all are Yours, O my Lord and Master; there is nowhere else for me at all. As You keep me, so do I survive; I eat and I wear whatever You give me. ||1|| I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice to the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; I shall never again fall into reincarnation. Slave Nanak seeks Your Sancuary, Lord; as it pleases Your Will, so do You guide him. ||2||75||98|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: O my mind, the Naam is the most sublime peace. Other affairs of Maya are corrupt. They are nothing more than dust. ||1||Pause|| The mortal has fallen into the deep dark pit of household attachment; it is a horrible, dark hell. He wanders in various incarnations, growing weary; he wanders through them again and again. ||1|| O Purifier of sinners, O Lover of Your devotees, please shower Your Mercy on Your meek servant. With palms pressed together, Nanak begs for this blessing: O Lord, please save me in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||2||76||99|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: The Glorious Radiance of the Lord has spread out everywhere. The doubts of my mind and body are all erased, and I am rid of the three diseases. ||1||Pause|| My thirst is quenched, and my hopes have all been fulfilled; my sorrows and sufferings are over. Singing the Glorious Praises of the Unmoving, Eternal, Unchanging Lord God, my mind, body and soul are comforted and encouraged. ||1|| Sexual desire, anger, greed, pride and envy are destroyed in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. He is the Lover of His devotees, the Destroyer of fear; O Nanak, He is our Mother and Father. ||2||77||100|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the world is miserable. Like a dog, its desires are never satisfied; it clings to the ashes of corruption. ||1||Pause|| Administering the intoxicating drug, God Himself leads the mortals astray; they are reincarnated again and again. He does not meditate in remembrance on the Lord, even for an instant, and so the Messenger of Death makes him suffer. ||1|| Please be merciful to me, O Destroyer of the pains of the meek and the poor; let me be the dust of the feet of the Saints.

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 028

Slave Nanak asks for the Blessed Vision of God. It is the Support of his mind and body. ||2||78||101|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Without the Name of the Lord, the soul is polluted. The True Lord God has Himself administered the intoxicating drug of corruption, and led the mortal astray. ||1||Pause|| Wandering through millions of incarnations in countless ways, he does not find stability anywhere. The faithless cynic does not intuitively meet with the Perfect True Guru; he continues coming and going in reincarnation. ||1|| Please save me, O All-powerful Lord God, O Great Giver; O God, You are Inaccessible and Infinite. Slave Nanak seeks Your Sanctuary, to cross over the terrible world-ocean, and reach the other shore. ||2||79||102|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: To chant the Glorious Praises of the Lord is Sublime. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, meditate on the Transcendent Lord God; The taste of His essence is Ambrosial Nectar. ||1||Pause|| Meditating in remembrance on the One Unmoving, Eternal, Unchanging Lord God, the intoxication of Maya wears off. One who is blessed with intuitive peace and poise, and the vibrations of the Unstruck Celestial Bani, never suffers again. ||1|| Even Brahma and his sons sing God's Praises; Sukdayv and Prahlaad sing His Praises as well. Drinking in the fascinating Ambrosial Nectar of the Lord's sublime essence, Nanak meditates on the Amazing Lord. ||2||80||103|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: He commits many millions of sins. Day and night, he does not get tired of them, and he never finds release. ||1||Pause|| He carries on his head a terrible, heavy load of sin and corruption. In an instant, he is exposed. The Messenger of Death seizes him by his hair. ||1|| He is consigned to countless forms of reincarnation, into beasts, ghosts, camels and donkeys. Vibrating and meditating on the Lord of the Universe in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, O Nanak, you shall never be struck or harmed at all. ||2||81||104|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: He is so blind! He is eating loads of poison. His eyes, ears and body are totally exhausted; he shall lose his breath in an instant. ||1||Pause|| Making the poor suffer, he fills his belly, but the wealth of Maya shall not go with him. Committing sinful mistakes again and again, he regrets and repents, but he can never give them up. ||1|| The Messenger of Death comes to slaughter the slanderer; he beats him on his head. O Nanak, he cuts himself with his own dagger, and damages his own mind. ||2||82||105|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: The slanderer is destroyed in mid-stream. Our Lord and Master is the Saving Grace, the Protector of His humble servants; those who have turned their backs on the Guru are overtaken by death. ||1||Pause|| No one listens to what he says; he is not allowed to sit anywhere. He suffers in pain here, and falls into hell hereafter. He wanders in endless reincarnations. ||1|| He has become infamous across worlds and galaxies; he receives according to what he has done. Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of the Fearless Creator Lord; he sings His Glorious Praises in ecstasy and bliss. ||2||83||106|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Desire plays itself out in so many ways.

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 029

But it is not fulfilled at all, and in the end, it dies, exhausted. ||1||Pause|| It does not produce tranquility, peace and poise; this is the way it works. He does not know what belongs to him, and to others. He burns in sexual desire and anger. ||1|| The world is enveloped by an ocean of pain; O Lord, please save Your slave! Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of Your Lotus Feet; Nanak is forever and ever a sacrifice. ||2||84||107|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: O sinner, who taught you to sin? You do not contemplate your Lord and Master, even for an instant; it was He who gave you your body and soul. ||1||Pause|| Eating, drinking and sleeping, you are happy, but contemplating the Naam, the Name of the Lord, you are miserable. In the womb of your mother, you cried and whined like a wretch. ||1|| And now, bound by great pride and corruption, you shall wander in endless incarnations. You have forgotten the Lord of the Universe; what misery will be your lot now? O Nanak, peace is found by realising the sublime state of the Lord. ||2||85||108|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: O mother, I have grasped the Protection, the Sanctuary of the Lord's Feet. Gazing upon the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, my mind is fascinated, and evil-mindedness is taken away. ||1||Pause|| He is Unfathomable, Incomprehensible, Exalted and High, Eternal and Imperishable; His worth cannot be appraised. Gazing upon Him, gazing upon Him in the water and on the land, my mind has blossomed forth in ecstasy. He is totally pervading and permeating all. ||1|| Merciful to the meek, my Beloved, Enticer of my mind; meeting with the Holy, He is known. Meditating, meditating in remembrance on the Lord, Nanak lives; the Messenger of Death cannot catch or torment him. ||2||86||109|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: O mother, my mind is intoxicated. Gazing upon the Merciful Lord, I am filled with bliss and peace; imbued with the sublime essence of the Lord, I am intoxicated. ||1||Pause|| I have become spotless and pure, singing the Sacred Praises of the Lord; I shall never again be dirtied. My awareness is focused on the Lotus Feet of God; I have met the Infinite, Supreme Being. ||1|| Taking me by the hand, He has given me everything; He has lit up my lamp. O Nanak, savoring the Naam, the Name of the Lord, I have become detached; my generations have been carried across as well. ||2||87||110|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: O mother, by meditating in remembrance on some other, the mortal dies. Forsaking the Lord of the Universe, the Giver of souls, the mortal is engrossed and entangled in Maya. ||1||Pause|| Forgetting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, he walks on some other path, and falls into the most horrible hell. He suffers uncounted punishments, and wanders from womb to womb in reincarnation. ||1|| They alone are wealthy, and they alone are honourable, who are absorbed in the Sanctuary of the Lord. By Guru's Grace, O Nanak, they conquer the world; they do not come and go in reincarnation ever again. ||2||88||111|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: The Lord has cut down the crooked tree of my deceit. The forest of doubt is burnt away in an instant, by the fire of the Lord's Name. ||1||Pause|| Sexual desire, anger and slander are gone; in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I have beaten them and driven them out.

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 030

The Gurmukh is successful in this priceless human life; he shall not lose it in the gamble ever again. ||1|| Twenty-four hours a day, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and contemplate the Perfect Word of the Shabad. Servant Nanak is the slave of Your slaves; over and over again, he bows in humble reverence to You. ||2||89||112|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: This Holy Book is the home of the Transcendent Lord God. Whoever sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, has the perfect knowledge of God. ||1||Pause|| The Siddhas and seekers and all the silent sages long for the Lord, but those who meditate on Him are rare. That person, unto whom my Lord and Master is merciful - all his tasks are perfectly accomplished. ||1|| One whose heart is filled with the Lord, the Destroyer of fear, knows the whole world. May I never forget You, even for an instant, O my Creator Lord; Nanak begs for this blessing. ||2||90||113|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: The rain has fallen everywhere. Singing the Lord's Praises with ecstasy and bliss, the Perfect Lord is revealed. ||1||Pause|| On all four sides and in the ten directions, the Lord is an ocean. There is no place where He does not exist. O Perfect Lord God, Ocean of Mercy, You bless all with the gift of the soul. ||1|| True, True, True is my Lord and Master; True is the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. True are those humble beings, within whom faith wells up; O Nanak, they are not deluded by doubt. ||2||91||114|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: O Dear Lord of the Universe, You are the Support of my breath of life. You are my Best Friend and Companion, my Help and Support; You are my family. ||1||Pause|| You placed Your Hand on my forehead; in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I sing Your Glorious Praises. By Your Grace, I have obtained all fruits and rewards; I meditate on the Lord's Name with delight. ||1|| The True Guru has laid the eternal foundation; it shall never be shaken. Guru Nanak has become merciful to me, and I have been blessed with the treasure of absolute peace. ||2||92||115|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Only the true merchandise of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, stays with you. Sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, the treasure of wealth, and earn your profit; in the midst of corruption, remain untouched. ||1||Pause|| All beings and creatures find contentment, meditating on their God. The priceless jewel of infinite worth, this human life, is won, and they are not consigned to reincarnation ever again. ||1|| When the Lord of the Universe shows His kindness and compassion, the mortal finds the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, Nanak has found the wealth of the Lotus Feet of the Lord; he is imbued with the Love of God. ||2||93||116|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: O mother, I am wonder-struck, gazing upon the Lord. My mind is enticed by the unstruck celestial melody; its flavor is amazing! ||1||Pause|| He is my Mother, Father and Relative. My mind delights in the Lord. Singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, all my illusions are dispelled. ||1|| I am lovingly attached to His Lotus Feet; my doubt and fear are totally consumed. Servant Nanak has taken the Support of the One Lord. He shall not wander in reincarnation ever again. ||2||94||117||

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 031

Saarang, Fifth Mehl: O mother, I am totally intoxicated with the Lord's Feet. I know of none other than the Lord. I have totally burnt off my sense of duality. ||1||Pause|| To abandon the Lord of the World, and become involved with anything else, is to fall into the pit of corruption. My mind is enticed, thirsty for the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. He has lifted me up and out of hell. ||1|| By the Grace of the Saints, I have met the Lord, the Giver of peace; the noise of egotism has been stilled. Slave Nanak is imbued with the Love of the Lord; the forests of his mind and body have blossomed forth. ||2||95||118|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: The false dealings are finished. Join the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, and meditate, vibrate on the Lord. This is the most excellent thing in the world. ||1||Pause|| Here and hereafter, you shall never waver; enshrine the Naam, the Name of the Lord, within your heart. The boat of the Guru's Feet is found by great good fortune; it shall carry you across the world-ocean. ||1|| The Infinite Lord is totally permeating and pervading the water, the land and the sky. Drink in the Ambrosial Nectar of the Lord's Name; O Nanak, all other 2185

tastes are bitter. ||2||96||119|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: You whine and cry - you are intoxicated with the great corruption of attachment and pride, but you do not remember the Lord in meditation. ||1||Pause|| Those who meditate on the Lord in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy - the guilt of their minstakes is burnt away. Fruitful is the body, and blessed is the birth of those who merge with God. ||1|| The four great blessings, and the eighteen supernatural spiritual powers - above all these are the Holy Saints. Slave Nanak longs for the dust of the feet of the humble; attached to the hem of His robe, he is saved. ||2||97||120|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: The Lord's humble servants yearn for the Lord's Name. In

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thought, word and deed, they long for this peace, to gaze with their eyes upon the Blessed Vision of God's Darshan. ||1||Pause|| You are Endless, O God, my Supreme Lord and Master; Your state cannot be known. My mind is pierced through by the Love of Your Lotus Feet; this is everything to me - I enshrine it deep within my being. ||1|| In the Vedas, the Puraanas and the Simritees, the humble and the Holy chant this Bani with their tongues. Chanting the Lord's Name, O Nanak, I am emancipated; other teachings of duality are useless. ||2||98||121|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: A fly! You are just a fly, created by the Lord. Wherever it stinks, you land there; you suck in the most toxic stench. ||1||Pause|| You don't stay put anywhere; I have seen this with my eyes. You have not spared anyone, except the Saints - the Saints are on the side of the Lord of the Universe. ||1|| You have enticed all beings and creatures; no one knows You, except the Saints. Slave Nanak is imbued with the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises. Focusing his consciousness on the Word of the Shabad, he realises the Presence of the True Lord. ||2||99||122|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: O mother, the noose of Death has been cut away. Chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, I have found total peace. I remain unattached in the midst of my household. ||1||Pause||

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 032

Granting His Grace, He has made me His Own. The thirst for the Blessed Vision of His Darshan wells up within me. Joining the Society of the Saints, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord; I have given up other hopes. ||1|| The Saint has pulled me out of the utterly desolate wilderness, and shown me the path. Gazing upon His Darshan, all sins are taken away; Nanak is blessed with the jewel of the Lord. ||2||100||123|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: O mother, I am involved with the Love of the Lord; I am intoxicated with it. My mind has such a longing and thirst for the Blessed Vision, the Darshan of my Beauteous Lord. No one can break this. ||1||Pause|| The Lord is my breath of life, honour, spouse, parent, child, relative, wealth - everything. Cursed is this body of bones, this pile of maggots and manure, if it knows any other than the Lord. ||1|| The Destroyer of the pains of the poor has become merciful to me, by the power of the karma of my past actions. Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of God, the Treasure, the Ocean of Mercy; my subservience to others is past. ||2||101||124|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: The Lord's melody is noble and sublime. The Lotus Feet of my Lord and Master are incomparably beautiful. Meditating on them, one becomes Holy. ||1||Pause|| Just by thinking of the Darshan, the Blessed Vision of the Lord of the World, the dirty sins are washed away. The Lord cuts down and weeds out the corruption of the cycle of birth and death. ||1|| How rare is that person who has such pre-ordained destiny, to find the Lord. Chanting the Glorious Praises of the Creator, the Lord of the Universe - O Nanak, this is Truth. ||2||102||125|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: The intellect of one who dwells on the Name of the Lord is excellent. One who forgets the Lord and becomes involved with some other - all his showy pretensions are false. ||1||Pause|| Meditate, vibrate on our Lord and Master in the Company of the Holy, and your sins shall be eradicated. When the Lord's Lotus Feet abide within the heart, the mortal is never again caught in the cycle of death and birth. ||1|| He showers us with His kindness and compassion; He saves and protects those who take the Support of the Naam, the Name of the One Lord. Meditating in remembrance on Him, day and night, O Nanak, your face shall be radiant in the Court of the Lord. ||2||103||126|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Honoured - you shall be honoured in the Court of the Lord. Join the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, and sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord; your egotistical pride will be totally dispelled. ||1||Pause|| Showering His kindness and compassion, He shall make you His Own. As Gurmukh, your spiritual wisdom shall be perfect. All peace and all sorts of ecstasy are obtained, by meditating on the Darshan, the Blessed Vision of my Lord and Master. ||1|| She who dwells close to her Lord is always the pure, happy soul-bride; she is famous in the ten directions. She is imbued with the Love of her Loving Beloved Lord; Nanak is a sacrifice to her. ||2||104||127|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: O Lord, I take the Support of Your Lotus Feet. You are my Best Friend and Companion; I am with You. You are our Protector, O Lord of the Universe. ||1||Pause|| You are mine, and I am Yours; here and hereafter, You are my Saving Grace. You are Endless and Infinite, O my Lord and Master; by Guru's Grace, a few understand. ||1|| Without being spoken, without being told, You know all, O Searcher of hearts. One whom God unites with Himself, O Nanak, that humble being is honoured in the Court of the Lord. ||2||105||128||

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 033

Saarang, Fifth Mehl, Chau-Padas, Fifth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Meditate, vibrate on the Lord; other actions are corrupt. Pride, attachment and desire are not quenched; the world is in the grip of death. ||1||Pause|| Eating, drinking, laughing and sleeping, life passes uselessly. The mortal wanders in reincarnation, burning in the hellish environment of the womb; in the end, he is destroyed by death. ||1|| He practices fraud, cruelty and slander against others; he sins, and washes his hands. Without the True Guru, he has no understanding; he is lost in the utter darkness of anger and attachment. ||2|| He takes the intoxicating drugs of cruelty and corruption, and is plundered. He is not conscious of the Creator Lord God. The Lord of the Universe is hidden and unattached. The mortal is like a wild elephant, intoxicated with the wine of egotism. ||3|| In His Mercy, God saves His Saints; they have the Support of His Lotus Feet. With his palms pressed together, Nanak has come to the Sanctuary of the Primal Being, the Infinite Lord God. ||4||1||129|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl, Sixth House, Partaal: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Chant His Sublime Word and His Priceless Glories. Why are you indulding in corrupt actions? Look at this, see and understand! Meditate on the Word of the Guru's Shabad, and attain the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. Imbued with the Love of the Lord, you shall totally play with Him. ||1||Pause|| The world is a dream. Its expanse is false. O my companion, why are you so enticed by the Enticer? Enshrine the Love of Your Beloved within your heart. ||1|| He is total love and affection. God is always merciful. Others - why are you involved with others? Remain involved with the Lord. When you join the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, says Nanak, meditate on the Lord. Now, your association with death is ended. ||2||1||130|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: You may make donations of gold, and give away land in charity and purify your mind in various ways, but none of this is equal to the Lord's Name. Remain attached to the Lord's Lotus Feet. ||1||Pause|| You may recite the four Vedas with your tongue, and listen to the eighteen Puraanas and the six Shaastras with your ears, but these are not equal to the celestial melody of the Naam, the Name of the Lord of the Universe. Remain attached to the Lord's Lotus Feet. ||1|| You may observe fasts, and say your prayers, purify yourself and do good deeds; you may go on pilgrimages everywhere and eat nothing at all. You may cook your food without touching anyone; you may make a great show of cleansing techniques, and burn incense and devotional lamps, but none of these are equal to the Lord's Name. O Merciful Lord, please hear the prayer of the meek and the poor. Please grant me the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan, that I may see You with my eyes. The Naam is so sweet to servant Nanak. ||2||2||131|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Meditate on the Lord, Raam, Raam, Raam. The Lord is your Help and Support. ||1||Pause||

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 034

Grasping hold of the Feet of the Saints, I have abandoned sexual desire, anger and greed. The Guru, the Lord of the World, has been kind to me, and I have realised my destiny. ||1|| My doubts and attachments have been dispelled, and the blinding bonds of Maya have been broken. My Lord and Master is pervading and permeating everywhere; no one is an enemy. My Lord and Master is totally satisfied with me; He has rid me of the pains of death and birth. Grasping hold of the Feet of the Saints, Nanak sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||2||3||132|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, Har; enshrine the Lord, Har, Har, within your mind. ||1||Pause|| Hear Him with your ears, and practice devotional worship - these are good deeds, which make up for past evils. So seek the Sanctuary of the Holy, and forget all your other habits. ||1||. Love the Lord's Feet, continually and continuously - the most sacred and sanctified. Fear is taken away from the servant of the Lord, and the dirty sins and mistakes of the past are burnt away. Those who speak are liberated, and those who listen are liberated; those who keep the Rehit, the Code of Conduct, are not reincarnated again. The Lord's Name is the most sublime essence; Nanak contemplates the nature of reality. ||2||4||133|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: I beg for devotion to the Naam, the Name of the Lord; I have forsaken all other activities. ||1||Pause|| Meditate lovingly on the Lord, and sing forever the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe. I long for the dust of the feet of the Lord's humble servant, O Great Giver, my Lord and Master. ||1|| The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is the ultimate ecstasy, bliss, happiness, peace and tranquility. The fear is death is dispelled by meditating in remembrance on the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. Only the Sanctuary of the Feet of the Lord of the Universe can destroy all the suffering of the world. The Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, is the boat, O Nanak, to carry us across to the other side. ||2||5||134|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Gazing upon my Guru, I sing the Praises of my Beloved Lord. I escape from the five thieves, and I find the One, when I join the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||1||Pause|| Nothing of the visible world shall go along with you; abandon your pride and attachment. Love the One Lord, and join the Saadh Sangat, and you shall be embellished and exalted. ||1|| I have found the Lord, the Treasure of Excellence; all my hopes have been fulfilled. Nanak's mind is in ecstasy; the Guru has shattered the impregnable fortress. ||2||6||135|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: My mind is neutral and detached; I seek only the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. ||1||Pause|| Serving the Holy Saints, I meditate on my Beloved within my heart. Gazing upon the Embodiment of Ecstasy, I rise to the Mansion of His Presence. ||1|| I work for Him; I have forsaken everything else. I seek only His Sanctuary. O Nanak, my Lord and Master hugs me close in His Embrace; the Guru is pleased and satisfied with me. ||2||7||136|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: This is my condition. Only my Merciful Lord knows it. ||1||Pause|| I have abandoned my mother and father, and sold my mind to the Saints. I have lost my social status, birth-right and ancestry; I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1|| I have broken away from other people and family; I work only for God. The Guru has taught me, O Nanak, to serve only the One Lord. ||2||8||137||

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 035

Saarang, Fifth Mehl: You are my Loving Beloved Enticing Lord of the World. You are in worms, elephants, stones and all beings and creatures; You nourish and cherish them all. ||1||Pause|| You are not far away; You are totally present with all. You are Beautiful, the Source of Nectar. ||1|| You have no caste or social class, no ancestry or family. Nanak: God, You are Merciful. ||2||9||138|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: Acting and play-acting, the mortal sinks into corruption. Even the moon and the sun are enticed and bewitched. The disturbing noise of corruption wells up, in the tinkling ankle bells of Maya the beautiful. With her beguiling gestures of love, she seduces everyone except the Lord. ||Pause|| Maya clings to the three worlds; those who are stuck in wrong actions cannot escape her. Drunk and engrossed in blind worldly affairs, they are tossed about on the mighty ocean. ||1|| The Saint, the slave of the Lord is saved; the noose of the Messenger of Death is snapped. The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is the Purifier of sinners; O Nanak, remember Him in meditation. ||2||10||139||3||13||155|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Raag Saarang, Ninth Mehl: No one will be your help and support, except the Lord. Who has any mother, father, child or spouse? Who is anyone's brother or sister? ||1||Pause|| All the wealth, land and property which you consider your own - when you leave your body, none of it shall go along with you. Why do you cling to them? ||1|| God is Merciful to the meek, forever the Destroyer of fear, and yet you do not develop any loving relationship with Him. Says Nanak, the whole world is totally false; it is like a dream in the night. ||2||1|| Saarang, Ninth Mehl: O mortal, why are you engrossed in corruption? No one is allowed to remain in this world; one comes, and another departs. ||1||Pause|| Who has a body? Who has wealth and property? With whom should we fall in love? Whatever is seen, shall all disappear, like the shade of a passing cloud. ||1|| Abandon egotism, and grasp the Sanctuary of the Saints; you shall be liberated in an instant. O servant Nanak, without meditating and vibrating on the Lord God, there is no peace, even in dreams. ||2||2|| Saarang, Ninth Mehl: O mortal, why have you wasted your life? Intoxicated with Maya and its riches, involved in corrupt pleasures, you have not sought the Sanctuary of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| This whole world is just a dream; why does seeing it fill you with greed? Everything that has been created will be destroyed; nothing will remain. ||1|| You see this false body as true; in this way, you have placed yourself in bondage. O servant Nanak, he is a liberated being, whose consciousness lovingly vibrates, and meditates on the Lord. ||2||3|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl: In my mind, I never sang the Glorious Praises of the Lord.

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 036

I remained under the influence of corruption, night and day; I did whatever I pleased. ||1||Pause|| I never listened to the Guru's Teachings; I was entangled with others' spouses. I ran all around slandering others; I was taught, but I never learned. ||1|| How can I even describe my actions? This is how I wasted my life. Says Nanak, I am totally filled with faults. I have come to Your Sanctuary - please save me, O Lord! ||2||4||3||13||139||4||159|| Raag Saarang, Ashtapadees, First Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: How can I live, O my mother? Hail to the Lord of the Universe. I ask to sing Your Praises; without You, O Lord, I cannot even survive. ||1||Pause|| I am thirsty, thirsty for the Lord; the soul-bride gazes upon Him all through the night. My mind is absorbed into the Lord, my Lord and Master. Only God knows the pain of another. ||1|| My body suffers in pain, without the Lord; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, I find the Lord. O Dear Lord, please be kind and compassionate to me, that I might remain merged in You, O Lord. ||2|| Follow such a path, O my conscious mind, that you may remain focused on the Feet of the Lord. I am wonder-struck, singing the Glorious Praises of my Fascinating Lord; I am intuitively absorbed in the Fearless Lord. ||3|| That heart, in which the Eternal, Unchanging Naam vibrates and resounds, does not diminish, and cannot be evaluated. Without the Name, everyone is poor; the True Guru has imparted this understanding. ||4|| My Beloved is my breath of life - listen, O my companion. The demons have taken poison and died. As love for Him welled up, so it remains. My mind is imbued with His Love. ||5|| I am absorbed in celestial samaadhi, lovingly attached to the Lord

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forever. I live by singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Imbued with the Word of the Guru's Shabad, I have become detached from the world. In the profound primal trance, I dwell within the home of my own inner being. ||6|| The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is sublimely sweet and supremely delicious; within the home of my own self, I understand the essence of the Lord. Wherever You keep my mind, there it is. This is what the Guru has taught me. ||7|| Sanak and Sanandan, Brahma and Indra, were imbued with devotional worship, and came to be in harmony with Him. O Nanak, without the Lord, I cannot live, even for an instant. The Name of the Lord is glorious and great. ||8||1|| Saarang, First Mehl: Without the Lord, how can my mind be comforted? The guilt and sin of millions of ages is erased, and one is released from the cycle of reincarnation, when the Truth is implanted within. ||1||Pause|| Anger is gone, egotism and attachment have been burnt away; I am imbued with His ever-fresh Love. Other fears are forgotten, begging at God's Door. The Immaculate Lord is my Companion. ||1|| Forsaking my fickle intellect, I have found God, the Destroyer of fear; I am lovingly attuned to the One Word, the Shabad. Tasting the sublime essence of the Lord, my thirst is quenched; by great good fortune, the Lord has united me with Himself. ||2|| The empty tank has been filled to overflowing. Following the Guru's Teachings, I am enraptured with the True Lord.

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 037

My mind is imbued with love for the Naam. The Immaculate Lord is merciful, from the beginning of time, and througout the ages. ||3|| My mind is fascinated with the Fascinating Lord. By great good fortune, I am lovingly attuned to Him. Contemplating the True Lord, all the resides of sins and mistakes are wiped away. My mind is pure and immaculate in His Love. ||4|| God is the Deep and Unfathomable Ocean, the Source of all jewels; no other is worthy of worship. I contemplate the Shabad, the Destroyer of doubt and fear; I do not know any other at all. ||5|| Subduing my mind, I have realised the pure status; I am totally imbued with the sublime essence of the Lord. I do not know any other except the Lord. The True Guru has imparted this understanding. ||6|| God is Inaccessible and Unfathomable, Unmastered and Unborn; through the Guru's Teachings, I know the One Lord. Filled to overflowing, my consciousness does not waver; through the Mind, my mind is pleased and appeased. ||7|| By Guru's Grace, I speak the Unspoken; I speak what He makes me speak. O Nanak, my Lord is Merciful to the meek; I do not know any other at all. ||8||2|| Saarang, Third Mehl, Ashtapadees, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O my mind, the Name of the Lord is glorious and great. I know of none, other than the Lord; through the Lord's Name, I have attained liberation and emancipation. ||1||Pause|| Through the Word of the Shabad, I am lovingly attuned to the Lord, the Destroyer of fear, the Destroyer of the Messenger of Death. As Gurmukh, I have realised the Lord, the Giver of peace; I remain intuitively absorbed in Him. ||1|| The Immaculate Name of the Lord is the food of His devotees; they wear the glory of devotional worship. They abide in the home of their inner beings, and they serve the Lord forever; they are honoured in the Court of the Lord. ||2|| The intellect of the self-willed manmukh is false; his mind wavers and wobbles, and he cannot speak the Unspoken Speech. Following the Guru's Teachings, the Eternal Unchanging Lord abides within the mind; the True Word of His Bani is Ambrosial Nectar. ||3|| The Shabad calms the turbulent waves of the mind; the tongue is intuively imbued with peace. So remain united forever with your True Guru, who is lovingly attuned to the Lord. ||4|| If the mortal dies in the Shabad, then he is liberated; he focuses his consciousness on the Lord's Feet. The Lord is an Ocean; His Water is Forever Pure. Whoever bathes in it is intuitively imbued with peace. ||5|| Those who contemplate the Shabad are forever imbued with His Love; their egotism and desires are subdued. The Pure, Unattached Lord permeates their inner beings; the Lord, the Supreme Soul, is pervading all. ||6|| Your humble servants serve You, O Lord; those who are imbued with the Truth are pleasing to Your Mind. Those who are involved in duality do not find the Mansion of the Lord's Presence; caught in the false nature of the world, they do not discriminate between merits and demerits. ||7|| When the Lord merges us into Himself, we speak the Unspoken Speech; True is the Shabad, and True is the Word of His Bani. O Nanak, the true people are absorbed in the Truth; they chant the Name of the Lord. ||8||1|| Saarang, Third Mehl: O my mind, the Name of the Lord is supremely sweet.

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 038

It is the Destroyer of the sins, the guilt and fears of countless incarnations; the Gurmukh sees the One Lord. ||1||Pause|| Millions upon millions of sins are erased, when the mind comes to love the True Lord. I do not know any other, except the Lord; the True Guru has revealed the One Lord to me. ||1|| Those whose hearts are filled with the wealth of the Lord's Love, remain intuitively absorbed in Him. Imbued with the Shabad, they are dyed in the deep crimson colour of His Love. They are imbued with the Lord's celestial peace and poise. ||2|| Contemplating the Shabad, the tongue is imbued with joy; embracing His Love, it is dyed a deep crimson. I have come to know the Name of the Pure Detached Lord; my mind is satisfied and comforted. ||3|| The Pandits, the religious scholars, read and study, and all the silent sages have grown weary; they have grown weary of wearing their religious robes and wandering all around. By Guru's Grace, I have found the Immaculate Lord; I contemplate the True Word of the Shabad. ||4|| My coming and going in reincarnation is ended, and I am imbued with Truth; the True Word of the Shabad is pleasing to my mind. Serving the True Guru, eternal peace is found, and self-conceit is eliminated from within. ||5|| Through the True Word of the Shabad, the celestial melody wells up, and the mind is lovingly focused on the True Lord. The Immaculate Naam, the Name of the Inaccessible and Unfathomable Lord, abides in the mind of the Gurmukh. ||6|| The whole world is contained in the One Lord. How rare are those who understand the One Lord. One who dies in the Shabad comes to know everything; night and day, he realises the One Lord. ||7|| That humble being, upon whom the Lord casts His Glance of Grace, understands. Nothing else can be said. O Nanak, those who are imbued with the Naam are forever detached from the world; they are lovingly attuned to the One Word of the Shabad. ||8||2|| Saarang, Third Mehl: O my mind, the Speech of the Lord is unspoken. That humble being who is blessed by the Lord's Glance of Grace, obtains it. How rare is that Gurmukh who understands. ||1||Pause|| The Lord is Deep, Profound and Unfathomable, the Ocean of Excellence; He is realised through the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Mortals do their deeds in all sorts of ways, in the love of duality; but without the Shabad, they are insane. ||1|| That humble being who bathes in the Lord's Name becomes immaculate; he never becomes polluted again. Without the Name, the whole world is polluted; wandering in duality, it loses its honour. ||2|| What should I grasp? What should I gather up or leave behind? I do not know. O Dear Lord, Your Name is the Help and Support of those whom You bless with Your kindness and compassion. ||3|| The True Lord is the True Giver, the Architect of Destiny; as He pleases, He links mortals to the Name. He alone comes to understand, who enters the Guru's Gate, whom the Lord Himself instructs. ||4|| Even gazing upon the wonders of the Lord, this mind does not think of Him. The world comes and goes in reincarnation. Serving the True Guru, the mortal comes to understand, and finds the Door of Salvation. ||5|| Those who understand the Lord's Court, never suffer separation from him. The True Guru has imparted this understanding. They practice truth, self-restraint and good deeds; their comings and goings are ended. ||6|| In the Court of the True Lord, they practice Truth. The Gurmukhs take the Support of the True Lord.

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 039

The self-willed manmukhs wander, lost in doubt and duality. They do not know how to contemplate the Lord. ||7|| He Himself is the Gurmukh, and He Himself gives; He Himself creates and beholds. O Nanak, those humble beings are approved, whose honour the Lord Himself accepts. ||8||3|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl, Ashtapadees, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O Lord of the World, I gaze upon Your wondrous glory. You are the Doer, the Cause of causes, the Creator and Destroyer. You are the Sovereign Lord of all. ||1||Pause|| The rulers and nobles and kings shall become beggars. Their ostentatious shows are false . My Sovereign Lord King is eternally stable. His Praises are sung in every heart. ||1|| Listen to the Praises of my Lord King, O Saints. I chant them as best I can. My Lord King, the Great Giver, is Immeasurable. He is the Highest of the high. ||2|| He has strung His Breath throughout the creation; He locked the fire in the wood. He placed the water and the land together, but neither blends with the other. ||3|| In each and every heart, the Story of our Sovereign Lord is told; in each and every home, they yearn for Him. Afterwards, He created all beings and creatures; but first, He provided them with sustenance. ||4|| Whatever He does, He does by Himself. Who has ever given Him advice? The mortals make all sorts of efforts and showy displays, but He is realised only through the Teachings of Truth. ||5|| The Lord protects and saves His devotees; He blesses them with the glory of His Name. Whoever is disrespectful to the humble servant of the Lord, shall be swept away and destroyed. ||6|| Those who join the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, are liberated; all their demerits are taken away. Seeing them, God becomes merciful; they are carried across the terrifying world-ocean. ||7|| I am lowly, I am nothing at all; You are my Great Lord and Master - how can I even contemplate Your creative potency? My mind and body are cooled and soothed, gazing upon the Blessed Vision of the Guru's Darshan. Nanak takes the Support of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||8||1|| Saarang, Fifth Mehl, Ashtapadees, Sixth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Listen to the Story of the Inaccessible and Unfathomable. The glory of the Supreme Lord God is wondrous and amazing! ||1||Pause|| Forever and ever, humbly bow to the True Guru. By Guru's Grace, sing the Glorious Praises of the Infinite Lord. His Light shall radiate deep within your mind. With the healing ointment of spiritual wisdom, ignorance is dispelled. ||1|| There is no limit to His Expanse. His Glory is Infinite and Endless. His many plays cannot be counted. He is not subject to pleasure or pain. ||2|| Many Brahmas vibrate Him in the Vedas. Many Shivas sit in deep meditation.

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 040

Many beings take incarnation. Many Indras stand at the Lord's Door. ||3|| Many winds, fires and waters. Many jewels, and oceans of butter and milk. Many suns, moons and stars. Many gods and goddesses of so many kinds. ||4|| Many earths, many wish-fulfilling cows. Many miraculous Elysian trees, many Krishnas playing the flute. Many Akaashic ethers, many nether regions of the underworld. Many mouths chant and meditate on the Lord. ||5|| Many Shaastras, Simritees and Puraanas. Many ways in which we speak. Many listeners listen to the Lord of Treasure. The Lord God totally permeates all beings. ||6|| Many righteous judges of Dharma, many gods of wealth. Many gods of water, many mountains of gold. Many thousand-headed snakes, chanting ever-new Names of God. They do not know the limits of the Supreme Lord God. ||7|| Many solar systems, many galaxies. Many forms, colours and celestial realms. Many gardens, many fruits and roots. He Himself is mind, and He Himself is matter. ||8|| Many ages, days and nights. Many apocalypses, many creations. Many beings are in His home. The Lord is perfectly pervading all places. ||9|| Many Mayas, which cannot be known. Many are the ways in which our Sovereign Lord plays. Many exquisite melodies sing of the Lord. Many recording scribes of the conscious and subconscious are revealed there. ||10|| He is above all, and yet He dwells with His devotees. Twenty-four hours a day, they sing His Praises with love. Many unstruck melodies resound and resonate with bliss. There is no end or limit of that sublime essence. ||11|| True is the Primal Being, and True is His dwelling. He is the Highest of the high, Immaculate and Detached, in Nirvaanaa. He alone knows His handiwork. He Himself pervades each and every heart. The Merciful Lord is the Treasure of Compassion, O Nanak. Those who chant and meditate on Him, O Nanak, are exalted and enraptured. ||12||1||2||2||3||7|| Saarang, Chhant, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: See the Giver of fearlessness in all. The Detached Lord is totally permeating each and every heart. Like waves in the water, He created the creation. He enjoys all tastes, and takes pleasure in all hearts. There is no other like Him at all. The colour of the Lord's Love is the one colour of our Lord and Master; in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, God is realised. O Nanak, I am drenched with the Blessed Vision of the Lord, like the fish in the water. I see the Giver of fearlessness in all. ||1|| What praises should I give, and what approval should I offer to Him? The Perfect Lord is totally pervading and permeating all places. The Perfect Enticing Lord adorns each and every heart. When He withdraws, the mortal turns to dust.

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 041

Why do you not worship and adore Him? Join together with the Holy Saints; any instant, your time shall come. All your property and wealth, and all that you see - none of it will go along with you. Says Nanak, worship and adore the Lord, Har, Har. What praise, and what approval, can I offer to Him? ||2|| I ask the Saints, what is my Lord and Master like? I offer my heart, to one who brings me news of Him. Give me news of my Dear God; where does the Enticer live? He is the Giver of peace to life and limb; God is totally permeating all places, interspaces and countries. He is liberated from bondage, joined to each and every heart. I cannot say what the Lord is like. Gazing upon His wondrous play, O Nanak, my mind is fascinated. I humbly ask, what is my Lord and Master like? ||3|| In His Kindness, He has come to His humble servant. Blessed is that heart, in which the Lord's Feet are enshrined. His Feet are enshrined within, in the Society of the Saints; the darkness of ignorance is dispelled. The heart is enlightened and illumined and enraptured; God has been found. Pain is gone, and peace has come to my house. The ultimate intuitive peace prevails. Says Nanak, I have found the Perfect Lord; in His Kindness, He has come to His humble servant. ||4||1|| Vaar Of Saarang, Fourth Mehl, To Be Sung To The Tune Of Mehma-Hasna: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Shalok, Second Mehl: The key of the Guru opens the lock of attachment, in the house of the mind, under the roof of the body. O Nanak, without the Guru, the door of the mind cannot be opened. No one else holds the key in hand. ||1|| First Mehl: He is not won over by music, songs or the Vedas. He is not won over by intuitive wisdom, meditation or Yoga. He is not won over by feeling sad and depressed forever. He is not won over by beauty, wealth and pleasures. He is not won over by wandering naked at sacred shrines. He is not won over by giving donations in charity. He is not won over by living alone in the wilderness. He is not won over by fighting

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and dying as a warrior in battle. He is not won over by becoming the dust of the masses. The account is written of the loves of the mind. O Nanak, the Lord is won over only by His Name. ||2|| First Mehl: You may study the nine grammars, the six Shaastras and the six divions of the Vedas. You may recite the Mahaabhaarata. Even these cannot find the limits of the Lord. Without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, how can anyone be liberated? Brahma, in the lotus of the navel, does not know the limits of God. The Gurmukh, O Nanak, realises the Naam. ||3|| Pauree: The Immaculate Lord Himself, by Himself, created Himself. He Himself created the whole drama of all the world's play. He Himself formed the three gunas, the three qualities; He increased the attachment to Maya. By Guru's Grace, they are saved - those who love the Will of God. O Nanak, the True Lord is pervading everywhere; all are contained within the True Lord. ||1||

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 042

Shalok, Second Mehl: He Himself creates, O Nanak; He establishes the various creatures. How can anyone be called bad? We have only One Lord and Master. There is One Lord and Master of all; He watches over all, and assigns all to their tasks. Some have less, and some have more; no one is allowed to leave empty. Naked we come, and naked we go; in between, we put on a show. O Nanak, one who does not understand the Hukam of God's Command - what will he have to do in the world hereafter? ||1|| First Mehl: He sends out the various created beings, and he calls back the various created beings again. He himself establishes, and He Himself disestablishes. He fashions them in various forms. And all the human beings who wander around as beggars, He Himself gives in charity to them. As it is recorded, the mortals speak, and as it is recorded, they walk. So why put on all this show? This is the basis of intelligence; this is certified and approved. Nanak speaks and proclaims it. By past actions, each being is judged; what else can anyone say? ||2|| Pauree: The Guru's Word makes the drama play itself out. Through virtue, this becomes evident. Whoever utters the Word of the Guru's Bani - the Lord is enshrined in his mind. Maya's power is gone, and doubt is eradicated; awaken to the Light of the Lord. Those who hold onto goodness as their treasure meet the Guru, the Primal Being. O Nanak, they are intuitively absorbed and blended into the Name of the Lord. ||2|| Shalok, Second Mehl: The merchants come from the Banker; He sends the account of their destiny with them. On the basis of their accounts, He issues the Hukam of His Command, and they are left to take care of their merchandise. The merchants have purchased their merchandise and packed up their cargo. Some depart after having earned a good profit, while others leave, having lost their investment altogether. No one asks to have less; who should be celebrated? The Lord casts His Glance of Grace, O Nanak, upon those who have preserved their capital investment. ||1|| First Mehl: United, the united separate, and separated, they unite again. Living, the living die, and dying, they live again. They become the fathers of many, and the sons of many; they become the gurus of many, and the disciples. No account can be made of the future or the past; who knows what shall be, or what was? All the actions and events of the past are recorded; the Doer did, He does, and He will do. The self-willed manmukh dies, while the Gurmukh is saved; O Nanak, the Gracious Lord bestows His Glance of Grace. ||2|| Pauree: The self-willed manmukh wanders in duality, lured and enticed by duality. He practices falsehood and deception, telling lies. Love and attachment to children and spouse is total misery and pain. He is gagged and bound at the door of the Messenger of Death; he dies, and wanders lost in reincarnation. The self-willed manmukh wastes his life; Nanak loves the Lord. ||3|| Shalok, Second Mehl: Those who are blessed with the glorious greatness of Your Name - their minds are imbued with Your Love. O Nanak, there is only One Ambrosial Nectar; there is no other nectar at all. O Nanak, the Ambrosial Nectar is obtained within the mind, by Guru's Grace. They alone drink it in with love, who have such pre-ordained destiny. ||1||

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 043

Second Mehl: Why praise the created being? Praise the One who created all. O Nanak, there is no other Giver, except the One Lord. Praise the Creator Lord, who created the creation. Praise the Great Giver, who gives sustenence to all. O Nanak, the treasure of the Eternal Lord is over-flowing. Praise and honour the One, who has no end or limitation. ||2|| Pauree: The Name of the Lord is a treasure. Serving it, peace is obtained. I chant the Name of the Immaculate Lord, so that I may go home with honour. The Word of the Gurmukh is the Naam; I enshrine the Naam within my heart. The bird of the intellect comes under one's control, by meditating on the True Guru. O Nanak, if the Lord becomes merciful, the mortal lovingly tunes in to the Naam. ||4|| Shalok, Second Mehl: How can we speak of Him? Only He knows Himself. His decree cannot be challenged; He is our Supreme Lord and Master. By His Decree, even kings, nobles and commanders must step down. Whatever is pleasing to His Will, O Nanak, is a good deed. By His Decree, we walk; nothing rests in our hands. When the Order comes from our Lord and Master, all must rise up and take to the road. As His Decree is issued, so is His Command obeyed. Those who are sent, come, O Nanak; when they are called back, they depart and go. ||1|| Second Mehl: Those whom the Lord blesses with His Praises, are the true keepers of the treasure. Those who are blessed with the key - they alone receive the treasure. That treasure, from which virtue wells up - that treasure is approved. Those who are blessed by His Glance of Grace, O Nanak, bear the Insignia of the Naam. ||2|| Pauree: The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is immaculate and pure; hearing it, peace is obtained. Listening and hearing, It is enshrined in the mind; how rare is that humble being who realises it. Sitting down and standing up, I shall never forget Him, the Truest of the true. His devotees have the Support of His Name; in His Name, they find peace. O Nanak, He permeates and pervades mind and body; He is the Lord, the Guru's Word. ||5|| Shalok, First Mehl: O Nanak, the weight is weighed out, when the soul is placed on the scale. Nothing is equal to speaking of the One, who perfectly unites us with the Perfect Lord. To call Him glorious and great carries such a heavy weight. Other intellectualisms are lightweight; other words are lightweight as well. The weight of the earth, water and mountains - how can the goldsmith weigh it on the scale? What weights can balance the scale? O Nanak, when questioned, the answer is given. The blind fool is running around, leading the blind. The more they say, the more they expose themselves. ||1|| First Mehl: It is difficult to chant it; it is difficult to listen to it. It cannot be chanted with the mouth. Some speak with their mouths and chant the Word of the Shabad - the low and the high, day and night. If He were something, then He would be visible. His form and state cannot be seen. The Creator Lord does all deeds; He is established in the hearts of the high and the low.

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 044

It is so difficult to chant it, O Nanak; it cannot be chanted with the mouth. ||2|| Pauree: Hearing the Name, the mind is delighted. The Name brings peace and tranquility. Hearing the Name, the mind is satisfied, and all pains are taken away. Hearing the Name, one becomes famous; the Name brings glorious greatness. The Name brings all honour and status; through the Name, salvation is obtained. The Gurmukh meditates on the Name; Nanak is lovingly attuned to the Name. ||6|| Shalok, First Mehl: Impurity does not come from music; impurity does not come from the Vedas. Impurity does not come from the phases of the sun and the moon. Impurity does not come from food; impurity does not come from ritual cleansing baths. Impurity does not come from the rain, which falls everywhere. Impurity does not come from the earth; impurity does not come from the water. Impurity does not come from the air which is diffused everywhere. O Nanak, the one who has no Guru, has no redeeming virtues at all. Impurity comes from turning one's face away from God. ||1|| First Mehl: O Nanak, the mouth is truly cleansed by ritual cleansing, if you really know how to do it. For the intuitively aware, cleansing is spiritual wisdom. For the Yogi, it is self-control. For the Brahmin, cleansing is contentment; for the householder, it is truth and charity. For the king, cleansing is justice; for the scholar, it is true meditation. The consciousness is not washed with water; you drink it to quench your thirst. Water is the father of the world; in the end, water destroys it all. ||2|| Pauree: Hearing the Name, all supernatural spiritual powers are obtained, and wealth follows along. Hearing the Name, the nine treasures are received, and the mind's desires are obtained. Hearing the Name, contentment comes, and Maya meditates at one's feet. Hearing the Name, intuitive peace and poise wells up. Through the Guru's Teachings, the Name is obtained; O Nanak, sing His Glorious Praises. ||7|| Shalok, First Mehl: In pain, we are born; in pain, we die. In pain, we deal with the world. Hereafter, there is said to be pain, only pain; the more the mortals read, the more they cry out. The packages of pain are untied, but peace does not emerge. In pain, the soul burns; in pain, it departs weeping and wailing. O Nanak, imbued with the Lord's Praise, the mind and body blossom forth, rejuvenated. In the fire of pain, the mortals die; but pain is also the cure. ||1|| First Mehl: O Nanak, worldly pleasures are nothing more than dust. They are the dust of the dust of ashes. The mortal earns only the dust of the dust; his body is covered with dust. When the soul is taken out of the body, it too is covered with dust. And when one's account is called for in the world hereafter, he receives only ten times more dust. ||2|| Pauree: Hearing the Name, one is blessed with purity and self-control, and the Messenger of Death will not draw near. Hearing the Name, the heart is illumined, and darkness is dispelled. Hearing the Name, one comes to understand his own self, and the profit of the Name is obtained. Hearing the Name, sins are eradicated, and one meets the Immaculate True Lord. O Nanak, hearing the Name, one's face becomes radiant. As Gurmukh, meditate on the Name. ||8|| Shalok, First Mehl: In your home, is the Lord God, along with all your other gods.

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 045

You wash your stone gods and worship them. You offer saffron, sandalwood and flowers. Falling at their feet, you try so hard to appease them. Begging, begging from other people, you get things to wear and eat. For your blind deeds, you will be blindly punished. Your idol does not feed the hungry, or save the dying. The blind assembly argues in blindness. ||1|| First Mehl: All intuitive understanding, all Yoga, all the Vedas and Puraanas. All actions, all penances, all songs and spiritual wisdom. All intellect, all enlightenment, all sacred shrines of pilgrimage. All kingdoms, all royal commands, all joys and all delicacies. All mankind, all divinites, all Yoga and meditation. All worlds, all celestial realms; all the beings of the universe. According to His Hukam, He commands them. His Pen writes out the account of their actions. O Nanak, True is the Lord, and True is His Name. True is His Congregation and His Court. ||2|| Pauree: With faith in the Name, peace wells up; the Name brings emancipation. With faith in the Name, honour is obtained. The Lord is enshrined in the heart. With faith in the Name, one crosses over the terrifying world-ocean, and no obstructions are ever again encountered. With faith in the Name, the Path is revealed; through the Name, one is totally enlightened. O Nanak, meeting with the True Guru, one comes to have faith in the Name; he alone has faith, who is blessed with it. ||9|| Shalok, First Mehl: The mortal walks on his head through the worlds and realms; he meditates, balaced on one foot. Controlling the wind of the breath, he meditates within his mind, tucking his chin down into his chest. What does he lean on? Where does he get his power? What can be said, O Nanak? Who is blessed by the Creator? God keeps all under His Command, but the fool shows off himself. ||1|| First Mehl: He is, He is - I say it millions upon millions, millions upon millions of times. With my mouth I say it, forever and ever; there is no end to this speech. I do not get tired, and I will not be stopped; this is how great my determination is. O Nanak, this is tiny and insignificant. To say that it is more, is wrong. ||2|| Pauree: With faith in the Name, all one's ancestors and family are saved. With faith in the Name, one's associates are saved; enshrine it within your heart. With faith in the Name, those who hear it are saved; let your tongue delight in it. With faith in the Name, pain and hunger are dispelled; let your consciousness be attached to the Name. O Nanak, they alone Praise the Name, who meet with the Guru. ||10|| Shalok, First Mehl: All nights, all days, all dates, all days of the week; All seasons, all months, all the earth and everything on it. All waters, all winds, all fires and underworlds. All solar systems and galaxies, all worlds, people and forms. No one knows how great the Hukam of His Command is; no one can describe His actions. Mortals may utter, chant, recite and contemplate His Praises until they grow weary. The poor fools, O Nanak, cannot find even a tiny bit of the Lord. ||1|| First Mehl: If I were to walk around with my eyes wide open, gazing at all the created forms; I could ask the spiritual teachers and religious scholars, and those who contemplate the Vedas;

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I could ask the gods, mortal men, warriors and divine incarnations; I could consult all the Siddhas in Samaadhi, and go to see the Lord's Court. Hereafter, Truth is the Name of all; the Fearless Lord has no fear at all. False are other intellectualisms, false and shallow; blind are the contemplations of the blind. O Nanak, by the karma of good actions, the mortal comes to meditate on the Lord; by His Grace, we are carried across. ||2|| Pauree: With faith in the Name, evil-mindedness is eradicated, and the intellect is enlightened. With faith in the Name, egotism is eradicated, and all sickness is cured. Believing in the Name, The Name wells up, and intuitive peace and poise are obtained. Believing in the Name, tranquility and peace well up, and the Lord is enshrined in the mind. O Nanak, the Name is a jewel; the Gurmukh meditates on the Lord. ||11|| Shalok, First Mehl: If there were any other equal to You, O Lord, I would speak to them of You. You, I praise You; I am blind, but through the Name, I am all-seeing. Whatever is spoken, is the Word of the Shabad. Chanting it with love, we are embellished. Nanak, this is the greatest thing to say: all glorious greatness is Yours. ||1|| First Mehl: When there was nothing, what happened? What happens when one is born? The Creator, the Doer, does all; He watches over all, again and again . Whether we keep silent or beg out loud, the Great Giver blesses us with His gifts. The One Lord is the Giver; we are all beggars. I have seen this throughout the Universe. Nanak knows this: the Great Giver lives forever. ||2|| Pauree: With faith in the Name, intuitive awareness wells up; through the Name, intelligence comes. With faith in the Name, chant the Glories of God; through the Name, peace is obtained. With faith in the Name, doubt is eradicated, and the mortal never suffers again. With faith in the Name, sing His Praises, and your sinful intellect shall be washed clean. O Nanak, through the Perfect Guru, one comes to have faith in the Name; they alone receive it, unto whom He gives it. ||12|| Shalok, First Mehl: Some read the Shaastras, the Vedas and the Puraanas. They recite them, out of ignorance. If they really understood them, they would

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realise the Lord. Nanak says, there is no need to shout so loud. ||1|| First Mehl: When I am Yours, then everything is mine. When I am not, You are. You Yourself are All-powerful, and You Yourself are the Intuitive Knower. The whole world is strung on the Power of Your Shakti. You Yourself send out the mortal beings, and You Yourself call them back home. Having created the creation, You behold it. O Nanak, True is the Name of the True Lord; through Truth, one is accepted by the Primal Lord God. ||2|| Pauree: The Name of the Immaculate Lord is unknowable. How can it be known? The Name of the Immaculate Lord is with the mortal being. How can it be obtained, O Siblings of Destiny? The Name of the Immaculate Lord is all-pervading and permeating everywhere. Through the Perfect Guru, it is obtained. It is revealed within the heart. O Nanak, when the Merciful Lord grants His Grace, the mortal meets with the Guru, O Siblings of Desitny. ||13|| Shalok, First Mehl: In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, people have faces like dogs; they eat rotting carcasses for food. They bark and speak, telling only lies; all thought of righteousness has left them. Those who have no honour while alive, will have an evil reputation after they die.

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Whatever is predestined, happens, O Nanak; whatever the Creator does, comes to pass. ||1|| First Mehl: Women have become advisors, and men have become hunters. Humility, self-control and purity have run away; people eat the uneatable, forbidden food. Modesty has left her home, and honour has gone away with her. O Nanak, there is only One True Lord; do not bother to search for any other as true. ||2|| Pauree: You smear your outer body with ashes, but within, you are filled with darkness. You wear the patched coat and all the right clothes and robes, but you are still egotistical and proud. You do not chant the Shabad, the Word of Your Lord and Master; you are attached to the expanse of Maya. Within, you are filled with greed and doubt; you wander around like a fool. Says Nanak, you never even think of the Naam; you have lost the game of life in the gamble. ||14|| Shalok, First Mehl: You may be in love with tens of thousands, and live for thousands of years; but what good are these pleasures and occupations? And when you must separate from them, that separation is like poison, but they will be gone in an instant. You may eat sweets for a hundred years, but eventually, you will have to eat the bitter as well. Then, you will not remember eating the sweets; bitterness will permeate you. The sweet and the bitter are both diseases. O Nanak, eating them, you will come to ruin in the end. It is useless to worry and struggle to death. Entangled in worries and struggles, people exhaust themselves. ||1|| First Mehl: They have fine clothes and furniture of various colours. Their houses are painted beautifully white. In pleasure and poise, they play their mind games. When they approach You, O Lord, they shall be spoken to. They think it is sweet, so they eat the bitter. The bitter disease grows in the body. If, later on, they receive the sweet, then their bitterness shall be gone, O mother. O Nanak, the Gurmukh is blessed to receive what he is predestined to receive. ||2|| Pauree: Those whose hearts are filled with the filth of deception, may wash themselves on the outside. They practice falsehood and deception, and their falsehood is revealed. That which is within them, comes out; it cannot be concealed by concealment. Attached to falsehood and greed, the mortal is consigned to reincarnation over and over again. O Nanak, whatever the mortal plants, he must eat. The Creator Lord has written our destiny. ||15|| Shalok, Second Mehl: The Vedas bring forth stories and legends, and thoughts of vice and virtue. What is given, they receive, and what is received, they give. They are reincarnated in heaven and hell. High and low, social class and status - the world wanders lost in superstition. The Ambrosial Word of Gurbani proclaims the essence of reality. Spiritual wisdom and meditation are contained within it. The Gurmukhs chant it, and the Gurmukhs realise it. Intuitively aware, they meditate on it. By the Hukam of His Command, He formed the Universe, and in His Hukam, He keeps it. By His Hukam, He keeps it under His Gaze. O Nanak, if the mortal shatters his ego before he departs, as it is pre-ordained, then he is approved. ||1|| First Mehl: The Vedas proclaim that vice and virtue are the seeds of heaven and hell. Whatever is planted, shall grow. The soul eats the fruits of its actions, and understands. Whoever praises spiritual wisdom as great, becomes truthful in the True Name. When Truth is planted, Truth grows. In the Court of the Lord, you shall find your place of honour.

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The Vedas are only merchants; spiritual wisdom is the capital; by His Grace, it is received. O Nanak, without capital, no one has ever departed with profit. ||2|| Pauree: You can water a bitter neem tree with ambrosial nectar. You can feed a venomous snake lots of milk. The self-willed manmukh is resistant; he cannot be softened. You might as well water a stone. Irrigating a poisonous plant with ambrosial nectar, only poisonous fruit is obtained. O Lord, please unite Nanak with the Sangat, the Holy Congregation, so that he may be rid of all poison. ||16|| Shalok, First Mehl: Death does not ask the time; it does not ask the date or the day of the week. Some have packed up, and some who have packed up have gone. Some are severely punished, and some are taken care of. They must leave their armies and drums, and their beautiful mansions. O Nanak, the pile of dust is once again reduced to dust. ||1|| First Mehl: O Nanak, the pile shall fall apart; the fortress of the body is made of dust. The thief has settled within you; O soul, your life is false. ||2|| Pauree: Those who are filled with vicious slander, shall have their noses cut, and be shamed. They are totally ugly, and always in pain. Their faces are blackened by Maya. They rise early in the morning, to cheat and steal from others; they hide from the Lord's Name. O Dear Lord, let me not even associate with them; save me from them, O my Sovereign Lord King. O Nanak, the self-willed manmukhs act according to their past deeds, producing nothing but pain. ||17|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: Everyone belongs to our Lord and Master. Everyone came from Him. Only by realising the Hukam of His Command, is Truth obtained. The Gurmukh realises his own self; no one appears evil to him. O Nanak, the Gurmukh meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Fruitful is his coming into the world. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: He Himself is the Giver of all; He unites all with Himself. O Nanak, they are united with the Word of the Shabad; serving the Lord, the Great Giver, they shall never be separated from Him again. ||2|| Pauree: Peace and tranquility fill the heart of the Gurmukh; the Name wells up within them. Chanting and meditation, penance and self-discipline, and bathing at sacred shrines of pilgrimage - the merits of these come by pleasing my God. So serve the Lord with a pure heart; singing His Glorious Praises, you shall be embellished and exalted. My Dear Lord is pleased by this; he carries the Gurmukh across. O Nanak, the Gurmukh is merged with the Lord; he is embellished in His Court. ||18|| Shalok, First Mehl: Thus speaks the wealthy man: I should go and get more wealth. Nanak becomes poor on that day when he forgets the Lord's Name. ||1|| First Mehl: The sun rises and sets, and the lives of all run out. The mind and body experience pleasures; one loses, and another wins. Everyone is puffed up with pride; even after they are spoken to, they do not stop. O Nanak, the Lord Himself sees all; when He takes the air out of the balloon, the body falls. ||2|| Pauree: The treasure of the Name is in the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. There, the Lord is found.

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By Guru's Grace, the heart is illumined, and darkness is dispelled. Iron is transformed into gold, when it touches the Philosopher's Stone. O Nanak, meeting with the True Guru, the Name is obtained. Meeting Him, the mortal meditates on the Name. Those who have virtue as their treasure, obtain the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. ||19|| Shalok, First Mehl: Cursed are the lives of those who read and write the Lord's Name to sell it. Their crop is devastated - what harvest will they have? Lacking truth and humility, they shall not be appreciated in the world hereafter. Wisdom which leads to arguments is not called wisdom. Wisdom leads us to serve our Lord and Master; through wisdom, honour is obtained. Wisdom does not come by reading textbooks; wisdom inspires us to give in charity. Says Nanak, this is the Path; other things lead to Satan. ||1|| Second Mehl: Mortals are known by their actions; this is the way it has to be. They should show goodness, and not be deformed by their actions; this is how they are called beautiful. Whatever they desire, they shall receive; O Nanak, they become the very image of God. ||2|| Pauree: The True Guru is the tree of ambrosia. it bears the fruit of sweet nectar. He alone receives it, who is so pre-destined, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad. One who walks in harmony with the Will of the True Guru, is blended with the Lord. The Messenger of Death cannot even see him; his heart is illumined with God's Light. O Nanak, God forgives him, and blends him with Himself; he does not rot away in the womb of reincarnation ever again. ||20|| Shalok, First Mehl: Those who have truth as their fast, contentment as their sacred shrine of pilgrimage, spiritual wisdom and meditation as their cleansing bath, kindness as their deity, and forgiveness as their chanting beads - they are the most excellent people. Those who take the Way as their loincloth, and intuitive awareness their ritualistically purified enclosure, with good deeds their ceremonial forehead mark, and love their food - O Nanak, they are very rare. ||1|| Third Mehl: On the ninth day of the month, make a vow to speak the Truth, and your sexual desire, anger and desire shall be eaten up. On the tenth day, regulate your ten doors; on the eleventh day, know that the Lord is One. On the twelfth day, the five thieves are subdued, and then, O Nanak, the mind is pleased and appeased. Observe such a fast as this, O Pandit, O religious scholar; of what use are all the other teachings? ||2|| Pauree: Kings, rulers and monarchs enjoy pleasures and gather the poison of Maya. In love with it, they collect more and more, stealing the wealth of others. They do not trust their own children or spouses; they are totally attached to the love of Maya. But even as they look on, Maya cheats them, and they come to regret and repent. Bound and gagged at Death's door, they are beaten and punished; O Nanak, it pleases the Will of the Lord. ||21|| Shalok, First Mehl: The one who lacks spiritual wisdom sings religious songs. The hungry Mullah turns his home into a mosque. The lazy unemployed has his ears pierced to look like a Yogi. Someone else becomes a panhandler, and loses his social status. One who calls himself a guru or a spiritual teacher, while he goes around begging - don't ever touch his feet. One who works for what he eats, and gives some of what he has - O Nanak, he knows the Path. ||1||

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First Mehl: Those mortals whose minds are like deep dark pits do not understand the purpose of life, even when it is explained to them. Their minds are blind, and their heart-lotuses are upside-down; they look totally ugly. Some know how to speak, and understand what they are told. They are wise and beautiful. Some do not understand about the Sound-current of the Naad or the Vedas, music, virtue or vice. Some are not blessed with understanding, intelligence, or sublime intellect; they do not grasp the mystery of God's Word. O Nanak, they are donkeys; they are very proud of themselves, but they have no virtues at all. ||2|| Pauree: To the Gurmukh, everything is sacred: wealth, property, Maya. Those who spend the wealth of the Lord find peace through giving. Those who meditate on the Lord's Name shall never be deprived. The Gurmukhs come to see the Lord, and leave behind the things of Maya. O Nanak, the devotees do not think of anything else; they are absorbed in the Name of the Lord. ||22|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: Those who serve the True Guru are very fortunate. They are lovingly attuned to the True Shabad, the Word of the One God. In their own household and family, they are in natural Samaadhi. O Nanak, those who are attuned to the Naam are truly detached from the world. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: Calculated service is not service at all, and what is done is not approved. The flavor of the Shabad, the Word of God, is not tasted if the mortal is not in love with the True Lord God. The stubborn-minded person does not even like the True Guru; he comes and goes in reincarnation. He takes one step forward, and ten steps back. The mortal works to serve the True Guru, if he walks in harmony with the True Guru's Will. He loses his self-conceit, and meets the True Guru; he remains intuitively absorbed in the Lord. O Nanak, they never forget the Naam, the Name of the Lord; they are united in Union with the True Lord. ||2|| Pauree: They call themselves emperors and rulers, but none of them will be allowed to stay. Their sturdy forts and mansions - none of them will go along with them. Their gold and horses, fast as the wind, are cursed, and cursed are their clever tricks. Eating the thirty-six delicacies, they become bloated with pollution. O Nanak, the self-willed manmukh does not know the One who gives, and so he suffers in pain. ||23|| Shalok, Third Mehl: The Pandits, the religious scholars and the silent sages read and recite until they get tired. They wander through foreign lands in their religious robes, until they are exhausted. In love with duality, they never receive the Name. Held in the grasp of pain, they suffer terribly. The blind fools serve the three gunas, the three dispositions; they deal only with Maya. With deception in their hearts, the fools read sacred texts to fill their bellies. One who serves the True Guru finds peace; he eradicates egotism from within. O Nanak, there is One Name to chant and dwell on; how rare are those who reflect on this and understand. ||1|| Third Mehl: Naked we come, and naked we go. This is by the Lord's Command; what else can we do? The object belongs to Him; He shall take it away; with whom should one be angry. One who becomes Gurmukh accepts God's Will; he intuitively drinks in the Lord's sublime essence. O Nanak, praise the Giver of peace forever; with your tongue, savor the Lord. ||2||

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Pauree: The fortress of the body has been decorated and adorned in so many ways. The wealthy wear beautiful silk robes of various colours. They hold elegant and beautiful courts, on red and white carpets. But they eat in pain, and in pain they seek pleasure; they are very proud of their pride. O Nanak, the mortal does not even think of the Name, which shall deliver him in the end. ||24|| Shalok, Third Mehl: She sleeps in intuitive peace and poise, absorbed in the Word of the Shabad. God hugs her close in His Embrace, and merges her into Himself. Duality is eradicated with intuitive ease. The Naam comes to abide in her mind. He hugs close in His Embrace those who shatter and reform their beings. O Nanak, those who are predestined to meet Him, come and meet Him now. ||1|| Third Mehl: Those who forget the Naam, the Name of the Lord - so what if they chant other chants? They are maggots in manure, plundered by the thief of worldly entanglements. O Nanak, never forget the Naam; greed for anything else is false. ||2|| Pauree: Those who praise the Naam, and believe in the Naam, are eternally stable in this world. Within their hearts, they dwell on the Lord, and nothing else at all. With each and every hair, they chant the Lord's Name, each and every instant, the Lord. The birth of the Gurmukh is fruitful and certified; pure and unstained, his filth is washed away. O Nanak, meditating on the Lord of eternal life, the status of immortality is obtained. ||25|| Shalok, Third Mehl:

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Those who forget the Naam and do other things, O Nanak, will be bound and gagged and beaten in the City of Death, like the thief caught red-handed. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: The earth is beauteous, and the sky is lovely, chanting the Name of the Lord. O Nanak, those who lack the Naam - their carcasses are eaten by the crows. ||2|| Pauree: Those who lovingly praise the Naam, and dwell in the mansion of the self deep within, do not enter into reincarnation ever again; they shall never be destroyed. They remain immersed and absorbed in the love of the Lord, with every breath and morsel of food. The colour of the Lord's Love never fades away; the Gurmukhs are enlightened. Granting His Grace, He unites them with Himself; O Nanak, the Lord keeps them by His side. ||26|| Shalok, Third Mehl: As long as his mind is disturbed by waves, he is caught in ego and egotistical pride. He does not find the taste of the Shabad, and he does not embrace love for the Name. His service is not accepted; worrying and worrying, he wastes away in misery. O Nanak, he alone is called a selfless servant, who cuts off his head, and offers it to the Lord. He accepts the Will of the True Guru, and enshrines the Shabad within his heart. ||1|| Third Mehl: That is chanting and meditation, work and selfless service, which is pleasing to our Lord and Master. The Lord Himself forgives, and takes away self-conceit, and unites the mortals with Himself. United with the Lord, the mortal is never separated again; his light merges into the Light. O Nanak, by Guru's Grace, the mortal understands, when the Lord allows him to understand. ||2|| Pauree: All are held accountable, even the egotistical self-willed manmukhs. They never even think of the Name of the Lord; the Messenger of Death shall hit them on their heads.

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Their sin and corruption are like rusty slag; they carry such a heavy load. The path is treacherous and terrifying; how can they cross over to the other side? O Nanak, those whom the Guru protects are saved. They are saved in the Name of the Lord. ||27|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Without serving the True Guru, no one finds peace; mortals die and are reborn, over and over again. They have been given the drug of emotional attachment; in love with duality, they are totally corrupt. Some are saved, by Guru's Grace. Everyone humbly bows before such humble beings. O Nanak, meditate on the Naam, deep within yourself, day and night. You shall find the Door of Salvation. ||1|| Third Mehl: Emotionally attached to Maya, the mortal forgets truth, death and the Name of the Lord. Engaged in worldly affairs, his life wastes away; deep within himself, he suffers in pain. O Nanak, those who have the karma of such pre-ordained destiny, serve the True Guru and find peace. ||2|| Pauree: Read the account of the Name of the Lord, and you shall never again be called to account. No one will question you, and you will always be safe in the Court of the Lord. The Messenger of Death will meet you, and be your constant servant. Through the Perfect Guru, you shall find the Mansion of the Lord's Presence. You shall be famous throughout the world. O Nanak, the unstruck celestial melody vibrates at your door; come and merge with the Lord. ||28|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Whoever follows the Guru's Teachings, attains the most sublime peace of all peace. Acting in accordance with the Guru, his fear is cut away; O Nanak, he is carried across. ||1|| Third Mehl: The True Lord does not grow old; His Naam is never dirtied. Whoever walks in harmony with the Guru's Will, shall not be reborn again. O Nanak, those who forget the Naam, come and go in reincarnation. ||2|| Pauree: I am a beggar; I ask this blessing of You: O Lord, please embellish me with Your Love. I am so thirsty for the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan; His Darshan brings me satisfaction. I cannot live for a moment, for even an instant, without seeing Him, O my mother. The Guru has shown me that the Lord is always with me; He is permeating and pervading all places. He Himself wakes the sleepers, O Nanak, and lovingly attunes them to Himself. ||29|| Shalok, Third Mehl: The self-willed manmukhs do not even know how to speak. They are filled with sexual desire, anger and egotism. They do not know the difference between good and bad; they constantly think of corruption. In the Lord's Court, they are called to account, and they are judged to be false. He Himself creates the Universe. He Himself contemplates it. O Nanak, whom should we tell? The True Lord is permeating and pervading all. ||1|| Third Mehl: The Gurmukhs worship and adore the Lord; they receive the good karma of their actions. O Nanak, I am a sacrifice to those whose minds are filled with the Lord. ||2|| Pauree: All people cherish hope, that they will live long lives. They wish to live forever; they adorn and embellish their forts and mansions. By various frauds and deceptions, they steal the wealth of others. But the Messenger of Death keeps his gaze on their breath, and the life of those goblins decreases day by day.

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Nanak has come to the Sanctuary of the Guru, and is saved. The Guru, the Lord, is his Protector. ||30|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Reading and writing, the Pandits engage in debates and disputes; they are attached to the flavors of Maya. In the love of duality, they forget the Naam. Those foolish mortals shall receive their punishment. They do not serve the One who created them, who gives sustenance to all. The noose of Death around their necks is not cut off; they come and go in reincarnation, over and over again. The True Guru comes and meets those who have such pre-ordained destiny. Night and day, they meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord; O Nanak, they merge into the True Lord. ||1|| Third Mehl: Those Gurmukhs who fall at His Feet deal with the True Lord and serve the True Lord. O Nanak, those who walk in harmony with the Guru's Will are intuitively absorbed in the True Lord. ||2|| Pauree: In hope, there is very great pain; the self-willed manmukh focuses his consciousness on it. The Gurmukhs become desireless, and attain supreme peace. In the midst of their household, they remain detached; they are lovingly attuned to the Detached Lord. Sorrow and separation do not cling to them at all. They are pleased with the Lord's Will. O Nanak, they remain forever immersed in the Primal Lord, who blends them with Himself. ||31|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Why keep what is held in trust for another? Giving it back, peace is found. The Word of the Guru's Shabad rests in the Guru; it does not appear through anyone else. The blind man finds a jewel, and goes from house to house selling it. But they cannot appraise it, and they do not offer him even half a shell for it. If he cannot appraise it himself, then he should have it appraised by an appraiser. If he focuses his consciousness, then he obtains the true object, and he is blessed with the nine treasures. The wealth is within the house, while the world is dying of hunger. Without the True Guru, no one has a clue. When the cooling and soothing Shabad comes to dwell in the mind and body, there is no sorrow or separation there. The object belongs to someone else, but the fool is proud of it, and shows his shallow nature. O Nanak, without understanding, no one obtains it; they come and go in reincarnation, over and over again. ||1|| Third Mehl: My mind is in ecstasy; I have met my Beloved Lord. My beloved friends, the Saints, are delighted. Those who are united with the Primal Lord shall never be separated again. The Creator has united them with Himself. The Shabad permeates my inner being, and I have found the Guru; all my sorrows are dispelled. I praise forever the Lord, the Giver of peace; I keep Him enshrined deep within my heart. How can the self-willed manmukh gossip about those who are embellished and exalted in the True Word of the Shabad? My Beloved Himself preserves the honour of those who have come to the Guru's Door seeking Sanctuary. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs are filled with joy; their faces are radiant in the Court of the Lord. ||2|| Pauree: The husband and wife are very much in love; joining together, their love increases. Gazing on his children and his wife, the man is pleased and attached to Maya. Stealing the wealth of his own country and other lands, he brings it home and feeds them.

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 054

In the end, hatred and conflict well up, and no one can save him. O Nanak, without the Name, those loving attachments are cursed; engrossed in them, he suffers in pain. ||32|| Shalok, Third Mehl: The Guru's Word is the Ambrosial Nectar of the Naam. Eating it, all hunger departs. There is no thirst or desire at all, when the Naam comes to dwell in the mind. Eating anything other than the Name, disease runs to afflict the body. O Nanak, whoever takes the Praise of the Shabad as his spices and flavors - the Lord unites him in His Union. ||1|| Third Mehl: The life within all living beings is the Word of the Shabad. Through it, we meet our Husband Lord. Without the Shabad, the world is in darkness. Through the Shabad, it is enlightened. The Pandits, the religious scholars, and the silent sages read and write until they are weary. The religious fanatics are tired of washing their bodies. Without the Shabad, no one attains the Lord; the miserable depart weeping and wailing. O Nanak, by His Glance of Grace, the Merciful Lord is attained. ||2|| Pauree: The husband and wife are very much in love; sitting together, they make evil plans. All that is seen shall pass away. This is the Will of my God. How can anyone remain in this world forever? Some may try to devise a plan. Working for the Perfect Guru, the wall becomes permanent and stable. O Nanak, the Lord forgives them, and merges them into Himself; they are absorbed in the Lord's Name. ||33|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Attached to Maya, the mortal forgets the Fear of God and Guru, and love for the Infinite Lord. The waves of greed take away his wisdom and understanding, and he does not embrace love for the True Lord. The Word of the Shabad abides in the mind of the Gurmukhs, who find the Gate of Salvation. O Nanak, the Lord Himself forgives them, and unites them in Union with Himself. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: O Nanak, without Him, we could not live for a moment. Forgetting Him, we could not succeed for an instant. O mortal, how can you be angry with the One who cares for you? ||2|| Fourth Mehl: The rainy season of Saawan has come. The Gurmukh meditates on the Lord's Name. All pain, hunger and misfortune end, when the rain falls in torrents. The entire earth is rejuvenated, and the grain grows in abundance. The Carefree Lord, by His Grace, summons that mortal whom the Lord Himself approves. So meditate on the Lord, O Saints; He shall save you in the end. The Kirtan of the Lord's Praises and devotion to Him is bliss; peace shall come to dwell in the mind. Those Gurmukhs who worship the Naam, the Name of the Lord - their pain and hunger departs. Servant Nanak is satisfied, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Please embellish him with the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. ||3|| Pauree: The Perfect Guru bestows His gifts, which increase day by day. The Merciful Lord Himself bestows them; they cannot be concealed by concealment. The heart-lotus blossoms forth, and the mortal is lovingly absorbed in the state of supreme bliss. If anyone tries to challenge him, the Lord throws dust on his head. O Nanak, no one can equal the glory of the Perfect True Guru. ||34||

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 055

Shalok, Third Mehl: The Order of the Lord is beyond challenge. Clever tricks and arguments will not work against it. So abandon your self-conceit, and take to His Sanctuary; accept the Order of His Will. The Gurmukh eliminates self-conceit from within himself; he shall not be punished by the Messenger of Death. O Nanak, he alone is called a selfless servant, who remains lovingly attuned to the True Lord. ||1|| Third Mehl: All gifts, light and beauty are Yours. Excessive cleverness and egotism are mine. The mortal performs all sorts of rituals in greed and attachment; engrossed in egotsim, he shall never escape the cycle of reincarnation. O Nanak, the Creator Himself inspires all to act. Whatever pleases Him is good. ||2|| Pauree, Fifth Mehl: Let Truth be your food, and Truth your clothes, and take the Support of the True Name. The True Guru shall lead you to meet God, the Great Giver. When perfect destiny is activated, the mortal meditates on the Formless Lord. Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, you shall cross over the world-ocean. O Nanak, chant God's Praises, and celebrate His Victory. ||35|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: In Your Mercy, You care for all beings and creatures. You produce corn and water in abundance; You eliminate pain and poverty, and carry all beings across. The Great Giver listened to my prayer, and the world has been cooled and comforted. Take me into Your Embrace, and take away all my pain. Nanak meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord; the House of God is fruitful and prosperous. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: Rain is falling from the clouds - it is so beautiful! The Creator Lord issued His Order. Grain has been produced in abundance; the world is cooled and comforted. The mind and body are rejuvenated, meditating in remembrance on the Inaccessible and Infinite Lord. O my True Creator Lord God, please shower Your Mercy on me. He does whatever He pleases; Nanak is forever a sacrifice to Him. ||2|| Pauree: The Great Lord is Inaccessible; His glorious greatness is glorious! Gazing upon Him through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, I blossom forth in ecstasy; tranquility comes to my inner being. All by Himself, He Himself is pervading everywhere, O Siblings of Destiny. He Himself is the Lord and Master of all. He has subdued all, and all are under the Hukam of His Command. O Nanak, the Lord does whatever He pleases. Everyone walks in harmony with His Will. ||36||1|| SUDH|| Raag Saarang, The Word Of The Devotees. Kabeer Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O mortal, why are you so proud of small things? With a few pounds of grain and a few coins in your pocket, you are totally puffed up with pride. ||1||Pause|| With great pomp and ceremony, you control a hundred villages, with an income of hundreds of thousands of dollars. The power you exert will last for only a few days, like the green leaves of the forest. ||1|| No one has brought this wealth with him, and no one will take it with him when he goes. Emperors, even greater than Raawan, passed away in an instant. ||2||

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 056

The Lord's Saints are steady and stable forever; they worship and adore Him, and chant the Lord's Name. Those who are mercifully blessed by the Lord of the Universe, join the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. ||3|| Mother, father, spouse, children and wealth will not go along with you in the end. Says Kabeer, meditate and vibrate on the Lord, O madman. Your life is uselessly wasting away. ||4||1|| I do not know the limits of Your Royal Ashram. I am the humble slave of Your Saints. ||1||Pause|| The one who goes laughing returns crying, and the one who goes crying returns laughing. What is inhabited becomes deserted, and what is deserted becomes inhabited. ||1|| The water turns into a desert, the desert turns into a well, and the well turns into a mountain. From the earth, the mortal is exalted to the Akaashic ethers; and from the ethers on high, he is thrown down again. ||2|| The beggar is transformed into a king, and the king into a beggar. The idiotic fool is transformed into a Pandit, a religious scholar, and the Pandit into a fool. ||3|| The woman is transformed into a man, and the men into women. Says Kabeer, God is the Beloved of the Holy Saints. I am a sacrifice to His image. ||4||2|| Saarang, The Word Of Naam Dayv Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O mortal, why are you going into the forest of corruption? You have been misled into eating the toxic drug. ||1||Pause|| You are like a fish living in the water; you do not see the net of death.

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Trying to taste the flavor, you swallow the hook. You are bound by attachment to wealth and woman. ||1|| The bee stores up loads of honey; then someone comes and takes the honey, and throws dust in its mouth. The cow stores up loads of milk; then the milkman comes and ties it by its neck and milks it. ||2|| For the sake of Maya, the mortal works very hard. He takes the wealth of Maya, and buries it in the ground. He acquires so much, but the fool does not appreciate it. His wealth remains buried in the ground, while his body turns to dust. ||3|| He burns in tremendous sexual desire, unresolved anger and desire. He never joins the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Says Naam Dayv, seek God's Shelter; be fearless, and vibrate on the Lord God. ||4||1|| Why not make a bet with me, O Lord of Wealth? From the master comes the servant, and from the servant, comes the master. This is the game I play with You. ||1||Pause|| You Yourself are the deity, and You are the temple of worship. You are the devoted worshipper. From the water, the waves rise up, and from the waves, the water. They are only different by figures of speech. ||1|| You Yourself sing, and You Yourself dance. You Yourself blow the bugle. Says Naam Dayv, You are my Lord and Master. Your humble servant is imperfect; You are perfect. ||2||2|| Says God: my slave is devoted only to me; he is in my very image. The sight of him, even for an instant, cures the three fevers; his touch brings liberation from the deep dark pit of household affairs. ||1||Pause|| The devotee can release anyone from my bondage, but I cannot release anyone from his.

Section 30 - Raag Saarang - Part 057

If, at any time, he grabs and binds me, even then, I cannot protest. ||1|| I am bound by virtue; I am the Life of all. My slaves are my very life. Says Naam Dayv, as is the quality of his soul, so is my love which illuminates him. ||2||3|| Saarang: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: So what have you accomplished by listening to the Puraanas? Faithful devotion has not welled up within you, and you have not been inspired to give to the hungry. ||1||Pause|| You have not forgotten sexual desire, and you have not forgotten anger; greed has not left you either. Your mouth has not stopped slandering and gossiping about others. Your service is useless and fruitless. ||1|| By breaking into the houses of others and robbing them, you fill your belly, you sinner. But when you go to the world beyond, your guilt will be well known, by the acts of ignorance which you committed. ||2|| Cruelty has not left your mind; you have not cherished kindness for other living beings. Parmaanand has joined the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Why have you not followed the sacred teachings? ||3||1||6|| O mind, do not even associate with those who have turned their backs on the Lord. Saarang, Fifth Mehl, Sur Daas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The people of the Lord dwell with the Lord. They dedicate their minds and bodies to Him; they dedicate everything to Him. They are intoxicated with the celestial melody of intuitive ecstasy. ||1||Pause|| Gazing upon the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan, they are cleansed of corruption. They obtain absolutely everything. They have nothing to do with anything else; they gaze on the beauteous Face of God. ||1|| But one who forsakes the elegantly beautiful Lord, and harbors desire for anything else, is like a leech on the body of a leper. Says Sur Daas, God has taken my mind in His Hands. He has blessed me with the world beyond. ||2||1||8|| Saarang, Kabeer Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Other than the Lord, who is the Help and Support of the mind? Love and attachment to mother, father, sibling, child and spouse, is all just an illusion. ||1||Pause|| So build a raft to the world hereafter; what faith do you place in wealth? What confidence do you place in this fragile vessel; it breaks with the slightest stroke. ||1|| You shall obtain the rewards of all righteousness and goodness, if you desire to be the dust of all. Says Kabeer, listen, O Saints: this mind is like the bird, flying above the forest. ||2||1||9||

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GURU GRANTH SAHIB 31 - RAAG MALAAR

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 001

Raag Malaar, Chau-Padas, First Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying. Beyond Birth. Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: Eating, drinking, laughing and sleeping, the mortal forgets about dying. Forgetting his Lord and Master, the mortal is ruined, and his life is cursed. He cannot remain forever. ||1|| O mortal, meditate on the One Lord. You shall go to your true home with honour. ||1 Pause|| Those who serve You - what can they give You? They beg for and receive what cannot remain. You are the Great Giver of all souls; You are the Life within all living beings. ||2|| The Gurmukhs meditate, and receive the Ambrosial Nectar; thus they become pure. Day and night, chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord, O mortal. It makes the filthy immacuate. ||3|| As is the season, so is the comfort of the body, and so is the body itself. O Nanak, that season is beautiful; without the Name, what season is it? ||4||1|| Malaar, First Mehl: I offer prayers to my Beloved Guru, that He may unite me with my Husband Lord. I hear the thunder in the clouds, and my mind is cooled and soothed; imbued with the Love of my Dear Beloved, I sing His Glorious Praises. ||1|| The rain pours down, and my mind is drenched with His Love. The drop of Ambrosial Nectar pleases my heart; the Guru has fascinated my mind, which is drenched in the sublime essence of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| With intuitive peace and poise, the soul-bride is loved by her Husband Lord; her mind is pleased and appeased by the Guru's Teachings. She is the happy soul-bride of her Husband Lord; her mind and body are filled with joy by His Love. ||2|| Discarding her demerits, she becomes detached; with the Lord as her Husband, her marriage is eternal. She never suffers separation or sorrow; her Lord God showers her with His Grace. ||3|| Her mind is steady and stable; she does not come and go in reincarnation. She takes the Shelter of the Perfect Guru. O Nanak, as Gurmukh, chant the Naam; you shall be accepted as the true soul-bride of the Lord. ||4||2|| Malaar, First Mehl: They pretend to understand the Truth, but they are not satisfied by the Naam; they waste their lives in egotism.

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 002

Caught in slander and attachment to the wealth and women of others, they eat poison and suffer in pain. They think about the Shabad, but they are not released from their fear and fraud; the minds and mouths are filled with Maya, Maya. Loading the heavy and crushing load, they die, only to be reborn, and waste their lives again. ||1|| The Word of the Shabad is so very beautiful; it is pleasing to my mind. The mortal wanders lost in reincarnation, wearing various robes and clothes; when he is saved and protected by the Guru, then he finds the Truth. ||1||Pause|| He does not try to wash away his angry passions by bathing at sacred shrines. He does not love the Name of the Lord. He abandons and discards the priceless jewel, and he goes back from where he came. And so he becomes a maggot in manure, and in that, he is absorbed. The more he tastes, the more he is diseased; without the Guru, there is no peace and poise. ||2|| Focusing my awareness on selfless service, I joyfully sing His Praises. As Gurmukh, I contemplate spiritual wisdom. The seeker comes forth, and the debater dies down; I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice to the Guru, the Creator Lord. I am low and wretched, with shallow and false understanding; You embellish and exalt me through the Word of Your Shabad. And wherever there is self-realisation, You are there; O True Lord Savior, You save us and carry us across. ||3|| Where should I sit to chant Your Praises; which of Your Infinite Praises should I chant? The Unknown cannot be known; O Inaccessible, Unborn Lord God, You are the Lord and Master of masters. How can I compare You to anyone else I see? All are beggars - You are the Great Giver. Lacking devotion, Nanak looks to Your Door; please bless him with Your One Name, that he may enshrine it in his heart. ||4||3|| Malaar, First Mehl: The soul-bride who has not known delight with her Husband Lord, shall weep and wail with a wretched face. She becomes hopeless, caught in the noose of her own karma; without the Guru, she wanders deluded by doubt. ||1|| So rain down, O clouds. My Husband Lord has come home. I am a sacrifice to my Guru, who has led me to meet my Lord God. ||1||Pause|| My love, my Lord and Master is forever fresh; I am embellished with devotional worship night and day. I am liberated, gazing on the Blessed Vision of the Guru's Darshan. Devotional worship has made me glorious and exalted throughout the ages. ||2|| I am Yours; the three worlds are Yours as well. You are mine, and I am Yours. Meeting with the True Guru, I have found the Immaculate Lord; I shall not be consigned to this terrifying world-ocean ever again. ||3|| If the soul-bride is filled with delight on seeing her Husband Lord, then her decorations are true. With the Immaculate Celestial Lord, she becomes the truest of the true. Following the Guru's Teachings, she leans on the Support of the Naam. ||4|| She is liberated; the Guru has untied her bonds. Focusing her awareness on the Shabad, she attains honour. O Nanak, the Lord's Name is deep within her heart; as Gurmukh, she is united in His Union. ||5||4|| First Mehl, Malaar: Others' wives, others' wealth, greed, egotism, corruption and poison; evil passions, slander of others, sexual desire and anger - give up all these. ||1|| The Inaccessible, Infinite Lord is sitting in His Mansion. That humble being, whose conduct is in harmony with the jewel of the Guru's Shabad, obtains the Ambrosial Nectar. ||1||Pause||

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 003

He sees pleasure and pain as both the same, along with good and bad in the world. Wisdom, understanding and awareness are found in the Name of the Lord. In the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, embrace love for the Guru. ||2|| Day and night, profit is obtained through the Lord's Name. The Guru, the Giver, has given this gift. That Sikh who becomes Gurmukh obtains it. The Creator blesses him with His Glance of Grace. ||3|| The body is a mansion, a temple, the home of the Lord; He has infused His Infinite Light into it. O Nanak, the Gurmukh is invited to the Mansion of the Lord's Presence; the Lord unites him in His Union. ||4||5|| Malaar, First Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Know that the creation was formed through air and water; have no doubt that the body was made through fire. And if you know where the soul comes from, you shall be known as a wise religious scholar. ||1|| Who can know the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe, O mother? Without seeing Him, we cannot say anything about Him. How can anyone speak and describe Him, O mother? ||1||Pause|| He is high above the sky, and beneath the nether worlds. How can I speak of Him? Let me understand. Who knows what sort of Name is chanted, in the heart, without the tongue? ||2|| Undoubtedly, words fail me. He alone understands, who is blessed. Day and night, deep within, he remains lovingly attuned to the Lord. He is the true person, who is merged in the True Lord. ||3|| If someone of high social standing becomes a selfless servant, then his praises cannot even be expressed. And if someone from a low social class becomes a selfless servant, O Nanak, he shall wear shoes of honour. ||4||1||6|| Malaar, First Mehl: The pain of separation - this is the hungry pain I feel. Another pain is the attack of the Messenger of Death. Another pain is the disease consuming my body. O foolish doctor, don't give me medicine. ||1|| O foolish doctor, don't give me medicine. The pain persists, and the body continues to suffer. Your medicine has no effect on me. ||1||Pause|| Forgetting his Lord and Master, the mortal enjoys sensual pleasures; then, disease rises up in his body. The blind mortal receives his punishment. O foolish doctor, don't give me medicine. ||2|| The value of sandalwood lies in its fragrance. The value of the human lasts only as long as the breath in the body. When the breath is taken away, the body crumbles into dust. After that, no one takes any food. ||3|| The mortal's body is golden, and the soul-swan is immaculate and pure, if even a tiny particle of the Immaculate Naam is within. All pain and disease are eradicated. O Nanak, the mortal is saved through the True Name. ||4||2||7|| Malaar, First Mehl: Pain is the poison. The Lord's Name is the antidote. Grind it up in the mortar of contentment, with the pestle of charitable giving.

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 004

Take it each and every day, and your body shall not waste away. At the very last instant, you shall strike down the Messenger of Death. ||1|| So take such medicine, O fool, by which your corruption shall be taken away. ||1||Pause|| Power, wealth and youth are all just shadows, as are the vehicles you see moving around. Neither your body, nor your fame, nor your social status shall go along with you. In the next world it is day, while here, it is all night. ||2|| Let your taste for pleasures be the firewood, let your greed be the ghee, and your sexual desire and anger the cooking oil; burn them in the fire. Some make burnt offerings, hold sacred feasts, and read the Puraanas. Whatever pleases God is acceptable. ||3|| Intense meditation is the paper, and Your Name is the insignia. Those for whom this treasure is ordered, look wealthy when they reach their true home. O Nanak, blessed is that mother who gave birth to them. ||4||3||8|| Malaar, First Mehl: You wear white clothes, and speak sweet words. Your nose is sharp, and your eyes are black. Have you ever seen your Lord and Master, O sister? ||1|| O my All-powerful Lord and Master, by Your power, I fly and soar, and ascend to the heavens. I see Him in the water, on the land, in the mountains, on the river-banks, in all places and interspaces, O brother. ||2|| He fashioned the body, and gave it wings; He gave it great thirst and desire to fly. When He bestows His Glance of Grace, I am comforted and consoled. As He makes me see, so do I see, O brother. ||3|| Neither this body, nor its wings, shall go to the world hereafter. It is a fusion of air, water and fire. O Nanak, if it is in the mortal's karma, then he meditates on the Lord, with the Guru as his Spiritual Teacher. This body is absorbed in the Truth. ||4||4||9|| Malaar, Third Mehl, Chau-Padas, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The Formless Lord is formed by Himself. He Himself deludes in doubt. Creating the Creation, the Creator Himself beholds it; He enjoins us as He pleases. This is the true greatness of His servant, that he obeys the Hukam of the Lord's Command. ||1|| Only He Himself knows His Will. By Guru's Grace, it is grasped. When this play of Shiva and Shakti comes to his home, he remains dead while yet alive. ||1||Pause|| They read the Vedas, and read them again, and engage in arguments about Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva. This three-phased Maya has deluded the whole world into cynicism about death and birth. By Guru's Grace, know the One Lord, and the anxiety of your mind will be allayed. ||2|| I am meek, foolish and thoughtless, but still, You take care of me. Please be kind to me, and make me the slave of Your slaves, so that I may serve You. Please bless me with the treasure of the One Name, that I may chant it, day and night. ||3|| Says Nanak, by Guru's Grace, understand. Hardly anyone considers this. Like foam bubbling up on the surface of the water, so is this world.

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 005

It shall eventually merge back into that from which it came, and all its expanse shall be gone. ||4||1|| Malaar, Third Mehl: Those who realise the Hukam of the Lord's Command are united with Him; through the Word of His Shabad, their

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egotism is burnt away. They perform true devotional worship day and night; they remain lovingly attuned to the True Lord. They gaze on their True Lord forever, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, with loving ease. ||1|| O mortal, accept His Will and find peace. God is pleased by the Pleasure of His Own Will. Whomever He forgives, meets no obstacles on the way. ||1||Pause|| Under the influence of the three gunas, the three dispositions, the mind wanders everywhere, without love or devotion to the Lord. No one is ever saved or liberated, by doing deeds in ego. Whatever our Lord and Master wills, comes to pass. People wander according to their past actions. ||2|| Meeting with the True Guru, the mind is overpowered; the Lord's Name comes to abide in the mind. The value of such a person cannot be estimated; nothing at all can be said about him. He comes to dwell in the fourth state; he remains merged in the True Lord. ||3|| My Lord God is Inaccessible and Unfathomable. His value cannot be expressed. By Guru's Grace, he comes to understand, and live the Shabad. O Nanak, praise the Naam, the Name of the Lord, Har, Har; you shall be honoured in the Court of the Lord. ||4||2|| Malaar, Third Mehl: Rare is that person who, as Gurmukh, understands; the Lord has bestowed His Glance of Grace. There is no Giver except the Guru. He grants His Grace and forgives. Meeting the Guru, peace and tranquility well up; chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord, day and night. ||1|| O my mind, meditate on the Ambrosial Name of the Lord. Meeting with the True Guru and the Primal Being, the Name is obtained, and one remains forever absorbed in the Lord's Name. ||1||Pause|| The self-willed manmukhs are forever separated from the Lord; no one is with them. They are stricken with the great disease of egotism; they are hit on the head by the Messenger of Death. Those who follow the Guru's Teachings are never separated from the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. They dwell on the Naam, night and day. ||2|| You are the One and Only Creator of all. You continually create, watch over and contemplate. Some are Gurmukh - You unite them with Yourself. You bless then with the treasure of devotion. You Yourself know everything. Unto whom should I complain? ||3|| The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is Ambrosial Nectar. By the Lord's Grace, it is obtained. Chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, night and day, the intuitive peace and poise of the Guru is obtained. O Nanak, the Naam is the greatest treasure. Focus your consciousness on the Naam. ||4||3|| Malaar, Third Mehl: I praise the Guru, the Giver of peace, forever. He truly is the Lord God. By Guru's Grace, I have obtained the supreme status. His glorious greatness is glorious! One who sings the Glorious Praises of the True Lord, merges in the True Lord. ||1|| O mortal, contemplate the Guru's Word in your heart. Abandon your false family, poisonous egotism and desire; remember in your heart, that you will have to leave. ||1||Pause|| The True Guru is the Giver of the Lord's Name. There is no other giver at all.

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 006

Bestowing the gift of the soul, He satisfies the mortal beings, and merges them in the True Name. Night and day, they ravish and enjoy the Lord within the heart; they are intuitively absorbed in Samaadhi. ||2|| The Shabad, the Word of the True Guru, has pierced my mind. The True Word of His Bani permeates my heart. My God is Unseen; He cannot be seen. The Gurmukh speaks the Unspoken. When the Giver of peace grants His Grace, the mortal being meditates on the Lord, the Life of the Universe. ||3|| He does not come and go in renicarnation any longer; the Gurmukh meditates intuitively. From the mind, the mind merges into our Lord and Master; the mind is absorbed into the Mind. In truth, the True Lord is pleased with truth; eradicate egotism from within yourself. ||4|| Our One and Only Lord and Master dwells within the mind; there is no other at all. The One Name is Sweet Ambrosial Nectar; it is Immaculate Truth in the world. O Nanak, the Name of God is obtained, by those who are so predestined. ||5||4|| Malaar, Third Mehl: All the heavenly heralds and celestial singers are saved through the Naam, the Name of the Lord. They contemplate the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Subduing their ego, the Name abides in their minds; they keep the Lord enshrined in their hearts. He alone understands, whom the Lord causes to understand; the Lord unites him with Himself. Night and day, he sings the Word of the Shabad and the Guru's Bani; he remains lovingly attuned to the True Lord. ||1|| O my mind, each and every moment, dwell on the Naam. The Shabad is the Guru's Gift. It shall bring you lasting peace deep within; it shall always stand by you. ||1||Pause|| The self-willed manmukhs never give up their hypocrisy; in the love of duality, they suffer in pain. Forgetting the Naam, their minds are imbued with corruption. They waste away their lives uselessly. This opportunity shall not come into their hands again; night and day, they shall always regret and repent. They die and die again and again, only to be reborn, but they never understand. They rot away in manure. ||2|| The Gurmukhs are imbued with the Naam, and are saved; they contemplate the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Meditating on the Name of the Lord, they are Jivan-mukta, liberated while yet alive. They enshrine the Lord within their hearts. Their minds and bodies are immaculate, their intellect is immaculate and sublime. Their speech is sublime as well. They realise the One Primal Being, the One Lord God. There is no other at all. ||3|| God Himself is the Doer, and He Himself is the Cause of causes. He Himself bestows His Glance of Grace. My mind and body are imbued with the Word of the Guru's Bani. My consciousness is immersed in His service. The Unseen and Inscrutable Lord dwells deep within. He is seen only by the Gurmukh. O Nanak, He gives to whomever He pleases. According to the Pleasure of His Will, He leads the mortals on. ||4||5|| Malaar, Third Mehl, Du-Tukas: Through the True Guru, the mortal obtains the special place, the Mansion of the Lord's Presence in his own home. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, his egotistical pride is dispelled. ||1|| Those who have the Naam inscribed on their foreheads, meditate on the Naam night and day, forever and ever. They are honoured in the True Court of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| From the True Guru, they learn the ways and means of the mind. Night and day, they focus their meditation on the Lord forever.

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 007

Imbued with the Word of the Guru's Shabad, they remain forever detached. They are honoured in the True Court of the Lord. ||2|| This mind plays, subject to the Lord's Will; in an instant, it wanders out in the ten directions and returns home again. When the True Lord God Himself bestows His Glance of Grace, then this mind is instantly brought under control by the Gurmukh. ||3|| The mortal comes to know the ways and means of the mind, realising and contemplating the Shabad. O Nanak, meditate forever on the Naam, and cross over the terrifying world-ocean. ||4||6|| Malaar, Third Mehl: Soul, body and breath of life are all His; He is permeating and pervading each and every heart. Except the One Lord, I do not know any other at all. The True Guru has revealed this to me. ||1|| O my mind, remain lovingly attuned to the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, I meditate on the Lord, the Unseen, Unfathomable and Infinite Creator. ||1||Pause|| Mind and body are pleased, lovingly attuned to the One Lord, intuitively absorbed in peace and poise. By Guru's Grace, doubt and fear are dispelled, being lovingly attuned to the One Name. ||2|| When the mortal follows the Guru's Teachings, and lives the Truth, then he attains the state of emancipation. Among millions, how rare is that one who understands, and is lovingly attuned to the Name of the Lord. ||3|| Wherever I look, there I see the One. This understanding has come through the Guru's Teachings. I place my mind, body and breath of life in offering before Him; O Nanak, self-conceit is gone. ||4||7|| Malaar, Third Mehl: My True Lord God, the Eradicator of suffering, is found through the Word of the Shabad. Imbued with devotional worship, the mortal remains forever detached. He is honoured in the True Court of the Lord. ||1|| O mind, remain absorbed in the Mind. The mind of the Gurmukh is pleased with the Lord's Name, lovingly attuned to the Lord. ||1||Pause|| My God is totally Inaccessible and Unfathomable; through the Guru's Teachings, He is understood. True self-discipline rests in singing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises, lovingly attuned to the Lord. ||2|| He Himself is the Shabad, and He Himself is the True Teachings; He merges our light into the Light. The breath vibrates through this frail body; the Gurmukh obtains the ambrosial nectar. ||3|| He Himself fashions, and He Himself links us to our tasks; the True Lord is pervading everywhere. O Nanak, without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, no one is anything. Through the Naam,we are blessed with glory. ||4||8|| Malaar, Third Mehl: The mortal is enticed by the poison of corruption, burdened with such a heavy load. The Lord has placed the magic spell of the Shabad into his mouth, and destroyed the poison of ego. ||1|| O mortal, egotism and attachment are such heavy loads of pain. This terrifying world-ocean cannot be crossed; through the Lord's Name, the Gurmukh crosses over to the other side. ||1||Pause|| Attachment to the three-phased show of Maya pervades all the created forms. In the Sat Sangat, the Society of the Saints, the state of supreme awareness is attained. The Merciful Lord carries us across. ||2|| The smell of sandalwood is so sublime; its fragrance spreads out far and wide.

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 008

The lifestyle of the Lord's humble servant is exalted and sublime. He spreads the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises throughout the world. ||3|| O my Lord and Master, please be merciful, merciful to me, that I may enshrine the Lord, Har, Har, Har, within my heart. Nanak has found the Perfect True Guru; in his mind, he chants the Name of the Lord. ||4||9|| Malaar, Third Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Is this mind a householder, or is this mind a detached renunciate? Is this mind beyond social class, eternal and unchanging? Is this mind fickle, or is this mind detached? How has this mind been gripped by possessiveness? ||1|| O Pandit, O religious scholar, reflect on this in your mind. Why do you read so many other things, and carry such a heavy load? ||1||Pause|| The Creator has attached it to Maya and possessiveness. Enforcing His Order, He created the world. By Guru's Grace, understand this, O Siblings of Destiny. Remain forever in the Sanctuary of the Lord. ||2|| He alone is a Pandit, who sheds the load of the three qualities. Night and day, he chants the Name of the One Lord. He accepts the Teachings of the True Guru. He offers his head to the True Guru. He remains forever unattached in the state of Nirvaanaa. Such a Pandit is accepted in the Court of the Lord. ||3|| He preaches that the One Lord is within all beings. As he sees the One Lord, he knows the One Lord. That person, whom the Lord forgives, is united with Him. He finds eternal peace, here and hereafter. ||4|| Says Nanak, what can anyone do? He alone is liberated, whom the Lord blesses with His Grace. Night and day, he sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Then, he no longer bothers with the proclamations of the Shaastras or the Vedas. ||5||1||10|| Malaar, Third Mehl: The self-willed manmukhs wander lost in reincarnation, confused and deluded by doubt. The Messenger of Death constantly beats them and disgraces them. Serving the True Guru, the mortal's subservience to Death is ended. He meets the Lord God, and enters the Mansion of His Presence. ||1|| O mortal, as Gurmukh, meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. In duality, you are ruining and wasting this priceless human life. You trade it away in exchange for a shell. ||1||Pause|| The Gurmukh falls in love with the Lord, by His Grace. He enshrines loving devotion to the Lord, Har, Har, deep within his heart. The Word of the Shabad carries him across the terrifying world-ocean. He appears true in the True Court of the Lord. ||2|| Performing all sorts of rituals, they do not find the True Guru. Without the Guru, so many wander lost and confused in Maya. Egotism, possessiveness and attachment rise up and increase within them. In the love of dualty, the self-willed manmukhs suffer in pain. ||3|| The Creator Himself is Inaccessible and Infinite. Chant the Word of the Guru's Shabad, and earn the true profit. The Lord is Independent, Ever-present, here and now.

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 009

O Nanak, the Gurmukh merges in the Naam. ||4||2||11|| Malaar, Third Mehl: Those who are attached to the Guru's Teachings, are Jivan-mukta, liberated while yet alive. They remain forever awake and aware night and day, in devotional worship of the Lord. They serve the True Guru, and eradicate their self-conceit. I fall at the feet of such humble beings. ||1|| Constantly singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, I live. The Word of the Guru's Shabad is such totally sweet elixir. Through the Name of the Lord, I have attained the state of liberation. ||1||Pause|| Attachment to Maya leads to the darkness of ignorance. The self-willed manukhs are attached, foolish and ignorant. Night and day, their lives pass away in worldly entanglements. They die and die again and again, only to be reborn and receive their punishment. ||2|| The Gurmukh is lovingly attuned to the Name of the Lord. He does not cling to false greed. Whatever he does, he does with intuitive poise. He drinks in the sublime essence of the Lord; his tongue delights in its flavor. ||3|| Among millions, hardly any understand. The Lord Himself forgives, and bestows His glorious greatness. Whoever meets with the Primal Lord God, shall never be separated again. Nanak is absorbed in the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||4||3||12|| Malaar, Third Mehl: Everyone speaks the Name of the Lord with the tongue. But only by serving the True Guru does the mortal receive the Name. His bonds are shattered, and he stays in the house of liberation. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, he sits in the eternal, unchanging house. ||1|| O my mind, why are you angry? In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, the Lord's Name is the source of profit. Contemplate and appreciate the Guru's Teachings within your heart, night and day. ||1||Pause|| Each and every instant, the rainbird cries and calls. Without seeing her Beloved, she does not sleep at all. She cannot endure this separation. When she meets the True Guru, then she intuitively meets her Beloved. ||2|| Lacking the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the mortal suffers and dies. He is burnt in the fire of desire, and his hunger does not depart. Without good destiny, he cannot find the Naam. He performs all sorts of rituals until he is exhausted. ||3|| The mortal thinks about the Vedic teachings of the three gunas, the three dispositions. He deals in corruption, filth and vice. He dies, only to be reborn; he is ruined over and over again. The Gurmukh enshrines the glory of the supreme state of celestial peace. ||4|| One who has faith in the Guru - everyone has faith in him. Through the Guru's Word, the mind is cooled and soothed. Throughout the four ages, that humble being is known to be pure. O Nanak, that Gurmukh is so rare. ||5||4||13||9||13||22|| Raag Malaar, Fourth Mehl, First House, Chau-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Night and day, I meditate on the Lord, Har, Har, within my heart; through the Guru's Teachings, my pain is forgotten. The chains of all my hopes and desires have been snapped; my Lord God has showered me with His Mercy. ||1|| My eyes gaze eternally on the Lord, Har, Har. Gazing on the True Guru, my mind blossoms forth. I have met with the Lord, the Lord of the World. ||1||Pause||

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Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 010

One who forgets such a Name of the Lord, Har, Har - his family is dishonoured. His family is sterile and barren, and his mother is made a widow. ||2|| O Lord, let me meet the Holy Guru, who night and day keep the Lord enshrined in his heart. Seeing the Guru, the GurSikh blossoms forth, like the child seeing his mother. ||3|| The soul-bride and the Husband Lord live together as one, but the hard wall of egotism has come between them. The Perfect Guru demolishes the wall of egotism; servant Nanak has met the Lord, the Lord of the World. ||4||1|| Malaar, Fourth Mehl: The Ganges, the Jamunaa, the Godaavari and the Saraswati - these rivers strive for the dust of the feet of the Holy. Overflowing with their filthy sins, the mortals take cleansing baths in them; the rivers' pollution is washed away by the dust of the feet of the Holy. ||1|| Instead of bathing at the sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage, take your cleansing bath in the Name. When the dust of the feet of the Sat Sangat rises up into the eyes, all filthy evil-mindedness is removed. ||1||Pause|| Bhaageerat'h the penitent brought the Ganges down, and Shiva established Kaydaar. Krishna grazed cows in Kaashi; through the humble servant of the Lord, these places became famous. ||2|| And all the sacred shrines of pilgrimage established by the gods, long for the dust of the feet of the Holy. Meeting with the Lord's Saint, the Holy Guru, I apply the dust of His feet to my face. ||3|| And all the creatures of Your Universe, O my Lord and Master, long for the dust of the feet of the Holy. O Nanak, one who has such destiny inscribed on his forehead, is blessed with the dust of the feet of the Holy; the Lord carries him across. ||4||2|| Malaar, Fourth Mehl: The Lord seems sweet to that humble being who is blessed by the Grace of the Lord. His hunger and pain are totally taken away; he chants the Glorious Praises of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1|| Meditating on the Lord, Har, Har, Har, the mortal is emancipated. One who listens to the Guru's Teachings and meditates on them, is carried across the terrifying world-ocean. ||1||Pause|| I am the slave of that humble being, who is blessed by the Grace of the Lord, Har, Har. Meeting with the Lord's humble servant, peace is obtained; all the pollution and filth of evil-mindedness is washed away. ||2|| The humble servant of the Lord feels hunger only for the Lord. He is satisfied only when he chants the Lord's Glories. The humble servant of the Lord is a fish in the Water of the Lord. Forgetting the Lord, he would dry up and die. ||3|| He alone knows this love, who enshrines it within his mind. Servant Nanak gazes upon the Lord and is at peace; The hunger of his body is totally satisfied. ||4||3|| Malaar, Fourth Mehl: All the beings and creatures which God has created - on their foreheds, He has written their destiny. The Lord blesses His humble servant with glorious greatness. The Lord enjoins him to his tasks. ||1|| The True Guru implants the Naam, the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, within.

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 011

Chant the Name of the Lord, O Sikhs of the Guru, O my Siblings of Destiny. Only the Lord will carry you across the terrifying world-ocean. ||1||Pause|| That humble being who worships, adores and serves the Guru is pleasing to my Lord God. To worship and adore the True Guru is to serve the Lord. In His Mercy, He saves us and carries us across. ||2|| The ignorant and the blind wander deluded by doubt; deluded and confused, they pick flowers to offer to their idols. They worship lifeless stones and serve the tombs of the dead; all their efforts are useless. ||3|| He alone is said to be the True Guru, who realises God, and proclaims the Sermon of the Lord, Har, Har. Offer the Guru sacred foods, clothes, silk and satin robes of all sorts; know that He is True. The merits of this shall never leave you lacking. ||4|| The Divine True Guru is the Embodiment, the Image of the Lord; He utters the Ambrosial Word. O Nanak, blessed and good is the destiny of that humble being, who focuses his consciousness on the Feet of the Lord. ||5||4|| Malaar, Fourth Mehl: Those whose hearts are filled with my True Guru - those Saints are good and noble in every way. Seeing them, my mind blossoms forth in bliss; I am forever a sacrifice to them. ||1|| O spiritual teacher, chant the Name of the Lord, day and night. All hunger and thirst are satisfied, for those who partake of the sublime essence of the Lord, through the Guru's Teachings. ||1||Pause|| The slaves of the Lord are our Holy companions. Meeting with them, doubt is taken away. As the swan separates the milk from the water, the Holy Saint removes the fire of egotism from the body. ||2|| Those who do not love the Lord in their hearts are deceitful; they continually practice deception. What can anyone give them to eat? Whatever they themselves plant, they must eat. ||3|| This is the Quality of the Lord, and of the Lord's humble servants as well; the Lord places His Own Essence within them. Blessed, blessed, is Guru Nanak, who looks impartially on all; He crosses over and transcends both slander and praise. ||4||5|| Malaar, Fourth Mehl: The Name of the Lord is inaccessible, unfathomable, exalted and sublime. It is chanted by the Lord's Grace. By great good fortune, I have found the True Congregation, and in the Company of the Holy, I am carried across. ||1|| My mind is in ecstasy, night and day. By Guru's Grace, I chant the Name of the Lord. Doubt and fear are gone from my mind. ||1||Pause|| Those who chant and meditate on the Lord - O Lord, in Your Mercy, please unite me with them. Gazing upon them, I am at peace; the pain and disease of egotism are gone. ||2|| Those who meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord in their hearts - their lives become totally fruitful. They themselves swim across, and carry the world across with them. Their ancestors and family cross over as well. ||3|| You Yourself created the whole world, and You Yourself keep it under Your control.

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 012

God has showered His Mercy on servant Nanak; He has lifted him up, and rescued him from the ocean of poison. ||4||6|| Malaar, Fourth Mehl: Those who do not drink in the Ambrosial Nectar by Guru's Grace - their thirst and hunger are not relieved. The foolish self-willed manmukh burns in the fire of egotistical pride; he suffers painfully in egotism. Coming and going, he wastes his life uselessly; afflicted with pain, he regrets and repents. He does not even think of the One, from whom he originated. Cursed is his life, and cursed is his food. ||1|| O mortal, as Gurmukh, meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. The Lord, Har, Har, in His Mercy leads the mortal to meet the Guru; he is absorbed in the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1||Pause|| The life of the self-willed manmukh is useless; he comes and goes in shame. In sexual desire and anger, the proud ones are drowned. They are burnt in their egotism. They do not attain perfection or understanding; their intellect is dimmed. Tossed by the waves of greed, they suffer in pain. Without the Guru, they suffer in terrible pain. Seized by Death, they weep and wail. ||2|| As Gurmukh, I have attained the Unfathomable Name of the Lord, with intuitive peace and poise. The treasure of the Naam abides deep within my heart. My tongue sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. I am forever in bliss, day and night, lovingly attuned to the One Word of the Shabad. I have obtained the treasure of the Naam with intuitive ease; this is the glorious greatness of the True Guru. ||3|| Through the True Guru, the Lord, Har, Har, comes to dwell within my mind. I am forever a sacrifice to the True Guru. I have dedicated my mind and body to Him, and placed everything before Him in offering. I focus my consciousness on His Feet. Please be merciful to me, O my Perfect Guru, and unite me with Yourself. I am just iron; the Guru is the boat, to carry me across. ||4||7|| Malaar, Fourth Mehl, Partaal, Third House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The humble servant of the Lord chants the Name of the Supreme Lord; he joins the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Lord's Holy. ||1||Pause|| Deal only in the wealth of the Lord, and gather only the wealth of the Lord. No thief can ever steal it. ||1|| The rainbirds and the peacocks sing day and night, hearing the thunder in the clouds. ||2|| Whatever the deer, the fish and the birds sing, they chant to the Lord, and no other. ||3|| Servant Nanak sings the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises; the sound and fury of Death has totally gone away. ||4||1||8|| Malaar, Fourth Mehl: They speak and chant the Name of the Lord, Raam, Raam; the very fortunate ones seek Him. Whoever shows me the Way of the Lord - I fall at his feet. ||1||Pause|| The Lord is my Friend and Compansion; I am in love with the Lord.

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 013

I sing of the Lord, and I speak of the Lord; I have discarded all other loves. ||1|| My Beloved is the Enticer of the mind; The Detached Lord God is the Embodiment of Supreme bliss. Nanak lives by gazing upon the Lord; may I see Him for a moment, for even just an instant. ||2||2||9||9||13||9||31|| Raag Malaar, Fifth Mehl, Chau-Padas, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: What are you so worried about? What are you thinking? What have you tried? Tell me - the Lord of the Universe - who controls Him? ||1|| The rain showers down from the clouds, O companion. The Guest has come into my home. I am meek; my Lord and Master is the Ocean of Mercy. I am absorbed in the nine treasures of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| I have prepared all sorts of foods in various ways, and all sorts of sweet deserts. I have made my kitchen pure and sacred. Now, O my Sovereign Lord King, please sample my food. ||2|| The villains have been destroyed, and my friends are delighted. This is Your Own Mansion and Temple, O Lord. When my Playful Beloved came into my household, then I found total peace. ||3|| In the Society of the Saints, I have the Support and Protection of the Perfect Guru; this is the pre-ordained destiny inscribed upon my forehead. Servant Nanak has found his Playful Husband Lord. He shall never suffer in sorrow again. ||4||1|| Malaar, Fifth Mehl: When the baby's only food is milk, it cannot survive without its milk. The mother takes care of it, and pours milk into its mouth; then, it is satisfied and fulfilled. ||1|| I am just a baby; God, the Great Giver, is my Father. The child is so foolish; it makes so many mistakes. But it has nowhere else to go. ||1||Pause|| The mind of the poor child is fickle; he touches even snakes and fire. His mother and father hug him close in their embrace, and so he plays in joy and bliss. ||2|| What hunger can the child ever have, O my Lord and Master, when You are his Father? The treasure of the Naam and the nine treasures are in Your celestial household. You fulfill the desires of the mind. ||3|| My Merciful Father has issued this Command: whatever the child asks for, is put into his mouth. Nanak, the child, longs for the Blessed Vision of God's Darshan. May His Feet always dwell within my heart. ||4||2|| Malaar, Fifth Mehl: I tried everything, and gathered all devices together; I have discarded all my anxieties. I have begun to set all my household affairs right; I have placed my faith in my Lord and Master. ||1|| I listen to the celestial vibrations resonating and resounding. Sunrise has come, and I gaze upon the Face of my Beloved. My household is filled with peace and pleasure. ||1||Pause|| I focus my mind, and embellish and adorn the place within; then I go out to speak with the Saints. Seeking and searching, I have found my Husband Lord; I bow at His Feet and worship Him with devotion. ||2||

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 014

When my Beloved came to live in my house, I began to sing the songs of bliss. My friends and companions are happy; God leads me to meet the Perfect Guru. ||3|| My friends and companions are in ecstasy; the Guru has completed all my projects. Says Nanak, I have met my Husband, the Giver of peace; He shall never leave me and go away. ||4||3|| Malaar, Fifth Mehl: From a king to a worm, and from a worm to the lord of gods, they engage in evil to fill their bellies. They renounce the Lord, the Ocean of Mercy, and worship some other; they are thieves and killers of the soul. ||1|| Forgetting the Lord, they suffer in sorrow and die. They wander lost in reincarnation through all sorts of species; they do not find shelter anywhere. ||1||Pause|| Those who abandon their Lord and Master and think of some other, are foolish, stupid, idiotic donkeys. How can they cross over the ocean in a paper boat? Their eogtistical boasts that they will cross over are meaningless. ||2|| Shiva, Brahma, angels and demons, all burn in the fire of death. Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of the Lord's Lotus Feet; O God, Creator, please do not send me into exile. ||3||4|| Raag Malaar, Fifth Mehl, Du-Padas, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: My God is detached and free of desire. I cannot survive without Him, even for an instant. I am so in love with Him. ||1||Pause|| Associating with the Saints, God has come into my consciousness. By their Grace, I have been awakened. Hearing the Teachings, my mind has become immaculate. Imbued with the Lord's Love, I sing His Glorious Praises. ||1|| Dedicating this mind, I have made friends with the Saints. They have become merciful to me; I am very fortunate. I have found absolute peace - I cannot describe it. Nanak has obtained the dust of the feet of the humble. ||2||1||5|| Malaar, Fifth Mehl: O mother, please lead me to union with my Beloved. All my friends and companions sleep totally in peace; their Beloved Lord has come into the homes of their hearts. ||1||Pause|| I am worthless; God is forever Merciful. I am unworthy; what clever tricks could I try? I claim to be on a par with those who are imbued with the Love of their Beloved. This is my stubborn egotism. ||1|| I am dishonoured - I seek the Sanctuary of the One, the Guru, the True Guru, the Primal Being, the Giver of peace. In an instant, all my pains have been taken away; Nanak passes the night of his life in peace. ||2||2||6|| Malaar, Fifth Mehl: Rain down, O cloud; do not delay. O beloved cloud, O support of the mind, you bring lasting bliss and joy to the mind. ||1||Pause|| I take to Your Support, O my Lord and Master; how could You forget me?

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 015

I am Your beautiful bride, Your servant and slave. I have no nobility without my Husband Lord. ||1|| When my Lord and Master listened to my prayer, He hurried to shower me with His Mercy. Says Nanak, I have become just like my Husband Lord; I am blessed with honour, nobility and the lifestyle of goodness. ||2||3||7|| Malaar, Fifth Mehl: Meditate on the True Name of your Beloved. The pains and sorrows of the terrifying world-ocean are dispelled, by enshrining the Image of the Guru within your heart. ||1||Pause|| Your enemies shall be destroyed, and all the evil-doers shall perish, when you come to the Sanctuary of the Lord. The Savior Lord has given me His Hand and saved me; I have obtained the wealth of the Naam. ||1|| Granting His Grace, He has eradicated all my sins; He has placed the Immaculate Naam within my mind. O Nanak, the Treasure of Virtue fills my mind; I shall never again suffer in pain. ||2||4||8|| Malaar, Fifth Mehl: My Beloved God is the Lover of my breath of life. Please bless me with the loving devotional worship of the Naam, O Kind and Compassionate Lord. ||1||Pause|| I meditate in remembrance on Your Feet, O my Beloved; my heart is filled with hope. I offer my prayer to the humble Saints; my mind thirsts for the Blssed Vision of the Lord's Darshan. ||1|| Separation is death, and Union with the Lord is life. Please bless Your humble servant with Your Darshan. O my God, please be Merciful, and bless Nanak with the support, the life and wealth of the Naam. ||2||5||9|| Malaar, Fifth Mehl: Now, I have become just like my Beloved. Dwelling on my Sovereign Lord King, I have found peace. Rain down, O peace-giving cloud. ||1||Pause|| I

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cannot forget Him, even for an instant; He is the Ocean of peace. Through the Naam, the Name of the Lord, I have obtained the nine treasures. My perfect destiny has been activated, meeting with the Saints, my help and support. ||1|| Peace has welled up, and all pain has been dispelled, lovingly attuned to the Supreme Lord God. The arduous and terrifying world-ocean is crossed over, O Nanak, by meditating on the Feet of the Lord. ||2||6||10|| Malaar, Fifth Mehl: The clouds have rained down all over the world. My Beloved Lord God has become merciful to me; I am blessed with ecstasy, bliss and peace. ||1||Pause|| My sorrows are erased, and all my thirsts are quenched, meditating on the Supreme Lord God. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, death and birth come to an end, and the mortal does not wander anywhere, ever again. ||1|| My mind and body are imbued with the Immaculate Naam, the Name of the Lord; I am lovingly attuned to His Lotus Feet. God has made Nanak His Own; slave Nanak seeks His Sanctuary. ||2||7||11|| Malaar, Fifth Mehl: Separated from the Lord, how can any living being live? My consciousness is filled with yearning and hope to meet my Lord, and drink in the sublime essence of His Lotus Feet. ||1||Pause|| Those who are thirsty for You, O my Beloved, are not separated from You. Those who forget my Beloved Lord are dead and dying. ||1||

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 016

The Lord of the Universe is permeating and pervading my mind and body; I see Him Ever-present, here and now . O Nanak, He is permeating the inner being of all; He is all-pervading everywhere. ||2||8||12|| Malaar, Fifth Mehl: Vibrating and meditating on the Lord, who has not been carried across? Those reborn into the body of a bird, the body of a fish, the body of a deer, and the body of a bull - in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, they are saved. ||1||Pause|| The families of gods, the families of demons, titans, celestial singers and human beings are carried across the ocean. Whoever meditates and vibrates on the Lord in the Saadh Sangat - his pains are taken away. ||1|| Sexual desire, anger and the pleasures of terrible corruption - he keeps away from these. He meditates on the Lord, Merciful to the meek, the Embodiment of Compassion; Nanak is forever a sacrifice to Him. ||2||9||13|| Malaar, Fifth Mehl: Today, I am seated in the Lord's store. With the wealth of the Lord, I have entered into partnership with the humble; I shall not have take the Highway of Death. ||1||Pause|| Showering me with His Kindness, the Supreme Lord God has saved me; the doors of doubt have been opened wide. I have found God, the Banker of Infinity; I have earned the profit of the wealth of His Feet. ||1|| I have grasped the protection of the Sanctuary of the Unchanging, Unmoving, Imperishable Lord; He has picked up my sins and thrown them out. Slave Nanak's sorrow and suffering has ended. He shall never again be squeezed into the mold of reincarnation. ||2||10||14|| Malaar, Fifth Mehl: In so many ways, attachment to Maya leads to ruin. Among millions, it is very rare to find a selfless servant who remains a perfect devotee for very long. ||1||Pause|| Roaming and wandering here and there, the mortal finds only trouble; his body and wealth become strangers to himself. Hiding from people, he practices deception; he does not know the One who is always with him. ||1|| He wanders through troubled incarnations of low and wretched species as a deer, a bird and a fish. Says Nanak, O God, I am a stone - please carry me across, that I may enjoy peace in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||2||11||15|| Malaar, Fifth Mehl: The cruel and evil ones died after taking poison, O mother. And the One, to whom all creatures belong, has saved us. God has granted His Grace. ||1||Pause|| The Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts, is contained within all; why should I be afraid, O Siblings of Destiny? God, my Help and Support, is always with me. He shall never leave; I see Him everywhere. ||1|| He is the Master of the masterless, the Destroyer of the pains of the poor; He has attached me to the hem of His robe. O Lord, Your slaves live by Your Support; Nanak has come to the Sanctuary of God. ||2||12||16|| Malaar, Fifth Mehl: O my mind, dwell on the Feet of the Lord. My mind is enticed by thirst for the Blessed Vision of the Lord; I would take wings and fly out to meet Him. ||1||Pause|| Searching and seeking, I have found the Path, and now I serve the Holy. O my Lord and Master, please be kind to me, that I may drink in Your most sublime essence. ||1|| Begging and pleading, I have come to Your Sanctuary; I am on fire - please shower me with Your Mercy! Please give me Your Hand - I am Your slave, O Lord. Please make Nanak Your Own. ||2||13||17||

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 017

Malaar, Fifth Mehl: It is God's Nature to love His devotees. He destroys the slanderers, crushing them beneath His Feet. His Glory is manifest everywhere. ||1||Pause|| His Victory is celebrated all throughout the world. He blesses all creatures with compassion. Hugging him close in His Embrace, the Lord saves and protects His slave. The hot winds cannot even touch him. ||1|| My Lord and Master has made me His Own; dispelling my doubts and fears, He has made me happy. The Lord's slaves enjoy ultimate ecstasy; O Nanak, faith has welled up in my mind. ||2||14||18|| Raag Malaar, Fifth Mehl, Chau-Padas, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The Gurmukh sees God pervading everywhere. The Gurmukh knows that the universe is the extension of the three gunas, the three dispositions. The Gurmukh reflects on the Sound-current of the Naad, and the wisdom of the Vedas. Without the Perfect Guru, there is only pitch-black darkness. ||1|| O my mind, calling on the Guru, eternal peace is found. Following the Guru's Teachings, the Lord comes to dwell within the heart; I meditate on my Lord and Master with every breath and morsel of food. ||1||Pause|| I am a sacrifice to the Guru's Feet. Night and day, I continually sing the Glorious Praises of the Guru. I take my cleansing bath in the dust of the Guru's Feet. I am honoured in the True Court of the Lord. ||2|| The Guru is the boat, to carry me across the terrifying world-ocean. Meeting with the Guru, I shall not be reincarnated ever again. That humble being serves the Guru, who has such karma inscribed on his forehead by the Primal Lord. ||3|| The Guru is my life; the Guru is my support. The Guru is my way of life; the Guru is my family. The Guru is my Lord and Master; I seek the Sanctuary of the True Guru. O Nanak, the Guru is the Supreme Lord God; His value cannot be estimated. ||4||1||19|| Malaar, Fifth Mehl: I enshrine the Lord's Feet within my heart; in His Mercy, God has united me with Himself. God enjoins His servant to his tasks. His worth cannot be expressed. ||1|| Please be merciful to me, O Perfect Giver of peace. By Your Grace, You come to mind; I am imbued with Your Love, twenty-four hours a day. ||1||Pause|| Singing and listening, it is all by Your Will. One who understands the Hukam of Your Command is absorbed in Truth. Chanting and meditating on Your Name, I live. Without You, there is no place at all. ||2|| Pain and pleasure come by Your Command, O Creator Lord. By the Pleasure of Your Will You forgive, and by the Pleasure of Your Will You award punishment. You are the Creator of both realms. I am a sacrifice to Your Glorious Grandeur. ||3|| You alone know Your value. You alone understand, You Yourself speak and listen. They alone are devotees, who are pleasing to Your Will.

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 018

Nanak is forever a sacrifice to them. ||4||2||20|| Malaar, Fifth Mehl: The Transcendent Lord God has become merciful; Ambrosial Nectar is raining down from the clouds. All beings and creatures are satisfied; their affairs are perfectly resolved. ||1|| O my mind, dwell on the Lord, forever and ever. Serving the Perfect Guru, I have obtained it. It shall stay with me both here and hereafter. ||1||Pause|| He is the Destroyer of pain, the Eradicator of fear. He takes care of His beings. The Savior Lord is kind and compassionate forever. I am a sacrifice to Him, forever and ever. ||2|| The Creator Himself has eliminated death. Meditate on Him forever and ever, O my mind. He watches all with His Glance of Grace and protects them. Continually and continuously, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord God. ||3|| The One and Only Creator Lord is Himself by Himself. The Lord's devotees know His Glorious Grandeur. He preserves the Honour of His Name. Nanak speaks as the Lord inspires him to speak. ||4||3||21|| Malaar, Fifth Mehl: All treasures are found in the Sanctuary of the Guru. Honour is obtained in the True Court of the Lord. Doubt, fear, pain and suffering are taken away, forever singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||1|| O my mind, praise the Perfect Guru. Chant the treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, day and night. You shall obtain the fruits of your mind's desires. ||1||Pause|| No one else is as great as the True Guru. The Guru is the Supreme Lord, the Transcendent Lord God. He saves us from the pains of death and birth, and we will not have to taste the poison of Maya ever again. ||2|| The Guru's glorious grandeur cannot be described. The Guru is the Transcendent Lord, in the True Name. True is His self-discipline, and True are all His actions. Immaculate and pure is that mind, which is imbued with love for the Guru. ||3|| The Perfect Guru is obtained by great good fortune. Drive out sexual desire, anger and greed from your mind. By His Grace, the Guru's Feet are enshrined within. Nanak offers his prayer to the True Lord God. ||4||4||22|| Raag Malaar, Fifth Mehl, Partaal, Third House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Pleasing the Guru, I have fallen in love with my Merciful Beloved Lord. I have made all my decorations, and renounced all corruption; my wandering mind has become steady and stable. ||1||Pause|| O my mind, lose your self-conceit by associating with the Holy, and you shall find Him. The unstruck celestial melody vibrates and resounds; like a song-bird, chant the Lord's Name, with words of sweetness and utter beauty. ||1|| Such is the glory of Your Darshan, so utterly inifinte and fruitful, O my Love; so do we become by associating with the Saints. Vibrating, chanting Your Name, we cross over the terrifying world-ocean. They dwell on the Lord, Raam, Raam, chanting on their malas;

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 019

their minds are turned towards the Lord in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. O servant Nanak, their Beloved Lord seems so sweet to them. ||2||1||23|| Malaar, Fifth Mehl: My mind wanders through the dense forest. It walks with eagerness and love, hoping to meet God. ||1||Pause|| Maya with her three gunas - the three dispositions - has come to entice me; whom can I tell of my pain? ||1|| I tried everything else, but nothing could rid me of my sorrow. So hurry to the Sanctuary of the Holy, O Nanak; joining them, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe. ||2||2||24|| Malaar, Fifth Mehl: The glory of my Beloved is noble and sublime. The celestial singers and angels sing His Sublime Praises in ecstasy, happiness and joy. ||1||Pause|| The most worthy beings sing God's Praises in beautiful harmonies, in all sorts of ways, in myriads of sublime forms. ||1|| Throughout the mountains, trees, deserts, oceans and galaxies, permeating each and every heart, the sublime grandeur of my Love is totally pervading. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, the Love of the Lord is found; O Nanak, sublime is that faith. ||2||3||25|| Malaar, Fifth Mehl: With love for the Guru, I enshrine the Lotus Feet of my Lord deep within my heart. ||1||Pause|| I gaze on the Blessed Vision of His Fruitful Darshan; my sins are erased and taken away. My mind is immaculate and enlightened. ||1|| I am wonderstruck, stunned and amazed. Chanting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, millions of sins are destroyed. I fall at His Feet, and touch my forehead to them. You alone are, You alone are, O God. Your devotees take Your Support. Servant Nanak has come to the Door of Your Sanctuary. ||2||4||26|| Malaar, Fifth Mehl: Rain down with happiness in God's Will. Bless me with total bliss and good fortune. ||1||Pause|| My mind blossoms forth in the Society of the Saints; soaking up the rain, the earth is blessed and beautified. ||1|| The peacock loves the thunder of the rain clouds. The rainbird's mind is drawn to the rain-drop - so is my mind enticed by the Lord. I have renounced Maya, the deceiver. Joining with the Saints, Nanak is awakened. ||2||5||27|| Malaar, Fifth Mehl: Sing forever the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the World. Enshrine the Lord's Name in your consciousness. ||1||Pause|| Forsake your pride, and abandon your ego; join the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Meditate in loving remembrance on the One Lord; your sorrows shall be ended, O friend. ||1|| The Supreme Lord God has become merciful; corrupt entanglements have come to an end. Grasping the feet of the Holy, Nanak sings forever the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the World. ||2||6||28|| Malaar, Fifth Mehl: The Embodiment of the Lord of the Universe roars like the thunder-cloud. Singing His Glorious Praises brings peace and bliss. ||1||Pause|| The Sanctuary of the Lord's Feet carries us across the world-ocean. His Sublime Word is the unstruck celestial melody. ||1|| The thirsty traveller's consciousness obtains the water of the soul from the pool of nectar. Servant Nanak loves the Blessed Vision of the Lord; in His Mercy, God has blessed him with it. ||2||7||29||

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 020

Malaar, Fifth Mehl: O Lord of the Universe, O Lord of the World, O Dear Merciful Beloved. ||1||Pause|| You are the Master of the breath of life, the Companion of the lost and forsaken, the Destroyer of the pains of the poor. ||1|| O All-powerful, Inaccessible, Perfect Lord, please shower me with Your Mercy. ||2|| Please, carry Nanak across the terrible, deep dark pit of the world to the other side. ||3||8||30|| Malaar, First Mehl, Ashtapadees, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The chakvi bird does not long for sleepy eyes; without her beloved, she does not sleep. When the sun rises, she sees her beloved with her eyes; she bows and touches his feet. ||1|| The Love of my Beloved is pleasing; it is my Companion and Support. Without Him, I cannot live in this world even for an instant; such is my hunger and thirst. ||1||Pause|| The lotus in the pool blossoms forth intuitively and naturally, with the rays of the sun in the sky. Such is the love for my Beloved which imbues me; my light has merged into the Light. ||2|| Without water, the rainbird cries out, "Pri-o! Pri-o! - Beloved! Beloved!" It cries and wails and laments. The thundering clouds rain down in the ten directions; its thirst is not quenched until it catches the rain-drop in its mouth. ||3|| The fish lives in water, from which it was born. It finds peace and pleasure according to its past actions. It cannot survive without water for a moment, even for an instant. Life and death depend on it. ||4|| The soul-bride is separated from her Husband Lord, who lives in His Own Country. He sends the Shabad, His Word, through the True Guru. She gathers virtues, and enshrines God within her heart. Imbued with devotion, she is happy. ||5|| Everyone cries out, "Beloved! Beloved!" But she alone finds her Beloved, who is pleasing to the Guru. Our Beloved is always with us; through the Truth, He blesses us with His Grace, and unites us in His Union. ||6|| He is the life of the soul in each and every soul; He permeates and pervades each and every heart. By Guru's Grace, He is revealed within the home of my heart; I am intuitively, naturally, absorbed into Him. ||7|| He Himself shall resolve all your affairs, when you meet with the Giver of peace, the Lord of the World. By Guru's Grace, you shall find your Husband Lord within your own home; then, O Nanak, the fire within you shall be quenched. ||8||1|| Malaar, First Mehl: Remain awake and aware, serving the Guru; except for

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the Lord, no one is mine. Even by making all sorts of efforts, you shall not remain here; it shall melt like glass in the fire. ||1|| Tell me - why are you so proud of your body and wealth? They shall vanish in an instant; O madman, this is how the world is wasting away, in egotism and pride. ||1||Pause|| Hail to the Lord of the Universe, God, our Saving Grace; He judges and saves the mortal beings. All that is, belongs to You. No one else is equal to You. ||2|| Creating all beings and creatures, their ways and means are under Your control; You bless the Gurmukhs with the ointment of spiritual wisdom. My Eternal, Unmastered Lord is over the heads of all. He is the Destroyer of death and rebirth, doubt and fear. ||3||

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 021

This wretched world is a fortress of paper, of colour and form and clever tricks. A tiny drop of water or a little puff of wind destroys its glory; in an instant, its life is ended. ||4|| It is like a tree-house near the bank of a river, with a serpent's den in that house. When the river overflows, what happens to the tree house? The snake bites, like duality in the mind. ||5|| Through the magic spell of the Guru's spiritual wisdom, and meditation on the Word of the Guru's Teachings, vice and corruption are burnt away. The mind and body are cooled and soothed and Truth is obtained, through the wondrous and unique devotional worship of the Lord. ||6|| All that exists begs of You; You are merciful to all beings. I seek Your Sanctuary; please save my honour, O Lord of the World, and bless me with Truth. ||7|| Bound in worldly affairs and entanglements, the blind one does not understand; he acts like a murderous butcher. But if he meets with the True Guru, then he comprehends and understands, and his mind is imbued with true spiritual wisdom. ||8|| Without the Truth, this worthless body is false; I have consulted my Guru on this. O Nanak, that God has revealed God to me; without the Truth, all the world is just a dream. ||9||2|| Malaar, First Mehl: The rainbird and the fish find peace in water; the deer is pleased by the sound of the bell. ||1|| The rainbird chirps in the night, O my mother. ||1||Pause|| O my Beloved, my love for You shall never end, if it is Your Will. ||2|| Sleep is gone, and egotism is exhausted from my body; my heart is permeated with the Teachings of Truth. ||3|| Flying among the trees and plants, I remain hungry; lovingly drinking in the Naam, the Name of the Lord, I am satisfied. ||4|| I stare at You, and my tongue cries out to You; I am so thirsty for the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. ||5|| Without my Beloved, the more I decorate myself, the more my body burns; these clothes do not look good on my body. ||6|| Without my Beloved, I cannot survive even for an instant; without meeting Him, I cannot sleep. ||7|| Her Husband Lord is nearby, but the wretched bride does not know it. The True Guru reveals Him to her. ||8|| When she meets Him with intuitive ease, she finds peace; the Word of the Shabad quenches the fire of desire. ||9|| Says Nanak, through You, O Lord, my mind is pleased and appeased; I cannot express Your worth. ||10||3|| Malaar, First Mehl, Ashtapadees, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The earth bends under the weight of the water, the lofty mountains and the caverns of the underworld. Contemplating the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the oceans become calm. The path of liberation is found by subduing the ego. ||1|| I am blind; I seek the Light of the Name. I take the Support of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. I walk on the path of mystery of the Guru's Fear. ||1||Pause||

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 022

Through the Shabad, the Word of the True Guru, the Path is known. With the Guru's Support, one is blessed with the strength of the True Lord. Dwell on the Naam, and realise the Beauteous Word of His Bani. If it is Your Will, Lord, You lead me to find Your Door. ||2|| Flying high or sitting down, I am lovingly focused on the One Lord. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, I take the Naam as my Suppport. There is no ocean of water, no mountain ranges rising up. I dwell within the home of my own inner being, where there is no path and no one travelling on it. ||3|| You alone know the way to that House in which You dwell. No one else knows the Mansion of Your Presence. Without the True Guru, there is no understanding. The whole world is buried under its nightmare. The mortal tries all sorts of things, and weeps and wails, but without the Guru, he does not know the Naam, the Name of the Lord. In the twinkling of an eye, the Naam saves him, if he realises the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||4|| Some are foolish, blind, stupid and ignorant. Some, through fear of the True Guru, take the Support of the Naam. The True Word of His Bani is sweet, the source of ambrosial nectar. Whoever drinks it in, finds the Door of Salvation. ||5|| One who, through the love and fear of God, enshrines the Naam within his heart, acts according to the Guru's Instructions and knows the True Bani. When the clouds release their rain, the earth becomes beautiful; God's Light permeates each and every heart. The evil-minded ones plant their seed in the barren soil; such is the sign of those who have no Guru. Without the True Guru, there is utter darkness; they drown there, even without water. ||6|| Whatever God does, is by His Own Will. That which is pre-ordained cannot be erased. Bound to the Hukam of the Lord's Command, the mortal does his deeds. Permeated by the One Word of the Shabad, the mortal is immersed in Truth. ||7|| Your Command, O God, rules in the four directions; Your Name pervades the four corners of the nether regions as well. The True Word of the Shabad is pervading amongst all. By His Grace, the Eternal One unites us with Himself. Birth and death hang over the heads of all beings, along with hunger, sleep and dying. The Naam is pleasing to Nanak's mind; O True Lord, Source of bliss, please bless me with Your Grace. ||8||1||4|| Malaar, First Mehl: You do not understand the nature of death and liberation. You are sitting on the river-bank; realise the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||1|| You stork! - how were you caught in the net? You do not remember in your heart the Unseen Lord God. ||1||Pause|| For your one life, you consume many lives. You were supposed to swim in the water, but you are drowning in it instead. ||2|| You have tormented all beings. When Death seizes you, then you shall regret and repent. ||3|| When the heavy noose is placed around your neck, you may spread your wings, but you shall not be able to fly. ||4|| You enjoy the tastes and flavors, you foolish self-willed manmukh. You are trapped. You can only be saved by virtuous conduct, spiritual wisdom and contemplation. ||5|| Serving the True Guru, you will shatter the Messenger of Death. In your heart, dwell on the True Word of the Shabad. ||6|| The Guru's Teachings, the True Word of the Shabad, is excellent and sublime. Keep the Name of the Lord enshrined in your heart. ||7|| One who is obsessed with enjoying pleasures here, shall suffer in pain hereafter. O Nanak, there is no liberation without the True Name. ||8||2||5||

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 023

Malaar, Third Mehl, Ashtapadees, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: If it is in his karma, then he finds the True Guru; without such karma, He cannot be found. He meets the True Guru, and he is transformed into gold, if it is the Lord's Will. ||1|| O my mind, focus your consciousness on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. The Lord is found through the True Guru, and then he remains merged with the True Lord. ||1||Pause|| Spiritual wisdom wells up through the True Guru, and then this cynicism is dispelled. Through the True Guru, the Lord is realised, and then, he is not consigned to the womb of reincarnation ever again. ||2|| By Guru's Grace, the mortal dies in life, and by so dying, lives to practice the Word of the Shabad. He alone finds the Door of Salvation, who eradicates self-conceit from within himself. ||3|| By Guru's Grace, the mortal is reincarnated into the Home of the Lord, having eradicated Maya from within. He eats the uneatable, and is blessed with a discriminating intellect; he meets the Supreme Person, the Primal Lord God. ||4|| The world is unconscious, like a passing show; the mortal departs, having lost his capital. The profit of the Lord is obtained in the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation; by good karma, it is found. ||5|| Without the True Guru, no one finds it; see this in your mind, and consider this in your heart. By great good fortune, the mortal finds the Guru, and crosses over the terrifying world-ocean. ||6|| The Name of the Lord is my Anchor and Support. I take only the Support of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. O Dear Lord, please be kind and lead me to meet the Guru, that I may find the Door of Salvation. ||7|| The pre-ordained destiny inscribed on the mortal's forehead by our Lord and Master cannot be erased. O Nanak, those humble beings are perfect, who are pleased by the Lord's Will. ||8||1|| Malaar, Third Mehl: The world is involved with the words of the Vedas, thinking about the three gunas - the three dispositions. Without the Name, it suffers punishment by the Messenger of Death; it comes and goes in reincarnation, over and over again. Meeting with the True Guru, the world is liberated, and finds the Door of Salvation. ||1|| O mortal, immerse yourself in service to the True Guru. By great good fortune, the mortal finds the Perfect Guru, and meditates on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1||Pause|| The Lord, by the Pleasure of His Own Will, created the Universe, and the Lord Himself gives it sustenance and support. The Lord, by His Own Will, makes the mortal's mind immaculate, and lovingly attunes him to the Lord. The Lord, by His Own Will, leads the mortal to meet the True Guru, the Embellisher of all his lives. ||2|| Waaho! Waaho! Blessed and Great is the True Word of His Bani. Only a few, as Gurmukh, understand. Waaho! Waaho! Praise God as Great! No one else is as Great as He. When God's Grace is received, He Himself forgives the mortal, and unites him with Himself. ||3|| The True Guru has revealed our True, Supreme Lord and Master. The Ambrosial Nectar rains down and the mind is satisfied, remaining lovingly attuned to the True Lord. In the Lord's Name, it is forever rejuvenated; it shall never wither and dry up again. ||4||

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 024

Without the True Guru, no one finds the Lord; anyone can try and see. By the Lord's Grace, the True Guru is found, and then the Lord is met with intuitive ease. The self-willed manmukh is deluded by doubt; without good destiny, the Lord's wealth is not obtained. ||5|| The three dispositions are completely distracting; people read and study and contemplate them. Those people are never liberated; they do not find the Door of Salvation. Without the True Guru, they are never released from bondage; they do not embrace love for the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||6|| The Pandits, the religious scholars, and the silent sages, reading and studying the Vedas, have grown weary. They do not even think of the Lord's Name; they do not dwell in the home of their own inner being. The Messenger of Death hovers over their heads; they are ruined by the deceit within themselves. ||7|| Everyone longs for the Name of the Lord; without good destiny, it is not obtained. When the Lord bestows His Glance of Grace, the mortal meets the True Guru, and the Lord's Name comes to dwell within the mind. O Nanak, through the Name, honour wells up, and the mortal remains immersed in the Lord. ||8||2|| Malaar, Third Mehl, Ashtapadees, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: When the Lord shows His Mercy, He enjoins the mortal to work for the Guru. His pains are taken away, and the Lord's Name comes to dwell within. True deliverance comes by focusing one's consciousness on the True Lord. Listen to the Shabad, and the Word of the Guru's Bani. ||1|| O my mind, serve the Lord, Har, Har, the true treasure. By Guru's Grace, the wealth of the Lord is obtained. Night and day, focus your meditation on the Lord. ||1||Pause|| The soul-bride who adorns herself without her Husband Lord, is ill-mannered and vile, wasted away into ruin. This is the useless way of life of the self-willed manmukh. Forgetting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, he performs all sorts of empty rituals. ||2|| The bride who is Gurmukh is beautifully embellished. Through the Word of the Shabad, she enshrines her Husband Lord within her heart. She realises the One Lord, and subdues her ego. That soul-bride is virtuous and noble. ||3|| Without the Guru, the Giver, no one finds the Lord. The greedy self-willed manmukh is attracted and engrossed in duality. Only a few spiritual teachers realise this, that without meeting the Guru, liberation is not obtained. ||4|| Everyone tells the stories told by others. Without subduing the mind, devotional worship does not come. When the intellect achieves spiritual wisdom, the heart-lotus blossoms forth. The Naam, the Name of the Lord, comes to abide in that heart. ||5|| In egotism, everyone can pretend to worship God with devotion. But this does not soften the mind, and it does not bring peace. By speaking and preaching, the mortal only shows off his self-conceit. His devotional worship is useless, and his life is a total waste. ||6|| They alone are devotees, who are pleasing to the Mind of the True Guru. Night and day, they remain lovingly attuned to the Name. They behold the Naam, the Name of the Lord, ever-present, near at hand.

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 025

Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, He is pervading and permeating everywhere. ||7|| God Himself forgives, and bestows His Love. The world is suffering from the terrible disease of egotism. By Guru's Grace, this disease is cured. O Nanak, through the Truth, the mortal remains immersed in the True Lord. ||8||1||3||5||8|| Raag Malaar, Chhant, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: My Beloved Lord is the Giver of loving devotional worship. His humble servants are imbued with His Love. He is imbued with His servants, day and night; He does not forget them from His Mind, even for an instant. He is the Lord of the World, the Treasure of virtue; He is always with me. All glorious virtues belong to the Lord of the Universe. With His Feet, He has fascinated my mind; as His humble servant, I am intoxicated with love for His Name. O Nanak, my Beloved is forever Merciful; out of millions, hardly anyone realises Him. ||1|| O Beloved, Your state is inaccessible and infinite. You save even the worst sinners. He is the Purifier of sinners, the Lover of His devotees, the Ocean of mercy, our Lord and Master. In the Society of the Saints, vibrate and meditate on Him with commitment forever; He is the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. Those who wander in reincarnation through millions of births, are saved and carried across, by meditating in remembrance on the Naam. Nanak is thirsty for the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan, O Dear Lord; please take care of him. ||2|| My mind is absorbed in the Lotus Feet of the Lord. O God, You are the water; Your humble servants are fish. O Dear God, You alone are the water and the fish. I know that there is no difference between the two. Please take hold of my arm and bless me with Your Name. I am honoured only by Your Grace. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, vibrate and meditate with love on the One Lord of the Universe, who is Merciful to the meek. Nanak, the lowly and helpless, seeks the Sanctuary of the Lord, who in His Kindness has made him His Own. ||3|| He unites us with Himself. Our Sovereign Lord King is the Destroyer of fear. My Wondrous Lord and Master is the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts. My Beloved, the Treasure of virtue, has met me. Supreme happiness and peace well up, as I cherish the Glorious Virtues of the Lord of the Universe. Meeting with Him, I am embellished and exalted; gazing on Him, I am fascinated, and I realise my pre-ordained destiny. Prays Nanak, I seek the Sanctuary of those who meditate on the Lord, Har, Har.

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||4||1|| Vaar Of Malaar, First Mehl, Sung To The Tune Of Rana Kailaash And Malda: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Shalok, Third Mehl: Meeting with the Guru, the mind is delighted, like the earth embellished by the rain. Everything becomes green and lush; the pools and ponds are filled to overflowing. The inner self is imbued with the deep crimson colour of love for the True Lord. The heart-lotus blossoms forth and the mind becomes true; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, it is ecstatic and exalted.

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 026

The self-willed manmukh is on the wrong side. You can see this with your own eyes. He is caught in the trap like the deer; the Messenger of Death hovers over his head. Hunger, thirst and slander are evil; sexual desire and anger are horrible. These cannot be seen with your eyes, until you contemplate the Word of the Shabad. Whoever is pleasing to You is content; all his entanglements are gone. Serving the Guru, his capital is preserved. The Guru is the ladder and the boat. O Nanak, whoever is attached to the Lord receives the essence; O True Lord, You are found when the mind is true. ||1|| First Mehl: There is one path and one door. The Guru is the ladder to reach one's own place. Our Lord and Master is so beautiful, O Nanak; all comfort and peace are in the Name of the True Lord. ||2|| Pauree: He Himself created Himself; He Himself understands Himself. Separating the sky and the earth, He has spread out His canopy. Without any pillars, He supports the sky, through the insignia of His Shabad. Creating the sun and the moon, He infused His Light into them. He created the night and the day; Wondrous are His miraculous plays. He created the sacred shrines of pilgrimage, where people contemplate righteousness and Dharma, and take cleansing baths on special occasions. There is no other equal to You; how can we speak and describe You? You are seated on the throne of Truth; all others come and go in reincarnation. ||1|| Shalok, First Mehl: O Nanak, when it rains in the month of Saawan, four are delighted: the snake, the deer, the fish and the wealthy people who seek pleasure. ||1|| First Mehl: O Nanak, when it rains in the month of Saawan, four suffer the pains of separation: the cow's calves, the poor, the travellers and the servants. ||2|| Pauree: You are True, O True Lord; You dispense True Justice. Like a lotus, You sit in the primal celestial trance; You are hidden from view. Brahma is called great, but even he does not know Your limits. You have no father or mother; who gave birth to You? You have no form or feature; You transcend all social classes. You have no hunger or thirst; You are satisfied and satiated. You have merged Yourself into the Guru; You are pervading through the Word of Your Shabad. When he is pleasing to the True Lord, the mortal merges in Truth. ||2|| Shalok, First Mehl: The physician was called in; he touched my arm and felt my pulse. The foolish physician did not know that the pain was in the mind. ||1|| Second Mehl: O physician, you are a competent physician, if you first diagnose the disease. Prescribe such a remedy, by which all sorts of illnesses may be cured. Administer that medicine, which will cure the disease, and allow peace to come and dwell in the body. Only when you are rid of your own disease, O Nanak, will you be known as a physician. ||2|| Pauree: Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva and the deities were created. Brahma was given the Vedas, and enjoined to worship God. The ten incarnations, and Rama the king, came into being. According to His Will, they quickly killed all the demons. Shiva serves Him, but cannot find His limits. He established His throne on the principles of Truth. He enjoined all the world to its tasks, while He keeps Himself hidden from view.

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 027

The Primal Lord has ordained that mortals must practice righteousness. ||3|| Shalok, Second Mehl: The month of Saawan has come, O my companions; think of your Husband Lord. O Nanak, the discarded bride is in love with another; now she weeps and wails, and dies. ||1|| Second Mehl: The month of Saawan has come, O my companions; the clouds have burst forth with rain. O Nanak, the blessed soul-brides sleep in peace; they are in love with their Husband Lord. ||2|| Pauree: He Himself has staged the tournament, and arranged the arena for the wrestlers. They have entered the arena with pomp and ceremony; the Gurmukhs are joyful. The false and foolish self-willed manmukhs are defeated and overcome. The Lord Himself wrestles, and He Himself defeats them. He Himself staged this play. The One God is the Lord and Master of all; this is known by the Gurmukhs. He writes the inscription of His Hukam on the foreheads of all, without pen or ink. In the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, Union with Him is obtained; there, the Glorious Praises of the Lord are chanted forever. O Nanak, praising the True Word of His Shabad, one comes to realise the Truth. ||4|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Hanging low, low and thick in the sky, the clouds are changing colour. How do I know whether my love for my Husband Lord shall endure? The love of those soul-brides endures, if their minds are filled with the Love and the Fear of God. O Nanak, she who has no Love and Fear of God - her body shall never find peace. ||1|| Third Mehl: Hanging low, low and thick in the sky, the clouds come, and pure water rains down. O Nanak, that soul-bride suffers in pain, whose mind is torn away from her Husband Lord. ||2|| Pauree: The One Lord created both sides and pervades the expanse. The words of the Vedas became pervasive, with arguments and divisions. Attachment and detachment are the two sides of it; Dharma, true religion, is the guide between the two. The self-willed manmukhs are worthless and false. Without a doubt, they lose in the Court of the Lord. Those who follow the Guru's Teachings are the true spiritual warriors; they have conquered sexual desire and anger. They enter into the True Mansion of the Lord's Presence, embellished and exalted by the Word of the Shabad. Those devotees are pleasing to Your Will, O Lord; they dearly love the True Name. I am a sacrifice to those who serve their True Guru. ||5|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Hanging low, low and thick in the sky, the clouds come, and water rains down in torrents. O Nanak, she walks in harmony with the Will of her Husband Lord; she enjoys peace and pleasure forever. ||1|| Third Mehl: Why are you standing up, standing up to look? You poor wretch, this cloud has nothing in its hands. The One who sent this cloud - cherish Him in your mind. He alone enshrines the Lord in his mind, upon whom the Lord bestows His Glance of Grace. O Nanak, all those who lack this Grace, cry and weep and wail. ||2|| Pauree: Serve the Lord forever; He acts in no time at all. He stretched the sky across the heavens; in an instant, He creates and destroys. He Himself created the world; He contemplates His Creative Omnipotence. The self-willed manmukh will be called to account hereafter; he will be severely punished.

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 028

The Gurmukh's account is settled with honour; the Lord blesses him with the treasure of His Praise. No one's hands can reach there; no one will hear anyone's cries. The True Guru will be your best friend there; at the very last instant, He will save you. These beings should serve no other than the True Guru or the Creator Lord above the heads of all. ||6|| Shalok, Third Mehl: O rainbird, the One unto whom you call - everyone longs for that Lord. When He grants His Grace, it rains, and the forests and fields blossom forth in their greenery. By Guru's Grace, He is found; only a rare few understand this. Sitting down and standing up, meditate continually on Him, and be at peace forever and ever. O Nanak, the Ambrosial Nectar rains down forever; the Lord gives it to the Gurmukh. ||1|| Third Mehl: When the people of the world are suffering in pain, they call upon the Lord in loving prayer. The True Lord naturally listens and hears and gives comfort. He commands the god of rain, and the rain pours down in torrents. Corn and wealth are produced in great abundance and prosperity; their value cannot be estimated. O Nanak, praise the Naam, the Name of the Lord; He reaches out and gives sustenance to all beings. Eating this, peace is produced, and the mortal never again suffers in pain. ||2|| Pauree: O Dear Lord, You are the Truest of the True. You blend those who are truthful into Your Own Being. Those caught in duality are on the side of duality; entrenched in falsehood, they cannot merge into the Lord. You Yourself unite, and You Yourself separate; You display Your Creative Omnipotence. Attachment brings the sorrow of separation; the mortal acts in accordance with pre-ordained destiny. I am a sacrifice to those who remain lovingly attached to the Lord's Feet. They are like the lotus which remains detached, floating upon the water. They are peaceful and beautiful forever; they eradicate self-conceit from within. They never suffer sorrow or separation; they are merged in the Being of the Lord. ||7|| Shalok, Third Mehl: O Nanak, praise the Lord; everything is in His power. Serve Him, O mortal beings; there is none other than Him. The Lord God abides within the mind of the Gurmukh, and then he is at peace, forever and ever. He is never cynical; all anxiety has been taken out from within him. Whatever happens, happens naturally; no one has any say about it. When the True Lord abides in the mind, then the mind's desires are fulfilled. O Nanak, He Himself hears the words of those, whose accounts are in His Hands. ||1|| Third Mehl: The Ambrosial Nectar rains down continually; realise this through realisation. Those who, as Gurmukh, realise this, keep the Lord's Ambrosial Nectar enshrined within their hearts. They drink in the Lord's Ambrosial Nectar, and remain forever imbued with the Lord; they conquer egotism and thirsty desires. The Name of the Lord is Ambrosial Nectar; the Lord showers His Grace, and it rains down. O Nanak, the Gurmukh comes to behold the Lord, the Supreme Soul. ||2||

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 029

Pauree: How can the unweighable be weighed? Without weighing Him, He cannot be obtained. Reflect on the Word of the Guru's Shabad, and immerse yourself in His Glorious Virtues. He Himself weighs Himself; He unites in Union with Himself. His value cannot be estimated; nothing can be said about this. I am a sacrifice to my Guru; He has made me realise this true realisation. The world has been deceived, and the Ambrosial Nectar is being plundered. The self-willed manmukh does not realise this. Without the Name, nothing will go along with him; he wastes his life, and departs. Those who follow the Guru's Teachings and remain awake and aware, preserve and protect the home of their heart; demons have no power against them. ||8|| Shalok, Third Mehl: O rainbird, do not cry out. Do not let this mind of yours be so thirsty for a drop of water. Obey the Hukam, the Command of your Lord and Master, and your thirst shall be quenched. Your love for Him shall increase four-fold. ||1|| Third Mehl: O rainbird, your place is in the water; you move around in the water. But you do not appreciate the water, and so you cry out. In the water and on the land, it rains down in the ten directions. No place is left dry. With so much rain, those who are die of thirst are very unfortunate. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs understand; the Lord abides within their minds. ||2|| Pauree: The Yogic Masters, celibates, Siddhas and spiritual teachers - none of them has found the limits of the Lord. The Gurmukhs meditate on the Naam, and merge in You, O Lord. For thirty-six ages, God remained in utter darkness, as He pleased. The vast expanse of water swirled around. The Creator of all is Infinite, Endless and Inaccessible. He formed fire and conflict, hunger and thirst. Death hangs over the heads of the people of the world, in the love of duality. The Savior Lord saves those who realise the Word of the Shabad. ||9|| Shalok, Third Mehl: This rain pours down on all; it rains down in accordance with God's Loving Will. Those trees become green and lush, which remain immersed in the Guru's Word. O Nanak, by His Grace, there is peace; the pain of these creatures is gone. ||1|| Third Mehl: The night is wet with dew; lightning flashes, and the rain pours down in torrents. Food and wealth are produced in abundance when it rains, if it is the Will of God. Consuming it, the minds of His creatures are satisfied, and they adopt the lifestyle of the way. This wealth is the play of the Creator Lord. Sometimes it comes, and sometimes it goes. The Naam is the wealth of the spiritually wise. It is permeating and pervading forever. O Nanak, those who are blessed with His Glance of Grace receive this wealth. ||2|| Pauree: He Himself does, and causes all to be done. Unto whom can I complain? He Himself calls the mortal beings to account; He Himself causes them to act. Whatever pleases Him happens. Only a fool issues commands. He Himself saves and redeems; He Himself is the Forgiver. He Himself sees, and He Himself hears; He gives His Support to all. He alone is pervading and permeating all; He considers each and every one.

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 030

The Gurmukh reflects on the self, lovingly attached to the True Lord. O Nanak, whom can we ask? He Himself is the Great Giver. ||10|| Shalok, Third Mehl: This world is a rainbird; let no one be deluded by doubt. This rainbird is an animal; it has no understanding at all. The Name of the Lord is Ambrosial Nectar; drinking it in, thirst is quenched. O Nanak, those Gurmukhs who drink it in shall never again be afflicted by thirst. ||1|| Third Mehl: Malaar is a calming and soothing raga; meditating on the Lord brings peace and tranquility. When the Dear Lord grants His Grace, then the rain falls on all the people of the world. From this rain, all creatures find the ways and means to live, and the earth is embellished. O Nanak, this world is all water; everything came from water. By Guru's Grace, a rare few realise the Lord; such humble beings are liberated forever. ||2|| Pauree: O True and Independent Lord God, You alone are my Lord and Master. You Yourself are everything; who else is of any account? False is the pride of man. True is Your glorious greatness. Coming and going in reincarnation, the beings and species of the world came into being. But if the mortal serves his True Guru, his coming into the world is judged to be worthwhile. And if he eradicates eogtism from within himself, then how can he be judged? The self-willed manmukh is lost in the darkness of emotional attachment, like the man lost in the wilderness. Countless sins are erased, by even a tiny particle of the Lord's Name. ||11|| Shalok, Third Mehl: O rainbird, you do not know the Mansion of your Lord and Master's Presence. Offer your prayers to see this Mansion. You speak as you please, but your speech is not accepted. Your Lord and Master is the Great Giver; whatever you desire, you shall receive from Him. Not only the thirst of the poor rainbird, but the thirst of the whole world is quenched. ||1|| Third Mehl: The night is wet with dew; the rainbird sings the True Name with intuitive ease. This water is my very soul; without water, I cannot survive. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, this water is obtained, and egotism is eradicated from within. O Nanak, I cannot live without Him, even for a moment; the True Guru has led me to meet Him. ||2|| Pauree: There are countless worlds and nether regions; I cannot calculate their number. You are the Creator, the Lord of the Universe; You create it, and You destroy it. The 8.4 million species of beings issued forth from You. Some are called kings, emperors and nobles. Some claim to be bankers and accumulate wealth, but in duality they lose their honour. Some are givers, and some are beggars; God is above the heads of all. Without the Name, they are vulgar, dreadful and wretched. Falsehood shall not last, O Nanak; whatever the True Lord does, comes to pass.

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||12|| Shalok, Third Mehl: O rainbird, the virtuous soul-bride attains the Mansion of her Lord's Presence; the unworthy, unvirtuous one is far away. Deep within your inner being, the Lord abides. The Gurmukh beholds Him ever-present. When the Lord bestows His Glance of Grace, the mortal no longer weeps and wails. O Nanak, those who are imbued with the Naam intuitively merge with the Lord; they practice the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||1||

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 031

Third Mehl: The rainbird prays: O Lord, grant Your Grace, and bless me with the gift of the life of the soul. Without the water, my thirst is not quenched, and my breath of life is ended and gone. You are the Giver of peace, O Infinite Lord God; You are the Giver of the treasure of virtue. O Nanak, the Gurmukh is forgiven; in the end, the Lord God shall be your only friend. ||2|| Pauree: He created the world; He considers the merits and demerits of the mortals. Those who are entangled in the three gunas - the three dispositions - do not love the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Forsaking virtue, they practice evil; they shall be miserable in the Court of the Lord. They lose their life in the gamble; why did they even come into the world? But those who conquer and subdue their minds, through the True Word of the Shabad - night and day, they love the Naam. Those people enshrine the True, Invisible and Infinite Lord in their hearts. You, O Lord, are the Giver, the Treasure of virtue; I am unvirtuous and unworthy. He alone finds You, whom You bless and forgive, and inspire to contemplate the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||13|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: The faithless cynics forget the Name of the Lord; the night of their lives does not pass in peace. Their days and nights become comfortable, O Nanak, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||1|| Fifth Mehl: All sorts of jewels and gems, diamonds and rubies, shine forth from their foreheads. O Nanak, those who are pleasing to God, look beautiful in the Court of the Lord. ||2|| Pauree: Serving the True Guru, I dwell on the True Lord. The work you have done for the True Guru shall be very useful in the end. The Messenger of Death cannot even touch that person who is protected by the True Lord. Lighting the lamp of the Guru's Teachings, my awareness has been awakened. The self-willed manmukhs are false; without the Name, they wander around like demons. They are nothing more than beasts, wrapped up in human skin; they are black-hearted within. The True Lord is pervading all; through the True Word of the Shabad, He is seen. O Nanak, the Naam is the greatest treasure. The Perfect Guru has revealed it to me. ||14|| Shalok, Third Mehl: The rainbird realises the Hukam of the Lord's Command with intuitive ease through the Guru. The clouds mercifully burst forth, and the rain pours down in torrents. The cries and wailings of the rainbird have ceased, and peace has come to abide in its mind. O Nanak, praise that Lord, who reaches out and gives sustenance to all beings and creatures. ||1|| Third Mehl: O rainbird, you do not know what thirst is within you, or what you can drink to quench it. You wander in the love of duality, and you do not obtain the Ambrosial Water. When God casts His Glance of Grace, then the mortal automatically meets the True Guru. O Nanak, the Ambrosial Water is obtained from the True Guru, and then the mortal remains merged in the Lord with intuitive ease. ||2|| Pauree: Some go and sit in the forest realms, and do not answer any calls. Some, in the dead of winter, break the ice and immerse themselves in freezing water. Some rub ashes on their bodies, and never wash off their dirt. Some look hideous, with their uncut hair matted and dishevelled. They bring dishonour to their family and ancestry.

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Some wander naked day and night and never sleep. Some burn their limbs in fire, damaging and ruining themselves. Without the Name, the body is reduced to ashes; what good is it to speak and cry then? Those who serve the True Guru, are embellished and exalted in the Court of their Lord and Master. ||15|| Shalok, Third Mehl: The rainbird chirps in the ambrosial hours of the morning before the dawn; its prayers are heard in the Court of the Lord. The order is issued to the clouds, to let the rains of mercy shower down. I am a sacrifice to those who enshrine the True Lord within their hearts. O Nanak, through the Name, all are rejuvenated, contemplating the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||1|| Third Mehl: O rainbird, this is not the way to quench your thirst, even though you may cry out a hundred times. By God's Grace, the True Guru is found; by His Grace, love wells up. O Nanak, when the Lord and Master abides in the mind, corruption and evil leave from within. ||2|| Pauree: Some are Jains, wasting their time in the wilderness; by their pre-ordained destiny, they are ruined. The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is not on their lips; they do not bathe at sacred shrines of pilgrimage. They pull out their hair with their hands, instead of shaving. They remain unclean day and night; they do not love the Word of the Shabad. They have no status, no honour, and no good karma. They waste away their lives in vain. Their minds are false and impure; that which they eat is impure and defiled. Without the Shabad, no one achieves a lifestyle of good conduct. The Gurmukh is absorbed in the True Lord God, the Universal Creator. ||16|| Shalok, Third Mehl: In the month of Saawan, the bride is happy, contemplating the Word of the Guru's Shabad. O Nanak, she is a happy soul-bride forever; her love for the Guru is unlimited. ||1|| Third Mehl: In Saawan, she who has no virtue is burned, in attachment and love of duality. O Nanak, she does not appreciate the value of her Husband Lord; all her decorations are worthless. ||2|| Pauree: The True, Unseen, Mysterious Lord is not won over by stubbornness. Some sing according to traditional ragas, but the Lord is not pleased by these ragas. Some dance and dance and keep the beat, but they do not worship Him with devotion. Some refuse to eat; what can be done with these fools? Thirst and desire have greatly increased; nothing brings satisfaction. Some are tied down by rituals; they hassle themselves to death. In this world, profit comes by drinking in the Ambrosial Nectar of the Naam. The Gurmukhs gather in loving devotional worship of the Lord. ||17|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Those Gurmukhs who sing in the Raga of Malaar - their minds and bodies become cool and calm. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, they realise the One, the One True Lord. Their minds and bodies are true; they obey the True Lord, and they are known as true. True devotional worship is deep within them; they are automatically blessed with honour. In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, there is utter darkness; the self-willed manmukh cannot find the way. O Nanak, very blessed are those Gurmukhs, unto whom the Lord is revealed. ||1|| Third Mehl: The clouds rain down mercifully, and joy wells up in the minds of the people. I am forever a sacrifice to the One, by whose Command the clouds burst forth with rain.

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The Gurmukhs dwell on the Word of the Shabad. They sing the Glorious Praises of the True Lord. O Nanak, those humble beings who are imbued with the Naam are pure and immaculate. They are intuitively merged in the True Lord. ||2|| Pauree: Serving the Perfect True Guru, I have found the Perfect Lord. Meditating on the Perfect Lord, by perfect karma, I have enshrined the Shabad within my mind. Through perfect spiritual wisdom and meditation, my filth has been washed away. The Lord is my sacred shrine of pilgrimage and pool of purification; I wash my mind in Him. One who dies in the Shabad and conquers his mind - blessed is the mother who gave birth to him. He is true in the Court of the Lord, and his coming into this world is judged to be true. No one can challenge that person, with whom our Lord and Master is pleased. O Nanak, praising the True Lord, his pre-ordained destiny is activated. ||18|| Shalok, Third Mehl: Those who give out ceremonial hats of recognition are fools; those who receive them have no shame. The mouse cannot enter its hole with a basket tied around its waist. Those who give out blessings shall die, and those that they bless shall also depart. O Nanak, no one knows the Lord's Command, by which all must depart. The spring harvest is the Name of the One Lord; the harvest of autumn is the True Name. I receive a letter of pardon from my Lord and Master, when I reach His Court. There are so many courts of the world, and so many who come and go there. There are so many beggars begging; so many beg and beg until death. ||1|| First Mehl: The elephant eats a hundred pounds of ghee and molasses, and five hundred pounds of corn. He belches and grunts and scatters dust, and when the breath leaves his body, he regrets it. The blind and arrogant die insane. Submitting to the Lord, one become pleasing to Him. The sparrow eats only half a grain, then it flies through the sky and chirps. The good sparrow is pleasing to her Lord and Master, if she chirps the Name of the Lord. The powerful tiger kills hundreds of deer, and all sorts of other animals eat what it leaves. It becomes very strong, and cannot be contained in its den, but when it must go, it regrets. So who is impressed by the roar of the blind beast? He is not pleasing at all to his Lord and Master. The insect loves the milkweed plant; perched on its branch, it eats it. It becomes good and pleasing to its Lord and Master, if it chirps the Name of the Lord. O Nanak, the world lasts for only a few days; indulging in pleasures, pain is produced. There are many who boast and brag, but none of them can remain detached from the world. The fly dies for the sake of sweets. O Lord, death does not even approach those whom You protect. You carry them across the terrifying world-ocean. ||2|| Pauree: You are Inaccessible and Unfathomable, O Invisible and Infinite True Lord Master. You are the Giver, all are beggars of You. You alone are the Great Giver. Those who serve You find peace, reflecting on the Guru's Teachings. Some, according to Your Will, are in love with Maya. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, praise the Lord with love and affection within. Without love, there is no devotion. Without the True Guru, love is not enshrined. You are the Lord God; everyone serves You. This is the prayer of Your humble minstrel. Please bless me with the gift of contentment, that I may receive the True Name as my Support. ||19||

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Shalok, First Mehl: Through the night the time ticks away; through the day the time ticks away. The body wears away and turns to straw. All are involved and entangled in worldly entanglements. The mortal has mistakenly renounced the way of service. The blind fool is caught in conflict, bothered and bewildered. Those who weep after someone has died - can they bring him back to life? Without realisation, nothing can be understood. The weepers who weep for the dead shall themselves die as well. O Nanak, this is the Will of our Lord and Master. Those who do not remember the Lord, are dead. ||1|| First Mehl: Love dies, and affection dies; hatred and strife die. The colour fades, and beauty vanishes; the body suffers and collapses. Where did he come from? Where is he going? Did he exist or not? The self-willed manmukh made empty boasts, indulging in parties and pleasures. O Nanak, without the True Name, his honour is torn away, from head to foot. ||2|| Pauree: The Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord, is forever the Giver of peace. It shall be your Help and Support in the end. Without the Guru, the world is insane. It does not appreciate the worth of the Name. Those who serve the True Guru are accepted and approved. Their light merges into the Light. That servant who enshrines the Lord's Will within his mind, becomes just like his Lord and Master. Tell me, who has ever found peace by following his own will? The blind act in blindness. No one is ever satisfied and fulfilled by evil and corruption. The hunger of the fool is not satisfied. Attached to duality, all are ruined; without the True Guru, there is no understanding. Those who serve the True Guru find peace; they are blessed with Grace by the Will of the Lord. ||20|| Shalok, First Mehl: Modesty and righteousness both, O Nanak, are qualities of those who are blessed with true wealth. Do not refer to that wealth as your friend, which leads you to get your head beaten. Those who possess only this worldly wealth are known as paupers. But those, within whose hearts You dwell, O Lord - those people are oceans of virtue. ||1|| First Mehl: Worldly possessions are obtained by pain and suffering; when they are gone, they leave pain and suffering. O Nanak, without the True Name, hunger is never satisfied. Beauty does not satisfy hunger; when the man sees beauty, he hungers even more. As many as are the pleasures of the body, so many are the pains which afflict it. ||2|| First Mehl: Acting blindly, the mind becomes blind. The blind mind makes the body blind. Why make a dam with mud and plaster? Even a dam made of stones gives way. The dam has burst. There is no boat. There is no raft. The water's depth is unfathomable. O Nanak, without the True Name, many multitudes have drowned. ||3|| First Mehl: Thousands of pounds of gold, and thousands of pounds of silver; the king over the heads of thousands of kings. Thousands of armies, thousands of marching bands and spearmen; the emperor of thousands of horsemen. The unfathomable ocean of fire and water must be crossed. The other shore cannot be seen; only the roar of pitiful cries can be heard. O Nanak, there, it shall be known, whether anyone is a king or an emperor. ||4|| Pauree: Some have chains around their necks, in bondage to the Lord. They are released from bondage, realising the True Lord as True.

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One whose pre-ordained destiny is activated, comes to know the True Lord. By God's Command, it is ordained. When the mortal goes, he knows. Realise the Word of the Shabad, and cross over the terrifying world-ocean. Thieves, adulterers and gamblers are pressed like seeds in the mill. Slanderers and gossipers are hand-cuffed. The Gurmukh is absorbed in the True Lord, and is famous in the Court of the Lord. ||21|| Shalok, Second Mehl: The beggar is known as an emperor, and the fool is known as a religious scholar. The blind man is known as a seer; this is how people talk.

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The trouble-maker is called a leader, and the liar is seated with honour. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs know that this is justice in the Dark Age of Kali Yuga. ||1|| First Mehl: Deer, falcons and government officials are known to be trained and clever. When the trap is set, they trap their own kind; hereafter they will find no place of rest. He alone is learned and wise, and he alone is a scholar, who practices the Name. First, the tree puts down its roots, and then it spreads out its shade above. The kings are tigers, and their officials are dogs; they go out and awaken the sleeping people to harass them. The public servants inflict wounds with their nails. The dogs lick up the blood that is spilled. But there, in the Court of the Lord, all beings will be judged. Those who have violated the people's trust will be disgraced; their noses will be cut off. ||2|| Pauree: He Himself creates the world, and He himself takes care of it. Without the Fear of God, doubt is not dispelled, and love for the Name is not embraced. Through the True Guru, the Fear of God wells up, and the Door of Salvation is found. Through the Fear of God, intuitive ease is obtained, and one's light merges into the Light of the Infinite. Through the Fear of God, the terrifying world-ocean is crossed over, reflecting on the Guru's Teachings. Through the Fear of God, the Fearless Lord is found; He has no end or limitation. The self-willed manmukhs do not appreciate the value of the Fear

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of God. Burning in desire, they weep and wail. O Nanak, through the Name, peace is obtained, by enshrining the Guru's Teachings within the heart. ||22|| Shalok, First Mehl: Beauty and sexual desire are friends; hunger and tasty food are tied together. Greed is bound up in its search for wealth, and sleep will use even a tiny space as a bed. Anger barks and brings ruin on itself, blindly pursuing useless conflicts. It is good to be silent, O Nanak; without the Name, one's mouth spews forth only filth. ||1|| First Mehl: Royal power, wealth, beauty, social status and youth are the five thieves. These thieves have plundered the world; no one's honour has been spared. But these thieves themselves are robbed, by those who fall at the Guru's Feet. O Nanak, the multitudes who do not have good karma are plundered. ||2|| Pauree: The learned and educated are called to account for their actions. Without the Name, they are judged false; they become miserable and suffer hardship. Their path becomes treacherous and difficult, and their way is blocked. Through the Shabad, the Word of the True and Independent Lord God, one becomes content. The Lord is deep and profound and unfathomable; His depth cannot be measured. Without the Guru, the mortals are beaten and punched in the face and the mouth, and no one is released. Chanting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, one returns to his true home with honour. Know that the Lord, by the Hukam of His Command, gives sustenance and the breath of life. ||23||

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Shalok, First Mehl: Living beings are formed of air, water and fire. They are subject to pleasure and pain. In this world, in the nether regions of the underworld, and in the Akaashic ethers of the heavens, some remain ministers in the Court of the Lord. Some live long lives, while others suffer and die. Some give and consume, and still their wealth is not exhausted, while others remain poor forever. In His Will He creates, and in His Will He destroys thousands in an instant. He has harnessed everyone with His harness; when He forgives, he breaks the harness. He has no colour or features; He is invisible and beyond calculation. How can He be described? He is known as the Truest of the True. All the actions which are done and described, O Nanak, are done by the Indescribable Lord Himself. Whoever hears the description of the indescribable, is blessed with wealth, intelligence, perfection, spiritual wisdom and eternal peace. ||1|| First Mehl: One who bears the unbearable, controls the nine holes of the body. One who worships and adores the Lord with his breath of life, gains stability in his body-wall. Where has he come from, and where will he go? Remaining dead while yet alive, he is accepted and approved. Whoever understands the Hukam of the Lord's Command, realises the essence of reality. This is known by Guru's Grace. O Nanak, know this: egotism leads to bondage. Only those who have no ego and no self-conceit, are not consigned to reincarnation. ||2|| Pauree: Read the Praise of the Lord's Name; other intellectual pursuits are false. Without dealing in Truth, life is worthless. No one has ever found the Lord's end or limitation. All the world is enveloped by the darkness of egotistical pride. It does not like the Truth. Those who depart from this world, forgetting the Naam, shall be roasted in the frying pan. They pour the oil of duality within, and burn. They come into the world and wander around aimlessly; they depart when the play is finished. O Nanak, imbued with Truth, the mortals merge in Truth. ||24|| Shalok, First Mehl: First, the mortal is conceived in the flesh, and then he dwells in the flesh. When he comes alive, his mouth takes flesh; his bones, skin and body are flesh. He comes out of the womb of flesh, and takes a mouthful of flesh at the breast. His mouth is flesh, his tongue is flesh; his breath is in the flesh. He grows up and is married, and brings his wife of flesh into his home. Flesh is produced from flesh; all relatives are made of flesh. When the mortal meets the True Guru, and realises the Hukam of the Lord's Command, then he comes to be reformed. Releasing himself, the mortal does not find release; O Nanak, through empty words, one is ruined. ||1|| First Mehl: The fools argue about flesh and meat, but they know nothing about meditation and spiritual wisdom. What is called meat, and what is called green vegetables? What leads to sin? It was the habit of the gods to kill the rhinoceros, and make a feast of the burnt offering. Those who renounce meat, and hold their noses when sitting near it, devour men at night. They practice hypocrisy, and make a show before other people, but they do not understand anything about meditation or spiritual wisdom. O Nanak, what can be said to the blind people? They cannot answer, or even understand what is said. They alone are blind, who act blindly. They have no eyes in their hearts. They are produced from the blood of their mothers and fathers, but they do not eat fish or meat.

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But when men and women meet in the night, they come together in the flesh. In the flesh we are conceived, and in the flesh we are born; we are vessels of flesh. You know nothing of spiritual wisdom and meditation, even though you call yourself clever, O religious scholar. O master, you believe that flesh on the outside is bad, but the flesh of those in your own home is good. All beings and creatures are flesh; the soul has taken up its home in the flesh. They eat the uneatable; they reject and abandon what they could eat. They have a teacher who is blind. In the flesh we are conceived, and in the flesh we are born; we are vessels of flesh. You know nothing of spiritual wisdom and meditation, even though you call yourself clever, O religious scholar. Meat is allowed in the Puraanas, meat is allowed in the Bible and the Koran. Throughout the four ages, meat has been used. It is featured in sacred feasts and marriage festivities; meat is used in them. Women, men, kings and emperors originate from meat. If you see them going to hell, then do not accept charitable gifts from them. The giver goes to hell, while the receiver goes to heaven - look at this injustice. You do not understand your own self, but you preach to other people. O Pandit, you are very wise indeed. O Pandit, you do not know where meat originated. Corn, sugar cane and cotton are produced from water. The three worlds came from water. Water says, "I am good in many ways." But water takes many forms. Forsaking these delicacies, one becomes a true Sannyaasee, a detached hermit. Nanak reflects and speaks. ||2|| Pauree: What can I say with only one tongue? I cannot find your limits. Those who contemplate the True Word of the Shabad are absorbed into You, O Lord. Some wander around in saffron robes, but without the True Guru, no one finds the Lord. They wander in foreign lands and countries until they grow weary, but You hide Yourself within them. The Word of the Guru's Shabad is a jewel, through which the Lord shines forth and reveals Himself. Realising one's own self, following the Guru's Teachings, the mortal is absorbed into Truth. Coming and going, the tricksters and magicians put on their magic show. But those whose minds are pleased by the True Lord, praise the True One, the Ever-stable Lord. ||25|| Shalok, First Mehl: O Nanak, the tree of actions done in Maya yields ambrosial fruit and poisonous fruit. The Creator does all deeds; we eat the fruits as He ordains. ||1|| Second Mehl: O Nanak, burn worldly greatness and glory in the fire. These burnt offerings have caused mortals to forget the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Not even one of them will go along with you in the end. ||2|| Pauree: He judges each and every being; by the Hukam of His Command, He leads us on. Justice is in Your Hands, O Lord; You are pleasing to my mind. The mortal is bound and gagged by Death and lead away; no one can rescue him. Old age, the tyrant, dances on the mortal's shoulders. So climb aboard the boat of the True Guru, and the True Lord will rescue you. The fire of desire burns like an oven, consuming mortals night and day. Like trapped birds, the mortals peck at the corn; only through the Lord's Command will they find release. Whatever the Creator does, comes to pass; falsehood shall fail in the end. ||26||

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Shalok, First Mehl: The True Guru is the All-knowing Primal Being; He shows us our true home within the home of the self. The Panch Shabad, the Five Primal Sounds, resonate and resound within; the insignia of the Shabad is revealed there, vibrating gloriously. Worlds and realms, nether regions, solar systems and galaxies are wondrously revealed. The strings and the harps vibrate and resound; the true throne of the Lord is there. Listen to the music of the home of the heart - Sukhmani, peace of mind. Lovingly tune in to His state of celestial ecstasy. Contemplate the Unspoken Speech, and the desires of the mind are dissolved. The heart-lotus is turned upside-down, and is filled with Ambrosial Nectar. This mind does not go out; it does not get distracted. It does not forget the Chant which is chanted without chanting; it is immersed in the Primal Lord God of the ages. All the sister-companions are blessed with the five virtues. The Gurmukhs dwell in the home of the self deep within. Nanak is the slave of that one who seeks the Shabad and finds this home within. ||1|| First Mehl: The extravagant glamor of the world is a passing show. My twisted mind does not believe that it will end up in a grave. I am meek and lowly; You are the great river. Please, bless me with the one thing; everything else is poison, and does not tempt me. You filled this fragile body with the water of life, O Lord, by Your Creative Power. By Your Omnipotence, I have become powerful. Nanak is a dog in the Court of the Lord, intoxicated more and more, all the time. The world is on fire; the Name of the Lord is cooling and soothing. ||2|| New Pauree, Fifth Mehl: His wonderful play is all-pervading; it is wonderful and amazing! As Gurmukh, I know the the Transcendent Lord, the Supreme Lord God. All my sins and corruption are washed away, through the insignia of the Shabad, the Word of God. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, one is saved, and becomes free. Meditating, meditating in remembrance on the Great Giver, I enjoy all comforts and pleasures. I have become famous throughout the world, under the canopy of His kindness and grace. He Himself has forgiven me, and united me with Himself; I am forever a sacrifice to Him. O Nanak, by the Pleasure of His Will, my Lord and Master has blended me with Himself. ||27|| Shalok, First Mehl: Blessed is the paper, blessed is the pen, blessed is the inkwell, and blessed is the ink. Blessed is the writer, O Nanak, who writes the True Name. ||1|| First Mehl: You Yourself are the writing tablet, and You Yourself are the pen. You are also what is written on it. Speak of the One Lord, O Nanak; how could there be any other? ||2|| Pauree: You Yourself are all-pervading; You Yourself made the making. Without You, there is no other at all; You are permeating and pervading everywhere. You alone know Your state and extent. Only You can estimate Your worth. You are invisible, imperceptible and inaccessible. You are revealed through the Guru's Teachings. Deep within, there is ignorance, suffering and doubt; through the spiritual wisdom of the Guru, they are eradicated. He alone meditates on the Naam, whom You unite with Yourself, in Your Mercy. You are the Creator, the Inaccessible Primal Lord God; You are all-pervading everywhere. To whatever You link the mortal, O True Lord, to that he is linked. Nanak sings Your Glorious Praises. ||28||1|| SUDH||

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 039

Raag Malaar, The Word Of The Devotee Naam Dayv Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Serve the King, the Sovereign Lord of the World. He has no ancestry; He is immaculate and pure. Please bless me with the gift of devotion, which the humble Saints beg for. ||1||Pause|| His Home is the pavilion seen in all directions; His ornamental heavenly realms fill the seven worlds alike. In His Home, the virgin Lakshmi dwells. The moon and the sun are His two lamps; the wretched Messenger of Death stages his dramas, and levies taxes on all. Such is my Sovereign Lord King, the Supreme Lord of all. ||1|| In His House, the four-faced Brahma, the cosmic potter lives. He created the entire universe. In His House, the insane Shiva, the Guru of the World, lives; he imparts spiritual wisdom to expain the essence of reality. Sin and virtue are the standard-bearers at His Door; Chitr and Gupt are the recording angels of the conscious and subconscious. The Righteous Judge of Dharma, the Lord of Destruction, is the door-man. Such is the Supreme Sovereign Lord of the World. ||2|| In His Home are the heavenly heralds, celestial singers, Rishis and poor minstrels, who sing so sweetly. All the Shaastras take various forms in His theater, singing beautiful songs. The wind waves the fly-brush over Him; His hand-maiden is Maya, who has conquered the world. The shell of the earth is His fireplace. Such is the Sovereign Lord of the three worlds. ||3|| In His Home, the celestial turtle is the bed-frame, woven with the strings of the thousand-headed snake. His flower-girls are the eighteen loads of vegetation; His water-carriers are the nine hundred sixty million clouds. His sweat is the Ganges River. The seven seas are His water-pitchers. The creatures of the world are His household utensils. Such is the Sovereign Lord King of the three worlds. ||4|| In His home are Arjuna, Dhroo, Prahlaad, Ambreek, Naarad, Nayjaa, the Siddhas and Buddhas, the ninety-two heavenly heralds and celestial singers in their wondrous play. All the creatures of the world are in His House. The Lord is diffused in the inner beings of all. Prays Naam Dayv, seek His Protection. All the devotees are His banner and insignia. ||5||1|| MALAAR: Please do not forget me; please do not forget me, please do not forget me, O Lord. ||1||Pause|| The temple priests have doubts about this, and everyone is furious with me. Calling me low-caste and untouchable, they beat me and drove me out; what should I do now, O Beloved Father Lord? ||1|| If You liberate me after I am dead, no one will know that I am liberated. These Pandits, these religious scholars, call me low-born; when they say this, they tarnish Your honour as well. ||2|| You are called kind and compassionate; the power of Your Arm is absolutely unrivalled. The Lord turned the temple around to face Naam Dayv; He turned His back on the Brahmins. ||3||2||

Section 31 - Raag Malaar - Part 040

Malaar, The Word Of The Devotee Ravi Daas Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O humble townspeople, I am obviously just a shoemaker. In my heart I cherish the Glories of the Lord, the Lord of the Universe. ||1||Pause|| Even if wine is made from the water of the Ganges, O Saints, do not drink it. This wine, and any other polluted water which mixes with the Ganges, is not separate from it. ||1|| The palmyra palm tree is considered impure, and so its leaves are considered impure as well. But if devotional prayers are written on paper made from its leaves, then people bow in reverence and worship before it. ||2|| It is my occupation to prepare and cut leather; each day, I carry the carcasses out of the city. Now, the important Brahmins of the city bow down before me; Ravi Daas, Your slave, seeks the Sanctuary of Your Name. ||3||1|| MALAAR: Those humble beings who meditate on the Lord's Lotus Feet - none are equal to them. The Lord is One, but He is diffused in many forms. Bring in, bring in, that All-pervading Lord. ||Pause|| He who writes the Praises of the Lord God, and sees nothing else at all, is a low-class, untouchable fabric-dyer by trade. The Glory of the Name is seen in the writings of Vyaas and Sanak, throughout the seven continents. ||1|| And he whose family used to kill cows at the festivals of Eed and Bakareed, who worshipped Shayks, martyrs and spiritual teachers,

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whose father used to do such things - his son Kabeer became so successful that he is now famous throughout the three worlds. ||2|| And all the leather-workers in those families still go around Benares removing the dead cattle - the ritualistic Brahmins bow in reverence before their son Ravi Daas, the slave of the Lord's slaves. ||3||2|| Malaar: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: What sort of devotional worship will lead me to meet my Beloved, the Lord of my breath of life? In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I have obtained the supreme status. ||Pause|| How long shall I wash these dirty clothes? How long shall I remain asleep? ||1|| Whatever I was attached to, has perished. The shop of false merchandise has closed down. ||2|| Says Ravi Daas, when the account is called for and given, whatever the mortal has done, he shall see. ||3||1||3||

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GURU GRANTH SAHIB 32 - RAAG KAANRAA

Section 32 - Raag Kaanraa - Part 001

Raag Kaanraa, Chau-Padas, Fourth Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying. Beyond Birth. Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: Meeting with the Holy people, my mind blossoms forth. I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice to those Holy beings; joining the Sangat, the Congregation, I am carried across to the other side. ||1||Pause|| O Lord, Har, Har, please bless me with Your Mercy, God, that I may fall at the feet of the Holy. Blessed, blessed are the Holy, who know the Lord God. Meeting with the Holy, even sinners are saved. ||1|| The mind roams and rambles all around in all directions. Meeting with the Holy, it is overpowered and brought under control, just as when the fisherman spreads his net over the water, he catches and overpowers the fish. ||2|| The Saints, the Saints of the Lord, are noble and good. Meeting with the humble Saints, filth is washed away. All the sins and egotism are washed away, like soap washing dirty clothes. ||3|| According to that pre-ordained destiny inscribed on my forehead by my Lord and Master, I have enshrined the Feet of the Guru, the True Guru, within my heart. I have found God, the Destroyer of all poverty and pain; servant Nanak is saved through the Naam. ||4||1|| Kaanraa, Fourth Mehl: My mind is the dust of the feet of the Saints. Joining the Sangat, the Congregation, I listen to the sermon of the Lord, Har, Har. My crude and uncultured mind is drenched with the Love of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| I am thoughtless and unconscious; I do not know God's state and extent. The Guru has made me thoughtful and conscious. God is Merciful to the meek; He has made me His Own. My mind chants and meditates on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1|| Meeting with the Lord's Saints, the Beloveds of the mind, I would cut out my heart, and offer it to them. Meeting with the Lord's Saints, I meet with the Lord; this sinner has been sanctified. ||2|| The humble servants of the Lord are said to be exalted in this world; meeting with them, even stones are softened.

Section 32 - Raag Kaanraa - Part 002

I cannot even describe the noble grandeur of such humble beings; the Lord, Har, Har, has made them sublime and exalted. ||3|| You, Lord are the Great Merchant-Banker; O God, my Lord and Master, I am just a poor peddler; please bless me with the wealth. Please bestow Your Kindness and Mercy upon servant Nanak, God, so that he may load up the merchandise of the Lord, Har, Har. ||4||2|| Kaanraa, Fourth Mehl: O mind, chant the Name of the Lord, and be enlightened. Meet with the Saints of the Lord, and focus your love; remain balanced and detached within your own household. ||1||Pause|| I chant the Name of the Lord, Nar-Har, within my heart; God the Merciful has shown His Mercy. Night and day, I am in ecstasy; my mind has blossomed forth, rejuvenated. I am trying - I hope to meet my Lord. ||1|| I am in love with the Lord, my Lord and Master; I love Him with every breath and morsel of food I take. My sins were burnt away in an instant; the noose of the bondage of Maya was loosened. ||2|| I am such a worm! What karma am I creating? What can I do? I am a fool, a total idiot, but God has saved me. I am unworthy, heavy as stone, but joining the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, I am carried across to the other side. ||3|| The Universe which God created is all above me; I am the lowest, engrossed in corruption. With the Guru, my faults and demerits have been erased. Servant Nanak has been united with God Himself. ||4||3|| Kaanraa, Fourth Mehl: O my mind, chant the Name of the Lord, through the Guru's Word. The Lord, Har, Har, has shown me His Mercy, and my evil-mindedness, love of duality and sense of alienation are totally gone, thanks to the Lord of the Universe. ||1||Pause|| There are so many forms and colours of the Lord. The Lord is pervading each and every heart, and yet He is hidden from view. Meeting with the Lord's Saints, the Lord is revealed, and the doors of corruption are shattered. ||1|| The glory of the Saintly beings is absolutely great; they lovingly enshrine the Lord of Bliss and Delight within their hearts. Meeting with the Lord's Saints, I meet with the Lord, just as when the calf is seen - the cow is there as well. ||2|| The Lord, Har, Har, is within the humble Saints of the Lord; they are exalted - they know, and they inspire others to know as well. The fragrance of the Lord permeates their hearts; they have abandoned the foul stench. ||3|| You make those humble beings Your Own, God; You protect Your Own, O Lord. The Lord is servant Nanak's companion; the Lord is his sibling, mother, father, relative and relation. ||4||4|| Kaanraa, Fourth Mehl: O my mind, consciously chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. The commodity of the Lord, Har, Har, is locked in the fortress of Maya; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, I have conquered the fortress. ||1||Pause|| In false doubt and superstition, people wander all around, lured by love and emotional attachment to their children and families. But just like the passing shade of the tree, your body-wall shall crumble in an instant. ||1|| The humble beings are exalted; they are my breath of life and my beloveds; meeting them, my mind is filled with faith. Deep within the heart, I am happy with the Pervading Lord; with love and joy, I dwell upon the Steady and Stable Lord. ||2||

Section 32 - Raag Kaanraa - Part 003

The humble Saints, the Saints of the Lord, are noble and sublime; meeting them, the mind is tinged with love and joy. The Lord's Love never fades away, and it never wears off. Through the Lord's Love, one goes and meets the Lord, Har, Har. ||3|| I am a sinner; I have committed so many sins. The Guru has cut them, cut them, and hacked them off. The Guru has placed the healing remedy of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, into my mouth. Servant Nanak, the sinner, has been purified and sanctified. ||4||5|| Kaanraa, Fourth Mehl: Chant, O my mind, the Name of the Lord, the Lord of the Universe. I was caught in the whirlpool of poisonous sin and corruption. The True Guru gave me His Hand; He lifted me up and pulled me out. ||1||Pause|| O my Fearless, Immaculate Lord and Master, please save me - I am a sinner, a sinking stone. I am lured and enticed by sexual desire, anger, greed and corruption, but associating with You, I am carried across, like iron in the wooden boat. ||1|| You are the Great Primal Being, the most Inaccessible and Unfathomable Lord God; I search for You, but cannot find Your depth. You are the farthest of the far, beyond the beyond, O my Lord and Master; You alone know Yourself, O Lord of the Universe. ||2|| I meditate on the Name of the Unseen and Unfathomable Lord; joining the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, I have found the Path of the Holy. Joining the congregation, I listen to the Gospel of the Lord, Har, Har; I meditate on the Lord, Har, Har, and speak the Unspoken Speech. ||3|| My God is the Lord of the World, the Lord of the Universe; please save me, O Lord of all Creation. Servant Nanak is the slave of the slave of Your slaves. O God, please bless me with Your Grace; please protect me and keep me with Your humble servants. ||4||6|| Kaanraa, Fourth Mehl, Partaal, Fifth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O mind, meditate on the Lord, the Lord of the World. The Lord is the Jewel, the Diamond, the Ruby. The Lord fashions the Gurmukhs in His Mint. O Lord, please, please, be Merciful to me. ||1||Pause|| Your Glorious Virtues are inaccessible and unfathomable; how can my one poor tongue describe them? O my Beloved Lord, Raam, Raam, Raam, Raam. O Dear Lord, You, You, You alone know Your Unspoken Speech. I have become enraptured, enraptured, enraptured, meditating on the Lord. ||1|| The Lord, my Lord and Master, is my Companion and my Breath of Life; the Lord is my Best Friend. My mind, body and tongue are attuned to the Lord, Har, Haray, Haray. The Lord is my Wealth and Property. She alone obtains her Husband Lord, who is so pre-destined. Through the Guru's Teachings, she sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord, Har, Har, Haray, Haray. I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice, I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice to the Lord, O servan Kaanraa, Fourth Mehl: Sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, the Lord of the Universe. Let my one tongue become two hundred thousand - with them all, I will meditate on the Lord, Har, Har, and chant the Word of the Shabad. O Lord, please, please, be Merciful to me. ||1||Pause|| O Lord, my Lord and Master, please be Merciful to me; please enjoin me to serve You. I chant and meditate on the Lord, I chant and meditate on the Lord, I chant and meditate on the Lord of the Universe. Your humble servants chant and meditate on You, O Lord; they are sublime and exalted. I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice to them. ||1||

Section 32 - Raag Kaanraa - Part 004

O Lord, You are the Greatest of the Great, the Greatest of the Great, the most Lofty and High. You do whatever You please. Servant Nanak drinks in the Ambrosial Nectar through the Guru's Teachings. Blessed, blessed, blessed, blessed and praised is the Guru. ||2||2||8|| Kaanraa, Fourth Mehl: O mind, meditate and vibrate on the Lord, Raam, Raam. He has no form or feature - He is Great! Joining the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, vibrate and meditate on the Lord. This is the high destiny written on your forehead. ||1||Pause|| That household, that mansion, in which the Lord's Praises are sung - that home is filled with ecstasy and joy; so vibrate and meditate on the Lord, Raam, Raam, Raam. Sing the Glorious Praises of the Name of the Lord, the Beloved Lord. Through the Teachings of the Guru, the Guru, the True Guru, you shall find peace. So vibrate and meditate on the Lord, Har, Haray, Har, Haray, Haray, the Lord, Raam, Raam, You are the Support of the whole universe, Lord; O Merciful Lord, You, You, You are the Creator of all, Raam, Raam, Raam. Servant Nanak seeks Your Sanctuary; please bless him with the Guru's Teachings, that he may vibrate and meditate on the Lord, Raam, Raam, Raam. ||2||3||9|| Kaanraa, Fourth Mehl: I eagerly kiss the Feet of the True Guru. Meeting Him, the Path to the Lord becomes smooth and easy. I lovingly vibrate and meditate on the Lord, and gulp down His Sublime Essence. The Lord has written this destiny on my forehead. ||1||Pause|| Some perform the six rituals and rites; the Siddhas, seekers and Yogis put on all sorts of pompous shows, with their hair all tangled and matted. Yoga - Union with the Lord God - is not obtained by wearing religious robes; the Lord is found in the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, and the Guru's Teachings. The humble Saints throw the doors wide open. ||1|| O my Lord and Master, You are the farthest of the far, utterly unfathomable. You are totally pervading the water and the land. You alone are the One and Only Unique Lord of all creation. You alone know all Your ways and means. You alone understand Yourself. Servant Nanak's Lord God is in each heart, in every heart, in the home of each and every heart. ||2||4||10|| Kaanraa, Fourth Mehl: O mind, chant and meditate on the Lord, the Lord of the Universe. The Lord, Har, Har, is inaccessible and unfathomable. Through the Guru's Teachings, my intellect attains the Lord God. This is the pre-ordained destiny written on my forehead. ||1||Pause|| Collecting the poison of Maya, people think of all sorts of evil. But peace is found only by vibrating and meditating on the Lord; with the Saints, in the Sangat, the Society of the Saints, meet the True Guru, the Holy Guru. Just as when the iron slag is transmuted into gold by touching the Philosopher's Stone - when the sinner joins the Sangat, he becomes pure, through the Guru's Teachings. ||1|| Just like the heavy iron which is carried across on the wooden raft, sinners are carried across in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, and the Guru, the True Guru, the Holy Guru. There are four castes, four social classes, and four stages of life. Whoever meets the Guru, Guru Nanak, is himself carried across, and he carries all his ancestors and generations across as well. ||2||5||11|| Kaanraa, Fourth Mehl: Sing the Praises of the Lord God. Singing His Praises, sins are washed away. Through the Word of the Guru's Teachings, listen to His Praises with your ears. The Lord shall be Merciful to you. ||1||Pause||

Section 32 - Raag Kaanraa - Part 005

Your humble servants focus their consciousness and meditate on You with one-pointed mind; those Holy beings find peace, chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, the Treasure of Bliss. They sing Your Praises, God, meeting with the Holy, the Holy people, and the Guru, the True Guru, O Lord God. ||1|| They alone obtain the fruit of peace, within whose hearts You, O my Lord and Master, abide. They cross over the terrifying world-ocean - they are known as the Lord's devotees. Please enjoin me to their service, Lord, please enjoin me to their service. O Lord God, You, You, You, You, You are the Lord of servant Nanak. ||2||6||12|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the World, the Treasure of Mercy. The True Guru is the Destroyer of pain, the Giver of peace; meeting Him, one is totally fulfilled. ||1||Pause|| Meditate in remembrance on the Naam, the Support of the mind. Millions of sinners are carried across in an instant. ||1|| Whoever remembers his Guru, shall not suffer sorrow, even in dreams. ||2|| Whoever keeps his Guru enshrined within - that humble being tastes the sublime essence of the Lord with his tongue. ||3|| Says Nanak, the Guru has been Kind to me; here and herafter, my face is radiant. ||4||1|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: I worship and adore You, my Lord and Master. Standing up and sitting down, while sleeping and awake, with each and every breath, I meditate on the Lord. ||1||Pause|| The Naam, the Name of the Lord, abides within the hearts of those, whose Lord and Master blesses them with this gift. ||1|| Peace and tranquility come into the hearts of those who meet their Lord and Master, through the Word of the Guru. ||2|| Those whom the Guru blesses with the Mantra of the Naam are wise, and blessed with all powers,. ||3|| Says Nanak, I am a sacrifice to those who are blessed with the Name in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga. ||4||2|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: Sing the Praises of God, O my tongue. Humbly bow to the Saints, over and over again; through them, the Feet of the Lord of the Universe shall come to abide within you. ||1||Pause|| The Door to the Lord cannot be found by any other means. When He becomes Merciful, we come to meditate on the Lord, Har, Har. ||1|| The body is not purified by millions of rituals. The mind is awakened and enlightened only in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||2|| Thirst and desire are not quenched by enjoying the many pleasures of Maya. Chanting the Naam, the Name of the Lord, total peace is found. ||3|| When the Supreme Lord God

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becomes Merciful, says Nanak, then one is rid of worldly entanglements. ||4||3|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: Beg for such blessings from the Lord of the Universe: to work for the Saints, and the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Chanting the Name of the Lord, the supreme status is obtained. ||1||Pause|| Worship the Feet of Your Lord and Master, and seek His Sanctuary. Take joy in whatever God does. ||1|| This precious human body becomes fruitful,

Section 32 - Raag Kaanraa - Part 006

when the True Guru shows His Kindness. ||2|| The house of ignorance, doubt and pain is destroyed, for those within whose hearts the Guru's Feet abide. ||3|| In the Saadh Sangat, lovingly meditate on God. Says Nanak, you shall obtain the Perfect Lord. ||4||4|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: Devotion is the natural quality of God's devotees. Their bodies and minds are blended with their Lord and Master; He unites them with Himself. ||1||Pause|| The singer sings the songs, but she alone is saved, within whose consciousness the Lord abides. ||1|| The one who sets the table sees the food, but only one who eats the food is satisfied. ||2|| People disguise themselves with all sorts of costumes, but in the end, they are seen as they truly are. ||3|| Speaking and talking are all just entanglements. O slave Nanak, the true way of life is excellent. ||4||5|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: Your humble servant listens to Your Praises with delight. ||1||Pause|| My mind is enlightened, gazing upon the Glory of God. Wherever I look, there He is. ||1|| You are the farthest of all, the highest of the far, profound, unfathomable and unreachable. ||2|| You are united with Your devotees, through and through; You have removed Your veil for Your humble servants. ||3|| By Guru's Grace, Nanak sings Your Glorious Praises; he is intuitively absorbed in Samaadhi. ||4||6|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: I have come to the Saints to save myself. ||1||Pause|| Gazing upon the Blessed Vision of their Darshan, I am sanctified; they have implanted the Mantra of the Lord, Har, Har, within me. ||1|| The disease has been eradicated, and my mind has become immaculate. I have taken the healing medicine of the Lord, Har, Har. ||2|| I have become steady and stable, and I dwell in the home of peace. I shall never again wander anywhere. ||3|| By the Grace of the Saints, the people and all their generations are saved; O Nanak, they are not engrossed in Maya. ||4||7|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: I have totally forgotten my jealousy of others, since I found the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||1||Pause|| No one is my enemy, and no one is a stranger. I get along with everyone. ||1|| Whatever God does, I accept that as good. This is the sublime wisdom I have obtained from the Holy. ||2|| The One God is pervading in all. Gazing upon Him, beholding Him, Nanak blossoms forth in happiness. ||3||8|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: O my Dear Lord and Master, You alone are my Support. You are my Honour and Glory; I seek Your Support, and Your Sanctuary. ||1||Pause|| You are my Hope, and You are my Faith. I take Your Name and enshrine it within my heart. You are my Power; associating with You, I am embellished and exalted. I do whatever You say. ||1|| Through Your Kindness and Compassion, I find peace; when You are Merciful, I cross over the terrifying world-ocean. Through the Name of the Lord, I obtain the gift of fearlessness; Nanak places his head on the feet of the Saints. ||2||9||

Section 32 - Raag Kaanraa - Part 007

Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: In the Sanctuary of the Holy, I focus my consciousness on the Lord's Feet. When I was dreaming, I heard and saw only dream-objects. The True Guru has implanted the Mantra of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, within me. ||1||Pause|| Power, youth and wealth do not bring satisfaction; people chase after them again and again. I have found peace and tranquility, and all my thirsty desires have been quenched, singing His Glorious Praises. ||1|| Without understanding, they are like beasts, engrossed in doubt, emotional attachment and Maya. But in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, the noose of Death is cut, O Nanak, and one intuitively merges in celestial peace. ||2||10|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: Sing of the Lord's Feet within your heart. Meditate, meditate in constant remembrance on God, the Embodiment of soothing peace and cooling tranquility. ||1||Pause|| All your hopes shall be fulfilled, and the pain of millions of deaths and births shall be gone. ||1|| Immerse yourself in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, and you shall obtain the benefits of giving charitable gifts, and all sorts of good deeds. Sorrow and suffering shall be erased, O Nanak, and you shall never again be devoured by death. ||2||11|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl, Third House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Speak of God's Wisdom in the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. Meditating in remembrance on the Perfect Supreme Divine Light, the Transcendent Lord God, honour and glory are obtained. ||1||Pause|| One's comings and goings in reincarnation cease, and suffering is dispelled, meditating in remembrance in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Sinners are sanctified in an instant, in the love of the Supreme Lord God. ||1|| Whoever speaks and listens to the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises is rid of evil-mindedness. All hopes and desires, O Nanak, are fulfilled. ||2||1||12|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: The Treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is found in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. It is the Companion of the soul, its Helper and Support. ||1||Pause|| Continually bathing in the dust of the feet of the Saints, the sins of countless incarnations are washed away. ||1|| The words of the humble Saints are lofty and exalted. Meditating, meditating in remembrance, O Nanak, mortal beings are carried across and saved. ||2||2||13|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: O Holy people, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, Har, Haray. Mind, body, wealth and the breath of life - all come from God; remembering Him in meditation, pain is taken away. ||1||Pause|| Why are you entangled in this and that? Let your mind be attuned to the One. ||1|| The place of the Saints is utterly sacred; meet with them, and meditate on the Lord of the Universe. ||2|| O Nanak, I have abandoned everything and come to Your Sanctuary. Please let me merge with You. ||3||3||14|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: Gazing upon and beholding my Best Friend, I blossom forth in bliss; my God is the One and Only. ||1||Pause|| He is the Image of Ecstasy, Intuitive Peace and Poise. There is no other like Him. ||1|| Meditating in remembrance on the Lord, Har, Har, even once, millions of sins are erased. ||2||

Section 32 - Raag Kaanraa - Part 008

Uttering His Glorious Praises, suffering is eradicated, and the heart becomes tranquil and calm. ||3|| Drink in the Sweet, Sublime Ambrosial Nectar, O Nanak, and be imbued with the Love of the Lord. ||4||4||15|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: O friends, O Saints, come to me. ||1||Pause|| Singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord with pleasure and joy, the sins will be erased and thrown away. ||1|| Touch your forehead to the feet of the Saints, and your dark household shall be illumined. ||2|| By the Grace of the Saints, the heart-lotus blossoms forth. Vibrate and meditate on the Lord of the Universe, and see Him near at hand. ||3|| By the Grace of God, I have found the Saints. Over and over again, Nanak is a sacrifice to that moment. ||4||5||16|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: I seek the Sanctuary of Your Lotus Feet, O Lord of the World. Save me from emotional attachment, pride, deception and doubt; please cut away these ropes which bind me. ||1||Pause|| I am drowning in the world-ocean. Meditating in remembrance on the Lord, the Source of Jewels, I am saved. ||1|| Your Name, Lord, is cooling and soothing. God, my Lord and Master, is Perfect. ||2|| You are the Deliverer, the Destroyer of the sufferings of the meek and the poor. The Lord is the Treasure of Mercy, the Saving Grace of sinners. ||3|| I have suffered the pains of millions of incarnations. Nanak is at peace; the Guru has implanted the Naam, the Name of the Lord, within me. ||4||6||17|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: Blessed is that love, which is attuned to the Lord's Feet. The peace which comes from millions of chants and deep meditations is obtained by perfect good fortune and destiny. ||1||Pause|| I am Your helpless servant and slave; I have given up all other support. Every trace of doubt has been eradicated, remembering God in meditation. I have applied the ointment of spiritual wisdom, and awakened from my sleep. ||1|| You are Unfathomably Great and Utterly Vast, O my Lord and Master, Ocean of Mercy, Source of Jewels. Nanak, the beggar, begs for the Name of the Lord, Har, Har; he rests his forehead upon God's Feet. ||2||7||18|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: I am filthy, hard-hearted, deceitful and obsessed with sexual desire. Please carry me across, as You wish, O my Lord and Master. ||1||Pause|| You are All-powerful and Potent to grant Sanctuary. Exerting Your Power, You protect us. ||1|| Chanting and deep meditation, penance and austere self-discipline, fasting and purification - salvation does not come by any of these means. Please lift me up and out of this deep, dark ditch; O God, please bless Nanak with Your Glance of Grace. ||2||8||19|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl, Fourth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The one who bows in humble reverence to the Primal Lord, the Lord of all beings - I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice to such a Guru; He Himself is liberated, and He carries me across as well. ||1||Pause|| Which, which, which of Your Glorious Virtues should I chant? There is no end or limitation to them. There are thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, many millions of them, but those who contemplate them are very rare. ||1||

Section 32 - Raag Kaanraa - Part 009

I am wonder-struck, wonder-struck, wonder-struck and amazed, dyed in the deep crimson colour of my Beloved. Says Nanak, the Saints savor this sublime essence, like the mute, who tastes the sweet candy, but only smiles. ||2||1||20|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: The Saints do not know any other except God. They look upon all equally, the high and the low; they speak of Him with their mouths, and honour Him in their minds. ||1||Pause|| He is pervading and permeating each and every heart; He is the Ocean of Peace, the Destroyer of fear. He is my praanaa - the Breath of Life. My mind was enlightened, and my doubt was dispelled, when the Guru whispered His Mantra into my ears. ||1|| He is All-powerful, the Ocean of Mercy, the All-knowing Searcher of Hearts. Twenty-four hours a day Nanak sings His Praises, and begs for the Gift of the Lord. ||2||2||21|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: Many speak and talk about God. But one who understands the essence of Yoga - such a humble servant is very rare||1||Pause|| He has no pain - he is totally at peace. With his eyes, he sees only the One Lord. No one seems evil to him - all are good. There is no defeat - he is totally victorious. ||1|| He is never in sorrow - he is always happy; but he gives this up, and does not take anything. Says Nanak, the humble servant of the Lord is himself the Lord, Har, Har; he does not come and go in reincarnation. ||2||3||22|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: I pray that my heart may never forget my Beloved. My body and mind are blended with Him, but the Enticer, Maya, is enticing me, O my mother. ||1||Pause|| Those unto whom I tell my pain and frustration - they themselves are caught and stuck. In all sorts of ways, Maya has cast the net; the knots cannot be loosened. ||1|| Wandering and roaming, slave Nanak has come to the Sanctuary of the Saints. The bonds of ignorance, doubt, emotional attachment and the love of Maya have been cut; God hugs me close in His Embrace. ||2||4||23|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: My home is filled with ecstasy, pleasure and joy. I sing the Naam, and I meditate on the Naam. The Naam is the Support of my breath of life. ||1||Pause|| The Naam is spiritual wisdom, the Naam is my purifying bath. The Naam resolves all my affairs. The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is glorious grandeur; the Naam is glorious greatness. The Name of the Lord carries me across the terrifying world-ocean. ||1|| The Unfathomable Treasure, the Priceless Gem - I have received it, through the Guru's Feet. Says Nanak, God has become Merciful; my heart is intoxicated by the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. ||2||5||24|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: My Friend, my Best Friend, my Lord and Master, is near. He sees and hears everything; He is with everyone. You are here for such short time - why do you do evil? ||1||Pause|| Except for the Naam, whatever you are involved with is nothing - nothing is yours. Hereafter, everything is revealed to your gaze; but in this world, all are enticed by the darkness of doubt. ||1|| People are caught in Maya, attached to their children and spouses. They have forgotten the Great and Generous Giver.

Section 32 - Raag Kaanraa - Part 010

Says Nanak, I have one article of faith; my Guru is the One who releases me from bondage. ||2||6||25|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: Your Saints have overwhelmed the wicked army of corruption. They take Your Support and place their faith in You, O my Lord and Master; they seek Your Sanctuary. ||1||Pause|| Gazing upon the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan, the terrible sins of countless lifetimes are erased. I am illumined, enlightened and filled with ecstasy. I am intuitively absorbed in Samaadhi. ||1|| Who says that You cannot do everything? You are Infinitely All-powerful. O Treasure of Mercy, Nanak savors Your Love and Your Blissful Form, earning the Profit of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||2||7||26|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: The drowning mortal is comforted and consoled, meditating on the Lord. He is rid of emotional attachment, doubt, pain and suffering. ||1||Pause|| I meditate in remembrance, day and night, on the Guru's Feet. Wherever I look, I see Your Sanctuary. ||1|| By the Grace of the Saints, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Meeting with the Guru, Nanak has found peace. ||2||8||27|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: Meditating in remembrance on the Naam, peace of mind is found. Meeting the Holy Saint, sing the Praises of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Granting His Grace, God has come to dwell within my heart. I touch my forehead to the feet of the Saints. ||1|| Meditate, O my mind, on the Supreme Lord God. As Gurmukh, Nanak listens to the Praises of the Lord. ||2||9||28|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: My mind loves to touch the Feet of God. My tongue is satisfied with the Food of the Lord, Har, Har. My eyes are contented with the Blessed Vision of God. ||1||Pause|| My ears are filled with the Praise of my Beloved; all my foul sins and faults are erased. My feet follow the Path of Peace to my Lord and Master; my body and limbs joyfully blossom forth in the Society of the Saints. ||1|| I have taken Sanctuary in my Perfect, Eternal, Imperishable Lord. I do not bother trying anything else. Taking them by the hand, O Nanak, God saves His humble servants; they shall not perish in the deep, dark world-ocean. ||2||10||29|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: Those fools who bellow with rage and destructive deceit, are crushed and killed innumerable times. ||1||Pause|| Intoxicated with egotism and imbued with other tastes, I am in love with my evil enemies. My Beloved watches over me as I wander through thousands of incarnations. ||1|| My dealings are false, and my lifestyle is chaotic. Intoxicated with the wine of emotion, I am burning in the fire of anger. O Merciful Lord of the World, Embodiment of Compassion, Relative of the meek and the poor, please save Nanak; I seek Your Sanctuary. ||2||11||30|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: The Giver of the soul, the breath of life and honour - forgetting the Lord, all is lost. ||1||Pause|| You have forsaken the Lord of the Universe, and become attached to another - you are throwing away the Ambrosial Nectar, to take dust. What do you expect from corrupt pleasures? You fool! What makes you think that they will bring peace? ||1||

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Section 32 - Raag Kaanraa - Part 011

Engrossed in unfulfilled sexual desire, unresolved anger and greed, you shall be consigned to reincarnation. But I have entered the Sanctuary of the Purifier of sinners. O Nanak, I know that I shall be saved. ||2||12||31|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: I gaze on the Lotus-like Face of the Lord. Searching and seeking, I have found the Jewel. I am totally rid of all anxiety. ||1||Pause|| Enshrining His Lotus Feet within my heart, pain and wickedness have been dispelled. ||1|| The Lord of all the Universe is my kingdom, wealth and family. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, Nanak has earned the Profit; he shall never die again. ||2||13||32|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl, Fifth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Worship God, and adore His Name. Grasp the Feet of the Guru, the True Guru. The Unfathomable Lord shall come into your mind, and by Guru's Grace, you shall be victorious in this world. ||1||Pause|| I have studied countless ways of worship in all sorts of ways, but that alone is worship, which is pleasing to the Lord's Will. This body-puppet is made of clay - what can it do by itself? O God, those humble beings meet You, whom You grasp by the arm, and place on the Path. ||1|| I do not know of any other support; O Lord, You are my only Hope and Support. I am meek and poor - what prayer can I offer? God abides in every heart. My mind is thirsty for the Feet of God. Servant Nanak, Your slave, speaks: I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice, forever a sacrifice to You. ||2||1||33|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl, Sixth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Your Name, O my Beloved, is the Saving Grace of the world. The Lord's Name is the wealth of the nine treasures. One who is imbued with the Love of the Incomparably Beautiful Lord is joyful. O mind, why do you cling to emotional attachments? With your eyes, gaze upon the Blessed Vision, the Darshan of the Holy. They alone find it, who have such destiny inscribed upon their foreheads. ||1||Pause|| I serve at the feet of the Holy Saints. I long for the dust of their feet, which purifies and sanctifies. Just like the sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage, it washes away filth and pollution. With each and every breath I meditate on Him, and never turn my face away. Of your thousands and millions, nothing shall go along with you. Only the Name of God will call to you in the end. ||1|| Let it be your wish to honour and obey the One Formless Lord. Abandon the love of everything else. What Glorious Praises of Yours can I utter, O my Beloved? I cannot describe even one of Your Virtues. My mind is so thirsty for the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. Please come and meet Nanak, O Divine Guru of the World. ||2||1||34||

Section 32 - Raag Kaanraa - Part 012

Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: How may I obtain the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan? ||1||Pause|| I hope and thirst for Your wish-fulfilling image; my heart yearns and longs for You. ||1|| The meek and humble Saints are like thirsty fish; the Saints of the Lord are absorbed in Him. I am the dust of the feet of the Lord's Saints. I dedicate my heart to them. God has become Merciful to me. Renouncing pride and leaving behind emotional attachment, O Nanak, one meets with the Dear Lord. ||2||2||35|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: The Playful Lord imbues all with the Colour of His Love. From the ant to the elephant, He is permeating and pervading all. ||1||Pause|| Some go on fasts, make vows, and take pilgrimages to sacred shrines on the Ganges. They stand naked in the water, enduring hunger and poverty. They sit cross-legged, perform worship services and do good deeds. They apply religious symbols to their bodies, and ceremonial marks to their limbs. They read through the Shaastras, but they do not join the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. ||1|| They stubbornly practice ritualistic postures, standing on their heads. They are afflicted with the disease of egotism, and their faults are not covered up. They burn in the fire of sexual frustration, unresolved anger and compulsive desire. He alone is liberated, O Nanak, whose True Guru is Good. ||2||3||36|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl, Seventh House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: My thirst has been quenched, meeting with the Holy. The five thieves have run away, and I am in peace and poise; singing, singing, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, I obtain the Blessed Vision of my Beloved. ||1||Pause|| That which God has done for me - how can I do that for Him in return? I make my heart a sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice to You. ||1|| First, I fall at the feet of the Saints; I meditate, meditate, lovingly attuned to You. O God, where is that Place, where You contemplate all Your beings? Countless slaves sing Your Praises. He alone meets You, who is pleasing to Your Will. Servant Nanak remains absorbed in his Lord and Master. You, You, You alone, Lord. ||2||1||37|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl, Eighth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Give up your pride and your self-conceit; the Loving, Merciful Lord is watching over all. O mind, become the dust of His Feet. ||1||Pause|| Through the Mantra of the Lord's Saints, experience the spiritual wisdom and meditation of the Lord of the World. ||1|| Within your heart, sing the Praises of the Lord of the Universe, and be lovingly attuned to His Lotus Feet. He is the Fascinating Lord, Merciful to the meek and the humble. O Merciful Lord, please bless me with Your Kindness and Compassion. Nanak begs for the Gift of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. I have abandoned emotional attachment, doubt and all egotistical pride. ||2||1||38|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: Speaking of God, filth and pollution are burnt away; This comes by meeting with the Guru, and not by any other efforts. ||1||Pause||

Section 32 - Raag Kaanraa - Part 013

Making pilgrimages to sacred rivers, observing the six rituals, wearing matted and tangled hair, performing fire sacrifices and carrying ceremonial walking sticks - none of these are of any use. ||1|| All sorts of efforts, austerities, wanderings and various speeches - none of these will lead you to find the Lord's Place. I have considered all considerations, O Nanak, but peace comes only by vibrating and meditating on the Name. ||2||2||39|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl, Ninth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The Purifier of sinners, the Lover of His devotees, the Destroyer of fear - He carries us across to the other side. ||1||Pause|| My eyes are satisfied, gazing upon the Blessed Vision of His Darshan; my ears are satisfied, hearing His Praise. ||1|| He is the Master of the praanaa, the breath of life; He is the Giver of Support to the unsupported. I am meek and poor - I seek the Sanctuary of the Lord of the Universe. He is the Fulfiller of hope, the Destroyer of pain. Nanak grasps the Support of the Feet of the Lord. ||2||1||40|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: I seek the Sanctuary of the Feet of my Merciful Lord and Master; I do not go anywhere else. It is the Inherent Nature of our Lord and Master to purify sinners. Those who meditate on the Lord are saved. ||1||Pause|| The world is a swamp of wickedness and corruption. The blind sinner has fallen into the ocean of emotional attachment and pride, bewildered by the entanglements of Maya. God Himself has taken me by the hand and lifted me up and out of it; save me, O Sovereign Lord of the Universe. ||1|| He is the Master of the masterless, the Supporting Lord of the Saints, the Neutraliser of millions of sins. My mind thirsts for the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. God is the Perfect Treasure of Virtue. O Nanak, sing and savor the Glorious Praises of the Lord, the Kind and Compassionate Lord of the World. ||2||2||41|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: Countless times, I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice to that moment of peace, on that night when I was joined with my Beloved. ||1||Pause|| Mansions of gold, and beds of silk sheets - O sisters, I have no love for these. ||1|| Pearls, jewels and countless pleasures, O Nanak, are useless and destructive without the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Even with only dry crusts of bread, and a hard floor on which to sleep, my life passes in peace and pleasure with my Beloved, O sisters. ||2||3||42|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: Give up your ego, and turn your face to God. Let your yearning mind call out, "Guru, Guru". My Beloved is the Lover of Love. ||1||Pause|| The bed of your household shall be cozy, and your courtyard shall be comfortable; shatter and break the bonds which tie you to the five thieves. ||1|| You shall not come and go in reincarnation; you shall dwell in your own home deep within, and your inverted heart-lotus shall blossom forth. The turmoil of egotism shall be silenced. Nanak sings - he sings the Praises of God, the Ocean of Virtue. ||2||4||43|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl, Ninth House: This is why you should chant and meditate on the Lord, O mind. The Vedas and the Saints say that the path is treacherous and difficult. You are intoxicated with emotional attachment and the fever of egotism. ||Pause|| Those who are imbued and intoxicated with the wretched Maya, suffer the pains of emotional attachment. ||1|| That humble being is saved, who chants the Naam; You Yourself save him. Emotional attachment, fear and doubt are dispelled, O Nanak, by the Grace of the Saints. ||2||5||44||

Section 32 - Raag Kaanraa - Part 014

Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl, Tenth House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Give me that blessing, O Dear Saints, for which my soul would be a sacrifice. Enticed by pride, entrapped and plundered by the five thieves, still, you live near them. I have come to the Sanctuary of the Holy, and I have been rescued from my association with those demons. ||1||Pause|| I wandered through millions of lifetimes and incarnations. I am so very tired - I have fallen at God's Door. ||1|| The Lord of the Universe has become Kind to me; He has blessed me with the Support of the Naam. This precious human life has become fruitful and prosperous; O Nanak, I am carried across the terrifying world-ocean. ||2||1||45|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl, Eleventh House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: He Himself has come to me, in His Natural Way. I know nothing, and I show nothing. I have met God through innocent faith, and He has blessed me with peace. ||1||Pause|| By the good fortune of my destiny, I have joined the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. I do not go out anywhere; I dwell in my own home. God, the Treasure of Virtue, has been revealed in this body-robe. ||1|| I have fallen in love with His Feet; I have abandoned everything else. In the places and interspaces, He is All-pervading. With loving joy and excitement, Nanak speaks His Praises. ||2||1||46|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: It is so hard to meet the Lord of the Universe, my Lord and Master. His Form is Immeasurable, Inaccessible and Unfathomable; He is All-pervading everywhere. ||1||Pause|| By speaking and wandering, nothing is gained; nothing is obtained by clever tricks and devices. ||1|| People try all sorts of things, but the Lord is only met when He shows His Mercy. God is Kind and Compassionate, the Treasure of Mercy; servant Nanak is the dust of the feet of the Saints. ||2||2||47|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: O mother, I meditate on the Lord, Raam, Raam, Raam. Without God, there is no other at all. I remember His Lotus Feet with every breath, night and day. ||1||Pause|| He loves me and makes me His Own; my union with Him shall never be broken. He is my breath of life, mind, wealth and everything. The Lord is the Treasure of Virtue and Peace. ||1|| Here and hereafter, the Lord is perfectly pervading; He is seen deep within the heart. In the Sanctuary of the Saints, I am carried across; O Nanak, the terrible pain has been taken away. ||2||3||48|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: God's humble servant is in love with Him. You are my Friend, my very best Friend; everything is in Your Home. ||1||Pause|| I beg for honour, I beg for strength; please bless me with wealth, property and children. ||1|| You are the Technology of liberation, the Way to worldly success, the Perfect Lord of Supreme Bliss, the Transcendent Treasure.

Section 32 - Raag Kaanraa - Part 015

In the Fear of God and loving devotion, Nanak is exalted and enraptured, forever and ever a sacrifice to Him. ||2||4||49|| Kaanraa, Fifth Mehl: The debaters debate and argue their arguments. The Yogis and meditators, religious and spiritual teachers roam and ramble, wandering endlessly all over the earth. ||1||Pause|| They are egotistical, self-centred and conceited, foolish, stupid, idiotic and insane. Wherever they go and wander, death is always with them, forever and ever and ever and ever. ||1|| Give up your pride and stubborn self-conceit; death, yes, death, is always close and near at hand. Vibrate and meditate on the Lord, Har, Haray, Haray. Says Nanak, listen you fool: without vibrating, and meditating, and dwelling on Him, your life is uselessly wasting away. ||2||5||50||12||62|| Kaanraa, Ashtapadees, Fourth Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Chant the Name of the Lord, O mind, and find peace. The more you chant and meditate, the more you will be at peace; serve the True Guru, and merge in the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Each and every instant, the humble devotees long for Him; chanting the Naam, they find peace. The taste of other pleasures is totally eradicated; nothing pleases them, except the Name. ||1|| Following the Guru's Teachings, the Lord seems sweet to them; the Guru inspires them to speak sweet words. Through the Word of the True Guru's Bani, the Primal Lord God is revealed; so focus your consciousness on His Bani. ||2|| Hearing the Word of the Guru's Bani, my mind has been softened and saturated with it; my mind has returned to its own home deep within. The Unstruck Melody resonates and resounds there continuously; the stream of nectar trickles down constantly. ||3|| Singing the Name of the One Lord each and every instant, and following the Guru's Teachings, the mind is absorbed in the Naam. Listening to the Naam, the mind is pleased with the Naam, and satisfied with the Naam. ||4|| People wear lots of bracelets, glittering with gold; they wear all sorts of fine clothes. But without the Naam, they are all bland and insipid. They are born, only to die again, in the cycle of reincarnation. ||5|| The veil of Maya is a thick and heavy veil, a whirlpool which destroys one's home. Sins and corrupt vices are totally heavy, like rusted slag. They will not let you cross over the poisonous and treacherous world-ocean. ||6|| Let the Fear of God and neutral detachment be the boat; the Guru is the Boatman, who carries us across in the Word of the Shabad. Meeting with the Lord, the Name of the Lord, merge in the Lord, the Name of the Lord. ||7|| Attached to ignorance, people are falling asleep; attached to the Guru's spiritual wisdom, they awaken. O Nanak, by His Will, He makes us walk as He pleases. ||8||1|| Kaanraa, Fourth Mehl: O mind, chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, and be carried across. Whoever chants and meditates on it is emancipated. Like Dhroo and Prahlaad, they merge in the Lord. ||1||Pause||

Section 32 - Raag Kaanraa - Part 016

Mercy, mercy, mercy - O Dear Lord, please shower Your Mercy on me, and attach me to Your Name. Please be Merciful, and lead me to meet the True Guru; meeting the True Guru, I meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1|| The filth of egotism from countless incarnations sticks to me; joining the Sangat, the Holy Congregation, this filth is washed away. As iron is carried across if it is attached to wood, one who is attached to the Word of the Guru's Shabad finds the Lord. ||2|| Joining the Society of the Saints, joining the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, you shall come to receive the Sublime Essence of the Lord. But not joining the Sangat, and committing actions in egotistical pride, is like drawing out clean water, and throwing it in the mud. ||3|| The Lord is the Protector and Saving Grace of His humble devotees. The Lord's Sublime Essence seems so sweet to these humble beings. Each and every instant, they are blessed with

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the Glorious Greatness of the Naam; through the Teachings of the True Guru, they are absorbed in Him. ||4|| Bow forever in deep respect to the humble devotees; if you bow to those humble beings, you shall obtain the fruit of virtue. Those wicked enemies who slander the devotees are destroyed, like Harnaakhash. ||5|| Brahma, the son of the lotus, and Vyaas, the son of the fish, practiced austere penance and were worshipped. Whoever is a devotee - worship and adore that person. Get rid of your doubts and superstitions. ||6|| Do not be fooled by appearances of high and low social class. Suk Dayv bowed at the feet of Janak, and meditated. Even though Janak threw his left-overs and garbage on Suk Dayv's head, his mind did not waver, even for an instant. ||7|| Janak sat upon his regal throne, and applied the dust of the nine sages to his forehead. Please shower Nanak with your Mercy, O my Lord and Master; make him the slave of Your slaves. ||8||2|| Kaanraa, Fourth Mehl: O mind, follow the Guru's Teachings, and joyfully sing God's Praises. If my one tongue became hundreds of thousands and millions, I would meditate on Him millions and millions of times. ||1||Pause|| The serpent king chants and meditates on the Lord with his thousands of heads, but even by these chants, he cannot find the Lord's limits. You are Utterly Unfathomable, Inaccessible and Infinite. Through the Wisdom of the Guru's Teachings, the mind becomes steady and balanced. ||1|| Those humble beings who meditate on You are noble and exalted. Meditating on the Lord, they are at peace. Bidur, the son of a slave-girl, was an untouchable, but Krishna hugged him close in His Embrace. ||2|| Wood is produced from water, but by holding onto wood, one is saved from drowning. The Lord Himself embellishes and exalts His humble servants; He confirms His Innate Nature. ||3|| I am like a stone, or a piece of iron, heavy stone and iron; in the Boat of the Guru's Congregation, I am carried across, like Kabeer the weaver, who was saved in the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. He became pleasing to the minds of the humble Saints. ||4|| Standing up, sitting down, rising up and walking on the path, I meditate. The True Guru is the Word, and the Word is the True Guru, who teaches the Path of Liberation. ||5|| By His Training, I find strength with each and every breath; now that I am trained and tamed, I meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. By Guru's Grace, egotism is extinguished, and then, through the Guru's Teachings, I merge in the Naam. ||6||

Section 32 - Raag Kaanraa - Part 017

The True Guru is the Giver of the life of the soul, but the unfortunate ones do not love Him. This opportunity shall not come into their hands again; in the end, they will suffer in torment and regret. ||7|| If a good person seeks goodness for himself, he should bow low in humble surrender to the Guru. Nanak prays: please show kindness and compassion to me, O my Lord and Master, that I may apply the dust of the True Guru to my forehead. ||8||3|| Kaanraa, Fourth Mehl: O mind, be attuned to His Love, and sing. The Fear of God makes me fearless and immaculate; I am dyed in the colour of the Guru's Teachings. ||1||Pause|| Those who are attuned to the Lord's Love remain balanced and detached forever; they live near the Lord, who comes into their house. If I am blessed with the dust of their feet, then I live. Granting His Grace, He Himself bestows it. ||1|| Mortal beings are attached to greed and duality. Their minds are unripe and unfit, and will not accept the Dye of His Love. But their lives are transformed through the Word of the Guru's Teachings. Meeting with the Guru, the Primal Being, they are dyed in the colour of His Love. ||2|| There are ten organs of sense and action; the ten wander unrestrained. Under the influence of the three dispositions, they are not stable, even for an instant. Coming in contact with the True Guru, they are brought under control; then, salvation and liberation are attained. ||3|| The One and Only Creator of the Universe is All-pervading everywhere. All shall once again merge into the One. His One Form has one, and many colours; He leads all according to His One Word. ||4|| The Gurmukh realises the One and Only Lord; He is revealed to the Gurmukh. The Gurmukh goes and meets the Lord in His Mansion deep within; the Unstruck Word of the Shabad vibrates there. ||5|| God created all the beings and creatures of the universe; He blesses the Gurmukh with glory. Without meeting the Guru, no one obtains the Mansion of His Presence. They suffer the agony of coming and going in reincarnation. ||6|| For countless lifetimes, I have been separated from my Beloved; in His Mercy, the Guru has united me with Him. Meeting the True Guru, I have found absolute peace, and my polluted intellect blossoms forth. ||7|| O Lord, Har, Har, please grant Your Grace; O Life of the World, instill faith in the Naam within me. Nanak is the Guru, the Guru, the True Guru; I am immersed in the Sanctuary of the True Guru. ||8||4|| Kaanraa, Fourth Mehl: O mind, walk on the Path of the Guru's Teachings. Just as the wild elephant is subdued by the prod, the mind is disciplined by the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||1||Pause|| The wandering mind wanders, roams and rambles in the ten directions; but the Guru holds it, and lovingly attunes it to the Lord. The True Guru implants the Word of the Shabad deep within the heart; the Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord, trickles into the mouth. ||1|| The snakes are filled with poisonous venom; the Word of the Guru's Shabad is the antidote - place it in your mouth. Maya, the serpent, does not even approach one who is rid of the poison, and lovingly attuned to the Lord. ||2|| The dog of greed is very powerful in the village of the body; the Guru strikes it and drives it out in an instant. Truth, contentment, righteousness and Dharma have settled there; in the village of the Lord, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||3||

Section 32 - Raag Kaanraa - Part 018

The mortal beings are sinking in the swamp of emotional attachment; the Guru lifts them up, and saves them from sinking. Crying, "Save me! Save me!", the humble come to His Sanctuary; the Guru reaches out His Hand, and lifts them up. ||4|| The whole world is like a game in a dream, all a game. God plays and causes the game to be played. So earn the Profit of the Naam by following the Guru's Teachings; you shall go to the Court of the Lord in robes of honour. ||5|| They act in egotism, and make others act in egotism; they collect and gather up the blackness of sin. And when death comes, they suffer in agony; they must eat what they have planted. ||6|| O Saints, gather the Wealth of the Lord's Name; if you depart after packing these provisions, you shall be honoured. So eat, spend, consume and give abundantly; the Lord will give - there will be no deficiency. ||7|| The wealth of the Lord's Name is deep within the heart. In the Sanctuary of the Guru, this wealth is found. O Nanak, God has been kind and compassionate; He has blessed me. Removing pain and poverty, He has blended me with Himself. ||8||5|| Kaanraa, Fourth Mehl: O mind, seek the Sanctuary of the True Guru, and meditate. Iron is transformed into gold by touching the philosopher's stone; it takes on its qualities. ||1||Pause|| The True Guru, the Great Primal Being, is the philosopher's stone. Whoever is attached to Him receives fruitful rewards. Just as Prahlaad was saved by the Guru's Teachings, the Guru protects the honour of His servant. ||1|| The Word of the True Guru is the most Sublime and Noble Word. Through the Guru's Word, the Ambrosial Nectar is obtained. Ambreek the king was blessed with the status of immortality, meditating on the Word of the True Guru. ||2|| The Sanctuary, the Protection and Sanctuary of the True Guru is pleasing to the mind. It is sacred and pure - meditate on it. The True Guru has become Merciful to the meek and the poor; He has shown me the Path, the Way to the Lord. ||3|| Those who enter the Sanctuary of the True Guru are firmly established; God comes to protect them. If someone aims an arrow at the Lord's humble servant, it will turn around and hit him instead. ||4|| Those who bathe in the Sacred Pool of the Lord, Har, Har, Har, Har, Har, are blessed with honour in His Court. Those who meditate on the Guru's Teachings, the Guru's Instructions, the Guru's Wisdom, are united in the Lord's Union; He hugs them close in His Embrace. ||5|| The Guru's Word is the Sound-current of the Naad, The Guru's Word is the wisdom of the Vedas; coming in contact with the Guru, meditate on the Naam. In the Image of the Lord, Har, Har, one becomes the Embodiment of the Lord. The Lord makes His humble servant worthy of worship. ||6|| The faithless cynic does not submit to the True Guru; the Lord makes the non-believer wander in confusion. The waves of greed are like packs of dogs. The poison of Maya sticks to the body-skeleton. ||7|| The Lord's Name is the Saving Grace of the whole world; join the Sangat, and meditate on the Naam. O my God, please protect and preserve Nanak in the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation; save him, and let him merge in You. ||8||6|| FIRST SET OF SIX||

Section 32 - Raag Kaanraa - Part 019

Kaanraa, Chhant, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: They alone are saved, who meditate on the Lord. Working for Maya is useless. Meditating on the Lord, all fruits and rewards are obtained. They are blessed, blessed and very fortunate. They are awake and aware in the True Congregation; attached to the Naam, they are lovingly attuned to the One. I have renounced pride, emotional attachment, wickedness and corruption; attached to the Holy, I am carried across at their feet. Prays Nanak, I have come to the Sanctuary of my Lord and Master; by great good fortune, I obtain the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. ||1|| The Holy meet together, and continually vibrate and meditate on the Lord. With love and excitement, they sing the Glorious Praises of their Lord and Master. Singing His Praises they live, drinking in the Lord's Nectar; the cycle of birth and death is over for them. Finding the True Congregation and meditating on the Lord, one is never again afflicted with pain. By the Grace of the Great Giver, the Architect of Destiny, we work to serve the Saints. Prays Nanak, I long for the dust of the feet of the humble; I am intuitively absorbed in the Blessed Vision of the Lord. ||2|| All beings vibrate and meditate on the Lord of the World. This brings the merits of chanting and meditation, austere self-discipline and perfect service. Vibrating and meditating continuously on our Lord and Master, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts, one's life becomes totally fruitful. Those who sing and meditate continually on the Lord of the Universe - their coming into the world is blessed and approved. The Immaculate Lord, Har, Har, is meditation and chanting, and austere self-discipline; only the Wealth of the Lord of the Universe shall go along with you in the end. Prays Nanak, please grant Your Grace, O Lord, and bless me with the Jewel, that I may carry it in my pocket. ||3|| His Wondrous and Amazing Plays are blissful - granting His Grace, He bestows supreme ecstasy. God, my Lord and Master, the Bringer of peace, has met me, and the desires of my mind are fulfilled. Congratulations pour in; I am intuitively absorbed in the Lord. I shall never again cry out in pain. He hugs me close in His Embrace, and blesses me with peace; the evil of sin and corruption is gone. Prays Nanak, I have met my Lord and Master, the Primal Lord, the Embodiment of Bliss. ||4||1|| Vaar Of Kaanraa, Fourth Mehl, Sung To The Tune Of The Ballad Of Musa: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Shalok, Fourth Mehl: Follow the Guru's Teachings, and enshrine the Treasure of the Lord's Name within your heart. Become the slave of the Lord's slaves, and conquer egotism and corruption. You shall win this treasure of life; you shall never lose. Blessed, blessed and very fortunate are those, O Nanak, who savor the Sublime Essence of the Lord through the Guru's Teachings. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: Govind, Govind, Govind - the Lord God, the Lord of the Universe is the Treasure of Virtue. Meditating on Govind, Govind, the Lord of the Universe, through the Guru's Teachings, you shall be honoured in the Court of the Lord.

Section 32 - Raag Kaanraa - Part 020

Meditating on God, chanting Govind, Govind, Govind, your face shall be radiant; you shall be famous and exalted. O Nanak, the Guru is the Lord God, the Lord of the Universe; meeting Him, you shall obtain the Name of the Lord. ||2|| Pauree: You Yourself are the Siddha and the seeker; You Yourself are the Yoga and the Yogi. You Yourself are the Taster of tastes; You Yourself are the Enjoyer of pleasures. You Yourself are All-pervading; whatever You do comes to pass. Blessed, blessed, blessed, blessed, blessed is the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation of the True Guru. Join them - speak and chant the Lord's Name. Let everyone chant together the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, Haray, Har, Har, Haray; chanting Har, all sins are washed away. ||1|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: Har, Har, Har, Har is the Name of the Lord; rare are those who, as Gurmukh, obtain it. Egotism and possessiveness are eradicated, and evil-mindedness is washed away. O Nanak, one who is blessed with such pre-ordained destiny chants the Lord's Praises, night and day. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: The Lord Himself is Merciful; whatever the Lord Himself does, comes to pass. The Lord Himself is All-pervading. There is no other as Great as the Lord. Whatever pleases the Lord God'sWill comes to pass; whatever the Lord God does is done. No one can appraise His Value; the Lord God is Endless. O Nanak, as Gurmukh, praise the Lord; your body and mind shall be cooled and soothed. ||2|| Pauree: You are the Light of all, the Life of the World; You imbue each and every heart with Your Love. All meditate on You, O my Beloved; You are the True, True Primal Being, the Immaculate Lord. The One is the Giver; the whole world is the beggar. All the beggars beg for His Gifts. You are the servant, and You are the Lord and Master of all. Through the Guru's Teachings, we are ennobled and uplifted. Let everyone say that the Lord is the Master of the senses, the Master of all faculties; through Him, we obtain all fruits and rewards. ||2|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: O mind, meditate on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har; you shall be honoured in the Court of the Lord. You shall obtain the fruits that you desire, focusing your meditation on the Word of the Guru's Shabad. All your sins and mistakes shall be wiped away, and you shall be rid of egotism and pride. The heart-lotus of the Gurmukh blossoms forth, recognising God within every soul. O Lord God, please shower Your Mercy upon servant Nanak, that he may chant the Lord's Name. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is Sacred and Immaculate. Chanting the Naam, pain is dispelled. God comes to abide in the minds of those who have such pre-ordained destiny. Those who walk in harmony with the Will of the True Guru are rid of pain and poverty. No one finds the Lord by his own will; see this, and satisfy your mind. Servant Nanak is the slave of the slave of those who fall at the Feet of the True Guru. ||2|| Pauree:

Section 32 - Raag Kaanraa - Part 021

You are pervading and permeating all places and interspaces, O Creator. You made all that has been made. You created the entire universe, with all its colours and shades; in so many ways and means and forms You formed it. O Lord of Light, Your Light is infused within all; You link us to the Guru's Teachings. They alone meet the True Guru, unto whom You are Merciful; O Lord, You instruct them in the Guru's Word. Let everyone chant the Name of the Lord, chant the Name of the Great Lord; all poverty, pain and hunger shall be taken away. ||3|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: The Ambrosial Nectar of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is sweet; enshrine this Ambrosial Nectar of the Lord within your heart. The Lord God prevails in the Sangat, the Holy Congregation;

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reflect upon the Shabad and understand. Meditating on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, within the mind, the poison of egotism is eradicated. One who does not remember the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, shall totally lose this life in the gamble. By Guru's Grace, one remembers the Lord, and enshrines the Lord's Name within the heart. O servant Nanak, his face shall be radiant in the Court of the True Lord. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: To chant the Lord's Praise and His Name is sublime and exalted. This is the most excellent deed in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga. His Praises come through the Guru's Teachings and Instructions; wear the Necklace of the Lord's Name. Those who meditate on the Lord are very fortunate. They are entrusted with the Treasure of the Lord. Without the Name, no matter what people may do, they continue to waste away in egotism. Elephants can be washed and bathed in water, but they only throw dust on their heads again. O Kind and Compassionate True Guru, please unite me with the Lord, that the One Creator of the Universe may abide within my mind. Those Gurmukhs who listen to the Lord and believe in Him - servant Nanak salutes them. ||2|| Pauree: The Lord's Name is the most sublime and precious merchandise. The Primal Lord God is my Lord and Master. The Lord has staged His Play, and He Himself permeates it. The whole world deals in this merchandise. Your Light is the light in all beings, O Creator. All Your Expanse is True. All those who meditate on You become prosperous; through the Guru's Teachings, they sing Your Praises, O Formless Lord. Let everyone chant the Lord, the Lord of the World, the Lord of the Universe, and cross over the terrifying world-ocean. ||4|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: I have only one tongue, and the Glorious Virtues of the Lord God are Unapproachable and Unfathomable. I am ignorant - how can I meditate on You, Lord? You are Great, Unapproachable and Immeasurable. O Lord God, please bless me with that sublime wisdom, that I may fall at the Feet of the Guru, the True Guru. O Lord God, please lead me to the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, where even a sinner like myself may be saved. O Lord, please bless and forgive servant Nanak; please unite him in Your Union. O Lord, please be merciful and hear my prayer; I am a sinner and a worm - please save me! ||1|| Fourth Mehl: O Lord, Life of the World, please bless me with Your Grace, and lead me to meet the Guru, the Merciful True Guru. I am happy to serve the Guru; the Lord has become merciful to me.

Section 32 - Raag Kaanraa - Part 022

All my hopes and desires have been forgotten; my mind is rid of its worldly entanglements. The Guru, in His Mercy, implanted the Naam within me; I am enraptured with the Word of the Shabad. Servant Nanak has obtained the inexhaustible wealth; the Lord's Name is his wealth and property. ||2|| Pauree: O Lord, You are the Greatest of the Great, the Greatest of the Great, the Most Lofty and Exalted of all, the Greatest of the Great. Those who meditate on the Infinite Lord, who meditate on the Lord, Har, Har, Har, are rejuvenated. Those who sing and listen to Your Praises, O my Lord and Master, have millions of sins destroyed. I know that those divine beings who follow the Guru's Teachings are just like You, Lord. They are the greatest of the great, so very fortunate. Let everyone meditate on the Lord, who was True in the primal beginning, and True throughout the ages; He is revealed as True here and now, and He shall be True forever and ever. Servant Nanak is the slave of His slaves. ||5|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: I meditate on my Lord, the Life of the World, the Lord, chanting the Guru's Mantra. The Lord is Unapproachable, Inaccessible and Unfathomable; the Lord, Har, Har, has spontaneously come to meet me. The Lord Himself is pervading each and every heart; the Lord Himself is Endless. The Lord Himself enjoys all pleasures; the Lord Himself is the Husband of Maya. The Lord Himself gives in charity to the whole world, and all the beings and creatures which He created. O Merciful Lord God, please bless me with Your Bountiful Gifts; the humble Saints of the Lord beg for them. O God of servant Nanak, please come and meet me; I sing the Songs of the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: The Name of the Lord God is my Best Friend. My mind and body are drenched with the Naam. All the hopes of the Gurmukh are fulfilled; servant Nanak is comforted, hearing the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||2|| Pauree: The Lord's Sublime Name is energising and rejuvenating. The Immaculate Lord, the Primal Being, blossoms forth. Maya serves at the feet of those who chant and meditate on the Lord, Har, Har, day and night. The Lord always looks after and cares for all His beings and creatures; He is with all, near and far. Those whom the Lord inspires to understand, understand; the True Guru, God, the Primal Being, is pleased with them. Let everyone sing the Praise of the Lord of the Universe, the Lord, the Lord of the Universe, the Lord, the Lord of the Universe; singing the Praise of the Lord, one is absorbed in His Glorious Virtues. ||6|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: O mind, even in sleep, remember the Lord God; let yourself be intuitively absorbed into the Celestial State of Samaadhi. Servant Nanak's mind longs for the Lord, Har, Har. As the Guru pleases, he is absorbed into the Lord, O mother. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: I am in love with the One and Only Lord; the One Lord fills my consciousness. Servant Nanak takes the Support of the One Lord God; through the One, he obtains honour and salvation. ||2|| Pauree: The Panch Shabad, the Five Primal Sounds, vibrate with the Wisdom of the Guru's Teachings; by great good fortune, the Unstruck Melody resonates and resounds. I see the Lord, the Source of Bliss, everywhere; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the Lord of the Universe is revealed. From the primal beginning, and throughout the ages, the Lord has One Form. Through the Wisdom of the Guru's Teachings, I vibrate and meditate on the Lord God. O Merciful Lord God, please bless me with Your Bounty; O Lord God, please preserve and protect the honour of Your humble servant.

Section 32 - Raag Kaanraa - Part 023

Let everyone proclaim: Blessed is the Guru, the True Guru, the Guru, the True Guru; meeting Him, the Lord covers their faults and deficiencies. ||7|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: The sacred pool of devotional worship is filled to the brim and overflowing in torrents. Those who obey the True Guru, O servant Nanak, are very fortunate - they find it. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: The Names of the Lord, Har, Har, are countless. The Glorious Virtues of the Lord, Har, Har, cannot be described. The Lord, Har, Har, is Inaccessible and Unfathomable; how can the humble servants of the Lord be united in His Union? Those humble beings meditate and chant the Praises of the Lord, Har, Har, but they do not attain even a tiny bit of His Worth. O servant Nanak, the Lord God is Inaccessible; the Lord has attached me to His Robe, and united me in His Union. ||2|| Pauree: The Lord is Inaccessible and Unfathomable. How will I see the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan? If He were a material object, then I could describe Him, but He has no form or feature. Understanding comes only when the Lord Himself gives understanding; only such a humble being sees it. The Sat Sangat, the True Congregation of the True Guru, is the school of the soul, where the Glorious Virtues of the Lord are studied. Blessed, blessed is the tongue, blessed is the hand, and blessed is the Teacher, the True Guru; meeting Him, the Account of the Lord is written. ||8|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is Ambrosial Nectar. Meditate on the Lord, with love for the True Guru. The Name of the Lord, Har, Har is Sacred and Pure. Chanting it and listening to it, pain is taken away. They alone worship and adore the Lord's Name, upon whose foreheads such pre-ordained destiny is written. Those humble beings are honoured in the Court of the Lord; the Lord comes to abide in their minds. O servant Nanak, their faces are radiant. They listen to the Lord; their minds are filled with love. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is the greatest treasure. The Gurmukhs obtain it. The True Guru comes to meet those who have such pre-ordained destiny written upon their foreheads. Their bodies and minds are cooled and soothed; peace and tranquility come to dwell in their minds. O Nanak, chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, all poverty and pain is dispelled. ||2|| Pauree: I am a sacrifice, forever and ever, to those who have seen my Beloved True Guru. They alone meet my True Guru, who have such pre-ordaind destiny written upon their foreheads. I meditate on the Inaccessible Lord, according to the Guru's Teachings; God has no form or feature. Those who follow the Guru's Teachings and meditate on the Inaccessible Lord, merge with their Lord and Master and become one with Him. Let everyone proclaim out loud, the Name of the Lord, the Lord, the Lord; the profit of devotional worship of the Lord is blessed and sublime. ||9|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: The Lord's Name is permeating and pervading all. Repeat the Name of the Lord, Raam, Raam. The Lord is in the home of each and every soul. God created this play with its various colours and forms. The Lord, the Life of the World, dwells near at hand. The Guru, my Friend, has made this clear.

Section 32 - Raag Kaanraa - Part 024

They alone meet the Lord, the Lord God, their Lord and Master, whose love for the Lord is pre-ordained. Servant Nanak meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Lord; through the Word of the Guru's Teachings, chant it consciously with your mind. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: Seek the Lord God, your Best Friend; by great good fortune, He comes to dwell with the very fortunate ones. Through the Perfect Guru, He is revealed, O Nanak, and one is lovingly attuned to the Lord. ||2|| Pauree: Blessed, blessed, beauteous and fruitful is that moment, when service to the Lord becomes pleasing to the mind. So proclaim the story of the Lord, O my GurSikhs; speak the Unspoken Speech of my Lord God. How can I attain Him? How can I see Him? My Lord God is All-knowing and All-seeing. Through the Word of the Guru's Teachings, the Lord reveals Himself; we merge in absorption in the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Nanak is a sacrifice unto those who meditate on the Lord of Nirvaanaa. ||10|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: One's eyes are anointed by the Lord God, when the Guru bestows the ointment of spiritual wisdom. I have found God, my Best Friend; servant Nanak is intuitively absorbed into the Lord. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: The Gurmukh is filled with peace and tranquility deep within. His mind and body are absorbed in the Naam, the Name of the Lord. He thinks of the Naam, and reads the Naam; he remains lovingly attuned to the Naam. He obtains the Treasure of the Naam, and is rid of anxiety. Meeting with the True Guru, the Naam wells up, and all hunger and thirst depart. O Nanak, one who is imbued with the Naam, gathers the Naam in his lap. ||2|| Pauree: You Yourself created the world, and You Yourself control it. Some are self-willed manmukhs - they lose. Others are united with the Guru - they win. The Name of the Lord, the Lord God is Sublime. The fortunate ones chant it, through the Word of the Guru's Teachings. All pain and poverty are taken away, when the Guru bestows the Lord's Name. Let everyone serve the Enticing Enticer of the Mind, the Enticer of the World, who created the world, and controls it all. ||11|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: The disease of egotism is deep within the mind; the self-willed manmukhs and the evil beings are deluded by doubt. O Nanak, the disease is cured only by meeting with the True Guru, the Holy Friend. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: My mind and body are embellished and exalted, when I behold the Lord with my eyes. O Nanak, meeting with that God, I live, hearing His Voice. ||2|| Pauree: The Creator is the Lord of the World, the Master of the Universe, the Infinite Primal Immeasurable Being. Meditate on the Lord's Name, O my GurSikhs; the Lord is Sublime, the Lord's Name is Invaluable. Those who meditate on Him in their hearts, day and night, merge with the Lord - there is no doubt about it. By great good fortune, they join the Sangat, the Holy Congregation, and speak the Word of the Guru, the Perfect True Guru. Let everyone meditate on the Lord, the Lord, the All-pervading Lord, by which all disputes and conflicts with Death are ended. ||12|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: The humble servant of the Lord chants the Name, Har, Har. The foolish idiot shoots arrows at him. O Nanak, the humble servant of the Lord is saved by the Love of the Lord. The arrow is turned around, and kills the one who shot it. ||1||

Section 32 - Raag Kaanraa - Part 025

Fourth Mehl: The eyes which are attracted by the Lord's Love behold the Lord through the Name of the Lord. If they gaze upon something else, O servant Nanak, they ought to be gouged out. ||2|| Pauree: The Infinite Lord totally permeates the water, the land and the sky. He cherishes and sustains all beings and creatures; whatever He does comes to pass. Without Him, we have no mother, father, children, sibling or friend. He is permeating and pervading deep within each and every heart; let everyone meditate on Him. Let all chant the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the World, who is manifest all over the world. ||13|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: Those Gurmukhs who meet as friends are blessed with the Lord God's Love. O servant Nanak, praise the Naam, the Name of the Lord; you shall go to His court in joyous high spirits. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: Lord, You are the Great Giver of all; all beings are Yours. They all worship You in adoration; You bless them with Your Bounty, O Beloved. The Generous Lord, the Great Giver reaches out with His Hands, and the rain pours down on the world. The corn germinates in the fields; contemplate the Lord's Name with love. Servant Nanak begs for the Gift of the Support of the Name of his Lord God. ||2|| Pauree: The desires of the mind are satisfied, meditating on the Ocean of Peace. Worship and adore the Feet of the Lord, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the jewel mine. Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, one is saved, and the Decree of Death is torn up. The treasure of this human life is won, meditating on the Lord of Detachment. Let everyone seek the Sanctuary of the True Guru; let the black spot of pain, the scar of suffering, be erased. ||14|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: I was seeking, searching for my Friend, but my Friend is right here with me. O servant Nanak, the Unseen is not seen, but the Gurmukh is given to see Him. ||1|| Fourth Mehl: O Nanak, I am in love with the True Lord; I cannot survive without Him. Meeting the True Guru, the Perfect Lord is found, and the tongue savors His Sublime Essence. ||2|| Pauree: Some sing, some listen, and some speek and preach. The filth and pollution of countless lifetimes is washed away, and the wishes of the mind are fulfilled. Coming and going in reincarnation ceases, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. They save themselves, and save their companions; they save all their generations as well. Servant Nanak is a sacrifice to those who are pleasing to my Lord God. ||15||1|| Sudh|| Raag Kaanraa, The Word Of Naam Dayv Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Such is the Sovereign Lord, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of Hearts; He sees everything as clearly as one's face reflected in a mirror. ||1||Pause|| He dwells in each and every heart; no stain or stigma sticks to Him. He is liberated from bondage; He does not belong to any social class. ||1|| As one's face is reflected in the water, so does Naam Dayv's Beloved Lord and Master appear. ||2||1||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 33 - RAAG KALYAAN

Section 33 - Raag Kalyaan - Part 001

Raag Kalyaan, Fourth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying. Beyond Birth. Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: The Lord, the Beauteous Lord - no one has

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found His limits. I am a child - You cherish and sustain me. You are the Great Primal Being, my Mother and Father. ||1||Pause|| The Names of the Lord are Countless and Unfathomable. My Sovereign Lord is Unfathomable and Incomprehensible. The virtuous and the spiritual teachers have given it great thought, but they have not found even an iota of His Value. ||1|| They sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, the Lord of the Universe forever. They sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe, but they do not find His limits. You are Immeasurable, Unweighable, and Infinite, O Lord and Master; no matter how much one may meditate on You, Your Depth cannot be fathomed. ||2|| Lord, Your humble servants praise You, singing Your Glorious Praises, O Sovereign Lord. You are the ocean of water, and I am Your fish. No one has ever found Your limits. ||3|| Please be Kind to Your humble servant, Lord; please bless me with the meditation of Your Name. I am a blind fool; Your Name is my only Support. Servant Nanak, as Gurmukh, has found it. ||4||1|| Kalyaan, Fourth Mehl: The humble servant of the Lord sings the Lord's Praise, and blossoms forth. My intellect is embellished with devotion to the Lord, Har, Har, through the Guru's Teachings. This is the destiny which God has recorded on my forehead. ||1||Pause|| I meditate in remembrance on the Guru's Feet, day and night. The Lord, Har, Har, Har, comes to dwell in my mind. The Praise of the Lord, Har, Har, Har, is Excellent and Sublime in this world. His Praise is the sandalwood paste which I rub. ||1|| The humble servant of the Lord is lovingly attuned to the Lord, Har, Har, Har; all the faithless cynics pursue him. The slanderous person acts in accordance with the record of his past deeds; his foot trips over the snake, and he is stung by its bite. ||2|| O my Lord and Master, You are the Saving Grace, the Protector of Your humble servants. You protect them, age after age. What does it matter, if a demon speaks evil? By doing so, he only gets frustrated. ||3|| All the beings and creatures created by God are caught in the mouth of Death. The humble servants of the Lord are protected by the Lord God, Har, Har, Har; servant Nanak seeks His Sanctuary. ||4||2|| Kalyaan, Fourth Mehl:

Section 33 - Raag Kalyaan - Part 002

O my mind, chant and meditate on the Master of the Universe. Through the Guru's Teachings, meditate on the Lord's Name, and be rid of all the painful past sins. ||1||Pause|| I have only one tongue - I cannot sing His Praises. Please bless me with many, many tongues. Again and again, each and every instant, with all of them, I would sing His Glorious Praises; but even then, I would not be able to sing all of Your Praises, God. ||1|| I am so deeply in love with God, my Lord and Master; I long to see God's Vision. You are the Great Giver of all beings and creatures; only You know our inner pain. ||2|| If only someone would show me the Way, the Path of God. Tell me - what could I give him? I would surrender, offer and dedicate all my body and mind to him; if only someone would unite me in God's Union! ||3|| The Glorious Praises of the Lord are so many and numerous; I can describe only a tiny bit of them. My intellect is under Your control, God; You are the All-powerful Lord God of servant Nanak. ||4||3|| Kalyaan, Fourth Mehl: O my mind, chant the Glorious Praises of the Lord, which are said to be inexpressible. Rightousness and Dharmic faith, success and prosperity, pleasure, the fulfillment of desires and liberation - all follow the humble servant of the Lord like a shadow. ||1||Pause|| That humble servant of the Lord who has such good fortune written on his forehead meditates on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. In that Court, where God calls for the accounts, there, you shall be saved only by meditating on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1|| I am stained with the filth of the mistakes of countless lifetimes, the pain and pollution of egotism. Showering His Mercy, the Guru bathed me in the Water of the Lord, and all my sins and mistakes were taken away. ||2|| God, our Lord and Master, is deep within the hearts of His humble servants. They vibrate the Naam, the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. And when that very last moment comes, then the Naam is our Best Friend and Protector. ||3|| Your humble servants sing Your Praises, O Lord, Har, Har; they chant and meditate on the Lord God, the Master of the Universe. O God, my Saving Grace, Lord and Master of servant Nanak, please save me, the sinking stone. ||4||4|| Kalyaan, Fourth Mehl: Only the Lord God knows my innermost thoughts. If someone slanders the humble servant of the Lord, God does not believe even a tiny bit of what he says. ||1||Pause|| So give up everything else, and serve the Imperishable; The Lord God, our Lord and Master, is the Highest of all. When you serve the Lord, Death cannot even see you. It comes and falls at the feet of those who know the Lord. ||1|| Those whom my Lord and Master protects - a balanced wisdom comes to their ears. No one can equal them; their devotional worship is accepted by my God. ||2|| So behold the Wondrous and Amazing Play of the Lord. In an instant, He distinguishes the genuine from the counterfeit. And that is why His humble servant is in bliss. Those of pure heart meet together, while the evil ones regret and repent. ||3|| Lord, You are the Great Giver, our All-powerful Lord and Master; O Lord, I beg for only one gift from You. Lord, please bless servant Nanak with Your Grace, that Your Feet may abide forever within my heart. ||4||5||

Section 33 - Raag Kalyaan - Part 003

Kalyaan, Fourth Mehl: O God, Treasure of Mercy, please bless me, that I may sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. I always place my hopes in You; O God, when will you take me in Your Embrace? ||1||Pause|| I am a foolish and ignorant child; Father, please teach me! Your child makes mistakes again and again, but still, You are pleased with him, O Father of the Universe. ||1|| Whatever You give me, O my Lord and Master - that is what I receive. There is no other place where I can go. ||2|| Those devotees who are pleasing to the Lord - the Lord is pleasing to them. Their light merges into the Light; the lights are merged and blended together. ||3|| The Lord Himself has shown mercy; He lovingly attunes me to Himself. Servant Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of the Door of the Lord, who protects his honour. ||4||6|| First Set Of Six|| Kalyaan Bhopaalee, Fourth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O Supreme Lord God, Transcendent Lord and Master, Destroyer of pain, Transcendental Lord God. All Your devotees beg of You. Ocean of peace, carry us across the terrifying world-ocean; You are the Wish-fulfilling Jewel. ||1||Pause|| Merciful to the meek and poor, Lord of the world, Support of the earth, Inner-knower, Searcher of hearts, Lord of the Universe. Those who meditate on the Supreme Lord become fearless. Through the Wisdom of the Guru's Teachings, they meditate on the Lord, the Liberator Lord. ||1|| Those who come to Sanctuary at the Feet of the Lord of the Universe - those humble beings cross over the terrifying world-ocean. The Lord preserves the honour of His humble devotees; O servant Nanak, the Lord Himself showers them with His Grace. ||2||1||7|| Raag Kalyaan, Fifth Mehl, First House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Please grant me this blessing: May the bumble-bee of my mind be immersed again and again in the Honey of Your Lotus Feet. ||1||Pause|| I am not concerned with any other water; please bless this songbird with a Drop of Your Water, Lord. ||1|| Unless I meet my Lord, I am not satisfied. Nanak lives, gazing upon the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. ||2||1|| Kalyaan, Fifth Mehl: This beggar begs and begs for Your Name, Lord. You are the Support of all, the Master of all, the Giver of absolute peace. ||1||Pause|| So many, so very many, beg for charity at Your Door; they receive only what You are pleased to give. ||1|| Fruitful, fruitful, fruitful is the Blessed Vision of His Darshan; touching His Touch, I sing His Glorious Praises. O Nanak, one's essence is blended into the Essence; the diamond of the mind is pierced through by the Diamond of the Lord. ||2||2||

Section 33 - Raag Kalyaan - Part 004

Kalyaan, Fifth Mehl: O, the Wondrous Glory of my Beloved! My mind is rejuvenated forever by His Wondrous Love. ||1||Pause|| Brahma, Shiva, the Siddhas, the silent sages and Indra beg for the charity of His Praise and devotion to Him. ||1|| Yogis, spiritual teachers, meditators and the thousand-headed serpent all meditate on the Waves of God. Says Nanak, I am a sacrifice to the Saints, who are the Eternal Companions of God. ||2||3|| Kalyaan, Fifth Mehl, Second House: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Belief in You, Lord, brings honour. To see with my eyes, and hear with my ears - every limb and fiber of my being, and my breath of life are in bliss. ||1||Pause|| Here and there, and in the ten directions You are pervading, in the mountain and the blade of grass. ||1|| Wherever I look, I see the Lord, the Supreme Lord, the Primal Being. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, doubt and fear are dispelled. Nanak speaks the Wisdom of God. ||2||1||4|| Kalyaan, Fifth Mehl: The Glory of God is the Sound-current of the Naad, the Celestial Music of Bliss, and the Wisdom of the Vedas. Speaking and listening, the silent sages and humble beings join together, in the Realm of the Saints. ||1||Pause|| Spiritual wisdom, meditation, faith and charity are there; their minds savor the Taste of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Chanting it, sins are destroyed. ||1|| This is the technology of Yoga, spiritual wisdom, devotion, intuitive knowledge of the Shabad, certain knowledge of the Essence of Reality, chanting and unbroken intensive meditation. Through and through, O Nanak, merging into the Light, you shall never again suffer pain and punishment. ||2||2||5|| Kalyaan, Fifth Mehl: What should I do, and how should I do it? Should I centre myself in meditation, or study the spiritual wisdom of the Shaastras? How can I endure this unendurable state? ||1||Pause|| Vishnu, Shiva, the Siddhas, the silent sages and Indra - at whose door should I seek sanctuary? ||1|| Some have power and influence, and some are blessed with heavenly paradise, but out of millions, will anyone find liberation? Says Nanak, I have attained the Sublime Essence of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. I touch the feet of the Holy. ||2||3||6|| Kalyaan, Fifth Mehl: The Lord of the Breath of Life, the Merciful Primal Lord God, is my Friend. The Lord saves us from the womb of reincarnation and the noose of death in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga; He takes away our pain. ||1||Pause|| I enshrine the Naam, the Name of the Lord, within; I seek Your Sanctuary, Lord. O Merciful Lord God, You are my only Support. ||1|| You are the only Hope of the helpless, the meek and the poor. Your Name, O my Lord and Master, is the Mantra of the mind. ||2|| I know of nothing except You, God. Throughout all the ages, I realise You. ||3|| O Lord, You dwell in my mind night and day. The Lord of the Universe is Nanak's only Support. ||4||4||7|| Kalyaan, Fifth Mehl: Within my mind and body I meditate on the Lord God. The Perfect Guru is pleased and satisfied; I am blessed with eternal peace and happiness. ||1||Pause|| All affairs are successfuly resolved, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the World. Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I dwell upon God, and the pain of death is taken away. ||1|| Please take pity on me, O my God, that I may serve You day and night.

Section 33 - Raag Kalyaan - Part 005

Slave Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of the Lord, the Perfect, Divine Primal Being. ||2||5||8|| Kalyaan, Fifth Mehl: My God is the Inner-knower, the Searcher of Hearts. Take pity on me, O Perfect Transcendent Lord; bless me with the True Eternal Insignia of the Shabad, the Word of God. ||1||Pause|| O Lord, other than You, no one is all-powerful. You are the Hope and the Strength of my mind. You are the Giver to the hearts of all beings, O Lord and Master. I eat and wear whatever You give me. ||1|| Intuitive understanding, wisdom and cleverness, glory and beauty, pleasure, wealth and honour, all comforts, bliss, happiness and salvation, O Nanak, come by chanting the Lord's Name. ||2||6||9|| Kalyaan, Fifth Mehl: The Sanctuary of the Lord's Feet bring salvation. God's Name is the Purifier of sinners. ||1||Pause|| Whoever chants and meditates in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, shall undoubtedly escape being consumed by the Messenger of Death. ||1|| Liberation, the key to success, and all sorts of comforts do not equal loving devotional worship of the Lord. Slave Nanak longs for the Blessed Vision of God's Darshan; he shall never again wander in reincarnation. ||2||||7||10|| Kalyaan, Fourth Mehl, Ashtapadees: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Hearing the Name of the Lord, the All-pervading Lord, my mind is drenched with joy. The Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is Ambrosial Nectar, the most Sweet and Sublime Essence; through the Guru's Teachings, drink it in with intuitive ease. ||1||Pause|| The potential energy of fire is within the wood; it is released if you know how to rub it and generate friction. In just the same way, the Lord's Name is the Light within all; the Essence is extracted by following the Guru's Teachings. ||1|| There are nine doors, but the taste of these nine doors is bland and insipid. The Essence of Ambrosial Nectar trickles down through the Tenth Door. Please take pity on me - be kind and compassionate, O my Beloved, that I may drink in the Sublime Essence of the Lord, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||2|| The body-village is the most sublime and exalted village, in which the merchandise of the Lord's Sublime Essence is traded. The most precious and priceless gems and jewels are obtained by serving the True Guru. ||3|| The True Guru is Inaccessible; Inaccessible is our Lord and Master. He is the overflowing Ocean of bliss - worship Him with loving devotion. Please take pity on me, and be Merciful to this meek song-bird; please pour a drop of Your Name into my mouth. ||4|| O Beloved Lord, please colour my mind with the Deep Crimson Colour of Your Love; I have surrendered my mind to the Guru. Those who are imbued with the Love of the Lord, Raam, Raam, Raam, continually drink in this essence in big gulps, savoring its sweet taste. ||5|| If all the gold of the seven continents and the oceans was taken out and placed before them, the humble servants of my Lord and Master would not even want it. They beg for the Lord to bless them with the Lord's Sublime Essence. ||6|| The faithless cynics and mortal beings remain hungry forever; they ontinually cry out in hunger. They hurry and run, and wander all around, caught in the love of Maya; they cover hundreds of thousands of miles in their wanderings. ||7|| The humble servants of the Lord, Har, Har, Har, Har, Har, are sublime and exalted. What praise can we bestow upon them?

Section 33 - Raag Kalyaan - Part 006

Nothing else can equal the Glory of the Lord's Name; please bless servant Nanak with Your Grace. ||8||1|| Kalyaan, Fourth Mehl: O Lord, please bless me with the Touch of the Guru, the Philosopher's Stone. I was unworthy, utterly useless, rusty slag; meeting with the True Guru, I was transformed by the Philosopher's Stone. ||1||Pause|| Everyone longs for paradise, liberation and heaven; all place their hopes in them. The humble long for the Blessed Vision of His Darshan; they do not ask for liberation. Their minds are satisfied and comforted by His Darshan. ||1|| Emotional attachment to Maya is very powerful; this attachment is a black stain which sticks. The humble servants of my Lord and Master are unattached and liberated. They are like ducks, whose feathers do not get wet. ||2|| The fragrant sandalwood tree is encircled by snakes; how can anyone get to the sandalwood? Drawing out the Mighty Sword of the Guru's Spiritual Wisdom, I

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slaughter and kill the poisonous snakes, and drink in the Sweet Nectar. ||3|| You may gather wood and stack it in a pile, but in an instant, fire reduces it to ashes. The faithless cynic gathers the most horrendous sins, but meeting with the Holy Saint, they are placed in the fire. ||4|| The Holy, Saintly devotees are sublime and exalted. They enshrine the Naam, the Name of the Lord, deep within. By the touch of the Holy and the humble servants of the Lord, the Lord God is seen. ||5|| The thread of the faithless cynic is totally knotted and tangled; how can anything be woven with it? This thread cannot be woven into yarn; do not associate with those faithless cynics. ||6|| The True Guru and the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, are exalted and sublime. Joining the Congregation, meditate on the Lord. The gems, jewels and precious stones are deep within; by Guru's Grace, they are found. ||7|| My Lord and Master is Glorious and Great. How can I be united in His Union? O Nanak, the Perfect Guru unites His humble servant in His Union, and blesses him with perfection. ||8||2|| Kalyaan, Fourth Mehl: Chant the Name of the Lord, the Lord, the All-pervading Lord. The Holy, the humble and Holy, are noble and sublime. Meeting with the Holy, I joyfully love the Lord. ||1||Pause|| The minds of all the beings and creatures of the world waver unsteadily. Please take pity on them, be merciful to them, and unite them with the Holy; establish this support to support the world. ||1|| The earth is beneath us, and yet its dust falls down on all; let yourself be covered by the dust of the feet of the Holy. You shall be utterly exalted, the most noble and sublime of all; the whole world will place itself at your feet. ||2|| The Gurmukhs are blessed with the Divine Light of the Lord; Maya comes to serve them. Through the Word of the Guru's Teachings, they bite with teeth of wax and chew iron, drinking in the Sublime Essence of the Lord. ||3|| The Lord has shown great mercy, and bestowed His Name; I have met with the Holy Guru, the Primal Being. The Glorious Praises of the Lord's Name have spread out everywhere; the Lord bestows fame all over the world. ||4|| The Beloved Lord is within the minds of the Holy, the Holy Saadhus; without seeing Him, they cannot survive. The fish in the water loves only the water. Without water, it bursts and dies in an instant. ||5||

Section 33 - Raag Kalyaan - Part 007

Those who have terrible luck and bad fortune do not drink in the water which washes the dust of the feet of the Holy. The burning fire of their desires is not extinguished; they are beaten and punished by the Righteous Judge of Dharma. ||6|| You may visit all the sacred shrines, observe fasts and sacred feasts, give generously in charity and waste away the body, melting it in the snow. The weight of the Lord's Name is unweighable, according to the Guru's Teachings; nothing can equal its weight. ||7|| O God, You alone know Your Glorious Virtues. Servant Nanak seeks Your Sanctuary. You are the Ocean of water, and I am Your fish. Please be kind, and keep me always with You. ||8||3|| Kalyaan, Fourth Mehl: I worship and adore the Lord, the All-pervading Lord. I surrender my mind and body, and place everything before Him; following the Guru's Teachings, spiritual wisdom is implanted within me. ||1||Pause|| God's Name is the tree, and His Glorious Virtues are the branches. Picking and gathering up the fruit, I worship Him. The soul is divine; divine is the soul. Worship Him with love. ||1|| One of keen intellect and precise understanding is immaculate in all this world. In thoughtful consideration, he drinks in the sublime essence. By Guru's Grace, the treasure is found; dedicate this mind to the True Guru. ||2|| Priceless and utterly sublime is the Diamond of the Lord. This Diamond pierces the diamond of the mind. The mind becomes the jeweller, through the Word of the Guru's Shabad; it appraises the Diamond of the Lord. ||3|| Attaching oneself to the Society of the Saints, one is exalted and uplifted, as the palaas tree is absorbed by the peepal tree. That mortal being is supreme among all people, who is perfumed by the fragrance of the Lord's Name. ||4|| One who continually acts in goodness and immaculate purity, sprouts green branches in great abundance. The Guru has taught me that Dharmic faith is the flower, and spiritual wisdom is the fruit; this fragrance permeates the world. ||5|| The One, the Light of the One, abides within my mind; God, the One, is seen in all. The One Lord, the Supreme Soul, is spread out everywhere; all place their heads beneath His Feet. ||6|| Without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, people look like criminals with their noses cut off; bit by bit, their noses are cut off. The faithless cynics are called egotistical; without the Name, their lives are cursed. ||7|| As long as the breath breathes through the mind deep within, hurry and seek God's Sanctuary. Please shower Your Kind Mercy and take pity upon Nanak, that he may wash the feet of the Holy. ||8||4|| Kalyaan, Fourth Mehl: O Lord, I wash the feet of the Holy. May my sins be burnt away in an instant; O my Lord and Master, please bless me with Your Mercy. ||1||Pause|| The meek and humble beggars stand begging at Your Door. Please be generous and give to those who are yearning. Save me, save me, O God - I have come to Your Sanctuary. Please implant the Guru's Teachings, and the Naam within me. ||1|| Sexual desire and anger are very powerful in the body-village; I rise up to fight the battle against them. Please make me Your Own and save me; through the Perfect Guru, I drive them out. ||2|| The powerful fire of corruption is raging violently within; the Word of the Guru's Shabad is the ice water which cools and soothes.

Section 33 - Raag Kalyaan - Part 008

My mind and body are calm and tranquil; the disease has been cured, and now I sleep in peace. ||3|| As the rays of the sun spread out everywhere, the Lord pervades each and every heart. Meeting the Holy Saint, one drinks in the Sublime Essence of the Lord; sitting in the home of your own inner being, drink in the essence. ||4|| The humble being is in love with the Guru, like the chakvi bird which loves to see the sun. She watches, and keeps on watching all through the night; and when the sun shows its face, she drinks in the Amrit. ||5|| The faithless cynic is said to be very greedy - he is a dog. He is overflowing with the filth and pollution of evil-mindedness. He talks excessively about his own interests. How can he be trusted? ||6|| I have sought the Sanctuary of the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; I have found the Sublime Essence of the Lord. They do good deeds for others, and speak of the Lord's many Glorious Virtues; please bless me to meet these Saints, these devotees of the Lord. ||7|| You are the Inaccessible Lord, Kind and Compassionate, the Great Giver; please shower us with Your Mercy, and save us. You are the Life of all the beings of the world; please cherish and sustain Nanak. ||8||5|| Kalyaan, Fourth Mehl: O Lord, please make me the slave of Your slaves. As long as there is breath deep within my mind, let me drink in the dust of the Holy. ||1||Pause|| Shiva, Naarad, the thousand-headed cobra king and the silent sages long for the dust of the Holy. All the worlds and realms where the Holy place their feet are sanctified. ||1|| So let go of your shame and renounce all your egotism; join with the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, and remain there. Give up your fear of the Righteous Judge of Dharma, and you shall be lifted up and saved from drowning in the sea of poison. ||2|| Some are standing, parched and shrivelled up by their doubts; joining the Saadh Sangat, they are rejuvenated. So do not delay, even for an instant - go and fall at the feet of the Holy. ||3|| The Kirtan of the Praise of the Lord's Name is a priceless jewel. The Lord has given it for the Holy to keep. Whoever accepts and follows the Word of the Guru's Teachings as True - this Jewel is taken out and given to him. ||4|| Listen, O Saints; listen, humble Siblings of Destiny: the Guru raises His Arms and sends out the call. If you long for everlasting peace and comfort for your soul, then enter the Sanctuary of the True Guru. ||5|| If you have great good fortune and are very noble, then implant the Guru's Teachings and the Naam, the Name of the Lord, within. Emotional attachment to Maya is totally treacherous; drinking in the Sublime Essence of the Lord, you shall easily, intuitively cross over the world-ocean. ||6|| Those who are totally in love with Maya, Maya, shall rot away in Maya. The path of ignorance and darkness is utterly treacherous; they are loaded down with the crushing load of egotism. ||7|| O Nanak, chanting the Name of the Lord, the All-pervading Lord, one is emancipated. Meeting the True Guru, the Naam is implanted within; we are united and blended with the Lord's Name. ||8||6|| First Set Of Six||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 34 - RAAG PRABHAATEE

Section 34 - Raag Prabhaatee - Part 001

One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying. Beyond Birth. Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: Raag Parbhaatee Bibhaas, First Mehl, Chau-Padas, First House: Your Name carries us across; Your Name brings respect and worship. Your Name embellishes us; it is the object of the awakened mind. Your Name brings honour to everyone's name. Without Your Name, no one is ever respected. ||1|| All other clever tricks are just for show. Whoever the Lord blesses with forgiveness - his affairs are perfectly resolved. ||1||Pause|| Your Name is my strength; Your Name is my support. Your Name is my army; Your Name is my king. Your Name brings honour, glory and approval. By Your Grace, one is blessed with the banner and the insignia of Your Mercy. ||2|| Your Name brings intuitive peace and poise; Your Name brings praise. Your Name is the Ambrosial Nectar which cleans out the poison. Through Your Name, all peace and comfort comes to abide in the mind. Without the Name, they are bound and gagged, and dragged off to the City of Death. ||3|| Man is involved with his wife, hearth and home, land and country, the pleasures of the mind and fine clothes; but when the call comes, he cannot delay. O Nanak, in the end, the false turn out to be false. ||4||1|| Prabhaatee, First Mehl: Your Name is the Jewel, and Your Grace is the Light. In awareness, there is Your Light. Darkness fills the dark, and then everything is lost. ||1|| This whole world is corrupt. Your Name is the only cure; nothing else works, O Infinite Creator Lord. ||1||Pause|| One side of the scale holds tens of thousands, millions of nether regions and realms. O my Beloved, Your Worth could only be estimated if something else could be placed on the other side of the scale. ||2||

Section 34 - Raag Prabhaatee - Part 002

Out of pain, pleasure is produced, and out of pleasure comes pain. That mouth which praises You - what hunger could that mouth ever suffer? ||3|| O Nanak, you alone are foolish; all the rest of the world is good. That body in which the Naam does not well up - that body becomes miserable. ||4||2|| Prabhaatee, First Mehl: For His sake, Brahma uttered the Vedas, and Shiva renounced Maya. For His sake, the Siddhas became hermits and renunciates; even the gods have not realised His Mystery. ||1|| O Baba, keep the True Lord in your mind, and utter the Name of the True Lord with your mouth; the True Lord will carry you across. Enemies and pain shall not even approach you; only a rare few realise the Wisdom of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Fire, water and air make up the world; these three are the slaves of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. One who does not chant the Naam is a thief, dwelling in the fortress of the five thieves. ||2|| If someone does a good deed for someone else, he totally puffs himself up in his conscious mind. The Lord bestows so many virtues and so much goodness; He does not ever regret it. ||3|| Those who praise You gather the wealth in their laps; this is Nanak's wealth. Whoever shows respect to them is not summoned by the Messenger of Death. ||4||3|| Prabhaatee, First Mehl: One who has no beauty, no social status, no mouth, no flesh - meeting with the True Guru, he finds the Immaculate Lord, and dwells in Your Name. ||1|| O detached Yogi, contemplate the essence of reality, and you shall never again come to be born into the world. ||1||Pause|| One who does not have good karma or Dharmic faith, sacred rosary or mala - through the Light of God, wisdom is bestowed; the True Guru is our Protector. ||2|| One who does not observe any fasts, make religious vows or chant - he does not have to worry about good luck or bad, if he obeys the Command of the True Guru. ||3|| One who is not hopeful, nor hopeless, who has trained his intuitive consciousness - his being blends with the Supreme Being. O Nanak, his awareness is awakened. ||4||4|| Prabhaatee, First Mehl: What he says is approved in the Court of the Lord. He looks upon poison and nectar as one and the same. ||1|| What can I say? You are permeating and pervading all. Whatever happens, is all by Your Will. ||1||Pause|| The Divine Light shines radiantly, and egotistical pride is dispelled. The True Guru bestows the Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||2|| In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, one's birth is approved, if one is honoured in the True Court. ||3|| Speaking and listening, one goes to the Celestial Home of the Indescribable Lord. Mere words of mouth, O Nanak, are burnt away. ||4||5|| Prabhaatee, First Mehl: One who bathes in the Ambrosial Water of spiritual wisdom takes with him the virtues of the sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage. The Guru's Teachings are the gems and jewels; the Sikh who serves Him searches and finds them. ||1|| There is no sacred shrine equal to the Guru. The Guru encompasses the ocean of contentment. ||1||Pause||

Section 34 - Raag Prabhaatee - Part 003

The Guru is the River, from which the Pure Water is obtained forever; it washes away the filth and pollution of evil-mindedness. Finding the True Guru, the perfect cleansing bath is obtained, which transforms even beasts and ghosts into gods. ||2|| He is said to be the Guru, with the scent of sandalwood, who is imbued with the True Name to the bottom of His Heart. By His Fragrance, the world of vegetation is perfumed. Lovingly focus yourself on His Feet. ||3|| The life of the soul wells up for the Gurmukh; the Gurmukh goes to the House of God. The Gurmukh, O Nanak, merges in the True One; the Gurmukh attains the exalted state of the self. ||4||6|| Prabhaatee, First Mehl: By Guru's Grace, contemplate spiritual knowledge; read it and study it, and you shall be honoured. Within the self, the self is revealed, when one is blessed with the Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1|| O Creator Lord, You alone are my Benefactor. I beg for only one blessing from You: please bless me with Your Name. ||1||Pause|| The five wandering thieves are captured and held, and the egotistical pride of the mind is subdued. Visions of corruption, vice and evil-mindedness run away. Such is the spiritual wisdom of God. ||2|| Please bless me with the rice of truth and self-restraint, the wheat of compassion, and the leaf-plate of meditation. Bless me with the milk of good karma, and the clarified butter, the ghee, of compassion. Such are the gifts I beg of You, Lord. ||3|| Let forgiveness and patience be my milk-cows, and let the calf of my mind intuitively drink in this milk. I beg for the clothes of modesty and the Lord's Praise; Nanak chants the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||4||7|| Prabhaatee, First Mehl: No one can hold anyone back from coming; how could anyone hold anyone back from going? He alone thoroughly understands this, from whom all beings come; all are merged and immersed in Him. ||1|| Waaho! - You are Great, and Wondrous is Your Will. Whatever You do, surely comes to pass. Nothing else can happen. ||1||Pause|| The buckets on the chain of the Persian wheel rotate; one empties out to fill another. This is just like the Play of our Lord and Master; such is His Glorious Greatness. ||2|| Following the path of intuitive awareness, one turns away from the world, and one's vision is

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enlightened. Contemplate this in your mind, and see, O spiritual teacher. Who is the householder, and who is the renunciate? ||3|| Hope comes from the Lord; surrendering to Him, we remain in the state of nirvaanaa. We come from Him; surrendering to Him, O Nanak, one is approved as a householder, and a renunciate. ||4||8|| Prabhaatee, First Mehl: I am a sacrifice to that one who binds in bondage his evil and corrupted gaze. One who does not know the difference between vice and virtue wanders around uselessly. ||1|| Speak the True Name of the Creator Lord. Then, you shall never again have to come into this world. ||1||Pause|| The Creator transforms the high into the low, and makes the lowly into kings. Those who know the All-knowing Lord are approved and certified as perfect in this world. ||2|| If anyone is mistaken and fooled, you should go to instruct him.

Section 34 - Raag Prabhaatee - Part 004

The Creator Himself plays all the games; only a few understand this. ||3|| Meditate on the Name, and the Word of the Shabad, in the early hours before dawn; leave your worldly entanglements behind. Prays Nanak, the slave of God's slaves: the world loses, and he wins. ||4||9|| Prabhaatee, First Mehl: The mind is Maya, the mind is a chaser; the mind is a bird flying across the sky. The thieves are overpowered by the Shabad, and then the body-village prospers and celebrates. Lord, when You save someone, he is saved; his capital is safe and sound. ||1|| Such is my Treasure, the Jewel of the Naam; please bless me with the Guru's Teachings, so that I may fall at Your Feet. ||1||Pause|| The mind is a Yogi, the mind is a pleasure-seeker; the mind is foolish and ignorant. The mind is the giver, the mind is the beggar; the mind is the Great Guru, the Creator. The five thieves are conquered, and peace is attained; such is the contemplative wisdom of God. ||2|| The One Lord is said to be in each and every heart, but no one can see Him. The false are cast upside-down into the womb of reincarnation; without the Name, they lose their honour. Those whom You unite, remain united, if it is Your Will. ||3|| God does not ask about social class or birth; you must find your true home. That is your social class and that is your status - the karma of what you have done. The pains of death and rebirth are eradicated; O Nanak, salvation is in the Lord's Name. ||4||10|| Prabhaatee, First Mehl: He is awake, and even happy, but he is being plundered - he is blind! The noose is around his neck, and yet, his head is busy with worldly affairs. In hope, he comes and in desire, he leaves. The strings of his life are all tangled up; he is utterly helpless. ||1|| The Lord of Awareness, the Lord of Life is awake and aware. He is the Ocean of peace, the Treasure of Ambrosial Nectar. ||1||Pause|| He does not understand what he is told; he is blind - he does not see, and so he does his evil deeds. The Transcendent Lord Himself showers His Love and Affection; by His Grace, He bestows glorious greatness. ||2|| With the coming of each and every day, his life is wearing away, bit by bit; but still, his heart is attached to Maya. Without the Guru, he is drowned, and finds no place of rest, as long as he is caught in duality. ||3|| Day and night, God watches over and takes care of His living beings; they receive pleasure and pain according to their past actions. Nanak, the unfortunate one, begs for the charity of Truth; please bless him with this glory. ||4||11|| Prabhaatee, First Mehl: If I remain silent, the world calls me a fool. If I talk too much, I miss out on Your Love. My mistakes and faults will be judged in Your Court. Without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, how can I maintain good conduct? ||1|| Such is the falsehood which is plundering the world. The slanderer slanders me, but even so, I love him. ||1||Pause|| He alone knows the way, who has been slandered. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, he is stamped with the Lord's Insignia in His Court. He realises the Naam, the Cause of causes, deep within himself. He alone knows the way, who is blessed by the Lord's Glance of Grace. ||2|| I am filthy and polluted; the True Lord is Immaculate and Sublime. Calling oneself sublime, one does not become exalted. The self-willed manmukh openly eats the great poison. But one who becomes Gurmukh is absorbed in the Name. ||3|| I am blind, deaf, foolish and ignorant,

Section 34 - Raag Prabhaatee - Part 005

the lowest of the low, the worst of the worst. I am poor, but I have the Wealth of Your Name, O my Beloved. This is the most excellent wealth; all else is poison and ashes. ||4|| I pay no attention to slander and praise; I contemplate the Word of the Shabad. I celebrate the One who blesses me with His Bounty. Whomever You forgive, O Lord, is blessed with status and honour. Says Nanak, I speak as He causes me to speak. ||5||12|| Prabhaatee, First Mehl: Eating too much, one's filth only increases; wearing fancy clothes, one's home is disgraced. Talking too much, one only starts arguments. Without the Name, everything is poison - know this well. ||1|| O Baba, such is the treacherous trap which has caught my mind; riding out the waves of the storm, it will be enlightened by intuitive wisdom. ||1||Pause|| They eat poison, speak poison and do poisonous deeds. Bound and gagged at Death's door, they are punished; they can be saved only through the True Name. ||2|| As they come, they go. Their actions are recorded, and go along with them. The self-willed manmukh loses his capital, and is punished in the Court of the Lord. ||3|| The world is false and polluted; only the True One is Pure. Contemplate Him through the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Those who have God's spiritual wisdom within, are known to be very rare. ||4|| They endure the unendurable, and the Nectar of the Lord, the Embodiment of Bliss, trickles into them continuously. O Nanak, the fish is in love with the water; if it pleases You, Lord, please enshrine such love within me. ||5||13|| Prabhaatee, First Mehl: Songs, sounds, pleasures and clever tricks; joy, love and the power to command; fine clothes and food - these have no place in one's consciousness. True intuitive peace and poise rest in the Naam. ||1|| What do I know about what God does? Without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, nothing makes my body feel good. ||1||Pause|| Yoga, thrills, delicious flavors and ecstasy; wisdom, truth and love all come from devotion to the Lord of the Universe. My own occupation is to work to praise the Lord. Deep within, I dwell on the Lord of the sun and the moon. ||2|| I have lovingly enshrined the love of my Beloved within my heart. My Husband Lord, the Lord of the World, is the Master of the meek and the poor. Night and day, the Naam is my giving in charity and fasting. The waves have subsided, contemplating the essence of reality. ||3|| What power do I have to speak the Unspoken? I worship You with devotion; You inspire me to do so. You dwell deep within; my egotism is dispelled. So whom should I serve? There is no other than You. ||4|| The Word of the Guru's Shabad is utterly sweet and sublime. Such is the Ambrosial Nectar I see deep within. Those who taste this, attain the state of perfection. O Nanak, they are satisfied, and their bodies are at peace. ||5||14|| Prabhaatee, First Mehl: Deep within, I see the Shabad, the Word of God; my mind is pleased and appeased. Nothing else can touch and imbue me. Day and night, God watches over and cares for His beings and creatures; He is the Ruler of all. ||1|| My God is dyed in the most beautiful and glorious colour. Merciful to the meek and the poor, my Beloved is the Enticer of the mind; He is so very sweet, imbued with the deep crimson colour of His Love. ||1||Pause|| The Well is high up in the Tenth Gate; the Ambrosial Nectar flows, and I drink it in. The creation is His; He alone knows its ways and means. The Gurmukh contemplates spiritual wisdom. ||2||

Section 34 - Raag Prabhaatee - Part 006

The rays of light spread out, and the heart-lotus joyfully blossoms forth; the sun enters into the house of the moon. I have conquered death; the desires of the mind are destroyed. By Guru's Grace, I have found God. ||3|| I am dyed in the deep crimson colour of His Love. I am not coloured by any other colour. O Nanak, my tongue is saturated with the taste of God, who is permeating and pervading everywhere. ||4||15|| Prabhaatee, First Mehl: The Yogis are divided into twelve schools, the Sannyaasees into ten. The Yogis and those wearing religious robes, and the Jains with their all hair plucked out - without the Word of the Shabad, the noose is around their necks. ||1|| Those who are imbued with the Shabad are the perfectly detached renunciates. They beg to receive charity in the hands of their hearts, embracing love and affection for the One. ||1||Pause|| The Brahmins study and argue about the scriptures; they perform ceremonial rituals, and lead others in these rituals. Without true understanding, those self-willed manmukhs understand nothing. Separated from God, they suffer in pain. ||2|| Those who receive the Shabad are sanctified and pure; they are approved in the True Court. Night and day, they remain lovingly attuned to the Naam; throughout the ages, they are merged in the True One. ||3|| Good deeds, righteousness and Dharmic faith, purification, austere self-discipline, chanting, intense meditation and pilgrimages to sacred shrines - all these abide in the Shabad. O Nanak, united in union with the True Guru, suffering, sin and death run away. ||4||16|| Prabhaatee, First Mehl: The dust of the feet of the Saints, the Company of the Holy, and the Praises of the Lord carry us across to the other side. What can the wretched, terrified Messenger of Death do to the Gurmukhs? The Lord abides in their hearts. ||1|| Without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, life might just as well be burnt down. The Gurmukh chants and meditates on the Lord, chanting the chant on the mala; the Flavor of the Lord comes into the mind. ||1||Pause|| Those who follow the Guru's Teachings find true peace - how can I even describe the glory of such a person? The Gurmukh seeks and finds the gems and jewels, diamonds, rubies and treasures. ||2|| So centre yourself on the treasures of spiritual wisdom and meditation; remain lovingly attuned to the One True Lord, and the Word of His Shabad. Remain absorbed in the Primal State of the Fearless, Immaculate, Independent, Self-sufficient Lord. ||3|| The seven seas are overflowing with the Immaculate Water; the inverted boat floats across. The mind which wandered in external distractions is restrained and held in check; the Gurmukh is intuitively absorbed in God. ||4|| He is a householder, he is a renunciate and God's slave, who, as Gurmukh, realises his own self. Says Nanak, his mind is pleased and appeased by the True Word of the Shabad; there is no other at all. ||5||17|| Raag Prabhaatee, Third Mehl, Chau-Padas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Those who become Gurmukh and understand are very rare; God is permeating and pervading through the Word of His Shabad. Those who are imbued with the Naam, the Name of the Lord, find everlasting peace; they remain lovingly attuned to the True One. ||1||

Section 34 - Raag Prabhaatee - Part 007

Chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, O Siblings of Destiny. By Guru's Grace, the mind becomes steady and stable; night and day, it remains satisfied with the Sublime Essence of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Night and day, perform devotional worship service to the Lord, day and night; this is the profit to be obtained in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, O Siblings of Destiny. The humble beings are forever immaculate; no filth ever sticks to them. They focus their consciousness on the True Name. ||2|| The True Guru has revealed the ornamentation of peace; the Glorious Greatness of the Naam is Great! The Inexhaustible Treasures are overflowing; they are never exhausted. So serve the Lord forever, O Siblings of Destiny. ||3|| The Creator comes to abide in the minds of those whom He Himself has blessed. O Nanak, meditate forever on the Naam, which the True Guru has revealed. ||4||1|| Prabhaatee, Third Mehl: I am unworthy; please forgive me and bless me, O my Lord and Master, and unite me with Yourself. You are Endless; no one can find Your limits. Through the Word of Your Shabad, You bestow understanding. ||1|| O Dear Lord, I am a sacrifice to You. I dedicate my mind and body and place them in offering before You; I shall remain in Your Sanctuary forever. ||1||Pause|| Please keep me forever under Your Will, O my Lord and Master; please bless me with the Glorious Greatness of Your Name. Through the Perfect Guru, God's Will is revealed; night and day, remain absorbed in peace and poise. ||2|| Those devotees who accept Your Will are pleasing to You, Lord; You Yourself forgive them, and unite them with Yourself. Accepting Your Will, I have found everlasting peace; the Guru has extinguished the fire of desire. ||3|| Whatever You do comes to pass, O Creator; nothing else can be done. O Nanak, nothing is as great as the Blessing of the Name; it is obtained through the Perfect Guru. ||4||2|| Prabhaatee, Third Mehl: The Gurmukhs praise the Lord; praising the Lord, they know Him. Doubt and duality are gone from within; they realise the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||1|| O Dear Lord, You are my One and Only. I meditate on You and praise You; salvation and wisdom come from You. ||1||Pause|| The Gurmukhs praise You; they receive the most excellent and sweet Ambrosial Nectar. This Nectar is forever sweet; it never loses its taste. Contemplate the Word of the Guru's Shabad. ||2|| He makes it seem so sweet to me; I am a sacrifice to Him. Through the Shabad, I praise the Giver of peace forever. I have eradicated self-conceit from within. ||3|| My True Guru is forever the Giver. I receive whatever fruits and rewards I desire. O Nanak, through the Naam, glorious greatness is obtained; through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the True One is found. ||4||3|| Prabhaatee, Third Mehl: Those who enter Your Sanctuary, Dear Lord, are saved by Your Protective Power. I cannot even conceive of any other as Great as You. There never was, and there never shall be. ||1|| O Dear Lord, I shall remain in Your Sanctuary forever. As it pleases You, You save me, O my Lord and Master; this is Your Glorious Greatness. ||1||Pause|| O Dear Lord, You cherish and sustain those who seek Your Sanctuary.

Section 34 - Raag Prabhaatee - Part 008

O Dear Lord, the Messenger of Death cannot even touch those whom You, in Your Mercy, protect. ||2|| True Is Your Sanctuary, O Dear Lord; it never diminishes or goes away. Those who abandon the Lord, and become attached to the love of duality, shall continue to die and be reborn. ||3|| Those who seek Your Sanctuary, Dear Lord, shall never suffer in pain or hunger for anything. O Nanak, praise the Naam, the Name of the Lord forever, and merge in the True Word of the Shabad. ||4||4|| Prabhaatee, Third Mehl: As Gurmukh, meditate on the Dear Lord forever, as long as there is the breath of life. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the mind becomes immaculate, and egotistical pride is expelled from the mind. Fruitful and prosperous is the life of that mortal being, who is absorbed in the Name of the Lord. ||1|| O my mind, listen to the Teachings of the Guru. The Name of the Lord is the Giver of peace forever. With intuitive ease, drink in the Sublime Essence of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| Those who understand their own origin dwell within the home of their inner being, in intuitive peace and poise. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the heart-lotus blossoms forth, and egotism and evil-mindedness are eradicated. The One True Lord is pervading amongst all; those who realise this are very rare. ||2|| Through the Guru's Teachings, the mind becomes immaculate, speaking the Ambrosial Essence. The Name of the Lord dwells in the mind forever; within the mind, the mind is pleased and appeased. I am forever a sacrifice to my Guru, through whom I have realised the Lord, the Supreme Soul. ||3|| Those human beings who do not serve the True Guru - their lives are uselessly wasted. When God bestows His Glance of Grace, then we meet the True Guru,

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merging in intuitive peace and poise. O Nanak, by great good fortune, the Naam is bestowed; by perfect destiny, meditate. ||4||5|| Prabhaatee, Third Mehl: God Himself fashioned the many forms and colours; He created the Universe and staged the play. Creating the creation, He watches over it. He acts, and causes all to act; He gives sustenance to all beings. ||1|| In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, the Lord is All-pervading. The One God is pervading and permeating each and every heart; the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is revealed to the Gurmukh. ||1||Pause|| The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is hidden, but it is pervasive in the Dark Age. The Lord is totally pervading and permeating each and every heart. The Jewel of the Naam is revealed within the hearts of those who hurry to the Sanctuary of the Guru. ||2|| Whoever overpowers the five sense organs, is blessed with forgiveness, patience and contentment, through the Guru's Teachings. Blessed, blessed, perfect and great is that humble servant of the Lord, who is inspired by the Fear of God and detached love, to sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||3|| If someone turns his face away from the Guru, and does not enshrine the Guru's Words in his consciousness - he may perform all sorts of rituals and accumulate wealth, but in the end, he will fall into hell. ||4|| The One Shabad, the Word of the One God, is prevailing everywhere. All the creation came from the One Lord. O Nanak, the Gurmukh is united in union. When the Gurmukh goes, he blends into the Lord, Har, Har. ||5||6|| Prabhaatee, Third Mehl: O my mind, praise your Guru.

Section 34 - Raag Prabhaatee - Part 009

Perfect destiny is inscribed upon your forehead and face; sing the Praises of the Lord forever. ||1||Pause|| The Lord bestows the Ambrosial Food of the Naam. Out of millions, only a rare few receive it - only those who are blessed by God's Glance of Grace. ||1|| Whoever enshrines the Guru's Feet within his mind, is rid of pain and darkness from within. The True Lord unites him with Himself. ||2|| So embrace love for the Word of the Guru's Bani. Here and hereafter, this is your only Support. The Creator Lord Himself bestows it. ||3|| One whom the Lord inspires to accept His Will, is a wise and knowing devotee. Nanak is forever a sacrifice to him. ||4||7||17||7||24|| Prabhaatee, Fourth Mehl, Bibhaas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Through the Guru's Teachings, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord with joyous love and delight; I am enraptured, lovingly attuned to the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, I drink in the Ambrosial Essence; I am a sacrifice to the Naam. ||1|| The Lord, the Life of the World, is my Breath of Life. The Lofty and Exalted Lord became pleasing to my heart and my inner being, when the Guru breathed the Mantra of the Lord into my ears. ||1||Pause|| Come, O Saints: let us join together, O Siblings of Destiny; let us meet and chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. How am I to find my God? Please bless me with the Gift of the Lord's Teachings. ||2|| The Lord, Har, Har, abides in the Society of the Saints; joining this Sangat, the Lord's Glories are known. By great good fortune, the Society of the Saints is found. Through the Guru, the True Guru, I receive the Touch of the Lord God. ||3|| I sing the Glorious Praises of God, my Inaccessible Lord and Master; singing His Praises, I am enraptured. The Guru has showered His Mercy on servant Nanak; in an instant, He blessed him with the Gift of the Lord's Name. ||4||1|| Prabhaatee, Fourth Mehl: With the rising of the sun, the Gurmukh speaks of the Lord. All through the night, he dwells upon the Sermon of the Lord. My God has infused this longing within me; I seek my Lord God. ||1|| My mind is the dust of the feet of the Holy. The Guru has implanted the Sweet Name of the Lord, Har, Har, within me. I dust the Guru's Feet with my hair. ||1||Pause|| Dark are the days and nights of the faithless cynics; they are caught in the trap of attachment to Maya. The Lord God does not dwell in their hearts, even for an instant; every hair of their heads is totally tied up in debts. ||2|| Joining the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, wisdom and understanding are obtained, and one is released from the traps of egotism and possessiveness. The Lord's Name, and the Lord, seem sweet to me. Through the Word of His Shabad, the Guru has made me happy. ||3|| I am just a child; the Guru is the Unfathomable Lord of the World. In His Mercy, He cherishes and sustains me. I am drowning in the ocean of poison; O God, Guru, Lord of the World, please save Your child, Nanak. ||4||2|| Prabhaatee, Fourth Mehl: The Lord God showered me with His Mercy for an instant; I sing His Glorious Praises with joyous love and delight.

Section 34 - Raag Prabhaatee - Part 010

Both the singer and the listener are liberated, when, as Gurmukh, they drink in the Lord's Name, even for an instant. ||1|| The Sublime Essence of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, is enshrined within my mind. As Gurmukh, I have obtained the cooling, soothing Water of the Naam. I eagerly drink in the sublime essence of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||1||Pause|| Those whose hearts are imbued with the Love of the Lord have the mark of radiant purity upon their foreheads. The Glory of the Lord's humble servant is manifest throughout the world, like the moon among the stars. ||2|| Those whose hearts are not filled with the Lord's Name - all their affairs are worthless and insipid. They may adorn and decorate their bodies, but without the Naam, they look like their noses have been cut off. ||3|| The Sovereign Lord permeates each and every heart; the One Lord is all-pervading everywhere. The Lord has showered His Mercy upon servant Nanak; through the Word of the Guru's Teachings, I have meditated on the Lord in an instant. ||4||3|| Prabhaatee, Fourth Mehl: God, the Inaccessible and Merciful, has showered me with His Mercy; I chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, with my mouth. I meditate on the Name of the Lord, the Purifier of sinners; I am rid of all my sins and mistakes. ||1|| O mind, chant the Name of the All-pervading Lord. I sing the Praises of the Lord, Merciful to the meek, Destroyer of pain. Following the Guru's Teachings, I gather in the Wealth of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| The Lord abides in the body-village; through the Wisdom of the Guru's Teachings, the Lord, Har, Har, is revealed. In the lake of the body, the Lord's Name has been revealed. Within my own home and mansion, I have obtained the Lord God. ||2|| Those beings who wander in the wilderness of doubt - those faithless cynics are foolish, and are plundered. They are like the deer: the scent of musk comes from its own navel, but it wanders and roams around, searching for it in the bushes. ||3|| You are Great and Unfathomable; Your Wisdom, God, is Profound and Incomprehensible. Please bless me with that wisdom, by which I might attain You, O Lord God. The Guru has placed His Hand upon servant Nanak; he chants the Name of the Lord. ||4||4|| Prabhaatee, Fourth Mehl: My mind is in love with the Name of the Lord, Har, Har; I meditate on the Great Lord God. The Word of the True Guru has become pleasing to my heart. The Lord God has showered me with His Grace. ||1|| O my mind, vibrate and meditate on the Lord's Name every instant. The Perfect Guru has blessed me with the gift of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. The Lord's Name abides in my mind and body. ||1||Pause|| The Lord abides in the body-village, in my home and mansion. As Gurmukh, I meditate on His Glory. Here and hereafter, the Lord's humble servants are embellished and exalted; their faces are radiant; as Gurmukh, they are carried across. ||2|| I am lovingly attuned to the Fearless Lord, Har, Har, Har; through the Guru, I have enshrined the Lord within my heart in an instant. Millions upon millions of the faults and mistakes of the Lord's humble servant are all taken away in an instant. ||3|| Your humble servants are known only through You, God; knowing You, they becomes supreme. The Lord, Har, Har, has enshrined Himself within His humble servant. O Nanak, the Lord God and His servant are one and the same. ||4||5||

Section 34 - Raag Prabhaatee - Part 011

Prabhaatee, Fourth Mehl: The Guru, the True Guru, has implanted the Naam, the Name of the Lord within me. I was dead, but chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, I have been brought back to life. Blessed, blessed is the Guru, the Guru, the Perfect True Guru; He reached out to me with His Arm, and pulled me up and out of the ocean of poison. ||1|| O mind, meditate and worship the Lord's Name. God is never found, even by making all sorts of new efforts. The Lord God is obtained only through the Perfect Guru. ||1||Pause|| The Sublime Essence of the Lord's Name is the source of nectar and bliss; drinking in this Sublime Essence, following the Guru's Teachings, I have become happy. Even iron slag is transformed into gold, joining the Lord's Congregation. Through the Guru, the Lord's Light is enshrined within the heart. ||2|| Those who are continually lured by greed, egotism and corruption, who are lured away by emotional attachment to their children and spouse - they never serve at the feet of the Saints; those self-willed manmukhs are filled with ashes. ||3|| O God, You alone know Your Glorious Virtues; I have grown weary - I seek Your Sanctuary. As You know best, You preserve and protect me, O my Lord and Master; servant Nanak is Your slave. ||4||6|| First Set Of Six|| Prabhaatee, Bibhaas, Partaal, Fourth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O mind, meditate on the Treasure of the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. You shall be honoured in the Court of the Lord. Those who chant and meditate shall be carried across to the other shore. ||1||Pause|| Listen, O mind: meditate on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Listen, O mind: the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises is equal to bathing at the sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage. Listen, O mind: as Gurmukh, you shall be blessed with honour. ||1|| O mind, chant and meditate on the Supreme Transcendent Lord God. Millions of sins shall be destroyed in an instant. O Nanak, you shall meet with the Lord God. ||2||1||7|| Prabhaatee, Fifth Mehl, Bibhaas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The Lord created the mind, and fashioned the entire body. From the five elements, He formed it, and infused His Light within it. He made the earth its bed, and water for it to use. Do not forget Him for an instant; serve the Lord of the World. ||1|| O mind, serve the True Guru, and obtain the supreme status. If you remain unattached and unaffected by sorrow and joy, then you shall find the Lord of Life. ||1||Pause|| He makes all the various pleasures, clothes and foods for you to enjoy. He made your mother, father and all relatives. He provides sustenance to all, in the water and on the land, O friend. So serve the Lord, forever and ever. ||2|| He shall be your Helper and Support there, where no one else can help you. He washes away millions of sins in an instant. He bestows His Gifts, and never regrets them. He forgives, once and for all, and never asks for one's account again. ||3||

Section 34 - Raag Prabhaatee - Part 012

By pre-ordained destiny, I have searched and found God. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, the Lord of the World abides. Meeting with the Guru, I have come to Your Door. O Lord, please bless servant Nanak with the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. ||4||1|| Prabhaatee, Fifth Mehl: Serving God, His humble servant is glorified. Unfulfilled sexual desire, unresolved anger and unsatisfied greed are eradicated. Your Name is the treasure of Your humble servant. Singing His Praises, I am in love with the Blessed Vision of God's Darshan. ||1|| You are known, O God, by Your devotees. Breaking their bonds, You emancipate them. ||1||Pause|| Those humble beings who are imbued with God's Love find peace in God's Congregation. They alone understand this, to whom this subtle essence comes. Beholding it, and gazing upon it, in their minds they are wonderstruck. ||2|| They are at peace, the most exalted of all, within whose hearts God dwells. They are stable and unchanging; they do not come and go in reincarnation. Night and day, they sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord God. ||3|| All bow down in humble respect to those whose minds are filled with the Formless Lord. Show mercy unto me, O my Divine Lord and Master. May Nanak be saved, by serving these humble beings. ||4||2|| Prabhaatee, Fifth Mehl: Singing His Glorious Praises, the mind is in ecstasy. Twenty-four hours a day, I meditate in remembrance on God. Remembering Him in meditation, the sins go away. I fall at the Feet of that Guru. ||1|| O beloved Saints, please bless me with wisdom; let me meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and be emancipated. ||1||Pause|| The Guru has shown me the straight path; I have abandoned everything else. I am enraptured with the Name of the Lord. I am forever a sacrifice to that Guru; I meditate in remembrance on the Lord, through the Guru. ||2|| The Guru carries those mortal beings across, and saves them from drowning. By His Grace, they are not enticed by Maya; in this world and the next, they are embellished and exalted by the Guru. I am forever a sacrifice to that Guru. ||3|| From the most ignorant, I have been made spiritually wise, through the Unspoken Speech of the Perfect Guru. The Divine Guru, O Nanak, is the Supreme Lord God. By great good fortune, I serve the Lord. ||4||3|| Prabhaatee, Fifth Mehl: Eradicating all my pains, He has blessed me with peace, and inspired me to chant His Name. In His Mercy, He has enjoined me to His service, and has purged me of all my sins. ||1|| I am only a child; I seek the Sanctuary of God the Merciful. Erasing my demerits and faults, God has made me His Own. My Guru, the Lord of the World, protects me. ||1||Pause|| My sicknesses and sins were erased in an instant, when the Lord of the World became merciful. With each and very breath, I worship and adore the Supreme Lord God; I am a sacrifice to the True Guru. ||2|| My Lord and Master is Inaccessible, Unfathomable and Infinite. His limits cannot be found. We earn the profit, and become wealthy, meditating on our God. ||3||

Section 34 - Raag Prabhaatee - Part 013

Twenty-four hours a day, I meditate on the Supreme Lord God; I sing His Glorious Praises forever and ever. Says Nanak, my desires have been fulfilled; I have found my Guru, the Supreme Lord God. ||4||4|| Prabhaatee, Fifth Mehl: Meditating in rememberance on the Naam, all my sins have been erased. The Guru has blessed me with the Capital of the True Name. God's servants are embellished and exalted in His Court; serving Him, they look beauteous forever. ||1|| Chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, O my Siblings of Destiny. All sickness and sin shall be erased; your mind shall be rid of the darkness of ignorance. ||1||Pause|| The Guru has saved me from death and rebirth, O friend; I am in love with the Name of the Lord. The suffering of millions of incarnations is gone; whatever pleases Him is good. ||2|| I am forever a sacrifice to the Guru; by His Grace, I meditate on the Lord's Name. By great good fortune, such a Guru is found; meeting Him, one is lovingly attuned to the Lord. ||3|| Please be merciful, O Supreme Lord God, O Lord and Master, Inner-knower, Searcher of Hearts. Twenty-four hours a day, I am lovingly attuned to You. Servant Nanak has come to the Sanctuary of God. ||4||5|| Prabhaatee, Fifth Mehl: In His Mercy, God has made me His Own. He has blessed me with the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Twenty-four hours a day, I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe. Fear is dispelled, and all anxiety has been alleviated. ||1|| I have been saved, touching the Feet of the True Guru. Whatever the Guru says is good and sweet to me. I have renounced the intellectual wisdom of my mind. ||1||Pause|| That Lord God abides within my mind and body. There are no conflicts, pains or obstacles. Forever and ever, God is with my soul. Filth and pollution

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are washed away by the Love of the Name. ||2|| I am in love with the Lotus Feet of the Lord; I am no longer consumed by sexual desire, anger and egotism. Now, I know the way to meet God. Through loving devotional worship, my mind is pleased and appeased with the Lord. ||3|| Listen, O friends, Saints, my exalted companions. The Jewel of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is unfathomable and immeasurable. Forever and ever, sing the Glories of God, the Treasure of Virtue. Says Nanak, by great good fortune, He is found. ||4||6|| Prabhaatee, Fifth Mehl: They are wealthy, and they are the true merchants, who have the credit of the Naam in the Court of the Lord. ||1|| So chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, in your mind, my friends. The Perfect Guru is found by great good fortune, and then one's lifestyle becomes perfect and immaculate. ||1||Pause|| They earn the profit, and the congratulations pour in; by the Grace of the Saints, they sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||2|| Their lives are fruitful and prosperous, and their birth is approved; by Guru's Grace, they enjoy the Love of the Lord. ||3|| Sexuality, anger and egotism are wiped away; O Nanak, as Gurmukh, they are carried across to the other shore. ||4||7|| Prabhaatee, Fifth Mehl: The Guru is Perfect, and Perfect is His Power.

Section 34 - Raag Prabhaatee - Part 014

The Word of the Guru's Shabad is unchanging, forever and ever. All pains and afflictions run away from those, whose minds are filled with the Word of the Guru's Bani. ||1|| Imbued with the Lord's Love, they sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. They are liberated, bathing in the dust of the feet of the Holy. ||1||Pause|| By Guru's Grace, they are carried across to the other shore; they are rid of fear, doubt and corruption. The Guru's Feet abide deep within their minds and bodies. The Holy are fearless; they take to the Sanctuary of the Lord. ||2|| They are blessed with abundant bliss, happiness, pleasure and peace. Enemies and pains do not even approach them. The Perfect Guru makes them His Own, and protects them. Chanting the Lord's Name, they are rid of all their sins. ||3|| The Saints, spiritual companions and Sikhs are exalted and uplifted. The Perfect Guru leads them to meet God. The painful noose of death and rebirth is snapped. Says Nanak, the Guru covers their faults. ||4||8|| Prabhaatee, Fifth Mehl: The Perfect True Guru has bestowed the Naam, the Name of the Lord. I am blessed with bliss and happiness, emancipation and eternal peace. All my affairs have been resolved. ||1||Pause|| The Lotus Feet of the Guru abide within my mind. I am rid of pain, suffering, doubt and fraud. ||1|| Rise early, and sing the Glorious Word of God's Bani. Twenty-four hours a day, meditate in remembrance on the Lord, O mortal. ||2|| Inwardly and outwardly, God is everywhere. Wherever I go, He is always with me, my Helper and Support. ||3|| With my palms pressed together, I offer this prayer. O Nanak, I meditate forever on the Lord, the Treasure of Virtue. ||4||9|| Prabhaatee, Fifth Mehl: The Supreme Lord God is All-wise and All-knowing. The Perfect Guru is found by great good fortune. I am a sacrifice to the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. ||1||Pause|| My sins are cut away, through the Word of the Shabad, and I have found contentment. I have become worthy of worshipping the Naam in adoration. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I have been enlightened. The Lord's Lotus Feet abide within my mind. ||1|| The One who made us, protects and preserves us. God is Perfect, the Master of the masterless. Those, upon whom He showers His Mercy - they have perfect karma and conduct. ||2|| They sing the Glories of God, continually, continuously, forever fresh and new. They do not wander in the 8.4 million incarnations. Here and hereafter, they worship the Lord's Feet. Their faces are radiant, and they are honoured in the Court of the Lord. ||3|| That person, upon whose forehead the Guru places His Hand - out of millions, how rare is that slave. He sees God pervading and permeating the water, the land and the sky. Nanak is saved by the dust of the feet of such a humble being. ||4||10|| Prabhaatee, Fifth Mehl: I am a sacrifice to my Perfect Guru. By His Grace, I chant and meditate on the Lord, Har, Har. ||1||Pause|| Listening to the Ambrosial Word of His Bani, I am exalted and enraptured. My corrupt and poisonous entanglements are gone. ||1|| I am in love with the True Word of His Shabad. The Lord God has come into my consciousness. ||2|| Chanting the Naam, I am enlightened.

Section 34 - Raag Prabhaatee - Part 015

The Word of the Guru's Shabad has come to dwell within my heart. ||3|| The Guru is All-powerful and Merciful forever. Chanting and meditating on the Lord, Nanak is exalted and enraptured. ||4||11|| Prabhaatee, Fifth Mehl: Chanting Guru, Guru, I have found eternal peace. God, Merciful to the meek, has become kind and compassionate; He has inspired me to chant His Name. ||1||Pause|| Joining the Society of the Saints, I am illumined and enlightened. Chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, my hopes have been fulfilled. ||1|| I am blessed with total salvation, and my mind is filled with peace. I sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord; O Nanak, the Guru has been gracious to me. ||2||12|| Prabhaatee, Fifth Mehl, Second House, Bibhaas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: There is no other place of rest, none at all, without the Lord's Name. There is total success and salvation, and all affairs are perfectly resolved. ||1|| Constantly chant the Name of the Lord. Sexuality, anger and egotism are wiped away; let yourself fall in love with the One Lord. ||1||Pause|| Attached to the Naam, the Name of the Lord, pain runs away. In His Sanctuary, He cherishes and sustains us. Whoever has such pre-ordained destiny meets with the True Guru; the Messenger of Death cannot grab him. ||2|| Night and day, meditate on the Lord, Har, Har; abandon the doubts of your mind. One who has perfect karma joins the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, and meets the Lord. ||3|| The sins of countless lifetimes are erased, and one is protected by the Lord Himself. He is our Mother, Father, Friend and Sibling; O servant Nanak, meditate on the Lord, Har, Har. ||4||1||13|| Prabhaatee, Fifth Mehl, Bibhaas, Partaal: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Chant the Name of the Lord, Raam, Raam, Raam. Conflict, suffering, greed and emotional attachment shall be dispelled, and the fever of egotism shall be relieved. ||1||Pause|| Renounce your selfishness, and grasp the feet of the Saints; your mind shall be sanctified, and your sins shall be taken away. ||1|| Nanak, the child, does not know anything at all. O God, please protect me; You are my Mother and Father. ||2||1||14|| Prabhaatee, Fifth Mehl: I have taken the Shelter and Support of the Lord's Lotus Feet. You are Lofty and Exalted, Grand and Infinite, O my Lord and Master; You alone are above all. ||1||Pause|| He is the Support of the breath of life, the Destroyer of pain, the Giver of discriminating understanding. ||1|| So bow down in respect to the Savior Lord; worship and adore the One God. Bathing in the dust of the feet of the Saints, Nanak is blessed with countless comforts. ||2||2||15||

Section 34 - Raag Prabhaatee - Part 016

Prabhaatee, Ashtapadees, First Mehl, Bibhaas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The insanity of duality has driven the mind insane. In false greed, life is wasting away. Duality clings to the mind; it cannot be restrained. The True Guru saves us, implanting the Naam, the Name of the Lord within. ||1|| Without subduing the mind, Maya cannot be subdued. The One who created this, He alone understands. Contemplating the Word of the Shabad, one is carried across the terrifying world-ocean. ||1||Pause|| Gathering the wealth of Maya, kings become proud and arrogant. But this Maya that they love so much shall not go along with them in the end. There are so many colours and flavors of attachment to Maya. Except for the Name, no one has any friend or companion. ||2|| According to one's own mind, one sees the minds of others. According to one's desires, one's condition is determined. According to one's actions, one is focused and tuned in. Seeking the advice of the True Guru, one finds the home of peace and poise. ||3|| In music and song, the mind is caught by the love of duality. Filled with deception deep within, one suffers in terrible pain. Meeting with the True Guru, one is blessed with clear understanding, and remains lovingly attuned to the True Name. ||4|| Through the True Word of the Shabad, one practices Truth. He sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord, through the True Word of His Bani. He dwells in the home of his own heart deep within, and obtains the immortal status. Then, he is blessed with honour in the Court of the True Lord. ||5|| Without serving the Guru, there is no devotional worship, even though one may make all sorts of efforts. If one eradicates egotism and selfishness through the Shabad, the Immaculate Naam comes to abide in the mind. ||6|| In this world, the practice of the Shabad is the most excellent occupation. Without the Shabad, everything else is the darkness of emotional attachment. Through the Shabad, the Naam is enshrined within the heart. Through the Shabad, one obtains clear understanding and the door of salvation. ||7|| There is no other Creator except the All-seeing Lord God. The True Lord Himself is Infinite and Incomparably Beautiful. Through the Lord's Name, one obtains the most sublime and exalted state. O Nanak, how rare are those humble beings, who seek and find the Lord. ||8||1|| Prabhaatee, First Mehl: Emotional attachment to Maya is spread out all over the world. Seeing a beautiful woman, the man is overcome with sexual desire. His love for his children and gold steadily increases. He sees everything as his own, but he does not own the One Lord. ||1|| I meditate as I chant on such a mala, that I rise above pleasure and pain; I attain the most wondrous devotional worship of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| O Treasure of Virtue, Your limits cannot be found. Through the True Word of the Shabad, I am absorbed into You. You Yourself created the comings and goings of reincarnation. They alone are devotees, who focus their consciousness on You. ||2|| Spiritual wisdom and meditation on the Lord, the Lord of Nirvaanaa - without meeting the True Guru, no one knows this. The Lord's Light fills the sacred pools of all beings. I am a sacrifice to the Embodiment of Bliss. ||3|| Through the Guru's Teachings, one achieves loving devotional worship. The Shabad burns away egotism from within.

Section 34 - Raag Prabhaatee - Part 017

The wandering mind is restrained and held in its place. The True Name is enshrined in the mind. ||4|| The exciting and intoxicating worldly plays come to an end, for those who accept the Guru's Teachings, and become lovingly attuned to the One Lord. Seeing this, the fire in the water is extinguished. They alone realise this, who are blessed by great good fortune. ||5|| Serving the True Guru, doubt is dispelled. Those who are lovingly attuned to the True Lord remain awake and aware night and day. They know the One Lord, and no other. Serving the Giver of peace, they become immaculate. ||6|| Selfless service and intuitive awareness come by reflecting upon the Word of the Shabad. Chanting, intensive meditation and austere self-discipline come by subduing the ego. One becomes Jivan-mukta - liberated while yet alive, by listening to the Shabad. Living a truthful way of life, one finds true peace. ||7|| The Giver of peace is the Eradicator of pain. I cannot conceive of serving any other. I place my body, mind and wealth in offering before Him. Says Nanak, I have tasted the supreme, sublime Essence of the Lord. ||8||2|| Prabhaatee, First Mehl: You may perform exercises of inner purification, and fire up the furnace of the Kundalini, inhaling and exhaling and holding the breath. Without the True Guru, you will not understand; deluded by doubt, you shall drown and die. The spiritually blind are filled with filth and pollution; they may wash, but the filth within shall never depart. Without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, all their actions are useless, like the magician who deceives through illuions. ||1|| The merits of the six religious rituals are obtained through the Immaculate Naam. You, O Lord, are the Ocean of virtue; I am so unworthy. ||1||Pause|| Running around chasing the entanglements of Maya is an evil-minded act of corruption. The fool makes a show of his self-conceit; he does not know how to behave. The self-willed manmukh is enticed by his desires for Maya; his words are useless and empty. The ritual cleansings of the sinner are fradulent; his rituals and decorations are useless and empty. ||2|| False is the wisdom of the mind; its actions inspire useless disputes. The false are filled with egotism; they do not obtain the sublime taste of their Lord and Master. Without the Name, whatever else they do is tasteless and insipid. Associating with their enemies, they are plundered and ruined. Their speech is poison, and their lives are useless. ||3|| Do not be deluded by doubt; do not invite your own death. Serve the True Guru, and you shall be at peace forever. Without the True Guru, no one is liberated. They come and go in reincarnation; they die, only to be reborn and die again. ||4|| This body wanders, caught in the three dispositions. It is afflicted by sorrow and suffering. So serve the One who has no mother or father. Desire and selfishness shall depart from within. ||5|| Wherever I look, I see Him. Without meeting the True Guru, no one is liberated. Enshrine the True One in your heart; this is the most excellent action. All other hypocritical actions and devotions bring only ruin. ||6|| When one is rid of duality, then he realises the Word of the Shabad. Inside and out, he knows the One Lord. This is the most Excellent Wisdom of the Shabad. Ashes fall on the heads of those who are in duality. ||7|| To praise the Lord through the Guru's Teachings is the most excellent action. In the Society of the Saints, contemplate the Glories of God and His spiritual wisdom. Whoever subdues his mind, knows the state of being dead while yet alive. O Nanak, by His Grace, the Gracious Lord is realised. ||8||3||

Section 34 - Raag Prabhaatee - Part 018

Prabhaatee, First Mehl, Dakhnee: Ahalyaa was the wife of Gautam the seer. Seeing her, Indra was enticed. When he received a thousand marks of disgrace on his body, then he felt regret in his mind. ||1|| O Siblings of Destiny, no one knowingly makes mistakes. He alone is mistaken, whom the Lord Himself makes so. He alone understands, whom the Lord causes to understand. ||1||Pause|| Harichand, the king and ruler of his land, did not appreciate the value of his pre-ordained destiny. If he had known that it was a mistake, he would not have made such a show of giving in charity, and he would not have been sold in the market. ||2|| The Lord took the form of a dwarf, and asked for some land. If Bal the king has recognised Him, he would not have been deceived, and sent to the underworld. ||3|| Vyaas taught and warned the king Janmayjaa not to do three things. But he performed the sacred feast and killed eighteen Brahmins; the record of one's past deeds cannot be erased. ||4|| I do not try to calculate the account; I accept the Hukam of God's Command. I speak with intuitive love and respect. No matter what happens, I will praise the Lord. It is all Your Glorious Greatness, O Lord. ||5|| The Gurmukh remains detached; filth never attaches itself to him. He remains forever in God's Sanctuary. The foolish self-willed manmukh does not think of the future; he is overtaken by pain, and then he regrets. ||6|| The Creator who created this creation acts, and causes all to act. O Lord, egotistical pride does not depart from the soul. Falling into egotistical pride, one is ruined. ||7|| Everyone makes mistakes; only the Creator does not make mistakes. O Nanak, salvation comes through the True Name. By Guru's Grace, one is released. ||8||4|| Prabhaatee, First Mehl: To chant and listen

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to the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is my Support. Worthless entanglements are ended and gone. The self-willed manmukh, caught in duality, loses his honour. Except for the Name, I have no other at all. ||1|| Listen, O blind, foolish, idiotic mind. Aren't you ashamed of your comings and goings in reincarnation? Without the Guru, you shall drown, over and over again. ||1||Pause|| This mind is ruined by its attachment to Maya. The Command of the Primal Lord is pre-ordained. Before whom should I cry? Only a few, as Gurmukh, understand this. Without the Naam, no one is liberated. ||2|| People wander lost, staggering and stumbling through 8.4 million incarnations. Without knowing the Guru, they cannot escape the noose of Death. This mind, from one moment to the next, goes from the heavens to the underworld. The Gurmukh contemplates the Naam, and is released. ||3|| When God sends His Summons, there is no time to delay. When one dies in the Word of the Shabad, he lives in peace. Without the Guru, no one understands. The Lord Himself acts, and inspires all to act. ||4|| Inner conflict comes to an end, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. Through the Perfect True Guru, one is intuitively absorbed into the Lord. This wobbling, unsteady mind is stabilised, and one lives the lifestyle of true actions. ||5|| If someone is false within his own self, then how can he be pure? How rare are those who wash with the Shabad. How rare are those who, as Gurmukh, live the Truth. Their comings and goings in reincarnation are over and done. ||6||

Section 34 - Raag Prabhaatee - Part 019

Those who eat and drink the Fear of God, find the most excellent peace. Associating with the humble servants of the Lord, they are carried across. They speak the Truth, and lovingly inspire others to speak it as well. The Word of the Guru's Shabad is the most excellent occupation. ||7|| Those who take the Lord's Praises as their karma and Dharma, their honour and worship service - their sexual desire and anger are burnt off in the fire. They taste the sublime essence of the Lord, and their minds are drenched with it. Prays Nanak, there is no other at all. ||8||5|| Prabhaatee, First Mehl: Chant the Lord's Name, and worship Him deep within your being. Contemplate the Word of the Guru's Shabad, and no other. ||1|| The One is pervading all places. I do not see any other; unto whom should I offer worship? ||1||Pause|| I place my mind and body in offering before You; I dedicate my soul to You. As it pleases You, You save me, Lord; this is my prayer. ||2|| True is that tongue which is delighted by the sublime essence of the Lord. Following the Guru's Teachings, one is saved in the Sanctuary of God. ||3|| My God created religious rituals. He placed the glory of the Naam above these rituals. ||4|| The four great blessings are under the control of the True Guru. When the first three are put aside, one is blessed with the fourth. ||5|| Those whom the True Guru blesses with liberation and meditation realise the Lord's State, and become sublime. ||6|| Their minds and bodies are cooled and soothed; the Guru imparts this understanding. Who can estimate the value of those whom God has exalted? ||7|| Says Nanak, the Guru has imparted this understanding; without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, no one is emancipated. ||8||6|| Prabhaatee, First Mehl: Some are forgiven by the Primal Lord God; the Perfect Guru makes the true making. Those who are attuned to the Love of the Lord are imbued with Truth forever; their pains are dispelled, and they obtain honour. ||1|| False are the clever tricks of the evil-minded. They shall disappear in no time at all. ||1||Pause|| Pain and suffering afflict the self-willed manmukh. The pains of the self-willed manmukh shall never depart. The Gurmukh recognises the Giver of pleasure and pain. He merges in His Sanctuary. ||2|| The self-willed manmukhs do not know loving devotional worship; they are insane, rotting away in their egotism. This mind flies in an instant from the heavens to the underworld, as long as it does not know the Word of the Shabad. ||3|| The world has become hungry and thirsty; without the True Guru, it is not satisfied. Merging intuitively in the Celestial Lord, peace is obtained, and one goes to the Lord's Court wearing robes of honour. ||4|| The Lord in His Court is Himself the Knower and Seer; the Word of the Guru's Bani is Immaculate. He Himself is the Awareness of Truth; He Himself understands the state of nirvaanaa. ||5|| He made the waves of water, the fire and the air, and then joined the three together to form the world. He blessed these elements with such power, that they remain subject to His Command. ||6|| How rare are those humble beings in this world, whom the Lord tests and places in His Treasury. They rise above social status and colour, and rid themselves of possessiveness and greed. ||7|| Attuned to the Naam, the Name of the Lord, they are like immaculate sacred shrines; they are rid of the pain and pollution of egotism. Nanak washes the feet of those who, as Gurmukh, love the True Lord. ||8||7||

Section 34 - Raag Prabhaatee - Part 020

Prabhaatee, Third Mehl, Bibhaas: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: By Guru's Grace, see that the Temple of the Lord is within you. The Temple of the Lord is found through the Word of the Shabad; contemplate the Lord's Name. ||1|| O my mind, be joyfully attuned to the Shabad. True is devotional worship, and True is the Temple of the Lord; True is His Manifest Glory. ||1||Pause|| This body is the Temple of the Lord, in which the jewel of spiritual wisdom is revealed. The self-willed manmukhs do not know anything at all; they do not believe that the Lord's Temple is within. ||2|| The Dear Lord created the Temple of the Lord; He adorns it by His Will. All act according to their pre-ordained destiny; no one can erase it. ||3|| Contemplating the Shabad, peace is obtained, loving the True Name. The Temple of the Lord is embellished with the Shabad; it is an Infinite Fortress of God. ||4|| This world is the Temple of the Lord; without the Guru, there is only pitch darkness. The blind and foolish self-willed manmukhs worship in the love of duality. ||5|| One's body and social status do not go along to that place, where all are called to account. Those who are attuned to Truth are saved; those in the love of duality are miserable. ||6|| The treasure of the Naam is within the Temple of the Lord. The idiotic fools do not realise this. By Guru's Grace, I have realised this. I keep the Lord enshrined within my heart. ||7|| Those who are attuned to the love of the Shabad know the Guru, through the Word of the Guru's Bani. Sacred, pure and immaculate are those humble beings who are absorbed in the Name of the Lord. ||8|| The Temple of the Lord is the Lord's Shop; He embellishes it with the Word of His Shabad. In that shop is the merchandise of the One Name; the Gurmukhs adorn themselves with it. ||9|| The mind is like iron slag, within the Temple of the Lord; it is lured by the love of duality. Meeting with the Guru, the Philosopher's Stone, the mind is transformed into gold. Its value cannot be described. ||10|| The Lord abides within the Temple of the Lord. He is pervading in all. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs trade in the merchandise of Truth. ||11||1|| Prabhaatee, Third Mehl: Those who remain awake and aware in the Love and Fear of God, rid themselves of the filth and pollution of egotism. They remain awake and aware forever, and protect their homes, by beating and driving out the five thieves. ||1|| O my mind, as Gurmukh, meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. O mind, do only those deeds which will lead you to the Path of the Lord. ||1||Pause|| The celestial melody wells up in the Gurmukh, and the pains of egotism are taken away. The Name of the Lord abides in the mind, as one intuitively sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||2|| Those who follow the Guru's Teachings - their faces are radiant and beautiful. They keep the Lord enshrined in their hearts. Here and hereafter, they find absolute peace; chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, they are carried across to the other shore. ||3||

Section 34 - Raag Prabhaatee - Part 021

In egotism, one cannot remain awake and aware, and one's devotional worship of the Lord is not accepted. The self-willed manmukhs find no place in the Court of the Lord; they do their deeds in the love of duality. ||4|| Cursed is the food, and cursed are the clothes, of those who are attached to the love of duality. They are like maggots in manure, sinking into manure. In death and rebirth, they are wasted away to ruin. ||5|| I am a sacrifice to those who meet with the True Guru. I shall continue to associate with them; devoted to Truth, I am absorbed in Truth. ||6|| By perfect destiny, the Guru is found. He cannot be found by any efforts. Through the True Guru, intuitive wisdom wells up; through the Word of the Shabad, egotism is burnt away. ||7|| O my mind, hurry to the Sanctuary of the Lord; He is Potent to do everything. O Nanak, never forget the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Whatever He does, comes to pass. ||8||2||7||2||9|| Bibhaas, Prabhaatee, Fifth Mehl, Ashtapadees: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Mother, father, siblings, children and spouse - involved with them, people eat the food of bliss. The mind is entangled in sweet emotional attachment. Those who seek God's Glorious Virtues are the support of my breath of life. ||1|| My One Lord is the Inner-Knower, the Searcher of hearts. He alone is my Support; He is my only Protection. My Great Lord and Master is over and above the heads of kings. ||1||Pause|| I have broken my ties to that deceitful serpent. The Guru has told me that it is false and fraudulent. Its face is sweet, but it tastes very bitter. My mind remains satisfied with the Ambrosial Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||2|| I have broken my ties with greed and emotional attachment. The Merciful Guru has rescued me from them. These cheating thieves have plundered so many homes. The Merciful Guru has protected and saved me. ||3|| I have no dealings whatsoever with sexual desire and anger. I listen to the Guru's Teachings. Wherever I look, I see the most horrible goblins. My Guru, the Lord of the World, has saved me from them. ||4|| I have made widows of the ten sensory organs. The Guru has told me that these pleasures are the fires of corruption. Those who associate with them go to hell. The Guru has saved me; I am lovingly attuned to the Lord. ||5|| I have forsaken the advice of my ego. The Guru has told me that this is foolish stubbornness. This ego is homeless; it shall never find a home. The Guru has saved me; I am lovingly attuned to the Lord. ||6|| I have become alienated from these people. We cannot both live together in one home. Grasping the hem of the Guru's Robe, I have come to God. Please be fair with me, All-knowing Lord God. ||7|| God smiled at me and spoke, passing judgement. He made all the demons perform service for me. You are my Lord and Master; all this home belongs to You. Says Nanak, the Guru has passed judgement. ||8||1|| Prabhaatee, Fifth Mehl:

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Within the mind dwell anger and massive ego. Worship services are performed with great pomp and ceremony. Ritual cleansing baths are taken, and sacred marks are applied to the body. But still, the filth and pollution within never depart. ||1|| No one has ever found God in this way. The sacred mudras - ritualistic hand gestures - are made, but the mind remains enticed by Maya. ||1||Pause|| They commit sins, under the influence of the five thieves. They bathe at sacred shrines, and claim that everything has been washed off. Then they commit them again, without fear of the consequences. The sinners are bound and gagged, and taken to the City of Death. ||2|| The ankle-bells shake and the cymbals vibrate, but those who have deception within wander lost like demons. By destroying its hole, the snake is not killed. God, who created you, knows everything. ||3|| You worship fire and wear saffron coloured robes. Stung by your misfortune, you abandon your home. Leaving your own country, you wander in foreign lands. But you bring the five rejects with you. ||4|| You have split your ears, and now you steal crumbs. You beg from door to door, but you fail to be satisfied. You have abandoned your own wife, but now you sneak glances at other women. God is not found by wearing religious robes; you are utterly miserable! ||5|| He does not speak; he is on silence. But he is filled with desire; he is made to wander in reincarnation. Abstaining from food, his body suffers in pain. He does not realise the Hukam of the Lord's Command; he is afflicted by possessiveness. ||6|| Without the True Guru, no one has attained the supreme status. Go ahead and ask all the Vedas and the Simritees. The self-willed manmukhs do useless deeds. They are like a house of sand, which cannot stand. ||7|| One unto whom the Lord of the Universe becomes Merciful, sews the Word of the Guru's Shabad into his robes. Out of millions, it is rare that such a Saint is seen. O Nanak, with him, we are carried across. ||8|| If one has such good destiny, then the Blessed Vision of His Darshan is obtained. He saves himself, and carries across all his family as well. ||1||SECOND PAUSE||2|| Prabhaatee, Fifth Mehl: Meditating in remembrance on the Naam, all the sins are erased. The accounts held by the Righteous Judge of Dharma are torn up. Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, I have found the Sublime Essence of the Lord. The Supreme Lord God has melted into my heart. ||1|| Dwelling on the Lord, Har, Har, I have found peace. Your slaves seek the Sanctuary of Your Feet. ||1||Pause|| The cycle of reincarnation is ended, and darkness is dispelled. The Guru has revealed the door of liberation. My mind and body are forever imbued with loving devotion to the Lord. Now I know God, because He has made me know Him. ||2|| He is contained in each and every heart. Without Him, there is no one at all. Hatred, conflict, fear and doubt have been eliminated. God, the Soul of Pure Goodness, has manifested His Righteousness. ||3|| He has rescued me from the most dangerous waves. Separated from Him for countless lifetimes, I am united with Him once again. Chanting, intense meditation and strict self-discipline are the contemplation of the Naam. My Lord and Master has blessed me with His Glance of Grace. ||4|| Bliss, peace and salvation are found in that place,

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where the servants of the Lord of the World abide. God, the Lord of the World, is pleased and satisfied with me. My disharmony with Him of so many lifetimes is ended. ||5|| Burnt offerings, sacred feasts, intense meditations with the body upside-down, worship services and taking millions of cleansing baths at sacred shrines of pilgrimage - the merits of all these are obtained by enshrining the Lord's Lotus Feet within the heart, even for an instant. Meditating on the Lord of the Universe, all one's affairs are resolved. ||6|| God's Place is the highest of the high. The Lord's humble servants intuitively focus their meditation on Him. I long for the dust of the slaves of the Lord's slaves. My Beloved Lord is overflowing with all powers. ||7|| My Beloved Lord, my Mother and Father, is always near. O my Friend and Companion, You are my Trusted Support. God takes His slaves by the hand, and makes them His Own. Nanak lives by meditating on the Lord, the Treasure of Virtue. ||8||3||2||7||12|| Bibhaas, Prabhaatee, The Word Of Devotee Kabeer Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: My anxious fears of death and rebirth have been taken away. The Celestial Lord has shown His Love for me. ||1|| The Divine Light has dawned, and darkness has been dispelled. Contemplating the Lord, I have obtained the Jewel of His Name. ||1||Pause|| Pain runs far away from that place where there is bliss. The jewel of the mind is focused and attuned to the essence of reality. ||2|| Whatever happens is by the Pleasure of Your Will. Whoever understands this, is intuitively merged in the Lord. ||3|| Says Kabeer, my sins have

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been obliterated. My mind has merged into the Lord, the Life of the World. ||4||1|| PRABHAATEE: If the Lord Allah lives only in the mosque, then to whom does the rest of the world belong? According to the Hindus, the Lord's Name abides in the idol, but there is no truth in either of these claims. ||1|| O Allah, O Raam, I live by Your Name. Please show mercy to me, O Master. ||1||Pause|| The God of the Hindus lives in the southern lands, and the God of the Muslims lives in the west. So search in your heart - look deep into your heart of hearts; this is the home and the place where God lives. ||2|| The Brahmins observe twenty-four fasts during the year, and the Muslims fast during the month of Ramadaan. The Muslims set aside eleven months, and claim that the treasure is only in the one month. ||3|| What is the use of bathing at Orissa? Why do the Muslims bow their heads in the mosque? If someone has deception in his heart, what good is it for him to utter prayers? And what good is it for him to go on pilgrimage to Mecca? ||4|| You fashioned all these men and women, Lord. All these are Your Forms. Kabeer is the child of God, Allah, Raam. All the Gurus and prophets are mine. ||5|| Says Kabeer, listen, O men and women: seek the Sanctuary of the One. Chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord, O mortals, and you shall surely be carried across. ||6||2|| PRABHAATEE: First, Allah created the Light; then, by His Creative Power, He made all mortal beings. From the One Light, the entire universe welled up. So who is good, and who is bad? ||1||

Section 34 - Raag Prabhaatee - Part 024

O people, O Siblings of Destiny, do not wander deluded by doubt. The Creation is in the Creator, and the Creator is in the Creation, totally pervading and permeating all places. ||1||Pause|| The clay is the same, but the Fashioner has fashioned it in various ways. There is nothing wrong with the pot of clay - there is nothing wrong with the Potter. ||2|| The One True Lord abides in all; by His making, everything is made. Whoever realises the Hukam of His Command, knows the One Lord. He alone is said to be the Lord's slave. ||3|| The Lord Allah is Unseen; He cannot be seen. The Guru has blessed me with this sweet molasses. Says Kabeer, my anxiety and fear have been taken away; I see the Immaculate Lord pervading everywhere. ||4||3|| PRABHAATEE: Do not say that the Vedas, the Bible and the Koran are false. Those who do not contemplate them are false. You say that the One Lord is in all, so why do you kill chickens? ||1|| O Mullah, tell me: is this God's Justice? The doubts of your mind have not been dispelled. ||1||Pause|| You seize a living creature, and then bring it home and kill its body; you have killed only the clay. The light of the soul passes into another form. So tell me, what have you killed? ||2|| And what good are your purifications? Why do you bother to wash your face? And why do you bother to bow your head in the mosque? Your heart is full of hypocrisy; what good are your prayers or your pilgrimage to Mecca? ||3|| You are impure; you do not understand the Pure Lord. You do not know His Mystery. Says Kabeer, you have missed out on paradise; your mind is set on hell. ||4||4|| PRABHAATEE: Hear my prayer, Lord; You are the Divine Light of the Divine, the Primal, All-pervading Master. The Siddhas in Samaadhi have not found Your limits. They hold tight to the Protection of Your Sanctuary. ||1|| Worship and adoration of the Pure, Primal Lord comes by worshipping the True Guru, O Siblings of Destiny. Standing at His Door, Brahma studies the Vedas, but he cannot see the Unseen Lord. ||1||Pause|| With the oil of knowledge about the essence of reality, and the wick of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, this lamp illluminates my body. I have applied the Light of the Lord of the Universe, and lit this lamp. God the Knower knows. ||2|| The Unstruck Melody of the Panch Shabad, the Five Primal Sounds, vibrates and resounds. I dwell with the Lord of the World. Kabeer, Your slave, performs this Aartee, this lamp-lit worship service for You, O Formless Lord of Nirvaanaa. ||3||5|| Prabhaatee, The Word Of Devotee Naam Dayv Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The mind alone knows the state of the mind; I tell it to the Knowing Lord. I chant the Name of the Lord, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of hearts - why should I be afraid? ||1|| My mind is pierced through by the love of the Lord of the World. My God is All-pervading everywhere. ||1||Pause|| The mind is the shop, the mind is the town, and the mind is the shopkeeper. The mind abides in various forms, wandering all across the world. ||2|| This mind is imbued with the Word of the Guru's Shabad, and duality is easily overcome.

Section 34 - Raag Prabhaatee - Part 025

He Himself is the Commander; all are under His Command. The Fearless Lord looks on all alike. ||3|| That humble being who knows, and meditates on the Supreme Primal Being - his word becomes eternal. Says Naam Dayv, I have found the Invisible, Wondrous Lord, the Life of the World, within my heart. ||4||1|| PRABHAATEE: He existed in the beginning, in the primeval age, and all throughout the ages; His limits cannot be known. The Lord is pervading and permeating amongst all; this is how His Form can be described. ||1|| The Lord of the Universe appears when the Word of His Shabad is chanted. My Lord is the Embodiment of Bliss. ||1||Pause|| The beautiful fragrance of sandalwood emanates from the sandalwood tree, and attaches to the other trees of the forest. God, the Primal Source of everything, is like the sandalwood tree; He transforms us woody trees into fragrant sandalwood. ||2|| You, O Lord, are the Philosopher's Stone, and I am iron; associating with You, I am transformed into gold. You are Merciful; You are the gem and the jewel. Naam Dayv is absorbed in the Truth. ||3||2|| PRABHAATEE: The Primal Being has no ancestry; He has staged this play. God is hidden deep within each and every heart. ||1|| No one knows the Light of the soul. Whatever I do, is known to You, Lord. ||1||Pause|| Just as the pitcher is made from clay, everything is made from the Beloved Divine Creator Himself. ||2|| The mortal's actions hold the soul in the bondage of karma. Whatever he does, he does on his own. ||3|| Prays Naam Dayv, whatever this soul wants, it obtains. Whoever abides in the Lord, becomes immortal. ||4||3|| Prabhaatee, The Word Of Devotee Baynee Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: You rub your body with sandalwood oil, and place basil leaves on your forehead. But you hold a knife in the hand of your heart. You look like a thug; pretending to meditate, you pose like a crane. You try to look like a Vaishnaav, but the breath of life escapes through your mouth. ||1|| You pray for hours to God the Beautiful. But your gaze is evil, and your nights are wasted in conflict. ||1||Pause|| You perform daily cleansing rituals, wear two loin-cloths, perform religious rituals and put only milk in your mouth. But in your heart, you have drawn out the sword. You routinely steal the property of others. ||2|| You worship the stone idol, and paint ceremonial marks of Ganesha. You remain awake throughout the night, pretending to worship God. You dance, but your consciousness is filled with evil. You are lewd and depraved - this is such an unrighteous dance! ||3|| You sit on a deer-skin, and chant on your mala. You put the sacred mark, the tilak, on your forehead. You wear the rosary beads of Shiva around your neck, but your heart is filled with falsehood. You are lewd and depraved - you do not chant God's Name. ||4|| Whoever does not realise the essence of the soul - all his religious actions are hollow and false. Says Baynee, as Gurmukh, meditate. Without the True Guru, you shall not find the Way. ||5||1||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 35 - RAAG JAIJAAVANTEE

Section 35 - Raag Jaijaavantee - Part 001

One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying. Beyond Birth. Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: Raag Jaijaavantee, Ninth Mehl: Meditate in remembrance on the Lord - meditate on the Lord; this alone shall be of use to you. Abandon your association with Maya, and take shelter in the Sanctuary of God. Remember that the pleasures of the world are false; this whole show is just an illusion. ||1||Pause|| You must understand that this wealth is just a dream. Why are you so proud? The empires of the earth are like walls of sand. ||1|| Servant Nanak speaks the Truth: your body shall perish and pass away. Moment by moment, yesterday passed. Today is passing as well. ||2||1|| Jaijaavantee, Ninth Mehl: Meditate on the Lord - vibrate on the Lord; your life is slipping away. Why am I telling you this again and again? You fool - why don't you understand? Your body is like a hail-stone; it melts away in no time at all. ||1||Pause|| So give up all your doubts, and utter the Naam, the Name of the Lord. At the very last moment, this alone shall go along with you. ||1|| Forget the poisonous sins of corruption, and enshrine the Praises of God in your heart. Servant Nanak proclaims that this opportunity is slipping away. ||2||2|| Jaijaavantee, Ninth Mehl: O mortal, what will your condition be? In this world, you have not listened to the Lord's Name. You are totally engrossed in corruption and sin; you have not turned your mind away from them at all. ||1||Pause|| You obtained this human life, but you have not remembered the Lord in meditation, even for an instant. For the sake of pleasure, you have become subservient to your woman, and now your feet are bound. ||1|| Servant Nanak proclaims that the vast expanse of this world is just a dream. Why not meditate on the Lord? Even Maya is His slave. ||2||3|| Jaijaavantee, Ninth Mehl: Slipping away - your life is uselessly slipping away. Night and day, you listen to the Puraanas, but you do not understand them, you ignorant fool! Death has arrived; now where will you run? ||1||Pause||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 36 - SHALOK SEHSKRITEE, FIRST MEHL & FIFTH MEHL

Section 36 - Shalok Sehskritee, First Mehl & Fifth Mehl - Part 001

You believed that this body was permanent, but it shall turn to dust. Why don't you chant the Name of the Lord, you shameless fool? ||1|| Let devotional worship of the Lord enter into your heart, and abandon the intellectualism of your mind. O Servant Nanak, this is the way to live in the world. ||2||4|| One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying. Beyond Birth. Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: Shalok Sehskritee, First Mehl: You study the scriptures, say your prayers and argue; you worship stones and sit like a crane, pretending to meditate. You speak lies and well-ornamented falsehood, and recite your daily prayers three times a day. The mala is around your neck, and the sacred tilak mark is on your forehead. You wear two loin cloths, and keep your head covered. If you know God and the nature of karma, you know that all these rituals and beliefs are useless. Says Nanak, meditate on the Lord with faith. Without the True Guru, no one finds the Way. ||1|| The mortal's life is fruitless, as long as he does not know God. Only a few, by Guru's Grace, cross over the world-ocean. The Creator, the Cause of causes, is All-powerful. Thus speaks Nanak, after deep deliberation. The Creation is under the control of the Creator. By His Power, He sustains and supports it. ||2|| The Shabad is Yoga, the Shabad is spiritual wisdom; the Shabad is the Vedas for the Brahmin. The Shabad is heroic bravery for the Khshaatriya; the Shabad is service to others for the Soodra. The Shabad for all is the Shabad, the Word of the One God, for one who knows this secret. Nanak is the slave of the Divine, Immaculate Lord. ||3|| The One Lord is the Divinity of all divinities. He is the Divinity of the soul. Nanak is the slave of that one who knows the Secrets of the soul and the Supreme Lord God. He is the Divine Immaculate Lord Himself. ||4|| Shalok Sehskritee , Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying. Beyond Birth. Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: Who is the mother, and who is the father? Who is the son, and what is the pleasure of marriage? Who is the brother, friend, companion and relative? Who is emotionally attached to the family? Who is restlessly attached to beauty? It leaves, as soon as we see it. Only the meditative remembrance of God remains with us. O Nanak, it brings the blessings of the Saints, the sons of the Imperishable Lord. ||1||

Section 36 - Shalok Sehskritee, First Mehl & Fifth Mehl - Part 002

Cursed is loving attachment to one's mother and father; cursed is loving attachment to one's siblings and relatives. Cursed is attachment to the joys of family life with one's spouse and children. Cursed is attachment to household affairs. Only loving attachment to the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, is True. Nanak dwells there in peace. ||2|| The body is false; its power is temporary. It grows old; its love for Maya increases greatly. The human is only a temporary guest in the home of the body, but he has high hopes. The Righteous Judge of Dharma is relentless; he counts each and every breath. The human body, so difficult to obtain, has fallen into the deep dark pit of emotional attachment. O Nanak, its only support is God, the Essence of Reality. O God, Lord of the World, Lord of the Universe, Master of the Universe, please be kind to me. ||3|| This fragile body-fortress is made up of water, plastered with blood and wrapped in skin. It has nine gates, but no doors; it is supported by pillars of wind, the channels of the breath. The ignorant person does not meditate in remembrance on the Lord of the Universe; he thinks that this body is permanent. This precious body is saved and redeemed in the Sanctuary of the Holy, O Nanak, chanting the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, Har, Har, Har, Haray. ||4|| O Glorious, Eternal and Imperishable, Perfect and Abundantly Compassionate, Profound and Unfathomable, Lofty and Exalted, All-knowing and Infinite Lord God. O Lover of Your devoted servants, Your Feet are a Sanctuary of Peace. O Master of the masterless, Helper of the helpless, Nanak seeks Your Sanctuary. ||5|| Seeing the deer, the hunter aims his weapons. But if one is protected by the Lord of the World, O Nanak, not a hair on his head will be touched. ||6|| He may be surrounded on all four sides by servants and powerful warriors; he may dwell in a lofty place, difficult to approach, and never even think of death. But when the Order comes from the Primal Lord God, O Nanak, even an ant can take away his breath of life. ||7|| To be imbued and attuned to the Word of the Shabad; to be kind and compassionate; to sing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises - these are the most worthwhile actions in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga. In this way, one's inner doubts and emotional attachments are dispelled. God is pervading and permeating all places. So obtain the Blessed Vision of His Darshan; He dwells upon the tongues of the Holy. O Nanak, meditate and chant the Name of the Beloved Lord, Har, Har, Har, Haray. ||8|| Beauty fades away, islands fade away, the sun, moon, stars and sky fade away. The earth, mountains, forests and lands fade away. One's spouse, children, siblings and loved friends fade away. Gold and jewels and the incomparable beauty of Maya fade away. Only the Eternal, Unchanging Lord does not fade away. O Nanak, only the humble Saints are steady and stable forever. ||9|| Do not delay in practicing righteousness; delay in committing sins. Implant the Naam, the Name of the Lord, within yourself, and abandon greed. In the Sanctuary of the Saints, the sins are erased. The character of righteousness is received by that person, O Nanak, with whom the Lord is pleased and satisfied. ||10|| The person of shallow understanding is dying in emotional attachment; he is engrossed in pursuits of pleasure with his wife. With youthful

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beauty and golden earrings, wondrous mansions, decorations and clothes - this is how Maya clings to him. O Eternal, Unchanging, Benevolent Lord God, O Sanctuary of the Saints, Nanak humbly bows to You. ||11|| If there is birth, then there is death. If there is pleasure, then there is pain. If there is enjoyment, then there is disease. If there is high, then there is low. If there is small, then there is great.

Section 36 - Shalok Sehskritee, First Mehl & Fifth Mehl - Part 003

If there is power, then there is pride. If there is egotistical pride, then there will be a fall. Engrossed in worldly ways, one is ruined. Meditating and vibrating on the Lord of the Universe in the Company of the Holy, you shall become steady and stable. Nanak vibrates and meditates on the Lord God. ||12|| By the Grace of God, genuine understanding comes to the mind. The intellect blossoms forth, and one finds a place in the realm of celestial bliss. The senses are brought under control, and pride is abandoned. The heart is cooled and soothed, and the wisdom of the Saints is implanted within. Reincarnation is ended, and the Blessed Vision of the Lord's Darshan is obtained. O Nanak, the musical instrument of the Word of the Shabad vibrates and resounds within. ||13|| The Vedas preach and recount God's Glories; people hear them by various ways and means. The Merciful Lord, Har, Har, implants spiritual wisdom within. Nanak begs for the Gift of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. The Guru is the Great Giver, the Lord of the World. ||14|| Do not worry so much about your mother, father and siblings. Do not worry so much about other people. Do not worry about your spouse, children and friends. You are obsessed with your involvements in Maya. The One Lord God is Kind and Compassionate, O Nanak. He is the Cherisher and Nurturer of all living beings. ||15|| Wealth is temporary; conscious existence is temporary; hopes of all sorts are temporary. The bonds of love, attachment, egotism, doubt, Maya and the pollution of corruption are temporary. The mortal passes through the fire of the womb of reincarnation countless times. He does not remember the Lord in meditation; his understanding is polluted. O Lord of the Universe, when You grant Your Grace, even sinners are saved. Nanak dwells in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||16|| You may drop down from the mountains, and fall into the nether regions of the underworld, or be burnt in the blazing fire, or swept away by the unfathomable waves of water; but the worst pain of all is household anxiety, which is the source of the cycle of death and rebirth. No matter what you do, you cannot break its bonds, O Nanak. Man's only Support, Anchor and Mainstay is the Word of the Shabad, and the Holy, Friendly Saints. ||17|| Excruciating pain, countless killings, reincarnation, poverty and terrible misery are all destroyed by meditating in remembrance on the Lord's Name, O Nanak, just as fire reduces piles of wood to ashes. ||18|| Meditating in remembrance on the Lord, the darkness is illuminated. Dwelling on His Glorious Praises, the ugly sins are destroyed. Enshrining the Lord deep within the heart, and with the immaculate karma of doing good deeds, one strikes fear into the demons. The cycle of coming and going in reincarnation is ended, absolute peace is obtained, and the Fruitful Vision of the Lord's Darshan. He is Potent to give Protection, He is the Lover of His Saints. O Nanak, the Lord God blesses all with bliss. ||19|| Those who were left behind - the Lord brings them to the front. He fulfills the hopes of the hopeless. He makes the poor rich, and cures the illnesses of the ill. He blesses His devotees with devotion. They sing the Kirtan of the Praises of the Lord's Name. O Nanak, those who serve the Guru find the Supreme Lord God, the Great Giver||20|| He gives Support to the unsupported. The Name of the Lord is the Wealth of the poor. The Lord of the Universe is the Master of the masterless; the Beautiful-haired Lord is the Power of the weak. The Lord is Merciful to all beings, Eternal and Unchanging, the Family of the meek and humble. The All-knowing, Perfect, Primal Lord God is the Lover of His devotees, the Embodiment of Mercy.

Section 36 - Shalok Sehskritee, First Mehl & Fifth Mehl - Part 004

The Supreme Lord God, the Transcendent, Luminous Lord, dwells in each and every heart. Nanak begs for this blessing from the Merciful Lord, that he may never forget Him, never forget Him. ||21|| I have no power; I do not serve You, and I do not love You, O Supreme Sublime Lord God. By Your Grace, Nanak meditates on the Naam, the Name of the Merciful Lord, Har, Har. ||22|| The Lord feeds and sustains all living beings; He blesses them gifts of restful peace and fine clothes. He created the jewel of human life, with all its cleverness and intelligence. By His Grace, mortals abide in peace and bliss. O Nanak, meditating in remembrance on the Lord, Har, Har, Haray, the mortal is released from attachment to the world. ||23|| The kings of the earth are eating up the blessings of the good karma of their past lives. Those cruel-minded rulers who oppress the people, O Nanak, shall suffer in pain for a very long time. ||24|| Those who meditate in remembrance on the Lord in their hearts, look upon even pain as God's Grace. The healthy person is very sick, if he does not remember the Lord, the Embodiment of Mercy. ||25|| To sing the Kirtan of God's Praises is the righteous duty incurred by taking birth in this human body. The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is Ambrosial Nectar, O Nanak. The Saints drink it in, and never have enough of it. ||26|| The Saints are tolerant and good-natured; friends and enemies are the same to them. O Nanak, it is all the same to them, whether someone offers them all sorts of foods, or slanders them, or draws weapons to kill them. ||27|| They pay no attention to dishonour or disrespect. They are not bothered by gossip; the miseries of the world do not touch them. Those who join the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, and chant the Name of the Lord of the Universe - O Nanak, those mortals abide in peace. ||28|| The Holy people are an invincible army of spiritual warriors; their bodies are protected by the armor of humility. Their weapons are the Glorious Praises of the Lord which they chant; their Shelter and Shield is the Word of the Guru's Shabad. The horses, chariots and elephants they ride are their way to realise God's Path. They walk fearlessly through the armies of their enemies; they attack them with the Kirtan of God's Praises. They conquer the entire world, O Nanak, and overpower the five thieves. ||29|| Misled by evil-mindedness, mortals are engrossed in the mirage of the illusory world, like the passing shade of a tree. Emotional attachment to family is false, so Nanak meditates in remembrance on the Name of the Lord, Raam, Raam. ||30|| I do not possess the treasure of the wisdom of the Vedas, nor do I possess the merits of the Praises of the Naam. I do not have a beautiful voice to sing jewelled melodies; I am not clever, wise or shrewd. By destiny and hard work, the wealth of Maya is obtained. O Nanak, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, even fools become religious scholars. ||31|| The mala around my neck is the chanting of the Lord's Name. The Love of the Lord is my silent chanting. Chanting this most Sublime Word brings salvation and joy to the eyes. ||32|| That mortal who lacks the Guru's Mantra - cursed and contaminated is his life. That blockhead is just a dog, a pig, a jackass, a crow, a snake. ||33|| Whoever contemplates the Lord's Lotus Feet, and enshrines His Name within the heart,

Section 36 - Shalok Sehskritee, First Mehl & Fifth Mehl - Part 005

and sings the Kirtan of His Praises in the Saadh Sangat, O Nanak, shall never see the Messenger of Death. ||34|| Wealth and beauty are not so difficult to obtain. Paradise and royal power are not so difficult to obtain. Foods and delicacies are not so difficult to obtain. Elegant clothes are not so difficuilt to obtain. Children, friends, siblings and relatives are not so difficult to obtain. The pleasures of woman are not so difficult to obtain. Knowledge and wisdom are not so difficult to obtain. Cleverness and trickery are not so difficult to obtain. Only the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is difficult to obtain. O Nanak, it is only obtained by God's Grace, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. ||35|| Wherever I look, I see the Lord, whether in this world, in paradise, or the nether regions of the underworld. The Lord of the Universe is All-pervading everywhere. O Nanak, no blame or stain sticks to Him. ||36|| Poison is transformed into nectar, and enemies into friends and companions. Pain is changed into pleasure, and the fearful become fearless. Those who have no home or place find their place of rest in the Naam, O Nanak, when the Guru, the Lord, becomes Merciful. ||37|| He blesses all with humility; He has blessed me with humility as well. He purifies all, and He has purified me as well. The Creator of all is the Creator of me as well. O Nanak, no blame or stain sticks to Him. ||38|| The moon-god is not cool and calm, nor is the white sandalwood tree. The winter season is not cool; O Nanak, only the Holy friends, the Saints, are cool and calm. ||39|| Through the Mantra of the Name of the Lord, Raam, Raam, one meditates on the All-pervading Lord. Those who have the wisdom to look alike upon pleasure and pain, live the immaculate lifestyle, free of vengeance. They are kind to all beings; they have overpowered the five thieves. They take the Kirtan of the Lord's Praise as their food; they remain untouched by Maya, like the lotus in the water. They share the Teachings with friend and enemy alike; they love the devotional worship of God. They do not listen to slander; renouncing self-conceit, they become the dust of all. Whoever has these six qualities, O Nanak, is called a Holy friend. ||40|| The goat enjoys eating fruits and roots, but if it lives near a tiger, it is always anxious. This is the condition of the world, O Nanak; it is afflicted by pleasure and pain. ||41|| Fraud, false accusations, millions of diseases, sins and the filthy residues of evil mistakes; doubt, emotional attachment, pride, dishonour and intoxication with Maya - these lead mortals to death and rebirth, wandering lost in hell. In spite of all sorts of efforts, salvation is not found. Chanting and meditating on the Name of the Lord in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, O Nanak, mortals become immaculate and pure. They continually dwell upon the Glorious Praises of God. ||42|| In the Sanctuary of the Kind-hearted Lord, our Transcendent Lord and Master, we are carried across. God is the Perfect, All-powerful Cause of causes; He is the Giver of gifts. He gives hope to the hopeless. He is the Source of all riches. Nanak meditates in remembrance on the Treasure of Virtue; we are all beggars, begging at His Door. ||43|| The most difficult place becomes easy, and the worst pain turns into pleasure. Evil words, differences and doubts are obliterated, and even faithless cynics and malicious gossips become good people. They become steady and stable, whether happy or sad; their fears are taken away, and they are fearless.

Section 36 - Shalok Sehskritee, First Mehl & Fifth Mehl - Part 006

The dreadful woods become a well-populated city; such are the merits of the righteous life of Dharma, given by God's Grace. Chanting the Lord's Name in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, O Nanak, the Lotus Feet of the Merciful Lord are found. ||44|| O emotional attachment, you are the invincible warrior of the battlefield of life; you totally crush and destroy even the most powerful. You entice and fascinate even the heavenly heralds, celestial singers, gods, mortals, beasts and birds. Nanak bows in humble surrender to the Lord; he seeks the Sanctuary of the Lord of the Universe. ||45|| O sexual desire, you lead the mortals to hell; you make them wander in reincarnation through countless species. You cheat the consciousness, and pervade the three worlds. You destroy meditation, penance and virtue. But you give only shallow pleasure, while you make the mortals weak and unsteady; you pervade the high and the low. Your fear is dispelled in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, O Nanak, through the Protection and Support of the Lord. ||46|| O anger, you are the root of conflict; compassion never rises up in you. You take the corrupt, sinful beings in your power, and make them dance like monkeys. Associating with you, mortals are debased and punished by the Messenger of Death in so many ways. O Destroyer of the pains of the poor, O Merciful God, Nanak prays for You to protect all begins from such anger. ||47|| O greed, you cling to even the great, assaulting them with countless waves. You cause them to run around wildly in all directions, wobbling and wavering unsteadily. You have no respect for friends, ideals, relations, mother or father. You make them do what they should not do. You make them eat what they should not eat. You make them accomplish what they should not accomplish. Save me, save me - I have come to Your Sanctuary, O my Lord and Master; Nanak prays to the Lord. ||48|| O egotism, you are the root of birth and death and the cycle of reincarnation; you are the very soul of sin. You forsake friends, and hold tight to enemies. You spread out countless illusions of Maya. You cause the living beings to come and go until they are exhausted. You lead them to experience pain and pleasure. You lead them to wander lost in the terrible wilderness of doubt; you lead them to contract the most horrible, incurable diseases. The only Physician is the Supreme Lord, the Transcendent Lord God. Nanak worships and adores the Lord, Har, Har, Haray. ||49|| O Lord of the Universe, Master of the Breath of life, Treasure of Mercy, Guru of the World. O Destroyer of the fever of the world, Embodiment of Compassion, please take away all my pain. O Merciful Lord, Potent to give Sanctuary, Master of the meek and humble, please be kind to me. Whether his body is healthy or sick, let Nanak meditate in remembrance on You, Lord. ||50|| I have come to the Sanctuary of the Lord's Lotus Feet, where I sing the Kirtan of His Praises. In the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, Nanak is carried across the utterly terrifying, difficult world-ocean. ||51|| The Supreme Lord God has procted my head and forehead; the Transcendent Lord has protected my hands and body. God, my Lord and Master, has saved my soul; the Lord of the Universe has saved my wealth and feet. The Merciful Guru has protected everything, and destroyed my fear and suffering. God is the Lover of His devotees, the Master of the masterless. Nanak has entered the Sanctuary of the Imperishable Primal Lord God. ||52|| His Power supports the sky, and locks fire within wood. His Power supports the moon, the sun and the stars, and infuses light and breath into the body.

Section 36 - Shalok Sehskritee, First Mehl & Fifth Mehl - Part 007

His Power provides nourishment in the womb of the mother, and does not let disease strike. His Power holds back the ocean, O Nanak, and does not allow the waves of water to destroy the land. ||53|| The Lord of the World is Supremely Beautiful; His Meditation is the Life of all. In the Society of the Saints, O Nanak, He is found on the path of devotional worship of the Lord. ||54|| The mosquito pierces the stone, the ant crosses the swamp, the cripple crosses the ocean, and the blind sees in the darkness, meditating on the Lord of the Universe in the Saadh Sangat. Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of the Lord, Har, Har, Haray. ||55|| Like a Brahmin without a sacred mark on his forehead, or a king without the power of command, or a warrior without weapons, so is the devotee of God without Dharmic Faith. ||56|| God has no conch-shell, no religious mark, no paraphernalia; he does not have blue skin. His Form is Wondrous and Amazing. He is beyond incarnation. The Vedas say that He is not this, and not that.

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The Lord of the Universe is Lofty and High, Great and Infinite. The Imperishable Lord abides in the hearts of the Holy. He is understood, O Nanak, by those who are very fortunate. ||57|| Living in the world, it is like a wild jungle. One's relatives are like dogs, jackals and donkeys. In this difficult place, the mind is intoxicated with the wine of emotional attachment; the five unconquered thieves lurk there. The mortals wander lost in love and emotional attachment, fear and doubt; they are caught in the sharp, strong noose of egotism. The ocean of fire is terrifying and impassable. The distant shore is so far away; it cannot be reached. Vibrate and meditate on the Lord of the World, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; O Nanak, by His Grace, we are saved at the Lotus Feet of the Lord. ||58|| When the Lord of the Universe grants His Grace, all illnesses are cured. Nanak chants His Glorious Praises in the Saadh Sangat, in the Sanctuary of the Perfect Transcendent Lord God. ||59|| The mortal is beautiful and speaks sweet words, but in the farm of his heart, he harbors cruel vengeance. He pretends to bow in worship, but he is false. Beware of him, O friendly Saints. ||60|| The thoughtless fool does not know that each day, his breaths are being used up. His most beautiful body is wearing away; old age, the daughter of death, has seized it. He is engrossed in family play; placing his hopes in transitory things, he indulges in corrupt pleasures. Wandering lost in countless incarnations, he is exhausted. Nanak seeks the Sanctuary of the Embodiment of Mercy. ||61|| O tongue, you love to enjoy the sweet delicacies. You are dead to the Truth, and involved in great disputes. Instead, repeat the holy words: Gobind, Daamodar, Maadhav. ||62|| Those who are proud, and intoxicated with the pleasures of sex, and asserting their power over others, never contemplate the Lord's Lotus Feet. Their lives are cursed, and as worthless as straw. You are as tiny and insignificant as an ant, but you shall become great, by the Wealth of the Lord's Meditation. Nanak bows in humble worship, countless times, over and over again. ||63|| The blade of grass becomes a mountain, and the barren land becomes green. The drowning one swims across, and the empty is filled to overflowing. Millions of suns illuminate the darkness, prays Nanak, when the Guru, the Lord, becomes Merciful. ||64||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 37 - FIFTH MEHL, GAAT'HAA

Section 37 - Fifth Mehl, Gaat'haa - Part 001

Associating with the Brahmin, one is saved, if his actions are perfect and God-like. Those whose souls are imbued with the world - O Nanak, their lives are fruitless. ||65|| The mortal steals the wealth of others, and makes all sorts of problems; his preaching is only for his own livelihood. His desire for this and that is not satisfied; his mind is caught in Maya, and he is acting like a pig. ||66|| Those who are intoxicated and absorbed in the Lord's Lotus Feet are saved from the terrifying world-ocean. Countless sins are destroyed, O Nanak, in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; there is no doubt about this. ||67||4|| Fifth Mehl, Gaat'haa: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Camphor, flowers and perfume become contaminated, by coming into contact with the human body. O Nanak, the ignorant one is proud of his foul-smelling marrow, blood and bones. ||1|| Even if the mortal could reduce himself to the size of an atom, and shoot through the ethers, worlds and realms in the blink of an eye, O Nanak, without the Holy Saint, he shall not be saved. ||2|| Know for sure that death will come; whatever is seen is false. So chant the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; this alone shall go along with you in the end. ||3|| The consciousness wanders lost in Maya, attached to friends and relatives. Vibrating and meditating on the Lord of the Universe in the Saadh Sangat, O Nanak, the eternal place of rest is found. ||4|| The lowly nim tree, growing near the sandalwood tree, becomes just like the sandalwood tree. But the bamboo tree, also growing near it, does not pick up its fragrance; it is too tall and proud. ||5|| In this Gaat'haa, the Lord's Sermon is woven; listening to it, pride is crushed. The five enemies are killed, O Nanak, by shooting the Arrow of the Lord. ||6|| The Words of the Holy are the path of peace. They are obtained by good karma. The cycle of birth and death is ended, O Nanak, singing the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises. ||7|| When the leaves wither and fall, they cannot be attached to the branch again. Without the Naam, the Name of the Lord, O Nanak, there is misery and suffering. The mortal wanders in reincarnation day and night. ||8|| One is blessed with love for the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, by great good fortune. Whoever sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord's Name, O Nanak, is not affected by the world-ocean. ||9|| This Gaat'haa is profound and infinite; how rare are those who understand it. They forsake sexual desire and worldly love, O Nanak, and praise the Lord in the Saadh Sangat. ||10|| The Words of the Holy are the most sublime Mantra. They eradicate millions of sinful mistakes. Meditating on the Lotus Feet of the Lord, O Nanak, all one's generations are saved. ||11|| That palace is beautiful, in which the Kirtan of the Lord's Praises are sung. Those who dwell on the Lord of the Universe are liberated. O Nanak, only the most fortunate are so blessed. ||12|| I have found the Lord, my Friend, my very Best Friend. He shall never break my heart. His dwelling is eternal; His weight cannot be weighed. Nanak has made Him the Friend of his soul. ||13|| One's bad reputation is erased by a true son, who meditates in his heart on the Guru's Mantra.

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 38 - PHUNHAY, FIFTH MEHL

Section 38 - Phunhay, Fifth Mehl - Part 001

The Beloved Eternal Lord God, O Nanak, carries us across the world-ocean. ||14|| It is death to forget the Lord of the Universe. It is life to meditate on the Name of the Lord. The Lord is found in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, O Nanak, by pre-ordained destiny. ||15|| The snake-charmer, by his spell, neutralises the poison and leaves the snake without fangs. Just so, the Saints remove suffering; O Nanak, they are found by good karma. ||16|| The Lord is All-pervading everywhere; He gives Sanctuary to all living beings. The mind is touched by His Love, O Nanak, by Guru's Grace, and the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. ||17|| My mind is pierced through by the Lord's Lotus Feet. I am blessed with total happiness. Holy people have been singing this Gaat'haa, O Nanak, since the very beginning of time. ||18|| Chanting and singing the Sublime Word of God in the Saadh Sangat, mortals are saved from the world-ocean. O Nanak, they shall never again be consigned to reincarnation. ||19|| People contemplate the Vedas, Puraanas and Shaastras. But by enshrining in their hearts the Naam, the Name of the One and Only Creator of the Universe, everyone can be saved. By great good fortune, O Nanak, a few cross over like this. ||20|| Meditating in remembrance on the Naam, the Name of Lord of the Universe, all one's generations are saved. It is obtained in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. O Nanak, by great good fortune, the Blessed Vision of His Darshan is seen. ||21|| Abandon all your evil habits, and implant all Dharmic faith within. The Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, is obtained, O Nanak, by those who have such destiny written upon their foreheads. ||22|| God was, is, and shall always be. He sustains and destroys all. Know that these Holy people are true, O Nanak; they are in love with the Lord. ||23|| The mortal is engrossed in sweet words and transitory pleasures which shall soon fade away. Disease, sorrow and separation afflict him; O Nanak, he never finds peace, even in dreams. ||24|| Phunhay, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: With Pen in Hand, the Unfathomable Lord writes the mortal's destiny upon his forehead. The Incomparably Beautiful Lord is involved with all. I cannot utter Your Praises with my mouth. Nanak is fascinated, gazing upon the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. I am a sacrifice to You. ||1|| Seated in the Society of the Saints, I chant the Lord's Praises. I dedicate all my adornments to Him, and give all this soul to Him. With hopeful yearning for Him, I have made the bed for my Husband. O Lord! If such good destiny is inscribed upon my forehead, then I shall find my Friend. ||2|| O my companion, I have prepared everything: make-up, garlands and betel-leaves. I have embellished myself with the sixteen decorations, and applied the mascara to my eyes. If my Husband Lord comes to my home, then I obtain everything. O Lord! Without my Husband, all these adornments are useless. ||3|| Very fortunate is she, within whose home the Husband Lord abides. She is totally adorned and decorated; she is a happy soul-bride. I sleep in peace, without anxiety; the hopes of my mind have been fulfilled. O Lord! When my Husband came into the home of my heart, I obtained everything. ||4||

Section 38 - Phunhay, Fifth Mehl - Part 002

My hope is so intense, that this hope alone should fulfill my hopes. When the True Guru becomes merciful, then I attain the Perfect Lord. My body is filled with so many demerits; I am covered with faults and demerits. O Lord! When the True Guru becomes Merciful, then the mind is held in place. ||5|| Says Nanak, I have meditated on the Lord, Infinite and Endless. This world-ocean is so difficult to cross; the True Guru has carried me across. My comings and goings in reincarnation ended, when I met the Perfect Lord. O Lord! I have obtained the Ambrosial Nectar of the Name of the Lord from the True Guru. ||6|| The lotus is in my hand; in the courtyard of my heart I abide in peace. O my companion, the Jewel is around my neck; beholding it, sorrow is taken away. I abide with the Lord of the World, the Treasury of Total Peace. O Lord! All wealth, spiritual perfection and the nine treasures are in His Hand. ||7|| Those men who go out to enjoy other men's women shall suffer in shame. Those who steal the wealth of others - how can their guilt be concealed? Those who chant the Sacred Praises of the Lord save and redeem all their generations. O Lord! Those who listen and contemplate the Supreme Lord God become pure and holy. ||8|| The sky above looks lovely, and the earth below is beautiful. Lightning flashes in the ten directions; I behold the Face of my Beloved. If I go searching in foreign lands, how can I find my Beloved? O Lord! If such destiny is inscribed upon my forehead, I am absorbed in the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. ||9|| I have seen all places, but none can compare to You. The Primal Lord, the Architect of Destiny, has established You; thus You are adorned and embellished. Ramdaspur is prosperous and thickly populated, and incomparably beautiful. O Lord! Bathing in the Sacred Pool of Raam Daas, the sins are washed away, O Nanak. ||10|| The rainbird is very smart; in its consciousness, it longs for the friendly rain. It longs for that, to which its breath of life is attached. It wanders depressed, from forest to forest, for the sake of a drop of water. O Lord! In just the same way, the humble servant of the Lord begs for the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Nanak is a sacrifice to him. ||11|| The Consciousness of my Friend is incomparably beautiful. Its mystery cannot be known. One who purchases the priceless virtues realises the essence of reality. When the consciousness is absorbed in the supreme consciousness, great joy and bliss are found. O Lord! When the fickle thieves are overcome, the true wealth is obtained. ||12|| In a dream, I was lifted up; why didn't I grasp the hem of His Robe? Gazing upon the Beautiful Lord relaxing there, my mind was charmed and fascinated. I am searching for His Feet - tell me, where can I find Him? O Lord! Tell me how I can find my Beloved, O my companion. ||13|| The eyes which do not see the Holy - those eyes are miserable. The ears which do not hear the Sound-current of the Naad - those ears might just as well be plugged. The tongue which does not chant the Naam ought to be cut out, bit by bit. O Lord! When the mortal forgets the Lord of the Universe, the Sovereign Lord King, he grows weaker day by day. ||14|| The wings of the bumble bee are caught in the intoxicating fragrant petals of the lotus. With its limbs entangled in the petals, it loses its senses.

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 39 - CHAUBOLAS, FIFTH MEHL

Section 39 - Chaubolas, Fifth Mehl - Part 001

Is there any such friend, who can untie this difficult knot? O Nanak, the One Supreme Lord and Master of the earth reunites the separated ones. ||15|| I run around in all directions, searching for the love of God. The five evil enemies are tormenting me; how can I destroy them? Shoot them with the sharp arrows of meditation on the Name of God. O Lord! The way to slaughter these terrible sadistic enemies is obtained from the Perfect Guru. ||16|| The True Guru has blessed me with the bounty which shall never be exhausted. Eating and consuming it, all the Gurmukhs are emancipated. The Lord, in His Mercy, has blessed me with the treasure of the Ambrosial Naam. O Nanak, worship and adore the Lord, who never dies. ||17|| Wherever the Lord's devotee goes is a blessed, beautiful place. All comforts are obtained, meditating on the Lord's Name. People praise and congratulate the devotee of the Lord, while the slanderers rot and die. Says Nanak, O friend, chant the Naam, and your mind shall be filled with bliss. ||18|| The mortal never serves the Immaculate Lord, the Purifier of sinners. The mortal wastes away in false pleasures. How long can this go on? Why do you take such pleasure, looking at this mirage? O Lord! I am a sacrifice to those who are known and approved in the Court of the Lord. ||19|| The fool commits countless foolish actions and so many sinful mistakes. The fool's body smells rotten, and turns to dust. He wanders lost in the darkness of pride, and never thinks of dying. O Lord! The mortal gazes upon the mirage; why does he think it is true? ||20|| When someone's days are over, who can save him? How long can the physicians go on, suggesting various therapies? You fool, remember the One Lord; only He shall be of use to you in the end. O Lord! Without the Name, the body turns to dust, and everything goes to waste. ||21|| Drink in the medicine of the Incomparable, Priceless Name. Meeting and joining together, the Saints drink it in, and give it to everyone. He alone is blessed with it, who is destined to receive it. O Lord! I am a sacrifice to those who enjoy the Love of the Lord. ||22|| The physicians meet together in their assembly. The medicines are effective, when the Lord Himself stands in their midst. Their good deeds and karma become apparent. O Lord! Pains, diseases and sins all vanish from their bodies. ||23|| Chaubolas, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: O Samman, if one could buy this love with money, then consider Raawan the king. He was not poor, but he could not buy it, even though he offered his head to Shiva. ||1|| My body is drenched in love and affection for the Lord; there is no distance at all between us. My mind is pierced through by the Lotus Feet of the Lord. He is realised when one's intuitive consciousness is attuned to Him. ||2||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 40 - SHALOKS OF DEVOTEE KABEER JEE

Section 40 - Shaloks Of Devotee Kabeer Jee - Part 001

I would cross the oceans, mountains, wilderness, forests and the nine regions of the earth in a single step, O Musan, for the Love of my Beloved. ||3|| O Musan, the Light of the Lord's Love has spread across the sky; I cling to my Lord, like the bumble bee caught in the lotus flower. ||4|| Chanting and intense meditation, austere self-discipline, pleasure and peace, honour, greatness and pride - O Musan, I would dedicate and sacrifice all these for a moment of my Lord's Love. ||5|| O Musan, the world does not understand the Mystery of the

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Lord; it is dying and being plundered. It is not pierced through by the Love of the Beloved Lord; it is entangled in false pursuits. ||6|| When someone's home and property are burnt, because of his attachment to them, he suffers in the sorrow of separation. O Musan, when mortals forget the Merciful Lord God, then they are truly plundered. ||7|| Whoever enjoys the taste of the Lord's Love, remembers His Lotus Feet in his mind. O Nanak, the lovers of God do not go anywhere else. ||8|| Climbing thousands of steep hillsides, the fickle mind becomes miserable. Look at the humble, lowly mud, O Jamaal: the beautiful lotus grows in it. ||9|| My Lord has lotus-eyes; His Face is so beautifully adorned. O Musan, I am intoxicated with His Mystery. I break the necklace of pride into bits. ||10|| I am intoxicated with the Love of my Husband Lord; remembering Him in meditation, I am not conscious of my own body. He is revealed in all His Glory, all throughout the world. Nanak is a lowly moth at His Flame. ||11|| Shaloks Of Devotee Kabeer Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Kabeer, my rosary is my tongue, upon which the Lord's Name is strung. From the very beginning, and throughout the ages, all the devotees abide in tranquil peace. ||1|| Kabeer, everyone laughs at my social class. I am a sacrifice to this social class, in which I chant and meditate on the Creator. ||2|| Kabeer, why do you stumble? Why does your soul waver? He is the Lord of all comforts and peace; drink in the Sublime Essence of the Lord's Name. ||3|| Kabeer, earrings made of gold and studded with jewels, look like burnt twigs, if the Name is not in the mind. ||4|| Kabeer, rare is such a person, who remains dead while yet alive. Singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, he is fearless. Wherever I look, the Lord is there. ||5|| Kabeer, on the day when I die, afterwards there shall be bliss. I shall meet with my Lord God. Those with me shall meditate and vibrate on the Lord of the Universe. ||6|| Kabeer, I am the worst of all. Everyone else is good. Whoever understands this is a friend of mine. ||7|| Kabeer, she came to me in various forms and disguises. My Guru saved me, and now she bows humbly to me. ||8|| Kabeer, kill only that, which, when killed, shall bring peace. Everyone shall call you good, very good, and no one shall think you are bad. ||9|| Kabeer, the night is dark, and men go about doing their dark deeds.

Section 40 - Shaloks Of Devotee Kabeer Jee - Part 002

They take the noose and run around; but rest assured that God shall destroy them. ||10|| Kabeer, the sandalwood tree is good, even though it is surrounded by weeds. Those who dwell near the sandalwood tree, become just like the sandalwood tree. ||11|| Kabeer, the bamboo is drowned in its egotistical pride. No one should drown like this. Bamboo also dwells near the sandalwood tree, but it does not take up its fragrance. ||12|| Kabeer, the mortal loses his faith, for the sake of the world, but the world shall not go along with him in the end. The idiot strikes his own foot with the axe by his own hand. ||13|| Kabeer, wherever I go, I see wonders everywhere. But without the devotees of the One Lord, it is all wilderness to me. ||14|| Kabeer, the dwelling of the Saints is good; the dwelling of the unrighteous burns like an oven. Those mansions in which the Lord's Name is not chanted might just as well burn down. ||15|| Kabeer, why cry at the death of a Saint? He is just going back to his home. Cry for the wretched, faithless cynic, who is sold from store to store. ||16|| Kabeer, the faithless cynic is like a piece of garlic. Even if you eat it sitting in a corner, it becomes obvious to everyone. ||17|| Kabeer, Maya is the butter-churn, and the breath is the churning-stick. The Saints eat the butter, while the world drinks the whey. ||18|| Kabeer, Maya is the butter-churn; the breath flows like ice water. Whoever does the churning eats the butter; the others are just churning-sticks. ||19|| Kabeer, Maya is the thief, which breaks in and plunders the store. Only Kabeer is not plundered; he has cut her into twelve pieces. ||20|| Kabeer, peace does not come in this world by making lots of friends. Those who keep their consciousness focused on the One Lord shall find eternal peace. ||21|| Kabeer, the world is afraid of death - that death fills my mind with bliss. It is only by death that perfect, supreme bliss is obtained. ||22|| The Treasure of the Lord is obtained, O Kabeer, but do not undo its knot. There is no market to sell it, no appraiser, no customer, and no price. ||23|| Kabeer, be in love with only that one, whose Master is the Lord. The Pandits, the religious scholars, kings and landlords - what good is love for them? ||24|| Kabeer, when you are in love with the One Lord, duality and alienation depart. You may have long hair, or you may shave your head bald. ||25|| Kabeer, the world is a room filled with black soot; the blind fall into its trap. I am a sacrifice to those who are thrown in, and still escape. ||26|| Kabeer, this body shall perish; save it, if you can. Even those who have tens of thousands and millions, must depart bare-footed in the end. ||27|| Kabeer, this body shall perish; place it on the path. Either join the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, or sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||28|| Kabeer, dying, dying, the whole world has to die, and yet, none know how to die.

Section 40 - Shaloks Of Devotee Kabeer Jee - Part 003

Let those who die, die such a death, that they shall never have to die again. ||29|| Kabeer, it is so difficult to obtain this human body; it does not just come over and over again. It is like the ripe fruit on the tree; when it falls to the ground, it cannot be re-attached to the branch. ||30|| Kabeer, you are Kabeer; your name means great. O Lord, You are Kabeer. The Jewel of the Lord is obtained, when the mortal first gives up his body. ||31|| Kabeer, do not struggle in stubborn pride; nothing happens just because you say so. No one can erase the actions of the Merciful Lord. ||32|| Kabeer, no one who is false can withstand the Touchstone of the Lord. He alone can pass the test of the Lord's Touchstone, who remains dead while yet alive. ||33|| Kabeer, some wear gaudy robes, and chew betel leaves and betel nuts. Without the Name of the One Lord, they are bound and gagged and taken to the City of Death. ||34|| Kabeer, the boat is old, and it has thousands of holes. Those who are light get across, while those who carry the weight of their sins on their heads are drowned. ||35|| Kabeer, the bones burn like wood, and the hair burns like straw. Seeing the world burning like this, Kabeer has become sad. ||36|| Kabeer, do not be so proud of your bones wrapped up in skin. Those who were on their horses and under their canopies, were eventually buried under the ground. ||37|| Kabeer, do not be so proud of your tall mansions. Today or tomorrow, you shall lie beneath the ground, and the grass shall grow above you. ||38|| Kabeer, do not be so proud, and do not laugh at the poor. Your boat is still out at sea; who knows what will happen? ||39|| Kabeer, do not be so proud, looking at your beautiful body. Today or tomorrow, you will have to leave it behind, like the snake shedding its skin. ||40|| Kabeer, if you must rob and plunder, then plunder the plunder of the Lord's Name. Otherwise, in the world hereafter, you will regret and repent, when the breath of life leaves the body. ||41|| Kabeer, there is no one born, who burns his own home, and burning his five sons, remains lovingly attuned to the Lord. ||42|| Kabeer, how rare are those who sell their son and sell their daughter and, entering into partnership with Kabeer, deal with the Lord. ||43|| Kabeer, let me remind you of this. Do not be skeptical or cynical. Those pleasures which you enjoyed so much in the past - now you must eat their fruits. ||44|| Kabeer, at first, I thought learning was good; then I thought Yoga was better. I shall never abandon devotional worship of the Lord, even though people may slander me. ||45|| Kabeer, how can the wretched people slander me? They have no wisdom or intelligence. Kabeer continues to dwell upon the Lord's Name; I have abandoned all other affairs. ||46|| Kabeer, the robe of the stranger-soul has caught fire on all four sides. The cloth of the body has been burnt and reduced to charcoal, but the fire did not touch the thread of the soul. ||47|| Kabeer, the cloth has been burnt and reduced to charcoal, and the begging bowl is shattered into pieces. The poor Yogi has played out his game; only ashes remain on his seat. ||48||

Section 40 - Shaloks Of Devotee Kabeer Jee - Part 004

Kabeer, the fish is in the shallow water; the fisherman has cast his net. You shall not escape this little pool; think about returning to the ocean. ||49|| Kabeer, do not leave the ocean, even if it is very salty. If you poke around searching from puddle to puddle, no one will call you smart. ||50|| Kabeer, those who have no guru are washed away. No one can help them. Be meek and humble; whatever happens is what the Creator Lord does. ||51|| Kabeer, even the dog of a devotee is good, while the mother of the faithless cynic is bad. The dog hears the Praises of the Lord's Name, while the other is engaged in sin. ||52|| Kabeer, the deer is weak, and the pool is lush with green vegetation. Thousands of hunters are chasing after the soul; how long can it escape death? ||53|| Kabeer, some make their homes on the banks of the Ganges, and drink pure water. Without devotional worship of the Lord, they are not liberated. Kabeer proclaims this. ||54|| Kabeer, my mind has become immaculate, like the waters of the Ganges. The Lord follows after me, calling, "Kabeer! Kabeer!"||55|| Kabeer, tumeric is yelow, and lime is white. You shall meet the Beloved Lord, only when both colours are lost. ||56|| Kabeer, tumeric has lost its yellow colour, and no trace of lime's whiteness remains. I am a sacrifice to this love, by which social class and status, colour and ancestry are taken away. ||57|| Kabeer, the door of liberation is very narrow, less than the width of a mustard seed. Your mind is larger than an elephant; how will it pass through? ||58|| Kabeer, if I meet such a True Guru, who mercifully blesses me with the gift, then the door of liberation will open wide for me, and I will easily pass through. ||59|| Kabeer, I have no hut or hovel, no house or village. I hope that the Lord will not ask who I am. I have no social status or name. ||60|| Kabeer, I long to die; let me die at the Lord's Door. I hope that the Lord does not ask, "Who is this, lying at my door?"||61|| Kabeer, I have not done anything; I shall not do anything; my body cannot do anything. I do not know what the Lord has done, but the call has gone out: "Kabeer, Kabeer."||62|| Kabeer, if someone utters the Name of the Lord even in dreams, I would make my skin into shoes for his feet. ||63|| Kabeer, we are puppets of clay, but we take the name of mankind. We are guests here for only a few days, but we take up so much space. ||64|| Kabeer, I have made myself into henna, and I grind myself into powder. But You, O my Husband Lord, have not asked about me; You have never applied me to Your Feet. ||65|| Kabeer, that door, through which people never stop coming and going - how can I leave such a door as that? ||66|| Kabeer, I was drowning, but the waves of virtue saved me in an instant.

Section 40 - Shaloks Of Devotee Kabeer Jee - Part 005

When I saw that my boat was rotten, then I immediately got out. ||67|| Kabeer, the sinner does not like devotion to the Lord; he does not appreciate worship. The fly abandons the sandalwood tree, and goes after the rotten smell. ||68|| Kabeer, the physician is dead, and the patient is dead; the whole world is dead. Only Kabeer is not dead; there is no one to mourn for him. ||69|| Kabeer, I have not meditated on the Lord; such is the bad habit I have developed. The body is a wooden pot; it cannot be put back on the fire. ||70|| Kabeer, it came to pass, that I did whatever I pleased. Why should I be afraid of death? I have invited death for myself. ||71|| Kabeer, the mortals suck at the sugar cane, for the sake of the sweet juice. They should work just as hard for virtue. The person who lacks virtue - no one calls him good. ||72|| Kabeer, the pitcher is full of water; it will break, today or tomorrow. Those who do not remember their Guru, shall be plundered on the way. ||73|| Kabeer, I am the Lord's dog; Moti is my name. There is a chain around my neck; wherever I am pulled, I go. ||74|| Kabeer, why do you show other people your rosary beads? You do not remember the Lord in your heart, so what use is this rosary to you? ||75|| Kabeer, the snake of separation from the Lord abides within my mind; it does not respond to any mantra. One who is separated from the Lord does not live; if he does live, he goes insane. ||76|| Kabeer, the philosopher's stone and sandalwood oil have the same good quality. Whatever comes into contact with them is uplifted. Iron is transformed into gold, and ordinary wood becomes fragrant. ||77|| Kabeer, Death's club is terrible; it cannot be endured. I have met with the holy man; he has attached me to the hem of his robe. ||78|| Kabeer, the physician says that he alone is good, and all the medicine is under his control. But these things belong to the Lord; He takes them away whenever He wishes. ||79|| Kabeer, take your drum and beat it for ten days. Life is like people meeting on a boat on a river; they shall not meet again. ||80|| Kabeer, if I could change the seven seas into ink and make all the vegetation my pen, and the earth my paper, even then, I could not write the Praises of the Lord. ||81|| Kabeer, what can my lowly status as a weaver do to me? The Lord dwells in my heart. Kabeer, the Lord hugs me close in His Embrace; I have forsaken all my entanglements. ||82|| Kabeer, will anyone set fire to his home and kill his five sons (the five thieves) to remain lovingly attached to the Lord? ||83|| Kabeer, will anyone burn his own body? The people are blind - they do not know, although Kabeer continues to shout at them. ||84|| Kabeer, the widow mounts the funeral pyre and cries out, "Listen, O brother funeral pyre. All people must depart in the end; it is only you and I."||85||

Section 40 - Shaloks Of Devotee Kabeer Jee - Part 006

Kabeer, the mind has become a bird; it soars and flies in the ten directions. According to the company it keeps, so are the fruits it eats. ||86|| Kabeer, you have found that place which you were seeking. You have become that which you thought was separate from yourself. ||87|| Kabeer, I have been ruined and destroyed by bad company, like the banana plant near the thorn bush. The thorn bush waves in the wind, and pierces the banana plant; see this, and do not associate with the faithless cynics. ||88|| Kabeer, the mortal wants to walk on the path, carrying the load of others' sins on his head. He is not afraid of his own load of sins; the road ahead shall be difficult and treacherous. ||89|| Kabeer, the forest is burning; the tree standing in it is crying out, "Do not let me fall into the hands of the blacksmith, who would burn me a second time."||90|| Kabeer, when one died, two were dead. When two died, four were dead. When four died, six were dead, four males and two females. ||91|| Kabeer, I have seen and observed, and searched all over the world, but I have found no place of rest anywhere. Those who do not remember the Lord's Name - why do they delude themselves in other pursuits? ||92|| Kabeer, associate with the Holy people, who will take you to Nirvaanaa in the end. Do not associate with the faithless cynics; they would bring you to ruin. ||93|| Kabeer, I contemplate the Lord in the world; I know that He is permeating the world. Those who do not contemplate the Name of the Lord - their birth into this world is useless. ||94|| Kabeer, place your hopes in the Lord; other hopes lead to despair. Those who dissociate themselves from the Lord's Name - when they fall into hell, then they will appreciate its value. ||95|| Kabeer has made many students and disciples, but he has not made God his friend. He set out on a journey to meet the Lord, but his consciousness failed him half-way. ||96|| Kabeer, what can the poor creature do, if the Lord does not give him assistance? Whatever branch he steps on breaks and collapses. ||97|| Kabeer, those who only preach to others - sand falls into their mouths. They keep their eyes

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on the property of others, while their own farm is being eaten up. ||98|| Kabeer, I will remain in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, even if I have only coarse bread to eat. Whatever will be, will be. I will not associate with the faithless cynics. ||99|| Kabeer, in the Saadh Sangat, love for the Lord doubles day by day. The faithless cynic is like a black blanket, which does not become white by being washed. ||100|| Kabeer, you have not shaved your mind, so why do you shave your head? Whatever is done, is done by the mind; it is useless to shave your head. ||101|| Kabeer, do not abandon the Lord; your body and wealth shall go, so let them go. My consciousness is pierced by the Lord's Lotus Feet; I am absorbed in the Name of the Lord. ||102|| Kabeer, all the strings of the instrument I played are broken. What can the poor instrument do, when the player has departed as well. ||103|| Kabeer, shave the mother of that guru, who does not take away one's doubt.

Section 40 - Shaloks Of Devotee Kabeer Jee - Part 007

He himself is drowning in the four Vedas; he drowns his disciples as well. ||104||

Kabeer, whatever sins the mortal has committed, he tries to keep hidden under cover. But in the end, they shall all be revealed, when the Righteous Judge of Dharma investigates. ||105|| Kabeer, you have given up meditating on the Lord, and you have raised a large family. You continue to involve yourself in worldly affairs, but none of your brothers and relatives remain. ||106|| Kabeer, those who give up meditation on the Lord, and get up at night to wake the spirits of the dead, shall be reincarnated as snakes, and eat their own offspring. ||107|| Kabeer, the woman who gives up meditation on the Lord, and observes the ritual fast of Ahoi, shall be reincarnated as a donkey, to carry heavy burdens. ||108|| Kabeer, it is the most clever wisdom, to chant and meditate on the Lord in the heart. It is like playing on a pig; if you fall off, you will find no place of rest. ||109|| Kabeer, blessed is that mouth, which utters the Lord's Name. It purifies the body, and the whole village as well. ||110|| Kabeer, that family is good, in which the Lord's slave is born. But that family in which the Lord's slave is not born is as useless as weeds. ||111|| Kabeer, some have lots of horses, elephants and carriages, and thousands of banners waving. But begging is better than these comforts, if one spends his days meditating in remembrance on the Lord. ||112|| Kabeer, I have wandered all over the world, carrying the drum on my shoulder. No one belongs to anyone else; I have looked and carefully studied it. ||113|| The pearls are scattered on the road; the blind man comes along. Without the Light of the Lord of the Universe, the world just passes them by. ||114|| My family is drowned, O Kabeer, since the birth of my son Kamaal. He has given up meditating on the Lord, in order to bring home wealth. ||115|| Kabeer, go out to meet the holy man; do not take anyone else with you. Do not turn back - keep on going. Whatever will be, will be. ||116|| Kabeer, do not bind yourself with that chain, which binds the whole world. As the salt is lost in the flour, so shall your golden body be lost. ||117|| Kabeer, the soul-swan is flying away, and the body is being buried, and still he makes gestures. Even then, the mortal does not give up the cruel look in his eyes. ||118|| Kabeer: with my eyes, I see You, Lord; with my ears, I hear Your Name. With my tongue I chant Your Name; I enshrine Your Lotus Feet within my heart. ||119|| Kabeer, I have been spared from heaven and hell, by the Grace of the True Guru. From beginning to end, I abide in the joy of the Lord's Lotus Feet. ||120|| Kabeer, how can I even describe the extent of the joy of the Lord's Lotus Feet? I cannot describe its sublime glory; it has to be seen to be appreciated. ||121|| Kabeer, how can I describe what I have seen? No one will believe my words. The Lord is just as He is. I dwell in delight, singing His Glorious Praises. ||122||

Section 40 - Shaloks Of Devotee Kabeer Jee - Part 008

Kabeer, the flamingo pecks and feeds, and remembers her chicks. She pecks and pecks and feeds, and remembers them always. Her chicks are very dear to her, just like the love of wealth and Maya is dear to the mortal's mind. ||123|| Kabeer, the sky is overcast and cloudy; the ponds and lakes are overflowing with water. Like the rainbird, some remain thirsty - what is their condition? ||124|| Kabeer, the chakvi duck is separated from her love through the night, but in the morning, she meets him again. Those who are separated from the Lord do not meet Him in the day, or in the night. ||125|| Kabeer: O conch shell, remain in the ocean. If you are separated from it, you shall scream at sunrise from temple to temple. ||126|| Kabeer, what are you doing sleeping? Wake up and cry in fear and pain. Those who live in the grave - how can they sleep in peace? ||127|| Kabeer, what are you doing sleeping? Why not rise up and meditate on the Lord? One day you shall sleep with your legs outstretched. ||128|| Kabeer, what are you doing sleeping? Wake up, and sit up. Attach yourself to the One, from whom you have been separated. ||129|| Kabeer, do not leave the Society of the Saints; walk upon this Path. See them, and be sanctified; meet them, and chant the Name. ||130|| Kabeer, do not associate with the faithless cynics; run far away from them. If you touch a vessel stained with soot, some of the soot will stick to you. ||131|| Kabeer, you have not contemplated the Lord, and now old age has overtaken you. Now that the door of your mansion is on fire, what can you take out? ||132|| Kabeer, the Creator does whatever He pleases. There is none other than Him; He alone is the Creator of all. ||133|| Kabeer, the fruit trees are bearing fruit, and the mangoes are becoming ripe. They will reach the owner, only if the crows do not eat them first. ||134|| Kabeer, some buy idols and worship them; in their stubborn-mindedness, they make pilgrimages to sacred shrines. They look at one another, and wear religious robes, but they are deluded and lost. ||135|| Kabeer, someone sets up a stone idol and all the world worships it as the Lord. Those who hold to this belief will be drowned in the river of darkness. ||136|| Kabeer, the paper is the prison, and the ink of rituals are the bars on the windows. The stone idols have drowned the world, and the Pandits, the religious scholars, have plundered it on the way. ||137|| Kabeer, that which you have to do tomorrow - do it today instead; and that which you have to do now - do it immediately! Later on, you will not be able to do anything, when death hangs over your head. ||138|| Kabeer, I have seen a person, who is as shiny as washed wax. He seems very clever and very virtuous, but in reality, he is without understanding, and corrupt. ||139|| Kabeer, the Messenger of Death shall not compromise my understanding. I have meditated on the Lord, the Cherisher, who created this Messenger of Death. ||140|| Kabeer, the Lord is like musk; all His slaves are like bumble bees.

Section 40 - Shaloks Of Devotee Kabeer Jee - Part 009

The more Kabeer worships Him, the more the Lord abides within his mind. ||141|| Kabeer, the mortal has fallen into the grip of family life, and the Lord has been set aside. The messengers of the Righteous Judge of Dharma descend upon the mortal, in the midst of all his pomp and ceremony. ||142|| Kabeer, even a pig is better than the faithless cynic; at least the pig keeps the village clean. When the wretched, faithless cynic dies, no one even mentions his name. ||143|| Kabeer, the mortal gathers wealth, shell by shell, accumulating thousands and millions. But when the time of his departure comes, he takes nothing at all with him. He is even stripped of his loin-cloth. ||144|| Kabeer, what good is it to become a devotee of Vishnu, and wear four malas? On the outside, he may look like pure gold, but on the inside, he is stuffed with dust. ||145|| Kabeer, let yourself be a pebble on the path; abandon your egotistical pride. Such a humble slave shall meet the Lord God. ||146|| Kabeer, what good would it be, to be a pebble? It would only hurt the traveller on the path. Your slave, O Lord, is like the dust of the earth. ||147|| Kabeer, what then, if one could become dust? It is blown up by the wind, and sticks to the body. The humble servant of the Lord should be like water, which cleans everything. ||148|| Kabeer, what then, if one could become water? It becomes cold, then hot. The humble servant of the Lord should be just like the Lord. ||149|| The banners wave above the lofty mansions, filled with gold and beautiful women. But better than these is dry bread, if one sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord in the Society of the Saints. ||150|| Kabeer, the wilderness is better than a city, if the Lord's devotees live there. Without my Beloved Lord, it is like the City of Death for me. ||151|| Kabeer, between the Ganges and Jamunaa Rivers, on the shore of Celestial Silence, there, Kabeer has made his home. The silent sages and the humble servants of the Lord search for the way to get there. ||152|| Kabeer, if the mortal continues to love the Lord in the end, as he pledged in the beginning, no poor diamond, not even millions of jewels, can equal him. ||153|| Kabeer, I saw a strange and wonderful thing. A jewel was being sold in a store. Because there was no buyer, it was going in exchange for a shell. ||154|| Kabeer, where there is spiritual wisdom, there is righteousness and Dharma. Where there is falsehood, there is sin. Where there is greed, there is death. Where there is forgiveness, there is God Himself. ||155|| Kabeer, what good is it to give up Maya, if the mortal does not give up his pride? Even the silent sages and seers are destroyed by pride; pride eats up everything. ||156|| Kabeer, the True Guru has met me; He aimed the Arrow of the Shabad at me. As soon as it struck me, I fell to the ground with a hole in my heart. ||157|| Kabeer, what can the True Guru do, when His Sikhs are at fault? The blind do not take in any of His Teachings; it is as useless as blowing into bamboo. ||158|| Kabeer, the wife of the king has all sorts of horses, elephants and carriages.

Section 40 - Shaloks Of Devotee Kabeer Jee - Part 010

But she is not equal to the water-carrier of the Lord's humble servant. ||159|| Kabeer, why do you slander the wife of the king? Why do you honour the slave of the Lord? Because one combs her hair for corruption, while the other remembers the Name of the Lord. ||160|| Kabeer, with the Support of the Lord's Pillar, I have become steady and stable. The True Guru has given me courage. Kabeer, I have purchased the diamond, on the banks of the Mansarovar Lake. ||161|| Kabeer, the Lord is the Diamond, and the Lord's humble servant is the jeweller who has set up his shop. As soon as an appraiser is found, the price of the jewel is set. ||162|| Kabeer, you remember the Lord in meditation, only when the need arises. You should remember Him all the time. You shall dwell in the city of immortality, and the Lord shall restore the wealth you lost. ||163|| Kabeer, it is good to perform selfless service for two - the Saints and the Lord. The Lord is the Giver of liberation, and the Saint inspires us to chant the Naam. ||164|| Kabeer, the crowds follow the path which the Pandits, the religious scholars, have taken. There is a difficult and treacherous cliff on that path to the Lord; Kabeer is climbing that cliff. ||165|| Kabeer, the mortal dies of his worldly troubles and pain, after worrying about his family. Whose family is dishonoured, when he is placed on the funeral pyre? ||166|| Kabeer, you shall drown, you wretched being, from worrying about what other people think. You know that whatever happens to your neighbors, will also happen to you. ||167|| Kabeer, even dry bread, made of various grains, is good. No one brags about it, throughout the vast country and great empire. ||168|| Kabeer, those who brag, shall burn. Those who do not brag remain carefree. That humble being who does not brag, looks upon the gods and the poor alike. ||169|| Kabeer, the pool is filled to overflowing, but no one can drink the water from it. By great good fortune, you have found it; drink it in handfuls, O Kabeer. ||170|| Kabeer, just as the stars disappear at dawn, so shall this body disappear. Only the letters of God's Name do not disappear; Kabeer holds these tight. ||171|| Kabeer, the wooden house is burning on all sides. The Pandits, the religious scholars, have been burnt to death, while the illiterate ones run to safety. ||172|| Kabeer, give up your skepticism; let your papers float away. Find the essence of the letters of the alphabet, and focus your consciousness on the Lord. ||173|| Kabeer, the Saint does not forsake his Saintly nature, even though he meets with millions of evil-doers. Even when sandalwood is surrounded by snakes, it does not give up its cooling fragrance. ||174|| Kabeer, my mind is cooled and soothed; I have become God-conscious. The fire which has burnt the world is like water to the Lord's humble servant. ||175|| Kabeer, no one knows the Play of the Creator Lord. Only the Lord Himself and the slaves at His Court understand it. ||176|| Kabeer, it is good that I feel the Fear of God; I have forgotten everything else.

Section 40 - Shaloks Of Devotee Kabeer Jee - Part 011

The hail-stone has melted into water, and flowed into the ocean. ||177|| Kabeer, the body is a pile of dust, collected and packed together. It is a show which lasts for only a few days, and then dust returns to dust. ||178|| Kabeer, bodies are like the rising and setting of the sun and the moon. Without meeting the Guru, the Lord of the Universe, they are all reduced to dust again. ||179|| Where the Fearless Lord is, there is no fear; where there is fear, the Lord is not there. Kabeer speaks after careful consideration; hear this, O Saints, in your minds. ||180|| Kabeer, those who do not know anything, pass their lives in peaceful sleep. But I have understood the riddle; I am faced with all sorts of troubles. ||181|| Kabeer, those who are beaten cry a lot; but the cries of the pain of separation are different. Struck by the Mystery of God, Kabeer remains silent. ||182|| Kabeer, the stroke of a lance is easy to bear; it takes away the breath. But one who endures the stroke of the Word of the Shabad is the Guru, and I am his slave. ||183|| Kabeer: O Mullah, why do you climb to the top of the minaret? The Lord is not hard of hearing. Look within your own heart for the One, for whose sake you shout your prayers. ||184|| Why does the Shaykh bother to go on pilgrimage to Mecca, if he is not content with himself? Kabeer, one whose heart is not healthy and whole - how can he attain his Lord? ||185|| Kabeer, worship the Lord Allah; meditating in remembrance on Him, troubles and pains depart. The Lord shall be revealed within your own heart, and the burning fire within shall be extinguished by His Name. ||186|| Kabeer, to use force is tyranny, even if you call it legal. When your account is called for in the Court of the Lord, what will your condition be then? ||187|| Kabeer, the dinner of beans and rice is excellent, if it is flavored with salt. Who would cut his throat, to have meat with his bread? ||188|| Kabeer, one is known to have been touched by the Guru, only when his emotional attachment and physical illnesses are eradicated. He is not burned by pleasure or pain, and so he becomes the Lord Himself. ||189|| Kabeer, it does make a difference, how you chant the Lord's Name, 'Raam'. This is something to consider. Everyone uses the same word for the son of Dasrath and the Wondrous Lord. ||190|| Kabeer, use the word 'Raam', only to speak of the All-pervading Lord. You must make that distinction. One 'Raam' is pervading everywhere, while the other is contained only in himself. ||191|| Kabeer, those houses in which neither the Holy nor the Lord are served - those houses are like cremation grounds; demons dwell within them. ||192|| Kabeer, I have become mute, insane and deaf. I am crippled - the True Guru has pierced me with His Arrow. ||193|| Kabeer, the True Guru, the Spiritual Warrior, has shot me with His Arrow. As soon as it struck me, I fell to the ground, with a hole in my heart. ||194|| Kabeer, the pure drop of water falls from the sky, onto the dirty ground.

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Section 40 - Shaloks Of Devotee Kabeer Jee - Part 012

You must acknowledge this, that without the Sangat, the Holy Congregation, it turns into burnt ashes. ||195|| Kabeer, the pure drop of water falls from the sky, and mixes with the dust. Millions of clever people may try, but they will fail - it cannot be made separate again. ||196|| Kabeer, I was going on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and God met me on the way. He scolded me and asked, "Who told you that I am only there?"||197|| Kabeer, I went to Mecca - how many times, Kabeer? O Lord, what is the problem with me? You have not spoken to me with Your Mouth. ||198|| Kabeer, they oppress living beings and kill them, and call it proper. When the Lord calls for their account, what will their condition be? ||199|| Kabeer, it is tyranny to use force; the Lord shall call you to account. When your account is called for, your face and mouth shall be beaten. ||200|| Kabeer, it is easy to render your account, if your heart is pure. In the True Court of the Lord, no one will seize you. ||201|| Kabeer: O duality, you are mighty and powerful in the earth and the sky. The six Shaastras and the eighty-four Siddhas are entrenched in skepticism. ||202|| Kabeer, nothing is mine within myself. Whatever there is, is Yours, O Lord. If I surrender to You what is already Yours, what does it cost me? ||203|| Kabeer, repeating, "You, You", I have become like You. Nothing of me remains in myself. When the difference between myself and others is removed, then wherever I look, I see only You. ||204|| Kabeer, those who think of evil and entertain false hopes - none of their desires shall be fulfilled; they shall depart in despair. ||205|| Kabeer, whoever meditates in remembrance on the Lord, he alone is happy in this world. One who is protected and saved by the Creator Lord, shall never waver, here or hereafter. ||206|| Kabeer, I was being crushed like sesame seeds in the oil-press, but the True Guru saved me. My pre-ordained primal destiny has now been revealed. ||207|| Kabeer, my days have passed, and I have postponed my payments; the interest on my account continues to increase. I have not meditated on the Lord and my account is still pending, and now, the moment of my death has come! ||208|| Fifth Mehl: Kabeer, the mortal is a barking dog, chasing after a carcass. By the Grace of good karma, I have found the True Guru, who has saved me. ||209|| Fifth Mehl: Kabeer, the earth belongs to the Holy, but it is being occupied by thieves. They are not a burden to the earth; they receive its blessings. ||210|| Fifth Mehl: Kabeer, the rice is beaten with a mallet to get rid of the husk. When people sit in evil company, the Righteous Judge of Dharma calls them to account. ||211|| Trilochan says, O Naam Dayv, Maya has enticed you, my friend. Why are you printing designs on these sheets, and not focusing your consciousness on the Lord? ||212|| Naam Dayv answers, O Trilochan, chant the Lord's Name with your mouth.

Section 40 - Shaloks Of Devotee Kabeer Jee - Part 013

With your hands and feet, do all your work, but let your consciousness remain with the Immaculate Lord. ||213|| Fifth Mehl: Kabeer, no one belongs to me, and I belong to no one else. The One who created the creation - into Him I shall be absorbed. ||214|| Kabeer, the flour has fallen into the mud; nothing has come into my hands. That which was eaten while it was being ground - that alone is of any use. ||215|| Kabeer, the mortal knows everything, and knowing, he still makes mistakes. What good is a lamp in one's hand, if he falls into the well? ||216|| Kabeer, I am in love with the All-knowing Lord; the ignorant ones try to hold me back. How could I ever break with the One, who owns our soul and breath of life. ||217|| Kabeer, why kill yourself for your love of decorations of your home and mansion? In the end, only six feet, or a little more, shall be your lot. ||218|| Kabeer, whatever I wish for does not happen. What can I accomplish by merely thinking? The Lord does whatever He wishes; it is not up to me at all. ||219|| Third Mehl: God Himself makes the mortals anxious, and He Himself takes the anxiety away. O Nanak, praise the One, who takes care of all. ||220|| Fifth Mehl: Kabeer, the mortal does not remember the Lord; he wanders around, engrossed in greed. Committing sins, he dies, and his life ends in an instant. ||221|| Kabeer, the body is like a clay vessel or a brittle metal pot. If you wish to keep it safe and sound, then vibrate and meditate on the Lord; otherwise, the thing shall break. ||222|| Kabeer, chant the Name of the Beautifully-haired Lord; do not sleep unaware. Chanting His Name night and day, the Lord will eventually hear your call. ||223|| Kabeer, the body is a banana forest, and the mind is an intoxicated elephant. The jewel of spiritual wisdom is the prod, and the rare Saint is the rider. ||224|| Kabeer, the Lord's Name is the jewel, and the mouth is the purse; open this purse to the Appraiser. If a buyer can be found, it will go for a high price. ||225|| Kabeer, the mortal does not know the Lord's Name, but he has raised a very large family. He dies in the midst of his worldly affairs, and then he is not heard in the external world. ||226|| Kabeer, in the blink of an eye, moment by moment, life is passing by. The mortal does not give up his worldly entanglements; the Messenger of Death walks in and beats the drum. ||227|| Kabeer, the Lord is the tree, and disillusionment with the world is the fruit. The Holy man, who has abandoned useless arguments, is the shade of the tree. ||228|| Kabeer, plant the seeds of such a plant, which shall bear fruit throughout the twelve months, with cooling shade and abundant fruit, upon which birds joyously play. ||229|| Kabeer, the Great Giver is the tree, which blesses all with the fruit of compassion. When the birds migrate to other lands, O Tree, you bear the fruits. ||230|| Kabeer, the mortal finds the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, if he has such destiny written upon his forehead.

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 41 - SHALOKS OF SHAYKH FAREED JEE

Section 41 - Shaloks Of Shaykh Fareed Jee - Part 001

He obtains the treasure of liberation, and the difficult road to the Lord is not blocked. ||231|| Kabeer, whether is is for an hour, half an hour, or half of that, whatever it is, it is worthwhile to speak with the Holy. ||232|| Kabeer, those mortals who consume marijuana, fish and wine - no matter what pilgrimages, fasts and rituals they follow, they will all go to hell. ||233|| Kabeer, I keep my eyes lowered, and enshrine my Friend within my heart. I enjoy all pleasures with my Beloved, but I do not let anyone else know. ||234|| Twenty-four hours a day, every hour, my soul continues to look to You, O Lord. Why should I keep my eyes lowered? I see my Beloved in every heart. ||235|| Listen, O my companions: my soul dwells in my Beloved, and my Beloved dwells in my soul. I realise that there is no difference between my soul and my Beloved; I cannot tell whether my soul or my Beloved dwells in my heart. ||236|| Kabeer, the Brahmin may be the guru of the world, but he is not the Guru of the devotees. He rots and dies in the perplexities of the four Vedas. ||237|| The Lord is like sugar, scattered in the sand; the elephant cannot pick it up. Says Kabeer, the Guru has given me this sublime understanding: become an ant, and feed on it. ||238|| Kabeer, if you desire to play the game of love with the Lord, then cut off your head, and make it into a ball. Lose yourself in the play of it, and then whatever will be, will be. ||239|| Kabeer, if you desire to play the game of love with the Lord, play it with someone with committment. Pressing the unripe mustard seeds produces neither oil nor flour. ||240|| Searching, the mortal stumbles like a blind person, and does not recognise the Saint. Says Naam Dayv, how can one obtain the Lord God, without His devotee? ||241|| Forsaking the Diamond of the Lord, the mortals put their hopes in another. Those people shall go to hell; Ravi Daas speaks the Truth. ||242|| Kabeer, if you live the householder's life, then practice righteousness; otherwise, you might as well retire from the world. If someone renounces the world, and then gets involved in worldly entanglements, he shall suffer terrible misfortune. ||243|| Shaloks Of Shaykh Fareed Jee: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: The day of the bride's wedding is pre-ordained. On that day, the Messenger of Death, of whom she had only heard, comes and shows its face. It breaks the bones of the body and pulls the helpless soul out. That pre-ordained time of marriage cannot be avoided. Explain this to your soul. The soul is the bride, and death is the groom. He will marry her and take her away. After the body sends her away with its own hands, whose neck will it embrace? The bridge to hell is narrower than a hair; haven't you heard of it with your ears? Fareed, the call has come; be careful now - don't let yourself be robbed. ||1|| Fareed, it is so difficult to become a humble Saint at the Lord's Door.

Section 41 - Shaloks Of Shaykh Fareed Jee - Part 002

I am so accustomed to walking in the ways of the world. I have tied and picked up the bundle; where can I go to throw it away? ||2|| I know nothing; I understand nothing. The world is a smouldering fire. My Lord did well to warn me about it; otherwise, I would have been burnt as well. ||3|| Fareed, if I had known that I had so few sesame seeds, I would have been more careful with them in my hands. If I had known that my Husband Lord was so young and innocent, I would not have been so arrogant. ||4|| If I had known that my robe would come loose, I would have tied a tighter knot. I have found none as great as You, Lord; I have looked and searched throughout the world. ||5|| Fareed, if you have a keen understanding, then do not write black marks against anyone else. Look underneath your own collar instead. ||6|| Fareed, do not turn around and strike those who strike you with their fists. Kiss their feet, and return to your own home. ||7|| Fareed, when there was time for you to earn good karma, you were in love with the world instead. Now, death has a strong foothold; when the load is full, it is taken away. ||8|| See, Fareed, what has happened: your beard has become grey. That which is coming is near, and the past is left far behind. ||9|| See, Fareed, what has happened: sugar has become poison. Without my Lord, who can I tell of my sorrow? ||10|| Fareed, my eyes have become weak, and my ears have become hard of hearing. The body's crop has become ripe and turned colour. ||11|| Fareed, those who did not enjoy their Spouse when their hair was black - hardly any of them enjoy Him when their hair turns grey. So be in love with the Lord, so that your colour may ever be new. ||12|| Third Mehl: Fareed, whether one's hair is black or grey, our Lord and Master is always here if one remembers Him. This loving devotion to the Lord does not come by one's own efforts, even though all may long for it. This cup of loving devotion belongs to our Lord and Master; He gives it to whomever He likes. ||13|| Fareed, those eyes which have enticed the world - I have seen those eyes. Once, they could not endure even a bit of mascara; now, the birds hatch their young in them! ||14|| Fareed, they shouted and yelled, and constantly gave good advice. But those whom the devil has spoiled - how can they turn their consciousness towards God? ||15|| Fareed, become the grass on the path, if you long for the Lord of all. One will cut you down, and another will trample you underfoot; then, you shall enter the Court of the Lord. ||16|| Fareed, do not slander the dust; noting is as great as dust. When we are alive, it is under our feet, and when we are dead, it is above us. ||17|| Fareed, when there is greed, what love can there be? When there is greed, love is false. How long can one remain in a thatched hut which leaks when it rains? ||18|| Fareed, why do you wander from jungle to jungle, crashing through the thorny trees? The Lord abides in the heart; why are you looking for Him in the jungle? ||19|| Fareed, with these small legs, I crossed deserts and mountains. But today, Fareed, my water jug seems hundreds of miles away. ||20|| Fareed, the nights are long, and my sides are aching in pain.

Section 41 - Shaloks Of Shaykh Fareed Jee - Part 003

Cursed are the lives of those who place their hopes in others. ||21|| Fareed, if I had been there when my friend came, I would have made myself a sacrifice to him. Now my flesh is burning red on the hot coals. ||22|| Fareed, the farmer plants acacia trees, and wishes for grapes. He is spinning wool, but he wishes to wear silk. ||23|| Fareed, the path is muddy, and the house of my Beloved is so far away. If I go out, my blanket will get soaked, but if I remain at home, then my heart will be broken. ||24|| My blanket is soaked, drenched with the downpour of the Lord's Rain. I am going out to meet my Friend, so that my heart will not be broken. ||25|| Fareed, I was worried that my turban might become dirty. My thoughtless self did not realise that one day, dust will consume my head as well. ||26|| Fareed: sugar cane, candy, sugar, molasses, honey and buffalo's milk - all these things are sweet, but they are not equal to You. ||27|| Fareed, my bread is made of wood, and hunger is my appetiser. Those who eat buttered bread, will suffer in terrible pain. ||28|| Eat dry bread, and drink cold water. Fareed, if you see someone else's buttered bread, do not envy him for it. ||29|| This night, I did not sleep with my Husband Lord, and now my body is suffering in pain. Go and ask the deserted bride, how she passes her night. ||30|| She finds no place of rest in her father-in-law's home, and no place in her parents' home either. Her Husband Lord does not care for her; what sort of a blessed, happy soul-bride is she? ||31|| In her father-in-law's home hereafter, and in her parents' home in this world, she belongs to her Husband Lord. Her Husband is Inaccessible and Unfathomable. O Nanak, she is the happy soul-bride, who is pleasing to her Carefree Lord. ||32|| Bathing, washing and decorating herself, she comes and sleeps without anxiety. Fareed, she still smells like asafoetida; the fragrance of musk is gone. ||33|| I am not afraid of losing my youth, as long as I do not lose the Love of my Husband Lord. Fareed, so many youths, without His Love, have dried up and withered away. ||34|| Fareed, anxiety is my bed, pain is my mattress, and the pain of separation is my blanket and quilt. Behold, this is my life, O my True Lord and Master. ||35|| Many talk of the pain and suffering of separation; O pain, you are the ruler of all. Fareed, that body, within which love of the Lord does not well up - look upon that body as a cremation ground. ||36|| Fareed, these are poisonous sprouts coated with sugar. Some die planting them, and some are ruined, harvesting and enjoying them. ||37|| Fareed, the hours of the day are lost wandering around, and the hours of the night are lost in sleep. God will call for your account, and ask you why you came into this world. ||38|| Fareed, you have gone to the Lord's Door. Have you seen the gong there? This blameless object is being beaten - imagine what is in store for us sinners! ||39|| Each and every hour, it is beaten; it is punished every day. This beautiful body is like the gong; it passes the night in pain. ||40||

Section 41 - Shaloks Of Shaykh Fareed Jee - Part 004

Shaykh Fareed has grown old, and his body has begun to tremble. Even if he could live for hundreds of years, his body will eventually turn to dust. ||41|| Fareed begs, O Lord, do not make me sit at another's door. If this is the way you are going to keep me, then go ahead and take the life out of my body. ||42|| With the axe on his shoulder, and a bucket on his head, the blacksmith is ready to cut down the tree. Fareed, I long for my Lord; you long only for the charcoal. ||43|| Fareed, some have lots of flour, while others do not even have salt. When they go beyond this world, it shall be seen, who will be punished. ||44|| Drums were beaten in their honour, there were canopies above their heads, and bugles announced their coming. They have gone to sleep in the cemetary, buried like poor orphans. ||45|| Fareed, those who built houses,

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mansions and lofty buildings, are also gone. They made false deals, and were dropped into their graves. ||46|| Fareed, there are many seams on the patched coat, but there are no seams on the soul. The shaykhs and their disciples have all departed, each in his own turn. ||47|| Fareed, the two lamps are lit, but death has come anyway. It has captured the fortress of the body, and plundered the home of the heart; it extinguishes the lamps and departs. ||48|| Fareed, look at what has happened to the cotton and the sesame seed, the sugar cane and paper, the clay pots and the charcoal. This is the punishment for those who do evil deeds. ||49|| Fareed, you wear your prayer shawl on your shoulders and the robes of a Sufi; your words are sweet, but there is a dagger in your heart. Outwardly, you look bright, but your heart is dark as night. ||50|| Fareed, not even a drop of blood would issue forth, if someone cut my body. Those bodies which are imbued with the Lord - those bodies contain no blood. ||51|| Third Mehl: This body is all blood; without blood, this body could not exist. Those who are imbued with their Lord, do not have the blood of greed in their bodies. When the Fear of God fills the body, it becomes thin; the blood of greed departs from within. Just as metal is purified by fire, the Fear of God removes the filthy residues of evil-mindedness. O Nanak, those humble beings are beautiful, who are imbued with the Lord's Love. ||52|| Fareed, seek that sacred pool, in which the genuine article is found. Why do you bother to search in the pond? Your hand will only sink into the mud. ||53|| Fareed, when she is young, she does not enjoy her Husband. When she grows up, she dies. Lying in the grave, the soul-bride cries, "I did not meet You, my Lord."||54|| Fareed, your hair has turned grey, your beard has turned grey, and your moustache has turned grey. O my thoughtless and insane mind, why are you indulging in pleasures? ||55|| Fareed, how long can you run on the rooftop? You are asleep to your Husband Lord - give it up! The days which were allotted to you are numbered, and they are passing, passing away. ||56|| Fareed, houses, mansions and balconies - do not attach your consciousness to these. When these collapse into heaps of dust, none of them will be your friend. ||57|| Fareed, do not focus on mansions and wealth; centre your consciousness on death, your powerful enemy.

Section 41 - Shaloks Of Shaykh Fareed Jee - Part 005

Remember that place where you must go. ||58|| Fareed, those deeds which do not bring merit - forget about those deeds. Otherwise, you shall be put to shame, in the Court of the Lord. ||59|| Fareed, work for your Lord and Master; dispel the doubts of your heart. The dervishes, the humble devotees, have the patient endurance of trees. ||60|| Fareed, my clothes are black, and my outfit is black. I wander around full of sins, and yet people call me a dervish - a holy man. ||61|| The crop which is burnt will not bloom, even if it is soaked in water. Fareed, she who is forsaken by her Husband Lord, grieves and laments. ||62|| When she is a virgin, she is full of desire; but when she is married, then her troubles begin. Fareed, she has this one regret, that she cannot be a virgin again. ||63|| The swans have landed in a small pond of salt water. They dip in their bills, but do not drink; they fly away, still thirsty. ||64|| The swans fly away, and land in the fields of grain. The people go to chase them away. The thoughtless people do not know, that the swans do not eat the grain. ||65|| The birds which lived in the pools have flown away and left. Fareed, the overflowing pool shall also pass away, and only the lotus flowers shall remain. ||66|| Fareed, a stone will be your pillow, and the earth will be your bed. The worms shall eat into your flesh. Countless ages will pass, and you will still be lying on one side. ||67|| Fareed, your beautiful body shall break apart, and the subtle thread of the breath shall be snapped. In which house will the Messenger of Death be a guest today? ||68|| Fareed, your beautiful body shall break apart, and the subtle thread of the breath shall be snapped. Those friends who were a burden on the earth - how can they come today? ||69|| Fareed: O faithless dog, this is not a good way of life. You never come to the mosque for your five daily prayers. ||70|| Rise up, Fareed, and cleanse yourself; chant your morning prayer. The head which does not bow to the Lord - chop off and remove that head. ||71|| That head which does not bow to the Lord - what is to be done with that head? Put it in the fireplace, instead of firewood. ||72|| Fareed, where are your mother and father, who gave birth to you? They have left you, but even so, you are not convinced that you shall also have to go. ||73|| Fareed, flatten out your mind; smooth out the hills and valleys. Hereafter, the fires of hell shall not even approach you. ||74|| Fifth Mehl: Fareed, the Creator is in the Creation, and the Creation abides in God. Whom can we call bad? There is none without Him. ||75|| Fareed, if on that day when my umbilical cord was cut, my throat had been cut instead, I would not have fallen into so many troubles, or undergone so many hardships. ||76|| My teeth, feet, eyes and ears have stopped working. My body cries out, "Those whom I knew have left me!"||77|| Fareed, answer evil with goodness; do not fill your mind with anger.

Section 41 - Shaloks Of Shaykh Fareed Jee - Part 006

Your body shall not suffer from any disease, and you shall obtain everything. ||78|| Fareed, the bird is a guest in this beautiful world-garden. The morning drums are beating - get ready to leave! ||79|| Fareed, musk is released at night. Those who are sleeping do not receive their share. Those whose eyes are heavy with sleep - how can they receive it? ||80|| Fareed, I thought that I was in trouble; the whole world is in trouble! When I climbed the hill and looked around, I saw this fire in each and every home. ||81|| Fifth Mehl: Fareed, in the midst of this beautiful earth, there is a garden of thorns. Those humble beings who are blessed by their spiritual teacher, do not suffer even a scratch. ||82|| Fifth Mehl: Fareed, life is blessed and beautiful, along with the beautiful body. Only a rare few are found, who love their Beloved Lord. ||83|| O river, do not destroy your banks; you too will be asked to give your account. The river flows in whatever direction the Lord orders. ||84|| Fareed, the day passes painfully; the night is spent in anguish. The boatman stands up and shouts, "The boat is caught in the whirlpool!"||85|| The river flows on and on; it loves to eat into its banks. What can the whirlpool do to the boat, if the boatman remains alert? ||86|| Fareed, there are dozens who say they are friends; I search, but I cannot find even one. I yearn for my beloved like a smouldering fire. ||87|| Fareed, this body is always barking. Who can stand this constant suffering? I have put plugs in my ears; I don't care how much the wind is blowing. ||88|| Fareed, God's dates have ripened, and rivers of honey flow. With each passing day, your life is being stolen away. ||89|| Fareed, my withered body has become a skeleton; the crows are pecking at my palms. Even now, God has not come to help me; behold, this is the fate of all mortal beings. ||90|| The crows have searched my skeleton, and eaten all my flesh. But please do not touch these eyes; I hope to see my Lord. ||91|| O crow, do not peck at my skeleton; if you have landed on it, fly away. Do not eat the flesh from that skeleton, within which my Husband Lord abides. ||92|| Fareed, the poor grave calls out, "O homeless one, come back to your home. You shall surely have to come to me; do not be afraid of death."||93|| These eyes have seen a great many leave. Fareed, the people have their fate, and I have mine. ||94|| God says, "If you reform yourself, you shall meet me, and meeting me, you shall be at peace. O Fareed, if you will be mine, the whole world will be yours."||95|| How long can the tree remain implanted on the river-bank? Fareed, how long can water be kept in a soft clay pot? ||96|| Fareed, the mansions are vacant; those who lived in them have gone to live underground.

Section 41 - Shaloks Of Shaykh Fareed Jee - Part 007

They remain there, in those unhonoured graves. O Shaykh, dedicate yourself to God; you will have to depart, today or tomorrow. ||97|| Fareed, the shore of death looks like the river-bank, being eroded away. Beyond is the burning hell, from which cries and shrieks are heard. Some understand this completely, while others wander around carelessly. Those actions which are done in this world, shall be examined in the Court of the Lord. ||98|| Fareed, the crane perches on the river bank, playing joyfully. While it is playing, a hawk suddenly pounces on it. When the Hawk of God attacks, playful sport is forgotten. God does what is not expected or even considered. ||99|| The body is nourished by water and grain. The mortal comes into the world with high hopes. But when the Messenger of Death comes, it breaks down all the doors. It binds and gags the mortal, before the eyes of his beloved brothers. Behold, the mortal being is going away, carried on the shoulders of four men. Fareed, only those good deeds done in the world will be of any use in the Court of the Lord. ||100|| Fareed, I am a sacrifice to those birds which live in the jungle. They peck at the roots and live on the ground, but they do not leave the Lord's side. ||101|| Fareed, the seasons change, the woods shake and the leaves drop from the trees. I have searched in the four directions, but I have not found any resting place anywhere. ||102|| Fareed, I have torn my clothes to tatters; now I wear only a rough blanket. I wear only those clothes which will lead me to meet my Lord. ||103|| Third Mehl: Why do you tear apart your fine clothes, and take to wearing a rough blanket? O Nanak, even sitting in your own home, you can meet the Lord, if your mind is in the right place. ||104|| Fifth Mehl: Fareed, those who are very proud of their greatness, wealth and youth, shall return empty-handed from their Lord, like sandhills after the rain. ||105|| Fareed, the faces of those who forget the Lord's Name are dreadful. They suffer terrible pain here, and hereafter they find no place of rest or refuge. ||106|| Fareed, if you do not awaken in the early hours before dawn, you are dead while yet alive. Although you have forgotten God, God has not forgotten you. ||107|| Fifth Mehl: Fareed, my Husband Lord is full of joy; He is Great and Self-sufficient. To be imbued with the Lord God - this is the most beautiful decoration. ||108|| Fifth Mehl: Fareed, look upon pleasure and pain as the same; eradicate corruption from your heart. Whatever pleases the Lord God is good; understand this, and you will reach His Court. ||109|| Fifth Mehl: Fareed, the world dances as it dances, and you dance with it as well. That soul alone does not dance with it, who is under the care of the Lord God. ||110|| Fifth Mehl: Fareed, the heart is imbued with this world, but the world is of no use to it at all.

Section 41 - Shaloks Of Shaykh Fareed Jee - Part 008

It is so difficult to be like the fakeers - the Holy Saints; it is only achieved by perfect karma. ||111|| The first watch of the night brings flowers, and the later watches of the night bring fruit. Those who remain awake and aware, receive the gifts from the Lord. ||112|| The gifts are from our Lord and Master; who can force Him to bestow them? Some are awake, and do not receive them, while He awakens others from sleep to bless them. ||113|| You search for your Husband Lord; you must have some fault in your body. Those who are known as happy soul-brides, do not look to others. ||114|| Within yourself, make patience the bow, and make patience the bowstring. Make patience the arrow, the Creator will not let you miss the target. ||115|| Those who are patient abide in patience; in this way, they burn their bodies. They are close to the Lord, but they do not reveal their secret to anyone. ||116|| Let patience be your purpose in life; implant this within your being. In this way, you will grow into a great river; you will not break off into a tiny stream. ||117|| Fareed, it is difficult to be a dervish - a Holy Saint; it is easier to love bread when it is buttered. Only a rare few follow the way of the Saints. ||118|| My body is cooking like an oven; my bones are burning like firewood. If my feet become tired, I will walk on my head, if I can meet my Beloved. ||119|| Do not heat up your body like an oven, and do not burn your bones like firewood. What harm have your feet and head done to you? Behold your Beloved within yourself. ||120|| I search for my Friend, but my Friend is already with me. O Nanak, the Unseen Lord cannot be seen; He is revealed only to the Gurmukh. ||121|| Seeing the swans swimming, the cranes became excited. The poor cranes were drowned to death, with their heads below the water and their feet sticking out above. ||122|| I knew him as a great swan, so I associated with him. If I had known that he was a only wretched crane, I would never in my life have crossed paths with him. ||123|| Who is a swan, and who is a crane, if God blesses him with His Glance of Grace? If it pleases Him, O Nanak, He changes a crow into a swan. ||124|| There is only one bird in the lake, but there are fifty trappers. This body is caught in the waves of desire. O my True Lord, You are my only hope! ||125|| What is that word, what is that virtue, and what is that magic mantra? What are those clothes, which I can wear to captivate my Husband Lord? ||126|| Humility is the word, forgiveness is the virtue, and sweet speech is the magic mantra. Wear these three robes, O sister, and you will captivate your Husband Lord. ||127|| If you are wise, be simple; if you are powerful, be weak; and when there is nothing to share, then share with others. How rare is one who is known as such a devotee. ||128|| Do not utter even a single harsh word; your True Lord and Master abides in all. Do not break anyone's heart; these are all priceless jewels. ||129|| The minds of all are like precious jewels; to harm them is not good at all. If you desire your Beloved, then do not break anyone's heart. ||130||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 42 - SWAIYAS
FROM THE MOUTH OF THE GREAT FIFTH MEHL

Section 42 - Swaiyas From The Mouth Of The Great Fifth Mehl - Part 001

One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying. Beyond Birth. Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: Swaiyas From The Mouth Of The Great Fifth Mehl: O Primal Lord God, You Yourself are the Creator, the Cause of all causes. You are All-pervading everywhere, totally filling all hearts. You are seen pervading the world; who can know Your State? You protect all; You are our Lord and Master. O my Imperishable and Formless Lord, You formed Yourself. You are the One and Only; no one else is like You. O Lord, You have no end or limitation. Who can contemplate You? You are the Father of the world, the Support of all life. Your devotees are at Your Door, O God - they are just like You. How can servant Nanak describe them with only one tongue? I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice, forever a sacrifice to them. ||1|| Streams of Ambrosial Nectar flow; Your Treasures are unweighable and overflowing in abundance. You are the Farthest of the far, Infinite and Incomparably Beautiful. You do whatever You please; You do not take advice from anyone else. In Your Home, creation and destruction happen in an instant. No one else is equal to You; Your Light is Immaculate and Pure. Millions of sins are washed away, chanting Your Name, Har, Har. Your devotees are at Your Door, God - they are just like You. How can servant Nanak describe them with only one tongue? I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice, forever a sacrifice to them. ||2|| You established all the worlds from within Yourself, and extended them outward. You are All-pervading amongst all, and yet You Yourself remain detached. O Lord, there is no end or limit to Your Glorious Virtues; all beings and creatures are Yours. You are the Giver of all, the One Invisible Lord.

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Section 42 - Swaiyas From The Mouth Of The Great Fifth Mehl - Part 002

He Himself supports the Universe, revealing His All-powerful Creative Potency. He has no colour, form, mouth or beard. Your devotees are at Your Door, O God - they are just like You. How can servant Nanak describe them with only one tongue? I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice, forever a sacrifice to them. ||3|| You are the Treasure of all virtue; who can know the value of Your spiritual wisdom and meditation? O God, Your Place is known as the highest of the high. Mind, wealth and the breath of life belong to You alone, Lord. The world is strung upon Your Thread. What praises can I give to You? You are the Greatest of the great. Who can know Your Mystery? O Unfathomable, Infinite, Divine Lord, Your Power is unstoppable. O God, You are the Support of all. Your devotees are at Your Door, O God - they are just like You. How can servant Nanak describe them with only one tongue? I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice, forever a sacrifice to them. ||4|| O Formless, Formed, Undeceivable, Perfect, Imperishable, Blissful, Unlimited, Beautiful, Immaculate, Blossoming Lord: Countless are those who sing Your Glorious Praises, but they do not know even a tiny bit of Your extent. That humble being upon whom You shower Your Mercy meets with You, O God. Blessed, blessed, blessed are those humble beings, upon whom the Lord, Har, Har, showers His Mercy. Whoever meets with the Lord through Guru Nanak is rid of both birth and death. ||5|| The Lord is said to be True, True, True, True, the Truest of the True. There is no other like Him. He is the Primal Being, the Primal Soul. Chanting the Ambrosial Name of the Lord, the mortal is blessed with all comforts. Those who taste it with their tongues, those humble beings are satisfied and fulfilled. That person who becomes pleasing to his Lord and Master, loves the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. Whoever meets with the Lord through Guru Nanak, saves all his generations. ||6|| True is His Congregation and His Court. The True Lord has established Truth. Sitting upon His Throne of Truth, He administers True Justice. The True Lord Himself fashioned the Universe. He is Infallible, and does not make mistakes. The Naam, the Name of the Infinite Lord, is the jewel. Its value cannot be appraised - it is priceless. That person, upon whom the Lord of the Universe showers His Mercy obtains all comforts. Those who touch the Feet of the Lord through Guru Nanak, do not have to enter the cycle of reincarnation ever again. ||7|| What is the Yoga, what is the spiritual wisdom and meditation, and what is the way, to praise the Lord? The Siddhas and seekers and the three hundred thirty million gods cannot find even a tiny bit of the Lord's Value. Neither Brahma, nor Sanak, nor the thousand-headed serpent king can find the limits of His Glorious Virtues. The Inapprehensible Lord cannot be apprehended. He is pervading and permeating amongst all. Those whom God has mercifully freed from their nooses - those humble beings are attached to His devotional worship. Those who meet with the Lord through Guru Nanak are liberated forever, here and hereafter. ||8|| I am a beggar; I seek the Sanctuary of God, the Giver of givers. Please bless me with the gift of the dust of the feet of the Saints; grasping them, I cross over the terrifying world-ocean. Please listen to my prayer, if it pleases You, O my Lord and Master.

Section 42 - Swaiyas From The Mouth Of The Great Fifth Mehl - Part 003

My mind yearns for the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. This mind abides in devotional worship. The lamp is lit in the darkness; all are saved in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, through the One Name and faith in the Dharma. The Lord is revealed in all the worlds. O servant Nanak, the Guru is the Supreme Lord God. ||9|| Swaiyas From The Mouth Of The Great Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: This body is frail and transitory, and bound to emotional attachment. I am foolish, stone-hearted, filthy and unwise. My mind wanders and wobbles, and will not hold steady. It does not know the state of the Supreme Lord God. I am intoxicated with the wine of youth, beauty and the riches of Maya. I wander around perplexed, in excessive egotistical pride. The wealth and women of others, arguments and slander, are sweet and dear to my soul. I try to hide my deception, but God, the Inner-knower, the Searcher of Hearts, sees and hears all. I have no humility, faith, compassion or purity, but I seek Your Sanctuary, O Giver of life. The All-powerful Lord is the Cause of causes. O Lord and Master of Nanak, please save me! ||1|| The Praises of the Creator, the Enticer of the mind, are potent to destroy sins. The All-powerful Lord is the boat, to carry us across; He saves all our generations. O my unconscious mind, contemplate and remember Him in the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. Why are you wandering around, enticed by the darkness of doubt? Remember Him in meditation, for an hour, for a moment, even for an instant. Chant the Name of the Lord with your tongue. You are bound to worthless deeds and shallow pleasures; why do you spend millions of lifetimes wandering in such pain? Chant and vibrate the Name of the Lord, O Nanak, through the Teachings of the Saints. Meditate on the Lord with love in your soul. ||2|| The little sperm is planted in the body-field of the mother, and the human body, so difficult to obtain, is formed. He eats and drinks, and enjoys pleasures; his pains are taken away, and his suffering is gone. He is given the understanding to recognise mother, father, siblings and relatives. He grows day by day, as the horrible specter of old age comes closer and closer. You worthless, petty worm of Maya - remember your Lord and Master, at least for an instant! Please take Nanak's hand, O Merciful Ocean of Mercy, and take away this heavy load of doubt. ||3|| O mind, you are a mouse, living in the mousehole of the body; you are so proud of yourself, but you act like an absolute fool. You swing in the swing of wealth, intoxicated with Maya, and you wander around like an owl. You take pleasure in your children, spouse, friends and relatives; your emotional attachment to them is increasing. You have planted the seeds of egotism, and the sprout of possessiveness has come up. You pass your life making sinful mistakes. The cat of death, with his mouth wide-open, is watching you. You eat food, but you are still hungry. Meditate in remembrance on the Merciful Lord of the World, O Nanak, in the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. Know that the world is just a dream. ||4||

Section 42 - Swaiyas From The Mouth Of The Great Fifth Mehl - Part 004

Neither body, nor house, nor love last forever. You are intoxicated with Maya; how long will you be proud of them? Neither crown, nor canopy, nor servants last forever. You do not consider in your heart that your life is passing away. Neither chariots, nor horses, nor elephants or royal thrones shall last forever. In an instant, you will have to leave them, and depart naked. Neither warrior, nor hero, nor king or ruler last forever; see this with your eyes. Neither fortress, nor shelter, nor treasure will save you; doing evil deeds, you shall depart empty-handed. Friends, children, spouses and friends - none of them last forever; they change like the shade of a tree. God is the Perfect Primal Being, Merciful to the meek; each and every instant, meditate in remembrance on Him, the Inaccessible and Infinite. O Great Lord and Master, servant Nanak seeks Your Sanctuary; please shower him with Your Mercy, and carry him across. ||5|| I have used up my breath of life, sold my self-respect, begged for charity, committed highway robbery, and dedicated my consciousness to the love and pursuit of acquiring wealth. I have kept it secretly hidden from my friends, relatives, companions, children and siblings. I ran around practicing falsehood, burning up my body and growing old. I gave up good deeds, righteousness and Dharma, self-discipline, purity, religious vows and all good ways; I associated with the fickle Maya. Beasts and birds, trees and mountains - in so many ways, I wandered lost in reincarnation. I did not remember the Naam, the Name of the Lord, for a moment, or even an instant. He is the Master of the meek, the Lord of all life. The food and drink, and the sweet and tasty dishes became totally bitter at the last moment. O Nanak, I was saved in the Society of the Saints, at their feet; the others, intoxicated with Maya, have gone, leaving everything behind. ||6|| Brahma, Shiva, the Vedas and the silent sages sing the Glorious Praises of their Lord and Master with love and delight. Indra, Vishnu and Gorakh, who come to earth and then go to heaven again, seek the Lord. The Siddhas, human beings, gods and demons cannot find even a tiny bit of His Mystery. The Lord's humble servants are imbued with love and affection for God their Beloved; in the delight of devotional worship, they are absorbed in the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. But those who forsake Him, and beg from another, shall see their mouths, teeth and tongues wear away. O my foolish mind, meditate in remembrance on the Lord, the Giver of peace. Slave Nanak imparts these teachings. ||7|| The pleasures of Maya shall fade away. In doubt, the mortal falls into the deep dark pit of emotional attachment. He is so proud, even the sky cannot contain him. His belly is filled with manure, bones and worms. He runs around in the ten directions, for the sake of the great poison of corruption. He steals the wealth of others, and in the end, he is destroyed by his own ignorance. His youth passes away, the illnesses of old age seize him, and the Messenger of Death punishes him; such is the death he dies. He suffers the agony of hell in countless incarnations; he rots away in the pit of pain and condemnation. O Nanak, those whom the Saint mercifully takes as his own, are carried across by their loving devotional worship. ||8|| All virtues are obtained, all fruits and rewards, and the desires of the mind; my hopes have been totally fulfilled. The Medicine, the Mantra, the Magic Charm, will cure all illnesses and totally take away all pain.

Section 42 - Swaiyas From The Mouth Of The Great Fifth Mehl - Part 005

Lust, anger, egotism, jealousy and desire are eliminated by chanting the Name of the Lord. The merits of cleansing baths, charity, penance, purity and good deeds, are obtained by enshrining the Lotus Feet of God within the heart. The Lord is my Friend, my Very Best Friend, Companion and Relative. God is the Sustenance of the soul, the Support of the breath of life. I have grasped the Shelter and Support of my All-powerful Lord and Master; slave Nanak is forever a sacrifice to Him. ||9|| Weapons cannot cut that person who delights in the love of the Lord's Lotus Feet. Ropes cannot bind that person whose mind is pierced through by the Vision of the Lord's Way. Fire cannot burn that person who is attached to the dust of the feet of the Lord's humble servant. Water cannot drown that person whose feet walk on the Lord's Path. O Nanak, diseases, faults, sinful mistakes and emotional attachment are pierced by the Arrow of the Name. ||1||10|| People are engaged in making all sorts of efforts; they contemplate the various aspects of the six Shaastras. Rubbing ashes all over their bodies, they wander around at the various sacred shrines of pilgrimage; they fast until their bodies are emaciated, and braid their hair into tangled messes. Without devotional worship of the Lord, they all suffer in pain, caught in the tangled web of their love. They perform worship ceremonies, draw ritual marks on their bodies, cook their own food fanatically, and make pompous shows of themselves in all sorts of ways. ||2||11||20|| Swaiyas In Praise Of The First Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Meditate single-mindedly on the Primal Lord God, the Bestower of blessings. He is the Helper and Support of the Saints, manifest forever. Grasp His Feet and enshrine them in your heart. Then, let us sing the Glorious Praises of the most exalted Guru Nanak. ||1|| I sing the Glorious Praises of the most exalted Guru Nanak, the Ocean of peace, the Eradicator of sins, the sacred pool of the Shabad, the Word of God. The beings of deep and profound understanding, oceans of wisdom, sing of Him; the Yogis and wandering hermits meditate on Him. Indra and devotees like Prahlaad, who know the joy of the soul, sing of Him. KAL the poet sings the Sublime Praises of Guru Nanak, who enjoys mastery of Raja Yoga, the Yoga of meditation and success. ||2|| King Janak and the great Yogic heroes of the Lord's Way, sing the Praises of the All-powerful Primal Being, filled with the sublime essence of the Lord. Sanak and Brahma's sons, the Saadhus and Siddhas, the silent sages and humble servants of the Lord sing the Praises of Guru Nanak, who cannot be deceived by the great deceiver. Dhoma the seer and Dhroo, whose realm is unmoving, sing the Glorious Praises of Guru Nanak, who knows the ecstasy of loving devotional worship. KAL the poet sings the Sublime Praises of Guru Nanak, who enjoys mastery of Raja Yoga. ||3|| Kapila and the other Yogis sing of Guru Nanak. He is the Avataar, the Incarnation of the Infinite Lord. Parasraam the son of Jamdagan, whose axe and powers were taken away by Raghuvira, sing of Him. Udho, Akrur and Bidur sing the Glorious Praises of Guru Nanak, who knows the Lord, the Soul of All. KAL the poet sings the Sublime Praises of Guru Nanak, who enjoys mastery of Raja Yoga. ||4||

Section 42 - Swaiyas From The Mouth Of The Great Fifth Mehl - Part 006

The four castes and the six Shaastras sing His Glorious Praises; Brahma and the others contemplate His Virtues. The thousand-tongued serpent king sings His Praises with delight, remaining lovingly attached to Him. Shiva, detached and beyond desire, sings the Glorious Praises of Guru Nanak, who knows the Lord's endless meditation. KAL the poet sings the Sublime Praises of Guru Nanak, who enjoys mastery of Raja Yoga. ||5|| He mastered Raja Yoga, and enjoys sovereignty over both worlds; the Lord, beyond hate and revenge, is enshrined within His Heart. The whole world is saved, and carried across, chanting the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Sanak and Janak and the others sing His Praises, age after age. Blessed, blessed, blessed and fruitful is the sublime birth of the Guru into the world. Even in the nether regions, His Victory is celebrated; so says KAL the poet. You are blessed with the Nectar of the Lord's Name, O Guru Nanak; You have mastered Raja Yoga, and enjoy sovereignty over both worlds. ||6|| In the Golden Age of Sat Yuga, You were pleased to deceive Baal the king, in the form of a dwarf. In the Silver Age of Traytaa Yuga, You were called Raam of the Raghu dynasty. In the Brass Age of Dwaapur Yuga, You were Krishna; You killed Mur the demon and saved Kans. You blessed Ugrasain with a kingdom, and You blessed Your humble devotees with fearlessness. In the Iron Age, the Dark Age of Kali Yuga, You are known and accepted as Guru Nanak, Guru Angad and Guru Amar Das. The sovereign rule of the Great Guru is unchanging and permanent, according the Command of the Primal Lord God. ||7|| His Glorious Praises are sung by the devotees Ravi Daas, Jai Dayv and Trilochan. The devotees Naam Dayv and Kabeer praise Him continually, knowing Him to be even-eyed. The devotee Baynee sings His Praises; He intuitively enjoys the ecstasy of the soul. He is the Master of Yoga and meditation, and the spiritual wisdom of the Guru; He knows none other except God. Sukh Dayv and Preekhyat sing His Praises, and Gautam the rishi sings His Praise. Says KAL the poet, the ever-fresh praises of Guru Nanak are spread throughout the world. ||8|| In the nether worlds, His Praises are sung by the devotees like Shaysh-naag in serpent form. Shiva, the Yogis and the wandering hermits sing His Praises forever. Vyaas the silent sage, who studied the Vedas

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and its grammar, sings His Praise. His Praises are sung by Brahma, who created the entire universe by God's Command. God fills the galaxies and realms of the universe; He is known to be the same, manifest and unmanifest. KAL chants the Sublime Praises of Guru Nanak, who enjoys mastery of Yoga. ||9|| The nine masters of Yoga sing His Praises; blessed is the Guru, who is merged into the True Lord. Maandhaataa, who called himself ruler of all the world, sings His Praises. Bal the king, dwelling in the seventh underworld, sings His Praises. Bhart'har, abiding forever with Gorakh, his guru, sings His Praises. Doorbaasaa, King Puro and Angra sing the Praises of Guru Nanak. Says KAL the poet, the Sublime Praises of Guru Nanak intuitively permeate each and every heart. ||10||

Section 42 - Swaiyas From The Mouth Of The Great Fifth Mehl - Part 007

Swaiyas In Praise Of The Second Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Blessed is the Primal Lord God, the Creator, the All-powerful Cause of causes. Blessed is the True Guru Nanak, who placed His hand upon Your forehead. When He placed His hand upon Your forehead, then the celestial nectar began to rain down in torrents; the gods and human beings, heavenly heralds and sages were drenched in its fragrance. You challenged and subdued the cruel demon of death; You restrained Your wandering mind; You overpowered the five demons and You keep them in one home. Through the Guru's Door, the Gurdwara, You have conquered the world; You play the game even-handedly. You keep the flow of your love steady for the Formless Lord. O KAL SAHAAR, chant the Praises of Lehnaa throughout the seven continents; He met with the Lord, and became Guru of the World. ||1|| The Stream of Ambrosial Nectar from His eyes washes away the slime and filth of sins; the sight of His door dispels the darkness of ignorance. Whoever accomplishes this most difficult task of contemplating the most sublime Word of the Shabad - those people cross over the terrifying world-ocean, and cast off their loads of sin. The Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, is celestial and sublime; whoever remains awake and aware, contemplating the Guru, embodies humility, and is imbued forever with the Supreme Love of the Lord. O KAL SAHAAR, chant the Praises of Lehnaa throughout the seven continents; He met with the Lord, and became Guru of the World. ||2|| You hold tight to the Naam, the Name of the Infinite Lord; Your expanse is immaculate. You are the Support of the Siddhas and seekers, and the good and humble beings. You are the incarnation of King Janak; the contemplation of Your Shabad is sublime throughout the universe. You abide in the world like the lotus on the water. Like the Elyisan Tree, You cure all illnesses and take away the sufferings of the world. The three-phased soul is lovingly attuned to You alone. O KAL SAHAAR, chant the Praises of Lehnaa throughout the seven continents; He met with the Lord, and became Guru of the World. ||3|| You were blessed with glory by the Prophet; You serve the Guru, certified by the Lord, who has subdued the snake of the mind, and who abides in the state of sublime bliss. Your Vision is like that of the Lord, Your soul is a fount of spiritual wisdom; You know the unfathomable state of the certified Guru. Your Gaze is focused upon the unmoving, unchanging place. Your Intellect is immaculate; it is focused upon the most sublime place. Wearing the armor of humility, you have overcome Maya. O KAL SAKAAR, chant the Praises of Lehnaa throughout the seven continents; He met with the Lord, and became Guru of the World. ||4|| Casting Your Glance of Grace, you dispel the darkness, burn away evil, and destroy sin. You are the Heroic Warrior of the Shabad, the Word of God. Your Power destroys sexual desire and anger. You have overpowered greed and emotional attachment; You nurture and cherish those who seek Your Sanctuary. You gather in the joyful love of the soul; Your Words have the Potency to bring forth Ambrosial Nectar. You are appointed the True Guru, the True Guru in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga; whoever is truly attached to You is carried across. The lion, the son of Pheru, is Guru Angad, the Guru of the World; Lehnaa practices Raja Yoga, the Yoga of meditation and success. ||5||

Section 42 - Swaiyas From The Mouth Of The Great Fifth Mehl - Part 008

Your mind remains lovingly attuned to the Lord forever; You do whatever you desire. Like the tree heavy with fruit, You bow in humility, and endure the pain of it; You are pure of thought. You realise this reality, that the Lord is All-pervading, Unseen and Amazing. With intuitive ease, You send forth the rays of the Ambrosial Word of power. You have risen to the state of the certified Guru; you grasp truth and contentment. KAL proclaims, that whoever attains the Blessed Vision of the Darshan of Lehnaa, meets with the Lord. ||6|| My mind has faith, that the Prophet has given You access to the Profound Lord. Your body has been purged of the deadly poison; You drink the Ambrosial Nectar deep within. Your Heart has blossomed forth in awareness of the Unseen Lord, who has infused His Power throughout the ages. O True Guru, You are intuitively absorbed in Samaadhi, with continuity and equality. You are open-minded and large-hearted, the Destroyer of poverty; seeing You, sins are afraid. Says KAL, I lovingly, continually, intuitively chant the Praises of Lehnaa with my tongue. ||7|| The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is our medicine; the Naam is our support; the Naam is the peace of Samaadhi. The Naam is the insignia which embellishes us forever. KAL is imbued with the Love of the Naam, the Naam which is the fragrance of gods and human beings. Whoever obtains the Naam, the Philosopher's Stone, becomes the embodiment of Truth, manifest and radiant throughout the world. Gazing upon the Blessed Vision of the Guru's Darshan, it is as if one has bathed at the sixty-eight sacred shrines of pilgrimage. ||8|| The True Name is the sacred shrine, the True Name is the cleansing bath of purification and food. The True Name is eternal love; chant the True Name, and be embellished. The True Name is obtained through the Word of the Guru's Shabad; the Sangat, the Holy Congregation, is fragrant with the True Name. KAL the poet utters the Praises of the one whose self-discipline is the True Name, and whose fast is the True Name. Gazing upon the Blessed Vision of the Guru's Darshan, one's life is approved and certified in the True Name. ||9|| When You bestow Your Ambrosial Glance of Grace, You eradicate all wickedness, sin and filth. Sexual desire, anger, greed and emotional attachment - You have overcome all these powerful passions. Your mind is filled with peace forever; You banish the sufferings of the world. The Guru is the river of the nine treasures, washing off the dirt of our lives. So speaks TAL the poet: serve the Guru, day and night, with intuitive love and affection. Gazing upon the Blessed Vision of the Guru, the pains of death and rebirth are taken away. ||10|| Swaiyas In Praise Of The Third Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Dwell upon that Primal Being, the True Lord God; in this world, His One Name is Undeceivable. He carries His devotees across the terrifying world-ocean; meditate in remembrance on His Naam, Supreme and Sublime. Nanak delighted in the Naam; He established Lehnaa as Guru, who was imbued with all supernatural spiritual powers. So speaks KALL the poet: the glory of the wise, sublime and humble Amar Daas is spread throughout the world. His Praises radiate throughout the world, like the rays of the sun, and the branches of the maulsar (fragrant) tree. In the north, south, east and west, people proclaim Your Victory.

Section 42 - Swaiyas From The Mouth Of The Great Fifth Mehl - Part 009

The Guru spoke the Lord's Name with His mouth and broadcast it throughout the world, to turn the tide of the hearts of men. That Undeceivable Naam, which carries the devotees across the world-ocean, came into Guru Amar Daas. ||1|| The gods and heavenly heralds, the Siddhas and seekers and Shiva in Samaadhi meditate in remembrance on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. The stars and the realms of Dhroo, and devotees like Naaraad and Prahlaad meditate on the Naam. The moon and the sun long for the Naam; it has saved even mountain ranges. That Undeceivable Naam, which carries the devotees across the world-ocean, came into Guru Amar Daas. ||2|| Dwelling upon that Immaculate Naam, the nine Yogic masters, Shiva and Sanak and many others have been emancipated. The eighty-four Siddhas, the beings of supernatural spiritual powers, and the Buddhas are imbued with the Naam; it carried Ambreek across the terrifying world-ocean. It has erased the sins of Oodho, Akroor, Trilochan, Naam Dayv and Kabeer, in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga. That Undeceivable Naam, which carries the devotees across the world-ocean, came into Guru Amar Daas. ||3|| The three hundred thirty million angels meditate, attached to the Naam; it is enshrined within the minds of the celibates and ascetics. Bhisham Pitama, the son of the Ganges, meditated on that Naam; his consciousness delighted in the Ambrosial Nectar of the Lord's Feet. The great and profound Guru has brought forth the Naam; accepting the teachings as true, the Holy Congregation has been saved. That Undeceivable Naam, which carries the devotees across the world-ocean, came into Guru Amar Daas. ||4|| The Glory of the Naam shines forth, like the rays of the sun, and the branches of the Elysian Tree. In the countries of the north, south, east and west, the Praises of the Naam are chanted. Life is fruitful, when the Name of the Lord abides in the heart. The angelic beings, heavenly heralds, celestial singers and the six Shaastras yearn for the Naam. The son of Tayj Bhaan of the Bhalla dynasty is noble and famous; with his palms pressed together, KALL meditates on Him. The Naam takes away the fears of the devotees about the word-ocean; Guru Amar Daas has obtained it. ||5|| The thirty-one million gods meditate on the Naam, along with the Siddhas and seekers; the Naam supports solar systems and galaxies. One who meditates on the Naam in Samaadhi, endures sorrow and joy as one and the same. The Naam is the most sublime of all; the devotees remain lovingly attuned to it. Guru Amar Daas was blessed with the treasure of the Naam, by the Creator Lord, in His Pleasure. ||6|| He is the Warrior Hero of Truth, humility is His Power. His Loving Nature inspires the Congregation with deep and profound understanding; He is absorbed in the Lord, free of hate and vengeance. Patience has been His white banner since the beginning of time, planted on the bridge to heaven. The Saints meet their Beloved Guru, who is united with the Creator Lord. Serving the True Guru, they find peace; Guru Amar Daas has given them this ability. ||7|| The Naam is His cleansing bath; the Naam is the food He eats; the Naam is the taste He enjoys. With deep yearning, He chants the Sweet Bani of the Guru's Word forever. Blessed is service to the True Guru; by His Grace, the State of the Unfathomable Lord is known. All Your generations are totally saved; You dwell in the Naam, the Name of the Lord.

Section 42 - Swaiyas From The Mouth Of The Great Fifth Mehl - Part 010

So speaks KALL: fruitful is the life of one who meets with Guru Amar Daas, radiant with the Light of God. ||8|| On His right hand is the sign of the lotus; the Siddhis, the supernatural spiritual powers, await His Command. On His left are worldly powers, which fascinate the three worlds. The Inexpressible Lord abides in His Heart; He alone knows this joy. Guru Amar Daas utters the words of devotion, imbued with the Love of the Lord. On His forehead is the true insignia of the Lord's Mercy; with his palms pressed together, KALL meditates on Him. Whoever meets with the Guru, the certified True Guru, has all his desires fulfilled. ||9|| Supremely fruitful are the feet which walk upon the path of Guru Amar Daas. Supremely fruitful are the hands which touch the feet of Guru Amar Daas. Supremely fruitful is the tongue which utters the praises of Guru Amar Daas. Supremely fruitful are the eyes which behold Guru Amar Daas. Supremely fruitful are the ears which hear the Praises of Guru Amar Daas. Fruitful is the heart in which Guru Amar Daas, the Father of the world, Himself abides. Fruitful is the head, says JAALAP, which bows forever before Guru Amar Daas. ||1||10|| They do not suffer pain or hunger, and they cannot be called poor. They do not grieve, and their limits cannot be found. They do not serve anyone else, but they give gifts to hundreds and thousands. They sit on beautiful carpets; they establish and disestablish at will. They find peace in this world, and live fearlessly amidst their enemies. They are fruitful and prosperous, says JAALAP. Guru Amar Daas is pleased with them. ||2||11|| You read about the One Lord, and enshrine Him in Your mind; You realise the One and Only Lord. With Your eyes and the words You speak, You dwell upon the One Lord; You do not know any other place of rest. You know the One Lord while dreaming, and the One Lord while awake. You are absorbed in the One. At the age of seventy-one, You began to march towards the Indestructible Lord. The One Lord, who takes hundreds of thousands of forms, cannot be seen. He can only be described as One. So speaks JAALAP: O Guru Amar Daas, You long for the One Lord, and believe in the One Lord alone. ||3||12|| The understanding which Jai Dayv grasped, the understanding which permeated Naam Dayv, the understanding which was in the consciousness of Trilochan and known by the devotee Kabeer, by which Rukmaangad constantly meditated on the Lord, O Siblings of Destiny, which brought Ambreek and Prahlaad to seek the Sanctuary of the Lord of the Universe, and which brought them to salvation -says JALL that sublime understanding has brought You to renounce greed, anger and desire, and to know the way. Guru Amar Daas is the Lord's own devotee; gazing upon the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, one is liberated. ||4||13|| Meeting with Guru Amar Daas, the earth is purged of its sin. The Siddhas and seekers long to meet with Guru Amar Daas. Meeting with Guru Amar Daas, the mortal meditates on the Lord, and his journey comes to its end. Meeting with Guru Amar Daas, the Fearless Lord is obtained, and the cycle of reincarnation is brought to an end.

Section 42 - Swaiyas From The Mouth Of The Great Fifth Mehl - Part 011

Realising the One Lord, love of duality ceases, and one comes to accept the Sublime Mantra of the Guru. So speaks JAALAP: countless treasures are obtained, by the sight of Guru Amar Daas. ||5||14|| Guru Nanak gathered up the True Name of the Creator Lord, and implanted it within. Through Him, Lehnaa became manifest in the form of Guru Angad, who remained lovingly attuned to His Feet. Guru Amar Daas of that dynasty is the home of hope. How can I express His Glorious Virtues? His Virtues are unknowable and unfathomable. I do not know the limits of His Virtues. The Creator, the Architect of Destiny, has made Him a boat to carry all His generations across, along with the Sangat, the Holy Congregation. So speaks KEERAT: O Guru Amar Daas, please protect me and save me; I seek the Sanctuary of Your Feet. ||1||15|| The Lord Himself wielded His Power and entered the world. The Formless Lord took form, and with His Light He illuminated the realms of the world. He is All-pervading everywhere; the Lamp of the Shabad, the Word, has been lit. Whoever gathers in the essence of the teachings shall be absorbed in the Feet of the Lord. Lehnaa, who became Guru Angad, and Guru Amar Daas, have been reincarnated into the pure house of Guru Nanak. Guru Amar

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Daas is our Saving Grace, who carries us across; in lifetime after lifetime, I seek the Sanctuary of Your Feet. ||2||16|| Gazing upon the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, the Gursikh is blessed with chanting and deep meditation, truth and contentment. Whoever seeks His Sanctuary is saved; his account is cleared in the City of Death. His heart is totally filled with loving devotion; he chants to the Creator Lord. The Guru is the river of pearls; in an instant, he carries the drowning ones across. He was reincarnated into the House of Guru Nanak; He chants the Glorious Praises of the Creator Lord. Those who serve Guru Amar Daas - their pains and poverty are taken away, far away. ||3||17|| I consciously pray within my consciousness, but I cannot express it in words. I place all my worries and anxieties before You; I look to the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy, for help. By the Hukam of Your Command, I am blessed with Your Insignia; I serve my Lord and Master. When You, O Guru, gaze at me with Your Glance of Grace, the fruit of the Naam, the Name of the Creator, is placed within my mouth. The Unfathomable and Unseen Primal Lord God, the Cause of causes - as He orders, so do I speak. O Guru Amar Daas, Doer of deeds, Cause of causes, as You keep me, I remain; as You protect me, I survive. ||4||18|| OF BHIKHAA: In deep meditation, and the spiritual wisdom of the Guru, one's essence merges with the essence of reality. In truth, the True Lord is recognised and realised, when one is lovingly attuned to Him, with one-pointed consciousness. Lust and anger are brought under control, when the breath does not fly around, wandering restlessly. Dwelling in the land of the Formless Lord, realising the Hukam of His Command, His contemplative wisdom is attained. In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, the Guru is the Form of the Creator, the Primal Lord God; he alone knows, who has tried it. So speaks BHIKHAA: I have met the Guru. With love and intuitive affection, He has bestowed the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. ||1||19|| I have been searching for the Saints; I have seen so many Holy and spiritual people. The hermits, Sannyaasees, ascetics, penitents, fanatics and Pandits all speak sweetly. I wandered around lost for a year, but no one touched my soul.

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I listened to preachers and teachers, but I could not be happy with their lifestyles. Those who have abandoned the Lord's Name, and become attached to duality - why should I speak in praise of them? So speaks BHIKHAA: the Lord has led me to meet the Guru. As You keep me, I remain; as You protect me, I survive. ||2||20|| Wearing the armor of Samaadhi, the Guru has mounted the saddled horse of spiritual wisdom. Holding the bow of Dharma in His Hands, He has shot the arrows of devotion and humility. He is fearless in the Fear of the Eternal Lord God; He has thrust the spear of the Word of the Guru's Shabad into the mind. He has cut down the five demons of unfulfilled sexual desire, unresolved anger, unsatisfied greed, emotional attachment and self-conceit. Guru Amar Daas, the son of Tayj Bhaan, of the noble Bhalla dynasty, blessed by Guru Nanak, is the Master of kings. SALL speaks the truth; O Guru Amar Daas, you have conquered the army of evil, fighting the battle this way. ||1||21|| The raindrops of the clouds, the plants of the earth, and the flowers of the spring cannot be counted. Who can know the limits of the rays of the sun and the moon, the waves of the ocean and the Ganges? With Shiva's meditation and the spiritual wisdom of the True Guru, says BHALL the poet, these may be counted. O Guru Amar Daas, Your Glorious Virtues are so sublime; Your Praises belong only to You. ||1||22|| Swaiyas In Praise Of The Fourth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Meditate single-mindedly on the Immaculate Primal Lord God. By Guru's Grace, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord forever. Singing His Praises, the mind blossoms forth in ecstasy. The True Guru fulfills the hopes of His humble servant. Serving the True Guru, the supreme status is obtained. Meditate on the Imperishable, Formless Lord God. Meeting with Him, one escapes poverty. KAL SAHAAR chants His Glorious Praises. I chant the pure praises of that humble being who has been blessed with the Ambrosial Nectar of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. He served the True Guru and was blessed with the sublime essence of the Shabad, the Word of God. The Immaculate Naam has been enshrined in his heart. He enjoys and savors the Lord's Name, and purchases the Glorious Virtues of the Lord of the Universe. He seeks the essence of reality; he is the Fountain of even-handed justice. So speaks KALL the poet: Guru Raam Daas, the son of Har Daas, fills the empty pools to overflowing. ||1|| The stream of ambrosial nectar flows and the immortal status is obtained; the pool is forever overflowing with Ambrosial Nectar. Those Saints who have served the Lord in the past drink in this Nectar, and bathe their minds in it. God takes their fears away, and blesses them with the state of fearless dignity. Through the Word of His Shabad, He has saved them. So speaks KALL the poet: Guru Raam Daas, the son of Har Daas, fills the empty pools to overflowing. ||2|| The True Guru's understanding is deep and profound. The Sat Sangat is His Pure Congregation. His Soul is drenched in the deep crimson colour of the Lord's Love. The Lotus of His mind remains awake and aware, illuminated with intuitive wisdom. In His own home, He has obtained the Fearless, Immaculate Lord.

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The Merciful True Guru has implanted the Lord's Name within me, and by His Grace, I have overpowered the five thieves. So speaks KALL the poet: Guru Raam Daas, the son of Har Daas, fills the empty pools to overflowing. ||3|| With intuitive detachment, He is lovingly attuned to the Fearless, Unmanifest Lord; He met with Guru Amar Daas, the Philosopher's Stone, within his own home. By the Grace of the True Guru, He attained the supreme status; He is overflowing with the treasures of loving devotion. He was released from reincarnation, and the fear of death was taken away. His consciousness is attached to the Lord, the Ocean of contentment. So speaks KALL the poet: Guru Raam Daas, the son of Har Daas, fills the empty pools to overflowing. ||4|| He fills the empty to overflowing; He has enshrined the Infinite within His heart. Within His mind, He contemplates the essence of reality, the Destroyer of pain, the Enlightener of the soul. He yearns for the Lord's Love forever; He Himself knows the sublime essence of this Love. By the Grace of the True Guru, He intuitively enjoys this Love. By the Grace of Guru Nanak, and the sublime teachings of Guru Angad, Guru Amar Daas broadcast the Lord's Command. So speaks KALL: O Guru Raam Daas, You have attained the status of eternal and imperishable dignity. ||5|| You abide in the pool of contentment; Your tongue reveals the Ambrosial Essence. Meeting with You, a tranquil peace wells up, and sins run far away. You have attained the Ocean of peace, and You never grow tired on the Lord's path. The armor of self-restraint, truth, contentment and humility can never be pierced. The Creator Lord certified the True Guru, and now the world blows the trumpet of His Praises. So speaks KALL: O Guru Raam Daas, You have attained the state of fearless immortality. ||6|| O certified True Guru, You have conquered the world; You meditate single-mindedly on the One Lord. Blessed, blessed is Guru Amar Daas, the True Guru, who implanted the Naam, the Name of the Lord, deep within. The Naam is the wealth of the nine treasures; prosperity and supernatural spiritual powers are His slaves. He is blessed with the ocean of intuitive wisdom; He has met with the Imperishable Lord God. The Guru has implanted the Naam deep within; attached to the Naam, the devotees have been carried across since ancient times. So speaks KALL: O Guru Raam Daas, You have obtained the wealth of the Lord's Love. ||7|| The flow of loving devotion and primal love does not stop. The True Guru drinks in the stream of nectar, the sublime essence of the Shabad, the Infinite Word of God. Wisdom is His mother, and contentment is His father; He is absorbed in the ocean of intuitive peace and poise. The Guru is the Embodiment of the Unborn, Self-illumined Lord; by the Word of His Teachings, the Guru carries the world across. Within His mind, the Guru has enshrined the Shabad, the Word of the Unseen, Unfathomable, Infinite Lord. So speaks KALL: O Guru Raam Daas, You have attained the Lord, the Saving Grace of the world. ||8|| The Saving Grace of the world, the nine treasures, carries the devotees across the world-ocean. The Drop of Ambrosial Nectar, the Lord's Name, is the antidote to the poison of sin. The tree of intuitive peace and poise blossoms and bears the ambrosial fruit of spiritual wisdom. Blessed are those fortunate people who receive it, by Guru's Grace. They are liberated through the Shabad, the Word of the True Guru; their minds are filled with the Guru's Wisdom. So speaks KALL: O Guru Raam Daas, You beat the drum of the Shabad. ||9||

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On the bed of faith, with the blankets of intuitive peace and poise and the canopy of contentment, You are embellished forever with the armor of humility. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, you practice the Naam; You lean on its Support, and give Your Fragrance to Your companions. You abide with the Unborn Lord, the Good and Pure True Guru. So speaks KALL: O Guru Raam Daas, You abide in the sacred pool of intuitive peace and poise. ||10|| The Lord's Name abides in the hearts of those who are pleasing to the Guru. Sins run far away from those who are pleasing to the Guru. Those who are pleasing to the Guru eradicate pride and egotism from within. Those who are pleasing to the Guru are attached to the Shadad, the Word of God; they are carried across the terrifying world-ocean. Those who are blessed with the wisdom of the certified Guru - blessed and fruitful is their birth into the world. KALL the poet runs to the Sanctuary of the Great Guru; attached to the Guru, they are blessed with worldly enjoyments, liberation and everything. ||11|| The Guru has pitched the tent; under it, all the ages are gathered. He carries the spear of intuition, and takes the Support of Naam, the Name of the Lord, through which the devotees are fulfilled. Guru Nanak, Guru Angad and Guru Amar Daas, through devotional worship, have merged into the Lord. O Guru Raam Daas, You alone know the taste of this Raja Yoga. ||12|| He alone is enlightened like Janaka, who links the chariot of his mind to the state of ecstatic realisation. He gathers in truth and contentment, and fills up the empty pool within. He speaks the Unspoken Speech of the eternal city. He alone obtains it, unto whom God gives it. O Guru Raam Daas, Your sovereign rule, like that of Janak, is Yours alone. ||13|| Tell me, how can sin and suffering cling to that humble being who chants the Naam, given by the Guru, with single-minded love and firm faith? When the Lord, the Boat to carry us across, bestows His Glance of Grace, even for an instant, the mortal contemplates the Shabad within his heart; unfulfilled sexual desire and unresolved anger are eradicated. The Guru is the Giver to all beings; He speaks the spiritual wisdom of the Unfathomable Lord, and meditates on Him day and night. He never sleeps, even for an instant. Seeing Him, poverty vanishes, and one is blessed with the treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. The spiritual wisdom of the Guru's Word washes away the filth of evil-mindedness. Tell me, how can sin and suffering cling to that humble being who chants the Naam, given by the Guru, with single-minded love and firm faith? ||1|| Dharmic faith and the karma of good deeds are obtained from the Perfect True Guru. The Siddhas and Holy Saadhus, the silent sages and angelic beings, yearn to serve Him; through the most excellent Word of the Shabad, they are lovingly attuned to the One Lord. Who can know Your limits? You are the Embodiment of the Fearless, Formless Lord. You are the Speaker of the Unspoken Speech; You alone understand this. O foolish worldly mortal, you are deluded by doubt; give up birth and death, and you shall not be punished by the Messenger of Death. Meditate on the Guru's Teachings. You foolish mortal being, reflect on this in your mind; chant and meditate day and night. Dharmic faith and the karma of good deeds are obtained from the Perfect True Guru. ||2|| I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice, to the True Name, O my True Guru. What Praises can I offer to You? What service can I do for You? I have only one mouth and tongue; with my palms pressed together, I chant to You with joy and delight. In thought, word and deed, I know the Lord; I do not worship any other. The Guru has enshrined the most excellent Name of the Infinite Lord within my heart.

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So speaks NALL the poet: touching the Philosopher's Stone, glass is transformed into gold, and the sandalwood tree imparts its fragrance to other trees; meditating in remembrance on the Lord, I am transformed. Seeing His Door, I am rid of sexual desire and anger. I am a sacrifice, a sacrifice, to the True Name, O my True Guru. ||3|| Guru Raam Daas was blessed with the Throne of Raja Yoga. First, Guru Nanak illuminated the world, like the full moon, and filled it with bliss. To carry humanity across, He bestowed His Radiance. He blessed Guru Angad with the treasure of spiritual wisdom, and the Unspoken Speech; He overcame the five demons and the fear of the Messenger of Death. The Great and True Guru, Guru Amar Daas, has preserved honour in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga. Seeing His Lotus Feet, sin and evil are destroyed. When His mind was totally satisfied in every way, when He was totally pleased, He bestowed upon Guru Raam Daas the Throne of Raja Yoga. ||4|| RADD: He established the earth, the sky and the air, the water of the oceans, fire and food. He created the moon, the starts and the sun, night and day and mountains; he blessed the trees with flowers and fruits. He created the gods, human beings and the seven seas; He established the three worlds. Guru Amar Daas was blessed with the Light of the One Name, the True Name of the Lord. ||1||5|| Glass is transformed into gold, listening to the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Poison is transformed into ambrosial nectar, speaking the Name of the True Guru. Iron is transformed into jewels, when the True Guru bestows His Glance of Grace. Stones are transformed into emeralds, when the mortal chants and contemplates the spiritual wisdom of the Guru. The True Guru transforms ordinary wood into sandalwood, eradicating the pains of poverty. Whoever touches the Feet of the True Guru, is transformed from a beast and a ghost into an angelic being. ||2||6|| One who has the Guru on his side - how could he be proud of his wealth? One who has the Guru on his side - what would hundreds of thousands of supporters do for him? One who has the Guru on his side, does not depend on anyone else for spiritual wisdom and meditation. One who has the Guru on his side contemplates the Shabad and the Teachings, and abides in the Home of Truth. The Lord's humble slave and poet utters this prayer: whoever chants to the Guru night and day, whoever enshrines the Name of the Guru within his heart, is rid of both birth and death. ||3||7|| Without the Guru, there is utter darkness; without the Guru, understanding does not come. Without the Guru, there is no intuitive awareness or success; without the Guru, there is no liberation. So make Him your Guru, and contemplate the Truth; make Him your Guru, O my mind. Make Him your Guru, who is embellished and exalted in the Word of the Shabad; all your sins shall be

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washed away. So speaks NALL the poet: with your eyes, make Him your Guru; with the words you speak, make Him your Guru, your True Guru. Those who have not seen the Guru, who have not made Him their Guru, are useless in this world. ||4||8|| Dwell upon the Guru, the Guru, the Guru, O my mind.

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The All-powerful Guru is the Boat to carry us across in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga. Hearing the Word of His Shabad, we are transported into Samaadhi. He is the Spiritual Hero who destroys pain and brings peace. Whoever meditates on Him, dwells near Him. He is the Perfect Primal Being, who meditates in remembrance on the Lord within his heart; seeing His Face, sins run away. If you long for wisdom, wealth, spiritual perfection and properity, O my mind, dwell upon the Guru, the Guru, the Guru. ||5||9|| Gazing upon the Face of the Guru, I find peace. I was thirsty, yearning to drink in the Nectar; to fulfill that wish, the Guru laid out the way. My mind has become perfect; it dwells in the Lord's Place; it had been wandering in all directions, in its desire for tastes and pleasures. Goindwal is the City of God, built on the bank of the Beas River. The pains of so many years have been taken away; gazing upon the Face of the Guru, I find peace. ||6||10|| The All-powerful Guru placed His hand upon my head. The Guru was kind, and blessed me with the Lord's Name. Gazing upon His Feet, my sins were dispelled. Night and day, the Guru meditates on the One Lord; hearing His Name, the Messenger of Death is scared away. So speaks the Lord's slave: Guru Raam Daas placed His Faith in Guru Amar Daas, the Guru of the World; touching the Philosopher's Stone, He was transformed into the Philosopher's Stone. Guru Raam Daas recognised the Lord as True; the All-powerful Guru placed His hand upon His head. ||7||11|| Now, please preserve the honour of Your humble slave. God saved the honour of the devotee Prahlaad, when Harnaakhash tore him apart with his claws. And the Dear Lord God saved the honour of Dropadi; when her clothes were stripped from her, she was blessed with even more. Sudaamaa was saved from misfortune; and Ganikaa the prostitute - when she chanted Your Name, her affairs were perfectly resolved. O Great True Guru, if it pleases You, please save the honour of Your slave in this Dark Age of kali Yuga. ||8||12|| JHOLNAA: Chant Guru, Guru, Guru, Guru, Guru, O mortal beings. Chant the Shabad, the Word of the Lord, Har, Har; the Naam, the Name of the Lord, brings the nine treasures. With your tongue, taste it, day and night, and know it as true. Then, you shall obtain His Love and Affection; become Gurmukh, and meditate on Him. Give up all other ways; vibrate and meditate on Him, O spiritual people. Enshrine the Word of the Guru's Teachings within your heart, and overpower the five passions. Your life, and your generations, shall be saved, and you shall be honoured at the Lord's Door. If you desire all the peace and comforts of this world and the next, then chant Guru, Guru, Guru, Guru, Guru, O mortal beings. ||1||13|| Chant Guru, Guru, Guru, Guru, Guru, and know Him as true. Know that the Lord is the Treasure of Excellence. Enshrine Him in your mind, and meditate on Him. Enshrine the Word of the Guru's Teachings within your heart. Then, cleanse yourself in the Immaculate and Unfathomable Water of the Guru; O Gursikhs and Saints, cross over the Ocean of Love of the True Name. Meditate lovingly forever on the Lord, free of hate and vengeance, Formless and Fearless; lovingly savor the Word of the Guru's Shabad, and implant devotional worship of the Lord deep within. O foolish mind, give up your doubts; as Gurmukh, vibrate and meditate on the Naam. Chant Guru, Guru, Guru, Guru, Guru, and know Him as true. ||2||14||

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Chant Guru, Guru, Guru; through the Guru, the Lord is obtained. The Guru is an Ocean, deep and profound, infinite and unfathomable. Lovingly attuned to the Lord's Name, you shall be blessed with jewels, diamonds and emeralds. And, the Guru makes us fragrant and fruitful, and His Touch transforms us into gold. The filth of evil-mindedness is washed away, meditating on the Word of the Guru's Shabad. The Stream of Ambrosial Nectar flows constantly from His Door. The Saints and Sikhs bathe in the immaculate pool of the Guru's spiritual wisdom. Enshrine the Naam, the Name of the Lord, within your heart, and dwell in Nirvaanaa. Chant Guru, Guru, Guru; through the Guru, the Lord is obtained. ||3||15|| Chant Guru, Guru, Guru, Guru, Guru, O my mind. Serving Him, Shiva and the Siddhas, the angels and demons and servants of the gods, and the thrity-three million gods cross over, listening to the Word of the Guru's Teachings. And, the Saints and loving devotees are carried across, chanting Guru, Guru. Prahlaad and the silent sages met the Guru, and were carried across. Naarad and Sanak and those men of God who became Gurmukh were carried across; attached to the One Name, they abandoned other tastes and pleasures, and were carried across. This is the prayer of the Lord's humble slave: the Gurmukh obtains the Naam, the Name of the Lord, chanting Guru, Guru, Guru, Guru, Guru, O my mind. ||4||16||29|| The Great, Supreme Guru showered His Mercy upon all; in the Golden Age of Sat Yuga, He blessed Dhroo. He saved the devotee Prahlaad, placing the Lotus of His Hand upon his forehead. The Unseen Form of the Lord cannot be seen. The Siddhas and seekers all seek His Sanctuary. True are the Words of the Guru's teachings. Enshrine them in your soul. Emancipate your body, and redeem this human incarnation. The Guru is the Boat, and the Guru is the Boatman. Without the Guru, no one can cross over. By Guru's Grace, God is obtained. Without the Guru, no one is liberated. Guru Nanak dwells near the Creator Lord. He established Lehnaa as Guru, and enshrined His Light in the world. Lehnaa established the path of righteousness and Dharma, which He passed on to Guru Amar Daas, of the Bhalla dynasty. Then, He firmly established the Great Raam Daas of the Sodhi dynasty. He was blessed with the inexhaustible treasure of the Lord's Name. He was blessed with the treasure of the Lord's Name; throughout the four ages, it is inexhaustible. Serving the Guru, He received His reward. Those who bow at His Feet and seek His Sanctuary, are blessed with peace; those Gurmukhs are blessed with supreme bliss. The Guru's Body is the Embodiment of the Supreme Lord God, our Lord and Master, the Form of the Primal Being, who nourishes and cherishes all. So serve the Guru, the True Guru; His ways and means are inscrutable. The Great Guru Raam Daas is the Boat to carry us across. ||1|| The Holy people chant the Ambrosial Words of His Bani with delight in their minds. The Blessed Vision of the Guru's Darshan is fruitful and rewarding in this world; it brings lasting bliss and joy. The Guru's Darshan is fruitful and rewarding in this world, like the Ganges. Meeting Him, the supreme sacred status is obtained. Even sinful people conquer the realm of Death, if they become the Lord's humble servants, and are imbued with the Guru's spiritual wisdom. He is certified, like the handsome Ram Chander in the house of Dasrath of the Raghwa dynasty. Even the silent sages seek His Sanctuary.

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So serve the Guru, the True Guru; His ways and means are inscrutable. The Great Guru Raam Daas is the Boat to carry us across. ||2|| The Name of the Lord, from the Mouth of the Guru, is the Raft to cross over the unfathomable world-ocean. The cycle of birth and death in this world is ended for those who have this faith in their hearts. Those humble beings who have this faith in their hearts, are awarded the highest status. They forsake Maya, emotional attachment and greed; they are rid of the frustrations of possessiveness, sexual desire and anger. They are blessed with the Inner Vision to see God, the Cause of causes, and all their doubts are dispelled. So serve the Guru, the True Guru; His ways and means are inscrutable. The Great Guru Raam Daas is the Boat to carry us across. ||3|| The Glorious Greatness of the Guru is manifest forever in each and every heart. His humble servants sing His Praises. Some read and listen and sing of Him, taking their cleansing bath in the early hours of the morning before the dawn. After their cleansing bath in the hours before the dawn, they worship the Guru with their minds pure and clear. Touching the Philosopher's Stone, their bodies are transformed into gold. They focus their meditation on the Embodiment of Divine Light. The Master of the Universe, the very Life of the World pervades the sea and the land, manifesting Himself in myriads of ways. So serve the Guru, the True Guru; His ways and means are inscrutable. The Great Guru Raam Daas is the Boat to carry us across. ||4|| Those who realise the Eternal, Unchanging Word of God, like Dhroo, are immune to death. They cross over the terrifying world-ocean in an instant; the Lord created the world like a bubble of water. The Kundalini rises in the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation; through the Word of the Guru, they enjoy the Lord of Supreme Bliss. The Supreme Guru is the Lord and Master over all; so serve the True Guru, in thought, word and deed. ||5|| Waahay Guru, Waahay Guru, Waahay Guru, Waahay Jee-o. You are lotus-eyed, with sweet speech, exalted and embellished with millions of companions. Mother Yashoda invited You as Krishna to eat the sweet rice. Gazing upon Your supremely beautiful form, and hearing the musical sounds of Your silver bells tinkling, she was intoxicated with delight. Death's pen and command are in Your hands. Tell me, who can erase it? Shiva and Brahma yearn to enshrine Your spiritual wisdom in their hearts. You are forever True, the Home of Excellence, the Primal Supreme Being. Waahay Guru, Waahay Guru, Waahay Guru, Waahay Jee-o. ||1||6|| You are blessed with the Lord's Name, the supreme mansion, and clear understanding. You are the Formless, Infinite Lord; who can compare to You? For the sake of the pure-hearted devotee Prahlaad, You took the form of the man-lion, to tear apart and destroy Harnaakhash with your claws. You are the Infinite Supreme Lord God; with your symbols of power, You deceived Baliraja; who can know You? You are forever True, the Home of Excellence, the Primal Supreme Being. Waahay Guru, Waahay Guru, Waahay Guru, Waahay Jee-o. ||2||7|| As Krishna, You wear yellow robes, with teeth like jasmine flowers; You dwell with Your lovers, with Your mala around Your neck, and You joyfully adorn Your head with the crow of peacock feathers.

Section 42 - Swaiyas From The Mouth Of The Great Fifth Mehl - Part 019

You have no advisors, You are so very patient; You are the Upholder of the Dharma, unseen and unfathomable. You have staged the play of the Universe with joy and delight. No one can speak Your Unspoken Speech. You are pervading the three worlds. You assume the form of spiritual perfection, O King of kings. You are forever True, the Home of Excellence, the Primal Supreme Being. Waahay Guru, Waahay Guru, Waahay Guru, Waahay Jee-o. ||3||8|| The True Guru, the True Guru, the True Guru is the Lord of the Universe Himself. Enticer of Baliraja, who smothers the mighty, and fulfills the devotees; the Prince Krishna, and Kalki; the thunder of His army and the beat of His drum echoes across the Universe. The Lord of contemplation, Destroyer of sin, who brings pleasure to the beings of all realms, He Himself is the God of gods, Divinity of the divine, the thousand-headed king cobra. He took birth in the Incarnations of the Fish, Tortoise and Wild Boar, and played His part. He played games on the banks of the Jamunaa River. Enshrine this most excellent Name within your heart, and renounce the wickedness of the mind, O GAYAND the True Guru, the True Guru, the True Guru is the Lord of the Universe Himself. ||4||9|| The Supreme Guru, the Supreme Guru, the Supreme Guru, the True, Dear Lord. Respect and obey the Guru's Word; this is your own personal treasure - know this mantra as true. Night and day, you shall be saved, and blessed with the supreme status. Renounce sexual desire, anger, greed and attachment; give up your games of deception. Snap the noose of egotism, and let yourself be at home in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy. Free your consciousness of attachment to your body, your home, your spouse, and the pleasures of this world. Serve forever at His Lotus Feet, and firmly implant these teachings within. Enshrine this most excellent Name within your heart, and renounce the wickedness of the mind, O GAYAND. the Supreme Guru, the Supreme Guru, the Supreme Guru, the True, Dear Lord. ||5||10|| Your servants are totally fulfilled, throughout the ages; O Waahay Guru, it is all You, forever. O Formless Lord God, You are eternally intact; no one can say how You came into being. You created countless Brahmas and Vishnus; their minds were intoxicated with emotional attachment. You created the 8.4 million species of beings, and provide for their sustanance. Your servants are totally fulfilled, throughout the ages; O Waahay Guru, it is all You, forever. ||1||11|| Waaho! Waaho! Great! Great is the Play of God! He Himself laughs, and He Himself thinks; He Himself illumines the sun and the moon. He Himself is the water, He Himself is the earth and its support. He Himself abides in each and every heart. He Himself is male, and He Himself is female; He Himself is the chessman, and He Himself is the board. As Gurmukh, join the Sangat, and consider all this: Waaho! Waaho! Great! Great is the Play of God! ||2||12|| You have formed and created this play, this great game. O Waahay Guru, this is all You, forever. You are pervading and permeating the water, land, skies and nether regions; Your Words are sweeter than Ambrosial Nectar. Brahmas and Shivas respect and obey You. O Death of death, Formless Lord, I beg of You.

Section 42 - Swaiyas From The Mouth Of The Great Fifth Mehl - Part 020

By Guru's Grace, the greatest thing is obtained, and the mind is involved with the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation. You have formed and created this play, this great game. O Waahay Guru, this is all Your making. ||3||13||42|| The Lord is Inaccessible, Infinite, Eternal and Primordial; no one knows His beginning. Shiva and Brahma meditate on Him; the Vedas describe Him again and again. The Lord is Formless, beyond hate and vengeance; there is no one else like Him. He creates and destroys - He is All-powerful; God is the Boat to carry all across. He created the world in its various aspects; His humble servant MAT'HURAA delights in His Praises. Sat Naam, the Great and Supreme True Name of God, the Personification of Creativity, dwells in the Consciousness of Guru Raam Daas. ||1|| I have grasped hold of the All-powerful Guru; He has made my mind steady and stable, and embellished me with clear consciousness. And, His Banner of Righteousness waves proudly forever, to defend against the waves of sin. His humble servant MAT'HRAA knows this as true, and speaks it from his soul; there is nothing else to consider. In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, the Lord's Name is the Great Ship, to carry us all across the terrifying world-ocean, safely to the other side. ||2|| The Saints dwell in the Saadh Sangat, the Company of the Holy; imbued with pure celestial love, they sing the Lord's Praises. The Support of the Earth has established this Path of Dharma; He Himself remains lovingly attuned to the Lord, and does not wander in distraction. So speaks MAT'HURAA: those blessed with good fortune receive the fruits of their minds' desires. Those who focus their consciousness on the Guru's Feet, they do not fear

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the judgement of Dharamraj. ||3|| The Immaculate, Sacred Pool of the Guru is overflowing with the waves of the Shabad, radiantly revealed in the early hours before the dawn. He is Deep and Profound, Unfathomable and utterly Great, eternally overflowing with all sorts of jewels. The Saint-swans celebrate; their fear of death is erased, along with the accounts of their pain. In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, the sins are taken away; the Blessed Vision of the Guru's Darshan is the Ocean of all peace and comfort. ||4|| For His Sake, the silent sages meditated and focused their consciousness, wandering all the ages through; rarely, if ever, their souls were enlightened. In the Hymns of the Vedas, Brahma sang His Praises; for His Sake, Shiva the silent sage held his place on the Kailaash Mountain. For His Sake, the Yogis, celibates, Siddhas and seekers, the countless sects of fanatics with matted hair wear religious robes, wandering as detached renunciates. That True Guru, by the Pleasure of His Will, showered His Mercy upon all beings, and blessed Guru Raam Daas with the Glorious Greatness of the Naam. ||5|| He focuses His Meditation deep within; the Embodiment of Light, He illuminates the three worlds. Gazing upon the Blessed Vision of His Darshan, doubt runs away, pain is eradicated, and celestial peace spontaneously wells up. The selfless servants and Sikhs are always totally captivated by it, like bumble bees lured by the fragrance of the flower. The Guru Himself established the Eternal Throne of Truth, in Guru Raam Daas. ||6||

Section 42 - Swaiyas From The Mouth Of The Great Fifth Mehl - Part 021

The Universe is intoxicated with the wine of Maya, but it has been saved; the All-powerful Guru has blessed it with the Ambrosial Nectar of the Naam. And, the Praiseworthy Guru is blessed with eternal peace, wealth and prosperity; the supernatural spiritual powers of the Siddhis never leave him. His Gifts are vast and great; His awesome Power is supreme. Your humble servant and slave speaks this truth. One, upon whose head the Guru has placed His Hand - with whom should he be concerned? ||7||49|| He is totally pervading and permeating the three realms; in all the world, He has not created another like Himself. He Himself created Himself. The angels, human beings and demons have not found His limits. The angels, demons and human beings have not found His limits; the heavenly heralds and celestial singers wander around, searching for Him. The Eternal, Imperishable, Unmoving and Unchanging, Unborn, Self-Existent, Primal Being of the Soul, the Infinity of the Infinite, the Eternal All-powerful Cause of causes - all beings meditate on Him in their minds. O Great and Supreme Guru Raam Daas, Your Victory resounds across the universe. You have attained the supreme status of the Lord. ||1|| Nanak, the True Guru, worships God single-mindedly; He surrenders His body, mind and wealth to the Lord of the Universe. The Infinite Lord enshrined His Own Image in Guru Angad. In His heart, He delights in the spiritual wisdom of the Unfathomable Lord. Guru Amar Daas brought the Creator Lord under His control. Waaho! Waaho! Meditate on Him! O Great and Supreme Guru Raam Daas, Your Victory resounds across the universe. You have attained the supreme status of the Lord. ||2|| Naarad, Dhroo, Prahlaad and Sudaamaa are accounted among the Lord's devotees of the past. Ambreek, Jai Dayv, Trilochan, Naam Dayv and Kabeer are also remembered. They were incarnated in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga; their praises have spread over all the world. O Great and Supreme Guru Raam Daas, Your Victory resounds across the universe. You have attained the supreme status of the Lord. ||3|| Those who meditate in remembrance on You within their minds - their sexual desire and anger are taken away. Those who remember You in meditation with their words, are rid of their poverty and pain in an instant. Those who obtain the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan, by the karma of their good deeds, touch the Philosopher's Stone, and like BALL the poet, sing Your Praises. O Great and Supreme Guru Raam Daas, Your Victory resounds across the universe. You have attained the supreme status of the Lord. ||4|| Those who meditate in remembrance on the True Guru - the darkness of their eyes is removed in an instant. Those who meditate in remembrance on the True Guru within their hearts, are blessed with the Lord's Name, day by day. Those who meditate in remembrance on the True Guru within their souls - the fire of desire is extinguished for them. Those who meditate in remembrance on the True Guru, are blessed with wealth and prosperity, supernatural spiritual powers and the nine treasures. So speaks BALL the poet: Blessed is Guru Raam Daas; joining the Sangat, the Congregation, call Him blessed and great. Meditate on the True Guru, O men, through Whom the Lord is obtained. ||5||54|| Living the Word of the Shabad, He attained the supreme status; while performing selfless service, He did not leave the side of Guru Amar Daas. From that service, the light from the jewel of spiritual wisdom shines forth, radiant and bright; it has destroyed pain, poverty and darkness.

Section 42 - Swaiyas From The Mouth Of The Great Fifth Mehl - Part 022

So speaks KEERAT the poet: those who grasp hold of the feet of the Saints, are not afraid of death, sexual desire or anger. Just as Guru Nanak was part and parcel, life and limb with Guru Angad, so is Guru Amar Daas one with Guru Raam Daas. ||1|| Whoever serves the True Guru obtains the treasure; night and day, he dwells at the Lord's Feet. And so, the entire Sangat loves, fears and respects You. You are the sandalwood tree; Your fragrance spreads gloriously far and wide. Dhroo, Prahlaad, Kabeer and Trilochan chanted the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and His Illumination radiantly shines forth. Seeing Him, the mind is totally delighted; Guru Raam Daas is the Helper and Support of the Saints. ||2|| Guru Nanak realised the Immaculate Naam, the Name of the Lord. He was lovingly attuned to loving devotional worship of the Lord. Gur Angad was with Him, life and limb, like the ocean; He showered His consciousness with the Word of the Shabad. The Unspoken Speech of Guru Amar Daas cannot be expressed with only one tongue. Guru Raam Daas of the Sodhi dynasty has now been blessed with Glorious Greatness, to carry the whole world across. ||3|| I am overflowing with sins and demerits; I have no merits or virtues at all. I abandoned the Ambrosial Nectar, and I drank poison instead. I am attached to Maya, and deluded by doubt; I have fallen in love with my children and spouse. I have heard that the most exalted Path of all is the Sangat, the Guru's Congregation. Joining it, the fear of death is taken away. KEERAT the poet offers this one prayer: O Guru Raam Daas, save me! Take me into Your Sanctuary! ||4||58|| He has crushed and overpowered emotional attachment. He seized sexual desire by the hair, and threw it down. With His Power, He cut anger into pieces, and sent greed away in disgrace. Life and death, with palms pressed together, respect and obey the Hukam of His Command. He brought the terrifying world-ocean under His Control; by His Pleasure, He carried His Sikhs across. He is seated upon the Throne of Truth, with the canopy above His Head; He is embellished with the powers of Yoga and the enjoyment of pleasures. So speaks SALL the poet: O Guru Raam Daas, Your sovereign power is eternal and unbreakable; Your army is invincible. ||1|| You are the True Guru, throughout the four ages; You Yourself are the Transcendent Lord. The angelic beings, seekers, Siddhas and Sikhs have served You, since the very beginning of time. You are the Primal Lord God, from the very beginning, and throughout the ages; Your Power supports the three worlds. You are Inaccessible; You are the Saving Grace of the Vedas. You have conquered old age and death. Guru Amar Daas has permanently established You; You are the Emancipator, to carry all across to the other side. So speaks SALL the poet: O Guru Raam Daas, You are the Destroyer of sins; I seek Your Sanctuary. ||2||60|| Swaiyas In Praise Of The Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Meditate in remembrance on the Primal Lord God, Eternal and Imperishable. Remembering Him in meditation, the filth of evil-mindedness is eradicated. I enshrine the Lotus Feet of the True Guru within my heart.

Section 42 - Swaiyas From The Mouth Of The Great Fifth Mehl - Part 023

With intuitive peace and poise, I contemplate the Glorious Virtues of Guru Arjun. He was revealed in the House of Guru Raam Daas, and all hopes and desires were fulfilled. From birth, He realised God through the Guru's Teachings. With palms pressed together, KALL the poet speaks His praises. The Lord brought Him into the world, to practice the Yoga of devotional worship. The Word of the Guru's Shabad has been revealed, and the Lord dwells on His tongue. Attached to Guru Nanak, Guru Angad and Guru Amar Daas, He attained the supreme status. In the House of Guru Raam Daas, the devotee of the Lord, Guru Arjun was born. ||1|| By great good fortune, the mind is uplifted and exalted, and the Word of the Shabad dwells in the heart. The jewel of the mind is contented; the Guru has implanted the Naam, the Name of the Lord, within. The Inaccessible and Unfathomable, Supreme Lord God is revealed through the True Guru. In the House of Guru Raam Daas, Guru Arjun has appeared as the Embodiment of the Fearless Lord. ||2|| The benign rule of Raja Janak has been established, and the Golden Age of Sat Yuga has begun. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the mind is pleased and appeased; the unsatisfied mind is satisfied. Guru Nanak laid the foundation of Truth; He is blended with the True Guru. In the House of Guru Raam Daas, Guru Arjun has appeared as the Embodiment of the Infinite Lord. ||3|| The Sovereign Lord King has staged this wondrous play; contentment was gathered together, and pure understanding was infused in the True Guru. KALL the poet utters the Praises of the Unborn, Self-existent Lord. Guru Nanak blessed Guru Angad, and Guru Angad blessed Guru Amar Daas with the treasure. Guru Raam Daas blessed Guru Arjun, who touched the Philosopher's Stone, and was certified. ||4|| O Guru Arjun, You are Eternal, Invaluable, Unborn, Self-existent, the Destroyer of fear, the Dispeller of pain, Infinite and Fearless. You have grasped the Ungraspable, and burnt away doubt and skepticism. You bestow cooling and soothing peace. The Self-existent, Perfect Primal Lord God Creator has taken birth. First, Guru Nanak, then Guru Angad and Guru Amar Daas, the True Guru, have been absorbed into the Word of the Shabad. Blessed, blessed is Guru Raam Daas, the Philosopher's Stone, who transformed Guru Arjun unto Himself. ||5|| His victory is proclaimed all over the world; His Home is blessed with good fortune; He remains united with the Lord. By great good fortune, He has found the Perfect Guru; He remains lovingly attuned to Him, and endures the load of the earth. He is the Destroyer of fear, the Eradicator of the pains of others. KALL SAHAAR the poet utters Your Praise, O Guru. In the Sodhi family, is born Arjun, the son of Guru Raam Daas, the holder of the banner of Dharma and the devotee of God. ||6|| The Support of the Dharma, immersed in the deep and profound Teachings of the Guru, the Remover of the pains of others. The Shabad is excellent and sublime, kind and generous like the Lord, the Destroyer of egotism. The Great Giver, the spiritual wisdom of the True Guru, His mind does not grow weary of its yearning for the Lord. The Embodiment of Truth, the Mantra of the Lord's Name, the nine treasures are never exhausted. O Son of Guru Raam Daas, You are contained amidst all; the canopy of intuitive wisdom is spread above You. So speaks KALL the poet: O Guru Arjun, You know the sublime essence of Raja Yoga, the Yoga of meditation and success. ||7||

Section 42 - Swaiyas From The Mouth Of The Great Fifth Mehl - Part 024

In the Fear of God, You enjoy the Fearless Lord; among the thousands of beings, You see the Unseen Lord. Through the True Guru, You have realised the state of the Inaccessible, Unfathomable, Profound Lord. Meeting with the Guru, You are certified and approved; You practice Yoga in the midst of wealth and power. Blessed, blessed, blessed is the Guru, who has filled to overflowing the pools which were empty. Reaching up to the certified Guru, You endure the unendurable; You are immersed in the pool of contentment. So speaks KALL: O Guru Arjun, You have intuitively attained the state of Yoga within Yourself. ||8|| Nectar drips from Your tongue, and Your mouth gives Blessings, O Incomprehensible and Infinite Spiritual Hero. O Guru, the Word of Your Shabad eradicates egotism. You have overpowered the five enticers, and established with intuitive ease the Absolute Lord within Your own being. Attached to the Lord's Name, the world is saved; enshrine the True Guru within your heart. So speaks KALL: O Guru Arjun, You have illliminated the highest pinnacle of wisdom. ||9|| SORAT'H : Guru Arjun is the certified Primal Person; like Arjuna, He never leaves the field of battle. The Naam, the Name of the Lord, is His spear and insignia. He is embellished with the Shabad, the Word of the True Guru. ||1|| The Lord's Name is the Boat, the Bridge to cross over the terrifying world-ocean. You are in love with the True Guru; attached to the Naam, You have saved the world. ||2|| The Naam is the Saving Grace of the world; by the Pleasure of the True Guru, it is obtained. Now, I am not concerned with anything else; at Your Door, I am fulfilled. ||3||12|| The Embodiment of Light, the Lord Himself is called Guru Nanak. From Him, came Guru Angad; His essence was absorbed into the essence. Guru Angad showed His Mercy, and established Amar Daas as the True Guru. Guru Amar Daas blessed Guru Raam Daas with the umbrella of immortality. So speaks MAT'HURAA: gazing upon the Blessed Vision, the Darshan of Guru Raam Daas, His speech became as sweet as nectar. With your eyes, see the certified Primal Person, Guru Arjun, the Fifth Manifestation of the Guru. ||1|| He is the Embodiment of Truth; He has enshrined the True Name, Sat Naam, Truth and contentment within His heart. From the very beginning, the Primal Being has written this destiny upon His forehead. His Divine Light shines forth, dazzling and radiant; His Glorious Grandeur pervades the realms of the world. Meeting the Guru, touching the Philosopher's Stone, He was acclaimed as Guru. So speaks MAT'HURAA: I constantly focus my consciousness on Him; as sunmukh, I look to Him. In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, Guru Arjun is the Boat; attached to him, the entire universe is safely carried across. ||2|| I beg from that humble being who is known all over the world, who lives in, and loves the Name, night and day. He is supremely unattached, and imbued with the Love of the Transcendent Lord; he is free of desire, but he lives as a family man. He is dedicated to the Love of the Infinite, Limitless Primal Lord God; he has no concerns for any other pleasure, except for the Lord God. Guru Arjun is the All-pervading Lord God of MAT'HURAA. Devoted to His Worship, he remains attached to the Lord's Feet. ||3||

Section 42 - Swaiyas From The Mouth Of The Great Fifth Mehl - Part 025

All the gods, silent sages, Indra, Shiva and Yogis have not found the Lord's limits - not even Brahma who contemplates the Vedas. I shall not give up meditating on the Lord, even for an instant. The God of MAT'HURAA is Merciful to the meek; He blesses and uplifts the Sangats throughout the Universe. Guru Raam Daas, to save the world, enshrined the Guru's

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Light into Guru Arjun. ||4|| In the great darkness of this world, the Lord revealed Himself, incarnated as Guru Arjun. Millions of pains are taken away, from those who drink in the Ambrosial Nectar of the Naam, says MAT'HURAA. O mortal being, do not leave this path; do not think that there is any difference between God and Guru. The Perfect Lord God has manifested Himself; He dwells in the heart of Guru Arjun. ||5|| As long as the destiny written upon my forehead was not activated, I wandered around lost, running in all directions. I was drowning in the horrible world-ocean of this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, and my remorse would never have ended. O MAT'HURAA, consider this essential truth: to save the world, the Lord incarnated Himself. Whoever meditates on Guru Arjun Dayv, shall not have to pass through the painful womb of reincarnation ever again. ||6|| In the ocean of this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, the Lord's Name has been revealed in the Form of Guru Arjun, to save the world. Pain and poverty are taken away from that person, within whose heart the Saint abides. He is the Pure, Immaculate Form of the Infinite Lord; except for Him, there is no other at all. Whoever knows Him in thought, word and deed, becomes just like Him. He is totally pervading the earth, the sky and the nine regions of the planet. He is the Embodiment of the Light of God. So speaks MAT'HURAA: there is no difference between God and Guru; Guru Arjun is the Personification of the Lord Himself. ||7||19|| The stream of the Lord's Name flows like the Ganges, invincible and unstoppable. The Sikhs of the Sangat all bathe in it. It appears as if the holy texts like the Puraanaas are being recited there and Brahma himself sings the Vedas. The invincible chauri, the fly-brush, waves over His head; with His mouth, He drinks in the Ambrosial Nectar of the Naam. The Transcendent Lord Himself has placed the royal canopy over the head of Guru Arjun. Guru Nanak, Guru Angad, Guru Amar Daas and Guru Raam Daas met together before the Lord. So speaks HARBANS: Their Praises echo and resound all over the world; who can possibly say that the Great Gurus are dead? ||1|| When it was the Will of the Transcendent Lord Himself, Guru Raam Daas went to the City of God. The Lord offered Him His Royal Throne, and seated the Guru upon it. The angels and gods were delighted; they proclaimed and celebrated Your victory, O Guru. The demons ran away; their sins made them shake and tremble inside. Those people who found Guru Raam Daas were rid of their sins. He gave the Royal Canopy and Throne to Guru Arjun, and came home. ||2||21||9||11||10||10||22||60||143||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 43 - SHALOKS IN ADDITION TO THE VAARS

Section 43 - Shaloks In Addition To The Vaars - Part 001

One Universal Creator God. Truth Is The Name. Creative Being Personified. No Fear. No Hatred. Image Of The Undying. Beyond Birth. Self-Existent. By Guru's Grace: Shaloks In Addition To The Vaars. First Mehl: O you with swollen breasts, let your consciousness become deep and profound. O mother-in-law, how can I bow? Because of my stiff nipples, I cannot bow. O sister, those mansions built as high as mountains - I have seen them come crumbling down. O bride, do not be so proud of your nipples. ||1|| O bride with deer-like eyes, listen to the words of deep and infinite wisdom. First, examine the merchandise, and then, make the deal. Proclaim that you will not associate with evil people; celebrate victory with your friends. This proclamation, to meet with your friends, O bride - give it some thought. Surrender mind and body to the Lord your Friend; this is the most excellent pleasure. Do not fall in love with one who is destined to leave. O Nanak, I am a sacrifice to those who understand this. ||2|| If you wish to swim across the water, then consult those who know how to swim. Those who have survived these treacherous waves are very wise. ||3|| The storm rages and the rain floods the land; thousands of waves rise and surge. If you cry out for help from the True Guru, you have nothing to fear - your boat will not sink. ||4|| O Nanak, what has happened to the world? There is no guide or friend. There is no love, even among brothers and relatives. For the sake of the world, people have lost their faith. ||5|| They cry and weep and wail. They slap their faces and pull their hair out. But if they chant the Naam, the Name of the Lord, they shall be absorbed into it. O Nanak, I am a sacrifice to them. ||6|| O my mind, do not waver or walk on the crooked path; take the straight and true path. The terrible tiger is behind you, and the pool of fire is ahead. My soul is skeptical and doubtful, but I cannot see any other way to go. O Nanak, as Gurmukh, dwell with your Beloved Lord, and you shall be saved. ||7|| The tiger is killed, and the mind is killed, through the Teachings of the True Guru. One who understands himself, meets with the Lord, and never dies again.

Section 43 - Shaloks In Addition To The Vaars - Part 002

One who sees the One and Only Lord with his eyes - his hands shall not get muddy and dirty. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs are saved; the Guru has surrounded the ocean with the embankment of Truth. ||8|| If you wish to put out the fire, then look for water; without the Guru, the ocean of water is not found. You shall continue to wander lost in reincarnation through birth and death, even if you do thousands of other deeds. But you shall not be taxed by the Messenger of Death, if you walk in harmony with the Will of the True Guru. O Nanak, the immaculate, immortal status is obtained, and the Guru will unite you in the Lord's Union. ||9|| The crow rubs and washes itself in the mud puddle. Its mind and body are polluted with its own mistakes and demerits, and its beak is filled with dirt. The swan in the pool associated with the crow, not knowing that it was evil. Such is the love of the faithless cynic; understand this, O spiritually wise ones, through love and devotion. So proclaim the victory of the Society of the Saints, and act as Gurmukh. Immaculate and pure is that cleansing bath, O Nanak, at the sacred shrine of the Guru's river. ||10|| What should I account as the rewards of this human life, if one does not feel love and devotion to the Lord? Wearing clothes and eating food is useless, if the mind is filled with the love of duality. Seeing and hearing is false, if one speaks lies. O Nanak, praise the Naam, the Name of the Lord; everything else is coming and going in egotism. ||11|| The Saints are few and far between; everything else in the world is just a pompous show. ||12|| O Nanak, one who is struck by the Lord dies instantaneously; the power to live is lost. If someone dies by such a stroke, then he is accepted. He alone is struck, who is struck by the Lord; after such a stroke, he is approved. The arrow of love, shot by the All-knowing Lord, cannot be pulled out. ||13|| Who can wash the unbaked clay pot? Joining the five elements together, the Lord made a false cover. When it pleases Him, He makes it right. The supreme light shines forth, and the celestial song vibrates and resounds. ||14|| Those who are totally blind in their minds, do not have the integrity to keep their word. With their blind minds, and their upside-down heart-lotus, they look totally ugly. Some know how to speak and understand what they are told. Those people are wise and good-looking. Some do not know the Sound-current of the Naad, spiritual wisdom or the joy of song. They do not even understand good and bad. Some have no idea of perfection, wisdom or understanding; they know nothing about the mystery of the Word. O Nanak, those people are really donkeys; they have no virtue or merit, but still, they are very proud. ||15|| He alone is a Brahmin, who knows God. He chants and meditates, and practices austerity and good deeds. He keeps to the Dharma, with faith, humility and contentment. Breaking his bonds, he is liberated. Such a Brahmin is worthy of being worshipped. ||16|| He alone is a Kh'shaatriyaa, who is a hero in good deeds. He uses his body to give in charity; he understands his farm, and plants the seeds of generosity. Such a Kh'shaatriyaa is accepted in the Court of the Lord. Whoever practices greed, possessiveness and falsehood, shall receive the fruits of his own labors. ||17|| Do not heat your body like a furnace, or burn your bones like firewood. What have your head and feet done wrong? See your Husband Lord within yourself. ||18||

Section 43 - Shaloks In Addition To The Vaars - Part 003

God the Cosmic Husband dwells within all hearts; without Him, there is no heart at all. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs are the happy, virtuous soul-brides; the Lord is revealed to them. ||19|| If you desire to play this game of love with Me, then step onto My Path with your head in hand. When you place your feet on this Path, give Me your head, and do not pay any attention to public opinion. ||20|| False is friendship with the false and greedy. False is its foundation. O Moollah, no one knows where death shall strike. ||21|| Without spiritual wisdom, the people worship ignorance. They grope in the darkness, in the love of duality. ||22|| Without the Guru, there is no spiritual wisdom; without Dharma, there is no meditation. Without Truth, there is no credit; without capital, there is no balance. ||23|| The mortals are sent into the world; then, they arise and depart. There is no joy in this. ||24|| Raam Chand, sad at heart, assembled his army and forces. The army of monkeys was at his service; his mind and body became eager for war. Raawan captured his wife Sita, and Lachhman was cursed to die. O Nanak, the Creator Lord is the Doer of all; He watches over all, and destroys what He has created. ||25|| In his mind, Raam Chand mourned for Sita and Lachhman. Then, he remembered Hanuman the monkey-god, who came to him. The misguided demon did not understand that God is the Doer of deeds. O Nanak, the actions of the Self-existent Lord cannot be erased. ||26|| The city of Lahore suffered terrible destruction for four hours. ||27|| Third Mehl: The city of Lahore is a pool of ambrosial nectar, the home of praise. ||28|| First Mehl: What are the signs of a prosperous person? His stores of food never run out. Prosperity dwells in his home, with the sounds of girls and women. All the women of his home shout and cry over useless things. Whatever he takes, he does not give back. Seeking to earn more and more, he is troubled and uneasy. ||29|| O lotus, your leaves were green, and your blossoms were gold. What pain has burnt you, and made your body black? O Nanak, my body is battered. I have not received that water which I love. Seeing it, my body blossomed forth, and I was blessed with a deep and beautiful colour. ||30|| No one lives long enough to accomplish all he wishes. Only the spiritually wise live forever; they are honoured for their intuitive awareness. Bit by bit, life passes away, even though the mortal tries to hold it back. O Nanak, unto whom should we complain? Death takes one's life away without anyone's consent. ||31|| Do not blame the Sovereign Lord; when someone grows old, his intellect leaves him. The blind man talks and babbles, and then falls into the ditch. ||32|| All that the Perfect Lord does is perfect; there is not too little, or too much. O Nanak, knowing this as Gurmukh, the mortal merges into the Perfect Lord God. ||33||

Section 43 - Shaloks In Addition To The Vaars - Part 004

Shalok, Third Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Do not call the wandering beggars holy men, if their minds are filled with doubt. Whoever gives to them, O Nanak, earns the same sort of merit. ||1|| One who begs for the supreme status of the Fearless and Immaculate Lord - how rare are those who have the opportunity, O Nanak, to give food to such a person. ||2|| If I were a religious scholar, an astrologer, or one who could recite the four Vedas, I could be famous throughout the nine regions of the earth, for my wisdom and thoughtful contemplation. ||3|| If a Brahmin kills a cow or a female infant, and accepts the offerings of an evil person, he is cursed with the leprosy of curses and criticism; he is forever and ever filled with egotistical pride. One who forgets the Naam, O Nanak, is covered by countless sins. Let all wisdom be burnt away, except for the essence of spiritual wisdom. ||4|| No one can erase that primal destiny written upon one's forehead. O Nanak, whatever is written there, comes to pass. He alone understands, who is blessed by God's Grace. ||5|| Those who forget the Naam, the Name of the Lord, and become attached to greed and fraud, are engrossed in the entanglements of Maya the enticer, with the fire of desire within them. Those who, like the pumpkin vine, are too stubborn climb the trellis, are cheated by Maya the cheater. The self-willed manmukhs are bound and gagged and led away; the dogs do not join the herd of cows. The Lord Himself misleads the misguided ones, and He Himself unites them in His Union. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs are saved; they walk in harmony with the Will of the True Guru. ||6|| I praise the Praiseworthy Lord, and sing the Praises of the True Lord. O Nanak, the One Lord alone is True; stay away from all other doors. ||7|| O Nanak, wherever I go, I find the True Lord. Wherever I look, I see the One Lord. He reveals Himself to the Gurmukh. ||8|| The Word of the Shabad is the Dispeller of sorrow, if one enshrines it in the mind. By Guru's Grace, it dwells in the mind; by God's Mercy, it is obtained. ||9|| O Nanak, acting in egotism, countless thousands have wasted away to death. Those who meet with the True Guru are saved, through the Shabad, the True Word of the Inscrutable Lord. ||10|| Those who serve the True Guru single-mindedly - I fall at the feet of those humble beings. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, the Lord abides in the mind, and the hunger for Maya departs. Immaculate and pure are those humble beings, who, as Gurmukh, merge in the Naam. O Nanak, other empires are false; they alone are true emperors, who are imbued with the Naam. ||11|| The devoted wife in her husband's home has a great longing to perform loving devotional service to him; she prepares and offers to him all sorts of sweet delicacies and dishes of all flavors. In the same way, the devotees praise the Word of the Guru's Bani, and focus their consciousness on the Lord's Name. They place mind, body and wealth in offering before the Guru, and sell their heads to Him. In the Fear of God, His devotees yearn for His devotional worship; God fulfills their desires, and merges them with Himself.

Section 43 - Shaloks In Addition To The Vaars - Part 005

My Lord God is Self-existent and Independent. What does He need to eat to be satisfied? Whoever walks in harmony with the Will of the True Guru, and sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord, is pleasing to Him. Blessed, blessed are they, in this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, O Nanak, who walk in harmony with the Will of the True Guru. ||12|| Those who do not serve the True Guru, and do not keep the Shabad enshrined in their hearts - cursed are their lives. Why did they even come into the world? If one follows the Guru's Teachings, and keeps the Fear of God in his mind, then he is lovingly attuned to the sublime essence of the Lord. By his primal destiny, he obtains the Name; O Nanak, he is carried across. ||13|| The world wanders lost in emotional attachment to Maya; it does not realise that its own home is being plundered. The self-willed manmukh is blind in the world; his mind is lured away by sexual desire and anger. With the sword of spiritual wisdom, kill the five demons. Remain awake and aware to the Guru's Teachings. The Jewel of the Naam is revealed, and the mind and body are purified. Those who lack the Naam wander around lost, with their noses cut off; without the Name, they sit and cry. O Nanak, no one can erase that which is pre-ordained by the Creator Lord. ||14|| The Gurmukhs earn the wealth of the Lord, contemplating the Word of the Guru's Shabad. They receive the wealth of the Naam; their treasures are overflowing. Through the Word of the Guru's Bani, they utter the Glorious Praises of the Lord, whose end and limitations cannot be found. O Nanak, the Creator is the Doer of all; the Creator Lord beholds all. ||15||

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Within the Gurmukh is intuitive peace and poise; his mind ascends to the Tenth Plane of the Akaashic Ethers. No one is sleepy or hungry there; they dwell in the peace of the Ambrosial Name of the Lord. O Nanak, pain and pleasure do not afflict anyone, where the Light of the Lord, the Supreme Soul, illuminates. ||16|| All have come, wearing the robes of sexual desire and anger. Some are born, and some pass away. They come and go according to the Hukam of the Lord's Command. Their comings and goings in reincarnation do not end; they are imbued with the love of duality. Bound in bondage, they are made to wander, and they cannot do anything about it. ||17|| Those, upon whom the Lord showers His Mercy, come and meet the True Guru. Meeting with the True Guru, they turn away from the world; they remain dead while still alive, with intuitive peace and poise. O Nanak, the devotees are imbued with the Lord; they are absorbed in the Name of the Lord. ||18|| The intellect of the self-willed manmukh is fickle; he is very tricky and clever within. Whatever he has done, and all that he does, is useless. Not even an iota of it is acceptable. The charity and generosity he pretends to give will be judged by the Righteous Judge of Dharma. Without the True Guru, the Messenger of Death does not leave the mortal alone; he is ruined by the love of duality. Youth slips away imperceptibly, old age comes, and then he dies. The mortal is caught in love and emotional attachment to children and spouse, but none of them will be his helper and support in the end. Whoever serves the True Guru finds peace; the Name comes to abide in the mind. O Nanak, great and very fortunate are those who, as Gurmukh, are absorbed in the Naam. ||19|| The self-willed manmukhs do not even think of the Name; without the Name, they cry in pain.

Section 43 - Shaloks In Addition To The Vaars - Part 006

They do not worship the Lord, the Supreme Soul; how can they find peace in duality? They are filled with the filth of egotism; they do not wash it away with the Word of the Shabad. O Nanak, without the Name, they die in their filth; they waste the priceless opportunity of this human life. ||20|| The self-willed manmukhs are deaf and blind; they are filled with the fire of desire. They have no intuitive understanding of the Guru's Bani; they are not illumined with the Shabad. They do not know their own inner being, and they have no faith in the Guru's Word. The Word of the Guru's Shabad is within the being of the spiritually wise ones. They always blossom in His love. The Lord saves the honour of the spiritually wise ones.I am forever a sacrifice to them. Servant Nanak is the slave of those Gurmukhs who serve the Lord. ||21|| The poisonous snake, the serpent of Maya, has surrounded the world with its coils, O mother! The antidote to this poisonous venom is the Name of the Lord; the Guru places the magic spell of the Shabad into the mouth. Those who are blessed with such pre-ordained destiny come and meet the True Guru. Meeting with the True Guru, they become immaculate, and the poison of egotism is eradicated. Radiant and bright are the faces of the Gurmukhs; they are honoured in the Court of the Lord. Servant Nanak is forever a sacrifice to those who walk in harmony with the Will of the True Guru. ||22|| The True Guru, the Primal Being, has no hatred or vengeance. His heart is constantly attuned to the Lord. Whoever directs hatred against the Guru, who has no hatred at all, only sets his own home on fire. Anger and egotism are within him night and day; he burns, and suffers constant pain. They babble and tell lies, and keep on barking, eating the poison of the love of duality. For the sake of the poison of Maya, they wander from house to house, and lose their honour. They are like the son of a prostitute, who does not know the name of his father. They do not remember the Name of the Lord, Har, Har; the Creator Himself brings them to ruin. The Lord showers His Mercy upon the Gurmukhs, and reunites the separated ones with Himself. Servant Nanak is a sacrifice to those who fall at the Feet of the True Guru. ||23|| Those who are attached to the Naam, the Name of the Lord, are saved; without the Name, they must go to the City of Death. O Nanak, without the Name, they find no peace; they come and go in reincarnation with regrets. ||24|| When anxiety and wanderings come to an end, the mind becomes happy. By Guru's Grace, the soul-bride understands, and then she sleeps without worry. Those who have such pre-ordained destiny meet with the Guru, the Lord of the Universe. O Nanak, they merge intuitively into the Lord, the Embodiment of Supreme Bliss. ||25|| Those who serve their True Guru, who contemplate the Word of the Guru's Shabad, who honour and obey the Will of the True Guru, who keep the Lord's Name enshrined within their hearts, are honoured, here and hereafter; they are dedicated to the business of the Lord's Name. Through the Word of the Shabad, the Gurmukhs gain recognition in that Court of the True Lord. The True Name is their merchandise, the True Name is their expenditure; the Love of their Beloved fills their inner beings. The Messenger of Death does not even approach them; the Creator Lord Himself forgives them.

Section 43 - Shaloks In Addition To The Vaars - Part 007

O Nanak, they alone are wealthy, who are imbued with the Naam; the rest of the world is poor. ||26|| The Lord's Name is the Support of the Lord's humble servants. Without the Lord's Name, the there is no other place, no place of rest. Following the Guru's Teachings, the Name abides in the mind, and one is intuitively, automatically absorbed in the Lord. Those with great good fortune meditate on the Naam; night and day, they embrace love for the Name. Servant Nanak begs for the dust of their feet; I am forever a sacrifice to them. ||27|| The 8.4 million species of beings burn in desire and cry in pain. All this show of emotional attachment to Maya shall not go with you at that very last instant. Without the Lord, peace and tranquility do not come; unto whom should we go and complain? By great good fortune, one meets the True Guru, and comes to understand the contemplation of God. The fire of desire is totally extinguished, O servant Nanak, enshrining the Lord within the heart. ||28|| I make so many mistakes, there is no end or limit to them. O Lord, please be merciful and forgive me; I am a sinner, a great offender. O Dear Lord, if You made an account of my mistakes, my turn to be forgiven would not even come. Please forgive me, and unite me with Yourself. The Guru, in His Pleasure, has united me with the Lord God; He has cut away all my sinful mistakes. Servant Nanak celebrates the victory of those who meditate on the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. ||29|| Those who have been separated and alienated from the Lord are united with Him again, through the Fear and the Love of the True Guru. They escape the cycle of birth and death, and, as Gurmukh, they meditate on the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Joining the Saadh Sangat, the Guru's Congregation, the diamonds and jewels are obtained. O Nanak, the jewel is priceless; the Gurmukhs seek and find it. ||30|| The self-willed manmukhs do not even think of the Naam. Cursed are their lives, and cursed are their homes. That Lord who gives them so much to eat and wear - they do not enshrine that Lord, the Treasure of Virtue, in their minds. This mind is not pierced by the Word of the Shabad; how can it come to dwell in its true home? The self-willed manmukhs are like discarded brides, ruined by coming and going in the cycle of reincarnation. The Gurmukhs are embellished and exalted by the Naam, the Name of the Lord; the jewel of destiny is engraved upon their foreheads. They enshrine the Name of the Lord, Har, Har, within their hearts; the Lord illumines their heart-lotus. I am forever a sacrifice to those who serve their True Guru. O Nanak, radiant and bright are the faces of those whose inner beings are illuminated with the Light of the Naam. ||31|| Those who die in the Word of the Shabad are saved. Without the Shabad, no one is liberated. They wear religious robes and perform all sorts of rituals, but they are ruined; in the love of duality, their world is ruined. O Nanak, without the True Guru, the Name is not obtained, even though one may long for it hundreds of times. ||32|| The Name of the Lord is utterly great, lofty and high, the highest of the high. No one can climb up to it, even though one may long for it, hundreds of times. Speaking about self-discipline, no one become pure; everyone walks around wearing religious robes. Those blessed by the karma of good deeds go and climb the ladder of the Guru. The Lord comes and dwells within that one who contemplates the Word of the Guru's Shabad.

Section 43 - Shaloks In Addition To The Vaars - Part 008

O Nanak, when someone dies in the Word of the Shabad, the mind is pleased and appeased. True is the reputation of those who are true. ||33|| Emotional attachment to Maya is a treacherous ocean of pain and poison, which cannot be crossed. Screaming, "Mine, mine!", they rot and die; they pass their lives in egotism. The self-willed manmukhs are in limbo, neither on this side, nor the other; they are stuck in the middle. They act as they are pre-destined; they cannot do anything else. Following the Guru's Teachings, the jewel of spiritual wisdom abides in the mind, and then God is easily seen in all. O Nanak, the very fortunate ones embark on the Boat of the True Guru; they are carried across the terrifying world-ocean. ||34|| Without the True Guru, there is no giver who can bestow the Support of the Lord's Name. By Guru's Grace, the Name comes to dwell in the mind; keep it enshrined in your heart. The fire of desire is extinguished, and one finds satisfaction, through the Love of the Name of the Lord. O Nanak, the Gurmukh finds the Lord, when He showers His Mercy. ||35|| Without the Shabad, the world is so insane, that it cannot even be described. Those who are protected by the Lord are saved; they remain lovingly attuned to the Word of the Shabad. O Nanak, the Creator who made this making knows everything. ||36|| The Pandits, the religious scholars, have grown weary of making fire-offerings and sacrifices, making pilgrimages to all the sacred shrines, and reading the Puraanas. But they cannot get rid of the poison of emotional attachment to Maya; they continue to come and go in egotism. Meeting with the True Guru, one's filth is washed off, meditating on the Lord, the Primal Being, the All-knowing One. Servant Nanak is forever a sacrifice to those who serve their Lord God. ||37|| Mortals give great thought to Maya and emotional attachment; they harbor great hopes, in greed and corruption. The self-willed manmukhs do not become steady and stable; they die and are gone in an instant. Only those who are blessed with great good fortune meet the True Guru, and leave behind their egotism and corruption. Chanting the Name of the Lord, they find peace; servant Nanak contemplates the Word of the Shabad. ||38|| Without the True Guru, there is no devotional worship, and no love of the Naam, the Name of the Lord. Servant Nanak worships and adores the Naam, with love and affection for the Guru. ||39|| Do not trust greedy people, if you can avoid doing so. At the very last moment, they will deceive you there, where no one will be able to lend a helping hand. Whoever associates with the self-willed manmukhs, will have his face blackened and dirtied. Black are the faces of those greedy people; they lose their lives, and leave in disgrace. O Lord, let me join the Sat Sangat, the True Congregation; may the Name of the Lord God abide in my mind. The filth and pollution of birth and death is washed away, O servant Nanak, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||40|| Whatever is pre-destined by the Lord God Creator, cannot be erased. Body and soul are all His. The Sovereign Lord King cherishes all. The gossipers and slanderers shall remain hungry and die, rolling in the dust; their hands cannot reach anywhere. Outwardly, they do all the proper deeds, but they are hypocrites; in their minds and hearts, they practice deception and fraud. Whatever is planted in the farm of the body, shall come and stand before them in the end.

Section 43 - Shaloks In Addition To The Vaars - Part 009

Nanak offers this prayer: O Lord God, please forgive me, and unite me with Yourself. ||41|| The mortal being does not understand the comings and goings of reincarnation; he does not see the Court of the Lord. He is wrapped up in emotional attachment and Maya, and within his being is the darkness of ignorance. The sleeping person wakes, only when he is hit on the head by a heavy club. The Gurmukhs dwell upon the Lord; they find the door of salvation. O Nanak, they themselves are saved, and all their relatives are carried across as well. ||42|| Whoever dies in the Word of the Shabad, is known to be truly dead. By Guru's Grace, the mortal is satisfied by the sublime essence of the Lord. Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, he is recognised in the Court of the Lord. Without the Shabad, everyone is dead. The self-willed manmukh dies; his life is wasted. Those who do not remember the Name of the Lord, shall cry in pain in the end. O Nanak, whatever the Creator Lord does, comes to pass. ||43|| The Gurmukhs never grow old; within them is intuitive understanding and spiritual wisdom. They chant the Praises of the Lord, forever and ever; deep within, they intuitively meditate on the Lord. They dwell forever in blissful knowledge of the Lord; they look upon pain and pleasure as one and the same. They see the One Lord in all, and realise the Lord, the Supreme Soul of all. ||44|| The self-willed manmukhs are like stupid children; they do not keep the Lord in their thoughts. They do all their deeds in egotism, and they must answer to the Righteous Judge of Dharma. The Gurmukhs are good and immaculately pure; they are embellished and exalted with the Word of the Guru's Shabad. Not even a tiny bit of filth sticks to them; they walk in harmony with the Will of the True Guru. The filth of the manmukhs is not washed away, even if they wash hundreds of times. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs are united with the Lord; they merge into the Guru's Being. ||45|| How can someone do bad things, and still live with himself? By his own anger, he only burns himself. The self-willed manmukh drives himself crazy with worries and stubborn struggles. But those who become Gurmukh understand everything. O Nanak, the Gurmukh struggles with his own mind. ||46|| Those who do not serve the True Guru, the Primal Being, and do not reflect upon the Word of the Shabad - do not call them human beings; they are just animals and stupid beasts. They have no spiritual wisdom or meditation within their beings; they are not in love with the Lord. The self-willed manmukhs die in evil and corruption; they die and are reborn, again and again. They alone live, who join with the living; enshrine the Lord, the Lord of Life, within your heart. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs look beautiful in that Court of the True Lord. ||47|| The Lord built the Harimandir, the Temple of the Lord; the Lord dwells within it. Following the Guru's Teachings, I have found the Lord; my emotional attachment to Maya has been burnt away. Countless things are in the Harimandir, the Temple of the Lord; contemplate the Naam, and the nine treasures will be yours. Blessed is that happy soul-bride, O Nanak, who, as Gurmukh, seeks and finds the Lord. By great good fortune, one searches the temple of the body-fortress, and finds the Lord within the heart. ||48|| The self-willed manmukhs wander lost in the ten directions, led by intense desire, greed and corruption.

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Their attachment to Maya does not cease; they die, only to be reborn, over and over again. Serving the True Guru, peace is found; intense desire and corruption are discarded. The pains of death and birth are taken away; servant Nanak reflects upon the Word of the Shabad. ||49|| Meditate on the

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Name of the Lord, Har, Har, O mortal being, and you shall be honoured in the Court of the Lord. All your sins and terrible mistakes shall be taken away, and you shall be rid of your pride and egotism. The heart-lotus of the Gurmukh blossoms forth, realising God, the Soul of all. O Lord God, please shower Your Mercy upon servant Nanak, that he may chant the Name of the Lord. ||50|| In Dhanaasaree, the soul-bride is known to be wealthy, O Siblings of Destiny, when she works for the True Guru. She surrenders her body, mind and soul, O Siblings of Destiny, and lives according to the Hukam of His Command. I sit where He wishes me to sit, O Siblings of Destiny; wherever He sends me, I go. There is no other wealth as great, O Siblings of Destiny; such is the greatness of the True Name. I sing forever the Glorious Praises of the True Lord; I shall remain with the True One forever. So wear the clothes of His Glorious Virtues and goodness, O Siblings of Destiny; eat and enjoy the flavor of your own honour. How can I praise Him, O Siblings of Destiny? I am a sacrifice to the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. Great is the Glorious Greatness of the True Guru, O Siblings of Destiny; if one is blessed with good karma, He is found. Some do not know how to submit to the Hukam of His Command, O Siblings of Destiny; they wander around lost in the love of duality. They find no place of rest in the Sangat, O Siblings of Destiny; they find no place to sit. Nanak: they alone submit to His Command, O Siblings of Destiny, who are pre-destined to live the Name. I am a sacrifice to them, O Siblings of Destiny, I am forever a sacrifice to them. ||51|| Those beards are true, which brush the feet of the True Guru. Those who serve their Guru night and day, live in bliss, night and day. O Nanak, their faces appear beautiful in the Court of the True Lord. ||52|| True are the faces and true are the beards, of those who speak the Truth and live the Truth. The True Word of the Shabad abides in their minds; they are absorbed in the True Guru. True is their capital, and true is their wealth; they are blessed with the ultimate status. They hear the Truth, they believe in the Truth; they act and work in the Truth. They are given a place in the Court of the True Lord; they are absorbed in the True Lord. O Nanak, without the True Guru, the True Lord is not found. The self-willed manmukhs leave, wandering around lost. ||53|| The rainbird cries, "Pri-o! Pri-o! Beloved! Beloved!" She is in love with the treasure, the water. Meeting with the Guru, the cooling, soothing water is obtained, and all pain is taken away. My thirst has been quenched, and intuitive peace and poise have welled up; my cries and screams of anguish are past. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs are peaceful and tranquil; they enshrine the Naam, the Name of the Lord, within their hearts. ||54|| O rainbird, chirp the True Name, and let yourself be attuned to the True Lord. Your word shall be accepted and approved, if you speak as Gurmukh. Remember the Shabad, and your thirst shall be relieved; surrender to the Will of the Lord.

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The clouds are heavy, hanging low, and the rain is pouring down on all sides; the rain-drop is received, with natural ease. From water, everything is produced; without water, thirst is not quenched. O Nanak, whoever drinks in the Water of the Lord, shall never feel hunger again. ||55|| O rainbird, speak the Shabad, the True Word of God, with natural peace and poise. Everything is with you; the True Guru will show you this. So understand your own self, and meet your Beloved; His Grace shall rain down in torrents. Drop by drop, the Ambrosial Nectar rains down softly and gently; thirst and hunger are completely gone. Your cries and screams of anguish have ceased; your light shall merge into the Light. O Nanak, the happy soul-brides sleep in peace; they are absorbed in the True Name. ||56|| The Primal Lord and Master has sent out the True Hukam of His Command. Indra mercifully sends forth the rain, which falls in torrents. The body and mind of the rainbird are happy. only when the rain-drop falls into its mouth. The corn grows high, wealth increases, and the earth is embellished with beauty. Night and day, people worship the Lord with devotion, and are absorbed in the Word of the Guru's Shabad. The True Lord Himself forgives them, and showering them with His Mercy, He leads them to walk in His Will. O brides, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and be absorbed in the True Word of His Shabad. Let the Fear of God be your decoration, and remain lovingly attuned to the True Lord. O Nanak, the Naam abides in the mind, and the mortal is saved in the Court of the Lord. ||57|| The rainbird wanders all over the earth, soaring high through the skies. But it obtains the drop of water, only when it meets the True Guru, and then, its hunger and thirst are relieved. Soul and body and all belong to Him; everything is His. He knows everything, without being told; unto whom should we offer our prayers? O Nanak, the One Lord is prevading and permeating each and every heart; the Word of the Shabad brings illumination. ||58|| O Nanak, the season of spring comes to one who serves the True Guru. The Lord rains His Mercy down upon him, and his mind and body totally blossom forth; the entire world becomes green and rejuvenated. ||59|| The Word of the Shabad brings eternal spring; it rejuvenates the mind and body. O Nanak, do not forget the Naam, the Name of the Lord, which has created everyone. ||60|| O Nanak, it is the spring season, for those Gurmukhs, within whose minds the Lord abides. When the Lord showers His Mercy, the mind and body blossom forth, and all the world turns green and lush. ||61|| In the early hours of the morning, whose name should we chant? Chant the Name of the Transcendent Lord, who is All-powerful to create and destroy. ||62|| The Persian wheel also cries out, "Too! Too! You! You!", with sweet and sublime sounds. Our Lord and Master is always present; why do you cry out to Him in such a loud voice? I am a sacrifice to that Lord who created the world, and who loves it. Give up your selfishness, and then you shall meet your Husband Lord. Consider this Truth. Speaking in shallow egotism, no one understands the Ways of God. The forests and fields, and all the three worlds meditate on You, O Lord; this is the way they pass their days and nights forever. Without the True Guru, no one finds the Lord. People have grown weary of thinking about it.

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But if the Lord casts His Glance of Grace, then He Himself embellishes us. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs meditate on the Lord; blessed and approved is their coming into the world. ||63|| Yoga is not obtained by wearing saffron robes; Yoga is not obtained by wearing dirty robes. O Nanak, Yoga is obtained even while sitting in your own home, by following the Teachings of the True Guru. ||64|| You may wander in all four directions, and read the Vedas throughout the four ages. O Nanak, if you meet with the True Guru, the Lord shall come to dwell within your mind, and you shall find the door of salvation. ||65|| O Nanak, the Hukam, the Command of your Lord and Master, is prevailing. The intellectually confused person wanders around lost, misled by his fickle consciousness. If you make friends with the self-willed manmukhs, O friend, who can you ask for peace? Make friends with the Gurmukhs, and focus your consciousness on the True Guru. The root of birth and death will be cut away, and then, you shall find peace, O friend. ||66|| The Lord Himself instructs those who are misguided, when He casts His Glance of Grace. O Nanak, those who are not blessed by His Glance of Grace, cry and weep and wail. ||67|| Shalok, Fourth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Blessed and very fortunate are those happy soul-brides who, as Gurmukh, meet their Sovereign Lord King. The Light of God shines within them; O Nanak, they are absorbed in the Naam, the Name of the Lord. ||1|| Waaho! Waaho! Blessed and Great is the True Guru, the Primal Being, who has realised the True Lord. Meeting Him, thirst is quenched, and the body and mind are cooled and soothed. Waaho! Waaho! Blessed and Great is the True Guru, the True Primal Being, who looks upon all alike. Waaho! Waaho! Blessed and Great is the True Guru, who has no hatred; slander and praise are all the same to Him. Waaho! Waaho! Blessed and Great is the All-knowing True Guru, who has realised God within. Waaho! Waaho! Blessed and Great is the Formless True Guru, who has no end or limitation. Waaho! Waaho! Blessed and Great is the True Guru, who implants the Truth within. O Nanak, Blessed and Great is the True Guru, through whom the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is received. ||2|| For the Gurmukh, the true Song of Praise is to chant the Name of the Lord God. Chanting the Praises of the Lord, their minds are in ecstasy. By great good fortune, they find the Lord, the Embodiment of perfect, supreme bliss. Servant Nanak praises the Naam, the Name of the Lord; no obstacle will block his mind or body. ||3|| I am in love with my Beloved; how can I meet my Dear Friend? I seek that friend, who is embellished with Truth. The True Guru is my Friend; if I meet Him, I will offer this mind as a sacrifice to Him. He has shown me my Beloved Lord, my Friend, the Creator. O Nanak, I was searching for my Beloved; the True Guru has shown me that He has been with me all the time. ||4|| I stand by the side of the road, waiting for You; O my Friend, I hope that You will come. If only someone would come today and unite me in Union with my Beloved.

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I would cut my living body into four pieces for anyone who shows me my Beloved. O Nanak, when the Lord becomes merciful, then He leads us to meet the Perfect Guru. ||5|| The power of egotism prevails within, and the body is controlled by Maya; the false ones come and go in reincarnation. If someone does not obey the Command of the True Guru, he cannot cross over the treacherous world-ocean. Whoever is blessed with the Lord's Glance of Grace, walks in harmony with the Will of the True Guru. The Blessed Vision of the True Guru's Darshan is fruitful; through it, one obtains the fruits of his desires. I touch the feet of those who believe in and obey the True Guru. Nanak is the slave of those who, night and day, remain lovingly attuned to the Lord. ||6|| Those who are in love with their Beloved - how can they find satisfaction without His Darshan? O Nanak, the Gurmukhs meet Him with ease, and this mind blossoms forth in joy. ||7|| Those who are in love with their Beloved - how can they live without Him? When they see their Husband Lord, O Nanak, they are rejuvenated. ||8|| Those Gurmukhs who are filled with love for You, my True Beloved, O Nanak, remain immersed in the Lord's Love, night and day. ||9|| The love of the Gurmukh is true; through it, the True Beloved is attained. Night and day, remain in bliss, O Nanak, immersed in intuitive peace and poise. ||10|| True love and affection are obtained from the Perfect Guru. They never break, O Nanak, if one sings the Glorious Praises of the Lord. ||11|| How can those who have true love within them live without their Husband Lord? The Lord unites the Gurmukhs with Himself, O Nanak; they were separated from Him for such a long time. ||12|| You grant Your Grace to those whom You Yourself bless with love and affection. O Lord, please let Nanak meet with You; please bless this beggar with Your Name. ||13|| The Gurmukh laughs, and the Gurmukh cries. Whatever the Gurmukh does, is devotional worship. Whoever becomes Gurmukh contemplates the Lord. The Gurmukh, O Nanak, crosses over to the other shore. ||14|| Those who have the Naam within, contemplate the Word of the Guru's Bani. Their faces are always radiant in the Court of the True Lord. Sitting down and standing up, they never forget the Creator, who forgives them. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs are united with the Lord. Those united by the Creator Lord, shall never be separated again. ||15|| To work for the Guru, or a spiritual teacher, is terribly difficult, but it brings the most excellent peace. The Lord casts His Glance of Grace, and inspires love and affection. Joined to the service of the True Guru, the mortal being crosses over the terrifying world-ocean. The fruits of the mind's desires are obtained, with clear contemplation and discriminating understanding within. O Nanak, meeting the True Guru, God is found; He is the Eradicator of all sorrow. ||16|| The self-willed manmukh may perform service, but his consciousness is attached to the love of duality. Through Maya, his emotional attachment to children, spouse and relatives increases. He shall be called to account in the Court of the Lord, and in the end, no one will be able to save him.

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Without the Lord's Name, all is pain. Attachment to Maya is agonisingly painful. O Nanak, the Gurmukh comes to see, that attachment to Maya separates all from the Lord. ||17|| The Gurmukh obeys the Order of her Husband Lord God; through the Hukam of His Command, she finds peace. In His Will, she serves; in His Will, she worship and adores Him. In His Will, she merges in absorption. His Will is her fast, vow, purity and self-discipline; through it, she obtains the fruits of her mind's desires. She is always and forever the happy, pure soul-bride, who realises His Will; she serves the True Guru, inspired by loving absorption. O Nanak, those upon whom the Lord showers His Mercy, are merged and immersed in His Will. ||18|| The wretched, self-willed manmukhs do not realise His Will; they continually act in ego. By ritualistic fasts, vows, purities, self-disciplines and worship ceremonies, they still cannot get rid of their hypocrisy and doubt. Inwardly, they are impure, pierced through by attachment to Maya; they are like elephants, who throw dirt all over themselves right after their bath. They do not even think of the One who created them. Without thinking of Him, they cannot find peace. O Nanak, the Primal Creator has made the drama of the Universe; all act as they are pre-ordained. ||19|| The Gurmukh has faith; his mind is contented and satisfied. Night and day, he serves the Lord, absorbed in Him. The Guru, the True Guru, is within; all worship and adore Him. Everyone comes to see the Blessed Vision of His Darshan. So believe in the True Guru, the supreme sublime Contemplator. Meeting with Him, hunger and thirst are completely relieved. I am forever a sacrifice to my Guru, who leads me to meet the True Lord God. O Nanak, those who come and fall at the Feet of the Guru are blessed with the karma of Truth. ||20|| That Beloved, with whom I am in love, that Friend of mine is with me. I wander around inside and outside, but I always keep Him enshrined within my heart. ||21|| Those who meditate on the Lord single-mindedly, with one-pointed concentration, link their consciousness to the True Guru. They are rid of pain, hunger, and the great illness of egotism; lovingly attuned to the Lord, they become free of pain. They sing His Praises, and chant His Praises; in His Glorious Praises, they sleep in absorption. O Nanak, through the Perfect Guru, they come to meet God with intuitive peace and poise. ||22|| The self-willed manmukhs are emotionally attached to Maya; they are not in love with the Naam. They practice falsehood, gather falsehood, and eat the food of falsehood. Gathering the poisonous wealth and property of Maya, they die; in the end, they are all reduced to ashes. They perform religious rituals of purity and self-discipline, but they are filled with greed, evil and corruption. O Nanak, the actions of the self-willed manmukhs are not accepted; in the Court of the Lord, they are miserable. ||23|| Among all Ragas, that one is sublime, O Siblings of Destiny, by which the Lord comes to abide in the mind. Those Ragas which are in the Sound-current of the Naad are totally true; their value cannot be expressed. Those Ragas which are not in the Sound-current of the Naad - by these, the Lord's Will cannot be understood. O Nanak, they alone are right, who understand the Will of the True Guru. Everything happens as He wills. ||24||

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Section 43 - Shaloks In Addition To The Vaars - Part 015

The Ambrosial Nectar of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is within the True Guru. Following the Guru's Teachings, one meditates on the Immaculate Naam, the Pure and Holy Naam. The Ambrosial Word of His Bani is the true essence. It comes to abide in the mind of the Gurmukh. The heart-lotus blossoms forth, and one's light merges in the Light. O Nanak, they alone meet with the True Guru, who have such pre-ordained destiny inscribed upon their foreheads. ||25|| Within the self-willed manmukhs is the fire of desire; their hunger does not depart. Emotional attachments to relatives are totally false; they remain engrossed in falsehood. Night and day, they are troubled by anxiety; bound to anxiety, they depart. Their comings and goings in reincarnation never end; they do their deeds in egotism. But in the Guru's Sanctuary, they are saved, O Nanak, and set free. ||26|| The True Guru meditates on the Lord, the Primal Being. The Sat Sangat, the True Congregation, loves the True Guru. Those who join the Sat Sangat, and serve the True Guru - the Guru unites them in the Lord's Union. This world, this universe, is a terrifying ocean. On the Boat of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, the Guru carries us across. The Sikhs of the Guru accept and obey the Lord's Will; the Perfect Guru carries them across. O Lord, please bless me with the dust of the feet of the Guru's Sikhs. I am a sinner - please save me. Those who have such pre-ordained destiny written upon their foreheads by the Lord God, come to meet Guru Nanak. The Messenger of Death is beaten and driven away; we are saved in the Court of the Lord. Blessed and celebrated are the Sikhs of the Guru; in His Pleasure, the Lord unites them in His Union. ||27|| The Perfect Guru has implanted the Lord's Name within me; it has dispelled my doubts from within. Singing the Kirtan of the Praises of the Lord's Name, the Lord's path is illuminated and shown to His Sikhs. Conquering my egotism, I remain lovingly attuned to the One Lord; the Naam, the Name of the Lord, dwells within me. I follow the Guru's Teachings, and so the Messenger of Death cannot even see me; I am immersed in the True Name. The Creator Himself is All-pervading; as He pleases, He links us to His Name. Servant Nanak lives, chanting the Name. Without the Name, he dies in an instant. ||28|| Within the minds of the faithless cynics is the disease of egotism; these evil people wander around lost, deluded by doubt. O Nanak, this disease is eradicated only by meeting with the True Guru, the Holy Friend. ||29|| Following the Guru's Teachings, chant the Name of the Lord, Har, Har. Attracted by the Lord's Love, day and night, the body-robe is imbued with the Lord's Love. I have not found any being like the Lord, although I have searched and looked all over the world. The Guru, the True Guru, has implanted the Naam within; now, my mind does not waver or wander anywhere else. Servant Nanak is the slave of the Lord, the slave of the slaves of the Guru, the True Guru. ||30||

Section 43 - Shaloks In Addition To The Vaars - Part 016

Shalok, Fifth Mehl: One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: They alone are imbued with the Lord, who do not turn their faces away from Him - they realise Him. The false, immature lovers do not know the way of love, and so they fall. ||1|| Without my Master, I will burn my silk and satin clothes in the fire. Even rolling in the dust, I look beautiful, O Nanak, if my Husband Lord is with me. ||2|| Through the Word of the Guru's Shabad, I worship and adore the Naam, with love and balanced detachment. When the five enemies are overcome, O Nanak, this musical measure of Raga MAAROO becomes frtuiful. ||3|| When I have the One Lord, I have tens of thousands. Otherwise, people like me beg from door to door. O Brahmin, your life has passed away uselessly; you have forgotten the One who created you. ||4|| In Raga Sorat'h, drink in this sublime essence, which never loses its taste. O Nanak, singing the Glorious Praises of the Lord's Name, one's reputation is immaculate in the Court of the Lord. ||5|| No one can kill those whom God Himself protects. The treasure of the Naam, the Name of the Lord, is within them. They cherish His Glorious Virtues forever. They take the Support of the One, the Inaccessible Lord; they enshrine God in their mind and body. They are imbued with the Love of the Infinite Lord, and no one can wipe it away. The Gurmukhs sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord; they obtain the most excellent celestial peace and poise. O Nanak, they enshrine the treasure of the Naam in their hearts. ||6|| Whatever God does, accept that as good; leave behind all other judgements. He shall cast His Glance of Grace, and attach you to Himself. Instruct yourself with the Teachings, and doubt will depart from within. Everyone does that which is pre-ordained by destiny. Everything is under His control; there is no other place at all. Nanak is in peace and bliss, accepting the Will of God. ||7|| Those who meditate in remembrance on the Perfect Guru, are exalted and uplifted. O Nanak, dwelling on the Naam, the Name of the Lord, all affairs are resolved. ||8|| The sinners act, and generate bad karma, and then they weep and wail. O Nanak, just as the churning stick churns the butter, so does the Righteous Judge of Dharma churn them. ||9|| Meditating on the Naam, O friend, the treasure of life is won. O Nanak, speaking in Righteousness, one's world becomes sanctified. ||10|| I am stuck in an evil place, trusting the sweet words of an evil advisor. O Nanak, they alone are saved, who have such good destiny inscribed upon their foreheads. ||11|| They alone sleep and dream in peace, who are imbued with the Love of their Husband Lord. Those who have been separated from the Love of their Master, scream and cry twenty-four hours a day. ||12|| Millions are asleep, in the false illusion of Maya. O Nanak, they alone are awake and aware, who chant the Naam with their tongues. ||13|| Seeing the mirage, the optical illusion, the people are confused and deluded. Those who worship and adore the True Lord, O Nanak, their minds and bodies are beautiful. ||14|| The All-powerful Supreme Lord God, the Infinite Primal Being, is the Saving Grace of sinners.

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 44 - SHALOK, NINTH MEHL

Section 44 - Shalok, Ninth Mehl - Part 001

Those whom He saves, meditate in remembrance on the Creator Lord. ||15|| Forsake duality and the ways of evil; focus your consciousness on the One Lord. In the love of duality, O Nanak, the mortals are being washed downstream. ||16|| In the markets and bazaars of the three qualities, the merchants make their deals. Those who load the true merchandise are the true traders. ||17|| Those who do not know the way of love are foolish; they wander lost and confused. O Nanak, forgetting the Lord, they fall into the deep, dark pit of hell. ||18|| In his mind, the mortal does not forget Maya; he begs for more and more wealth. That God does not even come into his consciousness; O Nanak, it is not in his karma. ||19|| The mortal does not run out of capital, as long as the Lord Himself is merciful. The Word of the Shabad is Guru Nanak's inexhaustible treasure; this wealth and capital never runs out, no matter how much it is spent and consumed. ||20|| If I could find wings for sale, I would buy them with an equal weight of my flesh. I would attach them to my body, and seek out and find my Friend. ||21|| My Friend is the True Supreme King, the King over the heads of kings. Sitting by His side, we are exalted and beautified; He is the Support of all. ||22|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Shalok, Ninth Mehl: If you do not sing the Praises of the Lord, your life is rendered useless. Says Nanak, meditate, vibrate upon the Lord; immerse your mind in Him, like the fish in the water. ||1|| Why are you engrossed in sin and corruption? You are not detached, even for a moment! Says Nanak, meditate, vibrate upon the Lord, and you shall not be caught in the noose of death. ||2|| Your youth has passed away like this, and old age has overtaken your body. Says Nanak, meditate, vibrate upon the Lord; your life is fleeting away! ||3|| You have become old, and you do not understand that death is overtaking you. Says Nanak, you are insane! Why do you not remember and meditate on God? ||4|| Your wealth, spouse, and all the possessions which you claim as your own - none of these shall go along with you in the end. O Nanak, know this as true. ||5|| He is the Saving Grace of sinners, the Destroyer of fear, the Master of the masterless. Says Nanak, realise and know Him, who is always with you. ||6|| He has given you your body and wealth, but you are not in love with Him. Says Nanak, you are insane! Why do you now shake and tremble so helplessly? ||7|| He has given you your body, wealth, property, peace and beautiful mansions. Says Nanak, listen, mind: why don't you remember the Lord in meditation? ||8|| The Lord is the Giver of all peace and comfort. There is no other at all. Says Nanak, listen, mind: meditating in remembrance on Him, salvation is attained. ||9||

Section 44 - Shalok, Ninth Mehl - Part 002

Remembering Him in meditation, salvation is attained; vibrate and meditate on Him, O my friend. Says Nanak, listen, mind: your life is passing away! ||10|| Your body is made up of the five elements; you are clever and wise - know this well. Believe it - you shall merge once again into the One, O Nanak, from whom you originated. ||11|| The Dear Lord abides in each and every heart; the Saints proclaim this as true. Says Nanak, meditate and vibrate upon Him, and you shall cross over the terrifying world-ocean. ||12|| One who is not touched by pleasure or pain, greed, emotional attachment and egotistical pride - says Nanak, listen, mind: he is the very image of God. ||13|| One who is beyond praise and slander, who looks upon gold and iron alike - says Nanak, listen, mind: know that such a person is liberated. ||14|| One who is not affected by pleasure or pain, who looks upon friend and enemy alike - says Nanak, listen, mind: know that such a person is liberated. ||15|| One who does not frighten anyone, and who is not afraid of anyone else - says Nanak, listen, mind: call him spiritually wise. ||16|| One who has forsaken all sin and corruption, who wears the robes of neutral detachment - says Nanak, listen, mind: good destiny is written on his forehead. ||17|| One who renounces Maya and possessiveness and is detached from everything - says Nanak, listen, mind: God abides in his heart. ||18|| That mortal, who forsakes egotism, and realises the Creator Lord - says Nanak, that person is liberated; O mind, know this as true. ||19|| In this Dark Age of Kali Yuga, the Name of the Lord is the Destroyer of fear, the Eradicator of evil-mindedness. Night and day, O Nanak, whoever vibrates and meditates on the Lord's Name, sees all of his works brought to fruition. ||20|| Vibrate with your tongue the Glorious Praises of the Lord of the Universe; with your ears, hear the Lord's Name. Says Nanak, listen, man: you shall not have to go to the house of Death. ||21|| That mortal who renounces possessiveness, greed, emotional attachment and egotism - says Nanak, he himself is saved, and he saves many others as well. ||22|| Like a dream and a show, so is this world, you must know. None of this is true, O Nanak, without God. ||23|| Night and day, for the sake of Maya, the mortal wanders constantly. Among millions, O Nanak, there is scarcely anyone, who keeps the Lord in his consciousness. ||24|| As the bubbles in the water well up and disappear again, so is the universe created; says Nanak, listen, O my friend! ||25|| The mortal does not remember the Lord, even for a moment; he is blinded by the wine of Maya. Says Nanak, without meditating on the Lord, he is caught by the noose of Death. ||26|| If you yearn for eternal peace, then seek the Sanctuary of the Lord. Says Nanak, listen, mind: this human body is difficult to obtain. ||27|| For the sake of Maya, the fools and ignorant people run all around. Says Nanak, without meditating on the Lord, life passes away uselessly. ||28|| That mortal who meditates and vibrates upon the Lord night and day - know him to be the embodiment of the Lord.

Section 44 - Shalok, Ninth Mehl - Part 003

There is no difference between the Lord and the humble servant of the Lord; O Nanak, know this as true. ||29|| The mortal is entangled in Maya; he has forgotten the Name of the Lord of the Universe. Says Nanak, without meditating on the Lord, what is the use of this human life? ||30|| The mortal does not think of the Lord; he is blinded by the wine of Maya. Says Nanak, without meditating on the Lord, he is caught in the noose of Death. ||31|| In good times, there are many companions around, but in bad times, there is no one at all. Says Nanak, vibrate, and meditate on the Lord; He shall be your only Help and Support in the end. ||32|| Mortals wander lost and confused through countless lifetimes; their fear of death is never removed. Says Nanak, vibrate and meditate on the Lord, and you shall dwell in the Fearless Lord. ||33|| I have tried so many things, but the pride of my mind has not been dispelled. I am engrossed in evil-mindedness, Nanak. O God, please save me! ||34|| Childhood, youth and old age - know these as the three stages of life. Says Nanak, without meditating on the Lord, everything is useless; you must appreciate this. ||35|| You have not done what you should have done; you are entangled in the web of greed. Nanak, your time is past and gone; why are you crying now, you blind fool? ||36|| The mind is absorbed in Maya - it cannot escape it, my friend. Nanak, it is like a picture painted on the wall - it cannot leave it. ||37|| The man wishes for something, but something different happens. He plots to deceive others, O Nanak, but he places the noose around his own neck instead. ||38|| People make all sorts of efforts to find peace and pleasure, but no one tries to earn pain. Says Nanak, listen, mind: whatever pleases God comes to pass. ||39|| The world wanders around begging, but the Lord is the Giver of all. Says Nanak, meditate in remembrance on Him, and all your works will be successful. ||40|| Why do you take such false pride in yourself? You must know that the world is just a dream. None of this is yours; Nanak proclaims this truth. ||41|| You are so proud of your body; it shall perish in an instant, my friend. That mortal who chants the Praises of the Lord, O Nanak, conquers the world. ||42|| That person, who meditates in remembrance on the Lord in his heart, is liberated - know this well. There is no difference between that person and the Lord: O Nanak, accept this as the Truth. ||43|| That person, who does not feel devotion to God in his mind - O Nanak, know that his body is like that of a pig, or a dog. ||44|| A dog never abandons the home of his master. O Nanak, in just the same way, vibrate, and meditate on the Lord, single-mindedly, with one-pointed consciousness. ||45|| Those who make pilgrimages to sacred shrines, observe ritualistic fasts and make donations to charity while still taking pride in their minds - O Nanak, their actions are useless, like the elephant, who takes a bath, and then rolls in the dust. ||46|| The head shakes, the feet stagger, and the eyes become dull and weak. Says Nanak, this is your condition. And even now, you have not savored the sublime essence of the Lord. ||47||

GURU GRANTH SAHIB 45 - MUNDAAVANEE, FIFTH MEHL & RAAG MAALAA

Section 45 - Mundaavanee, Fifth Mehl & Raag Maalaa - Part 001

I had looked upon the world as my own, but no one belongs to anyone else. O Nanak, only devotional worship of the Lord is permanent; enshrine this in your mind. ||48|| The world and its affairs are totally false; know this well, my friend. Says Nanak, it is like a wall of sand; it shall not endure. ||49|| Raam Chand passed away, as did Raawan, even though he had lots of relatives. Says Nanak, nothing lasts forever; the world is like a dream. ||50|| People become anxious, when something unexpected happens. This is the way of the world, O Nanak; nothing is stable or permanent. ||51|| Whatever has been

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created shall be destroyed; everyone shall perish, today or tomorrow. O Nanak, sing the Glorious Praises of the Lord, and give up all other entanglements. ||52|| DOHRAA: My strength is exhausted, and I am in bondage; I cannot do anything at all. Says Nanak, now, the Lord is my Support; He will help me, as He did the elephant. ||53|| My strength has been restored, and my bonds have been broken; now, I can do everything. Nanak: everything is in Your hands, Lord; You are my Helper and Support. ||54|| My associates and companions have all deserted me; no one remains with me. Says Nanak, in this tragedy, the Lord alone is my Support. ||55|| The Naam remains; the Holy Saints remain; the Guru, the Lord of the Universe, remains. Says Nanak, how rare are those who chant the Guru's Mantra in this world. ||56|| I have enshrined the Lord's Name within my heart; there is nothing equal to it. Meditating in remembrance on it, my troubles are taken away; I have received the Blessed Vision of Your Darshan. ||57||1|| Mundaavanee, Fifth Mehl: Upon this Plate, three things have been placed: Truth, Contentment and Contemplation. The Ambrosial Nectar of the Naam, the Name of our Lord and Master, has been placed upon it as well; it is the Support of all. One who eats it and enjoys it shall be saved. This thing can never be forsaken; keep this always and forever in your mind. The dark world-ocean is crossed over, by grasping the Feet of the Lord; O Nanak, it is all the extension of God. ||1|| Shalok, Fifth Mehl: I have not appreciated what You have done for me, Lord; only You can make me worthy. I am unworthy - I have no worth or virtues at all. You have taken pity on me. You took pity on me, and blessed me with Your Mercy, and I have met the True Guru, my Friend. O Nanak, if I am blessed with the Naam, I live, and my body and mind blossom forth. ||1|| One Universal Creator God. By The Grace Of The True Guru: Raag Maalaa: Each Raga has five wives, and eight sons, who emit distinctive notes. In the first place is Raag Bhairao.

Section 45 - Mundaavanee, Fifth Mehl & Raag Maalaa - Part 002

It is accompanied by the voices of its five Raaginis: First come Bhairavee, and Bilaavalee; then the songs of Punni-aakee and Bangalee; and then Asalaykhee. These are the five consorts of Bhairao. The sounds of Pancham, Harakh and Disaakh; the songs of Bangaalam, Madh and Maadhav. ||1|| Lalat and Bilaaval - each gives out its own melody. when these eight sons of Bhairao are sung by accomplished musicians. ||1|| In the second family is Maalakausak, who brings his five Raaginis: Gondakaree and Dayv Gandhaaree, the voices of Gandhaaree and Seehutee, and the fifth song of Dhanaasaree. This chain of Maalakausak brings along : Maaroo, Masta-ang and Mayvaaraa, Prabal, Chandakausak, Khau, Khat and Bauraanad singing. These are the eight sons of Maalakausak. ||1|| Then comes Hindol with his five wives and eight sons; it rises in waves when the sweet-voiced chorus sings. ||1|| There come Taylangee and Darvakaree; Basantee and Sandoor follow; then Aheeree, the finest of women. These five wives come together. The sons: Surmaanand and Bhaaskar come, Chandrabinb and Mangalan follow. Sarasbaan and Binodaa then come, and the thrilling songs of Basant and Kamodaa. These are the eight sons I have listed. Then comes the turn of Deepak. ||1|| Kachhaylee, Patamanjaree and Todee are sung; Kaamodee and Goojaree accompany Deepak. ||1|| Kaalankaa, Kuntal and Raamaa, Kamalakusam and Champak are their names; Gauraa, Kaanaraa and Kaylaanaa; these are the eight sons of Deepak. ||1|| All join together and sing Siree Raag, which is accompanied by its five wives.: Bairaaree and Karnaatee, the songs of Gawree and Aasaavaree; then follows Sindhavee. These are the five wives of Siree Raag. ||1|| Saaloo, Saarang, Saagaraa, Gond and Gambheer - the eight sons of Siree Raag include Gund, Kumb and Hameer. ||1|| In the sixth place, Maygh Raag is sung, with its five wives in accompaniment: Sorat'h, Gond, and the melody of Malaaree; then the harmonies of Aasaa are sung. And finally comes the high tone Soohau. These are the five with Maygh Raag. ||1|| Bairaadhar, Gajadhar, Kaydaaraa, Jabaleedhar, Nat and Jaladhaaraa. Then come the songs of Shankar and Shi-aamaa. These are the names of the sons of Maygh Raag. ||1|| So all together, they sing the six Raagas and the thirty Raaginis, and all the forty-eight sons of the Raagas. ||1||1||

BABIST AND BAHA'I SCRIPTURE

(Babism is a religion that started in Persia of the mid-19th century. The founder was Mirza Ali Muhamed Reza ash-Shirazi. He claimed to be a kind of messiah or saviour for Shi'a Muslims. He took the title Bab (meaning "gate"). Babism was originally based on his interpretation of the Koran and other Islamic texts. There were similar movements like this, but the Babi movement tried to break with Islam to start a new religion. It was opposed by the Islamic government in Persia, which used laws and violence to destroy it. Babism continued in exile in the Ottoman Empire. It led to the creation of Azali Babism and the Baha'i Faith.

Babism (Persian: Babiyye) is an Abrahamic monotheistic religion which professes that there is one incorporeal, unknown, and incomprehensible God who manifests his will in an unending series of theophanies, called Manifestations of God. It has no more than a few thousand adherents according to current estimates, most of whom are concentrated in Iran. It was founded by Ali Muhammad Shirazi who first assumed the title of Bab (lit. "Gate") from which the religion gets its name, out of the belief that he was the gate to the Twelfth Imam. However throughout his ministry his titles and claims underwent much evolution as the Báb progressively outlined his teachings.

Founded in 1844, Babism flourished in Persia until 1852, then lingered on in exile in the Ottoman Empire, especially Cyprus, as well as underground. An anomaly amongst Islamic messianic movements, the Babí movement signaled a break with Shia Islam, beginning a new religious system with its own unique laws, teachings, and practices. While Babism was violently opposed by both clerical and government establishments, it led to the founding of the Baha'i Faith, whose followers consider the religion founded by the Bab as a predecessor to their own. Baha'i sources maintain that the remains of the Bab were clandestinely rescued by a handful of Babis and then hidden. Over time the remains were secretly transported according to the instructions of Baha'ullah and then Abdu'l-Baha through Isfahan, Kirmanshah, Baghdad, Damascus, Beirut, and then by sea to Acre on the plain below Mount Carmel in present-day Haifa, Israel. On 21 March 1909, the remains were interred in a special tomb, the Shrine of the Bab, erected for this purpose by Abdu'l-Baha, on Mount Carmel in

The Bab, born Siyyid Ali Muhammad Shirazi (October 20, 1819 – July 9, 1850) was the founder of Babism, and one of the central figures of the Baha'i Faith. To Baha'is, the Báb fills a similar role as Elijah or John the Baptist. In 1842 he married Khadajih-Bagum (1822–1882); he was 23 and she was 20. She was the daughter of a prominent merchant in Shíráz. The marriage proved a happy one, and they had one child, a boy named Ahmad who died the year he was born – 1843. The Bab was a merchant from Shiraz in Qajar Iran who in 1844, at the age of twenty-four, claimed to be a messenger of God. He took on the title of the Báb, meaning "Gate" or "Door", a reference associated with the promised Twelver Mahdi or al-Qa'im. As apostacy carries the death penalty in Islam, Islamic authorities tried to snuff out his new religion by killing the Bab in 1850 and thousands of his followers. They achieved right the opposite. Today, the peaceful Baha'i Faith has 8 million followers and is one of the fastest-growing religions.

Baha'ullah (Persian for: 'Manifestation of God'; 12 November 1817 – 29 May 1892), born Mirza Husayn-Ali Nuri, was a Persian religious leader, and the founder of the Baha'i Faith, which advocates universal peace and unity among all races, nations, and religions. At the heart of Baha'i teachings is the goal of a unified world order that ensures the prosperity of all nations, races, creeds, and classes. These philosophies sets the Faith totally apart from the doctrine of Islam which contains lots of violent verses and hatred against any Kafir (non-Muslim). It were particularly those violent teachings in Islam that triggered the creation of the Bahá'í Faith as it is the resumption of two great Persian religions of the past, Zoroastrianism and Manichaeism.

There is no definitive list of Manifestations of God, but Baha'ullah (Mirza Husayn-Ali Nuri) and his son Abdul-Baha (born: Abbas) referred to several personages as Manifestations; they include Adam, Noah, Krishna, Moses, Abraham, Zoroaster, Buddha, Jesus and Muhammad. The Bab, as well as Baha'ullah, were included in this definition. Thus religious history is interpreted as a series of periods or "dispensations", where each Manifestation brings a somewhat broader and more advanced revelation, suited for the time and place in which it was expressed.

At the age of 27, Baha'ullah became a follower of the Bab,

Baha'ullah wrote many texts, of which only a part has been translated into English until now.

There have been 15,000 works written by him identified; many of these are in the form of short letters, or tablets, to Baha'is, but he also wrote larger pieces. The total volume of his works is more than 70 times the size of the Koran and more than 15 times the size of the combined Old and New Testaments of the Bible.

Baha'ullah's most important writings include the Kitáb-i-Aqdas, literally the "Most Holy Book", which defines many laws and practices for individuals and society, and the Kitáb-i-Íqán, literally the "Book of Certitude", which became the foundation of much of Baha'i belief.

including the Hidden Words the Seven Valleys, the Book of Certitude (Kitab-i-Iqan) and the Kitab-i-Aqdas.

The books and letters written by Baha'ullah cover religious doctrine, the proclamation of his claims, social and moral teachings as well as Baha'i laws; he also wrote many prayers.

Baha'i beliefs are sometimes described as syncretic combinations of earlier religious beliefs. Baha'is, however, assert that their religion is a distinct tradition with its own scriptures, teachings, laws, and history. While the religion was initially seen as a sect of Islam, most religious specialists now see it as an independent religion, with its religious background in Shi'a Islam being seen as analogous to the Jewish context in which Christianity was established. Muslim institutions and clergy, both Sunni and Shia, consider Bahá'ís to be deserters or apostates from Islam, which has led to Bahá'ís being persecuted. Baha'is describe their faith as an independent world religion, differing from the other traditions in its relative age and in the appropriateness of Baha'ullah's teachings to the modern context. Baha'ullah is believed to have fulfilled the messianic expectations of these precursor faiths.

Asiyih Khanum (1820 – 1886) was the wife of Baha'ullah, the founder of the Baha'i Faith. She is viewed by Bahá'ís as the paragon of a devoted mother and wife. She is also known by her titles of Navvab, the Most Exalted Leaf, Búyúk Khanum or Hadrat-i-Khanum. Khánum is a title usually given to a Persian lady and is equivalent to madam. Baha'ullah and Asíyih Khanum were known as the Father of the Poor and the Mother of Consolation for their extraordinary generosity and regard for the impoverished. Baha'ullah, along with Asiyih Khanum and her children, are regarded as the Baha'i holy family.

Prominent among Baha'i literature are the Kitab-i-Aqdas, Kitab-i-Iqan, Some Answered Questions, and The Dawn-Breakers. Baha'is do not claim that the Bahá'í revelation is the final stage in God's direction in the course of human spiritual evolution. The Baha'i writings contain assurances that after 1000 years of Baha'ullah's coming, another Manifestation of God will appear to advance human civilisation.

The Baha'i Faith (Manifestation-Faith) is a religion teaching the essential worth of all religions, and the unity of all people. Established by Baha'ullah in 1863, it initially grew in Persia and parts of the Middle East, where it has faced ongoing persecution since its inception. It is estimated to have between 5 and 8 million adherents, known as Baha'is, spread throughout most of the world's countries and territories.

Shoghi Effendi Rabbani (1 March 1897 – 4 November 1957), better known as Shoghi Effendi, was the Guardian and appointed head of the Baha'i Faith from 1921 until his death in 1957. During his studies, he dedicated himself to mastering English—adding this language to the Persian, Turkish, Arabic and French languages in which he was already fluent—so that he could translate the letters of Abdu'l-Baha and serve as his secretary.

In his lifetime, Shoghi Effendi translated into English many of the writings of the Bab, Baha'ullah and Abdu'l-Baha, including the Hidden Words in 1929, the Kitab-i-Iqan in 1931, Gleanings in 1935 and Epistle to the Son of the Wolf in 1941. He also translated such historical texts as The Dawn-breakers. His significance is not just that of a translator, but he was also the designated and authoritative interpreter of the Baha'i writings. His translations, therefore, are a guideline for all future translations of the Baha'i writings.

In 1951, he wisely laid his successorship in the hands of many people by establishing the International Baha'i Council that leads the growing religious communities today.)

THE PERSIAN BAYAN

by Mirza Ali Mohammed, known as The Bab,
Messiah of the Babi and Baha'i Religions,
Version: An Abstract or Summary of the Bayan
containing the Doctrines and Teachings of the Bab
Translation: E.G. Browne, 1903
Estimated Range of Dating: 1847-1848 A.D.

(The Persian Bayan (Persian Exposition) was writen either in the last half of 1847 or the first few months of 1848 while the Bab was imprisoned in Maku. E. G. Browne translated it into English in 1889. The following summary or short version was found in the University Library at Cambridge. It was unfinished. Moojan Momen edited and completed the work. It is a summary (or easy reader) of the Persian Bayan, one of the most important works of the Bab. It contains 9 books (called 'Wahid' = Unity). Each Wahid contains 19 chapters, except the 9th Wahid which has only 10 chapters. The Persian Bayan is written with each chapter having an

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Arabic introduction, which usually summarises the contents of the chapter, followed by the main text in Persian.

The Bayan is one of the most lucid and systematic of the Bab's works. Its importance lies in several areas.

Firstly, it is one of the first works (if not The first) of the Bab in which he unequivocally lays claim to being the Messianic figure of the Imam Mahdi, whose advent the Shiis were expecting, and at the same time makes it clear that his mission involves the "abrogation of the Islamic dispensation", or to say it more bluntly: the stop of the spread and influence of Islam. The Bab's 'career' or ministry began when he examined the Islamic literature (Koran, Sira, Hadith, Sharia, Tafsir, etc.) to scrutiny and discovered their shocking contents. His critical interpretations found many advocates. People admired his wisdom and clear mind and the numbers of his supporters grew rapidly in Persia and beyond. It thus opened a new phase in the Bab's ministry which was to culminate in the open proclamation of his claim to be the Mahdi at his trial in Tabriz and of the abrogation of the Islamic dispensation at the Conference of Badasht.

Secondly, in this work, the Bab lays down the laws of the new religion that he has inaugurated, abrogating in the process the Islamic Laws.

The third area of importance of this work is the fact that it incorporates the major features of the Bab's exegesis of the eschatological terms of the Koran, indicating the manner in which they had been fulfilled by his own appearance.

The fourth area of importance is the fact that it would not be an exaggeration to say that the whole work revolves around and may be said to be a paean of praise to "Him whom God shall manifest", thus setting up the promise of the advent of a future "Sun of Truth" or "Manifestation of God" as the Bab terms the major prophets; a factor that was to be of major importance in the emergence of Baha'ullah two decades later. The archaic structure of the Islamic power base began to shake and culminated in the persecution of the Bab and his followers. Speaking out against Islam and Mohammed is by Muslims considered apostacy which carries the death penalty. Thousands died, including the Bab.

For Baha'is, of course, the Bab is the first of the three "Central Figures" of their Faith. The writings of the Bab are therefore regarded by Baha'is as part of their sacred text. However, the laws of the Bab, many of which were revealed in the Persian Bayan, are considered to have been abrogated and superseded by the humane laws of Baha'ullah. Thus it is that when the book Selections from the Writings of the Bab was published by the Baha'i World Centre in 1976, it included lengthy extracts from the Persian Bayan but not any of the sections which deal with legal prescriptions.

The term "Bayan" itself has a somewhat complex usage in the writings of the Bab. Firstly there is the present work, the Persian Bayan, and there is also an Arabic Bayan which may be regarded as a condensation of the Persian Bayan. However, the Bab also uses this term to refer to all of his writings.

Special words: The following are notes that may assist the reader with some of the other terms used in this abstract:

The terms "Nuqta (Point)", "Nuqta-i Bayan (Point of the Bayan)", and "Primal Point" all refer to the Bab himself.

The terms "Manifestations of God", "Sun of Truth" and "Tree of Truth" refer to any of the major prophets: Jesus, Mohammed, the Bab or "Him whom God shall manifest".

The term "Him whom God shall manifest" refers to the prophesied next "Manifestation of God" after the Bab, whom Baha'is believe to be Baha'ullah. The "Person of the seven letters" refers to the Bab himself whose name Ali Mohammed consists of seven letters.

The terms "Letters of the One", "Letters of the Wahid" and usually "Letters" refer to the Letters of the Living.

The term "Fire" refers to "Hell-fire"; "Light" refers to the "Light of Paradise".

The terms "Franks" is Browne's translation of "Farangi" which is the Persian word for Europeans and Westerners in general. "Nukhud" is a unit of weight notionally equivalent to the weight of a pea and in practice about 0.2 grams. "Qirat" (carat) was approximately equal to a nukhud, about 0.19 grams, and is usually used in relation to precious metals and jewel-lery. "Mithqal" is equal to 24 nukhud or 4.8 grams.)

Text of the Persian Bayan (or Exposition)

Exordium (Introductory*)

[* The term Bayan was applied by the Bab to all his later writings, most of which comprise 19 "Unities" (Wahid) of 19 chapters each. Half of this Persian Bayan, however, was left unwritten, that it might be concluded, as some assert, by Him whom God shall manifest.] Praise of God, who is above all comprehension. The Point (Nuqta) has existed from all eternity, and all men were created with a natural disposition to know Him and believe in Him. And from His soul God created 18 souls (the "Letters of the Living) before all other things, who were infused into all things that they might know Him. And He (the Point) is the first to believe in "Him whom God shall manifest".

God hath ordained the Creation of all things according to the "Number of All Things" (361, or 19 x 19), and accordingly the Chapters of the Religion of the Bayan have been arranged according to the Number of All Things.

Text of The Persian Bayan

WAHID 1

1 God hath placed in the Nuqta-i-Bayan ("Point of Explanation") the Essence of the Seven Letters [i.e. the Seven "Letters of Affirmation" in the words illa'llah. - "but God". These being the letters of affirmation in the expression: "There is no God but God".]. Do not regard this Word save as you would regard the sun in the heaven, nor regard him who believeth in this Word save as you would regard a Mirror wherein the sun is reflected; for it is the Mirror of God, whereby are illuminated the "Letters of the Living" which are the Mirror of the Kingdom (i.e. the World). In these 1270 years (since the last manifestation, viz. that of Mohammed) the Tree of Unity hath become mature.

2 Mohammed and those who were the Manifestations of his soul have returned to the world, and they were the first creatures who appeared before God in the Day of Resurrection and confessed His Unity, and conveyed his verses (or signs) to all. And this Return is proved, as before, by 'Verses' (Ayat). These are the first Lights who worshipped before God. The highest glory in the world is that the heart of the servant should become an indicator to God. His are the 'Most Beautiful Names', which in this Age, God hath set apart for the 'Letters of the Living'; which are the Holy Souls, and Hidden Guarded Name called 'the Name of the Four Gates (Babs)', or 'the Lights of the Throne', or 'the Supports (rukns) of Creation, Provision, Death and Life'. These together make up the (18) 'Letters of the Living', which are the nearest of all the Names to God. And these lights worshipped before God, and appeared in each manifestation under different personal names, but always the same essential name.

Every soul which believed in Mohammed (the Prophet), or his subordinates, returned in his shadow, and all are recompensed according to their merits. And God is the witness of all things.

3 Ali (the First Imam) hath returned to the Life of the World with those who believed in him or his subordinates, and he is the second of those who believed in the Point.

4 Fatima hath returned to the Life of the World, with those who believed in her or her subordinates.

5 Al-Hasan (the Second Imam) hath returned to the Life of the World with all who believed in him, etc.

6 Al-Husayn (the Third Imam) hath returned to the Life of the World with all who believed in him, etc.

7 Ali ibn al-Husayn (Zaynul-Abidin, the Fourth Imam) hath returned, etc.

8 Mohammed ibn Ali (Mohammed Baqir, the Fifth Imam) hath returned to the world, etc.

9 Jafar ibn Mohammed (Jafar-i-Sadiq, the Sixth Imam) hath returned to the world, etc.

10 Musa ibn Jafar (Musa Kazim, the Seventh Imam) hath returned to the world, etc.

11 Ali ibn Musa (Ali Rida, the Eighth Imam) hath returned, etc.

12 Mohammed ibn Ali (Mohammed Taqi, the Ninth Imam) hath returned, etc.

13 Ali ibn Mohammed (Ali Naqi, the Tenth Imam) hath returned, etc.

14 Al-Hasan ibn Ali (Hasan Askari, the Eleventh Imam) hath returned, etc.

15 the Qa'im (He who is to arise) or Hujjat ('Proof' i.e. the Twelfth Imam, or Imam Mahdi, whose Return or Advent the Shi'a expect) hath appeared with verses and expositions as the Nuqta-i-Bayan (i.e. the Bab) who is identical with the Nuqta-i-Furqan (i.e. Mohammed). The reason why the Nuqta-i-Bayan is mentioned first, and the Nuqta-i-Furqan second, and the Manifestation of the Qa'im only in the 15th Chapter is that 'the Point' is manifested by the Name of Divinity in the Station of Abstraction (tajarrud), which is the pure manifestation of God; while in the Station of Differentiation (ta'ayyun), which is the First Volition (mashiyyat-i-awwaliyya) he was mentioned in the second place; and in the Station of Qa'im-ship which belongs especially to the 14th manifestation, he was mentioned in the 15th chapter. And the Point hath been and ever remaineth in the Station of Primariness (awwaliyyat), being more worthy to be called by every Name than the Names themselves, since where there is the name of Divinity (uluhiyyat), there are included all the lesser names, such as Lordship (rububiyyat), and what is subordinate thereunto.

16 The First Gate (Bab) hath returned to the World with everyone who believed in him, whether truly or not

17 The Second Gate hath returned to the World, etc.

18 The Third Gate hath returned to the World, etc.

19 The Fourth Gate hath returned to the World*, etc.

[* The Eighteen 'Letters of the Living' manifested themselves in the last, i.e. the Mohammedan Manifestation in the persons of the Fourteen Holy Souls (i.e. the Prophet himself, his daughter Fatima, and the Twelve Imams of whom the first, Ali, was her husband, and the remainder her descendants) and the Four Gates (or Babs) who successively acted as channels of communication between the Twelfth Imam, or Imam Mahdi, and the faithful, during the period of his 'Lesser Occultation' (Chaybat-i-sughra). The terms 'Point' and 'Letter; were originally suggested by the formula Bismillahir-Rahmanir-Rahim (In the Name of the Merciful, Compassionate God), which contains 19 letters, the first (B) distinguished by a point or dot beneath it; and by Ali's alleged saying, 'All that is in the Koran is ... in the Bismillah ... and I am the Point beneath the B.']

WAHID 2

1 Concerning the Knowledge of the Proof (Hujjat) and Guide (Dalil) in each Cycle (Kawr). God reveals as His proof that wherein consists the highest glory of the people of that cycle. Thus in the time of the revelation of the Koran, men prided themselves most on eloquence, wherefore God made the Koran a miracle of eloquence, so that none could produce the like of it. Now in the cycle of the Nuqta-i- Bayan, that wherein men most pride themselves is Knowledge of the Unity, and the subtleties of gnosis; wherefore in this cycle, God hath made His proof the verses of the Bayan in the loftiness of their unitarianism; for if all the creatures of the earth were to assemble together, they could not produce one verse like unto these. One (i.e. the Bab himself) from whose life only 24 years had passed, and who was entirely devoid of all the sciences which others have studied, and who now recites verses in this way without thought or reflection, producing in the space of five hours 1000 verses in prayer without a halt of the pen, this is assuredly from God. But all these proofs are only for the people, else are the things of God too lofty to be understood by other things; rather other things must be understood by them. God asked, 'Whose book is the Koran?' All the believers replied, 'It is the Book of God.' Then it was asked, 'Is any difference to be seen between the Koran and the Bayan?' The spiritual answered, 'No, by God, both are from our Lord.' Then God revealed, 'That Word (the Koran) is by the tongue of Mohammed the Prophet of God, and this Word (the Bayan) of Mine is by the tongue of the Essence of the Seven Letters' [The Bab's name Ali Mohammed has seven Arabic letters.] of the Gate of God (Babu'llah). In this day whosoever hath recourse to this Soul who recites verses from before Me, hath recourse to Me. For My people there is no Paradise higher than this, that they should stand in the Presence of (him who is as) Myself, and believe in My verses; nor is any Hell-Fire worse than they should fail to do so. Soon ye shall see that your pride will be in believing these verses; but today, when your profession of faith doth most advantage you, ye are veiled from the Truth. I swear by my Holy Essence that no Paradise is higher for My people than My Manifestation and My Verses. That men go astray is the fault of the clergy, who not only go astray themselves, but mislead others. And this verse suffices as proof.

These verses are without doubt revealed to the Point (i.e. the Bab) just as verses were revealed to the Prophet Mohammed; and 100,000 such verses (here called bayt, not ayat) are now before the people, besides prayers (munajat) and scientific treatises (rasa'il-i-'ilmiyya); while in five hours 1000 verses 3 are revealed with such rapidity that the scribe can scarcely write them down. If men object that these verses are in themselves not a proof, let them look in the Koran, and see whether any other proof was ever there insisted on. If people refuse to believe, it is either because they will not and do not wish to, or because they are cautious. In the latter case let them come themselves, or send some one else, and demand the answer of any question they desire to propound in the form of verses, when they will see that these are revealed without hesitation. And if one should take exception to the vocalisation or grammar (of the revealed verses), he is rejected, such rules being removed from the verses. Moreover these rules (of grammar) are merely deduced from what God reveals; and how many persons famed for their knowledge have believed? Every Mirror which advances towards the Sun shall itself be illuminated. The shame and disgrace of those who are veiled from this Manifestation is that they not only do not help, or merely refrain from helping, but actively oppose; else had the abode of this Tree not been in this Mountain [Allusion is here made to the Bab's captivity in the mountain called Maku in Adharbayjan, whence he was afterwards removed to Chihriq. By 'this Tree' he means himself. All men are the leaves and believers the fruits.].

2 No one can comprehend the knowledge of what God hath revealed in the Bayan save such as God willeth; namely 'He whom God shall manifest', and those to whom He shall impart His Knowledge. No one is permitted to commentate the Bayan except the 'Letters of Paradise' (Huruf-i-Illiyin) and the Letters of the Living. The entire Koran comprises 114 suras; and each group of 6 suras is in praise of the exalted state of a single letter of the letters of Bismillahir-Rahmanir-Rahim' (19 letters: 19 x 6 = 114).5 The first six suras were from the Point (Nuqta), and the last six from the Mim,6 and to these 19 Fields of Manifestation (mazhar) all the Letters of Paradise may be referred, while all other Letters than those of Paradise must be referred to the 19 Fields of Manifestation of the Gates of Fire, all of which are referable to their First Gate;

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all of which is summed up in the sentence 'There is no God but God' (La ilaha illa llah) [For this formula - the basis of Islam - comprises the 'Letters of Denial' (There is no God), and the 'Letters of the Affirmation' (but God). These are generally reckoned as five each, the formula La ilaha illa Huwa (There is no god but He), which contains 10 letters in Arabic, being substituted for the other.]. All else besides the Letters of Paradise is in Denial, while whatsoever appertaineth to the Letters of Paradise is Affirmation. All Letters of the Koran (i.e. Mohammedans) other than those of Paradise have perished in the Shadow of the First Gate of Fire. Now, during the period of the Manifestation, the 'Letters of Paradise' can be recognised, and likewise the other Letters; but after this Tree hath been taken away, it will only be possible to prove by their outward conformance to God's commands. All say today, 'we believe in God, and in the signs (ayat) of the Koran,' whilst the Tree of Truth (the Bab), who is the Revealer of the Koran, is dwelling in this mountain (of Maku).

3 Concerning what is in Bayan, for in it is the judgement of all things. There are two proofs from God to men: the signs (or verses) of God, and he to whom they are revealed. The first are a permanent and evident proof till the Day of Resurrection; the second is an evident proof only so long as the period of the Manifestation lasts. Though men now pay little heed to the Bayan, soon they will be proud to pay 1000 mithqals of gold to obtain a good copy of it. Even so was it with the Koran, which was revealed during a period of 23 years, yet no one collected it till Ali caused it to be written down on shoulder-blades of sheep and the like. Every - things is mentioned - either confirmed or forbidden - in the Bayan.

For the 'Silent Book' (Kitab-i-Samit) there is a 'Speaking Book' (Kitab-i-Natiq) appointed by God, and neither one can exist without the other. And the latter is He whom God shall manifest. And when he appear, faith shall be cut off from those who believe, except those who believe in him; and when faith is cut off, how shall confession remain to those who are confessors? For verily this is a branch of Faith.

4 Concerning the mention of the Letters of Paradise and those subordinate to them. For each one of the Letters which God hath sent down there hath been and is a Paradise, which is associated with it. For this reason it is that the believer becomes glad at the mention of Paradise and the Approval of God; but sad at the mention of Hell-Fire. And all the words revealed in the Bayan are included in one of these (two) categories. Now those which are Letters of Paradise, their Spirits are in Paradise, while of the others the Spirits are in Hell-Fire; and all the Letters not of Paradise are referred to La ilaha, but all Letters of Paradise to illa Huwa,10 each of these being respectively the source of the two kinds of Letters. The five Letters of Denial are crushed down under the dust, while the five Letters of Affirmation are raised to the highest heights of Paradise, and these latter are Mohammed, Ali, Fatima, al-Hasan and al-Husayn. Now the Five Letters of Hell-Fire when separated become 19, as God says: 'Over it (Hell) are Nineteen' [Koran 74:30. With this quote, the Bab draws legitimacy for his religious movement]; and so also the Letters in the Five Letters of Affirmation are nineteen [i.e. Mohammed, 'Ali, Fatima, Hasan, Husayn, which together contain 19 letters in Arabic.]. What is referable to each of these classes (i.e. Words of Affirmation or Denial) will in the Resurrection return to that Word. Whosoever denies is in the Fire of God till the Day of Him whom God shall manifest, and vice versa. Whenever a servant of God reads the Letters of Paradise he becomes tranquil, because their spirits attach themselves to him; and vice versa. No Fire is worse than Denial, nor any Paradise better than Affirmation. Now till the Day of Resurrection all must take refuge with the Point (Nuqta-i-Bayan) and God; but when the Day of Him whom God shall manifest appears, this will not avail them, for refuge with God in that day is refuge with him, and refuge with the Nuqta-i-Bayan is refuge with him; just as in this manifestation, the Musulmans continued to say 'I take refuse with God', but it did not avail them, because they did not recognise the Manifestation of God. For to take refuge with the Prophet is the same to take refuge with God, and to take refuge with the Imams the same as to take refuge with the Prophet, and to take refuge with the 'Gates' (Babs) is the same as to take refuge with the Imams. So today whosoever does not enter into Bayan will not be given refuge from Hell-Fire. And in the Day of Him whom God shall make manifest, all those letters which are placed in his book are saved, and all those which are not, are lost, even though they are in the Bayan.

5 Concerning this that by every Good Name revealed by God in the Bayan is intended he by whose side on that day shall stand the Letter of Denial in the Primal Verity [It is a cardinal doctrine of the Babis that the Manifestation of the 'Point of Light', or Prophet of each dispensation, must always be accompanied by that of the 'Point of Darkness', his opponent, as, for instance, Moses by as-Samiri (the maker of the Golden Calf), Mohammed by Abu Juhl, and the Bab by Haji Mohammed Karim Khan.]. He whom God shall manifest is intended by every Good Name in the Bayan. So also every Name other than good denotes that Tree which stands opposed to him in Denial. The land where he abides is the acme of Hell-Fire in the Land of Hell- Fire, although over it be the throne of glory. So if the Land of Paradise is mentioned, it refers to the Nuqta-i-Bayan descending from the Land of the Heart (Fu'ad) until he comes to the Land of the Spirit (Ruh) and thence to the Land of the Soul (Nafs) and thence to the Land of the Body (Jasad), until he comes at last to this Land on the Mountain [i.e. Maku.], which is the Gem of all the Earth. And today all the good Names by the Primal Verity are in the Point himself, even unto the mention of that land which has been used as a parable, and by the Second Verity, it is in the letter Sin [the second letter in the formula Bismillah.], until it terminates at the end of being.

6 Concerning this that the Bayan is a Measure (or Standard, Mizan) from God until the day of Him whom God shall manifest. He who follows it is (in) Light, and he who turns aside from it is (in) Fire. Few in these days act according to the standard of the Koran, and such, if such there be, must enter the Bayan, or their obedience will be useless. So in the day when He whom God shall manifest shall appear, all the people of the Bayan must obey Him.

7 Concerning the Day of Resurrection. What is meant by the Day of Resurrection is the day of the Manifestation of the Tree of Truth. None of the Shi'as have understood what is meant thereby, but have imagined a thing which has no real existence. What is really meant thereby is the period from the manifestation of the Tree of Truth till its decline (i.e. till another prophet comes). And the beginning of this Manifestation of the Bayan was when two hours and 15 minutes had passed from the eve of Friday the fifth of Jamada'l-Ula A.H. 1260 (= May 23, 1844), which is the year 1270 of the Call*; for the Day of Resurrection of a thing is not till it reaches the station of perfection. [* The Bab commonly reckons time not, as do most Muslims, from Mohammed's Migration or Flight (Hijra), but from his Call (Bathat), or the beginning of his mission, which he places ten years earlier. This is because (after the death of both, his wife Khadija and his protective uncle Abu Talib and particularly) after the Hijra, Mohammed became a murderer who caused endless suffering. Before that time, he acted gently and sensibly.] So the Day of Resurrection of the Bayan begins on the Day when He whom God shall manifest shall appear. For today the Bayan is in the state of seed, but in the day when He whom God shall make manifest shall appear, it will have reached its highest perfection. So likewise the gathering of the fruit of Islam is naught else than belief and affirmation therein (i.e. in the Bayan), whereas it hath actually borne fruit in a contrary way, and the Musulmans have unjustly caused him (the Bab) to dwell in the mountain of Maku. What is meant by the 'Meeting with God' in the Koran is meeting the Bab, for none can meet the Most Holy Essence. O people of the Bayan, have mercy on yourselves, and do not render null and void your long night in the Day of Resurrection, which is the Day of Gathering the Fruit, as did people of Islam, who for 1270 years boasted of Islam, and at the last issued an edict contrary to Islam, thus rendering all of no effect. At least if you do not believe in me, do not treat me as you would not wish to be treated yourselves. And God shall judge between me and thee, and He is the best of Judges.

8 Concerning the Truth of Death, that it is true. There are endless applications of the word 'Death' with God. One is that Death known to all, consisting in the taking away of the spirit of man. There is also Death before the Tree of Truth (the Bab) from all besides, which does not become affirmed save by five words: 'There is not God but He', or 'There is not God but God', or 'There is not God but Thee', or 'There is not God but He in whom all rely'. And he whose will is naught but the Will of Him whom God shall manifest, and whose volition, desire, etc. are those of Him whom God shall manifest, he hath understood the truth of Death; for His Will, His Approbation, His Book, etc. are identical with those of God. And by the Barzakh is meant the period between two manifestations. For none knoweth except God, what shall befall men after Death. Blessed is he who sees nothing without discerning therein the Manifestation of His Lord.

9 Concerning the truth of the Tomb. Every spirit hath a tomb appointed in the limit of its place and when He whom God shall manifest shall appear all shall culminate in a soul by the resurrection of which all shall be raised, and his resurrection shall be the resurrection of all, and his creation is the creation of all, and his emergence from the tomb, the emergence from the tomb of all; as in the case of the Nuqta-i-Bayan (the Bab), when the manifestation of Divinity raised up in him the Apostle of God from his soul, the resurrection of that which was raised up in his shadow took place when he was raised up. All spirits of truth who are guided by the Bayan will return to the Primal Soul which, on the Day of Judgement, will at the first instant, respond to the Command of God, and confess his Unity, while all others will, in the time of His Manifestation, return to the Tree of Denial. If a soul be one of the States (shu'un) of the Soul of Paradise he will return to it and afterwards in the future uprising will be detached from it; not that he hath become identical with it. Everyone who believed in the Book of Alif (Injil, the Gospel) returned to believe in the book of Qaf (the Koran) thereby becoming recreated in the Religion of Islam, and being gradually educated, till its Day culminated in the Day of the Manifestation and Revelation of the Bayan, in the Paradise of which shall he grow and increase till such time as God please, until the day when He whom God shall manifest shall appear, to whose Book he will then become referable. And so, on the other hand, whosoever believed not in the Nuruf-i-Alifiyya (the Gospel) returned as the First who did not believe in the Prophet of God, from whom being separated, he became one of the non-celestial Letters of the Furqan (i.e. the Koran) abased beneath the dust; till he returned as the First of the Letters of Denial of the Bayan, after which, having separated himself therefrom, he wanders in his own nothingness till he returns as the First who disbelieves in Him Whom God shall manifest, from whom being separated, his garments in all these worlds become of Fire, though they be silk, and his abode Fire, though it be the highest of places on the earth, and his food likewise; while on the contrary the garments of he who is not thus has been and is created in Paradise, his abode becomes the highest place of Paradise and his food the sweetest fruits of Paradise, though he hath only clothed himself in cotton and only sat on the earth, and only eaten leaves of grass. And the soul of no believer shall be taken but his grave shall become as a garden of the Gardens of Paradise, wherein God hath created that which he loves ready for him. So also there is none who shall disbelieve in the Bayan but shall suffer what the pen dares not write. Happy that person whose soul shall be taken after that he hath believed in Him whom God shall manifest and his words, for he is a believer in the Bayan and all that is in the Bayan.

10 Concerning the Questioning of the Angels in the Tomb. In the day of Resurrection the believers in Him whom God shall manifest shall ask men, 'By what things is your religion established?' Then shall they answer, 'By the proof of the Bayan?'. And if they have not believed, then shall sentence go forth against them, and the Angels shall return into the presence of God and declare their state and judgement shall be pronounced against them. And that which is ordained to happen in the Tomb, will befall man's souls in the tomb of the body; which if he be a believer, will be a Paradise of the gardens of Paradise and vice versa. Every place where a believer hath dwelt will, in the Day of Resurrection, become a portion of Paradise; and all else a portion of the Land of Fire. And what is meant by the Return of the Angels to God is the return of the saints to Him whom God shall manifest, for there neither hath been nor is any way of approach for anyone to the Eternal Essence.

11 Concerning the Resurrection (Ba'th), that it is true. God hath created all by that which He hath revealed in His Book, by means of the spirits of Paradise which are connected with the Letters thereof, and the others in like manner. And whatever is will be raised up in the Day of Resurrection. For instance, this crystal cup and saucer which is now placed before God [i.e. the Manifestation of God (here, the Bab) will be raised up in the Day of Resurrection in its very Being, Essence, Self and Identity at such time as this Tree of Truth shall speak saying, 'This cup and saucer is identical with that (former one).' An inanimate object is taken as an example so that all in all the worlds may understand. So, even as in this Cycle, the Letters of the Living were appointed by His own Word, in that Resurrection also, He will raise up these Letters from whatever soul he desires by His spoken command. For naught but His Word can create anything, since His Word is the Word of God. First as the creation of all things is by a single soul, and the raising up of all by a single soul, so in that moment when that single soul is raised up shall everything else, one by one, be raised up each in its own place. But none can understand the raising up of everything in a single soul till he looks to the Point of Truth.

12 Concerning the Bridge of Sirat, that it is true. What is meant by the Bridge of Sirat in all time is the Manifestation of God and his Command. Whosoever is steadfast is on the Sirat-Bridge of the Truth, but otherwise not on the Sirat. And the like of the Sirat-Bridge is as the Nuqta-i- Bayan who is more spacious than the Heavens and Earth - nay more glorious than the Heaven of such things as can be received or the Earth of capacity for receiving - to such as have believed in Him. Now they who pass over this Sirat- Bridge (to wit the verses of the Bayan) are of diverse degrees. Some on first hearing them, said 'Yea this is from God: there is no doubt about it: a revelation from the Lord of the Worlds'. Others believed without hearing the words, merely on beholding them, and these cross the Sirat and are nearer than Kaf to Nun. Others again heard the verses and hesitated just so long as one might pause to apply the name of a thing to that thing, and these remain in confusion on the Sirat-Bridge for 202,000 years. And whosoever hesitated longer, his sojourn on the Bridge will be more; and many will remain there until another Day of Resurrection, as the Letters of the Book of Alif (the Gospel, Injil) remained on the Bridge of the Sirat of the book of Qaf (the Koran) until now, although the Resurrection thereof has passed. And so this Bridge is described as 'finer than a hair and sharper than a sword' for these but 'wider than Paradise'

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for the believer, who recognise that the same Tree of Truth utters alike the Bayan and the Koran. And many will fall into the Fire while crossing this Bridge, and many will be unable to cross.

13 Concerning the Balance, that it is true. In every Manifestation the Balance is the same Point of Truth, and the commands arising from the Sun of his Munificence. The highest degree of the Balance in Unification is the word, 'There is no God but He'. Whoever enters the Balance of Denial enters the Balance of Fire, and vice versa; and entrance into Denial is not effected save through friendship for the Gates of Fire and vise versa. For all Denial, as well as all Affirmation, are referred to one Tree. Today whoever follows the Bayan is in Paradise, and vice versa, for the creation of both Hell- Fire and Paradise is realised through the Point of Truth, and God is the Creator both of Light and Fire by his Will (Mashiyyat) which is the Point (Nuqta).

14 Concerning the Reckoning. The Reckoning of all is in the hand of God, and none other than God can make this Reckoning; and He reckons all by the Reckoning of the Tree of Truth which is made in each cycle by its Manifestation. Yet is the Reckoning apparent only at the time of Manifestation. And He reckons all things in the Day of Resurrection by one word, even as in this Resurrection He reckons all by this word: 'Verily I am God: 'There is no God but me, the Lord of all things.' Whosoever hesitated was justly reckoned as of the Hell-Fire of Denial and vice versa. For by all on this Earth is meant such as believe in the Koran, for all others were reckoned with in the Resurrection of the Apostle of God, and became annihilated, not by bodily annihilation but by annihilation of Faith, for the whole Earth is full of their bodies. Now with those souls which believed in the Koran, no argument is stronger in proof of their religion than the Book of God; wherefore God manifested the Tree of Truth with that same proof whereby the religion of those believing souls is established; and this Word (the Bayan), whereby all are reckoned with and will be till the Day of Judgement, is in the same language of the verses of the Koran which is the Arabic Language, the most eloquent of all languages. Every verse which God hath sent down hath attached to it, in its Shadow, spirits which return to those souls for whose recompense God revealed these verses. And the Year of Reckoning will be the seventh year from the Manifestation of Him whom God shall manifest or if he so please, the seventh month, or the seventh day.

15 Concerning the Book - What is meant by the Book is that which is manifested from the presence of the Point of Truth, for in the Eternal Essence there is no change. The Book of the Nuqta-i-Bayan is a book which points to God, for none but God is able to produce that Book; and that Book which He whom God shall manifest shall write with his hand is written in the writing of God. (The identity of Christ and the Gospel, Mohammed and the Koran and the Bab and the Bayan is further insisted upon.)

16 Concerning this, that Paradise is true. Hitherto none had understood what is meant by Paradise and Hell-Fire, nor what is connoted by the mention of Paradise in this world, which is the source and goal of all worlds. And in the opinion of the people of the Bayan, the manifestations of the Divine Mercy in the Koran are limited to the Chief Of the Believers ('Ali) in the Primary Reality; since the source of all that is in both worlds is in him and its return also is to him. For instance, from the day of Adam until today in every Manifestation it is by permission of him who (first) believers therein that the opening of the Gates to the Truth and what is beside the Truth is realized; till the Essence of all culminated in this Manifestation. Wherefore if anyone would behold, let him look and see that the beginning of all the worlds was in the station of Volition (Mashiyyat) which becomes existent by Will (Iradat). For the World of Souls exactly corresponds to the World of Horizons... There was no Paradise in the Knowledge of God greater than the Chief of Believers (Ali). And thus grades of the Gates of Paradise are gradually enumerated till they culminate in the Letters of the One (Wahid = 19). For example, during the manifestation of the Fifth Paradise [i.e. Husayn ibn Ali, the third Imam, but the fifth of the 'Fourteen Pure Souls', which include the Prophet himself and his daughter Fatima.], no Paradise was greater than him, he being then unique; till after him came Ali ibnul-Husayn [i.e. Ali Zaunul-Abidin, the fourth Imam.]. So regard all Paradises, till they culminate in the letter M, [i.e. the twelfth and last Imam, the Mahdi.] when they return to the Point. The first Manifestation of the Paradise of the Nuqta-i-Furqan (i.e. Mohammed) was in his Hereafter, which is the Paradise of the Bayan; and till the day of Him whom God shall manifest, there is no Paradise greater than this; but at the moment when He shall be manifested the first Paradise of the Nuqta-i-Bayan will be changed to the last Paradise (of the new Manifestation). And after the Paradise [of the Nuqta-i-Bayan] come the Paradises of the Letters of the Living, who are those Souls who precede all other souls in Belief. And the end of the Manifestation will culminate in the Paradises of the S. [The Mohammedan Bismillah ends in M (the last Letter of Rahim), while the corresponding Babi formula at this epoch was Bismillahi l-Amna'i l-Aqdas, which ends in S. As we have seen, the 'Letters of the Living' correspond to the Bismillah, so the 'Letter M' is the last of the Mohammedan 'Letters' or Imams, and the 'Letter S' of the Babi 'Letters'.] Not that in each Manifestation the previous Paradise shall not remain in its own place; for instance when the Paradise of the S shall be manifested, the Paradise of B (the first Letter') still continues on its own throne. And God hath appointed 19 gates for every Paradise which is the manifestation of Volition (Mashiyyat). So in the Koran all culminates in the Gates (Babs) and the Gates in the People of the House (the Holy Family) [In fact the Imams are meant here.] and the People of the House in the Prophet of God. Thus it is that the fourth Name is projected from God by the third Name, and the Third by Second, and so forth; and he who first entered this Paradise was the Holy Spirit, which before all spirits attained to the Meeting (liqa) and confessed His unity. This is the truth concerning Paradise in this Life, and as for what is after Death none knoweth it save God. O people of the Bayan!... If any soul is patient for an instant beyond 2001 years, without doubt he is not in the religion of the Bayan, and shall enter the Fire, unless the Manifestation of God shall appear. My heart is not content that even one should then remain in the Bayan. If anyone believed in Jesus, he must believe in the Mohammed. If anyone has in this life entered the Paradise of the Manifestation of God, he will also enter the Paradise of the Hereafter death, otherwise he will enter the Fire. If anyone shall guide a soul, it is better than that he should rule over all the earth. And many who in one Manifestation are of the highest people of Paradise shall in the next Manifestation become the lowest of the people of the Fire. But the path of guidance is in the way of love and gentleness, not violence and cruelty... All believe in him (i.e. the Bab) yet have they placed him in a mountain; and all are made glorious through him, yet have they abandoned him alone. No Fire can be fiercer for the people of the world than this action in itself, just as for the believers no paradise can be greater than faith itself. No one shall enter it (Paradise) but it shall say, from its Lord, 'Verity I am God! There is no God but Me!' If that Tree of Truth dwells in the like of these stones [viz. His prison of Maku.], then they call those stones 'mirrors', even as they called and call the atoms of the mirrors high set in the 'Imarat-i-Sadri [This was the Imarat-i-Khurshid where the Bab was kept safe from his enemies by the Covernor of Isfahan, Manuchihr Khan.], where he dwelt in the days of Sad (Isfahan). So likewise as regards that land where, on that day, above the opposite Tree (i.e. the 'Tree of Denial'), the people of heart beheld it, as it were, annihilated, as though on that day it had become naught.

17 Concerning this, that Hell-Fire is true. There are innumerable states for the Fire, but the Essence thereof is lack of wisdom (irfan). On the first Manifestation of the Point of Exposition (Nuqtq-i-Bayan) that which was good in the knowledge of God was the first to advance towards him, and that which was other than good was the first to turn away from him. For from the Day of the Creation of all things till the first manifestation, the Essential Essence of all Paradises is the First Gate. And the Essential Essence of all Hell-Fire is the First to turn back. God would have made him advance, and He showed towards him the most perfect kindness and sent numerous tablets (alwah) and epistles to him, but he was veiled by that which doth not advantage him and clad himself in his primal garment of Fire. And the Gate of Fire, though innumerable, are reckoned as 19, else 'None knoweth their number but God alone'. All the good which is in the Bayan comes to him who first said 'Yea (Bala)', and all states other than good come to him who first said 'No (La)', for this is that Fire above which naught is imagined in the Bayan [This refers to the well-known Mohammedan belief that after God had created all men's souls, He asked them, 'Am I not your Lord? (A-lastu bi Rabbi-kum)' and those predestined to Salvation answered 'Yea! (Bala)' but the others 'Nay! (La)'.]. For the Fire only became Fire by its refusal to worship God. And 'I take refuge with God' in the day of Him whom God shall manifest means believing in him, not saying this word only. Many a Fire shall God through Him whom God shall manifest turn to Light and many a Light to Fire. Should He come in the number of Chiyath (1511) all men shall enter in, not one shall remain in the Fire*; and if he comes to Mustaghath (2001) all men shall enter in, not one shall remain in the Fire.

18 Concerning this, that there is no doubt about the Hour which is to come. In every Manifestation of the Divine Volition, the Hour [is determined] by the Primal Reality thereof, till such time as it shall descend. Expect then Manifestation of God, for assuredly the Hour shall come upon them suddenly.

19 Concerning this, that whatever is in the Bayan is a gift from God to Him whom God shall manifest. The writings of the Manifestation of the Truth in each Theophany are a gift from God to Him in His next Manifestation. Thus, for example, what God revealed to Jesus was a gift from God to Mohammed the Apostle of God, for what is meant by 'his Book'* is the souls which believe in him. [* For a book consists of letters, and as the individual believers are called 'Letters of Paradise', and the unbelievers (according to Islamic doctrine) 'Letters of Fire', the totality of either is regarded as a Book.]

WAHID 3

1 That whereby the Name of a thing is called is a possession to it whereof it is more worthy than aught else. God created everything for him who points to Him,1 and he is the Truth, which, without cessation, hath been and is pointing to God. By him all things have been and are created; while he subsisteth by himself in God, and all else trough him. Nothing can possess aught save by him; for he is most worthy of all things and whatever is except him is his property. If the Point of Truth give all things to one thing it is his right, whether he do it actually, or merely ordains it. If, for instance, the Apostle of God hag possessed himself of all things on the earth, he would have had more right to them than the actual possessors thereof. Thus doth God possess all things. For they cry out to Him, 'To Him is creation and command'. In the same way, if He whom God shall manifest should assume control over the Essences of all things, he has more right to them than their very Essences, although he be too great and glorious even to glance at all things, for all things look to his excellence and generosity, while he is in himself independent of all things, needing only of God in his Essence. The fruit of this chapter is this, that if He whom God shall manifest shall order anything, none shall say 'Why?', or 'Wherefore?' And if he shall order one who is to inherit according to the Bayan, saying 'Take not one Qirat', then this is the command of God.

2 Concerning this, that by His Word things are created in order that they may speak of Him, for His is the word of God. The sayings of the Tree of Truth are not like the sayings of any created being, since, by His saying, the Essence of a thing is created. Thus, had he not spoken in the Koran of the saintship (Wilayat) of 'Ali, that saintship would not have been created. For although 'Ali was without cessation the Saint of God, yet is the origin of this Manifestation from His Word in that Manifestation, not in the Manifestation before it. Hence it is that both Fire and Light revolve round his saying. For instance, if He reveals a verse, without any special mention or order, such as, 'To God belongeth the Dominion of the Heaven and of the Earth and whatever is between them and God is powerful over all things', a Manifestation appears in the Bayan to prove this verse and endless other Manifestations in the shadow of this Manifestation. For in the shadow of each Mirror endless shapes become realized.

3 Concerning this, that the Bayan and all that is therein revolves round the Word of Him whom God shall manifest; just as the Alif (the Gospel) and all that is therein revolves round the Word of Mohammed. The prolongation of the gaze of the Bayan is only towards Him Whom God shall manifest, for none but He can take it away, as none but He revealed it. So the desire of the Bayan and such as believe in the Bayan for Him exceeds the desire of all else for its Beloved; and today the Furqan (i.e. the Koran) salutes those Letters which exalted it by causing it to enter the Bayan. So also the Bayan salutes such believing souls of its own as shall believe in Him whom God shall manifest, and shall ascend towards His Book; while it seeks curses from God on those Letters of Paradise who, on His manifestation, shall not prostrate themselves to God before Him; or who shall be veiled by aught else from the Meeting with Him. Today nothing is sadder than the Furqan, though all read it, yet have of its mercy naught but curses. If anyone looks at the heart of the matter, the Letters of the Koran cry out today 'Help! O Goal and God of all things! Release us from the Fire of our association with that to which we are related, and associate us with Thyself and cause us to enter into the Bayan! This we ask of Thy Bounty!'

4 Concerning this, that what God hath revealed to Him of verses and words is greater and higher than what God revealed aforetime. There exists no first but for a second, and no second but for a third, etc. By as much as the Apostle of God was more excellent than Jesus, by so much was his Book superior to the Gospel; and the same holds good of subsequent Manifestations. The things of God have no limit, nor are the Effulgence of God ever interrupted. Blessed is that soul which in each Manifestation becomes arrayed with the garment of the tradition of Askari.

5 Concerning this, that the places raised high above the earth continue raised up, if he gives permission. While, if he does not give permission, they are fixed: the decision rests in His hand. When the manifestation of the Tree of Truth has been accomplished, Command belongs to Him, and prohibition is His. For He is a mirror which indicates God alone, the Lord of all things, the Lord of the Visible and the Invisible, the Lord of the Worlds.

6 Concerning this, that that whereby the name of a thing is mentioned, excepting God Himself, is created for it in the scope of Creation. God has revealed in the Bayan a word which comprises all knowledge, and it is this: - 'Verily I am God; there is no God but Me. All else is My Creation: fear Me then, O My creation!' All things but God are creatures, yet in their degrees they are Manifestations of God, and all point to God; Yea, the ocean of Names and Attributes eternally and

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increasingly hath pointed and doth point to God, though mentioned within the limit of its own nominality and attributive quality not in that Essentiality and Divinity. For God created everything by His Volition, and created Volition by Himself. Even so today everything is what is related to the Bayan, for the spirit of thing-ness (shay'iyyat) is in these (i.e. the 'Letters' of the Bayan) which were created by the Person of the Seven Letters (i.e. the Bab), who is the Manifestation of the Primal Will.

7 Concerning this, that what God hath revealed touching the Meeting with Him, or the Meeting with the Lord, means naught else than Meeting Him whom God shall manifest, since God in His Essence cannot be seen. The Eternal Essence cannot be comprehended or described, or qualified, or seen, though by It all things are comprehended, described, qualified, and seen; and therefore what is meant in the Heavenly Books by 'Meeting with the Lord' is meeting with the Manifestation of the Point of Truth, which is the Primal Will. Thus in the Koran by 'Meeting with the Lord' is meant meeting the Apostle of God, even as it is said of the true believer, 'To behold him is to behold the Prophet of God, and to behold the Prophet of God is to behold God.' So everything which appertains to an unbeliever is Hell-Fire, since he is related thereto. He is as the Sun, and all else than Him is as mirror in which reflections of the sun appear. Whoever attains to the Meeting with Him whom God shall manifest, attains to the Meeting with God. How can one set opposite (i.e. hold equivalent) the Meeting with the Garment of the Sun and the Meeting with its similitude in a Mirror? For though that is naught other than it, and tells of naught other than it, yet is it in the condition of Contingency beside the Manifestation of Eternity, and of Temporality beside the value of Eternity. And however much anyone may ascend, he transcendeth not his Contingency. And seeing that to know Him [whom God shall manifest] is impossible, how should it be possible to know the Eternal Essence?

8 Concerning this, that whatsoever is in the Macrocosm is in the Bayan, and that whatsoever is in the Bayan is in this verse of the Bayan: 'If we had revealed this Bayan to whomsoever is in the Kingdom of Heavens and in the Earth and what is between them, then all would believe in God, their Merciful Lord. Verily there is no God but He, the Living, the Ineffable, the Self- Subsistent. God, that whom there is no other God, the Compelling, the Incomparable, the Inaccessible, the Exalted, the Holy. To Him belong the most Beautiful Names, and to Him singeth praises whatsoever is in the Heavens and in the Earth and what is between them. Glory be to Him. Exalted is He from that which they ascribe! Say; "Verily God is indeed the King, the Ruler, the Powerful. He who maketh known the Supreme Similitudes; before Whom what is in Heaven and Earth and what is between them prostrate themselves, for verily He is the Mighty, the Beloved."'

There are 19 names which indicate God, in whose shadow all Names and Similitudes are mentioned. There are also 19 letters of Negation which are the 19 Gates of Hell-Fire, opposite to the 19 Gates of Paradise. Whosoever believes in the Bayan, and recites these four verses, which represent the stations of Creation, Provision, Death and Life, and believes in the Letters of the One (Wahid), whereof the spirits project themselves by these Names, and seeks deliverance with God from the Gates of Fire, and dissociates himself from them and recognises every good mention which is in the Bayan as referring to the Similitudes and Names, and recognises every un-good mention as referring to the Letters [of Denial], he has, as one may say, read the whole Bayan, and verified all that God hath revealed therein.

And these four verses refer to this verse - 'God beareth witness that there is no God by He; to whom belong the Dominion and the Kingdom; then the Glory and the Power: then Strength and Divinity: then Authority and Humanity. He maketh alive and He causeth to die: then He causeth to die and maketh alive, and verily He is the Living who dieth not, the King who declineth not, the Justice which oppresseth not, the Authority which passeth not, the Incomparable from whose grasp nothing is lost, neither of that which is in the Heavens, nor that which is in the Earth nor that which is between them: for verily He hath Power over all things.' And this verse is referable to the verse, 'God beareth witness that there is no God by He; to Him is Creation and Command, both before and after; He maketh alive and He causeth to die; then He causeth to die and He maketh alive, and verily He is the Living who dieth not. In His Grasp is the Kingdom of all things; He createth what He desireth by his Command, for Verily He is powerful over all.' And this verse is referable to 'In the Name of God the Inapproachable, the Most Holy'. And all the Letters of the Bi'smi'llah return to the Point of the B as in the beginning of all they arose from the Point.

All the Bayan is the expansion of the Point, and the Manifestation thereof in Mirrors; it is like the Sun, and all the Letters are like Mirrors, whence it is reflected: 'The beginning of each letter is It, and the end of each is it; and none is manifest but It, and none concealed but It. And all the Bayan is the Manifestation of the Point, and the Point is the Station of the Volition of the Manifestation of God. And all returns to Him whom God shall manifest, for He it is to whom the Bayan and what is therein return with the most extreme humility. He it is than whom naught else is seen in the Mirrors of the Bayan, so that, for example, if in the Bayan there be a Manifestation of Justice, He is the Just; if of virtue, He is the Virtuous, etc. For in the mirrors naught is seen but the Sun. All the Letters of the Paradise of the Bayan return to Him whom God shall manifest, who is the First Paradise, the Most Great Name manifested by Divinity. So with regard to the Point who is in the Mountain [i.e. the Bab in his mountain-prison of Maku.], all things are but his Manifestation, and all do what they do by him; alike the Letters of the Koran and others... If anything be thought desirable in the world of Contingency, it is He who is thought desirable; and if anything be abhorred it is He who is abhorred, for therein is seen naught except the Sun of Volition, whereby that thing has become and is a thing; else if he be removed, it sinks into Sheer Nothingness. Nay, even the existence of the word 'Nothingness' is realized only by Him, else had this too been unmentioned. This is what is meant by the saying of the Apostle of God, 'O God, show me the realities of things as they are!'

9 Concerning this, that what is in the Bayan is in each verse of the Bayan. Mention has been made of the 19 Names and also, in their shadow, of the 19 Letters of Negation. All things return to the human form; whatever points to Affirmation has been mentioned in the Most Beautiful Names and Types; while whatever points to Negation is included in 'From that which they ascribe.' Blessed is he who believeth in Him who sprinkleth these verses from the Ocean of his Power, and by the Manifestation of the Sun of whose Majesty these similitudes come into being; while all which is connoted by the name of Negation is actualized because it did not humble itself to the Glory of the Holiness of His Exaltation, which is the Nuqta-i-Bayan in this and the Primal Volition in every Manifestation, and He whom God shall manifest himself at the time when he shall appear by permission of His Lord.

10 Concerning this, that what is in this verse was in the former verse: 'God beareth witness... Powerful'. Everything which is in the Station of Spirits (Ruh) is arrayed with the Garment of Limitation; but the Station of Heart (Fuad), which is the Station of the Manifestation of the Names of God, there is no limit, for there naught is seen but God and His Names. Letters become differentiated from one another by the Point in writing, and so Plurality arises. By 'People of Hearts' are meant the Proofs of 'There is no God but God'; by 'People of Spirits', the Proofs of the Prophet of God; by 'People of Souls', the Proofs of the Imams; and by 'People of Bodies' the Proofs of the Gates (Babs); for all the Names and Attributes are the multiplication of this same first Unity. Imagine all to be Mirrors and the Point the Sun in Heaven. If a white Mirror is before it, the sign of Hearts is reflected therein; if a yellow Mirror, the sign of Spirits; if a green Mirror, the sign of Souls; if a red Mirror, the sign of Bodies.

11 Concerning this, that whatever is in this verse is in Bismillahi-Amnai l-Aqdas ['In the Name of God, the most Unapproachable, the Most Holy', the formula substituted by the Bab for the Mohammedan Bismillahir-Rahmanir-Rahim.]. All letters of speech become existent by the Point of Truth, which in the Koran is Mohammed the Apostle of God, and in the Bayan it is the Person of the Seven Letters (i.e. the Bab).

12 Concerning this, that the likeness of the Point is as the Sun, and the likeness of the other Letters as Mirrors and that all which is in the Bismillah is in the Point. Today the Manifestation of this same Point is in the Bayan: every Soul which believeth in Him will not see in itself that wherein its glory consists except as a form which it sees in a Mirror. If men this knowledge, they would never have regarded Ali as equal in greatness with Mohammed. The first of Mirrors which took a reflection from the Sun of Truth has been in all worlds the Lord of the Faithful (Ali).

13 Concerning this, that it is not permissible to question Him whom God shall manifest, save his scripture except in that which is worthy of Him. For his station is the station of the Letter of the Manifestation, nay, the Manifestation itself, and the souls of the Manifestation appear in His shadow, and if there is any excellence in Contingent Being, it is from the reflection of his Bounty. Wherefore should one desire to see His Knowledge, let him look to the learned, who, by knowledge of his Book, are learned concerning the previous Manifestation. So also with His Power and Glory, let them look for these in whom they have been manifested. And the Bayan is from beginning to end the ambush [place of concealment] of all His Attributed and Treasury of his Fire and His Light, while the Spirits thereof on the face of the earth are proofs pointing to His Words from His previous Manifestations, all of which were created for His subsequent Manifestation. And if anyone be wise ('arif) in Him, he becomes dead beside His Will. No Proof is greater for Him than His own Self, for all verses (signs)and words arise from the Ocean of his Bounty. So, if anyone wishes to ask questions, it is only lawful to do so from his Scripture that he may comprehend the joy of receiving an answer as it really is, and that it may be a Sign to him form his Beloved. But only questions suitable to His degree must be asked; for if one be a setter of rubies, and a man ask him the price of chaff, how ignorant must such a questioner be!

It seems as though I see some one asking Him [whom God shall manifest] in his letter concerning that which has been revealed in the Bayan... and He reveals in reply (from God, not from himself): 'Verily I am God; there is no God but Me. I created all things, and sent prophets formerly and revealed unto them books that ye should worship none other than God, my Lord and your Lord; and verily that is indeed the Sure Truth. It is equal unto me that ye should believe in me and be guided for your own benefit; or that ye should not believe in me, nor in that which God hath revealed unto me, and so be veiled (from Truth) for yourselves. And verily I was independent of you formerly, and shall certainly be independent of you hereafter, therefore look to yourselves and believe in My signs. Verily he who believeth nether in me nor in what God hath revealed to me is as one who believeth not in the Person of the Seven Letters and the Bayan. So also if ye know, ye will not contented to look to the Bayan after that God hath revealed verses unto Me, and ye will enter into the religion of God. Verily I am the Nuqta-i-Bayan from aforetime, and God hath manifested me again as He manifested me before. Wherefore see not in me aught but God, my Lord and your Lord, the Lord of the Heavens and the Lord of the Earth, the Lord of all things, the Lord of the visible and the Lord of the invisible, the Lord of the Worlds. Verily that which is with you is like what the mirror shews of the Sun in Heaven; so likewise is what ye adduce in proof from your Scriptures beside that which we revealed to you formerly in the Bayan...'

For He loveth those Hearts which point only to God and His love, and those Spirits and Souls and Bodies which point only to his 'Letters of the Living' which are the same as the Letters of the Bayan, the Koran, the Alif, The Ta, the Za [The Letters of the Alif (Injil = Gospel) are the Christians; the 'Ta' (Tawrat) is the Pentateuch; and the 'Za' (Zubur) the Psalms of David.] and so on till it ends with the book of Adam. Now from the Manifestation of Adam until the first Manifestation of the Nuqta-i-Bayan there have elapsed from the life of this world 12,210 years, and there is no doubt that before this there have been for God worlds and men innumerable, whereof none wottest but God only. And in no world hath the Manifestation of the Divine Volition been other than the Nuqta-i-Bayan, the Person of the Seven Letters; nor have its Letters of the Living been other than the Letters of the Living of the Bayan; nor its Names other than the Names of the Bayan; nor its Similitudes other than the Similitueds of the Bayan. He it is who is known by all things as 'the Prophet' and 'the Book which is of God'...

The Nuqta-i-Bayan was indentically that Adam, the beginning of the First Creation... And that Adam, who was then in the Degree of the Seed, hath now become this man; as for example a boy 12 years of age does not say, 'I am that seed which descended from such an heaven, and settled in such an earth'; for if he says thus, he hath degraded himself and the wise not consider his intelligence mature. Therefore it is that the Nuqta-i-Bayan does not say 'I am all the Manifestations of the Divine Volition from Adam till today'. For the same reason, the Apostle of God did not say 'I am Jesus'. So also the Beautiful yourth 14 years of life ought not say 'I am that same one [mentioned above] of 12 years old'; seeing that things tend upwards, not downwards; although the boy of 12 years of age was in his seed-time Adam, and gradually improved till today he is 12 years of age, and will gradually continue to improve till he reaches 14 years. In each case the subsequent Manifestation is the maturity of the previous one [possessing the fruit of that], together with what it has in itself, just as the letter Ghayn has the 900 of the letter Za while Za has not the 1000 of Ghayn ...

Paradise in each cycle is the Manifestation of the Perfection of that Ade, and today Perfection is in the Bayan, not in aught else. I swear by the Holy Divine Essence that if the wise and learned of the time of Him whom God shall manifest shall be one with him in faith, he is not content that he should leave one of the people of the Bayan on the Earth, much less others. He will endeavour and strive till naught shall remain but that which enters Paradise. This is the Great Salvation in that Manifestation, when whatever is upon the earth shall adopt His religion in the Shadow of that Manifestation. Then the Divine Volition itself will be satisfied; else is it eternally asking of the goodness of God, until it be so. And the end It must be so, for God hath power over all things... and although He will make all which is upon the Earth a portion of the Greatest Paradise.

14 Concerning the command unto each to preserve the Bayan in the most reverent way possible. That which remains amongst men from the Tree of Truth is His words, and the spirits attached to them. Therefore the most they strive to preserve, honour, and exalt His Words, the more will these words be manifest in their spirits. Even small epistles must be bound, for [the Bayan] must not become like the Koran, fragments of which are sold in every corner of the mosques in

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an unseemly manner [The Koran is divided into 30 parts, called juz (plural, ajza), which are often sold separately for the use of students and devout.]. Whoever possesses all the Bayan, his good deeds shall be doubled, and all the Angels shall intercede for him. The weight of the book should be light, the writing large, and marginal notes must not be written in it. And it is not permitted to be written otherwise than in a fair handwriting. And God's pleasure is that they should recite it and ponder over it as they read it. There is no word with anyone of which the Spirit does not receive help from the recitation thereof. And this formula may be used before reading: 'Bless Thou, O God, the Bayan and whoever believes in it, in every station, with glory and might. And punish whoever believes not in it with authority and justice.' And all the Splendour (Baha) of the Bayan is He whom God shall manifest. All Mercy is for him who shall believe in Him, and all curses for him who shall not believe.'

15 Concerning this, that whosoever believeth in Him whom God shall manifest, it is as though he believed in God and what God hath commanded in all the worlds; and he who believeth not (even though he believe in God, and what God hath commanded in former time), it is as though he had not believed, and he shall enter the Fire. The Manifestation of God in every Manifestation, whereby is meant the Primal Volition, is and was the Splendour of God (Baha'ullah), beside whom all things are and were as naught. Whosoever believeth in a later Manifestation, it is as though he had believed in all Manifestations, former and latter, in that Manifestation. The young 19 years of age is the same as the boy of 14 was before he reached 19 years. Thus it is that if anyone believes in this Manifestation who has not previously believed, he has , as it were, accepted all, and God is satisfied with him; whereas if he has believed in all the previous ones, and not in this, it is as naught ('scattered dust'). So it was in the time of the Koran; wherefore all who did not believe in it were accounted as unbelievers. Many are those who in one Manifestation were in Paradise, in other are in Hell-Fire; and vice versa. And to the Manifestations of God there is neither beginning nor end to be spoken of. If anyone does not believe in a thousand thousand Manifestations, yet believes in the one after these, all his worlds become changed to Faith; but if the reverse is the case, it will be the opposite. If the Letters of the Book of Alif (the Christians) had been faithful to their promise to Jesus, none would have remained in the Fire [in the Manifestation] of the Prophet of God... None knoweth save God as to when the Manifestation shall be. But it is hoped of God's goodness that it will arrive before the [Number of] Mustaghath (2001 years). And the Proof is naught but the signs (verses) and His Being in itself, for all else than Him is known by Him, while He can be known by naught else. Glory be to God above that which they ascribe!

16 Concerning this, that it is not permissible to act otherwise than according to the writings of the Nuqta-i-Bayan. Let men not occupy themselves with other writings; but strive in the knowledge of the Letters, and Conjunctions of the Numbers of God's Names, and Conjunctions of like Words, Conjunctions of Writings in their proper place; for Permission hath been accorded to each person to arrange the order of the Bayan in such wise as appeareth sweetest; for though it appear after a thousand fashions, yet do all return to the souls of the Bayan. So if there be ten prayers of 100 verses each, it is best that they should be arranged together. This is of the Bounty of God to those learned in the Bayan, that they may have somewhat wherein to engage until God shall rejoice them with a new Manifestation. The Nuqta-i-Bayan has written three Commentaries on the Koran; two in the style of verses (ayat) throughout, one Commentary on the Suratul-Baqara in the form of a scientific treatise.

17 It is unlawful to write any of the writings of the Point save in the best of writing; nor must anyone have an Epistle which is not in the best writing, else will his science be disordered, and he will not be of the believers. All the writings of the Point are called Bayan, but in the Primal Reality this (term) is confined to verses (ayat) though afterwards the trm is used, in the Secondary Reality, of the Station of Devotional Exercises (Munajat), and, in the Tertiary Reality, of the Station of Commentaries (Tafsir), and, in the Quaternary Reality, of Scientific Treatises; and, in the Quinary Reality, of Persian writings. The employment of 'Abdu'l-Bayan as a name is permitted, for the Name of God is derived from the Matter of the Bayan and He was the first to be named with this name when he said in it: 'Verily I am God; there is no God but Me, The One, the Explanation (Bayan)'; and all mystery of the Bayan is manifest in His Name, for the number of the Bayan together with the Unity (Wahid) of the Universal Form (Wahid-i-Surat-i-Jamia) becomes the Number of God, so that it may be a mirror for the Nuqta-i-Bayan. Everyone must write the Bayan in his best writing, so that in every case the Spirit attached to each Letter in the Bayan may be raised to the greatest height possible for it in the phenomenal world, and that naught may be seen in such as believe in the Bayan save what is perfect in its own degree. Today how dear are the letters of the Alif (Injil = Gospel), more so than those of any other nations! So also shall that which is in the Bayan become; but all this is only on condition that it shall not create difficulty, for God loveth not to look on the soul of a believer in grief. I seem to see, even now in this Mountain (of Maku), finely executed Bayans in the hands of the People of the Bayan, and how they rejoice in the reading thereof.

18 Whoever desireth to commentate any one of the writings of the Nuqta, or to compose any book for God's good pleasure, may not give a copy to anyone unless he write first a copy for himself in the best writing, either his own or another's, after which he may give it; else is it not lawful. God desires in the Bayan that, whatever befalls anything, from the embryonic state of that thing up to the highest point of its development may be supreme as regards beauty of form and quality, so that not even one atom of repugnance may be caused to anyone. Whoever, therefore, writes a commentary on the words of the Bayan, or composes a book on any science [connected therewith] if he be able himself to make a copy in his best writing from the original [this is best], but if not, he should give it to another to transcribe it, and afterwards keep it by him, and then shall a copy be given to another, that the writings of each one may be first with himself, and may afterwards come to others, else will his action be disordered. If one point (nuqta) in a book is out of place, it is worthless, and only fit to be thrown into the sea. The people of the Bayan must not be like the present men of learning, who care just as much for a book written in a thousand diverse hands, several on each page, as for the original copy: like a book of Agonies [of the Martyrs] (Masaib)* which is in this mountain [of Maku]. [* The Bab is known to have had in Maku a copy of an account of the martyrdom of the Imam Husayn called Muhriqul-Qulub by Hajji Mulla Mihdi Naraqi, the reading of which affected him deeply.]

19 Permission is given by God to whomsoever wishes to possess the writings of the Nuqta to expend thereon what he pleases of that which God hath caused him to possess; even though he should spend the whole of what is on the earth as the price of one Bayan. Perhaps when He whom God shall Manifest appears it may not be as it is now: namely, that there should be countless Korans of 1000 (gold pieces) in value and that the Revealer thereof should be [imprisoned] in a mountain: and that his cell should be of bare bricks, although the throne of God has been and is everywhere, whether it be on the Throne of Honour, or on the Earth.

WAHID 4

1 The Nuqta has two stations; one in which he speaks of God, and one in which he speaks of what is other than God: This last is the Station of Servitude wherein he worships God by night and by day. God hath created two stations for the Sun of Truth: the [first is the] Station of the Invisible Ipseity (Ghayb-i-Huwiyyat), which is the Manifestation of Divinity, whence he reveals verses: This is He who is indescribable by any description, since none but He knoweth Himself, and for Him exists neither place nor limitation, for Nearness is the same as Distance and Distance as Nearness: His first is His last, and His last His first: His Kafur is His Sadhay and His Sadhay His Kafur [Kafur means camphor and is used to denote whiteness]; His becoming (kaynuniyyat) is His egoity (anniyyat), and vice versa.

2 Whatever is referable to the Point is referable to God, and whatever is not referable to him is not referable to God. The Eternal Divine Essence has always been indescribable, incomprehensible and invisible, and what is revealed therefrom is from the Word of Its Volition. Hence in every cycle there are States and Manifestations for his Volition which the wise comprehend. If the people of one Revelation do not accept the next one when it comes, all their knowledge becomes vain and fruitless. So whoever has recourse to Him whom God shall manifest has recourse to Him (God): even as the Kaaba is called His (God's) House. Nor, indeed, is aught else possible in the Contingent World, for the Eternal Essence does not become proximate to anything; and the first Creation of a thing is dependent on Volition to which, therefore, it is eventually to be referred.

Till He whom God shall manifest appears, if anyone picks up even a grain of millet from the ground he must do it for the sake of, and with the permission of, the Point, but if one moment after the new Manifestation, then for Him whom God shall manifest. I swear by Him whom God shall manifest (which is the greatest of oaths) that no one has brought any grief or sorrow upon him (the Nuqta or his people) who did not profess to do it for God's sake, wherein he lieth. For seven years no one believed in the Koran but one person, though the proof was always the same.

3 Concerning this, that God doth in Truth change His plans. God is not worshipped by anything as He is by [the Doctrine of] Al-Bida, since this is a confession of His power to do what He pleases.

4 Concerning this, that every mention is a bond-slave to him. The Spirits of all things culminate in the form of man, and the Paradise of all things is in the Paradise of man. Thus, for instance, if a diamond of incomparable value is in the possession of a believer, the honour of that diamond consists in its serving to increase the honour of that believer. And this (human) form culminates in the [Divine] Name and Attribute, if its Heart (Fu'ad) points to God, it is mentioned with God in the shadow of 'To Him are the Most Beautiful Names'. And if it is an Attribute, it is mentioned amongst his Attributes; and this is the high significance of the Tradition, 'There is naught but God and His Names and Attributes.' But this form [of man] is connected with the Names and Attributes only if in each Manifestation it enters with the shadow of that Manifestation; else, ceasing to be even a Believer, how shall it not cease to be a Name or Attribute? As today it is seen that every good attribute is in the Letters of the Alif (i.e. the Christians); yet today the Attributes of Hell-Fire are mentioned in connection with them. If today anyone believes in the Bayan, he is seated on a throne of glory, though he be seated on the earth. Yet have they imprisoned the Revealer thereof in a Mountain. This is the meaning of the Tradition: 'In Him is a quality of Joseph, for he is sold and bought.' Please God they will not treat 'Him whom God shall Manifest' as they treated the Point!

5 Concerning this, that the Possessors of the Circles are signs unto him. Take care, O people of the Bayan, for the Manifestation of God will appear how God pleases, therefore think not untruly concerning the Truth, for his verses are a sign to all. No one is to be slain for unbelief, for the slaying of a soul is outside the religion of God. And from the day when the Sun of Truth shall set, for no one of those who believe in the Bayan is the decree of killing lawful, and if anyone orders it, he is not and was not of the Bayan, for no sin can be greater for him than this. And God has sealed it by His own Holy Essence that He will not pardon anyone who meditates the slaughter of one of those who believe in the Bayan. And those who hold ta'ziyas 6 and weep and lament over the misfortunes of the first promulgators of Islam, did nevertheless imprison and oppress that same person whom they lament; while the Doctors of the Law give fatwas against him. And this is so much insisted on in the Bayan, that no one should make another sad, lest perhaps the Lord of the Matter (Sahibu'l-Amr, i.e. He whom God shall manifest) be rendered sad. And even those who have not entered the Religion (if such there be) on that Day, are to be treated with justice.

6 Concerning this, that He is not to be questioned concerning what He does, but all else shall be questioned. The perfection of a mirror is this, that naught should be seen in it but the Sun; for, if it itself be seen, it becomes unworthy of mention. So if there be seen anyone with a will other than the one Primal and Eternal Will, he is disobedient. If anyone look with this regard on the Apostle of God, he will see in Him all the Prophets.

7 Concerning this, that the Beginning is from God through Him, and the Return is to God through Him.

8 Concerning this, that by His verses He createth the tendency of everything as He desireth, and nourisheth and causeth to die, and maketh alive. Ayat-i-Khalq = Fu'ad; Ayat-i-Rizq = Ruh; Ayat-i-Mawt = Nafs; Ayat-i-Hayat = Jasad. If one of the people of the Bayan give so much as a rose-leaf to a believer, this is naught but the action of the Letters of the One, and therein naught is seen but the action of God. This is why none creates but God, and none provides but God, and none causeth to die but God, and none maketh alive but God. Look at the Past. If the verse ordaining Pilgrimage had not been revealed, how would the verses (or sings) which are arranged according to Creation and Provision, Death and Life in the way of the pilgrimage, be realised? So today one cup of water given by a believer in the Bayan is sweeter to him who knows God than all the luxuries of the earth given by one who does not believe in the Bayan. And if anyone comprehend one state of the states of Him whom God shall manifest, it is better for him than that he should understand all the states (shu'un) of the Bayan.

9 Let every Ruler who shall arise in the Bayan write the mention of his name and what God hath assigned to him from Himself until the day when God shall (again) manifest the Nuqta-i-Bayan, so that every soul may be recompensed with that which is hath acquired: Verily He is swift in reckoning, and verily He is Independent and Exalted. From the [moment of the] Revelation of the Bayan until the Appearance of Him whom God shall manifest every one in authority should strive to exalt the Bayan, till the Point shall return and reward him with the best reward. What reward, indeed, can be higher than this, that he should be mentioned by Him whose mention is God's mention?

10 It is unlawful to teach books other than the Bayan unless there be therein something relating to Scholastic Philosophy (Ilm-i- Kalam), but Logic, 'Principles, and Jurisprudence, Philosophy, and dead languages, and the like, are forbidden, as also what has been written on [Arabic] Grammar and Syntax: unless anyone should desire to learn so much of the latter as may suffice him to read the Bayan, though there are so many of the writings of the Point in Persian that this is unnecessary for him. Nor must he learn more than this, nor other than this. This is the straight path for the believers until the day when the Tree of Truth (He whom God shall manifest) shall become manifest, for that is the Day of the Speaking

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Book of Truth when recourse to the Dumb Book tends but to veil men from the Speaking Book, which is a book free from the cognitional forms (shuun-i-ilmiyya) of the Creature. Even so was it in this Manifestation of the Point, who is seen to be devoid of the sciences of Etymology, Syntax, Logic, and Jurisprudence and the various branches of these. For all these exist only for the understanding of God's Will as expressed in His Word; what need, then, has one whose Word is the Word of God and whose Will is the of God of these forms (shu'un), seeing that God hath bestowed on him such power and utterance that if a swift writer were to write with the utmost rapidity for two days and two nights without intermission there would appear from that Mine of the Word the equal of a Koran; such that if all the thinkers on the earth were assembled they could not understand one verse thereof, much less produce the like. All the fruits of the Koran are in this verse: 'God who created seven heavens, and on earth the like thereof; between them descends the Command, that they may know that God hath power over all things and that God comprehendeth all things with His Knowledge.'8 The fruit of the Koran is to know and recognise Him who shall arise (the Qa'im) of the family of Mohammed, and for this all were created; but they were veiled therefrom because they did not regard the Manifestation of His Knowledge and Power, which Knowledge is in Himself of Himself, and in his Creation of His Creation. None are worse than those who glory in their knowledge without having even understood that their knowledge was for the understanding of His words formerly; but at the time of His Manifestation, what need is there for the teaching of these sciences, seeing that His word hath become, and His Will clear?

11 Whosoever oversteps the limits of the Bayan shall not be deemed a believer, be his condition what it may. God, in revealing the Bayan, hath regarded all his people, and fixed limits for all in whatever station they stand, that no one should be in the least grieved in the Paradise of the Bayan. Everything must be brought to its utmost limit of perfection. Thus the Paradise of a text is that they should write it in beautiful writing and adorn it with gold. And anyone who has the power to perfect a thing and does not do so is culpable. Watch for the appearance of Him whom God shall Manifest, for as the revelation of the Bayan was, so shall His be, verse by verse and letter by letter; even as, on the appearance of the Nuqta-i-Bayan, [the Revelation] flashed forth first on two souls, so that little by little it might reach all. Therefore watch for the moment of the Manifestation, so that, if the Effulgences be on one soul, that soul may not be rent asunder by the greatness which he beholdeth. By His Name shall the people of the Bayan become subsistent; learning suddenly that it was He who was with them day and night. Everywhere in the mosques at Karbala and Najaf are written such sentences as 'He who knows you, knows God; and he who loves you, loves God; he who hates you hates God'; and the like and such prayers and expressions are widely used amongst the Shi'ites. Yet have the Imams returned to the world, and no one has recognised them. So the people of the Gospel, who are in the religion of the Franks (Christians), did not recognise in the coming of Mohammed the fulfilment of the promise of Jesus, 'One cometh after me whose name is Ahmad', and are still waiting, and are therefore eternally in the Fire (according to Islamic doctrine). O people of the Bayan, do not act thus when He whom God shall manifest shall appear! [Christians reject this Islamic doctrine because of Mohammed's 95 wars, countless executions of non-Muslims and other acts of violence that stood in stark opposition to Jesus' peaceful teachings. This made it impossible for Christians to accept Mohammed as the 'coming messiah or prophet'. On the contrary, they always have viewed him as 'Anti-Christ'.]

12 Concerning the removal of all shrines upon the earth. In each Manifestation which appears from God, the shrines which were aforetime are taken away, as today you see in the Religion of the Apostle of God that his followers know not the shrines, nor even the very names, of the Saints of Jesus, much less their tombs. Tombs of ancient prophets and patriarchs, shown in some places, must also be abolished. The Jews go to Jerusalem; the Muslims to the Ka'ba, and the Christians to some other determined place. Now there is no honour in the mere earth itself; the Essence [of the honour attaching to a Holy Place] is that it is the Horizon of the Divine Command. Today the Muslims eagerly visit the tombs of the Imams, yet are veiled from the Manifestation which confirms their prophet-ship and saint-ship, who is suffered to dwell in the Mountain of Maku. So it was with the Christians in the time of Mohammed, who for 7 years was left to dwell neglected in the mountains of Mecca; and so it is now, when the Muslims flock to the Ka'ba, yet neglect Him by whose Word the Ka'ba became the Ka'ba. For the Nuqya-i- Bayan is identical with Mohammed, the Divine Command being like the Sun which, however often it rises, is but one Sun, whereby all subsist. All previous Manifestations were created for Mohammed; these together for the Qa'im; and all these inclusive for Him whom God shall manifest. The Sun of Truth arises and sets, but has neither beginning nor end. Happy is he who in each Manifestation understands the purpose of God in that Manifestation, and who does not, by regarding the phases (shu'un) of former times, remain veiled from that Manifestation. In each Dispensation countless souls are found slumbering, proud in their concern with the previous Dispensation.

13 Concerning the elevation of shrines to [the Letters of] 'The Unity' (Wahid) and the obligation incumbent on him who possesses any such site upon the earth not to use it otherwise than for these shrines. In each Manifestation a special command appears, and in this Manifestation of the Bayan, God does not desire to see any high place save the shrines of Mohammed and his Family and the Gates (Babs) of Guidance who are called in this Manifestation 'Letters of the One'. And He loves to behold 19 lofty shrines; for the shrines of the other Prophets, faithful ones, Martyrs and believers, whose hearts were the Horizons of the [Divine] Names an Similitudes, exist in the shadow of [in dependence on] these places, so that the matter may not be difficult to men and that anyone who wishes to include them all may be able to do so, since all are [summed up] in this first unity (Wahid), the multiplication of which is loved by God and such as are wise. There are places where the angels descend.

14 Whosoever taketh refuge in these Shrines is safe and is pardoned. Taking refuge in the Shrines of the Letters of the One does not mean going to these places, but is meant spiritually. Thus today the Muslims visit the Tombs of the former Manifestation of the Letters of the One and obey their former sayings, yet give fatwas for their slaughter. O people of the Bayan! Agree never to approve for others what you would not approve for yourselves, so that perhaps in the Day of the Manifestation you may not turn against the Letters of the One, even if you are not for them... 1270 years have passed between this Manifestation and last. Have mercy on yourselves, and do not make your actions as scattered dust, and so fashion your souls that if ye be not for anyone, ye may not be against anyone; for this is the way of salvation in this world and the next. [Reference to] The worlds which were before Adam.

15 It is unlawful for anyone to forbid another to take refuge in these shrines when he wishes to do so.

16 In description of the Holy House. There has not been from all Eternity a place for God, nor will there be; but in each Manifestation the Divine Volition makes its House in the land whereunto it is related. If the believers in God had power so to do, verily it would be ordained that this House should be filled with diamonds from the water-level even to its summit, and its water would be red scent. But if [at least] without and within it be decked with mirrors, this will be most pleasing; such mirrors as are in the hands of the artificers of today. And in the land of Fa (Fars) there is a Mosque in the midst of which is a building like the Ka'ba; the style of this is mentioned in order that there may be a sign in that Land to guide the erection of the House before the Manifestation of God's Dispensation... 1270 years have elapsed since the last Manifestation... The House of God is in reality in the hearts of such as believe in Him whom God shall manifest. If man had made the circuit round this - the Real - House of God, the other (outer one) would not hae been ordained, but because they would not, therefore was this burden laid on their necks. 70,000 souls circumambulate that House of Clay, honoured only because it is related to Mohammed, while He who gave it its true meaning dwells in the Mountain of Maku, only one soul bearing Him company. Yet this same Letter of Shin who went on foot to His House, now on him is it thus decreed. I myself saw one who spent vast sums on the pilgrimage to Mecca yet withheld from his companion and fellow traveller on board ship a single cup of water because he was of noble birth. The pilgrimage is blessed only for those who behave well to each other. I myself [during the voyage] from Bushire to Muscat, which took 12 days, suffered from thirst since sufficient water could not be carried.

Watch over yourselves, that in no state ye bring sorrow on anyone, for the hearts of believers are nearer to God than is a mere House of Clay. Nothing is more important that this in the way of the pilgrimage, that if one be with another he should neither show vexation himself, nor vex that other, for the quarrelling of the pilgrims to Mecca is most detestable in the eyes of God. Let the practice (sunnat) of the believers be naught but gentleness, modesty and tranquillity. The House of God repudiates those men, who while circumambulating it, regard (only) themselves... On the sea naught but vexation is imaginable, nor can comforts be collected as on land, and if merchants would cease voyaging on the sea, where this is possible, it were better in this Religion for their tranquillity. But inasmuch as [by the abandonment of sea- voyages] the order of the world would be disturbed, there must needs be seafaring folk, who, indeed, approach God in their work; and God rewardeth those who do good, whether they be on the sea or on the land, and doubleth the Reward of those who move on the sea by reason of their weariness, if they be in the religion of God, and behave affectionately to one another; for God rewardeth the well-doers.

And it is meet for a King in whose Kingdom is the Sanctuary of God (nay, for every landowner) that in the limits of his own land, in all parts thereof, from the first to the last, he should station agents to carry the news and letters of that land from one end to the other, which systems is in the highest degree organised in the Land of the Franks. This is so that when He whom God shall manifest shall appear, all the means may exist for the transmission of letters and news, that all may be informed of Him. These facilities must become general; else, even now, those who are in authority have the Chapar; but of what use is this, since the poor cannot employ it? If any one hear the news of the Manifestation one fraction of a second sooner, and believe, it is better than that he should possess all the earth. God loves those who set in order.

17 It is not lawful to sell in the Precinct of [God's] House; and he who wishes to stop this may lawfully take [what is exposed for sale], even though the owner doth not acquiesce, because God hath more right to property than His servant, who possesseth it for only a few years.

18 Going up to (God's) House is not lawful except to the rich, who need undergo no hardship on the way; let such an one, when he has come up there, give 4 mithqals of gold to him who attends at the First Column (Rukn), and the Second, and the Third, and the Fourth of [God's] House that they may divide it amongst themselves; though they are not permitted to ask for this unless it be given. This is, however, excused to the slave, and to him who serveth on the way, and to them of small estate, and to such as cannot afford it. Everyone who can do so should go once in his life to God's House. But the dead are not have places bought for them there. And the obligation [of performing the Pilgrimage] has been removed from women, that no trouble may come upon them in the journey. But those who dwell near the House may go thither yearly, since for them it is not difficult. Each of the four mithqals of Bayanic (i.e. Babi) gold is to weigh 29 nukhud (grains), and four such mithqals may be given to the Nineteen who sit on seats around the House (of God); and these must show the greatest respect to the pilgrims. And these Nineteen must yearly divide this money equally, thanking their Beloved for it; but they must not ask for it. They must sit on silken stuffs, as has been mentioned in the Arabic [Bayan] on lofty coloured seats: White for the First Column (Rukn); yellow for the Second; green for the Third; and red for the Fourth. During the 1270 years which have elapsed since the Mission of Mohammed, countless multitudes have yearly circumambulated the Ka'ba; but when in the last year, the Founder of the House himself went, he saw that of those of all nations gathered there no one recognised him. But he who recognised him and accompanied him on the Pilgrimage was he who truly performed the Pilgrimage. The number of 8 unities (wahids) passed over him during which God gloried in him in the Supreme Assembly for his disinterestedness and sincerity in doing His pleasure. But this Grace was not offered to him alone, for the same Favour was shown to all; but they veiled themselves from that Favour. For in that same year the book of the Commentary on the Suratu Yusuf reached all; but they, seeing that they had no companion, stood still, not reflecting that for 7 years none accepted the Koran save Ali. Everyone has to answer to God for himself, not for another. And in the Manifestation of Him whom God shall manifest, the most learned of the Doctors shall be equal with the lowest of the people. It is not that they have not heard [of the Manifestation], for had this been so they would not have been held accontable.

19 Concerning this, that women should enter the Mosque by night to present themselves at the Thrones by the Nineteen Mirrors; such women, namely, as belong to this country [Persia]. God hath commanded parents to show the greatest possible love for their children, which love He reckons as love for Himself, showing honour to Him whom God shall manifest. All children are commanded to behave with the utmost courtesy to their fathers and mothers and other relatives, that no sorrow may fall on their hearts.

WAHID 5

1 Concerning the Mosque. The first land wherein the bodily form of Him whom God shall manifest shall appear becomes the Holy Sanctuary; for in Him, as in the Nuqta-i-Bayan, the Mystery of the Truth has been and is witnessed. And the more God's dispensation can be exalted, the better it is; as will happen on that day when the [resting-place of the] Red Earth of God shall lie in some region of that Most Mighty Land, and shall become the place of retirement for the servant as is now seen in Mecca.

2 Concerning the Eight Mosques [which are] before the Ten [i.e. 'the Eight and the Ten', or the Eighteen.]. It is meet for such as shall be able in the religion of the Bayan to erect 18 new mosques in the Name of the 'Letters of the Living' of Him whom God shall manifest [i.e. His Disciples.]. And I seem to see lamps suspended therein according to the Number of Mustaghath (=2001). But fear that Day when these same Letterrs of the Living shall return to the Life of the World, and at least do not forbid them their own places, as was done in the Manifestation of the Nuqta-i-Bayan.

3 Concerning the knowledge of the years and months. God hath fixed the number of all years from [the time of] the Manifestation of the Bayan according to the 'Names of All

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Things' (=361) and hath fixed each year at 19 months, and each month at 19 days, in order that all may behold the Letters of the Unity in 19 degrees from the Point of the Entry of the Sun into the Sign of Aries [The beginning of the Vernal Equinox, about 21 March, which is the real Persian Naw-Ruz or New Year's Day, still the great festival in Persia, as it was in Zoroastrian times.] until its final arrival in the Sign of Pisces. And the first month is to be called Baha, and the last 'Ala. And the three first months are chiefly set apart for Glorification (tasbih) since in them is created the Fire in the Hearts of All Things; and in the four following months, which are the months of Praise (tahmid), are created the Spirits of all Contingent things, for in them is Sustenance given; and in the six subsequent months, which are the months of Unification (tawhid), God causeth existing things to die, not by a bodily death, but by a Death from Denial and a Life in Affirmation; and in the subsequent six months, which are the months of Magnification (takbir), God gives life to the people who have died from love of all that is beside Him, and have remained firmly established in His Love.

And in the first three months is the Fire of God; and in the four subsequent months, the Air of Eternity without Beginning (Azal); and in the six subsequent months the Water of Unification, which runs over the Souls of all things, from the air of Eternity which is projected from the Fire of God; and the subsequent six months are connected with the Earth, for what appeared from the three elements has become fixed in those three elements. And the first month is the Month of the Point, round which the (18) months of the Living revolve; its similitude amongst the months is as the Sun, while the rest of the months are like Mirrors, and it is named by God the month of Baha, seeing that the splendour (Baha) of all the months is included in it. For God hath set it apart for Him whom God shall manifest; and to each day thereof He hath given an affinity with one of the Letters of the Unity. And the First Day [of this First Month], which is the New Year's Day (Naw-ruz) is the day of 'there is no god but God'. The like of that day is as the Nuqta in the Bayan, by whom all are created, and to whom all return; whom God hath made the Manifestation thereof (i.e. of 'there is no god but God'), the Nuqta-i-Bayan, the Person of the Seven Letters, which is, in this Manifestation, the Throne of Him whom God shall manifest... He it is through whom the reality (shay'iyyat) of all things is, and whose nature is through God. Whosoever shall declare the Unity of God 361 times in that day will remain glad throughout the year.

4 Ordering the naming of Names with the Names of God, and the Names of Mohammed and Ali, or both of them, and Fatima, and Hasan, and Husayn. The best of all names are such as are related to God like Bahaullah and Jalalullah, and Jamalullah or Nurullah or Fadlullah, or Judullah, and like of these and Abdullah and Dhikrullah. Gradually, in later Manifestations, all persons will be named with Names of God until all the Heaven and Earth and what is between them becomes filled with the Name of God. What difference does it make whether man or [a temple of] Clay point to God? Both are creatures, except that the latter was created for the former; for God hath fixed the spirit of the unification of all things in the spirit of man. Thus, for instance, if a believer sits on a piece of ground, the spirit of that ground becomes tranquil and rejoiceth; while if an unbeliever sit there, it becomes disquieted in such a way that none other than God can compute it; and it continually asks of God that the unbeliever may arise and depart from it. Nothing can attain to its own Paradise unless it reaches the utmost limit of perfection possible to it. The perfection of the supremacy of man is in faith in God. Man must not forget the previous Manifestations, or forget to be thankful for them; for a youth 19 years of age must not omit to give thanks for the Day of Conception (Yawm-i-Nutfa); and in like manner if the religion of Adam had not existed, today this religion would not have arrived at this degree.

So regard the things of God to infinity and give thanks to Him for every Effulgence which He hath sent forth in each Manifestation. The fruit of this command is this that, by the mention of these Names, he [i.e. a man] may not depart from the things to which these Names apply; so that perchance by the repetition of these Names the soul may not abandon the things which these Names connote, and so, by their Attraction may grow worthy of its name in the Manifestation. Not that one should be veiled by the Name, for in this Cycle the slayer of the Chief of Martyrs* was named precisely by the very name of that Glorious One (i.e. Husayn). He whom God shall manifest is like a touchstone, discriminating between pure gold and all beside. [* 'This Cycle' of course means the Bab's Manifestation, in which, Mulla Husayn of Bushrawayh was, I think, regarded as the 'Return' of the Imam Husayn. He was killed at Shaykh Tabarsi in Mazandaran, but I do not know who slew him. Mulla Husayn was killed by Abbas-Quli Khan-i Larijani but this event had not yet happened at the time of the writing of the Persian Bayan . In fact, the Bab is most probably referring to Husayn Khan, the Governor of Shiraz, who struck the Bab. The Bab evidently regards him as the 'return' of Shimr, the slayer of the Imam Husayn at Karbala.] For instance if a person be named Baha'ullah (the Splendour of God) and if he believes in the splendour (Baha) of him who was the First to believe, then that Name becomes confirmed for him in Heaven; otherwise he perishes in denial, 'as though he was a thing not mentioned'.

5 Concerning the command to take the possessions of those who do not believe in the Bayan, and the command to restore it, if they enter the Faith, except in those countries wherein its seizure is impossible. In the day of the Manifestation of the Apostle of God [Mohammed], the soul of naught that breathed was its own; how then that which is subsidiary to life? Unless it entered his religion; whereupon that which God hath bestowed on it became lawful to it. So also in the Manifestation of Him whom God shall manifest, no soul is lawful to its possessor unless it believe in Him, and all shall be taken from all, except that which enter under the shadow of His Religion. This is the Grace of God towards His creatures; for where countries were conquered in the beginning of Islam, they were compelled by force and violence to enter Islam and become partakers of the fruits of Islam, and to such as believed not, no mercy was shown, and till now they have remained in the Fire. So also in this Manifestation with unbelievers, naught appertaining to them is lawful, except to those who enter the Faith, whereby it becomes lawful to them. This command is to powerful Kings in the Faith, not to all. And in countries wherein it would become the cause of sadness or loss to anyone, God hath not ordered it to be made manifest; as, for instance, in the case of merchants in the countries of the Franks; such must keep their accounts with the utmost diligence, lest disgrace befall them. From God comes Permission, while obedience is for His Creatures. If all who were powerful in Islam had acted according to the command of the Koran, today all on earth would have believed in the Koran; and now that it is not so the fault is on the part of mankind, since [that Command] which was due appear from the Source did appear in the Koran. The object is that when He whom God shall manifest shall appear, all shall have been educated in the Bayan, that none of the believers in the Bayan may remain outside belief in Him; should one do so, the Command concerning him is as the Command concerning him who believeth not in God. I swear by God that in the Manifestation of Him whom God shall manifest all shall unite in helping [the propagation of the Faith], not one will remain on the earth who shall not enter into Paradise.

6 The Command concerning the possessions which shall be taken in this Religion. If there be anything which is peerless of its kind, none shall possess it but the Nuqta-i-Bayan. But, if the Sun hath set, then let them keep it for its rising-place [i.e. if the Point be dead, let them keep it for Him whom God shall manifest.] ... And what falls short of this, let there be taken first by the Number of the Ha (5) [The letter Ha = 5, and Bab = 5; so we find the Babis sometimes calling themselves 'Ha'is'. When the Bab declared himself to be the 'Point' (Nuqta), the title of Bab, set free, was given to one of his disciples. Such Bab is here meant.] somewhat of its Price; then let those who have acquired it in victory take from it with permission, each of them according to the quantity which sufficeth for him. And what remains over, let them transmit it to the poor, or spend it on the Shrines of Pilgrimage, or the like. And if [a share] be given to everyone yea, even to the child which is in its mother's womb, it is better than that it should be spent on Shrines. It is a gift from God and verily He is indeed most Bounteous. The believers are the trustees of the share of Him whom God shall manifest (if the Point has passed away) and if they take therefrom even one qirat, the punishment thereof is Hell-Fire. All things are God's; and who is nearer to God than the Point of Truth? After this share has been set apart for the Point, or for Him whom God shall manifest, a share corresponding with the value of the Ha, shall be taken from the whole and divided amongst the people of the Bayan from the greatest to the least. Then shall the conquerors have their share, each one that is worthy of his state; and if anything be still left over, it may be spent on the shrines, so that a share may come to all the people of the Bayan, yea, even to the child of six months in the womb of its mother. This is better than spending it on the Shrines, if these have been constructed; but, if not, then their construction takes precedence. He whom God shall manifest is most great in the sight of God, and his approval is more than the approval of all else beside Him. And after Him come the 'Letters of the Living'; then the Names; then the Similitudes; then the Prophets, then the Faithful and the Martyrs and the Proximate [These different grades of believers (seven, it appears, in all) remind one of the similar graduations amongst the Ismailis, when also they were originally seven.], each according to that which has been ordained to him.

And if the believers in the Bayan cannot observe what is commanded in the Bayan, like unto which there is naught else, it may be changed.9 But it is incumbent on them to prescribe the price thereof, and to traffic with it on behalf of its (true) possessor, and therewith to take from it their own lawful share of ten per cent (100 in 1000) that this may become an ordinance amongst all, that all may profit from all in this way, and it is not likely that where the Proof of God acts thus, others should exceed this.

7 God hath given permission to him who believes in the Bayan that whatever he buys from those who do not believe in that religion is clean unto him when it comes forth from the possession of the latter and enters his possession, by reason of the honour conferred upon it by its relation to this Religion. God's gift to such as believe in the Bayan is that things obtained by sale or purchased from nonbelievers become pure by their severance from unbelievers and their association with believers. For instance, if there be a rose in the hand of a Christian, it at once becomes pure on his giving it to one of the believers. The believers in the Bayan are permitted to obtain whatever is good in every land, that perhaps in the day of the Manifestation of the Truth that thing may reach the presence of the Lord of Existence and become beloved by Him. For whatever appears gracious in the world, is a drop from the ocean of his Grace.

8 Every soul must read the verses of the Bayan, nor must he let them fall short of the Number of the Unity (19)10 and whosoever is unable (to do so) let him say. 'God! God is my Lord; and I associate none with God my Lord' 19 times. Regard the whole of the Bayan as capital entrusted by one another that he may traffic therewith: the owner thereof is He whom God shall manifest, who has entrusted it to the souls who believe in the Nuqta-i-Bayan, that they may traffic therewith for the day of His Manifestation, when he will take back the capital, and no one shall say 'Why?' or 'Wherefore?' I swear by God that if in the Day of Him whom God shall manifest one should hear a single verse from Him and should repeat it, it is better than that he should recite the whole Bayan 1000 times.

9 Concerning this, that one of the Names of God should be repeated over anything which one desires to use. When anyone wishes to use anything he should mention one of the Names of God, either openly or secretly or in intention. The object of this is that each one may see in everything a Manifestation of the Visage of [Him who is] the Manifestation of the [Divine] Will, that naught may be seen in it save God. For instance, the lowest limit of inorganic objects is a stone (sang): in the Sin (S) thereof he should see only Subbuh (glorified), and in the Nun (N), Nur (Light), and in the Kaf (K), Karim (Kind), whether he mentions these attributes verbally or merely thinks of them in his mind without uttering them with his tongue. Naught is visible in this Dispensation but He whom God shall manifest, who is the origin of the Names and Divine Attributes. So at that day each one must cease to regard himself, and regard only Him; not that he can see Him in Himself, except as a Mirror receives a reflection from the Sun when placed opposite to it. All things must ascend in the Bayan to the utmost limit of their perfection, so that all may become Mirrors prepared to the flashing forth of the Sun, that as soon as its light, that is its Signs (Verses), arises, all may point to Him.

10 God hath appointed the Figures (Haykal) to Men and the Circles (Da'ira) to Women, that they should write thereon what they will from the Bayan.11 The outside of the Figure (Haykal) is the Ha (5) and the inside the Waw (6) [H.W., i.e. Huwa, 'He', viz. God.]. Let each take what he can from the Ocean of Bounty, that what is written on that Figure may appear in his Soul, letter by letter, and point by point. And to them who manifest the Ba (2) he hath permitted the Circle (typifying) the Garment of the Sun of Truth, and hath fixed it as 5 Unities (Wahid), to each Unity a Unity [i.e. Five concentric circles, each divided into Nineteen sections or compartments.]; that it may point to the Letters L.H. (Lahu = 'to Him') because 'To Him belongeth what is in the heavens and in the Earth and what is between them, and God encompasseth all things'. So shall the Garment of the Sun of Truth shine upon their bosoms and hearts, that perchance in the Day when that Most Great Light shall become manifest, they may only point to Him. The origin of this Circle is according to the manner wherein the Chief of Believers enumerated the Names apparent from the word Ha (5); namely, in the Point, Fard (Single); and in the Ba, Hayy (Living); and in the Alif, Qayyum (Self-subsistent); and in the Ya, Sultan (Authority); and in the Jim, Quddus (Holy); and this is why [the formula] Bismillahil-Amnail-Aqdas ('In the Name of God, the Most Unapproachable, the Most Holy') appeared in this Manifestation. And from the Point to the Jim are the four degrees of Creation, Provision, Death and Life. And the fruit of these two commands is this, that the whole Bayan is the creation of the Macrocosm; and as long as it appears in the Figure of the Ba of the Circle, yet does not exceed the limits of the Ha, perhaps in the Year Five of the Manifestation of Him whom God shall manifest he may attain the Honour of believing in that Sun of Truth. For what is written in the Figures and Circles is His Glorification and the Declaration that He is free from what his enemies ascribe to Him. If anyone, by the Favour of His Bounty, be with Him, yet does not manifest the fruit thereof in the Lines of the five or the six, or in the Houses of the Unity, how shall Fruit be mentioned in connection with him, since he has nullifies the Fruit of his being?

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This is in order that none of the people of the Bayan may overpass the Five Limits, for in the Pentacle (Haykal-i-Khums), the circumference is with him while in the Circle the Waw (6) keeps the Ha (5). This is the object in the Revelation of His Command and of the man's action in conformity with these two great gifts: that, at the Manifestation of that Sun of Truth, that Light of Eternity Past, that Dawn of Timelessness, those who possess the Pentacles and Circles will detach themselves from all this is on earth. But if the evolution of the Cycle proceed apace, Five Years may become Five Months; nay, perhaps even Five Weeks or Five Days, or Five Hours, or Five Minutes, or even Five Seconds. For there is an indissoluble connection between the Will and what it creates, though God hath from Eternity created between them a diversity of Attributes as between Fire and its burning. For how can Fire be realized without its burning becoming apparent, or how can a lamp become lighted without its light illuminating all things? In every Manifestation behold with the Eye of Certainty this One which pervades all things. If in the Day of Him whom God shall manifest it [the Volition] be seen in any form [Haykal] but His, that [form] is veiled in itself from Him, yet is He more manifest in it than it itself is to itself [This passage appears to mean: if, in the Day of Him whom God shall manifest, in a form there be seen any form but His form, then that form is, in itself, veiled from Him, yet is He more manifest in it itself is to itself.]; and what it does it does only for Him, though in its state of veiledness it (imagines that it) acts against Him. This is the meaning of the Verse: 'To God do all things return.'

11 Concerning prayers for the new-born and the dead. Utter takbirs (Magnificats) in the prayers of the new-born and recite after the first takbir 19 times: Inna kullun billahi mu'minun [We are all, verily, believers in God.]; and in the second: Inna kullun billahi muqinun [We are all, verily, sure of God.] and in the third: Inna kullun bi'llahi muhiyyun [We are all, verily, brought to life by God.]; and in the fourth: Inna kullun bi'llahi mumitun [We are all, verily, caused to die by God.]; and in the fifth: Inna kullun billahi radiyun [We are all, verily, content in God.]. And in the prayers of the dead the takbir must be said 6 times, and after the first takbir let him read 19 times: Inna kullun lillahi abidun [We all, verily, worship God.]; and in the second: Inna kullun lillahi sajidun [We all, verily, bow down before God.]; and in the third: Inna kullun lillahi qanitun [We all, verily, are devoted unto God.]; and in the fourth: Inna kullun li'llahi dhakirun [We all, verily, give praise unto God.]; and in the fifth: Inna kullun lillahi shakirun [We all, verily, yield thanks to God.]; and in the sixth: Inna kullun lillahi saburun [We all, verily, are patient in God.]. The birth prayers are to be read for male and female children alike. The meaning of the 5 takbirs and the 6 (at birth and death) is to show that he came from the Ha (5) and has returned to the Waw (6) [Ha and Wa together make Huwa = He, i.e. God.]. Whosoever entered in at the Gate (Bab) found salvation by the Bab by this action not by other actions, for he is the Soul from whom is the source of all things, and towards whom all things return. Everyone believes in Ali now only because they were brought up to love him, else, had they lived in the early days of Islam, there would only have been the three as is set forth in tradition; as in this cycle, God has laid an obligation on believers according to the number of the Name of the Merciful (ar-Rahman) (299) for the states of affection.

12 Concerning the burial of the dead in stone, and the placing on their hands of rings of cornelian. This outward body is the throne of the inward (or essential) body. Therefore must the former be preserved with the utmost care; that no disgust may come upon the latter, for the essential body regards its throne and is gratified if that is treated with respect. Therefore it is commanded that this be treated with the utmost respect, and it is permitted for it to hidden in crystal or polished stone. So also a cornelian ring with an inscription is to be placed on the finger of the corpse that from the blessing of the verse inscribed thereon no sorrow may come upon the essential body, and that it may be veiled from Hell-Fire and abide in the protection of the Light. And on the ring must bee expressed one of the Names of God. The fruit of this command is that since the number of Ali returns to takbir (magnification), the element of earth is mentioned; and the limit of the ascent of earth is the first degree of stone-till that terminates in the highest degree of purity, which is crystal, whereupon praise is manifested in it.

13 Concerning the testamentary book for the dead according to what is ordered in the Bayan. No favour of God's is greater than this, that He has given permission to them to worship Him and has taught them to glorify and praise and unify and magnify Him. At the time of death a testamentary book may be written containing a confession of the Unity and this creation and command is for a memorial [The text reads: '...containing a confession of (or witness to) the Unity of God and that all creation and command are His.']; a confession of the Divine Point [i.e. the Bab who had so many followers that he was known as holy figure.] and His Letters of the Living, and setting forth the Love of Him, and the manifestations of His Names, and Similitudes, and taking refuge from that which He loves not. And they are commanded to convey this book to Him whom God shall manifest, that if He wills He may answer it and His answer is the same which has descended from God concerning him [The answer (i.e. acceptance or rejection of the testamentary book) of Him whom God shall manifest is equivalent to God's answer.]: and the preservation of this [testament] is with his heir that from hand to hand it may come to Him whom God shall manifest; and it must be very beautifully and elegantly written, for the length of time from manifestation to manifestation is clear and the preservation of what is between them is the easiest of things. Thus the Mohammedans all say the Tahlil [Uttering the words: 'There is no god but God.'] at their death, according to the word of His former command, yet the Manifestation of this word dwells unjustly imprisoned in a mountain [i.e. the Bab himself who is imprisoned in the mountain fortress of Maky.], therefore do all their (the Musulman's) actions become as scattered dust. In the same way all will write their testamentary books and will say 'I associate nothing with God', but in the day of the Manifestation [of Him whom God shall manifest], their own souls are the manifestation of idolatry and thus they at once nullify their religion. The source of this book is from God, but in what the Nuqta-i-Bayan says; and its return is to God, insofar as it returns to Him whom God shall manifest.

14 That which purifies [Purification in this chapter is meant in the sense of ritual purification.] is Fire and Air; then Water and Earth; then the Book of God; then the Point and His Writings; then that over which the name of God is mentioned 66 times: and what the Sun parches and what changes its being: then all which enters this religion: and matters related thereto: also what descends from the hands of the unbelievers into the hands of the people of this religion and if its relation to the former cease and its relation to the latter take place, it is purified. One whose word is pure, God requires not that he should perform ceremonial purifications; the like of that is killing the Prince of Martyrs, and discussing a gnat's tail [What the text is trying to convey is that these people who take such care over ceremonial matters but deny the source of Purification are like those who killed the Prince of Martyrs (the Imam Husayn) but were greatly concerned about the ritual purity of the blood of a gnat.]; this is the state of that beastly people; but the name of beasts is not fit for them, for beasts harm no one, and it is manifest what these do. Now the manifestations which are pure are -

First, Belief in the Bayan, which changes his [the believer's] body to purity.

Second, The Book of God, and a thing becomes pure on meeting with a verse.

Third, The Name of God. If 'Allahu Athar' (God is most pure) be read over a thing 66 times, it becomes pure.

Fourth, Cessation of relation to other than the people of the Bayan and association with the people of the Bayan.

Fifth, The Tree of Truth in the day of its manifestation, and all His writings.

Sixth, That which changes its being (kaynuniyyat) [e.g. a liquid turning to vapour; wood burning to ashes, etc.].

Seventh, The four elements.

Eighth, The Sun.

Moreover a breath* coming from the mouth by means of the toothbrush or toothpick, is permitted and pardoned [* The text in fact reads 'blood'; i.e. whereas blood normally renders anything it touches ritually impure, the Bab is here abrogating the law with respect to bleeding caused by the use of a toothbrush or toothpick.]; but in every case God loves the pure, and in the Bayan nothing is dearer to God than cleanness and purity and neatness. And the impurity of the foot of an animal which travels in the rain and enters a room is removed. God loves not that there should be on anyone anything other than perfume and sweetness, and all should continually be perfectly pure spiritually and bodily, that their souls may not be averse to them. But it matters not if the hair of an animal be near one who is praying, like the things which they bring from the Franks; so also things of bone and ivory: all these things are for comfort [These regulations refer to things which in Islamic law render the believer impure and therefore unable to perform prayers. The Bab is here removing the decree of impurity from these things, defying Islamic law.]. Let them be thankful for these mercies, and not be careful about a hair marring their prayer and yet not hesitate to condemn the verifier of Religion (i.e. the Bab). Whoever was in the preceding cycle of the Koran witnessed this, that those who oppressed the family of the Prophet paid the greatest attention to the details of religion, and the same is seen perfectly in this Manifestation of the Bayan: one who wrote a thousand verses about a trifling detail of religion, rejected the Truth, whereby all religion is established, and he veiled himself by these things from the truth. O people of the Bayan! do not cause any harm to any man or even animal, that you may not acquire what will destroy your religion in the day of HIm whom God shall manifest, as in this manifestation the Nuqta-i-Bayan rewarded those from whom nothing [objectionable] had appeared by His verses.

15 Concerning this, that the water through which ye were produced [i.e. semen; this again is the abrogation of an Islamic law concerning ritual purity.], God hath made it pure in the book. Yet they should be as cleanly about it as possible where it is easy, not where it is difficult. No one may pronounce the people of the Bayan impure, or he ceases to belong to the Faith. In the days when I myself was at Karbala, one day when the Late Syyid [i.e. Haji Sayyid Kazim of Rasht] came to [my] abode, the owner of the house ordered a door which had been touched by that Tree of Purity to be washed.

16 As long as the sun remains above the Horizon (i.e. as long as the Nuqta lives) what is incomparable must be placed before God; when it sets (i.e. when the Nuqta dies) everyone may possess it until the Sun arises from its rising place when it ceases to be lawful to them, and they must restore to him the number of the Wahid (i.e. 19) not above that - if He desires to possess it (if not, they are not bound to do so); unless loss would accrue to the possessor thereof which he cannot support, when he is pardoned therefrom. What God loves most in the people of the Bayan is their love one for another. They should not then dispute with each other, or rebut one another's speeches in religious matters, and if anyone in the Bayan rejects another he must give 95 (19 x 5) mithqals of gold to Him whom God shall manifest, and to none other, who will if He please remit it, or take it. Since He whom God shall manifest is the Sign of 'There is nothing like Him' therefore has God commanded that whatever reaches this degree [of being unique] in the world shall be for Him. And those who cannot give such a thing in the day of Him whom God shall manifest must give 95 mithqals of gold.

17 Concerning what is obligatory in every city, that the name of God should be mentioned in every city 95 times, on the first day Allahu Abha [God is most Glorious.]; on the second Allahu Azam [God is most Mighty.]; until it conclude with Allahu Aqdam [God is the Pre-Existent.] on the 19th day, which is the last day of the month. Between the rising and setting of the sun each one may say Allahu Abha or Allahu Azam, etc., according to the day, 95 times that perchance in the Day of Resurrection by the recital of these sacred names he may be honoured with guidance, and become directed by the guidance of the Letters of the Living. Not that he should recite these names and remain veiled from those whom they indicate. No one has or will have any way to the Eternal Essence, and what is in Contingent Being is His creation, and the Letters of the One are the signs of His names to His creatures, for in them is naught seen save God alone. Their loftiness is by reason of their hearts being like mirrors, in whom God only is seen. At the takbir look on them, that while looking you may not be veiled, just as you see in the letters of 'Allahu Akbar' naught but God.

18 Concerning selling and buying, when there is consent on both sides; and the transaction is valid as long as it is clear that both are satisfied, whether great, or little; bond or free. Interest is also permitted between merchants, as is customary today.

19 The mithqal is 19 hammas, and the price of 19 hammas of Gold is 10,000 dinars; and the price of the 19 hammas of silver is 1000 dinars. God is the creator of His creation and Kingdom, and inasmuch as His Kingdom is not with the unbelievers, permission is granted for this that all give to the person who is their wali (ruler), for helping the religion, (whenever a year passes, and their wealth exceeds 540 mithqals) from each mithqal of gold, which is 19 nukhud, [Nukhud is Persian for the Arabic word hammas used above. Both words refer to a pea (usually a dried pea), and this was a unit of weight equivalent to one-fifth of a gram approximately.] 500 dinars, and from each mithqal of silver, 50 dinars. No worship is more beloved of God than that one should cause joy to enter into heart of another - and the converse. The amount of every mithqal of gold may be 19 nukhuds, and so also silver, and the value thereof according to what is manifest this day. if they wish to change them each shall be changed at 19, that the glory of gold and silver be not changed at the hands of the people of the Bayan. Though a loss for merchants is seen in this decree concerning the value of gold and silver, that will disappear in course of time. And whoever owes a Qiran 51 must give 28 nukhuds; not the price of it, and so likewise in the price of gold he must give 20 nukhuds; not the price of it. All this is that the heart of no one may become sad in the way of the Truth. And no paradise is in reality more lofty to the believers than acting in accordance with the commandments; nor is any fire fiercer than the transgression thereof, or the tyranny of one soul over another, though it be but the extent of a grain of mustard.

WAHID 6

1 Concerning the arrangement of the Bayan [Here the Bab is using the word 'Bayan' to refer to all of his writings.]. It must not exceed 19 volumes. In the first three, Verses; and the next four, Prayers; and the next Six, Commentaries, and the last six, Scientific treatises. And the chapters in all this are from the One (Wahid) to the Mustaghath (2001). And everyone should have a small book containing at least 1000 verses (of the Bayan). Nothing is dearer to God than

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moderation. Thus if any one possesses land and if he wishes to show forth moderation in respect thereof, it must be in this way that the owner of an astrolabe measures it with the utmost diligence, not regarding the first thereof as a whit more than the last. If it be thus concerning [a simple piece of] land, how will it be in other cases when moderation is observed? And so God has given permission that in the arrangement [of sacred books], it be not more than 19 volumes arranged with the utmost care, and he must regard the last letter thereof as not a whit less important than the first. Not that it is commanded so [absolutely] but this is more pleasing. But it is not possible amongst men to observe the [symmetry of] numbers in their entirety. The name Bayan is applicable to verses (ayat) alone. This is in the Primal Reality. In the Second Reality it is applied to Prayers (munajat); in the Third, to Commentaries; in the Fourth, to scientific treatises; in the Fifth, to Persian treatises: but all are mentioned in the shadow of verses. The object of this arrangement is that in the Day of the Manifestation of the Lord of the Bayan, all existing things may resemble the Wahid (Unity), that perhaps they may become illuminated by the Sun of Truth, and may present themselves before that Most Great Light by the nearness of their own hearts, and irrespective of their religious or worldly positions. In the first three (volumes) there is incorruptible Water, and in the subsequent four, the milk of which the taste changes not, and in the following six, the wine of Unity [These three expressions refer to Koran 47:15: 'The Paradise promised to the righteous has rivers of water which cannot be corrupted; and rivers of milk, the taste of which changes not; and rivers of wine, a delight for those who drink, and rivers of pure honey...'], and in the last six, what is mentioned in the prop of the takbir yet in each are all explicit and implicit, yea, the beholder may see them in each letter and point. All the Bayan and its spirits are as a garden in the hand of Him whom God shall manifest, and in the shadow of each letter thousands of souls are overshadowed - each one of which is glorified and exalted by an order thereof. This is the essence of all Knowledge, that all became alive by one 'Yes' and all become annihilated by one 'No'3 .

Take care that in the Day of Manifestation of the Truth you make not of these words a veil from him, for the whole of the Bayan is his previous manifestation and he is the most wise of all concerning that which he has revealed, for the spirits of all are in his grasp. If one be the Plato of his time in all sciences, if he do not accept all that He (He whom God shall manifest) says in every science, he has no knowledge, for knowledge is this, that one should know God and His prophet, and the Manifestations of his Command.

And it is right that there should be with each person one volume (sahifa) of at least 1000 verses of the Bayan; whatever pleases him [of the Bayan]. And each 30 letters (harf) is a verse (bayt), which with the vowel points (a'rab) makes 40 letters. The Bayan is like a treasure given over in trust: all of it must be restored to Him whom God shall manifest in His day if He demand it. If one is sitting reading the Bayan, and the messenger of Him whom God shall manifest comes to him, and if he does not accept him, he will at once enter Hell-Fire.

2 The Command of the well is as the command of the Kurr [This is a volume of water which is considered pure in Islamic law. In this passage the Bab abrogates Islamic laws regarding the purity of water.]; and the command of the latter is removed. All water is pure in itself, and purifies other things by itself. But tanks should exist wherever the faithful are, that cleanliness may be easier. And in whatever house there are not tanks angels pass unwillingly through it, and with disgust. This command as to the purity of even a drop of water is because of the Ocean of Unity, one drop of which points to God as the whole points to God. And it is better for water to be poured over a thing to purify it than for that thing to be plunged into water; for in the first case the water purifies, and in the latter it is contaminated. O people of the Bayan! Be not like the people of the Koran who purify their outward bodies so carefully with water, but do not purify their Essential [inner] Bodies with the water of Unity, for no heart in which there is love of aught other than God is pure. Were it otherwise no nation is externally more clean than Christians. Any water may be used except what is too little in amount to be efficient, and what is dirty. But a pure thing though it be changed (in nature) remains pure. Purification with water mixed with earth is not allowed, that the rich may not exalt themselves over the poor. So also with the believer, naught can render him impure. In any case it is desirable that the believer should use pleasant scents and perfume.

3 God has commanded that his servants should build in every village a cleansing house [i.e. public baths.]. Everyone is bound to do everything in the most perfect way. For instance, it is very bad to begin to build a house and then not finish it in the most perfect way of which it is capable, for then it cries out to God for a curse on the maker who has failed to perfect it. So all doors etc. are to be made lofty, that those who are tall may be able to enter without stooping. In the day of Him whom God shall manifest nothing should exist which may cause him sorrow. And concerning the manifestation of Him whom God shall manifest, God knows in what limit of years He will manifest him; but watch from the beginning of the Manifestation until the number of the Wahid (19) for in each year Faith in one of the letters will appear.

4 God permitteth not that there should be in the Five Regions other than the Letters of the Bayan, even though the time be prolonged (till then) . In the Land of Fa (Fars), the Manifestations of 'There is no God but He' shone on hearts. And in the Land of Ayn (Iraq), those of 'There is no God but Me'. And in the Land of Alif (Adharbayjan), 'There is no God but God'. And in the Land of Kha (Khurasan), 'There is no God but Thee'. And in the Land of Mim (Mazandaran), 'There is no God but He who created all things by His command'... God knows from what horizon that Sun of Truth (He whom God shall manifest) will arise. Therefore in these regions not an atom of that which God loveth not must remain. A meritorious action in these five regions is better than the worship of 12,000 years. All the prayers now said in Islam are raised up in the shadow of 'Establish prayer' [i.e. as a result of the Koranic injunction: 'Establish prayer' - Koran 2:43 and elsewhere.]. God has created nothing more noble than the essence of Knowledge which is conjoined with action. And there is no Knowledge but Knowledge of the Source of the Command. The difference between a believer and an unbeliever is Knowledge: one knows that such a book is the book of God and the other does not. The truth is like the Sun, and the believer like a mirror, which as soon as it is placed opposite it, speaks thereof. And unbelievers are like stones, on which however much the sun shines, they are incapable of reflecting it. But God, if He wishes is able to make that stone a mirror.

5 Concerning salutation. Men must salute each other with 'Allahu Akbar', and answer with 'Allahu A'zam'; and women with 'Allahu Abha' and answer with 'Allahu Ajmal' [God is most Great; God is most Mighty; God is most Glorious; and God is most Beauteous; respectively.]. And the fruit of this is that perchance in the day of the manifestation of Him whom God shall manifest, they will affirm that, after God, He is worthy to be clothed with the raiment of Greatness (Akbariyyat), Mightiness (Azamiyyat), Brightness (Abha'iyyat), and Beauty (Ajmaliyyat).

When it is commanded that none shall grieve anyone, it is for the sake of Him whom God shall manifest, otherwise what rank has anyone else that the Point of Truth should make such a command? But since eyes him not in the night, none are to be grieved for His sake...until that day when He shall make himself known and say 'I am the owner of that Bayan in accordance with which ye act this day.'

6 The command to destroy all books except such as have been or shall be composed in this religion. So, though there had been many heavenly books from the time of Adam till the time of the Koran, all were removed and those who continued to believe in them were pronounced untrue. If it be so with divine books, how shall it be with books of creatures which beside those books are as a reflection in a mirror compared to the Sun? I swear by God that in the Day of Him whom God shall manifest, to recite one of His verses is greater than all the Bayan.

7 Concerning marriage and the illegality of dowries, to the dwellers in cities, exceeding 95 mithqals of gold; and to dwellers in villages, more than 95 mithqals of silver; but they must not be less than 19 (mithqals) in all, and they must only go up or down (in value) by a single wahid (19) not by the wahid itself (1); and the separation between man and woman is abolished, and their joining together is established after their acquiescence by a sentence wherein is mentioned the word of God, e.g. 'Verily I will perform this unto God, the Lord of the Heavens and the Lord of the Earth, and what is between them, and the Lord of all things; the Lord of what is seen and the Lord of what is not seen; the Lord of the two worlds.' There must be witnesses present on both sides. The highest limit of the dowry is 95 - the number of 'Unto God': and the lowest 19. God hath not placed a third (degree) between Truth and Falsehood. All people think that they do what they do for God, whereas they do it for other than God: for no one willingly rebels against God. God tries His servants in each Manifestation that they may make themselves known through themselves whether they have done what they have done for Him or for other than Him. Those who professed to believe in the Gospel in the time of Mohammed, if they truly believed in Christ, believed in Mohammed, and if not, they rejected him. Else no one acts really for God and enters the Fire. Action for God depends on acting for the Manifestations of His Command. And the Mirrors of God were before the Prophet of God, for the 18 mirrors were illumined by the Sun of His munificence... from the first manifestation of the Koran till the year 1270... Hasayn [did what he did for the Prophet of God, and so for God; while that which was done to Husayn] was done 'For God', but really 'For other than God'. The Contingent cannot grasp the Eternal Essence, but if ye comprehend His Manifestation, ye have understood Him. No fire is fiercer than this, that one should inflict on his Beloved what he inflicts on him he loves not. In the Day of Him whom God shall manifest every wahid (=19) is a number, which returns to the Absolute Unity which is without number... In this mountain of Maku verses are revealed from God on every subject, yet it produces no fruit in the dwellers therein.

8 He who seeks to bring proofs from other than the book of God and the verses of the Bayan, the like of which none are able to produce, it is no argument for him: and he who recounteth a miracle other than the verses of the Bayan, has no witness for it. But he who assumes to produce (revealed) verses, none should oppose him. Ye must read this chapter once in every 19 days, and ponder on what has been revealed by night and day, that perchance ye may not be veiled from Him whom God shall manifest by states other than (revealed) verses. After the cessation of [the Islamic] revelation, till the manifestation of these verses, no one appeared to produce (revealed) verses. And ye have not so much sagacity as to see that none but God can reveal verses. Know therefore that this is the same Primal Reality to whom God revealed verses in the beginning of Islam. If ye had understood the proof of your own religion, you would also have understood this Dispensation. Just as from the time of Mohammed till now, which is 1270 years, no one has been able to produce verses like it, so after the setting of this sun will it be, till He whom God shall manifest shall appear. It is impossible that anyone other than He whom God shall manifest can lay claim to this Matter... If anyone makes such a claim, and verses appear from Him, none must oppose Him, lest perchance sorrow come upon that Sun of Truth. Had the people of the Koran acted in this way, all their books would not have become vain. So now, if you hear of such a matter, and are not certain do not accuse Him lest ye cause Him sorrow, even if He be other than what He claims to be (though this is an impossible conception). But if He merely mentions His Name (He whom God shall manifest) it is far from those who love Him to cause Him sorrow, out of respect to His name. For such a one must either really be Him whom God shall manifest, or not. If he is, and why then should anyone deny the Truth? Or if he is not (an impossible supposition), then leave him alone; it is not for creatures to judge him, out of honour to the Name of their Beloved. But in fact there is no soul who can aspire to such a rank; If it happened in the cycle of the Koran, it will happen in this cycle also. His verses are in themselves a proof of the Light of His Being, while the inability of all (to produce the like) is a sing of their poverty and need of Him. If all obey this command, it is (incumbent) on God to manifest the Truth to them, and to cast the proof into their hearts, by clear proofs coming from Him, that believers may be enabled to shew forth certainty concerning Him. And it suffices for all the people of the Bayan to act in accordance with this for their salvation on the Day of Resurrection.

9 Silk clothes are lawful under all circumstances. So also is the use of gold and silver [This is an abolition of prohibitions in Islamic law. The Bab is defying Islamic law here.]. This is not to enable people to exalt themselves, or be proud, for such persons are veiled from the Truth, and shewing forth humility to others is giving thanks to God. And there is no glory or honour except in believing in Him whom God shall manifest. For if honour were in outward appearance, none have more than the Christians, yet they are not believers, how then are they honoured? And if anyone has vessels of gold and silver, and thereby rejoiceth the hearts of others, and quickeneth them, it is better for him than all that he possesses and he is in the pleasure of his Beloved. For the hearts of believers are the place of the pleasure of God, and there is no doubt that their pleasure is nearer to God than the pleasure of that soul which owns those things and rejoiceth (therein). A thing whereby He whom God shall manifest becomes glad is greater than that all should become glad.

10 It is obligatory on every one to inscribe on red cornelian this: 'Say that God is the Truth, and all else but God is His creation, and all are His worshippers.' This cornelian should be set in a ring. The object of this is that he may recognise Him whom God shall manifest when He appears. The manifestation of the Truth is Paradise for the people of Truth... He is the Mirror of Divinity, and the Sun of Lordship which points to God alone. And if one wishes to cause himself to enter the Affair of God, let him have engraved on a round cornelian, cut according to the well-known form of the circle, and composed of five Wahids; and in the first, the Ayatu'l-Kursi; and in the second, the Names of the Circle, and in the third, the Letters of the Bismi'llah, and in the Forth, the Six Names of God; and in the Fifth, that which is appropriate to his intent, as long as it exceed not nineteen letters. And if he also write the 19 letters in the First and Second Circles, it is pleasing to God.. But all this on the condition that he understands what is engraved at the Manifestation of Him whom God shall manifest. For the First is the same letter of the First Wahid which become multiplied in the circumference, until in the fifth degree they are manifested according to the number of 'To God' (lillah, 95). Thou wilt see the same then as in this Resurrection.

11 The teacher is not permitted to strike a child more than five gentle blows: and before it reaches five years of age, it is absolutely forbidden to strike it; and after that, it is not permitted to strike it more than five blows, not on the flesh,

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but on the clothes; and if he strikes more than five blows, or strikes them on the flesh, he is forbidden to approach his wife for 19 days, and if he has no wife let him expend 19 mithqals of gold for him whom he has struck. And God hath permitted children to play with what they have in their hands, and that each one of them should sit on a chair, for verily the time during which he sits on a chair or a bench or seat is not counted from his life. The object of these commands is that they may not perchance bring sorrow on that soul (He whom God shall manifest) from the ocean of whose munificence they are endowed with existence. For the teacher knows not Him who is his and all men's Teacher, just as in the Manifestation of the Furqan (Koran) till forty years had passed no one recognised that Sun of Truth, and in (the case) the Nuqta-i-Bayan 25 years. God knows what he shall have decreed for him of life: while he is not known, those will be the days of his happiness, for all are expecting him, but all are unbelievers and so sorrow will certainly come upon him. Just as before the revelation on the Furqan, all confessed the perfection and piety to the Prophet of God, but look after the revelation of the Furqan, what things did they not say! So also look at the Nuqta-i-Bayan's states before his manifestation, as is clear to those persons who have known him; but after his manifestation, although till today 500,000 verses of diverse sorts have been revealed by him, yet still they say some words which the pen is ashamed to write. Yet if all act according to what God has said, no sorrow will come upon that Tree of Truth. For if it be (that) no one grieves anyone, He also is a soul amongst (other) creatures; if they do not advance to that for which all have been created, let them at least not approach the opposite of that, for no mercy is or has been greater than this. It is seen that the days of his gladness were the days before his manifestation. But see what they do today; all do to him what they do, and are satisfied with it. Verily, O servants of God! Fear Him!

12 Divorce is not permitted, unless the man is patient with the woman for one year, that perchance it may become right between them, but if not, then it is lawful to them, and whosoever wishes to return (after divorce) it is lawful to him until 19 times, but after the return it is not made a condition that he should be patient for more than a month. If in the course of a year after his intention to divorce her affection returns, the (divorce) is abrogated: if not, it is then lawful by a word which indicates it. And after that, until the number of the Wahid (19) he may not lawful take her again. And from the time of conjunction till the time of return, it is incumbent on him to be patient for 19 days, that he (or she) may become free from the influence of the Gates of Fire; and after the number of 19 has been accomplished, conjunction is lawful for him. And up to 19 times he may take her back, but after that he may not, for the decree of duality then does forth on him; and in paradise there is no duality, for all were created from One soul... How difficult is the matter for one who has not recourse to the Source! And how easy for one who has recourse thereto!

13 The House of the Nuqta must not have more than 95 doors, nor must the houses of the Letters more than 5. This is a sign that he is and has been the Mirror of God in whom the Sun of Truth is manifest. The 'Day of Trial' which really proves the sincerity of belief, is only during the Manifestation... Today you see that thousands hold ta'ziyas9 for the 5th Letter (Imam Husayn)... What is meant by 'meeting God' (e.g. in the third verse of the Sura-i-Rad) is meeting the Three of Truth [i.e. the Manifestation of God.], for the Eternal Essence cannot be met. If in the Bayan any one visit the tombs of the Letters, and in the Day of Resurrection profit not by meeting them themselves, it is in vain what they have done. For 7 years none believed sincerely and really but Ali [Mohammed's nephew and generally considered in the first man who converted to Islam and later by Mohammed appointed his successor. After Mohammed's death, Ali was outmaneuovred from succession in a coup d'etat by Abu Bakr], and if those who believed subsequently had been sincere, they would not have remained outside in the day of the ascension of the Apostle of God - when only 3 individuals remained. 13 Always look at the Essence of the matter, whereby Religion becomes Religion. Today thou art veiled by states which ramify from the origin. Thou hast not considered that the Day of Resurrection has come, and that the Letters of the Wahid have returned. There is no doubt that the difference between Man and Beasts is in the Essence of Knowledge; and that is only manifested by speech or writing. And if you look, you see therein endless degrees, all of which give no fruit, except knowledge of God. Do not regard knowledge of God as an imaginary thing for it is Knowledge of the appearance of the Manifestation, in whose hand is the proof in every Manifestation, else there is no one who believeth not in God. From the day of Adam till now all untrue sects believe in God, and in their (or His) prophet in that time, but they entered not in the succeeding manifestation. This is the meaning of the verse, 'Lord! raise me not up blind, when I was able to see.' It is difficult for thee to believe in the Nuqta but look at the Nuqta-i- Furqan (Mohammed): there is no doubt that the Church of Jesus was expecting the promised Adam; so also thou art expecting the Manifestation of the last of the Imams (on whom be peace). When the blindness of the eye is spoken of, the eye of the heart is meant, for their outward eyes see everything, and are indeed so sharp that they see the countries above the earth in the Moon, and enumerate them. And now that 1270 years have elapsed since Mohammed, if you look carefully you will see that the earth has become full of injustice and tyranny. In the Manifestation of Christ the tree of the Gospel was planted, but not perfected till the time of Mohammed; and had it been perfected one day sooner, on that very day would the sending of Mohammed have occurred - which is the 26th not the 27th of Rajab [A reference to the only three Muslims who remained loyal to Ali.]. After the planting of the Koran, it came to perfection after 1270 years. Had its maturity been at 2 hours of the night of Thursday the fifth of Jamadi'ul-Awwal it would not have appeared 5 minutes later. As soon as men are ready to receive it the Tree of Truth descends from 'I am a Hidden Treasure' [The Tree of Truth denotes the Manifestation of God; the 'Hidden Treasure' is the unmanifested Essence of God. The reference is to a famous Islamic Tradition which begins: 'I was a Hidden treasurer...']. Knowledge of God is knowledge of how His prophet has described Him in that Manifestation.

14 Concerning the command of God at the passing of the Sun. God has related one day in the year to Himself, and called it the Day of God. One mithqal of gold spent on that day is like 361 mithqals (spent at other times) and so with all states and actions. This day is the day whereon the Sun passes from Pisces into Aries at the moment of its passing, whether it be night or day. And permission is given at that time to use all musical instruments and luxuries which at other times are not permitted. Banquets also ought to be with a single luxury, but that the best of its kind, in each assembly; and multiplicity of musical instruments and luxuries should be arranged in numerous assemblies, for this is nearer to piety with God. And during the night they are permitted to recite this verse according to the number of 'All Things' (361): 'God beareth witness that there is no God but Him, the Ineffable, the Self-subsistent.' And during the day the verse: 'God beareth witness that there is no God but Him, the Precious, the Beloved'. And that day is the day of the Nuqta, the 18 days following being the days of the Letters, more noble than the days of the 18 other months, each one of which is related to one of the decrees of all things. And in the first Wahid (19 days) fasting is not lawful, but all must enter Paradise by the Gates of the Wahid. And in the Day of Resurrection all things will appear as in the form of man, even hours and minutes and night and day and days and months and years.

15 God hath commanded that ye should rise up from your seats when ye hear the name of Him whom God shall manifest and afterwards by the title of the Qa'im: shewing honour to Him from the Nuqta-i-Ula. The object of all this is that they may arise and humble themselves before Him whom God shall manifest, if they live to see His day, without which all their actions become vain. Just as all the Muslims were awaiting the coming of the Qa'im, and humbling themselves before God for his coming, but when he appeared with the greatest signs whereby their religion is established, they rested in their houses after hearing his verses, while he is alone in this mountain of Maku. So, O people of the Bayan, determine that you will not approve for anyone what you do not approve for yourself, and do not make the Truth appear like a lie. Then, even if you do not become overshadowed by Him shadow, at least you do not become overshadowed by aught other, that perchance no sorrow may come upon Him, and all the actions which ye have wrought from the Day of the Nuqta-i- Bayan till that day may not become vain. There is no argument for one who does not believe in him after hearing his words and verses. If you wish to look on the origin of Paradises, look at the beginning of Islam, in which whosoever entered, entered Paradise and whoever did not , entered the Fire.

16. It is not lawful to anyone to travel unless he means to go to the House of God or the house of the Nuqta, he being in a position to do so, or with the intention of trading; or of visiting the Letters of the Living, when he can do so in comfort and ease; or if he wishes to help someone in the way of God: and whoever compelleth anyone against his will to a journey, or enters anyone's house without his permission; or wishes to expel him from his house without his permission; his wife is forbidden to him for 19 months; or if anyone transgress this commandment the people of the Bayan must take from him 19 mithqals of gold: and it is incumbent on anyone aware of this ordinance to come and inform anyone who does not know, and prevent him, and if he knows, and does not do so , his wife is unlawful to him for 19 days, and after that period is not lawful to him until he give 19 mithqals of gold if he is able; and if not, of silver; and if he be not able to do that, let him ask pardon of God 19 times until he be able [Whereupon his wife becomes lawful to him; but as soon as either of them is able, they must give the 19 mithqals.]; and let him spend it for the witnesses of the Bayan: that they may expend it on him who cries the adhan with loudest voice; then on the poor and the needy of the Faith.

And no one should travel except of necessity, or for pilgrimage, or to appear before the Nuqta, unless he wishes to visit (a shrine) or to trade; and it is not desirable that he should prolong the days of his pilgrimage; and if they are prolonged, he must take with him his family; and the length (of his absence) must not exceed 38 months (2 years of the Babis), [Unless his wife and children be with him and unless the journey to his destination be very long.] except in the case of one who trades on the sea, and he is permitted to remain away 95 months (5 years of the Babis), but more than this is not allowed. And whoever exceeds these two limits must give 202 mithqals of gold, if he be able; and if not 202 mithqals of silver. And the time is counted from the moment he leaves his house till the moment he re-enters it. The fruit of this command is that in the day of the Manifestation of Him whom God shall manifest he may journey to Him as soon as he hears of Him, for all the Bayan is for Him. Travel is only permissible when it can be done with ease and comfort except when the Day of Resurrection comes, when it becomes incumbent, even though it be with shoes (i.e. on foot). God loves that all should ascend into Paradise; where no one brings any sorrows on anyone; that all may be in His keeping and protection till the Day of Resurrection, which is the beginning of the Manifestation of Him whom God shall manifest.

The shorter and lighter stages be in travelling, the more pleasing it is to God. And if he go in two days a journey which could be gone in one, it is for God to double his provision; and if it be grievous for an animal, it results in a curse from God on its owner and in any case it is necessary to regard the capacity of every animal, that he (after he has entered the Bayan) may not carry on it more than it can bear; for what profit be left from this will give no fruit for him: and in travelling you must consider the state of the weak. And consideration of the state of foot-passengers is in every case pleasing to God. And if anyone gives a mount to anyone for one step, in the way pleasing to God, the reward of a pilgrimage is written in the book of his deeds... If travel were possible without fatigue, and with comfort and ease, it would not have been decreed thus. And the journeys of the Arabs are today a witness to that command which formerly existed; so do the cycles improve degree by degree. For all are not able to go more than a farsakh's [distance travelled in one hour by a ladened mule: circa 4 miles or 6 kilometres.] journey: and God preserveth whom He pleaseth in the way by His permission: verily He is the preserver of all things.

17 The decree of the cleanliness of what comes forth from mice and the non-necessity of avoiding it; and similar is the command concerning the animal which flies at night, and which they call Ababil (the Owl) [These are in abrogation of Islamic laws.]. Still avoidance, as far as possible, is pleasing to God, but it does not destroy cleanliness. He whom God shall manifest has always been in a pure place, and from first to last is the Heaven of Purity and the Earth of Cleanliness, and naught can alter Him. And His fathers until Adam and His mothers likewise have been the pick of creation, and the manifestations of purity.

18 None is permitted to read the letter (or book) of another, except merchants when they give permission to one other, or are sure of each other's permission. Neither closed nor open letters, nor books whether of science or accounts, or written books may be read without the consent of the owner, whereupon it becomes permissible. And this is that all may be clothed with the raiment of modesty.

19 It is incumbent on everyone to answer when he is questioned; and what depends thereon. In this Manifestation everyone must answer letters written to him that perchance in the day when He Whom God shall manifest shall ask: 'Art thou not of thy Lord'? All may say: 'Yes.'21 In each Manifestation those who reply are distinguished from those who are silent. The discerning servant is he who in all worlds and degrees answers God whether by writing, or by word of mouth, or by action. Even if a child cry, it is necessary to answer it.

WAHID 7

1 Concerning the renewal of all books after 202 years have passed over them; and the destruction of what was written before, or its bestowal on someone. God wishes all things to become new in this Manifestation; therefore every 202 years everyone must renew his books, either cast them into fresh water, or give them to some one. This is that no letter may become capable of causing aversion, for 70,000 angels watch over every letter, and at the moment of its destruction they preserve it. These angels are pleased when they see anything well written; the Bayan must always be written most carefully. The grades of writing are the degrees of the name Wahid (i.e. 19). First 'Khatt-i-Abha', and last 'Khatt-i-Ala'; and it seemeth as though in the Manifestation, the learned will attain to write all 19 handwritings; but perfection in one is better than knowing all, though perfection in all is the highest perfection. It has not yet been heard that the Book of the Self-subsistent of Names (Kitab-i-Qayyumul-Asma) of which the suras are according to the number of Qayyum (156)

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which is the number of Yusuf (156) [This is the first major work of the Bab, the Qayyumul-Asma which was written in the form of a commentary of the Koranic sura of Yusuf (Joseph).] has been written in a manner due its merit, and yet how many books have been written since the beginning of the Manifestation which being without belief in him, give no fruit. So in the Manifestation of Him whom God shall manifest naught should be written but the writings of that Sun of Truth. For to write one letter thereof is more than to write the whole Bayan.

2 Concerning intent. No one must being to do anything without saying with his tongue 'Verily I arise' or 'Verily I sit down' or 'Verily I do this' 'unto God, the Lord of the Heavens, and the Lord of the Earth, and what is between them; the Lord of all things: the Lord of what is seen, and the Lord of what is not seen; the Lord of the two Worlds'. And if he say it inwardly, God will reward him for it. It is not pleasing that anyone should act for anyone unless he do it for God, and it will not be for God unless he does it for that Manifestation. The Christians did what Christ commanded for God by His Command, but on the manifestation of the Prophet of God [Observe that the Bab does not proceed with the natural analogy: either because he only regards himself as a forerunner, or so as not to unduly offend the Mohammedans as he knew about their violent doctrines.], they should have done it for him; otherwise they no longer did it for God. So with the people who act according to the Bayan, when He whom God shall manifest appears, they must do it for Him, and according to His order, else it is not for God. He who is obeyed from the day of Adam is that same Prophet of God, and all revealed books are the Koran which descended upon him. If in the day of Him whom God shall manifest you do what you do for the Nuqta-i- Bayan, it is done for other than God, for in that day the Nuqta-i- Bayan is the same as He whom God shall manifest. If one shall rightly guide another, it is better than that he should reign from East to West, and so also it is better for him who is guided than all upon the Earth. For, by right guidance, after death he shall enter Paradise.

3 The discharge of debts is necessary. Lending money to believers is pleasing to God, and so the discharge of debts is most necessary; if he can restore it, he must not delay. How remove from God is one who restoreth not the right of another.

4 Concerning consecration (takhlis). Every year let the servant consecrate himself, beginning on the eve of the Wahid until the sunset of the last day of the Wahid [i.e. one whole Babi month of 19 days.] i.e. let him enjoy one of the Names of God.

5 In the day of the manifestation of the Tree of Truth it is not lawful to anyone to hold any religion which he held before that, when he has heard about it (i.e. the new Manifestation), let him present himself before it that it may command him what it pleaseth; but till he comes before it, let him do as he did before, but when he is present (before it) let all his (old) religion cease from him except that which his Lord commandeth him.

6 It is not permitted to carry implements of war except in time of necessity, or in the time of religious war, or those whose proper occupation it is. Let no action emanate from anyone which will be the cause of fear to another, that perchance the eye of the Sun of Truth may not witness anything which is displeasing to it. He for whose meeting all were created dwells in a place where there is not one man of heart.

7 It behoves whomsoever recognises Him whom God shall manifest that he should ask Him for His grace, and if He desireth, He will honour him, even with the dust of His shoes.

8 It is obligatory on all to write from the beginning of one month a wahid in a wahid (?19 x 19) of whichever he pleases of the names of God, such as 'Allahu Akbar' and 'Azam' or 'Azhar' or the like. And he may count from the beginning of his life till the end, and then write what has passed away of it; and if he die it is for his heirs to write for him what his life hath determined for him. Make the whole world a wahid in a wahid. For the assistance of each thing of a lower grade is from a higher grade, till it reaches one Wahid which is the Primal Wahid. And in that Wahid see naught but the unnumbered Wahid, which is the Primal Letter. Thus you may see naught in the mirrors but the form of the Sun alone. It seems to be realised that the mystery of the Wahid will accumulate currency till it flows through all things, till even the pens in the pen-case will be after the number of the Wahid. For the Manifestation of the Nuqta amongst the pens has the value of all: so if the first pen's value is 19 mithqals of silver, the price of the other 18 should be 18 mithqals... All the multiple numbers subsist by this Wahid, and this Wahid by the first Wahid, which is without number, and that by itself in God. And God creates what He will, and multiplieth the first Wahid as He pleaseth by His command, for indeed he is capable of all things.

9 It is incumbent on every King raised up in this (religion) to build for himself a house with 95 doors, and a house with 90 doors, in the name of Him whom God shall manifest. The number of the doors of the first must not exceed 95 and of the second 90, that the mystery of the Truth may spread even to inanimate things... It does not seem likely that anyone should be able to learn by heart all the Bayan, and act in accordance with it. O people of the Bayan! be watchful, for there will be no place of refuge in that Day of Resurrection, and He will arise suddenly.

10 Let each soul guard itself by the form of the name of the Mustaghath5 at the moment of its birth, and no one should dispense with it. No name amongst the names of God is equal to Mustaghath as regards its number, and that is the supreme fruit of the Names which has reached the Extreme of Manifestation, and wherein naught is manifest but the first Wahid. And in the first Wahid is naught but the Primal Wahid, which is the Prophet of God in the Koran, and the Essence of the Seven Letters in the Bayan, and before the Koran it was Jesus, and after the Bayan it will be He whom God shall manifest. Different enthronements appear in different Manifestations, else that which 'ascends the throne', which is free from all limitations, is the same Primal Volition, the enthronement of which changes it not... And no name is superior to the number of Mustaghath in the ranks of the Names. Therefore it is ordained that from conception they should guard that form by a tablet wherein is the number of the Name Mustaghath. For only God knows how long it will be from beginning of a Manifestation until another, but if God please, it will not be more than the number Mustaghath. And in the cycle of the Koran, the beginning and return of that was the Name Aghfar (Most Forgiving) minus the name Huwa (He) [Aghfar (1281) minus Huwa (11) = 1270.]. And there is no test by which to judge of this matter, which only God knows, for between the Gospel and the Koran the number of years did not even reach 1000. And in every case the Tree of Truth regards the capacity of his people: whenever he sees that they are ready for the Manifestation in the mirrors of their hearts, He reveals Himself.

11 It is not permitted to ascend into pulpits; and men are commanded to sit in chairs... No happiness is greater than that men should hear the words of Him whom God shall manifest, and understand their meaning, and not say 'Why', or 'Wherefore'. If one of the religion of Adam were left on the earth, on hearing the Word of God, he should accept it, and if (God forbid) he hesitate, he should offer it (the verse) to all on the earth, and when he sees that they cannot produce the like thereof, he should believe; and till he believes he is in the Fire of ignorance... Be careful not to believe in Him whom God shall manifest by the belief of the people of the Bayan; but believe in Him by reason of himself. This is the meaning of 'Know God by God'... So also see in the Manifestation of Him whom God shall manifest, all are liars except those servants who believe in Him.

12 It behoves not him who acts for God that he should associate aught with Him. So in each Manifestation he who acts for that Manifestation acts for God, and vice versa.

13 God hath made it incumbent on all his servants that there should be with them 19 verses from Him Whom God shall manifest in the day of His manifestation in His own writing. Nothing is greater than verses with God. If anyone gives all that is on the earth for such a tablet containing 19 verses written by the Tree of Truth himself, it is cheaply bought, for that is a warrant of salvation from God... If anyone writes a verse of that it is better than writing the whole of the Bayan and the books which have been composed in the Bayan, for all (these) will be removed, and that will remain, till another Manifestation.

14 Repentance is not permitted except to God in the person of His Manifestation, when He is manifested; and if not, ask pardon of God secretly with yourselves. Asking pardon of God is not established but by asking pardon of the Manifestation of His command, which is the Tree of Truth... In Contingent Being there is no way to God for His creatures except the Gates of the Wahid which culminate in the Wahid without number, which is the Tree of Truth, the creator of all numbers to infinity.

15 Concerning the necessity of prostrating oneself at the Gate of the City wherein arises the Divine Point, out of respect for Him from God; verity He is the Dear, the Beloved. All people worship God, and prostrate themselves before Him; but they are prone to despise His Manifestation, seeing Him in a human form like themselves; whereas He is as the Sun, and His verses are like light, and all believers are like mirrors wherein the Sun appears... The place of the arising was the city of Fa (Fars, i.e. Shiraz) and the place of the Manifestation the well-known fortress (probably Maku) until at the new Manifestation this command ceases, and a new order will be given. In each Manifestation the obedience of everyone in the previous Manifestation is made clear, not in that Manifestation. For instance in the day of the Manifestation of Him whom God shall manifest, the submission of mankind to Him is manifest in the Nuqta-i-Bayan; for the beginning of each Manifestation is the Point of the subsequent Manifestation, although the Nuqta-i-Zuhur (Point of Manifestation) is loftier than the maturity of the preceding Manifestation. Those who today act according to the Koran are humbling and prostrating themselves before God for the Nuqta-i-Bayan. But since they do not recognise the Sun of Truth, therefore they remain veiled from belief in Him. It makes no difference to the Tree of Truth whether anyone believes in Him or not; it only makes a difference to them, for He is always in Paradise in Himself. Just as the Sun needs not mirrors, nor the images of itself reflected in them. Now 70,000 people visit Mecca at the command of the Prophet of God, yet they let him dwell alone in the mountains of Mecca for 7 years. And now they do not recognise the return of his Manifestation which is stronger than his former Manifestation; yet the commander is of more account than the command.

16 God has made it incumbent on every King who is raised up in the Religion of the Bayan to allow no one in his land who believes not this religion, and the same is incumbent on all men, except in the case of merchants who trade in what is advantageous to men, like the Letters of the Gospel. In the Manifestation of Him whom God shall manifest, the same order holds good of those who do not believe in him. This is that the Tree of Truth may not witness in that land wherein he appears any but believers in him, and that in Paradise, there may be no persons of Hell-Fire. The permission to merchants is only given to those who trade on a large scale, and no unbelievers who are in an inglorious condition are to be allowed in the country at all.

17 Concerning the reading on Fridays of this verse facing the sun, 'The brightness (Baha) is only from God on thine aspect; verily there is no God but Him, the Dear, the Beloved.' God has created Friday for purity and pleasantness, and the resting of His servants from what they undertake on other days, and whatever action is done on the night or day of Friday its reward is like that of the [other] days of the week.

18 Whosoever grieveth anyone must give 19 mithqals of gold; or silver; or must ask pardon of God 19 times. This is lest he should inadvertently grieve that Tree of Truth [i.e. Him whom God shall manifest.] while he is still latent, and no one yet recognise him. And he must further ask pardon from that person whom he has grieved. For the heart of the believer is the place of the manifestation of God, and if a sorrow comes thereon, it is as though a sorrow had come on the Letters of the Living, and this is as if it had come on the Tree of Truth; and this as though it had come on God... In the Bayan naught is more acceptable than causing joy to enter the hearts of believers. And on the owners of the circles (women) it (the order) is doubled, whether in grief or gladness. And man should continually watch that at least he bring not sorrow on any one, even if he bright not gladness. And if anyone confine anyone, that which was formerly lawful to him is forbidden him, for as long as he confines another: and all his action descends upon him; and if he returns to what is forbidden to him, he must give 19 mithqals of gold every month.

19 Concerning prayer. The first prayer which is laid down is the noon-day prayer according to the number of the Wahid (19), that each one may be one of the Gates of Paradise in the obedience of God, that they may see in that only Him who is manifest in the letter, and from that only the Wahid which is without number. Each man's prayer is according to his degree - the prayer of the Nuqta is to the prayer of the Letters of the Living as the Nuqta is to them, and so on. One 'There is no God but God' from Him whom God shall manifest is better and nobler than the secret or open profession of the Unity of God by all before or after Him, for by that God witnesseth to Himself. Even the prayers of Ali, by far the noblest of Believers, are as naught beside those of Mohammed, for it was by the command of the latter that the former prayer. While the prayers of Ali include all prayers in value but not in essence [i.e. the prayers of the First of the 'Letters' includes all other prayers in the sense that they are better, and in that sense inclusive, as the better includes the less perfect, but not in the same essential way in which the prayers of the Manifestation itself include others, which only exist at its command.]. So a profession of the Unity of God from a Christian in the time of Mohammed would not be accepted unless conjoined with belief in Mohammed, and uttered as he commanded in Arabic, and so with the Nuqta, and He whom God shall manifest. Always cast thy glance on the origin; all these (i.e. believers) are beside Him like a ring which is on thy finger; thou movest it in whatsoever way thou pleasest. The one who prays must have God only in his mind, and intend only Him alone. He must turn towards the most holy Divine Essence, which neither bears nor is born, and all other than It is Its creation, and It is not comprehended in Its essence... and naught other than It is to be praised; yet withal let him not go outside the Gates of Guidance that each prostration may be the opening of one of the Gates of Paradise, which is knowledge of the Letters of the Unity in the day of their manifestation; and that is a Paradise more glorious than that there should be therein limited forms; and that Paradise wherein are limited forms, whether of silken garments, or golden vessels, or excellent meals, or pure wine, or mansions or houris, all that is other than this Unity (Wahid) and they are dependent on it; do not remain veiled by these beside that Primal Unity, where is pure love and manifestation. In three

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prostrations (rik'at) in the beginning of the prayer, declare the Unity of the Essence, and in the following four prostrations, the Unity of the Attributes, and in the six following prostrations, the Unity of Actions, and in the six following ones, the Unity of Worship and Deeds, and see in all 'No God but Him alone, who has no partner'.

So worship God in such a way that if the reward of thy worship of Him were to be the Fire, no alteration in thy worship of Him would be produced. If you worship from fear, it is unworthy of the threshold of the sanctity of God, nor wilt thou then be accounted a believer in the Divine Unity; so also if you gaze is on Paradise, and you worship from hope of that, for then you have made God's creation a partner with Him. For both Paradise and the Fire worship God. And acceptable prayer is that performed with ease and comfort, nor is lengthiness (in prayer) pleasing (to God), and whatever is simpler and more essential is more pleasing to God. And all but the Prayer of the Wahid is abrogated. And know that in prayer thou art standing before One in whose grasp is thy origin and thy return, and from Whom nothing is hidden, and Whom nothing can render powerless, and Who is powerful over al things, and knoweth all things before they exist just as He knoweth them after they exist.

WAHID 8

1 Concerning this that the action of Him whom God shall manifest in regard to the action of others (even though they be exactly in accordance with the will of God) is like the Sun in relation to the stars. And he who first accepts the Sun of Truth is as the moon by knowledge of Him... He [He whom God shall manifest] say as the mouthpiece of God, 'Verily I am God; there is no God but Me and what is other than Me is My creation; say "O My creation. Therefore fear Me."'

So the stars of the Gospel shone after the setting of that Sun of Truth [Jesus] until that Sun arose again [as Mohammed] whereupon no light remained to them.

2 It is incumbent on everyone to leave to his heirs 19 sheets of fine paper and 19 rings whereon are engraved some of the Names of God; and that none shall inherit from the dead but his father, and his mother, and his wife and his sister, and his brother, and he who has taught him. The degrees of Unity are completed in 7 degrees, which is the Letter of Affirmation, therefore only 7 people shall inherit from the dead, as one may describe God by 7 degrees of each attribute (e.g. Awhad, Wahhad, W'ahid, Wah'id, Mutawahhid, Muwahhid, Muwahhad): And whoever proposes to do anything must call God by each of these 7 possible names according to the number of the Qaf (100) unless the means thereunto are manifest, and the object. If the Manifestation forbids an action (such as Tawaf) [Circumambulation of the Ka'ba during the Hajj.] commanded by the former Manifestation and a person is just about to do it, he must immediately abandon it (and then he has really performed the Tawaf) [i.e. he has understood the real meaning of Tawaf which is circumambulation of the Will of God.]. In each Manifestation the true believers are rarer than the philosopher's stone. This is the mystery of what the late Shaykh (Ahmad Ahsai) related concerning the tradition of Imam Jafar-i-Sadiq, that if, when the Qa'im comes, he command believers to give up the wilayat [Guardianship.] of Ali, if they do not obey, they become infidels. This is because those who deny this and say 'God forbid', do not look at the origin of the matter, and regard the Qa'im as other than Mohammed. Of course this is impossible, but what is meant is that they should know that this same Ali has returned. As Ali was exactly the same as the successor of Jesus. If in this Manifestation anyone is assured that this is that same Manifestation of the Nuqta-i-Furqan (i.e. Mohammed), he may have attained to the meeting of the Prophet of God, which is meeting with God. If all the believers in the Bayan are assured in the Manifestation of Him whom God shall manifest, that He is the same as the Nuqta-i-Bayan, perhaps they may have attained to the purpose of God in the Bayan. And since in that day all are assured of the Nuqta-i- Bayan, therefore he is mentioned as an example. It is in reality only a concession to the weakness of man's discernment that any Manifestation is mentioned by the name of the Manifestation before, for really he is much more glorious, and ought not to be described thus.

3 After the Manifestation 'all things perish but His face' [Koran 28:85.]; in the day of Resurrection it is obligatory on everyone to ask for pardon from the Divine Tree by himself not by others, unless he has a valid excuse which prevents him being present (there) personally. And they must beg for the repeal of any condemnatory verse such as 'All things perish' until they hear from His own lips even a single sentence like 'Verily we have saved you'. Such a word is more profitable than all earthly wealth, and will save thee till another Resurrection. Do not hesitate to intend and set about this, for if you die while not intending or hesitating, you will perish; but if you have already undertaken preparations to go, perhaps by a word emanating from the Source you may be in Paradise after your death, and your Hell-Fire may be changed to light. No command is more obligatory on the people of the Bayan than this, for their salvation is in this; not in their works. As long as the Sun of Truth is on high the alteration of all orders is possible, but when it has set it is no longer possible till another Manifestation. Whoever shelters himself under the shadow of the Letters of the Bayan is not of those who perish till the Manifestation of Him whom God shall manifest.

And so with every Manifestation from Infinity till Infinity. If any one in the Bayan really be under the shadow of the Letters of the Living, he will find salvation in the Day of Resurrection, through the blessing of his love. Until today whatever has been manifest has been 'Know God by His proofs'. As the cycles progress, and then improve, the proofs get higher, till at length in 'Know God by God' there shall be no proof needed, and they know the proof through Him, not Him through the proof...

Pray thus: 'O God'; I confide in Tree; give me deliverance on the day of the Resurrection.' And tawakkul [Reliance or Trust.] in God is believing in the Tree of 'Truth and God is faithful in His promise, and will without doubt deliver those who trust in Him.

4 The best of everything is for the Nuqta: and the intermediate for the Letters of the Living: and the lowest for creatures. In every Manifestation it is witnessed that the highest of creatures become the least and the least highest [That those with the greatest learning become, through unbelief, the least of creatures; while those with no learning or position become, on account of their belief, the most exalted of mankind.]. If one believes in Him whom God shall manifest after 360 others have believed, he is the last of the Wahid of the number of the Wahid [i.e. he is the 19th member of the 19th Wahid, each Wahid having 19 members.]. If in the day of Him whom God shall manifest there be in His possession 361 diamonds, each of which is 95 mithqals of gold more valuable than the next, and 361 people believe in Him, they are to be divided amongst them singly. Obedience is ineffectual without Faith. Yet it is impossible that the Tree of Truth should make such a command as intelligence cannot comprehend. All must obey the commands of Him whom God shall manifest, in the greatest things as in the least.

5 It is incumbent on him who is able to take 3 diamonds according to the number of Bism and four yellow amethysts according to the number of Allah and six emeralds, the number of Al- Amna' and six rubies, the number of Al-Aqdas, that he should take them, and salute (or submit himself to) Him whom God shall manifest and the Letters of the Living in the day of His manifestation. All Being is in the Bayan and all the Bayan is in the first Wahid, and the First Wahid is in the First Point (Nuqta), and in all is seen One Water of Life, which is the command of God. These gems are a gift from God for the First Wahid in that Manifestation. And the price of all must be equal to the price of the first one. And those who bring forward proofs of the Divine Unity should behold the Essence, the Attributes, actions, worship, creation, provenance, death, life, praise, glorification, unification, fire, air, water, earth, hearts, spirits, souls, bodies, and the white, yellow, green and red lights; all in the shadow of Bismillahi l-Amnai l-Aqdas. And four prayers have been mentioned for each of the four lights which are greater than any prayers.

6 Concerning personal cleanliness. Every four days everyone is to enter the Cleansing House; and remove the hair of the body with depilatories every 8 days, or every 14 days; and cutting the nails and using henna all over the body; the men writing therewith Ar-Rahman on their breasts, and the women Bism; and looking in a mirror every day and every night. The greatest possible degree of cleanliness is enjoined in the Bayan; if men cut their nails and their hair once every four days it is pleasing to God. And henna may be used either for all or a portion of the body. Men may write on their breasts, which is the place of the love of God, in most excellent writing: 'Allahumma' for the people of the circles (women) and 'Ar-Rahman' for people of the forms (men). More than this may be written if they like. Seventy sorts of calamity are removed from the body with every hair plucked out. And when he looks in the mirror he should thank his beloved for the beauty of his form. If anyone puts on a shirt and then perspires, he should change it. It is incumbent on each one to observe what is possible for him (as regards cleanliness and perfection in general) then he should shew it forth in himself; for the Tree of Truth is a witness in himself, and sees all and recognises all, but none knows it, nor sees it with its eye as it actually is, for that eye is created after its manifestation, in everything... Happy is he who apprehends the meeting of God in the day of His manifestation.

7 Concerning printing and the command thereto. Permission has been given to print the Bayan and what is composed in the shadows thereof. So that henceforth there is no excuse for one not possessing any (of these) writings. But it must be printed in the best writing, not as now with any writing, so that the price of a Koran is only 28 nukhud of silver. If regard were not had to the weakness of believers, this permission would not have been given; but whosoever can write the Bayan with the best writing, it is better for him than that he should possess a well-printed copy. The veneration given to the Koran is only by reason of the Souls in these words, and all the souls in the Koran return to the souls of the Letters of the Living, just as their beginning was from those Letters... So regard all the heavenly books, that the veneration bestowed on them is by reason of their relation to God. There is no doubt that the Gospel was the Book of God but after the revelation of the Koran, the true souls thereof were taken up to the Koran and those who were not were the untrue souls of the Gospel, which remained. So also with the Koran and the Bayan.

8 Permission to shave the hair on the head and remove the hair of the face because of its power, and praying in an'aba, not without it. In every case the removal (or clipping) of the moustache is commanded. Prayer in a jubba is not pleasing, except in time of trouble. When God is not wishing that the accidental body should be in an unlovely state, how much less so in the case of the Essential body and Soul and spirit and heart, which are the place of the Effulgence of the first Wahid?

9 Let each one write his name and what he hath done of good and otherwise from the beginning of the Manifestation of the Matter until the day of its decline: and let his executors preserve it, until the day wherein the Tree of Truth shall be manifest. Often it happens that the Day of Judgement arrives and even the people of that land are unaware thereof. On that great day the Tree of Truth, whose speech is continually 'There is no God but Me' shall be manifest, and all those who are veiled therefrom imagine him to be a soul like themselves... In the same way in the Manifestation of the Nuqta-i-Bayan if they did not refuse him the name of 'believer', how could they be able to make him dwell in a mountain, whereas the very being of Faith was created by his Word? This is because they have no eyes in their hearts, and those who possess such circle round the Lamp of Truth like moths till they burn. Therefore it is that the Day of Resurrection is called the Greatest Day, else it is but a day like all other days, except that therein is the Manifestation of God manifest. And what the Nuqta-i-Bayan writes concerning that which he hath acquired is this: 'What was before this [i.e. Islam] has been removed to God who revealed it to me.'

10 Whosoever is of the tribe is permitted to look at and speak to any, whether male or female, and to those who speak much with women, or to such women as speak much with men, it is permitted to speak so much as giveth fruit between them, and if they exceed not 28 words it is better for them. What is meant by 'tribe' is not a tribe like that of the ilyat [Nomadic tribe] but those who believe.

11 Concerning the washing of the dead three times according to this order; first the head; and say 'O Single!'; then the belly, and say 'O Living!' then the right side, and say 'O Self-subsistent!' then the left side, and say 'O Wise!' then the right foot and say 'O Just!' then the left foot, and say 'O Holy!'; wash with water, or with what you please of camphorated water and shroud the dead with fine garments, and place the ring on his right (hand) with what is written upon it: in the case of men 'And to God belongeth what is in the heavens and the earth and what is between them, and God knoweth all things', and in the case of women, 'And to God belongeth the Kingdom of the heavens and the earth and what is between them, and God is powerful over all things.' To wash the dead once is obligatory and to do so three or five times is permitted. For the degrees of Unity are mentioned in five degrees, in 'There is no God but Him' and 'There is no God but Me' and 'There is no God but God', and 'There is no God but Thee', and 'There is no God but He Who...' After this ablution with water it is desirable to wash it with rose- water where possible, or scent it with some other scent. The five shrouds are of various stuffs beginning with silk and ending with cotton, and on these no more than 19 Names of God should be written and let each one write what he pleases. And in every case the corpse must be turned about reverently, for honouring the body is honouring the believer.

And know that death is like life - if the dead yields up his soul believing in that Manifestation, he will be happy in Paradise. But for an unbeliever, after his death, the weightiest of deeds can do him good, nor can good works performed by his successors benefit him. And as the angels take the soul of the believer, so the devils take the soul of the unbeliever; and were the veils removed from the eyes of the devils, even they would not touch them by reason of the fierceness of the heat of the fire in them, but since they are veiled they take them and carry them to the treasure of Fire; but the soul of the believer appears before God, and God looks not on the soul of the unbeliever, and commands the fire to seize it. So trust in God, that Death take thee not.

12 Concerning the decrees of the Place of the Blow [This may be a reference to the place of the Bab's forth-coming bastinado or martyrdom in Tabriz.]. Whoever is in that Land, or within 66 farsakhs, if 29 years of his life have passed upon him, he should visit that place once a year, and tarry there 19 days; and in that place 5 prostrations of prayer are decreed; and whoever is unable (to visit the place) let him thus do in his own house, and to the dwellers (therein) anything more than this is pardoned. If they were not content to be veiled, these limitations would not be in force.

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13 Men are permitted to magnify the Nuqta 95 times at His beginning and His end.12 Otherwise only 5 takbirs [magnificats] are permitted.

14 Everyone must read 700 of the verses of the Bayan, night and day. And if he be not able, let him mention God 700 times by saying 'Allahu Azhar' (God is most manifest). The highest limit of ascension of the Unity is the letter Dhal (= 700), the mystery of which is that the number 7 of 'Allahumma' when it passes over the letters of the third degree of the tawhid, the fifth degree is manifest... [Nicolas has postulated, referring to Wahid VIII, 11, that when seven times the number of Allahumma, which is usually pronounced without the initial Alif (=735) is added to the third degree of Unity, la ilah ill Allah (=135), the result is the fifth degree of Unity, la ilah ill aladhi (=870). See Nicolas, Le Beyan Persan, vol. 4, pp. 111-12 note.] So also see in this Manifestation till that day when the plans of God put in movement the essence of Creation; until 313 individuals of the noble were taken in the Land of Sad (Isfahan) which is outwardly the greatest of lands. In each Manifestation strive to deliver yourselves from the fire of the previous Manifestation.

15 It is obligatory on each one to take a wife, that a soul may remain after him to [testify to the unity of] God, its Lord, and he must needs make endeavour thereunto, and if there appear in one of them what preventeth this, each one is permitted to marry again by the leave of the other, that fruit may appear from him; and conjunction with one who has not entered the Faith is not lawful; and whoever has already taken one, separation is incumbent on him when he witnesses unbelief in that one in the Bayan, and he may have nothing to do with that one till they return to the Bayan. God is the owner of all things, and none but believers are permitted to possess anything, and what thou seest in the hands of unbelievers is unrightfully so, and were the truth able, it would forbid them even their own souls; how then (should it allow them) what (goods) they possess?... So also see the Manifestation of the Bayan: for 40 days none believed in the Bab but the letter Sin (Mulla Husayn) and little by little the forms of the letters of the Bismillah arrayed themselves in the raiment of faith till the first Wahid was complete, and see now how often this Wahid has been multiplied until today.

16 Whatever possessions or money anyone has exceeding in value 100 mithqals of gold, the owner must give 19 mithqals to the Letters of the Wahid, one mithqal being for God if the Sun of Truth is shining; and if the night has arisen, they must give it to the posterity of those Letters, but if not, then to them themselves; and let them keep the mithqal of God till it can be restored to Him whom God shall manifest, after whose Manifestation it ceases, except by his permission. After each prayer, each believer should ask pardon for his parents, for a cry will come from God: 'To thee is given 2001 times what thou didst ask ' for thy parents. Blessed is he who commemorates his parents to his Lord, verily there is no God but Him, the Dear, the Beloved.

17 Silver and gold, when they reach what you weigh at 6005 mithqals, then 95 mithqals are for the Nuqta and verily God will take them from you, and all shall be demanded from you by Him; and you must restore them to Him whom God shall manifest, and keep them as from yourselves. During the Manifestation of the Nuqta they must act according to his permission in effecting a division, and afterwards, by the permission of 19 individuals of the obedient. And the detail of this will be in its proper place. This is the greatest of merchandise, for therein is neither change nor alteration, till another resurrection. Be thankful that you live in the time of the Nuqta-i-Bayan, who is the Imam Mahdi clearly promised by the Prophet, and expected by all who believe in him, great and small; and there is no doubt that the essence of faith is limited to the Shiites (Ithna Ashariyya), and the region of the true Islam is the Five lands, the inhabitants of which call themselves Shiites; and the people call Fars outwardly the Abode of Knowledge, and though they say: 'Hasten! hasten!', yet none of them recognised him who arose therefrom. And the Nuqta-i- Bayan has appeared in such a way that no child can deny him. And suddenly you see that one whom ye knew (and many of you are his relatives) is manifested, and speaks with the word 'Verily I am God, there is no God but Me'. The believers in the Manifestation of Him whom God shall manifest will see those who remain veiled in that Manifestation more removed from truth than those who are so in this Manifestation.

18 Concerning the Fast: commemorate God during 19 days of each year, at the end thereof, whilst ye are fasting. The meaning of fasting is abstaining from the love to other than the Prophet of God, and his 'Letters'. And during fasting you must be continually watching the will of God, that if during your fast, the Tree of Truth appear, and command you to cease doing so, you should at once obey him. Those who have not reached the age of puberty need only fast 11 days (according to the number of 'Huwa') and until the sun has passed the meridian.

19 When the Tree of Truth is mentioned, pay reverence thereunto; and when the Letters of the Living are mentioned, salute them; and commemorate God with praises, and this Manifestation on every Friday, night and day 202 times; also mention God night and day 4000 times. For on Fridays all actions are doubly recompensed.

WAHID 9

1 The glory of every land is God's; and the dignity of all cities is God's; and the places of former kings. If one of the people of the Bayan prays therein, he must give a mithqal of silver that none may dwell therein but the witnesses of the Bayan, and the Manifestation of the Wahid; and in every assembly of glory which is formed, it is well that they should leave vacant places for the number of the Wahid, that if at that hour He whom God shall manifest were to appear with the Letters of the Living none should be in propinquity. But if the ground be not spacious, let them leave one place for the Wahid without number. And the earth whereon the Nuqta yields up his soul is commanded to be carried to one of the holy places, and there a chamber must be built of mirrors, wherein those who pray may perform their prayers [meaning: 'The place where the Point dies becomes one of the Holy Places.'], that there may be an asylum for creatures, in that the Nuqta-i-Bayan was a created servant (of God) and provided for (by God) and born and caused to die, that no one may exalt himself, nor overpass the limit of servitude (to God).

2 Whosoever in His days can write as no other can, let him write 1000 verses for God, and convey them to the Nuqta that God may reward him by His mercy in the day of Resurrection, for He Knoweth all things. And this whatever writing he writes from Abha to Ala, which are the degrees of the Wahid. And these must be written on the best obtainable paper, and left with executors to convey them to Him whom God shall manifest in the day of his manifestation, that he may be rewarded... and mentioned by his Beloved. If the writer be poor, the witnesses of the Bayan should pay him for the 1000 verses; if not, he should not fix a price for what is done for God. And of the five kinds of writings of the Nuqta whatever he writes is acceptable. In this Manifestation no writing is more acceptable than the Shikasta. Teach your children the best of writings (Abha l-Khatut) that perhaps in the day of Resurrection you may be exalted before your Lord.

3 And every king or sultan who shall be raised up in this religion shall build a house of mirrors for God; let him write for himself the verses of God; and let there be before his eyes the verse mentioned in the following. The Day of Resurrection, for which all were created, is from the appearance to the setting of the Sun of Truth, and this day is like the Sun to the Stars; therefore during that period let none of those who are wise exercise their pens, or write any treatise, or composition of their own, for if a star rise in the day, assuredly there will be no mention of light for it. So must it be even with the most learned of the learned in the days of Him whom God shall manifest. But after the setting of the Sun, they are permitted to write... And it has been mentioned concerning those who are able from Mim [malik] and Sin [sultan.] in the Bayan, that they should make a lofty place of mirrors for themselves, and before their eyes should be written words indicating this: that if He whom God shall manifest shall appear, and he believes and helps him, he will be the most exalted of all creatures, but if not, the lowest. The glances of all, high and low, in each Manifestation, are directed towards the 'Ulama of that Manifestation, for were they faithful in their belief, not one would go astray. And if sorrow comes on the Truth, it is by reason of their turning aside. If they advance, the Grace of God first reaches them; and afterwards to others. The degree of knowledge is a good degree, if it be knowledge of Him whom God shall manifest and His good pleasure; else it is the worst of degrees, and it would be better if they knew not a single word, than that they should have all knowledge, and not believe in Him whom God shall manifest... If all the believers in the Koran were certain that the Nuqta-i-Bayan was the promised Mahdi of whom the Prophet of God gave promise, not one would have turned aside from the saying of the Prophet of God.

4 God hath decreed unto men the Mention of the Mystery (Dhikru's-Sirr). Say 'All shall be asked of it'. All Knowledge is knowledge of qualities and attributes whereby man acts; that by means of this science he may witness no sorrow on himself, and bring no sorrow on another, Commands to piety and goodness all refer to this. For instance, if anyone be afflicted with poverty let him not despair, but let him be content. But excessive dhikr [Sufi term to indicate the recital of the Names of God and other formulas] is not pleasing to God, whether private or public, but one mention (dhikr) with ease and comfort is better than 1000 without these.

5 To God are due 19 days from everyone. 19 days to serve the Nuqta on his return, or to act according to his permission when He gives permission.

6 Men must honour the family which produces the Point of Truth, when they believe in Him. The land in which the Point appears, there is none more equable than it, except that wherein is the place of the Manifestation. So his Father and Mother are the best of mankind... 'God sufficeth everything (and renders it independent of everything), and nothing sufficeth thee from God thy Lord, neither in the heavens, nor in the earth, nor what is between them.' And for whatever object you recite this verse according to the number of Qadir (powerful = 314), you shall behold the answer (to your wish).

7 Concerning prohibitions from selling asafoetida [A resinous gum with an unpleasant smell from Khurasan.] and the leaf of Zaqqum [Zaqqum is a tree in Hell, see Koran 44:43; the Bab is here referring to tobacco as a leaf of this infernal tree.]. The source of prohibited things is the First Letters of Denial, and whatever comes under its shadow, enters this denial. And tunbaku [Tobacco] is forbidden, and the like thereof; and that which is brought from the region of Khurasan which has an unpleasant smell, and the like of these in whatever way they become changed. What is other than good returns to the First and Second Letters of Denial; and what is good, to Mohammed and Ali.

The prohibition of these two things is to preserve the souls of believers, not those of unbelievers.

8 Concerning the prohibition of opium and intoxicating liquors, and drugs generally. In this manifestation whatever is not of the states of the tree of affection is not pleasing and vice versa; but some arts (sana'i'), the practitioners whereof have need of some of these things, are permitted to use them.

9 The prohibition of congregational prayers except in the case of the dead; but in that case no one must stand before the others; they must all stand in rows. The greatest wickedness committed by those who disbelieved in Mohammed was that they said 'Bring God and the angels in a company', for God is freed from such a description, and whatever is possible in creation, it is not meet that it should be mentioned in His abode of holiness. How should He assume being (takawwun)? How many Resurrections of Him whom God shall manifest shall occur and they shall still be expecting him?

10 Concerning the purity of the Land of Souls. Everything has a purification in the Knowledge of God, and everything becomes pure by the mention of God, if they believe in Him whom God shall manifest. And the purification of hearts (af'ida) will not take place except by belief in the first three Letters; nor will purification of spirits (arwah) occur but by the following four Letters, nor of souls (anfus) but by the next six Letters; nor of Essential Bodies but by the last six Letters [This might refer to: Bism (3 letters); Allah (4 letters); al-Amna' (6 letters); al-Aqdas (6 letters) respectively.]. And Purification is in the Kalama-yi Tawhid [Word of Unification, i.e. la ilah ill 'Allah, There is no god but God.] . Cleanliness is, in the Bayan, the most acceptable sacrifice, and the most excellent of obediences. For instance cleanse thine hearing from listening to aught but the mention of God; so with the eye, and heart, and tongue and hand and knowledge, until you are nourished in a pure paradise. (Promises to such as do thus follow, e.g. the breast which stores up His words will God fill with love, etc.). The denial of each Manifestation enters into the next Manifestation, not into that Manifestation itself, so that denial of the Gospel was shown in the Koran, etc. So denial of the Bayan will not be manifest till He whom God shall manifest arises. It were well could the touchstone of proof come into the midst, for then would all be so pure that the heavens and the earth and what is between them would humble themselves before the greatness thereof, as thou hast seen in the Manifestation of the Bayan, and wilt see if thou art in that day that all the Fishes of the Ocean of the Bayan live by that water, but are veiled therefrom.

THE CALL OF THE DIVINE BELOVED

Selected Mystical Works of Baha'ullah
The 7 Valleys, the 4 Valleys, and other texts
by Mirza Husayn-Ali Nuri or Baha'ullah
Translation: Shoghi Effendi, 1906
Estimated Range of Dating: 1852-1863 A.D.

(This little Baha'i selection called "The Call of the Divine Beloved" gives us a perfect insight why Babism and its successor, the Bahá'í Faith, were created and found many followers. Both religions undoubtedly emerged from Islam. However, the first thing we see is that Islamic and non-Islamic documents were part of the source. The author (Baha'ullah), left the violent parts of the Islamic doctrine, the Medina Koran and its references in Sira and Hadith, totally out. By doing this, he clearly states his opinion on Islamic violence. Even more, the author was familiar with Zoroastrian, Buddhist and Christian teachings, and he felt no hesitation to merge them into his highly spiritual, philosophical and pious texts. In some ways, he followed into the footsteps of Mani(chaeus), another Persian messiah who created Manichaeism, a religion that was so successful that it became a "world religion" between the 3rd and 7th centuries AD.

There are five chapters in this selection: 1. Rashḥ-i-'Amá (The Clouds of the Realms Above); 2. The Seven Valleys; 3. From the Letter Bá to the Letter Há; 4. Three Other Tablets, 5. The Four Valleys. Although most of the texts (called Tablets) in this collection were revealed during Baha'ullah 's sojourn in 'Iráq (1853-1863), the frst, the poem known as "Rashh-i-Ama", was written in 1852 in the Siyah-Chal and is

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among the few He revealed while in His native land of Persia, and in verse.

Baha'ullah recounts: "During the days I lay in the prison of Tehran, though the galling weight of the chains and the stench-filled air allowed Me but little sleep, still in those infrequent moments of slumber I felt as if something flowed from the crown of My head over My breast, even as a mighty torrent that precipitateth itself upon the earth from the summit of a lofty mountain. Every limb of My body would, as a result, be set afree. At such moments My tongue recited what no man could bear to hear." The poetic reflection of that experience, as conveyed in Rashh-i-Ama, can perhaps never be adequately rendered into another language, yet the present translation is an initial attempt to impart a glimpse of its power and momentous themes.

In Iraq, during the two years Baha'ullah sought seclusion in the mountains of Kurdistán, far from the malice and dissension that had blighted the Bábí community in Baghdád, word of His presence in Sulaymáníyyih attracted religious scholars and mystics of the region, including several prominent Sufi shaykhs, to seek out the One Who dwelt as a humble dervish yet evinced a wisdom that was profound and a power of expression unequalled: "Through His numerous discourses and epistles", Shoghi Effendi writes, "He disclosed new vistas to their eyes, resolved the perplexities that agitated their minds, unfolded the inner meaning of many hitherto obscure passages in the writings of various commentators, poets and theologians 'In a short time,' is Abdul-Bahá's own testimony, 'Kurdistán was magnetised with His love. During this period Baha'ullah lived in poverty. His garments were those of the poor and needy. His food was that of the indigent and lowly. An atmosphere of majesty haloed Him as the sun at midday. Everywhere He was greatly revered and loved.' "When Baha'ullah returned to Baghdád, His Kurdish admirers followed.

The sight of ulama and Sufi shaykhs flocking to visit Bahá'u'lláh astonished the religious leaders of the city, who also began to seek His presence—and became enthralled. Their esteem for Him in turn attracted others, from poets and mystics to government officials, and further spread His fame.

This period, Shoghi Effendi tells us, saw an "enormous expansion in the scope and volume of Baha'ullah's writings. The verses that streamed during those years from His pen, described as 'a copious rain' by Himself, whether in the form of epistles, exhortations, commentaries, apologies, dissertations, prophecies, prayers, odes or specific Tablets" revivified and transformed the Bábí community. It was a period so prolific that, on average, the unrecorded verses He would reveal in a single day and night equalled in number those of the Koran. "As to those verses which He either dictated or wrote Himself, their number was no less remarkable than either the wealth of material they contained, or the diversity of subjects to which they referred." Among the "priceless treasures cast forth from the billowing ocean of Bahá'u'lláh's Revelation" in those days is Baha'ullah's "greatest mystical composition", the Seven Valleys, which "describes the seven stages which the soul of the seeker must needs traverse ere it can attain the object of its existence." Writing years later in 'Akká, He explained: This treatise was revealed in the language of the people, in the days prior to Our Declaration. The occasion for its revelation was the receipt of a letter addressed to the Most Holy Court in 'Iráq from a man of Sunní persuasion, who was both a scholar and a mystic.

This treatise was therefore revealed, in accordance with divine wisdom, in the manner that was current amongst the people. However, in this day, every soul who hath fixed his gaze upon the Supreme Horizon, and hath recognized the one true God, hath verily attained unto every one of the seven valleys or seven stations mentioned therein.

Like the twelfth-century poem by Attar, Mantiqu't-Ṭayr (The Conference of the Birds), the Seven Valleys describes a journey through seven stations in quest of the Divine. However, the quest in the Seven Valleys is also one undertaken in a context defined by the imminent dawning of the new Revelation—and indeed the presence of the Beloved Himself. That the mystic journey cannot be reduced to a fixed scheme, nor the search for the Divine Beloved to a series of discrete stages, is highlighted in a number of other Tablets, four of which are included here. The volume closes with the Four Valleys, an epistle addressed to one of Baha'ullah's devoted admirers from Kurdistán. Rather than describing a progression through stages, it elaborates four different paths of approach to the Divine.)

THE CALL CHAPTER 1

Rashh-i-Ama (The Clouds of the Realms Above)

Our rapture that the clouds of realms above are raining down; ["Ama is defined as an extremely thin and subtle cloud, seen and then not seen. For shouldst thou gaze with the utmost care, thou wouldst discern something, but as soon as thou dost look again, it ceaseth to be seen. For this reason, in the usage of mystics who seek after truth, 'Amá' signifeth the Universal Reality without individuations as such, for these individuations exist in the mode of uncompounded simplicity and oneness and are not differentiated from the Divine Essence. Thus they are individuated and not individuated. This is the station alluded to by the terms Ahadiyyih [Absolute Oneness] and 'Ama'. This is the station of the "Hidden Treasure" mentioned in the Ḥadíth. The divine attributes, therefore, are individuations that exist in the Essence but are not differentiated therefrom. They are seen and then not seen. This, in brief, is what is meant by 'Ama'." (From a previously untranslated Tablet of Abdu'l-Baha.)]

1 'TIS FROM

'Tis from Our anthem that the mysteries of faith are raining down.

2 Upon the Eastern wind Cathay's entrancing musk doth waft;

This sweetly scented breeze from Our curling locks is raining down.

3 The day-star of adornment hath dawned forth above the face of God;

Behold that mystic truth which from His Countenance is raining down.

4 The sea of purity hath from the wave of true reunion surged;

This precious, rare bestowal from our rapture is raining down.

5 The treasuries of love lay hid within the very heart of Fárs;

From out this treasure trove the pearls of faithfulness are raining down.

6 The splendour of the rose doth bring the ecstasy of choicest wine;

This subtle music from the ringing tones of Lordship is raining down.

7 The trumpet-blast of Judgement Day, the joyful bliss of heaven's call—

Both at a single breath are from the frmament now raining down.

8 The Day of "I am He" is made to shine resplendent from Our face;

The Age of "He is He" from out Our flowing cup is raining down.

9 From out the fountain of Our heart hath God's celestial river flowed;

This cup of honeyed nectar from Our ruby lips is raining down.

10 The Day of God hath been fulflled, for lo, the Lord hath been unveiled;

This wondrous message from the melody of Ta' is raining down.

11 Behold Baha's outpouring grace, the bounty of the clouds above,

Which, merged into a single song, in God's own voice is raining down.

12 Behold the Lord's leviathan, behold His sacred countenance;

Behold the blessings of the heart that from His throne are raining down.

13 Behold the Palm of Paradise, behold the warbling of the Dove;

Behold the glorious hymns that in the purest light are raining down.

14 Behold the soul-entrancing song, behold the beating of the drum,

Behold the sacred rhythms that from Our hand are raining down.

15 Behold the Countenance Divine! Behold the Maid of Paradise!

Behold the grace upon the world from Our own presence raining down.

16 Behold the everlasting Face! Behold the chalice-bearer's charm!

Behold the crystal draught that from Our brimming cup is raining down.

17 Behold the fre of Moses, see His hand that shineth white;

Behold the heart of Sinai—from Our hand all raining down.

18 Hear ye the sotted lovers' sighs, behold the garden blooming fair;

Behold the bliss that from His presence in your midst is raining down.

19 Behold the radiant face of Ha', behold the beauteous robe of Ba';

Behold the Lordly grace that from Our Pen is raining down.

20 The vessel of the Advent this, the clouds of limpid waters these;

The trill of songbirds this, from Our fleeting Wellspring raining down.

* * *

THE CALL CHAPTER 2

THE SEVEN VALLEYS

[The Seven Valleys (Persian: Haft-Vadí) is a book written in Persian by Baha'ullah, the founder of the Bahai Faith. The Seven Valleys follows the structure of the Persian poem The Conference of the Birds. The Seven Valleys was written around 1860 in Baghdad after Baha'ullah had returned from the Sulaymaniyah region in Iraqi Kurdistan where he spent two years anonymously with various Sufi sheikhs using the pseudonym Darvish Muhammad-i-Irani. The work was written in response to questions posed by Shaykh Muhyi'd-Din, a judge, who was a follower of the Qadiríyyih Order of Sufism. About the time of writing to Baha'ullah, he quit his job, and spent the rest of his life wandering around Iraqi Kurdistan.This work has been called by Shoghi Effendi "Baha'ullah's greatest mystical composition", and in the West was one of the earliest available books of Baha'ullah, first translated directly to French in 1905, and English in 1906.

Abdul-Baha explained in one of his talks that The Seven Valleys is a guide for human conduct, that one should search out one's "own imperfections and not think of the imperfections of anybody else", to "strive to be free from imperfections" and that "nothing is more fruitful for man than the knowledge of his own shortcomings". The composition reminds us of similar text from Zoroastrianism and Buddhism and sound as if Baha'ullah wanted to revive virtues from those religions.

The style of The Seven Valleys is highly poetic, though not composed in verse. Nearly every line of the text contains rhymes and plays on words, which can be lost in translation. Only a few words to refer to Koranic verses, traditions, and well-known poems. The book follows the path of the soul on a spiritual journey passing through different stages, from this world to other realms which are closer to God, as first described by the 12th Century Sufi poet Farid al-Din Attar in his Conference of the Birds. Baha'ullah in the work explains the meanings and the significance of the seven stages. In the introduction, Baha'ullah says "Some have called these Seven Valleys, and others, Seven Cities." The stages are accomplished in order, and the goal of the journey is to follow "the Right Path", "abandon the drop of life and come to the sea of the Life-Bestower", and "gaze on the Beloved". In the conclusion of the book, he mentions: "These journeys have no visible ending in the world of time, but the severed wayfarer—if invisible confirmation descend upon him and the Guardian of the Cause assist him—may cross these seven stages in seven steps, nay rather in seven breaths, nay rather in a single breath, if God will and desire it."

The Valley of Search: The valley of search is described as the first step that a seeker must take in his path. Baha'ullah states that the seeker must cleanse his heart, and not follow the paths of his forefathers. It is explained that ardour and patience are required to traverse this valley.

The Valley of Love: The next valley is the "Valley of Love". Baha'ullah describes how love burns away reason, causing pain, madness and single minded endeavour. He writes that the fire of love burns away the material self, revealing instead the world of the spirit.

The Valley of Knowledge: The knowledge referred to in this valley is the knowledge of God, and not one based on learning; it is explained that pride in one's knowledge and accomplishments often disallows one to reach true understanding, which is the knowledge of God. It is explained that the seeker, when in this valley, begins to understand the mysteries contained within God's revelation, and finds wisdom in all things including when faced with pain and hardship, which he understands to be God's mercy and blessing. This valley is called the last limited valley.

The Valley of Unity: The next stage is the valley of unity, and it is explained that the seeker now sees creation not by its limitations, but sees the attributes of God in all created things. The seeker, it is written, is detached from earthly things, is not concerned with his own self and has no ego; instead he praises God for all of creation.

The Valley of Contentment: The next valley for the seeker is the valley of contentment, where it is explained that the seeker becomes independent from all things, and even though he may look poor or is subjected to suffering, he will be endowed with wealth and power from the spiritual worlds and will inwardly be happy. Happiness is explained to be the attribute of the true believer, and it cannot be achieved by obtaining material things, since material things are transitory.

The Valley of Wonderment: In the valley of wonderment the seeker, it is written, is struck dumb (mute) by the beauty of God; the seeker becomes conscious of the vastness and glory of creation, and discovers the inner mysteries of God's revelation. Being led from one mystery of creation to the next, it is explained that the seeker continues to be astonished by the works of God.

The Valley of True Poverty and Absolute Nothingness: The final valley is the valley of true poverty and absolute nothingness, and it is the furthermost state that the mystic can reach. The seeker is poor of all material things, and is rich in spiritual attributes. It is explained that it is the state of annihilation of self in God, but not an existential union: the essences of God's self and the mystic's self remain distinct, in contrast to what appears to be a complete union in other traditions.]

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Text of The Seven Valleys:

An exposition of the mysteries enshrined in the stages of ascent for them that seek to journey unto God, the Almighty, the Ever-Forgiving

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE!

1 PRAISE BE to God Who hath made being to come forth from nothingness; graven upon the tablet of man a measure of the mysteries of His eternity; taught him from the storehouse of divine utterance that which he knew not; made him a perspicuous book unto such as have believed and surrendered their souls; given him to behold, in this dark and ruinous age, a new creation within all things; and caused him to speak forth, from the midmost heart of eternity, and in a new and wondrous voice, embodied in the most excellent Temple.9 And all to this end: that every man may testify, in himself and by himself, before the Seat of the revelation of his Lord, that there is none other God but Him; and that all may reach that summit of realities where none shall contemplate anything but that he shall perceive God therein. This is the vision of the splendours which have been deposited within the realities of all things; for otherwise He, exalted be His glory, is entirely sanctifed above being seen or witnessed: "No vision taketh in Him, but He taketh in all vision; He is the Subtile, the All-Perceiving."

2 And I praise and glorify that primal Sea which hath branched out from the ocean of the unseen Essence, and that primal Morn which hath broken forth upon the horizon of Singleness, and that primal Sun which hath risen in the heaven of everlasting splendour, and that primal Fire which was kindled from the Lamp of eternity within the Niche of oneness: He Who is called "Ahmad" in the kingdom of the exalted ones, and "Muhammad" amongst the concourse of the favoured ones, and "Maḥmúd" in the realm of the sincere; [Ahmad, Muhammad, and Maḥmud are names and titles of the Prophet derived from the verb "to praise", "to extol".] and in the hearts of the knowing, "whichsoever ye call upon, most beauteous are His names." And upon His kindred and His companions be abundant, abiding, and eternal peace!

3 To continue: I have hearkened to the song of the nightingale of knowledge upon the twigs of the tree of thine inmost being, and to the cooing of the dove of certitude upon the branches of the bower of thine heart. Methinks I inhaled the fragrance of purity from the raiment of thy love and, in perusing thy letter, attained thy very presence. I noted, moreover, thine allusions to thy death in God and thy life through Him, and the love thou dost cherish for the beloved of the Lord and for the Manifestations of His names and the Exponents of His attributes. I have purposed, therefore, to acquaint thee with holy and resplendent tokens from the realms of might and glory, that haply they may draw thee nigh unto the court of holiness, nearness, and beauty, and draw thee to a station wherein thou shalt see naught in all existence but the hallowed Countenance of thy Beloved, and wilt behold all of creation as a day wherein none was deemed worthy of mention.

4 Of this did the nightingale of oneness sing in the garden of his mystical treatise, saying, "And there shall appear upon the tablet of thine heart an inscription of the subtle mysteries of the verse 'Fear ye God; God will teach you', and the bird of thy spirit shall recall the sanctuaries of ancient splendour, and soar upon the wings of longing into the heaven of the command 'Walk the beaten paths of thy Lord', and partake of the choice fruits of communion in the gardens of the utterance 'Feed, moreover, on every kind of fruit.'"

5 By My life, O friend! Wert thou to taste the fruits of these verdant trees that spring from the soil of true understanding, once the effulgent light of His Essence hath been reflected in the Mirrors of His names and attributes, yearning would seize the reins of patience and restraint from out thy hand and stir thy spirit into commotion with the splendours of His light. It would draw thee from this abode of dust unto thy true and heavenly habitation in the midmost heart of mystic knowledge, and raise thee to a station wherein thou wilt soar in the air even as thou treadest upon the earth, and wilt walk upon the water even as thou movest over the land. Wherefore, may it rejoice me, and thee, and whosoever mounteth into the heaven of knowledge, and whose heart hath been revived by the breezes of certitude that waft from the Sheba of the All-Merciful upon the meadow of his inner being. Peace be upon him who followeth the way of guidance!16

6 And further: the stages that mark the wayfarers' journey from their mortal abode to the heavenly homeland are said to be seven. Some have referred to them as seven valleys, and others, as seven cities.17 And it is said that until the wayfarer taketh leave of self and traverseth these stages, he shall never attain the ocean of nearness and reunion nor taste of the matchless wine.

7 The frst is THE VALLEY OF SEARCH. The steed of this valley is patience; without patience the wayfarer on this journey will reach nowhere and attain no goal. Nor should he ever become downhearted: If he strive for a hundred thousand years and yet fail to behold the beauty of the Friend, he should not falter. For those who seek the Kaaba of "for Us" rejoice in the tidings "In Our ways shall We assuredly guide them." In their search, they have stoutly girded up the loins of service and at every moment journey from the plane of heedlessness into the realm of search. No bond shall hold them back and no counsel deter them.

8 It is incumbent upon these servants to cleanse the heart, which is the wellspring of divine treasures, of every marking; turn away from imitation, which is following the traces of their forefathers; and shut the door of friendship and enmity upon all the people of the earth.

9 In this journey the seeker reacheth a station wherein he seeth all created things wandering distracted in search of the Friend. How many a Jacob will he see searching after his Joseph, how many a lover will he behold hastening towards the Well-Beloved; a world of adoring souls will he witness tracing the path of the Adored One! At every moment he fndeth a weighty matter, in every hour he becometh aware of a new mystery; for he hath severed his heart from both worlds and set out for the Kaaba of the Beloved. At every step, aid from the invisible Realm will attend him and the fervour of his search will grow.

10 One must judge of search by the standard of the Majnún of love. [Majnún means "madman". This is the title of the celebrated lover of ancient Persian and Arabian lore whose beloved was Laylí. Symbolising true human love bordering on the divine, the story has been the theme of many Persian romantic poems, most famously that of Nizamí Ganjavi (formal name: Jamal ad-Din Abu Muhammad Ilyas ibn-Yusuf ibn-Zakki; 1141–1209 AD), written in 1188 AD.] It is related that one day they came upon Majnún sifting the dust, his tears flowing down. They asked, "What doest thou?" He said, "I seek for Laylí." "Alas for thee!" they cried, "Laylí is of pure spirit, yet thou seekest her in the dust!" He said, "I seek her everywhere; haply somewhere I shall fnd her."

11 Yea, though to the wise it be shameful to seek the Lord of Lords in the dust, yet this betokeneth intense ardour in searching. "Whoso seeketh out a thing and persisteth with zeal shall fnd it."

12 The true seeker hunteth naught but the object of his quest, and the sincere lover hath no desire save reunion with his beloved. Nor shall the seeker reach his goal unless he sacrifce all things. That is, whatever he hath seen, and heard, and understood—all he must set at naught with "no God is there", that he may enter into the realm of the spirit, which is the city of "but God". [A reference to the Islamic profession of faith: "No God is there but God, and Muḥammad is the Messenger of God."] Labour is needed, if we are to seek Him; ardour is needed, if we are to drink the nectar of reunion with Him; and if we taste of this cup, we shall cast away the world.

13 On this journey the wayfarer dwelleth in every abode, however humble, and resideth in every land. In every face he seeketh the beauty of the Friend; in every region he searcheth after the Beloved. He joineth every company and seeketh fellowship with every soul, that haply in some heart he may discern the secret of the Beloved, or in some face behold the beauty of the Adored One.

14 And if, by the help of the Creator, he fndeth on this journey a trace of the traceless Friend, and inhaleth the fragrance of the long-lost Joseph from the heavenly herald, he shall straightway step into THE VALLEY OF LOVE and be consumed in the fre of love. In this city the heaven of rapture is upraised, and the world-illuming sun of yearning shineth, and the fre of love is set ablaze; and when the fre of love is ablaze, it burneth to ashes the harvest of reason.

Now is the wayfarer oblivious of himself, and of aught besides himself. He seeth neither ignorance nor knowledge, neither doubt nor certitude; he knoweth not the morn of guidance from the night of error. He fleeth from both unbelief and faith, and fndeth in deadly poison his heart's relief. Wherefore 'Aṭṭár saith:

For the infdel, error—for the faithful, faith;
For 'Aṭṭár's heart, an atom of thy pain.

16 The steed of this valley is pain, and if there be no pain this journey will never end. In this plane the lover hath no thought save the Beloved, and seeketh no refuge save the Friend. At every moment he offereth a hundred lives in the path of the Loved One, at every step he throweth a thousand heads at His feet.

17 O My brother! Until thou enter the Egypt of love, thou shalt never gaze upon the Joseph-like beauty of the Friend; and until, like Jacob, thou forsake thine outward eyes, thou shalt never open the eye of thine inward being; and until thou burn with the fre of love, thou shalt never fnd thyself in true yearning's embrace.

18 A lover feareth nothing and can suffer no harm: Thou seest him chill in the fre and dry in the sea.

A lover is he who is chill in hellfre;
A knower is he who is dry in the sea.

19 Love accepteth no existence and wisheth no life: In death it seeth life, and in shame it seeketh glory. To merit the madness of love, one must abound in sanity; to merit the bonds of the Friend, one must be free in spirit. Blessed the neck that is caught in His noose, and happy the head that falleth on the dust in the path of His love. Wherefore, O friend, renounce thy self, that thou mayest fnd the Peerless One; and soar beyond this mortal world, that thou mayest fnd thy nest in the abode of heaven. Be as naught, if thou wouldst kindle the fre of being and be ft for the pathway of love.

Ne'er will love allow a living soul to tread its way;
Ne'er will the falcon deign to seize a lifeless prey.

20 Love setteth a world aflame at every turn and layeth waste every land wherein it raiseth its banner. Being hath no existence in its kingdom; the wise wield no command within its realm. The leviathan of love swalloweth the master of reason and slayeth the lord of knowledge. It drinketh the seven seas, but its heart's thirst is still unquenched and it asketh, "Is there yet any more?" It shunneth its own self and draweth away from all on earth.

Love's a stranger to earth and heaven too;
In him are lunacies seventy and two.

21 Love hath bound a myriad victims in its fetters and pierced a myriad wise men with its arrow. Know that every redness thou seest in the world is from its wrath, and every paleness in men's cheeks is from its poison. It yieldeth no remedy but death and walketh not save in the valley of extinction; yet sweeter than honey is its venom upon the lover's lips, and fairer its deadly sting, in the seeker's sight, than a hundred thousand lives.

22 Wherefore must the veils of the satanic self be burned away in the fre of love, that the spirit may be cleansed and refned, and thus may apprehend the station of Him but for Whom the world would not have been created.26 [An allusion to the Ḥadíth in which God is said to address the Prophet Muhammad in these words: "But for Thee, I would not have created the spheres."]

Kindle the fre of love and burn away all things;
Then set thy foot into the land of the lovers.

23 And if, confrmed by the Creator, the lover escapeth the claws of the eagle of love, he will enter THE REALM OF KNOWLEDGE and come out of doubt into certitude, and turn from the darkness of wayward desire to the guiding light of the fear of God. His inner eye will open and he will privily converse with his Beloved; he will unlock the gates of truth and supplication and shut the doors of idle fancy. He in this realm is content with the divine decree, and seeth war as peace, and in death fndeth the meaning of everlasting life. With both inward and outward eyes he witnesseth the mysteries of resurrection in the realms of creation and in the souls of men, and with a spiritual heart apprehendeth the wisdom of God in His endless manifestations. In the sea he fndeth a drop, in a drop he beholdeth the secrets of the sea.

Split the atom's heart, and lo!
Within it thou wilt fnd a sun.

24 Gazing with the eye of absolute insight, the wayfarer in this valley seeth in God's creation neither contradiction nor incongruity, and at every moment exclaimeth, "No defect canst thou see in the creation of the God of mercy. Repeat the gaze: Seest thou a single flaw?" He beholdeth justice in injustice, and in justice, grace. In ignorance he fndeth many a knowledge hidden, and in knowledge a myriad wisdoms manifest. He breaketh the cage of the body and the hold of the passions, and communeth with the denizens of the immortal realm. He scaleth the ladders of inner truth and hasteneth to the heaven of inner meanings. He rideth in the ark of "We will surely show them Our signs in the world and within themselves", and saileth upon the sea of "until it become plain to them that it is the truth". And if he meeteth with injustice he shall have patience, and if he cometh upon wrath he shall manifest love.

25 There was once a lover, it is said, who had sighed for long years in separation from his beloved, and wasted in the fre of remoteness. From the rule of love, his breast was void of patience and his body weary of his spirit; he reckoned life without her as a mockery, and the world consumed him away. How many a day he found no respite from his longing; how many a night the pain of her kept him from sleep. His body was worn to a sigh, and his heart's wound had turned him to a cry of sorrow. A thousand lives would he freely have given for one taste of the cup of her presence, and yet even this was not within his reach. The doctors knew no cure for him, and companions avoided his company; yea, physicians have no remedy for one sick of love, unless the favour of the beloved deliver him.

26 At last the tree of his longing yielded the fruit of despair, and the fre of his hope fell to ashes. Then one night he could bear life no more, and he left his house for the marketplace. On a sudden, a watchman followed after him. He broke into a run, with the watchman in swift pursuit; then other watchmen came together and barred every passage to the weary one. And that wretched one cried from his heart, and ran here and there, and moaned to himself, "Surely this watchman is 'Izrá'íl (Israel), my angel of death, following so fast upon me, or he is a tyrant of men, prompted by hatred and malice." His feet carried him on—that hapless one bleeding with the arrow of love—while his heart lamented. Then he came to a garden wall, and with untold pain and trouble he scaled it. He saw

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that it was very high; yet, forgetting his life, he threw himself down into the garden.

27 And there he beheld his beloved with a lamp in her hand, searching for a ring she had lost. When the heart-surrendered lover looked upon his ravishing love, he drew a great breath and lifted his hands in prayer, crying, "O God! Bestow honour upon the watchman, and riches and long life. For the watchman was Gabriel, guiding this poor one; or he was Isráfíl, bringing life to this wretched one!"

28 Indeed, his words were true; for he had found many a secret justice in this seeming tyranny of the watchman, and had seen how many a mercy lay hid behind the veil. In one stroke of wrath, the guard had joined one who was athirst in the desert of love to the sea of the beloved, and dispelled the darkness of separation with the shining light of reunion. He had led one who was afar to the garden of nearness, and guided an ailing soul to the heart's physician.

29 Now if the lover could have seen the end, he would from the beginning have blessed the watchman, prayed God on his behalf, and seen his tyranny as justice; but since the end was veiled to him, he lamented and made his plaint in the beginning. Yet those who journey in the garden land of true knowledge, since they see the end in the beginning, behold peace in war and conciliation in enmity.

30 Such is the state of the wayfarers in this valley, but the people of the valleys above this see the end and the beginning as one. Nay, they see neither "beginning" nor "end" and witness neither "frst" nor "last". Nay rather, the denizens of the city of immortality, who dwell in the celestial garden, see not even "neither frst nor last": They fly from all that is frst and repulse all that is last. For these have passed over the worlds of names and, swift as lightning, fled beyond the worlds of attributes. Thus is it said: "The perfection of belief in Divine Unity is to deny Him any attributes." And they have made their dwelling-place in the shadow of the Divine Essence.

31 Wherefore Kházjih 'Abdu'lláh —may God the Most High sanctify his blessed soul—hath made, in this connection, a subtle point and spoken an eloquent word as to the meaning of "Guide Thou us on the straight path", which is: "Show us the right way; that is, honour us with the love of Thine Essence, that we may be freed from occupation with ourselves and aught else save Thee, and may become wholly Thine; that we may know only Thee, and see only Thee, and think of none save Thee."

32 Nay, they would even soar above this station, as it is said: "Love is a veil betwixt the lover and beloved." "More than this I am not permitted to tell."

33 At this hour the morn of true knowledge hath dawned and the lamps of wayfaring and wandering have been quenched.

Veiled from this was Moses too,
Despite His virtue and His light.
Then thou who hast no wings at all,
Abandon any hope of flight!34

34 If thou be a man of communion and prayer, soar upon the wings of assistance from the holy ones, that thou mayest behold the mysteries of the Friend and attain the lights of the Beloved: "Verily, we are God's, and to Him shall we return."

35 After passing through the Valley of Knowledge, which is the last station of limitation, the wayfarer cometh to THE FIRST STATION OF UNITY and drinketh from the cup of oneness, and gazeth upon the manifestations of singleness. In this station he pierceth the veils of plurality, fleeth the realms of the flesh, and ascendeth unto the heaven of unity. With the ear of God he heareth; with the eye of God he beholdeth the mysteries of divine creation. He steppeth into the inner sanctuary of the Friend and, as an intimate, shareth the pavilion of the Well-Beloved. He stretcheth forth the hand of truth from the sleeve of the Absolute and revealeth the mysteries of divine power. He seeth in himself neither name nor fame nor rank, but fndeth his own praise in the praise of God, and in the name of God beholdeth his own. To him "all songs are from that sovereign King" and every melody from Him. He sitteth on the throne of "Say, all things are of God" and reclineth upon the seat of "There is no power nor strength but in God alone." He looketh upon all things with the eye of Unity, and seeth the effulgent rays of the Sun of Truth shining from the dayspring of the Divine Essence upon all created things alike, and beholdeth the lights of Unity reflected upon all creation.

36 It is known to thine eminence that all the variations which the wayfarer in the stages of his journey beholdeth in the realms of being proceed from his own vision. We shall give an example of this, that the meaning may become fully clear. Consider the visible sun: Although it shineth with the same radiance upon all existence, and at the behest of the Lord of Revelation bestoweth light on all things, yet in each place it becometh manifest and sheddeth its bounty according to the potentialities of that place. For instance, in a mirror it reflecteth its own disk and shape, and this is due to the clarity of the mirror itself; through a crystal it maketh fre to appear; and in other things it showeth only the effect of its shining, but not its full disk. And yet, through that effect, by the command of the Creator it traineth each thing according to the capacity of that thing, even as thou dost observe.

37 In like manner, colours become visible in each object according to its nature. For instance, in a yellow glass the rays shine yellow; in a white glass they are white; and in a red glass red rays are visible. These variations proceed from the object itself, not from the light. And if a place be shut away from the light, as by walls and a roof, it will be entirely bereft of the light of the sun and deprived of its rays.

38 Thus it is that certain feeble souls have confned the wide expanse of knowledge within the walls of self and passion, and beneath the cloak of ignorance and blindness, and have thereby veiled themselves from the light of the mystic Sun and the mysteries of the eternal Beloved. They have strayed far from the gem-like wisdom of the resplendent Faith of the Lord of the Messengers, have been shut out of the inner court of the All-Beauteous, and have been banished from the Kaaba of glory. Such is the worth of the people of this age!

39 And if a nightingale soar beyond the clay of self and dwell in the rose bower of the heart, and in Arabian melodies and sweet Persian tones recount the mysteries of God—a single word whereof quickeneth anew every lifeless form and bestoweth the spirit of holiness upon every mouldering bone—thou wilt behold a thousand claws of envy and a myriad talons of hatred hunting after Him and striving with all their power to encompass His death.

40 Yea, to the beetle a sweet fragrance seemeth foul, and to the man sick of a rheum a pleasant perfume availeth naught. Wherefore hath it been said for the guidance of the ignorant:

Cleanse thou the rheum from out thine head
And breathe the breath of God instead.

41 In sum, the differences among objects have now been made plain. Thus when the wayfarer gazeth only upon the place of appearance—that is, when he considereth only the glass—he seeth yellow and red and white. And so it is that conflict hath prevailed amongst men, and a darksome dust from limited souls hath settled over the world. Others gaze upon the effulgence of the light, while yet others have drunk of the wine of oneness and see naught but the sun itself.

42 As the wayfarers traverse these three differing planes, their understanding and their words differ accordingly, and hence the sign of conflict hath ever appeared on earth. For there are some who dwell on the plane of Divine Unity and speak of that world, and some inhabit the realms of limitation, and some the grades of self, while others are completely veiled. Thus do the ignorant people of the day, who have no share of the radiance of the divine Beauty, make certain claims and, in every age and cycle, inflict upon the people of the ocean of Divine Unity what they themselves deserve. "If God should chastise men for their perverse doings, He would not leave upon the earth a moving thing! But to an appointed time doth He respite them."

43 O My brother! A pure heart is as a mirror; cleanse it with the burnish of love and severance from all save God, that the true sun may shine therein and the eternal morning dawn. Then wilt thou clearly see the meaning of "Earth and heaven cannot contain Me; what can alone contain Me is the heart of him that believeth in Me."41 And thou wilt take up thy life in thy hand and with infnite longing cast it before thy newly found Beloved.

44 Whensoever the light of the revelation of the King of Oneness settleth upon the throne of the heart and soul, His radiance becometh visible in every limb and member. At that time, the mystery of the famed tradition gleameth out of the darkness: "A servant is drawn unto Me in prayer until I answer him, and when I have answered him, I become the ear wherewith he heareth" For thus the Master of the house hath appeared within His home, and all the pillars of the dwelling are ashine with His light. And as the action and effect of the light are from the Light-Giver, so it is that all move through Him and arise by His will. This is that wellspring whereof the near ones drink, as it is said: "A fount whereof they who draw nigh to God shall drink".

45 However, let none construe these utterances to imply the incarnation or descent of the worlds of God into the grades of His creatures, nor should they lead thine eminence to such misapprehensions. For God, in His Essence, is sanctifed above all ascent and descent, egress and regress; He hath through all eternity been exalted beyond the attributes of His creation, and will ever remain so. No man hath ever known Him; no soul hath ever fathomed the nature of His Being. In the valley of His knowledge every mystic wandereth astray; in the comprehension of His Essence every saint standeth bewildered. Sanctifed is He above the understanding of the wise; exalted is He beyond the knowledge of the knowing! "The way is barred and all seeking rejected. His proof is His signs, His evidence His being."

46 Wherefore the lovers of the countenance of the Beloved have said, "O Thou Whose Essence alone can lead to His Essence, and Who transcendeth all likeness to His creatures". How can utter nothingness spur its charger in the arena of eternity, or a fleeting shadow reach to the everlasting sun? The Friend addressed by the words "But for Thee" hath said, "We have failed to know Thee"; and the Beloved alluded to by the words "or even closer" hath said, "nor attained Thy presence". ["But for Thee" refers to the Ḥadíth quoted in note 26. "We have failed to know Thee" alludes to a prayer attributed to Muḥammad that says, "We have not known Thee, O God, as Thou oughtest to be known." "Or even closer" alludes to Koran 53:9.]

47 Indeed, the references that have been made to the degrees of mystic knowledge pertain to the knowledge of the effulgences of that Sun of Truth as it becometh reflected in various mirrors. And the effulgence of that light is present within the hearts, yet it is hidden beneath the veils of selfsh desires and earthly attachments, even as a candle within a lantern of iron, and only when the cover is lifted doth the light of the candle shine out.

48 In like manner, when thou dost strip the veils of illusion from the face of thine heart, the lights of Oneness will be made manifest.

49 It is clear, then, that even these rays are not subject to egress or regress—how much less that Essence of existence and longed-for Mystery. O My brother, consider these matters in the spirit of enquiry, not in blind imitation. A true wayfarer will not be deterred by the impediment of words, nor daunted by the sway of insinuations.

How can a curtain part the lover from his love,
When Alexander's wall cannot keep them apart?

50 Secrets are many, and strangers are myriad. Volumes will not suffce to hold the mystery of the Beloved, nor can it be exhausted in these pages, though it be no more than a word, no more than a sign. "Knowledge is one point, which the foolish have multiplied."

51 Infer, then, from this the differences among the worlds. Though the worlds of God be infnite, yet some refer to them as four: the world of time, which hath both a beginning and an end; the world of duration, which hath a beginning but whose end is not apparent; the world of primordial reality, whose beginning is not to be seen but which is known to have an end; and the world of eternity, of which neither the beginning nor the end is visible. Although there are many differing statements as to these points, to recount them in detail would result in weariness. Thus some have said that the world of primordial reality hath neither beginning nor end, and have equated the world of eternity with the invisible, inaccessible, and unknowable Essence. Others have called these the worlds of the Heavenly Court, of the Celestial Dominion, of the Divine Kingdom, and of Mortal Existence.

52 Moreover, the journeys in the pathway of love have been reckoned as four: from the creatures to the True One, from the True One to the creatures, from the creatures to the creatures, and from the True One to the True One.

53 There is many an utterance of the sages and mystics of former times which I have not mentioned here, since I mislike copious citation from the sayings of the past; for quotation from the words of others betokeneth acquired learning and not divine bestowal. Even so much as I have quoted here is out of deference to the wont of men and after the manner of the learned. Further, such matters are beyond the scope of this epistle. My unwillingness to recount their sayings is not from pride; rather, it is the manifestation of wisdom and the revelation of bounty.

If Khidr did wreck the vessel on the sea,
A thousand rights are in this wrong concealed.

54 Otherwise, this Servant regardeth Himself as utterly lost and non-existent, even before one of the beloved of God, how much less in the presence of His holy ones. Glorifed be my Lord, the Most High! Moreover, our aim is to recount the stages of the wayfarer's journey, not to set forth the conflicting utterances of the mystics.

55 Although a brief example hath been given concerning the beginning and ending of the relative and contingent world, yet a further illustration is now provided, that the full meaning may become clear. For instance, let thine eminence consider his own self: Thou art frst in relation to thy son, and last in relation to thy father. In thine outward appearance thou tellest of the appearance of power in the realms of divine creation; in thine inward being thou revealest the hidden mysteries which are the divine trust deposited within thee. And thus frstness and lastness, outwardness and inwardness, are, in the sense referred to, all true of thyself, so that in these four states conferred upon thee thou mayest comprehend the four divine states, and that the nightingale of thine heart, warbling on all the flowering branches of the tree of existence, whether seen or unseen, might cry out: "He is the First and the Last, the Seen and the Hidden!"

56 These statements are made in the sphere of that which is relative. Otherwise, those souls who with but one step have traversed the world of the relative and the conditioned, and dwelt in the court of independent sovereignty, and pitched their tent in the realms of absolute authority and command, have burned away these relativities with a single spark, and blotted out these words with a mere dewdrop. And they swim in the sea of the spirit, and soar in the holy atmosphere of light. Then what existence have words, on such a plane, that "first" and "last", or other than these, should be mentioned

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or described? In this realm, the first is the same as the last, and the last is the same as the first.

In thy soul, of love build thou a fire
And burn all thoughts and words entire.

57 O My friend, look to thyself: Hadst thou not become a father and begotten a son, neither wouldst thou have comprehended these words. Now forget them one and all, that thou mayest learn from the Master of Love in the schoolhouse of Divine Unity, mayest return unto God, forsake the land of unreality for thy true station, and dwell beneath the shadow of the tree of knowledge.

58 O thou dear one! Impoverish thyself, that thou mayest enter the lofty court of riches; and humble thy body, that thou mayest drink from the stream of glory and attain to the full meaning of the poems whereof thou hadst asked.

59 Thus it hath been made clear that these stages depend on the attainment of the wayfarer. In every city he will behold a world, in every valley reach a spring, in every meadow hear a song.

But the falcon of the mystic heaven hath many a wondrous carol of the spirit in its breast, and the Persian bird keepeth in its soul many a sweet Arabian melody; yet these are hidden, and hidden shall remain.

If I speak forth, many a mind will shatter,
And if I write, many a pen will break.52

60 Peace be upon him who concludeth this exalted journey and followeth the way of truth by the lights of guidance.

61 The wayfarer, after traversing the high planes of this supernal journey, entereth into THE CITY OF CONTENTMENT. In this valley he feeleth the breezes of divine contentment blowing from the plane of the spirit. He burneth away the veils of want, and with inward and outward eye perceiveth

within and without all things the day of "God will satisfy everyone out of His abundance." From sorrow he turneth to bliss, and from grief to joy, and from anguish and dejection to delight and rapture.

62 Although, to outward seeming, the wayfarers in this valley may dwell upon the dust, yet inwardly they are throned in the heights of mystic meaning; they partake of the eternal bounties of heaven and drink of the delicate wines of the spirit.

63 The tongue faileth in describing these three valleys, and speech falleth short. The pen steppeth not into this arena, the ink leaveth only a blot. In these stations, the nightingale of the heart hath other songs and secrets, which make the heart to leap and the soul to cry out, but this mystery of inner meaning may be whispered only from heart to heart, and confded only from breast to breast.

The bliss of mystic knowers can be only told from heart to heart,

A bliss no messenger can bear and no missive dare impart.

How many are the matters I have out of weakness left unsaid;
For my words would fail to reckon them and mine every effort would fall short.

64 O friend, till thou enter the garden of these inner meanings, thou shalt never taste of the imperishable wine of this valley. And shouldst thou taste of it, thou wilt turn away from all else and drink of the cup of contentment; thou wilt loose thyself from all things and bind thyself unto Him, and lay down thy life in His path and offer up thy soul for His sake. And this, even though in this realm there is no "all else" that thou needst forget: "God was alone; there was none else besides Him."56 For on this plane the traveller witnesseth the beauty of the Friend in all things. In fre he seeth the face of the Beloved; in illusion he beholdeth the secret of reality; in the attributes he readeth the riddle of the Essence. For he hath burnt away all veils with a sigh, and cast aside all coverings with a glance. With piercing sight he gazeth upon the new creation, and with lucid heart he graspeth subtle verities. The words "And we have made thy sight sharp in this day"57 are a suffcient proof of this assertion and a beftting description of this state.

65 After journeying through the planes of pure contentment, the traveller cometh to THE VALLEY OF WONDERMENT and is tossed upon the oceans of grandeur, and at every moment his wonder increaseth. Now he seeth the embodiment of wealth as poverty itself, and the essence of independence as sheer impotence. Now is he struck dumb with the beauty of the All-Glorious; again is he wearied out with his own life. How many a mystic tree hath this whirlwind of bewilderment snatched by the roots, how many a soul hath it worn out and exhausted. For in this valley the traveller is flung into confusion, albeit, in the eyes of him who hath attained, such signs are esteemed and well beloved. At every moment, he beholdeth a wondrous world and a new creation, and goeth from astonishment to astonishment, and is lost in awe before the new handiwork of Him Who is the sovereign Lord of all.

66 Indeed, O brother, if we ponder each created thing, we shall witness a myriad consummate wisdoms and learn a myriad new and wondrous truths. One of the created phenomena is the dream. Behold how many secrets have been deposited therein, how many wisdoms treasured up, how many worlds concealed. Observe how thou art asleep in a dwelling, and its doors are shut; on a sudden thou fndest thyself in a far-off city, which thou enterest without moving thy feet or wearying thy body. Without taxing thine eyes, thou seest; without troubling thine ears, thou hearest; without a tongue, thou speakest. And perchance when ten years have passed, thou wilt witness in this temporal world the very things thou hast dreamt tonight.

67 Now there are many wisdoms to ponder in the dream, which none but the people of this valley can comprehend in their reality. First, what is this world where without eye or ear or hand or tongue one can put all these to use? Second, how is it that in the outer world thou seest today the effect of a dream which thou didst witness in the world of sleep some ten years past? Consider the difference between these two worlds, and the mysteries they conceal, that, attended by divine confrmations, thou mayest attain unto heavenly discoveries and enter the realms of holiness.

68 God, the Most High, hath placed these signs in men so that veiled minds might not deny the mysteries of the life beyond, nor belittle that which hath been promised them. For some hold fast to reason and deny whatever reason comprehendeth not, and yet feeble minds can never grasp the reality of the stages that we have related: The universal divine Intellect alone can comprehend them.

How can feeble reason embrace the Koran
Or the spider snare a phoenix in its web?

69 All these states are to be found and witnessed in the Valley of Wonderment, wherein the wayfarer at every moment seeketh for more and is not wearied. Thus the Lord of the frst and the last, [The Prophet Muḥammad.] in setting forth the grades of contemplation and expressing bewilderment, hath said:

"Increase my wonder and amazement at Thee, O God!"

70 Likewise, reflect upon the perfection of man's creation, and that all these planes and states are folded up and hidden away within him.

Dost thou deem thyself a small and puny form,
When thou foldest within thyself the greater world?

71 We must therefore labour to destroy the animal condition, till the meaning of humanity cometh to light.

72 Likewise, Luqmán, who had drunk from the wellspring of wisdom and tasted of the waters of mercy, in proving to his son Nathan the planes of resurrection and death, advanced the dream as evidence and example. We relate it here, that through this evanescent Servant a memory may endure of that youth of the school of Divine Unity, that elder of the realms of instruction and detachment. He said: "O son, if thou art able not to sleep, then thou art able not to die. And if thou art able not to waken after sleep, then thou shalt be able not to rise after death."

73 O friend, the heart is the dwelling-place of eternal mysteries: Make it not the home of fleeting fancies. Waste not the treasure of thy precious life occupied with this swiftly passing world. Thou comest from the world of holiness: Bind not thine heart to the earth. Thou art a dweller in the court of reunion: Choose not the homeland of the dust.

74 In sum, there is no end to the description of these stages, but because of the wrongs inflicted by the peoples of this age, this Servant is disinclined to continue:

The tale remaineth yet unfnished and untold;
Forgive me, then, for weariness hath taken hold.

75 The pen groaneth and the ink sheddeth tears, and the river of the heart surgeth in waves of blood. "Nothing can befall us but what God hath destined for us."62 Peace be upon him who followeth the way of guidance!

76 After scaling the high summits of wonderment, the wayfarer cometh to THE VALLEY OF TRUE POVERTY AND ABSOLUTE NOTHINGNESS. This station is that of dying to the self and living in God, of being poor in self and rich in the Desired One. Poverty, as here referred to, signifeth being poor in that which pertaineth to the world of creation and rich in what belongeth to the realms of God. For when the true lover and devoted friend reacheth the presence of the Beloved, the radiant beauty of the Loved One and the fre of the lover's heart will kindle a blaze and burn away all veils and wrappings. Yea, all that he hath, from marrow to skin, will be set aflame, so that nothing will remain save the Friend.

When once shone forth the attributes
Of Him Who is the ancient King,
All mention Moses burned away
Of every fleeting, transient thing.

77 Whoso hath attained this station is sanctifed from all that pertaineth to the world. Wherefore, if those who have reached the ocean of His presence are found to possess none of the limited things of this perishable world, whether earthly riches or worldly opinions, it mattereth not. For that which is with His creatures is circumscribed by their own limitations, whereas that which is with God is sanctifed therefrom. This utterance must be deeply pondered, that its purport may be clear. "Verily the righteous shall drink of a cup tempered at the camphor fountain." If the true meaning of "camphor" become known, our true intent will become evident.

78 This station is that poverty of which it is said, "Poverty is My glory."65 And of inward and outward poverty there is many a stage and many a meaning which I have not thought pertinent to mention here; hence I have reserved these for another time, dependent on what God may desire and fate may seal.

79 This is the station wherein the multiplicity of all things perisheth in the wayfarer; and the divine Countenance, dawning above the horizon of eternity, riseth out of the darkness; and the meaning of "All on the earth shall pass away, but the face of thy Lord" is made manifest.

80 O My friend! Listen with heart and soul to the songs of the spirit, and treasure them as thine own eyes; for heavenly wisdoms, even as vernal showers, will not rain forever upon the earth of men's hearts, and though the grace of the All-Bounteous One is never ceasing and never stilled, yet to every time and era a portion is allotted and a bounty assigned, which is vouchsafed in a given measure. "And no one thing is there, but with Us are its storehouses; and We send it not down but in settled measure." Indeed, the clouds of the Loved One's mercy rain only on the garden of the spirit, and bestow this bounty only in the season of spring. Other seasons have no share in this supernal grace, and barren lands hold no portion of this bounteous favour.

81 O My brother! Not every sea hath pearls; not every branch will flower, nor will the nightingale sing thereon. Then, ere the nightingale of the mystic Paradise repair to the celestial garden, and the rays of the morn of inner meaning return to the Day-Star of Truth, make thou an effort, that haply in this dust-heap of a mortal world thou mayest catch a fragrance from the everlasting rose-garden and live in the shadow of the inhabitants of this everlasting city. And when thou hast attained this highest plane and most exalted degree, then shalt thou gaze on the Beloved and forget all else.

The Friend, unveiled, doth shed the splendour of His light
Through every door and wall, O ye endued with sight!

82 Thou hast given up the drop of life and drawn nigh unto the ocean of the Well-Beloved. This is the goal thou didst seek; God grant thou mayest attain thereunto.

83 In this city, even the veils of light are rent asunder and vanish away. "His beauty hath no veiling save light, His countenance no covering save revelation." How strange that the Beloved is as visible as the sun and yet the heedless still hunt after tinsel and base metal. Yea, the intensity of His revelation hath veiled Him, and the fullness of His shining forth hath hidden Him.

Even as the noontide sun
Hath the True One brightly shined,
But alas that He hath come
To the city of the blind!70

84 In this valley the wayfarer passeth beyond the stages of the "unity of existence" and the "unity of appearance" and reacheth a unity that is sanctifed above both of these stations. [A reference to two Sufi concepts. The doctrine of the unity of existence is commonly ascribed to Ibnu'l-Arabí (1165-1240), that of the unity of appearance to Aḥmad Sirhindí (1564-1624). See 'Abdu'l-Bahá, Some Answered Questions, chapter 82.] Ecstasy alone can encompass this theme, not utterance nor argument; and whosoever hath dwelt at this stage of the journey, or caught a breath from this garden, knoweth whereof We speak.

85 In all these journeys the wayfarer must stray not a hair's breadth from the Law, for this is indeed the secret of the Path and the fruit of the Tree of Truth. And in all these stages he must cling to the robe of obedience to all that hath been enjoined, and hold fast to the cord of shunning all that is forbidden, that he may partake of the cup of the Law and be informed of the mysteries of Truth.

86 If any of the utterances of this Servant be not understood, or lead to perplexity, the same must be enquired of again, that no doubt may linger, and that the meaning may shine as resplendent as the face of the Beloved dawning from His "Glorious Station". [Koran 17:79. A reference to the station of the Manifestation of God.]

87 These journeys have no visible ending in this temporal world, but the detached wayfarer—should invisible confrmation descend upon him and the Guardian of the Cause ["The word 'Guardian' in the Seven Valleys has no connection with the Bahá'í Guardianship." - From a letter dated 8 January 1949 written on behalf of Shoghi Effendi.] assist him—may traverse these seven stages in seven steps, nay rather in seven breaths, nay even in a single breath, should God will and desire it. This is "a token of His grace vouchsafed unto whomsoever He pleaseth."

88 They who soar in the heaven of Divine Unity and attain the depths of the sea of detachment reckon this city—which is the station of life in God—as the loftiest state of the mystic knowers and the furthermost homeland of the faithful lovers. But to this evanescent One of the mystic ocean, this station is the frst gate of the heart's citadel, that is, man's frst entrance to the city of the heart; and the heart is endowed with four stages, which would be recounted should a kindred soul be found.

Shattered was the pen at once,
Rent and torn in twain the page,
When the pen did reach the point

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Of depicting such a stage.

* * *

89 O My friend! Many a hound hunteth this gazelle of the desert of oneness; many an eagle pursueth this nightingale of the garden of eternity. Ravens of hatred lie in wait for this bird of the heavens of God, and the huntsman of envy stalketh this deer of the meadow of love.

90 O Shaykh! Make of thine effort a glass, that perchance it may shelter this flame from contrary winds, albeit this flame doth long to be kindled in the lamp of the Lord and to shine in the niche of the spirit. For the head that is raised up in the love of God will assuredly fall by the sword, and the life that is aflame with longing will assuredly be extinguished, and the heart that cleaveth to the remembrance of the Beloved will assuredly break. How well hath it been said:

Live free of love, for its peace
Is grief and sorrow at each breath.
It starteth but with ache and pain;
It endeth but with loss and death.
Peace be upon him who followeth the way of guidance!

91 The novel thoughts thou hast expressed as to the symbolism contained in the word "sparrow" were considered. Thou appearest to be well grounded in mystic truth. However, in each realm, to every letter a meaning is allotted which pertaineth to that realm. Indeed, the wayfarer fndeth a secret in every name and a mystery in every letter.

92 In one sense, these letters refer to the states of holiness. The frst meaneth "Free thyself from the promptings of self, then approach thy Lord." The second meaneth "Purify thyself from all save Him, that thou mayest offer up thy life for His sake." The third meaneth "Draw back from the threshold of the one true God if thou art still possessed of earthly attributes." The fourth meaneth "Render thanks unto thy Lord on His earth, that He may bless thee in His heaven, albeit in the realm of His unity His heaven is the same as His earth." The fifth meaneth "Remove from thine eyes the veils of limitation, that thou mayest learn that which thou knewest not of the stations of holiness."

93 Wert thou to hearken unto the melodies of this mortal Bird, then wouldst thou seek out the eternal and undying chalice and renounce every fleeting and perishable cup. Peace be upon him who followeth the way of guidance!

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THE CALL CHAPTER 3
From the Letter Bá' to the Letter Há'

IN THE NAME OF OUR LORD, THE MOST EXALTED, THE MOST HIGH!

1 I ADDRESSED UNTO THEE aforetime an Epistle in the lucid Arabian tongue, and I now reveal for thee this Tablet in wondrous Persian prose, that thou mayest hear, in the glorious accents of the Nightingale of 'Iráq, the sweet melodies of the nearness of the heavenly Paradise that had, ere this, been intoned in the language of Ḥijáz. Perchance thou mayest become pure spirit; attain, without taking a single step, the loftiest stations of mystic ascent; and explore, without leaving thine outward habitation, the furthermost reaches of the worlds of inner signifcance. Thereupon wouldst thou, with a divine rapture, experience true spiritual attraction, lay down thy life in the path of the Friend, and sacrifce thy soul in the wilderness of His love. This indeed is the meaning of stillness in flight and flight in stillness, of fluidity in solidity and solidity in fluidity.

2 To continue: It is clear that the wayfarers in the wilderness of search and longing, of attainment and reunion, have numerous degrees and countless stations. Some, after spiritual struggle and physical toil, ascend from the lower reaches of "no God is there" to the lofty bowers of "but God", [Allusions to the Muslim profession of faith.] flee from the shadow of negation to abide in the limitless realm of affrmation, and abandon the privation of a transient existence for the bountiful assemblage of reunion. This is the uttermost limit of the realm of effort and striving.

3 Others, without receiving the least intimation of "no God is there", pass beyond the highest horizon of "but God"; without even tasting a dewdrop of the degrees of self-surrender ascend unto the kingdom of life everlasting; and without partaking from the wellspring of utter abnegation quaff the wine of the Ancient of Days. These souls, as they traverse the stages of wayfaring and ascend unto the stations of reunion, walk a different path and occupy a different rank.

4 Still others, without having perused a single letter of the kingdom of names or acquired the faintest intimation from the realm of attributes, which pertaineth to this world, dawn above the invisible horizon of eternity and return again thereunto. A hundred thousand seas of glory surge in their luminous hearts, and yet to outward seeming their lips are parched; a myriad rivers of holiness stream within their breasts, and yet no trace thereof is to be seen; the books of God's consummate wisdom are recorded upon the tablets of their hearts, and yet they breathe not a word thereof in the world of appearances. They dwell in the Egypt of certitude and journey in the lands of resignation. They are intoxicated with the beauty, and entranced by the glory, of Him Who is the All-Glorious. Heart to heart they whisper hidden secrets; soul to soul they unfold abstruse matters. The mysteries of the Divine Essence glow upon their brows, and the lights of Divine Unity shine from their peerless faces. They clothe themselves in the robe of concealment and cast their sleeves over both this world and the world to come. Without wings they soar, without feet they walk, without hands they grasp and hold. They speak an unknown tongue and observe an unseen grammar, of which all the world's inhabitants know not a single letter, save those whom thy Lord hath willed. Unto each hath a share been vouchsafed in His Book, and they shall all attain unto that which hath been destined for them.

5 It is clear and evident that, in this Dispensation wherein the banner of utterance hath been raised aloft and the candle of discernment hath been lit, there is no Lord but the Exalted One. He it is Who is one in His essence and one in His attributes, single in the kingdom of names and peerless in the realm of actions. It is by virtue of His blessed name that the seas of Divine Unity have been made to surge; it is through the power of His resistless command that the immutable decrees of destiny have been enforced; it is through the potency of His sovereign might that the dictates of fate have been fxed. Who hath the power to soar in that exalted atmosphere or to cherish another beloved than Him? We all abide beneath His shadow and seek our portion from the ocean of His grace. However far the gnat may fly, it can never traverse the length and breadth of heaven, and however high the sparrow may soar, it can never attain the tree of immortality.

6 But since all do not possess the same degree of spiritual understanding, certain statements will inevitably be made, and there shall arise, as a consequence, as many differing opinions as there are human minds, and as many divergent beliefs as there are created things. This is certain and settled, and can in no wise be averted. Now, it is clear that some are virtuous, others are sinful, and still others are rebellious. One must call the people to love and faithfulness, to zeal and contentment, that the sinful may be admonished and the ranks of the virtuous may swell. Nor is it possible that there be no sinners: So long as the name "the Ever-Forgiving" shineth resplendent above the horizon of existence, there will be sinners in the world of creation, for the latter cannot appear without the former and the former cannot exist without the latter.

7 Our aim is that thou shouldst urge all the believers to show forth kindness and mercy and to overlook certain shortcomings among them, that differences may be dispelled; true harmony be established; and the censure and reproach, the hatred and dissension, seen among the peoples of former times may not arise anew. Perchance they may be educated and, in the latter Resurrection, inflict not upon that cherished Spirit and Essence of existence, that exalted and subtle Reality, the least of that which the Point of the Bayán was made to suffer.

8 Moreover, a reply to thine enquiries was sent aforetime. It is evident that whatever question is asked will be answered through the ocean of eternal grace, but such questions also add to the burden of duties imposed upon the servants. That which hath been recorded at God's behest in the Persian Bayán is indeed suffcient unto all, and none will be held to account for what it hath not commanded. Consider how numerous were those in the early days of the Revelation who obeyed, without the slightest deviation, every least one of its injunctions and yet reaped no beneft therefrom. The beginning of religion is love for God and for His Chosen Ones, and its end is to manifest that love to His servants.

9 I swear by God! Whoso faileth to obey the commandments of God can in no wise be numbered among His loved ones, for among the conditions of His love is to follow His commandments and observe His prohibitions. But since these are the days of concealment, and the Sun of eternity remaineth hidden beneath the horizon of being, one must gather together everyone with love and protect them. The time for the completion of the commandments and the perfection of deeds will assuredly come.

* * *

THE CALL CHAPTER 4
Three Other Tablets

Tablet A:

IN THE NAME OF OUR LORD, THE MOST EXALTED, THE MOST HIGH!

1 O FRIEND ! Many a day hath passed, and still the sweet fragrance of thy faithfulness hath failed to reach Us. Hast thou forgotten the One Who forgetteth thee not, and forsaketh thee not, and neglecteth thee not, even as thou hast forgotten, forsaken, and neglected Him?

2 We have heard that sorrows have compassed thee round in these days. Thy sorrow hath grieved Us, and that which hath befallen thee hath touched Us with bitter pain and anguish. But at this moment, O friend, the Herald of eternity announceth unto thee, by the robe of faithfulness, His joyful tidings and bestoweth upon thee this emerald-green Tablet. Set out, then, from thine abode, take thou seven steps upon the earth, and with each step complete a stage of the journey.

3 With the frst, enter the ocean of search and seek God, thy Lord, with thine inmost heart and soul.

4 With the second, enter the ocean of love and make mention of God, thy Lord, in the transports of thy longing and the ecstasies of thy rapture.

5 With the third, tread the paths of detachment; that is, sever thyself from thine idle fancies and walk in the ways of thy Lord.

6 With the fourth, enter the fathomless depths of oneness and the billowing seas of eternity. Cover thy face in the dust before the Lord of Lords, and sanctify thy self and thy spirit from all departure and return, that thine inmost heart may be freed from all things in the kingdoms of creation.

7 With the ffth, ascend unto the heaven of wonderment, that thou mayest taste the goodly fruits of this blessed realm, lose thyself in bewilderment before the power of thy Beloved and the dominion of thy Creator, and proclaim that which the King of existence and the Goal of all desire hath proclaimed: "Increase my wonder and amazement at Thee, O God!"

8 With the sixth, soar upon the wings of submission and contentment unto the cities of the Unseen, that thou mayest enter the expanses of utter nothingness wherein thou shalt die to thy self and live in Him Who hath fashioned thee.

9 With the seventh, drown thyself in the depths of eternity, that death may not overtake thee, and that thou mayest abide forever in the shadow of the everlasting Face of God. Thereupon shall the fragrance of the All-Glorious be diffused from the realm of the All-Merciful, and thy heart shall grieve no more over the vicissitudes of a fleeting life and the turns of a transient fortune.

10 When once thou hast privily completed these journeys, place this robe upon thy sightless eyes, that the eye of thine inmost heart may be opened. By God, O My friend! Wert thou to attain unto this station, thou wouldst fnd wondrous worlds; discover heavenly bowers, celestial gardens, and transcendent realms; and unravel the secrets of the progress of the souls of men through the atmosphere of eternal holiness and the heavens of imperishable glory. Thou wouldst so rejoice within thy soul as to cause the signs of joy and gladness to appear throughout the whole earth. Thereafter, sorrow would never again hold sway over thee, nor would grief ever seize thee in its grasp, for thou wouldst abide in the heaven of holiness amidst the concourse of the blissful.

11 Know thou, moreover, that in the sight of God thou holdest a lofty rank and an exalted station. Remove not thyself from the company of His servants; rather do thou gather them together in the Cause of God and admonish them in His days. Rely upon God in all thine affairs. He, verily, shall suffce thee in all things, shall protect thee from the followers of the Evil One, and shall cause thee to enter the everlasting Paradise, wherein thou shalt be numbered with the blessed. Convey, then, Our greetings unto those who follow thee in the Cause of thy Lord, and summon them unto the Straight Path.

Tablet B:

IN THE NAME OF THE PEERLESS AND EVER-LOVING LORD!

1 O SHAMS! Hearken with all thy heart unto the nightingale song of the Beloved, that perchance thou mayest abandon the habitation of self and desire and step into the placeless realm of eternal glory, forsake thine own life, and commune with Him Who is the life of thy life. Wert thou to traverse the limitless reaches of the spirit, thou wouldst of a certainty rend asunder the garment of patience and forbearance, hasten to offer up thy soul, renounce the dross of this fleeting world, and fnd repose upon the throne of ancient glory.

2 Each thing must needs have an effect and each sign reveal a secret. Not until the world-illuming sun hath shone can the east be distinguished from the west, nor the blooming garden discerned from the barren waste. Heavenly strains compare not with earthly clamours, and the croaking of the raven can in no wise be confounded with the song of the nightingale. For the latter bespeaketh the land of the Beloved and increaseth life, whereas the former telleth only of the city of the blind and causeth faith to wither.

3 One must step forth and raise aloft the banner of earnest striving. By God! Wert thou to hearken unto the heavenly words of this evanescent Servant that have been raised in this mystic Tablet, thou wouldst assuredly take to the desert of self-surrender, turn aside from thine own heart and soul, and cast thy head at the feet of the Friend. How high is the soaring flight of the phoenix of love, and how low the requisite measure of our yearning! Strive but a little to soar, that, by the grace of Him Who is the eternal King, thou mayest ascend from the dust-heap of utter non-existence unto the loftiest heights of ancient glory. Give wings to thy celestial spirit and lend strength to thy mystic soul, that haply it may take flight in the atmosphere of divine nearness and attain the ultimate and invisible goal.

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4 This proftless world produceth naught save deadly poison, and its ephemeral dregs can never yield the everlasting cup. Were the Jesus of the spirit to give ear to the call of holiness from the Falcon of the realm above, He would assuredly cry out from His inmost being and be seized with fervid longing even as the lover's soul. It is through that call that the Moses of eternity was dumbfounded; it is by its virtue that the Abraham of faithfulness shattered the idol of the mortal body. Shatter then, in turn, this idol, that thou mayest take up thine abode in the land of the Beloved; and forsake all desire, that thou mayest take flight unto the Egypt of imperishable glory. Sanctify the city of thine heart, that thou mayest behold the beauty of the Divine Essence and be quickened to a new life through the grace of the Holy Spirit.

5 No melody remaineth that was not intoned upon this branch; no song remaineth that this Nightingale hath not warbled. A thousand Arabian ears are powerless to fathom this Persian lament—nay, none but an embodiment of divine virtues can grasp this subtle mystery. Well it is, then, with the one who attaineth this ocean and drinketh therefrom the draught of life!

Tablet C:

1 O thou lion-hearted soul,
Even as a lion roar,
That thy roaring may perchance
To the seventh heaven soar!

2 PRAISE BE to Him Whose Essence is immeasurably exalted above the strivings of human hearts, however pure, to soar into the atmosphere of His nearness, and Whose Being is immensely sanctifed beyond the exertions of human minds, however lofty, to ascend unto the heaven of His presence. From time immemorial He hath been exalted above the description of aught save Himself, and He will forever continue to be sanctifed beyond the praise of all created things. The hearts of them that have recognized Him are sore perplexed before the tokens of His everlasting handiwork, and the minds of them that have attained His court are bewildered by the wondrous evidences of the Revealers of His oneness. He, verily, is the All-Possessing, the Almighty, the Most Glorious, the Help in Peril, the Self-Subsisting.

3 O friend! Thine epistle was received. It told of naught save the fre which hath been kindled in the tree of human reality, and bore no message but that which bestoweth a new life upon enlightened hearts. Well is it with him that hath been set ablaze by the fre of thy love, and who hath quaffed the water of life from the cup of thine affection. "The righteous shall drink of a cup tempered at the camphor fountain."

4 To continue: Thy letter, which was a repository of the pearls of celestial knowledge, was brought before this Exile. God be praised, it rolled up the scrolls of separation and remoteness and spread out in their stead the realms of nearness and reunion. Methinks through the water of thy longing the fre of separation was changed into "coolness and safety".85 In truth, a perfect meeting was attained through thy letter, and, through thy mention of the stations of Divine Unity and the signs of pure abstraction and oneness, it lifted from the world the veils of limitation. And this, notwithstanding that even the limitations of the world of existence are praised and cherished by the wayfarer, for he seeth all things in the mirror of the verse "No defect canst thou see in the creation of the God of mercy", and at every moment he heareth with his inner ear the tongue of the Holy Spirit uttering the words "Seest thou a single flaw?" In faithlessness he beholdeth the secret of fdelity, and in deadly poison he tasteth the sweetest honey. Even vengeance is embraced in this state; nay more, the true lover welcometh the betrayal of the beloved.

Thy faithlessness I cherish more
Than every gift that life can give.
To suffer at thy vengeful hand—
How much dearer than to live!

5 Thus do the wayfarers in the wilderness of solitude and search experience events and conditions which, though to outward seeming be a mortal poison, are inwardly a wholesome draught, and though in appearance a passing mirage, are in reality pure and refreshing waters. Were I to attempt a full description of this station, neither could I express it nor the hearer grasp it. And whoso observeth with the eye of innate knowledge will confess, openly as well as privily, the selfsame truth.

6 As to perceived differences, these can be attributed to the divers stations that have been attained by them that tread the path of search and mystic knowledge. Thus, at one time the wayfarer beholdeth the lover hastening in search of the beloved through the wilderness of desolation, and at another he seeth the beloved yearning for the lover across the wilds of longing and devotion, or wandering, aimless and bewildered, the wastes of love in his pursuit.

"O for a drop to drink!" the thirsty soul doth groan;
"O for a thirsty soul!" the spring in turn doth moan.

7 From yet another vantage he perceiveth that the lover and the beloved are one and the same, and that the seeker is himself the very object of his search. "How can the lover from the loved one ever part?" So it is that, at times, the lovers of the celestial Beauty sound the clarion of "Say: All things are of God", while, at others, they raise the call of "It is from thyself."

8 Some have related the aforementioned stages to the inner and outer journeys of the soul, which is the station of "the knowledge of certitude", whilst others that have quaffed the wine of reunion regard each and every stage as relating to that knowledge, and consider the two stations of "the eye of certitude" and "the truth of certitude" as being exalted above and sanctifed beyond these realms and all that pertaineth unto them, even as hath been clearly affrmed by that mystic knower. [A reference to the three levels of certitude in the Islamic mystical tradition.] For in all these stages the mirror of the wayfarer's heart may bear the reflection of shadowy desires, wayward thoughts, and worldly attachments. Wherefore hath it been said that, in these stations, at one time the hosts of reason are triumphant and, at another, the armies of love prevail. At one time, the clouds of affliction and sorrow conceal the heavens of gladness and joy; at another, the eternal leviathan of love devoureth, in one fleeting moment, all manifestations of sadness, anguish, grief, and dejection, and the morn of divine guidance dawneth forth with the joyful tidings of "despair not of God's mercy",92 and the gentle breezes of His providence dispel every vestige of torpor and estrangement. These tidings, however, are not constant and immutable in these stations, and the wayfarer remaineth confned between the right hand of faith and assurance and the left hand of denial and despair.

9 Some wayfarers remain forever veiled in these stages. Others are assisted by invisible aid from the Source of unfailing grace, whereat the hosts of the Realm on high raise the tabernacle of divine power, and the ascendency of "and verily Our host shall conquer"93 is manifested, obliterating the signs and standards of every worldly attachment and limitation, even as alluded to by some who have attained this station. At such times, the ascendancy of God's names and attributes will so surround a soul as to leave it no place either to stay or to flee. This station, however, hath its own obscurities and impediments, for they that journey towards the land of Divine Unity and detachment are still wrapt within the confnes of names and attributes, and take delight in their gardens and bowers. Thus it is that, in describing these stations, some have made reference to the "unity of existence" and the "unity of appearance".94 By this is meant that the seeker will close his eyes to all save his Beloved and open them to naught but His beauty. He will pass beyond the mortal world and approach the everlasting realm. He will see no beauty but the Beloved's and hear no utterance but His praise; that is, he will avert his gaze from aught save His beauty and refuse to hearken to any melody but the sweet accents of His voice. Howbeit some are led astray even in this station; for no sooner do they inhale the fragrance of reunion, and hearken unto the voice of the doves of heavenly grace, than they imagine themselves to have attained perfection and wander lost in the wilderness of self-conceit, thus depriving themselves of the soft-flowing stream of divine providence and the ethereal cup of heavenly delight.

10 Yet others, assisted by the grace of the everlasting Friend, consume these veils with the fre of His love and step into the meads of ancient glory. That is, forsaking the wilderness of the "unity of existence", they attain unto the ultimate abode of the "true appearance of the Divine Unity". So clearly will they witness in this stage God's all-encompassing mercy that in every created thing, both in the world and in the souls of men, they will behold Him Who hath been interpreted as the Holy Outpouring. No longer will they close their eyes to any beauty, nor stop their ears from hearkening to any voice. For there is no prohibition in this stage and no debarment, inasmuch as in all things they will discern, with both their outer and inner eyes, the revelation of the signs of Him Who is the King of all names and attributes, and in every atom they will fnd a door that leadeth to the garden of Divine Unity and the city of pure abstraction. "Where'er I turn my gaze, 'tis Thee Whom I behold." So entirely will the hearts of the wayfarers be transported by longing for the ecstasies of this station that they will come to conceive no stage apart from this stage, to see themselves as abiding within the court of the Beloved and circling round His sanctuary, and to consider it as the ultimate abode of them that search and the uttermost station of such as have attained.

11 A myriad names and attributes have been ascribed to these degrees and stations, which I am disinclined to mention here. It is, indeed, solely because of thy longing and devotion that I have engaged in such ephemeral and limited topics. And this, notwithstanding that speech is the greatest evidence of the worth of the speaker and guideth unto the recognition of the source of guidance, for no more complete and enduring proof hath been or will be vouchsafed unto man from the empyrean of everlasting glory than words and utterance. This, verily, is a self-evident truth, for the braying of the donkey can never compare with the cooing of the dove. Never wilt thou hear from the raven the melodies of the nightingale, nor inhale from the abject beetle the fragrance of eternity.

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THE CALL CHAPTER 5

THE FOUR VALLEYS

[The Four Valleys (Persian: Chahár Vádí) is a book written in Persian by Baha'ullah, the founder of the Bahá'í Faith. The Seven Valleys (Persian: Haft-Vádí) was also written by Baha'ullah, and the two books are usually published together under the title The Seven Valleys and the Four Valleys. The two books are distinctly different and have no direct relation.

The Four Valleys was written around 1857 in Baghdad. Baha'ullah had recently returned from the mountains of Kurdistan where he had spent two years studying with various Sufi sheikhs using the pseudonym Darvish Muhammad-i-Irani. The Four Valleys was written in response to questions of Shaykh 'Abdu'r-Rahman-i-Talabani, the "honoured and indisputable leader" of the Qádiríyyih Order of Sufism. He never identified as a Bahá'í, but was known to his followers as having high respect and admiration for Baha'ullah.

In the book, Baha'ullah describes the qualities and grades of four types of mystical wayfarers: "Those who progress in mystic wayfaring are of four kinds."

The four are, roughly:

• Those who journey through strict observance of religious Laws.

• Those who journey to God through the use of logic & reason.

• Those who journey purely by the love of God.

• Those who journey by combination of the three approaches of obedience, reason, and inspiration.

This last is considered the highest or truest form of mystic union.

Vocabulary: There is some difficulty in translating a text written in a poetic style, with references to concepts of Sufism that may be foreign in the West. Some names are left in their original Arabic form. For example, Maqsud ("the Intended One") in this book is used in connection with the holy Kaaba in Mecca and serves as an adjective for it, i.e., it means "the intended Kaba", however, from the context it is clear that this is not a physical place but rather one of the stations on the path toward God.

Content: This tablet seems to contain many subjects, such as interpretation of scriptures, religious beliefs and doctrines of the past. The subjects addressed include: Mystical Writings, knowledge, divine philosophy, mysteries of creation, medicine, alchemy, etc. Throughout the book Baha'ullah exhorts men to education, goodly character and divine virtues. Text of The Four Valleys:]

HE IS THE EVER-LIVING.

1 O light of truth and sword of faith
And soul of generosity!
No prince hath sky or earth begot
Who fain could hope to rival thee!

[Rúmí. Bahá'u'lláh is here comparing Shaykh 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán, the recipient of the Tablet, with Ḥusámu'd-Dín Chalabí, to whom Rúmí dedicated his Mathnaví. Husamu'd-Dín means "sword of faith".]

2 I KNOW NOT why the tie of love was so abruptly severed and the frm covenant of friendship broken. Did ever, God forbid, My devotion lessen or My sincere affection fail, that I came to be so neglected and forgotten?

What fault didst thou observe in me
That made thee cease thy tender care?
Is it that poverty's our lot
And wealth and pageantry thy share?

3 Or is it that a single arrow hath driven thee from the battle? Hast thou not heard that steadfastness is the prime requisite of the mystic path and the means of admittance to His holy Court? "They that say 'Our Lord is God', and continue steadfast in His way, upon them, verily, shall the angels descend."

4 Likewise He saith, "Be thou steadfast as thou hast been bidden." It followeth that they that abide in the court of reunion must needs conduct themselves accordingly.

I do as bidden and convey the message,
Whether it give thee counsel or offence.

5 Though I have received no reply to My letter, and it would be unbeftting, in the eyes of the wise, to express anew My devotion, yet this new love hath annulled and effaced all the old rules and ways.

Tell us not the tale of Laylí, nor speak of Majnún's woe—
Thy love hath made the world forget the loves of long ago.
When once thy name was on the tongue, it reached the lovers' ears
And set the speakers and the hearers dancing to and fro.

6 And as to divine wisdom and heavenly admonitions:

Each moon, O my belov'd,
For three days I go mad;
Today's the frst of these—
'Tis why thou seest me glad.

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7 I hear that thou hast journeyed to Tabríz and Tiflis to engage in debate and instruction, or hast set out for Sanandaj to scale the heights of knowledge.

8 O my eminent friend! They that seek to ascend to the heaven of mystic wayfaring are of four kinds only. I shall describe them in brief, that the signs and degrees of each may become plain and manifest to thee.

9 If the wayfarers be among them that seek after THE SANCTUARY OF THE DESIRED ONE, this plane pertaineth to the self—but the self which is intended is "the Self of God that pervadeth all His laws". In this station the self is not rejected but beloved; it is regarded with favour and is not to be shunned. Although at the beginning this plane is the realm of conflict, yet it endeth in the ascent to the throne of glory. As it hath been said: O Abraham of the Spirit and God's Friend in this day! Slay! Slay these four thieving birds of prey! [Cf. Rúmí. Here Rúmí tells a story of four evil birds which, when put to death, changed into four birds of goodness. The allegory refers to subduing evil qualities and replacing them with good.] that after death the mystery of life may be unravelled.

10 This is the plane of the soul that is pleasing unto God, whereof He saith: "Enter thou among My servants, and enter thou My Paradise."

11 This station hath myriad signs and countless tokens. Hence it is said: "We will surely show them Our signs in the world and within themselves, until it become plain to them that there is no God save Him."

12 One must, then, read the book of one's own self, rather than the treatise of some grammarian. Wherefore He hath said, "Read thy Book: There needeth none but thyself to make out an account against thee this day."

13 The story is told of a mystic knower who went on a journey with a learned grammarian for a companion. They came to the shore of the Sea of Grandeur. The knower, putting his trust in God, straightway flung himself into the waves, but the grammarian stood bewildered and lost in thoughts that were as words traced upon the water. The mystic called out to him, "Why dost thou not follow?" The grammarian answered, "O brother, what can I do? As I dare not advance, I must needs go back again." Then the mystic cried, "Cast aside what thou hast learned from Síbavayh and Qawlavayh, from Ibn-i-Hájib and Ibn-i-Málik, and cross the water!" With renunciation, not with grammar's rules, one must be armed: Be nothing, then, and cross this sea unharmed.

14 Likewise He saith, "And be ye not like those who forget God, and whom He hath therefore caused to forget their own selves. Such men are the evil doers."

15 If the wayfarers be among them that dwell in THE COURT OF THE ALL-PRAISED, this is the station of the Intellect, which is known as the messenger of the realm of the body and the most great pillar. That which is intended, however, is the universal divine Intellect, whose sovereignty fostereth the growth of all things, and not every vain and feeble mind. Thus hath the wise Saná'í written:

How can meagre reason comprehend the Book,
Or the spider trap a phoenix in its web?
Wouldst thou that the mind not hold thee in its snare?
Seize it and enrol it in the school of God instead!

16 On this plane, the traveller meeteth with many a trial and reverse. Now is he lifted up to heaven, now is he cast into the depths. As it hath been said: "Now Thou drawest me to the throne of the realms above, again Thou scorchest me in the fre of hell." The hidden mystery of this station is divulged in the following blessed verse from the Súrih of the Cave: "And thou mightest have seen the sun when it arose, pass on the right of their cave, and when it set, leave them on the left, while they were in its spacious chamber. This is one of the signs of God. Guided indeed is he whom God guideth; but for him whom He misleadeth, thou shalt by no means fnd a guardian and guide."

17 If a soul could grasp the allusions that lie hid in this single verse, it would suffce him. Such indeed are those whom He hath extolled as "men whom neither merchandise nor traffc beguile from the remembrance of God".

18 This station is that of the true standard of knowledge and the fnal end of tests and trials. Nor is it needed, in this realm, to seek after knowledge, for He hath said concerning the guidance of wayfarers on this plane, "Fear ye God; God will teach you", and again, "Knowledge is a light which God casteth into the heart of whomsoever He willeth."

19 Wherefore, one must make ready the receptacle and become worthy of the descent of heavenly bestowals, that the all-suffcing Cup-Bearer may give one to drink of the wine of bounty from the crystal chalice of mercy. "For this let the striving strive!" And now do I say, "Verily, we are God's, and to Him shall we return."

20 If the lovers be among them that abide within the precincts of THE ABODE OF THE LODESTONE OF HEARTS, no soul may dwell on this kingly throne save the countenance of love. I am powerless to describe this station or to depict it in words.

Love shunneth this world and that world too;
In him are lunacies seventy-and-two.
The minstrel of love harpeth this lay:
Servitude enslaveth, lordship doth betray.

21 This plane demandeth pure love and unalloyed affection. In describing these companions He saith: "They speak not till He hath spoken, and act according to His commandment."

22 In this station, neither the reign of the intellect is suffcient nor the rule of self. Thus one of the Prophets of God asked, "O my Lord, how shall I reach Thee?" And the answer came: "Leave thy self behind, and then approach Me."

23 In the estimation of such souls, to be seated amidst the sandals by the door is the same as to abide at the place of honour, and in the path of the Beloved the retreats of earthly beauty differ not from the feld of a battle waged.

24 The dwellers of this abode know not the destination, yet they spur on their chargers. They see naught in the Beloved but His very Self. They fnd all words of sense to be meaningless, and senseless words to be full of meaning. They cannot distinguish head from foot or one limb from another. To them the mirage is water itself and departure is the mystery of return. Wherefore hath it been said:

The story of Thy beauty reached the hermit's dell;
Crazed, he sought the Tavern where the wine they buy and sell.
The love of Thee hath levelled down the fort of patience;
The pain of Thee hath frmly barred the gate of hope as well.118

25 In this station, both instruction and apprenticeship are assuredly of no avail:

The lovers' teacher is the Loved One's beauty,
His face their lesson and their only book.
Learning of wonderment, of longing love their duty;
Not on learned chapters and dull themes they look.
The chains that bind them are His musky hair;
The Cyclic Scheme, to them, is but to Him a stair.119

[Rumí. A reference to the Cyclic Theory of Avicenna (Abu-Alí Sína [980-1037 AD]).]

26 Here followeth a supplication to God—blessed and glorifed be He:

O Lord, O Thou Whose grace fulflleth every need!
To mention aught before Thee would be sin indeed.
Allow this mote of knowledge hidden in my soul
To free itself of lowly clay and reach its goal.
And grant this drop of wisdom that Thou gavest me To be at last united with Thy mighty sea.

27 Thus do I say: There is no power nor strength except in God, the Help in Peril, the Self-Subsisting.

28 If the mystic knowers be among them that have attained THE BEAUTY OF THE BELOVED, this station is the throne of the inmost heart and the secret of divine guidance. This is the seat of the mystery "He doeth what He willeth, and ordaineth what He pleaseth." Should all that are in heaven and on earth attempt to unravel this exalted allusion and subtle mystery, from now until the Day whereon the Trumpet shall sound, yet would they fail to comprehend even a letter thereof, for this is the station of God's immutable decree and His foreordained mystery. Hence, when asked regarding this matter, He made reply: "It is a bottomless sea that none shall ever fathom." And when the question was repeated, He answered: "It is the blackest of nights through which none can fnd his way."

29 Whoso comprehendeth this station will assuredly conceal it, and were he to reveal but the faintest trace thereof, they would assuredly hang him from the gallows. And yet, by God, were a true seeker to be found, I would divulge it to him; for He saith: "Love is a distinction never conferred upon a heart possessed by fear and dread."

30 In truth, the wayfarer who journeyeth unto God, who treadeth the snow-white Path and turneth towards the Crimson Pillar, will never reach his heavenly home unless his hands are empty of such worldly things as are cherished by men. "And he that feareth not God, God shall make him to fear all things; whereas all things fear him who feareth God."

Speak the Persian tongue, though the Arabian pleaseth more: Love indeed doth have a hundred other tongues in store.

31 How sweet in this connection is the following couplet:

Our hearts will be as open shells
Should He the pearls of grace bestow;
Our lives will ready targets be
Were He to hurl the darts of woe.

32 And were it not contrary to the commandment of the Book, I would surely have bestowed a part of My possessions upon My would-be murderer, and given him to inherit Mine earthly goods, and rendered him a myriad thanks, and solaced Mine own eyes with the touch of his hand. But what can I do? Neither have I any wealth, nor hath the Lord of destiny so decreed.

33 Methinks at this moment I perceive the musk-scented fragrance of the garment of Há' from the Joseph of Bahá; verily He seemeth near at hand, though ye may think Him far away.

My soul doth sense the fragrant breath
Of a well-beloved soul:
The fragrance of that kindly friend
Who's my heart's desire and goal.
The duty of long years of love obey,
And tell the tale of blissful days gone by,
That land and sky may laugh aloud today,
And it may gladden mind and heart and eye.

34 This is the realm of pure awareness and utter self-effacement. Not even love can fnd a way to this plane, nor doth affection have a place therein. Wherefore is it said: "Love is a veil betwixt the lover and the beloved." Here love becometh but an obstructing veil, and aught save the Friend but

a curtain. Thus the wise Saná'í hath written:

None may approach that well-belov'd
Who harboreth his own desire;
None may embrace that beauteous form
Who's burdened with his own attire.

For this is the realm of God and is sanctifed above every allusion of His creatures.

35 Abiding in the court of rapture, the dwellers of this mansion wield with utmost joy and gladness the sceptres of divinity and lordship; and, established upon the lofty seats of justice, they exert their rule and bestow upon every soul its due. Those who drink of this cup abide beneath the canopy of glory, above the throne of the Ancient of Days, and dwell upon the seat of grandeur beneath the tabernacle of majesty. These are they that "know neither sun nor piercing cold".

36 On this plane the highest heavens are neither opposed to, nor distinguished from, the lowly earth, for this is the realm of divine favours, not the arena of worldly contraries. Albeit at every moment a new condition be displayed, yet that condition is ever the same. Wherefore He saith in one instance, "Nothing whatsoever keepeth Him from being occupied with any other thing."

And in another He saith, "Verily, His ways differ every day."

37 This is the food whose savour changeth not and whose colour altereth not. Wert thou to partake thereof, thou wouldst assuredly recite the verse "I have turned my face to Him Who hath created the heavens and the earth, following the right religion and submissive before God. I am not one of those who add gods to God." "And thus did We show Abraham the kingdom of the heavens and of the earth, that he might be stablished in knowledge." Wherefore, put thy hand into thy bosom, then stretch it forth with power, and behold, thou shalt fnd it a light unto all the world.

38 How clear this crystal water that the enraptured Cup-Bearer passeth round! How exquisite this pure wine that the intoxicated Beauty doth proffer! How pleasing this draught of joy that floweth from the Heavenly Cup! Well is it with him who drinketh thereof, and tasteth of its sweetness, and attaineth unto its knowledge.

No more than this will I impart to thee:
The riverbed can never hold the sea.

39 For its mystery lieth hid in the storehouses of His inviolable protection and is laid up in the treasuries of His power. It is exalted above the highest essence of utterance and sanctifed beyond the subtlest mode of explanation.

40 Astonishment here is highly prized, and utter poverty greatly cherished. Wherefore hath He said, "Poverty is My pride." And again: "God hath a people beneath the canopy of grandeur, whom He hath concealed in the garment of poverty to exalt in rank." These are they who see with His eyes and hear with His ears, as hath been recorded in the well-known tradition.

41 Concerning this realm there is many a tradition and many a verse, whether of general or specifc import, but two of these will suffce, that they may serve as a light for knowing hearts and bring delight to longing souls.

42 The frst is His statement "O My servant! Obey Me, that I may make thee like unto Myself.

For I say 'Be', and it is, and thou shalt say 'Be', and it shall be." And the second: "O son of Adam! Seek fellowship with none until thou hast found Me, and whensoever thou shalt long for Me, thou shalt fnd Me nigh unto thee."

43 Whatever high proofs and wondrous allusions are recounted herein concern but a single letter and a single point. For such is God's method, and no change canst thou fnd in His mode of dealing.

44 I undertook to write this epistle some time ago in thy remembrance, and, since thy letter had not reached Me yet, I began with a few words of grievance and reproach. Now, thy new missive hath dispelled that feeling and hath caused Me to send thee this letter. To speak of My love for thine eminence is needless. "Suffcient witness is God unto us."

45 As for his eminence Shaykh Muḥammad—may God, the Exalted, bless him!—I shall confne Myself to the two following lines, which I request be delivered to him:

I seek thy nearness, more desired than heaven in mine eyes;
I see thy visage, fairer than the bowers of Paradise.

46 When I entrusted this message of love to My pen, it refused the burden and swooned away.

Then, coming to itself, it spoke and said, "Glory be to Thee! To Thee do I turn in penitence, and I am the frst of them that implore Thy pardon." All praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds!

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Let us tell, some other day
This parting hurt and woe;
Let us write, some other way,
Love's secrets—better so.
Leave blood and noise and all of these,
And say no more of Shams-i-Tabríz.

Peace be upon thee, and upon them who circle round thee and attain thy presence.

47 That which I had written ere this hath been eaten by the flies, so rich was the ink to their taste, even as Sa'dí hath said:

I write no more, beleaguered by the flies
That my sweet words have drawn about the page.

48 And now the hand can write no more, and pleadeth that this is enough. Wherefore do I say: Far from the glory of my Lord, the All-Glorious, be that which His creatures affirm of Him!

THE BOOK OF LAWS

The Book of Aqdas or: The Kitab-i-Aqdas
by Baha'u'llah, 1873
Translation: Shoghi Effendi Rabbani
Estimated Range of Dating: 1860-1873 A.D.

(The Kitab-i-Aqdas or Aqdas is the central book of the Bahá'í Faith written by Baha'ullah, the founder of the religion, in 1873. This work, the Kitab-i-Aqdas, and the following Kitab-i-Iqan, are excellent examples of how to create a new, a peaceful religion. The scriptures of the Bahai Faith were written in clear opposition to the Koran, which has been recognised as the most violent and oppressive book on Earth. By the people of the Bahai Faith, the scriptures of the Bahai Faith are seen as the righteous successors of the Jewish Bible, the Christian New Testament, the Zoroastrian Zend Avesta, and the Islamic Koran. The founders of the Bahai Faith have a simple message: Peace, Tolerance and Respect towards other people.

The work was written in Arabic under the Arabic title al-Kitābu l-Aqdas (or al-Kitāb al-ʾaqdās), but it is commonly referred to by its Persian title, Kitáb-i-Aqdas (or Ketâb Âqdas), which was given to the work by Bahá'u'lláh himself. It is sometimes also referred to as "the Most Holy Book", "the Book of Laws" or the Book of Aqdas. It has pretty much the same significance as the Torah / Pentateuch in the Bible. Bahá'u'lláh had manuscript copies sent to Bahá'ís in Iran some years after the revelation of the Kitab-i-Aqdas in 1873, and in 1890–91 he arranged for the publication of the original Arabic text of the book in Bombay, India. The Aqdas is referred to as "the Mother-Book" of the Bahá'í teachings, and the "Charter of the future world civilisation". It is not, however, only a 'book of laws': much of the content deals with other matters, notably ethical exhortations and addresses to various individuals, groups, and places. The Aqdas also discusses the establishment of Baha'i administrative institutions, Bahá'í religious practices, mysticism, laws of personal status, criminal law, spiritual and ethical exhortations, social principles, miscellaneous laws and abrogations, and prophecies. Shoghi Effendi Rabbani rendered the original writings into perfect Bible English.)

The text of THE KITÁB-I-AQDAS
(including Prayers, Synopsis of Laws, and Questions and Answers)

In The Name Of Him Who Is The Supreme Ruler Over All That Hath Been And All That Is To Be.

1 The first duty prescribed by God for His servants is the recognition of Him Who is the Dayspring of His Revelation and the Fountain of His laws, Who representeth the Godhead in both the Kingdom of His Cause and the world of creation. Whoso achieveth this duty hath attained unto all good; and whoso is deprived thereof hath gone astray, though he be the author of every righteous deed. It behoveth every one who reacheth this most sublime station, this summit of transcendent glory, to observe every ordinance of Him Who is the Desire of the world. These twin duties are inseparable. Neither is acceptable without the other. Thus hath it been decreed by Him Who is the Source of Divine inspiration.

2 They whom God hath endued with insight will readily recognise that the precepts laid down by God constitute the highest means for the maintenance of order in the world and the security of its peoples. He that turneth away from them is accounted among the abject and foolish. We, verily, have commanded you to refuse the dictates of your evil passions and corrupt desires, and not to transgress the bounds which the Pen of the Most High hath fixed, for these are the breath of life unto all created things. The seas of Divine wisdom and Divine utterance have risen under the breath of the breeze of the All-Merciful. Hasten to drink your fill, O men of understanding! They that have violated the Covenant of God by breaking His commandments, and have turned back on their heels, these have erred grievously in the sight of God, the All-Possessing, the Most High.

3 O ye peoples of the world! Know assuredly that My commandments are the lamps of My loving providence among My servants, and the keys of My mercy for My creatures. Thus hath it been sent down from the heaven of the Will of your Lord, the Lord of Revelation. Were any man to taste the sweetness of the words which the lips of the All-Merciful have willed to utter, he would, though the treasures of the earth be in his possession, renounce them one and all, that he might vindicate the truth of even one of His commandments, shining above the Dayspring of His bountiful care and loving-kindness.

4 Say: From My laws the sweet-smelling savour of My garment can be smelled, and by their aid the standards of Victory will be planted upon the highest peaks. The Tongue of My power hath, from the heaven of My omnipotent glory, addressed to My creation these words: "Observe My commandments, for the love of My beauty." Happy is the lover that hath inhaled the divine fragrance of his Best-Beloved from these words, laden with the perfume of a grace which no tongue can describe. By My life! He who hath drunk the choice wine of fairness from the hands of My bountiful favour will circle around My commandments that shine above the Dayspring of My creation.

5 Think not that We have revealed unto you a mere code of laws. Nay, rather, We have unsealed the choice Wine with the fingers of might and power. To this beareth witness that which the Pen of Revelation hath revealed. Meditate upon this, O men of insight!

6 We have enjoined obligatory prayer upon you, with nine rak'áhs, to be offered at noon and in the morning and the evening unto God, the Revealer of Verses. We have relieved you of a greater number, as a command in the Book of God. He, verily, is the Ordainer, the Omnipotent, the Unrestrained. When ye desire to perform this prayer, turn ye towards the Court of My Most Holy Presence, this Hallowed Spot that God hath made the Centre round which circle the Concourse on High, and which He hath decreed to be the Point of Adoration for the denizens of the Cities of Eternity, and the Source of Command unto all that are in heaven and on earth; and when the Sun of Truth and Utterance shall set, turn your faces towards the Spot that We have ordained for you. He, verily, is Almighty and Omniscient.

7 Everything that is hath come to be through His irresistible decree. Whenever My laws appear like the sun in the heaven of Mine utterance, they must be faithfully obeyed by all, though My decree be such as to cause the heaven of every religion to be cleft asunder. He doeth what He pleaseth. He chooseth, and none may question His choice. Whatsoever He, the Well-Beloved, ordaineth, the same is, verily, beloved. To this He Who is the Lord of all creation beareth Me witness. Whoso hath inhaled the sweet fragrance of the All-Merciful, and recognized the Source of this utterance, will welcome with his own eyes the shafts of the enemy, that he may establish the truth of the laws of God amongst men. Well is it with him that hath turned thereunto, and apprehended the meaning of His decisive decree.

8 We have set forth the details of obligatory prayer in another Tablet. Blessed is he who observeth that whereunto he hath been bidden by Him Who ruleth over all mankind. In the Prayer for the Dead six specific passages have been sent down by God, the Revealer of Verses. Let one who is able to read recite that which hath been revealed to precede these passages; and as for him who is unable, God hath relieved him of this requirement. He, of a truth, is the Mighty, the Pardoner.

9 Hair doth not invalidate your prayer, nor aught from which the spirit hath departed, such as bones and the like. Ye are free to wear the fur of the sable as ye would that of the beaver, the squirrel, and other animals; the prohibition of its use hath stemmed, not from the Koran, but from the misconceptions of the divines. He, verily, is the All-Glorious, the All-Knowing.

10 We have commanded you to pray and fast from the beginning of maturity; this is ordained by God, your Lord and the Lord of your forefathers. He hath exempted from this those who are weak from illness or age, as a bounty from His Presence, and He is the Forgiving, the Generous. God hath granted you leave to prostrate yourselves on any surface that is clean, for We have removed in this regard the limitation that had been laid down in the Book; God, indeed, hath knowledge of that whereof ye know naught. Let him that findeth no water for ablution repeat five times the words "In the Name of God, the Most Pure, the Most Pure", and then proceed to his devotions. Such is the command of the Lord of all worlds. In regions where the days and nights grow long, let times of prayer be gauged by clocks and other instruments that mark the passage of the hours. He, verily, is the Expounder, the Wise.

11 We have absolved you from the requirement of performing the Prayer of the Signs. On the appearance of fearful natural events call ye to mind the might and majesty of your Lord, He Who heareth and seeth all, and say "Dominion is God's, the Lord of the seen and the unseen, the Lord of creation".

12 It hath been ordained that obligatory prayer is to be performed by each of you individually. Save in the Prayer for the Dead, the practice of congregational prayer hath been annulled. He, of a truth, is the Ordainer, the All-Wise.

13 God hath exempted women who are in their courses from obligatory prayer and fasting. Let them, instead, after performance of their ablutions, give praise unto God, repeating ninety-five times between the noon of one day and the next "Glorified be God, the Lord of Splendour and Beauty". Thus hath it been decreed in the Book, if ye be of them that comprehend.

14 When travelling, if ye should stop and rest in some safe spot, perform ye—men and women alike—a single prostration in place of each unsaid Obligatory Prayer, and while prostrating say "Glorified be God, the Lord of Might and Majesty, of Grace and Bounty". Whoso is unable to do this, let him say only "Glorified be God"; this shall assuredly suffice him. He is, of a truth, the all-sufficing, the ever-abiding, the forgiving, compassionate God. Upon completing your prostrations, seat yourselves cross-legged—men and women alike—and eighteen times repeat "Glorified be God, the Lord of the kingdoms of earth and heaven". Thus doth the Lord make plain the ways of truth and guidance, ways that lead to one way, which is this Straight Path. Render thanks unto God for this most gracious favour; offer praise unto Him for this bounty that hath encompassed the heavens and the earth; extol Him for this mercy that hath pervaded all creation.

15 Say: God hath made My hidden love the key to the Treasure; would that ye might perceive it! But for the key, the Treasure would to all eternity have remained concealed; would that ye might believe it! Say: This is the Source of Revelation, the Dawning-place of Splendour, Whose brightness hath illumined the horizons of the world. Would that ye might understand! This is, verily, that fixed Decree through which every irrevocable decree hath been established.

16 O Pen of the Most High! Say: O people of the world! We have enjoined upon you fasting during a brief period, and at its close have designated for you Naw-Rúz as a feast. Thus hath the Day-Star of Utterance shone forth above the horizon of the Book as decreed by Him Who is the Lord of the beginning and the end. Let the days in excess of the months be placed before the month of fasting. We have ordained that these, amid all nights and days, shall be the manifestations of the letter Há, and thus they have not been bounded by the limits of the year and its months. It behoveth the people of Bahá, throughout these days, to provide good cheer for themselves, their kindred and, beyond them, the poor and needy, and with joy and exultation to hail and glorify their Lord, to sing His praise and magnify His Name; and when they end—these days of giving that precede the season of restraint—let them enter upon the Fast. Thus hath it been ordained by Him Who is the Lord of all mankind. The traveller, the ailing, those who are with child or giving suck, are not bound by the Fast; they have been exempted by God as a token of His grace. He, verily, is the Almighty, the Most Generous.

17 These are the ordinances of God that have been set down in the Books and Tablets by His Most Exalted Pen. Hold ye fast unto His statutes and commandments, and be not of those who, following their idle fancies and vain imaginings, have clung to the standards fixed by their own selves, and cast behind their backs the standards laid down by God. Abstain from food and drink from sunrise to sundown, and beware lest desire deprive you of this grace that is appointed in the Book.

18 It hath been ordained that every believer in God, the Lord of Judgement, shall, each day, having washed his hands and then his face, seat himself and, turning unto God, repeat "Alláh-u-Abhá" ninety-five times. Such was the decree of the Maker of the Heavens when, with majesty and power, He established Himself upon the thrones of His Names. Perform ye, likewise, ablutions for the Obligatory Prayer; this is the command of God, the Incomparable, the Unrestrained.

19 Ye have been forbidden to commit murder or adultery, or to engage in backbiting or calumny; shun ye, then, what hath been prohibited in the holy Books and Tablets.

20 We have divided inheritance into seven categories: to the children, We have allotted nine parts comprising five hundred and forty shares; to the wife, eight parts comprising four hundred and eighty shares; to the father, seven parts comprising four hundred and twenty shares; to the mother, six parts comprising three hundred and sixty shares; to the brothers, five parts or three hundred shares; to the sisters, four parts or two hundred and forty shares; and to the teachers, three parts or one hundred and eighty shares. Such was the ordinance of My Forerunner, He Who extolleth My Name in the night season and at the break of day. When We heard the clamour of the children as yet unborn, We doubled their share and decreased those of the rest. He, of a truth, hath power to ordain whatsoever He desireth, and He doeth as He pleaseth by virtue of His sovereign might.

21 Should the deceased leave no offspring, their share shall revert to the House of Justice, to be expended by the Trustees

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of the All-Merciful on the orphaned and widowed, and on whatsoever will bring benefit to the generality of the people, that all may give thanks unto their Lord, the All-Gracious, the Pardoner.

22 Should the deceased leave offspring, but none of the other categories of heirs that have been specified in the Book, they shall receive two thirds of the inheritance and the remaining third shall revert to the House of Justice. Such is the command which hath been given, in majesty and glory, by Him Who is the All-Possessing, the Most High.

23 If the deceased should leave none of the specified heirs, but have among his relatives nephews and nieces, whether on his brother's or his sister's side, two thirds of the inheritance shall pass to them; or, lacking these, to his uncles and aunts on both his father's and his mother's side, and after them to their sons and daughters. The remaining third of the inheritance shall, in any case, revert to the Seat of Justice. Thus hath it been laid down in the Book by Him Who ruleth over all men.

24 Should the deceased be survived by none of those whose names have been recorded by the Pen of the Most High, his estate shall, in its entirety, revert to the aforementioned Seat that it may be expended on that which is prescribed by God. He, verily, is the Ordainer, the Omnipotent.

25 We have assigned the residence and personal clothing of the deceased to the male, not female, offspring, nor to the other heirs. He, verily, is the Munificent, the All-Bountiful.

26 Should the son of the deceased have passed away in the days of his father and have left children, they will inherit their father's share, as prescribed in the Book of God. Divide ye their share amongst them with perfect justice. Thus have the billows of the Ocean of Utterance surged, casting forth the pearls of the laws decreed by the Lord of all mankind.

27 If the deceased should leave children who are under age, their share of the inheritance must be entrusted to a reliable individual, or to a company, that it may be invested on their behalf in trade and business until they come of age. The trustee should be assigned a due share of the profit that hath accrued to it from being thus employed.

28 Division of the estate should take place only after the Ḥuqúqu'lláh hath been paid, any debts have been settled, the expenses of the funeral and burial defrayed, and such provision made that the deceased may be carried to his resting-place with dignity and honour. Thus hath it been ordained by Him Who is Lord of the beginning and the end.

29 Say: This is that hidden knowledge which shall never change, since its beginning is with nine, the symbol that betokeneth the concealed and manifest, the inviolable and unapproachably exalted Name. As for what We have appropriated to the children, this is a bounty conferred on them by God, that they may render thanks unto their Lord, the Compassionate, the Merciful. These, verily, are the Laws of God; transgress them not at the prompting of your base and selfish desires. Observe ye the injunctions laid upon you by Him Who is the Dawning-place of Utterance. The sincere among His servants will regard the precepts set forth by God as the Water of Life to the followers of every faith, and the Lamp of wisdom and loving providence to all the denizens of earth and heaven.

30 The Lord hath ordained that in every city a House of Justice be established wherein shall gather counsellors to the number of Bahá, and should it exceed this number it doth not matter. They should consider themselves as entering the Court of the presence of God, the Exalted, the Most High, and as beholding Him Who is the Unseen. It behoveth them to be the trusted ones of the Merciful among men and to regard themselves as the guardians appointed of God for all that dwell on earth. It is incumbent upon them to take counsel together and to have regard for the interests of the servants of God, for His sake, even as they regard their own interests, and to choose that which is meet and seemly. Thus hath the Lord your God commanded you. Beware lest ye put away that which is clearly revealed in His Tablet. Fear God, O ye that perceive.

31 O people of the world! Build ye houses of worship throughout the lands in the name of Him Who is the Lord of all religions. Make them as perfect as is possible in the world of being, and adorn them with that which befitteth them, not with images and effigies. Then, with radiance and joy, celebrate therein the praise of your Lord, the Most Compassionate. Verily, by His 30 remembrance the eye is cheered and the heart is filled with light.

32 The Lord hath ordained that those of you who are able shall make pilgrimage to the sacred House, and from this He hath exempted women as a mercy on His part. He, of a truth, is the All-Bountiful, the Most Generous.

33 O people of Bahá! It is incumbent upon each one of you to engage in some occupation—such as a craft, a trade or the like. We have exalted your engagement in such work to the rank of worship of the one true God. Reflect, O people, on the grace and blessings of your Lord, and yield Him thanks at eventide and dawn. Waste not your hours in idleness and sloth, but occupy yourselves with what will profit you and others. Thus hath it been decreed in this Tablet from whose horizon hath shone the day-star of wisdom and utterance. The most despised of men in the sight of God are they who sit and beg. Hold ye fast unto the cord of means and place your trust in God, the Provider of all means.

34 The kissing of hands hath been forbidden in the Book. This practice is prohibited by God, the Lord of glory and command. To none is it permitted to seek absolution from another soul; let repentance be between yourselves and God. He, verily, is the Pardoner, the Bounteous, the Gracious, the One Who absolveth the repentant.

35 O ye servants of the Merciful One! Arise to serve the Cause of God, in such wise that the cares and sorrows caused by them that have disbelieved in the Dayspring of the Signs of God may not afflict you. At the time when the Promise was fulfilled and the Promised One made manifest, differences have appeared amongst the kindreds of the earth and each people hath followed its own fancy and idle imaginings.

36 Amongst the people is he who seateth himself amid the sandals by the door whilst coveting in his heart the seat of honour. Say: What manner of man art thou, O vain and heedless one, who wouldst appear as other than thou art? And among the people is he who layeth claim to inner knowledge, and still deeper knowledge concealed within this knowledge. Say: Thou speakest false! By God! What thou dost possess is naught but husks which We have left to thee as bones are left to dogs. By the righteousness of the one true God! Were anyone to wash the feet of all mankind, and were he to worship God in the forests, valleys, and mountains, upon high hills and lofty peaks, to leave no rock or tree, no clod of earth, but was a witness to his worship—yet, should the fragrance of My good pleasure not be inhaled from him, his works would never be acceptable unto God. Thus hath it been decreed by Him Who is the Lord of all. How many a man hath secluded himself in the climes of India, denied himself the things that God hath decreed as lawful, imposed upon himself austerities and mortifications, and hath not been remembered by God, the Revealer of Verses. Make not your deeds as snares wherewith to entrap the object of your aspiration, and deprive not yourselves of this Ultimate Objective for which have ever yearned all such as have drawn nigh unto God. Say: The very life of all deeds is My good pleasure, and all things depend upon Mine acceptance. Read ye the Tablets that ye may know what hath been purposed in the Books of God, the All-Glorious, the Ever-Bounteous. He who attaineth to My love hath title to a throne of gold, to sit thereon in honour over all the world; he who is deprived thereof, though he sit upon the dust, that dust would seek refuge with God, the Lord of all Religions.

37 Whoso layeth claim to a Revelation direct from God, ere the expiration of a full thousand years, such a man is assuredly a lying impostor. We pray God that He may graciously assist him to retract and repudiate such claim. Should he repent, God will, no doubt, forgive him. If, however, he persisteth in his error, God will, assuredly, send down one who will deal mercilessly with him. Terrible, indeed, is God in punishing! Whosoever interpreteth this verse otherwise than its obvious meaning is deprived of the Spirit of God and of His mercy which encompasseth all created things. Fear God, and follow not your idle fancies. Nay, rather, follow the bidding of your Lord, the Almighty, the All-Wise. Erelong shall clamorous voices be raised in most lands. Shun them, O My people, and follow not the iniquitous and evil-hearted. This is that of which We gave you forewarning when We were dwelling in Iráq, then later while in the Land of Mystery, and now from this Resplendent Spot.

38 Be not dismayed, O peoples of the world, when the day-star of My beauty is set, and the heaven of My tabernacle is concealed from your eyes. Arise to further My Cause, and to exalt My Word amongst men. We are with you at all times, and shall strengthen you through the power of truth. We are truly almighty. Whoso hath recognized Me will arise and serve Me with such determination that the powers of earth and heaven shall be unable to defeat his purpose.

39 The peoples of the world are fast asleep. Were they to wake from their slumber, they would hasten with eagerness unto God, the All-Knowing, the All-Wise. They would cast away everything they possess, be it all the treasures of the earth, that their Lord may remember them to the extent of addressing to them but one word. Such is the instruction given you by Him Who holdeth the knowledge of things hidden, in a Tablet which the eye of creation hath not seen, and which is revealed to none except His own Self, the omnipotent Protector of all worlds. So bewildered are they in the drunkenness of their evil desires, that they are powerless to recognise the Lord of all being, Whose voice calleth aloud from every direction: "There is none other God but Me, the Mighty, the All-Wise."

40 Say: Rejoice not in the things ye possess; tonight they are yours, tomorrow others will possess them. Thus warneth you He Who is the All-Knowing, the All-Informed. Say: Can ye claim that what ye own is lasting or secure? Nay! By Myself, the All-Merciful, ye cannot, if ye be of them who judge fairly. The days of your life flee away as a breath of wind, and all your pomp and glory shall be folded up as were the pomp and glory of those gone before you. Reflect, O people! What hath become of your bygone days, your lost centuries? Happy the days that have been consecrated to the remembrance of God, and blessed the hours which have been spent in praise of Him Who is the All-Wise. By My life! Neither the pomp of the mighty, nor the wealth of the rich, nor even the ascendancy of the ungodly will endure. All will perish, at a word from Him. He, verily, is the All-Powerful, the All-Compelling, the Almighty. What advantage is there in the earthly things which men possess? That which shall profit them, they have utterly neglected. Erelong, they will awake from their slumber, and find themselves unable to obtain that which hath escaped them in the days of their Lord, the Almighty, the All-Praised. Did they but know it, they would renounce their all, that their names may be mentioned before His throne. They, verily, are accounted among the dead.

41 Amongst the people is he whose learning hath made him proud, and who hath been debarred thereby from recognizing My Name, the Self-Subsisting; who, when he heareth the tread of sandals following behind him, waxeth greater in his own esteem than Nimrod. Say: O rejected one! Where now is his abode? By God, it is the nethermost fire. Say: O concourse of divines! Hear ye not the shrill voice of My Most Exalted Pen? See ye not this Sun that shineth in refulgent splendour above the All-Glorious Horizon? For how long will ye worship the idols of your evil passions? Forsake your vain imaginings, and turn yourselves unto God, your Everlasting Lord.

42 Endowments dedicated to charity revert to God, the Revealer of Signs. None hath the right to dispose of them without leave from Him Who is the Dawning-place of Revelation. After Him, this authority shall pass to the Aghsán, and after them to the House of Justice—should it be established in the world by then—that they may use these endowments for the benefit of the Places which have been exalted in this Cause, and for whatsoever hath been enjoined upon them by Him Who is the God of might and power. Otherwise, the endowments shall revert to the people of Bahá who speak not except by His leave and judge not save in accordance with what God hath decreed in this Tablet—lo, they are the champions of victory betwixt heaven and earth—that they may use them in the manner that hath been laid down in the Book by God, the Mighty, the Bountiful.

43 Lament not in your hours of trial, neither rejoice therein; seek ye the Middle Way which is the remembrance of Me in your afflictions and reflection over that which may befall you in future. Thus informeth you He Who is the Omniscient, He Who is aware. 44 Shave not your heads; God hath adorned them with hair, and in this there are signs from the Lord of creation to those who reflect upon the requirements of nature. He, verily, is the God of strength and wisdom. Notwithstanding, it is not seemly to let the hair pass beyond the limit of the ears. Thus hath it been decreed by Him Who is the Lord of all worlds.

45 Exile and imprisonment are decreed for the thief, and, on the third offence, place ye a mark upon his brow so that, thus identified, he may not be accepted in the cities of God and His countries. Beware lest, through compassion, ye neglect to carry out the statutes of the religion of God; do that which hath been bidden you by Him Who is compassionate and merciful. We school you with the rod of wisdom and laws, like unto the father who educateth his son, and this for naught but the protection of your own selves and the elevation of your stations. By My life, were ye to discover what We have desired for you in revealing Our holy laws, ye would offer up your very souls for this sacred, this mighty, and most exalted Faith.

46 Whoso wisheth to make use of vessels of silver and gold is at liberty to do so. Take heed lest, when partaking of food, ye plunge your hands into the contents of bowls and platters. Adopt ye such usages as are most in keeping with refinement. He, verily, desireth to see in you the manners of the inmates of Paradise in His mighty and most sublime Kingdom. Hold ye fast unto refinement under all conditions, that your eyes may be preserved from beholding what is repugnant both to your own selves and to the dwellers of Paradise. Should anyone depart therefrom, his deed shall at that moment be rendered vain; yet should he have good reason, God will excuse him. He, in truth, is the Gracious, the Most Bountiful.

47 He Who is the Dawning-place of God's Cause hath no partner in the Most Great Infallibility. He it is Who, in the kingdom of creation, is the Manifestation of "He doeth whatsoever He willeth". God hath reserved this distinction unto His own Self, and ordained for none a share in so sublime and transcendent a station. This is the Decree of God, concealed ere now within the veil of impenetrable mystery. We have disclosed it in this Revelation, and have thereby rent asunder the veils of such as have failed to recognize that which the Book of God set forth and who were numbered with the heedless.

48 Unto every father hath been enjoined the instruction of his son and daughter in the art of reading and writing and in all that hath been laid down in the Holy Tablet. He that putteth away that which is commanded unto him, the Trustees

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are then to take from him that which is required for their instruction if he be wealthy and, if not, the matter devolveth upon the House of Justice. Verily have We made it a shelter for the poor and needy. He that bringeth up his son or the son of another, it is as though he hath brought up a son of Mine; upon him rest My glory, My loving-kindness, My mercy, that have compassed the world.

49 God hath imposed a fine on every adulterer and adulteress, to be paid to the House of Justice: nine mithqáls of gold, to be doubled if they should repeat the offence. Such is the penalty which He Who is the Lord of Names hath assigned them in this world; and in the world to come He hath ordained for them a humiliating torment. Should anyone be afflicted by a sin, it behoveth him to repent thereof and return unto his Lord. He, verily, granteth forgiveness unto whomsoever He willeth, and none may question that which it pleaseth Him to ordain. He is, in truth, the Ever-Forgiving, the Almighty, the All-Praised.

50 Beware lest ye be hindered by the veils of glory from partaking of the crystal waters of this living Fountain. Seize ye the chalice of salvation at this dawntide in the name of Him Who causeth the day to break, and drink your fill in praise of Him Who is the All-Glorious, the Incomparable.

51 We have made it lawful for you to listen to music and singing. Take heed, however, lest listening thereto should cause you to overstep the bounds of propriety and dignity. Let your joy be the joy born of My Most Great Name, a Name that bringeth rapture to the heart, and filleth with ecstasy the minds of all who have drawn nigh unto God. We, verily, have made music as a ladder for your souls, a means whereby they may be lifted up unto the realm on high; make it not, therefore, as wings to self and passion. Truly, We are loath to see you numbered with the foolish.

52 We have decreed that a third part of all fines shall go to the Seat of Justice, and We admonish its men to observe pure justice, that they may expend what is thus accumulated for such purposes as have been enjoined upon them by Him Who is the All-Knowing, the All-Wise. O ye Men of Justice! Be ye, in the realm of God, shepherds unto His sheep and guard them from the ravening wolves that have appeared in disguise, even as ye would guard your own sons. Thus exhorteth you the Counsellor, the Faithful.

53 Should differences arise amongst you over any matter, refer it to God while the Sun still shineth above the horizon of this Heaven and, when it hath set, refer ye to whatsoever hath been sent down by Him. This, 39 verily, is sufficient unto the peoples of the world. Say: Let not your hearts be perturbed, O people, when the glory of My Presence is withdrawn, and the ocean of My utterance is stilled. In My presence amongst you there is a wisdom, and in My absence there is yet another, inscrutable to all but God, the Incomparable, the All-Knowing. Verily, We behold you from Our realm of glory, and shall aid whosoever will arise for the triumph of Our Cause with the hosts of the Concourse on high and a company of Our favoured angels.

54 O peoples of the earth! God, the Eternal Truth, is My witness that streams of fresh and soft-flowing waters have gushed from the rocks through the sweetness of the words uttered by your Lord, the Unconstrained; and still ye slumber. Cast away that which ye possess, and, on the wings of detachment, soar beyond all created things. Thus biddeth you the Lord of creation, the movement of Whose Pen hath revolutionized the soul of mankind.

55 Know ye from what heights your Lord, the All-Glorious, is calling? Think ye that ye have recognized the Pen wherewith your Lord, the Lord of all names, commandeth you? Nay, by My life! Did ye but know it, ye would renounce the world, and would hasten with your whole hearts to the presence of the Well-Beloved. Your spirits would be so transported by His Word as to throw into commotion the Greater World—how much more this small and petty one! Thus have the showers of My bounty been poured down from the heaven of My loving-kindness, as a token of My grace, that ye may be of the thankful.

56 The penalties for wounding or striking a person depend upon the severity of the injury; for each degree the Lord of Judgement hath prescribed a certain indemnity. He is, in truth, the Ordainer, the Mighty, the Most Exalted. We shall, if it be Our Will, set forth these payments in their just degrees—this is a promise on Our part, and He, verily, is the Keeper of His pledge, the Knower of all things.

57 Verily, it is enjoined upon you to offer a feast, once in every month, though only water be served; for God hath purposed to bind hearts together, albeit through both earthly and heavenly means.

58 Beware lest the desires of the flesh and of a corrupt inclination provoke divisions among you. Be ye as the fingers of one hand, the members of one body. Thus counselleth you the Pen of Revelation, if ye be of them that believe.

59 Consider the mercy of God and His gifts. He enjoineth upon you that which shall profit you, though He Himself can well dispense with all creatures. Your evil doings can never harm Us, neither can your good works profit Us. We summon you wholly for the sake of God. To this every man of understanding and insight will testify.

60 If ye should hunt with beasts or birds of prey, invoke ye the Name of God when ye send them to pursue their quarry; for then whatever they catch shall be lawful unto you, even should ye find it to have died. He, verily, is the Omniscient, the All-Informed. Take heed, however, that ye hunt not to excess. Tread ye the path of justice and equity in all things. Thus biddeth you He Who is the Dawning-place of Revelation, would that ye might comprehend.

61 God hath bidden you to show forth kindliness towards My kindred, but He hath granted them no right to the property of others. He, verily, is self-sufficient, above any need of His creatures.

62 Should anyone intentionally destroy a house by fire, him also shall ye burn; should anyone deliberately take another's life, him also shall ye put to death. Take ye hold of the precepts of God with all your strength and power, and abandon the ways of the ignorant. Should ye condemn the arsonist and the murderer to life imprisonment, it would be permissible according to the provisions of the Book. He, verily, hath power to ordain whatsoever He pleaseth.

63 God hath prescribed matrimony unto you. Beware that ye take not unto yourselves more wives than two. Whoso contenteth himself with a single partner from among the maidservants of God, both he and she shall live in tranquillity. And he who would take into his service a maid may do so with propriety. Such is the ordinance which, in truth and justice, hath been recorded by the Pen of Revelation. Enter into wedlock, O people, that ye may bring forth one who will make mention of Me amid My servants. This is My bidding unto you; hold fast to it as an assistance to yourselves.

64 O people of the world! Follow not the promptings of the self, for it summoneth insistently to wickedness and lust; follow, rather, Him Who is the Possessor of all created things, Who biddeth you to show forth piety, and manifest the fear of God. He, verily, is independent 42 of all His creatures. Take heed not to stir up mischief in the land after it hath been set in order. Whoso acteth in this way is not of Us, and We are quit of him. Such is the command which hath, through the power of truth, been made manifest from the heaven of Revelation.

65 It hath been laid down in the Bayán that marriage is dependent upon the consent of both parties. Desiring to establish love, unity and harmony amidst Our servants, We have conditioned it, once the couple's wish is known, upon the permission of their parents, lest enmity and rancour should arise amongst them. And in this We have yet other purposes. Thus hath Our commandment been ordained.

66 No marriage may be contracted without payment of a dowry, which hath been fixed for city-dwellers at nineteen mithqáls of pure gold, and for village-dwellers at the same amount in silver. Whoso wisheth to increase this sum, it is forbidden him to exceed the limit of ninety-five mithqáls. Thus hath the command been writ in majesty and power. If he content himself, however, with a payment of the lowest level, it shall be better for him according to the Book. God, verily, enricheth whomsoever He willeth through both heavenly and earthly means, and He, in truth, hath power over all things.

67 It hath been decreed by God that, should any one of His servants intend to travel, he must fix for his wife a time when he will return home. If he return by the promised time, he will have obeyed the bidding of his Lord and shall be numbered by the Pen of His behest 43 among the righteous; otherwise, if there be good reason for delay, he must inform his wife and make the utmost endeavour to return to her. Should neither of these eventualities occur, it behoveth her to wait for a period of nine months, after which there is no impediment to her taking another husband; but should she wait longer, God, verily, loveth those women and men who show forth patience. Obey ye My commandments, and follow not the ungodly, they who have been reckoned as sinners in God's Holy Tablet. If, during the period of her waiting, word should reach her from her husband, she should choose the course that is praiseworthy. He, of a truth, desireth that His servants and His handmaids should be at peace with one another; take heed lest ye do aught that may provoke intransigence amongst you. Thus hath the decree been fixed and the promise come to pass. If, however, news should reach her of her husband's death or murder, and be confirmed by general report, or by the testimony of two just witnesses, it behoveth her to remain single; then, upon completion of the fixed number of months, she is free to adopt the course of her choosing. Such is the bidding of Him Who is mighty and powerful in His command.

68 Should resentment or antipathy arise between husband and wife, he is not to divorce her but to bide in patience throughout the course of one whole year, that perchance the fragrance of affection may be renewed between them. If, upon the completion of this period, their love hath not returned, it is permissible for divorce to take place. God's wisdom, verily, hath encompassed all things. The Lord hath prohibited, in a Tablet inscribed by the Pen of His command, the practice to which ye formerly had recourse when thrice ye had divorced a woman. This He hath done as a favour on His part, that ye may be accounted among the thankful. He who hath divorced his wife may choose, upon the passing of each month, to remarry her when there is mutual affection and consent, so long as she hath not taken another husband. Should she have wed again, then, by this other union, the separation is confirmed and the matter is concluded unless, clearly, her circumstances change. Thus hath the decree been inscribed with majesty in this glorious Tablet by Him Who is the Dawning-place of Beauty.

69 If the wife accompany her husband on a journey, and differences arise between them on the way, he is required to provide her with her expenses for one whole year, and either to return her whence she came or to entrust her, together with the necessaries for her journey, to a dependable person who is to escort her home. Thy Lord, verily, ordaineth as He pleaseth, by virtue of a sovereignty that overshadoweth the peoples of the earth.

70 Should a woman be divorced in consequence of a proven act of infidelity, she shall receive no maintenance during her period of waiting. Thus hath the day-star of Our commandment shone forth resplendent from the firmament of justice. Truly, the Lord loveth union and harmony and abhorreth separation and divorce. Live ye one with another, O people, in radiance and joy. By My life! All that are on earth shall pass away, while good deeds alone shall endure; to the truth of My words God doth Himself bear witness. Compose your differences, O My servants; then heed ye the admonition of Our Pen of Glory and follow not the arrogant and wayward.

71 Take heed lest the world beguile you as it beguiled the people who went before you! Observe ye the statutes and precepts of your Lord, and walk ye in this Way which hath been laid out before you in righteousness and truth. They who eschew iniquity and error, who adhere to virtue, are, in the sight of the one true God, among the choicest of His creatures; their names are extolled by the Concourse of the realms above, and by those who dwell in this Tabernacle which hath been raised in the name of God.

72 It is forbidden you to trade in slaves, be they men or women. It is not for him who is himself a servant to buy another of God's servants, and this hath been prohibited in His Holy Tablet. Thus, by His mercy, hath the commandment been recorded by the Pen of justice. Let no man exalt himself above another; all are but bondslaves before the Lord, and all exemplify the truth that there is none other God but Him. He, verily, is the All-Wise, Whose wisdom encompasseth all things.

73 Adorn yourselves with the raiment of goodly deeds. He whose deeds attain unto God's good pleasure is assuredly of the people of Bahá and is remembered before His throne. Assist ye the Lord of all creation with works of righteousness, and also through wisdom and utterance. Thus, indeed, have ye been commanded in most of the Tablets by Him Who is the All-Merciful. He, truly, is cognizant of what I say. Let none contend with another, and let no soul slay another; this, verily, is that which was forbidden you in a Book that hath lain concealed within the Tabernacle of glory. What! Would ye kill him whom God hath quickened, whom He hath endowed with spirit through a breath from Him? Grievous then would be your trespass before His throne! Fear God, and lift not the hand of injustice and oppression to destroy what He hath Himself raised up; nay, walk ye in the way of God, the True One. No sooner did the hosts of true knowledge appear, bearing the standards of Divine utterance, than the tribes of the religions were put to flight, save only those who willed to drink from the stream of everlasting life in a Paradise created by the breath of the All-Glorious.

74 God hath decreed, in token of His mercy unto His creatures, that semen is not unclean. Yield thanks unto Him with joy and radiance, and follow not such as are remote from the Dawning-place of His nearness. Arise ye, under all conditions, to render service to the Cause, for God will assuredly assist you through the power of His sovereignty which overshadoweth the worlds. Cleave ye unto the cord of refinement with such tenacity as to allow no trace of dirt to be seen upon your garments. Such is the injunction of One Who is sanctified above all refinement. Whoso falleth short of this standard with good reason shall incur no blame. God, verily, is the Forgiving, the Merciful. Wash ye every soiled thing with water that hath undergone no alteration in any one of the three respects; take heed not to use water that hath been altered through exposure to the air or to some other agent. Be ye the very essence of cleanliness amongst mankind. This, truly, is what your Lord, the Incomparable, the All-Wise, desireth for you.

75 God hath, likewise, as a bounty from His presence, abolished the concept of "uncleanness", whereby divers things and peoples have been held to be impure. He, of a certainty, is the Ever-Forgiving, the Most Generous. Verily, all created things were immersed in the sea of purification when, on that first day of Riḍván, We shed upon the whole of creation the splendours of Our most excellent Names and Our most exalted Attributes. This, verily, is a token of My loving providence, which hath encompassed all the worlds. Consort ye then with the followers of all religions, and proclaim ye the Cause of

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your Lord, the Most Compassionate; this is the very crown of deeds, if ye be of them who understand.

76 God hath enjoined upon you to observe the utmost cleanliness, to the extent of washing what is soiled with dust, let alone with hardened dirt and similar defilement. Fear Him, and be of those who are pure. Should the garb of anyone be visibly sullied, his prayers shall not ascend to God, and the celestial Concourse will turn away from him. Make use of rose-water, and of pure perfume; this, indeed, is that which God hath loved from the beginning that hath no beginning, in order that there may be diffused from you what your Lord, the Incomparable, the All-Wise, desireth.

77 God hath relieved you of the ordinance laid down in the Bayán concerning the destruction of books. We have permitted you to read such sciences as are profitable unto you, not such as end in idle disputation; better is this for you, if ye be of them that comprehend.

78 O kings of the earth! He Who is the sovereign Lord of all is come. The Kingdom is God's, the omnipotent Protector, the Self-Subsisting. Worship none but God, and, with radiant hearts, lift up your faces unto your Lord, the Lord of all names. This is a Revelation to which whatever ye possess can never be compared, could ye but know it.

79 We see you rejoicing in that which ye have amassed for others and shutting out yourselves from the worlds which naught except My guarded Tablet can reckon. The treasures ye have laid up have drawn you far away from your ultimate objective. This ill beseemeth you, could ye but understand it. Wash from your hearts all earthly defilements, and hasten to enter the Kingdom of your Lord, the Creator of earth and heaven, Who caused the world to tremble and all its peoples to wail, except them that have renounced all things and clung to that which the Hidden Tablet hath ordained.

80 This is the Day in which He Who held converse with God hath attained the light of the Ancient of Days, and quaffed the pure waters of reunion from this Cup that hath caused the seas to swell. Say: By the one true God! Sinai is circling round the Dayspring of Revelation, while from the heights of the Kingdom the Voice of the Spirit of God is heard proclaiming: "Bestir yourselves, ye proud ones of the earth, and hasten ye unto Him." Carmel hath, in this Day, hastened in longing adoration to attain His court, whilst from the heart of Zion there cometh the cry: "The promise is fulfilled. That which had been announced in the holy Writ of God, the Most Exalted, the Almighty, the Best-Beloved, is made manifest."

81 O kings of the earth! The Most Great Law hath been revealed in this Spot, this scene of transcendent splendour. Every hidden thing hath been brought to light by virtue of the Will of the Supreme Ordainer, He Who hath ushered in the Last Hour, through Whom the Moon hath been cleft, and every irrevocable decree expounded.

82 Ye are but vassals, O kings of the earth! He Who is the King of Kings hath appeared, arrayed in His most wondrous glory, and is summoning you unto Himself, the Help in Peril, the Self-Subsisting. Take heed lest pride deter you from recognizing the Source of Revelation, lest the things of this world shut you out as by a veil from Him Who is the Creator of heaven. Arise, and serve Him Who is the Desire of all nations, Who hath created you through a word from Him, and ordained you to be, for all time, the emblems of His sovereignty.

83 By the righteousness of God! It is not Our wish to lay hands on your kingdoms. Our mission is to seize and possess the hearts of men. Upon them the eyes of Bahá are fastened. To this testifieth the Kingdom of Names, could ye but comprehend it. Whoso followeth his Lord will renounce the world and all that is therein; how much greater, then, must be the detachment of Him Who holdeth so august a station! Forsake your palaces, and haste ye to gain admittance into His Kingdom. This, indeed, will profit you both in this world and in the next. To this testifieth the Lord of the realm on high, did ye but know it.

84 How great the blessedness that awaiteth the king who will arise to aid My Cause in My kingdom, who will detach himself from all else but Me! Such a king is numbered with the companions of the Crimson Ark—the Ark which God hath prepared for the people of Bahá. All must glorify his name, must reverence his station, and aid him to unlock the cities with the keys of My Name, the omnipotent Protector of all that inhabit the visible and invisible kingdoms. Such a king is the very eye of mankind, the luminous ornament on the brow of creation, the fountainhead of blessings unto the whole world. Offer up, O people of Bahá, your substance, nay your very lives, for his assistance.

85 O Emperor of Austria! He Who is the Dayspring of God's Light dwelt in the prison of 'Akká at the time when thou didst set forth to visit the Aqsá Mosque. Thou passed Him by, and inquired not about Him by Whom every house is exalted and every lofty gate unlocked. We, verily, made it a place whereunto the world should turn, that they might remember Me, and yet thou hast rejected Him Who is the Object of this remembrance, when He appeared with the Kingdom of God, thy Lord and the Lord of the worlds. We have been with thee at all times, and found thee clinging unto the Branch and heedless of the Root. Thy Lord, verily, is a witness unto what I say. We grieved to see thee circle round Our Name, whilst unaware of Us, though We were before thy face. Open thine eyes, that thou mayest behold this glorious Vision, and recognise Him Whom thou invokest in the daytime and in the night season, and gaze on the Light that shineth above this luminous Horizon.

86 Say: O King of Berlin! Give ear unto the Voice calling from this manifest Temple: "Verily, there is none other God but Me, the Everlasting, the Peerless, the Ancient of Days." Take heed lest pride debar thee from recognizing the Dayspring of Divine Revelation, lest earthly desires shut thee out, as by a veil, from the Lord of the Throne above and of the earth below. Thus counselleth thee the Pen of the Most High. He, verily, is the Most Gracious, the All-Bountiful. Do thou remember the one (the emperor of the French, Napoleon III.) whose power transcended thy power, and whose station excelled thy station. Where is he? Whither are gone the things he possessed? Take warning, and be not of them that are fast asleep. He it was who cast the Tablet of God behind him when We made known unto him what the hosts of tyranny had caused Us to suffer. Wherefore, disgrace assailed him from all sides, and he went down to dust in great loss. Think deeply, O King, concerning him, and concerning them who, like unto thee, have conquered cities and ruled over men. The All-Merciful brought them down from their palaces to their graves. Be warned, be of them who reflect.

87 We have asked nothing from you. For the sake of God We, verily, exhort you, and will be patient as We have been patient in that which hath befallen Us at your hands, O concourse of kings!

88 Hearken ye, O Rulers of America and the Presidents of the Republics therein, unto that which the Dove is warbling on the Branch of Eternity: "There is none other God but Me, the Ever-Abiding, the Forgiving, the All-Bountiful." Adorn ye the temple of dominion with the ornament of justice and of the fear of God, and its head with the crown of the remembrance of your Lord, the Creator of the heavens. Thus counselleth you He Who is the Dayspring of Names, as bidden by Him Who is the All-Knowing, the All-Wise. The Promised One hath appeared in this glorified Station, whereat all beings, both seen and unseen, have rejoiced. Take ye advantage of the Day of God. Verily, to meet Him is better for you than all that whereon the sun shineth, could ye but know it. O concourse of rulers! Give ear unto that which hath been raised from the Dayspring of Grandeur: "Verily, there is none other God but Me, the Lord of Utterance, the All-Knowing." Bind ye the broken with the hands of justice, and crush the oppressor who flourisheth with the rod of the commandments of your Lord, the Ordainer, the All-Wise.

89 O people of Constantinople! Lo, from your midst We hear the baleful hooting of the owl. Hath the drunkenness of passion laid hold upon you, or is it that ye are sunk in heedlessness? O Spot that art situate on the shores of the two seas! The throne of tyranny hath, verily, been established upon thee, and the flame of hatred hath been kindled within thy bosom, in such wise that the Concourse on high and they who circle around the Exalted Throne have wailed and lamented. We behold in thee the foolish ruling over the wise, and darkness vaunting itself against the light. Thou art indeed filled with manifest pride. Hath thine outward splendour made thee vainglorious? By Him Who is the Lord of mankind! It shall soon perish, and thy daughters and thy widows and all the kindreds that dwell within thee shall lament. Thus informeth thee the All-Knowing, the All-Wise.

90 O banks of the Rhine! We have seen you covered with gore, inasmuch as the swords of retribution were drawn against you; and you shall have another turn. And We hear the lamentations of Berlin, though she be today in conspicuous glory.

91 Let nothing grieve thee, O Land of Tá (Tehran), for God hath chosen thee to be the source of the joy of all mankind. He shall, if it be His Will, bless thy throne with one who will rule with justice, who will gather together the flock of God which the wolves have scattered. Such a ruler will, with joy and gladness, turn his face towards, and extend his favours unto, the people of Bahá. He indeed is accounted in the sight of God as a jewel among men. Upon him rest forever the glory of God and the glory of all that dwell in the kingdom of His revelation.

92 Rejoice with great joy, for God hath made thee "the Dayspring of His light", inasmuch as within thee was born the Manifestation of His Glory. Be thou glad for this name that hath been conferred upon thee—a name through which the Day-Star of grace hath shed its splendour, through which both earth and heaven have been illumined.

93 Erelong will the state of affairs within thee be changed, and the reins of power fall into the hands of the people. Verily, thy Lord is the All-Knowing. His authority embraceth all things. Rest thou assured in the gracious favour of thy Lord. The eye of His loving-kindness shall everlastingly be directed towards thee. The day is approaching when thy agitation will have been transmuted into peace and quiet calm. Thus hath it been decreed in the wondrous Book.

94 O Land of Khá (Khurásán)! We hear from thee the voice of heroes, raised in glorification of thy Lord, the All-Possessing, the Most Exalted. Blessed the day on which the banners of the divine Names shall be upraised in the kingdom of creation in My Name, the All-Glorious. On that day the faithful shall rejoice in the victory of God, and the disbelievers shall lament.

95 None must contend with those who wield authority over the people; leave unto them that which is theirs, and direct your attention to men's hearts.

96 O Most Mighty Ocean! Sprinkle upon the nations that with which Thou hast been charged by Him Who is the Sovereign of Eternity, and adorn the temples of all the dwellers of the earth with the vesture of His laws 55 through which all hearts will rejoice and all eyes be brightened.

97 Should anyone acquire one hundred mithqáls of gold, nineteen mithqáls thereof are God's and to be rendered unto Him, the Fashioner of earth and heaven. Take heed, O people, lest ye deprive yourselves of so great a bounty. This We have commanded you, though We are well able to dispense with you and with all who are in the heavens and on earth; in it there are benefits and wisdoms beyond the ken of anyone but God, the Omniscient, the All-Informed. Say: By this means He hath desired to purify what ye possess and to enable you to draw nigh unto such stations as none can comprehend save those whom God hath willed. He, in truth, is the Beneficent, the Gracious, the Bountiful. O people! Deal not faithlessly with the Right of God, nor, without His leave, make free with its disposal. Thus hath His commandment been established in the holy Tablets, and in this exalted Book. He who dealeth faithlessly with God shall in justice meet with faithlessness himself; he, however, who acteth in accordance with God's bidding shall receive a blessing from the heaven of the bounty of his Lord, the Gracious, the Bestower, the Generous, the Ancient of Days. He, verily, hath willed for you that which is yet beyond your knowledge, but which shall be known to you when, after this fleeting life, your souls soar heavenwards and the trappings of your earthly joys are folded up. Thus admonisheth you He in Whose possession is the Guarded Tablet.

98 Various petitions have come before Our throne from the believers, concerning laws from God, the Lord of the seen and the unseen, the Lord of all worlds. We have, in consequence, revealed this Holy Tablet and arrayed it with the mantle of His Law that haply the people may keep the commandments of their Lord. Similar requests had been made of Us over several previous years but We had, in Our wisdom, withheld Our Pen until, in recent days, letters arrived from a number of the friends, and We have therefore responded, through the power of truth, with that which shall quicken the hearts of men.

99 Say: O leaders of religion! Weigh not the Book of God with such standards and sciences as are current amongst you, for the Book itself is the unerring Balance established amongst men. In this most perfect Balance whatsoever the peoples and kindreds of the earth possess must be weighed, while the measure of its weight should be tested according to its own standard, did ye but know it.

100 The eye of My loving-kindness weepeth sore over you, inasmuch as ye have failed to recognize the One upon Whom ye have been calling in the daytime and in the night season, at even and at morn. Advance, O people, with snow-white faces and radiant hearts, unto the blest and crimson Spot, wherein the Sadratu'l-Muntahá is calling: "Verily, there is none other God beside Me, the Omnipotent Protector, the Self-Subsisting!"

101 O ye leaders of religion! Who is the man amongst you that can rival Me in vision or insight? Where is he to be found that dareth to claim to be My equal in utterance or wisdom? No, by My Lord, the All-Merciful! All on the earth shall pass away; and this is the face of your Lord, the Almighty, the Well-Beloved.

102 We have decreed, O people, that the highest and last end of all learning be the recognition of Him Who is the Object of all knowledge; and yet, behold how ye have allowed your learning to shut you out, as by a veil, from Him Who is the Dayspring of this Light, through Whom every hidden thing hath been revealed. Could ye but discover the source whence the splendour of this utterance is diffused, ye would cast away the peoples of the world and all that they possess, and would draw nigh unto this most blessed Seat of glory.

103 Say: This, verily, is the heaven in which the Mother Book is treasured, could ye but comprehend it. He it is Who hath caused the Rock to shout, and the Burning Bush to lift up its voice, upon the Mount rising above the Holy Land, and proclaim: "The Kingdom is God's, the sovereign Lord of all, the All-Powerful, the Loving!"

104 We have not entered any school, nor read any of your dissertations. Incline your ears to the words of this unlettered One, wherewith He summoneth you unto God, the Ever-Abiding. Better is this for you than all the treasures of the earth, could ye but comprehend it.

105 Whoso interpreteth what hath been sent down from the heaven of Revelation, and altereth its evident meaning, he,

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verily, is of them that have perverted the Sublime Word of God, and is of the lost ones in the Lucid Book.

106 It hath been enjoined upon you to pare your nails, to bathe yourselves each week in water that covereth your bodies, and to clean yourselves with whatsoever ye have formerly employed. Take heed lest through negligence ye fail to observe that which hath been prescribed unto you by Him Who is the Incomparable, the Gracious. Immerse yourselves in clean water; it is not permissible to bathe yourselves in water that hath already been used. See that ye approach not the public pools of Persian baths; whoso maketh his way toward such baths will smell their fetid odour ere he entereth therein. Shun them, O people, and be not of those who ignominiously accept such vileness. In truth, they are as sinks of foulness and contamination, if ye be of them that apprehend. Avoid ye likewise the malodorous pools in the courtyards of Persian homes, and be ye of the pure and sanctified. Truly, We desire to behold you as manifestations of paradise on earth, that there may be diffused from you such fragrance as shall rejoice the hearts of the favoured of God. If the bather, instead of entering the water, wash himself by pouring it upon his body, it shall be better for him and shall absolve him of the need for bodily immersion. The Lord, verily, hath willed, as a bounty from His presence, to make life easier for you that ye may be of those who are truly thankful.

107 It is forbidden you to wed your fathers' wives. We shrink, for very shame, from treating of the subject of boys. Fear ye the Merciful, O peoples of the world! Commit not that which is forbidden you in Our Holy Tablet, and be not of those who rove distractedly in the wilderness of their desires.

108 To none is it permitted to mutter sacred verses before the public gaze as he walketh in the street or marketplace; nay rather, if he wish to magnify the Lord, it behoveth him to do so in such places as have been erected for this purpose, or in his own home. This is more in keeping with sincerity and godliness. Thus hath the sun of Our commandment shone forth above the horizon of Our utterance. Blessed, then, be those who do Our bidding.

109 Unto everyone hath been enjoined the writing of a will. The testator should head this document with the adornment of the Most Great Name, bear witness therein unto the oneness of God in the Dayspring of His Revelation, and make mention, as he may wish, of that which is praiseworthy, so that it may be a testimony for him in the kingdoms of Revelation and Creation and a treasure with his Lord, the Supreme Protector, the Faithful.

110 All Feasts have attained their consummation in the two Most Great Festivals, and in the two other Festivals that fall on the twin days—the first of the Most Great Festivals being those days whereon the All-Merciful shed upon the whole of creation the effulgent glory of His most excellent Names and His most exalted Attributes, and the second being that day on which We raised up the One Who announced unto mankind the glad tidings of this Name, through which the dead have been resurrected and all who are in the heavens and on earth have been gathered together. Thus hath it been decreed by Him Who is the Ordainer, the Omniscient.

111 Happy the one who entereth upon the first day of the month of Bahá, the day which God hath consecrated to this Great Name. And blessed be he who evidenceth on this day the bounties that God hath bestowed upon him; he, verily, is of those who show forth thanks to God through actions betokening the Lord's munificence which hath encompassed all the worlds. Say: This day, verily, is the crown of all the months and the source thereof, the day on which the breath of life is wafted over all created things. Great is the blessedness of him who greeteth it with radiance and joy. We testify that he is, in truth, among those who are blissful.

112 Say: The Most Great Festival is, indeed, the King of Festivals. Call ye to mind, O people, the bounty which God hath conferred upon you. Ye were sunk in slumber, and lo! He aroused you by the reviving breezes of His Revelation, and made known unto you His manifest and undeviating Path.

113 Resort ye, in times of sickness, to competent physicians; We have not set aside the use of material means, rather have We confirmed it through this Pen, which God hath made to be the Dawning-place of His shining and glorious Cause.

114 God had formerly laid upon each one of the believers the duty of offering before Our throne priceless gifts from among his possessions. Now, in token of Our gracious favour, We have absolved them of this obligation. He, of a truth, is the Most Generous, the All-Bountiful.

115 Blessed is he who, at the hour of dawn, centring his thoughts on God, occupied with His remembrance, and supplicating His forgiveness, directeth his steps to the Mashriqu'l-Adhkár and, entering therein, seateth himself in silence to listen to the verses of God, the Sovereign, the Mighty, the All-Praised. Say: The Mashriqu'l-Adhkár is each and every building which hath been erected in cities and villages for the celebration of My praise. Such is the name by which it hath been designated before the throne of glory, were ye of those who understand.

116 They who recite the verses of the All-Merciful in the most melodious of tones will perceive in them that with which the sovereignty of earth and heaven can never be compared. From them they will inhale the divine fragrance of My worlds—worlds which today none can discern save those who have been endowed with vision through this sublime, this beauteous Revelation. Say: These verses draw hearts that are pure unto those spiritual worlds that can neither be expressed in words nor intimated by allusion. Blessed be those who hearken.

117 Assist ye, O My people, My chosen servants who have arisen to make mention of Me among My creatures and to exalt My Word throughout My realm. These, truly, are the stars of the heaven of My loving providence and the lamps of My guidance unto all mankind. But he whose words conflict with that which hath been sent down in My Holy Tablets is not of Me. Beware lest ye follow any impious pretender. These Tablets are embellished with the seal of Him Who causeth the dawn to appear, Who lifteth up His voice between the heavens and the earth. Lay hold on this Sure Handle and on the Cord of My mighty and unassailable Cause.

118 The Lord hath granted leave to whosoever desireth it that he be instructed in the divers tongues of the world that he may deliver the Message of the Cause of God throughout the East and throughout the West, that he make mention of Him amidst the kindreds and peoples of the world in such wise that hearts may revive and the mouldering bone be quickened.

119 It is inadmissible that man, who hath been endowed with reason, should consume that which stealeth it away. Nay, rather it behoveth him to comport himself in a manner worthy of the human station, and not in accordance with the misdeeds of every heedless and wavering soul.

120 Adorn your heads with the garlands of trustworthiness and fidelity, your hearts with the attire of the fear of God, your tongues with absolute truthfulness, your bodies with the vesture of courtesy. These are in truth seemly adornings unto the temple of man, if ye be of them that reflect. Cling, O ye people of Bahá, to the cord of servitude unto God, the True One, for thereby your stations shall be made manifest, your names written and preserved, your ranks raised and your memory exalted in the Preserved Tablet. Beware lest the dwellers on earth hinder you from this glorious and exalted station. Thus have We exhorted you in most of Our Epistles and now in this, Our Holy Tablet, above which hath beamed the Day-Star of the Laws of the Lord, your God, the Powerful, the All-Wise.

121 When the ocean of My presence hath ebbed and the Book of My Revelation is ended, turn your faces toward Him Whom God hath purposed, Who hath branched from this Ancient Root.

122 Consider the pettiness of men's minds. They ask for that which injureth them, and cast away the thing that profiteth them. They are, indeed, of those that are far astray. We find some men desiring liberty, and priding themselves therein. Such men are in the depths of ignorance.

123 Liberty must, in the end, lead to sedition, whose flames none can quench. Thus warneth you He Who is the Reckoner, the All-Knowing. Know ye that the embodiment of liberty and its symbol is the animal. That which beseemeth man is submission unto such restraints as will protect him from his own ignorance, and guard him against the harm of the mischief-maker. Liberty causeth man to overstep the bounds of propriety, and to infringe on the dignity of his station. It debaseth him to the level of extreme depravity and wickedness.

124 Regard men as a flock of sheep that need a shepherd for their protection. This, verily, is the truth, the certain truth. We approve of liberty in certain circumstances, and refuse to sanction it in others. We, verily, are the All-Knowing.

125 Say: True liberty consisteth in man's submission unto My commandments, little as ye know it. Were men to observe that which We have sent down unto them from the Heaven of Revelation, they would, of a certainty, attain unto perfect liberty. Happy is the man that hath apprehended the Purpose of God in whatever He hath revealed from the Heaven of His Will that pervadeth all created things. Say: The liberty that profiteth you is to be found nowhere except in complete servitude unto God, the Eternal Truth. Whoso hath tasted of its sweetness will refuse to barter it for all the dominion of earth and heaven.

126 In the Bayán it had been forbidden you to ask Us questions. The Lord hath now relieved you of this prohibition, that ye may be free to ask what you need to ask, but not such idle questions as those on which the men of former times were wont to dwell. Fear God, and be ye of the righteous! Ask ye that which shall be of profit to you in the Cause of God and His dominion, for the portals of His tender compassion have been opened before all who dwell in heaven and on earth.

127 The number of months in a year, appointed in the Book of God, is nineteen. Of these the first hath been adorned with this Name which overshadoweth the whole of creation.

128 The Lord hath decreed that the dead should be interred in coffins made of crystal, of hard, resistant stone, or of wood that is both fine and durable, and that graven rings should be placed upon their fingers. He, verily, is the Supreme Ordainer, the One apprised of all.

129 The inscription on these rings should read, for men: "Unto God belongeth all that is in the heavens and on the earth and whatsoever is between them, and He, in truth, hath knowledge of all things"; and for women: "Unto God belongeth the dominion of the heavens and the earth and whatsoever is between them, and He, in truth, is potent over all things". These are the verses that were revealed aforetime, but lo, the Point of the Bayán now calleth out, exclaiming, "O Best-Beloved of the worlds! Reveal Thou in their stead such words as will waft the fragrance of Thy gracious favours over all mankind. We have announced unto everyone that one single word from Thee excelleth all that hath been sent down in the Bayán. Thou, indeed, hast power to do what pleaseth Thee. Deprive not Thy servants of the overflowing bounties of the ocean of Thy mercy! Thou, in truth, art He Whose grace is infinite." Behold, We have hearkened to His call, and now fulfil His wish. He, verily, is the Best-Beloved, the Answerer of prayers. If the following verse, which hath at this moment been sent down by God, be engraved upon the burial-rings of both men and women, it shall be better for them; We, of a certainty, are the Supreme Ordainer: "I came forth from God, and return unto Him, detached from all save Him, holding fast to His Name, the Merciful, the Compassionate." Thus doth the Lord single out whomsoever He desireth for a bounty from His presence. He is, in very truth, the God of might and power.

130 The Lord hath decreed, moreover, that the deceased should be enfolded in five sheets of silk or cotton. For those whose means are limited a single sheet of either fabric will suffice. Thus hath it been ordained by Him Who is the All-Knowing, the All-Informed. It is forbidden you to transport the body of the deceased a greater distance than one hour's journey from the city; rather should it be interred, with radiance and serenity, in a nearby place.

131 God hath removed the restrictions on travel that had been imposed in the Bayán. He, verily, is the Unconstrained; He doeth as He pleaseth and ordaineth whatsoever He willeth.

132 O peoples of the world! Give ear unto the call of Him Who is the Lord of Names, Who proclaimeth unto you from His habitation in the Most Great Prison: "Verily, no God is there but Me, the Powerful, the Mighty, the All-Subduing, the Most Exalted, the Omniscient, the All-Wise." In truth, there is no God but Him, the Omnipotent Ruler of the worlds. Were it His Will, He would, through but a single word proceeding from His presence, lay hold on all mankind. Beware lest ye hesitate in your acceptance of this Cause—a Cause before which the Concourse on high and the dwellers of the Cities of Names have bowed down. Fear God, and be not of those who are shut out as by a veil. Burn ye away the veils with the fire of My love, and dispel ye the mists of vain imaginings by the power of this Name through which We have subdued the entire creation.

133 Raise up and exalt the two Houses in the Twin Hallowed Spots, and the other sites wherein the throne of your Lord, the All-Merciful, hath been established. Thus commandeth you the Lord of every understanding heart.

134 Be watchful lest the concerns and preoccupations of this world prevent you from observing that which hath been enjoined upon you by Him Who is the Mighty, the Faithful. Be ye the embodiments of such steadfastness amidst mankind that ye will not be kept back from God by the doubts of those who disbelieved in Him when He manifested Himself, invested with a mighty sovereignty. Take heed lest ye be prevented by aught that hath been recorded in the Book from hearkening unto this, the Living Book, Who proclaimeth the truth: "Verily, there is no God but Me, the Most Excellent, the All-Praised." Look ye with the eye of equity upon Him Who hath descended from the heaven of Divine will and power, and be not of those who act unjustly.

135 Call then to mind these words which have streamed forth, in tribute to this Revelation, from the Pen of Him Who was My Herald, and consider what the hands of the oppressors have wrought throughout My days. Truly they are numbered with the lost. He said: "Should ye attain the presence of Him Whom We shall make manifest, beseech ye God, in His bounty, to grant that He might deign to seat Himself upon your couches, for that act in itself would confer upon you matchless and surpassing honour. Should He drink a cup of water in your homes, this would be of greater consequence for you than your proffering unto every soul, nay unto every created thing, the water of its very life. Know this, O ye My servants!"

136 Such are the words with which My Forerunner hath extolled My Being, could ye but understand. Whoso reflecteth upon these verses, and realizeth what hidden pearls have been enshrined within them, will, by the righteousness of God, perceive the fragrance of the All-Merciful wafting from the direction of this Prison and will, with his whole heart, hasten unto Him with such ardent longing that the hosts of earth and heaven would be powerless to deter him. Say: This is a Revelation around which every proof and testimony doth circle. Thus hath it been sent down by your Lord, the God of Mercy, if ye be of them that judge aright. Say: This is the very soul of all Scriptures which hath been breathed into the Pen of the Most High, causing all created beings to be

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dumbfounded, save only those who have been enraptured by the gentle breezes of My loving-kindness and the sweet savours of My bounties which have pervaded the whole of creation.

137 O people of the Bayán! Fear ye the Most Merciful and consider what He hath revealed in another passage. He said: "The Qiblih is indeed He Whom God will make manifest; whenever He moveth, it moveth, until He shall come to rest." Thus was it set down by the Supreme Ordainer when He desired to make mention of this Most Great Beauty. Meditate on this, O people, and be not of them that wander distraught in the wilderness of error. If ye reject Him at the bidding of your idle fancies, where then is the Qiblih to which ye will turn, O assemblage of the heedless? Ponder ye this verse, and judge equitably before God, that haply ye may glean the pearls of mysteries from the ocean that surgeth in My Name, the All-Glorious, the Most High.

138 Let none, in this Day, hold fast to aught save that which hath been manifested in this Revelation. Such is the decree of God, aforetime and hereafter—a decree wherewith the Scriptures of the Messengers of old have been adorned. Such is the admonition of the Lord, aforetime and hereafter—an admonition wherewith the preamble to the Book of Life hath been embellished, did ye but perceive it. Such is the commandment of the Lord, aforetime and hereafter; beware lest ye choose instead the part of ignominy and abasement. Naught shall avail you in this Day but God, nor is there any refuge to flee to save Him, the Omniscient, the All-Wise. Whoso hath known Me hath known the Goal of all desire, and whoso hath turned unto Me hath turned unto the Object of all adoration. Thus hath it been set forth in the Book, and thus hath it been decreed by God, the Lord of all worlds. To read but one of the verses of My Revelation is better than to peruse the Scriptures of both the former and latter generations. This is the Utterance of the All-Merciful, would that ye had ears to hear! Say: This is the essence of knowledge, did ye but understand.

139 And now consider what hath been revealed in yet another passage, that perchance ye may forsake your own concepts and set your faces towards God, the Lord of being. He (The Bab) hath said: "It is unlawful to enter into marriage save with a believer in the Bayán. Should only one party to a marriage embrace this Cause, his or her possessions will become unlawful to the other, until such time as the latter hath converted. This law, however, will only take effect after the exaltation of the Cause of Him Whom We shall manifest in truth, or of that which hath already been made manifest in justice. Ere this, ye are at liberty to enter into wedlock as ye wish, that haply by this means ye may exalt the Cause of God." Thus hath the Nightingale sung with sweet melody upon the celestial bough, in praise of its Lord, the All-Merciful. Well is it with them that hearken.

140 O people of the Bayán, I adjure you by your Lord, the God of mercy, to look with the eye of fairness upon this utterance which hath been sent down through the power of truth, and not to be of those who see the testimony of God yet reject and deny it. They, in truth, are of those who will assuredly perish. The Point of the Bayán hath explicitly made mention in this verse of the exaltation of My Cause before His own Cause; unto this will testify every just and understanding mind. As ye can readily witness in this day, its exaltation is such as none can deny save those whose eyes are drunken in this mortal life and whom a humiliating chastisement awaiteth in the life to come.

141 Say: By the righteousness of God! I, verily, am His (The Báb's) Best-Beloved; and at this moment He listeneth to these verses descending from the Heaven of Revelation and bewaileth the wrongs ye have committed in these days. Fear God, and join not with the aggressor. Say: O people, should ye choose to disbelieve in Him, (Bahá'u'lláh) refrain at least from rising up against Him. By God! Sufficient are the hosts of tyranny that are leagued against Him!

142 Verily, He (The Báb) revealed certain laws so that, in this Dispensation, the Pen of the Most High might have no need to move in aught but the glorification of His own transcendent Station and His most effulgent Beauty. Since, however, We have wished to evidence Our bounty unto you, We have, through the power of truth, set forth these laws with clarity and mitigated what We desire you to observe. He, verily, is the Munificent, the Generous.

143 He (The Bab) hath previously made known unto you that which would be uttered by this Dayspring of Divine wisdom. He said, and He speaketh the truth: "He (Bahá'u'lláh) is the One Who will under all conditions proclaim: 'Verily, there is none other God besides Me, the One, the Incomparable, the Omniscient, the All-Informed.'" This is a station which God hath assigned exclusively to this sublime, this unique and wondrous Revelation. This is a token of His bounteous favour, if ye be of them who comprehend, and a sign of His irresistible decree. This is His Most Great Name, His Most Exalted Word, and the Dayspring of His Most Excellent Titles, if ye could understand. Nay more, through Him every Fountainhead, every Dawning-place of Divine guidance is made manifest. Reflect, O people, on that which hath been sent down in truth; ponder thereon, and be not of the transgressors.

144 Consort with all religions with amity and concord, that they may inhale from you the sweet fragrance of God. Beware lest amidst men the flame of foolish ignorance overpower you. All things proceed from God and unto Him they return. He is the source of all things and in Him all things are ended.

145 Take heed that ye enter no house in the absence of its owner, except with his permission. Comport yourselves with propriety under all conditions, and be not numbered with the wayward.

146 It hath been enjoined upon you to purify your means of sustenance and other such things through payment of Zakát. Thus hath it been prescribed in this exalted Tablet by Him Who is the Revealer of verses. We shall, if it be God's will and purpose, set forth erelong the measure of its assessment. He, verily, expoundeth whatsoever He desireth by virtue of His own knowledge, and He, of a truth, is Omniscient and All-Wise.

147 It is unlawful to beg, and it is forbidden to give to him who beggeth. All have been enjoined to earn a living, and as for those who are incapable of doing so, it is incumbent on the Deputies of God and on the wealthy to make adequate provision for them. Keep ye the statutes and commandments of God; nay, guard them as ye would your very eyes, and be not of those who suffer grievous loss.

148 Ye have been forbidden in the Book of God to engage in contention and conflict, to strike another, or to commit similar acts whereby hearts and souls may be saddened. A fine of nineteen mithqáls of gold had formerly been prescribed by Him Who is the Lord of all mankind for anyone who was the cause of sadness to another; in this Dispensation, however, He hath absolved you thereof and exhorteth you to show forth righteousness and piety. Such is the commandment which He hath enjoined upon you in this resplendent Tablet. Wish not for others what ye wish not for yourselves; fear God, and be not of the prideful. Ye are all created out of water, and unto dust shall ye return. Reflect upon the end that awaiteth you, and walk not in the ways of the oppressor. Give ear unto the verses of God which He Who is the sacred Lote-Tree reciteth unto you. They are assuredly the infallible balance, established by God, the Lord of this world and the next. Through them the soul of man is caused to wing its flight towards the Dayspring of Revelation, and the heart of every true believer is suffused with light. Such are the laws which God hath enjoined upon you, such His commandments prescribed unto you in His Holy Tablet; obey them with joy and gladness, for this is best for you, did ye but know.

149 Recite ye the verses of God every morn and eventide. Whoso faileth to recite them hath not been faithful to the Covenant of God and His Testament, and whoso turneth away from these holy verses in this Day is of those who throughout eternity have turned away from God. Fear ye God, O My servants, one and all. Pride not yourselves on much reading of the verses or on a multitude of pious acts by night and day; for were a man to read a single verse with joy and radiance it would be better for him than to read with lassitude all the Holy Books of God, the Help in Peril, the Self-Subsisting. Read ye the sacred verses in such measure that ye be not overcome by languor and despondency. Lay not upon your souls that which will weary them and weigh them down, but rather what will lighten and uplift them, so that they may soar on the wings of the Divine verses towards the Dawning-place of His manifest signs; this will draw you nearer to God, did ye but comprehend.

150 Teach your children the verses revealed from the heaven of majesty and power, so that, in most melodious tones, they may recite the Tablets of the All-Merciful in the alcoves within the Mashriqu'l-Adhkárs. Whoever hath been transported by the rapture born of adoration for My Name, the Most Compassionate, will recite the verses of God in such wise as to captivate the hearts of those yet wrapped in slumber. Well is it with him who hath quaffed the Mystic Wine of everlasting life from the utterance of his merciful Lord in My Name—a Name through which every lofty and majestic mountain hath been reduced to dust.

151 Ye have been enjoined to renew the furnishings of your homes after the passing of each nineteen years; thus hath it been ordained by One Who is Omniscient and All-Perceiving. He, verily, is desirous of refinement, both for you yourselves and for all that ye possess; lay not aside the fear of God and be not of the negligent. Whoso findeth that his means are insufficient to this purpose hath been excused by God, the Ever-Forgiving, the Most Bounteous.

152 Wash your feet once every day in summer, and once every three days during winter.

153 Should anyone wax angry with you, respond to him with gentleness; and should anyone upbraid you, forbear to upbraid him in return, but leave him to himself and put your trust in God, the omnipotent Avenger, the Lord of might and justice.

154 Ye have been prohibited from making use of pulpits. Whoso wisheth to recite unto you the verses of his Lord, let him sit on a chair placed upon a dais, that he may make mention of God, his Lord, and the Lord of all mankind. It is pleasing to God that ye should seat yourselves on chairs and benches as a mark of honour for the love ye bear for Him and for the Manifestation of His glorious and resplendent Cause.

155 Gambling and the use of opium have been forbidden unto you. Eschew them both, O people, and be not of those who transgress. Beware of using any substance that induceth sluggishness and torpor in the human temple and inflicteth harm upon the body. We, verily, desire for you naught save what shall profit you, and to this bear witness all created things, had ye but ears to hear.

156 Whensoever ye be invited to a banquet or festive occasion, respond with joy and gladness, and whoever fulfilleth his promise will be safe from reproof. This is a Day on which each of God's wise decrees hath been expounded.

157 Behold, the "mystery of the Great Reversal in the Sign of the Sovereign" hath now been made manifest. Well is it with him whom God hath aided to recognise the "Six" raised up by virtue of this "Upright Alif"; he, verily, is of those whose faith is true. How many the outwardly pious who have turned away, and how many the wayward who have drawn nigh, exclaiming: "All praise be to Thee, O Thou the Desire of the worlds!" In truth, it is in the hand of God to give what He willeth to whomsoever He willeth, and to withhold what He pleaseth from whomsoever He may wish. He knoweth the inner secrets of the hearts and the meaning hidden in a mocker's wink. How many an embodiment of heedlessness who came unto Us with purity of heart have We established upon the seat of Our acceptance; and how many an exponent of wisdom have We in all justice consigned to the fire. We are, in truth, the One to judge. He it is Who is the manifestation of "God doeth whatsoever He pleaseth", and abideth upon the throne of "He ordaineth whatsoever He chooseth".

158 Blessed is the one who discovereth the fragrance of inner meanings from the traces of this Pen through whose movement the breezes of God are wafted over the entire creation, and through whose stillness the very essence of tranquillity appeareth in the realm of being. Glorified be the All-Merciful, the Revealer of so inestimable a bounty. Say: Because He bore injustice, justice hath appeared on earth, and because He accepted abasement, the majesty of God hath shone forth amidst mankind.

159 It hath been forbidden you to carry arms unless essential, and permitted you to attire yourselves in silk. The Lord hath relieved you, as a bounty on His part, of the restrictions that formerly applied to clothing and to the trim of the beard. He, verily, is the Ordainer, the Omniscient. Let there be naught in your demeanour of which sound and upright minds would disapprove, and make not yourselves the playthings of the ignorant. Well is it with him who hath adorned himself with the vesture of seemly conduct and a praiseworthy character. He is assuredly reckoned with those who aid their Lord through distinctive and outstanding deeds.

160 Promote ye the development of the cities of God and His countries, and glorify Him therein in the joyous accents of His well-favoured ones. In truth, the hearts of men are edified through the power of the tongue, even as houses and cities are built up by the hand and other means. We have assigned to every end a means for its accomplishment; avail yourselves thereof, and place your trust and confidence in God, the Omniscient, the All-Wise.

161 Blessed is the man that hath acknowledged his belief in God and in His signs, and recognized that "He shall not be asked of His doings". Such a recognition hath been made by God the ornament of every belief and its very foundation. Upon it must depend the acceptance of every goodly deed. Fasten your eyes upon it, that haply the whisperings of the rebellious may not cause you to slip.

162 Were He to decree as lawful the thing which from time immemorial had been forbidden, and forbid that which had, at all times, been regarded as lawful, to none is given the right to question His authority. Whoso will hesitate, though it be for less than a moment, should be regarded as a transgressor.

163 Whoso hath not recognized this sublime and fundamental verity, and hath failed to attain this most exalted station, the winds of doubt will agitate him, and the sayings of the infidels will distract his soul. He that hath acknowledged this principle will be endowed with the most perfect constancy. All honour to this all-glorious station, the remembrance of which adorneth every exalted Tablet. Such is the teaching which God bestoweth on you, a teaching that will deliver you from all manner of doubt and perplexity, and enable you to attain unto salvation in both this world and in the next. He, verily, is the Ever-Forgiving, the Most Bountiful. He it is Who hath sent forth the Messengers, and sent down the Books to proclaim "There is none other God but Me, the Almighty, the All-Wise".

164 O Land of Káf and Rá (Kirmán)! We, verily, behold thee in a state displeasing unto God, and see proceeding from thee that which is inscrutable to anyone save Him, the Omniscient, the All-Informed; and We perceive that which secretly and stealthily diffuseth from thee. With Us is the knowledge of all things, inscribed in a lucid Tablet. Sorrow not for that which hath befallen thee. Erelong will God raise

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up within thee men endued with mighty valour, who will magnify My Name with such constancy that neither will they be deterred by the evil suggestions of the divines, nor will they be kept back by the insinuations of the sowers of doubt. With their own eyes will they behold God, and with their own lives will they render Him victorious. These, truly, are of those who are steadfast.

165 O concourse of divines! When My verses were sent down, and My clear tokens were revealed, We found you behind the veils. This, verily, is a strange thing. Ye glory in My Name, yet ye recognized Me not at the time your Lord, the All-Merciful, appeared amongst you with proof and testimony. We have rent the veils asunder. Beware lest ye shut out the people by yet another veil. Pluck asunder the chains of vain imaginings, in the name of the Lord of all men, and be not of the deceitful. Should ye turn unto God and embrace His Cause, spread not disorder within it, and measure not the Book of God with your selfish desires. This, verily, is the counsel of God aforetime and hereafter, and to this God's witnesses and chosen ones, yea, each and every one of Us, do solemnly attest.

166 Call ye to mind the shaykh whose name was Muḥammad-Ḥasan, who ranked among the most learned divines of his day. When the True One was made manifest, this shaykh, along with others of his calling, rejected Him, while a sifter of wheat and barley accepted Him and turned unto the Lord. Though he was occupied both night and day in setting down what he conceived to be the laws and ordinances of God, yet when He Who is the Unconstrained appeared, not one letter thereof availed him, or he would not have turned away from a Countenance that hath illumined the faces of the well-favoured of the Lord. Had ye believed in God when He revealed Himself, the people would not have turned aside from Him, nor would the things ye witness today have befallen Us. Fear God, and be not of the heedless.

167 Beware lest any name debar you from Him Who is the Possessor of all names, or any word shut you out from this Remembrance of God, this Source of Wisdom amongst you. Turn unto God and seek His protection, O concourse of divines, and make not of yourselves a veil between Me and My creatures. Thus doth your Lord admonish you, and command you to be just, lest your works should come to naught and ye yourselves be oblivious of your plight. Shall he who denieth this Cause be able to vindicate the truth of any cause throughout creation? Nay, by Him Who is the Fashioner of the universe! Yet the people are wrapped in a palpable veil. Say: Through this Cause the day-star of testimony hath dawned, and the luminary of proof hath shed its radiance upon all that dwell on earth. Fear God, O men of insight, and be not of those who disbelieve in Me. Take heed lest the word "Prophet" withhold you from this Most Great Announcement, or any reference to "Vicegerency" debar you from the sovereignty of Him Who is the Vicegerent of God, which overshadoweth all the worlds. Every name hath been created by His Word, and every cause is dependent on His irresistible, His mighty and wondrous Cause. Say: This is the Day of God, the Day on which naught shall be mentioned save His own Self, the omnipotent Protector of all worlds. This is the Cause that hath made all your superstitions and idols to tremble.

168 We, verily, see amongst you him who taketh hold of the Book of God and citeth from it proofs and arguments wherewith to repudiate his Lord, even as the followers of every other Faith sought reasons in their Holy Books for refuting Him Who is the Help in Peril, the Self-Subsisting. Say: God, the True One, is My witness that neither the Scriptures of the world, nor all the books and writings in existence, shall, in this Day, avail you aught without this, the Living Book, Who proclaimeth in the midmost heart of creation: "Verily, there is none other God but Me, the All-Knowing, the All-Wise."

169 O concourse of divines! Beware lest ye be the cause of strife in the land, even as ye were the cause of the repudiation of the Faith in its early days. Gather the people around this Word that hath made the pebbles to cry out: "The Kingdom is God's, the Dawning-place of all signs!" Thus doth your Lord admonish you, as a bounty on His part; He, of a truth, is the Ever-Forgiving, the Most Generous.

170 Call ye to mind Karím, and how, when We summoned him unto God, he waxed disdainful, prompted by his own desires; yet We had sent him that which was a solace to the eye of proof in the world of being and the fulfilment of God's testimony to all the denizens of earth and heaven. As a token of the grace of Him Who is the All-Possessing, the Most High, We bade him embrace the Truth. But he turned away until, as an act of justice from God, angels of wrath laid hold upon him. Unto this We truly were a witness.

171 Tear the veils asunder in such wise that the inmates of the Kingdom will hear them being rent. This is the command of God, in days gone by and for those to come. Blessed the man that observeth that whereunto he was bidden, and woe betide the negligent.

172 We, of a certainty, have had no purpose in this earthly realm save to make God manifest and to reveal His sovereignty; sufficient unto Me is God for a witness. We, of a certainty, have had no intent in the celestial Kingdom but to exalt His Cause and glorify His praise; sufficient unto Me is God for a protector. We, of a certainty, have had no desire in the Dominion on high except to extol God and what hath been sent down by Him; sufficient unto Me is God for a helper.

173 Happy are ye, O ye the learned ones in Bahá. By the Lord! Ye are the billows of the Most Mighty Ocean, the stars of the firmament of Glory, the standards of triumph waving betwixt earth and heaven. Ye are the manifestations of steadfastness amidst men and the daysprings of Divine Utterance to all that dwell on earth. Well is it with him that turneth unto you, and woe betide the froward. This day, it behoveth whoso hath quaffed the Mystic Wine of everlasting life from the Hands of the loving-kindness of the Lord his God, the Merciful, to pulsate even as the throbbing artery in the body of mankind, that through him may be quickened the world and every crumbling bone.

174 O people of the world! When the Mystic Dove will have winged its flight from its Sanctuary of Praise and sought its far-off goal, its hidden habitation, refer ye whatsoever ye understand not in the Book to Him Who hath branched from this mighty Stock.

175 O Pen of the Most High! Move Thou upon the Tablet at the bidding of Thy Lord, the Creator of the Heavens, and tell of the time when He Who is the Dayspring of Divine Unity purposed to direct His steps towards the School of Transcendent Oneness; haply the pure in heart may gain thereby a glimpse, be it as small as a needle's eye, of the mysteries of Thy Lord, the Almighty, the Omniscient, that lie concealed behind the veils. Say: We, indeed, set foot within the School of inner meaning and explanation when all created things were unaware. We saw the words sent down by Him Who is the All-Merciful, and We accepted the verses of God, the Help in Peril, the Self-Subsisting, which He (The Bab) presented unto Us, and hearkened unto that which He had solemnly affirmed in the Tablet. This we assuredly did behold. And We assented to His wish through Our behest, for truly We are potent to command.

176 O people of the Bayán! We, verily, set foot within the School of God when ye lay slumbering; and We perused the Tablet while ye were fast asleep. By the one true God! We read the Tablet ere it was revealed, while ye were unaware, and We had perfect knowledge of the Book when ye were yet unborn. These words are to your measure, not to God's. To this testifieth that which is enshrined within His knowledge, if ye be of them that comprehend; and to this the tongue of the Almighty doth bear witness, if ye be of those who understand. I swear by God, were We to lift the veil, ye would be dumbfounded.

177 Take heed that ye dispute not idly concerning the Almighty and His Cause, for lo! He hath appeared amongst you invested with a Revelation so great as to encompass all things, whether of the past or of the future. Were We to address Our theme by speaking in the language of the inmates of the Kingdom, We would say: "In truth, God created that School ere He created heaven and earth, and We entered it before the letters B and E were joined and knit together." Such is the language of Our servants in Our Kingdom; consider what the tongue of the dwellers of Our exalted Dominion would utter, for We have taught them Our knowledge and have revealed to them whatever had lain hidden in God's wisdom. Imagine then what the Tongue of Might and Grandeur would utter in His All-Glorious Abode!

178 This is not a Cause which may be made a plaything for your idle fancies, nor is it a field for the foolish and faint of heart. By God, this is the arena of insight and detachment, of vision and upliftment, where none may spur on their chargers save the valiant horsemen of the Merciful, who have severed all attachment to the world of being. These, truly, are they that render God victorious on earth, and are the dawning-places of His sovereign might amidst mankind.

179 Beware lest aught that hath been revealed in the Bayán should keep you from your Lord, the Most Compassionate. God is My witness that the Bayán was sent down for no other purpose than to celebrate My praise, did ye but know! In it the pure in heart will find only the fragrance of My love, only My Name that overshadoweth all that seeth and is seen. Say: Turn ye, O people, unto that which hath proceeded from My Most Exalted Pen. Should ye inhale therefrom the fragrance of God, set not yourselves against Him, nor deny yourselves a portion of His gracious favour and His manifold bestowals. Thus doth your Lord admonish you; He, verily, is the Counsellor, the Omniscient.

180 Whatsoever ye understand not in the Bayán, ask it of God, your Lord and the Lord of your forefathers. Should He so desire, He will expound for you that which is revealed therein, and disclose to you the pearls of Divine knowledge and wisdom that lie concealed within the ocean of its words. He, verily, is supreme over all names; no God is there but Him, the Help in Peril, the Self-Subsisting.

181 The world's equilibrium hath been upset through the vibrating influence of this most great, this new World Order. Mankind's ordered life hath been revolutionized through the agency of this unique, this wondrous System—the like of which mortal eyes have never witnessed.

182 Immerse yourselves in the ocean of My words, that ye may unravel its secrets, and discover all the pearls of wisdom that lie hid in its depths. Take heed that ye do not vacillate in your determination to embrace the truth of this Cause—a Cause through which the potentialities of the might of God have been revealed, and His sovereignty established. With faces beaming with joy, hasten ye unto Him. This is the changeless Faith of God, eternal in the past, eternal in the future. Let him that seeketh, attain it; and as to him that hath refused to seek it—verily, God is Self-Sufficient, above any need of His creatures.

183 Say: This is the infallible Balance which the Hand of God is holding, in which all who are in the heavens and all who are on the earth are weighed, and their fate determined, if ye be of them that believe and recognize this truth. Say: This is the Most Great Testimony, by which the validity of every proof throughout the ages hath been established, would that ye might be assured thereof. Say: Through it the poor have been enriched, the learned enlightened, and the seekers enabled to ascend unto the presence of God. Beware lest ye make it a cause of dissension amongst you. Be ye as firmly settled as the immovable mountain in the Cause of your Lord, the Mighty, the Loving.

184 Say: O source of perversion! Abandon thy wilful blindness, and speak forth the truth amidst the people. I swear by God that I have wept for thee to see thee following thy selfish passions and renouncing Him Who fashioned thee and brought thee into being. Call to mind the tender mercy of thy Lord, and remember how We nurtured thee by day and by night for service to the Cause. Fear God, and be thou of the truly repentant. Granted that the people were confused about thy station, is it conceivable that thou thyself art similarly confused? Tremble before thy Lord and recall the days when thou didst stand before Our throne, and didst write down the verses that We dictated unto thee—verses sent down by God, the Omnipotent Protector, the Lord of might and power. Beware lest the fire of thy presumptuousness debar thee from attaining to God's Holy Court. Turn unto Him, and fear not because of thy deeds. He, in truth, forgiveth whomsoever He desireth as a bounty on His part; no God is there but Him, the Ever-Forgiving, the All-Bounteous. We admonish thee solely for the sake of God. Shouldst thou accept this counsel, thou wilt have acted to thine own behoof; and shouldst thou reject it, thy Lord, verily, can well dispense with thee, and with all those who, in manifest delusion, have followed thee. Behold! God hath laid hold on him who led thee astray. Return unto God, humble, submissive and lowly; verily, He will put away from thee thy sins, for thy Lord, of a certainty, is the Forgiving, the Mighty, the All-Merciful.

185 This is the Counsel of God; would that thou mightest heed it! This is the Bounty of God; would that thou mightest receive it! This is the Utterance of God; if only thou wouldst apprehend it! This is the Treasure of God; if only thou couldst understand!

186 This is a Book which hath become the Lamp of the Eternal unto the world, and His straight, undeviating Path amidst the peoples of the earth. Say: This is the Dayspring of Divine knowledge, if ye be of them that understand, and the Dawning-place of God's commandments, if ye be of those who comprehend.

187 Burden not an animal with more than it can bear. We, truly, have prohibited such treatment through a most binding interdiction in the Book. Be ye the embodiments of justice and fairness amidst all creation.

188 Should anyone unintentionally take another's life, it is incumbent upon him to render to the family of the deceased an indemnity of one hundred mithqáls of gold. Observe ye that which hath been enjoined upon you in this Tablet, and be not of those who overstep its limits.

189 O members of parliaments throughout the world! Select ye a single language for the use of all on earth, and adopt ye likewise a common script. God, verily, maketh plain for you that which shall profit you and enable you to be independent of others. He, of a truth, is the Most Bountiful, the All-Knowing, the All-Informed. This will be the cause of unity, could ye but comprehend it, and the greatest instrument for promoting harmony and civilization, would that ye might understand! We have appointed two signs for the coming of age of the human race: the first, which is the most firm foundation, We have set down in other of Our Tablets, while the second hath been revealed in this wondrous Book.

190 It hath been forbidden you to smoke opium. We, truly, have prohibited this practice through a most binding interdiction in the Book. Should anyone partake thereof, assuredly he is not of Me. Fear God, O ye endued with understanding!

Some Texts Revealed By Bahá'u'lláh Supplementary To The Kitáb-I-Aqdas

(A number of Tablets revealed by Bahá'u'lláh after the Kitáb-i-Aqdas contain passages supplementary to the

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provisions of the Most Holy Book. The most noteworthy of these have been published in Tablets of Bahá'u'lláh revealed after the Kitáb-i-Aqdas. Included in this section is an extract from the Tablet of Ishráqát. The text of the three Obligatory Prayers referred to in Questions and Answers and the Prayer for the Dead mentioned in the Text are, likewise, reprinted here.)

The Tablet Of Ishráqát

The Eighth Ishráq

This passage, now written by the Pen of Glory, is accounted as part of the Most Holy Book: The men of God's House of Justice have been charged with the affairs of the people. They, in truth, are the Trustees of God among His servants and the daysprings of authority in His countries.

O people of God! That which traineth the world is Justice, for it is upheld by two pillars, reward and punishment. These two pillars are the sources of life to the world. Inasmuch as for each day there is a new problem and for every problem an expedient solution, such affairs should be referred to the House of Justice that the members thereof may act according to the needs and requirements of the time. They that, for the sake of God, arise to serve His Cause, are the recipients of divine inspiration from the unseen Kingdom. It is incumbent upon all to be obedient unto them. All matters of State should be referred to the House of Justice, but acts of worship must be observed according to that which God hath revealed in His Book.

O people of Bahá! Ye are the dawning-places of the love of God and the daysprings of His loving-kindness. Defile not your tongues with the cursing and reviling of any soul, and guard your eyes against that which is not seemly. Set forth that which ye possess. If it be favourably received, your end is attained; if not, to protest is vain. Leave that soul to himself and turn unto the Lord, the Protector, the Self-Subsisting. Be not the cause of grief, much less of discord and strife. The hope is cherished that ye may obtain true education in the shelter of the tree of His tender mercies and act in accordance with that which God desireth. Ye are all the leaves of one tree and the drops of one ocean.

(Tablets of Bahá'u'lláh revealed after the Kitáb-i-Aqdas)

Long Obligatory Prayer

(To be recited once in twenty-four hours)

1 Whoso wisheth to recite this prayer, let him stand up and turn unto God, and, as he standeth in his place, let him gaze to the right and to the left, as if awaiting the mercy of his Lord, the Most Merciful, the Compassionate. Then let him say: O Thou Who art the Lord of all names and the Maker of the heavens! I beseech Thee by them Who are the Daysprings of Thine invisible Essence, the Most Exalted, the All-Glorious, to make of my prayer a fire that will burn away the veils which have shut me out from Thy beauty, and a light that will lead me unto the ocean of Thy Presence.

2 Let him then raise his hands in supplication toward God—blessed and exalted be He—and say: O Thou the Desire of the world and the Beloved of the nations! Thou seest me turning toward Thee, and rid of all attachment to anyone save Thee, and clinging to Thy cord, through whose movement the whole creation hath been stirred up. I am Thy servant, O my Lord, and the son of Thy servant. Behold me standing ready to do Thy will and Thy desire, and wishing naught else except Thy good pleasure. I implore Thee by the Ocean of Thy mercy and the Day-Star of Thy grace to do with Thy servant as Thou willest and pleasest. By Thy might which is far above all mention and praise! Whatsoever is revealed by Thee is the desire of my heart and the beloved of my soul. O God, my God! Look not upon my hopes and my doings, nay rather look upon Thy will that hath encompassed the heavens and the earth. By Thy Most Great Name, O Thou Lord of all nations! I have desired only what Thou didst desire, and love only what Thou dost love.

3 Let him then kneel, and bowing his forehead to the ground, let him say: Exalted art Thou above the description of anyone save Thyself, and the comprehension of aught else except Thee.

4 Let him then stand and say: Make my prayer, O my Lord, a fountain of living waters whereby I may live as long as Thy sovereignty endureth, and may make mention of Thee in every world of Thy worlds.

5 Let him again raise his hands in supplication, and say: O Thou in separation from Whom hearts and souls have melted, and by the fire of Whose love the whole world hath been set aflame! I implore Thee by Thy Name through which Thou hast subdued the whole creation, not to withhold from me that which is with Thee, O Thou Who rulest over all men! Thou seest, O my Lord, this stranger hastening to his most exalted home beneath the canopy of Thy majesty and within the precincts of Thy mercy; and this transgressor seeking the ocean of Thy forgiveness; and this lowly one the court of Thy glory; and this poor creature the orient of Thy wealth. Thine is the authority to command whatsoever Thou willest. I bear witness that Thou art to be praised in Thy doings, and to be obeyed in Thy behests, and to remain unconstrained in Thy bidding.

6 Let him then raise his hands, and repeat three times the Greatest Name. Let him then bend down with hands resting on the knees before God—blessed and exalted be He—and say: Thou seest, O my God, how my spirit hath been stirred up within my limbs and members, in its longing to worship Thee, and in its yearning to remember Thee and extol Thee; how it testifieth to that whereunto the Tongue of Thy Commandment hath testified in the kingdom of Thine utterance and the heaven of Thy knowledge. I love, in this state, O my Lord, to beg of Thee all that is with Thee, that I may demonstrate my poverty, and magnify Thy bounty and Thy riches, and may declare my powerlessness, and manifest Thy power and Thy might.

7 Let him then stand and raise his hands twice in supplication, and say: There is no God but Thee, the Almighty, the All-Bountiful. There is no God but Thee, the Ordainer, both in the beginning and in the end. O God, my God! Thy forgiveness hath emboldened me, and Thy mercy hath strengthened me, and Thy call hath awakened me, and Thy grace hath raised me up and led me unto Thee. Who, otherwise, am I that I should dare to stand at the gate of the city of Thy nearness, or set my face toward the lights that are shining from the heaven of Thy will? Thou seest, O my Lord, this wretched creature knocking at the door of Thy grace, and this evanescent soul seeking the river of everlasting life from the hands of Thy bounty. Thine is the command at all times, O Thou Who art the Lord of all names; and mine is resignation and willing submission to Thy will, O Creator of the heavens!

8 Let him then raise his hands thrice, and say: Greater is God than every great one!

9 Let him then kneel and, bowing his forehead to the ground, say: Too high art Thou for the praise of those who are nigh unto Thee to ascend unto the heaven of Thy nearness, or for the birds of the hearts of them who are devoted to Thee to attain to the door of Thy gate. I testify that Thou hast been sanctified above all attributes and holy above all names. No God is there but Thee, the Most Exalted, the All-Glorious.

10 Let him then seat himself and say: I testify unto that whereunto have testified all created things, and the Concourse on high, and the inmates of the all-highest Paradise, and beyond them the Tongue of Grandeur itself from the all-glorious Horizon, that Thou art God, that there is no God but Thee, and that He Who hath been manifested is the Hidden Mystery, the Treasured Symbol, through Whom the letters B and E (Be) have been joined and knit together. I testify that it is He whose name hath been set down by the Pen of the Most High, and Who hath been mentioned in the Books of God, the Lord of the Throne on high and of earth below.

11 Let him then stand erect and say: O Lord of all being and Possessor of all things visible and invisible! Thou dost perceive my tears and the sighs I utter, and hearest my groaning, and my wailing, and the lamentation of my heart. By Thy might! My trespasses have kept me back from drawing nigh unto Thee; and my sins have held me far from the court of Thy holiness. Thy love, O my Lord, hath enriched me, and separation from Thee hath destroyed me, and remoteness from Thee hath consumed me. I entreat Thee by Thy footsteps in this wilderness, and by the words "Here am I. Here am I" which Thy chosen Ones have uttered in this immensity, and by the breaths of Thy Revelation, and the gentle winds of the Dawn of Thy Manifestation, to ordain that I may gaze on Thy beauty and observe whatsoever is in Thy Book.

12 Let him then repeat the Greatest Name thrice, and bend down with hands resting on the knees, and say: Praise be to Thee, O my God, that Thou hast aided me to remember Thee and to praise Thee, and hast made known unto me Him Who is the Dayspring of Thy signs, and hast caused me to bow down before Thy Lordship, and humble myself before Thy Godhead, and to acknowledge that which hath been uttered by the Tongue of Thy grandeur.

13 Let him then rise and say: O God, my God! My back is bowed by the burden of my sins, and my heedlessness hath destroyed me. Whenever I ponder my evil doings and Thy benevolence, my heart melteth within me, and my blood boileth in my veins. By Thy Beauty, O Thou the Desire of the world! I blush to lift up my face to Thee, and my longing hands are ashamed to stretch forth toward the heaven of Thy bounty. Thou seest, O my God, how my tears prevent me from remembering Thee and from extolling Thy virtues, O Thou the Lord of the Throne on high and of earth below! I implore Thee by the signs of Thy Kingdom and the mysteries of Thy Dominion to do with Thy loved ones as becometh Thy bounty, O Lord of all being, and is worthy of Thy grace, O King of the seen and the unseen!

14 Let him then repeat the Greatest Name thrice, and kneel with his forehead to the ground, and say: Praise be unto Thee, O our God, that Thou hast sent down unto us that which draweth us nigh unto Thee, and supplieth us with every good thing sent down by Thee in Thy Books and Thy Scriptures. Protect us, we beseech Thee, O my Lord, from the hosts of idle fancies and vain imaginations. Thou, in truth, art the Mighty, the All-Knowing.

15 Let him then raise his head, and seat himself, and say: I testify, O my God, to that whereunto Thy chosen Ones have testified, and acknowledge that which the inmates of the all-highest Paradise and those who have circled round Thy mighty Throne have acknowledged. The kingdoms of earth and heaven are Thine, O Lord of the worlds!

(Prayers and Meditations by Bahá'u'lláh, 183)

Medium Obligatory Prayer

(To be recited daily, in the morning, at noon, and in the evening)

1 Whoso wisheth to pray, let him wash his hands, and while he washeth, let him say: Strengthen my hand, O my God, that it may take hold of Thy Book with such steadfastness that the hosts of the world shall have no power over it. Guard it, then, from meddling with whatsoever doth not belong unto it. Thou art, verily, the Almighty, the Most Powerful.

2 And while washing his face, let him say: I have turned my face unto Thee, O my Lord! Illumine it with the light of Thy countenance. Protect it, then, from turning to any one but Thee.

3 Then let him stand up, and facing the Qiblih (Point of Adoration, i.e. Bahjí, 'Akká), let him say: God testifieth that there is none other God but Him. His are the kingdoms of Revelation and of creation. He, in truth, hath manifested Him Who is the Dayspring of Revelation, Who conversed on Sinai, through Whom the Supreme Horizon hath been made to shine, and the Lote-Tree beyond which there is no passing hath spoken, and through Whom the call hath been proclaimed unto all who are in heaven and on earth: "Lo, the All-Possessing is come. Earth and heaven, glory and dominion are God's, the Lord of all men, and the Possessor of the Throne on high and of earth below!"

4 Let him, then, bend down, with hands resting on the knees, and say: Exalted art Thou above my praise and the praise of anyone beside me, above my description and the description of all who are in heaven and all who are on earth!

5 Then, standing with open hands, palms upward toward the face, let him say: Disappoint not, O my God, him that hath, with beseeching fingers, clung to the hem of Thy mercy and Thy grace, O Thou Who of those who show mercy art the Most Merciful!

6 Let him, then, be seated and say: I bear witness to Thy unity and Thy oneness, and that Thou art God, and that there is none other God beside Thee. Thou hast, verily, revealed Thy Cause, fulfilled Thy Covenant, and opened wide the door of Thy grace to all that dwell in heaven and on earth. Blessing and peace, salutation and glory, rest upon Thy loved ones, whom the changes and chances of the world have not deterred from turning unto Thee, and who have given their all, in the hope of obtaining that which is with Thee. Thou art, in truth, the Ever-Forgiving, the All-Bountiful.

(If anyone choose to recite instead of the long verse these words: "God testifieth that there is none other God but Him, the Help in Peril, the Self-Subsisting," it would be sufficient. And likewise, it would suffice were he, while seated, to choose to recite these words: "I bear witness to Thy unity and Thy oneness, and that Thou art God, and that there is none other God beside Thee.")

(Prayers and Meditations by Bahá'u'lláh, 182)

Short Obligatory Prayer

(To be recited once in twenty-four hours, at noon)

I bear witness, O my God, that Thou hast created me to know Thee and to worship Thee. I testify, at this moment, to my powerlessness and to Thy might, to my poverty and to Thy wealth.

There is none other God but Thee, the Help in Peril, the Self-Subsisting.

(Prayers and Meditations by Bahá'u'lláh, 181)

Prayer For The Dead

O my God! This is Thy servant and the son of Thy servant who hath believed in Thee and in Thy signs, and set his face towards Thee, wholly detached from all except Thee. Thou art, verily, of those who show mercy the most merciful.

Deal with him, O Thou Who forgivest the sins of men and concealest their faults, as beseemeth the heaven of Thy bounty and the ocean of Thy grace. Grant him admission within the precincts of Thy transcendent mercy that was before the foundation of earth and heaven. There is no God but Thee, the Ever-Forgiving, the Most Generous.

Let him, then, repeat six times the greeting "Alláh-u-Abhá", and then repeat nineteen times each of the following verses:

We all, verily, worship God.
We all, verily, bow down before God.
We all, verily, are devoted unto God.
We all, verily, give praise unto God.
We all, verily, yield thanks unto God.
We all, verily, are patient in God.

(If the dead be a woman, let him say: This is Thy handmaiden and the daughter of Thy handmaiden, etc…)

(Prayers and Meditations by Bahá'u'lláh, 167)

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Supplement
BAHA'I FAITH: QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

1. QUESTION: Concerning the Most Great Festival.

ANSWER: The Most Great Festival commenceth late in the afternoon of the thirteenth day of the second month of the year according to the Bayán. On the first, ninth and twelfth days of this Festival, work is forbidden.

2. QUESTION: Concerning the Festival of the Twin Birthdays.

ANSWER: The Birth of the Abhá Beauty 1 was at the hour of dawn on the second day of the month of Muharram, 2 the first day of which marketh the Birth of His Herald. These two days are accounted as one in the sight of God.

3. QUESTION: Concerning the Marriage Verses.

ANSWER: For men: "We will all, verily, abide by the Will of God." For women: "We will all, verily, abide by the Will of God."

4. QUESTION: Should a man go on a journey without specifying a time for his return—without indicating, in other words, the expected period of his absence—and should no word be heard of him thereafter, and all trace of him be lost, what course should be followed by his wife?

ANSWER: Should he have omitted to fix a time for his return despite being aware of the stipulation of the Kitáb-i-Aqdas in this regard, his wife should wait for one full year, after which she shall be free either to adopt the course that is praiseworthy, or to choose for herself another husband. If, however, he be unaware of this stipulation, she should abide in patience until such time as God shall please to disclose to her his fate. By the course that is praiseworthy in this connection is meant the exercise of patience.

5. QUESTION: Concerning the holy verse: "When We heard the clamour of the children as yet unborn, We doubled their share and decreased those of the rest."

ANSWER: According to the Book of God, the estate of the deceased is divided into 2,520 shares, which number is the lowest common multiple of all integers up to nine, and these shares are then distributed into seven portions, each of which is allocated, as mentioned in the Book, to a particular category of heirs. The children, for example, are allotted nine blocks of 60 shares, comprising 540 shares in all. The meaning of the statement "We doubled their share" is thus that the children receive a further nine blocks of 60 shares, entitling them to a total of 18 blocks all told. The extra shares that they receive are deducted from the portions of the other categories of heirs, so that, although it is revealed, for instance, that the spouse is entitled to "eight parts comprising four hundred and eighty shares", which is the equivalent of eight blocks of 60 shares, now, by virtue of this rearrangement, one and a half blocks of shares, comprising 90 shares in all, have been subtracted from the spouse's portion and reallocated to the children, and similarly in the case of the others. The result is that the total amount subtracted is equivalent to the nine extra blocks of shares allotted to the children.

6. QUESTION: Is it necessary that the brother, in order to qualify for his portion of the inheritance, be descended from both the father and the mother of the deceased, or is it sufficient merely that there be one parent in common?

ANSWER: If the brother be descended from the father he shall receive his share of the inheritance in the prescribed measure recorded in the Book; but if he be descended from the mother, he shall receive only two thirds of his entitlement, the remaining third reverting to the House of Justice. This ruling is also applicable to the sister.

7. QUESTION: Amongst the provisions concerning inheritance it hath been laid down that, should the deceased leave no offspring, their share of the estate is to revert to the House of Justice. In the event of other categories of heirs, such as the father, mother, brother, sister and teacher being similarly absent, do their shares of the inheritance also revert to the House of Justice, or are they dealt with in some other fashion?

ANSWER: The sacred verse sufficeth. He saith, exalted be His Word: "Should the deceased leave no offspring, their share shall revert to the House of Justice" etc. and "Should the deceased leave offspring, but none of the other categories of heirs that have been specified in the Book, they shall receive two thirds of the inheritance and the remaining third shall revert to the House of Justice" etc. In other words, where there are no offspring, their allotted portion of the inheritance reverteth to the House of Justice; and where there are offspring but the other categories of heirs are lacking, two thirds of the inheritance pass to the offspring, the remaining third reverting to the House of Justice. This ruling hath both general and specific application, which is to say that whenever any category of this latter class of heirs is absent, two thirds of their inheritance pass to the offspring and the remaining third to the House of Justice.

8. QUESTION: Concerning the basic sum on which Ḥuqúqu'lláh is payable. ANSWER: The basic sum on which Ḥuqúqu'lláh is payable is nineteen mithqáls of gold. In other words, when money to the value of this sum hath been acquired, a payment of Ḥuqúq falleth due. Likewise Ḥuqúq is payable when the value, not the number, of other forms of property reacheth the prescribed amount. Huqúqu'lláh is payable no more than once. A person, for instance, who acquireth a thousand mithqáls of gold, and payeth the Ḥuqúq, is not liable to make a further such payment on this sum, but only on what accrueth to it through commerce, business and the like. When this increase, namely the profit realized, reacheth the prescribed sum, one must carry out what God hath decreed. Only when the principal changeth hands is it once more subject to payment of Ḥuqúq, as it was the first time. The Primal Point hath directed that Ḥuqúqu'lláh must be paid on the value of whatsoever one possesseth; yet, in this Most Mighty Dispensation, We have exempted the household furnishings, that is such furnishings as are needed, and the residence itself.

9. QUESTION: Which is to take precedence: the Ḥuqúqu'lláh, the debts of the deceased or the cost of the funeral and burial?

ANSWER: The funeral and burial take precedence, then settlement of debts, then payment of Ḥuqúqu'lláh. Should the property of the deceased prove insufficient to cover his debts, the remainder of his estate should be distributed among these debts in proportion to their size.

10. QUESTION: Shaving the head hath been forbidden in the Kitáb-i-Aqdas but enjoined in the Súriy-i-Hájj.

ANSWER: All are charged with obedience to the Kitáb-i-Aqdas; whatsoever is revealed therein is the Law of God amid His servants. The injunction on pilgrims to the sacred House to shave the head hath been lifted. 110

11. QUESTION: If intercourse take place between a couple during their year of patience, and they become estranged again thereafter, must they recommence their year of patience, or may the days preceding the intercourse be included in the reckoning of the year? And once divorce hath taken place, is it necessary that a further period of waiting be observed?

ANSWER: Should affection be renewed between the couple during their year of patience, the marriage tie is valid, and what is commanded in the Book of God must be observed; but once the year of patience hath been completed and that which is decreed by God taketh place, a further period of waiting is not required. Sexual intercourse between husband and wife is forbidden during their year of patience, and whoso committeth this act must seek God's forgiveness, and, as a punishment, render to the House of Justice a fine of nineteen mithqáls of gold.

12. QUESTION: Should antipathy develop between a couple after the Marriage Verses have been read and the dowry paid, may divorce take place without observance of the year of patience?

ANSWER: Divorce may legitimately be sought after the reading of the Marriage Verses and payment of the dowry, but before the consummation of the marriage. In such circumstances there is no need for observance of a year of patience, but recovery of the dowry payment is not permissible.

13. QUESTION: Is the consent of the parents on both sides 111 prerequisite to marriage, or is that of the parents on one side sufficient? Is this law applicable only to virgins or to others as well?

ANSWER: Marriage is conditional upon the consent of the parents of both parties to the marriage, and in this respect it maketh no difference whether the bride be a virgin or otherwise.

14. QUESTION: The believers have been enjoined to face in the direction of the Qiblih when reciting their Obligatory Prayers; in what direction should they turn when offering other prayers and devotions?

ANSWER: Facing in the direction of the Qiblih is a fixed requirement for the recitation of obligatory prayer, but for other prayers and devotions one may follow what the merciful Lord hath revealed in the Koran: "Whichever way ye turn, there is the face of God."

15. QUESTION: Concerning the remembrance of God in the Mashriqu'l-Adhkár "at the hour of dawn".

ANSWER: Although the words "at the hour of dawn" are used in the Book of God, it is acceptable to God at the earliest dawn of day, between dawn and sunrise, or even up to two hours after sunrise.

16. QUESTION: Is the ordinance that the body of the deceased should be carried no greater distance than one hour's journey applicable to transport by both land and sea?

ANSWER: This command applieth to distances 112 by sea as well as by land, whether it is an hour by steamship or by rail; the intention is the hour's time, whatever the means of transport. The sooner the burial taketh place, however, the more fitting and acceptable will it be.

17. QUESTION: What procedure should be followed on the discovery of lost property?

ANSWER: If such property be found in the town, its discovery is to be announced once by the town crier. If the owner of the property is then found, it should be delivered up to him. Otherwise, the finder of the property should wait one year, and if, during this period, the owner cometh to light, the finder should receive from him the crier's fee and restore to him his property; only if the year should pass without the owner's being identified may the finder take possession of the property himself. If the value of the property is less than or equal to the crier's fee, the finder should wait a single day from the time of its discovery, at the end of which, if the owner hath not come to light, he may himself appropriate it; and in the case of property discovered in an uninhabited area, the finder should observe a three days' wait, on the passing of which period, if the identity of the owner remain unknown, he is free to take possession of his find.

18. QUESTION: With reference to the ablutions: if, for example, a person hath just bathed his entire body, must he still perform his ablutions? 113

ANSWER: The commandment regarding ablutions must, in any case, be observed.

19. QUESTION: Should a person plan to migrate from his country, and his wife be opposed and the disagreement culminate in divorce, and should his preparations for the journey extend until a year hath passed, may this period be counted as the year of patience, or should the day the couple part be regarded as the starting-point of that year?

ANSWER: The starting-point for computation is the day the couple part, and if, therefore, they have separated a year before the husband's departure, and if the fragrance of affection hath not been renewed between the couple, divorce may take place. Otherwise the year must be counted from the day of his departure, and the conditions set forth in the Kitáb-i-Aqdas observed.

20. QUESTION: Concerning the age of maturity with respect to religious duties.

ANSWER: The age of maturity is fifteen for both men and women.

21. QUESTION: Concerning the holy verse: "When travelling, if ye should stop and rest in some safe spot, perform ye … a single prostration in place of each unsaid Obligatory Prayer…"

ANSWER: This prostration is to compensate for obligatory prayer omitted in the course of travel, and by reason of insecure circumstances. If, at the time of prayer, the traveller should find himself at rest in a secure place, he should perform that prayer. This provision regarding the compensating prostration applieth both at home and on a journey.

22. QUESTION: Concerning the definition of a journey. (This relates to the minimum duration of a journey which exempts the traveller from fasting)

ANSWER: The definition of a journey is nine hours by the clock. Should the traveller stop in a place, anticipating that he will stay there for no less than one month by the Bayán reckoning, it is incumbent on him to keep the Fast; but if for less than one month, he is exempt from fasting. If he arriveth during the Fast at a place where he is to stay one month according to the Bayán, he should not observe the Fast till three days have elapsed, thereafter keeping it throughout the remainder of its course; but if he come to his home, where he hath heretofore been permanently resident, he must commence his fast upon the first day after his arrival.

23. QUESTION: Concerning the punishment of the adulterer and adulteress.

ANSWER: Nine mithqáls are payable for the first offence, eighteen for the second, thirty-six for the third, and so on, each succeeding fine being double the preceding. The weight of one mithqál is equivalent to nineteen nákhuds in accordance with the specification of the Bayán.

24. QUESTION: Concerning hunting.

ANSWER: He saith, exalted be He: "If ye should hunt with beasts or birds of prey" and so forth. Other means, such as bows and arrows, guns, and similar equipment employed in hunting, are also included. If, however, traps or snares are used, and the game dieth before it can be reached, it is unlawful for consumption.

25. QUESTION: Concerning the pilgrimage.

ANSWER: It is an obligation to make pilgrimage to one of the two sacred Houses; but as to which, it is for the pilgrim to decide.

26. QUESTION: Concerning the dowry.

ANSWER: Regarding dowry, the intention of contenting oneself with the lowest level is nineteen mithqáls of silver.

27. QUESTION: Concerning the sacred verse: "If, however, news should reach her of her husband's death", etc.

ANSWER: With reference to waiting a "fixed number of months" a period of nine months is intended.

28. QUESTION: Again inquiry hath been made about the teacher's share of the inheritance.

ANSWER: Should the teacher have passed away, one third of his share of the inheritance reverteth to the House of Justice, and the remaining two thirds pass to the deceased's, and not the teacher's, offspring.

29. QUESTION: Again inquiry hath been made about the pilgrimage.

ANSWER: By pilgrimage to the sacred House, which is enjoined upon men, is intended both the Most Great House in Baghdád and the House of the Primal Point in Shíráz; pilgrimage to either of these Houses sufficeth. They may thus

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make pilgrimage to whichever lieth nearer to the place where they reside.

30. QUESTION: Concerning the verse: "he who would take into his service a maid may do so with propriety."

ANSWER: This is solely for service such as is performed by any other class of servants, be they young or old, in exchange for wages; such a maiden is free to choose a husband at whatever time she pleaseth, for it is forbidden either that women should be purchased, or that a man should have more wives than two.

31. QUESTION: Concerning the sacred verse: "The Lord hath prohibited … the practice to which ye formerly had recourse when thrice ye had divorced a woman."

ANSWER: The reference is to the law which previously made it necessary for another man to marry such a woman before she could again be wedded to her former husband; this practice hath been prohibited in the Kitáb-i-Aqdas.

32. QUESTION: Concerning the restoration and preservation of the two Houses in the Twin Spots, and the other sites wherein the throne hath been established.

ANSWER: By the two Houses is intended the Most Great House and the House of the Primal Point. As for other sites, the people of the areas where these are situated may choose to preserve either each house wherein the throne hath been established, or one of them.

33. QUESTION: Again inquiry hath been made about the inheritance of the teacher.

ANSWER: If the teacher is not of the people of Bahá, he doth not inherit. Should there be several teachers, the share is to be divided equally amongst them. If the teacher is deceased, his offspring do not inherit his share, but rather two thirds of it revert to the children of the owner of the estate, and the remaining one third to the House of Justice.

34. QUESTION: Concerning the residence which hath been assigned exclusively to the male offspring.

ANSWER: If there are several residences, the finest and noblest of these dwellings is the one intended, the remainder being distributed amongst the whole body of the heirs like any other form of property. Any heir, from whichever category of inheritors, who is outside the Faith of God is accounted as non-existent and doth not inherit.

35. QUESTION: Concerning Naw-Rúz.

ANSWER: The Festival of Naw-Rúz falleth on the day that the sun entereth the sign of Aries (The vernal equinox in the northern hemisphere), even should this occur no more than one minute before sunset.

36. QUESTION: If the anniversary either of the Twin Birthdays or of the Declaration of the Báb occurreth during the Fast, what is to be done?

ANSWER: Should the feasts celebrating the Twin Birthdays or the Declaration of the Báb fall within the month of fasting, the command to fast shall not apply on that day.

37. QUESTION: In the holy ordinances governing inheritance, the residence and personal clothing of the deceased have been allotted to the male offspring. Doth this provision refer only to the father's property, or doth it apply to the mother's as well?

ANSWER: The used clothing of the mother should be divided in equal shares among the daughters, but the remainder of her estate, including property, jewellery, and unused clothing, is to be distributed, in the manner revealed in the Kitáb-i-Aqdas, to all her heirs. If, however, the deceased hath left no daughters, her estate in its entirety must be divided in the manner designated for men in the holy Text.

38. QUESTION: Concerning divorce, which must be preceded by a year of patience: if only one of the parties is inclined toward conciliation, what is to be done?

ANSWER: According to the commandment revealed in the Kitáb-i-Aqdas, both parties must be content; unless both are willing, reunion cannot take place.

39. QUESTION: In connection with the dowry, what if the bridegroom cannot pay this sum in full, but instead were to formally deliver a promissory note to his bride at the time of the wedding ceremony, on the understanding that he will honour it when he is able to do so?

ANSWER: Permission to adopt this practice hath been granted by the Source of Authority.

40. QUESTION: If during the year of patience the fragrance of affection be renewed, only to be succeeded by antipathy, and the couple waver between affection and aversion throughout the year, and the year endeth in antipathy, can divorce take place or not?

ANSWER: In each case at any time antipathy occurreth, the year of patience beginneth on that day, and the year must run its full course.

41. QUESTION: The residence and personal clothing of the deceased have been assigned to the male, not female, offspring, nor to the other heirs; should the deceased have left no male offspring, what is to be done?

ANSWER: He saith, exalted be He: "Should the deceased leave no offspring, their share shall revert to the House of Justice…" In conformity with this sacred verse, the residence and personal clothing of the deceased revert to the House of Justice.

42. QUESTION: The ordinance of Ḥuqúqu'lláh is revealed in the Kitáb-i-Aqdas. Is the residence, with the accompanying fixtures and necessary furnishings, included in the property on which Ḥuqúq is payable, or is it otherwise?

ANSWER: In the laws revealed in Persian We have ordained that in this Most Mighty Dispensation the residence and the household furnishings are exempt—that is, such furnishings as are necessary.

43. QUESTION: Concerning the betrothal of a girl before maturity.

ANSWER: This practice hath been pronounced unlawful by the Source of Authority, and it is unlawful to announce a marriage earlier than ninety-five days before the wedding.

44. QUESTION: If a person hath, for example, a hundred túmáns, payeth the Ḥuqúq on this sum, loseth half the sum in unsuccessful transactions and then, through trading, the amount in hand is raised again to the sum on which Ḥuqúq is due—must such a person pay Ḥuqúq or not?

ANSWER: In such an event the Ḥuqúq is not payable.

45. QUESTION: If, after payment of Ḥuqúq, this same sum of one hundred túmáns is lost in its entirety, but subsequently regained through trade and business dealings, must Ḥuqúq be paid a second time or not?

ANSWER: In this event as well, payment of Ḥuqúq is not required.

46. QUESTION: With reference to the sacred verse, "God hath prescribed matrimony unto you", is this prescription obligatory or not?

ANSWER: It is not obligatory.

47. QUESTION: Supposing that a man hath wed a certain woman believing her to be a virgin and he hath paid her the dowry, but at the time of consummation it becometh evident that she is not a virgin, are the expenses and the dowry to be repaid or not? And if the marriage had been made conditional upon virginity, doth the unfulfilled condition invalidate that which was conditioned upon it?

ANSWER: In such a case the expenses and the dowry may be refunded. The unfulfilled condition invalidateth that which is conditioned upon it. However, to conceal and forgive the matter will, in the sight of God, merit a bounteous reward.

48. QUESTION: "A feast hath been enjoined upon you…" Is this obligatory or not?

ANSWER: It is not obligatory.

49. QUESTION: Concerning the penalties for adultery, sodomy, and theft, and the degrees thereof.

ANSWER: The determination of the degrees of these penalties rests with the House of Justice.

50. QUESTION: Concerning the legitimacy or otherwise of marrying one's relatives.

ANSWER: These matters likewise rest with the Trustees of the House of Justice.

51. QUESTION: With reference to ablutions, it hath been revealed, "Let him that findeth no water for ablution repeat five times the words 'In the Name of God, the Most Pure, the Most Pure'": is it permissible to recite this verse in times of bitter cold, or if the hands or face be wounded?

ANSWER: Warm water may be used in times of bitter cold. If there are wounds on the face or hands, or there be other reasons such as aches and pains for which the use of water would be harmful, one may recite the appointed verse in place of the ablution.

52. QUESTION: Is the recitation of the verse revealed to replace the Prayer of the Signs obligatory?

ANSWER: It is not obligatory.

53. QUESTION: With reference to inheritance, when there are full brothers and full sisters, would half-brothers and half-sisters on the mother's side also receive a share?

ANSWER: They receive no share.

54. QUESTION: He saith, exalted be He: "Should the son of the deceased have passed away in the days of his father and have left children, they will inherit their father's share…" What is to be done if the daughter hath died during the lifetime of her father?

ANSWER: Her share of the inheritance should be distributed among the seven categories of heirs according to the ordinance of the Book.

55. QUESTION: If the deceased be a woman, to whom is the "wife's" share of the inheritance allotted?

ANSWER: The "wife's" share of the inheritance is allotted to the husband.

56. QUESTION: Concerning the shrouding of the body of the deceased which is decreed to comprise five sheets: does the five refer to five cloths which were hitherto customarily used or to five full-length shrouds wrapped one around the other?

ANSWER: The use of five cloths is intended.

57. QUESTION: Concerning disparities between certain revealed verses.

ANSWER: Many Tablets were revealed and dispatched in their original form without being checked and reviewed. Consequently, as bidden, they were again read out in the Holy Presence, and brought into conformity with the grammatical conventions of the people in order to forestall the cavils of opponents of the Cause. Another reason for this practice is that the new style inaugurated by the Herald, may the souls of all else but Him be offered up for His sake, was seen to be marked by substantial latitude in adherence to the rules of grammar; sacred verses therefore were then revealed in a style which is for the most part in conformity with current usage for ease of understanding and concision of expression.

58. QUESTION: Concerning the blessed verse, "When travelling, if ye should stop and rest in some safe spot, perform ye … a single prostration in place of each unsaid Obligatory Prayer": is this compensation for the Obligatory Prayer missed by reason of insecure circumstances, or is obligatory prayer completely suspended during travel, and doth the prostration take its place?

ANSWER: If, when the hour of obligatory prayer arriveth, there be no security, one should, upon arrival in safe surroundings, perform a prostration in place of each Obligatory Prayer that was missed, and after the final prostration, sit cross-legged and read the designated verse. If there be a safe place, obligatory prayer is not suspended during travel.

59. QUESTION: If, after a traveller hath stopped and rested it is the time for obligatory prayer, should he perform the prayer, or make the prostration in its stead?

ANSWER: Except in insecure circumstances omission of the Obligatory Prayer is not permissible.

60. QUESTION: If, due to missed Obligatory Prayers, a number of prostrations are required, must the verse be repeated after each compensating prostration or not?

ANSWER: It is sufficient to recite the designated verse after the last prostration. The several prostrations do not require separate repetitions of the verse.

61. QUESTION: If an Obligatory Prayer be omitted at home, is it to be compensated for by a prostration or not?

ANSWER: In answer to previous questions it was written: "This provision regarding the compensating prostration applieth both at home and on a journey."

62. QUESTION: If, for another purpose, one hath performed ablutions, and the time of obligatory prayer arriveth, are these ablutions sufficient or must they be renewed?

ANSWER: These same ablutions are sufficient, and there is no need for them to be renewed.

63. QUESTION: In the Kitáb-i-Aqdas obligatory prayer hath been enjoined, consisting of nine rak'áhs, to be performed at noon, in the morning and the evening, but the Tablet of Obligatory Prayers 6 appeareth to differ from this.

ANSWER: That which hath been revealed in the Kitáb-i-Aqdas concerneth a different Obligatory Prayer. Some years ago a number of the ordinances of the Kitáb-i-Aqdas including that Obligatory Prayer were, for reasons of wisdom, recorded separately and sent away together with other sacred writings, for the purposes of preservation and protection. Later these three Obligatory Prayers were revealed.

64. QUESTION: In determining time, is it permissible to rely on clocks and watches?

ANSWER: It is permissible to rely on clocks and watches.

65. QUESTION: In the Tablet of Obligatory Prayers, three prayers are revealed; is the performance of all three required or not?

ANSWER: It is enjoined to offer one of these three prayers; whichever is performed sufficeth.

66. QUESTION: Are ablutions for the morning prayer still valid for the noonday prayer? And similarly, are ablutions carried out at noon still valid in the evening?

ANSWER: Ablutions are connected with the Obligatory Prayer for which they are performed, and must be renewed for each prayer.

67. QUESTION: Concerning the long Obligatory Prayer, it is required to stand up and "turn unto God". This seemeth to indicate that it is not necessary to face the Qiblih; is this so or not?

ANSWER: The Qiblih is intended.

68. QUESTION: Concerning the sacred verse: "Recite ye the verses of God every morn and eventide."

ANSWER: The intention is all that hath been sent down from the Heaven of Divine Utterance. The prime requisite is the eagerness and love of sanctified souls to read the Word of God. To read one verse, or even one word, in a spirit of joy and radiance, is preferable to the perusal of many Books.

69. QUESTION: May a person, in drawing up his will, assign some portion of his property—beyond that which is devoted to payment of Ḥuqúqu'lláh and the settlement of debts—to works of charity, or is he entitled to do no more than allocate a certain sum to cover funeral and burial expenses, so that the rest of his estate will be distributed in the manner fixed by God among the designated categories of heirs?

ANSWER: A person hath full jurisdiction over his property. If he is able to discharge the Ḥuqúqu'lláh, and is free of debt, then all that is recorded in his will, and any declaration or avowal it containeth, shall be acceptable. God, verily, hath permitted him to deal with that which He hath bestowed upon him in whatever manner he may desire.

70. QUESTION: Is the use of the burial ring enjoined exclusively for adults, or is it for minors as well?

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ANSWER: It is for adults only. The Prayer for the Dead is likewise for adults.

71. QUESTION: Should a person wish to fast at a time other than in the month of ‘Alá, is this permissible or not; and if he hath vowed or pledged himself to such a fast, is this valid and acceptable?

ANSWER: The ordinance of fasting is such as hath already been revealed. Should someone pledge himself, however, to offer up a fast to God, seeking in this way the fulfilment of a wish, or to realize some other aim, this is permissible, now as heretofore. Howbeit, it is God’s wish, exalted be His glory, that vows and pledges be directed to such objectives as will profit mankind.

72. QUESTION: Again a question hath been asked concerning the residence and personal clothing: are these to revert, in the absence of male offspring, to the House of Justice, or are they to be distributed like the rest of the estate?

ANSWER: Two thirds of the residence and personal clothing pass to the female offspring, and one third to the House of Justice, which God hath made to be the treasury of the people.

73. QUESTION: If, upon completion of the year of patience, the husband refuseth to allow divorce, what course should be adopted by the wife?

ANSWER: When the period is ended divorce is effected. However, it is necessary that there be witnesses to the beginning and end of this period, so that they can be called upon to give testimony should the need arise.

74. QUESTION: Concerning the definition of old age.

ANSWER: To the Arabs it denoteth the furthest extremity of old age, but for the people of Bahá it is from the age of seventy.

75. QUESTION: Concerning the limit of fasting for someone travelling on foot.

ANSWER: The limit is set at two hours. If this is exceeded, it is permissible to break the Fast.

76. QUESTION: Concerning observance of the Fast by people engaged in hard labour during the month of fasting.

ANSWER: Such people are excused from fasting; however, in order to show respect to the law of God and for the exalted station of the Fast, it is most commendable and fitting to eat with frugality and in private.

77. QUESTION: Do ablutions performed for the Obligatory Prayer suffice for the ninety-five repetitions of the Greatest Name?

ANSWER: It is unnecessary to renew the ablutions.

78. QUESTION: Concerning clothes and jewellery which a husband may have purchased for his wife: are these to be distributed, after his death, amongst his heirs, or are they specially for the wife?

ANSWER: Aside from used clothing, whatever there may be, jewellery or otherwise, belongeth to the husband, except what is proven to have been gifts to the wife.

79. QUESTION: Concerning the criterion of justness when proving some matter dependent on the testimony of two just witnesses.

ANSWER: The criterion of justness is a good reputation among the people. The testimony of all God’s servants, of whatever faith or creed, is acceptable before His Throne.

80. QUESTION: If the deceased hath not settled his obligation to Ḥuqúqu’lláh, nor paid his other debts, are these to be discharged by proportionate deductions from the residence, personal clothing and the rest of the estate, or are the residence and personal clothing set aside for the male offspring, and consequently the debts must be settled from the rest of the estate? And if the rest of the estate is insufficient for this purpose, how should the debts be settled?

ANSWER: Outstanding debts and payments of Huqúq should be settled from the remainder of the estate, but if this is insufficient for the purpose, the shortfall should be met from his residence and personal clothing.

81. QUESTION: Should the third Obligatory Prayer be offered while seated or standing?

ANSWER: It is preferable and more fitting to stand in an attitude of humble reverence.

82. QUESTION: Concerning the first Obligatory Prayer it hath been ordained, “one should perform it at whatever time one findeth oneself in a state of humbleness and longing adoration”: is it to be performed once in twenty-four hours, or more frequently?

ANSWER: Once in twenty-four hours is sufficient; this is that which hath been uttered by the Tongue of Divine Command.

83. QUESTION: Concerning the definition of “morning”, “noon” and “evening”.

ANSWER: These are sunrise, noon and sunset. The allowable times for Obligatory Prayers are from morning till noon, from noon till sunset, and from sunset till two hours thereafter. Authority is in the hand of God, the Bearer of the Two Names.

84. QUESTION: Is it permissible for a believer to marry an unbeliever?

ANSWER: Both taking and giving in marriage are permissible; thus did the Lord decree when He ascended the throne of bounteousness and grace.

85. QUESTION: Concerning the Prayer for the Dead: should it precede or follow the interment? And is facing the Qiblih required?

ANSWER: Recital of this prayer should precede interment; and as regards the Qiblih: “Whichever way ye turn, there is the face of God.” (Koran 2:115)

86. QUESTION: At noon, which is the time for two of the Obligatory Prayers—the short midday prayer, and the prayer to be offered in the morning, noon, and evening—is it necessary in this case to perform two ablutions or would one suffice?

ANSWER: The renewal of ablutions is unnecessary.

87. QUESTION: Concerning the dowry for village-dwellers which is to be of silver: is it the bride or bridegroom who is intended or both of them? And what is to be done if one is a city-dweller and the other a village-dweller?

ANSWER: The dowry is determined by the dwelling-place of the bridegroom; if he be a city-dweller, the dowry is of gold, and if he be a village-dweller, it is of silver.

88. QUESTION: What is the criterion for determining if one is a city-dweller or a village-dweller? If a city-dweller taketh up residence in a village, or a village-dweller in a city, intending to settle permanently, what ruling is applicable? Is the place of birth the deciding factor?

ANSWER: The criterion is permanent residence and, depending on where this is, the injunction in the Book must be observed accordingly.

89. QUESTION: In the holy Tablets it hath been revealed that when someone acquireth the equivalent of nineteen mithqáls of gold, he should pay the Right of God on that sum. Might it be explained how much of this nineteen should be paid?

ANSWER: Nineteen out of one hundred is established by the ordinance of God. Computation should be made on this basis. It may then be ascertained what amount is due on nineteen.

90. QUESTION: When one’s wealth exceeds nineteen, is it necessary for it to increase by a further nineteen before Ḥuqúq is due again, or would it be due on any increase?

ANSWER: Any amount added to nineteen is exempt from Ḥuqúq until it reacheth a further nineteen.

91. QUESTION: Concerning pure water, and the point at which it is considered used.

ANSWER: Small quantities of water, such as one cupful, or even two or three, must be considered used after a single washing of the face and hands. But a kurr (This refers to a volume of approximately one half of a cubic metre) or more of water remaineth unchanged after one or two washings of the face, and there is no objection to its use unless it is altered in one of the three ways (Colour, taste and smell), for example its colour is changed, in which case it should be looked upon as used.

92. QUESTION: In a treatise in Persian on various questions, the age of maturity hath been set at fifteen; is marriage likewise conditional upon the reaching of maturity, or is it permissible before that time?

ANSWER: Since the consent of both parties is required in the Book of God, and since, before maturity, their consent or lack of it cannot be ascertained, marriage is therefore conditional upon reaching the age of maturity, and is not permissible before that time.

93. QUESTION: Concerning fasting and obligatory prayer by the sick.

ANSWER: In truth, I say that obligatory prayer and fasting occupy an exalted station in the sight of God. It is, however, in a state of health that their virtue can be realised. In time of ill-health it is not permissible to observe these obligations; such hath been the bidding of the Lord, exalted be His glory, at all times. Blessed be such men and women as pay heed, and observe His precepts. All praise be unto God, He who hath sent down the verses and is the Revealer of undoubted proofs!

94. QUESTION: Concerning mosques, chapels and temples.

ANSWER: Whatever hath been constructed for the worship of the one true God, such as mosques, chapels and temples, must not be used for any purpose other than the commemoration of His Name. This is an ordinance of God, and he who violateth it is verily of those who have transgressed. No harm attacheth to the builder, for he hath performed his deed for the sake of God, and hath received and will continue to receive his just reward.

95. QUESTION: Regarding the appointments of a place of business, which are needed for carrying on one’s work or profession: are they subject to the payment of Ḥuqúqu’lláh, or are they covered by the same ruling as the household furnishings?

ANSWER: They are covered by the same ruling as the household furnishings.

96. QUESTION: Concerning the exchange of property held in trust for cash or other forms of property, to guard against depreciation or loss.

ANSWER: Regarding the written question on the exchange of property held in trust to guard against depreciation and loss, such exchange is permissible on condition that the substitute will be equivalent in value. Thy Lord, verily, is the Expounder, the Omniscient, and He, truly, is the Ordainer, the Ancient of Days.

97. QUESTION: Concerning the washing of the feet in winter and summer.

ANSWER: It is the same in both cases; warm water is preferable, but there can be no objection to cold.

98. QUESTION: A further question on divorce.

ANSWER: Since God, exalted be His glory, doth not favour divorce, nothing was revealed on this issue. However, from the beginning of the separation until the end of one year, two people or more must remain informed as witnesses; if, by the end, there is no reconciliation, divorce taketh place. This must be recorded in the registry by the religious judicial officer of the city appointed by the Trustees of the House of Justice. Observance of this procedure is essential lest those that are possessed of an understanding heart be saddened.

99. QUESTION: Concerning consultation.

ANSWER: If consultation among the first group of people assembled endeth in disagreement, new people should be added, after which persons to the number of the Greatest Name, or fewer or more, shall be chosen by lot. Whereupon the consultation shall be renewed, and the outcome, whatever it is, shall be obeyed. If, however, there is still disagreement, the same procedure should be repeated once more, and the decision of the majority shall prevail. He, verily, guideth whomsoever He pleaseth to the right way.

100. QUESTION: Concerning inheritance.

ANSWER: Regarding inheritance, that which the Primal Point hath ordained—may the souls of all else but Him be offered up for His sake—is well pleasing. The existing heirs should receive their allotted shares of the inheritance, while a statement of the remainder must be submitted to 137 the Court of the Most High. In His hand is the source of authority; He ordaineth as He pleaseth. In this regard, a law was revealed in the Land of Mystery (Adrianople), temporarily awarding the missing heirs’ inheritance to the existing heirs until such time as the House of Justice shall be established, when the decree concerning this will be promulgated. The inheritance, however, of those who emigrated in the same year as the Ancient Beauty, hath been awarded to their heirs, and this is a bounty of God bestowed upon them.

101. QUESTION: Concerning the law on treasure trove.

ANSWER: Should a treasure be found, one third thereof is the right of the discoverer, and the other two thirds should be expended by the men of the House of Justice for the welfare of all people. This shall be done after the establishment of the House of Justice, and until that time it shall be committed to the keeping of trustworthy persons in each locality and territory. He, in truth, is the Ruler, the Ordainer, the Omniscient, the All-Informed.

102. QUESTION: Concerning Ḥuqúq on real estate which yieldeth no profit.

ANSWER: The ordinance of God is that real estate which hath ceased to yield income, that is, 138 from which no profit accrueth, is not liable to payment of Ḥuqúq. He, verily, is the Ruler, the Munificent.

103. QUESTION: Concerning the holy verse: “In regions where the days and nights grow long, let times of prayer be gauged by clocks…”

ANSWER: The intention is those territories that are remote. In these climes, however, the difference in length is but a few hours, and therefore this ruling doth not apply.

104. In the Tablet to ‘Abá Badí, this holy verse hath been revealed: “Verily, We have enjoined on every son to serve his father.” Such is the decree which We have set forth in the Book.

105. And in another Tablet, these exalted words have been revealed: O Muḥammad! The Ancient of Days hath turned His countenance towards thee, making mention of thee, and exhorting the people of God to educate their children. Should a father neglect this most weighty commandment laid down in the Kitáb-i-Aqdas by the Pen of the Eternal King, he shall forfeit rights of fatherhood, and be accounted guilty before God. Well is it with him who imprinteth on his heart the admonitions of the Lord, and steadfastly cleaveth unto them. God, in truth, enjoineth on His servants what shall assist and profit them, and enable them to draw nigh unto Him. He is the Ordainer, the Everlasting.

106. He is God, exalted be He, the Lord of majesty and power! The Prophets and Chosen Ones have all been commissioned by the One True God, magnified be His glory, to nurture the trees of human existence with the living waters of uprightness and understanding, that there may appear from them that which God hath deposited within their inmost selves. As may be readily observed, each tree yieldeth a certain fruit, and a barren tree is but fit for fire. The purpose of these Educators, in all they said and taught, was to preserve man’s exalted station. Well is it with him who in the Day of God hath laid fast hold upon His precepts and hath not deviated from His true and fundamental Law. The fruits that best befit

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the tree of human life are trustworthiness and godliness, truthfulness and sincerity; but greater than all, after recognition of the unity of God, praised and glorified be He, is regard for the rights that are due to one's parents. This teaching hath been mentioned in all the Books of God, and reaffirmed by the Most Exalted Pen. Consider that which the Merciful Lord hath revealed in the Koran, exalted are His words: "Worship ye God, join with Him no peer or likeness; and show forth kindliness and charity towards your parents…" Observe how loving-kindness to one's parents hath been linked to recognition of the one true God! Happy they who are endued with true wisdom and understanding, who see and perceive, who read and understand, and who observe that which God hath revealed in the Holy Books of old, and in this incomparable and wondrous Tablet.

107. In one of the Tablets He, exalted be His words, hath revealed: And in the matter of Zakát, We have likewise decreed that you should follow what hath been revealed in the Koran.

SYNOPSIS AND CODIFICATION OF THE BAHA'I LAWS

1. The Appointment Of 'Abdu'l-Bahá As The Successor Of Bahá'u'lláh And Interpreter Of His Teachings
   A. The faithful are enjoined to turn their faces towards the One "Whom God hath purposed, Who hath branched from this Ancient Root".
   B. The faithful are bidden to refer whatsoever they do not understand in the Bahá'í writings to "Him Who hath branched from this mighty Stock".
2. Anticipation Of The Institution Of The Guardianship
3. The Institution Of The House Of Justice
   A. The House of Justice is formally ordained.
   B. Its functions are defined.
   C. Its revenues are fixed.
4. Laws, Ordinances And Exhortations
   A. Prayer
   1. The sublime station occupied by the Obligatory Prayers in the Bahá'í Revelation.
   2. The Qiblih:
   a. Identified by the Báb with "the One Whom God will make manifest".
   b. The appointment made by the Báb is confirmed by Bahá'u'lláh.
   c. Bahá'u'lláh ordains His resting-place as the Qiblih after His passing.
   d. Turning to the Qiblih is mandatory while reciting the Obligatory Prayers.
   3. The Obligatory Prayers are binding on men and women on attaining the age of maturity, which is fixed at 15.
   4. Exemption from offering the Obligatory Prayers is granted to:
   a. Those who are ill.
   b. Those who are over 70.
   c. Women in their courses provided they perform their ablutions and repeat a specifically revealed verse 95 times a day.
   5. The Obligatory Prayers should be offered individually.
   6. The choice of one of the three Obligatory Prayers is permissible.
   7. By "morning", "noon" and "evening", mentioned in connection with the Obligatory Prayers, is meant respectively the intervals between sunrise and noon, between noon and sunset, and from sunset till two hours after sunset.
   8. The recital of the first (long) Obligatory Prayer, once in twenty-four hours is sufficient.
   9. It is preferable to offer the third (short) Obligatory Prayer while standing.
   10. Ablutions:
   a. Ablutions must precede the recital of the Obligatory Prayers.
   b. For every Obligatory Prayer fresh ablutions must be performed.
   c. Should two Obligatory Prayers be offered at noon one ablution for both prayers is sufficient.
   d. If water is unavailable or its use harmful to the face or hands, the repetition, five times, of a specifically revealed verse is prescribed.
   e. Should the weather be too cold the use of warm water is recommended.
   f. If ablutions have been performed for other purposes, their renewal prior to the recital of the Obligatory Prayer is not required.
   g. Ablutions are essential whether a bath has been taken previously or not.
   11. Determining the times fixed for Prayer:
   a. Reliance on clocks is permissible in determining the times for offering the Obligatory Prayers.
   b. In countries situated in the extreme north or south, where the duration of days and nights varies considerably, clocks and timepieces should be relied upon, without reference to sunrise or sunset.
   12. In case of danger, whether when travelling or not, for every Obligatory Prayer not offered a prostration and the recital of a specific verse is enjoined, to be followed by the repetition, eighteen times, of another specific verse.
   13. Congregational prayer is forbidden except the Prayer for the Dead.
   14. The recital, in its entirety, of the Prayer for the Dead is prescribed except for those unable to read, who are commanded to repeat the six specific passages in that Prayer.
   15. The Obligatory Prayer to be thrice repeated, three times a day, at morn, noon and evening, has been superseded by three Obligatory Prayers subsequently revealed.
   16. The Prayer of the Signs has been annulled, and a specifically revealed verse substituted for it. The recital of this verse is not however obligatory.
   17. Hair, sable, bones and the like do not nullify one's prayer.

   B. Fasting
   1. The sublime station occupied by fasting in the Bahá'í Revelation.
   2. The period of fasting commences with the termination of the Intercalary Days, and ends with the Naw-Rúz Festival.
   3. Abstinence from food and drink, from sunrise to sunset, is obligatory.
   4. Fasting is binding on men and women on attaining the age of maturity, which is fixed at 15.
   5. Exemption from fasting is granted to:
   a. Travellers
   1. Provided the journey exceeds 9 hours.
   2. Those travelling on foot, provided the journey exceeds 2 hours.
   3. Those who break their journey for less than 19 days.
   4. Those who break their journey during the Fast at a place where they are to stay 19 days are exempt from fasting only for the first three days from their arrival.
   5. Those who reach home during the Fast must commence fasting from the day of their arrival.
   b. Those who are ill.
   c. Those who are over 70.
   d. Women who are with child.
   e. Women who are nursing.
   f. Women in their courses, provided they perform their ablutions and repeat a specifically revealed verse 95 times a day.
   g. Those who are engaged in heavy labour, who are advised to show respect for the law by using discretion and restraint when availing themselves of the exemption.
   6. Vowing to fast (in a month other than the one prescribed for fasting) is permissible. Vows which profit mankind are however preferable in the sight of God.

   C. Laws of Personal Status
   1. Marriage:
   a. Marriage is highly recommended but not obligatory.
   b. Plurality of wives is forbidden.
   c. Marriage is conditioned upon both parties having attained the age of maturity which is fixed at 15.
   d. Marriage is conditioned on the consent of both parties and their parents, whether the woman be a maiden or not.
   e. It is incumbent upon both parties to recite a specifically revealed verse indicating their being content with the will of God.
   f. Marriage with one's stepmother is forbidden.
   g. All matters related to marriage with one's kindred are to be referred to the House of Justice.
   h. Marriage with unbelievers is permitted.
   i. Betrothal:
   1. The period of engagement must not exceed 95 days.
   2. It is unlawful to become engaged to a girl before she reaches the age of maturity.
   j. The Dowry:
   1. Marriage is conditioned on payment of a dowry.
   2. The dowry is fixed at 19 mithqáls of pure gold for city-dwellers, and 19 mithqáls of silver for village-dwellers, depending on the permanent residence of the husband, and not of the wife.
   3. It is forbidden to pay more than 95 mithqáls.
   4. It is preferable that a man content himself with the payment of 19 mithqáls of silver.
   5. If the full payment of dowry is not possible the issue of a promissory note is permissible.
   k. Should either party, following the recital of the specifically revealed verse and the payment of the dowry, take a dislike to the other before the marriage is consummated, the period of waiting is not necessary prior to a divorce. The taking back of the dowry, however, is not permitted.
   l. The husband must fix for his wife the time of his return when intending to travel. If, for a legitimate reason, he is prevented from returning at the appointed time, he must inform her and strive to return to her. If he fails to fulfil either condition, she must wait 9 months, after which she may remarry, though it is preferable for her to wait longer. If news of his death or murder reaches her, and the news is confirmed by general report or by 2 reliable witnesses, she may remarry after the lapse of 9 months.
   m. If the husband departs without informing his wife of the date of his return, and is aware of the law prescribed in the Kitáb-i-Aqdas, the wife may remarry after waiting a full year. If the husband is unaware of this law, the wife must wait until news of her husband reaches her.
   n. Should the husband, after the payment of the dowry, discover that the wife is not a virgin, the refund of the dowry and of the expenses incurred may be demanded.
   o. If the marriage has been conditioned on virginity the refund of the dowry and of the expenses incurred may be demanded and the marriage invalidated. To conceal the matter, however, is highly meritorious in the sight of God.
   2. Divorce:
   a. Divorce is strongly condemned.
   b. If antipathy or resentment develop on the part of either the husband or the wife, divorce is permissible, only after the lapse of one full year. The beginning and end of the year of waiting must be testified by two or more witnesses. The act of divorce should be registered by the judicial officer representing the House of Justice. Intercourse during this period of waiting is forbidden, and whoever breaks this law must repent and pay the House of Justice 19 mithqáls of gold.
   c. A further period of waiting after divorce has taken place is not required.
   d. The wife who is to be divorced as a result of her unfaithfulness forfeits the payment of the expenses during the waiting period.
   e. Remarrying the wife whom one has divorced is permissible, provided she has not married another person. If she has, she must be divorced before her former husband can remarry her.
   f. If at any time during the waiting period affection should recur, the marriage tie is valid. If this reconciliation is followed by estrangement and divorce is again desired, a new year of waiting will have to be commenced.
   g. Should differences arise between husband and wife while travelling, he is required to send her home, or entrust her to a dependable person, who will escort her there, paying her journey and her full year's expenses.
   h. Should a wife insist on divorcing her husband rather than migrate to another country, the year of waiting is to be counted from the time they separate, either while he is preparing to leave, or upon his departure.
   i. The Islamic law regarding remarriage with the wife whom one has previously divorced is abrogated.
   3. Inheritance:
   a. Inheritance falls into the following categories:
   1. children 1,080 out of 2,520 shares
   2. husband or wife 390 " 2,520 "
   3. father 330 " 2,520 "
   4. mother 270 " 2,520 "
   5. brother 210 " 2,520 "
   6. sister 150 " 2,520 "
   7. teacher 90 " 2,520 "
   b. The share of the children, as allotted by the Báb, is doubled by Bahá'u'lláh, 154 and an equal portion correspondingly reduced from each of the remaining beneficiaries.
   c. Other conditions:
   1. In cases where there is no issue the share of the children reverts to the House of Justice to be expended on orphans and widows and for whatever will profit mankind.
   2. If the son of the deceased be dead and leave issue, these will inherit the share of their father. If the daughter of the deceased be dead and leave issue, her share will have to be divided into the seven categories specified in the Most Holy Book.
   d. Should one leave offspring but either part or all of the other categories of inheritors be nonexistent, two thirds of their shares reverts to the offspring and one third to the House of Justice.
   e. Should none of the specified beneficiaries exist, two thirds of the inheritance reverts to the nephews and nieces of the deceased. If these do not exist, the same share reverts to the aunts and uncles; lacking these, to their sons and daughters. In any case the remaining third reverts to the House of Justice.
   f. Should one leave none of the aforementioned heirs, the entire inheritance reverts to the House of Justice.
   g. The residence and the personal clothing of the deceased father pass to the male not to the female offspring. If there be several residences the principal and most important one passes to the male offspring. The remaining residences will together with the other possessions of the deceased have to be divided among the heirs. If there be no male offspring two thirds of the principal residence and the personal clothing of the deceased father will revert to the female issue and one third to the House of Justice. In the case of the deceased mother all her used clothing is to be equally divided amongst her daughters. Her unworn clothing, jewels and property must be divided among her heirs, as well as her used clothing if she leaves no daughter.

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h. Should the children of the deceased be minors their share should either be entrusted to a reliable person or to a company for purposes of investment, until they attain the age of maturity. A share of the interest accrued should be assigned to the trustee.

i. The inheritance should not be divided until after the payment of the Ḥuqúqu'lláh (The Right of God), of any debts contracted by the deceased and of any expenses incurred for a befitting funeral and burial.

j. If the brother of the deceased is from the same father he will inherit his full allotted share. If he is from another father he will inherit only two thirds of his share, the remaining one third reverting to the House of Justice. The same law is applicable to the sister of the deceased.

k. In case there are full brothers or full sisters, brothers and sisters from the mother's side do not inherit.

l. A non-Bahá'í teacher does not inherit. If there should be more than one teacher, the share allotted to the teacher is to be equally divided among them.

m. Non-Bahá'í heirs do not inherit.

n. Aside from the wife's used clothing and gifts of jewellery or otherwise which have been proven to have been given her by her husband, whatever the husband has purchased for his wife are to be considered as the husband's possessions to be divided among his heirs.

o. Any person is at liberty to will his possessions as he sees fit provided he makes provisions for the payment of Ḥuqúqu'lláh and the discharge of his debts.

D. Miscellaneous Laws, Ordinances and Exhortations

1. Miscellaneous Laws and Ordinances:

a. Pilgrimage
b. Ḥuqúqu'lláh
c. Endowments
d. The Mashriqu'l-Adhkár
e. Duration of the Bahá'í Dispensation
f. Bahá'í Festivals
g. The Nineteen Day Feast
h. The Bahá'í Year
i. The Intercalary Days
j. The age of maturity
k. Burial of the dead
l. Engaging in a trade or profession is made obligatory and is exalted to the rank of worship
m. Obedience to government
n. Education of children
o. The writing of a testament
p. Tithes (Zakát)
q. Repetition of the Greatest Name 95 times a day
r. The hunting of animals
s. Treatment of female servants
t. The finding of lost property
u. Disposition of treasure trove
v. Disposal of objects held in trust
w. Manslaughter
x. Definition of just witnesses
y. Prohibitions:
1. Interpretation of the Holy Writ
2. Slave trading
3. Asceticism
4. Monasticism
5. Mendicancy
6. Priesthood
7. Use of pulpits
8. The kissing of hands
9. Confession of sins
10. Plurality of wives
11. Intoxicating drinks
12. Opium
13. Gambling
14. Arson
15. Adultery
16. Murder
17. Theft
18. Homosexuality
19. Congregational prayer, except for the dead
20. Cruelty to animals
21. Idleness and sloth
22. Backbiting
23. Calumny
24. Carrying arms unless essential
25. Use of public pools in Persian baths
26. Entering a house without the owner's permission
27. Striking or wounding a person
28. Contention and conflict
29. Muttering sacred verses in the street
30. Plunging one's hand in food
31. Shaving one's head
32. Growth of men's hair beyond the lobe of the ear

2. Abrogation of specific laws and ordinances of previous Dispensations, which prescribed:

a. Destruction of books
b. Prohibition of the wearing of silk
c. Prohibition of the use of gold and silver utensils
d. Limitation of travel
e. Offering priceless gifts to the Founder of the Faith
f. Prohibition on questioning the Founder of the Faith
g. Prohibition against remarrying one's divorced wife
h. Penalizing whoever causes sadness to his neighbour
i. Prohibition of music
j. Limitations upon one's apparel and beard
k. Uncleanliness of divers objects and peoples
l. Uncleanliness of semen
m. Uncleanliness of certain objects for purposes of prostration

3. Miscellaneous Exhortations:

a. To associate with the followers of all religions with fellowship
b. To honour one's parents
c. Not to wish for others what one does not wish for one's self
d. To teach and propagate the Faith after the ascension of its Founder
e. To assist those who arise to promote the Faith
f. Not to depart from the Writings or to be misled by those who do
g. To refer to the Holy Writ when differences arise
h. To immerse one's self in the study of the Teachings
i. Not to follow one's idle fancies and vain imaginations
j. To recite the holy verses at morn and at eventide
k. To recite the holy verses melodiously
l. To teach one's children to chant the holy verses in the Mashriqu'l-Adhkár
m. To study such arts and sciences as benefit mankind
n. To take counsel together
o. Not to be indulgent in carrying out the statutes of God
p. To repent to God of one's sins
q. To distinguish one's self through good deeds
1. To be truthful
2. To be trustworthy
3. To be faithful
4. To be righteous and fear God
5. To be just and fair
6. To be tactful and wise
7. To be courteous
8. To be hospitable
9. To be persevering
10. To be detached
11. To be absolutely submissive to the Will of God
12. Not to stir up mischief
13. Not to be hypocritical
14. Not to be proud
15. Not to be fanatical
16. Not to prefer one's self to one's neighbour
17. Not to contend with one's neighbour
18. Not to indulge one's passions
19. Not to lament in adversity
20. Not to contend with those in authority
21. Not to lose one's temper
22. Not to anger one's neighbour
r. To be closely united
s. To consult competent physicians when ill
t. To respond to invitations
u. To show kindness to the kindred of the Founder of the Faith
v. To study languages for the furtherance of the Faith
w. To further the development of cities and countries for the glorification of the Faith
x. To restore and preserve the sites associated with the Founders of the Faith
y. To be the essence of cleanliness:
1. To wash one's feet
2. To perfume one's self
3. To bathe in clean water
4. To cut one's nails
5. To wash soiled things in clean water
6. To be stainless in one's dress
7. To renew the furnishings of one's house

THE BOOK OF IQAN

The Book of Certitude
The Kitáb-i-Íqán
by Bahá'u'lláh, 1861
Translation: Shoghi Effendi Rabbani
Estimated Range of Dating: 1850-1861 A.D.

(The Kitáb-i-Íqán (Persian:"The Book of Certitude") is the primary theological work and held sacred by followers of the Bahá'í Faith. One Bahá'í scholar states that it can be regarded as the "most influential Quran commentary in Persian outside the Muslim world," because of its international audience. It is sometimes referred to as the Book of Iqan or simply The Iqan.

The work was composed partly in Persian and partly in Arabic by Bahá'u'lláh, the founder of the Bahá'í Faith, in 1861, when he was living as an exile in Baghdad, then in a province of the Ottoman Empire. While Bahá'u'lláh had claimed to have received revelation some ten years earlier in the Síyáh-Chál (lit. black-pit), a dungeon in Tehran, he had not yet openly declared his mission. References to his own station therefore appear only in veiled form. Christopher Buck, author of a major study of the Íqán, has referred to this theme of the book as its "messianic secret," paralleling the same theme in the Gospel of Mark.

The book is in two parts: the first part deals with the foundational discourse that divine revelation is progressive and religions are related to one another, with each major monotheistic religion accepting the previous ones and, often in veiled terms, prophesying the advent of the next one. Since the questioner is a Muslim, Bahá'u'lláh uses verses from the Bible to show how a Christian could interpret his own sacred texts in allegorical terms to come to believe in the next dispensation. By extension the same method of interpretation can be used for a Muslim to see the validity of the claims of the Báb.)

THE BOOK OF IQAN, PART ONE

1 In The Name Of Our Lord, The Exalted, The Most High.

No man shall attain the shores of the ocean of true understanding except he be detached from all that is in heaven and on earth. Sanctify your souls, O ye peoples of the world, that haply ye may attain that station which God hath destined for you and enter thus the tabernacle which, according to the dispensations of Providence, hath been raised in the firmament of the Bayán.

2 The essence of these words is this: they that tread the path of faith, they that thirst for the wine of certitude, must cleanse themselves of all that is earthly—their ears from idle talk, their minds from vain imaginings, their hearts from worldly affections, their eyes from that which perisheth. They should put their trust in God, and, holding fast unto Him, follow in His way. Then will they be made worthy of the effulgent glories of the sun of divine knowledge and understanding, and become the recipients of a grace that is infinite and unseen, inasmuch as man can never hope to attain unto the knowledge of the All-Glorious, can never quaff from the stream of divine knowledge and wisdom, can never enter the abode of immortality, nor partake of the cup of divine nearness and favour, unless and until he ceases to regard the words and deeds of mortal men as a standard for the true understanding and recognition of God and His Prophets.

3 Consider the past. How many, both high and low, have, at all times, yearningly awaited the advent of the Manifestations of God in the sanctified persons of His chosen Ones. How often have they expected His coming, how frequently have they prayed that the breeze of divine mercy might blow, and the promised Beauty step forth from behind the veil of concealment, and be made manifest to all the world. And whensoever the portals of grace did open, and the clouds of divine bounty did rain upon mankind, and the light of the Unseen did shine above the horizon of celestial might, they all denied Him, and turned away from His face—the face of God Himself. Refer ye, to verify this truth, to that which hath been recorded in every sacred Book.

4 Ponder for a moment, and reflect upon that which hath been the cause of such denial on the 5 part of those who have searched with such earnestness and longing. Their attack hath been more fierce than tongue or pen can describe. Not one single Manifestation of Holiness hath appeared but He was afflicted by the denials, the repudiation, and the vehement opposition of the people around Him. Thus it hath been revealed: "O the misery of men! No Messenger cometh unto them but they laugh Him to scorn (Koran 36:30)." Again He saith: "Each nation hath plotted darkly against their Messenger to lay violent hold on Him, and disputed with vain words to invalidate the truth (Koran 40:5)."

5 In like manner, those words that have streamed forth from the source of power and descended from the heaven of glory are innumerable and beyond the ordinary comprehension of man. To them that are possessed of true understanding and insight the Súrah of Húd surely sufficeth. Ponder a while those holy words in your heart, and, with utter detachment, strive to grasp their meaning. Examine the wondrous behaviour of the Prophets, and recall the defamations and denials uttered by the children of negation and falsehood, perchance you may cause the bird of the human heart to wing its flight away from the abodes of heedlessness and doubt unto the nest of faith and certainty, and drink deep from the pure waters of ancient wisdom, and partake of the fruit of the tree of divine knowledge. Such is the share of the pure in heart of the bread that hath descended from the realms of eternity and holiness.

6 Should you acquaint yourself with the indignities heaped upon the Prophets of God, and apprehend the true causes of the objections voiced by their oppressors, you will surely appreciate the significance of their position. Moreover, the more closely you observe the denials of those who have opposed the Manifestations of the divine attributes, the firmer

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will be your faith in the Cause of God. Accordingly, a brief mention will be made in this Tablet of divers accounts relative to the Prophets of God, that they may demonstrate the truth that throughout all ages and centuries the Manifestations of power and glory have been subjected to such heinous cruelties that no pen dare describe them. Perchance this may enable a few to cease to be perturbed by the clamour and protestations of the divines and the foolish of this age, and cause them to strengthen their confidence and certainty.

7 Among the Prophets was Noah. For nine hundred and fifty years He prayerfully exhorted His people and summoned them to the haven of security and peace. None, however, heeded His call. Each day they inflicted on His blessed person such pain and suffering that no one believed He could survive. How frequently they denied Him, how malevolently they hinted their suspicion against Him! Thus it hath been revealed: "And as often as a company of His people passed by Him, they derided Him. To them He said: 'Though ye scoff at us now, we will scoff at you hereafter even as ye scoff at us. In the end ye shall know.'" (Koran 11:38) Long afterward, He several times promised victory to His companions and fixed the hour thereof. But when the hour struck, the divine promise was not fulfilled. This caused a few among the small number of His followers to turn away from Him, and to this testify the records of the best-known books. These you must certainly have perused; if not, undoubtedly you will. Finally, as stated in books and 8 traditions, there remained with Him only forty or seventy-two of His followers. At last from the depth of His being He cried aloud: "Lord! Leave not upon the land a single dweller from among the unbelievers." (Koran 71:26)

8 And now, consider and reflect a moment upon the waywardness of this people. What could have been the reason for such denial and avoidance on their part? What could have induced them to refuse to put off the garment of denial, and to adorn themselves with the robe of acceptance? Moreover, what could have caused the nonfulfilment of the divine promise which led the seekers to reject that which they had accepted? Meditate profoundly, that the secret of things unseen may be revealed unto you, that you may inhale the sweetness of a spiritual and imperishable fragrance, and that you may acknowledge the truth that from time immemorial even unto eternity the Almighty hath tried, and will continue to try, His servants, so that light may be distinguished from darkness, truth from falsehood, right from wrong, guidance from error, happiness from misery, and roses from thorns. Even as He hath revealed: "Do men think when they say 'We believe' they shall be let alone and not be put to proof?" (Koran 29:2)

9 And after Noah the light of the countenance of Húd shone forth above the horizon of creation. For well-nigh seven hundred years, according to the sayings of men, He exhorted the people to turn their faces and draw nearer unto the Riḍván of the divine presence. What showers of afflictions rained upon Him, until at last His adjurations bore the fruit of increased rebelliousness, and His assiduous endeavours resulted in the wilful blindness of His people. "And their unbelief shall only increase for the unbelievers their own perdition." (Koran 35:39)

10 And after Him there appeared from the Riḍván of the Eternal, the Invisible, the holy person of Ṣáliḥ, Who again summoned the people to the river of everlasting life. For over a hundred years He admonished them to hold fast unto the commandments of God and eschew that which is forbidden. His admonitions, however, yielded no fruit, and His pleading proved of no avail. Several times He retired and lived in seclusion. All this, although that eternal Beauty was summoning 10 the people to no other than the city of God. Even as it is revealed: "And unto the tribe of Thámúd We sent their brother Ṣáliḥ. 'O my people,' said He, 'Worship God, ye have none other God beside Him….' They made reply: 'O Ṣáliḥ, our hopes were fixed on thee until now; forbiddest thou us to worship that which our fathers worshipped? Truly we misdoubt that whereunto thou callest us as suspicious.'" (Koran 11:61, 62) All this proved fruitless, until at last there went up a great cry, and all fell into utter perdition.

11 Later, the beauty of the countenance of the Friend of God (Abraham) appeared from behind the veil, and another standard of divine guidance was hoisted. He invited the people of the earth to the light of righteousness. The more passionately He exhorted them, the fiercer waxed the envy and waywardness of the people, except those who wholly detached themselves from all save God, and ascended on the wings of certainty to the station which God hath exalted beyond the comprehension of men. It is well known what a host of enemies besieged Him, until at last the fires of envy and rebellion were kindled against Him. And after the episode of the fire came to pass, He, the lamp of God amongst men, was, as recorded in all books and chronicles, expelled from His city.

12 And when His day was ended, there came the turn of Moses. Armed with the rod of celestial dominion, adorned with the white hand of divine knowledge, and proceeding from the Párán of the love of God, and wielding the serpent of power and everlasting majesty, He shone forth from the Sinai of light upon the world. He summoned all the peoples and kindreds of the earth to the kingdom of eternity, and invited them to partake of the fruit of the tree of faithfulness. Surely you are aware of the fierce opposition of Pharaoh and his people, and of the stones of idle fancy which the hands of infidels cast upon that blessed Tree. So much so that Pharaoh and his people finally arose and exerted their utmost endeavor to extinguish with the waters of falsehood and denial the fire of that sacred Tree, oblivious of the truth that no earthly water can quench the flame of divine wisdom, nor mortal blasts extinguish the lamp of everlasting dominion. Nay, rather, such water cannot but intensify the burning of the flame, and such blasts cannot but ensure the preservation of the lamp, were ye to observe with the eye of discernment, and walk in the way of God's holy will and pleasure. How well hath a believer of the kindred of Pharaoh, whose story is recounted by the All-Glorious in His Book revealed unto His beloved One, observed: "And a man of the family of Pharaoh who was a believer and concealed his faith said: 'Will ye slay a man because he saith my Lord is God, when He hath already come to you with signs from your Lord? If he be a liar, on him will be his lie, but if he be a man of truth, part of what he threateneth will fall upon you. In truth God guideth not him who is a transgressor, a liar.'" (Koran 40:28) Finally, so great was their iniquity that this self-same believer was put to a shameful death. "The curse of God be upon the people of tyranny." (Koran 11:21)

13 And now, ponder upon these things. What could have caused such contention and conflict? Why is it that the advent of every true Manifestation of God hath been accompanied by such strife and tumult, by such tyranny and upheaval? This notwithstanding the fact that all the Prophets of God, whenever made manifest unto the peoples of the world, have invariably foretold the coming of yet another Prophet after them, and have established such signs as would herald the advent of the future Dispensation. To this the records of all sacred books bear witness. Why then is it that despite the expectation of men in their quest of the Manifestations of Holiness, and in spite of the signs recorded in the sacred books, such acts of violence, of oppression and cruelty, should have been perpetrated in every age and cycle against all the Prophets and chosen Ones of God? Even as He hath revealed: "As oft as an Apostle cometh unto you with that which your souls desire not, ye swell with pride, accusing some of being impostors and slaying others." (Koran 2:87)

14 Reflect, what could have been the motive for such deeds? What could have prompted such behaviour towards the Revealers of the beauty of the All-Glorious? Whatever in days gone by hath been the cause of the denial and opposition of those people hath now led to the perversity of the people of this age. To maintain that the testimony of Providence was incomplete, that it hath therefore been the cause of the denial of the people, is but open blasphemy. How far from the grace of the All-Bountiful and from His loving providence and tender mercies it is to single out a soul from amongst all men for the guidance of His creatures, and, on one hand, to withhold from Him the full measure of His divine testimony, and, on the other, inflict severe retribution on His people for having turned away from His chosen One! Nay, the manifold bounties of the Lord of all beings have, at all times, through the Manifestations of His divine Essence, encompassed the earth and all that dwell therein. Not for a moment hath His grace been withheld, nor have the showers of His loving-kindness ceased to rain upon mankind. Consequently, such behaviour can be attributed to naught save the petty-mindedness of such souls as tread the valley of arrogance and pride, are lost in the wilds of remoteness, walk in the ways of their idle fancy, and follow the dictates of the leaders of their faith. Their chief concern is mere opposition; their sole desire is to ignore the truth. Unto every discerning observer it is evident and manifest that had these people in the days of each of the Manifestations of the Sun of Truth sanctified their eyes, their ears, and their hearts from whatever they had seen, heard, and felt, they surely would not have been deprived of beholding the beauty of God, nor strayed far from the habitations of glory. But having weighed the testimony of God by the standard of their own knowledge, gleaned from the teachings of the leaders of their faith, and found it at variance with their limited understanding, they arose to perpetrate such unseemly acts.

15 Leaders of religion, in every age, have hindered their people from attaining the shores of eternal salvation, inasmuch as they held the reins of authority in their mighty grasp. Some for the lust of leadership, others through want of knowledge and understanding, have been the cause of the deprivation of the people. By their sanction and authority, every Prophet of God hath drunk from the chalice of sacrifice, and winged His flight unto the heights of glory. What unspeakable cruelties they that have occupied the seats of authority and learning have inflicted upon the true Monarchs of the world, those Gems of divine virtue! Content with a transitory dominion, they have deprived themselves of an everlasting sovereignty. Thus, their eyes beheld not the light of the countenance of the Well-Beloved, nor did their ears hearken unto the sweet melodies of the Bird of Desire. For this reason, in all sacred books mention hath been made of the divines of every age. Thus He saith: "O people of the Book! Why disbelieve the signs of God to which ye yourselves have been witnesses?" (Koran 3:70) And also He saith: "O people of the Book! Why clothe ye the truth with falsehood? Why wittingly hide the truth?" (Koran 3:71) Again, He saith: "Say, O people of the Book! Why repel believers from the way of God?" (Koran 3:99) It is evident that by the "people of the Book," who have repelled their fellow-men from the straight path of God, is meant none other than the divines of that age, whose names and character have been revealed in the sacred books, and alluded to in the verses and traditions recorded therein, were you to observe with the eye of God.

16 With fixed and steady gaze, born of the unerring eye of God, scan for a while the horizon of divine knowledge, and contemplate those words of perfection which the Eternal hath revealed, that haply the mysteries of divine wisdom, hidden ere now beneath the veil of glory and treasured within the tabernacle of His grace, may be made manifest unto you. The denials and protestations of these leaders of religion have, in the main, been due to their lack of knowledge and understanding. Those words uttered by the Revealers of the beauty of the one true God, setting forth the signs that should herald the advent of the Manifestation to come, they never understood nor fathomed. Hence they raised the standard of revolt, and stirred up mischief and sedition. It is obvious and manifest that the true meaning of the utterances of the Birds of Eternity is revealed to none except those that manifest the Eternal Being, and the melodies of the Nightingale of Holiness can reach no ear save that of the denizens of the everlasting realm. The Copt of tyranny can never partake of the cup touched by the lips of the Sept of justice, and the Pharaoh of unbelief can never hope to recognize the hand of the Moses of truth. Even as He saith: "None knoweth the meaning thereof except God and them that are well-grounded in knowledge (Koran 3:7)." And yet, they have sought the interpretation of the Book from those that are wrapt in veils, and have refused to seek enlightenment from the fountain-head of knowledge.

17 And when the days of Moses were ended, and the light of Jesus, shining forth from the dayspring of the Spirit, encompassed the world, all the people of Israel arose in protest against Him. They clamoured that He Whose advent the Bible had foretold must needs promulgate and fulfil the laws of Moses, whereas this youthful Nazarene, who laid claim to the station of the divine Messiah, had annulled the law of divorce and of the sabbath day—the most weighty of all the laws of Moses. Moreover, what of the signs of the Manifestation yet to come? These people of Israel are even unto the present day still expecting that Manifestation which the Bible hath foretold! How many Manifestations of Holiness, how many Revealers of the light everlasting, have appeared since the time of Moses, and yet Israel, wrapt in the densest veils of satanic fancy and false imaginings, is still expectant that the idol of her own handiwork will appear with such signs as she herself hath conceived! Thus hath God laid hold of them for their sins, hath extinguished in them the spirit of faith, and tormented them with the flames of the nethermost fire. And this for no other reason except that Israel refused to apprehend the meaning of such words as have been revealed in the Bible concerning the signs of the coming Revelation. As she never 19 grasped their true significance, and, to outward seeming, such events never came to pass, she, therefore, remained deprived of recognizing the beauty of Jesus and of beholding the face of God. And they still await His coming! From time immemorial even unto this day, all the kindreds and peoples of the earth have clung to such fanciful and unseemly thoughts, and thus have deprived themselves of the clear waters streaming from the springs of purity and holiness.

18 In unfolding these mysteries, We have, in Our former Tablets which were addressed to a friend in the melodious language of Ḥijáz, cited a few of the verses revealed unto the Prophets of old. And now, responding to your request, We again shall cite, in these pages, those same verses, uttered this time in the wondrous accents of 'Iráq, that haply the sore athirst in the wilds of remoteness may attain unto the ocean of the divine presence, and they that languish in the wastes of separation be led unto the home of eternal reunion. Thus the mists of error may be dispelled, and the all-resplendent light of divine guidance dawn forth above the horizon of human hearts. In God We put Our trust, and to Him We cry for help, that haply there may flow from this pen that which shall quicken the souls of men, that they may all arise from their beds of heedlessness and hearken unto the rustling of the leaves of Paradise, from the tree which the hand of divine power hath, by the permission of God, planted in the Riḍván of the All-Glorious.

19 To them that are endowed with understanding, it is clear and manifest that when the fire of the love of Jesus consumed the veils of Jewish limitations, and His authority was made apparent and partially enforced, He the Revealer of the unseen Beauty, addressing one day His disciples, referred unto His passing, and, kindling in their hearts the fire of bereavement, said unto them: "I go away and come again unto you." And in

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another place He said: "I go and another will come Who will tell you all that I have not told you, and will fulfil all that I have said." Both these sayings have but one meaning, were you to ponder upon the Manifestations of the Unity of God with divine insight.

20 Every discerning observer will recognise that in the Dispensation of the Koran both the Book and the Cause of Jesus were confirmed. As to the matter of names, Muḥammad, Himself, declared: "I am Jesus." He recognised the truth of the signs, prophecies, and words of Jesus, and testified that they were all of God. In this sense, neither the person of Jesus nor His writings hath differed from that of Muhammad and of His holy Book, inasmuch as both have championed the Cause of God, uttered His praise, and revealed His commandments. Thus it is that Jesus, Himself, declared: "I go away and come again unto you." Consider the sun. Were it to say now, "I am the sun of yesterday," it would speak the truth. And should it, bearing the sequence of time in mind, claim to be other than that sun, it still would speak the truth. In like manner, if it be said that all the days are but one and the same, it is correct and true. And if it be said, with respect to their particular names and designations, that they differ, that again is true. For though they are the same, yet one doth recognize in each a separate designation, a specific attribute, a particular character. Conceive accordingly the distinction, variation, and unity characteristic of the various Manifestations of holiness, that thou mayest comprehend the allusions made by the creator of all names and attributes to the mysteries of distinction and unity, and discover the answer to thy question as to why that everlasting Beauty should have, at sundry times, called Himself by different names and titles.

21 Afterwards, the companions and disciples of Jesus asked Him concerning those signs that must needs signalize the return of His manifestation. When, they asked, shall these things be? Several times they questioned that peerless Beauty, and, every time He made reply, He set forth a special sign that should herald the advent of the promised Dispensation. To this testify the records of the four Gospels.

22 This wronged One will cite but one of these instances, thus conferring upon mankind, for the sake of God, such bounties as are yet concealed within the treasury of the hidden and sacred Tree, that haply mortal men may not remain deprived of their share of the immortal fruit, and attain to a dewdrop of the waters of everlasting life which, from Baghdád, the "Abode of Peace," are being vouchsafed unto all mankind. We ask for neither meed nor reward. "We nourish your souls for the sake of God; we seek from you neither recompense nor thanks." (Koran 76:9) This is the food that conferreth everlasting life upon the pure in heart and the illumined in spirit. This is the bread of which it is said: "Lord, send down upon us Thy bread from heaven." (Koran 5:117) This bread shall never be withheld from them that deserve it, nor can it ever be exhausted. It groweth everlastingly from the tree of grace; it descendeth at all seasons from the heavens of justice and mercy. Even as He saith: "Seest thou not to what God likeneth a good word? To a good tree; its root firmly fixed, and its branches reaching unto heaven: yielding its fruit in all seasons." (Koran 14:24)

23 O the pity! that man should deprive himself of this goodly gift, this imperishable bounty, this everlasting life. It behooveth him to prize this food that cometh from heaven, that perchance, through the wondrous favours of the Sun of Truth, the dead may be brought to life, and withered souls be quickened by the infinite Spirit. Make haste, O my brother, that while there is yet time our lips may taste of the immortal draught, for the breeze of life, now blowing from the city of the Well-Beloved, cannot last, and the streaming river of holy utterance must needs be stilled, and the portals of the Riḍván cannot for ever remain open. The day will surely come when the Nightingale of Paradise will have winged its flight away from its earthly abode unto its heavenly nest. Then will its melody be heard no more, and the beauty of the rose cease to shine. Seize the time, therefore, ere the glory of the divine springtime hath spent itself, and the Bird of Eternity ceased to warble its melody, that thy inner hearing may not be deprived of hearkening unto its call. This is My counsel unto thee and unto the beloved of God. Whosoever wisheth, let him turn thereunto; whosoever wisheth, let him turn away. God, verily, is independent of him and of that which he may see and witness.

24 These are the melodies, sung by Jesus, Son of Mary, in accents of majestic power in the Riḍván of the Gospel, revealing those signs that must needs herald the advent of the Manifestation after Him. In the first Gospel according to Matthew it is recorded: And when they asked Jesus concerning the signs of His coming, He said unto them: "Immediately after the oppression (The Greek word used (thlipsis) has two meanings: pressure and oppression) of those days shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the earth shall be shaken: and then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven: and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory. And he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet." (Bible, Matthew 24:29–31) Rendered into the Persian tongue (The passage is quoted by Bahá'u'lláh in Arabic and interpreted in Persian), the purport of these words is as follows: When the oppression and afflictions that are to befall mankind will have come to pass, then shall the sun be withheld from shining, the moon from giving light, the stars of heaven shall fall upon the earth, and the pillars of the earth shall quake. At that time, the signs of the Son of man shall appear in heaven, that is, the promised Beauty and Substance of life shall, when these signs have appeared, step forth out of the realm of the invisible into the visible world. And He saith: at that time, all the peoples and kindreds that dwell on earth shall bewail and lament, and they shall see that divine Beauty coming from heaven, riding upon the clouds with power, grandeur, and magnificence, sending His angels with a great sound of a trumpet. Similarly, in the three other Gospels, according to Luke, Mark, and John, the same statements are recorded. As We have referred at length to these in Our Tablets revealed in the Arabic tongue, We have made no mention of them in these pages, and have confined Ourselves to but one reference.

25 Inasmuch as the Christian divines have failed to apprehend the meaning of these words, and did not recognize their object and purpose, and have clung to the literal interpretation of the words of Jesus, they therefore became deprived of the streaming grace of the Muḥammadan Revelation and its showering bounties. The ignorant among the Christian community, following the example of the leaders of their faith, were likewise prevented from beholding the beauty of the King of glory, inasmuch as those signs which were to accompany the dawn of the sun of the Muḥammadan Dispensation did not actually come to pass. Thus, ages have passed and centuries rolled away, and that most pure Spirit hath repaired unto the retreats of its ancient sovereignty. Once more hath the eternal Spirit breathed into the mystic trumpet, and caused the dead to speed out of their sepulchres of heedlessness and error unto the realm of guidance and grace. And yet, that expectant community still crieth out: When shall these things be? When shall the promised One, the object of our expectation, be made manifest, that we may arise for the triumph of His Cause, that we may sacrifice our substance for His sake, that we may offer up our lives in His path? In like manner, have such false imaginings caused other communities to stray from the Kawthar of the infinite mercy of Providence, and to be busied with their own idle thoughts.

26 Beside this passage, there is yet another verse in the Gospel wherein He saith: "Heaven and earth shall pass away: but My words shall not pass away." (Bible, Luke 21:33) Thus it is that the adherents of Jesus maintained that the law of the Gospel shall never be annulled, and that whensoever the promised Beauty is made manifest and all the signs are revealed, He must needs re-affirm and establish the law proclaimed in the Gospel, so that there may remain in the world no faith but His faith. This is their fundamental belief. And their conviction is such that were a person to be made manifest with all the promised signs and to promulgate that which is contrary to the letter of the law of the Gospel, they must assuredly renounce him, refuse to submit to his law, declare him an infidel, and laugh him to scorn. This is proved by that which came to pass when the sun of the Muḥammadan Revelation was revealed. Had they sought with a humble mind from the Manifestations of God in every Dispensation the true meaning of these words revealed in the sacred books—words the misapprehension of which hath caused men to be deprived of the recognition of the Sadratu'l-Muntahá, the ultimate Purpose—they surely would have been guided to the light of the Sun of Truth, and would have discovered the mysteries of divine knowledge and wisdom.

27 This servant will now share with thee a dewdrop out of the fathomless ocean of the truths treasured in these holy words, that haply discerning hearts may comprehend all the allusions and the implications of the utterances of the Manifestations of Holiness, so that the overpowering majesty of the Word of God may not prevent them from attaining unto the ocean of His names and attributes, nor deprive them of recognizing the Lamp of God which is the seat of the revelation of His glorified Essence.

28 As to the words—"Immediately after the oppression of those days"—they refer to the time when men shall become oppressed and afflicted, the time when the lingering traces of the Sun of Truth and the fruit of the Tree of knowledge and wisdom will have vanished from the midst of men, when the reins of mankind will have fallen into the grasp of the foolish and ignorant, when the portals of divine unity and understanding—the essential and highest purpose in creation—will have been closed, when certain knowledge will have given way to idle fancy, and corruption will have usurped the station of righteousness. Such a condition as this is witnessed in this day when the reins of every community have fallen into the grasp of foolish leaders, who lead after their own whims and desire. On their tongue the mention of God hath become an empty name; in their midst His holy Word a dead letter. Such is the sway of their desires, that the lamp of conscience and reason hath been quenched in their hearts, and this although the fingers of divine power have unlocked the portals of the knowledge of God, and the light of divine knowledge and heavenly grace hath illumined and inspired the essence of all created things, in such wise that in each and every thing a door of knowledge hath been opened, and within every atom traces of the sun hath been made manifest. And yet, in spite of all these manifold revelations of divine knowledge, which have encompassed the world, they still vainly imagine the door of knowledge to be closed, and the showers of mercy to be stilled. Clinging unto idle fancy, they have strayed far from the Urvatu'l-Vuthqá of divine knowledge. Their hearts seem not to be inclined to knowledge and the door thereof, neither think they of its manifestations, inasmuch as in idle fancy they have found the door that leadeth unto earthly riches, whereas in the manifestation of the Revealer of knowledge they find naught but the call to self-sacrifice. They therefore naturally hold fast unto the former, and flee from the latter. Though they recognize in their hearts the Law of God to be one and the same, yet from every direction they issue a new command, and in every season proclaim a fresh decree. No two are found to agree on one and the same law, for they seek no God but their own desire, and tread no path but the path of error. In leadership they have recognized the ultimate object of their endeavour, and account pride and haughtiness as the highest attainments of their heart's desire. They have placed their sordid machinations 31 above the divine decree, have renounced resignation unto the will of God, busied themselves with selfish calculation, and walked in the way of the hypocrite. With all their power and strength they strive to secure themselves in their petty pursuits, fearful lest the least discredit undermine their authority or blemish the display of their magnificence. Were the eye to be anointed and illumined with the collyrium of the knowledge of God, it would surely discover that a number of voracious beasts have gathered and preyed upon the carrion of the souls of men.

29 What "oppression" is greater than that which hath been recounted? What "oppression" is more grievous than that a soul seeking the truth, and wishing to attain unto the knowledge of God, should know not where to go for it and from whom to seek it? For opinions have sorely differed, and the ways unto the attainment of God have multiplied. This "oppression" is the essential feature of every Revelation. Unless it cometh to pass, the Sun of Truth will not be made manifest. For the break of the morn of divine guidance must needs follow the darkness of the night of error. For this reason, in all chronicles and traditions reference hath been made unto these things, namely that iniquity shall cover the surface of the earth and darkness shall envelop mankind. As the traditions referred to are well known, and as the purpose of this servant is to be brief, He will refrain from quoting the text of these traditions.

30 Were this "oppression" (which literally meaneth pressure) to be interpreted that the earth is to become contracted, or were men's idle fancy to conceive similar calamities to befall mankind, it is clear and manifest that no such happenings can ever come to pass. They will assuredly protest that this pre-requisite of divine revelation hath not been made manifest. Such hath been and still is their contention. Whereas, by "oppression" is meant the want of capacity to acquire spiritual knowledge and apprehend the Word of God. By it is meant that when the Day-star of Truth hath set, and the mirrors that reflect His light have departed, mankind will become afflicted with "oppression" and hardship, knowing not whither to turn for guidance. Thus We instruct thee in the interpretation of the traditions, and reveal unto thee the mysteries of divine wisdom, that haply thou mayest comprehend the meaning thereof, and be of them that have quaffed the cup of divine knowledge and understanding.

31 And now, concerning His words—"The sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give light, and the stars shall fall from heaven." By the terms "sun" and "moon," mentioned in the writings of the Prophets of God, is not meant solely the sun and moon of the visible universe. Nay rather, manifold are the meanings they have intended for these terms. In every instance they have attached to them a particular significance. Thus, by the "sun" in one sense is meant those Suns of Truth Who rise from the dayspring of ancient glory, and fill the world with a liberal effusion of grace from on high. These Suns of Truth are the universal Manifestations of God in the worlds of His attributes and names. Even as the visible sun that assisteth, as decreed by God, the true One, the Adored, in the development of all earthly things, such as the trees, the fruits, and colours thereof, the minerals of the earth, and all that may be witnessed in the world of creation, so do the divine Luminaries, by their loving care and educative influence, cause the trees of divine unity, the fruits of His oneness, the leaves of detachment, the blossoms of knowledge and certitude, and the myrtles of wisdom and utterance, to exist and be made manifest. Thus it is that through the rise of these Luminaries of God the world is made new, the waters of everlasting life stream forth, the billows of loving-kindness surge, the clouds of grace are

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gathered, and the breeze of bounty bloweth upon all created things. It is the warmth that these Luminaries of God generate, and the undying fires they kindle, which cause the light of the love of God to burn fiercely in the heart of humanity. It is through the abundant grace of these Symbols of Detachment that the Spirit of life everlasting is breathed into the bodies of the dead. Assuredly the visible sun is but a sign of the splendour of that Day-star of Truth, that Sun Which can never have a peer, a likeness, or rival. Through Him all things live, move, and have their being. Through His grace they are made manifest, and unto Him they all return. From Him all things have sprung, and unto the treasuries of His revelation they all have repaired. From Him all created things did proceed, and to the depositories of His law they did revert.

32 That these divine Luminaries seem to be confined at times to specific designations and attributes, as you have observed and are now observing, is due solely to the imperfect and limited comprehension of certain minds. Otherwise, they have been at all times, and will through eternity continue to be, exalted above every praising name, and sanctified from every descriptive attribute. The quintessence of every name can hope for no access unto their court of holiness, and the highest and purest of all attributes can never approach their kingdom of glory. Immeasurably high are the Prophets of God exalted above the comprehension of men, who can never know them except by their own Selves. Far be it from His glory that His chosen Ones should be magnified by any other than their own persons. Glorified are they above the praise of men; exalted are they above human understanding!

33 The term “suns” hath many a time been applied in the writings of the “immaculate Souls” unto the Prophets of God, those luminous Emblems of Detachment. Among those writings are the following words recorded in the “Prayer of Nudbih (“Lamentation” attributed to the Twelfth Imam)”: “Whither are gone the resplendent Suns? Whereunto have departed those shining Moons and sparkling Stars?” Thus, it hath become evident that the terms “sun,” “moon,” and “stars” primarily signify the Prophets of God, the saints, and their companions, those Luminaries, the light of Whose knowledge hath shed illumination upon the worlds of the visible and the invisible.

34 In another sense, by these terms is intended the divines of the former Dispensation, who live in the days of the subsequent Revelations, and who hold the reins of religion in their grasp. If these divines be illumined by the light of the latter Revelation they will be acceptable unto God, and will shine with a light everlasting. Otherwise, they will be declared as darkened, even though to outward seeming they be leaders of men, inasmuch as belief and unbelief, guidance and error, felicity and misery, light and darkness, are all dependent upon the sanction of Him Who is the Day-star of Truth. Whosoever among the divines of every age receiveth, in the Day of Reckoning, the testimony of faith from the Source of true knowledge, he verily becometh the recipient of learning, of divine favour, and of the light of true understanding. Otherwise, he is branded as guilty of folly, denial, blasphemy, and oppression.

35 It is evident and manifest unto every discerning observer that even as the light of the star fadeth before the effulgent splendour of the sun, so doth the luminary of earthly knowledge, of wisdom, and understanding vanish into nothingness when brought face to face with the resplendent glories of the Sun of Truth, the Day-star of divine enlightenment.

36 That the term “sun” hath been applied to the leaders of religion is due to their lofty position, their fame, and renown. Such are the universally recognized divines of every age, who speak with authority, and whose fame is securely established. If they be in the likeness of the Sun of Truth, they will surely be accounted as the most exalted of all luminaries; otherwise, they are to be recognized as the focal centres of hellish fire. Even as He saith: “Verily, the sun and the moon are both condemned to the torment of infernal fire (Koran 55:5).” You are no doubt familiar with the interpretation of the term “sun” and “moon” mentioned in this verse; no need therefore to refer unto it. And whosoever is of the element of this “sun” and “moon”, that is, followeth the example of these leaders in setting his face towards falsehood and in turning away from the truth he undoubtedly cometh out of infernal gloom and returneth thereunto.

37 And now, O seeker, it behooveth us firmly to cling unto the Urvatu’l-Vuthqá, that perchance we may leave behind the darksome night of error, and embrace the dawning light of divine guidance. Shall we not flee from the face of denial, and seek the sheltering shadow of certitude? Shall we not free ourselves from the horror of satanic gloom, and hasten towards the rising light of the heavenly Beauty? In such wise, we bestow upon you the fruit of the Tree of divine knowledge, that ye may gladly and joyously abide in the Riḍván of divine wisdom.

38 In another sense, by the terms ‘sun’, ‘moon’, and ‘stars’ are meant such laws and teachings as have been established and proclaimed in every Dispensation, such as the laws of prayer and fasting. These have, according to the law of the Koran, been regarded, when the beauty of the Prophet Muḥammad had passed beyond the veil, as the most fundamental and binding laws of His dispensation. To this testify the texts of the traditions and chronicles, which, on account of their being widely known, need not be referred to here. Nay rather, in every Dispensation the law concerning prayer hath been emphasized and universally enforced. To this testify the recorded traditions ascribed to the lights that have emanated from the Day-star of Truth, the essence of the Prophet Muḥammad.

39 The traditions established the fact that in all Dispensations the law of prayer hath constituted a fundamental element of the Revelation of all the Prophets of God—a law the form and the manner of which hath been adapted to the varying requirements of every age. Inasmuch as every subsequent Revelation hath abolished the manners, habits, and teachings that have been clearly, specifically, and firmly established by the former Dispensation, these have accordingly been symbolically expressed in terms of ‘sun’ and ‘moon’. “That He might prove you, which of you excel in deeds.” (Koran 67:2)

40 Moreover, in the traditions the terms “sun” and “moon” have been applied to prayer and fasting, even as it is said: “Fasting is illumination, prayer is light.” One day, a well-known divine came to visit Us. While We were conversing with him, he referred to the above-quoted tradition. He said: “Inasmuch as fasting causeth the heat of the body to increase, it hath therefore been likened unto the light of the sun; and as the prayer of the night-season refresheth man, it hath been compared unto the radiance of the moon.” Thereupon We realized that that poor man had not been favoured with a single drop of the ocean of true understanding, and had strayed far from the burning Bush of divine wisdom. We then politely observed to him saying: “The interpretation your honour hath given to this tradition is the one current amongst the people. Could it not be interpreted differently?” He asked Us: “What could it be?” We made reply: “Muḥammad, the Seal of the Prophets, and the most distinguished of God’s chosen Ones, hath likened the Dispensation of the Koran unto heaven, by reason of its loftiness, its paramount influence, its majesty, and the fact that it comprehendeth all religions. And as the sun and moon constitute the brightest and most prominent luminaries in the heavens, similarly in the heaven of the religion of God two shining orbs have been ordained—fasting and prayer. ‘Islám is heaven; fasting is its sun, prayer, its moon.’”

41 This is the purpose underlying the symbolic words of the Manifestations of God. Consequently, the application of the terms “sun” and “moon” to the things already mentioned hath been demonstrated and justified by the text of the sacred verses and the recorded traditions. Hence, it is clear and manifest that by the words “the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven” is intended the waywardness of the divines, and the annulment of laws firmly established by divine Revelation, all of which, in symbolic language, have been foreshadowed by the Manifestation of God. None except the righteous shall partake of this cup, none but the godly can share therein. “The righteous shall drink of a cup tempered at the camphor fountain.” (Koran 76:5)

42 It is unquestionable that in every succeeding Revelation the “sun” and “moon” of the teachings, laws, commandments, and prohibitions which have been established in the preceding Dispensation, and which have overshadowed the people of that age, become darkened, that is, are exhausted, and cease to exert their influence. Consider now, had the people of the Gospel recognized the meaning of the symbolic terms “sun” and “moon,” had they sought, unlike the froward and perverse, enlightenment from Him Who is the Revealer of divine knowledge, they would have surely comprehended the purpose of these terms, and would not have become afflicted and oppressed by the darkness of their selfish desires. Yea, but since they have failed to acquire true knowledge from its very Source, they have perished in the perilous vale of waywardness and misbelief. They still have not awakened to perceive that all the signs foretold have been made manifest, that the promised Sun hath risen above the horizon of divine Revelation, and that the “sun” and “moon” of the teachings, the laws, and learning of a former Dispensation have darkened and set.

43 And now, with fixed gaze and steady wings enter thou the way of certitude and truth. “Say: It is God; then leave them to entertain themselves with their cavilings.” (Koran 6:91) Thus, wilt thou be accounted of those companions of whom He saith: “They that say ‘Our Lord is God,’ and continue steadfast in His way, upon them, verily, shall the angels descend (Koran 41:30).” Then shalt thou witness all these mysteries with thine own eyes.

44 O my brother! Take thou the step of the spirit, so that, swift as the twinkling of an eye, thou mayest flash through the wilds of remoteness and bereavement, attain the Riḍván of everlasting reunion, and in one breath commune with the heavenly Spirits. For with human feet thou canst never hope to traverse these immeasurable distances, nor attain thy goal. Peace be upon him whom the light of truth guideth unto all truth, and who, in the name of God, standeth in the path of His Cause, upon the shore of true understanding.

45 This is the meaning of the sacred verse: “But nay! I swear by the Lord of the Easts and the Wests (4.Koran 70:40),” inasmuch as the “Suns” referred to have each their own particular rising and setting place. And as the commentators of the Koran have failed to grasp the symbolic meaning of these “Suns,” they therefore were at pains to interpret the above-quoted verse. Some of them maintained that owing to the fact that the sun each day rises from a different point, the terms “easts” and “wests” have been mentioned in the plural. Others have written that by this verse the four seasons of the year are intended, inasmuch as the dawning and setting points of the sun vary with the change of the seasons. Such is the depth of their understanding! None the less, they persist in imputing error and folly to those Gems of knowledge, those irreproachable and purest Symbols of wisdom.

46 In like manner, strive thou to comprehend from these lucid, these powerful, conclusive, and unequivocal statements the meaning of the “cleaving of the heaven”—one of the signs that must needs herald the coming of the last Hour, the Day of Resurrection. As He hath said: “When the heaven shall be cloven asunder (Koran 82:1).” By “heaven” is meant the heaven of divine Revelation, which is elevated with every Manifestation, and rent asunder with every subsequent one. By “cloven asunder” is meant that the former Dispensation is superseded and annulled. I swear by God! That this heaven being cloven asunder is, to the discerning, an act mightier than the cleaving of the skies! Ponder a while. That a divine Revelation which for years hath been securely established; beneath whose shadow all who have embraced it have been reared and nurtured; by the light of whose law generations of men have been disciplined; the excellency of whose word men have heard recounted by their fathers; in such wise that human eye hath beheld naught but the pervading influence of its grace, and mortal ear hath heard naught but the resounding majesty of its command—what act is mightier than that such a Revelation should, by the power of God, be “cloven asunder” and be abolished at the appearance of one soul? Reflect, is this a mightier act than that which these abject and foolish men have imagined the “cleaving of the heaven” to mean?

47 Moreover, consider the hardships and the bitterness of the lives of those Revealers of the divine Beauty. Reflect, how single-handed and alone they faced the world and all its peoples, and promulgated the Law of God! No matter how severe the persecutions inflicted upon those holy, those precious, and tender Souls, they still remained, in the plenitude of their power, patient, and, despite their ascendancy, they suffered and endured.

48 In like manner, endeavour to comprehend the meaning of the “changing of the earth.” Know thou, that upon whatever hearts the bountiful showers of mercy, raining from the “heaven” of divine Revelation, have fallen, the earth of those hearts hath verily been changed into the earth of divine knowledge and wisdom. What myrtles of unity hath the soil of their hearts produced! What blossoms of true knowledge and wisdom hath their illumined bosoms yielded! Were the earth of their hearts to remain unchanged, how could such souls who have not been taught one letter, have seen no teacher, and entered no school, utter such words and display such knowledge as none can apprehend? Methinks they have been moulded from the clay of infinite knowledge, and kneaded with the water of divine wisdom. Therefore, hath it been said: “Knowledge is a light which God casteth into the heart of whomsoever He willeth.” It is this kind of knowledge which is and hath ever been praiseworthy, and not the limited knowledge that hath sprung forth from veiled and obscured minds. This limited knowledge they even stealthily borrow one from the other, and vainly pride themselves therein!

49 Would that the hearts of men could be cleansed from these man-made limitations and obscure thoughts imposed upon them! haply they may be illumined by the light of the Sun of true knowledge, and comprehend the mysteries of divine wisdom. Consider now, were the parched and barren soil of these hearts to remain unchanged, how could they ever become the Recipients of the revelation of the mysteries of God, and the Revealers of the divine Essence? Thus hath He said: “On the day when the earth shall be changed into another earth.” (Koran 14:48)

50 The breeze of the bounty of the King of creation hath caused even the physical earth to be changed, were ye to ponder in your hearts the mysteries of divine Revelation.

51 And now, comprehend the meaning of this verse: “The whole earth shall on the Resurrection Day be but His handful, and in His right hand shall the heavens be folded together. Praise be to Him! and high be He uplifted above the partners they join with him!” (Koran 39:67) And now, be fair in thy judgement. Were this verse to have the meaning which men suppose it to have, of what profit, one 48 may ask, could it be to man? Moreover, it is evident and manifest that no such hand as could be seen by human eye could accomplish such

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deeds, or could possibly be ascribed to the exalted Essence of the one true God. Nay, to acknowledge such a thing is naught but sheer blasphemy, an utter perversion of the truth. And should it be supposed that by this verse are meant the Manifestations of God, Who will be called upon, on the Day of Judgement, to perform such deeds, this too seemeth far from the truth, and is surely of no profit. On the contrary, by the term "earth" is meant the earth of understanding and knowledge, and by "heavens" the heavens of divine Revelation. Reflect thou, how, in one hand, He hath, by His mighty grasp, turned the earth of knowledge and understanding, previously unfolded, into a mere handful, and, on the other, spread out a new and highly exalted earth in the hearts of men, thus causing the freshest and loveliest blossoms, and the mightiest and loftiest trees to spring forth from the illumined bosom of man.

52 In like manner, reflect how the elevated heavens of the Dispensations of the past have, in the right hand of power, been folded together, how the heavens of divine Revelation have been raised by the command of God, and been adorned by the sun, the moon, and stars of His wondrous commandments. Such are the mysteries of the Word of God, which have been unveiled and made manifest, that haply thou mayest apprehend the morning light of divine guidance, mayest quench, by the power of reliance and renunciation, the lamp of idle fancy, of vain imaginings, of hesitation, and doubt, and mayest kindle, in the inmost chamber of thine heart, the new-born light of divine knowledge and certitude.

53 Know verily that the purpose underlying all these symbolic terms and abstruse allusions, which emanate from the Revealers of God's holy Cause, hath been to test and prove the peoples of the world; that thereby the earth of the pure and illuminated hearts may be known from the perishable and barren soil. From time immemorial such hath been the way of God amidst His creatures, and to this testify the records of the sacred books.

54 And likewise, reflect upon the revealed verse concerning the "Qiblih (The direction toward which the face must be turned when praying)." When Muhammad, the Sun of Prophethood, had fled from the dayspring of Batha (from Mecca) unto Yathrib (to Medina), He continued to turn His face, while praying, unto Jerusalem, the holy city, until the time when the Jews began to utter unseemly words against Him—words which if mentioned would ill befit these pages and would weary the reader. Muhammad strongly resented these words. Whilst, wrapt in meditation and wonder, He was gazing toward heaven, He heard the kindly Voice of Gabriel, saying: "We behold Thee from above, turning Thy face to heaven; but We will have Thee turn to a Qiblih which shall please Thee." (Koran 2:144) On a subsequent day, when the Prophet, together with His companions, was offering the noontide prayer, and had already performed two of the prescribed Rik'ats, (Prostrations = Conversions) the Voice of Gabriel was heard again: "Turn Thou Thy face towards the sacred Mosque (at Mecca)." (Koran 2:149), In the midst of that same prayer, Muḥammad suddenly turned His face away from Jerusalem and faced the Ka'bih. Whereupon, a profound dismay seized suddenly the companions of the Prophet. Their faith was shaken severely. So great was their alarm, that many of them, discontinuing their prayer, apostatized their faith. Verily, God caused not this turmoil but to test and prove His servants. Otherwise, He, the ideal King, could easily have left the Qiblih unchanged, and could have caused Jerusalem to remain the Point of Adoration unto His Dispensation, thereby withholding not from that holy city the distinction of acceptance which had been conferred upon it.

55 None of the many Prophets sent down, since Moses was made manifest, as Messengers of the Word of God, such as David, Jesus, and others among the more exalted Manifestations who have appeared during the intervening period between the Revelations of Moses and Muḥammad, ever altered the law of the Qiblih. These Messengers of the Lord of creation have, one and all, directed their peoples to turn unto the same direction. In the eyes of God, the ideal King, all the places of the earth are one and the same, excepting that place which, in the days of His Manifestations, He doth appoint for a particular purpose. Even as He hath revealed: "The East and West are God's: therefore whichever way ye turn, there is the face of God." (Koran 2:115) Notwithstanding the truth of these facts, why should the Qiblih have been changed, thus casting such dismay amongst the people, causing the companions of the Prophet to waver, and throwing so great a confusion into their midst? Yea, such things as throw consternation into the hearts of all men come to pass only that each soul may be tested by the touchstone of God, that the true may be known and distinguished from the false. Thus hath He revealed after the breach amongst the people: "We did not appoint that which Thou wouldst have to be the Qiblih, but that We might know him who followeth the Apostle from him who turneth on his heels." (Koran 2:143) "Affrighted asses fleeing from a lion." (Koran 74:50)

56 Were you to ponder, but for a while, these utterances in your heart, you would surely find the portals of understanding unlocked before your face, and would behold all knowledge and the mysteries thereof unveiled before your eyes. Such things take place only that the souls of men may develop and be delivered from the prison-cage of self and desire. Otherwise, that ideal King hath, throughout eternity, been in His Essence independent of the comprehension of all beings, and will continue, for ever, in His own Being to be exalted above the adoration of every soul. A single breeze of His affluence doth suffice to adorn all mankind with the robe of wealth; and one drop out of the ocean of His bountiful grace is enough to confer upon all beings the glory of everlasting life. But inasmuch as the divine Purpose hath decreed that the true should be known from the false, and the sun from the shadow, He hath, therefore, in every season sent down upon mankind the showers of tests from His realm of glory.

57 Were men to meditate upon the lives of the Prophets of old, so easily would they come to know and understand the ways of these Prophets that they would cease to be veiled by such deeds and words as are contrary to their own worldly desires, and thus consume every intervening veil with the fire burning in the Bush of divine knowledge, and abide secure upon the throne of peace and certitude. For instance, consider Moses, son of 'Imrán, one of the exalted Prophets and Author of a divinely-revealed Book. Whilst passing, one day, through the market, in His early days, ere His ministry was proclaimed, He saw two men engaged in fighting. One of them asked the help of Moses against his opponent. Whereupon, Moses intervened and slew him. To this testifieth the record of the sacred Book. Should the details be cited, they will lengthen and interrupt the course of the argument. The report of this incident spread throughout the city, and Moses was full of fear, as is witnessed by the text of the Book. And when the warning: "O Moses! of a truth, the chiefs take counsel to slay Thee" (Koran 28:20) reached His ears, He went forth from the city, and sojourned in Midian in the service of Shoeb. While returning, Moses entered the holy vale, situate in the wilderness of Sinai, and there beheld the vision of the King of glory from the "Tree that belongeth neither to the East nor to the West." (Koran 24:35) There He heard the soul-stirring Voice of the Spirit speaking from out of the kindled Fire, bidding Him to shed upon Pharaonic souls the light of divine guidance; so that, liberating them from the shadows of the valley of self and desire, He might enable them to attain the meads of heavenly delight, and delivering them, through the Salsabíl of renunciation, from the bewilderment of remoteness, cause them to enter 55 the peaceful city of the divine presence. When Moses came unto Pharaoh and delivered unto him, as bidden by God, the divine Message, Pharaoh spoke insultingly saying: "Art thou not he that committed murder, and became an infidel?" Thus recounted the Lord of majesty as having been said by Pharaoh unto Moses: "What a deed is that which Thou hast done! Thou art one of the ungrateful. He said: 'I did it indeed, and I was one of those who erred. And I fled from you when I feared you, but My Lord hath given Me wisdom, and hath made Me one of His Apostles.'" (Koran 26:19)

58 And now ponder in thy heart the commotion which God stirreth up. Reflect upon the strange and manifold trials with which He doth test His servants. Consider how He hath suddenly chosen from among His servants, and entrusted with the exalted mission of divine guidance Him Who was known as guilty of homicide, Who, Himself, had acknowledged His cruelty, and Who for well-nigh thirty years had, in the eyes of the world, been reared in the home of Pharaoh and been nourished at his table. Was not God, the omnipotent King, able to withhold the hand of Moses from murder, so that manslaughter should not be attributed unto Him, causing bewilderment and aversion among the people?

59 Likewise, reflect upon the state and condition of Mary. So deep was the perplexity of that most beauteous countenance, so grievous her case, that she bitterly regretted she had ever been born. To this beareth witness the text of the sacred verse wherein it is mentioned that after Mary had given birth to Jesus, she bemoaned her plight and cried out: "O would that I had died ere this, and been a thing forgotten, forgotten quite!" (Koran 19:22) I swear by God! Such lamenting consumeth the heart and shaketh the being. Such consternation of soul, such despondency, could have been caused by no other than the censure of the enemy and the cavilings of the infidel and perverse. Reflect, what answer could Mary have given to the people around her? How could she claim that a Babe Whose father was unknown had been conceived of the Holy Ghost? Therefore did Mary, that veiled and immortal Countenance, take up her Child and return unto her home. No sooner had the eyes of the people fallen upon her than they raised their voice saying: "O sister of Aaron! Thy father was not a man of wickedness, nor unchaste thy mother." (Koran 19:28)

60 And now, meditate upon this most great convulsion, this grievous test. Notwithstanding all these things, God conferred upon that essence of the Spirit, Who was known amongst the people as fatherless, the glory of Prophethood, and made Him His testimony unto all that are in heaven and on earth.

61 Behold how contrary are the ways of the Manifestations of God, as ordained by the King of creation, to the ways and desires of men! As thou comest to comprehend the essence of these divine mysteries, thou wilt grasp the purpose of God, the divine Charmer, the Best-Beloved. Thou wilt regard the words and the deeds of that almighty Sovereign as one and the same; in such wise that whatsoever thou dost behold in His deeds, the same wilt thou find in His sayings, and whatsoever thou dost read in His sayings, that wilt thou recognize in His deeds. Thus it is that outwardly such deeds and words are the fire of vengeance unto the wicked, and inwardly the waters of mercy unto the righteous. Were the eye of the heart to open, it would surely perceive that the words revealed from the heaven of the will of God are at one with, and the same as, the deeds that have emanated from the Kingdom of divine power.

62 And now, take heed, O brother! If such things be revealed in this Dispensation, and such incidents come to pass, at the present time, what would the people do? I swear by Him Who is the true Educator of mankind and the Revealer of the Word of God that the people would instantly and unquestionably pronounce Him an infidel and would sentence Him to death. How far are they from hearkening unto the voice that declareth: Lo! a Jesus hath appeared out of the breath of the Holy Ghost, and a Moses summoned to a divinely-appointed task! Were a myriad voices to be raised, no ear would listen if We said that upon a fatherless Child hath been conferred the mission of Prophethood, or that a murderer hath brought from the flame of the burning Bush the message of "Verily, verily, I am God!"

63 If the eye of justice be opened, it will readily recognize, in the light of that which hath been mentioned, that He, Who is the Cause and ultimate Purpose of all these things, is made manifest in this day. Though similar events have not occurred in this Dispensation, yet the people still cling to such vain imaginings as are cherished by the reprobate. How grievous the charges brought against Him! How severe the persecutions inflicted upon Him—charges and persecutions the like of which men have neither seen nor heard!

64 Great God! When the stream of utterance reached this stage, We beheld, and lo! the sweet savours of God were being wafted from the dayspring of Revelation, and the morning breeze was blowing out of the Sheba of the Eternal. Its tidings rejoiced anew the heart, and imparted immeasurable gladness to the soul. It made all things new, and brought unnumbered and inestimable gifts from the unknowable Friend. The robe of human praise can never hope to match Its noble stature, and Its shining figure the mantle of utterance can never fit. Without word It unfoldeth the inner mysteries, and without speech It revealeth the secrets of the divine sayings. It teacheth lamentation and moaning to the nightingales warbling upon the bough of remoteness and bereavement, instructeth them in the art of love's ways, and showeth them the secret of heart-surrender. To the flowers of the Riḍván of heavenly reunion It revealeth the endearments of the impassioned lover, and unveileth the charm of the fair. Upon the anemones of the garden of love It bestoweth the mysteries of truth, and within the breasts of lovers It entrusteth the symbols of the innermost subtleties. At this hour, so liberal is the outpouring of Its grace that the holy Spirit itself is envious! It hath imparted to the drop the waves of the sea, and endowed the mote with the splendour of the sun. So great are the overflowings of Its bounty that the foulest beetle hath sought the perfume of the musk, and the bat the light of the sun. It hath quickened the dead with the breath of life, and caused them to speed out of the sepulchres of their mortal bodies. It hath established the ignorant upon the seats of learning, and elevated the oppressor to the throne of justice.

65 The universe is pregnant with these manifold bounties, awaiting the hour when the effects of Its unseen gifts will be made manifest in this world, when the languishing and sore athirst will attain the living Kawthar of their Well-Beloved, and the erring wanderer, lost in the wilds of remoteness and nothingness, will enter the tabernacle of life, and attain reunion with his heart's desire. In the soil of whose heart will these holy seeds germinate? From the garden of whose soul will the blossoms of the invisible realities spring forth? Verily, I say, so fierce is the blaze of the Bush of love, burning in the Sinai of the heart, that the streaming waters of holy utterance can never quench its flame. Oceans can never allay this Leviathan's burning thirst, and this Phoenix of the undying fire can abide nowhere save in the glow of the countenance of the Well-Beloved. Therefore, O brother! kindle with the oil of wisdom the lamp of the spirit within the innermost chamber of thy heart, and guard it with the globe of understanding, that the breath of the infidel may extinguish not its flame nor dim its brightness. Thus have We illuminated the heavens of utterance with the splendours of the Sun of divine wisdom and understanding, that thy heart may find peace, that thou mayest be of those who, on the wings of certitude, have soared unto the heaven of the love of their Lord, the All-Merciful.

66 And now, concerning His words: "And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven." By these words it is meant that when the sun of the heavenly teachings hath been eclipsed, the stars of the divinely-established laws have fallen,

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and the moon of true knowledge—the educator of mankind—hath been obscured; when the standards of guidance and felicity have been reversed, and the morn of truth and righteousness hath sunk in night, then shall the sign of the Son of man appear in heaven. By "heaven" is meant the visible heaven, inasmuch as when the hour draweth nigh on which the Day-star of the heaven of justice shall be made manifest, and the Ark of divine guidance shall sail upon the sea of glory, a star will appear in the heaven, heralding unto its people the advent of that most great light. In like manner, in the invisible heaven a star shall be made manifest who, unto the peoples of the earth, shall act as a harbinger of the break of that true and exalted Morn. These twofold signs, in the visible and the invisible heaven, have announced the Revelation of each of the Prophets of God, as is commonly believed.

67 Among the Prophets was Abraham, the Friend of God. Ere He manifested Himself, Nimrod dreamed a dream. Thereupon, he summoned the soothsayers, who informed him of the rise of a star in the heaven. Likewise, there appeared a herald who announced throughout the land the coming of Abraham.

68 After Him came Moses, He Who held converse with God. The soothsayers of His time warned Pharaoh in these terms: "A star hath risen in the heaven, and lo! it foreshadoweth the conception of a Child Who holdeth your fate and the fate of your people in His hand." In like manner, there appeared a sage who, in the darkness of the night, brought tidings of joy unto the people of Israel, imparting consolation to their souls, and assurance to their hearts. To this testify the records of the sacred books. Were the details to be mentioned, this epistle would swell into a book. Moreover, it is not Our wish to relate the stories of the days that are past. God is Our witness that what We even now mention is due solely to Our tender affection for thee, that haply the poor of the earth may attain the shores of the sea of wealth, the ignorant be led unto the ocean of divine knowledge, and they that thirst for understanding partake of the Salsabíl of divine wisdom. Otherwise, this servant regardeth the consideration of such records a grave mistake and a grievous transgression.

69 In like manner, when the hour of the Revelation of Jesus drew nigh, a few of the Magi, aware that the star of Jesus had appeared in heaven, sought and followed it, till they came unto the city which was the seat of the Kingdom of Herod. The sway of his sovereignty in those days embraced the whole of that land.

70 These Magi (wise men from the East, meaning Persia or India) said: "Where is He that is born King of the Jews? for we have seen His star in the east and are come to worship Him!" (Bible, Matthew 2:2) When they had searched, they found out that in Bethlehem, in the land of Judea, the Child had been born. This was the sign that was manifested in the visible heaven. As to the sign in the invisible heaven—the heaven of divine knowledge and understanding—it was Yahya, son of Zachariah, who gave unto the people the tidings of the Manifestation of Jesus. Even as He hath revealed: "God announceth Yahya to thee, who shall bear witness unto the Word from God, and a great one and chaste." (Koran 3:39) By the term "Word" is meant Jesus, Whose coming Yahya foretold. Moreover, in the heavenly Scriptures it is written: "John the Baptist was preaching in the wilderness of Judea, and saying, Repent ye: for the Kingdom of heaven is at hand." (Bible, Matthew 3:1–2) By John is meant Yahya.

71 Likewise, ere the beauty of Muhammad was unveiled, the signs of the visible heaven were made manifest. As to the signs of the invisible heaven, there appeared four men who successively announced unto the people the joyful tidings of the rise of that divine Luminary. Rúz-bih, later named Salmán, was honoured by being in their service. As the end of one of these approached, he would send Rúz-bih unto the other, until the fourth who, feeling his death to be nigh, addressed Rúz-bih saying: "O Rúz-bih! when thou hast taken up my body and buried it, go to Ḥijáz for there the Day-star of Muḥammad will arise. Happy art thou, for thou shalt behold His face!"

72 And now concerning this wondrous and most exalted Cause. Know thou verily that many an astronomer hath announced the appearance of its star in the visible heaven. Likewise, there appeared on earth Aḥmad and Kázim (Shaykh Ahmad-i-Ahsa'i and Siyyid Kazim-i-Rashti), those twin resplendent lights—may God sanctify their resting-place!

73 From all that We have stated it hath become clear and manifest that before the revelation of each of the Mirrors reflecting the divine Essence, the signs heralding their advent must needs be revealed in the visible heaven as well as in the invisible, wherein is the seat of the sun of knowledge, of the moon of wisdom, and of the stars of understanding and utterance. The sign of the invisible heaven must needs be revealed in the person of that perfect man who, before each Manifestation appeareth, educateth, and prepareth the souls of men for the advent of the divine Luminary, the Light of the unity of God amongst men.

74 And now, with reference to His words: "And then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory." These words signify that in those days men will lament the loss of the Sun of the divine beauty, of the Moon of knowledge, and of the Stars of divine wisdom. Thereupon, they will behold the countenance of the promised One, the adored Beauty, descending from heaven and riding upon the clouds. By this is meant that the divine Beauty will be made manifest from the heaven of the will of God, and will appear in the form of the human temple. The term "heaven" denoteth loftiness and exaltation, inasmuch as it is the seat of the revelation of those Manifestations of Holiness, the Day-springs of ancient glory. These ancient Beings, though delivered from the womb of their mother, have in reality descended from the heaven of the will of God. Though they be dwelling on this earth, yet their true habitations are the retreats of glory in the realms above. Whilst walking amongst mortals, they soar in the heaven of the divine presence. Without feet they tread the path of the spirit, and without wings they rise unto the exalted heights of divine unity. With every fleeting breath they cover the immensity of space, and at every moment traverse the kingdoms of the visible and the invisible. Upon their thrones is written: "Nothing whatsoever keepeth Him from being occupied with any other thing;" and on their seats is inscribed: "Verily, His ways differ every day." (Koran 55:29) They are sent forth through the transcendent power of the Ancient of Days, and are raised up by the exalted will of God, the most mighty King. This is what is meant by the words: "coming in the clouds of heaven."

75 In the utterances of the divine Luminaries the term "heaven" hath been applied to many and divers things; such as the "heaven of Command," the "heaven of Will," the "heaven of the divine Purpose," the "heaven of divine Knowledge," the "heaven of Certitude," the "heaven of Utterance," the "heaven of Revelation," the "heaven of Concealment," and the like. In every instance, He hath given the term "heaven" a special meaning, the significance of which is revealed to none save those that have been initiated into the divine mysteries, and have drunk from the chalice of immortal life. For example, He saith: "The heaven hath sustenance for you, and it containeth that which you are promised;" (Koran 51:22) whereas it is the earth that yieldeth such sustenance. Likewise, it hath been said: "The names come down from heaven;" whereas they proceed out of the mouth of men. Wert thou to cleanse the mirror of thy heart from the dust of malice, thou wouldst apprehend the meaning of the symbolic terms revealed by the all-embracing Word of God made manifest in every Dispensation, and wouldst discover the mysteries of divine knowledge. Not, however, until thou consumest with the flame of utter detachment those veils of 69 idle learning, that are current amongst men, canst thou behold the resplendent morn of true knowledge.

76 Know verily that Knowledge is of two kinds: Divine and Satanic. The one welleth out from the fountain of divine inspiration; the other is but a reflection of vain and obscure thoughts. The source of the former is God Himself; the motive-force of the latter the whisperings of selfish desire. The one is guided by the principle: "Fear ye God; God will teach you;" Koran 2:282) the other is but a confirmation of the truth: "Knowledge is the most grievous veil between man and his Creator." The former bringeth forth the fruit of patience, of longing desire, of true understanding, and love; whilst the latter can yield naught but arrogance, vainglory and conceit. From the sayings of those Masters of holy utterance, Who have expounded the meaning of true knowledge, the odour of these dark teachings, which have obscured the world, can in no wise be detected. The tree of such teachings can yield no result except iniquity and rebellion, and beareth no fruit but hatred and envy. Its fruit is deadly poison; its shadow a consuming fire. How well hath it been said: "Cling unto the robe of the Desire of thy heart, and put thou away all shame; bid the worldlywise be gone, however great their name."

77 The heart must needs therefore be cleansed from the idle sayings of men, and sanctified from every earthly affection, so that it may discover the hidden meaning of divine inspiration, and become the treasury of the mysteries of divine knowledge. Thus hath it been said: "He that treadeth the snow-white Path, and followeth in the footsteps of the Crimson Pillar, shall never attain unto his abode unless his hands are empty of those worldly things cherished by men." This is the prime requisite of whosoever treadeth this path. Ponder thereon, that, with eyes unveiled, thou mayest perceive the truth of these words.

78 We have digressed from the purpose of Our argument, although whatsoever is mentioned serveth only to confirm Our purpose. By God! however great Our desire to be brief, yet We feel We cannot restrain Our pen. Notwithstanding all that We have mentioned, how innumerable are the pearls which have remained unpierced in the shell of Our heart! How many the húrís of inner meaning that are as yet concealed within the chambers of divine wisdom! None hath yet approached them;—húrís, "whom no man nor spirit hath touched before." (Koran 55:56) Notwithstanding all that hath been said, it seemeth as if not one letter of Our purpose hath been uttered, nor a single sign divulged concerning Our object. When will a faithful seeker be found who will don the garb of pilgrimage, attain the Ka'bih of the heart's desire, and, without ear or tongue, discover the mysteries of divine utterance?

79 By these luminous, these conclusive, and lucid statements, the meaning of "heaven" in the aforementioned verse hath thus been made clear and evident. And now regarding His words, that the Son of man shall "come in the clouds of heaven." By the term "clouds" is meant those things that are contrary to the ways and desires of men. Even as He hath revealed in the verse already quoted: "As oft as an Apostle cometh unto you with that which your souls desire not, ye swell with pride, accusing some of being impostors and slaying others." (Koran 2:87) These "clouds" signify, in one sense, the annulment of laws, the abrogation of former Dispensations, the repeal of rituals and customs current amongst men, the exalting of the illiterate faithful above the learned opposers of the Faith. In another sense, they mean the appearance of that immortal Beauty in the image of mortal man, with such human limitations as eating and drinking, poverty and riches, glory and abasement, sleeping and waking, and such other things as cast doubt in the minds of men, and cause them to turn away. All such veils are symbolically referred to as "clouds."

80 These are the "clouds" that cause the heavens of the knowledge and understanding of all that dwell on earth to be cloven asunder. Even as He hath revealed: "On that day shall the heaven be cloven by the clouds." (Koran 25:25) Even as the clouds prevent the eyes of men from beholding the sun, so do these things hinder the souls of men from recognizing the light of the divine Luminary. To this beareth witness that which hath proceeded out of the mouth of the unbelievers as revealed in the sacred Book: "And they have said: 'What manner of apostle is this? He eateth food, and walketh the streets. Unless an angel be sent down and take part in His warnings, we will not believe.'" (Koran 25:7) Other Prophets, similarly, have been subject to poverty and afflictions, to hunger, and to the ills and chances of this world. As these holy Persons were subject to such needs and wants, the people were, consequently, lost in the wilds of misgivings and doubts, and were afflicted with bewilderment and perplexity. How, they wondered, could such a person be sent down from God, assert His ascendancy over all the peoples and kindreds of the earth, and claim Himself to be the goal of all creation,—even as He hath said: "But for Thee, I would not have created all that are in heaven and on earth,"—and yet be subject to such trivial things? You must undoubtedly have been informed of the tribulations, the poverty, the ills, and the degradation that have befallen every Prophet of God and His companions. You must have heard how the heads of their followers were sent as presents unto different cities, how grievously they were hindered from that whereunto they were commanded. Each and every one of them fell a prey to the hands of the enemies of His Cause, and had to suffer whatsoever they decreed.

81 It is evident that the changes brought about in every Dispensation constitute the dark clouds that intervene between the eye of man's understanding and the divine Luminary which shineth forth from the dayspring of the divine Essence. Consider how men for generations have been blindly imitating their fathers, and have been trained according to such ways and manners as have been laid down by the dictates of their Faith. Were these men, therefore, to discover suddenly that a Man, Who hath been living in their midst, Who, with respect to every human limitation, hath been their equal, had risen to abolish every established principle imposed by their Faith—principles by which for centuries they have been disciplined, and every opposer and denier of which they have come to regard as infidel, profligate and wicked,—they would of a certainty be veiled and hindered from acknowledging His truth. Such things are as "clouds" that veil the eyes of those whose inner being hath not tasted the Salsabíl of detachment, nor drunk from the Kawthar of the knowledge of God. Such men, when acquainted with these circumstances, become so veiled that without the least question, they pronounce the Manifestation of God an infidel, and sentence Him to death. You must have heard of such things taking place all down the ages, and are now observing them in these days.

82 It behooveth us, therefore, to make the utmost endeavour, that, by God's invisible assistance, these dark veils, these clouds of Heaven-sent trials, may not hinder us from beholding the beauty of His shining Countenance, and that we may recognize Him only by His own Self. And should we ask for a testimony of His truth, we should content ourselves with one, and only one; that thereby we may attain unto Him Who is the Fountain-head of infinite grace, and in Whose presence all the world's abundance fadeth into nothingness, that we may cease to cavil at Him every day and to cleave unto our own idle fancy.

83 Gracious God! Notwithstanding the warning which, in marvelously symbolic language and subtle allusions, hath been uttered in days past, and which was intended to awaken the peoples of the world and to prevent them from being deprived of their share of the billowing ocean of God's grace,

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yet such things as have already been witnessed have come to pass! Reference to these things hath also been made in the Koran, as witnessed by this verse: "What can such expect but that God should come down to them overshadowed with clouds?" (Koran 2:210) A number of the divines, who hold firmly to the letter of the Word of God, have come to regard this verse as one of the signs of that expected resurrection which is born of their idle fancy. This, notwithstanding the fact that similar references have been made in most of the heavenly Books, and have been recorded in all the passages connected with the signs of the coming Manifestation.

84 Likewise, He saith: "On the day when the heaven shall give out a palpable smoke, which shall enshroud mankind: this will be an afflictive torment." (Koran 44:10) The All-Glorious hath decreed these very things, that are contrary to the desires of wicked men, to be the touchstone and standard whereby He proveth His servants, that the just may be known from the wicked, and the faithful distinguished from the infidel. The symbolic term "smoke" denotes grave dissensions, the abrogation and demolition of recognized standards, and the utter destruction of their narrow-minded exponents. What smoke more dense and overpowering than the one which hath now enshrouded all the peoples of the world, which hath become a torment unto them, and from which they hopelessly fail to deliver themselves, however much they strive? So fierce is this fire of self burning within them, that at every moment they seem to be afflicted with fresh torments. The more they are told that this wondrous Cause of God, this Revelation from the Most High, hath been made manifest to all mankind, and is waxing greater and stronger every day, the fiercer groweth the blaze of the fire in their hearts. The more they observe the indomitable strength, the sublime renunciation, the unwavering constancy of God's holy companions, who, by the aid of God, are growing nobler and more glorious every day, the deeper the dismay which ravageth their souls. In these days, praise be to God, the power of His Word hath obtained such ascendancy over men, that they dare breathe no word. Were they to encounter one of the companions of God who, if he could, would, freely and joyously, offer up ten thousand lives as a sacrifice for his Beloved, so great would be their fear, that they forthwith would profess their faith in Him, whilst privily they would vilify and execrate His name! Even as He hath revealed: "And when they meet you, they say, 'We believe'; but when they are apart, they bite their fingers' ends at you, out of wrath. Say: 'Die in your wrath!' God truly knoweth the very recesses of your breasts." (Koran 3:119)

85 Ere long, thine eyes will behold the standards of divine power unfurled throughout all regions, and the signs of His triumphant might and sovereignty manifest in every land. As most of the divines have failed to apprehend the meaning of these verses, and have not grasped the significance of the Day of Resurrection, they therefore have foolishly interpreted these verses according to their idle and faulty conception. The one true God is My witness! Little perception is required to enable them to gather from the symbolic language of these two verses all that We have purposed to propound, and thus to attain, through the grace of the All-Merciful, the resplendent morn of certitude. Such are the strains of celestial melody which the immortal Bird of Heaven, warbling upon the Sadrih of Bahá, poureth out upon thee, that, by the permission of God, thou mayest tread the path of divine knowledge and wisdom.

86 And now, concerning His words: "And He shall send His angels…." By "angels" is meant those who, reinforced by the power of the spirit, have consumed, with the fire of the love of God, all human traits and limitations, and have clothed themselves with the attributes of the most exalted Beings and of the Cherubim. That holy man, Sadiq (The sixth Imam of the Shí'ihs = Shia Muslims), in his eulogy of the Cherubim, saith: "There stand a company of our fellow-Shí'ihs behind the Throne." Divers and manifold are the interpretations of the words "behind the Throne." In one sense, they indicate that no true Shí'ihs exist. Even as he hath said in another passage: "A true believer is likened unto the philosopher's stone." Addressing subsequently his listener, he saith: "Hast thou ever seen the philosopher's stone?" Reflect, how this symbolic language, more eloquent than any speech, however direct, testifieth to the non-existence of a true believer. Such is the testimony of Ṣádiq. And now consider, how unfair and numerous are those who, although they themselves have failed to inhale the fragrance of belief, have condemned as infidels those by whose word belief itself is recognized and established.

87 And now, inasmuch as these holy beings have sanctified themselves from every human limitation, have become endowed with the attributes of the spiritual, and have been adorned with the noble traits of the blessed, they therefore have been designated as "angels." Such is the meaning of these verses, every word of which hath been expounded by the aid of the most lucid texts, the most convincing arguments, and the best established evidences.

88 As the adherents of Jesus have never understood the hidden meaning of these words, and as the signs which they and the leaders of their Faith have expected have failed to appear, they therefore refused to acknowledge, even until now, the truth of those Manifestations of Holiness that have since the days of Jesus been made manifest. They have thus deprived themselves of the outpourings of God's holy grace, and of the wonders of His divine utterance. Such is their low estate in this, the Day of Resurrection! They have even failed to perceive that were the signs of the Manifestation of God in every age to appear in the visible realm in accordance with the text of established traditions, none could possibly deny or turn away, nor would the blessed be distinguished from the miserable, and the transgressor from the God-fearing. Judge fairly: Were the prophecies recorded in the Gospel to be literally fulfilled; were Jesus, Son of Mary, accompanied by angels, to descend from the visible heaven upon the clouds; who would dare to disbelieve, who would dare to reject the truth, and wax disdainful? Nay, such consternation would immediately seize all the dwellers of the earth that no soul would feel able to utter a word, much less to reject or accept the truth. It was owing to their misunderstanding of these truths that many a Christian divine hath objected to Muḥammad, and voiced his protest in such words: "If Thou art in truth the promised Prophet, why then art Thou not accompanied by those angels our sacred Books foretold, and which must needs descend with the promised Beauty to assist Him in His Revelation and act as warners unto His people?" Even as the All-Glorious hath recorded their statement: "Why hath not an angel been sent down to him, so that he should have been a warner with Him?" (Koran 25:7)

89 Such objections and differences have persisted in every age and century. The people have always busied themselves with such specious discourses, vainly protesting: "Wherefore hath not this or that sign appeared?" Such ills befell them only because they have clung to the ways of the divines of the age in which they lived, and blindly imitated them in accepting or denying these Essences of Detachment, these holy and divine Beings. These leaders, owing to their immersion in selfish desires, and their pursuit of transitory and sordid things, have regarded these divine Luminaries as being opposed to the standards of their knowledge and understanding, and the opponents of their ways and judgements. As they have literally interpreted the Word of God, and the sayings and traditions of the Letters of Unity, and expounded them according to their own deficient understanding, they have therefore deprived themselves and all their people of the bountiful showers of the grace and mercies of God. And yet they bear witness to this well-known tradition: "Verily Our Word is abstruse, bewilderingly abstruse." In another instance, it is said: "Our Cause is sorely trying, highly perplexing; none can bear it except a favorite of heaven, or an inspired Prophet, or he whose faith God hath tested." These leaders of religion admit that none of these three specified conditions is applicable to them. The first two conditions are manifestly beyond their reach; as to the third, it is evident that at no time have they been proof against those tests that have been sent by God, and that when the divine Touchstone appeared, they have shown themselves to be naught but dross.

90 Great God! Notwithstanding their acceptance of the truth of this tradition, these divines who are still doubtful of, and dispute about, the theological obscurities of their faith, yet claim to be the exponents of the subtleties of the law of God, and the expounders of the essential mysteries of His holy Word. They confidently assert that such traditions as indicate the advent of the expected Qá'im have not yet been fulfilled, whilst they themselves have failed to inhale the fragrance of the meaning of these traditions, and are still oblivious of the fact that all the signs foretold have come to pass, that the way of God's holy Cause hath been revealed, and the concourse of the faithful, swift as lightning, are, even now, passing upon that way, whilst these foolish divines wait expecting to witness the signs foretold. Say, O ye foolish ones! Wait ye even as those before you are waiting!

91 Were they to be questioned concerning those signs that must needs herald the revelation and rise of the sun of the Muḥammadan Dispensation, to which We have already referred, none of which have been literally fulfilled, and were it to be said to them: "Wherefore have ye rejected the claims advanced by Christians and the peoples of other faiths and regard them as infidels," knowing not what answer to give, they will reply: "These Books have been corrupted and are not, and never have been, of God." Reflect: the words of the verses themselves eloquently testify to the truth that they are of God. A similar verse hath been also revealed in the Koran, were ye of them that comprehend. Verily I say, throughout all this period they have utterly failed to comprehend what is meant by corrupting the text.

92 Yea, in the writings and utterances of the Mirrors reflecting the sun of the Muḥammadan Dispensation mention hath been made of "Modification by the exalted beings" and "alteration by the disdainful." Such passages, however, refer only to particular cases. Among them is the story of Ibn-i-Suríyá. When the people of Khaybar asked the focal center of the Muhammadan Revelation concerning the penalty of adultery committed between a married man and a married woman, Muhammad answered and said: "The law of God is death by stoning." Whereupon they protested saying: "No such law hath been revealed in the Pentateuch." Muhammad answered and said: "Whom do ye regard among your rabbis as being a recognised authority and having a sure knowledge of the truth?" They agreed upon Ibn-i-Suríyá. Thereupon Muhammad summoned him and said: "I adjure thee by God Who clove the sea for you, caused manna to descend upon you, and the cloud to overshadow you, Who delivered you from Pharaoh and his people, and exalted you above all human beings, to tell us what Moses hath decreed concerning adultery between a married man and a married woman." He made reply: "O Muhammad! death by stoning is the law." Muhammad observed: "Why is it then that this law is annulled and hath ceased to operate among the Jews?" He answered and said: "When Nebuchadnezzar delivered Jerusalem to the flames, and put the Jews to death, only a few survived. The divines of that age, considering the extremely limited number of the Jews, and the multitude of the Amalekites, took counsel together, and came to the conclusion that were they to enforce the law of the Pentateuch, every survivor who hath been delivered from the hand of Nebuchadnezzar would have to be put to death according to the verdict of the Book. Owing to such considerations, they totally repealed the penalty of death." Meanwhile Gabriel inspired Muhammad's illumined heart with these words: "They pervert the text of the Word of God." (Koran 4:45)

93 This is one of the instances that have been referred to. Verily by "perverting" the text is not meant that which these foolish and abject souls have fancied, even as some maintain that Jewish and Christian divines have effaced from the Book such verses as extol and magnify the countenance of Muḥammad, and instead thereof have inserted the contrary. How utterly vain and false are these words! Can a man who believeth in a book, and deemeth it to be inspired by God, mutilate it? Moreover, the Pentateuch had been spread over the surface of the earth, and was not confined to Mecca and Medina, so that they could privily corrupt and pervert its text. Nay, rather, by corruption of the text is meant that in which all Muslim divines are engaged today, that is the interpretation of God's holy Book in accordance with their idle imaginings and vain desires. And as the Jews, in the time of Muhammad, interpreted those verses of the Pentateuch, that referred to His Manifestation, after their own fancy, and refused to be satisfied with His holy utterance, the charge of "perverting" the text was therefore pronounced against them. Likewise, it is clear, how in this day, the people of the Koran have perverted the text of God's holy Book, concerning the signs of the expected Manifestation, and interpreted it according to their inclination and desires.

94 In yet another instance, He saith: "A part of them heard the Word of God, and then, after they had understood it, distorted it, and knew that they did so." (Koran 2:75) This verse, too, doth indicate that the meaning of the Word of God hath been perverted, not that the actual words have been effaced. To the truth of this testify they that are sound of mind.

95 Again in another instance, He saith: "Woe unto those who, with their own hands, transcribe the Book corruptly, and then say: 'This is from God,' that they may sell it for some mean price." (Koran 2:79) This verse was revealed with reference to the divines and leaders of the Jewish Faith. These divines, in order to please the rich, acquire worldly emoluments, and give vent to their envy and misbelief, wrote a number of treatises, refuting the claims of Muḥammad, supporting their arguments with such evidences as it would be improper to mention, and claimed that these arguments were derived from the text of the Pentateuch.

96 The same may be witnessed today. Consider how abundant are the denunciations written by the foolish divines of this age against this most wondrous Cause! How vain their imaginings that these calumnies are in conformity with the verses of God's sacred Book, and in consonance with the utterances of men of discernment!

97 Our purpose in relating these things is to warn you that were they to maintain that those verses wherein the signs referred to in the Gospel are mentioned have been perverted, were they to reject them, and cling instead to other verses and traditions, you should know that their words were utter falsehood and sheer calumny. Yea "corruption" of the text, in the sense We have referred to, hath been actually effected in particular instances. A few of these We have mentioned, that it may become manifest to every discerning observer that unto a few untutored holy Men hath been given the mastery of human learning, so that the malevolent 89 opposer may cease to contend that a certain verse doth indicate "corruption" of the text, and insinuate that We, through lack of knowledge, have made mention of such things. Moreover, most of the verses that indicate "corruption" of the text have been revealed with reference to the Jewish people, were ye to explore the isles of Koranic Revelation.

98 We have also heard a number of the foolish of the earth assert that the genuine text of the heavenly Gospel doth not exist amongst the Christians, that it hath ascended unto heaven. How grievously they have erred! How oblivious of the

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fact that such a statement imputeth the gravest injustice and tyranny to a gracious and loving Providence! How could God, when once the Day-star of the beauty of Jesus had disappeared from the sight of His people, and ascended unto the fourth heaven, cause His holy Book, His most great testimony amongst His creatures, to disappear also? What would be left to that people to cling to from the setting of the day-star of Jesus until the rise of the sun of the Muhammadan Dispensation? What law could be their stay and guide? How could such people be made the victims of the avenging wrath of God, the omnipotent Avenger? How could they be afflicted with the scourge of chastisement by the heavenly King? Above all, how could the flow of the grace of the All-Bountiful be stayed? How could the ocean of His tender mercies be stilled? We take refuge with God, from that which His creatures have fancied about Him! Exalted is He above their comprehension!

99 Dear friend! Now when the light of God's everlasting Morn is breaking; when the radiance of His holy words: "God is the light of the heavens and of the earth" (Koran 24:35) is shedding illumination upon all mankind; when the inviolability of His tabernacle is being proclaimed by His sacred utterance: "God hath willed to perfect His light;" (Koran 9:33) and the Hand of omnipotence, bearing His testimony: "In His grasp He holdeth the kingdom of all things," is being outstretched unto all the peoples and kindreds of the earth; it behooveth us to gird up the loins of endeavour, that haply, by the grace and bounty of God, we may enter the celestial City: "Verily, we are God's," and abide within the exalted habitation: "And unto Him we do return." It is incumbent upon thee, by the permission of God, to cleanse the eye of thine heart from the things of the world, that thou mayest realize the infinitude of divine knowledge, and mayest behold Truth so clearly that thou wilt need no proof to demonstrate His reality, nor any evidence to bear witness unto His testimony.

100 O affectionate seeker! Shouldst thou soar in the holy realm of the spirit, thou wouldst recognize God manifest and exalted above all things, in such wise that thine eyes would behold none else but Him. "God was alone; there was none else besides Him." So lofty is this station that no testimony can bear it witness, neither evidence do justice to its truth. Wert thou to explore the sacred domain of truth, thou wilt find that all things are known only by the light of His recognition, that He hath ever been, and will continue for ever to be, known through Himself. And if thou dwellest in the land of testimony, content thyself with that which He, Himself, hath revealed: "Is it not enough for them that We have sent down unto Thee the Book?" (Koran 29:51) This is the testimony which He, Himself, hath ordained; greater proof than this there is none, nor ever will be: "This proof is His Word; His own Self, the testimony of His truth."

101 And now, We beseech the people of the Bayán, all the learned, the sages, the divines, and witnesses amongst them, not to forget the wishes and admonitions revealed in their Book. Let them, at all times, fix their gaze upon the essentials of His Cause, lest when He, Who is the Quintessence of truth, the inmost Reality of all things, the Source of all light, is made manifest, they cling unto certain passages of the Book, and inflict upon Him that which was inflicted in the Dispensation of the Koran. For, verily, powerful is He, the King of divine might, to extinguish with one letter of His wondrous words, the breath of life in the whole of the Bayán and the people thereof, and with one letter bestow upon them a new and everlasting life, and cause them to arise and speed out of the sepulchres of their vain and selfish desires. Take heed, and be watchful; and remember that all things have their consummation in belief in Him, in attainment unto His day, and in the realization of His divine presence. "There is no piety in turning your faces toward the east or toward the west, but he is pious who believeth in God and the Last Day." (Koran 2:176) Give ear, O people of the Bayán, unto the truth whereunto We have admonished you, that haply ye may seek the shelter of the shadow extended, in the Day of God, upon all mankind.

THE BOOK OF IQAN, PART TWO

102 Verily He Who is the Day-star of Truth and Revealer of the Supreme Being holdeth, for all time, undisputed sovereignty over all that is in heaven and on earth, though no man be found on earth to obey Him. He verily is independent of all earthly dominion, though He be utterly destitute. Thus We reveal unto thee the mysteries of the Cause of God, and bestow upon thee the gems of divine wisdom, that haply thou mayest soar on the wings of renunciation to those heights that are veiled from the eyes of men.

103 The significance and essential purpose underlying these words is to reveal and demonstrate unto the pure in heart and the sanctified in spirit that they Who are the Luminaries of truth and the Mirrors reflecting the light of divine Unity, in whatever age and cycle they are sent down from their invisible habitations of ancient glory unto this world, to educate the souls of men and endue with grace all created things, are invariably endowed with an all-compelling power, and invested with invincible sovereignty. For these hidden Gems, these concealed and invisible Treasures, in themselves manifest and vindicate the reality of these holy words: "Verily God doeth whatsoever He willeth, and ordaineth whatsoever He pleaseth."

104 To every discerning and illumined heart it is evident that God, the unknowable Essence, the divine Being, is immensely exalted beyond every human attribute, such as corporeal existence, ascent and descent, egress and regress. Far be it from His glory that human tongue should adequately recount His praise, or that human heart comprehend His fathomless mystery. He is and hath ever been veiled in the ancient eternity of His Essence, and will remain in His Reality everlastingly hidden from the sight of men. "No vision taketh in Him, but He taketh in all vision; He is the Subtile, the All-Perceiving." (Koran 6:103) No tie of direct intercourse can possibly bind Him to His creatures. He standeth exalted beyond and above all separation and union, all proximity and remoteness. No sign can indicate His presence or His absence; inasmuch as by a word of His command all that are in heaven and on earth have come to exist, and by His wish, which is the Primal Will itself, all have stepped out of utter nothingness into the realm of being, the world of the visible.

105 Gracious God! How could there be conceived any existing relationship or possible connection between His Word and they that are created of it? The verse: "God would have you beware of Himself" (Koran 3:28) unmistakably beareth witness to the reality of Our argument, and the words: "God was alone; there was none else besides Him" are a sure testimony of its truth. All the Prophets of God and their chosen Ones, all the divines, the sages, and the wise of every generation, unanimously recognise their inability to attain unto the comprehension of that Quintessence of all truth, and confess their incapacity to grasp Him, Who is the inmost Reality of all things.

106 The door of the knowledge of the Ancient of Days being thus closed in the face of all beings, the Source of infinite grace, according to His saying: "His grace hath transcended all things; My grace hath encompassed them all" hath caused those luminous Gems of Holiness to appear out of the realm of the spirit, in the noble form of the human temple, and be made manifest unto all men, that they may impart unto the world the mysteries of the unchangeable Being, and tell of the subtleties of His imperishable Essence. These sanctified Mirrors, these Day-springs of ancient glory are one and all the Exponents on earth of Him Who is the central Orb of the universe, its Essence and ultimate Purpose. From Him proceed their knowledge and power; from Him is derived their sovereignty. The beauty of their countenance is but a reflection of His image, and their revelation a sign of His deathless glory. They are the Treasuries of divine knowledge, and the Repositories of celestial wisdom. Through them is transmitted a grace that is infinite, and by them is revealed the light that can never fade. Even as He hath said: "There is no distinction whatsoever between Thee and them; except that they are Thy servants, and are created of Thee." This is the significance of the tradition: "I am He, Himself, and He is I, myself."

107 The traditions and sayings that bear direct reference to Our theme are divers and manifold; We have refrained from quoting them for the sake of brevity. Nay, whatever is in the heavens and whatever is on the earth is a direct evidence of the revelation within it of the attributes and names of God, inasmuch as within every atom are enshrined the signs that bear eloquent testimony to the revelation of that most great Light. Methinks, but for the potency of that revelation, no being could ever exist. How resplendent the luminaries of knowledge that shine in an atom, and how vast the oceans of wisdom that surge within a drop! To a supreme degree is this true of man, who, among all created things, hath been invested with the robe of such gifts, and hath been singled out for the glory of such distinction. For in him are potentially revealed all the attributes and names of God to a degree that no other created being hath excelled or surpassed. All these names and attributes are applicable to him. Even as He hath said: "Man is My mystery, and I am his mystery." Manifold are the verses that have been repeatedly revealed in all the heavenly Books and the holy Scriptures, expressive of this most subtle and lofty theme. Even as He hath revealed: "We will surely show them Our signs in the world and within themselves." (Koran 41:53) Again He saith: "And also in your own selves: will ye not then behold the signs of God?" (Koran 51:21) And yet again He revealeth: "And be ye not like those who forget God, and whom He hath therefore caused to forget their own selves." (Koran 59:19) In this connection, He Who is the eternal King—may the souls of all that dwell within the mystic Tabernacle be a sacrifice unto Him—hath spoken: "He hath known God who hath known himself."

108 I swear by God, O esteemed and honoured friend! Shouldst thou ponder these words in thine heart, thou wilt of a certainty find the doors of divine wisdom and infinite knowledge flung open before thy face.

109 From that which hath been said it becometh evident that all things, in their inmost reality, testify to the revelation of the names and attributes of God within them. Each according to its capacity, indicateth, and is expressive of, the knowledge of God. So potent and universal is this revelation, that it hath encompassed all things, visible and invisible. Thus hath He revealed: "Hath aught else save Thee a power of revelation which is not possessed by Thee, that it could have manifested Thee? Blind is the eye which doth not perceive Thee." Likewise, hath the eternal King spoken: "No thing have I perceived, except that I perceived God within it, God before it, or God after it." Also in the tradition of Kumayl it is written: "Behold, a light hath shone forth out of the Morn of eternity, and lo! its waves have penetrated the inmost reality of all men." Man, the noblest and most perfect of all created things, excelleth them all in the intensity of this revelation, and is a fuller expression of its glory. And of all men, the most accomplished, the most distinguished and the most excellent are the Manifestations of the Sun of Truth. Nay, all else besides these Manifestations, live by the operation of their Will, and move and have their being through the outpourings of their grace. "But for Thee, I would have not created the heavens." Nay, all in their holy presence fade into utter nothingness, and are a thing forgotten. Human tongue can never befittingly sing their praise, and human speech can never unfold their mystery. These Tabernacles of holiness, these primal Mirrors which reflect the light of unfading glory, are but expressions of Him Who is the Invisible of the Invisibles. By the revelation of these gems of divine virtue all the names and attributes of God, such as knowledge and power, sovereignty and dominion, mercy and wisdom, glory, bounty and grace, are made manifest.

110 These attributes of God are not and have never been vouchsafed specially unto certain Prophets, and withheld from others. Nay, all the Prophets of God, His well-favoured, His holy, and chosen 104 Messengers, are, without exception, the bearers of His names, and the embodiments of His attributes. They only differ in the intensity of their revelation, and the comparative potency of their light. Even as He hath revealed: "Some of the Apostles We have caused to excel the others." (Koran 2:253) It hath therefore become manifest and evident that within the tabernacles of these Prophets and chosen Ones of God the light of His infinite names and exalted attributes hath been reflected, even though the light of some of these attributes may or may not be outwardly revealed from these luminous Temples to the eyes of men. That a certain attribute of God hath not been outwardly manifested by these Essences of Detachment doth in no wise imply that they Who are the Daysprings of God's attributes and the Treasuries of His holy names did not actually possess it. Therefore, these illuminated Souls, these beauteous Countenances have, each and every one of them, been endowed with all the attributes of God, such as sovereignty, dominion, and the like, even though to outward seeming they be shorn of all earthly majesty. To every discerning eye this is evident and manifest; it requireth neither proof nor evidence.

111 Yea, inasmuch as the peoples of the world have failed to seek from the luminous and crystal Springs of divine knowledge the inner meaning of God's holy words, they therefore have languished, stricken and sore athirst, in the vale of idle fancy and waywardness. They have strayed far from the fresh and thirst-subduing waters, and gathered round the salt that burneth bitterly. Concerning them, the Dove of Eternity hath spoken: "And if they see the path of righteousness, they will not take it for their path; but if they see the path of error, for their path will they take it. This, because they treated Our signs as lies, and were heedless of them." (Koran 7:145)

112 To this testifieth that which hath been witnessed in this wondrous and exalted Dispensation. Myriads of holy verses have descended from the heaven of might and grace, yet no one hath turned thereunto, nor ceased to cling to those words of men, not one letter of which they that have spoken them comprehend. For this reason the people have doubted incontestable truths, such as these, and caused themselves to be deprived of the Riḍván of 106 divine knowledge, and the eternal meads of celestial wisdom.

113 And now, to resume Our argument concerning the question: Why is it that the sovereignty of the Qá'im, affirmed in the text of recorded traditions, and handed down by the shining stars of the Muḥammadan Dispensation, hath not in the least been made manifest? Nay, the contrary hath come to pass. Have not His disciples and companions been afflicted of men? Are they not still the victims of the fierce opposition of their enemies? Are they not today leading the life of abased and impotent mortals? Yea, the sovereignty attributed to the Qá'im and spoken of in the scriptures, is a reality, the truth of which none can doubt. This sovereignty, however, is not the sovereignty which the minds of men have falsely imagined. Moreover, the Prophets of old, each and every one, whenever announcing to the people of their day the advent of the coming Revelation, have invariably and specifically referred

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to that sovereignty with which the promised Manifestation must needs be invested. This is attested by the records of the scriptures of the past. This sovereignty hath not been solely and exclusively attributed to the Qá'im. Nay rather, the attribute of sovereignty and all other names and attributes of God have been and will ever be vouchsafed unto all the Manifestations of God, before and after Him, inasmuch as these Manifestations, as it hath already been explained, are the Embodiments of the attributes of God, the Invisible, and the Revealers of the divine mysteries.

114 Furthermore, by sovereignty is meant the all-encompassing, all-pervading power which is inherently exercised by the Qá'im whether or not He appear to the world clothed in the majesty of earthly dominion. This is solely dependent upon the will and pleasure of the Qá'im Himself. You will readily recognize that the terms sovereignty, wealth, life, death, judgement and resurrection, spoken of by the scriptures of old, are not what this generation hath conceived and vainly imagined. Nay, by sovereignty is meant that sovereignty which in every dispensation resideth within, and is exercised by, the person of the Manifestation, the Day-star of Truth. That sovereignty is the spiritual ascendancy which He exerciseth to the fullest degree over all that is in heaven and on earth, and which in due time revealeth itself to the world in 108 direct proportion to its capacity and spiritual receptiveness, even as the sovereignty of Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, is today apparent and manifest amongst the people. You are well aware of what befell His Faith in the early days of His dispensation. What woeful sufferings did the hand of the infidel and erring, the divines of that age and their associates, inflict upon that spiritual Essence, that most pure and holy Being! How abundant the thorns and briars which they have strewn over His path! It is evident that wretched generation, in their wicked and satanic fancy, regarded every injury to that immortal Being as a means to the attainment of an abiding felicity; inasmuch as the recognized divines of that age, such as 'Abdu'lláh-i-Ubayy, Abú-'Amír, the hermit, Ka'b-Ibn-i-Ashraf, and Nadr-Ibn-i-Hárith, all treated Him as an impostor, and pronounced Him a lunatic and a calumniator. Such sore accusations they brought against Him that in recounting them God forbiddeth the ink to flow, Our pen to move, or the page to bear them. These malicious imputations provoked the people to arise and torment Him. And how fierce that torment if the divines of the age be its chief instigators, if they denounce Him to their followers, cast Him out from their 109 midst, and declare Him a miscreant! Hath not the same befallen this Servant, and been witnessed by all?

115 For this reason did Muḥammad cry out: "No Prophet of God hath suffered such harm as I have suffered." And in the Koran are recorded all the calumnies and reproaches uttered against Him, as well as all the afflictions which He suffered. Refer ye thereunto, that haply ye may be informed of that which hath befallen His Revelation. So grievous was His plight, that for a time all ceased to hold intercourse with Him and His companions. Whoever associated with Him fell a victim to the relentless cruelty of His enemies.

116 We shall cite in this connection only one verse of that Book. Shouldst thou observe it with a discerning eye, thou wilt, all the remaining days of thy life, lament and bewail the injury of Muḥammad, that wronged and oppressed Messenger of God. That verse was revealed at a time when Muḥammad languished weary and sorrowful beneath the weight of the opposition of the people, and of their unceasing torture. In the midst of His agony, the Voice of Gabriel, calling from the Sadratu'l-Muntahá, was heard saying: "But if their opposition be grievous to Thee—if Thou canst, seek out an opening into the earth or a ladder into heaven." (Koran 6:35) The implication of this utterance is that His case had no remedy, that they would not withhold their hands from Him unless He should hide Himself beneath the depths of the earth, or take His flight unto heaven.

117 Consider, how great is the change today! Behold, how many are the Sovereigns who bow the knee before His name! How numerous the nations and kingdoms who have sought the shelter of His shadow, who bear allegiance to His Faith, and pride themselves therein! From the pulpit-top there ascendeth today the words of praise which, in utter lowliness, glorify His blessed name; and from the heights of minarets there resoundeth the call that summoneth the concourse of His people to adore Him. Even those Kings of the earth who have refused to embrace His Faith and to put off the garment of unbelief, none the less confess and acknowledge the greatness and overpowering majesty of that Day-star of loving kindness. Such is His earthly sovereignty, the evidences of which thou dost on every side behold. This sovereignty must needs be revealed and established either in the lifetime of every Manifestation of God or after His ascension unto His true habitation in the realms above. What thou dost witness today is but a confirmation of this truth. That spiritual ascendency, however, which is primarily intended, resideth within, and revolveth around Them from eternity even unto eternity. It can never for a moment be divorced from Them. Its dominion hath encompassed all that is in heaven and on earth.

118 The following is an evidence of the sovereignty exercised by Muḥammad, the Day-star of Truth. Hast thou not heard how with one single verse He hath sundered light from darkness, the righteous from the ungodly, and the believing from the infidel? All the signs and allusions concerning the Day of Judgement, which thou hast heard, such as the raising of the dead, the Day of Reckoning, the Last Judgement, and others have been made manifest through the revelation of that verse. These revealed words were a blessing to the righteous who on hearing them exclaimed: "O God our Lord, we have heard, and obeyed." They were a curse to the people of iniquity who, on hearing them affirmed: "We have heard and rebelled." Those words, sharp as the sword of God, have separated the faithful from the infidel, and severed father from son. Thou hast surely witnessed how they that have confessed their faith in Him and they that rejected Him have warred against each other, and sought one another's property. How many fathers have turned away from their sons; how many lovers have shunned their beloved! So mercilessly trenchant was this wondrous sword of God that it cleft asunder every relationship! On the other hand, consider the welding power of His Word. Observe, how those in whose midst the Satan of self had for years sown the seeds of malice and hate became so fused and blended through their allegiance to this wondrous and transcendent Revelation that it seemed as if they had sprung from the same loins. Such is the binding force of the Word of God, which uniteth the hearts of them that have renounced all else but Him, who have believed in His signs, and quaffed from the Hand of glory the Kawthar of God's holy grace. Furthermore, how numerous are those peoples of divers beliefs, of conflicting creeds, and opposing temperaments, who, through the reviving fragrance of the Divine springtime, breathing from the Riḍván of God, have been arrayed with the new robe of divine Unity, and have drunk from the cup of His singleness!

119 This is the significance of the well-known words: "The wolf and the lamb shall feed together." (Bible, Isaiah 65:25) Behold the ignorance and folly of those who, like the nations of old, are still expecting to witness the time when these beasts will feed together in one pasture! Such is their low estate. Methinks, never have their lips touched the cup of understanding, neither have their feet trodden the path of justice. Besides, of what profit would it be to the world were such a thing to take place? How well hath He spoken concerning them: "Hearts have they, with which they understand not, and eyes have they with which they see not!" (Koran 7:178)

120 Consider how with this one verse which hath descended from the heaven of the Will of God, the world and all that is therein have been brought to a reckoning with Him. Whosoever acknowledged His truth and turned unto Him, his good works outweighed his misdeeds, and all his sins were remitted and forgiven. Thereby is the truth of these words concerning Him made manifest: "Swift is He in reckoning." Thus God turneth iniquity into righteousness, were ye to explore the realms of divine knowledge, and fathom the mysteries of His wisdom. In like manner, whosoever partook of the cup of love, obtained his portion of the ocean of eternal grace and of the showers of everlasting mercy, and entered into the life of faith—the heavenly and everlasting life. But he that turned away from that cup was condemned to eternal death. By the terms "life" and "death," spoken of in the scriptures, is intended the life of faith and the death of unbelief. The generality of the people, owing to their failure to grasp the meaning of these words, rejected and despised the person of the Manifestation, deprived themselves of the light of His divine guidance, and refused to follow the example of that immortal Beauty.

121 When the light of Koranic Revelation was kindled within the chamber of Muḥammad's holy heart, He passed upon the people the verdict of the Last Day, the verdict of resurrection, of judgement, of life, and of death. Thereupon the standards of revolt were hoisted, and the doors of derision opened. Thus hath He, the Spirit of God, recorded, as spoken by the infidels: "And if thou shouldst say, 'After death ye shall surely be raised again,' the infidels will certainly exclaim, 'This is nothing but manifest sorcery.'" (Koran 11:7) Again He speaketh: "If ever thou dost marvel, marvellous surely is their saying, 'What! When we have become dust, shall we be restored in a new creation?'" (Koran 13:5) Thus, in another passage, He wrathfully exclaimeth: "Are We wearied out with the first creation? Yet are they in doubt with regard to a new creation!" (Koran 50:15)

122 As the commentators of the Koran and they that follow the letter thereof misapprehended the inner meaning of the words of God and failed to grasp their essential purpose, they sought to demonstrate that, according to the rules of grammar, whenever the term "idhá" (meaning "if" or "when") precedeth the past tense, it invariably hath reference to the future. Later, they were sore perplexed in attempting to explain those verses of the Book wherein that term did not actually occur. Even as He hath revealed: "And there was a blast on the trumpet,—lo! it is the threatened Day! And every soul is summoned to a reckoning,—with him an impeller and a witness." (Koran 50:20) In explaining this and similar verses, they have in some cases argued that the term "idhá" is implied. In other instances, they have idly contended that whereas the Day of Judgement is inevitable, it hath therefore been referred to as an event not of the future but of the past. How vain their sophistry! How grievous their blindness! They refuse to recognize the trumpet-blast which so explicitly in this text was sounded through the revelation of Muḥammad. They deprive themselves of the regenerating Spirit of God that breathed into it, and foolishly expect to hear the trumpet-sound of the Seraph of God who is but one of His servants! Hath not the Seraph himself, the angel of the Judgement Day, and his like been ordained by Muḥammad's own utterance? Say: What! Will ye give that which is for your good in exchange for that which is evil? Wretched is that which ye have falsely exchanged! Surely ye are a people, evil, in grievous loss.

123 Nay, by "trumpet" is meant the trumpet-call of Muḥammad's Revelation, which was sounded in the heart of the universe, and by "resurrection" is meant His own rise to proclaim the Cause of God. He bade the erring and wayward arise and speed out of the sepulchres of their bodies, arrayed them with the beauteous robe of faith, and quickened them with the breath of a new and wondrous life. Thus at the hour when Muḥammad, that divine Beauty, purposed to unveil one of the mysteries hidden in the symbolic terms "resurrection," "judgement," "paradise," and "hell," Gabriel, the Voice of Inspiration, was heard saying: "Erelong will they wag their heads at Thee, and say, 'When shall this be?' Say: 'Perchance it is nigh.'" (Koran 17:51) The implications of this verse alone suffice the peoples of the world, were they to ponder it in their hearts.

124 Gracious God! How far have that people strayed from the way of God! Although the Day of Resurrection was ushered in through the Revelation of Muḥammad, although His light and tokens had encompassed the earth and all that is therein, yet that people derided Him, gave themselves up to those idols which the divines of that age, in their vain and idle fancy, had conceived, and deprived themselves of the light of heavenly grace and of the showers of divine mercy. Yea, the abject beetle can never scent the fragrance of holiness, and the 118 bat of darkness can never face the splendour of the sun.

125 Such things have come to pass in the days of every Manifestation of God. Even as Jesus said: "Ye must be born again." (Bible, John 3:7) Again He saith: "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit." (Bible, John 3:5–6) The purport of these words is that whosoever in every dispensation is born of the Spirit and is quickened by the breath of the Manifestation of Holiness, he verily is of those that have attained unto "life" and "resurrection" and have entered into the "paradise" of the love of God. And whosoever is not of them, is condemned to "death" and "deprivation," to the "fire" of unbelief, and to the "wrath" of God. In all the scriptures, the books and chronicles, the sentence of death, of fire, of blindness, of want of understanding and hearing, hath been pronounced against those whose lips have tasted not the ethereal cup of true knowledge, and whose hearts have been deprived of the grace of the holy Spirit in their day. Even as it hath been previously recorded: "Hearts have they with which they understand not." (Koran 7:178)

126 In another passage of the Gospel it is written: "And it came to pass that on a certain day the father of one of the disciples of Jesus had died. That disciple reporting the death of his father unto Jesus, asked for leave to go and bury him. Whereupon, Jesus, that Essence of Detachment, answered and said: "Let the dead bury their dead." (Bible, Luke 9:60)

127 In like manner, two of the people of Kúfih went to 'Alí, the Commander of the Faithful. One owned a house and wished to sell it; the other was to be the purchaser. They had agreed that this transaction should be effected and the contract be written with the knowledge of 'Alí. He, the exponent of the law of God, addressing the scribe, said: "Write thou: 'A dead man hath bought from another dead man a house. That house is bounded by four limits. One extendeth toward the tomb, the other to the vault of the grave, the third to the Ṣiráṭ, the fourth to either Paradise or hell.'" Reflect, had these two souls been quickened by the trumpet-call of 'Alí, had they risen from the grave of error by the power of his love, the judgement of death would certainly not have been pronounced against them.

128 In every age and century, the purpose of the Prophets of God and their chosen ones hath been no other but to affirm the spiritual significance of the terms "life," "resurrection," and "judgement." If one will ponder but for a while this utterance of 'Alí in his heart, one will surely discover all mysteries hidden in the terms "grave," "tomb," "ṣiraṭ," "paradise" and "hell." But oh! how strange and pitiful! Behold, all the people are imprisoned within the tomb of self, and lie buried beneath the nethermost depths of worldly

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desire! Wert thou to attain to but a dewdrop of the crystal waters of divine knowledge, thou wouldst readily realize that true life is not the life of the flesh but the life of the spirit. For the life of the flesh is common to both men and animals, whereas the life of the spirit is possessed only by the pure in heart who have quaffed from the ocean of faith and partaken of the fruit of certitude. This life knoweth no death, and this existence is crowned by immortality. Even as it hath been said: "He who is a true believer liveth both in this world and in the world to come." If by "life" be meant this earthly life, it is evident that death must needs overtake it.

129 Similarly, the records of all the scriptures bear witness to this lofty truth and this most exalted word. Moreover, this verse of the Koran, revealed concerning Hamzih, the "Prince of Martyrs," (Title of the uncle of Muhammad) and Abú-Jahl, is a luminous evidence and sure testimony of the truth of Our saying: "Shall the dead, whom We have quickened, and for whom We have ordained a light whereby he may walk among men, be like him, whose likeness is in the darkness, whence he will not come forth?" (Koran 6:122) This verse descended from the heaven of the Primal Will at a time when Hamzih had already been invested with the sacred mantle of faith, and Abú-Jahl had waxed relentless in his opposition and unbelief. From the Wellspring of omnipotence and the Source of eternal holiness, there came the judgement that conferred everlasting life upon Hamzih, and condemned Abú-Jahl to eternal damnation. This was the signal that caused the fires of unbelief to glow with the hottest flame in the heart of the infidels, and provoked them openly to repudiate His truth. They loudly clamoured: "When did Hamzih die? When was he risen? At what hour was such a life conferred upon him?" As they understood not the significance of these noble sayings, nor sought enlightenment from the recognized expounders of the Faith, that these might confer a sprinkling of the Kawthar of divine knowledge upon them, therefore such fires of mischief were kindled amongst men.

130 Thou dost witness today how, notwithstanding the radiant splendour of the Sun of divine knowledge, all the people, whether high or low, have clung to the ways of those abject manifestations of the Prince of Darkness. They continually appeal to them for aid in unraveling the intricacies of their Faith, and, owing to lack of knowledge, they make such replies as can in no wise damage their fame and fortune. It is evident that these souls, vile and miserable as the beetle itself, have had no portion of the musk-laden breeze of eternity, and have never entered the Ridván of heavenly delight. How, therefore, can they impart unto others the imperishable fragrance of holiness? Such is their way, and such will it remain for ever. Only those will attain to the knowledge of the Word of God that have turned unto Him, and repudiated the manifestations of Satan. Thus God hath reaffirmed the law of the day of His Revelation, and inscribed it with the pen of power upon the mystic Tablet hidden beneath the veil of celestial glory. Wert thou to heed these words, wert thou to ponder their outward and inner meaning in thy heart, thou wouldst seize the significance of all the abstruse problems which, in this day, have become insuperable barriers between men and the knowledge of the Day of Judgement. Then wilt thou have no more questions to perplex thee. We fain would hope that, God willing, thou wilt not return, deprived and still athirst, from the shores of the ocean of divine mercy, nor come back destitute from the imperishable Sanctuary of thy heart's desire. Let it now be seen what thy search and endeavours will achieve.

131 To resume: Our purpose in setting forth these truths hath been to demonstrate the sovereignty of Him Who is the King of kings. Be fair: Is this sovereignty which, through the utterance of one Word, hath manifested such pervading influence, ascendancy, and awful majesty, is this sovereignty superior, or is the worldly dominion of these kings of the earth who, despite their solicitude for their subjects and their help of the poor, are assured only of an outward and fleeting allegiance, while in the hearts of men they inspire neither affection nor respect? Hath not that sovereignty, through the potency of one word, subdued, quickened, and revitalized the whole world? What! Can the lowly dust compare with Him Who is the Lord of Lords? What tongue dare utter the immensity of difference that lieth between them? Nay, all comparison falleth short in attaining the hallowed sanctuary of His sovereignty. Were man to reflect, he would surely perceive that even the servant of His threshold ruleth over all created things! This hath already been witnessed, and will in future be made manifest.

132 This is but one of the meanings of the spiritual sovereignty which We have set forth in accordance with the capacity and receptiveness of the people. For He, the Mover of all beings, that glorified Countenance, is the source of such potencies as neither this wronged One can reveal, nor this unworthy people comprehend. Immensely exalted is He above men's praise of His sovereignty; glorified is He beyond that which they attribute unto Him!

133 And now, ponder this in thine heart: Were sovereignty to mean earthly sovereignty and worldly dominion, were it to imply the subjection and external allegiance of all the peoples and kindreds of the earth—whereby His loved ones should be exalted and be made to live in peace, and His enemies be abased and tormented—such form of sovereignty would not be true of God Himself, the Source of all dominion, Whose majesty and power all things testify. For, dost thou not witness how the generality of mankind is under the sway of His enemies? Have they not all turned away from the path of His good-pleasure? Have they not done that which He hath forbidden, and left undone, nay repudiated and opposed, those things which He hath commanded? Have not His friends ever been the victims of the tyranny of His foes? All these things are more obvious than even the splendour of the noon-tide sun.

134 Know, therefore, O questioning seeker, that earthly sovereignty is of no worth, nor will it ever be, in the eyes of God and His chosen Ones. Moreover, if ascendency and dominion be interpreted to mean earthly supremacy and temporal power, how impossible will it be for thee to explain these verses: "And verily Our host shall conquer." (Koran 37:173) "Fain would they put out God's light with their mouths: But God hath willed to perfect His light, albeit the infidels abhor it." (Koran 9:33) "He is the Dominant, above all things." Similarly, most of the Koran testifieth to this truth.

135 Were the idle contention of these foolish and despicable souls to be true, they would have none other alternative than to reject all these holy utterances and heavenly allusions. For no warrior could be found on earth more excellent and nearer to God than Husayn, son of 'Alí, so peerless and incomparable was he. "There was none to equal or to match him in the world." Yet, thou must have heard what befell him. "God's malison on the head of the people of tyranny!" (Koran 11:18)

136 Were the verse "And verily Our host shall conquer" to be literally interpreted, it is evident that it would in no wise be applicable to the chosen Ones of God and His hosts, inasmuch as Husayn, whose heroism was manifest as the sun, crushed and subjugated, quaffed at last the cup of martyrdom in Karbilá, the land of Táff. Similarly, the sacred verse "Fain would they put out God's light with their mouths: But God hath willed to perfect His light, albeit the infidels abhor it." Were it to be literally interpreted it would never correspond with the truth. For in every age the light of God hath, to outward seeming, been quenched by the peoples of the earth, and the Lamps of God extinguished by them. How then could the ascendancy of the sovereignty of these Lamps be explained? What could the potency of God's will to "perfect His light" signify? As hath already been witnessed, so great was the enmity of the infidels, that none of these divine Luminaries ever found a place for shelter, or tasted of the cup of tranquillity. So heavily were they oppressed, that the least of men inflicted upon these Essences of being whatsoever he listed. These sufferings have been observed and measured by the people. How, therefore, can such people be capable of understanding and expounding these words of God, these verses of everlasting glory?

137 But the purpose of these verses is not what they have imagined. Nay, the terms "ascendancy," "power," and "authority" imply a totally different station and meaning. For instance, consider the pervading power of those drops of the blood of Husayn which besprinkled the earth. What ascendancy and influence hath the dust itself, through the sacredness and potency of that blood, exercised over the bodies and souls of men! So much so, that he who sought deliverance from his ills, was healed by touching the dust of that holy ground, and whosoever, wishing to protect his property, treasured with absolute faith and understanding, a little of that holy earth within his house, safeguarded all his possessions. These are the outward manifestations of its potency. And were We to recount its hidden virtues they would assuredly say: "He verily hath considered the dust to be the Lord of Lords, and hath utterly forsaken the Faith of God."

138 Furthermore, call to mind the shameful circumstances that have attended the martyrdom of Husayn. Reflect upon his loneliness, how, to outer seeming, none could be found to aid him, none to take up his body and bury it. And yet, behold how numerous, in this day, are those who from the uttermost corners of the earth don the garb of pilgrimage, seeking the site of his martyrdom, that there they may lay their heads upon the threshold of his shrine! Such is the ascendancy and power of God! Such is the glory of His dominion and majesty!

139 Think not that because these things have come to pass after Husayn's martyrdom, therefore all this glory hath been of no profit unto him. For that holy soul is immortal, liveth the life of God, and abideth within the retreats of celestial glory upon the Sadrih of heavenly reunion. These Essences of being are the shining Exemplars of sacrifice. They have offered, and will continue to offer up their lives, their substance, their souls, their spirit, their all, in the path of the Well-Beloved. By them, no station, however exalted, could be more dearly cherished. For lovers have no desire but the good-pleasure of their Beloved, and have no aim except reunion with Him.

140 Should We wish to impart unto thee a glimmer of the mysteries of Husayn's martyrdom, and reveal unto thee the fruits thereof, these pages could never suffice, nor exhaust their meaning. Our hope is that, God willing, the breeze of mercy may blow, and the divine Springtime clothe the tree of being with the robe of a new life; so that we may discover the mysteries of divine Wisdom, and, through His providence, be made independent of the knowledge of all things. We have, as yet, descried none but a handful of souls, destitute of all renown, who have attained unto this station. Let the future disclose what the Judgement of God will ordain, and the Tabernacle of His decree reveal. In such wise We recount unto thee the wonders of the Cause of God, and pour out into thine ears the strains of heavenly melody, that haply thou mayest attain unto the station of true knowledge, and partake of the fruit thereof. Therefore, know thou of a certainty that these Luminaries of heavenly majesty, though their dwelling be in the dust, yet their true habitation is the seat of glory in the realms above. Though bereft of all earthly possessions, yet they soar in the realms of immeasurable riches. And whilst sore tried in the grip of the enemy, they are seated on the right hand of power and celestial dominion. Amidst the darkness of their abasement there shineth upon them the light of unfading glory, and upon their helplessness are showered the tokens of an invincible sovereignty.

141 Thus Jesus, Son of Mary, whilst seated one day and speaking in the strain of the Holy Spirit, uttered words such as these: "O people! My food is the grass of the field, wherewith I satisfy my hunger. My bed is the dust, my lamp in the night the light of the moon, and my steed my own feet. Behold, who on earth is richer than I?" By the righteousness of God! Thousands of treasures circle round this poverty, and a myriad kingdoms of glory yearn for such abasement! Shouldst thou attain to a drop of the ocean of the inner meaning of these words, thou wouldst surely forsake the world and all that is therein, and, as the Phoenix wouldst consume thyself in the flames of the undying Fire.

142 In like manner, it is related that on a certain day, one of the companions of Sádiq complained of his poverty before him. Whereupon, Sádiq, that immortal beauty, made reply: "Verily thou art rich, and hast drunk the draught of wealth." That poverty-stricken soul was perplexed at the words uttered by that luminous countenance, and said: "Where are my riches, I who stand in need of a single coin?" Sádiq thereupon observed: "Dost thou not possess our love?" He replied: "Yea, I possess it, O thou scion of the Prophet of God!" And Sádiq asked him saying: "Exchangest thou this love for one thousand dinars?" He answered: "Nay, never will I exchange it, though the world and all that is therein be given me!" Then Sádiq remarked: "How can he who possesses such a treasure be called poor?"

143 This poverty and these riches, this abasement and glory, this dominion, power, and the like, upon which the eyes and hearts of these vain and foolish souls are set,—all these things fade into utter nothingness in that Court! Even as He hath said: "O men! Ye are but paupers in need of God; but God is the Rich, the Self-Sufficing." (Koran 35:15) By 'riches' therefore is meant independence of all else but God, and by 'poverty' the lack of things that are of God.

144 Similarly, call thou to mind the day when the Jews, who had surrounded Jesus, Son of Mary, were pressing Him to confess His claim of being the Messiah and Prophet of God, so that they might declare Him an infidel and sentence Him to death. Then, they led Him away, He Who was the Day-star of the heaven of divine Revelation, unto Pilate and Caiaphas, who was the leading divine of that age. The chief priests were all assembled in the palace, also a multitude of people who had gathered to witness His sufferings, to deride and injure Him. Though they repeatedly questioned Him, hoping that He would confess His claim, yet Jesus held His peace and spake not. Finally, an accursed of God arose and, approaching Jesus, adjured Him saying: "Didst thou not claim to be the Divine Messiah? Didst thou not say, 'I am the King of Kings, My word is the Word of God, and I am the breaker of the Sabbath day?'" Thereupon Jesus lifted up His head and said: "Beholdest thou not the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power and might?" These were His words, and yet consider how to outward seeming He was devoid of all power except that inner power which was of God and which had encompassed all that is in heaven and on earth. How can I relate all that befell Him after He spoke these words? How shall I describe their heinous behaviour towards Him? They at last heaped on His blessed Person such woes that He took His flight unto the fourth Heaven.

145 It is also recorded in the Gospel according to St. Luke, that on a certain day Jesus passed by a Jew who was sick of the palsy, and lay upon a couch. When the Jew saw Him, he recognized Him, and cried out for His help. Jesus said unto him: "Arise from thy bed; thy sins are forgiven thee." Certain of the Jews, standing by, protested saying: "Who can forgive sins, but God alone?" And immediately He perceived their thoughts, Jesus answering said unto them: "Whether is it easier to say to the sick of the palsy, arise, and take up thy bed, and walk; or to say, thy sins are forgiven thee? that ye may

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know that the Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins." (Bible, Luke 5:18–26) This is the real sovereignty, and such is the power of God's chosen Ones! All these things which We have repeatedly mentioned, and the details which We have cited from divers sources, have no other purpose but to enable thee to grasp the meaning of the allusions in the utterances of the chosen Ones of God, lest certain of these utterances cause thy feet to falter and thy heart to be dismayed.

146 Thus with steadfast steps we may tread the Path of certitude, that perchance the breeze that bloweth from the meads of the good-pleasure of God may waft upon us the sweet savours of divine acceptance, and cause us, vanishing mortals that we are, to attain unto the Kingdom of everlasting glory. Then wilt thou comprehend the inner meaning of sovereignty and the like, spoken of in the traditions and scriptures. Furthermore, it is already evident and known unto thee that those things to which the Jews and the Christians have clung, and the cavilings which they heaped upon the Beauty of Muhammad, the same have in this day been upheld by the people of the Koran, and been witnessed in their denunciations of the "Point of the Bayán"—may the souls of all that dwell within the kingdom of divine Revelations be a sacrifice unto Him! Behold their folly: they utter the self-same words, uttered by the Jews of old, and know it not! How well and true are His words concerning them: "Leave them to entertain themselves with their cavilings!" (Koran 6:91) "As Thou livest, O Muhammad! they are seized by the frenzy of their vain fancies." (Koran 15:72)

147 When the Unseen, the Eternal, the divine Essence, caused the Day-star of Muhammad to rise above the horizon of knowledge, among the cavils which the Jewish divines raised against Him was that after Moses no Prophet should be sent of God. Yea, mention hath been made in the scriptures of a Soul Who must needs be made manifest and Who will advance the Faith, and promote the interests of the people, of Moses, so that the Law of the Mosaic Dispensation may encompass the whole earth. Thus hath the King of eternal glory referred in His Book to the words uttered by those wanderers in the vale of remoteness and error: "'The hand of God,' say the Jews, 'is chained up.' Chained up be their own hands! And for that which they have said, they were accursed. Nay, outstretched are both His hands!" (Koran 5:64) "The hand of God is above their hands." (Koran 48:10)

148 Although the commentators of the Koran have related in divers manners the circumstances attending the revelation of this verse, yet thou shouldst endeavour to apprehend the purpose thereof. He saith: How false is that which the Jews have imagined! How can the hand of Him Who is the King in truth, Who caused the countenance of Moses to be made manifest, and conferred upon Him the robe of Prophethood—how can the hand of such a One be chained and fettered? How can He be conceived as powerless to raise up yet another Messenger after Moses? Behold the absurdity of their saying; how far it hath strayed from the path of knowledge and understanding! Observe how in this day also, all these people have occupied themselves with such foolish absurdities. For over a thousand years they have been reciting this verse, and unwittingly pronouncing their censure against the Jews, utterly unaware that they themselves, openly and privily, are voicing the sentiments and belief of the Jewish people! Thou art surely aware of their idle contention, that all Revelation is ended, that the portals of Divine mercy are closed, that from the day-springs of eternal holiness no sun shall rise again, that the Ocean of everlasting bounty is forever stilled, and that out of the Tabernacle of ancient glory the Messengers of God have ceased to be made manifest. Such is the measure of the understanding of these small-minded, contemptible people. These people have imagined that the flow of God's all-encompassing grace and plenteous mercies, the cessation of which no mind can contemplate, has been halted. From every side they have risen and girded up the loins of tyranny, and exerted the utmost endeavour to quench with the bitter waters of their vain fancy the flame of God's burning Bush, oblivious that the globe of power shall within its own mighty stronghold protect the Lamp of God. The utter destitution into which this people have fallen doth surely suffice them, inasmuch as they have been deprived of the recognition of the essential Purpose and the knowledge of the Mystery and Substance of the Cause of God. For the highest and most excelling grace bestowed upon men is the grace of "attaining unto the Presence of God" and of His recognition, which has been promised unto all people. This is the utmost degree of grace vouchsafed unto man by the All-Bountiful, the Ancient of Days, and the fulness of His absolute bounty upon His creatures. Of this grace and bounty none of this people hath partaken, neither have they been honoured with this most exalted distinction. How numerous are those revealed verses which explicitly bear witness unto this most weighty truth and exalted Theme! And yet they have rejected it, and, after their own desire, misconstrued its meaning. Even as He hath revealed: "As for those who believe not in the signs of God, or that they shall ever meet Him, these of My mercy shall despair, and for them doth a grievous chastisement await." (Koran 29:23) Also He saith: "They who bear in mind that they shall attain unto the Presence of their Lord, and that unto Him shall they return." (Koran 2:46) Also in another instance He saith: "They who held it as certain that they must meet God, said, 'How oft, by God's will, hath a small host vanquished a numerous host!'" (Koran 2:249) In yet another instance He revealeth: "Let him then who hopeth to attain the presence of his Lord work a righteous work." (Koran 18:111) And also He saith: "He ordereth all things. He maketh His signs clear, that ye may have firm faith in attaining the presence of your Lord." (Koran 13:2)

149 This people have repudiated all these verses, that unmistakably testify to the reality of "attainment unto the Divine Presence." No theme hath been more emphatically asserted in the holy scriptures. Notwithstanding, they have deprived themselves of this lofty and most exalted rank, this supreme and glorious station. Some have contended that by "attainment unto the Divine Presence" is meant the "Revelation" of God in the Day of Resurrection. Should they assert that the "Revelation" of God signifieth a "Universal Revelation," it is clear and evident that such revelation already existeth in all things. The truth of this We have already 140 established, inasmuch as We have demonstrated that all things are the recipients and revealers of the splendours of that ideal King, and that the signs of the revelation of that Sun, the Source of all splendour, exist and are manifest in the mirrors of beings. Nay, were man to gaze with the eye of divine and spiritual discernment, he will readily recognize that nothing whatsoever can exist without the revelation of the splendour of God, the ideal King. Consider how all created things eloquently testify to the revelation of that inner Light within them. Behold how within all things the portals of the Ridván of God are opened, that seekers may attain the cities of understanding and wisdom, and enter the gardens of knowledge and power. Within every garden they will behold the mystic bride of inner meaning enshrined within the chambers of utterance in the utmost grace and fullest adornment. Most of the verses of the Koran indicate, and bear witness to, this spiritual theme. The verse: "Neither is there aught which doth not celebrate His praise" (Koran 17:44) is eloquent testimony thereto; and "We noted all things and wrote them down," (Koran 78:29) a faithful witness thereof. Now, if by "attainment unto the Presence of God" is meant attainment unto the knowledge of such revelation, it is evident that all men have already attained unto the presence of the unchangeable Countenance of that peerless King. Why, then, restrict such revelation to the Day of Resurrection?

150 And were they to maintain that by "divine Presence" is meant the "Specific Revelation of God," expressed by certain Súfís as the "Most Holy Outpouring," if this be in the Essence Itself, it is evident that it hath been eternally in the divine Knowledge. Assuming the truth of this hypothesis, "attainment unto the divine Presence" is in this sense obviously possible to no one, inasmuch as this revelation is confined to the innermost Essence, unto which no man can attain. "The way is barred, and all seeking rejected." The minds of the favourites of heaven, however high they soar, can never attain this station, how much less the understanding of obscured and limited minds.

151 And were they to say that by "divine Presence" is meant the "Secondary Revelation of God," interpreted as the "Holy Outpouring," this is admittedly applicable to the world of creation, that is, in the realm of the primal and original manifestation of God. Such revelation is confined to His Prophets and chosen Ones, inasmuch as none mightier than they hath come to exist in the world of being. This truth all recognize, and bear witness thereto. These Prophets and chosen Ones of God are the recipients and revealers of all the unchangeable attributes and names of God. They are the mirrors that truly and faithfully reflect the light of God. Whatsoever is applicable to them is in reality applicable to God, Himself, Who is both the Visible and the Invisible. The knowledge of Him, Who is the Origin of all things, and attainment unto Him, are impossible save through knowledge of, and attainment unto, these luminous Beings who proceed from the Sun of Truth. By attaining, therefore, to the presence of these holy Luminaries, the "Presence of God" Himself is attained. From their knowledge, the knowledge of God is revealed, and from the light of their countenance, the splendour of the Face of God is made manifest. Through the manifold attributes of these Essences of Detachment, Who are both the first and the last, the seen and the hidden, it is made evident that He Who is the Sun of Truth is "the First and the Last, the Seen, and the Hidden." (Koran 57:3) Likewise the other lofty names and exalted attributes of God. Therefore, whosoever, and in whatever Dispensation, hath recognized and attained unto the presence of these glorious, these resplendent and most excellent Luminaries, hath verily attained unto the "Presence of God" Himself, and entered the city of eternal and immortal life. Attainment unto such presence is possible only in the Day of Resurrection, which is the Day of the rise of God Himself through His all-embracing Revelation.

152 This is the meaning of the "Day of Resurrection," spoken of in all the scriptures, and announced unto all people. Reflect, can a more precious, a mightier, and more glorious day than this be conceived, so that man should willingly forego its grace, and deprive himself of its bounties, which like unto vernal showers are raining from the heaven of mercy upon all mankind? Having thus conclusively demonstrated that no day is greater than this Day, and no revelation more glorious than this Revelation, and having set forth all these weighty and infallible proofs which no understanding mind can question, and no man of learning overlook, how can man possibly, through the idle contention of the people of doubt and fancy, deprive himself of such a bountiful grace? Have they not heard the well-known tradition: "When the Qá'im riseth, that day is the Day of Resurrection?" In like manner, the Imáms, those unquenchable lights of divine guidance, have interpreted the verse: "What can such expect but that God should come down to them overshadowed with clouds," (Koran 2:210) —a sign which they have unquestionably regarded as one of the features of the Day of Resurrection—as referring to Qá'im and His manifestation.

153 Strive, therefore, O my brother, to grasp the meaning of "Resurrection," and cleanse thine ears from the idle sayings of these rejected people. Shouldst thou step into the realm of complete detachment, thou wilt readily testify that no day is mightier than this Day, and that no resurrection more awful than this Resurrection can ever be conceived. One righteous work performed in this Day, equalleth all the virtuous acts which for myriads of centuries men have practised—nay, We ask forgiveness of God for such a comparison! For verily the reward which such a deed deserveth is immensely beyond and above the estimate of men. Inasmuch as these undiscerning and wretched souls have failed to apprehend the true meaning of "Resurrection" and of the "attainment unto the divine Presence," they therefore have remained utterly deprived of the grace thereof. Although the sole and fundamental purpose of all learning, and the toil and labour thereof, is attainment unto, and the recognition of, this station, yet they are all immersed in the pursuit of their material studies. They deny themselves every moment of leisure, and utterly ignore Him, Who is the Essence of all learning, and the one Object of their quest! Methinks, their lips have never touched the cup of divine Knowledge, nor do they seem to have attained even a dewdrop of the showers of heavenly grace.

154 Consider, how can he that faileth in the day of God's Revelation to attain unto the grace of the "Divine Presence" and to recognize His Manifestation, be justly called learned, though he may have spent aeons in the pursuit of knowledge, and acquired all the limited and material learning of men? It is surely evident that he can in no wise be regarded as possessed of true knowledge. Whereas, the most unlettered of all men, if he be honoured with this supreme distinction, he verily is accounted as one of those divinely-learned men whose knowledge is of God; for such a man hath attained the acme of knowledge, and hath reached the furthermost summit of learning.

155 This station is also one of the signs of the Day of Revelation; even as it is said: "The abased amongst you, He shall exalt; and they that are exalted, He shall abase." And likewise, He hath revealed in the Koran: "And We desire to show favour to those who were brought low in the land, and to make them spiritual leaders among men, and to make of them Our heirs." (Koran 28:5) It hath been witnessed in this day how many of the divines, owing to their rejection of the Truth, have fallen into, and abide within, the uttermost depths of ignorance, and whose names have been effaced from the scroll of the glorious and learned. And how many of the ignorant who, by reason of their acceptance of the Faith, have soared aloft and attained the high summit of knowledge, and whose names have been inscribed by the Pen of Power upon the Tablet of divine Knowledge. Thus, "What He pleaseth will God abrogate or confirm: for with Him is the Source of Revelation." (Koran 13:41) Therefore, it hath been said: "To seek evidence, when the Proof hath been established is but an unseemly act, and to be busied with the pursuit of knowledge when the Object of all learning hath been attained is truly blameworthy." Say O people of the earth! Behold this flamelike Youth that speedeth across the limitless profound of the Spirit, heralding unto you the tidings: "Lo: the Lamp of God is shining," and summoning you to heed His Cause which, though hidden beneath the veils of ancient splendour, shineth in the land of 'Iráq above the day-spring of eternal holiness.

156 O my friend, were the bird of thy mind to explore the heavens of the Revelation of the Koran, were it to contemplate the realm of divine knowledge unfolded therein, thou wouldst assuredly find unnumbered doors of knowledge set open before thee. Thou wouldst certainly recognize that all these things which have in this day hindered this people from attaining the shores of the ocean of eternal grace, the same things in the Muhammadan Dispensation prevented the people of that age from recognizing that divine Luminary, and from testifying to His truth. Thou wilt also apprehend the mysteries of "return" and "revelation," and wilt securely abide within the loftiest chambers of certitude and assurance.

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157 And it came to pass that on a certain day a number of the opponents of that peerless Beauty, those that had strayed far from God's imperishable Sanctuary, scornfully spoke these words unto Muhammad: "Verily, God hath entered into a covenant with us that we are not to credit an apostle until he present us a sacrifice which fire out of heaven shall devour." (Koran 3:183) The purport of this verse is that God hath covenanted with them that they should not believe in any messenger unless he work the miracle of Abel and Cain, that is, offer a sacrifice, and the fire from heaven consume it; even as they had heard it recounted in the story of Abel, which story is recorded in the scriptures. To this, Muhammad, answering, said: "Already have Apostles before me come to you with sure testimonies, and with that of which ye speak. Wherefore slew ye them? Tell me, if ye are men of truth." (Koran 3:182) And now, be fair; How could those people living in the days of Muhammad have existed, thousands of years before, in the age of Adam or other Prophets? Why should Muhammad, that Essence of truthfulness, have charged the people of His day with the murder of Abel or other Prophets? Thou hast none other alternative except to regard Muhammad as an impostor or a fool—which God forbid!—or to maintain that those people of wickedness were the self-same people who in every age opposed and caviled at the Prophets and Messengers of God, till they finally caused them all to suffer martyrdom.

158 Ponder this in thine heart, that the sweet gales of divine knowledge, blowing from the meads of mercy, may waft upon thee the fragrance of the Beloved's utterance, and cause thy soul to attain the Ridván of understanding. As the wayward of every age have failed to fathom the deeper import of these weighty and pregnant utterances, and imagined the answer of the Prophets of God to be irrelevant to the questions they asked them, they therefore have attributed ignorance and folly to those Essences of knowledge and understanding.

159 Likewise, Muhammad, in another verse, uttereth His protest against the people of that age. He saith: "Although they had before prayed for victory over those who believed not, yet when there came unto them, He of Whom they had knowledge, they disbelieved in Him. The curse of God on the infidels!" (Koran 2:89) Reflect how this verse also implieth that the people living in the days of Muhammad were the same people who in the days of the Prophets of old contended and fought in order to promote the Faith, and teach the Cause, of God. And yet, how could the generations living at the time of Jesus and Moses, and those who lived in the days of Muhammad, be regarded as being actually one and the same people? Moreover, those whom they had formerly known were Moses, the Revealer of the Pentateuch, and Jesus, the Author of the Gospel. Notwithstanding, why did Muhammad say: "When He of Whom they had knowledge came unto them"—that is Jesus or Moses—"they disbelieved in Him?" Was not Muhammad to outward seeming called by a different name? Did He not come forth out of a different city? Did He not speak a different language, and reveal a different Law? How then can the truth of this 151 verse be established, and its meaning be made clear?

160 Strive therefore to comprehend the meaning of "return" which hath been so explicitly revealed in the Koran itself, and which none hath as yet understood. What sayest thou? If thou sayest that Muhammad was the "return" of the Prophets of old, as is witnessed by this verse, His Companions must likewise be the "return" of the bygone Companions, even as the "return" of the former people is clearly attested by the text of the above-mentioned verses. And if thou deniest this, thou hast surely repudiated the truth of the Koran, the surest testimony of God unto men. In like manner, endeavour to grasp the significance of "return," "revelation," and "resurrection," as witnessed in the days of the Manifestations of the divine Essence, that thou mayest behold with thine own eyes the "return" of the holy souls into sanctified and illumined bodies, and mayest wash away the dust of ignorance, and cleanse the darkened self with the waters of mercy flowing from the Source of divine Knowledge; that perchance thou mayest, through the power of God and the light of divine guidance, distinguish the Morn of everlasting splendour from the darksome night of error.

161 Furthermore, it is evident to thee that the Bearers of the trust of God are made manifest unto the peoples of the earth as the Exponents of a new Cause and the Bearers of a new Message. Inasmuch as these Birds of the Celestial Throne are all sent down from the heaven of the Will of God, and as they all arise to proclaim His irresistible Faith, they therefore are regarded as one soul and the same person. For they all drink from the one Cup of the love of God, and all partake of the fruit of the same Tree of Oneness. These Manifestations of God have each a twofold station. One is the station of pure abstraction and essential unity. In this respect, if thou callest them all by one name, and dost ascribe to them the same attribute, thou hast not erred from the truth. Even as He hath revealed: "No distinction do We make between any of His Messengers!" (Koran 2:285) For they one and all summon the people of the earth to acknowledge the Unity of God, and herald unto them the Kawthar of an infinite grace and bounty. They are all invested with the robe of Prophethood, and honoured with the mantle of glory. Thus hath Muhammad, the Point of the Koran, revealed: "I am all the Prophets." Likewise, He saith: "I am the first Adam, Noah, Moses, and Jesus." Similar statements have been made by 'Alí. Sayings such as this, which indicate the essential unity of those Exponents of Oneness, have also emanated from the Channels of God's immortal utterance, and the Treasuries of the gems of divine knowledge, and have been recorded in the scriptures. These Countenances are the recipients of the Divine Command, and the day-springs of His Revelation. This Revelation is exalted above the veils of plurality and the exigencies of number. Thus He saith: "Our Cause is but one." (Koran 54:50) Inasmuch as the Cause is one and the same, the Exponents thereof also must needs be one and the same. Likewise, the Imáms of the Muhammadan Faith, those lamps of certitude, have said: "Muhammad is our first, Muhammad our last, Muhammad our all."

162 It is clear and evident to thee that all the Prophets are the Temples of the Cause of God, Who have appeared clothed in divers attire. If thou wilt observe with discriminating eyes, thou wilt behold them all abiding in the same tabernacle, soaring in the same heaven, seated upon the same throne, uttering the same speech, and proclaiming the same Faith. Such is the unity of those Essences of being, those Luminaries of infinite and immeasurable splendour. Wherefore, should one of these Manifestations of Holiness proclaim saying: "I am the return of all the Prophets," He verily speaketh the truth. In like manner, in every subsequent Revelation, the return of the former Revelation is a fact, the truth of which is firmly established. Inasmuch as the return of the Prophets of God, as attested by verses and traditions, hath been conclusively demonstrated, the return of their chosen ones also is therefore definitely proven. This return is too manifest in itself to require any evidence or proof. For instance, consider that among the Prophets was Noah. When He was invested with the robe of Prophethood, and was moved by the Spirit of God to arise and proclaim His Cause, whoever believed in Him and acknowledged His Faith, was endowed with the grace of a new life. Of him it could be truly said that he was reborn and revived, inasmuch as previous to his belief in God and his acceptance of His Manifestation, he had set his affections on the things of the world, such as attachment to earthly goods, to wife, children, food, drink, and the like, so much so that in the day-time and in the night season his one concern had been to amass riches and procure for himself the means of enjoyment and pleasure. Aside from these things, before his partaking of the reviving waters of faith, he had been so wedded to the traditions of his forefathers, and so passionately devoted to the observance of their customs and laws, that he would have preferred to suffer death rather than violate one letter of those superstitious forms and manners current amongst his people. Even as the people have cried: "Verily we found our fathers with a faith, and verily, in their footsteps we follow." (Koran 43:22)

163 These same people, though wrapt in all these veils of limitation, and despite the restraint of such observances, as soon as they drank the immortal draught of faith, from the cup of certitude, at the hand of the Manifestation of the All-Glorious, were so transformed that they would renounce for His sake their kindred, their substance, their lives, their beliefs, yea, all else save God! So overpowering was their yearning for God, so uplifting their transports of ecstatic delight, that the world and all that is therein faded before their eyes into nothingness. Have not this people exemplified the mysteries of "rebirth" and "return"? Hath it not been witnessed that these same people, ere they were endued with the new and wondrous grace of God, sought through innumerable devices, to ensure the protection of their lives against destruction? Would not a thorn fill them with terror, and the sight of a fox put them to flight? But once having been honoured with God's supreme distinction, and having been vouchsafed His bountiful grace, they would, if they were able, have freely offered up ten thousand lives in His path! Nay, their blessed souls, contemptuous of the cage of their bodies, would yearn for deliverance. A single warrior of that host would face and fight a multitude! And yet, how could they, but for the transformation wrought in their lives, be capable of manifesting such deeds which are contrary to the ways of men and incompatible with their worldly desires?

164 It is evident that nothing short of this mystic transformation could cause such spirit and behaviour, so utterly unlike their previous habits and manners, to be made manifest in the world of being. For their agitation was turned into peace, their doubt into certitude, their timidity into courage. Such is the potency of the Divine Elixir, which, swift as the twinkling of an eye, transmuteth the souls of men!

165 For instance, consider the substance of copper. Were it to be protected in its own mine from becoming solidified, it would, within the space of seventy years, attain to the state of gold. There are some, however, who maintain that copper itself is gold, which by becoming solidified is in a diseased condition, and hath not therefore reached its own state.

166 Be that as it may, the real elixir will, in one instant, cause the substance of copper to attain the state of gold, and will traverse the seventy-year stages in a single moment. Could this gold be called copper? Could it be claimed that it hath not attained the state of gold, whilst the touch-stone is at hand to assay it and distinguish it from copper?

167 Likewise, these souls, through the potency of the Divine Elixir, traverse, in the twinkling of an eye, the world of dust and advance into the realm of holiness; and with one step cover the earth of limitations and reach the domain of the Placeless. It behooveth thee to exert thine utmost to attain unto this Elixir which, in one fleeting breath, causeth the west of ignorance to reach the east of knowledge, illuminates the darkness of night with the resplendence of the morn, guideth the wanderer in the wilderness of doubt to the well-spring of the Divine Presence and Fount of certitude, and conferreth upon mortal souls the honour of acceptance into the Ridván of immortality. Now, could this gold be thought to be copper, these people could likewise be thought to be the same as before they were endowed with faith.

168 O brother, behold how the inner mysteries of "rebirth," of "return," and of "resurrection" have each, through these all-sufficing, these unanswerable, and conclusive utterances, been unveiled and unravelled before thine eyes. God grant that through His gracious and invisible assistance, thou mayest divest thy body and soul of the old garment, and array thyself with the new and imperishable attire.

169 Therefore, those who in every subsequent Dispensation preceded the rest of mankind in embracing the Faith of God, who quaffed the clear waters of knowledge at the hand of the divine Beauty, and attained the loftiest summits of faith and certitude, these can be regarded, in name, in reality, in deeds, in words, and in rank, as the "return" of those who in a former Dispensation had achieved similar distinctions. For whatsoever the people of a former Dispensation have manifested, the same hath been shown by the people of this latter generation. Consider the rose: whether it blossometh in the East or in the West, it is none the less a rose. For what mattereth in this respect is not the outward shape and form of the rose, but rather the smell and fragrance which it doth impart.

170 Purge thy sight, therefore, from all earthly limitations, that thou mayest behold them all as the bearers of one Name, the exponents of one Cause, the manifestations of one Self, and the revealers of one Truth, and that thou mayest apprehend the mystic "return" of the Words of God as unfolded by these utterances. Reflect for a while upon the behaviour of the companions of the Muhammadan Dispensation. Consider how, through the reviving breath of Muhammad, they were cleansed from the defilements of earthly vanities, were delivered from selfish desires, and were detached from all else but Him. Behold how they preceded all the peoples of the earth in attaining unto His holy Presence—the Presence of God Himself—how they renounced the world and all that is therein, and sacrificed freely and joyously their lives at the feet of that Manifestation of the All-Glorious. And now, observe the "return" of the self-same determination, the self-same constancy and renunciation, manifested by the companions of the Point of the Bayán (The Báb). Thou hast witnessed how these companions have, through the wonders of the grace of the Lord of Lords, hoisted the standards of sublime renunciation upon the inaccessible heights of glory. These Lights have proceeded from but one Source, and these fruits are the fruits of one Tree. Thou canst discern neither difference nor distinction among them. All this is by the grace of God! On whom He will, He bestoweth His grace. Please God, that we avoid the land of denial, and advance into the ocean of acceptance, so that we may perceive, with an eye purged from all conflicting elements, the worlds of unity and diversity, of variation and oneness, of limitation and detachment, and wing our flight unto the highest and innermost sanctuary of the inner meaning of the Word of God.

171 From these statements therefore it hath been made evident and manifest that should a Soul in the "End that knoweth no end" be made manifest, and arise to proclaim and uphold a Cause which in "the Beginning that hath no beginning" another Soul had proclaimed and upheld, it can be truly declared of Him Who is the Last and of Him Who was the First that they are one and the same, inasmuch as both are the Exponents of one and the same Cause. For this reason, hath the Point of the Bayán—may the life of all else but Him be His sacrifice!—likened the Manifestations of God unto the sun which, though it rise from the "Beginning that hath no beginning" until the "End that knoweth no end," is none the less the same sun. Now, wert thou to say, that this sun is the former sun, thou speakest the truth; and if thou sayest that this sun is the "return" of that sun, thou also speakest the truth. Likewise, from this statement it is made evident that the term "last" is applicable to the "first," and the term "first" applicable to the "last;" inasmuch as both the "first" and the "last" have risen to proclaim one and the same Faith.

172 Notwithstanding the obviousness of this theme, in the eyes of those that have quaffed the wine of knowledge and

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certitude, yet how many are those who, through failure to understand its meaning, have allowed the term "Seal of the Prophets" to obscure their understanding, and deprive them of the grace of all His manifold bounties! Hath not Muḥammad, Himself, declared: "I am all the Prophets?" Hath He not said as We have already mentioned: "I am Adam, Noah, Moses, and Jesus?" Why should Muḥammad, that immortal Beauty, Who hath said: "I am the first Adam" be incapable of saying also: "I am the last Adam"? For even as He regarded Himself to be the "First of the Prophets"—that is Adam—in like manner, the "Seal of the Prophets" is also applicable unto that Divine Beauty. It is admittedly obvious that being the "First of the Prophets," He likewise is their "Seal."

173 The mystery of this theme hath, in this Dispensation, been a sore test unto all mankind. Behold, how many are those who, clinging unto these words, have disbelieved Him Who is their true Revealer. What, We ask, could this people presume the terms "first" and "last"—when referring to God—glorified be His Name!—to mean? If they maintain that these terms bear reference to this material universe, how could it be possible, when the visible order of things is still manifestly existing? Nay, in this instance, by "first" is meant no other than the "last" and by "last" no other than the "first."

174 Even as in the "Beginning that hath no beginnings" the term "last" is truly applicable unto Him who is the Educator of the visible and of the invisible, in like manner, are the terms "first" and "last" applicable unto His Manifestations. They are at the same time the Exponents of both the "first" and the "last." Whilst established upon the seat of the "first," they occupy the throne of the "last." Were a discerning eye to be found, it will readily perceive that the exponents of the "first" and the "last," of the "manifest" and the "hidden," of the "beginning" and the "seal" are none other than these holy Beings, these Essences of Detachment, these divine Souls. And wert thou to soar in the holy realm of "God was alone, there was none else besides Him," thou wilt find in that Court all these names utterly non-existent and completely forgotten. Then will thine eyes no longer be obscured by these veils, these terms, and allusions. How ethereal and lofty is this station, unto which even Gabriel, unshepherded, can never attain, and the Bird of Heaven, unassisted, can never reach!

175 And, now, strive thou to comprehend the meaning of this saying of ʻAlí, the Commander of the Faithful: "Piercing the veils of glory, unaided." Among these "veils of glory" are the divines and doctors living in the days of the Manifestation of God, who, because of their want of discernment and their love and eagerness for leadership, have failed to submit to the Cause of God, nay, have even refused to incline their ears unto the divine Melody. "They have thrust their fingers into their ears." (Koran 2:19) And the people also, utterly ignoring God and taking them for their masters, have placed themselves unreservedly under the authority of these pompous and hypocritical leaders, for they have no sight, no hearing, no heart, of their own to distinguish truth from falsehood.

176 Notwithstanding the divinely-inspired admonitions of all the Prophets, the Saints, and Chosen ones of God, enjoining the people to see with their own eyes and hear with their own ears, they have disdainfully rejected their counsels and have blindly followed, and will continue to follow, the leaders of their Faith. Should a poor and obscure person, destitute of the attire of men of learning, address them saying: "Follow ye, O people! the Messengers of God," (Koran 36:20) they would, greatly surprised at such a statement, reply: "What! Meanest thou that all these divines, all these exponents of learning, with all their authority, their pomp and pageantry, have erred, and failed to distinguish truth from falsehood? Dost thou, and people like thyself, pretend to have comprehended that which they have not understood?" If numbers and excellence of apparel be regarded as the criterions of learning and truth, the peoples of a bygone age, whom those of today have never surpassed in numbers, magnificence and power, should certainly be accounted a superior and worthier people.

177 It is clear and evident that whenever the Manifestations of Holiness were revealed, the divines of their day have hindered the people from attaining unto the way of truth. To this testify the records of all the scriptures and heavenly books. Not one Prophet of God was made manifest Who did not fall a victim to the relentless hate, to the denunciation, denial, and execration of the clerics of His day! Woe unto them for the iniquities their hands have formerly wrought! Woe unto them for that which they are now doing! What veils of glory more grievous than these embodiments of error! By the righteousness of God! to pierce such veils is the mightiest of all acts, and to rend them asunder the most meritorious of all deeds! May God assist us and assist you, O concourse of the Spirit! that perchance ye may in the time of His Manifestation be graciously aided to perform such deeds, and may in His days attain unto the Presence of God.

178 Furthermore, among the "veils of glory" are such terms as the "Seal of the Prophets" and the like, the removal of which is a supreme achievement in the sight of these base-born and erring souls. All, by reason of these mysterious sayings, these grievous "veils of glory," have been hindered from beholding the light of truth. Have they not heard the melody of that bird of Heaven, (Imám ʻAlí) uttering this mystery: "A thousand Fátimihs I have espoused, all of whom were the daughters of Muḥammad, Son of ʻAbdu'lláh, the 'Seal of the Prophets?'" Behold, how many are the mysteries that lie as yet unravelled within the tabernacle of the knowledge of God, and how numerous the gems of His wisdom that are still concealed in His inviolable treasuries! Shouldest thou ponder this in thine heart, thou wouldst realize that His handiwork knoweth neither beginning nor end. The domain of His decree is too vast for the tongue of mortals to describe, or for the bird of the human mind to traverse; and the dispensations of His providence are too mysterious for the mind of man to comprehend. His creation no end hath overtaken, and it hath ever existed from the "Beginning that hath no beginning"; and the Manifestations of His Beauty no beginning hath beheld, and they will continue to the "End that knoweth no end." Ponder this utterance in thine heart, and reflect how it is applicable unto all these holy Souls.

179 Likewise, strive thou to comprehend the meaning of the melody of that eternal beauty, Ḥusayn, son of ʻAlí, who, addressing Salmán, spoke words such as these: "I was with a thousand Adams, the interval between each and the next Adam was fifty thousand years, and to each one of these I declared 168 the Successorship conferred upon my father." He then recounteth certain details, until he saith: "I have fought one thousand battles in the path of God, the least and most insignificant of which was like the battle of Khaybar, in which battle my father fought and contended against the infidels." Endeavour now to apprehend from these two traditions the mysteries of "end," "return," and "creation without beginning or end."

180 O my beloved! Immeasurably exalted is the celestial Melody above the strivings of human ear to hear or mind to grasp its mystery! How can the helpless ant step into the court of the All-Glorious? And yet, feeble souls, through lack of understanding, reject these abstruse utterances, and question the truth of such traditions. Nay, none can comprehend them save those that are possessed of an understanding heart. Say, He is that End for Whom no end in all the universe can be imagined, and for Whom no beginning in the world of creation can be conceived. Behold, O concourse of the earth, the splendours of the End, revealed in the Manifestations of the Beginning!

181 How strange! These people with one hand cling to those verses of the Koran and those traditions of the people of certitude which they have found to accord with their inclinations and interests, and with the other reject those which are contrary to their selfish desires. "Believe ye then part of the Book, and deny part?" (Koran 2:85) How could ye judge that which ye understand not? Even as the Lord of being hath in His unerring Book, after speaking of the "Seal" in His exalted utterance: "Muḥammad is the Apostle of God and the Seal of the Prophets," (Koran 33:40) hath revealed unto all people the promise of "attainment unto the divine Presence." To this attainment to the presence of the immortal King testify the verses of the Book, some of which We have already mentioned. The one true God is My witness! Nothing more exalted or more explicit than "attainment unto the divine Presence" hath been revealed in the Koran. Well is it with him that hath attained thereunto, in the day wherein most of the people, even as ye witness, have turned away therefrom.

182 And yet, through the mystery of the former verse, they have turned away from the grace promised by the latter, despite the fact that "attainment unto the divine Presence" in the "Day of Resurrection" is explicitly stated in the Book. It hath been demonstrated and definitely established, through clear evidences, that by "Resurrection" is meant the rise of the Manifestation of God to proclaim His Cause, and by "attainment unto the divine Presence" is meant attainment unto the presence of His Beauty in the person of His Manifestation. For verily, "No vision taketh in Him, but He taketh in all vision." (Koran 6:103) Notwithstanding all these indubitable facts and lucid statements, they have foolishly clung to the term "seal," and remained utterly deprived of the recognition of Him Who is the Revealer of both the Seal and the Beginning, in the day of His presence. "If God should chastise men for their perverse doings, He would not leave upon the earth a moving thing! But to an appointed time doth He respite them." (Koran 16:61) But apart from all these things, had this people attained unto a drop of the crystal streams flowing from the words: "God doeth whatsoever He willeth, and ordaineth whatsoever He pleaseth," they would not have raised any unseemly cavils, such as these, against the focal Center of His Revelation. The Cause of God, all deeds and words, are held within the grasp of His power. "All things lie imprisoned within the hollow of His mighty Hand; all things are easy and possible unto Him." He accomplisheth whatsoever He willeth, and doeth all that He desireth. "Whoso sayeth 'why' or 'wherefore' hath spoken blasphemy!" Were these people to shake off the slumber of negligence and realize that which their hands have wrought, they would surely perish, and would of their own accord cast themselves into fire—their end and real abode. Have they not heard that which He hath revealed: "He shall not be asked of His doings?" (Koran 21:23) In the light of these utterances, how can man be so bold as to question Him, and busy himself with idle sayings?

183 Gracious God! So great is the folly and perversity of the people, that they have turned their face toward their own thoughts and desires, and have turned their back upon the knowledge and will of God—hallowed and glorified be His name!

184 Be fair: Were these people to acknowledge the truth of these luminous words and holy allusions, and recognise God as "Him that doeth whatsoever He pleaseth," how could they continue to cleave unto these glaring absurdities? Nay, with all their soul, they would accept and submit to whatsoever He saith. I swear by God! But for the divine Decree, and the inscrutable dispensations of Providence, the earth itself would have utterly destroyed all this people! "He will, however, respite them until the appointed time of a known day."

185 Twelve hundred and eighty years have passed since the dawn of the Muḥammadan Dispensation, and with every break of day, these blind and ignoble people have recited their Koran, and yet have failed to grasp one letter of that Book! Again and again they read those verses which clearly testify to the reality of these holy themes, and bear witness to the truth of the Manifestations of eternal Glory, and still apprehend not their purpose. They have even failed to realize, all this time, that, in every age, the reading of the scriptures and holy books is for no other purpose except to enable the reader to apprehend their meaning and unravel their innermost mysteries. Otherwise reading, without understanding, is of no abiding profit unto man.

186 And it came to pass that on a certain day a needy man came to visit this Soul, craving for the ocean of His knowledge. While conversing with him, mention was made concerning the signs of the Day of Judgement, Resurrection, Revival, and Reckoning. He urged Us to explain how, in this wondrous Dispensation, the peoples of the world were brought to a reckoning, when none were made aware of it. Thereupon, We imparted unto him, according to the measure of his capacity and understanding, certain truths of Science and ancient Wisdom. We then asked him saying: "Hast thou not read the Koran, and art thou not aware of this blessed verse: 'On that day shall neither man nor spirit be asked of his Sin?' (Koran 55:39) Dost thou not realize that by 'asking' is not meant asking by tongue or speech, even as the verse itself doth indicate and prove? For afterward it is said: 'By their countenance shall the sinners be known, and they shall be seized by their forelocks and their feet.'" (Koran 55:41)

187 Thus the peoples of the world are judged by their countenance. By it, their misbelief, their faith, and their iniquity are all made manifest. Even as it is evident in this day how the people of error are, by their countenance, known and distinguished from the followers of divine Guidance. Were these people, wholly for the sake of God and with no desire but His good-pleasure, to ponder the verses of the Book in their heart, they would of a certainty find whatsoever they seek. In its verses would they find revealed and manifest all the things, be they great or small, that have come to pass in this Dispensation. They would even recognize in them references unto the departure of the Manifestations of the names and attributes of God from out their native land; to the opposition and disdainful arrogance of government and people; and to the dwelling and establishment of the Universal Manifestation in an appointed and specially designated land. No man, however, can comprehend this except he who is possessed of an understanding heart.

188 We seal Our theme with that which was formerly revealed unto Muḥammad that the seal thereof may shed the fragrance of that holy musk which leadeth men unto the Ridvan of unfading splendour. He said, and His Word is the truth: "And God calleth to the Abode of Peace (Baghdad); and He guideth whom He will into the right way." (Koran 10:25) "For them is an Abode of Peace with their Lord! and He shall be their Protector because of their works." (Koran 6:127) This He hath revealed that His grace may encompass the world. Praise be to God, the Lord of all being!

189 We have variously and repeatedly set forth the meaning of every theme, that perchance every soul, whether high or low, may obtain, according to his measure and capacity, his share and portion thereof. Should he be unable to comprehend a certain argument, he may, thus, by referring unto another, attain his purpose. "That all sorts of men may know where to quench their thirst."

190 By God! This Bird of Heaven, now dwelling upon the dust, can, besides these melodies, utter a myriad songs, and is able, apart from these utterances, to unfold innumerable mysteries. Every single note of its unpronounced utterances is immeasurably exalted above all that hath already been revealed, and immensely glorified beyond that which hath streamed from this Pen. Let the future disclose the hour when

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the Brides of inner meaning will, as decreed by the Will of God, hasten forth, unveiled, out of their mystic mansions, and manifest themselves in the ancient realm of being. Nothing whatsoever is possible without His permission; no power can endure save through His power, and there is none other God but He. His is the world of creation, and His the Cause of God. All proclaim His Revelation, and all unfold the mysteries of His Spirit.

191 We have already in the foregoing pages assigned two stations unto each of the Luminaries arising from the Daysprings of eternal holiness. One of these stations, the station of essential unity, We have already explained. "No distinction do We make between any of them." (Koran 2:136) The other is the station of distinction, and pertaineth to the world of creation and to the limitations thereof. In this respect, each Manifestation of God hath a distinct individuality, a definitely prescribed mission, a predestined Revelation, and specially designated limitations. Each one of them is known by a different name, is characterised by a special attribute, fulfils a definite Mission, and is entrusted with a particular Revelation. Even as He saith: "Some of the Apostles We have caused to excel the others. To some God hath spoken, some He hath raised and exalted. And to Jesus, Son of Mary, We gave manifest signs, and We strengthened Him with the Holy Spirit." (Koran 2:253)

192 It is because of this difference in their station and mission that the words and utterances flowing from these Well-springs of divine knowledge appear to diverge and differ. Otherwise, in the eyes of them that are initiated into the mysteries of divine wisdom, all their utterances are in reality but the expressions of one Truth. As most of the people have failed to appreciate those stations to which We have referred, they therefore feel perplexed and dismayed at the varying utterances pronounced by Manifestations that are essentially one and the same.

193 It hath ever been evident that all these divergences of utterance are attributable to differences of station. Thus, viewed from the standpoint of their oneness and sublime detachment, the attributes of Godhead, Divinity, Supreme Singleness, and Inmost Essence, have been and are applicable to those Essences of being, inasmuch as they all abide on the throne of divine Revelation, and are established upon the seat of divine Concealment. Through their appearance the Revelation of God is made manifest, and by their countenance the Beauty of God is revealed. Thus it is that the accents of God Himself have been heard uttered by these Manifestations of the divine Being.

194 Viewed in the light of their second station—the station of distinction, differentiation, temporal limitations, characteristics and standards,—they manifest absolute servitude, utter destitution and complete self-effacement. Even as He saith: "I am the servant of God. (Koran 19:31) I am but a man like you." (Koran 18:110)

195 From these incontrovertible and fully demonstrated statements strive thou to apprehend the meaning of the questions thou hast asked, that thou mayest become steadfast in the Faith of God, and not be dismayed by the divergences in the utterances of His Prophets and Chosen Ones.

196 Were any of the all-embracing Manifestations of God to declare: "I am God!" He verily speaketh the truth, and no doubt attacheth thereto. For it hath been repeatedly demonstrated that through their Revelation, their attributes and names, the Revelation of God, His name and His attributes, are made manifest in the world. Thus, He hath revealed: "Those shafts were God's, not Thine!" (Koran 8:17) And also He saith: "In truth, they who plighted fealty unto thee, really plighted that fealty unto God." (Koran 48:10) And were any of them to voice the utterance: "I am the Messenger of God," He also speaketh the truth, the indubitable truth. Even as He saith: "Muḥammad is not the father of any man among you, but He is the Messenger of God." (Koran 33:40) Viewed in this light, they are all but Messengers of that ideal King, that unchangeable Essence. And were they all to proclaim: "I am the Seal of the Prophets," they verily utter but the truth, beyond the faintest shadow of doubt. For they are all but one person, one soul, one spirit, one being, one revelation. They are all the manifestation of the "Beginning" and the "End," the "First" and the "Last," the "Seen" and "Hidden"—all of which pertain to Him Who is the innermost Spirit of Spirits and eternal Essence of Essences. And were they to say: "We are the servants of God," this also is a manifest and indisputable fact. For they have been made manifest in the uttermost state of servitude, a servitude the like of which no man can possibly attain. Thus in moments in which these Essences of being were deeply immersed beneath the oceans of ancient and everlasting holiness, or when they soared to the loftiest summits of divine mysteries, they claimed their utterance to be the Voice of divinity, the Call of God Himself. Were the eye of discernment to be opened, it would recognise that in this very state, they have considered themselves utterly effaced and non-existent in the face of Him Who is the All-Pervading, the Incorruptible. Methinks, they have regarded themselves as utter nothingness, and deemed their mention in that Court an act of blasphemy. For the slightest whispering of self, within such a Court, is an evidence of self-assertion and independent existence. In the eyes of them that have attained unto that Court, such a suggestion is itself a grievous transgression. How much more grievous would it be, were aught else to be mentioned in that Presence, were man's heart, his tongue, his mind, or his soul, to be busied with anyone but the Well-Beloved, were his eyes to behold any countenance other than His beauty, were his ear to be inclined to any melody but His voice, and were his feet to tread any way but His way.

197 In this day the breeze of God is wafted, and His Spirit hath pervaded all things. Such is the outpouring of His grace that the pen is stilled and the tongue is speechless.

198 By virtue of this station, they have claimed for themselves the Voice of Divinity and the like, whilst by virtue of their station of Messengership, they have declared themselves the Messengers of God. In every instance they have voiced an utterance that would conform to the requirements of the occasion, and have ascribed all these declarations to Themselves, declarations ranging from the realm of divine Revelation to the realm of creation, and from the domain of Divinity even unto the domain of earthly existence. Thus it is that whatsoever be their utterance, whether it pertain to the realm of Divinity, Lordship, Prophethood, Messengership, Guardianship, Apostleship or Servitude, all is true, beyond the shadow of a doubt. Therefore, these sayings which We have quoted in support of Our argument must be attentively considered, that the divergent utterances of the Manifestations of the Unseen and Daysprings of Holiness may cease to agitate the soul and perplex the mind.

199 Those words uttered by the Luminaries of Truth must needs be pondered, and should their significance be not grasped, enlightenment should be sought from the Trustees of the depositories of Knowledge, that these may expound their meaning, and unravel their mystery. For it behooveth no man to interpret the holy words according to his own imperfect understanding, nor, having found them to be contrary to his inclination and desires, to reject and repudiate their truth. For such, today, is the manner of the divines and doctors of the age, who occupy the seats of knowledge and learning, and who have named ignorance knowledge, and called oppression justice. Were these to ask the Light of Truth concerning those images which their idle fancy hath carved, and were they to find His answer inconsistent with their own conceptions and their own understanding of the Book, they would assuredly denounce Him Who is the Mine and Wellhead of all Knowledge as the very negation of understanding. Such things have happened in every age.

200 For instance, when Muḥammad, the Lord of being, was questioned concerning the new moons, He, as bidden by God, made reply: "They are periods appointed unto men." (Koran 2:189) Thereupon, they that heard Him denounced Him as an ignorant man.

201 Likewise, in the verse concerning the "Spirit," He saith: "And they will ask Thee of the Spirit. Say, 'the Spirit proceedeth at My Lord's command.'" (Koran 17:85) As soon as Muḥammad's answer was given, they all clamorously protested, saying: "Lo! an ignorant man who knoweth not what the Spirit is, calleth Himself the Revealer of divine Knowledge!" And now behold the divines of the age who, because of their being honoured by His name, and finding that their fathers have acknowledged His Revelation, have blindly submitted to His truth. Observe, were this people today to receive such answers in reply to such questionings, they would unhesitatingly reject and denounce them—nay, they would again utter the self-same cavils, even as they have uttered them in this day. All this, notwithstanding the fact that these Essences of being are immensely exalted above such fanciful images, and are immeasurably glorified beyond all these vain sayings and above the comprehension of every understanding heart. Their so-called learning, when compared with that Knowledge, is utter falsehood, and all their understanding naught but blatant error. Nay, whatsoever proceedeth from these Mines of divine Wisdom and these Treasuries of eternal knowledge is truth, and naught else but the truth. The saying: "Knowledge is one point, which the foolish have multiplied" is a proof of Our argument, and the tradition: "Knowledge is a light which God sheddeth into the heart of whomsoever He willeth" a confirmation of Our statement.

202 Inasmuch as they have not apprehended the meaning of Knowledge, and have called by that name those images fashioned by their own fancy and which have sprung from the embodiments of ignorance, they therefore have inflicted upon the Source of Knowledge that which thou hast heard and witnessed.

203 For instance, a certain man, (Hájí Mírzá Karím Khán) reputed for his learning and attainments, and accounting himself as one of the pre-eminent leaders of his people, hath in his book denounced and vilified all the exponents of true learning. This is made abundantly clear by his explicit statements as well as by his allusions throughout his book. As We had frequently heard about him, We purposed to read some of his works. Although We never felt disposed to peruse other peoples' writings, yet as some had questioned Us concerning him, We felt it necessary to refer to his books, in order that We might answer Our questioners with knowledge and understanding. His works, in the Arabic tongue, were, however, not available, until one day a certain man informed Us that one of his compositions, entitled Irshadu'l-'Avám, (Guidance unto the ignorant.) could be found in this city. From this title We perceived the odour of conceit and vainglory, inasmuch as he hath imagined himself a learned man and regarded the rest of the people ignorant. His worth was in fact made known by the very title he had chosen for his book. It became evident that its author was following the path of self and desire, and was lost in the wilderness of ignorance and folly. Methinks, he had forgotten the well-known tradition which sayeth: "Knowledge is all that is knowable; and might and power, all creation." Notwithstanding, We sent for the book, and kept it with Us a few days. It was probably referred to twice. The second time, We accidentally came upon the story of the "Mi'ráj" (Ascent) of Muḥammad, of Whom was spoken: "But for Thee, I would not have created the spheres." We noticed that he had enumerated some twenty or more sciences, the knowledge of which he considered to be essential for the comprehension of the mystery of the "Mi'ráj". We gathered from his statements that unless a man be deeply versed in them all, he can never attain to a proper understanding of this transcendent and exalted theme. Among the specified sciences were the science of metaphysical abstractions, of alchemy, and natural magic. Such vain and discarded learnings, this man hath regarded as the pre-requisites of the understanding of the sacred and abiding mysteries of divine Knowledge.

204 Gracious God! Such is the measure of his understanding. And yet, behold what cavils and calumnies he hath heaped upon those Embodiments of God's infinite knowledge! How well and true is the saying: "Flingest thou thy calumnies unto the face of Them Whom the one true God hath made the Trustees of the treasures of His seventh sphere?" Not one understanding heart or mind, not one among the wise and learned, hath taken notice of these preposterous statements. And yet, how clear and evident it is to every discerning heart that this so-called learning is and hath ever been, rejected by Him Who is the one true God. How can the knowledge of these sciences, which are so contemptible in the eyes of the truly learned, be regarded as essential to the apprehension of the mysteries of the "Mi'ráj," whilst the Lord of the "Mi'ráj" Himself was never burdened with a single letter of these limited and obscure learnings, and never defiled His radiant heart with any of these fanciful illusions? How truly hath he said: "All human attainment moveth upon a lame ass, whilst Truth, riding upon the wind, darteth across space." By the righteousness of God! Whoso desireth to fathom the mystery of this "Mi'ráj," and craveth a drop from this ocean, if the mirror of his heart be already obscured by the dust of these learnings, he must needs cleanse and purify it ere the light of this mystery can be reflected therein.

205 In this day, they that are submerged beneath the ocean of ancient Knowledge, and dwell within the ark of divine wisdom, forbid the people such idle pursuits. Their shining breasts are, praise be to God, sanctified from every trace of such learning, and are exalted above such grievous veils. We have consumed this densest of all veils, with the fire of the love of the Beloved—the veil referred to in the saying: "The most grievous of all veils is the veil of knowledge." Upon its ashes, We have reared the tabernacle of divine knowledge. We have, praise be to God, burned the "veils of glory" with the fire of the beauty of the Best-Beloved. We have driven from the human heart all else but Him Who is the Desire of the world, and glory therein. We cleave to no knowledge but His Knowledge, and set our hearts on naught save the effulgent glories of His light.

206 We were surprised exceedingly when We observed that his one purpose was to make the people realize that all these learnings were possessed by him. And yet, I swear by God that not one breath, blowing from the meads of divine knowledge, hath ever been wafted upon his soul, nor hath he ever unravelled a single mystery of ancient wisdom. Nay, were the meaning of Knowledge ever to be expounded unto him, dismay would fill his heart, and his whole being would shake to its foundation. Notwithstanding his base and senseless statements, behold to what heights of extravagance his claims have reached!

207 Gracious God! How great is Our amazement at the way the people have gathered around him, and have borne allegiance to his person! Content with transient dust, these people have turned their face unto it, and cast behind their backs Him Who is the Lord of Lords. Satisfied with the croaking of the crow and enamoured with the visage of the raven, they have renounced the melody of the nightingale and the charm of the rose. What unspeakable fallacies the perusal of this pretentious book hath revealed! They are too unworthy for any pen to describe, and too base for one moment's attention. Should a touchstone be found, however,

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it would instantly distinguish truth from falsehood, light from darkness, and sun from shadow.

208 Among the sciences which this pretender hath professed is that of alchemy. We cherish the hope that either a king or a man of preeminent power may call upon him to translate this science from the realm of fancy to the domain of fact and from the plane of mere pretension to that of actual achievement. Would that this unlearned and humble Servant, who never laid any pretension to such things, nor even regarded them as the criterion of true knowledge, might undertake the same task, that thereby the truth might be known and distinguished from falsehood. But of what avail! All this generation could offer Us were wounds from its darts, and the only cup it proffered to Our lips was the cup of its venom. On our neck We still bear the scar of chains, and upon Our body are imprinted the evidences of an unyielding cruelty.

209 And as to this man's attainments, his ignorance, understanding and belief, behold what the Book which embraceth all things hath revealed; "Verily, the tree of Zaqqúm (Infernal tree) shall be the food of the Áthím." (27.Sinner or sinful. Koran 44:43–44) And then follow certain verses, until He saith: "Taste this, for thou forsooth art the mighty Karím!" (Honourable—Koran 44:49) Consider how clearly and explicitly he hath been described in God's incorruptible Book! This man, moreover, feigning humility, hath in his own book referred to himself as the "áthim servant": "Áthím" in the Book of God, mighty among the common herd, "Karím" in name!

210 Ponder the blessed verse, so that the meaning of the words: "There is neither a thing green nor sere but it is noted in the unerring Book," (Koran 6:59) may be imprinted upon the tablet of thy heart. Notwithstanding, a multitude bear him allegiance. They have rejected the Moses of knowledge and justice, and clung to the Samírí (A magician contemporary with Moses) of ignorance. They have turned away their eyes from the Day-star of truth which shineth in the divine and everlasting heaven, and have utterly ignored its splendour.

211 O my brother! A divine Mine only can yield the gems of divine knowledge, and the fragrance of the mystic Flower can be inhaled only in the ideal Garden, and the lilies of ancient wisdom can blossom nowhere except in the city of a stainless heart. "In a rich soil, its plants spring forth abundantly by permission of its Lord, and in that soil which is bad, they spring forth but scantily." (Koran 7:57)

212 Inasmuch as it hath been clearly shown that only those who are initiated into the divine mysteries can comprehend the melodies uttered by the Bird of Heaven, it is therefore incumbent upon every one to seek enlightenment from the illumined in heart and from the Treasuries of divine mysteries regarding the intricacies of God's Faith and the abstruse allusions in the utterances of the Day-springs of Holiness. Thus will these mysteries be unravelled, not by the aid of acquired learning, but solely through the assistance of God and the outpourings of His grace. "Ask ye, therefore, of them that have the custody of the Scriptures, if ye know it not." (Koran 16:43)

213 But, O my brother, when a true seeker determineth to take the step of search in the path leading to the knowledge of the Ancient of Days, he must, before all else, cleanse and purify his heart, which is the seat of the revelation of the inner mysteries of God, from the obscuring dust of all acquired knowledge, and the allusions of the embodiments of satanic fancy. He must purge his breast, which is the sanctuary of the abiding love of the Beloved, of every defilement, and sanctify his soul from all that pertaineth to water and clay, from all shadowy and ephemeral attachments. He must so cleanse his heart that no remnant of either love or hate may linger therein, lest that love blindly incline him to error, or that hate repel him away from the truth. Even as thou dost witness in this day how most of the people, because of such love and hate, are bereft of the immortal Face, have strayed far from the Embodiments of the divine mysteries, and, shepherdless, are roaming through the wilderness of oblivion and error. That seeker must at all times put his trust in God, must renounce the peoples of the earth, detach himself from the world of dust, and cleave unto Him Who is the Lord of Lords. He must never seek to exalt himself above any one, must wash away from the tablet of his heart every trace of pride and vainglory, must cling unto patience and resignation, observe silence, and refrain from idle talk. For the tongue is a smouldering fire, and excess of speech a deadly poison. Material fire consumeth the body, whereas the fire of the tongue devoureth both heart and soul. The force of the former lasteth but for a time, whilst the effects of the latter endure a century.

214 That seeker should also regard backbiting as grievous error, and keep himself aloof from its dominion, inasmuch as backbiting quencheth the light of the heart, and extinguisheth the life of the soul. He should be content with little, and be freed from all inordinate desire. He should 194 treasure the companionship of those that have renounced the world, and regard avoidance of boastful and worldly people a precious benefit. At the dawn of every day he should commune with God, and with all his soul persevere in the quest of his Beloved. He should consume every wayward thought with the flame of His loving mention, and, with the swiftness of lightning, pass by all else save Him. He should succour the dispossessed, and never withhold his favour from the destitute. He should show kindness to animals, how much more unto his fellow-man, to him who is endowed with the power of utterance. He should not hesitate to offer up his life for his Beloved, nor allow the censure of the people to turn him away from the Truth. He should not wish for others that which he doth not wish for himself, nor promise that which he doth not fulfil. With all his heart should the seeker avoid fellowship with evil doers, and pray for the remission of their sins. He should forgive the sinful, and never despise his low estate, for none knoweth what his own end shall be. How often hath a sinner, at the hour of death, attained to the essence of faith, and, quaffing the immortal draught, hath taken his flight unto the celestial Concourse. And how often hath a devout believer, at the hour of his soul's ascension, been so changed as to fall into the nethermost fire. Our purpose in revealing these convincing and weighty utterances is to impress upon the seeker that he should regard all else beside God as transient, and count all things save Him, Who is the Object of all adoration, as utter nothingness.

215 These are among the attributes of the exalted, and constitute the hall-mark of the spiritually-minded. They have already been mentioned in connection with the requirements of the wayfarers that tread the Path of Positive Knowledge. When the detached wayfarer and sincere seeker hath fulfilled these essential conditions, then and only then can he be called a true seeker. Whensoever he hath fulfilled the conditions implied in the verse: "Whoso maketh efforts for Us," (Koran 29:69) he shall enjoy the blessing conferred by the words: "In Our ways shall We assuredly guide him." (Koran 29:69)

216 Only when the lamp of search, of earnest striving, of longing desire, of passionate devotion, of fervid love, of rapture, and ecstasy, is kindled within the seeker's heart, and the breeze of His 196 loving-kindness is wafted upon his soul, will the darkness of error be dispelled, the mists of doubts and misgivings be dissipated, and the lights of knowledge and certitude envelop his being. At that hour will the mystic Herald, bearing the joyful tidings of the Spirit, shine forth from the City of God resplendent as the morn, and, through the trumpet-blast of knowledge, will awaken the heart, the soul, and the spirit from the slumber of negligence. Then will the manifold favours and outpouring grace of the holy and everlasting Spirit confer such new life upon the seeker that he will find himself endowed with a new eye, a new ear, a new heart, and a new mind. He will contemplate the manifest signs of the universe, and will penetrate the hidden mysteries of the soul. Gazing with the eye of God, he will perceive within every atom a door that leadeth him to the stations of absolute certitude. He will discover in all things the mysteries of divine Revelation and the evidences of an everlasting manifestation.

217 I swear by God! Were he that treadeth the path of guidance and seeketh to scale the heights of righteousness to attain unto this glorious and supreme station, he would inhale at a distance of a thousand leagues the fragrance of God, and would perceive the resplendent morn of a divine Guidance rising above the dayspring of all things. Each and every thing, however small, would be to him a revelation, leading him to his Beloved, the Object of his quest. So great shall be the discernment of this seeker that he will discriminate between truth and falsehood even as he doth distinguish the sun from shadow. If in the uttermost corners of the East the sweet savours of God be wafted, he will assuredly recognize and inhale their fragrance, even though he be dwelling in the uttermost ends of the West. He will likewise clearly distinguish all the signs of God—His wondrous utterances, His great works, and mighty deeds—from the doings, words and ways of men, even as the jeweller who knoweth the gem from the stone, or the man who distinguisheth the spring from autumn and heat from cold. When the channel of the human soul is cleansed of all worldly and impeding attachments, it will unfailingly perceive the breath of the Beloved across immeasurable distances, and will, led by its perfume, attain and enter the City of Certitude. Therein he will discern the wonders of His ancient wisdom, and will perceive all the hidden teachings from the rustling leaves of the Tree—which flourisheth in that City. With both his inner and his outer ear he will hear from its dust the hymns of glory and praise ascending unto the Lord of Lords, and with his inner eye will he discover the mysteries of "return" and "revival." How unspeakably glorious are the signs, the tokens, the revelations, and splendours which He Who is the King of names and attributes hath destined for that City! The attainment of this City quencheth thirst without water, and kindleth the love of God without fire. Within every blade of grass are enshrined the mysteries of an inscrutable wisdom, and upon every rose-bush a myriad nightingales pour out, in blissful rapture, their melody. Its wondrous tulips unfold the mystery of the undying Fire in the Burning Bush, and its sweet savours of holiness breathe the perfume of the Messianic Spirit. It bestoweth wealth without gold, and conferreth immortality without death. In every leaf ineffable delights are treasured, and within every chamber unnumbered mysteries lie hidden.

218 They that valiantly labour in quest of God's will, when once they have renounced all else but Him, will be so attached and wedded to that City that a moment's separation from it would to them be unthinkable. They will hearken unto infallible proofs from the Hyacinth of that assembly, and receive the surest testimonies from the beauty of its Rose and the melody of its Nightingale. Once in about a thousand years shall this City be renewed and re-adorned.

219 Wherefore, O my friend, it behooveth Us to exert the highest endeavour to attain unto that City, and, by the grace of God and His loving-kindness, rend asunder the "veils of glory"; so that, with inflexible steadfastness, we may sacrifice our drooping souls in the path of the New Beloved. We should with tearful eyes, fervently and repeatedly, implore Him to grant us the favour of that grace. That city is none other than the Word of God revealed in every age and dispensation. In the days of Moses it was the Pentateuch; in the days of Jesus the Gospel; in the days of Muḥammad the Messenger of God the Koran; in this day the Bayán; and in the dispensation of Him Whom God will make manifest His own Book—the Book unto which all the Books of former Dispensations must needs be referred, the Book which standeth amongst them all transcendent and supreme. In these cities spiritual sustenance is bountifully provided, and incorruptible delights have been ordained. The food they bestow is the bread of heaven, and the Spirit they impart is God's imperishable blessing. Upon detached souls they bestow the gift of Unity, enrich the destitute, and offer the cup of knowledge unto them who wander in the wilderness of ignorance. All the guidance, the blessings, the learning, the understanding, the faith, and certitude, conferred upon all that is in heaven and on earth, are hidden and treasured within these Cities.

220 For instance, the Koran was an impregnable stronghold unto the people of Muḥammad. In His days, whosoever entered therein, was shielded from the devilish assaults, the menacing darts, the soul-devouring doubts, and blasphemous whisperings of the enemy. Upon him was also bestowed a portion of the everlasting and goodly fruits—the fruits of wisdom, from the divine Tree. To him was given to drink the incorruptible waters of the river of knowledge, and to taste the wine of the mysteries of divine Unity.

221 All the things that people required in connection with the Revelation of Muḥammad and His laws were to be found revealed and manifest in that Riḍván of resplendent glory. That Book constitutes an abiding testimony to its people after Muḥammad, inasmuch as its decrees are indisputable, and its promise unfailing. All have been enjoined to follow the precepts of that Book until "the year sixty" (The year 1882 A.D., the year of the Báb's Declaration.) —the year of the advent of God's wondrous Manifestation. That Book is the Book which unfailingly leadeth the seeker unto the Riḍván of the divine Presence, and causeth him that hath forsaken his country and is treading the seeker's path to enter the Tabernacle of everlasting reunion. Its guidance can never err, its testimony no other testimony can excel. All other traditions, all other books and records, are bereft of such distinction, inasmuch as both the traditions and they that have spoken them are confirmed and proven solely by the text of that Book. Moreover, the traditions themselves grievously differ, and their obscurities are manifold.

222 Muḥammad, Himself, as the end of His mission drew nigh, spoke these words: "Verily, I leave amongst you My twin weighty testimonies: The Book of God and My Family." Although many traditions had been revealed by that Source of Prophethood and Mine of divine Guidance, yet He mentioned only that Book, thereby appointing it as the mightiest instrument and surest testimony for the seekers; a guide for the people until the Day of Resurrection.

223 With unswerving vision, with pure heart, and sanctified spirit, consider attentively what God hath established as the testimony of guidance for His people in His Book, which is recognized as authentic by both the high and lowly. To this testimony we both, as well as all the peoples of the world, must cling, that through its light we may know and distinguish between truth and falsehood, guidance and error. Inasmuch as Muḥammad hath confined His testimonies to His Book and to His Family, and whereas the latter hath passed away, there remaineth His Book only as His one testimony amongst the people.

224 In the beginning of His Book He saith: "Alif. Lám. Mím. No doubt is there about this Book: It is a guidance unto the God-fearing." (Koran 2:1) In the disconnected letters of the Koran the mysteries of the divine Essence are enshrined, and within their shells the pearls of His Unity are treasured. For lack of space We do not dwell upon them at this moment. Outwardly they signify Muḥammad Himself, Whom God addresseth saying: "O Muḥammad, there is no doubt nor uncertainty about this Book which hath been sent down from the heaven of divine Unity. In it is guidance unto them that fear God." Consider, how He hath appointed and decreed this

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self-same Book, the Koran, as a guidance unto all that are in heaven and on earth. He, the divine Being, and unknowable Essence, hath, Himself, testified that this Book is, beyond all doubt and uncertainty, the guide of all mankind until the Day of Resurrection. And now, We ask, is it fair for this people to view with doubt and misgiving this most weighty Testimony, the divine origin of which God hath proclaimed, and pronounced it to be the embodiment of truth? Is it fair for them to turn away from the thing which He hath appointed as the supreme Instrument of guidance for attainment unto the loftiest summits of knowledge, and to seek aught else but that Book? How can they allow men's absurd and foolish sayings to sow the seeds of distrust in their minds? How can they any longer idly contend that a certain person hath 204 spoken this or that way, or that a certain thing did not come to pass? Had there been anything conceivable besides the Book of God which could prove a more potent instrument and a surer guide to mankind, would He have failed to reveal it in that verse?

225 It is incumbent upon us not to depart from God's irresistible injunction and fixed decree, as revealed in the above-mentioned verse. We should acknowledge the holy and wondrous Scriptures, for failing to do this we have failed to acknowledge the truth of this blessed verse. For it is evident that whoso hath failed to acknowledge the truth of the Koran hath in reality failed to acknowledge the truth of the preceding Scriptures. This is but the manifest implication of the verse. Were We to expound its inner meanings and unfold its hidden mysteries, eternity would never suffice to exhaust their import, nor would the universe be capable of hearing them! God verily testifieth to the truth of Our saying!

226 In another passage He likewise saith: "And if ye be in doubt as to that which We have sent down to Our Servant, then produce a Súrah like it, and summon your witnesses, beside God, if ye are men of truth." (Koran 2:23) Behold, how lofty is the station, and how consummate the virtue, of these verses which He hath declared to be His surest testimony, His infallible proof, the evidence of His all-subduing power, and a revelation of the potency of His will. He, the divine King, hath proclaimed the undisputed supremacy of the verses of His Book over all things that testify to His truth. For compared with all other proofs and tokens, the divinely-revealed verses shine as the sun, whilst all others are as stars. To the peoples of the world they are the abiding testimony, the incontrovertible proof, the shining light of the ideal King. Their excellence is unrivalled, their virtue nothing can surpass. They are the treasury of the divine pearls and the depository of the divine mysteries. They constitute the indissoluble Bond, the firm Cord, the Urvatu'l-Vuthqá, the inextinguishable Light. Through them floweth the river of divine knowledge, and gloweth the fire of His ancient and consummate wisdom. This is the fire which, in one and the same moment, kindleth the flame of love in the breasts of the faithful, and induceth the chill of heedlessness in the heart of the enemy.

227 O friend! It behooveth us not to waive the injunction of God, but rather acquiesce and submit to that which He hath ordained as His divine Testimony. This verse is too weighty and pregnant an utterance for this afflicted soul to demonstrate and expound. God speaketh the truth and leadeth the way. He, verily, is supreme over all His people; He is the Mighty, the Beneficent.

228 Likewise, He saith: "Such are the verses of God: with truth do We recite them to Thee. But in what revelation will they believe, if they reject God and His verses?" (Koran 45:5) If thou wilt grasp the implication of this verse, thou wilt recognize the truth that no manifestation greater than the Prophets of God hath ever been revealed, and no testimony mightier than the testimony of their revealed verses hath ever appeared upon the earth. Nay, this testimony no other testimony can ever excel, except that which the Lord thy God willeth.

229 In another passage He saith: "Woe to every lying sinner, who heareth the verses of God recited to him, and then, as though he heard them not, persisteth in proud disdain! Apprise him of a painful punishment." (Koran 45:6) The implications of this verse, alone, suffice all that is in heaven and on earth, were the people to ponder the verses of their Lord. For thou hearest how in this day the people disdainfully ignore the divinely-revealed verses, as though they were the meanest of all things. And yet, nothing greater than these verses hath ever appeared, nor will ever be made manifest in the world! Say unto them: "O heedless people! Ye repeat what your fathers, in a bygone age, have said. Whatever fruits they have gathered from the tree of their faithlessness, the same shall ye gather also. Ere long shall ye be gathered unto your fathers, and with them shall ye dwell in hellish fire. An ill abode! the abode of the people of tyranny."

230 In yet another passage He saith: "And when he becometh acquainted with any of Our verses he turneth them to ridicule. There is a shameful punishment for them!" (Koran 45:8) The people derisively observed saying: "Work thou another miracle, and give us another sign!" One would say: "Make now a part of the heaven to fall down upon us" (Koran 26:187); and another: "If this be the very truth from before Thee, rain down stones upon us from heaven." (Koran 8:32) Even as the people of Israel, in the time of Moses, bartered away the bread of heaven for the sordid things of the earth, these people, likewise, sought to exchange the divinely-revealed verses for their foul, their vile, and idle desires. In like manner, thou beholdest in this day that although spiritual sustenance hath descended from the heaven of divine mercy, and been showered from the clouds of His loving kindness, and although the seas of life, at the behest of the Lord of all being, are surging within the Riḍván of the heart, yet these people, ravenous as the dogs, have gathered around carrion, and contented themselves with the stagnant waters of a briny lake. Gracious God! how strange the way of this people! They clamour for guidance, although the standards of Him Who guideth all things are already hoisted. They cleave to the obscure intricacies of knowledge, when He, Who is the Object of all knowledge, shineth as the sun. They see the sun with their own eyes, and yet question that brilliant Orb as to the proof of its light. They behold the vernal showers descending upon them, and yet seek an evidence of that bounty. The proof of the sun is the light thereof, which shineth and envelopeth all things. The evidence of the shower is the bounty thereof, which reneweth and investeth the world with the mantle of life. Yea, the blind can perceive naught from the sun except its heat, and the arid soil hath no share of the showers of mercy. "Marvel not if in the Koran the unbeliever perceiveth naught but the trace of letters, for in the sun, the blind findeth naught but heat."

231 In another passage He saith: "And when Our clear verses are recited to them, their only argument is to say, 'Bring back our fathers, if ye speak the truth!'" (Koran 45:24) Behold, what foolish evidences they sought from these Embodiments of an all-encompassing mercy! They scoffed at the verses, a single letter of which is greater than the creation of heavens and earth, and which quickeneth the dead of the valley of self and desire with the spirit of faith; and clamoured saying: "Cause our fathers to speed out of their sepulchres." Such was the perversity and pride of that people. Each one of these verses is unto all the peoples of the world an unfailing testimony and a glorious proof of His truth. Each of them verily sufficeth all mankind, wert thou to meditate upon the verses of God. In the above-mentioned verse itself pearls of mysteries lie hidden. Whatever be the ailment, the remedy it offereth can never fail.

232 Heed not the idle contention of those who maintain that the Book and verses thereof can never be a testimony unto the common people, inasmuch as they neither grasp their meaning nor appreciate their value. And yet, the unfailing testimony of God to both the East and the West is none other than the Koran. Were it beyond the comprehension of men, how could it have been declared as a universal testimony unto all people? If their contention be true, none would therefore be required, nor would it be necessary for them to know God, inasmuch as the knowledge of the divine Being transcendeth the knowledge of His Book, and the common people would not possess the capacity to comprehend it.

233 Such contention is utterly fallacious and inadmissible. It is actuated solely by arrogance and pride. Its motive is to lead the people astray from the Riḍván of divine good-pleasure and to tighten the reins of their authority over the people. And yet, in the sight of God, these common people are infinitely superior and exalted above their religious leaders who have turned away from the one true God. The understanding of His words and the comprehension of the utterances of the Birds of Heaven are in no wise dependent upon human learning. They depend solely upon purity of heart, chastity of soul, and freedom of spirit. This is evidenced by those who, today, though without a single letter of the accepted standards of learning, are occupying the loftiest seats of knowledge; and the garden of their hearts is adorned, through the showers of divine grace, with the roses of wisdom and the tulips of understanding. Well is it with the sincere in heart for their share of the light of a mighty Day!

234 And likewise, He saith: "As for those who believe not in the verses of God, or that they shall ever meet Him, these of My mercy shall despair, and these doth a grievous chastisement await." (Koran 29:23) Also, "And they say, 'Shall we then abandon our gods for a crazed poet?'" (Koran 37:36) The implication of this verse is manifest. Behold what they observed after the verses were revealed. They called Him a poet, scoffed at the verses of God, and exclaimed saying: "These words of his are but tales of the Ancients!" By this they meant that those words which were spoken by the peoples of old Muḥammad hath compiled and called them the Word of God.

235 Likewise, in this day, thou hast heard the people impute similar charges to this Revelation, saying: "He hath compiled these words from the words of old;" or "these words are spurious." Vain and haughty are their sayings, low their estate and station! 236 After the denials and denunciations which they uttered, and unto which We have referred, they protested saying: "No independent Prophet, according to our Scriptures, should arise after Moses and Jesus to abolish the Law of divine Revelation. Nay, he that is to be made manifest must needs fulfil the Law." Thereupon this verse, indicative of all the divine themes, and testifying to the truth that the flow of the grace of the All-Merciful can never cease, was revealed: "And Joseph came to you aforetime with clear tokens, but ye ceased not to doubt of the message with which He came to you, until, when He died, ye said, 'God will by no means raise up a Messenger after Him.' Thus God misleadeth him who is the transgressor the doubter." (Koran 40:34) Therefore, understand from this verse and know of a certainty that the people in every age, clinging to a verse of the Book, have uttered such vain and absurd sayings, contending that no Prophet should again be made manifest to the world. Even as the Christian divines who, holding fast to the verse of the Gospel to which We have already referred, have sought to explain that the law of the Gospel shall at no time be annulled, and that no independent Prophet shall again be made manifest, unless He confirmeth the law of the Gospel. Most of the people have become afflicted with the same spiritual disease.

237 Even as thou dost witness how the people of the Koran, like unto the people of old, have allowed the words "Seal of the Prophets" to veil their eyes. And yet, they themselves testify to this verse: "None knoweth the interpretation thereof but God and they that are well-grounded in knowledge." (Koran 3:7) And when He Who is well-grounded in all knowledge, He Who is the Mother, the Soul, the Secret, and the Essence thereof, revealeth that which is the least contrary to their desire, they bitterly oppose Him and shamelessly deny Him. These thou hast already heard and witnessed. Such deeds and words have been solely instigated by leaders of religion, they that worship no God but their own desire, who bear allegiance to naught but gold, who are wrapt in the densest veils of learning, and who, enmeshed by its obscurities, are lost in the wilds of error. Even as the Lord of being hath explicitly declared: "What thinkest thou? He who hath made a God of his passions, and whom God causeth to err through a knowledge, and whose ears and whose heart He hath sealed up, and over whose sight He hath cast a veil—who, after his rejection by God, shall guide such a one? Will ye not then be warned?" (Koran 45:22)

238 Although the outward meaning of "Whom God causeth to err through a knowledge" is what hath been revealed, yet to Us it signifieth those divines of the age who have turned away from the Beauty of God, and who, clinging unto their own learning, as fashioned by their own fancies and desires, have denounced God's divine Message and Revelation. "Say: it is a weighty Message, from which ye turn aside!" (Koran 38:67) Likewise, He saith: "And when Our clear verses are recited to them, they say, 'This is merely a man who would fain pervert you from your father's worship.' And they say, 'This is none other than a forged falsehood.'" (Koran 34:43)

239 Give ear unto God's holy Voice, and heed thou His sweet and immortal melody. Behold how He hath solemnly warned them that have repudiated the verses of God, and hath disowned them that have denied His holy words. Consider how far the people have strayed from the Kawthar of the divine Presence, and how grievous hath been the faithlessness and arrogance of the spiritually destitute in the face of that sanctified Beauty. Although that Essence of lovingkindness and bounty caused those evanescent beings to step into the realm of immortality, and guided those destitute souls to the sacred river of wealth, yet some denounced Him as "a calumniator of God, the Lord of all creatures," others accused Him of being "the one that withholdeth the people from the path of faith and true belief," and still others declared Him to be "a lunatic" and the like.

240 In like manner, thou observest in this day with what vile imputations they have assailed that Gem of Immortality, and what unspeakable transgressions they have heaped upon Him Who is the Source of purity. Although God hath throughout His Book and in His holy and immortal Tablet warned them that deny and repudiate the revealed verses, and hath announced His grace unto them that accept them, yet behold the unnumbered cavils they raised against those verses which have been sent down from the new heaven of God's eternal holiness! This, notwithstanding the fact that no eye hath beheld so great an outpouring of bounty, nor hath any ear heard of such a revelation of lovingkindness. Such bounty and revelation have been made manifest, that the revealed verses seemed as vernal showers raining from the clouds of the mercy of the All-Bountiful. The Prophets "endowed with constancy," whose loftiness and glory shine as the sun, were each honoured with a Book which all have seen, and the verses of which have been duly ascertained. Whereas the verses which have rained from this Cloud of divine mercy have been so abundant that none hath yet been able to estimate their number. A score of volumes are now available. How many still remain beyond our reach! How many have been plundered and have fallen into the hands of the enemy, the fate of which none knoweth.

241 O brother, we should open our eyes, meditate upon His Word, and seek the sheltering shadow of the Manifestations of God, that perchance we may be warned by the unmistakable

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counsels of the Book, and give heed to the admonitions recorded in the holy Tablets; that we may not cavil at the Revealer of the verses, that we may resign ourselves wholly to His Cause, and embrace wholeheartedly His law, that haply we may enter the court of His mercy, and dwell upon the shore of His grace. He, verily, is merciful, and forgiving towards His servants.

242 And likewise, He saith: "Say, O people of the Book! do ye not disavow us only because we believe in God and in what He hath sent down to us, and in what He hath sent down aforetime, and because most of you are doers of ill?" (Koran 5:62) How explicitly doth this verse reveal Our purpose, and how clearly doth it demonstrate the truth of the testimony of the verses of God! This verse was revealed at a time when Islám was assailed by the infidels, and its followers were accused of misbelief, when the Companions of Muḥammad were denounced as repudiators of God and as followers of a lying sorcerer. In its early days, when Islám was still to outward seeming devoid of authority and power, the friends of the Prophet, who had turned their face toward God, wherever they went, were harassed, persecuted, stoned and vilified. At such a time this blessed verse was sent down from the heaven of divine Revelation. It revealed an irrefutable evidence, and brought the light of an unfailing guidance. It instructed the companions of Muḥammad to declare the following unto the infidels and idolators: "Ye oppress and persecute us, and yet, what else have we done except that we have believed in God and in the verses sent down unto us through the tongue of Muḥammad, and in those which descended upon the Prophets of old?" By this is meant that their only guilt was to have recognized that the new and wondrous verses of God, which had descended upon Muḥammad, as well as those which had been revealed unto the Prophets of old, were all of God, and to have acknowledged and embraced their truth. This is the testimony which the divine King hath taught His servants.

243 In view of this, is it fair for this people to repudiate these newly-revealed verses which have encompassed both the East and the West, and to regard themselves as the upholders of true belief? Should they not rather believe in Him Who hath revealed these verses? Considering the testimony which He Himself hath established, how could He fail to account as true believers them that have testified to its truth? Far be it from Him that He should turn away from the gates of His mercy them that have turned unto and embraced the truth of the divine verses, or that He should threaten those that have clung to His sure testimony! He verily establisheth the truth through His verses, and confirmeth His Revelation by His words. He verily is the Powerful, the Help in peril, the Almighty.

244 And likewise, He saith: "And had We sent down unto Thee a Book written on parchment, and they had touched it with their hands, the infidels would surely have said 'This is naught but palpable sorcery.'" (Koran 6:7) Most of the verses of the Koran are indicative of this theme. We have, for the sake of brevity, mentioned only these verses. Consider, hath anything else besides the verses been established in the whole Book, as a standard for the recognition of the Manifestations of His Beauty, that the people might cling to, and reject the Manifestations of God? On the contrary, in every instance, He hath threatened with fire those that repudiate and scoff at the verses, as already shown.

245 Therefore, should a person arise and bring forth a myriad verses, discourses, epistles, and prayers, none of which have been acquired through learning, what conceivable excuse could justify those that reject them, and deprive themselves of the potency of their grace? What answer could they give when once their soul hath ascended and departed from its gloomy temple? Could they seek to justify themselves by saying: "We have clung to a certain tradition, and not having beheld the literal fulfilment thereof, we have therefore raised such cavils against the Embodiments of divine Revelation, and kept remote from the law of God?" Hast thou not heard that among the reasons why certain Prophets have been designated as Prophets "endowed with constancy" was the revelation of a Book unto them? And yet, how could this people be justified in rejecting the Revealer and Author of so many volumes of verses, and follow the sayings of him who hath foolishly sown the seeds of doubt in the hearts of men, and who, Satan-like, hath risen to lead the people into the paths of perdition and error? How could they allow such things to deprive them of the light of the Sun of divine bounty? Aside from these things, if these people shun and reject such a divine Soul, such holy Breath, to whom, We wonder, could they cling, to whose face besides His Face could they turn? Yea—"All have a quarter of the Heavens to which they turn." (Koran 2:148) We have shown thee these two ways; walk thou the way thou choosest. This verily is the truth, and after truth there remaineth naught but error.

246 Amongst the proofs demonstrating the truth of this Revelation is this, that in every age and Dispensation, whenever the invisible Essence was revealed in the person of His Manifestation, certain souls, obscure and detached from all worldly entanglements, would seek illumination from the Sun of Prophethood and Moon of divine guidance, and would attain unto the divine Presence. For this reason, the divines of the age and those possessed of wealth, would scorn and scoff at these people. Even as He hath revealed concerning them that erred: "Then said the chiefs of His people who believed not, 'We see in Thee but a man like ourselves; and we see not any who have followed Thee except our meanest ones of hasty judgement, nor see we any excellence in you above ourselves: nay, we deem you liars.'" (Koran 11:27) They caviled at those holy Manifestations, and protested saying: "None hath followed you except the abject amongst us, those who are worthy of no attention." Their aim was to show that no one amongst the learned, the wealthy, and the renowned believed in them. By this and similar proofs they sought to demonstrate the falsity of Him that speaketh naught but the truth.

247 In this most resplendent Dispensation, however, this most mighty Sovereignty, a number of illumined divines, of men of consummate learning, of doctors of mature wisdom, have attained unto His Court, drunk the cup of His divine Presence, and been invested with the honour of His most excellent favour. They have renounced, for the sake of the Beloved, the world and all that is therein. We will mention the names of some of them, that perchance it may strengthen the faint-hearted, and encourage the timorous.

248 Among them was Mullá Ḥusayn, who became the recipient of the effulgent glory of the Sun of divine Revelation. But for him, God would not have been established upon the seat of His mercy, nor ascended the throne of eternal glory. Among them also was Siyyid Yaḥyá, that unique and peerless figure of his age,

249 Mullá Muḥammad 'Alíy-i-Zanjání; Mullá 'Alíy-i-Bastamí; Mullá Sa'íd-i-Barfurúshí; Mullá Ni'matu'lláh-i-Mázindaráni; Mullá Yúsúf-i-Ardibílí; Mullá Mihdíy-i-Khú'í; Siyyid Ḥusayn-i-Turshízí; Mullá Mihdíy-i-Kandí; Mullá Báqir; Mullá 'Abdu'l-Kháliq-i-Yazdí; Mullá 'Alíy-i-Baraqáni

250 and others, well nigh four hundred in number, whose names are all inscribed upon the "Guarded Tablet" of God.

251 All these were guided by the light of that Sun of divine Revelation, confessed and acknowledged His truth. Such was their faith, that most of them renounced their substance and kindred, and cleaved to the good-pleasure of the All-Glorious. They laid down their lives for their Well-Beloved, and surrendered their all in His path. Their breasts were made targets for the darts of the enemy, and their heads adorned the spears of the infidel. No land remained which did not drink the blood of these embodiments of detachment, and no sword that did not bruise their necks. Their deeds, alone, testify to the truth of their words. Doth not the testimony of these holy souls, who have so gloriously risen to offer up their lives for their Beloved that the whole world marvelled at the manner of their sacrifice, suffice the people of this day? Is it not sufficient witness against the faithlessness of those who for a trifle betrayed their faith, who bartered away immortality for that which perisheth, who gave up the Kawthar of the divine Presence for salty springs, and whose one aim in life is to usurp the property of others? Even as thou dost witness how all of them have busied themselves with the vanities of the world, and have strayed far from Him Who is the Lord, the Most High.

252 Be fair: Is the testimony of those acceptable and worthy of attention whose deeds agree with their words, whose outward behaviour conforms with their inner life? The mind is bewildered at their deeds, and the soul marvelleth at their fortitude and bodily endurance. Or is the testimony of these faithless souls who breathe naught but the breath of selfish desire, and who lie imprisoned in the cage of their idle fancies, acceptable? Like the bats of darkness, they lift not their heads from their couch except to pursue the transient things of the world, and find no rest by night except as they labour to advance the aims of their sordid life. Immersed in their selfish schemes, they are oblivious of the divine Decree. In the daytime they strive with all their soul after worldly benefits, and in the night-season their sole occupation is to gratify their carnal desires. By what law or standard could men be justified in cleaving to the denials of such petty-minded souls, and in ignoring the faith of them that have renounced, for the sake of the good-pleasure of God, their life, and substance, their fame and renown, their reputation and honour?

253 Were not the happenings of the life of the "Prince of Martyrs" (Imám Ḥusayn) regarded as the greatest of all events, as the supreme evidence of his truth? Did not the people of old declare those happenings to be unprecedented? Did they not maintain that no manifestation of truth hath ever evinced such constancy, such conspicuous glory? And yet, that episode of his life, commencing as it did in the morning, was brought to a close by the middle of the same day, whereas, these holy lights have, for eighteen years, heroically endured the showers of afflictions which, from every side, have rained upon them. With what love, what devotion, what exultation and holy rapture, they sacrificed their lives in the path of the All-Glorious! To the truth of this all witness. And yet, how can they belittle this Revelation? Hath any age witnessed such momentous happenings? If these companions be not the true strivers after God, who else could be called by this name? Have these companions been seekers after power or glory? Have they ever yearned for riches? Have they cherished any desire except the good-pleasure of God? If these companions, with all their marvellous testimonies and wondrous works, be false, who then is worthy to claim for himself the truth? I swear by God! Their very deeds are a sufficient testimony, and an irrefutable proof unto all the peoples of the earth, were men to ponder in their hearts the mysteries of divine Revelation. "And they who act unjustly shall soon know what lot awaiteth them!" (Koran 26:227)

254 Furthermore, the sign of truth and falsehood is designated and appointed in the Book. By this divinely-appointed touchstone, the claims and pretensions of all men must needs be assayed, so that the truthful may be known and distinguished from the imposter. This touchstone is no other than this verse: "Wish for death, if ye are men of truth." (Koran 2:94, Koran 62:6) Consider these martyrs of unquestionable sincerity, to whose truthfulness testifieth the explicit text of the Book, and all of whom, as thou hast witnessed, have sacrificed their life, their substance, their wives, their children, their all, and ascended unto the loftiest chambers of Paradise. Is it fair to reject the testimony of these detached and exalted beings to the truth of this pre-eminent and glorious Revelation and to regard as acceptable the denunciations which have been uttered against this resplendent Light by this faithless people, who for gold have forsaken their faith, and who for the sake of leadership have repudiated Him Who is the First Leader of all mankind? This, although their character is now revealed unto all people who have recognized them as those who will in no wise relinquish one jot or one tittle of their temporal authority for the sake of God's holy Faith, how much less their life, their substance, and the like.

255 Behold how the divine Touchstone hath, according to the explicit text of the Book, separated and distinguished the true from the false. Notwithstanding, they are still oblivious of this truth, and in the sleep of heedlessness, are pursuing the vanities of the world, and are occupied with thoughts of vain and earthly leadership.

256 "O Son of Man! Many a day hath passed over thee whilst thou hast busied thyself with thy fancies and idle imaginings. How long art thou to slumber on thy bed? Lift up thine head from slumber, for the Sun hath risen to the zenith; haply it may shine upon thee with the light of beauty."

257 Let it be known, however, that none of these doctors and divines to whom we have referred was invested with the rank and dignity of leadership. For well-known and influential leaders of religion, who occupy the seats of authority and exercise the functions of leadership, can in no wise bear allegiance to the Revealer of truth, except whomsoever thy Lord willeth. But for a few, such things have never come to pass. "And few of My servants are the thankful." (Koran 34:13) Even as in this Dispensation, not one amongst the renowned divines, in the grasp of whose authority were held the reins of the people, hath embraced the Faith. Nay, they have striven against it with such animosity and determination that no ear hath heard and no eye hath seen the like.

258 The Báb, the Lord, the most exalted—may the life of all be a sacrifice unto Him,—hath specifically revealed an Epistle unto the divines of every city, wherein He hath fully set forth the character of the denial and repudiation of each of them. "Wherefore, take ye good heed ye who are men of insight!" (Koran 59:2). By His references to their opposition He intended to invalidate the objections which the people of the Bayán might raise in the day of the manifestation of "Mustagháth" (He Who is invoked), the day of the Latter Resurrection, claiming that, whereas in the Dispensation of the Bayán a number of divines have embraced the Faith, in this latter Revelation none of these hath recognized His claim. His purpose was to warn the people lest, God forbid, they cling to such foolish thoughts and deprive themselves of the divine Beauty. Yea, these divines to whom We have referred, were mostly unrenowned, and, by the grace of God they were all purged of earthly vanities and free from the trappings of leadership. "Such is the bounty of God; to whom He will He giveth it."

259 Another proof and evidence of the truth of this Revelation, which amongst all other proofs shineth as the sun, is the constancy of the eternal Beauty in proclaiming the Faith of God. Though young and tender of age, and though the Cause He revealed was contrary to the desire of all the peoples of earth, both high and low, rich and poor, exalted and abased, king and subject, yet He arose and steadfastly proclaimed it. All have known and heard this. He was afraid of no one; He was regardless of consequences. Could such a thing be made manifest except through the power of a divine Revelation, and the potency of God's invincible Will? By the righteousness of God! Were any one to entertain so great a Revelation in his heart, the thought of such a declaration would alone confound him! Were the hearts of all men to be crowded into his heart, he would still hesitate to venture upon so awful an enterprise. He could achieve it only by the

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permission of God, only if the channel of his heart were to be linked with the Source of divine grace, and his soul be assured of the unfailing sustenance of the Almighty. To what, We wonder, do they ascribe so great a daring? Do they accuse Him of folly as they accused the Prophets of old? Or do they maintain that His motive was none other than leadership and the acquisition of earthly riches?

260 Gracious God! In His Book, which He hath entitled "Qayyúmu'l-Asmá,"—the first, the greatest and mightiest of all books—He prophesied His own martyrdom. In it is this passage: "O thou Remnant of God! I have sacrificed myself wholly for Thee; I have accepted curses for Thy sake; and have yearned for naught but martyrdom in the path of Thy love. Sufficient Witness unto me is God, the Exalted, the Protector, the Ancient of Days!"

261 Likewise, in His interpretation of the letter "Há," He craved martyrdom, saying: "Methinks I heard a Voice calling in my inmost being: 'Do thou sacrifice the thing which Thou lovest most in the path of God, even as Ḥusayn, peace be upon him, hath offered up his life for My sake.' And were I not regardful of this inevitable mystery, by Him, Who hath my being between His hands even if all the kings of the earth were to be leagued together they would be powerless to take from me a single letter, how much less can these servants who are worthy of no attention, and who verily are of the outcast… That all may know the degree of My patience, My resignation, and self-sacrifice in the path of God."

262 Could the Revealer of such utterance be regarded as walking any way but the way of God, and as having yearned for aught else except His good-pleasure? In this very verse there lieth concealed a breath of detachment, which if it were to be breathed full upon the world, all beings would renounce their lives, and sacrifice their souls. Reflect upon the villainous behaviour of this generation, and witness their astounding ingratitude. Observe how they have closed their eyes to all this glory, and are abjectly pursuing those foul carcasses from whose bellies ascendeth the cry of the swallowed substance of the faithful. And yet, what unseemly calumnies they have hurled against those Daysprings of Holiness? Thus do We recount unto thee that which the hands of the infidels have wrought, they who, in the Day of Resurrection, have turned their face away from the divine Presence, whom God hath tormented with the fire of their own misbelief, and for whom He hath prepared in the world to come a chastisement which shall devour both their bodies and souls. For these have said: "God is powerless, and His hand of mercy is fettered."

263 Steadfastness in the Faith is a sure testimony, and a glorious evidence of the truth. Even as the "Seal of the Prophets" hath said: "Two verses have made Me old." Both these verses are indicative of constancy in the Cause of God. Even as He saith: "Be thou steadfast as thou hast been bidden." (Koran 11:113).

264 And now consider how this Sadrih of the Riḍván of God hath, in the prime of youth, risen to proclaim the Cause of God. Behold what steadfastness that Beauty of God hath revealed. The whole world rose to hinder Him, yet it utterly failed. The more severe the persecution they inflicted on that Sadrih of Blessedness, the more His fervour increased, and the brighter burned the flame of His love. All this is evident, and none disputeth its truth. Finally, He surrendered His soul, and winged His flight unto the realms above.

265 And among the evidences of the truth of His manifestation were the ascendancy, the transcendent power, and supremacy which He, the Revealer of being and Manifestation of the Adored, hath, unaided and alone, revealed throughout the world. No sooner had that eternal Beauty revealed Himself in Shíráz, in the year sixty, and rent asunder the veil of concealment, than the signs of the ascendancy, the might, the sovereignty, and power, emanating from that Essence of Essences and Sea of Seas, were manifest in every land. So much so, that from every city there appeared the signs, the evidences, the tokens, the testimonies of that divine Luminary. How many were those pure and kindly hearts which faithfully reflected the light of that eternal Sun, and how manifold the emanations of knowledge from that Ocean of divine wisdom which encompassed all beings! In every city, all the divines and dignitaries rose to hinder and repress them, and girded up the loins of malice, of envy, and tyranny for their suppression. How great the number of those holy souls, those essences of justice, who, accused of tyranny, were put to death! And how many embodiments of purity, who showed forth naught but true knowledge and stainless deeds, suffered an agonizing death! Notwithstanding all this, each of these holy beings, up to his last moment, breathed the Name of God, and soared in the realm of submission and resignation. Such was the potency and transmuting influence which He exercised over them, that they ceased to cherish any desire but His will, and wedded their soul to His remembrance.

266 Reflect: Who in this world is able to manifest such transcendent power, such pervading influence? All these stainless hearts and sanctified souls have, with absolute resignation, responded to the summons of His decree. Instead of complaining, they rendered thanks unto God, and amidst the darkness of their anguish they revealed naught but radiant acquiescence to His will. It is evident how relentless was the hate, and how bitter the malice and enmity entertained by all the peoples of the earth towards these companions. The persecution and pain they inflicted on these holy and spiritual beings were regarded by them as means unto salvation, prosperity, and everlasting success. Hath the world, since the days of Adam, witnessed such tumult, such violent commotion? Notwithstanding all the torture they suffered, and manifold the afflictions they endured, they became the object of universal opprobrium and execration. Methinks patience was revealed only by virtue of their fortitude, and faithfulness itself was begotten only by their deeds.

267 Do thou ponder these momentous happenings in thy heart, so that thou mayest apprehend the greatness of this Revelation, and perceive its stupendous glory. Then shall the spirit of faith, through the grace of the Merciful, be breathed into thy being, and thou shalt be established and abide upon the seat of certitude. The one God is My witness! Wert thou to ponder a while, thou wilt recognize that, apart from all these established truths and above-mentioned evidences, the repudiation, cursing, and execration, pronounced by the people of the earth, are in themselves the mightiest proof and the surest testimony of the truth of these heroes of the field of resignation 237 and detachment. Whenever thou dost meditate upon the cavils uttered by all the people, be they divines, learned or ignorant, the firmer and the more steadfast wilt thou grow in the Faith. For whatsoever hath come to pass, hath been prophesied by them who are the Mines of divine knowledge, and Recipients of God's eternal law.

268 Although We did not intend to make mention of the traditions of a bygone age, yet, because of Our love for thee, We will cite a few which are applicable to Our argument. We do not feel their necessity, however, inasmuch as the things We have already mentioned suffice the world and all that is therein. In fact, all the Scriptures and the mysteries thereof are condensed into this brief account. So much so, that were a person to ponder it a while in his heart, he would discover from all that hath been said the mysteries of the Words of God, and would apprehend the meaning of whatever hath been manifested by that ideal King. As the people differ in their understanding and station, We will accordingly make mention of a few traditions, that these may impart constancy to the wavering soul, and tranquillity to the troubled mind. Thereby, will the testimony of God unto the people, both high and low, be complete and perfect.

269 Among them is the tradition, "And when the Standard of Truth is made manifest, the people of both the East and the West curse it." The wine of renunciation must needs be quaffed, the lofty heights of detachment must needs be attained, and the meditation referred to in the words "One hour's reflection is preferable to seventy years of pious worship" must needs be observed, so that the secret of the wretched behaviour of the people might be discovered, those people who, despite the love and yearning for truth which they profess, curse the followers of Truth when once He hath been made manifest. To this truth the above-mentioned tradition beareth witness. It is evident that the reason for such behaviour is none other than the annulment of those rules, customs, habits, and ceremonials to which they have been subjected. Otherwise, were the Beauty of the Merciful to comply with those same rules and customs, which are current amongst the people, and were He to sanction their observances, such conflict and mischief would in no wise be made manifest in the world. This exalted tradition is attested and substantiated by these words which He hath revealed: "The day when the Summoner shall summon to a stern business." (Koran 54:6).

270 The divine call of the celestial Herald from beyond the Veil of Glory, summoning mankind to renounce utterly all the things to which they cleave, is repugnant to their desire; and this is the cause of the bitter trials and violent commotions which have occurred. Consider the way of the people. They ignore these well-founded traditions, all of which have been fulfilled, and cling unto those of doubtful validity, and ask why these have not been fulfilled. And yet, those things which to them were inconceivable have been made manifest. The signs and tokens of the Truth shine even as the midday sun, and yet the people are wandering, aimlessly and perplexedly, in the wilderness of ignorance and folly. Notwithstanding all the verses of the Koran, and the recognized traditions, which are all indicative of a new Faith, a new Law, and a new Revelation, this generation still waiteth in expectation of beholding the promised One who should uphold the Law of the Muḥammadan Dispensation. The Jews and the Christians in like manner uphold the same contention.

271 Among the utterances that foreshadow a new Law and a new Revelation are the passages in the "Prayer of Nudbih": "Where is He Who is preserved to renew the ordinances and laws? Where is He Who hath the authority to transform the Faith and the followers thereof?" He hath, likewise, revealed in the Zíyárat (Visiting Tablet revealed by 'Alí.): "Peace be upon the Truth made new." Abú-'Abdi'lláh, questioned concerning the character of the Mihdí, answered saying: "He will perform that which Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, hath performed, and will demolish whatever hath been before Him even as the Messenger of God hath demolished the ways of those that preceded Him."

272 Behold, how, notwithstanding these and similar traditions, they idly contend that the laws formerly revealed, must in no wise be altered. And yet, is not the object of every Revelation to effect a transformation in the whole character of mankind, a transformation that shall manifest itself both outwardly and inwardly, that shall affect both its inner life and external conditions? For if the character of mankind be not changed, the futility of God's universal Manifestations would be apparent. In the "Aválím," an authoritative and well-known book, it is recorded: "A Youth from Baní-Háshim shall be made manifest, Who will reveal a new Book and promulgate a new law;" then follow these words: "Most of His enemies will be the divines." In another passage, it is related of Sádiq, son of Muḥammad, that he spoke the following: "There shall appear a Youth from Baní-Háshim, Who will bid the people plight fealty unto Him. His Book will be a new Book, unto which He shall summon the people to pledge their faith. Stern is His Revelation unto the Arab. If ye hear about Him, hasten unto Him." How well have they followed the directions of the Imáms of the Faith and Lamps of certitude! Although it is clearly stated: "Were ye to hear that a Youth from Baní-Háshim hath appeared, summoning the people unto a new and Divine Book, and to new and Divine laws, hasten unto Him," yet have they all declared that Lord of being an infidel, and pronounced Him a heretic. They hastened not unto that Háshimite Light, that divine Manifestation, except with drawn swords, and hearts filled with malice. Moreover, observe how explicitly the enmity of the divines hath been mentioned in the books. Notwithstanding all these evident and significant traditions, all these unmistakable and undisputed allusions, the people have rejected the immaculate Essence of knowledge and of holy utterance, and have turned unto the exponents of rebellion and error. Despite these recorded traditions and revealed utterances, they speak only that which is prompted by their own selfish desires. And should the Essence of Truth reveal that which is contrary to their inclinations and desires, they will straightway denounce Him as an infidel, and will protest saying: "This is contrary to the sayings of the Imáms of the Faith and of the resplendent lights. No such thing hath been provided by our inviolable Law." Even so in this day such worthless statements have been and are being made by these poor mortals.

273 And now, consider this other tradition, and observe how all these things have been foretold. In "Arbá'in" it is recorded: "Out of Baní-Háshim there shall come forth a Youth Who shall reveal new laws. He shall summon the people unto Him, but none will heed His call. Most of His enemies will be the divines. His bidding they will not obey, but will protest saying: 'This is contrary to that which hath been handed down unto us by the Imáms of the Faith.'" In this day, all are repeating these very same words, utterly unaware that He is established upon the throne of "He doeth whatsoever He willeth," and abideth upon the seat of "He ordaineth whatsoever He pleaseth."

274 No understanding can grasp the nature of His Revelation, nor can any knowledge comprehend the full measure of His Faith. All sayings are dependent upon His sanction, and all things stand in need of His Cause. All else save Him are created by His command, and move and have their being through His law. He is the Revealer of the divine mysteries, and the Expounder of the hidden and ancient wisdom. Thus it is related in the "Biháru'l-Anvar," the "Aválím," and the "Yanbú'" of Sádiq, son of Muḥammad, that he spoke these words: "Knowledge is twenty and seven letters. All that the Prophets have revealed are two letters thereof. No man thus far hath known more than these two letters. But when the Qá'im shall arise, He will cause the remaining twenty and five letters to be made manifest." Consider; He hath declared Knowledge to consist of twenty and seven letters, and regarded all the Prophets, from Adam even unto the "Seal," as Expounders of only two letters thereof and of having been sent down with these two letters. He also saith that the Qá'im will reveal all the remaining twenty and five letters. Behold from this utterance how great and lofty is His station! His rank excelleth that of all the Prophets, and His Revelation transcendeth the comprehension and understanding of all their chosen ones. A Revelation, of which the Prophets of God, His saints and chosen ones, have either not been informed, or which, in pursuance of God's inscrutable Decree, they have not disclosed,—such a Revelation these mean and depraved people have sought to measure with their own deficient minds, their own deficient learning and understanding. Should it fail to conform to their standards, they straightway reject it. "Thinkest thou that the greater part of them hear or understand? They are even like unto the brutes! yea, they stray even further from the path!" (Koran 25:44).

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275 How, We wonder, do they explain the aforementioned tradition, a tradition which, in unmistakable terms, foreshadoweth the revelation of things inscrutable, and the occurrence of new and wondrous events in His day? Such marvellous happenings kindle so great a strife amongst the people, that all the divines and doctors sentence Him and His companions to death, and all the peoples of the earth arise to oppose Him. Even as it hath been recorded in the "Káfí," in the tradition of Jabír, in the "Tablet of Fátimih," concerning the character of the Qá'im: "He shall manifest the perfection of Moses, the splendour of Jesus, and the patience of Job. His chosen ones shall be abased in His day. Their heads shall be offered as presents even as the heads of the Turks and the Daylamites. They shall be slain and burnt. Fear shall seize them; dismay and alarm shall strike terror into their hearts. The earth shall be dyed with their blood. Their womenfolk shall bewail and lament. These indeed are my friends!" Consider, not a single letter of this tradition hath remained unfulfilled. In most of the places their blessed blood hath been shed; in every city they have been made captives, have been paraded throughout the provinces, and some have been burnt with fire. And yet no one hath paused to reflect that if the promised Qá'im should reveal the law and ordinances of a former Dispensation, why then should such traditions have been recorded, and why should there arise such a degree of strife and conflict that the people should regard the slaying of these companions as an obligation imposed upon them, and deem the persecution of these holy souls as a means of attaining unto the highest favour?

276 Moreover, observe how these things that have come to pass, and the acts which have been perpetrated, have all been mentioned in former traditions. Even as it hath been recorded in the "Rawdíy-i-Káfí," concerning "Zawrá." In the "Rawdíy-i-Káfí" it is related of Mu'áviyih, son of Vahháb, that Abú-'Abdi'lláh hath spoken: "Knowest thou Zawrá?" I said: "May my life be a sacrifice unto thee! They say it is Baghdád." "Nay," he answered. And then added: "Hast thou entered the city of Rayy?" (Ancient city near which Tehran is built.), to which I made reply: "Yea, I have entered it." Whereupon, He enquired: "Didst thou visit the cattle-market?" "Yea," I answered. He said: "Hast thou seen the black mountain on the right hand side of the road? The same is Zawrá. There shall eighty men, of the children of certain ones, be slain, all of whom are worthy to be called caliphs." "Who will slay them?" I asked. He made reply: "The children of Persia!"

277 Such is the condition and fate of His companions which in former days hath been foretold. And now observe how, according to this tradition, Zawrá is no other but the land of Rayy. In that place His companions have been with great suffering put to death, and all these holy beings have suffered martyrdom at the hand of the Persians, as recorded in the tradition. This thou hast heard, and unto it all testify. Wherefore, then, do not these grovelling, worm-like men pause to meditate upon these traditions, all of which are manifest as the sun in its noon-tide glory? For what reason do they refuse to embrace the Truth, and allow certain traditions, the significance of which they have failed to grasp, to withhold them from the recognition of the Revelation of God and His Beauty, and to cause them to dwell in the infernal abyss? Such things are to be attributed to naught but the faithlessness of the divines and doctors of the age. Of these, Ṣádiq, son of Muḥammad, hath said: "The religious doctors of that age shall be the most wicked of the divines beneath the shadow ofheaven. Out of them hath mischief proceeded, and unto them it shall return."

278 We entreat the learned men of the Bayán not to follow in such ways, not to inflict, at the time of Mustagháth, upon Him Who is the divine Essence, the heavenly Light, the absolute Eternity, the Beginning and the End of the Manifestations of the Invisible, that which hath been inflicted in this day. We beg them not to depend upon their intellect, their comprehension and learning, nor to contend with the Revealer of celestial and infinite knowledge. And yet, notwithstanding all these admonitions, We perceive that a one-eyed man, who himself is the chief of the people, is arising with the utmost malevolence against Us. We foresee that in every city people will arise to suppress the Blessed Beauty, that the companions of that Lord of being and ultimate Desire of all men will flee from the face of the oppressor and seek refuge from him in the wilderness, whilst others will resign themselves and, with absolute detachment, will sacrifice their lives in His path. Methinks We can discern one who is reputed for such devoutness and piety that men deem it an obligation to obey him, and to whose command they consider it necessary to submit, who will arise to assail the very root of the divine Tree, and endeavour to the uttermost of his power to resist and oppose Him. Such is the way of the people!

279 We fain would hope that the people of the Bayán will be enlightened, will soar in the realm of the spirit and abide therein, will discern the Truth, and recognize with the eye of insight dissembling falsehood. In these days, however, such odours of jealousy are diffused, that—I swear by the Educator of all beings, visible and invisible—from the beginning of the foundation of the world—though it hath no beginning—until the present day, such malice, envy, and hate have in no wise appeared, nor will they ever be witnessed in the future. For a number of people who have never inhaled the fragrance of justice, have raised the standard of sedition, and have leagued themselves against Us. On every side We witness the menace of their spears, and in all directions We recognize the shafts of their arrows. This, although We have never gloried in any thing, nor did We seek preference over any soul. To everyone We have been a most kindly companion, a most forbearing and affectionate friend. In the company of the poor We have sought their fellowship, and amidst the exalted and learned We have been submissive and resigned. I swear by God, the one true God! grievous as have been the woes and sufferings which the hand of the enemy and the people of the Book inflicted upon Us, yet all these fade into utter nothingness when compared with that which hath befallen Us at the hand of those who profess to be Our friends.

280 What more shall We say? The universe, were it to gaze with the eye of justice, would be incapable of bearing the weight of this utterance! In the early days of Our arrival in this land, when We discerned the signs of impending events, We decided, ere they happened, to retire. We betook Ourselves to the wilderness, and there, separated and alone, led for two years a life of complete solitude. From Our eyes there rained tears of anguish, and in Our bleeding heart there surged an ocean of agonizing pain. Many a night We had no food for sustenance, and many a day Our body found no rest. By Him Who hath My being between His hands! notwithstanding these showers of afflictions and unceasing calamities, Our soul was wrapt in blissful joy, and Our whole being evinced an ineffable gladness. For in Our solitude We were unaware of the harm or benefit, the health or ailment, of any soul. Alone, We communed with Our spirit, oblivious of the world and all that is therein. We knew not, however, that the mesh of divine destiny exceedeth the vastest of mortal conceptions, and the dart of His decree transcendeth the boldest of human designs. None can escape the snares He setteth, and no soul can find release except through submission to His will. By the righteousness of God! Our withdrawal contemplated no return, and Our separation hoped for no reunion. The one object of Our retirement was to avoid becoming a subject of discord among the faithful, a source of disturbance unto Our companions, the means of injury to any soul, or the cause of sorrow to any heart. Beyond these, We cherished no other intention, and apart from them, We had no end in view. And yet, each person schemed after his own desire, and pursued his own idle fancy, until the hour when, from the Mystic Source, there came the summons bidding Us return whence We came. Surrendering Our will to His, We submitted to His injunction.

281 What pen can recount the things We beheld upon Our return! Two years have elapsed during 252 which Our enemies have ceaselessly and assiduously contrived to exterminate Us, whereunto all witness. Nevertheless, none amongst the faithful hath risen to render Us any assistance, nor did any one feel inclined to help in Our deliverance. Nay, instead of assisting Us, what showers of continuous sorrows, their words and deeds have caused to rain upon Our soul! Amidst them all, We stand, life in hand, wholly resigned to His will; that perchance, through God's loving kindness and His grace, this revealed and manifest Letter may lay down His life as a sacrifice in the path of the Primal Point, the most exalted Word. By Him at Whose bidding the Spirit hath spoken, but for this yearning of Our soul, We would not, for one moment, have tarried any longer in this city. "Sufficient Witness is God unto Us." We conclude Our argument with the words: "There is no power nor strength but in God alone." "We are God's, and to Him shall we return."

282 They that have hearts to understand, they that have quaffed the Wine of love, who have not for one moment gratified their selfish desires, will behold, resplendent as the sun in its noon-tide glory, those tokens, testimonies, and evidences that attest the truth of this wondrous Revelation, this transcendent and divine Faith. Reflect, how the people have rejected the Beauty of God, and have clung unto their covetous desires. Notwithstanding all these consummate verses, these unmistakable allusions, which have been revealed in the "Most weighty Revelation," the Trust of God amongst men, and despite these evident traditions, each more manifest than the most explicit utterance, the people have ignored and repudiated their truth, and have held fast to the letter of certain traditions which, according to their understanding, they have found inconsistent with their expectations, and the meaning of which they have failed to grasp. They have thus shattered every hope, and deprived themselves of the pure wine of the All-Glorious, and the clear and incorruptible waters of the immortal Beauty.

283 Consider, that even the year in which that Quintessence of Light is to be made manifest hath been specifically recorded in the traditions, yet they still remain unmindful, nor do they for one moment cease to pursue their selfish desires. According to the tradition, Mufaddál asked Ṣádiq saying: "What of the sign of His manifestation, O my master?" He made reply: "In the year sixty, 254 His Cause shall be made manifest, and His Name shall be proclaimed."

284 How strange! Notwithstanding these explicit and manifest references these people have shunned the Truth. For instance, mention of the sorrows, the imprisonment and afflictions inflicted upon that Essence of divine virtue hath been made in the former traditions. In the "Bihár" it is recorded: "In our Qá'im there shall be four signs from four Prophets, Moses, Jesus, Joseph, and Muḥammad. The sign from Moses, is fear and expectation; from Jesus, that which was spoken of Him; from Joseph, imprisonment and dissimulation; from Muḥammad, the revelation of a Book similar to the Koran." Notwithstanding such a conclusive tradition, which in such unmistakable language hath foreshadowed the happenings of the present day, none hath been found to heed its prophecy, and methinks none will do so in the future, except him whom thy Lord willeth. "God indeed shall make whom He will to hearken, but We shall not make those who are in their graves to hearken."

285 It is evident unto thee that the Birds of Heaven and Doves of Eternity speak a twofold language. One language, the outward language, is devoid of allusions, is unconcealed and unveiled; that it may be a guiding lamp and a beaconing light whereby wayfarers may attain the heights of holiness, and seekers may advance into the realm of eternal reunion. Such are the unveiled traditions and the evident verses already mentioned. The other language is veiled and concealed, so that whatever lieth hidden in the heart of the malevolent may be made manifest and their innermost being be disclosed. Thus hath Ṣádiq, son of Muḥammad, spoken: "God verily will test them and sift them." This is the divine standard, this is the Touchstone of God, wherewith He proveth His servants. None apprehendeth the meaning of these utterances except them whose hearts are assured, whose souls have found favour with God, and whose minds are detached from all else but Him. In such utterances, the literal meaning, as generally understood by the people, is not what hath been intended. Thus it is recorded: "Every knowledge hath seventy meanings, of which one only is known amongst the people. And when the Qá'im shall arise, He shall reveal unto men all that which remaineth." He also saith: "We speak one word, and by it we intend one and seventy meanings; each one of these meanings we can explain."

286 These things We mention only that the people may not be dismayed because of certain traditions and utterances, which have not yet been literally fulfilled, that they may rather attribute their perplexity to their own lack of understanding, and not to the non-fulfilment of the promises in the traditions, inasmuch as the meaning intended by the Imáms of the Faith is not known by this people, as evidenced by the traditions themselves. The people, therefore, must not allow such utterances to deprive them of the divine bounties, but should rather seek enlightenment from them who are the recognized Expounders thereof, so that the hidden mysteries may be unravelled, and be made manifest unto them.

287 We perceive none, however, amongst the people of the earth who, sincerely yearning for the Truth, seeketh the guidance of the divine Manifestations concerning the abstruse matters of his Faith. All are dwellers in the land of oblivion, and all are followers of the people of wickedness and rebellion. God will verily do unto them that which they themselves are doing, and will forget them even as they have ignored His Presence in His day. Such is His decree unto those that have 257 denied Him, and such will it be unto them that have rejected His signs.

288 We conclude Our argument with His words—exalted is He—"And whoso shall withdraw from the remembrance of the Merciful, We will chain a Satan unto him, and he shall be his fast companion." (Koran 43:36). "And whoso turneth away from My remembrance, truly his shall be a life of misery." (Koran 20:124).

289 Thus hath it been revealed aforetime, were ye to comprehend.

290 Revealed by the "Bá" and the "Há." (Baha'i)

291 Peace be upon him that inclineth his ear unto the melody of the Mystic Bird calling from the Sadratu'l-Muntahá!

292 Glorified be our Lord, the Most High!

The End

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THE SCRIPTURES OF ISLAM

The Koran

THE LIFE OF MOHAMMED

also called Sirat Rasul Allah

by Mohammed ibn Ishaq

THE HADITH

also called Sahih al-Bukhari

by Mohammed al-Bukhari

MANUAL TO SHARIA LAW

called Reliance of the Traveller or Umdat al-Salik

by Ahmad ibn Naqib al-Misri

Edited and arranged by Lord Henfield

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THE ISLAMIC SCRIPTURE

All works in this part of the Grand Bible are presented in their unabridged and full translations. Most of those works are accompanied by detailed pieces of extra information, such as a Glossary of Essential Islamic Words, and with important names of places, persons, things, and intellectual terms, as well as some English words when they carry in Islam a connotation that is different from 'western interpretation'.

The historical works are: **The Koran** (The Recital), **The Sira** (Sirat Rasul Allah / The Biography of Mohammed which is part of the Sunna, the tradition on Mohammed), **The Hadith** (Sahih al-Bukhari which is part of the Sunna), and **The Manual to Sharia Law** (Umdat al-Salik / The Reliance of the Traveller [Migrant] which informs about Islamic law, doctrine, and political ideology).

For the very first time, as supplement to the Manual of Sharia law, we have also displayed here modern Covenants, Charters and Constitutions as they are they were written on the basis of precisely those Islamic laws, doctrines, and political ideologies.

The 3 Major Books or The Trilogy of Islam

THE KORAN: The Recitation. The Koran is the central religious text of Islam, which Muslims believe to be a revelation from God (Arabic: Allah). The Koran is designed as a notebook arranged in verses that can easily be memorised. They are assorted into 30 parts, 114 chapters. Each chapter [sura or surah] consists of several verses, known as ayat, which originally means a "sign" or "evidence" sent by Allah. The number of verses differs from sura to sura. An individual verse may be just a few letters or several lines. The total number of verses in the most popular Hafs Koran is 6,236; without the 114 Bismillahs; chapter 9 has no Bismillah. In order to understand content and context, one must read the Sira which contains the narrative of the verses; The Hadith explain details; and the Tafsir discusses interpretations.

THE SIRA: The Sirat Rasul Allah, or Life of Allah's Messenger, is part of the Sunna, the traditions of Mohammed. The Sira, is the traditional Muslim biography of Mohammed from which, in addition to the Koran and trustable Hadiths, most historical information about his life and the early period of Islam is derived. The Sira shows what Islam is all about: Allah and Mohammed.

THE HADITH: The Hadith is part of the Sunna, the traditions of Mohammed. A hadith is the narration of an event from the life of Muhammad, the prophet of Islam. In English, the word hadith is also used as the plural for the Arabic "ahadith." The word hadith means piece of information and refers to (1st) A statement of Mohammed, (2nd) An action of Mohammed, (3rd) Mohammed's approval of an action done by other than him. The hadith is used along with the Quran to interpret Sharia while the Sira explains the reason. A book with hadith is salled "sahih" and means "authentic" or "sound." The most authentic Hadith can be found in the Sahih al-Bukhari [before 846 AD], the Sahih Muslim [before 875 AD], and the Sahih Ibn Hibban [before 965 AD].

THE TAFSIR: A fourth kind of authoritative Islamic book is the tafsir. It is an Islamic exegesis and attempts to provide elucidation, explanation, interpretation, context or commentary for clear understanding and conviction of "Allah's will", meaning the ideological, political, sociological doctrines that support jurisdiction, litigation, and jurisprudence of Sharia law. Al-Tabari's Tafsir in 40 volumes, called Jami' al-bayan 'an [or: fi] ta'wil ay al-Qur'an, lit. "Collection of Statements on Interpretation of Verses of the Koran", is the earliest major running commentary of the Koran to have survived in its original form. It is from before 923 AD and is notable for its comprehensiveness and citation of multiple, often conflicting sources.

Books that Islam recognises as Sacred

Islamic holy books are the texts which Muslims believe were authored by Allah through various prophets throughout humanity's history. All these books, in Muslim belief, promulgated the code and laws that Allad ordained for those people. Muslims believe the Quran to be the final revelation of God to mankind, and a completion and confirmation of previous scriptures. Despite the primacy that Muslims place upon the Quran as Allah's final word, Islam speaks of respecting all the previous scriptures, and belief in all the revealed books is an article of faith in Islam. Among the books considered to be revealed, the four mentioned by name in the Koran shareef are the Tawrat (Torah or the Law) revealed to Musa (Moses), the Zabur (Psalms) revealed to Dawud (David), the Injil (the Gospel) revealed to Isa (Jesus).

• THE **TAWRAT**: The **Torah**. According to the Quran, the Torah was revealed to Moses (Musa) but the Quran argues that the current Torah has suffered corruption over the years, and is no longer reliable. Moses and his brother Aaron (Hārūn) used the Torah to preach the message to the Israelites (Banu Isra'il). This is an Islamic misconception which refers most likely to the Book of Jubilees that covers much of the same ground as Genesis, but often with additional detail. The Book of Jubilees, sometimes called Lesser Genesis (Leptogenesis), is an ancient Jewish religious work of 50 chapters, considered canonical by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church as well as Beta Israel (Ethiopian Jews), where it is known as the Book of Division (Ge'ez: Mets'hafe Kufale). The text was utilised by the community that originally collected the Dead Sea Scrolls. No complete Greek or Latin version is known to have survived, but the Ge'ez version has been shown to be an accurate translation of the versions found in the Dead Sea Scrolls. There was an incident during the early Islam that could explain why Muslims think the Torah was corrupted. The Migration to Abyssinia (Arabic: al-hijra 'ila al-habasha), also known as the First Hegira (Arabic: hijra), was an episode in the early history of Islam, where Muhammad's first followers fled from the persecution of the ruling Quraysh tribe of Mecca. They sought refuge in the Christian Kingdom of Aksum, present-day Ethiopia and Eritrea (formerly referred to as Abyssinia), between 613 AD (9 BH) and 615 AD (7 BH). The first group of emigrants, comprising eleven men and four women, was granted asylum under King Ashama ibn-Abjar, the Negus (the king, or "al-Najashi" in Arabic) of the Kingdom of Aksum. This group included Muhammad's daughter Ruqayyah and his son-in-law Uthman ibn Affan, who later became the third caliph. They were brought in front of the Negus and his bishops where they all, according to the Sira, debated the scripture. The Muslims might have seen the Book of Jubilees, also known as Lesser Genesis, und assumed it were the Torah. Many of the Abyssinian exiles returned to Mecca in 622 and made the [second] hegira to Medina with Muhammad, while a second wave went to Medina in 628.

• **THE SCROLLS OF ABRAHAM** are believed to have been one of the earliest bodies of scripture, which were given to Abraham (ibrāhīm), and later used by Ishmael (Isma'il) and Isaac (Ishaq). Although usually referred to as "scrolls", many translators have translated the Arabic suhuf as "books". The Scrolls of Abraham are now considered lost rather than corrupted, although some scholars have identified them with the Testament of Abraham, an apocalyptic piece of literature available in Arabic at the time of Muhammad. The verse mentioning the "Scriptures" is in Quran 87:18-19 where they are referred to "Books of the Earliest Revelation".

• **SCROLLS OF MOSES** (Arabic: Suhufi Musa and / or As-Suhufi 'l-Ula - "Books of the Earliest Revelation"): These scrolls, containing the **revelations of Moses**, which were perhaps written down later by Moses, Aaron and Joshua, are understood by Muslims to refer not to the Torah but to revelations aside from the Torah. Some scholars have stated that they could possibly refer to the Book of the Wars of the Lord, a lost text spoken of in the Old Testament or Tanakh in the Book of Numbers. The verse mentioning the "Scriptures" is in Quran 87:18-19 where they are referred to "Books of the Earliest Revelation".

• THE **ZABUR**: The Quran mentions the Zabur [Psalms], often interpreted as being the **Book of Psalms**, as being the holy scripture revealed to King David (Dawud in Islam). Scholars have often understood the Psalms to have been holy songs of praise. The current Psalms are still praised by many Muslim scholars, but Muslims generally assume that some of the current Psalms were written later and are not divinely revealed. Quran 21:105 and Psalm 37:29 are direct counterparts.

• THE **INJIL**: The Injil **[gospel]** was the holy book revealed to Jesus (Isa), according to the Quran. Although some lay Muslims believe the Injil refers to the entire New Testament, scholars assume that it refers not to the New Testament but to an original Gospel, given to Jesus as the word of Allah. Therefore, according to Muslim belief, the Gospel was the message that Jesus, being divinely inspired, preached to the Children of Israel. The current canonical Gospels, in the belief of Muslim scholars, are not divinely revealed but rather are documents of the life of Jesus, as written by various contemporaries, disciples and companions. These Gospels, in Muslim belief, contain portions of the teachings of Jesus, but neither represent nor contain the original Gospel from Allah, which has been corrupted and/or lost. It is possible that the Muslims refered to a non-canonical gospel such as the Gospel of Didymus Judas Thomas, the Gospel of the Ebionites, the Gospel of the Hebrews, or the Gospel of Marcion.

Additional scrolls and texts: The Quran also mentions two ancient scrolls and another possible book:

• **THE KITAB YAHYA**: The **Book of John the Baptist**. There is an allusion to a Book (Kitab) of John the Baptist (Yahya). It is possible that portions of its text appear in some of the Mandæan scriptures such as the Ginza Rba or the Draša d-Iahia "The Book of John the Baptist". Yahya is revered by Mandæans and by Sabians [a religious group mentioned in the Quran as a "People of the Book," along with the Jews and the Christians [Not to be confused with the Yemenite Sabaeans.]. They were identified by early writers with the ancient Jewish Christian group the Elcesaites [probably descendants of Essenes and Ebionites], and with gnostic groups such as the Hermeticists and the Manichaens.

Mohammed and the Koran

The main source of any authoritative Islamic teaching and ideology is, of course, Mohammed and the Koran. Everything that Muslims do or not do, in daily life, as well as in politics, is strictly based on the Koran, the Sira, and the Hadith. Muslims consider it, as they admit, a "comprehensive way of life." In other words, it is totalitarian. It affects not only Muslims but also any non-Muslim because the political ideologies in the Koran, the Sira, and the Hadith particularly target Kafirs [Islamic term for the vile non-Muslim]; and in this regard it does not matter if the non-Muslim is in any way religious or not. In this regard, Islamic texts differ a lot from any other religious text: While Hindu, Jewish, Christian and Buddhist texts are addressing only their own people, over 50% of the Islamic text corpus refers to the treatment of non-Muslims! Everyone is supposed to submit themselves to Islam because this is what the word Islam means and this explicitly includes all non-Muslims. Everyone can easily check that by opening chapters 2, 5, or 9. Their displayed hate against Jews, Idolaters [Hindus, Buddhists, Confucianists, Daoists, etc.], and Christians, is just breath-taking. The problem here is that those, often violent verses, from the chapters of the "Medina-Koran" are not only taught to adults. The Koran-teachers bear the main responsibility that these verses against non-Muslims, "unbelievers" or "disbelievers" and women are already heard by the youngest children beginning from the age between 2 and 5 because the mothers take them to the mosques' madrasas [Koran schools]. This is the age in which the Islamic brainwash is most effective and most lasting. Most western people, secular people, and people from the far east, have no idea how Muslims view them, how they really despise them. And in the end, it is the teachers -- no matter if we call them iman, ulama, mullah or by any other Islamic name -- who are responsible for wars, terror attacks, and artrocities inside and outside the "Umma," the Islamic nation of all Muslims (the allegiance of a Muslim is first and foremost to the Umma, never to the nation state he lives in.). They echo Mohammed and the Koran. It is the Koran that teaches the Koran-teacher, and it is that teacher who moulds the Muslim, there is no escape. The perpetrators then always quote the Islamic scripture to justify their deeds. The many victims of Islamic ideology give us the duty and the reason to show every aspect of the Islamic scripture from the historian's point of view. We can understand Islam only when we know the history of Islamic scripture and the life of Mohammed.

Structure of the Koran

The Koran is a small book. Its size accounts for c. 65% of the New Testament and it is designed as a notebook for memorising. It consists of 30 parts and of 114 chapters of varying lengths, each known as a Sura [also: Surah]. Each sura has a different number of verses. With the exception of an opening prayer [Sura 1], the chapters are arranged roughly from the longest to the shortest chapters. They are normally not arranged in a chronological order, which makes it devoid of any long context. Here in the Grand Bible they are chronological, because this order reveals Mohammed's life. Therefore this Koran is arranged in two main parts. Chapters are classified as Meccan or Medinan, depending on whether the verses were revealed to Mohammed before or after his migration of to the city of Medina: 87 suras were revealed to Mohammed in Mecca, 27 in Medina. These suras reflect Mohammed's attitude towards things. In Mecca he was a peaceful preacher with no success; he had perhaps about 150 followers, most of them from his own family. In Medina then, he became a caravan robber, then a warlord, and finally a politician and dictator; it took him 95 wars in 10 years to subjugate the entire Arabian peninsula which roughly has the size of India! And it is these Verses of the Medina Koran that abrogate any of the peaceful Meccan verses.

However, a sura classified as Medinan may contain Meccan verses in it and vice versa. Sura titles are derived from a name or quality discussed in the text, or from the first letters or words of the sura. Each sura, except Sura 9, starts with the Bismillah, an Arabic phrase meaning "In the name of God the merciful." Some scholar assume that Sura 9 has no Bismillah of "the merciful God" because it is the most cruel chapter. There are, however, still 114 Bismillahs in the Koran, due to its presence in Koran 27:30 as the opening of Solomon's letter to the Queen of Sheba.

Abrogation

The word "abrogation," or Naskh in Arabic, describes an Islamic tool developed to resolve contradictory rulings of Islamic revelation by superseding or canceling the earlier revelation. It was formulated already by Mohammed himself in the two Verses of abrogation:

Koran 2:106: What We abrogate of a sign or We cause it to be forgotten, We bring better than it or similar to it. Do not you know that Allah over every thing is All-Powerful? (tr. Abdel Haleem)

Koran 16:101: When We substitute one revelation for (another) revelation, – and Allah knows best what He reveals

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(in stages),– they say, "Thou art but a forger": but most of them understand not.

Some verses mention the word abrogation [naskh] directly, others do not. Instead of the word naskh, other words are used, such as: "in place of" (baddal), "effaceth " (yamhua), "withdraw" (nadhhabanna), "forget" (tansha). Here are some examples [Notice the "We" with capital letter is the royal "we" used by Allah when refering to himself.]:

2:106: None of Our revelations do We abrogate or cause to be forgotten, but We substitute something better or similar: Knowest thou not that Allah Hath power over all things?

22:52: Never did We send a messenger or a prophet before thee, but, when he framed a desire, Satan threw some (vanity) into his desire: but Allah will cancel anything (vain) that Satan throws in, and Allah will confirm and establish His Signs: for Allah is full of Knowledge and Wisdom. The verses 7:154, 13:39, 16:101, 17:86, 45:29, 87:6–7 also mention the abrogation tool.

Chronology and Abrogation

Since an abrogating verse must have been revealed after the verse it abrogates, the validity of abrogation requires a knowledge of the chronology of the primary sources. It is the rule of abrogation that makes the contents of the Koran so dangerous for non-Muslims. This applies in particular in cases of law and warfare. Principally, any and all verses of the earlier Mecca Koran can be abrogated by these verses of the later Medina Koran: 2, 98, 64, 62, 8, 47, 3, 61, 57, 4, 65, 59, 33, 63, 24, 58, 22, 48, 66, 60, 110, 49, 9, 5.

Verses from the chapters 9 and 5 are the last ones revealed to Mohammed, and therefore, they are the strongest; unfortunately for Kafirs [non-Muslims], they are also the most violent verses. In other words, the two following verses must be understood as absolute commandments. In fact, they represent the Islamic declaration of war on non-Muslims. As Muslims view themselves as "the hand of Allah", they have to execute them on non-Muslims, apostates, and also on Muslims who do not support Jihad:

9:5 But when the forbidden months are past, then fight and slay the Pagans wherever ye find them, an seize them, beleaguer them, and lie in wait for them in every stratagem (of war); but if they repent, and establish regular prayers and practise regular charity, then open the way for them: for Allah is Oft-forgiving, Most Merciful.

9:29 Fight those who believe not in Allah nor the Last Day, nor hold that forbidden which hath been forbidden by Allah and His Messenger, nor acknowledge the religion of Truth, even if they are of the People of the Book [Jews, Christians, etc.], until they pay the Jizya [special tax of non-Muslims to be paid to Muslims] with willing submission, and feel themselves subdued.

From Prehistory to the Hashemite Clan

The Arabian Peninsula prior to the emergence of Islam in 610 AD was full of distinctive civilisations and it is advantageous to pay attention to them. The knowledge about these communities is limited and has been pieced together from archaeological evidence, accounts written outside of Arabia, and Arab oral traditions which were later recorded by Islamic historians.

Among the most prominent civilisations were the Thamud civilisation, which arose around 3000 BC and lasted to around 300 AD, and the Dilmun civilisation, which arose around the end of the fourth millennium and lasted to around 600 AD. Additionally, from the beginning of the first millennium BC, Southern Arabia was the home to a number of kingdoms such as the Sabaeans, and there is no doubt that merchants and other people from India left their mark. Eastern Arabia was inhabited by Semitic speakers who presumably migrated from the southwest, such as the so-called Samad population. A few nodal points were controlled by Iranian Parthian and Sassanian colonists. In northwestern and western Arabia, Aramaic speaking Hebrews did the same.

Pre-Islamic religions in Arabia included Arabian indigenous polytheistic beliefs, ancient Semitic religions (religions predating the Abrahamic religions which themselves likewise originated among the ancient Semitic-speaking peoples). However, a vast portion of the population, probably about the half of it, followed various forms of Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Christianity, Manichaeism, and Gnosticism.

The Quraysh are a mercantile Arab tribe that historically inhabited Jordan and northern Arabia, and, according to tradition, they controlled the city-state of Mecca and its Kaaba. If that legend is true, the historical Mecca [Makka] must have been in the North and not in Saudi-Arabia. The Armenian historian Tovma Artsruni recorded in the 870s AD that Mohammed's father and his brother came from the regions of Arabia Petraea in "the place called Paran, which is now called Maka" [see: The History of the House of Artsrunik, chapter 4]. The "Wilderness of Paran" is a location already mentioned in Genesis 21:21, Numbers 10:12, Deuteronomy 1:1; 33:2; Chronicles of Jerahmeel, chapter 62:11. Titus Flavius Josephus even describes the caves in Paran [Petra], Jewish War 9:4; Antiquities 14:1; And in that area is only one city that fits this description but also the geographic details recorded in the Koran, and that is the City of Petra.

The Quraysh's progenitor was Fihr ibn Malik, whose full genealogy, according to traditional Arab sources, was the following: Fihr ibn Mālik ibn al-Naḍr ibn Kināna ibn Khuzayma ibn Mudrika ibn Ilyās ibn Muḍar ibn Nizār ibn Maʿadd ibn ʿAdnān. Thus, Fihr belonged to the Kinana tribe and his descent is traced to Adnan, the semi-legendary father of the northern Arabs.

The Islamic prophet Muhammad was born into the Hashemite clan of the tribe. The Hashemites, also known as the Banu Hashim, claim to trace their ancestry from Hashim ibn 'Abd Manaf (died c. 497 AD), the great-grandfather of the Islamic prophet Muhammad, although the definition today mainly refers to the descendants of Muhammad's daughter Fatimah. The Hashemites still reside north of Saudi-Arabia in Jordan and

Abdullah II bin Al-Hussein, King of Jordan, is one of them. In fact, as a member of the Hashemite dynasty, the royal family of Jordan since 1921, he is a 41st-generation direct descendant of Mohammed.

Mohammed and his Origin

The Koran [also: Quran or Qur'an] is the holy book of Islam. The Koran is considered by Muslims to be the literal "Word of Allah (the Muslim God)". This book is claimed to be different from other religious texts in that it is said to be the literal words of Allah, through the prophet Muhammad. In reality, it is a book of law and also a book of political doctrines. Muslims believe the Koran was first revealed to Muhammad by the archangel Gabriel in a cave on the mountain of Hira in Mecca, and then over a period of twenty-three years until his death. The Koran was not written all together in book-form while Muhammad was alive. It was kept by oral communication and brief written records on single sheets. It took severeal decades until the Koran developed into the form we know today.

The language used in the Koran was not originally pure Arabic at the time when the Koran was written. In Sura 16:103, we find this remark: "And indeed We know that they say: Only a mortal teaches him [Mohammed]. The tongue of him whom they hint at is foreign, and this [Koran] is clear Arabic language." It seems to say that Mohammed was taught by a person who used Arabic that was mixed with foreign [Greek and Aramaic] words and therefore could not be clearly understood by all other Arabs. There was one place where such a mixed Arabic was in use at the time: In Petra [where most people spoke Arabic and Greek]. If Sura 16:103 refered to Mecca in Saudi-Arabia, it would not make any sense; but if that verse refered to "the regions of Arabia Petraea in the place called Paran, which is now called Maka" [a quote by Tovma Artsruni that refers to Petra], in which the inhabitants spoke several different languages, it would have made a lot of sense. It was the Arabic language structure used only in the Petra region" that was used in the Koran.

As Petra was the only region in which Arabs used the article "al-" [or "el-"], instead of "an-," The historian Dan Gibson found indications that Petra was Mohammed's original hometown and the place where parts of the Koran first were written down. Sura 43:2-3 seem to say that the people were pleased when Mohammed used only pure and clear Arabic: "By the Book that makes manifest! Surely We have made it an Arabic Koran that you may understand."

The Koran and its Hebrew Origin

A fact that is mostly overlooked is that the Koran, although claimed to be an Arab book, seem to be a Jewish book. When we say "Jewish", we actually refer to Judaism that is not represented by modern Rabbinic [Roman] Judaism but by the ancient Messianic Movement that left behind the Dead Sea Scrolls found in Qumran. There are reasons to make such a suggestion. When we read the Koran, all prophets are Israelites, only one is Arab, Mohammed himself. Muslims have an official list of those 25 prophets [in Arabic and Hebrew]: 1. Adam (Adam), 2. Idris (Enoch), 3. Nuh (Noah), 4. Hud (Eber), 5. Saleh (Salah), 6. Ibrahim (Abraham), 7. Lut (Lot), 8. Ismail (Ishmael), 9. Ishaq (Isaac), 10. Yaqub (Jacob), 11. Yusuf (Joseph), 12. Ayyub (Job), 13. Shu'ayb (Jethro), 14. Musa (Moses), 15. Harun (Aaron, brother of Moses), 16. Dhul-Kifl (Joshua, assistant of Moses), 17. Dawud (King David), 18. Sulayman (King Solomon), 19. Ilyas (Elijah), 20. Yasa (Elisha), 21. Yunus (Jonah), 22. Zakariyya (Zechariah), 23. Yahya (John, the Baptist), 24. Isa (Yeshua / Jesus, the Nazorean), 25. Muhammad (Mohammed). However, the list does not really end here. The following persons are also mentioned in the Koran:

• Cyrus the Great / Imru'l-Qays (Dhul-Qarnayn, King of Persia, called "the Messiah", the Anointed One [Isaiah 45:1]; See: Edict of Restoration [2 Chronicles 36:22-23; Ezra 1:1-4], Cyrus Cylinder).

• Sons of Jacob (Yaqub; who was also called "Israel"] had 12 biological sons through his two wives and his two concubines: 1. Reuben, 2. Simeon, 3. Levi, 4. Judah, 5. Dan, 6. Naphtali, 7. Gad, 8. Asher, 9. Issachar, 10. Zebulun, 11. Joseph, 12. Benjamin. These men are sometimes not considered to be prophets because of their behaviour with Yusuf (Joseph) and that they lied to their father. The offspring of Jacob's sons became the "tribes of Israel" following the Exodus from Egypt, when the Israelites conquered and settled in the Land of Israel [see: Amarna letters].

• Joshua (Yusha) was the assistant and successor of Moses. according to the Hebrew Bible, he was one of the two tribe messengers, along with Caleb that brought news that Jerusalem was habitable for the Jews; also mentioned in the Hadith.

• Caleb (Kaleb) was a companion of Moses and Joshua. In the Quran, Caleb is mentioned in the 5th Sura of the Quran (5:20-26).

• Khidr: The Quran also mentions the mysterious Khidr (but does not name him), identified with Melchizedek, a companion of Moses. Khidr might be a possible reference to the Mesopotamian figure Utnapishtim from the Epic of Gilgamesh, also known as Hasisatra or Atra-Hasis.

• Luqman (also known as Luqman the Wise, Luqmaan, Lukman, and Luqman al-Hakeem) was a wise man after whom Sura Luqman [Sura 31] was named. Luqman (c. 1100 BC) was believed to be from Nubia or Ethiopia. The Koran does not identify him as a prophet but as a saint.

• Samuel was not mentioned by name, only referred to as a prophet sent to the Israelites and who anoints Saul as a king.

• King Saul (Talut) was not considered a prophet, but a divinely appointed king.

• Joachim (Imran): The Family of Imran is the name of the 3rd chapter of the Koran. Imran, not to be confused with Amram, is Arabic for the biblical figure Joachim, the father of Mary and maternal grandfather of Jesus.

• Mary (Maryam): Some scholars (such as Ibn Hazm) regard Mary as a messenger [nabi] and a prophetess, since God sent her a message through an angel and because she was a vessel for divine miracles.

Numerous other people from the Bible have been mentioned in the Hadith [Sahih al-Bukhari 846 AD, Sahih Muslim 875 AD, Sahih Ibn Hibban 965 AD] and the Tafsir al-Tabari 923 AD. These people include: Habil (Abel), Danyal (Daniel), Elizabeth (Alyassabat), Hosea, Isaiah (Ishiya), Jeremiah (Irmiya), Seth (Sheeth), Shem, Zechariah, son of Berekiah.

Muhammad borrowed, both, scripture and legend, from Judaism and there were two reasons that were as logical as compelling: He (1st) needed a well-known framework for the Koran and (2nd) he needed for his new religion the "aura of legitimacy" which could be provided only by authoritative contents. And in those times only contents of tradition and high regard could fulfil this task. Furthermore, if Mohammed really came from Petra, the logical choice had to be texts from Hebrew sources because a large part of the population of the region of Paran was of Judaic or Hebrew descent. He freely altered what he heard. Conceptions, matters of creed, views of morality, and of life in general, and more especially matters of history and traditions, have actually passed over from Judaism into the Koran. Even ordinary things, such as the clothing and wearing a kipa [a cap], the food laws, the purity laws, up to the traditions of pilgrimage and parambulating around the Tempel [by Muslims called Kaaba] in Mecca. Even the shape of the Kaaba is the same as the legendary Temple of Jerusalem: a cube.

The Hebrew Patriarchs in Koran and Hebrew Texts

A. From Adam to Noah

• Creation – Adam is wiser than the angels are because he could name the animals (Sura 2:28-32) c.f. Midrash Rabbah on Numbers para. 19, Midrash Rabbah on Genesis para. 8 and 17, and Sanhedrin 38

• The story of Satan refusing to worship Adam (S. 7:10-18; 17:63-68, 18:48, 20:115, 38:71-86) was explicitly rejected by the Jews. c.f. Midrash Rabbah on Genesis para. 8

• Cain and Abel – sacrifice and murder.

Koran – raven tells Cain how to bury the body (Sura 5:31)

Jews – raven tells parents how to bury body (Pirke Rabbi Eliezer Ch. 21)

Koran – slaying a soul is like slaying all mankind (Sura 5:35) this is taken out of context from Mishna Sanhedrin 4:5

• Idris (Enoch) – taken to Paradise after death and raised to life again. c.f. Sura 19:58 with Gen. 5:24 and Tract Dereen Erez (cited in Midrash Yalku Ch. 42)

B. From Noah to Abraham

• Angels living on earth, lusting after women and dividing marriages. S. 2:96 – alludes to Mdr. Abhkhir (quoted in Midr. Yalkut Ch. 44)

• Noah – role as teacher and seer and the flood of hot water both match rabbinical ideas. [Compare Sura 7:57-63, 10:72-75, 11:27-50, 22:43, 23:23-32, 25:39, 26:105-121, 29:13-14, 37:73-81, 54:9-18, 71:1ff with Sanhedrin 108, and Sura 11:40 with Midrash Tanchuma, Section Noah, Sura 11:42,

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23:27 with Rosh Hashanan 162.] Noah's words are indistinguishable from Muhammad's (or Gabriel/Allah).

C. Abraham to Moses

• Abraham – Archetypal prophet, friend of God, lived in temple, wrote books. Conflict over idols lead to danger of being burned alive but he was rescued by God. (Compare Sura 2:60, 21:69-74, 29:23-27; 37:95-99 with Midrash Rabba on Genesis para. 38). So strong is Muhammad's identification with Abraham that he places words in Abraham's mouth that are not suitable to anyone outside Muhammad's context (e.g. Sura 24:88, 29:17-23)

• Joseph is the subject of almost all of the 12th sura. Additions to the Biblical story are derived from Jewish legends. (e.g. Joseph is warned away from Potiphar's wife in a dream (Sura 12:24, Sotah 6:2), Egyptian women cut their hands because of Joseph's beauty (Sura 12:31, compare with references in Midrash Yalkut to 'The Great Chronicle'.)

D. Moses and His Time

This is very similar to the Biblical account, but with some additions from Jewish fables and some errors.

• The infant Moses refused the breast of Egyptian women (Sura 28:11, Sotah 12,2)

• Pharaoh claims divinity (Sura 26:28, 28:38, Midrash Rabba on Exodus para. 5)

• Pharaoh eventually repents (Sura 10:90ff, Pirke Rabbi Eliezar section 43)

• God threatens to overturn the mountain onto the Israelites (Sura 2:60, 87; 7:170, Abodah Zerah 2:2)

• There is a confusion as to the exact number of plagues – is it 5 (Sura 7:130) or 9 (S. 17:103; 27:12)

• Haman (Sura 28:5,7,38; 29:38; 28:38) and Korah (Sura 29:38; 40:25) are thought to be advisors to Pharaoh.

• Miriam the sister of Aaron is also thought to be the mother of Jesus (Sura 3:30ff, 29:29, 46:12)

E. After Moses

• The Kings Who Ruled Over Undivided Israel: Very few particulars are given about Saul or David. Solomon is discussed in much more detail. The story about the Queen of Sheba (Sura 27:20-46) is virtually identical to the 2nd Targum on the Book of Esther.

• Holy Men After the Time of Solomon: Elijah, Jonah, Job, Shadrach, Mishach, Abednego (not by name), Ezra, Elisha

Views borrowed from Judaism

A. Doctrinal views

1. Unity of God

2. Creation - 6 days, 7 heavens (asserted in Chagiga, also the '7 paths' is used in the Talmud), 7 hells – including 7 gates and trees at the gates

3. Mode of Revelation

4. Retribution, including the last judgement and Resurrection – e.g. linkage of resurrection and judgement, evil state of the world before the Messiah/Mahdi, the war between Gog and Magog, a person's body will testify against them (e.g. S. 24:24), idols will be cast into hellfire, the wicked will be allowed to prosper so as to increase their iniquity. 1000 years is like a day to the Lord, the resurrected person will appear in the clothes in which he is buried

5. Doctrine of spirits - similar beliefs regarding angels and demons (djinn). Though Islam has a much more earthy idea of paradise, some similarities remain.

B. Moral and Legal Rules

1. Prayer

• Matches the rabbis' positions for prayer (standing, sitting, reclining) see Sura 10:13

• shorten prayer in war

• prayer forbidden to the drunken

• prayer must be vocalised by not said loudly

• Daybreak discerned by the ability to distinguish a blue (black) from a white thread

2. Woman

• divorced woman waits three months before remarriage

• suckling time is two years

• same limits on intermarriage

C. Views of Life

Death with the righteous is to be prized – Sura 3:191 and Numbers 23:10

Full understanding at 40 years – Sura 46:14 and Aboth 5:21

Interceding effectively leads to reward – Sura 4:87 and Baba Kamma 92

At death family and goods don't follow a person, only works do – Sunna 689 and Pirke Rabbi Eliezer 34

Stories Borrowed from Judaism: We can assume that Muhammad acquired the Old Testament narratives from the Jews, because nothing is included that would be of particular interest to Christians.

• Statements in the Koran Hostile to Judaism

Canaanites, Hebrews, Isralites, and Jews lived in Arabia already since the mid-second millenium BC. After the defeat of the Jewish Messianic Movement by the hands of Emperor Titus Flavius Vespasianus in the First Roman-Jewish War [66-73 AD], tens of thousands of Jews fled to Arabia. After the defeat of Simon bar Kokhba in the Third Roman-Jewish War [115–117 AD] against Emperor Hadrianus second wave of Messianic refugees followed because this time, the Romans expulsed almost all Jews from the Province of Judaea.

The entire Jewish population of Galilee massacred or expelled, following the Tenth Roman-Jewish War [as Part of the Roman–Sassanid War of 602–628] against Emperor Flavius Heraclius 614–617/625 AD. This war turned neatly into a war against Mohammed who just had started his conquest spree.

There were many Jewish clans-some records indicate more than twenty, of which three were prominent-the Banu Nadir, the Banu Qaynuqa, and the Banu Qurayza lived in the vicinity of Medina. Muhammad arrived in Medina in 622 believing the Jewish tribes would welcome him. Contrary to expectation, his relations with several of the Jewish tribes in Medina were uneasy almost from the start. This was probably largely a matter of local politics. Medina was not so much a city as a fractious agricultural settlement dotted by fortresses and strongholds, and all relations in the oasis were uneasy. In fact, Muhammad had been invited there to arbitrate a bloody civil war between the Khazraj and the Aws Allah, in which the Jewish clans, being their clients, were embroiled.

At Muhammad's insistence, Medina's pagan, Muslim and Jewish clans signed a pact to protect each other, but achieving this new social order was difficult. Certain individual pagans and recent Medinan converts to Islam tried to thwart the new arrangement in various ways, and some of the Jewish clans were uneasy with the threatened demise of the old alliances. Besides that, they must have viewed Mohammed as an imposter with his blasphemic claim to be the Messenger of God. At least three times in five years, Jewish leaders, uncomfortable with the changing political situation in Medina, went against Muhammad, hoping to restore the tense, sometimes bloody-but predictable-balance of power among the tribes. A bitter fighting ensued that culminated in the famous Battle of the Trench. For Mohammed, the Battles against the battle-hardened Jewish Messianic fighters had extremely high casualty rates in which he lost hundreds of well-known companions. His fury turned the Koran into a scripture of Jew-hatred.

Mohammed's aim was to bring about the union between all religions, but Judaism, with its host of laws, stood in his way. So he made a break with the Jews, declaring them enemies who killed the prophets, thought themselves favoured by God believed they alone would enter paradise, held Ezra to be the son of God, trusted in the intercession of their predecessors, and perverted the Bible.

To emphasise this break he changed some of the Jewish traditions. For example: (1st) Supper precedes prayer (sunna) in opposition to the Talmud's adamant stance that prayer has priority, (2nd) Sex is permitted during Ramadan. The Talmud forbids it on the evening of fasts. Also, men may only remarry the wives they have divorced if the woman has first married and divorced someone else. This is in direct opposition to the Bible, (3rd) Most of the Jewish dietary regulations are removed, (4th) Muhammad cites 'eye for eye' and rebukes the Jews for replacing it with the payment of money.

Islam retains much from pre-Islamic Arabia including Allah, the name for God. The concept of monotheism did exist in Arabia already before Mohammed – even the pagans worshipped a supreme God that ruled over all the others. The Sabeans [who spoke a south-Semitic language, and ruled the Kingdom of Saba (Sheba) in Yemen from c. 1000 BC to 275 AD] accounted for the main population and an own distinct religion. There are clear indications that surviving Jews who fled from the Roman-Jewish wars, immigrated to Yemen and Ethiopia. We know about the following customs that were practised by :

• 7 daily prayers, 5 of them at the same times as those chosen by Mohammed

• prayed for the dead

• fasted 30 days from night to sunrise

• observed Eed from the setting of 5 starts

• venerated the Kaaba

1. Cain and Abel – Sura 5:30-35, compare with the Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziah, the Targum of Jerusalem. Specifically there are parallels with Pirke Rabbi Eleazer (the story of the raven teaching people how to bury), and with Mishnah Sanhedrin (the commentary about the shedding of blood).

2. Abraham saved from Nimrood's fire – (Sura 2:260, 6:74-84, 21:52-72, 19:42-50, 26:69-79, 29:15,16; 37:81-95, 43:25-27, 60:4) taken from Midrash Rabbah (Genesis 15:7). The parallels are especially clear when the relevant hadith are consulted. The only significant difference is that in the Koran Abraham's father is called Azar, not Terah, most certainly an allusion to Assur [and Akkadian-Assyrian names like Assarhaddon, Assurbanipal etc.]

3. Visit of the Queen of Saba (Sheba) to Solomon (Sura 21:17ff) is taken from the 2nd Targum of the Book of Esther

4. Harut and Marut (Sura 2:96, especially Araish al-Majalis – the commentary on that ayat) similar to several accounts in the Talmud, especially Midrash Yalkut. The stories are the same except for the manes of the angels. The manes in the Koran are the same as those of two goddesses worshipped in Armenia.

5. A few other things taken by Islam from the Jews

• 'Sinai overhead' – Sura 2:172 and Abodah Sarah

• The golden calf lowing – Sura 2:90 and Pirke Rabbi Eleazer

• Also, the Koran uses the word 'Sameri' for the man who built the golden calf – but Samaritans [a Hebrew sect] did not exist until 400 years after Moses.

6. A few other Jewish Matters

• Many words in the Koran are not Arabic but Chaldaean [Babylonian Akkadian, the east Semitic Lingua Franca of the Middle East from c. 2000 BC to 700 BC], Aramaic [the west Semitic Lingua Franca of the Middle East from c. 700 BC to 700 AD], Syriac Aramaic, Hebrew, etc.

• The concept of 7 heavens and 7 hells are in the Jewish books Hagigah and Zohar (Sura 15:44, 17:46)

• God's throne is above the waters (Sura 11:9) from the Jewish Rashi

• The angel Malik rules over Jehennam – the names is taken from Molech, the ruler of fire in pagan Palestine.

• There is a wall or partition separating heaven and hell (Sura 7:44) – a variety of places in the Jewish Midrash.

7. Religious usages of Islam taken from the Jews

• Daybreak begins when you can distinguish a white from a black(Islam)/blue(Jewish) thread (Sura 2:83, Mishnah Berakhoth)

• Sura 21:105 is a quotation of Psalm 37:11. How could the Koran quote the Psalms unless it came after them, therefore either the Psalms must be eternal as well, or the Koran is not.

• The Koran is preserved on "heavenly tablets" (Sura 85:21-22) – similar to the stone tablets of the decalogue (Deuteronomy 10:1-5) which Jewish legend had embellished to include the entire Torah, Writings, Prophets, Mishnah, and the Gemara (Rabbi Simeon). [The word "stone tablets" in Bible, Dead Sea scrolls and Koran refer to clay tablets (i.e., terracotta tablets) that were the main writing medium of the entire Middle East since the 4th millenium BC until c. 500 AD. Everythng was recorded on them, including the Flood Story and the Commandments (see: Amarna Letters and Instructions of Shuruppak). So, the word "stone tablets" is a synonym for "authoritative."

"Christian" Influence on Islam

Origins of the Koran from the Tales of Heretical Christian Sects and their scripture. We are talking here about Christians who were persecuted by the Christian Church of the Roman Empire and therefore fled into the Arabian desert before the time of Mohammed, meaning the Ebionites the Jewish Christians, the Gnostics, and alike. Archaelogists found their scripture at Nag Hammadi in Egypt.

1. The Seven Sleepers, or Companions of the Cave (Sura 18:8-26) is a story of Greek origin found in a Latin work of Gregory of Tours ('Story of Martyrs' 1:95) and was recognised by Christians as pious fiction.

2. The History of Mary (Sura 19:16-31, 66:12, 3:31-32 and 37-42, 25:37). Mary is said to be the sister of Aaron, the daughter of Imran (Hebrew Amran the father of Moses), and the mother of Jesus. The hadith tell us that Mary's mother was an aged, barren woman who promised to give her child to the temple if God gave it to her (from the Protevangelium of James the Less). The hadith also explain that the casting of rods mentioned in the Koran refers to when 6 priests were vying for who would raise Mary. They threw their rods into the river, only Zaccharias' rod floated (from the History of our Holy Father the Aged, the Carpenter (Joseph), and Arabic apocryphal book). Mary was denounced as an adulteress but pleaded her innocence (from Protevangelium a Coptic book on the Virgin Mary), and gave birth under a palm tree that aided her (from History of the Nativity of Mary and the Saviour's Infancy)

3. The Childhood of Jesus – Jesus spoke from the cradle and created birds of clay which he then turned to life (Sura 3:41-43, 5:119), from The Infancy Gospel of Thomas Chapter 1, 36, 46. Jesus was not really crucified (Sura 4:156) in accordance with the heretic Basilides (quoted by Iraneus). The writer of the Koran erroneously thought that the Trinity might consist of (God) the Father, (Mary) the Mother, and (Jesus) the Son (Sura 4:169, 5:77). In reality, the Trinity refers to God (the Father), Jesus (the Son), and the Holy Spirit (an entity that even not the best-educated Christians can explain well). As Pauline Christianity is a Roman religion, not a Hebrew one, the Trinity

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4. Some other stories from Christian or heretical writers: In the hadith (Quissas al-Anbial) God sends angels together dust to create Adam and Azrael brings it from every quarter (Ibn Athir via Abdul Feda). This is from the heretic Marconion who argued that it was an angel (the 'God of the law') who created people, not the true God. The balance of good and bad deeds (S. 42:16, 101:5-6) is from the 'Testament of Abraham' and from the Egyptian 'Book of the dead.' Two New Testament verses are alluded to: (a) camel through the eye of a needle (Sura 7:38, Matthew 19:24), God has prepared for the righteous things that eyes have not seen nor ears heard (Abu Hureira quoting the prophet in Mishkat of the Prophet, 1 Corinthians 2:9).

Zoroastrian and Hindu Influence on Islam

Some Things in the Koran and the Sunna came from Zoroastrian and Hindu Beliefs. Arabian and Greek historians tell us that much of the Arabian peninsula was under Persian rule before and during Mohammed's life. Ibn Hisham tells us that the stories of Rustem, Isfandiyar and ancient Persia were told in Medina and the Quraish used to compare them with tales in the Koran (e.g. the tales told by Nadhr, son of al-Harith).

1. Ascent (Miraj) of the prophet (Sura 17:1) – There is a great variation in interpretation. Ibn Ishaq quotes A'isha and the prophet as saying this was an out of body journey. Muhyiad-Din [ibn al-'Arabi] agrees. But Ibn Ishaq also quotes the prophet saying that it was a literal journey. Cotada relates the prophet saying that it was a literal journey into the 7th heaven. In a Zorastrian story the Magi send one of their number into heaven to get a message from God (Ormazd = Ahura Mazda) (from the Pahlavi book Arta Viraf Namak – 220 AD) Also, the 'Testament of Abraham' tells of Abraham being taken up to heaven in a chariot.

2. Paradise – filled with houris (Sura 55:72, 56:22) – like the 'paries' in Zorastrianism. The words 'houry', 'djinn', and 'bihist' (Paradise) are derived from sources in the Avesta and Pahlavi languages. The 'youths of pleasure' (ghilunan) are also in Hindu tales. The name of the Angel of death is taken from the Jews (in Hebrew two names are given, Sammael and Azrael, the latter was borrowed by Islam), but the concept of the angel killing those in hell was taken from Zoroastrianism.

3. Azazil coming from hell – in the Muslim traditions he worshiped God 1000 years in each of the 7 heavens before reaching earth. Then he sat 3000 years by the gates of paradise trying to tempt Adam and Eve and destroy creation. This is very similar to the Zoroastrian tale regarding their devil (Ahriman) in the book Victory of God. The peacock agreed to let Iblis into Paradise in exchange for a prayer with magical qualities (the Bundahishnih) - an association also noted by the Zoroastrians (Eznik in his book Against Heresies).

4. The light of Mohammed was the first created thing (Qissas al-Anbia, Rauzat al Ahbab). The light was divided into 4, then each into 4. Mohammed was the first of the first divisions of light. This light was then placed on Adam and descended to the best descendent. This is virtually identical to the Zoroastrian view which described 4 divisions of light (the Minukhirad, Desatir-i Asmani, Yesht 19:31-37); the light was placed on the first man (Jamshid) and passed to his greatest descendent.

5. The Bridge Sirat is a concept from Dinkart, but it is named Chinavad by the Zoroastrians.

6. The concept that each prophet predicts the next prophet is from Desatir-i Asmani where each Zoroastrian prophet predicts the next one. Also, the openings of these books (i.e. the Desatir-i Asmani) is "In the name of God, the Giver of gifts, the Beneficent' which is similar to the opening of all the Suras 'In the name of God the Merciful, the Gracious.'

7. How could Mohammed have learned these stories? Rauzat al-Ahbab tells us that the prophet used to talk to people from all over the place. Al-Kindi accuses the Koran of including foolish old-wives tales. Also, in Sirat-Rasul we learn of the Persian, Salman, who advised Mohammed regarding the battle of the trench and was accused of helping compose the Koran. (The Koran mentions him, though not by name, in S. 16:105).

The Hanefites: The Banu Hanifa were a Hanafite Christian branch of Banu Bakr and led an independent existence prior to Islam. Their Influence on Mohammed and On His Teaching is most reliably described by Ibn Hisham quoting Ibn Ishaq's Sira [biography of Mohammed]. Six Hanefites are mentioned by name – Abu Amir (Medina), Ummeya (Tayif), Waraqa (became a Christian), Ubaidallah (became a Muslim, moved to Abyssiniya and gave up Islam for Christianity), Uthman, Zaid (banished from Mecca, lived on Mt. Hira where Mohammed went to meditate) (the latter four were from Mecca).

Conclusion – All this said, the variety of sources does not mean than Mohammed had no role in creating Islam. But we see that as circumstances in his life changed, so too did his revelation. For example, Sura 22:44 (pre-Hegira) permission is given to fight when persecuted, but in Sura 2:212-214) war is commanded even during the sacred months (post-Hegira). Then again after the Banu Quraiza are conquered comes Sura 5:37 commanding dire punishments for anyone who opposes Mohammed. Towards the end of Mohammed's life the sacred months come back into favour (Sura 9:2,29), but Muslims are also commanded to kill idolaters "wherever they may find them," (even if they are not fighting against Islam!), because they do not profess Islam, the "true religion".

The Jewish Foundation of Islam

Why is a large amount of the Koran based on Judaic sources? Why has Mohammed not chosen Arabic sources and legends as fondation of the Koran? Scholars assume that Arabian religious history did not provide many sources for him, this however is a rather wobbly explanation based on the historical cleansing that Muslims have committed in the Arabian peninsula after the victory of Islam.

Mohammed must have been familiar with a large range of apocryphal works of the Jews and Christians in Arabia; perhaps even with the Torah and other parts of the canonical Bible. He only knows the prophets with interesting stories and is therefore ignorant of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and all the minor prophets except Jonah. From popular tales the Arabs knew that the Jews felt that they had descended from a common ancestor, Abraham, via Ismael and Isaac respectively. Hagar is not mentioned in the Koran. The Koran says that they built the Kaaba (though later Muslim doctrine says that Adam built it and Abraham cleansed it of idols). It is possible that the 'hanifs' (Arab monotheists following the religion of Abraham) are an invention of later Islam. The story of Iblis (or Shaitan) prostrating himself before Adam (38:73-77) may not refer to worship as there is a possible Jewish source for this story in Sanhedrin 596. Shu'aib is probably the Biblical Jethro. Uzair is Ezra, and the Jews are accused of declaring him to be the son of God. Idris is also Ezra (the Greek name). Hebrew chronology is very week in the Koran, e.g. Mohammed seems to associate Moses near to Jesus (as Moses' sister is also Jesus' mother). Isa ibn Maryam [Yeshua the Son of Mary] is Jesus. Very little is known about him by Mohammed and there are no uniquely Christian doctrines in the Koran.

The little that was known about Jesus came from (1st) the facts and fancies that were spread throughout all Arabia, and (2nd) a little via the Jews. The name 'Isa is itself inappropriate, it should be Yeshu in Arabic. Either it was given by the Jews (associating Jesus with their ancient enemy Esau) or it is a corruption of the Syriac name (Isho). In the Koran itself Jesus doesn't have a position higher than Abraham, Moses, or David. This elevation occurred later in the caliphate when the Arabs had closer contacts with Christians. A few Christian terms (e.g. Messiah, Spirit) work their way into the Koran without any real understanding of what they mean. It was probably the migration to Abyssinia that increased Mohammed's interest in the Christian stories. Rudolph and Ahrens argue that if Mohammed had learned about Jesus from the Jews then he would have ignored or insulted him. But many Jews appreciated Jesus as a teacher while rejecting Christian dogmas. Also, Mohammed was aware of the large Christian empire, so he would have distrusted anyone who insulted Jesus. The only information about Christ in the Koran is the kind of stuff that wouldn't bother the Jews. The Koran's view of Jesus' mission is: (1st) confirm the true doctrine of the Torah, (2nd) preach monotheism, (3rd) warn against new sects. Sura 15:1-15 is a literary connection with the New Testament (Luke 1:5-25, 57-66). This is the story of Zechariah and John was probably related by a learned man but not a Christian as it was isolated from any association with Jesus' birth. In summary, there is nothing particularly Christian about Jesus in the Koran.

The traditional commentators frequently neglect the Jewish population in Arabia. In contrast to that, the Jews have been targetted in the Koran, the Sira, and the Hadith with the most violent tirades of hatred.

'The origin of the term Islam'

Traditionally 'Islam' is said to mean 'submission', especially to Allah. But, this is not the normal meaning one would expect of the 4th stem of the verb 'salima'. It is especially strange since 'submission' is not a prominent feature of Mohammed or his religion nor especially emphasised in the Koran. It is, however, an important attribute of Abraham, especially in his potential sacrifice of Ishmael.

The Narratives of the Koran (pp. 330-348)

Mohammed's use of stories about prophets served two functions: (1st) it provided a clear connection with the previous 'religions of the book', and (2nd) it showed his countrymen that his religion had been preached before and those who rejected it were punished. But, Mohammed's storytelling was boring and he was mocked by an-Nadr ibn al-Harith who insisted that his own tales of Persian kings were far more interesting. (After the battle of Badr the prophet had his revenge and slew an-Nadr.) Mohammed himself appreciated a good story and incorporated pretty bits of folk tale into the Koran where he could. However, this provided a dilemma for Mohammed. If he merely reproduced tales he would be accused of plagiarism, but if he changed them he would be accused of falsifying. He couldn't just invent new stories, for his imagination was vivid but not creative. All of his characters talk the same way and he has very little sense of action. His solution was to repeat the stories he had learned, but in fragments, using introductory words which imply that he could tell more if he chose (e.g. 'and when…', 'and then there was that time…')

The story of Joseph is the most complete narrative in the Koran, but it is still annoyingly short in detail. Why were the women given knives? What does the banquet have to do with anything? Why was Joseph put in prison after Potipher's wife confessed? Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (27:16-45) is taken directly from the Haggada (see above pp. 181-186). Jonah (37:139-148) is a condensation of the Biblical account, but the name given is based on the Greek rather than Hebrew form. Saul and Goliath ('Talut' and 'Jalut') is a confusion of the story of Gideon (Jdg. 7:47) with that of David and Goliath. The story of Moses (s. 28:2-46) is a summary of most of Ex. 1-4, though Mohammed does not associate Moses with the Israelites. Haman is believed to be Pharaoh's vizier (also in s. 29 and 40). As in the Talmud (Sotah 126) the baby Moses refuses to suckle at an Egyptian breast. The marriage of Moses in Midian is loosely patterned after Jacob and Rachael; and a tower (virtually identical to the tower of Babel) is built by Pharaoh to reach Allah. This narrative illustrates the freedom which Mohammed felt as a prophet to alter the Biblical tradition.

Sura 18 is unusual because the stories in it are not from the Bible or Rabbinic literature, and Mohammed makes not mention to it elsewhere in the Koran.

1. The seven sleepers is from the legend of 7 Christian youths who fled from Ephasus to the mountains to escape the persecution of Decius (250 AD). Though a Christian tale it seems to have come to Mohammed via the Jews for several reasons (a) The hadith say that the Jews of Mecca were especially interested in this story (See Baidawi on vs. 23), (b) the rest of the stories in the chapter seem to have come via a Jewish rescension, and (c) internal evidence points to verse 18, which mentions the importance of 'clean' food, a concept important to Jews, not to Christians. There is nothing uniquely Christian about this tale. It could just as easily have been Israelite youths. Apparently the legend existed in different forms and Mohammed was challenged to know what was the correct number of youths. The Koran diffuses the challenge by insisting that only God knows the right answer.

2. The next story is a common parable of a god-fearing poor man vs. an arrogant, impious rich man. The latter is punished.

3. Then we have the story of Moses searching for the fountain of life which is the same as an episode from the legend of Alexander the Great with the name changed. This legend has roots in the Gilgamesh epic.

4. Finally, the narrative of the 'Two-horned' hero is again from Alexander the Great. He journey's to the place of the setting sun and to the place of its rising, as an emissary of God. He is protected against Gog and Magog (Yajuj and Majuj in the Koran) and Alexander builds a great wall. These fantasies echo those found in the Haggada, which reinforces the possibility of a Jewish source for the entire sura, likely a single document.

So, the sources of the Koran used by Mohammed include:

1. Biblical narrative with alteration
2. Jewish Haggada, well preserved
3. A small amount of ultimately Christian material from Aramaic documents.
4. Legends common to world literature introduced via the Jews at Mecca.

All of these were altered and rearranged for the purpose of providing his listeners with an Arabian revelation with enhanced credibility because it could be seen as part of a universal divine revelation.

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CONVERSION LIST
OF ISLAMIC YEAR AND CHRISTIAN YEAR
on basis of the Gregorian Calendar
BH: before 622 AD / **AH**: after 622 AD
(**B**efore **H**ijra or migration / **A**fter **H**ijra or migration)
(Approximation)

84 BH 540–541 AD	83 BH 541–542 AD
82 BH 542 AD	81 BH 542-543 AD
80 BH 543-544 AD	79 BH 544-545 AD
78 BH 545-546 AD	77 BH 546-547 AD
76 BH 547-548 AD	75 BH 548-549 AD
74 BH 549-550 AD	73 BH 550-551 AD
72 BH 551-552 AD	71 BH 552-553 AD
70 BH 553-554 AD	69 BH 554-555 AD
68 BH 555-556 AD	67 BH 556-557 AD
66 BH 557-558 AD	65 BH 558-559 AD
64 BH 559-560 AD	63 BH 560-561 AD
62 BH 561-562 AD	61 BH 562-563 AD
60 BH 563-564 AD	59 BH 564-565 AD
58 BH 565-566 AD	57 BH 566-567 AD
56 BH 567-568 AD	55 BH 568-569 AD
54 BH 569-570 AD	53 BH 570-571 AD
52 BH 571-572 AD	51 BH 572-573 AD
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144 AH 761-762 AD	145 AH 762-763 AD
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148 AH 765-766 AD	149 AH 766-767 AD
150 AH 767-768 AD	151 AH 768-769 AD
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154 AH 771 AD	155 AH 772 AD
156 AH 772-773 AD	157 AH 773-774 AD
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162 AH 778-779 AD	163 AH 779-780 AD
164 AH 780-781 AD	165 AH 781-782 AD
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198 AH 813-814 AD	199 AH 814-815 AD
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204 AH 819-820 AD	205 AH 820-821 AD
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222 AH 836-837 AD	223 AH 837-838 AD
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248 AH 862-863 AD	249 AH 863-864 AD
250 AH 864-865 AD	251 AH 865-866 AD
252 AH 866-867 AD	253 AH 867-868 AD
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258 AH 872-873 AD	259 AH 873-874 AD
260 AH 874 AD	261 AH 874-875 AD
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278 AH 891-892 AD	279 AH 892-893 AD
280 AH 893-894 AD	281 AH 894-895 AD
282 AH 895-896 AD	283 AH 896-897 AD
284 AH 897-898 AD	285 AH 898-899 AD
286 AH 899-900 AD	287 AH 900-901 AD
288 AH 901-902 AD	289 AH 902-903 AD
290 AH 903 AD	291 AH 903-904 AD
292 AH 904-905 AD	293 AH 905-906 AD
294 AH 906-907 AD	295 AH 907-908 AD
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300 AH 912-913 AD	301 AH 913-914 AD
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308 AH 920-921 AD	309 AH 921-922 AD
310 AH 922-923 AD	311 AH 923-924 AD
312 AH 924-925 AD	313 AH 925-926 AD

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314 AH 926-927 AD	315 AH 927-928 AD
316 AH 928-929 AD	317 AH 929-930 AD
318 AH 930-931 AD	319 AH 931-932 AD
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368 AH 978-979 AD	369 AH 979-980 AD
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1188 AH 1774-1775 AD	1189 AH 1775-1776 AD
1190 AH 1776-1777 AD	1191 AH 1777-1778 AD
1192 AH 1778-1779 AD	1193 AH 1779-1780 AD
1194 AH 1780 AD	1195 AH 1780-1781 AD
1196 AH 1781-1782 AD	1197 AH 1782-1783 AD
1198 AH 1783-1784 AD	1199 AH 1784-1785 AD
1200 AH 1785-1786 AD	1201 AH 1786-1787 AD
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1214 AH 1799-1800 AD	1215 AH 1800-1801 AD
1216 AH 1801-1802 AD	1217 AH 1802-1803 AD
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1228 AH 1813 AD	1229 AH 1813-1814 AD
1230 AH 1814-1815 AD	1231 AH 1815-1816 AD
1232 AH 1816-1817 AD	1233 AH 1817-1818 AD
1234 AH 1818-1819 AD	1235 AH 1819-1820 AD
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1248 AH 1832-1833 AD	1249 AH 1833-1834 AD
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1268 AH 1851-1852 AD	1269 AH 1852-1853 AD
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1300 AH 1883 AD	1301 AH 1883-1884 AD
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1362 AH 1943 AD	1363 AH 1943-1944 AD
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1366 AH 1946-1947 AD	1367 AH 1947-1948 AD
1368 AH 1948-1949 AD	1369 AH 1949-1950 AD
1370 AH 1950-1951 AD	1371 AH 1951-1952 AD
1372 AH 1952-1953 AD	1373 AH 1953-1954 AD
1374 AH 1954-1955 AD	1375 AH 1955-1956 AD
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1384 AH 1964-1965 AD	1385 AH 1965-1966 AD
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1442 AH 2020-2021 AD	1443 AH 2021-2022 AD
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1522 AH 2098-2099 AD	1523 AH 2099-2100 AD

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THE 99 NAMES OF ALLAH

Asma-ul-Husna, Collection of 99 Names of Allah in an Arabic-to-Roman transliteration and an English translation of each name.

	ASMA-UL-HUSNA	THE 99 NAMES OF ALLAH
	Arabic Transliteration	English Translation
1	Ar-Rahman	The Beneficent
2	Ar-Raheem	The Merciful
3	Al-Malik	The Eternal Lord
4	Al-Quddus	The Most Sacred
5	As-Salam	The Embodiment of Peace
6	Al-Mu'min	The Infuser of Faith
7	Al-Muhaymin	The Preserver of Safety
8	Al-Aziz	The Mighty One
9	Al-Jabbar	The Omnipotent One
10	Al-Mutakabbir	The Dominant One
11	Al-Khaaliq	The Creator
12	Al-Baari	The Evolver
13	Al-Musawwir	The Flawless Shaper
14	Al-Ghaffaar	The Great Forgiver
15	Al-Qahhaar	The All-Prevailing One
16	Al-Wahhab	The Supreme Bestower
17	Ar-Razzaq	The Total Provider
18	Al-Fattah	The Supreme Solver
19	Al-Alim	The All-Knowing One
20	Al-Qaabid	The Restricting One
21	Al-Baasit	The Extender
22	Al-Khaafid	The Reducer
23	Ar-Rafi	The Elevating One
24	Al-Mu'izz	The Honourer-Bestower
25	Al-Muzil	The Abaser
26	As-Sami'	The All-Hearer
27	Al-Baseer	The All-Seeing
28	Al-Hakam	The Impartial Judge
29	Al-Adl	The Embodiment of Justice
30	Al-Lateef	The Knower of Subtleties
31	Al-Khabeer	The All-Aware One
32	Al-Haleem	The Clement One
33	Al-Azeem	The Magnificent One
34	Al-Ghafoor	The Great Forgiver
35	Ash-Shakoor	The Acknowledging One
36	Al-Aliyy	The Sublime One
37	Al-Kabeer	The Great One
38	Al-Hafiz	The Guarding One
39	Al-Muqeet	The Sustaining One
40	Al-Haseeb	The Reckoning One
41	Al-Jaleel	The Majestic One
42	Al-Kareem	The Bountiful One
43	Ar-Raqeeb	The Watchful One
44	Al-Mujeeb	The Responding One
45	Al-Waasi'	The All-Pervading One
46	Al-Hakeem	The Wise One
47	Al-Wadud	The Loving One
48	Al-Majeed	The Glorious One
49	Al-Ba'ith	The Infuser of New Life
50	Ash-Shaheed	The All Observing Witness
51	Al-Haqq	The Embodiment of Truth
52	Al-Wakeel	The Universal Trustee
53	Al-Qawwiyy	The Strong One
54	Al-Mateen	The Firm One
55	Al-Waliyy	The Protecting Associate
56	Al-Hameed	The Sole-Laudable One
57	Al-Muhsee	The All-Enumerating One
58	Al-Mubdi	The Originator
59	Al-Mueed	The Restorer
60	Al-Muhyi	The Maintainer of life
61	Al-Mumeet	The Inflictor of Death
62	Al-Hayy	The Eternally Living One
63	Al-Qayyoom	The Self-Subsisting One
64	Al-Waajid	The Pointing One
65	Al-Maajid	The All-Noble One
66	Al-Waahid	The Only One
67	Al-Ahad	The Sole One
68	As-Samad	The Supreme Provider
69	Al-Qaadir	The Omnipotent One
70	Al-Muqtadir	The All Authoritative One
71	Al-Muqaddim	The Expediting One
72	Al-Mu'akhkhir	The Procrastinator
73	Al-Awwal	The Very First
74	Al-Akhir	The Infinite Last One
75	Az-Zaahir	The Perceptible
76	Al-Baatin	The Imperceptible
77	Al-Waali	The Holder of Supreme Authority
78	Al-Muta'ali	The Extremely Exalted One
79	Al-Barr	The Fountain-Head of Truth
80	At-Tawwaab	The Ever-Acceptor of Repentance
81	Al-Muntaqim	The Retaliator
82	Al-Afuww	The Supreme Pardoner
83	Ar-Ra'oof	The Benign One
84	Maalik-ul-Mulk	The Eternal Possessor of Sovereignty
85	Zul-Jalaali-wal-Ikram	The Possessor of Majesty and Honour
86	Al-Muqsit	The Just One
87	Al-Jaami'	The Assembler of Scattered Creations
88	Al-Ghaniyy	The Self-Sufficient One
89	Al-Mughni	The Bestower of Sufficiency
90	Al-Maani'	The Preventer
91	Ad-Daarr	The Distressor
92	An-Naafi'	The Bestower of Benefits
93	An-Noor	The Prime Light
94	Al-Haadi	The Provider of Guidance
95	Al-Badi'	The Unique One
96	Al-Baaqi	The Ever Surviving One
97	Al-Waaris	The Eternal Inheritor
98	Ar-Rasheed	The Guide to Path of Rectitude
99	As-Saboor	The Extensively Enduring One

THE 99 NAMES OF MOHAMMED

In Islam, Mohammed is treated like a god in everything but name. This is the reason why he - of course - also must have 99 names. Here the Asma-e-Muhammad, the 99 Names of Mohammed in an Arabic-to-Roman and an English translation transliteration of each name.

	ASMA-E-MUHAMMAD	99 NAMES OF MOHAMMED
	Arabic Transliteration	English Translation
1	Aadil	The Justice
2	Aalim	The Scholar
3	Abdullah	Slave of Allah
4	Abu al Qaasim	The father of Qasim.
5	Abu at Tahir	The father of Tahir.
6	Abu at Tayyib	The father of Tayyib.
7	Abu Ibrahim	The father of Ibrahim.
8	Afoow	Forgiver.
9	Aheed	He who takes to one side.
10	Ahmad	Much praised
11	Ajeer	He who is rewarded.
12	Alam ul Eeman	The banner of faith.
13	Alam ul Yaqeen	The banner of belief.
14	Alamul Hudaa	Banner of guidance.
15	Aleem	The Knowledgeable
16	Ameen	The Honest One
17	An Najm-us-Saqib	Shining star.
18	Aqib	The Latest
19	Arabi	The Arabi
20	Awwal	The First
21	Ayn ul Ghurr	The chief of the chosen one.
22	Ayn un Naeem	The spring of blessing.
23	Aziz	The Honoured One
24	Baaligh	He who attains the elevated station.
25	Bar	Pious
26	Basheer	The Messenger of Good News
27	Bayan	Obvious words
28	Burhan	The Evidence
29	Bushraa	Giver of good tidings.
30	Daa	The Invitor
31	Daleel ul Khyayraat	To guide to virtue.
32	Faateh	The Victor
33	Faazil	Virtuous.
34	Faseehul Lisaan	The eloquent of speech.
35	Fatah	The Successor, The Opener
36	Ghani	The Rich
37	Gharib	The Poor
38	Ghaus	Succour, listener to complaints.
39	Ghays	Shower of mercy.
40	Ghiyaas	Full of succour.
41	Haad	The Leader
42	Habeebullah	Beloved of Allah.
43	Habieb	The Beloved
44	Hafeey	Very merciful.
45	Hafiz	The Guardian
46	Hakeem	The Wise
47	Hamid	The Praiser
48	Hamied	The Thankful
49	Haq	The True, The Truth
50	Harees-un-Alaikum	The Covetous for the Believers
51	Hashim	The Destroyer, The Crusher of Evil
52	Hashir	The Awakener, The Gatherer
53	Hashmi	The Hashmi
54	Hidayatullah	Gift of Allah.
55	Hijazi	The Hijazi
56	Hizbullah	Army of Allah.
57	Hudaa	Guide.
58	Hujjat	The Right Argument
59	Ikleel	Chief (of Prophets)
60	Imam	The Guide
61	Imamul Muttaqeen	Leader of the pious.
62	Izzul Arab	The honour of Arabs.
63	Jaami	Perfect.
64	Jabbar	Dominant.
65	Jawwad	The Generous
66	Kaaf	Sufficient, enough.
67	Kaamil	Perfect.
68	Kaashiful Kurab	He who solves difficulties.
69	Kafeel	Surety.
70	Kaleemullah	Who converses with Allah.
71	Kareem	The Noble
72	Khaleel ur Rahman	The freind of Compassionate.
73	Khalil	The True Friend
74	Khatamul anbiya	Seal of the Prophets.
75	Khatamur Rusul	Seal of Messengers.
76	Khateebul Umam	Sermoniser for the people.
77	Khatieb	The Sermoniser
78	Khatim	The Finalizer
79	Maah	The obliterator of Infidelity
80	Madani	The Resident of Madina
81	Madoow	Who is called.
82	Mahd	The Guided One
83	Mahdee	Who is guided.
84	Mahdiy	He Who is Well Guided
85	Mahmood	The Commendable
86	Makeen	Who is given Rank
87	Makeen	Who is given rank.
88	Makhsoos bil Izz	Chosen to be honoured.
89	Makhsoos bil Majd	Chosen to be on the right path.
90	Makhsoos bil Sharaf	Picked up as a noble.
91	Maloom	Known.
92	Mamoon	Secure.
93	Mansoor	Who is helped
94	Maraj	The Place of Ascent, The Above
95	Mashhood	He who is witnessed.
96	Mashkoor	The Thankful
97	Mateen	The Strong
98	Mawsool	Having link with Allah.
99	Miftaah	Key to the secrets.

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GLOSSARY OF ESSENTIAL ISLAMIC WORDS

These are words, terms, and expressions either in Arabic or in English when the connotation is different from that of a non-Muslim English speaker.

This list of vocabulary should be read first because it explans in some detail what Islam is all about. It is arranged according to context.

Arabic names are ruled by grammar case like Latin or German. However, in this book we avoid using these cases as English-speaking readers should not be confused. A name such as Ali ibn Abi Talib (Ali the son of Abu Talib) is here principally given in its nominative form: Ali ibn Abu Talib.

Islam is based on three books: the Koran, the Sira, and the Hadith. This entire Islamic Trilogy must be ploughed through to comprehend the basics of this topic. The entire belief system of Islam is based on Mohammed only. In order to comprehend Islam, we must therefore read the Sira first. The Sira is the biography of Mohammed and its full title is Sirat Rasul Allah (Life of Allah's Messenger).

If one has read the Koran only and has not understood its contents, one cannot be surprised about it because the Koran represents only 14% of the Islamic Trilogy. The biographical Sira accounts for about 26% and the explanatory Hadith for about 60%. Another reason for its incomprehensibility lies in the structure of the Koran. Bill Warner explains: Less than 15% of all the Islamic Trilogy is concerned about god and religion, 85% is about law and rules for every aspect in a Muslim's daily life, and is about politics and ideology. To be clear about this fact: No other belief system on Earth deals that much with issues concerning non-members of precisely this belief system. Over 50% of the entire text has nothing to do with Muslims at all but prescribes how to deal with non-Muslims! Over 60% of the Koran, over 35% of the Hadith, and even over 80% of the Sira, deal with the "Kafirs" (Arabic plural: kuffar = the vile non-Muslim) and how to treat them, how to convert them to Islam, how to undermine their societies, how to fight against them, how to exploit them, and even how to kill them. Of the trilogy, the amount of text devoted to the kafir is in the Koran 64%, in the Sira 81%, and in the Hadith 37%, making 51% for the entire Trilogy. The amount of text devoted to jihad: the Koran from Mecca 0%, the Koran from Medina 24%, the Sira 67%, the Hadith 21%, the Trilogy 31%. Compare text that is devoted to Jew hatred: the Koran from Mecca 1%, the Koran from Medina 17%, the Sira 12%, the Hadith 8.9%, the Trilogy 9.3%. Hitler's book "Mein Kampf" (My Struggle) contains 7% Jew hatred.

WORDS FOR PERSONS AND PEOPLE:

• **Allah** = God (derived from the Hebrew word "Elohim" which means in original "Gods")

• **Rasul** / Rusul / Rasoul = Messenger or "bringer of divine revelation", another word for prophet

• **Nabi** = Prophet = religious teacher and leader, particularly a high-ranking one

• **Muslim** / Moslem = meaning a "Mohammedan", or as Islamic interpretation "the person who surrenders to God Allah, the Koran, and the Islamic authorities". The name's origin lies in the 8th century and comes from the Mesopotamian city of Mosul + man = Mosulman. Important: A Muslim is always a slave to Allah, to Mohammed, and Islam. It means that a Muslim always has to follow Mohammed's commandments found in the Sira, Koran, Hadith, and consequently the Sharia law.

• **Mecca Muslim** = A Muslim who follows the more or less peaceful teachings of Mohammed. In his time in Mecca, Mohammed was bound to cautious and peaceful behaviour as he was in an inferiour position of political power. His time in Mecca was unsuccessful as he gained only around 100 followers during a twelve years activity in Mecca

• **Medina Muslim** = A Muslim who follows the violent teachings of Mohammed. In his time in Medina, Mohammed gained more political power by force. The more powerful he became the more ruthless and violent his behaviour turned towards to all opponents. As his political and military actions as Medina Muslim were much more successful than his humble and religious life as Mecca Muslim, modern Jihadists feel attracted to this success and copy Mohammed's violence as Medina Muslim. Mohammed gained millions of followers and the entire Islamic Calendar is based on this success.

• **Muslimology** = sociological study on Muslims, their feelings, beliefs and their opinion. It is all about opinion, not facts, The facts is that what we call Islam. And Islam is a doctrine of Mohammed which is strictly based on the texts in the Sira, Koran and the Hadith. Any debate about Islam cannot include Muslimology but must contain only the doctrine on which the life on every Muslim is based if we really want to figure out what is the difference between cause and effect.

• **Mohammedan** = someone who follows the Koran, the Sira, the Hadith. The belief system is called Mohammedanism or Islam

• **Kafir** / Kufr / Kufer / Kufar / Kafer = Islamic curse word that describes the disgust for a non-Muslim / disbeliever / non-believer / unbeliever. Its Arabic plural form is kuffar. This notion is taught in all Koran schools (madrasses) to students from the earliest age on (age 3-5 years!). In Islamic thinking, a Kafir is subordinate to a Muslim at all times. The typical western notion of equality, democracy, suffrage etc. is totally alien to Islam and therefore absolutely incompatible with it.

• **Dhimmi** = the non-Muslim or second-class citizen in a Muslim state who has to pay the Jizya tax. It is not openly imposed in today's Islamic countries because the Sharia turned almost everyone into a Muslim long ago, and also because powerful western countries forced Islamic states to abandon the Jizya.

• **Muahid** = another word for dhimmi. It means "agreement", literaly: "Ally" or "Ally maker". Muahidin was in medieval (Islamic) Spain a Jew or Christian who accepted Islamic supremacy.

• **Salafist** = A Muslim who follows the teachings of the The Salafi Movement, also called Salafist movement. Salafiya, and Salafism, is a reform branch or revivalist movement within Sunni Islam that developed in Egypt in the late 19th century as a response to Western European influence. It had roots in the 18th-century Wahhabi movement that originated in the Najd region of modern-day Saudi Arabia. It advocated a return to the traditions of the salaf, the first three generations of Muslims. Those generations included the Islamic prophet Mohammed and his companions (the Sahabah), their successors (the Tabi'un), and the successors of the successors (the Taba Tabi'in). The Salafist doctrine is based on looking back to the early years of the religion to understand how the contemporary world should be ordered. They reject religious innovation or "bid'ah", and support the implementation of sharia (Islamic law). The movement is often divided into three categories: the largest group are the purists (or quietists), who avoid politics; the second largest group are the activists, who get involved in politics; the third group are the jihadists, who form a minority and advocate armed struggle to restore the early Islamic movement. The appropriate western term for this kind of movement is "radicalisation" in its meaning "back to the roots".

• **Umma** / Ummah = the worldwide community of all Muslims regardless of their denomination, race or citixenship. The Umma is the only nation Muslims think of when identifying themselves. A Muslim would not identify himself first as Arab, Turk, Syrian, Egyptian, Iranian, Iraqi, etc. but always as Muslim first. The "nation-state" in a western sense of meaning has no significance in Islam. This is why Muslims never would whole-heartedly support the nation-state they live in.

• **Mufti** = Islamic scholar who interprets and expounds on Islamic law (Sharia and fiqh). Muftis are jurists qualified to give authoritative legal opinions known as fatwas. Historically, they were members of the ulama ranking above qadis.

• **Mullah** = Islamic teacher or "clergy" (the learned ones), scholar and religious leader (master, vicar, guardian) "the clergy", the ulama or mullahs. The ulama or mullahs are equivalent to "vicar, master, guardian". See Ulama

• **Ulama** (m) / Alimah (f) = Islamic teacher or "clergy". The Arabic term ulama or alim means "scholar", literally "the learned ones", also spelled ulema; feminine: alimah [singular] and uluma. See Mullah

• **Imam** = Islamic religious leader (ie. bishop, cardinal, metropolitan, etc.), leader of mullahs and ulama. The Imams are responsible for the doctrine taught at Koran schools.

• **Emir** (territorial and political entity: emirate) = an independent ruler or chieftain (King or Duke) and his realm.

• **Vezier** = high official or minister in certain Muslim states such as the Ottoman Empire.

• **Sultan** (territorial and political entity: sultanate) = Emperor. Islamic ruler or sovereign and his political realm, the Sultanate, a Muslim country or empire such as the Ottoman Empire.

• **Caliph** (territorial and religious entity: caliphate) = from "al-Khulafa". Islamic Pope and his political-religious realm, the Calipate, that is the title of the successors of Mohammed as rulers of the Islamic world.

• **Sheik** or Sheikh / Shaykh = meaning 'old man' is in Muslim countries the head (duke, prince) of an Arab tribe, village, town, caravan etc.; he is most likely also a religious leader as there is no division of government and religion in Islam!

• **Sharif** (also: Shareef, Sherif, Shareef, Alsharif, Alshareef, or Cherif) is a traditional Arabic title of nobility (meaning "noble", "highborn"). The feminine singular is sharifa(h) or shareefa(h). The masculine plural is Ashraf.

• **Ikhwan** = a "Muslim Brother". That is a member of the "Muslim Brotherhood" or one of its many branches (such as Islamic student organisations, or Islamic "Culture Clubs".).

• **Pasha** (or Bashaw)

• **Wahabist** or Wahabi = A Muslim who follows Wahhabism (Arabic: al-Wahhabiyah), an Islamic doctrine and religious movement founded by Mohammed ibn Abd al-Wahhab. It follows the teachings of the Koran word for word and has been described as "ultraconservative", "austere", "fundamentalist", or "puritan(ical)"; as an Islamic "reform movement" to restore "pure monotheistic worship" (tawhid) by devotees; and as a "vile sect" and as distortion of Islam by Islamic apologists. Mohammed ibn Abd al-Wahhab (1703–1792) started a reform movement advocating a purging of such widespread Sunni practices as the veneration of saints and the visiting of their tombs and shrines, that were practiced all over the Islamic world, but which he considered idolatrous impurities and innovations in Islam (Bid'ah). He formed a pact with a local leader, Mohammed bin Saud, offering political obedience and promising that protection and propagation of the Wahhabi movement meant "power and glory" and rule of "lands and men" (waqf). The House of Saud continued to maintain its politico-religious alliance with the Wahhabi sect over the next 150 years to the proclamation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1932, and then into modern times. Today Ibn Abd Al-Wahhab's teachings are the official, state-sponsored form of Sunni Islam in Saudi Arabia. With the help of funding from Saudi petroleum exports, the movement underwent explosive growth beginning in the 1970s and now has worldwide influence. The US State Department has estimated that over the past four decades concerns in Riyadh have directed at least $10 billion (£6bn) to select charitable foundations toward the subversion of mainstream Sunni Islam by Wahhabism. Wahhabism has been criticised for the destruction of historic shrines of saints, mausoleums, and other Muslim and non-Muslim buildings and artifacts. It has been accused of being "a source of global terrorism", inspiring the ideology of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIS), and for causing disunity in Muslim communities by labelling Muslims who disagreed with the Wahhabi definition of monotheism as heretics and apostates (takfir) and justifying their killing. The Wahabists, as well as Al Qaeda, the Muslim Brotherhood and its offspring Hamas, are responsible for the current Islamic Civil War in many Muslim countries, as well as terror attacks and financing mosques and their Koran schools teaching Muslims in western countries how to undermine their legal and political systems by implementing Sharia law step by step in a pussyfooting way. These implementations begin with enforcing Political Correctness, demands for Halal food, forbidding non-Halal food at western public schools, demanding the provision of prayer rooms in western companies and schools, and by getting into commissions for school textbook creation in order to ensure that Islam is depicted there in a positive light.

WORDS FOR THINGS:

• **Koran** / Koran / Al-Koran / Al-Koran = The Recital / The Sayings of Mohammed

• **Meccan Koran** or Meccaniah. That is the text in the Koran which refers to Mohammed's sayings and deeds in Mecca (c. 610-622). The Meccan Koran depicts a peaceful Islam as the deeds and sayings of Mohammed in Mecca concerns about religion only.

• **Medinan Koran** or Mediniya. That is the text in the Koran which refers to Mohammed's sayings and deeds in Medina (c. 622-632). The Medinan Koran depicts the violent, intolerant and cruel side of Islam as the deeds and sayings of Mohammed here deal with statecraft, warfare, politics, and Ideology. War and politics are the foundations of Islam and its Success. The entire Islamic Calendar is based on the events in Medinah! See: A.H.

• **Sura** / Surah = chapter (lit. 'folder'). The chapters in the Koran are not arranged chronologically but simply according to length: from the long to the short chapters. This arrangement is a propaganda trick: non-Muslims are not supposed to understand any context of this very public book without any assistance from a Muslim scholar.

• **Ayah** = "verse" (The real translation of the word Ayat is actually "A Sign", meaning: "evidence", or "miracle"; plural: ayat, or ayas in English), one of the statement of varying length that make up the chapters (surah) of the Koran and are marked by a number.

• **Ruku** = "passage" or "stanza" — is a term that bears two distinct meanings that have to do with one another. A ruku is a paragraph of the Koran. There are 558 ruku's in the Koran. A ruku is used for a set of verses that forms one coherent unit or thought. Longer chapters in the Koran are usually divided into several ruku's, so that Muslim reciters could identify when to make "a ruku" (a bow down to the ground) in a prayer. The bow in the prayer itself is the second meaning.

• **Sira** / Seerah / Sirat = the biography on Mohammed known as Sirat Rasul Allah. The Sira is part of the Sunna.

• **Hadith** = the oral tradition about Mohammed and his followers (collected 250-300 years after Mohammed's death). The Hadith (pl. Ahadith) is part of the Sunna.

• **Kitab** = book, scipture

• **Mosque** = a temple for Muslims including their Koran-schools for indoctrination. A mosque, from "masjid", meaning "place of ritual prostration" or "gathering place of peace" is a place of worship for Muslims in which any aggression and fight is strictly forbidden.

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• **Qibla wall** = front wall inside a mosque, similar to the wall behind the altar in synagogues and churches. The Muslim believers have to face this wall when praying. In mosques built after 730 AD, this wall has always been directed towards Mecca. In earlier mosques, however, the quibla walls were directed towards Petra, some towards Jerusalem, and some others towards an imaginary parallel line that runs from Petra to Mecca.

• **Madrass** = Islamic propaganda institution, better known as Koran school. It is connected and integrated part of a mosque. See Ulama / Mullah. Children are indoctrinated in those institutions from the early age of 3 or 4.

• **Hijab** = obligatory head scarf or head shawl whorn by females. Wearing a hijab is meant as a political statement meaning "I always follow the perfect teachings of Islam first".

• **Burka** = A kind of obligatory gown that covers the entire body and head of a female. Wearing a burka is meant as a political statement meaning "I always follow the perfect teachings of Islam first".

• **Chador** (Persian, also variously spelled in English as chadah, chad(d)ar, chader, chud(d)ah, chadur) is an outer obligatory garment or open cloak worn by some women in Iran, Iraq, and some other countries under the Persianate cultural sphere, as well as predominantly Shia areas, i. e., Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Pakistan, India, Kuwait, Lebanon, Syria, Tajikistan, and Turkey, in public spaces or outdoors. A chador is a full-body-length semicircle of fabric that is open down the front. This cloth is tossed over the woman's or girl's head and she holds it closed in the front. The chador has no hand openings, or any buttons, clasps, etc., but rather, it is held closed by her hands or tucked under the wearer's arms. Wearing a chador is meant as a political statement meaning "I always follow the perfect teachings of Islam first".

INTELLECTUAL TERMS:

• **Islam** = The Submission / Surrender. Islam is a dualistic belief system based solemnly on the sayings and deeds of Mohammed. Its duality is the result of history in which Mohammed was a more or less peaceful preacher in his hometown but became a military warlord and conqueror when he had been forced to leave his hometown. The entire Islamic scripture is based on these two different kinds of events. There are 2 distinct doctrines the have developed from these 2 events, Muslims got the two perceptions: 1. Dar as-Salam (house of peace, areas that have been subjugated under the total rule of Islam and its Sharia law; 2. Dar al-Harb (house of war, all other areas that were left to get conquered by future Muslim geneations). More than 50% of all Islamic scripture is concerned with non-Muslims, how to dehumanising them, cursing them, and how to use Sharia in order to wipe them and their civilisation off the face of the earth. Notice that Islamic scripture is not descriptive like the Old Testament but prescriptive. That means, everything Mohammed said and did is understood by Muslims as Precepts and Obligations. Non-Muslims call this concept in their ignorance falsely "Radical Islam" or "Extremist Islam".

• **Islamism** = wrong word for Political Islam = putting the doctrines of Mohammed in the Koran, the Sira and the Hadith into practice. Clarification: Islamism is not extremist Islam but the real Islam as it follows Mohammed's sayings and deeds to the letter. It is the Islam practised by Wahabis (Saudi-Arabian Muslims), by the Muslim Brotherhood (that organises almost all Muslim student and culture associations throughout the entire world), by Hamas (which is a worldwide organisation of the Muslim Brotherhood preparing to take over non-Islamic states by undermining the entire range of society through spying, deception, and bringing Sharia law into force), and by ISIS, Al Qaeda, Hisbollah, the Mujaheddin, and others. The ultimate goal of Political Islam is, according to Islamic scripture, the total annihilation of all other belief systems, political systems and therefore all non-Muslim civilisations.

• **Islamophobia** = a propaganda construct developed in the 1990s by The International Institute of Islamic Thought (a Muslim Brotherhood organisation funded by Saudi-Arabia) in order to attach a stigma to anyone who resists Jihad terror by speaking up. The word "Islamophobe" is often used by Muslims and their unaware allies to call anybody names who resists Islam by speaking against it. It is a concept which is used in a delberately confusing and misleading way to refer to two distinctive things: One of them is terror attacks on innocent people, and everyone should be afraid of these unjustifyable killings because they mean to kill You. At the same time there is THE Islamophobia the western "liberal" media always refer to. Here they refer to the critics of Islam who do analysis by showing in what way Jihadists justify their brutal actions by reciting texts (from the Sira, the Koran, the Hadith, the Sharia, the Tafsir, or other Islamic texts). This (often scientific provable) analysis is also called Islamophobia because the political left-wing establishment and their media wish to silence those critics for the simple reason that those analyses may distroy their globalist and transnationalist dream of Utopia in which everyone should be the same as anyone else.

• **Sabr** = "endurance" or more accurately "perseverance" and "persistence". The Arabic word root s-b-r as a verb means to bind or restrain. As Islam is a dualistic belief systen "sabr" is best characterised as being one of the two parts of (the other being shukr). It teaches to remain spiritually steadfast, and to keep doing good actions in the personal and collective domain, specifically when facing opposition or encountering problems, setbacks, or unexpected and unwanted results.It is patience in face of all unexpected and unwanted outcomes. Sabr is the main doctrine to implement Sharia law in non-Muslim countries step by step relentlessly.

• **Shukr** is an Arabic term denoting thankfulness, gratitude or acknowledgement by humans, being a highly esteemed virtue in Islam. The term may also be used if the subject is God, in which case it takes the meaning of "divine responsiveness". Shukr is to recognise a blessing and display it. It has been said that it was originally kashr, meaning 'to unveil and expose,' then the first two letters were swapped. Its opposite is "kufr" or "kafir", which is 'to cover, conceal, and forget a blessing.

• **Kafir** or kufr (Arabic: kafir; plural kafiruna, kuffar or kafarah; feminine kafirah; feminine plural kafirat or kawafir) is an Arabic term (from the root k-f-r "to cover") which is often translated as "infidel". The term refers to a person who rejects or disbelieves in the supreme authority of Allah and his messenger Mohammed. This word however is not a neutral term but an Islamic curse-word that is best translated as "vile infidel / rejector / disbeliever / unbeliever / nonbeliever, etc.

• **Riddah** / Irtidad = Apostacy or abandonment of Islam by a Muslim in word or through deed. It includes the act of converting to another religion or non-acceptance of any faith to be irreligious. In Islam, it is a crime as well as a sin, an act of treason punishable with the death penalty.

• **Sunni Islam** = largest denomination of Islam, followed by circa 85% of the world's Muslims. Its name comes from the word sunnah, referring to the behaviour of the Islamic prophet Mohammed.

• **Shia** / Shiah (from Shi'atu Ali, "adherent of Ali") = branch of Islam which disgreed upon Mohammed's succession. Mohammed designated his cousin and son-in-law Ali ibn Abu Talib as his successor. However, 14 of Mohammed's companions committed a coup d'etat and made Abu Bakr, father-in-law through his daughter Aisha, Caliph of the new Islamic empire.

• **Sunna** / sunnah / sunnat = body of traditional, social, and legal custom and practice of the Islamic community, based on the verbally transmitted record of the teachings, deeds and sayings, silent permissions (or disapprovals) of the Islamic prophet Mohammed, as well as various reports about Mohammed's companions.

• **Hadith** = Sunnah = report or recording of the events with and around Mohammed and his laws, ideology, teachings, etc. Sahih al-Bukhari and Sahih al Muslim.

• **Tafsir** / Tafseer = Exegesis (from the Greek: "to lead out") is a critical explanation or interpretation of a text, particularly a religious text.

• **Sharia** / Shariah = "The Path". The Sharia law code reflects everything that Mohammed said, decided and did, recorded in the Sira, the Koran and the Hadith. It has its origin in Jewish jurisprudence (the Jewish 613 Mitzvot), in Islam also known as "shari at Musa" (law of Moses) which itself has its origin in the Law Code of Hammurabi. In contrast to Jewish law, Sharia is brutally repressive and shows no compassion, and this causes therefore an unsolulable conflict between Western law systems and the Sharia itself. About 15% of it deals with the Muslims life and how it should be organised in term of food, drinks, sex, prayers, etc. Around 85%, however, does not deal with religion at all but with politics. Sharia is meant to govern all aspects of Muslim life, so it is a comprehensive, totalitarian, political, military and legal doctrine, largely busy with gaining and keeping political power.

• **Bismillah** is an Arabic phrase meaning "In the name of God"; it is the first phrase of each Koran chapter (except Chapter 9). It also refers to the Koran's opening phrase (named the basmala).

• **Dhimmitude** = the state of subjugation that refers to a non-Muslim from the "people of the book" (Jews, Gnostics, Mandeans, Christians, Zoroastrians) who must live as second-class citizens in an Islamic state. They must pay the Jizya which is a protection racket.

• **Fiqh** = General term. Islamic jurisprudence. Fiqh is often described as the human understanding of the Sharia, that is, human understanding of the divine Islamic law that can be found in the Koran, the Sira, and the Hadith (the teachings and practices of the Islamic prophet Mohammed and his companions).

• **Dawah** (also daawa, dawah, daawah or dakwah; Arabic for "invitation") is the proselytising of Islam, that is the attempt to convert people to Islam. Dawah together with Sharia are the most important tools not only to suppress non-believers but to wipe out entire civilisations.

• **Hudna** = truce / ceasefire / a truce limited to max. 10 years (even when stated otherwise in writing!) It is not a binding "treaty" in a western sense of meaning. A legal binding treaty with any non-Muslim is forbidden in Islam. Therefore, any Peace treaty between Israel and Islamic Palestinians is wishful thinking due to its impossibility by Sharia law!

• **Jihad** = (to) struggle, in an Islamic context it means "struggle toward the moral betterment of society" or "struggle against one's evil inclinations", but in particular it emphasises the exertion to convert unbelievers. It is one of the most important commandments and therefore makes Islam automatically one of the most intolerant and vile ideologies by nature. The interpretation of Jihad as Holy War or terrorism is wrong. It encompasses the struggle for financial organisation, the struggle for propaganda by speaking and writing, the struggle by strategy such as infiltrating the system of political power, by undermining, through Sharia, and hollowing out any social coherence of the targetted society or state. The United States has been at war against Islamic Jihadists since the Declaration of Independence was made public and Jihadist pirates of the Barbary states attacked U. S. merchant ships and turned the ship crews into slaves.

• **Jizya** / poor-due / poll-tax / dhimmi-tax = a special tax demanded from non-Muslims by authorities of a Muslim state. The Jizya is like the Mafia protection racket, a scheme or operation where criminals (rackteers and Islamic states) demand protection money to provide protection (from the Muslims themselves) to persons (in Islamic states the non-Muslims, called dhimmi), including their life and properties. For muslim states it was (besides slave trade) often their main source of revenue. A modern source of Jizya is the system of social welfare which the migrants exploit when they come to western countries. The fact that countries such as India or China have no social system to speak of, is one of the reasons why they are unattractive to muslims although they are often geographically closer to a muslim homeland than western Europe.

• **Rajm** = execution by stoning from the Jewish Mishnah law code. Death penalty and also stoning existed in antique Jewish jurisprudence but as Judaism is deeply uncomfortable with capital punishment, it was hardly ever used. so much so that the rabbis of the erected significant legal bulwark carried out by 23 judges who had to vote unanimously in a complicated voting system that made capital punishment exceedingly rare. The lack of Mohammed's compassion let it become a regular event in Islam.

• **Qibla** / Qiblih / Kibli = "Direction" (also written Qiblah, Qibleh, Kiblah, Kible or Kibla), is the direction that should be faced when a Muslim performs prayers. It is fixed onto the location of the Kaaba in Mecca. Before c, 725 AD. it was Petra in Jordan.

• **Hijra** = migration, or to be more precise, the forced migration of Mohammed and all his followers. They had to leave Mohammed's hometown for disobeying the laws of the hometown and causing trouble.

• **Dar as-Salam** (house / abode of peace) = Dar al-Islam (house/abode of Islam) = Dar al-Tawhid (house/abode of monotheism) = country with Muslim majority and Sharia law. This "house" is at peace because Islam has with its Sharia law the totalitarian upper hand there.

• **Dar al-Harb** (house / abode of war) country with a majority of non-Muslims and no Sharia law. It is considered by Muslims as "potential warzone because Islam and its Sharia law has not yet been fully established there.

• **Nikah** = In Islam, marriage is a legal contract between a man and a woman. A formal, binding contract - verbal or on paper - is considered integral to a religiously valid Islamic marriage, and outlines the rights and responsibilities of the groom and bride. It also means "consumation", that is having sex with the wife.

• **Jahiliyyah** = Ignorance. Islamic concept referring to the period of time and state of affairs in Arabia before the advent of Islam. It is often translated as the "Age of Ignorance" and refers to the "House of War". Meaning: all non-Muslim countries today are in the state of Jahiliyyah and must be freed from it by the suppremacy of Islam. This includes also the annihilation and destruction of anything that happened or was made before Islam, such as ancient books and monuments, such as the mass book burning instigated by Caliph Uthman or the destruction of the Buddhas of Bamyan in Afghanistan dynamited by Islamic Jihadists in 2001!

• **Taqiyyah** = Islamic Sharia law term of the Doctrine of Deception that relates to the general permission (and even the duty) to lie when a Muslim is under duress or another Muslim or the Islamic course is under threat. Taqqyyah is also used to hide a fact when this fact throws unfavourable light on Islam, such as violence from Muslims against non-Muslims. This Macciavellian concept of lie and deception in Islam is another legacy of Mohammed and was developed to perfection by the Shia Muslims who have been persecuted by the Sunni Muslims.

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• **Fitna** (temptation, trial; sedition, civil strife) = civil war, trial, affliction, or distress. A word with important historical implications, it is also widely used in modern Arabic.

• **Fatwa** = a nonbinding but authoritative legal opinion or recommendation on matters of Islamic law (sharia), issued by a qualified jurist, denoting the status of a person on whom a legal penalty of outlawry has been imposed (similar in meaning to the German term "vogelfrei"). A jurist who issues fatwas is called a mufti and the act of issuing fatwas is called ifta.

• **Xenophobia** = the fear of anything or anyone foreign or strange. Xenophobia can involve perceptions of a native population towards immigrants and their activities against the natives and the desire to undermine their majority by (demographic) number or new laws. It is therefore the fear of losing national, ethnic or racial identity. The word "Xenophobe" is often used by Muslims and their unaware allies to call somebody names.

• **Caliphate** = Theocracy or being a theocrat ruler. All the first caliphs died violent deaths by being killed. The Caliphate was abolished by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk in 1924, probably as revenge against his Arab opponents. According to the Sharia law, no-one has the right to abolish the Caliphate. See Muslim Brotherhood.

• **Muslim Brotherhood** = also known as The Society of the Muslim Brothers, is a transnational Sunni Islamist organisation founded in Egypt by Islamic scholar and teacher Hassan al-Banna in 1928 as a reaction of the abolishment of the Caliphate in Turkey in 1924. It ultimate goal is: to stop informing the western public about Islam and its goals, to suppress therefore free speech by promoting "hate-speech-laws, the implementation of Sharia law in western countries, and finally the installation of the totalitarian theocracy of Islam. Today, the primary state backers of the Muslim Brotherhood are Saudi-Arabia, Qatar and Turkey.

• **Zakat** / Zakah / Zakat al-mal = Charity, or more precisely, "zakat on wealth" is an Islamic form of alms-giving treated as religious obligation or tax, which, by Koranic ranking is the third of the so-called 5 Pillars of Islam.

• **Tafsir** / Tafseer = interpretation or exegesis of the Koran. An author of a tafsir is a mufassir. A tafsir attempts to provide elucidation, explanation, interpretation, context or commentary for the Koran. In short, it deals with the issues of linguistics, jurisprudence, and theology. The 40 volumes of the Tafsir al-Tabari is the most authoritative one.

• **Shahada** = creed or more precise: the uttered creed. By publically saying the following creed in Arabic, a person declares itself a Muslim: Ash hadu an: "La ilaha ill Allah". Wa ash hadu an: "Mohammedun rasul Allah" (I testify, that: "There is no god but Allah". And I testify, that: "Mohammed is the messenger of Allah".)

• **Islamic Creed** = The shahada, the two-part statement that "There is no god but God; Mohammed is the messenger of God" is often popularly called "the Islamic creed" and its utterance is one of the so-called "five pillars of Islam" (which cannot all be found in the Koran but in the Sunna.

In Islamic theology, the term most closely corresponding to "creed" is ʿaqidah. The first such creed was written as "a short answer to the pressing heresies of the time" is known as Al-Fiqh Al-Akbar and ascribed to Abu Hanifa. Two well known creeds were the Fiqh Akbar II "representative" of the al-Ashari, and Fiqh Akbar III, "representative" of the Ash-Shafi'i.

• Iman in Islamic theology denotes a believer's religious faith in greater detail. Its most simple definition is the belief in the six articles of faith, known as arkan al-iman.

1. Belief in God (Tawhid)
2. Belief in the Angels (malak; plural: mala'ikah)
3. Belief in Divine Books *
4. Belief in the Prophets (See List of Prophets)
5. Belief in the Day of Judgement (Eschatology)
6. Belief in God's predestination (Eschatology: Qadar and Taqdeer = fate)

• The Divine Books. Islam has a set of books which are recognised as divine or holy books. They are:

A. The **Koran** (including the Sunnah: the Sira, the Hadith). The Koran is the central religious text of Islam, which Muslims believe to be a revelation from God (Arabic: Allah) to Mohammed. Koran, Sira, Hadith built a Trilogy. See: Chronology of the Koran. Without reading the Sira and Hadith, the Koran cannot be understood as they deliver the context to the Koran. Muslims believe the Koran was verbally revealed by God to Mohammed through the angel Gabriel (Jibril), gradually over a period of approximately 23 years, beginning on 22 December 609 AD, when Mohammed was 40, and concluding in 632, the year of his death. Muslims regard the Koran as the most important miracle of Mohammed, a proof of his prophethood, and the culmination of a series of divine messages that started with the messages revealed to Adam and ended with Mohammed. It is often regarded as the finest work in classical Arabic literature but also as a work of unlimited hatred against Jews, Christians and anyone who is not a Muslim or even not devout. See: Kafir or Kufr.

B. The **Tawrat** (The Torah): According to the Koran, the Torah was revealed to Moses (Musa). The Koran argues that the current Torah has suffered corruption over the years, and is no longer reliable. (The Qumran Scrolls have revealed that this statement is a blatant lie and is anti-Jewish slander as the Torah has been copied over thousands of years much more perfect than the Koran)

C. The **Zabur** (The Book of Psalms): The Koran mentions the Zabur, often interpreted as being the Book of Psalms, as being the holy scripture revealed to King David. Koran 21:105 and Psalm 37:29 are direct counterparts.

D. The **Injil** or The Gospel of Jesus (it is unclear which one of the more than 30 gospels is meant): The Injil was the holy book revealed to Jesus (Isa), according to the Koran. Although many lay Muslims believe the Injil refers to the entire New Testament, scholars assume that it refers to one original Gospel, given to Jesus as the word of God, probably the Gospel of Thomas, the Gospel of the Ebionites or the Gospel of the Hebrews. The current canonical Gospels, in the belief of Muslim scholars, are not divinely revealed but rather are documents of the life of Jesus (Like the Sira about Mohammed), as written by various contemporaries, disciples and companions. These Gospels, in Muslim belief, contain portions of the teachings of Jesus, but neither represent nor contain the original Gospel from God, which has been considered "corrupted" and / or "lost".

E. The **Scrolls of Abraham** (Arabic: Shuhufi Ibrahim" and/or Arabic: Alsh-Shuhufi l-Ula - "Books of the Earliest Revelation"): The Scrolls of Abraham are believed to have been one of the earliest bodies of scripture, which were given to Abraham (Ibrahīm), and later used by Ishmael (Ismail) and Isaac (Ishaq). Although usually referred to as "scrolls", many translators have translated the Arabic shuhuf as "books". The Scrolls of Abraham are now considered "lost" rather than corrupted, although some scholars have identified them with the "Testament of Abraham" (See: Table of Contents), an apocalyptic piece of literature available in Arabic at the time of Mohammed.

F. The **Book of John the Baptiser** (Kitab Yahya = Book Yohanan): There is an allusion to a Book (Kitab) of John the Baptist (Yahya). It is possible that Muslims refer to the Mandaean scriptures such as the Ginza Rba or the Drasha d-Iahia "The Book of John the Baptist". Yahya is revered by the Mandaeans and by the Sabians.

G. The **Scrolls of Moses** (Arabic: "Shuhufi Musa" and/or Alsh-Shuhufi l-Ula - "Books of the Earliest Revelation"): These scrolls, containing the revelations of Moses, which were perhaps written down later by Moses, Aaron and Joshua, are understood by Muslims to refer not to the Torah but to revelations aside from the Torah. Some scholars have stated that they could possibly refer to the "Book of the Wars of the Lord", a lost text spoken of in the Tanakh or Old Testament in the "Book of Numbers". The verse mentioning the "Scriptures" is in Koran 87:18-19 where they are referred to "Books of the Earliest Revelation". The Book of the Wars of the Lord is one of several non-canonical books referenced in the Bible which have now been completely lost. It is mentioned in Numbers 21:14–15, which reads: "From there they set out and camped on the other side of the Arnon, which is in the desert and bounding the Amorite territory. For Arnon is the border of Moab, between Moab and the Amorites. That is why the Book of the Wars of the LORD says: '... Waheb in Suphah and the ravines of Arnon, and at the stream of the ravines that lead to the dwelling of Ar, which lies along the border of Moab.'" A notable reference to an unnamed book is mentioned in Exodus 17:14, where God commanded Moses to inscribe an Israelite military victory over the Amalekites in the book and recount it later in the hearing of his successor Joshua.

• **Iman** (concept) = faith or belief) in Islamic theology denotes a believer's faith in the metaphysical aspects of Islam. Its most simple definition is the belief in the six articles of faith, known as arkān al-īmān. The term iman has been delineated in both the Koran and hadith. According to the Koran, iman must be accompanied by righteous deeds and the two together are necessary for entry into Paradise. In the hadith, iman in addition to Islam and ihsan form the three dimensions of the Islamic religion.

There exists a debate both within and outside Islam on the link between faith and reason in religion, and the relative importance of either. Several scholars contend that faith and reason spring from the same source and hence must be harmonious.

The Six Articles of Faith, known as arkān al-īmān.

Faith (iman) breaks down into six axioms or postulate:

1. Belief in the existence and oneness of God (Allah).
2. Belief in the existence of Angels.
3. Belief in the existence of the books of which God is the author: the Koran (revealed to Mohammed), the Gospel (revealed to Jesus), the Torah (revealed to Moses), and Psalms (revealed to King David).
4. Belief in the existence of all Prophets: Mohammed being the last of them, Jesus the penultimate, and Moses sent before them.
5. Belief in the existence of the Day of Judgement: in that day, humanity will be divided into two groups: that of paradise and that of hell. These groups are themselves composed of subgroups.
6. Belief in the existence of God's predestination, whether it involves good or bad. Of these, the first five are mentioned together in the Koran and by Mohammed, while including a corollary of belief in Allah – the good and evil of fate ordained by God – has referred to all six together in the following manner in the Hadith of Gabriel: "Iman is that you believe in God and His Angels and His Books and His Messengers and the Hereafter and the good and evil fate [ordained by your God]." Another similar narration ascribed to Mohammed is: Ibn Abbas narrates that the Angel Jibril once asked the Prophet: "Tell me what is Iman?" The Prophet replied: "Iman is to believe in Allah, the Day of Judgement, His (Allah's) Angels, Books and Prophets and to believe in life after death; and to believe in Paradise and the Fire, and the setting up of the Mizan (scales) to weigh the deeds; and to believe in the Divine Decree, the good and the bad of it (all). Jibril then asked him: "If I do all this will I be with Iman?" The Prophet said: "When you have done all of this, you will be having Iman."

• **Sawm** / Siyam = Fasting, also commonly known as Ruzeh or Rozah (Persian) in some Muslim countries, is the practice of abstaining, usually from food, drink and sex. The observance of Sawm during the Islamic holy month of Ramadan (Ramzan) is the fourth of the Five Pillars of Islam.

• **Hajj** = annual Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca, Saudi Arabia, the holiest city for Muslims, and a mandatory religious duty for Muslims that must be carried out at least once in their lifetime by all adult Muslims who are physically and financially capable of undertaking the journey, and can support their family during their absence.

• **Hijra** / Hijrah / Hegra / Hegira (Latin) = important Islamic doctrine and precept based on the migration of the Islamic prophet Mohammed and his followers from Mecca to Yathrib (later renamed by him to Medina) in 622 AD. When Mohammed lived in his hometown, he could not convert more than about 150 people to Islam. He had overwhelming success when he went to Medina as within about ten years after his migration, he had subdued everyone in the Arabian peninsula under the hegemony of Islam. The Hijra as precept of mass migration has therefore become so important to Islam that, with the Hijri year (Anno Hegirae, AH), the entire Islamic calendar is based on this doctrine.

• **Umrah** = Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca, Hijaz, Saudi Arabia, performed by Muslims that can be undertaken at any time of the year, in contrast to the Hajj which has specific dates according to the Islamic lunar calendar. Umrah means "to visit a populated place." In the Sharia, Umrah means to perform Tawaf, which is a ritual walk round the Kabah for seven times, in an anticlockwise direction.

• **Kaaba** / Kabah = (meaning: "The Cube"), also called al-Kabah al-Musharrafah (the Holy Kabah), is a building at the centre of the Al-Masjid Al-Haram mosque (The Sacred Mosque), in Mecca, Saudi Arabia. It is the most sacred site in Islam. It is considered by Muslims to be the Bayt Allah ("House of God"), and has a similar role to "The Temple" in ancient Judaism. There were several Kaaba buildings before Islam

• **Muhajirun** = Emigrants, they were the first converts to Islam and the Islamic Prophet Mohammed's advisors and relatives, who emigrated with him from Mecca to Medina. The event known in Islam as The Hijra. To bring Islam to other countries in order to subjugate all non-Muslims and subsequently to convert all humans on Earth to Islam (by any means necessary) is one of the highest virtues in Islam, following the example of Mohammed himself. Emigration is an important tool to gain back Waqfs (former Islamic land).

• **Waqf** = "Eternal Islamic Land". Every land that once was conquered by Muslims is considered to be "the perpetual, inalienable ownership of real estate by a corporation or legal institution such as Islam itself. In other words: modern countries such as the Iberian peninsula, southern France, southern Italy, Israel, Lebanon, north-western China, northern India, southern Russia, or the Balkans, are still today and for all times considered Islamic! Meaning: Muslims will do everything possible to get it back whatever amount of time or effort it takes!

• **Takfir** / Takfeer = controversial concept in Islamist discourse, denoting excommunication, as one Muslim declaring another Muslim as a non-believer (kafir). The act which precipitates takfir is termed mukaffir. Contemporary formulation and usage of the term have its roots in the 20th-century Islamist theorist Sayyid Qutb's advocacy of takfirism (doctrine of excommunication) against the state or society deemed jahiliyah (state of ignorance and disbelief). According to Qutb, violence is required to be sanctioned against corrupt state leaders, on the premise that quietism is not the Islamic prescription against those deemed apostates. This position is widely held and applied by jihadist organizations to varying degrees. At the same time, the concept is opposed by religious establishment as an ostensible reason for violence. They hold

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that excommunication against those who profess their Islamic faith is not sanctioned by Islam, or an ill-founded takfir accusation is a major forbidden act (haram).

• **Haram** = forbidden. This may refer to: either something sacred to which access is forbidden to the people who are not in a state of purity or who are not initiated into the sacred knowledge; or to an evil thus "sinful action that is forbidden to be done". The term also denotes something "set aside", thus being the Arabic equivalent of the Hebrew concept "qados", and the concept of sacer (cf. sacred) in Roman law and religion. In Islamic jurisprudence, haram is used to refer to any act that is forbidden by Allah, and is one of five Islamic commandments (al-ahkam al-khamsah) that define the morality of human action.

• **Halal** (also spelled hallal or halaal) = permissible. It refers to what is permissible or lawful in traditional Islamic law. It is frequently applied to permissible food and drinks. In the Koran, the word halal is contrasted with haram (forbidden). In Islamic jurisprudence, this dualistic concept was elaborated into a more complex classification known as "the five decisions": mandatory, recommended, neutral, reprehensible, and forbidden. Islamic jurists disagree on whether the term halal covers the first three or the first four of these categories. .

• **Zina** = Islamic legal term referring to unlawful sexual intercourse. According to traditional jurisprudence, zina can include adultery (of married parties), fornication (of unmarried parties), prostitution, bestiality, and rape. Classification of homosexual intercourse as zina differs according to legal school. The Koran disapproved of the promiscuity prevailing in Arabia at the time, and several verses refer to unlawful sexual intercourse, including one that prescribes the punishment of 100 lashes for fornicators. Four witnesses are required to prove the offense. Zina is considered to lead to confusion of lineage, leniency in morals, the disconnection among families, and unstable relationships. It is also considered haram (forbidden) to look at members of the opposite sex with desire.

• **Shirk** = sin of practicing idolatry or polytheism, i.e. the deification or worship of anyone or anything besides the singular God, i.e. Allah. It is the most despisable crime right after apostacy. Literally, it means ascribing or the establishment of "partners" placed beside God. It is the vice that is opposed to the virtue of Tawhid (monotheism). Let us clarify this sin: In Islamic viewpoint, a Christian is "committing shirk" quite simply by identifying Jesus with God, and saying, for example, "Merry Christmas" to a Muslim is understood by that Muslim as a curse against Allah. Those who practice shirk are termed mushrikun. Mushrikun (pl. of mushrik) are those who practice shirk, which literally means "association" and refers to accepting other gods and divinities alongside the god of the Muslims - Allah (as God's "associates"). In Islamic law shirk as a crime, can just be attributed to Muslims, since only a Muslim is legally responsible not to associate any partner to Allah. Within Islam, shirk is an unforgivable crime if it remains unpardoned before death: Allah may forgive any sin if one dies in that state except for committing shirk.

• **Rashid** / Rachid / Rasheed = the rightly guided. The Rashidun Caliphs (Rightly Guided Caliphs), often simply called, collectively, "the Rashidun", is a term used in Sunni Islam to refer to the 30-year reign of the first four caliphs (successors) following the death of the Islamic prophet Mohammed, namely: Abu Bakr, Umar, Uthman ibn Affan, and Ali of the Rashidun Caliphate, the first caliphate. The 5th caliph, Hassan the grandson of Mohammed, does not belong to them

• **AH** = Anno Hegirae = Hijri year, meaning the year in which Mohammed was forced by his hometown to migrate. The year 1 AH (1 Muharram) is assumed to be 15 July, 622 AD (known as the 'astronomical' or 'Thursday' epoch) or 16 July, 622 AD (the 'civil' or 'Friday' epoch). This date was chosen because it was the beginning of a successful spreading of Islam by violence. Muslims are totally indiferent towards Islamic violence, they see only the victory of Islam, not the suffering which it causes.

• **Shura** = consultation. The Koran and the Prophet Mohammed encourage Muslims to decide their affairs in consultation with those who will be affected by that decision. Shura is mentioned as a praiseworthy activity often used in organizing the affairs of a mosque, Islamic organisations, and is a common term involved in naming parliaments. Many traditional Sunni Islamic lawyers agree that to be in keeping with Islam, a government should have some form of council of consultation or majlis al-shura, although it must recognise that God and not the people are sovereign. As not the people are sovereign, a shura is therefore not a parliament in its western connotation and value.

ENGLISH WORDS USED BY MOHAMMEDANS:

• **Migration** / Emigration / Mass-migration = see Hijra. Migration is not an accidental event in Islam but a doctrine which is so important that the entire Islamic calendar is based on it.

• **"The Five Pillars of Islam"** = 1. Shahada: Faith; 2. Salah: Prayer; 3. Zakat: Charity; 4. Sawm: Fasting; 5. Hajj: pilgrimage to Mecca

• **"slander"** has in western societies the meaning of gossip which is basically a lie. In Islam it means an uncomfortable statement which can be the truth but Muslims do not want to hear it.

• **"revert"** is (an Islamic term for) someone who converts from Judaism, Christianity or Zoroastrianism to Islam. This term refers to the Islam belief that those "people of the book" who have originally rejected Islam, which has been in Islamic thinking always the only true religion (even before the Hebrew Bible was written!), and later found the "right way back" to Islam.

• **"religion of peace"** is a term of deception assuming that the listening kafir (non-Muslim) does not know its meaning in Islamic context. The term "Islam is a religion of peace" refers only to the Arabic terms Dar as-Salam (house/abode of Peace) = Dar al-Islam (house/abode of Islam) = Dar al-Tawhid (house/abode of monotheism) = country with Muslim majority and Sharia law. As the Muslims killed or converted everyone in that country to Islam, there is peace.

• **"terrorist"** (general noun: terrorism) in Islam is someone who supports a non-Islamic religion, such as apologists or polemicists of Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, etc. To this circle of persons belong also political supporters of: free speech, socialism, communism, nationalism, liberalism, or other ideologies which are not Islamic.

• **"peace treaty"** is a western term that in reality always refer to the word "hudna" in Islam. A hudna is a truce that can last never more than for ten years. This misconception is the reason why western politicians are always (and always will be) frustrated in their efforts to create a lasting peace treaty with Islamic authorities. Witness to this fact are all the peace treaties that the United States have negotiated with Jihadists of the Barbary states between 1786 and 1816. The cause of the U.S. participation in a war was pirates from the Barbary States seizing American merchant ships and holding the crews for ransom, demanding the U.S. pay tribute (which was seen as Jizya in Islamic view) to the Barbary rulers. United States President Thomas Jefferson refused to pay this tribute. Sweden had been at war with the Tripolitans since 1800. The constant breach of any of those treaties led Thomas Jefferson read the Koran (and as soon he understood its contents) to the decision to create the United States Navy in order to crush the Jihadist Barbary states.

• **"slavery"** is legitimate in Islam, according to Islamic scripture. Slavery was organised by Islamic slave traders who sold African slaves to Europeans and American throughout many centuries. It is true that American companies bought millions of slaves for their plantations but it is also true that all those slaves were caught and sold by Islamic slave traders. Slavery has never been abolished in Islamic countries but only suspeneded for the simple reason that slavery is through all Islamic scripture part of the Islamic doctrine.

• **"Apologist"** is a person who offers a defence by argument. An apologist for Islam is a (non-Islamic or Islamic) person who tries to defend or protect Islam (usually without being aware that Islam is in its main substance not only a religion but in over 80% of its contents a totalitarian, political, and judicial system of doctrines.].)

• **"blasphemy"** is the act of insulting or showing contempt or lack of reverence to a deity, or sacred objects, or toward something considered sacred or inviolable. Some religions consider blasphemy to be a religious crime. As of 2012, anti-blasphemy laws existed in 32 (mostly Islamic) countries, while 87 nations (mostly Western countries that consider themselves to be 'liberal' or 'democratic') had hate speech laws that covered defamation of religion and public expression of hate against a religious group.

• **"Abrahamic religion"**, also referred to collectively as Abrahamism, are a group of Semitic-originated religious communities of faith that claim descent from the Judaism of the ancient Israelites and the worship of the God of Abraham. The Abrahamic religions claim to be "monotheistic", with the term deriving from the patriarch Abraham (a major biblical figure from The Old Testament, which is recognised by Jews, Christians, Muslims, and others). The major Abrahamic religions in chronological order of founding are Judaism (the base of the other two religions) in the 7th century BC, Christianity in the 1st century AD, and Islam in the 7th century AD. Chrstianity is considered as Abrahamic only because leaders of the early Roman Church insisted to accept the Old Testament as Christian scripture as legitimising factor. Christianity - that is the teachings of Jesus - itself is a Roman religion based on the Roman Imperial Cult, and, as Marcion already pointed out, has nothing to do with the wrathful and vindictive God of the Old Testament.

• **"monotheistic religion"** or monotheism (as an "inclusive definition") is defined as the belief in the existence of only one god that created the world, is all-powerful and intervenes in the world. A broader (or exclusive) definition of monotheism is the belief in one god. Judaism, Christianity and Islam are considered to be monotheistic although only Judaism could rightfully make that claim. Christianity is not monotheistic at all. Its central figure Jesus Christ (which is not a name but two titles for "saviour" and "messiah" or "annointed one") has been treated as god since the 3rd century AD. Islam criticises Christianty for Jesus' elevation to a god-like figure. Islam, on the other hand does pretty much the same thing by treating Mohammed as god in everything but name. The proof is displayed by the fact that speaking up against Mohammed and his teachings is considered blasphemy by Muslims. In other words: Muslims betray the claimed "monotheistic" nature of their own belief system by including Mohammed into their own perception of blasphemy.

• **"ethical monotheism"** is a form of exclusive monotheism in which God is the source for one standard of morality, who guides humanity through ethical principles. The concept of ethical monotheism, which holds that morality stems from God alone and that its laws are unchanging, first occurred in Judaism, but is now a core tenet of most modern monotheistic religions, including Zoroastrianism, Christianity, Islam, Sikhism, and Bahai Faith.

• **"innocent people"** When Muslims talk ar write about "innocent people"— then they mean Muslims. As far as non-Muslims are concerned, as they have not accepted Islam and its messenger Mohammed, Mohammedans consider this rejection "a crime against God", and therefore any non-Muslim cannot be considered "innocent" by Muslims. This explains why killing a non-Muslim is not considered a crime in Islamic countries!

• **"Clash of Civilisations?"** is the title of an essay written by the American Democrat Samuel Huntington. He outlined what consequences Western civilisation will face when they continue to ignore the seriousness of Islamic doctrine.

• **"Golden Rule"** is the rule of conduct formulated by Jesus the Nazorean: 'Whatsoever ye would that men do to you, do ye even so to them [Matthew 7.12]. The Golden Rule is based on the Ten Commandments and is the main guideline of humanistic ethics in western countries / civilisations. Mohammed knew about it and the Ten Commandments can be found in his Koran too. However, Mohammed split the commandments and spread them all over the Koran as examples and allegories that can be abrogated by other rules. He did not want his political activities tied up by those rules.

• **"Abrogation"** is to cancel or overwrite a rule by another rule. In Islam, abrogation mainly affects the peaceful verses refering to Mohammed's time in Mecca that can be abrogated by all sorts of violent verses that refer to Mohammed's later life as politician and military commander in Medina. The dualism of Islam is based on these two totally different lives of Mohammed.

• **"radical Islam"** is the Medinan Islam, meaning the Islam based on violent sayings and deeds of Mohammed in Medina. It is called "radical" (according to the 'roots', Latin: 'radix') because of those Muslims who take every word in the Koran literally. There is no room for interpretation

• **"moderate Islam"** is the Meccan Islam, meaning the Islam based on peaceful sayings and deeds of Mohammed in Mecca. As the Meccan texts are the earliest Koran texts, they all can be abrogated by later (and therefore 'better') texts from Medina, such as Chapters 9 or 5 which are chronologically the last relevant chapters of the Koran. And they are extremely violent. Moderate Islam is not the Main stream Islam!

• **"extremism"** in Islam means deviation from the norm. A so-called "moderate Muslim" is an extremist in the Muslim point of view as he or she deviates from the Muslim norm which is nothing else but strictly following Mohammed and the Islamic scripture. A so-called "moderate Muslim" who does not follow the example of Mohammed is therefore is considered a traitor to Islam, an apostate. This is the main reason why Muslims kill Muslims.

• **"slaves and slavery"**. Seven separate terms refer to slaves, the most common of which is the phrase "that which your / their right hands own / possess" (ma malakat aymanukum / aymanuhum / aymanuhunna / yaminuka), found in fifteen places in the Koran. This phrase often refers to female sex-slaves (concubines). The use of the phrase ma malakat aymanukum and the cognate term mamluk (possessed) makes it clear that slaves in the Koranic discourse are regarded as property. (Encyclopaedia of the Koran. 5. Brill. pp. 57–58; Wikipedia under "ma malakat aymanukum"). We have to recognise that slavery has NOT been abolished by either any Islamic state or Muslim government - slavery has merely been suspended upon pressure from western countries.

• **"what your right hands possess"** (Arabic term for slave: ma malakat aymanukum) is a Koranic expression referring to slaves, in particular sex-slaves. It is also rendered as "those whom you own", or "those whom you own as slaves". This expression and its variants are found in 15 passages of the Koran. It is the most common of the seven separate terms used in the Koran to refer to slaves. Slaves are mentioned in at least 29 verses of the Koran, most of these are Medinan and refer to the legal status of slaves.

• **tawhid** = The central Islamic doctrine that dictates there is no other god but Allah.

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• **Sufi** = A branch of mystical Islam that emphasises self-denial as a means of communion with god.

• **Ramadan** = The ninth month of the Islamic calendar, during which Muslims fast from sunrise to sunset. It commemorates the transmission of the Koran by the archangel Gabriel to Mohammed.

• **"mischief in the land"** is an unclear phrase that can be found in many places of the Islamic scripture. This phrase can refer to any thing that is wrong in the view of Muslims including "not believing in Allah and his messenger Mohammed", opposing Sharia, or just having a non-Muslim belief or no belief at all.

• **"We"** appears in the Koran when Allah (or Mohammed) speaks of himself in the 3rd Person Plural (see Allah). This form is called "**the royal We**".

• **"tolerance"** = From Latin tolerantia ("endurance") or tolerans, the present participle of Latin tolero ("endure") via Middle French tolerance. Please notice that modern Western people misunderstand this word as "acceptance" in a liberal sense of meaning. Muslims understand the word "tolerance" in its original meaning as "endurance" or "letting it be" for 'the time being' but never as "indefinite acceptance"!

• **"human rights"** = that is in Muslim mind "everything and everyone that is concerned with Islam"! It does not include any typical western notion of humanism, freedom, free speech, emancipation of women or slaves etc. See: Cairo (Islamic) Declaration of Human Rights which is based on the Sharia only, not on 'Western Values!'

• **"fundamental freedoms"** = that is in Islam having the right and duty to spread Islam into non-Muslim countries by any means necessary and which follow the sayings and deeds of Mohammed.

• **"good governance"** = that is in Islamic thoughts always ruling according to the principles laid out by Mohammed.

• **"peace"** = means to be subjugated under Islamic hegemony. See "Dar as-Salam" and "Dar al-Harb".

• **"nation"** = Umma. In Muslim thinking, there are only two distinct nations: the Umma, that is the nation of all Muslims, and the other one is all nations of non-Muslims. See "Dar as-Salam" and "Dar al-Harb".

• **"humanity"** In Muslim thinking, here too, there is no "one humanity" but always either Muslims (the Umma) or non-Muslims (kufare). See "Dar as-Salam" and "Dar al-Harb".

PLACES:

• **Mecca** = supposed hometown of Mohammed and trade route junction. Archaeological evidence does not confirm Mecca as significant settlement or trade route juction before c. 700 AD. Surveillance photographs from the International Space Station suggests this fact too. See: Petra

• **Petra** = The capital and main trading hub of the Arab Nabataeans and most probably Mohammed's real hometown as the Qiblas of all early mosques direct to Petra. All geographical decriptions of Mohammed's hometown match exactly with Petra, none with Mecca. Hegra (Medain Saleh) is a similar city about 450 km south-east of Petra.

Just as 'Allah' and 'Mohammed', "Mecca" had several different names, and Petra is probably one of them. Petra is listed in Egyptian campaign accounts and the Amarna letters as Pel, Sela or Seir. The name "Mecca" appears only one time in the Koran 48.24. The historian Tovma (or Thomas) Artsruni uses the name Mecca for the ancient City of "Petra" (city of rocks) when he writes about Mohammed: "At that time, in a place of Petrea Arabia Pharan, named Makka - The Mecca - he showed himself to brothers bandits, warriors and band chiefs, who were worshiping in a temple the idols of Ammonites, Samam and Kabar." (Brosset, 1894, Livre II, 4. Pg 89).

The Koran talks about "Becca" as the location of the "first house" in 3.96 and in Psalms 84.6 also appears "Becca" or "Baca": Blessed are they that dwell in thy house: they will be still praising thee. Selah. Blessed is the man whose strength is in thee; in whose heart are the ways of them. Who passing through the valley of Baca make it a well; the rain also filleth the pools..

In Koran Sura 15 we find al-Hijr "The Rock" (Greek: Petra) which also could refer to the neighbour city Madain Saleh, Hegira or Hijra 300 mi / 450km south-east of Petra in Saudi Arabia); the word Hijr is linguistically connected to Hijra (migration) which could have meant 'the stony way'. In Koran 6.22 is the name Umm al-Qura meaning 'mother of settlements', and "Metropolis" is another Greek name for Petra also meaning 'mother of settlements'. In Koran 18.9, Mecca is called al-Raqim and Flavius Josephus used Rakem for Petra: "and among them fell all their kings, five in number, viz. Evi, Zur, Reba, Hur, and Rekem, who was of the same name with a city, the chief and capital of all Arabia, which is still now so called by the whole Arabian nation, Arecem, from the name of the king that built it; but is by the Greeks called—Petra." Today, Arabs call Petra still "Rakmu". Josephus says that Aaron "came to a place which the Arabians esteem their metropolis, which was formerly called Arce, but has now the name of Petra, at this place, which was encompassed with high mountains, Aaron went up one of them in the sight of the whole army,. . ."

• **Medinah** / Madinah / Maddina / Medain (Arabic: 'the city'; pl. medun) = generally: first place where Mohammed emigrated to, known as Yatrib or Medina al-Nabi (city of the prophet), after he was thrown out of his hometown:

• **Jerusalem** = Yerushalayim, most holy city of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. As Islam has Jewish origin, Jerusalem is the third most important holy city in Islam.

• **Damascus** = Dimasq, capital of the Arab Umayyad Caliphate or Dynasty

• **Baghdad** = Bahdad, capital of the Arab Abbasid Caliphate or Dynasty

• **Cordoba** = capital of the (western) Umayyad Caliphate or Dynasty that ruled in Spain and western North Africa while the rest of the territory conquered by Muslims was ruled by the Abbasid Dynasty.

• **Cairo** = Al Qahirah, capital of Egypt and of the ancient Arab Fatimid Caliphate or Dynasty.

• **Alexandria** = Eskendereyah, capital of Egypt, Eastern Roman province capital and place of the largest library in antiquity. The Library of Alexandria was destroyed and all books burned by Muslims in their public bath houses which took about half a year.

• **Constantinople** (Greek: Constantinopolos, Latin: Byzantium, Turkish: Istanbul (Stambul) = capital of the Roman Empire until it was conquered by the Islamic Turks. Then it was the capital of the Ottoman Caliphate or Dynasty until 1924

• **Roman Empire** = Greek: Basileia Rhomaiona; Latin: Imperium Romanum; English: The (Eastern or Greek) Roman Empire. "**Byzantine Empire**" is a kind of political correctness term created in 1557 by the German historian Hieronymus Wolf in order to obfuscate the shame of western people upon the disastrous defeat of the Roman Empire by Islam in 1453. The name "Byzantine" was created in order to blur its real identity. It was a Christian Empire from the 5th to 15th century. The people of that empire called themselves Romans, never "Byzantines".

• **Persian Empire** = It was a Zoroastrian and Christian Empire with great Manichaean influence during its final centuries. The Persian Empire under Sassanid rule, its long-lasting culture and its religions was wiped out by the Islamic invaders in 651 AD.

• **The Crusades** started mainly due to a blockade that Islamic Turks imposed on pilgrims who were heading towards the Holy Land. Judaism, Christianity and Islam had holy sites in the land now called Israel. Jerusalem, Nazareth, Bethlehem and other religious sites belonged to the Roman Empire before they fell under the control of Muslims during the Caliphate of Umar. The crusades were conducted 1096 to 1291 as a late response on the Islamic Conquest during. Due to poor organisation and greed, western European crusaders caused the death of hundreds of thousands by pillaging, plundering, famine, epidemics; most of the victims were not Muslims but Christians of the Eastern Roman Empire.

• **Islamic Conquest** has been a systematic all out attack on non-Muslims for now 1400 years. Particularly between 622 and 1700, Muslims forced millions of Europeans, Persians, Indians and Africans into slavery. Non-Islamic Civilisations have been systematically annihilated. Death toll: between 200 and 400 million. The Islamic Conquests of Timur (1370–1405) alone cost the lives of 15-20 million Zoroastrians, Jews, Christians, Hindus and Buddhists.

IMPORTANT WARS, CALIPHATES AND DYNASTIES:

• The **Rule of Mohammed**, 620-632

• **Wars of Apostasy** (Ridda Wars), 632–633

• **War of Succession**, 632

• Arab **Rashidun Caliphate**, 632–661; It was ruled by Mohammed's five closest followers: 1: Abu Bakr, 2: Umar, 3: Uthman, 4. Ali, 5: Hassan.

• **1st Muslim Civil War**, 661; war of succession in the Rashidun Caliphate between Ali and the Umayyads (and Aisha)

• Arab **Umayyad Caliphate** or Dynasty, 661-750

• (western) Arab Umayyad Caliphate or Dynasty

• **2nd Islamic Civil War**, 680–692; struggle for supremacy inside the Umayyad Dynasty

• **3rd Islamic Civil War**, 746–750; It was fought between the Umayyads and the Abbasids.

• Arab **Abbasid Caliphate** or Dynasty, 750–1258 and 1261–1517

• **4th Islamic Civil War**, 811–813/819, provincial turmoil lasting into the 830s

• **5th Islamic Civil War** (865–866), between caliphs al-Mu'tazz and al-Musta'in

• **6th Islamic Civil War**, the Fitna of al-Andalus (1009–1031), within the (western) Umayyad Caliphate of Cordoba. The war ended when the Cordoban elite abolished the caliphate and established an independent state (taifa).

• Kurdish **Ayyubid dynasty** or Sultanate, 1171-1260; ruled by Saladin

• Turkish **Ottoman Caliphate**, Sultanate and Dynasty, 1517–1924

• **Turkish Republic**. It came into being due to disastrous death tolls during World War 1. Of about 20 million Turkish citizens, 800,000 died on the battlefields and circa 4 million from famine and desease, 25% of the population. Mustafa Kemal Ataturk took over power to get rid of a defeated, corrupt and rotting state. Ruthlessly and relentlessly, he reformed Turkey into a modern state. In 1924, he abolished the calphate and sultanate which led to the foundation of the **Muslim Brotherhood** in 1928.

• **Modern Islamic Civil War**. Starting in 2010 with the so-called "Arab Spring" which is not about "freedom" or "moderates against fundamentalists" but about suppremacy within Islam again. Basically, the incumbent potentates are fighting against Islamic mainstream (Wahabi radicals, Muslim Brotherhood and their world-wide student organisations) that wants to re-establish the Caliphate in order to achieve hegemony and absolute supremacy of Islam over the entire world. In Islamic view, this war has to go on until all Islamic states are united and all non-Muslim civilisations under the absolute suppremacy of the caliphate.

IMPORTANT PEOPLES AND TRIBES (BANU, BENI OR BANI)

• **ibn** / bin / ben = 'son of' such as in Zurah ibn Kilab; as short name variation with capital letter: Ibn Ishaq (Son of Isaac) for 'Mohammed ibn Ishaq ibn Yasar ibn Khiyar' in which we find 3 times 'ibn'.

• **bint** = 'daughter of', such as in Atikah bint Murrah

• **Bani** / Banu / Beni = the 'children of' / 'clan of' / 'tribe of' / 'sons of' / 'house of' as in 'Bani Israel', 'Banu Hashim', or 'Bani Saud', the House of Saud'. Often abbreviated to B.

• **Banu Hanifa** (of al-Yamama or Yamamah, a Christian branch of the Bani Bakr, lived close to al-Bahrayn; see Ridda Wars)

• **Bani Bakr** (branch of the Kinana - see Diyarbakir)

• The **Anazzah** or Anizah, a wide-spread tribe ling in the Arabian Peninsula, Iraq, the Levant; related to the Bani Bakr)

• **Banu Bakr**

• **Banu Salih** / Saleh

• **Banu Judham** (Judaist)

• **Banu Hashim** (Hashemites / Hashimi; named after Mohammed's great-grandfather Hashim ibn Abd Manaf (c.464-497 AD); see Royal House of Jordan.)

• **Bani Quraysh** or Koreish (branch of the Hashimi. The name Quraysh is linguistically related to the name Qurayza letting scientists assume that they had to do with one another. The Quraysh might have been a splinter group of the Qurayza)

• **Quraysh** = The Quraysh a mercantile Arab tribe that historically inhabited and controlled the north-western part of Arabia. The Islamic prophet Mohammed was born into the Banu Hashim clan of the Quraysh tribe in a region which in antiquity was known as Nabataea. The Quraysh staunchly opposed Mohammed until converting to Islam en masse in 630 AD by promising them the most powerful and lucrative positions in the Muslim state. Afterward, leadership of the Muslim community traditionally passed to a member of the Quraysh as was the case with the Rashidun, Umayyad, and Abbasid caliphs.

• **Banu Qurayza** or Koreiza (tribe built by members of the Jewish Messianic Movement that were fighting against Titus Flavius Vespasianus' Roman Legions [66-73 AD] and fled into Arabian territory after they have lost that war. The Jewish Qurayza allied themselves with the Banu Aus and the Banu Khazraj in the Battle of the Trench, most likely due to the high Jiziya tax they had to pay to Mohammed's Muslims. After the Battle, Mohammed massacred 600-900 Qurayza warriors and sold their families and the rest of the population into slavery.)

• **Banu Aus** / Aws (from Yemen; allies of the Qurayza in the Battle of the Trench.)

• **Banu Khazraj** (from Yemen; allies of the Qurayza in the Battle of the Trench.)

• **Banu Ghatafan**

• **Banu Tamim**

• **Banu Najran** (Christian as the name derives from Nazorean meaning 'Keepers of Moses' Law')

• **Banu al-Harith**

• **Banu Kab** (or Ka'ab)

• **Banu Kilab**

• **Banu Juhaynah** (Judaist / Christian or Baptist movement? as the name derives from Yohanan [John the Baptist] .)

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INTRODUCTION ON THE DOCTRINES, IDEOLOGIES AND LAWS IN ISLAM

MARTIN LUTHER ON ISLAM AND THE KORAN

Translations of Two Prefaces on Islam:
Author: Dr Martin Luther
Preface to the Libellus de ritu et moribus Turcorum, 1530
Preface to Bibliander's Edition of the Koran,1543
Source: Word & World, Volume 16, Number 2, Spring 1996
Translatiom: Sarah Henrich and James L. Boyce, 1996
Estimated Range of Dating: 1530-1543 A.D.

(Martin Luther, the German scholar who wanted to reform the Romam Catholic Church, is not only known as founder of the Protestant Church and translator of the entire Bible into German, but he also read the Koran; and he did that for a very good reason. Martin Luther's remarkable involvement with Islam and Muslims (whom he called "Turks") is insufficiently known. Luther was a person of his time, and his language expresses the roughness of the age. Luther, however, was far ahead of his time, and is helpful to us in reminding us of the importance of the Islamic reality. He expressed regret that scholars were not seeking to study and understand Islam in its own terms. Luther was born in 1483, so when Constantinople, the capital city of the Roman Empire, fell to the Muslim Ottoman Turks in 1453, it was an event that still was fresh in the memory of his contemporaries.

Throughout the late-1400s and 1500s, the Ottoman Turks took the lead in the Islamic world. Eventually their empire would stretch east across Asia Minor (Turkey) through Syria to Persia, and south through Arabia, Egypt, and north Africa. But the Turks also pressed westward into Europe, conquering Greece and the Baltics. In 1526, the King of Hungary was killed in battle, and in 1529, the Turks began their siege of Vienna, Austria, the home of the Habsburgs and a seat of power for the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V. Islam was pounding on the gates of western Europe, and many Christians feared that they might give way at any moment to Turkish domination.

Meanwhile, Martin Luther had been fighting his own battles. By the 1520s, the Reformation of the Church was well under way, but Luther was not only concerned with theological debates and church life. He also spoke on the important concerns of society and the civil government, applying Scripture to the hot topics and current events. In 1529, Luther published a treatise called On War Against the Turk (Luther's Works, Vol. 46, pp.161–205). In this work, he distinguishes between the two men who should fight against the Turk, "and there ought to be only two: the one is named Christian, the other, Emperor Charles".

When the Hungarian king was defeated in 1526, he had been accompanied by an ecclesiastical army led by sword-wielding bishops. But Luther argues that any war against the Turks should not be a religious crusade led by the ministers of the church. "If I were emperor, king, or prince and were in a campaign against the Turk, I would exhort [and even force] my bishops and priests to stay at home and attend to the duties of their office, praying, fasting, saying mass, preaching, and caring for the poor, as not only Holy Scripture, but their own canon law teaches and requires". Luther follows Scripture in teaching that God has given authority to the civil rulers, not the church, to punish wickedness and wage war.

Luther argues it is the emperor's duty to wage war, but that doesn't mean he can attack whomever he wants. The emperor is under God's order and there are just causes for the emperor to fight the Turk; chiefly, "the Turk is attacking his subjects and his empire, and it is his duty as a regular ruler appointed by God, to defend his own" (p.184). When the emperor takes up this task in obedience to God, he also serves his neighbors by providing protection for his subjects and a good conscience for his soldiers. This is why it is important that the civil government take up this task, not the church: "If there is to be war against the Turk, it should be fought at the emperor's command, under his banner, and in his name. Luther's advice on the just causes for war with the Muslim nations of his day are still good advice for civil governments today.

In the 1500s, the threat of Islamic armies was very real for the people of central and western Europe. Already, Christians in the Middle East and Greece lived under Turkish Muslim rule. Many of them had been enslaved or demoted to second class citizens. Others were driven from their homes, while still others were killed. The people of Germany were understandably fearful that the same fate could fall upon them if the Turks succeeded in defeating the Holy Roman Empire. Luther was initially aloof to the matter. He saw the Turkish Muslim attacks as manifestations of God's wrath against an ungodly "Christian" Europe. This was an unpopular view in his time, as it is still today, but Luther knew from Scripture that God did indeed chasten His people through the might of enemy nations and that suffering in this life should serve as a reminder of God's anger over sin. Along with God's Word, the Christian's chief weapon in this fight is prayer.

But the farther the Turks moved up the Danube River basin toward Vienna, and the more he heard about the pope clamouring for a crusade and German preachers expressing ambivalence toward and sometimes preference for the Turk, the more he was pressed to address the issue of war with the Ottomans. Unsurprisingly, given his view of the secular realm, he came out strongly in favor of war, for in his mind it was just. He continued to support every preparation for it so long as it was not construed as a crusade. He also believed that physical warfare was not enough. It had to be accompanied by the spiritual disciplines of prayer and repentance.

About the time of the siege of Vienna, Luther also began to view the Turkish threat as an apocalyptic threat. He was convinced that the rise of the Turks was foretold in the eschatological prophecies in scripture, especially Daniel 7. He also believed that, while the Turks would be successful for a time, their days were numbered as the last days were soon approaching. Until then, Christians needed to be warned about the dangers of Islam. He had heard and read that many Christians who ended up in the Ottoman Empire eventually became Muslims. So he spent most of his energy in writing about and inquiring into the theology and culture of the Turks for the purpose of encouraging and equipping Christians to resist it.

It is in On War Against the Turk that we get perhaps the fullest summary of Luther's basic notions of the religion of Mohammed and of Muslim customs as he saw them in the Ottoman Turkish enemy. Luther argued that the Turk was a threat to the Christian in three estates: the spiritual, the temporal, and in the estate of marriage or the home.

Firstly, He described the Muslim religion as a patchwork taken from Jewish, Christian, and heathen sources in which "Father, Son, Holy Ghost, baptism, the sacrament, gospel, faith, and all Christian doctrine and life are gone, and instead of Christ only Mohammed with his doctrine of works and especially the sword is left."

Secondly, Luther saw the Koran as the basis of a creed that compelled the use of the sword through which temporal government with its maintenance of peace, protection of the good, and punishment of the wicked was destroyed. "With lies he kills souls and with murder he kills bodies."

Thirdly, Luther lifted up the practice among the Turks of having many wives as a destruction of the estate of marriage and the home. In sum, the Turk is a "destroyer, enemy and blasphemer of our Lord Jesus Christ, a man who instead of the gospel and faith sets up his shameful Mohammed and all kinds of lies, ruins all temporal government and home life or marriage, and his warfare, which is nothing but murder and bloodshed, is a tool of the devil himself."

Luther wrote treatises, he also preached a sermon on war with the Turkish Muslims. He spoke of those Christians who already lived under Islamic rule, as well as those Germans who were already captured during battle and sold as slaves. Throughout it all, he remained committed to making as much information on Islam available as possible. This culminated in his involvement in the publication of a new Latin translation of the Koran in 1543, a work that was included in the first collection of texts relating to Islam to ever be printed. For this reason his prefaces to the "Book of the Rites and Customs of the Turks" and to "Bibliander's Edition of Alcoran" have been newly translated and are presented here.)

1. LUTHER.S 1530 PREFACE TO THE TRACT ON THE RELIGION AND CUSTOMS OF THE TURKS, 1530

(On December 6, 1529, Veit Dietrich wrote from Wittenberg to Hektor Pömer in Nurenberg,.We have in our possession from occupied Constantinople a pamphlet written many years ago on the customs of the Turks that Luther will soon publish with the addition of hisownpreface.. Then on January 3, 1530, Luther wrote to his friend Nikolaus Hausmann in Zwickau, .A pamphlet in Latin on the rites and religion of the Turks written almost seventy years ago is being prepared.. The libellus referred to in these remarks appears to have been written by a certain Georg von Muelbach, in later life a Dominican priest among the curia in Rome, who as a youth had been captured when the Turks, under the lead of Murad II (1421-1451), invaded Hungary during the uncertainties of succession that accompanied the death of Emperor Sigismund in 1437. The youth was subsequently sold to some merchants and carried off in chains to Adrianopoliswhere he was imprisoned for sometwenty years before his release in 1458. AlthoughLuther dates the writing .almost seventy years ago. (i.e., about 1460), a more accurate date of shortly before 1481 derives from the author.s reference within the work to Mohammed i.e.,MohammedII, 1451-1481) as the .one who now rules.. A translation of the preface referred to in Dietrich.s letter and written by Luther to accompany his publication of the libellus follows. For further historical background, see the introduction to Luther.s preface in WA 30/2:198-200, from which these brief notes are excerpted.)

Grace and Peace in Christ. I gladly accepted this little book on the religion and customs of the Turks when it was offered to me. Now I have decided to publish it, not without good reason as it seems to me. Although I have eagerly desired for some time to learn about the religion and customs of the Mohammedans, nothing has been available to me except a certain Refutation of the Alcoran21 and the Critique of the Alcoran by Nicholas of Cusa; I have tried in vain to read the Koran itself. The authors of the Refutation and the Critique seem to have intended through pious examination to frighten sincere Christians away from Mohammedanism and hold them secure in their faith in Christ. Still, while they eagerly take pains to excerpt from the Koran all the most base and absurd things that arouse hatred and can move people to ill-will, at the same time they either pass over without rebuttal or cover over the good things it contains. The result is that they have achieved too little credibility or authority, as it were cheapening their work either because of hatred of the Turks or because of their own lack of powers of

refutation.

The author of this book, however, whoever he was, seems to present his case with the highest degree of credibility. Accordingly, he has achieved a high level of authority with me, so that I trust him to be narrating the truth with as much sincerity as power. Although the things he details are moderate and few, and I would wish for more and greater things, nevertheless, even such moderate and small matters are presented credibly. He relates details so as not only to recount the evils of the Turks but also to exhibit alongside them the best things, and he presents them in such a way that through comparison with those people he might reprove and censure our own. Nevertheless, he does not approve of such things, however piously they are done, but refutes them with as much vigor and strength as had been done up to that time. His writing certainly bears the clear signs of a forth-right and sincere heart that writes nothing from hatred, but sets forth everything out of love of the truth. Indeed, those who only censure and condemn the base and absurd characteristics of the enemy but remain silent about matters that are honest and worthy of praise do more harm than good to their cause. What is easier than to condemn things that are manifestly base and dishonest (which in fact refute themselves)? But to refute good and honest things that are hidden from sight, that is to further the cause, that is to lift up and remove the scandal, to despoil the messengers of their counterfeit image of the light and to render them appropriately hateful because of their base plundering of the light.

From this book, accordingly, we see that the religion of the Turks or Mohammed is far more splendid in ceremonies—and, I might almost say, in customs—than ours, even including that of the religious or all the clerics. The modesty and simplicity of their food, clothing, dwellings, and everything else, as well as the fasts, prayers, and common gatherings of the people that this book reveals are nowhere seen among us—or rather it is impossible for our people to be persuaded to them. Furthermore, which of our monks, be it a Carthusian (they who wish to appear the best) or a Benedictine, is not put to shame by the miraculous and wondrous abstinence and discipline among their religious? Our religious are mere shadows when compared to them, and our people clearly profane when compared to theirs. Not even true Christians, not Christ himself, not the apostles or prophets ever exhibited so great a display. This is the reason why many persons so easily depart from faith in Christ for Mohammedanism and adhere to it so tenaciously. I sincerely believe that no papist, monk, cleric, or their equal in faith would be able to remain in their faith if they should spend three days among the Turks. Here I mean those who seriously desire the faith of the pope and who are the best among them. The rest of the mob and the greater part of them, especially the Italians, those swine from the band of Epicurus, who believe absolutely nothing, are secure from every heresy and error, strong and invincible in their Epicurean faith, armed as much against Christ as against Mohammed or against even their own pope.

For this reason, therefore, we are publishing this book and thrusting it in the face of the opponents of the gospel, so that, confused as they are in their own foolish opinions, they might actually experience and feel with their own hands that what the gospel teaches is true. For the gospel teaches that the Christian religion is by far something other and more sublime than showy ceremonies, tonsures, hoods, pale countenances, fasts, feasts, canonical hours, and that entire show of the Roman church throughout the world. Indeed, in all these things the Turks are by far superior. Nevertheless, they continue to deny and ardently persecute Christ, no less than our papists deny and persecute him. May they finally then grasp this truth, namely, that the Christian religion is by far something other than good customs or good works. For this book shows that the Turks are far superior to our Christians in these things as well.

So now be off with you, you tyrants and pontiffs, and for the sake of faith in Christ—i.e., for the sake of your ceremonies—kill, burn, suffocate, proscribe, and rage in full

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force, since here you see that the splendor of your ceremonies is no splendour at all alongside the excellent splendor of the Turks and that your customs are clearly an abomination when compared to theirs. Accordingly, it is likewise as a kind of apology for our gospel that we are publishing this book. For now I understand the reason why the Turkish religion is so concealed by the papists, why only base things are told of them. It is because they sense what in fact is true, that, if it should come to the point of arguing about religion, the whole papistry with all its trappings would fall. Nor would they be able to defend their own faith and at the same time refute the faith of Mohammed, since then they would have to refute those things that they themselves most approve and for which they most strive, and defend those things that the followers of Mohammed most approve and for which they most strive.

There are, I confess, also very many base and absurd things to be seen among the Turks, and perhaps in the meantime more have arisen. I say this not only because in all things the present-day Turks are likely of the same sort as the ones this book describes before the capture of Constantinople—i.e., written some seventy years ago—but because all things are accustomed to grow worse with time. Yet these evils are concealed by such a beautiful, effective, and robust show of ceremonies, good works, and false miracles. Indeed what manner of baseness has there not been among us, too, in such monstrous deeds of lust, avarice, ambition, haughtiness, envy, discord, blasphemy, lies, vanity, impiety, that we could have surpassed Sodom and Gomorrah! Nevertheless, all these evils have been concealed by an even more weak show of ceremonies than is the case with the Turks, so that they might not be seen and we ourselves be deemed nonetheless saints. How much less will their own vices move the Turks, clothed as they are in religious ceremonies!

Finally, I am publishing this book for yet another reason, in order to anticipate and prevent the scandal of the Mohammedans. Since we now have the Turk and his religion at our very doorstep, our people must be warned lest, either moved by the splendor of the Turkish religion and the external appearance of their customs, or offended by the meager display of our own faith or the deformity of our customs, they deny their Christ and follow Mohammed. Rather let them learn that the religion of Christ is something other than ceremonies and customs and that faith in Christ has absolutely nothing to do with discerning what ceremonies, customs, or laws are better or worse, but declares that all of them squeezed together into one mass are not enough for justification nor are they a work for them to perform. Unless we learn this, there is danger that many of our people will become Turks, disposed as they are to much less splendid errors.

However effectively this author attacks the absurdities and evils of the Turks and candidly and rightly refutes their specious scandals (to which, as he confesses, he himself at one time was so moved as to fall prey), still it is clear that at that time our greatest fortification and strongest arms were not so publicly vigorous. These defenses are the articles about Christ, namely, that Christ is the son of God, that he died for our sins, that he was raised for our life, that justified by faith in him our sins are forgiven and we are saved, etc. These are the thunder that destroys not only Mohammed but even the gates of hell. For Mohammed denies that Christ is the son of God, denies that he died for our sins, denies that he arose for our life, denies that by faith in him our sins are forgiven and we are justified, denies that he

will come as judge of the living and the dead (though he does believe in the resurrection of the dead and the day of judgment), denies the Holy Spirit, and denies the gifts of the Spirit. By these and similar articles of faith consciences must be fortified against the ceremonies of Mohammed. With these weapons his Koran must be refuted.

If there are any who deny the articles just asserted, of what benefit is it to them even if they have the religion of the angels, even if they are twice as religious as the Turks? On the other hand, what can harm those who hold on to these articles, even without numerous fasts, prayers, vigils, and abstentions, even without such great modesty in food, dress, gesture, and style of life? The Turks and the papists may be radiant in such matters. At the same time they are void of true faith and filled alike with other most disgraceful crimes, abominable before God and hateful among people.

Indulgence must be granted to this author, however, insofar as his writing did not escape the common defects of the age and was composed in the usual style of his time. Yet he is truly to be praised for the noble zeal, candor, and diligence by which, to the extent he was able, he distinguished himself faithfully. Perhaps I will say more, if ever I get my hands on that Mohammed and his Koran. Indeed, I hope that our gospel, radiant with such great light, will make an assault now before the day of judgment on that abominable prophet Mohammed. May our Lord Jesus Christ do so quickly. To him be glory for ever. Amen.

2. PREFACE TO THE KOR.AN OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER, PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY AND PASTOR OF THE CHURCH AT WITTENBERG

Many persons have authored small tracts describing the rites, beliefs, and customs of Jews of this day for the very purpose of more easily refuting their manifest lies and exposed errors and ravings. There is no doubt that, when pious minds bring the testimony of the prophets to bear on the delusions and blasphemies of those people, they are greatly confirmed in faith and in love for the truth of the gospel and are fired with a righteous hatred of the perversity of the Jewish teachings. Indeed let any sane or moderate person consider how much of the most tasteless slander, how much madness and wickedness there is in Jewish beliefs and rites, a truth to be grasped from the fact that their learned and good men (e.g., as in the case of Nicholaus of Lyra, Salomo Levi from Burgos, or Antonius Margaritha) promote the Eleusinian mysteries.

For just as in the beginning in paradise the devil maddened the unfortunate Eve with his lies and drove her from God, so it is certain that since that time it is by the devil that the ragings of all the nations have been aroused against the true teaching of God. The fact that all peoples sacrificed human victims, as is evident from the examples not only among the ancient Greeks and Romans, but also from later times, like the Emperor Severus; the fact that the Egyptians worshipped cats, the people of Arabia dogs, the Lampsacenians Priapus, and other peoples one monster or another; the fact that things which were defiling in Cyprus or at Thebes, became in Egypt or somewhere else sacred rites: it is certain that all these things have been wrought by the devil who has continued to drive blinded human minds, in the first place, so that he might show himself to be an enemy of God, and, in the second place, so that he might haughtily deceive the feeble nature of mankind.

It was the devil who also aroused such ravings of the Jews when after the resurrection of Christ they fomented revolution, when after the destruction of the city of Jerusalem they incited war a second time under the leadership of Bar Kokhba, and when under the reign of the Emperor Julian the Apostate they began again to rebuild the temple. No less insane is the fact that since they are not able to take up arms, they sit in the midst of their sacrifices and hurl curses at the Son of God and devise deceitful and poisonous corruptions of the prophetic witness; they fashion crude rites, they lacerate their own bodies and those of their infants, and continue to have some sort of hopeful dreams of dominion over the world, contrary to the manifest testimonies of the prophets.

To be sure, the devil would wish that such deceits of his would not be uncovered, would not be brought to light, would not be censured. But just as the apostles condemned the errors of the nations, so now the church of God ought to refute the errors of all the enemies of the gospel, so that the glory of God and his Son Jesus Christ might be celebrated against the devil and his instruments. While the son of God was hanging on the cross, the whole world of nature testified with novel and awesome signs that this death mattered to God, and threatened not only the Jews, but the whole world of all times insofar as it rejected the Son of God. Even if a few were moved, God still wanted to set forth a clear testimony. Thus, even if this world at the extreme end of the ages is oppressed by a huge multitude of idolatrous

Jews, Mohammedans, and papists, nevertheless, let us sound forth the voice of the gospel and bear witness that the crucified and resurrected Jesus Christ, whom the apostles show us, is truly the Son of God and Savior, and let us denounce the errors of all those who wage war against the gospel.

Therefore, as I have written against the idols of the Jews and the papists, and will continue to do so to the extent that it is granted me, so also I have begun to refute the pernicious beliefs of Mohammed, and I will continue to do so at more length. But in order to do this, it is also useful to study closely the writings of Mohammed themselves. Accordingly, I have wanted to get a look at a complete text of the Koran. I do not doubt that the more other pious and learned persons read these writings, the more the errors and the name of Mohammed will be refuted.

For just as the folly, or rather madness, of the Jews is more easily observed once their hidden secrets have been brought out into the open, so once the book of Mohammed has been made public and thoroughly examined in all its parts, all pious persons will more easily comprehend the insanity and wiles of the devil and will be more easily able to refute them. This is the reason that has moved me to wish to publish this book.

Given the fact, however, that some persons fear that by reading such a book weak minds might be corrupted as it were by an infection and turned from Christ, to such persons I respond in this way. May there be none so infirm in the church of God that they do not have this conviction fixed in their mind, that, as certain as they know that they are alive as long as their senses and bodily motor functions are still vital, as certain as they know that it is day, as long as they see the sun passing above the earth in the middle of the sky, so certain should they be that it is patently impossible that any religion or doctrine about the worship or invocation of God be true that utterly rejects the prophetic and apostolic writings.

There is one eternal church beginning from Adam, to whom God revealed himself with sure and wondrous testimonies in the very word which God entrusted to the prophets and apostles. Time and time again God commands that by its teaching God is to be known and acknowledged and that all other beliefs about God be rejected. To this one teaching God joins us, just as the prophet Isaiah clearly says in chapter 59: "This is my covenant, says the Lord: my Spirit is in you, and my words that I have placed in your mouth will not depart from your mouth or the mouth of your descendants for ever." And Christ says: "If you abide in me, and my words abide in you; whatever you ask will be done for you." And Paul says that the church is built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets.

Therefore, all beliefs of all nations about God that either ignore or reject the prophets and the apostles are to be insistently condemned. Mohammed acknowledges, however, that he is devising a new belief that dissents from the prophets and apostles. Therefore, as you firmly repudiate the beliefs of the Egyptians who worshipped cats and of the Arabians who worshipped dogs, so you shall denounce the new creation of Mohammed, because he himself openly admits that he does not embrace the teaching of the prophets and apostles. If there are any who are so without understanding that they do not have this conviction fixed in their mind that the only true religion is that which was from the beginning handed on by God, with clear testimonies, through the prophets and apostles, even if these persons do not now read the writings of Mohammed, but either only hear about the Turks or see them, how will they fortify themselves against their beliefs? Rather, it is a shameful and impious ignorance if they do not daily admonish themselves in intercession concerning this belief, if they do not separate themselves from the Jews, the Turks, and other nations in prayer; if they do not meditate on the fact that this one alone is the eternal and true God, the creator and sustainer of all things, who hears us and will grant life eternal, who revealed himself in the writings of the prophets and apostles, who willingly sent God's Son to be a sacrifice for our sake. Those who meditate on these things in prayer will acknowledge that this stupidity is no light sin.

Because only a few call upon God rightly in prayer, the church, therefore, is being punished for its ignorance and neglect. But since this punishment is already in sight, may it warn us, as I have already said, to separate ourselves in prayer from the Turks, from the Jews, and from the other nations, and to invoke the eternal and true God, the creator of all things, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who was

crucified for our sake and raised from the dead. But I shall speak about these things more fully at another time.

Daniel and the other captives won over the King of Babylon and many others to true knowledge of God. The Goths, the Huns, and the Franks, although victorious, nevertheless, were converted by their captives to the worship of God. So now, too, God perhaps will call some of the Turks from their darkness through their Christian captives who have been instructed. Or perhaps God wishes that those

uninstructed Christians who are sorely oppressed in Illyria, Greece, and Asia, may be strengthened by those Christians who by reading this book will be able to fight more courageously on behalf of the gospel.

The following corollary assertions provide a source of great encouragement: Just as the church of God is eternal, so it is fitting that the church's teachings be eternal; yet this book witnesses that this creation of Mohammed is a new thing. The church of God by necessity embraces the prophets and apostles; Mohammed rejects their teaching. In the church of God from the very beginning this voice of the gospel has always been handed on: that the eternal Father willed that the Son of God become a sacrifice for sins; Mohammed scorns this sacrifice and propitiation.

In the church the doctrine has always existed concerning the causes of human weakness, calamity, and death, and especially concerning sin passed on after the fall of the first parents; these Mohammed, as if an Epicurean, considers to be inane fabrications. Finally, the book itself gives rise to many other assertions whose enumeration would hardly edify the pious.

This must not be thought a matter of light importance, especially by those of us who teach in the church. We must fight on all fronts against the ranks of the devil. In this age of ours how many varied enemies have we already seen? Papist defenders of idolatry, the Jews, the multifarious monstrosities of the Anabaptists, Servetus, and others. Let us now prepare ourselves against Mohammed. But what can we say about matters that are still outside our knowledge? Therefore, it is of value for the learned to read the writings of the enemy in order to refute them more keenly, to cut them to pieces and to overturn them, in order that they might be able to bring some to safety, or certainly to fortify our people with more sturdy arguments.

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ISLAM: WHAT THE WEST NEEDS TO KNOW
Video Documentary, Transcript
Transcription: Lord Henfield, 2020
Estimated Range of Dating: 2006 A.D.

(This is the transcript of a documentary quoting scholars who analyse the political and ideological doctrines found in the Koran, the Sira, and the Hadith. They compare Islamic teachings with the, often shocking, unawareness and ignorance of Western politicians and the media. We are not focussing on the religion of Islam here as it covers less than 20% of the entire Islamic scripture. The documentary was produced and directed by Gregory M. Davis and Bryan Daly, 2006. Notes of clarification are in round or square brackets.)

Tony Blair, Prime Minister of Great Britain; Quote: "I wish to say finally, as I have said many times before, that this is not a war with Islam. It angers me, as it angers the vast majority of Muslims, to hear Bin Laden and his associates described as Islamic terrorists. They are terrorists, pure and simple. Islam is a peaceful and tolerant religion, and the acts of these people [the Jihadists who killed c. 3,000 people with their aeroplane attacks onto the World Trade Center in New York on the 11th of September 2001.] are wholly contrary to the teachings of the Koran.

George W. Bush, President of the United States of America; Quote: "I also want to speak tonight directly to Muslims throughout the world. We respect your faith. It is practiced freely by many millions of Americans, and by millions more in countries that America counts as friends. Its teachings are good and peaceful and those who commit evil in the name of Allah blaspheme the name of Allah."

Bill Clinton, President of the United States of America; Quote: "I want you to understand, I want the world to understand that our actions today were not aimed against Islam, the faith of hundreds of millions of good peace-loving people all around the world, including the United States. No religion condones the murder of innocent men women and children. But our actions were aimed at fanatics and killers who wrap murder in the cloak of righteousness. And in so doing, profane the great religion in whose name they claim to act."

Ken Bibley born: England, 1942. Kidnapped and executed by Jihadists immediately after this video-take, Iraq, 2004. Quote: "My name is Ken Bigley from Liverpool and Bolton District. I am here as well and I think, this is possibly my last chance to speak to somebody who will listen. From you, I need you to be compassionate as you have always said you were, and help me! I don't want to die!"

ISLAM: WHAT THE WEST NEEDS TO KNOW

Serge Trifkovic, Foreign Affairs Editor, Chronicles Magazine: The tendency of western political leaders to deny the connexion between orthodox Islamic mainstream and terrorist violence is replicated in the universities and the media wherever you look, both in western Europe and in North America. The members of the elite class have this tendency to proclaim Islam some mysterious, authentic Islam, to be peaceful and to be tolerant, and those Muslims prone to violence are proclaimed to be a non-representative fringe. Well, I would really appreciate if people who make such claims, could then explain the continuity of violence, from the earliest day of Islam, from the earliest days of the prophet [Mohammed] and his immediate successors, throughout the 13 centuries of recorded history.

Robert Spencer, Author, Islam Unveiled: The real burning question in the world today is: Does Islam and Islamic civilisation actually sanction the violence that we are seeing being perpetrated in its name around the world? And to that we have to answer, if we are going to be honest about it, with an unqualified Yes. The Islamic sources, the Islamic texts, starting with the Koran, but not limited to the Koran, the Islamic texts, including the Hadith Islamic tradition, Islamic theology, Islamic law, the traditions of the interpretation of the Koran throughout history, and Islamic history itself, all bear witness to the fact that Islam has a developed doctrine, theology and law, that mandates violence against unbelievers.

Bat Ye'or, Author, The Dhimmi: Jews and Christians under Islam: The origins are, of course, in the Muslim desire to impose all over the world, the only religion - the only just religion - which is Islam. And the suppression of all other religions in order to establish the rule of Allah over the whole earth. This is a religious duty, which binds the whole community, and which the Muslim community is obliged to to impose because they are obliged to obey the order of Allah, and this is the the desire of Allah as expressed in the Koranic revelation.

Abdullah Al-Araby, Director, The Pen versus The Sword Publications: I believe that those terrorists that want to do harm to others, are applying the true Islam that was practiced byMohammed and his followers in the early stage of Islam.

PART 1 OF 6 "THERE IS NO GOD BUT ALLAH AND MOHAMMED IS HIS PROPHET"

Spencer: In Islamic theology, the prophet Mohammed is considered "al-Insan al-Kamil," which is the perfect man. He is the model par excellence, to be imitated. He is the person, that, the more a Muslim is like him, the better off he is. So the prophet Mohammad is revered today in the Islamic world as the primary model of human behaviour.

Walid Shoebat, Author, Why I Left Islam: Mohammed, the prophet of Islam, wiped out all the Jews from Saudi Arabia. There were three tribes: Banu Nadir, Banu Quraiza, Banu, Qaynuqa. We were proudly studying this in school as Mohammed, the prophet of Islam, ordered the beheading of the Jews of Banu Quraiza and the women being taken as concubines. As soon as a child had pubic hair, he was beheaded. So the the Jewish population was either extradited or beheaded. The story of Rabbi Kinana is a well-known documented story in Islam. Rabbi Kinana was tortured by the order of the prophet of Islam himself: His eyes were put out, he was burned in order to confess where the Jewish tribes were hiding their goods, their gold, and their silver, and all those kind of things. And this is right from the Hadith. This inspired us, as Palestinians, inspired us on fighting Jihad against the Jews in Palestine.

Authoritative Islamic History: The Life of Mohammed, SIRAT RASUL ALLAH, by Muhammad bin Ishaq (died 773 AD), edited by Abdul Malik bin Hisham (died 840 AD), translated by Prof Alfred Guillaume (1955), p.464: Then they (the Jewish Quraiza tribe) surrendered, and the Apostle (Mohammed) confined them in Medina . . . then the Apostle went out to the market of Medina and dug trenches in it. Then he sent for them and struck off their heads in those trenches as they were brought out to him in batches . . . There were 600 or 700 in all, though some put the figureas high as 800 or 900.

Spencer: [This is] another example, that may be even more chilling of the deleterious influence that Mohammed's example has upon the Islamic world, was exemplified recently by an Egyptian leader of a radical Muslim party, who wrote just recently that he couldn't believe that the beheadings in Iraq were being protested by Muslims. Weren't they aware that the prophet Mohammed himself beheaded between 600 and 900 men personally, members of the Jewish Quraiza tribe in Arabia after he had defeated them? Didn't they realise that if the prophet did it, then this was the proper way to behave? And so the Mujahedeen in Iraq, who were beheading people, are simply obeying the example of the prophet.

Now we can see then that since the prophet Mohammed himself participated in many battles and raids [95 wars and battles], and did indeed perpetrate these beheadings, he ordered the assassination of several of his political opponents, and he behaved in general like a typical 7th century warlord. The problem is that when this is transferred to 21st century behaviour, 21st century contexts of behaviour, then what you get are terrorists.

The Koran occupies a place that has no parallel in western civilisation. The Koran is considered by Muslims and by traditional Islamic theology to be dictated word for word by god himself by allah himself through the angel Gabriel to the prophet Mohammed. As a result, every word of it is the words of God himself. Every word of the Koran, unless it is canceled by another section of the Koran itself, is valid for all time and cannot be questioned, cannot be reformed, cannot be changed within an Islamic context. This means that moderate Muslims, peaceful Muslims, if they are sincere, have to reject entirely Koranic literalism. But to do so puts them outside the sphere of anything that has been considered orthodox Islam throughout history because to do so is to reject the very basic premise of Islam that this is a book that is dictated by God and is a perfect copy of a perfect book, the um al-kitab, the mother of the book that has existed forever with allah in heaven.

THE NOBLE KORAN, translated with parenthetical notes by Dr Muhammad Taqi-ud-Din Al-Hilali and Dr Mohammed Musin Khan; Surah 98 Verse 6: Verily, those who disbelieve (in the religion of Islam the Koran and prophet Mohammed) from among the People of the Scripture (Jews and Christians) and al-Mushrikun (other disbelievers) will abide in the Fire of Hell. They are the worst of creatures.

Trifkovic: So the Koran is simply a set of direct commandments or else, narratives, descriptions, sometimes very distorted descriptions, of Judaism and Christianity. Because of the normative nature of those commandments, the second important body for Islamic jurisprudence and for Islamic polity is the tradition of the prophet, the Hadith.

Spencer: Now the Hadith are absolutely necessary to make any sense of the Koran because Allah addresses Mohammed in the Koran and they talk about incidents in Mohammed's life but they do not fill in the narrative details. So you have to go to the Hadith, the traditions of the prophet Mohammed, in order to understand what is being said in the Koran and why. The Hadith are many many volumes of traditions of the prophet. Various Muslim scholars, beginning in the 8th century, which is some considerable time after the life of the prophet Mohammed who died in 632, they started to collect these traditions and to try through various means to winnow out the authentic ones from the inauthentic. From an Islamic standpoint, if something that Mohammed said or did, is recorded in one of those books, then it has authority second only to the Koran. And in those books there is a great deal that illuminates what the Koran says and how it is applicable to Muslims in the present.

Authoritative Traditions of the Prophet Mohammed, the HADITHS OF SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, translated with Parenthetical Notes by Dr Muhammad Musin Khan. Volume 4, Book 52, Hadith number 53: The prophet said, "Nobody who dies and finds good from Allah (in the Hereafter) would wish to come back to this world, even if he were given the whole world and whatever is in it. . . . except the martyr who, on seeing the superiority of martyrdom, would like to come back to the world and get killed again (in Allah's Cause)." The prophet said, "A single endeavor (of fighting) in Allah's Cause in the afternoon or in the forenoon is better than all the world and whatever is in it."

Trifkovic: Since there is no sense of natural morality in Islam, you have to go into either the Koran or the Hadith to find out what is allowed and what is not allowed.

Spencer: And in those books we have very clear instructions from the prophet Mohammed that it is the responsibility of Muslims to meet the unbelievers on the battlefield, to invite them either to accept Islam, or to accept second class Dhimmi status, Dhimmi status in the Islamic state, and if they refuse both of those, then to wage war against them

THE NOBLE KORAN, translated with parenthetical notes by Dr Muhammad Taqi-ud-Din Al-Hilali and Dr Mohammed Musin Khan; Surah 9 Verse 29: Fight against those who believe not in Allah, nor in the Last Day, nor forbid that which has been forbidden by Allah and his Messenger and fight against those who acknowledge not the religion of truth (i.e., Islam) among the People of the Scripture (Jews and Christians), until they pay the Jizya (the poll tax) with willing submission and feel themselves subdued.

Shoebat: The Koran is broken down into two sections: One is called Makiya, which means what was inspired to Mohammed the prophet of Islam in Mecca; and one is called Madaniya, what was inspired to the prophet of Islam in Medina or Yathrib. In Mecca, you find much of the peaceful verses. Mohammed used to live with the Jewish community and the Christian community in peace and harmony, so there were many verses in the Koran that . . . even the Muslims used to worship in the direction of prayer towards Jerusalem, they saw many elements of a unity between the Jewish and the Christian and the Muslim faith.

Trifkovic: There are indeed some verses in the Koran that could be called peaceful and tolerant, notably the injunction against compulsion in religion. Those verses almost invariably date back to the beginnings of Mohammed's prophetic career in his native city of Mecca, where he was powerless, where he was only beginning to attract followers.

Al-Araby: Only few relatives and and friends accepted the religion at that time and he has many foes so the revelations of that time were very peaceful.

Trifkovic: Well, it all changes with the establishment of Mohammed's theocratic statelet in the City of Medina. He becomes a warlord, he becomes the head of a totalitarian state, he becomes very rich, very powerful, and very intolerant. And then. many of these early verses in fact get abrogated.

Spencer: In Sura 2 verse 106 of the Koran, it says, or Allah says, I should say, that if We abrogate (We = being Allah; Allah in the Koran uses the royal We) abrogate a verse, then we shall give you one that is better.

THE NOBLE KORAN; Sura 2 Verse 106: Whatever a verse (revelation) do We abrogate or cause to be forgotten, We bring a better one or similar to it. Know you not that Allah is able to do all things?

Spencer: This is the basis, the foundation, of the Koranic doctrine, of "nasikh" which is (the Arabic word for) abrogation. And it is the idea that, when there are verses that are contradictory or appear to be contradictory in the Koran, the one that is revealed later chronologically, is better as Allah has promised and cancels the earlier one.

Shoebat: Now the violence started, now you had to weigh between peaceful verses and non-peaceful verses. So the edict was, that these were made null and void.

Trifkovic: It is indeed a very curious concept for a non-Muslim to accept the notion that god may change his mind about a topic and may issue one injunction in AD 614 (THE NOBLE KORAN, 2:256: "There is no compulsion [i.e., coercion] in religion.) and then a very different one in AD 627 (THE NOBLE KORAN, 9:5: "Kill the unbelievers wherever you find them. . . . But if they repent and accept Islam . . . then leave their way free.") - this is indeed what has happened in Islam.

Spencer: It is very important to understand that the Koran is not arranged chronologically, it is arranged simply on the basis of the longest chapter to the shortest.

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Trifkovic: And so you will find in the book itself some of these more tolerant verses at a later point in the book than the very intolerant ones, advocating violence and subjugation of infidels. But that does not mean they came into being later on - quite the country! If there is ever a contradiction between two injunctions, the ones that came later on in Medina are the ones that retain their validity, and the early ones from Mecca have been abrogated.

Shoebat: The peaceful verses became Mansukh, means "null and void" with verses like the Verse of the Sword.

Spencer: Traditional Islamic theology has it that the 9th chapter of the Koran, Sura 9 is the last revealed in the career of the prophet, and it is the only one that does not begin with Bismillah al Rahman al Rahim, "In the name of Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful." Some have said "that is because there is no compassion or mercy in this particular chapter, and that it is the Koran's last word on jihad, and in particular on how Muslims should behave toward unbelievers. In it is the celebrated Verse of the Sword.

Shoebat: What does the verse of the sword say? It is very clear "that when the forbidden months are over, kill the people of the book wherever you find them, lay siege for them, lay wait for them, lay ambush for them, kill them wherever you find them." In fact I converted to Christianity. Mohammed clearly stated "that in the ends of days there will be many who defect from the faith, kill them when you see them, wherever you find them." So this is the question that the West needs to understand. What part of kill don't they understand?

PART 2 OF 6 "THE STRUGGLE"

Jounalist at a press conference in the White House of the Bush administration: You said that the president re-iterated the message of tolerance and the importance that this is not a campaign against Islam or arab nations generally. Has it been communicated the administration from those nations from that part of the world that you've been talking to recently that is a highly critical thing for the president to do not just once but over and over and over again. So why . . . ?

Condoleeza Rice (being totally ignorant of Islamic doctrines in the Koran) **answers:** "We are a country that judges people not by their religious beliefs or by their colour but by the fact that we are all Americans. So that was the first part of the message. The second part of the message is that we have a lot of friends around the world who are Muslim. We have countries that are long friends of the United States who are of the Islamic faith and the president wanted to be very clear that this is not a war of (quote: Civilisations), that this is not a war against Islam. This is a war against people who, in many ways, pervert what Islam stands for. Islam stands for peace and stands for non-violence and he wanted to make that very very clear."

Spencer: Islam and Islamic civilisation are unique in their stance toward non-believers, and that Islam is the only religion in the world that has a developed doctrine theology and law that mandates violence against unbelievers, that there are peaceful Muslims there are Muslims around the world who are moderate who live in harmony with their non-Muslim neighbours and have no intention of ever waging war against them in any way. But the fact is that they have a very slim justification for their own peacefulness within the Islamic sources themselves, and they are only at peace with their neighbours insofar as they are either ignorant of what Islam teaches about how Muslims should behave toward unbelievers, or they have explicitly rejected, consciously rejected, those elements of Islam. There are, in short, peaceful and moderate Muslims but no peaceful and moderate Islam.

The idea that Islam is a religion of peace however is paradoxically enough held even by the most violent and radical of Muslims. Sayyed Qutb*, the Egyptian Muslim theorist whose writings are revered by radical Muslims today, by terrorists today. He wrote and insisted that Islam is a religion of peace. When you study his writings (Islam and Universal Peace; or: his most famous work Milestones), it becomes clear that he meant that Islam is dedicated to establishing the hegemony of Islamic law over the world. When that hegemony is established, peace will reign in the world. Therefore, Islam is a religion of peace.

THE NOBLE KORAN; 9:5: Then when the sacred months (the 1st, 7th, 11th, and 12th months of the Islamic calendar) have passed, then kill the mushrikun (unbelievers) wherever you find them, and capture them, and besiege them, and prepare for them each and every ambush. But if they repent and perform As-Salat (Iqamat-as-Salat, "the Islamic prayers"), and give Zakat (alms), then leave their way free. Verily Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful.

(* **Sayyid Qutb** (1906–1966) was an Islamic theorist, educator, author, and the leading member of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood. He taught Islamic principles such as: Islam cannot accept or agree to a situation which is half-Islam and half-Jahiliyya [separated from Allah]. . . Faith is not by wishful thinking, it is what takes root in the heart and shows in one's actions. . . All people go to Allah after their death, but the happy person is the one who goes to Allah while still alive. . . A martyr is the one who bears witness that the Shari'ah of Allah is more valuable to him than his own life. He and his brother Muhammad Qutb influenced with their teachings many Koran teachers and ordinary Muslims, including Osama bin Laden. All teachings of the Qutb brothers are strictly in line with the Koran, the Sira, and the Hadith. Here a couple of quotes by Sayyid Qutb:

• Islam prescribes the bases of social justice. It insures that the poor have claims on the possessions of the rich, and it lays down a just policy for government and finance. It does not need to numb people's feelings and does not call on people to abandon their rights on earth and to expect them only in the Kingdom of Heaven. [Sayyid Qutb and Islamic Activism: A Translation and Critical Analysis of Social Justice in Islam, 1996, p. 16]

• Islam's way of life is unique, for in systems other than Islam, some people worship others in some form or another. Only in the Islamic way of life do all men become free from the servitude of some men to others and devote themselves to the worship of Allah alone, deriving guidance from Him alone, and bowing before him alone. [Milestones, 1964, p. 11]

• Islam chose to unite earth and heaven in a single system, present both in the heart of the individual and the actuality of society, recognizing no separation of practical exertion from religious impulse. ... The center of its being and the field of its action is human life in its entirety, spiritual and material, religious and worldly. Such a religion cannot continue to exist in isolation from society, nor can its adherents be true Muslims unless they practice their faith in their social, legal and economic relationships. [Social Justice in Islam, 1953, p. 26]

• The cardinal principle that Islam ratifies along with that of the right of individual possession is that the individual is in a way a steward of his property on behalf of society; his tenure of property is more of a duty than an actual right of possession. Property in the widest sense is a right that can belong only to society, which in turn receives it as a trust from Allah who is the only true owner of anything. [Social Justice in Islam, 1953, p. 132]

• The establishing of the dominion of Allah on earth, the abolishing of the dominion of man, the taking away of sovereignty from the usurper to revert it to Allah, and the bringing about of the enforcement of the Divine Law (Shari'ah) and the abolition of man-made laws cannot be achieved only through preaching. Those who have usurped the authority of God and are oppressing Allah's creatures are not going to give up their power merely through preaching; if it had been so, the task of establishing God's religion in the world would have been very easy for the Prophets of Allah. This is contrary to the evidence from the history of the Prophets and the story of the struggle of the true religion, spread over generations. [Milestones, 1964, Ch. 4, Jihad in the cause of Allah, p. 68.]

• The defeatists should fear Allah lest they distort this religion and cause it to become weak on the basis of the claim that it is a religion of peace. Yes, it is the religion of peace but in the sense of saving all of mankind from worshiping anything other than Allah and submitting all of mankind to the rule of Allah. [Fiqh al-Da'wah. pp. 217–222]

• Islam knows only two kinds of societies, the Islamic and the Jahili [Kafirs, infidels]. The Islamic society is that which follows Islam in belief and ways of worship, in law and organization, in morals and manners. The Jahili society is that which does not follow Islam and in which neither the Islamic belief and concepts, nor Islamic values and standards, Islamic laws and regulations, or Islamic morals and manners are cared for. [Milestones, 1964, Ch. 7, Islam is the Real Civilization, p. 106.].)

Shoebat: But the problem is, the peaceful Muslims do not understand the edicts that comes out of the jurisprudence of Islam (Sharia). If you look at the interpretation of these verses in al-azhar university, in the Islamic Sharia schools in Jerusalem and Jordan in Syria and Damascus, all throughout the Middle East, the jurisprudence of Islam clearly state emphatically that the Verse of the Sword made null and void all the peaceful verses. And what does the Verse of the Sword say?

Shoebat: . . . kill them when you see them, wherever you find them. This is not an allegoric kill, it is a literal kill. It is the killing of Zarakawi, right in front of the camera, it is the lynching that you see in Ramallah, it is the killing of over a million of Sudanese, in Sudan, cutting the hands in the feet from opposite sides. And here's the dilemma: the peaceful verse even the peaceful verse that is quoted even by Bush, the verse goes as follows: "Whoever kills a life without just cause or for doing mischief in the land, then it is as he killed the entire earth." You will find the same verse in the Judeo-Biblical tradition but most westerners never skip after that verse, which makes very clear "but as those who do mischief in the land, then cut their hands and their feet from opposite sides and crucify them, literally! And that is what you see what happened in Afghanistan, that's what you see what happened in Sudan, a huge amount of crucifixions and killings and beheadings, and amputations and public assassinations. They really want to revive Islam as it used to be. This is why they call it Islamic fundamentalism.

THE NOBLE KORAN; 5:33: The recompense of those who wage war against Allah and his Messenger and do mischief in the land is only that they shall be killed or crucified, or their hands and their feet be cut off on the opposite sides or be exiled from the land. That is their disgrace in this world, and the great torment is theirs in the Hereafter.

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI; Volume 8, Book 82, Hadith number 795: "The prophet cut off the hands and feet of the men belonging to the tribe of Uraina and did not cauterise their bleeding limbs till they died."

Al-Araby: There is no assurance of what is known in Christianity as salvation and insurance of being saved and guaranteeing going to heaven. However there are certain things that can help. So if if a Muslim, for instance, died while he was practicing Jihad, he is supposed to go to paradise.

Shoebat: In the Islamist thinking the assurance of your salvation is dying as a martyr in accordance to the verse in the Koran "Do not think that the ones, who die in the cause of Allah in Jihad, are dead but are living. So this assures salvation!

Spencer: This is the calculus behind modern suicide bombing. Many people will say, modern Muslim advocates will say, that "Islam forbids suicide," and this is plainly dishonest because all the advocates all the defenders of suicide bombing in the Islamic world start out by saying this is not suicide; the intention of the person is not to kill himself, the intention of the person is to kill others. And that is sanctioned because it is Islamic Jihad. And if in the process, they are killed themselves that's an unavoidable consequence of their actions and they will be rewarded with the reward of martyrs in paradise.

Trifkovic: [The] Koran is quite clear about the heavenly reward for a Jihadist who falls fighting in the path of Allah. He will be granted instant access to paradise and a Muslim paradise is an extremely sensual one. It is full of huri's black-eyed beauties that will await the martyr and the gratification that follows is eminently unsuitable for family audience.

Spencer: The Koran contains no guarantee of paradise except for those who slay and are slain in the Cause of Allah.

THE NOBLE KORAN; 9:111: Verily, Allah has purchased of the believers their lives and their properties for the price that theirs shall be the Paradise they fight in Allah's Cause, so they kill (others) and are killed. then rejoice in the bargain which you have concluded that is the supreme success.

Spencer: In other words the guarantee of paradise is for people who are killed while they are killing to establish the hegemony of Allah or Islamic law in the world.

Al-Araby: Jihad in Islam can be spiritual or physical. The spiritual Jihad is thriving to be a better model. But also, there is a physical part of Jihad that he cannot take it away from Islam

Shoebat: Jihad in Islam means "struggle." That is what the literal meaning of the word is: struggle. But what the west does not understand is that the hadith the compilation of the traditions of the prophet Mohammed of Islam has almost about 100 hadiths regarding Jihad. And if you look at every single one of them, every single one of them has the sword war or a military effort, and in the end of the expedition, Jihad expedition, he said now i resort to the jihad within the jihad that is within the self-struggle. And as a matter of fact, I had this dialogue with an Islamist one time. He says "Walid, come on, tell the West that Jihad means struggle," I said, yes, it does mean self-struggle, you are right, Jihad does mean self-struggle, but so does Mein Kampf (by Adolf Hitler). Mein Kampf means "My Struggle" in the same fashion the Islamists look at Jihad.

Trifkovic: It is a very dangerous element of the Islamic teaching because this instant gratification through martyrdom is an attractive concept, and, by the way, when the so-called martyr operation is carried out by Hamas what is announced from the minarets of mosques is not the death of so and so who carried out the attack, but the wedding of so and so to the hurie's. In other words, they immediately make the implication that far from having to cry over his disappearance over the end of his physical life, his parents should be happy and celebrate and throw a party because their son is now being not only transported into heaven but greeted there with these voluptuous beauties.

Shoebat: Shahid, the word shahid means "witness," to witness, to testify, to testify that there is no god but Allah and Mohammed is his Messenger, and you die as a shahid for that cause. You are a witness. You are considered a witness, a martyr. And a martyr becomes glorified. Your family will glorify you after you die. To a Muslim fundamentalist, living in the Middle East, I had to be initiated. I had to basically either kill my first Jew or destroy my first Zionist infrastructure. I had to prove, beyond a shadow of a doubt, that I was worthy. And there are ample amount of students, teenagers, men, who are willing to die as suicide martyrs willing to put explosives, the martyr application is filled. There are many applicants there are not enough bombs to fulfill the applicants. And to get on one of those missions,

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indeed you must have been chosen, you must have been really good, you must have been violent enough, you must have been going out on every demonstration in the streets of Jerusalem or Bethlehem or our village, you must have shown yourself worthy of a greater operation. So when I explain what I have done and people have seen me in the community and I was worthy, and I ended up in prison, I was, of course, recruited. And I remember Mr Mahmoud. He was proud to have planted 15 bombs that killed many Israelis. And he was being bailed out by a Jewish Israeli lawyer. He was back right in the street. So you find your bomb maker and you apply. You say, "Look, I want to join, I want to do my first modern operation, planting the bomb, or whatever. And you need connexions. So I found my connexion. I rendezvoused with this guy in Jerusalem, and he built this explosive charge with a timer, and a loaf of bread, and I had to smuggle it from the Temple Mount under the auspices of al-Wakf department. The al-Wakf Police is the Islamic police appointed by the government to watch over the holy sites them knowingly that I had explosive charges smuggled me, so i can escape from the checkpoints.

There, I carried my explosive charge from Jerusalem to Bethlehem. I was supposed to put the explosive charge at 6.00 pm exactly. I was supposed to have this explosive charge in my hands at 6 pm exactly. At 5 to 6, I saw some Arab children running around and I didn't want to kill any Arabs. So I decided to place the explosive charge on the roof. I tossed it on the roof. At 6.00 pm. It went off and there was this big explosion. I looked behind me. I saw this thick black smoke coming out of the building and I started running. That was the moment I first got a glimpse of the reality of killing. I thought, people have died and I remember I did not sleep for three days constantly worried that I have killed somebody. Even terrorists have a reality check that you kill or you are about to die. You can sense it. This is why in Israel, the way, the nature of finding out a terrorist suicide bomber, is to look at their eyes. They will have these glossy eyes, they are sweating profusely, they are not paying attention because in their mind they are about to go. And that is you weigh the reality of what; now you're gonna die. And many times, I have been in this situation where I had thought that I was gonna get killed, shooting back and forth, as we stoned at the Israelis and they shoot back at us, and things like that. I was face to face with death. When you think in your mind you're going to die, you struggle between the requirements of your Islamic upbringing and between the reality that you value your life; and at some point, one has to outweigh the other. And for a Muslim fundamentalist, we always chose death. We always chose the suicide. My cousin died in his way in a street, and he got killed. He died. I had people, relatives die; and fighting the Israelis. And as I look at it now, I think what a waste. What a waste of life!

PART 3 OF 6 "EXPANSION"

Tony Blair in a short conversation with a Muslim politician. Muslim politician: So in other words, who gives you the right to change or topple the government in another country? Blair: It should not be us that puts together the new government. It should be the people of Afghanistan, inside Afghanistan, and those that have had to flee from Afghanistan. I think that is the right way to do it. Now, can I say, I enjoy very much doing this interview with you. - And I think that, whatever differences there are between us, it is important we carry on with this dialogue. May be, one of the problems that arises out of all this, is there has been insufficient dialogue between the Arab world and the West, between Islam and between people of other faiths, and I hope that we can establish a proper dialogue; and may be that would be some good that could emerge out of the terrible events of the 11th of September.

Muslim: Some personal questions at the end: I know you have so many meetings and people are waiting outside. I have read, I think in The Times, that you read about Islam. What do you know about Islam?

Blair: Well, I do not in any shape or form pretend to be an expert but I do read this . . . .

Muslim: What interests you?

Blair: I read the message of the Koran in so far as it can be translated and I read about Islam and I enjoy doing that, and I think there's you know i've learned things about the Koran that I never knew before and I think a lot of Christians would be interested. That is one of the reasons I say to you, it would be good if we, out of this, we had some more dialogue, and some more faith, and the reason I have to leave you now is because I am going to meet some religious leaders, both Muslim and Christian and Jewish upstairs, and in order to discuss with them how we can bring the faiths closer together. Thank you very much. [Note: After some political platitudes from Blair, the Muslim politician tried to probe Blair as to his knowledge about Islam. Blair revealed in his answer that he either did not know anything about the Koran or he did not understand its content; which seem to be more likely.]

Spencer: Islam understands its earthly mission to be to extend the law of Allah over the world by force. Now this is distinct from extending the religion by force. Muslims often indignantly deny that Islam was spread by the sword, as the old expression goes, and that anybody is ever forced to convert to Islam. Now, of course, forced conversions are a constant hallmark of Islamic history but they are technically forbidden by Islamic law. Now, the idea in Islam is that Muslims must wage war to establish the hegemony of Islamic law. Not everybody will be forced to become Muslim but the non-Muslims [living in Muslim countries or areas] will be relegated to second-class status. They will not be able to live in the society as equals to the Muslims, and it is the responsibility of Muslims around the world to fight to institute that kind of society.

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, Volume 4, Book 53, Hadith 392: While we were in the Mosque the Prophet came out and said "Let us go to the Jews." We went out till we reached Bait-ul-Midras. He said to them, "If you embrace Islam you will be safe. You should know that the Earth belongs to Allah and His Apostle, and I want to expel you from this land. So, if anyone amongst you owns some property, he is permitted to sell it, otherwise you should know that the Earth belongs to Allah and his Apostle."

Bat Ye'or: The Muslims see the extent extension of Jihad as a war liberating the infidels from their infidelity and a a privilege for them to enter in the religion of Islam and to abandon their the wrong belief. So Jihad is seeing as a favour which is given to the infidel population in order to change their ways [of life] and convert to the true religion: Islam.

THE NOBLE KORAN 8:67: It is not for a Prophet that he should have prisoners of war (and free them with ransom) until he had made a great slaughter (among his enemies) in the land. You desire the good of this world (i.e., the money of ransom for freeing the captives) but Allah desires for you the Hereafter. And Allah is All-Mighty, All Wise.

Shoebat: In the Muslim thinking, in the Muslim Sharia, the way the world is depicted is in two houses. It is called dar al-Islam or dar al-Harb, "The House of Islam" or "The House of War." So the whole world is under these two houses. If you are not a Muslim you are under The House of War. Yet in the West, the apologists, the Islamic apologists, would say, "No that is not accurate, it is the House of Peace and the House of Islam. And in fact, that is not accurate! If you look at the Hadith and if you look at what comes from the highest jurisprudence in the Middle East that's what is being taught.

Bat Ye'or: Now the infidel population are seeing this war as a genocidal war since as it is described in the Muslim historians of Jihad as well as extremely numerous Christian sources this war was conducted in great ferocity. Whole cities were given up to massacres. Entire populations were deported into slavery or massacred.

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, Volume 4, Book 53, Hadith 386: The companion of the Prophet and the second Caliph Umar sent the Muslims to the great countries to fight the pagans . . . When we reached the land of the enemy, the representative of Khosrau (Persia) came out with forty thousand warriors, and an interpreter got up saying "Let one of you talk to me!" Almughira replied . . . Our Prophet, the Messenger of our Lord, has ordered us to fight you till you worship Allah alone or give Jizya (tribute) and our Prophet has informed us that our Lord says: Whoever amongst us is killed (martyred) shall go to Paradise to lead such a luxurious life as he has never seen, and whoever amongst us remains alive, shall become your master."

Bat Ye'or: There have been in fact two big waves of Jihad: the Arab waves which started in the in the seventh century and in in the course of one century only has Islamised huge territory, mainly Christian territory from Portugal to Armenia, but also Islamised Persia which was not Christian but mainly Zoroastrian, except for Iraq, which was mainly Christian in the North and Jewish and Christian in the South. The second wave of Islamisation started in the 11th century, with the Turkish tribes so although this regions of eastern Europe, Greece, Anatolia which is now Turkey, but was the seat of the Christian Byzantine (Roman) Empire, and Serbia, Bulgaria, Romania, were integrated into the dar al-Islam which is the "Land of Islam" (the "House of Peace"). So all the countries around the Mediterranean which once have been Christian became the Islamic Empire. This Turkish wave lasted from the 11th century till the 17th century where the Turkish army were stopped at the gate of Vienna in 1683.

Trifkovic: The Crusades (1095-1270 AD) are not understood in Muslim world today very differently to the way they are understood in the western Academia and in the discourse of the western elite class. Both talk of the crusades as an "aggressive war of conquest" by Christian Europe against "peaceful innocent Muslims." One may ask, however, what were those Muslims doing in the Holy Land in the first place? Well, what happened is that Mohammed and his successors waged the series of wars of conquest and in one such onslaught in the fourth decade of the seventh century the holy land palestine israel was conquered by Muslims and so when Seljuk Turks started interfering with the ability of Christian pilgrims to go to the Holy Land, to go to Jerusalem, and when their physical safety was no longer guaranteed, the western Christians acted not only as reconquers of a land that had been once theirs they also acted as, quite rightly, one might say, protectors of their holy places. Now, a "defensive war" in the case of the Muslims is even a war of conquest because they are obligated to spread Islam. But a land which which had once been Muslim, in particular, must be reconquered, and "Jihad" is the rightful name of that war of the conquest. So they could never accept the crusader states in Antiochia and Jerusalem because they were dar al-Harb (house of war) reinstated into dar al-Islam (house of peace). And this is a contemporary aspect of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict of which many westerners are not fully aware. Exactly the same psychology that prompted Saladin and others to fight the crusaders is now motivating Hamas. In both cases it is not only a matter of the nationalistic desire of Arabs to expel European or Jewish settlers it is also the Koranic obligation of all good Muslims to make sure that the land once ruled by Muslims will be reverted to their rule.

From the British historian Hilaire Belloc's THE GREAT HERESIES, 1938: ". . . It has always seemed to me possible, and even probable, that there would be a resurrection of Islam and that our sons or our grandsons would see the renewal of that tremendous struggle between the Christian culture and what has been for more than a thousand years its greatest opponent." . . . "The suggestion that Islam may re-arise sounds fantastic, but this is only because men are always powerfully affected by the immediate past - one might say that they are blinded by it . . . ." . . . "But not so very long ago, less than a hundred years before the Declaration of Independence . . . Vienna was almost taken and only saved by the Christian army under the command of the King of Poland . . . on a date that ought to be among the most famous in history - September 11, 1683.

Spencer: On September 11, 1683 the siege of Vienna was broken that was the high point of Islamic Jihad expansion into europe after that Islam went into decline and the Islamic world was colonised and in a drastically weakened state it seems very likely almost certain, as far as I am concerned, that Osama bin Laden chose September 11th in 2001 to signal that the decline of the Islamic world was over and that the Jihadists were back and we're going to pick up where they left off in vienna in 1683. [Note: Peter Scholl-Latour, a French-German journalist and highly revered due to his umpteen relationships with leaders of the Mujaheddin and other Muslim leaders across the World, was the first person who was fully aware what the date 11 September really means. He stated this fact in public shortly after the Muslim attack on the World Trade Center in New York in 2001.]

Trifkovic: If we look at the tectonic plates between Islamic world and non-Islamic world today, we notice something very interesting: that, even very diverse Muslim societies which cannot be easily branded under one civilisation label, have something in common: and it is the tendency to be in conflict with their [non-Muslim] neighbours. If we look at the extreme southeastern outreach of Islam, we we see East Timor (Timor Leste) where Indonesian Muslims slaughtered a third of the population of this former portuguese colony, who are by the way roman catholics. In the southern Philippines, we see an extremely violent Islamic rebellion which has been simmering and becoming more or less violent for years, In indonesia itself, we had religious conflict in the spy silence where the beleaguered Christian minority is in danger of extinction. We have very active Islamic movements, both, in Thailand and in China in Xinjiang [where two totalitarian systems clash over the issue of total suppremacy: Islam and the Chinese Communist Party. The Chinese leaders are fully aware why the fight Islam]. In the Indian subcontinent, the history is tragic indeed: that is where the Holocaust, the Hindu Holocaust, took place in medieval times - a little known episode in the history of Islam [unknown] in the Western World, but the one that left a deep dramatic mark on on the people of the region and where the conflict is still latently present in the province of Kashmir [and Punjab in which the Sikhs fight against Islam successfully for over 500 years]. In Africa there is the constant war in Sudan which finally has gained some prominence in the western decision-making circles but which has been going on for 20 years and it is impossible to estimate the number of lives it has claimed but it certainly goes into many hundreds of thousands [today, the south of Sudan is an independent state called South Sudan]. There is the constant instability in Nigeria between the resurgent central and northern states which are increasingly pressurising the government in lagos into accepting Sharia law as the law of the land in those provinces. And of course, there is Mauritania where Muslims constantly battle non-Muslim southerners. Then, there is, of course, Chechnya in the Caucasus. And in Europe itself, we have the conflict in the former Yugoslavia between the Bosnian Muslims and [the Christian Orthodox] Serbs and [the Christian Catholic] Croats respectively. And the conflict between the [Muslim] Albanians [in Albania and Kosova] and the [Orthodox] Serbs, [Muslim] Albanians and [Orthodox] Macedonians and quite possibly, before too long, [Muslim] Albanians and [Orthodox] Greeks. So [ironically speaking], if we, eliminate these

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conflicts, if we eliminate from the equation Chechnya, the Balkans, Sudan, the world is a pretty peaceful* place; if we eliminate from the terrorist equation the terrorist acts carried out by the Muslims over the past five years [recorded in 2006], we would come to realise that "the war on terror" is unnecessary because terror is not a very big problem.

(***The following casualty list** covers all publicly known Islamic Jihad attacks from 11 September 2001 to 30 March 2021. We can estimate that there are a number of unknown cases.

In detail: 2001: 176 Jihad attacks in 12 countries, 3508 killed, 1561 injured. 2002: 667 Jihad attacks in 23 countries, 3149 killed, 6055 injured. 2003: 870 Jihad attacks in 33 countries, 3279 killed, 6706 injured. 2004: 1115 Jihad attacks in 37 countries, 7099 killed, 14558 injured. 2005: 1863 Jihad attacks in 38 countries, 7648 killed, 12864 injured. 2006: 2778 Jihad attacks in 42 countries, 15225 killed, 19484 injured. 2007: 3106 Jihad attacks in 45 countries, 20581 killed, 27339 injured. 2008: 2207 Jihad attacks in 42 countries, 10716 killed, 17804 injured. 2009: 2131 Jihad attacks in 40 countries, 9172 killed, 18612 injured. 2010: 2035 Jihad attacks in 48 countries, 9262 killed, 17470 injured. 2011: 1998 Jihad attacks in 57 countries, 9098 killed, 16926 injured. 2012: 2485 Jihad attacks in 58 countries, 11558 killed, 20273 injured. 2013: 2834 Jihad attacks in 48 countries, 16799 killed, 29596 injured. 2014: 3021 Jihad attacks in 55 countries, 32986 killed, 27561 injured. 2015: 2911 Jihad attacks in 53 countries, 27721 killed, 26192 injured. 2016: 2518 Jihad attacks in 59 countries, 21470 killed, 26772 injured. 2017: 2094 Jihad attacks in 61 countries, 16685 killed, 14588 injured. 2018: 2002 Jihad attacks in 55 countries, 11882 killed, 11533 injured. 2019: 1761 Jihad attacks in 54 countries, 10519 killed, 10725 injured. 2020: 2146 Jihad attacks in 53 countries, 10148 killed, 7729 injured. 2021: 503 Jihad attacks in 32 countries, 2454 killed, 1605 injured.

This is a Total of 41,221 Jihad attacks with 260,959 people killed and 335,953 injured.)

PART 4 OF 6, "WAR IS DECEIT"

A Senator from Nevada, United States [unwittingly confusing "Muslims" with "Islam," knowing obviously nothing about the doctrines of Islam, using the phrase "Islam dictates" unawarely what it really means, in his speech to Congress]: Madam President, Senator from Nevada. I have been on the floor before speaking about Islam, and what a great religion it is, I have said before and I repeat that my wife's primary physicians are two members of the Islamic faith her internist and the person that has performed surgery on her I know them well been in their homes socialised with them talked about very serious things with them we've helped each other with family problems I have been to the new mosque with them in Las Vegas they are wonderful people with great families and I have come to realise that Islam is a good religion it's a good way of life people have a good health code as their religion dictates and they have great spiritual values as their religion dictates and it's too bad that there are some people misdirected people around the world trying to take away from this very fine religion I believe that they cannot give this religion a bad name I think that the power of this religion and the power of the people in this religion will overcome these evil people who are using this fine religion to do bad things to innocent people.

Spencer: Islam is a religion and a political system that dictates, that one must carry out warfare against unbelievers until they either convert or submit, and this is the justification that the terrorists around the world are using for what they're doing, and that justification is based on core elements of Islamic tradition, that being the case it's very difficult for moderate Muslims, peaceful Muslims, to stand up within the Islamic community and to say this is not part of Islam, they only do so out of conscious deception intending to mislead westerners, in the in accord with the Islamic doctrine of Taqiyya, or religious deception, or they do so on the basis of simply being unaware of what Islam actually teaches.

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, Volume 4, Book 52, Hadith 269: The prophet said, "War is deceit." [This is the shortest Hadith recorded.]

Al-Araby: Lying generally speaking, is not allowed in an Islam. But unlike other religions, there are certain situations where a Muslim can lie and that would be acceptable, even encouraged. This concept is called al-Taqiyya and means "prevention." So a Muslim is allowed to to lie to prevent harm that may come to him or to Islam

Spencer: When one is under pressure one may lie in order to protect the religion. This is taught in the Koran: chapter 3 verse 28, chapter 16 verse 106.

Al-Araby: There are certain provisions for lying. So, a Muslim can lie for the cause of Islam, can lie to keep peace and his family, so he can lie to his wife. A Muslim can lie to his fellow Muslim to keep peace in the society. Mohammed himself ordered people to lie when people that he ordered to go and kill somebody they told him we cannot kill him unless we lie to that person he said okay fine lie.

The Life of Mohammed, SIRAT RASUL ALLAH, p. 367: The Apostle said . . . "Who will rid me of ibn al-Ashraf?" Mohammed bin Maslama, brother of the Bani Abdul-Ashal, said, "I will deal with him for you, O Apostle of God, I will kill him. The Apostle said, "Do so if you can." . . . He said, "O Apostle of God, we shall have to tell lies." The Apostle answered, "Say what you like, for you are free in the matter."

Video clip advertising Amercan Muslims [4 Muslims anonymously introducing themselves and what they claim to stand for; here numbered 1-4]: America is the land of diversity and service. - 1. I am an African American, my forefathers overcame the trials of slavery; 2. I am native American, I am a journalist, wife and mother; 3. I am with European heritage, one of my ancestors was a member of the Continental Congress; 4. I am Hispanic American, I have been a girl scout since I was six years old and now I am a troop leader 1. I served in our nation's armed forces as have many of my relatives. 2. my father served two tours of duty in Vietnam; 3. another fought for freedom of Gettysburg; 4. two of my uncles fought for our country in the Korean war; 1. and I am an American Muslim; 2. and I am an American Muslim; 3. and I am an American Muslim; 4. I am an American Muslim. - Muslims are part of the fabric of this great country and are working to build a better America! [Notice: that (1st) those introductions suggest the United States always have been also Muslim, and (2nd) that Islam stand for diversity. This is not supported by Islamic scripture. On the contrary, the "Umma" is the nation a Muslim has to pledge allegiance to, never to a non-Muslim nation state like the USA. Notice also: Anything which is not found in the Koran, the Sira, and the Hadith, is considered not Islamic and therefore viewed by Muslims as "null and void"; this includes any Western law.]

Trifkovic: The spokesmen for Islam in the Western World know how to play the game. They know how to present their cause in the way that is not only regarded as acceptable by the societal mainstream, but also reasonable, and even one might say, just. They will appeal to democratic institutions and their human rights, in the full knowledge that given the power to do so, they would abolish those institutions and deny those rights to others.

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, Volume 7, Book 67, Hadith 427: The prophet said, "By Allah and Allah willing if I take an oath and later find something else that is better than that then I do what is better and expiate my oath."

Shoebat: When I used to be working as a translator at the Loop College in Chicago, the fundraising for Jihad movements for the PA, the PLO at that time, we would do the translation for the announcements, or the flyers that we hand out, or we put on the walls of the college, and I remember the Arabic would be basically the facts, bring your friends, we were intending to raise funds to support our Jihad brothers in Lebanon, whether they are fighting in southern Lebanon against Israel or whatever, and then comes the English part. In the English part it would be the standard: "we will be conducting a Middle Eastern Cultural Party, you are welcome, we will be serving lamb and baklava."

So the west does not understand [and this also belongs to al-Taqiyyah, the Sacred Lie], as when we get together, as a group, our conversations are different. As soon as a Westerner would come into the scene, then the whole conversation changes. It becomes patable to a Western mind. When I used to go to work let's say during the gulf war I used to go to work at an American company and everybody would be hovering around the tv set. As soon as there is a scud missile hitting Riyadh, or something like that, and everybody will be distraught unhappy if a scud lands in the American camp, and I will be standing there right amongst the American employees, "Oh that's too bad, you know, oh that's too bad, I'm sorry, that, you know, we had loss of life." And out of frustration, from having to keep the truth of what I really felt, I would drill down the window on the freeway going home and scream as loud as I can, "Allahu Akbar" (Allah is great), because this is the chantation you do when the enemy is killed, when you win, so if it was a victorious day for the Iraqis, when they land a Scud missile, it will be "Allahu Akbar" on the freeway I know nobody could hear me now and when I went to my apartment home the rest of the apartment complex were also Arabs from the Middle East we hah got together in my apartment watch the gulf war and we would be praising Allah every time. There was some incident where Americans got killed, but it wasn't the same face that we put on when we were in an American environment in American environment, you played different scenario you acted as you are on their side. So there is this whole facade that is hidden from the West, of how Muslim fundamentalists, who want to propagate Jihad in America, can act publicly.

An American News Reader: "Is what we are witnessing today a Clash of Civilizations*? [* Reference to S. Huntington's essay "Clash of Civilizations?"] - We ask that of noted Palestinian scholar and professor of English and comparative literature at Columbia University, Dr Edward Said [a well-known apologist for Islam and Muslims].". . . **Edward Said:** "No, I do not think so. I think, the whole thesis is a bit of a false one because in the first place, civilisations are not, you know, little packages that are kind of completely detached from each other. They are all connected in one way or another. And, you know, what is so-called 'Western Civilisation' has many elements of Islamic, and Confucian, and Latin American, and Russian all the things . . ." [basically saying that every culture be just the same, Islam be just like the others; the typical excuse of a Globalist saying: "Forget about your nation state"; which is a pretty logical reply of an apologist for Islam, as he knows, a Muslim's allegiance goes always first to 'The Umma,' the nation of all Muslims, but not to a nation state such as Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Pakistan, etc.]

Bat Ye'or: The basis of and profit of this new version of Islam as a religion of peace and tolerance was Eduard Said who established in all universities and in academia this Islamic vision of peace on this basis the whole history of Dhimmitudine Jihad disappeared.

Spencer: Eward Said, who in his book Orientalism posited that criticism of the Islamic world on the part of Westerners was racist and imperialist. It is spread in order to make political points, to accustom Westerners to the idea that Muslims are here to stay in the United States, and that they must not be questioned in terms of their loyalty to the secular framework of Western society of the United States, and of Europe as well; that they must not be questioned in this, despite Islam's historical, political character, because Islam is a 'religion of peace' and this fiction has become so entrenched in American public discourse. as to be practically beyond question, such that anybody who does question it is immediately branded as a racist, a hate monger, a bigot. And this is a very effective tool in a country where racism is the cardinal sin above all to silence any effective debate about the continuing attachment of Muslim immigrants to Sharia law and their intentions toward the secular systems in which they now reside.

PART 5 OF 6 "MORE THAN A RELIGION"

Announcement by a spokesman of the Bush-Administration: "This is not a clash against Islam or Arabs. This is about freedom not culture. It is about working with Islamic governments who want to move forward into the modern world, working with Islamic governments who see their face as the face of peace, and working against the violence, and the terror and the people that seek to hold back the world, and would seek to disrupt peace and freedom for others. And so that is what it's about for us um the true faith of Islam we believe is a religion of peace! . . . and we intend to work with them in that regard the true faith of Islam we believe is a religion of peace!"

Al-Araby: Islam has to be known as more than a religion. The idea that Islam is a spiritual religion like for instance Christianity is completely incorrect.

Trifkovic: It would be incorrect to describe Islam as primarily let alone solely a religion since its early beginning in Mohammed's lifetime, it has also been a geopolitical project and a system of government a political ideology, if you will.

Spencer: Islam, from its beginnings, was both a religion and a system of government. For example the Islamic calendar does not base year one from the time that Mohammed was born or the time that Mohammed received his first revelation from god, which I think are both what westerners might expect, but from the time that Mohammed became the leader of an army and the head of state in Medina. This is the beginning of the Islamic calendar because in the Islamic understanding Islam is a political and social system as well as an individual faith [Notice: this was also the first time that Islam had success due to its political doctrines; before that, Mohammed gained only 150 followers in the 12 years he preached peacefully in Mecca. This superiority of Islam as a doctrine spread by the sword is reflected in the abrogation rule in the Koran.].

Trifkovic: In Islam, the separation between temporal, secular and religious power is not only impossible, it is heretical! Only in the complete blending of all aspects of human activity and all aspects of political and legal functions of the state can we have the caliphate, the properly organised state that is pleasing to Allah.

Shoebat: When Westerners think of religion, whether it is Islam, Christianity, Judaism, Hinduism, and all the "isms" in the world, Westerners think that it is a personal issue: a Buddhist will go to the Temple and peacefully worship whatever he does, meditates, contemplates; a Jew goes to a synagogue and does his Mitzvah, his good deeds; a Muslim goes to the Mosque, pays Zakat, alms, or go to the pilgrimage, the Hadj, in Mecca, or a Christian goes to church on Sunday. They think, it is a personal issue, religion is a personal issue. So when they look at Islam they compare Islam with the way they understand religions. And that's the first mistake. Islam is not a religion for personal use. Islam is Shariah'allah [the Law of Allah]. Islam is a form of government to the world first, then to a personal application. It is not just how you pray or you pray towards Mecca, it is how you dress, you dress in Arab culture! You speak Arabic! You cannot go to heaven unless you pray in Arabic! You can't read the Koran in English and expect to get good deeds, to go to heaven! Read

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the Koran in Arabic! It becomes an imperialistic system that everybody now must speak Arabic, think Arabic, practise the religion in Arabic! It s a form of law [dictating to you]: not just in how you eat, but how you get married, how you deal with your government, how you deal with your military, how you deal with the youth, how you deal with women. Every aspect of your life becomes Islam! Everything is Islam!

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, Volume 2, Book 23, Hadith 413: The Jews brought to the Prophet a man and a woman from amongst them who had committed adultery (illegak sexual intercourse). The prophet ordered both of them to be stoned to death near the place of offering the funeral prayers beside the mosque.

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, Volume 7, Book 62, Hadith 88: The Prophet wrote the marriage contract with Aisha while she was six years old and consummated his marriage with her while she was nine years old and she remained with him for nine years (i.e., till his death).

Spencer: In no way is Islamic Sharia, Islamic government, compatible with western understandings of human rights and freedom of conscience. Traditional Islam forbids conversion from Islam forbids anyone to leave Islam there's no way out and it forbids Muslims and non-Muslims to live as equals in society it mandates the second-class status of non-Muslims forbidding them to hold authority over Muslims forbidding them to hold certain jobs as a result it even mandated in history that houses of worship of Jews and Christians were neither to be built or repaired making communities relegated to a perpetual state of decline

THE NOBLE KORAN, 5:51: O you who believe! Take not the Jews and the Christians as Auliyah (friends protectors helpers, etc.) they are but Auliyah to one another. And if any amongst you takes them as Auliyah, then surely he is one of them.

Trifkovic: It is not possible for a non-Muslim living in a Muslim society to invoke his civil rights and human rights that would be independent or separate from the Sharia concept. He is expected to submit to Sharia willingly. And if he accepts his dhimmitude, the position of a dhimmi, he will be a "protected person." A protected person is someone who is in fact a willing subordinate to the Muslim overlords.

The Life of Mohammed, SIRAT RASSUL ALLAH, p 368: We saluted the Prophet as he stood praying, and he came out to us, and we told him that we had killed God's enemy. He spat upon our comrade's wounds, and both, he and we, returned to our families. Our attack upon God's enemy cast terror among the Jews, and there was no Jew in Medina who did not fear for his life.

Shoebat: The Hadith very clearly says the hadith which is what Mohammed said, "I have been ordered to fight until everyone says that there is no God but Allah and Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah. So this is [the way] how Islam spread to North Africa, this is how Islam spread all the way to Indonesia, this is how Islam spread in the Middle East. - Syria was not a Muslim country, Lebanon was not Muslim, Saudi Arabia even was a mixed multitude - All throughout the Middle East that's how Islam spread it was by the sword. This is why you do not see any Synagogues in Saudi Arabia. You don't see any churches in Saudi Arabia. Christianity, virtually, is non-existent. Even in my village in Bethlehem, Muslims are taking over; there's only 20 per cent left of the Christian population. In Lebanon, Christian Lebanese are moving by the droves. Hezbollah there is very active. Lebanon used to be a Christian nation. Now all of a sudden it has been Islamised. So, Islam is moving.

Spencer: Muslims who come to the United States and come to western Europe with an idea that Sharia is the law of Allah, they look upon our freedom of religion, and they look upon the fact that non-Muslims are in power in the United States and in western Europe, making laws and making laws not on the basis of the law of Allah, but on the basis of consensus and free elections, they look upon all that as a manifestation of Jahiliyya, or unbelief, the "pre-Islamic Period of Ignorance," as the times in any nation's history before it became Muslim is referred to. So that you have Pakistan and Iran, and so on, they refer to the period of their history before they became Muslim as the "Period of Jahiliyya," they also will consider the United States and western Europe "to be in Periods of Jahiliyya" today, and many Muslims coming into the United States and western Europe will work to establish Islamic states here on the basis of the idea that the secular state, and the state based on elections, has no legitimacy and you don't have elections about the law of Allah. You simply obey what God says! [The phrase "We the People" in the Declaration of Independence is viewed as blasphemy already by many Muslims.]

PART 6 OF 6 "THE HOUSE OF WAR"

An Islamic Preacher [a so-called "hate-preacher"] in London, 2002: ". . . . it's about time for the whole West to realise, Islam is the truth as a matter of time Islam could be implemented and the giant of Islam and the giant of the Islamic state is going to rise up again and it's going to be a fact and there's going to be a true fact in reality look the Muslims in Egypt they go for the Islamic state Jihad look in Iraq look in Afghanistan Pakistan in Pakistan even in europe people calling Allah!"

Spencer: The most important thing that the west needs to know about Islam today is that it has a political character and that it is not simply a religion but it is a religion or a belief system that mandates warfare against unbelievers for the purpose of establishing a societal model that is absolutely incompatible with western society. Americans need to know this western Europeans need to know this because Muslims are coming into western countries while holding these beliefs and intending to act upon them. They are the motivations behind modern terrorist activity and they are the goals of the of millions of Muslims in the United States and around the world. We need to know this so that we can protect ourselves but unfortunately because of Political Correctness and because of media and general government unwillingness to face the sources of Islamic terrorism these things remain largely unknown.

Shoebat: Islamic fundamentalism is a sleeper cell in America. A good point, a good case in point is the story of Saladin. Saladin is a great hero in Islam. Saladin was the one who defeated the crusaders. There was a treaty that's supposed to be happening between the crusaders and Saladin, and the story goes as follows: The Arab mediator came to Saladin and said, "The Koran says that if they concede to peace, then concede to it," which means that if the enemy wants peace let's have peace! - which is a verse you can find directly in the Koran. And Saladin responded with a great answer when he stated to the guy, "You are an Arab and I am a Kurd. You should know the Koran better than I, don't forget, the Koran also says, "Why should we concede for peace when we have the upper hand." So, you find both verses in the Koran. You concede to peace when you are the weaker party. This is why you hear the term "Hudna." Hudna is a peace treaty, a ceasefire, In Iraq, Sadhar asked for Hudna because he knew he can't defeat the Americans. You have Hudna's all over, when the enemy is stronger than you are. But as soon as you gain strength, then you don't concede for peace! This is why the face of Islamic fundamentalism in the West has a facade that Islam is a peaceful religion. Because they are waiting to have more Islamic immigrants, they are waiting to increase in number, waiting to increase in political power, and once they do, then look out! You'll see the real face of Islamic fundamentalism here in America.

Spencer: It is unfortunate, but there is no negotiating with the Jihadists, there is no "striking a deal" with them. Islamic law is very clear on that. And here, once again, this is an example: We need to take Islam seriously: Islamic law does not allow for treaties, it does not allow for "negotiated settlements" between Muslim states and non-Muslim states. All it allows for, is a temporary period of up to 10 years of Hudna, or what is commonly translated as "truce," to allow the Islamic forces to gather their strength. But that is not the same as peace as we know it. That is not the same as "the absence of a state of war," that is only a temporary law, in a war that the Jihadists consider has gone on for 14 centuries and are willing to fight for 14 more.

THE NOBLE KORAN, 47:4: So when you meet (in fight Jihad in Allah's Cause) those who disbelieve, smite at their necks (behead them) till when you have killed and wounded many of them, then bind a bond firmly (on them, i.e., take them as captives) . . . Thus (you are ordered by Allah to continue in carrying out Jihad against the disbelievers till they embrace Islam [i.e., are saved from the punishment in the Hell-fire] or at least come under your protection) but if it had been Allah's Will, He Himself could certainly have punished them (without you). But (he lets YOU fight) in order to test you, some with others. But those who are killed in the way of Allah he will never let their deeds be lost.

Trifkovic: In Islamic thinking, the world is divided into the "House of Islam" where Islamic polity has been established, where Allah rules supreme, and the "House of War," which is the rest of the world. This dichotomy is reminiscent of other totalitarian ideologies, and most explicitly Communism. Both, Communism and Islam, seek the end of history in this world. The end of history will come when either the whole of our planet becomes dar al-Islam or else when the proletarian revolution brings the avant-garde of the working class to power all over the world, which will be the end of state, the end of money, and the end of class oppression. In both cases, it is possible to have a period of truce. It is possible to have, what would be called in modern words "peaceful coexistence" but that peaceful coexistence is a tactical ploy and not a permanent solution.

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, Volume 4, Book 52, Hadith 196: Allah's Apostle said "I have been ordered to fight with the people till they say 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah.' . . ."

Spencer: If we consider that "if only we changed our policies toward Israel" and "if only we changed our policies toward Iraq" or "changed our policies towards something else" or "if only we had not taken out the Mosadeq regime in Iran in 1953" and other things people have said to me, these ideas are ridiculous they are based on a fundamental misunderstanding of the motives and goals of the Jihadists. This is not a conflict that was created with the creation of the state of Israel or a conflict that was created when American armies went into Iraq. The global Jihad has gone on without interruption, without significant interruption, since the 7th century [Islam fought 548 wars and battles in the West and at least 400 wars and battles in the East during the last 14 centuries.], and it only declined in force and activity at periods when the Islamic world was too weak to prosecute it.

Bat Ye'or: The question now that we have to ask ourselves is: Do we want to preserve our Judeo-Christian values and our own civilisation or do we want do we choose to go towards a a dhimmitude an enlarged dhimmitude in Europe, which will engulf the whole of Europe, may be not America, but America will be isolated because it will have to deal in geopolitic with the Islamised, dhimmi Europe. And these are problems that have to to be taken into consideration by Europeans themselves in their choosing their identity and their future freedom or dimitude and by American also.

Trifkovic: In order to defend itself against the onslaught of global Jihad, which is coming in the century ahead - I have no doubt of that - the west would need to redefine itself and to say what exactly is the geographic and cultural space to be defended, and in the name of what. Defending it in the name of a lukewarm ideology and multiculturalism is impossible. Multiculturalism and Postmodern Liberalism are not worthy dying for. They are not something that can inspire people to do what their ancestors had done at Portier and the walls of Vienna in 1683. Wwhat global Jihad has on its side, is simple-minded commitment of millions of people to - not only spread the faith - but also better themselves, at the expense of the infidel (the Kafirs) in the first instance through immigration, and later on, if necessary, by other means.

Shoebat: What the West needs to understand about Islam, is that Islam has the potential of replacing the dangers that we just kind of did away with Nazism and Communism. Like Nazism and like Communism, in Islamism the end justifies the means. There is no respect for national borders, and the whole ideology is to promote their way of thinking and promote their way of life throughout the entire world. That is what is being taught in the Middle East, that is what is being coming out from all the jurisprudence in al-Azhar in Saudi Arabia, and all throughout the Muslim world, is that Islam will conquer and will continue to conquer until it triumphs, until everybody in the world says, "there's no God but Allah and Mohammed is his Prophet."

Friday Sermon, Abd al-Qader al Kilani Mosque, Baghdad, Iraq, 14 February, 2003: ". . . I advise you, oh America, Britain, and those whom Allah said about you: Allah's wrath upon you, the Jews, oh the sons of apes and pigs, there is no strife on the face of the earth that you have not sparked, Whenever they start the fire of strife, Allah extinguished it. May Allah extinguish your light and your fires. But we, we are the men whom Allah has chosen, and wanted, and made us strong, so as to pluck your heads, ripe for the picking, that rose and acted in tyranny and in arrogance. We will be the ones to pluck them, if Allah wills it."

Trifkovic: The peculiarity of Islam has to be faced, and it has to be faced frankly and openly. Unlike others - and I am again saying this in in the full knowledge that it will offend some western ears - unlike the Hindus, unlike the Confucians, unlike the Animists of sub-Saharan Africa, the Muslims have inherent tendency to expand, and to convert the rest of the world, not only to their religion, but to their outlook, and to their legal and moral system. They will not state this openly while they are in a minority in the countries to which they immigrate, but, we have seen this time and over again, throughout history, once they reach the numbers necessary to impose their will, they will do so!

Friday Sermon, Abd al-Qader al Kilani Mosque, Baghdad, Iraq, 14 February, 2003: ". . . They will know, and I do not want to mention their names from this pulpit. The Americans and their president, and the British, and their allies, and the Zionists, the spoiled offspring of this entity: Allahu Akbar! [Allah is the greatest]. If Allah permits us, Oh Umma [Nation] of Mohammed, even the stone will say, Oh Muslim, "A Jew is hiding behind me, come and cut off his head and we shall cut off his head. (the Sermoner is drawing a sword out of its sheath and waves it in the air and keeps shouting:) By Allah, we shall cut it off! Oh Jews, Allahu Akbar! Allahu Akbar! Allahu Akbar! (the crowd is standing up, turning mad, shouting:) Jihad for the sake of Allah! Jihad for the sake of Allah! Victory to Allah! Allahu Akbar! Allahu Akbar! The believers [Muslims] will triumph! Allahu Akbar! Allahu Akbar! . . . .

Trifkovic: Miracles do happen. I do not know if it is another, maybe even deadlier terrorist attack [than 9/11/2001] that will act as a catalyst, or whether it will be a geopolitical confrontation in the Middle East itself, with Israel perhaps, and trust, that a jolt will bring back into the minds and hearts of westerners the awareness of the need to stand up and be counted! (The End, QM, 2006)

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THE LOGIC OF ISLAM

Lecture by Carl Goldberg
David Horowitz Freedom Center
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(Live has been miserable for over 99% of humanity for 99% of the time in the past. Our Western civilisation, with all its technology and scientific advance that we have now, however, is absolutely unique in history. Most people have enjoyed freedom, equality, tolerance, suffrage, and a huge amount of safety during the last 70 years. People do what they like, travel through the World where ever and whenever they want, get in touch with anyone in the world and buy any goods they may desire from other countries. People have developed the notion that all these things they grow up with, are natural and will always be there. But history clearly shows us that this state of advanced development is undoubtedly not natural. And it might come to an abrupt and sudden end; sooner than you would expect; and this end could come by our very own hands.

Since the end of the Second World War, most people in the Western World have lived in peace. Seventy-five years of relative peace and safety have created an incredible amount of complacency within Western societies. There are alarming signals.

Although education in Western countries is free for a great extent, the results, the skills, and the general abilities to reason and apply knowledge [of over 90% of all students in those countries] have dropped to an appalling low degree. This applies for mathematics and the other sciences, language, politics, geography, and in particular to history. Facts have been replaced by unfounded nonsense, dumb socialist, globalist, egalitarianist, and fascistoid racist filth.

Education based on facts and diligent learning has a slightly higher reputation in regions that once were ruled by the former Soviet Union. And it has the highest respect in China, where students with Confucian strictness absolve a 14-hours day in the schools, 5 days a week, and 8 to 12 hours on Saturdays and Sundays plus 2 hours homework per day, that is a workload of about 100 to 120 hours per week; and it look the same during holidays! That elimates youth criminality to almost zero, but it also creates the most knowledgeable and durable workforce in the world. It is the high degree of morality (without any god who threatens people with hell-fire), sense of family honour, and the continuous desire for harmony that makes Chinese people extremely virtuous. And as we have discovered in recent years, it makes them extremly powerful, too.

The cycle of growth and improvement, that has come into being with the Industrial Revolution in Western countries, is clearly on a downturn. Useful traditions are abandoned, good behavour is derided and replaced by stupid Political Correctness that chokes our mind, senior citizens are being sent to asylums to die there in loneliness. Dishonesty and cowardice come along with greed, hubris and unlimited thrive for fun on an unexpected scale, and this involves almost everyone.

The notion that those freedoms need to have a counter-balance in devotion to duty and responsibility seem to have vanished into thin air. The youngest three generations [one generation being 20 years] of leaders, who have now replaced the World War generations, are totally inept and fabricate with their immoral decisions one disaster after the next. Political Correctness has turned into a fascistoid Woke movement that forcefully and deliberately tries to get rid of free speech, the main lifeline which democracy, freedom, and social justice in Western countries is based on. And if that is not enough, the political parties there have decided to lead their mortal enemies into their countries, in order to gain future votes.

These enemies do not stand for democracy, and freedom means a different thing for them, and so does tolerance and innocence; they passionately dispise LGBTQ which carries in their countries of origin the death penalty, and equal rights for women are generally forbidden by their most holy scriptures, the Koran, the Sira, the Hadith and the Fascist ideology that is in them. And above all, they lie to their unaware hosts about their real intentions recorded and prescribed in their scripture. They masquerade as peaceful, virtuous, and nice whilst behind your back they employ their doctrines of Hijra [migration] and al-Taqiyya [the sacred concept of lies that brings their fascistic ideology to general acceptance until it is too late], and the implementation of Sharia law that begins with the demand of little and harmless looking things such as demands for prayertime, prayerplace, availability of Halal-food; then becoming more demanding by banning any pork products [and that includes also gummi bears and the like] and getting official permission to erect a mosque in which Koran teachers propagate hatred against "Kafirs" [Jews, Christians, Pagans, Chinese, Africans, Hindus, and all non-Muslims etc.] who are described as the "most vile of beings," and as "pigs and apes," who should "get their limbs cut off from opposite sides and should be crucified," to 3-years old children [who, of course, come together with their mothers to these social centres, the madrassas]. This kind of brainwash is long-lasting. All this, of course, is about Islam.

This transcript of the following lecture by Carl Goldberg analyses how the political doctrines in Islam work at what they aim at. What the Islamic scriptures prescribe, is shocking, and, according to our own analyses what he describes is only the tip of the iceberg.)

Transcript:

Has anyone heard about Islam lately? [Audience laughing] I love that, I ask that all the time. Actually you probably have not heard as much about Islam as you think you have. You understand it, and so when you hear things going on in the world and in Muslim countries, all of this murder and mayhem, and violent religious bigotry, and anti-semitism, and anti-Christianism, and homophobia, suppression of women, and the most cruel and sadistic types of murders that they keep thinking up all the time - all done in the name of Islam by religious Muslims, and they quote their sacred texts in order to support this.

Of course, that is not reported by the media. We know, it is Islam, but they do not - or, at least, they are not telling us. And so, what we want to do tonight, is to do two things. I want to explain to you, in a sort of a nutshell, the logic of Islam, so you can then take this knowledge and give it to others. Because, folks, we are losing the war. And we are losing it because we do not have enough people on our side. And this is kind of strange you would think it should be natural, given the nature of Islam and the nature of America that we should have a natural reaction everybody in the United States should have a natural reaction against Islam, pretty much like we had against communism - only even worse. But it is not happening. And what I want to do tonight is show why it is not happening, and then, when you understand, why it is not happening, you can use that knowledge to talk to others. Because we have got to get other people on our side. And so I want to explain to you the Logic of Islam in a way that you can explain it to others, and then I want to motivate you to explain it to others, when you go home tonight. If you do not tell other people and share with them what you are learning tonight, if you do not do that, we are going to lose. We have to become active. Consider yourself in a way to be missionaries you have to go spread our message because if nobody spreads the message it is not going to get spread and the media is against us [conservative Americans]. And, of course, to the extent that the Muslims have control of the media, and they do, they are against us, they do not want the message spread either. So, please, definitely go out and spread the message to others. It is crucially important to do that. And I shall explain some ways how you can do that at the end.

Now logic. I titled this the Logic of Islam. When I told one of our activist friends from New York that this was the title of my talk, he said, "Logic? - there is no logic in Islam!" But he's wrong. There is! There is a logic in Islam, and both, Muslims and non-Muslims, are imprisoned by it. They cannot break that logic. If you believe in Islam you cannot defeat the logic. And that is what we need to understand and to get other people to understand.

Now the question is, "Why do people not understand this? Well, there are barriers, linguistic barriers, semantic barriers, that prevent them from understanding it. And I want to deal with those tonight especially.

We need semantic clarity you know there was a a philosopher of science, Hans Reichenbach. He wrote an excellent book called The Rise of Scientific Philosophy, and on the very first page he says something really very profound that "The analysis of error begins with the analysis of language." And the reason is, that we perceive reality through words. And if we do not have a clear definition of the words, if the words are fuzzy, our perception of reality is fuzzy! And I believe that is what is going on, and why we are unable to communicate our message, as we should communicate it to the rest of our fellow citizens.

The first major misunderstanding, when it comes to dealing with Islam, is the word "Islam." Now, you all know that it means "submission" but we are not talking about the etymological definition. Islam is usually taken to mean one or more of many things: It could be the history of Muslims and Islamic countries, it could be the various cultures in the world of Islam, it is the way Muslims behave, but first and foremost, we need to consider Islam to be the "Koran and Mohammed!" It is that simple. It is the belief system.

And the problem with understanding that people have is that they confuse the "belief system" with "people," with "Muslims." Muslims can behave in any which way, but the belief system does not change. And so, when we talk about Islam, and we need to get this to other people when we talk about them, is that Islam, when we say "Islam," we mean the "Koran and Mohammed;" and that's it!

This has very serious consequences in the following sense. . . . Well [before that], first let me back up just a second: You are all perhaps familiar with certain moderate Muslims like Tarek Fatah [is a Pakistani-Canadian journalist and author, born 1949]. Right, he came out with a statement in an article [published] not long ago. He says the title of his article was "Here's the Real War within Islam." What did he mean by that? When uses the word "Islam" he is not talking about the "Koran and Mohammed." There is no war about that! - Unfortunately! He is talking about the "World of Islam." - There are Muslims, who are against and for Jihadism, but he, like other moderate Muslims, never talk about the "Koran and Mohammed."

And there is, of course, the "celebrity moderate Muslim" everybody knows, Dr Zuhdi Jasser, who wrote his autobiography entitled "Battle for the Soul of Islam." Now, he did not mean "battle for the soul of the Koran and Mohammed." He never talks about the Koran and Mohammed. He is talking about Muslims as people. Some are violent, and some are not violent. So he is also conflating the belief system with the people.

We need to stop doing that. We need to talk only about the belief system. And the reason why that is so important is because it is the belief system that is taught in all of the mosques! So the belief system will always produce a great number of Muslims who take it seriously. And that's why we have to, when we talk about Islam, let everybody know that what you are really talking about is the Koran and Mohammed.

Now everybody knows that there are moderate Muslims obviously. But there is no such thing as moderate Islam! And we need to make that clear to people also: Islam is the Koran and Mohammed, and it cannot be either moderate or immoderate. In fact, there's this very famous saying by Erdogan from Turkey who said, "There's no such thing as moderate Islam" That the very concept is ugly! Islam cannot be either moderate or a moderate. It is what it is! Islam is Islam, and that's it!"

Well, this is one of the strongest leaders Muslim leaders in the world he knows what he's talking about. What is he referring to, when he says "Islam can be neither moderate nor immoderate"? Well, he's obviously referring to the Koran and Mohammed, the belief system. He did not say so [directly] but that's it. Because Muslims as people, they can be moderate, they can be peaceful, but those are the ones who are not following the Koran and Mohammed.

There's another quotation by a former leader of the Council on American-Islamic Relations [CAIR], Bassem Khafagy who said I was the first to expose the notion of moderate, so-called "moderate Islam." He put it in quotes which is used as a means to canonise a "non Islamic Islam." - Forget that! A non Islamic Islam! - what in the world is that? Well, what he's talking about with "Islamic," he means the Koran and Mohammed, and so a non Islamic Islam would be Muslims who practice Islam without following the directives in the Koran and Mohammed, - that's what he's talking about. And so what he says, this so-called "moderation" means a violation of the laws of Islam. So, that is pretty clear, he's talking about the belief system and that's why we, when we talk to people, we have to be very clear that we are talking about the belief system, and not how Muslims behave or do not behave. Moderate Islam then is really nothing more than a deviation from Islam, - Islam, being the Koran and Mohammed.

You are all familiar with Bosch Boston I assume he's the the cartoonist who won the prize in the Mohammed cartoon contest he came out with a very good statement the other day he said that moderate Muslims are the main thing that otherwise impotence moderate Muslims do for Islam is that they discourage otherwise honest and knowledgeable people from condemning Islam. - Again Islam being the Koran and Mohammed, - and so these moderate Muslims create false hopes in people that they represent a viable form of Islam, the belief system, when they do not even talk about the belief system. And, of course, they do not represent any viable form at all! They are in fact rejected by their Muslim communities. Both, Tarek Fatah and Zuhdi Jasser, have told us that they have no support in the Muslim communities because what they are vaguely advocating, without actually saying it specifically, is a reform of the Koran and Mohammed, and, of course, they cannot do that. In fact, I remember a debate that Dr Jasser had with the Imam of a mosque in Tempe [Arizona] and it started out the where the Imam asked Dr Jasser, "Do you believe that the Koran is Allah's literal word?" - and Jasser said, "Yes of course!" - that was the end of the debate. I there's nothing more to debate after that if you are not going to question the Koran, there's nothing more to debate.

If you turn to page 2 in your handout for a moment: Let's talk about that. You see a triangle [a pyramid illustrating the Muslim population]. It is kind of a schematic version [of] how to divide up the Muslim community. This is the version that we are all given by the media: At the top you have got this "tiny minority of violent extremists," as they are called, and that of course includes those organisations like ISIS and al-Qaeda al-Shabaab in Somalia, Boko Haram in Nigeria, the Taliban [in Afghanistan] and so on. And then, presumably everybody else below that tip of the triangle is "moderate" because they are not going around blowing people up, shooting them, and cutting their heads off, and immolating

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them, and crucifying them, and what else. So people who do not do that are considered to be "moderates" by the ignorant non-Muslims. The problem with that politically correct division of the Muslim community we will then see on page 3. Considering all of these non or unviolent Muslims to be moderate blinds us to the hundreds of millions of Muslims who share the same goals as the violent extremists namely the establishment of a worldwide Islamic empire called the Caliphate. The same goals! Their methods of going about it are different, depending on the conditions. The Muslims as minorities in non-Muslim countries cannot afford to be violent because they would be crushed. And so they go about their subversive actions, [such as] infiltrating the institutions. And we'll talk a little bit more about that later.

So this is what we have to get across to people that these so-called moderate Muslims are not moderate at all. The ones that they think are moderate, simply because they are not cutting people's heads off. The entire Muslim Brotherhood is the middle part of that [shown] triangle, but they are as aggressive just not as violent as the rest of them. In fact, the violent extremists are all offshoots of the Muslim Brotherhood.

Now, there are lots of conservatives who have been infected by the diagram on page 2 among them are Dennis Prager even. All these people are on our sides but they will not acknowledge that Islam itself is the problem. They think that well political Islam or militant Islam and so on we'll be talking about those terms in a minute Dennis Prager is only one Hugh Hewitt, Bill O'Reilly, Megyn Kelly Michael Medved

Just last week Michael Medved had on his show, this woman, Karen Armstrong who was a first-class liar and propagandist for Islam, who said on his show that there's nothing in the Koran which would justify what the violent extremists are doing and he did not have the knowledge to contradict her. The fact that he had her on the programme in the first place showed that he did not understand what Islam was all about.

You are all familiar, of course, with what Denton Carson said about Islam a few weeks ago, that Islam is not compatible with our Constitution, not compatible with democracy. Michael Medved was one of the first people to attack Carson for saying that. So we have to get to these conservative journalists. I do not know what their email addresses are or their Facebook but maybe you do maybe you have a way of getting to them and explaining to them the chart on page three is the accurate division here and that

Islam itself is the problem has anyone read Glenn Beck's new book remember the title it is in capital letters it is about Islam that was very brave of him to do that because the title alone tells us the nature of the problem it is about Islam it is not about various types of slop again Islam is the Koran and Mohammed and so that's what it is all about because that's where the entire problem comes from let's now look at some more of the language and analyse the language that is used that people misunderstand because it is this misunderstanding that is preventing us from getting our message across the term political Islam dr. Jasser likes to use that a lot other people do too political Islam well I went to a party put on by a moderate Muslim a few years ago there are a lot of Muslims there including Dr. Jasser and I went around asking some of the Muslims you know what do you think about political Islam and they looked at me like this there is no such thing there is no such thing as political Islam remember Islam is the Koran and Mohammed it is inherently political it is not separate from Islam. Yusuf al-Qardawi [Yusuf Abdullah al-Qaradawi, born 1926], who is the leading Islamic religious authority in the world today. He says that Islam is both worship and politics very important point so you cannot separate political Islam from the rest of Islam because the political aspects of Islam come from the same place that the rest of Islam comes from from the Koran and from Mohammed so this notion of political Islam we have to get rid of that and we have to tell people that there's that political Islam comes from the same place that the rest of Islam comes from namely the Koran and Mohammed.

(There are some more interesting things that this Qaradawi says. The Islamic nation is the Umma [or Ummah (pl. Umam) means "nation" in Arabic. It is a synonym for Ummat al-Islam, 'the Islamic community'; it is commonly used to mean the collective community of all Islamic people], and al-Qaradawi made it very clear that the "Muslims [are] slaves of Allah, and not Jordanians or Palestinians or Egyptians or Iraqis." In other words: The western-style nation-state means nothing in Islam; this is the reason why with more than 50 Islam-dominated states, the largest voting block in the UN is already the Islamic Umma!

Apostacy from Islam carries the death penalty for good reasons. Qardawi says: "If they had gotten rid of the apostasy punishment Islam wouldn't exist today."

"It has been determined by Islamic law that the blood and property of people of Dar Al-Harb (the House of War, meaning: all non-Muslims) is not protected. Because they fight against and are hostile towards the Muslims, they annulled the protection of his blood and his property." clearly expresses hatred against the West [or, as Muslims call it "the modern Rome"] which is supported by the texts in the Koran, the Sira, and the Hadith. And consequently, he said:

"We will conquer Europe, we will conquer America!" . . . "The Israelis have nuclear bombs but we have the children bomb and these human bombs must continue until liberation." refering to demography, meaning that Muslims promote having lots of children [who will turned into Jihadists] while Westerners are too lazy to have any children; Muslims simply will out-produce them. These two quotes make it very clear that Islam is not only a Fascist and Nazi ideology but also an imperialist ideology. And the next quote confirms that.

Hitler's book Mein Kampf [in Arabic: Jihad] as Hitler himself is highly revered among Islamic Jihadists: "Throughout history, Allah has imposed upon the [Jewish] people who would punish them for their corruption. The last punishment was carried out by Hitler. By means of all the things he did to them - even though they exaggerated this issue - he managed to put them in their place. This was divine punishment for them. Allah willing, the next time will be at the hands of the believers."

Another comment on Jihadists: "It is not suicide; it is martyrdom in the name of God. I consider this type of martyrdom operation as an indication of the justice of Allah almighty. Allah is just. Through his infinite wisdom, he has given the weak what the strong do not possess and that is the ability to turn their bodies into bombs as the Palestinians do.")

Another one: Islamism. What in the world is Islamism? People will say - and I have heard this said, even among conservatives - "Islamism" is the problem, not "Islam." Again, they are trying to separate Islamism from Islam. What is Islamism? It is nothing more than putting into practice the doctrines of the Koran and Mohammed. That's all it is. Islam is is the active ideological movement to make the Koran and Mohammed the law of the land, the Sharia law. That's what Islamism is. So when you hear people use the word "Islamism," remind them that this is only an aspect of Islam itself. It comes from Islam. Another one: People talk about versions of Islam. When we take Islam to mean the Koran and Mohammed, it does not come in different versions. You can pick up any copy of the Koran, any translation of it, and compare several of them (you can go to various websites Muslim websites by the way Muslim religious websites which have searchable Koran's and they'll give you six or seven or eight different English translations you can go them and look up any verse from the Koran and there are no different versions. There are slightly different translations but they all mean the same thing. There's one verse in the Koran where it says, "Allah says that non-Muslims are the worst of creatures," or "the vilest of creatures." Other translations will have "the lowest of animals." So it does not make any difference what translation it is it. All means the same thing: essentially subhuman! So there's no versions and we have to get people to understand that there are no different versions of Islam because it all goes back to the Koran and Mohammed. They talk about versions of Sharia law. Well, there are no versions, in terms of what we are interested in. What interests us, by the way about Sharia law and about Islam, is only essentially their Jihadism, their permanent war against non-Muslims. That's essentially what we are interested in. We do not care how they pray, we do not care about their holidays, and so on, unless that affects us. And so versions of Sharia law, [there are] no "versions" of Sharia law, because it is all the same, when it comes to, for example death for apostasy, when it comes to making war on non-Muslims. There are no different versions. It is all the same. And so please, tell people that Sharia law like Islam does not come in different versions. The BBC, just the other day, had this sentence "Saudi Arabia enforces a strict version of Islamic law." Well, it is not a "version of Islamic law," they simply enforce Islamic law strictly. In other words: they enforce more of it than other countries which may enforce less of it. But it is not that the Sharia law changes. It is the application, the strict or less strict application, and it is not really splitting hairs. Because if people think that Sharia law comes in "mild versions," they will raise hopes that someday we will be able to spread this mild version around the Islamic world and we will all be fine again. But you cannot do that because it does not come in different versions. All you can do is encourage Muslims not to apply Sharia law strictly. So, get this notion of "versions" out of people's minds. It [Sharia law as well as Islam itself] does not come in different versions. So what they mean by strict version is a strict application!

Another term that we find all the time is "extremism." Now, extremism is used as a euphemism. "Extremism" does not really mean anything. There are extremists but not "extremISM." I mean: There are orthodontists but there's no such thing as "orthodontistISM." We do not really have "extremism" as a philosophy of a way to behave. There are "extremists" whose behaviour "deviates from the norm," That's all what "extreme" means. It means a "deviation from the norm." Whether a person is extremist or not depends on what your norms are. This same Imam, that debated Dr. Zuhdi Jasser, I spoke to him several years ago, and I asked him, "What do you think of Dr. Jasser? - he says Dr. Jasser is an extremist! - Wow! Dr. Jasser is an extremist! We think of Dr. Jasser as a moderate! But again, extremism means "deviation from the norm," Dr. Jasser deviates from the Islamic norm and therefore they [the Muslims] consider him to be an extremist! So let's not get confused by the term "extremist." "Extremist" means "deviation from the norm." We look at these Muslims who go around cutting people's heads off as "extremists" because they "deviate from OUR norm, not from Koranic and Mohammed norms. Does that makes sense? It is extremism from our point of view, not from their point of view! It is a relative term.

Look at the term "radicalisation." First of all, the term "radical." "Radical" essentially goes back to the [Latin] term [radix] meaning "roots." So, "a radical" is a person who goes to the roots of whatever belief system he is a radical of. He takes it literally, he follows it literally. That is what a radical does. And so, when we talk about "radicalism", those people should be [called] "radicals," who follow the norms of Islam, the Koran, and Mohammed [the Sira and Hadith]. They take it literally and seriously. Those are the radicals. What is radicalisation? Well, you take a Muslim [as example] who was not born a radical but at one point or another he becomes a radical. How does this happen? About five or six years ago, there was an interesting article in The Wall Street Journal about how children of secular parents, secular Christians, secular Jews, and even secular Muslims. Their children often become more religious than their parents. Only the Muslim parents were worried that their children would become radicalised. Why is that? Well, what happens when a teenager for example goes through all kinds of identity crises, he turns to his religion to establish his identity. And what does it mean in Islam? It means you read the Koran! You read the Koran and and you read Mohammed [Sira, Hadith] and you find out what your God really wants you to do! That is the process of radicalisation. Radicalisation is not going on the internet and being influenced by ISIS right away. They have already learned that their God requires them to make war on non-Muslims. That is what radicalisation is all about!

And people talk about "radical Islam." Again, that is a false term because, as we have already said, Islam is the Koran and Mohammed. It does not come in radical or non radical forms. It is what it is!

You may be familiar with the slogan "Radical Islam is the Problem and Moderate Islam is the Solution." I will not mention who promotes this slogan but he's one of us. The slogan is misguiding because there is no such thing as "radical Islam" or "moderate Islam" and so moderate Islam cannot be a solution to radical Islam if neither one of them at exist. [As Erdogan says,] Islam is Islam and that's it! And so we cannot raise any false hopes that moderate Islam is going to save us because it does not exist. There is no "moderate Koran" or "immoderate Koran." Remember: Islam is the Koran [Sira, Hadith].

Take the word "interpretation." I hear this all the time from people "That it all depends on how you interpret the Koran. Or some people have a different interpretation of it. Well, there is no different interpretation of it. It is what it is. What they mean, and what an interpretation is in fact, is assigning a meaning to a text that is not immediately obvious. For example, you could interpret the story of Genesis allegorically - many people have done that - That is an interpretation. It does not directly contradict the literal reading but it is a different way of understanding the literal reading. When the Koran tells you "Strike terror into the hearts of the unbelievers," "Cut their heads off" or "Strike their necks," [an old-fashioned phrase for "chop their heads off at the neck"], and so on. There is no interpretation of that changes the meaning of the word [which is "put them to death."]. The text says what it says. Now, there is a literal reading, but the literal reading is not "an interpretation." An interpretation assigns a meaning that is different from the literal meaning. Does that make sense?

This is what we run into all the time. People talk about "all depends on how you interpret it." People talk about "radical interpretation." No it is not a radical interpretation it is simply a literal reading and a strict following of the literal reading [or, as Muslims say "It is written!"]. That is not an interpretation. And so we have to be careful how we use that term "interpretation." "Interpretation," as I said, assigns "a meaning that is not necessarily obvious" but it is different from the literal reading. The literal reading is not an interpretation. People who read it literally are not interpreting the Koran, they are following it.

Another word that we run into frequently is "cherry-picking" and we get accused of cherry-picking if we quote verses from the Koran. Well, folks, the Koran is considered to be Allah's literal words. And so, cherry-picking does not make any sense. At least, they [the Muslims] are admitting that these verses are in the Koran that's important to start with. They are Allah's literal words and there's nothing that can contradict them.

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Then, of course, you have the doctrine of abrogation* which I'm sure you are familiar with whereby the later verses of the Koran supersede the earlier verses. So, it is not a matter of cherry-picking. You find the verse in the Koran and if it is a later one it supersedes the earlier one and there's nothing wrong with taking out that verse and quoting it. All of the Muslim terrorists do that and they know the Koran. They all quote it.

[* Abrogation (Naskh) in the Koran: Naskh is an Arabic word usually translated as "abrogation". Naskh is used to resolve contradictory rulings of Islamic revelation by superseding or canceling the earlier revelation from the earlier Mecca period of Mohammed [c. 610-620 AD] with one from the later Medina period [c.620-632 AD]. See Koran: 2:106, 16:101, 17:86, 87:6–7. They are from Mohammed and considered the literal words of Allah, and are therefore official! To be precise, the last chapter revealed to Mohammed [Sura 9], including his infamous "Verse of the Sword," supersedes any earlier Verse in the Koran.]

Another one: "Context." They will tell you "You have to see those verses in context." A number of years ago, I had a debate with Dr. Jasser. We had a fairly good crowd and I gave him some of these verses from the Koran and I asked him, Zhudi, what do you do about the verses from the Koran? - It is very clear that the verses are aggressive against non-Muslims, - and he says, "Well, we moderate Muslims have to do something about these toxic verses in the Koran! I said, "Zhudi, 'toxic verses' in the Koran? You are talking about Allah's literal word here! If you ever said that in a Muslim country you would be lucky to get out with your head still on!" They stuck, the moderate Muslims. There is no context that will change the meaning of those verses. And so, it does not make any sense to look for context. Besides, the Koran is not organised chronologically as you know anyway. I advise everybody to read the Koran. Please read it, is the most important book in the world, not the best, but it is the most important one because more people take it more seriously than they take any other book, including the Bible! The Koran is taken very, very seriously.

Speaking of language: Does anyone stop to think about the name of the "Council on American-Islamic Relations," CAIR? You have "relations" between two different groups - you cannot have relations with yourself. And here they are setting up two opposing groups: American and Islam, relations between the two. Normally, people do not think of that but they make that division. Now for public consumption, they will tell you "Muslims are as American as anybody else," but their name belies that! Their name tells us that, in fact, Muslims are not Americans in terms of values - We are not talking about passport citizenship - but in terms of values; that there is a contradiction between American and Islam, that is why they are having relations between the two of them.

Now let us look at a couple of words which they [the Muslims] use but have different meanings from the way we [the English speakers] use them. For example "freedom." Sayyid Qutb, who was the ideologue of the Muslim Brotherhood, has made a statement something like "Muslims are striving for 'universal freedom'." What, in the world, could he be talking about? When Muslims use the term "freedom," it is the freedom to practice Islam! Did you know that Muslims do not have religious freedom in the United States? If you look at it closer: The reason is, that Islam requires the practice of Sharia law, and Sharia law for the most part is forbidden in the United States, because it violates American law, and Muslims are not permitted to practise those aspects of Sharia which violate American law! So, Muslims are not free to practise their religion here. Muslims are free NOT to practice Islam in the United States, and many of them do not practise Islam in the United States. If you look at that chart on page 3 again, you have this whole bottom section of the triangle [pyramid] of Muslims who do not follow the doctrines of Islam. Lots of them do not go to mosque, maybe 30 or 40 percent of American Muslims do not go to mosque. That is already a violation of Sharia law. And, by the way, it carries the death penalty [in Muslim countries]. Muslim males who refuse to go to Friday services are liable to be executed! It says so in Sharia law. Has anyone ever seen this book "Reliance of the Traveller"? ["traveller" here means the Muslim "Migrant" as migration is one of the most important doctrines in Islam; the entire Islamic calendar is based on it!] - Oh some people have, obviously. That is a Manual of Sharia Law, the most popular one, because it is all of one volume, 1400 pages of it, and it is approved by the highest Islamic religious authorities of the world, from Saudi Arabia, Syria, Jordan, Egypt, and the United States. So this book is approved as the model for Sunni Muslims to practise Sharia law, and that book says very clearly that any male Muslim who refuses to go to the communal services on Friday will be executed. There are lots of things in there like that.

Another word that is often used is "tolerance," that people claim that "Islam is tolerant." Well, what do they mean by that? "Tolerance" means that you are allowed to live. That is what tolerance means. For example, Christians and Jews are theoretically allowed to live under Islamic subjugation, subject to all kinds of restrictions on the practice of their religion. But they are allowed to live, as opposed to the Pagans [Indians, Chinese, etc.] who do not have that choice. Pagans are not tolerated! They must either convert or die. But Christians and Jews are theoretically permitted to live*. That is tolerance! So, very different understanding of it. [because Mohammed recognised them as "People of the Book" and related to Islam. In reality, however, Muslim thugs like Timur butchered Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians, and others in their millions. [See: Sebeos' History, History of the House of the Artsrunik by Thomas (or Tovma) Artsruni, Yazidi Faith, Sikhism, Grand Bible.]

"Democracy." We just had Ben Carson tell us that "Islam was not compatible with democracy." Well, he's not the only one. Robert Spencer wrote a very good article listing a whole bunch of Muslim religious authorities who tell us that Islam is not compatible with democracy. Look at our [United States] Constitution. The Preamble: "We the People" starts out. That, right away, is a violation of Sharia law, because Sharia law is not based on "the people," it is based on their god "Allah," as expressed in the Koran. So, democracy in Islam might mean that you are allowed to elect representatives, but the purpose of the representatives in Islam is not to make new laws, deciding what is right and what is wrong, because that authority belongs to their God only. The purpose of representatives in Islam is to apply Sharia law to modern conditions. And that's it! So, democracy in our sense is not there. You can choose your representative but the representative itself is limited. There's no such thing as the Bill of Rights, and separation of powers, and all this sort of stuff. They do not have that.

Another word is "justice." Listen to this statement and guess who said it: "Islam has always been a part of America's story the truth is that America and Islam are not exclusive instead they overlap and share common principles principles of justice and progress tolerance and the dignity of all human beings." Guess who said that. [audience: Obama!] Exactly! Remember when? In his maiden speech to the Muslim world in 2009 in Cairo he said that.

By the way, the very fact that he gave a speech to "the Muslim World" recognises and legitimises the division of the world into Muslims [dar al-islam, lit. territory of Islam, also called dar as-salam, lit. territory of peace; peace because already subjugated!] and non-Muslims [dar al-harb, lit. territory of war; a term of Islamic jurisprudence!], instead of in two countries. Here he says "justice as a common principle that we [Americans] share with Muslims." How can it be? What does justice mean? - liberty and justice for all? Well, justice is a system essentially of rewards and punishments based on your moral and legal standards. That is what justice is. Justice in Islam is a system of rewards and punishments based on Sharia law, which is based on the Koran! And that is very different from our laws and values. So we do not share the common meaning of "justice." Justice is very different there and here.

Another word is "innocent." You will hear this all the time: "Islam is against killing innocents, and people just lap that up. But the question is who is considered innocent? In Islam, anybody who resists Islam is not innocent verse 5:33 of the Koran makes it very clear: ["Indeed, the penalty for those who wage war against Allah and His Messenger and spread mischief in the land is death, crucifixion, cutting off their hands and feet on opposite sides, or exile from the land. This ´penalty` is a disgrace for them in this world, and they will suffer a tremendous punishment in the Hereafter.", meaning] "Anybody who resists Allah and Mohammed and the spread of Islam 'is to be crucified' or 'have their limbs cut off from opposite sides.' They are enemies. And so, all non-Muslims who refuse to convert are not innocent! So, we have to understand that, when we talk to people and explain to them and, they come and say, "Well, Islam says that they never persecute "innocent people." Of course, they do! But not "innocent" in our terms, it is the people who are not innocent in their terms! By the way, no Israeli can be considered innocent in Islam [due to the doctrine of Waqf which says that former Muslim conquests always will be considered Islamic; this applies also for Spain, southern France, Greece, India, and others, of course], and so it is all right to kill any Israeli because they are not innocent!

Now let us look at the logic of Islam. We need to understand this in order to find out and to be able to communicate it, just what the nature of Islam is. The fundamental premise of Islam is that the Koran is considered to be Allah's literal word, perfect, complete, unchangeable, and valid for all of eternity!

This has very profound consequences, namely that if it is comes directly from their God God's literal word, everybody is stuck with it forever - Muslims AND non-Muslims! Nobody can ever reform God's literal word. What ever humans might dare to change with God's literal word, you cannot do that. And so, Muslims cannot either! That's why the moderate Muslims never talk about the Koran and Mohammed, even though they understand that this is what has to be reformed if you are going to reform Islam. But the very notion of reforming something that is perfect is logically absurd! You cannot reform anything that is perfect. And so, Islam cannot be reformed because the fundamental premise is that it is already perfect! Islam is the Koran and Mohammed. Those are perfect.

That is the first thing that you need to know about Islam. The second thing is you need to know about Islam is what the content of the Koran is. Now, that you know that the Koran is Allah's literal word, you have to know what the content of the Koran is. Most of you have an idea about it but if you want to turn to page 4 again you see just a couple of phrases.

The first one was about non Muslims being the lowest and the vilest of creatures. I have a text by one of the Muslim Ulama, a recognised scholar, about 40 years ago, where he says very plainly that "non-Muslims are beyond the pale of humanity." So, the notion that Muslims are fully human, and non-Muslims who reject Islam, are not fully human, this is something that comes directly from the Koran. It does not mean all Muslims believe it, but they are supposed to believe it. In fact, I was once on a Muslim website, I under a pseudonym, and I was asked a question of this Muslim woman and gave her that passage from the Koran and I asked, "Do you really believe this that non-Muslims are the worst of creatures, not human. She said, "Yes!" She has to say "Yes" because that is Allah's literal word. She has no choice about that. So if you pin people down on this, they have to say that.

Now the next one is that "non-Muslims [Kafirs] are your inveterate enemies," whether we like it or not, we have President Bush, President Obama, telling us "we are not at war with Islam, we will never be at war with Islam, we are not your enemy," Well, he can say that all he wants, but they [the Muslims] know that we [the Westerners, Christians, Jews, Atheists, etc.] are the enemy, because their God tells them so! All of our policies in Iraq, and Afghanistan, based on "winning the hearts and minds of a Muslim population" are undermined fundamentally because their god tells them that we are the enemy, no matter, how many mosques we build for them, how many water filtration plants, and schools, and whatever. It does not make any difference! They will take it but they will never consider us to be "their friends. The Koran does not put them to do that.

Now, how does Islam view the world? Well, you know that the Koran - and I again I urge you to read it if you have not already done so* - divides the world into two parts: Muslims and non-Muslims. That is the division. They do not see countries like we do. We look out of our window, and we see there is Mongolia, China, Brazil, Uruguay, and all the rest of them. They do not see that. They see Muslims and non-Muslims, and it does not make any difference what country you are in - You are either in "our camp," the "Muslim camp," part of the "Muslim Umma," or you are not; then you are in the "House of War." In other words: because Muslims are commanded to make war against non-Muslims, "You are either with us or against us." The entire Muslim community is considered to be a nation. That is a nation in every sense of the word! That is where your loyalty is. That is where your identity is. [It is a good advice to read the Sira before because this official biography of Mohammed fills largely the gaps in the narratives of the Koran.]

We have many examples like that. Look at the Boston bombers, Chechens from Chechnya. What in the world are they doing killing people in Boston [in 2013]? Well, it has nothing to do with the fact that their Chechens. You would think, if there were Chechen nationalists, they would be out killing Russians. But they did not do that. They killed Americans! Why? - Because first and foremost their identity is Islamic. They are Muslims, first and foremost. So they are at war with non-Muslims, wherever they happen to be. And they happened to be in Boston, so they killed non-Muslims in Boston. Again they are part of the nation [the Islamic Umma]. You heard of Louis Farrakhan's group [one of the predecessors of the "Black-Lives-Matter" movement], of course, the "Nation of Islam." The concept of "nation" is very strong in Islam and they tell us that. The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran tells us that Muslims, all Muslims (!), form a single nation. So, to keep that in mind.

Next, of course, Muslims are considered superior to non-Muslims. We already talked about that, that non-Muslims are considered less than human. The Koran also it says that followers of Mohammed are merciful to believers and harsh or ruthless to unbelievers [Kafirs]. It is the opposite of the Golden Rule which has no qualifications. But in Islam, if you are a believer, you are treated one way, if you are an unbeliever, you are treated another way. And then there is the other division of the world which, of course, is into men and women, whereby men are considered morally and legally superior to women. This is a point that we really need to get across the people because our notion of gender equality is very strong, even and especially among liberals. We have to get it across to them that Islam undermines that and says from the beginning that women are inferior. That might be one way to get to them. Try it.

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Another aspect here is human rights since non-Muslims are considered, legally and morally, inferior; and women are, legally and morally, inferior. That contradicts our notion of human rights. You can talk to people about human rights and show them that the Muslim world has their own version of human rights called the Cairo Declaration of Human Rights in Islam. You can google it. And it says very specifically in there that all human rights must come from Sharia Law, which includes the inferiority of non-Muslims and women.

So, the first misunderstanding of Islam mentioned before is that Islam is only the Koran and Mohammed [Sira, Hadith]. The second major misunderstanding that blocks people from appreciating it, is that they think of Islam as another religion. And in America you cannot criticise someone else's religion. We have religious freedom, and so it is wrong, they think, to criticise someone else's religion. What they do not know is that Islam is not just a religion, and this is in the words of the Islamic religious authorities. All of what I am giving you here is not my opinion, it comes straight from the Islamic religious authorities, and they will tell us that "Islam is a Complete Way of Life," or they use the word "A Complete Code of Life," that is the law code, that is Sharia law. When you look at the bottom of page 4, you have got another quotation where it says that "Islam is a Comprehensive Ideology. By the way, they call it an "ideology," I did not make that up. So it is a "comprehensive ideology." Now look at those words: "complete," "comprehensive," another word for that could be: "total," which means their ideology is "totalitarian." So Islam is not just a religion, it is a "totalitarian ideology," and they [the Muslims] will tell us that. They do not use the word "totalitarian" because that is not nice but they do call it "complete," and they do call it "comprehensive." And it covers everything, it covers all aspects of life, and they tell us that it does. So they tell us that Islam is not a religion like other religions and we have to believe them. We have to tell other people that Islam is not a religion like other religions and therefore should not be treated like other religions. If it is fundamentally different from other religions, it does not deserve the privileges of other religions. But people need to understand that! As long as people think that Islam is just a religion, there is no way to get through to them. It is useless. And we are going to lose because the Muslim community will masquerade as a religion and want all of the privileges of religion but, in fact, they are promoting an ideology.

Now, in addition to being totalitarian, if you look at the other verses from the Koran and Mohammed on page 4, where they [the Muslims] declare war against non-Muslims. And they declare war UNTIL everybody is Muslim, UNTIL Islam triumphs throughout the world. That is imperialism, taken to the end degree because they want the whole world. That is the purpose of Islam, to establish a worldwide Caliphate! So Islam is an ideology, both, totalitarian and imperialist. If you speak of it to other people that way and show them with these verses from the Koran and Mohammed that so you can prove that it is using their words we might be able to get through to them. Because then we'll take their mind off religion and focus on ideology. There was a time when America focused on ideology, Fascism, Communism. People can understand that. and we have to get them to understand that Islam is an ideology, not just a religion. Do not say that it is not a religion! That will shut people off right away. You cannot get through to them. You have to tell them what the Muslims tell us: "It is a religion, but not a religion like other religions. That is what they need to understand. Those words are important.

If Islam is a totalitarian ideology and an imperialist ideology, what is a mosque? Well, a mosque is not just a house of prayer because Islam is not just a religion like other religions. So a Mosque becomes a propagation centre for the ideology. And, in fact, we have the words of Yusuf Qaradawi who tells us precisely that. He says that "the mosque since the time of the Prophet was a propagation center for their ideology. This is coming from the Islamic religious authorities.

The next logical conclusion of the fact that Islam is a totalitarian and imperialist ideology concerns "loyalty." It is not considered nice to impugn the loyalty of anybody. You may remember, a few years ago there were five congressmen who sent a letter to investigate the influence of the Muslim Brotherhood in our government. It was led by Michele Bachmann and there was Trent Franks and Louis Gohmert, and a couple of others. They also mentioned in investigating the Muslim Brotherhood. Huma Abedin, whom I am sure, you all know, is Hillary's Hillary Clinton's deputy who has been advising Hillary Clinton about the Muslim world, all the time [between 2009 and 2016], because Hilary does not know anything about it. And so she relies on Huma Abedin. Who is Huma Abedin? Well, her entire family is Muslim Brotherhood, her father was an imam with the Muslim Brotherhood until he died, her mother is a member of the Sisterhood of the Muslim Brotherhood and still teaches it at Women's College in Saudi Arabia. Huma Abedin herself went to Georgetown and was on Executive Committee of the Muslim Student Association, which is Muslim Brotherhood. She wrote for the journal that her family sponsored which was a Muslim Brotherhood Journal. So she herself has all of these Muslim Brotherhood ties when the congressman in the hinted that she needs to be investigated because of her ties to the Muslim Brotherhood, she was bitterly and disgracefully and mercilessly attacked not only by the Democrats but by the Republican elites. John McCain came down their throat for this. Well what is going on here? A religious Muslim cannot be loyal to the United States or anything other that is not Muslim because it is a totalitarian ideology. There is no room for loyalty to anything else! If you are loyal to a totalitarian system, you cannot be loyal to anything else. You must be loyal only to that. And we have the words of the Islamic religious authorities about that. There is a phrase, I think on bottom of page 4 you have got there, were a leader of the Council on American-Islamic relations says "that if we are practicing Muslims, we are above the law of the land." They [the Muslims] say that. In addition to that, by the way, Dr. Jasser wrote a very good article, about five years ago, appeared to The Wall Street Journal calling into question the loyalty of Americans Muslim soldiers serving in our army, and he quoted the highest religious authority Muslim religious authority in the United States which said very plainly that "there is an irreconcilable contradiction between loyalty to Islam and loyalty to the United States." Again, that is perfectly logical. If Islam is a totalitarian system you cannot have loyalty to anything else.

Jihad. You all know about Jihad. The book on Sharia law, which I quoted before, "Reliance of the Traveller," says very clearly, quote: "Jihad means to war against non-Muslims." You cannot get it plainer than that. That is what Jihad is.

Now, war is conducted in many ways. There is not only hot war, we are all familiar with that, and the danger of focusing on that, that it takes away our attention from the "stealth Jihad" as Robert Spencer wrote a book about, or "silent Jihad," or the "cultural Jihad," a "civilisational Jihad," we do not see it if we look only at the top [the "tiny" minority that represents violent Islam]. So that's another reason why that diagram on page three is so important. Because we are talking not only about that top part, we are talking about this enormous huge middle part which shares the same goals as the top part but they are just not violent. We do not see them if we look only at the top. We need to point out to people that it is not just the top that is a problem. It is the subversive aspects of the Muslims in the middle who share the same supremacist goals.

Let me speak for just a quick moment about the Middle East conflict. On page 4 you have got a couple of quotations, one from the Koran 9:29, in which Allah says "Make war [or fight] the People of the Book [the Bible], that means Christians and Jews, UNTIL they pay the special [Jizya] tax and submit to Islamic law. So it is a declaration of war against Jews and Christians UNTIL they submit to Islamic law. Then you have the verse from Mohammed which talks about fighting the Jews who will hide behind stones and the stones will cry out saying "Abdullah there is a Jew hiding behind me come and kill him" This is a call to genocide and this quotation by Mohammed is considered sacred to all religious Muslims. Both of these [verses] taken together mean that the Muslims, if they are religious, can never make peace with Jews! That, folks, is the reason for the conflict over Israel. It has nothing to do with territory, it is not a matter of drawing new lines on old maps, it is not a matter of settlements. If you read the Hamas Charter, and I advise you to do that, [you can google it or see Grand Bible], read the text, they make it very clear that "this is a war against the Jews." It is not over territory.

By the way, do you know who the deadliest enemy of Israel is? [audience: Iran] Iran, and what is the real name of Iran? [audience: Persia] Not Persia! The Islamic Republic of Iran! The Iranians are not Palestinians. They are not Arabs, in fact, they do not like Arabs. Why are Iranians Israel's deadliest enemy? Well, because they are Islamic, not because they are Iranian. Before Khomeini took over Iran in 1979, Iran was an ally of Israel. So, it is not the Iranians per se as an ethnic group that is a problem. It is the fact that the country is dedicated to Islam! So the war against Israel is by all Muslim countries, and it is because of the doctrines of Islam! So what we are talking about here is not conceding various pieces of territory to the Palestinians, it is not a Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the Palestinians do not even have a right under Islam to concede any territory, and they will tell you that. So it is not a Palestinian-Israeli conflict, It is not even an Arab-Israeli conflict as it used to be called. It is an Islamic holy war against the Jews just like the Hamas Charter says it is. and by the way Hamas is the Palestinian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood. So it is not just Hamas. And when they quote this passage from Mohammed, they are not making it up. that is sacred to all religious Muslims. So that, in a nutshell, is what the conflict over Israel is all about.

Now, what do we do about all of this? What is to be done? It is up to you and me and everybody else who now understands these things. You are now able to clear up the semantic mess that is preventing people from understanding. People who should be on our side, including all of those conservative people in the media. They should be on our side, but because they do not understand the correct definitions of Islam, and they do not understand that Islam is not just a religion they are in fact not on our side when it comes to Islam, because they are preventing us from taking action against Islam. - There's lots of actions that we can take, or at least have to be done on a legislative level. We will not talk about those here, but what can you do? Well, you know the questions of Islam has now been opened up in the Republican presidential campaign because of Dr. Ben Carson, who says that Islam, and he had no compunction about naming Islam - he did not say "radical Islam," - he said "Islam" is not compatible with democracy, and not compatible with our Constitution. We need to encourage that discussion. Everybody you meet - you all have your spheres of influence - some of them are larger than others, use those spheres of influence to get this point across that it is about Islam, as the title of Glenn Duck's book has it. Whenever you have contact to candidates, or, if you do not have contact then make make the contact to the candidate. Call them. Send emails to them let them know that they need for example to declare the Muslim Brotherhood to be a terrorist organisation. There is a bill in Congress, which is, I guess, been tabled for the time being, called the Muslim Brotherhood terrorist designation Act of 2014. Urge your representatives to get that out of committee and vote on it. We must go after the Muslim Brotherhood. We do not have to call it Islam as such, but people will get the message, start with the Muslim Brotherhood. There are other things that you can do. You are active people, you are intelligent people, educated people. you know how to write letters. We can organise focused email campaigns. Action Alerts. If you are interested in doing that, maybe once a week, write a short email. We need you because if somebody opens up his email in the morning and has a thousand emails in his inbox about Islam, he will pay attention. The Council on American-Islamic Relations [CAIR] organises Action Alerts to support Islam around the country. They even tell us what the issues are, and they tell us who to write to! We need to take that information and write to those people and tell them just the opposite. [In other words: Use the Islamic methods of propaganda.] They also give us websites of articles that support their position. We can go to those websites and contribute our comments in the readers comments. You would be surprised what kind of interesting discussions you can have! You can reach new people that way because of lots of readers read it. The Wall Street Journal has readers comments. Anybody ever write comments for The Wall Street Journal? You can do that. I urge you to do that. You can quote something from the Koran. quote something from a comment. Mention that Islam is not just a religion but also an ideology. People need to read that and hundreds of people will read that. So that's something you can do. We need to spread the word.

Another thing. Is anybody here active in any political party? - I will not mention any names - as precinct committeeman or precinct captain or whatever you call it, head of the precinct? - that's the way to be really active! Not just to attend meetings that's not good enough. Get active in the party apparatus. Become a precinct head. These people have more influence on the voters and on the candidates than other members of the Republican Party have. And I understand that around the country there are over 200,000 vacant precinct captain positions. If they were taken over by people like you we could turn the Republican Party around and we have to do it because if the Republican Party does not save us with regard to Islam, nobody will! The Democrats are already in the pockets or the Muslims. Literally. The Republicans are split. We need to turn over that split and push the Republicans to take a stand on Islam. Ben Carson has done it. Ted Cruz is sort of doing it. He still talks about "radical Islam" but he's pretty strong on it. We need to push that. We need to get all of the candidates to bring this discussion out in the open. I hope that you now have a little understanding, more than you did before, about how to present it to people who are not yet on our side. Especially the conservatives, because the conservative movement is divided, and we must bring them on our side, and if we present a more or less united face and have our conservative journalists speak about "Islam as the problem," we can begin influencing lots and lots of people. Thank you very much! I shall stay for questions. Thank you! [Applause] I am staying here tonight. Thank you!

[Audience: "What about the difference between the Sunnis and the Shia's?"] The Sunnis and the Shia's. We do not have time to go into the origin of the split between them, but it is over 1,300 years old. It started when one party wanted a direct descendent of Mohammed to become the Caliph and the other party said "No, it does not have to be a direct descendent. We can take anybody who is a true Muslim." It started that way and then they became split. For our purposes the Sunnis and the Shiites are equal. They consider us to be their enemies, and they have the same Koran, and they have the same Mohammed, and they have the same phrases. The notion of Jihad in Shia Islam is exactly the same as in Sunni Islam! So from our [the Kafirs, the non-Muslims'] point of

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view it does not make any difference whether they are Shiite or Sunni. The Islamic Republic of Iran is Shiite. They want nuclear weapons - and, by the way, check out the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran. You will find in the preamble where it says that, quote-"The armed forces of the Islamic Republic are to be used not only for defending the frontiers of the country but for spreading the word of Islam and fulfilling their ideological mission of Jihad."-unquote. This is their Jihad spreading the word of Islam to the rest of the world and they are going to use their armed forces to do it. This is a declaration of aggression, military aggression, against the rest of the world. It is in their constitution and nobody's aware of that.

[Audience: "The Koran is not arranged in any logical order which is confusing to read. Is there any Koran in chronological order available? And which Koran translation is authoritative?"]

Let me answer that: Yes, there is a translation that puts the verses in chronological order. It is done by Dr Bill Warner, to answer your first question. Yes, there are many Muslim websites that have English translations aproved by the Islamic authorites. Go on Google and search for "searchable Koran." That is all you need. You will get a number of Muslim religious websites which offer you many translations of the Koran. And you could compare the translations. Muslims do not use the translated Korans as the translators try to soften the harsh passages in the Koran. They try to explain them away and that's why Muslims do not use it. So, you can certainly get a reliable translation of the Koran. There are lots of them around. Get one from a mosque. It is useful to have such an authoritative translation. And the reason is that when you talk to other people you can tell them more authoritative that this is the Koran that is approved by the Islamic religious authorities and so nobody can say "That's a bad translation," they cannot get you on that. And by the way, speaking of translation, people will sometimes tell you that you cannot rely on the English translation. You have to speak Arabic. Nonsense! All of the Muslim terrorists, and almost all of them are Arabs, they do not read the Koran as translation, they read the Arabic original, and they come to the same conclusions.

[Audience: "Western countries have now lots of problems concerning Immigrants from Muslim countries. Why do they cause problems? Our people are concerned about all those problems they cause."]

Muslim immigrants are not just immigrants, just like Islam is not just a religion; and that these Muslim immigrants are bringing with them all of the baggage of Islam and you can explain to them what that entails, and the consequences of that these people bringing with them: The notion that non-Muslims are inferior and less than human, they are bringing with them the notion, if they are religious, that they must make war, Jihad, against non-Muslims, and eventually Islam must take over the world. They believe that.

[Audience: "It seems that the doctrine of Hijra has an effect on Islamic migants."]

Yes, many Muslims now feel that emigrating to non-Muslim countries is the way to spread Islam. And they are right. It is working. There are more than 55 million Muslims in Europe, I understand, and they do not assimilate like other immigrants did. Other immigrants could assimilate because their values did not contradict the host country's values! In Islam, they are bringing with them the values of Islam. And so, for a religious Muslim, to assimilate, he would have to give up his Islamic values. That is what prevents Muslim immigrants from assimilating. Now, there are some Muslims who are less religious, like the ones on the bottom of the triangle. They can assimilate because they are not religious. So in other words: they do not share Islamic values, even though they still identify themselves as Muslims. Does that make sense?

So talk to people. The immigration problem is perhaps one of the most serious problems because it cannot be reversed. Once you change the demography of the country, you cannot reverse that. And not only that: Muslims tend to reproduce it a much faster rate then non-Muslims do, and, by the way, Muslim men, even in an immigration, often have more than one wife! You put one officially as wife, the others go on welfare [they are often called "cousins" meaning being a cousin AND a wife at the same time.]. He has in an Islamic marriage to as many as four of them, and it exists all over Europe, it exists in the United States and Canada as well. So demography as part of the demographic Jihad. Jihad takes many forms: one is the demographic and that is through immigration and reproduction. So, yes, the immigration is very serious! Spread that message too. Immigrants do not assimilate because Islam is not a religion like other religions and therefore does not share our values.

[Audience: "At the bottom of your graph, the triangle, the pyamid, are the ignorant Muslims, those ones who do not follow the Koran, the Sira, the Hadith. Do they not realise the danger that "the few Islamic activists" at the top of that triangle, and the silent majority in the middle, impose on their own people?"]

Well, you know, the first victims of Islam are the Muslims! We do not tend to think of it that way. But you see, what ISIS is doing now in Iraq. They are slaughtering Muslims, because those Muslims do not support them! So they are somewhat less strict in their application of Sharia law, they are not as religious as ISIS think they should be. The Taliban the same way! They were killing lots of Muslims in Afghanistan, they still are! So, Muslims are the first victims and those Muslims at the bottom, those will be the first victims when the ones at the top take political power. When they have the power to enforce Sharia law, they will enforce it first on the secular Muslims, and then on the non-Muslims!

[Audience: "Why do moderate Muslims do not speak out?"]

Well, the reason is that they still identify themselves as Muslims! To speak out would require speaking about the Koran and Mohammed. And as soon as they do that, they call anything in the Koran and Mohammed into question! They would lose their identity as Muslims*. They have been raised with the identity as Muslims. It is been in their family for generations and generations. It is not an easy thing to do "to apostatise," to declare you are not a Muslim anymore, even in this [Western] country, they do not have to be afraid of being killed; in a Muslim country they would be killed because there is the death penalty for apostasy! But that's not the case here because it just does not happen at all in America. There are some honour killings but it is not quite the same. There are organisations of ex-Muslims. They are in public and they exist. So why do Muslims not apostatise [speak up]? - Because they would lose their friends, they would lose their relatives, they would lose their customers, if they have businesses with Muslims. And so there is a lot of [peer] pressure on them not to give up their Muslim identity.

[* The Koran is very clear that the believers should not take infidels as friends and protectors: "Let not believers take disbelievers as allies [awliyaa] rather than believers. And whoever [of you] does that has nothing with Allah, except when taking precaution against them in prudence. And Allah warns you of Himself, and to Allah is the [final] destination. Koran 3:28. Overall, the tradition encourages Muslims to keep to themselves and avoid entanglements with non-believers, be they atheist, polytheist, Christian or Jew: O ye who believe (Muslims)! take not the Jews and the Christians for your friends and protectors [awliyaa]: They are but friends and protectors to each other. And he amongst you that turns to them (for friendship) is (one) of them! Koran 5:51. This is the doctrine, thought already to kids at the age of 2 or 3 by Koran teachers, that prevents assimilation! See also Koran 3:28; 3:118; 4:139; 4:144; 5:82; 5:57; 6:70; 28:86; 60:4-5; 60:7-9; Sahih Muslim 1:417; Sunan Abu Dawud 41:4815; etc.]

Let me tell you a little story about Dr. Jasser. About four years ago, a friend of mine had a letter published in the Phoenix Jewish News in which she quoted that passage by Mohammed about "the Jews hiding behind stones*, go and kill them." and the the Jewish news did not want to publish it by itself, so they went to Dr. Jasser to ask him what he thought of this. Well, Dr. Jasser as a "moderate Muslim" cannot disagree with Mohammed because he would lose his identity as a Muslim, if he disagreed with this passage by Mohammed. But he could not agree with it either, because then, he would lose his cachet as "moderate." So he said, it was forged! It was forged and that Mohammed never said it. How in the world does he know! The fact is, for more than a thousand years, all of the Islamic religious scholars said that Mohammed did say it. That's the dilemma that moderate Muslims are in. They cannot criticise the Koran and Mohammed [Sira, Hadith], otherwise they would lose their Muslim identity! And so, they speak out against ISIS. They speak out against "Political Islam," but they will never tell you where "Political Islam" comes from, because that would mean getting to the Koran and Mohammed. They cannot go there. Does that makes sense?

[* Sahih al-Bukhari, Volume 4, Book 52, Number 176: Narrated 'Abdullah bin Umar: Allah's Apostle said, "You (the Muslims) will fight with the Jews till some of them will hide behind stones. The stones will (betray them) saying, 'O Abdullah (slave of Allah)! There is a Jew hiding behind me; so kill him.'" (See also: Sahih al-Bukhari, Volume 4, Book 52, Number 177 and Volume 4, Book 56, Number 791; Sahih Muslim, Book 041, Number 6981, 6983, 6984; 6985.) These verses are known as "Genocide Verses" or "Holocaust Verses" due to their obligation to kill all Jews.]

[Audience: Incitement seems to be another problem. I am thinking of the incitement of the Palestinians. If there were no incitement, if they would stop doing it, would it still be the same ?]

Well, you have already seen that a religious Muslim cannot make peace with Jews because their god forbids it, and their prophet forbids it. Their God says you must make war against the Jews until they submit to Islamic law. And their Prophet Mohammed says you must fight them and kill them. So, there's no way that religious Muslims can make peace with the Jews. There's a second element, by the way, in the Israeli situation and it is part of Islamic law*: Once any territory has been conquered by Muslims it is considered sacred Muslim territory forever even if it is reconquered by somebody else, like the Spaniards retook Spain while the Muslims wanted back because it is considered Muslim territory. [A waqf (Arabic), also known as hubous or mortmain property is a perpetual, inalienable ownership of real estate and Islamic land under Islamic Sharia law.] The territory of today's Israel, of course, used to be under the Ottoman Empire, so it used to be Muslim territory, it is considered by Muslims to be Muslim territory forever! So you have these two elements that prevent peace with Israel. The first one is that they are required to make war against the Jews and either subjugate them to Islamic law or to kill them. And the second one is that it is on territory that was once controlled by Muslims. So the incitement is perfectly natural. It has to be there, but even if you were to take it away there still would be no peace! You would still have Hamas, you would still have Fatah, which in their charters they have both declared that Israel must be destroyed. There's no question about that. That was before the incitement. But the incitement is perfectly natural. By the way, the incitement is based on this cult of martyrdom which is strictly a religious concept. It has nothing to do with territory. So, it is a religious concept. Remember that verse 9:111 says that "Muslims who fight in the way of Allah and who kill and are killed will go straight to paradise. So you slay and are slain! By the way, the so-called suicide bombers are not considered suicides by the Muslims. Suicide is by taking your own life for personal reasons that's prohibited. But fighting for Allah and losing your life that gets you straight to paradise.

[Audience: "America's policy of interventions in the Middle East has achieved nothing, democracy is not really coming to Libya, Iraq, and those places. We are obviously supporting the wrong people and the only thing we achieve is getting Sharia law implemented in those freed countries, and brutal civils wars there. Why is our policy so screwed up?"]

Well, the reason that our policy is so screwed up is all based on a misunderstanding of Islam. We started out by defining Islam as the "Koran and Mohammed" and not as Muslims behaviour. And the ones who are conducting American policy are under the impression that if you just get rid of the dictators then the Muslim population might do well because there's nothing wrong with Islam, they think. This fundamental misconception has cost us many thousands of American lives and trillions of dollars trying to get these societies to become democratic and peaceful - well, they cannot do it because they are Muslims. What we did, of course, we overthrew Saddam Hussein and we now have ISIS we had al-Qaeda in Iraq before, and in addition to that we have now even made the Shiites in Iraq getting the majority. Our democracy put the majority in power. But that made Iraq into a semi-satellite of the Islamic Republic of Iran which was also Shiite. We overthrew Mubarak, we put the Muslim Brotherhood in power and Egypt until that was overthrown by General Sisi. In Libya we overthrew Gaddafi under the assumption "if we get rid of this nasty dictator we can get a democracy in Libya." Well, Libya is in a state of total anarchy now, dominated by various Muslim Brotherhood type groups or worse. So, this is the notion that John McCain has been under, that Obama has been under, that Bush has been under. We made our wars in Iraq and Afghanistan on that basis that if you get rid of the dictators we could make the society democratic and what they did not is the nature of Islam that dominates the hearts and minds of the population. So it is very important that we relate the notions of Islamism and Islam to one another. They are not distinct from one another! The notion that they are distinct has cost us already thousands of lives and trillions of dollars. If you get rid of the Islamists, Islam is fine. But it is not fine! This is the message that we need to get across to people because there is maybe more of it. You think you are going to get rid of Assad, who is a nasty dictator, but what are we going to get in return is not democracy, not liberalism. You just cannot do that because what you get is what you see now: you get ISIS, al Nusra, al Qaeda or the Muslim Brotherhood groups in various forms.

[Audience: There is the question of reformability of Islam which looks rather doubtful after all your explanations."]

I am glad you brought that up. People, and that includes Dr. Jasser. He says "Islam has to undergo reformation like Christianity underwent a Reformation." What they do not understand is the nature of that reformation. The Christian Reformation did not reform the Gospels. It reformed the Catholic Church. It was a revolt against the political power of the Catholic Church and it put the religious texts into the hands of the believers. You already have had a revolution, a reform, like that in Islam. For hundreds and hundreds of years, Muslims were going along without much consciousness of the Jihadist nature of Islam they were just going about their business. Well, with the Wahabis* and the others they have now put the Koran back into the centre of a Muslims life! That is the Reformation that is equivalent to the Christian Reformation. It is going back to the [roots of the] texts, not making their behaviour better! It is going back to the texts. That was the nature of the Christian Reformation [in the

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1500s] and that is what is going on in Islam. People are returning to the Koran. And that's where the problem is, because the Koran is fundamentally different from the Judeo-Christian texts. Yeah, there's lots of nastiness in the Old Testament but there's nothing in the Old Testament which says that the Jews have to make war against non-Jews so that Judaism can take over the world. It is not there. There is no imperialism in the Old Testament. It is a description of historical events. There were wars over territory and that was it. And then after that, there were no more wars for territory. In Islam you have texts such as "make war against non-Muslims UNTIL Islam takes over the world." That is imperialism. You do not have that in the Old Testament, let alone the New Testament. The Christians have a universal religion. They want everybody to become Christian in order to become saved and the way they go about that is you go forth and preach the gospel to every living creature. It does not say make war on them. Islam does say "make war on them." That's the fundamental difference in the texts. And in terms of reformation, the analogy is absolutely false if you think that a reformation has to make people better. The Christian Reformation was a return to the Christian sacred texts, putting them in the hands of people instead of through the intermediaries of the Catholic Church. In Islam there are no intermediaries like in the Catholic Church. Everyone has has the same relationship to god Allah. And the only way to find out what Allah wants is to read the Koran. And that is what the Islamic Revolution and reform has been all about what they call the Islamic Resurgence. It is a return to the literal texts.

[* Wahhabism is named after the 18th-century Islamic scholar, theologian, preacher and activist, Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab (1703–1792). He started a reform movement in Arabia, based on literal reading of the Koran, the Sira and the Hadith, and thereby advocating Islamic Puritanism (purging of practices such as veneration of saints and pilgrimages to their tombs and shrines that were practised, which he considered idolatrous impurities and modern "Western" innovations in Islam). He formed a pact with a local leader, Muhammad bin Saud, offering political allegiance and promising protection and propagation of the Wahhabi Movement. The alliance between the Puritan Wahhabis and the House of Saud proved to be a durable one on into modern times. Today, Wahhab's teachings are the official, state-sponsored form of Sunni Islam in Saudi Arabia and the World. With the help of funding from Saudi petroleum exports, the movement underwent explosive growth beginning in the 1970s and now has worldwide influence. Qutb, Maududi, Bin Laden, Qaradawi, the Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas, CAIR, the MSA National, they all follow the Wahabi-Saudi Puritans whose teachings are strictly based on the Koran, the Sira, and the Hadith. The "Muslim Student Association" is the Wahabi arm in all Western educational institutions, pretty much like the "Confucius Institutes" of the Chinese Communist Party, who both are the fiercest rivals on influence in all western countries.]

[Audience: "As for the Koranic rule of abrogation, is it true that there is a Koran in chronological order?"]

Those of you who have read the Koran know that there is no order to it, except the longest chapter to the shortest chapter, no chronology, no thematic order! The first page of the Koran is an opening prayer, but after that is the longest chapter to the shortest chapter. and so how do you know which verse supersedes the earlier verses, which verses are the later verses? Well you can google a table which will list the "verses in chronological* order" to the extent that it is known [* One chronological sequence made by Ibn Abbas (Abd Allah ibn Abbas, c. 619–687 AD), cousin of Mohammed; and a more detailed one by German orientalist Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930), Geschichte des Qorans, 1860]. So you can find out which verses came later and you will see that the more aggressive verses came later and therefore superseded the less aggressive verses. If you are familiar with Mohammed's prophetic career, so to say, he spent his first 13 years in Mecca where he was a tiny minority and he could not afford to be aggressive - he would have been crushed, as it was, he was persecuted. Finally he moved his band of merry followers to Medina, there were only about 150 people that he had, in 13 years. He was not successful. When he got to Medina he gradually acquired political power, still getting these revelations from Allah, and the more political power he acquired, the more aggressive these verses became, until finally, he acquired absolute dictatorial power. And that's when you have the offensive Jihad where Muslims must go and make war on everybody else. And, by the way, there's a verse in the Koran which is kind of interesting, where it says that "fighting is ordained for you [Muslims] even though you do not like it." What this shows us is that even in Mohammed's time many Muslims did not want to go out on Jihad! But he got this revelation from Allah saying you have to do it anyway even though you do not like it. So there was a division in the Muslim community even in Mohammed's time, and just as there is today! There are these Muslims on the bottom of the triangle who do not want to have anything to do with Jihad but they are supposed to! Does that make sense?

[Audience: "Dr Jasser, just as other Muslims and the media, seem to try everything that Islam does not become a bad name. They seem to tell us 'go asleep, nothing is happening here.' One does not want become or sound hysterical, but it all this does not sound very true. What are we going to do?"]

All right, yes! What are we going to do? You can talk to the people. It is fine if you can do that. I would be delighted; or get me to speak to any groups that you are able to organise. As for Jasser, he offers hope to a certain portion of the conservative public, because he does not speak to anybody else, that "Islam is basically okay, just get rid of Islamism and Political Islam." That, of course, is false. It is essentially a lie because Political Islam and Islamism, as you know, come from the Koran, just like the rest of Islam does, but Jasser will not tell you that. But by raising these false hopes in people, he divides the conservative community, and prevents us from taking a stand against our true enemy, which comes from the Koran. Any Muslims who follow the Koran are necessarily our enemies because their God tells them to be that. It is a serious situation. There are some people on our side who understand this and they have called Dr Jasser very very dangerous, because he raises these false hopes which prevent us from taking action against our enemies. In order to deal with our enemies we have to define the enemy first and foremost! If we cannot define the enemy, we cannot defend ourselves!

[Audience: "There is the problem of deception. People have the impression that most politcians lie to us as well as spokespersons of Islam seem to do the same thing. What is that all about?"]

Yes, essentially, it has to do with deception. In order to spread Islam, Muslims are actually required to deceive non-Muslims. Sometimes that means pretending to be "Moderates" when in fact they are not, like CAIR pretends to be moderate. The various Muslim Brotherhood front organisations in the United States pretend to be moderate. They are not, because they share the same goals as the others. So this is Taqiyyah [the "sacred lie;" See Koran: 2:225; 3:28; 3:54; 5:89; 8:30; 9:3; 10:21; 16:106; 40:28; 66:2; Sahih Bukhari: 49:857; 50:369; 52:269; 84:64-65; Sahih Muslim: 32:6303] and there are other versions of lying. In the Islamic Sharia Manual, the Reliance of the Traveller, there is a whole chapter on permissible lying where they define different types of lying which are all permissible. It is not permissible if you are doing it for selfish reasons. It is permissible, and even required, if there's no other way to achieve the strengthening of the Islamic community. That is first and foremost: For strengthening the Islamic community, if it takes lying to do that, then you have to lie! This raises the question, "What about Muslim spokesman?" There are lots of them not just from CAIR. In my own personal opinion: never ever trust a Muslim spokesman any more than you would trust an employee of Philip Morris to tell you the truth about tobacco smoking. They will not do it! Their purpose is to promote Islam and they will tell you what they want you to know in order to promote Islam! If you want the truth about Islam, do not go to a Muslim spokesman; go to the sources! Go to the Koran. Go to the statements of Mohammed. And go to the most respected Islamic religious authorities like al-Qaradawi and many others. They will tell the truth about Islam because they are not talking to us! They are telling other Muslims how they are supposed to be good Muslims. So you can rely on them to tell the truth about Islam!

THE CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS?

Author: Samuel P. Huntington,
Source: Foreign Affairs Summer 1993, 72/3.
Estimated Range of Dating: 1992-1993 A.D.

(Samuel Phillips Huntington (1927–2008) was an American historian, adviser, political scientist, and member of the Democratic Party. He spent more than half a century at Harvard University. During the presidency of Jimmy Carter, Huntington was the White House Coordinator of Security Planning for the National Security Council. He is best known for his 1993 theory, the "Clash of Civilizations", of a post–Cold War new world order and for his treatise Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity (2004)

During 1993, Huntington provoked great debate among international relations theorists with the interrogatively titled "The Clash of Civilizations?", an influential, oft-cited article published in Foreign Affairs magazine. In the article, he argued that, after the fall of the Soviet Union, Islam would become the biggest obstacle to Western domination of the world. The West's next big war therefore, he said, would inevitably be with Islam. Its description of post-Cold War geopolitics and the "inevitability of instability" contrasted with the influential "End of History" thesis advocated by Francis Fukuyama.

Huntington expanded "The Clash of Civilizations?" to book length and published it as The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order in 1996. The article and the book posit that post-Cold War conflict would most frequently and violently occur because of cultural rather than ideological differences. That, whilst in the Cold War, conflict occurred between the Capitalist West and the Communist Bloc East, it now was most likely to occur between the world's major civilizations—identifying seven, and a possible eighth: (i) Western, (ii) Latin American, (iii) Islamic, (iv) Sinic (Chinese), (v) Hindu, (vi) Orthodox, (vii) Japanese, and (viii) African. This cultural organization contrasts the contemporary world with the classical notion of sovereign states. To understand current and future conflict, cultural rifts must be understood, and culture—rather than the State—must be accepted as the reason for war. Thus, Western nations will lose predominance if they fail to recognize the irreconcilable nature of cultural tensions. Huntington argued that this post-Cold War shift in geopolitical organization and structure requires the West to strengthen itself culturally, by abandoning the imposition of its ideal of democratic universalism and its incessant military interventionism. Underscoring this point, Huntington wrote in the 1996 expansion, "In the emerging world of ethnic conflict and civilizational clash, Western belief in the universality of Western culture suffers three problems: it is false; it is immoral; and it is dangerous."

The identification of Western Civilization with Western Christianity (Catholic-Protestant) was not Huntington's original idea, it was rather the traditional Western opinion and subdivision before the Cold War era.[16] Critics (for example articles in Le Monde Diplomatique) call The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order the theoretical legitimization of American-caused Western aggression against China and the world's Islamic and Orthodox cultures. Other critics argue that Huntington's taxonomy is simplistic and arbitrary, and does not take account of the internal dynamics and partisan tensions within civilizations. Furthermore, critics argue that Huntington neglects ideological mobilization by elites and unfulfilled socioeconomic needs of the population as the real causal factors driving conflict, that he ignores conflicts that do not fit well with the civilizational borders identified by him, and they charge that his new paradigm is nothing but realist thinking in which "states" became replaced by "civilizations". Huntington's influence upon U.S. policy has been likened to that of historian Arnold Toynbee's controversial religious theories about Asian leaders during the early twentieth century. The New York Times obituary on Huntington states that his "emphasis on ancient religious empires, as opposed to states or ethnicities, [as sources of global conflict] gained ... more cachet after the Sept. 11 attacks."

Huntington wrote that Ukraine might divide along the cultural line between the more Catholic western Ukraine and Orthodox eastern Ukraine: While a statist approach highlights the possibility of a Russian-Ukrainian war, a civilizational approach minimizes that and instead highlights the possibility of Ukraine splitting in half, a separation which cultural factors would lead one to predict might be more violent than that of Czechoslovakia but far less bloody than that of Yugoslavia.

Huntington's treatise Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity (2004), is in fact a continuation of Clash of Civilizations. The book attempts to understand the nature of American identity and the challenges it will face in the future. In describing the American identity, Huntington first contests the notion that the country is, as often repeated, "a nation of immigrants". He writes that America's founders were not immigrants, but settlers, since British settlers came to North America to establish a new

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society, as opposed to migrating from one existing society to another one as immigrants do. Later peoples who joined the culture present in the original British colonies, already established by these settlers, were indeed immigrants. Many people point to the American Creed as the core of American identity. Huntington defines the American Creed as embodying the "principles of liberty, equality, individualism, representative government, and private property."

As for the importance of Protestantism, Huntington states: "The American Creed is the unique creation of a dissenting Protestant culture". In particular, he highlights the: Protestant emphasis on the individual conscience and the responsibility of individuals to learn God's truths directly from the Bible promoted American commitment to individualism, equality, and the rights to freedom of religion and opinion. Protestantism stressed the work ethic and the responsibility of the individual for his own success or failure in life... With its congregational forms of church organization, Protestantism fostered opposition to hierarchy and the assumption that similar democratic forms should be employed in government. He predicted serious challenges to American identity. Huntington argues that it is during the 1960s that American identity begins to erode. This was the result of several factors:

• The beginning of economic globalization and the rise of global subnational identities

• The easing of the Cold War and its end in 1989 reduced the importance of national identity

• Attempts by candidates for political offices to win over groups of voters

• The desire of subnational group leaders to enhance the status of their respective groups and their personal status within them

• The interpretation of Congressional acts that led to their execution in expedient ways, but not necessarily in the ways the framers intended

• The passing on of feelings of sympathy and guilt for past actions as encouraged by academic elites and intellectuals

• The changes in views of race and ethnicity as promoted by civil rights and immigration laws

Another component of American identity that Huntington sees as under attack is the use of English. Up until the late 20th century, English has been the dominant language of America and was actively taught to immigrants. This was not only because Americans throughout history had spoken this language, but also because, with a variety of languages brought by different immigrant groups to the United States, teaching everyone to learn to speak and write English ensured communication among these groups. This tradition was inadvertently undermined by Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, which prohibited discrimination on the basis of "national origin". The act was interpreted to mean that potential voters who did not speak English were entitled to assistance under this "national origin" clause so that they would not be disadvantaged. This led to bilingual voting ballots and the beginning of bilingual education. In 1974, the Civil Rights Act "was amended to require schools to provide instruction in a student's native language and culture 'to the extent necessary to allow the child to progress effectively through the education system.'" However, Huntington states that the result was, as stated by 1985 Secretary of Education William Bennett, that the program became: "a way of enhancing students' knowledge of their native language and culture. Bilingual education was no longer seen so much as a means to ensure that students learned English, or as a transitional method until students learned English. Rather, it became an emblem of cultural pride, a means of producing a positive self-image in the student [Who Are We? p.164].")

Text of the original article:

1. THE NEXT PATTERN OF CONFLICT

WORLD POLITICS IS entering a new phase, and intellectuals have not hesitated to proliferate visions of what it will be -- the end of history, the return of traditional rivalries between nation states, and the decline of the nation state from the conflicting pulls of tribalism and globalism, among others. Each of these visions catches aspects of the emerging reality. Yet they all miss a crucial, indeed a central, aspect of what global politics is likely to be in the coming years. It is my hypothesis that the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will be the battle lines of the future.

Conflict between civilizations will be the latest phase of the evolution of conflict in the modern world. For a century and a half after the emergence of the modern international system of the Peace of Westphalia, the conflicts of the Western world were largely among princes -- emperors, absolute monarchs and constitutional monarchs attempting to expand their bureaucracies, their armies, their mercantilist economic strength and, most important, the territory they ruled. In the process they created nation states, and beginning with the French Revolution the principal lines of conflict were between nations rather than princes. In 1793, as R. R. Palmer put it, "The wars of kings were over; the ward of peoples had begun." This nineteenth-century pattern lasted until the end of World War I. Then, as a result of the Russian Revolution and the reaction against it, the conflict of nations yielded to the conflict of ideologies, first among Communism, Fascism-Nazism and liberal democracy, and then between communism and liberal democracy. During the Cold War, this latter conflict became embodied in the struggle between the two superpowers, neither of which was a nation state in the classical European sense and each of which defined its identity in terms of ideology.

These conflicts between princes, nation states and ideologies were primarily conflicts within Western civilization, "Western civil wars," as William Lind has labeled them. This was as true of the Cold War as it was of the world wars and the earlier wars of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. With the end of the Cold War, international politics moves out of its Western phase, and its center-piece becomes the interaction between the West and non-Western civilizations and among non-Western civilizations. In the politics of civilizations, the people and governments of non-Western civilizations no longer remain the objects of history as targets of Western colonialism but join the West as movers and shapers of history.

2. THE NATURE OF CIVILIZATIONS

DURING THE COLD WAR the world was divided into the First, Second and Third Worlds. Those divisions are no longer relevant. It is far more meaningful now to group countries not in terms of their political or economic systems or in terms of their level of economic development but rather in terms of their culture and civilization.

What do we mean when we talk of a civilization? A civilization is a cultural entity. Villages, regions, ethnic groups, nationalities, religious groups, all have distinct cultures at different levels of cultural heterogeneity. The culture of a village in southern Italy may be different from that of a village in northern Italy, but both will share in a common Italian culture that distinguishes them from German villages. European communities, in turn, will share cultural features that distinguish them from Arab or Chinese communities. Arabs, Chinese and Westerners, however, are not part of any broader cultural entity. They constitute civilizations. A civilization is thus the highest cultural grouping of people and the broadest level of cultural identity people have short of that which distinguishes humans from other species. It is defined both by common objective elements, such as language, history, religion, customs, institutions, and by the subjective selfidentification of people. People have levels of identity: a resident of Rome may define himself with varying degrees of intensity as a Roman, an Italian, a Catholic, a Christian, a European, a Westerner. The civilization to which he belongs is the broadest level of identification with which he intensely identifies. People can and do redefine their identities and, as a result, the composition and boundaries of civilizations change.

Civilizations may involve a large number of people, as with China ("a civilization pretending to be a state," as Lucian Pye put it), or a very small number of people, such as the Anglophone Caribbean. A civilization may include several nation states, as is the case with Western, Latin American and Arab civilizations, or only one, as is the case with Japanese civilization.

Civilizations obviously blend and overlap, and may include subcivilizations. Western civilization has two major variants, European and North American, and Islam has its Arab, Turkic and Malay subdivisions. Civilizations are nonetheless meaningful entities, and while the lines between them are seldom sharp, they are real. Civilizations are dynamic; they rise and fall; they divide and merge. And, as any student of history knows, civilizations disappear and are buried in the sands of time.

Westerners tend to think of nation states as the principal actors in global affairs. They have been that, however, for only a few centuries. The broader reaches of human history have been the history of civilizations. In A Study of History, Arnold Toynbee identified 21 major civilizations; only six of them exist in the contemporary world.

3. WHY CIVILIZATIONS WILL CLASH

CIVILIZATION IDENTITY will be increasingly important in the future, and the world will be shaped in large measure by the interactions among seven or eight major civilizations. These include Western, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-Orthodox, Latin American and possibly African civilization. The most important conflicts of the future will occur along the cultural fault lines separating these civilizations from one another. Why will this be the case?

First, differences among civilizations are not only real; they are basic. Civilizations are differentiated from each other by history, language, culture, tradition and, most important, religion. The people of different civilizations have different views on the relations between God and man, the individual and the group, the citizen and the state, parents and children, husband and wife, as well as differing views of the relative importance of rights and responsibilities, liberty and authority, equality and hierarchy. These differences are the product of centuries. They will not soon disappear. They are far more fundamental than differences among political ideologies and political regimes. Differences do not necessarily mean conflict, and conflict does not necessarily mean violence. Over the centuries, however, differences among civilizations have generated the most prolonged and the most violent conflicts.

Second, the world is becoming a smaller place. The interactions between peoples of different civilizations are increasings; these increasing interactions intensify civilization consciousness and awareness of differences between civilizations and commonalities within civilizations. North African immigration to France generates hostility among Frenchmen and at the same time increased receptivity to immigration by "good" European Catholic Poles. Americans react far more negatively to Japanese investment than to larger investments from Canada and European countries. Similarly, as Donald Horowitz has pointed out, "An Ibo may be . . . an Owerri Ibo or an Onitsha Ibo in what was the Eastern region of Nigeria. In Lagos, he is simply an Ibo. In London, he is a Nigerian. In New York, he is an African." The interactions among peoples of different civilizations enhance the civilization-consciousness of people that, in turn, invigorates

differences and animosities stretching or thought to stretch back deep into history.

Third, the processes of economic modernization and social change throughout the world are separating people from longstanding local identities. They also weaken the nation state as a source of identity. In much of the world religion has moved in to fill this gap, often in the form of movements that are labeled "fundamentalist." Such movements are found in Western Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism and Hinduism, as well as in Islam. In most countries and most religions the people active in fundamentalist movements are young, college-educated, middleclass technicians, professionals and business persons. The "unsecularization of the world,"

George Weigel has remarked, "is one of the dominant social factors of life in the late twentieth century." The revival of religion, "la revanche de Dieu," as Gilles Kepel labeled it, provides a basis for identity and commitment that transcends national boundaries and unites civilizations.

Fourth, the growth of civilization-consciousness is enhanced by the dual role of the West. On the one hand, the West is at a peak of power. At the same time, however, and perhaps as a result, a return to the roots phenomenon is occurring among non-Western civilizations. Increasingly one hears references to trends toward a turning inward and "Asianization" in Japan, the end of the Nehru legacy and the "Hinduization" of India, the failure of Western ideas of socialism and nationalism and hence "re-Islamization" of the Middle East, and now a debate over Westernization versus Russianization in Boris Yeltsin's country. A West at the peak of its power confronts non-Wests that increasingly have the desire, the will and the resources to shape the world in non-Western ways.

In the past, the elites of non-Western societies were usually the people who were most involved with the West, had been educated at Oxford, the Sorbonne or Sandhurst, and had absorbed Western attitudes and values. At the same time, the populace in non-Western countries often remained deeply imbued with the indigenous culture. Now, however, these relationships are being reversed. A de-Westernization and indigenization of elites is occurring in many non-Western countries at the same time that Western, usually American, cultures, styles and habits become more popular among the mass of the people.

Fifth, cultural characteristics and differences are less mutable and hence less easily compromised and resolved than political and economic ones. In the former Soviet Union, communists can become democrats, the rich can become poor and the poor rich, but Russians cannot become Estonians and Azeris cannot become Armenians. In class and ideological conflicts, the key question was "Which side are you on?" and people could and did choose sides and change sides. In conflicts between civilizations, the question is "What are you?" That is a given that cannot be changed. And as we know, from Bosnia to the Caucasus to the Sudan, the wrong answer to that question can mean a bullet in the head. Even more than ethnicity, religion discriminates sharply and exclusively among people. A person can be half-French and half-Arab and simultaneously even a citizen of two countries. It is more difficult to be half-Catholic and half-Muslim.

Finally, economic regionalism is increasing. The proportions of total trade that are intraregional rose between 1980 and 1989 from 51 percent to 59 percent in Europe, 33 percent to 37 percent in East Asia, and 32 percent to 36

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percent in North America. The importance of regional economic blocs is likely to continue to increase in the future. On the one hand, successful economic regionalism will reinforce civilization-consciousness. On the other hand, economic regionalism may succeed only when it is rooted in a common civilization. The European Community rests on the shared foundation of European culture and Western Christianity. The success of the North American Free Trade Area depends on the convergence now underway of Mexican, Canadian and American cultures. Japan, in contrast, faces difficulties in creating a comparable economic entity in East Asia because Japan is a society and civilization unique to itself. However strong the trade and investment links Japan may develop with other East Asian countries, its cultural differences with those countries inhibit and perhaps preclude its promoting regional economic integration like that in Europe and North America.

Common culture, in contrast, is clearly facilitating the rapid expansion of the economic relations between the People's Republic of China and Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore and the overseas Chinese communities in other Asian countries. With the Cold War over, cultural commonalities increasingly overcome ideological differences, and mainland China and Taiwan move closer together. If cultural commonality is a prerequisite for economic integration, the principal East Asian economic bloc of the future is likely to be centered on China. This bloc is, in fact, already coming into existence. As Murray Weidenbaum has observed, Despite the current Japanese dominance of the region, the Chinese-based economy of Asia is rapidly emerging as a new epicenter for industry, commerce and finance.

This strategic area contains substantial amounts of technology and manufacturing capability (Taiwan), outstanding entrepreneurial, marketing and services acumen (Hong Kong), a fine communications network (Singapore), a tremendous pool of financial capital (all three), and very large endowments of land, resources and labor (mainland China). . . . From Guangzhou to Singapore, from Kuala Lumpur to Manila, this influential network -- often based on extensions of the traditional clans -- has been described as the backbone of the East Asian economy. (Murray Weidenbaum, Greater China: The Next Economic Superpower?, St. Louis: Washington University Center for the Study of American Business, Contemporary Issues, Series 57, February 1993, pp. 2-3.)

Culture and religion also form the basis of the Economic Cooperation Organization, which brings together ten non-Arab Muslim countries: Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Tadjikistan, Uzbekistan and Afghanistan. One impetus to the revival and expansion of this organization, founded originally in the 1960s by Turkey, Pakistan and Iran, is the realization by the leaders of several of these countries that they had no chance of admission to the European Community. Similarly, Caricom, the Central American Common Market and Mercosur rest on common cultural foundations. Efforts to build a broader Caribbean-Central American economic entity bridging the Anglo-Latin divide, however, have to date failed.

As people define their identity in ethnic and religious terms, they are likely to see an "us" versus "them" relation existing between themselves and people of different ethnicity or religion. The end of ideologically defined states in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union permits traditional ethnic identities and animosities to come to the fore. Differences in culture and religion create differences over policy issues, ranging from human rights to immigration to trade and commerce to the environment. Geographical propinquity gives rise to conflicting territorial claims from Bosnia to Mindanao. Most important, the efforts of the West to promote its values of democracy and liberalism to universal values, to maintain its military predominance and to advance its economic interests engender countering responses from other civilizations. Decreasingly able to mobilize support and form coalitions on the basis of ideology, governments and groups will increasingly attempt to mobilize support by appealing to common religion and civilization identity.

The clash of civilizations thus occurs at two levels. At the micro-level, adjacent groups along the fault lines between civilizations struggle, often violently, over the control of territory and each other. At the macro-level, states from different civilizations compete for relative military and economic power, struggle over the control of international institutions and third parties, and competitively promote their particular political and religious values.

4. THE FAULT LINES BETWEEN CIVILIZATIONS

THE FAULT LINES between civilizations are replacing the political and ideological boundaries of the Cold War as the flash points for crisis and bloodshed. The Cold War began when the Iron Curtain divided Europe politically and ideologically. The Cold War ended with the end of the Iron Curtain. As the ideological division of Europe has disappeared, the cultural division of Europe between Western Christianity, on the one hand, and Orthodox Christianity and Islam, on the other, has reemerged. The most significant dividing line in Europe, as William Wallace has suggested, may well be the eastern boundary of Western Christianity in the year 1500. This line runs along what are now the boundaries between Finland and Russia and between the Baltic states and Russia, cuts through Belarus and Ukraine separating the more Catholic western Ukraine from Orthodox eastern Ukraine, swings westward separating Transylvania from the rest of Romania, and then goes through Yugoslavia almost exactly along the line now separating Croatia and Slovenia from the rest of Yugoslavia. In the Balkans this line, of course, coincides with the historic boundary between the Hapsburg and Ottoman empires. The peoples to the north

and west of this line are Protestant or Catholic; they shared the common experiences of European history -- feudalism, the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, the Industrial Revolution; they are generally economically better off than the peoples to the east; and they may now look forward to increasing involvement in a common European economy and to the consolidation of democratic political systems. The peoples to the east and south of this line are Orthodox or Muslim; they historically belonged to the Ottoman or Tsarist empires and were only lightly touched by the shaping events in the rest of Europe; they are generally less advanced economically; they seem much less likely to develop stable democratic political systems. The Velvet Curtain of culture has replaced the Iron Curtain of ideology as the most significant dividing line in Europe. As the events in Yugoslavia show, it is not only a line of difference; it is also at times a line of bloody conflict.

Conflict along the fault line between Western and Islamic civilizations has been going on for 1,300 years. After the founding of Islam, the Arab and Moorish surge west and north only ended at Tours in 732. From the eleventh to the thirteenth century the Crusaders attempted with temporary success to bring Christianity and Christian rule to the Holy Land. From the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, the Ottoman Turks reversed the balance, extended their sway over the Middle East and the Balkans, captured Constantinople, and twice laid siege to Vienna. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries at Ottoman power declined Britain, France, and Italy established Western control over most of North Africa and the Middle East.

After World War II, the West, in turn, began to retreat; the colonial empires disappeared; first Arab nationalism and then Islamic fundamentalism manifested themselves; the West became heavily dependent on the Persian Gulf countries for its energy; the oil-rich Muslim countries became money-rich and, when they wished to, weapons-rich. Several wars occurred between Arabs and Israel (created by the West). France fought a bloody and ruthless war in Algeria for most of the 1950s; British and French forces invaded Egypt in 1956; American forces returned to Lebanon, attacked Libya, and engaged in various military encounters with Iran; Arab and Islamic terrorists, supported by at least three Middle Eastern governments, employed the weapon of the weak and bombed Western planes and installations and seized Western hostages. This warfare between Arabs and the West culminated in 1990, when the United States sent a massive army to the Persian Gulf to defend some Arab countries against aggression by another. In its aftermath NATO planning is increasingly directed to potential threats and instability along its "southern

tier."

This centuries-old military interaction between the West and Islam is unlikely to decline. It could become more virulent. The Gulf War left some Arabs feeling proud that Saddam Hussein had attacked Israel and stood up to the West. It also left many feeling humiliated and resentful of the West's military presence in the Persian Gulf, the West's overwhelming military dominance, and their apparent inability to shape their own destiny. Many Arab countries, in addition to the oil exporters, are reaching levels of economic and social development where autocratic forms of government become inappropriate and efforts to introduce democracy become stronger. Some openings in Arab political systems have already occurred. The principal beneficiaries of these openings have been Islamist movements. In the Arab world, in short, Western democracy strengthens anti-Western political forces. This may be a passing phenomenon, but it surely complicates relations between Islamic countries and the West.

Those relations are also complicated by demography. The spectacular population growth in Arab countries, particularly in North Africa, has led to increased migration to Western Europe. The movement within Western Europe toward minimizing internal boundaries has sharpened political sensitivities with respect to this development. In Italy, France and Germany, racism is increasingly open, and political reactions and violence against Arab and Turkish migrants have become more intense and more widespread since 1990.

On both sides the interaction between Islam and the West is seen as a clash of civilizations. The West's "next confrontation," observes M. J. Akbar, an Indian Muslim author, "is definitely going to come from the Muslim world. It is in the sweep of the Islamic nations from the Meghreb to Pakistan that the struggle for a new world order will begin." Bernard Lewis comes to a regular conclusion:

"We are facing a need and a movement far transcending the level of issues and policies and the governments that pursue them. This is no less than a clash of civilizations -- the perhaps irrational but surely historic reaction of an ancient rival against our Judeo-Christian heritage, our secular present, and the worldwide expansion of both. (Bernard Lewis, "The Roots of Muslim Rage," The Atlantic Monthly, vol. 266, September 1990, p. 60; Time, June 15, 1992, pp. 24-28.)

Historically, the other great antagonistic interaction of Arab Islamic civilization has been with the pagan, animist, and now increasingly Christian black peoples to the south. In the past, this antagonism was epitomized in the image of Arab slave dealers and black slaves. It has been reflected in the on-going civil war in the Sudan between Arabs and blacks, the fighting in Chad between Libyan-supported insurgents and the government, the tensions between Orthodox Christians and Muslims in the Horn of Africa, and the political conflicts, recurring riots and communal violence between Muslims and Christians in Nigeria. The modernization of Africa and the spread of Christianity in Nigeria. The modernization of Africa and the spread of Christianity are likely to enhance the probability of violence along this fault line. Symptomatic of the intensification of this conflict was the Pope John Paul II's speech in Khartoum in February 1993 attacking the actions of the Sudan's Islamist government against the Christian minority there.

On the northern border of Islam, conflict has increasingly erupted between Orthodox and Muslim peoples, including the carnage of Bosnia and Sarajevo, the simmering violence between Serb and Albanian, the tenuous relation between Bulgarians and their Turkish minority, the violence between Ossetians and Ingush, the unremitting slaughter of each other by Armenians and Azeris, the tense relations between Russians and Muslims in Central Asia, and the deployment of Russian troops to protect Russian interests in the Caucasus and Central Asia. Religion reinforces the revival of ethnic identities and restimulates Russian fears about the security of their southern borders. This concern is well captured by Archie Roosevelt:

Much of Russian history concerns the struggle between Slavs and the Turkish peoples on their borders, which dates back to the foundation of the Russian state more than a thousand years ago. In the Slavs' millennium-long confrontation with their eastern neighbors lies the key to an understanding not only of Russian history, but Russian character. To under Russian realities today one has to have a concept of the great Turkic ethnic group that has preoccupied Russians through the centuries. (Archie Roosevelt, For Lust of Knowing, Boston: Little, Brown, i988, PP 332-333.)

The conflict of civilizations is deeply rooted elsewhere in Asia. The historic clash between Muslim and Hindu in the subcontinent manifests itself now not only is the rivalry between Pakistan and India but also in intensifying religious strife within India between increasingly militant Hindu groups and India's substantial Muslim minority. The destruction of the Ayodhya mosque in December 1992 brought to the fore the issue of whether India will remain a secular democratic state or become a Hindu one. In East Asia, China has outstanding territorial disputes with most of its neighbors. It has pursued a ruthless policy toward the Buddhist people of Tibet, and it is pursuing an increasingly ruthless policy toward its Turkic-Muslim minority. With the Cold War over, the underlying differences between China and the United States have reasserted themselves in areas such as human rights, trade and weapons proliferation. These differences are unlikely to moderate. A "new cold war," Deng Xaioping reportedly asserted in 1991, is under way between China and America.

The same phrase has been applied to the increasingly difficult relations between Japan and the United States. Here cultural difference exacerbates economic conflict. People on each side allege racism on the other, but at least on the American side the antipathies are not racial but cultural. The basic values, attitudes, behavioral patterns of the two societies could hardly be more different. The economic issues between the United States and Europe are no less serious than those between the United States and Japan, but they do not have thesame political salience and emotional intensity because the differences between American culture and European culture are so much less than those between American civilization and Japanese civilization.

The interactions between civilizations vary greatly in the extent to which they are likely to be characterized by violence. Economic competition clearly predominates between the American and European subcivilizations of the West and between both of them and Japan. On the Eurasian continent, however, the proliferation of ethnic conflict, epitomized at the extreme in "ethnic cleansing," has not been totally random. It has been most frequent and most violent between

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groups belonging to different civilizations. In Eurasia the great historic fault lines between civilizations are once more aflame. This is particularly true along the boundaries of the crescentshaped Islamic bloc of nations from the bulge of Africa to central Asia. Violence also occurs between Muslims, on the one hand, and Orthodox Serbs in the Balkans, Jews in Israel, Hindus in India, Buddhists in Burma and Catholics in the Philippines. Islam has bloody borders.

5. CIVILIZATION RALLYING

THE KIN-COUNTRY SYNDROME GROUPS OR STATES belonging to one civilization that become involved in war with people from a different civilization naturally try to rally support from other members of their own civilization. As the post-Cold War world evolves, civilization commonality, what H. D. S. Greenway has termed the "kin-country" syndrome, is replacing political ideology and traditional balance of power considerations as the principal basis for cooperation and coalitions. It can be seen gradually emerging in the post-Cold War conflicts in the Persian Gulf, the Caucasus and Bosnia. None of these was a full-scale war between civilizations, but each involved some elements of civilization rallying, which seemed to become more important as the conflict continued and which may provide a foretaste of the future.

First, in the Gulf War one Arab state invaded another and then fought a coalition of Arab, Western and other states. While only a few Muslim governments overtly supported Saddam Hussein, many Arab elites privately cheered him on, and he was highly popular among large sections of the Arab publics. Islamic fundamentalist movements universally supported Iraq rather than the Western-backed governments of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Forswearing Arab nationalism, Saddam Hussein explicitly invoked an Islamic appeal. He and his supporters attempted to define the war as a war between civilizations. "It is not the world against Iraq," as Safar Al-Hawali, dean of Islamic Studies at the Umm Al-Qura University in Mecca, put it in a widely circulated tape. "It is the West against Islam." Ignoring the rivalry between Iran and Iraq,

the chief Iranian religious leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, called for a holy war against the West: "The struggle against American aggression, greed, plans and policies will be counted as a jahad, and anybody who is killed on that path is a martyr.""This is a war," King Hussein of Jordan argued, "against all Arabs and all Muslims and not against Iraq alone."

The rallying of substantial sections of Arab elites and publics behind Saddam Hussein called those Arab governments in the anti-Iraq coalition to moderate their activities and temper their public statements. Arab governments opposed or distanced themselves from subsequent Western efforts to apply pressure on Iraq, including enforcement of a no-fly zone in the summer of 1992 and the bombing of Iraq in January 1993. The Western-Soviet-Turkish-Arab anti-Iraq coalition of 1990 had by 1993 become a coalition of almost only the West and Kuwait against Iraq. Muslims contrasted Western actions against Iraq with the West's failure to protect Bosnians against Serbs and to impose sanctions on Israel for violating U.N. resolutions. The West, they allege, was using a double standard. A world of clashing civilizations, however, is inevitably a world of double standards: people apply one standard to their kin-countries and a different standard to others.

Second, the kin-country syndrome also appeared in conflicts in the former Soviet Union. Armenian military successes in 1992 and 1993 stimulated Turkey to become increasingly supportive of its religious, ethnic and linguistic brethren in Azerbaijan. "We have a Turkish nation feeling the same sentiments as the Azerbaijanis," said one Turkish official in 1992. "We are under pressure. Our newspapers are full of the photos of atrocities and are asking us if we are still serious about pursuing our neutral policy. Maybe we should show Armenia that there's a big Turkey in the region." President Turgut Ozal agreed, remarking that Turkey should at least "scare the Armenians a little bit." Turkey, Ozal threatened again in 1993, would "show its fangs."

Turkey Air Force jets flew reconnaissance flights along the Armenian border; Turkey suspended food shipments and air flights to Armenia; and Turkey and Iran announced they would not accept dismemberment of Azerbaijan. In the last years of its existence, the Soviet government supported Azerbaijan because its government was dominated by former communists. With the end of the Soviet Union, however, political considerations gave way to religious ones. Russian troops fought on the Side of the Armenians, and Azerbaijan accused the "Russian government of turning 180 degrees" toward support for Christian Armenia.

Third, with respect to the fighting in the former Yugoslavia, Western publics manifested sympathy and support for the Bosnian Muslims and the horrors they suffered at the hands of the Serbs. Relatively little concern was expressed, however, over Croatian attacks on Muslims and participation in the dismemberment of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the early stages of the Yugoslav breakup, Germany, in an unusual display of diplomatic initiative and muscle, induced the other 11 members of the European Community to follow its lead in recognizing Slovenia and Croatia. As a result of the pope's determination to provide strong backing to the two Catholic countries, the Vatican extended recognition even before the Community did. The United States followed the European lead. Thus the leading actors in Western civilization rallied behind its coreligionists. Subsequently Croatia was reported to be receiving substantial quantities of arms from Central European and other Western countries. Boris Yeltsin's government, on the other hand, attempted to pursue a middle course that would be sympathetic to the Orthodox Serbs but not alienate Russia from the West. Russian conservative and nationalist groups, however, including many legislators, attacked the government for not being more forthcoming in its support for the Serbs. By early 1993 several hundred Russians apparently were serving with the Serbian forces, and reports circulated of Russian arms being supplied to Serbia.

Islamic governments and groups, on the other hand, castigated the West for not coming to the defense of the Bosnians. Iranian leaders urged Muslims from all countries to provide help to Bosnia; in violation of the U.N. arms embargo, Iran supplied weapons and men for the Bosnians; Iranian-supported Lebanese groups sent guerrillas to train and organize the Bosnian forces. In 1993 up to 4,000 Muslims from over two dozen Islamic countries were reported to be fighting in Bosnia. The governments of Saudi Arabia and other countries felt under increasing pressure from fundamentalist groups in their own societies to provide more vigorous support for the Bosnians. By the end of 1992, Saudi Arabia had reportedly supplied substantial funding for weapons and supplies for the Bosnians, which significantly increased their military capabilities vis-a-vis the Serbs.

In the 1930s the Spanish Civil War provoked intervention from countries that politically were fascist, communist and democratic. In the 1990s the Yugoslav conflict is provoking intervention from countries that are Muslim, Orthodox and Western Christian. The parallel has not gone unnoticed. "The war in Bosnia-Herzegovina has become the emotional equivalent of the fight against fascism in the Spanish Civil War," one Saudi editor observed. "Those who died there are regarded as martyrs who tried to save their fellow Muslims."

Conflicts and violence will also occur between states and groups within the same civilization. Such conflicts, however, are likely to be less intense and less likely to expand than conflicts between civilizations. Common membership in a civilization reduces the probability of violence in situations where it might otherwise occur. In 1991 and 1992 many people were alarmed by the possibility of violent conflict between Russia and Ukraine over territory, particularly Crimea, the Black Sea fleet, nuclear weapons and economic issues. If civilization is what counts, however, the likelihood of violence between Ukrainians and Russians should be low. They are two Slavic, primarily Orthodox peoples who have had close relationships with each other for centuries. As of early 1993, despite all the reasons for conflict, the leaders of the two countries were effectively negotiating and defusing the issues between the two countries. While there has been serious fighting between Muslims and Christians elsewhere in the former Soviet Union and much tension and some fighting between Western and Orthodox Christians in the Baltic states, there has been virtually no violence between Russians and Ukrainians.

Civilization rallying to date has been limited, but it has been growing, and it clearly has the potential to spread much further. As the conflicts in the Persian Gulf, the Caucasus and Bosnia continued, the positions of nations and the cleavages between them increasingly were along civilizational lines. Populist politicians, religious leaders and the media have found it a potential means of arousing mass support and of pressuring hesitant governments. In the coming years, the local conflicts most likely to escalate into major wars will be those, as in Bosnia and the Caucasus, along the fault lines between civilizations. The next world war, if there is one, will be a war between civilizations.

6. THE WEST VERSUS THE REST

THE WEST IS NOW at an extraordinary peak of power in relation to other civilizations. In superpower opponent has disappeared from the map. Military conflict among Western states is unthinkable, and Western military power is unrivaled. Apart from Japan, the West faces no economic challenge. It dominates international economic institutions. Global political and security issues are effectively settled by a directorate of the United States, Britain and France, world economic issues by a directorate of the United States, Germany and Japan, all of which maintain extraordinarily close relations with each other to the exclusion of lesser and largely non-Western countries. Decisions made at the U.N. Security Council or in the International Monetary Fund that reflect the interests of the West are presented to the world as reflecting the desires of the world community. The very phrase "the world community" has become the euphemistic collective noun (replacing "the Free World") to give global legitimacy to actions reflecting the interests of the United States and other Western powers*. Through the IMF and other international economic institutions, the West promotes its economic interests and imposes on other nations the economic policies it thinks appropriate. In any poll of non-Western peoples, the IMF undoubtedly would win the support of finance ministers and a few others, but get an overwhelmingly unfavorable rating from just about everyone else, who would agree with Georgy Arbatov's characterization of IMF officials as "neo-Bolsheviks who love expropriating other people's money, imposing undemocratic and alien rules of economic and political conduct and stifling economic freedom." (*Almost invariably, Western leaders claim they are acting on behalf of "the world community." One minor lapse occurred during the run-up to the Gulf War. In an interview on "Good Morning America," Dec. 21, 1990, British Prime Minister John Major referred to the actions "the West" was taking against Saddam Hussein. He quickly corrected himself and subsequently referred to "the world community." He was, however, right when he erred.)

Western domination of the U.N. Security Council and its decisions, tempered only by occasional abstention by China, produced U.N. legitimation of the West's use of force to drive Iraq out of Kuwait and its elimination of Iraq's sophisticated weapons and capacity to produce such weapons. It also produced the quite unprecedented action by the United States, Britain and France in getting the Security Council to demand that Libya hand over the Pan Am 103 bombing suspects and then to impose sanctions when Libya refused. After defeating the largest Arab army, the West did not hesistate to throw its weight around in the Arab world. The West in effect is using international institutions, military power and economic resources to run the world in ways that will maintain Western predominance, protect Western interests and promote Western political and economic values.

That at least is the way in which non-Westerners see the new world, and there is a significant element of truth in their view. Differences in power and struggles for military, economic and institutional power are thus one source of conflict between the West and other civilizations.

Differences in culture, that is basic values and beliefs, are a second source of conflict. V. S. Naipaul has argued that Western civilization is the "universal civilization" that "fits all men." At a superficial level much of Western culture has indeed permeated the rest of the world. At a more basic level, however, Western concepts differ fundamentally from those prevalent in other civilizations. Western ideas of individualism, liberalism, constitutionalism, human rights, equality, liberty, the rule of law, democracy, free markets, the separation of church and state, often have little resonance in Islamic, Confucian, Japanese, Hindu, Buddhist or Orthodox cultures. Western efforts to propagate each ideas produce instead a reaction against "human rights imperialism" and a reaffirmation of indigenous values, as can be seen in the support for religious fundamentalism by the younger generation in non-Western cultures. The very notion that there could be a "universal civilization" is a Western idea, directly at odds with the particularism of most Asian societies and their emphasis on what distinguishes one people from another. Indeed, the author of a review of 100 comparative studies of values in different societies concluded that "the values that are most important in the West are least important worldwide*." In the political realm, of course, these differences are most manifest in the efforts of the United States and other Western powers to induce other peoples to adopt Western ideas concerning democracy and human rights. Modern democratic government originated in the West. When it has developed colonialism or imposition. (* Harry C. Triandis, The New York Times, Dec. 28, 1990, p. 41, and "Cross-Cultural Studies of Individualism and Collectivism," Nebraska Symposium on Motivation, vol. 37, 1989, pp. 41-133.)

The central axis of world politics in the future is likely to be, in Kishore Mahbubani's phrase, the conflict between "the West and the Rest" and the responses of non-Western civilizations to Western power and values. (Kishore Mahbubani, "The West and the Rest," The National Interest, Summer 1992, pp. 3-13.) Those responses generally take one or a combination of three forms. At one extreme, non-Western states can, like Burma and North Korea, attempt to pursue a course of isolation, to insulate their societies from penetration or "corruption" by the West, and, in effect, to opt out of participation in the Western-dominated global community. The costs of this course, however, are high, and few states have pursued it exclusively. A second alternative, the equivalent of "band-wagoning" in international relations theory, is to attempt to join the West and accept its values and institutions. The third alternative is to attempt to "balance" the West by developing economic and military power and cooperating with other non-Western societies against the West, while preserving indigenous values and institutions; in short, to modernize but not to Westernize.

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7. THE TORN COUNTRIES

IN THE FUTURE, as people differentiate themselves by civilization, countries with large numbers of people of different civilizations, such as the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, are candidates for dismemberment. Some other countries have a fair degree of cultural homogeneity but are divided over whether their society belongs to one civilization or another. These are town countries. Their leaders typically wish to pursue a bandwagoning strategy and to make their countries members of the West, but the history, culture and traditions of their countries are non-Western. The most obvious and prototypical torn country is Turkey. The late twentieth-century leaders of Turkey have followed in the Attaturk tradition and defined Turkey as a modern, secular, Western nation state. They allied Turkey with the West in NATO and in the Gulf War; they applied for membership in the European Community. At the same time, however, elements in Turkish society have supported an Islamic revival and have argued that Turkey is basically a Middle Eastern Muslim society. In addition, while the elite of Turkey has defined Turkey as a Western society, the elite of the West refuses to accept Turkey and such. Turkey will not become a member of the European Community, and the real reason, as President Ozal said, "is that we are Muslim and they are Christian and they don't say that." Having rejected Mecca, and then being rejected by Brussels, where does Turkey look? Tashkent may be the answer. The end of the Soviet Union gives Turkey the opportunity to become the leader of a revived Turkic civilization involving seven countries from the borders of Greece to those of China. Encouraged by the West, Turkey is making strenuous efforts to carve out this new identity for itself.

During the past decade Mexico has assumed a position somewhat similar to that of Turkey. Just as Turkey abandoned its historic opposition to Europe and attempted to join Europe, Mexico has stopped defining itself by its opposition to the United States and is instead attempting to imitate the United States and to join it in the North American Free Trade Area. Mexican leaders are engaged in the great task of redefining Mexican identity and have introduced fundamental economic reforms that eventually will lead to fundamental political change. In 1991 a top adviser to President Carlos Salinas de Gortari described at length tome all the changes the Salinas government was making. When he finished, I remarked: "That's most impressive. It seems to me that basically you want to change Mexico from a Latin American country into a North American country." He looked at me with surprise and exclaimed: "Exactly! That's precisely what we are rying to do, but of course we could never say so publicly." As his remark indicates, in Mexico as in Turkey, significant elements in society resist the redefinition of their country's identity. In Tu rkey, European-oriented leaders have to make gestures to Islam (Ozal's pilgrimage to Mecca); so also Mexico's North American-oriented leaders have to make gestures to those who hold exico to be a Latin American country (Salinas' Ibero-American Guadalajara summit).

Historically Turkey has been the most profoundly torn country. For the United States, Mexico is the most immediate torn country. Globally the most important torn country is Russia. The question of whether Russia is part of the West or the leader of the Slavic-Orthodox civilization has been a recurring one in Russian history. That issue was obscured by the communist victory in Russia, which imported a Western ideology, adapted it to Russian conditions and then challenged the West in the name of that ideology. The dominance of communism shut off the historic debate over Westernization versus Russification. With communism discredited Russians once again face that question.

President Yeltsin is adopting Western principles and goals and seeking to make Russia a "normal" country and a part of the West. Yet both the Russian elite and the Russian public are divided on this issue. Among the more moderate dissenters, Sergei Stankevich argues that Russia should reject the "Atlanticist" course, which would lead it "to become European, to become a part of the world economy in rapid and organized fashion, to become the eighth member of the Seven, and to particular emphasis on Germany and the United States as the two dominant members of the Atlantic alliance." While also rejecting an exclusively Eurasian policy, Stankevich nonetheless argues that Russia should give priority to the protection of Russians in other countries, emphasize its Turkic and Muslim connections, and promote "an appreciable redistribution of our resources, our options, our ties, and our interests in favor of Asia, of the eastern direction." People of this persuasion criticize Yeltsin for subordinating Russia's interests to those of the West, for reducing Russian military strength, for failing to support traditional friends such as Serbia, and for pushing economic and political reform in ways injurious to the Russian people. Indicative of this trend is the new popularity of the ideas of Petr Savitsky, who in the 1920s argued that Russia was a unique Eurasian civilization*. More extreme dissidents voice much more blatantly nationalist, anti-Western and anti-Semitic views, and urge Russia to redevelop its military strength and to establish closer ties with China and Muslim countries. The people of Russia areas divided as the elite. An opinion survey in European Russia in the spring of 1992 revealed that 40 percent of the public had positive attitudes toward the West and 36 percent had negative attitudes. As it has been for much of its history, Russia in the early 1990s is truly a torn country. (* Sergei Stankevich, "Russia in Search of Itself," The National Interest, Summer 1992, pp. 47-51; Daniel Schneider, "A Russian Movement Rejects Western Tilt," Christian Science Monitor,Feb. 5, 1993, pp. 5-7.)

To redefine its civilization identity, a torn country must meet three requirements. First, its political and economic elite has to be generally supportive of and enthusiastic about the move. Second, its public has to be willing to acquiesce in the redefinition. Third, the dominant groups in the recipient civilization have to be willing to embrace the convert. All three requirements in large part exist with respect to Mexico. The first two in large part exist with respect to Turkey. It is not clear that any of them exist with respect to Russia's joining the West. The conflict between liberal democracy and Marxism-Leninism was between ideologies which, despite their major differences, ostensibly shared ultimate goals of freedom, equality and prosperity. A traditional, authoritarian, nationalist Russia could have quite different goals. A Western democrat could carry on an intellectual debate with a Soviet Marxist. It would be virtually impossible for him to do that with a Russian traditionalist. If, as the Russians stop behaving like Marxists, they reject liberal democracy and begin behaving like Russians but not like Westerners, the relations between Russia and the West could again become distant and conflictual.

[Owen Harries has pointed out that Australia is trying (unwisely in his view) to become a torn country in reverse. Although it has been a full member not only of the West but also of the ABCA military and intelligence core of the West, its current leaders are in effect proposing that it defect from the West, redefine itself as an Asian country and cultivate dose ties with its neighbors. Australia's future, they argue, is with the dynamic economies of East Asia. But, as I have suggested, close economic cooperation normally requires a common cultural base. In addition, none of the three conditions necessary for a torn country to join another civilization is likely to exist in Australia's case.]

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8. THE CONFUCIAN-ISLAMIC CONNECTION

THE OBSTACLES TO non-Western countries joining the West vary considerably. They are least for Latin American and East European countries. They are greater for the Orthodox countries of the former Soviet Union. They are still greater for Muslim, Confucian, Hindu and Buddhist societies. Japan has established a unique position for itself as an associate member of the West: it is in the West in some respects but clearly not of the West in important dimensions. Those countries that for reason of culture and power do not wish to, or cannot, join the West compete with the West by developing their own economic, military and political power. They do this by promoting their internal development and by cooperating with other non-Western countries. The most prominent form of this cooperation is the Confucian-Islamic connection that has emerged to challenge Western interests, values and power.

Almost without exception, Western countries are reducing their military power; under Yeltsin's leadership so also is Russia. China, North Korea and several Middle Eastern states, however, are significantly expanding their military capabilities. They are doing this by the import of arms from Western and non-Western sources and by the development of indigenous arms industries. One result is the emergence of what Charles Krauthammer has called "Weapon States," and the Weapon States are not Western states. Another result is the redefinition of arms control, which is a Western concept and a Western goal. During the Cold War the primary purpose of arms control was to establish a stable military balance between the United States and its allies and the Soviet Union and its allies. In the post-Cold War world the primary objective of arms control is to prevent the development by non-Western societies of military capabilities that could threaten Western interests. The West attempts to do this through international agreements, economic pressure and controls on the transfer of arms and weapons technologies.

The conflict between the West and the Confucian-Islamic states focuses largely, although not exclusively, on nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, ballistic missiles and other sophisticated means for delivering them, and the guidance, intelligence and other electronic capabilities for achieving that goal. The West promotes nonproliferation as a universal norm and nonproliferation treaties and inspections as means of realizing that norm. It also threatens a variety of sanctions against those who promote the spread of sophisticated weapons and proposes some benefits for those who do not. The attention of the West focuses, naturally on nations that are actually or potentially hostile to the West.

The non-Western nations, on the other hand, assert their right to acquire and to deploy whatever weapons they think necessary for their security. They also have absorbed, to the full, the truth of the response of the Indian defense minister when asked what lesson he learned from the Gulf War: "Don't fight the United States unless you have nuclear weapons." Nuclear weapons, chemical weapons and missiles are viewed, probably erroneously, as the potential equalizer of superior Western conventional power. China, of course, already has nuclear weapons; Pakistan and India have the capability to deploy them. North Korea, Iran, Iraq, Libya and Algeria appear to be attempting to acquire them. Atop Iranian official has declared that all Muslim states should acquire nuclear weapons, and in 1988 the president of Iran reportedly issued a directive calling for development of "offensive and defensive chemical, biological and radiological weapons."

Centrally important to the development of counter-West military capabilities is the sustained expansion of China's military power and its means to create military power. Buoyed by spectacular economic development, China is rapidly increasing its military spending and vigorously moving forward with the modernization of its armed forces. It is purchasing weapons from the former Soviet states; it is developing long-range missiles; in 1992 it tested a onemegaton nuclear device. It is developing power-projection capabilities, acquiring aerial refueling technology, and trying to purchase an aircraft carrier. Its military buildup and assertion of sovereignty over the South China Sea are provoking a multilateral regional arms race in East Asia. China is also a major exporter of arms and weapons technology. It has exported materials to Libya and Iraq that could be used to manufacture nuclear weapons and nerve gas. It has helped Algeria build a reactor suitable for nuclear weapons research and production. China has sold to Iran nuclear technology that American officials believe could only be used to create weapons and apparently has shipped components of 300-mile-range missiles to Pakistan. North Korea has had a nuclear weapons program under way for some while and has sold advanced missiles and missile technology to Syria and Iran. The flow of weapons and weapons technology is generally from East Asia to the Middle East. There is, however, some movement in the reverse direction; China has received Stinger missiles from Pakistan.

A Confucian-Islamic military connection has thus come into being, designed to promote acquisition by its members of the weapons and weapons technologies needed to counter the military powers of the West. It may or may not last. At present, however, it is, as Dave McCurdy has said, "a renegades' mutual support pact, run by the proliferators and their backers." A new form of arms competition is thus occurring between Islamic-Confucian states and the West. In an old-fashioned arms race, each side developed its own arms to balance or to achieve superiority against the other side. In this new form of arms competition, one side is developing its arms and the other side is attempting not to balance but to limit and prevent that arms build-up while at the same time reducing its own military capabilities.

9. IMPLICATIONS FOR THE WEST

THIS ARTICLE DOES not argue that civilization identities will replace all other identities, that nation states will disappear, that each civilization will become a single coherent political entity, that groups within a civilization will not conflict with and even fight each other. This paper does set forth the hypotheses that differences between civilizations are real and important; civilization consciousness is increasing; conflict between civilizations will supplant ideological and other forms of conflict as the dominant global form of conflict; international relations, historically a game played out within Western civilization, will increasingly be de-Westernized and become a game in which non-Western civilizations are actors and not simply objects; successful political, security and economic international institutions are more likely to develop within civilizations than across civilizations; conflicts between groups in different civilizations will be more frequent, more sustained and more violent than conflicts between groups in the same civilization; violent conflicts between groups in different civilizations are the most likely and most dangerous source of escalation that could lead to global wars; the paramount axis of world politics will be the relations between "the West and the Rest"; the elites in some torn non-Western countries will try to make their countries part of the West, but in most cases face major obstacles to accomplishing this; a central focus of conflict for the immediate future will be between the West and several Islamic-Confucian states.

This is not to advocate the desirability of conflicts between civilizations. It is to set forth descriptive hypotheses as to what the future may be like. If these are plausible hypotheses,

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however, it is necessary to consider their implications for Western policy. These implications should be divided between short-term advantage and long-term accommodation. In the short term it is clearly in the interest of the West to promote greater cooperation and unity within its own civilization, particularly between its European and North American components; to incorporate into the West societies in Eastern Europe and Latin America whose cultures are close to those of the West; to promote and maintain cooperative relations with Russia and Japan; to prevent escalation of local inter-civilization conflicts into major inter-civilization wars; to limit the expansion of the military strength of Confucian and Islamic states; to moderate the reduction of counter military capabilities and maintain military superiority in East and Southwest Asia; to exploit differences and conflicts among Confucian and Islamic states; to support in other civilizations groups sympathetic to Western values and interests; to strengthen international institutions that reflect and legitimate Western interests and values and to promote the involvement of non-Western states in those institutions.

In the longer term other measures would be called for. Western civilization is both Western and modern. Non-Western civilizations have attempted to become modern without becoming Western. To date only Japan has fully succeeded in this quest. Non-Western civilization will continue to attempt to acquire the wealth, technology, skills, machines and weapons that are part of being modern. They will also attempt to reconcile this modernity with their traditional culture and values. Their economic and military strength relative to the West will increase. Hence the West will increasingly have to accommodate these non-Western modern civilizations whose power approaches that of the West but whose values and interests differ significantly from those of the West. This will require the West to maintain the economic and military power necessary to protect its interests in relation to these civilizations. It will also, however, require the West to develop a more profound understanding of the basic religious and philosophical assumptions underlying other civilizations and the ways in which people in those civilizations see their interests. It will require an effort to identify elements of commonality between Western and other civilizations. For the relevant future, there will be no universal civilization, but instead a world of different civilizations, each of which will have to learn to coexist with the others.

DAWA, THE ISLAMIC PROSELYTISATION

The Pocket Dawah Manual
Mission Dawah www.iera.org
IERA Islamic Education & Research Academy
www.missiondawah.com; Retrieved: 2019
Explanatory introduction: Lord Henfield
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(Proselytisation or Proselytism, also called Dawa or Dawah in Islam, is the practice of attempting to convert people to another religion. This act of religious conversion is illegal in some countries, particularly in Muslim countries, where it carries the death penalty for someone who tries to convert Muslims to another religion, as well as for the "ex-Muslim" himself or herself. He or she would then be considered as an "Apostate," a traitor. Apostacy is punishable by death. This alone clearly shows the general attitude of Islam. It hardly can be called "tolerant." It is the dehumanising attitude of Islam that has brought new religions into being, such as the defiant Sikhism in 16th century India and the Baha'i Faith in 19th century Persia and Iraq.

The adoption of a new religious identity also happens between different denominations, within the same faith, such as from Sunni Islam to Shi'a Islam. People convert to a different religion for various reasons, including active conversion by free choice due to a change in beliefs, secondary conversion, deathbed conversion, conversion for convenience, marital conversion, and forced conversion.

Dawa (Arabic: Da'wah, "invitation", also spelt da'awa, dawah, daawah or dakwah) is the act of inviting or calling people to embrace Islam. Da'wah literally means "issuing a summons" or "making an invitation". The plural is da'wat or da'awat. Muslims consider Dawah also as a political activity. A da'i, is a person who invites people to accept Islam through dialogue and other persuasive techniques.

Dawa as the "Call towards God" is the means by which Mohammed began spreading the message of the Koran to non-Muslims. The aim of Dawa outreach is also to engineer a reversal of what Muslims perceive as the decline of Islam in the modern era, through the systematic propagation of Islamic ideology and ultimately enable the establishment of an Islamic state. Dawa is the most important propaganda tool in Islam and is the subversive, indoctrinating precursor to Jihad. Its purpose and practice overlaps with Jihad [struggle] and Political Islam, that is the political doctrines put into practice by Sharia law. For good reasons, Koran, Sira, Hadith are explicitly named as the foundation of Islamic Sharia law in the constitutions of Saudi Arabia, the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, and other Islamic states.

According to scholar Ayaan Hirsi Ali, dawa consists of communication or proselytisation. In practice, dawa by Islamist groups constitutes a process of radical ideological indoctrination, often under the cover of humanitarian relief work that is connected to jihad. Dawa activities carried out by Islamists target the individual, the family, the educational system, the workplace, the broader economy, society as a whole, and the political system. [The Challenge of Dawa, Political Islam as Ideology and Movement and How to Counter It, Hoover Institution Press, 2017]

The importance of Dawa has been emphasised many times in the Koran and the Hadith. Examples: Koran 3:104: "Let there arise among you a group inviting to all that is good, enjoining righteousness and forbidding evil. Those are the successful ones." Koran 3:110: "You are the best nation raised up for humankind. You enjoin righteousness, forbid corruption and you believe in Allah." Koran 16:125: "Call to the way of your Lord with wisdom and good preaching." Koran 41:33: "Who is better in speech than one who calls to Allah, does righteous deeds and says indeed I am among the Muslims." [See: Sahih al-Bukhari, 4:253 and 4:667; Sahih Muslim, 3:4665 and 4:6470.]

In "The Challenge of Dawa," Mrs Hirsi Ali stated in 2017: "I believe the religion of Islam itself is indeed capable of reformation, if only to distinguish it more clearly from the political ideology of Islamism. But that task of reform can only be carried out by Muslims." Mrs Ayaan Hirsi Ali is unrealistic here. It is wishful thinking and pretty much the same as if Neville Chamberlain in 1938 would have said: "I believe the Nazi Party of Germany itself is indeed capable of reformation, if only to distinguish it more clearly from the political ideology of Naziism. But that task of reform can only be carried out by Nazis." This kind of thought raises false hopes in non-Muslim people. It did not happen during the past 1,400 years and it will not happen in the next 1,400 years, and deeply in our heart, we know it.

Mrs Hirsi Ali is not the only one who has these lenient thoughts, moderate Muslims think alike due to psychological reasons connected to their relatives and friends. Ayaan Hirsi Ali was born a Muslim, and in 2002, as result of the Islamic attack on the World Trade Center 9/11 2001, she left Islam. She should know, better than anyone else, that Islam is based on the Koran [and that includes Sira, Hadith]. The Koran is revered by all Muslims as Umm al-Kitab, the "mother of the book," the perfect book viable for all eternity.

How will she reform anything that is already perfect? And how long can the West wait for any effective reforms of Islam? All the waiting and missed chances might one day end up in a "Vespasianic solution" administered by a furious Russia, United States, or, more likely, China, the only country that really understands the doctrines of Islam due to her own totalitarian doctrines. She will have no qualms to execute the delinquent. We must act and spread doubts in the minds and hearts of Muslims by ruthless and worldwide education about the contents of their scripture, giving them an alternative, Baha'i Faith, for instance, in which Allah plays a main role, but not Mohammed. Dawa is relentless propaganda because Mohammed was relentless. In the last ten years of his life, he fought 95 battles and wars and every Jihadist today wants to ape him.

The West and the Far East can beat Islam only by the same longterm relentlessness and the Islamic strategies, as Mohammed said, "War is deceit." (Sahih Bukhari, Volume 4, Book 52, Number 269). General Sun Wu said that already 1100 years earlier, but more precise: "All warfare is based on deception. Hence, when we are able to attack, we must seem unable; when using our forces, we must appear inactive; when we are near, we must make the enemy believe we are far away; when far away, we must make him believe we are near." [The Sunzi Bingfa (Sun tzu), 544–496 BC, The Art of War].

The texts of Koran, Sira, Hadith are not primarily about Muslims but about non-Muslims! Koran verses from Mecca are religious, Koran verses from Medina are mainly political, strategic, military, ideological, hateful against Kafirs, and violent. Repeated and relentless quoting from the Koran, Sira, Hadith, is the most essential tool in the fight of thoughts, not only academic statements that no commoner can earnestly proof right or wrong. Learn from the enemy and look how they do it. Each and every Jihadist quotes hundred percent correctly from the Islamic scripture because with these verses they justify their evil actions. And a Muslim on his / her Dawa spree does the very same.

DAWA IN PRACTICE

Dawa propagands is very sophisticated and it reaches the target people on several different ways. One way is through the internet, by Islamic websites that offer all kinds of documents for free download. That goes from the Koran in Arabic with transcription, translation and commentary, the Hadith in numerous collections, the Tafsir in endless versions and sizes, up to forums and instant chatrooms or tools with hosts who are willingly converse with anybody about any Islamic topic and problem; that can include help lines and Muslim marriage webpages. Those host are all to eager to meet you for a cosy coffee klatch or hen party in which the da'i (the Muslim host) presents himself smartly dressed (western style), sweet talking and so eloquent so that even the Pope would consider conversion to Islam. The da'i would approach the target person extremely gently and is armed with funny and colourful brochures, leaflets and a Koran translated into the language of the target person, a Koran translated into bloomy phrases such as "strike their necks" instead of the the blunt Arabic "chop off their heads." The following examples aim to (Protestant) Christians and Atheists. They are the most easy prey to convince because their education in religious matters is the worst.

Proselytisation Methods

The proselytisation methods are already defined by the Koran. Nothing in Islam is left purely to chance or to coincidence. The three main methods used are:

• Showing Gentleness: The Koran says: "And by the mercy of Allah you dealt with them gently. If you were harsh and hardhearted, they would have fled from around you." (Koran 3:159). It conveniently mentions Moses and Aaron who preached to Pharaoh, the claimant of God: So speak to him, both of you, mildly in order that he may reflect or fear God. (Koran 20:44). Mohammed was reported by his wife, Aisha to have said "Whenever gentleness is in a thing, it beautifies it, and whenever it is withdrawn from something, it defaces." (Sahih Al-Bukhari, 4:6274). And Muhammad was quoted by Jareer as saying, "One deprived of gentleness is deprived of all good." (Sahih Al-Bukhari, 4:6270)

• Speaking a common language: As for the language style used, Mohammed gives here the advice, "I did not send any messenger except that he spoke the language of his people to explain to them." (Koran 14:4), meaning that a da'i always should use common and clearly articulated speech. And the words are always well-chosen: never criticising, cursing, complaining or inappropriate. Creating a friendly atmosphere of total agreement and agreeability is a must. The conversation is always relaxed and performed with ease.

• Convincing the target person by "Wisdom": "Invite to the way of your Lord with wisdom and good instruction, and argue with them in a way that is best. Indeed, your Lord is most knowing of who has strayed from His way, and He is most knowing of who is [rightly] guided …". (Koran 16:125).

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A classical example of diversion in dawa can be seen in the case of Prophet Yusuf in prison when two prisoners asked him to interpret their dreams. One of them said: "I saw myself pressing wine." The other said: "I saw myself carrying bread on my head and birds were eating from it." They asked: "Inform us of the interpretation of these things. Indeed, we believe you are one of the righteous." He replied: "Whenever food came to you as your provision, I informed you about it before it came. That is from what my Lord has taught me.... As for one of you, he will pour wine for his lord to drink, and as for the other, he will be crucified and birds will eat from his head. This is the case judged concerning which you both inquire." (Koran 12:35–41)

Dawa manuals, trainings, workshops and locations

Dawa manuals, booklets or guides are training material that give a framework and methodology for a da'i to invite non-Muslims to accept and convert to Islam. The manuals present detailed guidance on how to carry out dialogue, various techniques and detailed steps of implementing dawa for non-Muslim individual or collective audiences as well as socio-religious groups like atheists, Buddhists, Christians, Hindus etc.

Trainings and workshops: Da'i are given trainings in the form of physical workshops and training sessions. Dawa trainings are also provided in the form of online video lessons, webinars, online discussion forums, handouts and quizzes.

Location: Doing dawa in the right location. It is always a location that the target person can chose to feel comfortable. However, for first contacts, any available place is possible, such as bus, train, library, cafe, canteen, toilet, park or street. A da'i gently tries to get in touch with you first just anywhere convenient. And they always give you something with his contact details on. And, of course, a da'i can also be a woman! The following Dawa Manual, made by an Islamic group that calls itself "Mission Dawah," gives us a pretty good idea what the whole thing is all about.)

Text:
POCKET DAWAH MANUAL
Mission Dawah www.iera.org
IERA Islamic Education & Research Academy
www.missiondawah.com; Retrieved: 2019
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INTRODUCTION

This booklet serves as a beginner's toolkit to understanding the importance of dawah and also how to give dawah. By the end of this booklet, you will have mastered a framework on how to convey the message of Islam effectively. This framework is like a skeleton which requires you to do further advanced studies in order to add meat to it.

IMPORTANCE OF DAWAH

Has the thought ever crossed your mind that your non-Muslim friends, neighbours, colleagues, acquaintances and even the local supermarket cashier will one day face Allah on the Day of Judgement and will be made to spend their eternal lives suffering in the depths of Hell?

What's even more profound is that YOU have a part to play in their fate. How? Let me explain . . .

Allah created man for a noble purpose: to worship Him and lead a virtuous life based on His teachings and guidance. How would man know his role and the purpose of his existence unless he received clear and practical instructions on what Allah wants him to do? Thus Allah chose from every nation a prophet to convey His message to the people. The sole mission of every prophet and messenger was ultimately to guide humanity to paradise.

However, the last of these prophets was Mohammad (PBUH) and there is no one else to come after him.

So the question arises: whose responsibility is it to guide mankind to paradise? Allah answers this in the Quran where He says:

"And let there be [arising] from you a nation inviting to all that is good (Islam), enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong, and those will be the successful." (Quran 3:104)

As Allah clearly states, it is our responsibility as Muslims to enlighten people about Islam and to continue spreading the message of Prophet Mohammad (PBUH). We learn from this erse that the one who adopts this noble duty and calls to Islam will be successful. In fact, taking the job of the prophets will not only result in satisfaction in this world, but also immense reward in the hereafter.

The Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) said:

"Whoever guides (another) to a good deed will get a reward similar to the one who performs it." (Muslim)

So imagine you guide one person to Islam, and they start praying salaah, fasting, performing hajj and giving zakat. You would get the reward for all of that without ever doing the deeds yourself! But it does not stop there. Imagine that person gets married and has children who also grow up to be pious Muslims who do good deeds; you would get the reward for that too!

But wait, there's MORE! If they then have pious children who grow up to be practising Muslims and do good actions, then you will get the reward for all of their good deeds as well.

In fact, this could go on for generation after generation until the Day of Judgement. You could be standing on the Day of Judgement, witnessing crowds of people, all of whom are descendants of the person who became Muslim through your hands, enter into Paradise. Subhanallah the reward is unimaginable!

Allah says in the Quran:

"Indeed, Allah will not change the condition of a people until they change what is in themselves." (Quran 13:11)

So making dawah a key part of your life defines who you are, which will have an immensely positive impact on you and the Ummah.

My dear brothers and sisters, let us not delay our responsibility any longer. It's time for us to step up to the mark and perform the duty of dawah commanded by Allah.

This booklet will guide you through some simple steps to giving effective dawah, so that you can help bring the light of Islam into someone's life inshaa'Allah.

THE GORAP APPROACH

An effective structure to introduce the foundations of Islam is the GORAP, which stands for:

G - GOD'S EXISTENCE
O - ONENESS
R - REVELATION
A - AND
P - PROPHETHOOD

The GORAP method allows you to control your conversation and avoid difficult situations. It allows you to take the non-Muslim on a journey that reveals some of the compelling reasons for Islam being the truth. To learn the GORAP effectively, practise on a friend or a member of your family first. But before we go into the GORAP we need to look at how to initiate a dawah conversation.

INITIATION ONE

During dawah conversations, you are likely to be asked uncomfortable questions relating to topics such as terrorism, hijab, homosexuality and polygamy. We have to think about the most effective way of dealing with such questions.

Trying to answer EVERY uncomfortable question would most likely lead to an endless loop of argumentation, resulting in nothing more than a splitting headache!

The issue is that the non-Muslim does not understand the answers to the questions in the same way as we do. It is like they have a pair of red filtered glasses on and we are trying to persuade them that the sky is blue. But when they look at the sky, all they see is red!

So even if you give them the most persuasive logical reasons as to why the sky is blue, they will still say it's red. So the most effective way to show that the sky is blue is to first get them to take off their red filtered glasses so they can see what you see. In other words, instead of answering the question, you direct them to the foundations of Islam and show how you know Islam is the truth.

So the most effective way to respond would be to direct the uncomfortable questions to the GORAP.

As we know, Islam is the truth and Allah is Al-Hakeem, the All-Wise. Decisions of all issues and matters belong only to Allah, the Lord, who knows everything. Whereas we, as human beings, have limited knowledge and must therefore submit to and depend on Allah.

So the simple explanation for why we do things in the name of Islam is because Allah commands it. And we follow it because we know that it is the truth. In order for the non-Muslim to understand this, we must first convince them of the rational foundations of Islam using the GORAP method.

If we get them to agree that Islam is the truth, they would understand that whatever comes from the truth is the truth! Even if God was to say that we have to roller skate on Tuesdays or wear leather jackets on Fridays, we would have to do it as God knows us better than we know ourselves.

Here is an example of how to direct an uncomfortable question to the GORAP:

Kate: Hi Fatima, it's so hot! I don't know how you can wear that head scarf, it must be like torture! Why do you wear it anyway? I find it quite pointless and restricting.

Fatima: Kate, I totally understand why you would think that. In fact, I used to think the same thing before I used to wear it, so I really appreciate you asking me. But for you to truly understand why I wear the head scarf, you must first understand the foundations of Islam. Do you have a few minutes for me to explain this?

Kate: Yes sure.

In this example, Fatima was very empathetic rather than being defensive, and was able to create the avenue for her to go into the GORAP.

SUMMARY

How to direct an uncomfortable question to the GORAP

1. Acknowledge the question: "That is a good / important question. Thank you for asking me."

2. Direct the conversation to the GORAP: For you to truly understand why I wear the head scarf, you must first understand the foundations of Islam."

3. Get agreement: "Do you have a few minutes for me to explain this?"

An important point here is that you can answer the question if you have the ability, as long as you then direct the conversation to the GORAP. You may get questions such as "Why are all Muslims terrorists?" You would then explain that Islam does not promote violence or allow innocent killing, but for them to truly understand what Islam teaches they must first understand the foundations of Islam.

INITIATION TWO

A dawah conversation can be initiated anywhere by simply asking the right type of questions. Firstly, let's look at how you can start a dawah conversation during street dawah.

1) Walk in front of a non-Muslim and hand out the initiation material.

2) Ask them a series of open-ended questions to start engaging in dialogue.

An example of this is:

• Excuse me, what do you think is the purpose of life?

• Do you follow a faith? (If yes, then why follow that faith?)

• Do you believe in a creator of our universe? (If yes, then why, and if no, why?)

Once they are engaged in the conversation, stop for a moment, introduce yourself, ask their name and shake hands if they are of the same gender. It is important to create trust and friendship early on.

3) Once you have built rapport, you can then direct this conversation to the GORAP.

Let's take another example of how to give dawah on the bus:

Wasim: Hello, do you mind if I sit there?

Man: Oh sure, please sit down.

Wasim: Thank you very much. (Smiled at man) I'm glad I got a seat; I would not have wanted to stand up for half an hour.

Man: (Laughs) Yes it's really busy around this time. Everyone is going back home from work.

Wasim: Yes, you're right. Are you from around here?

Man: No, I just work here.

Wasim: Oh I see. I'm just studying here at the university.

Man: I used to go the university here too.

Wasim: Really, what did you study?

Man: I studied medicine. I'm now a doctor.

Wasim: Really? I'm doing the same thing! Just to let you know my name is Wasim. (Smiles and shakes hand)

Man: Hi Wasim, my name's David.

Wasim: Nice to meet you David. I know this is random and a bit out of the blue but can I get your opinion on something I have been thinking about lately?

David: Sure, please go ahead...

Wasim: How do you think the universe came into existence?

David: Umm, I am not too sure. I have never really thought about it!

SUMMARY

How to initiate a dawah conversation:

1: Build conversation by asking questions

"What is your name?"

"Where are you from?"

"What do you do for a living?"

2: Direct the conversation to a dawah conversation

"Can I get your opinion on something I have been thinking about lately?"

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3: Initiate the GORAP

"How do you think the universe came into existence?"
"What do you think happens after we die?"
"What do you think is the purpose of life?"

GOD'S EXISTENCE

Once they have answered your questions, you can direct the conversation to God's existence by doing the following:

1) Summarise the answers they gave to your question.

2) Direct the conversation to God's existence by saying the following:

The most important question to first address is do we have a creator of our universe? Have you ever considered the following . . .

3) Two Quranic arguments for God's existence.

1. BEGINNING OF THE UNIVERSE

"Or were they created by nothing, or were they the creators [of themselves]? Or did they create the heavens and the earth? Rather, they are not certain." (Quran 52: 35-36)

A) The universe had a beginning.

Science has discovered that the universe is expanding, and if we were to reverse this expansion, the universe would shrink down to nothing at all. Scientists do not know what was before the Big Bang, however one thing they do agree upon is that the universe is not eternal and had a beginning.

B) How did the universe come to exist?

X Did it come from nothing?

From nothing, nothing comes. For example, if you heard a loud bang, you would never assume it just came from nothing. Or would a pink elephant just pop out from nothing into your living room? Obviously not! So the universe could not have just come out of nothing.

X Did it create itself?

This is irrational because that would require it to be in existence and non-existence at the same time. It is like saying a mother gave birth to herself!

/ Or does it have a creator?

This is the most logical and rational conclusion.

C) The creator is powerful as it created the universe.

When we observe the planets, solar systems, galaxies, stars and everything else in the universe, this indicates that the creator must have an amazing amount of power and ability to be able to put the universe into existence.

ORDER IN OUR SOLAR SYSTEM

"Indeed, in the creation of the heavens and the earth and the alternation of the night and the day are signs for those of understanding." (Quran 3:190)

SIMPLIFICATION:

A) Anything that is ordered indicates intelligence.

For example, if you were walking on a beach and saw the word 'hello' written in the sand, you would conclude that there is an intelligence that wrote this because the letters are ordered. You would never assume it happened by chance.

Or if you woke up in a factory and saw all the systems and machines manufacturing jeans, you would naturally conclude that there is an intelligence that manages this factory because it has order.

B) Our solar system is highly ordered with intricate systems, laws and patterns which indicate that there is an intelligent designer.

Let's look at some examples of our ordered and perfectly balanced solar system:

The sun's distance from the earth

The sun is at a perfect distance from the earth. If the sun was slightly further away, we would reeze and if it was any closer we would burn.

Gravity

If the gravitational force was altered, this would have a massive effect on our existence.

Ozone layer

If we did not have an ozone layer protecting us, we would be dramatically affected by the sun's harmful rays.

Earth's axis

If the axis of the earth was altered, this would create chaos and our earth would be uninhabitable.

Size of the sun, earth and moon

If the size of the Sun or Earth was different, we would either be too hot or too cold. If the moon was a different size or did not exist, it would affect the gravitational force which stabilises the earth's axis. This would have a huge effect on our seasons and would increase the speed of the earth's rotation so that one day would only be a few hours long.

C) The order in our universe indicates the intelligence of the creator!

CONCLUSION:

From the two arguments above we can conclude that the best explanation for our existence is that there is a creator of our universe who has an amazing amount of power and intelligence

ONENESS

Say, "He is Allah, [who is] One, Allah, the Eternal Refuge. He neither begets nor is born, nor is there to Him any equivalent." (Quran 112)

It is important for the non-Muslim to agree that the creator is different from creation, as that negates all other false concepts of who the creator is, such as Jesus or an idol. This can be done by asking the following questions:

A) Is the creator the same or different from creation?

If they agree that the creator is different, this negates all religions that say that God is within the creation.

It is evident to see that the nature of the creator is different from the creation. The creator has the power and ability to put this universe into existence, including all of the intricate laws, systems and planets. Whereas we as humans cannot even create a fly!

Also, when we make a chair or a table, we do not become the table. We are distinct and different from what we make. Similarly with the creator, it would be irrational to say that the creator created us and then became us or part of His creation.

However, if the creator is within the creation, this would mean that we have more creation!

The creator would need a creator, and then the creator of the creator would also need a creator. And you would end up with an infinite chain of creators.

B) Can we have an infinite chain of creators?

Imagine you are in a car park and you hear an echo saying "HELLO... HELLO... HELLO." Would you assume that this echo is eternal? You wouldn't because you know it must have started somewhere. In the same way, we cannot have an infinite chain of creators, because it must have started somewhere by a creator that is uncreated.

Another example is if a man knocked on your door and said that his car has broken down and he needs you to help push the car to restart it.

And you say that you will only help if your neighbour helps because the car is heavy. But your neighbour says they will only help if their neighbour helps. And your neighbour's, neighbour's, neighbour says they will only help if their neighbour helps! If this process of neighbours asking neighbours went on forever, would you ever help the man to move his car?

No, you wouldn't!

Now let's apply this principle to our scenario of creators creating creators going on forever. In the same way that the man's car would not restart or move, similarly, the universe would not have been created. So for the universe to be in existence, we could not have an infinite amount of creators and instead would need a creator who is eternal. This answers the common question of who created God.

C) God's Oneness

The order in the creation is evidence of God's oneness. This is because more than one creator would cause chaos within the creation. For example, if there are two CEOs of a company, they will both disagree on decisions, which will bring the company into chaos.

When we look at the stories of the ancient Greek gods, they would often go into war with each other.

However, as the universe is in order, this is evidence that the creator is one. As Allah says in the Quran:

"Had there been within the heavens and earth gods besides Allah, they both would have been ruined. So exalted is Allah, Lord of the Throne, above what they describe." (Quran 21:22)

CONCLUSION

The creator is uncreated because we are not able to have an infinite chain of creators. Due to this, we can conclude that the creator is unique, different from creation, self-sufficient and one.

Another proof of the oneness of God is the order within the creation. If there were more than one god, we would have seen disorder within the creation. As we have order within the creation, the creator must be one.

REVELATION

The next step is to show that the Quran is the revelation from the creator.

A) Need for revelation

As the creator has created us and provided food, clothing and oxygen, would it not make sense that He also provides for our spiritual needs, offers us guidance and explains the purpose of our creation?

The creator has sent manuals to mankind to announce His presence and provide guidance. The final manual sent by the creator was the Quran, which was sent around 1400 years ago. The Quran serves as a compass for life. It offers us direction and allows us to understand why we exist. The guidance contained in the Quran enables all of us to live life in a way that God loves and is pleased with.

As the creator, God knows us best and is therefore best placed to guide us on how to function optimally. It is a bit like when you buy a mobile phone with a manual describing its functions. The Quran is therefore a handbook, from the Creator to the created, and is not something written by man.

However, anyone can write a book and claim it is from the creator. So a book that is truly from the creator would have some evidence to show it is from the creator and not from man.

We will now look at some of the compelling evidence that shows the Quran must be from the creator and not merely written by a human.

B) The amazing Quran

• Preservation

"Verily, it is We who have sent down the Quran and surely, We will guard it (from corruption)" (Quran 15:10)

One of the miraculous aspects of the Quran is that it has been preserved through oral tradition. The original texts of most former divine books were lost altogether, however, the Quran exists exactly as it was revealed to the Prophet (PBUH).

The Quran was memorised by the companions of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) who taught it to their students, who then taught it to their students, and this has gone on until today.

• Science - Cosmology

"And the heaven We constructed with strength, and indeed, We are [its] expander." (Quran 51:47)

The Quran talks about the expansion of the universe which was discovered in 1929 by Edwin Hubble. How did a book 1400 years old have this information? It must have been from the creator of the universe.

• Origin of life

"We made every living thing from water? Will they not believe?" (Quran 21:30)

The first thing scientists look for when trying to find life on another planet is water. This is because water is essential for all living things. Living things are made of cells and the majority of a cell is made from water. Mohammad (PBUH) did not have a microscope or any form of technology to know this. Therefore, this is another proof to show the Quran must be from the creator.

• Mountains

"Have We not made the earth a resting place? And the mountains as stakes?" (Quran 78:6-7)

The Quran describes mountains as stakes, in other words having deep roots. Using modern technology, we have been able to confirm that mountains have large deep roots.

CONCLUSION:

As we can see, the Quran contains an amazing amount of information which could not have been known or available to Mohammad (PBUH). The only conclusion is that it must have been from the Creator of the universe.

PROPHETHOOD

The next step is to show that Mohammad (PBUH) was a truthful prophet from the creator.

A) Introducing prophets

The creator chose prophets to announce the presence of the creator and to be an example for how we should live our lives. All the prophets including Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Mohammad, peace be upon them all, had the same message.

Mohammad (PBUH) was known for having an amazing character even before claiming prophethood. In a time where corruption was widespread, Mohammad (PBUH) would not engage with the evils that the society was immersed in. He would look after the orphans and elderly and would help to improve the society. The people knew him as someone who was trustworthy and honest.

B) Was Mohammad (PBUH) a real prophet?

Was he:

X A liar?

His enemies considered him to be honest and trustworthy and he had the nickname of Al-Ameen (the Trustworthy).

A liar normally lies to get some worldly gain. Mohammad (PBUH) was offered power, wealth and women by the chiefs of Makkah, but refused them all for the message he brought and as a result suffered great hardships.

Does this sound like the profile of someone who is a liar to you?

X Deluded?

Some could claim that he actually thought he was a prophet but in reality he was not.

This is very problematic because a deluded person could not have produced something as miraculous as the Quran.

/ Speaking the truth?

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CONCLUSION

In conclusion, Mohammad (PBUH) did not have the psychological profile of someone who was a liar or deluded. Therefore, he was telling the truth and he is the Messenger of God.

COMMON CONTENTIONS

I have never seen God. Therefore he does not exist...

Have you ever seen your great, great, great, great, great grandmother? We don't have her grave or DNA and have never seen her. In fact, we have no testable evidence that she ever existed. But can we deny that she existed just because we have not seen her? No.

But does not evolution disprove God?

No it does not. In fact, it does not even come into the discussion because we have been talking about how the universe came into existence. Evolution does not give answers to how the universe itself came into existence.

Jesus is Son of God

What do you mean by Son of God? Do you mean that God had intimate relations with a woman? I do not think that is what you mean.

Think about if I were to say to you that I have a fish called Flappy, who is my son. Flappy eats at the table, has his own room and the adoption papers are coming next week.

What would you think? That I am crazy, right?

That is because the fish has a different nature to me. But the creator also has a different nature to Jesus, so it does not make sense that Jesus is the son of God.

There is so much evil and suffering in the world so how can God exist?

In fact, this argument does not disprove God in any way,

rather it is questioning the reason why God allows there to be pain and suffering. If you are an atheist, then you believe this is the only life you get and want to make the most of it.

However, just because you may perceive something as evil or suffering does not mean that it actually is. For example, if a man stabbed babies with needles, you would perceive him as evil and that the baby is suffering. However, a doctor may need to give injections to babies to save their lives. In the same way, God tests us so we turn to Him. And if we get closer to God we get rewarded in the hereafter.

SHAHADAH

It's now time to go for GOLD and get the shahadah!

We need to make the invitation to Islam, but before that, we need to make it clear what it means to become a Muslim.

A) Summary of Islam

Give a summary of the GORAP and get agreement from them on each point if they agree.

Once you have agreement on the beliefs of a Muslim, you then want to ask them if they know how to become a Muslim. They are likely to say no, but either way, you can then introduce the basic 5 pillars of Islam.

1. Testimony of faith

"To become a Muslim, you have to accept and testify that there is only one God worthy of worship and that Mohammad (PBUH) is a prophet from God, which you have already agreed within our conversation. Once you have made this testimony you have entered into the fold of Islam and agreed that you will now live your life according to God's guidance, which is the Quran and the example of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH)."

2. Praying

"Once you have entered into Islam you must start establishing the 5 daily prayers. In the same way that we need to eat three times a day for breakfast, lunch and dinner, similarly, our soul also needs to be nurtured through the 5 daily prayers. This is something that God commanded all the prophets in the past to do. However, Allah makes it very easy, so if you cannot pray standing, you can pray sitting, and if you can't pray sitting, you can even pray lying down."

3. Fasting

"You also need to fast in the month of Ramadan, which will strengthen your soul against desires and draw you closer to your creator."

4. Charity

"You will need to give 2.5% of your annual savings to charity. This will encourage generosity and help others. If you cannot afford to give this, then you receive the charity!"

5. Pilgrimage to Hajj

"If you have the ability and finance then you must go for the pilgrimage at least once in your life. This is where people from all around the world, regardless of colour or status, come together and worship the one creator."

"So the purpose of life is to follow the creator's guidance which is the Quran and the example of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH)."

B) Two paths

To add a sense of urgency, it is important to introduce the Day of Judgement, Paradise, Hellfire and death.

• Day of Judgement

There will be a day when we will face our creator and we will be questioned on whether or not we lived our life according to His guidance."

• Hellfire / Paradise

"For those who followed their own desires and lived their life the way they wanted, they will go to Hell forever. Those who followed God's guidance will be admitted into Paradise and will remain there forever."

• Time / Death

"The reality is that this life is short and we can leave anytime. So we have to make that decision now whether we are going to follow the truth or not."

C) Ask for the shahadah

Are you ready to join the brotherhood / sisterhood of Islam? As mentioned this is a testimony, in front of your creator, that you will spend your life as a Muslim following His guidance.

"Ash-shadu an laa ilaaha il Allah wa ashadu anna Mohammad rasoolullah."

"I testify that there is nothing worthy of worship except Allah and that Mohammad is the Messenger of Allah."

CONTENTIONS WITH SHAHADAH

My family will not be happy

The reality is when you are in your grave or facing your creator on the Day of Judgment, it will not be about your family, but it will be about you and your creator.

I need to fix up first

Becoming a Muslim does not mean you become an angel overnight. Becoming a Muslim is taking the first step to becoming a better person.

I need to study more

What more is it that you need to study? We can take out all the other religions because we have agreed they all don't make sense as they do not have a logical understanding of the creator.

In regards to studying more about Islam, I have given you an outline of the foundations, which shows what we believe and what we do.

Anything else is just extra.

AFTER SHADADAH

Imagine if a fisherman went out into the sea every day and worked for hours trying to catch fish. By the end of the day he had a caught a bucket of fish, but every day by the time he got back home, all the fish had jumped out and he had no fish left. Would you agree that it would be a complete waste of his time and effort?

In the same way, it would be a waste of effort if you get many shahadahs but none of the people who have taken their shahadah become practising Muslims. If you think about it, Shaytan believes in Allah, he believes in the Quran and that Mohammad is the Prophet of Allah. But is he going to Jannah? No!

So what is the difference between Shaytan and a Muslim when they both believe in Allah and they both believe Mohammad (PBUH) is the final messenger? The difference is that the Muslim submits to Allah and follows Allah's guidance. The Muslim takes action and does not just keep it as a belief.

The key point here is that the ultimate goal is not the shahadah but Jannah.

So realise that it is YOUR responsibility to teach the new Muslim how to become a practising Muslim.

Here are some critical post-shahadah steps:

1) Teach them how to pray as soon as possible, ideally in their local mosque. Get them to establish their 5 daily salaat.

2) Swap contact details - contact them, take them out and get them to meet other brothers / sisters. Give them a taste of the amazing brotherhood / sisterhood in Islam.

3) Make sincere dua for them!

4) Warn them of the potential pitfalls of being a new Muslim, such as reading misinformation about Islam over the Internet or being rejected by family and friends.

5) Introduce them to Muslim Now: www.muslimnow.com

DAWAH IN ACTION

Now that you have mastered an effective dawah method, you need to put it into action. So think about how you can make dawah a key part of your life and create a mass movement of dawah in your community. Here are some ideas:

- Build a dawah team
- Start a dawah table
- Do one to one street dawah
- Speak to your neighbours
- Create videos
- Write articles
- Teach others the GORAP
- Deliver talks focused on the GORAP

EXTRA RESOURCES

Books

The Quran

Every da'ee needs a solid every day relationship with the Quran.

The Man in the Red Underpants

A great book structured with the GORAP approach.

Websites

www.missiondawah.com

For extra dawah training and resources, visit the official Mission Dawah website.

www.onereason.org

The One Reason website is tailored to effectively convey the message of Islam to non-Muslims.

www.muslimnow.com

A website dedicated to welcome, empower and provide education for New Muslims.

www.iera.org

Visit the official website for more information on the Islamic Education and Research Academy (iERA).

www.thebigdebates.com

The Big Debates is a platform which seeks to build bridges of understanding and discussion between Western and Islamic thinkers.

CHECKLIST

Look back at this checklist after giving someone dawah to make sure you mentioned everything this booklet has taught you:

• GOD'S EXISTENCE

We can conclude that the best explanation for our existence is that there is a creator of our universe who has an amazing amount of power and intelligence.

• ONENESS

We can conclude that the best explanation for our existence is that there is a creator of our universe who has an amazing amount of power and intelligence.

Another proof of the oneness of God is the order within the creation. If there were more than one god, we would have seen disorder within the creation. As we have order within the creation, the creator must be one.

• REVELATION

As we can see, the Quran contains an amazing amount of information which could not have been known or available to Mohammad (PBUH). The only conclusion is that it must have been from the Creator of the universe

• PROPHETHOOD

He did not have the psychological profile of someone who was a liar or deluded. Therefore, he was telling the truth and he is the Messenger of God.

WWW.MISSIONDAWAH.COM

End of text.

[As we could see, the Da'i (the person who invites you to accept Islam) has a clear concept to overwhelm the uneducated and unfilliated non-Muslim in a tick of time. He knows his Islamic scriptures but usually also the Christian ones.

Make sure that you know his. The Koran is a tiny book that accounts for only 2/3 of the New Testament. The Koran is in fact only a notebook stripped of any significant narrative and therefore also of any context. The verses of the Koran are not subject to any interpretation but are designed to be memorised by heart. The narratives should be read first. The Sira is the most important set of narratives. Bill Warner, a physicist and Biblical scholar, has analysed Sira and Koran, and has consequently merged them together to a narrative that makes sense. The Koran you buy from any bookshop has neither narrative nor context. They are in the Sira and the Hadith! All three books are called The Islamic Trilogy and can be used as ***Counter-Dawa****. Warner presents the Trilogy in easy to understand formats. The Islamic Trilogy is available at:*

CSPI: https://www.cspii.org/

OTHER COUNTER DAWA WORKS:

• Sharia Law for the Non-Muslim, Dr. Bill Warner, Center for the Study of Political Islam (CSPI), 2010;

https://archive.org/details/sharia-law-for-non-muslims-bill-warner

• Factual Persuasion, Changing the Minds of Islam's Supporters, Dr. Bill Warner, CSPI, 2011

https://archive.org/details/FactualPersuasionBillWarner

• Self Study Course On Islam, Dr. Bill Warner, Center for the Study of Political Islam (CSPI), 2011

https://archive.org/details/self-study-course-on-islam-bill-warner

• The Truth About Muhammad, Robert Spencer, 2006

https://archive.org/details/TruthAboutMuhammadRobert Spencer]

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THE KORAN

The Recitation or The Recital,
The Noble or Glorious Koran,
The Sayings of Mohammed.
Translation: Maulana Muhammad Ali, 1917
Estimated Range of Dating: 610-632
(last changes made: Umayyad Caliphate 661–750)

(In comparison with the Bible, the Koran is a relatively small book. Its size of text is equivalent to circa two thirds of the New Testament. Although the Koran had mainly been propagated through oral transmission, it also had already been recorded in at least three codices, most importantly the codex of Abdullah ibn Masud in Kufa, and the codex of Ubayy ibn Kab in Syria. According to Islamic tradition, Ali ibn Abu Talib, cousin of Mohammed, is mentioned as one of the earliest collectors of Koran texts. He did this on order of Mohammed himself. In Mohammed's house, he found in corners and behind pillows and cushions countless scraps of written notes as well as Koran texts on sheets of papyrus, vellum, and parchment. This event happened when Mohammed was still alive or shortly after. It shows that Mohammed seem to have the ability to read. That the Islamic scripture mentions, Mohammed dictated texts to his scribes shows also that he might not have been very skilled in the art of writing. Ali was able to gather quite a large collection of Koran texts. He most likely kept them in folders of the kind we know from the Nag Hammadi Library. A few Shia scholars argue that Ali had gathered the most complete collection of Koran texts, comprising the interpretation and the revelation, the precise and ambiguous verses, the abrogating and the abrogated verses; nothing was missing from it. It was presented to the community, but they refused to acknowledge his Koran texts. They also believe that Ali's version of the Koran contained verses that are not seen in the Uthmanic codex we have today.

There were 7 main bundels, briefcases, folders, or 'sections', and according to Theodor Nöldeke's research, the chapters (suras) were arranged as follows: 2, 12, 29, 30, 31, 41, 51, 76, 32, 79, 81, 82, 84, 87, 98 (1st Section); 3, 11, 22, 15, 33, 44, 55, 69, 70, 80, 91, 97, 99, 104, 105, 106 (2nd Section); 4, 16, 23, 36, 42, 56, 67, 74, 107, 111, 112, 103, 101, 85, 95, 27 (3rd Section); 5, 10, 19, 26, 43, 49, 50, 54, 60, 86, 90, 94, 100, 108, 109 (4th Section); 6, 17, 21, 25, 28, 40, 58, 59, 62, 63, 68, 71, 72, 77, 93, 102 (5th Section); 7, 14, 18, 24, 38, 39, 45, 98, 57, 73, 75, 78, 88, 89, 92, 110 (6th Section); 8, 9, 20, 35, 37, 46, 48, 52, 53, 61, 64, 65, 83, 113, 114 (7th Section). If this account was historical reality is not clear (because there were also reports that the Koran chapters had in the beginning the order 96, 74, 68, 73, 111, 81, etc.). In Nöldeke's oppinion however, the Chapter arrangement of Ali's collection follows a certain pattern and is not accidental. Each of the 7 sections contained 16 or 17 chapters, beginning from low numbers gradualy growing to higher numbers, so that each section shows an average representation of the entire Koran.

The different names for 'revelation', like koran, kitab, and wahy, are allusions to its written origin. It seems that Mohammed had somehow endeavoured at a very early time to establish a new document of revelation as well as its written fixation. Already the Meccan sura 29:47 contains an allusion to writing down the revelations.

The Koran as it is known in the present, was first compiled into book format by Mohammed's secretary Zayd ibn Thabit (c. 610-660 AD) under Caliph Uthman ibn Affan (r. 644–56). Sometime between 650 and 656, a committee appointed by Uthman is believed to have produced a singular version in seven copies, and Uthman is said to have sent to every Muslim province one copy of what they had copied, and ordered any other Koranic materials, whether written in fragmentary manuscripts or whole copies, be burnt. This was done to ensure that the collected and authenticated Koranic copy that Uthman collected became the primary source for others to follow, thereby ensuring that Uthman's version of the Koran remained authentic. For this reason, the Koran as it exists today is also known as the "Uthmanic Codex".

How the Koran texts were created in the first place was unclear for hundreds of years. In the Islamic scripture (the Koran, the Sira, and the Hadith) texts refer to "revelations" or "dreams" Mohammed might have had. However, when we browse through non-canonical Jewish and Christian texts of Gnostics, Mandaeans and some older texts from the Messianic Movement (which suffered a catatrophic defeat by the Romans and the survivors fled to Arabia leaving behind their texts in the Qumran caves), we understand that they were in circulation outside of the Roman Empire in the 6th and 7th centuries. It becomes evident that Mohammed got the many Jewish details (and to a lesser degree Christian details) from exactly those ancient texts. Several existed in Arabic translations or in Aramaic and were very popular in Arabia. As Mohammed travelled regularly to Judaea and Syria due to his trading business, it is feasable that he understood Aramaic. He might have discussed religious and legal matters with his acquaintances there.

Although Mohammed possessed some knowledge about Judaism and Christianity, there were some parts he did not properly comprehend. This is one of the reasons why he claimed the Jewish and Christian scripture were "currupted". One example may be the concept of Christian Trinity which he thought that it would sybolise God, Jesus, and Mary. He was also not aware - like most Christians today - that the origins of the Trinity as a concept was to be found in the Roman Imperial Cult (a kind of ministry of religion) that had a procedure to get the Roman Emperor, his Son and the Pantheon ('holy ghosts') deified by the Senate in Rome. The Pontifex Maximus (the incumbent emperor) implemented the deification and over generations it became a custom, and a tradition when Christianity took possession of the huge beauraucratic apparatus of the Imperial Cult.

Before showing the translation of the Koran, it might be a good idea to review briefly the Prophet's circumstances before and after his emigration, as well as his political position in Medina vis-à-vis the various parties. The difference of the Medina Koran to the Koran from Mecca can be understood by circumstances that Mohammed experienced after the deaths of his supportive uncle and his wife Khadija. At the beginning of the 20th century, Theodor Nöldeke analysed and described the situation as follows:

"Political and Religious Conditions at Yathrib before the Hijra

At Mecca Mohammed played the unenviable role of a prophet who appealed to only few men, mainly from the lowest strata of society, and whom most people considered a fool or impostor, and who was protected against personal libel only by his relatives in deference to indivisible family ties. With his emigration he suddenly became a recognised spiritual and, soon thereafter, temporal leader of a large community. In spite of Julius Wellhausen's great studies on pre-Islamic Medina, it is not quite clear what caused this remarkable change. For decades before the hijra Medina was the scene of violent feuds among the two great tribes, the Aws and Khazraj. The final great encounter in this struggle, the Battle of Buath, failed to establish the supremacy of the victorious Aws (Aus) and did not lead to an actual peace; on the contrary, the insecurity of the city became even greater than before, as the various blood-feuds were not officially settled and were left to personal vengeance. That the inhabitants of Yathrib later became so quickly accustomed to the supremacy of a stranger is certainly among the consequences of an anarchical situation that must have become increasingly unbearable as time went on. Nevertheless, contrary to what Leone Caetani argues, this cannot lead to the conclusion that the men of Medina, who had established contacts with Muḥammad at Mecca, were politically motivated to pacify their city, even if it is quite possible that such matters had been discussed.

Although tradition explicitly maintains the latter point of view, it emphasises above all the religious aspect, saying that Muḥammad had presented his ideas to a group of men from Medina who had come to visit the Kaaba and had encountered receptive hearts. After their return to Medina, the men presented such a lively propaganda for Islam that within less than two years a respectable community had been formed that was prepared to offer the vindicated Prophet a new homeland.

The Unprecedented Success of Islamic Propaganda at Yathrib

In order to explain the unprecedented success of Islam at Yathrib it has been pointed out that the Medinans must already have been familiar with the main tenets of Islam, thanks to the large number of Jews living in the city, as well as to the Christian Arab tribes residing in the vicinity, to whom they were related in part. It is even noted that religious reformers such as the Khazrajite Aws b. Amir al-Rahib appeared among them and had followers. This is undoubtedly correct. Even though similar people existed in Mecca, and the religions of the People of the Book were not unknown there, nevertheless we must assume an incomparably stronger influx of Biblical ideas at Yathrib. The Medinan peasants could well have been more receptive to religion than the merchants of Mecca. Muslimtradition thus remains correct in its estimation that the religious atmosphere at Medina was the decisive moment for the acceptance of Mohammed. In this case, the mutation from spiritual authority to political leadership was not a preconceived idea but rather a result of the prevailing conditions brought about by the clever manipulations of the Prophet, whose political ability achieved here its first success. Not even two years after his emigration he was able to dare to dictate a kind of constitution7 to the inhabitants of Yathrib. What he seemed to have had in mind was a theocracy similar to that of Moses, where "Allah and Mohammed" were the last resort in all conflicts.

The "Waverers" (munafiqun)

Among the factions we assume were at Medina only the true Muslims were unconditonally allied with him. This group consisted primarily of the Meccan emigrants and a not insignificant number of the inhabitants of Yathrib, who had enthusiastically embraced Islam and distinguished themselves sufficiently to be named the Helpers (anshar) of the Prophet. Still, many inhabitants of Medina harboured less than friendly sentiments towards Muḥammad, neither recognising him as a prophet nor being inclined to accept him as a ruler. Because of his great, enthusiastic following they did not dare to take position against him openly but rather met him with a passive resistance that more than once crossed his plans. Their influence was such that he had to treat them with respect and occasionally even give in. This party of the Hypocrites and "waverers," was not particularly clearcut and simple. Even many who believed in Muḥammad remained far from strict obedience, as the bonds of blood and family, uniting its members and making them subservient to the authority of an innate or chosen head, were extremely strong among the contemporary Arabs as well as among all people under a patriarch. The reputation of Abd Allah b. Ubayy b. Salul, the most famous of the Khazraj, who outnumbered the Aws, especially counteracted this. Even after this man had lost his direct political power, his influence was still large enough that Muḥammad, who must have hated him dearly, was obliged until his death to treat him with consideration and nearly as an equal. Otherwise Muḥammad would easily have had the whole clan against him, including the believers. The expression munafiq is occasionally extended also to include true believers, if they became disobedient or lax in the performance of obligations for any reason. The word very likely also referred to the multitude of those who—as the great rabble always does—supported the Prophet in his glory yet were inclined to desert him when things went wrong. The same must apply also to the Arab tribes who, since the Pact of Hudaybiyya, and particularly since the take-over of Mecca, went over to Muḥammad. Some of them became true believers, but the greater part, among them the heads of the Quraysh, particularly the entire Banu Umayya b. Abd al-Shams, accepted Islam only forcedly or for personal advantage, although all of them were recognised as Muslims for political reason only (the War of Apostacy is proof to it).

The Pagan Population and the Jewish Tribes

In their dealings with the Prophet, the energy displayed by the "waverers" was far exceeded by that of the Jewish tribes living in Yathrib proper or in the nearby oases. In addition to their mental superiority over the Arabs, which they derived from an ancient literary tradition—regardless of how little one may value their scholarship—there were also martial bravery and other qualities that enabled them, in the wonderful way of all Jews, to become fully integrated without sacrificing their own identity.

In the beginning, Muḥammad placed great hopes on them as a people who had already become familiar with the revelation. However, as they were not inclined to give up their established view for the sake of the new prophet, whose great deviation from their own faith was for them far easier to discern than for him, the discord increased and did not cease until all the Jews were either killed, banned, or subjugated. The hostility of the Jews was all the more dangerous because they hurt Muḥammad not only by means of war and politics but also by mockery and biting interrogation about religious matters. If their various tribes had not been divided into two parts by the fightings of the Aws and Khazraj, Muḥammad would have hardly been able to decimate them one after the other.

Content and Style of the Medinan Sūras

The pagans, against whom open warfare raged during the Medinan period, are now only rarely the target of verbal attacks. The Christians too, who after all were living far from Yathrib, and with whom Muḥammad had hostile encounters only during his last years, he seldom mentions, although when he does it is rather congenially, accompanied merely by the disapproval of certain dogmas. Muḥammad's assaults upon the Jews, on the other hand, are quite violent. After the hijra, this takes the form of his endeavour to show that they had always been obstinate and are therefore damned by God. The "waverers", too, are often severely reproved, although Muḥammad frequently had to be more considerate when dealing with them. In the Koran he gives free rein to his feelings, albeit without divulging names. Moreover, the Prophet addresses here almost exclusively the "waverers" of Medina. The other Arabs, who likewise had adopted Islam only superficially, he attempted to win over with kindness instead of discouraging them with strong measures and words.

Finally, these suras are directed at the Muslims, although seldom with a view towards lecturing on dogmatic or moral articles of faith, subjects they were sufficiently familiar with from the Meccan sūras. Instead, he speaks on home ground and as their leader in the field, rebuking or praising, as the case may be, particularly after victory or defeat, putting events in their proper perspective, planning the future or issuing orders and laws. These legal revelations are of particular importance. Some of them are intended for the

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moment, while others are for eternity. They settle civil and ritual matters without precisely defining them. Just as the Koran follows the dictates of the moment rather than a defined system, so also many of these laws evolve from decisions on contentious issues. Muḥammad often added to the verdicts further regulations regarding issues that could possibly arise.

It is unlikely that such a statute-book evolved totally without concrete and actual issues. Several laws and ordinances also refer to the domestic affairs of the Prophet.

The new subjects which appeared on the Prophet's horizon, and which were dealt with in the suras, would have had to entail—one would think—considerable deviations from the style of the last Meccan period. Nevertheless, this is generally not the case. New expressions and idioms were nearly never applied unless absolutely required by the subject. This is most evident in those laws in whose formulation all rhetorical embellishment is avoided. It is only the rhyme—consisting here often of totally superfluous additions, therefore at times annoying—to which Muḥammad remains enslaved. Since he seldom—as at Mecca—addresses the people in general but rather the respective parties separately, it is very rare here to find the address "O, you people!" In contrast, we frequently find "O, you believers!", and less frequently "O, you Jews!", "O, you 'waverers'", etc. Incidentally, we also find in these sūras the odd powerful and even poetic passage. In general, the Medinan revelations—which consist of rather brief laws, addresses, orders, etc.—are originally of a smaller volume than the majority of those from the late Meccan period, which tend to be lengthy lectures. On the other hand, the uniformity of the content resulted in disproportionately many single, Medinan revelations being put together to produce a single, collective sūra, so that the current Medinan sūras became the longest in our Koran. The development of the linguistic parlance as it appears before the emigration can later be demonstrated only in isolated instances—if at all. However, this very unreliable device can easily be done away with, as content, steady reference to established events or circumstances, and close connexion with the development of the new state supply much better guidance.

Anyone studying the history of Muḥammad realises immediately the difference between the transmission of events before and after the emigration. In the former case, only a few reliable memoirs from a small circle are available, with uncertain chronology and many legends, whereas in the latter case, pure history predominates, enabling us to trace the events from year to year. We can thus establish a chronology of the Medinan sūras with accurate details. Of course, much still remains uncertain; for many a period we have but approximate chronological limits of origin, and there remain still others where it can only be stated that they originate from the Medinan period."

The Koran is no narrative or story but merely a collection of sayings, short accounts, quotations from other texts, advice and law, allusions, alegories, propaganda and that what we today would call hate speech. In short, the Koran is a jumble of everything. As the Koran, the "Recital", was meant to be learnt by heart in its entirety, it was important that the learner could memorise the text with ease. For this reason, the greatest bulk of text was composed in groups of rhymes and endless repetitions. Moses can be found in the Koran 39 times, for instance.

The chapters (suras = folders) of the Koran we can buy in a bookshop are arranged basically from the longest chapters to the shortest chapters. Unfortunately for the reader, this order does not make any sense as the historical context was deliberately torn appart. Muslims claim that "Many chapters were revealed complete, especially the shorter ones; the longer ones, however, were revealed by portions. Chronologically, verses of one chapter were followed by those of a similar topic but from other time, hence in the arrangment of verses and chapters is not chronological. Other Muslims say: The Koran bears evidence that the arrangement of its chapters and verses was brought about by Mohammed himself and under the so-called 'guidance of Divine revelation' (Koran 75:17-18) and this arrangement did not follow the chronological order of the revelation." That these are cheap arguments going round the facts is obvious.

The structure of the Koran text is dualistic. The first part of the text refers to Mohammed's more or less peaceful life in MECCA; the largest bulk contains just religious ideas which we know from Judaism already. The second part of the text refers to Mohammed's violent life in MEDINA; it is very revolutionary indeed and it contains hatred against Jews, Christians and any other Kafir (non-Muslim), contains political ideology and propaganda, a blueprint for an entire new civilisation: a totalitarian theocracy that demands absolute submission under the rule of Mohammed's god Allah and himself! Those who do not want this face damnation, slavery, dimmitude and death. There can be no doubt that this Medina text imposes not only a threat but a real danger towards any non-Muslim society and civilisation that turns a blind eye. The Sharia law is mainly based on this second half of the Koran. This is important to know as the Sharia is used as tool to undermine non-Islamic societies and their organisational structures by pussyfooting 'harmless' looking rules into the hosts society such as halal food rules, demanding prayer places and times, and trying to implement Muslim propaganda into the host's educational system, and last but not least, playing the eternal and pityful victim (whilst waging jihad war for the last 1400 years).

What we are going to show here now is the Koran in which the Chapters are arranged chronologically. The German Orientalist Theodor Nöldeke arranged his chronological Koran order according to historical context, wording, writing style, and what kind of rhyme was used.

The Nöldeke Chronology of the 114 chapters of the Koran are ordered in two main groups or periods: 1st, The Mecca Group (which contains 3 distinctive groups); 2nd, The Medina Group.

THE MECCA KORAN, Group 1 (Mohammed's first 5 years as preacher,48 Suras): 96, 74, 111, 106, 108, 104, 107, 102, 105, 92, 90, 94, 93, 97, 86, 91, 80, 68, 87, 95, 103, 85, 73, 101, 99, 82, 81, 53, 84, 100, 79, 77, 78, 88, 89, 75, 83, 69, 51, 52, 56, 70, 55, 112, 109, 113, 114, 1; Group 2 (Mohammed's 6th and 7th years as preacher, 21 Suras): 54, 37, 71, 76, 44, 50, 20, 26, 15, 19, 38, 36, 43, 72, 67, 23, 21, 25, 17, 27, 18; Group 3 (Mohammed's 8th to the 13th year as preacher, 21 Suras): 32, 41, 45, 16, 30, 11, 14, 12, 40, 28, 39, 29, 31, 42, 10, 34, 35, 7, 46, 6, 13.

THE MEDINA KORAN, (Mohammed's 9 years as jihadist and warlord, 24 Suras): 2, 98, 64, 62, 8, 47, 3, 61, 57, 4, 65, 59, 33, 63, 24, 58, 22, 48, 66, 60, 110, 49, 9, 5.

We also show you the traditional chapter arrangement by Ibn Abbas:

THE MECCA KORAN: 96, 68, 73, 74, 1, 111, 81, 87, 92, 89, 93, 94, 103, 100, 108, 102, 107, 109, 105, 113, 114, 112, 53, 80, 97, 91, 85, 95, 106, 101, 75, 104, 77, 50, 90, 86, 54, 38, 7, 72, 36, 25, 35, 19, 20, 56, 26, 27, 28, 17, 10, 11, 12, 15, 6, 37, 31, 34, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 51, 88, 18, 16, 71, 14, 21, 23, 32, 52, 67, 69, 70, 78, 79, 82, 84, 30, 29, 83.

THE MEDINA KORAN: 2, 8, 3, 33, 60, 4, 99, 57, 47, 13, 55, 76, 65, 98, 59, 24, 22, 63, 58, 49, 66, 64, 61, 62, 48, 5, 9, 110.

Whatever number system you prefer to use, they are almost the same, therefore either of them can abrogate any nice and peaceful text from Mecca. Instructions for the use of abrogation: When there is a text in the Koran that contradicts another text in the Koran, then the younger text automatically has authority over the older text! A latter number in the Nöldeke sequence always prevails over an earlier one. This is the reason why chapter 9 and 5, for example, outweigh any of the other chapters!)

PART 1
THE KORAN OF MECCA

(Although it is possible and even desirable to arrange the Koran chapters in a chronological way, it is however not easy to define the exact position of some of the verses. As their correct place is still a matter of debate among scholars, we have decided not to change the traditional places of the verses within a chapter.
We have instead placed an asterisk* right behind the verse number when scholars believe that this particular verse belongs into the Koran of Medina.
Three asterisks * * * indicate that the following verses belong to another chapter, topic, collection, or time.)

GROUP 1 (Mohammed's first 5 years as preacher, 48 SURAS): 96; 74; 111; 106; 108; 104; 107; 102; 105; 92; 90; 94; 93; 97; 86; 91; 80; 68; 87; 95; 103; 85; 73; 101; 99; 82; 81; 53; 84; 100; 79; 77; 78; 88; 89; 75; 83; 69; 51; 52; 56; 70; 55; 112; 109; 113; 114; 1

KORAN CHAPTER 1 / Sura 96
The Clot / Al-Alaq
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
96:1 Read in the name of thy Lord who creates —
96:2 Creates man from a clot,
96:3 Read and thy Lord is most Generous,
96:4 Who taught by the pen,
96:5 Taught man what he knew not.
96:6 Nay, man is surely inordinate,
96:7 Because he looks upon himself as self-sufficient.
96:8 Surely to thy Lord is the return.
96:9 Hast thou seen him who forbids
96:10 A servant when he prays?
96:11 Seest thou if he is on the right way,
96:12 Or enjoins observance of duty?
96:13 Seest thou if he denies and turns away?
96:14 Knows he not that Allah sees?
96:15 Nay, if he desist not, We will seize him by the forelock —
96:16 A lying, sinful forelock!
96:17 Then let him summon his council,
96:18 We will summon the braves of the army.
96:19 Nay! Obey him not, but prostrate thyself, and draw nigh (to Allah).

KORAN CHAPTER 2 / Sura 74
The Clothed One (The One Wrapping Himself Up) **/** Al-Muddaththir
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
74:1 O thou who wrappest thyself up,
74:2 Arise and warn,
74:3 And thy Lord do magnify,
74:4 And thy garments do purify,
74:5 And uncleanness do shun,
74:6 And do no favour seeking gain,
74:7 And for the sake of thy Lord, be patient.
74:8 For when the trumpet is sounded,
74:9 That will be that day — a difficult day,
74:10 For the disbelievers, anything but easy.
74:11 Leave Me alone with him whom I created,
74:12 And gave him vast riches,
74:13 And sons dwelling in his presence,
74:14 And made matters easy for him,
74:15 And yet he desires that I should give more!
74:16 By no means! Surely he is inimical to Our messages.
74:17 I will make a distressing punishment overtake him.
74:18 Surely he reflected and determined,
74:19 But may he be destroyed how he determined!
74:20 Again, may he be destroyed how he determined!
74:21 Then he looked,
74:22 Then frowned and scowled,
74:23 Then turned back and was big with pride,
74:24 Then said: This is naught but magic from of old!
74:25 This is naught but the word of a mortal!
74:26 I will cast him into hell.
74:27 And what will make thee realize what hell is?
74:28 It leaves naught, and spares naught.
74:29 It scorches the mortal.
74:30 Over it are nineteen.
74:31 And We have made none but angels wardens of the Fire, and We have not made their number but as a trial for those who disbelieve, that those who have been given the Book may be certain and those who believe may increase in faith, and those who have been given the Book and the believers may not doubt; and that those in whose hearts is a disease and the disbelievers may say: What does Allah mean by this parable? Thus Allah leaves in error whom He pleases, and guides whom He pleases. And none knows the hosts of thy Lord but He. And this is naught but a Reminder to mortals.
* * *
74:32 Nay, by the moon!
74:33 And the night when it departs!
74:34 And the dawn when it shines!

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74:35 Surely it is one of the gravest (misfortunes),
74:36 A warning to mortals,
74:37 To him among you who will go forward or will remain behind.
74:38 Every soul is. held in pledge for what it earns,
74:39 Except the people of the right hand.
74:40 In Gardens, they ask one another,
74:41 About the guilty:
74:42 What has brought you into hell?
74:43 They will say: We were not of those who prayed;
74:44 Nor did we feed the poor;
74:45 And we indulged in vain talk with vain talkers;
74:46 And we called the day of Judgement a lie;
74:47 Till the inevitable overtook us.
74:48 So the intercession or intercessors will not avail them.
74:49 What is then the matter with them, that they turn away from the Reminder.
74:50 As if they were frightened asses,
74:51 Fleeing from a lion?
74:52 Nay, every one of them desires that he should be given pages spread out —
74:53 By no means! But they fear not the Hereafter.
74:54 Nay, it is surely a Reminder.
74:55 So whoever pleases may mind it.
74:56 And they will not mind unless Allah please. He is Worthy that duty should be kept to Him and Worthy to forgive.

KORAN CHAPTER 3 / Sura 111
The Flame / Al-Lahab
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
111:1 Abu Lahab's hands will perish and he will perish.
111:2 His wealth and that which he earns will not avail him.
111:3 He will burn in fire giving rise to flames —
111:4 And his wife the bearer of slander;
111:5 Upon her neck a halter of twisted rope!

KORAN CHAPTER 4 / Sura 106
The Quraish (Mohammed's Tribe) **/** Al-Quraysh
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
106:1 For the protection of the Quraish —
106:2 Their protection during their journey in the winter and the summer.
106:3 So let them serve the Lord of this House, feeds them against hunger,
106:4 Who and gives them security against fear.

KORAN CHAPTER 5 / Sura 108
The Abundance of Good / Al-Kauthar
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
108:1 I Surely We have given thee abundance of good.
108:2 So pray to thy Lord and sacrifice.
108:3 Surely thy enemy is cut off (from good).

KORAN CHAPTER 6 / Sura 104
The Slanderer / Al-Humazah
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
104:1 Woe to every slanderer, defamer!
104:2 Who amasses wealth and counts it —
104:3 He thinks that his wealth will make him abide.
104:4 Nay, he will certainly be hurled into the crushing disaster;
104:5 And what will make thee realize what the crushing disaster is?
104:6 It is the Fire kindled by Allah,
104:7 Which rises over the hearts.
104:8 Surely it is closed in on them,
104:9 In extended columns.

KORAN CHAPTER 7 / Sura 107
Acts of Kindness (The Daily Necessaries) **/** Al-Maun
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
107:1 Hast thou seen him who belies religion?
107:2 That is the one who is rough to the orphan,
107:3 And urges not the feeding of the needy.
107:4* So woe to the praying ones,
107:5* Who are unmindful of their prayer!
107:6* Who do (good) to be seen,
107:7* And refrain from acts of kindness!

KORAN CHAPTER 8 / Sura 102
Worldly Gain (The Abundance of Wealth) **/** Al-Takathur
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
102:1 Abundance diverts you,
102:2 Until you come to the graves.
102:3 Nay, you will soon know,
102:4 Nay, again, you will soon know.
102:5 Nay, would that you knew with a certain knowledge!
102:6 You will certainly see hell;
102:7 Then you will see it with certainty of sight;
102:8 Then on that day you shall certainly be questioned about the boons.

KORAN CHAPTER 9 / Sura 105
The Elephant / Al-Fil
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
105:1 Hast thou not seen how thy Lord dealt with the possessors of the elephant?
105:2 Did He not cause their war to end in confusion?
105:3 And send against them birds in flocks?
105:4 Casting at them decreed stones —
105:5 So He rendered them like straw eaten up?

KORAN CHAPTER 10 / Sura 92
The Night / Al-Lail
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
92:1 By the night when it draws a veil!
92:2 And the day when it shines!
92:3 And the creating of the male and the female! —
92:4 Your striving is surely (for) diverse (ends).
92:5 Then as for him who gives and keeps his duty,
92:6 And accepts what is good —
92:7 We facilitate for him (the way to) ease.
92:8 And as for him who is niggardly and considers himself self-sufficient,
92:9 And rejects what is good —
92:10 We facilitate for him (the way to) distress.
92:11 And his wealth will not avail him when he perishes.
92:12 Surely Ours is it to show the way,
92:13 And surely Ours is the Hereafter and the former.
92:14 So I warn you of the Fire that flames.
92:15 None will enter it but the most unfortunate,
92:16 Who rejects (the truth) and turns (his) back.
92:17 And away from it shall be kept the most faithful to duty,
92:18 Who gives his wealth, purifying himself,
92:19 And none has with him any boon for a reward,
92:20 Except the seeking of the pleasure of his Lord, the Most High.
92:21 And he will soon be well-pleased.

KORAN CHAPTER 11 / Sura 90
The City / Al-Balad
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
90:1 Nay, I call to witness this City!
90:2 And thou wilt be made free from obligation in this City —
90:3 And the begetter and he whom he begot!
90:4 We have certainly created man to face difficulties.
90:5 Does he think that no one has power over him?
90:6 He will say I have wasted much wealth.
90:7 Does he think that no one sees him?
90:8 Have We not given him two eyes,
90:9 And a tongue and two lips,
90:10 And pointed out to him the two conspicuous ways?
90:11 But he attempts not the uphill road;
90:12 And what will make thee comprehend what the uphill road is?
90:13 (It is) to free a slave,
90:14 Or to feed in a day of hunger
90:15 An orphan nearly related,
90:16 Or the poor man lying in the dust.
90:17 Then he is of those who believe and exhort one another to patience, and exhort one another to mercy.
90:18 These are the people of the right hand.
90:19 And those who disbelieve in Our messages, they are the people of the left hand.
90:20 On them is Fire closed over.

KORAN CHAPTER 12 / Sura 94
The Expansion / Al-Inshirah
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
94:1 Have We not expanded for thee thy breast,
94:2 And removed from thee thy burden,
94:3 Which weighed down thy back,
94:4 And exalted for thee thy mention?
94:5 Surely with difficulty is ease,
94:6 With difficulty is surely ease:
94:7 So when thou art free (from anxiety), work hard,
94:8 And make thy Lord thy exclusive object.

KORAN CHAPTER 13 / Sura 93
The Brightness of the Day (The Early Hours) **/** Al-Duha
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
93:1 By the brightness of the day!
93:2 And the night when it is still! —
93:3 Thy Lord has not forsaken thee, not is He displeased.
93:4 And surely the latter state is better for thee than the former.
93:5 And soon will thy Lord give thee so that thou wilt be well pleased.
93:6 Did He not find thee an orphan and give (thee) shelter?
93:7 And find thee groping, so He showed the way?
93:8 And find thee in want, so He enriched thee?
93:9 Therefore the orphan, oppress not.
93:10 And him who asks, chide not.
93:11 And the favour of thy Lord, proclaim.

KORAN CHAPTER 14 / Sura 97
The Majesty / Al-Qadr
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
97:1 Surely We revealed it on the Night of Majesty —
97:2 And what will make thee comprehend what the Night of Majesty is?
97:3 The Night of Majesty is better than a thousand months.
97:4 The angels and the Spirit descend in it by the permission of their Lord — for every affair —
97:5 Peace it is till the rising of the morning.

KORAN CHAPTER 15 / Sura 86
The Comer by Night (The Night-Comer) **/** Al-Tariq
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
86:1 By the heaven and the Comer by night!
86:2 And what will make thee know what the Comer by night is?
86:3 The star of piercing brightness —
86:4 There is nor a soul but over it is a keeper.
86:5 So let man consider of what he is ejected.
86:6 He is created of water pouring forth,
86:7 Coming from between the back and the ribs.
86:8 Surely He is able to return him (to life).
86:9 On the day when hidden things are manifested,
86:10 Then he will have no strength nor helper.
86:11 By the cloud giving rain,
86:12 And the earth opening (with herbage)!
86:13 Surely it is a decisive word,
86:14 And it is not a joke.
86:15 Surely they plan a plan,
86:16 And I plan a plan.
86:17 So grant the disbelievers a respite — let them alone for a while.

KORAN CHAPTER 16 / Sura 91
The Sun / Al-Shams
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
91:1 By the sun and his brightness!
91:2 And the moon when she borrows light from him!
91:3 And the day when it exposes it to view!
91:4 And the night when it draws a veil over it!
91:5 And the heaven and its make!
91:6 And the earth and its extension!
91:7 And the soul and its perfection!
91:8 So He reveals to it its way of evil and its way of good;
91:9 He is indeed successful who causes it to grow,
91:10 And he indeed fails who buries it.
91:11 Thamud rejected (the truth) in their inordinacy,
91:12 When the basest of them broke forth with mischief —
91:13 So Allah's messenger said to them (Leave alone) Allah's she-camel, and (give) her (to) drink.
91:14 But they called him a liar and slaughtered her. So their Lord destroyed them for their sin and levelled them (with the ground)
91:15 And He fears not its consequence.

KORAN CHAPTER 17 / Sura 80
Frowned (He Frowned) **/** Abasa
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
80:1 He frowned and turned away,
80:2 Because the blind man came to him.
80:3 And what would make thee know that he might purify himself,
80:4 Or be mindful, so the Reminder should profit him?
80:5 As for him who considers himself free from need
80:6 To him thou dost attend.
80:7 And no blame is on thee, if he purify himself not.
80:8 And as to him who comes to thee striving hard,
80:9 And he fears —
80:10 To him thou payest no regard.
80:11 Nay, surely it is a Reminder.
80:12 So let him who will mind it.
80:13 In honoured books,
80:14 Exalted, purified,
80:15 In the hands of scribes,
80:16 Noble, virtuous.
80:17 Woe to man! How ungrateful is he!
80:18 Of what thing did He create him?
80:19 Of a small life-germ. He creates him, then proportions him,
80:20 Then makes the way easy for him,
80:21 Then He causes him to die, then assigns to him a grave,
80:22 Then; when He will, He raises him to life again.
80:23 Nay, but he does not what He commands him.
80:24 Then let man look at his food —
80:25 How We pour down abundant water,
80:26 Then cleave the earth, cleaving (it) asunder,
80:27 Then cause the grain to grow therein,
80:28 And grapes and clover,
80:29 And the olive and the palm,
80:30 And thick gardens,
80:31 And fruits and herbage —
80:32 A provision for you and your cattle.

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80:33 But when the deafening cry comes,
80:34 The day when a man flees from his brother,
80:35 And his mother and his father,
80:36 And his spouse and his sons.
80:37 Every man of them, that day, will have concern enough to make him indifferent to others.
80:38 Faces on that day will be bright,
80:39 Laughing, joyous.
80:40 And faces on that day will have dust on them,
80:41 Darkness covering them?
80:42 Those are the disbelievers, the wicked.

KORAN CHAPTER 18 / Sura 68
The Pen / Al-Qalam
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
68:1 (By) the inkstand and the pen and that which they write!
68:2 By the grace of thy Lord thou art not mad.
68:3 And surely thine is a reward never to be cut off.
68:4 And surely thou hast sublime morals.
68:5 So thou wilt see, and they (too) will see,
68:6 Which of you is mad.
68:7 Surely thy Lord knows best who is erring from His way, and He knows best those who go aright.
68:8 So obey not the rejectors.
68:9 They wish that thou shouldst be pliant, so they (too) would be pliant.
68:10 And obey not any mean swearer,
68:11 Defamer, going about with slander,
68:12 Hinderer of good, out-stepping the limits, sinful,
68:13 Ignoble, besides all that, notoriously mischievous —
68:14 Because he possesses wealth and sons.
68:15 When Our messages are recited to him, he says: Stories of those of yore!
68:16 We shall brand him on the snout.
68:17* We shall try them as We tried the owners of the garden, when they swore to pluck its fruits in the morning,
68:18* And would not set aside a portion (for the poor).
68:19* But a visitation from thy Lord came on it, While they slept.
68:20* So it became as black, barren land —
68:21* Then they called out one to another in the morning,
68:22* Saying: Go early to your tilth, if you would pluck (the fruit).
68:23* So they went, while they said one to another in low tones:
68:24* No poor man shall enter it to-day to you —
68:25* And in the morning they went, having the power to prevent.
68:26* But when they saw it, they said: Surely we are in error;
68:27* Nay, we are made to suffer privation.
68:28* The best of them said: Said I not to you, Why do you not glorify (Allah)?
68:29* They said: Glory be to our Lord! surely we were unjust.
68:30* Then some of them advanced against others, blaming each other.
68:31* Said they: O woe to us! Surely we were inordinate —
68:32* Maybe, our Lord will give us instead one better than it surely to our Lord we make petition.
68:33* Such is the chastisement. And certainly the chastisement of the Hereafter is greater, did they but know!
* * *
68:34 Surely the dutiful have with their Lord Gardens of bliss.
68:35 Shall We then make those who submit as the guilty?
68:36 What is the matter with you? How do you judge?
68:37 Or have you a book wherein you read
68:38 That you shall surely have therein what you choose?
68:39 Or have you covenants from Us on oath, extending to the day of Resurrection, that yours is surely what you judge?
68:40 Ask them which of them will vouch for that.
68:41 Or have they associate-gods? Then let them bring their associates, if they are truthful.
68:42 On the day when there is a severe affliction, and they are called upon to prostrate themselves, but they are not able —
68:43 Their looks cast down, abasement will cover them. And they were indeed called upon to prostrate themselves, while yet they were safe.
68:44 So leave Me alone with him who rejects this announcement. We shall overtake them by degrees, from whence they know not.
68:45 And I bear with them, surely My plan is firm.
68:46 Or dost thou ask from them a reward, so that they are burdened with debt?
68:47 Or is the unseen with them so that they write (it) down?
68:48* So wait patiently for the judgement of thy Lord, and be not like the Companion of the fish, when he cried while he was in distress.
68:49* Had not favour from his Lord reached him, he would certainly have been cast down on naked ground, while he was blamed.
68:50* Then his Lord chose him, and He made him of the righteous.
68:51 And those who disbelieve would almost smite thee with their eyes when they hear the Reminder, and they say: Surely he is mad!
68:52 And it is naught but a Reminder for the nations.

KORAN CHAPTER 19 / Sura 87
The Most High / Al-Ala
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
87:1 Glorify the name of thy Lord, the Most High!
87:2 Who creates, then makes complete,
87:3 And Who measures, then guides,
87:4 And Who brings forth herbage,
87:5 Then makes it dried up, dust-coloured.
87:6 We shall make thee recite so thou shalt not forget —
87:7 Except what Allah please. Surely He knows the manifest, and what is hidden.
87:8 And We shall make thy way smooth to a state of ease.
87:9 So remind, reminding indeed profits.
87:10 He who fears will mind,
87:11 And the most unfortunate one will avoid it,
87:12 Who will burn in the great Fire.
87:13 Then therein he will neither live nor die.
87:14 He indeed is successful who purifies himself,
87:15 And remembers the name of his Lord, then prays.
87:16 But, you prefer the life of this world,
87:17 While the Hereafter is better and mote lasting.
87:18 Surely this is in the earlier scriptures
87:19 The scriptures of Abraham and Moses.

KORAN CHAPTER 20 / Sura 95
The Fig / Al-Tin
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
95:1 By the fig and the olive!
95:2 And mount Sinai!
95:3 And this City made secure! —
95:4 Certainly We created man in the best make.
95:5 Then We render him the lowest of the low,
95:6 Except those who believe and do good; so theirs is a reward never to be cut off.
95:7 So who can give the lie to thee after (this) about the Judgement?
95:8 Is not Allah the Best of the Judges?

KORAN CHAPTER 21 / Sura 103
The Time / Al-'Asr
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
103:1 By the time!
103:2 Surely man is in loss,
103:3 Except those who believe and do good, and exhort one another to Truth, and exhort one another to patience.

KORAN CHAPTER 22 / Sura 85
The Stars (The Constellations) **/** Al-Buruj
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
85:1 By the heaven full of stars!
85:2 And the Promised day!
85:3 And the bearer of witness and that to which witness is borne!
85:4 Destruction overtake the companions of the trench!
85:5 The fire fed with fuel —
85:6 When they sit by it,
85:7 And they are witnesses of what they do with the believers.
85:8 And they punished them for naught but that they believed in Allah, the Mighty, the Praised,
85:9 Whose is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth. And Allah is Witness of all things.
85:10 Those who persecute believing men and believing women, then repent not, theirs is the chastisement of hell, and theirs the chastisement of burning.
85:11 Those who believe and do good, theirs are Gardens wherein flow rivers. That is the great achievement.
85:12 Surely the grip of thy Lord is severe.
85:13 Surely He it is Who creates first and reproduces;
85:14 And He is the Forgiving, the Loving,
85:15 Lord of the Throne of Power, the Glorious,
85:16 Doer of what He intends.
85:17 Has not there come to thee the story of the hosts,
85:18 Of Pharaoh and Thamud?
85:19 Nay, those who disbelieve give the lie —
85:20 And Allah encompasses them on all sides.
85:21 Nay, it is a glorious Koran,
85:22 In a guarded tablet.

KORAN CHAPTER 23 / Sura 73
The Mantled One (The One Covering Himself Up) **/** Al-Muzzammil
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
73:1 O thou covering thyself up!
73:2 Rise to pray by night except a little,
73:3 Half of it, or lessen it a little,
73:4 Or add to it, and recite the Koran in a leisurely manner.
73:5 Surely We shall charge thee with a weighty word.
73:6 The rising by night is surely the firmest way to tread and most effective in speech.
73:7 Truly thou hast by day prolonged occupation.
73:8 And remember the name of thy Lord and devote thyself to Him with (complete) devotion.
73:9 The Lord of the East and the West — there is no God but He — so take Him for Protector.
73:10* And bear patiently what they say and forsake them with a becoming withdrawal.
73:11* And leave Me and the deniers, possessors of plenty, and respite them a little.
73:12 Surely with Us are heavy fetters and a flaming Fire,
73:13 And food that chokes and a painful chastisement.
73:14 On the day when the earth and the mountains quake and the mountains become (as) heaps of sand let loose.
73:15 Surely We have sent to you a Messenger, a witness against you, as We sent a messenger to Pharaoh.
73:16 But Pharaoh disobeyed the messenger, so We seized him with a violent grip.
73:17 How, then, if you disbelieve, will you guard yourselves on the day which will make children grey-headed?
73:18 The heaven being rent asunder thereby. His promise is ever fulfilled.
73:19 Surely this is a Reminder so let him, who will, take a way to his Lord.
* * *
73:20* Thy Lord knows indeed that thou passest in prayer nearly two-thirds of the night, and (sometimes) half of it, and (sometimes) a third of it, as do a party of those with thee. And Allah measures the night and the day. He knows that (all of) you are not able to do it, so He has turned to you (mercifully); so read of the Koran that which is easy for you. He knows that there are sick among you, and others who travel in the land seeking of Allah's bounty, and others who fight in Allah's way. So read as much of it as is easy (for you), and keep up prayer and pay the poor-rate and offer to Allah a goodly gift. And whatever of good you send on before hand for yourselves, you will find it with Allah — that is best and greatest in reward. And ask forgiveness of Allah. Surely Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.

KORAN CHAPTER 24 / Sura 101
The Calamity (The Terrible Calamity) **/** Al-Qari'ah
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
101:1 The calamity!
101:2 What is the calamity?
101:3 And what will make thee know how terrible is the calamity?
101:4 The day wherein men will be as scattered moths,
101:5 And the mountains will be as carded wool.
101:6 Then as for him whose measure (of good deeds) is heavy,
101:7 He will live a pleasant life.
101:8 And as for him whose measure (of good deeds) is light,
101:9 The abyss is a mother to him.
101:10 And what will make thee know what that is?
101:11 A burning Fire.

KORAN CHAPTER 25 / Sura 99
The Shaking / Al-Zilzal
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
99:1 When the earth is shaken with her shaking,
99:2 And the earth brings forth her burdens,
99:3 And man says: What has befallen her?
99:4 On that day she will tell her news,
99:5 As if thy Lord had revealed to her.
99:6 On that day men will come forth in sundry bodies that they may be shown their works.
99:7 So he who does an atom's weight of good will see it
99:8 And he who does an atom's weight of evil will see it:

KORAN CHAPTER 26 / Sura 82
The Cleaving (The Cleaving Asunder) **/** Al-Infitar
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
82:1 When the heaven is cleft asunder,
82:2 And when the stars become dispersed,
82:3 And when the rivers are made to flow forth,
82:4 And when the graves are laid open —
82:5 Every soul will know what it has sent before and what it has held back.
82:6 O man, what beguiles thee from thy Lord, the Gracious?
82:7 Who created thee, then made thee complete, then made thee in a right good state —
82:8 Into whatever form He pleases He casts thee.
82:9 Nay, but you give the lie to the Judgement,
82:10 And surely there are keepers over you,
82:11 Honourable recorders,
82:12 They know what you do.

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82:13 Surely the righteous are in bliss,
82:14 And the wicked are truly in burning Fire —
82:15 They will enter it on the day of judgement,
82:16 And will not be absent from it.
82:17 And what will make thee realize what the day of Judgement is?
82:18 Again, what will make thee realize what the day of Judgement is?
82:19 The day when no soul controls aught for another soul. And the command on that day is Allah's.

KORAN CHAPTER 27 / Sura 81
The Cessation (The Folding Up) **/** Al-Takwir
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
81:1 When the sun is folded up,
81:2 And when the stars are dust-coloured,
81:3 And when the mountains are made to pass away,
81:4 And when the camels are abandoned,
81:5 And when the wild animals are gathered together,
81:6 And when the cities are made to swell,
81:7 And when men are united,
81:8 And when the one buried alive is asked
81:9 For what sin she was killed,
81:10 And when the books are spread,
81:11 And when the heaven has its covering removed,
81:12 And when hell is kindled,
81:13 And when the Garden is brought nigh —
81:14 Every soul will know what it has prepared.
81:15 Nay, I call to witness the stars,
81:16 Running their course, (and) setting,
81:17 And the night when it departs,
81:18 And the morning when it brightens,
81:19 Surely it is the word of a bountiful Messenger,
81:20 The possessor of strength, established in the presence of the Lord of the Throne,
81:21 One (to be) obeyed, and faithful.
81:22 And your companion is not mad.
81:23 And truly he saw himself on the clear horizon.
81:24 Nor is he niggardly of the unseen.
81:25 Nor is it the word of an accursed devil —
81:26 Whither then are you going?
81:27 It is naught but a Reminder for the nations,
81:28 For him among you who will go straight.
81:29 And you will not, except Allah please, the Lord of the worlds.

KORAN CHAPTER 28 / Sura 53
The Star / Al-Najm
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
53:1 By the star when it sets!
53:2 Your companion errs not, nor does he deviate.
53:3 Nor does he speak out of desire.
53:4 It is naught but revelation that is revealed —
53:5 One Mighty in Power has taught him,
53:6 The Lord of Strength. So he attained to perfection,
53:7 And he is in the highest part of the horizon.
53:8 Then he drew near, drew nearer yet,
53:9 So he was the measure of two bows or closer still.
53:10 So He revealed to His servant what He revealed.
53:11 The heart was not untrue in seeing what he saw.
53:12 Do you then dispute with him as to what he saw?
53:13 And certainly he saw Him in another descent,
53:14 At the farthest lote-tree.
53:15 Near it is the Garden of Abode.
53:16 When that which covers covered the lote-tree
53:17 The eye turned not aside, nor did it exceed the limit.
53:18 Certainly he saw of the greatest signs of his Lord.
53:19 Have you then considered Lat and 'Uzzi,
53:20 And another, the third, Manit?
53:21 Are the males for you and for Him the females?
53:22 This indeed is an unjust division!
53:23 They are naught but names which you have named, you and your fathers — Allah has sent no authority for them. They follow but conjecture and what (their) souls desire. And certainly the guidance has come to them from their Lord.
53:24 Or shall man have what he wishes?
53:25 But for Allah is the Hereafter and the former (life).
* * *
53:26 And how many angels are in the heavens, whose intercession avails naught except after Allah gives permission to whom He pleases and chooses.
53:27 Surely those who believe not in the Hereafter name the angels with female names.
53:28 And they have no knowledge of it. They follow but conjecture, and surely conjecture avails naught against Truth.
53:29 So shun him who turns his back upon Our Reminder, and desires nothing but this world's life.
53:30 That is their goal of knowledge. Surely thy Lord knows best him who strays from His path and He knows best him who goes aright.
53:31 And Allah's is whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth, that He may reward those who do evil for that which they do, and reward those who do good with goodness.
53:32* Those who avoid the great sins and the indecencies, but the passing idea surely thy Lord is Liberal in Forgiving. He knows best when He brings you forth from the earth and when you are embryos in the wombs of your mothers; so ascribe not purity to yourselves. He knows him best who guards. against evil.
* * *
53:33 Seest thou him who turns back,
53:34 And gives a little, then withholds?
53:35 Has he the knowledge of the unseen so that he can see?
53:36 Or has he not been informed of what is in the scriptures of Moses,
53:37 And (of) Abraham who fulfilled (commandments)?
53:38 That no bearer of a burden bears another's burden:
53:39 And that man can have nothing but what he strives for:
53:40 And that his striving will soon be seen.
53:41 Then he will be rewarded for it with the fullest reward:
53:42 And that to thy Lord is the goal:
53:43 And that He it is Who makes (men) laugh and makes (them) weep:
53:44 And that He it is Who causes death and gives life:
53:45 And that He creates pairs, the male and the female:
53:46 From the small life-germ when it is adapted:
53:47 And that He has ordained the second bringing forth:
53:48 And that He it is Who gives wealth and contentment:
53:49 And that He is the Lord of Sirius:
53:50 And that He destroyed the first 'Ad:
53:51 And Thamud, so He spared not:
53:52 And the people of Noah before. Surely they were most iniquitous and inordinate.
53:53 And the overthrown cities, He hurled down:
53:54 So there covered them that which coveted.
53:55 Which, then, of thy Lord's benefits wilt thou dispute?
53:56 This is a warner of the warners of old.
53:57 The near Event draws nigh.
53:58 There is none besides Allah to remove it.
53:59 Wonder you then at this announcement?
53:60 And do you laugh and not weep,
53:61 While you sport?
53:62 So bow down in prostration before Allah and serve (Him).

KORAN CHAPTER 29 / Sura 84
The Rending (The Bursting Asunder) **/** Al-Inshiqaq
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
84:1 When the heaven bursts asunder,
84:2 And listens to its Lord and is made fit;
84:3 And when the earth is stretched,
84:4 And casts forth what is in it and becomes empty,
84:5 And listens to its Lord and is made fit.
84:6 O man, thou must strive a hard striving (to attain) to thy Lord, until thou meet Him.
84:7 Then as to him who is given his book in his right hand,
84:8 His account will be taken by an easy reckoning,
84:9 And he will go back to his people rejoicing.
84:10 And as to him who is given his book behind his back,
84:11 He will call for perdition,
84:12 And enter into burning Fire.
84:13 Surely he was (erstwhile) joyful among his people.
84:14 Surely he thought that he would never return (to Allah) —
84:15 Yea, surely his Lord is ever Seer of him.
84:16 But nay, I call to witness the sunset redness,
84:17 And the night and that which it drives on,
84:18 And the moon when it grows full,
84:19 That you shall certainly ascend to one state after another.
84:20 But what is the matter with them that they believe not?
84:21 And, when the Koran is recited to them, they adore (Him) not?
84:22 Nay, those who disbelieve give the lie —
84:23 And Allah knows best what they hide.
84:24 So announce to them a painful chastisement,
84:25 Except those who believe and do good — for them is a reward that shall never be cut off.

KORAN CHAPTER 30 / Sura 100
The Assaulters / Al-Adiyat
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
100:1 By those running and uttering cries!
100:2 And those producing fire, striking!
100:3 And those suddenly attacking at morn!
100:4 Then thereby they raise dust,
100:5 Then penetrate thereby gatherings —
100:6 Surely man is ungrateful to his Lord.
100:7 And surely he is a witness of that.
100:8 And truly on account of the love of wealth he is niggardly.
100:9 Knows he not when that which is in the graves is raised,
100:10 And that which is in the breasts is made manifest?
100:11 Surely their Lord this day is Aware of them.

KORAN CHAPTER 31 / Sura 79
Those Who Yearn (Those Who Pull Out) **/** Al-Nazi'at
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
79:1 By those yearning vehemently!
79:2 And those going forth cheerfully!
79:3 And those running swiftly!
79:4 And those that are foremost going ahead!
79:5 And those regulating the Affair!
79:6 The day when the quaking one shall quake —
79:7 The consequence will follow it.
79:8 Hearts that day will palpitate,
79:9 Their eyes downcast.
79:10 They say: Shall we indeed be restored to (out) first state?
79:11 What! After we are rotten bones?
79:12 They say; That would then be a return with loss.
79:13 It is only a single cry,
79:14 When lo! they will be awakened.
79:15 Has not there come to thee the story of Moses,
79:16 When his Lord called him in the holy valley, Tuwa?
79:17 Go to Pharaoh, surely he has rebelled.
79:18 And say: Wilt thou purify thyself?
79:19 And I will guide thee to thy Lord so that thou fear (Him).
79:20 So he showed him the mighty sign;
79:21 But he denied and disobeyed.
79:22 Then he went back hastily,
79:23 So he gathered and called out.
79:24 Then he said: I am your Lord, the most High.
79:25 So Allah seized him with the punishment of the Hereafter and of this life.
79:26 Surely there is in this a lesson for him who fears.
* * *
79:27 Are you the stronger in creation or the heaven? He made it.
79:28 He raised high its height, and made it perfect,
79:29 And He made dark its night and brought out its light.
79:30 And the earth, He cast It after that.
79:31 He brought forth from it its water and its pasture.
79:32 And the mountains, He made them firm,
79:33 A provision for you and for your cattle.
79:34 So when the great Calamity comes;
79:35 The day when man remembers all that he strove for,
79:36 And hell is made manifest to him who sees.
79:37 Then as for him who is inordinate,
79:38 And prefers the life of this world,
79:39 Hell is surely the abode.
79:40 And as for him who fears to stand before his Lord and restrains himself from low desires,
79:41 The Garden is surely the abode.
79:42 They ask thee about the Hour, When will that take place,
79:43 About which thou remindest?
79:44 To thy Lord is the goal of it.
79:45 Thou art only a warner to him who fears it.
79:46 On the day when they see it, it will be as if they had but tarried for an evening or a morning.

KORAN CHAPTER 32 / Sura 77
The Emissaries (Those Sent Forth) **/** Al-Mursalat
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
77:1 By those sent forth to spread goodness!
77:2 Then those driving off the chaff!
77:3 And those spreading (goodness), far and wide
77:4 Then those making a distinction!
77:5 Then those offering the Reminder,
77:6 To clear or to warn! —
77:7 Surely that which you are promised will come to pass.
77:8 So when the stars are made to disappear,
77:9 And when the heaven is rent asunder,
77:10 And when the mountains are carried away as dust,
77:11 And when the messengers are made to reach their appointed time,
77:12 To what day is the doom fixed?
77:13 To the day of Decision.
77:14 And what will make thee comprehend what the day of Decision is?
77:15 Woe on that day to the rejectors!
77:16 Did We not destroy the former generations?
77:17 Then We followed them up with later ones.
77:18 Thus do We deal with the guilty.
77:19 Woe on that day to the rejectors!
77:20 Did We not create you from ordinary water?
77:21 Then We placed it in a secure resting-place,
77:22 Till an appointed term,
77:23 So We determined — how well are We at determining!
77:24 Woe on that day to the rejectors!
77:25 Have We not made the earth draw to itself
77:26 The living and the dead,
77:27 And made therein lofty mountains, and given you to drink of sweet water?

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77:28 Woe on that day to the rejectors!
77:29 Walk on to that which you called a lie.
77:30 Walk on to the shadow, having three branches,
77:31 Neither cool, nor availing against the flame.
77:32 It sends up sparks like palaces,
77:33 As if they were tawny camels.
77:34 Woe on that day to the rejectors!
77:35 This is the day on which they speak not,
77:36 Nor are they allowed to offer excuses.
77:37 Woe on that day to the rejectors!
77:38 This is the day of Decision We have gathered you and those of yore.
77:39 So if you have a plan, plan against me (now).
77:40 Woe on that day to the rejectors!
* * *
77:41 Surely the dutiful are amid shades and fountains,
77:42 And fruits such as they desire.
77:43 Eat and drink pleasantly for what you did.
77:44 Thus do We reward the doers of good.
77:45 Woe on that day to the rejectors!
77:46 Eat and enjoy yourselves for a little; surely you are guilty.
77:47 Woe on that day to the rejectors!
77:48* And when it is said to them, Bow down, they bow not down.
77:49 Woe on that day to the rejectors!
77:50 In what narration after it, will they believe?

KORAN CHAPTER 33 / Sura 78
The Announcement (The Tidings) / Al-Naba
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
78:1 Of what do they ask one another?
78:2 Of the tremendous announcement
78:3 About which they differ.
78:4 Nay, they will soon know;
78:5 Nay, again, they will soon know.
78:6 Have We not made the earth an expanse
78:7 And the mountains as pegs?
78:8 And We have created you in pairs,
78:9 And made your sleep for rest,
78:10 And made the night a covering,
78:11 And made the day for seeking livelihood.
78:12 And We have made above you seven strong (bodies),
78:13 And made a shining lamp,
78:14 And We send down from the clouds water pouring forth in abundance,
78:15 That We may bring forth thereby grain and herbs,
78:16 And luxuriant gardens.
78:17 Surely the day of Decision is appointed —
78:18 The day when the trumpet is blown, so you come forth in hosts,
78:19 And the heaven is opened so it becomes as doors,
78:20 And the mountains are moved off, so they remain a semblance.
78:21 Surely hell lies in wait,
78:22 A resort for the inordinate,
78:23 Living therein for long years.
78:24 They taste not therein coolness nor drink,
78:25 But boiling and intensely cold water,
78:26 Requital corresponding.
78:27 Surely they feared not the reckoning,
78:28 And rejected Our messages, giving the lie (thereto).
78:29 And We have recorded every thing in a book,
78:30 So taste, for We shall add to you naught but chastisement.
* * *
78:31 Surely for those who keep their duty is achievement,
78:32 Gardens and vineyards,
78:33 And youthful (companions), equals in age,
78:34 And a pure cup.
78:35 They hear not therein vain words, nor lying —
78:36 A reward from thy Lord, a gift sufficient;
78:37 The Lord of the heavens and the earth and what is between them~ the Beneficent, they are not able to address Him.
78:38 The day when the spirit and the angels stand in ranks; none shall speak except he whom the Beneficent permits and he speaks aright.
78:39 That is the True Day, so whoever desires may take refuge with his Lord.
78:40 Truly We warn you of a chastisement near at hand — the day when man will see what his hands have sent before, and the disbeliever will say O would that I were dust!

KORAN CHAPTER 34 / Sura 88
The Overwhelming Event (The Overwhelming Calamity) / Al-Ghashiyah
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
88:1 Has there come to thee the news of the Overwhelming Event?
88:2 Faces on that day will be downcast,
88:3 Labouring, toiling,
88:4 Entering burning Fire,
88:5 Made to drink from a boiling spring.
88:6 They will have no food but of thorns,
88:7 Neither nourishing nor satisfying hunger.
88:8 Faces on that day will be happy,
88:9 Glad for their striving,
88:10 In a lofty Garden,
88:11 Wherein thou wilt hear no vain talk.
88:12 Therein is a fountain flowing.
88:13 Therein are thrones raised high,
88:14 And drinking-cups ready placed,
88:15 And cushions set in rows,
88:16 And carpets spread out.
88:17 See they not the clouds, how they are created?
88:18 And the heaven, how it is raised high?
88:19 And the mountains, how they are fixed?
88:20 And the earth, how it is spread out?
88:21 So remind. Thou art only one to remind.
88:22 Thou art not a warder over them —
88:23 But whoever turns back and disbelieves,
88:24 Allah will chastise him with the greatest chastisement.
88:25 Surely to Us is their return,
88:26 Then it is for Us to call them to account.

KORAN CHAPTER 35 / Sura 89
The Daybreak (The Dawn) / Al-Fajr
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
89:1 By the daybreak!
89:2 And the ten nights!
89:3 And the even and the odd!
89:4 And the night when it departs!
89:5 Truly in this is an oath for men of understanding.
89:6 Hast thou not considered how thy Lord dealt with 'Ad,
89:7 (Of) Iram, having lofty buildings,
89:8 The like of which were not created in the land;
89:9 And (with) Thamud who hewed out rocks in the valley;
89:10 And (with) Pharaoh, the lord of hosts,
89:11 Who exceeded limits in the cities,
89:12 And made great mischief there-in?
89:13 So thy Lord poured on them a portion of chastisement.
89:14 Surely thy Lord is Watchful;
89:15 As for man, when his Lord tries him, then gives him honour and favours him, he says: My Lord honours me.
89:16 But when He tries him, then straitens to him his subsistence, he says: My Lord has disgraced me.
89:17 Nay, but you honour not the orphan,
89:18 Nor do you urge one another to feed the poor,
89:19 And you devour heritage, devouring all,
89:20 And you love wealth with exceeding love.
89:21 Nay, when the earth is made to crumble to pieces,
89:22 And thy Lord comes with the angels, ranks on ranks;
89:23 And hell is made to appear that day. On that day man will be mindful, and of what use will being mindful be then?
89:24 He will say: O would that I had sent before for (this) my life!
89:25 But none can punish as He will punish on that day.
89:26 And none can bind as He will bind on that day.
89:27 O soul that art at rest,
89:28 Return to thy Lord, well-pleased, well-pleasing,
89:29 So enter among My servants,
89:30 And enter My Garden!

KORAN CHAPTER 36 / Sura 75
The Resurrection / Al-Qiyamah
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
75:1 Nay, I swear by the day of resurrection!
75:2 Nay, I swear by the self-accusing spirit!
75:3 Does man think that We shall not gather his bones?
75:4 Yea, We are Powerful to make complete his whole make.
75:5 Nay, man desires to go on doing evil in front of him.
75:6 He asks: When is the day of Resurrection?
75:7 So when the sight is confused,
75:8 And the moon becomes dark,
75:9 And the sun and the moon are brought together —
75:10 Man will say on that day Whither to flee?
75:11 No! There is no refuge!
75:12 With thy Lord on that day is the place of rest.
75:13 Man will that day be informed of what he sent before and what he put off.
75:14 Nay, man is evidence against himself,
75:15 Though he put up excuses.
75:16 Move not thy tongue therewith to make haste with it.
75:17 Surely on Us tests the collecting of it and the reciting of it.
75:18 So when We recite it, follow its recitation.
75:19 Again on Us rests the explaining of it.
75:20 Nay, but you love the present life,
75:21 And neglect the Hereafter.
75:22 (Some) faces that day will be bright,
75:23 Looking to their Lord.
75:24 And (other) faces that day will be gloomy,
75:25 Knowing that a great disaster will be made to befall them.
75:26 Nay, when it comes up to the throat,
75:27 And it is said: Who will ascend (with it)?
75:28 And he is sure that it is the parting,
75:29 And affliction is combined with affliction —
75:30 To thy Lord on that day is the driving.
* * *
75:31 So he accepted not the truth, nor prayed,
75:32 But denied and turned back,
75:33 Then he went to his people in haughtiness.
75:34 Nearer to thee and nearer,
75:35 Again, neater to thee and nearer (is woe).
75:36 Does man think that he will be left aimless?
75:37 Was he not a small life-germ in sperm emitted?
75:38 Then he was a clot; so He created (him), then made (him) perfect.
75:39 Then He made of him two kinds, the male and the female.
75:40 Is not He Powerful to give life to the dead?

KORAN CHAPTER 37 / Sura 83
The Defrauders (Default in Duty) / Al-Tatfif
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
83:1 I Woe to the cheaters!
83:2 Who, when they take the measure (of their dues) from men, take it fully,
83:3 And when they measure out to others or weigh out for them, they give less than is due.
83:4 Do they not think that they will be raised again,
83:5 To a mighty day? —
83:6 The day when men will stand before the Lord of the worlds.
83:7 Nay, surely the record of the wicked is in the prison.
83:8 And what will make thee know what the prison is?
83:9 It is a written book.
83:10 Woe on that day to the rejectors!
83:11 Who give the lie to the day of Judgement.
83:12 And none gives the lie to it but every exceeder of limits, every sinful one;
83:13 When Our messages are recited to him, he says Stories of those of yore!
83:14 Nay, rather, what they earned is rust upon their hearts.
83:15 Nay, surely they are that day debarred from their Lord.
83:16 Then they will surely enter the burning Fire. —
83:17 Then it will be said: This is what you gave the lie to.
83:18 Nay, surely the record of the righteous is in the highest places.
83:19 And what will make thee know what the highest places are?
83:20 It is a written book.
83:21 Those drawn near (to Allah) witness it.
83:22 Surely the righteous are in bliss,
83:23 On raised couches, gazing —
83:24 Thou recognizest in their faces the brightness of bliss.
83:25 They are given to drink of a pure drink, sealed.
83:26 The sealing of it is (with) musk. And for that let the aspirers aspire.
83:27 And it is tempered with water coming from above —
83:28 A fountain from which drink those drawn near (to Allah).
83:29 Surely they who are guilty used to laugh at those who believe.
83:30 And when they passed by them, they winked at one another,
83:31 And when they returned to their people, they returned exulting.
83:32 And when they saw them, they said Surely these are in error —
83:33 And they were not sent as keepers over them.
83:34 So this day those who believe laugh at the disbelievers —
83:35 On raised couches, gazing.
83:36 Surely the disbelievers are rewarded as they did.

KORAN CHAPTER 38 / Sura 69
The Sure Truth (The Inevitable) / Al-Huqqah
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
69:1 The sure Truth!
69:2 What is the sure Truth?
69:3 And what would make thee realize what the sure Truth is?
69:4 Thamud and 'Ad called the calamity a lie.
69:5 Then as for Thamud, they were destroyed by the severe punishment.
69:6 And as for 'Ad, they were destroyed by a roaring, violent wind,
69:7 Which He made to prevail against them for seven nights and eight days continuously, so that thou mightest have seen the people therein prostrate as if they were trunks of hollow palm-trees.
69:8 So canst thou see a remnant of them?
69:9 And Pharaoh and those before him and the overthrown cities wrought evil.

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69:10 And they disobeyed the messenger of their Lord, so He punished them with a vehement punishment.
69:11 Surely We carried you in the ship, when the water rose high,
69:12 That We might make it a reminder for you, and that the retaining ear might retain it.
69:13 So when the trumpet is blown with a single blast,
69:14 And the earth and the mountains are borne away and crushed with one crash —
69:15 On that day will the Event come to pass,
69:16 And the heaven will be cleft asunder; so that day it will be frail,
69:17 And the angels will be on its sides. And above them eight will bear that day thy Lord's Throne of Power.
69:18 On that day you will be exposed to view — no secret of yours will remain hidden.
69:19 Then as for him who is given his book in his right hand, he will say: Lo! Read my book.
69:20 Surely I knew that I should meet my account.
69:21 So he will be in a life of bliss,
69:22 In a lofty Garden,
69:23 Its fruits are near.
69:24 Eat and drink pleasantly for that which you sent on before in bygone days.
69:25 And as for him who is given his book in his left hand — he will say: O would that my book had not been given to me!
69:26 And I had not known what my account was!
69:27 O would that (death) had made an end (of me)!
69:28 My wealth has not availed me.
69:29 My authority has gone from me.
69:30 Seize him, then fetter him,
69:31 Then cast him into the burning Fire,
69:32 Then insert him in a chain the length of which is seventy cubits.
69:33 Surely he believed not in Allah, the Great,
69:34 Nor did he urge the feeding of the poor.
69:35 Therefore he has nor here this day a true friend,
69:36 Nor any fond except refuse,
69:37 Which none but the wrongdoers eat.
* * *
69:38 But nay! I sweat by that which you see,
69:39 And that which you see not!
69:40 Surely, it is the word of an honoured Messenger;
69:41 And it is not the word of a poet. Little is it that you believe!
69:42 Nor the word of a soothsayer. Little is it that you mind!
69:43 It is a revelation from the Lord of the worlds.
69:44 And if he had fabricated against Us certain sayings,
69:45 We would certainly have seized him by the right hand,
69:46 Then cut off his heart's vein.
69:47 And not one of you could have withheld Us from him.
69:48 And surely it is a Reminder for the dutiful.
69:49 And We certainly know that some of you are rejectors.
69:50 And it is indeed a (source of) grief to the disbelievers.
69:51 And surely it is the certain Truth.
69:52 So glorify the name of thy Lord, the Incomparably Great.

KORAN CHAPTER 39 / Sura 51
The Scatterers / Al-Dhariyat
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
51:1 By those scattering broadcast
51:2 And those bearing the load!
51:3 And those running easily!
51:4 And those distributing the Affair! —
51:5 What you are promised is surely true,
51:6 And the Judgement will surely come to pass.
51:7 By the heaven full of paths!
51:8 Surely you are of varying opinion —
51:9 He is turned away from it who would be turned away.
51:10 Cursed be the liars!
51:11 Who are in an abyss, neglectful;
51:12 They ask: When is the day of Judgement?
51:13 (It is) the day when they are tried at the Fire.
51:14 Taste your persecution! This is what you would hasten on.
51:15 Surely the dutiful are amidst Gardens and fountains,
51:16 Taking that which their Lord gives them. Surely they were before that the doers of good.
51:17 They used to sleep but little at night.
51:18 And in the morning they asked (Divine) protection.
51:19 And in their wealth there was a due share for the beggar and for one who is denied (good).
51:20 And in the earth are signs for those who are sure,
51:21 And in yourselves do you not see?
51:22 And in the heavens is your sustenance and that which you are promised.
51:23 So by the Lord of the heavens and the earth! it is surely the truth, just as you speak.
* * *
51:24 Has the story of Abraham's honoured guests reached thee?
51:25 When they came to him, they said Peace! Peace! said he. Strangers!
51:26 Then he turned aside to his family and brought a fat calf.
51:27 So he placed it before them. He said: Will you not eat?
51:28 So he conceived a fear of them. They said: Fear not. And they gave him the good news of a boy possessing knowledge.
51:29 Then his wife came up in grief, and she smote her face and said: A barren old woman!
51:30 They said: Thus says thy Lord. Surely He is the Wise, the Knowing.
* * *
51:31 He said: What is your errand, O messengers!
51:32 They said: We have been sent to a guilty people
51:33 That we may send upon them stones of clay,
51:34 Marked from thy Lord for the prodigal.
51:35 Then We brought forth such believers as were there.
51:36 And We found there but a (single) house of Muslims.
51:37 And We left therein a sign for those who fear the painful chastisement.
51:38 And in Moses, when We sent him to Pharaoh with clear authority.
51:39 But he turned away on account of his might and said: An enchanter or a madman!
51:40 So We seized him and his hosts and hurled them into the sea, and he was blameable.
51:41 And in 'Ad, when We sent upon them the destructive wind.
51:42 It spared naught that it came against, but it made it like ashes.
51:43 And in Thamad, when it was said to them: Enjoy yourselves for a while.
51:44 But they revolted against the commandment of their Lord, so the punishment overtook them, while they saw.
51:45 So they were unable to rise up, nor could they defend themselves;
51:46 And the people of Noah before. Surely they were a transgressing people.
* * *
51:47 And the heaven, We raised it high with power, and We are Makers of the vast extent.
51:48 And the earth, We have spread it out. How well We prepared it!
51:49 And of everything We have created pairs that you may be mindful.
51:50 So flee to Allah. Surely I am a plain warner to you from Him.
51:51 And do not set up with Allah another god. Surely I am a plain warner to you from Him.
51:52 Thus there came not a messenger to those before them but they said: An enchanter or a madman!
51:53 Have they charged each other with this? Nay, they are an inordinate people.
51:54 So turn away from them, for thou art not to blame;
51:55 And remind, for reminding profits the believers.
51:56 And I have not created the jinn and the men except that they should serve Me.
51:57 I desire no sustenance from them, nor do I desire that they should feed Me.
51:58 Surely Allah is the Bestower of sustenance, the Lord of Power, the Strong.
51:59 Surely the lot of the wrongdoers is as was the lot of their companions, so let them not ask Me to hasten on.
51:60 Woe, then, to those who disbelieve because of that day of theirs which they are promised!

KORAN CHAPTER 40 / Sura 52
The Mountain / Al-Tur
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
52:1 By the Mountain!
52:2 And a Book written
52:3 On unfolded vellum!
52:4 And the frequented House,
52:5 And the elevated canopy,
52:6 And the swollen sea!
52:7 The chastisement of thy Lord will surely come to pass —
52:8 There is none to avert it;
52:9 On the day when the heaven will be in a state of commotion,
52:10 And the mountains will pass away, fleeing.
52:11 Woe on that day to the deniers,
52:12 Who amuse themselves by vain talk.
52:13 The day when they are driven to hell-fire with violence.
52:14 This is the Fire, which you gave the lie to.
52:15 Is it magic or do you not see?
52:16 Burn in it, then bear (it) patiently, or bear (it) not, it is the same to you. Your are requited only for what you did.
52:17 The dutiful will be surely in Gardens and bliss,
52:18 Rejoicing because of what their Lord has given them; and their Lord saved them from the chastisement of the burning Fire.
52:19 Eat and drink with pleasure for what you did,
52:20 Reclining on thrones set in lines, and We shall join them to pure beautiful ones.
52:21 And those who believe and whose offspring follow them in faith — We unite with them their offspring and We shall deprive them of naught of their work. Every man is pledged for what he does.
52:22 And We shall aid them with fruit and flesh, as they desire.
52:23 They pass therein from one to another a cup, wherein is neither vanity, nor sin.
52:24 And round them go boys of theirs as if they were hidden pearls.
52:25 And they will advance to each other, questioning
52:26 Saying: Surely we feared before on account of our families.
52:27 But Allah has been gracious to us and He has saved us from the chastisement of the hot wind.
52:28 Surely We called upon Him before. Surely, He is the Benign, the Merciful.
* * *
52:29 So remind for, by the grace of thy Lord thou art no soothsayer, nor madman.
52:30 Or say they: A poet — we wait for him the evil accidents of time.
52:31 Say: Wait, I too wait along with you.
52:32 Or do their understandings bid them this? Or are they an inordinate people?
52:33 Or say they: He has forged it. Nay, they have no faith.
52:34 Then let them bring a saying like it, if they are truthful.
52:35 Or were they created without a (creative) agency? Or are they the creators?
52:36 Or did they create the heavens and the earth? Nay, they are sure of nothing.
52:37 Or have they the treasures of thy Lord with them? Or have they absolute authority?
52:38 Or have they the means by which they listen? Then let their listener bring a clear authority.
52:39 Or has He daughters and you have sons?
52:40 Or askest thou a reward from them so that they are over-burdened by a debt?
52:41 Or possess they the unseen, so they write (it) down?
52:42 Or do they intend a plot? But those who disbelieve will be the ensnared ones in the plot.
52:43 Or have they a god other than Allah? Glory be to Allah from what they set up (with Him)
52:44 And if they were to see a portion of the heaven coming down, they would say: Piled-up clouds!
52:45 Leave them then till they meet that day of theirs wherein they are smitten with punishment:
52:46 The day when their struggle will avail them naught, nor will they be helped.
52:47 And surely for those who do wrong there is a chastisement besides that; but most of them knnw not.
52:48 And wait patiently for the judgement of thy Lord, for surely thou art before Our eyes, and celebrate the praise of thy Lord, when thou risest,
52:49 And in the night, give Him glory, too, and at the setting of the stars.

KORAN CHAPTER 41 / Sura 56
The Event (That Which is Coming) **/** Al-Waqi'ah
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
56:1 When the Event comes to pass —
56:2 There is no belying its coming to pass-3 Abasing (some), exalting (others) —
56:4 When the earth is shaken with a (severe) shaking,
56:5 And the mountains are crumbled to pieces,
56:6 So they are as scattered dust,
56:7 And you are three sorts.
56:8 So those on the right-hand how (happy) are those on the right-hand!
56:9 And those on the left; how (wretched) are those on the left!
56:10 And the foremost are the foremost —
56:11 These are drawn nigh (to Allah).
56:12 In Gardens of bliss
56:13 A multitude from among the first,
56:14 And a few from among those of later times,
56:15 On thrones inwrought,
56:16 Reclining on them, facing each other.
56:17 Round about them will go youths never altering in age,
56:18 With goblets and ewers, and a cup of pure drink —
56:19 They are not affected with headache thereby, nor are they intoxicated,
56:20 And fruits that they choose,
56:21 And flesh of fowl that they desire,
56:22 And pure, beautiful ones,
56:23 Like to hidden pearls.

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56:24 A reward for what they did.
56:25 They hear therein no vain or sinful talk —
56:26 But only the saying, Peace! Peace!
56:27 And those on the right hand; how (happy) are those on the right hand!
56:28 Amid thornless lote-trees,
56:29 And clustered banana-trees,
56:30 And extensive shade,
56:31 And water gushing,
56:32 And abundant fruit.
56:33 Neither intercepted, nor forbidden,
56:34 And exalted couches.
56:35 Surely We have created them a (new) creation,
56:36 So We have made them virgins,
56:37 Loving, equals in age,
56:38 For those on the right hand.
56:39 A multitude from among the first,
56:40 And a multitude from among those of later times.
* * *
56:41 And those on the left hand; how (wretched) are those on the left hand!
56:42 In hot wind and boiling water,
56:43 And shadow of black smoke,
56:44 Neither cool nor refreshing.
56:45 Surely they lived before that in ease.
56:46 And they persisted in the great violation.
56:47 And they used to say: When we die and become dust and bones, shall we then indeed be raised?
56:48 Or our fathers of yore?
56:49 Say: The ancients and those of later times
56:50 Will surely be gathered together for the appointed hour of a known day.
56:51 Then shall you, O you who err and deny,
56:52 Eat of the tree of Zaqqum,
56:53 And fill (your) bellies with it
56:54 Then drink after it of boiling water;
56:55 And drink as drinks the thirsty camel.
56:56 This is their entertainment on the day of Requital.
56:57 We have created you, why do you not then accept?
56:58 See you that which you emit?
56:59 Is it you that create it or are We the Creators?
56:60 We have ordained death among you and We are not to be overcome,
56:61 That We may change your state and make you grow into what you know not.
56:62 And certainly you know the first growth, why do you not then mind?
56:63 See you what you sow?
56:64 Is it you that cause it to grow, or arc We the Causer of growth.
56:65 If We pleased, We would make it chaff, then would you lament:
56:66 Surely we are burdened with debt:
56:67 Nay, we are deprived.
56:68 See you the water which you drink?
56:69 Do you bring it down from the clouds, or are We the Bringer?
56:70 If We pleased, We could make it saltish; why give you not thanks?
56:71 See you the fire which you kindle?
56:72 Is it you that produce the trees for it, or are We the Producer?
56:73 We have made it a reminder and an advantage for the wayfarers of the desert.
56:74 So glorify the name of thy Lord, the Incomparably Great.
* * *
56:75 But nay, I swear by revelation of portions (of the Koran)
56:76 And it is a great oath indeed, if you knew —
56:77 Surely it is a bounteous Koran,
56:78 In a book that is protected,
56:79 Which none touches save the purified ones.
56:80 A revelation from the Lord of the worlds.
56:81* Is it this announcement that you disdain?
56:82* And make your denial your means of subsistence. —
56:83 Why is it nor then that when it comes up to the throat,
56:84 And you at that time look on —
56:85 And We are nearer to it than you, but you see not —
56:86 Why then, if you are not held under authority,
56:87 Do you not send it back, if you are truthful?
56:88 Then if he is one of those drawn nigh (to Allah),
56:89 Then happiness and bounty and a Garden of bliss.
56:90 And if he is one of those on the right hand,
56:91 Then peace to thee from those on the right hand.
56:92 And if he is one of the rejectors, the erring ones,
56:93 He has an entertainment of boiling water,
56:94 And burning in hell.
56:95 Surely this is a certain truth.
56:96 So glorify the name of thy Lord. the Incomparably Great.

KORAN CHAPTER 42 / Sura 70
The Ways of Ascent (The Ladders) / Al-Ma'arij
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
70:1 A questioner asks about the chastisement to befall
70:2 The disbelievers — there is none to avert it —
70:3 From Allah, Lord of the ways of Ascent.
70:4 To Him ascend the angels and the Spirit in a day the measure of which is fifty thousand years.
70:5 So be patient with a goodly patience.
70:6 Surely they see it far off,
70:7 And We see it nigh.
70:8 The day when the heaven is as molten brass,
70:9 And the mountains are as wool;
70:10 And no friend will ask of friend,
70:11 (Though) they are made to see them. The guilty one would fain redeem himself from the chastisement of that day by his children,
70:12 And his wife and his brother,
70:13 And his kin that gave him shelter,
70:14 And all that are in the earth — then deliver him —
70:15 By no means! Surely it is a flaming Fire,
70:16 Plucking out the extremities —
70:17 It shall claim him who retreats and turns his back,
70:18 And hoards then withholds.
70:19 Surely man is created impatient —
70:20 Fretful when evil afflicts him,
70:21 And niggardly when good befalls him —
70:22 Except those who pray,
70:23 Who are constant at their prayer,
70:24 And in whose wealth there is a known right
70:25 For the beggar and the destitute,
70:26 And those who accept the truth of the day of Judgement:
70:27 And those who are fearful of the chastisement of their Lord —
70:28 Surely the chastisement of their Lord is (a thing) not to be felt secure from —
70:29 And those who restrain their sexual passions,
70:30 Except in the presence of their mates or those whom their right hands possess — for such surely are not to be blamed,
70:31 But he who seeks to go beyond this, these are the transgressors.
70:32 And those who are faithful to their trusts and their covenant,
70:33 And those who are upright in their testimonies,
70:34 And those who keep a guard on their prayer.
70:35 These are in Gardens, honoured.
* * *
70:36 But what is the matter with those who disbelieve, that they hasten on to thee,
70:37 On the right hand and on the left, in sundry parties?
70:38 Does every man of them desire to be admitted to the Garden of bliss?
70:39 By no means! Surely We have created them for what they know.
70:40 But nay I swear by the Lord of the Eastern lands and the Western lands that We are certainly Powerful
70:41 To bring in their place (others) better than them, and We shall not be overcome.
70:42 So leave them alone to plunge in vain talk and to sport, until they come face to face with that day of theirs which they are promised —
70:43 The day when they come forth from the graves in haste, as hastening on to a goal,
70:44 Their eyes cast down, disgrace covering them. Such is the day which they are promised.

KORAN CHAPTER 43 / Sura 55
The Beneficent (The Merciful) / Al-Rahman
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
55:1 The Beneficent
55:2 Taught the Koran.
55:3 He created man,
55:4 Taught him expression.
55:5 The sun and the moon follow a reckoning,
55:6 And the herbs and the trees adore (Him).
55:7 And the heaven, He raised it high, and He set up the measure,
55:8 That you may not exceed the measure,
55:9 And keep up the balance with equity, nor fall short in the measure.
55:10 And the earth, He has set it for (His) creatures;
55:11 Therein is fruit and palms having sheathed clusters,
55:12 And the grain with (its) husk and fragrance.
55:13 Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?
55:14 He created man from dry clay like earthen vessels,
55:15 And He created the jinn of a flame of fire.
55:16 Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?
55:17 Lord of the two Easts, and Lord of the two Wests.
55:18 Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?
55:19 He has made the two seas to flow freely they meet:
55:20 Between them is a barrier which they cannot pass.
55:21 Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?
55:22 There come forth from them both, pearls large and small.
55:23 Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?
55:24 And His are the ships reared aloft in the sea like mountains.
55:25 Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?
* * *
55:26 Every one on it passes away —
55:27 And there endures for ever the person of thy Lord, the Lord of glory and honour.
55:28 Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?
55:29 All those in the heavens and the earth ask of Him. Every moment He is in a state (of glory).
55:30 Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?
55:31 Soon shall We apply Ourselves to you, O you two armies.
55:32 Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?
55:33 O assembly of jinn and men, if you are able to pass through the regions of the heavens and the earth, then pass through. You cannot pass through but with authority.
55:34 Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?
55:35 The flames of fire and sparks of brass will be sent upon you, then you will not be able to defend yourselves.
55:36 Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?
55:37 So when the heaven is rent asunder, so it becomes red like red hide.
55:38 Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?
55:39 So on that day neither man nor jinni will be asked about his sin.
55:40 Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?
55:41 The guilty will be known by their marks, so they shall be seized by the forelocks and the feet.
55:42 Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?
55:43 This is the hell which the guilty deny.
55:44 Round about shall they go between it and hot, boiling water.
55:45 Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?
* * *
55:46 And for him who fears to stand before his Lord are two Gardens.
55:47 Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?
55:48 Full of varieties,
55:49 Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?
55:50 Therein are two fountains flowing.
55:51 Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?
55:52 Therein are pairs of every fruit.
55:53 Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?
55:54 Reclining on beds, whose inner coverings are of silk brocade. And the fruits of the two Gardens are within reach.
55:55 Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?
55:56 Therein are those restraining their glances, whom no man nor jinni has touched before them.
55:57 Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?
55:58 As though they were rubies and pearls.
55:59 Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?
55:60 Is the reward of goodness aught but goodness?
55:61 Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?
55:62 And besides those are two (other) Gardens.
55:63 Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?
55:64 Inclining to blackness.
55:65 Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?
55:66 Therein are two springs gushing forth.
55:67 Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?
55:68 Therein are fruits and palms and pomegranates.
55:69 Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?
55:70 Therein are goodly beautiful ones.

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55:71 Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?
55:72 Pure ones confined to pavilions.
55:73 Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?
55:74 Before them man has not touched them, nor jinni.
55:75 Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?
55:76 Reclining on green cushions and beautiful carpets.
55:77 Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?
55:78 Blessed be the name of thy Lord, the Lord of Glory and Honour!

KORAN CHAPTER 44 / Sura 112
The Unity (The One God) / Al-Ikhlas
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
112:1 Say: He, Allah, is One.
112:2 Allah is He on Whom all depend.
112:3 He begets not, nor is He begotten;
112:4 And none is like Him.

KORAN CHAPTER 45 / Sura 109
The Kafirs (The Disbelievers, Unbelievers, Non-Believers, Non-Muslims) / Al-Kafirun
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
109:1 Say: O disbelievers,
109:2 I serve not that which you serve,
109:3 Nor do you serve Him Whom I serve,
109:4 Nor shall I serve that which ye serve,
109:5 Nor do you serve Him Whom I serve.
109:6 For you is your recompense and for me my recompense.

KORAN CHAPTER 46 / Sura 113
The Dawn (The Daybreak) / Al-Falaq
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
113:1 Say: I seek refuge in the Lord of the dawn,
113:2 From the evil of that which He has created,
113:3 And from the evil of intense darkness, when it comes,
113:4 And from the evil of those who cast (evil suggestions) in firm resolutions,
113:5 And from the evil of the envier when he envies.

KORAN CHAPTER 47 / 114
The Men / Al-Nas
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
114:1 Say I seek refuge in the Lord of men,
114:2 The King of men,
114:3 The God of men,
114:4 From the evil of the whisperings of the slinking (devil),
114:5 Who whispers into the hearts of men,
114:6 From among the jinn and the men.

KORAN CHAPTER 48 / Sura 1
The Praise (The Opening) / Al-Fatihah
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
1:1 Praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds,
1:2 The Beneficent, the Merciful,
1:3 Master of the day of Requital.
1:4 Thee do we serve and Thee do we beseech for help.
1:5 Guide us on the right path,
1:6 The path of those upon whom Thou hast bestowed favours,
1:7 Not those upon whom wrath is brought down, nor those who go astray.

GROUP 2 (Mohammed's 6th and 7th years as preacher, 21 SURAS): 54, 37, 71, 76, 44, 50, 20, 26, 15, 19, 38, 36, 43, 72, 67, 23, 21, 25, 17, 27, 18.

KORAN CHAPTER 49 / Sura 54
The Moon / Al-Qamar
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
54:1 The hour drew nigh and the moon was rent asunder.
54:2 And if they see a sign, they turn away and say: Strong enchantment!
54:3 And they deny and follow their low desires; and every affair is settled.
54:4 And certainly narratives have come to them, which should deter —
54:5 Consummate wisdom but warnings avail not;
54:6 So turn away from them. On the day when the Inviter invites them to a hard task —
54:7 Their eyes cast down, they will go forth from their graves as if they were scattered locusts,
54:8 Hastening to the Inviter. The disbelievers will say: This is a hard day!
54:9 Before them the people of Noah rejected — they rejected Our servant and called (him) mad, and he was driven away.
54:10 So he called upon his Lord: I am overcome, so do Thou help.
54:11 Then We opened the gates of heaven with water pouring down,
54:12 And made water to flow forth in the land in springs, so the water gathered together according to a measure already ordained.
54:13 And We bore him on that which was made of planks and nails,
54:14 Floating on, before Our eyes — a reward for him who was denied.
54:15 And certainly We left it as a sign, but is there any that will mind?
54:16 How terrible was then My chastisement and My warning!
54:17 And certainly We have made the Koran easy to remember, but is there any one who will mind?
54:18 'Ad denied, so how terrible was My chastisement and My warning!
54:19 Surely We sent on them a furious wind in a day of bitter ill-luck,
54:20 Tearing men away as if they were the trunks of palm-trees torn up.
54:21 How terrible was then My chastisement and My warning!
54:22 And certainly We have made the Koran easy to remember, but is there any one who will mind?
* * *
54:23 Thamud rejected the warning.
54:24 So they said: What! A single mortal from among us! Shall we follow him? We shall then be in sure error and distress.
54:25 Has the reminder been sent to him from among us? Nay, he is an insolent liar!
54:26 To-morrow they will know who is the liar, the insolent one.
54:27 Surely We are going to send the she-camel as a trial for them; so watch them and have patience.
54:28 And inform them that the water is shared between them; every share of the water shall be attended.
54:29 But they called their companion, so he took (a sword) and hamstrung (her).
54:30 How (terrible) was then My chastisement and My warning!
54:31 Surely We sent upon them a single cry, so they were like the dry fragments of trees, which the maker of an enclosure collects.
54:32 And certainly We have made the Koran easy to remember, but is there any one who will mind?
54:33 The people of Lot treated the warning as a lie.
54:34 Surely We sent upon them a stone-storm, except Lot's followers; We saved them a little before daybreak —
54:35 A favour from Us. Thus do We reward him who gives thanks.
54:36 And certainly he warned them of Our violent seizure, but they disputed the warning.
54:37 And certainly they endeavoured to turn him from his guests, but We blinded their eyes so taste My chastisement and My warning.
54:38 And certainly a lasting chastisement overtook them in the morning.
54:39 So taste My chastisement and My warning.
54:40 And certainly We have made the Koran easy to remember, but is there any one who will mind?
* * *
54:41 And certainly the warning came to Pharaoh's people.
54:42 They rejected all Our signs, so We overtook them with the seizing of the Mighty, the Powerful.
54:43 Are your disbelievers better than these, or have you an immunity in the scriptures?
54:44* Or say they We are a host allied together to help each other?
54:45* Soon shall the hosts be routed, and they will show (their) backs.
54:46* Nay, the Hour is their promised time, and the Hour is most grievous and bitter,
54:47 Surely the guilty are in error and distress,
54:48 On the day when they are dragged into the Fire upon their faces: Taste the touch of hell.
54:49 Surely We have created everything according to a measure.
54:50 And Our command is but once, as the twinkling of an eye.
54:51 And certainly We destroyed your fellows, but is there any one who will mind?
54:52 And everything they do is in the writings.
54:53 And everything small and great is written down.
54:54 Surely the dutiful will be among Gardens and rivers,
54:55 In the seat of truth, with a most Powerful King.

KORAN CHAPTER 50 / Sura 37
Those Ranging in Ranks (The Rangers) / Al-Saffat
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
37:1 By those ranging in ranks,
37:2 And those who restrain holding in restraint,
37:3 And those who recite the Reminder,
37:4 Surely your God is One.
37:5 The Lord of the heavens and the earth and what is between them, and the Lord of the eastern lands.
37:6 Surely We have adorned the lower heaven with an adornment, the stars,
37:7 And (there is) a safeguard against every rebellious devil.
37:8 They cannot listen to the exalted assembly and they are reproached from every side,
37:9 Driven off; and for them is a perpetual chastisement,
37:10 Except him who snatches away but once, then there follows him a brightly shining flame.
37:11 So ask them whether they are stronger in creation or those (others) whom We have created. Surely We created them of firm clay.
37:12 Nay, thou wonderest, while they mock,
37:13 And when they are reminded, they mind not,
37:14 And when they see a sign, they seek to scoff,
37:15 And say: This is nothing but clear enchantment.
37:16 When we are dead and have become dust and bones; shall we then be raised,
37:17 Or our fathers of yore?
37:18 Say: Yea, and you will be humiliated.
37:19 So it will be but one cry, when lo! they will see.
37:20 And they will say: O woe to us! This is the day of Requital.
37:21 This is the day of Judgement, which you called a lie.
* * *
37:22 Gather together those who did wrong and their associates, and what they worshipped
37:23 Besides Allah, then lead them to the way to hell.
37:24 And stop them, for they shall be questioned:
37:25 What is the matter with you that you help not one another?
37:26 Nay, on that day they will be submissive.
37:27 And some of them will turn to others mutually questioning —
37:28 Saying: Surely you used to come to us from the right side.
37:29 They will say: Nay, you (yourselves) were not believers.
37:30 And we had no authority over you, but you were an inordinate people.
37:31 So the word of our Lord has proved true against us: we shall surely taste.
37:32 We led you astray, for we ourselves were erring.
37:33 So, that day they will be sharers in the chastisement.
37:34 Thus do We deal with the guilty.
37:35 They indeed were arrogant, when it was said to them: There is no god but Allah;
37:36 And said: Shall we give up our gods for a mad poet?
37:37 Nay, he has brought the Truth ind verifies the messengers.
37:38 Surely you will taste the painful chastisement.
37:39 And you are requited naught but for what you did —
37:40 Save the servants of Allah, the purified ones.
37:41 For them is a known sustenance:
37:42 Fruits. And they are honoured,
37:43 In Gardens of delight,
37:44 On thrones, facing each other.
37:45 A bowl of running water will be made to go round them,
37:46 White, delicious to those who drink.
37:47 It deprives not of reason, nor are they exhausted therewith.
37:48 And with them are those modest in gaze, having beautiful eyes,
37:49 As if they were eggs, carefully protected.
37:50 Then some of them will turn to others, questioning mutually.
37:51 A speaker of them will say: Surely I had a comrade,
37:52 Who said: Art thou indeed of those who accept?
37:53 When we are dead and have become dust and bones, shall we then be requited?
37:54 He will say: Will you look?
37:55 Then he looked down and saw him in the midst of hell.
37:56 He will say: By Allah! thou hadst almost caused me to perish
37:57 And had it not been for favour of my Lord, I should have been among those brought up.
37:58 Are we not to die,
37:59 Except our previous death? And are we not to be chastised?
37:60 Surely this is the mighty achievement.
37:61 For the like of this, then, let the workers work.
37:62 Is this the better entertainment or the tree of Zaqqum?
37:63 Surely We have made it a trial for the wrongdoers.
37:64 It is a tree that grows in the bottom of hell —
37:65 Its produce is as it were the heads of serpents.
37:66 Then truly they will eat of it and fill (their) bellies with it.

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37:67 Then surely they shall have after it a drink of boiling water.
37:68 Then their return is surety to the flaming Fire.
37:69 They indeed found their fathers astray,
37:70 So in their footsteps they are hastening on.
37:71 And most of the ancients surely went astray before them,
37:72 And indeed We sent among them warners.
37:73 Then see what was the end of those warned —
37:74 Except the servants of Allah, the purified ones.
* * *
37:75 And Noah certainly called upon Us, and excellent Answerer of prayers are We!
37:76 And We delivered him and his people from the great distress;
37:77 And made his offspring the survivors,
37:78 And left for him (praise) among the later generations,
37:79 Peace be to Noah among the nations!
37:80 Thus indeed do We reward the doers of good.
37:81 Surely he was of Our believing servants.
37:82 Then We drowned the others.
37:83 And surely of his party was Abraham.
37:84 When he came to his Lord with a secure heart.
37:85 When he said to his sire and his people: What is it that you worship?
37:86 A lie — gods besides Allah do you desire?
37:87 What is then your idea about the Lord of the worlds?
37:88 Then he glanced a glance at the stars,
37:89 And said: Surely I am sick (of your deities).
37:90 So they turned their backs on him, going away.
37:91 Then he turned to their gods and said: Do you not eat?
37:92 What is the matter with you that you speak not?
37:93 So he turned upon them, smiting with the right hand.
37:94 Then they came to him, hastening.
37:95 He said: Do you worship that which you hew out?
37:96 And Allah has created you and what you make.
37:97 They said: Build for him a building, then cast him into the flaming fire.
37:98 And they designed a plan against him, but We brought them low.
37:99 And he said: Surely I flee to my Lord — He will guide me.
37:100 My Lord, grant me a doer of good deeds.
37:101 So We gave him the good news of a forbearing son.
37:102 But when he became of (age to) work with him, he said: O my son, I have seen in a dream that I should sacrifice thee: so consider what thou seest. He said: O my father, do as thou art commanded; if Allah please, thou wilt find me patient.
37:103 So when they both submitted and he had thrown him down upon his forehead,
37:104 And We called out to him saying, O Abraham,
37:105 Thou hast indeed fulfilled the vision. Thus do We reward the doers of good.
37:106 Surely this is a manifest trial.
37:107 And We ransomed him with a great sacrifice.
37:108 And We granted him among the later generations (the salutation),
37:109 Peace be to Abraham!
37:110 Thus do We reward the doers of good.
37:111 Surely he was one of Our believing servants.
37:112 And We gave him the good news of Isaac, a prophet, a righteous one.
37:113 And We blessed him and Isaac. And of their offspring some are doers of good, but some are clearly unjust to themselves.
* * *
37:114 And certainly We conferred a favour on Moses and Aaron.
37:115 And We delivered them, and their people from the mighty distress.
37:116 And We helped them, so they were the vanquishers.
37:117 And We gave them both the clear Book.
37:118 And We guided them on the right way.
37:119 And We granted them among the later generations (the salutation),
37:120 Peace be to Moses and Aaron!
37:121 Thus do We reward the doers of good.
37:122 Surely they were both of Our believing servants.
37:123 And Elias was surely of those sent.
37:124 When he said to his people: Will you not guard against evil?
37:125 Do you call upon Ba'l and forsake the Best of the creators,
37:126 Allah, your Lord and the Lord of your fathers of yore?
37:127 But they rejected him, so they shall be brought up,
37:128 But not the servants of Allah, the purified ones.
37:129 And We granted him among the later generations (the salutation),
37:130 Peace be to Elias!
37:131 Even thus We reward the doers of good.
37:132 Surely he was one of Our believing servants.
37:133 And Lot was surely of those sent.
37:134 When We delivered him and his people, all —
37:135 Except an old woman among those who remained behind.
37:136 Then We destroyed the others.
37:137 And surely you pass by them in the morning,
37:138 And at night. Do you not then understand?
* * *
37:139 And Jonah was surely of those sent.
37:140 When he fled to the laden ship,
37:141 So he shared with others but was of those cast away.
37:142 So the fish took him into its mouth while he was blamable.
37:143 But had he not been of those who glorify (Us),
37:144 He would have tarried in its belly till the day when they are raised.
37:145 Then We cast him on the naked shore, while he was sick.
37:146 And We caused a gourd to grow up for him.
37:147 And We sent him to a hundred thousand or more.
37:148 And they believed, so We gave them provision till a time.
37:149 Now ask them whether thy Lord has daughters and they have sons?
37:150 Or did We create the angels females, while they witnessed?
37:151 Now surely it is of their own lie that they say:
37:152 Allah has begotten. And truly they are liars.
37:153 Has He preferred daughters to sons?
37:154 What is the matter with you? How you judge!
37:155 Will you not then mind?
37:156 Or have you a clear authority?
37:157 Then bring your Book, if you are truthful.
37:158 And they assert a relationship between Him and the jinn. And certainly the jinn know that they will be brought up (for judgement) —
37:159 Glory be to Allah from what they describe! —
37:160 But not so the servants of Allah, the purified ones.
37:161 So surely you and that which you serve,
37:162 Not against Him can you cause (any) to fall into trial,
37:163 Save him who will burn in the flaming Fire.
37:164 And there is none of us but has an assigned place,
37:165 And verily we are ranged in ranks,
37:166 And we truly glorify (Him).
37:167 And surely they used to say:
37:168 Had we a reminder from those of yore,
37:169 We would have been sincere servants of Allah.
37:170 But (now) they disbelieve in it, so they will come to know.
37:171 And certainly Our word has already gone forth to Our servants, to those sent,
37:172 That they, surely they, will be helped,
37:173 And Our hosts, surely they, will be triumphant.
37:174 So turn away from them till a time,
37:175 And watch them, they too will see.
37:176 Would they hasten on Our chastisement?
37:177 So when it descends in their court, evil will be the morning of the warned ones.
37:178 And turn away from them till a time,
37:179 And watch, for they too will see.
37:180 Glory be to thy Lord, the Lord of Might, above what they describe
37:181 And peace be to those sent
37:182 And praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds!

KORAN CHAPTER 51 / Sura 71
Noah / Nuh
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
71:1 Surely We sent Noah to his people, saying: Warn thy people before there come to them a painful chastisement.
71:2 He said: O my people, surely I am a plain warner to you:
71:3 That you should serve Allah and keep your duty to Him and obey me —
71:4 He will forgive you some of your sins and grant you respite to an appointed term. Surely the term of Allah, when it comes, is not postponed. Did you but know!
71:5 He said: My Lord, I have called my people night and day:
71:6 But my call has only made them flee the more.
71:7 And whenever I call to them that Thou mayest forgive them, they thrust their fingers in their ears and cover themselves with their garments, and persist and are big with pride.
71:8 Then surely I have called to them aloud,
71:9 Then spoken to them in public and spoken to them in private,
71:10 So I have said: Ask forgiveness of your Lord; surely He is ever Forgiving:
71:11 He will send down upon you rain, pouring in abundance,
71:12 And help you with wealth and sons, and make for you gardens, and make for you rivers.
71:13 What is the matter with you that you hope not for greatness from Allah?
71:14 And indeed He has created you by various stages.
71:15 See you not how Allah has created the seven heavens alike,
71:16 And made the moon therein a light, and made the sun a lamp?
71:17 And Allah has caused you to grow out of the earth as a growth,
71:18 Then He returns you to it, then will He bring you forth a (new) bringing forth.
71:19 And Allah has made the earth a wide expanse for you;
71:20 That you may go along therein in spacious paths.
* * *
71:21 Noah said: My Lord, surely they disobey me and follow him whose wealth and children have increased him in naught but loss.
71:22 And they have planned a mighty plan.
71:23 And they say: Forsake not your gods; nor forsake Wadd, nor Suwa', nor Yaguth and Ya'uq and Nasr.
71:24 And indeed they have led many astray. And increase Thou the wrongdoers in naught but perdition.
71:25 Because of their wrongs they were drowned, then made to enter Fire, so they found no helpers besides Allah.
71:26 And Noah said My Lord, leave not of the disbelievers any dweller on the land.
71:27 For if Thou leave them, they will lead astray Thy servants, and will not beget any but immoral, ungrateful ones.
71:28 My Lord, forgive me and my parents and him who enters my house believing, and the believing men and the believing women. And increase nor the wrongdoers in aught but destruction!

KORAN CHAPTER 52 / Sura 76
Man / Al-Insan
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
76:1 Surely there came over man a time when he was nothing that could be mentioned.
76:2 Surely We have created man from sperm mixed (with ovum), to try him, so We have made him hearing, seeing.
76:3 We have truly shown him the way; he may be thankful or unthankful.
76:4 Surely we have prepared for the disbelievers chains and shackles and a burning Fire.
76:5 The righteous truly drink of a cup tempered with camphor —
76:6 A fountain from which the servants of Allah drink, making it flow in abundance.
76:7 They fulfil vows and fear a day, the evil of which is widespread.
76:8 And they give food, out of love for Him, to the poor and the orphan and the captive.
76:9 We feed you, for Allah's pleasure only We desire from you neither reward nor thanks.
76:10 Surely we fear from our Lord a stern, distressful day.
76:11 So Allah will ward off from them the evil of that day, and cause them to meet with splendour and happiness;
76:12 And reward them, for their steadfastness, with a Garden and with silk,
76:13 Reclining therein on raised couches; they will see therein neither (excessive heat of) sun nor intense cold.
76:14 And close down upon them are its shadows, and its fruits are made near (to them), easy to reach.
76:15 And round about them are made to go vessels of silver and goblets of glass,
76:16 Crystal-clear, made of silver — they have measured them according to a measure.
76:17 And they are made to drink therein a cup tempered with ginger —
76:18 (Of) a fountain therein called Salsabil.
76:19 And round about them will go youths, never altering in age; when thou seest them thou wilt think them to be scattered pearls.
76:20 And when thou lookest thither, thou seest blessings and a great kingdom.
76:21 On them are garments of fine green silk and thick brocade, and they are adorned with bracelets of silver, and their Lord makes them to drink a pure drink.
76:22 Surely this is a reward for you, and your striving is recompensed.
* * *
76:23 Surely We have revealed the Koran to thee, in portions.
76:24 So wait patiently for the judgement of thy Lord, and obey not a sinner or an ungrateful one among them.
76:25 And glorify the name of thy Lord morning and evening.
76:26 And during part of the night adore Him, and glorify Him throughout a long night.
76:27 Surely these love the transitory life and neglect a grievous day before them.
76:28 We created them and made firm their make, and, when We will, We can bring in their place the like of them by change.

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76:29 Surely this is a Reminder; so whoever will, let him take a way to his Lord.
76:30 And you will not, unless Allah please. Surely Allah is ever Knowing, Wise.
76:31 He admits whom He pleases to His mercy; and the wrongdoers — He has prepared for them a painful chastisement.

KORAN CHAPTER 53 / Sura 44
The Drought / Al-Dukhan
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
44:1 Beneficent God!
44:2 By the Book that makes manifest!
44:3 We revealed it On a blessed night truly We are ever warning.
44:4 Therein is made clear every affair full of wisdom —
44:5 A command from Us — truly We are ever sending messengers —
44:6 A mercy from thy Lord — truly He is the Hearing, the Knowing,
44:7 The Lord of the heavens and the earth and what is between them, if you would be sure.
44:8 There is no God but He; He gives life and causes death — your Lord and the Lord of your fathers of yore.
44:9 Nay, in doubt they sport.
44:10 So wait for the day when the heaven brings a clear drought,
44:11 Enveloping men. This is a painful chastisement.
44:12 Our Lord, remove from us the chastisement — surely we are believers.
44:13 When will they be reminded? And a Messenger has indeed come, making clear;
44:14* Yet they turned away from him and said: One taught (by others), a madman!
44:15 We shall remove the chastisement a little, (but) you will surely return (to evil).
44:16 On the day when We seize (them) with the most violent seizing surely We shall exact retribution.
44:17 And certainly We tried before them Pharaoh's people and a noble messenger came to them,
44:18 Saying: Deliver to me the servants of Allah. Surely I am a faithful messenger to you.
44:19 And exalt not yourselves against Allah. Surely I bring to you a clear authority.
44:20 And I take refuge with my Lord and your Lord, lest you stone me to death.
44:21 And if you believe not in me, leave me alone.
44:22 Then he called upon his Lord: These are a guilty people.
44:23 So go forth with My servants by night; surely you will be pursued,
44:24 And leave the sea behind calm. Surely they are a host to be drowned.
44:25 How many the gardens and springs they left behind!
44:26 And cornfields and noble places!
44:27 And goodly things wherein they rejoiced!
44:28 Thus (it was). And We made other people inherit them.
44:29 So the heaven and the earth wept not for them, nor were they respited.
* * *
44:30 And We indeed delivered the Children of Israel from the abasing chastisement,
44:31 From Pharaoh. Surely he was haughty, prodigal.
44:32 And certainly We chose them above the nations, having knowledge.
44:33 And We gave them signs wherein was clear blessing.
44:34 These do indeed say:
44:35 There is naught but our first death and we shall not be raised again.
44:36 So bring our fathers (back), if you are truthful.
44:37 Are they better or the people of Tubba', and those before them? We destroyed them, for surely they were guilty.
44:38 And We did not create the heavens and the earth and that which is between them in sport.
44:39 We created them not but with truth, but most of them know not.
44:40 Surely the day of Decision is the term for them all,
44:41 The day when friend will avail friend in naught, nor will they be helped —
44:42 Save those on whom Allah has mercy. Surely He is the Mighty, the Merciful.
* * *
44:43 Surely the tree of Zaqqum
44:44 Is the food of the sinful,
44:45 Like molten brass; it seethes in (their) bellies
44:46 Like boiling water.
44:47 Seize him, then drag him into the midst of hell;
44:48 Then pour on his head of the torment of boiling water —
44:49 Taste — thou art forsooth the mighty, the honourable!
44:50 Surely this is what you doubted.
44:51 Those who keep their duty are indeed in a secure place —
44:52 In gardens and springs,
44:53 Wearing fine and thick silk, facing one another —
44:54 Thus (shall it be). And We shall join them to pure, beautiful ones.
44:55 They call therein for every fruit in security —
44:56 They taste not therein death, except the first death; and He will save them from the chastisement of hell —
44:57 A grace from thy Lord. This is the great achievement.
44:58 So We have made it easy in thy tongue that they may mind.
44:59 Wait then; surely they (too) are waiting.

KORAN CHAPTER 54 / Sura 50
Qaf (Arabic letter denoting a k- or g-sound, Roman: q, which refers to the Koran = Quran as this chapter begins and ends by mentioning the "Koran")
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
50:1 Almighty (God)! By the glorious Koran!
50:2 Nay, they wonder that a warner has come to them from among themselves; so the disbelievers say: This is a wonderful thing
50:3 When we die and become dust that is a far return.
50:4 We know indeed what the earth diminishes of them and with Us is a book that preserves.
50:5 Nay, they reject the Truth when it comes to them, so they are in a state of confusion.
50:6 Do they not look at the sky above them? — how We have made it and adorned it and it has no gaps.
50:7 And the earth, We have spread it out, and cast therein mountains, and We have made to grow therein of every beautiful kind —
50:8 To give sight and as a reminder to every servant who turns (to Allah).
50:9 And We send down from the clouds water abounding in good, then We cause to grow thereby gardens and the grain that is reaped,
50:10 And the tall palm-trees having flower spikes piled one above another —
50:11 A sustenance for the servants, and We give life thereby to a dead land. Thus is the rising.
50:12 Before them the people of Noah rejected (the Truth) and (so did) the dwellers of al-Rass and Thamud
50:13 And 'Ad and Pharaoh and Lot's brethren,
50:14 And the dwellers of the grove and the people of Tubba'. They all rejected the messengers, so My threat came to pass.
50:15 Were We then fatigued with the first creation? Yet they are in doubt about a new creation.
* * *
50:16 And certainly We created man, and We know what his mind suggests to him — and We are nearer to him than his life-vein.
50:17 When the two receivers receive, sitting on the right and on the left,
50:18 He utters not a word but there is by him a watcher at hand.
50:19 And the stupor of death comes in truth; that is what thou wouldst shun.
50:20 And the trumpet is blown. That is the day of threatening.
50:21 And every soul comes, with it a driver and a witness.
50:22 Thou wast indeed heedless of this, but now We have removed from thee thy veil, so thy sight is sharp this day.
50:23 And his companion will say: This is what is ready with me.
50:24 Cast into hell every ungrateful, rebellious one,
50:25 Forbidder of good, exceeder of limits, doubter,
50:26 Who sets up another god with Allah, so cast him into severe chastisement.
50:27 His companion will say: Our Lord, I did not cause him to rebel but he himself went far in error.
50:28 He will say: Dispute not in My presence, and indeed I gave you warning beforehand.
50:29 My sentence cannot be changed, nor am I in the least unjust to the servants.
* * *
50:30 On the day when We say to hell: Art thou filled up? And it will say: Are there any more?
50:31 And the Garden is brought near for those who guard against evil — (it is) not disrant.
50:32 This is what you are promised — for every one turning (to Allah), keeping (the limits) —
50:33 Who fears the Beneficent in secret, and comes with a penitent heart:
50:34 Enter it in peace. That is the day of abiding.
50:35 For them therein is all they wish, and with Us is yet more.
50:36 And how many a generation We destroyed before them who were mightier in prowess than they! so they went about in the lands. Is there a place of refuge?
50:37 Surely there is a reminder in this for him who has a heart or he gives ear and is a witness.
50:38* And certainly We created the heavens and the earth and what is between them in six periods, and no fatigue touched Us.
50:39 So bear with what they say, and celebrate the praise of thy Lord before the rising of the sun and before the setting.
50:40 And glorify Him in the night and after prostration.
50:41 And listen on the day when the crier cries from a near place —
50:42 The day when they hear the cry in truth. That is the day of coming forth.
50:43 Surely We give life and cause to die, and to Us is the eventual coming —
50:44 The day when the earth cleaves asunder from them, hastening forth. That is a gathering easy to Us.
50:45 We know best what they say, and thou art not one to compel them. So remind by means of the Koran him who fears My threat.

KORAN CHAPTER 55 / Sura 20
Ta Ha (The Ta-Ha is an Arabic letter combination whose original significance is unknown. The Tafsir (exegesis) has interpreted Ta-Ha as abbreviation for either names or qualities of God)
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
20:1 O man,
20:2 We have not revealed the Koran to thee that thou mayest be unsuccessful;
20:3 But it is a reminder to him who fears:
20:4 A revelation from Him Who created the earth and the high heavens.
20:5 The Beneficent is established on the Throne of Power.
20:6 To Him belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth and whatever is between them and whatever is beneath the soil.
20:7 And if thou utter the saying aloud, surely He knows the secret, and what is yet more hidden.
20:8 Allah there is no God but He. His are the most beautiful names.
20:9 And has the story of Moses come to thee?
20:10 When he saw a fire, he said to his people: Stay, I see a fire; haply I may bring to you therefrom a live coal or find guidance at the fire.
20:11 So when he came to it, a voice came: O Moses,
20:12 Surely I am thy Lord, so take off thy shoes; surely thou art in the sacred valley Tuwa.
20:13 And I have chosen thee so listen to what is revealed:
20:14 Surely I am Allah, there is no God but I, so serve Me, and keep up prayer for My remembrance,
20:15 Surely the Hour is coming — I am about to make it manifest — so that every soul may be rewarded as it strives.
20:16 So let not him, who believes not in it and follows his low desire, turn thee away from it, lest thou perish.
20:17 And what is this in thy right hand, O Moses?
20:18 He said: This is my staff I lean on it, and I beat the leaves with it for my sheep, and I have other uses for it.
20:19 He said: Cast it down, O Moses.
20:20 So he cast it down, and lo! it was a serpent, gliding.
20:21 He said: Seize it and fear not. We shall return it to its former state.
20:22 And press thy hand to thy side, it will come out white without evil — another sign:
20:23 That We may show thee of Our greater signs.
20:24 Go to Pharaoh, surely he has exceeded the limits.
* * *
20:25 He said: My Lord, expand my breast for me:
20:26 And ease my affair for me:
20:27 And loose the knot from my tongue,
20:28 (That) they may understand my word.
20:29 And give to me an aider from my family:
20:30 Aaron, my brother;
20:31 Add to my strength by him,
20:32 And make him share my task —
20:33 So that we may glorify Thee much,
20:34 And much remember Thee.
20:35 Surely, Thou art ever Seeing us.
20:36 He said: Thou art indeed granted thy petition, O Moses.
20:37 And indeed We bestowed on thee a favour at another time,
20:38 When We revealed to thy mother that which was revealed:
20:39 Put him into a chest, then cast it into the river, the river will cast it upon the shore — there an enemy to Me and an enemy to him shall take him up. And I shed on thee love from Me; and that thou mayest be brought up before My eyes.
20:40 When thy sister went and said: Shall I direct you to one who will take charge of him? So We brought thee back to thy mother that her eye might be cooled and she should not grieve. And thou didst kill a man, then We delivered thee from grief, and tried thee with (many) trials. Then thou didst stay for years among the people of Midian. Then thou camest hither as ordained, O Moses.
20:41 And I have chosen thee for Myself.

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20:42 Go thou and thy brother with My messages and be not remiss in remembering Me.
20:43 Go both of you to Pharaoh, surely he is inordinate;
20:44 Then speak to him a gentle word, haply he may mind or fear.
20:45 They said: Our Lord, we fear lest he hasten to do evil to us or be inordinate.
20:46 He said: Fear not, surely I am with you — I do hear and see.
20:47 So go you to him and say: Surely we are two messengers of thy Lord; so send forth the Children of Israel with us; and torment them not. Indeed we have brought to thee a message from thy Lord, and peace to him who follows the guidance.
20:48 It has indeed been revealed to us that punishment will overtake him who rejects and turns away.
20:49 (Pharaoh) said: Who is your Lord, O Moses?
20:50 He said: Our Lord is He Who gives to everything its creation, then guides (it).
20:51 He said: What then is the state of the former generations?
20:52 He said: The knowledge thereof is with my Lord in a book; my Lord neither errs nor forgets —
20:53 Who made the earth for you an expanse and made for you therein paths and sent down water from the clouds. Then thereby We bring forth pairs of various herbs.
20:54 Eat and pasture your cattle. Surely there are signs in this for men of understanding.
* * *
20:55 From it We created you, and into it We shall return you, and from it raise you a second time.
20:56 And truly We showed him all Our signs but he rejected and refused.
20:57 Said he: Hast thou come to us to turn us out of our land by thy enchantment, O Moses?
20:58 We too can bring to thee enchantment like it, so make an appointment between us and thee, which we break not, (neither) we nor thou, (in) a central place.
20:59 (Moses) said: Your appointment is the day of the Festival, and let the people be gathered in the early forenoon.
20:60 So Pharaoh went back and settled his plan, then came.
20:61 Moses said to them: Woe to you! Forge not a lie against Allah, lest He destroy you by punishment, and he fails indeed who forges (a lie).
20:62 So they disputed one with another about their affair and kept the discourse secret.
20:63 They said: These are surely two enchanters who would drive you out from your land by their enchantment, and destroy your excellent institutions.
20:64 So settle your plan, then come in ranks, and he will succeed indeed this day who is uppermost.
20:65 They said: O Moses, wilt thou cast, or shall we be the first to cast down?
20:66 He said: Nay! Cast you down. Then lo! their cords and their rods it appeared to him by their enchantment as if they ran.
20:67 So Moses conceived fear in his mind.
20:68 We said: Fear not, surely thou art the uppermost.
20:69 And cast down what is in thy right hand — it will eat up what they have wrought. What they have wrought is only the trick of an enchanter, and the enchanter succeeds not wheresoever he comes from.
20:70 So the enchanters fell down prostrate, saying: We believe in the Lord of Aaron and Moses.
20:71 (Pharaoh) said: You believe in him before I give you leave! Surely he is your chief who taught you enchantment. So I shall cut off your hands and your feet on opposite sides and I shall crucify you on the trunks of palm-trees, and you shall certainly know which of us can give the severer and the more abiding chastisement.
20:72 They said: We cannot prefer thee to what has come to us of clear arguments and to Him Who made us, so decide as thou wilt decide. Thou canst only decide about this world's life.
20:73 Surely we believe in our Lord that He may forgive us our faults and the magic to which thou didst compel us. And Allah is Best and ever Abiding.
20:74 Whoso comes guilty to his Lord, for him is surely hell. He will neither die therein, nor live.
20:75 And whoso comes to Him a believer, having done good deeds, for them are high ranks —
20:76 Gardens of perpetuity, wherein flow rivers, to abide therein. And such is the reward of him who purifies himself.
20:77 And certainly We revealed to Moses: Travel by night with My servants, then strike for them a dry path in the sea, not fearing to overtaken, nor being afraid.
20:78 So Pharaoh followed them with his armies, then there covered them of the sea that which covered them.
20:79 And Pharaoh led his people astray and he guided not aright.
20:80 O Children of Israel, We truly delivered you from your enemy, and made a covenant with you on the blessed side of the mountain, and sent to you the manna and the quails.
20:81 Eat of the good things We have provided for you, and be not inordinate in respect thereof, lest My wrath come upon you; and he on whom My wrath comes, he perishes indeed.
20:82 And surely I am Forgiving toward him who repents and believes and does good, then walks aright.
20:83 And what made thee hasten from thy people, O Moses?
20:84 He said: They are here on my track, and I hastened on to Thee, my Lord, that Thou mightest be pleased.
20:85 He said: Surely We have tried thy people in thy absence, and the Samiri has led them astray.
20:86 So Moses returned to his people angry, sorrowing. He said: O my people, did not your Lord promise you a goodly promise? Did the promised time, then, seem long to you, or did you wish that displeasure from your Lord should come upon you, so that you broke (your) promise to me?
20:87 They said: We broke not the promise to thee of our own accord, but we were made to bear the burdens of the ornaments uf the people, then we cast them away, and thus did the Samiri suggest
20:88 Then he brought forth for them a calf, a body, which had a hollow sound, so they said: This is your god and the god of Moses but he forgot.
20:89 Could they not see that it returned no reply to them, nor controlled any harm or benefit for them?
* * *
20:90 And Aaron indeed had said to them before: O my people, you are only tried by it, and surely your Lord is the Beneficent God, so follow me and obey my order.
20:91 They said We shall not cease to keep to its worship until Moses returns to us.
20:92 (Moses) said: O Aaron, what prevented thee, when thou sawest them going astray,
20:93 That thou didst not follow me? Hast thou, then, disobeyed my order?
20:94 He said: O son of my mother, seize me not by my beard, nor by my head. Surely I was afraid lest thou shouldst say Thou hast caused division among the Children of Israel and not waited for my word.
20:95 (Moses) said: What was thy object, O Samiri?
20:96 He said: I perceived what they perceived not, so I took a handful from the footprints of the messenger then I cast it away. Thus did my soul embellish (it) to me.
20:97 He said: Begone then! It is for thee in this life to say, Touch (me) not. And for thee is a promise which shall not fail. And look at thy god to whose worship thou hast kept. We will certainly burn it, then we will scatter it in the sea.
20:98 Your Lord is only Allah, there is no God but He. He comprehends all things in (His) knowledge.
20:99 Thus relate We to thee of the news of what has gone before. And indeed We have given thee a Reminder from Ourselves.
20:100 Whoever turns away from it, he will surely bear a burden on the day of Resurrection,
20:101 Abiding therein. And evil will be their burden on the day of Resurrection —
20:102 The day when the trumpet is blown; and We shall gather the guilty, blue-eyed, on that day,
20:103 Consulting together secretly: You tarried but ten (days).
20:104 We know best what they say when the fairest of them in course would say: You tarried but a day.
* * *
20:105 And they ask thee about the mountains. Say: My Lord will scatter them, as scattered dust,
20:106 Then leave it a plain, smooth, level,
20:107 Wherein thou seest no crookedness nor unevenness.
20:108 On that day they will follow the Inviter, in whom is no crookedness; and the voices are low before the Beneficent God, so that thou hearest naught but a soft sound.
20:109 On that day no intercession avails except of him whom the Beneficent allows, and whose word He is pleased with.
20:110 He knows what is before them and what is behind them, while they cannot comprehend it in knowledge.
20:111 And faces shall be humbled before the Living, the Self-subsistent. And he who bears iniquity is indeed undone.
20:112 And whoever does good works and he is a believer, he has no fear of injustice, nor of the withholding of his due.
20:113 And thus have We sent it down an Arabic Koran, and have distinctly set forth therein of threats that they may guard against evil, or that it may be a reminder for them.
20:114 Supremely exalted then is Allah, the King, the Truth. And make not haste with the Koran before its revelation is made complete to thee, and say: My Lord, increase me in knowledge.
20:115 And certainly We gave a commandment to Adam before, but he forgot; and We found in him no resolve (to disobey).
* * *
20:116 And when We said to the angels: Be submissive to Adam, they submitted except Iblis; he refused.
20:117 We said: O Adam, this is an enemy to thee and to thy wife; so let him not drive you both out of the garden so that thou art unhappy.
20:118 Surely it is granted to thee therein that thou art not hungry, nor naked,
20:119 And that thou art not thirsty therein, nor exposed to the sun's heat.
20:120 But the devil made an evil suggestion to him; he said: O Adam, shall I lead thee to the tree of immortality and a kingdom which decays not?
20:121 So they both ate of it, then their evil inclinations became manifest to them, and they began to cover themselves with the leaves of the garden. And Adam disobeyed his Lord, and was disappointed.
20:122 Then his Lord chose him, so He turned to him and guided (him).
20:123 He said: Go forth herefrom both — all (of you) one of you (is) enemy to another. So there will surely come to you guidance from Me; then whoever follows My guidance, he will not go astray nor be unhappy.
20:124 And whoever turns away from My Reminder, for him is surely a straitened life, and We shall raise him up blind on the day of Resurrection.
20:125 He will say: My Lord, why hast Thou raised me up blind, while I used to see?
20:126 He will say: Thus did Our messages come to thee, but thou didst neglect them. And thus art thou forsaken this day.
20:127 And thus do We recompense him who is extravagant and believes not in the messages of his Lord. And certainly the chastisement of the Hereafter is severer and mote lasting.
20:128 Does it not manifest to them how many of the generations, in whose dwellings they go about, We destroyed before them? Surely there are signs in this for men of understanding.
* * *
20:129 And had not a word gone forth from thy Lord, and a term been fixed, it would surely have overtaken them.
20:130* So bear patiently what they say, and celebrate the praise of thy Lord before the rising of the sun and before its setting, and glorify (Him) during the hours of the night and parts of the day, that thou mayest be well pleased.
20:131* And strain not thine eyes toward that with which We have provided different classes of them, (of) the splendour of this world's life, that We may thereby try them. And the sustenance of thy Lord is better and more abiding.
20:132 And enjoin prayer on thy people, and steadily adhere to it. We ask not of thee a sustenance. We provide for thee. And the (good) end is for guarding against evil.
20:133 And they say: Why does he not bring us a sign from his Lord? Has not there come to them a clear evidence of what is in the previous Books?
20:134 And if We had destroyed them with chastisement before it, they would have said: Our Lord, why didst Thou not send to us a messenger, so that we might have followed Thy messages before we met disgrace and shame?
20:135 Say: Every one (of us) is waiting, so wait. Soon you will come to know who is the follower of the even path and who goes aright.

KORAN CHAPTER 56 / Sura 26
The Poets / Al-Shuara
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
26:1 Benignant, Hearing, Knowing God.
26:2 These are the verses of the Book that makes manifest.
26:3 Perhaps thou wilt kill thyself with grief because they believe not.
26:4 If We please, We could send down on them a sign from heaven, so that their necks would bend before it.
26:5 And there comes not to them a new Reminder from the Beneficent but they turn away from it.
26:6 They indeed reject, so the news will soon come to them of that at which they mock.
26:7 See they not the earth, how many of every noble kind We cause to grow in it?
26:8 surely in this is a sign; yet most of them believe not.
26:9 And surely thy Lord is the Mighty, the Merciful.
* * *
26:10 And when thy Lord called Moses, saying: Go to the iniquitous people
26:11 The people of Pharaoh. Will they nor guard against evil?
26:12 He said: My Lord, I fear that they will reject me.
26:13 And my breast straitens, and my tongue is not eloquent, so send for Aaron (too).
26:14 And they have a crime against me, so I fear that they will kill me.
26:15 He said: By no means; so go you both with Our signs surely We are with you, Hearing.
26:16 Then come to Pharaoh, and say: We are bearers of a message of the Lord of the worlds:
26:17 Send with us the Children of Israel.

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26:18 (Pharaoh) said: Did we not bring thee up as a child among us, and thou didst tarry (many) years of thy life among us?
26:19 And thou didst (that) deed of thine which thou didst and thou art of the ungrateful ones.
26:20 He said: I did it then when I was of those who err.
26:21 So I fled from you when I feared you, then my Lord granted me judgement and made me of the messengers.
26:22 And is it a favour of which thou remindest me that thou hast enslaved the Children of Israel?
26:23 Pharaoh said: And what is the Lord of the worlds?
26:24 He said: The Lord of the heavens and the earth and what is between them, if you would be sure.
26:25 (Pharaoh) said to those around him: Do you not hear?
26:26 He said: Your Lord and the Lord of your fathers of old.
26:27 (Pharaoh) said: Surely your messenger, who is sent to you, is mad.
26:28 He said: The Lord of the East and the West and what is between them, if you have any sense.
26:29 (Pharaoh) said: If thou takest a god besides me, I will certainly put thee in prison.
26:30. He said: Even if I show thee something plain?
26:31 (Pharaoh) said: Show it, then, if thou art of the truthful.
26:32 So he cast down his rod, and lo! it was an obvious serpent;
26:33 And he drew forth his hand, and lo! it appeared white to the beholders.
* * *
26:34 (Pharaoh) said to the chiefs around him: Surely this is a skilful enchanter,
26:35 Who desires to turn you out of your land with his enchantment. What is it then that you counsel?
26:36 They said: Give him and his brother respite and send heralds into the cities,
26:37 That they bring to thee every skilful enchanter.
26:38 So the enchanters were gathered together for the appointment of a well-known day,
26:39 And it was said to the people Will you gather together?
26:40 Haply we may follow the enchanters, if they are the vanquishers.
26:41 So when the enchanters came, they said to Pharaoh: Will there be a reward for us, if we are the vanquishers?
26:42 He said: Yes, and surely you will then be of those who are nearest (to me).
26:43 Moses said to them: Cast what you are going to cast.
26:44 So they cast down their cords and their rods and said: By Pharaoh's power we shall most surely be victorious.
26:45 Then Moses cast down his rod, and lo! it swallowed up their fabrication.
26:46 And the enchanters were thrown down prostrate —
26:47 They said: We believe in the Lord of the worlds,
26:48 The Lord of Moses and Aaron.
26:49 (Pharaoh) said: You believe in him before I give you leave; surely he is the chief of you who taught you enchantment, so you shall know. Certainly I will cut off your hands and your feet on opposite sides, and I will crucify you all.
26:50 They said: No harm; surely to our Lord we return.
26:51 We hope that out Lord will forgive us our wrongs because we are the first of the believers.
* * *
26:52 And We revealed to Moses, saying: Travel by night with My servants — you will be pursued.
26:53 And Pharaoh sent heralds into the cities (proclaiming):
26:54 These are indeed a small band,
26:55 And they have surely enraged us:
26:56 And we are truly a vigilant multitude.
26:57 So We turned them out of gardens and springs,
26:58 And treasures and goodly dwellings —
26:59 Even so. And We gave them as a heritage to the Children of Israel.
26:60 Then they pursued them at sunrise.
26:61 So when the two hosts saw each other, the companions of Moses cried out: Surely we are overtaken.
26:62 He said: By no means; surely my Lord is with me — He will guide me.
26:63 Then We revealed to Moses March on to the sea with thy staff. So it parted, and each party was like a huge mound.
26:64 And there We brought near the others.
26:65 And We saved Moses and those with him, all.
26:66 Then We drowned the others.
26:67 Surely there is a sign in this yet most of them believe not.
26:68 And surely thy Lord is the Mighty, the Merciful.
* * *
26:69 And recite to them the story of Abraham.
26:70 When he said to his sire and his people: What do you worship?
26:71 They said: We worship idols, so we shall remain devoted to them.
26:72 He said: Do they hear you when you call (on them),
26:73 Or do they benefit or harm you?
26:74 They said: Nay, we found our fathers doing so.
26:75 He said: Do you then see what you worship —
26:76 You and your ancient sires?
26:77 Surely they are an enemy to me, but not (so) the Lord of the worlds,
26:78 Who created me, then He shows me the way,
26:79 And Who gives me to eat and to drink,
26:80 And when I am sick, He heals me,
26:81 And Who will cause me to die, then give me life,
26:82 And Who, I hope, will forgive me my mistakes on the day of Judgement.
26:83 My Lord, grant me wisdom, and join me with the righteous,
26:84 And ordain for me a goodly mention in later generations,
26:85 And make me of the heirs of the Garden of bliss,
26:86 And forgive my sire, surely he is of the erring ones,
26:87 And disgrace me not on the day when they are raised —
26:88 The day when wealth will not avail, nor sons,
26:89 Save him who comes to Allah with a sound heart.
26:90 And the Garden is brought near for the dutiful,
26:91 And hell is made manifest to the deviators,
26:92 And it is said to them: Where are those that you worshipped
26:93 Besides Allah? Can they help you or help themselves?
26:94 So they are hurled into it, they and the deviators,
26:95 And the hosts of the devil, all.
26:96 They will say, while they quarrel therein
26:97 By Allah We were certainly in manifest error,
26:98 When we made you equal with the Lord of the worlds.
26:99 And none but the guilty led us astray.
26:100 So we have no intercessors,
26:101 Nor a true friend.
26:102 Now, if we could but once return, we would be believers.
26:103 Surely there is a sign in this yet most of them believe not.
26:104 And surely thy Lord is the Mighty, the Merciful.
* * *
26:105 The people of Noah rejected the messengers.
26:106 When their brother Noah said to them: Will you not guard against evil?
26:107 Surely I am a faithful messenger to you:
26:108 So keep your duty to Allah and obey me.
26:109 And I ask of you no reward for it my reward is only with the Lord of the worlds.
26:110 So keep your duty to Allah and obey me.
26:111 They said: Shall we believe in thee and the meanest follow thee?
26:112 He said: And what knowledge have I of what they did?
26:113 Their reckoning is only with my Lord, if you but perceive.
26:114 And I am not going to drive away the believers
26:115 I am only a plain warner.
26:116 They said: If thou desist not, O Noah, thou wilt certainly be stoned to death.
26:117 He said: My Lord, my people give me the lie.
26:118 So judge Thou between me and them openly, and deliver me and the believers who are with me.
26:119 So We delivered him and those with him in the laden ark.
26:120 Then We drowned the rest afterwards.
26:121 Surely there is sign in this, yet most of them believe not.
26:122 And surely thy Lord is the Mighty, the Merciful.
* * *
26:123 'Ad gave the lie to the messengers.
26:124 When their brother Hud said to them: Will you not guard against evil?
26:125 Surely I am a faithful messenger to you:
26:126 So keep your duty to Allah and obey me.
26:127 And I ask of you no reward for it; surely my reward is only with the Lord of the worlds.
26:128 Do you build on every height a monument? You (only) sport.
26:129 And you make fortresses that you may abide.
26:130 And when you seize, you seize as tyrants.
26:131 So keep your duty to Allah and obey me.
26:132 And keep your duty to Him Who aids you with that which you know —
26:133 He aids you with cattle and children
26:134 And gardens and fountains.
26:135 Surely I fear for you the chastisement of a grievous day.
26:136 They said: It is the same to us whether thou admonish, or art not one of the admonishers:
26:137 This is naught but a fabrication of the ancients:
26:138 And we will not be chastised.
26:139 So they rejected him, then We destroyed them. Surely there is a sign in this; yet most of them believe not.
26:140 And surely thy Lord is the Mighty, the Merciful;
* * *
26:141 Thamud gave the lie to the messengers.
26:142 When their brother Salih said to them: Will you not guard against evil?
26:143 Surely I am a faithful messenger to you:
26:144 So keep your duty to Allah and obey me.
26:145 And I ask of you no reward for it; my reward is only with the Lord of the worlds.
26:146 Will you be left secure in what is here,
26:147 In gardens and fountains,
26:148 And corn-fields and palm-trees having fine flower-spikes?
26:149 And you hew houses out of the mountains exultingly.
26:150 So keep your duty to Allah and obey me.
26:151 And obey not the bidding of the extravagant,
26:152 Who make mischief in the land and act nor aright.
26:153 They said: Thou art only a deluded person.
26:154 Thou art naught but a mortal like ourselves — so bring a sign if thou art truthful.
26:155 He said: This is a she-camel she has her portion of water, and you have your portion of water at an appointed time.
26:156 And touch her not with evil, lest the chastisement of a grievous day overtake you.
26:157 But they hamstrung her, then regretted,
26:158 So the chastisement overtook them. Surely there is a sign in this yet most of them believe not.
26:159 And surely thy Lord is the Mighty, the Merciful.
* * *
26:160 The people of Lot gave the lie to the messengers.
26:161 When their brother Lot said to them: Will you not guard against evil?
26:162 Surely I am a faithful messenger to you:
26:163 So keep your duty to Allah and obey me.
26:164 And I ask of you no reward for it my reward is only with the Lord of the worlds.
26:165 Do you come to the males from among the creatures,
26:166 And leave your wives whom your Lord has created for you? Nay, you are a people exceeding limits.
26:167 They said: If thou desist not, O Lot, thou wilt surely be banished.
26:168 He said: Surely I abhor what you do.
26:169 My Lord, deliver me and my followers from what they do.
26:170 So We delivered him and his followers all,
26:171 Except an old woman, among those who remained behind.
26:172 Then We destroyed the others.
26:173 And We rained on them a rain, and evil was the rain on those warned.
26:174 Surely there is a sign in this yet most of them believe not.
26:175 And surely thy Lord is the Mighty, the Merciful.
* * *
26:176 The dwellers of the thicket gave the lie to the messengers.
26:177 When Shu'aib said to them: Will you not guard against evil?
26:178 Surely I am a faithful messenger to you;
26:179 So keep your duty to Allah and obey me.
26:180 And I ask of you no reward for it; my reward is only with the Lord of the worlds.
26:181 Give full measure and be not of those who diminish.
26:182 And weigh with a true balance.
26:183 And wrong not men of their dues, and act not corruptly in the earth, making mischief.
26:184 And keep your duty to Him Who created you and the former generations.
26:185 They said: Thou art only a deluded person,
26:186 And thou art naught but a mortal like ourselves, and we deem thee to be a liar.
26:187 So cause a portion of heaven to fall on us, if thou art truthful.
26:188 He said: My Lord knows best what you do.
26:189 But they rejected him, so the chastisement of the day of Covering overtook them. Surely it was the chastisement of a grievous day!
26:190 Surely there is a sign in this yet must of them believe not.
26:191 And surely thy Lord is the Mighty, the Merciful.
* * *
26:192 And surely this is a revelation from the Lord of the worlds.
26:193 The Faithful Spirit has brought it
26:194 On thy heart that thou mayest be a warner,
26:195 In plain Arabic language.
26:196 And surely the same is in the Scriptures of the ancients.
26:197* Is it not a sign to them that the learned men of the Children of Israel know it?
26:198 And if We had revealed it to any of the foreigners,
26:199 And he had read it to them, they would not have believed in it.

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26:200 Thus do We cause it to enter into the hearts of the guilty.
26:201 They will not believe in it till they see the painful chastisement:
26:202 So it will come to them suddenly, while they perceive not;
26:203 Then they will say: Shall we be respited?
26:204 Do they still seek to hasten on Our chastisement?
26:205 Seest thou, if We let them enjoy themselves for years,
26:206 Then that which they are promised comes to them
26:207 That which they were made to enjoy will not avail them?
26:208 And We destroyed no town but it had (its) warners
26:209 To remind. And We are never unjust.
26:210 And the devils have not brought it.
26:211 And it behoves them not, nor have they the power to do (it).
26:212 Surely they are far removed from hearing it.
26:213 So call not upon another god with Allah, lest thou be of those who are chastised.
26:214 And warn thy nearest relations,
26:215 And lower thy wing to the believers who follow thee.
26:216 But if they disobey thee, say I am clear of what you do.
26:217 And rely on the Mighty, the Merciful,
26:218 Who sees thee when thou standest up,
26:219 And thy movements among those who prostrate themselves.
26:220 Surely He is the Hearing, the Knowing.
26:221 Shall I inform you upon whom the devils descend?
26:222 They descend upon every lying, sinful one —
26:223 They give ear, and most of them are liars.
26:224* And the poets — the deviators follow them.
26:225* Seest thou not that they wander in every valley,
26:226* And that they say that which they do not?
26:227* Except those who believe and do good and remember Allah much, and defend themselves after they are oppressed. And they who do wrong, will know to what final place of turning they will turn back.

KORAN CHAPTER 57 / Sura 15
The Rock / Al-Hihr
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
15:1 I, Allah, am the Seer. These are the verses of the Book and (of) a Koran that makes manifest.
15:2 Often will those who disbelieve wish that they were Muslims.
15:3 Leave them to eat and enjoy themselves, and let (false) hope beguile them, for they will soon know.
15:4 And never did We destroy a town but it had a decree made known.
15:5 No people can hasten on their doom, nor can they postpone (it).
15:6 And they say: O thou to whom the Reminder is revealed, thou art indeed mad.
15:7 Why bringest thou not the angels to us, if thou art of the truthful?
15:8 We send not angels but with truth, and then they would not be respited.
15:9 Surely We have revealed the Reminder, and surely We are its Guardian.
15:10 And certainly We sent (messengers) before thee among the sects of yore.
15:11 And there never came a messenger to them but they mocked him.
15:12 Thus do We make it enter the hearts of the guilty —
15:13 They believe not in it; and the example of the ancients has gone before.
15:14 And even if We open to them a gate of heaven, and they keep on ascending into it,
15:15 They would say: Only our eyes have been covered over, rather we are an enchanted people.
* * *
15:16 And certainly We have made strongholds in the heaven, and We have made it fair-seeming to the beholders,
15:17 And We guard it against every accursed devil,
15:18 But he who steals a hearing; so there follows him a visible flame.
15:19 And the earth — We have spread it out and made in it firm mountains and caused to grow in it of every suitable thing
15:20 And We have made in it means of subsistence for you and for him for whom you provide not.
15:21 And there is not a thing but with Us are the treasures of it, and We send it not down but in a known measure.
15:22 And We send the winds fertilizing, then send down water from the clouds, so We give it to you to drink; nor is it you who store it up.
15:23 And surely it is We, Who give life and cause death, and We are the Inheritors.
15:24* And certainly We know those among you who go forward and We certainly know those who lag behind.
15:25 And surely thy Lord will gather them together. He indeed is Wise,
* * *
15:26 And surely We created man of sounding clay, of black mud fashioned into shape.
15:27 And the jinn, We created before of intensely hot fire.
15:28 And when thy Lord said to the angels I am going to create a mortal of sound clay, of black mud fashioned into shape.
15:29 So when I have made him complete and breathed into him of My spirit, fall down making obeisance to him.
15:30 So the angels made obeisance, all of them together —
15:31 But Iblis (did it not). He refused to be with those who made obeisance.
15:32 He said: O Iblis, what is the reason that thou art not with those who make obeisance?
15:33 He said: I am not going to make obeisance to a mortal, whom Thou liast created of sounding clay, of black mud fashioned into shape.
15:34 He said: Then go forth, for surely thou art driven away,
15:35 And surely on thee is a curse till the day of Judgement.
15:36 He said: My Lord, respite me till the time when they are raised.
15:37 He said: Surely thou art of the respited ones,
15:38 Till the period of the time made known.
15:39 He said: My Lord, as Thou hast judged me erring, I shall certainly make (evil) fair-seeming to them on earth, and I shall cause them all to deviate,
15:40 Except Thy servants from among them, the purified ones.
15:41 He said: This is a right way with Me.
15:42 As regards My servants, thou hast no authority over them except such of the deviators as follow thee.
15:43 And surely hell is the promised place for them all —
15:44 It has seven gates. For each gate is an appointed portion of them.
* * *
15:45 Surely those who keep their duty are in Gardens and fountains.
15:46 Enter them in peace, secure.
15:47 And We shall root out whatever of rancour is in their breasts — as brethren, on raised couches, face to face.
15:48 Toil afflicts them not therein, nor will they be ejected therefrom.
15:49 Inform My servants that I am the Forgiving, the Merciful,
15:50 And that My chastisement — that is the painful chastisement.
15:51 And inform them of the guests of Abraham.
15:52 When they entered upon him, they said, Peace He said: We are afraid of you.
15:53 They said: Be not afraid, we give thee good news of a boy, possessing knowledge.
15:54 He said: Do you give me good news when old age has come upon me? Of what then do you give me good news?
15:55 They said: We give thee good news with truth, so be not thou of the despairing ones.
15:56 He said: And who despairs of the mercy of his Lord but the erring ones?
15:57 He said: What is your business, then, O messengers?
15:58 They said: We have been sent to a guilty people,
15:59 Except Lot's followers. We shall deliver them all,
15:60 Except his wife: We ordained that she shall surely be of those who remain behind.
* * *
15:61 So when the messengers came to Lot's followers,
15:62 He said: Surely you are an unknown people.
15:63 They said: Nay, we have come to thee with that about which they disputed.
15:64 And we have come to thee with the truth, and we are surely truthful.
15:65 So travel with thy followers for a part of the night and thyself follow their rear; and let not any one of you turn round, and go whither you are commanded.
15:66 And We made known to him this decree, that the roots of these should be cut off in the morning.
15:67 And the people of the town came rejoicing.
15:68 He said: These are my guests, so disgrace me not,
15:69 And keep your duty to Allah and shame me not.
15:70 They said: Did we not forbid thee from (entertaining) people?
15:71 He said: These are my daughters, if you will do (aught).
15:72 By thy life they blindly wandered on in their frenzy.
15:73 So the cry overtook them at sunrise
15:74 Thus We turned it upside down, and rained upon them hard stones.
15:75 Surely in this are signs for those who take a lesson.
15:76 And it is on a road that still abides.
15:77 Verily therein is a sign for the believers.
15:78 And the dwellers of the thicker were indeed iniquitous:
15:79 So We inflicted retribution on them. And they are both on an open high road.
* * *
15:80 And the dwellers of the Rock indeed rejected the messengers;
15:81 And We gave them Our messages, but they turned away from them;
15:82 And they hewed houses in the mountains, in security.
15:83 So the cry overtook them in the morning;
15:84 And what they earned availed them not.
15:85 And We created not the heavens and the earth and what is between them but with truth. And the Hour is surely coming, so turn away with kindly forgiveness.
15:86 Surely thy Lord — He is the Creator, the Knower.
15:87* And certainly We have given thee seven oft-repeated (verses) and the grand Koran.
15:88 Strain not thine eyes at what We have given certain classes of them to enjoy, and grieve not for them, and make thyself gentle to the believers.
15:89 And say: I am indeed the plain warner.
15:90 Like as We sent down on them who took oaths,
15:91 Those who divided the Koran into parts.
15:92 So, by thy Lord! We shall question them all.
15:93 As to what they did.
15:94 Therefore declare openly what thou art commanded, and turn away from the polytheists.
15:95 Surely We are sufficient for thee against the scoffers —
15:96 Those who set up another god with Allah; so they will come to know.
15:97 And We know indeed that thy breast straitens at what they say;
15:98 So celebrate the praise of thy Lord, and be of those who make obeisance.
15:99 And serve thy Lord, until there comes to thee that which is certain.

KORAN CHAPTER 58 / Sura 19
Mary (Maria) **/** Maryam
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
19:1 Sufficient, Guide, Blessed, Knowing, Truthful God.
19:2 A mention of the mercy of thy Lord to His servant Zacharias —
19:3 When he called upon his Lord, crying in secret.
19:4 He said: My Lord, my bones are weakened, and my head flares with hoariness, and I have never been unsuccessful in my prayer to Thee, my Lord.
19:5 And I fear my kinsfolk after me, and my wife is barren, so grant me from Thyself an heir
19:6 Who should inherit me and inherit of the Children of Jacob, and make him, my Lord, acceptable (to Thee).
19:7 O Zacharias, We give thee good news of a boy, whose name is John: We have not made before anyone his equal.
19:8 He said: My Lord, how shall I have a son, and my wife is barren, and I have reached extreme old age?
19:9 He said: So (it will be). Thy Lord says: It is easy to Me, and indeed I created thee before, when thou wast nothing.
19:10 He said: My Lord, give me a sign. He said: Thy sign is that thou speak not to people three nights, being in sound health.
19:11 So he went forth to his people from the sanctuary and proclaimed to them: Glorify (Allah) morning and evening.
19:12 O John, take hold of the Book with strength. And We granted him wisdom when a child,
19:13 And kind-heartedness from Us and purity. And he was dutiful,
19:14 And kindly to his parents, and he was not insolent, disobedient.
19:15 And peace on him the day he was born and the day he died, and the day he is raised to life
* * *
19:16 And mention Mary in the Book. When she drew aside from her family to an eastern place;
19:17 So she screened herself from them. Then We sent to her Our spirit and it appeared to her as a well made man.
19:18 She said: I flee for refuge from thee to the Beneficent, if thou art one guarding against evil.
19:19 He said: I am only bearer of a message of thy Lord: That I will give thee a pure boy.
19:20 She said: How can I have a son and no mortal has yet touched me, nor have I been unchaste?
19:21 He said: So (it will be). Thy Lord says: It is easy to Me; and that We may make him a sign to men and a mercy from Us. And it is a matter decreed.
19:22 Then she conceived him; and withdrew with him to a remote place.
19:23 And the throes of childbirth drove her to the trunk of a palm tree. She said: Oh, would that I had died before this, and had been a thing quite forgotten!
19:24 So a voice came to her from beneath her: Grieve not, surely thy Lord has provided a stream beneath thee.
19:25 And shake towards thee the trunk of the palm-tree, it will drop on thee fresh ripe dates.
19:26 So eat and drink and cool the eye. Then if thou seest any mortal, say: Surely I have vowed a fast to the Beneficent, so I will not speak to any man to-day.

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19:27 Then she came to her people with him, carrying him. They said: O Mary, thou hast indeed brought a strange thing!
19:28 O sister of Aaron, thy father was not a wicked man, nor was thy mother an unchaste woman!
19:29 But she pointed to him. They said: How should we speak to one who is a child in the cradle?
19:30 He said: I am indeed a servant of Allah. He has given me the Book and made me a prophet:
19:31 And He has made me blessed wherever I may be, and He has enjoined on me prayer and poor-rate so long as I live.
19:32 And to be kind to my mother; and He has not made me insolent, unblessed.
19:33 And peace on me the day I was born, and the day I die, and the day I am raised to life.
19:34 Such is Jesus son of Mary a statement of troth about which they dispute.
19:35 It beseems not Allah that He should take to Himself a son. Glory be to Him! when He decrees a matter He only says to it, Be, and it is.
19:36 And surely Allah is my Lord and your Lord, so serve Him. This is the right path.
19:37 But parties from among them differed; so woe to those who disbelieve, because of their presence on a grievous day!
19:38 How clearly will they hear and see on the day when they come to Us but the wrongdoers are to-day in manifest error.
19:39 And warn them of the day of Regret, when the matter is decided. And they are (now) in negligence and they believe not.
19:40 Surely We inherit the earth and those thereon, and to Us they are returned.
* * *
19:41 And mention Abraham in the Book. Surely he was a truthful man, a prophet.
19:42 When he said to his sire O my sire, why worshippest thou that which hears not, nor sees, nor can it avail thee aught?
19:43 O my sire, to me indeed has come the knowledge which has not come to thee; so follow me, I will guide thee on a right path.
19:44 O my sire, serve not the devil. Surely the devil is disobedient to the Beneficent.
19:45 O my sire, surely I fear lest a punishment from the Beneficent should afflict thee, so that thou become a friend of the devil.
19:46 He said: Dislikest thou my gods, O Abraham? If thou desist not, I will certainly drive thee away. And leave me for a time.
19:47 He said: Peace be to thee! I shall pray my Lord to forgive thee. Surely He is ever Kind to me.
19:48 And I withdraw from you and that which you call on beside Allah and I call upon my Lord. Maybe I shall not remain unblessed in calling upon my Lord.
19:49 So, when he withdrew from them and that which they worshipped besides Allah, We gave him Isaac and Jacob. And each (of them) We made a prophet.
19:50 And We gave them of Our mercy, and We granted them a truthful mention of eminence.
* * *
19:51 And mention Moses in the Book. Surely he was one purified, and was a messenger, a prophet.
19:52 And We called to him from the blessed side of the mountain, and We made him draw nigh in communion.
19:53 And We gave him out of Our mercy his brother Aaron, a prophet.
19:54 And mention Ishmael in the Book. Surely he was truthful in promise, and he was a messenger, a prophet.
19:55 And he enjoined on his people prayer and almsgiving, and was one in whom his Lord was well pleased.
19:56 And mention Idris in the Book. Surely he was a truthful man, a prophet,
19:57 And We raised him to an elevated state.
19:58* These are they on whom Allah bestowed favours, from among the prophets, of the seed of Adam, and of those whom We carried with Noah, and of the seed of Abraham and Israel, and of those whom We guided and chose. When the messages of the Beneficent were recited to them, they fell down in submission, weeping.
19:59 But there came after them an evil generation, who wasted prayers and followed lusts, so they will meet perdition,
19:60 Except those who repent and believe and do good such will enter the Garden, and they will not be wronged in aught:
19:61 Gardens of perpetuity which the Beneficent has promised to His servants in the Unseen. Surely His promise ever comes to pass.
19:62 They will hear therein no vain discourse, but only, Peace! And they have their sustenance therein, morning and evening.
19:63 This is the Garden which We cause those of Our servants to inherit who keep their duty.
19:64 And we descend not but by the command of thy Lord. To Him belongs what is before us and what is behind us and what is between these, and thy Lord is never forgetful.
19:65 Lord of the heavens and the earth and what is between them, so serve Him and be patient in His service. Knowest thou any one equal to Him?
* * *
19:66 And says man: When I am dead, shall I truly be brought forth alive?
19:67 Does not man remember that We created him before, when he was nothing?
19:68 So by thy Lord! We shall certainly gather them together and the devils, then shall We bring them around hell on their knees.
19:69 Then We shall draw forth from every sect those most rebellious against the Beneficent.
19:70 Again, We certainly know best those who deserve most to be burned therein.
19:71* And there is not one of you but shall come to it. This is an unavoidable decree of thy Lord.
19:72 And We shall deliver those who guard against evil, and leave the wrongdoers therein on their knees.
19:73 And when Our clear messages are recited to them, those who disbelieve say to those who believe: Which of the two parties is better in position and better in assembly?
19:74 And how many a generation have We destroyed before them, who had better possessions and appearance!
19:75 Say: As for him who is in error, the Beneficent will prolong his length of days; until they see what they were threatened with, either the punishment or the Hour. Then they will know who is worse in position and weaker in forces.
19:76 And Allah increases in guidance those who go aright. And deeds that endure, the good deeds, are, with thy Lord, better in recompense and yield better return.
19:77 Hast thou seen him who disbelieves in Our messages and says: I shall certainly be given wealth and children?
19:78 Has he gained knowledge of the unseen, or made a covenant with the Beneficent?
19:79 By no means! We write down what he says, and We shall lengthen to him the length of the chastisement
19:80 And We shall inherit from him what he says, and he will come to Us alone.
19:81 And they have taken gods besides Allah, that they should be to them a source of strength —
19:82 By no means! They will soon deny their worshipping them, and be their adversaries.
* * *
19:83 Seest thou not that We send the devils against the disbelievers, inciting them incitingly?
19:84 So make no haste against them. We only number out to them a number (of days).
19:85 The day when We gather the dutiful to the Beneficent to receive honours,
19:86 And drive the guilty to hell, as thirsty beasts.
19:87 They have no power of intercession, save him who has made a covenant with the Beneficent.
19:88 And they say: The Beneficent has taken to Himself a son.
19:89 Certainly you make an abominable assertion!
19:90 The heavens may almost be rent thereat, and the earth cleave asunder, and the mountains fall down in pieces,
19:91 That they ascribe a son to the Beneficent!
19:92 And it is not worthy of the Beneficent that He should take to Himself a son.
19:93 There is none in the heavens and the earth but comes to the Beneficent as a servant.
19:94 Certainly He comprehends them, and has numbered them all.
19:95 And every one of them will come to Him on the day of Resurrection, alone.
19:96 Those who believe and do good deeds, for them the Beneficent will surely bring about love.
19:97 So We have made it easy in thy tongue only that thou shouldst give good news thereby to those who guard against evil, and shouldst warn thereby a contentious people.
19:98 And how many a generation before them have We destroyed! Canst thou see any one of them or hear a sound of them?

KORAN CHAPTER 59 / Sura 38
Sad
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
38:1 Truthful God! By the Koran, possessing eminence!
38:2 Nay, those who disbelieve are in self-exaltation and opposition.
38:3 How many a generation We destroyed before them, then they cried when there was no longer time for escape!
38:4 And they wonder that a warner from among themselves has come to them, and the disbelievers say: This is an enchanter, a liar.
38:5 Makes he the gods a single God? Surely this is a strange thing.
38:6 And the chiefs among them say: Go and steadily adhere to your gods: surely this is a thing intended.
38:7 We never heard of this in the former faith: this is nothing but a forgery.
38:8 Has the Reminder been revealed to him from among us? Nay, they are in doubt as to My Reminder. Nay, they have not yet tasted My chastisement.
38:9 Or, have they the treasures of the mercy of thy Lord, the Mighty, the Great Giver?
38:10 Or is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth and what is between them theirs? Then let them rise higher in means.
38:11 What an army of the allies is here put to flight!
38:12 The people of Noah, and 'Ad, and Pharaoh, the lord of hosts, rejected (prophets) before them,
38:13 And Thamud and the people of Lot and the dwellers of the thicket. These were the parties (opposing Truth).
38:14 Not one of them but rejected the messengers, so just was My retribution.
* * *
38:15 And these wait but for one cry, wherein there is no delay.
38:16 And they say: Our Lord, hasten on for us our portion before the day of Reckoning.
38:17 Bear patiently what they say, and remember Our servant David, the possessor of power. He ever turned (to Allah).
38:18 Truly We made the mountains subject to him, glorifying (Allah) at nightfall and sunrise,
38:19 And the birds gathered together. All were obedient to him.
38:20 And We strengthened his kingdom and We gave him wisdom and a clear judgement.
38:21 And has the story of the adversaries come to thee? When they made an entry into the private chamber by climbing the wall —
38:22 When they came upon David so he was afraid of them. They said Fear not; two litigants, of whom one has wronged the other, so decide between us with justice, and act not unjustly, and guide us to the right way.
38:23 This is my brother. He has ninety-nine ewes and I have a single ewe. Then he said, Make it over to me, and he has prevailed against me in dispute.
38:24 He said: Surely he has wronged thee in demanding thy ewe (to add) to his own ewes. And surely many partners wrong one another save those who believe and do good, and very few are they! And David knew that We had tried him, so he asked his Lord for protection, and he fell down bowing and turned (to God).
38:25 So We gave him this protection, and he had a nearness to Us and an excellent resort.
38:26 O David, surely We have made thee a ruler in the land; so judge between men justly and follow not desire, lest it lead thee astray from the path of Allah. Those who go astray from the path of Allah, for them is surely a severe chastisement because they forgot the day of Reckoning.
* * *
38:27 And We created not the heaven and the earth and what is between them in vain. That is the opinion of those who disbelieve. So woe to those who disbelieve on account of the Fire!
38:28 Shall We treat those who believe and do good like the mischief-makers in the earth? Or shall We make the dutiful like the wicked?
38:29 (This is) a Book that We have revealed to thee abounding in good, that they may ponder over its verses, and that the men of understanding may mind.
38:30 And We gave to David Solomon. Most excellent the servant! Surely he ever turned (to Allah).
38:31 When well-bred, swift (horses) were brought to him at evening —
38:32 So he said, I love the good things on account of the remembrance of my Lord — until they were hidden behind the veil.
38:33 (He said): Bring them back to me. So he began to stroke (their) legs and necks.
38:34 And certainly we tried Solomon, and We put on his throne a (mere) body, so he turned (to Allah).
38:35 He said My Lord, forgive me and grant me a kingdom which is not fit for any one after me; surely Thou art the Great Giver.
38:36 So We made the wind subservient to him it made his command to run gently wherever he desired,
38:37 And the devils, every builder and diver,
38:38 And others fettered in chains.
38:39 This is Our free gift, so give freely or withhold, without reckoning.
38:40 And surely he had a nearness to Us and an excellent resort.
* * *
38:41 And remember Our servant Job. When he cried to his Lord: The devil has afflicted me with toil and torment.
38:42 Urge with thy foot; here is a cool washing-place and a drink.

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38:43 And We gave him his people and the like of them with them, a mercy from Us, and a reminder for men of understanding.
38:44 And take in thy hand few worldly goods and earn goodness therewith and incline not to falsehood. Surely We found him patient; most excellent the servant Surely he (ever) turned (to Us).
38:4) And remember Our servants Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, men of power and insight.
38:46 We indeed purified them by a pure quality, the keeping in mind of the (final) abode.
38:47 And surely they were with Us, of the elect, the best.
38:48 And remember Ishmael and Elisha and Dhu-l-Kifl; and they were all of the best.
38:49 This is a reminder. And surely there is an excellent resort for the dutiful:
38:50 Gardens of perpetuity — the doors are opened for them.
38:51 Reclining therein, calling therein for many fruits and drink.
38:52 And with them are those modest in gaze, equals in age.
38:53 This is what you are promised for the day of Reckoning.
38:54 Surely this is Our sustenance it will never come to an end —
38:55 This (is for the good)! And surely there is an evil resort for the inordinate —
38:56 Hell. They will enter it. So evil is the resting-place.
38:57 This — so let them taste it, boiling and intensely cold (drink),
38:58 And other similar (punishment), of various sorts.
38:59 This is an army rushing headlong with you — no welcome for them! Surely they will burn in fire.
38:60 They say: Nay! you — no welcome to you! You prepared it for us, so evil is the resting-place.
38:61 They say: Our Lord, whoever prepared it for us, give him more, a double, punishment in the Fire.
38:62 And they say: What is the matter with us? — we see not men whom we used to count among the vicious.
38:63 Did we (only) take them in scorn, or do our eyes miss them?
38:64 That surely is the truth the contending one with another of the inmates of the Fire.
* * *
38:65 Say: I am only a warner; and there is no God but Allah, the One, the Subduer (of all) —
38:66 The Lord of the heavens and the earth and what is between them, the Mighty, the Forgiving.
38:67 Say: It is a message of importance,—
38:68 From which you turn away.
38:69 I have no knowledge of the exalted chiefs when they contend.
38:70 Only this is revealed to me that I am a plain warner.
38:71 When thy Lord said to the angels: Surely I am going to create a mortal from dust.
38:72 So when I have made him complete and breathed into him of My spirit, fall down submitting to him.
38:73 And the angels submitted, all of them,
38:74 But not Iblis. He was proud and he was one of the disbelievers.
38:75 He said: O Iblis, what prevented thee from submitting to him whom I created with both My hands? Art thou proud or art thou of the exalted Ones?
38:76 He said: I am better than he; Thou hast created me of fire, and him Thou didst create of dust.
38:77 He said: Go forth from hence surely thou art driven away:
38:78. And surely My curse is on thee to the day of Judgement.
38:79 He said: My Lord, respite me to the day that they are raised.
38:80 He said: Surely thou art of the respited ones.
38:81 Till the day of the time made known.
38:82 He said: Then, by Thy Might! I will surely lead them all astray,
38:83 Except Thy servants from among them, the purified ones.
38:84 He said: The Truth is, and the truth I speak —
38:85 That I shall fill hell with thee and with all those among them who follow thee.
38:86 Say: I ask you no reward for it nor am I of the impostors.
38:87 It is naught but a Reminder to the nations.
38:88 And certainly you will come to know about it after a time.

KORAN CHAPTER 60 / Sura 36
Ya Sin
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
36:1 O man,
36:2 By the Koran, full of wisdom!
36:3 Surely thou art one of the messengers,
36:4 On a right way.
36:5 A revelation of the Mighty, the Merciful,
36:6 That thou mayest warn a people whose fathers were not warned, so they are heedless.
36:7 The word has indeed proved true of most of them, so they believe not,
36:8 Surely We have placed on their necks chains reaching up to the chins, so they have their heads raised aloft.
36:9 And We have set a barrier before them and a barrier behind them, thus We have covered them, so that they see not.
36:10 And it is alike to them whether thou warn them or warn them nor — they believe not.
36:11 Thou canst warn him only who follows the Reminder and fears the Beneficent in secret; so give him good news of forgiveness and a generous reward.
36:12 Surely We give life to the dead, and We write down that which they send before and their footprints, and We record everything in a clear writing.
* * *
36:13 And set out to them a parable of the people of the town when apostles came to it.
36:14 When We sent to them two, they rejected them both; then We strengthened (them) with a third, so they said: Surely we are sent to you.
36:15 They said: You are only mortals like ourselves, nor has the Beneficent revealed anything — you only lie.
36:16 They said: Our Lord knows that we are surely sent to you.
36:17 And our duty is only a clear deliverance (of the message).
36:18 They said: Surely we augur evil from you. If you desist not, we will surely stone you, and a painful chastisement from us will certainly afflict you.
36:19 They said: Your evil fortune is with you. What! If you are reminded! Nay, you are an extravagant people.
36:20 And from the remote part of the city there came a man running. He said: O my people, follow the apostles.
36:21 Follow him who asks of you no reward, and they are on the right course.
* * *
36:22 And what reason have I that I should not serve Him Who created me and to Whom you will be brought back.
36:23 Shall I take besides Him gods whose intercession, if the Beneficent should desire to afflict me with harm, will avail me naught, not can they deliver me?
36:24 Then I shall surely be in clear error.
36:25 Surely I believe in your Lord, so hear me.
36:26 It was said: Enter the Garden. He said: Would that my people knew,
36:27 How my Lord has forgiven me and made me of the honoured ones!
36:28 And We sent not down upon his people after him any host from heaven, nor do We ever send.
36:29 It was naught but a single cry, and lo! they were still.
36:30 Alas for the servants! Never does a messenger come to them but they mock him.
36:31 See they not how many generations We destroyed before them, that they return not to them?
36:32 And all — surely all — will be brought before Us.
* * *
36:33 And a sign to them is the dead earth: We give life to it and bring forth from it grain so they eat of it.
36:34 And We make therein gardens of date-palms and grapes and We make springs to flow forth therein,
36:35 That they may eat of the fruit thereof, and their hands made it not. Will they not then give thanks?
36:36 Glory be to Him Who created pairs of all things, of what the earth grows, and of their kind and of what they know not!
36:37 And a sign to them is the night: We draw forth from it the day, then lo! they are in darkness;
36:38 And the sun moves on to its destination. That is the ordinance of the Mighty, the Knower.
36:39 And the moon, We have ordained for it stages till it becomes again as an old dry palm-branch.
36:40 Neither is it for the sun to overtake the moon, nor can the night outstrip the day. And all float on in an orbit.
36:41 And a sign to them is that We bear their offspring in the laden ship,
36:42 And We have created for them the like thereof, whereon they ride.
36:43 And if We please, We may drown them, then there is no succour for them, nor can they be rescued —
36:44 But by mercy from Us and for enjoyment till a time.
36:45* And when it is said to them Guard against that which is before you and that which is behind you, that mercy may be shown to you.
36:46 And there comes to them no message of the messages of their Lord but they turn away from it.
36:47 And when it is said to them: Spend out of that which Allah has given you, those who disbelieve say to those who believe: Shall we feed him whom, if Allah please, He could feed? You are in naught but clear error.
36:48 And they say: When will this promise come to pass, if you are truthful?
36:49 They await but a single cry, which will overtake them while they contend.
36:50 So they will not be able to make a bequest, nor will they return to their families.
* * *
36:51 And the trumpet is blown, when lo! from their graves they will hasten on to their Lord.
36:52 They will say: O woe to us Who has raised us up from our sleeping-place? This is what the Beneficent promised and the messengers told the truth.
36:53 It is but a single cry, when lo! they are all brought before Us.
36:54 So this day no soul is wronged in aught and you are not rewarded aught but for what you did.
36:55 Surely the owners of the Garden are on that day in a happy occupation.
36:56 They and their wives are in shades, reclining on raised couches.
36:57 They have fruits therein, and they have whatever they desire.
36:58 Peace! A word from a Merciful Lord.
36:59 And withdraw to-day, O guilty ones!
36:60 Did I not charge you, O children of Adam, that you serve not the devil? Surely he is your open enemy.
36:61 And that you serve Me. This is the right way.
36:62 And certainly he led astray numerous people from among you. Could you not then understand?
36:63 This is the hell which you were promised.
36:64 Enter it this day because you disbelieved.
36:65 That day We shall seal their mouths, and their hands will speak to Us, and their feet will bear witness as to what they earned.
36:66 And if We pleased, We would put out their eyes, then they would strive to get first to the way, but how should they see?
36:67 And if We pleased, We would transform them in their place, then they would not be able to go on, or turn back.
* * *
36:68 And whomsoever We cause to live long, We reduce to an abject state in creation. Do they not understand?
36:69 And We have not taught him poetry, nor is it meet for him. This is naught but a Reminder and a plain Koran,
36:70 To warn him who would have life, and (that) the word may prove true against the disbelievers.
36:71 See they not that We have created cattle for them, out of what Our hands have wrought, so they are their masters?
36:72 And We have subjected them to them, so some of them they ride, and some they eat.
36:73 And therein they have advantages and drinks. Will they not then give thanks?
36:74 And they take gods besides Allah that they may be helped.
36:75 They are not able to help them, and they are a host brought up before them.
36:76 So let not their speech grieve thee. Surely We know what they do in secret and what they do openly.
36:77 Does not man see that We have created him from the small life germ? Then lo! he is an open disputant.
36:78 And he strikes our a likeness for Us and forgets his own creation. Says he: Who will give life to the bones, when they are rotten?
36:79 Say He will give life to them, Who brought them into existence at first, and He is Knower of all creation,
36:80 Who produced fire for you out of the green tree, so that with it you kindle.
36:81 Is not He Who created the heavens and the earth able to create the like of them? Yea! And He is the Creator (of all), the Knower.
36:82 His command, when He intends anything, is only to say to it, Be, and it is.
36:83 So glory be to Him in Whose hand is the kingdom of all things and to Him you will be returned.

KORAN CHAPTER 61 / Sura 43
Gold / Zukhruf
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
43:1 Beneficent God!
43:2 By the Book that makes manifest!
43:3 Surely We have made it an Arabic Koran that you may understand.
43:4 And it is in the Original of the Book with Us, truly elevated, full of wisdom.
43:5 Shall We then turn away the Reminder from you altogether because you are a prodigal people?
43:6 And how many a prophet did We send among the ancients!
43:7 And no prophet came to them but they mocked him.
43:8 Then We destroyed those stronger than these in prowess, and the example of the ancients has gone before.
43:9 And if thou ask them, Who created the heavens and the earth? they would say: The Mighty, the Knowing One, has created them,
43:10 Who made the earth a resting-place for you, and made in it ways for you that you might go aright.

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43:11 And Who sends down water from the cloud according to a measure, then We raise to life thereby a dead land; even so will you be brought forth.
43:12 And Who created pairs of all things, and made for you ships and cattle oh which you ride,
43:13 That you may sit firm on their backs, then remember the favour of your Lord, when you are firmly seated thereon, and say: Glory be to Him Who made this subservient to us and we were not able to do it,
43:14 And surely to our Lord we must return.
43:15 And they assign to Him a part of His servants. Man, to be sure, is clearly ungrateful.
* * *
43:16 Or has He taken daughters to Himself of what He creates and chosen you to have sons?
43:17 And when one of them is given news of that of which he sets up a likeness for the Beneficent, his face becomes black and he is full of rage.
43:18 Is one decked with ornaments and unable to make plain speech in disputes (a partner with God)?
43:19 And they make the angels, who are the servants of the Beneficent, females. Did they witness their creation? Their evidence will be recorded and they will be questioned.
43:20 And they say if the Beneficent had pleased, we should not have worshipped them. They have no knowledge of this; they only lie.
43:21 Or have We given them a Book before it so that they hold fast to it?
43:22 Nay, they say We found our fathers on a course, and surely we are guided by their footsteps.
43:23 And thus, We sent not before thee a warner in a town, but its wealthy ones said: Surely we found our fathers following a religion, and we follow their footsteps.
43:24 (The warner) said And even if I bring tn you a better guide than that which you found your fathers following? They said: We surely disbelieve in that with which you are sent.
43:25 So We exacted retribution from them, then see what was the end of the rejectors!
* * *
43:26 And when Abraham said to his sire and his people: I am clear of what you worship,
43:27 Save Him Who created me, for surely He will guide me.
43:28 And he made it a word to continue in his posterity that they might return.
43:29 Nay! I let these and their fathers enjoy till there came to them the Truth and a Messenger making manifest.
43:30 And when the Truth came to them they said: This is enchantment, and surely we are disbelievers in it.
43:31 And they say: Why was not this Koran revealed to a man of importance in the two towns?
43:32 Do they apportion the mercy of thy Lord? We portion out among them their livelihood in the life of this world, and We exalt some of them above others in rank, that some of them may take others in service. And the mercy of thy Lord is better than that which they amass.
43:33 And were it not that all people would become one (disbelieving) community, We would provide for those who disbelieve in the Beneficent, roofs of silver for their houses and stairs (of silver) by which they ascend,
43:34 And (of silver) the doors of their houses and the couches on which they recline,
43:35 And of gold. And all this is naught but a provision of this world's life; and the Hereafter is with thy Lord only for the dutiful.
* * *
43:36 And whoever turns himself away from the remembrance of the Beneficent, We appoint for him a devil, so he is his associate.
43:37 And surety they hinder them from the (right) path, and they think that they are guided aright.
43:38 Until when he comes to Us, he says: O would that between me and thee there were the distance of the East and the West! so evil is the associate
43:39 And as you did wrong, it will profit you naught this day that you are sharers in the chastisement.
43:40 Canst thou then make the deaf to hear or guide the blind and him who is in clear error?
43:41 So if We take thee away, still We shall exact retribution from them,
43:42 Or We shall show thee that which We promise them surely We are Possessors of power over them.
43:43 So hold fast to that which has been revealed to thee; surely thou art on the right path.
43:44 And surely it is a reminder for thee and thy people, and you will be questioned.
43:45 And ask those of Our messengers whom We sent before thee: Did We ever appoint gods to be worshipped besides the Beneficent?
* * *
43:46 And truly We sent Moses with Our messages to Pharaoh and his chiefs, so he said: I am the messenger of the Lord of the worlds;
43:47 But when he brought them Our signs, lo! they laughed at them.
43:48 And We showed them not a sign but it was greater than its fellow, and We seized them with chastisement that they might turn.
43:49 And they said: O enchanter, call on thy Lord for us, as He has made the covenant with thee; we shall surely follow guidance.
43:50 But when We removed from them the chastisement, lo! they broke the pledge.
43:51 And Pharaoh proclaimed amongst his people, saying: O my people, is not the kingdom of Egypt mine and these rivers flowing beneath me? Do you not see?
43:52 Rather I am better than this (fellow) who is contemptible, and can hardly express himself clearly.
43:53 Why, then, have bracelets of gold not been bestowed on him or angels come along with him in procession?
43:54* So he incited his people to levity and they obeyed him. Surely they were a transgressing people
43:55 Then when they displeased Us, We exacted retribution from them, so We drowned them all together.
43:56 And We made them a thing past and an example for later generations.
* * *
43:57 And when the son of Mary is mentioned as an example, lo! thy people raise a clamour thereat.
43:58 And they say: Are our gods better, or is he? They set it forth to thee only by way of disputation. Nay, they are a contentious people.
43:59 He was naught but a servant on whom We bestowed favour and We made him an example for the Children of Israel.
43:60 And if We pleased, We could make among you angels to be (Our) vicegerents in the land.
43:61 And this (revelation) is surely knowledge of the Hour, so have no doubt about it and follow me. This is the right path.
43:62 And let not the devil hinder you; surely he is your open enemy.
43:63 And when Jesus came with clear arguments, he said: I have come to you indeed with wisdom, and to make clear to you some of that about which you differ. So keep your duty to Allah and obey me.
43:64 Surely Allah is my Lord and your Lord, so serve Him. This is the right path.
43:65 But parties among them differed, so woe to those who did wrong for the chastisement of a painful day!
43:66 Wait they for aught but the Hour, that it should come on them all of a sudden, while they perceive not?
43:67 Friends on that day will be foes one to another, except those who keep their duty.
* * *
43:68 O My servants, there is no fear for you this day, nor will you grieve
43:69 Those who believed in Our messages and submitted (to Us),
43:70 Enter the Garden, you and your wives, being made happy.
43:71 Sent round to them are golden bowls and drinking-cups, and therein Is that which (their) souls yearn for and the eyes delight in, and therein you will abide.
43:72 And this is the Garden, which you are made to inherit on account of what you did.
43:73 For you therein is abundant fruit to eat thereof.
43:74 Surely the guilty will abide in the chastisement of hell.
43:75 It is not abated for them and they will therein despair.
43:76 And We wronged them not but they were themselves the wrongdoers.
43:77 And they cry: O Malik, let thy Lord make an end of us. He will say: You shall stay (here).
43:78 Certainly We bring the Truth to you, but most of you are averse to the Truth.
43:79 Or have they settled an affair? But it is We Who settle (affairs).
43:80 Or do they think that We hear not their secrets and their private counsels? Aye, and Our messengers with them write down.
43:81 Say: The Beneficent has no son; so I am the foremost of those who serve (God).
43:82 Glory to the Lord of the heavens and the earth, the Lord of the Throne of Power, from what they describe
43:83 So let them talk and sport until they meet their day which they are promised.
43:84 And He it is Who is God in the heavens and God in the earth. And He is the Wise, the Knowing.
43:85 And blessed is He Whose is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth and all between them; and with Him is the knowledge of the Hour, and to Him you will be returned.
43:86 And those whom they call upon besides Him control not intercession, but he who beats witness to the Truth and they know (him).
43:87 And if thou wert to ask them who created them, they would say: Allah. How are they then turned back?
43:88 And his cry — O my Lord, these are a people who believe not!
43:89 So turn away from them and say, Peace! They will soon come to know.

KORAN CHAPTER 62 / Sura 72
The Jinn (The Devil) / Al-Jinn
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
72:1 Say It has been revealed to me that a party of the jinn listened, so they said: Surely we have heard a wonderful Koran,
72:2 Guiding to the right way — so we believe in it. And we shall nor set up any one with our Lord:
72:3 And He — exalted be the majesty of our Lord! — has not taken a consort, nor a son:
72:4 And the foolish among us used to forge extravagant lies against Allah:
72:5 And we thought that men and jinn did not utter a lie against Allah:
72:6 And persons from among men used to seek refuge with persons from among the jinn, so they increased them in evil doing:
72:7 And they thought, as you think, that Allah would not raise anyone:
72:8 And we sought to reach heaven, but we found it filled with strong guards and flames:
72:9 And we used to sit in some of the sitting-places thereof to steal a hearing. But he who tries to listen now finds a flame lying in wait for him:
72:10 And we know not whether evil is meant for those on earth or whether their Lord means to direct them aright:
72:11 And some of us are good and others of us are below that — we are sects following different ways:
72:12 And we know that we cannot escape Allah in the earth, nor can we escape Him by flight:
72:13 And when we heard the guidance, we believed in it. So whoever believes in his Lord, he fears neither loss nor injustice:
72:14 And some of us are those who submit, and some of us are deviators. So whoever submits, these aim at the right way.
72:15 And as to deviators, they are fuel of hell:
72:16 And if they keep to the (right) way, We would certainly give them to drink of abundant water,
72:17 So that We may try them thereby. And whoever turns away from the reminder of his Lord, He will make him enter into an afflicting chastisement:
72:18 And the mosques are Allah's, so call not upon any one with Allah:
72:19 And when the Servant of Allah stood up praying to Him, they well-nigh crowded him (to death).
* * *
72:20 Say: I only call upon my Lord, and associate naught with Him.
72:21 Say: I control not evil nor good for you.
72:22 Say: None can protect me against Allah, nor can I find any refuge besides Him:
72:23 (Mine is naught) but to deliver (the command) of Allah and His messages. And whoever disobeys Allah and His Messenger, surely for him is the Fire of hell, to abide therein for ages,
72:24 Till when they see that which they are promised, they will know who is weaker in helpers and less in numbers.
72:25 Say: I know nor whether that which you are promised is nigh or if my Lord will appoint for it a distant term.
72:26 The Knower of the unseen, so He makes His secrets known to none,
72:27 Except a messenger whom He chooses. For surely He makes a guard to go before him and after him,
72:28 That He may know that they have truly delivered the messages of their Lord; and He encompasses what is with them, and He keeps account of all things.

KORAN CHAPTER 63 / Sura 67
The Kingdom / Al-Mulk

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
67:1 Blessed is He in Whose hand is the Kingdom, and He is Possessor of power over all thing.
67:2 Who created death and life that He might try you — which of you is best in deeds. And He is the Mighty, the Forgiving,
67:3 Who created the seven heavens alike. Thou seest no incongruity in the creation of the Beneficent. Then look again: Canst thou see any disorder?
67:4 Then turn the eye again and again — thy look will return to thee confused, while it is fatigued.
67:5 And certainly We have adorned this lower heaven with lamps and We make them means of conjectures for the devils, and We have prepared for them the chastisement of burning.
67:6 And for those who disbelieve in their Lord is the chastisement of hell, and evil is the resort.
67:7 When they are cast therein, they will hear a loud moaning of it as it heaves,
67:8 Almost bursting for fury. Whenever a group is cast into it, its keepers ask them: Did not a warner come to you?

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67:9 They say: Yea, indeed a warner came to us, but we denied and said Allah has revealed nothing you are only in great error.
67:10 And they say: Had we but listened or pondered, we should not have been among the inmates of the burning Fire.
67:11 Thus they will confess their stns so far (from good) are the inmates of the burning Fire.
67:12 Those who fear their Lord in secret, for them is surely forgiveness and a great reward.
67:13 And conceal your word or manifest it, truly He is Knower of that which is in the hearts.
67:14 Does He not know Who created? And He is the Knower of subtilties, the Aware.
* * *
67:15 He it is Who made the earth subservient to you, so go about in the spacious sides thereof, and eat of His sustenance. And to Him is the rising (after death).
67:16 Do you feel secure that He Who is in the heaven will not make the earth to swallow you up? Then lo! it will shake.
67:17 Or do you feel secure that He Who is in the Heaven will not send on you a violent wind? Then shall you. know how (truthful) was My warning!
67:18 And cettainly those before them denied, then how (terrible) was My disapproval.
67:19 Do they not see the birds above them spreading and contracting (their wings)? Naught upholds them save the Beneficent. Surely He is Seer of all things.
67:20 Or who is it that will be a host for you to help you against the Beneficent? The disbelievers are in naught but delusion.
67:21 Or who is it that will give you sustenance, if He should withhold His sustenance? Nay, they persist in disdain and aversion.
67:22 Is, then, he who goes prone upon his face better guided or he who walks upright on a straight path?
67:23 Say: He it is Who brought you into being and made for you ears and eyes and hearts. Little thanks it is you give!
67:24 Say: He it is Who multiplies you in the earth and to Him you will be gathered.
67:25 And they say: When will this threat be (executed), if you are truthful?
67:26 Say: The knowledge is with Allah only, and I am only a plain warner.
67:27 But when they see it nigh, the faces of those who disbelieve will be grieved, and it will be said: This is that which you used to call for.
67:28 Say: Have you considered if Allah should destroy me and those with me — rather He will have mercy on us yet who will protect the disbelievers from a painful chastisement?
67:29 Say: He is the Beneficent — we believe in Him and on Him do we rely. So you will come to know who it is that is in clear error.
67:30 Say: Have you considered if your water should subside, who is it then that will bring you flowing water?

KORAN CHAPTER 64 / Sura 23
The Believers / Al-Muminun

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
23:1 Successful indeed are the believers,
23:2 Who are humble in their prayers,
23:3 And who shun what is vain,
23:4 And who act for the sake of purity,
23:5 And who restrain their sexual passions —
23:6 Except in the presence of their mates or those whom their right hands possess, for such surely are not blameable,
23:7 But whoever seeks to go beyond that, such are transgressors —
23:8 And those who are keepers of their trusts and their covenant,
23:9 And those who keep a guard on their prayers.
23:10 These are the heirs,
23:11 Who inherit Paradise. Therein they will abide.
23:12 And certainly We create man of an extract of clay,
23:13 Then We make him a small life-germ in a firm resting-place,
23:14 Then We make the life-germ a clot, then We make the clot a lump of flesh, then We make (in) the lump of flesh bones, then We clothe the bones with flesh, then We cause it to grow into another creation. So blessed be Allah, the Best of creators.
23:15 Then after that you certainly die.
23:16 Then on the day of Resurrection you will surely be raised up.
23:17 And indeed We have made above you seven ways — and never are We heedless of creation.
23:18 And We send down water from the cloud according to a measure, then We cause it to settle in the earth, and We are indeed able to carry it away.
23:19 Then We cause to grow thereby gardens of palm-trees and grapes for you. You have therein many fruits and of them you eat;
23:20 And a tree that grows out of Mount Sinai, which produces oil and relish for the eaters.
23:21 And surely there is a lesson for you in the cattle. We make you to drink of what is in their bellies, and you have in them many advantages and of them you eat,
23:22 And on them and on the ships you are borne.
* * *
23:23 And certainly We sent Noah to his people, so he said: O my people, serve Allah, you have no God other than Him. Will you not guard against evil?
23:24 But the chiefs of those who disbelieved from among his people said: He is nothing but a mortal like yourselves, who desires to have superiority over you. And if Allah had pleased, He could have sent down angels. We have not heard of this among our fathers of yore.
23:25 He is only a madman, so bear with him for a time.
23:26 He said: My Lord, help me against their calling me a liar.
23:27 So We revealed to him: Make the ark under Our eyes and according to Our revelation; then when Our command comes, and water gushes forth from the valley, take into it of every kind a pair, two, and thy people, except those among them against whom the word has gone forth, and speak not to Me in respect of those who are unjust; surely they will be drowned.
23:28 Then when thou art firmly seated, thou and those with thee, in the ark, say: Praise be to Allah, Who delivered us from the unjust people!
23:29 And say: My Lord, cause me to land a blessed landing and Thou art the Best of those who bring to land.
23:30 Surely there are signs in this, and surely We are ever trying (men).
23:31 Then We raised after them another generation.
23:32 So We sent among them a messenger from among them, saying: Serve Allah — you have no God other than Him. Will you not guard against evil?
* * *
23:33 And the chiefs of His people who disbelieved and called the meeting of the Hereafter a lie, and whom We had given plenty to enjoy in this world's life, said: This is only a mortal like you, eating of that whereof you eat and drinking of what you drink.
23:34 And if you obey a mortal like yourselves, then surely you are losers.
23:35 Does he promise you that, when you are dead and become dust and bones, you will then be brought forth?
23:36 Far, very far, is that which you are promised:
23:37 There is naught but our life in this world: we die and we live and we shall not be raised again:
23:38 He is naught but a man who has forged a lie against Allah, and we are not going to believe in him.
23:39 He said: My Lord, help me against their calling me a liar.
23:40 He said: In a little while they will certainly be repenting.
23:41 So the punishment overtook them in justice, and We made them as rubbish; so away with the unjust people!
23:42 Then We raised after them other generations.
23:43 No people can hasten on their doom, nor can they postpone (it).
23:44 Then We sent Our messengers one after another. Whenever its messenger came to a people, they called him a liar, so We made them follow one another and We made them stories. So away with a people who believe not!
23:45 Then We sent Moses and his brother Aaron with Our messages and a clear authority
23:46 To Pharaoh and his chiefs, but they behaved haughtily and they were an insolent people.
23:47 So they said: Shall We believe in two mortals like ourselves while their people serve us?
23:48 So they rejected them and became of those who were destroyed.
23:49 And certainly We gave Moses the Book that they might go aright.
23:50 And We made the son of Mary and his mother a sign, and We gave them refuge on a lofty ground having meadows and springs.
* * *
23:51 O ye messengers, eat of the good things and do good. Surely I am Knower of what you do.
23:52 And surely this your community — one community, and I am your Lord, so keep your duty to Me.
23:53 But they became divided into sects, each party rejoicing in that which was with them.
23:54 So leave them in their ignorance till a time.
23:55 Think they that by the wealth and children wherewith We aid them,
23:56 We are hastening to them of good things? Nay, they perceive not.
23:57 Surely they who live in awe for fear of their Lord,
23:58 And those who believe in the messages of their Lord,
23:59 And those who associate naught with their Lord,
23:60 And those who give what they give while their hearts are full of fear that to their Lord they must return —
23:61 These hasten to good things and they are foremost in attaining them.
23:62 And We lay not on any soul a burden except to the extent of its ability, and with Us is a book which speaks the truth, and they are not wronged.
23:63 Nay, their hearts are in ignorance about it, and they have besides this other deeds which they do.
23:64 Until, when We seize those who lead easy lives among them with chastisement, lo! they cry for succour.
23:65 Cry not for succour this day. Surely you will not be helped by Us.
23:66 My messages were indeed recited to you, but you used to turn back on your heels
23:67 Haughtily, passing nights in talking nonsense about it.
23:68 Do they not then ponder the Word? Or has there come to them that which did nor come to their fathers of old?
23:69 Or do they not recognize their Messenger, that they deny him?
23:70 Or say they: There is madness in him? Nay, he has brought them the Truth, and most of them hate the Truth.
23:71 And if the Truth follow their desires, the heavens and the earth and all those who are therein would perish. Nay, We have brought them their reminder, but they turn away from their reminder.
23:72 Or dost thou ask them a recompense? But the recompense of thy Lord is best, and He is the Best of providers.
23:73 And surely thou callest them to a right way.
23:74 And surely those who believe not in the Hereafter are deviating from the way.
23:75 And if We show mercy to them and remove the distress they have, they would persist in their inordinacy, blindly wandering on.
23:76 And already We seized them with chastisement, but they were not submissive to their Lord, nor did they humble themselves.
23:77 Until, when We open for them a door of severe chastisement, lo! they are in despair at it.
* * *
23:78 And He it is Who made for you the ears and the eyes and the hearts. Little it is that you give thanks!
23:79 And He it is Who multiplied you in the earth, and to Him you will be gathered.
23:80 And He it is Who gives life and causes death, and His is the alternation of the night and the day. Do you not then understand?
23:81 Nay, they say the like of what the ancients said.
23:82 They say: When we die and become dust and bones, shall we then be raised up?
23:83 We are indeed promised this, and (so were) our fathers before. This is naught but stories of those of old!
23:84 Say: Whose is the earth, and whoever is therein, if you know?
23:85 They will say Allah's. Say: Will you not then mind?
23:86 Say: Who is the Lord of the seven heavens and the Lord of the mighty Throne of power?
23:87 They will say: (This is) Allah's. Say: Will you not then guard against evil?
23:88 Say: Who is it in Whose hand is the kingdom of all things and He protects, and none is prorected against Him, if you know?
23:89 They will say: (This is) Allah's. Say: Whence are you then deceived?
23:90 Nay, We have brought them the Truth and surely they are liars.
23:91 Allah has not taken to Himself a son, nor is there with Him any (other) god — in that case would each god have taken away what he created, and some of them would have over-powered others. Glory be to Allah above what they describe
23:92 The Knower of the unseen and the seen; so may He be exalted above what they associate (with Him)!
* * *
23:93 Say: My Lord, if Thou show me that which they are promised —
23:94 My Lord, then place me not with the unjust people.
23:95 And surely We are well Able to show thee what We promise them.
23:96 Repel evil with that which is best. We know best what they describe.
23:97 And say: My Lord, I seek refuge in Thee from the evil suggestions of the devils,
23:98 And I seek refuge in Thee, my Lord, lest they come to me.
23:99 Until when death overtakes one of them, he says: My Lord, send toe back,
23:100 That I may do good in that which I have left. By no means! It is but a word that he speaks. And before them is a barrier, until the day they are raised.
23:101 So when the trumpet is blown, there will be no ties of relationship among them that day, nor will they ask of one another.
23:102 Then those whose good deeds are heavy, those are the successful.
23:103 And those whose good deeds are light, those are they who have lost their souls, abiding in hell.

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23:104 The Fire will scorch their faces, and they therein will be in severe affliction.
23:105 Were not My messages recited to you, but you used to reject them?
23:106 They will say: Our Lord, our adversity overcame us, and we were an erring people.
23:107 Our Lord, take us out of it; then if we return (to evil), we shall be unjust.
23:108 He will say: Begone therein, and speak not to Me.
23:109 Surely there was a party of My servants who said: Our Lord, we believe, so forgive us and have mercy on us, and Thou are the Best of those who show mercy.
23:110 But you ridiculed them, until they made you forget remembrance of Me, and you used to laugh at them.
23:111 Surely I have rewarded them this day because they were patient, that they are the achievers.
23:112 He will say: How many years did you tarry in the earth?
23:113 They will say: We tarried a day or part of a day, but ask those who keep account.
23:114 He will say: You tarried but a little if you only knew!
23:115 Do you then think that We have created you in vain, and that you will not be returned to Us?
23:116 So exalted be Allah, the True King! No God is there but He, the Lord of the Throne of Grace.
23:117 And whoever invokes, besides Allah, another god — he has no proof of this — his reckoning is only with his Lord. Surely the disbelievers will not be successful.
23:118 And say: My Lord, forgive and have mercy, and Thou art the Best of those who show mercy.

KORAN CHAPTER 65 / Sura 21
The Prophets / Al-Anbiya
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
21:1 Their reckoning draws nigh to men, and they turn away in heedlessness.
21:2 There comes not to them a new Reminder from their Lord but they hear it while they sport,
21:3 Their hearts trifling. And they — the wrongdoers — counsel in secret: He is nothing but a mortal like yourselves; will you then yield to enchantment while you see?
21:4 He said: My Lord knows (every) utterance in the heaven and the earth, and He is the Hearer, the Knower.
21:5 Nay, say they: Medleys of dreams! nay, he has forged it! nay, he is a poet! so let him bring to us a sign such as the former (prophets) were sent (with).
21:6 Not a town believed before them which We destroyed: will they then believe?
21:7 And We sent not before thee any but men to whom We sent revelation; so ask the followers of the Reminder if you know not.
21:8 Not did We give them bodies not eating food, nor did they abide.
21:9 Then We made Our promise good to them; so We delivered them and whom We pleased, and We destroyed the extravagant.
21:10 Certainly We have revealed to you a Book which will give you eminence. Do you not then understand?
* * *
21:11 And how many a town which was iniquitous did We demolish, and We raised up after it another people!
21:12 So when they felt Our might, lo! they began to flee from it.
21:13 Flee not and return to the easy lives which you led, and to your dwellings, that you may be questioned.
21:14 They said: O woe to us! Surely we were unjust.
21:15 And this cry of theirs ceased not till We made them cut off, extinct.
21:16 And We created not the heaven and the earth and what is between them for sport.
21:17 Had We wished to take a pastime, We would have taken it from before Ourselves; by no means would We do (so).
21:18 Nay, We hurl the Truth against falsehood, so it knocks out its brains, and lo! it vanishes. And woe to you for what you describe!
21:19 And to Him belongs whoever is in the heavens and the earth. And those who are with Him are not too proud to serve Him, nor are they weary.
21:20 They glorify (Him) night and day: they flag not.
21:21 Or have they taken gods from the earth who give life?
21:22 If there were in them gods besides Allah, they would both have been in disorder. So glory be to Allah, the Lord of the Throne, being above what they describe!
21:23 He cannot be questioned as to what He does, and they will be questioned.
21:24 Or, have they taken gods besides Him? Say Bring your proof. This is the reminder of those with me and the reminder of those before me. Nay, most of them know not the Truth, so they turn away.
21:25 And We sent no messenger before thee but We revealed to him that there is no God but Me, so serve Me.
21:26 And they say: The Beneficent has taken to Himself a son. Glory be to Him! Nay, they are honoured servants —
21:27 They speak not before He speaks, and according to His command they act.
21:28 He knows what is before them and what is behind them, and they intercede not except for him whom He approves, and for fear of Him they tremble.
21:29 And whoever of them should say I am a god besides Him, such a one We recompense with hell. Thus We reward the unjust.
* * *
21:30 Do not those who disbelieve see that the heavens and the earth were closed up, so We rent them. And We made from water everything living. Will they not then believe?
21:31 And We made firm mountains in the earth lest it be convulsed with them, and We made in it wide ways that they might follow a right direction.
21:32 And We have made the heaven a guarded canopy; yet they turn away from its signs.
21:33 And He it is Who created the night and the day and the sun and the moon. All float in orbits.
21:34 And We granted abiding for ever to no mortal before thee. If thou diest, will they abide?
21:35 Every soul must taste of death. And We test you by evil and good by way of trial. And to Us you are returned.
21:36 And when those who disbelieve see thee, they treat thee not but with mockery: Is this he who speaks of your gods? And they deny when the Beneficent God is mentioned.
21:37 Man is created of haste. Soon will I show you My signs, so ask Me not to hasten them.
21:38 And they say When will this threat come to pass, if you are truthful?
21:39 If those who disbelieve but knew the time when they will not be able to ward off the fire from their faces, nor from their backs, and they will not he helped!
21:40 Nay, it will come to them all of a sudden and confound them, so they will not have the power to avert it, nor will they be respited.
21:41 And messengers before thee were indeed mocked, so there befell those of them who scoffed, that where-at they scoffed.
* * *
21:42 Say: Who guards you by night and by day from the Beneficent? Nay, they turn away at the mention of their Lord.
21:43 Or, have they gods who can defend them against Us? They cannot help themselves, nor can they be defended from Us.
21:44 Nay, We gave provision to these and their fathers, until life was prolonged to them. See they not then that We are visiting the land, curtailing it of its sides? Can they then prevail?
21:45 Say: I warn you only by revelation; and the deaf hear not the call when they are warned.
21:46 And if a blast of the chastisement of thy Lord were to touch them, they would say: O woe to us! Surely we were unjust.
21:47 And We will set up a just balance on the day of Resurrection, so no soul will be wronged in the least. And if there be the weight of a grain of mustard seed, We will bring it. And Sufficient are We to take account.
21:48 And certainly We gave Moses and Aaron the criterion and a light and a reminder for those who keep from evil,
21:49 Who fear their Lord in secret and they are fearful of the Hour.
21:50 And this is a blessed Reminder which We have revealed. Will you then deny it?
* * *
21:51 And certainly We gave Abraham his rectitude before, and We knew him well.
21:52 When he said to his sire and his people What are these images to whose worship you cleave?
21:53 They said We found our fathers worshipping them.
21:54 He said Certainly you have been, you and your fathers, in manifest error.
21:55 They said: Hast thou brought us the truth, or art thou of the jesters?
21:56 He said Nay, your Lord is the Lord of the heavens and the earth, Who created them and I am of those who bear witness to this.
21:57 And, by Allah! I will certainly plan against your idols after you go away, turning your backs.
21:58 So he broke them into pieces, except the chief of them, that haply they might return to it
21:59 They said: Who has done this to our gods? Surely he is one of the unjust.
21:60 They said: We heard a youth, who is called Abraham, speak of them.
21:61 They said: Then bring him before the people's eyes, perhaps they may bear witness.
21:62 They said: Hast thou done this to our gods, O Abraham?
21:63 He said: Surely (someone) has done it. The chief of them is this; so ask them, if they can speak.
21:64 Then they turned to themselves and said: Surely you yourselves are wrongdoers;
21:65 Then they were made to hang down their heads: Thou knowest indeed that they speak not.
21:66 He said: Serve you then besides Allah what does you no good, nor harm you?
21:67 Fie on you and on what you serve besides Allah! Have you no sense?
21:68 They said: Burn him, and help your gods, if you are going to do (anything).
21:69 We said: O fire, be coolness and peace for Abraham:
21:70 And they intended a plan against him, but We made them the greater losers.
21:71 And We delivered him and Lot (directing them) to the land which We had blessed for the nations.
21:72 And We gave him Isaac; and Jacob, a son's son. And We made (them) all good.
21:73 And We made them leaders who guided (people) by Our command, and We revealed to them the doing of good and the keeping up of prayer and the giving of alms, and Us (alone) they served;
21:74 And to Lot We gave wisdom and knowledge, and We delivered him from the town which wrought abomination. Surely they were an evil people, transgressors
21:75 And We admitted him to Our mercy; surely he was of the righteous.
* * *
21:76 And Noah, when he cried aforetime, so We answered him, and delivered him and his people from the great calamity.
21:77 And We helped him against the people who rejected Our messages. Surely they were an evil people, so We drowned them all.
21:78 And David and Solomon, when they gave judgement concerning the field, when the people's sheep strayed therein by night, and We were bearers of witness to their judgement.
21:79 So We made Solomon to understand it. And to each (of them) We gave wisdom and knowledge. And We made the mountains, declaring (Our) glory, and the birds, subservient to David. And We were the Doers.
21:80 And We taught him the making of coats of mail for you, to protect you in your wars will you then be grateful?
21:81 And to Solomon (We subdued) the wind blowing violent, pursuing its course by His command to the land which We had blessed, and We are ever Knower of all things.
21:82 And of the devils there were those who dived for him and did other work besides that; and We kept guard over them:
21:83 And Job, when he cried to his Lord; Distress has afflicted me and Thou art the most Merciful of those who show mercy.
21:84 So We responded to him and removed the distress he had, and We gave him his people and the like of them with them; a mercy from Us and a reminder to the worshippers.
21:85 And Ishmael and Idris and Dhu-l-Kifl; all were of the patient ones;
21:86 And We admitted them to Out mercy; surely they were of the good ones.
21:87 And Dhu-l-Nun, when he went away in wrath, and he thought that We would not straiten him, so he called out among afflictions. There is no God but Thou, glory be to Thee! Surely I am of the sufferers of loss.
21:88 So We responded to him and delivered him from grief. And thus do We deliver the believers
21:89 And Zacharias, when he cried to his Lord: My Lord, leave me not alone and Thou art the Best of inheritors.
21:90 So We responded to him and gave him John and made his wife fit for him. Surely they used to vie, one with another, in good deeds and called upon Us, hoping and fearing and they were humble before Us.
21:91 And she who guarded her chastity, so We breathed into her of Our inspiration, and made her and her son a sign for the nations.
21:92 Surely this your community is a single community, and I am your Lord, so serve Me.
21:93 And they cut off their affair among them: to Us will all return.
* * *
21:94 So whoever does good deeds and is a believer, there is no rejection of his effort, and We surely write (it) down for him.
21:95 And it is forbidden to a town which We destroy: they shall not return.
21:96 Even when Gog and Magog are let loose and they sally forth from every elevated place.
21:97 And the True Promise draws nigh, then lo the eyes of those who disbelieve will be fixedly open: O woe to us Surely we were heedless of this; nay, we were unjust.
21:98 Surely you and what you worship besides Allah are fuel of hell: to it you will come.
21:99 Had these been gods, they would not have come to it. And all will abide therein,
21:100 For them therein is groaning and therein they hear not.
21:101 Those for whom the good has already gone forth from Us, they will he kept far off from it

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21:102 They will nor hear the faintest sound of it and they will abide in that which their souls desire.
21:103 The great Terror will not grieve them, and the angels will meet them: This is your day which you were promised.
21:104 The day when We roll up heaven like the rolling up of the scroll of writings. As We began the first creation, We shall reproduce it. A promise (binding) on Us. We shall bring it about.
21:105 And certainly We wrote in the Book after the reminder that My righteous servants will inherit the land.
21:106 Surely in this is a message for a people who serve (Us).
21:107 And We have not sent thee but as a mercy to the nations.
21:108 Say It is only revealed to me that your God is one God will you then submit?
21:109 But if they turn back, say: I have warned you in fairness, and I know not whether that which you are promised is near or far.
21:110 Surely He knows what is spoken openly and He knows what you hide.
21:111 And I know not if this may be a trial for you and a provision till a time.
21:112 He said: My Lord, judge Thou with truth. And our Lord is the Beneficent, Whose help is sought against what you ascribe (to Him).

KORAN CHAPTER 66 / Sura 25
The Discrimination / Al-Furqan
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
25:1 I Blessed is He Who sent down the Discrimination upon His servant that he might be a warner to the nations —
25:2 He, Whose is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth, and Who did not take to Himself a son, and Who has no associate in the kingdom, and Who created everything, then ordained for it a measure.
25:3 And they take besides Him gods who create naught, while they are themselves created, and they control for themselves no harm nor profit, and they control not death, nor life, nor raising to life.
25:4 And those who disbelieve say this is nothing but a lie, which he has forged, and other people have helped him at it. So indeed they have brought an iniquity and a falsehood.
25:5 And they say Stories of the ancients, which he has got written, so they are read out to him morning and evening!
25:6 Say: He has revealed it, Who knows the secret of the heavens and the earth. Surely He is ever Forgiving, Merciful.
25:7 And they say: What a Messenger is this? He eats food and goes about in the markets. Why has not an angel been sent down to him to be a warner with him?
25:8 Or a treasure given to him, or a garden from which to eat? And the evildoers say: You follow but a man bewitched!
25:9 See what parables they set forth for thee — they have gone astray, so they cannot find a way.
* * *
25:10 Blessed is He Who if He please, will give thee what is better than this: Gardens wherein flow rivers. And He will give thee palaces.
25:11 But they deny the Hour, and We have prepared a burning Fire for him who denies the Hour.
25:12 When it sees them from a faroff place, they will hear its raging and roaring.
25:13 And when they are cast into a narrow place thereof in chains, they will there pray for destruction.
25:14 Pray nor this day for destruction once but pray for destruction again and again.
25:15 Say: Is this better or the Garden of Perpetuity, which the dutiful are promised? That is a reward and a resort for them.
25:16 For them therein is what they desire, to abide. It is a promise to be prayed for from thy Lord.
25:17 And on the day when He will gather them, and that which they serve besides Allah, He will say: Was it you who led astray these My servants, or did they themselves stray from the path?
25:18 They will say: Glory be to Thee! it was not beseeming for us that we should take for protectors others besides Thee, but Thou didst make them and their fathers to enjoy until they forgot the Reminder, and they became a lost people.
25:19 So they will give you the lie in what you say, then you can neither ward off (evil), nor (obtain) help. And whoever among you does wrong, We shall make him taste a great chastisement.
25:20 And We did not send before thee any messengers but they surely ate food and went about in the markets. And We make some of you a trial for others. Will you bear patiently? And thy Lord is ever Seeing.
* * *
25:21 And those who look not for meeting with Us, say: Why have not angels been sent down to us, or (why) do we not see our Lord? Indeed they are too proud of themselves and revolt in great revolt.
25:22 On the day when they will see the angels, there will be no good news for the guilty, and they will say: Let there be a strong barrier!
25:23 And We shall turn to the work they have done, so We shall render it as scattered motes.
25:24 The owners of the Garden will on that day be in a better abiding-place and a fairer resting-place.
25:25 And on the day when the heaven bursts asunder with clouds, and the angels are sent down, as they are sent.
25:26 The kingdom on that day rightly belongs to the Beneficent, and it will be a hard day for the disbelievers.
25:27 And on the day when the wrongdoer will bite his hands, saying: Would that I had taken a way with the Messenger!
25:28 O woe is me! would that I had not taken such a one for a friend!
25:29 Certainly he led me astray from the Reminder after it had come to me. And the devil ever deserts man.
25:30 And the Messenger will say My Lord, surely my people treat this Koran as a forsaken thing.
25:31 And thus have We made for every prophet an enemy from among the guilty, and sufficient is thy Lord as a Guide and a Helper.
25:32 And those who disbelieve say: Why has not the Koran been revealed to him all at once? Thus, that We may strengthen thy heart thereby and We have arranged it well in arranging.
25:33 And they cannot bring thee a question, but We have brought thee the truth and the best explanation.
25:34 Those who will be gathered to hell on their faces they are in an evil plight and straying farther away from the path.
* * *
25:35 And certainly We gave Moses the Book and We appointed with him his brother Aaron, an aider.
25:36 Then We said: Go you both to the people who reject Our messages. So We destroyed them with utter destruction.
25:37 And the people of Noah, when they rejected the messengers, We drowned them, and made them a sign for men. And We have prepared a painful chastisement for the wrongdoers —
25:38 And 'Ad and Thamud and the dwellers of Rass and many generations in between.
25:39 And to each We gave examples and each did We destroy with utter destruction.
25:40 And indeed they pass by the town wherein was rained an evil rain. Do they not see it? Nay, they hope not to be raised again.
25:41 And when they see thee, they take thee for naught but a jest Is this he whom Allah has raised to be a messenger?
25:42 He had well-nigh led us astray from our gods had we not adhered to them patiently! And they will know, when they see the chastisement, who is mote astray from the path.
25:43 Hast thou seen him who takes his low desires for his god? Wilt thou be a guardian over him?
25:44 Or thinkest thou that most of them hear or understand? They are but as the cattle; nay, they are farther astray from the path.
* * *
25:45 Seest thou not how thy Lord extends the shade? And if He pleased, He would have made it stationary. Then We have made the sun an indication of it,
25:46 Then We take it to Ourselves, taking little by little.
25:47 And He it is Who made the night a covering for you, and sleep a rest, and He made the day to rise up again.
25:48 And He it is Who sends the winds as good news before His mercy and We send down pure water from the clouds,
25:49 That We may give life thereby to a dead land, and give it for drink to cattle and many people that We have created.
25:50 And certainly We repeat this to them that they may be mindful, but most men consent to naught but denying.
25:51 And if We pleased, We could raise a warner in every town.
25:52 So obey not the disbelievers, and strive against them a mighty striving with it.
25:53 And He it is Who has made the two seas to flow freely, the one sweet, very sweet, and the other saltish, bitter. And between the two He has made a barrier and inviolable obstruction.
25:54 And He it is Who has created man from water, then He has made for him blood-relationship and marriage-relationship. And thy Lord is ever Powerful.
25:55 And they serve besides Allah that which can neither profit them, nor harm them. And the disbeliever is ever an aider against his Lord.
25:56 And We have not sent thee but as a giver of good news and as a warner.
25:57 Say: I ask of you naught in return for it except that he who will may take a way to his Lord.
25:58 And rely on the Ever-Living Who dies not, and celebrate His praise. And sufficient is He as being Aware of His servants' sins,
25:59 Who created the heavens and the earth and what is between them in six periods, and He is established on the Throne of Power, the Beneficent. So ask respecting Him one aware.
25:60 And when it is said to them: Make obeisance to the Beneficent, they say: And what is the Beneficent? Shall we make obeisance to what thou biddest us? And it adds to their aversion.
* * *
25:61 Blessed is He Who made the stars in the heavens and made therein a sun and a moon giving light!
25:62 And He it is, Who made the night and the day to follow each other, for him who desires to be mindful or desires to be thankful.
25:63 And the servants of the Beneficent are they who walk on the earth in humility, and when the ignorant address them, they say, Peace!
25:64 And they who pass the night prostrating themselves before their Lord and standing.
25:65 And they who say Our Lord, avert from us the chastisement of hell; surely the chastisement thereof is a lasting evil:
25:66 It is surely an evil abode and resting-place!
25:67 And they who, when they spend are neither extravagant nor parsimonious, and the just mean is ever between these.
25:68* And they who call not upon another god with Allah and slay not the soul which Allah has forbidden, except in the cause of justice, nor commit fornication; and he who does this shall meet a requital of sin —
25:69* The chastisement will be doubled to him on the day of Resurrection, and he will abide therein in abasement —
25:70* Except him who repents and believes and does good deeds; for such Allah changes their evil deeds to good ones. And Allah is ever Forgiving, Merciful.
25:71 And whoever repents and does good, he surely turns to Allah a (goodly) turning.
25:72 And they who witness no falsehood, and when they pass by what is vain, they pass by nobly.
25:73 And they who, when reminded of the messages of their Lord, fall not down thereat deaf and blind.
25:74 And they who say, Our Lord, grant us in our wives and our offspring the joy of our eyes, and make us leaders for those who guard against evil.
25:75 These are rewarded with high places because they are patient, and are met therein with greetings and salutation,
25:76 Abiding therein. Goodly the abode and the resting-place!
25:77 Say: My Lord would not care for you, were it not for your prayer. Now indeed you have rejected, so the punishment will come.

KORAN CHAPTER 67 / Sura 17
The Israelites / Bani Israil
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
17:1 Glory to Him Who carried His servant by night from the Sacred Mosque to the Remote Mosque, whose precincts We blessed, that We might show him of Our signs! 1410 Surely He is the Heating, the Seeing.
17:2 And We gave Moses the Book and made it a guidance to the Children of Israel (saying): Take no guardian beside Me —
17:3 The offspring of those whom We bore with Noah. Surely he was a grateful servant.
17:4 And We made known to the Children of Israel in the Book: Certainly you will make mischief in the land twice, and behave insolently with mighty arrogance.
17:5 So when of the two, the first warning came to pass, We raised against you Our servants, of mighty prowess, so they made havoc in (your) houses. And it was an accomplished threat.
17:6 Then We gave you back the turn against them, and aided you with wealth and children and made you a numerous band.
17:7 If you do good, you do good for your own souls. And if you do evil, it is for them. So when the second warning came, (We raised another people) that they might bring you to grief and that they might enter the Mosque as they entered it the first time, and that they might destroy, whatever they conquered, with utter destruction.
17:8 It may be that your Lord will have mercy on you. And if you return (to mischief), We will return (to punishment). And We have made hell a prison for the disbelievers.
17:9 Surely this Koran guides to that which is most upright, and gives good news to the believers who do good that theirs is a great reward,
17:10 And that those who believe not in the Hereafter, We have prepared for them a painful chastisement.
* * *
17:11 And man prays for evil as he ought to pray for good; and man is ever hasty.
17:12 And We made the night and the day two signs, then We have made the sign of the night to pass away and We have made the sign of the day manifest, so that you may seek grace

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from your Lord, and that you may know the numbering of years and the reckoning. And We have explained everything with distinctness.

17:13 And We have made every man's actions to cling to his neck, and We shall bring forth to him on the day of Resurrection a book which he will find wide open. Read thy book. Thine own soul is sufficient as a reckoner against thee this day.

17:14 Read thy book. Thine own soul is sufficient as a reckoner against thee this day.

17:15 Whoever goes aright, for his own soul does he go aright; and whoever goes astray, to its detriment only does he go astray. And no bearer of a burden can bear the burden of another. Nor do We chastise until We raise a messenger.

17:16 And when We wish to destroy a town, We send commandments to its people who lead easy lives, but they transgress therein; thus the word proves true against it, so We destroy it with utter destruction.

17:17 And how many generations did We destroy after Noah And thy Lord suffices as being Aware and Seer of His servants' sins.

17:18 Whoso desires this transitory life, We hasten to him therein what We please for whomsoever We desire, then We assign to him the hell; he will enter it despised, driven away.

17:19 And whoso desires the Hereafter and strives for it as he ought to strive and he is a believer those are they whose striving is amply rewarded.

17:20 All do We aid — these as well as those — out of the bounty of thy Lord, and the bounty of thy Lord is not limited.

17:21 See how We have made some of them to excel others. And certainly the Hereafter is greater in degrees and greater in excellence.

17:22 Associate not any other god with Allah, lest thou sit down despised, forsaken.

* * *

17:23 And thy Lord has decreed that you serve none but Him, and do good to patents. If either or both of them reach old age with thee, say not "Fie" to them, nor chide them, and speak to them a generous word.

17:24 And lower to them the wing of humility out of mercy, and say: My Lord, have mercy on them, as they brought me up (when I was) little.

17:25 Your Lord knows best what is in your minds. If you are righteous, He is surely Forgiving to those who turn (to Him).

17:26*. And give to the near of kin his due and (to) the needy and the way farer, and squander not wastefully.

17:27 Surely the squanderers are the devil's brethren. And the devil is ever ungrateful to his Lord.

17:28 And if thou turn away from them to seek mercy from thy Lord, which thou hopest for, speak to them a gentle word.

17:29 And make not thy hand to be shackled to thy neck, nor stretch it forth to the utmost (limit) of its stretching forth, lest thou sit down blamed, stripped off.

17:30 Surely thy Lord makes plentiful the means of subsistence for whom He pleases, and He straitens. Surely He is ever Aware, Seer, of His servants.

* * *

17:31 And kill not your children for fear of poverty — We provide for them and for you. Surely the killing of them is a great wrong.

17:32* And go not nigh to fornication; surely it is an obscenity. And evil is the way.

17:33* And kill not the soul which Allah has forbidden except for a just cause. And whoever is slain unjustly, We have indeed given to his heir authority — but let him not exceed the limit in slaying. Surely he will be helped.

17:34 And draw not nigh to the orphan's property, except in a goodly way, till he attains his maturity. And fulfil the promise; surely, the promise will be enquired into.

17:35 And give full measure when you measure out, and weigh with a true balance. This is fair and better in the end.

17:36 And follow not that of which thou hast no knowledge. Surely the hearing and the sight and the heart, of all of these it will be asked.

17:37 And go not about in the land exultingly, for thou canst not tend the earth, nor reach the mountains in height.

17:38 All this, the evil thereof, is hateful in the sight of thy Lord.

17:39 This is of the wisdom which thy Lord has revealed to thee. And associate not any other god with Alllib lest thou be thrown into hell, blamed, cast away.

17:40 Has then your Lord preferred to give you sons, and (for Himself) taken daughters from among the angels? Surely you utter a grievous saying.

* * *

17:41 And certainly We have repeated (warnings) in this Koran that they may be mindful. And it adds not save to their aversion.

17:42 Say If there were with Him gods, as they say, then certainly they would have been able to seek a way to the Lord of the Throne.

17:43 Glory to Him! and He is highly exalted above what they say!

17:44 The seven heavens and the earth and those in them declare His glory. And there is not a single thing but glorifies Him with His praise, but you do not understand their glorification. Surely He is Forbearing, Forgiving.

17:45 And when thou recitest the Koran, We place between thee and those who believe not in the Hereafter a hidden barrier

17:46 And We put coverings on their hearts and a deafness in their ears lest they understand it; and when thou makest mention of thy Lord alone in the Koran, they turn their backs in aversion.

17:47 We know best what they listen to when they listen to thee, and when they take counsel secretly, when the wrongdoers say: You follow only a man deprived of reason.

17:48 See, what they liken thee to So they have gone astray, and cannot find the way.

17:49 And they say: When we are bones and decayed particles, shall we then be raised up as a new creation?

17:50 Say: Be stones or iron,

17:51 Or some other creature of those which are too hard (to receive life) in your minds! But they will say: Who will return us? Say: He Who created you at first. Still they will shake their heads at thee and say When will it be? Say: Maybe it has drawn nigh.

17:52 On the day when He will call you forth, then will you obey Him, giving Him praise, and you will think that you tarried but a little (while).

* * *

17:53 And say to My servants that they speak what is best. Surely the devil sows dissensions among them. The devil is surely an open enemy to man.

17:54 Your Lord knows you best. He will have mercy on you, if He please, or He will chastise you, if He please. And We have not sent thee as being in charge of them.

17:55 And thy Lord best knows those who are in the heavens and the earth. And certainly We made some of the prophets to excel others, and to David We gave the Zabur.

17:56 Say: Call on those whom you assert besides Him they have no power to remove distress from you nor to change.

17:57* Those whom they call upon, themselves seek the means of access to their Lord whoever of them is nearest — and they hope for His mercy and fear His chastisement. Surely the chastisement of thy Lord is a thing to be cautious of.

17:58 And there is not a town but We will destroy it before the day of Resurrection or chastise it with a severe chastisement. That is written in the Book.

17:59 And nothing hindered Us from sending signs, but the ancients rejected them. And We gave to Thamud the she-camel, a manifest sign, but they did her wrong, and We send not signs but to warn.

17:60 And when We said to thee: Surely thy Lord encompasses men. And We made not the vision which We showed thee but a trial for men, as also the tree cursed in the Koran. And We warn them, but it only adds to their great inordinacy.

* * *

17:61 And when We said to the angels: Be submissive to Adam; they submitted, except Iblis. He said: Shall I submit to him whom Thou hast created of dust?

17:62 He said; Seest Thou? This is he whom Thou hast honoured above me! If Thou respite me to the day of Resurrection, I will certainly cause his progeny to perish except a few.

17:63 He said; Begone! whoever of them follows thee surely hell is your recompense, a full recompense.

17:64 And incite whom thou canst of them with thy voice, and collect against them thy horse and thy foot and share with them in wealth and children, and promise them. And the devil promises them only to deceive. My servants — thou hast surely no authority over them. And thy Lord suffices as having charge of affairs.

17:66 Your Lord is He who speeds the ships for you in the sea that you may seek of His grace. Surely He is ever Merciful to you.

17:67 And when distress afflicts you in the sea, away go those whom you call on except He; but when He brings you safe to the land, you turn away. And man is ever ungrateful.

17:68 Do you then feel secure that He will not bring you low on a tract of land, or send on you a violent wind? Then you will not find a protector for yourselves;

17:69 Or, do you feel secure that He will not take you back into it another time, then send on you a fierce gale and thus overwhelm you for your ungratefulness? Then you will not find any aider against Us in the matter.

17:70 And surely We have honoured the children of Adam, and We carry them in the land and the sea, and We provide them with good things, and We have made them to excel highly most of those whom We have created.

* * *

17:71 On the day when We shall call every people with their leader: then whoever is given his book in his right hand, these will read their book and they will not be dealt with a whit unjustly.

17:72 And whoever is blind in this (world) he will be blind in the Hereafter, and further away from the path.

17:73* And surely they had purposed to turn thee away from that which We have revealed to thee, that thou shouldst forge against Us other than that, and then they would have taken thee for a friend.

17:74* And if We had not made thee firm, thou mightest have indeed inclined to them a little

17:75* Then We would have made thee taste a double (punishment) in life and a double (punishment) after death, and then thou wouldst not have found any helper against Us.

17:76* And surely they purposed to unsettle thee from the land that they might expel thee from it, and then they will not tarry after thee but a little.

17:77* (This is Our) way with Our messengers whom We sent before thee, and thou wilt not find a change in Our course.

* * *

17:78* Keep up prayer from the declining of the sun till the darkness of the night, and the recital of the Koran at dawn. Surely the recital of the Koran at dawn is witnessed.

17:79* And during a part of the, night, keep awake by it, beyond what is incumbent on thee; maybe thy Lord will raise thee to a position of great glory.

17:80* And say: My Lord, make me enter a truthful entering, and make me go forth a truthful going forth, and grant me from Thy presence an authority to help (me).

17:81 And say: The Truth has come and falsehood vanished. Surely falsehood is ever bound to vanish.

17:82 And We reveal of the Koran that which is a healing and a mercy to the believers, and it adds only to the perdition of the wrongdoers.

17:83 And when We bestow favours on man, he turns away and behaves proudly; and when evil afflicts him, he is in despair.

17:84 Say: Everyone acts according to his manner. But your Lord best knows who is best guided on the path.

* * *

17:85 And they ask thee about the revelation. Say: The revelation is by the commandment of my Lord, and of knowledge you are given but a little.

17:86 And if We please, We could certainly take away that which We have revealed to thee, then thou wouldst find none to plead (thy cause) against Us —

17:87 But it is a mercy from thy Lord. Surely His bounty to thee is abundant.

17:88 Say: If men and jinn should combine together to bring the like of this Koran, they could not bring the like of it, though some of them were aiders of others.!

17:89 And certainly We have made clear for men in this Koran every kind of description, but most men consent to naught save denying.

17:90 And they say: We will by no means believe in thee, till thou cause a spring to gush forth from the earth for us,

17:91 Or thou have a garden of palms and grapes in the midst of which thou cause rivers to flow forth abundantly,

17:92 Or thou cause the heaven to come down upon us in pieces, as thou thinkest, or bring Allah and the angels face to face (with us),

17:93 Or thou have a house of gold, or thou ascend into heaven. And we will not believe in thy ascending till thou bring down to us a book we can read. Say: Glory to my Lord am I aught but a mortal messenger?

* * *

17:94 And nothing prevents people from believing, when the guidance comes to them, except that they say: Has Allah raised up a mortal to be a messenger?

17:95 Say: Had there been in the earth angels walking about secure, We would have sent down to them from the heaven an angel as messenger.

17:96 Say: Allah suffices for a witness between me and you. Surely He is ever Aware of His servants, Seeing.

17:97 And he whom Allah guides, he is on the right way; and he whom He leaves in error, for them thou wilt find no guardians besides Him. And We shall gather them together on the day of Resurrection on their faces, blind and dumb and deaf. Their abode is hell. Whenever it abates, We make them burn the more.

17:98 This is their retribution because they disbelieve in Our messages and say: When we are bones and decayed particles, shall we then be raised up into a new creation?

17:99 See they not that Allah, Who created the heavens and the earth, is able to create the like of them? And He has appointed for them a term, whereof there is no doubt. But the wrongdoers consent to naught but denying.

17:100 Say: If you control the treasures of the mercy of my Lord, then you would withhold (them) for fear of spending. And man is eve? niggardly.

* * *

17:101 And certainly We gave Moses nine clear signs; so ask the Children of Israel. When he came to them, Pharaoh said to him: Surely I deem thee, O Moses, to be one bewitched.

17:102 He said: Truly thou knowest that none but the Lord of the heavens and the earth has sent these as clear proofs; and surely I believe thee, O Pharaoh, to be lost.

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17:103 So he desired to scare them from the land, but We drowned him and those with him, all together;
17:104 And We said to the Children of Israel after him: Abide in the land. But when the latter promise came, We brought you all rolled up.
17:105 And with truth have We revealed it, and with truth did it come. And We have nor sent thee but as a giver of good news and as a warner.
17:106 And it is a Koran We have made distinct, so that thou mayest read it to the people by slow degrees, and We have revealed it in portions.
17:107 Say: Believe in it or believe not. Surely those who are given the knowledge before it, fall down prostrate on their faces, when it is recited to them,
17:108 And say: Glory to our Lord! Surely the promise of our Lord was to be fulfilled.
17:109 And they fall down on their faces, weeping, and it adds to their humility.
17:110 Say: Call on Allah or call on the Beneficent. 1476 By whatever (name) you call on Him, He has the best names. And utter not thy prayer loudly nor be silent in it, and seek a way between these.
17:111 And say: Praise be to Allah Who has not taken to Himself a son, and Who has not a partner in the kingdom, and Who has not a helper because of weakness; and proclaim His greatness, magnifying (Him).

KORAN CHAPTER 68 / Sura 27
The Naml / Al-Naml
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
27:1 Benignant, Hearing God! These are the verses of the Koran and the Book that makes manifest:
27:2 A guidance and good news for the believers,
27:3 Who keep up prayer and pay the poor-rate, and they are sure of the Hereafter.
27:4 Those who believe not in the Hereafter, We make their deeds fair-seeming to them, but they blindly wander on.
27:5 These are they for whom is an evil chastisement, and in the Hereafter they are the greatest losers.
27:6 And thou art surely made to receive the Koran from the Wise, the Knowing.
27:7 When Moses said to his family Surely I see a fire; I will bring you news thence, or bring you therefrom a burning brand, so that you may warm yourselves.
27:8 So when he came to it, a voice issued, saying Blessed is he who is in search of fire and those around it. And glory be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds!
27:9 O Moses, surely I am Allah, the Mighty, the Wise:
27:10 And cast down thy rod. So when he saw it in motion as if it were a serpent, he turned back retreating and did not return. O Moses, fear not. Surely the messengers fear not in My presence —
27:11 Not he who does wrong, then does good instead after evil; surely I am Forgiving, Merciful,
27:12 And put thy hand into thy bosom, it will come forth white without evil, among nine signs to Pharaoh and his people. Surely they are a transgressing people.
27:13 So when Our clear signs came to them, they said This is clear enchantment.
27:14 And they denied them unjustly and proudly, while their souls were convinced of them. See then, what was the end of the mischief-makers
* * *
27:15 And certainly We gave knowledge to David and Solomon. And they said Praise be to Allah, Who has made us excel many of His believing servants!
27:16 And Solomon was David's heir, and he said: O men, we have been taught the speech of birds, and we have been granted of all things. Surely this is manifest grace.
27:17 And his hosts of the jinn and the men and the birds were gathered to Solomon, and they were formed into groups.
27:18 Until when they came to the valley of the Naml, a Namlite said: O Naml, enter your houses, (lest) Solomon and his hosts crush you, while they know not.
27:19 So he smiled, wondering at her word, and said My Lord, grant me that I may be grateful for Thy favour which Thou hast bestowed on me and on my parents, and that I may do good such as Thou art pleased with, and admit me, by Thy mercy, among Thy righteous servants.
27:20 And he reviewed the birds, then said How is it I see not Hudhud, or is it that he is one of the absentees?
27:21 I will certainly punish him with a severe punishment, or kill him, or he shall bring me a clear excuse.
27:22 And he tarried not long, then said: I have compassed that which thou hast not compassed and I have come to thee from Saba' with sure information —
27:23 I found a woman ruling over them, and she has been given of everything and she has a mighty throne.
27:24 I found her and her people adoring the sun instead of Allah, and the devil has made their deeds fair-seeming to them and turned them from the way, so they go not aright
27:25 So that they worship not Allah, Who brings forth what is hidden in the heavens and the earth and knows what you hide and what you proclaim.
27:26 Allah, there is no God but He, the Lord of the mighty Throne.
27:27 He said: We shall see whether thou speakest the truth or whether thou art a liar.
27:28 Take this my letter and hand it over to them, then turn from them and see what (answer) they return.
27:29 She said: O chiefs, an honourable letter has been delivered to me.
27:30 It is from Solomon, and it is in the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful
27:31 Proclaiming, Exalt not yourselves against me and come to me in submission.
* * *
27:32 She said: O chiefs, advise me respecting my affair; I never decide an affair uhtil you are in my presence.
27:33 They said: We are possessors of strength and possessors of mighty prowess. And the command is thine, so consider what thou wilt command.
27:34 She said: Surely the kings, when they enter a town, ruin it and make the noblest of its people to be low; and thus they do.
27:35 And surely I am going to send them a present, and to see what (answer) the messengers bring back.
27:36 So when (the envoy) came to Solomon, he said: Will you help me with wealth? But what Allah has given me is better than that which He has given you. Nay, you are exultant because of your present.
27:37 Go back to them, so we shall certainly come to them with hosts which they have no power to oppose, and we shall certainly expel them therefrom in disgrace, while they are abased.
27:38 He said: O chiefs, which of you can bring me her throne before they come to me in submission?
27:39 One audacious among the jinn said: I will bring it to thee before thou rise up from thy place; and surely I am strong, trusty for it —
27:40 One having knowledge of the Book said: I will bring it to thee in the twinkling of an eye. Then when he saw it settled beside him, he said: This is of the grace of my Lord, that He may try me whither I am grateful or ungrateful. And whoever is grateful, he is grateful only for his own soul, and whoever is ungrateful, then surely my Lord is Self-sufficient, Bountiful.
27:41 He said: Alter her throne for her; we may see 'whether she follows the right way or is of those who go not aright.
27:42 So when she came, it was said Was thy throne like this? She said: It is as it were the same; and we were given the knowledge before about it, and we submitted.
27:43 And that which she worshipped besides Allah prevented her; for she was of a disbelieving people.
27:44 It was said to her: Enter the palace. But when she saw it she deemed it to be a great expanse of water, and prepared herself to meet the difficulty. He said: Surely it is a palace made smooth with glass. She said: My Lord, surely I have wronged myself, and I submit with Solomon to Allah, the Lord of thu worlds.
* * *
27:45 And certainly We sent to Thamud their brother Salih, saying; Serve Allah. Then lo they became two parties, contending.
27:46 He said: O my people, why do you hasten on the evil before the good? Why do you not ask forgiveness of Allah so that you may have mercy?
27:47 They said: We augur evil of thee and those with thee. He said: Your evil augury is with Allah; nay, you are a people who are tried.
27:48 And there were in the city nine persons who made mischief in the land and did not act aright.
27:49 They said: Swear one to another by Allah that we shall attack him and his family by night, then we shall say to his heir: We witnessed not the destruction of his family, and we are surely truthful.
27:50 And they planned a plan, and We planned a plan, while they perceived not.
27:51 See, then, what was the end of their plan, that We destroyed them and their people, all (of them).
27:52 So those are their houses fallen down because they were iniquitous. Surely there is a sign in this for a people who know.
27:53 And We delivered those who believed and kept their duty.
27:54 And Lot, when he said to his people: Do you commit foul deeds, while you see?
27:55 Will you come to men lustfully rather than women? Nay, you are a people who act ignorantly.
27:56 But the answer of his people was naught except that they said: Drive out Lot's followers from your town; surely they are a people who would keep pure!
27:57 But We delivered him and his followers except his wife; We ordained her to be of those who remained behind.
27:58 And We rained on them a rain; so evil was the rain on those who had been warned.
* * *
27:59 Say: Praise be to Allah and peace on His servants whom He has chosen! Is Allah better, or what they associate (with Him,)?
* * *
27:60 Or, Who created the heavens and the earth, and sends down for you water from the cloud? Then We cause to grow thereby beautiful gardens — it is not possible for you to make the trees thereof to grow. Is there a god with Allah? Nay, they are a people who deviate!
27:61 Or, Who made the earth a resting-place, and made in it rivers, and raised on it mountains, and placed between the two seas a barrier? Is there a god with Allah? Nay, most of them know not!
27:62 Or, Who answers the distressed one when he calls upon Him and removes the evil, and will make you successors in the earth? Is there a god with Allah? Little is it that you mind!
27:63 Or, Who guides you in the darkness of the land and the sea, and Who sends the winds as good news before His mercy? Is there a god with Allah? Exalted be Allah above what they associate (with Him)
27:64 Or, Who originates the creation, then reproduces it, and Who gives you sustenance from the heaven and the earth? Is there a god with Allah? Say Bring your proof, if you are truthful.
27:65 Say: No one in the heavens and the earth knows the unseen but Allah; and they know not when they will be raised.
27:66 Nay, their knowledge reaches not the Hereafter. Nay, they are in doubt about it. Nay, they are blind to it.
* * *
27:67 And those who disbelieve say: When we have become dust and our fathers (too), shall we indeed be brought forth?
27:68 We have certainly been promised this — we and our fathers before; these are naught but stories of the ancients!
27:69 Say: Travel in the earth, then see what was the end of the guilty!
27:70 And grieve not for them, nor be distressed because of what they plan.
27:71 And they say: When will this promise come to pass, if you are truthful?
27:72 Say: Maybe somewhat of that which you seek to hasten has drawn nigh to you.
27:73 And surely thy Lord is full of grace to men, but most of them do not give thanks.
27:74 And surely thy Lord knows what their breasts conceal and what they manifest.
27:75 And there is nothing concealed in the heaven and the earth but it is in a clear book.
27:76 Surely this Koran declares to the Children of Israel most of that wherein they differ.
27:77 And surely it is a guidance and a mercy for the believers.
27:78 Truly thy Lord will judge between them by His judgement, and He is the Mighty, the Knowing.
27:79 So rely on Allah. Surely thou art on the plain truth.
27:80 Certainly thou canst not make the dead to hear the call, nor canst thou make the deaf to hear, when they go back retreating.
27:81 Nor canst thou lead the blind out of their error. Thou canst make none to hear except those who believe in Our messages, so they submit.
27:82 And when the word comes to pass against them, We shall bring forth for them a creature from the earth that will speak to them, because people did not believe in Our messages.
* * *
27:83 And the day when We gather from every nation a party from among those who rejected Our messages, then they will be formed into groups.
27:84 Until, when they come, He will say did you reject My messages, while you did not comprehend them in knowledge? Or what was it that you did?
27:85 And the word will come to pass against them because they were unjust, so they will not speak.
27:86 See they not that We have made the night that they may rest therein, and the day to give light? Surely there are signs in this for a people who believe.
27:87 And the day when the trumpet is blown, then those in the heavens and those in the earth will be struck with terror, except such as Allah please. And all shall come to Him abased.
27:88 And thou seest the mountains — thou thinkest them firmly fixed — passing away as the passing away of the cloud; the handiwork of Allah, Who has made everything thoroughly. Surely He is Aware of what you do.
27:89 Whoever brings good, he will have better than it; and they will be secure from terror that day.
27:90 And whoever brings evil, these will be thrown down on their faces into the Fire. Are you rewarded aught cxcept for what you did?
27:91 I am commanded only to serve the Lord of this city, Who has made it sacred, and His are all things, and I am commanded to be of those who submit,
27:92 And to recite the Koran. So whoever goes aright, he goes aright for his own soul, and whoever goes astray — say: I am only one of the warners.

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27:93 And say: Praise be to Allah! He will show you His signs so that you shall recognize them. And thy Lord is not heedless of what you

KORAN CHAPTER 69 / Sura 18

The Cave / Al-Kahf

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

18:1 Praise be to Allah! Who revealed the Book to His servant, and allowed not therein any crookedness,

18:2 Rightly directing, to give warning of severe punishment from Him and to give good news to the believers who do good that theirs is a goodly reward,

18:3 Staying in it for ever

18:4 And to warn those who say: Allah has taken to Himself a son.

18:5 They have no knowledge of it, nor had their fathers. Grievous is the word that comes out of their mouths. They speak nothing but a lie.

18:6 Then maybe thou wilt kill thyself with grief, sorrowing after them, if they believe not in this announcement.

18:7 Surely We have made whatever is on the earth an embellishment for it, so that We may try which of them is best in works.

18:8 And We shall surely make what is on it dust, without herbage.

18:9 Or, thinkest thou that the companions of the Cave and the Inscription were of Our wonderful signs?

18:10 When the youths sought refuge in the Cave, they said: Our Lord, grant us mercy from Thyself, and provide for us a right course in our affair.

18:11 So We prevented them from hearing in the Cave for a number of years,

18:12 Then We raised them up that We might know which of the two parties was best able to calculate the time for which they remained.

* * *

18:13 We relate to thee their story with truth. Surely they were youths who believed in their Lord and We increased them in guidance.

18:14 And We strengthened their hearts when they stood up and said: Our Lord is the Lord of the heavens and the earth we call upon no god beside Him, for then indeed we should utter an enormity.

18:15 These our people have taken gods beside Him. Why do they not bring clear authority for them? Who is then mote unjust than he who forges a lie against Allah?

18:16 And when you withdraw from them and what they worship save Allah, take refuge in the Cave; your Lord will spread forth for you of His mercy, and provide for you a profitable course in your affair.

18:17 And thou mightest see the sun, when it rose, decline from their Cave to the right, and when it set leave them behind on the left, while they were in a wide space thereof. This is of the signs of Allah. He whom Allah guides, he is on the right way; and whom He leaves in error, thou wilt not find for him a friend to guide aright.

* * *

18:18 And thou mightest think them awake while they were asleep, and We turned them about to the right and to the left, with their dog outstretching its paws at the entrance. If thou didst look at them, thou wouldst turn back from them in flight, and thou wouldst be filled with awe because of them.

18:19 And thus did We rouse them that they might question each other. A speaker from among them said: How long have you tarried? They said: We have tarried for a day or a part of a day. (Others) said: Your Lord knows best how long you have tarried. Now send one of you with this silver (coin) of yours to the city, then let him see what food is purest, and bring, you provision from it, and let him behave with gentleness, and not make your case known to anyone.

18:20 For if they prevail against you, they would stone you to death or force you back to their religion, and then you would never succeed.

18:21 And thus did We make (men) to get knowledge of them, that they might know that Allah's promise is true and that the Hour — there is no doubt about it. When they disputed among themselves about their affair and said: Erect an edifice over them. Their Lord knows best about them. Those who prevailed in their affair said: We shall certainly build a place of worship over them.

18:22 (Some) say: (They were) three, the fourth of them their dog; and (others) say: Five, the sixth of them their dog, making conjectures about the unseen. And (others) say: Seven, and the eighth of them their dog. Say: My Lord best knows their number none knows them but a few. So contend not in their matter but with an outward contention, and question not any of them concerning them.

18:25 And they remained in their cave three hundred years, and they add nine.

18:26 Say: Allah knows best how long they remained. His is the unseen of the heavens and the earth. How clear His sight and His hearing! There is no guardian for them beside Him, and He associates none in His judgement.

18:27 And recite that which has been revealed to thee of the Book of thy Lord. There is none who can alter His words. And thou wilt find no, refuge beside Him.

18:28* And keep thyself with those who call on their Lord morning and evening desiring His goodwill, and let not thine eyes pass from them, desiring the beauties of this world's life. And follow not him whose heart We have made unmindful of Our remembrance, and he follows his low desires and his case exceeds due bounds.

18:29 And say: The Truth is from your Lord; so let him who please believe, and let him who please disbelieve. Surely We have prepared for the iniquitous a Fire, an enclosure of which will encompass them. And if they cry for water, they are given water like molten brass, scalding their faces. Evil the drink! And ill the resting-place!

18:30 As for those who believe and do good, We waste not the reward of him who does a good work.

18:31 These it is for whom are Gardens of perpetuity wherein flow rivers; they are adorned therein with bracelets of gold, and they wear green robes of fine silk and thick brocade, reclining therein on raised couches. Excellent the recompense! And goodly the resting-place!

* * *

18:32 And set forth to them the parable of two men for one of them We made two gardens of grape-vines, and We surrounded them with date-palms, and between them We made cornfields.

18:33 Both these gardens yielded their fruits, and failed not in aught thereof, and We caused a river to gush forth in their midst,

18:34 And he had fruit. So he said to his companion, while he argued with him: I have greater wealth than thou; and am mightier in followers.

18:35 And he went into his garden, while he was unjust to himself. He said: I think not that this will ever perish,

18:36 And I think not the Hour will come; and even if I am returned to my Lord, I will certainly find a returning-place better than this.

18:37 His companion said to him, while arguing with him: Disbelieve thou in Him Who created thee of dust, then of a small life-germ, then He made thee a perfect man?

18:38 But as for me, He, Allah, is my Lord, and I associate none with my Lord.

18:39 And wherefore didst thou not say, when thou entered thy garden? It is as Allah has pleased — there is no power save in Allah? If thou consider me as less than thee in wealth and children —

18:40 Then maybe my Lord will give me better than thy garden, and will send on (thine) a reckoning from heaven so that it is dust without plant:

18:41 Or its water will sink down into the ground, so that thou art unable to find it.

18:42 And his fruit was destroyed; so he began to wring his hands for what he had spent on it, while it lay waste, its roofs fallen down, and he said: Ah me! would that I had ascribed no partners to my Lord!

18:43 And he had no host to help him against Allah, nor could he defend himself.

18:44 Thus protection is only Allah's, the True One. He is Best to reward and Best in requiting.

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18:45 And set forth to them the parable of the life of this world as water which We send down from the cloud, so the herbage of the earth becomes luxuriant thereby, then it becomes dry, broken into pieces which the winds scatter. And Allah is the Holder of power over all things.

18:46 Wealth and children are an adornment of the life of this world but the ever-abiding, the good works, are better with thy Lord in reward and better in hope.

18:47 And the day when We cause the mountains to pass away, and thou seest the earth a levelled plain and We gather them together and leave none of them behind.

18:48 And they are brought before thy Lord in ranks. Now certainly you have come to Us as We created you at first. Nay, you thought that We had not made an appointment for you.

18:49 And the book is placed, and thou seest the guilty fearing for what is in it, and they say: O woe to us what a book is this It leaves out neither a small thing nor a great one, but numbers them (all), and they find what they did confronting them. And thy Lord wrongs not any one.

* * *

18:50 And when We said to the angels: Make submission to Adam, they submitted except Iblis. He was of the jinn, so he transgressed the commandment of his Lord. Will you then take him and his offspring for friends rather than Me, and they are your enemies? Evil is the exchange for the unjust.

18:51 I made them not to witness the creation of the heavens and the earth, nor their own creation. Nor could I take those who mislead for aiders.

18:52 And one day He will say: Call on those whom you considered to be My partners. So they will call on them, but they will not answer them, and We shall cause a separation between them.

18:53 And the guilty will see the Fire, and know that they are about to fall into it, and they will find no escape from it.

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18:54 And certainly We have made distinct in this Koran for mankind every kind of description; and man is in most things contentious.

18:55 And nothing prevents men from believing when the guidance comes to them, and from asking forgiveness of their Lord, but that (they wait) for the way of the ancients to overtake them, or that the chastisement should confront them.

18:56 And We send not messengers but as givers of good news and warning, and those who disbelieve contend with falsehood to weaken thereby the Truth, and they take My messages and the warning for a mockery.

18:57 And who is more unjust than he who is reminded of the messages of his Lord, then he turns away from them and forgets what his hands have sent before? Surely We have placed veils over their hearts, lest they understand it, and a deafness in their ears. And if thou call them to the guidance, they will even then never follow the right course.

18:58 And thy Lord is Forgiving, Full of Mercy. Were He to punish them for what they earn, He would certainly hasten the chastisement for them. But for them there is an appointed time from which they will find no refuge.

18:59 And these towns We destroyed them when they did wrong. And We have appointed a time for their destruction.

* * *

18:60 And when Moses said to his servant: I will not cease until I reach the junction of the two rivers, otherwise I will go on for years.

18:61 So when they reached the junction of the two (rivers), they forgot their fish, and it took its way into the river, being free.

18:62 But when they had gone further, he said to his servant Bring to us our morning meal, certainly we have found fatigue in this our journey.

18:63 He said; Sawest thou when we took refuge on the rock, I forgot the fish, and none but the devil made me forget to speak of it, and it took its way into the river; what a wonder!

18:64 He said This is what we sought for. So they returned retracing their footsteps.

18:65 Then they found one of Our servants whom We had granted mercy from Us and whom We had taught knowledge from Ourselves.

18:66 Moses said to him: May I follow thee that thou mayest teach me of the good thou hast been taught?

18:67 He said: Thou canst not have patience with me.

18:68 And how canst thou have patience in that whereof, thou hast not a comprehensive knowledge?

18:69 He said: If Allah please, thou wilt find me patient, nor shall I disobey thee in aught.

18:70 He said: If thou wouldst follow me, question me not about aught until I myself speak to thee about it

* * *

18:71 So they set out until, when they embarked in a boat, he made a hole in it. (Moses) said: Hast thou made a hole in it to drown its occupants? Thou hast surely done a grievous thing.

18:72 He said: Did I not say that thou couldst not have patience with me?

18:73 He said: Blame me not for what I forgot, and be not hard upon me for what I did.

18:74 So they went on, until, when they met a boy, he slew him. (Moses) said: Hast thou slain an innocent person, not guilty of slaying another? Thou hast indeed done a horrible thing.

* * *

18:75 He said: Did I not say to thee that thou couldst not have patience with me?

18:76 He said If I ask thee about anything after this, keep not company with me. Thou wilt then indeed have found an excuse in my case.

18:77 So they went on, until, when they came to the people of a town, they asked its people for food, but they refused to entertain them as guests. Then they found in it a wall which was on the point of falling, so he put it into a right state. (Moses) said: If thou hadst wished, thou couldst have taken a recompense for it.

18:78 He said: This is the parting between me and thee. Now I will inform thee of the significance of that with which thou couldst not have patience.

18:79 As for the boat, it belonged to poor people working on the river, and I intended to damage it, for there was behind them a king who seized every boat by force.

18:80 And as for the boy, his parents were believers and We feared lest he should involve them in wrongdoing and disbelief.

18:81 So We intended that their Lord might give them in his place one better in purity and nearer to mercy.

18:82 And as for the wall; it belonged to two orphan boys in the city, and there was beneath it a treasure belonging to them, and their father had been a righteous man. So thy Lord intended that they should attain their maturity and take out

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their treasure a mercy from thy Lord and I did not do it of my own accord. This is the significance of that with which thou couldst not have patience.

* * *

18:83* And they ask thee about Dhu-l-qarnain Say: I will recite to you an account of him.

18:84* Truly We established him in the land and granted him means of access to everything

18:85* So he followed a course.

18:86* Until, when he reached the setting-place of the sun, he found it going down into a black sea, and found by it a people. We said: O Dhu-l-qarnain, either punish them or do them a benefit.

18:87* He said: As for him who is unjust, we shall chastise him, then he will be returned to his Lord, and He will chastise him with an exemplary chastisement.

18:88* And as for him who believes and does good, for him is a good reward, and We shall speak to him an easy word of Our command.

18:89* Then he followed a course.

18:90* Until, when he reached the (land of) the rising sun, he found it rising on a people to whom We had given no shelter from it —

18:91* So it was. And We had full knowledge of what he had.

18:92* Then he followed a course.

18:93* Until, when he reached (a place) between the two mountains, he found on that side of them a people who could hardly understand a word.

18:94* They said: O Dhu-l-qarnain, Gog and Magog do mischief in the land. May we then pay thee tribute on condition that thou raise a barrier between us and them?' —

18:95* He said: That wherein my Lord has established me is better, so if only you help me with strength (of men), I will make a fortified barrier between you and them:

18:96* Bring me blocks of iron. At length, when he had filled up the space between the two mountain sides, he said, Blow. Till, when he had made it (as) fire, he said: Bring me molten brass to pour over it.

18:97* So they were not able to scale it, nor could they make a hole in it.

18:98* He said: This is a mercy from my Lord, but when the promise of my Lord comes to pass He will crumble it, and the promise of my Lord is ever true.

18:99* And on that day We shall let some of them surge against others and the trumpet will be blown, then We shall gather them all together,

18:100* And We shall bring forth hell, exposed to view, on that day before the disbelievers,

18:101* Whose eyes were under a cover from My Reminder, and they could not bear to heat.

* * *

18:102 Do those who disbelieve think that they can take My servants to be friends besides Me? Surely We have prepared hell as an entertainment for the disbelievers.

18:103 Say: Shall We inform you who are the greatest losers in respect of deeds?

18:104 Those whose effort goes astray in this world's life, and they think that they are making good manufactures.

18:105 Those are they who disbelieve in the messages of their Lord and meeting with Him, so their works are vain. Nor shall We set up a balance for them on the day of Resurrection.

18:106 That is their reward — hell, because they disbelieved and held My messages and My messengers in mockery.

18:107 As for those who believe and do good deeds, for them are Garden of Paradise, an entertainment,

18:108 To abide therein; they will not desire removal therefrom.

18:109 Say: If the sea were ink for the words of my Lord, the sea would surely be exhausted before the words of my Lord were exhausted, though We brought the like of it to add (thereto).

18:110 Say I am only a mortal like you — it is revealed to me that your God is one God. So whoever hopes to meet his Lord, he should do good deeds, and join no one in the service of his Lord.

GROUP 3 (Mohammed's 8th to the 13th year as preacher 21 SURAS): 32, 41, 45, 16, 30, 11, 14, 12, 40, 28, 39, 29, 31, 42, 10, 34, 35, 7, 46, 6, 13.

KORAN CHAPTER 70 / Sura 32

The Adoration / Al-Sajdah

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

32:1 I, Allah, am the Best Knower.

32:2 The revelation of the Book, there is no doubt in it, is from the Lord of the worlds.

32:3 Or do they say: He has forged it? Nay, it is the Truth from thy Lord that thou mayest warn a people to whom no warner has come before thee that they may walk aright.

32:4 Allah is He Who created the heavens and the earth and what is between them in six periods, and He is established on the Throne of Power. You have not besides Him a guardian or an intercessor. Will you not then mind?

32:5 He orders the Affair from the heaven to the earth; then it will ascend to Him in a day the measure of which is a thousand years as you count.

32:6 Such is the Knower of the unseen and the seen, the Mighty, the Merciful,

32:7 Who made beautiful everything that He created, and He began the creation of man from dust.

32:8 Then He made his progeny of an extract, of worthless water.

32:9 Then He made him complete and breathed into him of His spirit, and gave you ears and eyes and hearts; little it is that you give thanks!

32:10 And they say: When we are lost in the earth, shall we then be in a new creation? Nay, they are disbelievers in the meeting with their Lord.

32:11 Say: The angel of death, who is given charge of you, will cause you to die, then to your Lord you will be returned.

* * *

32:12 And couldst thou but see when the guilty hang their heads before their Lord: Our Lord, we have seen and heard, so send us back, we will do good we are (now) certain.

32:13 And if We had pleased, We could have given every soul its guidance, but the word from Me was just; I will certainly fill hell with the jinn and men together.

32:14 So taste, because you forgot the meeting of this Day of yours surely We forsake you; and taste the abiding chastisement for what you did.

32:15 Only they believe in Our messages who, when they are reminded of them, fall down prostrate and celebrate the praise of their Lord, and they are not proud.

32:16* They forsake (their) beds, calling upon their Lord in fear and in hope, and spend out of what We have given them.

32:17* So no soul knows what refreshment of the eyes is hidden for them a reward for what they did.

32:18* Is he then, who is a believer, like him who is a transgressor? They are not equal.

32:19* As for those who believe and do good deeds, for them are Gardens, a refuge — an entertainment for what they did.

32:20* And as for those who transgress, their refuge is the Fire. Whenever they desire to go forth from it, they are brought back into it, and it is said to them: Taste the chastisement of the Fire, which you called a lie.

32:21 And certainly We will make them taste the nearer punishment before the greater chastisement, that haply they may turn.

32:22 And who is more iniquitous than he who is reminded of the messages of his Lord, then he turns away from them? Surely We exact retribution from the guilty.

* * *

32:23 And We indeed gave Moses the Book — so doubt not the meeting with Him — and We made it a guide for the Children of Israel.

32:24 And We made from among them leaders to guide by Our command when they were patient. And they were certain of Our messages.

32:25 Surely thy Lord will judge between them on the day of Resurrection concerning that wherein they differed.

32:26 Is it not clear to them, how many of the generations, in whose abodes they go about, We destroyed before them? Surely there are signs in this. Will they not then hear?

32:27 See they not that We drive the water to a land having no herbage, then We bring forth thereby seed-produce, of which their cattle and they themselves eat. Will they not then see?

32:28 And they say: When will this victory come, if you are truthful?

32:29 Say: On the day of victory the faith of those who (now) disbelieve will not profit them, nor will they be respired.

32:30 So turn away from them and wait, surely they too are waiting.

KORAN CHAPTER 71 / Sura 41

Ha Min

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

41:1 Beneficent God!

41:2 A revelation from the Beneficent, the Merciful.

41:3 A Book of which the verses are made plain, an Arabic Koran for a people who know —

41:4 Good news and a warning. But most of them turn away, so they hear not.

41:5 And they say: Our hearts are under coverings from that to which thou callest us, and there is a deafness in our ears, and there is a veil between us and thee, so act, we too are acting.

41:6 Say: I am only a mortal like you. It is revealed to me that your God is one God, so keep in the straight path to Him, and ask His protection. And woe to the polytheists!

41:7 Who give not the poor-rate, and who are disbelievers in the Hereafter.

41:8 Those who believe and do good, for them is surely a reward never to be cut off.

* * *

41:9 Say: Do you indeed disbelieve in Him Who created the earth in two days, and do you set up equals with Him? That is the Lord of the worlds.

41:10 And He made in it mountains above its surface, and He blessed therein and ordained therein its foods, in four days; alike for (all) seekers.

41:11 Then He directed Himself to the heaven and it was a vapour, so He said to it and to the earth: Come both, willingly or unwillingly. They both said: We come willingly.

41:12 So He ordained them seven heavens in two days, and revealed in every heaven its affair. And We adorned the lower heaven with lights, and (made it) to guard. That is the decree of the Mighty, the Knowing.

41:13 But if they turn away, then say I warn you of a scourge like the scourge of 'Ad and Thamud.

41:14 When messengers came to them from before them and behind them, saying, Serve nothing but Allah, they said: If our Lord had pleased, He would have sent down angels. So we are disbelievers in that with which you are sent.

41:15 Then as to 'Ad, they were unjustly proud in the land, and said: Who is mightier than we in power? See they not that Allah Who created them is mightier than they in power? And they denied Our messages.

41:16 So We sent on them a furious wind in unlucky days that We might make them taste the chastisement of abasement in this world's life. And the chastisement of the Hereafter is truly more abasing, and they will not be helped.

41:17 And as for Thamud, We showed them the right way, but they preferred blindness to guidance, so the scourge of an abasing chastisement overtook them for what they had earned.

41:18 And We delivered those who believed and kept their duty.

* * *

41:19 And the day when the enemies of Allah are gathered to the Fire, they will be formed into groups.

41:20 Until, when they come to it, their ears and their eyes and their skins will bear witness against them as to what they did.

41:21 And they will say to their skins Why bear ye witness against us They will say: Allah Who makes everything speak has made us speak, and He created you at first, and to Him you are returned.

41:22 And you did not cover yourselves lest your ears and your eyes and your skins should bear witness against you, but you thought that Allah knew not much of what you did.

41:23 And that, your (evil) thought which you entertained about your Lord, ruined you, so have you become of the lost ones.

41:24 Then if they are patient, the Fire is their abode. And if they ask for goodwill, they are not of those who are granted goodwill.

41:25 And We have appointed for them comrades, so they make fair-seeming to them what is before them and what is behind them, and the word proved true against them among the nations of jinn and men that have passed away before them they are surely losers.

* * *

41:26 And those who disbelieve say: Listen not to this Koran but make noise therein, perhaps you may overcome.

41:27 So We shall certainly make those who disbelieve taste a severe chastisement, and We shall certainly requite them for the worst of what they did.

41:28 That is the reward of Allah's enemies — the Fire. For them therein is the home to abide. A requital for their denying Our messages.

41:29 And those who disbelieve will say: Our Lord, show us those who led us astray from among the jinn and the men that we may trample them under our feet, so that they may be of the lowest.

41:30 Those who say, Our Lord is Allah, then continue in the right way, the angels descend upon them, saying: Fear not, nor be grieved, and receive good news of the Garden which you were promised.

41:31 We are your friends in this world's life and in the Hereafter, and you have therein what your souls desire and you have therein what you ask for.

41:32 A welcome gift from the Forgiving, the Merciful.

* * *

41:33 And who is better in speech than one who calls to Allah and does good, and says: I am surely of those who submit?

41:34 And not alike are the good and the evil. Repel (evil) with what is best, when lo! he between whom and thee is enmity would be as if he were a warm friend.

41:35 And none is granted it but those who are patient, and none is granted it but the owner of a mighty good fortune.

41:36 And if a false imputation from the devil afflict thee, seek refuge in Allah. Surely He is the Hearing, the Knowing.

41:37 And of His signs are the night and the day and the sun and the moon. Adore not the sun nor the moon, but adore Allah Who created them, if He it is that you serve.

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41:38 But if they are proud, yet those with thy Lord glorify Him night and day, and they tire not.
41:39 And of His signs is this, that thou seest the earth still, but when We send down water thereon, it stirs and swells. He Who gives it life is surely the Giver of life to the dead. Surely He is Possessor of Power over all things.
41:40 Those who distort Our messages are not hidden from Us. Is he then who is cast into the Fire better or he who comes safe on the day of Resurrection? Do what you like, surely He is Seer of what you do.
41:41 Those who disbelieve in the Reminder when it comes to them, and surely it is an Invincible Book:
41:42 Falsehood cannot come at it from before or behind it: a revelation from the Wise, the Praised One.
41:43 Naught is said to thee but what was said to messengers before thee. Surely thy Lord is the Lord of Forgiveness and the Lord of painful Retribution.
41:44 And if We had made it a Koran in a foreign tongue, they would have said: Why have not its messages been made clear? What a foreign (tongue) and an Arab! Say: It is to those who believe a guidance and a healing, and those who believe not, there is a deafness in their ears and it is obscure to them. These are called to from a place afar.
* * *
41:45 And indeed We gave Moses the Book, but differences arose therein. And had not a word already gone forth from thy Lord, judgement would have been given between them. And surely they are in a disquieting doubt about it.
41:46 Whoever does good, it is for his own soul; and whoever does evil, it is against it. And thy Lord is not in the least unjust to the servants.
* * *
41:47 To Him is referred the knowledge of the Hour And no fruit comes forth from its coverings, nor does a female bear or bring forth but with His knowledge. And on the day when He calls out to them: Where are My associates? they will say: We declare to Thee, not one of us can bear witness.
41:48 And those whom they called upon before will fail them, and they will know that they cannot escape.
41:49 Man tires not of praying for good, but, if evil touch him, he is despairing, hopeless.
41:50 And if We make him taste mercy from ifs after distress has touched him, he says: This is due to me, and I think not that the Hour will come to pass; and if I am sent back to my Lord, I shall have sure good with Him. So We shall certainly inform those who disbelieve of what they do, and We shall make them taste of hard chastisement.
41:51 And when We show favour to man, he turns away and withdraws himself; but when evil touches him, he is full of lengthy supplications.
41:52 Say: See you, if it is from Allah, then you disbelieve in it, who is in greater error than he who is in opposition far away?
41:53 We will soon show them Our signs in farthest regions and among their own people, until it is quite dear to them that it is the Truth. Is it not enough that thy Lord is a Witness over all things?
41:54 Now surely they are in doubt as to the meeting with their Lord. Lo! He surely encompasses all things.

KORAN CHAPTER 72 / Sura 45
The Kneeling / Al-Jathiyah
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
45:1 Beneficent God!
45:2 The revelation of the Book is from Allah, the Mighty, the Wise.
45:3 Surely in the heavens and the earth are signs for believers.
45:4 And in your creation and in the animals He spreads abroad are signs for a people who are sure
45:5 And (in) the variation of the night and the day and (in) the sustenance which Allah sends down from the heaven, then gives life thereby to the earth after its death, and (in) the changing of the winds, are signs for a people who understand.
45:6 These are the messages of Allah, which We recite to thee with truth. In what announcement will they then believe after Allah and His signs?
45:7 Woe to every sinful liar!
45:8 Who hears the messages of Allah recited to him then persists in haughtiness, as though he had not heard them. So announce to him a painful chastisement.
45:9 And when he comes to know of any of Our messages, he takes them for a jest. For such is an abasing chastisement.
45:10 In front of them is hell, and that which they have earned will avail them naught, nor those whom they take for protectors besides Allah, and for them is a grievous chastisement.
45:11 This is guidance; and those who disbelieve in the~ messages of their Lord, for them is a painful chastisement of an evil (kind).
* * *
45:12 Allah is He Who made subservient to you the sea that the ships may glide therein by His command, and that you may seek of His grace, and that you may give thanks.
45:13 And He has made subservient to you whatsoever is in the heavens and whatsoever is in the earth, all, from Himself. Surely there are signs in this for a people who reflect.
45:14* Tell those who believe to forgive those who fear not the days of Allah that He may reward a people for what they earn.
45:15 Whoever does good it is for himself, and whoever does evil, it is against himself; then to your Lord you will be brought back.
45:16 And certainly We gave the Children of Israel the Book and judgement and prophethood and provided them with good things, and made them excel the nations.
45:17 And we gave them clear arguments in the Affair. So they differed not until after knowledge had come to them, out of envy among themselves. Surely thy Lord will judge between them on the day of Resurrection concerning that wherein they differed.
45:1$ Then We made thee follow a course in the Affair, so follow it, and follow not the low desires of those who know not.
45:19 Surely they can avail thee naught against Allah. And surely the wrongdoers are friends of each Other, and Allah is the Friend of the dutiful.
45:20 These are clear proofs for men, and a guidance and a merry for a people who are sure.
45:21 Or do those who do evil deeds think that We shall make them as those who believe and do good — their life and their death being equal? Evil is what they judge!
* * *
45:22 And Allah created the heavens and the earth with truth, and that every soul may be rewarded for what it has earned, and they will not be wronged.
45:23 Seest thou him who takes his desire for his god, and Allah leaves him in error knowingly, and seals his hearing and his heart and puts a covering on his sight? Who can then guide him after Allah? Will you not mind?
45:24 And they say: There is naught but our life of the world; we die and we live and nothing destroys us bur time, and they have no knowledge of that; they only conjecture.
45:25 And when Our clear messages are recited to them, their only argument is that they say: Bring (back) our fathers, if you are truthful.
45:26 Say: Allah gives you life, then makes you die, then will He gather you to the day' of Resurrection, wherein is no doubt, but most people know not.
* * *
45:27 And Allah's is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth. And on the day when the Hour comes to pass, on that day will the followers of falsehood perish.
45:28 And thou wilt see every nation kneeling down. Every nation will be called to its record. This day you are requited for what you did.
45:29 This is Our record that speaks against you with truth. Surely We wrote what you did.
45:30 Then as to those who believed and did good, their Lord will admit them to His mercy. That is the manifest achievement.
45:31 And as to those who disbelieved — were not My messages recited to you? But you were proud and you were a guilty people.
45:32 And when it was said, Surely the promise of Allah is true and the Hour — there is no doubt about it, you said: We know not what the Hour is. We think (it) only a conjecture and we are not at all sure.
45:33 And the evil of what they did will become manifest to them, and that at which they mocked will encompass them.
45:34 And it will be said: This day We forsake you as you neglected the meeting of this day of yours, and your abode is the Fire, and you have no helpers.
45:35 That is because you made the messages of Allah a jest and the life of this world deceived you. So on that day they shall not be taken out of it, nor shall they be granted goodwill.
45:36 So praise be to Allah, the Lord of the heavens and the Lord of the earth, the Lord of the worlds!
45:37 And to Him belongs greatness in the heavens and the earth; and He is the Mighty, the Wise.

KORAN CHAPTER 73 / Sura 16
The Bee / Al-Nahl
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
16:1 Allah's commandment will come to pass, so seek not to hasten it. Glory be to Him, and highly exalted be He above what they associate (with Him)!
16:2 He sends down angels with revelation by His command on whom He pleases of His servants, saying Give the warning that there is no God but Me, so keep your duty to Me.
16:3 He created the heavens and the earth with truth. Highly exalted be He above what they associate (with Him)!
16:4 He created man from a small life-germ, and lo! he is an open contender.
16:5 And the cattle, He has created them for you. You have in them warm clothing and (other) advantages, and of them you eat.
16:6 And therein is beauty for you, when you drive them back (home) and when you send them out (to pasture).
16:7 And they carry your heavy loads to regions which you could not reach but with distress to yourselves. Surely your Lord is Compassionate, Merciful.
16:8 And (He made) horses and mules and asses that you might ride upon them and as an ornament. And He creates what you know not.
16:9 And upon Allah it tests to show the right way, and there are some deviating (ways). And if He please, He would guide you all aright.
* * *
16:10 He it is who sends down water from the clouds for you; it gives drink, and by it (grow) the trees on which you feed.
16:11 He causes to grow for you thereby herbage, and the olives, and the date-palms, and the grapes, and all the fruits. Surely there is a sign in this for a people who reflect.
16:12 And He has made subservient for you the night and the day and the sun and the moon. And the stars are made subservient by His command. Surely there are signs in this for a people who understand.
16:13 And what He has created for you in the earth is of varied hues. Surely there is a sign in this for a people who are mindful.
16:14 And He it is Who has made the sea subservient that you may eat fresh flesh from it and bring forth from it ornaments which you wear. And thou seest the ships cleaving through it, so that you seek of His bounty and that you may give thanks.
16:15 And He has cast firm mountains in the earth lest it quake with you, and rivers and roads that you may go aright,
16:16 And landmarks. And by the stars they find the right way.
16:17 Is He then Who creates like him who creates not? Do you not then mind? —
16:18 And if you would count Allah's favours, you would not be able to number them. Surely Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.
16:19 And Allah knows what you conceal and what you do openly.
16:20 And those whom they call on besides Allah created naught, while they are themselves created.
16:21 Dead (are they), not living. And they know not when they will be raised.
* * *
16:22 Your God is one God: so those who believe not in the Hereafter, their hearts refuse to know and they are proud.
16:23 Undoubtedly Allah knows what they hide and what they manifest. Surely He loves not the proud.
16:24 And when it is said to them, What is it that your Lord has revealed? they say, Stories of the ancients!
16:25 That they may bear their burdens in full on the day of Resurrection, and also of the burdens of those whom they lead astray without knowledge. Ah! evil is what they bear.
* * *
16:26 Those before them plotted, so Allah demolished their building from the foundations, so the roof fell down on them from above them, and the chastisement came to them from whence they perceived not.
16:27 Then on the Resurrection day He will bring them to disgrace and say: Where are My partners, for whose sake you became hostile? Those who are given the knowledge will say: Surely disgrace this day and evil are upon the disbelievers,
16:28 Whom the angels cause to die, while they are unjust to themselves. Then would they offer submission: We did not do any evil. Nay! Surely Allah knows what you did.
16:29 So enter the gates of hell, to abide therein. Evil indeed is the dwelling-place of the proud.
16:30 And it is said to those who guard against evil What has your Lord revealed? They say, Good. For those who do good in this world is good. And certainly the abode of the Hereafter is better. And excellent indeed is the abode of those who keep their duty —
16:31 Gardens of perpetuity which they enter, wherein flow rivers: they have therein what they please. Thus does Allah reward those who keep their duty,
16:32 Whom the angels cause to die in purity, saying: Peace be to you enter the Garden for what you did.
16:33 Await they aught but that the angels should come to them or that thy Lord's command should come to pass. Thus did those before them. And Allah wronged them not, but they wronged themselves.
16:34 So the evil of what they did afflicted them, and that which they mocked encompassed them.
* * *
16:35 And the idolaters say: Had Allah pleased, we had nor served aught but Him, (neither) we nor our fathers, nor had we prohibited aught without (order from) Him. Thus did those before them. But have the messengers any duty except a plain delivery (of the message)?
16:36 And certainly We raised in every nation a messenger, saying: Serve Allah and shun the devil. Then of them was he whom Allah guided, and of them was he whose remaining in

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error was justly due. So travel in the land, then see what was the end of the rejectors.

16:37 If thou desirest their guidance, yet Allah will not guide him who leads astray, nor have they any helpers.

16:38 And they swear by Allah their most energetic oaths: Allah will not raise up him who dies Yea! it is a promise binding on Him, quite true, but most people know not:

16:39 So that He might make manifest to them that about which they differ, and that those who disbelieve might know that they were liars.

16:40 Our word for a thing, when We intend it, is only that We say to it, Be; and it is.

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16:41 And those who flee for Allah's sake after they are oppressed, We shall certainly give them a good abode in the world; and the reward of the Hereafter is much greater. Did they but know!

16:42 Those who are steadfast and on their Lord they rely.

16:43 And We sent not before thee any but men to whom We sent revelation — so ask the followers of the Reminder if you know not —

16:44 With clear arguments and Scriptures. And We have revealed to thee the Reminder that thou mayest make dear to men that which has been revealed to them, and that haply they may reflect.

16:45 Are they, then, who plan evil (plans), secure that Allah will not abase them in the earth, or that chastisement will not overtake them from whence they perceive not?

16:46 Or that He will not seize them in their going to and fro, then they will not be able to escape?

16:47 Or that He will not seize them with a gradual diminution? Your Lord is surely Compassionate, Merciful.

16:48 See they not everything that Allah has created? Its (very) shadows return from right and left, making obeisance to Allah, while they are in utter abasement.

16:49 And to Allah makes obeisance every living creature that is in the heavens and that is in the earth, and the angels (too) and they are not proud.

16:50 They fear their Lord above them and do what they are commanded.

* * *

16:51 And Allah has said: Take not two gods. He is only one God: So Me alone should you fear.

16:52 And whatever is in the heavens and the earth is His, and to Him is obedience due always. Will you then fear other than Allah?

16:53 And whatever good you have, it is from Allah; then, when evil afflicts you, to Him do you cry for aid.

16:54 Then when He removes the evil from you, lo! some of you associate others with their Lord,

16:55 So as to deny what We have given them. Then enjoy yourselves, for soon will you know.

16:56 And they set apart for what they know not, a portion of what we have given them. By Allah! you shall certainly be questioned about that which you forged.

16:57 And they ascribe daughters to Allah. Glory be to Him! And for themselves is what they desire!

16:58 And when the birth of a daughter is announced to one of them, his face becomes black and he is full of wrath.

16:59 He hides himself from the people because of the evil of what is announced to him. Shall he keep it with disgrace or bury it (alive) in the dust? Now surely evil is what they judge!

16:60 For those who believe not in the Hereafter are evil attributes and Allah's are the sublime attributes. And He is the Mighty, the Wise.

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16:61 And if Allah were to destroy men for their iniquity, He would not leave therein a single creature, but He respites them till an appointed time. So when their doom comes, they are not able to delay (it) an hour, nor can they advance (it).

16:62 And they ascribe to Allah what they (themselves) hate, and their tongues relate the lie that for them is good. Assuredly for them is the Fire, and they will be (therein) abandoned.

16:63 By Allah! We certainly sent (messengers) to nations before thee, but the devil made their deeds fair-seeming to them. So he is their patron to-day, and for them is a painful chastisement.

16:64 And We have not revealed to thee the Book except that thou mayest make clear to them that wherein they differ, and (as) a guidance and a mercy for a people who believe.

16:65 And Allah sends down water from above, and therewith gives life to the earth after its death. Surely there is a sign in this for a people who listen.

* * *

16:66 And surely there is a lesson for you in the cattle: We give you to drink of what is in their bellies — from betwixt the faeces and the blood — pure milk, agreeable to the drinkers.

16:67 And of the fruits of the palms and the grapes, you obtain from them intoxicants and goodly provision. There is surely a sign in this for a people who ponder.

16:68 And thy Lord revealed to the bee: Make hives in the mountains and in the trees and in what they build,

16:69 Then eat of all the fruits and walk in the ways of thy Lord submissively. There comes forth from their bellies a beverage of many hues, in which there is healing for men. Therein is surely a sign for a people who reflect.

16:70 And Allah creates you, then He causes you to die and of you is he who is brought back to the worst part of life, so that he knows nothing after having knowledge. Surely Allah is Knowing, Powerful.

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16:71 And Allah has made some of you excel others in the means of subsistence; so those who are made to excel give not away their sustenance to those whom their right hands possess, so that they may be equal therein. Will they then deny the favour of Allah?

16:72 And Allah has made wives for you from among yourselves, and has given you sons and daughters from your wives, and has provided you with good things. Will they then believe in falsehood and deny the favour of Allah?

16:73 And they serve besides Allah that which controls for them no sustenance at all from the heavens and the earth; nor have they any power.

16:74 So coin not similitudes for Allah. Surely Allah knows and you know not.

16:75 Allah sets forth a parable: There is a slave, the property of another, controlling naught, and there is one to whom We have granted from Ourselves goodly provisions, so he spends from it secretly and openly. Are the two alike? Praise be to Allah! Nay, most of them know not.

16:76 And Allah sets forth a parable of two men: One of them dumb, controlling naught, and he is a burden to his master; wherever he sends him, he brings no good. Is he equal with him who enjoins justice, and he is on the right path?

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16:77 And Allah's is the unseen of the heavens and the earth. And the matter of the Hour is but as a twinkling of the eye or it is nigher still. Surely Allah is Possessor of power over all things.

16:78 And Allah brought you forth from the wombs of your mothers you knew nothing — and He gave you hearing and sight and hearts that you might give thanks.

16:79 See they not the birds, constrained in the middle of the sky? None witholds them but Allah. Surely in this are signs for a people who believe.

16:80 And Allah has given you an abode in your houses, and He has given you houses of the skins of cattle, which you find light to carry on the day of your march and on the day of your halting, and of their wool and their fur and their hair, household stuff and a provision for a time.

16:81 And Allah has made for you, of what He has created, shelters, and He has given you in the mountains, places of retreat, and He has given you garments to save you from the heat, and coats of mail to save you in your fighting. Thus does He complete His favour to you that you may submit.

16:82 Then if they turn away, thy duty is only clear deliverance (of the message).

16:83 Trey recognize the favour of Allah, yet they deny it, and most of them are ungrateful.

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16:84 And on the day when We raise up a witness out of every nation, then permission (to offer excuse) will not be given to the disbelievers, nor will they be allowed to make amends.

16:85 And when the wrong-doers see the chastisement, it will not be lightened for them, not will they be respited.

16:86 And when those who ascribed partners (to Allah) see their associate-gods, they will say: Our Lord, these are our associate-gods on whom we called besides Thee. But they will throw back at them the word: Surely you are liars.

16:87 And they will tender submission to Allah on that day, and what they used to forge will fail them.

16:88 Those who disbelieve and hinder (men) from Allah's way, We will add chastisement to their chastisement because they made mischief.

16:89 And on the day when We raise up in every people a witness against them from among themselves, and bring thee as a witness against these. And We have revealed the Book to thee explaining all. things, and a guidance and mercy and good news for those who submit.

* * *

16:90 Surely Allah enjoins justice and the doing of good (to others) and the giving to the kindred, and He forbids indecency and evil and rebellion. He admonishes you that you may be mindful.

16:91 And fulfil the covenant of Allah, when you have made a covenant, and break not the oaths after making them fast, and you have indeed made Allah your surety. Surely Allah knows what you do.

16:92 And be not like her who unravels her yarn, disintegrating it into pieces, after she has spun It strongly. You make your oaths to be means of deceit between you because (one) nation is more numerous than (another) nation. Allah only tries you by this. And He will certainly make clear to you on the day of Resurrection that wherein you differed.

16:93 And if Allah please, He would make you a single nation, but He leaves in error whom He pleases and guides whom He pleases. And certainly you will be questioned as to what you did.

16:94 And make not your oaths a means of deceit between you, lest a foot should slip after its stability, and you should taste evil because you hinder (men) from Allah's way and grievous chastisement be your (lot).

16:95 And take not a small price for Allah's covenant. Surely what is with Allah is better for you, did you but know!

16:96 What is with you passes away and what is with Allah is enduring. And We shall certainly give to those who are patient their reward for the best of what they did.

16:97 Whoever does good, whether male or female, and is a believer, We shall certainly make him live a good life, and We shall certainly give them their reward for the best of what they did.

16:98 So when thou recitest the Koran, seek refuge in Allah from the accursed devil.

16:99 Surely he has no authority over those who believe and rely on their Lord.

16:100 His authority is only over those who befriend him and those who associate others with Him.

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16:101 And when We change a message for a message and Allah knows best what He reveals — they say Thou art only a forger. Nay, most of them know not.

16:102 Say: The Holy Spirit has revealed it from thy Lord with truth, that it may establish those who believe, and as a guidance and good news for those who submit.

16:103 And indeed We know that they say: Only a mortal teaches him. The tongue of him whom they hint at is foreign, and this is clear Arabic language.

16:104 Those who believe not in Allah's messages, Allah guides them not, and for them is a painful chastisement.

16:105 Only they forge lies who believe not in Allah's messages, and they are the liars.

16:106 Whoso disbelieves in Allah after his belief — not he who is compelled while his heart is content with faith, but he who opens (his) breast for disbelief — on them is the wrath of Allah, and for them is a grievous chastisement.

16:107 That is because they love this world's life more than the Hereafter, and because Allah guides not the disbelieving people.

16:108 These are they whose hearts and ears and eyes Allah has sealed and these are the heedless ones.

16:109 No doubt that in the Hereafter they are the losers.

16:110 Then surely thy Lord, to those who flee after they are persecuted, then struggle hard and are patient, surely thy Lord after that is Protecting, Merciful.

* * *

16:111 On the day when every soul will come pleading for itself, and every soul will be paid in full what it has done, and they will not be dealt with unjustly.

16:112 And Allah sets forth a parable: A town safe and secure, to which its means of subsistence came in abundance from every quarter; but it disbelieved in Allah's favours, so Allah made it taste a pall of hunger and fear because of what they wrought.

16:113 And certainly there came to them a Messenger from among them, but they rejected him, so the chastisement overtook them, while they were wrongdoers.

16:114 So eat of what Allah has given you, lawful and good (things), and give thanks for Allah's favour, if He it is you serve.

16:115 He has forbidden you only what dies of itself and blood and the flesh of swine and that over which any other name than that of Allah has been invoked; but whoever is driven to (it), not desiring nor exceeding the limit, then surely Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.

16:116 And utter not, for what your tongues describe, the lie: This is lawful and this unlawful; so that you forge a lie against Allah. Surely those who forge a lie against Allah will not prosper.

16:117 A little enjoyment — and for them is a painful chastisement.

16:118 And to those who are Jews We prohibited what We have related to thee already, and We did them no wrong, but they wronged themselves.

16:119 And surely thy Lord, for those who do evil in ignorance, then turn after that and make amends, surely thy Lord after that is Forgiving, Merciful.

* * *

16:120 Surely Abraham was a model (of virtue), obedient to Allah, upright, and he was not of the polytheist,

16:121 Grateful for His favours. He chose him and guided him on the right path.

16:122 And We gave him good in this world; and in the Hereafter he is surely among the righteous.

16:123 Then We revealed to thee: Follow the faith of Abraham, the upright one; and he was not of the polytheists.

16:124 The Sabbath was ordained only against those who differed about it. And surely thy Lord will judge between

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them on the day of Resurrection concerning that wherein they differed.

16:125 Call to the way of thy Lord with wisdom and goodly exhortation, and argue with them in the best manner. Surely thy Lord knows best him who strays from His path, and He knows best those who go atight.

16:126* And if you take your turn, then punish with the like of that with which you were afflicted. But if you show patience, it is certainly best for the patient.

16:127* And be patient and thy patience is not but by (the help of) Allah, and grieve not for them, nor be in distress for what they plan.

16:128* Surely Allah is with those who keep their duty and those who do good (to others).

KORAN CHAPTER 74 / Sura 30

The Romans / Al-Rum

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

30:1 I, Allah, am the Best Knower.

30:2 The Romans are vanquished

30:3 In a near land, and they, after their defeat, will gain victory

30:4 Within nine years. Allah's is the command before and after. And on that day the believers will rejoice

30:5 In Allah's help. He helps whom He pleases, and He is the Mighty, the Merciful

30:6 (It is) Allah's promise. Allah will not fail in His promise, but most people know not.

30:7 They know the outward of this world's life, but of the Hereafter they are heedless.

30:8 Do they not reflect within themselves? Allah did not create the heavens and the earth and what is between them but with truth, and (for) an appointed term. And surely most of the people are deniers of the meeting with their Lord.

30:9 Have they not travelled in the earth and seen what was the end of those before them? They were stronger than these in prowess, and dug up the earth, and built on it more than these have built. And their messengers came to them with clear arguments. So it was not Allah, Who wronged them, but they wronged themselves.

30:10 Then evil was the end of those who did evil, because they rejected the messages of Allah and mocked at them.

* * *

30:11 Allah originates the creation, then reproduces it, then to Him you will be returned.

30:12 And the day when the Hour comes, the guilty will despair.

30:13 And they will have no intercessors from among their associate-gods, and they will deny their associate-gods.

30:14 And the day when the Hour comes, that day they will be separated one from the other.

30:15 Then as to those who believed and did good, they will be made happy in a garden.

30:16 And as for those who disbelieved and rejected Our messages and the meeting of the Hereafter, they will he brought to chastisement.

30:17* So glory be to Allah when you enter the evening and when you enter the morning.

30:18 And to Him be praise in the heavens and the earth, and in the afternoon, and when the sun declines.

30:19 He brings forth the living from the dead and brings forth the dead from the living, and gives life to the earth after its death. And thus will you be brought forth.

* * *

30:20 And of His signs is this, that He created you from dust, then lo! you are mortals (who) scatter.

30:21 And of His signs is this, that He created mates for you from yourselves that you might find quiet of mind in them, and He put between you love and compassion. Surely there are signs in this for a people who reflect.

30:22 And of His signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth and the diversity of your tongues and colours. Surely there are signs in this for the learned.

30:23 And of His signs is your sleep by night and by day and your seeking of His bounty. Surely there are signs in this for a people who would hear.

30:24 And of His signs is this, that He shows you the lightning for fear and for hope, and sends down water from the cloud, then gives life there-with to the earth after its death. Surely there are signs in this for a people who understand.

30:25 And of His signs is this, that the heaven and the earth subsist by His command. Then when He calls you from the earth — lo! you come forth.

30:26 And His is whosoever is in the heavens and the earth. All are obedient to Him.

30:27 And He it is, Who originates the creation, then reproduces it, and it is very easy to Him. And His is the most exalted state in the heavens and the earth; and He is the Mighty, the Wise.

* * *

30:28 He sets forth to you a parable relating to yourselves. Have you among those whom your right hands possess partners in that which We have provided you with, so that with respect to it you are alike — you fear them as you fear each other? Thus do We make the messages clear for a people who understand.

30:29 Nay, those who are unjust follow their low desires without any knowledge; so who can guide him whom Allah leaves in error? And they shall have no helpers.

30:30 So set thy face for religion, being upright, the nature made by Allah in which He has created men. There is no altering Allah's creation. That is the right religion but most people know not —

30:31 Turning to Him; and keep your duty to Him, and keep up prayer and be not of the polytheists,

30:32 Of those who split up their religion and become parties; every sect rejoicing in that which is with it.

30:33 And when harm afflicts men, they call upon their Lord, turning to Him, then when He makes them taste of mercy from Him, lo! some of them begin to associate (others) with their Lord,

30:34 So as to be ungrateful for that which We have given them. So enjoy yourselves a while — you will soon come to know.

30:35 Or, have We sent to them an authority so that it speaks of that which they associate with Him?

30:36 And when We make people taste of mercy they rejoice in it, and if an evil befall them for what their hands have already wrought, lo! they despair.

30:37 See they not that Allah enlarges provision and straitens (it) for whom He pleases? Certainly there are signs in this for a people who believe.

30:38 So give to the near of kin his due, and to the needy and the wayfarer. This is best for those who desire Allah's pleasure, and these it is who are successful.

30:39 And whatever you lay out at usury, so that it may increase in the property of men, it increases not with Allah; and whatever you give in charity, desiring Allah's pleasure these will get manifold.

30:40 Allah is He Who created you, then He sustains you, then He causes you to die, then brings you to life. Is there any of your associate-gods who does aught of it? Glory be to Him, and exalted be He above what they associate (with Him)!

* * *

30:41 Corruption has appeared in the land and the sea on account of that which men's hands have wrought, that He may make them taste a part of that which they have done, so that they may return.

30:42 Say Travel in the land, then see what was the end of those before. Most of them were polytheists.

30:43 Then set thyself, being upright, to the right religion before there come from Allah the day which cannot be averted on that day they will be separated.

30:44 Whoever disbelieves will be responsible for his disbelief; and whoever does good, such prepare (good) for their own souls,

30:45 That He may reward out of His grace those who believe and do good. Surely He loves not the disbelievers.

30:46 And of His signs is this, that He sends forth the winds bearing good news, and that He may make you taste of His mercy, and that the ships may glide by His command, and that you may seek His grace, and that you may be grateful.

30:47 And certainly We sent before thee messengers to their people, so they came to them with clear arguments, then We punished those who were guilty. And to help believers is ever incumbent on Us.

30:48 Allah is He Who sends forth the winds, so they raise a cloud, then He spreads it forth in the sky as He pleases, and He breaks it, so that you see the rain coming forth from inside it; then when He causes it to fall upon whom He pleases of His servants, lo! they rejoice —

30:49 Though they were before this, before it was sent down upon them, in sure despair.

30:50 Look then at the signs of Allah's mercy, how He gives life to the earth after its death. Surely He is the Quickener of the dead; and He is Possessor of power over all things.

30:51 And if We send a wind and they see it yellow, they would after that certainly continue to disbelieve.

30:52 So surely thou canst not make the dead to hear, nor caust thou make the deaf to hear the call, when they turn back retreating.

30:53 Nor canst thou guide the blind out of their error. Thou canst make none to hear but those who believe in Our messages, so they submit.

* * *

30:54 Allah is He Who created you from a state of weakness, then He gave strength after weakness, then ordained weakness and hoary hair after strength. He creates what He pleases, and He is the Knowing, the Powerful.

30:55 And the day when the Hour comes, the guilty will swear: They did not tarry but an hour. Thus are they ever turned away.

30:56 And those who are given knowledge and faith will say: Certainly you tarried according to the ordinance of Allah till the day of Resurrection — so this is the day of Resurrection — but you did not know.

30:57 So that day their excuse will not profit those who were unjust, nor will they be granted goodwill.

30:58 And certainly We have set forth for men in this Koran every kind of parable. And if thou bring them a sign, those who disbelieve would certainly say: You are naught but deceivers.

30:59 Thus does Allah seal the hearts of those who know not.

30:60 So be patient; surely the promise of Allah is true; and let not those disquiet thee who have no certainty.

KORAN CHAPTER 75 / Sura 11

Hud

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

11:1 I, Allah, am the Seer. A Book, whose verses are characterised by wisdom, then they are made plain, from One Wise, Aware:

11:2 That you should serve none but Allah. Surely I am to you from Him a warner and a giver of good news.

11:3 And ask forgiveness of your Lord, then turn to Him. He will provide you with a goodly provision to an appointed term, and will bestow His grace on every one endowed with grace. And if you turn away, I fear for you the chastisement of a great day.

11:4 To Allah is your return, and He is Possessor of power over all things.

11:5 Now surely they cover up their breasts to conceal (their enmity) from Him. Now surely, when they put their garments as a covering, He knows what they hide and what they make public. Surely He is Knower of what is in the breasts.

11:6 And there is no animal in the earth but on Allah is the sustenance of it, and He knows its resting-place and its depository. All is in a clear record.

11:7 And He it is Who created the heavens and the earth in six periods and His Throne of Power is ever on water that He might manifest (the good qualities in) you whoever of you is best in deeds. And if thou sayest, You shall surely be raised up after death, those who disbelieve say This is nothing but clear deceit.

11:8 And if We delay for them the chastisement for a stated period, they will certainly say: What prevents it? Now surely on the day when it will come to them, it will not be averted from them, and that which they scoffed at will beset them.

* * *

11:9 And if We make man taste mercy from Us, then withdraw it from him, he is surely despairing, ungrateful.

11:10 And if We make him taste a favour after distress has afflicted him, he says: The evils are gone away from me. Certainly he is exultant, boastful,

11:11 Except those who are patient and do good. For them is forgiveness and a great reward.

11:12 Then, may it be that thou wilt give up part of what is revealed to thee and thy breast will he straitened by it, because they say: Why has not a tteasure been sent down for him or an angel come with him? Thou art only a warner And Allah is in charge of all things.

11:13 Or, say they He has forged it. Say: Then bring ten forged chapters like it, and call upon whom you can besides Allah, if you are truthful.

11:14 But if they answer you not, then know that it is revealed by Allah's knowledge, and that there is no God but He. Will you then submit?

11:15 Whoever desires this world's life and its finery We repay them their deeds therein, and they are not made to suffer loss in it.

11:16 These are they for whom there is nothing but Fire in the Hereafter. And what they work therein is fruitless and their deeds are vain.

11:17 Is he then (like these) who has with him clear proof from his Lord, and a witness from Him recites it, and before it (is) the Book of Moses, a guide and a mercy? These believe in it. And whoever of the parties disbelieves in it, the Fire is his promised place. So be not in doubt about It. Surely it is the truth from thy Lord, but most men believe not.

11:18 And who is more unjust than he who forges a lie against Allah? These will be brought before their Lord, and the witnesses will say: These are they who lied against their Lord. Now surely the curse of Allah is on the wrongdoers,

11:19 Who hinder (men) from the path of Allah and desire to make it crooked. And they are disbelievers in the Hereafter.

11:20 These will not escape in the earth, nor have they guardians besides Allah. The chastisement will be doubled for them. They could not beat to hear, and they did not see.

11:21 These are they who have lost their souls, and that which they forged is gone from them.

11:22 Truly in the Hereafter they are the greatest losers.

11:23 Surely those who believe and do good and humble themselves before their Lord, these are the owners of the Garden; therein they will abide.

11:24 The likeness of the two parties is as the blind and the deaf, and the seer and the hearer. Are they equal in condition? Will you not then mind?

* * *

11:25 And certainly We sent Noah to his people: Surely I am a plain warner to you,

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11:26 To serve none but Allah. Verily I fear for you the chastisement of a painful day.

11:27 But the chiefs of his people who disbelieved said: We see thee not but a mortal like us, and we see not that any follow thee but those who are the meanest of us at first thought. Nor do we see in you any superiority over us; nay, we deem you liars.

11:28 He said: O my people, see you if I have with me clear proof from my Lord, and He has granted me mercy from Himself and it has been made obscure to you. Can we compel you to (accept) it while you are averse to it?

11:29 And, O my people, I ask you not for wealth (in return) for it. My reward is only with Allah, and I am not going to drive away those who believe. Surely they will meet their Lord, but I see you a people who are ignorant.

11:30 And, O my people, who will help me against Allah, if I drive them away? Will you not then mind?

11:31 And I say not to you that I have the treasures of Allah; and I know not the unseen; nor do I say that I am an angel. Nor do I say about those whom your eyes scorn that Allah will not grant them (any) good. Allah knows best what is in their souls — for then indeed I should be of the wrongdoers.

11:32 They said: O Noah, indeed thou hast disputed with us and prolonged dispute with us, so bring upon us that which thou threatenest us with, if thou art truthful.

11:33 He said: Only Allah will bring it on you, if He please, and you will not escape:

11:34 And my advice will not profit you, if I intend to give you good advice, if Allah intends to destroy you. He is your Lord; and to Him you will be brought back.

11:35 Or say they: He has forged it? Say: If I have forged it, on me is my guilt; and I am free of that of which you are guilty.

* * *

11:36 And it was revealed to Noah: None of thy people will believe except those who have already believed, so grieve not at what they do:

11:37 And make the ark under Our eyes and Our revelation, and speak not to Me on behalf of those who are unjust. Surely they will be drowned.

11:38 And he began to make the ark. And whenever the chiefs of his people passed by him, they laughed at him. He said: If you laugh at us, surely we, too, laugh at you as you laugh (at us).

11:39 So you shall know who it is on whom will come a chastisement which will disgrace him, and on whom a lasting chastisement will fall.

11:40 At length when Our command came and water gushed forth from the valley, We said: Carry in it two of all things, a pair, and thine own family except those against whom the word has already gone forth — and those who believe. And there believed not with him but a few.

11:41 And he said: Embark in it, in the name of Allah be its sailing and its anchoring. Surely my Lord is Forgiving, Merciful.

11:42 And it moved on with them amid waves like mountains. And Noah called out to his son, and he was aloof: O my son, embark with us and be not with the disbelievers.

11:43 He said: I will betake myself for refuge to a mountain that will save me from the water. He said: There is none safe to-day from Allah's command, but he on whom He has mercy. And a wave intervened between them, so he was among the drowned.

11:44 And it was said: O earth, swallow thy water, and O cloud, clear away. And the water was made to abate, and the affair was decided, and it rested on the Judi, and it was said: Away with the iniquitous people!

11:45 And Noah cried to his Lord and said: My Lord, surely my son is of my family, and Thy promise is true, and Thou art the Justest of the judges.

11:46 He said: O Noah, he is not of thy family; he is (an embodiment of) unrighteous conduct. So ask not of Me that of which thou hast no knowledge. I admonish thee lest thou be of the ignorant.

11:47 He said: My Lord, I seek refuge in Thee from asking of Thee that of which I have no knowledge. And unless Thou forgive me and have mercy on me, I shall be of the losers.

11:48 It was said: O Noah, descend with peace from Us and blessings on thee and on nations (springing) from those with thee. And there are nations whom We afford provisions, then a painful punishment from Us afflicts them.

11:49 These are announcements relating to the unseen which We reveal to thee; thou didst not know them (neither) thou nor thy people before this. So be patient. Surely, the (good) end is for the dutiful.

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11:50 And to 'Ad (We sent) their brother Hud. He said: O my people, serve Allah, you have no god save Him. You are only fabricators.

11:51 O my people, I ask of you no reward for it. My reward is only with Him Who created me. Do you not then understand?

11:52 And, O my people, ask forgiveness of your Lord, then turn to Him, He will send on you clouds pouring down abundance of rain and add strength to your strength, and turn not back, guilty.

11:53 They said: O Hud, thou hast brought us no clear argument, and we are not going to desert our gods for thy word, and we are not believers in thee.

11:54 We say naught but that some of our gods have smitten thee with evil. He said: Surely I call Allah to witness, and do you, too, bear witness that I am innocent of what you associate (with Allah)

11:55 Besides Him. So scheme against me all together, then give me no respite.

11:56 Surely I put my trust in Allah, my Lord and your Lord. There is no living creature but He grasps it by its forelock. Surely my Lord is on the right path.

11:57 But if you turn away, then indeed I have delivered to you that with which I am sent to you. And my Lord will bring another people in your place, and you cannot do Him any harm. Surely my Lord is the Preserver of all things.

11:58 And when Our commandment came to pass, We delivered Hud and those who believed with him with mercy from Us; and We delivered them from a hard chastisement.

11:59 And such were 'Ad. They denied the messages of their Lord, and disobeyed His messengers and followed the bidding of every insolent opposer (of truth).

11:60 And they were overtaken by a curse in this world and on the day of Resurrection. Now surely 'Ad disbelieved in their Lord. Now surely, away with 'Ad, the people of Hud!

* * *

11:61 And to Thamud (We sent) their brother Salih. He said: O my people, serve Allah, you have no god other than Him. He brought you forth from the earth and made you dwell in it, so ask forgiveness of Him, then turn to Him. Surely my Lord is Nigh, Answering.

11:62 They said: O Salih, thou wast among us a centre of (our) hopes before this. Dost thou forbid us to worship what our fathers worshipped? And surely we are in grave doubt about that to which thou callest us.

11:63 He said: O my people, see you if I have clear proof from my Lord and He has granted me mercy from Himself who will then help me against Allah, if I disobey Him? So you would add to me naught but perdition.

11:64 And, O my people, this is Allah's she-camel, a sign for you, so leave her to pasture on Allah's earth and touch her not with evil, lest a near chastisement overtake you.

11:65 But they hamstrung her, so he said: Enjoy yourselves in your houses for three days. That is a promise not to be belied.

11:66 So when Our commandment came to pass, We saved Salih and those who believed with him by mercy from Us from the disgrace of that day. Surely thy Lord — He is the Strong, the Mighty.

11:67 And the cry overtook those who did wrong, so they were motionless bodies in their abodes,

11:68 As though they had never dwelt therein. Now surely Thamud disbelieved in their Lord. So away with Thamud!

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11:69 And certainly Our messengers came to Abraham with good news. They said: Peace! Peace! said he, And he made no delay in bringing a roasted calf.

11:70 But when he saw that their hands reached not to it, he mistrusted them and conceived fear of them. They said: Fear not we have been sent to Lot's people.

11:71 And his wife was standing (by), so she wondered. Then We gave her the good news of Isaac, and beyond Isaac, of Jacob.

11:72 She said; O wonder! Shall I bear a son when I am an extremely old woman, and this my husband an extremely old man? This is a wonderful thing indeed!

11:73 They said: Wonderest thou at Allah's commandment? The mercy of Allah and His blessings on you, O people of the house. Surely He is Praised, Glorious.

11:74 So when feat departed from Abraham and good news came to him, he began to plead with Us for Lot's people.

11:75 Surely Abraham was forbearing, tender-hearted, oft-returning (to Allah).

11:76 O Abraham, cease from this. Surely the decree of thy Lord has gone forth and there must come to them a chastisement that cannot be averted.

11:77 And when Our messengers came to Lot, he was grieved for them, and he was unable to protect them, and said: This is a distressful day!

11:78 And his people came to him, (as if) driven on towards him, and they were used to the doing of evil deeds before. He said: O my people, these are my daughters — they are purer for you; so guard against (the punishment of) Allah and disgrace me not about my guests. Is there not among you any right-minded man?

11:79 They said: Certainly thou knowest that we have no claim on thy daughters, and thou knowest what we desire.

11:80 He said: Would that I had the power to repel you! — rather I shall have recourse to a strong support.

11:81 They said: O Lot, we are the messengers of thy Lord. They shall not reach thee. So travel with thy people for a part of the night and let none of you turn back except thy wife. Surely whatsoever befalls them shall befall her. Surely their appointed time is the morning. Is not the morning nigh?

11:82 So when Our decree came to pass, We turned them upside down, and rained on them stones, as decreed, one after another,

11:83 Marked (for punishment) with thy Lord. And it is not far off from the wrongdoers.

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11:84 And to Midian (We sent) their brother Shu'aib. He said: O my people, serve Allah, you have no other god save Him. And give not short measure and weight. I see you in prosperity, and I fear for you the chastisement of an all-encompassing day:

11:85 And, O my people, give full measure and weight justly, and defraud not men of their things, and act not corruptly in the land, making mischief:

11:86 What remains with Allah is better for you, if you are believers. And I am not a keeper over you.

11:87 They said: O Shu'aib, does thy prayer enjoin thee that we should forsake what our fathers worshipped or that we should not do what we please with regard to our property? Forsooth thou art the forbearing, the right-directing one!

11:88 He said: O my people, see you if I have a dear proof from my Lord and He has given me a goodly sustenance from Himself. And I desire not to act in opposition to you, in that which I forbid you. I desire nothing but reform, so far as I am able. And with none but Allah is the direction of my affair to a right issue. In Him I trust and to Him I turn.

11:89 And, O my people, let not opposition to me make you guilty so that there may befall you the like of that which befell the people of Noah, or the people of Hud, or the people of Salih. Nor are the people of Lot far off from you.

11:90 And ask forgiveness of your Lord, then turn to Him. Surely my Lord is Merciful, Loving-kind.

11:91 They said; O Shu'aib we understand not much of what thou sayest and surely we see thee to be weak among us. And were it not for thy family, we would surely stone thee, and thou art not mighty against us.

11:92 He said; O my people, is my family more esteemed by you than Allah? And you neglect Him as a thing cast behind your backs! Surely my Lord encompasses what you do.

11:93 And, O my people, act according to your ability, I too am acting. You will come to know soon who it is on whom will light the punishment that will disgrace him, and who it is that is a liar. And watch, surely I too am watching with you.

11:94 And when Our decree came to pass, We delivered Shu'aib and those who believed with him by mercy from Us. And the cry overtook those who were iniquitous, so they were motionless bodies in their abodes,

11:95 As though they had never dwelt in them. So away with Midian, just as Thamud perished!

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11:96 And certainly We sent Moses with Our signs and a dear authority,

11:97 To Pharaoh and his chiefs, but they followed the bidding of Pharaoh; and Pharaoh's bidding was not right-directing.

11:98 He will lead his people on the day of Resurrection, and bring them down to the Fire. And evil the place to which they are brought!

11:99 And they are overtaken by a curse in this (world), and on the day of Resurrection. Evil the gift which shall be given!

11:100 This is an account of the towns which we relate to thee. Of them are some that stand and (others) mown down.

11:101 And We wronged them not but they wronged themselves. And their gods whom they called upon besides Allah availed them naught when the decree of thy Lord came to pass. And they added to them naught but ruin.

11:102 And such is the punishment of thy Lord, when He punishes the towns while they are iniquitous. Surely His punishment is painful, severe.

11:103 Surely there is a sign in this for him who fears the chastisement of the Hereafter. That is a day on which people will be gathered together, and that is a day to be witnessed.

11:104 And We delay it not but for an appointed term.

11:105 On the day when it comes, no soul will speak except by His permission; so (some) of them will be unhappy and (others) happy.

11:106 Then as for those who are unhappy, they will be in the Fire; for them therein will be sighing and groaning —

11:107 Abiding therein so long as the heavens and the earth endure, except as thy Lord please. Surely thy Lord is Doer of what He intends.

11:108 And as for those who are made happy, they will be in the Garden abiding therein so long as the heavens and the earth endure, except as thy Lord please — a gift never to be cut off.

11:109 So be not thou in doubt as to that which these worship. They worship only as their fathers worshipped before. And surely We shall pay them in full their due undiminished.

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11:110 And We certainly gave the Book to Moses, but differences arose therein. And had not a word gone forth from thy Lord, the matter would have been decided between them. And they are surely in a disquieting doubt about it.

11:111 And thy Lord will surely pay back to all their deeds in full. He indeed is Aware of what they do.

11:112 Continue then in the right way as thou art commanded, as also (should) those who turn (to Allah) with thee. And be not inordinate, (O men). Surely He is Seer of what you do.

11:113 And incline not to those who do wrong, lest the fire touch you; and you have no protectors besides Allah, then you would not be helped.

11:114 And keep up prayer at the two ends of the day and in the first hours of the night. Surely good deeds take away evil deeds. This is a reminder for the mindful.

11:115 And be patient, for surely Allah wastes not the reward of the doers of good.

11:116 Why were there not then among the generations before you those possessing understanding, forbidding mischief in the earth, except a few among them whom We delivered? And the unjust pursued the enjoyment of plenty, and they were guilty.

11:117 And thy Lord would not destroy the towns unjustly, while their people acted well.

11:118 And if thy Lord had pleased, He would have made people a single nation. And they cease not to differ,

11:119 Except those on whom thy Lord has mercy; and for this did He create them. And the word of thy Lord is fulfilled: I shall fill hell with jinn and men, all together.

11:120 And all We relate to thee of the account of the messengers is to strengthen thy heart therewith. And in this has come to thee the truth and an admonition and a reminder for the believers.

11:121 And say to those who believe not: Act according to your power, surely we too are acting

11:122 And wait, surely we are waiting (also).

11:123 And Allah's is the unseen in the heavens and the earth, and to Him the whole affair will be returned. So serve Him and put thy trust in Him. And thy Lord is not heedless of what you do.

KORAN CHAPTER 76 / Sura 14

Abraham / Ibrahim

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

14:1 I, Allah, am the Seer. A Book which We have revealed to thee that thou mayest bring forth men, by their Lord's permission, from darkness into light, to the way of the Mighty, the Praised One,

14:2 Of Allah, Whose is whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth. And woe to the disbelievers for the severe chastisement!

14:3 Those who love this world's life more than the Hereafter, and turn away from Allah's path, and would have it crooked. Those are far astray.

14:4 And We sent no messenger but with the language of his people, so that he might explain to them clearly. Then Allah leaves in error whom He pleases and He guides whom He pleases. And He is the Mighty, the Wise.

14:5 And certainly We sent Moses with Our messages, saying Bring forth thy people from darkness into light and remind them of the days of Allah. In this are surely signs for every steadfast, grateful one.

14:6 And when Moses said to his people: Call to mind Allah's favour to you, when He delivered you from Pharaoh's people, who subjected you to severe torment, and slew your sons and spared your women. And therein was a great trial from your Lord.

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14:7 And when your Lord made it known: If you are grateful, I will give you more, and if you are ungrateful, My chastisement is truly severe.

14:8 And Moses said: If you are Ungrateful, you and all those on earth, then Allah is surely Self-sufficient, Praised.

14:9 Has not the account reached you of those before you, of the people of Noah and 'Ad and Thamud — and those after them? None knows them but Allah. Their messengers came to them with clear arguments, but they thrust their hands into their mouths and said: We deny that with which you are sent, and surely we are in serious doubt as to that to which you invite us.

14:10 Their messengers said: Is there doubt about Allah, the Maker of the heavens and the earth? He invites you to forgive you your faults and to respite you till an appointed term. They said: You are nothing but mortals like us; you wish to turn us away from that which our fathers used to worship; so bring us clear authority.

14:11 Their messengers said to them We are nothing but mortals like yourselves, but Allah bestows (His) favours on whom He pleases of His servants. And it is not for us to bring you an authority, except by Allah's permission. And on Allah let the believers rely.

14:12 And why should we not rely on Allah? and He has indeed guided us in our ways. And we would certainly bear with patience your persecution of us. And on Allah should the reliant rely.

* * *

14:13 And those who disbelieved said to their messengers: We will certainly drive you out of our land, unless you come back into our religion. So their Lord revealed to them: We shall certainly destroy the wrongdoers,

14:14 And We shall certainly settle you in the land after them. This is for him who fears standing in My presence and fears My threat.

14:15 And they sought judgement, and every insolent opposer was disappointed:

14:16 Hell is before him and he is given to drink of boiling water;

14:17 He drinks it little by little and is not able to swallow it; and death comes to him from every quarter, yet he dies not. And before him is vehement chastisement.

14:18 The parable of those who disbelieve in their Lord: Their works are as ashes on which the wind blows hard on a stormy day. They have no power over aught they have earned. That is straying far away.

14:19 Seest thou not that Allah created the heavens and the earth with truth? If He please, He will take you away arid bring a new creation,

14:20 And that is not difficult for Allah.

14:21 And they will all come forth to Allah, then the weak will say to those who were proud: We were your followers, can you then avert from us aught of the chastisement of Allah? They will say: If Allah had guided us, we would have guided you. It is the same to us whether we cry or bear patiently; there is no escape for us.

* * *

14:22 And the devil will say, when the matter is decided: Surely Allah promised you a promise of truth, and I promised you, then failed you. And I had no authority over you, except that I called you and you obeyed me; so blame me not but blame yourselves. I cannot come to your help, nor can you come to my help. I deny your associating me with Allah before. Surely for the unjust is a painful chastisement.

14:23 And those who believe and do good are made to enter Gardens, wherein flow rivers, abiding therein by their lord's permission. Their greeting therein is, Peace!

14:24 Seest thou not how Allah sets forth a parable of a good word as a good tree, whose root is firm and whose branches are high,

14:25 Yielding its fruit in every season by the permission of its Lord? And Allah sets forth parables for men that they may be mindful.

14:26 And the parable of an evil word is as an evil tree pulled up from the earth's surface; it has no stability.

14:27 Allah confirms those who believe with the sure word in this world's life and in the Hereafter; and Allah leaves the wrongdoers in error and Allah does what He pleases.

* * *

14:28* Seest thou not those who change Allah's favour for disbelief and make their people to alight in the abode of perdition

14:29* Hell. They will burn in it And an evil place it is to settle in!

14:30 And they set up equals with Allah to lead astray from His path. Say: Enjoy yourselves, for surely your return is to the Fire.

14:31 Tell My servants who believe to keep up prayer and spend out of what We have given them, secretly and openly, before the coming of the day in which there is no bartering, nor befriending.

14:32 Allah is He Who created the heavens and the earth and sent down water from the clouds, then brought forth with it fruits as a sustenance for you, and He has made the ships subservient to you to run their course in the sea by His command, and He has made the rivers subservient to you.

14:33 And He has made subservient to you the sun and the moon, pursuing their courses; and He has made subservient to you the night and the day.

14:34 And He gives you of all you ask of Him. And if you count Allah's favours, you will not be able to number them. Surely man is very unjust, very ungrateful.

* * *

14:35 And when Abraham said: My Lord, make this city secure, and save me and my sons from worshipping idols.

14:36 My Lord, surely they have led many men astray. So whoever follows me, he is surely of me; and whoever disobeys me, Thou surely art Forgiving, Merciful.

14:37 Our Lord, I have settled a part of my offspring in a valley unproductive of fruit near Thy Sacred House, our Lord, that they may keep up prayer; so make the hearts of some people yearn towards them, and provide them with fruits; haply they may be grateful,

14:38 Our Lord, surely Thou knowest what we hide and what we proclaim. And nothing is hidden from Allah, either in the earth, or in the heaven.

14:39 Praise be to Allah, Who has given me, in old age, Ishmael and Isaac! Surely my Lord is the Hearer of prayer.

14:40 My Lord, make me keep up prayer and from my offspring (too), our Lord, and accept my prayer.

14:41 Our Lord, grant me protection and my parents and the believers on the day when the reckoning comes to pass.

* * *

14:42 And think not Allah to be heedless of what the unjust do. He only respites them to a day when the eyes will stare (in terror),

14:43 Hastening forward, their heads upraised, their gaze not returning to them, and their hearts vacant.

14:44 And warn people of a day when the chastisement will come to them, then the wrongdoers will say: Our Lord, respite us to a near term, we will respond to Thy call and follow the messengers. Did you not swear before that there will be no passing away for you?

14:45 And you dwell in the abodes of those who wronged themselves, and it is clear to you how We dealt with them and We made (them) examples for you.

14:46 And they have indeed planned their plan, and their plan is with Allah, though their plan is such that the mountains should be moved thereby.

14:47 So think not that Allah will fail in His promise to His messengers. Surely Allah is Mighty, the Lord of retribution.

14:48 On the day when the earth will be changed into a different earth, and the heavens (as well), and they will come forth to Allah, the One, the Supreme.

14:49 And thou wilt see the guilty on that day linked together in chains —

14:50 Their shirts made of pitch, and fire covering their faces,

14:51 That Allah may repay each soul what it has earned. Surely Allah is Swift in reckoning.

14:52 This is a message for the people and that they may be warned thereby, and that they may know that He is One God, and that men of understanding may mind.

KORAN CHAPTER 77 / Sura 12

Joseph / Yusuf

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

12:1* I, Allah, am the Seer. These are the verses of the Book that makes manifest.

12:2* Surely We have revealed it — an Arabic Koran — that you may understand.

12:3* We narrate to thee the best of narratives, in that We have revealed to thee this Koran, though before this thou wast of those unaware.

12:4 When Joseph said to his father: O my father, I saw eleven stars and the sun and the moon — I saw them making obeisance to me.

12:5 He said: O my son, relate not thy dream to thy brethren, lest they devise a plan against thee. The devil indeed is an open enemy to man.

12:6 And thus will thy Lord choose thee and teach thee the interpretation of sayings, and make His favour complete to thee and to the Children of Jacob, as He made it complete before to thy fathers, Abraham and Isaac. Surely thy Lord is Knowing, Wise.

* * *

12:7* Verily in Joseph and his brethren there are signs for the inquirers.

12:8 When they said: Certainly Joseph and his brother are dearer to our father than we, though we are a (strong) company. Surely our father is in manifest error —

12:9 Slay Joseph or banish him to some (other) land, so that your father's regard may be exclusively for you, and after that you may be a righteous people.

12:10 A speaker among them said: Slay not Joseph, but, if you are going to do anything, cast him down to the bottom of the well. Some of the travellers may pick him up.

12:11 They said: O our father, why dost thou not trust us with Joseph, and surely we are his sincere well-wishers?

12:12 Send him with us to-morrow that he may enjoy himself and play and we shall surely guard him well.

12:13 He said: Indeed it grieves me that you should take him away and I fear lest the wolf devour him, while you are heedless of him.

12:14 They said: If the wolf should devour him, while we are a (strong) company, we should then certainly be losers.

12:15 So when they took him away and agreed to put him down at the bottom of the pit, We revealed to him: Thou wilt certainly inform them of this affair of theirs while they perceive not.

12:16 And they came to their father at nightfall, weeping.

12:17 They said: O our father, we went off racing one with another and left Joseph by our goods, so the wolf devoured him. And thou wilt not believe us, though we are truthful.

12:18 And they came with false blood on his shirt. He said: Nay, your souls have made a matter light for you. So patience is goodly. And Allah is He Whose help is sought against what you describe.

12:19 And there came travellers, and they sent their water-drawer and he let down his bucket. He said: O good news! This is a youth. And they concealed him as an article of merchandise, and Allah was Cognizant of what they did.

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12:20 And they sold him for a small price, a few pieces of silver, and they showed no desire for him.

* * *

12:21 And the Egyptian who bought him said to his wife: Make his stay honourable. Maybe he will be useful to us, or we may adopt him as a son. And thus We established Joseph in the land, and that We might teach him the interpretation of sayings. And Allah has full control over His affair, but most people know not.

12:22 And when he attained his maturity, We gave him wisdom and knowledge. And thus do We reward the doers of good.

12:23 And she in whose house he was, sought to seduce him, and made fast the doors and said: Come. He said: Allah forbid! Surely my Lord made good my abode. The wrongdoers never prosper.

12:24 And certainly she desired him, and he would have desired her, were it nor that he had seen the manifest evidence of his Lord. Thus (it was) that We might turn away from him evil and indecency. Surely he was one of Our chosen servants.

12:25 And they raced with one another to the door, and she rent his shirt from behind, and they met her husband at the door. She said: What is the punishment for one who intends evil to thy wife, except imprisonment or a painful chastisement?

12:26 He said: She sought to seduce me. And a witness of her own family bore witness: If his shirt is rent in front, she speaks the truth and he is of the liars.

12:27 And if his shirt is rent behind, she tells a lie and he is of the truthful.

12:28 So when he saw his shirt rent behind, he said: Surely it is a device of you women. Your device is indeed great!

12:29 O Joseph, turn aside from this. And (O my wife), ask forgiveness for thy sin. Surely thou art one of the sinful.

* * *

12:30 And women in the city said: The chiefs wife seeks to seduce her slave. He has indeed affected her deeply with (his) love. Truly we see her in manifest error.

12:31 So when she heard of their device, she sent for them and prepared for them a repast, and gave each of them a knife; and said (to Joseph): Come out to them. So when they saw him, they deemed him great, and cut their hands (in amazement), and said: Holy Allah! This is not a mortal! This is but a noble angel.

12:32. She said: This is he about whom you blamed me. And certainly I sought to seduce him, but he was firm in continence. And if he do not what I bid him, he shall certainly be imprisoned, and he shall certainly be of the abject.

12:33 He said: My Lord, the prison is dearer to me than that to which they invite me. And if Thou turn not away their device from me, I shall yearn towards them and be of the ignorant.

12:34 So his Lord accepted his prayer and turned away their device from him. Surely He is the Hearer, the Knower.

12:35 Then it occurred to them after they had seen the signs that they should imprison him till a time.

* * *

12:36 And two youths entered the prison with him. One of them said: I saw myself pressing wine. And the other said: I saw myself carrying bread on my head, of which birds were eating. Inform us of its interpretation surely we see thee to be of the doers of good.

12:37 He said: The food with which you are fed shall not come to you, but I shall inform you of its' interpretation before it comes to you. This is of what my Lord has taught me. Surely I have forsaken the religion of a people who believe not in Allah, and are deniers of the Hereafter.

12:38 And I follow the religion of my fathers, Abraham and Isaac and Jacob. It beseems us not to associate aught with Allah. This is by Allah's grace upon us and on mankind, but most people give not thanks.

12:39 O my two fellow-prisoners, are sundry lords better or Allah the One, the Supreme?

12:40 You serve not besides Him but names which you have named, you and your fathers Allah has sent down no authority for them. Judgement is only Allah's. He has commanded that you serve none but Him. This is the right religion, but most people know not.

12:41 O my two fellow-prisoners, as for one of you, he will serve wine for his lord to drink; and as for the other, he will be crucified, so that the birds will eat from his head. The matter is decreed concerning which you inquired.

12:42 And he said to him whom he knew would be delivered of the two Remember me with thy lord. But the devil caused him to forget mentioning (it) to his lord, so he remained in the prison a few years.

* * *

12:43 And the King said: I have seen seven fat kine which seven lean ones devoured; — and seven green ears and (seven) others dry. O chiefs, explain to me my dream, if you can interpret the dream.

12:44 They said: Confused dreams, and we know not the interpretation of dreams.

12:45 And of the two, he who had found deliverance and remembered after a long time said: I will inform you of its interpretation, so send me.

12:46 Joseph, O truthful one, explain to us seven fat kine which seven lean ones devoured, and seven green ears and (seven) others dry, that I may go back to the people so that they may know.

12:47 He said: You shall sow for seven years as usual, then that which you reap, leave it in its ear, except a little which you eat.

12:48 Then after that will come seven years of hardship, which will eat away all you have beforehand stored for them, except a little which you have preserved.

12:49 Then after that will come a year in which people will have rain and in which they will press (grapes).

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12:50 And the king said: Bring him to me. So when the messenger came to him, he said: Go back to thy lord and ask him, what is the case of the women who cut their hands. Surely my Lord knows their device.

12:51 (The king) said: What was your affair when you sought to seduce Joseph? They said: Holy Allah! We knew of no evil on his part. The chief's wife said: Now has the truth become manifest. I sought to seduce him and he is surely of the truthful.

12:52 This is that he might know that I have not been unfaithful to him in secret, and that Allah guides not the device of the unfaithful.

* * *

12:53 And I call not myself sinless surely (man's) self is wont to command evil, except those on whom my Lord has mercy. Surely my Lord is Forgiving, Merciful.

12:54 And the king said: Bring him to me, I will choose him for myself. So when he talked with him, he said: Surely thou art in our presence to-day dignified, trusted.

12:55 He said: Place me (in authority) over the treasures of the land; surely I am a good keeper, knowing well.

12:56 And thus did We give to Joseph power in the land — he had mastery in it wherever he liked. We bestow Our mercy on whom We please, and We waste not the reward of the doers of good.

12:57 And certainly the reward of the Hereafter is better for those who believe and guard against evil.

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12:58 And Joseph's brethren came and went in to him, and he knew them, while they recognized him not.

12:59 And when he furnished them with their provision, he said: Bring to me a brother of yours from your father. See you not that I give full measure and that I am the best of hosts?

12:60 But if you bring him not to me, you shall have no measure (of corn) from me, nor shall you come near me.

12:61 They said: We shall strive to make his father yield about him, and we are sure to do (it).

12:62 And he said to his servants: Put their money into their bags that they may recognize it when they go back to their family, so that they may come back.

12:63 So when they returned to their father, they said: O our father, the measure is withheld from us, so send with us our brother that we may get the measure, and we will surely guard him.

12:64 He said: Can I trust you with him, except as I trusted you with his brother before. So Allah is the Best Keeper, and He is the most Merciful of those who show mercy.

12:65 And when they opened their goods, they found their money returned to them. They said: O our father, what (more) can we desire? This is our property returned to us, and we shall bring corn for our family and guard our brother, and have in addition the measure of a camel-load. This is an easy measure.

12:66 He said: I will by no means send him with you, until you give me a firm covenant in Allah's name that you will bring him back to me, unless you are completely surrounded. And when they gave him their covenant, he said: Allah is Guardian over what we say.

12:67 And he said: O my sons, enter not by one gate but enter by different gates. And I can avail you naught against Allah. Judgement is only Allah's. On Him I rely, and on Him let the reliant rely.

12:68 And when they entered as their father had bidden them, it availed them naught against Allah, but (it was only) a desire in the soul of Jacob, which he satisfied. And surely he was possessed of knowledge, because We had given him knowledge, but most people know not.

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12:69 And when they went in to Joseph, he lodged his brother with himself saying: I am thy brother, so grieve not at what they do.

12:70 Then when he furnished them with their provision, (some one) placed the drinking-cup in his brother's bag. Then a crier cried out: O caravan, you are surely thieves!

12:71 They said, while they turned towards them: What is it that you miss?

12:72 They said: We miss the king's drinking-cup, and he who brings it shall have a camel-load, and I am responsible for it.

12:73 They said: By Allah! You know for certain that we have not come to make mischief in the land, and we are not thieves.

12:74 They said: But what is the penalty for this, if you are liars?

12:75 They said: The penalty for this — the person in whose bag it is found, he himself is the penalty for it. Thus do we punish the wrongdoers.

12:76 So he began with their sacks before the sack of his brother, then be brought it out from his brother's sack. Thus did We plan for the sake of Joseph. He could not take his brother under the king's law, unless Allah pleased. We raise in degree whom We please. And above every one possessed of knowledge is the All-Knowing One.

12:77 They said: If he steal, a brother of his did indeed steal before. But Joseph kept it secret in his soul, and disclosed it not to them. He said: You are in an evil condition, and Allah knows best what you state.

12:78 They said: O chief, he has a father, a very old man, so take one of us in his place. Surely we see thee to he of the doers of good.

12:79 He said: Allah forbid that we should seize other than him with whom we found our property, for then surely we should be unjust

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12:80 So when they despaired of him, they conferred together privately. The eldest of them said: Know you not that your father took from you a covenant in Allah's name, and how you fell short of your duty about Joseph before? So I shall not leave this land, until my father permits me or Allah decides for me; and He is the Best of the judges.

12:81 Go back to your father and say: O our father, thy son committed theft. And we bear witness only to what we know, and we could not keep watch over the unseen.

12:82 And ask the town where we were, and the caravan with which we proceeded. And surely we are truthful.

12:83 He said: Nay, your souls have contrived an affair for you, so patience is good. Maybe Allah will bring them together to me. Surely He is the Knowing, the Wise.

12:84 And he ruined away from them, and said: O my sorrow for Joseph! And his eyes were filled (with tears) on account of the grief, then he repressed (grief).

12:85, They said: By Allah! Thou wilt not cease remembering Joseph till thou art a prey to disease or thou art of those who perish.

12:86 He said: I complain of my grief and sorrow only to Allah, and I know from Allah what you know not.

12:87 O my sons, go and inquire about Joseph and his brother; and despair not of Allah's mercy. Surely none despairs of Allah's mercy except the disbelieving people.

12:88 So when they came to him, they said: O chief, distress has afflicted us and our family, and we have brought scanty money, so give us full measure and be charitable to us. Surely Allah rewards the charitable.

12:89 He said: Do you know how you treated Joseph and his brother, when you were ignorant?

12:90 They said: Art thou indeed Joseph? He said: I am Joseph and this is my brother; Allah has indeed been gracious to us. Surely he who keeps his duty and is patient — Allah never wastes the reward of the doers of good.

12:91 They said: By Allah! Allah has indeed chosen thee over us, and we were certainly sinners.

12:92 He said: No reproof be against you this day. Allah may forgive you, and He is the most Merciful of those who show mercy.

12:93 Take this my shirt and cast it before my father's face — he will come to know. And come to me with all your family.

* * *

12:94 And when the caravan left (Egypt); their father said Surely I scent (the power of) Joseph, if you call me not a dotard.

12:95 They said: By Allah thou art surely in thy old error.

12:96 Then when the bearer of good news came, he cast it before his face so he became certain. He said: Did I not say to you that I know from Allah what you know not?

12:97 They said: O Our father, ask forgiveness of our sins for us, surely we are sinners.

12:98 He said I shall ask forgiveness for you of my Lord. Surely He is the Forgiving, the Merciful.

12:99 Then when they went in to Joseph, he lodged his parents with himself and said: Enter Egypt in safety, if Allah please.

12:100 And he raised his parents on the throne, and they fell prostrate for his sake. And he said: O my father, this is the significance of my vision of old — my Lord has made it true. And He was indeed kind to me, when He brought me forth from the prison, and brought you from the desert after the devil had sown dissensions between me and my brethren. Surely my Lord is Benignant to whom He pleases. Truly He is the Knowing, the Wise.

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12:101 My Lord, Thou hast given me of the kingdom and taught me of the interpretation of sayings. Originator of the heavens and the earth, Thou art my Friend in this world and the Hereafter. Make me die in submission and join me with the righteous.

12:102 This is of the announcements relating to the unseen (which) We reveal to thee, and thou wast not with them when they resolved upon their affair, and they were devising plans.

12:103 And most men believe not, though thou desirest it eagerly.

12:104 And thou askest them no reward for it. It is nothing but a reminder for all mankind.

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12:105 And how many a sign in the heavens and the earth do they pass by! yet they turn away from it.

12:106 And most of them believe not in Allah without associating others (with Him).

12:107 Do they then feel secure from the coming to them of an all-encompassing chastisement from Allah or from the coming to them of the hour suddenly, while they perceive not?

12:108 Say: This is my way: I call to Allah, with certain knowledge — I and those who follow me. And glory be to Allah! and I am not of the polytheists.

12:109 And We sent not before thee any but men, from the people of the towns, to whom We sent revelation. Have they not then travelled in the land and seen what was the end of those before them? And certainly the abode of the Hereafter is best for those who keep their duty. Do you not then understand?

12:110 Until, when the messengers despaired and (the people) thought that they were told a lie, Our help came to them, and whom. We pleased was delivered. And Our punishment is not averted from the guilty people.

12:111 In their histories there is certainly a lesson for men of understanding. It is not a narrative which could be forged, but a verification of what is before it, and a distinct explanation of all things, and a guide and a mercy to a people who believe.

KORAN CHAPTER 78 / Sura 40

The Believer / Al-Mu'min

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

40:1 Beneficent God!

40:2 The revelation of the Book is from Allah, the Mighty, the Knowing,

40:3 Forgiver of sin and Acceptor of repentance, Severe to punish, Lord of bounty. There is no God but He; to Him is the eventual coming.

40:4 None dispute concerning the messages of Allah but those who disbelieve, so let not their control in the land deceive thee.

40:5 Before them the people of Noah and the parties after them rejected (prophets), and every nation purposed against its messenger to destroy him, and disputed by means of falsehood to render null thereby the truth, so I seized them; how (terrible) was then My retribution!

40:6 And thus did the word of thy Lord prove true against those who disbelieve that they are the companions of the Fire.

40:7 Those who bear the Throne of Power and those around it celebrate the praise of their Lord and believe in Him and ask protection for those who believe: Our Lord, Thou embracest all things in mercy and knowledge, so protect those who turn (to Thee) and follow Thy way, and save them from the chastisement of hell.

40:8 Our Lord, make them enter the Gardens of perpetuity, which Thou hast promised them and such of their fathers and their wives and their off-spring as are good. Surely Thou art the Mighty, the Wise:

40:9 And guard them from evil, and whom Thou guardest from evil this day, Thou hast indeed mercy on him. And that is the mighty achievement.

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40:10 Those who disbelieve are told: Certainly Allah's hatred (of you), when you were called upon to the faith and you rejected, was much greater than your hatred (now) of yourselves.

40:11 They say Our Lord, twice hast Thou made us die, and twice hast Thou given us life; so we confess our sins. Is there then a way of escape?

40:12 That is because when Allah alone was called upon, you disbelieved, and when associates were given to Him, you believed. So judgement belongs to Allah, the High, the Great.

40:13 He it is Who shows you His signs and sends down for you sustenance from heaven, and none minds but he who turns (to Him).

40:14 So call upon Allah, being sincere to Him in obedience, though the disbelievers are averse —

40:15 Exalter of degrees, Lord of the Throne of Power, He makes the spirit to light by His command upon whom Re pleases of His servants, that he may warn (men) of the day of Meeting —

40:16 The day when they come forth. Nothing concerning them remains hidden from Allah. To whom belongs the kingdom this day? To Allah, the One, the Subduer (of all).

40:17 This day every soul is rewarded what it has earned. No injustice this day! Surely Allah is Swift in Reckoning.

40:18 And warn them of the day that draws near, when hearts, grieving inwardly, rise up to the throats. The iniquitous will have no friend, nor any intercessor who should be obeyed.

40:19 He knows the dishonesty of eyes and that which the breasts conceal.

40:20 And Allah judges with truth. And those whom they call upon besides Him judge naught! Surely Allah is the Hearing, the Seeing.

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40:21 Have they not travelled in the land and seen what was the end of those who were before them? Mightier than these were they in strength and in fortifications in the land, but Allah destroyed them for their sins. And they had none to protect them from Allah.

40:22 That was because there came to them their messengers with clear arguments, but they disbelieved, so Allah destroyed them. Surely He is Strong, Severe in Retribution.

40:23 And certainly We sent Moses with Our messages and clear authority,

40:24 To Pharaoh and Haman and Korah, but they said: A lying enchanter!

40:25 So when he brought to them the Truth from Us, they said: Slay the sons of those who believe with him and keep their women alive. And the plot of the disbelievers is bound to fail.

40:26 And Pharaoh said: Leave me to slay Moses and let him call upon his Lord. Surely I fear that he will change your religion or that he will make mischief to appear in the land.

40:27 And Moses said: Truly I seek refuge in my Lord and your Lord from every proud one who believes not in the day of Reckoning.

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40:28 And a believing man of Pharaoh's people, who hid his faith, said: Will you slay a man because he says, My Lord is Allah, and indeed he has brought you clear arguments from your Lord? And if he be a liar, on him will be his lie, and if he be truthful, there will befall you some of that which he threatens you with. Surely Allah guides not one who is a prodigal, a liar.

40:29 O my people, yours is the kingdom this day, being masters in the land, but who will help us against the punishment of Allah, if it comes to us? Pharaoh said: I only show you that which I see and I guide you only to the right way.

40:30 And he who believed said: O my people, surely I fear for you the like of what befell the parties,

40:31 The like of what befell the people of Noah and 'Ad and Thamud and those after them. And Allah wishes no injustice for (His) servants.

40:32 And, O my people, I fear for you the day of Calling out —

40:33 The day on which you will turn back retreating, having none to save you from Allah; and whomsoever Allah leaves in error there is no guide for him.

40:34 And Joseph indeed came to you before with clear arguments, but you ever remained in doubt as to what he brought you; until, when he died, you said: Allah will never raise a messenger after him. Thus does Allah leave him in error who is a prodigal, a doubter —

40:35 Those who dispute concerning the messages of Allah without any authority that has come to them. Greatly hated is it by Allah and by those who believe. Thus does Allah seal every heart, of a proud, haughty one.

40:36 And Pharaoh said: O Haman, build for me a tower that I may attain the means of access —

40:37 The means of access to the heavens, then reach the God of Moses, and I surely think him to be a liar. And thus the evil of his deed was made fair-seeming to Pharaoh, and he was turned aside from the way. And the plot of Pharaoh ended in naught but ruin.

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40:38 And he who believed said: O my people, follow me I will guide you to the right way.

40:39 O my people, this life of the world is but a (passing) enjoyment, and the Hereafter, that is the abode to settle.

40:40 Whoever does evil, he is requited only with the like of it; and whoever does good, whether male or female, and he is a believer, these shall enter the Garden, to be given therein sustenance without measure.

40:41 And, O my people, how is it that I call you to salvation and you call me to the Fire?

40:42 You call me to disbelieve in Allah and to associate with Him that of which I have no knowledge, and I call you to the Mighty, the Forgiving.

40:43 Without doubt that which you call me to has no title to be called to in this world, or in the Hereafter, and our return is to Allah, and the prodigals are companions of the Fire.

40:44 So you will remember what I say to you, and I entrust my affair to Allah. Surely Allah is Seer of the servants.

40:45 So Allah protected him from the evil that they planned; and evil chastisement overtook Pharaoh's people —

40:46 The Fire. They are brought before it (every) morning and evening, and on the day when the Hour comes to pass: Make Pharaoh's people enter the severest chastisement.

40:47 And when they contend One with another in the Fire, the weak saying to those who were proud: Surely we were your followers; will you then avert from us a portion of the Fire?

40:48 Those who were proud say: Now we are all in it: Allah has indeed judged between the servants.

40:49 And those in the Fire will say to the guards of hell: Pray to your Lord to lighten our chastisement for a day.

40:50 They will say: Did not your messengers come to you with clear arguments? They will say: Yea. They will say: Then pray. And the prayer of the disbelievers goes only astray.

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40:51 We certainly help Our messengers, and those who believe, in this world's life and on the day when the witnesses arise —

40:52 The day on which their excuse will not benefit the unjust, and for them is a curse and for them is the evil abode.

40:53 And We indeed gave Moses the guidance, and We made the Children of Israel inherit the Book —

40:54 A guidance and a reminder for men of understanding.

40:55 So be patient; surely the promise of Allah is true; and ask protection for thy sin and celebrate the praise of thy Lord in the evening and the morning.

40:56* Those who dispute about the messages of Allah without any authority having come to them, there is naught in their breasts but (a desire) to become great, which they will never attain. So seek refuge in Allah. Surely He is the Hearing, the Seeing.

40:57* Assuredly the creation of the heavens and the earth is greater than the creation of men; but most people know not.

40:58 And the blind and the seeing are not alike, not those who believe and do good and the evildoers. Little do you mind!

40:59 The Hour is surely coming — there is no doubt therein — but most people believe not.

40:60 And your Lord says: Pray to Me, I will answer you. Those who disdain My service will surely enter hell, abased.

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40:61 Allah is He Who made for you the night for resting in and the day for seeing. Surely Allah is Full of Grace to men, but most men give not thanks.

40:62 That is Allah, your Lord, the Creator of all things. There is no God but He. Whence are you then turned away?

40:63 Thus are turned away those who deny the messages of Allah.

40:64 Allah is He Who made the earth a resting-place for you and the heaven a structure, and He formed you, then made goodly your forms, and He provided you with goodly things. That is Allah, your Lord — so blessed is Allah, the Lord of the worlds.

40:65 He is the Living, there is no God but He; so call on Him, being sincere to Him in obedience. Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds!

40:66 Say: I am forbidden to serve those whom you call upon besides Allah, when clear arguments have come to me from my Lord; and I am commanded to submit to the Lord of the worlds.

40:67 He it is Who created you from dust, then from a small life-germ, then from a clot, then He brings you forth as a child, then that you may attain your maturity, then that you may be old; and of you are some who die before and that you may reach an appointed term, and that you may understand.

40:68 He it is Who gives life and causes death, so when He decrees an affair, He only says to it, Be, and it is.

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40:69 Seest thou not those who dispute concerning the messages of Allah? How are they turned away? —

40:70 Those who reject the Book and that with which We have sent Our messengers. But they shall soon know.

40:71 When the fetters are on their necks and the chains. They are dragged

40:72 Into hot water; then in the Fire they are burned.

40:73 Then it is said to them: Where is that which you used to set up

40:74 Besides Allah? They will say They have failed us; nay, we used not to call upon anything before. Thus does Allah confound the disbelievers.

40:75 That is because you exulted in the land unjustly and because you behaved insolently.

40:76 Enter the gates of hell to abide therein; so evil is the abode of the proud.

40:77 Therefore be patient, surely the promise of Allah is true. But whether We make thee see part of what We threaten them with, or cause thee to die, to Us shall they be returned.

40:78 And certainly We sent messengers before thee — of them are those We have mentioned to thee and of them are those We have not mentioned to thee. Nor was it possible for a messenger to bring a sign except with Allah's permission so

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when Allah's command comes, judgement is given with truth, and those who treat (it) as a lie are lost.

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40:79 Allah is He Who made the cattle for you that you may ride on some of them, and some of them you eat.

40:80 And there are advantages in them for you, and that you may attain through them a need which is in your breasts, and on them and on ships you are borne.

40:81 And He shows you His signs which then of Allah's signs will you deny?

40:82 Do they not travel in the land and see what was the end of those before them? They were more numerous than these and greater in strength and in fortifications in the land, but what they earned availed them not.

40:83 Then when their messengers came to them with clear arguments, they exulted in what they had with them of knowledge and that at which they used to mock befell them.

40:84 So when they saw Our punishment, they said: We believe in Allah alone, and we deny what we used to associate with Him.

40:85 But their faith could not profit them when they saw Our punishment. Such is Allah's law, which ever takes its course in the matter of His servants; and there the disbelievers are lost.

KORAN CHAPTER 79 / Sura 28

The Narrative / Al-Qasas

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

28:1 Benignant, Hearing, Knowing God!

28:2 These are the verses of the Book that makes manifest.

28:3 We recite to thee the story of Moses and Pharaoh with truth, for a people who believe.

28:4 Surely Pharaoh exalted himself in the land and made its people into parties, weakening one party from among them; he slaughtered their sons and let their women live. Surely he was one of the mischief-makers.

28:5 And We desired to bestow a favour upon those who were deemed weak in the land, and to make them the leaders, and to make them the heirs,

28:6 And to grant them power in the land, and to make Pharaoh and Haman and their hosts see from them what they feared.

28:7 And We revealed to Moses' mother, saying: Give him suck; then when thou fearest for him, cast him into the river and fear not, nor grieve surely We shall bring him back to thee and make him one of the messengers.

28:8 So Pharaoh's people took him up that he might be an enemy and a grief for them. Surely Pharaoh and Haman and their hosts were wrongdoers.

28:9 And Pharaoh's wife said: A refreshment of the eye to me and to thee — slay him not maybe he will be useful to us, or we may take him for a son. And they perceived not.

28:10 And the heart of Moses' mother was free (from anxiety). She would almost have disclosed it, had We not strengthened her heart, so that she might be of the believers.

28:11 And she said to his sister: Follow him up. So she watched him from a distance, while they perceived not.

28:12 And We did not allow him to suck before, so she said: Shall I point our to you the people of a house who will bring him up for you, and they will wish him well?

28:13 So We gave him back to his mother that her eye might be refreshed, and that she might not grieve, and that she might know that the promise of Allah is true. But most of them know not.

* * *

28:14 And when he attained his maturity and became full-grown, We granted him wisdom and knowledge. And thus do We reward those who do good (to others).

28:15 And he went into the city at a time of carelessness on the part of its people, so he found therein two men fighting — one being of his party and the other of his foes; and he who was of his party cried out to him for help against him who was of his enemies, so Moses struck him with his fist and killed him. He said: This is on account of the devil's doing; surely he is an enemy, openly leading astray.

28:16 He said: My Lord, surely I have done harm to myself, so do Thou protect me; so He protected him. Surely He is the Forgiving, the Merciful.

28:17 He said: My Lord, because Thou hast bestowed a favour on me, I shall never be a backer of the guilty.

28:18 And he was in the city, fearing, awaiting, when lo, he who had asked his assistance the day before was crying out to him for help. Moses said to him: Thou art surely one erring manifestly.

28:19 So when he desired to seize him who was an enemy to them both, he said: O Moses, dost thou intend to kill me as thou didst kill a person yesterday? Thou only desirest to be a tyrant in the land, and thou desirest not to be of those who act aright.

28:20 And a man came running from the remotest part of the city. He said: O Moses, the chiefs are consulting together to slay thee, so depart (at once); surely I am of those who wish thee well.

28:21 So he went forth therefrom, fearing, awaiting. He said: My Lord, deliver me from the iniquitous people.

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28:22 And when he turned his face towards Midian, he said: Maybe my Lord will guide me in the right path.

28:23 And when he came to the water of Midian, he found there a group of men watering, and he found besides them two women keeping back (their flocks). He said: What is the matter with you? They said: We cannot water until the shepherds take away (their sheep) from the water; and our father is a very old man.

28:24 So he watered (their sheep) for them, then went back to the shade, and said: My Lord, I stand in need of whatever good Thou mayest send to me.

28:25 Then one of the two women came to him walking bashfully. She said: My father invites thee that he may reward thee for having watered for us. So when he came to him and related to him the story, he said: Fear not, thou art secure from the iniquitous people.

28:26 One of them said: O my father, employ him; surely the best of those that thou canst employ is the strong, the faithful one.

28:27 He said: I desire to marry one of these two daughters of mine to thee on condition that thou serve me for eight years; but, if thou complete ten, it will be of thy own free will; and I wish not to be hard on thee. If Allah please, thou wilt find me one of the righteous.

28:28 He said: That is (agreed) between me and thee; whichever of the two terms I fulfil, there will be no injustice to me; and Allah is surety over what we say.

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28:29 Then when Moses had completed the term, and was travelling with his family, he perceived a fire on the side of the mountain. He said to his family: Wait, I see a fire; maybe I will bring to you from it some news or a brand of fire, so that you may warm yourselves.

28:30 And when he came to it, he was called from the right side of the valley in the blessed spot of the bush. O Moses, surely I am Allah, the Lord of the worlds

28:31 And cast down thy rod. So when he saw it in motion as if it were a serpent, he turned away retreating, and looked not back. O Moses, come forward and fear not; surely thou art of those who are secure.

28:32 Insert thy hand into thy bosom, it will come forth white without evil, and remain calm in fear. These two are two arguments from thy Lord to Pharaoh and his chiefs. Surely they are a transgressing people.

28:33 He said: My Lord, I killed one of them, so I fear lest they slay me.

28:34 And my brother, Aaron, he is more eloquent in speech than I, so send him with me as a helper to confirm me. Surely I fear that they would reject me.

28:35 He said: We will strengthen thine arm with thy brother, and We will give you both an authority, so that they shall not reach you. With Our signs, you two and those who follow you, will triumph.

28:36 So when Moses came to them with Our clear signs, they said This is nothing but forged enchantment, and we never heard of it among out fathers of old!

28:37 And Moses said: My Lord knows best who comes with guidance from Him, and whose shall be the good end of the abode. Surely the wrongdoers will not be successful.

28:38 And Pharaoh said: O chiefs, I know no god for you besides myself; so kindle a fire for me, O Haman, on (bricks of) clay, then prepare for me a lofty building, so that I may obtain knowledge of Moses' God, and surely I think him a liar.

28:39 And he was unjustly proud in the land, he and his hosts, and they deemed that they would not be brought back to Us.

28:40 So We caught hold of him and his hosts, then We cast them into the sea, and see what was the end of the iniquitous.

28:41 And We made them leaders who call to the Fire, and on the day of Resurtection they will not be helped.

28:42 And We made a curse to follow them in this world, and on the day of Resurrection they will be hideous.

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28:43 And certainly We gave Moses the Book after We had destroyed the former generations clear arguments for men and a guidance and a mercy, that they may be mindful.

28:44 And thou wast not on the western side when We revealed to Moses the commandment, nor wast thou among those present

28:45 But We raised up generations, then life became prolonged to them. And thou wast not dwelling among the people of Midian, reciting to them Our messages, but We are the Sender (of messengers).

28:46 And thou wast not at the side of the mountain when We called, but a mercy from thy Lord that thou mayest warn a people to whom no warner came before thee, that they may be mindful.

28:47 And lest, if a disaster should befall them for what their hands have sent before, they should say: Our Lord, why didst Thou not send to us a messenger so that we might have followed Thy messages and been of the believers?

28:48 But (now) when the Truth has come to them from Us, they say: Why is he not given the like of what was given to Moses? Did they not disbelieve in that which was given to Moses before? They say: Two enchantments backing up each other! And they say: Surely we are disbelievers in both.

28:49 Say: Then bring some (other) Book from Allah which is a better guide than these two, I will follow it if you are truthful.

28:50 But if they answer thee not, know that they only follow their low desires. And who is more erring than he who follows his low desires without any guidance from Allah? Surely Allah guides not the iniquitous people.

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28:51 And certainly We have made the Word to have many connections for their sake, so that they may be mindful.

28:52* Those to whom We gave the Book before it, they are believers in it.

28:53* And when it is recited to them they say We believe in it; surely it is the Truth from our Lord; we were indeed before this submitting ones.

28:54* These will be granted their reward twice, because they are steadfast, and they repel evil with good and spend out of what We have given them.

28:55* And when they hear idle talk, they turn aside from it and say: For us are our deeds and for you your deeds. Peace be to you! We desire not the ignorant.

28:56 Surely thou canst not guide whom thou lovest, but Allah guides whom He pleases; and He knows best those who walk aright.

28:57 And they say: If we follow the guidance with thee, we should be carried off from our country. Have We not settled them in a safe, sacred territory to which fruits of every kind are drawn? A sustenance from Us but most of them know not.

28:58 And how many a town have We destroyed which exulted in its means of subsistence! So those are their abodes: they have not been dwelt in after them except a little. And We are ever the inheritors.

28:59 And thy Lord never destroyed the towns, until He had raised in their metropolis a messenger, reciting to them Our messages, and We never destroyed the towns except when their people were iniquitous.

28:60 And whatever things you have been given are only a provision of this world's life and its adornment, and whatever is with Allah is better and more lasting. Do you not then understand?

* * *

28:61 Is he to whom We have promised a goodly promise, which he will meet with, like him whom We have provided with the provisions of this world's life, then on the day of Resurrection he will be of those brought up (for punishment)?

28:62 And the day when He will call them and say: Where are those whom you deemed to be My associates?

28:63 Those against whom the word has proved true will say: Our Lord, these are they whom we caused to deviate — we caused them to deviate as we ourselves deviated. We declare our innocence before Thee. Us they never worshipped.

28:64 And it will be said: Call your associate-gods. So they will call upon them, but they will not answer them, and they will see the chastisement. Would that they had followed the right way

28:65 And the day He will call them, then say: What was the answer you gave to the messengers?

28:66 On that day excuses will become obscure to them, so they will not ask each other.

28:67 But as to him who repents and believes and does good, maybe he will be among the successful.

28:68 And thy Lord creates and chooses whom He pleases. To choose is not theirs. Glory be to Allah and exalted be He above what they associate (with Him)!

28:69 And thy Lord knows what their breasts conceal and what they proclaim.

28:70 And He is Allah, there is no god but He! His is the praise in this (life) and the Hereafter; and His is the judgement, and to Him you will be brought back.

28:71 Say: Do you see if Allah were to make the day to continue incessantly on you till the day of Resurrection, who is the god besides Allah that could bring you the night in which you take rest? Do you not then see?

28:72 Say: Do you see if Allah were to make the night to continue incessantly on you till the day of Resurrection, who is the god besides Allah who could bring you light? Will you not then hear?

28:73 And out of His mercy He has made for you the night and the day, that you may rest therein, and that you may seek of His grace, and that you may give thanks.

28:74 And the day when He will call them and say: Where are My associates whom you pretended?

28:75 And We shall draw forth from among every nation a witness and say: Bring your proof. Then shall they know that the Truth is Allah's and that which they forged will fail them.

* * *

28:76 Korah was surely of the people of Moses, but he oppressed them, and We gave him treasures, so much so that his hoards of wealth would weigh down a body of strong men.

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When his people said to him: Exult not; surely Allah loves not the exultant.

28:77 And seek the abode of the Hereafter by means of what Allah has given thee, and neglect not thy portion of the world, and do good (to others) as Allah has done good to thee, and seek not to make mischief in the land. Surely Allah loves nor the mischief-makers.

28:78 He said: I have been given this only on account of the knowledge I have. Did he not know that Allah had destroyed before him generations who were mightier in strength than he and greater in assemblage? And the guilty are not questioned about their sins.

28:79 So he went forth to his people in his finery. Those who desired this world's life said: O would that we had the like of what Korah is given! Surely he is possessed of mighty good fortune!

28:80 But those who were given the knowledge said: Woe to you! Allah's reward is better for him who believes and does good, and none is made to receive this except the patient.

28:81 So We made the earth to swallow him up and his abode. He had no host to help him against Allah, nor was he of those who can defend themselves.

28:82 And those who had yearned for his place the day before began to say: Ah! (know) that Allah amplifies and straitens the means of subsistence for whom He pleases of His servants had not Allah been gracious to us, He would have abased us. Ah! (know) that the ungrateful are never successful.

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28:83 That abode of the Hereafter, We assign it to those who have no desire to exalt themselves in the earth nor to make mischief. And the good end is for those who keep their duty.

28:84 Whoever brings good, he will have better than it; and whoever brings evil, those who do evil will be required only for what they did.

28:85* [* at the time of the Hijra] He who has made the Koran binding in thee will surely bring thee back to the Place of Return. Say: My Lord knows best him who has brought the guidance and him who is in manifest error.

28:86 And thou didst not expect that the Book would be inspired to thee, but it is a mercy from thy Lord, so be not a backer up of the disbelievers.

28:87 And let them not turn thee aside from the messages of Allah after they have been revealed to thee, and call (men) to thy Lord and be not of the polytheists.

28:88 And call not with Allah any other god. There is no God but He. Everything will perish but He. His is the judgement, and to Him you will be brought back.

KORAN CHAPTER 80 / Sura 39

The Companies / Al-Zumar

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

39:1 The revelation of the Book is from Allah, the Mighty, the Wise.

39:2 Surely We have revealed to thee the Book with truth, so serve Allah, being sincere to Him in obedience.

39:3 Now surely sincere obedience is due to Allah (alone). And those who choose protectors besides Him (say): We serve them only that they may bring us nearer to Allah. Surely Allah will judge between them in that in which they differ. Surely Allah guides not him who is a liar, ungrateful.

39:4 If Allah desired to take a son to Himself, He could have chosen those He pleased out of those whom He has created — Glory be to Him He is Allah, the One, the Subduer (of all).

39:5 He has created the heavens and the earth with truth; He makes the night cover the day and makes the day overtake the night, and He has made the sun and the moon subservient; each one moves on to an assigned term. Now surely He is the Mighty, the Forgiver.

39:6 He created you from a single being, then made its mate of the same (kind). And He sent down for you eight of the cattle in pairs. He creates you in the wombs of your mothers — creation after creation — in triple darkness. That is Allah, your Lord; His is the kingdom. There is no God but He. How are you then turned away?

39:7 If you are ungrateful, then surely Allah is above need of you. And He likes not ungratefulness in His servants. And if you are grateful, He likes it for you. And no bearer of a burden will bear another's burden. Then to your Lord is your return, then will He inform you of what you did. Surely He is Knower of what is in the breasts.

39:8 And when distress afflicts a man he calls upon his Lord, turning to Him; then when He grants him a favour from Him, he forgets that for which he called upon Him before, and sets up rivals to Allah that he may cause (men) to stray from His path. Say: Enjoy thine ungratefulness for a little, surely thou art of the companions of the Fire.

39:9 Is he who is obedient during hours of the night, prostrating himself and standing, taking care of the Hereafter and hoping for the mercy of his Lord —? Say: Are those who know and those who know not alike? Only men of understanding mind.

* * *

39:10 Say: O My servants who believe; keep your duty to your Lord. For those who do good in this world is good, and Allah's earth is spacious. Truly the steadfast will be paid their reward without measure.

39:11 Say: I am commanded to serve Allah, being sincere to Him in obedience,

39:12 And I am commanded to be the first of those who submit.

39:13 Say: I fear, if I disobey my Lord, the chastisement of a grievous day.

39:14 Say: Allah I serve, being sincere to Him in my obedience.

39:15 Serve then what you will beside Him. Say: The losers surely are those who lose themselves and their people on the day of Resurrection. Now surely that is the manifest loss

39:16 They shall have coverings of fire above them and coverings beneath them. With that Allah makes His servants to fear; so keen your duty to Me, O My servants.

39:17 And those who eschew the worship of the idols and turn to Allah, for them is good news. So give good news to My servants,

39:18 Who listen to the Word, then follow the best of it. Such are they whom Allah has guided, and such are the men of understanding.

39:19 He against whom the sentence of chastisement is due — canst thou save him who is in the Fire?

39:20 But those who keep their duty to their Lord, for them are high places, above them higher places, built (for them), wherein rivers flow. (It is) the promise of Allah. Allah fails not in (His) promise.

39:21 Seest thou not that Allah sends down water from the clouds, then makes it go down into the earth in springs, then brings forth therewith herbage of various hues; then it withers so that thou seest it turn yellow, then He makes it chaff? Surely there is a reminder in this for men of understanding.

* * *

39:22 Is he whose breast Allah has opened to Islam so that he follows a light from his Lord —? So woe to those whose hearts are hardened against the remembrance of Allah! Such are in clear error.

39:23 Allah has revealed the best announcement, a Book consistent, repeating (its injunctions), whereat do shudder the skins of those who fear their Lord, then their skins and their hearts soften to Allah's remembrance. This is Allah's guidance — He guides with it whom He pleases. And he whom Allah leaves in error, there is no guide for him.

39:24 Is then he who has to guard himself with his own person against the evil chastisement on the Resurrection day —? And it will be said to the iniquitous: Taste what you earned.

39:25 Those before them denied, so the chastisement came to them from whence they perceived not.

39:26 So Allah made them taste disgrace in this world's life, and certainly the chastisement of the Hereafter is greater. Did they but know!

39:27 And certainly We have set forth for men in this Koran similitudes of every sort that they may mind.

39:28 An Arabic Koran without any crookedness, that they may guard against evil.

39:29 Allah sets forth a parable: A man belonging to partners differing with one another, and a man (devoted) wholly to one man. Are the two alike in condition? Praise be to Allah! Nay, most of them know not.

39:30 Surely thou wilt die and they (too) will die;

39:31 Then surely on the day of Resurrection you will contend one with another before your Lord.

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39:32 Who is then more unjust than he who utters a lie against Allah and denies the truth, when it comes to him? Is there not in hell an abode for the disbelievers?

39:33 And he who brings the truth and accepts the truth — such are the dutiful.

39:34 They shall have with their Lord what they please. Such is the reward of the doers of good —

39:35 That Allah may ward off from them the worst of what they did, and give them their reward for the best of what they did.

39:36 Is not Allah sufficient for His servant? And they seek to frighten thee with those besides Him. And whomsoever Allah leaves in error, there is no guide for him.

39:37 And whom Allah guides, there is none that can lead him astray. Is not Allah Mighty, the Lord of retribution?

39:38. And if thou ask them, Who created the heavens and the earth? They will say: Allah. Say: See you then that those you call upon besides Allah, would they, if Allah desire to afflict me with harm, remove His harm? Or if He desire to show me mercy, could they withhold His mercy? Say: Allah is sufficient for me. On Him do the reliant rely.

39:39 Say: O my people, work in your place. Surely I am a worker, so you will come to know,

39:40 Who it is to whom there comes a chastisement abasing him, and on whom falls a lasting chastisement.

39:41 Surely We have revealed to thee the Book with truth for (the good of) men. So whoever follows the right way, it is for his own soul, and whoever errs, he errs only to its detriment. And thou art not a custodian over them.

* * *

39:42. Allah takes (men's) souls at the time of their death, and those that die not, during their sleep. Then He withholds those on whom He has passed the decree of death and sends the others back till an appointed term. Surely there are signs in this for a people who reflect.

39:43 Or, take they intercessors besides Allah? Say: What! Even though they control naught, nor do they understand.

39:44 Say: Allah's is the intercession altogether. His is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth. Then to Him you will be returned.

39:45 And when Allah alone is mentioned, the hearts of those who believe not in the Hereafter shrink, and when those besides Him are mentioned, lo! they are joyful.

39:46 Say: O Allah, Originator of the heavens and the earth, Knower of the unseen and the seen, Thou judgest between Thy servants as to that wherein they differ.

39:47 And had those who do wrong all that is in the earth and the like of it with it, they would certainly offer it as ransom from the evil of the chastisement on the day of Resurrection. And what they never thought of shall become plain to them from Allah.

39:48 And the evil of what they wrought will become plain to them, and that which they mocked at will beset them.

39:49 So when harm afflicts a man he calls upon Us; then, when We give him a boon from Us, he says: I have been given it only by means of knowledge. Nay, it is a trial, but most of them know not.

39:50 Those before them did say it indeed, but what they earned availed them not.

39:51 So there befell them the evil which they had earned. And those who are unjust from among these, there shall befall them the evil which they earn, and they shall not escape.

39:52 Know they not that Allah gives ample subsistence to whom He pleases, and He straitens; surely there are signs in this for a people who believe.

* * *

39:53 Say: O My servants who have been prodigal regarding their souls, despair not of the mercy of Allah; surely Allah forgives sins altogether. He is indeed the Forgiving, the Merciful.

39:54 And turn to your Lord and submit to Him before chastisement comes to you, then you will not be helped.

39:55 And follow the best that has been revealed to you from your Lord before chastisement comes to you all of a sudden, while you perceive not —

39:56 Lest a soul should say: O woe is me, that I fell short of my duty to Allah! and surely I was of those who laughed to scorn;

39:57 Or it should say: Had Allah guided me, I should have been dutiful;

39:58 Or it should say, when it sees the chastisement: Had I another chance I should be a doer of good.

39:59 Aye! My communications came to thee, but thou didst reject them, and wast proud and wast of the disbelievers.

39:60 And on the day of resurrection thou wilt see those who lied against Allah, their faces will be blackened. Is there not in hell an abode for the proud?

39:61 And Allah delivers those who keep their duty with their achievement — evil touches them not, nor do they grieve.

39:62 Allah is the Creator of all things and He has charge over everything.

39:63 His are the treasures of the heavens and the earth. And those who disbelieve in the messages of Allah, such are the losers.

* * *

39:64 Say: Do you bid me serve others than Allah, O ye ignorant ones?

39:65 And certainly, it has been revealed to thee and to those before thee: If thou associate (with Allah), thy work would certainly come to naught and thou wouldst be a loser.

39:66 Nay, but serve Allah alone and be of the thankful.

39:67 And they honour not Allah with the honour due to Him; and the whole earth will be in His grip on the day of Resurrection and the heavens rolled up in His right hand. Glory be to Him! and highly exalted is He above what they associate (with Him).

39:68 And the trumpet is blown, so all those in the heavens and all those in the earth will swoon, except such as Allah please. Then it will be blown again, when lo! they stand up, awaiting.

39:69 And the earth beams with the light of its Lord, and the Book is laid down, and the prophets and the witnesses are brought up, and judgement is given between them with justice, and they are not wronged.

39:70 And every soul is paid back fully for what it did, and He knows best what they do.

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39:71 And those who disbelieve are driven to hell in companies; until, when they come to it, its doors are opened, and the keepers of it say to them: Did not there come to you messengers from among you reciting to you the messages of your Lord and warning you of the meeting of this day of yours? They say: Yea. But the word of punishment proved true against the disbelievers.

39:72 It is said: Enter the gates of hell to abide therein; so evil is the abode of the proud.

39:73 And those who keep their duty to their Lord are conveyed to the Garden in companies until when they come to it, and its doors are opened and the keepers of it say to them Peace be to you! you led pure lives so enter it to abide.

39:74 And they say: Praise be to Allah Who has made good to us His promise, and He has made us inherit the land; we abide in the Garden where we please. So goodly is the reward of the workers.

39:75 And thou seest the angels going round about the Throne of Power, glorifying their Lord with praise. And they are judged with justice, and it is said: Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds!

KORAN CHAPTER 81 / Sura 29

The Spider / Al-Ankabut

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

29:1* I, Allah, am the best Knower.

29:2* Do men think that they will be left alone on saying, We believe, and will not be tried?

29:3* And indeed We tried those before them, so Allah will certainly know those who are true and He will know the liars.

29:4* Or do they who work evil think that they will escape Us? Evil is it that they judge!

29:5* Whoever hopes to meet with Allah, the term of Allah is then surely coming. And He is the Hearing, the Knowing.

29:6* And whoever strives hard, strives for himself. Surely Allah is Self-sufficient, above (need of) (His) creatures.

29:7* And those who believe and do good, We shall certainly do away. with their afflictions and reward them for the best of what they did.

29:8* And We have enjoined on man goodness to his parents. But if they contend with thee to associate (others) with Me, of which thou hast no knowledge, obey them not. To Me is your return, so I will inform you of what you did.

29:9* And those who believe and do good, We shall surely make them enter among the righteous.

29:10* And among men is he who says: We believe in Allah; but when he is persecuted for the sake of Allah, he thinks the persecution of men to be as the chastisement of Allah. And if there comes help from thy Lord, they will say: Surely we were with you. Is not Allah the Best Knower of what is in the hearts of mankind?

29:11* And certainly Allah will know those who believe, and He will know the hypocrites.

29:12 And those who disbelieve say to those who believe: Follow our path and we will bear your wrongs. And they can never bear aught of their wrongs. Surely they are liars.

29:13 And they will certainly bear their own burdens, and other burdens besides their own burdens; and they will certainly be questioned on the day of Resurrection as to what they forged.

* * *

29:14 And We indeed sent Noah to his people, so he remained among them a thousand years save fifty years. And the deluge overtook them, and they were wrongdoers.

29:15 So We delivered him and the inmates of the ark, and made it a sign to the nations.

29:16 And (We sent) Abraham, when he said to his people: Serve Allah and keep your duty to Him. That is better for you, if you did but know.

29:17 You only worship idols besides Allah and you invent a lie. Surely they whom you serve besides Allah control no sustenance for you; so seek sustenance from Allah and serve Him and be grateful to Him. To Him you will be brought back.

29:18 And if you reject, nations before you did indeed reject (the Truth). And the duty of the Messenger is only to deliver (the message) plainly.

29:19 See they not how Allah originates the creation, then reproduces it? Surely that is easy to Allah.

29:20 Say: Travel in the earth then see how He makes the first creation, then Allah creates the latter creation. Surely Allah is Possessor of power over all things.

29:21 He chastises whom He pleases and has mercy on whom He pleases, to Him you will be turned back.

29:22 And you cannot escape in the earth nor in the heaven, and you have no protector or helper besides Allah.

* * *

29:23 And those who disbelieve in the messages of Allah and the meeting with Him, they despair of My mercy, and for them is a painful chastisement.

29:24 So naught was the answer of his people except that they said: Slay him or burn him! But Allah delivered him from the fire. Surely therein are signs for a people who believe.

29:25 And he said: You have only taken idols besides Allah by way of friendship between you in this world's life, then on the day of Resurrection some of you will deny others, and some of you will curse others and your abode is the Fire, and you will have no helpers.

29:26 So Lot believed in him. And he said: I am fleeing to my Lord. Surely He is the Mighty, the Wise.

29:27 And We granted him Isaac and Jacob, and ordained prophethood and the Book among his seed. And We gave him his reward in this world, and in the Hereafter he will surely be among the righteous.

29:28 And (We sent) Lot when he said to his people: Surely you are guilty of an abomination which none of the nations has done before you.

29:29 Do you come to males and commit robbery on the highway, and commit evil deeds in your assemblies? But the answer of his people was only that they said: Bring on us Allah's chastisement, if thou art truthful.

29:30 He said: My Lord, help me against the mischievous people.

* * *

29:31 And when Our messengers came to Abraham with good news, they said: We are going to destroy the people of this town, for its people are iniquitous.

29:32 He said: Surely in it is Lot. They said: We know well who is in it; we shall certainly deliver him and his followers, except his wife; she is of those who remain behind.

29:33 And when Our messengers came to Lot, he was grieved on account of them, and he lacked strength to protect them. And they said: Fear not, nor grieve; surely we will deliver thee and thy followers, except thy wife — she is of those who remain behind.

29:34 Surely We are going to bring down upon the people of this town a punishment from heaven, because they transgressed.

29:35 And certainly We have left a clear sign of it for a people who understand.

29:36 And to Midian (We sent) their brother Shu'aib, so he said: O my people, serve Allah and fear the Latter day, and act not corruptly, making mischief, in the land.

29:37 But they rejected him, so a severe earthquake overtook them and they lay prostrate in their abodes.

29:38 And 'Ad and Thamud! And some of their dwellings are indeed apparent to you. And the devil made their deeds fair-seeming to them, so he kept them back from the path, and they could see clearly.

29:39 And Korah and Pharaoh and Haman! And certainly Moses came to them with clear arguments, but they behaved haughtily in the land; and they could not outstrip (Us).

29:40 So each one We punished for his sin. Of them was he on whom We sent a violent storm, and of them was he whom the rumbling overtook, and of them was he whom We caused the earth to swallow, and of them was he whom We drowned. And it was not Allah, Who wronged them, but they wronged themselves.

29:41 The parable of those who take guardians besides Allah is as the parable of the spider that makes for itself a house; and surely the frailest of the houses is the spider's house — if they but knew!

29:42 Surely Allah knows whatever they call upon besides Him. And He is the Mighty, the Wise.

29:43 And these parables,We set them forth for men, and none understand them but the learned.

29:44 Allah created the heavens and the earth with truth. Surely there is a sign in this for the believers.

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29:45 Recite that which has been revealed to thee of the Book and keep up prayer. Surely prayer keeps (one) away from indecency and evil; and certainly the remembrance of Allah is the greatest (force). And Allah knows what you do.

29:46 And argue not with the People of the Book except by what is best, save such of them as act unjustly. But say: We believe in that which has been revealed to us and revealed to you, and our God and your God is One, and to Him we submit.

29:47 And thus have We revealed the Book to thee. So those whom We have given the Book believe in it, and of these there are those who believe in it; and none deny Our messages except the disbelievers.

29:48 And thou didst not recite before it any book, nor didst thou transcribe one with thy right hand, for then could the liars have doubted.

29:49 Nay, it is clear messages in the hearts of those who are granted knowledge. And none deny Our messages except the iniquitous.

29:50 And they say: Why are not signs sent down upon him from his Lord? Say: Signs are with Allah only, and I am only a plain warner.

29:51 Is it not enough for them that We have revealed to thee the Book which is recited to them? Surely there is mercy in this and a reminder for a people who believe.

* * *

29:52 Say: Allah is sufficient as a witness between me and you. He knows what is in the heavens and the earth. And those who believe in falsehood and disbelieve in Allah, these it is that are the losers.

29:53 And they ask thee to hasten on the chastisement. And had not a term been appointed, the chastisement would certainly have come to them. And certainly it will come to them all of a sudden, while they perceive not.

29:54 They ask thee to hasten on the chastisement, and surely hell encompasses the disbelievers —

29:55 The day when the chastisement will cover them from above them, and from beneath their feet And He will say: Taste what you did.

29:56 O My servants who believe, surely My earth is vast, so serve Me only.

29:57 Every soul must taste of death then to Us you will be returned.

29:58 And those who believe and do good, We shall certainly give them an abode in high places in the Garden wherein flow rivers, abiding therein. Excellent the reward of the workers.

29:59 Who are patient, and on their Lord they rely!

29:60 And how many a living creature carries not its sustenance! Allah sustains it and yourselves. And He is the Hearing, the Knowing.

29:61 And if thou ask them, Who created the heavens and the earth and made the sun and the moon subservient? they would say, Allah. Whence are they then turned away?

29:62 Allah makes abundant the means of subsistence for whom He pleases of His servants, or straitens (them) for him; Surely Allah is Knower of all things.

29:63 And if thou ask them, Who is it that sends down water from the clouds, then gives life to the earth with it after its death? they will say, Allah. Say: Praise be to Allah! Nay, most of them understand not.

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29:64 And the life of this world is but a sport and a play. And the home of the Hereafter, that surely is the Life, did they but know!

29:65 So when they ride in the ships, they call upon Allah, being sincerely obedient to Him but when He brings them safe to the land, lo they associate others (with Him),

29:66 That they may be ungrateful for what We have given them, and that they may enjoy. But they shalt soon know.

29:67 See they not that We have made a sacred territory secure while men are carried off by force from around them? Will they still believe in the falsehood and disbelieve in the favour of Allah?

29:68 And who is more iniquitous than one who forges a lie against Allah, or gives the lie to the Truth, when it has come to him? Is there not an abode in hell for the disbelievers?

29:69 And those who strive hard for Us, We shall certainly guide them in Our ways. And Allah is surely with the doers of good.

KORAN CHAPTER 82 / Sura 31

Luqman

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

31:1 I, Allah, am the Best Knower.

31:2 'These are verses of the Book of Wisdom —

31:3 A guidance and a mercy for the doers of good,

31:4 Who keep up prayer and pay the poor-rate and who are certain of the Hereafter.

31:5 These are on a guidance from their Lord, and these are they who are successful.

31:6 And of men is he who takes instead frivolous discourse to lead astray from Allah's path without knowledge, and to make it a mockery. For such is an abasing chastisement.

31:7 And when Our messages are recited to him, he turns back proudly, as if he had not heard them, as if there were deafness in his ears; so announce to him a painful chastisement.

31:8 Those who believe and do good, for them are Gardens of bliss,

31:9 To abide therein. A promise of Allah in truth! And He is the Mighty, the Wise.

31:10 He created the heavens without pillars that you see, and cast mountains on the earth lest it should be convulsed with you, and He spread on it animals of every kind. And We send down water from the clouds, then cause to grow therein of every noble kind.

31:11 This is Allah's creation; now show Me that which those besides Him have created. Nay, the unjust are in manifest error.

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31:12 And certainly We gave Luqman wisdom, saying: Give thanks to Allah. And whoever is thankful, is thankful for his own soul; and whoever denies, then surely Allah is Self-Sufficient, Praised.

31:13 And when Luqman said to his son, while he admonished him: O my son, ascribe no partner to Allah. Surely ascribing partners (to Him) is a grievous iniquity.

31:14 And We have enjoined on man concerning his parents — his mother bears him with faintings upon faintings and his weaning takes two years — Saying: Give thanks to Me and to thy parents. To Me is the eventual coming.

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31:15 And if they strive with thee to make thee associate with Me that of which thou hast no knowledge, obey them not, and keep kindly company with them in this world, and follow the way of him who turns to Me; then to Me is your return, then I shall inform you of what you did.

31:16 O my son, even if it be the weight of a grain of mustard-seed, even though it be in a rock, or in the heaven or in the earth, Allah will bring it forth. Surely Allah is Knower of subtilities, Aware.

31:17 O my son, keep up prayer and enjoin good and forbid evil, and bear patiently that which befalls thee. Surely this is an affair of great resolution.

31:18 And turn not thy face away from people in contempt, nor go about in the land exultingly. Surely Allah loves not any self-conceited boaster.

31:19 And pursue the right course in thy going about and lower thy voice. Surely the most hateful of voices is braying of asses.

* * *

31:20 See you not that Allah has made subservient to you whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth, and granted to you His favours complete outwardly and inwardly? And among men is he who disputes concerning Allah without knowledge or guidance or a Book giving light.

31:21 And when it is said to them, Follow that which Allah has revealed, they say: Nay, we follow that where-in we found our fathers. What Though the devil calls them to the chastisement of the burning Fire

31:22 And whoever submits himself to Allah and does good (to others), he indeed takes hold of the firmest handle. And Allah's is the end of affairs.

31:23 And whoever disbelieves, let not his disbelief grieve thee. To Us is their return, then We shall inform them of what they did. Surely Allah is Knower of what is in the breasts.

31:24 We give them to enjoy a little, then We shall drive them to a severe chastisement.

31:25 And if thou ask them who created the heavens and the earth? they will say: Allah. Say: Praise be to Allah! Nay, most of them know not.

31:26 To Allah belongs whatever is in the heavens and the earth Surely Allah is the Self-Sufficient, the Praised.

31:27* And if all the trees in the earth were pens, and the sea with seven more seas added to it (were ink), the words of Allah would not be exhausted. Surely Allah is Mighty, Wise.

31:28* Your creation or your raising is only like a single soul. Surely Allah is Hearing, Seeing.

31:29* Seest thou not that Allah makes the night to enter into the day, and He makes the day to enter into the night, and He has made the sun and the moon subservient (to you) — each pursues its course till an appointed time — and that Allah is Aware of what you do?

31:30 This is because Allah is the Truth, and that which they call upon besides Him is falsehood, and that Allah is the High, the Great.

* * *

31:31 Seest thou not that the ships glide on the sea by Allah's grace, that He may show you of His signs? Surely there are signs in this for every patient, endurer, grateful one.

31:32 And when a wave like awnings covers them, they call upon Allah, being sincere to Him in obedience. But when He brings them safe to land, some of them follow the middle course. And none denies Our signs but every perfidious, ungrateful one.

31:33 O people, keep your duty to your Lord and dread the day when no father can avail his son in aught, nor the child will avail his father. Surely the promise of Allah is true, so let not this world's life deceive you, nor let the arch-deceiver deceive you about Allah.

31:34 Surely Allah is He with Whom is the knowledge of the Hour, and He sends down the rain, and He knows what is in the wombs. And no one knows what he will earn on the morrow. And no one knows in what land he will die. Surely Allah is Knowing, Aware.

KORAN CHAPTER 83 / 42

The Counsel /Al-Shura

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

42:1 Beneficent God!

42:2 Knowing, Heating, Powerful God

42:3 Thus does Allah, the Mighty, the Wise, reveal to thee, and (He revealed) to those before thee.

42:4 To Him belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth; and He is the High, the Great.

42:5 The heavens may almost be rent asunder above them, while the angels celebrate the praise of their Lord and ask forgiveness for those on earth. Now surely Allah is the Forgiving, the Merciful.

42:6 And those who take protectors besides Him — Allah watches over them; and thou hast not charge over them.

42:7 And thus have We revealed to thee an Arabic Koran, that thou mayest warn the mother-town and those around it, and give warning of the day of Gathering, wherein is no doubt. A party will be in the Garden and (another) party in the burning Fire.

42:8 And if Allah had pleased, He would surely have made them a single nation, but He admits whom He pleases to His mercy. And the wrong doers have no protector not helper.

42:9 Or have they taken protectors besides Him? But Allah is the Protector, and He gives life to the dead, and He is Possessor of power over all things.

* * *

42:10 And in whatever you differ, the judgement thereof is with Allah. That is Allah, my Lord; on Him I rely, and to Him I turn.

42:11 The Originator of the heavens and the earth. He has made for you pairs from among yourselves, and pairs of the cattle, too, multiplying you thereby. Nothing is like Him; and He is the Hearing, the Seeing.

42:12 His are the treasures of the heavens and the earth — He amplifies and straitens subsistence for whom He pleases. Surely He is Knower of all things.

42:13 He has made plain to you the religion which He enjoined upon Noah and which We have revealed to thee, and which We enjoined on Abraham and Moses and Jesus to establish religion and not to be divided therein. Hard for the polytheists is that to which thou callest them. Allah chooses for Himself whom He pleases, and guides to Himself him who turns (to Him).

42:14 And they were not divided until knowledge had come to them, out of envy among themselves. And had not a word gone forth from thy Lord for an appointed term, the matter would surely have been judged between them. And those who were made to inherit the Book after them are surely in disquieting doubt about it.

42:15 To this then go on inviting, and be steadfast as thou art commanded, and follow not their low desires, and say: I believe in what Allah has revealed of the Book, and I am commanded to do justice between you. Allah is our Lord and your Lord. For us are our deeds; and for you your deeds. There is no contention between us and you. Allah will gather us together, and to Him is the eventual coming.

42:16 And those who dispute about Allah after obedience has been rendered to Him, their plea is null with their Lord, and upon them is wrath, and for them is severe chastisement.

42:17 Allah is He Who revealed the Book with truth, and the Balance; and what will make thee know that perhaps the Hour is nigh.

42:18 Those who believe not in it would hasten it on, and those who believe are in fear from it, and they know that it is the Truth. Now surely those who dispute concerning the Hour are far astray.

42:19 Allah is Benignant to His servants; He gives sustenance to whom He pleases; and He is the Strong, the Mighty.

* * *

42:20 Whoso desires the tilth (fields) of the Hereafter, We give him increase in his tilth and whoso desires the tilth of this world, We give him thereof and he has no portion in the Hereafter.

42:21 Or have they associates who have prescribed for them any religion that Allah does not sanction? And were it not for the word of judgement, it would have been decided between them. And surely for the wrongdoers is a painful chastisement.

42:22 Thou seest the unjust fearing on account of what they have earned, and it must befall them. And those who believe and do good are in the meadows of the Gardens — they have what they please with their Lord. That is the great grace.

42:23* This it is of which Allah gives the good news to His servants, who believe and do good. Say: I ask of you naught in return for it but love for relatives. And whoever earns good, We give him more of good therein. Surely Allah is Forgiving, Grateful.

42:24* Or say they: He has forged a lie against Allah? So, if Allah please, He would seal thy heart (against them). And Allah blots out the falsehood and confirms the Truth with His words. Surely He is Knower of what is in the breasts.

42:25* And He it is Who accepts repentance from His servants and pardons evil deeds, and lie knows what you do;

42:26 And He answers those who believe and do good deeds, and gives them more out of His grace. And for the disbelievers is a severe chastisement.

42:27* And if Allah were to amplify the provision for His servants, they would rebel in the earth; but He sends (it) down by measure, as He pleases. Surely He is Aware, Seer of His servants.

42:28 And He it is Who sends down the rain after they have despaired, and He unfolds His mercy. And He is the Friend, the Praised One.

42:29 And of His signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth and what He has spread forth in both of them of living. beings. And He is All-powerful to gather them together, when He will.

* * *

42:30 And whatever misfortune befalls you, it is on account of what your hands have wrought and He pardons much.

42:31 And you cannot escape in the earth, and besides Allah you have no protector nor helper.

42:32 And of His signs are the ships, like mountains on the sea.

42:33 If He will, He stills the wind so that they lie motionless on its back. Surely there are signs in this for every patient, grateful one,

42:34 Or He causes them to perish for what they have earned, and He pardons much;

42:35 And (that) those who dispute about Our messages may know. There is no refuge for them.

42:36 So whatever you are given is but a provision of this word's life, and that which Allah has is better and more lasting for those who believe and rely on their Lord;

42:37 And those who shun the great sins and indecencies, and whenever they are angry they forgive;

42:38 And those who respond to their Lord and keep up prayer, and whose affairs are (decided) by counsel among themselves, and who spend out of what We have given them;

42:39 And those who, when great wrong afflicts them, defend themselves.

42:40 And the recompense of evil is punishment like it; but whoever forgives and amends, his reward is with Allah. Surely He loves not the wrongdoers.

42:41 And whoever defends himself after his being oppressed, these it is against whom there is no way (of blame).

42:42 The way (of blame) is only against those who oppress men and revolt in the earth unjustly. For such there is a painful chastisement.

42:43 And whoever is patient and forgives — that surely is an affair of great resolution.

* * *

42:44 And he whom Allah leaves in error, has no friend after Him. And thou wilt see the iniquitous, when they see the chastisement, saying Is there any way of return?

42:45 And thou wilt see them brought before it, humbling themselves because of abasement, looking with a faint glance. And those who believe will say: Surely the losers are they who lose themselves and their followers on the Resurrection day. Now surely the iniquitous are in lasting chastisement.

42:46 And they will have no friends to help them besides Allah. And he whom Allah leaves in error cannot find a way.

42:47 Hearken to your Lord before there comes from Allah the day which there is no averting. You will have no refuge on that day, nor will it be yours to make a denial.

42:48 But if they turn away, We have not sent thee as a watcher over them. Thy duty is only to deliver (the message). And surely when We make man taste mercy from Us, he rejoices thereat; and if an evil afflicts them on account of what their hands have sent before, then surely man is ungrateful.

42:49 Allah's is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth. He creates what He pleases. He grants females to whom He pleases and grants males to whom He pleases,

42:39 And those who, when great wrong afflicts them, defend themselves.

42:40 And the recompense of evil is punishment like it; but whoever forgives and amends, his reward is with Allah. Surely He loves not the wrongdoers.

42:41 And whoever defends himself after his being oppressed, these it is against whom there is no way (of blame).

42:42 The way (of blame) is only against those who oppress men and revolt in the earth unjustly. For such there is a painful chastisement.

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* * *

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42:46 And they will have no friends to help them besides Allah. And he whom Allah leaves in error cannot find a way.

42:47 Hearken to your Lord before there comes from Allah the day which there is no averting. You will have no refuge on that day, nor will it be yours to make a denial.

42:48 But if they turn away, We hive nor sent thee as a watcher over them. Thy duty is only to deliver (the message). And surely when We make man taste mercy from Us, he rejoices thereat; and if an evil afflicts them on account of what their hands have sent before, then surely man is ungrateful.

42:49 Allah's is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth. He creates what He pleases. He grants females to whom He pleases and grants males to whom He pleases,

42:50 Or He grants them both males and females, and He makes whom He pleases, barren. Surely He is Knower, Powerful.

42:51 And it is nor vouchsafed to a mortal that Allah should speak to him, except by revelation or from behind a veil, or by sending a messenger and revealing by His permission what He pleases. Surely He is High, Wise.

42:52 And thus did We reveal to thee an inspired Book by Our command. Thou knewest nor what the Book was, nor

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(what) Faith (was), but We made it a light, guiding thereby whom We please of Our servants. And surely thou guidest to the right path —

42:53 The path of Allah, to Whom belongs whatsoever is in the heavens and whatsoever is in the earth. Now surely to Allah do all affairs eventually come.

KORAN CHAPTER 84 / Sura 10

Jonah / Yunus

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

10:1 I, Allah, am the Seer. These are the verses of the Book, full of wisdom.

10:2 Is it a wonder to the people what We have revealed to a man from among themselves: Warn the people and give good news to those who believe that for them is advancement in excellence with their Lord? The disbelievers say: This is surely a manifest enchanter.

10:3 Surely your Lord is Allah, Who created the heavens and the earth in six periods, and He is established on the Throne of Power regulating the Affair. There is no intercessor except after His permission. This is Allah, your Lord, therefore serve Him. Will you not mind?

10:4 To Him is your return, of all (of you). It is the promise of Allah (made) in truth. Surely He produces the first creation, then He reproduces it, that He may reward with equity those who believe and do good. And as for those who disbelieve, for them is a drink of hot water and a painful chastisement because they disbelieved.

10:5 He it is Who made the sun a shining brightness, and the moon a light, and ordained for it stages that you might know the computation of years and the reckoning. Allah created not this but with truth. He makes the signs manifest for a people who know.

10:6 Surely in the variation of the night and the day, and that which Allah has created in the heavens and the earth, there are signs for a people who keep their duty.

10:7 Those who expect not the meeting with Us, and are pleased with this world's life and are satisfied with it, and those who are heedless of Our communications —

10:8 These, their abode is the Fire because of what they earned.

10:9 Those who believe and do good, their Lord guides them by their faith; rivers will flow beneath them in Gardens of bliss.

10:10 Their cry therein will be, Glory to Thee, O Allah and their greeting, Peace! And the last of their cry will be Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds!

* * *

10:11 And if Allah were to hasten for men the (consequences of) evil, as they would hasten on the good, their doom would certainly have been decreed for them. But We leave those alone, who have no hope of meeting with Us, in their inordinacy, blindly wandering on.

10:12 And when affliction touches a man, he calls on Us, whether lying on his side or sitting or standing; but, when We remove his affliction from him, he passes on as though he had never called on Us on account of an affliction that touched him. Thus is what they do, made fair-seeming to the extravagant.

10:13 And certainly We destroyed generations before you when they did wrong, and their messengers came to them with clear arguments, yet they would nor believe, Thus do We recompense the guilty people.

10:14 Then We made you rulers in the land after them, so that We might see how you act.

10:15 And when Our clear messages are recited to them, those who have no hope of meeting with Us say: Bring a Koran other than this or change it. Say: It is not for me to change it of my own accord. I follow naught but what is revealed to me. Indeed I fear, if I disobey my Lord, the chastisement of a grievous day.

10:16 Say: If Allah had desired, I would not have recited it to you, nor would He have made it known to you. I have lived among you a lifetime before it. Do you not then understand?

10:17 Who is then more unjust than he who forges a lie against Allah or gives the lie to His messages? Surely the guilty never succeed.

10:18 And they serve besides Allah that which can neither harm them nor profit them, and they say: These are our intercessors with Allah. Say Would you inform Allah of what He knows not in the heavens and the earth? Glory be to Him, and supremely exalted is He above what they set up (with Him)!

10:19 And (all) people are but a single nation, then they disagree. And had not a word already gone forth from thy Lord, the matter would have certainly been decided between them in respect of that wherein they disagree.

10:20 And they say: Why is not a sign sent to him from his Lord? Say: The unseen is only for Allah, so wait; surely I too with you am of those who wait.

* * *

10:21 And when We make people taste of mercy after an affliction touches them, lo! they devise plans against Our messages. Say: Allah is quicker to plan. Surely Our messengers write down what you plan.

10:22 He it is Who makes you travel by land and sea; until, when you are in the ships, and they sail on with them in a pleasant breeze, and they rejoice at it, a violent wind overtakes them and the billows surge in on them from all sides, and they deem that they are encompassed about. Then they pray to Allah, being sincere to Him in obedience: If Thou deliver us from this, we will certainly be of the grateful ones.

10:23 But when He delivers them, lo! they are unjustly rebellious in the earth. O men, your rebellion is against yourselves a provision (only) of this world's life. Then to Us is your return, so We shall inform you of what you did.

10:24 The likeness of this world's life is only as water which We send down from the clouds, then the herbage of the earth, of which men and cattle eat, grows luxuriantly thereby; until when the earth puts on its golden raiment and it becomes adorned, and its people think that they are masters of it, Our command comes to it, by night or by day, so We render it as reaped seed-produce, as though it had not flourished yesterday. Thus do We make clear the messages for a people who reflect.

10:25 And Allah invites to the abode of peace, and guides whom He pleases to the right path.

10:26 For those who do good is good (reward) and more (than this). Neither blackness nor ignominy will cover their faces. These are the owners of the Garden; therein they will abide.

10:27 And those who earn evil, the punishment of an evil is the like thereof, and abasement will cover them they will have none to protect them from Allah — as if their faces had been covered with slices of the dense darkness of night. These are the companions of the Fire; therein they will abide.

10:28 And on the day when We gather them all together, then We shall say to those who associated others (with Allah): Keep where you are, you and your associate-gods. Then We shall separate them one from another, and their associates will say: It was not us that you served.

10:29 So Allah suffices as a witness between us and you that we were quite unaware of your serving (us).

10:30 There will every soul become acquainted with what it sent before, and they will be brought back to Allah, their true Patron, and that which they devised will escape from them.

* * *

10:31 Say: Who gives you sustenance from the heaven and the earth, or who controls the hearing and the sight, and who brings forth the living from the dead, and brings forth the dead from the living? And who regulates the affair? They will say: Allah. Say then: Will you not then guard against evil?

10:32 Such then is Allah, your true Lord. And what is there after the truth but error? How then are you turned away!

10:33 Thus does the word of thy Lord prove true against those who transgress that they believe not.

10:34 Say: Is there anyone among your associate-gods who produces the first creation, then reproduces it? Say Allah produces the first creation, then He reproduces it. How are you then turned away!

10:35 Say: Is there any of your associate-gods who guides to the Truth? Say: Allah guides to the Truth. Is He then Who guides to the Truth more worthy to be followed, or he who finds not the way unless he is guided? What is the matter with you? How do you judge?

10:36 And most of them follow naught but conjecture. Surely conjecture will not avail aught against the Truth. Truly Allah is Knower of what they do.

10:37 And this Koran is not such as could be forged by those besides Allah, but it is a verification of that which is before it and a dear explanation of the Book, there is no doubt in it, from the Lord of the worlds.

10:38 Or say they: He has forged it? Say: Then bring a chapter like it, and invite whom you can besides Allah, if you are truthful.

10:39 Nay, they reject that, whose knowledge they cannot compass and whose final sequel has not yet come to them. Even thus did those before them reject; then see what was the end of the wrongdoers.

10:40* And of them is he who believes in it, and of them is he who believes not in it. And thy Lord best knows the mischief-makers.

* * *

10:41 And if they reject thee, say My work is for me and your work for you. You are clear of what I do and I am clear of what you do.

10:42 And of them are some who listen to thee. But canst thou make the deaf to hear, though they will not understand?

10:43 And of them are some who look at thee. But canst thou show the way to the blind, though they will not see?

10:44 Surely Allah wrongs not men in aught, but men wrong themselves.

10:45 And on the day when He will gather them, as though they had not stayed but an hour of the day, they will recognize one another. They perish indeed who reject the meeting with Allah, and they follow not the right way.

10:46 And if We show thee something of that which We promise them, or Cause thee to die, yet to Us is their return, and Allah is Witness to what they do.

10:47 And for every nation there is a messenger. So when their messenger comes, the matter is decided between them with justice, and they are not wronged.

10:48 And they say: When will this promise be fulfilled, if you are truthful?

10:49 Say: I control not for myself any harm, or any benefit, except what Allah pleases. Every nation has a term. When their term comes, they cannot put it off an hour, nor can they bring it before (its time).

10:50 Say: Do you see if His chastisement overtakes you by night or by day? What then is there of it that the guilty would hasten?

10:51 And when it comes to pass, will you believe in it? What! now! and you hastened it on.

10:52 Then will it be said to those who were unjust: Taste abiding chastisement; you are not requited except for what you earned.

10:53 And they ask thee: Is that true? Say: Aye, by my Lord it is surely the Truth, and you will not escape.

* * *

10:54 And if every soul that has done injustice had all that is in the earth, it would offer it for ransom. And they will manifest regret when they see the chastisement. And it will be decided between them with justice, and they will not be wronged.

10:55 Now surely whatever is in the heavens and the earth is Allah's. Now surely Allah's promise is true, but most of them know not.

10:56 He gives life and causes death, and to Him you will be returned.

10:57 O men, there has come to you indeed an admonition from your Lord and a healing for what is in the breasts; and a guidance and a mercy for the believers.

10:58 Say: In the grace of Allah and In His mercy, in that they should rejoice. It is better than that which they hoard.

10:59 Say: See you what Allah has sent down for you of sustenance, then you make (a part) of it unlawful and (a part) lawful. Say: Has Allah commanded you or do you forge a lie against Allah?

10:60 And what think those who forge lies against Allah of the day of Resurrection? Surely Allah is Bountiful to men, but most of them give not thanks.

* * *

10:61 And thou art not (engaged) in any affair and thou recitest not concerning it any portion of the Koran, and you do no work, but We are Witness of you when you are engaged therein. And not the weight of an atom in the earth or in the heaven is hidden from thy Lord, nor anything less than that nor greater, but it is (all) in a dear book.

10:62 Now surely the friends of Allah, they have no fear nor do they grieve —

10:63 Those who believe and keep their duty.

10:64 For them is good news in this world's life and in the Hereafter. There is no changing the words of Allah. That is the mighty achievement.

10:65 And let not their speech grieve thee. Surely might belongs wholly to Allah. He is the Hearer, the Knower.

10:66 Now, surely, whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth is Allah's. And what do follow those who call on associates besides Allah? They follow naught but conjecture, and they only lie.

10:67 He it is Who made for you the night that you might rest therein and the day giving light. Surely in this are signs for a people who hear.

10:68 They say Allah has taken a son (to Himself). Glory be to Him! He is the Self-sufficient. His is what is in the heavens and what is in the earth. You have no authority for this. Say you against Allah what you know not?

10:69 Say Those who forge a lie against Allah will not succeed.

10:70 A little enjoyment in this world, then to Us is their return, then We shall make them taste severe chastisement because they disbelieved.

* * *

10:71 And recite to them the story of Noah, when he said to his people: O my people, if my staying (here) and my reminding (you) by the messages of Allah is hard on you, on Allah do I rely; so decide upon your course of action and (gather) your associates. Then let not your course of action be dubious to you, so have it executed against me and give me no respite.

10:72 But if you turn back, l ask for no reward from you. My reward is only with Allah, and I am commanded to be of those who submit.

10:73 But they rejected him, so We delivered him and those with him in the ark, and We made them rulers and drowned those who rejected Our messages. See, then, what was the end of those who were warned.

10:74 Then, after him We sent messengers to their people. They came to them with clear arguments, but they would not

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believe what they had rejected before. Thus do We seal the hearts of those who exceed the limits.

10:75 Then after them We sent Moses and Aaron to Pharaoh and his chiefs with Our signs, but they were arrogant, and they were a guilty people.

10:76 So when the truth came to them from Us, they said: This is surely clear enchantment!

10:77 Moses said: Say you (this) of the truth when it has come to you? Is it enchantment? And the enchanters never succeed.

10:78 They said: Hast thou come to us to turn us away from that which we found our fathers following, and (that) greatness in the land may be for you two? And we are not going to believe in you.

10:79 And Pharaoh said: Bring to me every skilful enchanter.

10:80 So when the enchanters came. Moses said to them: Cast what you are going to cast.

10:81 So when they had cast down, Moses said: What you have brought is deception. Surely Allah will make it naught. Surely Allah allows not the work of mischief-makers to thrive.

10:82 And Allan will establish the truth by His words, though the guilty be averse.

* * *

10:83 But, on account of the fear of Pharaoh and their chiefs persecuting them, none believed in Moses except a few of his people. And Pharaoh was truly high-handed in the land; and surely he was extravagant.

10:84 And Moses said: O my people, if you believe in Allah, then rely on Him if you submit (to Him).

10:85 They said: On Allah we rely; our Lord, make us not a trial for the unjust people.

10:86 And deliver us by Thy mercy from the disbelieving people.

10:87 And We revealed to Moses and his brother: Take for your people houses to abide in Egypt and make your houses places of worship and keep up prayer. And give good news to the believers.

10:88 And Moses said: Our Lord, surely Thou hast given Pharaoh and his chiefs finery and riches in this world's life, our Lord, that they may lead (people) astray from Thy way. Our Lord, destroy their riches and harden their hearts, so that they believe not till they see the painful chastisement.

10:89 He said: Your prayer is accepted; so continue in the right way and follow not the path of those who know not.

10:90 And We brought the Children of Israel across the sea. Then Pharaoh and his hosts followed them for oppression and tyranny, till, when drowning overtook him, he said: I believe that there is no god but He in Whom the Children of Israel believe, and I am of those who submit.

10:91 What! Now! And indeed before (this) thou didst disobey and thou wast of the mischief-makers!

10:92 But this day We shall save thee in thy body that thou mayest be a sign to those after thee. And surely most of the people are heedless of Our signs.

* * *

10:93 And certainly We lodged the Children of Israel in a goodly abode and provided them with good things. Then they differed not till the knowledge came to them. Surely thy Lord will judge between them on the day of Resurrection concerning that in which they differed.

10:94* But if thou art in doubt as to that which We have revealed to thee, ask those who read the Book before thee. Certainly the Truth has come to thee from thy Lord, so be not thou of the doubters.

10:95* And be not of those who reject the messages of Allah, (for) then thou wilt be of the losers.

10:96* Surely those against whom the word of thy Lord has proved true will not believe,

10:97 Though every sign should come to them, till they see the painful chastisement.

10:98 And why was there not a town which believed, so that their belief should have profited them, but the people of Jonah? When they believed, We removed from them the chastisement of disgrace in this world's life, and We gave them provision for a while.

10:99 And if thy Lord had pleased, all those who are in the earth would have believed, all of them. Wilt thou then force men till they are believers?

10:100 And it is not for any soul to believe except by Allah's permission. And He casts uncleanness on those who will not understand.

10:101 Say: Behold what is in the heavens and the earth! And signs and warners avail not a people who believe not.

10:102 What do they wait for, then, but the like of the days of those who passed away before them? Say: Wait then: I, too, am with you of those who wait.

10:103 Then We deliver Our messengers and those who believe — even so (now); it is binding on Us to deliver the believers.

* * *

10:104 Say: O people, if you are in doubt as to my religion, (know that) I serve not those whom you serve besides Allah, but I serve Allah, Who causes you to die; and I am commanded to be of the believers,

10:105 And that thou set thy purpose towards the Religion uprightly; and be not of the polytheists.

10:106 And call not besides Allah on that which can neither benefit thee nor harm thee; for if thou dost, thou shalt then be of the unjust.

10:107 And if Allah afflicts thee with harm, there is none to remove it but He; and if He intends good to thee, there is none to repel His grace. He brings it to whom He pleases of His servants. And He is the Forgiving, the Merciful.

10:108 Say: O people, the Truth has indeed come to you from your Lord; so whoever goes aright, goes aright only for the good of his own soul; and whoever errs, errs only against it. And I am not a custodian over you.

10:109 And follow what is revealed to thee and be patient till Allah give judgement, and He is the Best of the judges.

KORAN CHAPTER 85 / Sura 34

The Saba / Al-Saba

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

34:1 Praise be to Allah! Whose is whatsoever is in the heavens and whatsoever is in the earth, and to Him be praise in the Hereafter! And He is the Wise, the Aware.

34:2 He knows that which goes down into the earth and that which comes out of it, and that which comes down from heaven and that which goes up to it. And He is the Merciful, the Forgiving.

34:3 And those who disbelieve say: The Hour will never come to us. Say: Yea, by my Lord, the Knower of the unseen! it will certainly come to you. Not an atom's weight escapes Him in the heavens or in the earth, nor is there less than that nor greater, but (all) is in a clear book,

34:4 That He may reward those who believe and do good. For them is forgiveness and an honourable sustenance.

34:5 And those who strive hard in opposing Our Messages, for them is a painful chastisement of an evil kind.

34:6 And those who have been given knowledge see that what is revealed to thee from thy Lord, is the Truth, and it guides into the path of the Mighty, the Praised.

34:7 And those who disbelieve say: Shall we show to you a man who informs you that, when you are scattered the utmost scattering, you will then be in a new creation?

34:8 Has he forged a lie against Allah or is there madness in him? Nay, those who believe not in the Hereafter are in torment and in far error.

34:9 See they not what is before them and what is behind them of the heaven and the earth? If We please, We can make them low in the land or bring down upon them a portion of heaven. Surely there is a sign in this for every servant turning (to Allah).

* * *

34:10 And certainly We gave David abundance from Us: O mountains, repeat praises with him, and the birds, and We made the iron pliant to him,

34:11 Saying: Make ample (coats of mail), and assign a time to the making of coats of mail and do ye good. Surely I am Seer of what you do.

34:12 And (We made) the wind (subservient) to Solomon; it made a month's journey in the morning and a month's journey in the evening and We made a fountain of molten brass to flow for him. And of the inn there were those who worked before him by the command of his Lord. And whoever turned aside from Our command from among them, We made him taste of the chastisement of burning.

34:13 They made for him what he pleased, of synagogues and images, and bowls (large) as watering-troughs and fixed cooking-pots. Give thanks, O people of David! And very few of My servants are grateful.

34:14 But when We decreed death for him, naught showed them his death but a creature of the earth that ate away his staff. So when it fell down, the jinn saw clearly that, if they had known the unseen, they would not have tarried in humiliating torment.

34:15 Certainly there was a sign for Saba' in their abode — two gardens on the right and the left. Eat of the sustenance of your Lord and give thanks to Him. A good land and a Forgiving Lord!

34:16 But they turned aside, so We sent upon them a violent torrent, and in place of their two gardens We gave them two gardens yielding bitter fruit and (growing) tamarisk and a few lote-trees.

34:17 With this We requited them because they were ungrateful; and We punish none but the ingrate.

34:18 And We made between them and the towns which We had blessed, (other) towns easy to be seen, and We apportioned the journey therein: Travel through them nights and days, secure.

34:19 But they said: Our Lord, make longer stages between our journeys. And they wronged themselves; so We made them stories and scattered them a total scattering. Surely there are signs in this for every patient, grateful one.

34:20 And the devil indeed found true his conjecture concerning them, so they follow him, except a party of the believers.

34:21 And he has no authority over them, but that We may know him who believes in the Hereafter from him who is in doubt concerning it. And thy Lord is the Preserver of all things.

* * *

34:22 Say: Call upon those whom you assert besides Allah; they control not the weight of an atom in the heavens or in the earth, nor have they any partnership in either, nor has He a helper among them.

34:23 And intercession avails naught with Him, save of him whom He permits. Until when fear is removed from their hearts, they say: What is it that your Lord said? They say: The Truth. And He is the Most High, the Great.

34:24 Say: Who gives you sustenance from the heavens and the earth? Say: Allah. And surely we or you are on a right way or in manifest error.

34:25 Say: You will not be asked of what we are guilty, nor shall we be asked of what you do.

34:26 Say: Our Lord will gather us together, then He will judge between us with truth. And He is the Best Judge, the Knower.

34:27 Say: Show me those whom you join with Him as associates. By no means (can you)! Nay, He is Allah, the Mighty, the Wise.

34:28 And We have not sent thee but as a bearer of good news and as a warner to all mankind, but most men know not.

34:29 And they say: When will this promise be (fulfilled), if you are truthful?

34:30 Say: You have the appointment of a day which you cannot postpone by an hour, nor hasten on.

* * *

34:31 And those who disbelieve say: We believe not in this Koran, nor in that which is before it. And if thou couldst see when the wrongdoers are made to stand before their Lord, throwing back the blame one to another! Those who were reckoned weak say to those who were proud: Had it not been for you, we would have been believers.

34:32 Those who were proud say to those who were deemed weak: Did we turn you away from the guidance after it had come to you? Nay, you (yourselves) were guilty.

34:33 And those who were deemed weak say to those who were proud: Nay, (it was your) planning by night and day when you told us to disbelieve in Allah and to set up likes with Him. And they will manifest regret when they see the chastisement. And We put shackles on the necks of those who disbelieve. They will not be requited but for what they did.

34:34 And We never sent a warner to a town but those who led easy lives in it said: We are disbelievers in that with which you are sent.

34:35 And they say: We have more wealth and children, and we cannot be punished.

34:36 Say: Surely my Lord amplifies and straitens provision for whom He pleases, but most men know not.

* * *

34:37 And it is not your wealth, nor your children, that bring you near to Us in rank; but whoever believes and does good, for such is a double reward for what they do, and they are secure in the highest places.

34:38 And those who strive in opposing Our messages, they will be brought to the chastisement.

34:39 Say: Surely my Lord amplifies provision for whom He pleases of His servants and straitens (it) for him. And whatsoever you spend, He increases it in reward, and He is the Best of Providers.

34:40 And on the day when He will gather them all together, then will He say to the angels: Did these worship you?

34:41 They will say: Glory be to Thee! Thou art our Protecting Friend, not they; nay, they worshipped the jinn; most of them were believers in them.

34:42 So on that day you will not control profit nor harm for one another. And We will say to those who were iniquitous: Taste the chastisement of the Fire, which you called a lie.

34:43 And when Our clear messages. are recited to them, they say: This is naught but a man who desires to turn you away from that which your fathers worshipped. And they say: This is naught but a forged lie! And those who disbelieve say of the Truth when it comes to them: This is only clear enchantment

34:44 And We have not given them any Books which they read, nor did We send to them before thee a warner.

34:45 And those before them rejected (the truth), and these have not yet attained a tenth of that which We gave them, but they gave the lie to My messengers. How (terrible) was then My disapproval!

* * *

34:46 Say: I exhort you only to one thing, that you rise up for Allah's sake by twos and singly, then ponder! There is no madness in your companion. He is only a warner to you before a severe chastisement.

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34:47 Say: Whatever reward I ask of you, that is only for yourselves. My reward is only with Allah, and He is a Witness over all things.
34:48 Say: Surely my Lord casts the Truth, the great Knower of the unseen.
34:49 Say: The Truth has come, and falsehood neither originates, nor reproduces.
34:50 Say: If I err, I err only to my own loss and if I go aright, it is because of what my Lord reveals to me. Surely He is Hearing, Nigh.
34:51 And couldst thou see when they become terrified, but (then) there will be no escape and they will be seized from a near place;
34:52 And they will say: We believe in it. And how can they attain (to faith) from a distant place?
34:53 And they indeed disbelieved in it before, and they utter conjectures with regard to the unseen from a distant place.
34:54 And a barrier is placed between them and that which they desire, as was done with their partisans before. Surely they are in a disquieting doubt.

KORAN CHAPTER 86 / Sura 35
The Originator / Al-Fatir
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
35:1 Praise be to Allah, the Originator of the heavens and the earth, the Maker of the angels, messengers flying on wings, two, and three, and four. He increases in creation what He pleases. Surely Allah is Possessor of power over all things.
35:2 Whatever Allah grants to men of (His) mercy, there is none to withhold it, and what He withholds, none can grant thereafter. And He is the Mighty, the Wise.
35:3 O Men, call to mind the favour of Allah to you. Is there any Creator besides Allah who provides for you from the heaven and the earth? There is no God but He. How are you then turned away?
35:4 And if they reject thee — truly messengers before thee were rejected. And to Allah are all affairs returned.
35:5 O men, surely the promise of Allah is true, so let not the life of this world deceive you. And let not the arch-deceiver deceive you about Allah.
35:6 Surely the devil is your enemy, so take him for an enemy. He only invites his party to be companions of the burning Fire.
35:7 Those who disbelieve, for them is a severe chastisement. And those who believe and do good, for them is forgiveness and a great reward.
* * *
35:8 Is he whose evil deed is made fair-seeming to him so that he considers it good? Now surely Allah leaves in error whom He pleases and guides aright whom He pleases, so let not thy soul waste away in grief for them. Surely Allah is Knower of what they do.
35:9 And Allah is He Who sends the winds, so they raise a cloud, then We drive it on to a dead land, and therewith give life to the earth after its death. Even so is the quickening.
35:10 Whoever desires might, then to Allah belongs the might wholly. To Him do ascend the goodly words, and the goodly deed — He exalts it. And those who plan evil — for them is a severe chastisement. And their plan will perish.
35:11 And Allah created you from dust, then from the life-germ, then He made you pairs. And no female bears, nor brings forth, except with His knowledge. And no one living long is granted a long life, nor is aught diminished of one's life, but it is all in a book. Surely this is easy to Allah.
35:12 And the two seas are not alike the one sweet, very sweet, pleasant to drink; and the other salt, bitter. Yet from both you eat fresh flesh and bring forth ornaments which you wear. And thou seest the ships cleave through it, that you may seek of His bounty and that you may give thanks.
35:13 He causes the night to enter in upon the day, and causes the day to enter in upon the night, and He has made subservient the sun and the moon, each one moves to an appointed time. This is Allah, your Lord; His is the kingdom. And those whom you call upon besides Him own not a straw.
35:14 If you call on them, they hear not your call; and if they heard, they could not answer you. And on the day of Resurrection they will deny your associating them (with Allah). And none can inform thee like the All-Aware One.
* * *
35:15 O men, it is you that have need of Allah, and Allah is the Self-Sufficient, the Praised One.
35:16 If He please, He will remove you and bring a new creation.
35:17 And this is not hard to Allah.
35:18 And no burdened soul can bear another's burden. And if one weighed down by a burden calls another to carry his load, naught of it will be carried, even though he be near of kin. Thou warnest only those who fear their Lord in secret and keep up prayer. And whoever purifies himself, purifies himself only for his own good. And to Allah is the eventual coming.
35:19 And the blind and the seeing are not alike,
35:20 Nor the darkness and the light,
35:21 Nor the shade and the heat.
35:22 Neither are the living and the dead alike. Surely Allah makes whom He pleases hear; and thou canst not make those hear who are in the graves.
35:23 Thou art naught but a warner.
35:24 Surely We have sent thee with the Truth as a bearer of good news and a warner. And there is not a people but a warner has gone among them.
35:25 And if they reject thee, those before them also rejected — their messengers came to them with clear arguments, and with scriptures, and with the illuminating Book.
35:26 Then I seized those who disbelieved, so how (terrible) was My disapproval!
* * *
35:27 Seest thou not that Allah sends down water from the clouds, then We bring forth therewith fruits of various hues? And in the mountains are streaks, white and red, of various hues and (others) intensely black.
35:28 And of men and beasts and cattle there are various colours likewise. Those of His servants only who are possessed of knowledge fear Allah. Surely Allah is Mighty, Forgiving.
35:29 Surely those who recite the Book of Allah and keep up prayer and spend out of what We have given them, secretly and openly, hope for a gain which perishes not —
35:30 That He may pay them back fully their rewards and give them more out of His grace. Surely He is Forgiving, Multiplier of reward.
35:31 And that which We have revealed to thee of the Book, that is the truth, verifying that which is before it. Surely Allah is Aware, Seer of His servants.
35:32 Then We have given the Book as inheritance to those whom We have chosen from among Our servants: so of them is he who wrongs himself, and of them is he who takes a middle course, and of them is he who is foremost in deeds of goodness by Allah's permission. That is the great grace.
35:33 Gardens of perpetuity, which they enter — they are made to wear therein bracelets of gold and pearls, and their dress therein is silk.
35:34 And they say: Praise be to Allah, Who has removed grief from us! Surely our Lord is Forgiving, Multiplier of reward,
35:35 Who out of His grace has made us alight in a house abiding for ever; therein toil touches us not nor does fatigue afflict us therein.
35:36 And those who disbelieve, for them is Fire of hell; it is not finished with them so that they should die, nor is chastisement thereof lightened to them. Thus We deal retribution on every ungrateful one.
35:37 And therein they cry for succour: Our Lord, take us out! we will do good deeds other than those which we used to do! Did We not give you a life long enough, for him to be mindful who would mind? And there came to you the warner. So taste; because for the iniquitous there is no helper.
* * *
35:38 Surely Allah is the Knower of the unseen in the heavens and the earth. Surely He is Knower of what is in the hearts.
35:39 He it is Who made you successors in the earth. So whoever disbelieves, his disbelief is against himself. And their disbelief increases the disbelievers with their Lord in naught but hatred; and their disbelief increases the disbelievers in naught but loss.
35:40 Say: Have you seen your associates which you call upon besides Allah? Show me what they have created of the earth! Or have they any share in the heavens? Or, have We given them a Book so that they follow a clear argument thereof? Nay, the wrongdoers hold out promises one to another only to deceive.
35:41 Surely Allah upholds the heavens and the earth lest they come to naught. And if they come to naught, none can uphold them after Him. Surely He is ever Forbearing, Forgiving.
35:42 And they swore by Allah, their strongest oaths, that, if a warner came to them, they would be better guided than any of the nations. But when a warner came to them, it increased them in naught but aversion,
35:43 Behaving proudly in the land and planning evil. And the evil plan besets none save the authors of it. So they wait for naught but the way of the ancients. But thou wilt find no alteration in the course of Allah and thou wilt find no change in the course of Allah.
35:44 Have they not travelled in the land and seen what was the end of those before them and they were stronger than those in power? And Allah is not such that anything in the heavens or the earth can escape Him. Surely He is ever Knowing, Powerful.
35:45 And were Allah to punish men for what they earn, He would not leave on the back of it any creature, but He respires them till an appointed term so when their doom comes, then surely Allah is ever Seer of His servants.

KORAN CHAPTER 87 / Sura 7
The Elevated Places / Al-Araf
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
7:1 I, Allah, am the best Knower, the Truthful.
7:2 A Book revealed to thee — so let there be no straitness in thy breast concerning it — that thou mayest warn thereby, and a Reminder to the believers.
7:3 Follow what has been revealed to you from your Lord and follow not besides Him any guardians; little do you mind!
7:4 And how many a town have We destroyed! So Our punishment came to it by night or while they slept at midday.
7:5 Yet their cry, when Our punishment came to them, was nothing but that they said: Surely we were wrong doers.
7:6 Then certainly We shall question those to whom messengers were sent, and We shall question the messengers,
7:7 Then surely We shall relate to them with knowledge, and We are never absent.
7:8 And the judging on that day will be just; so as for those whose good deeds are heavy, they are the successful.
7:9 And as for those whose good deeds are light, those are they who ruined their souls because they disbelieved in Our messages.
7:10 And certainly We established you in the earth and made therein means of livelihood for you; little it is that you give thanks!
* * *
7:11 And We indeed created you, then We fashioned you, then We said to the angels: Make submission to Adam. So they submitted, except Iblis; he was not of those who submitted.
7:12 He said: What hindered thee that thou didst not submit when I commanded thee? He said: I am better than he; Thou hast created me of fire, while him Thou didst create of dust.
7:13 He said: Then get forth from this (state), for it is not for thee to behave proudly therein. Go forth, therefore, surely thou art of the abject ones.
7:14 He said: Respite me till the day when they are raised.
7:15 He said: Thou art surely of the respited ones.
7:16 He said: As Thou hast adjudged me to be erring, I will certainly lie in wait for them in Thy straight path,
7:17 Then I shall certainly come upon them from before them and from behind them, and from their right and from their left; and Thou wilt not find most of them thankful.
7:18 He said: Get out of it, despised, driven away. Whoever of them will follow thee, I will certainly fill hell with you all.
7:19 And (We said): O Adam, dwell thou and thy wife in the garden, so eat from whence you desire, but go not near this tree, lest you become of the unjust.
7:20 But the devil made an evil suggestion to them that he might make manifest to them that which had been hidden from them of their shame and he said: Your Lord has forbidden you this tree, lest you become angels or become of the immortals.
7:21 And he swore to them both: Surely I am a sincere adviser to you —
7:22 Thus he caused them to fall by deceit. So when they had tasted of the tree, their shame became manifest to them, and they both began to cover themselves with the leaves of the garden. And their Lord called to them: Did I not forbid you that tree, and say to you that the devil is surely your open enemy?
7:23 They said: Our Lord, we have wronged ourselves; and if Thou forgive us not, and have (not) mercy on us, we shall certainly be of the losers.
7:24 He said: Go forth — some of you, the enemies of others. And there is for you in the earth an abode and a provision for a time.
7:25 He said: Therein shall you live, and therein shall you die, and there from shall you be raised.
* * *
7:26 O children of Adam, We have indeed sent down to you clothing to cover your shame, and (clothing) for beauty; and clothing that guards against evil — that is the best. This is of the messages of Allah that they may be mindful.
7:27 O children of Adam, let not the devil seduce you, as he expelled your parents from the garden, pulling off from them their clothing that he might show them their shame. He surely sees you, he as well as his host, from whence you see them not. Surely We have made the devils to be the friends of those who believe not.
7:28 And when they commit an in decency they say: We found our fathers doing this, and Allah has enjoined it on us. Say: Surely Allah enjoins not indecency. Do you say of Allah what you know not?
7:29 Say: My Lord enjoins justice. And set upright your faces at every time of prayer and call on Him, being sincere to Him in obedience. As He brought you into being, so shall you return.
7:30 A party has He guided, and another party — perdition is justly their due. Surely they took the devils for friends instead of Allah, and they think that they are rightly guided.
7:31 O children of Adam, attend to your adornment at every time of prayer, and eat and drink and be not prodigal; surely He loves not the prodigals.

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7:32 Say: Who has forbidden the adornment of Allah, which He has brought forth for His servants, and the good provisions? Say: These are for the believers in the life of this world, purely (theirs) on the Resurrection day. Thus do We make the messages clear for a people who know.

7:33 Say: My Lord forbids only indecencies, such of them as are apparent and such as are concealed, and sin and unjust rebellion, and that you associate with Allah that for which He has sent down no authority, and that you say of Allah what you know not.

7:34 And every nation has a term so when its term comes, they cannot remain behind the least while, nor can they precede (it).

7:35 O children of Adam, if messengers come to you from among you relating to you My messages, then whosoever guards against evil and acts aright they shall have no fear, nor shall they grieve.

7:36 And those who reject Our messages and turn away from them haughtily these are the companions of the Fire; they shall abide in it.

7:37 Who is then more unjust than he who forges a lie against Allah or rejects His messages? These — their portion of the Book shall reach them; until when Our messengers come to them causing them to die; they say: Where is that which you used to call upon besides Allah? They would say: They are gone away from us. And they shall bear witness against themselves that they were disbelievers.

7:38 He will say: Enter into the Fire among the nations that have passed away before you from among the jinn and men. Every time a nation enters, it curses its sister until when they all follow one another into it, the last of them will say with regard to the first of them: Our Lord, these led us astray, so give them a double chastisement of the Fire. He will say: Each one has double but you know not.

7:39 And the first of them will say to the last of them: You have no preference over us, so taste the chastisement for what you earned.

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7:40 Those who reject Our messages and turn away from them haughtily, the doors of heaven will not be opened for them, nor will they enter the Garden until the camel pass through the eye of the needle. And thus do We reward the guilty.

7:41 They shall have a bed of hell and over them coverings (of it). And thus do We requite the wrongdoers.

7:42 And as for those who believe and do good — We impose not on any soul a duty beyond its scope — they are the owners of the Garden; therein they abide.

7:43 And We shall remove whatever of ill-feeling is in their hearts — rivers flow beneath them. And they say: All praise is due to Allah, Who guided us to this! And we would not have found the way if Allah had not guided us. Certainly the messengers of our Lord brought the truth. And it will be cried out to them: This is the Garden which you are made to inherit for what you did.

7:44 And the owners of the Garden call out to the companions of the Fire: We have found that which our Lord promised us to be true; have you, too, found that which your Lord promised to be true? They will say: Yes. Then a crier will cry out among them: The curse of Allah is on the wrongdoers,

7:45 Who hinder (men) from Allah's way and seek to make it crooked, and they are disbelievers in the Hereafter.

7:46 And between them is a veil. And on the Elevated Places are men who know all by their marks. And they call out to the owners of the Garden: Peace be to you! They have not yet entered it, though they hope.

7:47 And when their eyes are turned towards the companions of the Fire, they say: Our Lord, place us not with the unjust people.

* * *

7:48 And the owners of the Elevated Places call out to men whom they recognize by their marks, saying: Of no avail were to you your amassings and your arrogance.

7:49 Are these they about whom you swore that Allah would not bestow mercy on them? Enter the Garden; you have no fear, nor shall you grieve.

7:50 And the companions of the Fire call out to the owners of the Garden: Pour on us some water or some of that which Allah has provided for you. They say: Surely Allah has forbidden them both to the disbelievers,

7:51 Who take their religion for an idle sport and a play, and this world's life deceives them. So this day We shall forsake them, as they neglected the meeting of this day of theirs, and as they denied Our messages.

7:52 And certainly We have brought them a Book which We make clear with knowledge, a guidance and a mercy for a people who believe.

7:53 Do they wait for aught but its final sequel? On the day when its final sequel comes, those who neglected it before will say: Indeed the messengers of our Lord brought the truth. Are there any intercessors on our behalf so that they should intercede for us? Or could we be sent back so that we should do (deeds) other than those which we did? Indeed they have lost their souls, and that which they forged has failed them.

* * *

7:54 Surely your Lord is Allah, Who created the heavens and the earth in six periods, and He is established on the Throne of Power. He makes the night cover the day, which it pursues incessantly. And (He created) the sun and the moon and the stars, made subservient by His command. Surely His is the creation and the command. Blessed is Allah, the Lord of the worlds!

7:55 Call on your Lord humbly and in secret. Surely He loves not the transgressors.

7:56 And make not mischief in the earth after its reformation and call on Him, fearing and hoping. Surely the mercy of Allah is nigh to the doers of good.

7:57 And He it is Who sends forth the winds hearing good news before His mercy; till, when they bear a laden cloud, We drive it to a dead land, then We send down water on it, then bring forth thereby fruits of all kinds. Thus do We bring forth the dead that you may be mindful.

7:58 And the good land — its vegetation comes forth (abundantly) by the permission of its Lord. And that which is inferior — (its herbage) comes forth but scantily. Thus do We repeat the messages for a people who give thanks.

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7:59 Certainly We sent Noah to his people, so he said: O my people, serve Allah, you have no god other than Him. Indeed I fear for you the chastisement of a grievous day.

7:60 The chiefs of his people said Surely we see thee in clear error.

7:61 He said: O my people, there is no error in me, but I am a messenger from the Lord of the worlds.

7:62 I deliver to you the messages of my Lord, and I offer you good advice, and I know from Allah what you know not.

7:63 Do you wonder that a reminder has come to you from your Lord through a man from among you, that he may warn you and that you may guard against evil, and that mercy may be shown to you?

7:64 But they called him a liar, so We delivered him and those with him in the ark, and We drowned those who rejected Our messages. Surely they were a blind people!

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7:65 And to 'Ad (We sent) their brother Hud. He said: O my people, serve Allah, you have no god other than Him. Will you not then guard against evil?

7:66 The chiefs of those who disbelieved from among his people said: Certainly we see thee in folly, and we certainly think thee to be of the liars.

7:67 He said: O my people, there is no folly in me, but I am a messenger of the Lord of the worlds.

7:68 I deliver to you the messages of my Lord and I am a faithful adviser to you.

7:69 Do you wonder that a reminder has come to you from your Lord through a man from among you that he may warn you? And remember when He made you successors after Noah's people and increased you in excellence of make. So remember the bounties of Allah, that you may be successful.

7:70 They said: Hast thou come to us that we may serve Allah alone, and give up that which out fathers used to serve? Then bring to us what thou threatenest us with, if thou art of the truthful.

7:71 He said: Indeed uncleanness and wrath from your Lord have lighted upon you. Do you dispute with me about names which you and your fathers have named? Allah has not sent any authority for them. Wait, then; I too with you am of those who wait.

7:72 So We delivered him and those with him by mercy from Us, and We cut off the roots of those who rejected Our messages and were not believers.

* * *

7:73 And to Thamud (We sent) their brother Salih. He said: O my people, serve Allah, you have no god other than Him. Clear proof has indeed come to you from your Lord. This is Allah's she-camel — a sign for you — so leave her alone to pasture in Allah's earth, and do her no harm, lest painful chastisement over-take you.

7:74 And remember when He made you successors after 'Ad and settled you in the land — you make mansions on its plains and hew out houses in the mountains. So remember Allah's bounties and act not corruptly in the land, making mischief.

7:75 The arrogant chiefs of his people said to those who were weak, to those who believed from among them: Do you know that Salih is one sent by his Lord? They said: Surely we are believers in that wherewith he has been sent.

7:76 Those who were haughty said: Surely we are disbelievers in that which you believe.

7:77 Then they hamstrung the she-camel and revolted against their Lord's commandment, and said: O Salih, bring us that with which thou threatenest us, if thou art of the messengers.

7:78 So the earthquake seized them, and they were motionless bodies in their abodes.

7:79 So he turned away from them and said: O my people, I delivered to you the message of my Lord and gave you good advice, but you love not good advisers.

7:80 And (We sent) Lot, when he said to his people: Do you commit an abomination which no one in the world did before you?

7:81 Surely you come to males with lust instead of females. Nay, you are a people exceeding bounds.

7:82 And the answer of his people was no other than that they said: Turn them out of your town; surely they are a people who aspire to purity!

7:83 So We delivered him and his followers, except his wife — she was of those who remained behind.

7:84 And We rained upon them a rain. See, then, what was the end of the guilty!

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7:85 And to Midian (We sent) their brother Shu'aib. He said: O my people, serve Allah, you have no god other than Him. Clear proof indeed has come to you from your Lord, so give full measure and weight and diminish not to men their things, and make not mischief in the land after its reform. This is better for you, if you are believers.

7:86 And lie not in wait on every road, threatening and turning away from Allah's way him who believes in Him and seeking to make it crooked. And remember when you were few, then He multiplied you, and see what was the end of the mischief-makers!

7:87 And if there is a party of you who believe in that wherewith I am sent and another party who believe not, then wait patiently till Allah judges between us; and He is the Best of Judges.

* * *

7:88 The arrogant chiefs of his people said: We will certainly turn thee out O Shu'aib, and those who believe with thee from our town, or you shall come back to our religion. He said: Even though we dislike (it)?

7:89 Indeed we should have forged a lie against Allah, if we go back to your religion after Allah has delivered us from it. And it is not for us to go back to it, unless Allah our Lord please. Our Lord comprehends all things in His knowledge. In Allah do we trust. Our Lord, decide between us and our people with truth, and Thou art the Best of Deciders.

7:90 And the chiefs of his people, who disbelieved, said: If you follow Shu'aib, you are surely losers.

7:91 So the earthquake overtook them, and they were motionless bodies in their abode —

7:92 Those who called Shu'aib a liar were as though they had never dwelt therein those who called Shu'aib a liar, they were the losers.

7:93 So he turned away from them and said: O my people, indeed I delivered to you the messages of my Lord and I gave you good advice; how, then, should I be sorry for a disbelieving people?

* * *

7:94 And We did not send a prophet to a town but We seized its people with distress and affliction that they might humble themselves.

7:95 Then We changed the evil for good, till they became affluent and said: Distress and happiness did indeed touch our fathers. So We took them by surprise while they perceived not.

7:96 And if the people of the towns had believed and kept their duty, We would certainly have opened for them blessings from the heavens and the earth. But they rejected, so We seized them for what they earned.

7:97 Are the people of the towns, then, secure from Our punishment coming to them by night while they sleep?

7:98 Or, are the people of the towns secure from Our punishment coming to them in the morning while they play?

7:99 Are they secure from Allah's plan? But none feels secure from Allah's plan except the people who perish.

* * *

7:100 Is it not dear to those who inherit the earth after its (former) residents that, if We please, We would afflict them for their sins, and seal their hearts so they would not hear?

7:101 Such were the towns some of whose news We have related to thee. And certainly their messengers came to them with clear arguments, but they would not believe what they had rejected before. Thus does Allah seal the hearts of the disbelievers.

7:102 And We found not in most of them (faithfulness to) covenant; and We found most of them to be transgressors.

7:103 Then, after them, We sent Moses with Our messages to Pharaoh and his chiefs, but they disbelieved them. See, then, what was the end of the mischief-makers!

7:104 And Moses said: O Pharaoh, surely I am a messenger from the Lord of the worlds,

7:105 Worthy of not saying anything about Allah except the truth. I have come to you indeed with clear proof from your Lord, so let the Children of Israel go with me.

7:106 He said: If thou hast come with a sign, produce it, if thou art truthful.

7:107 So he threw his rod, then lo! it was a serpent manifest,

7:108 And he drew forth his hand, and lo! it was white to the beholders.

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7:109 The chiefs of Pharaoh's people said: Surely this is a skilful enchanter!

7:110 He intends to turn you out of your land. What do you advise?

7:111 They said: Put him off and his brother, and send summoners into the cities,

7:112 To bring to thee every skilful enchanter.

7:113 And the enchanters came to Pharaoh, saying: We must surely have a reward if we prevail.

7:114 He said: Yes, and you shall certainly be of those who are near (to me).

7:115 They said: O Moses, wilt thou cast, or shall we (be the first to) cast?

7:116 He said: Cast. So when they cast, they deceived the people's eyes and overawed them, and they produced a mighty enchantment.

7:117 And We revealed to Moses: Cast thy rod. Then lo! it swallowed up their lies.

7:118 So the truth was established, and that which they did became null.

7:119 There they were vanquished, and they went back abased.

7:120 And the enchanters fell down prostrate —

7:121 They said: We believe in the Lord of the worlds,

7:122 The Lord of Moses and Aaron.

7:123 Pharaoh said: You believe in Him before I give you permission! Surely this is a plot which you have plotted in the city, to turn out of it its people, but you shall know!

7:124 I shall certainly cut off your hands and your feet on opposite sides, then I shall crucify you all together

7:125 They said: Surely to our Lord do we return.

7:126 And thou takest revenge on us only because we believed in the messages of our Lord when they came to us. Our Lord, pour out on us patience and cause us to die in submission. (to Thee)!

* * *

7:127 And the chiefs of Pharaoh's people said: Wilt thou leave Moses and his people to make mischief in the land and forsake thee and thy gods? He said: We will slay their sons and spare their women, and surely we are dominant over them.

7:128 Moses said to his people: Ask help from Allah and be patient. Surely the land is Allah's — He gives it for an inheritance to such of His servants as He pleases. And the end is for those who keep their duty.

7:129 They said: We were persecuted before thou camest to us and since thou hast come to us. He said: It may be that your Lord will destroy your enemy and make you rulers in the land, then He will see how you act.

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7:130 And certainly We overtook Pharaoh's people with droughts and diminution of fruits that they might be mindful.

7:131 But when good befell them they said: This is due to us. And when evil afflicted them, they attributed it to the ill-luck of Moses and those with him. Surely their evil fortune is only from Allah, but most of them know not.

7:132 And they said: Whatever sign thou mayest bring to us to charm us therewith we shall not believe in thee.

7:133 So We sent upon them widespread death, and the locusts and the lice and the frogs and the blood — clear signs. But they behaved haughtily and they were a guilty people.

7:134 And when the plague fell upon them, they said: O Moses, pray for us to thy Lord as He has made promise with thee. If thou remove the plague from us, we will certainly believe in thee and will let the Children of Israel go with thee.

7:135 But when We removed the plague from them till a term which they should attain, lo they broke (their promise).

7:136 So We exacted retribution from them and drowned them in the sea, because they rejected Our signs and were heedless of them.

7:137 And We made the people who were deemed weak to inherit the eastern lands and the western ones which We had blessed. And the good word of thy Lord was fulfilled in the Children of Israel because of their patience. And We destroyed what Pharaoh and his people had wrought and what they had built.

7:138 And We took the Children of Israel across the sea. Then they came to a people who were devoted to their idols. They said: O Moses, make for us a god as they have gods. He said: Surely you are an ignorant people!

7:139 (As to) these, that wherein they are engaged shall be destroyed and that which they do is vain.

7:140 He said: Shall I seek for you a god other than Allah, while He has made you excel (all) created things?

7:141 And when We delivered you from Pharaoh's people, who subjected you to severe torment, killing your sons and sparing your women. And therein was a great trial from your Lord.

* * *

7:142 And We appointed for Moses thirty nights, and completed them with ten, so the appointed time of his Lord was complete forty nights. And Moses said to his brother Aaron: Take my place among my people, and act well and follow not the way of the mischief-makers.

7:143 And when Moses came at Our appointed time and his Lord spoke to him, he said: My Lord, show me (Thyself) so that I may look at Thee. He said: Thou canst not see Me; but look at the mountain; if it remains firm in its place, then wilt thou see Me. So when his Lord manifested His glory to the mountain, He made it crumble and Moses fell down in a swoon. Then when he recovered, he said.: Glory be to Thee! I turn to Thee, and I am the first of the believers.

7:144 He said: O Moses, surely I have chosen thee above the people by My messages and My words. So take hold of what I give thee and he of the grateful.

7:145 And We ordained for him in the tablets admonition of every kind and clear explanation of all things. So take hold of them with firmness and enjoin thy people to rake hold of what is best thereof. I shall show you the abode of the transgressors.

7:146 I shall turn away from My messages those who are unjustly proud in the earth. And if they see every sign, they will not believe in it; and if they see the way of rectitude, they take it not for a way and if they see the way of error, they take it for a way. This is because they reject Our messages and are heedless of them.

7:147 And those who reject Our messages and the meeting of the Hereafter their deeds are fruitless. Can they be rewarded except for what they do?

* * *

7:148 And Moses' people made of their ornaments a calf after him — a (lifeless) body, having a lowing sound. Could they not see that it spoke not to them, nor guided them in the way? They took it (for worship) and they were unjust.

7:149 And when they repented and saw that they had gone astray, they said: If our Lord have not mercy on us and forgive us, we shall certainly be of the losers.

7:150 And when Moses returned to his people, wrathful, grieved, he said Evil is that which you have done after me! Did you hasten on the judgement of your Lord? And he threw down the tablets and seized his brother by the head, dragging him towards him. He said: Son of my mother, the people reckoned me weak and had well-nigh slain me. So make not the enemies to rejoice over me and count me not among the unjust people.

7:151 He said: My Lord, forgive me and my brother, and admit us to Thy mercy, and Thou art the Most Merciful of those who show mercy.

* * *

7:152 Those who took the calf (for a god) — wrath from their Lord, and disgrace in this world's life, will surely overtake them. And thus do We recompense those who invent lies.

7:153 And those who do evil deeds, then repent after that and believe — thy Lord after that is surely Forgiving, Merciful.

7:154 And when Moses' anger calmed down, he took up the tablets; and in the writing thereof was guidance and mercy for those who fear their Lord.

7:155 And Moses chose of his people seventy men for Our appointment. So when the earthquake overtook them, he said: My Lord, if Thou hadst pleased, Thou hadst destroyed them before and myself (too). Wilt Thou destroy us for that which the foolish among us have done? It is naught but Thy trial. Thou causest to perish thereby whom Thou pleasest and guidest whom Thou pleasest. Thou art our Protector, so forgive us and have mercy on us, and Thou art the Best of those who forgive.

7:156 And ordain for us good in this world's life and in the Hereafter, for surely we turn to Thee. He said: I afflict with My chastisement whom I please, and My mercy encompasses all things. So I ordain it for those who keep their duty and pay the poor-rate, and those who believe in Our messages —

7:157 Those who follow the Messenger-Prophet, the [Ummi] whom they find mentioned in the Torah and the Gospel. He enjoins them good and forbids them evil, and makes lawful to them the good things and prohibits for them impure things, and removes from them their burden and the shackles which were on them. So those who believe in him and honour him and help him, and follow the light which has been sent down with him — these are the successful.

* * *

7:158 Say: O mankind, surely I am the Messenger of Allah to you all, of Him, Whose is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth. There is no god but He. He gives life and causes death. So believe in Allah and His Messenger, the [Ummi] Prophet who believes in Allah and His words, and follow him so that you may be guided aright.

7:159 And of Moses' people is a party who guide with truth, and therewith they do justice.

7:160 And We divided them into twelve tribes, as nations. And We revealed to Moses when his people asked him for water: Strike the rock with thy staff; so out flowed from it twelve springs. Each tribe knew its drinking-place. And We made the clouds to give shade over them and We sent to them manna and quails. Eat of the good things We have given you. And they did not do Us any harm, but they wronged themselves.

7:161 And when it was said to them: Dwell in this town and eat from it whence you wish, and make petition for forgiveness, and enter the gate submissively, We shall forgive you your wrongs. We shall give more to the doers of good.

7:162 But those who were unjust among them changed it for a word other than that which they were told, so We sent upon them a pestilence from heaven for their wrongdoing.

* * *

7:163* And ask them about the town which stood by the sea. When they violated the Sabbath, when their fish came to them on their Sabbath day on the surface, and when it was not their Sabbath they came not to them. Thus did We try them because they transgressed.

7:164* And when a party of them said: Why preach you to a people whom Allah would destroy or whom He would chastise with a severe chastisement? They said: To be free from blame before your Lord, and that haply they may guard against evil.

7:165* So when they neglected that whereof they had been reminded, We delivered those who forbade evil and We overtook those who were iniquitous with an evil chastisement because they transgressed.

7:166* So when they revoltingly persisted in that which they had been forbidden, We said to them: Be (as) apes, despised and hated.

7:167* And when thy Lord declared that He would send against them to the day of Resurrection those who would subject them to severe torment. Surely thy Lord is Quick in requiting; and surely He is Forgiving, Merciful.

7:168* And We divided them in the earth into parties — some of them are righteous and some of them are other-wise. And We tried them with blessings and misfortunes that they might turn.

7:169* Then after them came an evil posterity who inherited the Book, taking the frail goods of this low life and saying: It will be forgiven us. And if the like good came to them, they would take it (too). Was not a promise taken from them in the Book that they would not speak anything about Allah but the truth? And they study what is in it. And the abode of the Hereafter is better for those who keep their duty. Do you not then understand?

7:170* And as for those who hold fast by the Book and keep up prayer — surely We waste not the reward of the reformers.

7:171 And when We shook the mountain over them as if it were a covering, and they thought that it was going to fall down upon them: Hold on firmly that which We have given you, and be mindful of that which is in it, so that you may guard against evil.

* * *

7:172 And when thy Lord brought forth from the children of Adam, from their loins, their descendants, and made them bear witness about themselves: Am I not your Lord? They said: Yes; we bear witness. Lest you should say on the day of Resurrection: We were unaware of this,

7:173 Or (lest) you should say: Only our fathers ascribed partners (to Allah) before (us), and we were (their) descendants after them. Wilt Thou destroy us for what liars did?

7:174 And thus do We make the messages clear, and that haply they may return.

7:175 And recite to them the news of him to whom We give Our messages, but he withdraws himself from them, so the devil follows him up, and he is of those who perish.

7:176 And if We had pleased, We would have exalted him thereby; but he clings to the earth and follows his low desire. His parable is as the parable of the dog if thou drive him away, he lolls out his tongue, and if thou leave him alone, he lolls out his tongue. Such is the parable of the people who reject Our messages. So relate the narrative that they may reflect.

7:177 Evil is the likeness of the people who reject Our messages and wrong their own souls.

7:178 He whom Allah guides is on the right way; and he whom He leaves in error — they are the losers.

7:179 And certainly We have created for hell many of the jinn and the men — they have hearts wherewith they understand not, and they have eyes wherewith they see not, and they have ears wherewith they hear not. They are as cattle; nay, they are more astray. These are the heedless ones.

7:180 And Allah's are the best names, so call on Him thereby and leave alone those who violate the sanctity of His names. They will be recompensed for what they do.

7:181 And of those whom We have created is a community who guide with the truth and therewith do justice.

* * *

7:182 And those who reject Our messages — We lead them (to destruction) step by step from whence they know not.

7:183 And I grant them respite. Surely My scheme is effective.

7:184 Do they not reflect (that) there is no madness in their companion? He is only a plain warner.

7:185 Do they not consider the kingdom of the heavens and the earth and what things Allah has created, and that it may be that their doom has drawn nigh? In what announcement after this will they then believe?

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7:186 Whomsoever Allah leaves in error, there is no guide for him. And He leaves them alone in their inordinacy, blindly wandering on.

7:187 They ask thee about the Hour, when will it come to pass? Say: The knowledge thereof is with my Lord only. None but He will manifest it at its time. It is momentous in the heavens and the earth. It will not come to you but of a sudden. They ask thee as if thou wert solicitous about it. Say: Its knowledge is with Allah only, but most people know not.

7:188 Say: I control not benefit or harm for myself except as Allah please. And had I known the unseen, I should have much of good, and no evil would touch me. I am but a warner and the giver of good news to a people who believe.

* * *

7:189 He it is Who created you from a single soul, and of the same did He make his mate, that he might find comfort in her. So when he covers her she bears a light burden, then moves about with it. Then when it grows heavy, they both call upon Allah, their Lord: If Thou givest us a good one, we shall certainly be of the grateful.

7:190 But when He gives them a good one, they set up with Him associates in that which He has given them. High is Allah above what they associate (with Him).

7:191 Do they associate (with Him) that which has created naught, while they are themselves created?

7:192 And they cannot give them help, nor can they help themselves.

7:193 And if you invite them to guidance, they will not follow you. It is the same to you whether you invite them or you are silent.

7:194 Those whom you call on besides Allah are slaves like yourselves — call on them, then let them answer you, if you are truthful.

7:195 Have they feet with which they walk, or have they hands with which they hold, or have they eyes with which they see, or have they ears with which they hear? Say: Call upon your associate-gods then plot against me and give me no respite.

7:196 Surely my Friend is Allah, Who revealed the Book, and He befriends the righteous.

7:197 And those whom you call upon besides Him are not able to help you, nor can they help themselves.

7:198 And if you invite them to guidance, they hear not and thou seest them looking towards thee, yet they see not.

7:199 Take to forgiveness and enjoin good and turn away from the ignorant.

7:200 And if a false imputation from the devil afflict thee, seek refuge in Allah. Surely He is Hearing, Knowing.

7:201 Those who guard against evil, when a visitation from the devil afflicts them, they become mindful, then lo they see.

7:202 And their brethren increase them in error, then they cease not.

7:203 And when thou bringest them not a sign, they say Why dost thou not demand it? Say I follow only that which is revealed to me from my Lord. These are clear proofs from your Lord and a guidance and a mercy for a people who believe.

7:204 And when the Koran is recited, listen to it and remain silent, that mercy may be shown to you.

7:205 And remember thy Lord within thyself humbly and fearing, and in a voice not loud, in the morning and the evening, and be not of the heedless.

7:206 Surely those who are with thy Lord are not too proud to serve Him, and they glorify Him and prostrate themselves before Him.

KORAN CHAPTER 88 / Sura 46

The Sandhills / Al-Ahqaf

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

46:1 Beneficent God!

46:2 The revelation of the Book is from Allah, the Mighty, the Wise.

46:3 We created not the heavens and the earth and all between them save with truth and for an appointed term. And those who disbelieve turn away from that whereof they are warned.

46:4 Say Have you considered that which you invoke besides Allah? Show me what they have created of the earth, or have they a share in the heavens? Bring me a Book before this or any relics of knowledge, if you are truthful.

46:5 And who is in greater error than he who invokes besides Allah such as answer him not till the day of Resurrection, and they are heedless of their call?

46:6 And when men are gathered together, they will be their enemies, and will deny their worshipping (them).

46:7 And when Our clear messages are recited to them, those who disbelieve say of the Truth when it comes to them: This is clear enchantment.

46:8 Nay, they say: He has forged it. Say: If I have forged it, you control naught for me from Allah. He knows best what you utter concerning it. He is enough as a witness between me and you. And He is the Forgiving, the Merciful.

46:9 Say: I am nor the first of the messengers, and I know not what will be done with me or with you. I follow naught but that which is revealed to me, and I am but a plain warner.

46:10* Say: See you if it is from Allah, and you disbelieve in it, and a witness from among the Children of Israel has borne witness of one like him, so he believed, while you are big with pride. Surely Allah guides not the iniquitous people.

* * *

46:11 And those who disbelieve say of those who believe: If it had been a good, they would not have attained it before us. And as they are not guided thereby, they say: It is an old lie.

46:12 And before it was the Book of Moses, a guide and a mercy. And this is a Book verifying (it) in the Arabic language, that it may warn those who do wrong, and as good news for the doers of good.

46:13 Surely those who say, Our Lord is Allah, then continue on the right way, on them is no fear, nor shall they grieve.

46:14 These are the owners of the Garden, abiding therein — a reward for what they did.

46:15* And We have enjoined on man the doing of good to his parents. His mother bears him with trouble and she brings him forth in pain. And the bearing of him and the weaning of him is thirty months. Till, when he attains his maturity and reaches forty years, he says: My Lord, grant me that I may give thanks for Thy favour, which Thou hast bestowed on me and on my patents, and that I may do good which pleases Thee; and be good to me in respect of my offspring. Truly I turn to Thee, and truly I am of those who submit.

46:16 These are they from whom We accept the best of what they do and pass by their evil deeds — among the owners of the Garden. A promise of truth, which they were promised.

46:17 And he who says to his parents: Fie on you! Do you threaten me that I shall be brought forth, when generations have passed away before me? And they both call for Allah's aid Woe to thee! Believe; surely the promise of Allah is true. But he says This is nothing but stories of the ancients.

46:18 These are they against whom the word proves true, among nations of the jinn and the men that have passed away before them. Surely they are losers.

46:19 And for all are degrees according to what they do, and that He may pay them for their deeds and they will not be wronged.

46:20 And on the day when those who disbelieve are brought before the Fire: You did away with your good things in your life of the world and you enjoyed them; so this day you are rewarded with the chastisement of abasement because you were unjustly proud in the land and because you transgressed.

* * *

46:21 And mention the brother of 'Ad; when he warned his people in the sandy plains — and warners indeed came before him and after him — saying: Serve none but Allah. Surely I fear for you the chastisement of a grievous day.

46:22 They said: Hast thou come to us to turn us away from our gods? Then bring us that with which thou threatenest us, if thou art truthful.

46:23 He said: The knowledge is only with Allah, and I deliver to you that wherewith I am sent, but I see you are an ignorant people.

46:24 So when they saw it — a cloud advancing towards their valleys, they said: This is a cloud bringing us rain. Nay, it is that which you sought to hasten, a wind wherein is painful chastisement,

46:25 Destroying every thing by the command of its Lord. So at dawn naught could be seen except their dwellings. Thus do We reward the guilty people.

46:26 And certainly We had given them power in matters in which We have not empowered you, and We had given them ears and eyes and hearts, but neither their ears, nor their eyes, nor their hearts availed them aught, since they 'denied the messages of Allah, and that which they mocked at encompassed them.

* * *

46:27 And certainly We destroyed the towns round about you, and We repeat the messages that they may turn.

46:28 Then why did those whom they took for gods besides Allah to draw (them) nigh (to Rim) not help them? Nay, they failed them. And this was their lie and what they forged.

46:29 And when We turned towards thee a party of the jinn, who listened to the Koran; so when they were in its presence, they said: Be silent. Then when it was finished, they turned back to their people warning (them).

46:30 They said: O our people, we have heard a Book revealed after Moses, verifying that which is before it, guiding to the truth and to a right path.

46:31 O our people, accept the Inviter to Allah and believe in Him. He will forgive you some of your sins and protect you from a painful chastisement.

46:32 And whoever accepts not the Inviter to Allah, he cannot escape in the earth, nor has he protectors besides Him. These are in manifest error.

46:33 See they not that Allah, Who created the heavens and the earth and was not tired by their creation, is able to give life to the dead? Aye, He is surely Possessor of power over all things.

46:34 And on the day when those who disbelieve are brought before the Fire: Is it not true? They will say Yea, by our Lord He will say: Then taste the chastisement, because you disbelieved.

46:35* So have patience, as men of resolution, the messengers, had patience, and seek not to hasten on for them (their doom). On the day when they see that which they are promised, (it will be) as if they had not tarried save an hour of the, day. (Thine is) to deliver. Shall then any be destroyed save the transgressing people?

KORAN CHAPTER 89 / Sura 6

The Cattle / Al-Anam

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

6:1 Praise be to Allah, Who created the heavens and the earth, and made darkness and light. Yet those who disbelieve set up equals to their Lord.

6:2 He it is Who created you from clay, then He decreed a term. And there is a term named with Him; still you doubt.

6:3 And He is Allah in the heavens and in the earth. He knows your secret (thoughts) and your open (words), and He knows what you earn.

6:4 And there comes not to them any message of the messages of their Lord but they turn away from it.

6:5 So they rejected the truth when it came to them, but soon will come to them the news of that which they mocked.

6:6 See they not how many a generation We destroyed before them, whom We had established in the earth as We have not established you, and We sent the clouds pouring abundant rain on them, and We made the rivers flow beneath them? Then We destroyed them for their sins, and raised up after them another generation.

6:7 And if We had sent down to thee a writing on paper, then they had touched it with their hands, those who disbelieve would have said: This is nothing but clear enchantment.

6:8 And they say: Why has not an angel been sent down to him? And if We send down an angel, the matter would be decided and then they would not be respited.

6:9 And if We had made him an angel, We would certainly have made him a man, and (thus) made confused to them what they confuse.

6:10 And certainly messengers before thee were derided, but that which they derided encompassed those of them who scoffed.

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6:11 Say: Travel in the land, then see what was the end of the rejectors.

6:12 Say: To whom belongs whatever is in the heavens and the earth? Say: To Allah. He has ordained mercy on Himself. He will certainly gather you on the Resurrection day — there is no doubt about it. Those who have lost their souls will not believe.

6:13 And to Him belongs whatever dwells in the night and the day. And He is the Hearing, the Knowing.

6:14 Say: Shall I take for a friend other than Allah, the Originator of the heavens and the earth, and He feeds and is not fed? Say: I am commanded to be the first of those who submit. And be thou not of the polytheists.

6:15 Say: Surely I fear, if I disobey my Lord, the chastisement of a grievous day.

6:16 He from whom it is averted on that day, Allah indeed has had mercy on him. And this is a manifest achievement.

6:17 And if Allah touch thee with affliction, there is none to remove it but He. And if He touch thee with good, He is Possessor of power over all things.

6:18 And He is the Supreme, above His servants. And He is the Wise, the Aware.

6:19 Say: What thing is the weightiest in testimony? Say: Allah is witness between you and me. And this Koran has been revealed to me that with it I may warn you and whomsoever it reaches. Do you really bear witness that there are other gods with Allah? Say: I bear not witness. Say: He is only One God, and surely I am innocent of that which you set up (with Him).

6:20* Those whom We have given the Book recognize him as they recognize their sons. Those who have lost their souls — they will not believe.

* * *

6:21 And who is more unjust than he who forges a lie against Allah or gives the lie to His messages? Surely the wrongdoers will not be successful.

6:22 And on the day We gather them all together, then We shall say to those who set up gods (with Allah): Where are your associate-gods whom you asserted?

6:23* Then their excuse would be nothing but that they would say: By Allah, our Lord! we were not polytheists.

6:24 See how they lie against their own souls, and that which they forged shall fail them!

6:25 And of them is he who hearkens to thee and We have cast veils over their hearts so that they understand it not and a deafness into their ears. And (even) if they see every sign they will not believe in it. So much so that when they come to thee

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they only dispute with thee — those who disbelieve say: This is naught but stories of the ancients.

6:26 And they forbid (others) from it, and they keep away from it; and they ruin none but their own souls while they perceive not.

6:27 And if thou couldst see when they are made to stand before the Fire, and say: Would that we were sent back! We would not reject the messages of our Lord but would be of the believers.

6:28 Nay, that which they concealed before will become manifest to them. And if they were sent back, they would certainly go back to that which they are forbidden, and surely they are liars.

6:29 And they say: There is nothing but our life of this world and we shall not be raised again.

6:30 And if thou couldst see when they are made to stand before their Lord! He will say: Is not this the truth? They will say: Yea, by our Lord! He will say: Taste then the chastisement because you disbelieved.

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6:31. They are losers indeed who reject the meeting with Allah, until when the hour comes upon them suddenly, they will say: O our grief for out neglecting it! And they bear their burdens on their backs. Now surely evil is that which they bear!

6:32 And this worlds life is naught but a play and an idle sport. And certainly the abode of the Hereafter is better for those who keep their duty. Do you not then understand?

6:33 We know indeed that what they say grieves thee, for surely they give not thee the lie, but the wrongdoers give the lie to Allah's messages.

6:34 And messengers indeed were rejected before thee, but they were patient when rejected and persecuted, until Our help came to them. And there is none to change the words of Allah. And there has already come to thee some information about the messengers.

6:35 And if their turning away is hard on thee, then, if thou canst, seek an opening into the earth or a ladder to heaven, to bring them a sign! And if Allah pleased, He would certainly have gathered them all to guidance, so be not of the ignorant.

6:36 Only those accept who listen. And as for the dead, Allah will raise them, then to Him they will be returned.

6:37 And they say: Why has not a sign been sent down to him from his Lord? Say: Surely Allah is Able to send down a sign, but most of them know not?'

6:38 And there is no animal in the earth, nor a bird that flies on its two wings, but (they are) communities like yourselves. We have not neglected anything in the Book. Then to their Lord will they be gathered.

6:39 And those who reject Our messages are deaf and dumb, in darkness. Whom Allah pleases He leaves in error. And whom He pleases He places on the right way.

6:40 Say: See, if the chastisement of Allah overtake you or the hour come upon you, will you call on others than Allah, if you are truthful?

6:41 Nay, Him you call upon, so He removes that for which you pray, if He pleases, and you forget what you set up (with Him).

6:42 And indeed We sent (messengers) to nations before thee then We seized them with distress and affliction that they might humble themselves.

6:43 Yet why did they not, when Our punishment came to them, humble themselves? But their hearts hardened and the devil made all that they did seem fair to them.

6:44 Then, when they neglected that with which they had been admonished, We opened for them the gates of all things. Until, when they rejoiced in that which they were given; We seized them suddenly; then lo! they were in utter despair.

6:45 So the roots of the people who did wrong were cut off. And praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds.

6:46 Say: Have you considered that if Allah should take away your hearing and your sight and seal your hearts, who is the god besides Allah that can bring it to you? See how We repeat the messages yet they turn away!

6:47 Say: See, if the chastisement of Allah should overtake you suddenly or openly, will any be destroyed but the wrongdoing people?

6:48 And We send not messengers but as bearers of good news and warners then whoever believes and acts aright, they shall have no fear, nor shall they grieve.

6:49 And as for those who reject Our messages, chastisement will afflict them because they transgressed.

6:50 Say: I say not to you, I have with me the treasures of Allah, nor do I know the unseen, nor do I say to you that I am an angel; I follow only that which is revealed to me. Say: Are the blind and the seeing alike? Do you not then reflect?

6:51 And warn with it those who fear that they will be gathered to their Lord there is no protector for them, nor any intercessor besides Him so that they may keep their duty.

6:52 And drive not away those who call upon their Lord, morning and evening, desiring only His pleasure. Neither art thou accountable for them in aught, nor are they accountable for thee in aught, that thou shouldst drive them away and thus be of the wrongdoers.

6:53 And thus do We try some of them by others so that they say: Are these they upon whom Allah has conferred benefit from among us? Does not Allah best know the grateful?

6:54 And when those who believe in Our messages come to thee say: Peace be to you, your Lord has ordained mercy on Himself, (so) that if any one of you does evil in ignorance, then turns after that and acts aright, then He is Forgiving, Merciful.

6:55 And thus do We make distinct the messages and so that the way of the guilty may become clear.

6:56 Say: I am forbidden to serve those whom you call upon besides Allah. Say: I follow not your low desires, for then indeed I should go astray and should not be of the guided ones.

6:57 Say: Surely I have manifest proof from my Lord and you call it a lie. I have not with me that which you would hasten. The judgement is only Allah's. He relates the truth and He is the Best of deciders.

6:58 Say: If that which you would hasten were with me, the matter would have certainly been decided between you and me. And Allah best knows the wrongdoers.

6:59 And with Him are the treasures of the unseen — none knows them but He. And He knows what is in the land and the sea. And there falls not a leaf but He knows it, nor is there a grain in the darkness of the earth, nor anything green or dry, but (it is all) in a clear book.

6:60 And He it is Who takes your souls at night, and He knows what you earn by day, then He raises you up therein that an appointed term may be fulfilled. Then to Him is your return, then He will inform you of what you did.

* * *

6:61 And He is the Supreme above His servants, and He sends keepers over you; until when death comes to one of you, Our messengers cause him to die, and they are not remiss.

6:62 Then are they sent back to Allah, their Master, the True one. Now surely His is the judgement and He is Swiftest in taking account

6:63 Say: Who is it that delivers you from the calamities of the land and the sea? (when) you call upon Him, in humility and in secret: If He deliver us from this, we will certainly be of the grateful ones.

6:64 Say: Allah delivers you from this and from every distress, yet you set up others (with Him).

6:65 Say: He has the power to send on you a chastisement from above you or from beneath your feet, or to throw you into confusion, (making you) of different parties, and make some of you taste the violence of others. See how We repeat the messages that they may understand!

6:66 And thy people call it a lie and it is the Truth. Say: I am not put in charge of you.

6:67 For every prophecy is a term, and you will soon come to know (it).

6:68 And when thou seest those who talk nonsense about Our messages, withdraw from them until they enter into some other discourse. And if the devil cause thee to forget, then sit not after recollection with the unjust people.

6:69 And those who keep their duty are not accountable for them in aught but (theirs) is only to remind; haply they may guard against evil.

6:70 And leave those who take their religion for a play and an idle sport, and whom this world's life has deceived, and remind (men) hereby lest a soul be destroyed for what it has earned. It has besides Allah no friend nor intercessor, and though it offer every compensation, it will not be accepted from it. Those are they who are destroyed for what they earn. For them is a drink of boiling water and a painful chastisement, because they disbelieved.

* * *

6:71 Say: Shall we call, besides Allah, on that which profits us not nor harms us, and shall we be turned back on our heels after Allah has guided us? Like one whom the devils cause to follow his low desires, in bewilderment in the earth, he has companions who call him to the right way (saying), Come to us. Say: Surely the guidance of Allah, that is the (true) guidance. And we are commanded to submit to the Lord of the worlds:

6:72 And that you should keep up prayer and keep your duty to Him. And He it is to Whom you shall be gathered.

6:73 And He it is Who created the heavens and the earth with truth. And when He says, Be, it is.

6:74 His word is the truth and His is the kingdom on the day when the trumpet is blown. The Knower of the unseen and the seen; and He is the Wise, the Aware.

6:75 And when Abraham said to his sire, Azar: Takest thou idols for gods? Surely I see thee and thy people in manifest error.

6:76 And thus did We show Abraham the kingdom of the heavens and the earth and that he might be of those having certainty.

6:77 So when the night overshadowed, him, he saw a star. He said: Is this my Lord? So when it set, he said I love not the setting ones.

6:78 Then when he saw the moon rising, he said: Is this my Lord? So when it set, he said: If my Lord had not guided me, I should certainly be of the erring people.

6:79 Then when he saw the sun rising, he said: Is this my Lord? Is this the greatest? So when it set, he said: O my people, I am clear of what you set up (with Allah).

6:80 Surely I have turned myself, being upright, wholly to Him Who originated the heavens and the earth, and I am not of the polytheists.

6:81 And his people disputed with him. He said: Do you dispute with me respecting Allah and He has guided me indeed? And I fear not in any way those that you set up with Him, unless my Lord please. My Lord comprehends all things in His knowledge. Will you not then mind?

6:82 And how should I fear what you have set up (with Him), while you fear not to set up with Allah that for which He has sent down to you no authority. Which then of the two parties is surer of security, if you know?

6:83 Those who believe and mix not up their faith with iniquity for them is security and they go aright.

* * *

6:84 And this was Our argument which We gave to Abraham against his people. We exalt in degrees whom We please. Surely thy Lord is Wise, Knowing.

6:85 And We gave him Isaac and Jacob. Each did We guide; and Noah did We guide before, and of his descendants, David and Solomon and Job and Joseph and Moses and Aaron. And thus do We reward those who do good (to others):

6:86 And Zacharias and John and Jesus and Elias; each one (of them) was of the righteous,

6:87 And Ishmael and Elisha and Jonah and Lot; and each one (of them) We made to excel the people;

6:88 And some of their fathers and their descendants and their brethren. And We chose them and guided them to the right way.

6:89 This is Allah's guidance wherewith He guides whom He pleases of His servants. And if they bad associated others (with Him), all that they did would have been vain.

6:90 These are they to, whom We gave the Book and authority and prophecy. Therefore if these disbelieve in it, We have indeed entrusted it to a people who are not disbelievers in it.

6:91* These are they whom Allah guided, so follow their guidance. Say: I ask you not for any reward for it. It is naught but a Reminder to the nations.

* * *

6:92 And they honour not Allah with the honour due to Him, when they say: Allah has not revealed anything, to a mortal. Say: Who revealed the Book which Moses brought, a light and a guidance to men — you make it into (scattered) papers, which you show and you conceal much? And you are taught that which neither you nor your fathers knew. Say: Allah. Then leave them sporting in their idle talk.

6:93* And this is a Blessed Book We have revealed, verifying that which is before it, and that thou mayest warn the mother of the towns and those around her. And those who believe in the Hereafter believe in it, and they keep a watch over their prayers.

6:94 And who is more unjust than he who forges a lie against Allah, or says, Revelation has been granted to me while nothing has been revealed to him; and he who says: I can reveal the like of that which Allah has revealed? And if thou couldst see when the wrongdoers are in the agonies of death and the angels stretch forth their hands, (saying): Yield up your souls. This day you are awarded a chastisement of disgrace because you spoke against Allah other than truth, and (because) you scorned His messages.

6:95 And certainly you have come to Us one by one as We created you at first, and you have left behind your backs what We gave you. And We see not with you your intercessors about whom you asserted that they were (Allah's) associates in respect to you. Certainly the ties between you are now cut off and that which you asserted has failed you.

6:96 Surely Allah causes the grain and the date-stone to germinate. He brings forth the living from, the dead and He is the bringer forth of the dead from the living. That is Allah. How are you then turned away!

6:97 He is the Cleaver of the daybreak; and He has made the night for rest, and the sun and the moon reckoning. That is the measuring of the Mighty, the Knowing.

6:98 And He it is Who has made the stars for you that you might follow the right way thereby in the darkness of the land and the sea. Indeed We have made plain the signs for a people who know.

6:99 And He it is Who has brought you into being from a single soul, then there is (for you) a resting-place and a repository. Indeed We have made plain the signs for a people who understand.

6:100 And He it is Who sends down water from the clouds, then We bring forth with it buds of all (plants), then We bring forth from it green (foliage), from which We produce clustered grain; and of the date-palm, of the sheaths of it, come forth clusters (of dates) within reach; and gardens of grapes and the olive and the pomegranate, alike and unlike. Look at the fruit of it when it bears fruit and the ripening of it. Surely there are signs in this for a people who believe!

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6:101 And they regard the jinn to he partners with Allah, and He created them, and they falsely attribute to Him sons and daughters without knowledge. Glory be to Him, and highly exalted is He above what they ascribe (to Him)!

* * *

6:102 Wonderful Originator of the heavens and the earth How could He have a son when He has no consort? And He created everything, and He is the Knower of all things.

6:103 That is Allah, your Lord. There is no god but He; the Creator of all things; therefore serve Him, and He has charge of all things.

6:104 Vision comprehends Him not, and He comprehends (all) vision and He is the Subtle, the Aware.

6:105 Clear proofs have indeed come to you from your Lord; so whoever sees, it is for his own good; and whoever is blind, it is to his own harm. And I am not a keeper over you.

6:106 And thus do We repeat the messages; and that they may say, Thou hast studied; and that We may make it clear to a people who know.

6:107 Follow that which is revealed to thee from thy Lord — there is no god but He; and turn away from the polytheists.

6:108 And if Allah had pleased, they would not have set up others (with Him). And We have not appointed thee a keeper over them, and thou art not placed in charge of them.

6:109 And abuse not those whom they call upon besides Allah, lest, exceeding the limits, they abuse Allah through ignorance. Thus to every people have We made their deeds fair-seeming; then to their Lord is their return so He will inform them of what they did.

6:110 And they swear their strongest oaths by Allah that if a sign come to them they would certainly believe in it. Say: Signs are with Allah. And what should make you know that when they come they believe not?

6:111 And We turn their hearts and their sights, even as they did not believe in it the first time; and We leave them in their inordinacy, blindly wandering on.

* * *

6:112 And even if We send down to them the angels and the dead speak to them and We bring together all things before them, they would not believe unless Allah please, but most of them are ignorant.

6:113 And thus did We make for every prophet an enemy, the devils from among men and jinn, some of them inspiring others with gilded speech to deceive (them). And if thy Lord pleased, they would not do it, so leave them alone with what they forge —

6:114* And that the hearts of those who believe not in the Hereafter may incline thereto, and that they may be pleased with it, and that they may earn what they are earning.

6:115 Shall I then seek a judge other than Allah, when He it is Who has sent down to you the Book fully explained. And those whom We have given the Book know that it is revealed by thy Lord with truth, so be not thou of the disputers.

6:116 And the word of thy Lord has been accomplished truly and justly. There is none who can change His words; and He is the Hearer, the Knower.

6:117 And if thou obey most of those in the earth, they will lead thee astray from Allah's way. They follow naught but conjecture, and they only lie.

6:118. Surely thy Lord — He knows best who goes astray from His way, and He knows best the guided ones.

6:119 Eat, then, of that on which Allah's name has been mentioned, if you are believers in His messages.

6:120 And what reason have you that you should not eat of that on which Allah's name is mentioned, when He has already made plain to you what He has forbidden to you — excepting that which you are compelled to. And surely many lead (people) astray by their low desires through ignorance. Surely thy Lord — He best knows the transgressors.

6:121 And avoid open sins and secret ones. Surely they who earn sin will be rewarded for what they have earned.

6:122 And eat not of that on which Allah's name has not been mentioned, and that is surely a transgression. And certainly the devils inspire their friends to contend with you; and if you obey them, you will surely be polytheists.

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6:123 Is he who was dead, then We raised him to life and made for him a light by which he walks among the people, like him whose likeness is that of one in darkness whence he cannot come forth? Thus their doings are made fair-seeming to the disbelievers.

6:124 And thus have We made in every town the leaders of its guilty ones, that they may make plans there in. And they plan not but against themselves, and they perceive not.

6:125 And when a message comes to them they say We will not believe till we are given the like of that which Allah's messengers are given. Allah best knows where to place His Message. Humiliation from Allah and severe chastisement will surely befall the guilty for their planning.

6:126 So whomsoever Allah intends to guide, He expands his breast for Islam, and whomsoever He intends to leave in error, he makes his breast strait (and) narrow as though he were ascending upwards. Thus does Allah lay uncleanness on those who believe not.

6:127 And this is the path of thy Lord, (a) straight (path). Indeed We have made the messages clear for a people who mind.

6:128 Theirs is the abode of peace with their Lord, and He is their Friend because of what they do.

6:129 And on the day when He will gather them all together: O assembly of jinn, you took away a great part of men. And their friends from among men will say: Our Lord, some of us profited by others and we have reached our appointed term which Thou didst appoint for us. He will say: The Fire is your abode — you shall abide therein, except as Allah please. Surely thy Lord is Wise, Knowing.

6:130 And thus do We make some of the iniquitous to befriend others on account of what they earn.

* * *

6:131 O community of jinn and men, did there not come to you messengers from among you, relating to you My messages and warning you of the meeting of this day of yours? They will say We bear witness against ourselves. And this world's life deceived them, and they will bear witness against themselves that they were disbelievers.

6:132 This is because thy Lord would not destroy towns unjustly while their people are negligent.

6:133 And for all are degrees according to their doings. And thy Lord is not heedless of what they do.

6:134 And thy Lord is the Self-sufficient One, the Lord of mercy. If He please, He may remove you, and make whom He pleases successors after you, even as He raised you up from the seed of other people.

6:135 Surely that which you are promised will come to pass, and you cannot escape (it).

6:136 Say O my people, act according to your ability, I too am acting so you will soon come to know for whom is the (good) end of the abode. Surely the wrongdoers will not succeed.

6:137 And they set apart a portion for Allah out of what He has created of tilth and cattle, and say This is for Allah — so they assert — and this for our associate-gods. Then that which is for their associate-gods reaches not Allah, and that which is for Allah reaches their associate-gods. Evil is what they judge.

6:138 And thus their associate-gods have made fair-seeming to many polytheists the killing of their children, that they may cause them to perish and obscure for them their religion. And if Allah had pleased, they would not have done it, so leave them alone with that which they forge.

6:139 And they say: Such and such cattle and crops are prohibited — none shall eat them except such as we please — so they assert — and cattle whose backs are forbidden, and cattle on which they would not mention Allah's name — forging a lie against Him. He will requite them for what they forge.

6:140 And they say: That which is in the wombs of such and such cattle is reserved for our males, and forbidden to our wives, and if it be stillborn, they are partners in it. He will reward them for their (false) attribution. Surely He is Wise, Knowing.

6:141 They are losers indeed who kill their children foolishly without knowledge, and forbid that which Allah has provided for them, forging a lie against Allah. They indeed go astray, and are not guided.

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6:142 And He it is Who produces gardens, trellised and untrellised, and palms and seed-produce of which the fruits are of various sorts, and olives and pomegranates, like and unlike. Eat of its fruit when it bears fruit, and pay the due of it on the day of its reaping, and be not prodigal. Surely He loves not the prodigals;

6:143 And of the cattle (He has created) some for burden and some for slaughter. Eat of that which A1lah has given you and follow not the foot-steps of the devil. Surely he is your open enemy —

6:144 Eight in pairs — of the sheep two and of the goats two. Say: Has He forbidden the two males or the two females or that which the wombs of the two females contain? Inform me with knowledge, if you are truthful;

6:145 And of the camels two and of the cows two. Say: Has He forbidden the two males or the two females or that which the wombs of the two females contain? Or were you witnesses when Allah enjoined you this? Who is then more unjust than he who forges a lie against Allah to lead men astray without knowledge? Surely Allah guides not the iniquitous people.

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6:146 Say, I find not in that which is revealed to me aught forbidden for an eater to eat thereof, except that it be what dies of itself, or blood poured forth, or flesh of swine — for that surely is unclean or what is a transgression, other than (the name of) Allah having been invoked on it. But whoever is driven to necessity, not desiring nor exceeding the limit, then surely thy Lord is Forgiving, Merciful.

6:147 And to those who are Jews We forbade every animal having claws, and of oxen and sheep We forbade them the fat thereof, except such as was on their backs or the entrails or what was mixed with bones. This was a punishment We gave them on account of their rebellion, and We are surely Truthful.

6:148 But if they give thee — the lie, then say: Your Lord is the Lord of all-encompassing mercy; and His punishment cannot be averted from the guilty people.

6:149 Those who are polytheists say: If Allah pleased we would not have set up (aught with Him) nor our fathers, nor would we have made anything unlawful. Thus did those before them reject (the truth) until they tasted Our punishment. Say: Have you any knowledge so you would bring it forth to us? You only follow a conjecture and you only tell lies.

6:150 Say: Then Allah's is the condusive argument; so if He had pleased, He would have guided you all.

6:151* Say: Bring your witnesses who bear witness that Allah forbade this. If they bear witness, then do not thou bear witness with them. And follow not the low desires of those who reject Our messages and those who believe not in the Hereafter, and they make (others) equal with their Lord.

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6:152* Say: Come I will recite what your Lord has forbidden to you: Associate naught with Him and do good to parents and slay not your children for (fear of) poverty — We provide for you and for them — and draw not nigh to indecencies, open or secret, and kill not the soul which Allah has made sacred except in the course of justice. This He enjoins upon you that you may understand.

6:153* And approach not the property of the orphan except in the best manner, until he attains his maturity. And give full measure and weight with equity — We impose not on any soul a duty except to the extent of its ability. And when you speak, be just, though it be (against) a relative. And fulfil Allah's covenant. This He enjoins on you that you may be mindful;

6:154 And (know) that this is My path, the right one, so follow it, and follow not (other) ways, for they will lead you away from His way. This He enjoins on you that you may keep your duty.

6:155 Again, We gave the Book to Moses to complete (Our blessings) on him who would do good, and making plain all things and a guidance and a mercy, so that they might believe in the meeting with their Lord.

* * *

6:156 And this is a Book We have revealed, full of blessings; so follow it and keep your duty that mercy may be shown to you,

6:157 Lest you should say that the Book was revealed only to two parties before us and we were truly unaware of what they read,

6:158 Or, lest you should say: If the Book had been — revealed to us, we would have been better guided than they. So indeed there has come to you clear proof from your Lord, and guidance and mercy. Who is then more unjust than he — who rejects Allah's messages and turns away from them? We reward those who turn away from Our messages with an evil chastisement because they turned away.

6:159 They wait not aught but that the angels should come to them, or that thy Lord should come, or that some of the signs of thy Lord should come. On the day when some of the signs of thy Lord come, its faith will not profit a soul which believed not before, nor earned good through its faith. Say: Wait; we too are waiting.

6:160 As for those who split up their religion and became sects, thou hast no concern with them. Their affair is only with Allah, then He will inform them of what they did.

6:161 Whoever brings a good deed will have tenfold like it, and whoever brings an evil deed, will be recompensed only with the like of it, and they shall not be wronged.

6:162 Say: As for me, my Lord has guided me to the right path — a right religion, the faith of Abraham, the upright one, and he was not of the polytheists.

6:163 Say My prayer and my sacrifice and my life and my death are surely for Allah, the Lord of the worlds —

6:164 No associate has He. And this am I commanded, and I am the first of those who submit.

6:165 Say Shall I seek a Lord other than Allah, while He is the Lord of all things? And no soul earns (evil) but against itself. Nor does a bearer of burden bear the burden of another. Then to your Lord is your return, so He will inform you of that in which you differed.

6:166 And He it is Who has made you successors in the land and exalted some of you in rank above others, that He may try you by what He has given you. Surely thy Lord is Quick in requiting (evil), and He is surely the Forgiving, the Merciful.

KORAN CHAPTER 90 / Sura 13

The Thunder / Al-Rad

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

13:1 1, Allah, am the Best Knower, the Seer. These are verses of the Book. And that which is revealed to thee from thy Lord is the Truth, but most people believe nor.

13:2 Allah is He who raised the heavens without any pillars that you can see, and He is established on the Throne of Power, and He made the sun and the moon subservient (to

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you). Each one runs to an appointed term. He regulates the affair, making clear the messages that you may be certain of the meeting with your Lord.

13:3 And He it is who spread the earth, and made in it firm mountains and rivers. And of all fruits He has made in it pairs, two (of every kind). He makes the night cover the day. Surely there are signs in this for a people who reflect.

13:4 And in the earth are tracts side by side, and gardens of vines, and corn, and palm-trees growing from one root and distinct roots they are watered with one water; and We make some of them to excel others in fruit. Surely there are signs in this for a people who understand.

13:5 And if thou wonderest, then wondrous is their saying: When we are dust, shall we then be raised in a new creation? These are they who disbelieve in their Lord, and these have chains on their necks, and they are the companions of the Fire; in it they will abide.

13:6 And they ask thee to hasten on the evil before the good, and indeed there have been exemplary punishments before them. And surely thy Lord is full of forgiveness for mankind notwithstanding their iniquity. And surely thy Lord is Severe in requiting.

13:7 And those who disbelieve say: Why has not a sign been sent down to him from his Lord? Thou art only a warner and for every people a guide.

* * *

13:8 Allah knows what every female beats, and that of which the wombs fall short of completion and that which they grow. And everything with Him has a measure.

13:9 The Knower of the Unseen and the seen, the Great, the Most High.

13:10 Alike (to Him) among you is he who conceals (the) word and he who speaks openly, and he who hides himself by night and (who) goes forth by day.

13:11 For him are (angels) guarding the consequences (of his deeds), before him and behind him, who guard him by Allah's command. Surely Allah changes not the condition of a people, until they change their own condition. And when Allah intends evil to a people, there is no averting it, and besides Him they have no protector.

13:12 He it is Who shows you the lightning causing feat and hope and (Who) brings up the heavy cloud.

13:13 And the thunder celebrates His praise, and the angels too for awe of Him. And He sends the thunderbolts and smites with them whom He pleases, yet they dispute concerning Allah, and He is Mighty in prowess.

13:14 To Him is due the true prayer. And those to whom they pray besides Him give them no answer, but (they are) like one who stretches forth his two hands towards water that it may reach his mouth, but it will not reach it. And the prayer of the disbelievers is only wasted.

13:15 And whoever is in the heavens and the earth makes obeisance to Allah only, willingly and unwillingly, and their shadows, too, at morn and eve.

13:16 Say: Who is the Lord of the heavens and the earth? Say: Allah. Say: Do you then take besides Him guardians who control no benefit or harm even for themselves? Say: Are the blind and the seeing alike? Or, are darkness and light equal? Or, have they set up with Allah associates who have created creation like His, so that what is created became confused to them? Say: Allah is the Creator of all things, and He is the One, the Supreme.

13:17 He sends down water from the clouds, then watercourses flow according to their measure, and the torrent bears along the swelling foam. And from that which they melt in the fire for the sake of making ornaments or apparatus arises a scum like it. Thus does Allah compare truth and falsehood. Then as for the scum, it passes away as a worthless thing; and as for that which does good to men, it tarries in the earth. Thus does Allah set forth parables.

13:18 For those who respond to their Lord is good. And as for those who respond not to Him, even if they had all that is in the earth and the like thereof with it, they would certainly offer it for a ransom. As for those, theirs is an evil reckoning and their abode is hell; and evil is the resting-place.

* * *

13:19 Is he who knows that what is revealed to thee from thy Lord is the truth like him who is blind? Only men of understanding mind —

13:20 Those who fulfil the pact of Allah, and break not the covenant,

13:21 And those who join that which Allah has bidden to be joined and have awe of their Lord, and fear the evil reckoning.

13:22 And those who are steadfast seeking the pleasure of their Lord, and keep up prayer and spend of that which We have given them, secretly and openly, and repel evil with good; for such is the (happy) issue of the abode —

13:23 Gardens of perpetuity, which they will enter along with those who do good from among their fathers and their spouses and their offspring and the angels will enter in upon them from every gate.

13:24 Peace be to you, because you were constant — how excellent is then the final Abode!

13:25 And those who break the covenant of Allah after its confirmation, and cut asunder that which Allah has ordered to be joined, and make mischief in the land, for them is the curse, and theirs is the evil end of the Abode.

13:26 Allah amplifies and straitens provision for whom He pleases. And they rejoice in this world's life. And this world's life, compared with the Hereafter, is only a temporary enjoyment.

* * *

13:27 And those who disbelieve say: Why is not a sign sent down to him by his Lord? Say: Allah leaves in error whom He pleases, and guides to Himself those who turn (to Him) —

13:28 Those who believe and whose hearts find rest in the remembrance of Allah. Now surely in Allah's remembrance do hearts find rest.

13:29 Those who believe and do good, a good final state is theirs and a goodly return.

13:30 Thus We have sent thee among a nation before which other nations have passed away, that thou mightest recite to them what We have revealed to thee, and (still) they deny the Beneficent. Say: He is my Lord, there is no god but He; in Him do I trust and to Him is my return.

13:31 And if there could be a Koran with which the mountains were made to pass away, or the earth were cloven asunder, or the dead were made to speak — nay, the commandment is wholly Allah's. Do not those who believe know that, if Allah please, He would certainly guide all the people? And as for those who disbelieve, disaster will not cease to afflict them because of what they do, or it will alight close by their abodes, until the promise of Allah come to pass. Surely Allah will not fail in (His) promise.

* * *

13:32 And messengers before thee were certainly mocked, but I gave respite to those who disbelieved, then I seized them How (awful) was then My requital!

13:33 Is, then, He Who watches every soul as to what it earns? And yet they ascribe partners to Allah! Say: Name them. Would you inform Him of that which He knows not in the earth, or of an outward saying? Rather, their plan is made fair-seeming to those who disbelieve, and they are kept back from the path. And whom Allah leaves in error, he has no guide.

13:34 For them is chastisement in this world's life, and the chastisement of the Hereafter is certainly more grievous. And they have no protector against Allah.

13:35 A parable of the Garden which is promised to those who keep their duty: Therein flow rivers. Its fruits are perpetual and its plenty. Such is the end for those who keep their duty; and the end for the disbelievers is the Fire.

13:36 And those to whom We have given the Book rejoice in that which has been revealed to thee, and of the confederates are some who deny a part of it. Say: I am commanded only to serve Allah and not associate anything with Him. To Him do I invite (you), and to Him is my return.

13:37 And thus have We revealed it, a true judgement, in Arabic. And if thou follow their low desires after that which has come to thee of knowledge, thou wouldst have against Allah no guardian nor protector.

* * *

13:38 And certainly We sent messengers before thee and appointed for them wives and children. And it is not in (the power of) a messenger to bring a sign except by Allah's permission. For every term there is an appointment.

13:39 Allah effaces what He pleases and establishes (what He pleases), and with Him is the basis of the Book.

13:40 Whether We let thee see part of that which We promise them, or cause thee to die, thine is but the delivery of the message, and Ours to call (them) to account.

13:41 See they not that We are visiting the land, curtailing it of its sides? And Allah pronounces a doom — there is no repeller of His decree. And He is Swift in calling to account.

13:42 And those before them planned indeed, but all planning is Allah's. He knows what every soul earns. And the disbelievers will come to know for whom is the (good) end of the Abode.

13:43 And those who disbelieve say: Thou art not a messenger. Say: Allah is sufficient for a witness between me and you and whoever has knowledge of the Book.'

PART 2
THE KORAN OF MEDINA

(Although it is possible and even desirable to arrange the Koran chapters in a chronological way, it is however not easy to define the exact position of some of the verses. As their correct place is still a matter of debate among scholars, we have decided not to change the traditional places of the verses within a chapter.
We have instead placed two asterisks** right behind the verse number when scholars believe that this particular verse belongs into the Koran of Mecca.
Three asterisks * * * indicate that the following verses belong to another chapter, topic, collection, or time.)

MEDINAN PERIOD (Mohammed's 9 years as jihadist and warlord, 24 SURAS): 2; 98; 64; 62; 8; 47; 3; 61; 57; 4; 65; 59; 33; 63; 24; 58; 22; 48; 66; 60; 110; 49; 9; 5

KORAN CHAPTER 91 / Sura 2
The Cow / Al-Baqarah
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

2:1 I, God, am the best knower.

2:2 This Book, there is no doubt in it, is a guide to those who keep their duty,

2:3 Who believe in the Unseen and keep up prayer and spend out of what We have given them,

2:4 And who believe in that which has been revealed to thee and that which was revealed before thee, and of the Hereafter they are sure.

2:5 These are on a right course from their Lord and these it is that are successful.

2:6 Those who disbelieve — it being alike to them whether thou warn them or warn them not — they will not believe.

2:7 God has sealed their hearts and their hearing; and there is a covering on their eyes, and for them is a grievous chastisement.

* * *

2:8 And there are some people who say: We believe in God and the Last Day and they are not believers.

2:9 They seek to deceive God and those who believe, and they deceive only themselves and they perceive not.

2:10 In their hearts is a disease, so God increased their disease, and for them is a painful chastisement because they lie.

2:11 And when it is said to them, Make not mischief in the land, they say: We are but peacemakers.

2:12 Now surely they are the mischief-makers, but they perceive not.

2:13 And when it is said to them, Believe as the people believe, they say: Shall we believe as the fools believe? Now surely they are the fools, but they know not.

2:14 And when they meet those who believe, they say, We believe; and when they are alone with their devils, they say: Surely we are with you, we were only mocking.

2:15 God will pay them back their mockery, and He leaves them alone in their inordinacy, blindly wandering on.

2:16 These are they who buy error for guidance, so their bargain brings no gain, nor are they guided.

2:17 Their parable is as the parable of one who kindles a fire but when it illumines all around him, God takes away their light, and leaves them in darkness — they cannot see.

2:18 Deaf dumb, (and) blind, so they return not:

2:19 Or like abundant rain from the clouds in which is darkness, and thunder and lightning; they put their fingers into their ears because of the thunder-peal, for fear of death. And God encompasses the disbelievers.

2:20 The lightning almost takes away their sight. Whenever it shines on them they walk in it, and when it becomes dark to them they stand still. And if God had pleased, He would have taken away their hearing and their sight. Surely God is Possessor of power over all things.

* * *

2:21 O men, serve your Lord Who created you and those before you, so that you may guard against evil,

2:22 Who made the earth a resting-place for you and the heaven a structure, and sends down rain from the clouds then brings forth with it fruits for your sustenance; so do not set up rivals to God while you know.

2:23 And if you are in doubt as to that which We have revealed to Our servant, then produce a chapter like it and call on your helpers besides God if you are truthful.

2:24 But if you do (it) not — and you can never do (it) — then be on your guard against the fire whose fuel is men and stones; it is prepared for the disbelievers.

2:25 And give good news to those who believe and do good deeds, that for them are Gardens in which rivers flow. Whenever they are given a portion of the fruit thereof, they will say: This is what was given to us before and they are given the like of it. And for them therein are pure companions and therein they will abide.

2:26 Surely God disdains not to set forth any parable — a gnat or anything above that. Then as for those who believe, they know that it is the truth from their Lord; and as for those who disbelieve, they say: What is it that God means by

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this parable? Many He leaves in error by it and many He leads aright by it. And He leaves in error by it only the transgressors.

2:27 Who break the covenant of God after its confirmation and cut asunder what God has ordered to be joined, and make mischief in the land. These it is that are the losers.

2:28 How can you deny God and you were without life and He gave you life? Again, He will cause you to die and again bring you to life, then you shall be brought back to Him.

2:29 He it is Who created for you all that is in the earth. And He directed Himself to the heaven, so He made them complete seven heavens; and He is Knower of all things.

* * *

2:30 And when thy Lord said to the angels, I am going to place a ruler in the earth, they said: Wilt Thou place in it such as make mischief in it and shed blood? And we celebrate Thy praise and extol Thy holiness. He said: Surely I know what you know not.

2:31 And He taught Adam all the names, then presented them to the angels; He said: Tell Me the names of those if you are right.

2:32 They said: Glory be to Thee We have no knowledge but that which Thou hast taught us. Surely Thou art the Knowing, the Wise.

2:33 He said: O Adam, inform them of their names. So when he informed them of their names, He said: Did I not say to you that I know what is unseen in the heavens and the earth? And I know what you manifest and what you hide.

2:34 And when We said to the angels, Be submissive to Adam, they submitted, but Iblis (did not). He refused and was proud, and he was one of the disbelievers.

2:35 And We said: O Adam, dwell thou and thy wife in the garden, and eat from it a plenteous (food) wherever you wish, and approach not this tree, lest you be of the unjust.

2:36 But the devil made them slip from it, and caused them to depart from the state in which they were. And We said: Go forth, some of you are the enemies of others. And there is for you in the earth an abode and a provision for a time.

2:37 Then Adam received (revealed) words from his Lord, and He turned to him (mercifully). Surely He is Oft-returning (to mercy), the Merciful.

2:38 We said: Go forth from this state all. Surely there will come to you guidance from Me, then whoever follows My guidance, no fear shall come upon them, nor shall they grieve.

2:39 And (as to) those who disbelieve in and reject Our messages, they are the companions of the Fire in it they will abide.

* * *

2:40 O Children of Israel, call to mind My favour which I bestowed on you and be faithful to (your) covenant with Me, I shall fulfil (My) covenant with you; and Me, Me alone, should you fear.

2:41 And believe in that which I have revealed, verifying that which is with you, and be not the first to deny it; neither take a mean price for My messages; and keep your duty to Me, Me alone.

2:42 And mix not up truth with falsehood, nor hide the truth while you know.

2:43 And keep up prayer and pay the poor-rate and bow down with those who bow down.

2:44 Do you enjoin men to be good and neglect your own souls while you read the Book? Have you then no sense?

2:45 And seek assistance through patience and prayer, and this is hard except for the humble ones,

2:46 Who know that they will meet their Lord and that to Him they will return.

* * *

2:47 O Children of Israel, call to mind My favour which I bestowed on you and that I made you excel the nations.

2:48 And guard yourselves against a day when no soul will avail another in the least, neither will intercession be accepted on its behalf, nor will compensation be taken from it, nor will they be helped.

2:49 And when We delivered you from Pharaoh's people, who subjected you to severe torment, killing your sons and sparing your women, and in this there was a great trial from your Lord.

2:50 And when We parted the sea for you, so We saved you and drowned the people of Pharaoh while you saw.

2:51 And when We appointed a time of forty nights with Moses, then you took the calf (for a god) after him, and you were unjust.

2:52 Then We pardoned you after that so that you might give thanks.

2:53 And when We gave Moses the Book and the Discrimination that you might walk aright.

2:54 And when Moses said to his people: O my people, you have surely wronged yourselves by taking the calf (for a god), so turn to your Creator (penitently), and kill your passions. That is best for you with your Creator. So He turned to you (mercifully). Surely He is the Oft-returning (to mercy), the Merciful.

2:55 And when you said: O Moses, we will not believe in thee till we see God manifestly, so the punishment overtook you while you looked on.

2:56 Then We raised you up after your stupor that you might give thanks.

2:57 And We made the clouds to give shade over you and We sent to you manna and quails. Eat of the good things that We have given you. And they did not do Us any harm, but they wronged their own souls.

2:58 And when We said: Enter this city, then eat from it a plenteous (food) whence you wish, and enter the gate submissively, and make petition for forgiveness. We will forgive you your wrongs and increase the reward of those who do good (to others).

2:59 But those who were unjust changed the word which had been spoken to them, for another saying, so We sent upon the wrongdoers a pestilence from heaven, because they transgressed.

* * *

2:60 And when Moses prayed for water for his people, We said: March on to the rock with thy staff. So there flowed from it twelve springs. Each tribe knew their drinking-place. Eat and drink of the provisions of God, and act not corruptly, making mischief in the land.

2:61 And when you said: O Moses, we cannot endure one food, so pray thy Lord on our behalf to bring forth for us out of what the earth grows, of its herbs and its cucumbers and its garlic and its lentils and its onions. He said: Would you exchange that which is better for that which is worse? Enter a city, so you will have what you ask for. And abasement and humiliation were stamped upon them, and they incurred God's wrath. That was so because they disbelieved in the messages of God and would kill the prophets unjustly. That was so because they disobeyed and exceeded the limits.

* * *

2:62 Surely those who believe, and those who are Jews, and the Christians, and the Sabians, whoever believes in God and the Last Day and does good, they have their reward with their Lord, and there is no fear for them, nor shall they grieve.

2:63 And when We made a covenant with you and raised the mountain above you: Hold fast that which We have given you, and bear in mind what is in it, so that you may guard against evil.

2:64 Then after that you turned back; and had it not been for the grace of God and His mercy on you, you had certainly been among the losers.

2:65 And indeed you know those among you who violated the Sabbath, so We said to them: Be (as) apes, despised and hated.

2:66 So We made them an example to those who witnessed it and those who came after it and an admonition to those who guard against evil.

2:67 And when Moses said to his people: Surely God commands you to sacrifice a cow. They said: Dost thou ridicule us? He said: I seek refuge with God from being one of the ignorant.

2:68 They said: Call on thy Lord for our sake to make it plain to us what she is. (Moses) said: He says, Surely she is a cow neither advanced in age nor too young, of middle age between these (two); so do what you are commanded.

2:69 They said: Call on thy Lord for our sake to make it clear to us what her colour is. (Moses) said: He says, She is a yellow cow; her colour is intensely yellow delighting the beholders.

2:70 They said: Call on thy Lord for our sake to make it dear to us what she is, for surely to us the cows are all alike, and if God please we shall surely he guided aright.

2:71 (Moses) said: He says: She is a cow not made submissive to plough the land, nor does she water the tilth, sound, without a blemish in her. They said: Now thou hast brought the truth. So they slaughtered her, though they had not the mind to do (it).

* * *

2:72 And when you (almost) killed a man, then you disagreed about it. And God was to bring forth that which you were going to hide.

2:73 So We said: Smite him with it partially. Thus God brings the dead to life, and He shows you His signs that you may understand.

2:74 Then your hearts hardened after that, so that they were like rocks, rather worse in hardness. And surely there are some rocks from which streams burst forth; and there are some of them which split asunder so water flows from them; and there are some of them which fall down for the fear of God. And God is not heedless of what you do.

2:75 Do you then hope that they would believe in you, and a party from among them indeed used to hear the word of God, then altered it after they had understood it, and they know (this).

2:76 And when they meet those who believe they say, We believe, and when they are apart one with another they say: Do you talk to them of what God has disclosed to you that they may contend with you by this before your Lord? Do you not understand?

2:77 Do they not know that God knows what they keep secret and what they make known?

2:78 And some of them are illiterate; they know not the Book but only (from) hearsay, and they do but conjecture.

2:79 Woe! then to those who write the Book with their hands then say, This is from God; so that they may take for it a small price. So woe! to them for what their hands write and woe! to them for what they earn.

2:80 And they say: Fire will not touch us but for a few days. Say Have you received a promise from God? Then God will not fail to perform His promise. Or do you speak against God. what you know not?

2:81 Yea, whoever earns evil and his sins beset him on every side, those are the companions of the Fire therein they abide."

2:82 And those who believe and do good deeds, these are the owners of the Garden; therein they abide.

* * *

2:83 And when We made a covenant with the Children of Israel. You shall serve none but God. And do good to (your) parents, and to the near of kin and to orphans and the needy, and speak good (words) to (all) men, and keep up prayer and pay the poor-rate. Then you turned back except a few of you, and you are averse.

2:84 And when We made a covenant with you: You shall not shed your blood, nor turn your people out of your cities; then you promised and you bear witness.

2:85 Yet you it is who would slay your people and turn a party from among you out of their homes, backing each other up against them unlawfully and exceeding the limits. And if they should come to you as captives you would ransom them, whereas their turning out itself was unlawful for you. Do you then believe in a part of the Book and disbelieve in the other? What then is the reward of such among you as do this but disgrace in the life of this world, and on the day of Resurrection they shall be sent back to the most grievous chastisement. And God is not heedless of what you do.

2:86 These are they who buy the life of this world for the Hereafter, so their chastisement shall not be lightened, nor shall they be helped.

* * *

2:87 And We indeed gave Moses the Book and We sent messengers after him one after another and We gave Jesus, son of Mary, clear arguments and strengthened him with the Holy Spirit. Is it then that whenever there came to you a messenger with what your souls desired not, you were arrogant? And some you gave the lie to and others you would slay.

2:88 And they say: Our hearts are repositories. Nay, God has cursed them on account of their unbelief so little it is that they believe.

2:89 And when there came to them a Book from God verifying that which they have, and aforetime they used to pray for victory against those who disbelieved — but when there came to them that which they recognized, they disbelieved in it; so God's curse is on the disbelievers.

2:90 Evil is that for which they sell their souls — that they should deny that which God has revealed, out of envy that God should send down of His grace on whomsoever of His servants He pleases; so they incur wrath upon wrath. And there is an abasing chastisement for the disbelievers.

2:91 And when it is said to them, Believe in that which God has revealed, they say: We believe in that which was revealed to us. And they deny what is besides that, while it is the Truth verifying that which they have. Say: Why then did you kill God's prophets before (this) if you were believers?

2:92 And Moses indeed came to you with clear arguments, then you took the calf (for a god) in his absence and you were wrongdoers.

2:93 And when We made a covenant with you and raised the mountain above you: Take hold of that which We have given you with firmness and obey. They said: We hear and disobey. And they were made to imbibe (the love of) the calf into their hearts on account of their disbelief. Say: Evil is that which your faith bids you if you are believers.

2:94 Say: If the abode of the Here-after with God is specially for you to the exclusion of the people, then invoke death if you are truthful.

2:95 And they will never invoke it on account of what their hands have sent on before, and God knows the wrongdoers.

2:96 And thou wilt certainly find them the greediest of men for life (greedier) even than those who set gods (with God). One of them love to be granted a life of a thousand years, and his being granted a long life will in no way remove him further off from the chastisement. And God is Seer of what they do.

* * *

2:97 Say: Whoever is an enemy to Gabriel for surely he revealed it to thy heart by God's command, verifying the which is before it and a guidance and glad tidings for the believers.

2:98 Whoever is an enemy to God and His angels and His messengers and Gabriel and Michael, then surely God is an enemy to disbelievers.

2:99 And We indeed have revealed to thee clear messages, and none disbelieve in them except the transgressors.

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2:100 Is it that whenever they make a covenant, a party of them cast it aside? Nay, most of them have no faith.

2:101 And when there came to them a messenger from God verifying that which they have, a party of those who were given the Book threw the Book of God behind their backs as if they knew nothing.

2:102 And they follow what the devils fabricated against the kingdom of Solomon. And Solomon disbelieved not, but the devils disbelieved, teaching men enchantment. And it was not revealed to the two angels in Babel, Harut and Marut. Nor did they teach (it to) anyone, so that they should have said, We are only a trial, so disbelieve not. But they learn from these two (sources) that by which they make a distinction between a man and his wife. And they cannot hurt with it anyone except with God's permission. And they learn that which harms them and profits them nor. And certainly they know that he who buys it has no share of good in the Hereafter. And surely evil is the price for which they have sold their souls, did they but know!

2:103 And if they had believed and kept their duty, reward from God would certainly have been better; did they but know!

* * *

2:104 O you who believe, say not Ra'i-na and say Unzur-na, and listen. And for the disbelievers there is a painful chastisement.

2:105 Neither those who disbelieve from among the people of the Book nor the polytheists, like that any good should be sent down to you from your Lord. And God chooses whom He pleases for His Mercy; and God is the Lord of mighty grace.

2:106 Whatever message We abrogate or cause to be forgotten, We bring one better than it or one like it. Knowest thou not that God is Possessor of power over all things?

2:107 Knowest thou not that God's is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth, and that besides God you have not any friend or helper?

2:108 Rather you wish to put questions to your Messenger, as Moses was questioned before. And whoever adopts disbelief instead of faith he indeed has lost the right direction of the way.

2:109 Many of the people of the Book wish that they could turn you back into disbelievers after you have believed, out of envy from themselves, after truth has become manifest to them. But pardon and forgive till God bring about His command. Surely God is Possessor of power over all things.

2:110 And keep up prayer and pay the poor-rate. And whatever good you send before for yourselves, you will find it with God. Surely God is Seer of what you do.

2:111 And they say: None shall enter the Garden except he who is a Jew, or the Christians. These are their vain desires. Say: Bring your proof if you are truthful.

2:112 Nay, whoever submits himself entirely to God and he is the doer of good (to others); he has his reward from his Lord, and there is no fear for such nor shall they grieve.

* * *

2:113 And the Jews say, The Christians follow nothing (good), and the Christians say, The Jews follow nothing (good), while they recite the (same) Book. Even thus say those who have no knowledge, like what they say. So God will judge between them on the day of Resurrection in that wherein they differ.

2:114 And who is more unjust than he who prevents (men) from the mosques of God, from His name being remembered therein, and strives to ruin them? (As for) these, it was not proper for them to enter them except in fear. For them is disgrace in this world, and theirs is a grievous chastisement in the Hereafter.

2:115 And God's is the East and the West, so whither you turn thither is God's purpose. Surely God is Ample-giving, Knowing.

2:116 And they say: God has taken to Himself a son — glory be to Him! Rather, whatever is in the heavens and the earth is His. All are obedient to Him.

2:117 Wonderful Originator of the heavens and the earth! And when He decrees an affair, He says to it only, Be, and it is.

2:118 And those who have no knowledge say: Why does not God speak to us or a sign come to us? Even thus said those before them, the like of what they say. Their hearts are all alike. Indeed We have made the messages clear for a people who are sure.

2:119 Surely We have sent thee with the Truth as a bearer of good news and as a warner, and thou wilt not be called upon to answer for the companions of the flaming Fire.

2:120 And the Jews will not be pleased with thee, nor the Christians, unless thou follow their religion. Say Surely God's guidance, that is the (perfect) guidance. And if thou follow their desires after the knowledge that has come to thee thou shalt have from God no friend, nor helper.

2:121 Those to whom We have given the Book follow it as it ought to be followed. These believe in it. And whoever disbelieves in it, these it is that are the losers.

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2:122 O Children of Israel, call to mind My favour which I bestowed on you and that I made you excel the nations.

2:123 And be on your guard against a day when no soul will avail another in the least, neither will any compensation be accepted from it, nor will intercession profit it, nor will they be helped.

2:124 And when his Lord tried Abraham with certain commands he fulfilled them. He said: Surely I will make thee a leader of men. (Abraham) said: And of my offspring? My covenant does not include the wrongdoers, said He.

2:125 And when We made The House a resort for men and a (place of) security. And: Take ye the place of Abraham for a place of prayer. And We enjoined Abraham and Ishmael, saying: Purify My House for those who visit (it) and those who abide (in it) for devotion and those who bow down (and) those who prostrate themselves.

2:126 And when Abraham said: My Lord, make this a secure town and provide its people with fruits, such of them as believe in God and the Last Day. He said: And whoever disbelieves, I shall grant him enjoyment for a short while, then I shall drive him to the chastisement of the Fire. And it is an evil destination.

2:127 And when Abraham and Ishmael raised the foundations of the House: Our Lord, accept from us surely Thou art the Hearing, the Knowing.

2:128 Our Lord, and make us both submissive to Thee, and (raise) from out offspring, a nation submissive to Thee, and show us our ways of devotion and turn to us (mercifully); surely Thou art the Oft-returning (to mercy), the Merciful.

2:129 Our Lord, and raise up in them a Messenger from among them who shall recite to them Thy messages and teach them the Book and the Wisdom, and purify them Surely Thou art the Mighty, the Wise.

2:130 And who forsakes the religion of Abraham but he who makes a fool of himself. And certainly We made him pure in this world and in the Hereafter he is surely among the righteous.

2:131 When his Lord said to him, Submit, he said: I submit myself to the Lord of the worlds.

2:132 And the same did Abraham enjoin on his sons, and (so did) Jacob: O my sons, surely God has chosen for you (this) religion, so die not unless you are submitting ones.

2:133 Or were you witnesses when death visited Jacob, when he said to his sons: What will you serve after me? They said: We shall serve thy God and the God of thy fathers, Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac, one God only, and to Him do we submit.

2:134 Those are a people that have passed away; for them is what they earned and for you what you earn and you will not be asked of what they did.

2:135 And they say: Be Jews or Christians, you will be on the right course. Say: Nay, (we follow) the religion of Abraham, the upright one, and he was not one of the polytheists.

2:136 Say: We believe in God and (in) that which has been revealed to us, and (in) that which was revealed to Abraham, and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob and the tribes, and (in) that which was given to Moses and Jesus, and (in) that which was given to the prophets from their Lord, we do not make any distinction between any of them and to Him do we submit.

2:137 So if they believe as you believe, they are indeed on the right course; and if they turn back, then they are only in opposition. But God will suffice thee against them and He is the Hearing, the Knowing.

2:138 (We take) God's colour, and who is better than God at colouring, and we are His worshippers.

2:139 Say: Do you dispute with us about God, and He is our Lord and your Lord, and for us are our deeds and for you your deeds; and we are sincere to Him?

2:140 Or do you say that Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob and the tribes were Jews or Christians? Say: Do you know better or God? And who is more unjust than he who conceals a testimony that he has from God? And God is not heedless of what you do.

2:141 Those are a people that have passed away; and for them is what they earned and for You what you earn and you. will not be asked of what they did.

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2:142 The fools among the people will say: "What has turned them from their qiblah which they had? " Say: The East and the West belong only to God; He guides whom He pleases to the right path.

2:143 And thus We have made you an exalted nation that you may be the bearers of witness to the people and (that) the Messenger may be a bearer of witness to you. And We did not make that which thou wouldst have to be the qiblah but that We might distinguish him who follows the Messenger from him who turns back upon his heels. And it was indeed a hard test except for those whom God has guided. Nor was God going to make your faith to be fruitless. Surely God is Compassionate, Merciful, to the people.

2:144 Indeed We see the turning of thy face to heaven, so We shall surely make thee master of the qiblah which thou likest; turn then thy face towards the Sacred Mosque. And wherever you are turn your faces towards it. And those who have been given the Book certainly know that it is the truth from their Lord. And God is not heedless of what they do.

2:145 And even if thou shouldst bring to those who have been given the Book every sign they would not follow thy qiblah, nor canst thou be a follower of their qiblah, neither are they the followers of each other's qiblah. And if thou shouldst follow their desires after the knowledge that has come to thee, then thou wouldst indeed be of the wrongdoers.

2:146 Those whom We have the given the Book recognize him as they recognize their sons. And a party of them surely conceal the truth they while know.

2:147 The truth is from thy Lord, so be thou not of the doubters.

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2:148 And every one has a goal to which he turns (himself), so vie with one another in good works. Wherever you are, God will bring you all together. Surely God is Possessor of power over all things.

2:149 And from whatsoever place thou comest forth, turn thy face towards the Sacred Mosque. And surely it is the truth from thy Lord. And God is not heedless of what you do.

2:150 And from whatsoever place thou comest forth turn thy face towards the Sacred Mosque. And wherever you are turn your faces towards it, so that people may have no plea against you except such of them as are unjust — so fear them not and fear Me — and that I may complete My favour to you and that you may go aright.'

2:151 Even as We have sent among you a Messenger from among you, who recites to you Our messages and purifies you and teaches you the Book and the Wisdom and teaches you that which you did not know.

2:152 Therefore glorify Me, I will make you eminent, and give thanks to Me and be not ungrateful to Me.

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2:153 O you who believe, seek assistance through patience and prayer; surely God is with the patient.

2:154 And speak not of those who are slain in God's way as dead. Nay, (they are) alive, but you perceive not.

2:155 And We shall certainly try you with something of fear and hunger and loss of property and lives and fruits. And give good news to the patient,

2:156 Who, when a misfortune befalls them say " Surely we are God's, and to Him we shall return."

2:157 Those are they on whom are blessings and mercy from their Lord and those are the followers of the right course.

2:158 The Safa and the Marwah are truly among the signs of God; so whoever makes a pilgrimage to the House or pays a visit (to it), there is no blame on him if he goes round them. And whoever does good spontaneously surely God is Bountiful in rewarding, Knowing.

2:159 Those who conceal the clear proofs and the guidance that We revealed after We have made it clear in the Book for men, these it is whom God curses, and those who curse, curse them (too),

2:160 Except those who repent and amend and make manifest (the truth), these it is to whom I turn (mercifully); and I am the Oft-returning (to mercy), the Merciful.

2:161 Those who disbelieve and die while they are disbelievers, these it is on whom is the curse of God and the angels and men, of all (of them):

2:162 Abiding therein; their chastisement shall not be lightened nor shall they be given respite.

2:163 And your God is one God, there is no God but He! He is the Beneficent, the Merciful.

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2:164 In the creation of the heavens and the earth, and the alternation of night and day, and the ships that run in the sea with that which profits men, and the water that God sends down from the sky, then gives life therewith to the earth after its death and spreads in it all (kinds of) animals, and the changing of the winds and the clouds made subservient between heaven and earth, there are surely signs for a people who understand.

2:165 Yet there are some men who take for themselves objects of worship besides God, whom they love as they should love God. And those who believe are stronger in (their) love for God. And O that the wrongdoers had seen, when they see the chastisement, that power is wholly God's, and that God is severe in chastising!

2:166 When those who were followed renounce those who followed (them), and they see the chastisement and their ties are cut asunder.

2:167 And those who followed will say: If we could but return, we would renounce them as they have renounced us. Thus will God show them their deeds to be intense regret to them, and they will not escape from the Fire.

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2:168 O men, eat the lawful and good things from what is in the earth, and follow not the footsteps of the devil. Surely he is an open enemy to you.

2:169 He enjoins on you only evil and indecency, and that you speak against God what you know not.

2:170 And when it is said to them, 'Follow what God has revealed," they say: "Nay, we follow that wherein we found

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our fathers. What! Even though their fathers had no sense at all, nor did they follow the right way.

2:171 And the parable of those who disbelieve is as the parable of one who calls out to that which hears no more than a call and a cry. Deaf, dumb, blind, so they have no sense.

2:172 O you who believe, eat of the good things that We have provided you with, and give thanks to God if He it is Whom you serve.

2:173 He has forbidden you only what dies of itself, and blood, and the flesh of swine, and that over which any other (name) than (that of) God has been invoked. Then whoever is driven by necessity, not desiring, nor exceeding the limit, no sin is upon him. Surely God is Forgiving, Merciful.

2:174 Those who conceal aught of the Book that God has revealed and take for it a small price, they eat nothing but fire into their bellies, and God will not speak to them on the day of Resurrection, nor will He purify them; and for them is a painful chastisement.

2:175 Those are they who buy error for guidance and chastisement for forgiveness; how bold they are to challenge the Fire!

2:176 That is because God has revealed the Book with truth. And surely those who disagree about the Book go far in opposition.

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2:177 It is not righteousness that you turn your faces towards the East and the West, but righteous is the one who believes in God, and the Last Day, and the angels and the Book and the prophets, and gives away wealth out of love for Him to the near of kin and the orphans and the needy and the wayfarer and to those who ask and to set slaves free and keeps up prayer and pays the poor-rate and the performers of their promise when they make a promise, and the patient in distress and affliction and in the time of conflict. These are they who are truthful; and these are they who keep their duty.

2:178 O you who believe, retaliation is prescribed for you in the matter of the slain the free for the free, and the slave for the slave, and the female for the female. But if remission is made to one by his (aggrieved) brother, prosecution (for blood-wit) should be according to usage, and payment to him in a good manner. This is an alleviation from your Lord and a mercy. Whoever exceeds the limit after this, will have a painful chastisement. And there is life for you in retaliation, O men of understanding, that you may guard yourselves.

2:180 It is prescribed for you, when death approaches one of you, if he leaves behind wealth for parents and near relatives, to make a bequest in a kindly manner; it is incumbent upon the dutiful.

2:181 Then whoever changes it after he has heard it, the sin of it is only upon those who change it. Surely God is Hearing, Knowing.

2:182 But if one fears a wrong or a sinful course on the part of the testator, and effects an agreement between the patties, there is no blame on him. Surely God is Forgiving, Merciful.

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2:183 O you who believe, fasting is prescribed for you, as it was prescribed for those before you, so that you may guard against evil.

2:184 For a certain number of days. But whoever among you is sick or on a journey, (he shall fast) a (like) number of other days And those who find it extremely hard may effect redemption by feeding a poor man. So whoever does good spontaneously, it is better for him; and that you fast is better for you if you know.

2:185 The month of Ramadan is that in which the Koran was revealed, a guidance to men and clear proofs of the guidance and the Criterion. So whoever of you is present in the month, he shall fast therein, and whoever is sick or on a journey, (he shall fast) a (like) number of other days. God desires ease for you, and He desires not hardship for you, and (He desires) that you should complete the number and that you should exalt the greatness of God for having guided you and that you may give thanks.

2:186 And when My servants ask thee concerning Me, surely I am nigh. I answer the prayer of the suppliant when he calls on Me, so they should hear My call and believe in Me that they may walk in the right way.

2:187 It is made lawful for you to go in to your wives on the night of the fast. They are an apparel for you and you are an apparel for them. God knows that you acted unjustly to yourselves, so He turned to you in mercy and removed (the burden) from you. So now be in contact with them and seek what God has ordained for you, and eat and drink until the whiteness of the day becomes distinct from the blackness of the night at dawn, then complete the fast till nightfall, and touch them not while you keep to the mosques. These are the limits of God, so go not near them. Thus does God make clear His messages for men that they may keep their duty.

2:188 And swallow not up your property among yourselves by false means, nor seek to gain access thereby to the judges, so that you may swallow up a part of the property of men wrongfully while you know.

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2:189 They ask thee of the new moons. Say: They are times appointed for men, and (for) the pilgrimage. And it is not righteousness that you enter the houses by their backs, but he is righteous who keeps his duty. And go into the houses by their doors; and keep your duty to God, that you may be successful.

2:190 And fight in the way of God against those who fight against you but be not aggressive. Surely God loves not the aggressors.

2:191 And kill them wherever you find them, and drive them out from where they drove you out, and persecution is worse than slaughter. And fight not with them at the Sacred Mosque until they fight with you in so if they fight you (in it), slay them. Such is the recompense of the disbelievers.

2:192 But if they desist, then surely God is Forgiving, Merciful.

2:193 And fight them until there is no persecution, and religion is only for Allah. But if they desist, then there should be no hostility except against the oppressors.

2:194 The sacred month for the sacred month, and retaliation (is allowed) in sacred things. Whoever then acts aggressively against you, inflict injury on him according to the injury he has inflicted on you and keep your duty to God, and know that God is with those who keep their duty.

2:195 And spend in the way of God and cast not yourselves to perdition with your own hands and do good (to others). Surely God loves the doers of good.

2:196 And accomplish the pilgrimage and the visit for God. But if you are prevented, (send) whatever offering is easy to obtain; and shave not your heads until the offering reaches its destination. Then whoever among you is sick or has an ailment of the head, he (may effect) a compensation by fasting or alms or sacrificing. And when you are secure, whoever profits by combining the visit with the pilgrimage (should take) whatever offering is easy to obtain. But he who cannot find (an offering) should fast for three days during the pilgrimage and for seven days when you return. These are ten (days) complete. This is for him whose family is not present in the Sacred Mosque. And keep your duty to God, and know that God is severe in requiting (evil).

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2:197 The months of the pilgrimage are well known; so whoever determines to perform pilgrimage therein there shall be no immodest speech, nor abusing, nor altercation in the pilgrimage. And whatever good you do, God knows it. And make provision for yourselves, the best provision being to keep one's duty. And keep your duty to Me, O men of understanding.

2:198 It is no sin for you that you seek the bounty of your Lord. So when you press on from 'Arafat, remember God near the Holy Monument, and remember Him as He has guided you, though before that you were certainly of the erring ones.

2:199 Then hasten on from where the people hasten on, and ask the forgiveness of God. Surely God is Forgiving, Merciful.

2:200 And when you have performed your devotions, laud God as you lauded your fathers, rather a more hearty lauding. But there are some people who say, Our Lord, give us in the world. And for such there is no portion in the Hereafter.

2:201 And there are some among them who say: Our Lord, grant us good in this world and good in the Hereafter, and save us from the chastisement of the Fire.

2:202 For those there is a portion on account of what they have earned. And God is Swift in reckoning.

2:203 And remember God during the appointed days. Then whoever hastens off in two days, it is no sin for him and whoever stays behind, it is no sin for him, for one who keeps his duty. And keep your duty to God, and know that you will be gathered together to Him.

2:204 And of men is he whose speech about the life of this world pleases thee, and he calls God to witness as to that which is in his heart, yet he is the most violent of adversaries.

2:205 And when he holds authority, he makes effort in the land to cause mischief in it and destroy tilth and offspring; and God loves not mischief.

2:206 And when it is said to him, Be careful of thy duty to God, pride carries him off to sin — so hell is sufficient for him. And certainly evil is the resting-place.

2:207 And of men is he who sells himself to seek the pleasure of God. And God is Compassionate to the servants.

2:208 O you who believe, enter into complete peace and follow not the footsteps of the devil. Surely he is your open enemy.

2:209 But if you slip after clear arguments have come to you, then know that God is Mighty, Wise.

2:210 They wait for naught but that God should come to them in the shadows of the clouds with angels, and the matter has (already) been decided. And to God are (all) matters returned.

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2:211 Ask of the Children of Israel how many a clear sign We gave them! And whoever changes the favour of God after it has come to him, then surely God is Severe in requiting (evil).

2:212 The life of this world is made to seem fair to those who disbelieve, and they mock those who believe. And those who keep their duty will be above them on the Day of Resurrection. And God gives to whom He pleases without measure.

2:213 Mankind is a single nation. So God raised prophets as bearers of good news and as warners, and He revealed with them the Book with truth, that it might judge between people concerning that in which they differed. And none but the very people who were given it differed of about it after clear arguments had come to them, envying one another. So God has guided by His will those who believe to the truth about which they differed. And God guides whom He pleases to the right path.

2:214 Or do you think that you will enter the Garden, while there has not yet befallen you the like of what befell those who have passed away before you. Distress and affliction befell them and they were shaken violently, so that the Messenger and those who believed with him said: When will the help of God come? Now surely the help of God is nigh!

2:215 They ask thee as to what they should spend. Say: Whatever wealth you spend, it is for the parents and the near of kin and the orphans and the needy and the wayfarer. And whatever good you do, God surely is Knower of it.

2:216 Fighting is enjoined on you, though it is disliked by you and it may be that you dislike a thing while it is good for you, and it may be that you love a thing while it is evil for you; and God knows while you know not.

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2:217 They ask thee about fighting in the sacred month. Say: Fighting in it is a grave (offence). And hindering (men) from God's way and denying Him and the Sacred Mosque and turning its people out of it, are still graver with God and persecution is graver than slaughter And they will not cease fighting you until they turn you back from your religion, if they can. And whoever of you turns back from his religion, then he dies while an unbeliever — these it is whose works go for nothing in this world and the Hereafter. And they are the companions of the Fire: therein they will abide.

2:218 Those who believed and those who fled (their homes) and strove hard in God's way — these surely hope for the mercy of God. And God is Forgiving, Merciful.

2:219 They ask thee about intoxicants and games of chance. Say: In both of them is a great sin and (some) advantage for men, and their sin is greater than their advantage. And they ask thee as to what they should spend. Say: What you can spare. Thus does God make clear to you the messages that you may ponder,

2:220 On this world and the Hereafter. And they ask thee concerning the orphans. Say: To set right their (affairs) is good; and if you mix with them, they are your brethren. And God knows him who makes mischief from him who sets right. And if God pleased, He would have made matters difficult for you. Surely God is Mighty, Wise.

2:221 And marry not the idolatresses until they believe; and certainly a believing maid is better than an idolatress even though she please you. Nor give (believing women) in marriage to idolaters until they believe, and certainly a believing slave is better than an idolater, even though he please you. These invite to the Fire and God invites to the Garden and to forgiveness by His will and He makes clear His messages to men that they may be mindful.

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2:222 And they ask thee about menstruation. Say: It is harmful, so keep aloof from women during menstrual discharge and go not near them until they are clean. But when they have cleansed themselves, go in to them as God has commanded you. Surely God loves those who turn much (to Him), and He loves those who purify themselves.

2:223 Your wives are a tilth for you, so go in to your tilth when you like, and send (good) beforehand for yourselves. And keep your duty to God, and know that you will meet Him. And give good news to the believers.

2:224 And make not God by your oaths a hindrance to your doing good and keeping your duty and making peace between men. And God is Hearing, Knowing.

2:225 God will not call you to account for what is vain in your oaths, but He will call you to account for what your hearts have earned. And God is Forgiving, Forbearing.

2:226 Those who swear that they will not go in to their wives should wait four months; then if they go back, God is surely Forgiving, Merciful.

2:227 And if they resolve on a divorce, God is surely Hearing, Knowing.

2:228 And the divorced women should keep themselves in waiting for three courses. And it is not lawful for them to conceal that which God has created in their wombs, if they believe in God and the Last Day. And their husbands have a better right to take them back in the meanwhile if they wish for reconciliation. And women have rights similar to those against them in a just manner, and men are a degree above them. And God is Mighty, Wise.

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2:229 Divorce may be (pronounced) twice; then keep (them) in good fellowship or let (them) go with kindness. And it is not lawful for you to take any part of what you have given them, unless both fear that they cannot keep within the limits of God. Then if you fear that they cannot keep within the limits of God there is no blame on them for what she gives up to become free thereby. These are the limits of God, so exceed them not and whoever exceeds the limits of God, these are the wrongdoers.

2:230 So if he divorces her (the third time), she shall not be lawful to him afterwards until she marries anothet husband. If he divorces her, there is no blame on them both if they return to each other (by marriage), if they think that they can keep within the limits of God. And these are the limits of God which He makes clear for a people who know.

2:231 And when you divorce women and they reach their prescribed time, then retain them in kindness or set them free with kindness and retain them not for injury so that you exceed the limits. And whoever does this, he indeed wrongs his own soul. And take not God's messages for a mockery, and remember God's favour to you, and that which He has revealed to you of the Book and the Wisdom, admonishing you thereby. And keep your duty to God, and know that God is the Knower of all things.

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2:232 And when you divorce women and they end their term, prevent them not from marrying their husbands if they agree among themselves in a lawful manner. With this is admonished he among you who believes in God and the Last Day. This is more profitable for you and purer. And God knows while you know not.

2:233 And mothers shall suckle their children for two whole years, for him who desires to complete the time of suckling. And their maintenance. and their clothing must be borne by the father according to usage. No soul shall be burdened beyond its capacity. Neither shall a mother be made to suffer harm on account of her child, nor a father on account of his child and a similar duty (devolves) on the (father's) heir. But if both desire weaning by mutual consent and counsel, there is no blame on them. And if you wish to engage a wet-nurse for your children, there is no blame on you so long as you pay what you promised according to usage. And keep your duty to God and know that God is Seer of what you do.

2:234 And (as for) those of you who die and leave wives behind, such women should keep themselves in waiting for four months and ten days; when they reach their term, there is no blame on you for what they do for themselves in a lawful manner. And God is Aware of what you do.

2:235 And there is no blame on you respecting that which you speak indirectly in the asking of (such) women in marriage or keep (the proposal) concealed within your minds. God knows that you will have them in your minds, but give them not a promise in secret unless you speak in a lawful manner. And confirm not the marriage tie until the prescribed period reaches its end. And know that God knows what is in your minds, so beware of Him; and know that God is Forgiving, Forbearing.

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2:236 There is no blame on you if you divorce women while yet you have not touched them, nor appointed for them a portion. And provide for them, the wealthy according to his means and the strained according to his means, a provision according to usage. (This is) a duty on the doers of good.

2:237 And if you divorce them before you have touched them and you have appointed for them a portion, (pay) half of what you have appointed unless they forgo or he forgoes in whose hand is the marriage tie. And it is nearer to dutifulness that you forgo. Nor neglect the giving of free gifts between you. Surely God is Seer of what you do.

2:238 Guard the prayers and the most excellent prayer, and stand up truly obedient to God.

2:239 But if you are in danger (say your prayers) on foot or on horseback. And when you are secure, remember God as He has taught you what you knew not.

2:240 And those of you who die and leave wives behind, should make a bequest in favour of their wives of maintenance for a year without turning (them) out Then if they themselves go away, there is no blame on you for what they do of lawful deeds concerning themselves. And God is Mighty, Wise.

2:241 And for the divorced women, provision (must be made) in kindness, This is incumbent on those who have regard for duty.

2:242 God thus makes clear to you His messages that you may understand.

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2:243 Hast thou not considered those who went forth from their homes, and they were thousands, for fear of death Then God said to them, Die. Then He gave them life. Surely God is Gracious to people, but most people are not grateful.

2:244 And fight in the way of God, and know that God is Hearing Knowing.

2:245 Who is it that will offer to God a goodly gift, so He multiplies it to him manifold? And God receives and amplifies, and to Him you shall be returned.

2:246 Hast thou not thought of the leaders of the Children of Israel after Moses? When they said to a prophet of theirs: Raise up for us a king, that we may fight in the way of God. He said May it not be that you will not fight if fighting is ordained for you? They said: And what reason have we that we should not fight in God's way and we have indeed been deprived of our homes and our children? But when fighting was ordained for them, they tamed back, except a few of them. And God is Knower of the wrongdoers.

2:247 And their prophet said to them: Surely God has raised Saul to be a king over you. They said: How can he have kingdom over us while we have a greater right to kingdom than he, and he has not been granted abundance of wealth? He said: Surely God has chosen him above you, and has increased him abundantly in knowledge and physique. And God grants His kingdom to whom He pleases. And God is Ample-giving, Knowing.

2:248 And their prophet said to them: Surely the sign of his kingdom is that there shall come to you the hearts in which there is tranquillity from your Lord and the best of what the followers of Moses and the followers of Aaron have left, the angels bearing it. Surely there is a sign in this for you if you are believers.

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2:249 So when Saul set out with the forces, he said: Surely God will try you with a river. Whoever drinks from it, he is not of me, and whoever tastes it not, he is surely of me, except he who takes a handful with his hand, But they drank of it save a few of them. So when he had crossed it, he and those who believed with him, they said: We have to-day no power against Goliath and his forces. Those who were sure that they would meet their Lord said: How often has a small party vanquished a numerous host by God's permission! And God is with the steadfast.

2:250 And when they went out against Goliath and his forces, they said: Our Lord, pour out patience on us and make our steps firm and help us against the disbelieving people.

2:251 So they put them to flight by God's permission. And David slew Goliath, and God gave him kingdom and wisdom, and taught him of what He pleased. And were it not for God's repelling some men by others, the earth would certainly be in a state of disorder: but God is Full of grace to the worlds.

2:252 These are the messages of God — We recite them to thee with truth; and surely thou art of the messengers.

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2:253 We have made some of these messengers to excel others. Among them are they to whom God spoke, and some of them He exalted by (many) degrees of rank. And We gave clear arguments to Jesus son of Mary, and strengthened him with the Holy Spirit. And if God had pleased, those after them would not have fought one with another after clear arguments had come to them, but they disagreed; so some of them believed and some of them denied. And if God had pleased they would nor have fought one with another, but God does what He intends.

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2:254 O you who believe, spend out of what We have given you before the day comes in which there is no bargaining, nor friendship, nor intercession. And the disbelievers — they are the wrongdoers.

2:255 God — there is no god but He, the Ever-living, the Self-subsisting by Whom all subsist. Slumber overtakes Him not, nor sleep. To Him belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth. Who is he that can intercede with Him but by His permission? He knows what is before them and what is behind them. And they encompass nothing of His knowledge except what He pleases. His knowledge extends over the heavens and the earth, and the preservation of them both tires Him not. And He is the Most High, the Great.

2:256 There is no compulsion in religion — the right way is indeed dearly distinct from error. So whoever disbelieves in the devil and believes in God, he indeed lays hold on the firmest handle which shall never break. And God is Hearing, Knowing.

2:257 God is the Friend of those who believe — He brings them out of darkness into light. And those who disbelieve, their friends are the devils who take them out of light into darkness. They are the companions of the Fire; therein they abide.

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2:258 Hast thou not thought of him who disputed with Abraham about his Lord, because God had given him kingdom? When Abraham said, My Lord is He who gives life and causes to die, he said: I give life and cause death. Abraham said: Surely God causes the sun to rise from the East, so do thou make it rise from the West. Thus he who disbelieved was confounded. And God guides not the unjust people.

2:259 Or like him who passed by a town, and it had fallen in upon its roofs. He said: When will God give it life after its death? So God caused him to die for a hundred years, then raised him. He said: How long hast thou tarried? He said: I have tarried a day, or part of a day. He said: Nay, thou hast tarried a hundred years; but look at thy food and drink — years have not passed over it! And look at thy ass! And that We may make thee a sign to men. And look at the bones, how We set them together then clothe them with flesh. So when it became dear to him, he said: I know that God is Possessor of power over all things.

2:260 And when Abraham said, My Lord, show me how Thou givest life to the dead, He said: Dost thou not believe? He said: Yes, but that my heart may be at ease. He said: Then take four birds, then tame them to incline to thee, then place on every mountain a part of them, then call them, they will come to thee flying and know that God is Mighty, Wise.

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2:261 The parable of those who spend their wealth in the way of God is as the parable of a grain growing seven ears, in every ear a hundred grains. And God multiplies (further) for whom He pleases. And God is Ample-giving, Knowing.

2:262 Those who spend their wealth in the way of God, then follow not up what they have spent with reproach or injury, their reward is with their Lord, and they shall have no fear nor shall they grieve.

2:263 A kind word with forgiveness is better than charity followed by injury. And God is Self-sufficient, Forbearing.

2:264 O you who believe, make not your charity worthless by reproach and injury, like him who spends his wealth to be seen of men and believes not in God and the Last Day. So His parable is as the parable of a smooth rock with earth upon it, then heavy rain falls upon it, so it leaves it bare They are not able to gain anything of that which they earn. And God guides not the disbelieving people.

2:265 And the parable of those who spend their wealth to seek God's pleasure and for the strengthening of their so it is as the parable of a garden on elevated ground, upon which heavy rain falls, so it brings forth its fruit twofold; but if heavy rain falls not on it, light rain (suffices). And God is Seer of what you do.

2:266 Does one of you like to have a garden of palms and vines with streams flowing in it — he has therein all kinds of fruits — and old age has overtaken him and he has weak offspring; when (lo!) a whirlwind with fire in it smites it so it becomes blasted. Thus God makes the messages clear to you that you may reflect.

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2:267 O you who believe, spend of the good things that you earn and of that which We bring forth for you out of the earth, and aim not at the bad to spend thereof, while you would not take it yourselves unless you connive at it. And know that God is Self-sufficient, Praiseworthy.

2:268 The devil threatens you with poverty and enjoins you to be niggardly, and God promises you forgiveness from Himself and abundance. And. God is Ample-giving, Knowing:

2:269 He grants wisdom to whom He pleases. And whoever is granted wisdom, he indeed is given a great good. And none mind but men of understanding.

2:270 And whatever alms you give or (whatever) vow you vow, God surely knows it. And the wrong-doers shall have no helpers.

2:271 If you manifest charity, how excellent it is! And if you hide it and give it to the poor, it is good for you. And it will do away with some of your evil deeds; and God is Aware of what you do.

2:272 Their guidance is not thy duty, but God guides whom He pleases. And whatever good thing you spend, it is to your good. And you spend nor but to seek God's pleasure. And whatever good thing you spend, it will be paid back to you in full, and you will not be wronged.

2:273 (Charity) is for the poor who are confined in the way of God, they cannot go about in the land; the ignorant man thinks them to be rich on account of (their) abstaining (from begging) Thou canst recognize them by their mark — they beg not of men importunately. And whatever good thing you spend, surely God is Knower of it.

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2:274 Those who spend their wealth by night and day, privately and publicly, their reward is with their Lord and they have no fear, nor shall they grieve.

2:275 Those who swallow usury cannot arise except as he arises whom the devil prostrates by (his) touch. That is because they say, Trading is only like usury. And Allah has allowed trading and forbidden usury. To whomsoever then the admonition has come from his Lord, and he desists, he shall have what has already passed. And his affair is in the hands of Allah. And whoever returns (to it) — these are the companions of the Fire: therein they will abide.

2:276 God will blot our usury, and He causes charity to prosper. And God loves not any ungrateful sinner.

2:277 Those who believe and do good deeds and keep up prayer and pay the poor-rate — their reward is with their Lord; and they have no fear, nor shall they grieve.

2:278 O you who believe, keep your duty to God and relinquish what remains (due) from usury, if you are believers.

2:279 But if you do (it) not, then be apprised of war from God and His Messenger; and if you repent, then you shall have your capital. Wrong not, and you shall not be wronged.

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2:280 And if (the debtor) is in straitness, let there be postponement till (he is in) ease. And that you remit (it) as alms is better for you, if you only knew.

2:281** [** of the last Hajj] And guard yourselves against a day in which you will be returned to God. Then every soul will be paid in full what it has earned, and they will not be wronged.

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2:282 O you who believe, when you contract a debt for a fixed time, write it down. And let a scribe write it down between you with fairness; nor should the scribe refuse to write as God has taught him, so let him write. And let him who owes the debt dictate, and he should observe his duty to God, his Lord, and not diminish any thing from it. But if he who owes the debt is unsound in understanding or weak, or (if) he is not able to dictate himself, let his guardian dictate with fairness. And call to witness from among your men two witnesses; but if there are not two men, then one man and two women from among those whom you choose to be witnesses, so that if one of the two errs, the one may remind the other. And the witnesses must not refuse when they are summoned. And be not averse to writing it whether it is small or large along with the time of its falling due. This is more equitable in the sight of God and makes testimony surer and the best way to keep away from doubts. But when it is ready merchandise which you give and take among yourselves from hand to hand, there is no blame on you in not writing it down. And have witnesses when you sell one to another. And let no harm be done to the scribe or to the witnesses. And if you do (it), then surely it is a transgression on your part. And keep your duty to God. And God teaches you. And God is Knower of all things.

2:283 And if you are on a journey and you cannot find a scribe, a security may be taken into possession. But if one of you trusts another, then he who is trusted should deliver his trust, and let him keep his duty to God, his Lord. And conceal not testimony. And whoever conceals it, his heart is surely sinful. And God is Knower of what you do.

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2:284 To God belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth. And whether you manifest what is in your minds or hide it, God will call you to account according to it. So He forgives whom He pleases and chastises whom He pleases. And God is Possessor of power over all things.

2:285 The Messenger believes in what has been revealed to him from his Lord, and (so do) the believers. They all believe in God and His angels and His Books and His messengers. We make no difference between any of His messengers. And they say: We hear and obey; our Lord, Thy forgiveness (do we crave), and to Thee is the eventual course.

2:286 God imposes not on any soul a duty beyond its scope. For it is that which it earns (of good) and against it that which it works (of evil). Our Lord, punish us not if we forget or make a mistake. Our Lord, do not lay on us a burden as Thou didst lay on those before us. Our Lord, impose not on us (afflictions) which we have not the strength to bear. And pardon us! And grant us protection! And have mercy on us! Thou art our Patron, so grant us victory over the disbelieving people.

CHAPTER 92 / Sura 98
The Clear Evidence / Al-Bayyinah
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

98:1 Those who disbelieve from among the People of the Book and the idolaters could not have been freed till clear evidence came to them —

98:2 A Messenger from Allah, reciting pure pages,

98:3 Wherein are (all) right books.

98:4 Nor did those to whom the Book was given become divided till clear evidence came to them.

98:5 And they are enjoined naught but to serve Allah, being sincere to Him in obedience, upright, and to keep up prayer and pay the poor-rate, and that is the right religion.

98:6 Those who disbelieve from among the People of the Book and the idolaters will be in the Fire of hell, abiding therein. They are the worst of creatures.

98:7 Those who believe and do good, they are the best of creatures.

98:8 Their reward is with their Lord Gardens of perpetuity wherein flow rivers, abiding therein for ever. Allah is well pleased with them and they are well pleased with Him. That is for him who fears his Lord.

KORAN CHAPTER 93 / Sura 64
The Manifestation of Losses / Al-Taghabun
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

64:1 Whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth glorifies Allah. His is the kingdom, and His the praise; and He is Possessor of power over all things.

64:2 He it is Who created you, but one of you is a disbeliever and one of you is a believer. And Allah is Seer of what you do.

64:3 He created the heavens and the earth with truth, and He shaped you, then made goodly your shapes; and to Him is the resort.

64:4 He knows what is in the heavens and the earth, and He knows what you hide and what you manifest. And Allah is Knower of what is in the hearts.

64:5 Has there not come to you the story of those who disbelieved before, then tasted the evil consequences of their conduct, and they had a painful chastisement?

64:6 That is because there came to them their messengers with clear arguments, but they said: Shall mortals guide us? So they disbelieved and turned away, and Allah is above all need. And Allah is Self-Sufficient, Praised.

64:7 Those who disbelieve think that they will not be raised. Say: Aye, by my Lord you will certainly be raised; then you will certainly be informed of what you did. And that is easy to Allah.

64:8 So believe in Allah and His Messenger and the Light which We have revealed. And Allah is Aware of what you do.

64:9 The day when He will gather you for the day of Gathering, that is the day of the Manifestation of losses. And whoever believes in Allah and does good, He will remove from him his evil and cause him to enter Gardens wherein rivers flow, to abide therein for ever. That is the great achievement.

64:10 And those who disbelieve and reject Our messages, they are the companions of the Fire, abiding therein and evil is the resort.

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64:11 No calamity befalls but by Allah's permission. And whoever believes in Allah, He guides his heart. And Allah is Knower of all things.

64:12 And obey Allah and obey the Messenger; but if you turn away, the duty of Our Messenger is only to deliver (the message) clearly.

64:13 Allah, there is no God but He. And on Allah let the believers rely.

64:14 O you who believe, surely of your wives and your children there are enemies to you, so beware of them. And if you pardon and forbear and forgive, surely Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.

64:15 Your wealth and your children are only a trial, and Allah with Him is a great reward.

64:16 So keep your duty to Allah as much as you can, and hear and obey and spend; it is better for your souls. And whoever is saved from the greediness of his soul, these it is that are the successful.

64:17 If you set apart for Allah a goodly portion, He will double it for you and forgive you. And Allah is the Multiplier (of rewards), Forbearing,

64:18 The Knower of the unseen and the seen, the Mighty, the Wise.

CHAPTER 94 / Sura 62
The Congregation / Al-Jumu'ah
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

62:1 Whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth glorifies Allah, the King, the Holy, the Mighty, the Wise.

62:2 He it is. Who raised among the illiterates a Messenger from among themselves, who recites to them His messages and purifies them, and teaches them the Book and the Wisdom — although they were before certainly in manifest error —

62:3 And others from among them who have not yet joined them. And He is the Mighty, the Wise.

62:4 That is Allah's grace; He grants it to whom He pleases. And Allah is the Lord of mighty grace.

62:5 The likeness of those who were charged with the Torah, then they observed it not, is as the likeness of the ass carrying books. Evil is the likeness of the people who reject the messages of Allah. And Allah guides not the iniquitous people.

62:6 Say: O you who are Jews, if you think that you are the favourites of Allah to the exclusion of other people, then invoke death, if you are truthful.

62:7 But they will never invoke it because of what their hands have sent before. And Allah is Knower of the wrongdoers.

62:8 Say: The death from which you flee, that will surely overtake you; then you will be sent back to the Knower of the unseen and the seen, so He will inform you of that which you did.

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62:9 O you who believe, when the call is sounded for prayer on Friday, hasten to the remembrance of Allah and leave off traffic. That is better for you, if you know.

62:10 But when the prayer is ended, disperse abroad in the land and seek of Allah's grace, and remember Allah much, that you may be successful.

62:11 And when they see merchandise or sport, they break away to it, and leave thee sranding. Say: What is with Allah is better than sport and merchandise. And Allah is the Best of Providers.

KORAN CHAPTER 95 / Sura 8
Voluntary Gifts / Al-Anfal
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

8:1 They ask thee about voluntary gifts. Say Voluntary gifts are for Allah and the Messenger. So keep your duty to Allah and set aright your differences, and obey Allah and His Messenger, if you are believers.

8:2 They only are believers whose hearts are full of fear when Allah is mentioned, and when His messages are recited to them they increase them in faith, and in their Lord do they trust,

8:3 Those who keep up prayer and spend out of what We have given them.

8:4 These are the believers in truth. For them are with their Lord exalted grades and protection and an honourable sustenance.

8:5 Even as thy Lord caused thee to go forth from thy house with truth, though a party of the believers were surely averse,

8:6 Disputing with thee about the truth after it had become clear — as if they were being driven to death while they saw (it).

8:7 And when Allah promised you one of the two parties that it should be yours, and you loved that the one not armed should be yours, and Allah desired to establish the Truth by His words, and to cut off the root of the disbelievers —

8:8 That He might cause the Truth to triumph and bring the falsehood to naught though the guilty disliked.

8:9 When you sought the aid of your Lord, so He answered you I will assist you with a thousand of the angels following one another.

8:10 And Allah gave it only as good news, and that your hearts might be at ease thereby. And victory is only from Allah surely Allah is Mighty, Wise.

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8:11 When He made slumber fall on you as a security from Him, and sent down upon you water from the clouds that He might thereby purify you, and take away from you the uncleanness of the devil, and that He might fortify your hearts and make firm (your) feet thereby.

8:12 When thy Lord revealed to the angels; I am with you, so make firm those who believe I will cast terror into the hearts of those who disbelieve. So smite above the necks and smite every finger-tip of them.

8:13 This is because they opposed Allah and His Messenger. And whoever opposes Allah and His Messenger — then surely Allah is Severe in requiting.

8:14 This — taste it, and (know) that for the disbelievers is the chastisement of the Fire.

8:15 O you who believe, when you meet those who disbelieve marching for war, turn not your backs to them.

8:16 And whoso turns his back to them on that day unless manoeuvring for battle or turning to join a company — he, indeed, incurs Allah's wrath and his refuge is hell. And an evil destination it is.

8:17 So you slew them not but Allah slew them, and thou smotest not when thou didst smite (the enemy), but Allah smote (him), and that He might confer upon the believers a benefit from Himself. Surely Allah is Hearing, Knowing.

8:18 This — and (know) that Allah will weaken the struggle of the disbelievers.

8:19 If you sought a judgement, the judgement has indeed come to you and if you desist, it is better for you. And if you return (to fight), We (too) shall return and your forces will avail you nothing, though they may be many; and (know) that Allah is with the believers.

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8:20 O you who believe, obey Allah and His Messenger and turn not away from Him while you hear.

8:21 And be not like those who say, We hear; and they hear not.

8:22 Surely the vilest of beasts, in Allah's sight, are the deaf, the dumb, who understand not.

8:23 And if Allah had known any good in them, He would have made them hear. And if He makes them hear, they would turn away while they are averse.

8:24 O you who believe, respond to Allah and His Messenger, when he calls you to that which gives you life. And know that Allah comes in between a man and his heart, and that to Him you will be gathered.

8:25 And guard yourselves against an affliction which may not smite those of you exclusively who are unjust; and know that Allah is Severe in requiting.

8:26 And remember when you were few, deemed weak in the land, fearing lest people should carry you off by force, He sheltered you and strengthened you with His help, and gave you of the good things that you might give thanks.

8:27 O you who believe, be not unfaithful to Allah and the Messenger, nor be unfaithful to your trusts, while you know.

8:28 And know that your wealth and your children are a temptation, and that Allah is He with Whom there is a mighty reward

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8:29 O you who believe, if you keep your duty to Allah, He will grant you a distinction and do away with your evils and protect you. And Allah is the Lord of mighty grace.

8:30** And when those who disbelieved devised plans against thee that they might confine thee or slay thee or drive

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thee away and they devised plans and Allah, too, had arranged a plan; and Allah is the best of planners —

8:31** And when Our messages are recited to them, they say: We have heard. If we wished, we could say the like of it; this is nothing but the stories of the ancients.

8:32** And when they said: O Allah, if this is indeed the truth from Thee, then rain down on us stones from heaven or inflict on us a painful chastisement.

8:33** And Allah would not chastise them while thou wast among them; nor would Allah chastise them while they seek forgiveness.

8:34** And what excuse have they that Allah should not chastise them while they hinder (men) from the Sacred Mosque and they are not its (true) guardians? Its guardians are only those who keep their duty, but most of them know not.

8:35** And their prayer at the House is nothing but whistling and clapping of hands. Taste, then, the chastisement, because you disbelieved.

8:36** Surely those who disbelieve spend their wealth to hinder (people) from the way of Allah. So they will go on spending it, then it will be to them a regret, then they will be overcome. And those who disbelieve will be gathered together to hell,

8:37 That Allah may separate the wicked from the good, and put the wicked one upon another, then heap them together, then cast them into hell. These indeed are the losers.

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8:38 Say to those who disbelieve, if they desist, that which is past will be forgiven them; and if they return, then the example of those of old has already gone.

8:39 And fight with them until there is no more persecution, and all religions are for Allah. But if they desist, then surely Allah is Seer of what they do.

8:40 And if they turn back, then know that Allah is your Patron. Most excellent the Patron and most excellent the Helper!

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8:41 And know that whatever you acquire in war, a fifth of it is for Allah and for the Messenger and for the near of kin and the orphans and the needy and the wayfarer, if you believe in Allah and in that which We revealed to Our servant, on the day of Discrimination, the day on which the two patties met. And Allah is Possessor of power over all things.

8:42 When you were on the nearer side (of the valley) and they were on the farther side, while the caravan was in a lower place than you. And if you had tried to make a mutual appointment, you would certainly have broken away from the appointment, — but in order that Allah might bring about a matter which had to be done; that he who perished by clear argument might perish, and he who lived by clear argument might live. And surely Allah is Hearing, Knowing

8:43 When Allah showed them to thee in thy dream as few and if He had shown them to thee as many, you would certainly have become weak hearted and you would have disputed about the matter, but Allah saved (you). Surely He is Knower of what is in the breasts.

8:44 And when He showed them to you, when you met, as few in your eyes, and He made you to appear few in their eyes, in order that Allah might bring about a matter which had to be done. And to Allah are all affairs returned.

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8:45 O you who believe, when you meet an army, be firm, and remember Allah much, that you may be successful.

8:46 And obey Allah and His Messenger and dispute not one with another, lest you get weak-hearted and your power depart; and be steadfast. Surely Allah is with the steadfast.

8:47 And be not like those who came forth from their homes exultingly and to be seen of men, and they hinder (people) from the way of Allah. And Allah encompasses what they do.

8:48 And when the devil made their works fair-seeming to them, and said: None among men can overcome you this day, and I am your protector. But when the two armies came in sight of one another, he turned upon his heels, and said: Surely I am clear of you, I see what you see not; surely I fear Allah. And Allah is Severe in requiting.

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8:49 And when the hypocrites and those in whose hearts is a disease said Their religion has deluded them. And whoever trusts in Allah, then surely Allah is Mighty, Wise.

8:50 And if thou couldst see when the angels cause to die those who disbelieve, smiting their faces and their backs, and (saying): Taste the punishment of burning.

8:51 This is for that which your own hands have sent on before, and because Allah is not in the least unjust to the servants —

8:52 In the manner of the people of Pharaoh and those before them, they disbelieved in Allah's messages, so Allah punished them for their sins. Surely Allah is Strong, Severe in requiting.

8:53 This is because Allah never changes a favour which He has conferred upon a people until they change their own condition and because Allah is Hearing, Knowing —

8:54 In the manner of the people of pharaoh, and those before them. They rejected the messages of their Lord, so We destroyed them for their sins. And We drowned Pharaoh's people and they were all wrongdoers.

8:55 Surely the vilest of beasts in Allah's sight are those who disbelieve, then they would not believe.

8:56 Those with whom thou makest an agreement, then they break their agreement every time, and they keep not their duty.

8:57 So if thou overtake them in war, scatter by them those who are behind them, that they may be mindful.

8:58 And if thou fear treachery on the part of a people, throw back to them (their treaty) on terms of equality. Surely Allah loves not the treacherous.

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8:59 And let not those who disbelieve think that they can outstrip (Us). Surely they cannot escape.

8:60 And make ready for them whatever force you can and horses tied at the frontier, to frighten thereby the enemy of Allah and your enemy and others besides them, whom you know not Allah knows them. And whatever you spend in Allah's way, it will be paid back to you fully and you will not be wronged.

8:61 And if they incline to peace, incline thou also to it, and trust in Allah. Surely He is the Hearer, the Knower.

8:62 And if they intend to deceive thee, then surely Allah is sufficient for thee. He it is Who strengthened thee with His help and with the believers,

8:63 And He has united their hearts. If thou hadst spent all that is in the earth, thou couldst not have united their hearts, but Allah united them. Surely He is Mighty, Wise.

8:64 O Prophet, Allah is sufficient for thee and those who follow thee of the believers.

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8:65 O Prophet, urge the believers to fight. If there be of you twenty steadfast, they shall overcome two hundred; and if there be of you a hundred, they shall overcome a thousand of those who disbelieve, because they are a people who do not understand.

8:66 Now Allah has lightened your burden and He knows that there is weakness in you. So if there be of you a hundred steadfast, they shall overcome two hundred; and if there be of you a thousand, they shall overcome two thousand by Allah's permission. And Allah is with the steadfast.

8:67 It is not fit for a prophet to take captives unless he has fought and triumphed in the land. You desire the frail goods of this world, while Allah desires (for you) the Hereafter. And Allah is Mighty, Wise.

8:68 Were it not for an ordinance from Allah that had gone before, surely there would have befallen you a great chastisement for what you were going to do.

8:69 Eat then of the lawful and good (things) which you have acquired in war, and keep your duty to Allah. Surely Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.

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8:70 O Prophet, say to those of the captives who are in your hands: If Allah knows anything good in your hearts, He will give you better than that which has been taken from you, and will forgive you. And Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.

8:71 And if they intend to be treacherous to thee, so indeed they have been treacherous to Allah before, but He gave (you) mastery over them. And Allah is Knowing, Wise.

8:72 Surely those who believed and fled (their homes) and struggled hard in Allah's way with their wealth and their lives, and those who gave shelter and helped — these are friends one of another. And those who believed and did not flee, you are not responsible for their protection until they flee. And if they seek help from you in the matter of religion, it is your duty to help (them) except against a people between whom and you there is a treaty. And Allah is Seer of what you do.

8:73 And those who disbelieve are friends one of another. If you do it not, there will be persecution in the land and great mischief.

8:74 And those who believed and fled and struggled hard in Allah's way, and those who gave shelter and helped — these are the believers truly. For them is forgiveness and an honourable provision.

8:75 And those who believed after wards and fled and struggled hard along with you, they are of you. And the relatives are nearer one to another in the ordinance of Allah. Surely Allah is Knower of all things.

KORAN CHAPTER 96 / Sura 47

Muhammad

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

47:1 Those who disbelieve and turn (men) from Allah's way, He will destroy their works.

47:2 And those who believe and do good, and believe in that which has been revealed to Muhammad — and it is the Truth from their Lord — He will remove their evil from them and improve their condition.

47:3 That is because those who disbelieve follow falsehood, and those who believe follow the Truth from their Lord. Thus does Allah set forth their descriptions for men.

47:4 So when you meet in battle those who disbelieve, smite the necks; then, when you have overcome them, make (them) prisoners, and afterwards (set them free) as a favour or for ransom till the war lay down its burdens. That (shall be so). And if Allah please, He would certainly exact retribution from them, but that He may try some of you by means of others. And those who are slain in the way of Allah, He will never allow their deeds to perish.

47:5 He will guide them and improve their condition.

47:6 And make them enter the Garden, which He has made known to them.

47:7 O you who believe, if you help Allah, He will help you and make firm your feet.

47:8 And those who disbelieve, for them is destruction, and He will destroy their works.

47:9 That is because they hate that which Allah reveals, so He has rendered their deeds fruitless.

47:10 Have they not travelled in the land and seen what was the end of those before them? Allah destroyed them. And for the disbelievers is the like thereof.

47:11 That is because Allah is the patron of those who believe, and because the disbelievers have no patron.

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47:12 Surely Allah will make those who believe and do good enter Gardens wherein flow rivers. And those who disbelieve enjoy themselves and eat as the cattle eat, and the Fire is their abode.

47:13** [** in the time of the Hijra] And how many a town, more powerful than thy town which has driven thee out — We destroyed them, so there was no helper for them.

47:14 Is then he who has a clear argument from his Lord like him to whom his evil conduct is made fair-seeming; and they follow their low desires.

47:15 A parable of the Garden which the dutiful are promised: Therein are rivers of water not altering for the worse, and rivers of milk whereof the taste changes not, and rivers of wine delicious to the drinkers, and rivers of honey clarified; and for them therein are all fruits and protection from their Lord. (Are these) like those who abide in the Fire and who are made to drink boiling water, so it tends their bowels asunder?

47:16 And there are those of them who seek to listen to thee, till, when they go forth from thee, they say to those who have been given knowledge: What was it that he said just now? These are they whose hearts Allah has sealed and they follow their low desires.

47:17 And those who follow guidance, He increases them in guidance and grants them their observance of duty.

47:18 Wait they for aught but the Hour that it should come upon them of a sudden? Now tokens thereof have already come. Fur how will they have their reminder, when it comes on them?

47:19 So know that there is no God but Allah and ask protection for thy sin and for the believing men and the believing women. And Allah knows your moving about and your staying (in a place).

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47:20 And those who believe say: Why is not a chapter revealed? But when a decisive chapter is revealed, and fighting is mentioned therein, thou seest those in whose hearts is a disease look to thee with the look of one fainting at death So woe to them!

47:21 Obedience and a gentle word (was proper). Then when the affair is settled, it is better for them if they remain true to Allah.

47:22 But if you turn away, you are sure to make mischief in the land and cut off the ties of kinship!

47:23 Those it is whom Allah has cursed, so He has made them deaf and blinded their eyes.

47:24 Do they not reflect on the Koran? Or, are there locks on the hearts?

47:25 Surely those who turn back after guidance is manifest to them, the devil embellishes it for them and lengthens false hopes for them.

47:26 That is because they say to those who hate what Allah has revealed We will obey you in some matters. And Allah knows their secrets.

47:27 But how will it be when the angels cause them to die, smiting their faces and their hacks?

47:28 That is because they follow that which displeases Allah and are averse to His pleasure, so He makes their deeds fruitless.

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47:29 Or do those in whose hearts is a disease think that Allah will nor bring forth their spite?

47:30 And if We please, We could show them to thee so that thou shouldst know them by their marks. And certainly thou canst recognize them by the tone of (their) speech. And Allah knows your deeds.

47:31 And certainly We shall try you, till We know those among you who strive hard, and the steadfast, and manifest your news.

47:32 Surely those who disbelieve and hinder (men) from Allah's way and oppose the Messenger after guidance is quite

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clear to them, cannot harm Allah in any way, and He will make their deeds fruitless.

47:33 O you who believe, obey Allah and obey the Messenger and make not your deeds vain.

47:34 Surely those who disbelieve and hinder (men) from Allah's way, then die disbelievers, Allah will not forgive them.

47:35 And be nor slack so as to cry for peace — and you are the uppermost — and Allah is with you, and He will not bring your deeds to naught.

47:36 The life of this world is but idle sport and play, and, if you believe and keep your duty, He will give you your reward, and He does not ask of you your wealth.

47:37 If He should ask you for it and press you, you will be niggardly, and He will bring forth your malice.

47:38 Behold! you are those who are called to spend in Allah's way, but among you are those who are niggardly; and whoever is niggardly, is niggardly against his own soul. And Allah is Self-Sufficient and you are needy. And if you turn back He will bring in your place another people, then they will not be like you.

KORAN CHAPTER 97 / Sura 3

The Family of Amran / Al-Imran

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

3:1 I, Allah, am the best Knower,

3:2 Allah, (there is) no god but He, the Ever-living, the Self-subsisting, by Whom all subsist.

3:3 He has revealed to thee the Book with truth, verifying that which is before it, and He revealed the Torah and the Gospel aforetime, a guidance for the people, and He sent the Discrimination. Those who disbelieve in the messages of Allah for them is a severe chastisement. And Allah is Mighty, the Lord of retribution.

3:4 Surely nothing in the earth or in the heaven is hidden from Allah.

3:5 He it is Who shapes you in the wombs as He pleases. There is no god but He, the Mighty, the Wise.

3:6 He it is Who has revealed the Book to thee; some of its verses are decisive — they are the basis of the Book — and others are allegorical. Then those in whose hearts is perversity follow the part of it which is allegorical, seeking to mislead, and seeking to give it (their own) interpretation. And none knows its interpretation save Allah, and those firmly rooted in knowledge. They say We believe in it, it is all from our Lord. And none mind except men of understanding.

3:7 Our Lord, make not our hearts to deviate after Thou hast guided us and grant us mercy from Thee; surely Thou art the most liberal Giver.

3:8 Our Lord, surely Thou art the Gatherer of men on a day about which there is no doubt. Surely Allah will not fail in (His) promise.

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3:9 Those who disbelieve, neither their wealth nor their children will avail them aught against Allah. And they will be fuel for fire —

3:10 As was the case of the people of Pharaoh, and those before them They rejected Our messages, so Allah destroyed them on account of their sins. And Allah is Severe in requiting (evil).

3:11 Say to those who disbelieve You shall be vanquished, and driven together to hell; and evil is the resting-place.

3:12 Indeed there was a sign for you in the two hosts (which) met together in encounter — one party fighting in the way of Allah and the other disbelieving, whom they saw twice as many as themselves with the sight of the eye. And Allah strengthens with His aid whom He pleases. There is a lesson in this for those who have eyes.

3:13 Fair-seeming to men is made the love of desires, of women and sons and hoarded treasures of gold and silver and well-bred horses and cattle and tilth (fields). This is the provision of the life of this world. And Allah — with Him is the good goal (of life).

3:14 Say: Shall I tell you of what is better than these? For those who guard against evil are Gardens with their Lord, in which rivers flow, to abide in them, and pure companions and Allah's goodly pleasure. And Allah is Seer of the servants.

3:15 Those who say: Our Lord, we believe, so forgive our sins and save us from the chastisement of the fire.

3:16 The patient and the truthful, and the obedient, and those who spend and those who ask Divine protection in the morning times.

3:17 Allah bears witness that there is no god but He, and (so do) the angels and those possessed of knowledge, maintaining justice. There is no god but He, the Mighty, the Wise.

3:18 Surely the (true) religion with Allah is Islam. And those who were given the Book differed only after knowledge had come to them, out of envy among themselves. And whoever disbelieves in the messages of Allah — Allah indeed is Quick at reckoning.

3:19 But if they dispute with thee say: I submit myself entirely to Allah and (so does) he who follows me. And say to those who have been given the Book and the Unlearned (people) Do you submit yourselves? If they submit, then indeed they follow the right way; and if they turn back, thy duty is only to deliver the message. And Allah is Seer of the servants.

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3:20 Those who disbelieve in the messages of Allah and would slay the prophets unjustly and slay those among men who enjoin justice, announce to them a painful chastisement.

3:21 Those are they whose works will be of no avail in this world and the Hereafter, and they will have no helpers.

3:22 Hast thou not seen those who are given a portion of the Book? They are invited to the Book of Allah that it may decide between them, then a party of them turn back and they withdraw.

3:23 This is because they say: The Fire shall not touch us but for a few days; and that which they forge deceives them regarding their religion.

3:24 Then how will it be when We gather them together on a day about which there is no doubt. And every soul shall be fully paid what it has earned, and they shall not be wronged?

3:25 Say O Allah, Owner of the Kingdom, Thou givest the kingdom to whom Thou pleasest, and takest away the kingdom from whom Thou pleasest, and Thou exaltest whom Thou pleasest and abasest whom Thou pleasest. In Thine hand is the good. Surely, Thou art Possessor of power over all things.

3:26 Thou makest the night to pass into the day and Thou makest the day to pass into the night; and Thou bringest forth the living from the dead and Thou bringest forth the dead from the living; and Thou givest sustenance to whom Thou pleasest without measure.

3:27 Let not the believers take the disbelievers for friends rather than believers. And whoever does this has no connection with Allah — except that you guard yourselves against them, guarding carefully. And Allah cautions you against His retribution. And to Allah is the eventual coming.

3:28 Say: Whether you hide what is in your hearts or manifest it, Allah knows it. And He knows whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth. And Allah is Possessor of power over all things.

3:29 On the day when every soul will find present that which it has done of good; and that which it has done of evil — it will wish that between it and that (evil) there were a long distance. And Allah cautions you against His retribution. And Allah is Compassionate to the servants.

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3:30 Say: If you love Allah, follow me: Allah will love you, and grant you protection from your sins. And Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.

3:31 Say: Obey Allah and the Messenger; but if they turn back, Allah surely loves not the disbelievers.

3:32 Truly Allah chose Adam and Noah and the descendants of Abraham and the descendants of Amran above the nations,

3:33 Offspring, one of the other. And Allah is Hearing, Knowing.

3:34 When a woman of Amran said: My Lord, I vow to Thee what is in my womb, to be devoted (to Thy service), so accept (it) from me surely Thou, only Thou, art the Hearing, the Knowing.

3:35 So when she brought it forth, she said: My Lord, I have brought it forth a female — and Allah knew best what she brought forth — and the male is not like the female, and I have named it Mary, and I commend her and her offspring into Thy protection from the accursed devil.

3:36 So her Lord accepted her with a goodly acceptance and made her grow up a goodly growing, and gave her into the charge of Zacharias. Whenever Zacharias entered the sanctuary to (see) her, he found food with her. He said: O Mary, whence comes this to thee? She said: It is from Allah. Surely Allah gives to whom He pleases without measure.

3:37 There did Zacharias pray to his Lord. He said: My Lord, grant me from Thee goodly offspring; surely Thou art the Hearer of prayer.

3:38 So the angels called to him as he stood praying in the sanctuary Allah gives thee the good news of John, verifying a word from Allah, and honourable and chaste and a prophet from among the good ones.

3:39 He said: My Lord, how can I have a son when old age has already come upon me, and my wife is barren? He said: Even thus does Allah do what He pleases.

3:40 He said: My Lord, appoint a sign for me. Said He: Thy sign is that thou speak not to men for three days except by signs. And remember thy Lord much and glorify (Him) in the evening and early morning.

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3:41 And when the angels said: O Mary, surely Allah has chosen thee and purified thee and chosen thee above the women of the world.

3:42 O Mary, be obedient to thy Lord and humble thyself and bow down with those who bow.

3:43 This is of the tidings of things unseen which We reveal to thee. And thou wast not with them when they cast their pens (to decide) which of them should have Mary in his charge, and thou wast not with them when they contended one with another.

3:44 When the angels said: O Mary, surely Allah gives thee good news with a word from Him (of one) whose name is the Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary, worthy of regard in this world and the Hereafter, and of those who are drawn nigh (to Allah),

3:45 And he will speak to the people when in the cradle and when of old age, and (he will be) one of the good ones.

3:46 She said: My Lord, how can I have a son and man has not yet touched me? He said: Even so; Allah creates what He pleases. When He decrees a matter, He only says to it, Be, and it is.

3:47 And He will teach him the Book and the Wisdom and the Torah and the Gospel:

3:48 And (make him) a messenger to the Children of Israel (saying) I have come to you with a sign from your Lord, that I determine for you out of dust the form of a bird, then I breathe into it and it becomes a bird with Allah's permission, and I heal the blind and the leprous, and bring the dead to life with Allah's permission; and I inform you of what you should eat and what you should store in your houses. Surely there is a sign in this for you, if you are believers.

3:49 And (I am) a verifier of that which is before me of the Torah, and I allow you part of that which was forbidden to you; and I have come to you with a sign from your Lord, so keep your duty to Allah and obey me.

3:50 Surely Allah is my Lord and your Lord, so serve Him. This is the right path.

3:51 But when Jesus perceived disbelief on their part, he said Who will be my helpers in Allah's way? The disciples said We are Allah's helpers: we believe in Allah, and bear thou witness that we are submitting ones.

3:52 Our Lord, we believe in that which Thou hast revealed and we follow the messenger, so write us down with those who bear witness.

3:53 And (the Jews) planned and Allah (also) planned. And Allah is the best of planners.

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3:54 When Allah said: O Jesus, I will cause thee to die and exalt thee in My presence and clear thee of those who disbelieve and make those who follow thee above those who disbelieve to the day of Resurrection. Then to Me is your return, so I shall decide between you concerning that wherein you difter.

3:55 Then as to those who disbelieve, I shall chastise them with severe chastisement in this world and the Hereafter, and they will have no helpers.

3:56 And as to those who believe and do good deeds, He will pay them fully their rewards. And Allah loves not the unjust.

3:57 This We recite to thee of the messages and the Reminder full of wisdom.

3:58 The likeness of Jesus with Allah is truly as the likeness of Adam. He created him from dust, then said to him, Be, and he was.

3:59 (This is) the truth from thy Lord, so be not of the disputers.

3:60 Whoever then disputes with thee in this matter after the knowledge that has come to thee, say: Come Let us call our sons and your sons and our women and your women and our people and your people, then let us be earnest in prayer, and invoke the curse of Allah on the liars.

3:61 Surely this is the true account, and there is no god but Allah. And Allah He surely is the Mighty, the Wise.

3:62 But if they turn away, then surely Allah knows the mischief-makers.

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3:63 Say: O People of the Book, come to an equitable word between us and you, that we shall serve none but Allah and that we shall not associate aught with Him, and that some of us shall not take others for lords besides Allah. But if they turn away, then say: Bear witness, we are Muslims.

3:64 O People of the Book, why do you dispute about Abraham, when the Torah and the Gospel were not revealed till after him? Do you not understand?

3:65 Behold! You are they who disputed about that of which you had knowledge; why then do you dispute about that of which you have no knowledge? And Allah knows while you know not.

3:66 Abraham was not a Jew nor a Christian, but he was (an) upright (man), a Muslim; and he was not one of the polytheists.

3:67 The nearest of people to Abraham are surely those who follow him and this Prophet and those who believe. And Allah is the Friend of the believers.

3:68 A party of the People of the Book desire that they should lead you astray; and they lead not astray but themselves, and they perceive not.

3:69 O People of the Book, why do you disbelieve in the messages of Allah while you witness (their truth)?

3:70 O People of the Book, why do you confound the truth with falsehood, and hide the truth while you know?

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3:71 And a party of the People of the Book say: Avow belief in that which has been revealed to those who believe, in the first part of the day, and disbelieve in the latter part of it, perhaps they may turn back.

3:72 And believe not but in him who follows your religion. Say True guidance — Allah's guidance — is that one may be given the like of what you were given; or they would prevail on you in argument before your Lord. Say Grace is surely in Allah's hand. He gives it to whom He pleases. And Allah is Ample-giving, Knowing.

3:73 He specially chooses for His mercy whom He pleases. And Allah is the Lord of mighty grace.

3:74 And among the People of the Book there is he who, if thou entrust him with a heap of wealth, would pay it back to thee; and among them is he who, if thou entrust him with a dinar would not pay it back to thee, unless thou kept on demanding it. This is because they say there is no blame on us in the matter of the unlearned people and they forge a lie against Allah while they know.

3:75 Yea, whoever fulfils his promise and keeps his duty — then Allah surely loves the dutiful.

3:76 Those who take a small price for the covenant of Allah and their own oaths — they have no portion in the Hereafter, and Allah will not speak to them, nor will He look upon them on the day of Resurrection, nor will He purify them, and for them is a painful chastisement.

3:77 And there is certainly a party of them who lie about the Book that you may consider it to be (a part) of the Book while it is not (a part) of the Book; and they say, It is from Allah, while it is not from Allah; and they forge a lie against Allah whilst they know.

3:78 It is not meet for a mortal that Allah should give him the Book and the judgement and the prophethood, then he should say to men: Be my servants besides Allah's; but (he would say): Be worshippers of the Lord because you teach the Book and because you study (it);

3:79 Nor would he enjoin you to take the angels and the prophets for lords. Would he enjoin you to disbelieve after you submit?

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3:80 And when Allah made a covenant through the prophets Certainly what I have given you of Book and Wisdom — then a Messenger comes to you verifying that which is with you, you shall believe in him, and you shall aid him. He said: Do you affirm and accept My compact in this (matter)? They said We do affirm. He said Then bear witness, and I (too) am of the bearers of witness with you.

3:81 Whoever then turns back after this, these are the transgressors.

3:82 Seek they then other than Allah's religion? And to Him submits whoever is in the heavens and the earth, willingly or unwillingly, and to Him they will be returned.

3:83 Say We believe in Allah and that which is revealed to us, and that which was revealed to Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob and the tribes, and that which was given to Moses and Jesus and to the prophets from their Lord; we make no distinction between any of them, and to Him we submit.

3:84 And whoever seeks a religion other than Islam, it will not be accepted from him, and in the Hereafter he will be one of the losers.

3:85 How shall Allah guide a people who disbelieved after their believing, and (after) they had borne witness that the Messenger was true, and clear arguments had come to them? And Allah guides not the unjust people.

3:86 As for these their reward is that on them is the curse of Allah and the angels and of men, all together —

3:87 Abiding therein. Their chastisement shall not be lightened, nor shall they be respited —

3:88 Except those who repent after that and amend, for surely Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.

3:89 Those who disbelieve after their believing, then increase in disbelief, their repentance is not accepted, and these are they that go astray.

3:90 Those who disbelieve and die while they are disbelievers, the earth full of gold will not be accepted from one of them, though he should offer it as ransom. These it is for whom is a painful chastisement, and they shall have no helpers.

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3:91 You cannot attain to righteousness unless you spend out of what you love. And what you spend, Allah surely knows it.

3:92 All food was lawful to the Children of Israel, before the Torah was revealed. — except that which Israel forbade himself. Say Bring the Torah and read it, if you are truthful.

3:93 So whoever forges a lie against Allah after this, these are the wrong-doers.

3:94 Say Allah speaks the truth; so follow the religion of Abraham, the upright one. And he was not one of the polytheists.

3:95 Certainly the first house appointed for men is the one at Bakkah, blessed and a guidance for the nations.

3:96 In it are clear signs: (It is) the Place of Abraham; and whoever enters it is safe; and pilgrimage to the House is a duty which men owe to Allah — whoever can find a way to it. And whoever disbelieves, surely Allah is above need of the worlds.

3:97 Say: O People of the Book, why do you disbelieve in the messages of Allah? And Allah is a witness of what you do.

3:98 Say: O People of the Book, why do you hinder those who believe from the way of Allah, seeking (to make) it crooked, while you are witnesses? And Allah is not heedless of what you do.

3:99 O you who believe, if you obey a party from among those who have been given the Book, they will turn you back as disbelievers after your belief.

3:100 And how can you disbelieve while to you are recited the messages of Allah, and among you is His Messenger? And whoever holds fast to Allah, he indeed is guided to a right path.

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3:101 O you who believe, keep your duty to Allah, as it ought to be kept, and die not unless you are Muslims.

3:102 And hold fast by the covenant of Allah all together and be not disunited. And remember Allah's favour to you when you were enemies, then He united your hearts so by His favour you became brethren. And you were on the brink of a pit of fire, then He saved you from it. Thus Allah makes clear to you His messages that you may be guided.

3:103 And from among you there should be a party who invite to good and enjoin the right and forbid the wrong. And these are they who are successful.

3:104 And be not like those who became divided and disagreed after clear arguments had come to them. And for them is a grievous chastisement.

3:105 On the day when (some) faces turn white and (some) faces turn black. Then as to those whose faces are black: Did you disbelieve after your belief? So taste the chastisement because you disbelieved.

3:106 And as to those whose faces are white, they shall be in Allah's mercy. Therein they shall abide.

3:107 These are the messages of Allah which We recite to thee with truth. And Allah desires no injustice to (His) creatures.

3:108 And to Allah belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth. And to Allah are all affairs returned.

* * *

3:109 You are the best nation raised up for men; you enjoin good and forbid evil and you believe in Allah. And if the People of the Book had believed, it would have been better for them. Some of them are believers but most of them are transgressors.

3:110 They will not harm you save a slight hurt. And if they fight you, they will turn (their) backs to you. Then they will not be helped.

3:111 Abasement will be their lot wherever they are found, except under a covenant with Allah and a covenant with men, and they shall incur the wrath of Allah, and humiliation will be made to cling to them. This is because they disbelieved in the messages of Allah and killed the prophets unjustly. This is because they disobeyed and exceeded the limits.

3:112 They are not all alike. Of the People of the Book there is an upright party who recite Allah's messages in the night time and they adore (Him).

3:113 They believe in Allah and the Last Day, and they enjoin good and forbid evil and vie one with another in good deeds. And those are among the righteous.

3:114 And whatever good they do, they will not be denied it, And Allah knows those who keep their duty.

3:115 Those who disbelieve, neither their wealth nor their children will avail them aught against Allah. And these are the companions of the Fire therein they abide.

3:116 The likeness of that which they spend in the life of this world is as the likeness of wind in which is intense cold it smites the harvest of a people who are unjust to themselves and destroys it. And Allah wronged them not but they wronged themselves.

3:117 O you who believe, take not for intimate friends others than your own people; they spare no pains to cause you loss. They love that which distresses you: Vehement hatred has already appeared from out of their mouths, and that which their hearts conceal is greater still. Indeed We have made the messages clear to you if you understand.

3:118 Lo! you are they who will love them while they love you not, and you believe in the Book, (in) the whole of it. And when they meet you they say, We believe, and when they are alone, they bite (their) finger tips in rage against you. Say Die in your rage. Surely Allah is Knower of what is in the hearts.

3:119 If good befalls you, it grieves them, and if an evil afflicts you, they rejoice at it. And if you are patient and keep your duty, their struggle will not injure you in any way. Surely Allah encompasses what they do.

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3:120 And when thou didst go forth early in the morning from thy family, to assign to the believers their positions for the battle. And Allah is Hearing, Knowing.

3:121 When two parties from among you thought of showing cowardice, and Allah was the Guardian of them both. And in Allah should the believers trust.

3:122 And Allah certainly helped you at Badr when you were weak. So keep your duty to Allah that you may give thanks.

3:123 When thou didst say to the believers: Does it not suffice you that your Lord should help you with three thousand angels sent down?

3:124 Yea, if you are steadfast and keep your duty, and they come upon you in a headlong manner, your Lord will assist you with five thousand of havoc-making angels.

3:125 And Allah made it only as good news for you, and that your hearts might be at ease thereby. And help comes only from Allah, the Mighty, the Wise,

3:126 That He may cut off a part of those who disbelieve or abase them so that they should return in failure.

3:127 Thou hast no concern in the matter whether He turns to them (mercifully) or chastises them; surely they are wrongdoers.

3:128 And to Allah belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth. He forgives whom He pleases and chastises whom He pleases. And Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.

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3:129 O you who believe, devour not usury, doubling and redoubling, and keep your duty to Allah, that you may he successful.

3:130 And guard yourselves against the fire which has been prepared for the disbelievers.

3:131 And obey Allah and the Messenger, that you may be shown mercy.

3:132 And hasten to forgiveness from your Lord and a Garden, as wide as the heavens and the earth it is prepared for those who keep their duty:

3:133 Those who spend in ease as well as in adversity and those who restrain (their) anger and pardon men. And Allah loves the doers of good (to others).

3:134 And those who, when they commit an indecency or wrong their souls, remember Allah and ask forgiveness for their sins. And who forgives sins but Allah? And they persist not knowingly in what they do.

3:135 Their reward is protection from their Lord, and Gardens wherein flow rivers, to abide in them. And excellent is the reward of the workers!

3:136 Indeed there have been examples before you; so travel in the earth and see what was the end of the deniers.

3:137 This is a clear statement for men, and a guidance and an admonition to those who would keep their duty.

3:138 And be not weak-hearted, nor grieve, and you will have the upper hand if you are believers.

3:139 If a wound has afflicted you, a wound like it has also afflicted the (disbelieving) people. And We bring these days to men by turns, that Allah may know those who believe and take witnesses from among you. And Allah loves not the wrongdoers,

3:140 And that He may purge those who believe and deprive the disbelievers of blessings.

3:141 Do you think that you will enter the Garden while Allah has nor yet known those from among you who strive hard (nor) known the steadfast?

3:142 And certainly you desired death before you met it. So indeed you have seen it now while you look (at it).

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3:143 And Muhammad is but a messenger — messengers have already passed away before him. If then he dies or is killed, will you turn back upon your heels? And he who turns back upon his heels will do no harm at all to Allah. And Allah will reward the grateful.

3:144 And no soul can die but with Allah's permission — the term is fixed. And whoever desires the reward of this world, We give him of it, and whoever desires the reward of the Hereafter, We give him of it. And We shall reward the grateful.

3:145 And how many a prophet has fought, with whom were many worshippers of the Lord. So they did not lose heart on account of that which befell them in Allah's way, nor did they weaken, nor did they abase themselves. And Allah loves the steadfast.

3:146 And their cry was only that they said: Our Lord, grant us protection from our sins and our extravagance in our affair, and make firm our feet and grant us victory over the disbelieving people.

3:147 So Allah gave them the reward of the world and a good reward of the Hereafter. And Allah loves the doers of good (to others).

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3:148 O you who believe, if you obey those who disbelieve, they will make you turn back upon your heels, so you will turn back losers.

3:149 Nay, Allah is your Patron, and He is the Best of the helpers.

3:150 We will cast terror into the hearts of those who disbelieve because they set up with Allah that for which He

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has sent down no authority, and their abode is the Fire. And evil is the abode of the wrong-doers.

3:151 And Allah certainly made good His promise to you when you slew them by His permission, until you: became weak-hearted and disputed about the affair and disobeyed after He had shown you that which you loved. Of you were some who desired this world, and of you were some who desired the Hereafter. Then He turned you away from them that He might try you; and He has indeed pardoned you. And Allah is Gracious to the believers.

3:152 When you went away far, and paid no heed to anyone, and the Messenger was calling you in your rear. So He gave you (another) grief for (your) first grief that you might not grieve at what escaped you, nor (at) what befell you. And Allah is Aware of what you do.

3:153 Then after grief He sent down security on you, slumber overcoming a party of you, while (there was) another party whom their own souls had rendered anxious they entertained about Allah thoughts of ignorance quite unjustly. They said; Have we any hand in the affair? Say: The affair is wholly (in the hands) of Allah. They bide within their souls that which they would not reveal to thee. They say: Had we any hand in the affair. we would not have been slain here. Say Had you remained in your houses, those for whom slaughter was ordained would have gone forth to the places where they would be slain. And (this happened) that Allah might test what was in your breasts and that He might purge what was in your hearts. And Allah is Knower of what is in the breasts.

3:154 Those of you who turned back on the day when the two armies met, only the devil sought to cause them to make a slip on account of some deeds they had done, and certainly Allah has pardoned them. Surely Allah is Forgiving, Forbearing.

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3:155 O you who believe, be not like those who disbelieve and say of their brethren when they travel in the earth or engage in fighting: Had they been with us, they would not have died, or been slain; that Allah may make it to be a regret in their hearts. And Allah gives life and causes death. And Allah is Seer of what you, do.

3:156 And if you are slain in Allah's way or you die, surely Allah's protection and (His) mercy are better than what they amass.

3:157 And if you die or you are slain, to Allah you are gathered.

3:158 Thus it is by Allah's mercy that thou art gentle to them. And hadst thou been rough, hard-hearted, they would certainly have dispersed from around thee. So pardon them and ask protection for them, and consult them in (important) matters. But when thou hast determined, put thy trust in Allah. Surely Allah loves those who trust (in Him).

3:159 If Allah helps you, there is none that can overcome you; and if He forsakes you, who is there that can help you after Him? And in Allah should the believers put their trust.

3:160 And it is not for a prophet to act dishonestly. And whoever acts dishonestly will bring his dishonesty on the day of Resurrection. Then shall every soul be paid back fully what it has earned, and they will not be wronged.

3:161 Is then he who follows the pleasure of Allah like him who incurs Allah's displeasure, and his abode is hell? And it is an evil destination.

3:162 There are grades with Allah. And Allah is Seer of what they do.

3:163 Certainly Allah conferred a favour on the believers when He raised among them a Messenger from among themselves, reciting to them His messages and purifying them, and teaching them the Book and the Wisdom, although before that they were surely in manifest error.

3:164 What! When a misfortune befell you, and you had inflicted twice as much, you say: Whence is this? Say It is from yourselves. Surely Allah is Possessor of power over all things.

3:165 And that which befell you on the day when the two armies met was by Allah's permission, that He might know the believers,

3:166 And that He might know the hypocrites. And it was said to them Come, fight in Allah's way, or defend yourselves. They said: If we knew fighting, we would have followed you. They were on that day nearer to disbelief than to belief; they say with their mouths what is not in their hearts. And Allah best knows what they conceal.

3:167 Those who said of their brethren whilst they (themselves) held back: Had they obeyed us, they would not have been killed. Say: Avert death from yourselves, if you are truthful.

3:168 And think not of those who are killed in Allah's way as dead. Nay, they are alive being provided sustenance from their Lord,

3:169 Rejoicing in what Allah has given them out of His grace, and they rejoice for the sake of those who, (being left) behind them, have not yet joined them, that they have no fear, nor shall they grieve.

3:170 They rejoice for Allah's favour and (His) grace, and that Allah wastes not the reward of the believers.

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3:171 Those who responded to the call of Allah and the Messenger after the misfortune had befallen them — for such among them who do good and keep their duty is a great reward.

3:172 Those to whom men said: Surely people have gathered against you, so fear them; but this increased their faith, and they said: Allah is sufficient for us and He is an excellent Guardian.

3:173 So they returned with favour from Allah and (His) grace; no evil touched them, and they followed the pleasure of Allah. And Allah is the Lord of mighty grace.

3:174 It is the devil who only frightens his friends, but fear them not, and fear Me, if you are believers.

3:175 And let not those grieve thee who run into disbelief precipitately surely they can do no harm to Allah. Allah intends not to assign them any portion in the Hereafter; and for them is a grievous chastisement.

3:176 Those who buy disbelief at the price of faith can do no harm to Allah, and for them is a painful chastisement.

3:177 And let not those who disbelieve think that our granting them respite is good for themselves. We grant them respite only that they may add to their sins; and for them is an humiliating chastisement.

3:178 Allah will not leave the believers in the condition in which you are until He separates the evil from the good. Nor is Allah going to make you acquainted with the unseen, but Allah chooses of His Messengers whom He pleases. So believe in Allah and His Messengers. And if you believe and keep your duty, you will have a great reward.

3:179 And let not those who are niggardly in spending that which Allah has granted them out of His grace, think that it is good for them. Nay, it is evil for them. They shall have a collar of their niggardliness on their necks on the Resurrection day. And Allah's is the heritage of the heavens and the earth. And Allah is Aware of what you do.

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3:180 Allah has certainly heard the saying of those who said: Allah is poor and we are rich. We shall record what they say, and their killing the prophets unjustly, and We shall say: Taste the chastisement of burning.

3:181 This is for that which your own hands have sent before, and because Allah is not in the least unjust to the servants.

3:182 Those who say: Allah has enjoined us that we should not believe in any messenger until he brings us an offering which is consumed by the fire. Say: Indeed there came to you messengers before me with clear arguments and with that which you demand. Why then did you try to kill them, if you are truthful?

3:183 But if they reject thee, so indeed were rejected before thee messengers who came with clear arguments and scriptures and the illuminating Book.

3:184 Every soul will taste of death. And you will be paid your reward fully only on the Resurrection day. Then whoever is removed far from the Fire and is made to enter the Garden, he indeed attains the object. And the life of this world is nothing but a provision of vanities.

3:185 You will certainly be tried in your property and your persons. And you will certainly hear from those who have been given the Book before you and from the idolaters much abuse. And if you are patient and keep your duty, surely this is an affair of great resolution.

3:186 And when Allah took a covenant from those who were given the Book You shall explain it to men and shall not hide it. But they cast it behind their backs and took a small price for it. So evil is that which they buy.

3:187 Think not that those who exult in what they have done, and love to be praised. for what they have not done — think not them to be safe from the chastisement; and for them is a painful chastisement.

3:188 And Allah's is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth. And Allah is Possessor of power over all things.

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3:189 In the creation of the heavens and the earth and the alternation of the night and the day, there are surely signs for men of understanding.

3:190 Those who remember Allah standing and sitting and (lying) on their sides, and reflect on the creation of the heavens and the earth: Our Lord, Thou hast not created this in vain! Glory be to Thee! Save us from the chastisement of the Fire.

3:191 Our Lord, whomsoever Thou makest enter the Fire, him Thou indeed bringest to disgrace. And there will be no helpers for the wrongdoers.

3:192 Our Lord, surely we have heard a Crier calling to the faith, saying Believe in your Lord. So we do believe. Our Lord, grant us protection from our sins and remove our evils and make us die with the righteous.

3:193 Our Lord, grant us what Thou hast promised us by Thy messengers and disgrace us not on the day of Resurrection. Surely Thou never failest in (Thy) promise!

3:194 So their Lord accepted their prayer, (saying) I will not suffer the work of any worker among you to be lost whether male or female, the one of you being from the other. So those who fled and were driven forth from their homes and persecuted in My way and who fought and were slain, I shall truly remove their evil and make them enter Gardens wherein flow rivers — a reward from Allah. And with Allah is the best reward.

3:195 Let not control in the land, of those who disbelieve, deceive thee.

3:196 A brief enjoyment! Then their abode is hell. And evil is the resting-place.

3:197 But those who keep their duty to their Lord, for them are Gardens wherein flow rivers, to abide therein; an entertainment from their Lord. And that which Allah has in store for the righteous is best.

3:198 And of the People of the Book there are those who believe in Allah and (in) that which has been revealed to you and (in) that which has been revealed to them, humbling themselves before Allah — they take not a small price for the messages of Allah. These it is that have their reward with their Lord. Surely Allah is Swift to take account

3:199 O you who believe, be steadfast and try to excel in steadfastness and guard (the frontiers). And keep your duty to Allah that you may be successful.

CHAPTER 98 / Sura 61

The Ranks Al-Saff

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

61:1 Whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth glorifies Allah; and He is the Mighty, the Wise.

61:2 O you who believe, why say you that which you do not?

61:3 It is most hateful in the sight of Allah that you say that which you do not.

61:4 Surely Allah loves those who fight in His way in ranks, as if they were a solid wall.

61:5 And when Moses said to his people O my people, why do you malign me, when you know that I am Allah's messenger to you? But when they deviated, Allah made their hearts deviate. And Allah guides not the transgressing people.

61:6 And when Jesus, son of Mary, said O Children of Israel, surely I am the messenger of Allah to you, verifying that which is before me of the Torah and giving the good news of a Messenger who will come after me, his name being Ahmad. But when he came to them with clear arguments, they said: This is clear enchantment.

61:7 And who is more unjust than he who forges a lie against Allah and he is invited to Islam. And Allah guides not the unjust people.

61:8 They desire to put out the light of Allah with their mouths, but Allah will perfect His light, though the disbelievers may be averse.

61:9 He it is Who sent His Messenger with the guidance and the true religion, that He may make it overcome the religions, all of them, though the polytheists may be averse.

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61:10 O you who believe, shall I lead you to a merchandise which will deliver you from a painful chastisement?

61:11 You should believe in Allah and His Messenger, and strive hard in Allah's way with your wealth and your lives. That is better for you, did you but know!

61:12 He will forgive you your sins and cause you to enter Gardens wherein rivers flow, and goodly dwellings in Gardens of perpetuity that is the mighty achievement —

61:13 And yet another (blessing) that you love: help from Allah and a victory near at hand; and give good news to the believers.

61:14 O you who believe, be helpers (in the cause) of Allah, as Jesus, son of Mary, said to the disciples: Who are my helpers in the cause of Allah? The disciples said: We are helpers (in the cause) of Allah. So a party of the Children of Israel believed and another party disbelieved; then We aided those who believed against their enemy, and they became predominant.

KORAN CHAPTER 99 / Sura 57

Iron / Al-Hadid

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

57:1 Whatever is in the heavens and the earth declares the glory of Allah, and He is the Mighty, the Wise.

57:2 His is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth. He gives life and causes death; and He is Possessor of power over all things.

57:3 He is the First and the Last and the Manifest and the Hidden, and He is Knower of all things.

57:4 He it is Who created the heavens and the earth in six periods, and He is established on the Throne of Power. He knows that which goes down into the earth and that which comes forth out of it, and that which comes down from heaven and that which goes up to it. And He is with you wherever you are. And Allah is Seer of what you do.

57:5 His is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth; and to Allah are (all) affairs returned.

57:6 He causes the night to pass into the day, and causes the day to pass into the night. And He is Knower of what is in the hearts.

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57:7 Believe in Allah and His Messenger, and spend of that whereof He has made you heirs. So those of you who believe and spend for them is a great reward.

57:8 And what reason have you that you believe not in Allah? And the Messenger invites you to believe in your Lord, and He has indeed accepted your covenant, if you are believers.

57:9 He it is Who sends down clear messages to His servant, that he may bring you forth from darkness into light. And surely Allah is Kind, Merciful to you.

57:10 And what reason have you that you spend not in Allah's way? And Allah's is the inheritance of the heavens and the earth. Those of you who spent before the Victory and fought are not on a level (with others). They are greater in rank than those who spent and fought afterwards. And Allah has promised good to all. And Allah is Aware of what you do.

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57:11 Who is he that will offer to Allah a good gift, so He will double it for him, and he will have a generous reward.

57:12 On that day thou wilt see the faithful men and the faithful women, their light gleaming before them and on their right hand. Good news for you this day — Gardens wherein rivers flow, to abide therein! That is the grand achievement.

57:13 On the day when the hypocrites? men and women, will say to those who believe: Wait for us, that we may borrow from your light. It will be said: Turn back and seek a light. Then a wall, with a door in it, will be raised between them. Within it shall be mercy, and outside of it chastisement.

57:14 They will cry out to them: Were we not with you? They will say: Yea, but you caused yourselves to fall into temptation, and you waited and doubted, and vain desire deceived you, till the threatened punishment of Allah came, and the arch-deceiver deceived you about Allah.

57:15 So this day no ransom will be accepted from you, nor from those who disbelieved. Your abode is the Fire it is your patron and evil is the resort.

57:16 Has not the time yet come for the believers that their hearts should be humble for the remembrance of Allah and the Truth that is revealed, and (that) they should not be like those who were given the Book before, but time was prolonged for them, so their hearts hardened. And most of them are transgressors.

57:17 Know that Allah gives life to the earth after its death. Indeed, We have made the signs clear for you that you may understand.

57:18 The men who give in charity and the women who give in charity and set apart for Allah a goodly portion, it will be doubled for them, and theirs is a generous reward.

57:19 And those who believe in Allah and His messengers, they are the truthful and the faithful ones with their Lord. They have their reward and their light. And those who disbelieve and reject Our messages, they are the inmates of hell.

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57:20 Know that this world's life is only sport and play and gaiety and boasting among yourselves and a vying in the multiplication of wealth and children. It is as rain, whose causing the vegetation to grow pleases the husbandmen, then it withers away so that thou seest it turning yellow, then it becomes chaff. And in the Hereafter is a severe chastisement, and (also) forgiveness from Allah and (His) pleasure. And this world's life is naught but a source of vanity.

57:21 Vie one with another for forgiveness from your Lord and a Garden the extensiveness of which is as the extensiveness of the heaven and the earth — it is prepared for those who believe in Allah and His messengers. That is the grace of Allah; He gives it to whom He pleases. And Allah is the Lord of mighty grace.

57:22 No disaster befalls in the earth, or in yourselves, but it is in a book before We bring it into existence — surely that is easy to Allah —

57:23 So that you grieve not for what has escaped you, nor exult in that which He has given you. And Allah loves not any arrogant boaster:

57:24 Such as are niggardly and enjoin niggardliness on men. And whoever turns back, then surely Allah is the Self-Sufficient, the Praised.

57:25 Certainly We sent Our messengers with clear arguments, and sent down with them the Book and the measure, that men may conduct themselves with equity. And We sent down iron, wherein is great violence and advantages to men, and that Allah may know who helps Him and His messengers, unseen. Surely Allah is Strong, Mighty.

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57:26 And certainly We sent Noah and Abraham, and We gave prophethood and the Book to their offspring; so among them is he who goes aright, but most of them are transgressors.

57:27 Then We made Out messengers to follow in their footsteps,. and We made Jesus son of Mary to follow, and We gave him the Gospel. And We put. compassion and mercy in the hearts of those who followed him. And (as for) monkery, they innovated it — We did not prescribe it to them — only to seek Allah's pleasure, but they did not observe it with its due observance. So We gave those of them who believed their reward, but most of them are transgressors.

57:28 O you who believe, keep your duty. to Allah and believe in His Messenger — He will give you two portions of His mercy, and give you a light in which you shall walk, and forgive you. And Allah is Forgiving, Merciful —

57:29 That the People of the Book may know that they control naught of the grace of Allah, and that grace is in Allah's hand. He gives it to whom He pleases. And Allah is the Lord of mighty grace.

KORAN CHAPTER 100 / Sura 4

The Women / Al-Nisa

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

4:1 O people, keep your duty to your Lord, Who created you from a single being and created its mate of the same (kind), and spread from these two many men and women. And keep your duty to Allah, by Whom you demand one of another (your rights), and (to) the ties of relationship. Surely Allah is ever a Watcher over you.

4:2 And give to the orphans their property, and substitute not worthless (things) for (their) good (ones), and devour not their property (adding) to your own property. This is surely a great sin.

4:3 And if you fear that you cannot do justice to orphans, marry such women as seem good to you, two, or three, or four; but if you fear that you will not do justice, then (marry) only one or that which your right hands possess. This is more proper that you may not do injustice.

4:4 And give women their dowries as a free gift. But if they of themselves be pleased to give you a portion thereof, consume it with enjoyment and pleasure.

4:5 And make not over your property, which Allah has made a (means of) support for you, to the weak of understanding, and maintain them out of it, and clothe them and give them a good education.

4:6 And test the orphans until they reach the age of marriage. Then if you find in them maturity of intellect, make over to them their property, and consume it not extravagantly and hastily against their growing up. And whoever is rich, let him abstain, and whoever is poor let him consume reasonably. And when you make over to them their property, call witnesses in their presence. And Allah is enough as a Reckoner.

4:7 For men is a share of what the parents and the near relatives leave, and for women a share of what the parents and the near relatives leave, whether it be little or much — an appointed share.

4:8 And when relatives and the orphans and the needy are present at the division, give them out of it and speak to them kind words.

4:9 And let those fear who, should they leave behind them weakly off-spring, would fear on their account; so let them observe their duty to Allah and let them speak right words.

4:10 Those who swallow the property of the orphans unjustly, they swallow only fire into their bellies. And they will burn in blazing fire.

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4:11 Allah enjoins you concerning your children: for the male is the equal of the portion of two females but it there be more than two females, two-thirds of what the deceased leaves is theirs; and if there be one, for her is the half. And as for his parents, for each of them is the sixth of what he leaves, if he has a child; but if he has no child and (only) his two parents inherit him, for his mother is the third; but if he has brothers, for his mother is the sixth, after (payment of) a bequest he may have bequeathed or a debt. Your parents and your children, you know not which of them is the nearer to you in benefit. This is an ordinance from Allah. Allah is surely ever Knowing, Wise.

4:12 And yours is half of what your wives leave if they have no child; but if they have a child, your share is a fourth of what they leave after (payment of) any bequest they may have bequeathed or a debt; and theirs is the fourth of what you leave if you have no child, but if you have a child, their share is the eighth of what you leave after (payment of) a bequest You may have bequeathed or a debt.

%And if a man or a woman, having no children leaves property to be inherited and he (or she) has a brother or a sister, then for each of them is the sixth; but if they are more than that, they shall be sharers in the third after (payment of) a bequest that may have been bequeathed or a debt not injuring (others). This is an ordinance from Allah and Allah is Knowing, Forbearing.

4:13 These are Allah's limits. And whoever obeys Allah and His Messenger, He will admit him to Gardens wherein flow rivers, to abide in them. And this is the great achievement.

4:14 And whoever disobeys Allah and His Messenger and goes beyond His limits, He will make him enter fire to abide in it, and for him is an abasing chastisement.

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4:15 And as for those of your women who are guilty of an indecency, call to witness against them four (witnesses) from among you; so if they bear witness, confine them to the houses until death takes them away or Allah opens a way for them.

4:16 And as for the two of you who are guilty of it, give them both a slight punishment; then if they repent and amend, turn aside from them. Surely Allah is ever Oft-returning (to mercy), the Merciful.

4:17 Repentance with Allah is only for those who do evil in ignorance, then turn (to Allah) soon, so these it is to whom Allah turns (mercifully). And Allah is ever Knowing, Wise.

4:18 And repentance is not for those who go on doing evil deeds, until when death comes to one of them, he says Now I repent; nor (for) those who die while they are disbelievers. For such We have prepared a painful chastisement.

4:19 O you who believe, it is not lawful for you to take women as heritage against (their) will. Nor should you straiten them by taking part of what you have given them, unless they are guilty of manifest indecency. And treat them kindly. Then if you hate them, it may be that you dislike a thing while Allah has placed abundant good in it.

4:20 And if you wish to have (one) wife in the place of another and you have given one of them a heap of gold, take nothing from it. Would you take it by slandering (her) and (doing her) manifest wrong?

4:21 And how can you take it when one of you has already gone in to the other and they have taken from you a strong covenant?

4:22 And marry not women whom your fathers married, except what has already passed. This surely is indecent and hateful; and it is an evil way.

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4:23 Forbidden to you are your mothers, and your daughters, and your sisters, and your paternal aunts, and your maternal aunts, and brother's daughters and sister's daughters, and your mothers that have suckled you, and your foster-sisters, and mothers of your wives, and your stepdaughters who are in your guardianship (born) of your wives to whom you have gone in — but if you have not gone in to them, there is no blame on you — and the wives of your sons who are of your own loins; and that you should have two sisters together, except what has already passed. Surely Allah is ever Forgiving, Merciful,

4:24 And all married women except those whom your right hands possess (are forbidden); (this is) Allah's ordinance to you. And lawful for you are (all women) besides those, provided that you seek (them) with your property, taking (them) in marriage, not committing fornication. Then as to those whom you profit by (by marrying), give them their dowries as appointed. And there is no blame on you about what you mutually agree after what is appointed (of dowry). Surely Allah is ever Knowing, Wise.

4:25 And whoever among you cannot afford to marry free believing women, (let him marry) such of your believing maidens as your right hands possess. And Allah knows best your faith — you are (sprung) the one from the other. So marry them with the permission of their masters, and give them their dowries justly, they being chaste, not fornicating, nor receiving paramours; then if they are guilty of adultery when they are taken in marriage, they shall suffer half the punishment for free married women. This is for him among you who fears falling into evil. And that you abstain is better for you. And Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.

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4:26 Allah desires to explain to you, and to guide you into the ways of those before you, and to turn to you (mercifully). And Allah is Knowing, Wise.

4:27 And Allah desires to turn to you (mercifully). And those who follow (their) lusts desire that you should deviate (with) a great deviation.

4:28 Allah desires to make light your burdens, and man is created weak.

4:29 O you who believe, devour not your property among yourselves by illegal methods except that it be trading by your mutual consent. And kill not your people. Surely Allah is ever Merciful to you.

4:30 And whoso does this aggressively and unjustly, We shall soon cast him into fire. And this is ever easy for Allah.

4:31 If you shun the great things which you are forbidden, We shall do away with your evil (inclinations) and cause you to enter an honourable place of entering.

4:32 And covet not that by which Allah has made some of you excel others. For men is the benefit of what they earn. And for women is the benefit of what they earn. And ask Allah of His grace. Surely Allah is ever Knower of all things.

4:33 And to every one We have appointed heirs of that which parents and near relatives leave. And as to those with whom your right hands have ratified agreements, give them their due. Surely Allah is ever Witness over all things.

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4:34 Men are the maintainers of women, with what Allah has made some of them to excel others and with what they spend out of their wealth. So the good women are obedient, guarding the unseen as Allah has guarded. And (as to) those on whose part you fear desertion, admonish them, and leave them alone in the beds and chastise them. So if they obey you, seek not a way against them Surely Allah is ever Exalted, Great.

4:35 And if you fear a breach between the two, appoint an arbiter from his people and an arbiter from her people. If they

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both desire agreement, Allah will effect harmony between them. Surely Allah is ever Knowing, Aware.

4:36 And serve Allah, and associate naught with Him, and be good to the parents and to the near of kin and the orphans and the needy and the neighbour of (your) kin and the alien neighbour, and the companion in a journey and the wayfarer and those whom your right hands possess. Surely Allah loves not such as are proud, boastful,

4:37 Who are niggardly and bid people to be niggardly and hide that which Allah has given them out of His grace. And We have prepared for the disbelievers an abasing chastisement — And those who spend their wealth to be seen of men and believe not in Allah nor in the Last Day. And as for him whose companion is the devil, an evil companion is he!

4:39 And what (harm) would it do them if they believe in Allah and the Last Day and spend of that which Allah has given them? And Allah is ever Knower of them.

4:40 Surely Allah wrongs not the weight of an atom; and if it is a good deed, He multiplies it and gives from Himself a great reward.

4:41 But how will it be when We bring from every people a witness and bring thee as a witness against these?

4:42 On that day will those who disbelieved and disobeyed the Messenger desire that the earth were levelled with them. And they can hide no fact from Allah.

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4:43 O you who believe, go not neat prayer when you are intoxicated till you know what you say, nor after sexual intercourse — except you are merely passing by — until you have bathed. And if you are sick, or on a journey, or one of you come from the privy, or you have touched the women, and you cannot find water, betake yourselves to pure earth, then wipe your faces and your hands. Surely Allah is ever Pardoning, Forgiving.

4:44 Seest thou not those to whom a portion of the Book was given? They buy error and desire to make you err from the (right) way.

4:45 And Allah best knows your enemies. And Allah is sufficient as a Friend and Allah is sufficient as a Helper.

4:46 Some of those who are Jews alter words from their places and say, We have heard and we disobey and (say), Hear without being made to hear, and (say), Ra'ina, distorting with their tongues and slandering religion. And if they had said, We hear and we obey, and hearken, and unzurna; it would have been better for them and more upright; but Allah has cursed them on account of their disbelief, so they believe not but a little.

4:47 O you who have been given the Book, believe in what We have revealed, verifying that which you have, before We destroy the leaders and turn them on their backs, or curse them as We cursed the Sabbath-breakers. And the command of Allah is ever executed.

4:48 Surely Allah forgives not that a partner should be set up with Him, and forgives all besides that to whom He pleases. And whoever sets up a partner with Allah, he devises indeed a great sin.

4:49 Hast thou not seen those who attribute purity to themselves? Nay, Allah purifies whom He pleases, and they will not be wronged a whit.

4:50 See how they forge lies against Allah! And sufficient is this as a manifest sin.

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4:51 Hast thou not seen those to whom a portion of the Book was given? They believe in sorcery and diviners and say of those who disbelieve: These are better guided in the path than those who believe.

4:52 Those are they whom Allah has cursed. And whomever Allah curses, thou wilt not find a helper for him.

4:53 Or have they a share in the kingdom? But then they would nor give to people even the speck on a date-stone.

4:54 Or do they envy the people for that which Allah has given them of His grace? But indeed We have given to Abraham's children the Book and the Wisdom, and We have given them a grand kingdom.

4:55 So of them is he who believes in him, and of them is he who turns away from him. And Hell is sufficient to burn.

4:56 Those who disbelieve in Our Messages, we shall make them enter Fire. As often as their skins are burned, We shall change them for other skins, that they may taste the chastisement. Surely Allah is ever Mighty, Wise.

4:57 And those who believe and do good deeds, We shall make them enter Gardens wherein flow rivers, to abide in them for ever. For them therein are pure companions and We shall make them enter a pleasant shade.

4:58 Surely Allah commands you to make over trusts to those worthy of them, and that when you judge between people, you judge with justice. Surely Allah admonishes you with what is excellent. Surely Allah is ever Hearing, Seeing.

4:59 O you who believe, obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those in authority from among you; then if you quarrel about any thing, refer it to Allah and the Messenger, if you believe in Allah and the Last Day. This is best and more suitable to (achieve) the end.

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4:60 Hast thou not seen those who assert that they believe in that which has been revealed to thee and that which was revealed before thee? They desire to seek the judgement of the devil, though they have been commanded to deny him. And the devil desires to lead them far astray.

4:61 And when it is said to them, Come to that which Allah has revealed and to the Messenger, thou seest the hypocrites turning away from thee with aversion.

4:62 But how is it that when a misfortune befalls them on account of that which their hands have sent before, they come to thee sweating by Allah: We desired naught but good and concord?

4:63 These are they, the secrets of whose hearts Allah knows; so turn aside from them and admonish them and speak to them effective words concerning themselves.

4:64 And We sent no messenger but that he should be obeyed by Allah's command. And had they, when they wronged themselves, come to thee and asked forgiveness of Allah, and the Messenger had (also) asked forgiveness for them, they would have found Allah Oft-returning (to mercy), Merciful.

4:65 But no, by thy Lord! they believe not until they make thee a judge of what is in dispute between them, then find not any straitness in their hearts as to that which thou decidest and submit with full submission.

4:66 And if We had enjoined them, Lay down your lives or go forth from your homes, they would not have done it except a few of them. And if they had done what they are exhorted to do, it would certainly have been better for them and more strengthening:

4:67 And then We would certainly have given them from Ourselves a great reward,

4:68 And We would certainly have guided them in the right path.

4:69 And whoever obeys Allah and the Messenger, they are with those upon whom Allah has bestowed favours from among the prophets and the truthful and the faithful and the righteous, and a goodly company are they!

4:70 Such is the grace from Allah, and Allah is sufficient as Knower.

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4:71 O you who believe, take your precautions, then go forth in detachments or go forth in a body.

4:72 And among you is he who would hang back. Then if a misfortune befalls you he says: Allah indeed bestowed a favour on me as I was not present with them.

4:73 And if bounty from Allah comes to you, he would cry, as if there were no friendship between you and him: Would that I had been with them, then I should have achieved a mighty success

4:74 So let those fight in the way of Allah who sell this world's life for the Hereafter. And whoever fights in the way of Allah, be he slain or be he victorious, We shall grant him a mighty reward.

4:75 And what reason have you not to fight in the way of Allah, and of the weak among the men and the women and the children, who say: Our Lord, take us out of this town, whose people are oppressors, and grant us from Thee a friend, and grant us from Thee a helper!

4:76 Those who believe fight in the way of Allah, and those who disbelieve fight in the way of the devil: So fight against the friends of the devil; surely the struggle of the devil is ever weak.

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4:77 Hast thou not seen those to whom it was said: Withhold your hands, and keep up prayer and pay the poor-rate. But when fighting is prescribed for them, lo! a party of them fear men as they ought to fear Allah, or with a greater fear, and say: Our Lord, why hast Thou ordained fighting for us? Wouldst Thou not grant us respite to a near term? Say: The enjoyment of this world is short, and the Hereafter is better for him who keeps his duty. And you shall not be wronged a whit.

4:78 Wherever you are, death will overtake you, though you are in towers, raised high. And if good befalls them, they say: This is from Allah; and if a misfortune befalls them, they say: This is from thee. Say: All is from Allah. But what is the matter with these people that they make no effort to understand anything?

4:79 Whatever good befalls thee (O man), it is front Allah, and whatever misfortune befalls thee, it is from thyself. And We have sent thee (O Prophet) to mankind as a Messenger. And Allah is sufficient as a witness.

4:80 Whoever obeys the Messenger, he indeed obeys Allah. And whoever turns away, We have not sent thee as a keeper over them.

4:81 And they say: Obedience. But when they go out from thy presence, a party of them plan by night doing otherwise than what thou sayest." And Allah writes down what they plan by night, so turn aside from them and trust in Allah. And Allah is sufficient as having charge of affairs.

4:82 Will they not then meditate on the Koran? And if it were from any other than Allah, they would have found in it many a discrepancy.

4:83 But if any news of security or fear comes to them, they spread it abroad. And if they had referred it to the Messenger and to those in authority among them, those of them who can search out knowledge of it would have known it. And were it not for the grace of Allah upon you and His mercy, you would certainly have followed the devil save a few.

4:84 Fight then in Allah's way — thou art not responsible except for thyself; and urge on the believers. It may be that Allah will restrain the fighting of those who disbelieve. And Allah is stronger in prowess and stronger to give exemplary punishment.

4:85 Whoever intercedes in a good cause has a share of it, and whoever intercedes in an evil cause has a portion of it. And Allah is ever Keeper over all things.

4:86 And when you are greeted with a greeting, greet with one better than it, or return it. Surely Allah ever takes account of all things.

4:87 Allah, there is no god but He — He will certainly gather you together on the Resurrection day, there is no doubt in it. And who is more true in word than Allah?

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4:88 Why should you, then, be two parties in relation to the hypocrites while Allah has made them return (to disbelief) for what they have earned? Do you desire to guide him whom Allah leaves in error? And whomsoever Allah leaves in error thou canst not find a way for him.

4:89 They long that you should disbelieve as they have disbelieved so that you might be on the same level; so take not from among them friends until they flee (their homes) in Allah's way. Then if they turn back (to hostility), seize them and kill them wherever you find them, and take no friend nor helper from among them,

4:90 Except those who join a people between whom and you there is an alliance, or who come to you, their hearts shrinking from fighting you or fighting their own people. And if Allah had pleased, He would have given them power over you, so that they would have fought you. So if they withdraw from you and fight you not and offer you peace, then Allah allows you no way against them.

4:91 You will find others who desire to be secure from you and secure from their own people. Whenever they are made to return to hostility, they are plunged into it. So if they withdraw not from you, nor offer you peace and restrain their hands, then seize them and kill them wherever you find them. And against these We have given you a dear authority.

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4:92 And a believer would not kill a believer except by mistake. And he who kills a believer by mistake should free a believing slave, and blood-money should be paid to his people unless they remit it as alms. But if he be from a tribe hostile to you and he is a believer, the freeing of a believing slave (suffices) And if he be from a tribe between whom and you there is a covenant, the blood-money should be paid to his people along with the freeing of a believing slave but he who has nor the means should fast for two months successively: a penance from Allah. And Allah is ever Knowing, Wise.

4:93 And whoever kills a believer intentionally, his punishment is hell, abiding therein: and Allah is wroth with him and He has cursed him and prepared for him a grievous chastisement.

4:94 O you who believe, when you go forth (to fight) in Allah's way, make investigation, and say not to any one who offers you salutation, Thou art not a believer, seeking the good of this worlds life. But with Allah there are abundant gains. You too were such before, then Allah conferred a benefit on you; so make investigation. Surely Allah is ever Aware of what you do.

4:95 The holders back from among the believers, not disabled by injury, and those who strive hard in Allah's way with their property and their persons, are not equal. Allah has made the strivers with their properry and their persons to excel the holders-back a (high) degree. And to each Allah has promised good. And Allah has granted to the strivers above the holders-back a mighty reward — (High) degrees from Him and protection and mercy. And Allah is ever Forgiving, Merciful.

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4:97 (As for) those whom the angels cause to die while they are unjust to themselves, (the angels) will say What were you doing? They will say We were weak in the earth (They will) say: Was not Allah's earth spacious, so that you could have migrated therein? So these it is whose refuge is hell and it is an evil resort.

4:98 Except the weak from among the men and the women and the children who have not the means, nor can they find a way (to escape);

4:99 So these, it may be that Allah will pardon them. And Allah is ever Pardoning, Forgiving.

4:100 And whoever flees in Allah's way, he will find in the earth many a place of escape and abundant resources. And whoever goes forth from his home fleeing to Allah and His Messenger, then death overtakes him, his reward is indeed with Allah. And Allah is ever Forgiving, Merciful.

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4:101 And when you journey in the earth, there is no blame on you if you shorten the prayer, if you fear that those who disbelieve will give you trouble. Surely the disbelievers are an open enemy to you.

4:102 And when thou art among them and leadest the prayer for them, let a party of them stand up with thee, and let them take their arms; Then when they have performed their prostration, let them go to your rear, and let another party who have not prayed come forward and pray with thee, and let them take their precautions and their arms. Those who disbelieve long that you may neglect your arms and your baggage, that they may attack you with a sudden united attack. And there is no blame on you, if you are inconvenienced on account of rain or if you are sick, to put away your arms; and take your precautions. Surely Allah has prepared abasing chastisement for the disbelievers.

4:103 So when you have finished the prayer, remember Allah standing and sitting and reclining. But when you are secure, from danger, keep up (regular) prayer. Prayer indeed has been enjoined on the believers at fixed times.

4:104 And be not weak-hearted in pursuit of the enemy. If you suffer they (too) suffer as you suffer, and you hope from Allah what they hope not. And Allah is ever Knowing, Wise

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4:105 Surely We have revealed the Book to thee with truth that thou mayest judge between people by means of what Allah has taught thee. And be not one pleading the cause of the dishonest,

4:106 And ask the forgiveness of Allah. Surely Allah is ever Forgiving, Merciful.

4:107 And contend not on behalf of those who act unfaithfully to their souls. Surely Allah loves not him who is treacherous, sinful:

4:108 They seek to hide from men and they cannot hide from Allah, and He is with them when they counsel by night matters which please Him not. And Allah ever encompasses what they do.

4:109 Behold! You are they who may contend on their behalf in this world's life, but who will contend with Allah on their behalf on the Resurrection day, or who will have charge of their affairs?

4:110 And whoever does evil or wrongs his soul, then asks forgiveness of Allah, will find Allah Forgiving, Merciful.

4:111 And whoever commits a sin, commits it only against himself. And Allah is ever Knowing, Wise.

4:112 And whoever commits a fault or a sin, then accuses of it one innocent, he indeed takes upon himself the burden of a calumny and a manifest sin.

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4:113 And were it not for Allah's grace upon thee and His mercy, a party of them had certainly designed to ruin thee. And they ruin only themselves, and they cannot harm thee in any way. And Allah has revealed to thee the Book and the Wisdom, and taught thee what thou knewest not, and Allah's grace on thee is very great.

4:114 There is no good in most of their secret counsels except (in) him who enjoins charity or goodness or reconciliation between people. And whoever does this, seeking Allah's pleasure, We shall give him a mighty reward.

4:115 And whoever acts hostilely to the Messenger after guidance has become manifest to him and follows other than the way of the believers, We turn him to that to which he (himself) turns and make him enter hell and it is an evil resort.

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4:116 Surely Allah forgives not setting up partners with Him, and He forgives all besides this to whom He pleases. And whoever sets up a partner with Allah, he indeed goes far astray

4:117 Besides Him they call on nothing but female divinities and they call on nothing but a rebellious devil,

4:118 Whom Allah has cursed. And he said: Certainly I will take of Thy servants an appointed portion;

4:119 And certainly I will lead them astray and excite in them vain desires and bid them so that they will slit the ears of the cattle, and bid them so that they will alter Allah's creation. And whoever takes the devil for a friend, forsaking Allah, he indeed suffers a manifest loss.

4:120 He promises them and excites vain desires in them. And the devil promises them only to deceive.

4:121 These — their refuge is hell, and they will find no way of escape from it.

4:122 And those who believe and do good, We shall make them enter Gardens in which rivers flow, to abide therein for ever. It is Allah's promise, in truth. And who is more truthful in word than Allah?

4:123 It will not be in accordance with your vain desires nor the vain desires of the People of the Book. Whoever does evil, will be requited for it and will not find for himself besides Allah a friend or a helper.

4:124 And whoever does good deeds, whether male or female, and he (or she) is a believer these will enter the Garden, and they will not be dealt with a whit unjustly.

4:125 And who is better in religion than he who submits himself entirely to Allah while doing good (to others) and follows the faith of Abraham, the upright one? And Allah took Abraham for a friend

4:126 And to Allah belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth. And Allah ever encompasses all things.

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4:127 And they ask thee a decision about women. Say Allah makes known to you His decision concerning them; and that which is recited to you in the Book is concerning widowed women, whom you give not what is appointed for them, while you are not inclined to marry them, nor to the weak among children, and that you should deal justly with orphans and whatever good you do, Allah is surely ever Knower of it.

4:128 And if a woman fears ill-usage from her husband or desertion no blame is on them if they effect a reconciliation between them. And reconciliation is better. And avarice is met with in (men's) minds. And if you do good (to others) and keep your duty, surely Allah is ever Aware of what you do.

4:129 And you cannot do justice between wives, even though you wish (it), but be not disinclined (from one) with total disinclination, so that you leave her in suspense. And if you are reconciled and keep your duty, surely Allah is ever Forgiving, Merciful.

4:130 And if they separate, Allah will render them both free from want out of His ampleness. And Allah is ever Ample-giving, Wise.

4:131 And to Allah belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth. And certainly We enjoined those who were given the Book before you and (We enjoin) you too to keep your duty to Allah. And if you disbelieve, surely to Allah belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth. And Allah is ever Self-sufficient, Praiseworthy.

4:132 And to Allah belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth. And Allah suffices as having charge of affairs.

4:133 If He please, He will take you away, O people, and bring others. And Allah is ever Powerful to do that.

4:134 Whoever desires the reward of this world — then with Allah is the reward of this world and the Hereafter. And Allah is ever Hearing Seeing.

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4:135 O you who believe, be maintainers of justice, bearers of witness for Allah, even though it be against your own selves or (your) parents or near relatives whether he be rich or poor, Allah has a better right over them both. So follow not (your) low desires, lest you deviate. And if you distort or turn away from (truth), surely Allah is ever Aware of what you do.

4:136 O you who believe, believe in Allah and His Messenger and the Book which He has revealed to His Messenger and the Book which He revealed before. And whoever disbelieves in Allah and His angels and His Books and His messengers and the Last Day, he indeed strays far away.

4:137 Those who believe then disbelieve, again believe and again disbelieve, then increase in disbelief, Allah will never forgive them nor guide them in the (right) way.

4:138 Give news to the hypocrites that for them is a painful chastisement —

4:139 Those who take disbelievers for friends rather than believers. Do they seek for might from them? Might surely belongs wholly to Allah.

4:140 And indeed He has revealed to you in the Book that when you hear Allah's messages disbelieved in and mocked at, sit not with them until they enter into some other discourse, for then indeed you would be like them. Surely Allah will gather together the hypocrites and the disbelievers all in hell —

4:141 Those who wait (for misfortunes) for you. Then if you have a victory from Allah they say Were we not with you? And if there is a chance for the disbelievers, they say Did we not prevail over you and defend you from the believers? So Allah will judge between you on the day of Resurrection. And Allah will by no means give the disbelievers a way against the believers.

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4:142 The hypocrites seek to deceive Allah, and He will requite their deceit to them. And when they stand up for prayer, they stand up sluggishly — they do it only to be seen of men and remember Allah but little,

4:143 Wavering between that (and this) (belonging) neither to these nor to those. And whomsoever Allah leaves in error, thou wilt not a way for him.

4:144 O you who believe, take not the disbelievers for friends rather than the believers. Do you desire to give Allah a manifest proof against yourselves?

4:145. The hypocrites are surely in the lowest depths of the Fire, and thou wilt find no helper for them,

4:146 Save those who repent and amend and hold fast to Allah and are sincere in their obedience to Allah — these are with the believers. And Allah will soon grant the believers a mighty reward.

4:147 Why should Allah chastise you if you are grateful and believe? And Allah is ever Multiplier of rewards, Knowing.

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4:148 Allah loves not the public utterance of hurtful speech, except by one who has been wronged. And Allah is ever Hearing, Knowing.

4:149 If you do good openly or keep it secret or pardon an evil, Allah surely is ever Pardoning, Powerful.

4:150 Those who disbelieve in Allah and His messengers and desire to make a distinction between Allah and His messengers and say: We believe in some and disbelieve in others; and desire to take a course in between —

4:151 These are truly disbelievers and We have prepared for the disbelievers an abasing chastisement.

4:152 And those who believe in Allah and His messengers and make no distinction between any of them, to them He will grant their rewards. And Allah is ever Forgiving, Merciful.

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4:153 The People of the Book ask thee to bring down to them a Book from heaven; indeed they demanded of Moses a greater thing than that, for they said: Show us Allah manifestly. So destructive punishment overtook them on account of their wrongdoing. Then they took the calf (for a god), after dear signs had come to them, but We pardoned this. And We gave Moses dear authority.

4:154 And We raised the mountain above them at their covenant. And We said to them: Enter the door making obeisance. And We said to them: Violate not the Sabbath; and We took from them a firm covenant.

4:155 Then for their breaking their covenant and their disbelief in the messages of Allah and their killing the prophets wrongfully and their saying, Our hearts are covered; nay, Allah has sealed them owing to their disbelief, so they believe not but a little:

4:156 And for their disbelief and for their uttering against Mary a grievous calumny:

4:157 And for their saying: We have killed the Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary, the messenger of Allah, and they killed him not, nor did they cause his death on the cross, but he was made to appear to them as such. And certainly those who differ therein are in doubt about it. They have no knowledge about it, but only follow a conjecture, and they killed him not for certain:

4:158 Nay, Allah exalted hian in His presence. And Allah is ever Mighty, Wise.

4:159 And there is none of the People of the Book but will believe in this before his death; and on the day of Resurrection he will be a witness against them.

4:160 So for the iniquity of the Jews, We forbade them the good things which had been made lawful for them, and for their hindering many (people) from Allah's way.

4:161 And for their taking usury though indeed they were forbidden it and their devouring the property of people falsely. And We have prepared for the disbelievers from among them a painful chastisement.

4:162 But the firm in knowledge among them and the believers believe in that which has been revealed to thee and that which was revealed before thee, and those who keep up prayer and give the poor-rate and the believers in Allah and the Last Day — these it is to whom We shall give a mighty reward.

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4:163 Surely We have revealed to thee as We revealed to Noah and the prophets after him, and We revealed to Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob and the tribes, and Jesus and Job and Jonah and Aaron and Solomon, and We gave to David a scripture.

4:164 And (We sent) messengers We have mentioned to thee before and messengers We have not mentioned to thee. And to Moses Allah addressed His word, speaking (to him)—

4:165 Messengers, bearers of good news and warners, so that the people may have no plea against Allah after the (coming of) messengers. And Allah is ever Mighty, Wise.

4:166 But Allah bears witness by that which He has revealed to thee that He has revealed it with His knowledge, and the angels (also) bear witness. And Allah is sufficient as a witness.

4:167 Those who disbelieve and hinder (others) from Allah's way, they indeed have erred, going far astray.

4:168 Those who disbelieve and act unjustly, Allah will never forgive them, nor guide them to a path,

4:169 Except the path of hell, to abide in it for a long time. And that is easy to Allah.

4:170 O mankind, the Messenger has indeed come to you with truth from your Lord, so believe, it is better for you. And if you disbelieve, then surely to Allah belongs whatever is in the heavens and the earth. And Allah is ever Knowing, Wise.

4:171 O People of the Book, exceed not the limits in your religion nor speak anything about Allah, but the truth. The Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary, is only a messenger of Allah and His word which He communicated to Mary and a mercy from Him. So believe in Allah and His messengers. And say not, Three. Desist, it is better for you. Allah is only one God. Far be it from His glory to have a son. To Him belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth. And sufficient is Allah as having charge of affairs.

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4:172 The Messiah disdains not to be a servant of Allah, not do the angels who are near to Him. And whoever disdains His service and is proud, He will gather them all together to Himself.

4:173 Then as for those who believe and do good, He will pay them fully their rewards and give them more out of His grace. And as for those who disdain and are proud, He will chastise them with a painful chastisement,

4:174 And they will find for themselves besides Allah no friend nor helper.

4:175 O people, manifest proof has indeed come to you from your Lord and We have sent down to you a clear light.

4:176 Then as for those who believe in Allah and hold fast by Him, He will admit them to His mercy and grace, and guide them to Himself on a right path.

4:177 They ask thee for a decision. Say: Allah gives you a decision concerning the person who has neither parents nor children. If a man dies (and) he has no son and he has a sister, hers is half of what he leaves, and he shall be her heir if she has no son. But if there be two (sisters), they shall have two-thirds of what he leaves. And if there are brethren, men and women, then for the male is the like of the portion of two females. Allah makes dear to you, lest you err. And Allah is Knower of all things.

CHAPTER 101 / Sura 65

Divorce / Al-Talaq

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

65:1. O Prophet, when you divorce women, divorce them for their prescribed period, and calculate the period; and keep your duty to Allah, your Lord. Turn them nor out of their houses — nor should they themselves go forth — unless they commit an open indecency. And these are the limits of Allah. And whoever goes beyond the limits of Allah, he indeed wrongs his own soul. Thou knowest not that Allah may after that bring about an event.

65:2 So when they have reached their prescribed time, retain them with kindness or dismiss them with kindness, and call to witness two just ones from among you, and give upright testimony for Allah. With that is admonished he who believes in Allah and the Latter Day. And whoever keeps his duty to Allah, He ordains a way out for him,

65:3 And gives him sustenance from whence he imagines not. And whoever trusts in Allah, He is sufficient for him. Surely Allah attains His purpose. Allah indeed has appointed a measure for everything.

65:4 And those of your women who despair of menstruation, if you have a doubt, their prescribed time is three months, and of those, too, who have not had their courses. And the pregnant women, their prescribed time is that they lay down their burden. And whoever keeps his duty to Allah, He makes his affair easy for him.

65:5 That is the command of Allah, which He has revealed to you. And whoever keeps his duty to Allah, He will remove from him his evils and give him a big reward.

65:6 Lodge them where you live according to your means, and injure them not to straiten them. And if they are pregnant, spend on them until they lay down their burden. Then if they suckle for you, give them their recompense, and enjoin one another to do good and if you disagree, another will suckle for him.

65:7 Let him who has abundance spend out of his abundance, and whoever has his means of subsistence straitened to him, let him spend out of that which Allah has given him. Allah lays not on any soul a burden beyond that which He has given it. Allah brings about ease after difficulty.

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65:8 And how many a town which rebelled against the commandment of its Lord and His messengers, so We called it to severe account and We chastised it with a stern chastisement!

65:9 So it tasted the evil consequences of its conduct, and the end of its affair was perdition.

65:10 Allah has prepared for them severe chastisement, so keep your duty to Allah, O men of understanding, who believe. Allah has indeed sent down to you a Reminder —

65:11 A Messenger who recites to you the clear messages of Allah, so that he may bring forth those who believe and do good deeds from darkness into light. And whoever believes in Allah and does good deeds, He will cause him to enter Gardens wherein rivers flow, to abide therein for ever. Allah has indeed given him a goodly sustenance.

65:12 Allah is He who created seven heavens, and of the earth the like thereof. The command descends among them, that you may know that Allah is Possessor of power over all things, and that Allah encompasses all things in (His) knowledge.

KORAN CHAPTER 102 / Sura 59

The Banishment / Al-Hashr

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

59:1 Whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth glorifies Allah; and He is the Mighty, the Wise;

59:2 He it is Who caused those who disbelieved of the People of the Book to go forth from their homes at the first banishment. You deemed not that they would go forth, while they thought that their fortresses would defend them against Allah. But Allah came to them from a place they expected not and cast terror into their hearts they demolished their houses with their own hands and the hands of the believers. So take a lesson, O you who have eyes!

59:3 And had it not been that Allah had decreed for them the exile, He would certainly have chastised them in this world; and for them in the Hereafter is the chastisement of Fire.

59:4 That is because they were opposed to Allah and His Messenger, and whoever is opposed to Allah, surely Allah is Severe in retribution.

59:5 Whatever palm-tree you cut down or leave it standing upon its roots, it is by Allah's permission, and that He may abase the transgressors.

59:6 And whatever Allah restored to His Messenger from them, you did not press forward against it any horse or any riding-camel, but Allah gives authority to His messengers against whom He pleases. And Allah is Possessor of power over all things.

59:7 Whatever Allah restored to His Messenger from the people of the towns, it is for Allah and for the Messenger, and for the near of kin and the orphans and the needy and the wayfarer, so that it be not taken by turns by the rich among you. And whatever the Messenger gives you, accept it, and whatever he forbids you, abstain (therefrom); and keep your duty to Allah. Surely Allah is Severe in retribution.—

59:8 (It is) for the poor who fled, who were driven from their homes and their possessions, seeking grace of Allah and (His) pleasure, and helping Allah and His Messenger. These it is that are the truthful.—

59:9 And those who made their abode in the City and in faith before them love those who have fled to them, and find in their hearts no need of what they are given, and prefer (them) before themselves, though poverty may afflict them. And whoever is saved from the niggardliness of his soul, these it is that are the successful.

59:10 And those who come after them say Our Lord, forgive us and our brethren who had precedence of us in faith, and leave no spite in our hearts towards those who believe. Our Lord, surely Thou art Kind, Merciful.

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59:11 Hast thou not seen the hypocrites? They say to their brethren who disbelieve from among the People of the Book: If you are expelled, we certainly will go forth with you, and we will never obey any one concerning you; and if you are fought against, we will certainly help you. And Allah bears witness that they surely are liars.

59:12 If they are expelled, they will not go forth with them, and if they are fought against, they will not help them; and even if they help them, they will certainly turn (their) backs then they shall not be helped.

59:13 Your fear in their hearts is indeed greater than Allah's. That is because they are a people who understand not.

59:14 They will not fight against you in a body save in fortified towns or from behind walls. Their fighting between them is severe. Thou wouldst think them united, but their hearts are divided. That is because they are a people who have no sense.

59:15 Like those before them shortly: they taste the evil consequences of their conduct, and for them is a painful chastisement,

59:16 Like the devil when he says to man: Disbelieve. But when he disbelieves, he says: I am free of thee surely I fear Allah, the Lord of the worlds.

59:17 So the end of both of them is that they are both in the Fire to abide therein. And that is the reward of the wrong-doers.

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59:18 O you who believe, keep your duty to Allah, and let every soul consider that which it sends forth for the morrow, and keep your duty to Allah. Surely Allah is Aware of what you do.

59:19 And be not like those who forget Allah, so He makes them forget their own souls. These are the transgressors.

59:20 Not alike are the companions of the Fire and the owners of the Garden. The owners of the Garden are the achievers.

59:21 Had We sent down this Koran on a mountain, thou wouldst certainly have seen it falling down, splitting asunder because of the fear of Allah. And We set forth these parables to men that they may reflect.

59:22 He is Allah besides Whom there is no God: The Knower of the unseen and the seen; He is the Beneficent, the Merciful.

59:23 He is Allah, besides Whom there is no God; the King, the Holy, the Author of Peace, the Granter of Security, Guardian over all, the Mighty, the Supreme, the Possessor of greatness. Glory be to Allah from that which they set up (with Him)!

59:24 He is Allah; the Creator, the Maker, the Fashioner His are the most beautiful names. Whatever is in the heavens and the earth declares His glory; and He is the Mighty, the Wise.

KORAN CHAPTER 103 / Sura 33

The Allies / Al-Ahzah

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

33:1 O Prophet, keep thy duty to Allah and obey not the disbelievers and the hypocrites. Surely Allah is ever Knowing, Wise;

33:2 And follow that which is revealed to thee from thy Lord. Surely Allah is ever Aware of what you do;

33:3 And trust in Allah. And Allah is enough as having charge (of affairs).

33:4 Allah has not made for any man two hearts within him nor has He made your wives whom you desert by Zihar, your mothers, nor has He made those whom you assert (to be your sons) your sons. These are the words of your mouths. And Allah speaks the truth and He shows the way.

33:5 Call them by (the names of) their fathers; this is more equitable with Allah; but if you know not their fathers, then they are your brethren in faith and your friends. And there is no blame on you in that wherein you make a mistake, but (you are answerable for) that which your hearts purpose. And Allah is ever Forgiving, Merciful.

33:6 The Prophet is closer to the faithful than their own selves, and his wives are (as) their mothers. And the possessors of relationship are doser one to another in the ordinance of Allah than (other) believers, and those who fled (their homes), except that you do some good to your friends. This is written in the Book.

33:7 And when We took a covenant from the prophets and from thee, and from Noah and Abraham and Moses and Jesus, son of Mary, and We took from them a solemn covenant,

33:8 That He may question the truthful of their truth, and He has prepared for the disbelievers a painful chastisement.

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33:9 O you who believe, call to mind the favour of Allah to you when there came against you hosts, so We sent against them a strong wind and hosts that you saw not. And Allah is ever Seer of what you do.

33:10 When they came upon you from above you and from below you, and when the eyes turned dull and the hearts rose up to the throats, and you began to think diverse thoughts about Allah.

33:11 There were the believers tried and they were shaken with a severe shaking.

33:12 And when the hypocrites and those in whose hearts was a disease began to say: Allah and His Messenger did not promise us (victory) but only to deceive.

33:13 And when a party of them said: O people of Yathrib, you cannot make a stand, so go back. And a party of them asked permission of the Prophet, saying, Our houses are exposed. And they were not exposed. They only desired to run away.

33:14 And if an entry were made upon them from the outlying parts of it, then they were asked to wage war (against the Muslims), they would certainly have done it, and they would not have stayed in it but a little while.

33:15 And they had indeed made a covenant with Allah before, (that) they would not turn (their) backs. And a covenant with Allah must be answered for.

33:16 Say: Flight will not profit you, if you flee from death or slaughter, and then you will not be allowed to enjoy yourselves but a little.

33:17 Say: Who is it that can protect you from Allah, if He intends harm for you or He intends to show you mercy? And they will not find for themselves a guardian or a helper besides Allah.

33:18 Allah indeed knows those among you who hinder others and those who say to their brethren, Come to us. And they come not to the fight but a little,

33:19 Being niggardly with respect to you. But when fear comes, thou wilt see them looking to thee, their eyes rolling like one swooning because of death. But when fear is gone they smite you with sharp tongues, being covetous of wealth. These have not believed, so Allah makes their deeds naught. And that is easy for Allah.

33:20 They think the allies are not gone, and if the allies should come (again), they would fain be in the deserts with the desert Arabs, asking for news about you. And if they were among you, they would not fight save a little.

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33:21 Certainly you have in the Messenger of Allah an excellent exemplar for him who hopes in Allah and the Latter day, and remembers Allah much.

33:22 And when the believers saw the allies, they said: This is what Allah and His Messenger promised us, and Allah and His Messenger spoke the truth. And it only added to their faith and submission.

33:23 Of the believers are men who are true to the covenant they made with Allah so of them is he who has accomplished his vow, and of them is he who yet waits, and they have not changed in the least —

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33:24 That Allah may reward the truthful for their truth, and chastise the hypocrites if He please, or turn to them (mercifully). Surely Allah is ever Forgiving, Merciful.

33:25 And Allah turned back the disbelievers in their rage — they gained no advantage. And Allah sufficed the believers in fighting. And Allah is ever Strong, Mighty.

33:26 And He drove down those of the People of the Book who backed them from their fortresses and He cast awe into their hearts; some you killed and you took captive some.

33:27 And He made you heirs to their land and their dwellings and their property, and (to) a land which you have not yet trodden. And Allah is ever Possessor of power over all things.

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33:28 O Prophet, say to thy wives If you desire this world's life and its adornment, come, I will give you a provision and allow you to depart a goodly departing.

33:29 And if you desire Allah and His Messenger and the abode of the Hereafter, then surely Allah has prepared for the doers of good among you a mighty reward.

33:30 O wives of the Prophet, whoever of you is guilty of manifestly improper conduct, the chastisement will be doubled for her. And this is easy for Allah.

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33:31 And whoever of you is obedient to Allah and His Messenger and does good, We shall give her a double reward, and We have prepared for her an honourable sustenance.

33:32 O wives of the Prophet, you are not like any other women. If you would keep your duty, be nor soft in speech, lest he in whose heart is a disease yearn; and speak a word of goodness.

33:33 And stay in your houses and display not your beauty like the displaying of the ignorance of yore; and keep up prayer, and pay the poor-rate, and obey Allah and His Messenger Allah only desires to take away uncleanness from you, O people of the household, and to purify you a (thorough) purifying.

33:34 And remember that which is recited in your houses of the messages of Allah and the Wisdom. Surely Allah is ever Knower of subtilities, Aware.

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33:35 Surely the men who submit and the women who submit, and the believing men and the believing women, and the obeying men and the obeying women, and the truthful men and the truthful women, and the patient men and the patient women, and the humble men and the humble women, and the charitable men and the charitable women, and the fasting men and the fasting women, and the men who guard their chastity and the women who guard, and the men who remember Allah much and the women who remember — Allah has prepared for them forgiveness and a mighty reward.

33:36 And it behoves not a believing man or a believing woman, when Allah and His Messenger have decided an affair to exercise a choice in their matter. And whoever disobeys Allah and His Messenger, he surely strays off to manifest error.

33:37 And when thou saidst to him to whom Allah had shown favour and to whom thou hadst shown a favour: Keep thy wife to thyself and keep thy duty to Allah and thou concealedst in thy heart what Allah would bring to light, and thou fearedst men, and Allah has a greater right that thou shouldst fear Him. So when Zaid dissolved her marriage-tie, We gave her to thee as a wife, so that there should be no difficulty for the believers about the wives of their adopted sons, when they have dissolved their marriage-tie. And Allah's command is ever performed.

33:38 There is no harm for the prophet in that which Allah has ordained for him. Such has been the way of Allah with those who have gone before. And the command of Allah is a decree that is made absolute —

33:39 Those who deliver the messages of Allah and fear Him, and fear none but Allah. And Allah is Sufficient to take account.

33:40 Muhammad is not the father of any of your men, but he is the Messenger of Allah and the Seal of the prophets And Allah is ever Knower of all things.

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33:41 O you who believe, remember Allah with much remembrance,

33:42 And glorify Him morning and evening.

33:43 He it is Who sends blessings on you, and (so do) His angels, that He may bring you forth out of darkness into light. And He is ever Merciful to the believers.

33:44 Their salutation on the day they meet Him will be, Peace! and He has prepared for them an honourable reward.

33:45 O Prophet, surely We have sent thee as a witness, and a bearer of good news and a warner,

33:46 And as an inviter to Allah by His permission, and as a light-giving sun.

33:47 And give the believers the good news that they will have great grace from Allah.

33:48 And obey not the disbelievers and the hypocrites, and disregard their annoying talk, and rely on Allah. And Allah is enough as having charge (of affairs).

33:49 O you who believe, when you marry believing women, then divorce them before you touch them, you have in their case no term which you should reckon. But make provision for them and set them free in a goodly manner.

33:50 O Prophet, We have made lawful to thee thy wives whom thou hast given their dowries, and those whom thy right hand possesses, out of those whom Allah has given thee as prisoners of war, and the daughters of thy paternal uncle and the daughters of thy paternal aunts, and the daughters of thy maternal uncle and the daughters of thy maternal aunts who fled with thee; and a believing woman, if she gives herself to the Prophet, if the Prophet desires to marry her. (It is) especially for thee, not for the believers — We know what We have ordained for them concerning their wives and those whom their right hands possess in order that no blame may attach to thee. And Allah is ever Forgiving, Merciful.

33:51 Thou mayest put off whom thou pleasest of them, and take to thee whom thou pleasest. And whom thou desirest of those whom thou hadst separated provisionally, no blame attaches to thee. This is most proper so that their eyes may be cool and they may not grieve, and that they should be pleased, all of them, with what thou givest them. And Allah knows what is in your hearts. And Allah is ever Knowing, Forbearing.

33:52 It is riot allowed to thee to take wives after this, nor to change them for other wives, though their beauty be pleasing to thee, except those whom thy right hand possesses. And Allah is ever Watchful over all things.

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33:53 O you who believe, enter not the houses of the Prophet unless permission is given to you for a meal, not waiting for its cooking being finished but when you are invited, enter, and when you have taken food, disperse not seeking to listen to talk. Surely this gives the Prophet trouble, but he forbears from you, and Allah forbears not from the truth. And when you ask of them any goods, ask of them from behind a curtain. This is purer for your hearts and their hearts. And it behoves you not to give trouble to the Messenger of Allah, nor to marry his wives after him ever. Surely this is grievous in the sight of Allah.

33:54 If you do a thing openly or do it in secret, then surely Allah is ever Knower of all things.

33:68 Our Lord, give them a double chastisement and curse them with a great curse.

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33:69 O you who believe, be not like those who maligned Moses, but Allah cleared him of what they said. And he was worthy of regard with Allah.

33:70 O you who believe, keep your duty to Allah and speak straight words:

33:71 He will put your deeds into a right state for you, and forgive you your sins. And whoever obeys Allah and His Messenger, he indeed achieves a mighty success.

33:72 Surely We offered the trust to the heavens and the earth and the mountains, but they refused to be unfaithful to it and feared from it, and man has turned unfaithful to it. Surely he is ever unjust, ignorant —

33:73 That Allah may chastise the hypocritical men and the hypocritical women and the polytheistic men and the polytheistic women, and Allah will turn (mercifully) to the believing men and the believing women. And Allah is ever Forgiving, Merciful.

KORAN CHAPTER 104 / Sura 63

The Hypocrites / Al-Munafiqun

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

63:1 When the hypocrites come to thee, they say: We bear witness that thou art indeed Allah's Messenger. And Allah knows thou art indeed His Messenger. And Allah bears witness that the hypocrites are surely liars.

63:2 They take shelter under their oaths, thus turning (men) from Allah's way. Surely evil is that which they do.

63:3 That is because they believed, then disbelieved; thus their hearts are sealed, so they understand not.

63:4 And when thou seest them, their persons please thee; and if they speak, thou listenest to their speech. They are like pieces of wood, clad with garments. They think every cry to be against them. They are the enemy, so beware of them, May Allah destroy them How they are turned back!

63:5 And when it is said to them Come, the Messenger of Allah will ask forgiveness for you, they turn away their heads and thou seest them hindering (others), and they are big with pride.

63:6 It is alike to them whether thou ask forgiveness for them or ask not forgiveness for them — Allah will never forgive them. Surely Allah guides not the transgressing people.

63:7 They it is who sa~: Spend not on those who are with the Messenger of Allah that they may disperse. And Allah's are the treasures of the heavens and the earth, but the hypocrites understand not.

63:8 They say: If we return to Madinah, the mightier will surely drive out the meaner therefrom. And might belongs to Allah and His Messenger and the believers, but the hypocrites know not.

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63:9 O you who believe, let not your wealth nor your children divert you from the remembrance of Allah; and whoever does that, these are the losers.

63:10 And spend our of that which We have given you before death comes to one of you, and he says: My Lord, why didst Thou not respire me to a near term, so that I should have given alms and been of the doers of good deeds?

63:11 But Allah respites not a soul, when its term comes. And Allah is Aware of what you do.

KORAN CHAPTER 105 / Sura 24

The Light / Al-Nur

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

24:1 (This is) a chapter which We have revealed and made obligatory and wherein We have revealed clear messages that you may be mindful.

24:2 The adulteress and the adulterer, flog each of them (with) a hundred stripes, and let not pity for them detain you from obedience to Allah, if you believe in Allah and the Last Day, and let a party of believers wit ness their chastisement.

24:3 The adulterer cannot have sexual relations with any but an adulteress or an idolatress, and the adulteress, none can have sexual relations with her but an adulterer or an idolater; and it is forbidden to believers.

24:4 And those who accuse free women and bring not four witnesses, flog them (with) eighty stripes and never accept their evidence, and these are the transgressors —

24:5 Except those who afterwards repent and act aright; surely Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.

24:6 And those who accuse their wives and have no witnesses except themselves, let one of them testify four times, bearing Allah to witness, that he is of those who speak the truth.

24:7 And the fifth (time) that the curse of Allah be on him, if he is of those who lie.

24:8 And it shall avert the chastisement from her, if she testify four times, bearing Allah to witness that he is of those who lie.

24:9 And the fifth (time) that the wrath of Allah to be on her, if he is of those who speak the truth.

24:10 And were it not for Allah's grace upon you and His mercy — and that Allah is Oft-returning (to mercy) Wise

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24:11 Surely they who concocted the lie are a party from among you. Deem it not an evil to you. Nay, it is good for you. For every man of them is what he has earned of sin and as for him among them who took upon himself the main part thereof, he shall have a grievous punishment.

24:12 Why did not the believing men and the believing women, when you heard it, think well of their own people, and say: This is an evident falsehood?

24:13 Why did they not bring four witnesses of it? So, as they have not brought witnesses, they are liars in the sight of Allah.

24:14 And were it not for Allah's grace upon you and His mercy in this world and the Hereafter, a grievous chastisement would certainly have touched you on account of the talk you indulged in.

24:15 When you received it on your tongues and spoke with your mouths that of which you had no knowledge, and you deemed it a trifle, while with Allah it was serious. —

24:16 And why did you not, when you heard it, say: It beseems us not to talk of it. Glory be to Thee 'This is a great calumny.

24:17 Allah admonishes you that you return not to the like of it ever again, if you are believers.

24:18 And Allah makes clear to you the messages; and Allah is Knowing, Wise.

24:19 Those who love that scandal should circulate respecting those who believe, for them is a grievous chastisement in this world and the Hereafter. And Allah knows, while you know not.

24:20 And were it not for Allah's grace on you and His mercy — and that Allah is Compassionate, Merciful.

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24:21 O you who believe, follow not the footsteps of the devil. And whoever follows the footsteps of the devil, surely he commands indecency and evil. And were it not for Allah's grace on you and His mercy, not one of you would ever have been pure, but Allah purifies whom He pleases. And Allah is Hearing, Knowing.

24:22 And let not possessors of grace and abundance among you swear against giving to the near of kin and the poor and those who have fled in Allah's way; and pardon and overlook. Do you not love that Allah should forgive you? And Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.

24:23 Surely those who accuse chaste believing women, unaware (of the evil), are cursed in this world and the Hereafter, arid for them is a grievous chastisement,

24:24 On the day when their tongues and their hands and their feet bear witness against them as to what they did,

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24:25 On that day Allah will pay back to them in full their just reward, and they will know that Allah, He is the Evident Truth.

24:26 Unclean things are for unclean ones and unclean ones are for unclean things, and good things are for good ones and good ones are for good things; these are free from what they say. For them is forgiveness and an honourable sustenance.

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24:27 O you who believe, enter not houses other than your own houses, until you have asked permission and saluted their inmates. This is better for you that you may be mindful.

24:28 But if you find no one therein, enter them not, until permission is given to you; — and if it is said to you, Go back, then go back; this is purer for you. And Allah is Knower of what you do.

24:29 It is no sin for you to enter uninhabited houses wherein you have your necessaries. And Allah knows what you do openly and what you hide.

24:30 Say to the believing men that they lower their gaze and restrain their sexual passions. That is purer for them. Surely Allah is Aware of what they do.

24:31 And say to the believing women that they lower their gaze and restrain their sexual passions and do not display their adornment except what appears thereof. — And let them wear their head-coverings over their bosoms. And they should not display their adornment except to their husbands or their fathers, or the fathers of their husbands, or their sons, or the sons of their husbands, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or those whom their — right hands possess, or guileless male servants, or the children who know not women's nakedness. And let them not strike their feet so that the adornment that they hide may be known. And turn to Allah all, O believers, so that you may be successful.

24:32 And marry those among you who are single, and those who are fit among your male slaves and your female slaves. If they are needy, Allah will make them free from want out of His grace. And Allah is Ample-giving, Knowing.

24:33 And let those who cannot find a match keep chaste, until Allah makes them free from want out of His grace. And those of your slaves who ask for a writing (of freedom), give them the writing, if you know any good in them, and give them of the wealth of Allah which He has given you. And compel not your slave-girls to prostitution when they desire to keep chaste, in order to seek the frail goods of this world's life. And whoever compels them, then surely after their compulsion Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.

24:34 And certainly We have sent to you clear messages and a description of those who passed away before you, and an admonition to those who guard against evil.

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24:35 Allah is the light of the heavens and the earth. A likeness of His light is as a pillar on which is a lamp — the lamp is in a glass, the glass is as it were a brightly shining star — lit from a blessed olive-tree, neither eastern nor western, the oil whereof gives light, though fire touch it not — light upon light. Allah guides to His light whom He pleases. And Allah sets forth parables for men, and Allah is Knower of all things —

24:36 (It is) in houses which Allah has permitted to be exalted and His name to be remembered therein. Therein do glorify Him, in the mornings and the evenings,

24:37 Men whom neither merchandise nor selling diverts — from the remembrance of Allah and the keeping up — of prayer and the paying of the poor-rate — they fear a day in which the hearts and the eyes will turn about,

24:38 That Allah may give them the best reward for what they did, and give them more out of His grace. And Allah provides without measure for whom He pleases.

24:39 And those who disbelieve, their deeds are as a mirage in a desert, which the thirsty man deems to be water, until, when he comes to it, he finds it naught, and he finds Allah with him, so He pays him his due. And Allah is Swift at reckoning —

24:40 Or like darkness in the deep sea there covers him a wave, above which is a wave, above which is a cloud — (layers of) darkness one above another — when he holds out his hand, he is almost unable to see it. And to whom Allah gives not light, he has no light.

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24:41 Seest thou not that Allah is He, Whom do glorify all those who are in the heavens and the earth, and the birds with wings outspread? Each one knows its prayer and its glorification. And Allah is Knower of what they do.

24:42 And Allah's is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth, and to Allah is the eventual coming.

24:43 Seest thou not that Allah drives along the clouds, then gathers them together, then piles them up, so that thou seest the rain coming forth from their midst? And He sends down from the heaven (clouds like) mountains, wherein is hail, afflicting therewith whom He pleases and turning it away from whom He pleases. The flash of His lightning almost takes away the sight.

24:44 Allah causes the night and the day to succeed one another. Surely there is a lesson in this for those who have sight.

24:45 And Allah has created every animal of water. So of them is that which crawls upon its belly, and of them is that which walks upon two feet, and of them is that which walks upon four. Allah creates what He pleases. Surely Allah is Possessor of power over all things.

24:46 We have indeed revealed clear messages. And Allah guides whom He pleases to the right way.

24:47 And they say: We believe in Allah and in the Messenger and we obey then a party of them turn away after this, and they are not believers.

24:48 And when they are invited to Allah and His Messenger that he may judge between them, lo a party of them turn aside.

24:49 And if the right is on their side, they hasten to him in submission.

24:50 Is there in their hearts a disease, or are they in doubt, or fear they that Allah and His Messenger will deal with them unjustly? Nay! they themselves are; the wrongdoers.

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24:51 The response of the believers, when they are invited to Allah and His Messenger that he may judge between them, is only that they say: We hear and we obey. And these it is that are successful.

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24:52 And he who obeys Allah and His Messenger, and fears Allah and keeps duty to Him, these it is that are the achievers.

24:53 And they swear by Allah with their strongest oaths that, if thou command them, they would certainly go forth. Say: Swear not; reasonable obedience (is desired). Surely Allah is Aware of what you do.

24:54 Say: Obey Allah and obey the Messenger. But if you turn away, he is responsible for the duty imposed on him, and you are responsible for the duty imposed on you. And if you obey him, you go aright. And the Messenger's duty is only to deliver (the message) plainly.

24:55 Allah has promised to those of you who believe and do good that He will surely make them rulers in the earth as He made those before them rulers and that He will surely establish for them their religion, which He has chosen for them, and that He will surely give them security in exchange after their fear. They will serve Me, not associating aught with Me. And whoever is ungrateful after this, they are the transgressors.

24:56 And keep up prayer and pay the poor-rate and obey the Messenger, so that mercy may be shown to you.

24:57 Think not that those who disbelieve will weaken (the Truth) in the earth; and their abode is the Fire. And it is indeed an evil resort

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24:58 O you who believe, let those whom your right hands possess and those of you who have not attained to puberty ask permission of you three times: Before the morning prayer, and when you put off your clothes for the heat of noon, and after the prayer of night. These are three times of privacy for you; besides these it is no sin for you nor for them — some of you go round about (waiting) upon others. Thus does Allah make clear to you the messages. And Allah is Knowing, Wise.

24:59 And when the children among you attain to puberty, let them seek permission as those before them sought permission. Thus does Allah make clear to you His messages. And Allah is Knowing, Wise.

24:60 And (as for) women past childbearing, who hope not for marriage, it is no sin for them if they put off their clothes without displaying their adornment. And if they are modest, it is better for them. And Allah is Hearing, Knowing.

24:61 There is no blame on the blind man, nor any blame on the lame, nor blame on the sick, nor on yourselves that you eat in your own houses, or your fathers' houses, or your mothers' houses, or your brothers' houses, or your sisters' houses; or your paternal uncles' houses, or your paternal aunts' houses, or your maternal uncles' houses, or your maternal aunts' houses, or (houses) whereof you possess the keys, or your friends' (houses). It is no sin in you that you eat together or separately. So when you enter houses, greet your people with a salutation from Allah, blessed (and) goodly. Thus does Allah make clear to you the messages that you may understand.

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24:62 Only those are believers who believe in Allah and His Messenger, and when they are with him on a momentous affair, they go not away until they have asked leave of him. Surely they who ask leave of thee, are they who believe in Allah and His Messenger; so when they ask leave of thee for some affair of theirs, give leave to whom thou wilt of them, and ask forgiveness for them from Allah. Surely Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.

24:63 Make not the calling among you of the Messenger as your calling one of another. Allah indeed knows those who steal away from among you, concealing themselves. So let those who go against his order beware, lest a trial afflict them or there befall them a painful chastisement.

24:64 Now surely Allah's is whatever is in the heavens and the earth. He knows indeed your condition. And on the day when they are returned to Him, He will inform them of what they did. And Allah is Knower of all things.

KORAN CHAPTER 106 / Sura 58

The Pleading Woman / Al-Mujadilah

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

58:1 Allah indeed has heard the plea of her who pleads with thee about her husband and complains to Allah and Allah hears the contentions of both of you. Surely Allah is Hearing, Seeing.

58:2 Those of you who put away their wives by calling them their mothers — they are not their mothers. None are their mothers save those who gave them birth, and they utter indeed a hateful word and a lie. And surely Allah is Pardoning, Forgiving.

58:3 And those who put away their wives by calling them their mothers, then go back dn that which they said, must free a captive before they touch one another. To this you are exhorted; and Allah is Aware of what you do.

58:4 But he who has not the means, should fast for two months successively before they touch one another, and he who is unable to do so should feed sixty needy ones. That is in order that you may have faith in Allah and His Messenger. And these are Allah's limits. And for the disbelievers is a painful chastisement.

58:5 Surely those who oppose Allah and His Messenger will be humbled as those before them were humbled; and indeed We have revealed clear messages. And for the disbelievers is an abasing chastisement.

58:6 On the day when Allah will raise them all together, then inform them of what they did. Allah records it, while they forget it. And Allah is Witness over all things.

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58:7 Seest thou not that Allah knows whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth? There is no secret counsel between, three but He is the fourth of them, nor between five but He is the sixth of them, nor between less than that nor more but He is with them wheresoever they are; then He will inform them of what they did on the day of Resurrection. Surely Allah is Knower of all things.

58:8 Seest thou not those who are forbidden secret counsels, then they return to that which they are forbidden, and hold secret counsels for sin and revolt and disobedience to the Messenger. And when they come to thee they greet thee with a greeting with which Allah greets thee not, and say within themselves: Why does not Allah punish us for what we say? Hell is enough for them; they will burn in it, and evil is the resort!

58:9 O you who believe, when you confer together in private, give not to each other counsel of sin and revolt and disobedience to the Messenger, but give to each other counsel of goodness and observance of duty. And keep your duty to Allah, to Whom you will be gathered together.

58:10 Secret counsels are only of the devil that he may cause to grieve those who believe, and he can hurt them naught except with Allah's permission. And on Allah let the believers rely.

58:11 O you who believe, when it is said to you, Make room in assemblies, make room. Allah will give you ample. And when it is said, Rise up, rise up. Allah will exalt those of you who believe, and those who are given knowledge, to high ranks. And Allah is Aware of what you do.

58:12 O you who believe, when you consult the Messenger, offer something in charity before your consultation. That is better for you and purer. But if you have not (the means), then surely Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.

58:13 Do you fear that you will not (be able to) give in charity before your consultation? So when you do it not, and Allah has turned to you (mercifully), keep up prayer and pay the poor-rate and obey Allah and His Messenger. And Allah is Aware of what you do.

* * *

58:14 Hast thou not seen those who take for friends a people with whom Allah is wroth? They are neither of you nor of them, and they swear falsely, while they know.

58:15 Allah has prepared for them a severe chastisement. Evil indeed is that which they do!

58:16 They take shelter under their oaths, so they turn (men) from Allah's way for them is an abasing chastisement.

58:17 Of no avail against Allah, will be to them their wealth or their children. They are the companions of the Fire therein they will abide.

58:18 On the day when Allah will raise them all up, they will swear to Him as they swear to you, and they think that they have some (excuse). Now surely they are the liars.

58:19 The devil has gained the mastery over them, so he has made them forget the remembrance of Allah. They are the devil's party. Now surely the devil's party are the losers.

58:20 Those who oppose Allah and His Messenger, they shall be among the most abased.

58:21 Allah has written down: I shall certainly prevail, I and My messengers. Surely Allah is Strong, Mighty.

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58:22 Thou wilt not find a people who believe in Allah and the latter day loving those who oppose Allah and His Messenger, even though they be their fathers, or their sons, or their brothers, or their kinsfolk. These are they into whose hearts He has impressed faith, and strengthened them with a Spirit from Himself, and He will cause them to enter Gardens wherein flow rivers, abiding therein. Allah is well-pleased with them and they are well-pleased with Him. These are Allah's party. Now surely it is Allah's party who are the successful!

KORAN CHAPTER 107 / Sura 22
The Pilgrimage / Al-Hajj

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

22:1 O people, keep your duty to your Lord; surely the shock of the Hour is a grievous thing.

22:2 The day you see it, every woman giving suck will forget her suckling and every pregnant one will lay down her burden, and thou wilt see men as drunken, yet they will not be drunken, but the chastisement of Allah will be severe.

22:3 And among men is he who disputes about Allah without knowledge, and follows every rebellious devil —

22:4 For him it is written that whoever takes him for a friend, he will lead him astray and conduct him to the chastisement of the burning Fire.

22:5 O people, if you are in doubt about the Resurrection, then surely We created you from dust, then from a small life-germ, then from a clot, then from a lump of flesh, complete in make and incomplete, that We may make clear to you. And We cause what We please to remain in the wombs till an appointed time, then We bring you forth as babies, then that you may attain your maturity. And of you is he who is caused to die, and of you is he who is brought back to the worst part of life, so that after knowledge he knows nothing. And thou seest the earth barren, but when We send down thereon water, it stirs and swells and brings forth a beautiful (growth) of every kind.

22:6 That is because Allah, He is the Truth, and He gives life to the dead, and He is Possessor of power over all things,

22:7 And the Hour is coming, there is no doubt about it; and Allah will raise up those who are in the graves.

22:8 And among men is he who disputes about Allah without knowledge, and without guidance, and without an illuminating Book.

22:9 Turning away haughtily to lead men astray from the way of Allah. For him is disgrace in this world, and on the day of Resurrection We shall make him taste the punishment of burning.

22:10 This is for that which thy two hands have sent before, and Allah is not in the least unjust to the servants.

* * *

22:11 And among men is he who serves Allah, (standing) on the verge, so that if good befalls him he is satisfied therewith, but if a trial afflicts him he turns back headlong. He loses this world and the Hereafter. That is a manifest loss.

22:12 He calls besides Allah on that which harms him not, nor benefits him; that is straying far.

22:13 He calls on him whose harm is nearer than his benefit. Certainly an evil guardian and an evil associate

22:14 Surely Allah causes those who believe and do good deeds to enter Gardens wherein flow rivers. Allah indeed does what He pleases.

22:15 Whoever thinks that Allah will not assist him in this life and the Hereafter, let him raise (himself) by some means to the heaven, then let him cut (it) off, then let him see if his plan will take away that at which he is enraged.

22:16 And thus have We revealed it, clear arguments, and Allah guides whom He will.

22:17 Those who believe and those who are Jews and the Sabeans and the Christians and the Magians and the polytheists — surely Allah will decide between them on the day of Resurrection. Surely Allah is Witness over all things.

22:18 Seest thou not that to Allah makes submission whoever is in the heavens and whoever is in the earth, and the sun and the moon and the stars, and the mountains and the trees, and the animals and many of the people? And many there are to whom chastisement is due. And he whom Allah abases, none can give him honour. Sorely Allah does what He pleases.

22:19 These are two adversaries who dispute about their Lord. So those who disbelieve, for them are cut out garments of lire. Boiling water will be poured out over their heads.

22:20 With it will be melted what is in their bellies and (their) skins as well.

22:21 And for them are whips of iron.

22:22 Whenever they desire to go forth from it, from grief, they are turned back into it, and (it is said) Taste the chastisement of burning.

* * *

22:23 Surely Allah will make those who believe and do good deeds enter Gardens wherein flow rivers they are adorned therein with bracelets of gold and (with) pearls. And their garments therein are of silk.

22:24 And they are guided to pure words, and they are guided to the path of the Praised One.

22:25 Those who disbelieve and hinder (men) from Allah's way and from the Sacred Mosque, which We have made equally for all men, (for) the dweller therein and the visitor. And whoever inclines therein. to wrong, unjustly, We shall make him taste of painful chastisement.

* * *

22:26 And when We pointed to Abraham the place of the House, saying: Associate naught with Me; and purify My House for those who make circuits and stand to pray and bow and prostrate themselves.

22:27 And proclaim to men the Pilgrimage: they will come to thee on foot and on every lean camel, coming from every remote path:

22:28 That they may witness benefits (provided) for them, and mention the name of Allah on appointed days over what He has given them of the cattle quadrupeds; then eat of them and feed the distressed one, the needy.

22:29 Then let them accomplish their needful acts of cleansing, and let them fulfil their vows and go round the Ancient House.

22:30 That (shall be so). And who ever respects the sacred ordinances of Allah, it is good for him with his Lord. And the cattle are made lawful for you, except that which is recited to you, so shun the filth of the idols and shun false words,

22:31 Being upright for Allah, not associating aught with Him. And whoever associates (aught) with Allah, it is as if he had fallen from on high, then the birds had snatched him away, or the wind had carried him off to a distant place.

22:32 That (shall be so). And whoever respects the ordinances of Allah, this is surely from the piety of hearts.

22:33 Therein are benefits for you for a term appointed, then their place of sacrifice is the Ancient House.

* * *

22:34 And for every nation We appointed acts of devotion that they might mention the name of Allah on what He has given them of the cattle quadrupeds. So your God is One God, therefore to Him should you submit. And give good news to the humble,

22:35 Whose hearts tremble when Allah is mentioned, and who are patient in their afflictions, and who keep up prayer, and spend of what We have given them.

22:36 And the camels, We have made them of the signs appointed by Allah for you — for you therein is much good. So mention the name of Allah on them standing in a row. Then when they fall down on their sides, eat of them and feed the contented one and the beggar. Thus have We made them subservient to you that you may be grateful.

22:37 Not their flesh, nor their blood, reaches Allah, but to Him is acceptable observance of duty on your part. Thus has He made them subservient to you, that you may magnify Allah for guiding you aright. And give good news to those who do good (to others).

22:38 Surely Allah defends those who believe. Surely Allah loves not anyone who is unfaithful, ungrateful.

* * *

22:39 Permission (to fight) is given to those on whom war is made, because they are oppressed. And surely Allah is Able to assist them —

22:40 Those who are driven from their homes without a just cause except that they say Our Lord is Allah. And if Allah did not repel some people by others, cloisters, and churches, and synagogues, and mosques in which Allah's name is much remembered, would have been pulled down. And surely Allah will help him who helps Him. Surely Allah is Strong, Mighty.

22:41 Those who, if We establish them in the land, will keep up prayer and pay the poor-rate and enjoin good and forbid evil. And Allah's is the end of affairs.

22:42 And if they reject thee, already before them did the people of Noah and 'Ad and Thamud reject (prophets),

22:43 And the people of Abraham and the people of Lot,

22:44 And the dwellers of Midian. And Moses (too) was rejected. But I gave respite to the disbelievers, then I seized them; so how (severe) was My disapproval!

22:45 How many a town We destroyed while it was iniquitous, so it is fallen down upon its roofs; and (how many) a deserted well and palace raised high!

22:46 Have they not travelled in the land so that they should have hearts with which to understand, or ears with which to hear? For surely it is not the eyes that are blind, but blind are the hearts which are in the breasts.

22:47 And they ask thee to hasten on the chastisement, and Allah by no means fails in His promise. And surely a day with thy Lord is as a thousand years of what you reckon.

22:48 And how many a town to which I gave respite while it was unjust, then I seized it! And to Me is the return.

* * *

22:49 Say: O people, I am only a plain warner to you.

22:50 So those who believe and do good, for them is forgiveness and an honourable sustenance.

22:51 And those who strive to oppose Our messages, they are the inmates of the flaming Fire.

22:52** [** at the time of the Hijra] And We never sent a messenger or a prophet before thee but when he desired, the devil made a suggestion respecting his desire; but Allah annuls that which the devil casts, then does Allah establish His messages. And Allah is Knowing, Wise —

22:53** [** at the time of the Hijra] That He may make what the devil casts a trial for those in whose hearts is a disease and the hardhearted. And surely the wrongdoers are in severe opposition,

22:54** [** at the time of the Hijra] And that those who have been given knowledge may know that it is the Truth from thy Lord, so they should believe in it that their hearts may be lowly before Him. And surely Allah is the Guide of those who believe, into a right path.

22:55** [** at the time of the Hijra] And those who disbelieve will not cease to be in doubt concerning it, until the Hour overtakes them suddenly, or there comes to them the chastisement of a destructive day.

22:56 The kingdom on that day is Allah's. He will judge between them. So those who believe and do good will be in Gardens of bliss.

22:57 And those who disbelieve and reject Our messages, for them is an abasing chastisement.

* * *

22:58 And those who flee in Allah's way and are then slain or die, Allah will certainly grant them a goodly sustenance. And surely Allah is the Best of providers.

22:59 He will certainly cause them to enter a place which they are pleased with. And surely Allah is Knowing, Forbearing.

22:60 That (is so). And whoever retaliates with the like of that with which he is afflicted and he is oppressed, Allah will certainly help him. Surely Allah is Pardoning, For giving.

22:61 That is because Allah causes the night to enter into the day and causes the day to enter into the night, and because Allah is Hearing, Seeing.

22:62 That is because Allah is the Truth, and that which they call upon besides Him that is the falsehood, and because Allah — He is the High, the Great.

22:63 Seest thou not that Allah sends down water from the cloud, then the earth becomes green? Surely Allah is Knower of subtleties, Aware.

22:64 To Him belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth. And surely Allah — He is the Self-Sufficient, the Praised.

* * *

22:65 Seest thou not that Allah has made subservient to you all that is in the earth, and the ships gliding in the sea by His command? And He withholds the heaven from falling on the earth except with His permission. Surely Allah is Compassionate, Merciful to men.

22:66 And He it is Who brings you to life, then He causes you to die, then He will bring you to life. Surely man is ungrateful.

22:67 To every nation We appointed acts of devotion, which they observe, so let them not dispute with thee in the matter, and call to thy Lord. Surely thou art on a right guidance.

22:68 And if they contend with thee, say: Allah best knows what you do.

22:69 Allah will judge between you on the day of Resurrection respecting that in which you differ.

22:70 Knowest thou not that Allah knows what is in the heaven and the earth? Surely this is in a book. That is surely easy to Allah.

22:71 And they serve besides Allah that for which He has not sent any authority, and of which they have no knowledge. And for the unjust there is no helper.

22:72 And when Our clear messages are recited to them, thou wilt notice a denial on the faces of those who disbelieve — they almost attack those who recite to them Our messages. Say: Shall I inform you of what is worse than this? The Fire. Allah has promised it to those who disbelieve. And evil is the resort.

* * *

22:73 O people, a parable is set forth, so listen to it. Surely those whom you call upon besides Allah cannot create a fly, though they should all gather for it. And if the fly carry off aught from them, they cannot take it back from it. Weak are (both) the invoker and the invoked.

22:74 They estimate not Allah with His due estimation. Surely Allah is Strong, Mighty.

22:75 Allah chooses messengers from angels and from men. Surely Allah is Hearing, Seeing.

22:76 He knows what is before them and what is behind them. And to Allah are all affairs returned.

22:77 O you who believe, bow down and prostrate yourselves and serve your Lord, and do good that you may succeed.

22:78 And strive hard for Allah with due striving. He has chosen you and has not laid upon you any hardship in religion — the faith of your father Abraham. He named you Muslims before and in this, that the Messenger may be a bearer of witness to you, and you may be bearers of witness to the

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people; so keep up prayer and pay the poor-rate and hold fast to Allah. He is your Protector excellent the Protector and excellent the Helper!

KORAN CHAPTER 108 / 48
The Victory / Al-Fath
[relealed at the time of the return from Hudaybiyya]
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
48:1 Surely We have granted thee a clear victory,
48:2 That Allah may cover for thee thy (alleged) shortcomings in the past and those to come, and complete His favour to thee and guide thee on a right path,
48:3 And that Allah might help thee with a mighty help.
48:4 He it is who sent down tranquillity into the hearts of the believers that they might add faith to their faith. And Allah's are the hosts of the heavens and the earth, and Allah is ever Knowing, Wise —
48:5 That He may cause the believing men and the believing women to enter Gardens wherein flow rivers to abide therein and remove from them their evil. And that is a grand achievement with Allah,
48:6 And (that) He may chastise the hypocritical men and the hypocritical women, and the polytheistic men and the polytheistic women, the entertainers of evil thoughts about Allah. On them is the evil turn, and Allah is wroth with them and has cursed them and prepared hell for them and evil is the resort.
48:7 And Allah's are the hosts of the heavens and the earth; and Allah is ever Mighty, Wise.
48:8 Surely We have sent thee as a witness and as a bearer of good news and as a warner,
48:9 That you may believe in Allah and His Messenger and may aid him and revere him. And (that) you may declare His glory, morning and evening.
48:10 Those who swear allegiance to thee do but swear allegiance to Allah. The hand of Allah is above their hands. So whoever breaks (his faith), he breaks it only to his soul's injury. And whoever fulfils his covenant with Allah, He will grant him a mighty reward.
* * *
48:11 Those of the dwellers of the desert who lagged behind will say to thee: Our property and our families kept us busy, so ask forgiveness for us. They say with their tongues what is not in their hearts. Say: Then who can control aught for you from Allah, if He intends to do you harm or if He intends to do you good. Nay, Allah is ever Aware of what you do.
48:12 Nay, you thought that the Messenger and the believers would never return to their families, and that was made fair-seeming in your hearts, and you thought an evil thought, and you are a people doomed to perish.
48:13 And whoever believes not in Allah and His Messenger — then surely We have prepared burning Fire for the disbelievers.
48:14 And Allah's is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth. He forgives whom He pleases and chastises whom He pleases. And Allah is ever Forgiving, Merciful.
48:15 Those who lagged behind will say, when you set forth to acquire gains: Allow us to follow you They desire to change the word of Allah. Say; You shall not follow us. Thus did Allah say before. But they will say: Nay, you are jealous of us. Nay, they understand not but a little.
48:16 Say to those of the dwellers of the desert who lagged behind: You will soon be called against a people of mighty prowess to fight against them until they submit. Then if you obey, Allah will grant you a good reward; but, if you turn back as you turned back before, He will chastise you with a painful chastisement.
48:17 There is no blame on the blind, nor is there blame on the lame, nor is there blame on the sick. And whoever obeys Allah and His Messenger, He will cause him to enter Gardens wherein flow rivers. And whoever turns back, He will chastise him with a painful chastisement.
* * *
48:18 Allah indeed was well pleased with the believers, when they swore allegiance to thee under the tree, and He knew what was in their hearts, so He sent down tranquillity on them and rewarded them with a near victory,
48:19 And many gains which they will acquire. And Allah is ever Mighty, Wise.
48:20 Allah promised you many gains which you will acquire, then He hastened this on for you, and held back the hands of men from you; and that it may be a sign for the believers and that He may guide you on a right path,
48:21 And others which you have not yet been able to achieve Allah has surely encompassed them. And Allah is ever Powerful over all things.
48:22 And if those who disbelieve fight with you, they will certainly turn (their) backs, then they will find no protector nor helper.
48:23 (Such has been) the course of Allah that has run before, and thou wilt not find a change in Allah's course.
48:24 And He it is Who held back their hands from you and your hands from them in the valley of Makkah after He had given you victory over them. And Allah is ever Seer of what you do.
48:25 It is they who disbelieved and debarred you from the Sacred Mosque — and the offering withheld from reaching its goal. And were it not for the believing men and the believing women, whom, not having known, you might have trodden down, and thus something hateful might have afflicted you on their account without knowledge — so that Allah may admit to His mercy whom He pleases. Had they been apart, We would surely have chastised those who disbelieved from among them with a painful chastisement.
48:26 When those who disbelieved harboured disdain in their hearts, the disdain of Ignorance, but Allah sent down His tranquillity on His Messenger and on the believers and made them keep the word of observance of duty, and they were entitled to it and worthy of it. And Allah is ever Knower of all things.
* * *
48:27 Allah indeed fulfilled the vision for His Messenger with truth. You shall certainly enter the Sacred Mosque, if Allah please, in security, your heads shaved and hair cut short, not fearing. But He knows what you know not, so He has ordained a near victory before that.
48:28 He it is Who has sent His Messenger with the guidance and the religion of Truth that He may make it prevail over all religions. And Allah is enough for a witness.
48:29 Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah, and those with him are firm of heart against the disbelievers, compassionate among themselves. Thou seest them bowing down, prostrating themselves, seeking Allah's grace and pleasure. Their marks are on their faces in consequence of prostration. That is their description in the Torah — and their description in the Gospel — like seed-produce that puts forth its sprout, then strengthens it, so it becomes stout and stands firmly on its stem, delighting the sowers that He may enrage the disbelievers on account of them. Allah has promised such of them as believe and do good, forgiveness and a great reward.

KORAN CHAPTER 109 / Sura 66
The Prohibition / Al-Tahrim
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
66:1 O Prophet, why dost thou forbid (thyself) that which Allah has made lawful for thee? Seekest thou to please thy wives? And Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.
66:2 Allah indeed has sanctioned for you the expiation of your oaths; and Allah is your Patron, and He is the Knowing, the Wise.
66:3 And when the Prophet confided an information to one of his wives — but when she informed (others) of it, and Allah informed him of it, he made known part of it and passed over part. So when he told her of it, she said Who informed thee of this? He said The Knowing, the One Aware, informed me.
66:4 If you both turn to Allah, then indeed your hearts are inclined (to this); and if you back up one another against him, then surely Allah is his Patron, and Gabriel and the righteous believers, and the angels after that are the aiders.
66:5 Maybe, his Lord, if he divorce you, will give him in your place wives better than you, submissive, faithful, obedient, penitent, adorers, fasters, widows, and virgins.
66:6 O you who believe, save yourselves and your families from a Fire whose fuel is men and stones; over it are angels, stern and strong. They do not disobey Allah in that which He commands them, but do as they are commanded.
66:7 O you who disbelieve, make no excuses this day. You are rewarded only as you did.
* * *
66:8 O you who believe, turn to Allah with sincere repentance. It may be your Lord will remove from you your evil and cause you to enter Gardens wherein flow rivers, on the day on which Allah will not abase the Prophet and those who believe with him. Their light will gleam before them and on their right hands — they will say: Our Lord, make perfect for us our light, and grant us protection surely Thou art Possessor of power over all things.
66:9 O Prophet, strive against the disbelievers and the hypocrites, and remain firm against them, and their abode is hell; and evil is the resort.
66:10 Allah sets forth an example for those who disbelieve — the wife of Noah and the wife of Lot. They were both under two of Our righteous servants, but they acted treacherously towards them, so they availed them naught against Allah, and it was said Enter the Fire with those who enter.
66:11 And Allah sets forth an example for those who believe — the wife of Pharaoh, when she said: My Lord, build for me a house with Thee in the Garden and deliver me from Pharaoh and his work, and deliver me from the iniquitous people.
66:12 And Mary, the daughter of Amran, who guarded her chastity, so We breathed into him Our inspiration, and she accepted the truth of the words of her Lord and His Books, and she was of the obedient ones.

KORAN CHAPTER 110 / Sura 60
The Woman Who is Examined / Al-Mumtahanah
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
60:1 O you who believe, take not My enemy and your enemy for friends. Would you offer them love, while they deny the Truth that has come to you, driving out the Messenger and yourselves because you believe in Allah, your Lord? If you have come forth to strive in My way and to seek My pleasure, would you love them in secret? And I know what you conceal and what you manifest. And whoever of you does this, he indeed strays from the straight path.
60:2 If they overcome you, they will be your enemies, and will stretch forth their hands and their tongues towards you with evil, and they desire that you may disbelieve.
60:3 Your relationships and your children would not profit you, on the day of Resurrection — He will decide between you. And Allah is Seer of what you do.
60:4 Indeed, there is for you a good example in Abraham and those with him, when they said to their people: We are clear of you and of that which you serve besides Allah. We disbelieve in you and there has arisen enmity and hatred between us and you forever until you believe in Allah alone — except Abraham's saying to his sire I would ask forgiveness for thee, and I control naught for thee from Allah. Our Lord, on Thee do we rely, and to Thee do we turn, and to Thee is the eventual coming.
60:5 Our Lord, make us not a trial for those who disbelieve, and forgive us, our Lord. Surely Thou art the Mighty, the Wise.
60:6 Certainly there is for you in them a good example, for him who hopes for Allah and the Last Day. And who-ever turns away, surely Allah is the Self-Sufficient, the Praised.
* * *
60:7 It may be that Allah will bring about friendship between you and those of them whom you hold as enemies. And Allah is Powerful and Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.
60:8 Allah forbids you not respecting those who fight you not for religion, nor drive you forth from your homes, that you show them kindness and deal with them justly. Surely Allah loves the doers of justice.
60:9 Allah forbids you only respecting those who fight you for religion, and drive you forth from your homes and help (others) in your expulsion, that you make friends of them; and whoever makes friends of them, these are the wrongdoers.
60:10 O you who believe, when believing women come to you fleeing, examine them. Allah knows best their faith. Then if you know them to be believers send them not back to the disbelievers. Neither are these (women) lawful for them, nor are those (men) lawful for them. And give them what they have spent; and there is no blame on you in marrying them, when you give them their dowries. And hold not to the ties of marriage of disbelieving women, and ask for what you have spent, and let them ask for what they have spent. That is Allah's judgement; He judges between you. And Allah is Knowing, Wise.
60:11 And if any part (of the dowries) of your wives has passed away from you to the disbelievers, then your turn comes, give to those whose wives have gone away the like of what they have spent, and keep your duty to Allah in Whom you believe.
60:12 O Prophet, when believing women come to thee giving thee a pledge that they will not associate aught with Allah, and will not steal, nor commit adultery; nor kill their children, nor bring a calumny which they have forged of themselves, nor disobey thee in what is good, accept their pledge, and ask forgiveness for them from Allah. Surely Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.
60:13 O you who believe, take not for friends a people with whom Allah is wroth they indeed despair of the Hereafter, as the disbelievers despair of those in the graves.

KORAN CHAPTER 111 / Sura 110
The Help / An-Nasr
[Revealed at Mina on the Last Hajj, but regarded as Medinan sura]
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
110:1 When Allah's help and victory comes,
110:2 And thou seest men entering the religion of Allah in companies,
110:3 Celebrate the praise of thy Lord and ask His protection. Surely He is ever Returning (to mercy).

KORAN CHAPTER 112 / Sura 49
The Apartments / Al-Hujurat
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
49:1 O you who believe, be not forward in the presence of Allah and His Messenger, and keep your duty to Allah. Surely Allah is Hearing, Knowing.
49:2 O you who believe, raise not your voices above the Prophet's voice, nor speak loudly to him as you speak loudly one to another, lest your deeds become null, while you perceive not.

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49:3 Surely those who lower their voices before Allah's Messenger are they whose hearts Allah has proved for dutifulness. For them is forgiveness and a great reward.

49:4 Those who call out to thee from behind the private apartments, most of them have no sense:

49:5 And if they had patience till thou come out to them, it would be better for them. And Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.

49:6 O you who believe, if an unrighteous man brings you news, look carefully into it, lest you harm a people in ignorance, then be sorry for what you did.

49:7 And know that among you is Allah's Messenger. Were he to obey you in many a matter, you would surely fall into distress but Allah has endeared the faith to you and has made it seemly in your hearts, and He has made hateful to you disbelief and transgression and disobedience. Such are those who are rightly guided —

49:8 A grace from Allah and a favour. And Allah is Knowing, Wise.

49:9 And if two parties of the believers quarrel, make peace between them. Then if one of them does wrong to the other, fight that which does wrong, till it return to Allah's command. Then, if it returns, make peace between them with justice and act equitably. Surely Allah loves the equitable.

49:10 The believers are brethren so make peace between your brethren, and keep your duty to Allah that mercy may be had on you.

* * *

49:11 O you who believe, let not people laugh at people, perchance they may be better than they; nor let women (laugh) at women, perchance they may be better than they. Neither find fault with your own people, nor call one another by nicknames. Evil is a bad name after faith; and whoso turns not, these it is that are the iniquitous.

49:12 O you who believe, avoid most of suspicion, for surely suspicion in some cases is sin and spy not nor let some of you backbite others. Does one of you like to eat the flesh of his dead brother? You abhor it! And keep your duty to Allah, surely Allah is Oft-returning (to mercy), Merciful.

49:13 O mankind, surely We have created you from a male and a female, and made you tribes and families that you may know each other. Surely the noblest of you with Allah is the most dutiful of you. Surely Allah is Knowing, Aware.

49:14 The dwellers of the desert say We believe. Say: You believe not, but say, We submit; and faith has not yet entered into your hearts. 'And if you obey Allah and His Messenger, He will not diminish aught of your deeds. Surely Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.

49:15 The believers are those only who believe in Allah and His Messenger, then they doubt not, and struggle hard with their wealth and their lives in the way of Allah. Such are the truthful ones.

49:16 Say: Would you apprise Allah of your religion? and Allah knows what is in the heavens and what is in the earth And Allah is Knower of all things.

49:17 They presume to lay thee under an obligation by becoming Muslims. Say: Lay me not under an obligation by your Islam; rather Allah lays you under an obligation by guiding you to the faith, if you are truthful.

49:18 Surely Allah knows the unseen of the heavens and the earth. And Allah is Seer of what you do.

KORAN CHAPTER 113 / Sura 9

The Immunity / Al-Baraat

[The Bismillah-phrase "In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful" is not used here; perhaps because the whole chapter is not merciful!]

9:1 A declaration of immunity from Allah and His Messenger to those of the idolaters with whom you made an agreement.

9:2 So go about in the land for four months and know that you cannot escape Allah and that Allah will disgrace the disbelievers.

9:3 And an announcement from Allah and His Messenger to the people on the day of the greater pilgrimage that Allah is free from liability to the idolaters, and so is His Messenger. So if you repent, it will be better for you and if you turn away, then know that you will not escape Allah. And announce painful chastisement to those who disbelieve —

9:4 Except those of the idolaters with whom you made an agreement, then they have not failed you in anything and have not backed up any one against you so fulfil their agreement to the end of their term. Surely Allah loves those who keep their duty.

9:5 So when the sacred months have passed, slay the idolaters, wherever you find them, and take them captive and besiege them and lie in wait for them in every ambush. But if they repent and keep up prayer and pay the jizya (poll tax), leave their way free. Surely Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.

9:6 And if anyone of the idolaters seek thy protection, protect him till he hears the word of Allah, then convey him to his place of safety. This is because they are a people who know not.

* * *

9:7 How can there be an agreement for the idolaters with Allah and with His Messenger, except those with whom you made an agreement at the Sacred Mosque? So as long as they are true to you, be true to them. Surely Allah loves those who keep their duty.

9:8 How (can it be)? And if they prevail against you, they respect neither ties of relationship nor covenant in your case. They would please you with their mouths while their hearts refuse and most of them are transgressors.

9:9 They have taken a small price for the messages of Allah, so they hinder (men) from His way. Surely evil is that which they do.

9:10 They respect neither ties of relationship nor covenant, in the case of a believer. And these are they who go beyond the limits.

9:11 But if they repent and keep up prayer and pay the poor-rare, they are your brethren in faith. And We make the messages clear for a people who know.

9:12 And if they break their oaths after their agreement and revile your religion, then fight the leaders of disbelief — surely their oaths are nothing — so that they may desist.

9:13 Will you not fight a people who broke their oaths and aimed at the expulsion of the Messenger, and they attacked you first? Do you fear them? But Allah has more right that you should fear Him, if you are believers.

9:14 Fight them; Allah will chastise them at your hands and bring them to disgrace, and assist you against them and relieve the hearts of a believing people,

9:15 And remove the rage of their hearts. And Allah turns (mercifully) to whom He pleases. And Allah is Knowing, Wise.

9:16 Do you think that you would be left alone while Allah has not yet known those of you who struggle hard and take not anyone as an intimate friend besides Allah and His Messenger and the believers? And Allah is Aware of what you do.

* * *

9:17 The idolaters have no right to maintain the mosques of Allah, while bearing witness to disbelief against themselves. These it is whose works are vain; and in the Fire will they abide.

9:18 Only he can maintain the mosques of Allah who believes in Allah and the Last Day, and keeps up prayer and pays the poor-rate and fears none but Allah. So these it is who may be of the guided ones.

9:19 Do you hold the giving of drink to the pilgrims and the maintenance of the Sacred Mosque equal to (the service of) one who believes in Allah and the Last Day and strives hard in Allah's way? They are not equal in the sight of Allah. And Allah guides not the iniquitous people.

9:20 Those who believed and fled (their homes), and strove hard in Allah's way with their wealth and their lives, are much higher in rank with Allah. And it is these that shall triumph.

9:21 Their Lord gives them good news of mercy and pleasure, from Himself, and Gardens wherein lasting blessings will be theirs,

9:22 Abiding therein for ever. Surely Allah has a mighty reward with Him.

9:23 O you who believe, take not your fathers and your brothers for friends if they love disbelief above faith. And whoever of you takes them for friends, such are the wrongdoers.

9:24 Say If your fathers and your sons and your brethren and your wives and your kinsfolk and the wealth you have acquired, and trade whose dullness you fear, and dwellings you love, are dearer to you than Allah and His Messenger and striving in His way, then wait till Allah brings His command to pass. And Allah guides nor the transgressing people.

* * *

9:25 Certainly Allah helped you in many battlefields, and on the day of Hunain, when your great numbers made you proud, but they availed you nothing, and the earth with all its spaciousness was straitened for you, then you turned back retreating.

9:26 Then Allah sent down His calm upon His Messenger and upon the believers, and sent hosts which you saw not, and chastised those who disbelieved. And such is the reward of the disbelievers.

9:27 Then will Allah after this turn mercifully to whom He pleases. And Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.

9:28 O you who believe, the idolaters are surely unclean, so they shall not approach the Sacred Mosque after this year of theirs. And if you fear poverty, then Allah will enrich you out of His grace, if He please. Surely Allah is Knowing, Wise.

9:29 Fight those who believe not in Allah, nor in the Last Day, nor forbid that which Allah and His Messenger have forbidden, nor follow the Religion of Truth (Islam), out of those who have been given the Book (Zoroastrians, Jews, Christians. Gnostics), until they pay the jizia (poll tax) in acknowledgment of (Islam's) superiority and they are in a state of subjection.

* * *

9:30 And the Jews say: Ezra is the son of Allah; and the Christians say The Messiah is the son of Allah. These are the words of their mouths. They imitate the saying of those who disbelieved before. Allah's curse be on them! How they are turned away!

9:31 They take their doctors of law and their monks for Lords besides Allah, and (also) the Messiah, son of Mary, And they were enjoined that they should serve one God only — there is no god but He. Be He glorified from what they set up (with Him)!

9:32 They desire to put out the light of Allah with their mouths, and Allah will allow nothing save the perfection of His light, though the disbelievers are averse.

9:33 He it is Who sent His Messenger with guidance and the Religion of Truth, that He may cause it to prevail over all religions, though the polytheists are averse.

9:34 O you who believe, surely many of the doctors of law and the monks eat away the property of men falsely, and hinder (them) from Allah's way. And those who hoard up gold and silver and spend it not in Allah's way — announce to them a painful chastisement,

9:35 On the day when it will be heated in the Fire of hell, then their foreheads and their sides and their backs will be branded with it: This is what you hoarded up for yourselves, so taste what you used to hoard.

9:36 Surely the number of months with Allah is twelve months by Allah's ordinance, since the day when He created the heavens and the earth — of these four are sacred. That is the right religion; so wrong not yourselves therein. And fight the polytheists all together as they fight you all together. And know that Allah is with those who keep their duty.

9:37 Postponing (of the sacred month) is only an addition in disbelief, whereby those who disbelieve are led astray. They allow it one year and forbid it (another) year, that they may agree in the number (of months) which Allah has made sacred, and thus make lawful what Allah has forbidden. The evil of their doings is made fair-seeming to them. And Allah guides not the disbelieving people.

* * *

9:38 O you who believe, what (excuse) have you that when it is said to you, Go forth in Allah's way, you should incline heavily to earth? Are you contented with this world's life instead of the Hereafter? The provision of this world's life is but little as compared with the Hereafter.

9:39 If you go not forth, He will chastise you with a painful chastisement, and bring in your place a people other than you, and you can do Him no harm. And Allah is Possessor of power over all things.

9:40 If you help him not, Allah certainly helped him when those who disbelieved expelled him — he being the second of the two; when they were both in the cave, when he said to his companion Grieve not, surely Allah is with us. So Allah sent down His tranquillity on him and strengthened him with hosts which you saw not, and made lowest the word of those who disbelieved. And the word of Allah, that is the uppermost. And Allah is Mighty, Wise.

9:41 Go forth, light and heavy, and strive hard in Allah's way with your wealth and your lives. This is better for you, if you know.

9:42 Had it been a near gain and a short journey, they would certainly have followed thee, but the hard journey was too long for them. And they wilt swear by Allah: If we had been able, we would have gone forth with you. They cause their own souls to perish; and Allah knows that they are liars.

* * *

9:43 Allah pardon thee! Why didst thou permit them until those who spoke the truth had become manifest to thee and thou hadst known the liars?

9:44 Those who believe in Allah and the Last Day ask not leave of thee (to stay away) from striving hard with their wealth and their persons. And Allah is Knower of those who keep their duty.

9:45 They alone ask leave of thee who believe not in Allah and the Last Day, and their hearts are in doubt, so in their doubt they waver.

9:46 And if they had intended to go forth, they would certainly have provided equipment for it; but Allah did not like their going forth. So He withheld them, and it was said: Hold back with those who hold back.

9:47 Had they gone forth with you, they would have added to you naught but trouble, and would have hurried to and fro among you seeking (to sow) dissension among you. And among you there are those who would listen to them. And Allah well knows the wrongdoers.

9:48 Certainly they sought (to sow) dissension before, and they devised plots against thee till the Truth came, and Allah's command prevailed, though they did not like (it).

9:49 And among them is he who says: Excuse me and try me not. Surely into trial have they already fallen, and truly hell encompasses the disbelievers.

9:50 If good befalls thee, it grieves them; and if hardship afflicts thee, they say: Indeed we had taken care of our affair before. And they turn away rejoicing.

9:51 Say: Nothing will afflict us save that which Allah has ordained for us. He is our Patron; and on Allah let the believers rely.

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9:52 Say: Do you await for us but one of two most excellent things? And we await for you that Allah will afflict you with chastisement from Himself or by our hands. So wait; we too are waiting with you.

9:53 Say: Spend willingly or unwillingly, it will not be accepted from you. Surely you are a transgressing people.

9:54 And nothing hinders their contributions being accepted from them, except that they disbelieve in Allah and in His Messenger and they come not to prayer except as lazy people, and they spend not but while they are reluctant.

9:55 Let not then their wealth nor their children excite thine admiration. Allah only wishes to chastise them therewith in this world's life and (that) their souls may depart while they are disbelievers.

9:56 And they swear by Allah that they are truly of you. And they are not of you, but they are a people who are afraid.

9:57 If they could find a refuge or caves or a place to enter, they would certainly have turned thereto, running away in all haste.

9:58 And of them are those who blame thee in the matter of the alms. So if they are given thereof, they are pleased, and if they are not given thereof, lo! they are enraged.

9:59 And if they were content with that which Allah and His Messenger gave them, and had said: Allah is sufficient for us; Allah will soon give us (more) out of His grace and His Messenger too: surely to Allah we make petition.

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9:60 (Zakat) charity is only for the poor and the needy, and those employed to administer it, and those whose hearts are made to incline (to truth), and (to free) the captives, and those in debt, and in the way of Allah and for the wayfarer — an ordinance from Allah. And Allah is Knowing, Wise.'

9:61 And of them are those who molest the Prophet and say, He is (all) ear. Say: A hearer of good for you — he believes in Allah and believes the faithful, and is a mercy for those of you who believe. And those who molest the Messenger of Allah, for them is a painful chastisement.

9:62 They swear by Allah to you to please you; and Allah as well as His Messenger has a greater right that they should please Him, if they are believers.

9:63 Know they not that whoever opposes Allah and His Messenger, for him is the Fire of hell to abide in it? That is the grievous abasement.

9:64 The hypocrites fear lest a chapter should be sent down concerning them, telling them plainly of what is in their hearts. Say: Go on mocking, surely Allah will bring to light what you fear.

9:65 And if thou ask them, would certainly say: We were only talking idly and sporting. Say: Was it Allah and His messages and His Messenger that you mocked?

9:66 Make no excuse, you disbelieved after your believing. If We pardon a party of you, We shall chastise a party, because they are guilty.

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9:67 The hypocrites, men and women, are all alike. They enjoin evil and forbid good and withhold their hands. They have forsaken Allah, so He has forsaken them. Surely the hypocrites are the transgressors.

9:68 Allah promises the hypocrites, men and women, and the disbelievers, the Fire of hell to abide therein. It is enough for them. And Allah curses them, and for them is a lasting chastisement.

9:69 Like those before you they were stronger than you in power and had more wealth and children. So they enjoyed their portion thus have you enjoyed your portion as those before you enjoyed their portion, and you indulge in idle talk as they did. These are they whose works are null in this world and the Hereafter, and these are they who are the losers.

9:70 Has not the story reached them of those before them — of the people of Noah and 'Ad and Thamud, and the people of Abraham and the dwellers of Midian and the overthrown cities? Their messengers came to them with clear arguments. So Allah wronged them not but they wronged themselves.

9:71 And the believers, men and women, are friends one of another. They enjoin good and forbid evil and keep up prayer and pay the poor-rate, and obey Allah and His Messenger. As for these, Allah will have mercy on them. Surely Allah is Mighty, Wise.

9:72 Allah has promised to the believers, men and women, Gardens, wherein flow rivers, to abide therein, and goodly dwellings in Gardens of perpetual abode. And greatest of all is Allah's goodly pleasure. That is the grand achievement.

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9:73 O Prophet, strive hard against the disbelievers and the hypocrites and be firm against them. And their abode is hell, and evil is the destination.

9:74 They swear by Allah that they said nothing. And certainly they did speak the word of disbelief, and disbelieved after their Islam, and they purposed that which they could not attain. And they sought revenge only because Allah — as well as His Messenger — had enriched them out of His grace. So if they repent, it will be good for them and if they turn away, Allah will chastise them with a painful chastisement in this world and the Hereafter and they shall have in the earth neither a friend not a helper.

9:75 And of them are those who made a covenant with Allah: If He give us out of His grace, we will certainly give alms and be of the righteous.

9:76 But when He gave them out of His grace, they became niggardly of it and they turned away and they are averse.

9:77 So He requited them with hypocrisy in their hearts till the day when they meet Him, because they broke their promise with Allah and because they lied.

9:78 Know they not that Allah knows their hidden thoughts and their secret counsels, and that Allah is the great Knower of the unseen things?

9:79 Those who taunt the free givers of alms among the believers as well as those who cannot find anything (to give) but with their hard labour they scoff at them. Allah will pay them back their mockery and for them is a painful chastisement.

9:80 Ask forgiveness for them or ask not forgiveness for them. Even if thou ask forgiveness for them seventy times Allah will not forgive them. This is because they disbelieve in Allah and His Messenger. And Allah guides not the transgressing people.

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9:81 Those who were left behind were glad on account of their sitting behind Allah's Messenger, and they were averse to striving in Allah's way with their property and their persons, and said: Go not forth in the heat. Say: The Fire of hell is fiercer in heat. If only they could understand!

9:82 Then let them laugh a little and weep much a recompense for what they earned.

9:83 So if Allah bring thee back to a party of them, then they ask thy permission to go forth, say: Never shall you go forth with me and never shall you fight an enemy with me. You chose to sit (at home) the first time so sit (now) with those who remain behind.

9:84 And never offer prayer for any one of them who dies, nor stand by his grave. Surely they disbelieved in Allah and His Messenger and they died in transgression.

9:85 And let not their wealth and their children excite thy admiration. Allah only intends to chastise them thereby in this world, and (that) their souls may depart while they are disbelievers.

9:86 And when a chapter is revealed, saying, Believe in Allah and strive hard along with His Messenger, the wealthy among them ask permission of thee and say: Leave us (behind), that we may be with those who sit (at home).

9:87 They prefer to be with those who remain behind, and their hearts are sealed so they understand not.

9:88 But the Messenger and those who believe with him strive hard with their property and their persons. And these it is for whom are the good things and these it is who are successful.

9:89 Allah has prepared for them Gardens wherein flow rivers, to abide therein. That is the great achievement.

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9:90 And the defaulters from among the dwellers of the desert came that permission might be given to them, and they sat (at home) who lied to Allah and His Messenger. A painful chastisement will afflict those of them who disbelieve.

9:91 No blame lies on the weak, nor on the sick, nor on those who can find nothing to spend, if they are sincere to Allah and His Messenger. There is no way (to blame) against the doers of good. And Allah is Forgiving, Merciful —

9:92 Nor on those to whom, when they came to thee that thou shouldst mount them, thou didst say: I cannot find that on which to mount you. They went back while their eyes overflowed with tears of grief that they could not find aught to spend.

9:93 The way (to blame) is only against those who ask permission of thee, though they are rich. They have chosen to be with those who remained behind; and Allah has sealed their hearts, so they know not.

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9:94 They will make excuses to you when you return to them. Say: Make no excuse, we shall not believe you; Allah has informed us of matters relating to you. And Allah and His Messenger will now see your actions, then you will be brought back to the Knower of the unseen and the seen, then He will inform you of what you did.

9:95 They will swear by Allah to you, when you return to them, so that you may leave them alone. So leave them alone. Surely they are unclean and their refuge is hell a recompense for what they earned.

9:96 They will swear to you that you may be pleased with them. But if you are pleased with them, yet surely Allah is nor pleased with the transgressing people.

9:97 The dwellers of the desert are hardest in disbelief and hypocrisy, and most disposed not to know the limits of what Allah has revealed to His Messenger. And Allah is Knowing, Wise.

9:98 And of the dwellers of the desert are those who take what they spend to be a fine, and they wait for an evil turn of fortune for you. On them is the evil turn. And Allah is Hearing, Knowing.

9:99 And of the desert Arabs are those who believe in Allah and the Last Day, and consider what they spend and the prayers of the Messenger, as bringing them nearer to Allah. Surely they bring them nearer (to Allah). Allah will bring them into His mercy. Surely Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.

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9:100 And the foremost, the first of the Emigrants and the Helpers, and those who followed them in goodness — Allah is well pleased with them and they are well pleased with Him, and He has prepared for them Gardens wherein flow rivers, abiding therein for ever. That is the mighty achievement.

9:101 And of those around you of the desert Arabs, there are hypocrites and of the people of Madinah (also) — they persist in hypocrisy. Thou knowest them not; We know them. We will chastise them twice, then they will be turned back to a grievous chastisement.

9:102 And others have acknowledged their faults, — they mixed a good deed with another that was evil. It may be that Allah will turn to them (mercifully). Surely Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.

9:103 Take alms out of their property — thou wouldst cleanse them and purify them thereby — and pray for them. Surely thy prayer is a relief to them. And Allah is Hearing, Knowing.

9:104 Know they not that Allah is He Who accepts repentance from His servants and takes the alms, and that Allah — He is the Oft-returning (to mercy), the Merciful?

9:105 And say, Work so Allah will see your work and (so will) His Messenger and the believers. And you will be brought back to the Knower of the unseen and the seen, then He will inform you of what you did.

9:106 And others are made to await Allah's command, whether He chastise them or turn to them (mercifully). And Allah is Knowing, Wise.

9:107 And those who built a mosque to cause harm (to Islam) and (to help) disbelief, and to cause disunion among the believers, and a refuge for him who made war against Allah and His Messenger before. And they will certainly swear: We desired naught but good. And Allah bears witness that they are certainly liars.

9:108 Never stand in it. Certainly a mosque founded on observance of duty from the first day is more deserving that thou shouldst stand in it. In it are men who love to purify themselves. And Allah loves those who purify themselves.

9:109 Is he, then, who lays his foundation on duty to Allah and (His) good pleasure better, or he who lays his foundation on the edge of a cracking hollowed bank, so it broke down with him into the Fire of hell? And Allah guides not the unjust people.

9:110 The building which they have built will ever continue to be a source of disquiet in their hearts, unless their hearts be torn to pieces. And Allah is Knowing, Wise.

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9:111 Surely Allah has bought from the believers their persons and their property — theirs (in return) is the Garden. They fight in Allah's way, so they slay and are slain. It is a promise which is binding on Him in the Torah and the Gospel and the Koran. And who is more faithful to his promise than Allah? Rejoice therefore in your bargain which you have made. And that is the mighty achievement.

9:112 They who turn (to Allah), who serve (Him), who praise (Him), who fast, who bow down, who prostrate themselves, who enjoin what is good and forbid what is evil, and who keep the limits of Allah and give good news to the believers.

9:113 It is not for the Prophet and those who believe to ask forgiveness for the polytheists, even though they should be near relatives, after it has become clear to them that they are companions of the flaming fire.'

9:114 And Abraham's asking forgiveness for his sire was only owing to a promise which he had made to him but when it became clear to him that he was an enemy of Allah, he dissociated himself from him. Surely Abraham was tender-hearted, forbearing.

9:115 And it is not (attributable to) Allah that He should lead a people astray after He has guided them, so far so that He makes clear to them what they should guard against. Surely Allah is Knower of all things.

9:116 Surely Allah's is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth. He gives life and causes death. And besides Allah you have no friend nor helper.

9:117 Certainly Allah has turned in mercy to the Prophet and the Emigrants and the Helpers who followed him in the hour of hardship, after the hearts of a part of them were about to deviate then He turned to them in mercy. Surely to them He is Compassionate, Merciful;

9:118 And (He turned in mercy) to the three who were left behind; until the earth, vast as it is, became strait to them and their souls were also straitened to them; and they knew that there was no refuge from Allah but in Him. Then He turned to them in mercy that they might turn (to Him). Surely Allah — He is the Oft-returning to mercy, the Merciful.

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9:119 O you who believe, keep your duty to Allah and be with the truthful.

9:120 It was not proper for the people of Madinah and those round about them of the desert Arabs to remain behind the Messenger of Allah, not to prefer their own lives to his life. That is because there afflicts them neither thirst nor fatigue nor hunger in Allah's way nor tread they a path which enrages the disbelievers nor cause they any harm to an enemy, but a good work is written down for them on account of it. Surely Allah wastes not the reward of the doers of good;

9:121 Nor spend they any thing, small or great, nor do they traverse a valley but it is written down for them, that Allah may reward them for the best of what they did.

9:122 And the believers should not go forth all together. Why, then, does not a company from every party from among them go forth that they may apply themselves to obtain understanding in religion,1104 and that they may warn their people, when they come back to them, that they may be cautious?

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9:123 O you who believe, fight those of the disbelievers who are near to you and let them find firmness in you. And know that Allah is with those who keep their duty.

9:124 And whenever a chapter is revealed, there are some of them who say: Which of you has it strengthened in faith? So as for those who believe, it strengthens them in faith and they rejoice.

9:125 And as for those in whose hearts is a disease, it adds uncleanness to their uncleanness, and they die while they are disbelievers.

9:126 See they not that they are tried once or twice in every year, yet they repent not, nor do they mind.

9:127 And whenever a chapter is revealed, they look one at another: Does any one see you? Then they turn away. Allah has turned away their hearts because they are a people who understand not.

9:128** Certainly a Messenger has come to you from among yourselves grievous to him is your falling into distress, most solicitous for you, to the believers (he is) compassionate, merciful.

9:129** But if they turn away, say: Allah is sufficient for me — there is no god but He. On Him do I rely, and He is the Lord of the mighty Throne.

KORAN CHAPTER 114 / Sura 5

The Food / Al-Maidah

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

5:1 O you who believe, fulfil the obligations. The cattle quadrupeds are allowed to you except that which is recited to you, not violating the prohibition against game when you are on the pilgrimage. Surely Allah orders what He pleases.

5:2 O you who believe, violate not the signs of Allah, nor the Sacred Month, nor the offerings, nor the victims with garlands, nor those repairing to the Sacred House seeking the grace and pleasure of their Lord. And when you are free from pilgrimage obligations, then hunt. And let not hatred of a people — because they hindered you from the Sacred Mosque incite you to transgress. And help one another in righteousness and piety, and help not one another in sin and aggression, and keep your duty to Allah. Surely Allah is severe in requiting (evil).

5:3** [** revealed at Arafat on Last Hajj] Forbidden to you is that which dies of itself, and blood, and flesh of swine, and that on which any other name than that of Allah has been invoked, and the strangled (animal), and that beaten to death, and that killed by a fall, and that killed by goring with the horn, and that which wild beasts have eaten — except what you slaughter; and that which is sacrificed on scones set up (for idols), and that you seek to divide by arrows; that is a transgression. This day have those who disbelieve despaired of your religion, so fear them not, and fear Me. This day have I perfected for you your religion and completed My favour to you and chosen for you Islam as a religion. But whoever is compelled by hunger, not inclining wilfully to sin, then surely Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.

5:4 They ask thee as to what is allowed them. Say: The good things are allowed to you, and what you have taught the beasts and birds of prey, training them to hunt — you teach them of what Allah has taught you; so eat of that which they catch for you and mention the name of Allah over it; and keep your duty to Allah. Surely Allah is Swift in reckoning.

5:5 This day (all) good things are mad lawful for you. And the food of those who have been given the Book is lawful for you and your food is lawful for them. And so are the chaste from among the believing women and the chaste from among those who have been given the Book before you, when you give them their dowries, taking (them) in marriage, not fornicating nor taking them for paramours in secret. And whoever denies faith, his work indeed is vain; and in the Hereafter he is of the losers.

* * *

5:6 O you who believe, when you rise up for prayer, wash your faces, and your hands up to the elbows, and wipe your heads, and (wash) your feet up to the ankles. And if you are under an obligation, then wash (yourselves). And if you are sick or on a journey, or one of you comes from the privy, or you have had contact with women and you cannot find water, betake yourselves to pure earth and wipe your faces and your hands therewith. Allah desires not to place a burden on you but He wishes to purify you, and that He may complete His favour on you, so that you may give thanks.

5:7 And remember Allah's favour on you and His covenant with which He bound you when you said: We have heard and we obey. And keep your duty to Allah. Surely Allah knows what is in the breasts.

5:8 O you who believe, be upright for Allah, bearers of witness with justice; and let not hatred of a people incite you not to act equitably. Be just; that is nearer to observance of duty. And keep your duty to Allah. Surely Allah is Aware of what you do.

5:9 Allah has promised to those who believe and do good deeds: For them is forgiveness and a mighty reward.

5:10 And those who disbelieve and reject Our messages, such are the companions of the flaming fire.

5:11 O you who believe, remember Allah's favour on you when a people had determined to stretch out their hands against you, but He withheld their hands from you; and keep your duty to Allah. And on Allah let the believers rely.

* * *

5:12 And certainly Allah made a covenant with the Children of Israel, and We raised up among them twelve chieftains. And Allah said: Surely I am with you. If you keep up prayer and pay the poor-rate and believe in My messengers and assist them and offer to Allah a goodly gift, I will certainly cover your evil deeds, and cause you to enter Gardens wherein rivers flow. But whoever among you disbelieves after that, he indeed strays from the right way.

5:13 But on account of their breaking their covenant We cursed them and hardened their hearts. They alter the words from their places and neglect a portion of that whereof they were reminded. And thou wilt always discover treachery in them excepting a few of them so pardon them and forgive. Surely Allah loves those who do good (to others).

5:14 And with those who say, We are Christians, We made a covenant, but they neglected a portion of that whereof they were reminded so We stirred up enmity and hatred among them to the day of Resurrection. And Allah will soon inform them of what they did.

5:15 O People of the Book, indeed Our Messenger has come to you, making clear to you much of that which you concealed of the Book and passing over much. Indeed, there has come to you from Allah, a Light and a clear Book,

5:16 Whereby Allah guides such as follow His pleasure into the ways of peace, and brings them out of darkness into light by His will, and guides them to the right path.

5:17 They indeed disbelieve who say: Surely, Allah He is the Messiah, son of Mary. Say: Who then could control anything as against Allah when He wished to destroy the Messiah, son of Mary, and his mother and all those on the earth? And Allah's is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth and what is between them. He creates what He pleases. And Allah is Possessor of power over all things.

5:18 And the Jews and the Christians say: We are the sons of Allah and His beloved ones. Say: Why does He then chastise you for your sins? Nay, you are mortals from among those whom He has created. He forgives whom He pleases and chastises whom He pleases. And Allah's is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth and what is between them, and to Him is the eventual coming.

5:19 O People of the Book, indeed out Messenger has come to you explaining to you after a cessation of the messengers, lest you say: There came not to us a bearer of good news nor a warner. So indeed a bearer of good news and a warner has come to you. And Allah is Possessor of power over all things.

* * *

5:20 And when Moses said to his people: O my people, remember the favour of Allah to you when He raised prophets among you and made you kings and gave you what He gave not to any other of the nations.

5:21 O my people, enter the Holy Land which Allah has ordained for you and turn not your backs, for then you will turn back losers.

5:22 They said: O Moses, therein are a powerful people, and we shall not enter it until they go out from it; if they go out from it, then surely we will enter.

5:23 Two men of those who feared, on whom Allah had bestowed a favour, said: Enter upon them by the gate, for when you enter it you will surely be victorious; and put your trust in Allah, if you are believers.

5:24 They said: O Moses, we will never enter it so long as they are in it; go therefore thou and thy Lord, and fight; surely here we sit.

5:25 He said: My Lord, I have control of none but my own self and my brother; so distinguish between us and the transgressing people.

5:26 He said: It will surely be forbidden to them for forty years — they will wander about in the land. So grieve not for the transgressing people.

* * *

5:27 And relate to them with truth the story of the two sons of Adam, when they offered an offering, but it was accepted from one of them and was not accepted from the other. He said: I will certainly kill thee. (The other) said: Allah accepts only from the dutiful.

5:28 If thou stretch out thy hand against me to kill me I shall not stretch out my hand against thee to kill thee. Surely I fear Allah, the Lord of the worlds:

5:29 I would rather that thou shouldst bear the sin against me and thine own sin, thus thou wouldst be of the companions of the Fire; and that is the recompense of the unjust.

5:30 At length his mind made it easy for him to kill his brother, so he killed him; so he became one of the losers.

5:31 Then Allah sent a crow scratching the ground to show him how to cover the dead body of his brother. He said: Woe is me! Am I not able to be as this crow and cover the dead body of my brother? So he became of those who regret.

5:32 For this reason We prescribed for the Children of Israel that whoever kills a person, unless it be for man-slaughter or for mischief in the land, it is as though he had killed all men. And whoever saves a life, it is as though he had saved the lives of all men. And certainly Our messengers came to them with clear arguments, but even after that many of them commit excesses in the land.

5:33 The only punishment of those who wage war against Allah and His Messenger and strive to make mischief in the land is that they should be murdered, or crucified, or their hands and their feet should be cut off on opposite sides, or they should be imprisoned. This shall he a disgrace for them in this world, and in the Hereafter they shall have a grievous chastisement,

5:34 Except those who repent before you overpower them; so know that Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.

* * *

5:35 O you who believe, keep your duty to Allah, and seek means of nearness to Him, and strive hard in His way that you may be successful.

5:36 Those who disbelieve, even if they had all that is in the earth, and the like of it with it, to ransom themselves therewith from the chastisement of the day of Resurrection, it would not be accepted from them and theirs is a painful chastisement.

5:37 They would desire to come forth from the Fire, and they will not come forth from it, and theirs is a lasting chastisement

5:38 And (as for) the man and the woman addicted to theft, cut off their hands as a punishment for what they have earned, an exemplary punishment from Allah. And Allah is Mighty, Wise.

5:39 But whoever repents after his wrongdoing and reforms, Allah will turn to him (mercifully). Surely Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.

5:40 Knowest thou not that Allah is He to Whom belongs the kingdom of the heavens and the earth? He chastises whom He pleases, and forgives whom He pleases. And Allah is Possessor of power over all things.

5:41 O Messenger, let not those grieve thee who hasten to disbelief, from among those who say with their mouths, We believe, and their hearts believe not, and from among those who are Jews they are listeners for the Sake of a lie, listeners for another people who have not come to thee. They alter the words after they are put in their (proper) places, saying: If you are given this, take it, and if you are not given this, be cautious. And he for whom Allah intends temptation, thou controllest naught for him against Allah. Those are they whose hearts Allah intends not to purify. For them is disgrace in this world, and for them a grievous chastisement in the Hereafter.

5:42 Listeners for the sake of a lie, devourers of forbidden things, so if they come to thee, judge between them or turn away from them. And if thou turn away from them, they cannot harm thee at all. And if thou judge, judge between them with equity. Surely Allah loves the equitable.

5:43 And how do they make thee a judge and they have the Torah wherein is Allah's judgement? Yet they turn away after that! And these are not believers.

* * *

5:44 Surely We revealed the Torah, having guidance and Light. By it did the prophets who submitted themselves (to Allah) judge for the Jews, and the rabbis and the doctors of law, because they were required to guard the Book of Allah, and they were witnesses thereof. So fear not the people and fear Me, and take not a small price for My messages. And whoever judges not by what Allah has revealed, those are the disbelievers.

5:45 And We prescribed to them in it that life is for life, and eye for eye, and nose for nose, and ear for ear, and tooth for tooth, and for wounds retaliation. But whoso forgoes it, it shall be an expiation for him. And whoever judges not by what Allah has revealed, those are the wrongdoers.

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5:46 And We sent after them in their footsteps Jesus, son of Mary, verifying that which was before him of the Torah; and We gave him the Gospel containing guidance and light, and verifying that which was before it of the Torah, and a guidance and an admonition for the dutiful.

5:47 And let the People of the Gospel judge by that which Allah has revealed in it. And whoever judges not by what Allah has revealed, those are the transgressors.

5:48 And We have revealed to thee the Book with the truth, verifying that which is before it of the Book and a guardian over it, so judge between them by what Allah has revealed, and follow not their low desires (turning away) from the truth that has come to thee. For every one of you We appointed a law and a way. And if Allah had pleased He would have made you a single people, but that He might try you in what He gave you. So vie one with another in virtuous deeds. To Allah you will all return, so He will inform you of that wherein you differed;

5:49 And that thou shouldst judge between them by what Allah has revealed, and follow not their low desires, and be cautious of them lest they seduce thee from part of what Allah has revealed to thee. Then if they turn away, know that Allah desires to afflict them for some of their sins. And surely many of the people are transgressors.

5:50 Is it then the judgement of ignorance that they desire? And who is better than Allah to judge for a people who are sure?

* * *

5:51 O you who believe, take not the Jews and the Christians for friends. They are friends of each other. And whoever amongst you takes them for friends he is indeed one of them. Surely Allah guides not the unjust people.

5:52 But thou seest those in whose hearts is a disease, hastening towards them, saying: We fear lest a calamity should befall us. Maybe Allah will bring the victory or a commandment from Himself, so they will regret what they hid in their souls.

5:53 And those who believe will say: Are these they who swore by Allah with their most forcible oaths that they were surely with you? Their deeds will bear no fruit, so they will be losers.

5:54 O you who believe, should any one of you turn back from his religion, then Allah will bring a people, whom He loves and who love Him, humble towards believers, mighty against the disbelievers, striving hard in Allah's way and not fearing the censure of any censurer. This is Allah's grace He gives it to whom He pleases. And Allah is Ample-giving, Knowing.

5:55 Only Allah is your Friend and His Messenger and those who believe, those who keep up prayer and pay the poor-rate, and they bow down.

5:56 And whoever takes Allah and His Messenger and those who believe for friend surely the party of Allah they shall triumph.

* * *

5:57 O you who believe, take not for friends those who take your religion as a mockery and a sport, from among those who were given the Book before you and the disbelievers; and keep your duty to Allah if you are believers.

5:58 And when you call to prayer they take it as a mockery and a sport. That is because they are a people who understand not.

5:59 Say: O People of the Book, do you find fault with us for aught except that we believe in Allah and in that which has been revealed to us and that which was revealed before, while most of you are transgressors?

5:60 Say Shall I inform you of those worse than this in retribution from Allah? They are those whom Allah has cursed and upon whom He brought His wrath and of whom He made apes and swine, and who serve the devil. These are in a worse plight and further astray from the straight path.

5:61 And when they come to you, they say, We believe, and surely they come in unbelief and they go forth in it. And Allah knows best what they conceal.

5:62 And thou seest many of them vying one with another in sin and transgression, and their devouring illegal gain. Certainly evil is that which they do.

5:63 Why do not the rabbis and the doctors of law prohibit them from their sinful utterances and their devouring unlawful gain? Certainly evil are the works they do.

5:64 And the Jews say: The hand of Allah is tied up. Their own hands are shackled and they are cursed for what they say. Nay, both His hands are spread out. He disburses as He pleases. And that which has been revealed to thee from thy Lord will certainly make many of them increase in inordinacy and disbelief. And We have cast among them enmity and hatred till the day of Resurrection. Whenever they kindle a fire for war Allah puts it out, and they strive to make mischief in the land. And Allah loves not the mischief-makers.

5:65 And if the People of the Book had believed and kept their duty We would certainly have removed from them their evils, and made them enter gardens of bliss.

5:66 And if they had observed the Torah and the Gospel and that which is revealed to them from their Lord, they would certainly have eaten from above them and from beneath their feet. There is a party of them keeping to the moderate course; and most of them — evil is that which they do.

* * *

5:67 O Messenger, deliver that which has been revealed to thee from thy Lord; and if thou do (it) not, thou hast not delivered His message. And Allah will protect thee from men. Surely Allah guides not the disbelieving people.

5:68 Say: O People of the Book, you follow no good till you observe the Torah and the Gospel and that which is revealed to you from your Lord. And surely that which has been revealed to thee from thy Lord will make many of them increase in inordinacy and disbelief: so grieve not for the disbelieving people.

5:69 Surely those who believe and those who are Jews and the Sabeans and the Christians — whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day and does good — they shall have no fear nor shall they grieve.

5:70 Certainly We made a covenant with the Children of Israel and We sent to them messengers. Whenever a messenger came to them with that which their souls desired not, some (of them) they called liars and some they (even) sought to kill.

5:71 And they thought that there would be no affliction, so they became blind and deaf; then Allah turned to them mercifully but many of them (again) became blind and deaf. And Allah is Seer of what they do.

5:72 Certainly they disbelieve who say: Allah, He is the Messiah, son of Mary. And the Messiah said: O Children of Israel, serve Allah, my Lord and your Lord. Surely who ever associates (others) with Allah, Allah has forbidden to him the Garden and his abode is the Fire. And for the wrongdoers there will be no helpers.

5:73 Certainly they disbelieve who say: Allah is the third of the three. And there is no God but One God. And if they desist not from what they say, a painful chastisement will surely befall such of them as disbelieve.

5:74 Will they not then turn to Allah and ask His forgiveness? And Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.

5:75 The Messiah, son of Mary, was only a messenger; messengers before him had indeed passed away. And his mother was a truthful woman. They both used to eat food. See how We make the messages clear to them! then behold, how they are turned away!

5:76 Say: Do you serve besides Allah that which controls for you neither harm nor good? And Allah — He is the Hearing, the Knowing.

5:77 Say: O People of the Book, exaggerate not in the matter of your religion unjustly, and follow not the low desires of people who went astray before and led many astray, and went astray from the right path.

* * *

5:78 Those who disbelieved from among the Children of Israel were cursed by the tongue of David and Jesus, son of Mary. This was because they disobeyed and exceeded the limits.

5:79 They forbade not one another the hateful things they did. Evil indeed was what they did.

5:80 Thou seest many of them befriending those who disbelieve. Certainly evil is that which their souls send before for them, so that Allah is displeased with them, and in chastisement will they abide.

5:81 And if they believed in Allah and the Prophet and that which is revealed to him, they would not take them for friends, but most of them are transgressors.

5:82 Thou wilt certainly find the most violent of people in enmity against the believers to be the Jews and the idolaters; and thou wilt find the nearest in friendship to the believers to be those who say, We are Christians. That is because there are priests and monks among them and because they are not proud.

* * *

5:83 And when they hear that which has been revealed to the Messenger thou seest their eyes overflow with tears because of the truth they recognize. They say: Our Lord, we believe, so write us down with the witnesses.

5:84 And what (reason) have we that we should not believe in Allah and in the Truth that has come to us, while we earnestly desire that our Lord should cause us to enter with the righteous people?

5:85 So Allah rewarded them for what they said; with Gardens wherein rivers flow to abide in them. And that is the reward of the doers of good.

5:86 And those who disbelieve and reject Our messages, such are the companions of the flaming fire.

* * *

5:87 O you who believe, forbid not the good things which Allah has made lawful for you and exceed not the limits. Surely Allah loves not those who exceed the limits.

5:88 And eat of the lawful and good (things) that Allah has given you, and keep your duty to Allah, in Whom you believe.

5:89 Allah will not call you to account for that which is vain in your oaths, but He will call you to account for the making of deliberate oaths so its expiation is the feeding of ten poor men with the average (food) you feed your families with, or their clothing, or the freeing of a neck. But whoso finds not (means) should fast for three days. This is the expiation of your oaths when you swear. And keep your oaths. Thus does Allah make clear to you His messages that you may give thanks.

5:90 O you who believe, intoxicants and games of chance and (sacrificing to) stones set up and (dividing by) arrows are only an uncleanness, the devils work; so shun it that you may succeed.

5:91 The devil desires only to create enmity and hatred among you by means of intoxicants and games of chance, and to keep you back from the remembrance of Allah and from prayer. Will you then keep back?

5:92 And obey Allah and obey the Messenger and be cautious. But if you turn back then know that the duty of Our Messenger is only a clear deliverance of the message.

5:93 On those who believe and do good there is no blame for what they eat, when they keep their duty and believe and do good deeds, then keep their duty and believe, then keep their duty and do good (to others). And Allah loves the doers of good.

* * *

5:94 O you who believe, Allah will certainly try you in respect of some game which your hands and your lances can reach, that Allah may know who fears Him in secret. Whoever exceeds the limit after this, for him is a painful chastisement.

5:95 O you who believe, kill not game while you are on pilgrimage. And whoever among you kills it intentionally, the compensation thereof is the like of what he killed, from the cattle, as two just persons among you judge, as an offering to be brought to the Ka'bah, or the expiation thereof is the feeding of the poor or equivalent of it in fasting, that he may taste the unwholesome result of his deed. Allah pardons what happened in the past. And whoever returns (to it), Allah will punish him. And Allah is Mighty; Lord of Retribution.

5:96 Lawful to you is the game of the sea and its food, a provision for you and for the travellers, and the game of the land is forbidden to you so long as you are on pilgrimage, and keep your duty to Allah, to Whom you shall be gathered.

5:97 Allah has made the Ka'bah, the Sacred House, a means of support for the people, and the sacred month and the offerings and the victims with garlands. That is that you may know that Allah knows whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth, and that Allah is Knower of all things.

5:98 Know that Allah is severe in requiting (evil) and that Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.

5:99 The duty of the Messenger is only to deliver (the message). And Allah knows what you do openly and what you hide.

5:100 Say: The bad and the good are not equal, though the abundance of the bad may please thee. So keep your duty to Allah, O men of understanding, that you may succeed.

* * *

5:101 O you who believe, ask not about things which if made known to you would give you trouble; and if you ask about them when the Koran is being revealed, they will be made known to you. Allah pardons this; and Allah is Forgiving, Forbearing.

5:102 A people before you indeed asked such questions, then became disbelievers therein.

5:103 Allah has not ordained a bahirah or a sa'ibah or a wasilah or a hami, but those who disbelieve fabricate a lie against Allah. And most of them understand not.

5:104 And when it is said to them, Come to that which Allah has revealed and to the Messenger, they say Sufficient for us is that wherein we found our fathers. What! even though their fathers knew nothing and had no guidance!

5:105 O you who believe, take care of your souls — he who errs cannot harm you when you are on the right way. To Allah you will all return, so He will inform you of what you did.

5:106 O you who believe, call to witness between you, when death draws nigh to one of you, at the time of making the will, two just persons from among you, or two others from among others than you, if you are travelling in the land and the calamity of death befalls you. You should detain them after the prayer. Then if you doubt (them), they shall both swear by Allah (saying): We will not take for it a price, though there be a relative nor will we hide the testimony of Allah, for then certainly we shall be sinners.

5:107 If it be discovered that they are guilty of a sin, two others shall stand up in their place from among those against whom the first two have been guilty of a sin; so they shall swear by Allah: Certainly our testimony is truer than the testimony of those two, and we have not exceeded the limit, for then surely we should be unjust.

5:108 Thus it is more probable that they will give true testimony or fear that other oaths will be taken after their oaths. And keep your duty to Allah and hearken. And Allah guides not the transgressing people.

* * *

5:109 On the day when Allah will gather together the messengers and say: What was the response you received? They

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will say We have no knowledge. Surely Thou art the great Knower of the unseen.

5:110 When Allah will say: O Jesus, son of Mary, remember My favour to thee and to thy mother, when I strengthened thee with the Holy Spirit; thou spokest to people in the cradle and in old age, and when I taught thee the Book and the Wisdom and the Torah and the Gospel, and when thou didst determine out of clay a thing like the form of a bird by My permission, then thou didst breathe into it and it became a bird by My permission; and thou didst heal the blind and the leprous by My permission; and when thou didst raise the dead by My permission; and when I withheld the Children of Israel from thee when thou camest to them with clear arguments — but those of them who disbelieved said: This is nothing but clear enchantment.

5:111 And when I revealed to the disciples, saying, Believe in Me and My messenger, they said: We believe and bear witness that we submit.

5:112 When the disciples said: O Jesus, son of Mary, is thy Lord able to send down food to us from heaven? He said: Keep your duty to Allah if you are believers.

5:113 They said: We desire to eat of it, and that our hearts should be at rest, and that we may know that thou hast indeed spoken truth to us, and that we may be witnesses thereof.

5:114 Jesus, son of Mary, said: O Allah, our Lord, send down to us food from heaven which should be to us an ever-recurring happiness to the first of us and the last of us, and a sign from Thee, and give us sustenance and Thou art the Best of the sustainers.

5:115 Allah said: Surely I will send it down to you, but whoever disbelieves afterwards from among you, I will chastise him with a chastisement with which I will not chastise any one among the nations.

* * *

5:116 And when Allah will say: O Jesus, son of Mary, didst thou say to men, Take me and my mother for two gods besides Allah? He will say: Glory be to Thee! it was not for me to say what I had no right to (say). If I had said it, Thou wouldst indeed have known it. Thou knowest what is in my mind, and I know not what is in Thy mind. Surely Thou art the great Knower of the unseen.

5:117 I said to them naught save as Thou didst command me: Serve Allah, my Lord and your Lord; and I was a witness of them so long as I was among them, but when Thou didst cause me to die Thou wast the Watcher over them. And Thou art Witness of all things.

5:118 If Thou chastise them, surely they are Thy servants; and if Thou protect them, surely Thou art the Mighty, the Wise.

5:119 Allah will say: This is a day when their truth will profit the truthful ones. For them are Gardens wherein flow rivers abiding therein forever. Allah is well pleased with them and they are well pleased with Allah. That is the mighty achievement.

5:120 Allah's is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth and whatever is in them; and He is Possessor of power over all things.

THE LIFE OF MOHAMMED

Sirat Rasul Allah
The earliest biography of Mohammed
Written by ibn Ishaq, edited by ibn Hisham
Translation / Reconstruction: Alfred Guillaume, 1954
Translation of the last part: Willian Muir, 1861
Estimated Range of Dating: 8th century A.D.

(The oldest known biography on Mohammed was written, more than 100 years after Mohammed's death, by Mohammed ibn Ishaq ibn Yasar ibn Khiyar (704 – 761 / 770 AD), better known just as ibn Ishaq. Unfortunately, no copy of Ibn Ishaq's biography in its original form has survived. What we have is an extensively edited version written, about 200 years after Mohammed's death, by Abu Mohammed Abd al-Malik bin Hisham ibn Ayyub al-Himyari (died at around 833 AD), also known as ibn Hisham. Much of the material used was left in the original words and in whole sections, so that Ibn Hisham's work can best be described as an edited version of the original biography, with interpolations by the editor. Ishaq's work is not a biography in the modern sense, but more a compilation of anecdotes and traditions collected by him. It is the only ancient biography on Mohammed that is considered by Mohammedans as a work of authenticity.

The Authors of this Work:

*• **'Ibn Ishaq'**, full name: Mohammed ibn Ishaq ibn Yasar ibn Khiyar, is the author of the most important biography on Mohammed which bears the name 'Sirat Rasul Allah' or more precise 'Siratu Rasuli l-Lah' (Life of Allah's Messenger). A large part of his work is lost. He heavily influenced Ibn Hisham as well as Al-Tabari.*

*• **'Ibn Hisham'**, full name: Abu Mohammed Abd al-Malik bin Hisham ibn Ayyub al-Himyari al-Basri (died 833 AD; 218 AH), is the author of the book 'As-Sirah an-Nabawiyyah (The Life of the Prophet). Ibn Hisham explains in the preface of the work, the criteria by which he made his choice from the original work of Ibn Ishaq. Accordingly, Ibn Hisham omits stories from Ibn Ishaq's Sira that contains no mention of Mohammed, certain poems, traditions whose accuracy Ziyad al-Baqqai could not confirm, and offensive passages that could 'offend the reader', whatever that means. Therefore, we could consider about half of Ibn Ishaq's work lost.*

*• **'Al-Tabari'** or 'Tabari', full name: Abu Jafar Mohammed ibn Jarir al-Tabari, was a Persian Sunni Muslim who wrote in Arabic. Al-Tabari is the author of the Tafsir al-Tabari, a 40-volume work, which is considered one of the most reliable sources of Islamic history, exegesis, and commentaries on the Koran. Some of the passages of Tabari's work that came from Ibn Ishaq have been reinserted into Alfred Guillaume's reconstruction of the Sira as footnotes [here directly inserted into the text in brackets].*

*• **Alfred Guillaume** (1888-1965) was a British Arabist, scholar of Islam, and Old Testament (Tanakh) scholar. He provided the best English translation of the Sirat Rasul Allah. He has inserted many little passages of Tabari's work as explanations into the bulk of the Sira text.*

*• **Theodor Nöldeke** (1836-1930) was a German orientalist and scholar. His research interests ranged over Old Testament studies, Semitic languages and Arabic, Persian and Syriac-Aramaic literature. Nöldeke translated several important works of oriental literature and during his lifetime was considered an important orientalist. Nöldeke's scientific analysis of the Koran brought the result of a logical Chronology of the 114 chapters of the Koran, according to the sequence of revelation. This structural coherence should give a reader the chance to understand the Koran, particularly when the reader had read Guillaume's Sira beforehand.)*

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Division of the spoils of Hawazin
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His ode
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The opposition mosque
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Abu 'Ubayda's raid to the coast
Salim b. 'Umayr's raid to kill Abu 'Afak
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Capture of Thumama b. Athal
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Kurz's raid on the Bajills
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Preparations for burial
Hassan's panegyric
Extra Material

Comment on Pronunciation of Arabic.

Guillaume wanted to give us an absolute correct text of Ibn Ishaq's Sira. This included the pronunciation marks in his transcription. As a result, Guillaumes text contained tens of thousands of apostrophes to mark the spoken stop (also called 'nunation') which is typical for Arabic. However, this over-precise text was so difficult to read that we have decided against the display of all the apostrophes.

Instead of that, here we shall give you some basic pronunciation rules: Arabic (and other Semitic languages such as Aramaic, Hebrew, Phoenician, etc.) is poor in vowel sounds. We hardly can hear more than 3 vowels: a, i, u. This is the reason why vowels even are not written in Semitic languages. They are not considered very important. They can be spoken 'closed' or 'open'. And, depending on the origin of the speaker, they can take a different sound. So an 'a' can sound like 'e' in 'egg' and 'u' can sound like an 'o' (Omar instead of Umar). Today (but not in history!) they are recognised only by little dots or something like it. Therefore, transcriptions from Arabic to Roman script is inconsistant: Each word can appear in a different Roman spelling, depending on the author.

Semitic words are spoken with a lot of stops which gives the language its characteristic 'chopped' sound. The following rules will not make you perfect in Arabic but they come close to that what Arabic sounds like:

1.) Vowels in Arabic have the same or a similar sound value as vowels in Spanish, Italian or German: Speak 'a' as the 'a' in 'father', 'e' as in 'egg', 'i' as in 'image', 'o' as in 'orbit', 'u' as the 'oo' in 'boot': Abbas, Ibrahim, Umar (not anything like 'amar' or 'yamar'!).

2.) Two vowels that follow directly one another are no diphtongs (!), like in English, but each letter has to be spoken separately: Maadd is spoken Ma-add, in other words: two vowels have a stop in between: Aisha = A-i-sha, not eisha!; Ismael = Is-ma-el; Kaaba = Ka-a-ba; etc.

3.) This rule applies also for word beginnings and ends. In other words: Each of the following words begin abrupt: Abdul, Ibrahim, Umar (= oo-mar, not: yumar!!)

4.) There are even stops between a vowel and a following consonant: Abdul = A-b-du-l. Short vowels within a word that are followed by a stop may be omitted.

5.) Most words do also stop with a stop at its end. Notice: Final short vowels are often omitted here too.

Stick to the first 3 rules, and most scholars and Arabs might understand you!

The Author

Mohammed, son of Ishaq (Isaac), son of Yasar, was born in Medina about 704 AD (85 AH) and died in Baghdad between 767 and 776 AD (150–159 AH); this means that he was writing the Sira about 100 years after Mohammed's death.

His grandfather Yasar fell into the hands of Khalid b. al-Walid when he captured Aynul-Tamr in 634 AD (12 AH), having been held there as a prisoner by the Persian king. Khalid sent him with a number of prisoners to Abu Bakr at Medina. There he was handed over to Qays b. Makhrama b. al-Muttalib b. Abdu Manaf as a slave, and was manumitted when he accepted Islam. His family adopted the family name of their patrons. His son Ishaq was born about the year 50, his mother being the daughter of another freedman. He and his brother Musa were well-known traditionists, so that our author's path in life was prepared before he reached manhood.

He associated with the second generation of traditionists, notably al-Zuhri, Asim b. Umar b. Qatada, and Abdullah b. Abu Bakr. He must have devoted himself to the study of apostolic tradition from his youth, for at the age of thirty he went to Egypt to attend the lectures of Yazid b. Abu Habib. There he was regarded as an authority, for this same Yazid afterwards related traditions on Ibn Ishaq's authority. On his return to Medina he went on with the collection and arrangement of the material he had collected. Al-Zuhri, who was in Medina in 745 (123), is reported to have said that Medina would never lack ilm as long as Ibn Ishaq was there, and he eagerly gathered from him the details of the prophet's wars. Unfortunately Ibn Ishaq excited the enmity of Malik b. Anas, for whose work he showed his contempt, and it was not long before his own writings and his orthodoxy were called in question. Probably it was our author's lost book of Sunan which excited Malik's ire, for it would have been in the field of law based on the practice of the prophet that differences would be most keenly felt. He was accused of being a Qadari and a Shi'i. Another man attacked his veracity: he often quoted Fatima, the wife of Hisham b. Urwa, as the authority for some of his traditions. The husband was annoyed and denied that he had ever met his wife; but as she was nearly forty years Ibn Ishaq's senior it is easily credible that they often met without occasioning gossip. It is not known whether Ibn Ishaq was compelled to leave Medina or whether he went away voluntarily. Obviously he could not have the same standing in a place that housed his chief informants as he would hold elsewhere, and so he left for the east, stopping in Kufa, al-Jazira on the Tigris, and Ray, finally settling in Baghdad. While Mansur was at Hashimiya he attached himself to his following and presented him with a copy of his work doubtless in the hope of a grant from the caliph. Thence he moved to Ray and then to the new capital of the empire. He died between 767 and 776 AD (150–159 AH); and was buried in the cemetery of Hayzuran.

Attention: The Hijri Calendar is a lunar calendar consisting of 12 lunar months in a year of 354 or 355 days, not 365.24 days!

The Precursors of the Sira

It is certain that Ibn Ishaq's biography of the prophet had no serious rival; but it was preceded by several maghazi books. We do not know when they were first written, though we have the names of several first-century worthies who had written notes and passed on their knowledge to the rising generation. The first of these was Aban the son of the caliph Uthman.

He was born in c. 642 AD (20 AH) and took part in the campaign of Talha and Zubayr against his father's slayers. He died about 730 AD (100 AH). The language used by al-Waqidi in reference to Ibn al-Mughira, 'he had nothing written down about hadith except the prophet's maghazis which he had acquired from Aban', certainly implies, though it does not demand, that Ibn al-Mughira wrote down what Aban told him. It is strange that neither Ibn Ishaq nor al-Waqidi should have cited this man who must have had inside knowledge of many matters that were not known to the public; possibly as a follower of Ali he preferred to ignore the son of the man the Alids regarded as a usurper. However, his name often appears in the isnads of the canonical collections of hadith. (The man named in Tabari 2340 and I.S. iv 29 is Aban b. Uthman al-Bajali who seems to have written a book on maghazi.) (Notice: a maghazi or al-maghazi is a genre of prophetic biography in Islamic literature, usually in form of a small book or a set of essays. An isnad or sanad is a kind of hadith text; it bases a tradition on its first authority and traces an ascription in ascending order.)

A man of much greater importance was Urwa b. al-Zubayr b. al-Awwam (23-94), a cousin of the prophet. Urwa's mother was Abu Bakr's daughter Asma. He and his brother Abdullah were in close contact with the prophet's widow Aisha. He was a recognised authority on the early history of Islam, and the Umayyad caliph Abdul-Malik applied to him when he needed information on that subject. Again, it is uncertain whether he wrote a book, but the many traditions that are handed down in his name by Ibn Ishaq and other writers justify the assertion that he was the founder of Islamic history. Though he is the earliest writer whose notes have come down to us, I have not translated.the passages from Jab. which reproduce them because they do not seem to add anything of importance to the Sira. They form part of a letter which Urwa wrote to Abdul-Malik who wanted to have accurate knowledge about the prophet's career. Much of his material rests on the statements of his aunt Aisha.

Like Ibn Ishaq he was given to inserting poetry in his traditions and justified the habit by the example of Aisha who uttered verses on every subject that presented itself. He was a friend of the erotic poet Umar b. Rabla, but thought very little of the prophet's poet Hassan b. Thabit.

Of Shurahbil b. Sad, a freedman, presumably of South Arabian origin, little is known beyond the fact that he wrote a maghazi book. Ibn Ishaq would have none of him, and he is seldom quoted by other writers. He died in 123, and as he is said to have known Ali he must have died a centenarian. He reported traditions from some of the prophet's companions, and Musa (Moses) b. Uqba records that he wrote lists of the names of the emigrants and the combatants at Badr and Uhud. In his old age he was discredited because he blackmailed his visitors: if they did not give him anything he would say that their fathers were not present at Badr! Poverty and extreme age made him cantankerous. The victims of his spleen doubted his veracity, though those best qualified to judge regarded him as an authority.

Another important Tabi was Wahb b. Munab'bih (656-732 AD / 34-110 AH), a Yamanite of Persian origin. His father

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probably was a Jew. He is notorious for his interest in, and knowledge of, Jewish and Christian scriptures and traditions; and though much that was invented later was fathered on him, his K. al-Mubtada lies behind the Muslim version of the lives of the prophets and other biblical stories. With his books on the legendary history of the Yaman, on aphorisms, on free will, and other matters preserved in part in Ibn Hisham's (died 833 AD) K. al-Tijdn we are not concerned; but the statement of Hajji Khalifa that he collected the maghazi is now confirmed by the discovery of a fragment of the lost work on papyri written in 850 AD (228 AH). Unfortunately this fragment tells us little that is new; nevertheless, its importance is great because it proves that at the end of the first century, or some years before 722 AD (100 AH), the main facts about the prophet's life were written down much as we have them in the later works. Further it shows that, like the other early traditionists, he had little or no use for isndds. Miss Gertrud Melamede has compared the account of the meeting at Aqaba (cf. i. H. 288, 293, 299) with the literature on the subject and her criticism, literary and historical, leads her to some important conclusions which do not concern us here. An interesting detail is that Mohammed speaking to Abbas calls Aus and Khazraj 'my and your maternal uncles'. Abbas throughout runs with the hare and hunts with the hounds.

A little later comes Asim b. Umar b. Qatada al-Ansari (d. c. 120). He lectured in Damascus on the campaigns of the prophet and the exploits of his companions and seems to have committed his lectures to writing. He too is quite inconsistent in naming his authorities: sometimes he gives an isndd, more often he does not. He returned to Medina to continue his work, and Ibn Ishaq attended his lectures there. Occasionally he inserted verses in his narrative, and sometimes gave his own opinion.

Mohammed b. Muslim . . . b. Shihab al-Zuhri (51-124) was a member of a distinguished Meccan family. He attached himself to Abdul-Malik, Hisham, and Yazid, and wrote down some traditions for his princely pupils. He was the forerunner of the later traditionists in that he took extraordinary pains to interrogate people, young and old of both sexes, who might possess knowledge of the past. He left a history of his own family and a book of maghazi. Most of his traditional lore survived in the notes of his lectures that his pupils wrote down quoting his authority for the traditions they record. He spent some years in Medina as a young man. Ibn Ishaq met him when he came south on pilgrimage and he is often named as an authority in the Sira. He was the most important traditionist of his generation, and his influence is to be seen in all collections of canonical hadith. (See further J. Horovitz, Islamic Culture, ii. 33 ff.) Abdullah b. Abu Bakr b. Mohammed b. Amr b. Hazm (d. 130 or 135) was one of Ibn Ishaq's most important informants. His father had been ordered by Umar b. Abdul-Aziz to write a collection of prophetic hadith, especially what Amra d. Abdul-Rahman said. This latter was a friend of Aisha and she was the aunt of this Abu Bakr. Already in the time of his son Abdullah these writings had been lost. Though we have no record of a book by Abdullah, its substance probably once existed in the maghazi of his nephew Abdul-Malik. As one would expect, the isnad is a matter of indifference to Abdullah: he stood too near the events among many who knew of them to need to cite his authorities. Tabari (i. 1837) contains an interesting note on how Ibn Ishaq got his information. Abdullah told his wife Fatima to tell him what he knew on Amra's authority.

Abul-Aswad Mohammed b. Abdul-Rahman b. Naufal (d. 131 or 137) left a maghazi book which sticks closely to Urwa's tradition. Contemporary with our author in the third generation was Musa b. Uqba (c. 55-141), a freedman of the family of al-Zubayr. A fragment of his work has survived and was published by Sachau in 1904. As it once rivalled Ibn Ishaq's work and is one of our earliest witnesses to the Sira I have given a translation of the extant traditions. Although Malik b. Anas, al-Shafii, and Ahmad b. Hanbal —an impressive trio— asserted that his book was the most important and trustworthy of all, posterity evidently did not share their opinion or more of his work would have survived.

Ibn Ishaq never mentions him. One cannot escape the conviction that petty professional jealousy was as rife in those days as how, and that scholars deliberately refrained from giving their predecessors credit for their achievements. Musa leaned heavily on al-Zuhrl. He seems to have carried farther the process of idealizing the prophet. He is freely quoted by al-Waqidi, Ibn Sad, al-Baladhuri, Tabari, and Ibn Sayyidul-Nas. He gave lists of those who went to Abyssinia and fought at Badr. The latter Malik regarded as authoritative. He generally gives an isnad, though it is not always clear whether he is relying on a written or an oral source. Once at least he refers to a mass of records left by Ibn Abbas (I.S. v. 216). Occasionally he quotes poems.

Apart from the fragment of Wahb b. Munabbih's maghazi the Berlin Manuscript, if it is authentic, is the oldest piece of historical literature in Arabic in existence, and if only for that reason deserves more than a passing notice here. It is of importance also because it carries back some of the traditions in Bukhari (d. 256) more than a century.

Other maghazi works were produced in Iraq, Syria, and the Yaman (Yemen) during the second century, but none of them is likely to have influenced Ibn Ishaq and they can safely be disregarded. What is of significance is the great interest in the life of the prophet that was shown everywhere during this century. But no book known to the Arabs or to us can compare in comprehensiveness, arrangement, or systematic treatment, with Ibn Ishaq's work which will now be discussed.

The Sira - Outline

The titles The Book of Campaigns or The Book of Campaigns and (the prophet's) Biography or The Book of the Biography and the Beginning and the Campaigns are all to be met with in the citations of Arabic authors.

Al-Bakkai, a pupil of Ibn Ishaq, made two copies of the whole book, one of which must have reached Ibn Hisham (d. 218) whose text, abbreviated, annotated, and sometimes altered, is the main source of our knowledge of the original work. A good deal more of it can be recovered from other sources. The principles underlying Ibn Hisham's revision are set out in his Introduction. Sachau suggests that the copy used by Tabari was made when Ibn Ishaq was in Ray by Salama b. Fadl al-Abrash al-Ansari, because Tabari quotes Ibn Ishaq according to Ibn Fadl's riwaya. A third copy was made by Yunus b. Bukayr in Ray.

This was used by Ibn al-Athir in his Usdul-Ghaba. A copy of part of this recension exists In the Qarawiyin mosque at Fez. The text which contains some important additions to the received text, I hope to publish shortly. A fourth copy was that of the Syrian Harun b. Abu Isa. These last two copies were used by Ibn Sad. Lastly the Fihrist mentions the edition of al-Nufayli (d: 234).

It must not be supposed that the book ever existed in three separate parts: ancient legends, Mohammed's early life and mission and his wars These are simply sections of the book which contained Ibn Ishaq's lectures. For the Mubtada (Mabda) we must go to Tabari's Tafsir and History. The first quotation from it in the latter runs thus: Ibn Hamid said Salama b. al-Fadl told us that Ibn Ishaq said: "The first thing that God created was light and darkness. Then He separated them and made the darkness night, black exceeding dark; and He made the light day, bright and luminous.'"

From this it is clear that 'Genesis' is the meaning of the title of the first section of the book. Ibn Hisham skipped all the intervening pages and began with Abraham, the presumed ancestor of Mohammed. Al-Azraqi quotes some passages from the missing section in his Akhbar Mecca and a few extracts are given by al-Mutahhar b. Tahir.

The Mubtada in so far as it lies outside Ibn Hisham's recension is not our concern, though it is to be hoped that one day a scholar will collect and publish a text of it from the sources that survive so that Ibn Ishaq's work can be read in its entirety as its importance warrants. In this section Ibn Ishaq relied on Jewish and Christian informants and on the book of Abu Abdullah Wahb b. Munahbih (34-110 or 114) known as K. al-Mubtada and also al-Israiliyat of which the original title was Qisasul-Anbiya. To him he owed the history of the past from Adam to Jesus and also the South Arabian legends, some of which Ibn Hisham has retained. This man also wrote a maghazi book, and a fragment of it has survived. Ibn Ishaq cites him by name only once.

It is natural that a book about Mohammed, 'the seal of the prophets', should give an account of the history of the early prophets, but the history, or legends, of South Arabia demand another explanation. As Goldziher showed long ago, it was in the second half of the first century that the antagonism of north and south, i.e. (the) Quraysh (Notice: the Quraysh and other tribes and clans are in Ibn Ishaq's Sira usually named without the article 'the'.) and the Ansar of Medina, first showed itself in literature. The Ansar, proud of their southern origin and of their support of the prophet when the Quraysh rejected him, smarted under the injustice of their rulers and the northerner's claim to superiority. One of the ways in which their resentment manifested itself was in the glorification of Himyar's great past. Ibn Ishaq as a loyal son of Medina shared the feelings of his patrons and recounted the achievements of their forefathers, and Ibn Hisham, himself of southern descent, retained in the Sira as much of the original work as he thought desirable. To this accident that Ibn Hisham was a Himyari we owe the extracts from stories of the old South Arabian kings. Ibn Hisham devoted a separate book to the subject, the K. al-Tijan li-marifati muluki l-zaman (fi akhbari Qahtan).

The second section of the book which is often called al-Mabath begins with the birth of the prophet and ends when the first fighting from his base in Medina takes place. The impression one gets from this section is of hazy memories; the stories have lost their freshness and have nothing of that vivid and sometimes dramatic detail which make the maghazi stories —especially in al-Waqidi— so full of interest and excitement. Thus while the Medinan period is well documented, and events there are chronologically arranged, no such accuracy, indeed no such attempt at it, can be claimed for the Meccan period. We do not know Mohammed's age when he first came forth publicly as a religious reformer: some say he was forty, others say forty-five; we do not know his precise relation to the Banu Najjar; the poverty of his childhood ill fits the assertion that he belonged to the principal family in Mecca. The story of those years is filled out with legends and stories of miraculous events which inevitably undermine the modern reader's confidence in the history of this period as a whole. In this section particularly, though not exclusively, Ibn Ishaq writes historical introductions to his paragraphs. A good example is his foreword to the account of the persecution the prophet endured at the hands of the Meccans: 'When the Quraysh became distressed by the trouble caused by the enmity between them and the apostle and those of their people who accepted his teaching, they stirred up against him foolish fellows who called him a liar, insulted him, and accused him of being a poet, a sorcerer, a diviner, and of being possessed. However the apostle continued to proclaim what God had ordered him to proclaim, concealing nothing, and exciting their dislike by contemning their religion, forsaking their idols, and leaving them to their unbelief'. This is not a statement resting on tradition, but a concise summary of the circumstances that are plainly indicated by certain passages of the Koran which deal with this period. Of the Maghdzi history little need be said. For the most part the stories rest on the account of eyewitnesses and have every right to be regarded as trustworthy.

Characteristics

The opinions of Muslim critics on Ibn Ishaq's trustworthiness deserve a special paragraph; but here something may be said of the author's caution and his fairness. A word that very frequently precedes a statement is za'ama or za'amu, 'he (they) alleged'. It carries with it more than a hint that the statement may not be true, though on the other hand it may be sound. Thus there are fourteen or more occurrences of the caveat from p. 87 to 148 alone, besides a frequent note that only God knows whether a particular statement is true or not. Another indication of reserve if not scepticism underlies the expression fi ma dhukira li, as in the story of the jinn who listened to Mohammed as he prayed; Mohammed's order to Umar to kill Suwayd; one of Gabriel's visits to Mohammed; the reward of two martyrs to the man killed by a woman. An expression of similar import is ft ma balaghani?

Very seldom does Ibn Ishaq make any comment of his own on the traditions he records apart from the mental reservation implied in these terms. Therefore when he does express an opinion it is the more significant.

In his account of the night journey to Jerusalem and the ascent into heaven he allows us to see the working of his mind. The story is everywhere hedged with reservations and terms suggesting caution to the reader. He begins with a tale which he says has reached him (balaghani) from several narrators and he has pieced them together from the stories these people heard (dhukira). The whole subject is a searching test of men's faith in which those endowed with intelligence are specially concerned. It was certainly an act of God, but exactly what happened we do not know. This opinion of his is most delicately and skilfully expressed in the words kayfa shaa, 'how God wished to show him'. Ibn Masud's words are prefaced by fi ma balaghani anhu. There is nothing in the story to indicate that it is a vision. Al-Hasan's version is much more definite, for he asserts that when Mohammed returned to Mecca he told the Quraysh that he had been to Jerusalem and back during the night and that this so strained the credulity of some of the Muslims that they gave up their faith in his revelations although he was able to give an accurate description of Jerusalem.

It is therefore most surprising that al-Hasan should end his story by quoting Sura 13.62 'We made the vision which we showed thee only for a test to men' in this context. The whole point of al-Hasan's story is thereby undermined, for if the experience was visionary, then there was nothing at all incredible about it. Then follows Aisha's statement, reported by one of her father's family, that it was only the apostle's spirit that was transported; his body remained where it was in Mecca. Another tradition by Muawiya b. Abu Sufyan bears the same meaning. The fact that he had been asked whether it was a physical or a dream journey shows that the subject was debated before Ibn Ishaq's day. Here Ibn Ishaq makes a profound observation which in effect means that it was immaterial whether the experience was real or visionary because it came from God; and just as Abraham made every preparation to slay his son Isaac in consequence of what he had seen in a dream because he recognised no difference between a divine command given at night during sleep and an order given by day when he was awake, so the apostle's vision was just as real as if it had been an actual physical experience. Only God knows what happened, but the apostle did see what he said he saw and whether he was awake or asleep the result is the same.

The description of Abraham, Moses, and Jesus which purports to quote Mohammed's words is prefaced by za'amal-

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Zuhri, not, as often, by the ordinary term haddathani. Now as al-Zuhri and Ibn Ishaq knew each other well and must have met quite often, we must undoubtedly infer from the fact that Ibn Ishaq deliberately substituted the verb of suspicion for the ordinary term used in traditional matters that he means us to take this tradition with a grain of salt.

It is a pity that the excellent impression that one gets of the author's intelligence and religious perception should be marred by the concluding paragraph on this subject of the ascent into heaven which incidentally has had far-reaching results on European literature through the Divine Comedy. It rules out absolutely any but a physical experience and ought to have been recorded with its cautionary note before Ibn Ishaq made his own observations. Possibly the reason for its being out of place is that it is an excerpt from his lecture notes; but whatever the explanation, it mars the effect of his statement of the evidence.

The phrase 'God knows best' speaks for itself and needs no comment. It is sometimes used when the author records two conflicting traditions and is unable to say which is correct. Another indication of the author's scrupulousness is the phrase 'God preserve me from attributing to the apostle words which he did not use'. His report of Mohammed's first public address at Medina and his order to each of his companions to adopt another as a brother are prefixed by these words and hedged by fi ma balaghani.

The author does not often give us rival versions of traditions from Medina and Mecca; thus the account of Umar's conversion is interesting. It illustrates the thoroughness of our author in his search for information about the early days of the prophet's ministry. The first account he says is based on what the traditionists of Medina said: Umar was brutal to his sister and brother-in-law who had accepted Islam, but feeling some remorse when he saw blood on her face from the violent blow he had dealt her, and impressed by her constancy, he demanded the leaf of the Koran thairshe was reading. Having read it he at once accepted it as inspired and went to the prophet to proclaim his allegiance.

The Meccan, Abdullah b. Abu Najih, on the authority of two named companions or an anonymous narrator, gives another version in Umar's own words to the effect that his conversion was due to his hearing the prophet recite the Koran while praying at the Kaaba one night. In both narratives it was the Koran which caused his conversion. In the first version Umar was affected by the bearing of his sister and secured a part of the Koran to read himself; in the second he was affected by the private devotions of the prophet. The first story is prefixed by fi ma balaghani, but this is cancelled as it were by the express statement that it was the current belief of the people of Medina. Ibn Ishaq concludes by saying that only God knows what really happened.

A rather difficult problem in literary and historical criticism is posed by the rival traditions collected by the indefatigable Tabari from two of Ibn Ishaq's pupils, Yunus b. Bukayr and Salama b. al-Fadl, the latter supported by another pupil of Ibn Ishaq's named Ali b. Mujahid. The first had attended his lectures in Kufa; the other two his lectures at Ray. All three claim that they transmit what Ibn Ishaq told them on the authority of a certain Afif. I do not know of a parallel in Ibn Ishaq's work to a contradiction resting on the authority of the same original narrator. Different traditions from different rawis from different sources are to be expected in any history; but here the same man is introduced as the authority for conflicting traditions such as are to be found in the later collections of hadith.

The first tradition is suspect because it requires us to believe that from the earliest days of his ministry before he had any following apart from a wife and a young nephew Mohammed prophesied the Arab conquest of the (Eastern) Roman and Persian empires in the Near East. Nothing in his life gives the slightest support to this claim, though it was to be made good soon after his death.

The second contains no reference to later conquests and may be trustworthy. It definitely fixes the scene at Mina, which is about three miles distant from Mecca. The first account suggests, though it does not assert, that the prophet was in Mecca, as he turned to face the Kaaba when he prayed. Would he have done this had he been in Mina? Would he not rather have turned in the direction of Jerusalem, his first qibla? Ibn Ishaq expressly affirms elsewhere that while he was in Mecca Mohammed when praying turned his face towards Syria. The second account says nothing about the direction of his prayer. On the whole, then, the second tradition as transmitted by Salama must be given the preference.

It is quite easy to see why Ibn Hisham a century later omitted both traditions; they were offensive to the ruling house of Abbas as they drew attention to an unhappy past which the rulers, now champions of orthodoxy, would fain have forgotten. But why did Ibn Ishaq report them both, if in fact he did?

On the whole it seems most reasonable to suppose that he first dictated the tradition which Yunus heard in Kufa, notorious for its attachment to the Alid party, and that he afterwards dropped it and substituted the second version which Salama heard in Ray some years later before he went on to Baghdad. Tabari with his usual thoroughness reported both traditions. The only alternative is to suppose that the reference to the conquests is an interpolation.

There is a subtle difference between these two variants which ought not to be overlooked. At first sight it would seem to be a mere detail that in the first tradition Afif wished that he had been the third to pray the Muslim prayer. Now there were already three—Mohammed, Khadija, and Ali. In the second tradition he wished that he had been the fourth. If this latter is the original form of the tradition it means simply that he wished that he had been the first man outside the prophet's family circle to accept Islam. But the first tradition means more than this: by eliminating, as it were, Mohammed himself from the trio it means that Ali was the second human being and the first male to accept Islam and to stand with Khadija at the head of all Muslims in the order of priority. This has always been the claims of the Shi'a and to this day the priority of Ali in this respect is hotly disputed.

Intrinsically as we have argued, the second tradition has the better claim to authenticity. If that is admitted it follows that either Ibn Ishaq or his ratal adapted it in the interest of the Alid cause. In view of the accusation of partiality towards the Shi'a which was levelled against Ibn Ishaq it seems probable that he himself gave a subtle twist to the tradition that had come down to him from Afif, and afterwards played for safety.

As one would expect of a book which was written in the eighth century about a great religious reformer, miracles are accepted as a matter of course. It does not matter if a person's alleged power to work miracles makes his early sufferings and failures unintelligible, nor docs it matter if the person concerned expressly disclaimed all such powers apart from the recitation of the Koran itself.

The Near East has produced an enormous number of books on the miracles of saints and holy men and it would be strange indeed if Islam had not followed in the footsteps of its predecessors in glorifying the achievements of its great leader at the expense of his human greatness. Here we are concerned simply with the literary form of such stories, the authorities that are quoted for them, and the way in which our author deals with them. To mention a few: the prophet summoned a tree to him and it stood before him. He told it to go back again and back it went. It is interesting to notice that the person for whose benefit this miracle was wrought regarded it as sorcery. The author's father, Ishaq b. Yasar, is responsible for the tale. Another tradition from Amr b. Ubayd, who claimed to have had it from Jabir b. Abdullah via al-Hasan, is merely a midrash composed to explain Sura 5.14 where it is said that God kept the hands of Mohammed's enemies from doing him violence. The story of the throne of God shaking when the doors of heaven were opened to receive Sad shows how these stories grew in the telling. Muadh b. Rifaa al-Zuraqi reported on the authority of 'anyone you like among my clan' that when Sad died Gabriel visited the prophet and asked him who it was that had caused such commotion in heaven, whereupon Mohammed, knowing that it must be Sa'd, hurried off at once to find that he had died.

However, more was said on the subject: Abdullah b. Abu Bakr from Amra d. Abdul-Rahman reported that Aisha met Sad's cousin outside Mecca and asked him why he did not show more grief for one whose arrival had shaken the very throne of God. An anonymous informant claimed to have heard from al-Hasan al-Basri that the pallbearers found the corpse of this fat, heavy man unexpectedly light, and the prophet told them that there were other unseen bearers taking the weight with them; and again it is repeated that the throne shook. Suhayli has a fairly long passage on the tradition which goes to show that serious minded men did not like this story at all. Some scholars tried to whittle away the meaning by suggesting that the shaking of the throne was a metaphor for the joy in heaven at Sad's arrival; others claimed that the angelic bearers of the throne were meant. But Suhayli will have none of this. The throne is a treated object and so it can move. Therefore none has the right to depart from the plain meaning of the words. Moreover, the tradition is authentic while traditions like that of al-Barra to the effect that it was Sad's bed that shook are rightly ignored by the learned. He goes on to point out that al-Bukhari accepted the tradition not only on the authority of Jabir but also on the report of a number of other companions of the prophet—a further indication of the snowball growth of the legend. S. finds it most surprising that Malik rejected the hadith and he adds naively from the point of view of later generations that Malik would not have it mentioned despite the soundness of its transmission and the multitude of narrators, and he adds that it may be that Malik did not regard the tradition as sound!

The passage is instructive in that it shows how far Ibn Ishaq could go in the face of one of the most learned of his contemporaries in Medina. Posterity has sided with Ibn Ishaq on this matter, but Malik clearly had many on his side at the time, men who would not take at its face value a story which they could not reject out of hand, as he did, with the weight of contemporary opinion behind it.

Another feature that stands out clearly from time to time is the insertion of popular stories on the Goldilocks model. For the sake of the reader I have rendered these stories in accord with modern usage, as the repetition of the same words and the same answer again and again is intolerable to the modern adult. Such stories are the stock-in-trade of the Arabian qass and the storyteller all the world over and invariably lead up to the climax which it is the speaker's intention to withhold until he has his audience on tiptoe. A good example of such stories is the narrative of Mohammed's arrival in Medina and the invitation of one clan after another, always declined with the same words.

After giving due weight to the pressure of hagiology on the writer and his leaning towards the Shi'a one must, I think, affirm that the life of Mohammed is recorded with honesty and truthfulness and, too, an impartiality which is rare in such writings. Who can read the story of al-Zabir, who was given his life, family, and belongings but did not want to live when the best men of his people had been slain, without admitting that here we have a true account of what actually happened? Similarly who but an impartial historian would have included verses in which the noble generous character of the Jews of the Hijaz was lauded and lamented? The scepticism of earlier writers seems to me excessive and unjustified. We have only to compare later Lives of Mohammed to see the difference between the historical and the ideal Mohammed.

The Poetry

Doubts and misgivings about the authenticity of the poems in the Sira are expressed so often by Ibn Hisham that no reference to them need be given here. Nevertheless, one should be on one's guard against the tendency to condemn all the poetry out of hand. What Ibn Hisham says about the poetry of those who took part in the battle of Badr, whether or not it includes the verses of Hassan b. Thabit, namely 'These verses (of Abu Usama) are the most authentic of those (attributed to) the men of Badr (p. 534), casts grave doubt on the authenticity of a large section of the poetry of the Sira. Nevertheless Ibn Ishaq is not to be blamed for the inclusion of much that is undoubtedly spurious without a thorough investigation which has not yet been undertaken. The poems he cites on pp. 284 and 728 he got from Asim b. Qatada, while those on pp. 590, 789, and 793 come from Abdullah b. Abu Bakr. We know, too, that Musa b. Uqba cited verses.

An early critic of poetry, al-Jumahi (d. 231), though perhaps rather one-sided and ill balanced in his judgement on 1.1., makes some observations which cannot fail to carry conviction. He says: 'Mohammed b. Ishaq was one of those who did harm to poetry and corrupted it and passed on all sorts of rubbish. He was one of those learned in the biography of the prophet and people quoted poems on his authority. He used to excuse himself by saying that he knew nothing about poetry and that he merely passed on what was communicated to him. But that was no excuse, for he wrote down in the Sira poems ascribed to men who had never uttered a line of verse and of women too. He even went to the length of including poems of Ad and Thamud! Could he not have asked himself who had handed on these verses for thousands of years when God said: "He destroyed the first 'Ad and Thamud and left none remaining while of Ad he said "Can you see anything remaining of them?" and "Only God knows Ad and Thamud and those who came after them." Some of these poems are quoted by Tabari.

Ibn al-Nadim goes farther by suggesting that Ibn Ishaq was party to the fraud: the verses were composed for him, and when he was asked to include them in his book he did so and brought himself into ill repute with the rhapsodists.

Occasionally Ibn Ishaq says who the authority for the poetry was. Obviously at this date criticism of the poetry of the Sira can be based only on historical and perhaps in a lesser degree on literary and stylistic grounds. Some of the poetry dealing with raids and skirmishes, tribal boasting, and elegies seems to come from contemporary sources, and no reasonable person would deny that poetic contests between Meccan and Medinan poets really took place: everything we know of ancient Arab society would require us to look for such effusions. As Horovitz pointed out, in pre-Islamic poetry these poetical contests are frequent, and it might be added that in early Hebrew history verses are frequently inserted in the narratives and often put into the mouths of the heroes of the hour.

Thus, apart from those poems which undoubtedly were called forth by the events they commemorated, poetry was an integral part of a racial convention which no writer of history could afford to ignore. Probably if all the poetry which Ibn Ishaq included in the Sira had reached that standard of excellence which his readers were accustomed to expect, none of these charges would have been levelled against him. But when he included verses which were palpably banal, and were at the same time untrue to circumstance, uninspired and trivial, as many undoubtedly are, the developed aesthetic sense of the Arabs which is most delicate where poetry is concerned rejected what he wrote. As ar-Jumahi said, he brought poetry itself into disrepute by the balderdash he

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admitted into his otherwise excellent work. And it did not improve matters that much that was good was mingled with more that was bad. It is more than likely that Ibn Ishaq himself was conscious that all was not well with this poetry, for the general practice of writers is to put the verse into the narrative at the crucial moment (as Ibn Ishaq at times does), whereas after the prose account of Badr and Uhud he lumps together a whole collection of verse by various 'poets'. It is as though he were silently saying 'This is what has been handed on to me. I know nothing about poetry and you must make your own anthology." Even so, whatever his shortcomings were, it is only fair to bear in mind that Ibn Hisham often inserts a note to the effect that the text before him contains lines or words which have not Ibn Ishaq's authority.

The subject is one that calls for detailed and careful literary criticism. The history of the cliches, similes, and metaphors needs investigation by a scholar thorougnly grounded in the poetry of the pre-Islamic and Umayyad eras. Until this preliminary work has been successfully accomplished it would be premature to pass judgement on the poetry of the Sira as a whole. Ancient poetry has suffered greatly at the hands of forgers, plagiarists, and philologists, and the diwans of later poets have not escaped the dishonest rawi Hassan b. Thabit, the prophet's own poet, has many poems to his name which he would be astounded to hear, and there are comparatively few poets of whom it could be said that the diwans bearing their names contained nothing for which they were not responsible.

Since these words were written two theses have been written in the University of London: the first by Dr. M. A. Azzam deals with the style, language, and authenticity of the poetry contained in the Sira; the second by Dr. W. Arafat with the Divan of Hassan b. Thabit. A brief summary of their findings will not be out of place here.

Between the period covered by the Sira and the editing of the book itself loom the two tragedies of Karbala, when al-Husayn and his followers were slain in 61, and the sack of Medina in a.h. 63 when some ten thousand of the Ansar including no less than eighty of the prophet's companions are said to have been put to death. Much of the poetry of the Sira was meant to be read against the background of those tragedies. Its aim is to set forth the claims of the Ansar to prominence in Islam not only as men who supported the prophet when the Quraysh opposed him, but as men descended from kings. The prophet was the grandson of Abdul-Muttalib, who was the son of Hashim and a woman of the B. al-Najjar, and so of Yaman stock. 'Your mother was of the pure stock of Khuzaa. . . . To the heroes of Saba her line goes back', says the poet in his elegy on Abdul-Muttalib. Apart from their great service to the prophet in giving him a home when (the) Quraysh cast him out, the Ansar long before had been partners with (the) Quraysh, for was it not Rizah, the half-brother of Qusayy, who came to the aid of the ancestors of (the) Quraysh from the Yaman (Yemenite)? Had it not been for the Ansar there would have been no Islam: had it not been for their ancestors, the poet implies, (the) Quraysh would not have been established in Mecca.

On p. 18 there is thinly disguised Ansari-Shi'a propaganda: 'The one you killed was the best of us. The one who lived is lord over us and all of you are lords' would be recognised by many as a reference to the killing of al-Husayn and the 'lords' would be the Umayyads. The account of the Tubba's march against Mecca and his great respect for its sanctity stands in clear contrast with the treatment it received from the Umayyads when al-Hajjaj bombarded it.

After a careful study of the language and style of this verse Dr. Azzam comes to the conclusion that comparatively little of it dates from the time of the prophet.

Dr. Arafat comes to much the same conclusion with regard to the verse attributed to Hassan. A few of the outstanding arguments will be given here. He finds that the eulogy on the Ansar (p. 893) which is attributed to Kab b. Zuhayr is in the same rhyme and metre as the poem of al-Akhtal which was written at the instigation of Yazid. There we find the words 'Baseness is under the turbans of the Ansar'. A careful comparison of the relevant passages in the two poems shows that the one in the Sira is the answer to the one in the Aghani.

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr is reported to have said: 'The Ansar were respected and feared until the battle of Harra; afterwards people were emboldened to attack them and they occupied a lowly place.' It is in these circumstances, not those of the prophet's companions daily increasing in power and prestige, that we must look for the background of 'You will find that none ill uses or abuses us but a base fellow who has gone astray' (p. 626).

On p. 474 a poem which Ibn Hisham attributes to Hassan's son, Abdul-Rahman, obviously dates from a later generation: 'My people are those who sheltered the prophet and believed in him when the people of the land were unbelievers except for choice souls who were forerunners of righteous men and who were helpers with the helpers.' What can this mean but that someone is speaking of the past services of his people to the prophet ? Further, it is strange language to impute to Hassan. It was he who called the newcomers vagrants jaldbib and regarded them as an unmitigated nuisance. He did not house any of the muhajirin, nor was he a 'brother' to one of them. A still clearer reference to a former generation is to be found on p. 927 (again Ibn Hisham attributed it to Abdul-Rahman) which says: 'Those people were the prophet's helpers and they are my people; to them I come when I relate my descent.'

Dr. Arafat notes that in the Sira there are seventy-eight poems attributed to Hassan; the authenticity of fifteen of them is questioned or denied outright. The text of the poem on p. 738 in its rival forms illustrates the way in which verses attributed to Hassan were interpolated and additional verses fabricated. Here Tabari gives only the first five verses; the Diwan interpolates two verses after the first line and adds two at the end. On the other hand, the last three verses in the Sira are not to be found in either of the other authorities. In the Aghani the poem is still longer and according to the riwaya of Musab but without al-Zuhri's authority. The facts which emerge from a study of the circumstances which surround this poem are:

1. Hassan resented the growing numbers and influence of the Muslim refugees.

2. After the attack on B. al-Mustaliq a quarrel arose between the Meccans and Medinans about the use of a well. Abdullah b. Ubayy said: 'They rival our numbers kathara;' he called them jalabib and threatened that when they got back to Medina the stronger aazz would drive out the weaker. The words italicised are the very words used by Hassan in this poem. From this it is clear that Hassan is expressing not only his own opinion about the Muslims but that of Abdullah b. Ubayy and his party.

3. It was during this journey that the scandal about Aisha arose.

4. Safwan struck Hassan with his sword. According to the introduction to the poem in the Diwan Safwan attacked Hassan because he had accused him of spending the night with Aisha. But in the Aghani Safwan wounded Hassan at the instigation of the prophet because his house was the centre of disaffection against the Muslims. The other explanation of the attack on Hassan is added in al-Aghani as an afterthought. However, there is no reason why both versions should not be correct. Hassan's most dangerous offence was his complaint against the Muslim intruders; but when he slandered Aisha he provided the prophet with an admirable reason for punishing him severely for an offence which would not engage the sympathies of the Ansaris. Whether loyal or disaffected, they could hardly support their comrade in such a matter.

With the further ramifications of the story we are not concerned; sufficient has been said to show that the poem so far as verse 5 is genuine and is directed solely against the Muslim refugees whose presence had become a nuisance to Hassan. In this poem he says nothing at all about Safwan. The last three lines have doubtless been added to whitewash Hassan. As poetry they will not bear comparison with the genuine verses and Tabari was thoroughly justified in discarding them.

Another specimen of the spurious poetry fathered on Hassan is to be found on p. 936 which belongs to a later generation. Here it is not the prophet who is praised but his 'house': 'How noble are the people (qaum) whose party (shia) is the prophet! . . . They are the best of all living creatures.' When we remember the resentment with which the Ansar in general and Hassan in particular felt when they got no share in the booty of Hunayn, the line 'Take from them what comes when they are angry and set not your hearts on what they withhold is singularly inept.

Another point which militates against the authenticity of poems attributed to Hassan is the prominence which is often given to the Aus. It cannot be supposed that a Khazrajite would ignore the achievements of his own tribe or put them in the second place as on p. 455 when we remember that the hostility between the two tribes persisted long after Islam was established. A plain example of a later Ansari's work is given on p. 711, where the poem begins: 'O my people is there any defence against fate and can the good old days return?' an impossible attitude for a Muslim to take during the prophet's lifetime.

Again, when Hassan is reported to have said 'The best of the believers have followed one another to death' (p. 799), it is sufficient to remember that practically all the prophet's principal companions survived Uhud.

But when this careless forger wrote all the best Muslims had long been dead. However, we have not got to his main point which is to glorify the house of Hashim: 'They are God's near ones. He sent down His wisdom upon them and among them is the purified bringer of the book.' Here the Alids arc the 'friends' or 'saints' of God and Mohammed is little more than a member of their family. Divine wisdom is given to them.

These two studies lay bare the wretched language in which many of these poems are written and incidentally bring out the difficulties which a translator has to cope with when the rules of Arabic syntax and the morphology of the language are treated with scant respect. In fine it may be said that their well-documented conclusions made it abundantly clear that the judgement of the ancient critics—particularly al-Jumahi—is justified up to the hilt.

The Partial Restoration Of The Lost Original

Once the original text of Ibn Ishaq existed in at least fifteen riwayas:

1. Ibrahim b. Sad, 110-84 (Medina)
2. Ziyad b. Abdullah al-Bakka'i, d. 183 (Kufa)
3. Abdullah b. Idris al-Audl, 115-92 (Kufa)
4. Yunus b. Bukayr, d. 199 (Kufa)
5. Abda b. Sulayman, d. 187/8 (Kufa)
6. Abdullah b. Numayr, 115-99 (Kufa)
7. Yahya (John) b. Said al-Umawi, 114-94 (Baghdad)
8. Jarir b. Hazim, 85-170 (Basra)
9. Harun b. Abu Isa (Basra?)
10. Salama b. al-Fadl al-Abrash, d. 191 (Ray)
11. Ali b. Mujahid, d. c. 180 (Ray)
12. Ibrahim b. al-Mukhtar (Ray)
13. Said b. Bazi
14. Uthman b. Saj
15. Mohammed b. Salama al-Harrani, d. 191

It has been my aim to restore so far as is now possible the text of Ibn Ishaq as it left his pen or as he dictated it to his hearers, from excerpts in later texts, disregarding the Mabda section as Ibn Hisham did and for at least one of his reasons. At first I was tempted to think that a great deal of the original had been lost —and it may well be that it has been lost— for it is clear that the scurrilous attacks on the prophet which Ibn Hisham mentions in his Introduction are not to be found anywhere. But on the whole I think it is likely that we have the greater part of what Ibn Ishaq wrote. Doubtless more was said for Ali and against Abbas, but it is unlikely that such material would add much to our knowledge of the history of the period. Possibly to us the most interesting excisions would be paragraphs containing information which Ibn Ishaq gathered from Jews and Christians; but in all probability the Mabda contained most of such passages. Still, it is unlikely that those passages which have been allowed to remain would have excited the annoyance that some of his early critics express on this score. Ibnul-Kalbi's K. al-Asnam gives a warning against exaggerated hopes. Yaqut had made copious extracts from it in his Geographical Dictionary, so interesting and so important for our knowledge of the old Arabian heathenism that the great Nöldeke expressed the hope that he would live to see the text of the lost original discovered. He did; but a collation of the original work with the excerpts made by Yaqut shows that practically everything of value had been used and nothing of real significance was to be learned from the discovery of the mother text. However, in a text of the nature of the Sira it is just possible that a twist may be given to the narrative by an editor such as Ibn Hisham.

The writers from whom some of the original can be recovered are:

1. Mohammed b. Umar al-Waqidi, d. 207
2. Abul-Walid Mohammed b. Abdullah al-Azraqi from his grandfather (d. c. 220)
3. Mohammed b. Sad, d. 230
4. Abu Abdullah Mohammed b. Muslim b. Qutayba, d. 270 or 276
5. Ahmad b. Yahya (John) al-Baladhuri, d. 279
6. Abu Jafar Mohammed b. Jarir al-Tabari, d. 310
7. Abu Said al-Hasan b. Abdullah al-Sirafi, d. 368.
8. Abul-Hasan All b. Mohammed b. Habib al-Mawardi, d. 450
9. Abul-Hasan All b. al-Athir, d. 630
10. Yusuf b. Yahya (John) al-Tadali known as Ibn al-Zayyat, d. 627
11. Ismail b. Umar b. Kathir, d. 774
12. Abdul-Fadl Ahmad b. All . . . b. Hajar al-Asqalani, d. 852/1449.

For our purpose none of these has the importance of Tabari whose text rests on the ritoaya of Salama and Yunus b. Bukayr. Besides the important textual variants which will be found in the translation from time to time, he it is who reports from Ibn Ishaq the prophet's temporary concession to polytheism at Mecca (1190 f.) and the capture of Abbas at Badr (1441).

1.) al-Waqidi. Only the Maghazi has survived from the very large number of his writings. A third of it was published by von Kremer in 1856 from a poor manuscript, and until the work has been edited its value cannot be accurately assessed. The abridged translation by Wellhausen gives the reader all the salient facts, but his method of epitomizing enabled him to avoid difficulties in the text which call for explanation. Waqidi makes no mention of Ibn Ishaq among his authorities. The reason for this doubtless is that he did not want to refer to a man who already enjoyed a great reputation as an authority on maghdzi and so let it seem that his own book was a mere amplification of his predecessor's. It is by no means certain that he made use of Ibn Ishaq's book, or traditional lore, for he quoted his authorities, e.g. al-Zuhri, Mamar, and others, directly. On the other hand, he did not belittle Ibn Ishaq of whom he spoke warmly as a chronicler, genealogist,

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and traditionist, who transmitted poetry and was an indefatigable searcher of tradition, a man to be trusted.

It follows that strictly Waqidi is not a writer from whom in the present state of our knowledge we can reconstruct the original of the Sira; but as his narrative often runs parallel with Ibn Ishaq's work, sometimes abridging, sometimes expanding, his stories it is a valuable if uncontrolled supporter thereof. Not until his Maghazi has been published and studied as it deserves to be can a satisfactory comparison of the two books be made. One thing is abundantly clear, namely that Waqidi often includes stories which obviously come from eyewitnesses and often throw valuable light on events which are obscure in Ibn Ishaq. Indeed it ought to be said that the Sira is incomplete without Waqidi.

2.) Al-Azraqi's Akhbar Makka is of great value in matters archaeological. His authority is Uthman b. Saj.

3.) Ibn Sad's Akhbarul-Nabi is more or less as he communicated it to his pupils. This was afterwards combined with his Tabaqdt in 300 by Ibn Maruf. Volumes Ia, b and IIa, b in the Berlin edition deal with the former prophets, Mohammed's childhood, his mission, the hijra, and his campaigns, ending with his death, burial, and elegies thereon. I.S. has much more to say on some matters than Ibn Ishaq, e.g. letters and embassies, and the prophet's last illness, while he shows no interest in pre-Islamic Arabia.

For the Maghazi Waqidi is his main authority. The Tabaqat deals with the prophet's companions and the transmitters of tradition, including the tabiun.

4.) Ibn Qutayba's K. al-Madrif contain a few short and inexact citations.

5.) Al-Baladhuri's Futuhul-Buldan adds very little to our knowledge. De Goeje's index gives twelve references. The first two which De Goeje, followed by Theodor Nöldeke, notes as not being in the Sira would never have found a place there as they obviously belong to Ibn Ishaq's lost book on fiqh. They deal with the question of how much water a man may retain on his land before he lets it flow down to his neighbour's ground. The last five citations belong to the age of the caliphs and need not concern us.

The remainder have a slight value for textual criticism. Sometimes they lend support to Tabari's version, and once at least a citation proves that the tradition was not preserved orally because the variant readings could only have come about through a transfer of a dot from the first to the second letter with the consequent misreading of the third. The citations are brief and concise: they tell all the truth that the writer needed for his purpose but not the whole truth, which would have been irrelevant.

6. Tabari. A list of the additions to Ibn Hisham's recension has been given by Nöldeke and enough has been said about his value as a witness to the original text of the Sira. No attempt has been made to recover the lost part of the Mabda from his Tafsir. Where his variants are merely stylistic and do not affect the sense of the passage I have ignored them. Practically all of them will be found in the footnotes to the Leyden edition. He was familiar with four of the recensions, numbers 4, 7, 9, and 10 on the list given above, much the most frequently cited being Yunus b. Bukayr. On one occasion (1074. 12) he remarks that Ibn Ishaq's account is 'more satisfactory than that of Hisham b. Mohammed' [al-Kalbi d. 204 or 206]. Ibn Hisham he ignores altogether and he omits a good deal of the poetry now in the Sira.

Whether his selection was governed by taste, whether he thought some of it irrelevant, or whether he regarded it as spurious I can find no indication.

He often gives the isnad which is lacking in Ibn Ishaq (cf. 1794. 12). On one occasion at least (cf. W. 422 with Tabari 1271) it looks as if the narrative has been deliberately recast. Tabari frequently omits the tasliya and tardiya as ancient writers did. Ibn Hisham omits Kab's poem and the mention of its provoking a killing, cf. 651 with Tabari 1445.

7. Al-Sirafi contributes an interesting addition to W. 882.

8. Al-Mawardi has nothing of importance to add.

9. Ibn al-Athir in his Kdtnil is prone to throw his authorities together and produce a smooth running account from the sum of what they all said, dropping all subordinate details. However, he quotes Ibn Ishaq ten times.

10. Ibn al-Zayyat, see on p. 640 (W.).

11. Ibn Kathir sometimes agrees with Ibn Hisham verbatim. Sometimes he quotes Ibn Bukayr where he offers what is in effect the same stories in different words. I propose to devote a special study to this rizvaya.

12. Ibn Hajar. Again little of importance.

Ibn Ishaq's Reputation

Unfortunately for our purpose which is to record the opinion of our author's co-religionists on his trustworthiness as a historian, their judgement is affected by his other writings, one of which called Sunan is mentioned by Hajjl Khalifa.' This was freely quoted by Abu Yusuf (d. 182), but failed to hold its own and went out of circulation comparatively early.

If we knew more about the contents of this book, which by reason of its early date presumably would have had a considerable influence on the daily life of Muslims had it been allowed to continue to challenge other reporters of the apostle's deeds and words, we should be the better able to assess the value and relevance of early Muslim criticism on Ibn Ishaq when it was most definitely hostile. It is not always his book the Sira which is attacked but the man himself, and if his sunna work ran counter to the schools of law that were in process of development the author could not hope to escape strong condemnation. It is most important that this fact should not be overlooked. In the passage Wiistenfeld quoted from Abul-Fath M. b. M. b. Sayyidul-Nas al-Yamari al-Andalusi (d1. 734/ 1334) the distinction between traditions of a general nature and traditions about the prophet's sunna is clear and unmistakable. Ahmad b. Hanbal's son stated that his father included Ibn Ishaq's hadith in his Musnad, but refused to regard him as an authority on sunan. While it is true that there arc a few stories in the Sira which report the prophet's practice m certain matters and so provide an authoritative guide for the future behaviour of the faithful in similar circumstances, and while it is also true that in one or two instances the principle underlying these actions is in conflict with the findings of later lawyers, they form an insignificant part of the Sua, and it may safely be concluded that Ibn Hanbal's objection to Ibn Ishaq s authority applies almost exclusively to his lost work, the Sunan.

Apostolic tradition in Islam, as Goldziher showed long ago, is the battlefield of warring sects striving for the mastery of men's minds and the control of their behaviour with all the weight that Mohammed's presumed or fabricated example could bring to bear. The earlier the tradition or collection of traditions, the less this tendency is in evidence; but we have already seen that Ibn Ishaq occasionally succumbed to the temptation to glorify Ali at the expense of Abbas. This would seem to be supremely unnecessary when one can read exactly what Abbas's position was: at first hostile; secondly neutral; and lastly, when the issue was no longer in doubt, a professed Muslim. Obviously since no attempt is made to conceal or diminish the affectionate loyalty of Abu Bakr or the staunch championship of Umar, our author was no unbalanced fanatical supporter of the claims of Ali. Ali appears as the great warrior when rival champions fought between the opposing ranks, but the inestimable services of his two senior contemporaries are never thrust into the background.

In the history of tradition in the technical sense, that is to say in the corpus of hadith venerated by Sunnis everywhere, Ibn Ishaq takes a minor position in spite of his great and obvious merits as an honest, straightforward collector of all the information that was known about Mohammed.

There are several reasons for this: the principal reason is that he had no information to give on all the everyday matters which fill the canonical books of tradition, or when he had he put them in his Sunan. If he reported Mohammed's words it was in reference to a particular event in the narrative he recorded; they were evoked naturally by the circumstances. Thus al-Bukhari, though he often mentions Ibn Ishaq in the headings of his chapters, hardly if ever cites him for the matter of a tradition, unless that tradition is supported by another isnad. Muslim, who classifies traditions as genuine, good, and weak, puts Ibn Ishaq in the second category. To anyone with an historical sense this was a monstrous injustice, but it must be remembered that by the middle of the third century the form of a hadith mattered more than its substance, and provided that the chain of guarantors was unexceptionable anything could be included.

The best and most comprehensive summary of Muslim opinion of Ibn Ishaq is that of Ibn Sayyidul-Nas in his Uyun al-Athar fi fununil-maghazi wal shama ili wal-siyar. He collected all the references to our author that he could find, both favourable and unfavourable, and then answered the attacks that had been made on him. The relevant passage will be found in W.1 with a translation in German. The following is a short summary of this account:

(A) Those favourable to Ibn Ishaq were: 'The best informed man about the maghdzl is Ibn Ishaq al-Zuhri: Knowledge will remain in Medina as along as Ibn Ishaq lives.'

1.) Shuba, 85-160: Truthful in tradition, the amir of traditionists because of his memory.

2.) Sufyan b. Uyayna, 107-98: I sat with him some seventy years and none of the Medinans suspected him or spoke disparagingly of him.

3.) Abu Zura, d. 281: Older scholars drew from him and professional traditionists tested him and found him truthful. When he reminded Duhaym of Malik's distrust of Ibn Ishaq he denied that it referred to his veracity as a traditionist, but to his qadarite heresy.

4.) Abu Hatim: His traditions arc copied down (by others). Ibn al-Madini: Apostolic tradition originally lay with 6 men; then it became the property of 12, of whom Ibn Ishaq is one.

5.) al-Shafi'i: He who wants to study the maghazi deeply must consult Ibn Ishaq Asim b. Umar b. Qatada: Knowledge will remain among men as long as Ibn Ishaq lives.

6.) Abu Muawiya: A great memory: others confided their traditions to his memory for safe keeping,

7.) al-Bukhari: Al-Zuhri used to get his knowledge of the maghazi from Ibn Ishaq Abdullah b. Idrls al-Audi: was amazed at his learning and often cited him.

8.) Musab: He was attacked for reasons which had nothing to do with tradition.

9.) Yazid b. Hariin: Were there a supreme relator of tradition it would be Ibn Ishaq Ali b. al-Madini: His ahadith are sound. He had a great reputation in Medina. Hisham b. Urwa's objection to him is no argument against him. He may indeed have talked to the latter's wife when he was a young man. His veracity in hadith is self-evident. I know only of two that are rejected as unsupported1 which no other writer reported al-Ijli: Trustworthy.

10.) Yahya (John) b. Main: Firm in tradition.

11.) Ahmad b. Hanbal: Excellent in tradition.

(B) The writer then goes on to state all that has been said against Ibn Ishaq. Omitting details of little significance we are left with the following charges which Ibn Sayyidul-Nas goes on to discuss and refute. Mohammed b. Abdullah b. Numayr said that when Ibn Ishaq reported what he had heard from well-known persons his traditions were good and true, but he sometimes reported worthless sayings from unknown people. Yahya* b. al-Qattan would never quote him. (* Arabic shart form of the Aramaic-Hebrew name Yohanan, Greek: Ioannes, English: John) Ahmad b. Hanbal quoted him with approval, and when it was remarked how excellent the stories (qisas) were he smiled in surprise. His son admitted that Ahmad incorporated many of Ibn Ishaq's traditions in his Musnad, but he never paid heed to them. When he was asked if his father regarded him as an authority on what a Muslim must or must not do he replied that he did not. He himself would not accept a tradition which only Ibn Ishaq reported. He used to relate a tradition which he gathered from a number of people without indicating who had contributed its separate parts. Ibn al-Madini said that at times he was 'fairly good'.

Al-Maymuni reported that Ibn Main 156-233 said he was 'weak', but others denied that he said so. Al-Duri said he was trustworthy but not to be used as an authority mfiqh, like Malik and others. Al-Nasa'i said that he was not strong. Al-Daraqutni said that a tradition from Ibn Ishaq on the authority of his father was no legal proof: it could be used only to confirm what was already held to be binding. Yahya (John) b. Said said that though he knew Ibn Ishaq in Kufa he abandoned him intentionally and never wrote down traditions on his authority. Abu Daud al-Tayalisi (131-203) reported that Hammad b. Salima said that unless necessity demanded it he would not hand on a tradition from Ibn Ishaq. When Malik b. Anas mentioned him he said, 'he is one of the antichrists'. When Hisham b. Urwa was told that Ibn Ishaq reported something from Fatima he said, 'the rascal lies; when did he see my wife?'

When Abdullah b. Ahmad told his father of this he said that this was not to be held against Ibn Ishaq; he thought that he might well have received permission to interview her, but he did not know. He added that Malik was a liar. Ibn Idris said that he talked to Malik about the Maghazi and how Ibn Ishaq had said that he was their surgeon and he said, 'We drove him from Medina'. Makki b. Ibrahim said that he attended lectures of his; he used to dye his hair. When he mentioned traditions about the divine attributes he left him and never went back. On another occasion he said that when he left him he had attended twelve lectures of his in Ray.

Al-Mufaddal b. Ghassan said that he was present when Yazid b. Harun was relating traditions in al-Baqi when a number of Medinans were listening. When he mentioned Ibn Ishaq they withdrew saying: 'Don't tell us anything that he said. We know better than he.' Yazid went among them, but they would not listen and so he withdrew.

Abu Daud (David) said that he heard Ahmad b. Hanbal say that Ibn Ishaq was a man with a love of tradition, so that he took other men's writings and incorporated them in his own. Abu Abdullah said that he preferred Ibn Ishaq to Musa b. Ubayda al-Rabadhi. Ahmad said that he used to relate traditions as though from a companion without intermediaries, while in Ibrahim b. Sad's book when there is a tradition he said 'A told me and when that was not so he said 'A said'.

Abu Abdullah said that Ibn Ishaq came to Baghdad and paid no attention to those who related hadith from al-Kalbi and others saying that he was no authority. Al-Fallas (d. 249) said that after being with Wahb b. Jarir reading before him the maghazi book which his father had got from Ibn Ishaq we met Yahya (John) b. Qattan who said that we had brought a pack of lies from him.

Ahmad b. Hanbal said that in maghazi and such matters what Ibn Ishaq said could be written down; but in legal matters further confirmation was necessary. In spite of the large number of traditions without a proper isnad he thought highly of him as long as he said 'A told us', 'B informed me', and 'I heard'. Ibn Main did not like to use him as an authority in legal matters. Abu Hatim said that he was weak in tradition yet preferable to Aflah b. Said and his traditions could be written down. Sulayman (Solomon or Salomon) al-

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Taymi called him a liar and Yahya (Yohanan, Ioannes or John) al-Qattan said that he could only abandon his hadith to God; he was a liar. When Yahya asked Wuhayb b. Khalid what made him think that Ibn Ishaq was a liar he said that Malik swore that he was and he gave as his reason Hisham b. Urwa's oath to that effect. The latter's reason was that he reported traditions from his wife Fatima.

Abu Bakr al-Khatib said that some authorities accepted his traditions as providing proof for legal precedent while others did not. Among the reasons for rejecting his authority was that he was a Shii, that he was said to hold the view that man had free will, and that his isndds were defective. As for his truthfulness, it could not be denied.

Al-Bukhari quoted him as an authority and Muslim cited him often. Abul-Hasan b. al-Qattan relegated him to the class 'good' (hasan) because people disputed about him. As to the tradition from Fatima, al-Khatib gave us an isnad running back through Ibn Ishaq and Fatima to Asma d. Abu Bakr: 'I heard a woman questioning the prophet and saying, "I have a rival wife and I pretend to be satisfied with what my husband has not in fact given me in order to anger her". He answered, "He who affects to be satisfied with what he has not been given is like one who dons two false garments" (This has nothing to do with the Sira). Abul-Hasan said that this was the tradition from Fatima which injured Ibn Ishaq's reputation, so that her husband Hisham called him a liar. Malik followed him and others imitated them. However, there are other traditions on her authority.

One cannot but admire the way in which Ibn Sayyidul-Nas discusses these attacks on the credibility of our author. He goes at once to the root of the matter and shows what little substance there is in them. Though, like the speakers he criticises, he tacitly assumes that early writers ought to have furnished their traditions with isndds which would have met the rigorous demands of later generations who were familiar with a whole sea of spurious traditions fathered on the prophet and his companions, his common sense and fairness would not let him acquiesce in the charge of tadlis which, by omitting a link in the chain or by citing the original narrator without further ado, automatically invalidated a hadith in later days. Thus he said in effect that though Ibn Ishaq's traditions at times lack complete documentation there is no question of his truthfulness in the subject-matter he reports; and as to the charge of shi'ism and qadarite leanings, they are valid in another field altogether and have nothing to do with the Sira. Again, what if Makki b. Ibrahim (Abraham) did abandon his lectures when he heard him relate traditions about the divine attributes? Many of the ancients failed to go the whole way when such problems were discussed, so what he says is of little significance.

Yazid's story that the Madinans would not listen to traditions on Ibn Ishaq's authority does not amount to much because he does not tell us why, and so we can resort only to conjecture; and we have no right to impugn a true tradition because of what we think is a defect. We have already explained why Yahya al-Qattan would have none of him and called him liar on the authority of Wuhayb from Malik, and it is not improbable that he was the cause of the Medinans attitude in the foregoing account. Ahmad b. Hanbal (Hanibal) and Ibn al-Madini have adequately replied to Hisham's accusation.

As to Numayr's accusation that he related false hadith on the authority of unknown persons, even if his trustworthiness and honesty were not a matter of tradition, suspicion would be divided between him and his informants; but as we know that he is trustworthy the charge lies against the persons unknown, not against him. Similar attacks have been made upon Sufyan al-Thauri and others whose hadith differ greatly in this way and what they base on unknown informants is to be rejected while that coming from known people is accepted. Sufyan b. Uyayna gave up Jarir al-Jufi after he had heard more than a thousand traditions from him, and yet he narrated traditions on his authority. Shuba related many traditions from him and others who were stigmatised as 'weak'.

As to Ahmad's complaint that he recorded composite traditions without assigning the matter of them to the several contributors, their words agreed however many they were; and even if they did not yet the meaning was identical. There is a tradition that Wathila b. al-Asqa said: 'If I give you the meaning of a tradition (not in the precise words that were used) that is sufficient for you.' Moreover, Mohammed b. Sirin said that he used to hear traditions from ten different people in ten different words with the same meaning. Ahmad's complaint that Ibn Ishaq took other men's writings and incorporated them in his own account cannot be regarded as serious until it can be proved that he had no licence to repeat them. One must look at the method of transmission: if the words do not plainly necessitate an oral communication, then the accusation of tadlis l lies. But we ought not to accept such a charge unless the words plainly imply that. If he expressly says that he heard people say something when in fact he did not, that is a downright lie and pure invention. It is quite wrong to say such a thing of Ibn Ishaq unless the words leave no other choice. When Ahmad's son quoted his father as saying that Ibn Ishaq was not to be regarded as an authority in legal matters though he saw how tolerant he was to non-legal matters which make up the greater part of the Maghazi and the prophetic biography, he applied this adverse judgement on sunan to other matters. Such an extension is excluded by his truthful reputation.

As to Yahya's saying that he was trustworthy but not authoritative in legal matters, it is sufficient for us that he is pronounced trustworthy. If only men like al-Umari and Malik were acceptable there would be precious few acceptable authorities! Yahya b. Said probably blindly followed Malik because he heard from him what Hisham had said about Ibn Ishaq. His refusal to accept him as an authority in legal matters has already been dealt with under Ahmad. Yahya made no distinction between them and other traditions in the way of complete acceptance or downright rejection.

Other attacks on his reputation rest on points that are not explained and for the most part the agents are unfair. Even in legal matters Abu Isa al-Tirmidhi and Abu Hatim b. Hibban (d. 354) accepted him as an authority. The refutation of his opponents would not have been undertaken were it not for the favourable verdict and praise that the learned gave him. But for that a few of the charges would have sufficed to undermine his stories, since but a few attacks on a man's good faith, explicit or not, are enough to destroy the reputation of one whose former circumstances are not known when an impartial critic has not done him justice.

In his book about trustworthy narrators Abu Hatim said that the two men who attacked Ibn Ishaq were Hisham and Malik. The former denied that he had heard traditions from Fatima. But what he said docs not impugn men's veracity in hadith, for 'followers' like al-Aswad and Alqama heard Aisha's voice without seeing her. Similarly Ibn Ishaq used to hear Fatima when the curtain was let down between them. As for Malik, what he said was momentary and afterwards he did him justice. Nobody in the Hijaz knew more about genealogies and wars than Ibn Ishaq, and he used to say that Malik was a freed slave of Dhu Asbah while Malik alleged that he was a full member of the tribe so that there was bad feeling between them; and when Malik compiled the Muwaita' Ibn Ishaq said, 'Bring it to me for I am its veterinary surgeon.' Hearing of this Malik said: 'He is an antichrist; he reports traditions on the authority of the Jews.' The quarrel lasted until Ibn Ishaq decided to go to Iraq. Then they were reconciled and Malik gave him 50 dinars and half his date crop as a parting gift. Malik did not intend to bring him into ill favour as a traditionist: all that he disliked was his following the Jews who had become Muslims and learning the story of Khaybar and Qurayza and al-Nadir and similar (otherwise) unattested happenings from their fathers. In his Maghazi Ibn Ishaq used to learn from them but without necessarily asserting that their report was the truth. Malik himself only relied on trustworthy truthful men. The author ends by remarking that Ibn Ishaq was not the originator of the challenge to Malik's Arab ancestry because al-Zuhri and others had said the same thing.'

The Translation

I have endeavoured to follow the text as closely as possible without sacrificing English idiom. In rendering poetry I have tried to give the sense without making any attempt at versifying, the only exceptions being doggerel and saj. In these cases it seemed that it was fair to reproduce doggerel by doggerel and to try to put poor rhymes into rhymes that could not be worse. Inevitably some exactness is lost, but the general sense and tone are more faithfully reproduced in that way.

The book is very long and I have made a few cuts where no loss can result; e.g. Ibn Hisham's recurring formula 'This verse occurs in an ode of his' I have excluded because it is obvious that the line, which is generally one of his shawahid (a hadith text), cannot have stood by itself. Again I have shortened dialogues in oratio recta into indirect speech in accordance with English practice unless the ipsissima verba (Latin for "the very words," which is a legal term referring to material, usually established authority, that a writer or speaker is quoting or referring to.) of the speaker seemed called for naturally, or are in themselves important. Lastly I have omitted genealogical formulae after the first mention of the people concerned.

My predecessors in translating the Sira have made many mistakes and I cannot hope to have escaped all the pitfalls. Of Weil's translation, now nearly a century old be it remembered, the famous German Orientalist Theodor Nöldeke (1836-1930) wrote: 'Die Übersetzung von G. Weil, Stuttgart, 1864 ist steif und unbeholfen, and auch philologisch nicht mehr genügend. Die grosse Wichtigkeit des Werkes würde eine neue Übertragung rechtfertigen' (The translation by G. Weil, Stuttgart, 1864, is stiff and clumsy, and also from a philological standpoint insufficient. The great significance of that work would justify a new translation of it); while Wellhausen's translation of al-Waqidi evades the difficulties of the text by silence. The poetry of the Sira, as Nöldeke said long ago of the poetry on Badr, 'is not easy to translate because of its many synonyms; the superficial commentary of Abu Dharr is no help at all'.

The Text

I have followed the pagination of the excellent Textus Receptus (Latin: "received text", meaning a text that may be closest to the assumed original) of Wüstenfeld's edition 1858-60; but the text I have actually used is the Cairo edition of 1937 (1355 AH) produced in four parts by Mustafa al-Saqqa, Ibrahim al-Abyari, and Abdul-Hafiz Shalabi which prints at the. bottom of the page most of the notes from Abu Dharr and Suhayli that Wüstenfeld relegated to the second volume of his altogether admirable edition. For this reason it is much easier to use and its fine bold type is kind to one's eyes. When I have had occasion to refer to differences between the texts they are marked C. and W.

THE EDITOR IBN HISHAM

Abdul-Malik b. Hisham (in short: Ibn Hisham) was born in Basra and died at Fustat in Egypt in 218 or 213. Krenkow, however, thinks that he must have died some years later. Besides editing the present work he made use of Ibn Ishaq's learning in his K. al-Tijan which derives from Wahb b. Munabbih. The principles which guided him in his impertinent meddling with his predecessor's work he has outlined in his Introduction, and they need not be repeated here. He was a philologist of some repute, and he was able to air his knowledge in the shawahid (a hadith text) he produces to illustrate the meaning of unusual words. These lines, divorced as they are from their context, form some of the most difficult of all the difficulties of the Sira and are of course for the most part unnecessary now that the Arabs have produced lexicons of their language. Occasionally he is helpful with his genealogical notes; more rarely he has something useful to say about the interpretation of a line in Ibn Ishaq's work.

Suhayli gives some traditions which Ibn Hisham omitted or knew nothing of, e.g. W. 183 = Suhayli 183; W. 327 = S. ii. 2 f. He also (ii. 278 = W. 824) draws attention to a mistake in one of Ibn Hisham's notes saying that the fault is either his or al-Bakkai's because Yunus has the right reading. Probably the fault lay with Ibn Hisham, for he was in touch with Yunus as he says fi ma akhbarani Yunus on p. 387.

Another error of his is the statement that Ibn Ishaq said nothing about the mission of Amr b. Umayya whom the prophet sent to kill Abu Sufyan b. Harb and how he took down the corpse of Khubayb from the cross to which he was tied (p. 993). Tabari records Ibn Ishaq's version of this story which is far superior to the garbled version of Ibn Hisham, who is obviously composing a story from more than one source, passing clumsily from the first to the third person. According to him Amr threw the cross (presumably with the body on it) into a ravine. The cross (khashaba, a sturdy trunk of a tree capable of bearing a man's body) could hardly have been moved by one man more than a few yards with guards standing by, and Ibn Ishaq's own account is much more convincing. Amr released the body from the tree, carried it some forty paces—a graphic detail—heard the guards coming after him, dropped the body with a thud, and made off as fast as he could.

There is an interesting note in S. ii. 363 which shows that Ibn Hisham's error was perceived in early days. He adds that there is a pleasing addition to the story in the Musnad of Ibn Abu Shayba to the effect that when they untied him from the cross the earth swallowed him up. One might well suppose that Ibn Hisham's story lies midway between the actual facts and this incredible fiction. The unfortunate man's body which Amr had made a gallant but unavailing attempt to retrieve was dumped unceremoniously on the ground; the next step was to give it the semblance of burial in a natural hole in the wall of the wadi; the last step was to provide for proper burial by a miracle.

What remains to be explained is why Ibn Hisham should assert that Ibn Ishaq had said nothing about the abortive attempt to assassinate Abu Sufyan and the equally Unsuccessful effort to recover Khubayb's body. If Ibn Ishaq said nothing at all about either matter, how came it that Ibn Hisham dealt with them? Since we know that Ibn Ishaq reported what had happened from traditions that were transmitted by Amr's own family and that they existed in oral and written form for centuries afterwards, we cannot but suspect that Ibn Hisham has tampered with the evidence.

Perhaps his greatest service is his critical observations on the authenticity of the poetry of the Sira, not only when he records that all, or some, authorities reject certain poems altogether but also when he corrects Ibn Ishaq, and assigns verses to their true author. Suyuti thought highly of him.

He reported that Abu Dharr had said that Ibn Hisham produced one of the four compendia which were better than their sources (al-Muzhir, Cairo, p. 87.).

Suhayli states that Ibn Hisham wrote a book explaining the difficult words in the poetry of the Sura. Suhayli's words indicate that he had not himself seen the book. Were it ever

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found it might well tell us what Ibn Hisham's generation really thought about these poems.

A FRAGMENT OF THE LOST BOOK
OF MOSA B. UQBA

This fragment consists of twenty extracts complete with their isnads (hadith texts),

some being the sayings of the prophet on a given occasion, others being stories from his life. The collector expressly asserts that the original work existed in ten parts, so that the inference that the book once contained a complete account of the Sira seems fairly safe. The last item is spurious. There is an ijaza (authorisation) reaching from Musa (141) to the epitomiser Abu Hurayra b. Mohammed b. al-Naqqash (782).

1. Ibn Shihab from Salim b. Abdullah from Abdullah b. Umar: I heard the apostle say, 'While I was asleep I dreamt that I was going round the Kaaba when lo a man with lank hair between the two men, his head dripping with water. When I asked who it was they said Isa b. Maryam. Then I turned away when lo a red man, heavy, with curly hair, one eyed; it seemed as though his eye was a grape swimming (in water). When I asked who it was they said The Antichrist. The man most like him is Ibn Qatan al-Khuzai.'

This tradition is similarly reported in (the Sahih al) Bukhari ii. 368. 19-369. 4. It should be compared with Ibn Ishaq 269, also from al-Zuhri, where the prophet is said to have seen Isa during his miraj (a Night Journey that, according to Islam, the Islamic prophet Mohammed took during a single night around the year 621 AD. Within Islam it signifies both a physical and spiritual journey), with moles or freckles on his face appearing like drops of water. The reference here to the 'two men' presumably refers to the two thieves on the cross.

2. Ibn Shihab: The first to hold Friday prayers for the Muslims in Medina before the apostle was Mus'ab b. Umayr. I. Shihab told us another tradition from Suraqa contradicting this. The first statement agrees with I.S. HI. i. 83. 25 ; the second apparently with I.I. 290. 5 and I.S. III. i. 84.

3. Abdul-Rahman b. Malik b. Jushum al-Mudliji from his father Malik from his brother Suraqa b. Jushum: When the apostle went out from Mecca migrating to Medina (the) Quraysh offered a reward of 100 camels to anyone who would bring him back, etc., down to 'my alms to the apostle'. This passage is in all essential respects the same as Ibn Ishaq 331-2, though there are many verbal differences. Obviously the version in Ibn Ishaq has been touched up and Musa gives the tradition in its simplest form. Cf. Bukhari iii. 39, 41 and Waqidi (Wellhausen 374).

4. Ibn Shihab alleged that Urwa b. al-Zubayr said that al-Zubayr met the apostle with a caravan of Muslims who were returning to Mecca from a trading journey to Syria. They bartered some goods with the apostle and al-Zubayr gave him and Abu Bakr some white garments. So Bukh. iii. 40. Different names in I.S. m. i. 153. 19.

5. Nafi from Abdullah b. Umar: Some of the apostle's companions said to him, 'Are you speaking to dead men?' He answered, 'You cannot hear what I say better than they.' So Bukhari iii. 70. 17, 18, and cf. pp. 453 f where the words of Aisha are quoted to refute the statement that the dead hear: they know but they do not hear.

6. Ibn Shihab from Anas b. Malik: Some Ansar asked the apostle's permission to remit to their sister's son Abbas his ransom, and he replied, 'No, by Allah, you shall not let him off a single farthing!' So Bukhari iii. 69. 1, 2 and cf. Tabari 1341, I. Qut. Madrif, 77. Sachau in finding strange the claim to relationship between Abbas and the Ansar seems to have forgotten that the grandmother of Abbas was Salma d. Amr al-Khazraji. Cf. Bukhari ii. 388. 18 f. for the same claim.

7. Ibn Shihab from Abdul-Rahman b. Kab b. Malik al-Sulami and other traditionists: Amir b. Malik b. Jafar, who was called 'the player with the spears', came to the apostle when he was a polytheist and the apostle explained Islam to him and he refused to accept it. He gave the apostle a present, but he refused it saying that he would not accept a present from a polytheist. Amir said: 'O apostle, send with me those of your messengers you wish and I will be surety for them.' So the apostle sent a number among whom were al-Mundhir b. Amr al-Saidi, of whom it was said 'he hastened to his death', as a spy among the Najd folk. When Amir b. Tufayl heard about them he tried to call out B. Amir against them, but they refused to obey him in violating the promise of security given by Amir b. Malik. Then he appealed to B. Sulaym and they joined him and killed them in Bir Ma una except Amr b. Umayya al-Pamri whom Amir b. al-Tufayl captured and afterwards released. When he came to the apostle the latter said to him, 'Are you the sole survivor?' This is a much briefer account than that given in Ibn Hisham 648 f. Cf. T. 1443 f.; Waq. (Well) 337 f.

8. Ismail b. Ibrahim b. Uqba from Salim b. Abdullah from Abdullah b. Umar: Some men contested the leadership of Usama, and the apostle rose and said: 'If you contest the leadership of Usama you used to contest the leadership of his father before him. By Allah he was worthy to be leader. He was one of the dearest of all men to me, and this man (his son) is one of the dearest of men to me after him; so treat him well when I am no more, for he is one of the best of you.' Cf. Bukhari ii. 440, iii. 133, 192, and Ibn Hisham 999. 14; 1006. 20 f.

9. Salim b. Abdullah from Abdullah b. Umar: The apostle used not to make an exception for Fatima. Sachau explains this from Bukhari ii. 441 and iii. 145 where Mohammed says that if Fatima were to steal he would cut her hand off.

10. Abdullah b. Fadl from Anas b. Malik: I grieved over my people who were killed in the harra. Then Zayd b. Arqam (d. 68) wrote to me when he heard of my great grief to say that he had heard the apostle say 'O God forgive the Ansar and their sons and we implore Thy grace on their grandsons'. Similarly Ibn Hisham 886. 12 and Waq. (W.) 380.

11. Abdullah b. al-Fadl: Some men who were with him (Anas) asked him about Zayd b. Arqam and he said, 'It is he of whom the apostle said, "This is he on whom Allah has bestowed much through his ear".' He had been an informer, cf. Ibn Hisham 726. In place of aufallahu lahu bi-udhnihi Ibn Hisham 727. 17 has aufa nlillahi bi-udhnihi. It seems much more likely that the variant is due to misreading than to oral tradition. Waq. (B.M. MS. 1617, f. 95a) wafat udhnuka . . . wa-saddaqa'lldhu hadithak.

12. Ibn Shihab from Said b. al-Musayyib from Abdullah b. Kab b. Malik: The apostle said that day to Bilal, 'Get up and announce that only a believer will enter paradise, and that God will not support His religion by an evil man.' This happened when the man whom the apostle said was one of the inhabitants of hell was mentioned.

13. From Nafi b. Abdullah b. Umar: After the conquest of Khaybar the Jews asked the apostle to let them stay there on condition that they worked the land for half the date crop. He said: 'We will allow you to do so on that condition so long as we wish, and they remained there thus until 'Umar expelled them. [Here six or seven words are missing] saying 'The apostle laid down three things in his last disposition, viz. that the Rahawiyun, Dariyun, Sabaiyun, and Ashariyun should have land which produced a hundred loads; that the mission of Usama b. Zayd should be carried through; and that two different religions should not be allowed to remain in the peninsula of the Arabs.' Practically the same words are used in Ibn Hisham 776 except that the Sabaiyun are not mentioned.

14. Isnad as above: Umar used not to let Jews, Christians, and Magians remain more than three days in Medina to do their business, and he used to say 'Two religions cannot subsist together' and he exiled Jews and Christians from the peninsula of the Arabs.

15. I. Shihab from Urwa b. al-Zubayr from Marwan b. al-Hakam and al-Miswar b. Makhrama: When the apostle gave men permission to free the Hawazin captives he said, 'I do not know who has or has not given you permission, so go back until your leaders bring us a report of your affairs.' So the men returned and their leaders instructed them and they returned to the apostle and told him that the men (Mohammed's companions) had treated them kindly and given them permission (to recover their captive people).

16. I. Shihab from Said b. al-Musayyib and Urwa b. al-Zubayr: The captives of Hawazin whom the apostle returned were 6,000 men, women, and children. He gave some women who had fallen to some men of (the) Quraysh—among whom were Abdul-Rahman b. Auf and Safwan b. Umayya who had appropriated two women as concubines—the choice (of returning or remaining) and they elected to go back to their own people.

17. Ismail b. Ibrahim b. Uqba from his uncle Musa b. Uqba from I. Shihab: The apostle made the pilgrimage of completion in a.h. 10. He showed the men the rites and addressed them in Arafa sitting on his camel al-Jada.

18. Ibn Shihab from Urwa b. al-Zubayr from al-Miswar b. Makhrama from Amr b. Auf, an ally of B. Amir b. Luayy who had been at Badr with the apostle: The apostle sent Abu Ubayda b. al-Jarrah to bring the poll tax. He had made peace with the people of al-Bahrayn and set over them al-Ala b. al-Hadrami. When Abu Ubayda came from al-Bahrayn with the money the Ansar heard of his coming which coincided with the apostle's morning prayer. When they saw him they stood in his way. Seeing them he smiled and said: 'I think you have heard of the coming of Abu 'Ubayda and that he has brought something.' When they agreed he added: 'Rejoice and hope for what will gladden you. By Allah it is not poverty that I fear on your account. I fear that you will become too comfortable and will be led astray like those before you.'

19. Sad b. Ibrahim from Ibrahim b. Abdul-Rahman b. Auf Abdul-Rahman b. Auf was with Umar one day and he (the former) broke al-Zubayr's sword. But God knows best who broke it. Then Abu Bakr got up and addressed the people excusing himself and saying, 'Never for a moment was I eager for authority (imara) nor did I want it or pray to God for it secretly or publicly. But I was afraid of disorder. I take no pleasure in authority. I have been invested with a grave matter for which I have not the strength and can only cope with it if God gives me the strength. I would that he who has the most strength for it were in my place.' The emigrants accepted his excuse and Ali and al-Zubayr b. al-Awwam said: 'We were angry only because we were not admitted to the council and we think that Abu Bakr is the most worthy of supreme authority now that the apostle is dead. He was the one with the apostle in the cave and we recognise his dignity and seniority; and the apostle put him in charge of the prayers while he was still with us.'

PART I
THE GENEALOGY OF MOHAMMED
TRADITIONS FROM THE PRE-ISLAMIC ERA
MOHAMMED'S CHILDHOOD AND EARLY MANHOOD

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE THE MERCIFUL

PRAISE BELONGS TO GOD THE LORD OF THE WORLDS AND MAY HIS BLESSING BE UPON OUR LORD MOHAMMED AND HIS FAMILY, ALL OF THEM (The formula of blessing which follows every mention of the prophet is omitted hereafter.)

MOHAMMED'S PURE DESCENT FROM ADAM

Abu Mohammed Abdul-Malik ibn Hisham the Grammarian said:

This is the book of the biography of the apostle of God.

Mohammed was the son of Abdullah, b. Abdul-Muttalib (whose name was Shayba), b. Hashim (whose name was Amr), b. Abdu Manaf (whose name was al-Mughlra), b. Qusayy (whose name was Zayd), b. Kilab, b. Murra, b. Kab, b. Lu'ayy, b. Ghalib, b. Fihr, b. Malik, b. al-Nadr, b. Kinana, b. Khuzayma, b. Mudrika (whose name was Amir), b. Ilyas, b. Mudar, b. Nizar, b. Maadd, b. Adnan, b. Udd (or Udad), b. Muqawwam, b. Nahur, b. Tayrah, b. Yarub, b. Yashjub, b. Nabit, b. Ismail, b. Ibrahim, the friend of the Compassionate, b. Tarih (who is Azar), b. Nahur, b. Sarugh, b. Ra'u, b. Falikh, b. Aybar, b. Shalikh, b. Arfakhshadh, b. Sam, b. Nuh, b. Lamk, b. Mattushalakh, b. Akhnukh, who is the prophet Idrls according to what they allege, but God knows best (he was the first of the sons of Adam to whom prophecy and writing with a pen were given), b. Yard, b. Mahlil, b. Qaynan, b. Yanish, b. Shith, b. Adam (Capital B. stands for 'Sons of'; b. for 'son of'; d. for 'daughter of').

THE LINE OF ISMAIL

Ismail b. Ibrahim begat twelve sons: Nabit the eldest, Qaydhar, Adhbul, Mabsha, Misma, Mashi, Dimma, Adhr, Tayma, Yatur, Nabish, Qaydhuma. Their mother was Rala d. Mudad b. Amr al-Jurhumi. Jurhum was the son of Yaqtan b. Aybar b. Shalikh, and [Yaqtan was] Qahtan b. Aybar b. Shalikh. According to report Ismail lived 130 years, and when he died he was buried in the sacred precincts (The hijr is the semicircular space between the wall and the Kaaba.) of the Kaaba beside his mother Hagar.

Mohammed b. Muslim b. Ubaydullah b. Shihab al-Zuhri told me that Abdul-Rahman b. Abdullah b. Kab b. Malik al-Ansan, also called al-Sulami, told him that the apostle of God said: 'When you conquer Egypt treat its people well, for they can claim our protection and kinship.' I asked al-Zuhri what the apostle meant by making them our kin and he replied that Hagar, the mother of Ismail, was of their stock. Ad b. Aus b. Iram b. Sam b. Nuh and Thamud and Jadis the two sons of Abir b. Iram b. Sam b. Nuh, and Tasm and Imlaq and Umaym the sons of Lawidh b. Sim b. Nuh are all Arabs. Nabit b. Ismail begat Yashjub and the line runs: Yarub-Tayrah-Nahur-Muqawwam-Udad-Adnan.

From Adnan the tribes descended from Ismail split off. Adnan had two sons, Ma'add and Akk. Maadd had four sons: Nizar, Qudaa (he being his first born he was called Abu Quda'a), Qunus, and Iyad. Quda'a went to the Yaman to Himyar b. Saba whose name was Abdu Shams; the reason why he was called Saba was that he was the first among the Arabs to take captives. He was the son of Yashjub b. Yarub b. Qahfan. Of Qunus b. Maadd according to the genealogists of Maadd, none has survived. Al-Numan b. al-Mundhir king of al-Hira belonged to their tribe. Al-Zuhri told me that this Numan belonged to the Qunus b. Maadd.

Yaqub b. Utba b. al-Mughira b. al-Akhnas told me that a shaykh of the Ansar of (the) B. Zurayq told him that Umar b. al-Khattab, when he was given the sword of al-Numan b. al-Mundhir, sent for Jubayr b. Matim b. Adiy b. Naufal b. Abdu Manaf b. Qusayy (he being the best genealogist of the Qunaysh and indeed of all the Arabs and claimed to have been taught by Abu Bakr who was the greatest genealogist of the Arabs) and girded it on him. When he asked who al-Numan was, Jubayr replied that he was a survivor of the tribe of Qunus b. Maadd. However, the rest of the Arabs assert that he belonged to the Lakhm of the Rabia b. Nasr. Only God knows the truth.

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OF RABIA B. NASR KING OF THE YAMAN AND THE STORY OF SHIQQ AND SATIH THE TWO SOOTHSAYERS

Rabia b. Nasr, king of the Yaman, was of the true stock of the Tubba kings. He had a vision which terrified him and continued to cause him much anxiety. So he summoned every soothsayer, sorcerer, omenmonger, and astrologer in his kingdom and said: 'I have had a vision which terrifies me and is a source of anxiety. Tell me what it was and what it means.' They replied: Tell us the vision and we will tell you its meaning.' 'If I tell you it,' said he, 'I can have no confidence in your interpretation; for the only man who knows its meaning is he who knows about the vision without my telling him.' Thereupon one of them recommended him to send for Shiqq and Satih, for they knew more than others and would be able to answer his questions. Satih's name was Rabi b. Rabia b. Masud b. Mazin, b. Drub b. Adiy b. Mazin Ghassan. Shiqq was the son of Sab, b. Yashkur b. Ruhm b. Afrak, b. Qasr b. Abqar b. Anmar b. Nizar, and Anmar was the father of Bajila and Khatham.

So he sent for them and Satih arrived first. The king then repeated his words, ending, 'If you know the vision you will know what it means.' Satih replied [in saj]:

A fire you did see
Come forth from the sea.
It fell on the low country
And devoured all that be.

The king agreed that this was exactly what he had seen, and what was the meaning of it all? He answered:

By the serpent of the lava plains I swear
The Ethiopians on your land shall bear
Ruling from Abyan to Jurash everywhere.

The king exclaimed that this was distressing news, but when would these things come to pass—in his time or after him? He replied: [again in rhyme] that more than sixty or seventy years must first pass. Would the new-comers' kingdom last? No, an end would be put to it after seventy years or more; then they would be slain or driven out as fugitives. Who would do this? Iram b. Dhu Yazan, who would come against them from Aden and not leave one of them in the Yemen. Further questions drew the information that their kingdom would not last, but a pure prophet to whom revelation came from on high would bring it to an end ; he would be a man of the sons of Ghalib b. Fihr b. Malik, b. al-Nadr. His dominion would last to the end of time. Has time an end? asked the king. Yes, replied Satih, the day on which the first and the last shall be assembled, the righteous for happiness, the evildoers for misery. Are you telling me the truth? the king asked.

Yes, by the dark and the twilight
And the dawn that follows the night
Verily what I have told you is right.

Later Shiqq arrived and the king acquainted him with the facts but did not tell him what Satih had said, so that he might see whether they agreed or differed. His words were:

A fire you did see
Come forth from the sea.
It fell between rock and tree
Devouring all that did breathe.

Perceiving that they agreed one with the other and that the difference was a mere choice of words, the king asked Shiqq for his interpretation:

By the men of the plains I swear
The blacks on your land shall bear
Pluck your little ones from your care
Ruling from Abyan to Najran* everywhere.

(* Najran was a Christian kingdom close to the northern border of Yemen)

The king put the same questions to him and learned that after his time:

There shall deliver you from them one mighty, great of name
And put them to the utmost shame.

He would be:

A young man neither remiss nor base
Coming forth from Dhu Yazan's house, his place,
Not one of them shall leave on Yaman's face.

He continued in answer to the questions already put to his predecessor:

His kingdom shall be ended by an apostle who will bring truth and justice among men of religion and virtue. Dominion will rest among his people until the Day of Separation, the day on which those near God will be rewarded, on which demands from heaven will be made which the quick and dead will hear, men will be gathered at the appointed place, the Godfearing to receive salvation and blessing. By the Lord of heaven and earth, and what lies between them high or low I have told you but the truth in which no doubt (amd) lies.

What these two men said made a deep impression on Rabia b. Nasr and he dispatched his sons and family to Iraq with all that they might need, giving them a letter to the Persian king Sabur b. Khurrazadh who let them settle in al-Hira.

Al-Numan b. al-Mundhir was a descendant of this king; in the genealogies and traditions of the Yaman in his line is: al-Numan b. al-Mundhir b. al-Numan b. Mundhir b. Amr b. Adiy b. Rabia b. Nasr.

HOW ABU KARIB TIBAN ASAD TOOK POSSESSION OF THE KINGDOM OF THE YAMAN AND HIS EXPEDITION TO YATHRIB

When Rabia b. Nasr died the whole kingdom of the Yaman fell into the hands of Hassan b. Tiban Asad Abu Karib. (Tiban Asad was the last Tubba, the son of Kuli Karib b. Zayd, Zayd being the first Tubba son of Amr Dhul-Adhar b. Abraha Dhul-Manar b. al-Rish b. Adiy b. Sayfi b. Saba al-Asghar b. Kab—Kahf al-Zulm b. Zayd b. Sahl b. Amr b. Qays b. Murawiya b. Jusham b. Abdu Shams b. Wa'il b. al-Ghauth b. Qatan b. Arib b. Zuhayr b. Ayman b. al-Hamaisa b. al-Aranjaj, the latter is Himyar b. Saba'al-Akbar b. Yarub b. Yashjub b. Qahtan.)

It was Tiban Asad Abu Karib who went to Medina and took away to the Yaman two Jewish rabbis from thence. He adorned the sacred temple and covered it with cloth. His reign was before that of Rabia b. Nasr.

When he came from the east he had passed by Medina without harming its people; but he left behind there one of his sons who was treacherously slain. Thereupon he returned with the intention of destroying the town and exterminating its people and cutting down its palms So this tribe of the Ansar gathered together under the leadership of Amr b. Talla the brother of B. al-Najjar and one of B. Amr b. Mabdhul. Mabdhul's name was Amir b. Malik b. al-Najjar; and al-Najjar's name was Taym Allah b. Thalaba b. Amr b. al-Khazraj b. Haritha b. Thalaba b. Amr b. Amir.

Now a man of B. Adiy b. al-Najjar called Ahmar had fallen upon one of the followers of Tubba when he brought them to Medina and killed him, because he caught him among his palms cutting the date clusters; he struck him with his sickle and killed him, saying 'The fruit belongs to the man who cultivates it.' This enraged the Tubba against them and fighting broke out. Indeed the Ansar assert that they used to fight them by day and treat them as guests by night. Tubba was amazed at this and used to say: 'By God our people arc generous!'

While Tubba was occupied in this fighting there came two Jewish rabbis from B. Qurayza—Qurayza, and al-Nadir and al-Najjam and Amr nicknamed Hanging-lip were sons of al-Khazraj b. al-Sarih b. al-Tau aman b al-Sibi b. al-Yasa b. Sad b. Law! b. Khayr b. al-Najjam b. Tanhum b. Azar b. Izra b. Harun b. Imran b. Yashar b. Qahat b. Lawi b. Yaquh otherwise called Israil b. Ishaq b. Ibrahim the friend of al-Rahman—learned men well grounded in tradition. They had heard about the king's intention to destroy the town and its people and they said to him: O King do not do it, for if you persist in your intention something will happen to prevent your carrying it out and we fear that you will incur speedy retribution.' When the king asked the reason for this they told him that Yathrib (Medina) was the place to which a prophet of the Quraysh would migrate in time to come, and it would be his home and resting-place.

Seeing that these men had hidden knowledge the king took their words in good part and gave up his design, departed from Medina and embraced the rabbis' religion.

Khalid b. Abd al-Uzza b. Ghazlya b. Amr b. Auf b. Ghunm b. Malik b. al-Najjar boasting of Amr b. Talla said:

Has he given up youthful folly or ceased to remember it?
Or has he had his fill of pleasure?
Or have you remembered youth?
And what a memory of youth and its times you have!
It was a young man's war
Such as gives him experience.
So ask Imran or Asad,
When headlong with the morning star came
Abu Karib with his great squadrons
Clad in long mail, of pungent smell.
They said, Whom shall we make for,
The Banu Auf or the Najjar?
Surely the Banu-l-Najjar,
For we seek revenge for our dead.
Then our swordsmen went to meet them,
Their number as the drops of widely falling rain,
Among them Amr b. Talla
(God prolong his life for the welfare of his people).
A chief who is on a level with kings but whoso
Would vie with him does not know his eminence.

This tribe of the Ansar claim that the Tubba was enraged only against this tribe of the Jews who were living among them and that it was only his intention to destroy them, but they protected them until he went his way. Therefore in his verse he said:

In rage against two Jewish tribes who live in Yathrib
Who richly deserve the punishment of a fateful day.

Now the Tubba and his people were idolaters. He set out for Mecca which was on his way to the Yaman, and when he was between Usfan and Amaj some men of the Hudhayl b. Mudrika b. Ilyas b. Mudar b. Nizar b. Maadd came to him saying, 'O King, may we not lead you to an ancient treasury which former kings have overlooked? It contains pearls, topaz, rubies, gold, and silver.' Certainly, said he, and they added that it was a temple in Mecca which its people worshipped and where they prayed. But the real intention of the Hudhaylis was to encompass his destruction, for they knew that any king that treated it with disrespect was sure to die.

Having agreed to their proposal he sent to the two rabbis and asked their opinion. They told him that the sole object of the tribe was to destroy him and his army. 'We know of no other temple in the land which God has chosen for Himself, said they, and if you do what they suggest you and all your men will perish.' The king asked them what he should do when he got there, and they told him to do what the people of Mecca did: to circumambulate the temple, to venerate and honour it, to shave his head, and to behave with all humility until he had left its precincts.

The king asked why they too should not do likewise. They replied that it was indeed the temple of their father Abraham, but the idols which the inhabitants had set up round it, and the blood which they shed there, presented an insuperable obstacle. They are unclean polytheists, said they —or words to that effect.

Recognising the soundness and truth of their words the king summoned the men from the Hudhayl and cut off their hands and feet, and continued his journey to Mecca. He went round the Kaaba, sacrificed, and shaved his head (which is a Jewish custom before entering the Tempel), staying there six days (so they say) sacrificing animals which he distributed to the people and giving them honey to drink.

It was revealed to him in a dream that he should cover the temple, so he covered it with woven palm branches; a later vision showed him that he must do better so he covered it with Yamani cloth; a third vision induced him to clothe it with fine striped Yaman cloth. People say that the Tubba was the first man to cover the temple in this way. He ordered its Jurhumi guardians to keep it clean and not to allow blood, dead bodies, or menstruous cloths to come near it, and he made a door and a key for it.

Subaya d. al-Ahabb b. Zabina b. Jadhima b. Auf b. Nasr b. Muawiya b. Bakr b. Hawazin b. Mansur b. Ikrima b. Khasafa b. Qays b. Aylan was the wife of Abdu Manaf b. Kab b. Sad b. Taym b. Murra b. Kab b. Luay b. Ghalib b. Fihr b. Malik b. Nadr b. Kinana. She had by him a son called Khalid; and in impressing on him the sanctity of Mecca and forbidding him to commit grievous sin there, she reminded him of Tubba and his humility towards it and his work there, in the following lines:

O my son, oppress neither the mean nor the great in Mecca.
Preserve its sanctity and be not led away.
He who does evil in Mecca will meet the worst misfortune.
His face will be smitten and his cheeks will burn with fire.
1 know from certain knowledge that the evildoer there will perish.

God has made it inviolate though no castles are built in its court.

God has made its birds inviolate and the wild goats on Thablr2 are safe.

Tubba' came against it, but covered its building with embroidered cloth.

God humbled his sovereignty there so he fulfilled his vows,
Walking barefoot to it with two thousand camels in its courtyard.
Its people he fed with the flesh of Mahrl camels.
Gave them to drink strained honey and pure barley-water.
(God) destroyed the army of the elephant,
They were pelted with great stones,
And (God destroyed) their kingdom in the farthest lands
Both in Persia and Khazar.
Hearken therefore when you are told the story
And understand the end of such things.

Afterwards he set forth for the Yaman with his army and the two rabbis, and when he reached his own country he invited his people to adopt his new religion, but they refused until the matter could be tested by the ordeal of fire which was there.

Abu Malik b. Thalaba b. Abu Malik al-Qurazi told me that he heard Ibrahim b. Mohammed b. Talha b. Ubaydallah narrate that when Tubba drew near to the Yaman the Himyarites blocked his path, refusing to let him pass because he had abandoned their religion. When he invited them to accept his religion on the ground that it was better than theirs, they proposed that the matter should be subject to the ordeal by fire. The Yamanites say that a fire used to settle matters in dispute among them by consuming the guilty and letting the innocent go scatheless. So his people went forth with their idols and sacred objects, and the two rabbis went forth with their sacred books hanging like necklaces from their necks until they halted at the place whence the fire used to blaze out.

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On this occasion when it came out the Yamanites withdrew in terror, but their followers encouraged them and urged them to stand fast, so they held their ground until the fire covered them and consumed their idols and sacred objects and the men who bore them. But the two rabbis came out with their sacred books, sweating profusely but otherwise unharmed. Thereupon the Himyarites accepted the king's religion, Such was the origin of Judaism in the Yaman (Yemen).

Another informant told me that the two parties only went up to the fire to drive it back, for it was held that the one who succeeded in driving it back was most worthy of credence. When the Himyarites with their idols came near to drive the fire back, the fire came out against them and they withdrew unable to withstand it. Afterwards, when the two rabbis came reciting the Torah, the fire receded so that they drove it back to the place from which it had emerged. Thereupon the Himyarites accepted their religion. But God knows which report is correct.

Now Riam was one of the temples which they venerated and where they offered sacrifices and received oracles when they were polytheists. The two rabbis told Tubba that it was merely a shaytan which deceived them in this way and they asked to be allowed to deal with it. When the king agreed they commanded a black dog to come out of it and killed it—at least this is what the Yamanites say. Then they destroyed the temple and I am told that its ruins to this day show traces of the blood that was poured over it.

(Tabari: Tubba composed the following lines about his expedition, what he had intended to do with Medina and the Kaaba, what he actually did to the men of Hudhayl, and how he adorned and purified the temple and what the two rabbis told him about the apostle of God:

Why, O soul, is thy sleep disturbed like one whose eyes pain him?
Why dost thou suffer from perpetual insomnia,
Enraged against two Jewish tribes who live in Yathrib (Medina),
Who richly deserve the punishment of a fateful day?
When I sojourned in Medina
Calm and refreshing was my sleep.
I made my dwelling on a hill
Between al-Aqiq and Baqi ul-Gharqad.
We left its rocks and plateau
And its bare salty plain
And came down to Yathrib (Medina), and my breast
Seethed with anger at the killing of my son.
I had sworn a steadfast vow,
An oath full strong and binding,
'If I reach Yathrib (Medina) I will leave it
Stripped of palms both striplings and fruitful'
When lo from Qurayza came
A rabbi wise, among the Jews respected.
'Stand back from a city preserved;' said he,
'For Mecca's prophet of (the) Quraysh true-guided.'
So I forgave them without reproach
I left them to the judgement of the last day
To God whose pardon I hope for
On the day of reckoning that I escape the flames of hell.
Some of our people I left there for him,
Men of reputation and valour,
Men who carry plans to victory's end.
I hope thereby for a reward from Mohammed's Lord.
I knew not that there was a pure temple
Devoted to God in Mecca's vale,
Till slaves from Hudhayl came to me
In al-Duff of Jumdan above al-Masnad.
'A house of ancient wealth in Mecca
Treasures of pearls and jewels!' they said.
I wanted to seize them but my Lord said nay.
For God prevents destruction of his sanctuary.
I gave up my purpose there
And left those men an example to the discerning.
Dhul-Qarnayn before me was a Muslim
Conquered kings thronged his court,
East and west he ruled, yet he sought
Knowledge true from a learned sage.
He saw where the sun sinks from view
In a pool of mud and fetid slime.
Before him Bilqis my father's sister
Ruled them until the hoopoe came to her*.

(* The poem is spurious; it is not difficult to see how Ibn Ishaq persuaded himself to incorporate such an obvious forgery in a serious historical work.)

THE REIGN OF HIS SON HASSAN IBN TIBAN
AND HOW AMR KILLED HIS BROTHER

When his son Hassan b. Tiban Asad Abu Karib came to the throne he set out with the Yamanites to subdue the land of the Arabs and Persians.

However, when they reached a place in Iraq the Himyante and Yamanite tribes were unwilling to go farther and wanted to return to their families, so they approached one of his brothers called Amr who was with him in the army and said that if he would kill his brother they would make him king so that he might lead them home again. He said that he would do so, and they all agreed to join in the plot except Dhu Ruayn the Himyarite. He forbade him to do this, but he would not heed, so Dhu Ruayn wrote the following verses:

Oh who would buy sleeplessness for sleep?
Happy is he who passes the night in peace;
Though Himyar have been treacherous,
God will hold Dhu Ruayn blameless.

He sealed the document and brought it to Amr, saying: 'Keep this with you for me,' and he did so. Then Amr killed his brother Hassan and returned to the Yaman with his men. One of the Himyarites was moved to say:

In former generations
What eyes have seen
The like of Hassan who has been slain!
The princes slew him lest they should be kept at war.
On the morrow they said 'It is naught!'
Your dead was the best of us and your living one
Is lord over us while all of you are lords.

The words 'lababi lababi' mean 'no matter' in the Himyari language. When Amr b. Tiban returned to the Yaman he could not sleep and insomnia took a firm hold of him. Being much concerned at this, he asked the physicians and those of the soothsayers and diviners who were seers about his trouble. One of them said: 'No man has ever killed his brother or kinsman treacherously as you killed your brother without losing his sleep and becoming a prey to insomnia.' At this he began to kill all the nobles who had urged him to murder his brother Hassan, till finally he came to Dhu Ruayn who claimed that Amr held the proof of his innocence, namely the paper which he had given him. He had it brought to him and when he had read the two verses he let him go, recognizing that he had given him good counsel. When Amr died the Himyarite kingdom fell into disorder and the people split up into parties.

HOW LAKHNIA DHU SHANATIR SEIZED
THE THRONE OF THE YAMAN (Yemenite)

A Himyari who had no connexion with the royal house called Lakhnia Yanuf Dhu Shanatir arose and killed off their leading men and put the royal family to open shame. Of this man a certain Himyari recited:

Himyar was slaying its sons and exiling its princes,
Working its shame with its own hands,
Destroying its worldly prosperity with frivolous thoughts.
Even greater was the loss of their religion.
So did earlier generations bring their doom
By acts of injustice and profligacy.

Lakhnia was a most evil man —a sodomite. He used to summon a young man of the royal family and assault him in a room which he had constructed for this very purpose, so that he could not reign after him.

Then he used to go from this upper chamber of his to his guards and soldiers, (who were below) having put a toothpick in his mouth to let them know that he had accomplished his purpose. (Tabari: Then he would release him and he would appear before the guards and the people utterly disgraced.)

One day he sent for Zura Dhu Nuwas son of Tiban Asad brother of Hassan. He was a little boy when Hassan was murdered and had become a fine handsome young man of character and intelligence. When the messenger came he perceived what was intended and took a fine sharp knife and hid it under the sole of his foot and went to Lakhnl'a. As soon as they were alone he attacked him and Dhu Nuwas rushed upon him and stabbed him to death. He then cut off his head and put it in the window which overlooked the men below. He stuck the toothpick in his mouth and went out to the guards, who in coarse language inquired what had happened. 'Ask that head,' he replied. They looked at the window and there was Lakhnia's head cut off. So they went in pursuit of Dhu Nuwas and said: 'You must be our king and no one else, seeing that you have rid us of this disgusting fellow.'

THE REIGN OF DHU NUWAS

They made him king and all the tribes of Himyar joined him. He was the last of the Yamani kings and the man who had the ditch made. He was called Joseph and reigned for some considerable time.

In Najran* there were some people who held the religion of Isa b. Maryam (Jesus son of Maria), a virtuous and upright people who followed the Gospel. Their head was named Abdullah b. al-Thamir. The place where that religion took root was in Najran, at that time the centre of the Arabs' country; its people, and indeed the rest of the Arabs, were idolaters. A Christian by the name of Faymiyun had settled there and converted the people to his religion. (* The name Najran is linguistically connected to the word Nazorean. The Nazoreans, "the Keepers of the Law" [that is the Law of Moses] and otherwise known as the Ebionites [the poor or humble ones], were the direct and closest followers of the Messianic Movement of John the Baptist and Jesus the Nazorean. During the First Jewish-Roman War [66-73 AD.], they fled to the northern border of Yemen and build there a new home. The passages in Ibn Ishaq's Sira seem to confirm it.)

THE BEGINNING OF CHRISTIANITY IN NAJRAN (south-west Arabia)

Al-Mughira b. Abu Labid, a freedman of al-Akhnas, on the authority of Wahb b. Munabbih the Yamani told me that the origin of Christianity in Najran was due to a man named Faymiyun who was a righteous, earnest, ascetic man whose prayers were answered. He used to wander between towns: as soon as he became known in one town he moved to another, eating only what he earned, for he was a builder by trade using mud bricks.

He used to keep Sunday as a day of rest and would do no work then. He used to go into a desert place and pray there until the evening. While he was following his trade in a Syrian village withdrawing himself from men, one of the people there called Salih perceived what manner of man he was and felt a violent affection for him, so that unperceived by Faymiyun he used to follow him from place to place, until one Sunday he went as his wont was out into the desert followed by Salih. Salih chose a hidingplace and sat down where he could see him, not wanting him to know where he was. As Faymiyun stood to pray a tinnin, a seven-horned snake, came towards him and when Faymiyun saw it he cursed it and it died. Seeing the snake but not knowing what had happened to it and fearing for Faymiyun's safety, Salih could not contain himself and cried out: 'Faymiyun, a tinnin is upon you!' He took no notice and went on with his prayers until he had ended them. Night had come and he departed. He knew that he had been recognised and Salih knew that he had seen him. So he said to him: Faymiyun, you know that I have never loved anything as I love you; I want to be always with you and go wherever you go.' He replied: 'As you will. You know how I live and if you feel that you can bear the life well and good.' So Salih remained with him, and the people of the village were on the point of discovering his secret. For when a man suffering from a disease came in his way by chance he prayed for him and he was cured; but if he was summoned to a sick man he would not go. Now one of the villagers had a son who was blind 1 and he asked about Faymiyun and was told that he never came when he was sent for, but that he was a man who built houses for people for a wage. Thereupon the man took his son and put him in his room and threw a garment over him and went to Faymiyun saying that he wanted him to do some work for him in his house and would he come and look at it, and they would agree on a price.

Arrived at the house Faymiyun asked what he wanted done, and after giving details the man suddenly whisked off the covering from the boy and said: 'O Faymiyun, one of God's creatures is in the state you see.

So pray for him.' Faymiyun did so and the boy got up entirely healed.

Knowing that he had been recognised he left the village followed by Salih, and while they were walking through Syria they passed by a great tree and a man called from it saying, 'I have been expecting you and saying, "When is he coming?" until I heard your voice and knew it was you.

Do not go until you have prayed over my grave for I am about to die.' He did die and he prayed over him until they buried him. Then he left followed by Salih until they reached the land of the Arabs who attacked them, and a caravan carried them off and sold them in Najran. At this time the people of Najran followed the religion of the Arabs worshipping a great palm-tree there. Every year they had a festival when they hung on the tree any fine garment they could find and women's jewels. Then they sallied out and devoted the day to it.

Faymiyun was sold to one noble and Salih to another. Now it happened that when Faymiyun was praying earnestly at night in a house which his master had assigned to him the whole house was filled with light so that it shone as it were without a lamp. His master was amazed at the sight, and asked him about his religion. Faymiyun told him and said that they were in error; as for the palm-tree it could neither help nor hurt; and if he were to curse the tree in the name of God, He would destroy it, for He was God Alone without companion.

'Then do so,' said his master, 'for if you do that we shall embrace your religion, and abandon our present faith.' After purifying himself and performing two rakas, he invoked God against the tree and God sent a wind against it which tore it from its roots and cast it on the ground. Then the people of Najran adopted his religion and he instructed them in the law of Isa b. Maryam (the teachings of Jesus son of Maria). Afterwards they suffered the misfortunes' which befell their co-religionists in every land. This was the origin of Christianity in Najran in the land of the Arabs. Such is the report of Wahb b. Munabbih on the authority of the people of Najran.

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ABDULLAH IBN AL-THAMIR AND THOSE WHO PERISHED IN THE TRENCH

Yazid b. Ziyad told me on the authority of Mohammed b. Kab al-Qurazi, and a man of Najran also told me, that according to his people they used to worship idols. Najran is the largest town in which the people of the neighbouring district congregated, and in a village hard by there was a sorcerer who used to instruct the young men of Najran in his art. When Faymiyun came there—they did not call him by the name that Wahb b. Munabbih gives him but simply said a man came there—he put up a tent between Najran and the place where the sorcerer was. Now the people of Najran used to send their young men to that sorcerer to be taught sorcery and al-Thamir sent his son Abdullah along with them. When he passed by the man in the tent he was immensely struck by his prayers and devotion and began to sit with him and listen to him until he became a Muslim and acknowledged the unity of God and worshipped Him. He asked questions about the laws of Islam until when he became fully instructed therein he asked the man what was the Great Name of God. Although he knew it he kept it from him, saying: 'My dear young man, you will not be able to bear it; I fear that you are not strong enough! Now al-Thamir had no idea that his son Abdullah was not visiting the sorcerer along with the other young men. Abdullah seeing that his master had kept the knowledge from him and was afraid of his weakness, collected a number of sticks and whenever he taught him a name of God he wrote that name on a stick.

When he had got them all he lit a fire and began to throw them in one by one until when he reached the stick with the Great Name inscribed on it he threw it in, and it immediately sprang out untouched by the fire. Thereupon he took it and went and told his master that he knew the Great Name which he had concealed from him. The latter questioned him and when he learned how he had found out the secret he said, O my young friend (lit. son of my brother), you have got it, but keep it to yourself, though I do not think you will.'

Thereafter whenever Abdullah b. al-Thamir entered Najran and met any sick person he would say to him, 'O servant of God, will you acknowledge the unity of God and adopt my religion so that I may pray to God that he may heal you of your affliction?' The man would agree, acknowledge the unity of God, and become a Muslim, and he would pray for him and he would be healed, until in the end there was not a single sick person in Najran but had adopted his religion and become whole from his sickness. When the news reached the king he sent for him and said: 'You have corrupted the people of my town so that they are against me and have opposed my religion and the religion of my fathers. I will make a terrible example of you!' He replied: 'You have not the power to do that.' The king had him taken to a high mountain and thrown down headlong, but he reached the ground unhurt. Then he had him thrown into deep water in Najran from which no one had ever emerged alive, but he came out safely.

Having thus got the better of him Abdullah told him that he would not be able to kill him until he acknowledged the unity of God and believed in his religion; but that if he did that he would be given power to kill him. The king then acknowledged the unity of God and pronounced the creed of Abdullah, and hitting him a moderate blow with a stick which he had in his hand he killed him and died himself on the spot. The people of Najran accepted the religion of Abdullah b. al-Thamir according to the Gospel and the law which Isa b. Maryam (Jesus the son of Mary) brought. Afterwards they were overtaken by the misfortunes which befell their co-religionists. Such is the origin of Christianity in Najran. But God knows best (what the facts are).

Such is the report of Mohammed b. Kab. al-Qurazi and one of the men of Najran about Abdullah b. al-Thamir, but God knows best what happened.

Dhu Nuwas came against them with his armies and invited them to accept Judaism, giving them the choice between that or death: they chose death. So he dug trenches for them; burnt some in fire, slew some with the sword, and mutilated them until he had killed nearly twenty thousand of them. Concerning Dhu Nuwas and that army of his God revealed to his apostle:

On the trenchmakers be eternal ire
For their fuelled fire
Watching as the flames grew higher
The sufferings of the faithful, dire!
They only tormented them because they believed in
God the Mighty, the Worthy to be Praised.

It is said that among those put to death by Dhu Nuwas was Abdullah b. al-Thamir, their leader and imam.

I was told by Abdullah b. Abu Bakr b. Mohammed b. Amr b. Hazm that he was told that in the days of Umar b. al-Khattab a man of Najran dug up one of the ruins of Najran intending to make use of the land, when they came upon Abdullah b. al-Thamir under a grave; he was in a sitting posture with his hand covering a wound in his head and holding firmly to it. When his hand was removed the blood began to flow; when they let go of his hand it returned to its place and the flow of blood ceased. On his finger was a ring inscribed 'Allah is my Lord'. A report was sent to Umar and he replied:

'Leave him alone and cover in the grave' and his orders were duly carried out.

OF DAUS DHU THALABAN AND THE BEGINNING OF THE ABYSSINIAN DOMINATION AND THE HISTORY OF ARYAT WHO BECAME VICEROY OF THE YAMAN (Yemenites)

A man of Saba called Daus Dhu Thalaban escaped on a horse, and taking to the desert eluded them. He pressed on until he reached the Roman court in Constantinopolis, when he asked the emperor to aid him against Dhu Nuwas and his troops, telling him what had happened. The latter replied that his country was too distant for him to be able to help by sending troops, but that he would write to the Abyssinian king who was a Christian and whose territory was near the Yaman. Accordingly he did write ordering him to help Daus and seek revenge.

Daus went to the Negus with the emperor's letter, and he sent with him 70,000 Abyssinians, putting over them a man called Aryat. (Tabari: He ordered him to kill a third of the men, lay waste a third of the country, and seize a third of the women and children if he conquered.)

With the army there was a man called Abraha 'Split-face'. Aryat crossed the sea with Daus Dhu Thalaban and landed in the Yaman (in Yemen). Dhu Nuwas with the Himyarites and such of the Yamani tribes as were under his command came out against him, and after an engagement Dhu Nuwas and his force was put to flight (because of the disordered state of the Yamani army and their feeble opposition). Seeing that his cause was lost Dhu Nuwas turned his horse seawards beating it until it entered the waves and carried him through the shallows out into the deep water. This was the last that was seen of him. Aryat entered the Yaman and took possession of it. (Tabari: He carried out the Negus's orders, and sent a third of the women and children to him. He stayed on in the country and reduced it to subjection.)

One of the Yamanis remembering how Daus had brought the Abyssinians upon them said:

Not like Daus and not like the things he carried in his saddle bag.

And this saying has become proverbial in the Yaman until this day.

Dhu Jadan the Himyari (Tabari: recording their humiliation after their former glory and Aryat's destruction of their castles Silhin, Baynun, and Ghumdan unique in their splendour) recited:

Gently! Tears cannot recall what is sped.
Fret not thyself for those who are dead.
After Baynun no stones nor trace remain,
And after Silhin shall men build such houses again?

Baynun, Silhin, and Ghumdan are Yamani castles which Aryat destroyed and none like them existed.

He continued:

Peace, confound you! You can't turn me from my purpose
Thy scolding dries my spittle!
To the music of singers in times past 'twas fine
When we drank our fill of purest noblest wine.
Drinking freely of wine brings me no shame
If my behaviour no boon-companion would blame.
For death no man can hold back
Though he drink the perfumed potions of the quack.
Nor monk in his secluded cell on high
Where the vulture round his nest doth fly.
You have heard of Ghumdan's towers:
From the mountain top it lowers
Well carpentered, with stones for stay,
Plastered with clean, damp, slippery clay;
Oil lamps within it show
At even like the lightning's glow.
Beside its wall the palm-trees fine
With ripening fruit in clusters shine.
This once-new castle is ashes today,
The flames have eaten its beauty away.
Dhu Nuwas humbled gave up his castle great
And warned his people of their coming fate.

With reference to that, Ibn al-Dhiba al-Thaqafi said:

By thy life there is no escape for a man when death and old age seize him.

By thy life a man has nowhere to flee —no asylum
Could there be after Himyar's tribes were destroyed one morn by calamity's stroke,

A thousand thousand with spearmen (glittering) like the sky before rain.

Their cry deafened the chargers and they put to flight the warriors with their pungent smell.

Witches as the sand in number the very sap of trees dried at their approach.

Amr b. Madi Karib al-Zubaydi said concerning a dispute which he had with Qays b. Makshuh al-Muradi when he heard that he had threatened him, and bringing to memory the lost glory of Himyar:

Do you threaten me as though you were Dhu Ruayn
Or Dhu Nuwas in the days of their prime?
Many a man before you was prosperous
With a kingdom firmly rooted among men.
Ancient as the days of Ad
Exceeding fierce, overcoming tyrants,
Yet his people perished
And he became a wanderer among men.

HOW ABRAHA SEIZED POWER IN THE YAMAN AND KILLED ARYAT

Aryat held sway in the Yaman for some years and then Abraha the Abyssinian (who was in his army) disputed his authority, and the Abyssinians split into two parties each claiming supporters. When war was about to begin, Abraha sent to Aryat asking him to avert the danger of internecine war and inviting him to settle the dispute by personal combat, the winner to be the sole commander of the army. Aryat agreed and Abraha went forth to meet him. He was a short fat man holding the Christian faith; and Aryat advanced against him spear in hand; he was a big, tall, handsome man.' Abraha had a young man called Atawda at his back to defend him against attack from the rear. Aryat raised his spear striking at Abraha's skull and hit him on the forehead splitting his eyebrow, nose, 2g eye, and mouth. It was for this reason that he was called al-Ashram (split-face). Thereupon Atawda coming out from behind Abraha attacked Aryat and killed him, and Aryat's army joined Abraha, and the Abyssinians in the Yaman accepted him as their chief. (Then Atawda cried: Atawda you see, of an evil company; parentless in nobility', meaning that Abraha's slave had killed Aryat. Al-Ashram asked what he wanted, for though he had killed him blood-money must be paid. He asked and obtained from him the right of primae noctis in Yaman.) Abraha paid blood-money for killing Aryat. (All this happened without the knowledge of the Negus.)

When the news of this affair reached the Negus he was filled with rage and said: 'Has he attacked my amir and killed him without any order from me?' Then he swore an oath that he would not leave Abraha alone until he had trodden his land and cut off his forelock. So Abraha shaved his head and filled a leather bag with the earth of the Yaman and sent it to the Negus with the following letter: 'O King, Aryat was only thy slave and I too am thy slave. We disputed about your orders; everyone must obey you; but I was stronger, firmer, and more skilful in managing the affairs of the Abyssinians. Now when I was told of the king's oath I shaved the whole of my head and I send it to you with a bag of the dust of my land that you may put it beneath your feet and thus keep your oath concerning me.'

When this message reached the Negus he was reconciled to him and wrote to him that he was to stay in the Yaman until further orders; so Abraha remained in the Yaman.

(When Abraha perceived that the Negus was reconciled and had made him viceregent of the Yaman, he sent to Abu Murra b. Dhu Yazan and took away from him his wife Rayhana d. Alqama b. Malik b. Zayd b. Kahlan. Abu Murra who is Dhu Jadan had a son by her—Madi Karib. Afterwards she bore to Abraha a son Masruq and a daughter Basbasa. Abu Murra took to flight. His slave Atawda went on exercising his right in Yaman until a man of Himyar of Khatham attacked and killed him; and when the news reached Abraha, who was a lenient noble character, a Christian of temperate habits, he told the people that it was high time that they had an official with due self-control and that had he known that Atawda would have chosen such a reward for his services he would not have allowed him to choose his reward. Further no bloodwit would be exacted and he would not take any action against them for killing Atawda. Tabari.)

THE HISTORY OF THE ELEPHANT AND THE STORY OF THE INTERCALATORS

Then Abraha built the cathedral in Sana'a, such a church as could not be seen elsewhere in any part of the world at that time. He wrote to the Negus saying: 'I have built a church for you, O King, such as has not been built for any king before you. I shall not rest until I have diverted the Arabs' pilgrimage to it.' When the Arabs were talking about this letter of his, one of the calendar intercalators was enraged. He was of the B. Fuqaym b. Adiy b. Amir b. Thalaba b. al-Harith b. Malik b. Kinana b. Khuzayma b. Mudrika b. Ilyas b. Mudar. The intercalators are those who used to adjust the months for the Arabs in the time of ignorance. They would make one of the holy months profane, and make one of the profane months holy to balance the calendar. It was about this that God sent down: 'Postponement (of a sacred month) is but added infidelity by which those who disbelieve are misled. They make it (the month) profane one year and make it sacred the next year, that they may make up the number of the months which God has made sacred.'

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The first to impose this system of intercalation on the Arabs was al-Qalammas who was Hudhayfa b. Abd b. Fuqaym b. Adiy b. Amir b. Thalaba b. al-Harith b. Malik b. Kinana b. Khuzayma; his son Abbad followed him; then his descendants Qala', Umayya, Auf, and Abu Thumama Junada b. Auf who was the last of them, for he was overtaken by Islam. When the Arabs had finished pilgrimage, it used to be their practice to gather round him and he would declare the four sacred months Rajab, Dhul-Qada, Dhul-Hijja, and al-Muharram. If he wanted to free a period he would free al-Muharram and they would declare it free and ban Safar in its place so as to make up the number of the four sacred months.

When they wanted to return from Mecca, he got up and said: 'O God, I have made one of the Safars free for them, the first Safar, and I have postponed the other till next year.'

About this Umayr b. Qays Jadhlul-Tian, one of the B. Firas b. Ghanm b. Thalaba b. Malik b. Kinana, boasting of this determining of the months, improvised:

Maadd knows that my people are the most honourable of men and have noble ancestors. Who has escaped us when we seek vengeance and whom have we not made to champ the bit? Are we not Maadd's calendar-makers, making profane months sacred?

The Kinanite went forth until he came to the cathedral and defiled it. Then he returned to his own country. Hearing of the matter Abraha made inquiries and learned that the outrage had been committed by an Arab who came from the temple in Mecca where the Arabs went on pilgrimage, and that he had done this in anger at his threat to divert the Arabs' pilgrimage to the cathedral, showing thereby that it was unworthy of reverence.

Abraha was enraged and swore that he would go to this temple and destroy it. (Tabari: With Abraha there were some Arabs who had come to seek his bounty, among them Mohammed b. Khuzal b. Khuzaba al-Dhakwani, al-Sulami, with a number of his tribesmen including a brother of his called Qays. While they were with him a feast of Abraha occurred and he sent to invite them to the feast. Now he used to eat an animal's testicles, so when the invitation was brought they said, 'By God, if we eat this the Arabs will hold it against us as long as we live.' Thereupon Mohammed got up and went to Abraha and said, 'O King, this is a festival of ours in which we eat only the loins and shoulders.' Abraha replied that he would send them what they liked, because his sole purpose in inviting them was to show that he honoured them. Then he crowned Mohammed and made him amir of Mudar and ordered him to go among the people to invite them to pilgrimage at his cathedral which he had built. When Mohammed got as far as the land of Kinana the people of the lowland knowing what he had come for sent a man of Hudhayl called Urwa b. Hayyad al-Milasi who shot him with an arrow, killing him. His brother Qays who was with him fled to Abraha and told him the news, which increased his rage and fury and he swore to raid the B. Kinana and destroy the temple.)

So he commanded the Abyssinians to prepare and make ready, and sallied forth with the elephant. News of this plunged the Arabs into alarm and anxiety and they decided that it was incumbent on them to fight against him when they heard that he meant to destroy the Kaaba, God's holy house.

A member of one of the ruling families in the Yaman, Dhu Nafr by name, summoned his people and such of the Arabs as would follow him to fight Abraha and stop him from attacking and destroying God's holy house. A certain number supported him, but after a battle Dhu Nafr and his followers were put to flight and he himself was taken prisoner and brought to Abraha. When he was about to put him to death Dhu Nafr pleaded for his life on the ground that he would be more useful to him alive than dead. Abraha then gave him his life but kept him in fetters. He was a merciful man.

Abraha continued on his road to Mecca until in the country of Khatham he was opposed by Nufayl b. Habib al-Khathami with their two tribes Shahran and Nahis and such of the Arab tribes as followed him. After an engagement he was defeated and taken prisoner. When Abraha thought of killing him, Nufayl said: 'Do not kill me, O King, for I will be your guide in the Arab country. Here are my two hands as surety that the two tribes of Khatham, Shahran and Nahis, will obey you.' So Abraha let him go.

He continued with him as a guide until they reached Taif when Masud b. Muattib b. Malik b. Kab b. Amr b. Sad b. Auf b. Thaqif came out to him with the men of Thaqif. Thaqif's name was Qasly b. al-Nabit b. Munabbih b. Mansur b. Yaqdum b. Afsa b. Dumi b. Iyad b. Nizar b. Ma'add b. Adnan. Umayya b. Abu Salt al-Thaqafi said:

My people are Iyad, would that they were near Or would that they had stayed (here) though their camels might be thin.'

When on the march Iraq's wide plain
Is theirs—moreover they read and write.
He also said:
If you ask me who I am, Lubayna, and of my line
I will tell you the certain truth.
We belong to al-Nabit the father of Qasiy
To Mansur son of Yaqdum (our) forefathers.

They said to him: O King, we are thy servants attentive and obedient to you. We have no quarrel with you and our temple—meaning that of al-Lat—is not the one you seek. You want only the temple in Mecca, and we will send with you a man to guide you there. He therefore passed on leaving them unmolested.

As to al-Lat it was a temple of theirs in (the City of) al-Taif which they used to venerate as the Kaaba is venerated. So they sent with him Abu Righal to guide him on the way to Mecca, and when he had brought him as far as al-Mughammis Abu Righal died there and the Arabs stoned his grave. This is the grave which people in al-Mughammis still Arrived here, Abraha sent an Abyssinian called al-Aswad b. Mafsud (Other authorities write Maqsud. Mafsud means 'slash-faced'.) with some cavalry as far as Mecca and the latter sent off to him the plunder of the people of Tihama, the Quraysh and others, among it two hundred camels belonging to Abdul-Muttalib b. Hashim, who at that time was the leading shaykh of (the) Quraysh. At first (the) Quraysh, Kinana, and Hudhayl and others who were in the holy place meditated battle, but seeing that they had not the power to offer resistance they gave up the idea.

Abraha sent Hunaja the Himyarite to Mecca instructing him to inquire who was the chief notable of the country and to tell him that the king's message was that he had not come to fight them, but only to destroy the temple. If they offered no resistance there was no cause for bloodshed, and if he wished to avoid war he should return with him. On reaching Mecca Hunaja was told that Abdul-Muttalib b. Hashim b. Abd Manaf b. Qusayy was the leading notable, so he went to him and delivered Abraha's message. Abdul-Muttalib replied:

God knows that we do not wish to fight him for we have not the power to do so. This is Allah's sanctuary and the temple of His friend Abraham—or words to that effect—If He defends it against him it is His temple and His sanctuary; and if he lets him have it by God we cannot defend it!' Hunata replied that he must come with him to Abraha, for he was ordered to bring him back with him.

So accompanied by one of his sons Abdul-Muttalib came to the camp and inquired for Dhu Nafr, for he was a friend of his. He went in to see him as he was in confinement and asked him if he could do anything to help them in their trouble. Dhu Nafr replied: 'What use is a man held a prisoner in the hands of a king, expecting to be killed at any moment?

I can do nothing to help you except that Unays the keeper of the elephant being a friend of mine, I will send to him and commend your case to him as strongly as possible asking him to try to get you permission to see the king. So speak as you think fit, and he will intercede for you with the king if he is able to do so.' So Dhu Nafr sent to Unays saying, 'The king has taken two hundred camels belonging to Abdul-Muttalib, lord of (the) Quraysh and master of the Meccan (caravan) well who feeds men in the plain and wild creatures on the top of the mountains, and is now here. So ask permission for him to see the king and help him as far as you can.' He said he would do so and repeated these words to the king, adding that Abdul-Muttalib wished to see him and talk to him about a pressing matter. Abraha agreed to see him. Now Abdul-Muttalib was a most impressive, handsome, and dignified man, and when Abraha saw him he treated him with the greatest respect so that he would not let him sit beneath him. He could not let the Abyssinians see him sitting beside him on his royal throne, so he got off his throne and sat upon his carpet and made Abdul-Muttalib sit beside him there. Then he told his interpreter to inquire what he wanted, and the reply was that he wanted the king to return two hundred camels of his which he had taken. Abraha replied through the interpreter, 'You pleased me much when I saw you; then I was much displeased with you when I heard what you said. Do you wish to talk to me about two hundred camels of yours which I have taken, and say nothing about your religion and the religion of your forefathers which I have come to destroy?' Abdul-Muttalib replied, 'I am the owner of the camels and the temple has an owner who will defend it.' When the king replied that he could not defend it against him he said, 'That remains to be seen.' ('Give me back my camels.')

Some learned people allege that when Abdul-Muttalib went to Abraha when he sent Hunata to him, there accompanied him Ya'mur b. Nufatha b. Adiy b. al-Duil b. Bakr b. Abd Manat b. Kinana, at that time chief of B. Bakr, and Khuwaylid b. Wathila, then chief of Hudhayl. They offered to give Abraha a third of the cattle of the lowland on condition that he would withdraw from them and not destroy the temple, but he refused their request; but God knows whether this was so or not. At any rate Abraha restored to Abdul-Muttalib the camels which he had taken.

When they left him, Abdul-Muttalib went back to (the) Quraysh and having given them the news ordered them to withdraw from Mecca and take up defensive positions on the peaks and in the passes of the mountains for fear of the excesses of the soldiers. Abdul-Muttalib took hold of the metal knocker ofthe Kaaba, and a number of (the) Quraysh stood with him praying to God and imploring his help against Abraha and his army. As he was holding the knocker of the temple door, Abdul-Muttalib said:

O God, a man protects his dwelling so protect Thy dwellings.

Let not their cross and their craft tomorrow overcome Thy craft.

Ikrima b. Amir b. Hashim b. Abdu Manaf b. Abd al-Dar b. Qusayy said:

O God, humiliate al-Aswad b. Mafsud
Who took a hundred camels wearing their collars;
Between Hira and Thabir and the deserts,
He shut them in when they should be pasturing freely,
And delivered them to the black barbarians,
Withdraw from him thine aid, O Lord, for Thou art worthy to be praised.

Abdul-Muttalib then let go the knocker of the door of the Kaaba and went off with his (the) Quraysh companions to the mountain tops where they took up defensive positions waiting to see what Abraha would do when he occupied Mecca. In the morning Abraha prepared to enter the town and made his elephant ready for battle and drew up his troops. His intention was to destroy the temple and then return to the Yaman. When they made the elephant (its name was Mahmud) face Mecca, Nufayl b. Habib came up to its flank and taking hold of its ear said: 'Kneel, Mahmud, or go straight back whence you came, for you are in God's holy land!' He let go of its ear and the elephant knelt, and Nufayl made off at top speed for the top of the mountain. The troops beat the elephant to make it get up but it would not; they beat its head with iron bars; they stuck hooks into its underbelly and scarified it; but it would not get up. Then they made it face the Yaman and immediately it got up and started off. When they set it towards the north and the east it did likewise, but as soon as they directed it towards Mecca it knelt down.

Then God sent upon them birds from the sea like swallows and starlings; each bird carried three stones, like peas and lentils, one in its beak and two between its claws. Everyone who was hit died but not all were hit. They withdrew in flight by the way they came, crying out for Nufayl b. Habib to guide them on the way to the Yaman. When he saw the punishment which God had brought down on them Nufayl said:

Where can one flee when God pursueth?
Al-Ashram is the conquered not the conqueror.
Nufayl also said:
Our greetings, Rudayna!
You rejoice our eyes this morning!
[Your fuel-seeker came to us last night,
But we had naught to give him.]
If you had seen, but you will not see, Rudayna,
What we saw on al-Muhassab's side'
You would have forgiven me and praised my action
And not have been vexed at what has passed and gone.
I praised God when I saw the birds,
And I feared the stones that might fall upon us.
Everyone was asking for Nufayl
As though I owed the Abyssinians a debt.

As they withdrew they were continually falling by the wayside dying miserably by every waterhole. Abraha was smitten in his body, and as they took him away his fingers fell off one by one. Where the finger had been, there arose an evil sore exuding pus and blood, so that when they brought him to Sanaa he was like a young fledgeling. They allege that as he died his heart burst from his body. (A. Deserters from the army, labourers, and campfollowers remained in Mecca and became workers and shepherds for the population.)

Yaqub b. Utba told me that he was informed that that year was the first time that measles and smallpox had been seen in Arabia; and, too, that it was the first time that bitter herbs like rue, colocynth (bitter apple and bitter cumcumber), and Asclepias gigantea (milkweeds) were seen.

When God sent Mohammed he specially recounted to the Quraysh his goodness and favour in turning back the Abyssinians in order to preserve their state and permanence. 'Did you not see how your Lord dealt with the owners of the elephant? Did He not reduce their guile to sheer terror? And sent upon them flocks of birds, throwing hard clay stones upon them, making them as blades of corn that have been devoured.'

And again: Tor the uniting of (the) Quraysh, their uniting the caravans to ply summer and winter. Then let them worship the Lord of this temple, who has fed them so that they hunger not, and made them safe from fear', i.e. so that their status should remain unaltered because of God's good purpose towards them if they would receive it.

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr via Amra daughter of Abdul-Rahman b. Sad b. Zurara told me that Aisha said: 'I saw the leader of the elephant and its groom walking about Mecca blind and crippled begging for food.'

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REFERENCES IN POETRY TO THE STORY OF THE ELEPHANT

When God turned back the Abyssinians from Mecca and executed His vengeance upon them, the Arabs held the Quraysh in great honour, saying, 'They are the people of God: God fought for them and thwarted the attack of their enemies.' On this theme they composed many poems.

Thus Abdullah b. al-Zibrara b. Adiy b. Qays b. Adiy b. Sad b. Sahm b. Amr b. Husays b. Kab b. Luayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr said:

Withdraw from the vale of Mecca for
From of old its sanctuary has not been violated.
When it was sanctified, Sirius had not been created.
No mighty man has ever attacked it.
Ask the commander of the Abyssinians what he saw.
He who knows what happened will tell the ignorant.
Sixty thousand men returned not home,
Nor did their sick recover after their return.
Ad and Jurhum were (in Mecca) before them.
God has set it above all creatures.

The words 'nor did their sick recover after their return' refer to Abraha whom they carried with them when he was smitten, until he died in Sana.

Abu Qays b. al-Aslat al-Ansari al-Khatmi, Sayfi by name said:

His work it was on the day of the Abyssinian elephant.
Whenever they urged it forward it held its ground,
(They drove) their hooks beneath its flanks,
They split its nose and it was torn.
They used a knife as a whip.
When they applied it to its back it made a wound.
It turned and faced the way it had come.
Those there bore the burden of their injustice.
God sent a wind bringing pebbles from above them
And they huddled together like lambs.
Their priests urged them to endure,
But they bleated like sheep.

Abu Qays b. al-Aslat also said:

Rise and pray to your Lord and stroke
The corners of this temple between the mountains.
He gave you a convincing test
On the day of Abu Yaksum leader of the squadrons.
His cavalry was in the plain, his infantry
Upon the passes of the distant hills.
When the help of the Lord of the Throne reached you,
His armies repulsed them, pelting them and covering them with dust.
Quickly they turned tail in flight, and none
But a few returned to his people from the army.

Talib b. Abu Talib b. Abdul-Muttalib said:

Know you not what happened in the war of Dahis
And Abu Yaksum's army when it filled the pass?
But for the help of God the Sole Existent One
You would have been unable to save your lives.

Abu al-Salt b. Abu Rabia al-Thaqafi referring to the elephant and to the
Hanafi religion being that of Abraham said:

The signs of our Lord arc illuminating.
None but infidels doubt them.
Night and Day were created and all
Is abundantly plain, its reckoning is fixed.
Then the merciful Lord revealed the day
By the sun whose rays are seen everywhere.
He held the elephant fast in al-Mughammas until
It sank to the ground as though it were hamstrung.
Its trunk curled ring-wise; it lay motionless as;
A boulder flung down from Kabkab's rocks.
Round it Kinda's kings, warriors,
Mighty hawks in war.
They abandoned it and departed headlong
All of them; the shank of each one of them was broken.
In God's sight at the Resurrection every religion
But that of the hanif is doomed to perdition.

When Abraha died his son Yaksum became king of the Abyssinians.

(Tabari: Himyar and the tribes of Yaman were humiliated under the heel of the Abyssinians. They took their women and killed their men and seized their young men to act as interpreters.) When Yaksum b. Abraha died his brother Masruq b. Abraha reigned over the Abyssinians in the Yaman.

THE JOURNEY OF SAYF B. DHU YAZAN AND THE RULE OF WAHRIZ IN THE YAMAN

When the people of the Yaman had long endured oppression, Sayf b. Dhu Yazan the Himyarite, who was known as Abu Murra, went to the Roman emperor and complained to him of his troubles, asking him to drive out the Abyssinians and take over the country. He asked him to send what forces he pleased and promised him the kingdom of the Yaman (Yemenites).

The emperor paid no attention to his request, so he went to al-Numan b. al-Mundhir, who was Chosroes' governor at al-Hira and the surrounding country of Iraq. When he complained of the Abyssinians, al-Numan b. al-Mundhir told him that he paid a formal visit every year to Chosroes and he asked him to stay with him until then. Accordingly he took him with him and introduced him to Chosroes. Now he used to sit in his audience chamber which contained his crown. According to reports, his crown was like a huge grain-measure with rubies, pearls, and topazes set in gold and silver, suspended by a golden chain from the top of the dome in his hall of audience. Such was the weight of the crown that his neck could not bear it. He was hidden behind a robe until he sat on his throne; then his head was inserted into the crown, and when he was settled comfortably on his throne the robes were taken from him. Everyone who saw him for the first time fell to his knees in awe. When Sayf b. Dhu Yazan entered his presence he fell to his knees.

He said: 'O King, ravens 1 have taken possession of our country.' Chosroes asked, 'What ravens, Abyssinians or Sindians?' 'Abyssinians,' he replied, 'and I have come to you for help and that you may assume the kingship of my country.' He answered, 'Your country is far distant and has little to attract me; I cannot endanger a Persian army in Arabia and there is no reason why I should do so.' Then he made him a present of 10,000 drachmae sterling and invested him in a fine robe. Sayf went out with the silver and began to scatter it among the people; (Tabari: Boys and slaves of both sexes scrambled for the coins). When the king was told of this he thought it very extraordinary and sent for him and said, 'You mean to throw away a royal gift!' He answered: 'What use is silver to me? The mountains of my country from which I come are nothing but gold and silver.' This he said to excite his cupidity. Chosroes thereupon gathered his advisers together and asked their opinion about the man and his project.

One of them reminded the king that in his prisons there were men who were condemned to death. If he were to send them with him and they were killed, that would merely be the fate that he had determined for them; on the other hand, if they conquered the country he would have added to his empire. Thereupon Chosroes sent those who were confined in his prisons to the number of eight hundred men.

He put in command of them a man called Wahriz who was of mature age and of excellent family and lineage. They set out in eight ships, two of which foundered, so that only six reached the shores of Aden. Sayf brought ail the people that he could to. Wahriz saying, 'My foot is with your foot, we die or conquer together.' 'Right,' said Wahriz. Masruq b. Abraha the king of Yaman came out against him with his army, and Wahriz sent one of his sons to fight them so as to get experience in their way of fighting. His son was killed and he was filled with rage against them. When the men were drawn up in their ranks Wahriz said, 'Show me their king.' They said, 'Do you see a man on an elephant with a crown on his head and a red ruby on his forehead? That is their king.' 'Let him be,' he said, and they waited a long time and then he said, 'What is he riding now?' They said: 'He is now bestride a horse'; again they waited. He asked the same question and they said he*was bestride a mule. Said Wahriz: 'An ass is filly! A weak creature, and so is his kingdom. I will shoot him. If you see that his followers have not moved, then stand fast until I give you permission to advance, for I shall have missed the fellow.

But if you see the people flocking round him I shall have hit him, so fall upon them.' He then bent his bow (the story goes that it was so tough that no one but he could bend it) and ordered that his eyebrows be fastened back,' then he shot Masruq and split the ruby in his forehead and the arrow pierced his head and came out at the back of his neck. He fell off his mount and the Abyssinians gathered round him. When the Persians fell upon them, they fled and were killed as they bolted in all directions. Wahriz advanced to enter into Sana, and when he reached its gate he said that his standard should never be lowered and he ordered them to destroy the gate and went in with his flag flying.

Sayf b. Dhu Yazan al-Himyari said:

Men thought the two kings had made peace
And those who heard of their reconciliation found the matter was very grave.
We slew the prince Masruq and reddened the sands with blood.
The new prince, the people's prince,
Wahriz swore an oath that
He would drink no wine until he had captured prisoners and spoil.

Abu al-Salt b. Abu Rabia al-Thaqafi said:

Let those seek vengeance who are like Ibn Dhu Yazan
Who spent long years at sea because of his enemies,
When the time for his journey came he went to Caesar
But did not attain what he sought.
Then he turned to Chosroes after ten years,
Counting his life and money cheap,
Until he came bringing the Persians with him.
By my life you were swift in action,
What a noble band came out:
Never were their like seen among men!
Nobles, princes, mighty men, archers,
Lions who train their cubs in the jungle!
From curved bows they shot arrows
Stout as the poles of the howdah
Bringing the victim a speedy death.
You sent lions against black dogs,
Their fugitives are scattered all over the earth.
So drink your fill, wearing your crown,
On Ghumdan's top reclining in a house you have chosen.
Drink your fill, for they are dead,
And walk proudly today in your flowing robes.
Such are noble deeds! not two pails of milk mingled with water
Which afterwards become urine.

Adly b. Zayd al-Hiri, one of B. Tamlm, said:

What is there after San'a' in which once lived
Rulers of a kingdom whose gifts were lavish?
Its builder raised it to the flying clouds,
Its lofty chambers gave forth musk.
Protected by mountains against the attacks of enemies,
Its lofty heights unscalable.
Pleasant was the voice of the night owl there,
Answered at even by a flute player.
Fate brought to it the Persian army
With their knights in their train;
They travelled on mules laden with death,
While the asses' foals ran beside them
Until the princes saw from the top of the fortress
Their squadrons shining with steel,
The day that they called to the barbarians and al-Yaksiim
'Cursed be he who runs away!'
'Twas a day of which the story remains,
But a people of long established1 dignity came to an end.
Persians2 replaced the native born,
The days were dark and mysterious.
After noble sons of Tubba,
Persian generals were firmly settled there.

(Tabari: When Wahriz had conquered the Yaman and driven out the Abyssinians he wrote to Chosroes telling him of what had been done and sending him captured treasure. In his reply the king told him to appoint Sayf king of the Yaman. He also gave Sayf instructions to collect taxes every year and to remit them to him. He summoned Wahriz to his presence and Sayf became king, he being the son of Dhu Yazan of the Kings of the Yaman. This is what Ibn Humayd told me from Salama on the authority of Ibn Ishaq.)

(When Wahriz had gone to Chosroes and made Sayf king of the Yaman, the latter began to attack the Abyssinians, killing them and slaying the women with child until he exterminated all but an insignificant number of miserable creatures whom he employed as slaves and runners to go before him with their lances. Before very long he was out with these armed slaves when suddenly they surrounded him and stabbed him to death. One of them established himself as leader and they went through the Yaman slaying and laying waste the country. When the Persian king heard of this he sent Wahriz with 4,000 Persians and ordered him to kill every Abyssinian or child of an Abyssinian and an Arab woman, great or small, and not leave alive a single man with crisp curly hair. Wahriz arrived and in due course carried out these instructions and wrote to tell the king that he had done so. The king then gave him viceregal authority and he ruled under Chosroes until his death.)

THE END OF THE PERSIAN AUTHORITY IN THE YAMAN (Yemen)

Wahriz and the Persians dwelt in the Yaman, and the Abna who are in the Yaman today are descended from the survivors of that Persian army. The period of Abyssinian domination from the entry of Aryat to the death of Masruq ibn Abraha at the hands of the Persians and the expulsion of the Abyssinians was seventy-two years. The successive princes were four, Aryat, Abraha, Yaksum, and Masruq.

It is said that on a rock in the Yaman there was an inscription dating from olden times:

To whom belongs the kingdom of Dhimar?
To Himyar the righteous.
To whom belongs the kingdom of Dhimar?
To the evil Abyssinians.
To whom belongs the kingdom of Dhimar?
To the free Persians.
To whom belongs the kingdom of Dhimar?
To (the) Quraysh the merchants.
Dhimar means the Yaman or Sana

Al-Asha of B. Qays b. Thalaba said when the words of Satih and his companion were fulfilled:

'No woman has ever seen, as she saw, the truth like the truth of al-Dhibi when he prophesied.' The Arabs called him al-

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Dhibi because he was the son of Rabia b. Masud b. Mazin b. Dhib.

THE DESCENDANTS OF NIZAR B. MA'ADD

Nizar b. Maadd begat three sons: Mudar, Rabia, and Anmar. Anmar was the father of Khatham and Bajila. Jarir b. Abdullah al-Bajali who was chief of the Bajila (of whom someone said: 'But for Jarir, Bajila would have perished. A fine man and a poor tribe') said when he was appealing against al-Furafisa al-Kalbi to al-Aqra b. Habis al-Tamimi b. Iqal b. Mujashi b. Darim b. Malik b. Hanzala b. Malik b. Zayd Manat:

O Aqra b. Habis, O Aqra,
If thy brother is overthrown thou wilt be overthrown.

and said:

Ye two sons of Nizar help your brother.
My father I wot is your father.
A brother who is your ally will not be worsted this day.

They went to the Yaman and remained there.

Mudar b. Nizar begat two sons: Ilyas and Aylan. Ilyls begat three sons: Mudrika, Tabikha, and Qama. Their mother was Khindif, a Yamanite woman.

The name of Mudrika was 'Amir and the name of Tabikha was Amr. There is a story that when they were pasturing their camels they hunted some game and sat down to cook it, when some raiders swooped upon their camels. Amir said to Amr: 'Will you go after the camels or will you cook this game?' Amr replied that he would go on cooking, so Amir went after the camels and brought them back. When

they returned and told their father he said to Amir: 'You are Mudrika (the one who overtakes), and to Amr he said 'You are Tabikha' (the cook).

When their mother heard the news she came hurriedly from her tent and he said: 'You arc trotting!' (khandafa = a quick, ambling, halfrunning gait) and so she was called Khindif.

As to Qama the genealogists of Mudar assert that Khuza'a was one of the sons of Amr b. Luhayy b. Qama b. Ilyas.

THE STORY OF AMR B. LUHAYY AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE IDOLS OF THE ARABS

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr b. Mohammed b. Amr b. Hazm on the authority of his father told me as follows: I was told that the apostle of God said:

'I saw Amr b. Luhayy dragging his intestines in hell, and when I asked him about those who had lived between his time and mine he said that they had perished.'

Mohammed b. Ibrahim b. al-Harith al-Tamimi told me that Abu Salih al-Samman told him that he heard Abu Hurayra say: I heard the apostle of God saying to Aktham b. al-Jaun al-Khuzai, 'O Aktham I saw 'Amr b. Luhayy b. Qama b. Khindif dragging his intestines in hell, and never did I see two men so much alike as you and he!' 'Will this resemblance injure me?' asked Aktham. 'No,' said the apostle, 'for you are a believer and he is an infidel. He was the first to change the religion of Ishmael, to set up idols, and institute the custom of the bahira, saiba, wasila, and hami.'

They say that the beginning of stone worship among the sons of Ishmael was when Mecca became too small for them and they wanted more room in the country. Everyone who left the town took with him a stone from the sacred area to do honour to it. Wherever they settled they set it up and walked round it as they went round the Kaaba. This led them to worship what stones they pleased and those which made an impression on them. Thus as generations passed they forgot their primitive faith and adopted another religion for that of Abraham and Ishmael. They worshipped idols and adopted the same errors as the peoples before them. Yet they retained and held fast practices going back to the time of Abraham, such as honouring the temple and going round it, the great and little pilgrimage, and thestanding on Arafa and Muzdalifa, sacrificing the victims, and the pilgrim cry at the great and little pilgrimage, while introducing elements which had no place in the religion of Abraham. Thus, Kinana and (the) Quraysh used the pilgrim cry: 'At Thy service, O God, at Thy service! At Thy service, Thou without an associate but the associate Thou hast. Thou ownest him and what he owns.' They used to acknowledge his unity in their cry and then include their idols with God, putting the ownership of them in His hand. God said to Mohammed: 'Most of them do not believe in God without associating others with Him,' i.e. they do not acknowledge My oneness with knowledge of My reality, but they associate with Me one of My creatures.

The people of Noah had images to which they were devoted. God told His apostle about them when He said: 'And they said, "Forsake not your gods; forsake not Wudd and Suwa and Yaghuth and Yauq and Nasr." And they had led many astray.' Among those who had chosen those idols and used their names as compounds when they forsook the religion of Ishmael—both Ishmaelites and others—was Hudhayl b. Mudrika b. Ilyas b. Mudar. They adopted Suwa and they had him in Ruhat; and Kalb b. Wabra of Quda'a who adopted Wudd in Dumatul-Jandal. Kab b. Malik al-Ansari said:

We forsook al-Lat and al-Uzza and Wudd.
We stripped off their necklaces and earrings.

An'um of Tayyi' and the people of Jurash of Madhhij adopted Yaghuth in Jurash.

Khaywan, a clan of Hamdan, adopted Ya uq in the land of Hamdan in the Yaman.

Dhul-Kala of Himyar adopted Nasr in the Himyar country.

Khaulan had an idol called Ammanas in the Khaulan country. According to their own account they used to divide their crops and cattle between it and Allah. If any of Allah's portion which they had earmarked for him came into Ammanas's portion they left it to him; but if any of 'Ammanas's portion was in Allah's portion they returned it to him. They are a clan of Khaulan called al-Adim. Some say that it was concerning them that God revealed: 'They assign to Allah of the [crops] and cattle he has created a portion; and they say this is Allah's—in their assertion—and this is for our partners. Thus what is for their partners does not reach Allah and what is for Allah goes to their partners—Evil is their judgement!' The B. Milkan b. Kinana b. Khuzayma b. Mudrikab. Ilyas b. Mudar had an image called Sad, a lofty rock in a desert plain in their country. They have a story that one of their tribesmen took some of his stock camels to the rock to stand by it so as to acquire its virtue. When the camels, which were grazing-camels that were not ridden, saw the rock and smelt the blood which had been shed on it they shied from it and fled in all directions. This so angered the Milkanite that he seized a stone and threw it at the idol saying, 'God curse you. You have scared away my camels!' He went in search of them, and when he had collected them together once more he said:

We came to Sad to improve our fortunes
But Sad dissipated them. We have nothing to do with Sad.
Sad is nothing but a rock on a bare height.
It cannot put one right or send one wrong.

Daus had an idol belonging to Amr b. Humama al-Dausi.

(The) Quraysh had an idol by a well in the middle of the Kaaba called Hubal.

And they adopted Isaf (or Asaf) and Naila by the place of Zamzam, sacrificing beside them. They were a man and a woman of Jurhum—Isaf b. Baghy and Naila d. Dik —who were guilty of sexual relations in the Kaaba and so God transformed them into two stones.

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr b. Mohammed b. Amr b. Hazm on the authority of Amra d. Abdul-Rahman b. Sad b. Zurara that she said, 'I heard Aisha say, "We always heard that Isaf and Naila were a man and a woman of Jurham who copulated in the Kaaba so God transformed them into two stones." But God alone knows if this is the truth.' Abu Talib said:

Where the pilgrims make their camels kneel
Where the waters flow from Isaf and Naila.

Every household had an idol in their house which they used to worship. When a man was about to set out on a journey he would rub himself against it as he was about to ride off: indeed that was the last thing he used to do before his journey; and when he returned from his journey the first thing he did was to rub himself against it before he went in to his family. When God sent Mohammed with the message of monotheism (the) Quraysh said: 'Would he make the gods into one God? That is indeed a strange proceeding!'

Now along with the Kaaba the Arabs had adopted Tawaghit, which were temples which they venerated as they venerated the Kaaba. They had their guardians and overseers and they used to make offerings to them as they did to the Kaaba and to circumambulate them and sacrifice at them. Yet they recognized the superiority of the Kaaba because it was the temple and mosque of Abraham the friend (of God).

(The) Quraysh and the B. Kinana had al-Uzza in Nakhla, its guardians and overseers were the B. Shayban of Sulaym, allies of the Beni Hashim (Mohammed's clan; See: Hashemites).

An Arab poet said:

Asma was given as a dowry the head of a little red cow
Which a man of the Banu Ghanm had sacrificed.
He saw a blemish in her eye when he led her away
To al-Uzza's slaughter-place (Ghabghab) and divided her into goodly portions.

Their practice when they sacrificed was to divide the victim among the worshippers present. Ghabghab was the slaughter-place where the blood was poured out.

[Azr. i. 74: Amr b. Luayy put al-Uzza in Nakhla, and when they had finished their hajj and the circumambulation of the Kaaba they continued to be under taboo until they came to al-Uzza and had gone round it; there they abandoned the pilgrim taboo and stayed a day beside it. It belonged to Khuzaa. All Quraysh and B. Kinana used to venerate al-Uzza along with Khuzaa, and all Mudar. Her sddins who used to guard (hajab) her were B. Shayban of B. Sulaym, allies of B. Hashim. Cf. I.H. 839.]

Al-Lat belonged to Thaqif in Taif, her overseers and guardians being B. Muattib of Thaqif. Manat was worshipped by al-Aus and al-Khazraj and such of the people of Yathrib (Medina) as followed their religion by the sea-shore in the direction of al-Mushallal in Qudayd.'

[Azr. i. 73. Amr b. Luayy set up Manat on the sea-shore near Qudayd. Azd and Ghassan went on pilgrimage to it and revered it. When they had made the compass of the Kaaba and hastened from Arafat and completed the rites at Mina they did not shave their hair until they got to Manat, to whom they would cry Labbayki. Those who did so did not go round between al-Safa and al-Marwa to the place of the two idols Nahlk Mujawid al-Rih and Mutim al-Tayr. This clan of the Ansar used to begin the ceremony by hailing Manat, and when they went on the great or little pilgrimage they would not go under the shelter of a roof until they had completed it. When a man was under taboo as a pilgrim (ahrama) he would not enter his house; if he needed something in it he would climb the wall behind his house so that the door should not cover his head. When God brought Islam and destroyed the doings of paganism He sent down concerning that: 'Piety does not consist in entering your houses from the rear but in fearing God'. Manat belonged to al-Aus and al-Khazraj and Ghassan of al-Azd and such of the population of Yathrib and Syria who followed their religion. Manat was on the sea-shore in the neighbourhood of al-Mushallal in Qudayd.]

Dhul-Khalasa belonged to Daus, Khatham, and Bajila and the Arabs in their area in Tabala.'

[Azr. i. 73: Amr b. Luayy set up al-Khalasa in the lower part of Mecca. They used to put necklaces on it, and bring gifts of barley and wheat. They poured milk on it, sacrificed to it, and hung ostrich eggs on it. Amr set up an image on al-Safa called Nahik Mujawid al-Rih, and one on al-Marwa called Mutim al-Tayr.]

Fals belonged to Tayyi and those hard by in the two mountains of Tayyi, Salma and Aja. Himyar and the Yamanites had a temple in Sana called Riam. Ruda was a temple of B. Rabia b. Kab b. Sad b. Zayd Manat b. Tamim. Al-Mustaughir b. Rabia b. Kab b. Sad when he destroyed it in the time of Islam said:

I smashed Ruda so completely that
I left it a black ruin in a hollow.

Dhul-Ka'abat belonged to Bakr and Taghlib the two sons of Wail and Iyad in Sindad. Of it Asha of B. Qays b. Thalaba said:

Between al-Khawarnaq and al-Sadir and Bariq
And the temple Dhul-Kaabat of Sindad.

THE BAHIRA, SAIBA, WASILA AND HAMI

The Bahira is the filly of the Saiba: the Saiba is the she camel which gives birth to ten fillies without an intervening colt. She is set free, is never ridden, her hair is not shorn, and only a guest is allowed to drink her milk.

If she gives birth to a filly after that its ear is split and it is allowed to go its way with its mother, not ridden, hair unshorn, and only a guest may drink her milk as in the case of her mother. Such is the Bahira, the filly of the Saiba. The Wasila is an ewe which has ten twin ewes in successive births without a male lamb intervening. She is made a Wasila. They use the expression wasalat. Any ewes which she gives birth to after that belong to the males, except that if one of them dies all share in eating it, both males and females (78).

The Hami is a stallion who is the sire of ten successive fillies without an intervening colt. His back is taboo and he is not ridden; his hair is not shorn and he is left to run among the camels to mount them. Beyond that no use is made of him (79).

When God sent his apostle Mohammed he revealed to him: 'God has not made Bahira, or Saiba or Wasila or Hami, but those who disbelieve invent a lie against God, though most of them do not know it.'

And again:

'They say, What is in the wombs of these sheep is reserved for our males and prohibited to our wives; but if it is (born) dead they share in it. He will repay them for such division, verily He is knowing and wise.' Again: 'Say, have you considered what provision God has sent down to you and you have made some of it taboo and some of it permitted? Say, has God given you permission or do you invent lies against God?' And again: 'Of the sheep two and of the goats two. Say, has He prohibited the two males or the two females, or what the wombs of the two females contain? Inform me with knowledge if you speak the truth. And of the camels two and of the cattle two. Say, has He prohibited to you the two males or the two females, or that which the wombs of the two females contain, or were you witnesses when God enjoined this upon you ? Who is more sinful than those who invent a lie against God to make men err without knowledge? Verily God will not guide the wrong-doing people' (80).

59 CONTINUATION OF THE GENEALOGIES5

Khuzaa say: We are the sons of Amr b. Amir from the Yaman (81). Mudrika b. al-Ya's had two sons, Khuzayma and Hudhayl, their mother being a woman of Qudaa. Khuzayma had four sons: Kinana, Asad, Asada, and al-Hun. Kinana's mother was Uwana d. Sad b. Qays b. Aylan b. Mudar (82).

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Kinana had four sons: al-Nadr, Malik, 'Abdu Manat, and Milkan. Nadr's mother was Barra d. Murr b. Udd b. Tabikha b. al-Ya's b. Mudar; the other sons were by another woman (83).

It is said that (the) Quraysh got their name from their gathering together after they had been separated, for gathering together may be expressed by taqarrush*.

(* The text is at fault somewhere. Ibn Ishaq's comment follows naturally on what has gone before, but has nothing to do with what he is last reported as having written. The significant words are al-Nadr is Quraysh'; but these are attributed to Ibn Hisham and nerther W. nor C. make any mention of a variant reading qdla bmi Ithaq. We can at least be certain that what Ibn Ishaq had to tell us about the origin of 'Quraysh' is not to be found in the Sira as it stands, though Tabari makes another attempt in his quotation from the lost passages of Ibn Ishaq They were named after Quraysh b. Badr b. Yakhlud b. al-Harith b. Yakhlud b. al-Nadr b. Kinana who was called Quraysh because he put to shame the B. al-Nadr. Whenever they appeared the Arabs said, 'The shame of Quraysh has come.' Tabari goes on (1104) to give the right explanation that the name means 'shark'. Doubtless it is a totem name like so many of the old tribal names in Arabia.)

Al-Nadr b. Kinana had two sons, Malik and Yakhlud. Malik's mother was Atika d. Adwan b. Amr b. Qays b. Aylan, but I do not know whether she was Yakhlud's mother or not (84).

Malik b. al-Nadr begat Fihr b. Malik, his mother being Jandala d. al-Harith b. Mudad al-Jurhumi (85). (Tabari: There was war between Fihr Tand Hassan b. 'Abdu Kalal b. Mathub Dhu Hurath al-Himyari who had come from the Yaman with the tribesmen meaning to take back to Yaman the stones of the Kaaba so as to divert the pilgrimage to the Yaman. He got as far as Nakhla, raided cattle, and closed the roads, but he was afraid to enter Mecca. When (the) Quraysh, Kinana, Khuzayma, Asad, and Judham and other unknown elements of Mudar perceived this they marched against them under the leadership of Fihr b. Malik. A sharp engagement followed in which Himyar were defeated and Hassan was taken prisoner by Fihr's son al-Harith. Among those killed in battle was his grandson Qays b. Ghalib b. Fihr. Hassan remained a prisoner for two years until he paid his ransom. He was then released and died on the way to the Yaman.)

Fihr begat four sons: Ghalib, Muharib, al-Harith, and Asad, their mother being Layla d. Sad b. Hudhayl b. Mudrika (86).

Ghalib b. Fihr had two sons, Luayy and Taym, their mother being Salma d. Amr al-Khuzai Taym were called the Banul-Adram (87).

Lu'ayy b. Ghalib had four "sons: Kab, Amir, Sama, and Auf; themother of the first three was Mawiya d. Kab b. al-Qayn b. Jasr of Qudaa (88).

THE STORY OF SAMA

Sama b. Luayy went forth to Uman and remained there. It is said that Amir b. Luayy drove him out because there was a quarrel between them and Sama knocked out Amir's eye. In fear of Amir he went to Uman. The story goes that while Sama was riding on his she-camel she lowered her head to graze and a snake seized her by the lip and forced her downwards until she fell on her side. Then the snake bit Sama so that he died. The story goes that when Sama felt death upon him he said:

Eye, weep for Sama b. Luayy.
The clinging snake has clung to Sama's leg.
Never have I seen such a victim of a camel
As Sama b. Luayy when they came upon him.
Send word to Amir and Kab,
That my soul yearneth for them.
Though my home be in Uman
I am a Ghalibi, I came forth not driven by poverty.
Many a cup hast thou spilt, O b. Luayy,
For fear of death, which otherwise would not have been spilt.
Thou didst wish to avoid death, O b. Luayy,
But none has power to avoid death.
Many a camel silent on night journeys didst thou leave prostrate
After its prodigious exertion (89).

THE MIGRATION OF AUF B. LUAYY

It is alleged that Auf b. Luayy went out with a caravan of (the) Quraysh as far as the district of Ghatafan b. Sad b. Qays b. Aylan when he was left behind and his tribesmen went on without him. Thalaba b. Sad (he being his brother according to the kindred reckoning of B. Dhubyan, Thalaba b. Sad b. Dhubyan b. Baghld b. Rayth b. Ghatafan and Auf b. Sad b. Dhubyan b. Baghid b. Rayth b. Ghatafan) came to him, bound him to himself, gave him a wife, and took him into his tribe as a blood-brother. His relationship became well known among B. Dhubyan. It was Thalaba, they say, who said to Auf when he lagged behind and his tribe abandoned him:

Tether your camel by me, O Ibn Luayy.
Your tribe has left you and you have no home.

Mohammed b. Jafar b. al-Zubayr, or it may have been Mohammed b. Abd al-Rahman b. Abdullah b. Husayn, told me that 'Ulnar b. al-Khattab said: 'If I were to claim to belong to any tribe of the Arabs or to want to attach them to us I would claim to belong to B. Murra b. Auf. We know that among them there are men like ourselves. We know, too, where that man went,' meaning Auf b. Luayy. In the genealogy of Ghatafan he is Nurra b. Auf b. Sad b. Dhubyan b. Baghid b. Rayth b. Ghatafan. If this genealogy is mentioned to them they themselves say, 'We do not deny or contest it; it is our most prized genealogy.'

Al-Harith b. Zalim b. Jadhima b. Yarbu —one of B. Murra b. Auf —when he fled from al-Numan b. al-Mundhir and clave to (the) Quraysh said:

My tribe is not Thalaba b. Sad
Nor Fazara the long-haired.
My tribe if you must ask is the Banu Luayy.
In Mecca they taught Mudar to fight.
We were foolish in following the Banu Baghid
And leaving our next-of-kin and family.
'Twas the folly of the water-seeker who, his fill drunk,
Throws away the water and goes after a mirage.
Od's life if I had my way I should be with them
And not be found seeking pasture from place to place.
Rawaha the Qurayshite mounted me on his camel
And sought no reward for it (90).

Al-Husayn b. al-Humam al-Murrl, one of B. Sahm b. Murra, said, refuting al-Harith b. Zalim and claiming to belong to Ghatafan:

Lo, you are not of us and we have nought to do with you.
We repudiate relationship with Luayy b. Ghalib.
We dwell on the proud heights of al-Hijaz while you
Are in the verdant plain between the two mountains,

meaning Quraysh. Afterwards al-Husayn repented of what he had said and recognised the truth of the words of al-Harith b. Zalim. He claimed to belong to Quraysh and, accusing himself of falsehood, he said:

I repent of what I said before:
I realise that it was the speech of a liar.
Would that my tongue were in two,
Half of it dumb and the other half singing your praise (Lit. 'in the course of the stars'.)
Our father a Kinani, in Mecca is his grave,
In the verdant plain of al-Batha between the mountains.
We own a fourth of the sanctuary as an inheritance
And a fourth of the plains by the house of Ibn Hatib,

meaning that the B. Luayy were four: Kab, Amir, Sama, and Auf.

A person whom I cannot suspect told me that Umar b. al-Khattab said to men of B. Murra: 'If you wish to return to your kindred do so' (The importance of the genealogical tables is bound up with the control of pay and pensions. It was Caliph Umar who ordered that registers should be compiled.).

The tribe were nobles among Ghatafan; they were their chiefs and leaders. Of them were Harim b. Sinan b. Abu Haritha b. Murra b. Nushba; Kharija b. Sinan b. Abu Haritha; al-Harith b. Auf al-Husayn b. al-Humam; and Hashim b. Harmala of whom someone has said:

Hashim b. Harmala revived his father (He brought him to life as it were by taking revenge on his slayers.).
On the day of al-Haba'at and the day of al-Yamala (Two famous battles.)
You could see the kings slain beside him
As he slew the guilty and the innocent (i.e. he was not afraid of incurring a blood feud.) (91).

They were a people of a lively reputation among Ghatafan and Qays, and they retained their relationship with them. Among them the practice of Basl obtained.

According to reports Basl is the name given to eight months of the year which the Arabs unreservedly regard as sacred. During those months they may go wherever they like without fear of violence. Zuhayr b. Abu Sulma said with reference to B. Murra (92):

Think! If they are not in al-Marurat in their dwellings
Then they will be in Nakhl (Either a place in Nejd, belonging to Ghatafan, or a place two nights' journey from Medina.),
A place where I have enjoyed their fellowship.
If they are in neither then they will be at large during the Basl.

He means that they will be travelling during the holy period. al-Asha of B. Qays b. Thalaba said:

Is your woman guest to be taboo to us
While our woman guest and her husband are open to you?

Kab b. Layy had three sons: Murra, Adiy, and Husays, their mother being Wahshiya d. Shayban b. Muharib b. Fihr b. Malik b. Nadr.

Murra b. Kab had three sons: Kilab, Taym, and Yaqaza. Kilab's mother was Hind d. Surayr b. Thalaba b. al-Harith b. Fihr b. Malik b. al-Nadr b. Kinana b. Khuzayma; Yaqaza's mother was al-Bariqiya, a woman of Bariq of the Asd of Yaman. Some say she was the mother of Taym; others say Taym's mother was Hind d. Surayr the mother of Kilab (93).

Kilab b. Murra had two sons: Qusayy and Zuhra, their mother being Fatima d. Sad b. Sayal one of B. Jadara of Juthuma of al-Azd of Yaman allies of B. Dil b. Bakr b. Abdu Manat b. Kinana (94).

Of Sad b. Sayal the poet says:

Never among men whom we know have we seen
A man like Sad b. Sayal.
Weapon in either hand full of vigour he rode
Dismounting to fight the dismounted on foot;
Charging he carried the enemy's horsemen with him
As the swooping hawk carries the partridge in its claws (95).

Qusayy b. Kilab had four sons and two daughters: Abdu Manaf,

Abdul-Dar, Abdul-Uzza, and Abdu Qusayy; and Takhmur and Barra.

Their mother was Hubba d. Hulayl b. Habashiya b. Salul b. Kab b.

Amr al-Khuzai (96).

Abdu Manaf whose name was al-Mughira b. Qusayy had four sons:

Hashim, Abdu Shams, al-Muttalib, their mother being Atika d. Murra b.

Hilal b. Falij b. Dhakwan b. Thalaba b. Buhtha b. Sulaym b. Mansur b.

Ikrima; and Naufal, whose mother was Waqida d. Amr al-Maziniya, i.e.

Mazin b. Mansur b. Ikrima (97).

THE DIGGING OF THE WELL ZAMZAM

While Abdul-Muttalib was sleeping in the sacred enclosure he had a vision in which he was ordered to dig Zamzam which is a depression between the two idols of Quraysh, Isaf and Naila, at the slaughter-place of Quraysh. Jurhum had filled it in at the time they left Mecca. It is the well of Ishmael the son of Abraham where God gave him water when he was thirsty as a little child. His mother went to seek water for him and could not find it, so she went up to al-Safa praying to God and imploring aid for Ishmael; then she went to al-Marwa and did the same. God sent Gabriel, who hollowed out a place in the earth with his heel where water appeared. His mother heard the cries of wild beasts which terrified her on his account, and she came hurrying towards him and found him scrabbling with his hand at the water beneath his cheek the while he drank, and she made him a small hole.

JURHUM AND THE FILLING IN OF THE WELL ZAMZAM

The story of Jurhum, of their filling in Zamzam, of their leaving Mecca, and of those who ruled Mecca after them until Abdul-Muttalib dug Zamzam, according to what Ziyad b. Abdullah al-Bakkai told me on the authority of Muhammed b. Ishaq al-Muttalibi, is that when Ishmael the son of Abraham died, his son Nabit was in charge of the temple as long as God willed, then it was in charge of Mudad b. Amr al-Jurhumi (98). The sons of Ishmael and the sons of Nabit were with their grandfather Mudad b. Amr and their maternal uncles of Jurhum—Jurhum and Qatura who were cousins being at that time the people of Mecca. They had come forth from the Yaman and travelled together and Mudad was over Jurhum and Samayda, one of their men, over Qatura. When they left the Yaman, they refused to go unless they had a king to order their affairs. When they came to Mecca they saw a town blessed w ith water and trees and, delighted with it, they settled there. Mudad b. 'Amr with the men of Jurhum settled in the upper part of Mecca in Quayqian and went no farther. Samayda with Qatura settled in the lower part of Mecca in Ajyad the lower part of Mecca, and went no farther. Mudad used to take a tithe from those who entered Mecca from above, while Samayda did the same to those who entered from below. Each kept to his own people, neither entering the other's territory.

Then Jurhum and Qatura quarrelled and contended for the supremacy in Mecca; at that time Mudad had with him the sons of Ishmael and Nabit, and he had the oversight of the temple as against Samayda. They went out to fight each other, Mudad from Quayqian with his horsemen making for Samayda equipped with spears, leather shields, swords and quivers, rattling as they charged. It is said that Qu'ayqi'an was so named for that reason. Samayda' went out from Ajyad with horse and foot, and it is said Ajyad got its name from the fine horses (jiydd) that formed Samayda's cavalry. The two parties met in Fadih, and after a severe battle Samayda was killed and Qatura' humiliated. It is said that the name Fadih was given for this reason. Then the people clamoured for peace and went on until they reached al-Matabikh, a ravine above Mecca; there they made peace and surrendered authority to Mudad. When he was in power and held sovereignty he slaughtered beasts for the people and gave them as food.

The people cooked and ate, and that is why the place is called Matabikh. Some learned people allege that the name was given because Tubba had slaughtered there and given the

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food away and it was his base. The dispute between Mudad and Samayda was the first open wrong committed in Mecca, at least so some allege.

Then God multiplied the offspring of Ishmael in Mecca and their uncles from Jurhum were rulers of the temple and judges in Mecca. The sons of Ishmael did not dispute their authority because of their ties of kindred and their respect for the sanctuary lest there should be quarrelling or fighting therein. When Mecca became too confined for the sons of Ishmael they spread abroad in the land, and whenever they had to fight a people, God gave them the victory through their religion and they subdued them.

THE TRIBES OF KINANA AND KHUZAA GET POSSESSION OF THE TEMPLE AND EXPEL JURHUM

Afterwards Jurhum behaved high-handedly in Mecca and made lawful that which was taboo. Those who entered the town who were not of their tribe they treated badly and they appropriated gifts which had been made

to the Kaaba so that their authority weakened. When B. Bakr b. Abdu Manat b. Kinana and Ghubshan of Khuzaa perceived that, they came together to do battle and drive them out of Mecca. War was declared and in the fighting B. Bakr and Ghubshan got the upper hand and expelled them from Mecca. Now in the time of paganism Mecca did not tolerate injustice and wrong within its borders and if anyone did wrong therein it expelled him; therefore it was called 'the Scorcher' (al-Nassa.), and any king who came to profane its sanctity died on the spot. It is said that it was called Bakka because it used to break the necks of tyrants when they introduced innovations therein (99).

Amr b. al-Harith b. Mudad al-Jurhami brought out the two gazelles of the Kaaba and the corner-stone and buried them in the well Zamzam, going away with the men of Jurhum to the Yaman. They were bitterly grieved at losing the kingship of Mecca, and the above-named Amr said:

Many a woman crying bitterly,
Her eyes swollen with weeping, said
Tis as though between al-Hajun (A mountain above Mecca.) and al-Safa there was
No friend and none to beguile the night's long hours in Mecca.
I said to her, while my heart within me palpitated
As though a bird fluttered between my ribs:
'Of a surety we were its people,
And grievous misfortunes have brought us to nought;
We were the lords of the temple after Nabit,
We used to go round the temple
Our prosperity plain to see.
We were in charge of the temple after Nabit in glory
And the man of plenty did not count with us.
We reigned in power, how great was our rule!
No other tribe there could boast.
Did you not marry a daughter to the best man I know? (i.e. Ishmael.)
His sons are ours, we being brothers by marriage.'
If the world turned against us
The world ever brings painful changes.
God5 drove us out by force; thus, O men,
Does destiny pursue its way.
I say when the carefree sleep, and I do not sleep,
'Lord of the throne, let not Suhayl and 'Amir perish!'
I was forced to look upon faces I do not like:
The tribes of Himyar and Yuhabir.
We became a legend after having been in prosperity.
That is what the passing years did to us.
The tears flow, weeping for a town
Wherein is a sure sanctuary and the sacred places.
Weeping for a temple whose doves unharmed,
Dwell safely there, with flocks of sparrows.
Wild creatures there are tame, unharried,
But leaving its sanctuary are hunted freely (100).

Amr b. al-Harith, remembering Bakr and Ghubshan and the townsmen
of Mecca whom they had left behind there, said also:
Journey forth, O men ; the time will come
When one day you will not be able to leave.
Hasten your beasts and loosen their reins,
Before death comes; and do what you must do.
We were men like you; fate changed us
And you will be as we once were (101).

THE DESPOTISM OF KHUZA'A IN THEIR CUSTODY OF THE TEMPLE

Then Ghubshan of Khuza'a controlled the temple instead of B. Bakr b. 'Abd Manat, the man who was controlling it being Amr b. al-Harith al-Ghubshanl. (The) Quraysh at that time were in scattered settlements, and tents (Or houses) dispersed among their people, B. Kinana. So Khuzaa possessed the temple, passing it on from son to son until the last of them, Hulayl b. Habashiya b. Salul b. Kab b. Amr al-Khuzai (102).

THE MARRIAGE OF QUSAYY B. KILAB WITH HUBBA DAUGHTER OF HULAYL

Qusayy b. Kilab asked Hulayl b. Hubshiya for his daughter Hubba. Hulayl agreed and gave her to him and she bare him 'Abd al-Dar, Abd Manaf, Abdul-Uzza, and Abd. By the time that the children of Qusayy had spread abroad and increased in wealth and reputation Hulayl died. Now Qusayy thought that he had a better claim than Khuzaa and B. Bakr to control the Kaaba and Mecca, and that (the) Quraysh were the noblest offering of Ishmael b. Abraham and the purest descendants of his sons.

He spoke to (the) Quraysh and Beni Kinana asking them to drive out Khuzaa and B. Bakr from Mecca and they agreed to do so.

Now Rabia b. Haram of Udhra b. Sad b. Zayd had come to Mecca after the death of Kilab and had married Fatima d. Sad b. Sayal. (Zuhra at that time was a grown man and stayed behind, while Qusayy had just been weaned.) Rabia took Fatima away to his land and she carried Qusayy with her, and subsequently gave birth to Rizah. When Qusayy reached man's estate he came to Mecca and dwelt there.

Thus it was that when his people asked him to join them in the war he wrote to his brother Rizah, who shared the same mother, asking him to come and support him. Thereupon Rizah set out accompanied by his halfbrothers Hunn, Mahmud, and Julhuma, all sons of Rabia but not by Fatima, together with a number of Qudaa among the Arab pilgrims, having agreed to support Qusayy.

Khuza'a allege that Hulayl b. Hubshiya had enjoined this on Qusayy when he saw how his daughter's children had multiplied, saying: 'You have a better right to the Kaaba and to rule in Mecca than Khuzaa, so that this was the reason why Qusayy acted as he did. But this is a story which we have not heard from any other source, and only God knows the truth.

(Tabari: When the people had assembled in Mecca and gone to the mauqif, completed the hajj and come down to Mini, Qusayy assembled his possessions and his followers from his own tribe of (the) Quraysh, the B. Kinana, and such of the Qudaa as were with him, there only remained the ceremony of dismissal.).

AL-GHAUTH'S AUTHORITY OVER MEN ON PILGRIMAGE

Al-Ghauth b. Murr b. Udd b. al-Yas b. Mudar used to give permission* to men on pilgrimage to leave Arafa, and this function descended to his children after him.

(* It seems possible that the Ijaza or "permission", i.e. the word of command that terminates the wocuf, was originally the permission to fall upon the slaughtered victims. In the Meccan pilgrimage the Ijaza which terminated the tvocuf at 'Arafa was the signal for a hot race to the neighbouring sanctuary of Mozdalifa, where the sacred fire of the god Cozah burned, it was, in fact, not so much the permission to leave Arafa as to draw near to Cozah. The race itself is called Ijada, which may mean "dispersion" or "distribution". It cannot well mean the former, for Arafa is not holy ground, but merely the point of assemblage just outside the Haram at which the ceremonies began, and the station at Arafa is only the preparation for the vigil at Mozdalifa. On the other hand, if the meaning is "distribution" the Ijada answers to the rush of Nilus's Saracens to partake of the sacrifice.')

He and his sons used to be called Sufa. Al-Ghauth used to exercise this function because his mother was a woman of Jurhum who had been barren and vowed to Allah that if she bore a son she would give him to the Kaaba as a slave to serve it and to look after it. In course of time she gave birth to al-Ghauth and he used to look after the Kaaba in early times with his Jurhum uncles and presided over the order of departure from Arafa because of the office which he held in the Kaaba. His sons carried on the practice until they were cut off.

Murr b. Udd, referring to the fulfilment of the mother's oath, said:
O Lord, I have made one of my sons
A devotee in Mecca the exalted.
So bless me for the vow fulfilled,
And make him the best of creatures to my credit.

Al-Ghauth, so they allege, used to say when he sent the people away:
O God I am following the example of others.
If that is wrong, the fault is Qudaa's.

Yahya b. Abbad b. Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from his father Abbad said:

Sufa used to send the people away from Arafa and give them permission to depart when they left Mina. When the day of departure arrived they used to come to throw pebbles, and a man of Sufa used to throw for the men, none throwing until he had thrown. Those who had urgent business used to come and say to him: 'Get up and throw so that we may throw with you,' and he would say, 'No, by God, not until the sun goes down'; and those who wanted to leave quickly used to throw stones at him to hurry him, saying, 'Confound you, get up and throw.' But he refused until the sun went down and then he would get up and throw while the men threw stones with him.

When they had finished the stoning and wanted to leave Mina, Sufa held both sides of the hill and kept the men back. They said: 'Give the order to depart, Sufa.' No one left until they had gone first. When Sufa left and had passed on, men were left to go their own way and followed them. This was the practice until they were cut off. After them the next of kin inherited.

They were of B. Sad in the family of Safwan b. al-Harith b. Shijna (103). It was Safwan who gave permission to the pilgrims to depart from Arafa, and this right was maintained by them up to Islam, the last being Karib b. Safwan.

Aus b. Tamim b. Maghra al-Sadi said:
The pilgrims do not quit their halting-place at 'Arafa
Until it is said, 'Give permission O family of Safwan.'

ADWAN AND THE DEPARTURE CEREMONY AT MUZDALIFA

Hurthan b. Amr the Adwanite who was called Dhul-Isba because he had a finger missing said:

Bring an excuse for the tribe of Adwan (i.e. 'for what they have done the one to the other'. They were rent by civil war.).'

They were the serpents of the earth (i.e. 'cunning and treacherous'.).
Some acted unlawfully against others
And some spared not others.
Some of them were princes
Who faithfully met their obligations.
Some used to give men the parting signal
By custom and divine command.
Of them was a judge who gave decisions
And his verdict was never annulled.

Since the permission to depart from Muzdalifa was with Adwan, as Ziyad b. Abdullah al-Bakkai told me on the authority of Mohammed b. Ishaq, they used to pass it on from father to son until the last of them when Islam came, Abu Sayyara 'Umayla b. al-A'zal, about whom a certain poet said:
We have defended Abu Sayyara
And his clients the Banu Fazara
Until he made his ass pass through safely
As he faced Mecca praying to its Guardian.

Abu Sayyara used to send away the people while sitting upon a she ass of his; that is why he says 'making his ass pass safely' (In this section the work of Ibn Ishaq and Ibn Hisham are not clearly distinguished. Probably the poem comes from the former and the comments from the latter.).

AMIR B. ZARIB B. AMR B. IYADH B. YASHKUR B. ADWAN

His words 'a judge who gave decisions' refers to the above-named. The Arabs used to refer every serious and difficult case to him for decision and would accept his verdict. Once it happened that a case in dispute in reference to a hermaphrodite was brought to him. They said, 'Are we to treat it as a man or a woman?' They had never brought him such a difficult matter before, so he said, 'Wait awhile until I have looked into the matter, for by Allah you have never brought me a question like this before.' So they agreed to wait, and he passed a sleepless night turning the matter over and looking at it from all sides without any result. Now he had a slave-girl Sukhayla who used to pasture his flock. It was his habit to tease her when she went out in the morning by saying sarcastically, 'You're early this morning, Sukhayla'; and when she returned at night he would say, 'You are late to-night, Sukhayla,' because she had gone out late in the morning and come back late in the evening after the others. Now when this girl saw that he could not sleep and tossed about on his bed she asked what his trouble was. 'Get out and leave me alone, for it is none of your business,' he retorted. However, she was so persistent that he said to himself that it might be that she would provide him with some solution of his problem, so he said: 'Well then, I was asked to adjudicate on the inheritance of a hermaphrodite (a person that has both, male and female, reproductive organs). Am I to make him a man or a woman?* By God I do not know what to do and I can see no way out.' She said, 'Good God, merely follow the course of the urinatory process.' 'Be as late as you please henceforth, Sukhayla; you have solved my problem,' said he. Then in the morning he went out to the people and gave his decision in the way she had indicated.

(* The point was important because a male received double as much as a female. Muslims, up to this very day, are obsessed with gender role and anything that has to do with it, for the very simple reason that Mohammed gave this guideline when he said: "The male shall have the equal of the portion of two females" [Koran: 4:11; 4:176] and: "A man is permitted to take women as sex slaves outside of marriage." Note that the verse distinguishes wives from "captives" [described by the phrase "those whom the right hand possesses"; Koran: 4:24; 33:50] Similar gender evaluations can be found in: Koran: 2:223; 4:3; 2:228; 2:282; 5:6; 53:27; Sira and Hadith: Ibn Ishaq 693; 734; 878; 969; Sahih Bukhari 2:28; 6:301; 6:301;

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54:464; 62:81; 62:58; Sahih Muslim 4:1039; Abu Dawud 2:704; 2155; Tabari 8:117; 9:137; 9:1754; Al-Tirmidhi 3272. These statements can be found in the Sharia Law too, described in the The Umdat al-Salik).

HOW QUSAYY B. KILAB GAINED POWER IN MECCA; HOW HE UNITED THE QURAYSH AND THE HELP WHICH QUDAF A GAVE HIM

In that year Sufa behaved as they were accustomed. The Arabs had borne them patientiy since they felt it a duty in the time of Jurhum and khuza a when they were in authority. Qusayy came to them with his tribesmen from (the) Quraysh and Kinana and Qudaa at al-Aqaba saying, 'We have a better right to this authority than you.' (Tabari: They disputed one with another and they tried to kill him.) Severe righting followed resulting in the defeat of Sufa, and Qusayy assumed their authority.

Thereupon Khuzaa and (the) B. Bakr withdrew from Qusayy knowing that he would impose the same restrictions on them as Sufa had done and that he would come between them and the Kaaba and the rule of Mecca. When they had withdrawn, Qusavy showed his hostility and gathered his forces to fight them. (Tabari: His brother Rizah b. Rabla with his men from Quda a stood with him.) Khuza a and B. Bakr came out against him and a severe battle took place in the valley of Mecca and both parties suffered heavily Thereupon they agreed to make peace and that one of the Arabs should arbitrate between them. They appointed as umpire Yamar b. Auf b. Kab b Amir b. Layth b. Bakr b. Abdu Manat b. Kinana. His verdict was that Qusayy had a better claim to the Kaaba and to rule Mecca than Khuza'a and that all blood shed by Qusayy was to be cancelled and compensation disregarded, but Khuzaa and B. Bakr must pay bloodwit for the men of (the) Quraysh, Kinana, and Qudaa whom they had killed and that Qusayy should be given a free hand with the Kaaba and Mecca. Ya mar b. Auf was immediately called al-Shaddakh because he had cancelled the claim to bloodwit and remitted it (104).

Thus Qusayy gained authority over the temple and Mecca and brought in his people from their dwellings to Mecca. He behaved as a king over his tribe and the people of Mecca, and so they made him king; but he had guaranteed to the Arabs their customary rights because he telt that it was a duty upon himself which he had not the right to alter. Thus he confirmed the family of Safwan and Adwan and the intercalators and Murra b. Auf in their customary rights which obtained until the coming of Islam when God put an end thereby to them all. Qusayy was the first of (the) B. Kab b. Luayy to assume kingship and to be obeyed by his people as king. He held the keys of the temple, the right to water the pilgrims from the well of Zamzam, to feed the pilgrims, to preside at assemblies, and to hand out the war banners. In his hands lay all the dignities of Mecca; he divided the town into quarters among his people and he settled all the Quraysh into their houses in Mecca which they held.

People assert that the Quraysh were afraid to cut down the trees of the sanctuary in their quarters, but Qusayy cut them down with his own hand or through his assistants. (The) Quraysh called him the 'uniter' because he had brought them together and they drew a happy omen from his rule. So far as (the) Quraysh were concerned no woman was given in marriage, no man married, no discussion about public affairs was held, and no banner of war was entrusted to anyone except in his house, where one of his sons would hand it over. When a girl reached marriageable age she had to come to his house to put on her shift. The shift was split over her head in his house, then she put it on and was taken away to her people (The dir was a large piece of cloth. Normally a woman cuts an opening through which she can put her head. She then adds sleeves and sews up the two sides.). His authority among the Quraysh during his life and after his death was like a religious law which could not be infringed. He chose for himself the house of meeting and made a door which led to the mosque of the Kaaba; in it the Quraysh used to settle their affairs (105).

Abdul-Malik b. Rashid told me that his father said that he heard al-Saib b. Khabbab, author of al-Maqsura, reporting that he heard a man telling Umar b. al-Khattab when he was caliph the story of Qusayy, how he united (the) Quraysh and expelled Khuzia and B. Bakr from Mecca, and how he gained control of the temple and the affairs of Mecca. Umar made no attempt to gainsay him. (Tabari: Qusayy's authority in Mecca, where he enjoyed great esteem, remained uncontested. He left the pilgrimage unchanged because he deemed it a religious taboo. The Sufa continued, until they were cut off, in the family of Safwan b. al-Harith b. Shijna by right of inheritance. Adwan, the Nasa of B. Malik b. Kinana, and Murra b. Auf continued as before until Islam came and God destroyed all these offices.)

When Qusayy's war was over his brother Rizah b. Rabla went away to his own land with his countrymen. Concerning his response to Qusayy he composed the following poem:

When a messenger came from Qusayy
And said 'Respond to your friend's request,'
We sprang to his aid leading our horses,
Casting from us the half-hearted and slow-moving.
We rode all night until the dawn
Hiding ourselves by day lest we should be attacked.
Our steeds were swift as grouse hurrying to water
Bringing our answer to the call of Qusayy.

We collected tribesmen from Sirr and the two Ashmadhs (It is disputed whether these are two tribes or two mountains between Medina and Khaybar.)
From every tribe a clan.
What a fine force of cavalry that night,
More than a thousand, swift, smooth-paced!
When they passcel by al-Asjad
And took the easy road from Mustanakh
And passed by the edge of Wariqan
And passed by al-Arj, a tribe encamped there,
They passed by the thornbushes without cropping them (The reading is uncertain; 'they passed by water without tasting it', as some Manuscripts propose, is improbable.)
Running hard the livelong night from Marr.
We brought the colts near their mothers
That their neighing might be gentle,
And when we came to Mecca we
Subdued the men tribe by tribe.
We smote them there with the edge of the sword
And with every stroke we deprived them of their wits.
We trod them down with our horses' hooves
As the strong tread down the weak and helpless.
We killed Khuza a in their homeland
And Bakr we killed group by group.
We drove them from God's land,
We would not let them possess a fertile country.
We kept them bound in iron fetters (It seems improbable that such a rare and valuable metal would be used for such a purpose at this date.)
On every tribe we quenched our vengeance.

Thalaba b. Abdullah b. Dhubyan b. al-Harith b. Sad Hudhaym Qudai said concerning Qusayy's invitation and their response:

We urged on our slender high-stepping horses
From the sandhills, the sandhills of al-Jinab
To the lowlands of Tihama, and we met our foe
In a barren depression of a desert.
As for Sufa the effeminate,
They forsook their dwellings in fear of the sword.
But the sons of Ali when they saw us
Leaped to their swords like camels that yearn for home.

Qusayy b. Kilab said:
I am the son of the protectors, the B. Luayy,
In Mecca is my home where I grew up.
Mine is the valley as Ma'add knows,
Its Marwa I delight in.
I should not have conquered had not
The sons of Qaydhar and Nablt settled there.
Rizah was my helper and through him I am great,
I fear no injustice as long as I live.

When Rizah was established in his country God increased him and Hunn in numbers. (They are the two tribes of Udhra today.) Now when he came to his country there had been a matter in dispute between Rizah on the one hand and Nahd b. Zayd and Hautaka b. Aslum on the other, they being two clans of Quda'a. He put them in fear so that they clave to the Yaman and left the Quda'a country and remain in the Yaman to this day. Now Qusayy was well disposed to Quda'a and wanted them to increase and be united in their land because of his kinship with Rizah and because of their goodwill to him when they responded to his appeal for help. He disliked what Rizah had done to them and said:

Who will tell Rizah from me
That I blame him on two accounts,
1 blame you for the Banu Nahd b. Zayd
Because you drove a wedge between them and me,
And for Hautaka b. Aslum; of a truth
He who treats them badly has badly treated me (106).

When Qusayy grew old and feeble, he spoke to Abdul-Dar. He was his first born but (Tabari: they say he was weak) Abdu Manaf had become famous during his father's lifetime and done all that had to be done along with Abdul-Uzza and Abd. He said: 'By God, my son I will put you on a par with the others; though they have a greater reputation than yours; none of them shall enter the Kaaba until you open it for them; none shall give the Quraysh the war banner but you with your own hand; none shall drink in Mecca except you allow it; and no pilgrim shall eat food unless you provide it; and (the) Quraysh shall not decide any matter except in your house.'

He gave him his house, it being the only place where (the) Quraysh could settle their affairs, and he gave him the formal rights mentioned above.

The Rifada was a tax which (the) Quraysh used to pay from their property to Qusayy at every festival. With it he used to provide food for the pilgrims who were unable to afford their own provisions. Qusayy had laid this as a duty upon (the) Quraysh, saying: 'You are God's neighbours, the people of his temple and sanctuary. The pilgrims are God's guests and the visitors to His temple and have the highest claim on your generosity; so provide food and drink for them during the pilgrimage until they depart out of your territory.' Accordingly they used to pay him every year a tax on their flocks and he used to provide food for the people therefrom, while they were at Mina, and his people carried out this order of his during the time of ignorance until Islam came. To this very day it is the food which the sultan provides every year in Mina until the pilgrimage is over.

My father Ishaq b. Yasar from al-Hasan b. Mohammed b. Ali b. Abu Talib told me about this affair of Qusayy's and what he said to Abdul-Dar concerning the transfer of his power to him in these words, 'I heard him saying this to a man of B. Abdul-Dar called Nubaih b. Wahb b. Amir b. Ikrima b. Amir b. Hashim b. Abdu Manaf b. Abdul-Dar b. Qusayy.' al-Hasan said: 'Qusayy gave him all the authority that he had over his people. Qusayy was never contradicted nor was any measure of his overthrown.'

THE RIFT IN THE QURAYSH AFTER QUSAYY AND THE CONFEDERACY OF THE SCENTED ONES

After the death of Qusayy his sons assumed his authority over the people and marked out Mecca in quarters, after he had allotted space there for his own tribe. They allotted quarters among their people and among other allies, and sold them. (The) Quraysh took part in this with them without any discord or dispute. Then the sons of Abdu Manaf — Abdu Shams and Hashim and al-Muttalib and Naufal—agreed to seize the rights that the sons of Abdul-Dar possessed which Qusayy had given to Abdul-Dar himself, namely those mentioned above. They considered that they had a better right to them because of their superiority and their position among their people. This caused dissension among (the) Quraysh, one section siding with B. Abdu Manaf, and the other with B. Abdul-Dar. The former held that the new claimants had a better right; the latter that rights which Qusayy had given to one branch should not be taken away from them. The leader of B. Abdu Manaf was Abdu Shams, because he was the eldest son of his father; and the leader of B. Abdul-Dar was Amir b. Hashim b. Abdu Manaf b. Abdul-Dar. The B. Asad b. Abdul-Uzza b. Qusayy and B. Zuhra b. Kilab and B. Taym b. Murra b. Kab and B. al-Harith b. Fihr b. Malik b. al-Nadr were with B. Abdu Manaf, while with B. Abdul-Dar were B. Makhzum b. Yaqaza b. Murra, and B. Sahm b. Amr b. Husays b. Kab and B. Jumah b. Amr b. Husays b. Kab and B. Adiyy b. Kab. The men who remained neutral were Amir b. Luayy and Muharib. b. Fihr.

They all made a firm agreement that they would not abandon one another and would not betray one another as long as the sea wetted seaweed.

The B. Abdu Manaf brought out a bowl full of scent (they assert that some of the women of the tribe brought it out to them) and they put it for their allies in the mosque beside the Kaaba; then they dipped their hands into it and they and their allies took a solemn oath. Then they rubbed their hands on the Kaaba strengthening the solemnity of the oath.

For this reason they were called the Scented Ones.

The other side took a similar oath at the Kaaba and they were called the Confederates. Then the tribes formed groups and linked up one with another. The B. Abdu Manaf were ranged against B. Sahm; B. Asad against B. Abdul-Dar; Zuhra against B. Jumah; B. Taym against B. Makhzum; and B. al-Harith against Adiyy b. Kab. They ordered that each tribe should exterminate the opposing units.

When the people had thus decided on war, suddenly they demanded peace on the condition that B. Abdu Manaf should be given the rights of watering the pilgrims and collecting the tax; and that access to the Kaaba, the standard of war, and the assembly house, should belong to the Abdul-Dar as before. The arrangement commended itself to both sides and was carried out, and so war was prevented. This was the state of affairs until God brought Islam, when the apostle of God said, 'Whatever alliance there was in the days of ignorance Islam strengthens it.'

THE CONFEDERACY OF THE FUDUL*

(* Fudul is explained as meaning that the confederates did not allow wrongdoers to retain any stolen property. Fudul sometimes means 'remains of spoil'. Another and somewhat far-fetched explanation is that this covenant was modelled on an older covenant of the same character in which three men each with the name of Fadl took part.)

Ziyad b. Abdullah al-Bakkai related to me the following as from Ibn Ishaq: The tribes of (the) Quraysh decided to make a covenant and assembled for that purpose in the house of Abdullah b. Judan b. Amr b. Kab b. Sad b. Taym b. Murra b. Kab b. Luayy because of his seniority and the high reputation he enjoyed. Those party to the agreement with him were B. Hashim, B. l-Muttalib, Asad b. Abdul-Uzza, Zuhra b. Kilab, and Taym b. Murra. They bound themselves by a solemn

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agreement that if they found that anyone, either a native of Mecca or an outsider, had been wronged they would take his part against the aggressor and see that the stolen property was restored to him. (The) Quraysh called that confederacy 'The Confederacy of the Fudul'.

Mohammed b. Zayd b. al-Muhajir b. Qunfudh al-Tayml told me that he heard Talha b. Abdullah b. Auf al-Zuhri say: The apostle of God said, 'I witnessed in the house of Abdullah b. Judan a covenant which I would not exchange for any number of fine camels: if I were invited to take part in it during Islam I should do so.'

Yazid b. Abdullah b. Usama b. al-Hadi al-Laythi told me that Mohammed b. Ibrahim b. al-Harith al-Tayml told him that there was a dispute between al-Husayn b. Ali b. Abu Talib and al-Walid b. Utba b. Abu Sufyan about some property they held in Dhul-Marwa. At that time al-Walid was governor of Medina, his uncle, Muawiya b. Abu Sufyan having given him the appointment. Al-Walid had defrauded al-Husayn of his rights, for as governor he had the power to do so. Husayn said to him: 'By God you shall do me justice or I will take my sword and stand in the apostle's mosque and invoke the confederacy of the Fudul!' Abdullah b. al-Zubayr who was with al-Walid at the time said: 'And I swear by God that if he invokes it I will take my sword and stand with him until he gets justice, or we will die together.' When the news reached al-Miswar b. Makhrama b. Naufal al-Zuhrl and Abdul-Rahman b. Uthman b. Ubaydullah al-Taymi they said the same. As soon as he realised what was happening al-Walid gave al-Husayn satisfaction.

This same Yazid, on the same authority, told me that Mohammed b. Jubayr b. Mutim b. Adiyy b. Naufal b. Abdu Manaf, who was the most learned of the Quraysh, met Abdul-Malik b. Marwan b. al-Hakam when he had killed Ibn al-Zubayr and the people had gathered against Abdul-Malik. When he went in to see him he said: O Abu Said, were not we and you—meaning B. Abdu Shams b. Abdu Manaf and B. Naufal b. Abdu Manaf — partners in the confederacy of the Fudul?' 'You should know best,' he replied. Abdul-Malik said, 'No, you tell me, Abu Said, the truth of the matter.' He answered: 'No, by God, you and we kept out of that!' 'You are right,' said Abdul-Malik.

Hashim b. Abdu Manaf superintended the feeding and watering of the pilgrims because 'Abdu Shams was a great traveller who was seldom to be found in Mecca; moreover he was a poor man with a large family, while Hashim was a well-to-do man. It is alleged that when the pilgrims were there he got up and addressed (the) Quraysh thus: 'You are God's neighbours and the people of His temple. At this feast there come to you God's visitors and pilgrims to His temple. They are God's guests, and His guests have the best claim on your generosity; so get together what food they will need for the time they have to stay here. If my own means were sufficient I would not lay this burden upon you.' Thereupon they taxed themselves each man according to his capacity and used to provide food for the pilgrims until they left Mecca.

It is alleged that Hashim was the first to institute the two caravan journeys of (the) Quraysh, summer and winter, and the first to provide tharid (broth in which bread is broken up) in Mecca. Actually his name was Amr, but he was called Hashim because he broke up bread in this way for his people in Mecca. A Quraysh poet, or one of the Arabs, composed this poem:

Amr who made bread-and-broth for his people,
A people in Mecca who suffered lean years.
He it was who started the two journeys,
The winter's caravan and the summer's train (107).

Hashim b. Abdu Manaf died in Ghazza in the land of Syria while travelling with his merchandise, and al-Muttalib b. Abdu Manaf assumed the right of feeding and watering the pilgrims. He was younger than Abdu Shams and Hashim. He was held in high esteem among his people, who called him al-Fayd on account of his liberality and high character.

Hashim had gone to Medina and married Salma d. Amr, one of B. Adiyy b. al-Najjar. Before that she had been married to Uhayha b. al-Julah b. al-Harish b. Jahjaba b. Kulfa b. Auf b. Amr b. Auf b. Malik b. al-Aus and bore him a son called Amr. On account of the high position she held among her people she would only marry on condition that she should retain control of her own affairs. If she disliked a man she left him.

To Hashim she bore Abdul-Muttalib and called his name Shayba.

Hashim left him with her while he was a little boy. Then his uncle al-Muttalib came to take him away and bring him up among his people in his town. But Salma declined to let him go with him. His uncle argued that his nephew was now old enough to travel and was as an exile away from his own tribe who were the people of the temple, of great local reputation, holding much of the government in their hands. Therefore it was better for the boy that he should be among his own family, and therefore he refused to go without him. It is popularly asserted that Shayba refused to leave his mother without her consent; and this she ultimately gave. So his uncle took him away to Mecca, riding behind him on his camel, and the people cried: 'It's al-Muttalib's slave whom he has bought' and that is how he got the name of Abdul-Muttalib. His uncle called out: 'Rubbish!

This is my nephew whom I have brought from Medina.'

Subsequently al-Muttalib died in Radman in the Yaman, and an Arab mourned him in the following lines:

Thirsty are the pilgrims now al-Muttalib is gone.
No more bowls with overflowing brims.
Now that he is gone would that (the) Quraysh were in torment!

Matrud b. Kab al-Khuzai wrote this elegy over al-Muttalib and all the sons of Abdu Manaf when the news came that Naufal the last of them was dead:

O night! most miserable night,
Disturbing all other nights,
With thoughts of what I suffer
From sorrow and the blows of fate.
When I remember my brother Naufal,
He reminds me of days gone by,
He reminds me of the red waist-sashes,
The fine new yellow robes.
There were four of them, everyone a prince,
Sons and grandsons of princes.
One dead in Radman, one in Salman,
A third lies near Ghazza,
A fourth lies in a grave by the Kaaba
To the east of the sacred buildings.
Abdu Manaf brought them up virtuously
Safe from the reproof of all men.
Yea there are none like Mughira's children
Among the living or the dead.

Abdu Manaf's name was al-Mughira. Hashim was the first of his sons to die at Ghazza in Syria, followed by Abdu Shams in Mecca, then al-Muftalib in Radman in the Yaman (Yemen), and lastly Naufal in Salman in Iraq. It was said to Matrud—at least they assert so—'Your lines are very good, but if you had done more justice to the theme they would have been still better.' 'Give me a night or two,' he replied, and after a few days he produced the following:

O eye, weep copiously, pour down thy tears,
Weep over Mughira's sons, that noble breed of Ka'b,
O eye, cease not to weep thy gathering tears,
Bewail my heartfelt sorrow in life's misfortunes.
Weep over all those generous trustworthy men,
Lavish in gifts, munificent, bounteous,
Pure in soul, of high intent,
Firm in disposition, resolute in grave affairs,
Strong in emergency, no churls, not relying on others,
Quick to decide, lavish in generosity.
If Kab's line is reckoned, a hawk,
The very heart and summit of their glory,
Weep for generosity and Muttalib the generous,
Release the fountain of thy tears,
Gone from us in Radman today as a foreigner,
My heart grieves for him among the dead.
Woe to you, weep if you can weep,
For Abdu Shams on the east of the Kaaba,
For Hashim in the grave in the midst of the desert
Where the wind of Ghazza blows o'er his bones.
Above all for my friend Naufal
Who found in Salman a desert grave.
Never have I known their like, Arab or foreigner,
When their white camels bore them along.
Now their camps know them no more
Who used to be the glory of our troops.
Has time annihilated them or were their swords blunt,
Or is every living thing food for the Fates?
Since their death I have come to be satisfied
With mere smiles and friendly greetings.
Weep for the father of the women with dishevelled hair
Who weep for him with faces unveiled as camels doomed to die (The word, 'camels doomed to die' refer to the she-camel which used to be tethered by the grave of her dead master until she died of hunger and thirst. The heathen Arabs believed he would ride her in the next world.).
They mourn the noblest man who ever walked,
Bewailing him with floods of tears.
They mourn a man generous and liberal,
Rejecting injustice, who settled the greatest matters.
They weep for Amr al-Ula ('The lofty one') when his time came,
Benign was his nature as he smiled at the night's guests.
They weep prostrated by sorrow,
How long was the lamentation and woe!
They mourned him when time exiled them from him,
Their faces pale like camels denied water.
With their loins girded because of fate's hard blows.
I passed the night in pain watching the stars
I wept and my little daughters wept to share my grief.
No prince is their equal or peer,
Among those left behind none are like their offspring.
Their sons are the best of sons,
And they are the best of men in the face of disaster.
How many a smooth running fast horse have they given,
How many a captive mare have they bestowed,
How many a fine mettled Indian sword,
How many a lance as long as a well rope,
How many slaves did they give for the asking,
Lavishing their gifts far and wide.
Were I to count and others count with me
I could not exhaust their generous acts;
They are the foremost in pure descent
Wherever men boast of their forbears,
The ornament of the houses which they left
So that they have become solitary and forsaken,
I say while my eye ceases not to weep,
May God spare the unfortunate (family)! (108)

By the 'father of the women with dishevelled hair' the poet means Hashim b. Abdu Manaf.

Following his uncle al-Muttalib, Abdul-Muttalib b. Hashim took over the duties of watering and feeding the pilgrims and carried on the practices of his forefathers with his people. He attained such eminence as none of his forefathers enjoyed; his people loved him and his reputation was great among them.

THE DIGGING OF ZAMZAM

While Abdul-Muttalib was sleeping in the hijr (The hijr is the semicircular spot between the wall called Hatim and the Kaaba, which is said to contain the graves of Hagar and Ishmael. Cf. Azraqi, 28a f.), he was ordered in a vision to dig Zamzam. Yazid b. Abu Habib al-Misri from Marthad b. Abdullah al-Yazani from Abdullah b. Zurayr al-Ghafiqi told me that he heard Ali b. Abu Talib telling the story of Zamzam. He said that Abdul-Muttalib said: 'I was sleeping in the hijr when a supernatural visitant came and said, "Dig Tiba". I said "And what is Tiba?"; then he left me. I went to bed again the next day and slept, and he came to me and said "Dig Barra"; when I asked what Barra was he left me. The next day he came and said "Dig al-Madnuna"; when I asked what that was he went away again. The next day he came while I was sleeping and said "Dig Zamzam". I said, "What is Zamzam?"; he said:

'Twill (= it will) never fail or ever run dry,
'Twill water the pilgrim company.
It lies 'twixt (= betwixt = between) the dung and the flesh bloody*,
By the nest where the white-winged ravens fly,
By the nest where the ants to and fro do ply.'

(* The language is characteristic of Arabian oracles composed in doggerel known as Saj. The words 'between the dung and the blood' occur in the Koran, Sura 16, verse 68. 'We give you to drink of what is in their bellies between the faeces and the blood, pure milk easily swallowed by the drinkers.' But this throws no light on the meaning of the passage here, which plainly has a local significance. Abu Dharr passed it by without comment. Al-Suhayli, p. 98, sees that the term must go with the two following terms, and serve to show exactly where Zamzam was to be found. He therefore repeats a story to the effect that Abdul-Muttalib saw the ants' nest and the ravens' nest when he went to dig the well, but saw neither dung nor blood. At that moment a cow escaped her would-be butcher and entered the haram. There she was slaughtered, and where the dung and blood flowed, Abdul-Muttalib proceeded to dig. This gallant attempt to explain the ancient oracle cannot be accepted for the reason that it gives no point to the precise reference that the well was to be found between the dung and the blood, which in this story obviously must have occupied pretty much the same space, and indeed would render the following indications superfluous by giving the exact site. Most probably, therefore, we should assume that the sacrificial victims were tethered at a certain spot and there they would void ordure before they were led to the foot of the image at which they were slaughtered. A point between these two spots is more closely defined by the ants' and the ravens' neat.)

When the exact spot had been indicated to him and he knew that it corresponded with the facts, he took a pick-axe and went with his son al-Harith —for the had no other son at that time— and began to dig. When the top of the well appeared he cried Allah akbar! (Allah is great!)' Thus (the) Quraysh knew that he had obtained his object and they came to him and said, 'This is the well of our father Ishmael, and we have a right to it, so give us a share in it.' 'I will not,' he answered, 'I was specially told of it and not you, and I was the one to be given it.' They said: 'Do us justice, for we shall not leave you until we have got a judicial decision in the matter.' He said: 'Appoint anyone you like as umpire between us.' He agreed to accept a woman diviner of B. Sad Hudhaym, who dwelt in the uplands of Syria. So

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Abdul-Muttalib, accompanied by some of his relations and a representative from all the tribes of (the) Quraysh, rode away. They went on through desolate country between the Hijaz and Syria until Abdul-Muttalib's company ran out of water and they feared that they would die of thirst.

They asked the Quraysh tribes to give them water, but they refused, on the ground that if they gave them their water they too would die of thirst. In his desperation Abdul-Muttalib consulted his companions as to what should be done, but all they could do was to say that they would follow his instructions: so he said, 'I think that every man should dig a hcle for himself with the strength that he has left so that whenever a man dies his companions can thrust him into the hole and bury him until the last man, for it is better that one man should lie unburied than a whole company.' They accepted his advice and every man began to dig a hole for himself. Then they sat down until they should die of thirst. After a time Abdul-Muttalib said to his companions, 'By God, to abandon ourselves to death in this way and not to scour the country in search of water is sheer incompetence; perhaps God will give us water somewhere. To your saddles!' So they got their beasts ready while the Quraysh watched them at work. Abdul-Muttalib went to his beast and mounted her and when she got up from her

knees a flow of fresh water broke out from beneath her feet. Abdul-Muttalib and his companions, crying 'Allah akbar!', dismounted and drank and filled their water-skins. Then they invited the Quraysh to come to the water which God had given them and to drink freely. After they had done so and filled their water-skins they said: 'By God, the judgement has been given in your favour Abdul-Muttalib. We will never dispute your claim to Zamzam. He who has given you water in this wilderness is He who has given you Zamzam. Return to your office of watering the pilgrims in peace.' So they all went back without going to the diviner. This is the story which I heard as from Ali b. Abu Talib about Zamzam and I have heard one report on Abdul-Muftalib's authority that when he was ordered to dig Zamzam it was said to him:

Then pray for much water as crystal clear
To water God's pilgrims at the sites they revere
As long as it lasts you have nothing to fear.

On hearing these words he went to the Quraysh and said, 'You know that I have been ordered to dig Zamzam for you,' and they asked, 'But have you been told where it is?' When he replied that he had not, they told him to go back to his bed where he had the vision and if it really came from God it would be made plain to him; but if it had come from a demon, he would not return to him. So Abdul-Muttalib went back to his bed and slept and received the following message:

Dig Zamzam, 'twill not to your hopes give lie,
'Tis (= it is) yours from your father eternally.

'Twill never fail or ever run dry,
'Twill water the pilgrim company
Like an ostrich flock a fraternity,
Their voice God hears most graciously.
A pact most sure from days gone by
Nought like it canst thou descry,
It lies 'twixt the dung and the flesh bloody (109)*.

(* As these lines are in part identical with those mentioned above, clearly this is a rival account of the vision.)

It is alleged that when this was said to him and he inquired where Zamzam was, he was told that it was by the ants' nest where the raven will peck tomorrow, but God knows how true this is. The next day Abdul Muttalib with his son al-Harith, who at that time was his only son, went and found the ants' nest and the raven pecking beside it between the two idols Isaf and Naila at which (the) Quraysh used to slaughter their sacrifices. He brought a pick-axe and began to dig where he had been commanded. (The) Quraysh seeing him at work came up and refused to allow him to dig between their two idols where they sacrificed. Abdul-Muttalib then told his son to stand by and protect him while he dug, for he was determined to carry out what he had been commanded to do. When they saw that he was not going to stop work they left him severely alone. He had not dug deeply before the stone top of the well appeared and he gave thanks to God knowing that he had been rightly informed. As digging went further, he found the two gazelles of gold which Jurhum had buried there when they left Mecca. He also found some swords and coats of mail from Qala*. (* A mountain in Syria, though other sites have been suggested. See Yaqut.)

(the) Quraysh claimed that they had a right to share in this find. Abdul-Muttalib denied this, but was willing to submit the matter to the sacred lot. He said that he would make two arrows for the Kaaba, two for them, and two for himself. The two arrows which came out from the quiver would determine to whom the property belonged. This was agreed, and accordingly he made two yellow arrows for the Kaaba, two black ones for himself, and two white ones for (the) Quraysh. They were then given to the priest in charge of the divinatory arrows, which were thrown beside Hubal. (Hubal was an image in the middle of the Kaaba, indeed the greatest of their images. It is that referred to by Abu Sufyan ibn Harb at the battle of Uhud when he cried 'Arise Hubal', i.e. Make your religion victorious!)

Abdul-Muttalib began to pray to God, and when the priest threw the arrows the two yellow ones for the gazelles came out in favour of the Kaaba. The two black ones allotted the swords and coats of mail to Abdul-Muttalib, and the two arrows of (the) Quraysh remained behind. Abdul-Muttalib made the swords into a door for the Kaaba and overlaid the door with the gold of the gazelles. This was the first golden ornament of the Kaaba, at any rate so they allege. Then Abdul-Muttalib took charge of the supply of Zamzam water to the pilgrims.

WELLS BELONGING TO THE CLANS OF THE QURAYSH IN MECCA

Before the digging of Zamzam (the) Quraysh had already dug wells in Mecca, according to what Ziyad b. Abdullah al-Bakkai told me from Mohammed b. Ishaq. He said that Abdu Shams b. Abdu Manaf dug al-Tawiy which is a well in the upper part of Mecca near al-Bayda, the house of Mohammed b. Yusuf al-Thaqafi.

Hashim b. Abdu Manaf dug Badhdhar which is near al-Mustandhar, a spur of Mount al-Khandama at the mouth of the pass of Abu Talib. They allege that when he had dug it he said: 'I will make it a means of subsistence for the people' (110).

He* dug Sajla which is a well belonging to al-Mutim b. Adly b. Naufal b. Abdu Manaf which is still used today. (* The editor has been untidy here. Commentators point out that Hashim did not dig this well, and al-Suhayli quotes a poem beginning 'I am Quaayy and I dug Sajla'.) The B. Naufal allege that al-Mutim bought it from Asad b. Hashim, while B. Hashim allege that he gave it to him when Zamzam was uncovered and people had no further use for the other wells.

Umayya b. Abdu Shams dug al-Hafr for himself. The B. Asad b. Abdul-Uzza dug Suqayya (Neither Yiqut (iii. 105 and 305) nor the ancients knew whether the well was called Suqayya or Shufayya. Azr. ii. 177 names only Shufayya.) which belongs to them. The B. Abdul-Dar dug Uram Ahrad. The B. Jumah dug al-Sunbula which belongs to Khalaf b. Wahb. The B. Sahm dug al-Ghamr which belongs to them.

There were some old wells outside Mecca dating from the time of Murra b. Kab and Kilab b. Murra from which the first princes of (the) Quraysh used to draw water, namely Rumm and Khumm. Rumm was dug by Murra b. Kab b. Luayy, and Khumm by B. Kilab b. Murra, and so was al-Hafr (It has just been said that Umayya b. Abdu Shams dug al-Hafr. Yiqut says Hafr . . . belongs to B. Taym b. Murra . . . al-Hazimi spelt it Jafr.' This may account for the inconsistency, as it seems that there were two wells, Hafr and Jafr, in Mecca.).

There is an old poem of Hudhayfa b. Ghanim, brother of B. Adly b. Kab b. Luayy (in), which runs:

In the good old days we were long satisfied
To get our water from Khumm or al-Hafr.

Zamzam utterly eclipsed the other wells from which the pilgrims used to get their water, and people went to it because it was in the sacred enclosure and because its water was superior to any other; and, too, because it was the well of Ismail b. Ibrahim. Because of it B. Abdu Manaf behaved boastfully towards (the) Quraysh and all other Arabs.

Here are some lines of Musafir b. Abu Amr b. Umayya b. Abdu Shams b. Abdu Manaf boasting over (the) Quraysh that they held the right of watering and feeding the pilgrims, and that they discovered Zamzam, and that B. Abdu Manaf were one family in which the honour and merit of one belonged to all:

Glory came to us from our fathers.
We have carried it to greater heights.
Do not we give the pilgrims water
And sacrifice the fat milch camels?
When death is at hand we are found
Brave and generous.
Though we perish (for none can live for ever)
A stranger shall not rule our kin.
Zamzam belongs to our tribe.
We will pluck out the eyes of those who look enviously at us.

Hudhayfa b. Ghanim [mentioned above] said:

(Weep for him) who watered the pilgrims, son of him who broke bread,
And Abdu Manaf that Fihri lord.
He laid bare Zamzam by the Maqam,
His control of the. witter was a prouder boast than any man's (112).

ABDUL MUTTALIB'S VOW TO SACRIFICE HIS SON

It is alleged, and God only knows the truth, that when Abdul-Muttalib encountered the opposition of (the) Quraysh when he was digging Zamzam, he vowed that if he should have ten sons to grow up and protect him, he would sacrifice one of them to God at the Kaaba. Afterwards when he had ten sons who could protect him he gathered them together and told them about his vow and called on them to keep faith with God. They agreed to obey him and asked what they were to do. He said that each one of them must get an arrow, write his name on it, and bring it to him: this they did, and he took them before Hubal in the middle of the Kaaba. (The statue of) Hubal* stood by a well there. It was that well in which gifts made to the Kaaba were stored. (* Tabari adds the statue of Hubal being the greatest or most revered of the idols of the Quraysh in Mecca.).

Now beside Hubal there were seven arrows, each of them containing some words. One was marked 'bloodwit'. When they disputed about who should pay the bloodwit they cast lots with the seven arrows and he on whom the lot fell had to pay the money. Another was marked 'yes', and another 'no', and they acted accordingly on the matter on which the oracle had been invoked. Another was marked 'of you'; another mulsaq (Not a member of the tribe.), another 'not of you'; and the last was marked 'water'. If they wanted to dig for water, they cast lots containing this arrow and wherever it came forth they set to work. If they wanted to circumcise a boy, or make a marriage, or bury a body, or doubted someone's genealogy, they took him to Hubal with a hundred dirhams and a slaughter camel and gave them to the man who cast the lots; then they brought near the man with whom they were concerned saying, 'O our god this is A the son of B with whom we intend to do so and so; so show the right course concerning him.' Then they would say to the man who cast the arrows 'Cast!' and if there came out 'of you' then he was a true member of their tribe; and if there came out 'not of you' he was an ally; and if there came out mulsaq he had no blood relation to them and was not an ally. Where 'yes' came out in other matters, they acted accordingly; and if the answer was 'no' they deferred the matter for a year until they could bring it up again. They used to conduct their affairs according to the decision of the arrows.

Abdul-Muttalib said to the man with the arrows, 'Cast the lots for my sons with these arrows', and he told him of the vow which he had made.

Each man gave him the arrow on which his name was written. Now Abdullah was his father's youngest son, he and al-Zubayr and Abu Talib were born to Fatima d. Amr b. Aidh b. Abd b. Imran b. Makhzum b. Yaqaza b. Murra b. Kab b. Luayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr (113). It is alleged that Abdullah was Abdul-Muttalib's favourite son, and his father thought that if the arrow missed him he would be spared. (He was the father of the apostle of Allah.) When the man took the arrows to cast lots with them, Abdul-Muttalib stood by Hubal praying to Allah. Then the man cast lots and Abdullah's arrow came out. His father led him by the hand and took a large knife; then he brought him up to Isaf and Naila (Tabari: two idols of (the) Quraysh at which they slaughtered their sacrifices) to sacrifice him; but (the) Quraysh came out of their assemblies and asked what he was intending to do. When he said that he was going to sacrifice him they and his sons said 'By God! you shall never sacrifica him until you offer the greatest expiatory sacrifice for him. If you do a thing like this there will be no stopping men from coming to sacrifice their sons, and what will become of the people then?' Then said al-Mughira b. Abdullah b. Amr b. Makhzum b. Yaqaza, Abdullah's mother being from his tribe, 'By God, you shall never sacrifice him until you offer the greatest expiatory sacrifice for him. Though his ransom be all our property we will redeem him.' (the) Quraysh and his sons said that he must not do it, but take him to the Hijaz* for there there was a sorceress who had a familiar spirit, and he must consult her. (* The region of which Medina was the centre. See: Lammens, l'Arabic Occidentals 300 f.). Then he would have liberty of action. If she told him to sacrifice him, he would be no worse off; and if she gave him a favourable response, he could accept it. So they went off as far as Medina and found that she was in Khaybar, so they allege. So they rode on until they got to her, and when Abdul-Muttalib acquainted her with the facts she told them to go away until her familiar spirit visited her and she could ask him. When they had left her Abdul-Muttalib prayed to Allah, and when they visited her the next day she said, 'Word has come to me. How much is the blood money among you?' They told her that it was ten camels, as indeed it was. She told them to go back to their country and take the young man and ten camels. Then cast lots for them and for him; if the lot falls against your man, add more camels, until your lord is satisfied. If the lot falls against the camels then sacrifice them in his stead, for your lord will be satisfied and your client escape death. So they returned to Mecca, and when they had agreed to carry out their instructions, Abdul-Muttalib was praying to Allah. Then they brought near 'Abdullah and ten camels while Abdul-Muttalib stood by Hubal praying to Allah. Then they cast lots and the arrow fell against Abdullah. They added ten more camels and the lot fell against Abdullah, and so they went on adding ten at a time, until there were one hundred camels, when finally the lot fell against them. (The) Quraysh and those who were present said, 'At last your lord is satisfied Abdul-Muttalib.' 'No, by God,* he answered (so they say), 'not until I cast lots three times.' This they did and each time

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the arrow fell against the camels. They were duly slaughtered and left there and no man was kept back or hindered (from eating them) (114).

OF THE WOMAN WHO OFFERED HERSELF IN MARRIAGE TO ABDULLAH B. ABDUL-MUTTALIB

Taking Abdullah by the hand Abdul-Muttalib went away and they passed—so it is alleged—a woman of B. Asad b. Abdul-Uzza b. Qusayy b. Kilab b. Murra b. Kab b. Luayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr who was the sister of Waraqa b. Naufal b. Asad b. Abdul-Uzza, who was at the Kaaba. When she looked at him she asked, 'Where are you going Abdullah?' He replied, 'With my father.' She said, 'If you will take me you can have as many camels as were sacrificed in your stead.' 'I am with my father and I cannot act against his wishes and leave him', he replied.

Abdul-Muttalib brought him to Wahb b. Abdu Manaf b. Zuhra b. Kilab b. Murra b. Kab b. Luayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr who was the leading man of B. Zuhra in birth and honour, and he married him to his daughter Amina, she being the most excellent woman among the Quraysh in birth and position at that time. Her mother was Barra d. Abdul-Uzza b. Uthman b. Abdul-Dar b. Qusayy b. Kilab b. Murra b. Kab b. Luayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr. Barra's mother was Umm Habib d. Asad b. Abdul-Uzza b. Qusayy by Kilab b. Murra b. Kab b. Luayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr. Umm Habib's mother was Barra d. Auf b. Ubayd b. Uwayj b. Adiy b. Kab b. Luayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr.

It is alleged that Abdullah consummated his marriage immediately and his wife conceived the apostle of God (Mohammed). Then he left her presence and met the woman who had proposed to him. He asked her why she did not make the proposal that she made to him the day before; to which she replied that the light that was with him the day before had left him, and she no longer had need of him. She had heard from her brother Waraqa b. Naufal, who had been a Christian and studied the scriptures, that a prophet would arise among this people.

My father Ishaq b. Yasar told me that he was told that Abdullah went in to a woman that he had beside Amina d. Wahb when he had been working in clay and the marks of the clay were on him. She put him off when he made a suggestion to her because of the dirt that was on him. He then left her and washed and bathed himself, and as he made his way to Amina he passed her and she invited him to come to her. He refused and went to Amina who conceived Mohammed. When he passed the woman again he asked her if she wanted anything and she said 'No! When you passed me there was a white blaze between your eyes and when I invited you you refused me and went in to Amina, and she has taken it away.'

It is alleged that that woman of his used to say that when he passed by her between his eyes there was a blaze like the blaze of a horse. She said:

'I invited him hoping that that would be in me, but he refused me and went to Amina and she conceived the apostle of God.' So the apostle of God was the noblest of his people in birth and the greatest in honour both on his father's and his mother's side. God bless and preserve him!

WHAT WAS SAID TO AMINA WHEN SHE HAD CONCEIVED THE APOSTLE

It is alleged in popular stories (and only God knows the truth) that Amina d. Wahb, the mother of God's apostle, used to say when she was pregnant with God's apostle that a voice said to her, *You are pregnant with the lord of this people and when he is born say, "I put him in the care of the One from the evil of every envier; then call him Mohammed."' As she was pregnant with him she saw a light come forth from her by which she could see the castles of Busra in Syria. Shortly afterwards 'Abdullah the apostle's father died while his mother was still pregnant.

THE BIRTH OF THE APOSTLE AND HIS SUCKLING

The apostle was born on Monday, 12th Rabiul-awwal, in the year of the elephant. Al-Mutfalib b. Abdullah who had it from his grandfather Qays b. Makhrama said, 'I and the apostle were born at the same time in the year of the elephant.' (Tabari: It is said that he was born in the house known as Ibn Yusuf's; and it is said that the apostle gave it to Aqil b. Abu Talib who kept it until he died. His son sold it to Mohammed b. Yusuf, the brother of al-Hajjaj, and he incorporated it in the house he built. Later Khayzuran separated it therefrom and made it into a mosque.) (Guillame: Khayzuran was the wife of the caliph al-Mahdi (158-69), and as he did not give her her freedom until after his accession and Ibn Ishaq died a few years before in the reign of Mansur, it would seem unlikely that Ibn Ishaq should have recorded this tradition.).

Salih b. Ibrahim b. Abdul-Rahman b. Auf b. Yahya b. Abdullah b. Abdul-Rahman b. Sad b. Zurara al-Ansari said that his tribesmen said that Hassan b. Thabit said: 'I was a well-grown boy of seven or eight, understanding all that I heard, when I heard a Jew calling out at the top of his voice from the top of a fort in Yathrib (Medina) "O company of Jews" until they all came together and called out "Confound you, what is the matter?" He answered: "Tonight has risen a star under which Ahmad is to be born."

I asked Said b. Abdul-Rahman b. Hassan b. Thabit how old Hassan was when the apostle came to Medina and he said he was sixty when the apostle came, he being fifty-three. So Hassan heard this when he was seven years old.

After his birth his mother sent to tell his grandfather Abdul-Muttalib that she had given birth to a boy and asked him to come and look at him.

When he came she told him what she had seen when she conceived him and what was said to her and what she was ordered to call him. It is alleged that Abdul-Muttalib took him (before Hubal) in the (middle of the) Kaaba, where he stood and prayed to Allah thanking him for this gift.

Then he brought him out and delivered him to his mother, and he tried to find foster-mothers for him (115).

Halima d. Abu Dhuayb of B. Sad b. Bakr was asked to suckle him.

Abu Dhuayb was Abdullah b. al-Harith b. Shijna b. Jabir b. Rizam b. Nasira b. Qusayya b. Nasr b. Sad b. Bakr b. Hawazin b. Mansur b. Ikrima b. Khasafa b. Qays b. Aylan.

The prophet's foster-father was al-Harith b. Abdul-Uzza b. Rifaa b. Mallan b. Nasira b. Qusayya b. Nasr b. Sad b. Bakr b. Hawazin (116).

His foster-brother was Abdullah b. al-Harith; Unaysa and Hudhafa (or Judhama, name uncertain) were his foster-sisters. The latter was called al-Shayma, her people not using her proper name. These were the children of Hallma d. Abdullah b. al-Harith. It is reported that al-Shayma used to carry him in her arms to help her mother.

Jahm b. Abu Jahm the client of al-Harith b. Hatib al-Jumahi on the authority of Abdullah b. Jafar b. Abu Talib or from one who told him it as from him, informed me that Hallma the apostle's foster-mother used to say that she went forth from her country with her husband and little son whom she was nursing, among the women of her tribe, in search of other babies to nurse. This was a year of famine when they were destitute. She was riding a dusky she-donkey of hers with an old she-camel which did not yield a drop of milk. They could not sleep the whole night because of the weeping of her hungry child. She had no milk to give him, nor could their she-camel provide a morning draught, but we were hoping for rain and relief. 'I rode upon my donkey which had kept back the other riders through its weakness and emaciation so that it was a nuisance to them.

When we reached Mecca, we looked out for foster children, and the apostle of God was offered to everyone of us, and each woman refused him when she was told he was an orphan, because we hoped to get payment from the child's father. We said, "An orphan! and what will his mother and grandfather do?", and so we spurned him because of that. Every woman who came with me got a suckling except me, and when we decided to depart I said to my husband: "By God, I do not like the idea of returning with my friends without a suckling; I will go and take that orphan." Her eplied, "Do as you please; perhaps God will bless us on his account." So I went and took him for the sole reason that I could not find anyone else. I took

him back to my baggage, and as soon as I put him in my bosom, my breasts overflowed with milk which he drank until he was satisfied, as also did his foster-brother. Then both of them slept, whereas before this we could not sleep with him. My husband got up and went to the old she-camel and lo, her udders were full; he milked it and he and I drank of her milk until we were completely satisfied, and we passed a happy night. In the morning my husband said: "Do you know, Hallma, you have taken a blessed creature?" I said, "By God, I hope so." Then we set out and I was riding my she-ass and carrying him with me, and she went at such a pace that the other donkeys could not keep up so that my companions said to me, "Confound you! stop and wait for us. Is this not the donkey on which you started?" "Certainly it is," I said. They replied, "By God, something extraordinary has happened." Then we came to our dwellings in the Banu Sa'd country and I do not know a country more barren than that.

When we had him with us my flock used to yield milk in abundance. We milked them and drank while other people had not a drop, nor could they find anything in their animals' udders, so that our people were saying to their shepherds, "Woe to you! send your flock to graze where the daughter of Abu Dhuayb's shepherd goes." Even so, their flocks came back hungry not yielding a drop of milk, while mine had milk in abundance. We ceased not to recognize this bounty as coming from God for a period of two years, when I weaned him. He was growing up as none of the other children grew and by the time he was two he was a well-made child. We brought him to his mother, though we were most anxious to keep him with us because of the blessing which he brought us. I said to her*: "I should like you to leave my little boy with me until he becomes a big boy, for I am afraid on his account of the pest** in Mecca." We persisted until she sent him back with us. (* Tabari here inserts Ya Ziru 'O nurse!' implying that Amina was not his mother. A strange reading.). (** Yersinia pestis, also known as 'The Plague of Justinian' which came from Central Asia and broke out between 541 and 542 AD and ravaged the classic civilisations until circa 750. In 600 AD Smallpox, an additional plague, spread from India via Arabia into Europe. One of the deadliest plagues in history, the devastating pandemic resulted in the deaths of an estimated 25–50 million people during two centuries, circa 20 - 30% of the entire population of Persia and the Eastern Roman Empire. In about 620 AD it devastated the population of the Arabic capital Petra and also killed Mohammed's family members, including his wife Khadija and his uncle Abu Talib who were his main supporters. After their loss, the often ill-tempered Mohammed became a robber, killer, and conqueror. The plague and the following famines contributed to the swift success of the Islamic conquest.).

Some months after our return he and his brother were with our lambs behind the tents when his brother came running and said to us, "Two men clothed in white have seized that (a) Qurayshi brother of mine and thrown him down and opened up his belly, and are stirring it up." We ran towards him and found him standing up with a livid face. We took hold of him and asked him what was the matter. He said, "Two men in white raiment came and threw me down and opened up my belly and searched therein for I know not what." (Koran: 94,1) So we took him back to our tent.

His father said to me, "I am afraid that this child has had a stroke, so take him back to his family before the result appears." So we picked him up and took him to his mother who asked why we had brought him when I had been anxious for his welfare and desirous of keeping him with me.

I said to her, "God has let my son live so far and I have done my duty. I am afraid that ill will befall him, so I have brought him back to you as you wished." She asked me what happened and gave me no peace until I told her. When she asked if I feared a demon possessed him, I replied that I did. She answered that no demon had any power over her son who had a great future before him, and then she told how when she was pregnant with him a light went out from her which illumined the castles of Busra in Syria, and that she had borne him with the least difficulty imaginable. When she bore him he put his hands on the ground lifting his head towards the heavens. "Leave him then and go in peace," she said.'

Thaur b. Yazid from a learned person who I think was Khalid b. Madan al Kalai told me that some of the apostle's companions asked him to tell them about himself. He said: 'I am what Abraham my father prayed for and the good news of (Tabari: my brother) Jesus. When my mother was carrying me she saw a light proceeding from her which showed her the castles of Syria. I was suckled among the B. Sad b. Bakr, and while I was with a brother of mine behind our tents shepherding the lambs, two men in white raiment came to me with a gold basin full of snow. Then they seized me and opened up my belly, extracted my heart and split it; then they extracted a black drop from it and threw it away; then they washed my heart and my belly with that snow until they had thoroughly cleaned them. Then one said to the other, weigh him against ten of his people; they did so and I outweighed them. Then they weighed me against a hundred and then a thousand, and I outweighed them. He said, "Leave him alone, for by God, if you weighed him against all his people he would outweigh them.'"

The apostle of God used to say, There is no prophet but has shepherded a flock. When they said, 'You, too, apostle of God?', he said Yes.'

The apostle of God used to say to his companions, 'I am the most Arab of you all. I am of (the) Quraysh, and I was suckled among the B. Sad b. Bakr.

It is alleged by some, but God knows the truth, that when his foster-mother brought him to Mecca he escaped her among the crowd while she was taking him to his people. She sought him and could not find him, so she went to Abdul-Muttalib and said: 'I brought Mohammed tonight and when I was in the upper part of Mecca he escaped me and I don't know where he is.' So Abdul-Muttalib went to the Kaaba praying to God to restore him. They assert that Waraqa b. Naufal b. Asad and another man of (the) Quraysh found him and brought him to Abdul-Muttalib saying, 'We have found this son of yours in the upper part of Mecca.' Abdul-Muttalib took him and put him on his shoulder as he went round the Kaaba confiding him to God's protection and praying for him; then he sent him to his mother Amina.

A learned person told me that what urged his foster-mother to return him to his mother, apart from what she told his mother, was that a number of Abyssinian Christians saw him with her when she brought him back after he had been weaned. They looked at him, asked questions about him, and studied him carefully, then they said to her, 'Let us take this boy, and bring him to our king and our country; for he will have a great future.

We know all about him.' The person who told me this alleged that she could hardly get him away from them.

Amina dies and the apostle lives with his grandfather The apostle lived with his mother Amina d. Wahb and his grandfather Abdul-Muttalib in God's care and keeping like a

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fine plant, God wishing to honour him. When he was six years old his mother Amina died.

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr b. Mohammed b. Amr b. Hazm told me that the apostle's mother died in Abwa' between Mecca and Medina on her return from a visit with him to his maternal uncles of B. Adiy b. al-Najjar when he was six years old (117). Thus the apostle was left to his grandfather for whom they made a bed in the shade of the Kaaba. His sons used to sit round the bed until he came out to it, but none of them sat upon it out of respect for him. The apostle, still a little boy, used to come and sit on it and his uncles would drive him away. When Abdul-Muttalib saw this he said: 'Let my son alone, for by Allah he has a great future.' Then he would make him sit beside him on his bed and would stroke his back with his hand. It used to please him to see what he did.

THE DEATH OF ABDUL-MUTTALIB AND THE ELEGIES THEREON

When the apostle was eight years of age, eight years after the 'year of the elephant', his grandfather died. This date was given me by al-Abbas b. Abdullah b. Mabad b. al-Abbas from one of his family.

Mohammed b. Said b. al-Musayyib told me that when Abdul-Muttalib knew that death was at hand he summoned his six daughters Safiya, Barra, Atika, Umm Hakim al-Bayda, Umayma, and Arwa, and said to them, 'Compose elegies over me so that I may hear what you are going to say before I die.' (118)

Safiya d. Abdul-Muttalib said in mourning her father:
I could not sleep for the voices of the keening women,
Bewailing a man on the crown of life's road,
It caused the tears to flow
Down my cheeks like falling pearls
For a noble man, no wretched weakling,
Whose virtue was plain to all.
The generous Shayba, full of merits,
Thy good father inheritor of all virtue,
Truthful at home, no weakling,
Standing firm and self-reliant.
Powerful, fear-inspiring, massive,
Praised and obeyed by his people,
Of lofty lineage, smiling, virtuous,
A very rain when camels had no milk.
Noble was his grandfather without spot of shame,
Surpassing all men, bond or free,
Exceeding mild, of noble stock,
Who were generous, strong as lions,
Could men be immortal through ancient glory,
(Alas immortality is unobtainable!)
He would make his last night endure for ever
Through his surpassing glory and long descent.

His daughter Barra said:
Be generous, O eyes, with your pearly tears,
For the generous nature who never repelled a beggar.
Of glorious race, successful in undertaking,
Of handsome face, of great nobility.
Shayba, the laudable, the noble,
The glorious, the mighty, the renowned,
The clement, decisive in misfortunes,
Full of generosity, lavish in gifts,
Excelling his people in glory,
A light shining like the moon in its splendour.
Death came to him and spared him not,
Change and fortune and fate overtook him.

His daughter Atika said:
Be generous, O eyes, and not niggardly
With your tears when others sleep,
Weep copiously, O eyes, with your tears,
While you beat your faces in weeping.
Weep, O eyes, long and freely
For one, no dotard weakling,
The strong, generous in time of need,
Noble in purpose, faithful to his word.
Shayba the laudable, successful in undertaking,
The reliable and the steady,
A sharp sword in war
Destroying his enemies in battle,
Easy natured, open handed,
Loyal, stout, pure, good.
His house proudly rooted in high honour
Mounted to glory unobtainable by others.
His daughter Umm Hakim al-Bayda said:
Weep, O eye, generously, hide not thy tears,
Weep for the liberal and generous one,
Fie upon thee O eye, help me
With fast falling tears!
Weep for the best man who ever rode a beast,
Thy good father, a fountain of sweet water.
Shayba the generous, the virtuous,
Liberal in nature, praised for his gifts,
Lavish to his family, handsome,
Welcome as rain in years of drought.
A lion when the spears engage,
His womenfolk look on him proudly.
Chief of Kinana on whom their hopes rest,
Wrhen evil days brought calamity,
Their refuge when war broke out,
In trouble and dire distress.
Weep for him, refrain not from grief,
Make women weep for him as long as you live.

His daughter Umayma said:
Alas, has the shepherd of his people, the generous one, perished,
Who gave the pilgrims their water, the defender of our fame,
Who used to gather the wandering guest into his tents,
When the heavens begrudged their rain.
You have the noblest sons a man could have
And have never ceased to grow in fame, O Shayba!
Abul Harith, the bountiful, has left his place,
Go not far for every living thing must go far.
I shall weep for him and suffer as long as I live.
His memory deserves that I suffer.
May the Lord of men water thy grave with rain!
I shall weep for him though he lies in the grave.
He was the pride of all his people,
And was praised wherever praise was due.
His daughter Arwa said:
My eye wept and well it did
For the generous modest father,
The pleasant natured man of Mecca's vale,
Noble in mind, lofty in aim,
The bountiful Shayba full of virtues,
Thy good father who has no peer,
Long armed, elegant, tall,
'Twas (= it was) as though his forehead shone with light,
Lean waisted, handsome, full of virtues,
Glory, rank, and dignity were his,
Resenting wrong, smiling, able,
His ancestral fame could not be hid,
The refuge of Malik, the spring of Fihr,
When judgement was sought he spoke the last word.
He was a hero, generous, liberal,
And bold when blood was to be shed,
When armed men were afraid of death
So that the hearts of most of them were as air (Koran: 14.44 'and their hearts were air').
Forward he went with gleaming sword,
The cynosure of all eyes.

Mohammed b. Said b. al-Musayyib told me2 that Abdul-Muttalib made a sign to the effect that he was satisfied with the elegies, for he could not speak (119).

Hudhayfa b. Ghanim, brother of B. Adiy b. Kab b. Luayy, mentioned his superiority and that of Qusayy and his sons over the Quraysh, because he had been seized for a debt of 4,000 dirhams* in Mecca and Abu Lahab Abdul Uzza b. Abdul-Muttalib passed by and redeemed him:
O eyes, let the generous tears flow down the breast,
Weary not, may you be washed with falling rain,
Be generous with your tears, every morn
Weeping for a man whom fate did not spare.

(* Dirham, dirhem or dirhm was and, in some cases, still is a unit of currency in several Arab states. It was formerly the related unit of mass, the Ottoman 'dram', in the Ottoman Empire and old Persian states. One silver dirham used to weigh circa 3.36 grammes, 4,000 dirhams weigh almost 14.5 kg. The name derives from the name of the ancient Greek currency, drachma or drachmon. The dirham / drachma is equivalent to one denarius. One denarius was equal to 4 sesterces. Religious literature, such as the Pahlavi Vīdevdad, provide an idea of the purchasing power of the drachma: One sheep cost three sters or sestertius (Vd. 4.2); a cow 12, 14, or 30 sters, depending on whether it was of inferior, medium, or superior quality (Vd. 7.41); and a man 125 sters. According to Madayan i hazar dadestan (12.7-9), a slave was sold for 500 drachmas and a sheep for 10 (104.6), but a good piece of land was worth more than 500 drachmas (Vd. 4.2). According to this, 4,000 dirhams are a huge amount of money.).

Weep floods of tears while life does last,
Over (the) Quraysh's modest hero who concealed his good deeds,
A powerful zealous defender of his dignity,
Handsome of face, no weakling, and no braggart,
The famous prince, generous and liberal,
Spring rain of Lu'ayy in drought and dearth,
Best of all the sons of Maadd,
Noble in action, in nature and in race,
Their best in root and branch and ancestry.
Most famous in nobility and reputation,
First in glory, kindness and sagacity,
And in virtue when the lean years exact their toll.
Weep over Shayba the praiseworthy, whose face
Illumined the darkest night, like the moon at the full,
Who watered the pilgrims, son of him who broke bread
(Cf. p. 66. Or, 'then for the good Hashim; Ulkhayr for lilkhubz),
And Abdu Manaf that Fihri lord,
Who uncovered Zamzam by the Sanctuary,
Whose control of the water was a prouder boast than any man's.
Let every captive in his misery weep for him
And the family of Qusayy, poor and rich alike.
Noble are his sons, both young and old,
They have sprung from the eggs of a hawk,
Qusayy who opposed Kinana all of them,
And guarded the temple in weal and woe.
Though fate and its changes bore him away,
He lived happy in successful achievement,
He left behind well armed men
Bold in attack, like very spears.
Abu 'Utba who gave me his gift,
White blood camels of the purest white.
Hamza like the moon at the full rejoicing to give,
Chaste and free from treachery,
And Abdu Manaf the glorious, defender of his honour,
Kind to his kindred, gentle to his relatives.
Their men arc the best of men,
Their young men like the offspring of kings who neither perish nor diminish.
Whenever you meet one of their scions
You will find him going in the path of his forefathers.
They filled the vale with fame and glory
When rivalry and good works had long been practised (Cf. Sura 2.143 'Vie with one another in good works', and cf. 5.53 for this use of the verb istabaqa),
Among them are great builders and buildings,
Abdu Manaf their grandfather being the repairer of their fortunes,
When he married 'Auf to his daughter to give us protection
From our enemies when the Banu Fihr betrayed us,
We went through the land high and low under his protection,
Until our camels could plunge into the sea.
They lived as townsmen while some were nomads
None but the sheikhs of Banu Amr (The sons of Hashim are meant: his name was Amr. So Cairo editors.) were there,
They built many houses and dug wells
Whose waters flowed as though from the great sea
That pilgrims and others might drink of them,
When they hastened to them on
Three days their camels lay
Quietly between the mountains and the hijr.
Of old we had lived in plenty,
Drawing our water from Khumm or al-Hafr.
They forgot wrongs normally avenged,
And overlooked foolish slander,
They collected all the allied tribesmen,
And turned from us the evil of the Banu Bakr.
O Kharija (i.e. Kharija b. Hudhafa.), when I die cease not to thank them
Until you are laid in the grave,
And forget not Ibn Lubna's kindness,
A kindness that merits thy gratitude.
And thou Ibn Lubna art from Qusayy when genealogies are sought
Where man's highest hope is attained,
Thyself has gained the height of glory
And joined it to its root in valour.
Surpassing and exceeding thy people in generosity
As a boy thou wast superior to every liberal chief.
Thy mother will be a pure pearl of Khuzaa,
When experienced genealogists one day compile a roll.
To the heroes of Sheba she can be traced and belongs.
How noble her ancestry in the summit of splendour!
Abu Shamir is of them and Amr b. Malik
And Dhu Jadan and Abul-Jabr are of her people, and
As'ad who led the people for twenty years
Assuring victory in those lands (120).

Matrud b. Kab the Khuzaite bewailing Abdul-Muttalib and the sons of
Abdu Manaf said:
O wanderer ever changing thy direction,
Why hast thou not asked of the family of Abdu Manaf?
Good God, if you had lived in their homeland
They would have saved you from injury and unworthy marriages;
Their rich mingle with their poor
So that their poor are as their wealthy.
Munificent when times were bad,
Who travel with the caravans of (the) Quraysh
Who feed men when the winds are stormy
Until the sun sinks into the sea.
Since you have perished, O man of great deeds,
Never has the necklace of a woman drooped over your like*
Save your father alone, that generous man, and
The bountiful Mutfalib, father of his guests.

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(* i.e. 'never has your equal been born'. The figure is that of a woman nursing a baby while her necklace falls over the child at her breast. The correct reading would seem to be iqd not aqd; dhdt nifdf means 'possessor of pendant earrings', i.e. a woman. Dr. Arafat suggests that 'aqd 'girdle' should be read and the line would then run: 'Never has the knot of a woman's girdle run over your like. The general sense would be the same, but the particular reference would be to a pregnant woman.)

When Abdul-Muttalib died his son al-Abbas took charge of Zamzam and the watering of the pilgrims, although he was the youngest of his father's sons. When Islam came it was still in his hands and the apostle confirmed his right to it and so it remains with the family of al-Abbas to this day.

ABU JALIB BECOMES GUARDIAN OF THE APOSTLE

After the death of Abdul-Muttalib the apostle lived with his uncle Abu Talib, for (so they allege) the former had confided him to his care because he and Abdullah, the apostle's father, were brothers by the same mother, Fatima d. Amr b. Aidh b. Abd b. Imran b. Makhzum (121). It was Abu Talib who used to look after the apostle after the death of his grandfather and he became one of his family.

Yahya b. Abbad b. Abdullah b. al-Zubayr told me that his father told him that there was a man of Lihb (122) who was a seer. Whenever he came to Mecca the (the) Quraysh used to bring their boys to him so that he could look at them and tell their fortunes. So Abu Talib brought him along with the others while he was still a boy. The seer looked at him and then something claimed his attention. That disposed of he cried, 'Bring me that boy.'

When Abu Talib saw his eagerness he hid him and the seer began to say, 'Woe to you, bring me that boy I saw just now, for by Allah he has a great future.'

THE STORY OF BAHIRA

Abu Talib had planned to go in a merchant caravan to Syria, and when all preparations had been made for the journey, the apostle of God, so they allege, attached himself closely to him so that he took pity on him and said that he would take him with him, and that the two of them should never part; or words to that effect. When the caravan reached Busra in Syria, there was a monk there in his cell by 'the name of Bahira, who was well versed in the knowledge of Christians. A monk had always occupied that cell. There he gained his knowledge from a book that was in the cell, so they allege, handed on from generation to generation. They had often passed by him in the past and he never spoke to them or took any notice of them until this year, and when they stopped near his cell he made a great feast for them. It is alleged that that was because of something he saw while in his cell. They allege that while he was in his cell he saw the apostle of God in the caravan when they approached, with a cloud overshadowing him among the people. Then they came and stopped in the shadow of a tree near the monk. He looked at the cloud when it overshadowed the tree, and its branches were bending and drooping over the apostle of God until he was in the shadow beneath it. When Bahira sawthat, he came out of his cell and sent word to them. 'I have prepared food for you, O men of (the) Quraysh, and I should like you all to come both great and small, bond and free.' One of them said to him, 'By God, Bahira! something extraordinary has happened today, you used not to treat us so, and we have often passed by you. What has befallen you today?' He answered, 'You are right in what you say, but you are guests and I wish to honour you and give you food so that you may eat.' So they gathered together with him, leaving the apostle of God behind with the baggage under the tree, on account of his extreme youth. When Bahira looked at the people he did not see the mark which he knew and found in his books (Lit. 'with him'.), so he said, 'Do not let one of you remain behind and not come to my feast.' They told him that no one who ought to come had remained behind except a boy who was the youngest of them and had stayed w ith their baggage. Thereupon he told them to invite him to come to the meal with them. One of the men of (the) Quraysh said, 'By al-Lat and al-Uzza, we are to blame for leaving behind the son of Abdullah b. Abdul-Muttalib.' Then he got up and embraced him and made him sit with the people. When Bahira saw him he stared at him closely, looking at his body and finding traces of his description (in the Christian books). When the people had finished eating and gone away, Bahira got up and said to him, 'Boy, I ask you by al-Lat and al-Uzza to answer my question.' Now Bahira said this only because he had heard his people swearing by these gods. They allege that the apostle of God said to him, 'Do not ask me by al-Lat and al-Uzza, for by Allah nothing is more hateful to me than these two.' Bahira answered, 'Then by Allah, tell me what I ask'; he replied, 'Ask me what you like'; sof he began to ask him about what happened in his (waking and in his) sleep, and his habits (haya, perhaps 'his body'.), and his affairs generally, and what the apostle of God told him coincided with what Bahira knew of his description. Then he looked at his back and saw the seal of prophethood between his shoulders fin the very place described in his book (123). When he had finished he went to his uncle Abu Talib and asked him what relation this boy was to him, and when he told him he was his son, he said that he was not, for it could not be that the father of this boy was alive. 'He is my nephew,' he said, and when he asked what had become of his father he told him that he had died before the child was born. 'You have told the truth,' said Bahira. 'Take your nephew back to his country and guard him carefully against the Jews, for by Allah! if they see him and know about him what I know, they will do him evil; a great future lies before this nephew of yours, so take him home quickly.'

So his uncle took him off quickly and brought him back to Mecca when he had finished his trading in Syria. People allege that Zurayr and Tammam and Daris, who were people of the scriptures, had noticed in the apostle of God what Bahira had seen during that journey which he took with his uncle, and they tried to get at him, but Bahira kept them away and reminded them of God and the mention of the description of him which they would find in the sacred books, and that if they tried to get at him they would not succeed. He gave them no peace until they recognized the truth of what he said and left him and went away. The apostle of God grew up, God protecting him and keeping him from the vileness of heathenism because he wished to honour him with apostleship, until he grew up to be the finest of his people in manliness, the best in character, most noble in lineage, the best neighbour, the most kind, truthful, reliable, the furthest removed from filthiness and corrupt morals, through loftiness and nobility, so that he was known among his people as 'The trustworthy' because of the good qualities which God had implanted in him. The apostle, so I was told, used to tell how God protected him in his childhood during the period of heathenism, saying, 'I found myself among the boys of (the) Quraysh carrying stones such as boys piay with; we had all uncovered ourselves, each taking his shirt (Properly a wrapper which covered the lower part of the body.) and putting it round his neck as he carried the stones.

I was going to and fro in the same way, when an unseen figure slapped me most painfully saying, "Put your shirt on"; so I took it and fastened it on me and then began to carry the stones upon my neck wearing my shirt alone among my fellows*.'

(* Suhayli, 120, after pointing out that a somewhat similar story is told of the prophet's modesty and its preservation by supernatural means, at the time that the rebuilding of the Kaaba was undertaken when Mohammed was a grown man, says significantly that if the account here is correct divine intervention must have occurred twice. It may well be that he was led to make this comment by the fact that Tabari omits the story altogether and in its place (Tabari 1126. 10) writes: Ibn Hamid said that Salama told him that Ibn Ishaq related from Mohammed b. Abdullah b. Qays b. Makhrama from al-Hasan b. Mohammed b. Ali b. Abu Talib from his father Mohammed b. Ali from his grandfather Ali b. Abu Talib: I heard the apostle say, "I never gave a thought to what the people of the pagan era used to do but twice, because God came between me and my desires. Afterwards I never thought of evil when God honoured me with apostleship. Once I said to a young Qurayshi who was shepherding with me on the high ground of Mecca, 'I should like you to look after my beasts for me while I go and spend the night in Mecca as young men do.' He agreed and I went off with that intent, and when I came to the first house in Mecca I heard the sound of tambourines and flutes and was told that a marriage had just taken place. I sat down to look at them when God smote my ear and I fell asleep until I was woken by the sun. I came to my friend and in reply to his questions told him what had happened. Exactly the same thing occurred on another occasion. Afterwards I never thought of evil until God honoured me with his apostleship."')

THE SACRILEGIOUS WAR (124)

This war broke out when the apostle was twenty years of age. It was so called because these two tribes, Kinana and Qays Aylan, fought in the sacred month. The chief of (the) Quraysh and Kinana was Harb b. Umayya b. Abdu Shams. At the beginning of the day Qays got the upper hand but by midday victory went to Kinana (125).

THE APOSTLE OF GOD MARRIES KHADIJA (126)

Khadija was a merchant woman of dignity and wealth. She used to hire men to carry merchandise outside the country on a profit-sharing basis, for Quraysh were a people given to commerce. Now when she heard about the prophet's truthfulness, trustworthiness, and honourable character, she sent for him and proposed that he should take her goods to Syria and trade with them, while she would pay him more than she paid others. He was to take a lad of hers called Maysara. The apostle of God accepted the proposal, and the two set forth until they came to Syria.

The apostle stopped in the shade of a tree near a monk's cell, when the monk came up to Maysara and asked who the man was who was resting beneath the tree. He told him that he was of (the) Quraysh, the people who held the sanctuary; and the monk exclaimed: 'None but a prophet ever sat beneath this tree.'

Then the prophet sold the goods he had brought and bought what he wanted to buy and began the return journey to Mecca. The story goes that at the height of noon when the heat was intense as he rode his beast Maysara saw two angels shading the apostle from the sun's rays. When he brought Khadija her property she sold it and it amounted to double or thereabouts. Maysara for his part told her about the two angels who shaded him and of the monk's words. Now Khadija was a determined, noble, and intelligent woman possessing the properties with which God willed to honour her. So when Maysara told her these things she sent to the apostle of God and—so the story goes—said: 'O son of my uncle I like you because of our relationship and your high reputation among your people, your trustworthiness and good character and truthfulness.' Then she proposed marriage. Now Khadija at that time was the best born woman in (the) Quraysh, of the greatest dignity and, too, the richest. All her people were eager to get possession of her wealth if it were possible.

Khadija was the daughter of Khuwaylid b. Asad b. Abdul-Uzza b. Qusayy b. Kilab b. Murra b. Kab b. Luayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr. Her mother was Fatima d. Zaida b. al-Asamm b. Rawaha b. Hajar b. Abd b. Mais b. Amir b. Luayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr. Her mother was Hala d. Abdu Manaf b. al-Harith b. Amr b. Munqidh b. Amr b. Mais b. Amir b. Luayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr. Hala's mother was Qilaba d. Suayd b. Sad b. Sahm b. Amr b. Husays b. Kab b. Luayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr.

The apostle of God told his uncles of Khadija's proposal, and his uncle Hamza b. Abdul-Muttalib went with him to Khuwaylid b. Asad and asked for her hand and he married her (127).

She was the mother of all the apostle's children except Ibrahim, namely al-Qasim (whereby he was known as Abul-Qasim); al-Tahir, al-Tayyib*, Zaynab, Ruqayya, Umm Kulthum, and Fatima (128). (* Commentators point out that these are not names but epithets (The Pure, The Good) applied to the one son Abdullah.)

Al-Qasim, al-Tayyib, and al-Tahir died in paganism. All his daughters lived into Islam, embraced it, and migrated with him to Medina (129).

Khadija had told Waraqa b. Naufal b. Asad b. Abdul-Uzza, who was her cousin and a Christian who had studied the scriptures and was a scholar, what her slave Maysara had told her that the monk had said and how he had seen the two angels shading him. He said, 'If this is true, Khadija, verily Mohammed is the prophet of this people. I knew that a prophet of this people was to be expected. His time has come,' or words to that effect. Waraqa was finding the time of waiting wearisome and used to say 'How long?' Some lines of his on the theme are:

I persevered and was persistent in remembering
An anxiety which often evoked tears. And
Confirmatory evidence kept coming from Khadija.
Long have I had to wait, O Khadija,
In the vale of Mecca in spite of my hope
That I might see the outcome of thy words.
I could not bear that the words of the monk
You told me of should prove false:
That Mohammed should rule over us
Overcoming those who would oppose him.
And that a glorious light should appear in the land
To preserve men from disorders.
His enemies shall meet disaster
And his friends shall be victorious.
Would that I might be there then to see,
For I should be the first of his supporters,
Joining in that which Quraysh hate
However loud they shout in that Mecca of theirs.
I hope to ascend through him whom they all dislike
To the Lord of the Throne though they are cast down.
Is it folly not to disbelieve in Him
Who chose him Who raised the starry heights?
If they and I live, things will be done
Which will throw the unbelievers into confusion.
And if I die, 'tis but the fate of mortals
To suffer death and dissolution.

THE REBUILDING OF THE KAABA WHEN THE APOSTLE ACTED AS UMPIRE

The Quraysh decided to rebuild the Kaaba when the apostle was thirty-five years of age (fifteen years after the sacrilegious war). They were planning to roof it and feared to demolish it, for it was made of loose stones above a man's height, and they wanted to raise it and roof it because men had stolen part of the treasure of the Kaaba which used to be in a well in the middle of it. The treasure was found with Duwayk a freedman of B. Mulayh b. Amr of Khuzaa (130). The Quraysh cut his hand off; they say that the people who stole the treasure deposited it with Duwayk.

(Tabari: Among those suspected were al-Harith b. Amir b. Naufal, and Abu Ihab b. Aziz b. Qays b. Suwayd al-Tamimi who shared the same mother, and Abu Lahab b. Abdul-

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Muttalib. The Quraysh alleged that it was they who took the Kaaba's treasure and deposited it with Duwayk, a freedman of B. Mulayh, and when (the) Quraysh suspected them they informed against Duwayk and so his hand was cut off. It was said that they had left it with him, and people say that when (the) Quraysh felt certain that the treasure had been with al-Harith they took him to an Arab sorceress and in her rhymed utterances she decreed that he should not enter Mecca for ten years because he had profaned the sanctity of the Kaaba. They allege that he was driven out and lived in the surrounding country for ten years.)

Now a ship belonging to a Greek merchant had been cast ashore at Judda and became a total wreck. They took its timbers and got them ready to roof the Kaaba. It happened that in Mecca there was a Copt (Egyptian Christian) who was a carpenter, so everything they needed was ready to hand. Now a snake used to come out of the well in which the sacred offerings were thrown and sun itself every day on the wall of the Kaaba. It was an object of terror because whenever anyone came near it it raised its head and made a rustling noise and opened its mouth, so that they were terrified of it. While it was thus sunning itself one day, God sent a bird which seized it and flew off with it. Thereupon (the) Quraysh said, 'Now we may hope that God is pleased with what we propose to do. We have a friendly craftsman, we have got the wood and God has rid us of the snake.' When they had decided to pull it down and rebuild it Abu Wahb b. Amr b. Aidh b. Abd b. Imran b.

Makhzum (131) got up and took a stone from the Kaaba and it leapt out of his hand so that it returned to its place. He said, 'O Quraysh, do not bring into this building ill-gotten gains, the hire of a harlot, nor money taken in usury, nor anything resulting from wrong and violence.' People ascribe this saying to al-Walid b. al-Mughira b. Abdullah b. Umar b. Makhzum.

Abdullah b. Abu Najih al-Makki told me that he was told on the authority of Abdullah b. Safwan b. Umayya b. Khalaf b. Wahb b. Hudhafa b. Jumah b. Amr b. Husays b. Kab b. Luayy that he saw a son of Jada b. Hubayra b. Abu Wahb b. Amr circumambulating the temple, and when he inquired about him he was told who he was. Abdullah b. Safwan said, 'It was the grandfather of this man (meaning Abu Wahb), who took the stone from the Kaaba when (the) Quraysh decided to demolish it and it sprang from his hand and returned to its place, and it was he who said the words which have just been quoted.'

Abu Wahb was the maternal uncle of the apostle's father. He was a noble of whom an Arab poet said:

If I made my camel kneel at Abu Wahb's door,
It would start the morrow's journey with well filled saddle-bags;
He was the noblest of the two branches of Lu'ayy b. Ghalib,
When noble lineage is reckoned.
Refusing to accept injustice, delighting in giving,
His ancestors were of the noblest stock.
A great pile of ashes lie beneath his cooking-pot,
He fills his dishes with bread topped by luscious meat.

(Guillaume: The second half of this verse is reminiscent of Imruul-Qays (1.12) where the fine fat flesh of the camel is compared with white silk finely woven.)

Then Quraysh divided the work among them; the section near the door was assigned to B. Abdu Manaf and Zuhra. The space between the black stone and the southern corner, to B. Makhzum and the Qurayshite tribes which were attached to them. The back of the Kaaba to B. Jumah and Sahm, the two sons of Amr b. Husays b. Kab b. Luayy. The side of the hijr to B. Abdul-Dar b. Qusayy and to B. Asad b. al-Uzza b. Qusayy, and to B. Adiy b. Kab b. Luayy which is the Hatim.

The people were afraid to demolish the temple, and withdrew in awe from it. Al-Walid b. al-Mughira said, 'I will begin the demolition.' So he took a pick-axe, went up to it saying the while, 'O God, do not be afraid (The feminine form indicates that the Kaaba itself is addressed.)

(132), O God, we intend only what is best.' Then he demolished the part at the two corners (Or 'two sacred stones'.). That night the people watched, saying, 'We will look out; if he is smitten we won't destroy any more of it and will restore it as it was; but if nothing happens to him then God is pleased with what we are doing and we will demolish it.' In the morning al-Walid returned to the work of demolition and the people worked with him, until they got down to the foundation of Abraham (Guillaume: Abraham does not appear here in Tabari) They came on green stones like camel's humps joined one to another.

A certain traditionist told me that a man of (the) Quraysh inserted a crowbar between two stones in order to get one of them out, and when he moved the stone the whole of Mecca shuddered so they left the foundation alone (so they had reached the foundation.).

I was told that (the) Quraysh found in the corner a writing in Syriac. They could not understand it until a Jew read it for them. It was as follows: 'I am Allah the Lord of Bakka, I created it on the day that I created heaven and earth and formed the sun and moon, and I surrounded it with seven pious angels. It will stand while its two mountains stand, a blessing to its people with milk and water,' and I was told that they found in the maqdm a writing, 'Mecca is God's holy house, its sustenance comes to it from three directions; let its people not be the first to profane it.'

Layth b. Abu Sulaym alleged that they found a stone in the Kaaba forty years before the prophet's mission, if what they say is true, containing the inscription 'He that soweth good shall reap joy; he that soweth evil shall reap sorrow; can you do evil and be rewarded with good? Nay, as grapes cannot be gathered from thorns.' (Guillaume: A strange place in which to find a quotation from the Gospel; cf. Matthew 7. 16.)

The tribes of (the) Quraysh gathered stones for the building, each tribe collecting them and building by itself until the building was finished up to the black stone, where controversy arose, each tribe wanting to lift it to its place, until they went their several ways, formed alliances, and got ready for battle. The B. Abdul-Dar brought a bowl full of blood; then they and the B. Adiy b. Kab b. Luayy pledged themselves unto death and thrust their hands into the blood. For this reason they were called the blood-lickers. Such was the state of affairs for four or five nights, and then (the) Quraysh gathered in the mosque and took counsel and were equally divided on the question.

A traditionist alleged that Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira b. Abdullah b. Umar b. Makhzum who was at that time the oldest man of (the) Quraysh, urged them to make the first man to enter the gate of the mosque umpire in the matter in dispute. They did so and the first to come in was the apostle of God. When they saw him they said, 'This is the trustworthy one. We are satisfied. This is Mohammed.' When he came to them and they informed him of the matter he said, 'Give me a cloak,' and when it was brought to him he took the black stone and put it inside it and said that each tribe should take hold of an end of the cloak and they should lift it together. They did this so that when they got it into position he placed it with his own hand, and then building went on above it.

(The) Quraysh used to call the apostle of God before revelation came to him, 'the trustworthy one'; and when they had finished the building, according to their desire, al-Zubayr the son of Abdul-Muttalib said about the snake which made the Quraysh dread rebuilding the Kaaba:

I was amazed that the eagle went straight
To the snake when it was excited.
It used to rustle ominously
And sometimes it would dart forth.
ia6 When we planned to rebuild the Kaaba
It terrified us for it was fearsome.
When we feared its attack, down came the eagle,
Deadly straight in its swoop,
It bore it away, thus leaving us free
To work without further hindrance.
We attacked the building together,
We had its foundations (Qawaid perhaps = 'uprights'.) and the earth.
On the morrow we raised the foundation,
None of our workers wore clothes.
Through it did God honour the sons of Luayy,
Its foundation was ever associated with them,
Banu Adly and Murra had gathered there,
Kilab having preceded them.
For this the King settled us there in power,
For reward is to be sought from God (133).

THE HUMS

I do not know whether it was before or after the year of the elephant that (the) Quraysh invented the idea of Hums and put it into practice. They said, 'We are the sons of Abraham, the people of the holy territory, the guardians of the temple and the citizens of Mecca. No other Arabs have rights like ours or a position like ours. The Arabs recognize none as they recognize us, so do not attach the same importance to the outside country as you do to the sanctuary, for if you do the Arabs will despise your taboo and will say, "They have given the same importance to the outside land as to the sacred territory."' So they gave up the halt at 'Arafa and the departure from it, while they recognised that these were institutions of the pilgrimage and the religion of Abraham. They considered that other Arabs should halt there and depart from the place; but they said, 'We are the people of the sanctuary, so it is not fitting that we should go out from the sacred territory and honour other places as we, the Hums, honour that; for the Hums are the people of the sanctuary.' They then proceeded to deal in the same way with Arabs who were born within and without the sacred territory. Kinana and Khuzaa joined with them in this (134).

The Hums went on to introduce innovations for which they had no warrant. They thought it wrong that they should eat cheese made of sour milk or clarify butter while they were in a state of taboo. They would not enter tents of camel-hair or seek shelter from the sun except in leather tents while they were in this state. They went further and refused to allow those outside the haram to bring food in with them when they came on the great or little pilgrimage. Nor could they circumambulate the house except in the garments of the Hums. If they had no such garments they had to go round naked. If any man or woman felt scruples when they had no hums garments, then they could go round in their ordinary clothes; but they had to throw them away afterwards so that neither they nor anyone else could make use of them. (The survival of the idea of contagious 'holiness' which on the one hand prohibited the introduction of profane food into the sanctuary, and when it could not prevent the introduction of profane clothes, forbade their use for common purposes after they had come in contact with taboo, would seem to indicate an antiquity far greater than that ascribed to these practices here.).

The Arabs called these clothes 'the cast-off'. They imposed all these restrictions on the Arabs, who accepted them and halted at 'Arafat, hastened from it, and circumambulated the house naked. The men at least went naked while the women laid aside all their clothes except a shift wide open back or front. An Arab woman who was going round the house thus said:

Today some or all of it can be seen,
But what can be seen I do not make common property!

Those who went round in the clothes in which they came from outside threw them away so that neither they nor anyone else could make use of them. An Arab mentioning some clothes which he had discarded and could not get again and yet wanted, said:

It's grief enough that I should return to her
As though she were a tabooed cast-off in front of the pilgrims. i.e. she could not be touched.

This state of affairs lasted until God sent Mohammed and revealed to him when He gave him the laws of His religion and the customs of the pilgrimage: 'Then hasten onward from the place whence men hasten onwards, and ask pardon of God, for God is forgiving, merciful.' (Koran 2.195) The words are addressed to (the) Quraysh and 'men' refer to the Arabs. So in the rule of the hajj he hastened them up to Arafat and ordered them to halt there and to hasten thence.

In reference to their prohibition of food and clothes at the temple such as had been brought from outside the sacred territory God revealed to him: 'O Sons of Adam, wear your clothes at every mosque and eat and drink and be not prodigal, for He loves not the prodigal. Say, Who has forbidden the clothes which God has brought forth for His servants and the good things which He has provided? Say, They on the day of resurrection will be only for those who in this life believed. Thus do we explain the signs for people who have knowledge.' (Koran 7. 29) Thus God set aside the restrictions of the Hums and the innovations of (the) Quraysh against men's interests when He sent His apostle with Islam.

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr b. Mohammed b. Amr b. Hazm from Uthman b. Abu Sulayman b. Jubayr b. Mutim from his uncle Nafi b. Jubayr from his father Jubayr b. Mutim said: 'I saw God's apostle before revelation came to him and lo he was halting on his beast in Arafat with men in the midst of his tribe until he quitted it with them—a special grace from God to him.'

(Azr. i. 115 f.: Uthman b. Saj from Mohammed b. Ishaq from al-Kalbi from Abu Salih, freedman of Umm Hani from Ibn Abbas: The Hums were (the) Quraysh, kinana, Khuzaa, al-Aus and al-Khazraj, Jutham, B. Rabia b. Amir b. Sasaa. Azd Shanua, Judham, Zubayd, B. Dhakwan of B. Salim, Amr al-Lat, Thaqif, Ghatafan, Ghauth, Adwan, Allaf, and Qudaa. When (the) Quraysh let an Arab marry one of their women they stipulated that the offspring should be an Ahmasi following their religion.

Al-Adram Taym b. Ghalib b. Fihr b. Malik b. al-Nadr b. Kinana married his son Majd to the daughter of Taym Rabia b. Amir b. Sasaa stipulating that his children from her should follow the sunna of (the) Quraysh. It is in reference to her that Labid b. Rabia b. Jafar al-Kilabi said:

My people watered the sons of Majd and I
Water Numayr and the tribes of Hilal.

Mansur b. Ikrima b. Khasafa b. Qays b. Aylan married Salma d. Dubaya b. Ali b. Yasur b. Sad b. Qays b. Aylan and she bore to him Hawazin. When he fell seriously ill she vowed that if he recovered she would make him a Hums, and when he recovered she fulfilled her vow The Hums strictly observed the sacred months and never wronged their proteges therein nor wronged anyone therein. They went round the Kaaba wearing their clothes. If one of them before and at the beginning of Islam was in a state of taboo if he happened to be one of the housedwellers, i.e. living in houses or villages, he would dig a hole at the back of his house and go in and out by it and not enter by the door. The Hums used to say, 'Do not respect anything profane and do not go outside the sacred area during the hajj' so they cut short the rites of the pilgrimage and the halt at Arafa, it being in the profane area, and would not halt at it or go forth from it. They made their stopping-place at the extreme end of the sacred territory at Namira at the open space of al-Maziman, stopping there the night of Arafa and sheltering by day in the trees of Namira and

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starting from it to al-Muzdalifa. When the sun turbaned the tops of the mountains they set forth. They were called Hums because of their strictness in their religion.

. . . The year of Hudaybiya the prophet entered his house. One of the Ansar was with him and he stopped at the door, explaining that he was an Ahmasi. The apostle said, 'I am an Ahmasi too. My religion and yours are the same', so the Ansari went into the house by the door as he saw the apostle do.

Outsiders used to circumambulate the temple naked, both men and women. The B. Amir b. Sasaa and Akk were among those who did thus. When a woman went round naked she would put one hand behind her and the other in front.]* (* A great deal more follows in the name of Ibn Abbas. It is doubtful whether it comes from Ibn Ishaq, because though there is new matter in it, some statements which occur in the foregoing are repeated, so that it is probable that they reached Azraqi from another source. In the foregoing I have translated only passages which provide additional information.)

REPORTS OF ARAB SOOTHSAYERS, JEWISH RABBIS, AND CHRISTIAN MONKS

Jewish rabbis, Christian monks, and Arab soothsayers had spoken about the apostle of God before his mission when his time drew near. As to the rabbis and monks, it was about his description and the description of his time which they found in their scriptures and what their prophets had enjoined upon them. As to the Arab soothsayers they had been visited by satans from the jinn with reports which they had secretly overheard before they were prevented from hearing by being pelted with stars. Male and female soothsayers continued to let fall mention of some of these matters to which the Arabs paid no attention until God sent him and these things which had been mentioned happened and they recognised them. When the prophet's mission came the satans were prevented from listening and they could not occupy the seats in which they used to sit and steal the heavenly tidings for they were pelted with stars, and the jinn knew that that was due to an order which God had commanded concerning mankind. God said to His prophet Mohammed when He sent him as he was telling him about the jinn when they were prevented from listening and knew what they knew and did not deny what they saw; 'Say, It has been revealed to me that a number of the jinn listened and said "We have heard a wonderful Koran which guides to the right path, and we believe in it and we will not associate anyone with our Lord and that He (exalted be the glory of our Lord) hath not chosen a wife or a son. A foolish one among us used to speak lies against God, and we had thought men and jinn would not speak a lie against God and that when men took refuge with the jinn, they increased them in revolt," ending with the words: "We used to sit on places therein to listen; he who listens now finds a flame waiting for him. We do not know whether evil is intended against those that are on earth or whether their lord wishes to guide them in the right path".' (Koran 72.1 ff.) When the jinn heard the Koran they knew that they had been prevented from listening before that so that revelation should not be mingled with news from heaven so that men would be confused with the tidings which came from God about it when the proof came and doubt was removed; so they believed and acknowledged the truth. Then 'They returned to their people warning them, saying, O our people we have heard a book which was revealed after Moses confirming what went before it, guiding to the truth and to the upright path.' (Koran 46.28)

In reference to the saying of the jinn, 'that men took refuge with them and they increased them in revolt', Arabs of the Quraysh and others when they were journeying and stopped at the bottom of a vale to pass a night therein used to say, 'I take refuge in the lord of this valley of the jinn tonight from the evil that is therein' (135).

Yaqub (Jacob) b. Utba b. al-Mughira b. al-Akhnas told me that he was informed that the first Arabs to be afraid of falling stars when they were pelted with them were this clan of Thaqif, and that they came to one of their tribesmen called Amr b. Umayya, one of B. Ilaj who was a most astute and shrewd man, and asked him if he had noticed this pelting with stars. He said: 'Yes, but wait, for if they are the well-known stars which guide travellers by land and sea, by which the seasons of summer and winter are known to help men in their daily life, which are being thrown, then by God! it means the end of the world and the destruction of all that is in it. But if they remain constant and other stars are being thrown, then it is for some purpose which God intends towards mankind.'

Mohammed b. Muslim b. Shihab al-Zuhri on the authority of Ali b. al-Husayn b. All b. Abu Talib from Abdullah b. al-Abbas from a number of the Ansar mentioned that the apostle of God said to them, 'What were you saying about this shooting star?' They replied, 'We were saying, a king is dead, a king has been appointed, a child is born, a child has died.' He replied, 'It is not so, but when God has decreed something concerning His creation the bearers of the throne hear it and praise Him, and those below them praise Him, and those lower still praise Him because they have praised, and this goes on until the praise descends to the lowest heaven where they praise. Then they ask each other why, and are told that it is because those above them have done so and they say, "Why do you not ask those above you the reason?", and so it goes on until they reach the bearers of the throne who say that God has decreed so and so concerning His creation and the news descends from heaven to heaven to the lowest heaven where they discuss it, and the satans steal it by listening, mingling it with conjecture and false intelligence. Then they convey it to the soothsayers and tell them of it, sometimes being wrong and sometimes right, and so the soothsayers are sometimes right and sometimes wrong. Then God shut off the satans by these stars with which they were pelted, so soothsaying has been cut off today and no longer exists.'

Amr b. Abu Jafar from Mohammed b. Abdul-Rahman b. Abu Labiba from Ali b. al-Husayn b. Ali told me the same tradition as that of Ibn Shihab.

A learned person told me that a woman of B. Sahm called al-Ghaytala who was a soothsayer in the time of ignorance was visited by her familiar spirit one night. He chirped beneath her, then he said,

I know what I know,
The day of wounding and slaughter.

(* The reading here varies; the word anqada means the shriek of birds or the creaking noise of a door, and can be applied to a man's voice. If we read inqadda, it means the fall or the swoop of a bird. In view of the chirping and muttering of soothsayers all the world over, the first reading seems preferable.)

When the Quraysh heard of this they asked what he meant. The spirit came to her another night and chirped beneath her saying,

Death, what is death?
In it bones are thrown here and there*.

(* This ominous oracle can vie with any oracle from Delphi in obscurity. We can render, 'Glens what are glens?', and this, as the sequel shows, is the way Ibn Ishaq understood the enigma when the battles of Badr and Uhud took place in glens. But such a translation ignores the fact that the antecedent fihi (not fiha) must be a singular, and no form shuub is known in the singular. This translation carries with it the necessity of rendering the following line thus, 'Wherein Kab is lying prostrate', and commentators are unanimous that Kab refers to the tribe of Kab b. Luayy, who provided most of the slain in the battles of Badr and Uhud and so were found 'Thrown on their sides'. In view of the proof text cited by Lane, 2616b, where shab (people) and Kab (the tribe) and kiab (bones used as dice like our knuckle bones) are all found in a single couplet, I am inclined to think that the oracle is still further complicated and that a possible translation is that given above. This, at any rate, has the merit of correct syntax since it requires us to read shaub. The selection of a word susceptible of so many meanings which contains the name of a well-known tribe provides an excellent example of oracular prophecy.).

When (the) Quraysh heard of this they could not understand it and decided to wait until the future should reveal its meaning. When the battle of Badr and Uhud took place in a glen, they knew that this was the meaning of the spirit's message (136).

Ali b. Nafi al-Jurashi told me that Janb, a tribe from the Yaman, had a soothsayer in the time of ignorance, and when the news of the apostle of God was blazed abroad among the Arabs, they said to him, 'Look into the matter of this man for us', and they gathered at the bottom of the mountain where he lived. He came down to them when the sun rose and stood leaning on his bow. He raised his head toward heaven for a long time and began to leap about and say:

O men, God has honoured and chosen Mohammed,
Purified his heart and bowels.
His stay among you, O men, will be short.

Then he turned and climbed up the mountain whence he had come.

A person beyond suspicion told me on the authority of Abdullah b. Kab a freedman of Uthman b. Affan that he was told that when Umar b. al-Khattab was sitting with the people in the apostle's mosque, an Arab came in to visit him. When Umar saw him he said, 'This fellow is still a polytheist, he has not given up his old religion yet, (or, he said), he was a soothsayer in the time of ignorance.' The man greeted him and sat down and 'Umar asked him if he was a Muslim; he said that he was. He said, 'But were you a soothsayer in the time of ignorance?' The man replied, 'Good God, commander of the faithful, you have thought ill of me and have greeted me in a way that I never heard you speak to anyone of your subjects since you came into power.' Umar said, 'I ask God's pardon. In the time of ignorance (Jahiliyyah = The 'House of War') we did worse than this; we worshipped idols and images until God honoured us "with his apostle and*" (*Not in Tabari 1145) with Islam.' The man replied, 'Yes, by God, I was a soothsayer.' Umar said, 'Then tell me what was the most amazing thing your familiar spirit communicated to you.' He said, 'He came to me a month or so before Islam and said:

Have you considered the jinn and their confusion,
Their religion a despair and a delusion,
Clinging to their camels' saddle cloths in profusion?' (137).

Abdullah b. Kab said, Thereupon Umar said, 'I was standing by an idol with a number of the Quraysh in the time of ignorance when an Arab sacrificed a calf. We were standing by expecting to get a part of it, when I heard a voice more penetrating than I have ever heard coming out of the belly of the calf (this was a month or so before Islam), saying:

O blood red one,
The deed is done,
A man will cry
Beside God none.' (138)

Such is what I have been told about soothsayers among the Arabs.

THE JEWISH WARNING ABOUT THE APOSTLE OF GOD

Asim b. Umar b. Qatada told me that some of his tribesmen said: 'What induced us to accept Islam, apart from God's mercy and guidance, was what we used to hear the Jews say. We were polytheists worshipping idols, while they were people of the scriptures with knowledge which we did not possess. There was continual enmity between us, and when we got the better of them and excited their hate, they said, "The time of a prophet (or Messiah) who is to be sent has now come. We will kill you with his aid as "Ad and Iram perished*."' (* If this report is true, it indicates that the Messianic hope was still alive among the Arabian Jews.) We often used to hear them say this. When God sent His apostle we accepted him when he called us to God and we realised what their threat meant and joined him before them. We believed in him but they denied him. Concerning us and them, God revealed the verse in the chapter of the Cow: "And when a book from God came to them confirming what they already had (and they were formerly asking for victory over the unbelievers), when what they knew came to them, they disbelieved it. The curse of God is on the unbelievers."' (139) (Koran 2. 83).

Salih b. Ibrahim b. Abdul-Rahman b. Auf from Mahmud b. Labid, brother of B. Abdul-Ashhal, from Salama b. Salama b. Waqsh (Salama was present at Badr) said: 'We had a Jewish neighbour among B. Abdul-Ashhal, who came out to us one day from his house. (At that time I was the youngest person in my house, wearing a small robe and lying in the courtyard.)

He spoke of the resurrection, the reckoning, the scales, paradise, and hell. When he spoke of these things to the polytheists who thought that there could be no rising after death, they said to him, "Good gracious man! Do you think that such things could be that men can be raised from the dead to a place where there is a garden and a fire in which they will be recompensed for their deeds?" "Yes," he said, "and by Him whom men swear by, he would wish that he might be in the largest oven in his house rather than in that fire: that they would heat it and thrust him into it and plaster it over if he could get out from that fire on the following day."

When they asked for a sign that this would be, he said, pointing with his hand to Mecca and the Yaman, "A prophet will be sent from the direction of this land." When they asked when he would appear, he looked at me, the youngest person, and said: "This boy, if he lives his natural term, will see him," and by God, a night and a day did not pass before God sent Mohammed his apostle and he was living among us. We believed in him, but he denied him in his wickedness and envy. When we asked, "Are you not the man who said these things?" he said, "Certainly, but this is not theman."'

Asim b. Umar b. Qatada on the authority of a shaykh of the B. Qurayza said to me, 'Do you know how Thalaba b. Saya and Asid b. Saya and Asad b. Ubayd of B. Hadl, brothers of B. Qurayza, became Muslims? They were with them during the 'days of ignorance' (Jahiliyyah is often translated as the "Age or Days of Ignorance" and refers to the "House of War". Meaning: all non-Muslim countries today are in the state of Jahiliyyah and must be freed from it by the suppremacy of Islam. This includes also the annihilation and destruction of anything that happened or was made before Islam, such as ancient books and monuments.); then they became their masters in Islam.'

When I said that I did not know, he told me that a Jew from Syria, Ibnul-Hayyaban, came to us some years before Islam and dwelt among us. I have never seen a better man than he who was not a Muslim. When we were living in the time of drought we asked him to come with us and pray for rain. He declined to do so unless we paid him something, and when we asked how much he wanted, he said, "A bushel of dates or two bushels of barley." When we had duly paid up he went outside our harra and prayed for rain for us; and by God, hardly had he left his place when clouds passed over us and it rained. Not

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once nor twice did he do this. Later when he knew that he was about to die he said, "O Jews, what do you think made me leave a land of bread and wine to come to a land of hardship and hunger?" When we said that we could not think why, he said that he had come to this country expecting to see the emergence of a prophet whose time was at hand. This was the town where he would migrate and he was hoping that he would be sent so that he could follow him. "His time has come," he said, "and do not let anyone get to him before you, O Jews; for he will be sent to shed blood and to take captive the women and children of those who oppose him. Let not that keep you back from him."'

When the apostle of God was sent and besieged B. Qurayza, those young men who were growing youths said, 'This is the prophet of whom Ibnul-Hayyaban testified to you.' They said that he was not; but the others asserted that he had been accurately described, so they went and became Muslims and saved their lives, their property, and their families. Such is what I have been told about the Jewish reports (So C, but the beginning of the story suggests that we should read ahbar 'from the Jewish rabbis'.).

HOW SALMAN BECAME A MUSLIM

Asim b. Umar b. Qatada al-Ansari told me on the authority of Mahmud b. Labid from Abdullah b. Abbas as follows: Salman said while I listened to his words: I am a Persian from Ispahan from a village called Jayy. My father was the principal landowner in his village and I was dearer to him than the whole world. His love for me went to such lengths that he shut me in his house as though I were a slave girl. I was such a zealous Magian that I became keeper of the sacred fire, replenishing it and not letting it go out for a moment. Now my father owned a large farm, and one day when he could not attend to his farm he told me to go to it and learn about it, giving me certain instructions. "Do not let yourself be detained," he said, "because you arc more important to me than my farm and worrying about you will prevent me going about my business." So I started out for the farm, and when I passed by a Christian church I heard the voices of the men praying. I knew nothing about them because my father kept me shut up in his house. When I heard their voices I went to see what they were doing; their prayers pleased me and I felt drawn to their worship and thought that it was better than our religion, and I decided that I would not leave them until sunset. So I did not go to the farm. When I asked them where their religion originated, they said "Syria". I returned to my father who had sent after me because anxiety on my account had interrupted all his work. He asked me where I had been and reproached me for not obeying his instructions. I told him that I had passed by some men who were praying in their church and was so pleased with what I saw of their religion that I stayed with them until sunset. He said, "My son, there is no good in that religion; the religion of your fathers is better than that." "No," I said, "It is better than our religion." My father was afraid of what I would do, so he bound me in fetters and imprisoned me in his house.

'I sent to the Christians and asked them if they would tell me when a caravan of Christian merchants came from Syria. They told me, and I said to them: "When they have finished their business and want to go back to their own country, ask them if they will take me." They did so and I cast off the fetters from my feet and went with them to Syria. Arrived there I asked for the most learned person in their religion and they directed me to the bishop. I went to him and told him that I liked his religion and should like to be with him and serve him in his church, to learn from him and to pray with him. He invited me to come in and I did so. Now he was a bad man who used to command people to give alms and induced them to do so and when they brought him money he put it in his own coffers and did not give it to the poor, until he had collected seven jars of gold and silver. I conceived a violent hatred for the man when I saw what he was doing. Sometime later when he died and the Christians came together to bury him I told them that he was a bad man who exhorted them and persuaded them to give alms, and when they brought money put it in his coffers and gave nothing to the poor. They asked how I could possibly know this, so I led them to his treasure and when I showed them the place they brought out seven jars full of gold and silver. As soon as they saw them they said, "By God, we will never bury the fellow," so they crucified him and stoned him and appointed another in his place.

'I have never seen any non-Muslim whom I consider more virtuous, more ascetic, more devoted to the next life, and more consistent night and day than he. I loved him as I had never loved anyone before. I stayed with him a long time until when he was about to die I told him how I loved him and asked him to whom he would confide me and what orders he would give me now that he was about to die. He said, "My dear son, I do not know anyone who is as I am. Men have died and have either altered or abandoned most of their true religion, except a man in Mausil (Mossul, Iraq); he follows my faith, so join yourself to him. So when he died and was buried, I attached myself to the bishop of Mausil telling him that so-and-so had confided me to him when he died and told me that he followed the same path. I stayed with him and found him just as he had been described, but it was not long before he died and I asked him to do for me what his predecessor had done. He replied that he knew of only one man, in Nasibin, who followed the same path and he recommended me to go to him (Guillaume: I have abbreviated the repetitive style of the narrative which is that of popular stories all the world over. The same words, and the same details, occur in each paragraph with the change of names: Mausil, Nasibin, Ammuriya, leading up to the obvious climax, Mohammed.).

'I stayed with this good man in Nasibin for some time and when he died he recommended me to go to a colleague in Ammuriya. I stayed with him for some time and laboured until I possessed some cows and a small flock of sheep; then when he was about to die I asked him to recommend me to someone else. He told me that he knew of no one who followed his way of life, but that a prophet was about to arise who, would be sent with the religion of Abraham; he would come forth in Arabia and would migrate to a country between two lava belts, between which were palms. He has unmistakable marks. He will eat what is given to him but not things given as alms. Between his shoulders is the seal of prophecy. "If you are able to go to that country, do so." Then he died and was buried and I stayed in Ammuriya as long as God willed. Then a party of Kalbite merchants passed by and I asked them to take me to Arabia and I would give them those cows and sheep of mine. They accepted the offer and took me with them until we reached Wadil-Qura, when they sold me to a Jew as a slave. I saw the palm-trees and I hoped that this would be the town which my master had described to me, for I was not certain. Then a cousin of his from B. Qurayza of Medina came and bought me and carried me away to Medina, and, by God, as soon as I saw it I recognised it from my master's description. I dwelt there and the apostle of God was sent and lived in Mecca; but I did not hear him mentioned because I was fully occupied as a slave. Then he migrated to Medina and as I was in the top of a palm-tree belonging to my master, carrying out my work while my master sat below, suddenly a cousin of his came up to him and said: "God smite the B. Qayla! They arc gathering at this moment in Quba round a man who has

come to them from Mecca today asserting that he is a prophet." (140)

'When I heard this I was seized with trembling (141), so that I thought I should fall on my master; so I came down from the palm and began to say to his cousin, "What did you say? What did you say?" My master was angered and gave me a smart blow, saying, "What do you mean by this ? Get back to your work." I said, "Never mind, I only wanted to find out the truth of his report." Now I had a little food which I had gathered, and I took it that evening to the apostle of God who was in Quba and said, "I have heard that you are an honest man and that your companions are strangers in want; here is something for alms, for I think that you have more right to it than others." So I gave it to him. The apostle said to his companions, "Eat!" but he did not hold out his own hand and did not eat. I said to myself, "That is one;" then I left him and collected some food and the apostle went to Medina. Then I brought it to him and said, "I see that you do not eat food given as alms, here is a present which I freely give you." The apostle ate it and gave his companions some. I said, "That's two;" then I came to the apostle when he was in Baqiu-l-Gharqad (The cemetery of Medina which lies outside the town.). where he had followed the bier of one of his companions. Now I had two cloaks, and as he was sitting with his companions, I saluted him and went round to look at his back so that I could see whether the seal which my master had described to me was there. When the apostle saw me looking at his back he knew that I was trying to find out the truth of what had been described to mc, so he threw off his cloak laying bare his back and I looked at the seal and recognised it. Then I bent over him kissing him and weeping. The apostle said, "Come here;" so I came and sat before him and told him my story as I have told you, O b. Abbas. The apostle wanted his companions to hear my story. Then servitude occupied Salman so that he could not be at Badr and Uhud with the apostle.

Salman continued: 'Then the apostle said to me, "Write an agreement;" so I wrote to my master agreeing to plant three hundred palm-trees for him, digging out the base, and to pay forty okes of gold. The apostle called on his companions to help me, which they did; one with thirty little palms, another with twenty, another with fifteen, and another with ten, each helping as much as he could until the three hundred were complete. The apostle told me to go and dig the holes for them, saying that when I had done so he would put them in with his own hand. Helped by my companions I dug the holes and came and told him; so we all went out together, and as we brought him the palm shoots he planted them with his own hand; and by God, not one of them died. Thus. I had delivered the palm-trees, but the money was still owing. Now the apostle had been given a piece of gold as large as a hen's egg from one of the mines (For an interesting account of the reopening of an ancient mine in the Wajh-Yanbu* area of the Hijaz see K. S. Twitchell, Saudi Arabia, Princeton, 1947, pp. 159 f. Kufic inscriptions, said to date from A.D. 750, were found there, and this may well have been one of 'King Solomon's mines'.) and he summoned me and told me to take it and pay my debt with it. "How far will this relieve e of my debt, O Apostle of God?" I said. "Take it," he replied, "for God will pay your debt with it." So I took it and weighed it out to them, and by God, it weighed forty okes, and so I paid my debt with it and Salman was free. I took part with the Apostle in the battle of the Ditch as a free man and thereafter I was at every other battle.'

Yazid b. Abu Habib from a man of Abdul-Qays from Salman told me that the latter said: 'When I said, "How far will this relieve me of my debt?" the apostle took it and turned it over upon his tongue, then he said, "Take it and pay them in full"; so I paid them in full, forty okes.' (The oke being roughly an ounce, a miracle is implied.).

Asim b. Umar b. Qatada on the authority of a trustworthy informant from Umar b. Abdul-Aziz b. Marwan said that he was told that Salman the Persian told the apostle that his master in 'Ammuriya told him to go to a certain place in Syria where there was a man who lived between two thickets. Every year as he used to go from one to the other, the sick used to stand in his way and everyone he prayed for was healed. He said, 'Ask him about this religion which you seek, for he can tell you of it.' So I went on until I came to the place I had been told of, and I found that people had gathered there with their sick until he came out to them that night passing from one thicket to the other. The people came to him with their sick and everyone he prayed for was healed. They prevented me from getting to him so that I could not approach him until he entered the thicket he was making for, but I took hold of his shoulder. He asked me who I was as he turned to me and I said, 'God have mercy on you, tell me about the Hanifiya, the religion of Abraham.' He replied, 'You are asking about something men do not inquire of today; the time has come near when a prophet will be sent with this religion from the people of the haram. Go to him, for he will bring you to it.' Then he went into the thicket. The apostle said to Salman, 'If you have told me the truth, you met Jesus the son of Mary.'

FOUR MEN WHO BROKE WITH POLYTHEISM

One day when the Quraysh had assembled on a feast day to venerate and circumambulate the idol to which they offered sacrifices, this being a feast which they held annually, four men drew apart secretly and agreed to keep their counsel in the bonds of friendship. They were (1st) Waraqa b. Naufal b. Asad b. Abdul-Uzza b. Qusayy b. Kilab b. Murra b. Kab b. Luayy; (2nd) Ubaydullah b. Jahsh b. Riab b. Yamar b. Sabra b. Murra b. Kabir b. Ghanm b. Dudan b. Asad b. Khuzayma, whose mother was Umayma d. Abdul-Muttalib; (3rd) Uthman b. al-Huwayrith b. Asad b. Abdul-Uzza b. Qusayy; and (4th) Zayd b. Amr b. Nufayl b. Abdul-Uzza b. Abdullah b. Qurt b. Riyah b. Razah b. Adiyy b. Kab b. Luayy. They were of the opinion that their people had corrupted the religion of their father Abraham, and that the stone they went round was of no account; it could neither hear, nor see, nor hurt, nor help. 'Find for yourselves a religion,' they said; 'for by God you have none.' So they went their several ways in the lands, seeking the Hanlfiya, the religion of Abraham.

Waraqa attached himself to (Roman) Christianity and studied its scriptures until he had thoroughly mastered them. Ubaydullah went on searching until Islam came; then he migrated with the Muslims to Abyssinia (Ethiopia) taking with him his wife who was a Muslim, Umm Habiba, d. Abu Sufyan. When he arrived there he adopted (Roman) Christianity, parted from Islam, and died a Christian in Abyssinia.

Mohammed b. Jafar b. al-Zubayr told me that when he had become a (Roman) Christian Ubaydullah as he passed the prophet's companions who were there used to say: 'We see clearly, but your eyes are only half open,' i.e. 'We see, but you are only trying to see and cannot see yet.' He used the word sasa* because when a puppy tries to open its eyes to sec, it only half sees. The other word faqqaha means to open the eyes. After his death the apostle married his widow Umm Habiba. Mohammed b. Ali b. Husayn told me that the apostle sent Amr b. Umayya al-Damri to the Negus (the Emperor of Ethiopia) to ask for her and he married him to her. He gave her as a dowry, on the apostle's behalf, four hundred dinars. Mohammed b. Ali said, 'We think that Abdul-Malik b. Marwan fixed the maximum dowry of women at four hundred dinars because of this precedent.' The man who handed her over to the prophet was Khalid b. Said b. al-As.

Uthman b. al-Huwayrith went to the Roman emperor and became a (Roman) Christian (and was granted Roman citizenship). He was given high office there (142).

Zayd b. Amr stayed as he was: he accepted neither Judaism nor Christianity. He abandoned the religion of his people and abstained from idols, animals that had died, blood, and things offered to idols (The influence of the Jewish formula, also used by James the Brother of Jesus, and the taken over by early Christianity is clear; see Acts 15.29). He forbade the killing of infant daughters, saying that he worshipped the God of

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Abraham, and he publicly rebuked his people for their practices.

Hisham b. Urwa from his father on the authority of his mother Asma d. Abu Bakr said that she saw Zayd as a very old man leaning his back on the Kaaba and saying, 'O Quraysh, By Him in whose hand is the soul of Zayd, not one of you follows the religion of Abraham but I.' Then he said: 'O God, if I knew how you wished to be worshipped I would so worship you; but I do not know.' Then he prostrated himself on the palms of his hands.

I was told that his son, Said b. Zayd, and Umar b. al-Khattab, who was his nephew, said to the apostle, 'Ought we to ask God's pardon for Zayd b. Amr?' He replied, 'Yes, for he will be raised from the dead as the sole representative of a whole people.'

Zayd b. Amr. b. Nufayl composed the follow people and the treatment he received from them:

Am I to worship one lord or a thousand?
If there are as many as you claim,
I renounce al-Lat and al-Uzza both of them
As any strong-minded person would.
I will not worship al-Uzza and her two daughters,
Nor will I visit the two images of the BanG Amr.
I will not worship Hubal (This is the reading of al-Kalbi, but all Manuscripts have Ghanm, a deity unknown. Cf. also Yaq. iii. 665. 8) though he was our lord
In the days when I had little sense.
I wondered (for in the night much is strange
Which in daylight is plain to the discerning),
That God had annihilated many men
Whose deeds were thoroughly evil
And spared others through the piety of a people
So that a little child could grow to manhood.
A man may languish for a time and then recover
As the branch of a tree revives after rain.
I serve my Lord the compassionate
That the forgiving Lord may pardon my sin,
So keep to the fear of God your Lord;
While you hold to that you will not perish.
You will see the pious living in gardens,
While for the infidels hell fire is burning.
Shamed in life, when they die
Their breasts will contract in anguish.
Zayd also said: (143)
To God I give my praise and thanksgiving,
A sure word that will not fail as long as time lasts,
To the heavenly King —there is no God beyond Him
And no lord can draw near to Him.
Beware, O men, of what follows death!
You can hide nothing from God.
Beware of putting another beside God,
For the upright way has become clear.
Mercy I implore, others trust in the jinn,
But thou, my God, art our Lord and our hope.
I am satisfied with thee, O God, as a Lord,
And will not worship another God beside thee.
Thou of thy goodness and mercy
Didst send a messenger to Moses as a herald.
Thou saidst to him, Go thou and Aaron,
And summon Pharaoh the tyrant to turn to God
And say to him, 'Did you spread out this (earth) without a support
Until it stood fast as it does?*
Say to him 'Did you raise this (heaven) without support?
What a fine builder then you were!'
Say to him, 'Did you set the moon in the middle thereof
As a light to guide when night covered it?'
Say to him, 'Who sent forth the sun by day
So that the earth it touched reflected its splendour?'
Say to him, 'Who planted seeds in the dust
That herbage might grow and wax great?
And brought forth its seeds in the head of the plant?'
Therein are signs for the understanding.
Thou in thy kindness did deliver Jonah
Who spent nights in the belly of the fish.
Though I glorify thy name, I often repeat
'O Lord forgive my sins.' (Or: I should add to my sins unless thou forgavest me'.).
O Lord of creatures, bestow thy gifts and mercy upon me And bless my sons and property.

Zayd b. Amr in reproaching his wife Safiya, d. al-Hadrami (144) said:

Now Zayd had determined to leave Mecca to travel about in search of the Hanifiya, the religion of Abraham, and whenever Safiya saw that he had got ready to travel she told al-Khattab b. Nufayl, who was his uncle and his brother by the same mother (This was because his mother was first married to Nufayl and gave birth to al-Khattab; then she married her step-son Amr and gave birth to Zayd; thus the double relationship came into being.) He used to reproach him for forsaking the religion of his people. He had instructed Safiya to tell him if she saw him getting ready to depart; and then Zayd said:

Don't keep me back in humiliation,
O Safiya. It is not my way at all.
When I fear humiliation
I am a brave man whose steed is submissive (So A.Dh. Perhaps mushayya means 'quick to take leave'.).
A man who persistently frequents the gates of kings Whose camel crosses the desert;
One who severs ties with others
Whose difficulties can be overcome without (the aid of) friends.
A donkey only accepts humiliation
When its coat is worn out.
It says, 'I will never give in
Because the load chafes my sides.' (So A.Dh., but one would expect silabuh to mean 'his tough ones'.).
My brother, (my mother's son and then my uncle),
Uses words which do not please me.
When he reproaches me I say,
'I have no answer for him.'
Yet if I wished I could say things
Of which I hold the keys and door.

I was told by one of the family of Zayd b. Amr b. Nufayl that when Zayd faced the Kaaba inside the mosque he used to say,

'Labbayka in truth, in worship and in service (i.e. 'Here I am as a sincere worshipper'.) I take refuge in what Abraham took refuge
When he stood and faced the qibla.'
Then he said:
A humble prisoner, O God, my face in the dust,
Whatever thy commandment do I must.
Pride I seek not, but piety's boon.
The traveller at midday is not as he who sleeps at noon (145).

And Zayd said:
I submit myself to him to whom
The earth which bears mighty rocks is subject.
I le spread it out and when He saw it was settled
Upon the waters, He fixed the mountains on it.
I submit myself to Him to whom clouds which bear
Sweet water are subject.
When they are borne along to a land
They obediently pour copious rain upon it.

Now al-Khattab had so harassed Zayd that he forced him to withdraw to the upper part of Mecca, and he stopped in the mountain of Hira facing the town. Al-Khattab gave instructions to the young irresponsible men of (the) Quraysh that they should not let him enter Mecca and he was able to do so in secret only. When they got to know of that they told al-Khaftab and drove him out and harassed him because of their fear that he would show their religion in its true colours and that some would join him in seceding from it. He said, making much of its sanctity against those of his people who treated it as ordinary:

O God, I am of the holy land, no outsider,
My house is in the centre of the place
Hard by al-Safa.
It is no home of error. (Guillaume: One would expect mizalla for madalla in view of what has been said about the Hums.)

Then he went forth seeking the religion of Abraham, questioning monks and Rabbis until he had traversed al-Mausil and the whole of Mesopotamia; then he went through the whole of Syria until he came to a monk in the high ground of Balqa (The district of which Amman in Jordan was the capital.). This man, it is alleged, was well instructed in Christianity. He asked him about the Hanifiya, the religion of Abraham, and the monk replied, 'You are seeking a religion to which no one today can guide you, but the time of a prophet who will come forth from your
own country which you have just left has drawn near. He will be sent with the Hanifiya, the religion of Abraham, so stick to it, for he is about to be sent now and this is his time.' Now Zayd had sampled Judaism and Christianity and was not satisfied with either of them; so at these words he went away at once making for Mecca; but when he was well inside the country of Lakhm he was attacked and killed.

Waraqa b. Naufal b. Asad composed this elegy over him:
You were altogether on the right path Ibn 'Amr,
You have escaped hell's burning oven
By serving the one and only God
And abandoning vain idols.
And by attaining the religion which you sought
Not being unmindful of the unity of your Lord
You have reached a noble dwelling
Wherein you will rejoice in your generous treatment.
You will meet there the friend of God, (i.e. Abraham.)
Since you were not a tyrant ripe for hell,
For the mercy of God reaches men,
Though they be seventy valleys deep below the earth (146).

THE WORD APPLIED TO THE APOSTLE OF GOD IN THE GOSPEL

Among the things which have reached me about what Jesus the Son of Mary stated in the Gospel which he received from God for the followers of the Gospel, in applying a term to describe the apostle of God, is the following. It is extracted from what John the Apostle set down for them when he wrote the Gospel for them from the Testament of Jesus Son of Mary: 'He that hatcth me hath hated the Lord. And if I had not done in their presence works which none other before me did, they had not. had sin: but from now they are puffed up with pride and think that they will overcome me and also the Lord. But the word that is in the law must be fulfilled, "They hated me without a cause" (i.e. without reason). But when the Comforter has come whom God will send to you from the Lord's presence, and the spirit of truth which will have gone forth from the Lord's presence he (shall bear) witness of me and ye also, because ye have been with me from the beginning. I have spoken unto you about this that ye should not be in doubt*.

The Munahhemana (God bless and preserve him!) in Syriac is Mohammed; in Greek he is the paraclete.

(* The passage quoted is John 15.23 ff. It is interesting to note that the citation comes from the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary and not from the ordinary Bible of the Synac-speaking Churches. The text is corrupt in one or two places; e.g. the phrase 'puffed up with pride and think that they will overcome me'. Bafiru is an obvious corruption of nazaru, which agrees with the Syriac and underlying Greek. Wasannu seems to be another attempt to make sense of the passage. The next word I am unable to explain. The most interesting word is that rendered 'Comforter' which we find in the Palestinian Lectionary, but all other Syriac versions render 'paraclete', following the Greek. This word was well established in the Hebrew- and Aramaic-speaking world. The menahhemana in Syriac means the lifegiver and especially one who raises from the dead. Obviously such a meaning is out of place here and what is meant is one who consoles and comforts people for the loss of one dear to them. This is the meaning in the Talmud and Targum. It ought to be pointed out that by the omission of the words 'that is written' before 'in the law' quite another meaning is given to the prophecy. The natural rendering would be 'the word that concerns the Namlis must be fulfilled'. To Muslims the Namus was the angel Gabriel. Furthermore, the last words are translated as the ordinary Arab reader would understand tashukkil; but in Syrian Arabic it could bear the meaning of the Gospel text 'stumble'. See further my article in Al-Andalus, xv, fasc. 2 (1950), 289-96)

THE PROPHET'S MISSION

When Mohammed the apostle of God reached the age of forty God sent him in compassion to mankind, 'as an evangelist to all men' (Koran 34. 27). Now God had made a covenant with every prophet whom he had sent before him that he should believe in him, testify to his truth and help him against his adversaries, and he required of them that they should transmit that to everyone who believed in them, and they carried out their obligations in that respect. God said to Mohammed, 'When God made a covenant with the prophets (He said) this is the scripture and wisdom which I have given you, afterwards an apostle will come confirming what you know that you may believe in him and help him.' He said, 'Do you accept this and take up my burden?' i.e. the burden of my agreement which I have laid upon you.

They said, 'We accept it.' He answered, 'Then bear witness and I am a witness with you (Koran 3. 75).' Thus God made a covenant with all the prophets that they should testify to his truth and help him against his adversaries and they transmitted that obligation to those who believed in them among the two monotheistic religions.

(Tabari 1142: One whom I do not suspect told me from Said b. Abu Aruba from Qatada b. Diama al-Sadusi from Abul-Jald: 'The Furqan came down on the 14th night of Ramadan. Others say, No, but on the 17th; and in support of this they appeal to God's word: 'And what we sent down to our servant on the day of al-Furqan, the day the two companies met' [Koran 5. 42] which was the meeting of the apostle and the polythcists at Badr, and that took place on the morning of Ramadan 17th.)

Al-Zuhri related from Urwa b. Zubayr that Aisha told him that when Allah desired to honour Mohammed and have mercy on His servants by means of him, the first sign of prophethood vouchsafed to the apostle was true visions, resembling the brightness of daybreak, which were shown to him in his sleep. And Allah, she said, made him love solitude so that he liked nothing better than to be alone.

Abdul-Malik b. Ubaydullah b. Abu Sufyan b. al-Ala b. Jariya the Thaqafite who had a retentive memory related to me from a certain scholar that the apostle at the time when Allah willed to bestow His grace upon him and endow him with prophethood would go forth for his affair and journey far afield until he reached the glens of Mecca and the beds of its valleys where no house was in sight; and not a stone or tree

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that he passed by but would say, 'Peace unto thee, O apostle of Allah.' And the apostle would turn to his right and left and look behind him and he would see naught but trees and stones. Thus he stayed seeing and hearing so long as it pleased Allah that he should stay. Then Gabriel came to him with the gift of God's grace whilst he was on Hira in the month of Ramadan.

Wahb b. Kaisan a client of the family of al-Zubayr told me: I heard Abdullah b. al-Zubayr say to Ubayd b. Umayr b. Qatada the Laythite, 'O Ubayd tell us how began the prophethood which was first bestowed on the apostle when Gabriel came to him.' And Ubayd in my presence related to 'Abdullah and those with him as follows: The apostle would pray in seclusion on Hira every year for a month to practise tahannuth as was the custom of (the) Quraysh in heathen days. Tahannuth is religious devotion.

Abu Talib said:

By Thaur and him who made Thabir firm in its place

And by those going up to ascend Hira and coming down (147), (Thaur and Thabir are mountains near Mecca. The poem is given on p. 173; cf. Yaq.i. 938.).

Wahb b. Kaisan told me that Ubayd said to him: Every year during that month the apostle would pray in seclusion and give food to the poor that came to him. And when he completed the month and returned from his seclusion, first of all before entering his house he would go to the Kaaba and walk round it seven times or as often as it pleased God; then he would go back to his house until in the year when God sent him, in the month of Ramadan in which God willed concerning him what He willed of His grace, the apostle set forth to Hira' as was his wont, and his family with him.

When it was the night on which God honoured him with his mission and showed mercy on His servants thereby, Gabriel brought him the command of God. 'He came to me,' said the apostle of God, 'while I was asleep, with a coverlet of brocade whereon was some writing, and said, "Read!" I said, "What shall I read?" He pressed me with it so tightly that I thought it was death; then he let me go and said, "Read!" I said, "What shall I read ?" He pressed me with it again so that I thought it was death; then he let me go and said "Read!" I said, "What shall I read?" He pressed me with it the third time so that I thought it was death and said "Read!" I said, "What then shall I read?"—and this I said only to deliver myself from him, lest he should do the same to me again. He said:

"Read in the name of thy Lord who created,

Who created man of blood coagulated.

Read! Thy Lord is the most beneficent,

Who taught by the pen,

Taught that which they knew not unto men." (Koran 96.1-5)

So I read it, and he departed from me. And I awoke from my sleep, and it was as though these words were written on my heart. (Now none of God's creatures was more hateful to me than an (ecstatic) poet or a man possessed: I could not even look at them. I thought, Woe is me poet or possessed—Never shall (the) Quraysh say this of me! I will go to the top of the mountain and throw myself down that I may kill myself and gain rest. So I went forth to do so and then) when I was midway on the mountain, I heard a voice from heaven saying, "O Mohammed! thou art the apostle of God and I am Gabriel." I raised my head towards heaven to see (who was speaking), and lo, Gabriel in the form of a man with feet astride the horizon, saying, "O Mohammed! thou art the apostle of God and I am Gabriel."

I stood gazing at him, (and that turned me from my purpose) moving neither forward nor backward; then I began to turn my face away from him, but towards whatever region of the sky I looked, I saw him as before.

And I continued standing there, neither advancing nor turning back, until Khadlja sent her messengers in search of me and they gained the high ground above Mecca and returned to her while I was standing in the same place; then he parted from me and I from him, returning to my family. And I came to Khadija and sat by her thigh and drew close to her. She said, "O Abul-Qasim (The kunya or 'name of honour' of Mohammed.), where hast thou been? By God, I sent my messengers in search of thee, and they reached the high ground above Mecca and returned to me." (I said to her, "Woe is me poet or possessed." She said, "I take refuge in God from that O Abul-Qasim (Mohammed). God would not treat you thus since he knows your truthfulness, your great trustworthiness, your fine character, and your kindness. This cannot be, my dear. Perhaps you did see something." "Yes, I did," I said.) Then I told her of what I had seen ; and she said, "Rejoice, O son of my uncle, and be of good heart. Verily, by Him in whose hand is Khadija's soul, I have hope that thou wilt be the prophet of this people."' Then she rose and gathered her garments about her and set forth to her cousin Waraqa b. Naufal b. Asad b. Abdul-Uzza b. Qusayy, who had become a Christian and read the scriptures and learned from those that follow the Torah and the Gospel. And when she related to him what the apostle of God told her he had seen and heard, Waraqa cried, 'Holy! Holy! Verily by Him in whose hand is Waraqa's soul, if thou hast spoken to me the truth, O Khadija, there hath come unto him the greatest Namus (meaning Gabriel) who came to Moses aforetime, and lo, he is the prophet of this people. Bid him be of good heart.'

So Khadija returned to the apostle of God and told him what Waraqa had said. (and that calmed his fears somewhat.) And when the apostle of God had finished his period of seclusion and returned (to Mecca), in the first place he performed the circumambulation of the Kaaba, as was his wont. While he was doing it, Waraqa met him and said, 'O son of my brother, tell me what thou hast seen and heard.' The apostle told him, and Waraqa said, 'Surely, by Him in whose hand is Waraqa's soul, thou art the prophet of this people. There hath come unto thee the greatest Namus, who came unto Moses. Thou wilt be called a liar, and they will use thee despitefully and cast thee out and fight against thee. Verily, if I live to see that day, I will help God in such wise as He knoweth.' Then he brought his head near to him and kissed his forehead ; and the apostle went to his own house.

(Waraqa's words added to his confidence and lightened his anxiety.) Ismail b. Abu Hakim, a freedman of the family of al-Zubayr, told me on Khadija's authority that she said to the apostle of God, 'O son of my uncle, are you able to tell me about your visitant, when he comes to you?'

He replied that he could, and she asked him to tell her when he came. So when Gabriel came to him, as he was wont, the apostle said to Khadija, 'This is Gabriel who has just come to me.' 'Get up, O son of my uncle,' she said, 'and sit by my left thigh'. The apostle did so, and she said, 'Can you see him?' 'Yes,' he said. She said, 'Then turn round and sit on my right thigh.' He did so, and she said, 'Can you see him?' When he said that he could she asked him to move and sit in her lap. When he had done this she again asked if he could see him, and when he said yes, she disclosed her form and cast aside her veil while the apostle was sitting in her lap. Then she said, 'Can you see him?* And he replied, 'No.' She said, 'O son of my uncle, rejoice and be of good heart, by God he is an angel and not a satan.'

I told Abdullah b. Hasan this story and he said, 'I heard my mother Fatima, daughter of Husayn, talking about this tradition from Khadija, but as I heard it she made the apostle of God come inside her shift, and thereupon Gabriel departed, and she said to the apostle of God, "This verily is an angel and not a satan."'

PART 2

MOHAMMED'S CALL AND PREACHING IN MECCA

THE BEGINNING OF THE SENDING DOWN OF THE KORAN

The apostle began to receive revelations in the month of Ramadan. In the words of God, 'The month of Ramadan in which the Koran was brought down as a guidance to men, and proofs of guidance and a decisive criterion (Koran 2. 181.).'

And again, 'Verily we have sent it down on the night of destiny, and what has shown you what the night of destiny is? The night of destiny is better than a thousand months. In it the angels and the spirit descend by their Lord's permission with every matter. It is peace until the rise of dawn (Koran 97).'

Again, 'H.M. by the perspicuous book, verily we have sent it down in a blessed night. Verily, we were warning. In it every wise matter is decided as a command from us. Verily we sent it down (Koran 44.1-4).' And again, 'Had you believed in God and what we sent down to Our servant on the day of decision, the day on which the two parties met' (Koran 8.42), i.e. the meeting of the apostle with the polytheists in Badr. Abu Jafar Mohammed b. Ali b. al-Husayn told me that the apostle of God met the polytheists in Badr on the morning of Friday, the 17th of Ramadan.

Then revelation came fully to the apostle while he was believing in Him and in the truth of His message. He received it willingly, and took upon himself what it entailed whether of man's goodwill or anger. Prophecy is a troublesome burden—only strong, resolute messengers can bear it by God's help and grace, because of the opposition which they meet from men in conveying God's message. The apostle carried out God's orders in spite of the opposition and ill treatment which he met with.

KHADIJA, DAUGHTER OF KHUWAYLID, ACCEPTS ISLAM

Khadija believed in him and accepted as true what he brought from God, and helped him in his work. She was the first to believe in God and His apostle, and in the truth of his message. By her God lightened the burden of His prophet. He never met with contradiction and charges of falsehood, which saddened him, but God comforted him by her when he went home. She strengthened him, lightened his burden, proclaimed his truth, and belittled men's opposition. May God Almighty have mercy upon her!

Hisham b. Urwa told me on the authority of his father Urwa b. al-Zubayr from Abdullah b. Jafar b. Abu Talib that the apostle said, 'I was commanded to give Khadija the good news of a house of qasab wherein would be no clamour and no toil' (148).

Then revelations stopped for a time so that the apostle of God was distressed and grieved. Then Gabriel brought him the Sura of the Morning, in which his Lord, who had so honoured him, swore that He had not forsaken him, and did not hate him. God said, 'By the morning and the night when it is still, thy Lord hath not forsaken nor hated thee (Koran 93.)," meaning that He has not left you and forsaken you, nor hated you after having loved you. 'And verily, the latter end is better for you than the beginning (Koran 93.),' i.e. What I have for you when you return to Me is better than the honour which I have given you in the world. 'And your Lord will give you and will satisfy you,' i.e. of victory in this world and reward in the next. 'Did he not find you an orphan and give you refuge, going astray and guided you, found you poor and made you rich ?' God thus told him of how He had begun to honour him in his earthly life, and of His kindness to him as an orphan poor and wandering astray, and of His delivering him from all that by His compassion (149).

'Do not oppress the orphan and do not repel the beggar.' That is, do not be a tyrant or proud or harsh or mean towards the weakest of God's creatures. 'Speak of the kindness of thy Lord,' i.e. tell about the kindness of God in giving you prophecy, mention it and call men to it.

So the apostle began to mention secretly God's kindness to him and to his servants in the matter of prophecy to everyone among his people whom he could trust.

THE PRESCRIPTION OF PRAYER

The apostle was ordered to pray and so he prayed. Salih b. Kaisan from Urwa b. al-Zubayr from Aisha told me that she said, 'When prayer was first laid on the apostle it was with two prostrations for every prayer: then God raised it to four prostrations at home while on a journey the former ordinance of two prostrations held.'

A learned person told me that when prayer was laid on the apostle Gabriel came to him while he was on the heights of Mecca and dug a hole for him with his heel in the side of the valley from which a fountain gushed forth, and Gabriel performed the ritual ablution as the apostle watched him. This was in order to show him how to purify himself before prayer. Then the apostle performed the ritual ablution as he had seen Gabriel do it. Then Gabriel said a prayer with him while the apostle prayed with his prayer. Then Gabriel left him. The apostle came to Khadija and performed the ritual for her as Gabriel had done for him, and she copied him. Then he prayed with her as Gabriel had prayed with him, and she prayed his prayer.

Utba b. Muslim freedman of B. Taym from Nan b. Jubayr b. Mutim (who was prolific in relating tradition) from Ibn Abbas told me: 'When prayer was laid upon the apostle Gabriel came to him and prayed the noon prayer when the sun declined. Then he prayed the evening prayer when his shadow equalled his own length. Then he prayed the sunset prayer when the sun set. Then he prayed the last night prayer when the twilight had disappeared. Then he prayed with him the morning prayer when the dawn rose. Then he came to him and prayed the noon prayer on the morrow when his shadow equalled his height. Then he prayed the evening prayer when his shadow equalled the height of both of them. Then he prayed the sunset prayer when the sun set at the time it had the day before. Then he prayed with him the last night prayer when the first third of the night had passed. Then he prayed the dawn prayer when it was clear but the sun was not shining. Then he said, "O Mohammed, prayer is in what is between your prayer today and your prayer yesterday*."' (* Suhayli takes the author to task for saying what he should not. Traditionists are agreed that this story belongs to the morrow of the prophet's night journey some five years later. Opinions differ as to whether this occurred eighteen months or a year before the hijra, but that would have been long after the beginning of revelation.).

(Tabari 1161:) Yunus b. Bukayr said that Mohammed b. Ishaq told him that Yahya b.Abul-Ashath al-Kindi of the people of Kufa said that Ismail b. Iyas b. Afif from his father from his grandfather said, 'When I was a merchant I came to al-Abbas during the days of pilgrimage; and while we were together a man came out to pray and stood facing the Kaaba; then a woman came out and stood praying with him; then a young man came out and stood praying with him. I said to 'Abbas, "What is their religion? It is some thing new to me." He said, "This is Mohammed b. Abdullah who alleges that God has sent him with it and that the treasures of Chosrhoes and Caesar will be opened to him. The woman is his wife Khadija who believes in him, and this young man is his nephew Ali who believes in him." Afif said, "Would that I could have believed that day and been a third!"' (This may be one of the traditions which Ibn Ishaq was accused of producing or recording in support of the Alids. It is certainly open to criticism.)

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(Tabari 1162:) Ibn Hamid said that Salama b. al-Fadl and Ali b. Mujahid told him. Salama said, Mohammed b. Ishaq told me from Yahya b. Abul-Ashath—Tabari said, 'It is in another place in my book from Yahya b. al-Ashath from Ismail b. Iyas b. Afif al-Kindi, Afif being the brother of al-Ashath b. Qays al-Kindi by the same mother and the son of his uncle —from his father, from his grandfather Afif: Al-Abbas b. Abdul-Muttalib was a friend of mine who used to go often to the Yaman to buy aromatics and sell them during the fairs. While I was with him in Mina there came a man in the prime of life and performed the full rites of ablution and then stood up and prayed. Then a woman came out and did her ablutions and stood up and prayed. Then out came a youth just approaching manhood, did his ablutions, then stood up and prayed by his side.

When I asked al-Abbas what was going on, he said that it was his nephew Mohammed b. Abdullah b. Abdul-Muttalib who alleges (A hit at al-Abbas.) that Allah has sent him as an apostle; the other is my brother's son Ali b. Abu Talib who has followed him in his religion; the third is his wife Khadija d. Khuwaylid who also follows him in his religion.' Afif said after he had become a Muslim and Islam was firmly established in his heart, "Would that I had been a fourth!"

ALI B. ABU TALIB THE FIRST MALE TO ACCEPT ISLAM

Ali was the first male to believe in the apostle of God, to pray with him and to believe in his divine message, when he was a boy of ten. God favoured him in that he was brought up in the care of the apostle before Islam began.

Abdullah b. Abu Najih on the authority of Mujahid b. Jabr Abul-Hajjaj told me that God showed His favour and goodwill towards him when a grievous famine overtook (the) Quraysh. Now Abu Talib had a large family, and the prophet approached his uncle, Al-Abbas, who was one of the richest of B. Hashim, suggesting that in view of his large family and the famine which affected everyone, they should go together and offer to relieve him of the burden of some of his family. Al-Abbas agreed, and so they went to Abu Talib offering to relieve him from his responsibility of two boys until conditions improved. Abu Talib said, 'Do what you like so long as you leave me Aqil' (150). So the apostle took Ali and kept him with him and Al-Abbas took Jafar. Ali continued to be with the apostle until God sent him forth as a prophet. Ali followed him, believed him, and declared his truth, while Jafar remained with Al-Abbas until he became a Muslim and was independent of him.

A traditionist mentioned that when the time of prayer came the apostle used to go out to the glens of Mecca accompanied by Ali, who went unbeknown to his father, and his uncles and the rest of his people. There they used to pray the ritual prayers, and return at nightfall. This went on as long as God intended that it should, until one day Abu Talib came upon them while they were praying, and said to the apostle, 'O nephew, what is this religion which I see you practising?' He replied, 'O uncle, this is the religion of God, His angels, His apostles, and the religion of our father Abraham.' Or, as he said, 'God has sent me as an apostle to mankind, and you, my uncle, most deserve that I should teach you the truth and call you to guidance, and you are the most worthy to respond and help me,' or words to that effect. His uncle replied, 'I cannot give up the religion of my fathers which they followed, but by God you shall never meet with anything to distress you so long as I live.' They mention that he said to Ali, 'My boy, what is this religion of yours?' He answered, 'I believe in God and in the apostle of God, and I declare that what he has brought is true, and I pray to God with him and follow him.' They allege that he said, 'He would not call you to anything but what is good so stick to him.'

Zayd the freedman of the apostle was the first male to accept Islam after Ali (151). Then Abu Bakr b. Abu Quhafa whose name was Atiq became a Muslim. His father's name was Uthman b. Amir b. Amr b. Kab b. Sad b. Taym b. Murra b. Kab b. Luayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr. When he became a Muslim, he showed his faith openly and called others to God and his apostle. He was a man whose society was desired, well liked and of easy manners. He knew more about the genealogy of (the) Quraysh than anyone else and of their faults and merits. He was a merchant of high character and kindliness. His people used to come to him to discuss many matters with him because of his wide knowledge, his experience in commerce, and his sociable nature. He began to call to God and to Islam all whom he trusted of those who came to him and sat with him (152).

[I.K. iii, 24.: The following day Ali b. Abu Talib came as the two of them were praying and asked, 'What is this, Mohammed?' He replied, 'It is God's religion which He has chosen for Himself and sent His apostles with it. I call you to God, the One without an associate, to worship Him and to disavow al-Lat and al-Uzza.' Ali said, 'This is something that I have never heard of before today. I cannot decide a matter until I have talked about it with Abu Talib.' Now the apostle did not want his secret to be divulged before he applied himself to the publication of his message, so he said, 'If you do not accept Islam, then conceal the matter.' Ali tarried that night until God put Islam into his heart. Early next morning he went to the apostle and asked him what his orders were. He said, 'Bear witness that there is no god but Allah alone without associate, and disavow al-Lat and al-Uzza, and renounce rivals.' Ali did so and became a Muslim. He refrained from coming to him out of fear of Abu Talib and concealed his Islam and did not let it be seen.

Zayd b. Haritha became a Muslim and the two of them tarried nearly a month. (Then) Ali kept coming to the apostle. It was a special favour to Ali from God that he was in the closest association with the apostle before Islam.]

THE COMPANIONS WHO ACCEPTED ISLAM AT THE INVITATION OF ABU BAKR

Those who accepted Islam at his invitation according to what I heard were (Guillaume: I have omitted the intervening names in genealogies which have been given already.):

Uthman b. Affan b. Abul-As b. Umayya b. Abdu Shams b. Abdu Manaf b. Qusayy . . b. Luayy; al-Zubayr b. al-Awwam b. Khuwavlid b. Asad b. Abdul-Uzza b. Qusayy . . . b. Luayy; Abdul-Rahman b. Auf b. Abdu Auf b. Abd b. al-Harith b. Zuhra . . . b. Luayy; Sad b. Abu Waqqas. (The latter was Malik b. Uhayb b. Abdu Manaf . . . b. Luayy); Talha b. Ubaydullah b. Uthman b. Amr b. Kab b. Sad . . . b. Luayy.

He brought them to the apostle when they had accepted his invitation and they accepted Islam and prayed. (Not in Tabari:) "I have heard that the apostle of God used to say: 'I have never invited anyone to accept Islam but he has shown signs of reluctance, suspicion, and hesitation, except Abu Bakr. When I told him of it he did not hold back or hesitate' (153)."

These were the first eight men to accept Islam and prayed and believed in the divine inspiration of the apostle.

After them came:

Abu Ubayda b. al-Jarrah whose name was Amir b. Abdullah b. al-Jarrah b. Hilal b. Uhayb b. Dabba b. al-Harith b. Fihr. Abu Salama whose name was Abdullah b. Abdul-Asad . . . b. Luayy. Al-Arqam b. Abul-Arqam. (The latter's name was Abdu Manaf b. Asad—and Asad bore the honorific of Abu Jundub—b. Abdullah b. Amr . . . b. Luayy.) Uthman b. Mazun b. Habib b. Wahb b. Hudhafa . . . b. Luayy. His two brothers Qudama and Abdullah, sons of Mazun. Ubayda b. al-Harith b. al-Muttalib b. Abdu Manaf . . . b. Luayy. Said b. Zayd b. Amr b. Nufayl b. Abdul-Uzza b. Abdullah b. Qurt . . . b. Luayy, and his wife Fatima d. al Khattab b. Nufayl just mentioned, she being the sister of Urnar b. al-Khattab. Asma d. Abu Bakr, together with his little daughter Aisha. Khabbab b. al-Aratt ally of the B. Zuhra (154). Umayr b. Abu Waqqas, brother of Sad. Abdullah b. Masud b. al-Harith b. Shamkh b. Makhzum b. Sahilab. Kahil b. al-Harith b. Tamim b. Sad b. Hudhayl, ally of the B. Zuhra. Masud b. al-Qari who was the son of Rabia b. Amr b. Sad b. Abdul-Uzza b. Hamala b. Ghalib b. Muhallim b. Aidha b. Subay b. al-Hun b. Khuzayma from al-Qara (155). Salit b. Amr b. Abdu Shams b. Abdu Wudd b. Nasr . . . b. Luayy. Ayyash b. Abu Rabia b. al-Mughira b. Abdullah b. Amr . . . b. Luayy, and his wife Asma d. Salama b. Mukharriba the Tamlmite. Khunays b. Hudhafa b. Qays b. Adly b. Sad b. Sahm b. Amr . . . b. Luayy. Amir b. Rabia of Anz b. Wail, ally of the family of al-Khattab b. Nufayl b. Abdul-Uzza (156). Abdullah b. Jahsh b. Riab b. Yamar b. Sabira b. Murra b. Kabir b. Ghanm b. Dudan b. Asad b. Khuzayma, and his brother Abu Ahmad, both allies of the B. Umayya. Jafar b. Abu Talib and his wife Asma d. Umays b. Numan b. Kab b. Malik b. Quhafa of Khatham. Hatib b. al-Harith b. Mamar b. Habib b. Wahb b. Hudhafa . . . b. Luayy, and his wife Fatima d. al-Mujallil b. Abdullah b. Abu Qays b. Abdu Wudd b. Nasr b. Malik . . . b. Luayy. And his brother Hattab b. al-Harith and his wife Fukayha d. Yasar. Mamar b. al-Harith above. Al-Saib b. Uthman b. Mazun above. Al-Muttalib b. Azhar b. Abdu Auf b. Abd b. al-Harith . . . b. Luayy, and his wife Ramla d. Abu Auf b. Subayra b. Suayd . . b. Luayy. Al-Nahham whose name was Nuaym b. Abdullah b. Asid . . . b. Luayy (157). Amir b. Fuhayra, freedman of Abu Bakr (158). Khalid b. Said b. al As b. Umayya . . . b. Luayy and his wife Umayna (159) d. Khalaf b. Asad b. Amir b. Bayada b. Subay . . . from Khuzaa; Hatib b. Amr b. Abdu Shams . . . b. Luayy; Abu Hudhayfa (160); Waqid b. Abdullah b. Abdu Manaf b. Arm b. Thalaba b. Yarbu b. Hanzala b. Malik b. Zayd Manat b. Tamim an ally of B. Adiy b. Kab (161); Khalid, Amir, Aqil, Iyas, the sons of al-Bukayr b. Abdu Yalil b. Nashib b. Ghiyara b. Sad b. Layth b. Bakr b. Abdu Manat b. Kinana, allies of B. Adiy; Ammar b. Yasir, ally of B. Makhzmm b. Yaqaza (162); Suhayb b. Sinan one of the Namir b. Qasit, an ally of B. Taym b. Murra (163).

THE APOSTLE'S PUBLIC PREACHING AND THE RESPONSE 166

People began to accept Islam, both men and women, in large numbers until the fame of it was spread throughout Mecca, and it began to be talked about. Then God commanded His apostle to declare the truth of what he had received and to make known His commands to men and to call them to Him. Three years elapsed from the time that the apostle concealed his state until God commanded him to publish his religion, according to information which has reached me. Then God said, 'Proclaim what you have been ordered and turn aside from the polytheists (Koran 15. 94.).' And again, 'Warn thy family, thy nearest relations, and lower thy wing to the followers who follow thee (Koran 26.214, i.e. 'deal gently with'.).' And 'Say, I am the one who warns plainly' (Koran 15.8,9.) (164).

(Tabari 1171:) Ibn Hamid from Salama from Ibn Ishaq from Abdullah b. al-Ghaffar b. al-Qasim from al-Minhal b. Amr from Abdullah b. al-Harith b. Naufal b. al-Harith b. Abdul-Muttalib from Abdullah b. 'Abbas from Ali b. Abu Talib said: When these words 'Warn thy family, thy nearest relations' came down to the apostle he called me and said, 'God has ordered me to warn my family, my nearest relations and the task is beyond ray strength. I know that when I made this message known to them I should meet with great unpleasantness so I kept silence until Gabriel came to me and told me that if I did not do as I was ordered my Lord would punish me. So get some food ready with a leg of mutton and fill a cup with milk and then get together the sons of Abdul-Muttalib so that I can address them and tell them what I have been ordered to say.' I did what he ordered and summoned them. There were at that time forty men more or less including his uncles Abu Talib, Hamza, al-Abbas, and Abu Lahab. When they were assembled he told me to bring in the food which I had prepared for them, and when I produced it the apostle took a bit of the meat and split it in his teeth and threw it into the dish. Then he said, 'Take it in the name of God.' The men ate till they could eat no more, and all I could see (in the dish) was the place where their hands had been. And as sure as I live if there had been only one man he could have eaten what I put before the lot of them. Then he said, 'Give the people to drink', so I brought them the cup and they drank until they were all satisfied, and as sure as I live if there had been, only one man he could have drunk that amount. When the apostle wanted to address them Abu Lahab got in first and said, 'Your host has bewitched you'; so they dispersed before the apostle could address them. On the morrow he said to me, 'This man spoke before I could, and the people dispersed before I could address them, so do exactly as you did yesterday.' Everything went as before and then the apostle said, 'O Sons of Abdul-Muttalib, I know of no Arab who has come to his people with a nobler message than mine. I have brought you the best of this world and the next. God has ordered me to call you to Him. So which of you will co-operate with me in this matter, my brother, my executor, and my successor being among you?' The men remained silent and I, though the youngest, most rheumy-eyed, fattest in body and thinnest in legs, said: 'O prophet of God, I will be your helper in this matter.' He laid his hand on the back of my neck and said, 'This is my brother, my executor, and my successor among you. Hearken to him and obey him.' The men got up laughing and saying to Abu Talib, 'He has ordered you to listen to your son and obey him!')

(Tabari 1173.: Ibn Hamid from Salama from Ibn Ishaq from Amr b. Ubayd from al-Hasan b. Abul-Hasan said: When this verse came down to the apostle, he stood in the vaie and said, 'O Sons of Abdul-Muttalib; O Sons of Abdu Manaf; O Sons of Qusayy.' —Then he named (the) Quraysh tribe by tribe until he came to the end of them— 'I call you to God and I warn you of his punishment.')

When the apostle's companions prayed they went to the glens so that their people could not see them praying, and while Sad b. Abu Waqqas was with a number of the prophet's companions in one of the glens of Mecca, a band of polytheists came upon them while they were praying and rudely interrupted them. They blamed them for what they were doing until they came to blows, and it was on that occasion that Sa'd smote a polytheist with the jawbone of a camel and wounded him. This was the first blood to be shed in Islam.

When the apostle openly displayed Islam as God ordered him his people did not withdraw or turn against him, so far as I have heard, until he spoke disparagingly of their gods. When he did that they took great offence and resolved unanimously to treat him as an enemy, except those whom God had protected by Islam from such evil, but they were a despised minority. Abu Talib his uncle treated the apostle kindly and protected him, the latter continuing to obey God's commands, nothing turning him back. When (the) Quraysh saw that he would not yield to them and withdrew from them and insulted their gods and that his uncle treated him kindly and stood up in his defence and would not give him up to them, some of their leading men went to Abu Talib, namely Utba and Shayba, both sons of Rabia b. Abdu Shams ... and Abu Sufyan (165) b. Harb ... and Abul-Bakhtari whose name was al-As b. Hisham b. al-Harith b. Asad ... and al-Aswad b. al-Muttalib b. Asad ... and Abu Jahl (whose name was Amr, his title being Abul-Hakam) b. Hisham b. al Mughira ... and al-Walid b. al-Mughira ... and Nubayh and Munabbih two sons of al-Hajjaj b. Amir b. Hudhayfa ... and al-As b. Wa'il (166). They said,

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'O Abu Talib, your nephew has cursed our gods, insulted our religion, mocked our way of life ('ahlam' means the civilisation and virtues of the pre-Islamic Arabs.) and accused our forefathers of error; either you must stop him or you must let us get at him, for you yourself are in the same position as we are in opposition to him and we will rid you of him.' He gave them a conciliatory reply and a soft answer and they went away.

The apostle continued on his way, publishing God's religion and calling men thereto. In consequence his relations with (the) Quraysh deteriorated and men withdrew from him in enmity. They were always talking about him and inciting one another against him. Then they went to Abu Talib a second time and said, 'You have a high and lofty position among us, and we have asked you to put a stop to your nephew's activities but you have not done so. By God, we cannot endure that our fathers should be reviled, our customs mocked and our gods insulted. Until you rid us of him we will fight the pair of you until one side perishes,' or words to that effect. Thus saying, they went off. Abu Talib was deeply distressed at the breach with his people and their enmity but he could not desert the apostle and give him up to them.

Yaqub (Jacob) b. Utba b. al-Mughira b. al-Akhnas told me that he was told that after hearing these words from the Quraysh Abu Talib sent for his nephew and told him what his people had said. 'Spare me and yourself,' he said. 'Do not put on me a burden greater than I can bear.' The apostle thought that his uncle had the idea of abandoning and betraying him, and that he was going to lose his help and support. He answered, 'O my uncle, by God, if they put the sun in my right hand and the moon in my left on condition that-I abandoned this course, until God has made it victorious, or I perish therein, I would not abandon it.' Then the apostle broke into tears, and got up. As he turned away his uncle called him and said, 'Come back, my nephew,' and when he came back, he said, 'Go and say what you please, for by God I will never give you up on any account.'

When the Quraysh perceived that Abu Talib had refused to give up the apostle, and that he was resolved to part company with them, they went to him with Umara b. al-Walid b. al-Mughira and said, according to my information, 'O Abu Talib, this is Umara, the strongest and most handsome young man among (the) Quraysh, so take him and you will have the benefit of his intelligence and support; adopt him as a son and give up to us this nephew of yours, who has opposed your religion and the religion of your fathers, severed the unity of your people, and mocked our way of life, so that we may kill him. This will be man for man.' He answered, 'By God, this is an evil thing that you would put up upon me, would you give me your son that I should feed him for you, and should I give you my son that you should kill him? By God, this shall never be.' Al-Mutim b. Adly said, 'Your people have treated you fairly and have taken pains to avoid what you dislike. I do not think that you are willing to accept anything from them.' Abu Talib replied, 'They have not treated me fairly, by God, but you have agreed to betray me and help the people against me, so do what you like,' or words to that effect. So the situation worsened, the quarrel became heated and people were sharply divided, and openly showed their animosity to their opponents. Abu Talib wrote the following verses, indirectly attacking Mutim, and including those who had abandoned him from the Abdu Manaf, and his enemies among the tribes of (the) Quraysh. He mentions therein what they had asked of him and his estrangement from them.

Say to Amr and al-Walid and Mutim
Rather than your protection give me a young camel,
Weak, grumbling and murmuring,
Sprinkling its flanks with its urine
Lagging behind the herd, and not keeping up.
When it goes up the desert ridges, you would call it a weasel.
I see our two brothers, sons of our mother and father,
When they are asked for help, say 'It is not our business.'
Nay, it is their affair, but they have fallen away,
As a rock falls from the top of Dhu Alaq (A mountain in the Banu Asad country.). I mean especially 'Abdu Shams and Naufal,
Who have flung us aside like a burning coal.
They have slandered their brothers among the people;
Their hands are emptied of them.
They shared their fame with men of low birth,
With men whose fathers were whispered about;
And Taym, and Makhzum, and Zuhra, are of them
Who ljad been friends of ours when help was sought;
By God, there will always be enmity between us
As long as one of our descendants lives.
Their minds and thoughts were foolish,
They were entirely without judgement (To say that a man's well is demolished is to accuse him of losing all common sense.(167).

Then the Quraysh incited people against the companions of the apostle who had become Muslims. Every tribe fell upon the Muslims among them, beating them and seducing them from their religion. God protected His apostle from them through his uncle, who, when he saw what (the) Quraysh were doing, called upon B. Hashim and B. al-Muttalib to stand with him in protecting the apostle. This they agreed to do, with the exception of Abu Lahab, the accursed enemy of God.

Abu Talib was delighted at the response of his tribe and their kindness, and began to praise them and to bring to men's memory their past. He mentioned the superiority of the apostle among them and his position so that he might strengthen their resolve and that they might extend their kindness to him. He said:

If one day (the) Quraysh gathered together to boast,
Abdu Manaf would be their heart and soul;
And if the nobles of Abdu Manaf were reckoned,
Amongst Hashim would be their noblest and chief;
If they boast one day, then Mohammed
Would be the chosen noble and honourable one.
(The) Quraysh summoned everyone against us;
They were not successful and they were beside themselves.
Of old we have never tolerated injustice;
When people turned away their faces in pride we made them face us.
We protected their sanctuary whenever danger threatened
And drove the assailant from its buildings.
Through us the dry wood becomes green,
Under our protection its roots expand and grow.

AL-WALID B. AL-MUGHIRA

When the fair was due, a number of the Quraysh came to al-Walid b. al-Mughira, who was a man of some standing, and he addressed them in these words: 'The time of the fair has come round again and representatives of the Arabs will come to you and they will have heard about this fellow of yours, so agree upon one opinion without dispute so that none will give the lie to the other.' They replied, 'You give us your opinion about him.' He said, 'No, you speak and I will listen.' They said, 'He is a kahin: He said, 'By God, he is not that, for he has not the unintelligent murmuring and rhymed speech of the kahin.' 'Then he is possessed,' they said. 'No, he is not that,' he said, 'we have seen possessed ones, and here is no choking, spasmodic movements and whispering.' 'Then he is a poet,' they said. 'No, he is no poet, for we know poetry in all its forms and metres.' 'Then he is a sorcerer.' 'No, we have seen sorcerers and their sorcery, and here is no spitting and no knots." 'Then what are we to say, O Abu Abdu Shams?' they asked. He replied, 'By God, his speech is sweet, his root is a palm-tree whose branches are fruitful (168), and everything you have said would be known to be false. The nearest thing to the truth is your saying that he is a sorcerer, who has brought a message by which he separates a man from his father, or from his brother, or from his wife, or from his family.'

At this point they left him, and began to sit on the paths which men take when they come to the fair. They warned everyone who passed them about Mohammed's doings. God revealed concerning al-Walid:

Leave to Me him I made,
Giving him wealth and trade,
While sons before him played,
The road for him I laid,
Then he coveted more of My aid,
Ay, Our signs hath he gainsaid

(Koran 74.11-25, Guillaume: It is strange that after al-Walid has made the point that Mohammed cannot be a kahin because he does not deliver messages in saj' the next quotation from the Koran should be an example (to which I fear I have not done justice) of that very form. (169).

'I shall impose on him a grievous burden; he thought and planned; may he perish how he planned, may he perish how he planned. Then he looked, then he frowned, and showed anger' (170).

'Then he turned his back in pride and said, "This is nothing but ancient sorcery, this is nothing but the speech of a mortal".'

Then God revealed concerning the men who were with him, composing a term to describe the apostle and the revelation he brought from God, 'As we sent down upon the dividers who had split the Koran into parts, by thy Lord we will ask them all about what they used to do' (Koran 15. 90.) (171).

So these men began to spread this report about the apostle with everyone they met so that the Arabs went away from that fair knowing about the apostle, and he was talked about in the whole of Arabia. When Abu Talib feared that the multitude would overwhelm him with his family he composed the following ode, in which he claimed protection in the sanctuary of Mecca and by his position therein. He showed his affection for the nobles of his people while, nevertheless, he told them and others in his poetry that he was not going to give up the apostle or surrender him on any account whatever, but he would die in his defence.

When I saw the people had no love for us
And had severed every tie and relationship,
And shown us enmity and ill-will,
Obeying the orders of persecuting enemies,
And had allied themselves with treacherous people against us,
Biting their fingers in rage at our backs,
I stood firm against them with my pliant spear,
And my shining sword, heirloom of princes.
Round the temple I gathered my clan and my brothers,
And laid hold of the striped red cloth that covered it,
Standing together, facing its gates,
Where everyone who takes an oath completes his vow,
Where the pilgrims make their camels kneel,
Where the blood flows between Isaf and Na'ila,
Camels marked on the shoulders or neck,
Tamed ones, between six and nine years old;
You see amulets on them, and alabaster ornaments
Bound on their necks like date-bearing branches.
I take refuge with the Lord of men from every adversary
And every lying assailant;
From the hater with his hurtful slander,
And from him who adds to religion what we have not tried.
By Thaur and Him who fixed Thabir in his place,
And by him who goes up and down Hira (Hira, Thaur, and Thabir were all mountains round Mecca.);
By the true temple of the valley of Mecca;
By God who is never unmindful;
By the black stone, when they stroke it
When they go round it morning and evening;
By Abraham's footprint in the rock still fresh,
With both feet bare, without sandals;
By the running between Marwa and Safa,
And by the statues and images therein;
By every pilgrim riding to the house of God,
And everyone with a vow and everyone on foot;
By Hal, the furthest sacred spot* to which they go

(* Hal in the Lisdn is said to be a strip of sand where the people halt, but the lines in Nabigha 17.22 and 19.14 show that it was the name of a sanctuary and possibly, as Wellhausen, p. 83, says, 'of the God of 'Arafa').

Where the streamlets open out;
By their halt at even above the mountains
When they help the camels by their hands to rise

(Guillaume: The words suggest the way in which men get a reluctant camel to its feet. One man pushes up the camel's chest while the other pulls its head up by the reins. Here perhaps the latter action alone is meant as the 'poet' is speaking of a halt; even so. 'they raise the breasts of the camels with their hands' is an unnatural way to speak of pulling on the reins.);

By the night of the meeting, by the stations of Mina,
Are any holy places and stations superior?
By the crowd, when the home-going horses pass by quickly
As though escaping from a storm of rain;
By the great stone heap*, when they make for it
Aiming at its top with stones;

(* Guillaume: The largest of the three heaps of stones at Mina, presumably that known as Jamrata l-Aqaba. Cf. Hassan b. Thabit's lament where the pilgrims throw seven stones. The rite is not mentioned in the Koran, but wc shall meet it again in the Sira on pp. 534 and 970 of the Arabic text. Sec further Djamar in E.I.)

By Kinda, when they are at al-Hisab at even,
When the pilgrims of Bakr b. Wail pass by them
Two allies who strengthened the tie between them,
And directed to it all means of unity;

(Guillaume: The following line is very difficult, as C.'s notes show. Unfortunately the note of Abu Dharr to the effect that Sifah is a place-name is omitted. This seems to me to provide the key to the meaning of the line. Yaqut says that al-Sifah lies between Hunayn and the pillars of the Haram on the left of a man entering Mecca from Mushash. As the latter place lies on the hills of Arafat the rendering given above seems to suit the context. On the site of Hunayn see Yaqut sub voce. Weil evades the difficulty, and so, strangely enough, does Suhayli. If al-Sifah is the plural of Safh, the side of a mountain, I cannot see how the passage can be construed.)

By their breaking the acacias and shrubs of al-Sifah,
And its bushes too, as they galloped like flying ostriches.
Is there any better refuge for one who seeks it?
Is there a righteous god-fearing man who will grant it?
Our aggressors get their way with us, and wish
That the gates of Turk and Kabul* were blocked with our bodies.

(* The commentators say that Turk and Kabul are two mountains, but I can find no mention of them in Yaqut, who under 'Kabul' quotes a line from al-Asha which clearly refers to Turk and Kabul as people. It looks aa if the two names point to a later forger.).

You lie, by God's house, we will not leave Mecca, and go forth,
Until your affairs are in confusion.
You lie, by God's house, Mohammed shall not be maltreated; (probable meaning: 'We will not be forcibly deprived of Mohammed.')
Before we shoot and thrust in his defence,

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We will not give him up till we lie dead around him,
And be unmindful of our wives and children;
Until a people in arms rise and fight you,
As camels carrying water rise under empty water-skins (Or 'rattling, swishing water-skins'. If the comparison refers to the speed of their attack, the simile which Abu Dharr favours is correct. If not, the simile rests in the noise which the armed men make.),
Until you see the enemy falling face down in his blood
From the spear thrust weighed down and tottering.
By God, if what I see should become serious
Our swords will mingle with the best of them
In the hands of a young warrior, like a flame,
Trustworthy, defender of the truth, hero,
For days, months, a whole year,
And after next year, yet another.
What people, confound you, would abandon a chief,
Who protects his dependants? No foul-mouthed weakling,
A noble man, for whose sake the clouds drop rain,
The support of orphans, the defence of widows,
Hashim's family, ready to perish, resort to him,
There they find pity and kindness.
Asid and his firstborn made us hated
And cut us up for others to devour (A figure for 'malicious slander'.);
Neither Uthman nor Qunfudh sympathised with us
But obeyed the command of those tribes.
They obeyed Ubayy and the son of their Abdu Yaguth,
And did not observe what others said of us;
So, too, were we treated by Subay and Naufal,
And everyone who turned away from us, not treating us kindly.
If they throw down their arms, or God give us the better of them,
We will pay them measure for measure.
That fellow Abu Amr would do naught but hate us,
To send us away among shepherds and camel-drivers;
He talks about us confidentially night and morning.
Talk on, Abu Amr, with your guile!
He swears by God he will not deceive us,
But we see him openly doing nothing else;
He hates us so much that the hill-tops
Between Mecca's hills and Syria's forts
Are too narrow to hold him.
Ask Abul-Walid, what have you done to us with your slander
Turning away like a deceitful friend.
You were a man by whose opinion men guided their lives,
And you were kind to us, nor are you a fool.
O Utba, do not listen to an enemy's words against us;
Envious, lying, hating and malicious.
Abu Sufyan averted his face from me as he passed,
Sweeping along as though he were one of the great ones of the earth,
He betook himself to the high ground and its cool waters,
Pretending that he does not forget us.
He tells us that he is sorry for us like a good friend,
But he hides evil designs in his heart.
O, Mutim! I did not desert you when you called for help,
Nor on the day of battle when mighty deeds were called for,
Nor when they came against you full of enmity,
Opponents whose strength matched yours.
O Mutim, the people have given you a task to do,
I too when entrusted with a task do not try to evade it.
God requite Abdu Shams and Naufal for us
With evil punishment quick and not delayed,
With an exact balance, not a grain too little,
The balance its own witness that it is exact.
Foolish are the minds of people who exchanged us
For Banu Khalaf and the Ghayatil.
We are the pure stock from the summit of Hashim
And the family of Qusayy in matters of import.
Sahm and Makhzum stirred up against us
Every scoundrel and low-born churl.
Abdu Manaf, you are the best of your people,
Do not make common cause with every outsider.
You have proved feeble and weak
And done a thing far from right.
You were till lately the sticks under one pot
But now you are the sticks under many pots and vessels.
Let the Band Abdu Manaf get satisfaction from parting from us,
Deserting us and leaving us imprisoned in our quarters.
If we are men we shall take revenge (Or 'bear a grudge') for what you have done
And you will suffer the full effects of war.
The best men among Luayy b. Ghalib,
Every bold chief exiled to us;
The family of Nufayl is the worst that ever trod the earth,
The most contemptible of all the sons of Maadd.
Tell Qusayy that our cause will be blazed abroad,
And give Qusayy the good news that after us there will be a falling apart (among our enemies).
Yet if calamity befell Qusayy one night,
We should have been the first to protect them;
If they fought bravely in defence of their houses,
We should show them how to protect the mothers of children.
Yet every friend and nephew on whom we ought to count
We find useless when put to the test
Except for certain men of Kilab b. Murra
Whom we exempt from the stigma of the deserter*;

(* The last 14 lines have an alternative. These seven verses are not in Wellhausen's text, and as he does not mention them in his critical notes it may be assumed that none of his manuscripts contained them. Further, there is not a note in Abu Dharr's commentary, and it is difficult to believe that he would have passed over the extraordinary word hindikiya without a note, if the line containing it were before him. Ibn Hisham at the end of the poem indicates that he has cut out some verses, possibly (though I think most improbably) these verses were among them, and even so he says some authorities reject the greater part. It will at once be apparent that the seven verses interrupt the sequence of thought which deals with the honourable exceptions to the general defection In vers 4 I conjecture khalafu for halafu:)

We came to them by night, they all scattered.
Every liar and fool disappeared from our sight.
Ours was the watering-place among them,
We are the rock-like defence of Ghalib.
The young men of the scented ones and Hashim
Are like sword blades in the hands of the polishers.
They took no revenge, nor shed blood,
Nor do they oppose any but the worst tribes.
In their fighting you see the youths
Like fierce lions quarrelling over lumps of meat;
Sons of a favourite Ethiopian** slave girl,
Sons of Jumah, Ubayd Qays b. Aqil;
But we are the noblest stock of lords
Whose heroic deeds were sung in verse.
(** Hindikiya. Greek and Syrian writers use the term India for South Arabia and Ethiopia -as these two regions had a lot in common with India- and a slave girl from one of those countries is almost certainly meant here.)
Undeniably fine is Zuhayr, our nephew,
A sword loosed from belts,
The proudest of the proudest chiefs,
Belonging to the finest stock in glory.
I'faith I am devoted to Ahmad and his brethren,
As a constant lover.
For who among men can hope to be like him
When judges assess rival claim to merit,
Clement, rightly guided, just, serious,
The friend of God, ever mindful of Him.
By God! but that I might create a precedent
That would be brought against our sheikhs in assemblies,
We would follow him whatever fate might bring,
In deadly earnest, not in idle words.
They know that our son is not held a liar by us,
And is not concerned with foolish falsehood.
Ahmad has struck so deep a root among us
That the attacks of the arrogant fail to affect him.
I shielded and defended him myself by every means* (172).
(* C. adds:
The Lord of mankind strengthen him with his help,
And display a religion whose truth holds no falsehood!
Noble men, not swerving from right, whose fathers
Brought them up in the best of ways.
Though Kab is near to Luayy
The day must come when they must fall apart.
These verses are lacking in W.'s version.)

The Ghayatil are of B. Sahm b. Amr b. Husays; Abu Sufyan is Ibn Harb b. Umayya; Mutim is Ibn Adly b. Naufal b. Abdu Manaf; Zuhayr is Ibn Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira b. Abdullah b. Umar b. Makhzum, his mother being Atika d. Abdul-Muttalib. Asid and his firstborn, i.e. Attab b. Asid b. Abul-Is b. Umayya b. Abdu Shams b. Abdu Manaf. Uthman is Ibn Ubaydullah the brother of Talha b. Ubaydullah al-Taymi; Qunfudh is Ibn Umayr b. Judan b. Amr b. Kab b. Sad b. Taym b. Murra. Abul-Walid is Utba b. Rabia; and Ubayy is al-Akhnas b. Shariq al-Thaqafi ally of B. Zuhra b. Kilab (This and the following paragraph stands under the name of Ibn Hisham, but the context suggests that they are in part at least from Ibn Ishaq.) (173).

Al-Aswad is Ibn Abdu Yaghuth b. Wahb b. Abdu Manaf b. Zuhra b. Kilab; Subay is Ibn Khalid brother of B. al-Harith b. Fihr; Naufal is Ibn Khuwaylid b. Asad b. Abdul-Uzza b. Qusayy. He was Ibn al-Adawiya, one of the 'satans' of (the) Quraysh. He it was who roped together Abu Bakr and Talha b. Ubaydullah when they went over to Islam. They got the name 'the two-tied-together-ones' from this. Ali killed him at the baule of Badr. Abu Amr is Qurza b. Abdu Amr b. Naufal b. Abdu Manaf. The 'treacherous people' are B. Bakr b. Abdu Manat b. Kinana. These are the Arabs whom Abu Talib enumerated in his verse (174). When the prophet's fame began to be blazed abroad throughout the land he was mentioned in Medina. There was no tribe among the Arabs who knew more about the apostle when and before he was mentioned than this tribe of Aus and Khazraj. The reason for this was that they were well acquainted with the sayings of Jewish rabbis and they lived side by side with them as allies. When the apostle was talked of in Medina and they heard of the trouble he had with (the) Quraysh, Abu Qays b. al-Aslat, brother of B. Waqif, composed the verses given below (175).

Abu Qays was warmly attached to (the) Quraysh since he was related to them through his wife Arnab d. Asad b. Abdul-Uzza b. Qusayy, and he with his wife used to stay with them for years at a time. He composed an ode in which he magnified the sanctity of the area, forbade (the) Quraysh to fight there, urged them to stand by one another, mentioned their merits and virtues, urged them to protect the apostle, and reminded them of how God had dealt with them and saved them in the War of the Elephant.

O rider, when you meet Luayy ibn Ghalib
Give him a message from me,
The tidings of a man who though far from you
Is distressed at what is between you, sad and worried.
1 have become the caravanserai of cares,
Because of them I cannot do what I should.
I learn that you are divided into camps,
One party kindles the fire of war, the other provides the fuel.
I pray God to protect you from your evil act,
Your wicked quarrel and the insidious attack of scorpions,
Defamatory reports and secret plots
Like pricking awls which never fail to pierce.
Remind them of God, first of all things,
And the sin of breaking the taboo on travel-worn gazelles*.
(* The killing of game within the sacred area was taboo, and the poet means that if the blood of animals there is sacrosanct, afortiori bloodshed and war are forbidden by God.)
Say to them, (and God will give His judgement)
If you abandon war it will go far from you.
When you stir it up you raise an evil thing;
'Tis (= it is) a monster devouring everything near and far,
It severs kinship and destroys people;
It cuts the flesh from the hump and the back.
You will give up the finest clothes of Yaman
For a soldier's garb and coat of mail,
Musk and camphor for dust-coloured armour
With buttons like the eyes of a locust.
Beware of war! Do not let it cling to you;
A stagnant pool has a bitter draught.
War—it first seems fine to men
But afterwards they plainly recognize an old hag.
It scorches unsparingly the weak,
And aims death-dealing blows at the great.
Know you not what happened in the war of Dahis?
Or the war of Hatib? Take a lesson from them!
How many a noble chief it slew,
The generous host whose guest lacked naught,
A huge pile of ashes beneath his pot,
Praised by all, noble in character, his sword
Drawn only in righteous cause;
'Tis as water poured out at random,
As if winds from all quarters scattered the clouds*;
(* If the subject of the metaphor is war the reading daldl is right, and indiscriminate bloodshed is indicated; if the variant faldl 'porous soil' is adopted, the poet is continuing his description of the generous warrior whose hospitality extends to the most insatiable guest.).
A truthful, knowledgeable man will tell you of its battles
(For real knowledge is the result of experience).
So sell your spears to those who love war
And remember the account you must render, for God is the best
reckoner.
Man's Lord has chosen a religion,
So let none guard you but the Lord of heaven,
Raise up for us a hamfl religion.
You are our object ; one is guided in travel by heights,
You are a light and protection to this people,
You lead the way, not lacking virtues.
If men were valued, you would be a jewel,
The best of the vale is yours in noble pride.
You preserve noble, ancient peoples
Whose genealogy shows no foreign blood;
You see the needy come to your houses
Wave after wave of starving wights.
The people know that your leaders
Are ever the best people of the stations of Mina**,
Best in counsel, loftiest in custom,
Most truthful amid the assemblies.
(** See Al-Suhayli, 182, who says that Ibn Ishaq so explains the word. He is quoting from p. 300 of the text. Al-Barqi says it was a well at Mina where the blood of the sacrificial victims was collected. It was a spot venerated by the Arabs. The word jubjuba apparently means the stomach of a ruminant, and naturally a large number of such skins used for carrying water

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would be available there; therefore it is possible that the term 'people of the stomach skins' simply means Arabs, the people who more than any other used this kind of vessel for carrying food and water, and so the meaning of the poet is that the tribe of Luayy is the finest tribe in Arabia.)

Rise and pray to your Lord and rub yourselves
Against the corners of this house between the mountains.
He gave you a convincing test
On the day of Abu Yaksum, leader of the squadrons,
His cavalry was in the plains,
His infantry upon the passes of the hills.
When the help of the Lord of the throne reached you
His armies repulsed them, pelting them, and covering them with dust;
Quickly they turned tail in flight
And none but a few returned to his people from the army.
If you perish, we shall perish, and the fairs by which men live.
These are the words of a truthful man (176).

Hakim b. Umayya b. Haritha b. al-Auqas al-Sulami, an ally of B. Umayya who had become a Muslim, composed the following verses to turn his people from their determined enmity to the apostle. He was a man of good birth and authority.

Does one who says what is right stick to it,
And is there one listening who would be angry at the truth?
Does the chief whose tribe hope to profit from him
Gather friends from near and far?
I disown all but Him who controls the wind
And I abandon you for ever.
I submit myself utterly to God
Though friends threaten me with terror.

HOW THE APOSTLE WAS TREATED BY HIS OWN PEOPLE

When the Quraysh became distressed by the trouble caused by the enmity between them and the apostle and those of their people who accepted his teaching, they stirred up against him foolish men who called him a liar, insulted him, and accused him of being a poet, a sorcerer, a diviner, and of being possessed. However, the apostle continued to proclaim what God had ordered him to proclaim, concealing nothing, and exciting their dislike by contemning their religion, forsaking their idols, and leaving them to their unbelief.

Yahya b. Urwa b. al-Zubayr on the authority of his father from Abdullah b. Amr b. al-As told me that the latter was asked what was the worst way in which (the) Quraysh showed their enmity to the apostle. He replied: 'I was with them one day when the notables had gathered in the Hijr and the apostle was mentioned. They said that they had never known anything like the trouble they had endured from this fellow; he had declared their mode of life foolish, insulted their forefathers, reviled their religion, divided the community, and cursed their gods. What they had borne was past all bearing, or words to that effect.'

While they were thus discussing him the apostle came towards them and kissed the black stone, then he passed them as he walked round the temple. As he passed they said some injurious things about him. This I could see from his expression. He went on and as he passed them the second time they attacked him similarly. This I could see from his expression. Then he passed the third time, and they did the same. He stopped and said, 'Will you listen to me O Quraysh? By him who holds my life in His hand I bring you slaughter." This word so struck the people that not one of them but stood silent and still; even one who had hitherto been most violent spoke to him in the kindest way possible, saying, 'Depart, O Abul-Qasim, for by God you are not violent.' So the apostle went away, and on the morrow they assembled in the Hijr, I being there too, and they asked one another if they remembered what had taken place between them and the apostle so that when he openly said something unpleasant they let him alone. While they were talking thus the apostle appeared, and they leaped upon him as one man and encircled him, saying, 'Are you the one who said so-and-so against our gods and our religion?' The apostle said, 'Yes, I am the one who said that.' And I saw one of them seize his robe. Then Abu Bakr interposed himself weeping and saying, 'Would you kill a man for saying Allah is my Lord?" Then they left him. That is the worst that I ever saw Quraysh do to him.

One of the family of Umm Kulthum, Abu Bakr's daughter, told me that she said, Abu Bakr returned that day with the hair of his head torn. He was a very hairy man and they had dragged him along by his beard' (177).

HAMZA ACCEPTS ISLAM

A man of Aslum, who had a good memory, told me that Abu Jahl passed by the apostle at al-Safa, insulted him and behaved most offensively, speaking spitefully of his religion and trying to bring him into disrepute. The apostle did not speak to him. Now a freedwoman, belonging to Abdullah b. Judan b. Amr b. Kab b. Sad b. Taym b. Murra, was in her house listening to what went on. When he went away he betook himself to the assembly of (the) Quraysh at the Kaaba and sat there. Within a little while Hamzab. Abdul-Muttalib arrived, with his bow hanging from his shoulder, returning from the chase, for he was fond of hunting and used to go out shooting. Whin he came back from a hunt he never went home until he had circumambulated the Kaaba, and that done when he passed by an assembly of the Quraysh he stopped and saluted and talked with them. He was the strongest man of (the) Quraysh, and the most unyielding. The apostle had gone back to his house when he passed by this woman, who asked him if he had heard of what Abul-Hakam b. Hisham had done just recently to his nephew, Mohammed; how he had found him sitting quietly there, and insulted him, and cursed him, and treated him badly, and that Mohammed had answered not a word. Hamza was filled with rage, for God purposed to honour him, so he went out at a run and did not stop to greet anyone, meaning to punish Abu Jahl when he met him. When he got to the mosque he saw him sitting among the people, and went up to him until he stood over him, when he lifted up his bow and struck him a violent blow with it, saying, 'Will you insult him when I follow his religion, and say what he says? Hit me back if you can!' Some of B. Makhzum got up to go to Abu Jahl's help, but he said, 'Let Abu Umara alone for, by God, I insulted his nephew deeply.' Hamza's Islam was complete, and he followed the apostle's commands. When he became a Muslim the Quraysh recognised that the apostle had become strong, and had found a protector in Hamza, and so they abandoned some of their ways of harassing him.

WHAT UTBA SAID ABOUT THE PROPHET

Yazid b. Ziyad from Mohammed b. Kab al-Qurazi told me that he was told that Utba b. Rabla, who was a chief, said one day while he was sitting in the Quraysh assembly and the apostle was sitting in the mosque by himself, 'Why should I not go to Mohammed and make some proposals to him which if he accepts in part, we will give him whatever he wants, and he will leave us in peace?' This happened when Hamza had accepted Islam and they saw that the prophet's followers were increasing and multiplying. They thought it was a good idea, and Utba went and sat by the prophet and said, 'O my nephew, you are one of us as you know, of the noblest of the tribe and hold a worthy position in ancestry. You have come to your people with an important matter, dividing their community thereby and ridiculing their customs, and you have insulted their gods and their religion, and declared that their forefathers were unbelievers, so listen to me and I will make some suggestions, and perhaps you will be able to accept one of them.' The apostle agreed, and he went on, 'If what you want is money, we will gather for you ofour property so that you may be the richest of us; if you want honour, we will make you our chief so that no one can decide anything apart from you; if you want sovereignty, we will make you king, and if this ghost which comes to you, which you see, is such that you cannot get rid of him, we will find a physician for you, and exhaust our means in getting you cured, for often a familiar spirit gets possession of a man until he can be cured of it,' or words to that effect. The apostle listened patiently, and then said: 'Now listen to me, "In the name of God, the compassionate and merciful, H.M., a revelation from the compassionate, the merciful, a book whose verses are expounded as an Arabic Koran for a people who understand, as an announcement and warning, though most of them turn aside not listening and say, 'Our hearts arc veiled from that to which you invite us (Koran 41.1.).'" 1 Then the apostle continued to recite it to him. When 'Utba heard it from him, he listened attentively, putting his hands behind his back and leaning on them as he listened. Then the prophet ended at the prostration (i.e. verse 37 'Prostrate yourselves to God'.) and prostrated himself, and said, 'You have heard what you have heard, Abul-Walid; the rest remains with you.' When Utba returned to his companions they noticed that his expression had completely altered, and they asked him what had happened. He said that he had heard words such as he had never heard before, which were neither poetry, spells, nor witchcraft. 'Take my advice and do as I do, leave this man entirely alone for, by God, the words which I have heard will be blazed abroad. If (other) Arabs kill him, others will have rid you of him; if he gets the better of the Arabs, his sovereignty will be your sovereignty, his power your power, and you will be prosperous through him.' They said, 'He has bewitched you with his tongue.' To which he answered, 'You have my opinion, you must do what you think fit.'

NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE APOSTLE AND THE LEADERS OF THE QURAYSH AND AN EXPLANATION OF THE SURA OF THE CAVE

Islam began to spread in Mecca among men and women of the tribes of (the) Quraysh, though (the) Quraysh were imprisoning and seducing as many of the Muslims as they could. A traditionist told me from Said b. Jubayr and from Ikrima, freedman of Abdullah b. Abbas, that the leading men of every clan of (the) Quraysh—Utba b. Rabia, and Shayba his brother, and Abu Sufyan b. Harb, and al-Nadr b. al-Harith, brother of the Banu Abdul-Dar, and Abul-Bakhtari b. Hisham, and al-Aswad b. al-Muttalib b. Asad and Zamaa b. al-Aswad, and al-Walid b. al-Mughira, and Abu Jahl b. Hisham, and Abdullah b. Abu Umayya, and al-As b. Wail, and Nubayh and Munabbih, the sons of al-Hajjaj, both of Sahm, and Umayya b. Khalaf and possibly others—gathered together after sunset outside the Kaaba. They decided to send for Mohammed and to negotiate and argue with him so that they could not be held to blame on his account in the future. When they sent for him the apostle came quickly because he thought that what he had said to them had made an impression, for he was most zealous for their welfare, and their wicked way of life pained him. When he came and sat down with them, they explained that they had sent for him in order that they could talk together. No Arab had ever treated his tribe as Mohammed had treated them, and they repeated the charges which have been mentioned on several occasions. If it was money he wanted, they would make him the richest of them all; if it was honour, he should be their prince; if it was sovereignty, they would make him king; if it was a spirit which had got possession of him (they used to call the familiar spirit of the jinn ra'iy), then they would exhaust their means in finding medicine to cure him. The apostle replied that he had no such intention. He sought not money, nor honour, nor sovereignty, but God had sent him as an apostle, and revealed a book to him, and commanded him to become an announcer and a warner. He had brought them the messages of his Lord, and given them good advice. If they took it then they would have a portion in this world and the next; if they rejected it, he could only patiently await the issue until God decided between them, or words to that effect. 'Well, Mohammed,' they said, 'if you will not accept any of our propositions, you know that no people are more short of land and water, and live a harder life than we, so ask your Lord, who has sent you, to remove for us these mountains which shut us in, and to straighten out our country for us, and to open up in it rivers like those of Syria and Iraq, and to resurrect for us our forefathers, and let there be among those that are resurrected for us Qusayy b. Kilab, for he was a true shaikh, so that we may ask them whether what you say is true or false. If they say you are speaking the truth, and you do what we have asked you, we will believe in you, and we shall know what your position with God is, and that He has actually sent you as an apostle as you say.' He replied that he had not been sent to them with such an object. He had conveyed to them God's message, and they could either accept it with advantage, or reject it and await God's judgement. They said that if he would not do that for them, let him do something for himself. Ask God to send an angel with him to confirm what he said and to contradict them; to make him gardens and castles, and treasures of gold and silver to satisfy his obvious wants. He stood in the streets as they did, and he sought a livelihood as they did. If he could do this, they would recognise his merit and position with God, if he were an apostle as he claimed to be. He replied that he would not do it, and would not ask for such things, for he was not sent to do so, and he repeated what he had said before. They said, 'Then let the heavens be dropped on us in pieces,' as you assert that your Lord could do if He wished, for we will not believe you unless you do so.' The apostle replied that this was a matter for God; if He wanted to do it with them, He would do it. They said, 'Did not your Lord know that we would sit with you, and ask you these questions, so that He might come to you and instruct you how to answer us, and tell you what He was going to do with us, if we did not receive your message? Information has reached us that you are taught by this fellow in al-Yamama, called al- Rahman, and by God we will never believe in the Rahman. Our conscience is clear. By God, we will not leave you and our treatment of you, until either we destroy you or you destroy us.' Some said, 'We worship the angels, who are the daughters of Allah.' Others said, 'We will not believe in you until you come to us with God and the angels as a surety (Koran 17.94).'

When they said this the apostle got up and left them. Abdullah b. Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira b. Abdullah b. Umar b. Makhzum (who was the son of his aunt Atika d. of Abdul-Muttalib) got up with him and said to him, 'O Mohammed, your people have made you certain propositions, which you have rejected; first they asked you things for themselves that they might know that your position with God is what you say it is so that they might believe in you and follow you, and you did nothing; then they asked you to take something for yourself, by which they might know your superiority over them and your standing with God, and you would not do it; then they asked you to hasten some of the punishment with which you were frightening them, and you did not do it', or words to that effect, 'and by God, I will never believe in you until you get a ladder to the sky, and mount up it until you come to it, while I am looking on, and until four angels shall come with you, testifying that you are speaking the truth, and by God, even if you did that I do not think I should believe you.' Then he went away, and the apostle went to his family, sad and grieving, because his hope that they had called him to accept his preaching was vain, and because of their

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estrangement from him. When the apostle had gone Abu Jahl spoke, making the usual charges against him, and saying, 'I call God to witness that I will wait for him tomorrow with a stone which I can hardly lift,' or words to that effect, 'and when he prostrates himself in prayer I will split his skull with it. Betray me or defend me, let the B. Abdu Manaf do what they like after that.* They said that they would never betray him on any account, and he could carry on with his project. When morning came Abu Jahl took a stone and sat in wait for the apostle, who behaved as usual that morning. While he was in Mecca he faced Syria in prayer, and when he prayed, he prayed between the southern corner and the black stone, putting the Kaaba between himself and Syria. The apostle rose to pray while (the) Quraysh sat in their meeting, waiting for what Abu Jahl was to do. When the apostle prostrated himself, Abu Jahl took up the stone and went towards him, until when he got near him, he turned back in flight, pale with terror, and his hand had withered upon the stone, so that he cast the stone from his hand. The Quraysh asked him what had happened, and he replied that when he got near him a camel's stallion got in his way. 'By God', he said, 'I have never seen anything like his head, shoulders, and teeth on any stallion before, and he made as though he would eat me.'

I was told that the apostle said, 'That was Gabriel. If he had come near, he would have seized him.'

When Abu Jahl said that to them, al-Nadr b. al-Harith b. Kalada b. 'Alqama b. Abdu Manaf b. Abdul-Dar b. Qusayy (178) got up and said: 'O Quraysh, a situation has arisen which you cannot deal with. Mohammed was a young man most liked among you, most truthful in speech, and most trustworthy, until, when you saw grey hairs on his temple, and he brought you his message, you said he was a sorcerer, but he is not, for we have seen such people and their spitting and their knots; you said, a diviner, but we have seen such people and their behaviour, and we have heard their rhymes; and you said a poet, but he is not a poet, for we have heard all kinds of poetry; you said he was possessed, but he is not, for we have seen the possessed, and he shows no signs of their gasping and whispering and delirium. Ye men of (the) Quraysh, look to your affairs, for by God, a serious thing has befallen you.' Now al-Nadr b. al-Harith was one of the satans of (the) Quraysh; he used to insult the apostle and show him enmity. He had been to al-Hira and learnt there the tales of the kings of Persia, the tales of Rustum and Isbandiyar. When the apostle had held a meeting in which he reminded them of God, and warned his people of what had happened to bygone generations as a result of God's vengeance, al-Nadr got up when he sat down, and said, 'I can tell a better story than he, come to me.' Then he began to tell them about the kings of Persia, Rustum and Isbandiyar, and then he would say, 'In what respect is Mohammed a better story-teller than I?' (179).

Ibn Abbas, according to my information, used to say eight verses of the Koran came down in reference to him, 'When our verses are read to him, he says fairy tales of the ancients (Koran 68.15) and all those passages in the Koran in which 'fairy tales' are mentioned.

When Al-Nadr said that to them, they sent him and Uqba b. Abu Muayt to the Jewish rabbis in Medina and said to them, 'Ask them about Mohammed; describe him to them and tell them what he says, for they are the first people of the scriptures and have knowledge which we do not possess about the prophets.' They carried out their instructions, and said to the rabbis, 'You are the people of the Taurat (Torah. Properly the Law of Moses, but often used by Muslim writers of the Old Testament as a whole.), and we have come to you so that you can tell us how to deal with this tribesman of ours.' The rabbis said, 'Ask him about three things of which we will instruct you; if he gives you the right answer then he is an authentic prophet, but if he does not, then the man is a rogue, so form your own opinion about him. Ask him what happened to the young men who disappeared in ancient days, for they have a marvellous story. Ask him about the mighty traveller who reached the confines of both East and West. Ask him what the spirit is. If he can give you the answer, then follow him, for he is a prophet. If he cannot, then he is a forger and treat him as you will.' The two men returned to (the) Quraysh at Mecca (Mecca is some 180 miles / 290 km from Medina. The ordinary caravan took 10 or 11 days. The fayyara going via al-Khabt did the journey in 5 days.) and told them that they had a decisive way of dealing with Mohammed, and they told them about the three questions. They came to the apostle and called upon him to answer these questions. He said to them, 'I will give you your answer tomorrow,' but he did not say, 'if God will.' So they went away; and the apostle, so they say, waited for fifteen days without a revelation from God on the matter, nor did Gabriel come to him, so that the people of Mecca began to spread evil reports, saying, 'Mohammed promised us an answer on the morrow, and today is the fifteenth day we have remained without an answer.' This delay caused the apostle great sorrow, until Gabriel brought him the Chapter of The Cave, in which he reproaches him for his sadness, and told him the answers of their questions, the youths, the mighty traveller, and the spirit.

I was told that the apostle said to Gabriel when he came, 'You have shut yourself off from me, Gabriel, so that I became apprehensive.' He answered, 'We descend only by God's command, whose is what lies before us, behind us, and what lies between, and thy Lord does not forget (Koran 19.65).'

He began the Sura with His own praise, and mentioning (Mohammed's) prophethood and apostolate and their denial thereof, and He said, 'Glory belongs to God, who has revealed the book to His servant (Koran 18.),' meaning Mohammed.

'Verily thou art an apostle from Me,' i.e. confirming what they ask about thy prophethood. 'He hath not made therein crookedness, it is straight,' i.e. it is level, without any difference. 'To warn of a severe punishment from Him,' that is, His immediate judgement in this world. 'And a painful judgement in the next,' that is, from thy Lord, who has sent thee as an apostle. 'To give those who believe, who do good works, the good news that they will have a glorious reward, enjoying it everlastingly,' i.e. the eternal abode. 'They shall not die therein,' i.e. those who have accepted your message as true, though others have denied it, and have done the works that you have ordered them to do. 'And to warn those who say God has taken a son.' He means the Quraysh when they say, 'We worship the angels who are the daughters of Allah.' 'They have no knowledge about it, nor had their forefathers', who take hardly your leaving them and shaming their religion. 'Dreadful is the word that proceedeth from their mouth' when they say the angels are God's daughters. 'They say nothing but a lie, and it may be that thou wilt destroy thyself,' O Mohammed. 'In grief over their course if they believe not this saying,' i.e. because of his sorrow when he was disappointed of his hope of them; i.e. thou shalt not do it (180). 'Verily We have made that which is upon the earth an ornament to it to try them which of them will behave the best,' i.e. which of them will follow My commandment and act in obedience to Me. 'And verily we will make that which is upon it a barren mound,' i.e. the earth and what is upon it will perish and pass away, for all must return to Me that I may reward them according to their deeds, so do not despair nor let what you hear and see therein grieve you (181).

Then comes the story of what they asked him about the young men, and God said: 'Have you considered that the dwellers in the Cave and al-Raqlm were wonders from our signs?' i.e. there were still more wonderful signs in the proofs I have given to men (182). Then God said: 'When the young men took refuge in the Cave they said, O Lord, show us kindness and give us guidance by Your command, so We sealed up their hearing in the Cave for many years. Then We brought them to life again that We might know which of the two parties would best calculate the time that they had been there.' Then He said: 'We will tell you the true account of them ; they were young men who believed in their Lord, and We gave them further guidance, and We strengthened their hearts. Then they stood and said, Our Lord is the Lord of heaven and earth. We will pray to no other god but Him. If we were to say otherwise we should speak blasphemy,' i.e. they did not associate anyone with Me as you have associated with Me what you know nothing about (183). 'These people of ours have chosen gods in addition to Him, though they bring no plain authority for them,' i.e. a clear proof. 'Who is more wicked than he who invents a lie against God ? When you withdraw from them and what they worship instead of God, then take refuge in the Cave; your Lord will spread for you by His mercy and prepare a pillow for you in your plight. You might see the sun when it rises move away from their Cave towards the right, and when it sets it would go past them to the left, while they were in a cleft of the Cave' (184). 'That was one of the signs of God', i.e. for a proof against those of the people of the scriptures who knew their story and who ordered those men to ask you about them concerning the truth of your prophecy in giving a true account of them. 'Whom God guides is rightly guided, and for him whom He leads astray you will find no friend to direct. And you would think they were awake while they were sleeping, and we would turn them over to the right and the left, while their dog was lying with its forepaws on the threshold' (185). 'If you observed them closely you would turn your backs on them fleeing, and be afraid of them* up to the words 'those who gained their point said,' i.e. the people of power and dominion among them. 'Let us build a mosque above them; they will say,' i.e. the Jewish rabbis who ordered them to ask these questions. 'Three, their dog being the fourth of them, and some say five, their sixth being the dog, guessing in the dark,' i.e. they know nothing about it, 'and they say seven and their dog the eighth. Say: My Lord knows best about their number; none knows them save a few, so do not contend with them except with an open contention,' i.e. do not be proud with them. 'And do not ask anyone information about them,' for they know nothing about it. 'And do not say of anything I will do it tomorrow unless you say, If God will. And mention your Lord if you have forgotten and say, Perhaps my Lord will guide me to a nearer way of truth than this,' i.e. do not say about anything which they ask you what you said about this, viz. I will tell you tomorrow, and make God's will the condition, and remember Him when you have forgotten to do so and say, Perhaps my Lord will guide me to what is better than what they ask of me in guidance, for you do not know what I am doing about it. 'And they remained in their Cave three hundred years and they added nine,' i.e. they will say this. 'Say: Your Lord knows best how long they stayed there. The secrets of heaven and earth are with Him. How wonderfully He sees and hears. They have no friend but Him, and He allows none in His dominion as a partner,' i.e. nothing of what they ask you is hidden from Him.

And He said about what they asked him in regard to the mighty traveller, 'And they will ask you about Dhul-Qarnayn; say, I will recite to you a remembrance of him. Verily We gave him power in the earth, and We gave to him every road and he followed it'; so far as the end of his story. It is said that he attained what no other mortal attained. Roads were stretched out before him until he traversed the whole earth, east and west. He was given power over every land he trod on until he reached the farthest confines of creation.

A man who used to purvey stories of the foreigners (non-Arabs, non-Muslims), which were handed down among them, told me that Dhul-Qarnayn was an Egyptian, whose name was Marzuban b. Mardhaba, the Greek, descended from Yunan b. Yafith b. Nuh (186).

Thaur b. Yazid from Khalid b. Madan al-Kalai, who was a man who reached Islamic times, told me that the apostle was asked about Dhul-Qarnayn, and he said, 'He is an angel who measured the earth beneath by ropes.'

Khalid said, Umar heard a man calling someone Dhul-Qarnayn, and he said, "God pardon you, are you not satisfied to use the names of the prophets for your children that you must now name them after the angels?" God knows the truth of the matter, whether the apostle said that or not. If he said it, then what he said was true.

God said concerning what they asked him about the Spirit, 'They will ask you about the Spirit, say, the Spirit is a matter for my Lord, and you have only a little knowledge about it (Koran 17.87.).'

I was told on the authority of Ibn 'Abbas that he said, Wrhen the apostle came to Medina, the Jewish rabbis said, 'When you said, "And you have only a little knowledge about it," did you mean us or your own people?' He said, 'Both of you.' They said, 'Yet you will read in what you brought that we were given the Taurat in which is an exposition of everything.' He replied that in reference to God's knowledge that was little, but in it there was enough for them if they carried it out. God revealed concerning what they asked him about that 'If all the trees in the world were pens and the ocean were ink, though the seven seas reinforced it, the words of God would not be exhausted. Verily God is mighty and wise (Koran 31.26.).' i.e. The Taurat compared with God's knowledge is little. And God revealed to him concerning what his people asked him for themselves, namely, removing the mountains, and cutting the earth, and raising their forefathers from the dead, 'If there were a Koran by which mountains could be moved, or the earth split, or the dead spoken to [it would be this one], but to God belongs the disposition of all things,' i.e. I will not do anything of the kind unless I choose. And He revealed to him concerning their saying, 'Take for yourself, meaning that He should make for him gardens, and castles, and treasures, and should send an angel with him to confirm what he said, and to defend him. 'And they said, "What is this apostle doing, eating food, and walking in the markets? Unless an angel were sent to him to be a warner with him, or he were given a treasure or a garden from which he might eat [we would not believe]"; and the evildoers say, "You follow only a man bewitched". See how they have coined proverbs of thee, and have gone astray and cannot find the way. Blessed is He, who if He willed, could make for thee something better than that,' i.e. than that you should walk in the marketplaces, seeking a livelihood. 'Gardens beneath which run rivers, and make for thee castles (Koran 25.8.).'

And He revealed to him concerning their saying, 'When We sent messengers before thee they did eat and walk in the markets, and we made some of you a test for others, whether you would be steadfast, and your Lord is looking on (Koran 25.22),' i.e. I made some of you a test for others that you might be steadfast. Had I wanted to make the world side with my apostles, so that they would not oppose them, I would have done so. And he revealed to him concerning what Abdullah b. Umayya said,

'And they said, "We will not believe in thee until fountains burst forth for us from the earth, or you have a garden of dates and grapes and make the rivers within it burst forth copiously, or make the heavens fall upon us in fragments as you assert, or bring God and the angels as a surety, or you get a house of gold, or mount up to heaven, we will not believe in thy ascent until you bring down to us a book which we can read." Say: exalted be my Lord, am I aught but a mortal messenger (Koran 17.92)' (187).

He revealed to him with reference to their saying 'We have heard that a man in al-Yamama called al-Rahman teaches you. We will never believe in him'. 'Thus did We send you to a people before whom other peoples had passed away that you

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might read to them that which We have revealed to thee, while they disbelieved in the Rahman. Say, He is my Lord, there is no other God but He. In Him I trust and unto Him is the return (Koran 13.29).'

And He revealed to him concerning what Abu Jahl said and intended: 'Have you seen him who prohibited a servant when he prayed, have you seen if he was rightly guided or gave orders in the fear of God, have you seen if he lied and turned his back; does he not know that Allah sees everything? If he does not cease we will drag him by the forelock, the lying sinful forelock; let him call his gang, we will call the guards of hell. Thou shalt certainly not obey him, prostrate thyself and draw near to God' (188).

And God revealed concerning what they proposed to him in regard to their money, 'Say, I ask no reward of you, it is yours ; my reward is God's concern alone and He witnesses everything (Koran 34.46).' When the apostle brought to them what they knew was the truth so that they recognised his truthfulness and his position as a prophet in bringing them tidings of the unseen when they asked him about it, envy prevented them from admitting his truth, and they became insolent against God and openly forsook his commandments and took refuge in their polytheism. One of them said, 'Do not listen to this Koran ; treat it as nonsense and probably you will get the better of it', i.e. treat it as nonsense and false; and treat him as a mere raver—you will probably get the better of him, whereas if you argue or debate with him any time he will get the better of you.

Abu Jahl, when he was mocking the apostle and his message one day, said: 'Mohammed pretends that God's troops who will punish you in hell and imprison you there, are nineteen only, while you have a large population. Can it be that every hundred of you is unequal to one man of them?' In reference to that God revealed, 'We have made the guardians of hell angels, and We have made the number of them a trial to those who disbelieve', to the end of the passage (Koran 74.31). Whereupon when the apostle recited the Koran loudly as he was praying, they began to disperse and refused to listen to him. If anyone of them wanted to hear what he was reciting as he prayed, he had to listen stealthily for fear of (the) Quraysh; and if he saw that they knew that he was listening to it, he went away for fear of punishment and listened no more. If the apostle lowered his voice, then the man who was listening thought that they would not listen to any part of the reading, while he himself heard something which they could not hear, by giving all his attention to the words.

Daud b. al-Husayn freedman of Amr b. Uthman told me that Ikrima freedman of Ibn Abbas had told them that Abdullah b. Abbas had told them that the verse, 'Do not speak loudly in thy prayer and do not be silent; adopt a middle course (Koran 17.110),' was revealed because of those people. He said, 'Do not speak loudly in thy prayer' so that they may go away from you, and 'Do not be silent' so that he who wants to hear, of those who listen stealthily, cannot hear; perhaps he will give heed to some of it and profit thereby.

THE FIRST ONE WHO PRONOUNCED THE KORAN LOUDLY

Yahya b. Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me as from his father that the first man to speak ihe Koran loudly in Mecca after the apostle was Abdullah b. Masud. The prophet's companions came together one day and remarked that (the) Quraysh had never heard the Koran distinctly read to them, and who was there who would make them listen to it? When 'Abdullah said that he would, they replied that they were afraid on his behalf and they wanted only a man of good family who would protect him from the populace if they attacked him. He replied, 'Let me alone, for God will protect me.' So in the morning he went to the sanctuary while (the) Quraysh were in their conferences, and when he arrived at the Maqam, he read, 'In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful (Koran 55.1),' raising his voice as he did so, 'the compassionate who taught the Koran.' Then he turned towards them as he read so that they noticed him, and they said, 'What on earth is this son of a slavewoman saying?' And when they realised that he was reading some of what Mohammed prayed, they got up and began to hit him in the face; but he continued to read so far as God willed that he should read.Then he went to his companions with the marks of their blows on his face. They said, 'This is just what we feared would happen to you.' He said, 'God's enemies were never more contemptible in my sight than they are now, and if you like I will go and do the same thing before them tomorrow.' They said, 'No, you have done enough, you have made them listen to what they don't want to hear.'

THE QURAYSH LISTEN TO THE PROPHET'S READING

Mohammed b. Muslim b. Shihab al-Zuhri told me that he was told that Abu Sufyan b. Harb and Abu Jahl b. Hisham and al-Akhnas b. Shariq b. Amr b. Wahb al-Thaqafi, an ally of B. Zuhra, had gone out by night to listen to the apostle as he was praying in his house. Everyone of them chose a place to sit where he could listen, and none knew where his fellow was sitting. So they passed the night listening to him, until as the dawn rose, they dispersed. On the way home they met and reproached one another, and one said to the other, 'Do not do it again, for if one of the light-minded fools sees you, you will arouse suspicion in his mind.' Then they went away, until on the second night everyone of them returned again to his place, and they passed the night listening. Then at dawn the same thing happened again, and again on the third night, when on the morrow they said to one another, 'We will not go away until we take a solemn obligation that we will not return.' This they did and then dispersed. In the morning al-Akhnas took his stick and went to the house of Abu Sufyan, and asked him to tell him his opinion of what he had heard from Mohammed. He replied, 'By God, I heard things that I know, and know what was meant by them, and I heard things whose meaning I do not know, nor what was intended by them.' Al-Akhnas replied, 'I feel precisely the same.' Then he left him and went to Abu Jahl's house, and asked him the same question. He answered, 'What did I hear! We and B. Abdu Manaf have been rivals in honour. They have fed the poor, and so have we; they have assumed others' burdens, and so have we; they have been generous, and so have we, until we have progressed side by side (Lit., "until we have squatted on our knees face to face", i.e. as complete equals.), and we were like two horses of equal speed. They said,"We have a prophet to whom revelation comes from heaven", and when shall we attain anything like that? By God, we will never believe in him and treat him as truthful.' Then al-Akhnas got up and left him.

When the apostle recited the Koran to them and called them to God, they said in mockery, 'Our hearts are veiled, we do not understand what you say. There is a load in our ears so that we cannot hear what you say, and a curtain divides us from you, so follow your own path and we will follow ours, we do not understand anything you say.' Then God revealed, 'And when you read the Koran we put between you and those who do not believe in the last day a hidden veil (Koran 17.47),' as far as the words 'and when you mention your Lord alone in the Koran they turn their backs in aversion', that is, how can they understand thy assertion that thy Lord is one if I have put veils over their hearts and heaviness in their ears, and between you and them is a curtain as they allege?' i.e. that I have not done it. 'We know best about what they listen to when they listen to you, and when they take secret counsel, the wicked say, "You are only following a man bewitched",' i.e. that is the way they order people not to listen to the message I have given you. 'See how they have made parables of you, and gone astray, and cannot find the way,' i.e. they have made false proverbs about you, and cannot find the right path, and what they say is not straightforward. 'And they say, when we are bones and dried morsels shall we be raised a new creation?' i.e. you have come to tell us that we shall be raised after death when we are bones and dried fragments, and that is something that cannot be. 'Say, Be ye hard stones or iron, or anything that you think in your minds is harder, they will say, "Who will raise us?" Say, He who created you in the beginning,' i.e. He who created you from what you know, for to create you from dust is no more difficult than that to him.

Abdullah b. Abu Najih from Mujahid from Ibn Abbas told me that the latter said, 'I asked him what was meant by the word of God "or something that you think is harder" and he said, "Death." '

THE POLYTHEISTS PERSECUTE THE MUSLIMS OF THE LOWER CLASSES

Then the Quraysh showed their enmity to all those who followed the apostle; every clan which contained Muslims attacked them, imprisoning them, and beating them, allowing them no food or drink, and exposing them to the burning heat of Mecca, so as to seduce them from their religion. Some gave way under pressure of persecution, and others resisted them, being protected by God. Bilal, who was afterwards freed by Abu Bakr but at that time belonged to one of B. Jumah, being slave born, was a faithful Muslim, pure of heart. His father's name was Ribah and his mother was Hamama. Umayya b. Khalaf b. Wahb b. Hudhafa b. Jumah used to bring him out at the hottest part of the day and throw him on his back in the open valley and have a great rock put on his chest; then he would say to him, 'You will stay here till you die or deny Mohammed and worship Al-Lat and al-Uzza.' He used to say while he was enduring this, 'One, one!'

Hisham b. Urwa told me on the authority of his father: Waraqa b. Naufal was passing him while he was being thus tortured and saying, 'One, one,' and he said, 'One, one, by God, Bilal.' Then he went to Umayya and those of B. Jumah who had thus maltreated him, and said, 'I swear by God that if you kill him in this way I will make his tomb a shrine.' One day Abu Bakr passed by while they were thus ill-treating him, for his house was among this clan. He said to Umayya, 'Have you no fear of God that you treat this poor fellow like this? How long is it to go on?' He replied, 'You are the one who corrupted him, so save him from his plight that you see.' 'I will do so,' said Abu Bakr; 'I have got a black slave, tougher and stronger than he, who is a heathen. I will exchange him for Bilal.' The transaction was carried out, and Abu Bakr took him and freed him.

Before he migrated to Medina he freed six slaves in Islam, Bilal being the seventh, namely: Amir b. Fuhayra, who was present at Badr and Uhud and was killed at the battle of Bir Mauna; and Umm Ubays and-Zinnira (she lost her sight when he freed her and (the) Quraysh said, Al-Lat and al-Uzza are the ones that have taken away her sight'; but she said, 'By the house of God, you lie. Al-Lat and al-Uzza can neither harm nor heal,' so God restored her sight).

And he freed al-Nahdiya and her daughter who belonged to a woman of B. Abdul-Dar; he passed by them when their mistress had sent them about some flour of hers, and she was saying, 'By God, I will never free you.' Abu Bakr said, 'Free yourself from your oath.' She said, 'It is free; you corrupted them so you free them.' They agreed upon the price, and he said, 'I will take them and they are free. Return her flour to her'. They said, 'Ought we not to finish the grinding and then take it back to her?' He said, 'Yes, if you like.'

He passed by a slave girl of B. Muammil, a clan of B. Adiy b. Kab who was a Muslim. Umar b. al-Khattab was punishing her to make her give up Islam. At that time he was a polytheist. He beat her until he was tired and said, 'I have only stopped beating you because I am tired.' She said, 'May God treat you in the same way.' Abu Bakr bought her and freed her. Mohammed b. Abdullah b. Abu Atiq from Amir b. Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from one of his family told me: Abu Quhafa said to his son Abu Bakr, 'My son, I see that you are freeing weak slaves. If you want to do what you are doing, why do you not free powerful men who could defend you and protect you?' He said, 'I am only trying to do what I am attempting for God's sake.' It is said that these verses came down in reference to him and what his father said to him: 'As to him who gives and fears God and believes in goodness,' up to the divine words, 'none is rewarded by God with favour but for seeking his Lord's most sublime face and in the end he will be satisfied (Koran 92.5).'

The B. Makhziim used to take out 'Ammar b. Yasir with his father and mother, who were Muslims, in the heat of the day and expose them to the heat of Mecca, and the Apostle passed by them and said, so I have heard, 'Patience, O family of Yasir! Your meeting-place will be paradise.' They killed his mother, for she refused to abandon Islam.

It was that evil man Abu Jahl who stirred up the Meccans against them. When he heard that a man had become a Muslim, if he was a man of social importance and had relations to defend him, he reprimanded him and poured scorn on him, saying, 'You have forsaken the religion of your father who was better than you. We will declare you a blockhead and brand you as a fool, and destroy your reputation.' If he was a merchant he said, 'We will boycott your goods and reduce you to beggary.' If he was a person of no social importance, he beat him and incited people against him.

Hakim b. Jubayr from Said b. Jubayr told me: 'I said to Abdullah b. Abbas, "Were the polytheists treating them so badly that apostasy was excusable?" "Yes, by God, they were," he said, "they used to beat one of them, depriving him of food and drink so that he could hardly sit upright because of the violence they had used on him, so that in the end he would do whatever they said." If they said to him, "Are al-Lat and al-Uzza your gods and not Allah?" he would say, "Yes" to the point that if a beetle passed by them they would say to him, "Is this beetle your God and not Allah?" he would say yes, in order to escape from the suffering he was enduring.'

Al-Zubayr b. Ukasha b. Abdullah b. Abu Ahmad told me that he was told that some men of B. Makhzum went to Hisham b. al-Walid when his brother al-Walid b. al-Walid became a Muslim. They had agreed to seize some young men who had become Muslims, among whom were Salma b. Hisham and Ayyash b. Abu Rabia. They were afraid of his violent temper and so they said, 'We wish toadmonish these men because of this religion which they have newly introduced; thus we shall be safe in the case of others.' 'All right,' he said, 'admonish him, but beware that you do not kill him.' Then he began to recite:

My brother 'Uyays shall not be killed,

Otherwise there will be war between us for ever (Lit.: 'reciprocal cursing', which was an inseparable accompaniment to war among the pagan Arabs.).

'Be careful of his life, for I swear by God that if you kill him, I will kill the noblest of you to the last man.' They said, 'God damn the man. After what he has said who will want to bring trouble on himself, for, by God, if this man were killed while in our hands the best of us would be killed to a man.' So they left him and withdrew, and that was how God protected him from them.

THE FIRST MIGRATION TO ABYSSINIA (Ethiopia)

When the apostle saw the affliction of his companions and that though he escaped it because of his standing with Allah and his uncle Abu Talib, he could not protect them, he said to them: 'If you were to go to Abyssinia (it would be better for you), for the king will not tolerate injustice and it is a friendly

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country, until such time as Allah shall relieve you from your distress.' Thereupon his companions went to Abyssinia, being afraid of apostasy and fleeing to God with their religion. This was the first hijra in Islam.

The first of the Muslims to go were: B. Umayya: . . . (The dots indicate that the genealogies which in many cases have been given previously have been cut short.). Uthman b. Affan . . . with his wife Ruqayya, d. the apostle.

B. Abdul-Shams: . . . Abu Hudhayfa b. Utba . . . with his wife Sahla d. Suhayl b. Amr one of B. Amir b. Luayy.

B. Asad b. Abdul-Uzza: al-Zubayr b. al-Awwarn . . . .

B. Abdul-Dar: . . . Musab b. Umayr.

B, Zuhra b. Kilab: Abdul-Rahman b. Auf

B. Makhzum b. Yaqza: . . . Abu Salama b. Abdul-Asad . . . with his wife Umm Salama d. Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira ....

B. Jumah b. Amr b. Husays: . . . Uthman b. Mazun . . . .

209 B. Adiy b. Kab: Amir b. Rabia, an ally of the family of al-Khattab of Anz b. Wail (189), with his wife Layla d. Abu Hathma b. Hudhafa . . .

B. Amir b. Luayy: Abu Sabra b. Abu Ruhm b. Abdul-Uzza b. Abu Qays . . . b. Ainir. Others say it was Abu Hatib b. Amr b. Abdu Shams of the same descent. It is said that he was the first to arrive in Abyssinia.

B. al-Harith: Suhayl b. Bayda . . . . These ten were the first to go to Abyssinia according to my information (190).

Afterwards Jafar b. Abu Talib went, and the Muslims followed one another until they gathered in Abyssinia; some took their families, others went alone.

B. Hashim: Jafar . . . who took his wife Asma d. Umays b. al-Numan . . . She bare (bore) him Abdullah in Abyssinia.

B. Umayya: Uthman b. Affan . . . with his wife Ruqayya; . . . Amr b. Said b. al-As . . . with his wife Fatima d. Safwan b. Umayya b. Muharrith b. Khumal b. Shaqq b. Raqaba b. Mukhdij al-Kinanl, and his brother Khalid with his wife Umayna (191) d. Khalaf of Khuzaa. She bare him his son Said in Abyssinia, and his daughter Ama who afterwards married al-Zubayr b. al-Awwam and bare to him Amr and Khalid. Of their allies of B. Asad b. Khuzayma: Abdullah b. Jahsh . . . b. Asad and his brother Ubaydullah with his wife Umm Habiba d. Abu Sufyan b. Harb; . . . and Qays b. Abdullah . . . with his wife Baraka d. Yasar, a freedwoman of Abu Sufyan; and Muayqib b. Abu Fatima. These belonged to the family of Said b. al-As, seven persons in all (192).

B. Abdu Shams: . . . Abu Hudhayfa b. Utba; . . . Abu Musa al-Ashari whose name was Abdullah b. Qays, an ally of the family of Utba. Two men.

B. Naufal b. Abdu Manaf: Utba b. Ghazwan b. Jabir b. Wahb b. Nasib . . . b. Qays b. Aylan, an ally of theirs. One man.

B. Asad: . . . al-Zubayr b. al-Awwam; . . . al-Aswad b. Naufal; . . . Yazid b. Zamaa; . . . Amr b. Umayya b. al-Harith. Four men.

B. Abd b. Qusayy: Tulayb b. Umayr. . . . One man.

B. Abdul-Dar: Musab b. Umayr; . . . Suwaybit b. Sad; . . . Jahm b. Qays . . . with his wife Umm HarmaJa d. Abdul-Aswad ... of Khuzaa and his two sons Amr and Khuzayma; Abul-Rum b. Umayr b. Hashim; . . . Firas b. al-Nadr b. al-Harith. . . . Five persons.

B. Zuhra: . . . Abdul-Rahman b. Auf; . . . Amir b. Abu Waqqas; Abu Waqqas was Malik b. Uhayb); . . . al-Muttalib b. Azhar . . . with his wife Ramla d. Abu Auf b. Dubayra. . . . She bare his son Abdullah in Abyssinia (Ethiopia). Their allies: of Hudhayl: Abdullah b. Masud . . . and his brother Utba. Of Bahra': al-Miqdad b. Amr b. Thalaba b. Malik b. Rabia b. Thumama b. Matrud b. Amr b. Sad b. Zuhayr b. Luayy b. Thalaba b. Malik b. al-Sharid b. Abu Ahwaz b. Abu Faish b. Duraym b. al-Qayn b. Ahwad b. Bahra b. Amr b. al-Haf b. Qudaa (193). (He used to be called Miqdad b. al-Aswad b. Abdu Yaghuth b. Wahb b. Abdu Manaf b. Zuhra because he had adopted him before Islam and taken him into his tribe.) Six persons.

B. Taym b. Murra: al-Harith b. Khalid . . . with his wife Rayta d. al-Harith b. Jabala. . . . She bare his son Musa in Abyssinia and his daughters Aisha and Zaynab and Fatima; Amr b. Uthman b. Amr. Two men.

B. Makhzum b. Yaqaza: . . . Abu Salama b. Abdul-Asad . . . with his wife Umm Salama d. Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira. . . . She bare him a daughter, Zaynab, in Abyssinia. (His name was Abdullah and his wife's name was Hind.; probably a Hindu) Shammas b. Uthman b. al-Sharid; . . . (194). Habbar b. Sufyan b. Abdul-Asad ... and his brother Abdullah; Hisham b. Abu Hudhayfa b. al-Mughira; . . . Salama b. Hisham; . . . Ayyash b. Abu Rabia Of their allies Muattib b. Auf ... of Khuzaa who was called Ayhama. Eight persons (195).

B. Jumah b. Amr: . . . Uthman b. Mazun . . . and his son al-Saib; his two brothers Qudama and Abdullah; Hatib b. al-Harith . . . with his wife Fatima d. al-Mujallil . . . and his two sons Mohammed and al-Harith; and his brother Hattab with his wife Fukayha d. Yasar; Sufyan b. Mamar . . . with his two sons Jabir and Junada with his wife Hasana who was their mother; and their brother on their mother's side Shurahbil b. Abdullah one of the Ghauth (196); Uthman b. Rabia b. Unban b. Wahb b. Hudhafa. Eleven men.

B. Sahm b. Amr: . . . Khunays b. Hudhafa; . . . Abdullah b. al-Harith b. Qays b. Adiy b. Sad b. Sahm; Hisham b. al-As b. Wail b. Sad b. Sahm (197); Qays b. Hudhafa; . . . Abu Qays b. al-Harith; . . . Abdullah b. Hudhafa . . . al-Harith b. al-Harith; . . . Mamar b. al-Harith; . . . Bishr b. al-Harith . . . and a brother of his from a Tamimite mother called Said b. Amr; Said b. al-Harith; . . . al-Saib b. al-Harith; . . . Umayr b. Riab b. Hudhayfa b. Muhashshim; . . . Mahmiya b. al-Jaza, an ally of theirs from B. Zubayd. Fourteen men.

B. Adiyy b. Kab: Mamar b. Abdullah; . . . Urwa b. Abdul-Uzza; . . . Adiy b. Nadla b. Abdul-Uzza ... and his son al-Numan; Amir b.Rabia, an ally of the family of al-Khattab from Anz b. Wail with his wife Layla. Five.

B. Amir b. Luayy: Abu Sabra b. Abu Ruhm . . . with his wife Umm Kulthum d. Suhayl b. Amr; . . . Abdullah b. Makhrama b. Abdul-Uzza; Abdullah b. Suhayl . . . Salit b. Amr b. Abdu Shams ... and his brother al-Sakran with his wife Sauda d. Zamaa b. Qays b. Abdu Shams; . . . Malik b. Zamaa b. Qays . . . with his wife Amra d. al-Sadi b. Waqdan b. Abdu Shams; . . . Hatib b. Amr b. Abdu Shams; . . . Sad b. Khaula an ally of theirs. Eight persons (198).

B. al-Harith b. Fihr: Abu Ubayda b. al-Jarrah who was Amir b. Abdullah b. al-Jarrah; . . . Suhayl b. Bayda* who was Suhayl b. Wahb b. Rabia b. Hilal b. Uhayb b. Pabba . . . (but he was always known by his mother's name, she being Dad d. Jahdam b. Umayya b. Zarib b. al-Harith . . . and was always called Bayda); Amr b. Abu Sarh b. Rabia . . . Iyad b. Zuhayr b. Abu Shaddad b. Rabi'a b. Hilal b. Uhayb b. Pabba b. al-Harith; but it is said that this is wrong and that Rabi'a was the son of Hilal b. Malik b. Pabba; ... and Amr b. al-Harith; . . . Uthman b. Abdu Ghanm b. Zuhayr; ... and Sad b. Abdu Qays b. Laqit ... and his brother al-Harith. Eight persons.

The total number of those who migrated to Abyssinia (Ethiopia), apart from the little children whom they took with them or were born to them there, was eighty-three men if Ammar b. Yasir was among them, but that is doubtful.

The following is an extract from the poetry which has been written in Abyssinia by Abdullah b. al-Harith b. Qays b. Adiy b. Sad b. Sahm. They were safely ensconced there and were grateful for the protection of the Negus (Ethiopian emperor); could serve God without fear; and the Negus had shown them every hospitality.

O rider, take a message from me
To those who hope for the demonstration of God and religion (This seems to be an allusion to the last verse of the Koran's Sura 14.),
To everyone of God's persecuted servants,
Mistreated and hard tried in Mecca's vale,
Namely, that we have found God's country spacious,
Giving security from humiliation, shame and low-repute,
So do not live a life in humiliation
And shame in death, not safe from blame.
We have followed the apostle of God, and they
Have rejected the words of the prophet, and been deceitful (Such is the commentators' explanation of 'gone high in the balance'. The line is explained by Lane. 22006; it begins 'They said We have followed', etc.).
Visit thy punishment on the people who transgress
And protect me lest they rise and lead me astray.

Abdullah b. al-Harith also said when he spoke of the Quraysh expelling
them from their country, and reproached some of his people:

My heart refuses to fight them
And so do my fingers; I tell you the truth.
How could I fight a people who taught you
The truth that you should not mingle with falsehood?
Jinn worshippers exiled them from their noble land
So that they were exceeding sorrowful;
If there were faithfulness in Adiy b. Sad
Springing from piety and kinship ties,
I should have hoped that it would have been among. you,
By the grace of Him who is not moved by bribes.
I got in exchange for the bountiful refuge of poor widows
A whelp, and that mothered by a bitch.

He also said:
Those Quraysh who deny God's truth
Are as Ad and Madyan and the people of al-Hijr who denied it.
If I do not raise a storm let not the earth,
Spacious land or ocean hold me!
In a land wherein is Mohammed, servant of God.
I will explain what is in my heart
When exhaustive search is made.

Because of the second verse of this poem Abdullah was called al-Mubriq,
the thunderer (or threatener).

Uthman b. Mazun, reproaching Umayya b. Khalaf b. Wahb b. Hudhafa b. Jumah, who was his cousin, and who used to ill-treat him because of his belief, made the following verses. Umayya was a leader among his people at that time.

O Taym b. Amr, I wonder at him who came in enmity,
When the sea and the broad high land lay between us*,
(* Commentators find this verse difficult. Abu Dharr says that sharman is a place-name, or with other vowels it means the sea; while bark is either another place-name or a herd of kneeling camels. Aktau meaning 'all' is generally preceded by ajmau. Suhayli says that sharman is the sea and bark is wide high ground. He prefers the opening line to begin: 'O Taym b. 'Amr, I wonder at him whose anger burned.' Suhayli is right. In Ethiopian barka means 'land'.)
Did you drive mc out of Mecca's vale where I was safe
And make me live in a loathsome white castle (The reading and the meaning are in question. Sarh means both 'castle' or 'room' in Ethiopian / Amharic.).
You feather arrows, whose feathering will not help you;
You sharpen arrows, whose feathers are all for you;
You fight noble strong people
And destroy those from whom you once sought help.
You will know one day, when misfortune attacks you
And strangers betray you, what you have done.
Taym b. Amr, whom Uthman addresses, was Jumah. His name was
Taym.

THE QURAYSH SEND TO ABYSSINIA TO GET THE EMIGRANTS RETURNED

When (the) Quraysh saw that the prophet's companions were safely ensconced in Abyssinia and had found security there, they decided among themselves to send two determined men of their number to the Negus to get them sent back, so that they could seduce them from their religion and get them out of the home in which they were living in peace. So they sent Abdullah b. Abu Rabia and Amr b. al-As b. Wail. They got together some presents for them to take to the Negus and his generals. When Abu Talib perceived their design he composed the following verse for the Negus to move him to treat them kindly and protect them:

Would that I knew how far-away Jafar and Amr fare,
(The bitterest enemies are oft the nearest in blood).
Does the Negus still treat Jafar and his companions kindly,
Or has the mischief-maker prevented him?
Thou art noble and generous, mayst thou escape calamity;
No refugees are unhappy with thee.
Know that God has increased thy happiness
And all prosperity cleaves to thee.
Thou art a river whose banks overflow with bounty
Which reaches both friend and foe.

Mohammed b. Muslim al-Zuhri from Abu Bakr b. Abdul-Rahman b. al-Harith b. Hisham al-Makhzumi from Umm Salama d. Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira wife of the apostle said, 'When we reached Abyssinia the Negus gave us a kind reception. We safely practised our religion, and we worshipped God, and suffered no wrong in word or deed. When the Quraysh got to know of that, they decided to send two determined men to the Negus and to give him presents of the choicest wares of Mecca. Leatherwork was especially prized there, so they collected a great many skins so that they were able to give some to every one of his generals. They sent Abdullah and Amr with instructions to give each general his present before they spoke to the Negus about the refugees. Then they were to give their presents to the Negus and ask him to give the men up before he spoke to them. They carried out these instructions to the letter, and said to each of the generals, 'Some foolish fellows from our people have taken refuge in the king's country. They have forsaken our religion and not accepted yours, but have brought in an invented religion which neither we nor you know anything about. Our nobles have sent us to the king to get him to return them, so when we speak to the king about them advise him to surrender them to us and not to speak to them, for their own people have the keenest insight and know most about their faults.' This the generals agreed to do. They took their gifts to the Negus and when he had accepted them, they said to him what they had already said to the generals about the refugees. Now there was nothing which Abdullah and Amr disliked more than that the Negus should hear what the Muslims had to say. The generals about his presence said that the men had spoken truly, and their own people best knew the truth about the refugees, and they recommended the king to give them up and return them to their own people. The Negus was enraged and said, 'No, by God, I will not surrender them. No people who have sought my protection, settled in my country, and chosen me rather than others shall be betrayed, until I summon them and ask them about what these two men allege. If they are as they say, I will give them up to them and send them back to their own people; but if what they say is false, I will protect them and see that they receive proper hospitality while under my protection.'

Then he summoned the apostle's companions, and when his messenger came they gathered together, saying one to another,

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'What will you say to the man when you come to him?' They said, 'We shall say what we know and what our prophet commanded us, 'come what may.' When they came into the royal presence they found that the king had summoned his bishops with their sacred books exposed around him. He asked them what was the religion for which they had forsaken their people, without entering into his religion or any other. Jafar b. Abu Talib answered, 'O King, we were an uncivilised people, worshipping idols, eating corpses, committing abominations, breaking natural ties, treating guests badly, and our strong devoured our weak. Thus we were until God sent us an apostle whose lineage, truth, trustworthiness, and clemency we know. He summoned us to acknowledge God's unity and to worship him and to renounce the stones and images which we and our fathers formerly worshipped. He commanded us to speak the truth, be faithful to our engagements, mindful of the ties of kinship and kindly hospitality, and to refrain from crimes and bloodshed. He forbade us to commit abominations and to speak lies, and to devour the property of orphans, to vilify chaste women. He commanded us to worship God alone and not to associate anything with Him, and he gave us orders about prayer, almsgiving, and fasting (enumerating the commands of Islam). We confessed his truth and believed in him, and we followed him in what he had brought from God, and we worshipped God alone without associating aught with Him. We treated as forbidden what he forbade, and as lawful what he declared lawful. Thereupon our people attacked us, treated us harshly and seduced us from our faith to try to make us. go back to the worship of idols instead of the worship of God, and to regard as lawful the evil deeds we once committed. So when they got the better of us, treated us unjustly and circumscribed our lives, and came between us and our religion, we came to your country, having chosen you above all others. Here we have been happy in your protection, and we hope that we shall not be treated unjustly while we are with you, O King.'

The Negus asked if they had with them anything which had come from God. When Jafar said that he had, the Negus commanded him to read it to him, so he read him a passage from the Koran Chapter / Sura 19: Kaf- Ha- Ya- Ain-Sad (Mariam / Mary). The Negus wept until his beard was wet and the bishops wept until their scrolls were wet, when they heard what he read to them. Then the Negus said, 'Of a truth, this and what Jesus (This is the reading of the Cairo text which unfortunately fails to record the Manuscript on which [presumably] it is based. Wellhausen's text reads Moses and he does not record a variant.) brought have come from the same niche. You two may go, for by God, I will never give them up to them and they shall not be betrayed.'

When the two had gone, Amr said, 'Tomorrow I will tell him something that will uproot them all.' Abdullah, who was the more godfearing of them in his attitude towards us, said, 'Do not do it, for they are our kindred though they have gone against us.' He said, 'By God, I will tell him that they assert that Jesus, son of Mary, is a creature (Lit. a slave.).' He went to him in the morning and told him that they said a dreadful thing about Jesus, son of Mary, and that he should send for them and ask them about it. He did so. Nothing of the kind had happened to them before, and the people gathered together asking one another what they should say about Jesus when they were asked. They decided that they would say what God had said and what the prophet had brought, come what may. So when they went into the royal presence and the question was put to them, Ja'far answered, 'We say about him that which our prophet brought, saying, he is the slave of God, and his apostle, and his spirit, and his word, which he cast into Mary the blessed virgin.' The Negus took a stick from the ground and said, 'By God, Jesus, son of Mary, does not exceed what you have said by the length of this stick.' His generals round about him snorted when he said this, and he said, 'Though you snort, by God! Go, for you are safe in my country.' (Shuyum means al-aminuna.) (shuyum in Amharic / Ethiopian means 'a high official' (sing.) as S. conjectured. Dabr is also an Ethiopic word. The story evidently comes from someone familiar with the language of Abyssinia.) Then he repeated three times the words, 'He who curses you will be fined. Not for a mountain of gold would I allow a man of you to be hurt' (199). Give them back their presents, for I have no use for them. God took no bribe from me when He gave me back my kingdom, that I should take a bribe for it, and God did not do what men wanted against me, so why should I do what they want against Him.' So they left his presence, crestfallen, taking away their rejected gifts, while we lived with him comfortably in the best security.

While we were living thus, a rebel arose to snatch his kingdom from him, and I never knew us to be so sad as we were at that, in our anxiety lest this fellow would get the better of the Negus, and that a man would arise who did not know our case as the Negus did. He went out against him, and the Nile lay between the two parties. The apostle's companions called for a man who would go to the battle and bring back news, and al-Zubayr b. al-Awwam volunteered. Now he was the youngest man we had. We inflated a waterskin and he put it under his chest, and swam across until he reached that point of the Nile where the armies faced one another. Then he went on until he met them. Meanwhile we prayed to God to give the Negus Victory over his enemy and to establish him in his own country; and as we were doing so, waiting for what might happen, up came al-Zubayr running, waving his clothes as he said, 'Hurrah, the Negus has conquered and God has destroyed his enemies and established him in his land.' By God, I never knew us to be so happy before. The Negus came back, God having destroyed his enemy and established him in his country, and the chiefs of the Abyssinians rallied to him. Meanwhile we lived in happiest conditions until we came to the apostle of God in Mecca.

HOW THE NEGUS (emperor) BECAME KING (ruler) OF ABYSSINIA (Ethiopia)

Al-Zuhri said: I told Urwa b. al-Zubayr the tradition of Abu Bakr b. Abdul-Rahman from Umm Salama the prophet's wife and he said: 'Do you know what he meant when he said that God took no bribe from me when He gave me back my kingdom that I should take a bribe for it, and God did not do what men wanted against me so why should I do what they want against Him?' When I said that I did not know, he said that Aisha told him that the father of the Negus was the king, and the Negus was his only son. The Negus had an uncle who had twelve sons who were of the Abyssinian royal house. The Abyssinians said among themselves, 'It would be a good thing if we were to kill the father of the Negus and make his brother king, because he has no son but this youngster, while his brother has twelve sons, so they can inherit the kingdom after him so that the future of Abyssinia may be permanently secured.' So they attacked the Negus's father and killed him, making his brother king, and such was the state of affairs for a considerable time.

The Negus grew up with his uncle, an intelligent and resolute young man. He attained an ascendancy over his uncle to such a degree that when the Abyssinians perceived how great his influence with the king was, they began to fear lest he might gain the crown, and would then put them all to death because he knew that they were the murderers of his father. Accordingly they went to his uncle and said, 'Either you must kill this young man or you must exile him from among us, for we are in fear of our lives because of him.' He replied, 'You wretches, but yesterday I slew his father, and am I to kill him today? But I will put him out of your country.' So they took him to the market and sold him to a merchant for six hundred dirhams. The latter threw him into a boat and went off with him, but on that very evening the autumn storm clouds massed, and his uncle went out to pray for rain beneath the mass of cloud when he was struck by lightning and killed. The Abyssinians hastened in fear to his sons, and lo! he was a begetter of fools; he had not a son who was any good at all; the situation of the Abyssinians became very unsettled, and when they feared the pressure of events they said to one another, 'Know, by God, that your king, the only one who can put us to rights, is the one you sold this morning, and if you care about your country go after him now.' So they went out in search of him and the man to whom they had sold him, until they overtook him and took the Negus from him. They then brought him home, put the crown on his head, made him sit upon the throne, and proclaimed him king.

The merchant to whom they had sold him came and said, 'Either you give me my money or I shall tell him about this.' They said, 'We will not give you a penny.' He said, Mn that case, by God, I will speak to him.' They said, 'Well, there he is'; so he came and stood before him and said, 'O King, I bought a young slave from people in the market for six hundred dirhams. They gave me my slave and they took my money, yet when I had gone off with my slave they overtook me and seized my slave and kept my money.' The Negus said, 'You must either give him his money back or let the young man place his hand in his, and let him take him where he wishes.' They replied, 'No, but we will give him his money.' For this reason he said the words in question. This was the first thing that was reported about his firmness in his religion and his justice in judgement. Yazld b. Ruman told me from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from Aisha that she said: 'When the Negus died it used to be said that a light was constantly seen over his grave.'

THE ABYSSINIANS REVOLT AGAINST THE NEGUS

Jafar b. Mohammed told me on the authority of his father that the Abyssinians assembled and said to the Negus, 'You have left our religion' and they revolted against him. So he sent to Ja'far and his companions and prepared ships for them, saying, 'Embark in these and be ready. If I am defeated, go where you please; if I am victorious, then stay where you are.' Then he took paper and wrote, 'He testifies that there is no God but Allah and that Mohammed is His slave and apostle ; and he testifies that Jesus, Son of Mary, is His slave, His apostle, His spirit and His word, which He cast into Mary.' Then he put it in his gown near the right shoulder and went out to the Abyssinians, who were drawn up in array to meet him. He said, 'O people, have I not the best claim among you?' 'Certainly,' they said. 'And what do you think of my life among you?' 'Excellent.' 'Then what is your trouble?' 'You have forsaken our religion and assert that Jesus is a slave.' 'Then what do you say about Jesus?' 'We say that he is the Son of God.' The Negus put his hand upon his breast over his gown, (signifying), 'He testifies that Jesus, the Son of Mary, was no more than "this".' By this he meant what he had written, but they were content and went away. News of this reached the prophet, and when the Negus died he prayed over him and begged that his sins might be forgiven.

UMAR ACCEPTS ISLAM

When Amr and Abdullah came to the Quraysh, not having been able to bring back the prophet's companions and having received a sharp rebuff from the Negus, and when Umar became a Muslim, he being a strong, stubborn man whose proteges none dare attack, the prophet's companions were so fortified by him and Hamza that they got the upper hand of (the) Quraysh. Abdullah b. Masud used to say, 'We could not pray at the Kaaba until 'Umar became a Muslim, and then he fought the Quraysh until he could pray there and we prayed with him.' Umar became a Muslim after the prophet's companions had migrated to Abyssinia (Ethiopia).

Al-Bakkai said (This indicates the recension of Ibn Ishaq which Ibn Hisham used. Other Manuscripts read 'Ibn Hisham said'.):

Misar b. Kidam from Sad b. Ibrahim said that Abdullah b. Masud said: Umar's (conversion to) Islam was a victory; his migration to Medina was a'help ; and his government was a divine mercy. We could not pray at the Kaaba until he became a Muslim, and when he did so he fought the Quraysh until he could pray there and we joined him.'

Abdul-Rahman b. al-Harith b. Abdullah b. Ayyash b. Abu Rabia from Abdul-Aziz b. Abdullah b. Amir b. Rabia from his mother Umm Abdullah d. Abu Hathma who said: 'We were on the point of setting out for Abyssinia, and Amir had gone out for something we needed, when Umar came and stopped beside me, he being a polytheist at the time, and we were receiving harsh treatment and affliction from him. He said, "So you are off, O mother of Abdullah." "Yes," I said, "we are going to God's country. You have violently ill-treated us until God has given us a way out." He said, "God be with you," and I saw in him a compassion which I had never seen before. Then he went away, and I could see plainly that our departure pained him; and when 'Amir came back with the thing he needed I said to him, "O father of Abdullah, I wish you had seen Umar just now and the compassion and sorrow he showed on our account." When he asked me if I had hopes of his becoming a Muslim, I replied that I had, to which he answered, "The man you saw will not become a Muslim until al-Khattab's donkey does." This he said in despair of him because of his harshness and severity against Islam.'

The Islam of Umar, so I have heard, was on this wise. His sister was Fatima d. al-Khattab, and was married to Said b. Zayd b. Amr b. Nufayl, both of whom had become Muslims and concealed the fact from Umar. Now Nuaym b. Abdullah al-Nahham, a man of his tribe from B. Adiy b. Kab, had become a Muslim and he also concealed the fact out of fear of his people. Khabbab b. al-Aratt used often to come to Fatima to read the Koran to her. One day Umar came out, girt with his sword, making for the apostle, and a number of his companions, who he had been informed had gathered in a house at al-Safs, in all about forty, including women. With the apostle was his uncle Hamza, and Abu Bakr, and Ali, from among the Muslims who stayed with the apostle and had not gone out with those who went to Abyssinia (Ethiopia). Nuaym met him and asked him where he was going. 'I am making for Mohammed, the apostate, who has split up the Quraysh, made mockery of their traditions, insulted their faith and their gods, to kill him.' 'You deceive yourself, Umar,' he answered, 'do you suppose that B. Abdu Manaf will allow you to continue walking upon the earth when you have killed Mohammed? Had not you better go back to your own family and set tKeir affairs in order?' 'What is the matter with my family?' he said. 'Your brother-in-law, your nephew Said, and your sister Fatima, have both become Muslims and followed Mohammed in his religion, so you had better go and deal with them.' Thereupon Umar returned to his sister and brother-in-law at the time when Khabbab was with them with the manuscript of Ta Ha, which he was reading to them. When they heard Umar's voice Khabbab hid in a small room, or in a part of the house, and Fatima took the page and put it under her thigh. Now Umar had heard the reading of Khabbab as he came near the house, so when he came in he said, 'What is this balderdash I heard?' 'You have not heard anything,' they answered. 'By God, I have,' he said, 'and I have been told that you have followed Mohammed in his religion;' and he seized his brother-in-law Said, and his sister Fatima rose in defence of her husband, and he hit her and wounded her. When he did that they said to him, 'Yes, we are Muslims, and we believe in God and His apostle, and you can do what you like.' When Umar saw the blood on his sister he was sorry for what he had done and turned back and said to his sister, 'Give me this sheet which I heard you reading just now so that I may see just what it is which Mohammed has

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brought,' for Umar could write. When he said that, his sister replied that she was afraid to trust him with it. 'Do not be afraid,' he said, and he swore by his gods that he would return it when he had read it. When he said that, she had hopes that he would become a Muslim, and said to him, 'My brother, you are unclean in your polytheism and only the clean may touch it.' So Umar rose and washed himself and she gave him the page in which was Ta Ha, and when he had read the beginning he said, 'How fine and noble is this speech.' When he heard that, Khabbab emerged and said, 'O Umar, by God, I hope that God has singled you out by His prophet's call, for but last night I heard him saying, "O God, strengthen Islam by Abul-Hakam b. Hisham or by Umar b. al-Khattab." Come to God, come to God, O Umar.' At that Umar said, 'Lead me to Mohammed so that I may accept Islam.' Khabbab replied that he was in a house at al-Safa with a number of his companions. So Umar took his sword and girt it on, and made for the apostle and his companions, and knocked on the door. When they heard his voice one of the companions got up and looked through a chink in the door, and when he saw him girt with his sword, he went back to the apostle in fear, and said, 'It is Umar with his sword on.' Hamza said, 'Let him in; if he has come with peaceful intent, we will treat him well; if he has come with ill intent, we will kill him with his own sword.' The apostle gave the word and he was let in. The apostle rose and met him in the room, seized him round the girdle or by the middle of his cloak, and dragged him along violently, saying, 'What has brought you, son of Khattab, for by God, I do not think you will cease (your persecution) until God brings calamity upon you.' Umar replied, 'O Apostle of God, I have come to you to believe in God and His apostle and what he has brought from God.' The apostle gave thanks to God so loudly that the whole household knew that Umar had become a Muslim.

The companions dispersed, having become confident when both Umar and Hamza had accepted Islam because they knew that they would protect the apostle, and that they would get justice from their enemies through them. This is the story of the narrators among the people of Medina about Umar's Islam.

Abdullah b. Abu Najih, the Meccan, from his companions Ata and Mujahid, or other narrators, said that Umar's conversion, according to what he used to say himself, happened thus: 'I was far from Islam. I was a winebibber in the heathen period, used to love it and rejoice in it. We used to have a meeting-place in al-Hazwara at which (the) Quraysh used to gather1 near the houses of the family of Umar b. Abd b. Imran al-Makhzumi. I went out one night, making for my boon companions in that gathering, but when I got there, there was no one present, so I thought it would be a good thing if I went to so-and-so, the wineseller, who was selling wine in Mecca at the time, in the hope that I might get something to drink from him, but I could not find him either, so I thought it would be a good thing if I went round the Kaaba seven or seventy times. So I came to the mosque meaning to go round the Kaaba and there was the apostle standing praying. As he prayed he faced Syria, putting the Kaaba between himself and Syria. His stance was between the black stone and the southern corner. When I saw him I thought it would be a good thing if I could listen to Mohammed so as to hear what he said. If I came near to listen to him I should scare him, so I came from the direction of the hijr and got underneath its coverings and began to walk gently. Meanu hile the prophet was standing in prayer reciting the Koran until I stood in his qibla facing him, there being nothing between us but the covering of the Kaaba. When I heard the Koran my heart was softened and I wept, and Islam entered into me; but I ceased not to stand in my place until the apostle had finished his prayer. Then he went away. When he went away he used to go past the house of the son of Abu Husayn, which was on his way, so that he crossed the path where the pilgrims run. Then he went between the house of Abbas and Ibn Azhar b. Abdu Auf al-Zuhri; then by the house of Al-Akhnas b. Shariq until he entered his own house. His dwelling was in al-Dar al-Raqta, which was in the hands of Muawiya b. Abu Sufyan. I continued to follow him, until when he got between the house of 'Abbas and Ibn Azhar I overtook him, and when he heard my voice he recognised me and supposed that I had followed him only to ill-treat him, so he repelled me, saying, "What has brought you at this hour?" I replied that I had come to believe in God and His apostle and what he had brought from God. He gave thanks to God and said, "God has guided you." Then he rubbed my breast and prayed that I might be steadfast. Afterwards I left him. He went into his house.' But God knows what the truth was.

Nafi'freedman of Abdullah b. Umar on the authority of Ibn Umar said: When my father Umar became a Muslim he said, 'Which of the Quraysh is best at spreading reports?' and was told that it was Jamil b. Mamar al-Jumahl. So he went to him, and I followed after to see what he was doing, for although I was very young at the time I understood everything I saw. He went to Jamil and asked him if he knew that he had become a Muslim and entered into Mohammed's religion; and, by God, hardly had he spoken to him when he got up dragging his cloak on the ground as Umar followed him and I followed my father, until he stood by the door of the mosque and cried at the top of his voice while the Quraysh were in their meeting-places round the Kaaba, Umar has apostatised,' while Umar behind him shouted, 'He is a liar; but I have become a Muslim and I testify that there is no God but Allah and Mohammed is His servant and apostle.' They got up to attack him and fighting went on between them until the sun stood over their heads, and he became weary and sat down while they stood over him, as he said, 'Do as you will, for I swear by God that if we were three hundred men we would have fought it out on equal terms.' At this point a shaykh of the Quraysh, in a Yamani robe and an embroidered shirt, came up and stopped and inquired what was the matter. When he was told that 'Umar had apostatised he said, 'Why should not a man choose a religion for himself, and what are you trying to do? Do you think that B. Adly will surrender their companion to you thus? Let the man alone.' By God, it was as though they were a garment stripped off him (i.e. 'a fear removed'.).

After my father had migrated to Medina I asked him who the man was who drove away the people on the day he became a Muslim while they were fighting him, and he said, 'That, my son, was al-As b. Walil al-Sahmi (200).'

Abdul-Rahman b. al-Harith from one of Umar's clan or one of his family said that Umar said, 'When I became a Muslim that night I thought of the man who was the most violent in enmity against the apostle so that I might come and tell him that I had became a Muslim, and Abu Jahl came to my mind.' Now Umar's mother was Hantama d. Hisham b. al-Mughira. So in the morning I knocked on his door, and he came out and said, 'The best of welcomes, nephew, what has brought you?' I answered that I had come to tell him that I believed in God and His apostle Mohammed and regarded as true what he had brought. He slammed the door in my face and said, 'God damn you, and damn what you have brought.'

THE DOCUMENT PROCLAIMING A BOYCOTT

When (the) Quraysh perceived that the apostle's companions had settled in a land in peace and safety, and that the Negus had protected those who sought refuge with him, and that Umar had become a Muslim and that both he and Hamza were on the side of the apostle and his companions, and that Islam had begun to spread among the tribes, they came together and decided among themselves to write a document in which they should put a boycott on B. Hashim and B. Muttalib that they should not marry their women nor give women to them to marry; and that they should neither buy from them nor sell to them, and when they agreed on that they wrote it in a deed. Then they solemnly agreed on the points and hung the deed up in the middle of the Kaaba to remind them of their obligations.

The writer of the deed was Mansur b. Ikrima b. Amir b. Hashim b. Abdu Manaf b. Abdul-Dar b. Qusayy (201) and the apostle invoked God against him and some of his fingers withered.

When (the) Quraysh did that, the two clans of B. Hashim and B. al-Muttalib went to Abu Talib and entered with him into his alley and joined him.

Abu Lahab Abdul-Uzza went out from B. Hashim and helped (the) Quraysh. Husayn b. Abdullah told me that Abu Lahab met Hind d. Utba when he had left his people and joined (the) Quraysh against them, and he said, 'Have I not helped al-Lat and al-Uzza and have I not abandoned those who have abandoned them and assisted their opponents?' She said, 'Yes, and may God reward you well, O Abu Utba.' And I was told that among the things that he said were, Mohammed promises me things which I do not see. He alleges that they will happen after my death; what has he put in my hands after that?' Then he blew on his hands and said, 'May you perish. I can see nothing in you of the things which Mohammed says.'

So God revealed concerning him the words, 'Abu Lahab and his hands God blast (Koran 111.) (202)."

When (the) Quraysh had agreed on this and had done what has just been described, Abu Talib said:

Tell Luayy, especially Lu'ayy of the Banu Kab,
News of our condition.
Did you not know that we have found Mohammed,
A prophet like Moses described in the oldest books,
And that love is bestowed on him (alone) of mankind
And that none is better than he whom God has singled out in love,
And that the writing you have fixed
Will be a calamity like the cry of the hamstrung camel? (An allusion to the camel of Salih in Sura 26.142.)
Awake, awake before the grave is dug
And the blameless and the guilty are as one.
Follow not the slanderers, nor sever
The bonds of love and kinship between us.
Do not provoke a long-drawn-out war,
Often he who brings on war tastes its bitterness.
By the Lord of the temple we will not give up Ahmad,
To harsh misfortunes and times' troubles,
Before hands and necks, yours and ours,
Are cut by the gleaming blades of Qusas (Qusas is said to be a mountain of B. Asad containing iron mines.)
In a close-hemmed battlefield where you see broken spears
And black-headed vultures circling round like a thirsty crowd.
The galloping of the horses about the scene
And the shout of warriors are like a raging battle.
Did not our father Hashim gird up his loins
And teach his sons the sword and spear?
We do not tire of war until it tires of us;
We do not complain of misfortune when it comes.
We keep our heads and our valour
When the bravest lose heart in terror.

They remained thus for two or three years until they were exhausted, nothing reaching them except what came from their friends unknown to (the) Quraysh.

Abu Jahl, so they say, met Hakim b. Hizam b. Khuwaylid b. Asad with whom was a slave carrying flour intended for his aunt Khadija, the prophet's wife, who was with him in the alley. He hung on to him and said, 'Are you taking food to the B. Hashim? By God, before you and your food move from here I will denounce you in Mecca.' Abul-Bakhtari came to him and said, 'What is going on between you two?' When he said that Hakim was taking food to the B. Hashim, he said: 'It is food he has which belongs to his aunt and she has sent to him about it. Are you trying to prevent him taking her own food to her? Let the man go his way!' Abu Jahl refused until they came to blows, and Abul-Bakhtari took a camel's jaw and knocked him down, wounded him, and trod on him violently, while Hamza was looking on near by. They did not wish the apostle and his companions to hear this news and rejoice over their discomfiture. Meanwhile the apostle was exhorting his people night and day, secretly and publicly, openly proclaiming God's command without fear of anyone.

THE ILL-TREATMENT THE APOSTLE RECEIVED FROM HIS PEOPLE

His uncle and the rest of B. Hashim gathered round him and protected him from the attacks of the Quraysh, who, when they saw that they could not get at him, mocked and laughed at him and disputed with him. The Koran began to come down concerning the wickedness of (the) Quraysh and those who showed enmity to him, some by name and some only referred to in general. Of those named are his uncle Abu Lahab and his wife Umm Jamil, 'the bearer of the wood'. God called her this because she, so I am told, carried thorns and cast them in the apostle's way where he would be passing. So God sent down concerning the pair of them:

Abu Lahab and his hands, God blast,
His wealth and gains useless at the last,
He shall roast in flames, held fast,
With his wife, the bearer of the wood, aghast,
On her neck a rope of palm-fibre cast. (Koran Sura 111. The rhyme of the original has been imitated. (203)

I was told that Umm Jamil, the bearer of the wood, when she heard what had come down about her and about her husband in the Koran, came to the apostle of God, when he was sitting in the mosque by the Kaaba with Abu Bakr, with a stone pestle in her hand, and when she stood by the pair of them God made her unable to see the apostle so that she saw only Abu Bakr and asked him where his companion was, 'for I have been told that he is satirising me (i.e. composed a Hija, which in early times had the effect of a spell which could bring the fate it described on its victims. Sec my Prophecy and Divination, pp. 248 ff., 258 ff., 281 ff. Umm Jamil's object in trying to smash Mohammed's mouth was to destroy his organs of speech so that he could no longer utter magical curses.), and by God, if I had found him I would have smashed his mouth with this stone. By God, I am a poet.* Then she said:

We reject the reprobate,
His words we repudiate,
His religion we loathe and hate (This is a rough attempt to render the rough rhyme of the original.).

Then she went off and Abu Bakr asked the apostle if he thought she had seen him. He replied that she had not because God had taken her sight away from him (204).

The Quraysh had called the apostle Mudhammam to revile him. He used to say, 'Are you not surprised at the injuries of the Quraysh which God turns away from me? They curse me and satirise Mudhammam [reprobate] whereas I am Mohammed [the laudable].'

[Another referred to in the Koran] is Umayya b. Khalaf b. Wahb b. Hudhafa b. Jumah. Whenever he saw the apostle he slandered and reviled him, so God sent down concerning him, 'Woe to every slandering backbiter, who has gathered wealth and increased it, and thinks that his wealth will make him immortal. No, he will be thrown to the devouring fire. What will make you realise what that is? It is God's fire kindled which mounts over the hearts. It is shut in on them in wide columns (Koran 104.)' (205).

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Khabbab b. al-Aratt, the prophet's companion, was a smith in Mecca who used to make swords. He sold some to al-As b. Wail so that he owed him some money and he came to him to demand payment. He answered, 'Does not Mohammed, your companion whose religion you follow, allege that in Paradise there is all the gold and silver and clothes and servants that his people can desire?' 'Certainly,' said Khabbab. 'Then give me till the day of resurrection until I return to that house and pay your debt there; for by God, you and your companion will be no more influential with God than I, and have no greater share in it.' So God revealed concerning him, 'Have you considered him who disbelieves Our signs and says, I shall be given wealth and children. Hath he studied the unseen?' so far as the words, 'and we shall inherit from him what he speaks of and he will come to us alone (Koran 19.80.)'

Abu Jahl met the apostle, so I have heard, and said to him, 'By God, Mohammed, you will either stop cursing our gods or we will curse the God you serve.' So God revealed concerning that, 'Curse not those to whom they pray other than God lest they curse God wrongfully through lack of knowledge (Koran 6.108.).'

I have been told that the apostle refrained from cursing their gods, and began to call them to Allah.

Al-Nadr b. al-Harith b. Alqama b. Kalada b. Abdu Manaf whenever the apostle sat in an assembly and invited people to God, and recited the Koran, and warned the Quraysh of what had happened to former peoples, followed him when he got up and spoke to them about Rustum the Hero and Isfandiyar and the kings of Persia, saying, 'By God, Mohammed cannot tell a better story than I and his talk is only of old fables which he has copied* as I have.' (* Koran 25.6.: iktataba means to write down oneself, or to get something written down by another. The former seems to be demanded by the context.) So God revealed concerning him, 'And they say, Stories of the ancients which he has copied down, and they are read to him morning and night. Say, He who knows the secrets of heaven and earth has sent it down. Verily, He is merciful, forgiving (Koran 83.13.).' And there came down concerning him, 'When Our verses are read to him he says, fables of the ancients'.'

And again, 'Woe to every sinful liar who hears God's verses read before him. Then he continues in pride as though he had not heard them, as though in his ears was deafness. Tell him about a painful punishment' (Koran 45.7.) (206).

The apostle sat one day, so I have heard, with al-Walid b. al-Mughira in the mosque, and al-Nadr b. al-Harith came and sat with them in the assembly where some of (the) Quraysh were. When the apostle spoke al-Nadr interrupted him, and the apostle spoke to him until he silenced him. Then he read to him and to the others: 'Verily ye and what ye serve other than God is the fuel of hell. You will come to it. If these had been gods they would not have come to it, but all will be in it everlastingly. There is wailing and there they will not hear' (Koran 21.98.) (207).

Then the apostle rose and Abdullah b. al-Zibara al-Sahmi came and sat down. Al-Walid said to him: 'By God al-Nadr could not stand up to the (grand)son of Abdul-Muttalib just now and Mohammed alleged that we and our gods are fuel for hell.' Abdullah said: 'If I had found him I would have refuted him. Ask Mohammed, "Is everything which is worshipped besides God in Gehenna with those who worship it?" We worship the angels; the Jews worship Uzayr; and the Christians worship Jesus Son of Mary.' Al-Walid and those with him in the assembly marvelled at Abdullah's words and thought that he had argued convincingly. When the apostle was told of this he said: 'Everyone who wishes to be worshipped to the exclusion of God will be with those who worship him. They worship only satans and those they have ordered to be worshipped.'

So God revealed concerning that 'Those who have received kindness from us in the past will be removed far from it and will not hear its sound and they abide eternally in their heart's desire (Koran 21.101)', i.e. Jesus Son of Mary and Uzayr and those rabbis and monks who have lived in obedience to God, whom the erring people worship as lords beside God. And He revealed concerning their assertion that they worship angels and that they are the daughters of God, 'And they say the Merciful has chosen a son, (exalted be He above this); nay, they are but honoured slaves, they do not speak before He speaks, and they carry out His commands', as far as the words, 'and he of them who says, I am God as well as He, that one we shall repay with Gehenna. Thus do they repay the sinful ones (21.26-30.).'

And He revealed concerning what he mentioned about Jesus, Son of Mary, that he was worshipped beside God, and the astonishment of al-Walid and those who were present, at his argument and disputation, 'And when Jesus, Son of Mary, was cited as an example thy people laughed thereat (Koran 43.57) i.e. they rejected your attitude to what they say*.

(* Guillaume: A difficult phrase. 'Sadda' with the preposition 'min' means 'to laugh immoderately or to make a loud noise'. With 'an' it means 'to turn away from'. But these two prepositions are often interchangeable. Ibn Ishaq's explanation of the passage is that the fact that Christians pray to Jesus is no justification for the polytheism of the Meccans, as the latter argued, for Christians perverted the message Jesus brought. When Jesus is adduced as an example [of one who called an evil people to God] the Meccans rejected Mohammed's attitude towards him in what they said; but this exegesis is not sound. The Sura is perfectly consistent in showing how prophets were sent to erring peoples and were laughed at. Cf. v. 47: The Meccans laugh when Jesus is mentioned because his worship would seem to justify their worshipping several gods. The citation which follows shows where in Mohammed's opinion they were wrong. Ibn Ishaq has adopted the reading yasidduna [so Nafi, Ibn Amir, and al-Kisai] instead of the commoner yafidduna.)

Then He mentions Jesus, Son of Mary, and says, 'He was nothing but a slave to whom We showed favour and made him an example to the children of Israel. If We had wished We could have made from you angels to act as vice-regents in the earth. Verily, there is knowledge of the [last] hour, so doubt not about it but follow Me. This is an upright path,' i.e. the signs which I gave him in raising the dead and healing the sick, therein is sufficient proof of the knowledge of the hour. He says: 'Doubt not about it, but follow Me. This is an upright path.'

Al-Akhnas b. Shariq b. Amr b. Wahb al-Thaqafi, ally of B. Zuhra, was one of the leaders of his people who was listened to with respect, and he used to give the apostle much trouble and contradict him, so God sent down about him: 'Do not obey every feeble oath-taker, slanderer, walking about with evil tales,' as far as the word 'zanim' (Koran 68.10-13).

He did not say zanim in the sense of 'ignoble' to insult his ancestry, because God does not insult anyone's ancestry, but he confirmed thereby the epithet given to him so that he might be known. Zanim means an adopted member of the tribe. Al-Khatim al-Tamimi said in pagan days:

An outsider whom men invite as a supernumerary
As the legs are useless additions to the width of a pelt.

Al-Walid said: 'Does God send down revelations to Mohammed and ignore me, the greatest chief of (the) Quraysh, to say nothing of Abu Masud Amr b. Umayr al-Thaqafi, the chief of Thaqif, we being the great ones of Taif and Mecca?' So God sent down concerning him, so I am told, 'They said, if this Koran had been revealed to a great man ofthe two towns,' as far as the words, 'than what they amass' (Koran 43.30.).

Ubayy b. Khalaf b. Wahb b. Hudhafa and Uqba b. Abu Muayt were very close friends. Now Uqba had sat and listened to the apostle and when Ubayy knew of that he came to him and said, 'Do I hear that you have sat with Mohammed and listened to him? I swear I will never see you or speak to you again (and he swore a great oath) if you do the same again, or if you do not go and spit in his face.' Uqba, the enemy of God, actually did this, God curse him. So God sent down concerning the pair of them,

'On the day that the sinner bites his hands, saying, would that I had chosen a path with the apostle,' as far as the words 'a deserter of men' (Koran 25.29).

Ubayy took to the apostle an old bone, crumbling to pieces, and said, 'Mohammed, do you allege that God can revivify this after it has decayed?' Then he crumbled it in his hand and blew the pieces in the apostle's face. The apostle answered: 'Yes, I do say that. God will raise it and you, after you have become like this. Then God will send you to Hell.' So God revealed concerning him, 'He gave us a parable, and he forgot that he was created, saying, who will revivify bones which are rotten? Say, He who gave them life in the first instance will revivify them. He who knows about all creation, who has made for you fire from the green wood, and lo, you kindle flame from it (Koran 36.78).'

There met the apostle, as he was going round the Kaaba, so I have been told*, Al-Aswad b. al-Muttalib b. Asad b. Abdul-Uzza and al-Walid b. al-Mughira and Umayya b. Khalaf and al-As b. Wail al-Sahmi, men of reputation among their people. (* Tabari 1191,12: gives the authorities for this tradition as Ibn Ishaq from Said b. Mini, a freedman of Abul-Bakhtari. There are a few verbal discrepancies: the Meccans say, 'If what you have brought is better than what we have . . . and if what we have is better than what you have*, etc.) They said: 'Mohammed, come let us worship what you worship, and you worship what we worship. You and we will combine in the matter. If what you worship is better than what we worship we will take a share of it, and if what we worship is better than what you worship, you can take a share of that.' So God revealed concerning them, 'Say, O disbelievers, I do not worship what you worship, and you do not worship what I worship, and I do not worship what you worship, and you do not worship what I worship; you have your religion and I have mine (Koran 109.),' i.e. If you will only worship God on condition that I worship what you worship, I have no need of you at all. You can have your religion, all of it, and I have mine.

(Tabari 1192: Now the apostle was anxious for the welfare of his people, wishing to attract them as far as he could. It has been mentioned that he longed for a way to attract them, and the method he adopted is what Ibn Hamid told me that Salama said M. b. Ishaq told him from Yazid b. Ziyad of Medina from M. b. Kab al-Qurazi: When the apostle saw that his people turned their backs on him and he was pained by their estrangement from what he brought them from God he longed that there should come to him from God a message that would reconcile his people to him. Because of his love for his people and his anxiety over them it would delight him if the obstacle that made his task so difficult could be removed; so that he meditated on the project and longed for it and it was dear to him. Then God sent down 'By the star when it sets your comrade errs not and is not deceived, he speaks not from his own desire,' and when he reached His words 'Have you thought of al-Lat and al-Uzza and Manat the third, the other' (Koran 53.1-20), Satan, when he was meditating upon it, and desiring to bring it (sc. reconciliation) to his people, put upon his tongue 'these are the exalted Gharaniq [The word is said to mean 'Numidian cranes' which fly at a great height.] whose intercession is approved [Another reading is turtaja 'to be hoped for'.].)'

When (the) Quraysh heard that, they were delighted and greatly pleased at the way in which he spoke of their gods and they listened to him; while the believers were holding that what their prophet brought them from their Lord was true, not suspecting a mistake or a vain desire or a slip, and when he reached the prostration (Mentioned in the last verse of the Sura.) and the end of the Sura in which he prostrated himself the Muslims prostrated themselves when their prophet prostrated confirming what he brought and obeying his command, and the polytheists of (the) Quraysh and others who were in the mosque prostrated when they heard the mention of their gods, so that everyone in the mosque believer and unbeliever prostrated, except al-Walid b. al-Mughira who was an old man who could not do so, so he took a handful of dirt from the valley and bent over it. Then the people dispersed and (the) Quraysh went out, delighted at what had been said about their gods, saying, 'Mohammed has spoken of our gods in splendid fashion. He alleged in what he read that they are the exalted Gharanlq whose intercession is approved.'

The news reached the prophet's companions who were in Abyssinia, it being reported that (the) Quraysh had accepted Islam, so some men started to return while others remained behind. Then Gabriel came to the apostle and said, 'What have you done, Mohammed? You have read to these people something I did not bring you from God and you have said what He did not say to you. The apostle was bitterly grieved and was greatly in fear of God. So God sent down (a revelation), for He was merciful to him, comforting him and making light of the affair and telling him that every prophet and apostle before him desired as he desired and wanted what he wanted and Satan interjected something into his desires as he had on his tongue. So God annulled what Satan had suggested and God established His verses i.e. you are just like the prophets and apostles. Then God sent down: 'We have not sent a prophet or apostle before you but when he longed Satan cast suggestions into his longing. But God will annul what Satan has suggested. Then God will establish his verses, God being knowing and wise (Koran 22.51). The following verse is not without relevance in this context: 'that He may make what Satan suggested a temptation to those whose hearts are diseased and hardened'.).' Thus God relieved his prophet's grief, and made him feel safe from his fears and annulled what Satan had suggested in the words used above about their gods by his revelation 'Are yours the males and His the females? That were indeed an unfair division' (i.e. most unjust); 'they are nothing but names which your fathers gave them' as far as the words 'to whom he pleases and accepts' (Koran 53.19-27), i.e. how can the intercession of their gods avail with Him?

When the annulment of what Satan had put upon the prophet's tongue came from God, (the) Quraysh said: 'Mohammed has repented of what he said about the position of your gods with Allah, altered it and brought something else.' Now those two words which Satan had put upon the apostle's tongue were in the mouth of every polytheist and they became more violently hostile to the Muslims and the apostle's followers. Meanwhile those of his companions who had left Abyssinia when they heard that the people of Mecca had accepted Islam when they prostrated themselves with the apostle, heard when they approached Mecca that the report was false and none came into the town without the promise of protection or secretly. Of those who did come into Mecca and stayed there until he migrated to Medina and were present at Badr with him was Uthman b. Affan . . . with his wife Ruqayya d. of the apostle and Abu Hudhayfa b. Utba with his wife Sahla d. of Suhayl, and a number of others, in all thirty-three men (A parallel tradition from M. b. Kab al-Qurazi and M. b. Qays is given by Tabari 1195-6.).

Abu Jahl b. Hisham, when God mentioned the tree of al-Zaqqiim to strike terror into them, said: 'O Quraysh, do you know what the tree of al-Zaqqum with which Mohammed would scare you is? When they said that they did not he said: 'It is Yathrib dates buttered. By Allah, if we get hold of them we will gulp them down in one!' So God sent down

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concerning him, 'Verily the tree of al-Zaqqum is the food of the sinner like molten brass seething in their bellies like boiling water (Koran 44.43 Suhayli, p. 228, has an interesting note to the effect that this word is of Yamani origin, and that there it means anything which causes vomiting.),' i.e. it is not as he said (208). God revealed concerning it, 'And the tree which is cursed in the Koran; and We will frighten them, but it increases them in naught save great wickedness (Koran 17.62).'

Al-Walid was having a long conversation with the apostle who greatly desired to convert him to Islam when I. Umm Maktum, a blind man, passed by and began to ask the apostle to recite the Koran. The prophet found this hard to bear and it annoyed him, because he was diverting him from al-Walid and spoiling the chance of his conversion; and when the man became importunate he went off frowning and left him. So God revealed concerning him, 'He frowned and turned his back when the blind man came to him' as far as the words 'in books honoured, exalted, and purified (Koran 80.)', i.e. I sent you only to be an evangelist and a reprover; I did not specify one person to the exclusion of another, so withhold not (the message) from him who seeks it, and do not waste time over one who does not want it (209).

THE RETURN OF THOSE WHO HAD FLED TO ABYSSINIA

The apostle's companions who had gone to Abyssinia heard that the Meccans had accepted Islam and they set out for the homeland. But when they got near Mecca they learned that the report was false, so that they entered the town under the protection of a citizen or by stealth. Some of those who returned to him stayed in Mecca until they migrated to Medina and were present at Badr and Uhud with the apostle; others were shut away from the prophet until Badr and other events were passed; and others died in Mecca. They were:

From B. Abdu Shams b. Abdu Manaf b. Qusayy: Uthman b. Affan b. Abul-As b. Umayya b. Abdu Shams and his wife, the apostle's daughter Ruqayya; Abu Hudhayfa b. Utba b. Rabia and his wife Sahla d. Suhayl b. Amr; and one of their allies Abdullah b. Jahsh b. Riab.

From B. Naufal b. Abdu Manaf: Utba b. Ghazwan, an ally of theirs from Qays b. Aylan.

From B. Asad b. Abdul-Uzza b. Qusayy: al-Zubayr b. al-Awwam b. Khuwaylid b. Asad.

From B. Abdul-Dar b. Qusayy: Musab b. Umayr b. Hashim b. Abdu Manaf; and Suwaybit b. Sad b. Harmala.

From B. Abd b. Qusayy: Tulayb b. Umayr b. Wahb.

From B. Zuhra b. Kilab: Abdul-Rahman b. Auf b. Abdu Auf b. Abd b. al-Harith b. Zuhra; and al-Miqdad b. Amr an ally, and Abdullah b. Masud also an ally.

From B. Makhzum b. Yaqaza: Abu Salama b. Abdul-Asad b. Hilal b. Abdullah b. Amr with his wife Umm Salama d. Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira; and Shammas b. Uthman b. al-Shand b. Suwayd b. Harmly b. Amir; and Salama b. Hisham b. al-Mughira whom his uncle imprisoned in Mecca so that he did not get to Medina until after Badr and Uhud and the Trench; Ayyash b. Abu Rabia b. al-Mughira. He migrated to Medina with the prophet, and his two brothers on his mother's side followed him and brought him back to Mecca and held him there until the three battles were over. Their names were Abu Jahl and al-Harith, sons of Hisham. Of their allies Ammar b. Yasir, though it is doubted whether he went to Abyssinia or not; and Muattib b. Auf b. Amir b. Khuzaa.

From B. Jumah b. Amr b. Husays b. Kab: Uthman b. Mazun b. Habib b. Wahb b. Hudhafa and his son al-Saib b. Uthman; and Qudama b. Mazun; and Abdullah b. Mazun.

From B. Sahm b. Amr b. Husays b. Kab: Khunays b. Hudhafa b. Qays b. Adly; and Hisham b. al-As b. Wail who was imprisoned in Mecca after the apostle migrated to Medina until he turned up after the three battles above mentioned.

From B. Adly b. Kab: Amir b. Rabia - one of their allies, with his wife Layla d. Abu Hathma b. Hudhafa b. Ghanim.

From B. Amir b. Luayy: Abdullah b. Makhrama b. Abdul-Uzza b. Abu Qays; Abdullah b. Suhayl b. Amr. He was held back from the apostle of God when he emigrated to Medina until when the battle of Badr was joined he deserted the polytheists and joined the battle on the side of the apostle. Abu Sabra b. Abu Ruhm b. Abdul-Uzza with his wife Umm Kulthum d. Suhayl b. Amr; Sakran b. Amr b. Abdu Shams with his wife Sauda d. Zamaa b. Qays. He died in Mecca before the apostle emigrated and the apostle married his widow Sauda. Lastly Sad b. Khaula, one of their allies.

From B. l-Harith b. Fihr: Abu Ubayda b. al-Jarrah whose name was Amir b. Abdullah; Amr b. al-Harith b. Zuhayr b. Abu Shaddad; Suhayl b. Bayda who was the son of Wahb b. Rabia b. Hilal; and Amr b. Abu Sarh b. Rabia b. Hilal.

The total number of his companions who came to Mecca from Abyssinia was thirty-three men. The names given to us of those who entered under promise of protection are Uthman b. Mazun protected by al-Walid b. al-Mughira; Abu Salama under the protection of Abu Talib who was his uncle, Abu Salama's mother being Barra d. Abdul-Muttalib.

UTHMAN B. MAZUN RENOUNCES AL-WALID'S PROTECTION

Salih b. Ibrahim b. Abdul-Rahman b. Auf told me from one who had got it from Uthman saying: When 'Uthman b. Mazun.saw the misery in which the apostle's companions were living while he lived night and day under al-Walid's protection he said, 'It is more than I can bear that I should be perfectly safe under the protection of a polytheist while my friends and co-religionists are afflicted and distressed for God's sake.' So he went to al-Walid and renounced his protection. 'Why, nephew,' he asked, 'Can it be that one of my people has injured you?' 'No,' he answered, 'but I want to be under God's protection: I don't want to ask for anyone else's.' Al-Walid asked him to come to the mosque and renounce his protection publicly as he had given it publicly. When they got there al-Walid said: "Uthman here has come to renounce my protection.' 'True,' said the latter, 'I have found him loyal and honourable in his protection, but I don't want to ask anyone but God for protection; so I give him back his promise!' So saying he went away.

[On another occasion when] Labid b. Rabia b. Malik b. Jafar b. Kilab was in an assembly of the Quraysh when Uthman was present he recited a verse:

Everything but God is vain,
True! interjected Uthman; but when he went on:
And everything lovely must inevitably cease,

Uthman cried, 'You lie! The joy of Paradise will never cease.' Labid said: 'O men of (the) Quraysh your friends never used to be annoyed thus. Since when has this sort of thing happened among you?' One of the audience answered: 'This is one of those louts with Mohammed. They have abandoned our religion. Take no notice of what he says.' Uthman objected so energetically that the matter became serious. Whereupon that man rose to his feet and hit him in the eye so that it became black. Now al-Walid was hard by watching what happened to Uthman and he said: 'O nephew, your eye need not have suffered this had you remained in sure protection.' Uthman answered: 'Nay by God my good eye needs what happened to its fellow for God's sake, and I am under the protection of One who is stronger and more powerful than you, O Abu Abdu Shams.' Al-Walid only said, 'Come, nephew, my protection is always open to you,' but he declined it.

HOW ABU SALAMA FARED WITH HIS PROTECTOR

My father Ishaq b. Yasar on the authority of Salama b. Abdullah b. Umar b. Abu Salama told me that he told him that when Abu Salama had asked Abu Talib's protection some of the B. Makhzum went to him and said: 'You have protected your nephew Mohammed from us, but why are you protecting our tribesman?' He answered: 'He asked my protection and he is my sister's son. If I did not protect my sister's son I could not protect my brother's son.' Thereupon Abu Lahab rose and said: 'O Quraysh, you have continually attacked this shaykh for giving his protection among his ow n people. By God, you must either stop this or we will stand in with him until he gains his object.' They said that they would not do anything to annoy him, for he had aided and abetted them against the apostle, and they wanted to keep his support.

Hearing him speak thus Abu Talib hoped that he would support him in protecting the apostle, and composed the following lines urging Abu Lahab to help them both:

A man whose uncle is Abu Utayba
Is in a garden where he is free from violence.
I say to him (and how does such a man need my advice?)
O Abu Mu'tib stand firm upright.
Never in your life adopt a course
For which you will be blamed when men meet together.
Leave the path of weakness to others,
For you were not born to remain weak.
Fight! For war is fair;
You will never see a warrior humiliated till he surrenders.
How should you when they have done you no great injury
Nor abandoned you in the hour of victory or defeat?
God requite for us Abdu Shams and Naufal and Taym
And Makhzum for their desertion and wrong
In parting from us after affection and amity
So that they might get unlawful gains.
By God's House you lie! Never will we abandon Mohammed

Before you see a dust-raising day in the 'shib' (This is the reading of Abu Dharr which seems to me superior to that of Wellshausen and C. Qatim means 'a thick cloud of dust' and implies men on the march. No satisfactory meaning can be given to qaim. Presumably 'the shib of Abu Talib, a defile of the mountains where the projecting rocks of Abu Qubays pressed upon the eastern outskirts of the city. It was entered from the town by a narrow alley closed by a low gateway through which a camel could pass with difficulty. On all other sides it was detached by cliffs and buildings.' Muir, The Life of Mohammed, 93 f..) (210).

ABU BAKR ACCEPTS IBN AL-DUGHUNNA'S PROTECTION AND THEN ABANDONS IT

Mohammed b. Muslim b. Shihab al-Zuhri from Urwa from Aisha told me that when the situation in Mecca became serious and the apostle and his companions suffered ill treatment from the Quraysh, Abu Bakr asked the apostle's permission to emigrate, and he agreed. So Abu Bakr set forth and when he had gone a day or two's journey from Mecca he fell in with Ibn al-Dughunna, the brother of the B. Harith b. Abdu Manat b. Kinana, who was at that time head of the Ahablsh. (They were the B. al-Harith; and al-Hun b. Khuzayma b. Mudrika; and the B. al-Mustaliq of Khuzaa.) (211)

Replying to Ibn al-Dughunna's inquiries Abu Bakr told him that his people had driven him out and ill-treated him. 'But why,' he exclaimed, 'when you are an ornament of the tribe, a standby in misfortune, always kindly in supplying the wants of others? Come back with me under my protection.' So he went back with him and Ibn al-Dughunna publicly proclaimed that he had taken him under his protection and none must treat him other than well.

He continued: Abu Bakr had a mosque by the door of his house among the B. Jumah where he used to pray. He was a tender-hearted man and when he read the Koran* he was moved to tears. Youths, slaves, and women used to stand by him astonished at his demeanour. (* This statement implies that some at least of the Koran was written down before the hijra. However, qara'a may not mean more than 'recite'.). Some men of (the) Quraysh went to Ibn al-Dughunna saying, 'Have you given this fellow protection so that he can injure us? Lo, he prays and reads what Mohammed has produced and his heart becomes soft and he weeps. And he has a striking appearance so that we fear he may seduce our youths and women and weak ones. Go to him and tell him to go to his own house and do what he likes there.' So Ibn al-Dughunna went to him and said: 'I did not give you protection so that you might injure your people. They dislike the place you have chosen and suffer hurt therefrom, so go into your house and do what you like there.' Abu Bakr asked him if he wanted him to renounce his protection and when he said that he did he gave him back his guarantee. Ibn al-Dughunna got up and told the Quraysh that Abu Bakr was no longer under his protection and that they could do what they liked with him.

Abdul-Rahman b. al-Qasim told me from his father al-Qasim b. Mohammed that as Abu Bakr was going to the Kaaba one of the loutish fellows of (the) Quraysh met him and threw dust on his head. Al-Walid b. al-Mughira, or it may have been al-As b. Wail, passed him and he said, 'Do you see what this lout has done to me?' He replied, 'You have done it to yourself!' Meanwhile he was saying three times 'O Lord how longsuffering Thou art!'

THE ANNULLING OF THE BOYCOTT

The B. Hashim and the B. al-Muttalib were in the quarters which (the) Quraysh had agreed upon in the document they wrote, when a number of (the) Quraysh took steps to annul the boycott against them. None took more trouble in this than Hisham b. Amr ... for the reason that he was the son of a brother to Nadla b. Hashim b. Abdu Manaf by his mother and was closely attached to the B. Hashim. He was highly esteemed by his people. I have heard that when these two clans were in their quarter he used to bring a camel laden with food by night and then when he had got it to the mouth of the alley he took off its halter, gave it a whack on the side, and sent it into the alley to them. He would do the same thing another time, bringing clothes for them.

He went to Zuhayr b. Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira whose mother was Atika d. Abdul-Muttalib and said: 'Are you content to eat food and wear clothes and marry women while you know of the condition of your maternal uncles? They cannot buy or sell, marry, nor give in marriage. By God I swear that if they were the uncles of Abul-Hakam b. Hisham and you asked him to do what he has asked you to do he would never agree to it.' He said, 'Confound you, Hisham, what can I do? I am only one man. By God if I had another man to back me I would soon annul it.' He said, 'I have found a man. Myself.' 'Find another,' said he. So Hisham went to al-Mufim b. Adiy and said, 'Are you content that two clans of the B. Abdu Manafshould perish while you look on consenting to follow (the) Quraysh? You will find that they will soon do the same with you.' He made the same reply as Zuhayr and demanded a fourth man, so Hisham went to Abul-Bakhtari b. Hisham who asked for a fifth man, and then to Zamaa b. al-Aswad b. al-Muttalib b. Asad and reminded him of their kinship and duties. He asked whether others were willing to co-operate in this task and he gave him the names of the others. They all arranged to meet at night on the nearest point of al-Hajun above Mecca, and there they bound themselves to take up the question of the document until they had secured its annulment. Zuhayr claimed the right to act and speak first. So on the morrow when the people met together Zuhayr clad in a long robe went round the Kaaba seven times; then he came forward and said: 'O people of Mecca, are we to eat and clothe ourselves while the B. Hashim perish, unable to buy or sell? By God I will not sit down until this evil boycotting document is torn up!' Abu Jahl, who was

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at the side of the mosque, exclaimed, 'You lie by Allah. It shall not be torn up.' Zamaa said, 'You are a greater liar; we were not satisfied with the document when it was written'. Abul-Bakhtari said, 'Zamaa is right. We are not satisfied with what is written and we do not hold with it.' Al-Mutim said, 'You are both right and anyone who says otherwise is a liar. We take Allah to witness that we dissociate ourselves from the whole idea and what is written in the document.' Hisham spoke in the same sense. Abu Jahl said: 'This is a matter which has been decided overnight. It has been discussed somewhere else.' Now Abu Talib was sitting at the side of the mosque. When al-Mutim went up to the document to tear it in pieces he found that worms had already eaten it except the words 'In Thy name O Allah'. (Tabari 1198: This was the customary formula with which (the) Quraysh began their writing.) The writer of the deed was Mansur b. Ikrima. It is alleged that his hand shrivelled (212).

When the deed was torn up and made of none effect Abu Talib composed the following verses in praise of those who had taken part in the annulment:

Has not our Lord's doing come to the ears of those
Far distant across the sea (So the commentators, but an unnatural extension of the usual meaning of bahri is involved.) (for Allah is very kind to men),
Telling them that the deed was torn up
And all that was against God's wish had been destroyed?
Lies and sorcery were combined in it,
But sorcery never gets the upper hand.

Those not involved in it assembled together for it in a remote place (Commentators suggest as an alternative rendering 'those who took it seriously'. Qarqar means 'flat soft ground'.).

While its bird of ill omen hovered within its head*.

(* This seems to be an adaptation of Sura 17.14: 'We have fastened every man's bird of ill omen to his neck.' Dr. Arafat suggests that the fair here means 'ghost', the bird which emerges from the head of a murdered man, and is fluttering within it before it finally emerges.)

It was such a heinous offence that it would be fitting
That because of it hands and necks should be severed
And that the people of Mecca should go forth and flee,
Their hearts quaking for fear of evil
And the ploughman be left in doubt what to do—
Whether to go down to the lowland or up to the hills—
And an army come up between Mecca's hills
Equipped with bows, arrows, and spears.
He of Mecca's citizens whose power rises
(Let him know) that our glory in Mecca's vale is older.
We grew up there when men were few
And have ever waxed great in honour and reputation.
We feed our guests till they leave a dish untasted
When the hands of the maysir players would begin to tremble.

God reward the people in al-Hajun who swore allegiance (Reading tabayau with C. Wellhausen has tatabau).

To a chief who leads with decision and wisdom,
Sitting by the near side of al-Hajun as though princes,
Nay they are even more noble and glorious.
Every bold man helped therein
Clad in mail so long that it slowed his stride,
Running to portentous (or daring) deeds
Like a flame burning in the torchbcarer's hands.
The noblest of Luayy b. Ghalib's line
When they are wronged their faces show their anger.
With long cord to his sword half his shank bare.
For his sake the clouds give rain and blessing.
Prince son of prince of princely hospitality
Gathering and urging food on his guests.
Building and preparing safety for the tribesmen
When we walk through the land.
Every blameless man kept this peace.
A great leader, there was he praised.
They accomplished their work in a night
While others slept; in the morning they took their ease.
They sent back Sahl b. Baida well pleased
And Abu Bakr and Mohammed rejoiced thereat.
When have others joined in our great exploits,
From of old have we shown each other affection?
Never have we approved injustice.
We got what we wanted without violence.
O men of Qusayy, will you not consider,
Do you want what will befall you tomorrow?
For you and I are as the words of the saying:

'You have the explanation if you could only speak, O Aswad (Commentators explain that Aswad is the name of a mountain on which a dead man was found and there was no indication of his murderer. The relatives addressed the mountain in the words just quoted which became a proverb.).

Mourning al-Mutim b. Adiy and mentioning his stand in getting the deed annulled, Hassan b. Thabit composed the following:

Weep O eye the people's leader, be generous with thy tears.
If they run dry, then pour out blood.
Mourn the leader of both the pilgrim sites
To whom men owe gratitude so long as they can speak.
If glory could immortalise anyone
His glory would have kept Mutim alive today.
You protected God's apostle from them and they became
Thy slaves so long as men cry labbayka and don the pilgrim garb.
If Maadd and Qahtan and all the rest
Of Jurhum were asked about him
They would say he faithfully performs his duty to protect
And if he makes a covenant he fulfils it.
The bright sun above them does not shine
On a greater and nobler than he;
More resolute in refusing yet most lenient in nature,
Sleeping soundly on the darkest night though responsible for his guest (213).

Hassan also said in praise of Hisham b. Amr for his part in the matter of the deed:

Is the protection of the Banu Umayya a bond
As trustworthy a guarantee as that of Hisham?
Such as do not betray their proteges
Of the line of al-Harith b. Hubayyib b. Sukham.
When the Banu Hisl grant protection
They keep their word and their protege lives securely.

AL-TUFAYL B. AMR AL-DAUSI ACCEPTS ISLAM

In spite of his people's behaviour the apostle was continually giving them good counsel and preaching salvation from their evil state. When God protected him from them they began to warn all new-comers against him.

Al-Tufayl used to say that he came to Mecca when the apostle was there and some of the Quraysh immediately came up to him. (He was a poet of standing and an intelligent man.) They told him that this fellow had done them much harm; had divided their community and broken up its unity; 'in fact he talks like a sorcerer separating a man from his father, his brother, or his wife. We are afraid that he will have the same effect on you and your people, so do not speak to him or listen to a word from him.'

They were so insistent that I decided not to listen to a word or to speak to him and I went so far as to stuff cotton in my ears when I went to the mosque fearing that I might overhear a word or two against my will. When I got to the mosque there was the apostle of God standing at prayer by the Kaaba, so I stood near him. God had decreed that I should hear something of his speech and I heard a beautiful saying. So I said to myself, 'God bless my soul! Here am I, an intelligent man, a poet, knowing perfectly well the difference between good and evil, so what is to prevent me from listening to what this man is saying? If it is good I shall accept it; if it is bad I shall reject it.'

I stayed until the apostle went to his house and I followed him and entered his house with him. I told him what his people had said and that they had so scared me that I had stuffed cotton in my ears lest I should hear what he was saying. But God had not allowed me to remain deaf and I heard a beautiful saying. 'So explain the matter to me,' I said. The apostle explained Islam to me and recited the Koran to me. By God I never heard anything finer nor anything more just. So I became a Muslim and bore true witness. I said, 'O prophet of God, I am a man of authority among my people and when I go back and call them to Islam, pray to God to give me a sign which will help me when I preach to them.' He said, 'O God give him a sign.'

So I went back to my people and when I came to the pass which would bring me down to the settlement a light like a lamp played between my eyes and I said, 'O God, not in my face! for I fear that they will think that a dire punishment has befallen my face because I have left their religion.' So the light moved and lighted on the top of my whip. The people began to look at that light attached to my whip like a candle while I was coming down from the pass to them.

When I got down my father came to me (he was a very old man) and I said, 'Be off with you, father, for I have nothing to do with you or you with me!' 'But why, my son?' said he. I said, 'I have become a Muslim and follow the religion of Mohammed.' He said, 'All right, my son, then my religion is your religion.' So I said, 'Then go and wash yourself and clean your clothes; then come and I will teach you what I have been taught.'

He did so; I explained Islam to him and he became a Muslim.

Then my wife came to me and I said: 'Be off with you, for I have nothing to do with you or you with me'. 'Why?' she said, 'my father and mother be your ransom!' I said, 'Islam has divided us and I follow the religion of Mohammed.' She said, 'Then my religion is your religion.' I said, 'Then go to the hind 1 (207) (temenos?) of Dhul-Shara* and cleanse yourself from it.' (* On Dhul-Shara [Dusares] see E.I. It is a title, not a name, of a Rod long associated with the Nabataeans. In all probability the title is geographical, denoting ownership. More cannot be safely said at present.) Now Dhul-Shara was an image belonging to Daus and the himd was the temenos which they had made sacred to him; in it there was a trickle of water from a rivulet from the mountain. She asked me urgently, 'Have you any fear from Dhul-Shara on my account?' (Or 'on the children's account'.) 'No,' I said, 'I will go surety for that.' So she went and washed and when she returned I explained Islam to her and she became a Muslim.

Then I preached Islam to Daus but they held back, and I went to the apostle in Mecca and said, 'O prophet of God, frivolous preoccupation** has been too much for me with Daus, so invoke a curse on them.' (** I have followed the commentators in taking a milder meaning than the ordinary sense which is 'fornication', if Dhul-Shara was an Arab Dionysos, the normal meaning would not be out of place.) But he said 'O God, guide Daus! Go back to your people and preach to them gently'. I continued in the Daus country calling them to Islam until the apostle migrated to Medina, and Badr, Uhud, and the Trench were passed. Then I went to the apostle with my converts while he was in Khaybar. I arrived at Medina with seventy or eighty households of Daus, and then we joined the apostle in Khaybar and he gave us an equal share of the booty with the Muslims.

I remained with the apostle until God opened Mecca to him and then I asked him to send me to burn Dhul-Kaffayn, (According to Ibnul-Kalbi, al-Afnam, Cairo, 1924, p. 37. H belonged to a sub-section of Daus, called the B. Munhib.) the image of Amr b. Humama. As he lit the fire he said:

Not of your servants am I, Dhu'l-Kaffayn,
Our birth is far more ancient than thine.
To stuff this fire in your heart I pine.

He returned to Medina to the apostle and remained with him until God took him. When the Arabs revolted he sided with the Muslims and fought with them until they disposed of Tulayha and the whole of Najd. Then he went with the Muslims to the Yamama with his son Amr, and while on the way he saw a vision of which he told his companions asking for an interpretation. 'I saw my head had been shaved and a bird was coming out of my mouth and a woman met me and took me into her womb, and I saw my son seeking me anxiously; then I saw him withheld from me. They said that they hoped it would prove a good omen, but he went on to say that he himself would provide the interpretation of it. The shaving of his head meant that he would lay it down; the bird which flew from his mouth was his spirit; and the woman who received him into her womb was the earth which would be opened for him and he would be hidden therein; his son's vain search for him meant that he would try to attain what he had attained. He was slain as a martyr in al-Yamama whi e his son was severely wounded and recovered later. He was actually killed in the year of the Yarmiik in the time of Umar, dying as a martyr (216).

THE AFFAIR OF THE IRASHITE WHO SOLD HIS CAMEL£ TO ABC JAHL

Despite Abu Jahl's hostility, hatred, and violence towards the apostle God humiliated him before him whenever he saw him.

I was told by Abdul-Malik b. Abdullah b. Abu Sufyan al-Thaqafi who had a good memory: A man from Irash (209) brought some camels of his to Mecca and Abu Jahl bought them from him. He kept back the money, so the man came to the assembly of (the) Quraysh when the apostle was sitting at the side of the mosque and said: 'Who among you will help me to get what is due to me from Abul-Hakam b. Hisham? I am a stranger, a wayfarer, and he will not pay his debt.' They said: 'Do you see that man sitting there?' pointing to the apostle. (In fact they were making game of him for they knew quite well of the enmity between him and Abu Jahl.) 'Go to him. He will help you to your right.'

So the man went and stood over the apostle and said, 'O Servant of God, Abul-Hakam b. Hisham has withheld the money he owes me. I am a stranger, a wayfarer, and I asked these men to tell me of someone who would help me to my right and they pointed to you, so get my money from him, God bless you.' He said, Go to him,' and the apostle got up and went with him. When they saw this, the men said to one of their number, 'Follow him.' The apostle went to his house and knocked on the door, and when he asked who was there he said, 'Mohammed! Come out to me.' He came out to him pale with agitation, and the apostle said, 'Pay this man his due.' 'One moment until I give him his money,' he said, and went indoors and came out again with the amount he owed and paid it to the man. The apostle went away saying, 'Go about your business.'

The Irashite went back to the gathering and said, 'May God reward him, for he has got me my due.'

Then the man they had sent after them came back and reported what he had seen. 'It was extraordinary,' he said; 'he had hardly knocked on the door when out he came breathless with agitation,' and he related what had been said. Hardly had he done so when Abu Jahl himself came up and they said: 'Whatever has happened, man? We've never seen anything like what you've done.' 'Confound you,' he said; 'By God as soon as he knocked on my door and I heard his voice I was filled

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with terror. And when I went out to him there was a camel stallion towering above his head.

I have never seen such a head and shoulders and such teeth on a stallion before. By God, if I had refused to pay up he would have eaten me."

RUKANA AL-MUTJ AL IBI WRESTLES WITH THE APOSTLE

My father Ishaq b. Yasar told me saying: Rukana b. Abdu Yazid b. Hashim b. Abdul-Muttalib b. Abdu Manaf was the strongest man among (the) Quraysh, and one day he met the apostle in one of the passes of Mecca alone: 'Rukana,' said he, 'why won't you fear God and accept my preaching?'

'If I knew that what you say is true I would follow you,' he said. The apostle then asked him if he would recognize that he spoke the truth if he threw him, and when he said Yes they began to wrestle, and when the apostle got a firm grip of him he threw him to the ground, he being unable to offer any effective resistance. 'Do it again, Mohammed,' he said, and he did it again. 'This is extraordinary,' he said, 'can you really throw me?'

I can show you something more wonderful than that if you wish. I will call this tree that you see and it will come to me.' 'Call it,' he said. He called it and it advanced until it stood before the apostle. Then he said, 'Retire to your place,' and it did so.

Then Rukana went to his people the B. Abdu Manaf and told them that their tribesman could compete with any sorcerer in the world, for he had never seen such sorcery in his life, and he went on to tell them of what he had seen and what Mohammed had done.

A DEPUTATION OF CHRISTIANS ACCEPT ISLAM

While the apostle was in Mecca some twenty Christians came to him from Abyssinia when they heard news of him. They found him in the mosque and sat and talked with him, asking him questions, while some Qurayshites were in their meeting round the Kaaba. When they had asked all the questions they wished the apostle invited them to come to God and read the Koran to them. When they heard the Koran their eyes flowed with tears, and they accepted God's call (Or, 'his call'.), believed in him, and declared his truth. They recognised in him the things which had been said of him in their scriptures. When they got up to go away Abu Jahl with a number of (the) Quraysh intercepted them, saying, 'God, what a wretched band you are! Your people at home sent you to bring them information about the fellow, and as soon as you sat with him you renounced your religion and believed what he said. We do not know a more asinine band than you,' or words to that effect. They answered: 'Peace be upon you. We will not engage in foolish controversy with you. We have our religion and youhave yours. We have not been remiss in seeking what is best.'

It is said that these Christians came from Najran, but God knows whether that was so. It is also said, and again God knows best, that it was in reference to them that the verses 'Those to whom we brought the book aforetime, they believe in it. And when it is read to them they say We believe in it. Verily it is the truth from our Lord. Verily aforetime we were Muslims,' as far as the words, 'We have our works and you have your works. Peace be upon you; we desire not the ignorant (Koran 28. 53-55).'

I asked Ibn Shihab al-Zuhrl about those to whom these verses had reference and he told me that he had always heard from the learned that they were sent down concerning the Negus and his companions and also the verses from the sura of The Table from the words 'That is because there are of them presbyters and monks and because they are not proud' up to the words 'So inscribe us with those who bear witness' (Koran 5.85).

When the apostle used to sit in the mosque with his more insignificant companions such as Khabbab, Ammar, Abu Fukayha, Yasar, freedman of Safwan b. Umayya b. Muharrith, Suhayb, and their like, (the) Quraysh used to jeer at them and say to one another, 'These are his companions, as you see. Is it such creatures that God has chosen from among us to give guidance and truth? If what Mohammed has brought were a good thing these fellows would not have been the first to get it, and God would not have put them before us.' God revealed concerning them: 'Drive not away those who call upon their Lord night and morning seeking His face. You are in no way responsible for them, and they are in no way responsible for you, so that you should drive them away and become an evildoer. Thus We tempt some by others that they may say, Are these they whom God has favoured among us? Does not God know best about the grateful? And when those who believe in Our signs come to thee say Peace be upon you. Your Lord hath prescribed for Himself mercy that he who doeth evil in ignorance and repenteth afterwards and docth right (to him) He is forgiving, merciful (Koran 6.52).'

According to my information the apostle used often to sit at al-Marwa at the booth of a young Christian called Jabr (Theodor Nöldeke, Der Islam, v (1914). 163, was of the opinion that this man was an Abyssinian slave, the name Gabru (Gabre) meaning 'slave of in Ethiopian.), a slave of the B. al-Hadrami, and they used to say The one who teaches Mohammed most of what he brings is Jabr the Christian, slave of the B. al-Hadrami.' Then God revealed in reference to their words 'We well know that they say, "Only a mortal teaches him".' The tongue of him at whom they hint is foreign, and this is a clear Arabic tongue (Koran 16.105) (218).

THE COMING DOWN OF THE SURA AL-KAUTHAR (Sura 108, Mecca)

I have been told that when the apostle was mentioned Al-As b. Wail al-Sahmi used to say, 'Let him alone for he is only a childless man with no offspring. If he were to die, his memory would perish and you would have rest from him.' God sent down in reference to that: 'We have given you al-Kauthar (Koran 108.),' something which is better for you than the world and all that it holds. Kauthar means 'great'. Labid b. Rabia al-Kilabi said:

We were distressed at the death of the owner of Malhub (Malhub is said to be either the name of water belonging to the B. Asad b. Khuyma, or a village of the B. Abdullah b. al-Duwal b. Hanifa in al-Yamama; or a horse. Cf. Diwan ed. Yusuf al-Chilidi, Wien, 1880, p. 78.). And at al-Rida (this is the name of a watering place of the B. al-Araj b. Kab.) is the house of another great man (kauthar) (219).

Tafar b. Amr (220) told me on the authority of Abdullah b. Muslim the brother of Mohammed b. Muslim b. Shihab al-Zuhri from Anas b. Malik that the latter said: 'When the apostle was asked what Kauthar was which God had given to him I heard him say It is a river as broad as from Sanaa to Ayla. Its water pots are in number as the stars of heaven. Birds go down to it with necks like camels. Umar b. al-Khattab said, "O apostle of God the birds must be happy!" He answered "He who eats them will be happier still!"

In this connexion (or perhaps some other) I heard that he said: 'He that drinketh thereof shall never thirst (Quote from the Gospel of John 4.14.).'

THE COMING DOWN OF 'WHY HAS NOT AN ANGEL BEEN SENT DOWN TO HIM?'

The apostle called his people to Islam and preached to them, and Zamaa b. al-Aswad, and al-Nadr b. al-Harith, and al-Aswad b. Abdu Yaghuth, and Ubayy b. Khalaf, and al-As b. Wail said: 'O Mohammed, if an angel had been sent with thee to speak to men about thee and to be seen with thee!' Then God sent down concerning these words of theirs: 'They say Why hath not an angel been sent down to him? If We sent an angel down the matter would be settled; they would be given no more time. Had We appointed him an angel We would have appointed him as a man and We should have obscured for them what they obscure (Koran 6.8.).'

THE COMING DOWN OF 'APOSTLES HAVE BEEN MOCKED BEFORE THEE'

I have heard that the apostle passed by al-Walid b. al-Mughira and Umayya b. Khalaf and Abu Jahl b. Hisham and they reviled and mocked him, and this caused him distress. So God sent down to him concerning this: 'Apostles have been mocked before thee, but that which they mocked at hemmed them in (Koran 6.10.).'

THE NIGHT JOURNEY AND THE ASCENT TO HEAVEN

Ziyad b. Abdullah al-Bakkai from Mohammed b. Ishaq told me the following: Then the apostle was carried by night from the mosque at Mecca to the Masjid al-Aqsa, which is the temple of Aelia, when Islam had spread in Mecca among the Quraysh and all the tribes.

The following account reached me from Abdullah b. Masud and Abu Said al-Khudri, and Aisha the prophet's wife, and Muawiya b. Abu Sufyan, and al-Hasan b. Abul-Hasan al-Basri, and Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri and Qatada and other traditionists, and Umm Hani d. of Abu Talib. It is pieced together in the story that follows, each one contributing something of what he was told about what happened when he was taken on the night journey. The matter of the place (Or 'time' = masra). of the journey and what is said about it is a searching test and a matter of God's power and authority wherein is a lesson for the intelligent; and guidance and mercy and strengthening to those who believe. It was certainly an act of God by which He took him by night in what way He pleased* to show him His signs which He willed him to see so that he witnessed His mighty sovereignty and power by which He does what He wills to do. (* Guillaume: I think that hy Kayfa shaa the author means to leave open the question whether it was an actual physical journey or a nocturnal vision. See below.)

According to what I have heard Abdullah b. Masud used to say: Buraq, the animal whose every stride carried it as far as its eye could reach on which the prophets before him used to ride was brought to the apostle and he was mounted on it. His companion (Gabriel) went with him to see the wonders between heaven and earth, until he came to Jerusalem's temple. There he found Abraham the friend of God, Moses, and Jesus assembled with a company of the prophets, and he prayed with them. Then he was brought three vessels containing milk, wine, and water respectively. The apostle said: 'I heard a voice saying when these were offered to me: If he takes the water he will be drowned and his people also; if he takes the wine he will go astray and his people also; and if he takes the milk he will be rightly guided and his people also. So I took the vessel containing milk and drank it. Gabriel said to me, You have been rightly guided and so will your people be, Mohammed.'

I was told that al-Hasan said that the apostle said: 'While I was sleeping in the Hljr Gabriel came and stirred me with his foot. I sat up but saw nothing and lay down again. He came a second time and stirred me with his foot. I sat up but saw nothing and lay down again. He came to me the third time and stirred me with his foot. I sat up and he took hold of my arm and I stood beside him and he brought me out to the door of the mosque and there was a white animal, half mule, half donkey, with wings on its sides with which it propelled its feet, putting down each forefoot at the limit of its sight and he mounted me on it. Then he went out with me keeping close to me.

I was told that Qatada said that he was told that the apostle said: 'When I came up to mount him he shied. Gabriel placed his hand on its mane and said, Are you not ashamed, O Buraq, to behave in this way? By God, none more honourable before God than Mohammed has ever ridden you before. The animal was so ashamed that he broke out into a sweat and stood still so that I could mount him.'

In his story al-Hasan said: 'The apostle and Gabriel went their way until they arrived at the temple at Jerusalem. There he found Abraham, Moses, and Jesus among a company of the prophets. The apostle acted as their imam in prayer. Then he was brought two vessels, one containing wine and the other milk. The apostle took the milk and drank it, leaving the wine. Gabriel said: "You have been rightly guided to the way of nature (Fitra is an elusive word. The meaning here may be 'the true primeval religion.) and so will your people be, Mohammed. Wine is forbidden you." Then the apostle returned to Mecca and in the morning he told Quniysli what had happened. Most of them said, "By God, this is a plain absurdity! A caravan takes a month to go to Syria and a month to return and can Mohammed do the return journey in one night?" Many Muslims gave up their faith; some went to Abu Bakr and said, "What do you think of your friend now, Abu Bakr? He alleges that he went to Jerusalem last night and prayed there and came back to Mecca." He replied that they were lying about the apostle; but they said that he was in the mosque at that very moment telling the people about it. Abu Bakr said, "If he says so then it is true.

And what is so surprising in that? He tells me that communications from God from heaven to earth come to him in an hour of a day or night and I believe him, and that is more extraordinary than that at which you boggle!"

He then went to the apostle and asked him if these reports were true, and when he said they were, he asked him to describe Jerusalem to him.' Al-Hasan said that he was lifted up so that he could see the apostle speaking as he told Abu Bakr what Jerusalem was like. Whenever he described a part of it he said, 'That's true. I testify that you are the apostle of God' until he had completed the description, and then the apostle said, 'And you, Abu Bakr, are the Siddiq (This indicates that the meaning is not 'Veracious' but 'Testifier to the Truth'.).' This was the occasion on which he got this honorific.

Al-Hasan continued: God sent down concerning those who left Islam for this reason: 'We made the vision which we showed thee only for a test to men and the accursed tree in the Koran. We put them in fear, but it only adds to their heinous error (Koran 13.62).' Such is al-Hasan's story with additions from Qatada.

One of Abu Bakr's family told me that Aisha the prophet's wife used to say: 'The apostles body remained where it was but God removed his spirit by night.'

Yaqub b. Utba b. al-Mughira b. al-Akhnas told me that Muawiya b. Abu Sufyan when he was asked about the apostle's night journey said, 'It was a true vision from God.' What these two latter said does not contradict what al-Hasan said, seeing that God Himself said, 'We made the vision which we showed thee only for a test to men;' nor does it contradict what God said in the story of Abraham when he said to his son, 'O my son, verily I saw in a dream that I must sacrifice thee (Koran 37.10),' and he acted accordingly. Thus, as I see it, revelation from God comes to the prophets waking or sleeping.

I have heard that the apostle used to say, 'My eyes sleep while my heart is awake.' Only God knows how revelation came and he saw what he saw. But whether he was asleep or awake, it was all true and actually happened.

Al-Zuhri alleged* (* The verb implies grave doubt as to the speaker's veracity.) as from Said b. al-Musayyab that the apostle described to his companions Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, as he saw them that night, saying: 'I have never seen a man more like myself than Abraham. Moses was a ruddy faced man, tall, thinly fleshed, curly haired with a hooked nose as

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though he were of the Shanua. Jesus, Son of Mary, was a reddish man of medium height with lank hair with many freckles on his face as though he had just come from a bath. One would suppose that his head was dripping with water, though there was no water on it. The man most like him among you is Urwa b. Masud al-Thaqafi (221).'

The following report has reached me from Umm Hani d. of Abu Jalib, whose name was Hind, concerning the apostle's night journey.

She said: 'The apostle went on no night journey except while he was in my house. He slept that night in my house. He prayed the final night prayer, then he slept and we slept. A little before dawn the apostle woke us, and when we had prayed the dawn prayer he said, "O Umm Hani', I prayed with you the last evening prayer in this valley as you saw. Then I went to Jerusalem and prayed there. Then I have just prayed the morning prayer with you as you see." He got up to go out and I took hold of his robe and laid bare his belly as though it were a folded Egyptian garment. I said, "O prophet of God, do not talk to the people about it for they will give you the lie and insult you." He said, "By God, I certainly will tell them." I said to a negress, a slave of mine, Follow the apostle and listen to what he says to the people, and what they say to him. He did tell them and they were amazed and asked what proof he had. He replied that he had passed the caravan of so-and-so in such-and-such a valley and the animal he bestrode scared them and a camel bolted, "and I showed them where it was as I was on the way to Syria. I carried on until in Dajanan (A mountain in the neighbourhood of Tihama. According to al-Wiqidi it is 25 miles / 40 km from Mecca.).

I passed by a caravan of the Banu so-and-so. I found the people asleep. They had a jar of water covered with something. I took the covering off and drank the water replacing the cover. The proof of that is that their caravan is this moment coming down from al-Baida by the pass of al-Tanim* led by a dusky camel loaded with two sacks one black and the other multihued (* Baidi is a hill near Mecca on the Medina side. Tanim is on high ground very near Mecca.).

The people hurried to the pass and the first camel they met was as he had described. They asked the men about the vessel and they told them that they had left it full of water and covered it and that when they woke it was covered but empty. They asked the others too who were in Mecca and they said that it was quite right: they had been scared and a camel had bolted, and they had heard a man calling them to it so that they were able to recover it.'

THE ASCENT TO HEAVEN

One whom I have no reason to doubt told me on the authority of Abu Said al-Khudri: I heard the apostle say, 'After the completion of my business in Jerusalem a ladder was brought to me finer than any I have ever seen. It was that to which the dying man looks when death approaches. My companion mounted it with me until we came to one of the gates of heaven called the Gate of the Watchers. An angel called Ismail was in charge of it, and under his command were twelve thousand angels each of them having twelve thousand angels under his command.' As he told this story the apostle used to say, 'and none knows the armies of God but He (Koran 74.34).' When Gabriel brought me in, Ismail asked who I was, and when he was told that I was Mohammed he asked if I had been given a mission (Or perhaps simply 'sent for'.), and on being assured of this he wished me well.

A traditionist who had got it from one who had heard it from the apostle told me that the latter said: 'All the angels who met me when I entered the lowest heaven smiled in welcome and wished me well except one who said the same things but did not smile or show that joyful expression which the others had. And when I asked Gabriel the reason he told me that if he had ever smiled on anyone before or would smile on anyone hereafter he would have smiled on me; but he does not smile because he is Malik, the Keeper of Hell. I said to Gabriel, he holding the position with regard to God which he has described to you "obeyed there, trustworthy" (Koran 81`.21),

"Will you not order him to show me hell?" And he said, "Certainly! O Malik, show Mohammed Hell." Thereupon he removed its covering and the flames blazed high into the air until I thought that they would consume everything. So I asked Gabriel to order him to send them back to their place which he did. I can only compare the effect of their withdrawal to the falling of a shadow, until when the flames retreated whence they had come, Malik placed their cover on them.'

In his tradition Abu Said al-Khudri said that the apostle said: 'When I entered the lowest heaven I saw a man sitting there with the spirits of men passing before him. To one he would speak well and rejoice in him saying: "A good spirit from a good body" and of another he would say "Faugh!" and frown, saying: "An evil spirit from an evil body." In answer to my question Gabriel told me that this was our father Adam reviewing the spirits of his offspring; the spirit of a believer excited his pleasure, and the spirit of an infidel excited his disgust so that he said the words just quoted.

'Then I saw men with lips like camels; in their hands were pieces of fire like stones which they used to thrust into their mouths and they would come out of their posteriors. I was told that these were those who sinfully devoured the wealth of orphans.

'Then I saw men in the way of the family of Pharaoh* (* The allusion is to Koran 40.49 'Cast the family of Pharaoh into the worst of all punishments.), with such bellies as I have never seen; there were passing over them as it were camels maddened by thirst when they were cast into hell, treading them down, they being unable to move out of the way. These were the usurers. 'Then I saw men with good fat meat before them side by side with lean stinking meat, eating of the latter and leaving the former. These are those who forsake the women which God has permitted and go after those he has forbidden.

'Then I saw women hanging by their breasts. These were those who had fathered bastards on their husbands.'

Jafar b. Amr told me from al-Qasim b. Mohammed that the apostle said: 'Great is God's anger against a woman who brings a bastard into her family. He deprives the true sons of their portion and learns the secrets of the harim.'

To continue the tradition of Said al-Khudri: 'Then I was taken up to the second heaven and there were the two maternal cousins Jesus, Son of Mary, and John, son of Zakariah. Then to the third heaven and there was a man whose face was as the moon at the full. This was my brother Joseph, son of Jacob. Then to the fourth heaven and there was a man called Idris. "And we have exalted him to a lofty place (Koran 19.58)." Then to the fifth heaven and there was a man with white hair and a long beard, never have I seen a more handsome man than he. This was the beloved among his people Aaron son of Imran. Then to the sixth heaven, and there was a dark man with a hooked nose like the Shanua. This was my brother Moses, son of 'Imran. Then to the seventh heaven and there was a man sitting on a throne at the gate of the immortal mansion (al-bayt al-mamur. In view of w hat follows this would seem to mean Paradise itself [al-janna].). Every day seventy thousand angels went in not to come back until the resurrection day. Never have I seen a man more like myself. This was my father Abraham. Then he took me into Paradise and there I saw a damsel with dark red lips and I asked her to whom she belonged, for she pleased me much when I saw her, and she told me "Zayd b. Haritha". The apostle gave Zayd the good news about her.'

From a tradition of Abdullah b. Masud from the prophet there has reached me the following: When Gabriel took him up to each of the heavens and asked permission to enter he had to say whom he had brought and whether he had received a mission (Or 'been sent for.) and they would say 'God grant him life, brother and friend!' until they reached the seventh heaven and his Lord. There the duty of fifty prayers a day was laid upon him.

The apostle said: 'On my return I passed by Moses and what a fine friend of yours he was! He asked me how many prayers had been laid upon me and when I told him fifty he said, "Prayer is a weighty matter and your people are weak, so go back to your Lord and ask him to reduce the number for you and your community". I did so and He took off ten. Again I passed by Moses and he said the same again; and so it went on until only five prayers for the whole day and night were left. Moses again gave me the same advice. I replied that I had been back to my Lord and asked him to reduce the number until I was ashamed, and I would not do it again. He of you who performs them in faith and trust will have the reward of fifty prayers.'

HOW GOD DEALT WITH THE MOCKERS

The apostle remained firm counting on God's assistance, admonishing his people in spite of their branding him as a liar and insulting and mocking him. The principal offenders —so Yazid b. Ruman from Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me— were five men who were respected and honoured among their tribesmen: of the B. Asad . . . was al-Aswad b. al-Muttalib b. Asad Abu Zamaa. (I have heard that the apostle had cursed him for his insults and mockery, saying, 'O God, blind him and bereave him of his son!')

Of the B. Zuhra . . . was al-Aswad b. Abdu Yaghuth. Of the B. Makhzum . . . was al-Walid b. al-Mughira ... Of the B. Sahm b. Amr . . . was al-As b. Wail b. Hisham (222). Of the B. Khuzaa was al-Harith b. al-Tulatila b. Amr b. al-Harith b. Abd b. Amr b. Luayy b. Malakan.

When they persisted in evil and constantly mocked the apostle, God revealed: 'Proclaim what you have been ordered and turn away from the polytheists. We will surely protect you against the mockers who put another god beside God. In the end they will know (Koran 15.94)."

The same Yazid told me from Urwa (or it may have been from some other traditionist) that Gabriel came to the apostle when the mockers were going round the temple. He stood up and the apostle stood at his side; and as al-Aswad b. al-Muttalib passed, Gabriel threw a green leaf in his face and he became blind. Then al-Aswad b. Abdu Yaghuth passed and he pointed at his belly which swelled so that he died of dropsy. Next al-Walid passed by. He pointed at an old scar on the bottom of his ankle (the result of a wound he received some years earlier as he was trailing his gown when he passed by a man of Khuzaa who was feathering an arrow, and the arrowhead caught in his wrapper and scratched his foot—a mere nothing).

But the wound opened again and he died of it. Al-As passed. He pointed to his instep, and he went off on his ass making for al-Taif. He tied the animal to a thorny tree and a thorn entered his foot and he died of it.

Lastly al-Harith passed. He pointed at his head. It immediately filled with pus and killed him.

THE STORY OF ABU UZAYHIR AL-DAUSI

When al-Walid's death was near he summoned his three sons Hisham, al-Walid, and Khalid and said: 'My sons, I charge you with three duties; be not remiss in any of them. My blood lies on the Khuza'a: don't let it remain uncompensated. I know that they are innocent of it, but I fear that you may be ill spoken of because of it when I am dead. Thaqif owe me money in interest; see that you get it. Lastly my dowry money is with Abu Uzayhir al-Dausi. Don't let him keep it.' Now Abu Uzayhir had married him to a daughter of his and then withheld her from him and did not let him have access to her up to the day of his death.

When al-Walid died, the B. Makhzum leaped upon Khuzaa demanding blood-money for al-Walid, saying, 'It was your man's arrow that killed him.' He was one of the B. Kab, an ally of the B. Abdul-MuUalib b. Hashim. Khuza'a refused their demand and a competition in verse followed and the situation became tense. The man whose arrow had killed al-Walid was one of the B. Kab b. Amr of Khuzaa, and Abdullah b. Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira b. Abdullah b. Amr b. Makhzum composed the following lines (Yaq. i. 310):

I shall wager that you will soon run away
And leave al-Zahran with its yelping foxes.
And that you will leave the water in the vale of Atriqa
And that you will ask which Arak trees are the best.
We are folk who do not leave our blood unavenged
And those we fight do not get to their feet again.

Al-Zahran and al-Arak were camping-grounds of the B. Kab of Khuzaa.

Al-Jaun b. Abul-Jaun, brother of the B. Kab b. Amr al-Khuzai, answered him:

By God we will not pay unjust bloodwit for al-Walid
Until you see a day when the stars wax faint;
When your stout ones will be overthrown one after another
Each in death helplessly opening his mouth.
When you eat your bread and your gruel,
Then all of you will weep and wail for al-Walid.

There followed much argument and recrimination until it was apparent that it was prestige that was at stake, so Khuzaa paid some of the bloodmoney and they relinquished their claim to the rest. When peace had been made al-Jaun said:

Many a man and woman when we made peace
Spoke in surprise of what we paid for al-Walid.
'Did you not swear that you would not pay unjust compensation for al-Walid
Until you had seen a day of great misfortune?'
But we have exchanged (Lit. 'mingled'.) war for peace
Now every traveller may go safely where he will.

But al-Jaun did not stop there but went on to boast of the killing of al-Walid, saying that they had brought about his end, all of which was false. As a result al-Walid, his son, and his tribe met what they had been warned against. Al-Jaun said:

Did not al-Mughira claim that in Mecca
Kab was a great force?
Do not boast, Mughira, because you see us
True Arabs and by-blows walk its streets.
We and our fathers were born there
As surely as Thablr stands in its place.
Al-Mughira said that to learn our state
Or to stir up war between us.
For Walid's blood will not be paid for:
You know that we do not pay for blood we shed.
The auspicious warrior hit him with an arrow
Poisoned, while he was full and out of breath.
He fell full length in Mecca's vale.
'Twas (it was) as though a camel fell.
'Twill (it will) save me delaying payment for Abu Hisham with
Miserable little curly haired camels (223).

Then Hisham b. al-Walid attacked Abu Uzayhir while he was in the market of Dhul-Majaz. Now his daughter 'Atika was the wife of Abu Sufyan b. Harb. Abu Uzayhir was a chief among his people and Hisham killed him for the dowry money belonging to al-Walid which he had retained, in accordance with his father's dying injunction. This happened after the apostle's migration to Medina. Badr was over and many of the leaders of (the) heathen Quraysh had been slain. Yazid b. Abu

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Sufyan went out and collected the B. Abdu Manaf while Abu Sufyan was in Dhul-Majaz, and people said Abu Sufyan's honour in the matter of his father-in-law had been violated and he will take vengeance for him. When Abu Sufyan heard of what his son Yazid had done he came down to Mecca as fast as he could.

He was a mild but astute man who loved his people exceedingly, and he was afraid that there might be serious trouble among (the) Quraysh because of Abu Uzayhir. So he went straight to his son, who was armed among his people the B. Abdu Manaf and the 'scented ones', took his spear out of his hand and hit him hard on the head with it, saying, 'God damn you! Do you wish to cause civil war among (the) Quraysh for the sake of a man from Daus? We will pay them the bloodmoney if they will accept it.' Thus he put an end to the matter.

Hassan b. Thabit composed the following lines to excite feeling for the murder of Abu Uzayhir and to bring shame on Abu Sufyan for his cowardice and betrayal of trust:

The people on both sides of Dhul-Majaz rose one morning,
But Ibn Harb's protege in Mughammas (al-Mughammas was on the road to Taif.) did not!

The farting donkey did not protect him he was bound to defend (Hassan was notorious for his coarseness in lampoons.).
Hind did not avert her father's shame.
Hisham b. al-Walid covered you with his garments,
Wear them out and mend new ones like them later.
He got what he wanted from him and became famous.
But you were utterly useless.
If the shaykhs at Badr had been present
The people's sandals would have been red with blood newly shell.

When he heard of this satire Abu Sufyan said* 'Hassan wants us to fight one another for the sake of a man from Daus. By God, what a poor idea!'

Khalid b. al-Walid when the people of Taif became Muslims spoke to the apostle About his father's interest which Thaqtf owed him, and a traditionist told 'me that those verses which prohibit the carrying over of usury from the Jahiliya arose out of Khalid's demanding interest: 'O ye who believe, fear God and give up what usury remains to you if you are (really) believers', to the end of the passage (Koran 2.278).

So far as we know there was no vengeance for Abu Uzayhir until Islam made a clear cut between men; however, Dirar b. al-Khattab b. Mirdas al-Fihri went out with a number of (the) Quraysh to the Daus country, and came to the dwelling of a woman called Umm Ghaylan, a freedwoman of Daus. She used to comb the women's hair and prepare brides for their husbands. Daus wanted to kill them in revenge for Abu Uzayhir, but Umm Ghaylan and the women stood in their way and defended them. It was in reference to that that Dirar said:

God reward Umm Ghaylan and her women will
For their coming without their finery with dishevelled hair.
They saved us at death's very door
When the avengers of blood came forth.
She called on Daus and the sandbanks flowed with glory,
The streams on either side carried it on.
God requite Amr well. He was not weak,
He did his best for me.
I drew my sword and made play with its edge
For whom should I fight but myself (224)?

THE DEATH OF ABU TALIB AND KHADIJA

Those of his neighbours who ill treated the apostle in his house were Abu Lahab, al-Hakam b. Abul-As . . ., Uqba b. Abu Muayt, Adiy b. Hamra al-Thaqafi, and Ibnul-Asda al-Hudhali. Not one of them beeame a Muslim except al-Hakam. I have been told that one of them used to throw a sheep's uterus at him while he was praying; and one of them used to throw it into his cooking pot when it had been placed ready for him. Thus the apostle was forced to retire to a wall when he prayed. Umar b. Abdullah b. Urwa b. Zubayr told me on the authority of his father that when they threw this objectionable thing at him the apostle took it out on a stick, and standing at the door of his house, he would say, 'O Banu Abdu Manaf, what sort of protection is this?' Then he would throw it into the street.

Khadija and Abu Talib died in the same year, and with Khadija's death troubles followed fast on each other's heels, for she had been a faithful support to him in Islam, and he used to tell her of his troubles. W ith the death of Abu Talib he lost a strength and stay in his personal life and a defence and protection against his tribe. Abu Talib died some three years before he migrated to Medina, and it was then that (the) Quraysh began to treat him in an offensive way which they would not have dared to follow in his uncle's lifetime. A young lout actually threw dust on his head.

Hisham on the authority of his father Urwa told me that when this happened the apostle went into his house with the dust still on his head and one of his daughters got up to wash it away, weeping as she did so. 'Do not weep, my little girl,' he said, 'for God will protect your father.' Meanwhile he was saying, '(the) Quraysh never treated me thus while Abu Talib was alive.'

When Abu Talib fell ill and (the) Quraysh learned of his grave condition they reminded one another that now that Hamza and 'Umar had accepted Islam and Mohammed's reputation was known among all the Quraysh clans, they had better go to Abu Jalib and come to some compromise lest they be robbed of their authority altogether.

Al-Abbas b. Abdullah b. Mabad b. Abbas from one of his family from Ibn Abbas told me that Utba and Shayba, sons of Rabia, and Abu Jahl and Umayya b. Khalaf and Abu Sufyan with sundry other notables went to Abu Talib and said: 'You know your rank with us and now that you are at the point of death we are deeply concerned on your account. You know the trouble that exists between us and your nephew, so call him and let us make an agreement that he will leave us alone and we will leave him alone; let him have his religion and we will have ours.' When he came Abu Talib said, 'Nephew, these notables have come to you that they may give you something and to take something from you.' 'Yes,' he answered, 'you may give me one word by which you can rule the Arabs and subject the Persians to you.' 'Yea,' said Abu Jahl, 'and ten words.' He said: 'You must say There is no God but Allah and you must repudiate what you worship beside him.' They dapped their hands and said, 'Do you want to make all the gods into one God, Mohammed? That would be an extraordinary thing ' Then they said one to another, 'This fellow is not going to give you anything you want, so go and continue with the religion of your fathers until God judge between us.' So saying they departed.

Abu Talib said, 'Nephew, I do not think that you asked them anything extraordinary.' On hearing this the apostle had hopes that he would accept Islam, and he said at once, 'You say it, uncle, and then I shall be able to intercede for you on Resurrection Day.' Seeing the apostle s eagerness he replied, 'Were it not that I fear that you and your father's sons would be abused after my death and that Quraysh would think that I had only said it in fear of death, I would say it. I should only say it to give you pleasure.

As his death was near, al-Abbas looked at him as he was moving his lips and put his ear close to him and said, 'Nephew, by God, my brother has spoken the word you gave him to say.' The apostle replied, I did not hear it'

God revealed concerning the people who came to him with their proposals: 'Sad. By the renowned Koran, Nay, those who disbelieve are in pride and schism' as far as the words 'Does he make the gods one God. I his is an extraordinary thing. Their chiefs went off saying: Go and remain true to your gods. This is a thing designed. We have not heard of this in he last religion," (Koran 38.1-6.; meaning Christians because they say) Verily God is the third of three (Koran 5.77.).' 'This is nothing but an invention." Then Abu Talib died.

THE APOSTLE GOES TO THAQIF TO SEEK HELP

In consequence of the growing hostility of (the) Quraysh after Abu Jalib's death the apostle went to Taif to seek help from Thaqif and their defences against his tribe. Also he hoped that they would receive the message which God had given him. He went alone.

Yazid b Ziyad told me from Mohammed b. Kab al-Qurazi: When the apostle arrived at al-Taif he made for a number of Thaqif who were at that time leaders and chiefs, namely three brothers: Abdu Yalayl Masud, and Habib, sons of Amr b. Umayr b. Auf b. Uqda b. Ghiyara b. Auf b. Thaqif. One of them had a Quraysh wife of the B. Jumali. The apostle sat with them and invited them to accept Islam and asked them to help him against his opponents at home. One of them swore that he would tear up the covering of the Kaaba if God had sent him. The other said "Could not God have found someone better than you to send?" The third said "By God, don't let me ever speak to you. If you are an apostle from God as you say you are, you are far too important for me to reply to, and if you are lying against God it is not right that I should speak to you! So the apostle got up and went! despairing of getting any good out of Thaqif. I have been told that he said to them, "Seeing that you have acted as you have, keep the matter secret," for he was loath that his people should hear about it, so that they would be still further emboldened against him (225).

But they did not do so and stirred up their louts and slaves to insult him and cry after him until a crowd came together, and compelled him to take refuge in an orchard belonging to Utba b. Rabia and his brother Shayba who were in it at the time. The louts who had followed him went back, and he made for the shade of a vine and sat there while the two men watched him, observing what he had to endure from the local louts. I was told that the apostle had met the woman from the B. Jumah and said to her, "What has befallen us from your husband's people?"

'When the apostle reached safety he said, so I am told, "O God, to Thee I complain of my weakness, little resource, and lowliness before men. O Most Merciful, Thou art the Lord of the weak, and Thou art my Lord. To whom wilt Thou confide me? To one afar who will misuse me? Or to an enemy to whom Thou hast given power over me? If Thou art not angry with me I care not. Thy favour is more wide for me. I take refuge in the light of Thy countenance by which the darkness is illumined, and the things of this world and the next are rightly ordered, lest Thy anger descend upon me or Thy wrath light upon me. It is for Thee to be satisfied until Thou art well pleased. There is no power and no might save in Thee."

'When Utba and Shayba saw what happened they were moved with compassion and called a young Christian slave of theirs called Addas and told him to take a bunch of grapes on a platter and give them to him to eat. Addas did so, and when the apostle put his hand in the platter he said "In the name of God" before eating. 'Addas looked closely into his face and said, "By God, this is not the way the people of this country speak." The apostle then asked "Then from what country do you come, O Addas? and what is your religion?" He replied that he was a Christian and came from Nineveh (northern Mesopotamia). "From the town of the righteous man Jonah son of Mattal," said the apostle. "But how did you know about him?" asked 'Addas. "He is my brother; he was a prophet and I am a prophet," answered the apostle. Addas bent over him and kissed his head, his hands, and his feet.

'The two brothers were looking on and one said to the other, "He's already corrupted your slave!" And when Addas came back they said to him: "You rascal, why were you kissing that man's head, hands, and feet?" He answered that he was the finest man in the country who had told him things that only a prophet could know. They replied, "You rascal, do not let him seduce you from your religion, for it is better than his."

'Then the apostle returned from Taif when he despaired of getting anything out of Thaqif. When he reached Nakhla (There are two Nakhlas, northern and southern. They are wadis about a day's journey from Mecca.) he rose to pray in the middle of the night, and a number of jinn whom God has mentioned passed by. They were —so I am told— seven jinn from Nasibin. They listened to him and when he had finished his prayer they turned back to their people to warn them having believed and responded to what they had heard. God has mentioned them in the words "And when We inclined to thee certain of the jinn who were listening to the Koran" as far as "and He will give you protection from a painful punishment (Koran 46.28-32)". And again, "Say: It has been revealed unto me that a number of the jinn listened (Koran 72.1)."'

THE APOSTLE OFFERS HIMSELF TO THE TRIBES

When the apostle returned to Mecca his people opposed him more bitterly than ever, apart from the few lower-class people who believed in him.

(Tabari 1203,3: One of tnem said that when the apostle left al-Taif making for Mecca a Meccan passed and he asked him if he would take a message for him; and when he said that he would he told him to go to al-Akhnas b. Shariq and say, 'Mohammed says: Will you give me protection so that I may convey the message of my Lord?' When the man delivered his message al-Akhnas replied that an ally could not give protection against a member of the home tribe. When he told the apostle of this he asked him if he would go back and ask Suhayl b. Amr for his protection in the same words. Suhayl sent word that the B. Amir b. Luayy do not give protection against B, Ka'b. He then asked the man if he would go back and make the same application to al-Mut'im b. Adly. The latter said, 'Yes, let him enter,' and the man came back and told the apostle. In the morning al-Mutim having girt on his weapons, he and his sons and his nephews went into the mosque. When Abu Jahl saw him he asked, 'Are you giving protection or following him?' 'Giving protection, of course,' he said. 'We give protection to him whom you protect,' he said. So the prophet came into Mecca and dwelt there. One day he went into the sacred mosque when the polytheists were at the Kaaba, and when Abu Jahl saw him he said, 'This is your prophet, O B. Abdu Manaf.' Utba b. Rabia replied: 'And why should you take it amiss if we have a prophet or a king?' The prophet was told of this, or he may have heard it, and he came to them and said, 'O Utba, you were not angry on God's behalf or his apostle's behalf, but on your own account. As for you, O Abu Jahl, a great blow of fate will come upon you so that you will laugh little and weep much; and as for you, O Leaders of (the) Quraysh, a great blow of fate will come upon you so that you will experience what you most abhor and that perforce!'; Cf Ibn Hisham on p. 251 of Wellhausen)

The apostle offered himself to the tribes of Arabs at the fairs whenever opportunity came, summoning them to God and telling them that he was a prophet who had been sent. He used to ask them to believe in him and protect him until God should make clear to them the message with which he had charged his prophet.

One of our friends whom I hold above suspicion told me from Zayd b. Aslam from Rabia b. Ibad al-Dili or from one whom Abu al-Zinad had told (226) and Husayn b. Abdullah b. Ubaydullah b. Abbas told me: 'I heard my father telling Rabia b. Abbad that when he was a youngster with his father in Mina when the apostle used to stop by the Arab encampments

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and tell them that he was the apostle of God who ordered them to worship Him and not associate anything with Him, and to renounce the rival gods which they worshipped, and believe in His apostle and protect him until God made plain His purpose in sending him, there followed him an artful spruce fellow with two locks of hair, wearing an Aden cloak.

When the apostle finished his appeal he used to say, "This fellow wishes only to get you to strip off al-Lat and al-Uzza from your necks and your allies the jinn of B. Malik b. Uqaysh for the misleading innovation he has brought. Do not obey him and take no notice of him." I asked my father who the man was who followed him and contradicted what he said, and he answered that it was his uncle Abdul-Uzza b. Abdul-Muttalib known as Abu Lahab (227).'

Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri told me that he went to the tents of Kinda where there was a shaykh called Mulayh. He invited them to come to God and offered himself to them, but they declined.

Mohammed b. Abdul-Rahman b. Abdullah b. Husayn told me that he went to the tents of Kalb to a clan called B. Abdullah with the same message, adding, 'O Banu Abdullah, God has given your father a noble name.' But they would not give heed.

One of our companions from Abdullah b. Kab b. Malik told me that the apostle went to the B. Hanifa where he met with the worst reception of all.

Al-Zuhri told me that he went to the B. Amir b. Sasaa and one of them called Bayhara b. Firas (228) said: 'By God, if I could take this man from (the) Quraysh I could eat up the Arabs with him.' Then he said, 'If we actually give allegiance (Some Manuscripts and Tabari 1202 have 'if we follow you'.) to you and God gives you victory over your opponents, shall we have authority after you?' He replied, 'Authority is a matter which God places where He pleases.' He answered: 'I suppose you want us to protect you from the Arabs with our breasts and then if God gives you victory (Or 'if you win'.) someone else will reap the benefit! Thank you, No!'

Afterwards the B. Amir went back to an old shaykh of theirs who was unable to attend the fairs. Their custom was to give him all the news on their return. This year when he asked for the news they told him that a man from (the) Quraysh—one of the B. Abdul-Muttalib to be precise—pretended that he was a prophet and invited them to protect him, to stand in with him, and to take him back to their country. The old man put his hands upon his head and said, 'O Banu Amir, could it have been avoided? Can the past ever be regained? No Ismaili has ever claimed prophethood falsely. It was the truth. Where was your common sense?'

Whenever men came together at the fairs or the apostle heard of anyone of importance coming to Mecca he went to them with his message. Asim b. Umar b. Qatada al-Ansari —more precisely al-Zafari— on the authority of some of his shaykhs told me that they said that Suwayd b. al-Samit, brother of the B. Amr b. Auf, came to Mecca on pilgrimage. Suwayd's tribesmen used to call him al-Kamil because of his toughness, his poetry, his honour, and his lineage. He it was who said:

There is many a man you call friend you would be shocked
If you knew the lies he tells against you in secret.
While he is with you his words are like honey;
Behind your back a sword aimed at the base of the neck.
What you see of him pleases you, but underneath
He is a deceitful backbiter cutting through to the marrow.
His eyes will show you what he is concealing,
Rancour and hatred are in his evil look.
Strengthen me with good deeds: long have you weakened me*.
The best friends strengthen without weakening.

(* Lit. 'feather me . . . cut me'. The figure is that of an arrow which is feathered to increase its flight, and whittled into shape for the same reason. Feathering can do no harm, but whittling may cause the arrow to break: necessary it is, but it must not be overdone.)

He once had a dispute with a man of the B. Sulaym —one of the B. Zib b. Malik— over a hundred camels, and they appointed an Arab woman diviner arbitrator and she gave judgement in his favour, and he and the Sulami went away alone. When they reached the parting of the ways Suwayd asked for his property. The man promised to send it, but Suwayd wanted to know who would guarantee that the animals would be handed over. As he could offer none but himself, Suwayd refused to leave him until he got his due. So they came to blows and Suwayd knocked him down, bound him closely and took him away to the country of the B. Amr; and there he had to stay until his tribesmen paid what was owing. It was in reference to that, Suwayd composed these lines:

Do not think, Ibn Zib son of Malik, that I
Am like the man you deceitfully slew in secret.
When I had been thrown I manfully became your match—
Thus the resolute man can change his position—
I locked him under my left arm
And his cheek remained in the dirt.

When he heard about him the apostle sought him out and invited him to Islam. He said, 'Perhaps you've got something like that which I have.' 'And what is that?' asked the apostle. 'The roll of Luqman,' meaning the wisdom of Luqman, he answered. 'Hand it to me,' said the apostle, and he handed it over and he said, This discourse is fine, but that which I have is better still, a Koran which God has revealed to me which is a guidance and a light.' And the apostle recited the Koran to him and invited him to Islam; he did not withdraw from it but said, 'This is a fine saying.' Then he went off and rejoined his people in Medina and almost at once the Khazraj killed him. Some of his family used to say, 'In our opinion he was a Muslim when he was killed'; he was (in fact) killed before the battle of Bu'ath (The battle between Aus and Khazraj.).'

IYAS ACCEPTS ISLAM

Al-Husayn b. Abdul-Rahman b. Amr b. Sad b. Muadh on the authority of Mahmud b. Labid told me that when Abul-Haysar Anas b. Rafi came to Mecca with members of the B. Abdul-Ashhal including Iyas b. Muadh seeking an alliance with (the) Quraysh against their sister tribe the Khazraj, the apostle heard about them. He came and sat with them and asked them if they would like to get something more profitable than their present errand. When they asked him what that could be he told them that he was God's apostle sent to humanity to call on them to serve God and not associate any other with Him; that He had revealed a book to him; then he told them about Islam and read to them some of the Koran. Iyas, who was a young man, said, 'By God, people, this is something better than you came for!' Thereupon Abul-Haysar took a handful of dirt from the valley and threw it in his face, saying, 'Shut up! We did not come here for this.' So Iyas became silent. The apostle left them and they went to Medina and the battle of Buath between Aus and Khazraj took place. Within a little while Iyas died. Mahmud said: 'Those of his people who were present at his death told me that they heard him continually praising and glorifying God until he died. They had no doubt that he died a Muslim, he having become acquainted with Islam at that gathering when he heard the apostle speak.

THE BEGINNING OF ISLAM AMONG THE HELPERS

When God wished to display His religion openly and to glorify His prophet and to fulfil His promise to him, the time came when he met a number of the Helpers at one of the fairs; and while he was offering himself to the Arab tribes as was his wont he met at al-Aqaba a number of the Khazraj whom God intended to benefit.

Asim b. Umar b. Qatada told me on the authority of some of the shaykhs of his tribe that they said that when the apostle met them he learned by inquiry that they were of the Khazraj and allies of the Jews. He invited them to sit with him and expounded to them Islam and recited the Koran to them. Now God had prepared the way for Islam in that they lived side by side with the Jews who were people of the scriptures and knowledge, while they themselves were polytheists and idolaters. They had often raided them in their district and whenever bad feeling arose the Jews used to say to them, 'A prophet will be sent soon. His day is at hand. We shall follow him and kill you by his aid as Ad and Iram perished.' So when they heard the apostle's message they said one to another: 'This is the very prophet of whom the Jews warned us. Do not let them get to him before us!' Thereupon they accepted his teaching and became Muslims, saying, 'We have left our people, for no tribe is so divided by hatred and rancour as they. Perhaps God will unite them through you. So let us go to them and invite them to this religion of yours; and if God unites them in it, then no man will be mightier than you.' Thus saying they returned to Medina as believers.

There were six of these men from the Khazraj so I have been told. From B. al-Najjar, i.e. Taym Allah of the clan of B. Malik . . . : Asad b. Zurara b. Udas b. Ubayd b. Thalaba b. Ghanm b. Malik b. al-Najjar known as Abu Umama; and Auf b. al-Harith b. Rifaa b. Sawad b. Malik . . . known as Ibn Afra (229).

From B. Zurayq b. Amir b. Zurayq b. Abdu Haritha b. Ghadb b. Jusham . . . : Rafi b. Malik b. al-Ajlan b. Amr b. Amir b. Zurayq (230).

From B. Salima b. Sad b. Ali b. Asad b. Sarida b. Tazid b. Jusham . . . of the clan of B. Sawad b. Ghanm b. Kab b. Salima: Qutba b. Amir b. Hadida b. Amr b. Ghanm b. Sawad (231).

From B. Haram b. Kab b. Ghanm b. Kab b. Salama: Uqba b. Amir b. Nabi b. Zayd b. Haram.

From B. Ubayd b. Adiy b. Ghanm b. Kab b. Salama: Jabir b. Abdullah b. Riab b. al-Numan b. Sinan b. Ubayd.

When they came to Medina they told their people about the apostle and invited them to accept Islam until it became so well known among them that there was no home belonging to the Helpers but Islam and the apostle had been mentioned therein.

THE FIRST PLEDGE AT AL-AQABA AND THE MISSION OF MUSAB

In the following year twelve Helpers attended the fair and met at al-Aqaba —this was the first Aqaba— where they gave the apostle the 'pledge of women (i.e. no fighting was involved. Cf. Sum 60.1a.)'. This was before the duty of making war was laid upon them.

These men were: From B. al-Najjar: Asad b. Zurara; Auf b. al-Harith and Muadh his brother, both sons of Afra. From B. Zurayq b. Amir: Rafi h. Malik and Dhakwan b. Abdu Qays b. Khalada b. Mukhlid b. Amir b. Zurayq (232).

From B. Auf of the clan of B. Ghanm b. Auf b. Amr b. Auf who were the Qawaqil: Ubada b. al-Samit b. Qays b. Asram b. Fihr b. Thalaba b. Ghanm; and Abu Abdul-Rahman who was Yazid b. Thalaba b. Khazma b. Asram b. Amr b. Ammira of B. Ghusayna of Baliy, an ally of theirs (233).

From B. Salim b. Auf b. Amr b. al-Khazraj of the clan of B. al-Ajlin b. Zayd b. Ghanm b. Salim: al-Abbas b. Ubada b. Nadala b. Malik b. al-Ajlan.

From B. Salima: Uqba b. Amir.

From B. Sawad: Quba b. Amir b. Hadida. The Aus were represented by Abul-Haytham b. al-Tayyihan whose name was Malik of the clan of B. Abdul-Ashhal b. Jusham b. al-Harith b. al Khazraj b. Amr b. Malik b. al-Aus (234).

From B. Amr b. Auf b. Malik b. al-Aus: Uwaym b. Saida. Yazid b. Abu Habib from Abu Marthad b. Abdullah al-Yazanl from Abdul-Rahman b. Usayla al-Sannaji from Ubada b. al-Samit told me: 'I was present at the first Aqaba. There were twelve of us and we pledged ourselves to the prophet after the manner of women and that was before war was enjoined, the undertaking being that we should associate nothing with God; we should not steal; we should not commit fornication; nor kill our offspring; we should not slander our neighbours; we should not disobey him in what was right; if we fulfilled this paradise would be ours; if we committed any of those sins it was for God to punish or forgive as He pleased (See Koran 60.12 where the wording is very similar.).'

Al-Zuhri from Aidhullah b. Abdullah al-Khaulani Abu Idris said that Ubada b. al-Samit told him that We gave allegiance to the apostle that we would associate nothing with God, not steal, not commit fornication, not kill our offspring, not slander our neighbour, not disobey him in what was right; if we fulfilled this paradise would be ours; and if we committed any of those sins we should be punished in this world and this would serve as expiation; if the sin was concealed until the Day of Resurrection, then it would be for God to decide whether to punish or to forgive.'

When these men left, the apostle sent with them Musab b. Umayr b. Hashim b. Abdu Manaf . . . and instructed him to read the Koran to them and to teach them Islam and to give them instruction about religion. In Medina Mus'ab was called 'The Reader'; he lodged with Asad b. Zurara. Asim b. Umar told me that he used to lead the prayers because Aus and Khazraj could not bear to see one of their rivals take the lead.

THE INSTITUTION OF FRIDAY PRAYERS IN MEDINA

Mohammed b. Abu Umama b. Sahl b. Hunayf from his father from Abdul-Rahman b. Kab b. Malik told me that the latter said: 'I was leading my father Kab when he had lost his sight, and when I brought him out to the mosque and he heard the call to prayer he called down blessings on Abu Umama Asad b. Zurara. This went on for some time: whenever he heard the adhdn he blessed him and asked God's pardon for him. I thought that this was an extraordinary thing to do and decided to ask him why he did it. He told me that it was because he was the first man to bring them together in the low ground of al-Nabit* in the quarter of the B. Bayada called Naqiul-Khadimat. I asked him how many of them there were, and he told me that they numbered forty men.' (* Hazamul-Nabit according to al-Suhayli is a mountain one post from Medina. Yaqut denies this, because Hazam means 'low ground'. He prefers the reading 'in the low ground of the Bam Nabit', etc.)

Ubaydallah b. al-Mughira b. Muayqib and Abdullah b. Abu Bakr b. Mohammed b. Amr b. Hazm told me that Asad b. Zurara went out with Musab b. Umayr to the areas of B. Abdul-Ashhal and of B. Zafar. Sad b. al-Numan b. Imruul-Qays b. Zayd b. Abdul-Ashhal was the son of Asad's aunt. He entered with him one of the gardens of B. Zafar (235) by a well called Maraq and sat in the garden and some of the men who had accepted Islam gathered together there. Now Sad b. Muadh and Usayd b. Hudayr were at that time leaders of their clan, the B. Abdul-Ashhal, and both followed the heathenism of their tribe. When they heard about him Sa'd said to Usayd: 'Go to these fellows who have entered our quarters to make fools of our weak comrades, drive them out and forbid them to enter our quarters. If it were not that Asad b. Zurara is related to me as you know I would save you the trouble. He is my aunt's son and I can do nothing to him.' So Usayd took his lance and went to them; and when Asad saw him he said to Musab, 'This is the chief of his tribe who is coming to you, so be true to God with him.' Musab said, 'If he will sit down I will talk to him.' He stood over them looking furious and

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asking what they meant by coming to deceive their weaker comrades. 'Leave us if you value your lives.' Musab said, 'Will you not sit down and listen. If you like what you hear you can accept it, and if you do not like it you can leave it alone.' He agreed that that was fair, stuck his lance in the ground, and sat down. He explained Islam to him and read him the Koran. Afterwards they said —according to what has been reported of them— 'By God, before he spoke we recognised Islam in his face by its peaceful glow.' He said, 'What a wonderful and beautiful discourse this is! What does one do if he wants to enter this religion?' They told him that he must wash and purify himself and his garments, then bear witness to the truth and pray. He immediately did so and made two prostrations. Then he said, 'There is a man behind me who if he follows you every one of his people will follow suit. I will send him to you at once. It is Sad b. Muadh.' Taking his lance he went off to Sa'd and his people who were sitting in conclave. When Sad saw him coming he said, 'By God, Usayd is coming with a different expression from that he had when he left you.' And when he came up he asked what had happened. He said, 'I have spoken to the two men and I find no harm in them. I forbade them to go on and they said to me, We will do what you like; and I was told that the B. Haritha had gone out against Asad to kill him because they knew that he was the son of your aunt so as to make you appear a treacherous protector of your guests.'

Sad enraged got up at once, alarmed at what had been said about the B. Haritha. He took the lance from his hand, saying, 'By God, I see that you have been utterly ineffective.' He went out to them and when he saw them sitting comfortably he knew that Usayd had intended that he should listen to them. He stood over them, looking furious. To Asad he said, 'Were it not for the relationship between us you would not have treated me thus. Would you behave in our houses in a way we detest?' (Now Asad had said to Musab, 'The leader whom his people follow has come to you. If he follows you, no two of them will remain behind.') So Musab said to him what he had said to Usayd, and Sad stuck his lance in the ground and sat down. The same thing happened again and he went to his people's meeting-place accompanied by Usayd. When they saw him coming they said, 'We swear by God Sa'd has returned with a different expression.' And when he stopped by them he asked them how they knew what had happened to him. They replied, '(You are) our chief, the most active in our interests, the best in judgement and the most fortunate in leadership.' He said, 'I will not speak to a man or woman among you until you believe in God and His apostle.' As a result every man and woman among the B. Abdul-Asbhal joined Islam.

Asad and Musab returned to Asad's house and stayed there calling men to Islam until every house of the Ansar had men and women who were Muslims except those of B. Uraayya b. Zayd, and Khatma and Wail and Waqif; the latter were Aus Allah and of Aus b. Haritha. The reason was that Abu Qays b. al-Aslat whose name was Sayfi was among them. He was their poet and leader and they obeyed him and he kept them back from Islam. Indeed he continued to do so until the apostle migrated to Medina, and Badr, and Uhud, and al-Rhandaq were over. He said concerning what he thought of Islam and how men differed about his state:

Lord of mankind, serious things have happened.
The difficult and the simple are involved.
Lord of mankind, if we have erred
Guide us to the good path.
Were it not for our Lord we should be Jews
And the religion of Jews is not convenient.
Were it not for our Lord we should be Christians
Along with the monks on Mount Jalil (in Galilee).
But when we were created we were created
Hanifs; our religion is from all generations.
We bring the sacrificial camels walking in fetters
Covered with cloths but their shoulders bare (236).

THE SECOND PLEDGE AT AL-AQABA

Then Musab returned to Mecca and the Muslim Ansar came to the fair there with the pilgrims of their people who were polytheists. They met the apostle at al-Aqaba in the middle of the days of Tashriq*, when God intended to honour them and to help His apostle and to strengthen Islam and to humiliate heathenism and its devotees. (* The days of the Tashriq are the three days following the day of sacrifice, i.e. 11th, 12th, and 13th of Dhul-Hijja. Various explanations are Riven by the lexicographers: (1st) because the victims were not sacrificed until the sun rose; (2nd) because the flesh of the victims was cut into strips and left to dry in the sun on those days; and (3rd) because in pagan times they used to say at that time Ashriq Thabir kayma nughir 'Show the sun, O Thabir, that we may pass on quickly'. See further E.I. and literature cited there.)

Mabad b. Kab b. Malik b. Abu Kab b. al-Qayn, brother of the B. Salima, told me that his brother Abdullah b. Kab who was one of the most learned of the Ansar told him that his father Kab who was one of those who had been present at al-Aqaba and did homage to the apostle, informed him saying: 'We went out with the polytheist pilgrims of our people having prayed and learned the customs of the pilgrimage. With us was al-Bara b. Marur our chief and senior. When we had started our journey from Medina al-Bara said, "I have come to a conclusion and I do not know whether you will agree with me or not. I think that I will not turn my back on this building" (meaning the Kaaba), "and that I shall pray towards it." We replied that so far as we knew our prophet prayed towards Syria* (* Guillaume and others thought Jerusalem; today we know from satellite photos that the qiblas of the first mosques were directed towards the City of Petra in modern-day Jordan. This arouses the serious question if Petra and not Mecca was Mohammed's real hometown. It would at least explain that almost all geographical descriptions on Mohammed's hometown fit much better to Petra, including a Kaaba temple. The first mosques that looked towards Mecca were build during the Umayyad Dynasty; this might include Mecca.) and we did not wish to act differently. He said, "I am going to pray towards the Kaaba." We said, "But we will not." When the time for prayer came we prayed towards Syria and he prayed towards the Kaaba until we came to Mecca. We blamed him for what he was doing, but he refused to change. When we came to Mecca he said to me, "Nephew, let us go to the apostle and ask him about what I did on our journey. For I feel some misgivings since I have seen your opposition." So we went to ask the apostle. We did not know him and we had never seen him before. We met a man of Mecca and we asked him about the apostle; he asked if we knew him and we said that we did not. Then do you know his uncle, al-Abbas b. Abdul-Muttalib? We said that we did because he was always coming to us as a merchant. He said, "When you enter the mosque he is the man sitting beside al-Abbas." So we went into the mosque and there was al-Abbas sitting with the apostle beside him; we saluted them and sat down. The apostle asked al-Abbas if he knew us, and he said that he did and named us. I shall never forget the apostle's words when Kab's name was mentioned, "The poet?" Al-Bara said, "O prophet of God, I came on this journey God having guided me to Islam and I felt that I could not turn my back on this building, so I prayed towards it; but when my companions opposed me I felt some misgivings. What is your opinion, O apostle of God?" He replied, "You would have had a qibla if you had kept to it," so al-Bara returned to the apostle's qibla and prayed with us towards Syria (the City of Petra. The apostle's reply to al-Bara could be taken in either sense, and considerable doubt is reflected in the commentaries and traditions on the question involved.). But his people assert that he prayed towards the Kaaba until the day of his death; but this was not so. We know more about that than they (237)."'

Mabad b. Kab told me that his brother Abdullah told him that his father Kab b. Malik said: 'Then we went to the hajj and agreed to meet the apostle at al-Aqaba in the middle of the days of the tashriq. When we had completed the hajj and the night came in which we had agreed to meet the apostle there was with us Abdullah b. Amr b. Haram Abu Jabir, one of our chiefs and nobles whom we had taken with us. We had concealed our business from those of our people who were polytheists. We said to him, "You are one of our chiefs and nobles and we want to wean you from your present state lest you become fuel for the fire in the future." Then we invited him to accept Islam and told him about our meeting with the apostle at al-Aqaba. Thereupon he accepted Islam and came to al-Aqaba with us, and became a naqib (leader).

'We slept that night among our people in the caravan until when a third of the night had passed we went stealing softly like sandgrouse to our appointment with the apostle as far as the gully by al-Aqaba. There were seventy-three men with two of our women: Nusayba d. of Kab Umm Umara, one of the women of B. Mazin b. al-Najjar, and Asma d. of Amr b. Adly b. Nadi, one of the women of B. Salima who was known as Umm Mani. We gathered together in the gully waiting for the apostle until he came with his uncle al-Abbas who was at that time a polytheist; albeit he wanted to be present at his nephew's business and see that he had a firm guarantee. When he sat down he was the first to speak and said: "O people of al-Khazraj (the Arabs used the term to cover both Khazraj and Aus). You know what position Mohammed holds among us. We have protected him from our own people who think as we do about him. He lives in honour and safety among his people, but he will turn to you and join you. If you think that you can be faithful to what you have promised him and protect him from his opponents, then assume the burden you have undertaken. But if you think that you will betray and abandon him after he has gone out with you, then leave him now. For he is safe where he is." We replied, "We have heard what you say. You speak, O apostle, and choose for yourself and for your Lord what you wish."

'The apostle spoke and recited the Koran and invited men to God and commended Islam and then said: "I invite your allegiance on the basis that you protect me as you would your women and children." Al-Bara took his hand and said "By Him Who sent you with the truth we will protect you as we protect our women. Wcgive our allegiance and we are men of war possessing arms which have been passed on from father to son." While al-Bara was speaking Abul-Haytham b. al-Tayyihan interrupted him and said, "O apostle, we have ties with other men (he meant the Jews) and if we sever them perhaps when we have done that and God will have given you victory, you will return to your people and leave us?" The apostle smiled and said: "Nay, blood is blood and blood not to be paid for is blood not to be paid for (i.e. He would treat blood revenge and its obligation as common to both parties. See Ibn Hisham's note.). I am of you and you arc of me. I will war against them that war against you and be at peace with those at peace with you (238)."

Kab continued: 'The apostle said, "Bring out to me twelve leaders that they may take charge of their people's affairs." They produced nine from al-Khazraj and three from al-Aus.'

THE NAMES OF THE TWELVE LEADERS AND THE REST OF THE STORY OF AL-AQABA

According to what Ziyad b. Abdullah al-Bakkai told us from Mohammed b. Ishaq al-Muttalibi (they were):

From al-Khazraj: Abu Umama Asad b. Zurara . . . b. al-Najjar who was Taym Allah b. Thalaba b. Amr b. al-Khazraj; Sad b. al-Rabi b. Amr b. Abu Zuhayr b. Malik b. Imruul-Qays b. Malik b. Thalaba b. Kab b. al-Khazraj b. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj; Abdullah b. Rawaha b. Tha'laba of the same line; Rafi b. Malik b. al-Ajlan b. Amr . . .; al-Bara b. Marur b. Sakhr b. Khansa b. Sinan b. Ubayd b. Adiy b. Ghanm b. Kab b. Salama b. Sad b. Ali b. Asad b. Sarida b. Tazid b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj; 'Abdullah b. Amr b. Haram b. Thalaba b. Haram b. Kab b. Ghanm b. Kab b. Salama . . .; Ubada b. al-Samit b. Qays b. Asram . . . (239). Sad b. Ubada b. Dulaym b. Haritha b. Abu Hazima b. Thalaba b. Tarif b. al-Khazraj b. Saida b. Kab b. al-Khazraj; al-Mundhir b. Amr b. Khunays b. Haritha b. Laudhan b. Abdu Wudd b. Zayd b. Thalaba b. al-Khazraj of the same line (240).

From al-Aus: Usayd b. Hudayr b. Simak b. Atik b. Rafi b. Imruul-Qays b. Zayd b. Abdul-Ashhal b. Jusham b. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj b. Amr b. Malik b. al-Aus; Sa'd b. Khaythama b. al-Harith b. Malik b. Kab b. al-Nahhat b. Kab b. Haritha b. Ghanm b. al-Salm b. Imruul-Qays b. Malik b. al-Aus; Rifaa b. Abdul-Mundhir b. Zubayr b. Zayd b. Umayya b. Zayd b. Malik b. Auf b. Amr b. Auf b. Malik b. al-Aus (241). Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that the apostle said to the Leaders: 'You are the sureties for your people just as the disciples of Jesus, Son of Mary, were responsible to him, while I am responsible for my people, i.e. the Muslims.' They agreed.

Asim b. Umar b. Qatada told me that when the people came together to plight their faith to the apostle, al-Abbas b. Ubada b. Nadla al-Ansari, brother of B. Salim b. Auf, said, 40 men of Khazraj, do you realise to what you are committing yourselves in pledging your support to this man? It is to war against all and sundry (Lit. 'red and black men'.). If you think that if you lose your property and your nobles are killed you will give him up, then do so now, for it would bring you shame in this world and the next (if you did so later); but if you think that you will be loyal to your undertaking if you lose your property and your nobles are killed, then take him, for by God it will profit you in this world and the next.' They said that they would accept the apostle on these conditions. But they asked what they would get in return for their loyalty, and the apostle promised them paradise.

They said, 'Stretch forth your hand,' and when he did so they pledged their word. Asim added that al-Abbas said that only to bind the obligation more securely on them. Abdullah b. Abu Bakr said that he said it merely to keep the people back that night, hoping that Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Salul would come and so give more weight to his people's support. But God knows best which is right (242).

The B. al-Najjar allege that Asad b. Zurara was the first to strike his hand in fealty; the B. Abdul-Ashhal say that he was not, for Abul-Haytham was the first. Mabad b. Kab told me in his tradition from his brother Abdullah b. Kab from his father Kab b. Malik that al-Bara was the first and the people followed him. When we had all pledged ourselves Satan shouted from the top of al-Aqaba in the most penetrating voice I have ever heard, 'O people of the stations of Mina, do you want this reprobate (Mudhammam is probably an offensive counterpart to the name Mohammed.) and the apostates (Subat, the plural of Sabi. the name given to those who had given up their own religion to take another. Hardly an apostate [murtadd]). who are with him? They have come together to make war on you!' The apostle said, 'This is the Izb (The word is said to mean 'small and contemptible') of the hill. This is the son of Azyab. Do you hear, O enemy of God, I swear I will make an end of you! (243).'

The apostle then told them to disperse and go back to their caravan, and al-'Abbas b. 'Ubada said, 'By God, if you wish it we will fall on the people of Mina tomorrow with our swords.' He replied, 'We have not been commanded to do that ; but go back to your caravan.' So we went back to our beds and slept until the morrow.

With the morning the leaders of (the) Quraysh came to our encampment saying that they had heard that we had come to invite Mohammed to leave them and had pledged ourselves to support him in war against them, and that there was no Arab

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tribe that they would fight more reluctantly than us. Thereupon the polytheists of our tribe swore that nothing of the kind had happened and they knew nothing of it. And here they were speaking the truth, for they were in ignorance of what had happened. We looked at one another. Then the people got up, among them al-Harith b. Hisham b. al-Mughira al-Makhzumi who was wearing a pair of new sandals. I spoke a word to him as though I wanted to associate the people with what they had said, 'O Abu Jabir, seeing that you arc one of our chiefs, can't you get hold of a pair of sandals such as this young Qurayshitc has? Al-Harith heard me and took them off his feet and threw them at me saying, 'By God you can have them!' Abu Jabir said, 'Gently now, you have angered the young man, so give him hark his sandals.' 'By God, I will not,' I said ; 'it is a good omen and if it proves to be true I shall plunder him.'

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that they came to Abdullah b. Ubayy and said to him much the same as Ka'b had said and he replied, 'This is a serious matter; my people arc not in the habit of deciding a question without consulting me in this way and I do not know that it has happened.' Thereupon they left him.

When the people had left Mina they investigated the report closely and found that it was true. So they went in pursuit of (our) people and overtook Sad b. Ubada in Adhakhir and also al-Mundhir b. 'Amr, brother of B. Saida, both of them being 'leaders'. The latter got away, but they caught Sad and tied his hands to his neck with the thongs of the girth and brought him back to Mecca beating him on the way and dragging him by the hair, for he was a very hairy man. Sad said, 'As they held me, a number of Quraysh came up, among them a tall, white, handsome man of pleasant appearance and I thought that if there was any decency among them this man would show it. But when he came up he delivered me a violent blow in the face and after that I despaired of fair treatment. As they were dragging me along, a man took pity on me and said, "You poor devil, have not you any right to protection from one of the Quraysh?"

"Yes," I said, "I have. I used to guarantee the safety of the merchants of Jubayr b. Mutim b. Adiy b. Naufal b. Abdu Manaf and protect them from those who might have wronged them in my country; also al-Harith b. Harb b. Umayya b. Abdu Shams b. Abdu Manaf." "Very well, then, call out the names of these two men and say what tie there is between you," he said. This I did and that man went to them and found them in the mosque beside the Kaaba and told them of me and that I was calling for them and mentioning my claim on them. When they heard who I was they acknowledged the truth of my claim and came and delivered me.' So Sad went off. The name of the man who hit him was Suhayl b. Amr, brother of B. Amir b. Luayy (244).

The first poetry about the Migration was two verses composed by Dirar b. al-Khattab b. Mirdas, brother of B. Muharib b. Fihr:

I overtook Sad and took him by force.
It would have been better if I had caught Mundhir.
If I had got him his blood would not have to be paid for.
He deserves to be humiliated and left unavenged (244a).

Hassan b. Thabit answered him thus:
You were not equal to Sad and the man Mundhir
When the people's camels were thin.
But for Abu Wahb (my) verses would have passed over
The top of al-Barqa* swooping down swiftly**

(* Yaqut says that this is a place in the desert. He does not say where.)

(** The interpretation of this difficult line depends on the identity of Abu Wahb. The man of this name mentioned by Ibn Ishaq (p. 123) was the father of the prophet's maternal uncle; if it is he that is referred to, clearly the meaning must be that the presence of this man in Mecca prevented Hassan from launching his invective against (the) Quraysh, and the verb must mean swooping or rushing. However, al-Barquqi in his commentary on the Diwan tentatively suggests that it was Abu Wahb who brought Dirar's lines to Medina: had he not done so they would have fallen impotently on the way. This interpretation requires us to understand hated in the sense of falling, and hussard as 'wearied' instead of 'stripped for action' and so capable of rapid movement. The last line in Ibn Ishaq.'s text follows this line and this rearrangement of the lines would naturally suggest that the qasd'id came from the same source; but as Ibn Ishaq reported the satire such a conclusion is unnecessary. See further Dr. Arafat's thesis on the poetry of Hassan.)

Do you boast of wearing cotton
When the Nabataeans wear dyed (Or 'bleached'). wrappers?
Be not like a sleeper who dreams that
He is in a town of Caesar or Chosroes.
Do not be like a bereaved mother who
Would not have lost her child had she been wise;
Nor like the sheep which with her forelegs
Digs the grave she does not desire;
Nor like the barking dog that sticks out his neck
Not fearing the arrow of the unseen archer.
He who directs poetry's shafts at us
Is like one who sends dates to Khaybar*.

(* i.e. Sends coals to Newcastle. This line follows line 2 in the Diwan.)

THE IDOL OF AMR IBNUL-JAMUH

When they came to Medina they openly professed Islam there. Now some of the shaykhs still kept to their old idolatry, among whom was Amr b. al-Jamuh b. Yazid b. Haram b. Kab b. Ghanm b. Kab b. Salama whose son, Muadh, had been present at al-'Aqaba and had done homage to the apostle there. Amr was one of the tribal nobles and leaders and had set up in his house a wooden idol called Manat* as the nobles used to do,

making it a god to reverence and keeping it clean (* Suhayli explains that the idol was so called because blood was shed [muniyat] by it as an offering and that is why idols are said to be bloody. But the explanation of the namejs to be found outside the Arabic language in the goddess of Fate. See S.H. Langdon, Semitic Mythology, 1931, pp. 19 ff). When the young men of the B. Salama Muadh b. Jabal and his own son Muadh adopted Islam with the other men who had been at al-Aqaba they used to creep in at night to this idol of Amr's and carry it away and throw it on its face into a cesspit. When the morning came Amr cried, 'Woe to you! Who has been at our gods this night?' Then he went in search of the idol and when he found it he washed it and cleaned it and perfumed it saying, 'By God, if I knew who had done this I would treat him shamefully!' When night came and he was fast asleep they did the same again and he restored the idol in the morning. This happened several times until one day he took the idol from the place where they had thrown it, purified it as before, and fastened his sword to it, saying, 'By God, I don't know who has done this; but if you are any good at all defend yourself since you have this sword.'

At night when he was asleep they came again and took the sword from its neck and hung a dead dog to it by a cord and then threw it into a cesspit. In the morning 'Amr came and could not find it where it normally was; ultimately he found it face downwards in that pit tied to a dead dog. When he saw it and perceived what had happened and the Muslims of his clan spoke to him he accepted Islam by the mercy of God and became a good Muslim. He wrote some verses when he had come to a knowledge of God in which he mentioned the image and its impotence and thanked God for having delivered him from the blindness and error in which he had lived hitherto:

By Allah, if you had been a god you would not have been
Tied to a dead dog in a cesspit.
Phew! that we ever treated you as a god, but now
We have found you out and left our wicked folly.
Praise be to God most High, the Gracious,
The Bountiful, the Provider, the Judge of all religions
Who has delivered me in time to save me
From being kept in the darkness of the grave.

CONDITIONS OF THE PLEDGE AT THE SECOND AQABA

When God gave permission to his apostle to fight, the second Aqaba contained conditions involving war which were not in the first act of fealty. Now they bound themselves to war against all and sundry for God and his apostle, while he promised them for faithful service thus the reward of paradise.

Ubada b. al-Walid b. Ubada b. al-Samit from his father from his grandfather Ubada b. al-Samit who was one of the Leaders told me, 'We pledged ourselves to war in complete obedience to the apostle in weal and woe, in ease and hardship and evil circumstances; that we would not wrong anyone; that we would speak the truth at all times; and that in God's service we would fear the censure of none.' Ubada was one of the twelve who gave his word at the first Aqaba.

THE NAMES OF THOSE PRESENT AT THE SECOND AQABA

There were seventy-three men and two women of Aus and Khazraj. (The genealogies already given have been omitted together with repetitions.) Of Aus there were: Usayd b. Hudayr . . . a leader who was not at Badr. Abul-Haytham b. Tayyahan who was at Badr. Salma b. Salama b. Waqsh b. Zughba b. Zuura b. Abdul-Ashhal who was at Badr (245). Total 3.

From B. Haritha b. al-Harith . . . Zuhayr b. Rafi b. Adiy b. Zayd b. Jusham b. Haritha, and Abu Burda b. Niyar whose name' was Hani b. Niyar b. Amr b. Ubayd b. Kilab b. Duhman b. Ghanm b. Dhubyan b. Humaym b. Kamil b. Dhuhl b. Haniy b. Bally b. Amr b. al-Haf b. Qudaa, one of their allies. He was at Badr. Nuhayr b. al-Haytham of B. Nabi b. Majdaa b. Haritha. Total 3.

Of B. Amr b. Auf b. Malik: Sad b. Khaythama a 'leader' who was present at Badr and was killed there as a martyr beside the apostle (246).

Rifaa b. Abdul-Mundhir, a leader present at Badr. Abdullah b. Jubayr b. al-Numan b. Umayya b. al-Burak, the name of al-Burak being Imruul-Qays b. Thalaba b. Amr who was present at Badr and was killed as a martyr at Uhud commanding the archers for the apostle (247). And Maan b. Adiy b. al-Jad b. al-Ajlan b. Haritha b. Dubaya, a client of theirs from Baliy present at Badr, Uhud, and al-Khandaq and all the apostle's battles. He was killed in the battle of al-Yamama as a martyr in the caliphate of Abu Bakr. And Uwaym b. Saida who was present at Badr, Uhud, and al-Khandaq. Total 5.

The total for all clans of Aus was 11.

Of al-Khazraj there were: Of B. al-Najjar who was Taymullah b. Thalaba b. Amr: Abu Ayyub Khalid b. Zayd b. Kulayb b. Thalaba b. Abd b. Auf b. Ghanm b. Malik b. al-Najjar. He was present at all the apostle's battles and died in Roman territory as a martyr in the time of Muawiya. Muadh b. al-Harith b. Rifaa b. Sawad b. Malik b. Ghanm. Present at all battles. He was the son of Afra and his brother was Auf b. al-Harith who was killed at Badr as a martyr. Muawwidh his brother shared the same glory. It was he who killed Abu Jahl b. Hisham b. al-Mughira; he too was Afra's son (248). And 'Umara b. Hazm b. Zayd b. Laudhan b. Amr b. Abdu Auf b. Ghanm. He was present at all battles and died a martyr in the battle of al-Yamama in the caliphate of Abu Bakr. Asad b. Zurara, a leader. He died before Badr when the apostle's mosque was being built. Total 6.

Of B. Amr b. Mabdhul who was Amir b. Malik: Sahl b. Atik b. Numan b. Amr b. Atik b. Amr. Was at Badr. Total 1.

Of B. Amr b. Malik b. al-Najjar who are the B. Hudayla (249). Aus b. Thabit b. al-Mundhir b. Haram b. Amr b. Zayd Manat b. Adiy b. Amr b. Malik, present at Badr; Abu Talha Zayd b. Sahl b. al-Aswad b. Haram b. Amr b. Zayd Manat . . . present at Badr. Total 2.

Of B. Mazin b. al-Najjar: Qays b. Abu Sasaa whose name was Amr b. Zayd b. Auf b. Mabdhul b. Amr b. Ghanm b. Mazin. Present at Badr where the apostle put him in command of the rearguard. Amr b. Ghaziya b. Amr b. Thalaba b. Khansa b. Mabdhul . . . Total 2.

The total for B. al-Najjar was 11 (250).

Of B. al-Harith b. Khazraj: Sad b. al-Rabi, a leader. Was at Badr and died a martyr at Uhud. Kharija b. Zayd b. Abu Zuhayr b. Malik b. Imruul-Qays b. Malik al-Agharr b. Thalaba b. Kab. Present at Badr and killed at Uhud as a martyr. 'Abdullah b. Rawaha, a leader, present at all the apostle's battles except the occupation of Mecca and was killed at Muta as a martyr as one of the apostle's commanders. Bashir b. Sad b. Thalaba b. Khalas b. Zayd b. Malik . . . , the father of al-Numan was present at Badr. Abdullah b. Zayd b. Thalaba b. Abdullah b. Zayd Manat b. al-Harith. Present at Badr. He it was who was shown how to call to prayer and was ordered by the apostle to perform it. Khallad b. Suwayd b. Tha'laba b. Amr b. Haritha b. Imruul-Qays b. Malik. Present at Badr, Uhud, and al-Khandaq and was killed as a martyr in fighting B. Qurayza when a millstone was thrown from one of their castles and crushed his skull. The apostle said—so they say—that he will have the reward of two martyrs. Uqba b. Amr b. Thalaba b. Usayra b. Usayra b. Jadara b. Auf who is Abu Masud, the youngest of those at al-Aqaba. Died in the time of Muawiya. Was not at Badr. Total 7.

Of B. Bayada b.Amir b. Zurayq b. Abdu Haritha: Ziyad b. Labid b. Thalaba b. Sinan b. Amir b. Adiy b. Umayya b. Bayada. Present at Badr. Farwa b. Amr b. Wadhafa b. Ubayd b. Amir b. Bayada. Present at Badr (251). Khalid b. Qays b. Malik b. al-Ajlan b. Amir. At Badr. Total 3.

Of B. Zurayq b. Amir b. Zurayq b. Abdu Haritha b. Malik b. Ghadb b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj: Ran b. al-Ajlan, a leader. Dhakwan b. Abdu Qays b. Khalda b. Mukhallad b. Amir. He went out to the apostle and stayed with him in Mecca after he had migrated from Medina; thus he got the name of Ansari Muhajiri. He was at Badr and was killed as a martyr at Uhud. Abbad b. Qays b. Amir b. Khalda, etc. Was at Badr. Al-Harith b.Qays b. Khalid b. Mukhallad b. Amir, who was Abu Khalid. Present at Badr. Total 4.

Of B. Salama b. Sad b. Ali b. Asad b. Sarida b. Tazid . . . Al-Bara b. Ma'riir b. Sakhr . . . a leader who, the B. Salama allege, was the first to strike his hand on the apostle's when the conditions of the second Aqaba were agreed to. He died before the apostle came to Medina. His son Bishr was at Badr, Uhud, and al-Khandaq and he died in Khaybar of eating with the apostle the mutton that was poisoned. He it was to whom the apostle referred when he asked B. Salama who their chief was and they replied, Al-Judd b. Qays in spite of his meanness!' He said, 'What disease is worse than meanness? The chief of B. Salama is the white curly haired Bishr b. al-Bara b. Marur. Sinan b. Sayfi b. Sakhr b. Khansa b. Sinan b. Ubayd who was at Badr and died a martyr at al-Khandaq. Al-Tufayl b. Numan b. Khansa b. Sinan b. Ubayd with the same record. Maqil b. al-Mundhir b. Sarh b. Khunas b. Sinan b. 'Ubayd who was at Badr, together with his brother Yazid. Masud b. Yazid b. Subay b. Khansa' b. Sinan b. Ubayd. Al-Dahhak b. Haritha b. Zayd b. Thalaba b. Ubayd who was present at Badr. Yazid b. Haram b. Subay b. Khansa b. Sinan b. Ubayd. Jubbar b. Sakhr b. Umayya b. Khansa b. Sinan b. Ubayd present at Badr (252). Al-Tufayl b. Malik b. Khansa b. Sinan b. Ubayd who was present at Badr.' Total 11.

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Of B. Sawad b. Ghanm b. Kab b. Salama of the clan of Band Kab b. Sawad: Kab b. Malik b. Abu Kab b. al-Qayn b. Kab. Total 1.

Of B. Ghanm b. Sawad b. Ghanm b. Kab b. Salama. Salim b. Amr b. Hadida b. Amr b. Ghanm who was at Badr. Qutba b. Amir b. Hadida b. Amr b. Ghanm who was at Badr. Yazid his brother known as Abul-Mundhir; was at Badr. Kab b. Amr b. Abbad b. Amr b. Ghanm known as Abul-Yasar. At Badr. Sayfi b. Sawad b. Abbad b. Amr b. Ghanm (253). Total 5 .

Of B. Nabi b. Amr b. Sawad b. Ghanm b. Kab b. Salama: Thalaba b. Ghanama b. Adiy b. Nabi was at Badr and was killed as a martyr at al-Khandaq. Amr b. Ghanama b. Adiy b. Nabi. Abs b. Amir b. Adiy was at Badr. Abdullah b. Unays an ally from Qudaa. Khalid b. Amr b. Adiy. Total 5.

Of B. Haram b. Kab b. Ghanm b. Kab b. Salama: Abdullah b. Amr who was a leader and was at Badr and was killed as a martyr at Uhud. Jabir his son. Muadh b. Amr b. al-Jamuh who was at Badr. Thahit b. al-Jidh (al-Jidh being Thalaba b. Zayd b. al-Harith b. Haram) was at Badr and was killed as a martyr at al-Taif. Umayr b. al-Harith b. Thalaba b. al-Harith b. Haram who was at Badr (254). Khadij b. Salama b. Aus b. Amr b. al-Furafir an ally from Baliy. Muadh b. Jabal b. Amr b. Aus b. Aidh b. Kab b. Amr b. Adi (Some read Udhan. See Suhayli in loc.) b. Sad b. Ali b. Asad. It is said Asad b. Sarida b. Tazid b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj, who lived with the B. Salama; he was present at all the battles and died in Amwas in the year of the Syrian plague ('The great Plague of Justinian' between circa 550 and 750.) during the caliphate of Umar. The B. Salama claimed him for the reason that he was the brother of Sahl b. Mohammed b. al-Judd b. Qays b. Sakhr b. Khansa b. Sinan b. Ubayd . . . b. Salama through his mother (255). Total 7.

Of B. Auf b. al-Khazraj then of the B. Salim b. Auf b. Amr b. Auf: Ubada b. al-Samit, a leader who was at all the battles . . . (256). Al-Abbas b. Ubada b. Nadla . . ., one of those who joined the apostle in Mecca, lived there with him, and was called an Ansari Muhajiri. He was killed at Uhud as a martyr. Abu Abdul-Rahman Yazid b. Thalaba b. Khazama b. Asram b. Amr b. Ammara, an ally from the B. Ghusayna of Bally. Amr b. al-Harith b. Labda b. Amr b. Thalaba. They were the Qawaqil. Total 4.

Of B. Salim b. Ghanm b. Auf; known as the B. al-Hubla (257): Rifaa b. Amr b. Zayd b. Amr b. Thalaba b. Malik b. Salim b. Ghanm known as Abul-Walid. Was at Badr (258). Uqba b. Wahb b. Kalda b. al-Jad b. Hilal b. al-Harith b. Amr b. Adiy b. Jusham b. Auf b. Buhtha b. Abdullah b. Ghatafan b. Sad b. Qays b. Avian, an ally, present at Badr. He had the title Ansari Muhajiri for the reason given above. Total 2.

Of the B. Saida b. Kab: Sad b. Uhada a leader. Al-Mundhir b. Amr, a leader, present at Badr and Uhud and killed at Bir Mauna commanding for the apostle. It was said of him 'He hastened to death' (259). Total 2.

The total number of those present at the second Aqaba from the Aus and Khazraj was seventy-three men and two women who they allege pledged their obedience also. The apostle used not to strike hands with women; he merely stated the conditions, and if they accepted them he would say, 'Go, I have made a covenant with you.'

(Of these two women) Nusayba was of B. Mazin b. al-Najjar. She was d. of Kab b. Amr b. Auf b. Mabdhul b. Amr b. Ghanm b. Mazin, mother of Umara. She and her sister went to war with the apostle. Her husband was Zayd b. Asim b. Kab, and her two sons were Habib and Abdullah. Musaylima the liar, the Hanifi chief of the Yamama, got hold of Habib and began to say to him, 'Do you testify that Mohammed is the apostle of God?' And when he said that he did, he went on, 'And do you testify that I am the apostle of God?' he answered, 'I do not hear.' So he began to cut him to pieces member by member until he died. He tried putting the same questions to him again and again, but he could get no different answers. Nusayba went to al-Yamama with the Muslims and took part in the war in person until God slew Musaylima, when she returned having suffered twelve wounds from spear or sword. It was Mohammed b. Yahyi b. Habban who told me this story from Abdullah b. Abdul-Rahman b. Abu Sasaa. The other woman was of B. Salama, Umm Mani, named Asma d. Amr b. Adiy b. Nabi b. Amr b. Sawad b. Ghanm b. Kab b. Salama.

THE APOSTLE RECEIVES THE ORDER TO FIGHT

The apostle had not been given permission to fight or allowed to shed blood before the second Aqaba. He had simply been ordered to call men to God and to endure insult and forgive the ignorant. The Quraysh had persecuted his followers, seducing some from their religion, and exiling others from their country. They had to choose whether to give up their religion, be maltreated at home, or to flee the country, some to Abyssinia Ethiopia), others to Medina.

When (the) Quraysh became insolent towards God and rejected His gracious purpose, accused His prophet of lying, and ill treated and exiled those who served Him and proclaimed His unity, believed in His prophet, and held fast to His religion, He gave permission to His apostle to fight and to protect himself against those who wronged them and treated them badly.

The first verse which was sent down on this subject from what I have heard from Urwa b. al-Zubayr and other learned persons was: 'Permission is given to those who fight because they have been wronged. God is well able to help them,— those who have been driven out of their houses without right only because they said God is our Lord. Had not God used some men to keep back others, cloisters and churches and oratories and mosques wherein the name of God is constantly mentioned would have been destroyed. Assuredly God will help those who help Him. God is Almighty. Those who if we make them strong in the land will establish prayer, pay the poor-tax, enjoin kindness, and forbid iniquity. To God belongs the end of matters (Koran 22.40-42.).' The meaning is: 'I have allowed them to fight only because they have been unjustly treated while their sole offence against men has been that they worship God. When they are in the ascendant they will establish prayer, pay the poor-tax, enjoin kindness, and forbid iniquity, i.e. the prophet and his companions all of them.' Then God sent down to him: 'Fight them so that there be no more seduction (2.198.),' i.e. until no believer is seduced from his religion. And the religion is God's', i.e. Until God alone is worshipped.

When God had given permission to fight and this clan of the Ansar had pledged their support to him in Islam and to help him and his followers, and the Muslims who had taken refuge with them, the apostle commanded his companions, the emigrants of his people and those Muslims who were with him in Mecca, to emigrate to Medina and to link up with their brethren the Ansar. 'God will make for you brethren and houses in which you may be safe.' So they went out in companies, and the apostle stayed in Mecca waiting for his Lord's permission to leave Mecca and migrate to Medina.

THOSE WHO MIGRATED TO MEDINA

The first of the Quraysh to migrate to Medina from among the apostle's companions was one of B. Makhzum, Abu Salama b. Abdul-Asad b. Hilal b. Abdullah b. 'Umar b. Makhzum whose forename was Abdullah.

He went to Medina a year before the pledge at al-Aqaba, having come to the apostle in Mecca from Abyssinia. He migrated because the Quraysh ill-treated him* and he had heard that some of the Ansar had accepted Islam. (* this is only half of the truth. In reality, Mohammed [and his roughly 150 followers] became a political nuisance to the towns-people due to his bad temper and disobedience towards the town regulations. He was a bit of a rouser and his wife as well as his uncle had to rescue him for several times. In the end, when his wife and uncle had died of plague, the officials of his hometown threw him out of the town. He did not leave the city voluntarily. His destined 'migration' is a myth created to better his image.)

My father Ishaq b. Yasar on the authority of Salama who had it from his grandmother Umm Salama the prophet's wife told me that she said: When Abu Salama had decided to set out for Medina he saddled his camel for me and mounted me on it together with my son Salama who was in my arms. Then he set out leading the camel. When the men of B. al-Mughira b. Abdullah b. Umar b. Makhzum saw him they got up and said: 'So far as you are concerned you can do what you like; but what about your wife? Do you suppose that, we shall let you take her away?' So they snatched the camel's rope from his hand and took me from him.

Abu Salama's family, the B. Abdul-Asad, were angry at this and said: 'We will not leave our son with her seeing you have torn her from our tribesman.' So they dragged at my little boy Salama between them until they dislocated his arm, and the R. al-Asad took him away, while the B. al-Mughira kept me with them, and my husband Abu Salama went to Medina. Thus I was separated from my husband and my son. I used to go out every morning and sit in the valley weeping continuously until a year or so had passed when one of my cousins of B. al-Mughira passed and saw my plight and took pity on me. He said to his tribesmen, 'Why do you not let this poor woman go? You have separated husband, wife, and child.'

So they said to me, 'You can join your husband if you like'; and then the B. Abdul-Asad restored my son to me. So I saddled my camel and took my son and carried him in my arms. Then I set forth making for my husband in Medina. Not a soul was with me. I thought that I could get food from anyone I met on the road until I reached my husband. When I was in Tanim (This place is said to be two parasangs, i.e. about six miles / 10 km, from Mecca.)

I met Uthman b. Talha b. Abu Talha, brother of B. Abdul-Dar, who asked me where I was going and if I was all alone. I told him that except for God and my little boy I was alone. He said that I ought not to be left helpless like that and he took hold of the camel's halter and went along with me. Never have I met an Arab more noble than he. When we halted he would make the camel kneel for me and then withdraw; when we reached a stopping-place he would lead my camel away, unload it, and tie it to a tree. Then he would go from me and lie down under a tree.

When evening came he would bring the camel and saddle it, then go behind me and tell me to ride; and when I was firmly established in the saddle he would come and take the halter and lead it until he brought me to a halt. This he did all the way to Medina. When he saw a village of B. Amr b. Auf in Quba he said: 'Your husband is in this village (Abu Salama was actually there), so enter it with the blessing of God.' Then he went off on his way back to Mecca.

She used to say, By God, I do not know a family in Islam which suffered what the family of Abu Salama did (The family was all but destroyed in the wars that followed; Uthman himself was killed at the beginning of Ulnar's reign.). Nor have I ever seen a nobler man than Uthman b. Talha.

The first emigrant to go to Medina after Abu Salama was Amir b. Rabia, an ally of B. Adly b. Kab together with his wife Layla d. of Hathma b. Ghanim b. Abdullah b. Auf b. Ubayd b. Uwayj b. Adly b. Kab. Then Abdullah b. Jahsh b. Riab b. Yamar b. Sabira b. Murra b. Katliir b. Ghanm b. Dudan b. Asad b. Khuzayma ally of B. Umayya b. Abdu Shams along with his family and his brother Abd —who was known as Abu Ahmad. Now Abu Ahmad was blind and he used to go all round Mecca from top to bottom without anyone to lead him. He' was a poet. He had to wife al-Fara d. of Abu Sufyan b. Harb; his mother was Umayma d. of Abdul-Muttalib.

The house of the B. Jahsh was locked up when they left and Utba b. Rabia and al-Abbas b. Abdul-Muttalib and Abu Jahl b. Hisham passed by it on their way to the upper part of Mecca. (Today it is the house of Ahan b. Uthman in Radm.) Utba looked at it with its doors blowing to and fro, empty of inhabitants, and sighed heavily and said: Every house however long its prosperity lasts Will one day be overtaken by misfortune and trouble (260).

Then Utba went on to say, 'The house of the B. Jahsh has become tenantless.' To which Abu Jahl replied, 'Nobody will weep over that (26.)'.

He went on: This is the work of this man's nephew. He has divided our community, disrupted our affairs, and driven a wedge between us. Abu Salama and Amir b. Rabia and Abdullah b. Jahsh and his brother Abu Ahmad b. Jahsh were billeted on Mubashshir b. Abdul-Mundhir b. Zanbar in Quba among the B. Amr b. Auf.

Then the refugees came in companies and the B. Ghanm b. Dildan were Muslims who had gone to Medina as a body with the apostle as emigrants both men and women: Abdullah b. Jahsh and his brother Abu Ahmad and Ukasha b. Mihsan and Shuja and Uqba, the two sons of Wahb, and Arbad b. Humayyira (262), and Munqidh b. Nubata and Said b. Ruqaysh and Muhriz b. Nadla and Yazid b. Ruqaysh, and Qays b. Jabir and Amr b. Mihsan and Malik b. Amr and Safwan b. Amr and Thaqf b. Amr and Rabia b. Aktham and al-Zubayr b. Abid and Tammam b. Ubayda and Sakhbara b. Ubayda and Mohammed b. Abdullah b. Jahsh. Their women were Zaynab and Umm Hablb daughters of Jahsh, Judhama d. Jandal and Umm Qays d. Mihsan and Umm Habib d. Thumama and Amina d. of Ruqaysh and Sakhbara d. Tamim and Hamna d. Jahsh.

Abu Ahmad, mentioning the migration of the B. Asad b. Khuzayma of his people to God and his apostle and their going in a body when they were called on to emigrate, said:

Had Ahmad's mother 'twixt Safa and Marwa sworn
Her oath would have been true.
We were the first in Mecca and remained so
Till the worse became the better part.
Here Ghanm b. Dudan pitched his tent.
From it Ghanm has gone and its inhabitants diminish*.

(* C.'s text has 'And what if Ghanm has gone', etc. Abu Dharr queries the word qotin rendered 'inhabitants'.)

To God they go in ones and twos,
Their religion the religion of God and his apostle.

He also said:

When Umm Ahmad saw me setting out
In the protection of One I secretly fear and reverence,

Umar accompanied by various members of his family, and his brother Zayd, and Amr and Abdullah the sons of Suraqa b. al-Mutamir, and Khunays b. Hudhafa al-Sahmi (who had married Ulnar's daughter Hafsa whom the apostle married after the death of her husband), and Waqid b. Abdullah al-Tamimi an ally of theirs, and Khauli and Malik b. Abu Khauli, two allies (265), and four sons of al-Bukayr, namely Iyas, Aqil, Amir, and Khalid; and their allies from B. Sad b. Layth; when they arrived at Medina stayed with Rifaa b. Abdul-Mundhir b. Zanbar among B. Amr b. Auf in Quba. Ayyash also stayed with him when he came to Medina.

Then came successive waves of emigrants: Talha b. Ubayd Allah b. Tinman; Suhayb b. Sinan stayed with Khubayb b. Isaf brother of the B. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj, in al-Sunh (the upper part of Medina). Others deny this and say that Talha stayed with Asad b. Zurara brother of the B. al-Najjar (266).

The following stayed with Kulthum b. Hidm brother of B. Amr b. Auf in Quba: Hamza b. Abdul-Muttalib; Zayd b. Haritha; Abo Marthad Kannaz b. Hisn (267); and his son Marthad of the tribe Ghani, allies of Hamza; Anasa; and Abu

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Kabsha, freedmen of the apostle. Other reports are that they stayed with Sad b. Khaythama; and that Hamza stayed with Asad b. Zurara.

The following stayed with Abdullah b. Salama brother of the Banu Ajlan in Quba: Ubayda b. al-Harith and his brother al-Tufayl; al-Husayn b. al-Harith; Mistah b. Uthatha b. Abbad b. al-Muttalib; Suwaybit b. Sad b. Huraymila brother of B. Abdul-Dar: Tulayb b. Umayr brother of the B. Abd b. Qusayy; and Khabbab, freedman of Utba b. Gharwan.

With Sad b. al-Rabi brother of the B. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj in the house of the latter stayed Abdul-Rahman b. Auf with some male emigrants.

With Mundhir b. Mohammed b. Uqba b. Uhayha b. al-Julah in al-Usba the dwelling of the B. Jahjaba, stayed al-Zubayr b. al-Awwam and Abu Sabra b. Abu Ruhm b. Abdul-Uzza.

With Sad b. Muadh b. al-Numan brother of the B. Abdul-Ashhal in their dwelling stayed Musab b. Umayr b. Hashim brother of the B. Abdul-Dar.

With Abbad b. Bishr b. Waqsh brother of the B. Abdul-Ashhal in the latter's dwelling stayed Abu Hudhayfa b. Utba b. Rabia and his freedman Salim; and Utba b. Ghazwan b. Jabir (268).

With Aus b. Thabit b. al-Mundhir, brother of Hassan b. Thabit in the dwelling of B. al-Najjar stayed Uthman b. Affan. This was the reason why Hassan was so fond of Uthman and lamented him when he was slain.

It is said that the celibate emigrants stayed with Sad b. Khaythama because he himself was unmarried; but God knows best about that.

PART 3

THE HIJRA
THE CAMPAIGNS FROM MEDINA
THE OCCUPATION OF MECCA
THE CONQUEST OF ARABIA
THE DEATH OF THE PROPHET

THE HIJRA OF THE PROPHET

After his companions had left, the apostle stayed in Mecca waiting for permission to migrate. Except for Abu Bakr and Ali, none of his supporters were left but those under restraint and those who had been forced to apostatise. The former kept asking the apostle for permission to emigrate and he would answer, 'Do not be in a hurry; it may be that God will give you a companion.' Abu Bakr hoped that it would be Mohammed himself.

When the Quraysh saw that the apostle had a party and companions not of their tribe and outside their territory, and that his companions had migrated to join them, and knew that they had settled in a new home and had gained protectors, they feared that the apostle might join them, since they knew that he had decided to fight them. So they assembled in their council chamber, the house of Qusayy b. Kilab where all their important business was conducted, to take counsel what they should do in regard to the apostle, for they were now in fear of him.

One of our companions whom I have no reason to doubt told me on the authority of Abdullah b. Abu Najih from Mujahid b. Jubayr father of al-Hajjaj; and another person of the same character on the authority of Abdullah b. Abbas told me that when they had fixed a day to come to a decision about the apostle, on the morning of that very day which was called the day of al-Zahma the devil came to them in the form of a handsome old man clad in a mantle and stood at the door of the house. When they saw him standing there they asked him who he was and he told them that he was a shaykh (sheik) from the highlands who had heard of their intention and had come to hear what they had to say and perhaps to give them counsel and advice. He was invited to enter and there he found the leaders of (the) Quraysh. From B. Abdu Shams were Utba and Shayba sons of Rabia; and Abu Sufyan. From B. Naufal b. Abdu Manaf Tuayma b. Adiy; Jubayr b. Mutim; and al-Harith b. Amir b. Naufal. From B. Abdul-Dar al-Nadr b. al-Harith b. Kalada. From B. Asad b. Abdul-Uzza Abul-Bakhtari b. Hisham and Zama b. al-Aswad b. al-Muttalib; and Hakim b. Hizam. From B. Makhzum Abu Jahl b. Hisham. From B. Sahm Nubayh and Munabbih the sons of al-Hajjaj. From B. Jumah Umayya b. Khalaf, and others including some who were not of (the) Quraysh.

The discussion opened with the statement that now that Mohammed had gained adherents outside the tribe they were no longer safe against a sudden attack and the meeting was to determine the best course to pursue. One advised that they should put him in irons behind bars and then wait until the same fate overtook him as befell his like, the poets Zuhayr and Nabigha, and others. The shaykh (sheik) objected to this on the ground that news would leak out that he was imprisoned, and immediately his followers would attack and snatch him away; then their numbers would so grow that they would destroy the authority of (the) Quraysh altogether They must think of another plan. Another man suggested that they should drive him out of the country. They did not care where he went or what happened to him once he was out of sight and they were rid of him. They could then restore their social life to its former state. Again the shaykh (sheik) objected that it was not a good plan. His fine speech and beautiful diction and the compelling force of his message were such that if he settled with some Beduin tribe he would win them over so that they would follow him and come and attack them in their land and rob them of their position and authority and then he could do what he liked with them. They must think of a better plan.

Thereupon Abu Jahl said that he had a plan which had not been suggested hitherto, namely that each clan should provide a young, powerful, well-born, aristocratic warrior; that each of these should be provided with a sharp sword; then that each of them should strike a blow at him and kill him. Thus they would be relieved of him, and responsibility for his blood would lie upon all the clans. The B. Abdu Manaf could not fight them all and would have to accept the blood-money which they would all contribute to. The shaykh exclaimed: 'The man is right. In my opinion it is the only thing to do.' Having come to a decision the people dispersed.

Then Gabriel came to the apostle and said: 'Do not sleep tonight on the bed on which you usually sleep.' Before much of the night had passed they assembled at his door waiting for him to go to sleep so that they might fall upon him. When the apostle saw what they were doing he told 'All to lie on his bed and to wrap himself in his green Hadrami mantle; for no harm would befall him. He himself used to sleep in this mantle.

Yazid b. Ziyad on the authority of Mohammed b. Kab. al-Qurazi toldme that when they were all outside his door Abu Jahl said to them: 'Mohammed alleges that if you follow him you will be kings of the Arabs and the Persians. Then after death you will be raised to gardens like those of the Jordan. But if you do not follow him you will be slaughtered, and when you are raised from the dead you will be burned in the fire of hell.' The apostle came out to them with a handful of dust saying: 'I do say that. You arc one of them.* God took away their sight so that they could not see him ami he began to sprinkle the dust on their heads as he recited these verses: 'Ya Sin, by the wise Koran. Thou art of those that art sent on a straight path, a revelation of the Mighty the Merciful' as far as the words 'And we covered them and they could not see' (Koran 36. 1-8.). When he had finished reciting not one of them but had dust upon his head. Then he went wherever he wanted to go and someone not of their company came up and asked them what they were waiting for there. When they said that they were waiting for Mohammed he said: 'But, good heavens, Mohammed came out to you and put dust on the head of every single man of you and then went off on his own affairs. Can't you see what has happened to you?' They put up their hands and felt the dust on their heads. Then they began to search and saw 'Ali on the bed wrapped in the apostle's mantle and said, 'By God it is Mohammed sleeping in his mantle.' Thus they remained until the morning when 'Ali rose from the bed and then they realised that the man had told them the truth.

Among the verses of the Koran which God sent down about that day and what they had agreed upon arc: 'And when the unbelievers plot to shut thee up or to kill thee or to drive thee out they plot, but God plots also, and God is the best of plotters' (a clear hint for Muslims to use any means to overcome their opponents. Usually, al-taqiyyah [which is to obfuscate Muslim plans by lies and steering away from the topic, and even the real meaning of the Koran] is employed first, then overwhelm the opponent by undermine their social and governmental structures in order to bring Muslims to power and subjugate or kill the target from inside. Koran 8.30.); and 'Or they say he is a poet for whom we may expect the misfortune of fate. Say: Go on expecting for I am with you among the expectant' (Koran 52.30.) (260,).

It was then that God gave permission to his prophet to migrate. Now Abu Bakr was a man of means, and at the time that he asked the apostle's permission to migrate and he replied 'Do not hurry; perhaps God will give you a companion,' hoping that the apostle meant himself he bought two camels and kept them tied up in his house supplying them with fodder in preparation for departure.

A man whom I have no reason to doubt told me as from Urwa b. al-Zubayr that Aisha said: The apostle used to go to Abu Bakr's house every day either in the early morning or at night; but on the day when he was given permission to migrate from Mecca he came to us at noon, an hour at which he was not wont to come. As soon as he saw him Abu Bakr realised that something had happened to bring him at this hour. When he came in Abu Bakr gave up his seat to him. Only my sister Asma and I were there and the apostle asked him to send us away. 'But they are my two daughters and they can do no harm, may my father and my

mother be your ransom,' said Abu Bakr. 'God has given me permission to depart and migrate,' he answered. 'Together?' asked Abu Bakr. 'Together,' he replied. And by God before that day I had never seen anyone weep for joy as Abu Bakr wept then. At last he said, 'O prophet of God, these are the two camels which I have held in readiness for this.' So they hired Abdullah b. Arqat, a man of B. l-Dil b. Bakr whose mother was a woman of B. Sahm b. Amr, and a polytheist to lead them on the way, and they handed over to him their two camels and he kept them and fed them until the appointed day came*.

(* At this point in Suhayli's commentary [ii, p.2], there is a note of considerable importance in the light it throws on the textual tradition of our author. It runs thus: Ibn Ishaq said [in a narration which does not come via Ibn Hisham] in a long, sound, tradition which I have shortened that when Abu Bakr migrated with the apostle he left his daughters behind in Mecca. When they got to Medina the apostle sent Zayd b. Haritha and Abu Rafi his freedman; and Abu Bakr sent Abdullah b. Urayqit together with 500 dirhems with which they bought a mount in Qudayd. Arrived at Mecca they brought away Sauda d. of Zamaa and Fatima and Umm Kulthum. Aisha said: My mother came out with them and Talha b. Ubaydallah travelling together; and when we were in Qudayd the camel on whiCh my mother Umm Ruman and I were riding in a litter, bolted, and my mother began to cry Alas, my daughter, alas my husband! In the tradition of Yunus from Ibn Ishaq there is mention of this hadith. In it Aisha said 'I heard a voice but could see no one . . .', and she goes on to describe how they came to Medina and found the apostle building a mosque and houses for himself. 'I stayed with Abu Bakr's family and Sauda in her own house, and Abu Bakr asked the apostle if he would not build for his family, and when he said that he would if he had the money Abu Bakr gave him 12 okes and 20 dirhems.' This tradition from Aisha comes via Ibn Abul-Zinad from Hisham b. Urwa from his father.)

According to what I have been told none knew when the apostle left except Ali and Abu Bakr and the latter's family. I have heard that the apostle told Ali about his departure and ordered him to stay behind in Mecca in order to return goods which men had deposited with the apostle; for anyone in Mecca who had property which he was anxious about left it with him because of his notorious honesty and trustworthiness.

When the apostle decided to go he came to Abu Bakr and the two of them left by a window in the back of the latter's house and made for a cave on Thaur, a mountain below Mecca. Having entered, Abu Bakr ordered his son Abdullah to listen to what people were saying and to come to them by night with the day's news. He also ordered Amir b. Fuhayra, his freedman, to feed his flock by day and to bring them to them in the evening in the cave. Asma his daughter used to come at night with food to sustain them (270).

The two of them stayed in the cave for three days. When (the) Quraysh missed the apostle they offered a hundred she-camels to anyone who would bring him back. During the day Abdullah was listening to their plans and conversation and would come at night with the news. Amir used to pasture his flock with the shepherds of Mecca and when night fell would bring them to the cave where they milked them and slaughtered some. When Abdullah left them in the morning to go to Mecca, Amir would take the sheep over the same route to cover his tracks. When the three days had passed and men's interest waned, the man they had hired came with their camels and one of his own. Asma came too with a bag of provisions; but she had forgotten to bring a rope, so that when they started she could not tie the bag on the camel. Thereupon she undid her girdle and using it as a rope tied the bag to the saddle. For this reason she got the name 'She of the girdle' (271).

When Abu Bakr brought the two camels to the apostle he offered the better one to him and invited him to ride her. But the apostle refused to ride an animal which was not his own and when Abu Bakr wanted to give him it he demanded to know what he had paid for it and bought it from him. They rode off, and Abu Bakr carried Amir his freedman behind him to act as a servant on the journey.

I was told that Asma said, 'When the apostle and Abu Bakr had gone, a number of (the) Quraysh including Abu Jahl came to us and stood at the door. When I went out to them they asked where my father was and when I said that I did not know Abu Jahl, who was a rough dissolute man, slapped my face so violently that my earring flew off. Then they took themselves off and we remained for three days without news until a man of the Jinn came from the lower part of Mecca singing some verses in the Arab way. And lo people were following him and listening to his voice but they could not see him, until he emerged from the upper part of Mecca saying the while:

God the Lord of men give the best of his rewards
To the two companions who rested in the two tents of Umm Mabad.
They came with good intent and went off at nightfall.
May Mohammed's companion prosperl
May the place of the Banu Kab's woman bring them luck,
For she was a look-out for the believers' (272).

Asma continued: 'When we heard his words we knew that the apostle was making for Medina. There were four of them:

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the apostle, Abu Bakr, Amir, and Abdullah b. Arqat their guide' (273).

Yahya b. Abbad b. Abdullah b. al-Zubayr told me that his father Abbad told him that his grandmother Asma said: 'When the apostle went forth with Abu Bakr the latter carried all his money with him to the amount of five or six thousand dirhams. My grandfather Abu Quhafa who had lost his sight came to call on us saying that he thought that Abu Bakr had put us in a difficulty by taking off all his money. I told him that he had left us plenty of money. And I took some stones and put them in a niche where Abu Bakr kept his money; then I covered them with a cloth and took his hand and said, "Put your hand on this money, father." He did so and said: "There's nothing to worry about; he has done well in leaving you this, and you will have enough." In fact he had left us nothing, but I wanted to set the old man's mind at rest.'

Al-Zuhri told me that Abdul-Rahman b. Malik b. Jushum told him from his father, from his uncle Suraqa b. Malik b. Jushum: 'When the apostle migrated (the) Quraysh offered a reward of a hundred camels to anyone who would bring him back. While I was sitting in my people's assembly one of our men came up and stopped saying, "By God, I have just seen three riders passing. I think they must be Mohammed and his companions." I gave him a wink enjoining silence and said "They are the so-and-so looking for a lost camel." "Perhaps so," he said and remained silent. I remained there for a short while; then I got up and went to my house and ordered my horse to be got ready, for it was tethered for me in the bottom of the valley. Then I asked for my weapons and they were brought from the back of the room. Then I took my divining arrows and went out, having put on my armour. Then I cast the divining arrows and out came the arrow which I did not want: "Do him no harm." (Some mark indicating this would be on the arrow.). I did the same again and got the same result. I was hoping to bring him back to (the) Quraysh so that I might win the hundred camels reward.

'I rode in pursuit of him and when my horse was going at a good pace he stumbled and threw me. I thought this was somewhat unusual so I resorted to the divining arrows again and out came the detestable "Do him no harm." But I refused to be put off and rode on in pursuit. Again my horse stumbled and threw me, and again I tried the arrows with the same result (This story is cast in the familiar form of the story-teller: the same words are repeated again and again until the climax is reached. In the translation given above the sense is given — not the repetitions.). I rode on, and at last as I saw the little band my horse stumbled with me and its forelegs went into the ground and I fell. Then as it got its legs out of the ground smoke arose like a sandstorm. When I saw that I knew that he was protected against me and would have the upper hand. I called to them saying who I was and asking them to wait for me; and that they need have no concern, for no harm would come to them from me. The apostle told Abu Bakr to ask what I wanted and I said, "Write a document for me which will be a sign between you and me" and the apostle instructed Abu Bakr to do so.

'He wrote it on a bone, or a piece of paper, or a potsherd and threw it to me and I put it in my quiver and went back. I kept quiet about the whole affair until when the apostle conquered Mecca and finished with al-Ta'if and Hunayn I went out to give him the document and I met him in al-Jirana (A place near Mecca on the road to al-Taif.).

'I got among a squadron of the Ansar cavalry and they began to beat me with their spears, saying, "Be off with you; what on earth do you want ?" However, I got near to the apostle as he sat on his camel and his shank in his stirrup looked to me like the trunk of a palm-tree. I lifted my hand with the document, saying what it was and what my name was. He said "It is a day of repaying and goodness. Let him come near." So I approached him and accepted Islam. Then I remembered something that I wanted to ask him. All I can remember now is that I said "Stray camels used to come to my cistern which I kept full for my own camels. Shall I get a reward for having let them have water?" "Yes," he said, "for watering every thirsty creature there is a reward." Then I returned to my people and brought my alms to the apostle' (274).

Their guide, Abdullah b. Arqat, took them below Mecca; then along the shore until he crossed the road below Usfan; then below Amaj; then after passing Qudayd by way of al-Kharrar and Thaniyyatul-Marra to Liqf (275). He took them past the waterhole of Liqf, then down to Madlajatu Mahaj (276), then past Marjih Mahaj, then down to Marjih of Dhul-Ghadwayn (277), then the valley of Dhu Kashr; then by al-Jadajid, then al-Ajrad, then Dhu Salam of the valley of Ada, the waterhole of Tahin, then by al-Ababid (278), then by way of al-Fajja (279). Then he took them down to al-Arj; and one of their mounts having dropped behind, a man of Aslam, Aus b. Hujr by name, took the prophet to Medina on his camel which was called Ibn al-Rida. sending with him a servant called Masud b. Hunayda. From Arj the guide took them to Thaniyyatul-Air (Yet a third possibility is al-Ghabir, Tabari 1137. following Urwa b. al-Zubayr. Cf. Yaq. in. 596 and Ibn Hisham's note.) (280) to the right of Rukuha until he brought them down to the valley of Rim; thence to Quba to B. Amr b. Auf on Monday 12th Rabiul-awwal at high noon (This paragraph occurs under the heading 'Ibn Hisham said'. But clearly it belongs to the original narrative, one of Ibn Hisham's characteristic interpolations occurring in the middle of it.).

Mohammed b. Jafar b. al-Zubayr from Urwa b. al-Zubayr from Abdul-Rahman b. Uwaymir b. Saida told me, saying, 'Men of my tribe who were the apostle's companions told me, "When we heard that the apostle had left Mecca and we were eagerly expecting his arrival we used to go out after morning prayers to our lava tract beyond our land to await him. This we did until there was no more shade left and then we went indoors in the hot season. On the day that the apostle arrived we had sat as we always had until there being no more shade we went indoors and then the apostle arrived. The first to see him was a Jew. He had seen what we were in the habit of doing and that we were expecting the arrival of the apostle and he called out at the top of his voice 'O Banu Qayla your luck has come!' So we went out to greet the apostle who was in the shallow of a palm-tree with Abu Bakr who was of like age. Now most of us had never seen the apostle and as the people crowded round him they did not know him from Abu Bakr until the shade left him and Abu Bakr got up with his mantle and shielded him from the sun, and then we knew.'"

The apostle, so they say, stayed with Kulthum b. Hidm brother of the B. Amr b. Auf, one of the B. Ubayd. Others say he stayed with Sad b. Khaythama. Those who assert the former say that it was only because he left Kulthum to go and sit with the men in Sad's house (for he was a bachelor and housed the apostle's companions who were bachelors) that it is said that he stayed with Sad, for his house used to be called the house of the bachelors. But God knows the truth of the matter.

Abu Bakr stayed with Khubayb b. Isaf, one of the B. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj in al-Sunh. Some say it was with Kharija b. Zayd b. Abu Zuhayr, brother of the B. al-Harith.

Ali stayed in Mecca for three days and nights until he had restored the deposits which the apostle held. This done he joined the apostle and lodged with him at Kulthum's house. He stayed in Quba only a night or two. He used to say that in Quba there was an unmarried Muslim woman and he noticed that a man used to come to her in the middle of the night and knock on her door; she would come out and he would give her something. He felt very suspicious of him and asked hei what was the meaning of this nightly performance as she was a Muslim woman without a husband. She told him that the man was Sahl b. Hunayf b. Wahib who knew that she was all alone and he used to break up the idols of his tribe at night and bring her the pieces to use as fuel. Ali used to talk of this incident until Sahl died in Iraq while he was with him. Hind b. Sad b. Sahl b. Hunayf told me this story from what 'Ali said.

The apostle stayed in Quba among B. Amr b. Auf from Monday to Thursday and then he laid the foundation of his mosque. Then God brought him out from them on the Friday. The B. Amr allege that he stayed longer with them, and God knows the truth of the matter. Friday prayer found the apostle among B. Salim b. 'Auf and he prayed it in the mosque which is in the bottom of the Wadi Ranuna'. This was the first Friday prayer that he prayed in Medina.

Itban b. Malik and Abbas b. Ubada b. Nadla with some of B. Salim b. Auf came and asked him to live with them and enjoy their wealth and protection, but he said, 'Let her go her way,' for his camel was under God's orders; so they let her go until she came to the home of B. Bayada, where he was met by Ziyad b. Labid and Farwa b. Amr with some of their clansmen. They gave the same invitation and met with the same reply.

The same thing happened with B. Saida when Sad b. Ubada and al-Mundhir b. Amr invited him to stay; and with B. l-Harith b. al-Khazraj represented by Sad b. al-Rabi and Kharija b. Zayd and Abdullah b. Rawaha; and with B. Adiy b. al-Najjar (who were his nearest maternal relatives the mother of Abdul-Muttalib Salma d. Amr being one of their women), being represented by Salit b. Qays and Abu Salit and Usayra b. Abu Kharija. Finally the camel came to the home of B. Malik b. al-Najjar when it knelt at the door of his mosque, which at that time was used as a drying-place for dates and belonged to two young orphans of B. al-Najjar of B. Malik clan, who were under the protection of Muadh b. Afra, Sahl and Suhayl the sons of Amr. When it knelt the apostle did not alight, and it got up and went a short distance. The apostle left its rein free, not guiding it, and it turned in its tracks and returned to the place where it had knelt at first and knelt there again. It shook itself and lay exhausted with its chest upon the ground. The apostle alighted and Abu Ayyub Khalid b. Zayd took his baggage into the house (Tabari 1259.7.: The Ansar invited him to stay with them, but he said 'A man [stays] with his baggage') and the apostle stayed with him. When he asked to whom the date-store belonged Muadh b. Afra told him that the owners were Sahl and Suhayl the sons of Amr who were orphans in his care and that he could take it for a mosque and he would pay the young men for it.

The apostle ordered that a mosque should be built, and he stayed with Abu Ayyub until the mosque and his houses were completed. The apostle joined in the work to encourage the Muslims to work and the muhajinn and the ansar laboured hard. One of the Muslims rhymed:

If we sat down while the prophet worked
It could be said that we had shirked.

As they built, the Muslims sang a rajaz verse:
There's no life but the life of the next world.
O God, have mercy on the ansar and the muhajira (281).
The apostle used to sing it in the form
There's no life but the life of the next world.
O God, have mercy on the muhajirin and the ansar*.
(* Guillaume: By this alteration the rhyme and rhythm were destroyed.)

Ammar b. Yasir came in when they had overloaded him with bricks, saying, 'They are killing me. They load me with burdens they cannot carry themselves.' Umm Salama the prophet's wife said: I saw the apostle run his hand through his hair —for he was a curly-haired man— and say 'Alas Ibn Sumayya! It is not they who will kill you but a wicked band of men (This prophecy is said to have been fulfilled when 'Ammar was killed at Siffin; Suhayli, ii p. 3).'

Ali composed a rajaz verse on that day:
There's one that labours night and day
To build us mosques of brick and 'clay
And one who turns from dust away! (282.)

And Ammar learned it and began to chant it.

When he persisted in it one of the prophet's companions thought that it was he who was referred to in it according to what Ziyad b. Abdullah al-Bakkai told me from Ibn Ishaq. The latter had actually named the man*.

(* Suhayli says: Ibn Ishaq did name the man, but Ibn Hisham preferred not to do so so as not to mention one of the prophet's companions in discreditable circumstances. [Cf. what Ibn Hisham says in his introduction.] Therefore it can never be right to inquire after his identity. Abu Dharr says: Ibn Ishaq did name the man and said 'This man was Uthman b. Affan. The Cairo editors say that in the Mawahib al-laduniya [al-Qastallani, d. A.D. 1517] the man is said to be Uthman b. Mazun. This late writer may safely be ignored on this point.)

He said: 'I have heard what you have been saying for a long time, O Ibn Sumayya, and by God I think I shall hit you on the nose!' Now he had a stick in his hand and the apostle was angry and said, 'What is wrong between them and Ammar? He invites them to Paradise while they invite him to hell. Ammar is as dear to me as my own face. If a man behaves like this he will not be forgiven, so avoid him.'

Sufyan b. Uyayna mentioned on the authority of Zakariya from al-Shabl that the first man to build a mosque was Ammar b. Yasir.

The apostle lived in Abu Ayyub's house until his mosque and dwellinghouses were built; then he removed to his own quarters.

Yazid b. Abu Habib from Marthad b. Abdullah al-Yazani from Abu Ruhm al-Samai told me that Abu Ayyub told him: 'When the apostle came to lodge with me in my house he occupied the ground floor, while I and Umm Ayyub were above. I said to him, "O prophet of God, you are dear to me as my parents, and I am distressed that I should be above and you below me. So leave your present quarters and exchange places with us." He replied: "O Abu Ayyub, it is more convenient for me and my guests that we should be on the ground floor of the house." So we remained as we were. Once we broke a jar of water and Umm Ayyub and I took one of our garments to mop up the water in fear that it would drop on the apostle and cause him annoyance. We had no cloth which we could use.

'We used to prepare his evening meal and send it to him. When he returned what was left, Umm Ayyub and I used to touch the spot where his hand had rested and eat from that in the hope of gaining a blessing. One night we prepared for him onions or garlic and the apostle returned it and I saw no mark of his hand in it. I went to him in some anxiety to tell him of our practice and that this time there was no mark of his hand, and he replied that he had perceived the smell of the vegetables and he was a man who had to speak confidentially to people but that we should eat them. So we ate the dish and never sent him onions again.'

The emigrants followed one another to join the apostle, and none was left in Mecca but those who had apostatised or been detained. Whole families with their property did not come together except the B. Mazun from B. Jumah; the B. Jahsh b. Riab, allies of B. Umayya; and the B. Bukayr from B. Sad b. Layth, allies of B. Adiy b. Kab. Their houses in Mecca were locked up when they migrated, leaving no inhabitant.

When the B. Jahsh gave up their house Abu Sufyan went and sold it to Amr b. Alqama brother of B. Amir b. Luayy. When the owners heard of this Abdullah b. Jahsh told the apostle of it, and he replied: 'Are you not pleased that God will give you a better house in Paradise?' And when he answered Yes, he said, 'Then you have it.' When the apostle got possession of Mecca Abu Ahmad spoke to him about their

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house; and the apostle delayed his reply. People said to hirn, 'The apostle dislikes your reopening the question of your property which you lost in God's service, so don't speak to him about it again.' Abu Ahmad said in reference to Abu Sufyan:

Tell Abu Sufyan of a matter he will live to regret.
You sold your cousin's house to pay a debt you owed.
Your ally by God the Lord of men swears an oath:
Take it, Take it, may [your treachery] cling to you like the ring of the
dove.

The apostle stayed in Medina from the month of Rabiul-awwal to Safar of the following year until his mosque and his quarters were built. This tribe of the Ansar all accepted Islam and every house of the Ansar accepted Islam except Khatma, Waqif, Wail, and Umayya who were the Aus Allah, a clan of Aus who clung to their heathenism.

The first address which the apostle gave according to what I heard on the authority of Abu Salama b. Abdul-Rahman — God save me from attributing to the apostle words which he did not say— was as follows: he praised and glorified God as was His due and then said: O men, send forward- (good works) for yourselves. You know, by God, that one of you may be smitten and will leave his flock without a shepherd. Then his Lord will say to him —there will be no interpreter or chamberlain to veil him from Him— Did not My apostle come to you with a message, and did not I give you wealth and show you favour? What have you sent forward for yourself? Then will he look to right and left and see nothing; he will look in front of him and see nothing but hell. He who can shield his face from the fire even with a little piece of date let him do so ; and he who cannot find that then with a good word; for the good deed will be rewarded tenfold yea to twice seven hundred fold (Or, perhaps simply 'seven hundredfold'. Here, as in the rest of the sermon, there is an allusion to the Koran. Cf. 34-36 where commentators differ as to the exact meaning of 'dif'.). Peace be upon you and God's mercy and blessing.

Then the apostle preached on another occasion as follows: Praise belongs to God whom I praise and whose aid I implore. "We take refuge in God from our own sins and from the evil of our acts. He whom God guides none can lead astray; and whom He leads astray none can guide. I testify that there is no God but He alone, He is without companion. The finest speech is the Book of God. He to whom God has made it seem glorious and made him enter Islam after unbelief, who has chosen it above all other speech of men, doth prosper. It is the finest speech and the most penetrating. Love what God loves. Love God with all your hearts, and weary not of the word of God and its mention. Harden not your hearts from it. Out of everything that God creates He chooses and selects; the actions He chooses He calls khira ; the people He chooses He calls mustafd; and the speech He chooses He calls salih. From everything that is brought to man there, is the lawful and the unlawful. Worship God and associate naught with Him ; fear Him as He ought to be feared ; Carry out loyally towards God what you say with your mouths. Love one another in the spirit of God. Verily God is angry when His covenant is broken. Peace be upon you.

THE COVENANT BETWEEN THE MUSLIMS AND THE MEDINANS AND WITH THE JEWS

(MOHAMMED APPEARS AS LAW-GIVER FOR THE FIRST TIME)

The apostle wrote* a document concerning the emigrants and the helpers in which he made a friendly agreement with the Jews and established them in their religion and their property, and stated the reciprocal obligations, as follows: In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful. (* That Mohammed neither could read nor write is a false claim by those who wish to obfuscate Mohammed's skills. This would make his 'revelations' more believable, they thought. As a skilled merchant, he must have been able to read and write treaties. He probably could read and speak Aramaic as well and was quite able to read the Bible or other religious texts, such as copies similar to those we call the Qumran Scrolls. That would explain, for the greatest part, the uncompromising attitude of Islam which is very similar to the attitude of the Jews of the ancient Jewish Messianic Movement.) This is a (document from Mohammed the prophet [governing the relations] between the believers and Muslims of (the) Quraysh and Yathrib, and those who followed them and joined them and laboured with them. They arc one community (umma) to the exclusion of all men. The Quraysh emigrants according to their present custom shall pay the bloodwit within their number and shall redeem their prisoners with the kindness and justice common among believers.

The B. Auf, according to their present custom, shall pay the bloodwit they paid in heathenism; every section shall redeem its prisoners with the kindness and justice common among believers. The B. Saida, the B. l-Hirith, and the B. Jusham, and the B. al-Najjar likewise (These all belong to al-Aus.).

The B. Amr b. Auf, the B. al-Nabit and the B. al-Aus likewise (These ill belong to al-Khazraj.).

Believers shall not leave anyone destitute among them by not paying his redemption money or bloodwit in kindness (283).

A believer shall not take as an ally the freedman of another Muslim against him. The God-fearing believers shall be against the rebellious or him who seeks to spread injustice, or sin or enmity, or corruption between believers; the hand of every man shall be against him even if he be a son of one of them. A believer shall not slay a believer for the sake of an unbeliever, nor shall he aid an unbeliever against a believer. God's protection is one, the least of them may give protection to a stranger on their behalf. Believers are friends one to the other to the exclusion of outsiders.

To the Jew who follows us belong help and equality. He shall not be wronged nor shall his enemies be aided. The peace of the believers is indivisible. No separate peace shall be made when believers are fighting in the way of God. (This passage was created by Mohammed when he still had the conviction that the Arabic Jews and their Messianic Movement were in accord with Islam. These were not the Jews of the Roman empire who became the peaceful modern Jews. These were in fact the decendants of those fierce fighters that fought at least a dozen wars against the Roman Empire since the times of Emperor Flavius Vespasianus who fought the 1st Roman-Jewish War from 66-73 AD. The Jewish survivors are the ancestors of those militant Jews Mohammed was talking about and from whom he also most likely descended.

Mohammed's so-called migration coincides with The Tenth Jewish–Roman War (602–630 AD.) that was part of the Roman-Persian War (602–628 AD.) because the Messianic Jews were first fighting on side of the Persians. Due to pressure from Persian Christians [Mandaeans and probably also Manichaeans], the Persians abandoned the Jews after a few years and so they found themselves fighting a futile war against Romans, Persians and then against Mohammed's troops as well.) Conditions must be fair and equitable to all. In every foray a rider must take another behind him. The believers must avenge the blood of one another shed in the way of God. The God-fearing believers enjoy the best and most upright guidance. No polytheist (Presumably the heathen Arabs of Medina are referred to.) shall take the property or person of (the) Quraysh under his protection nor shall he intervene against a believer. Whosoever is convicted of killing a believer without good reason shall be subject to retaliation unless the next of kin is satisfied (with blood-money), and the believers shall be against him as one man, and they are bound to take action against him.

It shall not be lawful to a believer who holds by what is in this document and believes in God and the last day to help an evil-doer* (* 'Muhdith'. Commentators do not explain the word 'evil-doer' and it is somewhat obscure. Possibly it means 'adulterer here, though a wider meaning, such as 'Kafir' or 'vile disbeliever' suits the context better. Cf. Wellhausen 690.) or to shelter him. The curse of God and His anger on the day of resurrection will be upon him if he does, and neither repentance nor ransom** will be received from him. Whenever you differ about a matter it must be referred to God and to Mohammed. (** See: Lane, 1682a. Originally the phrase referred to the bloodwit. 'Sarf' meant compensation and 'adl' the slaying of a man in revenge. Finally it came to mean anything excessive, so that here it would be sufficient to say 'no excuse would be received from him'.)

The Jews shall contribute to the cost of war so long as they are fighting alongside the believers. The Jews of the B. Auf are one community with the believers (the Jews have their religion and the Muslims have theirs), their freedmen and their persons except those who behave unjustly and sinfully, for they hurt but themselves and their families. The same applies to the Jews of the B. al-Najjir, B. al-Harith, B. Saida, B. Jusham, B. al-Aus, B. Thalaba, and the Jafna, a clan of the Thalaba and the B. al-Shutayba. Loyalty is a protection against treachery (Wellhausen, Skizzen und Vorarbeiten, v, Berlin, 1889, p. 70. renders 'Lauterkeit steht vor Trug' and accuses Sprenger and Krehl of inexactness. S. has 'sie mussen loyal und nicht schlecht handeln' where a general truth is in question. Suhayli says the., meaning is 'Piety and loyalty stand in the way of treachery' [ii. 17].). The freedmen of Thalaba are as themselves. The close friends of the Jews are as themselves. None of them shall go out to war save with the permission of Mohammed, but he shall not be prevented from taking revenge for a wound. He who slays a man without warning slays himself and his household, unless it be one who has wronged him, for God will accept that. The Jews must bear their expenses and the Muslims their expenses. Each must help the other against anyone who attacks the people of this document. They must seek mutual advice and consultation, and loyalty is a protection against treachery. A man is not liable for his ally's misdeeds. The wronged must be helped. The Jews must pay with the believers so long as war lasts. Yathrib shall be a sanctuary for the people of this document. A stranger under protection shall be as his host doing no harm and committing no crime. A woman shall only be given protection with the consent of her family. If any dispute or controversy likely to cause trouble should arise it must be referred to God and to Mohammed the apostle of God. God accepts what is nearest to piety and goodness in this document. (The) Quraysh and their helpers shall not be given protection. The contracting parties are bound to help one another against any attack on Yathrib. If they are called to make peace and maintain it they must do so; and if they make a similar demand on the Muslims it must be carried out except in the case of a holy war. Every one shall have his portion from the side to which he belongs; the Jews of al-Aus, their freedmen and themselves have the tame standing with the people of this document in pure loyalty from the people of this document (284).

Loyalty is a protection against treachery: He who acquires aught acquires it for himself. God approves of this document. This deed will not protect4 the unjust and the sinner. The man who goes forth to fight and the man who stays at home in the city (Or 'in Medina'. Whether Medina is meant or not, the passage stands self-condemned as a later interpolation because the town is consistently called Yathrib. There is a similar problem with 'Mecca' which is mentionioned in the Koran only one time, and this well might be an interpolation too in order to present a conclusive story.) is safe unless he has been unjust and sinned. God is the protector of the good and God-fearing man and Mohammed is the apostle of God.

BROTHERHOOD BETWEEN EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS

The apostle instituted brotherhood between his fellow emigrants and the helpers, and he said according to what I have heard—and I appeal to God lest I should attribute to him words that he did not say—'Let each of you take a brother in God.' He himself fook 'Ali by the hand and said, 'This is my brother.' So God's apostle, the lord of the sent ones and leader of the God-fearing, apostle of the Lord of the worlds, the peerless and unequalled, and Ali b. Abu Talib became brothers. Hamza, the lion of God and the lion of his apostle and his uncle, became the brother of Zayd b. Haritha the apostle's freedman. To him Hamza gave his last testament on the day of Uhud when battle was imminent in case he should meet his death. Jafar b. Abu Talib —the 'one of the wings' who was to fly in Paradise—and Muadh b. Jabal brother of B. Salama became brothers (285).

The pairs were arranged thus:

Abu Bakr and Kharija b. Zuhayr brother of B. l-Harith b. al-Khazraj.

Umar and Ttban b. Malik brother of B. Salim . . . b. al-Khazraj.

Abu 'Ubayda, Amir b. Abdullah and Sad b. Muadh b. al-Numan.

Abdul-Rahman b. Auf and Sad b. al-Rabi brother of B. al-Harith.

Al-Zubayr b. al-Awwam and Salama b. Salama b. Waqsh brother of B. Abdul-Ashhal though others say that he linked up with Abdullah b. Mas'ud the ally of the B. Zuhra.

Uthman b. Affan and Aus b. Thabit b. al-Mundhir brother of B. al-Najjar. Talha b. Ubaydullah and Kab b. Malik brother of the B. Salama.

Sad b. Zayd b. Amr b. Nufayl and Ubayy b. Kab brother of the B. al-Najjar.

Musab b. Umayr and Abu Ayyub Khalid b. Zayd brother of the B. al-Najjar Abu Hudhayfa b. Utba and Abbad b. Bishr b. Waqsh, brother of the B. Abdul-Ashhal.

Ammar b. Yasir ally of the B. Makhzum and Hudhayfa b. al-Yaman brother of B. Abdu Abs ally of the B. Abdul-Ashhal. (Others say that Thabit b. Qays b. al-Shammas brother of the B. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj the prophet's orator and Ammar b. Yasir.)

Abu Dharr, Burayr b. Junada al-Ghifari and al-Mundhir b. Amr, 'he who hastened to his death', brother of B. Saida of al-Khazraj (286).

Hatib b. Abu Baltaa, ally of B. Asad b. Abdul-Uzza and Uwaym b. Saida brother of B. Amr b. Auf.

Salman the Persian and Abul-Darda Uwaymir b. Thalaba brother of B. al-Harith (287). Some say Uwaymir was the son of Amir or of Zayd.

Bilal freedman of Abu Bakr and the apostle's muezzin and Abu Ruwayha* Abdullah b. Abdul-Rahman al-Khathami, more precisely one of the Faza'. (* A kunya characteristic of negro, 'the father of the faint smell'. Cf. H. Lammens, L'Arabie occidental avant l'Hegire, p. 246.) These are the men who were named to us as those to whom the apostle made his companions brothers.

When Umar compiled the registers in Syria, Bilal had gone there and remained as a combatant. He asked him with whom he wished to be grouped and he said with Abu Ruwayha. 'I will never leave him, for the apostle established brotherhood between us.' So he was linked with him and the register of the Abyssinians was linked with Khatham because of Bilal's position with them, and this arrangement continues to this day in Syria.

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ABU UMAMA

During the months in which the mosque was being built Abu Umama Asad b. Zurara died; he was seized by diphtheria and a rattling in the throat. Abdullah b. Abu Bakr b. Mohammed b. Amr b. Hazm told me on the authority of Yahya b. Abdullah b. Abdul-Rahman b. Asad b. Zurara that the apostle said: 'How unfortunate is the death of Abu Umama! The Jews and the Arab hypocrites are sure to say "If he were a prophet his companion would not die" and (truly) I have no power from God for myself or for my companion (to avert death).' Asim b. Umar b. Qatada al-Ansari told me that when Abu Umama died the B. al-Najjar came to the apostle, for Abu Umama was their leader, saying that he held the high rank the apostle knew of and would he appoint someone from among them to act in his place; to which the apostle replied, 'You are my maternal uncles, and we belong together so I will be your leader.' The apostle did not want to prefer any one of them to the others. Henceforth the B. al-Najjar regarded themselves as highly honoured in having the apostle as their leader.

THE CALL TO PRAYER

When the apostle was firmly settled in Medina and his brethren the emigrants were gathered to him and the affairs of the helpers were arranged Isiam became firmly established. Prayer was instituted, the alms tax and fasting were prescribed, legal punishments fixed, the forbidden and the permitted prescribed, and Islam took up its abode with them. It was this clan of the helpers who ' have taken up their abode (in the city of the prophet) and in the faith' (Koran 59.9.). When the apostle first came, the people gathered to him for prayer at the appointed times without being summoned. At first the apostle thought of using a trumpet like that of the Jews who used it to summon to prayer. Afterwards he disliked the idea and ordered a clapper to be made, so it was duly fashioned to be beaten when the Muslims should Pray.

Meanwhile Abdullah b. Zayd b. Thalaba b. Abdu Rabbihi brother of B. al-Harith heard a voice in a dream, and came to the apostle saying: 'A phantom visited me in the night. There passed by me a man wearing two green garments carrying a clapper in his hand, and I asked him to sell it to me. When he asked me what I wanted it for I told him that it was to summon people to prayer, whereupon he offered to show me a better way: it was to say thrice "Allah Akbar. I bear witness that there is no God but Allah I bear witness that Mohammed is the apostle of God. Come to prayer. Come to prayer. Come to divine service*. Come to divine service. Allah Akbar. Allah Akbar. There is no God but Allah".'

(* Falah. This word is generally rendered 'salvation* or 'prosperity'; cf. Lane, 2430a. But it has always seemed to me that it must be an arabised form of the Aramaic 'pulhana', divine worship. Its original meaning is clearly cutting, especially ploughing. Among Aramaic-speaking Jews and Christians it was connected with the service of God. Between the words 'Come to the falah and Allah Akbar' the Shia cry 'Come to the best work (amal)' which must surely be a memory of the original meaning of falah. Ibn Sayyidil-Nas Uyunul-Athar, Cairo, 1356, i. 204, quotes this story in what appears to be a more primitive form.)

When the apostle was told of this he said that it was a true vision if God so willed it, and that he should go with Bilal and communicate it to him so that he might call to prayer thus, for he had a more penetrating voice. When Bilal acted as muezzin Umar heard him in his house and came to the apostle dragging his cloak on the ground and saying that he had seen precisely the same vision. The apostle said, 'God be praised for that!'

I was told of this tradition by Mohammed b. Ibrahim b. al-Harith on the authority of Mohammed b. Abdullah b. Zayd b. Thalaba himself (288).

Mohammed b. Jafar b. al-Zubayr told me on the authority of Urwa b. al-Zubayr from a woman of B. al-Najjar who said: My house was the highest of those round the mosque and Bilal used to give the call from the top of it at dawn every day. He used to come before daybreak and would sit on the housetop waiting for the dawn. When he saw it he would stretch his arms and say, 'O God, I praise thee and ask thy help for (the) Quraysh that they may accept thy religion.' I never knew him to omit these words for a single night.

ABU QAYS B. ABO ANAS

When the apostle was established in his house and God had manifested his religion therein and made him glad with the company of the emigrants and helpers Abu Qays spoke the following verses (289).

He was a man who had lived as a monk in heathen days and worn a black mantle of camel-hair, given up idols, washed himself after impurity, kept himself clean from women in their courses. He had thought of adopting Christianity but gave it up and went into a house of his and made a mosque of it, allowing no unclean person to enter. Tie said that he worshipped the Lord of Abraham when he abandoned idols and loathed them. When the apostle came to Medina he became a good Muslim. He was an old man, who always spoke the truth and glorified God in paganism. He composed some excellent poetry and it was he who said:

Said Abu Qays when near to depart
Perform all you can of my behest.
I enjoin piety, the fear of God, and
The preservation of your honour, but piety comes first.
If your people hold authority envy them not.
If you yourselves rule, be just.
If a calamity befalls your people,
Put yourselves in the front of your tribe.
If a heavy duty falls on them help them
And bear the burdens they put upon you.
If you are poor, practise austerity.
If you have money be generous with it (290).

He also said:
Praise God at every dawn
When His sun rises and at the new moon.
He knows what is clear and not clear to us.
What our Lord says is without error.
His are the birds which fly to and fro and shelter
In nests in their mountain retreats.
His are the wild creatures of the desert
Which you see on the dunes and in the shade of sandhills.
Him the Jews worship and follow
Every dreary custom you can think of*.
(* A. Dh. explains that 'udal', a wearisome incurable disease, is a metaphor.).
Him the Christians worship and keep
Every feast and festival to their Lord.
His is the self-denying monk you see,
A prisoner of misery though once right happy.
My sons, sever not the bonds of kinship.
Be generous though they are mean **.
(** Commentators differ on the meaning of this phrase. Another possibility is: 'Though their pedigree is short their hearts are generous'. All through these verses one feels that the wretched rhymester is imprisoned within his rhymes.).
Fear God in dealing with defenceless orphans
Often the forbidden is regarded as lawful.
Know that the orphan has an All-knowing protector
Who guides aright without being asked.
Devour not the wealth of orphans,
A mighty protector watches over the same.
My sons, transgress not the proper limits
Transgressing the bounds brings one to a halt.
O my sons, trust not the days.
Beware their treachery and the passage of time.
Know that it consumes all creation,
Both the new and the old.
Live your lives in piety and godliness.
Abandon obscenity and hold fast to what is right (The influence of Aramaic Syriac as in the words shammasa and tukhum is clear, and some of the verses are reminiscent of the Psalms.).

In the following poem he mentioned how God had honoured them with
Islam and His special favour in sending His apostle to them:
He abode among (the) Quraysh some ten years
Hoping for a friend to help him.
He displayed himself to those who came to the fairs
But found none to offer him hospitality.
But when he came to us God displayed his religion
And he became happy and contented in Medina (Tiba, 'the Fragrant', is the ancient honorific of Medina. Cf. Hassan's opening line on p. 1022, 'In Tiba are the monuments of his luminous sojourn'.).
He found friends and ceased to long for home
And was plainly helped by God.
He told us what Noah said to his people
And what Moses answered when he was called.
None near at hand need he fear
And those afar he recked not of.
We spent on him the best of our possessions,
Sparing not our lives in war at his side.
We know that there is nought beside God
And we know that God is the best guide.
We shall fight any man that fights Him,
Be he our dearest friend.
In every mosque when I pray to Thee
I say Blessed art Thou (Oft have I mentioned Thy name).
I say when I traverse a land I fear
'Mercy! Let not my enemies triumph over me.'
Go where you will death comes in many guises
And you cannot live for ever.
A man does not know how to protect himself
Unless he makes God his protector.
The palm that needs water cares naught for its owner
If it has moisture, though he be dead (291).

(Tabari 1253:) 'All b. Mujahid said on the authority of Mohammed b. Ishaq from al-Zuhri and from Mohammed b. Salih from al-Shabi that they both said: The B. Ismail dated from the fire of Abraham to the building of the temple when Abraham and Ismail built it; then they dated from the building of the temple until they dispersed, and it happened that whenever people left Tihama they dated from their leaving it, and those who remained in Tihama of B. Ismail used to date from the going out of Sa'd and Nahd and Juhayna of B. Zayd from Tihama until Kab b. Luayy died. Then they dated from the death of Ka'b to the elephant. The dating from the time of the elephant continued until Umar b. al-Khattab dated from the Hijra which was the year 17 or 18. (This paragraph is part of a long chapter which Tabari devotes to the question of chronology in reference to the principal events in the prophet's life. It is put here because the last passage he quotes from Ibn Ishaq is the poem of Abu Qays mentioning the length of the prophet's sojourn in Mecca after the beginning of his mission; the connexion with chronology is obvious.)

THE NAMES OF THE JEWISH ADVERSARIES

About this time the Jewish rabbis showed hostility to the apostle in envy, hatred, and malice, because God had chosen His apostle from the Arabs. They were joined by men from al-Aus and al-Khazraj who had obstinately clung to their heathen religion. They were hypocrites, clinging to the polytheism of their fathers denying the resurrection; yet when Islam appeared and their people flocked to it they were compelled to pretend to accept it to save their lives. But in secret they were hypocrites whose inclination was towards the Jews because they considered the apostle a liar and strove against Islam.

It was the Jewish rabbis who used to annoy the apostle with questions and introduce confusion, so as to confound the truth with falsity. The Koran used to come down in reference to these questions of theirs, though some of the questions about what was allowed and forbidden came from the Muslims themselves. These are the names of those Jews:

From B. al-Nadir: Huyayy b. Akhjab and his brothers Abu Yasir and Judayy; Sallam b. Mishkam; Kinana b. al-Rabi b. Abul-Huqayq; Sallam b. Abul-Huqayq Abu Raft al-Awar whom the apostle's companions killed in Khaybar; al-Rabi b. al-Rabi b. Abul-Huqayq; Amr b. Jahhash; Kab b. al-Ashraf who belonged to Tay, of the clan of B. Nabhan, his mother being from B. al-Nadir; al-Hajjaj b. Amr, an ally of Kab; and Kardam b. Qays, an ally of Kab.

From B. Thalaba b. al-Fityaun: Abdullah b. Suriya the one-eyed who was the most learned man of his time in the Hijaz in Torah studies; Ibn Saluba; and Mukhayriq their rabbi who became a Muslim.

From B. Qaynuqa: Zayd b. al-Lasit (291); Sad b. Hunayf; Mahmud b. Sayhan; Uzayr b. Abu Uzayr; and Abdullah b. Sayf (292). Suwayd b. al-Harith; Rifaa b. Qays; Finhas; Ashya; Numan b. Ada; Bahriy b. Amr; Shas b. Adiy; Shas h. Qays; Zayd b. al-Harith; Numan b. Amr; Sukayn b. Abu Sukayn; Adiy b. Zayd; Numan b. Abu Aufa; Abu Anas; Mahmud b. Dahya; Malik b. Sayf (293). Kab b. Rashid; Azar; Rafi b. Abu Rafi; Khalid; Azar b. Abu Azar (294); Rafi b. Haritha; Rafi b. Huraymila; Rafi b. Kharija; Malik b. Auf; Rifaa b. Zayd b. al-Tabut Abdullah b. Salam b. al-Harith; who was their rabbi and most learned man. His name was al-Husayn. The apostle named him Abdullah when he accepted Islam.

From B. Qurayza: al-Zubayr b. Bata b. Wahb; Azzal b. Shamwil; Kab b. Asad responsible on behalf of his tribe for the agreement which was broken in the year of the Parties; Shamwil b. Zayd; Jabal b. Amr b. Sukayna; al-Nahham b. Zayd; Qardam b. Kab; Wahb b. Zayd; Nafi b. Abu Nafi; Abu Nafi; Adiy b. Zayd; al-Harith b. Auf; Kardam b. Zayd; Usama b. Habib; Rafi b. Rumayla; Jabal b. Abu Qushayr; Wahb b. Yahudha.

From B. Zurayq: Labid b. Asam who bewitched the apostle of God so that he could not come at his wives*. (* meaning that he could not uncover, encounter or approach his wives sexually. In commenting on this Suhayli asserts that the tradition is sound and is accepted by the traditionists. He found in the Jami of Muammar b. Rashid the statement that the spell lasted for a year. The prophets were not preserved from physical and psychological afflictions.)

From B. Haritha: Kinana b. Suriya.

B. Amr b. Auf: Qardam b. Amr.

From B. al-Najjar: Silsila b. Barham.

These were the Jewish rabbis, the rancorous opponents of the apostle and his companions, the men who asked questions, and stirred up trouble against Islam to try to extinguish it, except for Abdullah b. Salam and Mukhayriq (It is noteworthy how few Hebrew names are to be found among the Jews of Medina. Their ancestors obviously have converted to Judaism.).

ABDULLAH B. SALAM ACCEPTS ISLAM

I was told the story of Abdullah b. Salam, a learned rabbi, by one of his family. He said: 'When I heard about the apostle I knew by his description, name, and the time at which he appeared that he was the one we were waiting for, and I rejoiced greatly thereat, though I kept silent about it until the apostle came to Medina. When he stayed in Quba among the B.

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Amr b. Auf a man came with the news while I was working at the top of a palm-tree and my aunt Khalida d. al-Harith was sitting below. When I heard the news I cried Allah Akbar and my aunt said, "Good gracious, if you had heard that Moses b. Imran had come you could not have made more fuss!" "Indeed, aunt," I said, "he is the brother of Moses and follows his religion, being sent with the same mission." She asked, "Is he really the prophet who we have been told will be sent at this very time?" and she accepted my assurance that he was. Straightway I went to the apostle and became a Muslim, and when I returned to my house I ordered my family to do the same.

'I concealed the matter from the Jews, and then went to the apostle and said, "The Jews are a nation of liars and I wish you would take me into one of your houses and hide me from them. Then ask them about me so that they may tell you the position I hold among them before they know that I have become a Muslim. For if they know it beforehand they will utter slanderous lies against me." The prophet housed me; the Jews came; and the apostle asked them about my standing among them. They said: "He is our chief, and the son of our chief ; our rabbi, and our learned man." When they said this I emerged and said: "O Jews, fear God and accept what He has sent you. For by God you know that he is the apostle of God. You will find him described in your Torah and even named. I testify that he is the apostle of God, I believe in him, I hold him to be true, and I acknowledge him." They accused me of lying and reviled me. Then I reminded the apostle that I had said that they would do this, for they were a treacherous, lying, and evil people. I publicly proclaimed my conversion and my household and my aunt Khalida followed suit.'

THE STORY OF MUKHAYRIQ

He was a learned rabbi owning much property in date palms. He recognised the apostle by his description and his own learning, and he felt a predilection for his religion (Presumably 'Mohammed's religion'; the pronoun is ambiguous.) until on the day of Uhud, which fell on the sabbath, he reminded the Jews that they were bound to help Mohammed. They objected that it was the sabbath. 'May you have no sabbath (Or, perhaps, 'You have no sabbath'.),' he answered, and took his weapons and joined the apostle in Uhud. His parting testimony to his people was: 'If I am killed today my property is to go to Mohammed to use as God shows him.' He was killed in the battle that followed. I am told that the apostle used to say 'Mukhayriq is the best of the Jews.' The apostle took over his property and all the alms he distributed in Medina came from it.

THE TESTIMONY OF SAFIYA

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr b. Mohammed b. Amr b. Hazm told me that he was told that Safiya d. Huyayy b. Akhtab said 'I was the favourite child of my father and my uncle Abu Yasir. When I was present they took no notice of their other children. When the apostle was staying in Quba with the B. Amr b. Auf, the two went to see him before daybreak and did not return until after nightfall, weary, worn out, drooping and feeble. I went up to them in childish pleasure as I always did, and they were so sunk in gloom that they took no notice of me. I heard my uncle say to my father, "Is he he? Do you recognise him, and can you be sure?" "Yes!" "And what do you feel about him?" "By God, I shall be his enemy as long as I live!"'

THE JEWS ARE JOINED BY AKSARI HYPOCRITES

The following hypocrites* from al-Aus and al-Khazraj joined the Jews according to information given me. God knows best about the truth. (* What Arabic writers mean by 'hypocrites' has been made clear in the section on the Jewish adversaries. It is not a really good rendering of munafiq, but no one word suggests itself as better. Muslims look with a tolerant eye on a man who conceals [See: al-taqiyyah!] his belief to prevent a personal catastrophe or religion he is suppose to support, but to pretend to be a Muslim is a crime [of course! Here already Islam reveals itself as being not interested in equality, equal rights, etc. but in being supreme over anyone else!]. It is the very same arrogant and uncompromising attitude that was already prevalent in the Jewish ancient Messianic Movement and led to its downfall.) From Aus of the section of B. Amr b. Auf b. Malik of the subdivision Laudhan b. Amr b. Auf: Zuwayy b. al-Harith. From B. Hubayb b. Amr b. Auf: Julas b. Suwayd b. al-Samit and his brother al-Harith. Julas was one of those who withdrew from the apostle in the raid on Tabuk. He said, 'If this man is right we are worse than donkeys.' Umayr b. Sad, one of them, who was closely related to Julas, he having married his mother after his father's death, reported what he had said to the apostle. But first he said to Julas: 'You are dearer to me than any man, the most generous to me, and it is most painful to me that anything should happen to upset you; but you have said words which if I repeat them I shall bring shame upon you, and if I keep silence I shall bring my religion into peril. One is preferable to the other.' Then he went to the apostle and told him what Julas had said. Julas swore by God that he had not said the words attributed to him by Umayr. And God sent down concerning him: 'They swear by God that they did not say, when they did actually say, words of unbelief and did disbelieve after they had surrendered themselves. They planned what they could not carry out and they had nothing to avenge but that God and His apostle had enriched them by His bounty. If they repent it will be better for them; and if they turn back God will afflict them with a painful punishment in this world and the next. In this world they have no friend or helper' (Koran 9.75) (295).

It is alleged that he repented and was known to be a good Muslim. His brother al-Harith who killed al-Mujadhdhar b. Dhiyad al-Balawi and Qays b. Zayd one of B. Pubaya at Uhud, went out with the Muslims. He was a hypocrite, and when battle was joined he fell upon these two men, killed them, and attached himself to (the) Quraysh (296).

Muadh b. Afra killed Suwayd treacherously when there was no war. He shot him with an arrow before the battle of Buath.

The apostle—so they say—had ordered Umar to kill him if he could get hold of him, but he escaped and got to Mecca. Then he sent to his brother Julas asking for forgiveness so that he might return to his people. God sent down concerning him according to what I have heard on the authority of Ibn Abbas: 'How can God guide a people who have disbelieved after having believed and witnessed that the apostle is true and sure proofs have come to them from God. God does not guide a sinful people (Koran 3.80.).'

From B. Pubay'a b. Zayd b. Malik b. Auf b. Amr b. Auf: Bijad b. Uthman b. Amir. From B. Laudhan b. Amr b. Auf: Nabtal b. al-Harith. I have heard that it was of him that the apostle said, 'Whoever wants to see Satan let him take a look at Nabtal b. al-Harith!' He was a sturdy black man with long flowing hair, inflamed eyes, and dark ruddy cheeks. He used to come and talk to the apostle and listen to him and then carry what he had said to the hypocrites. It was he who said: 'Mohammed ie all ears: if anyone tells him anything he believes it.' God sent down concerning him: 'And of them are those who annoy the prophet and say he is all ears. Say: Good ears for you. He believes in God and trusts the believers and is a mercy for those of you who believe; and those who annoy the apostle of God for them there is a painful punishment (Koran 9.61.).'

A man of B. al-Ajlan told me that he was told that Gabriel came to the apostle and said, 'There comes to sit with you a black man with long flowing hair, ruddy checks, and inflamed eyes like two copper pots. His heart (Lit. 'liver') is more gross than a donkey's; he carries your words to the hypocrites, so beware of him.' This, so they say, was the description of Nabtal.

Also from B. Dubaya was Abu Habiba b. al-Azar, one of those who had built the mosque of al-Dirar; Thalaba b. Hatib; and Muattib b. Qushayr. It was those two who made a covenant with God saying, 'If he gives us of his bounty we will give alms and be of the righteous (Koran 9.76)' to the end of the story. And it was Muattib who said at Uhud: 'If we had any part in the ordering of things we should not be killed here.' So God sent down concerning what he said: 'A party who were anxious about their hves thought wrongly about God as the pagans thought. They said: "If we had any part in the ordering of things we should not be killed here (Koran 3.148)" to the end of the context. It was he who said on the day of the Parties, "Mohammed promises us that we shall enjoy the treasures of Chosroes and Caesar whereas it is not safe for one of us to go to the privy!" So God revealed concerning him: 'And when the hypocrites and those in whose hearts is a desease say God and his apostle have promised us nothing but a delusion (Koran 33.12).'

Also al-Harith b. Hatib (297).

Also Abbad b. Hunayf brother of Sahl, and Bahzaj who were among the builders of the mosque of al-Dirar. And Amr b. Khidham and Abdullah b. Nabtal.

Of the B. Thalaba were Jariya b. Amir b. al-Attaf and his two sons Zayd and Mujammi. They were also concerned with the mosque of al-Dirar. Mujammi was a youth who had collected most of the Koran and lie used to lead them in prayer. When the mosque had been destroyed and certain men of B. Amr b. Auf who used to lead their people in prayer in their mosque, died, in the time of Umar, Mujammi was mentioned to act as leader, but 'Umar would not have it, saying, 'Was he not the imam of the hypocrites in the mosque of al-Dirar?' He replied: 'By God, I knew nothing of their affairs. But I was a youngster who could recite the Koran, whereas they could not, so they put me forward to lead the prayers. Their affair seemed to me to accord with the best account they gave.' They allege that Umar let him go and lead the prayers of his people.

Of B. Umayya b. Zayd b. Malik: Wadia b. Thabit, one of the builders of the Pirar mosque who said, 'We were only talking and jesting (joking).' So God sent down: 'If you ask them they will say we were only talking and jesting. Say: Is it about God and His signs and His apostle you were jesting?' to the end of the passage.

Of B. Ubayd b. Zayd b. Malik: Khidham b. Khalid, from whose house the mosque of al-Dirar was carved out; and Bishr and Rafi the two sons of Zayd.

Of B. al-Nabit (298) of the clan of B. Haritha b. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj b. Amr b. Malik b. al-Aus: Mirba b. Qayzi who said to the apostle when he passed through his garden on his way to Uhud: 'I do not allow you Mohammed to pass through my garden even if you are a prophet.' He took a handful of dirt and said: 'By God, if I did not know that I might throw it on others I would throw this dirt at you.' The people pressed on him to kill him and the apostle said: 'Let him alone. For this blind man is blind of heart and blind of perception'. Sad b. Zayd brother of B. Abdul-Ashhal hit him with his bow and wounded him; also his brother Aus b. Qayzi, who said to the apostle on the day of the Trench: 'Our houses lie open to the enemy, so give us leave to go back to them.' So God revealed concerning him: 'They say Our houses lie open to the enemy. They are not open; all they want is to run away (Koran 9.66.)' (290).

Of B. Zafar (Zafar's name was Kab b. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj): Hatib b. Umayya b. Rafi. He was a sturdy old man steeped long in paganism. A son of his was one of the best of the Muslims, Yazid by name. He was disabled by wounds received at Uhud and was carried to the house of the B. Zafar.

Asim b. Umar b. Qatada told me that the Muslims there both men and women gathered to him when he was at the point of death and were saying: 'Rejoice' O son of Hatib, in the thought of paradise!' Then his hypocrisy showed itself, for his father said, 'Humph! By God, it is a garden of rue. You have sent this poor fellow to his death by your deception.'

Also Bushayr b. Ubayriq Abu Tuma, the 'Stealer of the Two Breastplates' concerning whom God sent down: 'And argue not on behalf of those who deceive themselves lod does not love a sinful deceiver." Also Quzman, an ally of theirs.

The same Asim told me that the apostle used to say: 'He belongs to the people of hell.' At Uhud he fought so valiantly that he killed several polythcists. But they severely wounded him and he was carried to the quarters of the B. Zafar. The Muslims said, 'Cheer up, O Quzman; you have done gallantly today and your sufferings have been for God's sake.' He said: 'Why should I cheer up? I fought only to protect my people.' And when the pain of his wounds became unendurable he took an arrow from his quiver and cut a vein in his hand and thus committed suicide.

Among B. Abdul-Ashhal no hypocrite male or female was known except al-Dahhak b. Thabit, one of the B. Kab of the family of Sad b. Zayd. He was suspected of hypocrisy and love of the Jews.

Hassan b. Thabit said of him (Diwan, p. 34.):

Who will tell al-Dahhak that his veins
Were unable to be glorified in Islam?
Do you love the Jews of al-Hijaz and their religion,
You liver-hearted ass, and not love Mohammed?
Their religion will never march with ours
As long as men roam the open desert.

I have heard that before his repentance Julas together with Muattib, Rafi, and Bishr used to make false profession of Islam (Read yadda-una in accord with Sura 67.27; and for the meaning see Lane 884a and b.). Some Muslims asked them to go to the apostle to settle a matter in dispute between them, while they wanted to refer it to the kahins who acted as arbitrators in the pagan era. So God sent down concerning them: 'Hast thou considered those who allege that they believe in what has been sent down to thee and what was sent down before thee who wish to go to idolatry for arbitration when they have been commanded to give up belief in it? Satan wishes to lead them far astray (Koran 4.63).'

Of Khazraj from B. al-Najjar: Rafi b. Wadia, Zayd b. Amr, Amr b. Qays, and Qays b. Amr b. Sahl.

Of B. Jusham of the clan of B. Salima: al-Jidd b. Qays who said, 'O Mohammed, give me leave (to stay at home) and tempt me not.' So God sent down concerning him: 'Of them is he who says, Give me leave (to stay at home) and tempt me not. Surely it is into temptation that they have fallen and hell encompasses the unbelievers (Koran 9.49).'

Of B. Auf b. al-Khazraj: Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Salul. He was the head of the hypocrites. They used to gather to him and it was he who said, If we go back to Medina the stronger will drive out the weaker.' This was during the raid on the B. al-Mustaliq and the whole sura of the Hypocrites (Koran 63. Cf. Wellhausen 727 infra.) came down about him and Wadia a man of B. Auf and Malik b. Abu Qauqal and Suwayd and Dais of the clan of Abdullah b. Ubayy. Those were his men who sent secret messages to B. al-Nadir (Cf. Wellhausen 653. 10.2) when the apostle besieged them: 'Stand fast, for by God if you are driven out we will go forth with you and we will never obey anyone against you and if you are attacked we will help you.' So God sent down concerning them: 'Hast thou not considered the hypocrites who say to their brethren of the scripture folk, If you are driven out we will go forth with you and we will never obey anyone against you and if you are attacked we will help you. God bears witness that they are liars', as far as His words 'Like Satan when he says to men,

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"Disbelieve," and when they disbelieve he says, "I am not responsible for you; for my part I fear God the Lord of the worlds (Koran 59.11-16.)."

THE RABBIS WHO ACCEPTED ISLAM HYPOCRITICALLY

The following are the Jewish rabbis who took refuge in Islam along with the Muslims and hypocritically professed it: Of B. Qaynuqa: Sad b. Hunayf; Zayd b. al-Lusayt; Numan b. Aufa b. Amr; Uthman b. Aufa; Zayd b. al-Lusayt who fought with Umar in the market of the B. Qaynuqa. He was the man who said when the apostle's camel wandered off: 'Mohammed alleges that revelations come to him from heaven and he does not know where his camel is!' When the apostle heard of what this enemy of God had said and God had told him where his camel was he said, 'I only know what God lets me know. And God has shown me. It is in such-and-such a glen caught by its rope to a tree.' The Muslims went and found it in that very spot caught up as the apostle had said.

Also Rafi b. Huraymila of whom I have heard that the prophet said, 'One of the greatest hypocrites has died today.' And Rifaa b. Zayd b. al-Tabut of whom the prophet said when there was a high wind as he was returning from the expedition against the B. al-Mustaliq and the Muslims were in great anxiety: 'Do not be afraid; the wind is blowing because a great unbeliever is dead.' When he got back to Medina he found that Rifaa had died the day the wind blew. Also Silsila b. Barham and Kinana b. Suriya.

These hypocrites used to assemble in the mosque and listen to the stories of the Muslims and laugh and scoff at their religion. When some of them* were there one day the apostle saw them talking with lowered voice among themselves huddled together. (* It is by no means certain that these men were Jews. The previous section almost certainly proves that they were not; however they may well have been half converted to Judaism like so many of the inhabitants of Medina.)

He ordered that they should be ejected and they were put out with some violence. Abu Ayyub Khalid b. Zayd b. Kulayb got up and went to Amr b. Qays, one of B. Ghanm b. Malik b. al-Najjar who was the custodian of their gods during the pagan era, took hold of his foot and dragged him outside the mosque, he saying meanwhile 'Would you drag me out of the datebarn of the B. Thalaba!' Then he went for RafV b. Wadia, one of the B. al-Najjar, gripped him by his robe, slapped his face, and dragged him forcibly out of the mosque, saying, 'Faugh! you dirty hypocrite! Keep out of the apostle's mosque, you hypocrite!' (300).

Umara b. Hazm went for Zayd b. Amr who had a long beard and seized him by it and dragged him violently out of the mosque. Then clenching his fists he punched him in the chest and knocked him down, Zayd crying the meanwhile, 'You have torn my skin off!' 'God get rid of you, you hypocrite,' he answered, 'God has a worse punishment than that in store for you, so do not come near the apostle's mosque again!' (301).

Abu Mohammed Masud b. Aus b. Zayd b. Asram b. Zayd b. Thalaba b. Ghanm b. Malik b. al-Najjar (who was at Badr) went for Qays b. Amr b. Sahl who was a youth (the only young man known to have been among the hypocrites) and pushed him in the back of the neck until he ejected him from the mosque.

A man of B. al-Khudra b. al-Khazraj of the family of Abu Sad called Abdullah b. al-Harith, hearing the order to clear the mosque, went for al-Harith b. Amr, a man with long hair, and taking a good grip of it he dragged him violently the whole way along the floor until he put him out, the hypocrite meanwhile saying 'You are very rough, Ibnul-Harith.' 'Serve you right, you enemy of God, for what God has sent down about you,' he answered, 'Do not come near the apostle's mosque again, for you are unclean (Muslims, just like once all members of the Jewish ancient Messianic Movement from the Qumran communities at the Death Sea, get themselves tangled up in the delusion that everyone and everything has to be clean and totally purified, a mindset that has its origin in Hinduism and Zoroastriansm. This is, by the way, also the origin of Christian baptism.).'

A man of B. Amr b. Auf went for his brother Zuwayy b. al-Harith and put him out violently, saying, 'Faugh! You are doing Satan's work for him!'

These were the hypocrites whom the apostle ordered to be expelled from the mosque that day.

REFERENCES TO THE HYPOCRITES AND THE JEWS IN THE SURA ENTITLED 'THE COW'

The first hundred verses of the sura of the Cow came down in reference to these Jewish rabbis and the hypocrites of Aus and Khazraj, according to what I have been told, and God knows best. He said: Alif Lam Mim. That is the book wherein there is no doubt.' The word rayb means doubt (302).

'A guidance to the god-fearing', i.e. those who fear God's punishment for abandoning the guidance they recognise, and hope for His mercy through believing in what has come to them from Him. 'Who believe in the unseen and establish prayer and give out what We have provided them with,' i.e. they establish prayer in its prescribed form and pay the poor-tax expecting a (future) reward for it. 'And those who believe* in what has been sent down to thee and to those who were before thee,' i.e. they believe thee to be true in what thou hast brought from God and what the sent ones brought before thee, making no difference between them nor opposing what they brought from their Lord. (* To believe in Islam, the Koran, Allah and Mohammed is definitely not a matter of free choice in Islam. Not to believe in those things is considered a despisable sin and even crime in Islam which is liable to the harshest possible punishment. Apostacy, the abandonement of the once accepted Islam, and any connected crime that leads to it, is punishable by death!). 'And are certain of the latter end,' i.e. the waking from death, the resurrection, paradise and hell, the reckoning and the scales, i.e. these are those who allege that they believe in what was before thee and in what has come to thee from thy Lord. 'These live in guidance from their Lord,' i.e. according to light from their Lord and uprightly according to what has come to them. 'These are they who prosper,' i.e. who attain what they seek and escape the evil they flee from. 'As for those who disbelieve,' i.e. in what has been sent down to thee though they say we have long believed in what came to us before thee, 'it is all one to them whether thou warn them or do not warn them they will not believe,' i.e. they disbelieve that thou art mentioned (in the books) they have and they reject the covenant which was made with them with reference to thee. They disbelieve in what has come to thee and in what they have already which others brought to them so how will they listen to warning and exhortation from thee when they have denied that they have any knowledge of thee? 'God hath sealed their hearts and their hearing and over their sight there is a covering,' i.e. so that they will never find guidance, meaning: because they have declared you a liar so that they will not believe in the truth which has come to thee from thy Lord though they believe in all that came before thee. For opposing thee they will have an awful punishment. Thus far concerning the Jewish rabbis for calling the truth a lie after they knew it.

'And there are some men who say, We believe in God and the last day when they do not believe.' He means the hypocrites of Aus and Khazraj and their followers. 'They would deceive God and those who believe, but they deceive only themselves, and perceive it not. In their hearts is a sickness,' i.e. doubt. 'And God increases their sickness,' i.e. doubt. 'A painful punishment is theirs because they lie. And when it is said to them, 'Do not make mischief in the land they say we are only putting things to right,' i.e. we only wish to make peace between the two parties of the believers and the scripture folk. God said: 'Are not they indeed the mischief makers but they perceive it not? And when it is said to them, Believe as the people believe they say: Are we to believe as the foolish believe? Surely they are the foolish but they know it not. And when they meet those who believe they say, We believe; and when they go apart to their leaders (Lit. 'their satans'.),' i.e. the Jews who order them to deny the truth and contradict what the apostle brought, 'They say Certainly we are with you,' i.e. we agree entirely with you. 'We were only mocking,' i.e. mocking the people and jesting with them. God said: 'God will mock at them and let them continue to wander blindly in their error' (303).

These are they who buy error at the price of guidance.' i.e. disbelief for faith. 'So their traffic is not profitable and they are not rightly guided.' Then God employed a simile and said: 'They arc like a man who lights a fire and when it lightens his environment God takes away their light and leaves them in darkness unable to see,' i.e. they cannot see the truth and profess it so that when they go out with it from the darkness of unbelief they extinguish it with their unbelief and hypocrisy, and God leaves them in the darkness of unbelief and they do not see guidance and are not upright in truth. 'Deaf, dumb, blind, and they return not,' i.e. they return not to guidance, deaf, dumb, blind to what is good, they return not to good and find no escape from their condition. 'Or like a rainstorm from heaven wherein is darkness and thunder and lightning. They put their fingers in their ears because of the thunderings, in fear of death. God encompasses the unbelievers' (304), i.e. because of the darkness of unbelief and the fear of death in which they are, arising from their opposition and fear of you, they are like the man in the rainstorm who puts his fingers in his ears at the thunderclaps in fear of death. He says: And God brings that vengeance upon them, i.e. He encompasses the unbelievers (Kafir or kufr is the correct Arab word here which is not a neutral description [such as disbeliever, non-Muslim, or infidel] but a extremely biased and bigotted curse word that should teach readers of the Koran hatrad towards anyone who does not believe in Islam, the Koran, Allah and Mohammed.). 'The lightning almost takes away their sight,' i.e. because of the exceeding brightness of the truth. 'Whenever it gives light to them they walk in it and when it is dark for them they stand still,' i.e. they know the truth and talk about it and so far as their talk goes they are on the straight path; but when they relapse from it into infidelity they come to a halt in bewilderment. 'And if God willed He could take away their hearing and their sight,' i.e. because they have forsaken the truth after they knew it.

'God is able to do all things.'

Then He says: 'O men, worship your Lord,' addressing both unbelievers and hypocrites, i.e. acknowledge His unity. 'Who created you and those before you, perchance you may ward off evil. Who has made the earth a bed for you and the heaven a building, and sent down water from heaven and has brought forth fruits thereby as food for you. So make not rivals of God when you know (better)' (305), i.e. do not associate with God rivals which can neither profit nor harm when you know that you have no Lord that can feed you other than He, and you know that the monotheism to which the apostle calls you is the truth about which there is no doubt. 'And if you are in doubt about that which We have sent down to our servant,' i.e. in doubt about what he has brought you, 'then produce a sura like it and summon your witnesses other than God,' i.e. whatever helpers you can get 'if you are truthful; and if you do not and you cannot' for the truth has become clear to you, 'then fear hell whose fuel is men and stones (It is said that the stones were those worshipped by the pagan Arabs.) prepared for the unbelievers,' i.e. for those who are in a state of infidelity like you.

Then he appeals to their interest and warns them against breaking the covenant which He made with them in reference to His prophet when He came to them, and He reminds them of the beginning of their creation when He created them, and what happened to their forefather Adam and how he was dealt with for his disobedience; then He says (Koran 2.40.): 'O children of Israel,' addressing the Jewish rabbis, 'Remember the favour I showed you,' i.e. My care for you and your fathers, wherewith He delivered them from Pharaoh and his army. 'And fulfil My covenant' which I placed on your necks with regard to My prophet Ahmad when he should come to you. 'I shall fulfil My part of the covenant.' I shall carry out what I promised you for believing in and following him by removing the bonds and chains which were upon your necks because of the sins which you had committed. 'And stand in awe of Me,' i.e. lest I bring down on you what I brought down on your fathers before you — the vengeance that you know of, bestial transformation and the like. 'And believe in what I have sent down confirming what you already have, and be not the first to disbelieve it' seeing that you have knowledge which others have not about it. 'And fear Me and do not mingle truth with falsehood nor hide the truth which you know,' i.e. do not conceal the knowledge which you have about My apostle and what he has brought when you will find it with you in what you know of the books which are in your hands. 'Would you tell men to be good and forget to be so yourselves, you being readers of scripture? Do you not understand?' i.e. would you forbid men to disbelieve in the prophecy you have and the covenant of the Torah and abandon it yourselves? i.e. when you deny that it contains My covenant with you that you must pronounce My apostle to be true, and you break My agreement* and you contradict what you know to be in My book.

Then He recounts their sins, mentioning the calf and what they did with it; how He forgave them and pardoned them; then their words 'Show us God plainly' (306), and how the storm came upon them because of their presumptuousness; then He quickened them after they had died; overshadowed them with the cloud, sent down to them manna and quails and said to them, 'Enter the gate with prostrations and say Hitta* (The meaning of this word [lit. unloading, or relief], and indeed the significance of the whole passage, is obscure. Presumably a Jewish midrash lies behind it. Cf. Geiger, op. cit. 17 f),' i.e. say what I command you, and I will remove your sins from you; and their changing that word making a mockery of His command; and His forgiving them after their mockery (307).

With regard to their changing that word, the apostle said according to what Salih b. Kaisan from Salih, freedman of al-Tauama d. Umayya b. Khalaf from Abu Hurayra and someone above suspicion from Ibn Abbas: They entered the gate they were ordered to enter with prostrations in a crowd saying, 'Wheat is in the barley' (308). (He also reminded them of) Moses praying for water for his people and His commanding him to strike the rock with his staff so that the water gushed forth in twelve streams, one for each tribe to drink from, each tribe knowing the one from which it was to drink. And their saying to Moses, 'We cannot bear one kind of food. Pray to your Lord for us that He may bring forth to us vegetables which the earth produces such as cucumbers and corn (309) and beans and onions. He said: Will you exchange that which is better for that which is baser? Go down to Egypt; thus you will get what you ask for.' They did not do so. Further how He raised the mountain above them (Cf. Sura 7. 170 and Geiger, Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthum aufgenommen? [What has Mohammed taken up from Judaism?] Bonn, 1833, pp. 164 f. and A. S. Yahuda in Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume, Pt. I. Budapest, 1948, p. 283.) that they might receive what was brought to them; and the bestial transformation when He made them into apes for their sins; and the cow which God showed them in which there was

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a lesson concerning the slain man about whom they differed until God made clear to them his affair after their repeated requests to Moses for a description of The Cow; further the hardness of their hearts afterwards so that they were harder than stone. Then He said: 'There are rocks from which rivers gush forth and there are rocks which split asunder and water comes out of them, and there are rocks which fall down for fear of God,' i.e. some rocks are softer than your hearts in regard to the truth to which you were called. 'And God is not unaware of what you do.'

Then He said to Mohammed and the believers with him, causing them to despair of them: 'Do you hope that they will believe you when there is a party of them who listen to the word of God then change it after they understand it, doing so knowingly?' His saying 'They listen to the Torah*' does not mean that they all heard it, but only a party of them, i.e. a selected number according to what I was told by a scholar. (These words are Ibn Ishaq's explanation. 'The word of God" just mentioned could only have been the Torah. They said to Moses: Something has come between us and the vision of God so let us hear His word when He speaks to thee. Moses conveyed the request to God who said: Yes, command them to purify themselves or to purify their clothing and to fast; and they did so. Then he brought them forth to the mountain, and when the cloud covered them Moses commanded them to prostrate themselves and his Lord spoke to him and they heard His voice giving them commands and prohibitions so that they understood what they heard. Then he went back with them to the Children of Israel and when he came to them a party of them changed the commandments they had been given; and when Moses said to the Children of Israel, 'God has ordered you to do so-and-so,' they contradicted him and said that God had ordered something else. It is they to whom God refers.

Then God said: 'And when they meet those who believe they say: We believe,' i.e. in your leader the apostle of God; but he (has been sent) to you alone. And when they go apart with one another they say, Do not talk to the Arabs about this for you used to ask for victory over them through him and he is of them. So God sent down concerning them: 'And when they meet those who believe they say, We believe. But when they go apart with one another they say, Will you talk about what God has revealed to you that they may contend with you about it before your Lord? Have you no understanding?' i.e. maintain that he is a prophet since you know that God has made a covenant with you that you should follow him, while he tells you that he is the prophet whom we are expecting and find in our book. Oppose him and do not recognise him. God said: 'Do they not know that God knows what they conceal and what they proclaim, and some of them are gentiles* (non-Jews) who do not know the book but merely recite passages (That is to say these Arabs cannot read the sacred books, but they can join in the Jewish liturgy reciting the pravers and responses.) (310). 'They only think they know,' i.e. they do not know the book and they do not know what is in it, yet they oppose thy prophethood on mere opinion. 'And they say the fire will not touch us except for a limited time. Say, Have ye received a covenant from God? God will not break His covenant (with Moses)—or do you say what you do not know about God?'

(* The word 'ummi' for 'gentile' is generally translated 'illiterate'. Guillaume: In Sura 7. 157 and 158 Mohammed calls himself 'the gentile prophet'; but practically all Arab writers claim that he meant that he could not read or write [see, e.g., Pickthall's Koran translation]. Geiger, op. cit. 26 f., was, I think, the first to point out the only possible derivation of the word, and he has been followed by every subsequent European Arabist. But this passage brings to light the fact that he was preceded by these two early traditionists who identified the ummiyun as Arab proselytes who did not themselves know the scriptures. LH: Seeing this matter from the viewpoint of a Muslim seem to be wrong as 'gentile' is a word used by Jews for non-Jews and in particular for Greeks and Romans who where outside of the sphere of Semitic languages and civilisation. The reference 'gentile prophet' could rather have meant that Mohammed used to live in a Greek-Roman city in Arabia, such as the City of Petra [Arabic: 'Raqmu' / Al-Batra] or the City of Hegira [Arabic: Hijra / Hijrah / Mada'in Saleh.)

A freedman of Zayd b. Thabit told me as from Ikrima or from Said b. Jubayr from Ibn Abbas: The apostle came to Medina when the Jews were saying that the world would last for seven thousand years and that God would only punish men in hell one day in the next world for every thousand in this world. There would be only seven days and then punishment would cease. So God sent down concerning this saying: 'And they say, The fire will not touch us except for a limited time. Say, Have ye received a covenant from God? God will not break His covenant—or do you say what you do not know about God? Nay whoso docs evil and his sin encompasses him,' i.e. he who docs as you do and disbelieves as you disbelieve, his unbelief encompasses the good he has acquired with God. 'They are the people of hell; they will be there eternally,' i.e. for ever. 'And those who do good, they are the people of paradise; they will be there eternally,' i.e. those who believe in what you deny and do what you have left undone of His religion. They shall have paradise for ever. He tells them that the recompense for good and evil is eternal: it will never cease.

Then He said in blaming them, 'And when We made a covenant with the children of Israel,' i.e. your covenant. 'Worship none but God, showkindness to parents and to near relatives, and to orphans and the poor, and speak kindly to men, and establish prayer and pay the poor-tax, then you turned your backs except a few of you, being averse." i.e. you abandoned all that--nothing less. 'And when we made a covenant with you, Shed not your blood' (Your blood and yourselves because in ancient Semitic thought the tribe was one blood and had as it were one personality.) (311). 'And do not turn (some of) your people out of your dwellings. Then ye ratified it and you are witnesses thereof,' i.e. that My covenant condition truly binds you. 'Then you are they who kill your people and drive some of them from their houses, supportingone another against them by crime and transgression,' i.e the polytheists, so that they shed their blood along with them and drive them from their houses along with them. 'And if they came to you as prisoners you would ransom them' knowing that that is incumbent upon you in your religion, 'while their expulsion is forbidden to you' in your scripture. 'Will you believe in a part of the scripture and disbelieve in another part?' i.e. will you ransom them believing in one part and expel them disbelieving in another part? 'And what is the recompense of those of you who do that but shame in this world and on the day of resurrection they will be sent to the severest punishment. For God is not unaware of what you are doing.

These are they who buy this life at the price of the next life. Their punishment will not be lightened nor will they be helped.' Thus God blamed them for what they were doing, He having in the Torah prohibited them from shedding each other's blood and charged them to redeem their prisoners.

There were two parties: The B. Qaynuqa' and their adherents, allies of Khazraj; and al-Nadir and Qurayza and their adherents allies of Aus. When there was war between A" * and Khazraj the B. QaynuqS' went out with Khazraj, and al-Nadir and Qurayza with Aus, each side helping his allies against his own brethren so that they shed each other's blood, while the Torah was in their hands by which they knew what was allowed and what was forbidden them. Aus and Khazraj were polytheists worshipping idols knowing nothing about paradise and hell, the waking and the resurrection, the scriptures, the permitted and the forbidden. When the war came to an end they ransomed their prisoners in accordance with the Torah each side redeeming those of their men who had been captured by the other side, disregarding the bloodshed that had been incurred in helping the polytheists. God said in blaming them for that: 'Will you believe in a part of the scripture and disbelieve in another part?' i.e. would you redeem him in accordance with the Torah and kill him when the Torah forbids you to do so, killing him and driving him out of his house and helping the polytheist who worships idols instead of God against him, all for the sake of this world's gain? According to my information this passage came down with reference to their behaviour with Aus and Khazraj.

He continued: 'We gave Moses the scripture and We sent apostles after him and we gave Jesus, Son of Mary, the clear proofs,' i.e. the signs which were wrought bv Him in raising the dead; forming the likeness of birds from clay and then breathing into them so that they became birds by God's permission healing the sick; and news of many hidden things which they stored in their houses; and His confuting them from the Torah and the Gospel which God had created for Him* (* Ahdatha ilayhi. Apparently this is a pregnant construction meaning 'created and sent to him'.). Then he mentions their disbelief in all that and says: 'Is it that whenever there comes to you an apostle with what you do not like you act arrogantly; some you declare liars and some you put to death?' Then he says: 'And they said, Our hearts are uncircumcised,' i.e. in coverings. 'Nay, but God has cursed them for their unbelief. Little do they believe. And when a scripture comes to them from God confirming what they already have, though before that they were asking for a victory over the unbelievers, when there comes to them what they know they deny it. God's curse is on the unbelievers.'

Asim b. Umar b. Qatada told me that shaykhs of his people said: This passage came down about us and them. We had got the better of them in the pagan era, we being polytheists and they scripture folk. They used to say to us, 'Soon a prophet will be sent whom we shall follow; his time is at hand. With his help we shall kill you like 'Ad and Iram.' And when God sent His apostle from (the) Quraysh and we followed him they denied him. God said: 'And when there comes to them what they know they deny it. God's curse is on the unbelievers. Wretched is that for which they sell themselves in disbelieving in what God has sent down, grudging that God should send dow n of His bounty upon whom He will of His servants,' i.e. that He should have given it to one who was not of them. 'They have incurred anger upon anger and for the unbelievers there is a shameful punishment' (312).

The double anger is His anger at what they have disregarded of the Torah which they had and His anger at their disbelieving in this prophet whom God had sent to them (* Ahdatha ilayhim). Apparently this is a pregnant construction meaning 'created and sent to him'-. Then He told them of* the raising of the mountain above them and their taking the calf as a god instead of their Lord (*The text of W. and C. annabahum 'blamed them' yields no suitable meaning. The true text is given in Wellhausen's notes, ii. in, anba-ahum. I owe this correction to Dr. Arafat.) God then said: 'Say, If the last dwelling with God is for you alone excluding others, then long for death if you are truthful,' i.e. pray for death to which of the two parties is most false with God. And they refused the apostle's suggestion. God said to His prophet: 'They will never long for it because of what their hands have sent before them (their past deeds.),' i.e. because they know about thee by the knowledge which they have and deny it, It is said that if they had longed for it the day he said that to them, not a single Jew would have remained on the earth but would have died. Then He mentions their lov e of this life and of a long life and God said: 'Thou wilt find them the most eager of men for life', the Jews, 'even more than the polytheists; each one would like to live a thousand years and to be allowed to live long would not remove him from the punishment,' i.e. it would not deliver him from it. The reason is that the polytheist does not hope for raising after death so he wants to live long, and the Jew knows what awaits him of shame in the next life because he has wasted the knowledge that he has. Then God said: 'Say, Who is an enemy to Gabriel? For it is he who brought it down to thy heart by God's permission.'

Abdullah b. Abdul-Rahman b. Abu Husayn al-Makki told me from Shahr b. Haushab al-Ashari that a number of Jewish rabbis came to the apostle and asked him to answer four questions, saying that if he did so they would follow him and testify to his truth, and believe in him. He got them to swear a solemn oath that if he gave them the right answers they would acknowledge his truth and they began: 'Why does a boy resemble his mother when the semen comes from the man?' 'I adjure you by God and His favours towards the children of Israel ('Children of Israel' is a typical phrase from The Tanakh, the Hebrew Bible.), do you not know that a man's semen is white and thick while a woman's is yellow and thin, and the likeness goes with that which comes to the top?'

'Agreed,' they said. 'Tell us about your sleep.' 'Do you not know that a sleep which you allege I do not have is when the eye sleeps but the heart is awake?' 'Agreed.' 'Thus is my sleep. My eye sleeps but my heart is awake.' 'Tell us about what Israel voluntarily forbade himself.' 'Do you not know that the food he loved best was the flesh and milk of camels and that once when he was ill God restored him to health so he deprived himself of his favourite food and drink in gratitude to God?' 'Agreed. Tell us about the Spirit.' 'Do you not know that it is Gabriel, he who comes to me?' 'Agreed, but O Mohammed he is an enemy to us, an angel who comes only with violence and the shedding of blood, and were it not for that we would follow you.' So God sent down concerning them: 'Who is an enemy to Gabriel? For it is he who brought it down to thy heart by God's permission confirming what was before it and a guidance and good tidings to the believers' as far as the words 'Is it not that when they make a covenant some of them set it aside, nay most of them do not believe. And when an apostle comes to them from God confirming that which they have, some of them who have received the scripture, the book of God, put it behind them as if they did not know it and they follow that which the satans read concerning the kingdom of Solomon,' i.e. sorcery. 'Solomon did not disbelieve, but the satans disbelieved, teaching men sorcery.'

This, so I have heard, happened when the apostle mentioned Solomon b. David among the sent ones. One of the rabbis said, 'Do you not wonder at Mohammed? He alleges that Solomon was a prophet, and by God he was nothing but a sorcerer.' So God sent down concerning that: 'Solomon did not disbelieve but the satans disbelieved,' i.e. in following sorcery and practising it. 'And that which was revealed to the two angels Harut and Mariit in Babylon and they taught nobody.'

Someone above suspicion told me from Ikrima from Ibn Abbas that he used to say: 'What Israel forbade himself was the two lobes of the liver, the kidneys and the fat (except what was upon the hack), for that used to be offered in sacrifice and the fire consumed it (This is the sacrificial law given in the Hebrew Bible / Old Testament, Leviticus 3, 4, 10, 15, etc., and the tradition shows a remarkable knowledge of the Jewish Law.).'

The apostle wrote to the Jews of Khaybar according to what a freedman of the family of Zayd b. Thabit told me from Ikrima or from Said b. Jubayr from Ibn Abbas: 'In the name of God the compassionate the merciful from Mohammed the apostle of God friend and brother of Moses who confirms what Moses brought. God says to you, O scripture folk, and you will find it in your scripture "Mohammed is the apostle of God; and those with him are severe against the unbelievers,

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merciful among themselves. Thou seest them bowing, falling prostrate seeking bounty and acceptance from God. The mark of their prostrations is on their foreheads. That is their likeness in the Torah and in the Gospel like a seed which sends forth its shoot and strengthens it and it becomes thick and rises straight upon its stalk delighting the sowers that He may anger the unbelievers with them. God has promised those who believe and do well forgiveness and a great reward (Koran 48.29.)." I adjure you by God, and by what He has sent down to you, by the manna and quails He gave as food to your tribes before you, and by His drying up the sea for your fathers when He delivered them from Pharaoh and his works, that you tell me, Do you find in what He has sent down to you that you should believe in Mohammed? If you do not find that in your scripture then there is no compulsion upon you. "The right path has become plainly distinguished from error (Koran 2.257)" so I call you to God and His prophet' (313).

Among those people concerning whom the Koran came down, especially the rabbis and unbelieving Jews who used to ask him questions and annoy him in confusing truth with falsehood —as I was told on the authority of Abdullah b. Abbas and Jabir b. Abdullah b. Riab— was Abu Yasir b. Akhtab who passed by the apostle as he was reciting the opening words of The Cow: Alif, Lam, Mim, That is the book about which there is no doubt.' He came to his brother Huyayy who was with some other Jews and said: 'Do you know that I have heard Mohammed reciting in what has been sent down to him Alif Lam Mim, etc.?' After expressing surprise Huyayy and these men went to the apostle and told him what had been reported to them and asked if Gabriel had brought the message from God. When he said that he had they said: God sent prophets before you but we do not know of anyone of them being told how long his kingdom would last and how long his community would last. Huyayy went up to his men and said to them: Alif is 1; Lam is 30; and Mim is 40, i.e. 71 years. Are you going to adopt a religion whose kingdom and community will last for only 71 years?' Then he went to the apostle and said, 'Have you anything else, Mohammed?' 'Yes, Alif Lam Mim Sad.' 'This by God is more weighty and longer: Alif 1; Lam 30; Mim 40, Sad 90, i.e. 161 years.'

Similar questions were asked and answered in respect of Alif Lam Ra 231; Alif Lam Mim Ra 271; then he said, 'Your situation seems obscure to us, Mohammed, so that we do not know whether you will have a short or long duration.' Then they left him. Abu Yasir said to his brother Huyayy and the others, 'How do you know that all these totals should not be added together to make a grand total of 734 years?' They answered, 'His affair is obscure to us.' They allege that these verses came down in reference to them: 'The plain verses arc the mother of the Book; the rest are obscure (Koran 3.5).'

I heard a scholar above suspicion mentioning that these verses were sent down about the people of Najran (the Nazrani / Nazoreans, the followers of the Law, the movement of Jesus and his brother James.) when they came to the apostle to ask him about Jesus, Son of Mary.

Mohammed b. Abu Umama b. Sahl b. Hunayf told me that he had heard that they were sent down about a number of Jews, but he did not explain that to me. God knows best.

According to what I heard from Ikrima, freedman of Ibn Abbas or from Said b. Jubayr from Ibn Abbas, Jews used to hope that the apostle would be a help to them against Aus and Khazraj before his mission began; and when God sent him from among the Arabs they disbelieved in him and contradicted what they had formerly said about him (This and similar passages seem to indicate that the messianic hope was still strong among the Jews. Mohammed knew about it and probably wanted to use this knowledge but most Jews did not fall for it. This caused Mohammed's anger. The Messianic Jews resisted him as they were in this very moment involved in a struggle of life and death against the Romans and Persians.). Muadh b. Jabal and Bishr b. al-Bara b. Marur brother of the B. Salama said to them: "O Jews, fear God and become Muslims, for you used to hope for Mohammed's help against us when we were polytheists and to tell us that he would be sent and describe him to us.' Salam b. Mishkam, one of B. al-Nadir, said, 'He has not brought us anything we recognize and he is not the one we spoke of to you.' So God sent down about that saying of theirs: 'And when a book comes to them from God confirming what they have, though beforehand they were asking for help against those who disbelieve, when there came to them what they knew, they disbelieved in it, so God's curse rests on the unbelievers (Koran 2.83).'

Malik b. al-Sayf (Or al-Dayf. v.s.) said when the apostle had been sent and they were reminded of the condition that had been imposed on them and what God had covenanted with them concerning him, 'No covenant was ever made with us about Mohammed.' So God sent down concerning him: 'Is it not that whenever they make a covenant a party of them set it aside? Nay most of them do not believe (Koran 2.94).'

Abu Saluba al-Fityuni said to the apostle: 'O Mohammed, you have not brought us anything we recognise, and God has not sent down to you any sign that we should follow you.' So God sent down concerning his words, 'We have sent down to thee plain signs and only evildoers disbelieve in them.'

Rafi b. Huraymila and Wahb b. Zayd said to the apostle, 'Bring us a book; bring it down to us from heaven that we may read it; bring out rivers for us from the earth, then we will follow you and believe in you.' So God sent down concerning that: 'Or do you wish to question your apostle as Moses was questioned aforetime; he who exchanges faith for unbelief has wandered from the straight road' (Koran 2.102) (314).

Huyayy and Abu Yasir were the most implacable enemies of the Arabs when God chose to send them an apostle from among themselves and they used to do all they could to turn men away from Islam. So God sent down concerning them: 'Many of the scripture folk wish to make you unbelievers again after you have believed being envious on their own account after the truth has become plain to them. But forgive and be indulgent until God shall give you His orders. God can do anything (Koran 2.107).'

When the Christians of Najran (the Nazoreans) came to the apostle the Jewish rabbis came also and they disputed one with the other before the apostle. Rafi said, 'You have no standing,' and he denied Jesus and the Gospel; and a Christian said to the Jews, 'You have no standing' and he denied that Moses was a prophet and denied the Torah. So God sent down concerning them: 'The Jews say the Christians have no standing; and the Christians say that Jews have no standing, yet they read the scriptures. They do not know what they are talking about. God will judge between them on the day of resurrection concerning their controversy,' i.e. each one reads in his book the confirmation of what he denies, so that the Jews deny Jesus though they have the Torah in which God required them by the word of Moses to hold Jesus true; while in the Gospel is what Jesus brought in confirmation of Moses and the Torah he brought from God: so each one denies what is in the hand of the other.

Rafi said: 'If you are an apostle from God as you say, then ask God to speak to us so that we may hear His voice.' So God revealed concerning that: 'And those who do not know say, Why does not God speak to us or a sign come to us? Those who were before them said the same. Their minds are just the same. We have made the signs clear to a people who are sure.'

Abdullah b. Suriya, the one-eyed man, said to the apostle, 'The only guidance is to be found with us, so follow us, Mohammed, and you will be rightly guided.' The Christians said the same. So God sent down concerning them both: 'And they say, Be Jews or Christians then you will be rightly guided. Say, Nay, the religion of Abraham a hanif who was no polytheist,' as far as the words 'Those are a people who have passed away; they have what they earned and you have what you have earned and you will not be asked about what they used to do (Koran 129-36, i.e. 'You are not responsible).'

And when the qibla was changed from Syria to the Kaaba —it was changed in Rajab at the beginning of the seventeenth month after the apostle's arrival in Medina— Rifaa b. Qays; Qardam b. Amr; Kab b. al-Ashraf; Rafi b. Abu Rafi; al-Hajjaj b. Amr, an ally of Kab's; al-Rabi b. al-Rabi b. Ahul-Huqayq; and Kinana b. al-Rabi b. Abul-Huqayq came to the apostle asking why he had turned his back ori the qibla he used to face when he alleged that he followed the religion of Abraham. If he would return to the qibla in Jerusalem they would follow him and declare him to be true. Their sole intention was to seduce him from his religion, so God sent down concerning them: 'The foolish people will say: What made them turn their back on the qibla that they formerly observed? Say, To God belongs the east and the west. He guides whom He will to the straight path. Thus we have made you a central community that you may be witnesses against men and that the apostle may be a witness against you. And we appointed the qibla which thou didst formerly observe only that we might know who will follow the apostle from him who turns upon

his heels,' i.e. to test and find them out. 'Truly it was a hard test except for those whom God guided,' i.e. a temptation, i.e. those whom Allah established. 'It was not Allah's purpose to make your faith vain,' i.e. your faith in the first qibla, your believing your prophet, and your following him to the later qibla and your obeying your prophet therein, i.e. so that he may give you the reward of both of them. 'God is kind and compassionate to men.'

Then God said, 'We sometimes see thee turning thy face towards heaven and We will make thee turn towards a qibla which will please thee; so turn thy face towards the sacred mosque and wherever you are turn your faces towards it' (315). 'Those who have received the scripture know that it is the truth from their Lord, and God is not unmindful of what they do. If thou didst bring to those who have the scripture every sign they would not follow thy qibla and thou wouldst not follow their qibla nor would some of them follow the qibla of others. If thou shouldst follow their desires after the knowledge which has come to thee then thou wouldst be an evildoer,' as far as the words 'It is the truth from thy Lord so be not of the doubters (Koran 2.140-2).'

Muadh b. Jabal and Sad b. Muadh brother of B. Abdul-Ashhal, and Kharija b. Zayd brother of B. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj, asked some of the Jewish rabbis about something in the Torah and they concealed it from them and refused to tell them anything about it. So God sent down about them: 'Those who conceal the proofs and guidance We have sent down after We have made it plain to men in the book, God will curse them and those who curse will curse them.'

The apostle summoned the Jewish scripture folk to Islam and made it attractive to them and warned them of God's punishment and vengeance. Rafi b. Kharija and Malik b. 'Auf said to him that they would follow the religion of their fathers, for they were more learned and better men than they. So God sent down concerning their words: 'And when it is said to them, Follow what God has sent down, they say: Nay, but we will follow what we found our fathers doing. What! even if their fathers understood nothing and were not rightly guided?'

When God smote (the) Quraysh at Badr, the apostle assembled the Jews in the market of the B. Qaynuqa' when he came to Medina and called on them to accept Islam before God should treat them as he had treated (the) Quraysh. They answered, 'Do not deceive yourself, Mohammed. You have killed a number of inexperienced (the) Quraysh who did not know how to fight. But if you fight us you will learn that we are men and that you have met your equal.' So God sent down concerning their words: 'Say to those who disbelieve, You will be defeated and gathered into hell, a wretched restingplace. You had a sign in the two parties which met: one party fought in the way of God and the other was unbelieving seeing twice their number with their very eyes. God will strengthen with His help whom He will. In that there is a warning for the observant (Koran 3.10).'

The apostle entered a Jewish school where there was a number of Jews and called them to God. Al-Numan b. Amr and al-Harith b. Zayd said to him:

'What is your religion, Mohammed?
'The religion of Abraham.'
'But Abraham was a Jew.'
'Then let the Torah judge between us.'

They refused, and so God sent down concerning theni: 'Hast thou not seen how those who have received a portion of scripture when invited to God's book that it may judge between them, a party of them turn their backs in opposition. That is because they say, The fire will not touch us except for a limited time. What they were inventing has deceived them in their religion.'

The Jewish rabbis and the Christians of Najran, when they were together before the apostle, broke into disputing. The rabbis said that Abraham was nothing but a Jew. The Christians said he was nothing but a Christian; so God revealed concerning them: 'O Scripture folk, Why do you argue about Abraham when the Torah and the Gospel were not sent down until after his time? Can it be that you do not understand? Behold, you are they who argue of what you know something, but why do you argue about what you know nothing? God knows but you do not know. Abraham

was neither a Jew nor a Christian but he was a Muslim hanif and he was not a polytheist. Those who are the nearest to Abraham are those who follow him and this prophet and those who believe, God being the friend of believers (Koran 3.58).'

Abdullah b. Sayf and Adiy b. Zayd and al-Hanth b. Auf agreed among themselves that they should affect to believe in what had been sent down to Mohammed and his companions at one time and deny it at another so as to confuse them, with the object of getting them to follow their example and give up his religion. So God sent down concerning them: 'O Scripture folk, why confuse ye the true with the false and conceal the truth which you know? Some of the Scripture folk said, Believe in that which has been sent down to those that believe at the beginning of the day and deny it at the end of the day; perhaps they will go back (on it).

Believe only in one who follows your religion. Say, The guidance is God's guidance that anyone should be given the like of what you have been given or that they may argue with you before their Lord. Say: the bounty is in the hand of God. He giveth it to whom he pleases and God is all-embracing and all-knowing (Koran 3.64).'

Abu Rafi al-Qurazi said when the rabbis and the Christians from Najran had assembled before the apostle and he invited them to Islam, 'Do you want us, Mohammed, to worship you as the Christians worship Jesus, Son of Mary?' One of the Christians called al-Ribbis (or al-Ris or al-Rais) said, 4 Is that what you want of us and invite us to, Mohammed?' or words to that effect. The apostle replied, 'God forbid that I should worship anyone but God or order that any but He should be worshipped. God did not send me and order me to do that' or words to that effect. So God sent down concerning their words: 'No mortal to whom God has sent a book and authority and prophecy could say to men.Worship me instead of God; but Be learned in that you teach the book and in that you study it' as far as the words 'after ye had become Muslims' (Koran 3.73) (316). 'And he did not command you to take the

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angels and prophets as lords. Would He command you to disbelieve after you had become Muslims?'

Then he mentions how God had imposed on them and on their prophets the obligation to bear witness to his truth when he came to them and their

taking that upon themselves and he says: 'When God made His covenant with the prophets (He said) Behold that which I have given you—a book and wisdom. Then when an apostle shall come to you confirming what you have, you shall believe in him and help him. He said, Do you agree and take upon yourselves my burden? They answered, We agree. He said, Then bear witness, I being with you as a witness' to the end of the passage.

Shas b. Qays, who was an old man hardened in unbelief and most bitter against the Muslims and exceeding envious of them, passed by a number of the apostle's companions from Aus and Khazraj in a meeting while they were talking together. When he saw their amity and unity and their happy relations in Islam after their enmity in pagan times he was filled with rage and said: 'The chiefs of B. Qayla in this country having united there will be no firm place for us with them.' So he gave orders to a Jewish youth who was with them to go to them and sit with them and mention the battle of Buath and the preceding events, and recite to themsome of the poetry composed by each side.

Now at the battle of Buath Aus and Khazraj fought and the victory went to Aus who were commanded at the time by Hudayr b. Simak al-Ashhali the father of Usayd b. Hudayr, Khazraj being led by Amr b. al-Numan al-Bayadi, and both were killed (317).

The youth did so. Thereupon the people began to talk and to quarrel and to boast until two men of the two clans leapt up, Aus b. Qayzl of B. Haritha b. Harith of Aus and Jabbar b. Sakhr of B. Salama of Khazraj. They began to hold forth against each other until one of them said, 'If you wish we will do the same again.' Thereupon both sides became enraged and said, 'We will. Your meeting-place is outside —that being the volcanic tract— To arms! To arms I' So out they went and when the news reached the apostle he went out with such of the emigrants as were with him and said to them: 'O Muslims, remember God. Remember God. Will you act as pagans while I am with you after God has guided you to Islam and honoured you thereby and made a clean break with paganism; delivered you thereby from unbelief; made you friends thereby?' Then the people realised that the dissension was due to Satan and the guile of their enemy. They wept and the men of Aus and Khazraj embraced one another. Then they went off with the apostle, attentive and obedient, God having quenched the' guile of the enemy of God Shas b. Qays. So God sent down concerning him, and what he did: 'Say: O Scripture folk, why do you deny God's signs while God is witness of what you do? Say, O Scripture folk, why do you keep those who believe from God's way wishing to make it crooked when you are witnesses and God is not unmindful of what you are doing? (Koran 3.93)'

God sent down concerning Aus and Jabbar and the people who were with them when Shas brought back for a moment the atmosphere of pagan days, 'O you who believe, if you obey some of those to whom a book has been given they will make you unbelievers again after your faith. How can you disbelieve when God's verses are read to you and His apostle is with you? He who holds fast to God is guided to a straight path. O ye who believe, fear God as He ought to be feared and die not except as Muslims' as far as the words 'Those shall have a painful punishment*.

When Abdullah b. Salam, Thalaba b. Saya, and Usayd b. Saya, and Asad b. Ubayd and other Jews became Muslims and believed and were earnest and firm in Islam, the rabbis who disbelieved said that it was only the bad Jews who believed in Mohammed and followed him. Had they been good men they would not have forsaken the religion of their fathers and adopted another. So God sent down concerning what they had said: 'They are not (all) alike: of the scripture folk there is an upright community who read God's verses in the night season prostrating themselves (318). They believe in God and the last day and enjoin good conduct and forbid evil and vie with one another in good works. Those are the righteous.'

Some Muslims remained friends with the Jews because of the tie of mutual protection and alliance which had subsisted between them, so God sent down concerning them and forbidding them to take them as intimate friends: 'O you who believe, do not choose those outside your community as intimate friends. They will spare no pains to corrupt you longing for your ruin. From their mouths hatred has already shown itself and what their breasts conceal is greater. We have made the signs plain to you if you will understand. Behold you love them but they love not you and you believe in the book—all of it (Koran 3.114; "Believing in the book" is a very important feature of those religion which we could identify as belief systems in which the "Law of God" is prevalent over societies that are ruled by the "Law of Man", such as Greece or Rome. These two fundamental viewpoints are diametrical opposed to one another and caused conflict between them for 3000 years.), i.e. you believe in their book and in the books that were before that while they deny your book, so that you have more right to hate them than they to hate you. 'And when they meet you they say, We believe and when they go apart they bite their fingers against you in rage. Say, Die in your rage', etc.

Abu Bakr went into a Jewish school and found a good many men gathered round a certain Finhas, one of their learned rabbis, and another rabbi called Ashya*. Abu Bakr called on the former to fear God and become a Muslim because he knew that Mohammed was the apostle of God who had brought the truth from Him and that they would find it written in the Torah and the Gospel. Finhas replied: 'We are not poor compared to Allah but He is poor compared to us. We do not humble ourselves to Him as He humbles Himself to us; we are independent of Him while He needs us. Were He independent of us He would not ask us to lend Him our money as your master pretends, prohibiting you to take interest and allowing us to. Had He been independent of us He would not have given us interest*.' (* The key to this seemingly blasphemous utterance is in the words 'as your master pretends'. Later Muslim scholars would have called it an ilzam, a form of the argumentum ad absurdum in which an opponent's proposition is adopted and followed to its (absurd) conclusion. The Jews had objected to contributing to the cost of the war against the Meccans saying that if God needed their money as the apostle said they must be better off than He!)

Abu Bakr was enraged and hit Finhas hard m the face, saying, Were it not for the treaty between us I would cut off your head, you enemy of Allah!' Finhas immediately went to the apostle and said, 'Look, Mohammed, at what' your companion has done.' The apostle asked Abu Bakr what had impelled him to do such a thing and he answered: 'The enemy of Allah spoke blasphemy. He alleged that Allah was poor and that they were rich and I was so angry that I hit his face.' Finhas contradicted this and denied that he had said it, so Allah sont down refuting him and confirming what Abu Bakr had said: 'Allah has heard the speech of those who say: "Allah is poor and we are rich." We shall write what they say and

their killing the prophets wrongfully and we shall say, Taste the punishment of burning (Koran 3.177; Notice how much Islam is obsessed with torture, torment, fear, pain, punishment, anger and hatred against any non-Muslim or any other kind of 'law-breaker'. These emotional displays are not only rhetoric but became a cult meant to be real. Notice also in what kind of environment this fervour grew up. In the 6th and 7th centuries, the entire West of Asia, the North of Africa, and Europe in its entirety were in the grip of severeral different plagues, most nations were engulfed in total war. An incredible misery and a cult of torture and death was the outcome, pretty much like in medieval Europe between the 14th to the 16th centuries. Millions of people died on the world-war-scale.).'

And there came down concerning Abu Bakr and the anger that he felt: 'And you will certainly hear from those who received the book before you and from the polytheists much wrong but if you persevere and fear God that is of the steadfastness of things.'

Then He said concerning what Finhas and the other rabbis with him said: 'And when God laid a charge upon those who had received the book: You are to make it clear to men and not to conceal it, they cast it behind their backs and sold it for a small price. Wretched is the exchange!

Think not that those who rejoice in what they have done and want to be praised for what they have not done—think not that they will escape the punishment: theirs will be a painful punishment*.' (* Koran 3.114; Muslims, just like the Jewish ancient Messianic Movement from the Qumran communities and James the brother of Jesus, believe to follow a righteous cause by absolutely following 'the book', the 'Law of God'. Threatenings, hatred, and punishments are considered righteous and important political tools to achieve total suppremacy over Kafirs, apostates, traitors and other opponents.) He means Finhas and Ashya and the rabbis like them who rejoice in what they enjoy of worldly things by making error attractive to men and wish to be praised for what they have not done so that men will say they are learned when they are nothing of the kind, not bringing them to truth and guidance and wanting men to say that they have so done.

Kardam, Usama, Nafi, Bahri, Huyayy, and Rifaa (Their names have already been given in full.) used to go to some of the helpers advising them not to contribute to the public expenses, 'for we fear that you will come to poverty. Don't be in a hurry to contribute, for you do not know the outcome.' So God sent down concerning them: 'Who are avaricious and enjoin avarice on others concealing the bounty they have received from God', i.e. the Torah which confirms what Mohammed brought (One would naturally suppose that their wealth is referred to here.). 'We have prepared for the unbelievers a shameful punishment, and those who spend their money to be seen of men and believe not in God and the last day' as far as the words 'God knows about them'.

Rifaa was a notable Jew. When he spoke to the apostle he twisted his tongue and said: 'Give us your attention, Mohammed, so that we can make you understand.' Then he attacked Islam and reviled it. So God sent down concerning him: 'Hast thou considered those to whom a part of the book has been given how they buy error and wish that you should err as to the way. But God knows best about your enemies. God is sufficient as a friend and helper. Some of the Jews change words from their contexts and say: We hear and disobey; hear thou as one that heareth not and listen to us, twisting their tongues and attacking religion. Had they said, We hear and we obey; hear thou and look at us, it would have been better for them and more upright. But God has cursed them for their unbelief and only a few will believe*.' (Koran 4.47; This text shows that Mohammed knew (1st) that when they said 'We hear' and 'asaynd they were playing on the similar-sounding Hebrew word asinu (with sin) meaning 'we carry out', and (2nd) that raina to them meant 'our evil one'. It seems, therefore, probable that ghayra musmain is not to be understood in the sense given above, but as a vocative, 'O thou that hast not been made to hear", i.e. thou who hast not received a divine revelation. The 'tongue-twisting' is revealed as the sarcastic use of Arabic in a Hebrew sense by a bilingual scholar.)

The apostle spoke to two of the chiefs of the Jewish rabbis Abdullah b. Suriya al-A'war and Kab b. Asad calling on them to accept Islam, for they knew that he had brought them the truth; but they denied that they knew it and were obstinate in their unbelief. So God sent down concerning them: 'O you to whom the book was sent, Believe in what We have sent down in confirmation of what you have before We efface (your) features and turn them back to front or curse you as We cursed the sabbath-breakers when God's command was carried out' (Koran 4.50) (319).

And those who formed parties of (the) Quraysh and Ghatafan and B. Qurayza were Huyayy and Sallam and Abu Rafi and al-Rabi' and Abu 'Ammar and Wahwah b. Amir, and Haudha b. Qays, the latter three being of B. Wail while the rest were of B. al-Nadir. When they came to (the) Quraysh they told them that these were Jewish rabbis, the folk who possessed the first (sacred) book, and they could ask them whether their religion or that of Mohammed was the better. When they did ask them they answered: 'Your religion is better than his and you are on a better path than he and those who follow him.' So God sent down concerning them: 'Hast thou considered those to whom a part of the book has been sent how they believe in al-Jibt and al-Taghut? (320). And they say of those who disbelieve: These are better guided to the right path than those who believe' as far as the words 'or are they envious of men because God has given them of His bounty. We gave the family of Abraham the book and wisdom and We gave them a great kingdom (Koran 4.57).'

Sukayn and Adly b. Zayd said: 'O Mohammed, we do not know of God's having sent down to mortals anything after Moses.' So God sent down concerning their words: 'We have revealed unto thee as we revealed unto Noah and the prophets after him, and we revealed unto Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob and the tribes and Jesus and Job and Jonah and Aaron and Solomon and we brought to David the Psalms; and apostles We have told thee of before and apostles We have not told thee of; and God spoke directly to Moses; apostles bringing good news and warning that men might have no argument against God after the apostles (had come). God is Mighty, Wise (Koran 4.161).'

A number of them came in to the apostle and he said to them, 'Surely you know that I am an apostle from God to you.' They replied that they did not know it and would not bear witness to him. So God sent down concerning their words: 'But God testifies concerning what He has sent down to thee. With His knowledge did He send it down and the angels bear witness. And God is sufficient as a witness.'

The apostle went out to the B. al-Nadir to ask their help in the matter of the blood-money of the two Amirites whom Amr b. Umayya al-Damri had slain. And when they were alone together they said, 'You will not find Mohammed nearer than he is now; so what man will get on top of the house and throw a stone on him so that we may be rid of him?' Amr b. Jihash b. Kab volunteered to do so. The apostle got to know of their scheme and he left them and God sent down concerning him and his people's intention: 'O you who believe, remember God's favour to you when a people purposed to stretch out their hands against you and He withheld their hands from you. Fear God and on God let the believers rely (Koran 5.14).'

Numan b. Ada and Bahri b. Amr and Sha's b. Adiy came to the apostle and he invited them to come to God and warned them of His vengeance.

They replied: 'You cannot frighten us, Mohammed. We are the sons and the beloved of God' as the Christians say. So God sent down concerning them: 'And the Jews and the Christians say, We are the sons and the beloved of God. Say, Then why does He punish you for your sins? Nay you are but mortals of those He has created. He pardons whom He will and He punishes whom He will and to God belongs the kingdom of the heavens and the earth and what lies between them and to Him is the journeying (Koran 5.21; The last word masir may mean 'return').'

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The apostle invited the Jews to Islam and made it attractive to them and warned them of God's jealousy and His retribution; but they repulsed him and denied what he brought them. Muadh b. Jabal and Sad b. Ubada and Uqba b. Wahb said to them: 'Fear God, for you know right well that he is the apostle of God and you used to speak of him to us before his mission and describe him to us.' Rafi b. Huraymila and Wahb b. Yahudhi said, 'We never said that to you, and God has sent down no book since Moses nor sent an evangelist or warner after him.' So God sent down concerning their words: 'O scripture folk, our apostle has come to you to make things plain to you after a cessation of apostles lest you should say: No evangelist and no warner has come to us when an evangelist and warner has come to you (now). God is able to do all things.'

Then he recounted to them the story of Moses and their opposition to him, and how they disobeyed God's commands through him so that they wandered in the wilderness forty years as a punishment.

Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri told me that he heard a learned man of Muzayna telling Said b. al-Musayyab that Abu Hurayra had told them that Jewish rabbis had gathered in their school when the apostle came to Medina. A married man had committed adultery with a married woman and they said: 'Send them to Mohammed and ask him what the law about them is and leave the penalty to him. If he prescribes tajbih (which is scourging with a rope of palm fibre smeared with pitch, the blackening of their faces, mounting on two donkeys with their faces to the animal's tail) then follow him, for he is a king and believe in him. If he prescribes stoning for them, he is a prophet so beware lest he deprive you of what you hold.' They brought the pair to Mohammed and explained the position. The prophet walked to meet the rabbis in the school house and called on them to bring out their learned men and they produced Abdullah b. Suriya.

One of the B. Qurayza told me that Abu Yasir and Wahb b. Yahudha were with them and the apostle questioned them so that he got to the bottom of their affair until they said (pointing) to Abdullah b. Suriya, 'This is the most learned man living in the Torah' (321).

He was one of the youngest of them and when the apostle was alone with him he put him on his oath as to whether the Torah did not prescribe stoning for adulterers. 'Yes,' he said, 'they know right well, Abul-Qasim, that you are a prophet sent (by God) but they envy you.' The apostle went out to them and commanded that the two should be stoned and they were stoned at the door of his mosque among B. Ghanm b. Malik b. al-Najjar. Afterwards Ibn Suriya disbelieved and denied that the apostle was a prophet. So God sent down concerning them: 'O apostle, let not those who vie with one another in unbelief sadden thee, those who say with their mouths, We believe, but their hearts do not believe, those Jews who listen to lies, listening for other people who do not come to thee,' i.e. those who sent others and stayed behind themselves and gave them orders to change the judgement from its context. Then He said: 'They change words from their places, saying, If this be given to you receive it, and if it is not given to you, i.e. the stoning, beware of it', etc.

Mohammed b. Talha b. Yazid b. Rukana from Ismail b. Ibrahim from Ibn Abbas told me that the apostle ordered them to be stoned, and they were stoned at the door of his mosque. And when the Jew felt the first stone he crouched over the woman to protect her from the stones until both of them were killed. This is what God did for the apostle in exacting the penalty for adultery from the pair.

Salih b. Kaisan from Nafi, freedman of Abdullah b. Umar from Abdullah b. Umar, told me: When the apostle gave judgement about them he asked for a Torah. A rabbi sat there reading it having put his hand over the verse of stoning. Abdullah b. Salam struck the rabbi's hand, saying, This, O prophet of God, is the verse of stoning which he refuses to read to you.' The apostle said, 'Woe to you Jews! What has induced you to abandon the judgement of God which you hold in your hands?' They answered: 'The sentence used to be carried out until a man of royal birth and noble origin committed adultery and the king refused to allow him to be stoned. Later another man committed adultery and the king wanted him to be stoned but they said No, not until you stone so-and-so. And when they said that to him they agreed to arrange the matter by tajbih and they did away with all mention of stoning.' The apostle said: 'I am the first to revive the order of God and His book and to practise it.' They were duly stoned and Abdullah b. Umar said, 'I was among those that stoned them.'

Daud b. al-Husayn from Ikrima from Ibn Abbas said that the verses of The Table in which God said: 'Then judge between them or withdraw from them and if you withdraw from them they will do thee no harm. And if thou judgest, judge with fairness, for God loveth those who deal fairly' were sent down concerning the blood-money between B. al-Nadir and B. Qurayza. Those slain from B. al-Nadir were leaders and they wanted the whole bloodwit while B. Qurayza wanted half of it. They referred the matter for arbitration to the apostle, and God sent down that passage concerning them. The apostle ordered that the matter should be settled justly and awarded the bloodwit in equal shares. But God knows which account is correct.

Kab b. Asad and Ibn Saluba and his son Abdullah and Sha's said one to another, 'Let us go to Mohammed to see if we can seduce him from his religion, for he is only a mortal'; so they went to him and said: 'You know, Mohammed, that we are the rabbis, nobles, and leaders of the Jews; and if we follow you the rest of the Jews will follow you and not oppose us. Now we have a quarrel outstanding with some of our people and if we believe in you and say that you are truthful will you, if we appoint you arbitrator between us, give judgement in our favour?' The apostle refused to do so and God sent down concerning them: 'And judge between them by what God has sent down and follow not their vain desires; and beware of them lest they seduce thee from some of what God has sent down to thee. And if they turn their backs then know that God wishes to smite them for some of their sins. Many men are evil-doers. Is it that they are seeking the judgement of paganism? Who is better than God in judgement for a people who are certain? (Koran 5.54)

Abu Yasir and Nafi b. Abu Nafi and Azir and Khalid and Zayd and Izar and Ashya came to the apostle and asked him about the apostles he believed in. So the apostle said: 'We believe in God and what he has sent down to us and what was sent down to Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob and the tribes and what was given to Moses and Jesus and what was given to the prophets from their Lord ; we make no difference between any one of them. And we are submissive unto Him (Koran 3.58).' When he mentioned Jesus, Son of Mary, they denied that he was a prophet, saying, 'We do not believe in Jesus, Son of Mary, or in anyone who believes in him.' So God sent down concerning them: 'O Scripture folk, do you blame us for anything but our belief in God and what He has sent down to us and what was sent down aforetime and because most of you are evil-doers? (Koran 5.64)'

Rafi b. Haritha and Sallam b. Mishkam and Malik b. al-Sayf and Rafi b. Huraymila came to him and said: 'Do you not allege that you follow the religion of Abraham and believe in the Torah which we have and testify that it is the truth from God?' He replied, 'Certainly, but you have sinned and broken the covenant contained therein and concealed what you were ordered to make plain to men, and I dissociate myself from your sin.' They said, 'We hold by what we have. We live according to the guidance and the truth and we do not believe in you and we will not follow you.' So God sent down concerning them: 'Say, O Scripture folk, you have no standing until you observe the Torah and the Gospel and what has been sent down to you from your Lord. What has been sent down to thee from thy Lord will assuredly increase many of them in error and unbelief. But be not sad because of the unbelieving people (Koran 5.72; meaning any Kafir).'

Al-Nahham and Qardam and Bahri came and said to him: 'Do you not know that there is another god with God?' The apostle answered: 'God, there is no God but He. With that (message) I was sent and that I preach.' God sent down concerning their words: 'Say, What is the greatest testimony? Say God is witness between me and you, and this Koran has been revealed to me that I might warn you by it and whomsoever it reaches. Do you actually testify that with God there are other gods? Say, I do not testify to that. Say He is only One God, and I dissociate myself from what you associate (with Him). Those to whom We sent the book know it as they know their own sons. Those who destroy themselves will not believe (The charge of polytheism made against the Jews is very puzzling and hard to explain. Certainly this passage [Sura 6.19] and the context in which it occurs refers not to the Jews but to the polytheists. That could be one reason. Another is that he wanted to get rid of the political Jewish problem as the Jews accounted for about half of the population. In mind of the Messianic Jews, Mohammed was a liar and imposter as many 'messiahs' and 'prophets' before him and at his time too. This was most certainly a daunting prospect for the future of his Islam in which he demanded total submission of everybody--do not forget: Islam means Submission / Surrender!)."

Rifaa and Suwayd had hypocritically affected to embrace Islam and some of the Muslims were friendly with them. So God sent down concerning these two men: 'O Believers, choose not as friends those who have chosen your religion to make a jest and game of it from among those who received the scripture before you, nor the unbelievers, and fear God if you are believers', as far as the words 'And when they come to you they say, Wc believe, but they came in in unbelief and they went out with it and God knows best about what they are concealing (Koran 5.62).'

Jabal and Shamwil came to the apostle and said: 'Tell us when the hour will be if you are a prophet as you say.' So God sent down concerning them: 'They will ask you about the hour when it will come to pass. Say, only my Lord knows of it. None but He will reveal it at its proper time. It is heavy in the heavens and the earth. Suddenly will it come upon you. They will ask you as though you knew about it. Say Only God knows about it, but most men do not know (Koran 7.186; To make sense we must supply the words 'that they do not know at the end.)' (322).

Sallam and Numan b. Aufa and Mahmud b. Dihya and Sha's and Malik came and said to him: 'How can we follow you when you have abandoned our Qibla and you do not allege that Uzayr is the son of God?' So God sent down concerning these words: 'The Jews say that Uzayr is the son of God and the Christians say the Messiah is the son of God. That is what they say with their mouths copying the speech of those who disbelieved aforetime. God fight them! How perverse they are' to the end of the passage (Koran 9.30) (323).

Mahmud b. Sayhan and Numan b. Ada and Bahri and Lzayr and Sallam came to him and said: 'Is it true, Mohammed, that what you have brought is the truth from God? For our part we cannot see that it is arranged as the Torah is.' He answered, 'You know quite well that it is from God; you will find it written in the Torah which you have. If men and jinn came together to produce its like they could not.' Finhas and Abdullah b. Suriya and Ibn Saluba and Kinana b. al Rabi and Ashya and Kab b. al-Asad and Shamwil and Jabal were there and they said: 'Did neither men nor jinn tell you this, Mohammed?' He said: 'You know well that it is from God and that I am the apostle of God. You will find it written in the Torah you have.' They said: 'When God sends an apostle He does for him what he wishes, so bring down a book to us from heaven that we may read it and know what it is, otherwise we will produce one like the one you bring.' So God sent down concerning their words: 'Say, Though men and jinn should meet to produce the like of this Koran they would not produce its like though one helped the other' (Koran 17.90) (324).

Huyayy, Kab, Abu Rafi, Ashya, and Shamwil said to Abdullah b. Salam when he became a Muslim, 'There is no prophecy among the Arabs, but your master is a king.' Then they went to the apostle and asked him about Dhul-Qarnayn and he told them what God had sent him about him from what he had already narrated to (the) Quraysh. They were of those who ordered (the) Quraysh to ask the apostle about him when they sent al-Nadr and Uqba to them.

I was told that Said b. Jubayr said: A number of Jews came to the apostle and said: 'Now, Mohammed, Allah created creation, but who created Allah?' The apostle was so angry that his colour changed and he rushed at them being indignant for his Lord. Gabriel came and quietened him saying, 'Calm yourself, O Mohammed.' And an answer to what they asked came to him from God: 'Say, He God is One. God the Eternal. He begetteth not neither is He begotten and there is none equal to Him.'

When he recited that to them they said, 'Describe His shape to us, Mohammed; his forearm and his upper arm, what are they like?' The apostle was more angry than before and rushed at them. Gabriel came to him and spoke as before. And an answer to what they asked came to him from God: 'They think not of God as He ought to be thought of; the whole earth will be in His grasp at the day of resurrection and the heavens folded up in His right hand. Glorified and Exalted is He above what they associate with Him.'

'Utba b. Muslim freedman of the B. Taym from Abu Salama b. Abdul-Rahman from Abu Hurayra told me: I heard the apostle say, 'Men question their prophet to such an extent that one would almost say, Now God created creation, but who created God? And if they say that, say ye: He God is One,' etc. Then let a man spit three times to the left and say 'I take refuge in God from Satan the damned' (325).

A DEPUTATION FROM THE CHRISTIANS OF NAJRAN

A deputation from the Christians of Najran came to the apostle. There were sixty riders, fourteen of them from their nobles of whom three were in control of affairs, namely (1st) the Aqib the leader of the people, a man of affairs, and their chief adviser whose opinion governed their policy, Abdul-Masih by name; (2nd) the Sayyid, their administrator who saw to transport and general arrangements, whose name was al-Ayham; and (3rd) their Bishop, scholar, and religious leader who controlled their schools, Abu Haritha b. Alqama, one of B. Bakr b. Wail.

Abu Haritha occupied a position of honour among them, and was a great student, so that he had an excellent knowledge of their religion, and the Christian emperors of the Roman Empire had honoured him and paid him a subsidy and gave him servants, built churches for him and lavished honours on him, because of his knowledge and zeal for their religion.

When they set out from Najran to see the apostle Abu Haritha was riding on a mule of his with a brother at his side whose name was Kuz b. Alqama (326). Abu Haritha's mule stumbled and Kuz said, 'May So-and-so stumble,' [i.e. Curse him!], meaning the apostle. Abu Haritha said, 'Nay but may you stumble.' 'But why, brother?' he asked. 'Because by God he is the prophet we have been waiting for.' Kuz said, 'Then if you know that, what stops you from accepting him?' He replied, 'The way these people have treated us. They have given us titles, paid us subsidies, and honoured us. But they

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are absolutely opposed to him, and if I were to accept him they would take from us all that you see.' Kuz pondered over the matter until later he adopted Islam, and used to tell this story, so I have heard (327).

Mohammed b. Jafar b. al-Zubayr told me that when they came to Medina they came into the apostle's mosque as he prayed the afternoon prayer clad in YamanI garments, cloaks, and mantles, with the elegance of men of B. al-Harith b. Kab. The prophet's companions who saw them that day said that they never saw their like in any deputation that came afterwards. The time of their prayers having come they stood and prayed in the apostle's mosque, and he said that they were to be left to do so. They prayed towards the east.

The names of the fourteen principal men among the sixty riders were: Abdul-Maslh the Aqib, al-Ayham the Sayyid; Abu Haritha b. Alqama brother of B. Bakr b. Wail; Aus; al-Harith; Zayd; Qays; Yazid; Nubayh; Khuwaylid; Amr; Khalid; Abdullah; Johannes; of these the first three named above spoke to the apostle. They were Christians according to the Byzantine rite, though they differed among themselves in some points, saying He is God; and He is the son of God; and He is the third person of the Trinity, which is the doctrine of Christianity. They argue that he is God because he used to raise the dead, and heal the sick, and declare the unseen; and make clay birds and then breathe into them so that they flew away (Koran 3.43), and all this was by the command of God Almighty, 'We will make him a sign to men (Koran 19.21).' They argue that he is the son of God in that they say he had no known father ; and he spoke in the cradle and this is something that no child of Adam has ever done. They argue that he is the third of three in that God says: We have done, We have commanded, We have created and We have decreed, and they say, If He were one he would have said I have done, I have created, and soon, but He is He and Jesus and Mary. Concerning all these assertions the Koran came down.

When the two divines spoke to him the apostle said to them, 'Submit (surrender) yourselves (The ordinary meaning of the word must stand here. Mohammed, of course, meant 'Become Muslims'. The Christians answered that they had already submitted themselves to God.).' They said, We have submitted.' He said: 'You have not submitted, so submit.' They said, 'Nay, but we submitted before you.' He said, 'You lie. Your assertion that God has a son, your worship of the cross, and your eating pork hold you back from submission.' They said, But 'who is his father, Mohammed?' The apostle was silent and did not answer them. So God sent down concerning their words and their incoherence the beginning of the sura of the Family of 'Imran up to more than eightv verses, and He said: 'Alif Lam Mim. God there is no God but He the living the Ever-existent.' Thus the sura begins with the statement that He transcends what they say, and His oneness in creation and authority, without associate therein, in refutation of the infidelity they have invented, and their making rivals to Him; and using their own arguments against them in reference to their master to show them their error thereby. 'God there is no God but He,' no associate is with Him in His authority. 'The Living the Ever-existent,' the living Who cannot die, whereas Jesus died and was crucified according to their doctrine; 'The Ever-existent' one who remains unceasingly in the place of His sovereignty in His creation, whereas Jesus, according to their doctrine, removed from the place where he was and went from it elsewhere. 'He has brought down to thee the book in truth,' i.e. with the truth about which they differ. 'And He sent down the Torah and the Gospel,' the Torah to Moses and the Gospel to Jesus, as He sent down books to those who were before him. 'And He sent down the Criterion,' i.e. the distinction between truth and falsehood about which the sects differ in regard to the nature* of Jesus and other matters. (* Not in the theological sense, though undoubtedly christologcal differences form background of this sura.) 'Those who disbelieve in God's signs will have a severe punishment. God is Mighty, Vengeful,' i.e. God will take vengeance on all who deny His signs after knowing about them and about what comes from Him in them. 'Nothing in heaven or earth is hidden from God,' i.e. He knows what they intend and scheme and what comparison they seek to establish in their doctrine of Jesus when they make him God and Lord, when they possess the knowledge that he is nothing of the kind, thus behaving with insolence and infidelity. He it is who forms you in the womb as He pleases i.e. Jesus was one who was formed in the womb—they do not attempt to deny that—like every other child of Adam, so how can he be God when he had occupied such a place? Then He says, to lift His transcendence and His essential Unity above what they put with Him, 'There is no God but He the Mighty the Wise.' The Mighty in His victory over those who deny Him when He wills, and the Wise in His argument and His case against His creatures. 'He it is who has sent down to thee the book which has plain verses: they are the core (Lit. 'the mother'.) of the book', in them is the divine argument, the protection of (His) creatures, and the thrusting aside of controversy and falsehood. These are not subject to modification or alteration* in the meaning which has been given. (* The two words used, tasrif and tahrif, are not always clearly defined by the Arab commentators. Lane says that the tafrif of the verses means 'the varying or diversifying of the verses of the Koran by repeating them in different forms, or the making of them distinct in their meanings by repeating and varying them'. As to tahrif. Buhl's article in E.I. should be consulted: 'It may happen in various ways, by direct alteration of the written text, by arbitrary alterations in reading aloud the text which is itself correct, by omitting parts of it or by interpolations or by a wrong exposition of the true sense. . . .' Ibn Ishaq says that neither the plain nor the obscure verses may be treated with tahrif; but in the latter category tafrif and interpretation may be resorted to—i.e. a meaning may be given to them which the words taken as they stand do not justify.) 'And others are obscure', they are subject to modification and interpretation. By them God tests His creatures as He tests them with things permitted and forbidden that they should not be changed into what is false and altered by declining from the truth. 'But as to those in whose hearts is a deviation,' i.e. turning away from true guidance, 'they follow what is ambiguous,' i.e. what can be otherwise interpreted to substantiate thereby what they have invented and introduced anew that they may have an argument and a plausible reason for their doctrine, 'desiring fitna,' i.e. confusion, and 'desiring an arbitrary interpretation,' e.g. the error they adopted in explaining 'We created' and 'We decreed'. 'And none knows its interpretation,' i.e. what they mean by it, 'except God; and those grounded in knowledge. They say, We believe in it. Everything comes from our Lord.' So how can there be any controversy when it is one speech from one Lord ? Then they carry over the interpretation of the obscure to the plain which can have only one meaning and thus the book becomes consistent, one part confirming another, the argument effective and the case clear; falsehood is excluded and unbelief is overcome. 'None but the intelligent take heed' in this way. 'O Lord, Suffer not our hearts to go astray after Thou hast guided us,' i.e. Do not let our hearts swerve, though we swerve aside through our sins. 'Grant us mercy from Thy presence. Thou art the Generous Giver.' Then He says, 'God witnesses that there is no God but He, and the angels and the men of knowledge too' contrary to what they say 'subsisting ever in justice,' i.e. in equity. 'There is no God but He the Mighty the Wise. The religion with God is Islarh,' i.e. the religion you practise, O Mohammed, acknowledging the oneness of God and confirming the apostles. 'Those to whom the book was brought differed only after knowledge had come to them,' i.e. that which came to thee, namely that God is One without associate, 'through transgression among themselves. And whosoever disbelieves in God's revelations—God is swift to take into account. And if they argue with thee,' i.e. with the false doctrine they produce about 'We created,' 'We did', and 'We commanded', it is only a specious argument devoid of truth. 'Say, I have surrendered my purpose to God,' i.e. to Him alone, 'as have those who follow me. And 'say to those who received the book and to the gentile (converts) who have no book, 'Have you surrendered? For if they have surrendered they will be rightly guided and if they turn their backs it is only incumbent on thee to deliver the message. And God sees (His) servants.'

Then He combined the Jews and Christians and reminded them of what they had newly invented and said: 'Those who disbelieve in God's revelations and kill the prophets wrongfully and kill men who enjoin justice' as far as the words, 'Say, O God possessor of sovereignty,' i.e. Lord of mankind and the King who alone decrees among them. 'Thou givest sovereignty to whom Thou wilt and takest it away from whom Thou wilt. Thou exaltest and abasest whom Thou wilt; in Thy hand is good,' i.e. there is no God but Thee. 'Thou canst do all things,' i.e. none but Thou can do this in thy majesty and power. 'Thou causest the night to pass into day and the day into night and bringest forth the living from the dead and the dead from the living' by that power. 'And Thou nurturest whom Thou wilt without stint.' None has power to do that but Thou; i.e. though I gave Jesus power over those matters in virtue of which they say that he is God such as raising the dead, healing the sick, creating birds of clay, and declaring the unseen, I made him thereby a sign to men and a confirmation of his prophethood wherewith I sent him to his people.

But some of My majesty and power I withheld from him such as appointing kings by a prophetic command and placing them where I wished, and making the night to pass into day and the day into night and bringing forth the living from the dead and the dead from the living and nurturing whom I will without stint, both the good and the evil man. All that I withheld from Jesus and gave him no power over it. Have they not an example and a clear proof that if he were a God all that would be within his power, while they know that he fled from kings and because of them he moved about the country from town to town.

Then he admonished and warned the believers and said: Say, If you love God,' i.e. if what you say is true in love to God and in glorifying Him 'and follow me, God will love you and forgive you your sins,' i.e. your past unbelief. 'And God is Forgiving Merciful. Say, Obey God and His apostle,' for you know him and find him (mentioned) in your book. But it you turn back,' i.e. to your unbelief, 'God loveth not the unbelievers

Then He explained to them how what God intended to do with Jesus originated and said: 'God chose Adam and Noah and the family of Abraham and the family of 'Imran above the worlds. They were descendants one of another and God is a Hearer, a Knower.' Then he mentioned the affair of 'Imran's wife and how she said: 'My Lord, I vow to Thee what is in my womb as a consecrated offering,' i.e. I have vowed him and made him entirely devoted to God's service subservient to no worldly interest. 'Accept (him) from me. Thou art the Seer the Knower. And when she was delivered of him she said: O my Lord, I have given birth to a female —and God knew best of what she was delivered— and the male is not as the female,' i.e. the two were not the same when I vowed her to thee as a consecrated offering. 'I have called her Mary and I put her in Thy keeping and her offspring from Satan the damned.' God said: 'And her Lord accepted her with kindly acceptance and made her grow up to a goodly growth and made Zachariah her guardian' after her father and mother were dead (328).

He mentions that she was an orphan and tells of her and Zachariah and what he prayed for and what He gave him when He bestowed on him Yahya. Then He mentions Mary and how the angels said to her, 'O Mary, God hath chosen thee and purified thee and chosen thee above the women of the worlds. O Mary, be obedient to Thy Lord and prostrate thyself and bow with those that bow', saying, 'That is some of the tidings of things hidden. We reveal it to thee. Thou wast not present with them,' i.e. thou wast not with them 'when they threw their arrows to know which of them should be the guardian of Mary' (329).

Later her guardian was Jurayj, the ascetic, a carpenter of B. Isra'il. The arrow came out for him so he took her, Zachariah having been her guardian heretofore. A grievous famine befell B. Isra'il and Zachariah was unable to support her so they cast lots to see who should be her guardian and the lot fell on Jurayj the ascetic and he became her guardian. 'And thou wast not with them when they disputed,' i.e. about her. He tells him about what they concealed from him though they knew it to prove his prophethood and as an argument against them by telling them what they had concealed from him.

Then He said: 'Then the angels said: O Mary, God giveth thee good tidings of a word from Him whose name is the Messiah Jesus, Son of Mary,' i.e. thus was his affair not as you say concerning him, 'illustrious in this world and the next,' i.e. with God 'and of those who are brought near ('to God' or 'by God'.). He will speak to men in his cradle and as a grown man, and he is of the righteous ones,' telling them of the phases of life through which he would pass like the other sons of Adam in their lives young and old, although God marked him out by speech in his cradle as a sign of his prophethood and to show mankind where his power lay. 'She said, O my Lord, how can I have a child when no man hath touched me? He said: Thus (it will be) God creates what He will,' i.e. He does what He wishes, and creates what He wills of mortal or non-mortal. 'When He decrees a thing He merely says to it Be' of what He wills and how He wills 'And it is' as He wishes.

Then He tells her of His intention in regard to him: 'And He will teach him the book and the wisdom and the Torah' which had been with them from the time of Moses before him 'and the Gospel,' another book which God initiated and gave to him they had only the mention of him that he would be one of the prophets after him. 'And an apostle to B. Israil (saying) I have come to you with a sign from your Lord,' i.e. confirming thereby my prophethood that I am an apostle from Him to you. 'I will create for you from clay the likeness of the form of birds and I will breathe into them and they will become birds by God's permission,' Who has sent me unto you, He being my Lord and yours 'and I will heal him who was born blind and the leper' (330). 'And I will quicken the dead by God's permission and I will tell you of what you eat and store up in your houses. Therein is a sign for you' that I am an apostle from God to you, 'if you become believers. And confirming that which was before me of the Torah,' i.e. what of it preceded me, 'and to make lawful to you some of that which was forbidden you,' i.e. I tell you about it that it was forbidden you and you abandoned it; then I make it lawful to you to relieve you of it and you can enjoy it and be exempt from its penalties. 'And I bring you signs from your Lord, so fear God and obey me. God is my Lord and your Lord,' i.e. disowning what they say about him and proving that his Lord (is God). 'So worship Him. This is a straight path,' i.e. that to which I urge you and bring you. 'But when Jesus perceived their disbelief and enmity against him 'He said, Who are my helpers towards God? The disciples said: We are God's helpers. We believe in God.' This is their saying by which they gained favour from their Lord. 'And bear witness that we are Muslims,' not what those who argue with thee say about Him. 'O our Lord, we believe in what Thou hast sent down and we follow the apostle, so write us down among the witnesses,' i.e. thus was their saying and their faith.

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Then He mentions His taking up of Jesus to Himself when they decided to kill him and says: 'And they plotted and God plotted and God is the best of plotters.' Then He tells them—refuting what they assert of the Jews in regard to his crucifixion—how He took him up and purified him from them and says: 'When God said, O Jesus I am about to cause thee to die and to exalt thee to Myself and to purify thee from those who disbelieve' when they purposed as they did, 'and am setting those who follow thee above those who disbelieve until the day of resurrection.' The narration continues until the words 'This which We recite unto thee,' O Mohammed, 'of the signs (Koran verses) and the wise warning,' the final, the decisive, the true, in which no falsehood is mingled, of the story of Jesus and of what they differed in regard to him, so accept no other report. 'The likeness of Jesus with God,' And listen! 'is as the likeness of Adam whom God created of earth; then said to him: Be; and he was. The truth is from thy Lord,' i.e. the report which comes to thee about Jesus, 'so be not of the doubters,' i.e. the truth has come to thee from thy Lord so do not be doubtful about it; and if they say, Jesus was created without a male (intervening), I created Adam from earth by that same power without a male or a female. And he was as Jesus was: flesh and blood and hair and skin. The creation of Jesus without a male is no more wonderful than this.

Whoso argues with thee about him after knowledge has come to thee,' i.e. after I have told thee his story and how his affair was, 'Then say: Come, let us summon our sons and your sons, our wives and your wives, ourselves and yourselves, then let us pray earnestly (At the sequel shows, the meaning is 'let us invoke God's curse on which of us is lying'.) and invoke God's curse upon the liars' (331). 'Verily this' which I have brought you of the story of Jesus 'is the true story' of his affair. 'There is no God but God, and God is Mighty Wise. If they turn back God knows about the corrupt doers. Say, O Scripture folk, Come to a just word between us that we will worship only God and associate nothing with Him and some of us will not take others as lords beside God. And if they turn back say: Bear witness that we are Muslims.' Thus he invited them to justice and deprived them of their argument.

When there came to the apostle news of Jesus from God and a decisive judgement between him and them, and he was commanded to resort to mutual invocation of a curse if they opposed him, he summoned them to begin. But they said: 'O Abu l-Qasim, let us consider our affairs; then we will come to you later with our decision.' So they left him and consulted with the Aqib who was their chief adviser and asked him what his opinion was. He said: 'O Christians, you know right well that Mohammed is a prophet sent (by God) and he has brought a decisive declaration about the nature of your master. You know too that a people has never invoked a curse on a prophet and seen its elders live and its youth grow up. If you do this you will be exterminated. But if you decide to adhere to your religion and to maintain your doctrine about your master, then take your leave of the man and go home.' So they came to the apostle and told him that they had decided not to resort to cursing and to leave him in his religion and return home. But they would like him to send a man he could trust to decide between them in certain financial matters in dispute among them.

Mohammed b. Jafar said: The apostle said, 'If you come to me this evening I will send a firm and trusty man.' Umar used to say, 'I never wanted an office more than I wanted that one and hoped that I should get it. I went to the noon prayer in the heat and when the apostle had concluded it he looked to right and left and I began to stretch myself to my full height so that he could see me; but he kept on searching with his eyes until he saw Abu 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrah and calling him he said, "Go with them and judge between them faithfully in matters they dispute about."' So, said Umar, Abu 'Ubayda went with them.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE HYPOCRITES

Asim b. Umar b. Qatada told me that when the apostle came to Medina the leader there was Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Salul al-Auf of the clan of B. al-Hubla; none of his own people contested his authority and Aus and Khazraj never rallied to one man before or after him until Islam came, as they did to him. With him was a man of Aus whom Aus obeyed, Abu Amir Abdu Amr b. Sayfi b. al-Numan, one of B. Dubaya b. Zayd, the father of Hanzala, 'the washed' on the day of Uhud.' He had been an ascetic in pagan days and had worn a coarse hair garment and was called 'the monk'. These two men were damned through their high status and it did them harm.

Abdullah b. Ubayy's people had made a sort of jewelled diadem to crown him and make him their king when God sent His apostle to them; so when his people forsook him in favour of Islam he was filled with enmity realising that the apostle had deprived him of his kingship. However, when he saw that his people were determined to go over to Islam he went too, but unwillingly, retaining his enmity and dissimulating.

Abu Amir stubbornly refused to believe and abandoned his people when they went over to Islam and went off to Mecca with about ten followers to get away from Islam and the apostle. Mohammed b. Abu Umama from one of the family of Hanzala b. Abu Amir told me that the apostle said, 'Don't call him the monk but the evil-doer.'

Jafar b. Abdullah b. Abul-Hakam whose memory went back to apostolic days and who was a narrator of tradition told me that before he left for Mecca Abu Amir came to the apostle in Medina to ask him about the religion he had brought.

'The Hanifiya, the religion of Abraham.'

That is what I follow.'

'You do not.'

'But I do! You, Mohammed, have introduced into the Hanifiya things

which do not belong to it.'

'I have not. I have brought it pure and white.'

'May God let the liar die a lonely, homeless, fugitive!' (meaning the

apostle as if he had falsified his religion).

'Well and good. May God so reward him!'

That actually happened to the enemy of God. He went to Mecca and when the apostle conquered it he went to (the City of) Taif; when Taif became Muslim he went to Syria and died there a lonely, homeless, fugitive.

Now there went with him Alqama b. Ulatha b. Auf b. al-Ahwas b. Jafar b. Kilab, and Kinana b. Abd Yalil b. Amr b. Umayr al-Thaqafi.

When he died they brought their rival claims to his property before Caesar,

lord of Rome (Nova Roma = Constantinople = Constantinopolis). Caesar said, 'Let townsmen inherit townsmen and let nomads inherit nomads.' So Kinana b. Abd Yalil inherited his property and not Alqama.

Kab b. Malik said of Abu Amir and what he had done:

God save me from an evil deed

Like yours against your clan, O Abdu Amr.

You said, 'I have honour and wealth',

But of old you sold your faith for infidelity (332).

Abdullah b. Ubayy while maintaining his position among his people kept wavering until finally he adopted Islam unwillingly.

Mohammed b. Muslim al-Zuhrl from Urwa b. al-Zubayr from Usama b. Zayd b. Haritha, the beloved friend of the apostle, told me that the apostle rode to Sad b. Ubada to visit him during his illness, mounted on an ass with a saddle surmounted by a cloth of Fadak with a bridle* of palmfibre. Said Zayd: 'The apostle gave me a seat behind him. He passed Abdullah b. Ubayy as he was sitting in the shade of his fort Muzaham (333). Round him were sitting some of his men, and when the apostle saw him his sense of politeness would not allow him to pass without alighting. So he got off the animal and sat for a little while reciting the Koran and inviting him to God. He admonished and warned him and preached the good news to him while he, with his nose in the air, uttered not a word. Finally, when the apostle had finished speaking he said, "There would be nothing finer than what you say if it were true. But sit in your own house and if anyone comes, talk to him about it; but don't importune those who do not come to you, and do not come into a man's gathering with talk which he does not like." Abdullah b. Rawaha, who was one of the Muslims who were sitting with him, said, "Nay, do come to us with it and come into our gatherings and quarters and houses. For by God it is what we love and what God has honoured us with, and guided us to." When Abdullah b. Ubayy saw that his people were opposed to him he said:

When your friend is your opponent you will always be humiliated

And your adversaries will overthrow you.

Can the falcon mount without his wings?

If his feathers are clipped he falls to the ground (334).

Al-Zuhri from Urwa b. al-Zubayr from Usama told me that the apostle got up and went into the house of Sad b. 'Ubada, his face showing the emotions raised by Ibn Ubayy, the enemy of God. Sa'd asked the apostle why he looked so angry as though he had heard something that displeased him, and then he told him what Ibn Ubayy had said. Sa'd said: 'Do not be hard on him; for God sent you to us as we were making a diadem to crown him, and by God he thinks that you have robbed him of a kingdom.'

FEVER ATTACKS THE APOSTLE'S COMPANIONS

Hisham b. Urwa and Umar b. Abdullah b. Urwa from Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me that Aisha said: When his apostle came to Medina it was the most fever-infested land on earth, and his companions suffered severely from it, though God kept it from His apostle (This is a realistic description of the 'Justinian Plague' that was ravaging the entire Mediterranean and neighbouring regions between the 6th and 8th centuries.). Amir b. Fuhayra and Bilal, freedmen of Abu Bakr, were with him in one house when the fever attacked them, and I came in to visit them, for the veil had not then been ordered for us. Only God knows how much they suffered from the fever. I came to my father and asked him how he fared and he said:

Any man might be greeted by his family in the morning

While death was nearer than the thong of his sandal.

I thought that my father did not know what he was saying. Then I went to Amir and asked him how he was and he said:

I have experienced death before actually tasting it:

The coward's death comes upon him as he sits.

Every man resists it with all his might

Like the ox who protects his body with his horns (335).

I thought that 'Amir did not know what he was saying. Bilal when the fever left him lay prostrate in a corner of the house. Then he lifted up his voice and said:

Shall I ever spend a night again in Fakhkh*

With sweet herbs and thyme around me?

Will the day dawn when I come down to the waters of Majanna

Shall I ever see Shama and Tafil again? (336)

(* Cf. Yaq. iii. 854. 11, and Bukhari, i. 471.13. Fakhkh is a place outside Mecca. Majanna in the lower part of Mecca was a market of the Arahs in pagan days.)

I told the apostle what they had said and he remarked that they were delirious and out of their minds with a high temperature. He said, "O God, make Medina as dear to us as Mecca and even dearer! And bless to us its food, and carry its fever to Mahyaa." Mahyaa is al-Juhfa**.'

(** Cf. Yaq. i. 35. 16, who says it was once a large village with a pulpit on the road from Medina to Mecca ahout four stages distant from the latter. It was the rendezvous of the Egyptians and Syrians if they wished to avoid Medina.)

Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri from Abdullah b. Amr b. al-As mentioned that, when the apostle came to Medina with his companions, the fever of Medina smote them until they were extremely ill (though God turned it away from his prophet) to such a degree that they could only pray sitting. The apostle came out to them when they were praying thus and said: 'Know that the prayer of the sitter is only half as valuable as the prayer of the stander.' Thereupon the Muslims painfully struggled to their feet despite their weakness and sickness, seeking a blessing.

Then the apostle prepared for war in pursuance of God's command to fight his enemies and to fight those polythcists who were near at hand whom God commanded him to fight. This was thirteen years after his call.

THE DATE OF THE HIJRA

By the preceding isndd from Abdullah b. Hisham who said Ziyad b. Abdullah al-Bakkai from Mohammed b. Ishaq told me that the apostle came to Medina on Monday at high noon on the 12th of Rablul-awwal.

The apostle on that day was fifty-three years of age, that being thirteen years after God called him. He stayed there for the rest of Rablul-awwal, the month of Rabiul-Akhir, the two Jumadas, Rajab, Shaban, Ramadan, Shawwal, Dhul-Qada, Dhul-Hijja (when the polytheists supervised the pilgrimage), and Muharram.

(THE RAID ON WADDAN WHICH WAS HIS FIRST RAID)

Then he went forth raiding in Safar at the beginning of the twelfth month from his coming to Medina (337) until he reached Waddan, which is the raid of al-Abwa, making for (the) Quraysh and B. Pamra b. Bakr b. Abdu Manat b. Kinana. The B. Damra there made peace with him through their leader Makhshi b. Amr al-Damra.

Then he returned to Medina without meeting war and remained there for the rest of Safar and the beginning of Rabiul-awwal (338).

THE EXPEDITION OF 'UBAYDA B. AI.-H ARITH

During that stay in Medina the apostle sent Ubayda b. al-Harith b. al-Muttalib with sixty or eighty riders from the emigrants, there not being a single one of the Ansar among them. He went as far as water in the Hijaz below Thaniyatul-Murra, where he encountered a large number of (the) Quraysh. No fighting took place except that Sad b. Abu Waqqas shot an arrow on that day. It was the first arrow to be shot in Islam. Then the two companies separated, the Muslims having a rearguard. Al-Miqdad b. Amr al-Bahrani, an ally of the B. Zuhra, and Utba b. Ghazwan b. Jabir al-Mazini, an ally of the B. Naufal b. Abdu Manaf, fled from the polytheists and joined the Muslims to whom they really belonged. They had gone out w ith the unbelievers in order to be able to link up with the Muslims.

Ikrima b. Abu Jahl was in command of the Meccans (339).

Concerning this raid Abu Bakr composed the following (340).

Could you not sleep because of the spectre of Salma in the sandy valleys,

And the important event that happened in the tribe?

You see that neither admonition nor a prophet's call

Can save some of Luayy from unbelief;

A truthful prophet came to them and they gave him the lie,

And said, 'You shall not live among us.'

When we called them to the truth they turned their backs,

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They howled like bitches driven back panting to their lairs;
With how many of them have we tics of kinship,
Yet to abandon piety drd not weigh upon them;
If they turn back from their unbelief and disobedience
(For the good and lawful is not like the abominable);
If they follow their idolatry and error
God's punishment on them will not tarry;
We are men of Ghalib's highest stock
From which nobility comes through many branches;
I swear by the lord of camels urged on at even by singing,
Their feet protected by old leather thongs,
Like the red-backed deer that haunt Mecca
Going down to the well's slimy cistern;
I swear, and I am no perjurer,
If they do not quickly repent of their error,
A valiant band will descend upon them,
Which will leave women husbandless.
It will leave dead men, with vultures wheeling round,
It will not spare the infidels as Ibn Harith did (i.e. Ubayda.).
Give the Banu Sahm with you a message
And every infidel who is trying to do evil;
If you assail* my honour in your evil opinion
I will not assail* yours.
(* Abu Dharr refers the meaning of this word to the divine omniscience. In this line possibly 'ancestry' rather than 'honour' is the meaning of 'ird'.)

Abdullah b. al-Zibara al-Sahmi replied thus:
Does your eye weep unceasingly
Over the ruins of a dwelling that the shifting sand obscures?
And one of the wonders of the days
(For time is full of wonders, old and new)
Is a strong army which came to us
Led by 'Ubayda, called Ibn Harith in war,
That we should abandon images venerated in Mecca,
Passed on to his heirs by a noble ancestor.
When we met them with the spears of Rudayna,
And noble steeds panting for the fray,
And swords so white they might be salt-strewn
In the hands of warriors, dangerous as lions,
Wherewith we deal with the conceited**
And quench our thirst for vengeance without delay,
They withdrew in great fear and awe,
Pleased with the order of him who kept them back.
Had they not done so the women would have wailed,
(** Lit., the turning away of him who turns to one side. Possibly the writer has in mind Koran 31.17, 'Turn not thy cheek in scorn towards people'.)
Bereft of their husbands all of them.
The slain would have been left for those concerned
And those utterly heedless to talk about.
Give Abu Bakr with you a message:
You have no further part in the honour of Fihr,
No binding oath that cannot be broken
That war will be renewed is needed from me (341).

Sad b. Abu Waqqas, according to reports, said about his having shot an arrow:
Has the news reached the apostle of God
That I protected my companions with my arrows?
By them I defended their vanguard
In rough ground and plain.
No archer who shoots an arrow at the enemy
Will be counted before me, O apostle of God.
'Twas (it was) because thy religion is true
Thou hast brought what is just and truthful.
By it the believers are saved
And unbelievers recompensed at the last.
Stop, thou hast gone astray, so do not slander me.
Woe to thee Abu Jahl, lost one of the tribe! (342).

The flag of Ubayda b. al-Harith according to my information was the first flag which the apostle entrusted to a believer in Islam. Some scholars allege that the apostle sent him when he came back from the raid of al-Abwa before he got to Medina.

HAMZA'S EXPEDITION TO THE SEA-SHORE

While he was staying there he sent Hamza b. Abdul-Muttalib to the seashore in the neighbourhood of Al-Is (Tabari: in the territory of Juhayna) with thirty riders from the emigrants; none of the helpers took part. He met Abu Jahl with three hundred riders from Mecca on the shore, and Majdi b. Amr al-Juhani intervened between them, for he was at peace with both parties. So the people separated one from another without fighting. Some people say that Hamza's flag was the first which the apostle gave to any Muslim because he sent him and Ubayda at the same time, and thus people became confused on the point. They alleged that Hamza had composed poetry in which he says that his flag was the first which the apostle entrusted to anyone. Now if Hamza actually said that, it is true if God wills. He would not have said it if it were not true, but God knows what happened. We have heard from learned people that 'Ubayda was the first man to receive a flag. Hamza said concerning that, so they allege (343):

Wonder, O my people, at good sense and at folly,
At lack of sound counsel and at sensible advice,
At those who have wronged us, while we have left
Their people and their property inviolate,
As though we had attacked them;
But all we did was to enjoin chastity and justice
And call them to Islam, but they received it not,
And they treated it as a joke.
They ceased not so until I volunteered to attack them
Where they dwelt, desiring the satisfaction of a task well done
At the apostle's command—the first to march beneath his flag,
Seen with none before me,
A victorious flag from a generous, mighty God,
Whose acts are the most gracious.
At even they sallied forth together,
Each man's pot burning with his companion's rage;
When we saw each other, they halted and hobbled the camels,
And we did the same an arrow-shot distant.
We said to them, 'God's rope is our victorious defence,
You have no rope but error.'
Abu Jahl warred there unjustly,
And was disappointed, for God frustrated his schemes.
We were but thirty riders, while they were two hundred and one.
Therefore, O Lu'ayy, obey not your deceivers,
Return to Islam and the easy path,
For I fear that punishment will be poured upon you
And you will cry out in remorse and sorrow.

Abu Jahl answered him, saying:
I am amazed at the causes of anger and folly
And at those who stir up strife by lying controversy,
Who abandon our fathers' ways.
Those noble, powerful men,
They come to us with lies to confuse our minds,
But their lies cannot confuse the intelligent.
We said to them, O our people, strive not with your folk-
Controversy is the utmost folly—
For if you do, your weeping women will cry out
Wailing in calamity and bereavement.
If you give up what you are doing,
We are your cousins, trustworthy and virtuous.'
They said to us, 'We find Mohammed
One whom our cultured and intelligent accept.'
When they were obstinately contentious
And all their deeds were evil,
I attacked them by the sea-shore, to leave them
Like a withered leaf on a rootless stalk.
Majdi held me and my companions back from them
And they helped me with swords and arrows
Because of an oath binding on us, which we cannot discard,
A firm tie which cannot be severed.
But for Ibn Amr I should have left some of them
Food for the ever-present vultures, unavenged:
But he had sworn an oath, which made
Our hands recoil from our swords.
If time spares me I will come at them again,
With keen, new polished swords,
In the hands of warriors from Luayy, son of Ghalib,
Generous in times of dearth and want (The language of this 'poem' and its predecessor owes much to the Koran.) (344).

THE RAID ON BUWAT

Then the apostle went raiding in the month of Rabiul-Awwal making for (the) Quraysh (345), until he reached Buwat in the neighbourhood of Radwa. Then he returned to Medina without fighting, and remained there for the rest of Rabiul-Akhir and part of Jumadal-Ula.

THE RAID ON AL-USHAYRA

Then he raided the Quraysh (346). He went by the way of B. Dinar, then by Fayfaul-Khabar, and halted under a tree in the valley of Ibn Azhar called Dhatul-Saq. There he prayed and there is his mosque. Food was prepared and they all ate there. The place occupied by the stones which supported his cooking-pot is still known. He drank from a watering place called al-Mushtarib (Tabari and Suhayli have 'al-Mushayrih'). Then he went on leaving al-Khalaiq (According to Yaqut there is a place of this name near Medina which belonged to Abdullah b. Ahmad b. Jahsh.) on the left and went through a glen called Abdullah to this day; then he bore to the left until he came down to Yalyal and halted where it joins al-Dabua.

He drank of the well at al-Dabua and then traversed the plain of Malal until he met the track in Sukhayrat al-Yamam which carried him straight to al-Ushayra in the valley of Yanbu where he stopped during Jumadal-Ula and some days of the following month. He made a treaty of friendship there with B. Mudlij and their allies B. Damra, and then returned to Medina without a fight. It was on this raid that he spoke the well-known words to Ali.

Yazid b. Mohammed b. Khaytham al-Muharibi from Mohammed b. Kab. al-Qurazi from Mohammed b. Khaytham the father of Yazid from Ammar b. Yasir told me that the latter said: Ali and I were close companions in the raid of al-Ushayra and when the apostle halted there we saw some men of B. Mudlij working at a well and on the date palms. Ali suggested (In Tabari 1271 ult, the suggestion is made to Ali by Ammar. Someone has been guilty of a deliberate alteration.) that we should go and see what the men were doing, so we went and watched them for a time until we were overcome by drowsiness and we went and lay down under some young palms and fell fast asleep in the soft fine dust. And then who should wake us but the apostle himself as he stirred us with his foot! It was as we were dusting ourselves that the apostle said to Ali when he saw him covered with dust, 'What have you been up to, Abu Turab (father of dust)?' Then he went on, 'Shall I tell you of the two most wretched creatures? Uhaymir of Thamud who slaughtered the camel, and he who shall strike you here, Ali—and he put his hand to the side of his head —'until this is soaked from it'— and he took hold of his beard.

A learned traditionist told me that the real reason why the apostle called Ali Abu Turab was that when Ali was angry with Fatima he would not speak to her. He did not say anything to annoy her, but he used to sprinkle dust on his head. Whenever the apostle saw dust on Ali's head he knew that he was angry with Fatima and he would say, 'What is your trouble, O Abu Turab?' But God knows the truth of the matter.

THE RAID OF SAD B. ABU WAQQAS

Meanwhile the apostle had sent Sad b. Abu Waqqas with eight men from the emigrants. He went as far as al-Kharrar in the Hijaz. Then he returned without fighting (347).

THE RAID ON SAFAWAN, WHICH IS THE FIRST RAID OF BADR

The apostle stayed only a few nights, less than ten, in Medina when he came back from raiding Al-Ushayra, and then Kurz b. Jabir al-Fihri raided the pasturing camels of Medina. The apostle went out in search of him (348), until he reached a valley called Safawan, in the neighbourhood of Badr. Kurz escaped him and he could not overtake him. This was the first raid of Badr. Then the apostle returned to Medina and stayed there for the rest of Jumadal Akhira, Rajab, and Shaban.

EXPEDITION OF ABDULLAH B. JAHSH AND THE COMING DOWN OF 'THEY WILL ASK YOU ABOUT THE SACRED MONTH'

The apostle sent Abdullah b. Jahsh b. Riab al-Asadi in Rajab on his return from the first Badr. He sent with him eight emigrants, without any of the Ansar. He wrote for him a letter, and ordered him not to look at it until he had journeyed for two days, and to do what he was ordered to do, but not to put pressure on any of his companions. The names of the eight emigrants were, Abu Hudhayfa, Abdullah b. Jahsh, Ukkasha b. Mihsan, Utba b. Ghazwan, Sad b. Abu Waqqas, Amir b. Rabia, Waqid b. Abdullah, and Khalid b. al-Bukayr. (As these men have already been named with full particulars of their genealogy and tribes, only their first names arc repeated here.)

When Abdullah had travelled for two days he opened the letter and looked into it, and this is what it said: 'When you have read this letter of mine proceed until you reach Nakhla between Mecca and Al-Taif. Lie in wait there for (the) Quraysh and find out for us what they are doing.' Having read the letter he said, To hear is to obey.' Then he said to his companions, 'The apostle has commanded me to go to Nakhla to lie in wait there for (the) Quraysh so as to bring him news of them. He has forbidden me to put pressure on any of you, so if anyone wishes for martyrdom let him go forward, and he who does not, let him go back; as for me I am going on as the prophet has ordered.' So he went on, as did all his companions, not one of them falling back. He journeyed along the Hijaz until at a mine called Bahran above al-Furu', Sa'd and Utba lost the camel which they were riding by turns, so they stayed behind to look for it,' while Abdullah and the rest of them went on to Nakhla. A caravan of (the) Quraysh carrying dry raisins and leather and other merchandise of (the) Quraysh passed by them, Amr b. al-Hadrami (349), Uthman b. Abdullah b. al-Mughira and his brother Naufal the Makhzumites, and al-Hakam b. Kaysan, freedman of Hisham b. al-Mughira being among them. When the caravan saw them they were afraid of them because they had camped near them. Ukkasha, who had shaved his head, looked down on them, and when they saw him they felt safe and said, 'They are pilgrims, you have nothing to fear from them.' The raiders took council among themselves, for this was the last day of Rajab, and they said, 'If you leave them alone tonight they will get into the sacred area and will be safe from you; and if you kill them, you will kill them in the sacred month,' so they were hesitant and feared to attack them. Then they encouraged each other, and decided to kill as many as they

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could of them and take what they had. Waqid shot Amr b. al-Hadraml with an arrow and killed him, and Uthman and al-Hakam surrendered. Naufal escaped and eluded them. Abdullah and his companions took the caravan and the two prisoners and came to Medina with them. One of Abdullah's family mentioned that he said to his companions, 'A fifth of what we have taken belongs to the apostle.' (This was before God had appointed a fifth of the booty to him.) So he set apart for the apostle a fifth of the caravan, and divided the rest among his companions.

When they came to the apostle, he said, 'I did not order you to fight in the sacred month,' and he held the caravan and the two prisoners in suspense and refused to take anything from them. When the apostle said that, the men were in despair and thought that they were doomed. Their Muslim brethren reproached them for what they had done, and the Quraysh said 'Mohammed and his companions have violated the sacred month, shed blood therein, taken booty, and captured men.' The Muslims in Mecca who opposed them said that they had done it in Shaban. The Jews turned this raid into an omen against the apostle. Amr b. al-Hadrami whom Waqid had killed they said meant amaratil-harb (war has come to life) al-Hadrami meant hadaratil-harb (war is present), and Waqid meant waqadatil-harb (war is kindled); but God turned this against them, not for them, and when there was much talk about it, God sent down to his apostle: 'They will ask you about the sacred month, and war m it. Say, war therein is a serious matter, but keeping people from the way of God

and disbelieving in Him and in the sacred mosque and driving out His people therefrom is more serious with God (Koran 2.214).' i.e. If you have killed in the sacred month, they have kept you back from the way of God with their unbelief in Him, and from the sacred mosque, and have driven you from it when you were its people. This is a more serious matter with God than the killing of those of them whom you have slain. 'And seduction is worse than killing.' i.e. They used to seduce the Muslim in his religion until they made him return to unbelief after believing, and that is worse with God than killing. 'And they will not cease to fight you until they turn you back from your religion if they can.' i.e. They are doing more heinous acts than that contumaciously.

And when the Koran came down about that and God relieved the Muslims of their anxiety in the matter, the apostle took the caravan and the prisoners. (The) Quraysh sent to him to redeem Uthman and al-Hakam, and the apostle said, 'We will not let you redeem them until our two companions come,' meaning Sad and Utba, 'for we fear for them on your account. If you kill them, we will kill your two friends.' So when Sad and Utba turned up the apostle let them redeem them. As for al-Hakam he became a good Muslim and stayed with the apostle until he was killed as a martyr at Bir Mauna. Uthman went back to Mecca and died there as an unbeliever. When Abdullah and his companions were relieved of their anxiety when the Koran came down, they were anxious for reward, and said, 'Can we hope that it will count as a raid for which we shall be given the reward of combatants?' So God sent down concerning them: 'Those who believe and have emigrated and fought in the way of God, these may hope for God's mercy, for God is forgiving, merciful.' That is, God gave them the greatest hopes therein. The tradition about this comes from Al-Zuhri and Yazid b. Ruman from Urwa b. al-Zubayr.

One of Abdullah's family mentioned that God divided the booty when He made it permissible and gave four-fifths to whom God had allowed to take it and one-fifth to God and His apostle. So it remained on the basis of what Abdullah had done with the booty of that caravan (350).

Abu Bakr said concerning Abdullah's raid (though others say that Abdullah himself said it), when (the) Quraysh said, 'Mohammed and his companions have broken the sacred month, shed blood therein, and taken

booty and made prisoners' (351):

You count war in the holy month a grave matter,
But graver is, if one judges rightly,
Your opposition to Mohammed's teaching, and your
Unbelief in it, which God sees and witnesses,
Your driving God's people from His mosque
So that none can be seen worshipping Him there.
Though you defame us for killing him,
More dangerous to Islam is the sinner who envies.
Our lances drank of Ibn al-Hadrami's blood
In Nakhia when Waqid lit the flame of war,
Uthman ibn Abdullah is with us,

A leather band streaming with blood restrains him (Koran 2.214 f. which these lines endeavour to put into verse.).

THE CHANGE OF THE QIBLA TO THE KAABA

It is said that the Qibla was changed in Shaban at the beginning of the eighteenth month after the apostle's arrival in Medina.

THE GREAT EXPEDITION OF BADR

Then the apostle heard that Abu Sufyan b. Harb was coming from Syria with a large caravan of (the) Quraysh, containing their money and merchandise, accompanied by some thirty or forty men, of whom were Makhrama b. Naufal b. Uhayb b. Abdu Manaf b. Zuhra, and Amr b. al-As b. Wail b. Hisham (352).

Mohammed b. Muslim al-Zuhri and Asim b. Umar b. Qatada and Abdullah b. Abu Bakr and Yazid b. Ruman from Unva b. al-Zubayr, and other scholars of ours from Ibn Abbas, each one of them told me some of this story and their account is collected in what I have drawn up of the story of Badr. They said that when the apostle heard about Abu Sufyan coming from Syria, he summoned the Muslims and said, 'This is the Quraysh caravan containing their property. Go out to attack it, perhaps God will give it as a prey.' The people answered his summons, some eagerly, others reluctantly because they had not thought that the apostle would go to war. When he got near to the Hijaz, Abu Sufyan was seeking news, and questioning every rider in his anxiety, until he got news from some riders that Mohammed had called out his companions against him

and his caravan. He took alarm at that and hired Damdam b. Amr al-Ghifari and sent him to Mecca, ordering him to call out (the) Quraysh in defence of their property, and to tell them that Mohammed was lying in wait for it with his companions. So Damdam left for Mecca at full speed.

THE DREAM OF ATIKA D. OF ABDUL-MUTTALIB

A person above suspicion told me on the authority of Ikrima from b. Abbas and Yazid b. Ruman from Urwa b. al-Zubayr, saying: 'three days before Pamdam arrived Atika saw a vision which frightened her. She sent to her brother al-Abbas saying, "Brother, last night I saw a vision which frightened me and I am afraid that evil and misfortune will come upon your people, so treat what I tell you as a confidence." He asked what she had seen, and she said, "I saw a rider coming upon a camel who halted in the valley. Then he cried at the top of his voice, 'Come forth, O people, do not leave your men to face a disaster that will come in three days time (Lit.'Come forth ye perfidious to your disaster', etc. See Suhayli's note in he.).' I saw the people flock to him, and then he went into the mosque with the people following him. While they were round him his camel mounted to the top of the Kaaba. Then he called out again, using the same words. Then his camel mounted to the top of Abu Qubays (A mountain hard by.), 2 and he cried out again. Then he seized a rock and loosened it, and it began to fall, until at the bottom of the mountain it split into pieces. There was not a house or a dwelling in Mecca but received a bit of it." al-Abbas said, "By God, this is indeed a vision, and you had better keep quiet about it and not tell anyone." Then Abbas went out and met al-Walid b. Utba, who was a friend of his, and told him and asked him to keep it to himself. al-Walid told his father and the story spread in Mecca until (the) Quraysh were talking about it in their public meetings.

Al-Abbas said, "I got up early to go round the temple, while Abu Jahl was sitting with a number of (the) Quraysh talking about Atika's vision. When he saw me he said, 'Come to us when you have finished going round the temple.' When I had finished I went and sat with them, and he said, 'O Banu Abdul-Muttalib, since when have you had a prophetess among you?' 'And what do you mean by that?' I said. 'That vision which Atika saw,' he answered. I said, 'And what did she see?' He said, 'Are you not satisfied that your men should play the prophet that your women should do so also? Atika has alleged that in her vision someone said, "Come forth to war in three days." We shall keep an eye on you these three days, and if what she says is true, then it will be so; but if the three days pass and nothing happens, we will write you down as the greatest liars of the temple people among the Arabs.' Nothing much had passed between us except that I contradicted that and denied that she had seen anything. Then we separated. When night came every single woman of B. Abdul-Muttalib came to me and said, 'Have you allowed this evil rascal to attack your men, and then go on to insult your women while you listened? Have you no shame that you should listen to such things?' I said, 'By God, I have done something; nothing much passed between us but I swear by God that I will confront him, and if he repeats what he has said, I will rid you of him.'

On the third day after Atika's vision, while I was enraged, thinking that I had let something slip which I wanted to get from him, I went into the mosque and saw him, and as I was walking towards him to confront him so that he should repeat some of what he had said and I could attack him, for he was a thin man with sharp features, sharp tongue, and sharp sight, lo, he came out towards the door of the mosque hurriedly, and I said to myself, 'What is the matter with him, curse him, is all this for fear that I should insult him?' But lo, he had heard something which I did not hear, the voice of Pamdam crying out in the bottom of the wadi, as he stood upon his camel, having cut its nose, turned its saddle round, and rent his shirt, while he was saying, 'O Quraysh, the transport camels, the transport camels! Mohammed and his companions are lying in wait for your property which is with Abu Sufyan. I do not think that you will overtake it.

Help! Help!' This diverted him and me from our affair."

THE QURAYSH PREPARE TO GO TO BADR

The men prepared quickly, saying, "Do Mohammed and his companions think this is going to be like the caravan of Ibn Hadrami? By God, they will soon know that it is not so." Every man of them either went himself or sent someone in his place. So all went; not one of their nobles remained behind except Abu Lahab. He sent in his place al-As b. Hisham b. al-Mughira who owed him four thousand dirhams which he could not pay. So he hired him with them on the condition that he should be cleared of his debt. So he went on his behalf and Abu Lahab stayed behind.'

Abdullah b. Abu Najih told me that Umayya b. Khalaf had decided to stay at home. He was a stately old man, corpulent and heavy. Uqba b. Abu Muayt came to him as he was sitting in the mosque among his companions, carrying a censer burning with scented wood. He put it in front of him and said, 'Scent yourself with that, for you belong to the women!1 'God curse you and what you have brought,' he said, and then got ready and went out with the rest. When they had finished their preparations and decided to start, they remembered the quarrel there was between them and B. Bakr b. Abdu Manat b. Kinana, and were afraid that they would attack them in the rear.

The cause of the war between (the) Quraysh and (the) Bani Bakr, according to what one of B. Amir b. Luayy from Mohammed b. Said b. al-Musayyab told me, was a son of Hafs b. al-Akhyaf, one of the B. Mais b. Amir b. Luayy. He had gone out seeking a lost camel of his in Pajnan. He was a youngster with flowing locks on his head, wearing a robe, a good-looking, clean youth.

He passed by Amir b. Yazid b. Amir b. al-Mulawwih, one of (the) B. Yamar b. Auf b. Kab b. Amir b. Layth b. Bakr b. Abdu Manat b. Kinana in Pajnan, he being the chief of (the) B. Bakr at that time. When he saw him he liked him and asked him who he was. When he told him, and had gone away, he called his tribesmen, and asked them if there was any blood outstanding with (the) Quraysh, and when they said there was, he said, 'Any man who kills this youngster in revenge for one of his tribe will have exacted the blood due to him.' So one of them followed him and killed him in revenge for the blood (the) Quraysh had shed. When (the) Quraysh discussed the matter, Amir b. Yazid said, 'You owed us blood so what do you want? If you wish pay us what you owe us, and we will pay you what we owe. If you want only blood, man for man, then ignore your claims and we will ignore ours'; and since this youth was of no great importance to this clan of (the) Quraysh, they said, 'All right, man for man', and ignored his death and sought no compensation for it.

Now while his brother Mikraz was travelling in Marr al-Zahran he saw Amir on a camel, and as soon as he saw him Amir went up to him and made his camel kneel beside him. Amir was wearing a sword, and Mikraz brought his sword down on him and killed him. Then he twirled his sword about in his belly, and brought it back to Mecca and hung it overnight among the curtains of the Kaaba. When morning came (the) Quraysh saw Amir's sword hanging among the curtains of the Kaaba and recognised it. They said, This is Amir's sword; Mikraz has attacked and killed him.' This is what happened, and while this vendetta was going on, Islam intervened between men, and they occupied themselves with that, until when (the) Quraysh decided to go to Badr they remembered the vendetta with B. Bakr and were afraid of them.

Mikraz b. Hafs said about his killing Amir:

When I saw that it was Amir I remembered the fleshless corpse of my dear brother.

I said to myself, it is Amir, fear not my soul and look to what you do. I was certain that as soon as I got in a shrewd blow with the sword, it would be the end of him.

I swooped down on him, on a brave, experienced man, with a sharp sword. When we came to grips I did not show myself a son of ignoble parents, I slaked my vengeance, forgetting not revenge which only weaklings forgo (353).

Yazid b. Ruman from Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me that when (the) Quraysh were ready to set off they remembered their quarrel with (the) B. Bakr and it almost deterred them from starting. However, Iblis appeared to them in the form of Suraqa b. Malik b. Jutham al-Mudliji who was one of the chiefs of (the) B. Kinana saying, 'I will guarantee that Kinana will not attack you in the rear,' so they went off speedily.

The apostle set out in the month of Ramadan (354). He gave the flag to Mus'ab b. Umayr b. Hashim b. Abdu Manaf b. Abdul-Dar (355). The apostle was preceded by two black flags, one with Ali called al-Uqab and the other with one of the Ansar. His companions had seventy camels on which men rode in turns: the apostle with Ali and Marthad b. Abu Marthad al-Ghanawi one camel; Hamza and Zayd b. Haritha and Abu Kabsha and Anasa freedmen of the apostle one camel; and Abu Bakr, and Umar, and Abdul-Rahman b. Auf one camel. The apostle put over the rearguard Qays b. Abu Sasaa brother of (the) B. Mazin b. al-Najjar (356).

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He took the road to Mecca by the upper route from Medina, then by al-Aqiq, Dhul-Hulayfa, and Ulatul-Jaysh (357). Then he passed Turban, Malal, Ghamisul-Hamam, Sukhayratul-Yamam, and Sayala; then by the ravine of al-Rauha to Shanuka, which is the direct route, until at Irqul-Zabya (358) he met a nomad. He asked him about the Quraysh party, but found that he had no news. The people said, 'Salute God's apostle.' He said, 'Have you got God's apostle with you?' and when they said that they had, he said, 'If you are God's apostle, then tell me what is in the belly of my she-camel here.' Salama b. Salama said to him, 'Do not question God's apostle; but come to me and I will tell you about it. You leapt upon her and she has in her belly a little goat from you!' The apostle said, 'Enough! You have spoken obscenely to the man.' Then he turned away from Salama.

The apostle stopped at Sajsaj which is the well of al-Rauha'; then went on to al-Munsaraf, leaving the Meccan road on the left, and went to the right to al-Naziya making for Badr. Arrived in its neighbourhood he crossed a wadi called Ruhqan between al-Naziya and the pass of al-Safra'; then along the pass; then he debouched from it until when near al-Safra' he sent Basbas b. Amr al-Juhani, an ally of (the) B. Saida, and Adiy b. Abu Zaghba al-Juhani, ally of (the) B. al-Najjar, to Badr to scout for news about Abu Sufyan and his caravan (Guillaume: Though there is no authority in the printed editions, or in the variants cited therein, I cannot help thinking that the reading should be 'irihi and not ghayrihi, 'anyone else'. In the earlier raids the prophet had not made inquiries about all and sundry and all he was concerned with was the Meccan caravan and the Meccan army. If the latter were meant in the assumed reading ghayrihi, one feels they would have been explicitly mentioned. Nöldeke reads 'irihi', Tabari 1299.). Having sent them on ahead he moved off and when he got to al-Safra', which is a village between two mountains, he asked what their names were. He was told that they were Muslih and Mukhri' (Both names mean 'defecator'.). He asked about their inhabitants and was told that they were B. al-Nar and B. Huraq ('Fire' and 'Burning' respectively.), two clans of B. Ghifar. The apostle drew an ill omen from their names and so disliked them that he refused to pass between them, so he left them and al-Safra' on his left and went to the right to a wadi called Dhafiran which he crossed and then halted. News came to him that (the) Quraysh had set out to protect their caravan, and he told the people of this and asked their advice. Abu Bakr and then Umar got up and spoke well. Then al-Miqdad got up and said, 'O apostle of God, go where God tells you for we are with you. We will not say as the children of Israel said to Moses, "You and your Lord go and fight and we will stay at home (Koran 5.27)," but you and your Lord go and fight, and we will fight with you. By God, if you were to take us to Bark al-Ghimad (A place in Yemen, others say the farthest point of Hajar. Tabari, 1300, adds 'a town of the Abyssinians' [Ethiopians].), we would fight resolutely with you against its defenders until you gained it.' The apostle thanked him and blessed him. Then he said, 'Give me advice, O Men,' "by which he meant the Ansar. This is because they formed the majority, and because when they had paid homage to him in al-Aqaba they stipulated that they were not responsible for his safety until he entered their territory, and that when he was there they would protect him as they did their wives and children. So the apostle was afraid that the Ansar would not feel obliged to help him unless he was attacked by an enemy in Medina, and that they would not feel it incumbent upon them to go with him against an enemy outside their territory. When he spoke these words Sad b. Muadh said, 'It seems as if you mean us,' and when he said that he did, Sad said, 'We believe in you, we declare your truth, and we witness that what you have brought is the truth, and we have given you our word and agreement to hear and obey; so go where you wish, we are with you; and by God, if you were to ask us to cross this sea and you plunged into it, we would plunge into it with you; not a man would stay behind. We do not dislike the idea of meeting your enemy tomorrow. We are experienced in war, trustworthy in combat. It may well be that God will let us show you something which will bring you joy, so take us along with God's blessing.' The apostle was delighted at Sad's words which greatly encouraged him. Then he said, 'Forward in good heart, for God has promised me one of the two parties (i.e. the caravan or the army. Koran 8.7), and by God, it is as though I now saw the enemy lying prostrate.' Then the apostle journeyed from Dhafran and went over passes called Asafir. Then he dropped down from them to a town called al-Dabba and left al-Hannan on the right. This was a huge sandhill like a large mountain. Then he stopped near Badr and he and one of his companions (359) rode on, as Mohammed b. Yahya b. Habban told me, until he stopped by an old man of the Beduin and inquired about (the) Quraysh and about Mohammed and his companions, and what he had heard about them. The old man said, 'I shall not tell you until you tell me which party you belong to.' The apostle said, 'If you tell us we shall tell you.' He said, 'Tit for tat?' 'Yes,' he replied. The old man said, 'I have heard that Mohammed and his companions went out on such-and-such a day. If that is true, today they are in such-and-such a place,' referring to the place in which the apostle actually was, 'and I heard that (the) Quraysh went out on such-and-such a day, and if this is true, today they are in such-and-such a place,' meaning the one in which they actually were.

When he had finished he said, 'Of whom are you?' The apostle said, 'We are from Ma (i.e. Water.).' Then he left him, while the old man was saying, 'What does "from Ma" mean? Is it from the water of Iraq?' (360).'

Then the apostle returned to his companions; and when night fell he sent Ali and al-Zubayr b. al-Awwam and Sad b. Abu Waqqas with a number of his companions to the well at Badr in quest of news of both parties, according to what Yazid b. Ruman from Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me, and they fell in with some water-camels of (the) Quraysh, among whom were Aslam, a slave of B. al-Hajjaj, and Arid Abu Yasar, a young man of B. Al-As b. Said, and they brought them along and questioned them while the apostle was standing praying. They said, 'We are the watermen of (the) Quraysh; they sent us to get them water.' The people were displeased at their report, for they had hoped that they would belong to Abu Sufyan, so they beat them, and when they had beaten them soundly, the two men said, 'We belong to Abu Sufyan,' so they let them go. The apostle bowed and prostrated himself twice, and said, 'When they told you the truth you beat them ; and when they lied you let them alone. They told the truth; they do belong to (the) Quraysh. Tell me you two about the Quraysh." They replied, 'They are behind this hill which you see on the farthest side.' (The hill was al-Aqanqal.) The apostle asked them how many they were, and when they said, 'Many,' he asked for the number, but they did not know; so he asked them how many beasts they slaughtered every day, and when they said nine or ten, he said, 'The people are between nine hundred and a thousand.' Then he asked how many nobles of (the) Quraysh were among them. They said: Utba, Shayba, Abul-Bakhtari, Hakim, Naufal, al-Harith b. Amir, Tuayma, al-Nadr, Zamaa, Abu Jahl, Umayya, Nabih, Munabbih, Suhayl, Amr b. Abdu Wudd.' The apostle went to the people and said, 'This Mecca has thrown to you the pieces of its liver (i.e. 'its best men')!'

Basbas and Adiy had gone on until they reached Badr, and halted on a hill near the water. Then they took an old skin to fetch water while Majdi b. Amr al-Juham was by the water. Adiy and Basbas heard two girls from the village discussing a debt, and one said to the other, 'The caravan will come tomorrow or the day after and I will work for them and then pay you what I owe you.' Majdi said, 'You are right,' and he made arrangements with them. Adly and Basbas overheard this, and rode off to the apostle and told him what they had overheard.

Abu Sufyan went forward to get in front of the caravan as a precautionary measure until he came down to the water, and asked Majdi if he had noticed anything. He replied that he had seen nothing untoward: merely two riders had stopped on the hill and taken water away in a skin. Abu Sufyan came to the spot where they had halted, picked up some camel dung and broke it in pieces and found that it contained date-stones. 'By God,' he said, 'this is the fodder of Yathrib.' He returned at once to his companions and changed the caravan's direction from the road to the seashore leaving Badr on the left, travelling as quickly as possible.

(The) Quraysh advanced and when they reached al-Juhfa Juhaym b. al-Salt b. Makhrama b. al-Muttalib saw a vision. He said, 'Between waking and sleeping I saw a man advancing on a horse with a camel, and then he halted and said: "Slain are Utba and Shayba and Abul-Hakam and Umayya" (and he went on to enumerate the men who were killed at Badr, all nobles of the Quraysh). Then I saw him stab his camel in the chest and send it loose into the camp, and every single tent was bespattered with its blood.' When the story reached Abu Jahl he said, 'Here's another prophet from B. al-Muttalib! He will know tomorrow if we meet them who is going to be killed!'

When Abu Sufyan saw that he had saved his caravan he sent word to (the) Quraysh, 'Since you came out to save your caravan, your men, and your property, and God has delivered them, go back.' Abu Jahl said, 'By God, we will not go back until we have been to Badr'—Badr was the site of one of the Arab fairs where they used to hold a market every year. 'We will spend three days there, slaughter camels and feast and drink wine, and the girls shall play for us. The Arabs will hear that we have come and gathered together, and will respect us in future. So come on!'

Al-Akhnas b. Shariq b. Amr b. Wahb al-Thaqafi, an ally of (the) Beni Zuhra who were in al-Juhfa, addressed the latter, saying, 'God has saved you and your property and delivered your companion Makhrama b. Naufal; and as you only came out to protect him and his property, lay any charge of cowardice on me and go back. There is no point in going to war without profit as this man would have us,' meaning Abu Jahl. So they returned and not a single Zuhrite was present at Badr. They obeyed him as he was a man of authority. Every clan of (the) Quraysh was represented except B. Adiy b. Kab: not one of them took part, so with the return of (the) Beni Zuhra with (the) al-Akhnas these two tribes were not represented at all.

There was some discussion between Talib b. Abu Talib, who was with the army, and some of (the) Quraysh. The latter said, 'We know, O Beni Hashim (clan of Hashim), that if you have come out with us your heart is with Mohammed.' So

Talib and some others returned to Mecca. Talib said:

O God, if Talib goes forth to war unwillingly
With one of these squadrons,
Let him be the plundered not the plunderer,
The vanquished not the victor (361).

(The) Quraysh went on until they halted on the farther side of the wadi behind al-'Aqanqal. The bed of the wadi—Yalyal—was between Badr and al-Aqanqal, the hill behind which lay (the) Quraysh, while the wells at Badr were on the side of the wadi bed nearest to Medina. God sent a rain which turned the soft sand of the wadi into a compact surface which did not hinder the apostle's movements, but gravely restricted the movements of (the) Quraysh. The apostle went forth to hasten his men to the water and when he got to the nearest water of Badr he halted.

I was told that men of B. Salama said that al-Hubab b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jamuh said to the apostle: 'Is this a place which God has ordered you to occupy, so that we can neither advance nor withdraw from it, or is it a matter of opinion and military tactics?' When he replied that it was the latter he pointed out that it was not the place to stop but that they should go on to the water nearest to the enemy and halt there, stop up the wells beyond it, and construct a cistern so that they would have plenty of water; then they could fight their enemy who would have nothing to drink. The apostle agreed that this was an excellent plan and it was immediately carried out; the wells were stopped; a cistern was built and filled with water from which his men replenished their drinking-vessels.

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that he was informed that Sad b. Muadh said: 'O prophet of God, let us make a booth (of palm-branches) for you to occupy and have your riding camels standing by; then we will meet the enemy and if God gives us the victory that is what we desire; if the worst occurs you can mount your camels and join our people who are left behind, for they are just as deeply attached to you as we are. Had they thought that you would be fighting they would not have stayed behind. God will protect you by them; they will give you good counsel and fight with you.' The apostle thanked him and blessed him. Then a booth was constructed for the apostle and he remained there.

The Quraysh, having marched forth at daybreak, now came on. When the apostle saw them descending from the hill Aqanqal into the valley, he cried, 'O God, here come the Quraysh in their vanity and pride, contending with Thee and calling Thy apostle a liar. O God, grant the help which Thou didst promise me. Destroy them this morning!' Before uttering these words he had seen among the enemy Utba b. Rabia, mounted on a red camel of his, and said, 'If there is any good in any one of them, it will be with the man on the red camel: if they obey him, they will take the right way.' Khufaf b. Aima b. Rahada, or his father Aima b. Rahada al-Ghifari, had sent to Quraysh, as they passed by, a son of his with some camels for slaughter, which he gave them as a gift, saying, 'If you want us to support you with arms and men, we will do so;' but they sent to him the following message by the mouth of his son—'You have done all that a kinsman ought. If we are fighting only men, we are surely equal to them; and if we are fighting God, as- Mohammed alleges, none is able to withstand Him.' And when Quraysh encamped, some of them, among whom was Hakim b. Hizam, went to the cistern of the apostle to drink. 'Let them be!' he said; and every man that drank of it on that day was killed, except Hakim (Tabari adds: 'He escaped on a horse of hia called al-Wajih.' So also al-Agh.) who afterwards became a good Muslim and used to say, when he was earnest in his oath, 'Nay, by Him who saved me on the day of Badr.'

My father, Ishaq b. Yasar, and other learned men told me on the authority of some elders of the Ansar that when the enemy had settled in their camp they sent Umayr b. Wahb al-Jumahi to estimate the number of Mohammed's followers. He rode on horseback round the camp and on his return said, 'Three hundred men, a little more or less; but wait till I see whether they have any in ambush or support.' He made his way far into the valley but saw nothing. On "his return he said, 'I found nothing, but O people of Quraysh, I have seen camels carrying Death—the camels of Yathrib laden with certain death. These men have no defence or refuge but their swords. By God! I do not think that a man of them will be slain till he slay one of you, and if they kill of you a number equal to their own, what is the good of living after that? Consider, then, what you will do.' When Hakim b. Hizam heard those words, he went on foot amongst the folk until he came to Utba b. Rabia and said, 'O Abul-Walid, you are chief and lord of Quraysh and he whom they obey. Do you wish to be remembered with praise among them to the end of time?' Utba said, 'How may that be, O Hakim?' He answered, 'Lead them back and take up the cause of your ally, Amr b. al-

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Hadrami.' "I will do it," said Utba, 'and you are witness against me (if I break my word): he was under my protection, so it behoves me to pay his bloodwit and what was seized of his wealth (to his kinsmen). Now go you to Ibn al-Hanzaliya, for I do not fear that any one will make trouble except him (362).' Then Utba rose to speak and said, 'O people of Quraysh! By God, you will gain naught by giving battle to Mohammed and his companions. If you fall upon him, each one of you will always be looking with loathing on the face of another who has slain the son of his paternal or maternal uncle or some man of his kin. Therefore turn back and leave Mohammed to the rest of the Arabs. If they kill him, that is what you want; and if it be otherwise, he will find that you have not tried to do to him what you (in fact) would have liked to do.' Hakim said: 'I went to Abu Jahl and found him oiling a coat of mail (Or 'shield'.) (363) which he had taken out of its bag. I said to him, "O Abul-Hakam, Utba has sent me to you with such-and-such a message," and I told him what Utba had said. "By God," he cried, "his lungs became swollen (with fear) when he saw Mohammed and his companions. No, by God, we will not turn back until God decide between us and Mohammed. Utba does not believe his own words, but he saw that Mohammed and his companions are (in number as) the eaters of one slaughtered camel, and his son is among them, so he is afraid lest you slay him." Then he sent to Amir b. al-Hadrami, saying, "This ally of yours is for turning back with the folk at this time when you see your blood-revenge before your eyes. Arise, therefore, and remind them of your covenant and the murder of your brother." 'Amir arose and uncovered; then he cried, "Alas for Amr! Alas for Amr!" And war was kindled and all was marred and the folk held stubbornly on their evil course and Utba's advice was wasted on them. When Utba heard how Abu Jahl had taunted him, he said, "He with the befouled garment (A coarse expression for a coward.) will find out whose lungs are swollen, mine or his (364)."' Then Utba looked for a helmet to put on his head; but seeing that his head was so big that he could not find in the army a helmet that would contain it, he wound a piece of cloth he had round his head.

Al-Aswad b. Abdul-Asad al-Makhzumi, who was a quarrelsome illnatured man, stepped forth and said, 'I swear to God that I will drink from their cistern or destroy it or die before reaching it.' Hamza b. Abdul-Muttalib came forth against him, and when the two met, Hamza smote him and sent his foot and half his shank flying as he was near the cistern. He fell on his back and lay there, blood streaming from his foot towards his comrades. Then he crawled to the cistern and threw himself into it with the purpose of fulfilling his oath, but Hamza followed him and smote him and killed him in the cistern. Then after him Utba b. Rabia stepped forth between his brother Shayba and his son al-Walid b. Utba, and when he stood clear of the ranks gave the challenge for single combat. Three men of the Ansar came out against him: Auf and Mu'awwidh the sons of Harith (their mother was Afra) and another man, said to have been Abdullah b. Rawaha. The Quraysh said, 'Who are you?' They answered, 'Some of the Ansar,' whereupon the three of Quraysh said, 'We have nothing to do with you.' Then the herald of Quraysh shouted, 'O Mohammed! Send forth against us our peers of our own tribe!' The apostle said, 'Arise, O 'Ubayda b. Harith, and arise, O Hamza, and arise, O 'Ali.' And when they arose and approached them, the Quraysh said, 'Who are you?' And having heard each declare his name, they said, 'Yes, these are noble and our peers.' Now Ubayda was the eldest of them, and he faced Utba b. Rabia, while Hamza faced Shayba b. Rabia and Ali faced al-Walid b. Utba. It was not long before Hamza slew Shayba and Ali slew al-Walid. Ubayda and Utba exchanged two blows with one another and each laid his enemy low. Then Hamza and Ali turned on 'Utba with their swords and dispatched him and bore away their comrade and brought him back to his friends.

(Tabari 1318.2: His leg had been cut off and the marrow was oozing from it.

When they brought Ubayda to the prophet he said, 'Am I not a martyr,

O apostle of God?' 'Indeed you are,' he replied. Then Ubayda said,

'Were Abu Talib alive he would know that his words'

We will not give him up till we lie dead around him

And be unmindful of our women and children are truly realised in me.') Asim b. Umar b. Qatada told me that when the men of the Ansar declared their lineage, Utba said, 'You are noble and our peers, but we desire men of our own tribe.'

Then they advanced and drew near to one another. The apostle had ordered his companions not to attack until he gave the word, and if the enemy should surround them (Tabari: 1318.11 'come near'.) they were to keep them off with showers of arrows. He himself remained in the hut with Abu Bakr. I was informed by Abu Jafar Mohammed b. al-Husayn that the battle of Badr was fought on Friday morning on the 17th of Ramadan. Habban b. Wasi b. Habban told me on the authority of some elders of his tribe that on the day of Badr the apostle dressed the ranks of his companions with an arrow which he held in his hand. As he passed by Sawad b. Ghaziya, an ally of B. Adiy b. al-Najjar (365), who was standing out (366) of line he pricked him in his belly with the arrow, saying, 'Stand in line, O Sawad!' 'You have hurt me, O apostle of God,' he cried, 'and God has sent you with right and justice so let me retaliate.' The apostle uncovered his belly and said 'Take your retaliation.' Sawad embraced him and kissed his belly. He asked what had made him do this and he replied, 'O apostle of God, you see what is before us and I may not survive the battle and as this is my last time with you I want my skin to touch yours.' The apostle blessed him.

Then the apostle straightened the ranks and returned to the hut and entered it, and none was with him there but Abu Bakr. The apostle was beseeching his Lord for the help which He had promised to him, and among his words were these: 'O God, if this band perish today Thou wilt be worshipped no more.' But Abu Bakr said, 'O prophet of God, your constant entreaty will annoy thy Lord, for surely God will fulfil His promise to thee.' While the apostle was in the hut he slept a light sleep; then he awoke and said, 'Be of good cheer, O Abu Bakr. God's help is come to you. Here is Gabriel holding the rein of a horse and leading it. The dust is upon his front teeth.' The first Muslim that fell was Mihja', a freedman of Umar: he was shot by an arrow. Then while Haritha b. Suraqa, one of B. Adiy b. al-Najjar, was drinking from the cistern an arrow pierced his throat and killed him.

Then the apostle went forth to the people and incited them saying, 'By God in whose hand is the soul of Mohammed, no man will be slain this day fighting against them with steadfast courage advancing not retreating but God will cause him to enter Paradise.' Umayr b. al-Humam brother of B. Salima was eating some dates which he had in his hand. 'Fine, Fine!' said he, 'is there nothing between me and my entering Paradise save to be killed by these men?' He flung the dates from his hand, seized his sword, and fought against them till he was slain, [saying the while

In God's service take no food
But piety and deeds of good.
If in God's war you've firmly stood
You need not fear as others should
While you are righteous true and good.] (Mawardi, 67.)

Asim b. Umar b. Qatada told me that Auf b. Harith—his mother was Afra—said 'O apostle of God, what makes the Lord laugh with joy at His servant?' He answered, 'When he plunges into the midst of the enemy without mail.' 'Auf drew off the mail-coat that was on him and threw it away: then he seized his sword and fought the enemy till he was slain.

Mohammed b. Muslim b. Shihab al-Zuhri on the authority of Abdullah b. Thalaba b. Suayr al-Udhri, an ally of B. Zuhra, told me that when the warriors advanced to battle and drew near to one another Abu Jahl cried, 'O God, destroy this morning him that more than any of us hath cut the ties of kinship and wrought that which is not approved.' Thus he condemned himself to death.

Then the apostle took a handful of small pebbles and said, turning towards Quraysh, 'Foul be those faces!' Then he threw the pebbles at them and ordered his companions to charge. The foe was routed. God slew many of their chiefs and made captive many of their nobles. Meanwhile the apostle was in the hut and Sad b. Muadh was standing at the door of the hut girt with his sword. With him were some of the Ansar guarding the apostle for fear lest the enemy should come back at him. While the folk were laying hands on the prisoners the apostle, as I have been told, saw displeasure on the face of Sa'd at what they were doing. He said to him, 'You seem to dislike what the people are doing.' 'Yes, by God,' he replied, 'it is the first defeat that God has brought on the infidel and I would rather see them slaughtered than left alive.'

Al-Abbas b. Abdullah b. Ma'bad from one of his family from Ibn Abbas told me that the latter said that the prophet said to his companions that day, 'I know that some of B. Hashim and others have been forced to come out against their will and have no desire to fight us; so if any of you meet one of B. Hashim or Abul-Bakhtari or al-Abbas the apostle's uncle do not kill him, for he has been made to come out against his will.' Abu Hudhayfa said: 'Are we to kill our fathers and our sons and our brothers and our families and leave al-Abbas? By God, if I meet him I will flesh my sword in him!' (367).

This saving reached the apostle's ears and he said to 'Umar, 'O Abu Hafs—and Umar said that this was the first time the apostle called him by this honorific—'ought the face of the apostle's uncle to be marked with the sword?' Umar replied, 'Let me off with his head! By God, the man is a false Muslim.' (The verb from which munafiqun, generally rendered 'hypocrites', is formed. Clearly it includes the meaning of a rebel against the prophet's authority; perhaps the underlying idea is feigned obedience.) Abu Hudhayfa used to say, 'I never felt safe after my words that day. I was always afraid unless martyrdom atoned for them.' He was killed as a martyr in the battle of al-Yamama.

The reason why the apostle forbade the killing of Abul-Bakhtari was because he had kept back the people in Mecca from the apostle; he never insulted him or did anything offensive; and he took a prominent part in the cancelling of the boycott which Quraysh had written against B. Hashim and B. al-Muttalib. Now al-Mujadhdhar b. Dhiyad al-Balawi, an ally of the Ansar, of the clan of B. Salim b. Auf, fell in with him and told him that the apostle had forbidden them to kill him. Now al-As Abul-Bakhtari was accompanied by his fellow-rider Junada b. Mulayha d. Zuhayr b. al-Harith b. Asad who was one of B. Layth, and he said, 'And what about my friend here?' 'No, by God,' said al-Mujadhdhar, 'we are not going to spare your friend. The apostle gave us orders about you only.' 'In that case,' he said,' I will die with him. The women of Mecca shall not say that I forsook my friend to save my own life.' He uttered this rajaz as al-Mujadhdhar came at him and he insisted on fighting:

A son of the free betrays not his friend
Till he's dead, or sees him safe on his way.

The result was that al-Mujadhdhar killed him and composed these lines thereon:

Do you not know or have you forgotten?
Then note well my line is from Ball.
Those who thrust with YazanI spears
Smiting down chiefs and bringing them low.
Tell Bakhtarl that he's bereaved of his father
Or tell my son the like of me.
I am he of whom it is said my origin is in Bali.
When I thrust in my spear it bends almost double.
I kill my opponent with a sharp Mashrafi sword,
I yearn for death like a camel overfull with milk.
You will not see Mujadhdhar telling a lie (368).

Then al-Mujadhdhar went to the apostle and told him that he had done his best to take him prisoner and bring him to him but that he had insisted on fighting and the result had been fatal to him (369).

Yahya b. Abbad b. Abdullah b. al-Zubayr told me on the authority of his father; and Abdullah b. Abu Bakr and others on the authority of Abdul-Rahman b. Auf told me the same, saying: Umayya b. Khalaf was a friend of mine in Mecca and my name was Abdu Amr, but I was called Abdul-Rahman when I became a Muslim. When we used to meet in Mecca he would say, "Do you dislike the name your parents gave you?" and I would say yes; and he would say, "As for me, I do not know al-Rahman, so adopt a name which I can call you between ourselves. You will not reply to your original name, and I will not use one I do not know."

When he said "O Abdu Amr" I would not answer him, and finally I said, "O Abu Ali, call me what you like," and he called me "Abdul-Ilah" and I accepted the name from him. On the day of Badr I passed by him standing with his son 'All holding him by the hand. I was carrying coats of mail which I had looted; and when he saw me he said, "O Abdu Amr," but I would not answer until he said "O Abdul-Ilah." Then he said, "Will you not take me prisoner, for I am more valuable than these coats of mail which you have?" "By God I will," I said. So I threw away the mail and took him and his son by the hand, he saying the while "I never saw a day like this. Have you no use for milk?" Then I walked off with the pair of them' (370).

Abdul-Wahid b. Abu Aun from Sad b. Ibrahim from his father Abdul-Rahman b. Auf told me that the latter said: Umayya said to me as I walked between them holding their hands, 'Who is that man who is wearing an ostrich feather on his breast?' When I told him it was Hamza he said that it was he who had done them so much damage. As I was leading them away Bilal saw him with me. Now it was Umayya who used to torture Bilal in Mecca to make him abandon Islam, bringing him out to the scorching heat of the sun, laying him on his back, and putting a great stone on his chest, telling him that he could stay there until he gave up the religion of Mohammed, and Bilal kept saying 'One! One!' As soon as he saw him he said, 'The arch-infidel Umayya b. Khalaf! May I not live if he lives.' I said, '(Would you attack) my prisoners?' But he kept crying out these words in spite of my remonstrances until finally he shouted at the top of his voice, 'O God's Helpers, the arch-infidel I'mayya b. Khalaf! May I not live if he lives.' The people formed a ring round us as I was protecting him. Then a man drew his sword ('akhlafa' means that he put his hand behind him to draw his sword which hung behind him.) and cut off his son's foot so that he fell down and Umayya let out a cry such as I have never heard; and I said to him 'Make your escape' (though he had no chance of escape) 'I can do nothing for you.' They hewed them to pieces with their swords until they were dead. Abdul-Rahman used to say, 'God have mercy on Bilal. I lost my coats of mail and he deprived me of my prisoners.'

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me he was told as from Ibn Abbas: 'A man of B. Ghifar told me: I and a cousin of mine went up a hill from which we could look down on Badr, we being polytheists waiting to see the result of the battle so that we could join in the looting. And while we were on the hill a cloud came near and we heard the neighing of horses and I heard one saying "Forward, Hayzum!" (The name of Gabriel's

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horse.) As for my cousin, his heart burst asunder and he died on the spot; I almost perished, then I pulled myself together.'

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr from one of B. Saida from Abu Usayd Malik b. Rabia who was present at Badr told him after he had lost his sight: 'If I were in Badr today and had my sight I could show you the glen from which the angels emerged. I have not the slightest doubt on the point.'

My father Ishaq b. Yasar from men of B. Mazin b. al-Najjar from Abu Daud al-Mazini, who was at Badr, told me: 'I was pursuing a polytheist at Badr to smite him, when his head fell off before I could get at him with my sword, and I knew that someone else had killed him.'

One above suspicion from Miqsam, freedman of Abdullah b. al-Harith from Abdullah b. Abbas, told me, 'The sign of the angels at Badr was white turbans flowing behind them: at Hunayn they wore red turbans' (370).

One above suspicion from Miqsam from Ibn Abbas told me: The angels did not fight in any battle but Badr. In the other battles they were there as reinforcements, but they did not fight.

As he was fighting that day Abu Jahl was saying:

What has fierce war to dislike about me,
A young he-camel with razor-like teeth?
For this very purpose did my mother bear me (372).

When the apostle had finished with the enemy he ordered that Abu Jahl should be looked for among the slain. (T. He said, 'O God, do not let him escape Thee!') The first man to find him—so Thaur b. Yazid from Ikrima from Ibn Abbas told me; as well as Abdullah b. Abu Bakr who told me the same—was Mu'adh b. *Amr b. al-Jamuh, brother of B. Salama, whom they reported as saying: I heard the people saying when Abu Jahl was in a sort of thicket, Abul-Hakam cannot be got at' (373). When I heard that I made it my business, and made for him. When I got within striking distance I fell upon him and fetched him a blow which sent his foot and half his shank flying. I can only liken it to a date-stone flying from the pestle when it is beaten. His son 'Ikrima struck me on the shoulder and severed my arm and it hung by the skin from my side, and the battle compelled me to leave him. I fought the whole of the day dragging my arm behind me and when it became painful to me I put my foot on it and standing on it I tore it off.' He lived after that into the reign of Uthman.

Muawwidh b. Afra passed Abu Jahl as he lay there helpless and smote him until he left him at his last gasp. He himself went on fighting until he was killed. Then Abdullah b. Masud passed by Abu Jahl when the apostle had ordered that he was to be searched for among the slain. I have heard that the apostle had told them that if he was hidden among the corpses they were to look for the trace of a scar on his knee. When they both were young they had been pressed together at the table of Abdullah b. Judan. He was thinner than Abu Jahl and he gave him a push which sent him to his knees and one of them was scratched so deeply that it left a permanent scar. Abdullah b. Masud said that he found him at his last gasp and put his foot on his neck (for he had once clawed at him and punched him in Mecca), and said to him: 'Has God put you to shame, you enemy of God?' He replied 'How has He shamed me? Am I anything more remarkable than a man you have killed? (This is a difficult expression much commented on by Arab writers: other possibilities are: Am I to wonder at, or be angry', etc. Cf. Lane, 2151c and Tabari Glossary 376.) Tell me how the battle went. He told him that it went in favour of God and His apostle (374).

Men of B. Makhzum assert that Ibn Masud used to say: He said to me 'You have climbed high, you little shepherd.' Then I cut off his head and brought it to the apostle saying, 'This is the head of the enemy of God, Abu Jahl.' He said, 'By God than Whom there is no other, is it?' (This used to be his oath.) 'Yes,' I said, and I threw his head before the apostle and he gave thanks to God (375).

Ukkasha b. Mihsan b. Hurthan al-Asadi, ally of B. Abdu Shams, fought at Badr until his sword was broken in his hand. He came to the apostle who gave him a wooden cudgel telling him to fight with that. When he took it he brandished it and it became in his hand a long, strong, gleaming sword, and he fought with it until God gave victory to the Muslims. The word was called al-Aun and he had it with him in all the battles he fought with the apostle until finally he was killed in the rebellion, still holding it. Tulayha b. Khuwaylid al-Asadi (One of the leaders of the apostate rebels.) killed him, and this is what he said about it:

What do you think about a people when you kill them?
Are they not men though they are not Muslims?
If camels and women were captured
You will not get away scatheless after killing Hibal.
I set Himala's breast against them—a mare well used to
The cry of 'Warriors down to the fight!'
(One day you see her protected and covered,
Another day unencumbered dash to the fray)
The night I left Ibn Aqram lying
And Ukkasha the Ghanmite dead on the field (376).

When the apostle said, '70,000 of my people shall enter Paradise like the
full moon' Ukkasha asked if he could be one of them, and the apostle prayed that he might be one. One of the Ansar got up and asked that he too might be one of them, and he replied, 'Ukkasha has forestalled you and the prayer is cold.'

I have heard from his family that the apostle said: 'Ours is the best horseman among the Arabs,' and when we asked who, he said that it was Ukkasha. When Dirar b. al-Azwar al-Asadi said, 'That is a man of ours,' the apostle answered, 'He is not yours but ours through alliance' (377).

Yazid b. Ruman from Urwa b. al-Zubayr from Aisha told me that the latter said: 'When the apostle ordered that the dead should be thrown into a pit they were all thrown in except Umayya b. Khalaf whose body had swelled within his armour so that it filled it and when they went to move him his body disintegrated; so they left it where it was and heaped earth and stones upon it. As they threw them into the pit the apostle stood and said: "O people of the pit, have you found that what God threatened is true? For I have found that what my Lord promised me is true." His companions asked: "Are you speaking to dead people ?" He replied that they knew that what their Lord had promised them was true.' Aisha said: 'People say that he said "They hear what I say to them," but what he said was "They know".' (al-Suhayli points out that Aisha was not there at the time, and therefore those who were there are likely to have a better recollection of what the apostle said than she. This tradition is evidently a sly attack on Musa b. Uqba's tradition from Abdullah b. Umar.)

Humayd al-Tawil told me that Anas b. Malik said: 'The apostle's companions heard him saying in the middle of the night "O people of the pit: O 'Utba, O Shayba, O Umayya, O Abu Jahl," enumerating all who had been thrown into the pit, "Have you found that what God promised you is true? I have found that what my Lord promised me is true." The Muslims said, "Are you calling to dead bodies?" He answered: "You cannot hear what I say better than they, but they cannot answer me."'

A learned person told me that the apostle said that day, 'O people of the pit, you were an evil kinsfolk to your prophet. You called me a liar when others believed me ; you cast me out when others took me in; you fought against me when others fought on my side.' Then he added 'Have you found that what your Lord promised you is true?'

Hassan b. Thabit said:

I recognise the dwellings of Zaynab on the sandhill
Looking like the writing of revelation on dirty old paper.
Winds blow over them and every dark cloud
Pours down its heavy rain;
Its traces obscured and deserted
Were once the abodes of dearly loved friends.
Abandon this constant remembrance of them,
Quench the heat of the sorrowing breast.
Tell the truth about that in which there is no shame,
Not the tale of a liar,
Of what God did on the day of Badr,
Giving us victory over the polytheists.
The day when their multitude was like Hira'
Whose foundations appear at sunset.
We met them with a company
Like lions of the jungle young and old
In defence of Mohammed in the heat of war
Helping him against the enemy.
In their hands were sharp swords
And well-tried shafts with thick knots.
The sons of Aus the leaders, helped by
The sons of al-Najjar in the strong religion.
Abu Jahl we left lying prostrate
And 'Utba we left on the ground.
Shayba too with others
Of noble name and descent.
The apostle of God called to them
When we cast them into the pit together.
'Have you found that I spoke the truth?
And the command of God takes hold of the heart?'
They spoke not. Had they spoken they would have said,
'Thou wast right and thy judgement was sound.'

When the apostle gave the order for them to be thrown into the pit Utba was dragged to it. I have been told that the apostle looked at the face of his son Abu Hudhayfa, and lo he was sad and his colour had changed. He said, 'I fear that you feel deeply the fate of your father' or words to that effect. 'No,' he said, 'I have no misgivings about my father and his death, but I used to know my father as a wise, cultured, and virtuous man and so I hoped that he would be guided to Islam. When I saw what had befallen him and that he had died in unbelief after my hopes for him it saddened me.' The apostle blessed him and spoke kindly to him.

I have been told that the Koran came down about certain men who were killed at Badr: 'Those whom the angels took who were wronging themselves they asked, What were you (doing)? They said: We were oppressed in the earth. They said: Was not God's earth wide enough that you could have migrated therein? As for them their habitation will be hell—an evil resort." They were: al-Harith b. Zamaa; Abu Qays b. al-Fakih; Abu Qays b. al-Walid; Ali b. Umayya; and al-As b. Munabbih. These had been Muslims while the apostle was in Mecca. When he migrated to Medina their fathers and families in Mecca shut them up and seduced them and they let themselves be seduced. Then they joined their people in the expedition to Badr and were all killed.

Then the apostle ordered that everything that had been collected in the camp should be brought together, and the Muslims quarrelled about it. Those who had collected it claimed it, and those who had fought and pursued the enemy claimed that had it not been for them there would have been no booty and that had they not engaged the enemy they would not have been able to get anything; while those who were guarding the apostle lest the enemy should attack him claimed that they had an equal right, for they had wanted to fight the enemy, and they had wanted to seize the booty when there was none to defend it, but they were afraid that the enemy might return to the charge and so they kept their position round the apostle.

Abdul-Rahman b. al-Harith and others of our friends from Sulayman b. Musa from Makhul from Abu Umama al-Bahili (378) said: 'I asked Ubada b. al-Samit about the chapter of al-Anfal and he said that it came down concerning those who took part in the battle of Badr when they quarrelled about the booty and showed their evil nature. God took it out of their hands and gave it to the apostle, and he divided it equally among the Muslims.'

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that Malik b. Rabia one of B. Saida from Abu Usayd al-Saidi said: 'I got a sword belonging to B. Aidh the Makhzumites which was called al-Marzuban, and when the apostle ordered everyone to turn in what they had taken I came and threw it into the heap of spoils. Now the apostle never held back anything he was asked for and al-Arqam b. Abul-Arqam knew this and asked him for it and the apostle gave it him.'

Then the apostle sent Abdullah b. Rawaha with the good news of the victory to the people of Upper Medina, and Zayd b. Haritha to the people of Lower Medina. Usama b. Zayd said: 'The news came to us as we had heaped earth on Ruqayya the apostle's daughter who was married to Uthman b. Affan, (the apostle having left me behind with Uthman to look after her), that Zayd b. Haritha had come. So I went to him as he was standing in the place of prayer surrounded by the people, and he was saying: "Utba and Shayba and Abu Jahl and Zama'a and Abul-Bakhtari and Umayya and Nubayh and Munabbih have been slain." I said, "Is this true, my father?" and he said, "Yes, by God it is, my son."'

Then the apostle began his return journey to Medina with the unbelieving prisoners, among whom were Uqba b. Abu Muayt and al-Nadr b. al-Harith. The apostle carried with him the booty that had been taken from the polytheists and put 'Abdullah b. Kab in charge, of it. A rajaz poet of the Muslims (379) said:

Start your camels, O Basbas!
There's no halting-place in Dhu Talh*
(* Or, possibly, acacia trees; no place for them to halt.)
Nor in the desert of Ghumayr a pen.
The people's camels cannot be locked up.
So to set them on the way is wiser
God having given victory and Akhnas having fled.

Then the apostle went forward until when he came out of the pass of al-Safra he halted on the sandhill between the pass and al-Naziya called Sayar at a tree there and divided the booty which God had granted to the Muslims equally. (Tabari adds: 'He drank from the water there called al-Arwiq'.) Then he marched until he reached Rauha when the Muslims met him congratulating him and the Muslims on the victory God had given him. Salama b. Salama—so Asim b. Umar b. Qatada and Yazid b. Ruman told me—said, 'What are you congratulating us about? By God, we only met some bald old women like the sacrificial camels who are hobbled, and we slaughtered them!' The apostle smiled and said, 'But, nephew, those were the chiefs' (380). When the apostle was in al-Safra, al-Nadr was killed by Ali, as a learned Meccan told me. When he was in Irqul-Zabya Uqba was killed (381). He had been captured by Abdullah b. Salima, one of the B. al-Ajlan.

When the apostle ordered him to be killed Uqba said, 'But who will look after my children, O Mohammed?' 'Hell', he said, and Asim b. Thabit b. Abul-Aqlah al-Ansari killed him according to what Abu Ubayda b. Mohammed b. Ammar b. Yasir told me (382).

Abu Hind, freedman of Farwa b. Amr al-Bayadi, met the apostle there with a jar full of butter and dates (383). He had stayed behind from Badr but was present at all the other battles and afterwards became the apostle's cupper. The apostle said, 'Abu Hind is one of the Ansar; intermarry with him,' and they did so.

The apostle arrived in Medina a day before the prisoners. Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that Yahya b. Abdullah b. Abdul-Rahman b. Asad b. Zurara told him that the prisoners

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were brought in when Sauda d. Zamaa, the wife of the prophet, was with the family of Afra when they were bewailing Auf and Muawwidh Afra's sons, this being before the veil was imposed on them. Sauda said: 'As I was with them, suddenly it was said: "Here are the prisoners" and I returned to my house where the apostle was. And there was Abu Yazid Suhayl b. Amr in a corner of the room with his hands tied to his neck. I could hardly contain myself when I saw Abu Yazid in this state and I said, "O Abu Yazid, you surrendered too readily. You ought to have died a noble death!" Suddenly the prophet's

voice startled me: "Sauda, would you stir up trouble against God and his apostle?" I said, "By God, I could hardly contain myself when I saw Abu Yazid in this state and that is why I said what I did."'Nubayh b. Wahb brother of B. Abdul-Dar told me that the apostle divided the prisoners amongst his companions and said, 'Treat them well.' Now Abu Aziz b. Umayr b. Hashim, brother of Musab b. Umayr by the same mother and father, was among the prisoners and he said, 'My brother Musab passed by me as one of the Ansar was binding me and he said: "Bind him fast, for his mother is a wealthy woman; perhaps she will redeem him from you." I was with a number of the Ansar when they brought me from Badr, and when they ate their morning and evening meals they gave me the bread and ate the dates themselves in accordance with the orders that the apostle had given about us. If anyone had a morsel of bread he gave it to me. I felt ashamed and returned it to one of them but he returned it to me untouched' (384).

The first to come to Mecca with news of the disaster was al-Haysuman b. Abdullah al-Khuzai, and when they asked for news he enumerated all the Quraysh chiefs who had been killed. Safwan who was sitting in the hijr said, 'This fellow is out of his mind. Ask him about me.' So they said: 'What happened to Safwan b. Umayya?' He answered, 'There he is sitting in the hijr, and by God I saw his father and his brother when they were killed.'

Husayn b. Abdullah b. Ubaydallah b. Abbas from Ikrima, freedman of Ibn Abbas, told me that Abu Rafi, freedman of the apostle, said, 'I used to be a slave of 'Abbas. Islam had entered among us, the people of the house; "Abbas had become a Muslim" (These words are not found in Tabari's quotation from Ibn Ishaq, and so had Ummul-Fadi, and so had I. But Abbas was afraid of his people and disliked to go against them, so he hid his faith; he had a great deal of money scattered among the people. Abu Lahab had stayed behind from the Badr expedition sending in his stead al-As b. Hisham; for that is what they did—any man who stayed behind sent another in his place. And when news came of the Quraysh disaster at Badr God humiliated Abu Lahab and put him to shame while we found ourselves in a position of power and respect. Now I was a weak man and I used to make arrows, sharpening them in the tent of Zamzam, and lo as I was sitting there with Ummul-Fadl sharpening arrows delighted with the news that had come, up came Abu Lahab dragging his feet in ill temper and sat down at the end of the tent with his back to mine. As he was sitting there people said, "Here is Abu Sufyan b. al-Harith b. Abdul-Muttalib (385) just arrived." Abu Lahab said, "Come here, for you have news." So he came and sat with him while the people stood round, and when he asked his nephew for the news he said, "As soon as we met the party we turned our backs and they were killing and capturing us just as they pleased; and by God I do not blame the people for that. We met men in white on piebald horses between heaven and earth, and by God they spared nothing and none could withstand them." So I lifted the rope of the tent and said: "Those were the angels." Abu Lahab struck me violently in the face. I leapt at him, but he knocked me down and knelt on me beating me again and again, for I was a weak man. Ummul-Fadl went and got one of the supports of the tent and split his head with a blow which left a nasty wound, saying, "You think you can despise him now his master is away!" He got up and turned tail humiliated. He only lived for another week, for God smote him with pustules, from which he died.'

(Tabari 1340.10.: His two sons left him unburied for two or three nights so that the house stank [for the Quraysh dread pustules and the like as men dread plague] until finally a man said to them: 'It is disgraceful! Are you not ashamed that your father should stink in his house while you do not cover him from the sight of men?' They replied that they were afraid of those ulcers. He offered to go with them. They did not wash the body but threw water over it from a distance without touching it. Then they took it up and buried it on the high ground above Mecca by a wall and threw stones over it until it was covered.

Ibn Hamid said that Salama b. al-Fadl said that Mohammed b. Ishaq said that al-Abbas b. Abdullah b. Mabad from one of his family on the authority of Abdullah b. Abbas said: 'On the night of Badr when the prisoners were safely guarded, the apostle could not sleep during the first part of the night. When his companions asked him the reason he said: "I heard the writhing of al-Abbas in his prison." So they got up and liberated him whereupon the apostle slept soundly.'

On the same authority I heard that Mohammed b. Ishaq said: '"al-Hasan b. Umara told me from al-Hakam b. Utayba from Miqsam from Ibn Abbas: The man who captured al-Abbas was Abul-Yasar Kab b. Amr brother of the B. Salima. Abul-Yasar was a compact little man while al-Abbas was bulky. When the apostle asked the former how he had managed to capture him, he said that a man such as he had never seen before or afterwards had helped him, and when he described him, the apostle said, "A noble angel helped you against him."')

(Suhayil, ii. 79: In the riwdya of Yunus Ibn Ishaq recorded that the apostle saw her (Ummul-Fadl) when she was a baby crawling before him and said, 'If she grows up and I am still alive I will marry her.' But he died before she grew up and Sufyan b. al-Aswad b. Abdul-Asad al-Makhzumi married her and she bore him Rizq and Lubaba. . . .

They did not bury Abu Lahab, but he was put against a wall and stones were thrown upon him from behind the wall until he was covered. It is said that when Aisha passed the place she used to veil her face.)

Yahya b. Abbad b. Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from his father Abbad told me that (the) Quraysh bewailed their dead. Then they said, 'Do not do this, for the news will reach Mohammed and his companions and they will rejoice over your misfortune; and do not send messengers about your captives but hold back so that Mohammed and his companions may not demand excessive ransoms.' Al-Aswad b. al-Muttalib had lost three of his sons: Zamaa, Aqil, and al-Harith b. Zamaa, and he wanted to bewail them. Meanwhile he heard a weeping woman, and as he was blind he told a servant to go and see whether lamentation had been permitted, for if (the) Quraysh were weeping over their dead he might weep for Zama Abu Hakima, for he was consumed by a burning sorrow. The servant returned to say that it was a woman weeping over a camel she had lost. Thereupon he said:

Does she weep because she has lost a camel?
And does this keep her awake all night?
Weep not over a young camel
But over Badr where hopes were dashed to the ground.
Over Badr the finest of the sons of Husays
And Makhzum and the clan of Abul-Walid.
Weep if you must weep over Aqil,
Weep for Harith the lion of lions,
Weep unweariedly for them all,
For Abu Hakima had no peer.
Now they are dead, men bear rule
Who but for Badr would be of little account (386).

Among the prisoners was Abu Wadaa b. Dubayra al-Sahmi. The apostle remarked that in Mecca he had a son who was a shrewd and rich merchant and that he would soon come to redeem his father. When (the) Quraysh counselled delay in redeeming the prisoners so that the ransom should not be extortionate al-Muttalib b. Abu Wadaa —the man the apostle meant— said, 'You are right. Do not be in a hurry.' And he slipped away at night and came to Medina and recovered his father for 4,000 dirhams and took him away.

Then (the) Quraysh sent to redeem the prisoners and Mikraz b. Hafs b. al-Akhyaf came about Suhayl b. Amr who had been captured by Malik b. al-Dukhshum, brother of the B. Salim b. Auf, who said:

I captured Suhayl and I would not exchange him
For a prisoner from any other people.
Khindif knows that its hero is Suhayl
When injustice is complained of.
I struck with my keen sword until it bent.
I forced myself to fight this hare-lipped man.

Suhayl was a man whose lower lip was split (387).

Mohammed b. Amr b. Ata, brother of B. Amir b. Luayy, told me that Umar said to the apostle, 'Let me pull out Suhayl's two front teeth; his tongue will stick out and he will never be able to speak against you again.' He answered, 'I will not mutilate him, otherwise God would mutilate me though I am a prophet.'

I have heard that in this tradition the apostle said to Umar, 'Perhaps he will make a stand for which you will not blame him' (v.i. 1021 for Suhayl's speech after the death of the prophet.) (388).

When Mikraz had spoken about him and finally agreed on terms with them they demanded the money, and he asked that they would hold him as security and let Suhayl go so that he could send his ransom. They did so and imprisoned Mikraz in his stead. Mikraz said:

I redeemed with costly* she-camels a captive hero.
(The payment is for a true Arab not for clients).
I pledged my person, though money would be easier for me.
But I feared being put to shame.
I said, 'Suhayl is the best of us, so take him back
To our sons so that we may attain our desires' (389).

(* Reading thiman. The variant thamanin is less likely because dhaud generally means from three to ten camels.)

(Tabari 1344.: Ibn Hamid from Salama from Ibn Ishaq from al-Kalbi from Abu Salih from Ibn Abbas told me that the apostle said to al-Abbas when he was brought to Medina, 'Redeem yourself, O Abbas, and your two nephews Aqil b. Abu Talib and Naufal b. al-Harith and your ally Utba b. Amr b. Jahdam brother of the B. al-Harith b. Fihr, for you are a rich man.' He replied, 'I was a Muslim but the people compelled me (to fight). He answered, 'God knows best about your Islam. If what you say is true God will reward you for it. But to all outward appearance you have been against us, so pay us your ransom.' Now the apostle had taken twenty okes of gold from him and he said, 'O apostle of God, credit me with them in my ransom.' He replied, 'That has nothing to do with it. God took that from you and gave it to us.' He said, 'I have no money.' 'Then where is the money which you left with Ummul-Fadl d. al-Harith when you left Mecca? You two were alone when you said to her, "If I am killed so much is for al-Fadl, Abdullah and Qutham and Ubaydullah."' 'By him who sent you with the truth,' he exclaimed, 'none but she and I knew of this and now I know that you are God's apostle.' So he redeemed himself and the three men named above.) (All writers on the Sira have drawn attention to the passages referring to the capture of Abbas which Ibn Hisham omitted. See now the pre-Abbasid tradition of Musa b. Uqba, No. 6.)

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that Abu Sufyan's son Amr whom he had by a daughter of Uqba b. Abu Muayt (390) was a prisoner in the apostle's hands from Badr (391); and when Abu Sufyan was asked to ransom his son Amr he said, 'Am I to suffer the double loss of my blood and my money? They have killed Hanzala and am I to ransom Amr? Leave him with them. They can keep him as long as they like!'

While he was thus held prisoner in Medina with the apostle Sad b. al-Numan b. Akkal, brother of B. Amr b. Auf, one of the B. Muawiya, went forth on pilgrimage accompanied by a young wife of his. He was an old man and a Muslim who had sheep in al-Naqi (A place near Medina.). He left that place on pilgrimage without fear of any untoward events, never thinking that he would be detained in Mecca, as he came as a pilgrim, for he knew that (the) Quraysh did not usually interfere with pilgrims, but treated them well.

But Abu Sufyan fell upon him in Mecca and imprisoned him in retaliation for his son Amr. Then Abu Sufyan said:

O family of Ibn Akkal, answer his plea
May you lose each other! Do not surrender the chief in his prime.
The Banu Amr will be base and contemptible
If they do not release their captive from his fetters.

Hassan b. Thabit answered him:

If Sad had been free the day he was in Mecca
He would have killed many of you ere he was captured.
With a sharp sword or a bow of naba wood
Whose string twangs when the arrow is shot.

The B. Amr b. Auf went to the apostle and told him the news and asked him to give them Amr b. Abu Sufyan so that they could let him go in exchange for their man and the apostle did so. So they sent him to Abu Sufyan and he released Sad.

Among the prisoners was Abul-As b. al-Rabi, son-in-law of the apostle, married to his daughter Zaynab (392). Abul-As was one of the important men of Mecca in wealth, respect, and merchandise. His mother was Hala d. Khuwaylid, and Khadija was his aunt. Khadija had asked the apostle to find him a wife. Now the apostle never opposed her —this was before revelation came to him— and so he married him to his daughter. Khadija used to regard him as her son. When God honoured His apostle with prophecy Khadija and her daughters believed in him and testified that he had brought the truth and followed his religion, though Abul-As persisted in his polytheism. Now the apostle had married Ruqayya or Umm Kulthum to Utba b. Abu Lahab, and when he openly preached to (the) Quraysh the command of God and showed them hostility they reminded one another that they had relieved Mohammed of his care for his daughters and decided to return them so that he should have the responsibility of lookmg after them himself. They went to Abul-As and told him to divorce his wife and they would give him any woman he liked. He refused, saying that he did not want any other woman from Quraysh; and I have heard that the apostle used to speak warmly of his action as a son-in-law.

Then they went to Utba b. Abu Lahab with the same request and he said that if they would give him the daughter of Aban b. Said b. al-As or the daughter of Said b. al-As he would divorce his wife, and when they did so he divorced her, not having consummated the marriage. Thus God took her from him to her honour and his shame, and Uthman afterwards married her.

Now the apostle had no power of binding and loosing in Mecca, his circumstances being circumscribed. Islam had made a division between Zaynab and her husband Abul-As, but they lived together, Muslim and unbeliever, until the apostle migrated. Abul-As joined the expedition to Badr and was captured among the prisoners and remained at Medina with the apostle.

Yahya b. Abbad b. Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from his father Abbad told me that Aisha said: 'When the Meccans sent to ransom their prisoners, Zaynab sent the money for Abul-As;

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with it she sent a necklace which Khadija had given her on her marriage to Abul-As. When the apostle saw it his feelings overcame him and he said: "If you would like to let her have her captive husband back and return her money to her, do so." The people at once agreed and they let him go and sent her money back.'

ZAYNAB SETS OUT FOR MEDINA

Now the apostle had imposed a condition on Abul-As, or the latter had undertaken it voluntarily—the facts were never clearly established—that he should let Zaynab come to him. At any rate, after Abul-As had reached Mecca the apostle sent Zayd b. Haritha and one of the Ansar with instructions to stop in the valley of Yajaj (About 8 miles / 13 km from Mecca.) until Zaynab passed, and then to accompany her back to him. About a month or so after Badr they went off to take up their position. Meanwhile Abul-As came to Mecca and told Zaynab to rejoin her father, and she went out to make her preparations.

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that he had been told that Zaynab said that while she was making her preparations she was met by Hind d. Utba who inquired whether she was going off to rejoin Mohammed. When she said that she did not wish to go, Hind offered to give her anything she needed for the journey as well as money. She need not be shy of her, for women stood closer together than men. However, though she thought she was sincere she was afraid of her and denied that she had any intention of going. But she went on with her preparations.

These completed, her brother-in-law Kinana b. al-Rabi brought her a camel and taking his bow he led her away in a howdah in broad daylight. After discussing the matter Quraysh went off in pursuit and overtook them in Dhu Tuwa. The first man to come up with them was Habbar b. al-Aswad b. al-Muttalib b. Asad b. Abdul-Uzza al-Fihri. He threatened her with his lance as she sat in the howdah. It is alleged that the woman was pregnant and when she was frightened she had an abortion. Her brother-in-law Kinana knelt and emptied his quiver [in front of him] and said, 'By God, if one of you comes near me I will put an arrow through him.' So the men fell back. Then Abu Sufyan with some Quraysh leaders came up and asked him to unbend his bow so that they could discuss the matter. Then he came up to him and said, 'You have not done the right thing. You have taken the woman out publicly over the heads of the people when you know of our misfortune and disaster which Mohammed has brought on us. The people will think, if you take away his daughter publicly over the heads of everyone, that that is a sign of our humiliation after the disaster that has happened and an exhibition of utter weakness. 'Od's life we don't want to keep her from her father and that is not our way of seeking revenge. But take the woman back, and when the chatter has died down and people say that we have brought her back you can take her away secretly to rejoin her father.' This is exactly what happened and one night he took her off and delivered her to Zayd b. Haritha and his companion, and they took her to the apostle.

Abdullah b. Rawaha or Abu Khaythama, brother of B. Salim b. Auf, said of this affair of Zaynab's (393):

Tidings reached me of their wicked treatment of Zaynab,
So criminal that men could not imagine it.
Mohammed was not put to shame when she was sent forth
Because of the result of the bloody war between us.
From his alliance with Pamdam1 and his war with us
Abu Sufyan got but disappointment and remorse.
We bound his son Amr and his sworn friend together
In well-wrought jangling irons.
I swear we shall never lack soldiers,
Army leaders with many a champion.
Driving before us infidel Quraysh until we subdue them
With a halter above their noses (and) with a branding iron.
We will drive them to the ends of Najd and Nakhla.
If they drop to the lowland we will pursue them with horse and foot
So that our road will never deviate.
We will bring upon them the fate of Ad and Jurhum.
A people that disobeyed Mohammed will regret it.
And what a time for showing repentance!
Tell Abu Sufyan if you meet him
'If you are not sincere in worship, and embrace Islam
Then shame will come on you speedily in this life
And in hell you will wear a garment of molten pitch for ever!' (394)

Abu Sufyan's 'sworn friend' was Amir b. al-Hadrami who was among the prisoners. Al-Hadrami was an ally of Harb b. Umayya (395).

When those who had gone out to Zaynab returned Hind d. Utba met them and said:

In peace are you wild asses—rough and coarse
And in war like women in their courses?

Kinana b. al-Rabl when he handed Zaynab over to the two men said:

I am astonished at Habbar and the paltry ones of his people
Who wish me to break my word with Mohammed's daughter.
I care not for their numbers as long as I live
And as long as my hand can grasp my trusty blade.

Yazid b. Abu Habib from Bukayr b. Abdullah b. al-Ashajj from Sulayman (Solomon) b. Yasar from Abu Ishaq (Isaac) al-Dausi from Abu Hurayra, told me that the latter said: 'The apostle sent me among a number of raiders with

orders that if we got hold of Habbar b. al-Aswad or the other man who first got to Zaynab with him (396) we were to burn them with fire. On the following day he sent word to us "I told you to burn these two men if you got hold of them; then I reflected that none has the right to punish by fire save God, so if you capture them kill them."'

ABUL-AS B. AL-RABI BECOMES A MUSLIM

When Islam thus came between them Abul-As lived in Mecca while Zaynab lived in Medina with the apostle until, shortly before the conquest (of Mecca), Abul-As went to Syria trading with his own money and that of Quraysh which they entrusted to him, for he was a trustworthy man. Having completed his business he was on his way home when one of the apostle's raiding parties fell in with him and took all he had, though he himself escaped them. When the raiders went off with their plunder Abul-As went into Zaynab's house under cover of night and asked her to give him protection. She at once did so. He came to ask for his property. When the apostle went out to morning prayer —so Yazid b. Ruman told me— and said 'Allah akbar' followed by all present, Zaynab cried from the place where the women sat 'O you men, I have given protection to Abul-As b. al-Rabi (Zaynab called out in a moment of complete silence at the beginning of prayer.).' His prayers over, the apostle turned round to face the men and asked them if they had heard what he had heard, and when they said that they had he swore that he knew nothing about the matter until Zaynab made her declaration, adding, 'the meanest Muslim can give protection on their behalf. He went off to see his daughter and told her to honour her guest but not to allow him to approach her for she was not lawful to him.

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that the apostle sent to the raiding party which had taken Abul-As's goods saying: 'This man is related to us as you know and you have taken property of his. If you think well to restore it to him we should like that; but if you will not it is booty which God has given you and you have the better right to it.' They replied that they would willingly give it back and they were so scrupulous that men brought back old skins and little leather bottles and even a little piece of wood until everything was returned and nothing withheld. Then Abul-As went to Mecca and paid everyone what was due, including those who had given him money to lay out on their behalf, and asked them if anyone of them had any further claim on him. 'No,' they said, 'God reward you; we have found you both trustworthy and generous.' 'Then', said he, 'I bear witness that there is no God but the God and that Mohammed is his servant and his apostle. I would have become a Muslim when I was with him but that I feared that you would think that I only wanted to rob you of your property; and now that God has restored it to you and I am clear of it I submit myself to God.' Thus saying he went off to rejoin the apostle.

Dawud b. al-Husayn from Ikrima from b. Abbas told me that the apostle restored Zaynab to him according to the first marriage "after six years had passed" (These words are not in Wellhausen's text.) without any new procedure (397).

Among the prisoners who, I was told, were given their freedom without having to pay ransom were: Abul-As whom the prophet freed after Zaynab his daughter had sent his ransom; al-Muttalib b. Hantab b. al-Harith b. Ubayda b. Umar b. Makhzum who belonged [by capture] to some of B. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj (He was left in their hands until they let him go, and he went to his people.) (398); Sayfi b. Abu Rifaa b. Abid b. Abdullah b. Umar b. Makhzum. (He was left in the hands of his captors and when no one came to ransom him they let him go on condition that he should send his ransom, but he broke his word to them. Hassan b. Thabit said in reference to that:

Sayfi is not the man to fulfil his pledge
The back of a fox tired at some waterhole or other*
(* Diwan, L. The line is not clear to me.); and Abu Azza Amr b. Abdullah b. Uthman b. Uhayb b. Hudhafa b.

Jumah. He was a poor man whose family consisted of daughters, and he said to the apostle: 'You know that I have no money, and am in real need with a large family, so let me go without ransom.' The apostle did so on condition that he should not fight against him again. Praising him and mentioning his kindness among his people Abu Azza said:

Who will tell the apostle Mohammed from me
You are true and the divine King is to be praised?
You call men to truth and right guidance,
God himself witnesses to you.
You are a man given a place among us
To which there arc steps hard and easy.
Those who fight you die miserably,
Those who make peace live happily.
When I am reminded of Badr and its people
Sorrow and a sense of loss come over me (399).*
(* Guillaume: I prefer the reading fuqudu to quudu. This is perhaps the most blatant forgery of all the 'poems' of the Sira. The heathen author's record was so bad that the prophet ordered his execution and yet he is made to utter fulsome praise of him and devotion to Islam.)

UMAYR B. WAHB BECOMES A MUSLIM

Mohammed b. Jafar b. al-Zubayr from Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me that Umayr was sitting with Safwan b. Umayya in the hijr shortly after Badr.

Now Umayr was one of the leaders of Quraysh who used to molest the apostle and his companions and cause them distress while he was in Mecca, and his son Wahb was among the prisoners taken at Badr (400).

He mentioned those who were thrown into the well and Safwan said, 'By God, there is no good in life now they are dead.' 'You are right,' said Umayr, 'were it not for a debt outstanding against me which I cannot pay and a family I cannot afford to leave unprovided for, I would ride to Mohammed and kill him, for I have good cause against the lot of them, my son being a prisoner in their hands.' Safwan took him up and said: 'I will discharge your debt and take care of your family with my own so long as they live. All that I have shall be theirs.' Umayr and he agreed to keep the matter secret.

Then Umayr called for his sword and sharpened it and smeared it with poison and went off to Medina. While Umar was talking with some of the Muslims about Badr and mentioning how God had honoured them in giving them victory over their enemies he suddenly saw 'Umayr stopping at the door of the mosque girt with his sword, and said, 'This dog the enemy of God is Umayr b. Wahb. By God he's come for some evil purpose. It was he who made mischief among us and calculated our numbers for the enemy at Badr.' Then Umar went into the apostle and said, 'O prophet of God, this enemy of God Umayr b. Wahb has come girt with his swprd.' He told him to let him come in and Umar advanced and seizing his bandoleer he gripped him round the neck with it. He told the Ansar who were with him to come in and sit with the apostle and to watch the rascal carefully, for he was not to be trusted. When the apostle saw Umayr and Umar grasping the bandoleer round his neck he told Umar to let go and 'Umayr to advance. He came up and said 'Good morning', for that was the greeting of paganism. The apostle said, 'God has honoured us with a better greeting than thine, 'Umayr. It is Salam, the greeting of the inhabitants of Paradise.' 'By God, Mohammed, you have taken to it only recently." 'What brought you?' 'I have come about this prisoner you have that you may treat him well.' 'Then why have you a sword round your neck?' 'God damn the swords. Have they done us any good?' 'Tell me the truth. WThy have you come?' 'I came only for the reason I have told you.' 'Nay, but you and Safwan b. Umayya sat together in the hijr and talked about the Quraysh who were thrown into the well. Then you said "But for debts and family reasons I would go and kill Mohammed." And Safwan assumed responsibility for both if you would kill me for him, but God intervened.' 'I testify that you are the apostle of God. We used to call you a liar when you brought us tidings from heaven and we denied the revelation you brought. But this is a matter to which only I and Safwan were privy, and none can have told you of it but God. Praise be to God who has guided me to Islam and led me thus.' Then he testified to the truth and the apostle said, 'Instruct your brother in his religion, read the Koran to him, and free his prisoner for him,' and they did so.

Then he said, 'I used to be active in extinguishing the light of God and in persecuting those who followed God's religion. I should like you to give me permission to go to Mecca to summon them to God and His apostle and to Islam that perhaps God may guide them; and if not I will persecute them in their religion as I used to persecute your companions.' The apostle agreed and he went to Mecca. When Umayr had left, Safwan was saying, 'You will soon have some good news which will make you forget what happened at Badr.' Safwan kept questioning riders until one came who told him of Umayr's Islam, and he swore that he would never speak to him again nor do him a service. When 'Umayr came to Mecca he stayed there summoning people to Islam and treating those who opposed him violently so that through him many became Muslims.

I was told that it was either 'Umayr or al-Harith b. Hisham who saw the devil when he turned on his heels on the day of Badr and said, 'Where are you going, O Suraqa?' And the enemy of God lay on the ground and disappeared (In another tradition quoted by Suhayli ii.85 it is the devil who knocks down al-Harith.). So God sent down concerning him, 'And when Satan made their works seem good to them and said None can conquer you today for I am your protector (Koran 8.50.)' and he mentions how the devil deceived them and took

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the form of Suraqa b. Malik b. Jushum when they remembered the quarrel they had with B. Bakr. God said, 'And when the two armies saw each other' and the enemy of God saw the armies of angels by which God strengthened His apostle and the believers against their enemies 'he turned on his heels and said, "I am quit of you, for I see what you do not see." The enemy of God spoke the truth for he did see what they could not see and said, "I fear God for God is severe in punishment."' I was told that they used to see him in every camp whenever he appeared in the form of Suraqa not suspecting him until on the day of Badr when the two armies met he turned on his heels and betrayed them after he had led them on (401).

Hassan b. Thabit said:

My people it was who sheltered their prophet
And believed in him when all the world were unbelievers,
Except a chosen few who were forerunners
To the righteous, helpers with the Helpers.
Rejoicing in God's portion
Saying when he came to them, noble of race, chosen,
Welcome in safety and comfort,
Goodly the prophet the portion and the guest.
They gave him a home in which a guest of theirs
Need have no fear—an (ideal) home.
They shared their wealth when the refugees came
While the share of the stubborn opponent is hell.
To Badr we went—they to their death.
Had they known what they should have known they would not have gone;
The devil deluded and then betrayed them.
Thus does the evil one deceive his friends.
He said I am your protector and brought them to an evil pass
Wherein is shame and disgrace.
Then when we fought them they deserted their leaders,
Some fleeing to high ground others to the plain (402).

THE QURAYSH WHO FED THE PILGRIMS

The names of the Quraysh who used to feed the pilgrims are as follows:

From B. Hashim: Al-Abbas b. Abdul-Muttalib.

From B. Abdu Shams: Utba b. Rabia.

From B. Naufal: al-Harith b. Amir and Tuayma b. Adly by turns.

From B. Asad: Abul-Bakhtari and Hakim b. Hizam by turns.

From B. Abdul-Dar: al-Nadr b. al-Harith b. Kalda b. Alqama (403).

From B. Makhzum: Abu Jahl.

From B. Jumah: Umayya b. Khalaf.

From B. Sahm: Nubayh and Munabbih sons of al-Hajjaj b. Amir by turns.

From B. Amir b. Luayy: Suhayl b. Amr b. Abdu Shams (404).

THE COMING DOWN OF THE SCRA ANFAL (Sura 8)

When Badr was over, God sent down the whole Sura Anfal about it. With regard to their quarrelling about the spoils there came down: 'They will ask you about the spoils, say, the spoils belong to God and the apostle, so fear God and be at peace with one another, and obey God and His apostle if you arc believers.'

Ubada b. al-Samit, so I have heard, when he was asked about this sura said: 'It came down about us, the people of Badr, when we quarrelled about the booty on that day, and God took it out of our hands when we showed an evil disposition and gave it to the apostle, who divided it equally among us. In that there was the fear of God, and obedience to Him and to His apostle, and peace among us.'

Then He mentions the army, and their journey with the apostle when they knew that (the) Quraysh had come out against them, and they had only gone out making for the caravan because they wanted booty, and He said, 'As thy Lord brought thee out of thy house in truth when a part of the believers were unwilling, they disputed with thee about the truth after it had become plain, as though they were being driven to their death while they looked on.' i.e. Unwilling to meet the army and disliking to confront (the) Quraysh when they were told of them.

'And when God promised you that one of the parties should be yours, and you wanted to have the one that was not armed.' i.e. Booty and not war.

'And God wanted to establish the truth by His words, and to cut off the uttermost part of the unbelievers.' i.e. By the disaster which He brought upon the chiefs and leaders of (the) Quraysh on the day of Badr.

'When you asked your Lord for help.' i.e. Their prayers when they looked at the multitude of their enemies and their own small numbers.

'And He answered you.' i.e. The prayer of His apostle and your prayers.

'I will reinforce you with a thousand angels, one behind another. When He made you slumber as a reassurance from Him.' i.e. I sent down reassurance upon you when you slumbered unafraid.

'And He sent down water from heaven upon you.' i.e. The rain that came upon them that night and prevented the polytheists from getting to the water first, and left the way clear to the Muslims.

'That He might cleanse you by it, and take from you the impurity of Satan, and strengthen your hearts, and confirm your steps.' i.e. To take from you the doubt of Satan when he made them afraid of the enemy, and the hardening of the ground for them so that they got to their halting-place before the enemy arrived.

Then God said, 'Then thy Lord revealed to the angels, I am with you so strengthen those that believe.' i.e. help those that believe.

'I will cast terror into the hearts of those who disbelieve, so strike off their heads and cut off all their fingers, because they opposed God and His apostle and he who opposes God and His apostle (will find) God severe in punishment.'

Then He said, 'O you who believe, when you meet those who disbelieve on the march, do not turn your backs. He who turns his back except in manoeuvring or intending to join another section, incurs the wrath of God, and his destination is Hell, a miserable end.' i.e. Inciting them against their enemy so that they should not withdraw from them when they met them, God having promised what He had promised.

Then God said concerning the apostle's throwing pebbles at them, 'When you threw, it was not you that threw, but God.' i.e. Your throwing would have had no effect unless God had helped you therein and cast terror into their hearts when He put them to flight.

'And to test the believers with a good test.' i.e. To let them know of His favour towards them in giving them victory over their enemies in spite of their small number that they might know thereby His truth, and be thankful for His favour.

Then He said, 'If you sought a judgement, a judgement came to you.' i.e. With reference to what Abu Jahl said, 'O God, he who is the worst in severing relations and bringing us things that are unacceptable destroy him this morning.' Istiftah means to pray for what is just.

God said, 'If you cease,' that is addressed to Quraysh, 'it is better for you, and if you return (to the attack) We will return.' i.e. With a similar blow to that which We gave you on the day of Badr.

'And your army will avail you nothing however numerous, and (know) that God is with the believers.' i.e. That your number and multitude will not avail you at all while I am with the believers, helping them against those that oppose them.

Then God said, 'O you that believe, obey God and His apostle, turn not away from him while you are listening.' i.e. Do not contradict his orders when you hear him speak and while you assert that you are on his side.

'And be not like those who said, "We hear" when they did not hear.' i.e. Like the hypocrites who pretend to be obedient and are secretly disobedient to him.

'The worst of beasts with God are the deaf and the dumb who do not understand.' i.e. The hypocrites whom I have forbidden you to imitate.

Dumb in reference to good, deaf to truth, not understanding and not knowing the vengeance and consequence which will come upon them.

'Had God known that there was good among them, He would have made them listen.' i.e. In performing for them the words which they spoke with their tongues, but their hearts contradicted them, and if they had come forth with you, 'they would have turned their backs, going aside.' i.e. Would not have been faithful to you in the purpose for which they had come out.

'O you who believe, respond to God and the apostle when he summons you to that which will quicken you.' i.e. to the war in which God exalted you after humiliation, and made you strong after weakness, and protected you from your enemies after you had been overcome by them.

'And remember when you were few, despised in the land, fearing that men would pluck you away, and He gave you refuge and strengthened you by His help and nourished you with good things that you might be thankful.

O you who believe, betray not God and His apostle and betray not your trust knowingly.' i.e. Do not show Him what is right, which pleases Him, and then oppose Him secretly in something else, for that is destroying your trust and treachery to yourselves.

'O you who believe, fear God and He will make for you a furqan*, and wipe away your evil acts and pardon you. od is exceeding bountiful.' i.e. A distinction between true and false by which God shows your truth and extinguishes the falsehood of those who oppose you. (*Ibn Ishaq's explanation of the meaning of 'furqan' is adopted by Tabari on 2.50 and it admirably suits the sense of the verb in Arabic; but Baydawi on 21.49 and Zamakhshari on 8.29 [this verse] collect a number of meanings. If the word were purely Arabic, it would be difficult to see why there was any doubt about it. The facts are that in Aramaic 'furqan' means 'deliverance', and in Christian Aramaic it is even the common word for 'salvation'. In the Koran it often means, or seems to mean, some sort of book, 2.50; 3.2; and 21.49, etc., but in 8.42 'The day of the furqan, the day when the two hosts met', 'deliverance' seems to be the most probable meaning, and the same would seem to apply to this verse. For an illuminating discussion of the evidence and theories formed thereon see Jeffery, Foreign Vocabulary, 225-9.)

Then He reminds the apostle of His favour towards him when the people plotted against him 'to kill him, or to wound him, or to drive him out; and they plotted and God plotted, and God is the best of plotters.' i.e. I deceived them with My firm guile so that I delivered you from them.

Then He mentions the folly of (the) Quraysh in asking for a judgement against themselves when they said, 'O God, if this is the truth from Thee,' i.e. what Mohammed has brought, 'then rain upon us stones from heaven.' i.e. As you rained them upon the people of Lot.

'Or bring us a painful punishment.' i.e. Some of that by which You punished the peoples before us.

They used to say, God will not punish us when we ask for His pardon, and He will not punish a people whose prophet is with them until He has sent him away from them. That is what they said when the apostle was among them, and God said to His apostle, mentioning their ignorance and folly and the judgement they asked against themselves when He reproached them with their evil deeds. 'God will not punish them while you are with them, and God will not punish them while they ask for forgiveness.' i.e. When they said, 'We ask for forgiveness and Mohammed is among us.'

Then He said, 'What (plea) have they that God should not punish them?' though you are among them and though they ask for forgiveness as they say.

'While they bar the way to the sacred mosque.' i.e. Against those who believe in God and His servant, i.e. You and those who follow you.

'And they are not its guardians, its guardians are only the God-fearers,' who observe its sanctity and perform prayer by it. i.e. You and those who believe in you.

'But most of them do not know and their prayer at the temple,' i.e. By which they assert that evil is kept from them, 'Is nothing but whistling and clapping of hands' (405).

480 And that is what God does not approve of and does not like and what they were not ordered to do.

'So taste the punishment for what you 'are disbelieving.' i.e. When He brought death upon them at the battle of Badr.

Yahya b. Abbad b. Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from his father Abbad from Aisha, who said that only a little time elapsed between the coming down of 'O thou that art enwrapt' (Koran 73.1 and 11-14.) and the word or God about it, 'Leave Me to deal with the liars living at ease, and let them alone for a little. We have fetters and fire and food which chokes, and a painful punishment,' until God smote Quraysh on the day of Badr (406).

Then God said,

'Those who disbelieve, spending their wealth to keep men from the way of God will expend it, then they will suffer loss, then they will be overcome, and those who disbelieve will be gathered to Hell.' He means those who went to Abu Sufyan and to everyone of the Quraysh who had money in that merchandise, and asked them to help them with it in the war against the apostle, and they did so.

Then He said, 'Say to those who disbelieve, if they cease, they will be pardoned for what is passed, and if they return', to fight you, 'the example of the ringleaders has been made (Normally awwalin would mean 'the men of old'.).' i.e. those who were killed at Badr.

Then He said, 'Fight them so that there is no more persecution (fitna. This word contains the ideas of painful trial, rebellion, and seduction.), and religion, all of it, shall belong to God.' i.e. So that no believer is persecuted from his religion, and monotheism may be pure, God having no partner and no rivals.

'If they cease, then God sees what they do, and if they turn away,' from thy commandment to their unbelief, 'then know that God is your friend', who glorified you and helped you against them on the day of Badr in spite of their great numbers and your small force.

'A fine friend, and a fine helper.'

Then He taught them how to divide the spoil and His judgement about it when He made it lawful to them and said: 'And know that what you take as booty a fifth belongs to God and the apostle and next of kin and orphans and the poor and the wayfarer, if you believe in God and what We sent down to Our servant on the Day of Furqan, the day the two armies met; and God is able to do all things,' i.e. the day I divided between the true and the false by My power the day the two armies met—you and they 'when you were on the nearer side' of the wadi 'and they on the further side' of the wadi towards Mecca 'and the caravan was below you,' i.e. the caravan of Abu Sufyan which you had gone out to capture and they had gone out to protect without any appointment between you. 'And if you had arranged to meet you would have failed to meet,' i.e. had you arranged to meet and then you had heard of their

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multitude compared with your force you would not have met them; 'but that God might accomplish a thing that had to be done,' i.e. that He might accomplish what He willed in His power, namely to exalt Islam and its followers and to abase the unbelievers without your fighting hard. He did what He willed in His goodness. Then He said: 'that he who died should die with a clear proof and he who lived should live by a clear proof. God is a Hearer, a Knower,' i.e. that he who disbelieved should disbelieve after the proof in the sign and example which he had seen and he who believed should believe by the same warrant.

Then He mentioned His kindness and His plotting for him: 'When God showed thee in thy sleep that they were few, and if He had shown them to thee as many you would have failed and quarrelled over the affair; but God saved you. He knows what is within the breasts.' What God showed him was one of His favours by which He encouraged them against their enemy, and kept from them what would have frightened them because of their weakness, because He knew what was in them (407). 'And when you met them He made you see them as few making you seem small in their eyes that God might accomplish a thing that had to be done,* i.e. to unite them for war to take vengeance on whom He willed and to show favour to those Whom He willed so to bless, who were of the number of His friends.

Then He admonished and instructed and taught them how they ought to conduct their wars and said: 'O believers, when you meet an army' whom you fight in the way of God 'Stand, firm and remember God often' to Whom you devoted yourselves when you gave your allegiance to Him 'so that you may prosper. And obey God and His apostle and wrangle not lest you fail,' i.e. do not quarrel so that your affairs become disordered 'and your spirit depart,' i.e. your bravery go, 'and be steadfast. God is with the steadfast,' i.e. I am with you when you do that. 'And be not like those who went forth from their houses boastfully to be seen of men,' i.e. do not be like Abu Jahl and his companions who said, 'We will not go back until we have been to Badr and slaughtered camels there and drunk wine and the singing girls have made music for us and the Arabs will hear of it,' i.e. let not your affair be outward show and the subject of gossip, nor concerned with men, and purify your intention towards God and your efforts for the victory of your religion and the help of your prophet. Simply do that and do not aim at anything else. Then He said: 'And when Satan made their deeds seem good to them and said, "No man can conquer you today for I am your protector"' (408).

Then God mentions the unbelievers and what they will meet when they die, and describes them, and tells His prophet about them until He says: 'If you come upon them in war, deal with them so forcibly as to terrify those who follow them, haply they may take warning,' i.e. make a severe example of them to those that come after, that haply they may understand. 'And prepare what strength you can against them, and cavalry by which, you may strike terror into the enemy of God and your enemy' as far as His words, 'And whatever you spend in the way of God will be repaid to you: you will not be wronged,' i.e. you will not lose your reward with God in the next life and a rapid recompense in this world. Then He said, 'And if they incline to peace incline thou to it,' i.e. if they ask you for peace on the basis of Islam then make peace on that basis, 'and rely on God,' verily God will suffice thee, 'He is the Hearer, the Knower' (409). 'And if they would deceive thee, God is sufficient for thee,' He being behind thee, 'He it is who strengthens thee with His help' after weakness 'and by the believers. And He made them of one mind' by the guidance with which God sent thee to them. 'Hadst thou spent all the world's wealth thou hadst not made them of one mind but God made them of one mind' by His religion to which He gathered them. 'He is mighty, wise.'

Then He said: 'O prophet, God is sufficient for thee and the believers who follow thee. O prophet, exhort the believers to fight. If there are twenty steadfast ones among you they will overcome two hundred, and if there are a hundred of you they will overcome a thousand unbelievers for they are a senseless people,' i.e. they do not fight with a good intention nor for truth nor have they knowledge of what is good and what is evil.

Abdullah b. Abu Najih from Ata b. Abu Ribah from Abdullah b. Abbas told me that when this verse came down it came as a shock to the Muslims who took it hard that twenty should have to fight two hundred, and a hundred fight a thousand. So God relieved them and cancelled the verse with another saying: 'Now has God relieved you and He knows that there is weakness amongst you, so if there are a hundred steadfast they shall overcome two hundred, and if there are a thousand of you they shall overcome two thousand by God's permission, for God is with the steadfast.' (Abdullah) said, 'When they numbered half of the enemy it was wrong for them to run from them; but if they were less than half they were not bound to fight and it was permissible for them to withdraw.' Then God reproached him about the prisoners and the taking of booty, no other prophet before him having taken booty from his enemy. Mohammed Abu Jafar b. Ali b. al-Husayn told me that the apostle said: 'I was helped by fear; the earth was made a place to pray, and clean; I was given all-embracing words; booty was made lawful to me as to no prophet before me; and I was given the power to intercede; five privileges accorded to no prophet before me.'

God said, 'It is not for any prophet,' i.e. before thee, 'to take prisoners' from his enemies 'until he has made slaughter in the earth,' i.e. slaughtered his enemies until he drives them from the land (Commentators explain that ithkhdn here means 'reduce to straits', but in view of what Ibn Ishaq goes on to say this is improbable, and in view of what Tabari [1.157] reports from him via Salama impossible: when the words 'it is not for any prophet, etc.' came down the apostle said, If punishment had come down from heaven, none would escape it but Sa'd b. Muadh because he said, 'I would rather be slaughtered in battle than be spared to live among men.') 'You desire the lure of this world,' i.e: its goods, the ransom of the captives. 'But God desires the next world,' i.e. tneir killing them to manifest the religion which He wishes to manifest and by which the next world may be attained. 'Had there not previously been a book from God there would have come upon you for what you took,' i.e. prisoners and booty, 'an awful punishment,' i.e. had it not previously gone forth from Me that I would punish only after a prohibition—and He had not prohibited them—I would have punished you for what you did. Then He made it lawful to him and to them as a mercy from Him and a gift from the Compassionate, the Merciful. He said, 'So enjoy what you have captured as lawful and good, and fear God. God is Forgiving, Merciful.' Then He said: 'O prophet, Say to those captives in your hands, If God knows any good in your hearts He will give you something better than that which has been taken from you and God will pardon you. God is Forgiving, Merciful.'

He incited the Muslims to unity and made the Refugees and the Helpers friends in religion and the unbelievers friends one of another. Then He said: 'If you do not do so, there will be confusion in the land and a great corruption,' i.e. unless believer becomes friend of believer to the exclusion of the unbeliever even though he is of his kin. 'There will be confusion in the land,' i.e. doubt about the true and the false and the rise of corruption in the land if the believer takes the side of the unbeliever against the believer.

Then He assigned inheritances to next of kin of those who became Muslims after the friendship between Refugees and Helpers and said: 'And those who believed afterwards and migrated and strove along with you they are of you ; and those who are akin are nearer to one another in God's book,' i.e. in inheritance 'God knoweth all things'.

THE MUSLIMS WHO WERE PRESENT AT BADR

The names of those who were present at Badr are: Of Quraysh of B. Hashim b. Abdu Manaf and B. al-Muttalib b. Abdu Manaf b. Qusayy b. Kilab b. Murra b. Kab b. Luayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr b. Malik b. al-Nadr b. Kinana:

Mohammed, God's apostle the lord of the sent ones, b. Abdullah b. Abdul-Muttalib b. Hashim; Hamza b. Abdul-Muttalib b. Hashim, the lion of God and of His apostle, the apostle's uncle; Ali b. Abu Talib b. Abdul-Muttalib b. Hashim; Zayd b. Haritha b. Shurahbil b. Kab b. Abdul-Uzza b. Imruul-Qays al-Kalbi (410); Anasa the apostle's freedman; and Abu Kabsha likewise (411); Abu Marthad Kannaz b. Hisn b. Yarbu b. Amr b. Yarbu b. Kharasha b. Sad b. Tarif b. Jillan b. Ghanm b. Ghaniy b. Yasur b. Sad b. Qays b. Aylan (412), and his son Marthad b. Abu Marthad, allies of Hamza; Ubayda b. al-Harith b. al-Muttalib, and his two brothers al-Tufayl and al-Husayn; and Mistah whose name was Auf b. Uthatha b. Abbad b. al-Muttalib. Total 12 men.

Of B. Abdu Shams b. Abdu Manaf: Uthman b. Affan b. Abul-As b. Umayya b. Abdu Shams; (He stayed behind on account of his wife Ruqayya the apostle's daughter, so the apostle assigned him his portion. He asked 'And my reward (from God) as well? 'Yes', said the apostle.) Abu Hudhayfa b. Utba b. Rabia b. Abdu Shams, and Salim his freedman (413). They allege that Subayh freedman of Abul-As b. Umayya got ready to march with the apostle, but fell sick and mounted on his camel Abu Salama b. Abdul-Asad b. Hilal b. Abdullah b. Umar b. Makhzum. Afterwards Subayh was present at all the apostle's battles.

Of B. Abdu Shams's allies, of B. Asad b. Khuzayma: Abdullah b. Jahsh b. Riab b. Ya'mar b. Sabra b. Murra b. Kabir b. Ghanm b. Dudan; Ukkasha b. Mihsan b. Hurthan b. Qays b. Murra b. Kabir b. Ghanm b. Dudan; Shuja b. Wahb b. Rabia b. Asad b. Suhayb b. Malik b. Kabir, etc, and his brother Uqba b. Wahb; Yazid b. Ruqaysh b. Riab, &c. Abu Sinan b. Mihsan b. Hurthan b. Qays brother of Ukkasha b. Mihsan, and his son Sinan b. Abu Sinan; and Muhriz b. Nadla b. Abdullah b. Murra b. Kabir, etc.; and Rabia b. Aktham b. Sakhbara b. Amr b. Lukayz b. Amir b. Ghanm b. Dudan.

Of the allies of B. Kabir: Thaqf b. Amr and his two brothers Malik and Mudlij (414). They belonged to the B. Hajr, a clan of B. Sulaym; Abu Makhshi an ally of theirs (415). Total 16 men.

Of B. Naufal b. Abdu Manaf: Utba b. Ghazwan b. Jabir b. Wahb b. Nusayb b. Malik b. al-Harith b. Mazin b. Mansur b. Ikrima b. Khasafa b. Qays b. Aylan; and Khabbab freedman of Utba. Total 2 men.

Of B. Asad b. Abdul-Uzza b. Qusayy: al-Zubayr b. al-Awwam b. Khuwaylid b. Asad; Hatib b. Abu Balta'a; and Sad freedman of Hatib (416). Total 3 men.

Of B. Abdul-Dar b. Qusayy: Musab b. Umayr b. Hashim b. Abdu Manif and Suwaybit. b. Sad b. Huraymila b. Malik b. Umayla b. al-Sabbaq b. Abdul-Dar. Total 2 men.

Of B. Zuhra b. Kilab: Abdul-Rahman b. Auf b. Abdu Auf b. Abd b. al-Harith b. Zuhra; Sad b. Abu Waqqas, who was Malik b. Uhayb b. Abdu Manaf b. Zuhra, and his brother Umayr. Of their allies: al-Miqdad b. Amr b. Thalaba b. Malik b. Rabia b. Thumama b. Matrud b. Amr b. Sad b. Zuhayr b. Thaur b. Thalaba b. Malik b. al-Sharid b. Hazl b. Qaish b. Duraym b. al-Qayn b. Ahwad b. Bahra b. Amr b. al-Haf b. Qudaa (417) and Dahir b. Thaur; and Abdullah b. Masud b. al-Harith b. Shamkh b. Makhzum b. Sahila b. Kahil b. al-Harith b. Tamim b. Sad b. Hudhayl; Masud b. Rabia b. Amr b. Sad b. Abdul-Uzza b. Hamala b. Ghalib b. Muhallim b. Aidha b. Subay b. al-Hun b. Khuzayma of al-Qara (418). Dhul-Shimalayn b. Abd Amr b. Nadla b. Ghubshan b. Sulaym b. Mallikan b. Afsa b. Haritha b. Amr b. Amir of Khuzaa (419) and Khabbab b. al-Aratt (420). Total 8 men.

Of B. Taym b. Murra: Abu Bakr whose full name was Atiq b. Uthman b. Amir b. Amr b. Kab b. Sad b. Taym (421). Bilal his freedman, born a slave among the B. Jumah. Abu Bakr bought him from Umayya b. Khalaf. His name was Bilal b. Rabah. He had no offspring; Amir b. Fuhayra (422) and Suhayb b. Sinan from al-Namr b. Qasit (423) and Talha b. Ubaydullah b. Uthman b. Amr b. Kab, etc. He was in Syria and did not turn up until the apostle had returned from Badr. Nevertheless, he allotted him a share in the booty as he had done in the case of 'Uthman.

Total 5 men.

Of B. Makhzum b. Yaqaza b. Murra: Abu Salama b. Abdul-Asad whose name was Abdullah b. Abdul-Asad b. Hilal b. Abdullah b. Umar b. Makhzum; and Shammas b. Uthman b. al-Sharid b. Suwayd b. Harmly b. Amir (424); and al-Arqum b. Abdu Manaf b. Asad, Asad being Abu Jundub b. Abdullah b. Umar b. Makhzum; and Ammar b. Yasir (425); and Muattib b. Auf b. Amir b. al-Fadl b. Afif b. Kulayb b.

Hubshiya b. Salul b. Kab b. Amr, an ally of theirs from Khuzaa known as Ayhama. Total 5 men.

Of B. Adiy b. Kab: Umar b. al-Khattab b. Nufayl b. Abdul-Uzza b. Riyah b. Abdullah b. Qurt b. Razab b. Adiy and his brother Zayd; and Mihja, Umar's freedman from the Yaman (he was the first Muslim to fall at Badr, being shot by an arrow.) (426); and Amr b. Suraqa b. Anas b. Adhat b. Abdullah b. Qurt ... and his brother Abdullah; Waqid b. Abdullah b. Abdu Manaf b. Arin b. Thalaba b. Yarbu b. Hanzala b. Malik b. Zayd Manat b. Tamim, an ally of theirs, and Khauliy b. Abu Khauliy and Malik b. Abu Khauliy, two allies of theirs (427); and Amir b. Rabia, an ally of the family of al-Khattab from Anaz b. Wa'il (428); and Amir b. al-Bukayr b. Abdu Yalil b. Nashib b. Ghira of the B. Asad b. Layth; and Aqil and Khalid and Iyas sons of al-Bukayr, allies of B. Adiy b. Kab; and Said b. Zayd b. Amr b. Nufayl b. Abdul-Uzza b. Abdullah

b. Qurt b. Riyah b. Rizah b. Adiy b. Kab who came from Syria after the apostle's return from Badr and was given a share in the booty. Total 14 men.

Of B. Jumah b. Amr b. Husays b. Kab: Uthman b. Mazun b. Habib b. Wahb b. Hudhafa b. Jumah and his son al-Saib and Uthman's two brothers Qudama and Abdullah; Mamar b. al-Harith b. Mamar b. Habib b. Wahb b. Hudhafa b. Jumah. Total 5 men.

Of B. Sahm b. Amr b. Husays b. Kab: Khunays b. Hudhafa b. Qays b. Adiy b. Sad b. Sahm. Total 1 man.

Of B. Amir b. Luayy of the subdivision B. Malik b. Hisl b. Amir: Abu Sabra b. Abu Ruhm b. Abdul-Uzza b. Abu Qays b. Abdu Wudd b. Nasr b. Malik b. Hisl; Abdullah b. Makhrama b. Abdul-Uzza, etc.; Abdullah b. Suhayl b. Amr b. Abdu Shams b. Abdu Wudd, etc. (he had gone forth to war with his father Suhayl and when the people camped at Badr he fled to the apostle and took part in the battle on his side); and Umayr b. Auf, freedman of Suhayl; and Sad b. Khaula an ally of theirs (429). Total 5 men.

Of B. al-Harith b. Fihr: Abu Ubayda b. al-Jarrah who was Amir b. Abdullah b. al-Jarrah b. Hilal b. Uhayb b. Dabba b. al-Harith; and Amr b. al-Harith b. Zuhayr b. Abu Shaddad b. Rabi'a b. Hilal b. Uhayb, etc.; and Suhayl b. Wahb b. Rabia b. Hilal, &c, and his brother Safwan who were the two sons of Baida', and Amr b. Rabla b. Hilal b. Uhayb. Total 5 men.

The total number of the Emigrants who took part in the battle of Badr to whom the apostle allotted shares in the booty was 83 men (430).

THE HELPERS AND THEIR ADHERENTS WHO WERE AT BADR

Of al-Aus b. Haritha b. Thalaba b. Amr b. Amir of the subdivision B. Abdul-Ashhal b. Jusham b. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj b. 'Amr b. Malik b. al-Aus: Sad b. Muadh b. al-Numan b. Imruul-Qays b. Zayd b. Abdul-Ashhal; Amr b.

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Muadh b. al-Numan; al-Hanth b. Aus b. Muadh b. al- Numan; and al-Harith b. Anas b. Rafi b. Imruul-Qays.

Of B. Ubayd b. Ka'b b. Abdul-Ashhal: Sad b. Zayd b. Malik b. Ubayd.

Of B. Za'ura b. Abdul-Ashhal (431): Salama b. Salama b. Waqash b. Zughba; Abbad b. Bishr b. Waqash b. Zughba b. Zaura; Salama b. Thabit b. Waqash; Rafi b. Yazid b. Kurz b. Sakan b. Zaura; al-Harith b. Khazama b. Adiy b. Ubayy b. Ghanm b. Salim b. Auf b. Amr b. Auf b. al-Khazraj an ally of theirs from B. Auf b. al-Khazraj; Mohammed b. Maslama b. Khalid b. Adiy b. Majdaa b. Haritha b. al-Harith an ally from the B. Haritha b. al-Harith; and Salama b. Aslam b. Harish b. 'Adiy b. Majda'a b. Haritha an ally from the B. Haritha b. al-Harith (432); and Abu'l-Haytham b. al-Tayyahan; and Ubayd b. al-Tayyahan (433) and 'Abdullah b. Sahl (434). Total 15 men.

Of B. Zafar of the section B. Sawad b. Kab, Kab being Zafar (435): Qatada b. al-Numan b. Zayd b. Amir b. Sawad, and Ubayd b. Aus b. Malik b. Sawad (436). Total 2 men.

Of B. Abd b. Rizah b. Kab: Nasr b. al-Harith b. Abd and Muattib b. Abd; and Abdullah b. Tariq from their Bali allies. Total 3 men.

Of B. Haritha b. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj b. Amr b. Malik b. Aus: Masud b. Sad b. Amir b. Adiy b. Jusham b. Majdaa b. Haritha (437); and Abu Abs b. Jabr b. Amr b. Zayd b. Jusham b. Majdaa b. Haritha; and of their Bali allies: Abu Burda b. Niyar whose full name was Hani b. Niyar b. Amr b. Ubayd b. Kilab b. Duhman b. Ghanm b. Dhubyan b. Humaym b. Kahil b. Dhuhl b. Hunayy b. Bali b. Amr b. al-Haf b. Qudaa. Total 3 men.

Of B. Amr b. Auf b. Malik b. al-Aus of the section of B. Dubaya b. Zayd b. Malik b. Auf b. Amr b. 'Auf: Asim b. Thabit b. Qays—Qays Abul-Aqlah b. Isma b. Malik b. Amat b. Pubaya—and Muattib b. Qushayr b. Mulayl b. Zayd b. al-Attaf b. Dubaya; and Abu Mulayl b. al-Azar b. Zayd b. al-Attaf; and Umar b. Mabad b. al-Azar, etc. (438); and Sahl b. Hunayf b. Wahib b. al-Ukaym b. Thalaba b. Majdaa b. al-Harith b. Amr who was called Bahzaj b. Hanash b. Auf b. Amr b. Auf. Total 5 men.

Of B. Umayya b. Zayd b. Malik: Mubashshir b. Abdul-Mundhir b. Zanbar b. Zayd b. Umayya and Rifaa his brother; Sad b. Ubayd b. al-Numan b. Qays b. Amr b. Zayd b. Umayya; Uwaym b. Saida; Rafi b. Unjuda (439); and Ubayd b. Abu Ubayd; and Thalaba b. Hatib. It is alleged that Abu Lubaba b. Abdul-Mundhir and al-Harith b. Hatib went out with the apostle, and he sent them back, putting the former in charge of Medina. He gave them both shares in the booty of Badr (440). Total 9 men.

Of B. Ubayd b. Zayd b. Malik: Unays b. Qatada b. Rabia b. Khalid b. al-Harith b. Ubayd: of their Bali allies: Man b. Adiy b. al-Jadd b. al-Ajlan b. Pubaya; Thabit b. Aqram b. Thalaba b. Adiy b. al-Ajlan; Abdullah b. Salama b. Malik b. al-Harith b. Adiy b. al-Ajlan; Zayd b. Aslam b. Thalaba b. Adiy b. al-Ajlan; Ribi b. Rafi b. Zayd b. Haritha b. al-Jadd b. Ajlan. Asim b. Adiy b. al-Jadd b. al-Ajlan went forth to fight but the apostle sent him back, afterwards giving him his share of the booty. Total 7 men.

Of B. Thalaba b. Amr b. Auf: Abdullah b. Jubayr b. al-Numan b. Umayya b. al-Burak whose name was Imruul-Qays b. Thalaba; and Asim b. Qays (441); and Abu Dayyqh b. Thabit b. al-Numan b. Umayya, etc.; and Abu Hanna (442); and Salim b. Umayr b. Thabit b. al-Numan, etc. (443); and al-Harith b. al-Numan b. Umayya, etc.; and Khawwat b. Jubayr b. al-Numan whom the apostle gave a share of the booty. Total 7 men.

Of B. Jahjaba b. Kulfa b. Auf b. Amr b. Auf: Mundhir b. Mohammed b. Uqba b. Uhayha b. al-Julah b. al-Harish b. Jahjaba b. Kulfa (444); and of their allies from the B. Unayf: Abu Aqil b. Abdullah b. Thalaba b. Bayhan b. Amir b. al-Harith b. Malik b. Amir b. Unayf b. Jusham b. Abdullah b. Taym b. Irash b. Amir b. Umayla b. Qasmil b. Faran b. Bali b. Amr b. al-Haf b. Qudaa (445). Total 2 men.

Of B. Ghanm b. al-Salm b. Imruul-Qays b. Malik b. al-Aus: Sad b. Khaythama b. al-Harith b. Malik b. Kab b. al-Nahhat b. Kab b. Haritha b. Ghanm; and Mundhir b. Qudama b. Arfaja; and Malik b. Qudama b. Arfaja (446); and al-Harith b. Arfaja; and Tamim freedman of the B. Ghanm (447). Total 5 men.

Of B. Muawiya b. Malik b. Auf b. Amr b. Auf: Jabr b. Atik b. al-Harith b. Qaysb. Haysha b. al-Harith b. Umayya b. Muawiya; and Malik b. Numayla an ally from Muzayna; and al-Numan b. Asar, a Bali ally. Total 3 men.

The total number of Aus who fought at Badr with the apostle and of those who were given a share of the booty was 61 men.

Of Khazraj b. Haritha b. Thalaba b. Amr b. Amir of the tribe of B. Harith subdivision B. Imruul-Qays b. Malik b. Thalaba b. Kab b. al-Khazraj b. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj: Kharija b. Zayd b. Abu Zuhayr b. Malik b. Imruul-Qays; Sad b. Rabi b. Amr b. Abu Zuhayr, etc.; Abdullah b. Rawaha b. Thalaba b. Imruul-Qays b. Amr b. Imruul-Qays; Khallad b. Suwayd b. Thalaba b. Amr b. Haritha b. Imruul-Qays. Total 4 men.

Of B. Zayd b. Malik b. Thalaba b. Kab b. al-Khazraj b. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj: Bashir b. Thalaba b. Khilas b. Zayd (448) and his brother Sirhak. Total 2 men.

Of B. Adiy b. Kab b. al-Khazraj b. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj: Subay b. Qays b. Aysha b. Umayya b. Malik b. Amir b. Adiy; and Abbad b. Qays b. Aysha, his brother (449); and Abdullah b. Abs. Total 3 men.

Of B. Ahmar b. Haritha b. Thalaba b. Kab b. al-Khazraj b. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj: Yazid b. al-Harith b. Qays b. Malik b. Ahmar who was known as Ibn Fushum (450). Total 1 man

Of B. Jusham b. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj and Zayd b. al-Harith who were twin brothers: Khubayb b. Isaf b. Itaba (Or Utba) b. Amr b. Khadij b. Amir b. Jusham; Abdullah b. Zayd b. Thalaba b. Abdu Rabbihi b. Zayd; and his brother Hurayth so they allege; and Sufyan b. Bashr (Or Bishr, or Nasr) (451). Total 4 men.

Of B. Jidara b. Auf b. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj: Tamim b. Yaar b. Qays b. Adiy b. Umayya b. Jidara; Abdullah b. Umayr of the B. Haritha (452); Zayd b. al-Muzayyan b. Qays b. Adiy b. Umayya b. Jidara (453); and Abdullah b. Urfuta b. Adiy b. Umayya b. Jidara. Total 4 men.

Of B. al-Abjar b. Auf b. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj: Abdullah b. Rabi b. Qays b. Amr b. Abbad b. al-Abjar. Total 1 man.

Of B. Auf b. al-Khazraj of the clan of B. Ubayd b. Malik b. Salim b. Ghanm b. Auf who were the B. al-Hubla (454): Abdullah b. Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Malik b. al-Harith b. Ubayd best known as b. Sahil. Salul was a woman, the mother of Ubayy; and Aus b. Khauli b. Abdullah b. al-Harith b. 'Ubayd. Total 2 men.

Of B. Jaz b. Adiy b. Malik b. Ghanm: Zayd b. Wadia b. Amr b. Qays b. Jaz'; Uqba b. Wahb b. Kalada, an ally from the B.Abdullah b. Ghatafan; Rifaa b. Amr b. Zayd b. Amr b. Thalaba b. Malik b. Salim b. Ghanm; Amir b. Salama b. 'Amir, an ally from the Yaman (455); Abu Humayda Mabad b. Abbad b. Qushayr b. al-Muqaddam b. Salim b. Ghanm (456); and 'Amir b. al-Bukayr, an ally (457). Total 6 men.

Of B. Salim b. Auf b. Amr b. al-Khazraj of the clan of B. al-Ajlan b. Zayd b. Ghanm b. Salim: Naufal b. Abdullah b. Nadla b. Malik b. al-Ajlan. Total 1 man.

Of B. Asram b. Fihr b. Thalaba b. Ghanm b. Salim b. Auf (458): Ubada b. al-Samit b. Qays b. Asram and his brother Aus. Total 2 men.

Of B. Dad b. Fihr b. Thalaba b. Ghanm: al-Numan b. Malik b. Thalaba b. Dad ; this man was known as Qauqal. Total 1 man.

Of B. Quryush b. Ghanm b. Umayya b. Laudhan b. Salim (459): Thabit b. Hazzal b. Amr b. Quryush. Total 1 man.

Of B. Mardakha b. Ghanm b. Salim: Malik b. al-Dukhsham b. Mardakha (460). Total 1 man.

Of B. Laudhan b. Salim: Rabl b. Iyas b. Amr b. Ghanm b. Umayya b. Laudhan, and his brother Waraqa; and Amr b. Iyas an ally of theirs from the Yaman (461). Total 3 men.

Of their allies from Bali of the clan of B. Ghusayna (462): al-Mujadhdhar b. Dhiyad b. Amr b. Zumzuma b. Amr b. Umara b. Malik b. Ghusayna b. Amr b. Butayra b. Mashnu b. Qasr b. Taym b. Irash b. Amir b. Umayla b. Qismil b. Faran b. Bali b. Amr b. al-Haf b. Qudaa (463); and Ubada b. al-Khashkhash b. Amr b. Zumzuma, and Nahhab b. Thalaba b. Hazama b. Asram b. Amr b. Umara (464); and Abdullah b. Thalaba b. Hazama b. Asram; and they allege that Utba b. Rabla b. Khalid b. Muawiya, an allv from Bahra, was at Badr (465). Total 5 men.

Of B. Saida b. al-Khazraj of the clan of B. Thalaba b. Saida: Abu Dujana Simak b. Kharasha (466); and al-Mundhir b. Amr b. Khunays b. Haritha b. Laudhan b. Abdu Wudd b. Zayd b. Thalaba (467). Total 2 men.

Of B. al-Badly b. Amir b. Auf b. Haritha b. Amr b. al-Khazraj b. Saida: Abu Usayd Malik b. Rabia b. al-Badiy, and Malik b. Masud who was attached to al-Badiy (468). Total 2 men.

Of B. Tarif b. al-Khazraj b. Saida: Abdu Rabbihi b. Haqq b. Aus b. Waqsh b. Thalaba b. Tarif. Total 1 man.

And of their allies from Juhayna: Kab b. Himar b. Thalaba (469); and Pamra and Ziyad and Basbas the sons of Amr (470); and Abdullah b. Amir from Bali. Total 5 men.

From B. Jusham b. al-Khazraj of the clan B. Salima b. Sad b. Ali b. Asad b. Sarida b. Tazid b. Jusham of the subdivision B. Haram b. Kab b. Ghanm b. Kab b. Salima: Khirash b. al-Simma b. Amr b. al-Jamuh b. Zayd b. Haram; and al-Hubab b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jamuh, etc.; and Umayr b. al-Humam b. al-Jamuh, etc.; and Tamim freedman of Khirash b. al-Simma; and Abdullah b. Amr b. Haram b. Thalaba b. Haram; and Muadh b. Amr b. al-Jamuh and Khallad and Muawwidh his brothers; and Uqba b. Amir b. Nabi b. Zayd b. Haram and Habib b. Aswad their freedman; and Thabit b. Thalaba b. Zayd b. al-Harith b. Haram; and Thalaba who was called al-Jidh'; and Umayr b. al-Harith b. Thalaba b. al-Harith b. Haram (471). Total 12 men.

Of B. Ubayd b. Adiy b. Ghanm b. Kab b. Salima of the clan of B. Khansa b. Sinan b. Ubayd: Bishr b. al-Bara b. Marur b. Sakhr b. Malik b. Khansa; al-Tufayl b. Malik; and al-Tufayl b. al-Numan; and Sinan b. Sayfi b. Sakhr; and Abdullah b. al-Jadd b. Qays b. Sakhr; and Utba b. Abdullah b. Sakhr; and Jabbar b. Sakhr b. Umayya; and Kharija b. Humayyir; and Abdullah b. Humayyir, two allies from Ashja of B. Duhman (472). Total 9 men.

Of B. Khunas b. Sinan b. Ubayd: Yazid b. al-Mundhir b. Sarh and Maqil his brother; and Abdullah b. al-Numan b. Baldama (473); and al-Dahhak b. Haritha b. Zayd b. Thalaba b. Ubayd b. Adly; and Sawad b. Zurayq b. Thalaba b. Ubayd b. Adly (474); and Mabad b. Qays b. Sakhr b. Haram b. Rabia b. Adly b. Ghanm b. Kab b. Salima (475); and Abdullah b. Qays b. Sakhr b. Haram b. Rabia b. Adly b. Ghanm. Total 7 men.

Of B. al-Numan b. Sinan b. Ubayd: Abdullah b. Abdu Manaf b. al-Numan; and Jabir b. Abdullah b. Ri'ab b. al-Numan; and Khulayda b. Qays and al-Numan b. Sinan their freedman. Total 4 men.

Of B. Sawad b. Ghanm b. Kab b. Salima, of the clan of B. Hadida b. Amr b. Ghanm b. Sawad (476): Abul-Mundhir Yazid b. Amir b. Hadida; Sulaym b. Amr; Qutba b. Amir, and Antara freedman of Sulaym b. Amr (477). Total 4 men.

Of B. Adly b. Nabi b. Amr b. Sawad b. Ghanm: Abs b. Amir b. Adly; and Thalaba b. Ghanama b. Adly; and Abul-Yasar Kab b. Amr b. Abbad b. Amr b. Ghanm b. Sawad; and Sahl b. Qays b. Abu Kab b. al-Qayn b. Kab b. Sawad; and Amr b. Talq b. Zayd b. Umayya b. Sinan b. Kab b. Ghanm; and Muadh b. Jabal b. Amr b. Aus b. Aidh b. Adly b. Kab b. Adiy b. Udayy b. Sad b. Ali b. Asad b. Sarida b. Tazid b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj b. Haritha b. Thalaba b. Amr b. Amir (478). Total 6 men. Those who smashed the idols of B. Salima were Muadh b. Jabal; Abdullah b. Unays; and Thalaba b. Ghanama, they being among B. Sawad b. Ghanm.

Of B. Zurayq b. Amir b. Zurayq b. Abdu Haritha b. Malik b. Ghadb b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj of the clan B. Mukhallad b. Amir b. Zurayq (479): Qays b. Mihsan b. Khalid b. Mukhallad (480); and Abu Khalid al-Harith b. Qays b. Khalid b. Mukhallad and Jubayr b. Iyyas b. Khalid b. Mukhallad; and Abu Ubada Sad b. Uthman b. Khalada b. Mukhallad and his brother Uqba b. Uthman, etc.; and Dhakwan b. Abdu Qays b. Khalada b. Mukhallad; and Masud b. Khalada b. Amir b. Mukhallad. Total 7 men.

Of B. Khalid b. Amir b. Zurayq: Abbad b. Qays b. Amir b. Khalid. Total 1 man.

Of B. Khalada b. Amir b. Zurayq: Asad b. Yazid b. al-Fakih b. Zayd b. Khalada; and al-Fakih b. Bishr b. al-Fakih b. Zayd b. Khalada (481); and Muadh b. Mais b. Qays b. Khalada and his brother Aidh; and Masud b. Sad b. Qays b. Khalada. Total 5 men.

Of B. al-Ajlan b. Amr b. Amir b. Zurayq: Rifaa b. Raful b. al-Ajlan and his brother Khallad; and Ubayd b. Zayd b. Amir b. al-Ajlan. Total 3 men.

Of B. Bayada b. Amir b. Zurayq: Ziyad b. Labid b. Thalaba b. Sinan b. Amir b. Adly b. Umayya b. Bayada; and Farwa b. Amr b. Wadhafa b. Abid b. Amir (482); and Khalid b. Qays b. Malik b. al-Ajlan b. Amir; and Rujayla b. Thalaba b. Khalid b. Thalaba b. Amir (483); and Atiya b. Nuwayra b. Amir b. Atiya b. Amir; and Khulayfa (484) b. Adiy b. Amr b. Malik b. Amir b. Fuhayra. Total 6 men.

Of B. Habib b. Abdu Haritha b. Malik b. Ghadb b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj: Raft b. al-Mualla b. Laudhan b. Haritha b. Adly b. Zayd b. Thalaba b. Zaydu Manat b. Habib. Total 1 man.

Of B. Najjar who was Taymullah b. Thalaba b. Amr b. al-Khazraj of the clan of B. Ghanm b. Malik b. al-Najjar of the subdivision of B. Thalaba b. Abdu Auf b. Ghanm: Abu Ayyub Khalid b. Zayd b. Kulayb b. Thalaba. Total 1 man.

Of B. Usayra b. Abdu Auf b. Ghanm: Thabit b. Khalid b. al-Numan b. Khansa b. Usayra (485). Total 1 man.

Of B. Amr b. Abdu Auf b. Ghanm: Umara b. Hazm b. Zayd b. Laudhan b. Amr; and Suraqa b. Kab b. Abdul-Uzza b. Ghazlya b. Amr. Total 2 men.

Of B. Ubayd b. Tha'laba b. Ghanm: Haritha b. al-Numan b. Zayd b. Abid; and Sulaym b. Qays b. Qahd who was Khalid b. Qays b. Abid (486). Total 2 men.

Of B. Aidh b. Thalaba b. Ghanm (487): Suhayl b. Rafi b. Abu Amr b. Aidh; Adly b. al-Raghba, an ally from Juhayna. Total 2 men. Of B. Zayd b. Thalaba b. Ghanm: Masud b. Aus b. Zayd; and Abu Khuzayma b. Aus b. Zayd b. Asram b. Zayd; and Rafi b. al-Harith b. Sawad b. Zayd. Total 3 men.

Of B. Sawad b. Malik b. Ghanm: Auf and Muawwidh and Muadh sons of al-Harith b. Rifaa b. Sawad by Afra (488); and al-Numan b. Amr b. Rifaa b. Sawad (489); and Amir b. Mukhallad b. al-Harith b. Sawad; and Abdullah b. Qays b. Khalid b. Khalada b. al-Harith; and Usayma an ally from Ashja; and Wadia b. Amr an ally from Juhayna; and Thabit b. Amr b. Zayd b. Adly. They allege that Abul-Hamra, freedman of al-Harith b. Afra was at Badr (490). Total 10 men.

Of B. Amir b. Malik b. al-Najjar, Amir being Mabdhul of the clan of B. Atik b. Amr b. Mabdhul: Thalaba b. Amr b. Mihsan b. Amr b. Atik; and Sahl b. Atik b. Amr b. al-Numan; and al-Harith b. al-Simma b. Amr; his leg was broken at al-Rauha and the apostle gave him his share in the booty. Total 3 men.

Of B. Amr b. Malik b. al-Najjar, the B. Hudayla, of the clan of B. Qays b. Ubayd b. Zayd b. Muawiya b. Amr b. Malik b. al-Najjar (491): Ubayy b. Kab b. Qays; and Anas b. Muadh b. Anas b. Qays. Total 2 men.

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Of B. Adly b. Amr b. Malik b. al-Najjar (492): Aus b. Thabit b. al-Mundhir b. Haram b. Amr b. Zaydu Manat b. Adly; and Abu Shaykh Ubayy b. Thabit b. al-Mundhir b. Haram b. Zaydu Manat b. Adly (493); and Abu Talha who was Zayd b. Sahl b. al-Aswad b. Haram b. Amr b. Zaydu Manat b. Adly. Total 3 men.

Of B. Adiy b. al-Najjar of the clan of B. Adiy b. Amir b. Ghanm b. al-Najjar: Haritha b. Suraqa b. al-Harith b. Adiy b. Malik b. Adly b. Amir; Amr b. Thalaba b. Wahb b. Adiy b. Malik b. Adly b. Amir known as Abu Hakim; Salit b. Qays b. Amr b. Atik b. Malik b. Adiy b. Amir; Abu Salit Usayra b. Amr; and Amr Abu Kharija b. Qays b. Malik b. Adly b. Amir; Thabit b. Khansa b. Amr b. Malik, etc.; Amir b. Umayya b. Zayd b. al-Hashas b. Malik, etc.; and Muhriz b. Amir b. Malik b. Adiy; and Sawad b. Ghaziya b. Uhayb an ally from Bali (494). Total 8 men.

Of B. Haram b. Jundub b. Amir b. Ghanm b. Adiy b. al-Najjar: Abu Zayd Qays b. Sakan b. Qays b. Zaura b. Haram; and Abul-Awar b. al-Harith b. Zalim b. Abs b. Haram (495); and Sulaym b. Milhan and Haram his brother. Milhan's name was Malik b. Khalid b. Zayd b. Haram. Total 4 men.

Of B. Mazin b. al-Najjar of the clan of B. Auf b. Mabdhul b. Amr b. Ghanm b. Mazin b. al-Najjar: Qays b. Abu Sasaa whose name was Amr b. Zayd b. Auf; and Abdullah b. Kab b. Amr b. Auf; and Usayma an ally from B. Asad b. Khuzayma. Total 3 men.

Of B. Khansa b. Mabdhul b. Amr b. Ghanm b. Mazin: Abu Daud Umayr b. Amir b. Malik b. Khansa; and Suraqa b. Amr b. Atiya. Total 2 men.

Of B. Thalaba b. Mazin b. al-Najjar: Qays b. Mukhallad b. Thalaba b. Sakhr b. Habib b. al-Harith b. Tha'laba. Total 1 man.

Of B. Dinar b. al-Najjar of the clan of B. Masud b. Abdul-Ashhal b. Haritha b. Dinar: al-Numan b. Abdu Amr b. Masud; and al-Dahhak b. Abdu Amr b. Masud; and Sulaym b. al-Harith b. Thalaba b. Kab b. Haritha brother of al-Dahhak and al-Numan the sons of Abdu Amr by the same mother; Jabir b. Khalid b. Abdul-Ashhal b. Haritha; and Sad b. Suhayl b. Abdul-Ashhal. Total 5 men.

Of B. Qays b. Malik b. Kab b. Haritha b. Dinar b. al-Najjar: Kab b. Zayd b. Qays; and Bujayr b. Abu Bujayr, an ally (496). Total 2 men.

The men of al-Khazraj who were at Badr number 170 (497).

Thus the total number of Muslims, emigrants, and Helpers who were at Badr and were allotted a share in the booty was 314, the emigrants providing 83, Aus 61, and Khazraj 170.

THE NAMES OF THOSE WHO DIED AS MARTYRS AT BADR

(As these persons' names have already been given in full their genealogies are shortened here.)

Of Quraysh of the clan of B. al-Muttalib: Ubayda b. al-Harith whom Utba b. Rabia slew by cutting off his leg. He afterwards died in al-Safra. Total 1.

Of B. Zuhra b. Kilab: Umayr b. Abu Waqqas (498) and Dhul-Shimalayn b. Abdu Amr an ally from Khuzaa of B. Ghubshan. Total 2.

Of B. Adi b. Kab: Aqil b. al-Bukayr an ally from B. Sad b. Layth; and Mihja freedman of Umar. Total 2.

Of B. al-Harith b. Fihr: Safwan b. Bayda. Total 1, Grand total 6.

Of the Helpers: of B. Amr b. Auf: Sad b. Khaythama, and Mubashshir b. Abdul-Mundhir b. Zanbar. Total 2.

Of B. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj: Yazid b. al-Harith known as Ibn Fusham. Total 1.

Of B. Salama of the clan of B. Haram b. Kab b. Ghanm: Umayr b. al-Humam. Total 1.

Of B. Habib b. Abdu Haritha b. Malik b. Ghadb b. Jusham: Rafi b. al-Mualla. Total 1.

Of B. al-Najjar: Haritha b. Suraqa b. al-Harith. Total 1.

Of B. Ghanm b. Malik b. al-Najjar: Auf and Muawwidh the two sons of al-Harith b. Rifaa by Afra Total 2, Grand total 8.

THE NAMES OF THE POLYTHEISTS WHO WERE SLAIN AT BADR

The Quraysh losses at Badr were as follow:

Of B. Abdu Shams: Hanzala b. Abu Sufyan (499); al-Harith b. al-Hadrami and Amir b. al-Hadrami, two allies of theirs (500); and Umayr b. Abu Umayr and his son two freedmen of theirs (501); and Ubayda b. Said b. al-As b. Umayya whom al-Zubayr b. al-Awwam killed; and al-As b. Said whom Ali killed; and Uqba b. Abu Muayf whom Asim b. Thabit killed (502); and Utba b. Rabia whom Ubayda b. al-Harith killed (503); and Shayba b. Rabia whom Hamza killed; and al-Walid b. Utba whom Ali killed; and Amir b. Abdullah, an ally from B. Anmar b. Baghid whom Ali killed. Total 12.

Of B. Naufal b. Abdu Manaf: al-Harith b. Amir whom Khubayb b. Isaf is said to have killed; and Tuayma b. Adiy b. Naufal whom Ali killed while others say Hamza killed him. Total 2.

Of B. Asad b. Abdul-Uzza: Zamaa b. al-Aswad (504); and al-Harith b. Zamaa (505); and Uqayl b. al-Aswad (506); and Abul-Bakhtari who was al-As b. Hisham whom al-Mujadhdhar b. Dhiyad al-Balawi killed (507); and Naufal b. Khuwaylid who was b. al-Adawiya the Adiy of Khuzaa; it was he who bound Abu Bakr and Talha b. Ubaydullah with a rope when they became Muslims and so were called 'the-two-tied-together-ones'. He was one of the principal men of Quraysh. Ali killed him. Total 5 men.

Of Abdul-Dar: al-Nadr b. al-Harith whom they say that Ali executed in the presence of the apostle at al-Safra (508); and Zayd b. Mulays freedman of Umayr b. Hashim b. Abdu Manaf (509). Total 2.

Of B. Taym b. Murra: Umayr b. Uthman (510); and Uthman b. Malik whom Suhayb b. Sinan killed. Total 2.

Of B. Makhzum b. Yaqaza: Abu Jahl b. Hisham (Muadh b. Amr struck off his leg. His son Ikrima struck off Muadh's hand and he threw it from him; then Muawwidh b. Afra struck him so that he disabled him leaving him at the last gasp; then Abdullah b. Masud quickly dispatched him and cut off his head when the apostle ordered that search should be made among the slain for him); and al-As b. Hisham whom 'Umar killed; and Yazid b. Abdullah, an ally from B. Tamim (511); and Abu Musafi al-Ashari, an ally (512); and Harmala b. Amr, an ally (513); and Masud b. Abu Umayya (514); and Abu Qays b. al-Walid (515); and Abu Qays b. al-Fakih (516); and Rifaa b. Abu Rifaa (517); and al-Mundhir b. Abu Rifaa (518); and Abdullah b. al-Mundhir (519); and al-Saib b. Abul-Saib (520); and al-Aswad b. Abdul-Asad whom Hamza killed; and Hajib b. al-Saib (521); and Uwaymir b. al-Saib (522); and Amr b. Sufyan; and Jabir b. Sufyan, two allies from Tayyi (523). Total 17.

Of B. Sahm b. Amr: Munabbih b. al-Hajjaj whom Abul-Yasar killed; and his son al-As (524); and Nubayh b. al-Hajjaj (525); and Abul-As b. Qays (526); and Asim b. Auf (527). Total 5.

Of B. Jumah: Umayya b. Khalaf whom a Helper of B. Mazin killed (528); and his son Ali b. Umayya whom Ammar killed; and Aus b. Miyar (529). Total 3.

Of B. Amir b. Luayy: Muawiya b. Amir, an ally from Abdul-Qays whom Ali killed (530); and Mabad b. Wahb, an ally from B. Kalb b. Auf whom Khalid and Iyas the two sons of al-Bukayr killed (531). Total 2.

Thus the total number of Quraysh slain at Badr as given to us is 50 men (532).

A LIST OF THE QURAYSH POLYTHEISTS WHO WERE TAKEN PRISONER AT BADR

From B. Hashim b. Abdu Manaf: Aqil b. Abu Talib and Naufal b. al-Harith b. Abdul-Muttalib.

From B. al-Mujtalib b. Abdu Manaf: al-Saib b. Ubayd b. Abdu Yazid and Numan b. Amr b. Alqama. 2.

From B. Abdu Shams b. Abdu Manaf: Amr b. Abu Sufyan b. Harb b. Umayya and al-Harith b. Abu Wajza b. Abu Amr b. Umayya (533); and Abul-As b. al-Rabl b. Abdul-Uzza; and Abul-As b. Naufal; and of their allies Abu Risha b. Abu Amr; and Amr b. al-Azraq; and Uqba b. Abdul-Harith b. al-Hadrami. 7.

From B. Naufal b. Abdu Manaf: Adiy b. al-Khiyar b. Adiy; and Uthman b. Abdu Shams nephew of Ghazwan b. Jabir, an ally of theirs from B. Mazin b. Mansur; and Abu Thaur, an ally. 3.

From B. Abdul-Dar b. Qusayy: Abu Aziz b. Umayr b. Hashim b. Abdu Manaf; and al-Aswad b. Amir, an ally. They used to say 'We are the B. al-Aswad b. 'Amir b. Amr b. al-Harith b. al-Sabbaq. 2.

From B. Asad b. Abdul-Uzza b. Qusayy: al-Saib b. Abu Hubaysh b. al-Muttalib b. Asad; and al-Huwayrith b. Abbad b. Uthman (534) b. Asad, and Salim b. Shammakh an ally. 3.

From B. Makhzum b. Yaqaza b. Murra: Khalid b. Hisham b. al-Mughira b. Abdullah b. Umar; and Umayya b. Abu Hudhayfa b. al-Mughira; and Walid b. al-Walid b. al-Mughira; and Uthman b. Abdullah b. al-Mughira b. Abdullah b. Umar; and Sayfi b. Abu Rifaa b. Abid b. Abdullah b. Umar; and Abul-Mundhir his brother; and Abu Ata Abdullah b. Abul-Saib b. Abid b. Abdullah b. Umar; and al-Muttalib b. Hantab b. al-Harith b. Ubayd b. Umar; and Khalid b. al-Alam an ally, who they say was the first to turn his back in flight. He it was who said:

The wounds that bleed are not on our backs
But the blood drops on to our feet. 9 (535).

From B. Sahm b. Amr b. Husays b. Kab: Abu Wadaa b. Dubayra b. Suayd b. Sad who was the first prisoner to be redeemed. His son al-Muttalib paid his ransom money. Farwa b. Qays b. Adiy b. Hudhafa b. Sad; and Hanzala b. Qabisa b. Hudhafa b. Sad; and al-Hajjaj b. al-Harith b. Qays b. Adiy b. Sad. 4.

From B. Jumah b. Amr b. Husays b. Kab: Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Khalaf b. Wahb b. Hudhafa; and Abu Azza Amr b. Abdullah b. Uthman b. Wuhayb b. Hudhafa and al-Fakih, freedman of Umayya b. Khalaf.

After that Rabah b. al-Mughtarif claimed him asserting that he was of B.

Shammakh b. Muharib b. Fihr. It is said that al-Fakih was the son of Jarwal b. Hidhyam b. Auf b. Ghadb b. Shammakh b. Muharib b. Fihr; and Wahb b. 'Umayr b. Wahb b. Khalaf b. Wahb b. Hudhafa; and Rabia b. Darraj b. al-'Anbas b. Uhban b. Wahb b. Hudhafa. 5.

From B. Amir b. Luayy: Suhayl b. Amr b. Abdu Shams b. Abdu Wudd b. Nasr b. Malik b. Hisl (Malik b. al-Dukhshum brother of B. Salim b. Auf took him prisoner); and Abd b. Zamaa b. Qays b. Abdu Shams b. Abdu Wudd b. Nasr b. Malik b. Hisl; and 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. Mashnu b. Waqdan b. Qays b. Abdu Shams b. Abdu Wudd b. Nasr b. Malik b. Hisl b. Amir. 3.

From B. al-Harith b. Fihr: al-Tufayl b. Abu Qunay; and Utba b. Amr b. Jahdam. 2.

The total number reported to me was 43 men* (536).

(* Here, one would expect that the number of the Hashimite prisoners would be given, but it is not. A.Dh. says: 'He does not mention al-'Abbas along with these two prisoners because he had become a Muslim, and used to conceal his religion because he was afraid of his tribesmen.' However, since Ibn Ishaq at the end of the list says that the total number was 43, whereas only 42 are named, it is obvious that he must have included Abbas among the prisoners. Ibn Hisham's note is that one prisoner, whose name is not mentioned, is missing from the list.)

SOME POETRY ABOUT THE BATTLE OF BADR

Of the poetry about the battle of Badr which the two parties bandied between them in reference to what happened therein are the lines of Hamza b. Abdul-Muttalib (537):

Surely one of time's wonders (Lit. Did you see a thing that was one of time's wonders? That a people, etc.)
(Though roads to death are plain to see)
ls that a people should destroy themselves and perish
By encouraging one another to disobedience and disbelief.
The night they all set out for Badr
And became death's pawns in its well.
We had sought but their caravan, naught else,
But they came to us and we met unexpectedly.
When we met there was no way out
Save with a thrust from dun-coloured straight-fashioned shafts
And a blow with swords which severed their heads,
Swords that glittered as they smote.
We left the erring Utba lying dead
And Shayba among the slain thrown in the well;
'Amr lay dead among their protectors
And the keening women rent their garments for him,
The noble women of Lu'ayy b. Ghalib
Who surpass the best of Fihr.
Those were folk who were killed in their error
And they left a banner not prepared for victory—
A banner of error whose people Iblis led.
He betrayed them (the evil one is prone to treachery).
When he saw things clearly he said to them,
'I am quit of you. I can no longer endure,
I see what you do not see, I fear God's punishment
For He is invincible.'

He led them to death so that they (Cf. Sura 8.50. The preceding lines 'seem to be the work of the man who wrote the poem attributed to Hassan. Cf.W. 475, line 2.)

While he knew what they could not know.
On the day of the well they mustered a thousand,
We three hundred like excited white stallions.
With us were God's armies when He reinforced us with them
In a place that will ever be renowned.
Under our banner Gabriel attacked with them
In the fray where they met their death.
Al-Harith b. Hisham b. al-Mughira answered them thus:
Help, O my people, in my longing and loss
My sorrow and burning heart!
Tears flow copiously from my eyes
Like pearls falling from the cord of the woman who strings them,
Weeping for the sweet-natured hero
Death's pawn at the well of Badr.
Bless you, Amr kinsman and companion of most generous nature.
If certain men chanced to meet you when your luck was out,
Well, time is bound to bring its changes.
In past times which are gone
You brought upon them a humiliation which is hard to bear.
Unless I die I shall not leave you unavenged.
I will spare neither brother nor wife's kin.
I will slay as many dear to them
As they have slain of mine.
Have strangers whom they have collected deceived them
While we are the pure stock of Fihr?
Help, O Luayy, protect your sanctuary and your gods;
Give them not up to the evil man! (The text has fakhr. This must be one of the words which Ibn Hisham says that he altered. The change of a dot would give fajr, which is adopted here.)
Your fathers handed them down and you inherited their foundations (Or 'columns'.),
The temple with its roof and curtain.

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Why did the reprobate want to destroy you? (Reading dhamim or laim for halim in the text.)
Forgive him not, O tribe of Ghalib,
Fight your adversary with all your might and help one another.
Bear one another's afflictions with endurance.
You may well avenge your brother,
Nothing matters if you fail to take revenge on 'Amr's slayers.
With waving swords flashing in your hands like lightning
Sending heads flying as they glitter.
As it were the tracks of ants on their blades
When they are unsheathed against the evil-eyed enemy (538).

Ali b. Abu Talib said:
Have you not seen how God favoured His apostle
With the favour of a strong, powerful, and gracious one;
How He brought humiliation on the unbelievers
Who were put to shame in captivity and death,
While the apostle of God's victory was glorious
He being sent by God in righteousness.
He brought the Furqan sent down from God,
Its signs (Or 'its messages' [or verses].) are plain to men of sense.
Some firmly believed in that and were convinced
And (thanks to God) became one people; (shaml, or 'lived in harmony'. See Lyali, The Poems of Amr son of Qamiah, Cambridge, 1919, p.14.)
Others disbelieved, their minds went astray
And the Lord of the throne brought repeated calamities upon them;
At Badr He gave them into the power of His apostle
And an angry army who did valiantly.
They smote them with their trusty swords,
Furbished well, and polished.
How many a lusty youngster,
Many a hardy warrior did they leave prone.
Their keening women spent a sleepless night,
Their tears now strong, now weak.
They keen for erring Utba and his son,
And Shayba and Abu Jahl
And Dhul-Rijl (i.e. Al-Aswad whose leg Hamza hewed off, v.s.) and Ibn Judan also,
With burning throats in mourning garb displaying bereavement.
Dead in Badr's well lay many,
Brave in war, generous in times of dearth;
Error called them and some responded
(For error has ways easy to adopt).
Now thev are in Hell,
Too occupied to rage furiously against us.

Al-Harith b. Hisham b. al-Mughira answered him thus:
I wonder at folk whose fool sings
Of folly captious and vain,
Singing about the slain at Badr
When young and old vied in glorious endeavour,
The brave swordsman of Lu'ayy, Ibn Ghalib,
Thrusting in battle, feasting the hungry in times of dearth;
They died nobly, they did not sell their family
For strangers alien in stock and homeland,
Like you who have made Ghassan your special friends
Instead of us—a sorry deed,
An impious, odious crime, and a severing of the ties of blood;
Men of judgement and understanding perceive your wrongdoing.
True, they are men who have passed away,
But the best death is on the battlefield.
Rejoice not that you have killed them,
For their death will bring you repeated disaster.
Now they are dead you will always be divided,
Not one people as you desire,
By the loss of Ibn Judan, the praiseworthy,
And Utba, and him who is called Abu Jahl among you.
Shayba and Al-Walid were among them,
Umayya, the refuge of the poor, and Dhul-Rijl. (Apparently al-Aswad the Makhzumite whose leg was cut off as he tried to drink from the well at Badr is meant. See Wellhausen 442.)
Weep for these and not for others,
The keening women will bewail their loss and bereavement,
Say to the people of Mecca, Assemble yourselves
And go to palmy Medina's forts,
Defend yourselves and fight, O people of Kab,
With your polished and burnished swords
Or pass the night in fear and trembling
By day meaner than the sandal that is trodden underfoot.
But know, O men that by Al-Lat, I am sure
That you will not rest without taking vengeance.
All of you, don your mail, take the spear,
The helmet, sharp sword and arrows.

Dirar b. al-Khattab b. Mirdas brother of B. Muharib b. Fihr said:
I wonder at the boasting of Aus when death is coming to them tomorrow
(Since time contains its warnings)
And at the boasting of the Banu l-Najjar because certain men died there,
For all of them were steadfast men.
If some of our men were left dead
We shall leave others dead on the field. (i.e. of the enemy. C. and W. differ in this line.)
Our flying steeds will carry us among you,
Till we slake our vengeance, O Banu l-Aus,
We shall return to the charge in the midst of the Banu l-Najjar,
Our horses snorting under the weight of the spearmen clad in mail.
Your dead we shall leave with vultures circling round
To look for help but a vain desire.
Yathrib's women will mourn them,
Their nights long and sleepless
Because our swords will cut them down,
Dripping with the blood of their victims.
Though you won on the day of Badr
Your good fortune was plainly due to Ahmad
And the chosen band, his friends,
Who protected him in battle when death was at hand,
Abu Bakr and Hamza could be numbered among them
And Ali among those you could mention,
Abu Hafs and Uthman were of them,
Sa'd too, if anyone was present,
Those men—not the begettings of Aus and Najjar—
Should be the object of your boasting,
But their father was from Luayy Ibn Ghalib,
Kab and Amir when noble families are reckoned.
They are the men who repelled the cavalry on every front,
The noble and glorious on the day of battle.
Kab b. Malik brother of the B. Salima said:
I wonder at God's deed, since He
Does what He wills, none can defeat Him.
He decreed that we should meet at Badr
An evil band (and evil ever leads to death).
They had summoned their neighbours on all sides
Until they formed a great host.
At us alone they came with ill intent,
Kab and Amir and all of them.
With us was God's apostle with Aus round him
Like a strong impregnable fortress
The tribes of Banii Najjar beneath his banner
Advancing in light armour while the dust rose high.
When we met them and every steadfast warrior
Ventured his life with his comrades
5a i We testified to the unity of God
And that His apostle brought the truth.
When our light swords were unsheathed
'Twas as though fires flashed at their movement.
With them we smote them and they scattered
And the impious met death,
Abu Jahl lay dead on his face
And Utba our swords left in the dust. (Reading afiru with some authorities for athiru, though these letters sometimes interchange.)
Shayba and Al-Taymi they left on the battlefield,
Everyone of them denied Him who sitteth on the throne.
They became fuel for Hell,
For every unbeliever must go there.
It will consume them, while the stoker
Increases its heat with pieces of iron and stone. (Koran 18.95)
God's apostle had called them to him
But they turned away, saying, 'You are nothing but a sorcerer.'
Because God willed to destroy them,
And none can avert what He decrees.

Abdullah b. al-Zibara al-Sahmi (an ally of the B. Abdul-Dar)*, bewailing the slain at Badr, said (539):
(* In deference to the text these words have been retained; but (1st) they occur after Ibn Hisham's interpolation in which he ascribea the poem to al-Asha b. Zurara, an ally of B. Abdu Naufal, and (2nd) Abdullah, though he belonged to Sahm who were in the ahlaf alliance with B. Abdul-Dir, could hardly be called a halif. Therefore it looks as if the words refer to al-Ashi. Whether Ibn Hisham inserted them because he knew that Ibn Ishaq differed from him, or whether someone else did for the same reason, it is impossible to say.)
What noble warriors, handsome men, lie round Badr's battlefield.
They left behind them Nubayh and Munabbih and
The two sons of Rabia, best fighters against odds,
And the generous Harith, whose face shone
Like the full moon illuminating night;
And al-As b. Munabbih, the strong,
Like a long lance without a flaw.
His origin and his ancestors
And the glory of his father's and his mother's kin raise him high.
If one must weep and show great grief
Let it be over the glorious chief Ibn Hisham,
God, lord of creatures, save Abul-Walid and his family,
And grant them special favour.

Hassan b. Thabit al-Ansari answered him:
Weep, may your eyes weep blood,
Their rapid flow ever renewed.
Why weep for those who ran to evil ways?
Why have you not mentioned the virtues of our people
And our glorious, purposeful, tolerant, courageous one,
The prophet, soul of virtue and generosity,
The truest man that ever swore an oath?
One who resembles him and does his teaching
Was the most praised there not without effect. (The line is clumsy and the syntax questionable.)

Hassan also Said:
A maiden obsesses thy mind in sleep
Giving the sleeper a drink with cool lips
Like musk mingled with pure water
Or old wine red as the blood of sacrifices.
Wide in the rump, her buttocks ripples of fat,
Vivacious, not hasty in swearing an oath.
Her well-covered hips as she sits
Form a hollow in her back like a marble mortar,
So la2y she can hardly go to bed,
Of beautiful body and lovely figure.
By day I never fail to think of her,
By night my dreams inflame my desire tor her.
I swear I will not forget to think of her
Until my bones lie in the grave.
O woman who foolishly blames me,
I refuse to accept blame on account of my love;
She came to me at dawn after I woke
When life's troubles were at hand.
She told me that man is sad all his life
Because he lacks plenty of camels;
If you lied in what you said
May you escape the consequences as Al-Harith b. Hisham did.
He left his friends fearing to fight in their defence,
And escaped by giving his horse free rein.
It left the swift steeds behind in the desert;
As the weighted rope drops down the well.
His mare galloped away at full speed while
His friends remained in their evil plight
[His brothers and his family were in the battle
In which God gave the Muslims victory—
For God accomplishes His work—war ground them to powder,
Its fire blazed (with them as fuel).
But for God and the animal's speed (our horses) had left him
A prey to wild beasts trodden under their hoofs.] (These three verses are obviously a later interpolation. The syntax requires that the partitive mm should follow its antecedent 'his friends'. Moreover, the ostentatious piety of these verses is foreign to Hassan.)
Some of them firmly bound prisoners (though they were)
Hawks protecting (their young) when they met the spears;
Some prostrate never to answer to the call
Till the highest mountains cease to be,
In shame and plain disgrace when they saw
The sword blades driving every resolute chief before them.
Swords in the hands of noble valiant chiefs,
Whose noble ancestry is vindicated without searching inquiry.
Swords that strike fire from steel
Like lightning 'neath the storm clouds.
Al-Harith answered him and said:
The people know well (Or 'God knows best')
I did not leave the fight until my steed was foaming with blood
I knew that if I fought alone I should be killed; my death would not injure the enemy
So I withdrew and left my friends meaning to avenge them another day.
This is what Al-Harith said in excuse for running away from the battle of Badr (540).

Hassan also said (Diwan Ixxvi.):
Quraysh knew on the day of Badr,
The day of captivity and violent slaughter,
That when the lances crossed we were the victors
In the battle of Abul-Walid.
We killed Rabla's two sons the day they came
Clad in double mail against us.
Hakim fled on the day that the Banu l-Najjar
Advanced upon them like lions.
All the men of Fihr turned tail,
The miserable Harith abandoned them from afar.

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You met shame and death
Quick, decisive, under the neck vein.
All the force turned tail together.
They paid no heed to ancestral honour.

Hassan also said (Diwan cli.):
O Harith, you took a base decision in war
And the day when ancestral fame is shown,
When you rode a swift-footed noble mare,
Rapid-paced and long in flank,
Leaving your people behind to be slain,
Thinking only of escape when you should have stood fast.
Could you not have shown concern for your mother's son
Who lay transfixed by spears, his body stripped?
God hastened to destroy his host
In shameful disgrace and painful punishment! (541).

Hassan also said (Diudn xxxvi.) (542):
A bold intrepid man—no coward—
Led those clad in light chain armour.
I mean the apostle of God the Creator
Who favoured him with piety and goodness above all;
You had said you would protect your caravan
And that Badr's waters could not be reached* by us.
(* Reading maurud for mardud. Dhimar includes anything that must be protected.)
There we had come down, not heeding your words so that
We drank to the full without stint,
Holding fast to an unseverable rope,
The well plaited rope of God that stretches far.
We have the apostle and we have the truth which we follow

To the death; we have help unlimited
Faithful to his promise, intrepid, a brilliant star,
A full moon that casts light on every noble man (543).

Hassan also said (Diwan ccvii.):
The Banu Asad were disappointed and their raiders returned
On the day of the Well in misery and disgrace.
Abul-As soon lay dead on the ground:
Hurled from the back of his galloping steed:
He met his end with his weapons, good fighter as he was
When he lay still in death.
The man Zama we left with his throat severed,
His life blood flowing away,
His forehead cushioned in the dust,
His nostrils defiled with filth;
Ibn Qays escaped with a remnant of his tribe
Covered with wounds, at the point of death.

Hassan also said (Diwan xliv.):
Can anyone say if the Meccans know
How we slew the unbelievers in their evil hour?
We killed their leaders in the battle
And they returned a shattered force;
We killed Abu Jahl and Utba before him,
And Shayba fell forward with his hands outstretched. (The true reading is yakbu. Wellhausen's yabku is an obvious misprint. The widely different reading in H.'s Diwan is markedly inferior.)
We killed Suwayd and 'Utba after him.
Tuma also in the dust of combat.
Many a noble, generous man we slew
Of lofty line, illustrious among his people.
We left them as meat for hyaenas
Later to burn in Hell fire. (A reminiscence of Koran 88.4.)
l'faith Malik's horsemen and their followers were no protection
When they met us at Badr (544).

Hassan also said (Diwan lxxx.):
Hakim's speed saved him on the day of Badr
Like the speed of a colt from al-Awaj's mares (A horse as famous in pagan sagas as Black Bess in English legend.),
When he saw Badr's valley walls
Swarming with the black-mailed squadrons of Khazraj
Who do not retire when they meet the enemy,
Who march boldly in the middle of the beaten track.
How many a valiant chief they have,
Heroes where the coward turns at bay,
Chiefs giving lavishly with open hand,
Crowned ones bearing the burden of blood-wits,
Ornaments in conclave, persistent in battle,
Smiting the bold with their all-piercing swords (545).

Hassan also said:
Thanks to God we fear not an army
How many they be with their assembled troops.
Whenever they brought a multitude against us
The gracious Lord sufficed us against their swords;
At Badr we raised our spears aloft,
Death did not dismay us.
You could not see a body of men
More dangerous to those they attack when war is stirred up, (The metaphor is that of the untimely address of the he-camel to the mare.)

But we put our trust [in God] and said:
'Our swords are our fame and our defence.'
With them we met them and were victorious
Though but a band against their thousands.
Hassan also said, satirising B. Jumah and those of them who were slain:
Banu Jumah rushed headlong to disaster (Here there is a pun on the name Jumah.) because of their unlucky star
(The mean man inevitably meets humiliation).
They were conquered and slain at Badr,
They deserted in all directions,
They rejected the scripture and called Mohammed liar.
But God makes the religion of every apostle victorious;
God curse Abu Khuzayma and his son,
The two Khalids and Said b. Aqil.
Ubayda b. al-Harith said about the battle of Badr, and the cutting off of his foot when it was smitten in the fight, when he and Hamza and Ali fought their enemies (546):
A battle will tell the Meccans about us:
It will make distant men give heed,
When Utba died and Shayba after him
And Utba's eldest son had no cause to be pleased with it. (Utba's firstborn al-Walid was also slain at Badr.)
You may cut off my leg, yet I am a Muslim,
I hope in exchange for a life near to Allah
With Houris fashioned like the most beautiful statues
With the highest heaven for those who mount there.
I have bought it with a life of which I have tasted the best (Reading taarraftu.)
And which I have tried until I lost even my next-of-kin.
The Merciful honoured me with His favour
With the garment of Islam to cover my faults.
I did not shrink from fighting them
The day that men called on their peers to fight them,
When they asked the prophet he sought only us three
So that we came out to the herald;
Wc met them like lions, brandishing our spears,
We fought the rebellious for God's sake;
We three did not move from our position
Till their fate came upon them (547).
When Ubayda died of the wound in his leg at the battle of Badr, Kab b.
Malik, the Ansari, wrote this elegy on him:
O eye, be generous, not niggardly,
With thy true tears; spare them not
For a man whose death appalled us,
Noble in deed and in descent,
Bold in attack with sharpened sword,
Of noble repute and goodly descent. (Or reading makshari, 'of sweet breath'.)
Ubayda has passed away, we cannot hope
For good or evil from him,
On the eve of battle he used to protect our rearguard with his sword.
Ka'b also said:
Have Ghassan heard in their distant haunt
(The best informant is one with knowledge thereof),
That Maadd shot their arrows at us,
The whole tribe of them were hostile,
Because we worship God, hoping in none other,
Hoping for heaven's gardens since their prophet has come to us (Lit. Guarantor.).
A prophet with a glorious inheritance among his people,
And truthful ancestors whose origin made them pure;
Both sides advanced, and we met them like lions
Whose victims have nothing to hope for;
We smote them in the battle
Till Luayy's leader fell upon his face;
They fled, and we cut them down with our sharp swords,
Their allies and their tribesmen alike.
Kab also said:
By your father's life, ye sons of Luayy,
Despite your deceit and pride,
Your horsemen did not protect you at Badr,
They could not stand fast when they met us;
We came there with God's light
Clearing away the cover of darkness from us.
God's apostle led us, by God's order,
An order He had fixed by decree;
Your horsemen could not conquer at Badr
And returned to you in evil case;
Do not hurry, Abu Sufyan, and watch
For the fine steeds coming up from Kada, (A place near Mecca. Cf. Wellhausen 829, line 8.)
By God's help the holy spirit is among them (i.e. Gabriel.)
And Michael, what a goodly company!
Talib b. Abu Talib, praising the apostle and lamenting the men of
Quraysh who were thrown into the pit at Badr, said:
My eye wept copiously
Over Kab, though it sees them not.
Ka'b deserted one another in the wars, and
Fate destroyed them, they having greatly sinned. (The language is reminiscent of Koran 45-20.)
And Amir this morning are weeping for the misfortunes (that befell them).
Shall I ever see them closer (to each other)?
They are my brothers, their mother no harlot,
And never their guest suffered wrong;
O our brothers Abdu Shams and Naufal, may I be your ransom,
Put not war between us. After the love and friendship we had
Become not (the subject of) stories in which all of you have something
to complain of.
Do you not know what happened in the war of Dahis
And when Abu Yaksum's army filled the ravine?
Had not God the Sole Existent saved you
You could not have protected your people.
We among Quraysh have done no great wrong
But merely protected the best man that ever trod the earth;
A standby in misfortunes, generous,
Noble in reputation, no niggard, no wrongdoer.
His door is thronged by those seeking his bounty,
A sea of generosity, vast, unfailing.
By God, my soul will ever be sad,
Restless, until you smite Khazraj well and truly.
Dirar b. al-Khattab al-Fihri lamenting Abu Jahl said:
Alas for my eye that cannot sleep
Watching the stars in the darkness of the night!
It is as though a mote were in it,
But there is naught but flowing tears.
Tell Quraysh rhat the best of their company,
The noblest man that ever walked,
At Badr lies imprisoned in the well;
The noble one, not base-born and no niggard.
I swear that my eyes shall never weep for any man
Now Abul-Hakam our chief is slain.
I weep for him whose death brought sorrow to Luayy b. Ghalib,
To whom death came at Badr where he remains.
You could see fragments of spears in his horse's chest,
Scraps of his flesh plainly intermingled with them.
No lion lurking in the valley of Bisha,
Where through jungled vales the waters flow,
Was bolder than he when lances clashed,
When the cry went forth among the valiant 'Dismount' (Or, perhaps, 'To battle')
Grieve not overmuch, Mughira's kin, be resolute
(Though he who so grieves is not to be blamed).
Be strong, for death is your glory,
And thereafter at life's end there is no regret.
I said that victory will be yours
And high renown—no man of sense will doubt it (548).
Al-Harith b. Hisham, bewailing his brother Abu Jahl, said:
Alas my soul for Amr!
But can grief avail one whit? (A happy suggestion of the editors of C. is to read fatil, a Koranic figure for complete ms.gruficance. This is much to be preferred to the obvious qatil of the Manuscripts.)
Someone told me that Amr
Was the first of his people to go into the old abandoned pit.
I have always thought it right (that you should be the first),
Since your judgement in the past was sound.
I was happy while you were alive;
Now I am left in a miserable state.
At night when I cannot see him I feel
A prey to indecision and full of care.
When daylight comes once more
My eye is weary of remembering Amr (549).

Abu Bakr b. al-Aswad b. Shuub al-Laythi, whose name was Shaddad said:
Ummu Bakr gave me the greeting of peace,
But what peace can I have now my people are no more?
In the pit, the pit of Badr,
What singing girls and noble boon companions!

In the pit, the pit of Badr
What platters piled high with choicest camel-meat!
In the well, the well of Badr,
How many camels straying freely were yours!
In the well, the well of Badr,
How many flags (Or, possibly, 'great intentions'.) and sumptuous gifts!
What friends of the noble Abu Ali,
Brother of the generous cup and boon companions!
If you were to see Abu Aqil
And the men of the pass of Naam
You would mourn over them like the mother of a new-born camel
Yearning over her darling.
The apostle tells us that we shall live,

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But how can bodies and wraiths meet again?* (550)

(* Sada. The old Arabs believed that when a man had been killed and his slayer was still at large a bird like an owl came forth from his head crying, 'Give me to drink' sc. the slayer's blood. The word sada afterwards came to be applied to the head or brain, and to the corpse itself, which seems to be the meaning here. Hama also means the head of a man or the bird emerging therefrom which could be conceived as a wraith. For the liqa of our text Bukhari iii. 45. 13 has Laqa 'persist', while Shahrastini, Milal, 433, has the reading quoted by Ibn Hisham. A poem, that is recognisably another version, will be found in the Risalatul-Ghufrar (J.R.A.S. 1902, p. 818). For the last verse Abul-Ala heard: 'Does Ibn Kabsha promise us that we shall live?' This must be early because such a designation of the prophet would hardly have been coined in later times. Commentators explain that the prophet was called Ibn Kabsha [for Ibn Abu Kabsha] after a man of that name who during the pagan era abandoned the religion of his fathers.)

Umayya b. Abul-Salt, lamenting those who died at Badr, said: 531

Would'st thou not weep over the nobles,
Sons of nobles, praised by all,
As the doves mourn upon the leafy boughs,
Upon the bending branches,
Weeping in soft dejected notes
When they return at nightfall.
Like them are the weeping women,
The keeners who lift up their voices.
He who weeps them weeps in real sorrow,
He who praises them tells the truth.
What chiefs and leaders
At Badr and al-Aqanqal,
At Madafiul-Barqayn and Al-Hannan,
At the end of al-Awashih,
Grey-beards and youths, Bold leaders,
Raiders impetuous!
See you not what I see
When it is plain to all beholders,
That the vale of Mecca has altered,

Become a valley deserted (L.H.: This is a remark suggesting that the people left the entire Mecca Valley [probably due to the Justinian Plague], a hint that here the original Mecca in today's Jordan was meant, better known under its Roman name 'Petra'.)

By every chief, son of a chief, (bitriq (patricius) by this time little more than an honorary title in the Eastern Roman Empire. The word must have been well known to the Arabs because it occurs frequently in early literature. My colleague, Professor Lewis, reminds me that Harith b. Jabala was appointed 'phylarch' and 'patricius' by Emperor Justinian in 529 AD.)

Fair-skinned, illustrious,
Constantly at the gate of kings,
Crossing the desert, victorious,
Strong-necked, stout of body,
Men of eminence, successful in enterprise,
Who say and do and order what is right,
Who feed their guests on fat meat
Served on bread white as a lamb's stomach;
Who offer dishes and yet more dishes
As large as water pools.
The hungry finds them not empty
Nor wide without depth,
To guest after guest they send them
With broad open hand,
Givers of hundreds from hundreds of mileh camels
To hundreds of their guests,
Driving the camel herds to the herds,
Returning from Baladih.
Their nobles have a distinction
Outweighing the nobility of others
As the weights send down the scale
As the balancer holds it.
A party deserted them, while they protected
Their women from disgrace,
Men who smote the front ranks of the enemy
With broad-bladed Indian swords;
Their voices pained me as they
Called for water cry ing aloud;

How fine were the sons of Ali all of them! (The reference to the death of Husayn at Karbela and the call to the Alids to rise and revenge themselves is unmistakable.)

If they do not raid such a raid
As would send back every barking dog to its lair,
With horses trained to long rides,
With proudly raised heads, kept near the tents,
As young men on fine horses
Against fierce menacing lions;
Each man advances to his enemy
Walking as though to shake hands,

About a thousand or two thousand
Mailed men and spearmen (551). (Abu Dharr has an interesting note here of a tradition going back to Abu Hurayra which reads thus: 'The apostle gave us permission to recite the poetry of the pagan era except the ode of Umayya b. Abu al-Salt about Badr [i.e. this ode] and the ode of al-Asha which begins "ahdi biha* (lines 10-18 in No. 18 of the Diudn ed. Geyer which has many variants). The apostle forbade the recitation of this ode because it lamented the death of the unbelievers and attacked the reputation of the prophet's companions. It was only for that reason that Ibn Hisham omitted two verses from Umayya's ode. Similarly al-Asha's verse praised Amr b. Tufayl and satirized Alqama b. Ulatha. 'Amr died an unbeliever. Alqama became a Muslim, and when the king [emperor] of the Romans asked him about the apostle he spoke well of him, and the prophet held that in his favour and remembered him. Some scholars say that the prohibition to recite these two odes in the early days of Islam was because of the feeling between Muslims and unbelievers, but when Islam was generally accepted and hatred and enmity ceased, there was no harm in citing them.)

Umayya also said, lamenting Zamaa b. al-Aswad and the B. Aswad who were slain:

O eye, weep with overflowing tears for Abul-Harith
And hold not thy tears for Zama'a.
Weep for Aqil b. Aswad, the bold lion,
On the day of battle and the dust of war.
Those Banu Aswad were brothers like the Gemini,
No treachery and no deceit was in them,
They are the noblest family of Kab,
The very summit of excellence.
They produced sons as many as the hairs of the head

And established them in impregnable positions. (Mana'a is explained by the Taj, vol. v, p. 516. In the plural manadt is 'bastions and strongholds'. As mana'a is a mountain in Hudhayl territory and mana is high ground in labal Tayyi", the general meaning seems clear.)

When misfortune visited their kinsmen
Their hearts ached for them.
They gave their food when rain failed,
When all was dry and no cloud could be seen (552).

Abu Usama Muawiya b. Zuhayr b. Qays b. al-Harith b. Dubaya b. Mazin b. Adiy b. Jusham b. Muawiya, an ally of B. Makhzum (553), passed Hubayra b. Abu Wahb as they were running away on the day of Badr. Hubayra was exhausted and threw away his coat of mail and (Muawiya) picked it up and went off with it. He composed the following lines (554):

When I saw the army panic,
Running away at top speed
And that their leaders lay dead,
Methought the best of them
Were like sacrifices to idols.
Many of them lay there dead,
And we were made to meet our fate at Badr.

We left the way and they overtook us
In waves, like an overwhelming flood;
Some said, 'Who is Ibn Qays?'
I said, Abu Usama, without boasting,
I am the Jushamite, that you may know me,
I will announce my lineage,
Answering challenge by challenge.
If you are of the best born of Quraysh,
I am from Mu'awiya ibn Bakr.'
Tell Malik, when we were attacked,
For you, O Malik, know of me;
Tell Hubayra of us if you meet him,
For he is wise and influential,

That when I was called to Ufayd (Commentators differ as to whether this is the name of a place, or a man, or a body of men, the leaders of an attack.)

I returned to the battle with undaunted heart,
The night the hapless were left unheeded
Old friends and mother's kindred.
So that is your brother, O B. Luayy,
And that is Malik, O Umm Amr (The hyaena.), for
Had I not been there striped hyaenas,
Mothers of cubs would have had him,
Digging at the graves with their claws,
Their faces as black as a cooking-pot;
I swear by Him Who is my Lord
And by the blood-stained pillars of the stoning places
You will see what my true worth is

When men become as fierce as leopards. (Lit. 'when skins are changed to leopards' skins'. See note on 741.3.)

No lion from his lair in Tarj—
Bold, menacing, fathering cubs in the jungle,
Who has made his den taboo against intruders

So that none can approach him even with a force (Reading binafri.).

In the sand, bands of men are helpless
He leaps upon all who try to drive him away—
Is swifter than I
When I advance roaring and growling at the enemy
With arrows like sharp lances
Their points like burning coals.
And a round (Or, reading aklaf, black.) shield of bull's hide
And a strongly fashioned bow, and
A glittering sword which Umayr, the polisher,
Whetted for a fortnight.
I let its lanyard trail, and strode proudly forward
With body at full stretch, as a lion walks.

Sa'd the warrior said to me, Here is a gift (A. Dh. says that 'a prisoner' is meant here.),
I answered, Perhaps he is bringing treachery,
And I said, O Abu Adiy, do not go near them
If you will obey my orders today
As they did with Farwa when he came to them
And he was led away bound with cords (555).
Abu Usama also said:
Who will send a messenger from me
With news that a shrewd man will confirm?
Do not you know how I kept returning to the fight at Badr
When the swords flashed around you,
When the army's leaders were left prostrate,
Their heads like slices of melon?
A gloomy fate, to the people's hurt,
Came upon you in the valley of Badr;
My resolution saved them from disaster
And God's help and a well-conceived plan.
I returned alone from al-Abwa
When you were surrounded by the enemy,
Helpless, if anyone attacked you,

Wounded and bleeding by the side of Kurash (A mountain in the territory of Hudhayl; Yaq. iv. 247; Bakri, 473.).

Whenever a comrade in distress called
For my aid in an evil day,
A brother or ally in such case,
Much as I love my life I answered his call.
I returned to the fray, dispelling gloom,
And shot when faces showed hostility.
Many an adversary have I left on the ground

To rise painfully like a broken twig (Wellhausen reads qatif 'from which the fruit has been plucked'.).

When battle was joined I dealt him a blow
That drew blood—his arteries murmured aloud:
That is what I did on the day of Badr.
Before that I was resourceful and steadfast,
Your brother as you know in war and famine
Whose evils are ever with us,

Your champion undaunted by darkest night or superior numbers.

Out into the bitter black night I plunged*
When the freezing wind forces dogs to shelter (556).

(* Sarra means [1st] multitude, [2nd] intense cold. As Suh. says, the latter must be the meaning because of the mention of the cold wind in the second hemistich.)

Hind d. Utba b. Rabia bewailing her father on the day of Badr said:

O eyes, be generous with thy tears
For the best of Khindif's sons
Who never returned (home).
His clan fell upon him one morning,
The sons of Hashim and the sons of al-Muttalib
They made him taste the edge of their swords,
They attacked him again when he was helpless,
They dragged him stripped and spoiled
With the dust upon his face;
To us he was a strong mountain,
Grass-clad, pleasing to the eye;
As for al-Bara I do not mention him,
May he get the good he counted on.
She also said:
Fate is against us and has wronged us,
But we can do naught to resist it.
After the slain of Luayy b. Ghalib,
Can a man care about his death or the death of his friend?
Many a day did he rob himself of wealth
By lavishing gifts morning and evening.
Give Abu Sufyan a message from me:
If I meet him one day I will reprove him.
'Twas a war that will kindle another war,
For every man has a friend to avenge (557).

She also said:
What an eye which saw a death like the death of my men!
How many a man and woman tomorrow
Will join with the keening women;
How many did they leave behind on the day of the pit,
The morning of that tumultuous cry!
All generous men in years of drought
When the stars withheld their rain (The ancient Arabs thought that the stars brought rain.).

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I was afraid of what I saw
And now my fear is realised.
I was afraid of what I saw
And today I am beside myself.
How many a woman will say tomorrow
Alas Umm Muawiya! (558)

Hind also said:
O eye, weep for Utba, the strong-necked chief,
Who gave his food in famine,
Our defence on the day of victory,
I am grieved for him, broken-hearted, demented (Suh. here presses for the meaning 'clad in mourning', mustaliba, but as all the adjectives
are psychological such a sense seems out of place here.).
Let us fall on Yathrib with an overwhelming attack
With horses kept hard by,
Every long-bodied charger.
Safiya d. Musafir b. Abu Amr b. Umayya b. Abdu Shams b. Abdu
Manaf, bewailing the slain in the pit of Badr, said:
Alas for my eye painful and bleared
The night far spent, the rising sun still hid!
I was told that the noble chieftains
Fate had seized for ever,
That the riders fled with the army and
Mothers neglected their children that morning.
Arise, Safiya, forget not their relationship,
And if you weep, it is not for those who are distant.
They were the supports (I follow C. in reading suqub.) of the tent.
When they broke, the roof of the tent was left unsupported (559).
Safiya also said:
Alas my eye, weeping has exhausted its tears
Like the two buckets of the waterman
Walking among the trees of the orchard.
No lion of the jungle with claws and teeth,
Father of cubs, leaping on his prey,
Exceeding fierce and angry,
Is equal to my love when he died
Facing people whose faces were changed in anger,
In his hand a sharp sword of the finest steel.
When you thrust with a spear you made great wounds
From which came hot foaming blood (560).

Hind d. Uthatha b. Abbad b. al-Muttalib lamenting Ubayda b. al-Harith b. al-Muttalib said:
Al-Safra (A place between Mecca and Medina.) holds glory and authority,
Deep-rooted culture, ample intelligence.
Weep for Ubayda, a mountain of strength to the strange guests,
And the widow who suckles a dishevelled baby;
To the people in every winter
When the skies are red from famine;
To the orphans when the wind was violent.
He heated the pot which foamed with milk as it seethed;
When the fire burned low and its flame died
He would revive it with thick brushwood.
Mourn him for the night traveller or the one wanting food,
The wanderer lost whom he put at his ease (561).
Qutayla d. al-Harith, sister of al-Nadr b. al-Harith, weeping him said:
O Rider, I think you will reach Uthayl (A place near Medina between Badr and Wadi Safri.).
At dawn of the fifth night if you are lucky.
Greet a dead man there for me.
Swift camels always carry news from me to thee.
(Tell of) flowing tears running profusely or ending in a sob.
Can al-Nadr hear me when I call him,
How can a dead man hear who cannot speak?
O Mohammed, finest child of noble mother,
Whose sire a noble sire was,
'Twould not have harmed you had you spared him.
(A warrior oft spares though full of rage and anger.)
Or you could have taken a ransom,
The dearest price that could be paid (Nöldeke's Delectus, p. 67, has a different text here.).
Al-Nadr was the nearest relative you captured
With the best claim to be released.
The swords of his father's sons came down on him.
Good God, what bonds of kinship there were shattered!
Exhausted he was led to a cold-blooded death,
A prisoner in bonds, walking like a hobbled beast (Some Manuscripts, followed by Sun. and W., make Ibn Hisham responsible for its inclusion in the Sira.) (562).
The apostle left Badr at the end of the month of Ramadan or in Shawwal.

THE RAID ON (THE) B. SULAYM IN AL-KUDR

The apostle stayed only seven nights in Medina before he himself made a raid against (the) B. Sulaym (563). He got as far as their watering place called al-Kudr and stayed there three nights, returning to Medina without any fighting. He stayed there for the rest of Shawwai and Dhul-Qada, and during that time he accepted the ransom of most of the Quraysh prisoners. Abu Mohammed Abdul-Malik b. Hisham from Ziyad b. Abdullah al-Bakkai from Mohammed b. Ishaq al-Muttalibl said: Then Abu Sufyan b. Harb made the raid of Sawiq in Dhul-Hijja. The polytheists were in charge of the pilgrimage that year. Mohammed b. Jafar b. al-Zubayr and Yazid b. Ruman and one whose veracity I do not suspect from Abdullah b. Kab b. Malik who was one of the most learned Helpers told me that when Abu Sufyan returned to Mecca and the Quraysh fugitives returned from Badr. he swore that he would not practise ablution (A euphemism for abstaining from sexual intercourse.) until he had raided Mohammed. Accordingly he sallied forth with two hundred riders from Quraysh to fulfil his vow. He took the Nejd road and stopped by the upper part of a watercourse which led to a mountain called Thayb about one post distance from Medina. Then he sallied forth by night and came to the B. al-Nadir under cover of darkness. He came to Huyayy b. Akhtab and knocked upon his door, but as he was afraid of him he refused to open the door, so he went to Sallam b. Mishkam, who was their chief at that time, and keeper of the public purse. He asked permission to come in and Sallam entertained him with food and drink, and gave him secret information about the Muslims. He rejoined his companions at the end of the night and sent some of them to Medina. They came to an outlying district called Al-Urayd and there they burnt some young palmtrees and finding one of the Helpers and an ally of his working the fields there, they killed them and returned. People got warning of them and so the apostle went out in pursuit (564). He got as far as Qarqaratul-Kudr (About eight posts distance from Medina.) and then returned because Abu Sufyan and his companions had eluded him. They saw some of the provisions which the raiders had thrown away in the fields to lighten their baggage so as to get away quickly. When the apostle brought the Muslims back they asked, 'Do you hope that this will coun (with God) in our favour as a raid?' and he replied, 4 Yes' (565).
When he went away Abu Sufyan said of Sallam's treatment of him:
I chose one man out of Medina as an ally,
I had no cause to regret it, though I did not stay long.
Sallam ibn Mishkam gave me good wine,
He refreshed me in full measure despite my haste.
When the raiders turned back I said
(Unwilling to burden him),
'Look forward to raiding and booty.
Consider, for the people are the pure stock of Luayy,
Not a mixed rabble of Jurhum'.
It was no more than (spending) part of the night by a traveller
Who came hungry though not needy and destitute.

[Abu Sufyan had composed some verses to incite (the) Quraysh when he got ready to march from Mecca to Medina:
Return to the attack on Yathrib and the lot of them,
For what they have collected is booty for you.
Though the battle of the cistern went in their favour
The future will restore your fortunes.
I swear that I will not come near women
Nor shall I use the water of purification
Until you destroy the tribes of Aus and Khazraj.
My heart is burning for revenge (Tabari omits the poem in the Sira and in its place has the lines above.).
Kab b. Malik answered him:
The Muslims (Lit. 'the mother of those who pray'; cf. Koran 37.43.) are sorry for Ibn Harb's army,
So futile in the harra
When those who were sick of their provision cast away the burden (The true text is in the Corrigenda. I take al-tayra to be the plural of taira. See Lane, 1904b-1905a.)
Climbing up to the top of the mountain.
The place where their camels knelt can be
Only with the hole of foxes (The sense is not very clear. The glossary to Tabari 235 tentatively suggests that the enemy dare not pitch camp there.),
Bare of gold* and wealth and of
The warriors of the vale and their spears.]
(* I follow de Jong's conjecture and read al-nadr for al-nasr.)

THE RAID OF DHU AMARR

When the apostle returned from the raid of al-SawIq he stayed in Medina for the rest of Dhul-Hijja, or nearly all of it. Then he raided Najd, making for Ghatafan. This is the raid of Dhu Amarr (566). He stayed in Najd during the month of Safar, or nearly all of it, and then returned to Medina without any fighting. There he remained for the month of Rabiul-Awwal, or a day or two less.

THE RAID OF AL-FURU OF BAHRAN

Then he made a raid on Quraysh as far as Bahran, a mine in the Hijaz in the neighbourhood of Al-Furu (A village near Medina.). He stayed there for the next two months and then returned to Medina without fighting (567).

THE AFFAIR OF THE B. QAYNUQA

Meanwhile there was the affair of the B. Qaynuqa. The apostle assembled them in their market and addressed them as follows: 'O Jews, beware lest God bring upon you the vengeance that He brought upon Quraysh and become Muslims. You know that I am a prophet who has been sent—you will find that in your scriptures and God's covenant with you.' They replied, 'O Mohammed, you seem to think that we arc your people. Do not deceive yourself because you encountered a people with no knowledge of war and got the better of them; for by God if we fight you, you will find that we are real men!'
A freedman of the family of Zayd b.Thabit from Said b. Jubayr or from Ikrima from Ibn Abbas told me that the latter said the following verses came down about them:
'Say to those who disbelieve: you will be vanquished and gathered to Hell, an evil resting place. You have already had a sign in the two forces which met', i.e. the apostle's companions at Badr and the Quraysh. 'One force fought in the way of God; the other, disbelievers, thought they saw double their own force with their very eyes. God strengthens with His help whom He will. Verily in that is an example for the discerning (Koran 3.10.).'
Asim b. Umar b. Qatada said that the B. Qaynuqa were the first of the Jews to break their agreement with the apostle and to go to war, between Badr and Uhud (568), and the apostle besieged them until they surrendered unconditionally. Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Salul went to him when God had put them in his power and said, 'O Mohammed, deal kindly with my clients' (now they were allies of Khazraj), but the apostle put him off.
He repeated the words, and the apostle turned away from him, whereupon he thrust his hand into the collar of the apostle's robe (569); the apostle was so angry that his face became almost black. He said, 'Confound you, let me go.' He answered, 'No, by God, I will not let you go until you deal kindly with my clients. Four hundred men without mail and three hundred mailed protected me from all mine enemies ; would you cut them down in one morning? By God, I am a man who fears that circumstances may change.' The apostle said, 'You can have them (570).'
My father Ishaq b. Yasar told me from Ubada b. al-Walid b. Ubada b. al-Samit who said: when the B. Qaynuqa fought the apostle Abdullah b. Ubayy espoused their cause and defended them, and Ubada b. al-Samit, who was one of the B. Auf, who had the same alliance with them as had Abdullah, went to the apostle and renounced all responsibility for them in favour of God and the apostle, saying, 'O apostle of God, I take God and His apostle and the believers as my friends, and I renounce my agreement and friendship with these unbelievers.' Concerning him and Abdullah b. Ubayy, this passage from the chapter of the Table came down (Koran 5.56 f.);
'O you who believe, take not Jews and Christians as friends. They are friends one of another. Who of you takes them as friends is one of them. God will not guide the unjust people. You can see those in whose heart there is sickness', i.e. 'Abdullah b. Ubayy when he said, 'I fear a change of circumstances.' 'Acting hastily in regard to them they say we fear that change of circumstances may overtake us. Peradventure God will bring victory or an act from Him so that they will be sorry for their secret thoughts, and those who believe will say, Are these those who swore by God their most binding oath?' [that they were with you], as far as God's words, 'Verily God and His apostle are your friends, and those who believe, who perform prayer, give alms and bow in homage,' mentioning Ubada taking God and His apostle and the believers as friends, and renouncing his agreement and friendship with the B. Qaynuqa', 'Those who take God and His apostle and the believers as friends, they are God's party, they are the victorious.'

THE RAID OF ZAYD B. HARITHA TO AL-QARADA

The story of the foray of Zayd who captured the caravan of Quraysh, in which was Abu Sufyan b. Harb, when the apostle sent him to al-Qarada, a watering-place in Najd, is as follows:
Quraysh were afraid to follow their usual route to Syria after what had happened at Badr, so they went by the Iraq route. Some of their merchants went out, among whom was Abu Sufyan, carrying a great deal of silver which formed the larger part of their merchandise. They hired a man from the B. Bakr b. Wail called Furat b. Hayyan to conduct them by that route (571). The apostle duly sent Zayd, and he met them by that watering-place and captured the caravan and its contents, but the men got away. He brought the spoil to the apostle.
Hassan b. Thabit after Uhud concerning the last raid of Badr taunted Quraysh for taking the Iraq road thus:
You can say good-bye to the streams of Damascus, for in between
Are swords like the mouths of pregnant camels who feed on arak trees
In the hands of men who migrated to their Lord

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And His true helpers and the angels.
If they go to the lowland of the sandy valley
Say to them, There is no road here (Cf. Wellhausen 667.)(572).

THE KILLING OF KAB B. AL-ASHRAF

After the Quraysh defeat at Badr the apostle had sent Zayd b. Haritha to the lower quarter and 'Abdullah b. Rawaha to the upper quarter to tell the Muslims of Medina of God's victory and of the polytheists who had been killed. Abdullah b. al-Mughith b. Abu Burda al-Zafari and Abdullah b. Abu Bakr b. Mohammed b. Amr b. Hazm and Asim b. Umar b. Qatada and Salih b. Abu Umama b. Sahl each gave me a part of the following story'- Kab b. al-Ashraf who was one of the Tayyi of the subsection B. Nabhan whose mother was from the B. al-Nadir, when he heard the news said 'Is this true? Did Mohammed actually kill these whom these two men mention? (i.e. Zayd and Abdullah b. Rawaha). These are the nobles of the Arabs and kingly men; by God, if Mohammed has slain these people 'twere (it were) better to be dead than alive (Lit. the inside of the Earth is better than the outside.).'

When the enemy of God became certain that the news was true he left the town and went to Mecca to stay with al-Muttahb b. Abu Wadaa b Dubayra al-Sahmi who was married to Atika d. Abul-Is b. Lmayya b Abdu Shams b. Abdu Manaf. She took him in and entertained him hospitably. He began to inveigh against the apostle and to recite verses in which he bewailed the Quraysh who were thrown into the pit after having been slain at Badr. He said:

Badr's mill ground out the blood of its people.
At events like Badr you should weep and cry.
The best of the people were slain round their cisterns,
Do not think it strange that the princes were left lying.
How many noble handsome men,
The refuge of the homeless were slain,
Liberal when the stars gave no rain,
Who bore others' burdens, ruling and taking their due fourth.
Some people whose anger pleases me say
Kab b. al-Ashraf is utterly dejected'.
They are right. O that the earth when they were killed
Had split asunder and engulfed its people,
That he who spread the report had been thrust through
Or lived cowering blind and deaf.
I was told that all the Banul-Mughira were humiliated
And brought low by the death of Abul-Hakim
And the two sons of Rabia with him,
And Munabbih and the others did not attain (such honour) as those who were slain (Or 'Tubba did not' [so A. Dh. Waq. has hal for ma and al-tubbau for wa-tubbau.)
I was told that al-Harith ibn Hisham
Is doing well and gathering troops
To visit Yathrib with armies,
For only the noble, handsome man protects the loftiest* reputation (573)-

(* Or the reading must be ula, because yahmi governs an accsative)

Hassan b. Thabit answered him thus:

Does Kab weep for him again and again
And live in humiliation hearing nothing? (The question is ironical: let him weep if he wants to. The text of this poem is dubious.)

In the vale of Badr I saw some of them, the slain,
Eyes pouring with tears for them.
Weep [Atika], for you have made a mean slave weep
Like a pup following a little bitch.
God has given satisfaction to our leader
And put to shame and prostrated those who fought him.
Those whose hearts were torn with fear
Escaped and fled away (574).

A Muslim woman of B. Murayd, a clan of Ball who were allied attach
ments of B. Umayya b. Zayd, called al-Jaadira answered Kab (575):

This slave shows great concern
Weeping over the slain untiringly.
May the eye that weeps over the slain at Badr weep on
And may Luayy b. Ghalib weep double as much!
Would that those weltering in their blood
Could be seen by those who live between Mecca's mountains!
They would know for certain and would see
How they were dragged along by hair and beard (Or, reading mahazzahum, 'the sword cuts above their beards and eyebrows'.).'

Kab b. al-Ashraf answered her:

Drive off that fool of yours that you may be safe
From talk that has no sense!
Do you taunt me because I shed tears
For people who loved me sincerely ?
As long as I live I shall weep and remember
The merits of people whose glory is in Mecca's houses.
By my life Murayd used to be far from hostile
But now they are become as jackals.
They ought to have their noses cut off
For insulting the two clans of Luayy b. Ghalib.
I give my share in Murayd to Jadar
In truth, by God's house, between Mecca's mountains.

1369 (Tabari: Then Kab returned to Medina and composed amatory verses

about Ummul-Fadl d. al-Harith, saying:

Are you off without stopping in the valley
And leaving Ummul-Fadl in Mecca?
Out would come what she bought from the pedlar of bottles,
Henna and hair dye.
What lies 'twixt (betwixt = between) ankle and elbow is in motion*
When she tries to stand and does not.

[* Presumably her buttocks are meant; they would be between her ankle and her elbow as she reclined. Large and heavy buttocks were marks of female beauty among the old Arabs.]

Like Uram Hakim when she was with us
The link between us firm and not to be cut.
She is one of B. Amir who bewitches the heart,
And if she wished she could cure my sickness.
The glory of women and of a people is their father,
A people held in honour true to their oath.
Never did I see the sun rise at night till I saw her
Display herself to us in the darkness of the night!)

Then he composed amatory verses of an insulting nature about the Muslim women. The apostle said—according to what Abdullah b. al-Mughith b. Abu Burda told me—'Who will rid me of Ibnul-Ashraf?' Mohammed b. Maslama, brother of the B. Abdul-Ashhal, said, 'I will deal with him for you, O apostle of God, I will kill him.' He said, 'Do so if you can.' So Mohammed b. Maslama returned and waited for three days without food or drink, apart from what was absolutely necessary. When the apostle was told of this he summoned him and asked him why he had given up eating and drinking. He replied that he had given him an undertaking and he did not know whether he could fulfil it. The apostle said, 'M that is incumbent upon you is that you should try.' He said, 'O apostle of God, we shall have to tell lies.' He answered, 'Say what you like, for you are free in the matter.' Thereupon he and Silkan b. Salama b. Waqsh who was Abu Naila one of the B. Abdul-Ashhal, foster-brother of Kab, and Abbad b. Bishr b. Waqsh, and al-Harith b. Aus b. Muadh of the B. Abdul-Ashhal and Abu Abs b. Jabr of the B. Haritha conspired together and sent Silkan to the enemy of God, Kab b. Ashraf, before they came to him. He talked to him some time and they recited poetry one to the other, for Silkan was fond of poetry. Then he said, 'O Ibn Ashraf, I have come to you about a matter which I want to tell you of and wish you to keep secret.' 'Very well,' he replied. He went on, 'The coming of this man is a great trial to us. It has provoked the hostility of the Arabs, and they are all in league against us. The roads have become impassable so that our families are in want and privation, and we and our families are in great distress.' Kab answered, 'By God, I kept telling you, O Ibn Salama, that the things I warned you of would happen.' Silkan said to him, 'I want you to sell us food and we will give you a pledge of security and you deal generously in the matter.' He replied, 'Will you give me your sons as a pledge?' He said, 'You want to insult us. I have friends who share my opinion and I want to bring them to you so that you may sell to them and act generously, and we will give you enough weapons for a good pledge.' Silkan's object was that he should not take alarm at the sight of weapons when they brought them. Kab answered, 'Weapons are a good pledge.' Thereupon Silkan returned to his companions, told them what had happened, and ordered them to take their arms. Then they went away and assembled with him and met the apostle (576).

Thaur b. Zayd from 'Ikrima from Ibn Abbas told me the apostle walked with them as far as Baqiul-Gharqad. Then he sent them off, saying, 'Go in God's name; O God help them.' So saying, he returned to his house. Now it was a moonlight night and they journeyed on until they came to his castle, and Abu Naila called out to him. He had only recently married, and he jumped up in the bedsheet, and his wife took hold of the end of it and said, 'You are at war, and those who are at war do not go out at this hour.' He replied, 'It is Abu Naila. Had he found me sleeping he would not have woken me.' She answered, 'By God, I can feel evil in his voice.' Kab answered, 'Even if the call were for a stab a brave man must answer it.' So he went down and talked to them for some time, while they conversed with him. Then Abu Naila said, 'Would you like to walk with us to Shib al-Ajaz, so that we can talk for the rest of the night?' 'If you like,' he answered, so they went off walking together; and after a time Abu Naila ran his hand through his hair. Then he smelt his hand, and said, 'I have never smelt a scent finer than this.' They walked on farther and he did the same so that Kab suspected no evil. Then after a space he did it for the third time, and cried, 'Smite the enemy of God!' So they smote him, and their swords clashed over him with no effect. Mohammed b. Maslama said, 'I remembered my dagger when I saw that our swords were useless, and I seized it. Meanwhile the enemy of God had made such a noise that every fort around us was showing a light. I thrust it into the lower part of his body, then I bore down upon it until I reached his genitals, and the enemy of God fell to the ground. Al-Harith had been hurt, being wounded either in his head or in his foot, one of our swords having struck him. We went away, passing by the B. Umayya b. Zayd and then the B. Qurayza and then Buath until we went up the Harra of al-Urayd (Harra is a district of black volcanic stone and Urayd is one of the valleys of Medina.). Our friend al-Harith had lagged behind, weakened by loss of blood, so we waited for him for some time until he came up, following our tracks. We carried him and brought him to the apostle at the end of the night. We saluted him as he stood praying, and he came out to us, and we told him that we had killed God's enemy. He spat upon our comrade's wounds, and both he and we returned to our families. Our attack upon God's enemy cast terror among the Jews, and there was no Jew in Medina who did not fear for his life.' (A photograph of the ruins of Kab's castle is given in The Islamic Review, Sept. 1953. p. 12. There Dr. M. Hamidullah writes: 'Towards the south [of Medina] in the eastern lava plain near Wadi Mudhanib, there is a small hillock. On this the walls of the palace of Kab Ibn al-Ashraf still stand, about a yard or a yard and a quarter in height, built of stone. Inside the palace there is a well In front of the palace, on the base of the hillock, there are rims of a big cistern of water, built of lime and divided into several sections, each connected with the other by means of clay pipes.')

Kab b. Malik said:

Of them Kab was left prostrate there
(After his fall al-Nadir were brought low).
Sword in hand we cut him down
By Mohammed's order when he sent secretly by night
Kab's brother to go to Kab.
He beguiled him and brought him down with guile
Mahmud was trustworthy, bold (577).

Hassan b. Thabit, mentioning the killing of Kab and of Sallam b.

Abul-Huqayq, said:

What a fine band you met, O Ibnul-Huqayq,
And you too, Ibnul-Ashraf,
Travelling by night with their light swords
Bold as lions in their jungle lair
Until they came to you in your quarter
And made you taste death with their deadly swords,
Seeking victory for the religion of their prophet
Counting their lives and wealth as nothing (578).

THE AFFAIR OF MUHAYYISA AND HUWAYYISA

The apostle said, 'Kill any Jew that falls into your power.' Thereupon Muhayyisa b. Mas'Gd leapt upon Ibn Sunayna (579), a Jewish merchant with whom they had social and business relations, and killed him. Huwayyisa was not a Muslim at the time though he was the elder brother. When Muhayyisa killed him Huwayyisa began to beat him, saying, 'You enemy of God, did you kill him when much of the fat on your belly comes from his wealth?' Muhayyisa answered, 'Had the one who ordered me to kill him ordered me to kill you I would have cut your head off.' He said that this was the beginning of Huwayyisa's acceptance of Islam. The other replied, 'By God, if Mohammed had ordered you to kill me would you have killed me?' He said, 'Yes, by God, had he ordered me to cut off your head I would have done so.' He exclaimed, 'By God, a religion which can bring you to this is marvellous!' and he became a Muslim.

I was told this story by a client of B. Haritha from the daughter of Muhayyisa from Muhayyisa himself.

Muhayyisa composed the following lines on the subject:

My mother's son blames me because if I were ordered to kill him
I would smite his nape with a sharp sword,
A blade white as salt from polishing.
My downward stroke never misses its mark.
It would not please me to kill you voluntarily
Though we owned all Arabia from north to south (580).

After his arrival from Bahran the apostle stopped for the months of the latter Jumada, Rajab, Shaban, and Ramadan (in Medina). Quraysh made the raid of Uhud in Shawwal, 625 AD (3 AH).

THE BATTLE OF UHUD

I have pieced together the following story about the battle of Uhud, from what I was told by Mohammed b. Muslim al-Zuhri and Mohammed b. Yahya b. Hibban and Asim b. Umar b. Qatada and Al-Husayn b. Abdul-Rahman b. Amr b. Sad b. Muadh and other learned traditionists. One or the other, or all of them, is responsible for the following narrative. When the unbelieving Quraysh met disaster at Badr and the survivors returned to Mecca and Abu Sufyan b. Harb had returned with his caravan, Abdullah b. Abu Rabia and Ikrima b. Abu Jahl and Safwan b. Umayya walked with the men whose fathers, sons, and brothers had been killed at Badr, and

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they spoke to Abu Sufyan and those who had merchandise in that caravan, saying, 'Men of Quraysh, Mohammed has wronged you and killed your best men, so help us with this money to fight him, so that we

may hope to get our revenge for those we have lost,' and they did so. A learned person told me that it was concerning them that God sent down (Koran 8.37.): 'Those who disbelieve spend their money to keep others from the way of God, and they will spend it, then they will suffer the loss of it, then they will be overcome, and those who disbelieve will be gathered to Hell.' So Quraysh gathered together to fight the apostle when Abu Sufyan did this, and the owners of the caravan, with their black troops, and such of the tribes of Kinana as would obey them, and the people of the low country. Now Abu 'Azza al-Jumahl had been spared by the apostle at Badr because he was a poor man with a large family (v.s. Wellhausen p. 471.) He had been taken prisoner, and said, 'I am a poor man with a large family and great need, as you know, so spare me,' and the apostle let him go. Safwan said to him, 'Now, Abu Azza, you are a poet so help us with your tongue and go forth with us.' He replied, 'Mohammed spared me and I do not want to go against him.' He said, 'No, but help us with your presence, and God is my witness that if I return I will make you rich; and if you are killed I will treat your daughters as my own. What befalls mine, whether good or ill, shall befall yours.' So Abu 'Azza went through the low country calling the B. Kinana and saying:

Listen, sons of Abdu Manat, the steadfast,
You are stout warriors like your father,
Do not promise me your help a year hence,
Do not betray me, for betrayal is not right (The sung is in the tail where islam is used in the sense of 'betrayal'.).

Musafi b. Abdu Manat b. Wahb b. Hudhafa b. Jumah went out to the B. Malik b. Kinana stirring them up and calling them to fight the apostle, saying:

O Malik, Malik, foremost in honour,
I ask in the name of kindred and confederate,
Those who are next-of-kin and those who arc not,
In the name of the alliance in the midst of the holy city,
At the wall of the venerable Kaaba.

Jubayr b. Mutim summoned an Abyssinian slave of his called Wahshi, who could throw a javelin as the Abyssinians do and seldom missed the mark. He said, 'Go forth with the army, and if you kill Hamza, Mohammed's uncle, in revenge for my uncle, Tuayma b. Adiy, you shall be free.' So Quraysh marched forth with the flower of their army, and their black troops, and their adherents from the B. Kinana, and the people of the lowland, and women in howdahs went with them to stir up their anger and prevent their running away. Abu Sufyan, who was in command, went out with Hind d. Utba, and Ikrima b. Abu Jahl went with Umm Hakim d. al-Harith b. Hisham b. al-Mughira; and al-Harith b. Hisham b. al-Mughira went with Fatima d. al-Walid b. al-Mughira; and Safwan went with Barza d. Masud b. Amr b. Umayr the Thaqafite who was the mother of Abdullah b. Safwan b. Umayya (581). Amr b. al-As went with Rayta d. Munabbih b. al-Hajjaj who was Umm Abdullah b. Amr. Talha b. Abu Talha who was Abdullah b. Abdul-Uzza b. Uthman b. Abdul-Dar went with Sulafa d. Sad b. Shuhayd al-Ansariya who was mother of the sons of Talha, Musafi, al-Julas and Kilab; they were killed with their father that day. Khunas d. Malik b. al-Mudarrib, one of the women of the B. Malik b. Hisl went with her son Abu Aziz b. Umayr. She was the mother of Musab b. Umayr. Amra d. Alqama, one of the women of the B. al-Harith b. Abdu Manat b. Kinana went out. Whenever Hind passed Wahshi or he passed by her, she would say, 'Come on, you father of blackness, satisfy your vengeance and ours.' Wahshi had the title of Abu Dasma. They went forward until they halted at Aynayn on a hill in the valley of al-Sabkha of Qanat by the side of the wadi opposite Medina. (See M. Hamidullah in R.E.I. 1939, 1-13.)

When the apostle heard about them, and the Muslims had encamped, he said to them, 'By God, I have seen (in a dream) something that augurs well. I saw cows, and I saw a dent in the blade of my sword, and I saw that I had thrust my hand into a strong coat of mail and I interpreted that to mean Medina (582). If you think it well to stop in Medina and leave them where they have encamped, for if they halt they will have halted in a bad position and if they try to enter the city, we can fight them therein, (that is a good plan).' (Tabari 1387 adds: Quraysh encamped at Ubud on Wednesday and remained there till Friday. When the apostle had finished the Friday prayers he went in the morning to the valley of Uhud and they met on the Saturday half-way through Shawwal.). Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Salul agreed with the apostle in this, and thought that they should not go out to fight them, and the apostle himself disliked the idea of leaving the city. Some men whom God honoured with martyrdom at Uhud and others who were not present at Badr said, 'O apostle of God, lead us forth to our enemies, lest they think that we are too cowardly and too weak to fight them.' Abdullah said, 'O apostle of God, stay in Medina, do not go out to them. We have never gone out to fight an enemy but we have met disaster, and none has come in against us without being defeated, so leave them where they are. If they stay, they stay in an evil predicament, and if they come in, the men will fight them and the women and children will throw stones on them from the walls, and if they retreat they will retreat low-spirited as they came.' Those who wanted to fight

Quraysh kept urging the apostle until he went into his house and put on his armour. That was on the Friday when he had finished prayers. On that day one of the Ansar, Malik b. Amr one of the B. al-Najjar died, and the apostle prayed over him, and then went out to fight. Meanwhile the people had repented of their design, saying they thought they had persuaded the apostle against his will, which they had no right to do, so that when he went out to them they admitted that and said that if he wished to remain inside the city they would not oppose him. The apostle said, 'It is not fitting that a prophet who has put on his armour should lay it aside until he has fought,' so he marched out with a thousand of his companions (583), until when they reached al-Shaut between Medina and Uhud, Abdullah b. Ubayy withdrew with a third of the men, saying, 'He has obeyed them and disobeyed me. We do not know why we should lose our lives here, O men.' So he returned with the waverers and doubters who followed him, and Abdullah b. Amr b. Haram, brother of the B. Salama, followed them, saying, 'O people, I adjure you by God not to abandon your people and your prophet when the enemy is at hand.' They replied, If we knew that you would fight we would not abandon you, but we do not think that there will be a battle.' So when they withstood him and persisted in withdrawing, he said, 'May God curse you, you enemies of God, for God will make His prophet independent of you.' Someone, not Ziyad (Ziyad b. Abdullah al-Bakkai), from Mohammed b. Ishaq from al-Zuhri, said that on that day the Ansar said, 'O apostle, should we not ask help from our allies, the Jews?' He said, 'We have no need of them.' Ziyad said Mohammed b. Ishaq told me that the apostle went his way until he passed through the harra of the B. Haritha and a horse swished its tail and it caught the pommel of a sword so that it came out of its sheath (584). The apostle, who liked auguries, though he did not observe the flight of birds, said to the owner of the sword, 'Sheath your sword, for I can see that swords will be drawn today.'

Then the apostle asked his companions whether anyone could take them near the Quravsh by a road which would not pass by them. Abu Khaythama, brother of B. Haritha b. al-Harith, undertook to do so, and he took him through the harra of B. Haritha and their property until he came out in the territory of Mirba' b. Qayzi who was a blind man, a disaffected person. When he perceived the approach of the apostle and his men he got up and threw dust in their faces saying, 'You may be the apostle of God, but I won't let you through my garden!' I was told that he took a handful of dust and said, 'By God, Mohammed, if I could be sure that I should not hit someone else I would throw it in your face.' The people rushed on him to kill him, and the apostle said, 'Do not kill him, for this blind man is blind of heart, blind of sight.' Sad b. Zayd, brother of B. Abdul-Ashhal, rushed at him before the apostle had forbidden this and hit him on the head with his bow so that he split it open.

The apostle went on until he came down the gorge of Uhud on the high ground of the wadi towards the mountain. He put his camels and army towards Uhud and said, 'Let none of you fight until we give the word.' Now (the) Quraysh had let their camels and horses loose to pasture in some crops which were in al-Samgha, a part of Qanat belonging to the Muslims. When the apostle had forbidden them to fight one of the Ansar said, 'Are the crops of the B. Qayla to be grazed on without our striking a blow?' The apostle drew up his troops for battle, about 700 men. He put over the archers Abdullah b. Jubayr brother of B. Amr b. Auf who was distinguished that day by his white garments. There were 50 archers, and he said, 'Keep the cavalry away from us with your arrows and let them not come on us from the rear whether the battle goes in our favour or against us; and keep your place so that we cannot be got at from your direction.' The apostle then put on two coats of mail and delivered the standard to Musab b. Umayr, brother of B. Abdul-Dar (585).

The Quraysh mustered their troops about 3,000 men with 200 horses which they had led along with them. Their cavalry on the left flank was commanded by Khalid b. al-Walid; and on the right by Ikrima b. Abu Jahl.

[M. The apostle wore two coats of mail on the day of Uhud, and he took up a sword and brandished it saying] 'Who will take this sword with its right?' (i.e. use it as it ought and deserves to be used.) Some men got up to take it but he withheld it from them until Abu Dujana Simak b. Kharasha, brother of B. Saida, got up to take it.

[M. Umar got up to take it, saying, 'I will take it with its right,' but the prophet turned away from him and brandished it a second time using the same words. Then al-Zubayr b. al-Awwam got up and he too was rejected, and the two of them were much mortified. Then Abu Dujana, etc.] He asked, 'What is its right, O Apostle of God?' He answered, 'That you should smite the enemy with it until it bends.' When he said that he would take it with its right he gave it him. Now Abu Dujana was a brave but conceited man in battle and whenever he put on this red turban of his, people knew that he was about to fight. When he took the sword from the apostle's hand [he began to walk to the fight saying:

I am the man who took the sword
When 'Use it right' was the prophet's word.
For the sake of God, of all the Lord
Who doth to all their food afford.]

And he began to strut up and down between the lines.

Jafar b. Abdullah b. Aslam, client of Umar b. al-Khattab, told me on the authority of one of the Ansar of B. Salama that the apostle said when he saw Abu Dujana strutting, 'This is a gait which Allah hates except on an occasion like this.'

[Tabari 1398: Now Abu Sufyan had sent a messenger saying, 'You men of Aus and

Khazraj, leave me to deal with my cousin and we will depart from you, for we have no need to fight you'; but they gave him a rude answer.]

Asim b. Umar b. Qatada told me that Abu Amir Abdu Amr b. Sayfi b. Malik b. al-Numan, one of the B. Iubaya who had separated from the apostle and gone off to Mecca along with fifty young men of al-Aus [Tabari: among whom was Uthman b. Hunayf] though some people say there were only fifteen of them, was promising Quraysh that if he met his people no two men of them would exchange blows with him; and when the battle was joined the first one to meet them was Abu Amir with the black troops and the slaves of the Meccans, and he cried out, 'O men of Aus, I am Abu Amir.' They replied, 'Then God destroy your sight, you impious rascal.' (In the pagan period he was called 'the monk'; the apostle called him 'the impious'.) When he heard their reply he said, 'Evil has befallen my people since I left them.' Then he fought with all his might, pelting them with stones.

Abu Sufyan had said to the standardbearers of the B. Abdul-Dar, inciting them to battle, 'O Banu Abdul-Dar, you had charge of our flag on the day of Badr—you saw what happened. Men are dependent on the fortunes of their flags, so either you must guard our standard efficiently or you must leave it to us and we will save you the trouble (of defending) it.' They pondered over the matter and threatened him, saying, 'Are we to surrender our flag to you? You will see tomorrow how we shall act when battle is joined' and that was just what Abu Sufyan wanted. When each side drew near to the other Hind b. Utba rose up with the women that were with her and took tambourines which they beat behind the men to incite them while Hind was saying:

On ye sons of Abdul-Dar,
On protectors of our rear,
Smite with every sharpened spear!

She also said:
If you advance we hug you,
Spread soft rugs beneath you;
If you retreat we leave you,
Leave and no more love you (Almost the same words were used by a woman of B. Ijl at the battle of Dhu Qar. Cf. Naqaid, 641.) (586).

The people went on fighting until the battle grew hot, and Abu Dujana fought until he had advanced far into the enemy's ranks (587).

Whenever he met one of the enemy he killed him. Now among the pagans there was a man who dispatched every man of ours he wounded. These two men began to draw near one to the other, and I prayed God that He would make them meet. They did meet and exchanged blows, and the polytheist struck at Abu Dujana, who warded off the blow with his shield; his sword sank into the shield so that he could not withdraw it, and Abu Dujana struck him and killed him. Then I saw him as his sword hovered over the head of Hind d. Utba. Then he turned it aside from her. Al-Zubayr said, 'And I said, "God and His apostle know best."' Abu Dujana said, 'I saw a person inciting the enemy, shouting violently, and I made for him, and when I lifted my sword against him, he shrieked, and lo, it was a woman; I respected the apostle's sword too much to use it on a woman.'

Hamza fought until he killed Arta b. Abdu Shurahbil b. Hashim b. Abdu Manaf b. Abdul-Dar who was one of those who were carrying the standard. Then Siba b. Abdul-Uzza al-Ghubshani, who was known as Abu Niyar, passed by him, and Hamza said, 'Come here, you son of a female circumciser.' Now his mother was Umm Anmar, freedwoman of Shariq b. Amr b. Wahb al-Thaqafi (588), a female circumciser in Mecca. When they closed Hamza smote him and killed him.

Wahshi the slave of Jubayr b. Mutim, said, 'By God, I was looking at Hamza while he was killing men with his sword, sparing no one, like a huge camel (Lit. 'dust coloured'. Camels of this colour were unusually large so that the speakermeans that Hamza towered over his opponents.), when Siba came up

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to him before me, and Hamza said, "Come here, you son of a female circumciser," and he struck him a blow so swiftly that it seemed to miss his head. I poised my javelin until I was sure that it would hit the mark, and launched it at him. It pierced the lower part of his body and came out between his legs. He came on towards me, but collapsed and fell. I left him there until he died, when I came and recovered my javelin. Then I went off to the camp, for I had no business with anyone but him.'

Abdullah b. al-Fadl b. Abbas b. Rabia b. al-Harith from Sulayman b. Yasar from Jafar b. Amr b. Umayya al-Pamri told me: 'I went out with Ubaydullah b. Adiy b. al-Khiyar brother of the B. Naufal b. Abdu Manif in the time of Muawiya b. Abu Sufyan and we made an excursion with the army. When we came back we passed by Hims where Wahshi had taken up his abode. When we arrived there Ubaydullah said to me, "Shall we go and see Wahshi and ask him how he killed Hamza?" "If you like," I said. So we went to inquire about him in Hims. While we were doing so a man said to us, "You will find him in the courtyard of his house. He is a man much addicted to wine; and if you find him sober, you will find an Arab and will get what you want from him in answer to your questions; but if you find him in his usual state, then leave him alone." So we walked off to find him, and there he was in the courtyard of his house upon a carpet, an old man like a bughdth (589). He was quite sober and normal. We saluted him, and he lifted his head to look at Ubaydullah, and said, "Are you the son of Adiy b. al-Khiyar?" and when he said he was, he said, "By God, I have not seen you since I handed you to your Sadite mother who nursed you in Dhu Tuwa (A place in Mecca.). I handed you to her when she was on her camel, and she clasped you round your body with her two hands. You kicked* me with your feet when I lifted you up to her. (* Or, perhaps, 'Your feet looked shiny to me'. In what respect this person's feet were not normal is not indicated.) By God, as soon as you stood in front of me I recognised them." We sat down and told him that we had come to hear his account of how he killed Hamza. He said, "I will tell you as I told the apostle when he asked me about it. I was a slave of Jubayr b. Mutim, whose uncle Tuayma b. 'Adly had been killed at Badr, and when Quraysh set out for Uhud, Jubayr told me that if I killed Hamza, Mohammed's uncle, in revenge for his uncle, I should be free. So I went out with the army, a young Abyssinian, skilful like my countrymen in the use of the javelin—I hardly ever missed anything with it. When the fight began I went out to look carefully for Hamza, until I saw him in the midst of the army, like a great camel, slaying men with his sword, none being able to resist him, and by God, I was getting ready for him, making towards him and hiding myself behind trees or rocks so that he might come near me, when suddenly Siba got to him first, and when Hamza saw him, he said, "Come here, you son of a female circumciser," and struck him a blow so swiftly that it seemed to miss his head. I poised my javelin until I was sure that it would hit the mark and launched it at him. It pierced the lower part of his body and came out between his legs, and he began to stagger towards me. Then he collapsed, and I left him with the javelin until he died; then I came back and recovered my javelin, and returned to the camp and stayed there, for I had no further business, and my only object in killing him was that I might be freed. When I returned to Mecca I was freed and lived there until the apostle conquered Mecca, when I fled to al-Taif, and stayed there for some time. When the envoys of Taif went out to the apostle to surrender, I was in an impasse and thought that I would go to Syria or the Yaman, or any other country, and while I was in this anxiety a man said to me, "Good heavens, what is the matter ? He does not kill anyone who enters his religion and pronounces the shahada." On hearing this I went out of the town to the apostle at Medina, and the first thing to surprise him was to see me standing at his head, witnessing to the truth of God and His apostle. When he saw me he said, "Is it Wahshi?" "Yes, O apostle of God," I said. He replied, "Sit down and tell me how you killed Hamza." So I told him as I have told you. When I had finished he said, "Woe to you, hide your face from me and never let me see you again." So I used to avoid the apostle wherever he was so that he should not see me, until God took him.

"When the Muslims went out against Musaylima, the false prophet, lord of the Yamama, I accompanied them, and I took the javelin with which I had killed Hamza, and when the armies met I saw Musaylima standing with a sword in his hand, but I did not recognize him. I made ready for him and so did one of the Ansar from the other side, both of us intending to kill him. I poised my javelin until I was sure that it would hit the mark, and launched it at him, and it pierced him, and the Ansari rushed at him and smote him with his sword, so your Lord knows best which of us killed him. If I killed him, then I have killed the best man after the apostle and I have also killed the worst man."

[When he came to Medina the men said 'O apostle, this is Wahshi' to S. which he replied 'Let him alone for that one man should accept Islam is dearer to me than the killing of a thousand unbelievers.'] (The passage in square brackets is taken from Yunus' riwaya. It is cited from Suhayli (ii. 132 in Wellhausen ii in loc.)

Abdullah b. al-Fadl from Sulayman b. Yasar from Abdullah b. Umar b. al-Khattab who was present at Yamama said, I heard someone shouting, 'The black slave has killed him' (590).

Musab b. Umayr fought in the defence of the apostle until he was killed. The one who killed him was Ibn Qamia al-Laythi, who thought he was the apostle, so he returned to the Quraysh and said, 'I have killed Mohammed.' When Musab was killed the apostle gave the standard to Ali, and Ali and the Muslims fought on (591).

Sad b. Abu Waqqas killed Abu Sad b. Abu Talha; Asim b. Thabit b. Abul-Aqlah fought and killed Musafi b. Talha and his brother al-Julas, shooting both of them with an arrow. Each came to his mother, Sulafa, and laid his head in her lap. She said, 'Who has hurt you, my son?' and he replied, 'I heard a man saying as he shot me, "I am Ibn Abul-Aqlah, take that!"' She swore an oath that if God ever let her get the head of Asim she would drink wine from it. It was Asim who had taken God to witness that he would never touch a polytheist or let one touch him.

Uthman b. Abu Talha said that day as he was carrying the standard of the polytheists:

It is the duty of standardbearers
To blood their spears until they are broken to pieces.

Hamza killed him.

Hanzala b. Abu Amir, the washed one, and Abu Sufyan met in combat, and when Hanzala got the better of him, Shaddad b. al-Aswad, who was Ibn Shaub, saw that he had beaten Abu Sufyan, and so he struck him and killed him. The apostle said, 'Your companion, Hanzala, is being washed by the angels.' They asked his family about his condition, and when his wife was asked, she said that he had gone out to battle when he heard the cry while in a state of ritual impurity (592).

The apostle said, 'For this reason the angels washed him.' Shaddad said about his killing Hanzala:

I protect my friend and myself
With a thrust that pierces like the rays of the sun.

Abu Sufyan, mentioning his hardihood on that day and the help that Ibn
Shaub gave him against Hanzala, said:

Had I wished it my swift bay could have saved me,
And I should owe no thanks to Ibn Shaub.
It remained but a stone's throw off
From early morn till set of sun;
I fought them and cried, 'On, Ghalib!"
I beat them from me with firm strength;
Heed not the remonstrance of others,
Grow not weary of tears and sighs,
Weep for thy father and his brothers who have passed away,
Their fate deserves thy tears;
My former sorrow is relieved
Because I killed the best men of Najjar,
And Hashim's noble stallion and Musab
Who was not cowardly in war.
Had I not slaked my vengeance on them,
My heart had been seared and scarred.
They retired their (Meccan) vagabonds dead

(Jaldbib is said to mean 'leather aprons or coverings', as though it were the pluraj of jilbab. Though Meccans exported leather, that can hardly have been matter for reproach because leather was sent to the Negus as a gift known to be highly prized in Abyssinia. Moreover, why should Abu Sufyan reproach his fellow townsmen for wearing garments which presumably differed in no way from those worn by other Meccans? It is clear that the word is an insult, and the question is why? Hassan's poem (Wellhausen 738, Diwan cxl) attacking the muhdjirs begins: "The Jalabib have become powerful and numerous" and L Salul (Wellhausen 726) uses the same words to express his anger and dislike of the emigrants. Therefore it seems that the origin of the insult is to be sought in jalab 'a thing driven or brought from one town to another' and / or jalib 'an imported slave'; and so some such word as 'vagabonds' is as near as one can get to the meaning. See W. Arafat, The Poems ascribed to Hassan ibn Thabit, 146, where he adopts the rendering 'tramps'.)

Thrust through, bleeding, prostrate (Reading kabibu.).

And those who were beneath them in rank (The meaning would appear to be that the muhdjirs were killed by negroes and brigand mercenaries, though there may be a reference to the killing of Hamsa by Wahshi.) (593).

Ibn Shaub, mentioning the way he helped Abu Sufyan and defended him, said:

Had I not been there and defended you, Ibn Harb, You would have been left speechless for ever at the mountain foot.

Had I not brought my horse back there,
Hyaenas or jackals would have devoured your flesh (594).

Al-Harith b. Hisham, answering Abu Sufyan, said:

Had you seen what they did at Badr's pool
You would have returned with fear in your heart as long as you live;
(Or you would have been killed and I should have caused
Weeping women to weep for you,
And you would not have felt sorrow for the loss of a dear one).
I paid them back in kind for Badr
On a spirited galloping prancing horse (595).

Then God sent down His help to the Muslims and fulfilled His promise. They slew the enemy with the sword until they cut them off from their camp and there was an obvious rout.

Yahya b. Abbad b. Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from his father from Abdullah b. al-Zubyr from Zubayr said: I found myself looking at the anklets of Hind d. Utba and her companions, tucking up their garments as they fled. There was nothing at all to prevent anyone seizing them when the archers turned aside to the camp when the enemy had been cut off from it (Tabari: making for the spoil). Thus they opened our rear to the cavalry and we were attacked from behind. Someone called out 'Ha, Mohammed has been killed.' We turned back and the enemy turned back on us after we had killed the standardbearers so that none of the enemy could come near it (596).

A traditionist told me that the standard lay on the ground until Amra the Harithite d. Alqama took it up and raised it aloft for Quraysh so that they gathered round it. It had been with Suab, a slave of B. Abu Talha, an Abyssinian (Ethiopian). He was the last of them to take it. He fought until his hands were cut off; then he knelt upon it and held the flag between his breast and throat until he was killed over it, saying the while 'O God, have I done my duty? (Lit. 'Am I excused?') He could not pronounce the dhal.

Hassan b. Thabit said about that:

You boasted of your flag, the worst (ground for) boasting
Is a flag handed over to Suab.
You have made a slave your boast,
The most miserable creature that walks the earth.
You supposed (and only a fool so thinks,
For it is anything but the truth)
That fighting us the day we met
Was like your selling red leather sacks in Mecca.
It gladdened the eye to see his hands reddened,
Though they were not reddened by dye (597).

Hassan also said about Amra and her raising the standard:

When Adal were driven to us
They were like fawns of Shirk (A.Dh. gives the forms Shurk and Shirk. Yaqut gives Shark as the name of a place in the Hijaz and Shirk as the name of a waterholc on the other side of the mountain of al-Qunan in Asad territory. Adal is a tribe of Khuzayma.)
With strongly marked eyebrows.
We attacked them thrusting, slaying, chastising,
Driving them before us with blows on every side.
Had not the Harithite woman seized their standard
They would have been sold in the markets like chattels.

The Muslims were put to flight and the enemy slew many of them. It was a day of trial and testing in which God honoured several with martyrdom, until the enemy got at the apostle who was hit with a stone so that he fell on his side and one of his teeth was smashed, his face scored, and his lip injured. The man who wounded him was Utba b. Abu Waqqas.

Humayd al-Tawil told me from Anas b. Malik: The prophet's incisor was broken on the day of Uhud and his face was scored. The blood began to run down his face and he began to wipe it away, saying the while, 'How can a people prosper who have stained their prophet's face with blood while he summoned them to their Lord?' So God revealed concerning that: 'It is not your affair whether He relents towards them or punishes them, for they are wrongdoers' (Koran 3.123) (598).

Hassan b. Thabit said of Utba:

When God recompenses a people for their deeds
And the Rahman punishes them (Reading wadarrahum with C.)
May my Lord disgrace you, Utayba b. Malik,
And bring you a deadly punishment before you die.
You stretched out your hand with evil intent against the prophet,
You blooded his mouth. May your hand be cut off!
Did you forget God and the place you will go to
When the final misfortune overtakes you! (599).

According to what al-Husayn b. Abdul-Rahman b. Amr b. Sad b. Muadh told me on the authority of Mahmud b. Amr, when the enemy hemmed him in, the apostle said: 'Who will sell his life for us?' and Ziyad b. al-Sakan with five of the Ansar arose. (Others say it was Umara b. Yazid b. al-Sakan.) They fought in defence of the apostle man after man, all being killed until only Ziyad (or Umara) was left fighting until he

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was disabled. At that point a number of the Muslims returned and drove the enemy away from him. The apostle ordered them to bring him to him and made his foot a support for his head and he died with his face on the apostle's foot (600).

Abu Dujana made his body a shield for the apostle. Arrows were falling on his back as he leaned over him, until there were many stuck in it. Sad b. Abu Waqqas shot his arrows in defence of the apostle. He said, 'I have seen him handing me the arrows as he said "Shoot, may my father and my mother be your ransom" until he would even hand me an arrow that had no head, saying "Shoot with that".'

Asim b. Umar b. Qatada said that the apostle went on shooting from his bow until the bottom of it broke. Qatada b. al-Numan took it and kept it. That day his eye was so injured that it lay exposed upon his cheek. Asim told me that the apostle restored it to its place with his hand and it became his best and keenest eye afterwards.

Al-Qasim b. Abdul-Rahman b. Rafi, brother of the B. Adiy b. al-Najjar, told me that Anas b. al-Nadr, uncle of Anas b. Malik, came to Umar b. al-Khattab and Talha b. Ubaydullah with men of the Muhajirun and Ansar who were dejected. He said, 'What makes you sit there?' They said, The apostle has been killed.' He answered, 'Then what will you do with life henceforth? Get up and die in the way that the apostle has died.' Then he went towards the enemy and fought until he was slain. Anas b. Malik was named after him.

Humayd al-Tawil told me from Anas, 'We found seventy cuts (Tabari: and thrusts) in Anas b. al-Nadr that day and no one recognised him except his sister, who knew him by the tips of his fingers (601).'

The first man to recognise the apostle after the rout when men were saying 'The apostle has been killed' was Kab b. Malik, according to what al-Zuhri told me. Kab said, 'I recognised his eyes gleaming from beneath his helmet, and I called out at the top of my voice "Take heart, you Muslims, this is the apostle of God," but the apostle signed to me to be silent. When the Muslims recognised the apostle they took him up towards the glen (narrow and deep mountain valley). He was accompanied by Abu Bakr, Umar, Ali, Talha, al-Zubayr, and al-Harith b. al-Simma and others. When the apostle climbed up the glen Ubayy b. Khalaf overtook him, saying, 'Where is Mohammed? Let me not escape if you escape.' The people said 'Shall one of us go for him? The apostle said, 'Let him alone,' and when he came near he took a lance from al-Harith. (I have been told that some people say that when the apostle took it from him he shook himself free from us so that we flew off from him as stinging flies fly off a camel's back when it shakes itself (602).) Then, turning to face him, he thrust him in the neck so that he swayed and fell from his horse (603). Now Ubayy, according to what Salih b. Ibrahim b. Abdul-Rahman b. Auf told me, when he used to meet the apostle in Mecca, would say, 'Mohammed, I have got a horse called Aud which I feed every dav on many measures of corn. I shall kill you when I am riding it.' The apostle answered, 'No, I shall kill you, if God wills Now when he returned to Quraysh he had a slight scratch on his neck,

which did not even bleed. He said, 'By God! Mohammed has killed me. They answered, 'By God! You have lost heart. You are not hurt. He answered, 'He said to me in Mecca that he would kill me, and, by God, if he had spat on me he would have killed me.' The enemy of God died in Sarif as they were taking him back to Mecca. In reference to that Hassan b. Thabit said:

Ubayy showed the disbelief inherited from his father
The day the apostle met him in battle.
You came to him carrying a mouldering bone
And threatened him, ignorant of his office.
Banul-Najjar killed Umayya from among you
When he called on Aqil for help.
Rabia's two sons perished when they obeyed Abu Jahl.
Their mother became childless.
Harith escaped when we were busy taking prisoners.

To capture him was not worth while (Reading asratuhu for usratuhu (so Dr. Arafat). (604).

Hassan b. Thabit also said:
Who will give a message from me to Ubayy?
You have been cast into the nethermost hell;
Long have you pursued error,
Sworn vows that you would win.
Long have you indulged in such hopes,
But unbelief leads to disappointment.
A thrust from an angry warrior found you
One of a noble house, no miscreant.
Who surpasses all other creatures
When misfortunes befall.

When the apostle reached the mouth of the glen, Ali came out and filled his shield with water from al-Mihras (According to some commentators this is the name of a well at Uhud. The word itself can mean a stone trough beside a well.) and brought it to the apostle, who refused to drink it because its evil smell repelled him. However, he used the water to wash the blood from his face and as he poured it over his head he said: 'The wrath of God is fierce against him who blooded the face of His prophet.'

Salih b. Kaysan told me from an informant who got it from Sad b. Abu Waqqas that the latter used to say: 'I was never more eager to kill anyone than I was to kill Utba b. Abu Waqqas; he was, as I know, of evil character and hated among his people. It was enough for me (to hate him) that the apostle should say, "The wrath of God is fierce against him who blooded the face of His prophet".'

While the apostle was in the glen with a number of his companions suddenly a troop of Quraysh came up the mountain (605). The apostle said, 'O God, it is not fitting that they should be above us,' so Umar and a number of emigrants (emigation is one of the most important Islamic strategies to get a foodhold in other nations. These emigrants immediately try to implement Sharia Law, such as by demanding Halal food and special places and times for the 5 daily prayers, etc., undermining the target society's original structures and traditions first.) fought until they drove them down the mountain.

The apostle made for a rock on the mountain to climb it. He had become heavy by reason of his age, and moreover he had put on two coats of mail, so when he tried to get up he could not do so. Talha b. Ubaydullah squatted beneath him and lifted him up until he settled comfortably upon it.

Yahya b. Abbad b. Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from his father from Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from al-Zubayr said: 'That day I heard the apostle saying "'Talha earned paradise when he did what he did for the apostle (606).'"

The army had fled away from the apostle until some of them went as far as al-Munaqqa near al-Awas (A place near Medina.). Asim b. Umar b. Qatada from Mahmud b. Labid told me that when the apostle went out to Uhud Husayl b. Jabir, who was al-Yaman Abu Hudhayfa b. al-Yaman, and Thabit b. Waqsh were sent up into the forts with the women and children. They were both old men and one said to the other, 'What are you waiting for, confound you? Neither of us will live much longer (Only as long as a donkey's drink.). We are certain to die today or tomorrow, so let us take our swords and join the apostle. Perhaps God will grant us martyrdom with him.' So they took their swords and sallied out until they mingled with the army. No one knew anything about them. Thabit was killed by the polytheists and Husayl by the swords of the Muslims, who killed him without recognising him. Hudhayfa said, 'It is my father.' They said, 'By God, we did not know him,' and they spoke the truth. Hudhayfa said, 'May God forgive you, for He is most compassionate.' The apostle wanted to pay his blood-money, but Hudhayfa gave it as alms to the Muslims and that increased his favour with the apostle.

Asim also told me that a man called Hatib b. Umayya b. Rafi, who had a son called Yazid, was grievously wounded at Uhud and was brought to his people's settlement at the point of death. His kinsmen gathered round and the men and women began to say to him, 'Good news of the garden (of paradise), O son of Hatib.' Now Hatib was an old man who had lived long in the heathen period and his hypocrisy appeared then, for he said, 'What good news do you give him? Of a garden of rue? (The dead were buried with 'herb of grace', rue, at their feet at this time. See Waqidi, B.M. MS. A. 20737, fol. 63a.) By God, you have robbed this man of his life by your deception (and brought great sorrow on me.' Tabari).

Asim told me: 'There was a man among us, a stranger of unknown origin called Quzman. The apostle used to say when he was mentioned, "He belongs to the people of hell." On the day of Uhud he fought fiercely and killed seven or eight polytheists single-handed, he being a stout warrior. He was disabled by wounds and carried to the quarter of B. Zafar. The Muslims began to say to him, "You have done gallantly, Quzman, be of good cheer!" "Why should I," he said, "I only fought for the honour of my people; but for thaj I should not have fought." And when the pain of his wounds became unbearable he took an arrow from his quiver, (T. cut the veins of his wrist, and bled to death. When the apostle was told of this he said "I testify that I am truly God's apostle").' [For the words in brackets Ibn Ishaq has merely 'and killed himself with it'.]

Among those killed at Uhud was (Tabari: the Jew) Mukhayriq who was one of the B. Thalaba b. al-Fityun. On that day he addressed the Jews saying: 'You know that it is your duty to help Mohammed,' and when they replied that it was the Sabbath day, he said, 'You will have no Sabbath,' and taking his sword and accoutrements, he said that if he was slain his property was to go to Mohammed, who could deal with it as he liked. Then he joined the apostle and fought with him until he was killed. I have heard that the apostle said, 'Mukhayriq is the best of the Jews.'

Al-Harith b. Suwayd b. Samit was a hypocrite. He went out with the Muslims to Uhud, and when the armies met he attacked al-Mujadhdhar b. Dhiyad al-BalawI and Qays b. Zayd, one of the B. Dubaya, and killed them. Then he joined the Quraysh in Mecca. Now the apostle, as they say, had ordered Umar to kill him if he got the better of him, but he escaped him and was in Mecca. Then he sent to his brother al-Julas desiring forgiveness so that he might return to his people, and God sent down concerning him, as I have heard on the authority of Ibn Abbas: 'How can God guide a people who have disbelieved after their belief, and after that they have testified that the apostle is true and proofs have been given to them. God will not guide an evil people' (Koran 3.80.) to the end of the passage (607).

Muadh b. Afra had killed Suwayd b. al-Samit treacherously in some other battle. He shot him with an arrow and killed him before the day of Buath. (This is a repetition of what Ibn Ishaq said here before: Muadh killed Suwayd b. al-Simit before Islam. Here he has said that Suwayd's son killed al-Mujadhdhar and Qays treacherously at Uhud as he said before. In both sentences, Ibn Hisham agrees that Suwayd's son killed al-Mujadhdhar and denies that he killed Qays, giving as a proof the fact that Ibn Ishaq does not mention him among those slain at Uhud. He further asserts that al-Mujadhdhar had killed Suwayd before Islam. The emphatic way in which Ibn Ishaq states that Muadh killed him [object before subject] would seem to indicate that Ibn Ishaq knew of the rival story twice repeated by Ibn Hisham but stuck to his guns.)

Al-Husayn b. Abdul-Rahman b. Amr b. Sad b. Muadh from Abu Sufyan client of Ibn Abu Ahmad from Abu Hurayra said that he used to say: 'Tell me about a man who entered paradise never having prayed in his life,' and when the people did not know, they asked him who it was and he said, Usayrim of the B. Abdul-Ashhal, Amr b. Thabit b. Waqsh.' Al-Husayn asked Mahmud b. Asad what were the facts of Usayrim, and he replied that in spite of his people he had refused to accept Islam, but on the day that the apostle marched out to Uhud he accepted it. He took his sword, plunged into the heart of the battle, and fought until he was overcome by wounds. While the B. Abdul-Ashhal were looking for their dead in the battle suddenly they came upon him and marvelled that he should be there when they had left him showing his dislike for Islam. They asked him what had brought him, whether it was concern for his people or goodwill towards Islam. He replied that it was the latter. 'I believed in God and His apostle and became a Muslim. Then I took my sword and fought with the apostle until I met the fate you see.' Soon afterwards he died in their hands. When they mentioned him to the apostle he said, 'Verily, he belongs to the people of paradise.'

My father Ishaq from shaykhs of the B. Salama told me that Amr b. al-Jamuh was a man who was very lame. He had four lion-like sons who were present at the apostle's battles. On the day of Uhud they wanted to detain him, saying that God had excused him. He came to the apostle and told him that his sons wanted to keep him back and prevent his joining the army, 'Yet by God, 1 hope to tread the heavenly garden despite my lameness.' The apostle said, 'God has excused you, and Jihad is not incumbent on you;' and to his sons he said, 'You need not prevent him; perhaps God will favour him with martyrdom,' so he went along with him and was killed at Uhud.

According to what Salih b. Kaysan told me, Hind d. Utba and the women with her stopped to mutilate the apostle's dead companions. They cut off their ears and noses and Hind made them into anklets and collars and gave her anklets and collars and pendants to Wahshi, the slave of Jubayr b. Mutim. She cut out Hamza's liver and chewed it, but she was not able to swallow it and threw it away. (This seems to be a survival of prehistoric animism. By devouring an enemy's liver it was hoped to absorb his strength.) Then she mounted a high rock and shrieked at the top of her voice:

We have paid you back for Badr
And a war that follows a war is always violent.
I could not bear the loss of Utba
Nor my brother and his uncle and my first-born.
I have slaked my vengeance and fulfilled my vow.
You, O Wahshi, have assuaged the burning in my breast.
I shall thank Wahshi as long as I live
Until my bones rot in the grave.

Hind d. Uthatha b. Abbad b. al-MuUalib answered her:
You were disgraced at Badr and after Badr,
O daughter of a despicable man, great only in disbelief.
God brought on you in the early dawn
Tall and white-skinned men from Hashim,
Everyone slashing with his sharp sword:
Hamza my lion and Ali my falcon.
When Shayba and your father planned to attack me
They reddened their breasts with blood.
Your evil vow was the worst of vows (608).

Hind d. Utba also said:
I slaked my vengeance on Hamza at Uhud.
I split his belly to get at his liver.
This took from me what I had felt
Of burning sorrow and exceeding pain.
War will hit you exceeding hard
Coming upon you as lions advance.

Salih b. Kaisan told me that he was told that Umar said to Hassan, 'O Ibn al-Furay'a (609), I wish you had heard what Hind said and seen her arrogance as she stood upon a rock

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uttering her taunts against us, reminding us of what she had done to Hamza.' Hassan replied, 'I was looking at the lance as it fell, while I was on the top of Fan"—meaning his fort—'and I realized that it was not one of the weapons of the Arabs. It seemed to me as though it was directed at Hamza, but I was not sure. But recite me some of her verse: I will rid you of her.' So Umar quoted some of what she said and Hassan said:

The vile woman was insolent: her habits were vile;
Seeing that disbelief accompanied her insolence (610).

Al-Hulays b. Zabban, brother of the B. al-Harith b. Abdu Manat, who was then chief of the black troops, passed by Abu Sufyan as he was striking the side of Hamza's mouth with the point of his spear saying, 'Taste that, you rebel.' Hulays exclaimed, 'O B. Kinana, is this the chief of Quraysh acting thus with his dead cousin as you see?' He said, 'Confound you. Keep the matter quiet, for it was a slip.'

When Abu Sufyan wanted to leave he went to the top of the mountain and shouted loudly saying, You have done a fine work; victory in war goes by turns. Today in exchange for the day (of Badr). Show your superiority, Hubal,' i.e. vindicate your religion. The apostle told 'Umar to get up and answer him and say, 'God is most high and most glorious. We are not equal. Our dead are in paradise; your dead in hell.' At this answer Abu Sufyan said to Umar, 'Come here to me.' The apostle told him to go and see what he was up to. When he came Abu Sufyan said, 'I adjure thee by God, Umar, have we killed Mohammed?' 'By God, you have not, he is listening to what you are saying now,' he replied. He said, 'I regard you as more truthful and reliable than Ibn Qami'a,' referring to the latter's claim that he had killed Mohammed (611).

Then Abu Sufyan called out, 'There are some mutilated bodies among your dead. By God, it gives me no satisfaction, and no anger. I neither prohibited nor ordered mutilation.' When Abu Sufyan and his companions went away he called out, 'Your meeting-place is Badr next year.' The apostle told one of his companions to say, *Ycs, it is an appointment between us.'

Then the apostle sent 'All to follow the army and see what they were doing and what their intentions were. If they were leading their horses and riding their camels they would be making for Mecca ; but if they were riding the horses and driving the camels they would be making for Medina. 'By God,' said he, 'if they make for Medina I will go to them there. Then I will fight them.' 'All said that he followed their tracks and saw what they were doing. They were leading their horses, riding their camels and going towards Mecca. (Tabari 1419: The apostle had said 'Whatever they do, keep silent about it until you come to me.' When I saw they had set out for Mecca I came back shouting. I could not hide the fact as the apostle had ordered me because of my joy at seeing them going to Mecca and thus avoiding Medina.)

The people searched for their dead, and the apostle said, according to what Mohammed b. Abdul-Rahman b. Abu Sasaa al-Mazini, brother of the B. al-Najjar told me, 'Who will find out for me what has happened to Sad b. al-Rabi? Is he alive or among the dead?' One of the Ansar volunteered and found him lying wounded among the slain, at the point of death. He told him that the apostle had ordered him to see if he was alive or among the dead. He said, 'I am among the dead. Convey my greetings to the apostle and say: "Sad says to you 'May God reward you by us better than he has rewarded any prophet by his people,'" and give your people a greeting from me and say "You have no excuse with God if anything has happened to your prophet while you can flutter an eyelid",' and straightway he died. He said: 'I came to the apostle and delivered his message' (612).

I have been told that the apostle went out seeking Hamza and found him at the bottom of the valley with his belly ripped up and his liver missing, and his nose and ears cut off". Mohammed b. Jafar b. al-Zubayr told me that when he saw this the apostle said: 'Were it not that Safiya would be miserable and it might become a custom after me (This badith, if it is trustworthy, indicates that the prophet was aware that his every act would form a precedent for future generations. However, it is possible that the last few words in the Arabic text have been added.), I would leave him as he is, so that his body might find its way into the bellies of beasts and the crops of birds. If God gives me victory over Quraysh in the future I will mutilate 30 of their men.' When the Muslims saw the apostle's grief and anger against those who had thus treated his uncle, they said, 'By God, if God gives us victory over them in the future we will mutilate them as no Arab has ever mutilated anyone' (613).

Burayda b. Sufyan b. Farwa al-Aslami from Mohammed b. Kab al-Qurazi, and a man I have no reason to suspect from Ibn Abbas told me that God sent down concerning the words of the apostle and his companions 'If you punish, then punish as you have been punished. If you endure patiently that is better for the patient. Endure thou patiently. Thy endurance is only in God. Grieve not for them, and be not in distress at what they plot (Koran 16.127).' So the apostle pardoned them and was patient and forbade mutilation. Humayd al-Tawil from al-Hasan from Samura b. Jundub told me: 'The apostle never stopped in a place and left it without enjoining on us almsgiving and forbidding mutilation.'

One whom I do not suspect from Miqsam, a client of Abdullah b. al-Harith from Ibn 'Abbas, told me that the apostle ordered that Hamza should be wrapped in a mantle; then he prayed over him and said 'Allah Akbar' seven times. Then the dead were brought and placed beside Hamza and he prayed over them all until he had prayed seventy-two prayers.

According to what I have been told Safiya d. Abdul-Muttalib came forward to look at him. He was her full-brother and the apostle said to her son, al-Zubayr b. al-Awwam, 'Go to meet her and take her back so that she does not see what has happened to her brother.' He said to her, 'Mother, the apostle orders you to go back.' She said, 'Why? I have heard that my brother has been mutilated and that for God's sake [Tabari: is a small thing]. He has fully reconciled us to what has happened. I will be calm and patient if God will.' When Zubayr returned to the prophet and reported this to him he told him to leave her alone; so she came and looked at Hamza and prayed over him and said, 'We belong to God and to God do we return,' and she asked God's forgiveness for him. Then the apostle ordered that he should be buried. The family of Abdullah b. Jahsh, who was the son of Umayma d. Abdul-Muttalib, Hamza being his maternal uncle, and he having been mutilated in the same way as Hamza except that his liver had not been taken out, asserted that the apostle buried him in the same grave with Hamza; but I heard that story only from his family.

Now some Muslims had carried their dead to Medina and buried them there. The apostle forbade this and told them to bury them where they lay. Mohammed b. Muslim al-Zuhri from Abdullah b. Thalaba b. Suayr al-Udhri, an ally of the B. Zuhra, told me that the apostle said when he looked down on the slain at thud: 'I testify concerning these that there is none wounded for God's sake but God will raise him on the resurrection day with his wounds bleeding, the colour that of blood, the smell like musk; look for the one who has collected (learned)' most of the Koran and put him in front of his companions in the grave.' They were burying two and three in one grave.

My uncle Musa b. Yasar told me that he heard Abu Hurayra say: Abul Qasim (i.e.: Mohammed.) said, 'There is none wounded for God's sake but God will raise him on the resurrection day with his wounds bleeding, the colour that of blood, the smell like musk.'

My father Ishaq b. Yasar told me on the authority of shaykhs of the B. Salama that when the apostle ordered the dead to be buried he said, 'Look out for Amr b. al-Jamuh and Abdullah b. Amr b. Haram; they were close friends in this world, so put them in one grave.' (Tabari: When Muawiya dug the canal and they were exhumed they were as free from rigor mortis as though buried but yesterday.) Then the apostle went back on his way to Medina and there met him Hamna d. Jahsh, so I have been told. As she met the army she was told of the death of her brother Abdullah and she exclaimed, 'We belong to God and to God we return,' and asked forgiveness for him. Then she was told of the death of her maternal uncle Hamza, and uttered the same words. Then she was told of the death of her husband Musab b. 'Umayr and she shrieked and wailed. The apostle said: 'The woman's husband holds a special place with her, as you can see from her self-control at the death of her brother and uncle and her shrieking over her husband.'

The apostle passed by one of the settlements of the Ansar of the B. Abdul-Ashhal and Zafar and he heard the sound of weeping and wailing over the dead. The apostle's eyes filled with tears and he wept and said, 'But there are no weeping women for Hamza.' When Sad b. Muadh and Usayd b. Hudayr came back to the quarter, they ordered their women to gird themselves and go and weep for the apostle's uncle.

Hakim b. Hakim b. Abbad b. Hunayf from a man of the B. Abdul-Ashhal told me: 'When the apostle heard their weeping over Hamza at the door of his mosque he said "Go home; may God have mercy on you; you have been a real help by your presence"' (614).

Abdul-Wahid b. Abu Aun from Ismail b. Mohammed from Sad b. Abu Waqqas told me that the apostle passed by a woman of the B. Dinar whose husband, brother, and father had been killed at Uhud, and when she was told of their death she asked what had happened to the apostle, and when they replied that thanks to God he was safe, she asked that she might see him for herself. When he was pointed out to her she said, 'Every misfortune now that you are safe is negligible' (using the word jalal in the sense of 'small') (615).

When the apostle rejoined his family he handed his sword to his daughter Fatima, saying, 'Wash the blood from this, daughter, for by God it has served me well today.' 'Ali also handed her his sword and said, 'This one too, wash the blood from it, for by God it has served me well today.' The apostle said, 'If you have fought well, Sahl b. Hunayf and Abu Dujana fought well with you' (616).

The battle was fought on the sabbath in mid-Shawwal; and on the morning of Sunday the 16th of the month the apostle's crier called to the men to go in pursuit of the enemy and announced that none should go out with us unless he had been present at the battle on the preceding day. Jabir b. Abdullah b. 'Amr b. Haram said, 'O apostle of God, my father left me behind to look after my seven sisters, saying that it was not right for us both to leave the women without a man and that he was not one to give me the precedence in fighting with the apostle. So I stayed behind to look after them.' The apostle gave him permission to go and he went out with him. The apostle merely marched out as a demonstration against the enemy to let them know that he was pursuing them so that they might think he was in strength, and that their losses had not weakened them.

Abdullah b. Kharija b. Zayd b. Thabit from Abul-Saib, a freed slave of Aisha d. Uthman, told me that one of the apostle's companions from the B. Abdul-Ashhal who had been present at Uhud said, I and one of my brothers were present at Uhud and we came back wounded. When the apostle's crier announced that we must pursue the enemy, I said to my brother or he said to me, 'Are we going to stay away from an expedition with the apostle ? We have no beast to ride and are severely wounded.' However, we marched out with the apostle and since my wound was less severe, when he was enfeebled I put him on the beast for a time and we walked and rode turn and turn about until we came up to where the Muslims had halted.'

The apostle went as far as Hamraul-Asad, about eight miles from Medina (617). He stayed the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, and then returned to Medina.

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that Mabad b. Abu Mabad al-Khuzai passed by him. The Khuzaa, both their Muslims and polytheists, were confidants of the apostle in Tihama, they having agreed that they would not conceal from him anything that happened there. Now at this time Mabad was a polytheist and he said, 'Mohammed, we are distressed at what has happened to you [Tabari: with your companions] and we wish that God would preserve you among them.' Then he went out while the apostle was in Hamraul-Asad until he met Abu Sufyan and his men in al-Rauha when they had determined to come back to the apostle and his companions. They said, 'We have killed the best of his companions, their leaders and their nobles. Shall we then go back before we have exterminated them? Let us return to the survivors and make an end of them.' When Abu Sufyan saw Ma'bad he said, 'What is the news?' He replied, 'Mohammed has come out with his companions to pursue you with an army whose like I have never seen, burning with anger against you. Those who stayed behind when you fought them have joined him; they are sorry for what they did and are violently enraged against you. Never have I seen anything like it.' He said, 'Confound you, what are you saying?' He answered, 'By God, I do not think that you will move off before you see the forelocks of the cavalry.' He replied, 'But we have determined to attack them to exterminate their survivors.' He answered, 'But I would advise against that. What I saw induced me to utter some verses about them.' When he asked what they were, he recited:

My mount almost fell with fright at the clamour
When the ground flowed with troops of horse
Hastening with noble lion-like warriors
[Tabari 1429:] Eager for the fray; firm in the saddle* fully armed.

(* Mil is the plural of amyal 'not fully armed'. It also means 'unsteady in the saddle', a meaning supported by Tabari's khurq. However, the first is a cliche among the poets and is a synonym of ma azil, the word that follows it.)

I continued to run, thinking the very earth was moving.
When they came up with the prince who never lacks support
I said, 'Alas for Ibn Harb when he meets you
When the plain is surging with men.'
I warn the people of the sanctuary plainly
Ever)' prudent and sensible man among them
Of Ahmad's army—no poltroons his riders
And the warning I give is true.

These words turned back Abu Sufyan and his followers.

Some riders from Abdul-Qays passed him and he learned that they were going to Medina for provisions. He said, 'Will you take a message to Mohammed for me? And I will load these camels of yours tomorrow with raisins in Ukaz, when you arrive there.' They agreed, and he said, 'Then when you come to him tell him that we have resolved to come to him and his companions to exterminate them.' The riders passed by the apostle when he was in Hamraul-Asad and told him of what Abu Sufyan had said and he exclaimed, 'God is our sufficiency, the best in whom to trust (618).' Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri told me that when the apostle came to Medina Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Salul who had a place which he used to occupy every Friday without opposition out of respect for him personally and his people, he being a chief, got up when the apostle sat on the Friday addressing the people and would say, 'O people, this is God's apostle among you. God has honoured and exalted you by him, so help him and strengthen him; listen to his commands and obey them.' Then he used to sit down until

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when he acted as he did on the day of Uhud and came back with his men, he got up to do as he was wont and the Muslims took hold of his garments and said, 'Sit down, you enemy of God. You are not worthy of that, having behaved as you did.' So he went out stepping over the necks of the men and saying, 'One would think I had said something dreadful in getting up to strengthen his case.' One of the Ansar met him at the door of the mosque and asked him what was the matter. He said, 'I got up to strengthen his case when some of his companions leapt upon me and dragged me along with violence. One would think that I had said something dreadful.' He answered, 'Go back and let the apostle ask forgiveness for you.' He said, 'By God, I do not want him to.'

The day of Uhud was a day of trial, calamity, and heart-searching on which God tested the believers and put the hypocrites on trial, those who professed faith with their tongue and hid unbelief in their hearts; and a day in which God honoured with martyrdom those whom he willed.

PASSAGES IN THE KORAN WHICH DEAL WITH UHUD

Abu Mohammed Abdul-Malik b. Hisham told us from Ziyad b. Abdullah al-Bakkai from Mohammed b. Ishaq al-Muttalibi: There are sixty verses in 'The Family of Imran' (Koran 3.117 f.) which God sent down concerning the day of Uhud in which there is a description of what happened on that day and the blame of those who merited His rebuke.

God said to His prophet: 'And when you went forth early from your family you assigned to the believers positions for the fighting, God hearing (and) knowing' (619). 'Hearing' what you said; 'knowing' about what you were concealing.

'When two parties of you thought they would fail,' i.e. of deserting; and the two parties were the B. Salima b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj and the B. Haritha b. al-Nabit of al-Aus, they being the two wings.

God said: 'And God was their friend,' i.e. God protected them from the cowardice they meditated because it was only the result of weakness and feebleness which overcame them, not doubt in their religion, so He thrust that from them in His mercy and pardon so that they were saved from their weakness and feebleness and stuck to their prophet (620).

God said: 'Upon God let the believers rely,' i.e. the believer who is weak let him rely on Me and ask My help. I will help him in his affair and protect him until I bring him to his appointed time of life and ward off evil from him and strengthen him in his purpose.

'God helped you at Badr when you were contemptible, so fear God that you may be thankful,' i.e. fear Me, for that is gratitude for My kindness.

'God helped you at Badr' when your numbers and strength were inferior 'when thou didst say to the believers: "Is it not enough for you that your Lord reinforced you with three thousand angels sent down? Nay, if you are steadfast and fear God and they come on you suddenly your Lord will reinforce you with five thousand angels clearly marked,"' i.e. if you are steadfast against My enemy and obey My command and they come on you recklessly I will reinforce you with five thousand angels clearly marked (621).

'God did this only as good news for you that your hearts might be at rest therein. Victory comes only from God, the Mighty the Wise,' i.e. I mentioned the armies of My angels only as good news for you and that your hearts might be at rest therein, because I know your weakness and victor)' comes only from Me because of My sovereignty and power for the reason that power and authority belong to Me, not to any one of my creatures.

Then He said: 'that He may cut off a part of those who disbelieve or overturn them so that they retire disappointed,' i.e. to cut off a part of the polythcists in a fight in which He will take vengeance on them or drive them back in chagrin, i.e. that those who survive may retreat as frustrated fugitives having achieved nothing that they hoped to attain (622).

Then He said to Mohammed the apostle of God: 'It is not your affair whether He changes His attitude to them or punishes them, for they are evil doers,' i.e. you have no concern with My judgement of My slaves except in so far as I give you orders concerning them or I change towards them in my mercy, for if I wish I shall do so; or I shall punish them for their sins for that is my prerogative; 'for they are evil-doers,' i.e. they have deserved that for their disobedience to Me. 'And God is forgiving, merciful,' i.e. He forgives sins and has mercy on His slaves according to (Or 'in spite of'.) what is in them.

Then He said: 'O ye who believe, Take not (Lit. 'devour not') usury, doubling and quadrupling,' i.e. Do not devour in Islam, to which God has now guided you, what you used to devour when you followed another religion; such is not permitted to you in your religion. 'And fear God, haply you may be prosperous', i.e. So obey God, perhaps you may escape from His punishment of which He has warned you, and attain His reward which He has made you desire. 'And fear the fire which is prepared for the disbelievers,' i.e. which has been made a dwelling for those who disbelieve in Me.

Then He said: 'And obey God and the apostle, haply you will attain mercy' reproaching those who disobeyed the apostle in the orders he gave them that day and at other times. Then He said: 'And vie with one another for forgiveness from your Lord and a garden as wide as the heavens and the earth prepared for those who fear (God),' i.e. a dwelling for those who obey Me and obey My apostle. 'Those who spend (their money) in ease and adversity and who control their wrath and are forgiving to men, for God loves those who do well,' i.e. that is well doing and I love those who act thus. 'And those who when they act unseemly or wrong themselves, remember God and ask forgiveness for their sins—and who forgives sins but God?—and have not persisted in their actions knowingly,' i.e. if they have acted unseemly or wronged themselves by disobedience, they remember God's prohibition and what He has declared evil, and ask forgiveness, knowing that none can forgive sins but He. 'And have not persisted in their actions knowingly,' i.e. have not continued to disobey Me like those who associate others with Me in the extravagance of their disbelief while they know that I have prohibited the worship of any but Myself. 'The reward of such is forgiveness from their Lord and gardens beneath which run rivers, in which they will abide for ever—a fine reward for workers,' i.e. the reward of the obedient.

Then He mentioned the catastrophe which befell them and the misfortune which came upon them and the trial (of the faith) that was in them and His choice of martyrs from among them, and He said comforting them and telling them of what they had done and what He was about to do with them: 'Examples have been made before your time, so go through the land and see the nature of the punishment of those who called (apostles) liars,' i.e. vengeance came from me upon those who gave the lie to My apostles and associated others with Me (such as) Ad and Thamud and the people of Lot and the men of Midian and they saw what I did to them and to those in like case with them, for T was forbearing to them purely for the reason that they should not think that My vengeance was cut off from your enemy and mine in the time in which I let tbem get the better of you to test you thereby to show you your true selves.

Then He said: 'This is a plain statement to men and guidance and admonition to those that fear God,' i.e. this is an explanation to men if they receive guidance ; 'and guidance and admonition,' i.e. a light and discipline 'to those who fear,' i.e. to those who obey Me and know My commandment; 'and do hot wax faint or be sad,' i.e. do not become weak and despair at what has befallen you 'you being the superiors,' i.e. you will have the victory 'if you believe,' i.e. if you had believed in what My prophet brought from Me. 'If you have received a shock the (Meccan) army received a shock likewise,' i.e. wounds like yours. 'These are days which We alternate among men,' i.e. we change them among men for trial and search; 'and that God may know those who believe and may choose martyrs from among you, and God loves not wrongdoers,' i.e. to distinguish between believers and hypocrites and to honour some of the faithful with martyrdom. 'And God loves not wrongdoers,' i.e. the hypocrites who profess obedience with their tongues while their hearts are firm in disobedience; 'and that God may try those who believe,' i.e. put to the test those who believe, so that He may purify them by the misfortune which came upon them, and their constancy and certainty; 'and confound the disbelievers,' i.e. bring to naught what the hypocrites say with their tongues that is not in their hearts until He brings to light their disbelief which they are concealing.

Then He said: 'Or do you think that you will enter the garden when God does not yet know those of you who are energetic and steadfast?' i.e. Do you think that you will enter the garden and receive the honour of My reward when I have not tested you with hardship and tried you with misfortune so that I may know your loyalty by faith in Me and steadfastness in what has befallen you through Me? 'And you used to wish' for martyrdom when you were in the way of truth before you met your enemy. He means those who urged the apostle to take them out against their enemy because they had not been present at the battle of Badr before that and longing for the martyrdom which they had escaped there. He said: 'And you used to wish for death before you met it.' He says: 'Now you have seen it with your eyes!' i.e. death by swords in the hands of men with nothing between you and them while you looked on. Then He kept them back from you. 'And Mohammed is nothing but an apostle; apostles have passed away before him. Will it be that if he dies or is killed you will turn back on your heels? He who so turns back will not harm God at all, and God will reward the thankful' in reference to the men saying 'Mohammed has been killed' and their flight thereat and breaking away from their enemy. 'Will it be if he dies or is killed' you will go back from your religion disbelievers as you once were and abandon the fight with your enemy, and God's book, and what His prophet will have left behind of his religion with you and in your possession when he has explained to you what he brought from Me to you that he would die and leave you? 'And he who so turns back,' i.e. turns back from his religion 'will not harm God at all,' i.e. he will not diminish His glory and kingdom and sovereignty and power. 'And God will reward the thankful,' i.e. those who obey Him and do what He has commanded.

'And no soul can die but by God's permission in a term that is written,' i.e. Mohammed has a fixed time which he will attain and when God gives permission in regard to that it will happen. 'And he who desires the reward of this world We will give him it; and he who desires the reward of the next world We will give him it and We shall reward the thankful,' i.e. he of you who desires this world having no desire for the next We will give him his allotted portion of sustenance and nothing more and he has no share in the next world ; and he who desires the reward of the next world We will give him what he has been promised together with his reward of sustenance in this world. That is the reward of the thankful, i.e. the pious.

Then He said: 'And with how many a prophet have myriads been slain and they waxed not faint at what befell them in the way of God and were not weak nor humiliated for God loves the steadfast,' i.e. how many a prophet has death (in battle) befallen and many myriads with him, i.e. a multitude, and they waxed not faint at the loss of their prophet nor showed weakness towards their enemies and were not humiliated when they suffered in the fight for God and their religion. That is steadfastness and God loves the steadfast. 'All that they said was, Forgive us our sins, O Lord, and our wasted effort in our affair; make our feet firm and give us the victory over a disbelieving people' (623), i.e. say what they said and know that that is for your sins, and ask His forgiveness as they did, and practise your religion as they did, and be no renegades turning back on your heels; and ask Him to make your feet firm as they did; and ask His help as they did against a disbelieving people. For all that they said actually happened and their prophet was killed, yet they did not do what you did. So God gave them the reward of this world by victory over their enemy and a fine reward in the hereafter with what He had promised therein, for God loves those who do well.

'O you who believe, if you obey those who disbelieve they will turn you back on your heels and you will return as losers,' i.e. from your enemy, and will lose this world and the next. 'But God is your protector and He is the best of helpers.' If what you say with your tongues is true in your hearts then hold fast to Him and ask victory only of Him and do not turn back, withdrawing from His religion. 'We will cast terror into the hearts of those who disbelieve,' i.e. that by which 1 was helping you against them because they associated with Me that for which I gave them no warrant; i.e. do not think that they will have the final victory over you, while you hold fast to Me and follow My commandment, because of the disaster which befell you through sins which you committed whereby you went against My commandment in disobedience and also disobeyed the prophet. 'God fulfilled His promise when you routed them by His leave until you failed and disagreed about the order and were disobedient after He had shown you what you were desiring. Some of you desired this world and some desired the hereafter. Then He made you flee from them that He might try you. Yet He forgave you, for God is full of kindness to the believers,' i.e. I carried out My promise to give you victory over your enemy when you routed them with the sword, i.e. killing them by My permission and My giving you power over them and keeping them from you (624). 'Until you failed,' i.e. deserted and disagreed about the order; i.e. you disputed about My order, i.e. you abandoned the order of your prophet and what he had told you to do, meaning the archers. 'After He had shown you what you were desiring,' i.e. victory about which there was no doubt and the flight of the (Meccan) army from their wives and property. 'Some of you desired this world,' i.e. those who desired the spoil in this world and abandoned their orders which carried the reward of the hereafter; 'and some of you desired the hereafter,' i.e. those who fought for God's sake and did not transgress in going after what they had been forbidden for an accident (A transitory and adventitious advantage.) of this world out of desire for it, hoping for the fine reward that is with God hereafter; i.e. those who fought for religion and did not transgress in going after what they had been forbidden for an accident1 of this world. 'To try you' for some of your sins. God pardoned the great sin in that He did not destroy you for having disobeyed your prophet. But I restored My kindness to you. 'And thus God favours the believers.' He punished some sins at once in this world by way of discipline and admonition, but He did not exterminate all for the debt they owed Him because they suffered for disobeying Him, out of mercy to them and as a reward for such faith as they had.

Then He reproached them for running away from their prophet and paying no heed when he called to them: 'When you climbed up and paid no heed to any one while the apostle was calling behind you, He rewarded you with grief for grief, that you might not be sad for what you missed and for what befell you,' i.e. grief after grief by the killing of some of your brethren and your enemy getting the better of you, and what you felt when someone said your prophet had been killed. That was what brought grief for grief to you so that you might not be sad over the victory you had missed after you had seen him with your own eyes, nor over the death of your brethren until I gave you ease of that sorrow. 'And God is

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informed of what you do.' God comforted them from the sorrow and grief which they suffered in rebutting the lie of Satan that their prophet had been killed; and when they saw the apostle alive among them what they had missed from the Meccans after the victory over them and their disaster in the loss of their brethren became easy to bear when God had turned death aside from their prophet.

'Then after grief He sent down safety for you, as a sleep. It came upon a party of you while another party were troubled in mind thinking wrongly about God thoughts of heathen days, saying, Have we anything to do with the matter? (Or 'order'.) Say, the whole matter belongs to God. They hide in themselves what they do not reveal to thee. They say, If we had had anything to do with the matter we should not have been killed here. Say: Had you beeni n your houses, those whose slaying has been written would have gone forth to the places where they were to lie. (This has happened) that God might test what is in your breasts and prove what is in your hearts, for God knows about what is in the breasts.' God sent down sleep in security upon the people who were confident in Him and they slept unafraid ; while the hypocrites whose thoughts troubled them, thinking wrongly about God thoughts of heathen days, were afraid of death because they had no hope in the final result. God mentioned their recriminations and sorrow at what befell them. Then He said to His prophet, 'Say "Had you been in your houses,"' you would not have been in this place in which God has made plain your secret thoughts 'those whose slaying has been written would have gone forth to the places where they were to he' to some other place where they would have been slain so that He might test what was in their breasts 'and prove what was in their hearts, for God knows what is in the breasts,' i.e. what is in their breasts which they try to conceal from you is not hidden from Him.

Then He said: 'O you who believe, be not like those who disbelieved and said of their brethren who journeyed through the land or were raiding "Had they been with us, they would not have died or been killed that God may make that sorrow in their hearts. God gives life and causes death and God is a seer of what you do,'" i.e. be not like the hypocrites who forbid their brethren to war for God's sake and to travel through the land in obedience to God and His apostle and say when they die or are killed, 'Had they obeyed us, they would not have died or been killed.' 'That God may make that sorrow in their heart' because of their lack of certainty in their Lord. 'God gives life and causes death,' i.e. their earthly stay is shortened or prolonged by His power as He wishes. Then God said: 'If you are slain for God's sake or die, pardon from God and mercy are better than what you amass,' i.e. there is no escape from death, so death for God's sake or death in battle is better even if they had known and been certain of what they would amass from the world for which they hold back from fighting in fear of death and battle because of what they have amassed from the splendour of this world, not desiring the hereafter. 'If you die or are slain,' whichever it may be, 'surely to God will you be gathered,' i.e. to God you must return. Let not the world deceive you and be not deceived by it. Let fighting and the reward which God holds out to you have more weight with you than that.

Then he said: 'It was by the mercy of God that thou wast lenient to them. Hadst thou been stern and rough, they would have dispersed and been no longer round thee,' i.e. they would have left you. 'So forgive them,' i.e. overlook their offence, 'and ask pardon for them and consult them about the matter. When thou art resolved put thy trust in God, for God loves those who trust.' He reminded His prophet of his leniency to them, and his patience with them in their weakness and their lack of patience had he treated them harshly for all their opposition when there was laid upon them the duty of obeying their prophet. Then He said: 'So forgive them,' i.e. overlook their offence 'and ask pardon' for their sins: the people of faith who did wrong. 'And consult them about the matter' to show them that you listen to them and ask their help, even if you are independent of them, thereby making their religion agreeable to them. 'And when thou art resolved' on a matter which has come from Me and a matter of religion concerning fighting your enemy when only that will bring you and them advantage, then do as you have been ordered despite the opposition of those who oppose you and in agreement with those who agree with you. 'And trust in God,' i.e. please Him rather than men. 'God loves them that trust. If God helps you none can overcome you; if He forsakes you, who thereafter can help you?' i.e. so that you do not leave My command for men, and forsake men's orders for Mine. On God, not on men, let believers trust.

Then He said: 'It is not for any prophet to deceive. Whoso deceives will bring his deceit with him on the day of resurrection. Then every soul will be paid in full what it has earned and they will not be wronged.' It is not for a prophet to conceal from men what he has been ordered to reveal either out of fear or desire to please them. Whoso does that will bring it with him on the day of resurrection; then he will be repaid what he has earned not wronged nor defrauded. 'Is one who follows the pleasure of God' whether men like it or not 'like one who has incurred God's displeasure?' by pleasing or displeasing men. He says, Is one who obeys Me whose reward is the garden and the goodwill of God like one who has incurred God's anger and deserves His anger, whose home is hell and a miserable end? Are the two examples the same? So know 'There are degrees with God and God is a seer of what they do' of all the degrees of what they do in paradise and hell, i.e. God knows those who obey and those who disobey Him.

Then He said: 'God showed favour to the believers when He sent among them an apostle from among themselves who recited to them His verses and purified them and taught them the book and wisdom, though before they were in ob jus error.' God favoured you, O people of the faith, when He sent among you an apostle of your own, reciting to you His verses concerning what you did, and teaching you good and evil that you might know the good and do it; and the evil and guard yourselves against it, and telling you of His pleasure with you when you obeyed Him; that you might gain much from obeying Him and avoid the wrath proceeding from disobedience that thereby you might escape His vengeance and obtain the reward of His garden. 'Though before you were in obvious error,' i.e. in the blindness of paganism not knowing what was good nor asking pardon for evil—deaf to good, dumb to the right, blind to guidance.

Then He mentioned the catastrophe that befell them: 'And was it so when a catastrophe befell you though you had smitten (them) with a disaster mice as great you said: How is this? Say: It is from yourselves. God is able to do all things.' Though a catastrophe befell you in the death of your brethren because of your sins, before that you had smitten your enemy with double that on the day of Badr in slaying and taking prisoners; and you have forgotten your disobedience and your opposition to what your prophet commanded you. You have brought that on yourselves. 'God is able to do all things.' God is able to do what He wills with His servants in taking vengeance or pardoning. 'And what befell you on the day the two armies met was by God's permission and that He might know the believers.' What befell you when you and your enemy met was by My permission. That happened when you acted as you did after My help had come to you and I had fulfilled my promise to you to distinguish between believers and hypocrites and to know those who were hypocrites among you, i.e. to make plain what was in them. 'And it was said to them, Come, fight for God's sake or defend,' meaning 'Abdullah b. Ubayy and his companions who went back from the apostle when he went against his polytheistic enemies at Uhud and their words: 'If we knew that you were going to fight we would go with you and would defend you ; but we do not think that there will be a fight.' So he showed what they were hiding within them.

God said: 'They were nearer to disbelief than to faith that day saying with their mouths what was not in their hearts,' i.e. showing you faith which was not in their hearts 'but God knows best about what they conceal,' i.e. what they hide, 'who said of their brethren' who belonged to their families and people who were killed in your company, 'Had they obeyed us they would not have been killed. Say: Then avert death from yourselves if you are truthful,' i.e. there is no escape from death, but if you are able to keep death away from you then do so. This was because they

were hypocritical and left fighting for God's sake, eager to survive in this world and fleeing from death.

Then He said to His prophet to make the believers wish to fight and desire battle: 'And do not think that those who were killed for God's sake are dead, nay they are alive with their Lord being nourished, glad with the bounty that God has brought them and rejoicing in those who have not yet joined them that they have nothing to fear or grieve over,' i.e. Do not think that those who were killed for God's sake are dead, i.e. I have brought them to life again and they are with Me being nourished in the rest and bounty of the Garden, rejoicing in the bounty that God has brought them for their striving on His account, and happy about those who have not yet joined them, i.e. glad when those of their brethren join them on account of their effort in war that they will share with them in the reward that God has given them, God having removed from them fear and sorrow.

God says: 'Rejoicing in the favour and bounty of God and that God does not waste the wages of the believers' because they have seen the fulfilment of the promise and the great reward.

Ismail b. Umayya told me from Abu'l-Zubayr from Ibn Abbas: The apostle said when your brethren were slain at Uhud, 'God has put their spirits in the crops of green birds which come down to the rivers of the Garden; they eat of its fruits and come home to where there are golden candlesticks in the shadow of the throne; and when they experience the goodly drink and food and their beautiful resting-place they say: Would that our brethren knew what God has done with us that they might not dislike fighting and shrink from war!' And God says 'I will tell them of you' so He sent down to His apostle these verses 'And do not think,' etc.

Al-Harith b. al-Fudayl told me from Mahmud b. Labid al-Ansari from Ibn Abbas: The martyrs are at Bariq, a river at the gate of the Garden, in a green tent, their provision from the Garden coming out to them morning and evening.

One whom I do not suspect told me from Abdullah b. Masud that he was asked about these verses 'Do not think', &c, and he said, We asked about them and we were told that when your brethren were slain at Uhud God put their spirits in the crops of green birds which come down to the rivers of the Garden and eat of its fruits and come home to where there are golden candlesticks in the shade of the throne and God takes one look at them and says,-'0 My servants, What do you wish that I should give you more?' And they say, 'O our Lord, there is nothing beyond the Garden which Thou hast given us from which we eat when we please.' After the question has been put three times they say the same, adding, 'except that we should like our spirits to return to our bodies and then return to the earth and fight for Thee until we are killed again.'

One of our companions told me from Abdullah b. Mohammed b. Aqil from Jabir b. Abdullah: The apostle said to me, 'I will give you good news, Jabir. God has restored to life your father who was killed at Uhud.'

Then He asked him what he would like Him to do for him and he said that he would like to return to the world and fight for Him and be killed a second time. Amr b. Ubayd told me from al-Hasan that the apostle swore that there was no believer who had parted from the world and wanted to return to it for a single hour even if he could possess it with all it has except the martyr who would like to return and fight for God and be killed a second time.

Then God said, 'Those who responded to God and His apostle after harm had befallen them,' i.e. wounds. They are the believers who went with the apostle on the morrow of Uhud to Hamraul-Asad in spite of the pain of their wounds, 'for those of them who do well and are pious there is a great reward; those to whom men said: The men (of Mecca) have gathered against you so fear them, and that but increased their faith and they said, Allah is sufficient for us and a fine one in whom to trust.' The men who said that were a number of Abdul-Qays to whom Abu Sufyan spoke. They said: Abu Sufyan and his company are certainly coming back to you.' God says, 'So they returned with God's grace ahd favour. Harm did not befall them and they followed God's pleasure and God is of great bounty' in that He turned away their enemy so that they did not meet him. 'It is only the devil,' i.e. those men and what Satan put into their mouths, 'who would make men fear his adherents,' i.e. frighten you by means of his adherents. 'But fear them not and fear Me if you are believers. Let not those who vie in running to disbelief grieve you,' i.e. the hypocrites, 'they can in no wise injure God. God wills not to assign them a portion in the next world where they will have a painful punishment. Those who buy infidelity with faith will in no wise injure God: they will have a painful punishment. Let not those who disbelieve think that the respite We give them is good for them. We give them a respite only that they may increase in trespass. Theirs is an ignominious punishment. It is not God's purpose to leave the believers as you are till He shall separate the evil from the good,' i.e. the hypocrites. 'And it is not God's purpose to let you know the unseen,' i.e. what He wills to try you with that you may take heed of what comes to you. 'But God chooses whom He will of His messengers,' i.e. He lets him know that 'So believe in God and His messengers and if you believe and are pious,' i.e. return and repent 'then you will have a great reward.'

THE NAMES OF THE MUSLIMS WHO WERE MARTYRED AT UHUD

The Muslims who were martyred at Uhud in the company of the apostle were as follows:

Emigrants from Quraysh: of the B. Hashim: Hamza whom Wahshi the slave of Jubayr b. Mutim killed. Of (the) B. Umayya b. Abdu Shams: Abdullah b. Jahsh, an ally from B. Asad b. Khuzayma. Of B. Abdul l-Dar: Musab b. Umayr whom Ibn Qamia al-Laythi killed. Of B. Makhzum b. Yaqaza: Shammas b. Uthman. Total 4.

Of the Ansar: of (the) B. Abdul-Ashhal: Amr b. Muadh; al-Harith b. Anas b. Rafi; and Umara b. Ziyad b. al-Sakan (625); Salama b. Thabit b. Waqsh and Amr his brother (Asim b. Umar b. Qatada asserted to me that their father Thabit was killed that day); and Rifaa b. Waqsh; and Husayl b. Jabir Abu Hudhayfa who was al-Yaman (the Muslims killed him unwittingly and Hudhayfa forewent his blood-wit incumbent on the slayer); and Sayfl and Habab sons of Qayzi; and Abbad b. Sahl; and al-Harith b. Aus b. Muadh. Total 12.

Of the men of Ratij (One of the forts in Medina.): Iyas b. Aus b. Atik b. Amr b. Abdul-Alam b. Zaura b. Jusham b. Abdul-Ashhal; and Ubayd b. al-Tayyihan (626); and Habib b. Yazid b. Taym. 3.

Of B. Zafar: Yazid b. Hatib b. Umayya b. Rafi. 1.

Of (the) B. Amr b. Auf of the subdivision B. Dubaya b. Zayd: Abu Sufyan b. al-Harith b. Qays b. Zayd; Hanzala b. Abu Amir b. Sayfi b. Numan b. Malik b. Ama, the man washed by the angels whom Shaddad b. al-Aswad b. Shaub al-Laythi killed (627). 2.

Of (the) B. Ubayd b. Zayd: Unays b. Qatada. 1.

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Of (the) B. Thalaba b. Amr b. Auf: Abu Hayya, brother to Sad b. Khaythama by his mother (628); and Abdullah b. Jubayr b. al-Numan who commanded the archers. 2.

Of (the) B. al-Salm b. Imruul-Qays b. Malik b. al-Aus: Khaythama Abu Sad b. Khaythama. 1.

Of their allies from (the) B. al-Ajlan: Abdullah b. Salama. 1.

Of (the) B. Muawiya b. Malik: Subay b. rlStib b. al-Harith b. Qays b. Haysha (629). 1.

Of (the) B. al-Najjar, of the clan of B. Sawad b. Malik b. Ghanm: Amr b. Qays and his son Qays (630); and Thabit b. Amr b. Zayd; and Amir b. Makhlad. 4.

Of (the) B. Mabdhul: Abu Hubayra b. al-Harith b. Alqama b. Amr b. Thaqf b. Malik b. Mabdhul; and Amr b. Mutarrif b. Alqama b. Amr. 2.

Of (the) B. Amr b. Malik: Aus. b. Thabit b. al-Mundhir (631). 1.

Of (the) B. Adiy b. al-Najjar: Anas b. al-Nadr b. Pamdam b. Zayd b. Haram b. Jundub b. Amir b. Ghanm b. Adly b. al-Najjar (632). 1.

Of (the) B. Mazin b. al-Najjar: Qays b. Mukhallad and Kaysan a slave of theirs. 2.

Of (the) B. Dinar b. al-Najjar: Sulaym b. al-tfarith; and Numan b. Abdu Amr. 2.

Of (the) B. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj: Kharija b. Zayd b. Abu Zuhayr; and Sad b. al-Rabi b. Amr b. Abu Zuhayr who were buried in one grave; and Aus b. al-Arqam b. Zayd b. Qays b. Numan b. Malik b. Thalaba b. Kab. 3.

Of (the) B. al-Abjar, the B. Khudra: Malik b. Sinan b. Ubayd b. Thalaba b. Ubayd b. al-Abjar the father of Abu Said al-Khudri (633); and Said b. Suwayd b. Qays b. Amir b. Abbad b. al-Abjar; and Utba b. Rabi b. Rafi b. Muawiya b. Ubayd b. Thalaba b. Ubayd. 3.

Of (the) B. Saida b. Kab b. al-Khazraj: Thalaba b. Sad b. Malik b. Khalid b. Thalaba b. Haritha b. Amr b. al-Khazraj b. Saida; and Thaqf b. Farwa b. al-Badl. 2.

Of (the) B.Tarif, the family of Sa'd b. Ubada: Abdullah b. Amr b. Wahbb. Thalaba b. Waqsh b. Thalaba b. Tarif; and Pamra, an ally from B. Juhayna. 2.

Of (the) B. Auf b. al-Khazraj of the clan of B. Salim of the subdivision of B. Malik b. al-Ajlan b. Zayd b. Ghanm b. Salim: Naufal b. Abdullah; Abbas b. Ubida b. Nadla b. Malik b. al-Ajlan; Numan b. Malik b. Thalaba b. Fihr b. Ghanm b. Salim; al-Mujadhdhar b. Dhiyad, an ally from Bally; and Ubada b. al-Hashas, the last three being buried in one grave. 5.

Of (the) B. al-Hubla: Rifaa b. Amr. 1.

Of (the) B. Salima of the clan of B. Haram: Abdullah b. Amr b. Haram b. Thalaba b. Haram; Amr b. al-Jamah b. Zayd b. Haram who were buried together; Khallad b. Amr b. al-Jamuh, etc.; and Abu Ayman a client of Amr b. al-Jamuh. 4.

Of B. Sawad b. Ghanm: Sulaym b. Amr b. Hadlda and his client Antara; and Sahl b. Qays b. Abu Kab b. al-Qayn. 3.

Of (the) B. Zurayq b. Amir: Dhakwan b. Abdu Qays; and Ubayd b. al-Mualla b. Laudhan (634). 2.

The total number of Muslims killed including both Emigrants and Ansar was 65 men (635).

THE NAMES OF THE POLYTHEISTS WHO WERE 610
KILLED AT UHUD

Of the Quraysh from B. Abdul-Dar b. Qusayy who carried the standard:

Talha b. Abdullah b. Abdul-Uzza b. Uthman b. Abdul-Dar whom Ali killed; and Abu Said b. Abu Talha whom Sad b. Abu Waqqas killed (636); and Uthman b. Abu Talha whom Hamza killed; and Musafi and al-Julas sons of Talha whom Asim b. Thabit b. Abul-Aqlah killed; and Kilab and al-Harith sons of Talha killed by Quzman an ally of B. Zafar (637); and Arta b. Abdu Shurahbil b. Hashim b. Abdu Manaf b. Abdul-Dar whom Hamza killed; and Abu Zayd b. Umayr b. Hashim, etc., whom Quzman killed; and Suab an Abyssinian slave of his also killed by Quzman (638); and al-Qasit b. Shurayh b. Hashim b. Abdu Manaf whom Quzman killed. 11.

Of (the) B. Asad b. Abdul-Uzza b. Qusayy: Abdullah b. Humayd b. Zuhayr b. al-Harith b. Asad whom Ali killed. 1.

Of (the) B. Zuhra b. Kilab: Abul-Hakam b. al-Akhnas b. Shariq b. Amr b. Wahb al-Thaqafi, an ally of theirs whom Ali killed; and Siba b. Abdul-Uzza—the latter's name was Amr b. Nadla b. Ghubshan b. Salim b. Malakan b. Afsa—an ally from Khuzaa whom Hamza killed. 2.

Of (the) B. Makhzum b. Yaqaza: Hisham b. Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira whom Quzman killed; and al-Walld b. al-As b. Hisham b. al-Mughira whom Quzman killed; and Abu Umayya b. Abu Hudhayfa b. al-Mughira whom Ali killed; and Khalid b. al-Alam an ally whom Quzman killed. 4.

Of (the) B. Jumah b. Amr: Amr b. Abdullah b. Umayr b. Wahb b. Hudhafa b. Jumah who was Abu Azza whom the apostle killed when a prisoner; and Ubayy b. Khalaf b. Wahb b, Hudhafa b. Jumah whom the apostle killed with his own hand. 2.

Of (the) B. Amir b. Luayy: Ubayda b. Jabir; and Shayba b. Malik b. al-Mudarrib both of whom were killed by Quzman (639). 2.

Thus God killed on the day of Uhud 22 polytheists.

POETRY ON THE BATTLE OF UHUD

The following wrote verses on the subject:

Hubayra b. Abu Wahb b. Amr b. Aidh b. Abd b. Imran b. Makhzurn (640):

Why does this painful anxiety afflict me at night?
My love for Hind beset by cares. (So A. Dh., but adiya in 742.17 means 'troops' and it may well be that love and war are mingled in his thoughts.)
Hind keeps blaming and reproaching me
While war has distracted me from her.
Gently now, blame me not; 'tis (it is) my habit
As you know I have never concealed it.
I help the B. Kab as they demand
Struggling with the burdens they impose.
I bore my arms bestride a noble horse
I,ong of pace, smooth in gait, keeping up with the cavalry's gallop,
Running like a wild ass in the desert which
Pursued by hunters keeps close to the females. (Cf Ahlwardt, Chalaf el-Ahmar's Qaside, Greifswald, 1859; but a comparison with Amr b. Qamia [ed. Lyall, Camb. iqiq, p. 53] suggests that we should read mukaddimun [active] 'biting' to quicken their pace as he protects their rear.)
Sired by Awaj, which rejoices men's hearts
Like a branch on a thick lofty palm.
I got him ready and a sharp choice sword
And a lance with which I meet life's crises.
This and a well-knit coat of mail like a wavy pool
Fastened on me clear of blemishes.
We brought Kinana from the confines of yonder Yemen
Across the land driving them hard.
When Kinana asked where we were taking them
We told them Medina (Al-Nukhayl. A watering-place near Medina.); so they made for it and its people.
We were the true knights that day on Uhud's slope.
Maadd were in terror so we said we would come to their aid.
They feared our strokes and thrusts well aimed and cutting
Which they beheld when their outposts had drawn together.
Then we came like a cloud of hail,
The B. al-Najjar's bird of death bemoaned them.
Their skulls in the battle were like ostrich eggs
Split open (by the chicks) and cast aside;
Or a colocynth ('Citrullus colocynthis', a herb-like plant related to the watermelon) on a withered shoot
Loosened by the sweeping winds.
We spend our wealth lavishly without reckoning
And we stab the horsemen in their eyes right and left.

Many a night when the host warms his hands in the belly of a slaughtered camel
And invites only wealthy guests*,
(* The mean man does not throw the meal open to all and sundry, but invites only those who can return his hospitality.)
Many a night of Jumada with freezing** rain
(** probably hail, jumadiya. S. points out that the old names of the months indicated their position in the solar year and that these names persisted when the months fell in different seasons after the lunar calendar was adopted; thus Ramadan, 'the scorcher', could begin in January and Rabia, 'the Spring', begin in November.)
Have I travelled through the wintry cold.
Because of the frosts the dogs bark but once
And the vipers leave not their holes.
I kindled then a blaze for the needy
Bright as the lightning that illumines the horizon.
Amr and his father before him bequeathed me this example.
He used to do this again and again.
They vied with the courses of the stars.
Their deeds never fell below the highest standard.

Hassan b. Thabit answered him:
You brought Kinana in your folly (to fight) the apostle,
For God's army was (bound to) disgrace them.
You brought them to death's cisterns in broad daylight.
Hell was their meeting-place, killing what they met with.
You collected them, black slaves, men of no descent,
O leaders of infidels whom their insolent ones deceived.
Why did you not learn from those thrown into Badr's pit
Slain bv God's horsemen?
Many a prisoner did we free without ransom,
Many a captive's forelock did we, his masters, cut! (641)

Kab b. Malik also answered Hubayra:
Have Ghassan heard about us though
Wide desert land where travel is uncertain separates them?
Deserts and mountains looking black in the distance
Like pillars of dust dotted here and there.
Strong camels there become feeble,
The yearly rains pass over it to make other lands fertile. (Or 'The yearly rain clouds are empty and pass swiftly on'.)
There the skeletons of exhausted ai mals
Look like merchants' linen dotted with figures.
The wild oxen and gazelles walk in file
And broken ostrich eggs lie strewn abroad.
Our warriors who fight for their religion arc all troops
Skilled in war with helmets* shining.
(* Properly: 'the metal tops of leather helmets'.)
Every coat of mail preserved in store is
When donned as a well-filled pool.
But ask any man you meet about Badr;
News you are ignorant of will be profitable.
Had other men been in that land of fear
They would have decamped at night and fled away.
When a rider of ours came he said,
'Prepare to meet the force Ibn Harb has collected.'
In misfortunes that would distress others
We showed greater calmness than all.
Had others been beset by a multitude
They would have given up and lost heart (Or, reading tawazzau, 'dispersed'.).
We fought them; no tribe could stand against us
But feared and fled in dread.
When they made their home in Ird (A place outside Medina.) our leader said,
'Why do we plant grain if we do not protect it?'
Among us was God's apostle whose command we obey.
When he gives an order we do not examine it.
The spirit (Gabriel) descends on him from his Lord
Brought down from the midst of heaven and taken up again.
We consult him on our wishes, and our desire
Is to obey him in all that he wants.
The apostle said when they appeared,
'Cast off the fear of death and desire it,
Be like one who sells his life
To draw near to a King by Whom he will be restored to life.
Take your swords and trust in God
To Whom belongs the disposal of all things.'
We made for them openly as they rode their camels
Bearing swords and unafraid
In a compact force with lances and spears;
When our steeds planted their feet they kept them firm.
Into a sea of foemen we plunged,
Their blacks in the centre some in armour some unprotected.
They were three thousand while we were three hundred elite
Or four hundred at the most.
The battle went to and fro while death ran between us.
We tried to get to the cistern of death before them and did so.
Bows of lote wood exchanged 'presents' between us
All of them cut from Yathribi* wood
(* A.Dh. explains Yathribi as "bow strings' cut in Medina, but the context implies that arrows were exchanged.)
And Meccan arrows made by Said
Sprinkled with poison at the time they were made
Sometimes hitting men's bodies,
Sometimes glancing off shields with a clang;
And horsemen in the plain looking like locusts
Which the east wind brings, moving briskly in the cold.
When we met them and the battle was fierce
(For there is no defence against God's decree)
We smote them until we left their leaders
Lying in the hollow like fallen trees.
From morn till eve until we recovered our strength
Our zeal was like a fire burning all in its path.
They fled in haste hurrying away
Like a cloud wisp that the wind robs of rain.
We went on, our rearguard coming slowly,
Like strong lions seeking (The reading is doubtful.) meat in Bisha.
We inflicted loss on you and you on us;
Perhaps we should have won, but what is with God is more spacious.
The battle waged hot between us
And all were made to get their fill of evil.
We are men who see no blame in him who kills
To guard and protect his protegees.
Firm in misfortunes, you will never see
Our eyes weeping over a comrade slain;
Warriors who do what we say
Nor become despondent in war's trials;
Warriors who commit no atrocities in victory
Nor complain of war's scratches.
We are a flame whose heat men ward off,
Those near it withdraw with scorched faces.
You taunt me, Ibn al-Zibara (But the poem is said to be a reply to Hubayra who is not even mentioned!), yet a party went after you
Searching for you at nightfall.
Ask about yourself in the summit of Maadd and elsewhere
Who is the lowest and most shameful of men?
Whom did war leave shorn of glory,
His face humiliated on the day of war?
We attacked you with God's help and succour
Our spearheads directed at you.
Our lances made gaping wounds among you
Like the mouths of waterskins where the water gushes forth.
We attacked the standard-bearers, and he who hastens to mention the standard

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Is the first in giving praise (The text of this verse is difficult and is probably corrupt.).

But they were treacherous, surrendered, and deserted.
Only God's will can prevail and He is the greatest doer (642).

Abdullah b. al-Zibara:
O raven, you have made men hear, then speak.
You can say only what has happened.
(To good and evil there is an end and both befall men.
Gifts are mean among them
And the graves of the rich and the poor are equal.
Every comfortable and pleasant life comes to an end
And the blows of fate play with us all.)
Give Hassan a message from me,
For composing poetry cures inward pain.
How many skulls on the mountain slope did you see,
How many hands and feet cut off,
Fine armour stripped from the brave
Who had perished in the battle?
How many noble chiefs did we slay,
Their descent doubly glorious, intrepid warriors;
Truly courageous, noble, conspicuous,
No weaklings when the spears fell?
Ask al-Mihras who inhabits it,
Between skulls and brains, like partridges?
Would that my elders in Badr had seen
The fear of Khazraj when the spears fell;
When (war) rubbed its breast in Quba (War is compared to a camel.)
And the slaughter waxed hot among the Abdul-Ashhal.
Then they were nimble in flight
Like young ostriches running up a hill.
We killed a double number of their nobles
And adjusted the inequality of Badr.
I do not blame myself, but
Had we returned, we should have made a clean sweep of them,
With Indian swords above their heads
Delivering blow after blow.

Hassan b. Thabit answered him:
The battle is over, O Ibn Zibara (The reading of the Diwan, xi, 'A battle ran away with Ibn Zibar' is better.)
(Had he been fair he would have admitted our superiority).
You inflicted loss on us and we on you.
The fortunes of war often change.
We thrust our swords between your shoulders
Where they drank blood again and again.
We made liquid to run from your arses
Like the ordure of camels that have eaten 'asal.
When you took to your heels (The language is Koranic.) in the pass
And fled like sheep one behind the other;
When we attacked you boldly
And drove you to the bottom of the mountain
With companies like vast objects in the plain (The reading is uncertain. A.Dh. cites 'jinns' as an alternative reading.)
Whoever meets them is terrified.
The pass was too narrow for us when we traversed it
And we filled its heights and depths
With men you cannot equal
Strengthened by Gabriel's help who came down.
We conquered at Badr by piety,
Obeying God and believing the apostles.
We killed all their chiefs
And we killed every long-robed noble.
We left in Quraysh a lasting shame that day of Badr,
An example to be talked of.
While the apostle of God witnessed truly,
While the short fat people among Quraysh
Got together by them were as
Camels collected in herbage and left shepherdless (These two lines are not clear).
We and not men like you, children of your mother's arse,
Meet the fighters* when adversity comes (* It would be tempting to read bas for nas here.) (643).
Kab mourning Hamza and the Muslim dead:
You weep, but do you want one to stir you to tears?
You who are lost in grief when you remember them, (The poet is apostrophising himself.)
Remembering a people of whom
Stories have reached me in this crooked age. (A clear indication of the comparatively late date of this poem. Cf. also Wellhausen 628, line 5.)
Your heart palpitates at the memory of them
In longing and tearful sadness.
Yet their dead are in lovely gardens
Honoured in their exits and entrances.
Because they were steadfast beneath the flag,
The flag of the apostle in Dhul-Adwaj, (A place near Uhud. Yaq. i. 305.)
The morning when the B. Aus and Khazraj
All responded with their swords
And Ahmad's supporters followed the truth,
The light-giving straight way.
They continually smote the warriors
As they passed through the clouds of dust
Till at last the King summoned them
To a garden with thick trees at its entrance.
All of them proved pure in the trial,
Died unflinchingly in God's religion
Like Hamza when he proved his loyalty
With a sharp well-whetted sword.
The slave of the B. Naufal met him
Muttering like a huge black camel
And pierced him with a lance like a flame
That burns in a blazing fire.
And Numan fulfilled his promise
And the good Hanzala turned not from the truth
Until his spirit passed
To a mansion resplendent in gold.
Such are (true men) not those of your company
Who lie in nethermost hell with no escape.

Dirar b. al-Khattab al-Fihri answered him:
Does Ka'b grieve over his followers
And weep over a crooked age
Crying like an old camel who sees his companions
Returning at even while he is kept back?
The water camels pass on and leave him
Grumbling of ill-treatment while he is not even saddled for women.
Say to Kab, 'Let him double his weeping
And let him suffer pain therefrom;
For the death of his brothers when the cavalry charged
In clouds of rising dust.'
Would that Arar and his followers
And Utba had been in our flaming meeting-place
That they might have slaked their vengeance
On those of Khazraj who were slain
And on those of Aus who died on the battlefield,
All of them slain in Dhul-Adwaj.
And the killing of Hamza under the flag
With a pliant death-dealing lance.
And where Musab fell and lay
Smitten by a sword's quick stroke
In Uhud when our swords flashed among them
Flaming like a roaring fire
On the morn we met you with swords
Like lions of the plains who cannot be turned back;
All our steeds like hawks,
Blood horses fiery, well-saddled.
We trod them down there until they fled
Except the dying or those hemmed in (644).

Abdullah b. al-Zibara:
Surely tears flowed from your eyes (Or the poet may be urging himself to weep.)
When youth had fled and the loved one was far away.
Far off and gone is she whom you love and
The camp, now removed, has robbed me of a dear one.
The ardent lover cannot recover what is gone
However long he weeps.
But let be: Has Umm Malik news of my people
Since news spreads far and wide
Of our bringing horses to the men of Medina,
Fine handsome horses, some reared with us, some outborn,
The night we went forth in great force
Led by one, the dread of his enemies, the hope of his friends?
All were clad in coats of mail
Which looked like a well-filled pool where two valleys meet.
When they saw us they were filled with awe,
A dreadful plight confronted them;
They wished that the earth would swallow them,
Their stoutest hearted warriors were in despair.
When our swords were drawn they were like
A flame that leaps through brushwood.
On their heads we brought them down
Bringing swift death to the enemy.
They left the slain of Aus with hyaenas hard at them and
Hungry vultures lighting on them.
The Banu Najjar on every height
Were bleeding from the wounds on their bodies.
But for the height of the mountain pass they would have left Ahmad dead,
But he climbed too high though the spears were directed at him,
As they left Hamza dead in the attack
With a lance thrust through his breast.
Nu'man too lay dead beneath his banner,
The falling vultures busy at his bowels (This unpleasant version is probably the original. For yajufna C. follows the Manuscripts which have yahufna, said to mean 'fall upon', which seems unnatural here. Another variant quoted by C. is yahumna 'hover', while Noldeke, Delectus, 68, read yajuna 'hunger for", which again is unnatural. All these variants can be accounted for by the assumption that editors wanted to tone down the ghastly description of this early Muslim's death.).
The spears of our warriors came on them in Uhud (as-swiftly)
As a well devours the ropes of the bucket. (Or, 'a water-drawer grasps'. Noldeke, Delectus, 70, renders nazu by profundus puteus, but this is wrong because, according to the Taj, Lisan, and Qamus, it means a shallow well. See further E. Braunlich in Islamica, I, 1925, 338. Alternatively nazu could mean an habitual water-drawer. If, with some authorities, nuzu be read, then the act of drawing water is intended. The verb ghula means taking away quickly, destroying, devouring, grasping. etc. Thus the point of the simile would seem to be that the spears went in and out of the bodies as fast as a skilled water-drawer could send buckets up and down a well, or that they went in as quickly as a well (or the act of drawing water) takes away the ropes.)

Hassan b. Thabit:
Do the spring camps make you long for Ummul-Walid,
The waste lands deserted by their people?
The winds of summer and the rain of Aquarius,
The torrential cloudbringer, has effaced them;
Naught remains but the place where the fire was,
Round it on the ground arc the firestones like doves.
Mention no more the camp whose people distance separates
Severing the strongest ties, and say
'If there was a battle in Uhud which a fool counts a victory
The real truth will some day be known.'
All the Banu Aus stood firm that day,
High renown was theirs.
The Banu Najjar were steadfast in defence,
None was fainthearted in the fight
In front of the apostle of God, they did not desert him.
They had a helper from their Lord and an intercessor.
They were faithful when you, (the) Quraysh (Eaters of sakhina.), denied your Lord.
(The loyal and the disloyal slave are never equal)
With swords in their hands when the battle was hot
He whom they smote could not but die.
They left Utba and Sad lying in the dust
As the spears found their mark.
They left Ubayy laid beneath the dust by the apostle's own hand,
His shirt wet with blood
When the dust they stirred up covered the people.
These were chiefs from your leading families,
For every army has chiefs.
By them (i.e. the swords.) we help God when (C. has hatta.) He helps us
Even if things are terrible, O Quraysh.
Mention not the slain since Hamza is among them,
Dead for God's sake in true obedience.
Paradise eternal he lives in now (The command of Him who decrees is swift).

While your dead are in hell, their best food
Thorns and boiling water to fill their bellies (Koran 88.6) (645)

Amr b. al-As.
We went forth from the barren desert against them
Forming as it were a streaked girdle to Radwa in the morning.
(The) B. Najjar foolishly wished to meet us
By the side of Sal and hopes are sometimes realised.
What scared them suddenly in the valley was
Squadrons of horse coming forth to the battle.
They wanted to plunder our tents,
But protecting those tents that day were shattering blows.
They were tents that have always been protected,
If a people made for them they would be spoiled and meet our rage.
The heads of the Khazrajis that morning
By the side of Sal were like sliced melons,
And their hands holding Yamani swords were like barwaq (A feeble plant ending in small envelopes like chickpeas: a simile of weakness and uselessness.) (646).

Dirar b. al-Khattab:
By thy grandfather (Or 'By thy fortune'. See Lane. 386a.), had I not advanced my horse
When the cavalry wheeled between the slope and the low ground
On the side of Uhud's slope, there had not ceased
The voices of your wraiths calling for vengeance, their cause well known.
And a horseman, his forehead split by a sword,
His skull in pieces like a shepherd's cloak. (The point of this simile would seem to be that the man's skull split and matted with blood, reminded the poet of a shepherd's cloak which had been made of odd pieces of fur.)

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By thy grandfather, I am always girded with a sharp sword white as salt
On the saddle of a mare thrusting forward to the one who calls for help
As long as the cry for aid is raised.
I am not reckoned the son of weaklings and non-combatants
Or miserly cowards on the day of battle,
But of those who smite the trusty helms when they reach them,
Warriors of proud descent on the day of battle,
Proud leaders bearing long swords who advance to death unfaltering.

He also said:
When there came from Kab a squadron
And the Khazrajiya with glittering swords
And they drew their Mashrafiya swords
And displayed a flag fluttering like the wings of an eagle
I said, This will be a battle worth many a battle,
It will be talked of as long as leaves fall.
Every day they have been accustomed to gain the victory in battle
And the spoils of those they encountered.
I forced myself to be steadfast when I felt afraid (Reading fabbartu.)
And I was certain that glory could only be got in the forefront.
I forced my steed to plunge into their ranks
And drenched him with their blood.
My horse and my armour were coloured
With blood that spurted from their veins and coagulated.
I felt sure I should stay in their dwellings
For ever and a day.
Do not despair, O Banu Makhzum, for you have men
Like Al-Mughira, men without blame.
Be steadfast, may my mother and brothers be your ransom,
Exchanging blows until time be no more.

Amr b. al-As:
When I saw war's flames leaping over the fire stones
Reaching the squadrons flaying men with their heat (Radf could mean 'forelegs' and shahba 'flames'. There is a variant reading fandsalat 'squadrons charged one after another'. In any event there is a conscious jinds in the double meaning of 'flame' and 'squadron'.)
I was sure that death was truth and life a delusion.
I set my arms on a strong horse which could outrun others easily,
Docile when others go astray in the desert outrunning the best horse.
When the sweat flowed down his flanks he showed more spirit;
Swift as a young hart of the desert when archers scare him to run full stretch,
Firm of fetlock he leads the cavalry in canter and gallop.
My mother be your ransom that fearful morning
When they walked like sandgrouse
Making for the leader of the squadron when the sun revealed him plainly (647).
Kab b. Malik answered the two of them:
Tell Quraysh (the best word is the truest and truth is always acceptable
to 'the wise)
That we killed your best men, the standard-bearers,
In revenge for our slain, so what is all the talk about?
And on the day that we met you
Michael and Gabriel reinforced and helped us.
If you kill us the true religion is ours
And to be killed for the truth is to find God's favour.
If you think that we are fools
The opinion of those who oppose Islam is misleading.
Do not wish for more war but stay at home,
The habitual man of war is blood-stained, never free of care. (Wellhausen adopts the variant mashul 'on fire' which hardly seems right. Perhaps 'with greying hair' is what was intended.)
You will get such blows at our hands
That the hyaenas will rejoice at the lumps of meat.
We are men of war who get the utmost from it
And inflict painful punishment on the aggressors.
If Ibn Harb escaped with the skin of his teeth
(And God's will must be done) it gave him discernment
And admonition if he has the sense to appreciate it.
Had you come to the bottom of the torrent bed
A swift stroke would have met you on the valley side,
Bands of men round the Prophet would have confronted you
With breastplates prepared for war,
Men of Ghassan stock with drawn swords,
No unarmed cowards they;
They walk towards the dark clouds of battle
As the camels' white foals walk in train,
Or as lions walk in a covert wetted by rain
Brought by the north wind from the Gemini
In long close-knit mail like a rippling pool,
Its wearer broad-shouldered, (Reading falijun.) a chief like a sword,
Which makes the strongest arrowhead useless
And the sword recoil with blunted edge.
Though you threw off Mount Sal from your backs
(And sometimes life can be prolonged and death avoided)
You would never be able to take revenge;
Time will pass the slain not paid for (Lit. 'stones will disappear' or 'wear away".),
Slave and free, noble, tied up like game (led)
Towards Medina bound and slain.
We were hoping to get you all, but our knights with their weapons
Chased you from us too quickly.
When one of them commits a crime they know for certain
That the consequence will be borne (by the tribe).
His crime is not an unmistakable crime,
None blames him and none evades his share of the, penalty. (These lines seem to refer to the archers who left their post in quest of loot. See W. 570.)
Hassan b. Thabit:
At even when the stars were setting
I could not sleep for care
And the vision of the beloved that haunted me.
A sickness pervaded my heart and an inner hidden passion.
O my people, can one without strength and courage
Slay a man like me?
If the tiniest ants were to crawl upon her
They would make wounds in her skin.
She smells of (Lit. 'Her interest is'.) sweet scent and lingers in her bed
Adorned with silver and strung with pearls.
The daily sun surpasses her in naught
Except that youth does not endure.
My uncle was orator at Jabiyatul-Jaulan
With al-Numan when he stood up (to speak).
I was the hawk at the door of Ibn Salma
On the day that Numan was sick in fetters.
Ubayy and Waqid were set free for me.
The day they went forth with their fetters broken
I went surety for them with all my wealth,
Every scrap of it was allotted.
My family stood high in their regard,
Every dwelling had a great ancestor of mine.
My father gave decisive judgement at Sumayha (Sumayha was a well in Medina. Aus and Khazraj used to submit their disputes to the arbitration of his grandfather al-Mundhir b. Harani.)
When disputes were referred to him.
Such were our deeds, but al-Zibara
Is a man of no account, blamed even by his friends.
How much culture is destroyed by poverty
While prosperity hides barbarism! (A variant in the ritcaya of Yunus is 'mounts above'.)
Do not insult me for you cannot do so,
Only a gentleman can insult his peer. (The Lisan and Jamham attribute this line (which is not in the Oman) to Hassan s son Abdul-Rahman.)
I care not if a he goat cries in the wasteland (If a brutish man becomes enraged.)
Or a churl speaks evil behind my back.
The finest stock of Banu Qusayy took over the courage
(You ought to have had) when you withdrew.
Nine carried the standard while
Makhzum ran away from the spears with the riff-raff.
They stood firm together in their place till all were slain,
All of them bleeding from open wounds. (fading madmum, cf. A. Dh.)
It was only honourable that they should stand firm.
The noble man is truly noble.
They stood fast until death came upon them
With the lances broken in their throats.
Quraysh fled from us seeking refuge
So that they stood not fast but lost their wits.
Their collarbones could not sustain its weight;
Only the best men can carry the standard (648).
Hassan b. Thabit mourning Hamza:
O Mayya, arise and weep sadly at dawn as the keening women do;
As those who carry heavy burdens cannot move for their weight
Who cry aloud scratching the faces of free women.
When their tears run they are like the pillars reddened by the blood of victims.
They let their hair loose and their locks appear
Like the tails of restive plunging horses in the morning,
Some plaited, (Reading mashzur with A. Dh.) some cut, dishevelled by the wind.
They weep sadly like mourners whom fate has wounded,
Their hearts scarred by painful wounds.
Fate has smitten those who were our hope when we were afraid,
The men of Uhud whom fate's calamities destroyed.
Our knight and protector when armed men appeared,
O Hamza, I will not forget you while time lasts,
The refuge of orphans and guests and the widow who looks shyly away,
And from the fate that brings war after war with growing evil.
O knight, O protector, O Hamza, you were our great defender
From blows of fate when they were crushing.
You reminded me of the lion of the apostle, that protector of ours
Who will always be mentioned when noble chiefs are counted
High above the leaders, generous, white, shining;
Not frivolous, poor spirited, nor grumbling at life's burdens.
A sea of generosity, he never withheld gifts from a guest.
Young men of honour, zealous and serious minded, have died
Who in the winter when none gets his fill of milk
Offered the flesh of camels topped by slices carved from its fat,
Protecting their guests as long as the enemy attacks.
Alas for the young men we have lost, they were as lamps,
Proud, patricians, princes, lavishly generous,
Who bought reputation with their wealth, (for reputation is a gain),
Who leapt to their bridles if a cry for help was raised.
One who suffered misfortunes in an unrighteous age (How could the prophet's time be called unrighteous? This must be a disguised lament over Hasan and I.Iusayn. The preceding verses in the plural cannot refer to Hamza.).
His camels kept going over the dusty plain,
They went vying with each other while he was among those
Whose breasts ran with sweat so that good fortune might return to him,
Not the lot of him who gets the unlucky arrow (In the Arab game of chance.).
O Hamza, you have left me lonely like a branch cut off from a tree.
I complain to you when layers of dust and stone cover you, of
The stone we put above you when the gravedigger finished his wo
In a wide space, covering it with earth carefully smoothed.
Our comfort is that we say (and what we say is grievous hard)
He who is free from life's misfortunes let him come to us
And weep for our noble generous dead,
Who said and did what they said, the truly laudable,
Who always gave freely even when they had little to spare (649).
He also said:
Do you know the camp whose traces since you saw it
Are swept away by a mighty torrent of rain
Between Al-Saradih and Udmana and the channel of Al-Rauha Hail?
I asked it of that and it would not answer;
It did not know the answer.
Give no thought to a camp whose traces have disappeared,
And weep over Hamza the generous who filled the platter
When the storm blew in bitter cold and famine,
Who left his adversaries in the dust
Stumbling on his slender lance,
Who threw himself among the horses when they held back (Or 'mingled with', al-labis.)
Like a lion bold in his thicket.
Shining at the summit of the Hashim clan
He did not oppose the truth with lies.
He died a martyr under your swords.
May the hands of Wahshi, the murderer, wither!
What a man did he leave on his lance, its point deadly sharp!
The earth has become dark at his loss
And the moon shining forth from the clouds is blackened.
God bless him in the heavenly paradise.
May his entry be honoured.
We looked on Hamza as a protector in all the blows of misfortune.
In Islam he was a great defence
Who made up for the loss of miserable stay-at-homes.
Rejoice not, O Hind, but produce thy tears,
Let flow the tears of the bereaved.
Weep for Utba whom he cut down with the sword
Who lay in the whirling dust,
When he fell among your shaykhs
Insolent, ignorant fellows.
Hamza killed them with a family who walk in long armour
The day that Gabriel helped him,
That fine helper of an intrepid horseman.

Kab b. Malik:
Visited by care you could not sleep
And feared because joyous youth had been taken from you.
A Damn girl claimed your love,

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But your love is Ghauri and your company is Najdi (The poet is addressing himself. There is a play on the underlying meaning of ghaur, low ground, and najd, high ground. The reading fahtvuka would give a sense that could be expressed by 'Your heart is in the lowlands and your head in the highlands', though more exactly the word means 'Your return to sobriety'.).
Do not go too far rashly in the folly of love,
You have always been thought foolish for following its allure.
It is time for you to stop in obedience
Or to awake when an adviser warns you.
I was crushed by the loss of Hamza,
My inward parts trembled.
If Mount Hira had been so distressed
You would have seen its firm rocks shattered.
A noble prince, strong in the lofty stock of Hashim,
Whence come prophecy, generosity, and lordship,
Who slew fat-humped camels when the wind is so cold
That it almost freezes the water,
Who left a brave opponent prostrate on the ground
On the day of battle, with his lance broken.
You could see him sweeping along in steel,
Like a tawny strong-pawed lion,
The prophet's uncle and chosen one
Came to his death—a goodly end.
He met his fate marked out among a people
Who helped the prophet and sought martyrdom.
I imagine that Hind has been told of that
To still the burning choking within her breast
How we met her people on the sandhill
The day in which happiness left her.
And of the well of Badr when Gabriel and Mohammed
Beneath our banner turned them back
So that I saw their best men with the prophet in two parties,
One killing and one pursuing whom he pleased.
There remained where the camels knelt
Seventy men, Utba and al-Aswad among them,
And Ibnu'l-Mughlra whom we smote above the neck vein
From which foaming blood gushed forth.
A sharp sword in the hands of the believers
Reduced the pride of Umayya al-Jumahi (qawwama maylahu, lit. 'straightened his turning aside', i.e. struck him in the face which in his arrogance he was wont to turn away.).

The fugitive polytheists came to you like runaway ostriches
With the cavalry in full pursuit.
Different are those whose home is hell everlasting
And those who are eternally in paradise.

He also said:
Rise, O Safiya, be not weak.
Make the women weep over Hamza.
Be not weary in prolonging weeping
Over God's lion in the melee.
For he was a strength to our orphans
And a lion of battle amid the weapons,
Wishing thereby to please Ahmad
And the glorious Lord of the throne.

He also said:
By thy noble father's life I adjure you.
Ask those who sought our hospitality,
For if you ask them you will not be told a lie,
Those you ask will tell you the truth
That on nights when bones were gathered for food
We gave sustenance to those who visited us:
(Crowds [Wellhausen has najud 'poor women'.] took refuge in our shelters
From distress in years of famine)
With a gift of what our rich provided
With patience and generosity towards the indigent.
The shears of war left us
Those whose ways we have always tried to vie with.
One who saw the place where the camels go to water
Would think it was black rocky ground.
There the best camels are broken in,
Black, red, and white (White or, less likely, blackish. This word is one of the addad.).
The rush of men was like Euphrates in flood,
Solid well-armed masses destroying all in their path.
You would think their glitter was the shining of stars,
They dazzle beholders in their commotion.
If you are ignorant of our importance
Then ask those near us who know,
How we behave when war is violent
In slaughter, severity, biting, and mauling.
Do we not tighten the cord round the camel's udder
Until she yields her milk and becomes gentle? (In these two lines war is compared to a savage camel that is subdued by the tribe's firmness and resource and ends to their advantage.)
A day in which fighting is continuous,
Terrifying, burning those who kindled its blaze,
Long drawn out exceeding hot fighting.
Fear of it keeps the base-born away.
You would think the heroes engaged in it
Were happily drunk and inebriated,
Their right hands exchanging the cups of death
With their sharp-edged swords.
We were there and we were courageous
Wearing our badges under clouds of dust,
With silent fine blood-stained swords,
Blades of Busra which loathe the scabbard;
Which grow not blunt nor buckle
And cease not smiting if they are not held back,
Like autumn lightning in the hands of heroes
Overwhelming in blood heads that remain in place.
Our fathers taught us how to strike
And we will teach our sons
The swordsmanship of heroes and the spending of patrimony
In defence of our honour as long as we live.
When a champion passes, his posterity takes his place
And he leaves others to inherit him.
We grow up and our fathers perish,
And while we bring up our sons we cease to be.
I asked about you, Ibnul-Zibara,
And was told that you were baseborn,
Evil, of disgraceful life, persistently mean.
You have said much (Another reading is tanajjasta 'You have behaved filthily', which may be right.) in insulting God's apostle.
God slay you, you cursed rude fellow!
You utter filth, and then throw it
At the clean robed godly faithful one (650).

He also said:
Ask Quraysh of our flight and of theirs
That morn at the base of Uhud's hill.
We were lions, they but leopards when they came.
We cared nothing for blood relationship.
How many brave chiefs did we leave there
Protectors of proteges, noble in birth and reputation?
Among us the apostle, a star, then there followed him
A brilliant light excelling the stars.
True is his speech, just his behaviour.
He who answers his call will escape perdition,
Brave in attack, purposeful, resolute
When hearts are moved by fear,
Advancing and encouraging us so that we should not be disobedient,
Like the full moon that cannot lie.
When he appeared we followed him and held him true.
They called him liar so we are the happiest of the Arabs.
They wheeled and we wheeled, they did not reform or return
While we followed them in unwearying pursuit.
The two armies had nothing in common,
God's party and the men of polytheism and idols (These two poems are in sharp contrast. The first is a fine example of the old Arabian spirit; the second belongs to the large category of the spurious, and clearly dates from a later age.) (65 1).
Abdullah b. Rawaha said (652):
My eye wept and right well it did so
(But what avails weeping and lamentation),
For God's lion on the day that they said
'Is that slain man Hamza?'
All the Muslims were distressed thereat;
The apostle too suffered.
O Abu Yala (The kunya of Hamza.), your pillars were shattered,
You the noble, just, bounteous one.
God's peace on you in paradise
With everlasting felicity!
O Hashim, the best men, be steadfast
Whose every deed is fine and laudable. (Koran 38. 47. 8; 12. 18. 83.)
God's apostle is patient, noble,
Whenever he speaks 'tis (it is) by God's command.
Will someone tell Luayy for me
(For after today war's fortune will change,
And previously they have known and tasted of
Our fighting in which vengeance was slaked),
You have forgotten our blows at Badr's pool
When swift death came to you,
The morn that Abu Jahl lay prostrate,
The vultures wheeling and circling over him.
'Utba and his son fell together
And Shayba whom the polished sword bit.
We left Umayya stretched on the ground,
A huge lance in his belly.
Ask the skulls of Banu Rabia,
For our swords were notched by them.
Weep, O Hind, grow not weary,
For you are the bereaved one in tears for a lost son.
Show not joy at Hamza's death, O Hind,
For your boasting is contemptible.
Kab b. Malik said:
Say to Quraysh despite their distance,
Do you boast of what you have not won?
You boast of the slain on whom the favours
Of Him who grants the best favours have fallen.
They dwell in gardens and have left waiting for you
Lions who protect their cubs,
To fight for their religion, in their midst
A prophet who never recedes from the truth.
Maadd attacked him with infamous words
And the arrows of enmity unceasingly (653).

Dirar b. al-Khattab:
What ails thine eye which sleeplessness affects
As though pain were in thine eyelids?
Is it for the loss of a friend whom you hold dear
Parted by distance and foes?
Or is it because of the mischief of a useless people
When wars blaze with burning heat?
They cease not from the error they have committed.
Woe to them! No helper have they from Luayy.
We adjured them all by God,
But neither kinship nor oaths deterred them;
Till finally when they determined on war against us
And injustice and bad feeling had grown strong,
We attacked them with an army
Flanked by helmeted strong mailed men
And slender horses sweeping along with warriors
Like kites, so smooth was their gait;
An army which Sakhr (i.e. Abu Sufyin.) led and commanded
Like an angry lion of the jungle tearing his prey.
Death brought out a people from their dwellings,
We and they met at Uhud.
Some of them were left stone dead
Like goats which the hail na's frozen to the cold ground.
Noble dead, the Banul-Najjar in their midst
And Musab with broken pieces of our shafts around him
And Hamza the chief, prostrate, his widow going round him.
His nose and liver had been cut away. It was
As if when he fell he bled beneath the dust
Transfixed by a lance on which the blood had dried.
He was the colt of an old she-camel whose companions had fled
As frightened ostriches run away
Rushing headlong filled with terror,
The steep precipitous rocks aiding their escape.
Husbandless women weep over them
In mourning garb rent in pieces.
We left them to the vultures on the battlefield
And to the hyaenas who made for their bodies (654):
Abu Zana b. Abdullah b. Amr b. Utba, brother of (the) B. Jusham b. al-Khazraj:
I am Abu Zana. Al-Huzam (The name of his horse.) takes me apace,
Painful exertion alone saves disgrace.
A Khazrajite of Jusham his ward will solace.

Alib. Abu Talib (655):
Al-Harith b. al-Simma
Was faithful to his covenant with us.
He went through painful deserts,
Black as darkest night,
Among many swords and spears
Seeking God's apostle in what was happening there.

Ikrima b. Abu Jahl:
Each of them says to his horse, Come on here!
You can see him advancing today without fear
Bearing a leader with his mighty spear.
Al-Asha b. Zurara b. al-Nabbash al-Tamimi, of (the) B. Asad b. Amr b. Tamim, weeping the slain of (the) B. Abd al-Dar:
Let the Banu Abu Talha in spite of their distance
Be given a greeting that will not be rejected.
Their watercarrier passed them with it
And'.every watercarrier of theirs is known.
Their neighbour and guest never complained,
No door was closed in their face. (The last line is omitted by Wellhausen, probably rightly. He refers to it in his notes in vol. II.)

Abdullah b. al-Zibara:
We killed Ibn Jahsh and rejoiced at his death
And Hamza with his horsemen and Ibn Qauqal.
Some men escaped us and got quickly away.
Would that they had stopped and we had not been hasty,
That they had stood so that our swords their best men
Might have cut down, for all of us were fully armed;
And that there might have been a fight between us
When they would have a morning draught (Wellhausen has sabah 'morning'.) whose evil would not pass away (656).
Safiya d. Abdul-Muttalib mourning her brother Hamza:
Are you my sisters asking in dread

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The men of Uhud, the slow of speech and the eloquent? (i.e. Whether they know or not. This poem is attributed to Hassan in the Diwan, xxxviii, where the text differs somewhat. It is obviously the product of a later age.)
The latter said Hamza is dead,
The best helper of the apostle of God.
God the true, the Lord of the Throne, called him
To live in paradise in joy.
That is what we hoped and longed for.
Hamza on the day of gathering will enjoy the best reward.
By God I shall never forget thee as long as the east wind blows
In sorrow and weeping, whether at home or in travel,
For the lion of God who was our defence,
Protecting Islam against every unbeliever.
Would that my limbs and bones were there
For hyaenas and vultures to visit.
I said when my family raised their lamentation,
God reward him, fine brother and helper as he was! (657).
Num wife of Shammas b. Uthman weeping her husband:
O eye be generous, let thy tears flow spontaneously
For the noble and victorious warrior
Whose opinion was accepted, whose deeds were successful,
Who carried the standards, the rider of horses.
I said in anguish when news of his death came,
'The generous man who fed and clothed others has perished.'
I said when the places where he sat were forsaken,
'May God not take Shammas far from us!'
Her brother Abul-Hakam b. Said b. Yarbu replying to comfort her:
Preserve thy modesty in secret and in honour,
For Shammas was only a man.
Kill not thyself because he met his death
In obeying God on the day of heroic battle.
Hamza was the lion of God, so be patient;
He too on that day tasted Shammas's cup.
Hind d. Utba when the polytheists withdrew from Uhud:
I came back my heart filled with sorrow,
For some from whom I sought vengeance had escaped me,
Men of Quraysh who were at Badr,
Of Banu Hashim, and of Yathrib's people.
I gained somewhat from the expedition
But not all that I had hoped (658).

THE DAY OF AL-RAJI, 3 A.H.

Abu Mohammed Abdul-Malik b. Hisham told us from Ziyad b. Abdullah al-Bakkai from Ibn Ishaq from Asim b. Umar b. Qatada: After Uhud a number of Adal and al-Qara came to the apostle (659). They said that some of them had already accepted Islam and they asked him to send some of his companions to instruct them in religion and to teach them to read the Koran and to teach them the laws of Islam. The apostle sent the following six of his companions. Marthad b. Abu Marthad al-Ghanawi, an ally of Hamza; Khalid b. al-Bukayr al-Laythi, an ally of (the) B. Adiy b. Kab; Asim b. Thabit b. Abul-Aqlah, brother of (the) B. Amr b. Auf b. Malik b. al-Aus; Khubayb b. Adiy, brother of (the) B. Jahjaba b. Kulfa b. Amr b. Auf; Zayd b. al-Dathinna b. Muawiya, brother of (the) B. Bayada b. Amr b. Zurayq b. Abdu Haritha b. Malik b. Ghadb b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj; and Abdullah b. Tariq, ally of (the) B. Zafar b. al-Khazraj b. Amr b. Malik b. al-Aus.

The apostle put Marthad in command of them and the band got as far as al-Raji, a watering-place of Hudhayl in a district of the Hijaz at the upper part of al-Hada. (Between Asfan and Mecca; according to others between Mecca and al-Taif.) There they betrayed them and summoned Hudhayl against them. While they were off their guard sitting with their baggage suddenly they were set upon by men with swords in their hands, so they took their swords to fight them; but the men said that it was not their intention to kill them; they wanted to get something for them from the people of Mecca. They swore by God that they would not kill them.

Marthad, Khalid, and Asim said: 'By God, we will never accept an undertaking and agreement from a polytheist.' 'Asim said:
No weakling I, an archer bold,
My bow thick-stringed with trusty hold
Broad arrows can life's coil unfold.
Death is certain—life a mere tale told.
What God decrees men shall behold,
Life must return to Him its mould.
I fight though I leave a mother, cold (660).

He also said:
I am Abu Sulayman with al-Muqad's shafts (A Meccan who was famed for feathering arrows skilfully.).
Like Gehenna they burn my feathered shafts.
(The readings of the following line vary: al-nawahi "the ways' and ufturishat 'full of men'; al-nawaji 'swift camels' and uqturishat 'collected'. The probable sense is given here:) When battle is abroad I am not afraid,
With shield of smooth ox-hide I am safely arrayed
And I firmly believe in what Mohammed has said.
He also said:
I am Abu Sulayman, an archer fine,
And come of a people of noble line.
His kunya was Abu Sulayman.

Thereupon he fought with the people until he and his two companions were killed.

[The passages in this square bracket are quoted by b. Yusuf b. Yahya al-Tadali known as Ibn al-Zayyat (d. 627/1299) in his al-Tashawwuf ila rijali l-tashawwuf, Rabat MS. D. 767, f. 24r, where dabr is glossed by nahl: When Asim was slain Hudhayl wanted to take his head to sell it to Sulafa d. Sad b. Shuhayd. When he killed her two sons at Uhud she swore a vow that if she could get possession of his head she would drink wine in his skull; but bees (Or, more probably, 'hornets'. But see below.) protected him. / / When the bees came between it and them they said, 'Let him alone until nightfall when they will leave him and we can take the skull.' But God sent a flood in the wadi and it carried 'Asim away. Now Asim had made a covenant with God that no polytheist should touch him nor would he ever touch a polytheist for fear of contamination. / / Umar used to say when he heard of how the bees protected him, / / God protects the believer. Asim had vowed that no polytheist should touch him and that he would never touch one so long as he lived, so God protected him after his death as he had protected himself while he was alive.']

Zayd, Khubayb, and Abdullah b. Tariq were weak and yielding in their desire to preserve their lives so they surrendered and were bound and taken to Mecca to be sold there. When they were in al-Zahran Abdullah broke loose from his bonds and drew his sword. But the men drew back from him and stoned him until they killed him. His grave is in al-Zahran. Khubayb and Zayd were brought to Mecca (661).

Hujayr b. Abu Ihab al-Tamimi, an ally of (the) B. Naufal, bought Khubayb for Uqba b. al-Harith b. Amir b. Naufal, Abu Ihab being the brother of al-Harith b. Amir by the same mother, to kill him in revenge for his father (662).

Safwan b. Umayya bought Zayd to kill him in revenge for his father Umayya b. Khalaf.' Safwan sent him with a freedman of his called Nistas (Possibly short for for 'Anastasius'.) to al-Tanim and they brought him out of the haram to kill him. A number of Quraysh gathered, among whom was Abu Sufyan b. Harb, who said to him as he was brought out to be killed, 'I adjure you by God, Zayd, do not you wish that Mohammed was with us now in your place so that we might cut off his head (Arabs were obsessed with cutting off limbs and mutilate their targets and victims in like kind. This has become an Islamic tradition in general), and that you were with your family?' Zayd answered, 'By God, I do not wish that Mohammed now were in the place he occupies and that a thorn could hurt him, and that I were sitting with my family.' Abu Sufyan used to say, 'I have never seen a man who was so loved as Mohammed's companions loved him.' Then Nistas killed him, God pity him.

Abdullah b. Abu Najih told me that he was told by Mawiya (S. says that this is the reading of Yunus b. Bukayr and it is to be found in old copies of Ibn Hisham, but others give the name as Mariya on Ibn Ishaq's authority.), freedwoman of Hujayr b. Abu Ihab, who had become a Muslim: Khubayb was imprisoned in my house and I looked at him one day with a bunch of grapes in his hand as big as a man's head from which he was eating. I did not know that there were grapes on God's earth that could be eaten (at that time).

Asim b. Umar b. Qatada and Abdullah b. Abu Najih both told me that she said: When the time for his execution had come he asked me to send him a razor with which to cleanse himself before he died; so I gave a razor to a youth of the tribe and told him to take it to the man in the house. Hardly had he turned his back to take it to him when I thought, 'What have I done? By God, the man will take his revenge by killing the youngster and it will be man for man.' But when he handed him the steel he took it from him saying, 'Good gracious, your mother was not afraid of my treachery when she sent you to me with this razor!' Then he let him go (663).

Asim said, Then they took out Khubayb as far as al-Tanim to crucify him. He asked them to give him time to make a couple of bowings, and they agreed. He performed two excellent bowings and then turned to the people saying, 'Were it not that you would think that I only delayed out of fear of death I would have prolonged my prayer.' Khubayb b. Adiy was the first to establish the custom of performing two bowings at death. Then they raised him on the wood and when thev had bound him he said, 'O God, we have delivered the message of Thy apostle, so tell him tomorrow what has been done to us.' Then he said, 'O God, reckon them by number and kill them one by one, let none of them escape.' Then they killed him, God pity him.

Muawiya b. Abu Sufyan used to say: 'I was present that day among those who were there with Abu Sufyan and I saw him throw me to the ground out of fear of Khubayb's curse.' They used to say, 'If a man is cursed and is thrown to one side the curse will pass over him.'

Yahya b. Abbad b. Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from his father Abbad concerning Uqba b. al-Harith said: 'I heard him say, "It was not I who killed Khubayb, for I was too young to do that; but Abu Maysara brother of (the) B. Abdul-Dar took a lance and put it in my hand. Then he covered my hand with his and thrust him with it until he killed him."'

One of our companions said that Umar had appointed Said b. Amir b. Hidhyam al-Jumahi over a part of Syria. Fainting fits used to seize him when he was among the people and Umar was told of this. It was said that the man was subject to seizures. During one of his visits Ulnar asked him the cause of the trouble and he said, 'There is nothing the matter with me, but I was one of those who was present when Khubayb b. Adiy was killed and I heard his curse, and whenever I remember it when I am in a meeting I faint away.' This increased his favour in Umar's eyes (664).

A freedman of Zayd b. Thabit told me from Ikrima, freedman of Ibn Abbas, or from Said b. Jubayr, that Ibn Abbas said with reference to a passage of the Koran about this expedition: When the expedition in which Marthad and 'Asim took part came to grief in al-Rajl some of the disaffected said, 'Alas for those beguiled fellows who perished thus! They did not stay with their families nor did they deliver the message of their master.' Then God sent down concerning their words and the good they gained by their suffering: 'There is the kind of man whose talk about the
life of this world pleases you,* i.e. when he professes Islam with his tongue, 'and he calls God to witness about that which is in his heart' which is contrary to what he professes with his tongue, 'yet he is the most quarrelsome of adversaries', i.e. a controversialist when he argues with you (Koran 2.200. S. records a variant reading of Ibn Muhaysin, wayash hadullahu for wayush hidullaha, i.e. God knows what is in his heart, and this may well be the true reading. He also says that the majority of commentators hold that this verse came down with reference to aJ-Akhnas b. Shariq al-Thaqafi according to the tradition from Ibn Abbas through Abu Malik, and Mujahid said the same. Ibnul-Kalbi said that when he was in Mecca he gave that opinion, but one of al-Akhnas's offspring denied it and said that it came down with reference to the people of Mecca.) (665).

God said, 'And when he turns away,' i.e. goes out from your presence, 'he hastens through the land to make mischief therein and to destroy the crops and the cattle; but God loves not mischief,' i.e. He does not love the doing of it nor does it please Him. 'And when it is said to him, Beware of God, pride seizes him in sin. Hell will be his reckoning, an evil restingplace. And there is the kind of man who would sell himself in his desire to please God and God is kind to His servants,' i.e. they sold themselves to God by fighting in His way and doing what He required until they gave up their lives. He means that expedition (666).

Among the poems about this is that of Khubayb b. Adiy when he heard that the people had gathered to crucify him (667):
The confederates gathered their tribes around me
And assembled all whom they could collect.
All of them show violent enmity against me
Because I am helpless in bonds.
They collect their women and children
And I am brought to a lofty high trunk.
To God I complain of my loneliness and pain
And of the death the confederates have prepared for me.
Lord of the throne, give me endurance against their purpose.
They have pierced my flesh—all hope is gone!
This is for God's sake, and if He wills
He will bless the limbs thus torn.
They let me choose infidelity but death is preferable,
And my tears flowed though not in fear.
I fear not death who am about to die
But I fear hell and its all-embracing fire.
By God, I fear not (raja is one of the addad.) if I die a Muslim
What death I suffer for God's sake.
I will not show subservience to the enemy
Nor despair, for 'tis to God I return.

Hassan b. Thabit said, mourning Khubayb:
What ails thine eye that its tears cease not
Flowing on to thy breast like loose pearls?
For Khubayb the hero, no coward when you meet him,
No fickle youth as men well know.
Then go, Khubayb, may God reward thee well
In the eternal gardens with houris among thy companions.
What will you say when the prophet says to you
When the pure angels are in the firmament,
Why did you kill God's martyr for the sake of an evil man
Who committed crimes far and wide? (668)

Hassan also said:
O eye, be generous with thy tears;
Weep for Khubayb who did not return with the warriors.
A hawk, amidst the Ansar was his dignity,

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Generous by nature of pure unmixed descent.
My eye was inflamed because of the difficulty of weeping (i.e. my nature is such that my eyes are unaccustomed to tears.)
When 'twas (it was) said, He has been lifted up on a tree.
O raider going forth on your business
Convey a threat—no idle threat
To the Banu Kuhayba that war's milk
Will be bitter when its teats arc pressed.
In it will be the lions of the Banu al-Najjar,
Their glittering spears in front of a great shouting army (669).

Hassan also said:
Had there been in the camp a noble chief, a warrior,
A champion of the people, a hawk whose uncle is Anas,
Then, Khubayb, you would have had a spacious place to sit in
And not have been confined by guards in prison.
Low adherents of the tribes would not have borne you to Tanim,
Some of them men whom Udas had expelled.
They deceived you with their treachery, breaking their faith,
You were wronged, a prisoner in their camp (670).

Those who formed the mob from Quraysh when Khubayb was killed were Ikrima b. Abu Jahl; Said b. Abdullah b. Abu Qays b. Abdu Wudd; al-Akhnas b. Shariq al-Thaqafi, ally of (the) B. Zuhra; Ubayda b. Hakim b. Umayya b. Haritha b. al-Auqas al-Sulami, ally of (the) B. Umayya b. Abdu Shams; and Umayya b. Abu Utba and the B. al-Hadrami.
Hassan also said reviling Hudhayl for what they did to Khubayb:
Tell (the) Banu Amr that a man steeped in treachery
Sold their brother as a chattel.
Zuhayr b. al-Agharr and Jami sold him,
Both of them committing foul crimes.
You promised him protection and having done so betrayed him.
In the region of al-Raji you were as sharp swords (Or, perhaps, 'thieves'.).
Would that Khubayb had not been deceived by your promise;
Would that he had known what people he was dealing with! (671)

Hassan also said:
If pure unalloyed treachery pleases you
Go to al-Raji and ask about the abode of Lihyan;
A people who adjure one another to devour the guest among them. (Al-Jahiz. Bukhala, Cairo, 1948, p. 216, understands from this and other satirical poems
that these men were cannibals.)
Dog and ape are like such men.
If a he-goat were to rise up and address them one day
He would be a man of honour and importance among them! (672)

Hassan also said:
Hudhayl asked the apostle for something disgraceful.
They erred therein and went astray;
They asked their apostle what he would not grant them
To their dying day and they were the disgrace of the Arabs.
Never will you see in Hudhayl one
Calling others to a generous deed in that place of plunder.
Woe to them who desired to make immoral conditions
To be allowed what the scripture forbids!

Hassan also said:
The tale of Khubayb and Asim
Has ruined the name of Hudhayl ibn Mudrik.
The tale of Lihyan has ruined their reputation,
For Lihyan has committed the worst of crimes.
Men, the best stock of their tribe,
Like hairs upon a horse's fetlock,
Were treacherous on the day of al-Raji,
Betraying their ward to whom kindness and generosity were due,
The apostle's messenger. Hudhayl took no pains
To ward off the evil of loathsome crimes.
One day they will see victory turn against them
For killing one whom there protected against evil deeds (haraim refer, to the oath taken by Asim that he would never touch or be touched by a polytheist, and also to the vow of Sulafa that she would drink wine from Asim's skull.)
Swarms of hornets standing guard over his flesh
Which protected the flesh of one who witnessed great battles.
Perhaps in return for killing him Hudhayl will see
Dead lying prostrate or women mourning
As we bring a violent attack upon them.
Which riders will relate faithfully to those at the fairs
By command of God's apostle, for he with full knowledge
Has made a forceful decision against Lihyan,
A contemptible tribe caring nothing for good faith.
If they are wronged they do not resist the aovresso
When people live in an isolated quarter
You see them in the watercourses between the well-worn channels.
Their place is the home of death.
When anything happens to them they have the minds of cattle.

Hassan also said:
God curse Lihyan, for their blood does not repay us
For their having slain the two in treachery.
At al-Raji they killed the son of a free woman
Faithful and pure in his friendship.
Had they all been killed on the day of al-Rajf
In revenge for Asim (Lit. 'he of the hornets') that would not have sufficed
For the dead man whom the bees protected in their tents,
Among people of obvious infidelity and coarseness.
Lihyan killed one more honourable than they
And sold Khubayb for a miserable price, woe to them!
Ugh! for Lihyan in every event.
May their memory perish and not even be mentioned!
A contemptible tribe of mean and treacherous descent,
Their meanness cannot be concealed.
If they were slain their blood would not pay for him
But the killing of his killers would cure me (of my pain).
Unless I die I will terrify Hudhayl with a plundering raid
Swift as the early morning cloud.
By the apostle's command, and his it is,
Disaster will spend the night in Lihyan's court.

The people in al-Rajf will be found in the morning
Like little goats who have passed the winter without warmth (This is accepted by Bukhari.).

Hassan also said:
By God, Hudhayl do not know
Whether Zamzam's water is clean or foul;
And if they make the great or lesser pilgrimage
They have no share in the hijr or the running.
But at al-Raji they have a place,
The home of open meanness and disgrace.
They arc like goats in the Hijaz bleating
In the evening beside the shelters.
They were treacherous to Khubayb their ward.
What a miserable covenant was their false word! (673)

Hassan also said:
God bless those who followed one another (to death) the day of al-Raji
And were honoured and rewarded.
Marthad the head and leader of the party and
Ibn al-Bukayr their imam and Khubayb.
And a son of Tariq; Ibn Dathinna was there too.
There his death as it was written befell him
And al-Asim slain at Raj!'
Attained the heights (of heaven) great gainer he.
He averted the disgrace of wounds in the back.
He met them sword in hand, the noble warrior (674).

THE STORY OF BIR MAUNA IN SAFAR, 4 A.H.

The apostle stayed (in Medina) for the rest of Shawwal, Dhul-Qada, Dhul-Hijja, and al-Muharram while the polytheists supervised the pilgrimage. Then he sent the men of Bir Ma'Gna forth in Safar, four months after Uhud.

My father Ishaq b. Yasar from al-Mughira b. Abdul-Rahman b. al-Harith b. Hisham told me, as did Abdullah b. Abu Bakr b. Mohammed b. Amr b. Hazm and other traditionists, as follows: Abu Bara Amir b. Malik b. Jafar the 'Player with the Spears' came to the apostle in Medina (Tabari 1442: and offered him a present. The apostle refused it, saying that he could not accept a present from a polytheist and telling him to become a Muslim if he wished him to accept his present. Tabari's version is more verbose and pedantic than Ibn Hisham's recension.). The apostle explained Islam to him and invited him to accept it. He would not do so yet he was not far from Islam. He said: 'O Mohammed (Tabari: your affair to which you invite me is most excellent). If you were to send some of your companions to the people of Najd and they invited them to your affair I have good hopes that they would give you a favourable answer.' The apostle said that he feared that the people of Najd would kill them; to which Abu Bara' replied that he would go surety for them, so let him send them and invite men to his religion. So the apostle sent al-Mundhir b. Amr, brother of (the) B. Saida, 'The Quick to seek Death', with forty of his companions from the best of the Muslims. Among them were al-Harith b. al-Simma; Haram b. Milhan, brother of B. Adiy b. al-Najjar; Urwa b. Asma b. al-Salt al-Sulami; Nafi b. Budayl b. Warqa al-Khuzai; Amir b. Fuhayra, freedman of Abu Bakr, of those who were named of the best Muslims. (Tabari: Humayd al-Tawil from Anas b. Malik who said that the apostle sent al-Mundhir b. Amr with seventy riders. This is accepted by Bukhari.) They went on until they halted at Bir Mauna which is between the land of (the) B. Amir and the harra of (the) B. Sulaym, near to both districts but nearer to the harra.

When they alighted at it they sent Haram b. Milhan with the apostle's letter to the enemy of God Amir b. Tufayl. When he came to him he rushed at the man and killed him before he even looked at the letter. Then he tried to call out the B. Amir against them, but they refused to do what he wanted, saying that they would not violate the promise of security which Abu Bara had given these men. Then he appealed to the tribes of (the) B. Sulaym of Usayya, Ril, and Dhakwan, and they agreed and came out against them and surrounded them as they were with their camels. Seeing them they drew their swords and fought to the last man. All were killed but Kab b. Zayd, brother of (the) B. Dinar b. al-Najjar; him they left while breath was in him. He was picked up from among the slain and lived until the battle of the Trench when he was killed as a martyr.

Amr b. Umayya al-Damri and an Ansari of (the) B. Amr b. Auf were with the camels out at pasture (675). They did not know of the death of their companions until they saw vultures circling round the camp. They knew that this must mean that something serious had happened, so they went to investigate and there were the men lying in their blood and the horsemen who had killed them standing near. Amr's opinion was that they should rejoin the apostle and tell him the news, but the Ansarl said that he could not bring himself to leave the spot where al-Mundhir had been slain, nor could he bear that people should say that he had done such a thing, so he fought the party until he was killed. They took Amr prisoner, and when he told them that he was of Mudar, Amir b. al-Tufayl let him go after cutting off his forelock. He freed him, so he alleged, because of an oath taken by his mother (Cf. the shorter account in Musa b. Uqba, No. 7.).

Amr got as far as al-Qarqara at the beginning of Qanat when two men of B. Amir turned up and stopped with him in the shade (676). Now there was an agreement of friendship between the apostle and the two Amiris of which Amr knew nothing, and when after questioning he found that they belonged to (the) B. Amir he let them alone for a time until they slept when he fell upon them and killed them, thinking that he had taken vengeance on them for the killing of the apostle's companions. But when he came to the apostle and told him what he had done he said, 'You have killed two men whose bloodwit I must pay.' Then the apostle said, This is (the result of) Abu Bara's act. I did not like this expedition fearing what would happen.' When Abu Bara heard the news he was much upset at Amir's violation of his guarantee in that the apostle's companions had been killed because of what he had done and because he had promised them safety. Among those who were killed was 'Amir b. Fuhayra.

Hisham b. Urwa from his father told me that Amir b. al-Tufayl used to ask, 'Who was the man I saw lifted up between heaven and earth when he had been killed until I saw the sky receive him?' They answered, 'It was Amir b. Fuhayra.

One of (the) B. Jabbar b. Salma b. Malik b. Jafar told me—Jabbar was among those who were present that day with Amir and afterwards became a Muslim—that Jabbar used to say, 'What led me to become a Muslim was that I stabbed one of them between the shoulders that day and I saw the point of the spear come out of his chest, and I heard him say, "I have won by God!" I could not make out what he meant by the words seeing that I had killed him until afterwards I asked others and was told that it was martyrdom, and then I said, "By God he has won."'

Hassan b. Thabit, inciting (the) B. Abu Bara against Amir b. al-Tufayl, said:
Ye sons of Ummul-Banin, are you not dismayed,
You the loftiest of Najd's people,
At Amir's insolence to Abu Bara in violating his safe conduct?
For a mistake is not the same as a deliberate act.
Say to Rabia who strives after great deeds,
What did you do after I left you?
Your father Abu Bara is a man of war,
Your uncle Hakam b. Sad is celebrated (677).

[Tabari 1445: Kab b. Malik also said on the same subject:
The violation of Abu Bara's guarantee
Is blazed abroad far and wide.
It is like Musahhab and his father's sons
Hard by al-Radh in the region of Suwa.
O sons of Ummul-Banin, did you not hear
The cry for help at eventide, the loud call for aid?
You did indeed, but you knew that he was a doughty warrior.
The Banu Kilab and al-Qurata
Are homes of broken faith.
O Amir, Amir of ancient infamy,
You have won, but without intelligence or dignity.
Did you not deal falsely with the prophet?
Yet of old have you behaved infamously.
You are not like the guest of Abu Duwad
Nor al-Asadi the guest of Abul-Ala;
But your shame is a disease of long standing.

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Take note that the disease of treachery is the most deadly.

When the words of Hassan and Kab reached Rabia b. Amir (Abul-Bara)] he attacked Amir b. al-Tufayl and stabbed him with his spear in his thigh; he failed to kill him (Tabari has 'the spear was deflected so that it did not kill him'.) but he fell from his horse saying, This is the work of Abul-Bara; if I die my blood (I give) to my uncle (i.e. 'I forgive him'.) and he is not to be sued for it: if I live I will see to what has to be done myself.

Anas b Abbas al-Sulami, maternal uncle of Wayma b. Adiy b. Naufal who killed Nafi b. Budayl b. Warqa al-Khuzai that day, said:

I left Ibn Warqa dead on the ground
With the dust wind blowing over him.
I remembered Abul-Rayyan (Wellhausen has Abul-Zabban.) when I saw him
And made sure that I was avenged.

Abul-Rayyan was Tuayma b. Adiy.

Abdullah b. Rawaha mourning Nafi b. Budayl b. Warqa said.

God have the mercy on Nafi b. Budayl
That belongs to those who seek the reward of jihad! (Be ready for 'jihad in order to fight against Kafirs' is one of the main precepts in Islam! Jihad is often understood as 'holy war' but interpretation is much too narrow. It rather means 'struggle' in becoming a 'better Muslim', for purification from the dirt of the infidel world, for total submission / Islamisation, for suppremacy of Islam, for becoming like Mohammed as He is considered the perfect model of Islam. We have here pretty much the very same uncompromising mindset as that of the ancient Messianic Movement of the Qumran communities at the Dead Sea.)
Enduring, truthful, faithful,
When men talked too much he spoke to the point (These lines are attributed to Hassan. Cf. Diwan xl).

Hassan b. Thabit, mourning the slain at Bir Mauna and especially al-Mundhir b. Amr, said:

Weep for the slain at Mauna
With everflowing tears,
For the apostle's horsemen the day
Thev met their death by God's decree.
They met their end because a people
Were false to their covenant and treacherous.
Alas for Mundhir who died there
And hastened to his end steadfastly!
How manv a noble welcoming man
Of Amr's best people was done to death! (678)

THE DEPORTATION OF THE B. AL-NADIR, 4 A.H.

According to what Yazid b. Ruman told me the apostle went to (the) B. al-Nadir to ask for their help in paying the bloodwit for the two men of (the) B. Amir whom Amr b. Umayya al-Pamri had killed after he had given them a promise of security. There was a mutual alliance between (the) B. al-Nadir and (the) B. Amir. When the apostle came to them about the bloodwit they said that of course they would contribute in the way he wished; but they took counsel with one another apart, saying, 'You will never get such a chance again. Who will go to the top of the house and drop a rock on him (Tabari 1448: so as to kill him) and rid us of him?' The apostle was sitting by the wall of one of their houses at the time. Amr b. Jihash b. Kab volunteered to do this and went up to throw down a rock. (A.G.: I think it is clear that another and later story has been attached to this incident. Obviously if the prophet had overheard their designs there was no need of a supernatural communication from heaven. Further, it should be noted that in this later story the apostle is called 'the prophet'. This is a term which Ibn Ishaq uses most sparingly, though it is fairly frequently employed by his editor Ibn Hisham.) As the apostle was with a number of his companions among whom were Abu Bakr, Umar, and 'Ali, news came to him from heaven about what these people intended, so he got up (Tabari: and said to his companions, 'Do not go away until I come to you') and he went back to Medina. When his companions had waited long for the prophet, they got up to search for him and met a man coming from Medina and asked him about him. He said that he had seen him entering Medina, and they went off, and when they found him he told them of the treachery which the Jews meditated against him. The apostle ordered them to prepare for war and to march against them (679). Then he went off with the men until he came upon them (680).

The Jews took refuge in their forts and the apostle ordered that the palm-trees should be cut down and burnt, and they called out to him, 'Mohammed, you have prohibited wanton destruction and blamed those guilty of it. Why then are you cutting down and burning our palm-trees?'

Now there was a number of (the) B. Auf b. al-Khazraj among whom were Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Salul and Wadia and Malik b. Abu Qauqal and Suwayd and Dais who had sent to B. al-Nadir saying, 'Stand firm and protect yourselves, for we will not betray you. If you are attacked we will fight with you and if you are turned out, we will go with you.' Accordingly they waited for the help they had promised, but they did nothing and God cast terror into their hearts. They asked the apostle to deport them and to spare their lives on condition that they could retain all their property which they could carry on camels, except their armour, and he agreed. So they loaded their camels with what they could carry. Men were destroying their houses down to the lintel of the door which they put upon the back of their camels and went off with it. Some went to Khaybar and others went to Syria. Among their chiefs who went to Khaybar were Sallam b. Abul-Huqayq, Kinana b. al-Rabi b. Abul-Huqayq, and Huyayy b. Akhtab. When they got there the inhabitants became subject to them.

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that he was told that they carried off the women and children and property with tambourines and pipes and singing girls playing behind them. Among them was Umm Amr, wife of Urwa b. al-Ward al-Absi, whom they had bought from him, she being one of the women of (the) B. Ghifar. (They went) with such pomp and splendour as had never been seen in any tribe in their days.

They left their property to the apostle and it became his personal property which he could dispose of as he wished. He divided it among the first emigrants to the exclusion of the Ansar, except that Sahl b. Hunayf and Abu Dujana Simak b. Kharasha complained of poverty and so he gave them some. Only two of (the) B. al-Nadir became Muslims: Yamin b. Umayr Abu Kab b. Amr b. Jihash (Wellhausen has here 'a cousin of Amr'.) and Abu Sad b. Wahb who became Muslims in order to retain their property.

One of Yamm's family told me that the apostle said to Yamin, 'Have you seen the way your cousin has treated me and what he proposed to do?' Thereupon Yamin gave a man money to kill Amr b. Jihash and he did kill him, or so they allege.

Concerning (the) B. al-Nadir the Sura of Exile came down in which is recorded how God wreaked His vengeance on them and gave His apostle power over them and how He dealt with them. God said: 'He it is who turned out those who disbelieved of the scripture people from their homes to the first exile. You did not think that they would go out and they thought that their forts would protect them from God. But God came upon them from a direction they had not reckoned and He cast terror into their hearts so that they destroyed their houses with their own hands and the hands of the believers.' (Koran 59) That refers to their destroying their houses to extract the lintels of the doors when they carried them away. 'So consider this, you who have understanding. Had not God prescribed deportation against them,' which was vengeance from God, 'He would have punished them in this world,' i.e. with the sword, 'and in the next world there would be the punishment of hell' as well. 'The palm-trees which you cut down or left standing upon their roots.' Lina means other than the best kind of dates. 'It was by God's permission,' i.e. they were cut down by God's order; it was not destruction but was vengeance from God, 'and to humble evil-doers' (681). 'The spoil which God gave the apostle from them,' i.e. from B. al-Nadir. 'You did not urge on your cavalry or riding camels for the sake of it, but God gives His apostle power over whom He wills and God is Almighty,' i.e. it was peculiar to him (682), 'The spoil which God gave the apostle from the people of the towns belongs to God and His apostle.' What the Muslims gallop against with horses and camels and what is captured by force of arms belongs to'God and the apostle. (L.H.: Another interesting mindset of Islam is quite openly shown here: It is not evil to rob and kill Kafirs, but all those are 'evil-doers' who are not Muslims and anyone who does not support the supremacy of Islam!) 'And is for the next of kin and orphans and the poor and the wayfarer so that it should not circulate among your rich men; and what the apostle gives you take and abstain from what he forbids you.' He says this is another division between Muslims concerning what is taken in war according to what God prescribed to him. (In al-Baladhuri's Futuhul-Buldan, ed. De Goeje, 18f., this passage reads as follows: '. . . from Ibn Abu Zaida from Mohammed b. Ishaq concerning God's word "The spoil which God gave the apostle from them", i.e. from B. al-Nadir, "you did not urge cavalry . . . whom He wills." He taught them that it was peculiar to the apostle and to none else. So the apostk divided it among the emigrants except that Sahl b. Hunayf and Abu Dujana complained of poverty and so he gave them some. As to His words "The spoil which God gave the apostle from the people of the towns belongs to God and His apostle" to the end of the verse He says this is another division between Muslims according to what God described."

It does not necessarily follow that this is what Ibn Ishaq's wrote, though the arrangement of the matter is certainly more systematic. That may be due to al-Baladhuri. On the other hand, the mention of the first emigrants seems somewhat strange. The exclusion of the Ansir may well have been ignored by the later writer as foreign to his purpose. On the other hand, the clumsy Arabic 'concerning what is taken in war' does not appear here. The change of 'prescribed' into described' is not an oral mistake but a misreading and incidentally is one of countless proofs that tradition in early days was written down. A confusion between wadahu and wasafahu in speech is utterly impossible: in writing it might well be impossible to determine which alternative to adopt.) Then God said, 'Have you seen those who are disaffected,' meaning Abdullah b. Ubayy and his companions and those who are like-minded 'who say to their brothers of the scripture people who disbelieve,' i.e. the B. al-Nadir, up to the words 'like those who a short time before them tasted the misery of their acts and had a painful punishment,' i.e. the B. Qaynuqa.

Then as far as the words 'Like Satan when he said to man Disbelieve, and when man disbelieved he said, I am quit of you. I fear Allah the Lord of the worlds and the punishment of both is that they will be in hell everlastingly. That is the reward of the evildoers.'

Among the verses composed about B. al-Nadir are the following from I. Luqaym al-Absi. (Others say Qays b. Bahr b. Tarif was the author (683).)

My people be a ransom for the immortal man
Who forced the Jews to settle in a distant place (The meaning is obscure. I have followed S.).
They pass their siesta with live coals of tamarisk.
Instead of the young shooting palms they have the bare hills of Udi (A. Dh. says that this is the name of a place. Yaqut does not mention it.).
If I am right about Mohammed
You will see his horses between al-Sala and Yaramram
Making for Amr b. Buhtha (linguistically related to 'Buddha').
They are the enemy.
(A friendly tribe is not the same as an evil one.)
On them are heroes, firebrands in war,
Brandishing spears directed at their enemies.
Every fine sharp Indian blade
Inherited from the days of Ad and Jurhum.
Who will give Quraysh a message from me,
For is there one honoured in glory after them?
That your brother Mohammed, and know it well,
Is of that generous stock between al-Hajun (A place in Mecca.) and Zamzam.
Obey him in truth and your fame will grow
And you will attain the greatest heights. He is
A prophet who has received God's mercy.
Ask him no hidden uncertain matter.
You had an example at Badr, O Quraysh,
And at the crowded cistern
The morning he attacked you with the Khazrajls,
Obeying the Great and Honoured One,
Helped by the Holy Spirit (i.e. Gabriel.), smiting his foes,
A true apostle from the Compassionate on high;
An apostle from the Compassionate reciting His book.
When the truth shone forth he did not hesitate.
I see his power mounting on every hand
In accord with God's decree (684).

Mentioning the deportation of B. al-Nadir and the killing of Kab b.
al-Ashraf, Ali said (685):

I know, and he who judges fairly knows.
I'm sure and swerve not
From the determined word, the signs which came
From God the Kind, the Most Kind,
Documents studied among the believers
In which he chose Ahmad the chosen one.
So Ahmad became honoured among us,
Honoured in rank and station.
O you who foolishly threaten him
Who came not in wickedness and was not overbearing,
Do you not fear the basest punishment
(He who has nothing to fear from God is not like him who lives in dread.) (Whenever the reader encounters this miserable banality 'A is not the same as B'—there is an example in the preceding poem—he may be sure that it is the product of the forger of much of the poetry of the Sira.)
And that you may be thrown beneath his swords
As Kab al-Ashraf was
The day that God saw his insolence
When he turned aside like a refractory camel?
And He sent down Gabriel with a gracious revelation
To His servant about his killing.
So the apostle secretly sent a messenger to him
With a sharp cutting sword.
Eyes wept copiously for Kab
When they learned that he was dead.
They said to Ahmad, 'Leave us awhile,
For we are not yet recovered from weeping.'
So he left them; then he said, 'Begone
In submission and humiliation.'
He sent al-Nadir to a distant exile,
They having enjoyed a prosperous home
To Adhriat (A place in Syria.) riding pillion

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On every ulcerous worn-out camel they had.

Sammak the Jew answered him:
If you boast, for it is a boast for you
That you killed Kab b. al-Ashraf
The day that you compassed his death,
A man who had shown neither treachery nor bad faith,
Haply time and the change of fortune
Will take revenge from 'the just and righteous one' (A sarcastic reference to the prophet. C. has yudil.)
For killing al-Nadir and their confederates
And for cutting down the palms, their dates i
Unless I die we will come at you with lances
And every sharp sword that we have
In the hand of a brave man who protects himself.
When he meets his adversary he kills him.
With the army is Sakhr (Abu Sufyan.) and his fellows.
When he attacks he is no weakling
Like a lion in Tarj (A mountain in the Hejaz) protecting his covert,
Lord of the thicket, crushing his prey, enormous.
Kab b. Malik said on the same subject:
The rabbis were disgraced through their treachery,
Thus time's wheel turns round.
They had denied the mighty Lord
Whose command is great.
They had been given knowledge and understanding
And a warner from God came to them,
A truthful warner who brought a book
With plain and luminous verses.
They said, 'You have brought no true thing
And" you are more worthy of God's disapproval (Or. perhaps, 'of being disbelieved'.) than we.'
He said, 'Nay, but I have brought the truth,
The wise and intelligent believe me;
He who follows it will be rightly guided
And the disbeliever therein will be recompensed.'
And when they imbibed treachery and unbelief
And aversion turned them from the truth,
God showed the prophet a sound view,
For God's decision is not false.
He strengthened him and gave him power over them
And was his Helper, an excellent Helper!
Ka'b was left prostrate there.
After his fall Nadir was brought low.
Sword in hand we cut him down
By Mohammed's order when he sent secretly by night
Kab's brother, to go to Kab.
He beguiled him and brought him down with guile.
Mahmud was trustworthy, bold.
Those Banul-Nadir were in evil case,
They were destroyed for their crimes
The day the apostle came to them with an army
Walking softly as he looked at them.
Ghassan the protectors were his helpers
Against the enemies as he helped them.
He said
(I offer) Peace, woe to you,' but they refused
And lies and deceit were their allies.
They tasted the results of their deeds in misery,
Every three of them shared one camel.
They were driven out and made for Qaynuqa',
Their palms and houses were abandoned.
Sammak the Jew answered him:
I was sleepless while deep care was my guest
On a night that made all others seem short.
I saw that all the rabbis rejected him,
All of them men of knowledge and experience
Who used to study every science
Of which the Law and Psalms do speak.
You killed Kab the chief of the rabbis (Kab was nothing of the kind. His father was of Tayyi. though his mother belonged to B. al-Nadir. Can the forger possibly have confused him with Kab al-Ahbar?),
He whose ward was always safe.
He came down to Mahmud his brother (But the man's name was Silkan (Wellhausen 551. line 2). Is the forger referring to Mohammed b. Maslama, one of the assassins, whom he confused with Mahmud b. Masiama [Wellhausen -58, 769]?),
But Mahmud was harbouring a wicked design.
He left him in his blood looking as though
Saffron was flowing o'er his clothes.
By your father and mine,
When he fell al-Nadir fell also.
If we stay safe we shall leave in revenge for Kab
Men of yours with vultures circling round them
As though they were beasts sacrificed on a feast day
With none to say them nay,
With swords that bones cannot resist,
Of finest steel and sharpened edge
Like those you met from brave Sakhr
At Uhud when you had no helper.

Abbas b. Mirdas, brother of B. Sulaym, praising the men of (the) B. al-Nadir, said:
Had the people of the settlement not been dispersed
You would have seen laughter and gaiety within it.
By my life, shall I show you women in howdahs
Which have gone to Shafat and Tayab?
Large-eyed like the gazelles of Tabala;
Maidens that would bewitch one calmed by much truck with women?1
When one seeking hospitality came they would say at -once
With faces like gold, 'Doubly welcome
The good that you seek will not be withheld.
You need fear no wrong while with us.'
Don't think me a client of Salam b. Makhzum
Nor of Huyayy b. Akhjab.

Khawwat b. Jubayr, brother of B. Amr b. Auf, answered him:
You weep bitterly over the Jewish dead and yet you can sec
Those nearer and dearer to you if you want to weep.
Why do you not weep o'er the dead in Urayniq's valley
And not lament loudly with sad face (over others)?
When peace reigned with a friend you rejected it.
In religion an obstruction, in war a poltroon.
You aimed at power for your people, seeking
Someone similar that you might get glory and victory.
When you wanted to give praise you went
To one whom to praise is falsehood and shame.
You got what you deserved and you did not find
One among them to say Welcome to you.
Why did you not praise people whose kings
Built up their standing from ancient fame,
A tribe who became kings and were honoured?
None seeking food was ever found hungry among them.
Such are more worthy of praise than Jews;
In them you see proud glory firmly established.

Abbas b. Mirdas al-Sulami answered him:
You satirised the purest stock of the two priests, (Commentators say that there were two tribes known as the Kahinayn in the neighbourhood of Medina. Some read kahinin in the plural. If [cf. v. 5] one of these tribes was the 'Sons of Aaron', could the other have been the tribe of Moses? But one must not take this forger's work too seriously. What Jew would refer to the Bible as 'The Law and the Psalms'. However, it is possible that al-zubur here means no more than 'The Writings'. If so, it would, of course, be appropriate in the mouth of a Jew. And what had they to do with the slaughter of beasts on the open plain?) (L.H.: The duality of names in Islamic texts can have another reason: As there were 2 Meccas: [1st] the ancient Mecca, "Makka" in Pharan [of which the Armenian Chronist Tovmi Artsruni reported in the mid-9th century], better known as Petra in today's Jordan [hometown to Ismael and the Hashim-clan, to which Mohammed belonged as well as the today's Royal house of Jordan] and [2nd] the modern Mecca or "Makka" in today's Saudi Arabia; The very same applies to Medina: [1st] the ancient Medina, Madain Saleh [or Hegira which means "Hijra"] in the North of Saudi Arabia, and [2nd] the modern Medina. The distances between one another of those 2 ancient cities, as well as the 2 modern cities, are almost equal. The classic antique architecture of the 2 ancient cities is also very similar.)
Yet you always enjoyed favours at their hands.
'Twere [it were] more fitting that you should weep for them,
Your people too if they paid their debt of gratitude.
Gratitude is the best fruit of kindness,
And the most fitting act of one who would do right.
You are as one who cuts off his head
To gain the power that it contains (i.e. kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. In destroying the Jewish settlements they had destroyed the prosperity of the Hijaz.).
Weep for B. Harun and remember their deeds,
How they killed beasts for the hungry when you were famished (Lit. 'killed hunger).
O Khawwat, shed tear after tear for them,
Abandon your injurious attack upon them.
Had you met them in their homes
You would not have said what you say.
They were the first to perform noble deeds in war,
Welcoming the needy guest with kind words (It says much for the impartiality of the biographer and his editor that they have retained this touching tribute to the unfortunate Jews.).

Kab b. Malik (685) answered him:
On my life the mill of war
After it had sent Luayy flying cast and west (He refers to the battle of Badr.).
Ground the remains of the family of the two priests, and their glory
Which once was great became feeble.
Salam and Ibn Saya died a violent death
And Ibn Akhtab was led to a humiliating fate.

He made such noise in seeking glory ('twas [it was] really humiliation he
sought),
What he gained from his fuss was frustration (The meaning of the gloss in British Museum Manuscript 1489 seems to be 'In seeking glory he appealed to outsiders', etc.),
Like him who leaves the plain and the height distresses him,
And that men find more difficult and arduous.
Sha's and Azzal suffered war's fiery trial,
They were not absent as others were.
Auf b. Salma and Ibn Auf, both of them,

And Kab chief of the people died a disappointed man.
Away with B. Nadir and their like be victory or God (i.e. we have nothing but our hope in God.) (686).

THE RAID OF DHATUL-RIQA

After the attack on B. al-Nadir the apostle stayed in Medina during RabiVl-Akhir and part of Jumada. Then he raided Najd making for B. Muharib and B. Thalaba of Ghatafan (687), until he stopped at Nakhl. This was the raid of Dhatul-Riqa. There a large force of Ghatafan was encountered. The two forces approached one another, but no fighting occurred, for each feared the other. The apostle led the prayer of fear; then he went off with the men.

(Tabari 1454: Mohammed b. Jafar b. al-Zubayr and Mohammed b. Abdul-Rahman from Urwa b. al-Zubayr from Abu Hurayra: We went with the apostle to Najd until at Dhatul-Riqa he met a number of Ghatafan. There was no fighting because the men were afraid of them. The prayer of fear came down (Koran 4.102 f.) and he divided his companions into two sections, one facing the enemy and the other behind the apostle. The apostle cried 'Allah akbar' [Allah is great], and so did they all. Then he bowed with those behind him and he and they prostrated themselves. When they stood erect they walked backwards to the ranks of their companions and the others returned and prayed one bow. Then they stood erect and the apostle prayed one bow with them and thev sat. Those who were facing the enemy came back and prayed the second bow and all sat and the apostle united them with the salam, and gave them the Muslim greeting. [See further E.I., art. Salat, p. 102b; Tabari here notes that there is an inconcilable difference tradition, and proposes to deal with the problem elsewhere. Ibn Hisham has probably omitted the story because of the conflict in tradition.]) (688)

Amr b. Ubayd from al-Hasan from Jabir b. Abdullah told me that a man of B. Muharib called Ghaurath said to his people of Ghatafan and Muharib, 'Shall I kill Mohammed for you?' They encouraged h.m to do so and asked him how he proposed to carry out his design. He said that he would take him by surprise; so he went to the apostle as he was sitting with his sword in his lap, and asked to be allowed to look at it (689). The apostle gave it to him and he drew it and began to brandish it intending tostrike him, but God frustrated him (Or. 'knocked him down'.). He said, 'Are you not afraid of me Mohammed?' 'No, why should I be?' 'Are you not afraid of me when I have a sword in my hand?' 'No, God will protect me from you. Then he returned the apostle's sword to him. God sent down, 'O you who believe, remember God's favour to you when a people purposed to lay hands on you and he turned their hands away from you. tear God and on God let the believers rely (Koran 5.14).'

Yazid b. Ruman told me that this came down in reference to Amr d. Jihash, brother of B. al- Nadir, and his intention. But God knows the truth of the matter.

Wahb b. Kaysan from Jabir b. Abdullah said: I went out with the apostle to the raid of Dhatul-Riqa of Nakhl on an old feeble camel of mine. On the way back the company kept going on while I dropped farther behind until the apostle overtook me and asked me what the trouble was. I told him that my camel was keeping me back, and he told me to make it kneel. I did so and the apostle made his camel kneel and then said, 'Give me this stick you are holding' or 'Cut me a stick from a tree.' He took it and prodded the beast with it a few times. Then he told me to mount and off we went. By Him who sent him with the truth my (old) camel kept up with the rapid pace of his she-camel.

As we were talking, the apostle asked me if I would sell him my camel. I said that I would give him it, but he insisted on buying it, so I asked him to make me an offer. He said he would give me a dirham. I refused and said that would be cheating me. Then he offered two dirhams and I still refused and the apostle went on raising his offer until it amounted to an ounce (of gold). When I asked him if he was really satisfied he said that he was and I said the camel was his. Then he asked me if I were married; then was she a virgin or a woman previously married? I told him she had been married before and he said, 'No girl so that you could sport together!' I told him that my father had been killed at Uhud leaving seven daughters and I had married a motherly woman who could look after them efficiently. He said, 'You have done well, if God will. Had we come to Sirar (A spot about 3 miles / 5 km

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from Medina.) we would order camels to be slaughtered and stay there for the day and she would hear about us and shake the dust off her cushions.' I said, 'But by God we have no cushions!' He said, 'But you will have. When you return behave wisely.' When we got to Sirar the apostle ordered the camels to be slaughtered and we stayed there for the day. At night the apostle went home and so did we. I told the woman the news and what the apostle had said to me. She said 'Look alive and do what he tells you.' In the morning I led away the camel and made it kneel at the apostle's door. Then I sat inside the mosque hard by. He came out and saw it and asked what it was, and they told him it was the camel which I had brought. He asked where I was and I was summoned to him. He said, 'O son of my brother, take away your camel for it is yours,' and he called Bilal and told him to give me an ounce of gold. He did so and added a little more. By God it continued to thrive with me and its effect on our household could be seen until it was lost recently in the misfortune which befell us, meaning the day of al-Harra (When Medina rebelled against Yazid b. Muawiya.).

[My uncle]* Sadaqa b. Yasar from Aqil b. Jabir from Jabir b. Abdullah al-Ansari said: We went with the apostle on the raid of Dhatul-Riqa of Nakhl and a man killed the wife of one of the polytheists. (* This word ammi is not in Tabari's recension. A. Dh. says it is a mistake because this man Sadaqa was a Khuzri who lived in Mecca, and was not Ibn Ishaq's uncle. lie adds that Abu Daud [i.e. al-Sijistani, author of the Sunan] would not have it that he was Ibn Ishaq's uncle.)

When the apostle was on his way back her husband, who had been away, returned and heard the news of her death. He swore that he would not rest until he had taken vengeance on Mohammed's companions. He went off following the track of the apostle, who when he halted asked that someone should keep watch during the night. A Muhajir and an Ansari volunteered and he told them to stay in the mouth of the pass, the apostle and his companions having halted lower down the pass (690).

When the two had gone to take up their positions the Ansari asked the Muhajirl whether he would prefer to watch for the first or the second part of the night. He said that he would like to be relieved of the first part and lay down and went to sleep, while the Ansari stood up to pray. The man who had been following them perceiving the figure of the man on guard and recognising him for what he was, shot him with an arrow. The guard pulled it out and laid it down and remained standing. He shot him a second and a third time, and each time he pulled out the arrow and laid it down. Then he bowed and prostrated himself. Only then did he wake his companion, saying, 'Sit down, for I have been wounded.' But he leapt up,

and when the man saw the two of them he knew that they were aware of him and fled. When the Muhajirl saw the Ansari flowing with blood he said 'Good gracious, why did you not wake me the first time you were hit?' He replied, 'I was reading a sura and I did not want to stop until I had finished it. When the shooting continued I bowed in prayer and woke you. By God, unless I were to lose a post which the apostle had ordered mc to hold he could have killed me before I would break off my reading until I had finished the sura (691).'

When the apostle came to Medina after this raid he stayed there for the rest of Jumadal-ula, Jumadal-akhira, and Rajab.

THE LAST EXPEDITION TO BADR, 4 A.H.

In Shaban he went forth to Badr to keep his appointment with Abu Sufyan and stopped there (692).

He stayed there for eight nights waiting for Abu Sufyan. Abu Sufyan with the men of Mecca went as far as Majanna in the area of (Tabari: Murr) al-Zahran. Some people say he reached (Tabari: passed through) Usfan; then he decided to go back. He told the Quraysh that the only suitable year was a fertile year when they could pasture the animals on the herbage and drink their milk, whereas this was a dry year. He was going to return and they must return with him. And so they did. The Meccans called them 'the porridge army', saying that they merely went out to drink porridge (Sawiq was made of parched wheat or barley, mixed with water or butter; it was 'drunk' as a sort of porridge.).'

While the apostle was staying at Badr waiting for Abu Sufyan to keep his appointment Makhshiy b. Amr al-Damn, who had made an agreement with him concerning (the) B. Damra in the raid of Waddan, came to him and asked him if he had come to meet Quraysh by this water. He said, 'Yes, O brother of B. Damra; nevertheless, if you wish we will cancel the arrangement between us and then fight you until God decide between us.' He answered, 'No, by God, Mohammed, we do not want anything of the kind.'

As he remained waiting for Abu Sufyan, Mabad b. Abu Mabad al-Khuzai passed by. He had seen where the apostle was as his she-camel passed swiftly by and he said:

She fled from the two companies of Mohammed
And a datestone from Yathrib (modern Medina) like a raisin stone
Hastening in the ancient religion of her fathers.
She made the water of Qudayd (Qudayd was near Mecca.) my meeting-place
And the water of Pajnan (Dajnan is a mountain in the Tihama about one post from Mecca.) will be hers tomorrow.

Abdullah b. Rawaha said concerning this: (693):
We arranged to meet Abu Sufyan at Badr,
But we did not find him true to his promise.
I swear if you had kept your word and met us
You would have returned disgraced without your nearest kin.
We had left there the limbs of Utba and his son
And 'Amr Abu Jahl we left lying there.
You disobeyed God's apostle—disgusting your religion
And your evil state that's all astray.
If you reproach me I say
My wealth and people be the apostle's ransom!
We obey him treating none among us as his equal.
He is our guiding light in the darkness of the night.

Hassan b. Thabit said concerning that:
You can say good-bye to Syria's running streams,
For in between are swords like mouths of pregnant camels that feed on arak trees
In the hands of men who migrated to their Lord,
In the hands of His true helpers and the angels too.
If they go to the lowland of the sandy valley
Say to them: 'This is not the road (These lines have already been cited on p. 547.).'
We stayed by the shallow well eight nights
With a large well-equipped force with many camels (Lit. 'wide kneeling places'.),
With every dark bay its middle half its size
Slender, long, of lofty withers.
You could see the swift camel's feet
Uprooting the annual herbs.
If on our journeyings we meet Furat b. Hayyan
He will become death's hostage.
If we meet Qays b. Imruul-Qays hereafter
His black face will become blacker still!
Take Abu Sufyan a message from me
For you are the best of a bad lot.

Abu Sufyan b. al-Harith b. Abdul-Muttalib answered him:

O Hassan, son of a mouldy date-eating woman,
1 swear that we so traversed wide deserts
That young gazelles could not escape between us
Had they fled from us swiftly one after the other (According to the commentator the meaning is that their force was to large that the gazelles could not escape them.).
When we left our halting-place you would have thought it
Dunged by the crowds at a fair.
You stayed by the shallow well wanting us
And you left us in the palm-groves hard by.
Our horses and camels walked on the crops
And what they trod on they drove into the soft sand.
We stopped three days between Sal and Fari (Two mountains.)
With splendid steeds and swift camels.
You would have thought fighting people beside their tents
Was as easy as buying lead for money.
Don't describe your fine horses, but speak of them
As one who holds them firmly back.
You rejoice in them, but that is the right of others,
The horsemen of the sons of Fihr b. Malik.
You have no part in the migration though you mention it
And do not observe the prohibitions of its religion (694).

THE RAID ON DUMATUL-JANDAL, 5 A.H.

The apostle returned to Medina and stayed there some months until Dhul-Hijja had passed. This was the fourth year of his sojourn in Medina and the polytheists were in charge of the pilgrimage. Then he raided Dumatul-Jandal (695).

Then he returned, not having reached the place, without fighting, and stayed in Medina for the rest of the year.

THE BATTLE OF THE DITCH*, 5 A.H.

[Also called THE BATTLE OF THE TRENCH)

(* The story comes from Ibn Ishaq by way of al-Bakkai and Ibn Hisham. [L.H.: What follows now is one of the most gruesome stories on Mohammed showing his bad temper and cruelty. In a very lively manner, the writer narrates a battle in which the Qurayza surrendered to Mohammed's troops and have all been executed afterwards on order of Mohammed. That he executed 600-900 prisoners of war might have had a particular reason. The name Qurayza is linguistically related to the name Quraysh which lets scientists suggest that one was a branch of the other. As Mohammed was related to the Jews [probably over the Quraysh / Qurayza], he became incandecent with rage [because he felt betrayed by his very own people] and he ordered the beheading of 600-900 Qurayza-Jews. They would suffer the full force of Mohammed's fury. The trauma inflicted on the Jews would forever shape Islams negative political reputation as this kind of treatment became a political doctrine which is still valid today! The surviving wives and children were sold into slavery which became another dirty Islamic legacy that even influenced American history as the Muslims were at the other end of the slavery trading routes in Africa.].)

This took place in Shawwal, 5 A.H. Yazid b. Ruman, client of the family of al-Zubayr b. Urwa b. al-Zubayr, and one whom I have no reason to suspect from Abdullah b. Kab b. Malik, and Mohammed b. Kab al-Qurazi, and al-Zuhri, and Asim b. Umar b. Qatada, and Abdullah b. Abu Bakr and other traditionists of ours told me the following narrative, each contributing a part of it:

A number of Jews who had formed a party against the apostle, among whom were Sallam b. Abul-Huqayq al-Nadri, and Huyayy b. Akhtab al-Nadri and Kinana b. Abul-Huqayq al-Nadri, and Haudha b. Qays al-Waili, and Abu Ammar al-Waili with a number of (the) B. al-Nadir and (the) B. Wail went to Quraysh at Mecca and invited them to join them in an attack on the apostle so that they might get rid of him altogether. (The) Quraysh said, 'You, O Jews, are the first scripture people and know the nature of our dispute with Mohammed. Is our religion the best or is his?' They replied that certainly their religion was better than his and they had a better claim to be in the right. (It was about them that God sent down, 'Have you not considered those to whom a part of the scripture was given who believe in idols and false deities and say to those who disbelieve, These are more rightly guided than those who believe? These are they whom God hath cursed and he whom God has cursed you will find for him no helper' as far as His words, 'Or are they jealous of men because of what God from His bounty has brought to them?' i.e. prophecy. 'We gave the family of Abraham the scripture and wisdom and we gave them a great kingdom and some of them believed in it and some of them turned from it, and hell is sufficient for (their) burning.') (Koran 4.54 f.)

These words rejoiced (the) Quraysh and they responded gladly to their invitation to fight the apostle, and they assembled and made their preparations. Then that company of Jews went off to Ghatafan of Qays Aylan and invited them to fight the apostle arid told them that they would act with them and that Quraysh had followed their lead in the matter; so they too joined in with them (Tabari: and agreed to what they suggested).

(The) Quraysh marched under the leadership of Abu Sufyan b. Harb; and Ghatafan led by Uyayna b. Hisn b. Hudhayfa b. Badr with (the) B. Fazara; and al-Harith b. Auf b. Abu Haritha al-Murri with (the) B. Murra; and Misar b. Rukhayla b. Nuwayra b. Tarif b. Suhma b. Abdullah b. Hilal b. Khalawa b. Ashja b. Rayth b. Ghatafan with those of his people from Ashja who followed him.

When the apostle heard of their intention he drew a trench about Medina and worked at it himself encouraging the Muslims with the hope of reward in heaven. The Muslims worked very hard with him, but the disaffected held back from them and began to hide their real object by working slackly and by stealing away to their families without the apostle's permission or knowledge. A Muslim who had to attend to an urgent matter would ask the apostle's permission to go and would get it, and when he had carried out his business he would return to the work he had left because of his desire to do what was right and his respect for the same. So God sent down concerning those believers: They only are the believers who believe in God and His apostle and when they are with him on a common work do not go away without asking his permission. Those who ask thy permission are they who believe in God and His apostle. And if they ask thy permission in some business of theirs, give leave to whom thou wilt of them and ask God's pardon for them. God is forgiving, merciful (Koran 24.62.).' This passage came down concerning those Muslims who desired the good and respected it, and obeyed God and His apostle.

Then God said of the disaffected who were stealing away from the work and leaving it without the prophet's permission, 'Do not treat the call of the apostle among you as if it were one of you calling upon another. God knows those of you who steal away to hide themselves. Let those who conspire to disobey his order beware lest trouble or a painful punishment befall them' (696). 'Verily to God belong heaven and earth. He knows what you are doing' the man who speaks the truth and the man who lies.

'And (He knows) the day they will be returned to Him when He will tell them what they did, for God knows all things.' The Muslims worked at the trench until they had finished it, and they made a jingle about one of the Muslims called Juayl whom the apostle had named Amr, saying,

He changed his name from Juayl to Amr
And was a help to the poor man that day.
When they came to the word Amr the apostle said Amr, and when they

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came to 'help' he said 'help' (The prophet came in with the rhyming words of each hemistich [a half line of vers.).

I have heard some stories about the digging of the trench in which there is an example of God's justifying His apostle and confirming his prophetic office, things which the Muslims saw with their eyes. Among these stories is one that I have heard that Jabir b. Abdullah used to relate: When they were working on the trench a large rock caused great difficulty, and they complained to the apostle. He called for some water and spat in if then he prayed as God willed him to pray; then he sprinkled the water on the rock. Those who were present said, 'By Him who sent him a prophet with the truth it was pulverised as though it were soft sand so that it could not resist axe or shovel.'

Said b. Mina told me that he was told that a daughter of Bashir b. Sad sister of al-Numan b. Bashir, said: 'My mother Amra me and gave me a handful of dates which she put in my garment and told me to take them to my father and my uncle Abdullah b. Rawaha for their food. As I went off looking for them I passed the apostle who called me and asked me what I had. When I told him that I was taking the dates to mv father and my uncle he told me to give them to him. So I poured them into his hands but they did not fill them. Then he called for a garment which was laid out for him and threw the dates upon it so that they were scattered on it. Then he told the men to summon the diggers to lunch, and when they came they began to eat and the dates went on^creasing until they turned away from them and they were still falling from the ends of the garment.'

On the same authority I was told: We worked with the apostle a the trench. Now I had a little ewe not fully fattened and I thought it would be a good thing to dress it for the apostle, so I told my wife to grind some barley and make some bread for us, and I killed the sheep and we roasted it for the apostle. When night came and the apostle was about to leave the trench-for we used to work at it all day and go home m the evening-I told him that we had prepared bread and mutton for h.m and that should like him to come with me to my house. It was only he that I wanted; but when I said this he ordered a crier to shout an invitation for al to come to my house. I said, 'To God we belong and to Him we return! (A pious exclamation in misfortunes.). However, he and the other men came and when he had sat down we produced the food and he blessed it and invoked the name of God over it Then he ate as did all the others. As soon as one lot had finished another lot came until the diggers turned from it.

I was told that Salman al-Farisi said: I was working with a pick in the trench where a rock gave me much trouble The apostle who was near at hand saw me hacking and saw how difficult the place was He dropped down into the trench and took the pick from my hand and gave such a blow that lightning showed beneath the pick. This happened a second and a third time. I said: 'O you, dearer than father or mother, what is the meaning of this light beneath your pick as you strike? He said: Did you really see that, Salman? The first means that God has opened up to me the Yaman (Yemenites); the second Syria and the west; and the third the east. One whom I do not suspect told me that Abu Hurayra used to say when these countries were conquered in the time of Umar and Uthman and after, 'Conquer where you will, by God, you have not conquered and to the resurrection day you will not conquer a city whose keys God had not given beforehand to Mohammed.'

When the apostle had finished the trench, Quraysh came and encamped where the torrent-beds of Ruma meet between al-Juruf and Zughaba with ten thousand of their black mercenaries and their followers from (the) B. Kinana and the people of Tihama. Ghatafan too came with their folbwers from Najd and halted at Dhanab Naqma towards the direction of Uhud. The apostle and the Muslims came out with three thousand men having Salat their backs. He pitched his camp there with the trench between him and his foes (697), and gave orders that the women and children were to be taken up into the forts.

The enemy of God Huyayy b. Akhtab al-Nadri went out to Kab b. Asad al-Qurazi who had made a treaty with the apostle. When Kab heard of Huyayy's coming he shut the door of his fort in his face, and when he asked permission to enter he refused to see him, saying that he was a man of ill omen and that he himself was in treaty with Mohammed and did not intend to go back on his word because he had always found him loyal and faithful. Then Huyayy accused him of shutting him out because he was unwilling to let him eat his com. This so enraged him that he opened his door. He said, 'Good heavens, Kab, I have brought you immortal fame and a great army. I have come with Quraysh with their leaders and chiefs which I have halted where the torrent-beds of Ruma meet; and Ghatafan with their leaders and chiefs which I have halted in Dhanab NaqmS towards Uhud. They have made a firm agreement and promised me that they will not depart until we have made an end of Mohammed and his men.' Kab said: 'By God, you have brought me immortal shame and an empty cloud which has shed its water while it thunders and lightens with nothing in it. Woe to you Huyayy leave me (and Mohammed) as I am, for I have always found him loyal and faithful.' Huyayy kept on wheedling Kab until at last he gave way in giving him a solemn promise that if Quraysh and Ghatafan returned without having killed Mohammed he would enter his fort with him and await his fate. Thus Kab broke his promise and cut loose from the bond that was between him and the apostle.

When the apostle and the Muslims heard of this the apostle sent Sad b. Muadh b. al-Numan who was chief of Aus at the time, and Sad b. Ubada b. Dulaym, one of (the)B. Saida b. Kab b. Khazraj, chief of al-Khazraj at the time, together with Abdullah b. Rawaha brother of (the) B. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj, and Khawwat b. Jubayr brother of (the) B. Amr b. Auf, and told them to go and see whether the report was true or not. 'If it is true give me an enigmatic message (See the excursus on the semantic development of the word lahn in J. Fück, Arabiya, Berlin, 1950, p. 132.) which I can understand, and do not undermine the people's confidence; and if they are loyal to their agreement speak out openly before the people.' They went forth and found the situation even more deplorable than they had heard; they spoke disparagingly of the apostle, saying, 'Who is the apostle of God? We have no agreement or undertaking with Mohammed.' Sad b. Muadh reviled them and they reviled him. He was a man of hasty temper and Sad b. Ubada said to him, 'Stop insulting them, for the dispute between us is too serious for recrimination.' Then the two Sads returned to the apostle and after saluting him said: Adal and al-Qara i.e. (It is) like the treachery of Adal and al-Qara towards the men of al-Raji, Khubayb and his friends. The apostle said 'Allah akbar! Be of good cheer, you Muslims.'

The situation became serious and fear was everywhere. The enemy came at them from above and below until the believers imagined vain things, (The language is borrowed from Koran 33.10.) and Disaffection was rife among the disaffected to the point that Muattib b. Qusyahr brother of (the) B. Amr b. Auf said, 'Mohammed used to promise us that we should eat the treasures of Chosroes and Caesar and today not one of us can feel safe in going to the privy!' (698). It reached such a point that Aus b. Qayzi, one of B. Haritha b. al-Harith, said to the apostle, 'Our houses are exposed to the enemy'—this he said before a large gathering of his people—'so let us go out and return to our home, for it is outside Medina.' The apostle and the polytheists remained twenty days and more, nearly a month, without fighting except for some shooting with arrows, and the siege.

When conditions pressed hard upon the people the apostle—according to what Asim b. Umar b. Qatada and one whom I do not suspect told me from Mohammed b. Muslim b. Ubaydullah b. Shihab al-Zuhri—sent to Uyayna b. Hisn b. Hudhayfa b. Badr and to al-Harith b. Auf b. Abu Haritha al-Murri who were leaders of Ghatafan and offered them a third of the dates of Medina on condition that they would go back with their followers and leave him and his men, so peace was made between them so far as the writing of a document. It was not signed and was not a definite peace, merely peace negotiations (and they did so). When the apostle wanted to act he sent to the two Sa'ds and told them of it and asked their advice. They said: 'Is it a thing you want us to do, or something God has ordered you to do which we must carry out? or is it something you are doing for us?' He said: 'It is something I am doing for your sake. By God. I would not do it were it not that I have seen the Arabs have shot at you from one bow, and gathered against you from every side and I want to break their offensive against you! Sa'd b. Mu'adh said: 'We and these people were polytheists and idolaters, not serving God nor knowing him, and they never hoped to eat a single date (of ours) except as guests or by purchase. Now, after God has honoured and guided us to Islam and made us famous by you, are we to give them our property? We certainly will not. We will give them nothing but the sword until God decide between us.' The apostle said: 'You shall have it so.' Sad took the paper and erased what was written, saying, 'Let them do their worst against us!'

The siege continued without any actual fighting, but some horsemen of Quraysh, among whom were Amr b. Abdu Wudd b. Abu Qays (699) brother of B. Amir b. Luayy; Ikrima b. Abu Jahl; Hubayra b. Abu Wahb, both of Makhzum; Pirar b. al-Khattab the poet, b. Mirdas brother of B. Muharib b. Fihr donned their armour and went forth on horseback to the stations of B. Kinana, saying, 'Prepare for fighting and then you will know who are true knights today.' They galloped forward until they stopped at the trench. When they saw it they exclaimed, 'This is a device which the Arabs have never employed!' (700).

Then they made for a narrow part of the irench and beat their horses so that they dashed through it and carried them into the swampy ground between the trench and Sal. Ali with some Muslims came out to hold the gap through which they had forced a passage against (the rest of) them and the horsemen galloped to meet them. Now Amr b. Abdu Wudd had fought at Badr until he was disabled by wounds, and so he had not been at Uhud. At the battle of the Trench he came out wearing a distinguishing mark to show his rank, and when he and his contingent stopped he challenged anyone to fight him. Ali accepted the challenge and said to him:

'Amr, you swore by God that if any man of Quraysh offered you two alternatives you would accept one of them?' 'Yes, I did,' he said. Ali replied, 'Then I invite you to God and His apostle and to Islam.' He said that he had no use for them. Ali went on, 'Then I call on you to dismount.' He replied, 'O son of my brother, I do not want to kill you.' Ali said, 'But I want to kill you.' This so enraged Amr that he got off his horse and hamstrung it and beat its face; then he advanced on Ali, and they fought, the one circling round the other. Ali killed him and their cavalry fled, bursting headlong in flight across the trench.

[I.S.N, ii.61: 'When Amr issued his challenge to single combat Ali got up clad in armour and asked the prophet's permission to fight him, but he told him to sit down, for it was Amr. Then Amr repeated his challenge taunting them and saying, 'Where is your garden of which you say that those you lose in battle will enter it? Can you not send a man to fight me?' Again Ali asked the prophet's permission to go out, and again he told him to sit down. Then Amr called out the third time:

I have become hoarse from shouting.
Is there not one among the lot of you who will answer my challenge?
I have stood here like a fighting champion
While the so-called brave are cowards.
I have always hastened to the front
Before the fight begins.
Bravery and generosity are in truth
The best qualities of a warrior.

Ali asked the prophet's permission to fight him, even if he were Amr, and he let him go. He marched towards him saying the while:

Do not be in a hurry. No weakling
Has come to answer your challenge.
A man of resolution and foresight.
Truth is the refuge of the successful.
I hope to make the keening women
Busy over your corpse
Through the blow of a spear
Whose memory will last while fights are talked of.

Amr asked him who he was, and when he told him he said: 'Let it be one of your uncles who is older than you, my nephew, for I do not want to shed your blood.' Ali answered, 'But I do want to shed your blood.' He became angry, and drew his sword which flashed like fire, and advanced in his anger (it is said that he was mounted). Ali said to him, 'How can I fight you when you are on a horse? Dismount and be on a level with me.' So he got off his horse and came at him and Ali advanced with his shield. Amr aimed a blow which cut deeply into the shield so that the sword stuck in it and struck his head. But Ali gave him a blow on the vein at the base of the neck and he fell to the ground. The dust rose and the apostle S. ii. 191 heard the cry, 'Allah Akbar' and knew that Ali had killed him. [Suhayli continues:] As he came towards the apostle smiling with joy Umar asked him if he had stripped him of his armour, for it was the best that could be found among the Arabs. He answered: 'When I had struck him down he turned his private parts towards me and I felt ashamed to despoil him and moreover he had said that he did not want to shed my blood because my father was a friend of his.']

[This incident is reported by Ibn Hisham, Suh., I.S.Nis., and al-Mawardi, 64, all of them saying that it was not reported by Ibn Hisham in the form given above. I.S. Nas says it was not in the riwaya of al-Bakkai. Mawardi adds the details (a) that the three challenges of Amr were issued on three successive days; (b) that he called out to Mohammed. His version seems to be the original, as there is more point in the taunt: 'What's the matter when none of you will advance to get his reward from his Lord (by being killed) or send an enemy to hell?" He ends: 'They circled round each other and the dust rose so that it hid them from sight. When it cleared away there was Ali wiping his sword on Amr's garments and he was slain." Miwardi took this from a written source, because he says that Ibn Hisham narrated the story in his Maghazi.]

[Tabari 1476: With Amr were killed two men, Munabbih b. Uthman b. Ubayd b. ai-Sabbaq b. Abdul-Dar who was hit by an arrow and died in Mecca; and of (the) B. Makhzum Naufal b. Abdullah b. al-Mughira who had stormed the trench and rolled down into it and they stoned him. He called out, 'O Arabs, Death is better than this,' so Ali went down to him and dispatched him. The Muslims got possession of his body and asked the apostle to let them sell his effects. He told them that he had no use for his effects or the price they would fetch, and it was their affair; and he left them a free hand.]

Ali said concerning that:

In his folly he fought for the stone pillars (i.e. the idols.)
While I fought for the Lord of Mohammed rightly.
I rejoiced when I left him prone

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Like a stump between sand and rocks.

I forbore to take his garments (The point of this is made clear in the extract from Ibn Ishaq's Maghazi and Tabari's quotation from Ibn Ishaq As the Sira of Ibn Hisham stands it is left in the air.)

Though had I been the vanquished he would have taken mine.

Do not imagine, you confederates, that God
Will desert His religion and His prophet (701).

Ikrima b. Abu Jahl threw away his spear as he was running from Amr,

so Hassan b. Thabit said:

As he fled he threw his spear to us.
Perhaps, Ikrima, you have not done such a thing before?
As you turned your back you ran like an ostrich
Turning neither to right nor left.
You did not turn your back as a human being would,
The back of your neck was like a young hyaena's (702).

Abu Layla Abdullah b. Sahl b. Abdul-Rahman b. Sahl al-Ansari, brother of (the) B. Haritha, told me that Aisha was in the fort of (the) B. Haritha on that day. It was one of the strongest forts of Medina. The mother of Sad b. Muadh was with her. Aisha said: This was before the veil had been imposed upon us. Sad went by wearing a coat of mail so short that the whole of his forearm was exposed. He hurried along carrying a lance, saying the while,

Wait a little! Let Hamal* see the fight.
What matters death when the time is right?

(* The saying is proverbial. The readings vary between Hamal and Jamal, and the commentators are not agreed on the reading or the man intended.)

His mother said, "Hurry up, my boy, for by God you are late." I said to her, "I wish that Sad's coat of mail were longer than it is", for I was afraid for him where the arrow actually hit him. Sad was shot by an arrow which severed the vein of his arm. The man who shot him, according to what Asim b. Umar b. Qatada told me, was Hibban b. Qays b. al-Ariqa, one of B. Amir b. Luayy. When he hit him he said, "Take that from me, the son of al-Ariqa." (She was Khadija's grandmother according to some.) Sad said to him, "May God make your face sweat (arraq) in hell. O God, if the war with (the) Quraysh is to be prolonged spare me for it, for there is no people whom I want to fight more than those who insulted your apostle, called him a liar, and drove him out. O God, seeing that you have appointed war between us and them grant me martyrdom and do not let me die until I have seen my desire upon (the) B. Qurayza."'

One whom I do not suspect told me from Abdullah b. Kab b. Malik that he used to say: 'The man who hit Sad that day was Abu Usama al-Jushami, an ally of (the) B. Makhzum. This Abu Usama composed an ode about it with reference to Ikrima b. Abu Jahl:

O Ikrima, why did you blame me when you said
Khalid be your ransom in the forts of Medina?
Am I not he who inflicted a bloody wound on Sad?
The vein where the elbow bends gushed with his blood.
Sad died of it and the grey-haired matrons
And the high-breasted virgins made loud lamentation.
You are the one who protected him when Ubayda (It this Ubayda b. Jibir who was slain at Ubud?)
Called all of them in his stress,
What time some of them turned away from him
And others made off in their terror (Or, reading marghub, 'made off to avoid trouble'.).
God knows best about that' (703).

Yahya b. Abbad b. Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from his father Abbad told me as follows: Safiya d. Abdul-Muttalib was in Fari, the fort of Hassan b. Thabit. She said: 'Hassan was with us there with the women and children, when a Jew came along and began to go round the fort. The B. Qurayza had gone to war and cut our communications with the apostle, and there was no one to protect us while the apostle and the Muslims were at the enemy's throats unable to leave them to come to us if anyone turned up. I told Hassan that he could see this Jew going round the fort and I feared that he would discover our weakness and inform the Jews who were in our rear while the apostle and his companions were too occupied to help us, so he must go down and kill him. "God forgive you," he said.

"You know quite well that I am not the man to do that." When he said that and I saw that no help was to be expected from him I girded myself (Or, reading itaartu, 'fastened my veil'.) and took a club, and went down to him from the fort above and hit him with the club until I killed him. This done I went back to the fort and told Hassan to go down and strip him: I coulctnot do it myself because he was a man. He said, "I have no need to strip him, Bint Abdul-Muttalib."'

(The commentators do not like this story to the discredit of one of the prophet's companions. Suhayli says that the learned reject the tradition because the isnad (hadith text) is broken off. Further, had the story of Hassan's cowardice been true the poets who satirised him would have mentioned it. As they did not the tradition must be weak. On the other hand, if it is sound, it may be that riassan was ill on that day and could not fight. Al-Zarqani, who believes the story, discounts the argument that rival poets would have used the story had it been true by saying that the fact that he was a companion of the prophet saved him, and their silence on the subject is one of the 'marks of prophecy".)

As God has described, (Koran Sura 33.10.) the apostle and his companions remained in fear and difficulty when the enemy came on them from above and below. Then Nuaym b. Masud b. Amir b. Unayf b. Thalaba b. Qunfud b. Hilal b. Khalawa b. Ashja b. Rayth b. Ghatafan came to the apostle saying that he had become a Muslim though his own people did not know of it, and let him give him what orders he would. The apostle said: 'You are only one man among us, so go and awake distrust among the enemy to draw them off us if you can, for war is deceit.' Thereupon Nuaym went off to (the) B. Qurayza with whom he had been a boon companion in heathen days, and reminded them of his affection for them and of the special tie between them. When they admitted that they did not suspect him he said: '(The) Quraysh and (the) Ghatafan are not like you: the land is your land, your property, your wives, and your children are in it; you cannot leave it and go somewhere else. Now (the) Quraysh and (the) Ghatafan have come to fight Mohammed and his companions and you have aided them against him, but their land, their property, and their wives are not here, so they are not like you. If they see an opportunity they will make the most of it ; but if things go badly they will go back to their own land and leave you to face the man in your country and you will not be able to do so if you are left alone. So do not fight along with these people until you take hostages from their chiefs who will remain in your hands as security that they will fight Mohammed with you until you make an end of him.' The Jews said that this was excellent advice.

Then he went to (the) Quraysh and said to Abu Sufyan b. Harb and his company: 'You know my affection for you and that I have left Mohammed. Now I have heard something which I think it my duty to tell you of by way of warning, but regard it as confidential.' When they said that they would, he continued: 'Mark my words, the Jews have regretted their action in opposing Mohammed and have sent to tell him so, saying: "Would you like us to get hold of some chiefs of the two tribes, (the) Quraysh and (the) Ghatafan, and hand them over to you so that you can cut their heads off? Then we can join you in exterminating the rest of them.' He has sent word back to accept their offer; so if the Jews send to you to demand hostages, do not send them a single man.'

Then he went to (the) Ghatafan and said: You are my stock and my family, the dearest of men to me, and I do not think that you can suspect me.'

They agreed that he was above suspicion and so he told the same story as he had told (the) Quraysh.

On the night of the sabbath of Shawwal A.H. it came about by God's action on behalf of His apostle that Abu Sufyan and the chiefs of (the) Ghatafan sent Ikrima b. Abu Jahl to (the) B. Qurayza with some of their number saying that they had no permanent camp, that the horses and camels were dying; therefore they must make ready for battle and make an end of Mohammed once and for all. They replied that it was the sabbath, a day on which they did nothing, and it was well known what had happened to those of their people who had violated the sabbath. 'Moreover we will not fight Mohammed along with you until you give us hostages whom we can hold as security until we make an end of Mohammed; for we fear that if the battle goes against you and you suffer heavily you will withdraw at once to your country and leave us while the man is in our country, and we cannot face him alone.' When the messengers returned with their reply Quraysh and Ghatafan said (Now you know) that what Nuaym told you is the truth; so send to B. Qurayza that we will not give them a single man, and if they want to fight let them come out and fight. Having received this message (the) B. Qurayza said: 'What Nuaym told you is the truth. The people are bent on fighting and if they get an opportunity they will take advantage of it; but if they do not they will withdraw to their own country and leave us to face this man here. So send word to them that we will not fight Mohammed with them until they give us hostages.' (The) Quraysh and (the) Ghatafan refused to do so. and God sowed distrust between them, and sent a bitter cold wind against them in the winter nights which upset their cooking-pots and overthrew their tents.

When the apostle learned of their dispute and how God had broken up their alliance he called Hudhayfa b. al-Yaman and sent him to them to see what the army was doing at night.

Yazid b. Ziyad told me from Mohammed b. Kab b. al-Qurazi: A man of Kufa said to Hudhayfa, 'Did you really see the apostle and were you his companion?' When he replied Yes, he asked what they used to do, and he said that they used to live a hard life. He said, 'By God, if we had lived in his day we would not have allowed him to set foot on the ground, but would have carried him on our shoulders.' Hudhayfa said, 'I can see us with the apostle at the trench as he prayed for a part of the night and then turned to us and said, "Who will get up and see for us what the army is doing and then return—the apostle tipulating that he should return— I will ask God that he shall be my companion in paradise." Not a single man got up because of his great fear, hunger, and the severe cold. When no one got up the apostle called me, and I had to get up when he called me. He told me to go and see what the army was doing and not to do anything else (i.e. not to act on his own initiative.) until I returned to him. So I went out and mingled with the army while the wind and God's troops were dealing with them as they did, leaving neither pot, nor fire, nor tent standing firm. Abu Sufyan got up and said, "O Quraysh, let every man see who is sitting next him." So I took hold of the man who was at my side and asked him who he was and he said So-and-so.

Then Abu Sufyan said: "O Quraysh, we are not in a permanent camp; the horses and camels are dying; the B. Qurayza have broken their word to us and we have heard disquieting reports of them. You can see the violence of the wind which leaves us neither cooking-pots, nor fire, nor tents to count on. Be off, for I am going!" Then he went to his camel which was hobbled, mounted it, and beat it so that it got up on its three legs; by God its hobble was not freed until it was standing (A. G.: The Arabs still hobble their camels when they are kneeling with their legs folded beneath them. One of the forelegs is tied by the halter in the folded position. If the camel gets up before the hobble is undone one leg is perforce doubled up and cannot be put to the ground.). Were it not that the apostle had enjoined me not to do anything else until I returned to him, if I wished I could have killed him with an arrow.

'I returned to the apostle as he was standing praying in a wrapper belonging to one of his wives (704). When he saw me he made me come in to sit at his feet and threw the end of the wrapper over me; then he bowed and prostrated while I was in it (Tabari: And I disturbed him). When he had finished I told him the news. When Ghatafan heard of what Quraysh had done they broke up and returned to their own country.'

In the morning the apostle and the Muslims left the trench and returned to Medina, laying their arms aside.

According to what al-Zuhri told me, at the time of the noon prayers (the Archangel) Gabriel came to the apostle wearing an embroidered turban and riding on a mule with a saddle covered with a piece of brocade. He asked the apostle if he had abandoned fighting, and when he said that he had he said that the angels had not yet laid aside their arms and that he had just come from pursuing the enemy. 'God commands you, Mohammed, to go to (the) B. Qurayza. I am about to go to them to shake their stronghold.'

The prophet ordered it to be announced that none should perform the afternoon prayer until after he reached (the) B. Qurayza (705). The apostle sent Ali forward with his banner and the men hastened to it. Ali advanced until when he came near the forts he heard insulting language used of the apostle. He returned to meet the apostle on the road and told him that it was not necessary for him to come near those rascals. The apostle said, 'Why? I think you must have heard them speaking ill of me,' and when Ali said that that was so he added, 'If they saw me they would not talk in hat fashion.' When the apostle approached their forts he said, 'You mothers of monkeys, has God disgraced you and brought His vengeance upon you?' They replied, 'O Abul-Qasim, you are not a barbarous person.'

The apostle passed by a number of his companions in al-baurayn before he got to (the) B. Qurayza and asked if anyone had passed them. They replied that Dihya b. Khalifa al-Kalbl had passed upon a white mule with a saddle covered' with a piece of brocade. He said, 'That was Gabriel who has been sent to (the) B. Qurayza to shake their castles and strike terror to their hearts.

When the apostle came to (the) B. Qurayza he halted by one of their wells near their property called The Well of Ana (706). The men joined him. Some of them came after the last evening prayer not having prayed the afternoon prayer because the apostle had told them not to do so until he got to (the) B. Qurayza. They had been much occupied with warlike preparations and they refused to pray until they came to (the) B. Qurayza m accordance with his instructions and they prayed the afternoon prayer there after the last evening prayer. God did not blame them for that in His book, nor did the apostle reproach them. My father Ishaq b. Yasar told me this tradition from Mabad b. Malik al-Ansari.

The apostle besieged them for twenty-five nights until they were sore pressed and God cast terror into their hearts.

Now Huyayy b. Akhtab had gone with (the) B. Qurayza into their forts when (the) Quraysh and Ghatafan had withdrawn and left them, to keep his word to Kab b. Asad; and when they felt sure that the apostle would not leave them until he had made an end of them Kab b. Asad said to them: O Jews you can see what has happened to you; I offer you three alternatives.

Take which you please.' (1st) We will follow this man and accept him as true, for by God it has become plain to you that he is a prophet who has been sent and that it is he that you find mentioned in your scripture; and then your lives, your

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property, your women and children will be saved. They said, 'We will never abandon the laws of the Torah and never change it for another.' (L. H.: This was the time when Mohammed positioned himself above the Laws of Moses, beginning to make his own laws and implement political doctrines into Islam of which some were inacceptable for Jews and Christians. Here the ways of Mohammed and the Jewish communities went further apart. And here began also Mohammed's hatred against the Jews, whom he used to regard as his forefathers. The more wasteful battles he had to fight against the Jewish Messianic Movement the more he became incandescent with rage and hatred against his forefathers. His Jew-hatred can be felt in every chapter of the Koran that refered, with its ruthless anti-Jewish propaganda, to Mohammed's time in Medina.) He said, 'Then if you will not accept this suggestion (2nd) let us kill our wives and children and send men with their swords drawn to Mohammed and his companions leaving no encumbrances behind us, until God decides between us and Mohammed. If we perish, we perish, and we shall not leave children behind us to cause us anxiety. If we conquer we can acquire other wives and children.' They said, 'Should we kill these poor creatures? What would be the good of life when they were dead?' He said, 'Then if you will not accept this suggestion (3rd) tonight is the eve of the sabbath and it may well be that Mohammed and his companions will feel secure from us then, so come down, perhaps we can take Mohammed and his companions by surprise.' They said: 'Are we to profane our sabbath and do on the sabbath what those before us of whom you well know did and were turned into apes?' He answered, 'Not a single man among you from the day of your birth has ever passed a night resolved to do what he knows ought to be done.'

Then they sent to the apostle saying, 'Send us Abu Lubaba b. Abdul-Mundhir, brother of (the) B. Amr b. Auf (for they were allies of al-Aus), that we may consult him.' So the apostle sent him to them, and when they saw him they got up to meet him. The women and children went up to him weeping in his face, and he felt sorry for them. They said, 'Oh Abu Lubaba, do you think that we should submit to Mohammed's judgement?' He said, 'Yes,' and pointed with his hand to his throat, signifying slaughter. Abu Lubaba said, 'My feet had not moved from the spot before I knew that I had been false to God and His apostle.' Then he left them and did not go to the apostle but bound himself to one of the pillars in the mosque saying, 'I will not leave this place until God forgives me for what I have done,' and he promised God that he would never go to (the) B. Qurayza and would never be seen in a town in which he had betrayed God and His apostle (707).

When the apostle heard about him, for he had. been waiting for him a long time, he said, 'If he had come to me I would have asked forgiveness for him, but seeing that he behaved as he did I will not let him go from his place until God forgives him.' Yazid b. Abdullah b. Qusayt told me that the forgiveness of Abu Lubaba came to the apostle at dawn while he was in the house of Umm Salama. She said: 'At dawn I heard the apostle laugh and I said: 'Why did you laugh? May God make you laugh!' He replied, Abu Lubaba has been forgiven.' She said, 'Cannot I give him the good news?' and when he said that she could she went and stood at the door of her room (this was before the veil had been prescribed for women. The prophet's house was next door to the mosque where Abu Lubaba had tied himself.) and said, 'O Abu Lubaba, rejoice, for God has forgiven you'; and men rushed out to set him free. He said, 'No, not until the apostle frees me with his own hand.' When the apostle passed him when he was going out to morning prayer he set him free (708).

Thalaba b. Saya, Usayd his brother, and Asad b. Ubayd of (the) B. Hadl who were not related to B. Qurayza or B. al-Nadlr (their pedigree is far above that), accepted Islam the night on which (the) B. Qurayza surrendered to the apostle's judgement.

On that night Amr b. Suda al-Qurazi went out and passed the apostle's guards commanded that night by Mohammed b. Maslama who challenged him. Now Amr had refused to join (the) B. Qurayza in their treachery towards the apostle, saying, 'I will never behave treacherously towards Mohammed.' When Mohammed b. Maslama recognized him he said, 'O God, do not deprive me (of the honour) of setting right the errors of the noble' and let him go his way. He went as far as the door of the apostle's mosque (Wellhausen has 'until he pawed the night in'.) in Medina that night; then he vanished, and it is not known to this day where he went. When the apostle was told he said, 'That is a man whom God delivered because of his faithfulness.' Some people allege that he was bound with a rotten rope along with the captives of (the) B. Qurayza when they submitted to the apostle's judgement, and his old rope was found cast away none knowing whither he went and the apostle then said those words. God knows what really happened.

In the morning they submitted to the apostle's judgement and al-Aus leapt up and said, 'O Apostle, they are our allies, not allies of Khazraj, and you know how you recently treated the allies of our brethren.' Now the apostle had besieged (the) B. Qaynuqa who were allies of al-Khazraj and when they submitted to his judgement Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Salul had asked him for them and he gave them to him; so when al-Aus spoke thus the apostle said: 'Will you be satisfied, O Aus, if one of your own number pronounces judgement on them?' When they agreed he said that Sad b. Muadh was the man. The apostle had put Sad in a tent belonging to a woman of Aslam called Rufayda inside his mosque. She used to nurse the wounded and see to those Muslims who needed care. The apostle had told his people when Sad had been wounded by an arrow at the battle of the Trench to put him in Rufayda's tent until he could visit him later. When the apostle appointed him umpire in the matter of (the) B. Qurayza, his people came to him and mounted him on a donkey on which they had put a leather cushion, he being a corpulent man. As they brought him to the apostle they said, 'Deal kindly with your friends, for the apostle has made you umpire for that very purpose.' When they persisted he said, 'The time has come for Sad in the cause of God, not to care for any man's censure.' Some of his people who were there went back to the quarter of (the) B. Abdul-Ashhal and announced to them the death of (the) B. Qurayza before Sad got to them, because of what they had heard him say.

When Sad reached the apostle and the Muslims the apostle told them to get up to greet their leader. The muhajirs of (the) Quraysh thought that the apostle meant the Ansar, while the latter thought that he meant everyone, so they got up and said 'O Abu Amr, the apostle has entrusted to you the affair of your allies that you may give judgement concerning them.' Sad asked, 'Do you covenant by Allah that you accept the judgement I pronounce on them? They said Yes, and he said, 'And is it incumbent on the one who is here?' (looking) in the direction of the apostle not mentioning him out of respect, and the apostle answered Yes. Sad said, 'Then I give judgement that the men should be killed, the property divided, and the women and children taken as captives.'

Asim b. Umar b. Qatada told me from Abdul-Rahman b. Amr b. Sad b. Muadh from Alqama b. Waqqas al-Laythi that the apostle said to Sad, 'You have given the judgement of Allah above the seven heavens' (709).

Then they surrendered, and the apostle confined them in Medina in the quarter of d. al-Harith, a woman of (the) B. al-Najjar. Then the apostle went out to the market of Medina (which is still its market today) and dug trenches in it. Then he sent for them and struck off their heads in those trenches as they were brought out to him in batches. Among them was the enemy of Allah Huyayy b. Akhtab and Kab b. Asad their chief. There were 600 or 700 in all, though some put the figure as high as 800 or 900. As they were being taken out in batches to the apostle they asked Kab what he thought would be done with them. He replied, 'Will you never understand? Do you not see that the summoner never stops and those who are taken away do not return? By Allah it is death!' This went on until the apostle made an end of them.

Huyayy was brought out wearing a flowered robe (710) in which he had made holes about the size of the finger-tips in every part so that it should not be taken from him as spoil, (A variant 'so that none should wear it after him' is worth mention.) with his hands bound to his neck by a rope. When he saw the apostle he said, 'By God, I do not blame myself for opposing you, but he who forsakes God will be forsaken.' Then he went to the men and said, 'God's command is right. A book and a decree, and massacre have been written against the Sons of Israel.' Then he sat down and his head was struck off.

Jabal b. Jawwal al-Thalabi said:

Ibn Akhtab did not blame himself
But he who forsakes God will be forsaken.
He fought until he justified himself
And struggled to the utmost in pursuit of glory.

Mohammed b. Jafar b. al-Zubayr told me from Urwa b. al-Zubayr that Aisha said: 'Only one of their women was killed. She was actually with me and was talking with me and laughing immoderately as the apostle was killing her men in the market when suddenly an unseen voice called her name. 'Good heavens,' I cried, 'what is the matter?' 'I am to be killed,' she replied. 'What for?' I asked. 'Because of something I did,' she answered. She was taken away and beheaded. Aisha used to say, 'I shall never forget my wonder at her good spirits and her loud laughter when all the time she knew that she would be killed' (711).

Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri told me that Thabit b. Qays b. al-Shammas had gone to al-Zabir b. Bata al-Qurazi who was Abu Abdul-Rahman. Al-Zabir had spared Thabit during the pagan era. One of al-Zabir's sons told me that he had spared him on the day of Buath, having captured him and cut off his forelock and then let him go. Thabit came to him (he was then an old man) and asked him if he knew him, to which he answered, 'Would a man like me not recognise a man like you?' He said, 'I want to repay you for your service to me.' He said, 'The noble repays the noble.' Thabit went to the apostle and told him that al-Zabir had spared his life and he wanted to repay him for it, and the apostle said that his life would be spared. When he returned and told him that the apostle had spared his life he said, 'What does an old man without family and without children want with life?' Thabit went again to the apostle, who promised to give him his wife and children. When he told him he said, 'How can a household in the Hijaz live without property?' Thabit secured the apostle's promise that his property would be restored and came and told him so, and he said, 'O Thabit, what has become of him whose face was like a

Chinese mirror in which the virgins of the tribe could see themselves, Kab b. Asad?' 'Killed,' he said. 'And what of the prince of the Desert and the Sown, Huyayy b. Akhtab?' 'Killed.' 'And what of our vanguard when we attacked and our rearguard when we fled (Tabari: returned to the charge), Azzal b. Samawal?' 'Killed.' 'And what of the two assemblies?' meaning (the) B. Kab b. Qurayza and (the) B. Amr b. Qurayza. 'Killed.' He said, 'Then I ask of you, Thabit, by my claim on you that you join me with my people, for life holds no joy now that they are dead, and I cannot bear to wait another moment (Lit. 'the time it takes a man to pour a bucket of water into the trough and return the bucket".) to meet my loved ones.' So Thabit went up to him and struck off his head.

When Abu Bakr heard of his words 'until I meet my loved ones' he said, 'Yes, by Allah he will meet them in hell for ever and ever' (712).

(Tabari 1496: Thabit b. Qays said concerning that, mentioning al-Zabir b. Bata:

My obligation is ended; I was noble and persistent
When others swerved from steadfastness.
Zabir had a greater claim than any man on me
And when his wrists were bound with cords
I went to the apostle that I might free him.
The apostle was a very sea of generosity to us.)

The apostle had ordered that every adult of theirs should be killed.

Shuba b. al-Hajjaj told me from Abdul-Malik b. Umayr from Atiya al-Qurazi: The apostle had ordered that every adult of (the) B. Qurayza should be killed. I was a lad and they found that I was not an adult and so they let me go.

Avyub b. Abduul-Rahman b. Abdullah b. Abu Sasaa brother of (the) B. Adiy b. al-Najjar told me that Salma d. Qays, mother of al-Mundhir sister of Salit b. Qays—she was one of the maternal aunts of the apostle who had prayed with him both towards Jerusalem and towards Mecca and had sworn the allegiance of women to him—asked him for Rifaa b. Samawal al-Qurazi who was a grown man who had sought refuge with her, and who used to know them. She said that he had alleged that he would pray and eat camel's flesh. So he gave him to her and she saved his life.

Then the apostle divided the property, wives, and children of (the) B. Qurayza among the Muslims, and he made known on that day the shares of horse and men, and took out the fifth. A horseman got three shares, two for the horse and one for his rider. A man without a horse got one share. On the day of (the) B. Qurayza there were thirty-six horses. It was the first booty on which lots were cast and the fifth was taken. According to its precedent and what the apostle did the divisions were made, and it remained the custom for raids.

Then the apostle sent Sad b. Zayd al-Ansari brother of b. Abdul-Ashhal with some of the captive women of (the) B. Qurayza to Najd and he sold them for horses and weapons.

The apostle had chosen one of their women for himself, Rayhana d. Amr b. Khunafa, one of the women of (the) B. Amr b. Qurayza, and she remained with him until she died, in his power. The apostle had proposed to marry her and put the veil on her, but she said: 'Nay, leave me in your power, for that will be easier for me and for you.' So he left her. She had shown repugnance towards Islam when she was captured and clung to Judaism. So the apostle put her aside and felt some displeasure. While he was with his companions he heard the sound of sandals behind him and said, 'This is Thalaba b. Saya coming to give me the good news of Rayhana's acceptance of Islam' and he came up to announce the fact. This gave him pleasure.

God sent down concerning the trench and (the) B. Qurayza the account which is found in the sura of the Confederates (Koran 33) in which He mentioned their trial and His kindness to them, and His help when He removed that from them after one of the disaffected had said what he did: 'O you who believe, remember God's favour to you when armies came against you, and We sent against them a wind and armies you could not see, and God is a seer of what you do.' The armies were Quraysh, and Ghatafan, and (the) B. Qurayza. The armies which God sent with the wind were the angels. God said, 'When they came at you from above you and below you, and when eyes grew wild and hearts reached to the throats and you thought vain things about God.' Those who came at you from above were (the) B. Qurayza: those from below were Quraysh and Ghatafan. 'There were the believers tested and shaken with a mighty shock. And when the disaffected and those in whose hearts was a disease were saying What God and His apostle promised us is naught but a delusion refers to the words of Muattib b. Qushayr. 'And when a party of them said,

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O people of Yathrib, there is no standing for you, so turn back. And some of them sought the prophet's permission saying Our houses are exposed, and they were not exposed. They wished only to run away' refers to the words of Aus b. Qayzi and those of his people who shared his opinion. 'And if it had been entered from its sides', i.e. Medina (713).

'Then if they had been invited to rebellion', i.e. the return to polytheism, 'they would have complied and would have hesitated but a moment. Yet they had sworn to Allah beforehand that they would not turn their backs. An oath to God must be answered for.' They were the B. Haritha. They were the men who thought to desert on the day of Uhud with (the) B. Salama when both thought to desert on the day of Uhud. Then they swore to God that they would never do the like again and he reminded them of what they had taken on themselves. 'Say, Flight will not avail you if you flee from death or killing, and then you will enjoy comfort but for a little. Say, Who can preserve you from Allah if He intends evil towards you, or intends mercy. They will not find that they have any friend or helper but Allah. Allah knows those of you who hinder,' i.e. the disaffected people. 'And those who say to their brethren, Come to us and they come not to battle save a little,' i.e. for a moment to make a pretence of sincerity, 'sparing of their help to you,' i.e. because of their grudging nature. 'But when fear comes you see them looking at you with rolling eyes like one in a deadly faint,' i.e. thinking it dreadful and terrified of it. 'Then when their fear departs they scald you with sharp tongues,' i.e. with talk about what does not please you because their hope is in this life; hope of (future) reward does not move them, for they fear death with the dread of him who has no hope in a future life (714). 'They think that the confederates have not gone away,' i.e. (the) Quraysh and (the) Ghatafan, 'and if the confederates should come again they would like to be in the desert with the Bedouin asking for news of you and if they were among you they would fight but little.'

Then He addressed the believers and said, 'In God's apostle you have a fine example for one who hopes for Allah and the last day,' i.e. that they should not prefer themselves to him and not desire to be in a place where he is not.

Then He mentioned the believers and their truth and their belief in what God promised them of trial by which He tested them and He said, 'And when the believers saw the confederates they said: This is what God and His apostle promised us, and God and His apostle are true. It did but increase their faith and submission,' i.e. endurance of trial and submission to the decree and belief in the truth of what God and His apostle had promised them. Then He said: 'Some of the believers are men who are true to what they covenanted with Allah and some of them have fulfilled their vow in death,' i.e. finished their work and returned to their Lord like those who sought martyrdom at Badr and Uhud (715).

'And some of them are still waiting,' i.e. for the help which Allah promised them and the martyrdom like that which befell his companions. God said: 'And they have not altered in the least,' i.e. they did not doubt nor hesitate in their religion, and did not change it for another. 'That God may reward the true men for their truth and punish the disaffected if He will, or repent towards them. God is forgiving, merciful. And Allah turned back those who disbelieved in their wrath,' i.e. (the) Quraysh and Ghatafan. 'They gained no good. God averted battle from the believers, and Allah is strong, mighty. And He brought down those of the Scripture people who helped them,' i.e. (the) B. Qurayza, 'from their strongholds' the forts and castles in which they were (716). 'And he cast terror into their hearts; some you slew and some you captured,' i.e. he killed the men and captured the women and children. 'And caused you to inherit their land and their dwellings, and their property, and a land you had not trod,' i.e. Khaybar. 'For Allah can do all things.'

When the affair of (the) B. Qurayza was disposed of, Sad's wound burst open and he died a martyr therefrom.

Muadh b. Rifea al-Zuraqi told me: Anyone you like from the men of my people told me that Gabriel came to the apostle when Sad was taken, in the middle of the night wearing an embroidered turban, and said, 'O Mohammed, who is this dead man for whom the doors of heaven have been opened and at whom the throne shook?' The apostle got up quickly dragging his garment as he went to Sad and found him already dead.

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me from Amra d. Abdul-Rahman: As Aisha was returning from Mecca with Usayd b. Hudayr he heard of the death of a wife of his, and showed considerable grief. Aisha said: 'God forgive you, O Abu Yahya, will you grieve over a woman when you have lost the son of your uncle, for whom the throne shook?'

One I do not suspect told me from al-Hasan al-Basri: Sad was a fat man and when the men carried him they found him light. Some of the disaffected said, 'He was a fat man and we have never carried a lighter bier than his.' When the apostle heard of this he said, 'He had other carriers as well. By Him Who holds my life in His hand the angels rejoiced at (receiving) the spirit of Sad and the throne shook for him.'

Muadh b. Rifaa told me from Mahmud b. Abdul-Rahman b. Amr b. al-Jamuh from Jabir b. Abdullah: When Sad was buried as we were with the apostle he said Subhdnallah and we said it with him. Then he said Allah akbar and the men said it with him. When they asked him why he had said Subhdnallah he said 'The grave was constricted on this good man until God eased him from it' (717).

Of Sad one of the Ansar said:
We have never heard of the throne of God
Shaking for any dead man but Sa'd Abu 'Amr.
His mother said when his bier was being carried, as she was weeping (718):
Alas Umm Sad for Sad the brave and bold,
Leader glorious, knight ever ready,
Stepping into the breach, cutting heads to pieces. (This line is omitted by Wellhausen.)

The apostle said, 'Every wailing woman lies except the one who wept Sad b. Muadh.

Only six Muslims found martyrdom at the battle of the Trench: Of (the) B. Abdul-Ashhal: Sad b. Muadh; Anas b. Aus b. Atik b. Amr, and Abdullah b. Sahl. 3.

Of (the) B. Jusham b. al-Khazraj of the clan B. Salima: al-Tufayl b. al-Numan and Thalaba b. Ghanama. 2.

Of (the) B. al-Najjar of the clan B. Dinar: Kab b. Zayd whom a random arrow hit and slew (719). 1.

Three polytheists were killed:

Of (the) B. Abdul-Dar: Munabbih b. Uthman b. Ubayd b. al-Sabbaq hit by an arrow and died in Mecca (720).

Of (The) B. Makhzum b.Yaqaza: Naufal b. Abdullah b. al-Mughira. They asked the apostle to let them buy his body he having stormed the trench and become trapped in it and killed, and the Muslims got possession of his body. The apostle said that they had no use for his body and did not want to be paid for it, and he let them have it (721).

Of (the) B. Amir b. Luayy of the clan B. Malik b. Hisl: Amr b. Abdu Wudd whom Ali killed (722).

On the day of (the) Qurayza there were martyred of the Muslims of (the) B. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj: Khallad b. Suwayd b. Thalaba b. Amr. A millstone was thrown on him and inflicted a shattering wound. They allege that the apostle said, 'He will have the reward of two martyrs.'

Abu Sinan b. Mihsan b. Hurthan brother of (the) B. Asad b. Khuzayma died while the apostle was besieging (the) B. Qurayza and was buried in the cemetery of B. Qurayza which is still used today. They buried those who died in Islam there.

When the defenders of the trench left it I have heard that the apostle said: '(The) Quraysh will not attack you after this year, but you will attack them.'

Quraysh did not attack them after that; it was he who attacked them until God conquered Mecca by him.

POETRY ABOUT THE TRENCH AND THE B. QURAYZA

(Muslims were so enchanted by cutting off limbs and heads that they composed a large ode of lyrics and poems, narrating the battle and the execution in the most colourful details.)

Dirar b. al-Khattab b. Mirdas brother of (the) B. Muharib b. Fihr said about the battle of the Trench:
Many a sympathetic woman had doubts about us*,
Yet we led a great force, crushing all before us.
(* If this poem is really Dirar's it must have been composed after Sura 33, for it uses the language of verse 10. It is hardly likely that a Muslim would have boasted of the doings of Quraysh, or that a polythcist would have borrowed language from the Koran. Therefore it would seem to be a sort of literary Aunt Sally, put up to be assailed in the poems that follow.)
Its size was as Uhud
When one could see its whole extent.
You could see the long mail upon the warriors
And their strong leather shields
And the fine steeds like arrows
Which we discharged against the sinful wrongdoers.
When we charged the one the other,
'Twas (it was) as though at the gap in the trench men would shake hands.
You could not see a rightly guided man among them
Though they said: 'Are we not in the right?'
We besieged them for one whole month
Standing over them like conquerors.
Night and morning every day
We attacked them fully armed;
Sharp swords in our hands
Cutting through heads and skulls.
Twas (it was) as though their gleam when they were drawn
When they flashed in the hands of those that drew them
Was the gleam of lightning illuminating the night
So that one could see the clouds clearly.
But for the trench which protected them
We would have destroyed them one and all.
But there it stood in front of them,
And they took refuge in it from fear of us.
Though we withdrew we left
Sa'd hostage to death in front of their tents.
When darkness came you could hear the keening women
Raising their lament over Sad.
Soon we shall visit you again
Helping one another as we did before
With a company of Kinana armed
Like lions of the jungle protecting their dens.
Kab b. Malik brother of (the) B. Salima answered him:
Many a woman will ask of our fight.
Had she been there she would have seen we were steadfast.
We were steadfast trusting in Him;
We saw nothing equal to God in the hour of our danger.
We have a prophet, a true helper,
By whom we can conquer all men.
We fought an evil disobedient people
Fully prepared in their hostile attack.
When they came at us we struck them blows
Which dispatched the precipitate.
You would have seen us in wide long mail which
Glittered like pools in the plain;
Sharp swords in our hands
By which we quench the spirit of the mischievous.
Like lions at the gap in the trench
Whose tangled jungle protects their lairs.
Our horsemen when they charged night and morning
Looked disdainfully at the enemy as they wore their badges
To help Ahmad and God so that we might be
Sincere slaves of truth,
And that the Meccans might know when they came
And the people of different parties
That God has no partners,
And that He helps the believers.
Though you killed Sa'd wantonly,
God's decrees are for the best.
He will admit him to goodly gardens
The resting-place of the righteous.
As He repulsed you, runaway fugitives,
Fruitless, disgraced, despite your rage.
Disgraced, you accomplished nothing there
And were all but destroyed
By a tempest which overtook you
So that you were blinded by its force.

Abdullah b. al-Zibara al-Sahmi said about the trench:
Salute the dwelling whose vestiges
Long decay and time's changes have effaced.
'Tis as though their remains were the writings of Jews
Except the zarebas and (marks of) tentpegs*.
(* The trace of an old camp (rasm) is compared to Hebrew script. The word also means 'writing'.)
A desert as though you did not find diversion in it
Happily with young girls of one age.
But speak no more of a life that has passed
And a place become ruined and deserted,
And gratefully remember the gallantry of all
Who marched from the sacred stones*,
(* The ansab may mean either the stones set up to mark the boundary of the sacred territory, such as remain to this day, or the stones at which the sacrificial victims were slaughtered.)
The stones of Mecca, making for Yathrib (modern Medina),
With a loud-throated mighty force;
Leaving the high ground well used paths
In every conspicuous height and pass;
The fine lean steeds led beside them
Thin in belly, lean of flank,
Foaled from long-bodied mares and stallions,
Like a wolf who attacks careless watchmen.
'Uyayna marched with the banner of the army;
Sakhr led the confederates;
Two chiefs like the moon in its splendour,
The help of the poor, the refuge of the fugitive,
Until when they came to Medina
And girt themselves for death their sharp swords drawn.
For forty days they had the best of Mohammed
Though his companions in war were the best.
They called for withdrawal the morning you said
'We are almost done for.'
But for the trench they would have left them
Corpses for hungry birds and wolves.

Hassan b. Thabit answered him and said:
Can the vanished traces of a deserted place
Answer one who addresses it?
A desert where clouds of rain have effaced its traces
And the constant blowing of every high wind?
Yet have I seen their dwellings adorned by
Shining faces, heirs of a glorious past.
But leave the dwellings, the talk of lovely maidens
With soft breasts, sweet in converse,
And complain to God of cares and what you see—
An angry people who wronged the apostle,
Who marched with their company against him

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And collected townsmen and desert dwellers,
The army of Tyayna and Ibn Harb
Mingled with the horsemen of the confederates
Until they came to Medina and hoped to slay
The apostle's men and plunder them,
And attacked us in their strength.
They were put to flight in their fury
By a tempest which dispersed their company
And the armies of thy Lord the Lord of lords.
God averted battle from the believers (Almost an exact quotation from Sura 33. 25.)
And gave them the best of rewards.
When they had abandoned hope, our bounteous King
Sent down His aid and scattered them;
Gave ease to Mohammed and his companions
And humiliated every lying doubter,
Hard-hearted, suspicious, doubtful,
Not men of pure life, unbelievers.
May misery cling to their hearts, for
In unbelief they persisted to the very end. (Or, To whose hearts misery has clung; So that their hearts persist in disbelief to the end of time.)
Kab b. Malik also answered him:
War has left over to us
The best gift of our bounteous Lord;
High white forts and resting-places for camels where [from their
rubbing]
Palms are black and where milk is plentiful.
They are like lava tracts and their bounty is lavished
On the visiting guest and relative*.
(* A.Dh.'s explanation implies: (1st) High white forts and resting-places for camels. (2nd) Where the camels have black necks and are rich in milk. (3rd) They [the resting places] are like lava tracts. (4th) Their bounty, etc. / / S. renders maatin 'palm plantations' and judhu trunks' and then has to take ahlab as a metaphor of 'fruit.' / / The verse is difficult, but it is possible to avoid unnatural metaphors in its translation. The dung of the camels made the ground look like a lava tract.)

And horses* swift as wolves (* nazal are horses imported from elsewhere.)
Fed on barley and cut lucerne
With hairless fetlocks and firm-fleshed hindquarters,
Smooth their coats from head to tail
Long-necked, answering the View hallo
As hounds speed to the huntsman's call.
Now guarding the tribesman's cattle,
Now slaying the enemy and returning with the spoil,
Scaring wild beasts, swift in war,
Grim in combat, of noble spirit,
Well fed and sleek
Well fleshed yet thin bellied.
They bring coats of mail doubly woven
With strong spears which hit the mark,
And swords whose rust the polishers have removed;

All with a splendid highborn knight,
His right hand holding a spear ready for the thrust
Whose fashioning was entrusted to Khabbab.
The glitter of his lance is like
A flash of flame in the darkness of the night,
And a force whose mail defies the arrows
And repels the bolts that would pierce the thighs.
Reddish-black, massed, as though their spears
Were a blazing forest in every encounter,
Seeking the shadow of the standard as though
On the shaft of the spear there was the shadow of a hawk.
Their courage defeated Abu Karib and Tubba
And their gallantry overcame the Bedouin.
We were guided by admonitions from our Lord
On the tongue of one radiant and pure.
They were laid before us and we loved to remember them
After they had been laid before the confederates (and rejected).
Axioms which evildoers assert they thought too strict
But the wise understand.
Quraysh came to contend with their Lord,
But he who contends with the Conqueror will surely be conquered (723).

Kab b. Malik said about the trench:
Let one who enjoys the noise of battle where blows resound
Like the crackling of burning reeds,
Come to the fight where swords are sharp
Between al-Madhad* and the side of the trench.
(* The place where the trench was dug. Some say that it was between Sal and the trench.)
They were bold in smiting champions
And surrendered their lifeblood to the Lord of the world
In a company by which God helped His prophet
And was gracious to His servant.
All in long mail whose ends swept the ground,
Looking like an undulating pool blown by the wind
With mail well wrought and woven as though its nails
Were the eyes of a locust in the chain rings.
Braced up by the belt of a sword
Of pure steel, cutting, and shining.
Such with piety was our clothing on the day of battle*
(* Borrowed from Koran 7.25, 'The clothing of piety is the best'.)
And every hour that called for bravery.
When our swords were too short to meet the enemy
We made them reach by going forward.
You could see skulls split asunder,
To say nothing of hands, as though they had not been created.
We met the enemy with a compact force
Driving away their force who went as though to the top of al-
Mashriq (A mountain between al-Sarif and al-Qasim in Pabba country.).
Against the enemy we prepared
Every swift, bay, white-legged, piebald horse
Carrying riders who in battle were like
Lions on damp dewy soil (In such conditions lions are said to be most fierce, presumably because wet ground would ruin the scent of their prey and so they would be ravenous.),
Trusty ones who bring death to brave men
With death-dealing spears beneath the clouds of dust.
God commanded that the horses should be kept for His enemy in the
fight (Koran 8.62)
(Truly God is the best guarantor of victory)
That they might vex the enemy and protect the dwellings
If the horses of the miscreants came near.
God the mighty helped us with His strength
And loyal steadfastness on the day of the encounter.
We obeyed our prophet's orders.
When he called for war we were the first to respond.
When he called for violent efforts we made them.
When we saw the battle we hastened thither.
He who obeys the prophet's command (let him do so), for among us
He is obeyed and truly believed.
By this He will give us victory and show our glory
And so give us a life of ease.
Those who call Mohammed a liar
Disbelieve and go astray from the way of the pious (724).

Kab also said:
The mixed tribes knew when they gathered together against us
And attacked our religion that we would not submit.
Confederates from Qays b. Aylan and Khindif with one accord
Made common cause, not knowing what would happen.
They tried to turn us from our religion while we
Tried to turn them from disbelief, but God is a seer and a hearer.
When they raged against us in battle
The all embracing help of God aided us.
'Twas God's protection and His grace towards us
(He whom God does not guard is lost).
He guided us to the true religion and chose it for us.
God can do more than man can do.

Kab also said:
Tell Quraysh that Sal
And the land between al-Urayd and al-Sammad (All these places are in the neighbourhood of Medina.)
Is a land where camels who know war carry water,
Where wells dug in the days of Ad abound.
Still waters fed by copious fountains
That keep the wells at a steady depth.
The tangled growth and the rushes there
Seem to rustic when they yellow at the harvest.
Our trade does not consist in selling donkeys
To the land of Daus or Murad.
Ours is a land well tilled, for it we fight
If you have stomach for the battle.
We ploughed and planted it as peasants do;
Never have you seen a valley bordered like it.
We have kept every fine high-standing
Powerful courser for great objects.
Respond to our invitation
For clear statement and truth,
Or take the blows you will get from us
At the side of al-Madhad.
We will meet you with all our warriors
And well made tractable horses,
And bloodmares whose sides throb
Like the beating of a locust's wings (An unusually fast-flying species of locust is meant.)
Swift of limb, firm fleshed,
Perfectly made from head to tail.
Horses which live through famine years
When other men's horses die;
Which tug at the reins, turning their necks to one side (This hemistich is repeated verbatim in the poem attributed to rjassan in Wellhausen 829. 8.),
When their master calls them to war.
When our warners say: 'Be ready'
We put our trust in the Lord of men.
And we said: 'Nothing will ease our troubles
But smiting the helmets and desperate fighting.'
You have seen none among those we fought,
Whether townsmen or tribesmen,
Bolder than we were in attack
Nor gentler in affection.
When we tied with trusty knots
Fine coats of mail upon them
Into long armour we put every fierce noble warrior
Careful in his preparation for battle;
Haughty as an angry lion
When someone appears in his valley,
Who shatter the skull of the doughtiest warrior
With the middle of a sword carried loose on its lanyard.
That we may make Thy religion victorious, O God.
We are in Thy hand, so guide us in the right paths (725).
Musafi b. Abdu Manaf b. Wahb b. Hudhafa b. Jumah, weeping for
Amr b. Abdu Wudd and mentioning how Ali killed him, said:
Amr b. Abd was the first horseman to cross Madhad
And he was the horseman of Yalyal (A wadi in Badr.).
Mild in nature, noble, firm,
Seeking armed combat, never showing fear.
You knew that when they fled from you
Ibn Abd only hurried not
Until the best fighters surrounded him
Seeking untiringly to kill him.
On Sal's sides the spears surrounded
A horseman who was no unarmed coward.
You asked Ghalib's horseman to dismount, O Ali,
On Sal's sides. Would he had not done so.
Away with you, Ali! Never have you overcome his like in renown
Nor coped with such a difficult task.
My life be a ransom for the horseman of Ghalib
Who met death unperturbed,
He who crossed al-Madhad with his mare
Seeking to avenge the men he would not desert.

Musafi also said, reproaching the horsemen of Amr who decamped and deserted him:
Amr b. Abd and the fine horses he led—
Horses led for him and horses shod—
His horsemen decamped and his clan left
A great pillar, the first among them.
Marvel as I may I saw it
When you, Ali, asked Amr to dismount he dismounted.
Be not far, (The dead are thus apostrophised.) for I have suffered by his death
And till I die I have a burden heavy to bear.
Hubayra who was despoiled turned his back in flight
Fearing the fight lest they should be killed.
And Pirar who had shown courage
Fled like a miserable unarmed wretch (726).

Hubayra b. Abu Wahb making excuses for his flight, weeping for Amr,
and mentioning how Ali killed him, said:
On my life, I did not turn my back
On Mohammed and his companions in cowardice or fear of death;
But I considered my position and could find
No advantage in sword or arrow if I used them.
I stopped, and when I could not go forward
I withdrew like a strong lion with his cubs,
Who turns his shoulder from his adversary when
He can find no way to return to the fray—such has always been my way.
Be not far, O Amr, alive or dead.
Such as you deserves the highest praise from one like me
Who (now) will drive on horses checked by spears
Be not far, O Amr alive or dead.
You have gone (from us) full of praise, noble of ancestry.
Tell of his glory when the camels bellow loudly? (So loud was his voice that he could be heard above the grumbling of the cameb, as he boasted of his tribe's prowess.)
Had Ibn Abd been there he would have gone to them
And relieved them, that never ignoble man.
Away with you, Ali, never have I seen one who behaved like you
Against a brave man advancing like a stallion.
Never have you achieved such a proud boast.
As long as you live you can feel safe from stumbling thereby.

Hubayra also said:
The noblest man of Luayy b. Ghalib knows
That when misfortune came their knight was Amr.

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Their knight was Amr and Ali asked him to dismount.
(The lion must seek his enemy.)
He was their knight when Ali called to him
When the squadrons basely left him.
Alas that I left Amr in Yathrib.
May misfortunes never cease there!

Hassan b. Thabit boasting of the killing of Amr b. Abdu Wudd said:
Amr, the last of you, we slew with the lance
As we defended Yathrib with our small force.
We killed you with our Indian swords,
For we are masters of war when we attack.
Wre killed you in Badr too
And left your tribes threading their way through the dead (727).

Hassan also said:
The warrior Amr b. Abd is on the flanks of Yathrib
Requiring to be avenged: he was not given respite*.
(The reading in the Diwan xcv is easier but not necessarily original:
'Amr ... lay dead Vengeance for him is not to be expected.')
You found our swords drawn
And you found our horses ready.
At Badr you met a band
Who smote you with no weakling's blow.
No more will you be summoned on the day of great things
Or to important distasteful tasks, O Amr! (727)

Hassan also said:
Give Abu Hidm a message,
One with which the camels hasten.
Am I your friend in every hardship
And another your friend in a time of ease?
You have a witness who saw me
Lifted up to him as a child is carried (728).

Hassan said concerning (the) B. Qurayza mourning Sad b. Muadh and mentioning his judgement concerning the former:
Tears streamed from my eyes,
'Tis (it is) right that they should weep for Sad
Lying on the battlefield. Eyes that flow with tears
Suffer his loss without ceasing.
Slain in God's religion, he inherits paradise with martyrs,
Theirs a noble company.
Though you have said farewell and left us
And lie in the dusty darkness of the grave
You, O Sad, have returned (to God) with a noble testimony
And garments of honour and praise.
By pronouncing on the two tribes of (the) Qurayza the (same) judgement
Which God had decreed against them you did not judge of your own volition.
Your judgement and God's were at one
And you did not forgive when you were reminded of a covenant.
Though fate has brought you to your death
Among those who sold their lives for everlasting gardens
Yet blessed is the state of the true ones
When they are summoned to God for favour and regard.

Hassan also said mourning Sad and the prophet's companions who were martyred and mentioning their merits:
O my people, is there any defence against what is decreed?
And can the good old days return?
When I call to mind an age that is passed
My heart is troubled and my tears flow;
Yearning sorrow reminds me of friends
Now dead, among them Tufayl and Rafi and Sad.
They have gone to paradise
And their houses are empty and the earth is a desert without them.
They were loyal to the apostle on the day of Badr
While over them swords flashed amid the shades of death.
When he called them they answered loyally,
All of them obeyed him utterly.
They gave no ground till all were dead.
(Only battles cut short the allotted span.)
Because they hoped for his intercession
Since none but prophets can intercede.
That, O best of men, is what we did,
Our response to God while death is certain.
Ours was the first step to thee, and the last of us
Will follow the first in God's religion.
We know that the kingdom is God's alone
And that the decree of God must come to pass (Divan exxxii. Obviously this dates from a later age. 'The good old days' are idealised.).

Hassan also said about (the) B. Qurayza:
(The) Qurayza met their misfortune
And in humiliation found no helper.
A calamity worse than that which fell (the) B. al-Nadir befell them
The day that God's apostle came to them like a brilliant moon,
With fresh horses bearing horsemen like hawks.
We left them with the blood upon them like a pool
They having accomplished nothing.
They lay prostrate with vultures circling round them.
Thus are the obstinate and impious rewarded.
Warn (the) Quraysh of a like punishment from God
If they will take my warning.
Hassan also said:
(The) Qurayza met their misfortune
And shameful humiliation befell their castles.
Sad had warned them, saying
Your God is a majestic Lord.
They soon broke their treaty so that
The apostle slew them in their town.
With our troops he surrounded their fort
Which resounded with cries from the heat of the battle.

Hassan also said:
May the people who helped Quraysh miss one another (This is the reading of C. W. has taaqada against tafaqada.),
For in their land they have no helper.
They were given the scripture and wasted it,
Being blind, straying from the Torah.
You disbelieved in the Koran and yet
You had been given confirmation of what the warner said.
The nobles of (the) B. Luayy took lightly
The great conflagration in al-Buwayra. (A place belonging to the B. al-Nadir (not the Qurayza) according to Yaqut, s.v. It was their trees which Mohammed destroyed [in order to destroy their supply].)

Abu Sufyan b. al-Harith b. Abdul-Muttalib answered him:
May God make that deed immortal,
May fire burn in its quarters!
You shall know which of us is far (from the fire)
And which of our lands will be harmed.
Had the palms therein been horsemen
They would have said, 'You have no place here, be off!'*
(* The meaning of this poem is that the fact that the B. al-Nadir were able to withdraw with all their effects deserves to be immortalised and may the site they left be destroyed by fire. The last line means 'could the trees have been made to walk you Muslims would have got rid of them too!' Yaqut gives a different turn to all this and the preceding poem. Hassan's line above is put into the mouth of Abu Sufyan in the form:
'The B. Luayy took hardly the great conflagration at al-Buwayra',
and the first line of Abu Sufyan's poem is given to Hassan in the form:
'May God make that conflagration permanent!'
But Ibn Ishaq was right. Later writers thought that the 'deed' must be the burning of the trees and therefore the line must have been spoken by a Muslim. See further W. Arafat, op. cit., pp. 277-81.)

Jabal b. Jawwal al-Thalabi also answered him, mourning al-Nadir and Qurayza:
O Sad, Sad of B. Muadh,
For what befell Qurayza and al-Nadir.
By thy life, Sad of B. Muadh
The day they departed was indeed steadfast.
As for al-Khazraji Abu Hubab (A reference to Abdullah b. Ubayy's interference in favour of B. Qaynuqa.)
He told Qaynuqa not to go.
The allies got Usayd in exchange for Hudayr
(For circumstances sometimes change.) (In the time of Hudayr, chief of Aus, the Jews were secure; but they suffered when his son Usayd came to power.)

Al-Buwayra perished and was deprived of
Sallam and Sa'ya and Ibn Akhtab.
Yet in their land they were weighty men
Like the ponderous rocks of Maytan (One of the mountains of Medina.).
Though Sallam Abu Hakam is dead
His weapons were not useless or rusty.
And both the tribes of Kahin too, among them
Hawklike men, albeit kindly and generous.
We found their glory established on glory
Which time cannot obscure.
Dwell there, ye chiefs of Aus,
As though you were blind to shame.
You left your pot with nothing in it,
The pot of a people worth mentioning is ever on the boil! (A metaphor for burning anger. Khazraj rescued their Jewish allies the Qaynuqa: Aus abandoned their allies.)

THE KILLING OF SALLAM IBN ABUL-HUQAYQ

When the fight at the trench and the affair of the B. Qurayza were over, the matter of Sallam b. Abul-Huqayq known as Abu Rafi came up in connexion with those who had collected the mixed tribes together against the apostle. Now Aus had killed Kab b. al-Ashraf before Uhud because of his enmity towards the apostle and because he instigated men against him, so Khazraj asked and obtained the apostle's permission to kill Sallam who was in Khaybar.

Mohammed b. Muslim b. Shihab al-Zuhri from Abdullah b. Kab b. Malik told me: One of the things which God did for His apostle was that these two tribes of the Ansar, Aus and Khazraj, competed the one with the other like two stallions: if Aus did anything to the apostle's advantage Khazraj would say, 'They shall not have this superiority over us in the apostle's eyes and in Islam' and they would not rest until they could do something similar. If Khazraj did anything Aus would say the same.

When Aus had killed Kab for his enmity towards the apostle, Khazraj used these words and asked themselves what man was as hostile to the apostle as Kab? And then they remembered Sallam who was in Khaybar and asked and obtained the apostle's permission to kill him.

Five men of B. Salima of Khazraj went to him: Abdullah b. Atik; Masud b. Sinan; Abdullah b. Unays; Abu Qatada al-Harith b. Ribi; and Khuzai b. Aswad, an ally from Aslam. As they left, the apostle appointed Abdullah b. Atik as their leader, and he forbade them to kill women or children. When they got to Khaybar they went to Sallam's house by night, having locked every door in the settlement on the inhabitants. [Tabari: 1378] Now he was in an upper chamber of his to which a (Roman) ladder led up. They mounted this until they came to the door and asked to be allowed to come in. His wife came out and asked who they were and they told her that they were Arabs in search of supplies. She told them that their man was here and that they could come in. When we entered* we bolted the door of the room on her and ourselves fearing lest something should come between us and him. (* The change into the first person without any mention of the speaker's authority is significant. Doubtless there are occasions when the actual words used at a particular time and place have been carefully stored in a hearer's memory; but it should always be borne in mind that oratio obliqua is abhorrent to Semitic writers who escape into the oratio recta ['right speech'] at the first opportunity.) His wife shrieked and warned him of us, so we ran at him with our swords as he was on his bed. The only thing that guided us in the darkness of the night was his whiteness like an Egyptian blanket. When his wife shrieked one of our number would lift his sword against her; then he would remember the apostle's ban on killing women and withdraw his hand; but for that we would have made an end of her that night. When we had smitten him with our swords Abdullah b. Unays bore down with his sword into his belly until it went right through him, as he was saying Qatni, qatnl, i.e. It's enough.

We went out. Now Abdullah b. Atik had poor sight, and fell from the ladder and sprained his arm (729) severely, so we carried him until we brought him to one of their water channels and went into it. The people lit lamps and went in search of us in all directions until, despairing of finding us, they returned to their master and gathered round him as he was dying. We asked each other how we could know that the enemy of God was dead, and one of us volunteered to go and see; so off he went and mingled with the people. He said, 'I found his wife and some Jews gathered round him. She had a lamp in her hand and was peering into his face and saying to them 'By God, I certainly heard the voice of 'Abdullah b. 'Atik. Then I decided I must be wrong and thought "How can Ibn Atik be in this country?" Then she turned towards him, looking into his face, and said, 'By the God of the Jews he is dead!' Never have I heard sweeter words than those.

Then he came to us and told us the news, and we picked up our companion and took him to the apostle and told him that we had killed God's enemy. We disputed before him as to who had killed him, each of us laying claim to the deed. The apostle demanded to see our swords and when he looked at them he said, 'It is the sword of Abdullah b. Unays that killed him; I can see traces of food on it.'

Hassan b. Thabit mentioning the killing of Kab and Sallam said:
God, what a fine band you met,
O Ibnul-Huqayq and Ibnul-Ashraf!
They went to you with sharp swords,
Brisk as lions in a tangled thicket,
Until they came on you in your dwelling
And made you drink death with their swift-slaying swords,
Looking for the victory of their prophet's religion
Despising every risk of hurt.

Amr b. al-As and Khalid b. al-walId accept islam Yazid b. Abu Habib from Rashid client of Hablb b. Abu Aus al-Thaqafi from Hablb told me that Amr b. al-As told him from his own mouth: When we came away from the trench with the mixed tribes I gathered some of Quraysh together, men who shared my opinion and would listen to me, and said: 'You know that in my opinion this affair of Mohammed will go to unheard-of lengths and I should like to know what you think

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of my opinion. I think that we ought to go to the Negus and stay with him. If Mohammed conquers our people we shall be with the Negus and we should prefer to be subject to his authority rather than to Mohammed; on the other hand, if our people get the upper hand they know us and will treat us well.' They thought that my suggestion was excellent so I told them to collect something that we could take as a present to him; as leather was the product of our land which he most valued we collected a large quantity and took it to him.

While we were with him who should come to him but Amr b. Umayya al-Damri whom the apostle had sent concerning Jafar and his companions. He had an audience with the Negus, and when he came out I said to my companions that if I were to go to the Negus and ask him to let me have him, he would give him to me and we could cut off his head; and when I had done that Quraysh would see that I had served them well in killing Mohammed's messenger. So I went in to the Negus and did obeisance as was my wont. He welcomed me as a friend and asked if I had brought anything from our country, and when I told him that I had brought a large quantity of leather and produced it he was greatly pleased and coveted it. Then I said, 'O King, I have just seen a man leave your presence. He is the messenger of an enemy of ours, so let me have him that I may kill him, for he has killed some of our chiefs and best men.' He was enraged, and

stretching out his hand he gave his nose such a blow that I thought he would have broken it. If the earth had opened I would have gone into it to escape his anger. I said that had I known that my request would have been distasteful to him I would not have made it. He said, 'Would you ask me to give you the messenger of a man to whom the great Namus comes as he used to come to Moses, so that you might kill him!' When I asked if he were really so great he said: 'Woe to you, Amr, obey me and follow him, for by Allah he is right and will triumph over his adversaries as Moses triumphed over Pharaoh and his armies.' I asked him if he would accept my allegiance to Mohammed in Islam, and he stretched out his hand and I gave my allegiance. When I went out to my companions I had entirely changed my mind, but I concealed my Islam from my companions.

Then I went off making for Mohammed to adopt Islam, and met Khalid b. al-Walid coming from Mecca. This was a little while before the occupation of Mecca. I said, 'Where are you going, Abu Sulayman?' He said: 'The way has become clear. The man is certainly a prophet, and by Allah I am going to be a Muslim. How much longer should I delay?' I told him that I too was travelling with the same object in view, so we went to Medina to the apostle. Khalid got there first and accepted Islam and gave his allegiance.

Then I came up and said, 'O apostle, I will give you my allegiance on condition that my past faults are forgiven and no mention is made of what has gone before.' He said, 'Give allegiance Amr, for Islam does away with all that preceded it, as does the hijra.' So I gave my allegiance and went away (730).

One whom I do not suspect told me that Uthman b. Talha b. Abu Talha who was with them accepted Islam at the same time.

Ibn al-Zibara al-Sahmi said:

I adjure Uthman b. Talha by our oath of friendship
And by the casting of the sandals at the stone of kissing
And by every alliance our fathers made,
Khalid not being exempt from such,
Do you want the key of a house other than yours (Uthman was the Keeper of the Key of the Kaaba. See Wellhausen 821.),
And what can be more desirable than the glory of an ancient house?
Trust not Khalid and Uthman
After this; they have brought a great disaster.

The conquest of B. Qurayza was in Dhul-Qada and the beginning of Dhul-Hijja. The polytheists were in charge of that pilgrimage.

THE ATTACK ON THE BANU LIHYAN

The apostle stayed in Medina during Dhul-Hijja, Muharram, Safar, and the two months of Rabi, and in Jumadal-Ula, six months after the conquest of Qurayza, he went out against (the) B. Lihyan to avenge his men killed at al-Raj!", Khubayb b. Adiy and his companions. He made as though he was going to Syria in order to take the people by surprise (731). He went past Ghurab, a mountain near Medina on the road to Syria, then by Mahis (The place is wrongly given as Makhid in Wellhausen.), then by al-Batra'; then he turned off to the left and came out by Bin (A wadi near Medina.), then by Sukhayratul-Yamam (Between al-Sayala and Farah.), then the track went by the Meccan highroad. He quickened the pace until he came down to Ghuran, the haunts of (the) B. Lihyan. (Ghuran is a wadi between Amaj and 'Usfan extending as far as a village called Saya.) He found that the people had been warned and taken up strong positions on the tops of the mountains. When the apostle got there and saw that he had failed to take them by surprise as he had intended, he said, 'Were we to come down to Usfan the Meccans would think that we intend to come to Mecca.' So he went out with two hundred riders until he came to Usfan, when he sent two horsemen from his companions who went as far as Kuraul-Ghamim (Between Mecca and Medina, a wadi some eight miles from Usfan.). Then he turned and went back.

Jabir b. Abdullah used to say, 'I heard the apostle say when he set his face towards Medina "Returning repentant if God will, giving thanks to out Lord. I take refuge in God from the difficulties of the journey and its unhappy ending, and the evil appearance of man and beast."'

The tradition about the raid on B. Libyan is from Asim b. Umar b. Qatada and Abdullah b. Abu Bakr from Abdullah b. Kab b. Malik.

Kab b. Malik said:

If (the) B. Lihyan had waited
They would have met bands in their settlements, fine fighters.
They would have met audacious warriors whose terror fills the way (Or, with a different vowel, 'the heart'.)
In front of an irresistible force glittering like stars.
But they were as weasels who stick to the
Clefts of the rocks (A variant is 'passes of Hijaa', which have no means of escape.

THE ATTACK ON DHU QARAD

The apostle had spent only a few nights in Medina when Uyayna b. Hisn b. Hudhayfa b. Badr al-Fazari with the cavalry of Ghatafan raided the apostle's mileh-camels in al-Ghaba (Near Medina in the direction to Syria.). A man of (the) B. Ghifar, who had his wife with him, was in charge of the camels. Him they killed and carried off his wife with the camels.

Asim b. Umar b. Qatada and Abdullah b. Abu Bakr and a man I do not suspect from Abdullah b. Kab b. Malik contributed to the story which follows. The first to know of them was Salama b. Amr b. al-Akwa al-Aslami. That morning he was making for al-Ghaba armed with bow and arrows accompanied by a slave belonging to Talha b. Ubaydullah with a horse which he was leading. When he got to the pass of al-Wada he saw some of their cavalry and looked down in the direction of Sal and cried aloud, 'O (what a) morning!' Then he hurried off after the raiding party like a lion. When he came up with them he began to keep them at bay with arrows, saying as he shot:

Take that, al-Akwa's son am I.
Today, mean crowd, you die!

Whenever the horsemen made for him he fled from them; then back he would come and take a shot at them when he could, saying the same words.

One of them said, 'Our little Akwa' comes early in the morning!'

Ibnul-Akwa's call for aid reached the apostle and he ordered the alarm to be sounded in Medina and the cavalry rallied to him. The first horseman to arrive was al-Miqdad b. Amr called b. al-Aswad, ally of (the) B. Zuhra. The next to arrive from the Ansar were Abbad b. Bishr b. Waqsh b. Zughba b. Zaura, one of (the) B. Abdul-Ashhal; Sad b. Zayd, one of (the) B. Kab b. Abdul-Ashhal; Usayd b. Zuhayr, brother of B. Haritha b. al-Harith, though there is some doubt about him; Ukasha b. Mihsan, brother of (the) B. Asad b. Khuzayma; Muhriz b. Nadla, brother of B. Asad b. Khuzayma; Abu Qatada al-Harith b. Ribi, brother of (the) B. Salima; and Abu Ayyash who was Ubayd b. Zayd b. al-Samit, brother of (the) B. Zurayq. When they

had gathered to the apostle, he set Sad b. Zayd over them according to my information and told them to go in pursuit of the band until he himself overtook them with the army.

I have heard from some men of (the) B. Zurayq that the apostle had said to Abu Ayyash: 'How would it be if you were to give this horse to a man who is a better rider than you and he caught up with the band?' He replied: 'I am the best horseman of the people! Then I beat the horse, and by Allah he had not taken me fifty cubits before he threw me. I was astonished that the apostle should say that he wished that I had given him to a better horseman and that I should have said that I was the best horseman.'

Men of B. Zurayq allege that the apostle gave Abu Ayyash's horse to Muadh b. Mais, or to Aidh b. Mais b. Qays b. Khalada who was the eighth. Some people count Salama b. Amr b. al-Akwa as one of the eight and exclude Usayd b. Zuhayr, but God knows what happened, seeing that Salama was not riding that day but was the first to catch up with the band on foot. The horsemen went in pursuit of the band until they overtook them.

Asim b. Umar b. Qatada told me that the first horseman to catch up with the band was Muhriz b. Nadla who was called 'al-Akhram' and 'Qumayr', and that when the alarm sounded a horse belonging to Mahmud b. Maslama ran round the plantation when it heard the neighing of the horses, for it was a treasured animal not put to work. When some women of (the) B. Abdul-Ashhal saw the horse running round the plantation with the stump of wood to which it was tied they said: 'How would you like to ride this horse, Qumayr? You can see what it is like. Then you could overtake the apostle and the Muslims.' He agreed and they handed it over to him, and he soon outstripped the rest of them because it was full of spirit. When he overtook the band and came to a halt in front of them he said: 'Stop, you rascals, until the emigrants and Ansar who are behind you catch up with you.' One of them attacked and killed him. The horse wheeled and they could not stop him until it stood by its stable among (the) B. Abdul-Ashhal. This man was the only Muslim to be killed (732).

Mahmud's horse was called Dhul-Limma (733).

One whom I do not suspect told me from Abdullah b. Kab b. Malik that Muhriz rode a horse of Ukasha's called al-Janah. Muhriz (C. has Mujazziz, but gives no authority for the reading.) was killed and al-Janah was captured. When the cavalry engaged, Abu Qatada al-Harith b. Ribi killed Habib b. Uyayna b. Hisn and covered him with his mantle; then he joined his force. The apostle advanced with the Muslims (734) and there was Habib covered with Abu Qatada's mantle. The men exclaimed, 'We are God's and to Him must we return! Abu Qatada has been killed.' The apostle said that it was not Abu Qatada but a man he had killed and covered with his mantle so that they might know that he was his prey. Ukasha overtook Aubar and his son Amr who were riding the same camel, and ran them through with his lance, killing the two of them at one stroke. They recovered some of the milch-camels. The apostle went forward until he halted at the mountain of Dhu Qarad, and the men joined him there, and he stopped there for a day and a night. Salama b. al-Akwa asked if he might go with a hundred men and recover the rest of the herd and cut off the heads of the band. I have heard that the apostle said, 'By this time they are being served with their evening drink among Ghatafan.' The apostle divided a butchered camel among every hundred men, and after a while he returned to Medina. The wife of the Ghifari came upon one of the apostle's she-camels and told him what had happened. Having done so she said, 'I vowed to Allah that I would slaughter her if Allah let me escape on her.' The apostle smiled and said: 'You would repay her badly when God mounted you on her and delivered you by her and then you would slaughter her! No vow in disobedience to God nor concerning property that is not your own is valid. She is one of my camels, so go back to your family with God's blessing.' This story of the Ghifari's wife comes from Abul-Zubayr al-Makki from al-Hasan b. Abul-Hasan al-Basri.

Among the verse composed about Dhu Qarad is the following from Hassan b. Thabit:

Were it not for what our horses suffered and what hurt their frogs
As they were led to the south of Saya last night,
They would have met you as they carried well-armed warriors
Noble in ancestry protecting their standard,
And the bastards would have rejoiced that we
Did not fight when Miqdad's horsemen came.
We were eight; they were a great force
Loud-voiced yet pricked by (our) lances (and) scattered.
We were of the people who followed them
And we gave free rein to every noble steed.
Yea, by the Lord of the camels that go to Mina
Traversing the great mountain passes (we will pursue you)
Till we make the horses stale (Reading nublla with C. and Diwan cxxxvii.) in the midst of your dwellings
And come back with your women and children,
Walking gently with every swift horse and mare
That turns swiftly in every battle.
A day in which they are led and a day of charges
Has worn out their quarters and altered the appearance of their backs.
Our horses are fed on milk
While war is kindled by passing winds.
Our sharp swords glittering cut through
Iron shields and pugnacious heads.
Allah put obstacles in their way to protect His sacred property
And to protect His dignity. (This line is obscure. Perhaps the 'sacred property' means the prophet's camels. Possibly the verb is an optative.)
They lived happily in their home, but
On the days of Dhu Qarad they were given the faces of slaves (735).

Hassan also said:

Did Uyayna think when he visited it (i.e. Medina.)
That he would destroy its castles?
In what you said you were made a liar.
You said, 'We will take great spoil.'
You loathed Medina when you visited it
And met roaring lions there.
Back they turned running fast like ostriches
Without getting near a single camel.
God's apostle was our amir,
What a beloved amir to us!
An apostle whose message we believe
Who recites a luminous light-bringing book.

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Kab b. Malik said concerning the day of Dhu Qarad with reference to the horsemen:

Do the bastards think that we
Are not their equals in horsemanship?
We are men who think killing no shame,
We turn not from the piercing lances.
We feed the guest with choicest camels' meat
And smite the heads of the haughty.
We turn back the conspicuous warriors in their pride
With blows that quash the zeal of the unyielding.
With heroes who protect their standard,
Noble, generous, fierce as jungle wolves.
They preserve their honour and their goods
With swords that smash the heads beneath the helms.
Ask the Banu Badr if you meet them
Wrhat the brethren did on the day of battle.

Tell the truth (Reading fasduqu with C. against Wellhausen's faktumu.) to those you meet whenever you come out.

Conceal not the news in assemblies.
Say, We slipped away from the claws of the angry lion
With rage in his heart which he could not work off (736).

Shaddad b. Arid said concerning the day of Dhu Qarad with reference
to Uyayna who was surnamed Abu Malik:

Why, O Abu Malik, did you not return to the fight
When your cavalry were in flight and being slain?
You mentioned going back to Asjar (A place near Mecca.).
Nonsense! it was too late to return.
You trusted yourself to a spirited horse
Quickly covering the ground when given free rein.
When "your left hand reined him in
He reared like a flaming cauldron.
And when you saw that God's servants
Did not wait for those behind to come up
You knew that horsemen had been trained
To chase warriors when they took to the plain.
When they chase the cavalry they bring disgrace on them.
And if they are pursued they dismount
And protect themselves in evil case
With swords which the polisher has made bright.

THE RAID ON THE B. AL-MUSTALIQ

The apostle stayed in Medina during the latter part of Jumadal-Akhira and Rajab; then he attacked (the) B. al-Mustaliq of Khuza a in Shaban 6 A.H.

Asim b. Umar b. Qatada and Abdullah b. Abu Bakr and Mohammed b. Yahya b. Habban each told me a part of the following story: The apostle received news that (the) B. al-Mustaliq were gathering together against him, their leader being al-Harith b. Abu pirar, the father of Juwayriya d. al-Harith (afterwards) wife of the apostle. When the apostle heard about them he went out and met them at a watering place of theirs called al-Muraysi in the direction of Qudayd towards the shore. There was a fight and God put the B. al-Mustaliq to flight and killed some of them and gave the apostle their wives, children, and property as booty. A Muslim of (the) B. Kalb b. Auf b. Amir b. Layth b. Bakr called Hisham b. Subaba was killed by a man of the Ansar of the family of Ubada b. al-Samit who thought he was an enemy and killed him in error.

While the apostle was by this water a party came down to it. Umar had a hired servant from (the) B. Ghifar called Jahjah b. Masud who was leading his horse. This Jahjah and Sinan b. Wabar al-Juhani, an ally of (the) B. Auf b. al-Khazraj, thrust one another away from the water and fell to fighting. The Juhani called out 'Men of al-Ansar!' and Jahjah called out 'Men of the Muhajirun!". Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Salul was enraged. With him was a number of his people including Zayd b. Arqam, a young boy. He said, 'Have they actually done this? They dispute our priority, they outnumber us in our own country, and nothing so fits us and the vagabonds of Quraysh as the ancient saying "Feed a dog and it will devour you". By Allah when we return to Medina the stronger will drive out the weaker.' Then he went to his people who were there and said: 'This is what you have done to yourselves. You have let them occupy your country, and you have divided your property among them. Had you but kept your property from them they would have gone elsewhere.' Zayd b. Arqam heard this and went and told the apostle when he had disposed of his enemies. 'Umar, who was with him, said, 'Tell Abbad b. Bishr to go and kill him." The apostle answered, 'But what if men should say Mohammed kills his own companions? No, but give orders to set off.' Now this was at a time when the apostle was not accustomed to travel. The men duly moved off.

When Abdullah b. Ubayy heard that Zayd had told the apostle what he had said he went to him and swore that he had not said what he did say. He was a great man among his own people and the Ansar who were present with the apostle said: 'It may well be that the boy was mistaken in what he said, and did not remember the man's words,' sympathising with Ibn Ubayy and protecting him.

When the apostle had begun his journey Usayd b. Hudayr met him and saluted him as a prophet, saying, 'You are travelling at a disagreeable time, a thing you have never done before.' The apostle said: 'Have you not heard of what your friend said? He asserted that if he returns to Medina the stronger will drive out the weaker.' He answered: 'But you will drive him out if you want to; he is the weak and you are the strong.' He added: 'Treat him kindly, for Allah brought you to us when his people were stringing beads to make him a crown, and he thinks that you have deprived him of a kingdom.'

Then the apostle walked with the men all that day till nightfall, and through the night until morning and during the following day until the sun distressed them. Then he halted them, and as soon as they touched the ground they fell asleep. He did this to distract their minds from what Abdullah b. Ubayy had said the day before. He continued his journey through the Hijaz as far as water a little above al-Naqi called Baqa. As he travelled at night a violent wind distressed the men and they dreaded it. He told them not to be afraid because the wind announced the death of one of the greatest of the unbelievers, and when they got to Medina they found that Rifaa b. Zayd b. al-Tabut of (the) B. Qaynuqa, one of the most important Jews and a secret shelterer of the disaffected, had died that day. The sura came down in which God mentioned the disaffected with Ibn Ubayy and those like-minded with him. When it came down the apostle took hold of Zayd b. Arqam's ear, saying, 'This is he who devoted his ear to Allah.' (This anecdote is related by Zayd in the first person in Waqidi [B.M. MS. 1617, 95a]. It is a good example of the way in which early traditions preserved the general sense and were comparatively indifferent to the form of words.) Abdullah, Abdullah b. Ubayy's son, heard about his father's affair.

Asim b. Umar b. Qatada told me that Abdullah came to the apostle, saying, 'I have heard that you want to kill Abdullah b. Ubayy for what you have heard about him. If you must do it, then order me to do it and I will bring you his head, for al-Khazraj know that they have no man more dutiful to his father than I, and I am afraid that if you order someone else to kill him my soul will not permit me to see his slayer walking among men and I shall kill him, thus killing a believer for an unbeliever, and so I should go to hell.' The apostle said: 'Nay, but let us deal kindly with him and make much of his companionship while he is with us.' After that it happened that if any misfortune befell it was his own people who reproached and upbraided him roughly. The apostle said to Umar when he heard of this state of things: 'Now what do you think, Umar? Had I killed him on the day you wanted me to kill him the leading men would have trembled with rage. If I ordered them to kill him today they would kill him.' Umar replied, 'I know that the apostle's order is more blessed than mine.'

Miqyas b. Subaba came from Mecca as a Muslim, so he professed, saying, 'I come to you as a Muslim seeking the bloodwit for my brother who was killed in error.' The apostle ordered that he should have the bloodwit for his brother Hisham and he stopped a short while with the apostle. Then he attacked his brother's slayer and killed him and went off to Mecca an apostate. He spoke the following lines:

It eased my soul that he died in the lowland,
The blood of his neck veins dyeing his garments.
Before I killed him I was beset by cares
Which prevented me from seeking my couch.
I gave free vent to my vengeance
And was the first to return to the idols.
I avenged Fihr on him and laid his bloodwit
On the chiefs of B. al-Najjar, the lords of Fari (One of their castles.).

He also said:

I fetched him a stroke in vengeance
Which drew blood that ebbed and flowed.
I said as the wrinkles of death covered him
'You cannot be safe from B. Bakr when they are wronged' (738).

Of B. Mustaliq who were slain that day Ali killed two—Malik and his son. Abdul-Rahman b. Auf killed one of their horsemen called Ahmar or Uhaymir. The apostle took many captives and they were distributed among the Muslims. One of those taken was Juwayriya d. al-Harith b. Abu Pirar, the apostle's wife.

Mohammed b. Jafar b. al-Zubayr from Urwa b. al-Zubayr from Aisha said: When the apostle distributed the captives of B. al-Mustaliq, Juwayriya fell to the lot of Thabit b. Qays b. al-Shammas, or to a cousin of his, and she gave him a deed for her redemption. She was a most beautiful woman. She captivated every man who saw her. She came to the apostle to ask his help in the matter. As soon as I saw her at the door of my room I took a dislike to her, for I knew that he would see her as I saw her. She went in and told him who she was—d. of al-Harith b. Abu Dirar, the chief of his people. 'You can see the state to which I have been brought. I have fallen to the lot of Thabit or his cousin and have given him a deed for my ransom and have come to ask your help in the matter.' He said, 'Would you like something better than that? I will discharge your debt and marry you,' and she accepted him.

The news that the apostle had married Juwayriya was blazed abroad and now that B. Mustaliq were the prophet's relations by marriage the men released those they held. When he married her a hundred families were released. I do not know a woman who was a greater blessing to her people than she (739).

Yazid b. Ruman told me that the apostle sent al-Walid b. Uqba b. Abu Muayt to them after they had accepted Islam. When they heard of him they rode out to meet him, but when he heard of them he was afraid and went back to the apostle and told him that the people had determined to kill him and had withheld their due poor tax. The Muslims talked a lot about raiding them until the apostle himself meditated doing so. While this was going on an embassy of theirs came to the apostle, saying: 'We heard about your messenger when you sent him to us and we went out to meet him to show him respect and to pay the poor tax that was due, and he went back as fast as he could. Now we hear that he has alleged that we went out to kill him. By Allah we did not go out with such intent.' So God sent down concerning him and them: 'O you who believe if an evil man comes to you with a report examine it closely lest you do ill to a people in ignorance and be sorry for what you have done. Know that the apostle of God is among you. If he were to obey you in much of the government you would be in trouble (Koran 49.6).'

THE LIE THAT WAS UTTERED ON THE RAID OF THE B. AL-MUSTALIQ

According to what a man I do not suspect told me from al-Zuhri from Urwa from Aisha the apostle had gone forward on that journey of his until he was near Medina, Aisha having been with him on the journey, when the liars spoke about her.

Al-Zuhri told us from Alqama b. Waqqas, and from Said b. Jubayr and from Urwa b. al-Zubayr, and from Ubaydullah b. Abdullah b. Utba, each contributing a part of the story, one remembering more of it than another, and I (Zuhri) have put together for you what the people told me.

Yahya b. Abbad b. Abdullah b. al-Zubayr told me from his father from Aisha; and Abdullah b. Abu Bakr from Amra d. Abdul-Rahman from Aisha from her own words when the liars said what they did. The whole of her story rests on these men as a whole. One relates what another does not. All of them are trustworthy witnesses, and all of them related what they heard from her. She said: 'When the apostle intended to go on an expedition he cast lots between his wives which of them should accompany him. He did this on the occasion of the raid on B. al-Mustaliq and the lot fell on me, so the apostle took me out. The wives on these occasions used to eat light rations; meat did not fill them up so that they were heavy. When the camel was being saddled for me I used to sit in my howdah; then the men who saddled it for me would come and pick me up and take hold of the lower part of the howdah and lift it up and put it on the camel's back and fasten it with a rope. Then they would take hold of the camel's head and walk with it.

'When the apostle finished his journey on this occasion he started back and halted when he was near Medina and passed a part of the night there. Then he gave permission to start and the men moved off. I went out for a certain purpose having a string of Zafar beads on my neck. When I had finished, it slipped from my neck without my knowledge, and when I returned to the camel I went feeling my neck for it but could not find it. Meanwhile the main body had already moved off. I went back to the place where I had been and looked for the necklace until I found it. The men who were saddling the camel for me came up to the place I had just left and having finished the saddling they took hold of the howdah thinking that I was in it as I normally was, picked it up and bound it on the camel, not doubting that I was in it. Then they took the camel by the head and went off with it. I returned to the place and there was not a soul there. The men had gone. So I wrapped myself in my smock and then lay down where I was, knowing that if I were missed they would come back for me, and by Allah I had but just lain down when Safwan b. al-Muattal al-Sulami passed me; he had fallen behind the main body for some purpose and had not spent the night with the troops. He saw my form and came and stood over me. He used to see me before the veil was prescribed for us, so when he saw me he exclaimed in astonishment "The apostle's wife" (zaina, a woman carried in a howdah.) while I was wrapped in my garments. He asked me what had kept me behind but I did not speak to him. Then he brought up his camel and told me to ride it while he kept behind. So I rode it and he took the camel's head going forward quickly in search of the army, and by Allah we did not overtake them and I was not missed until the morning. The men had halted and when they were rested up came the man leading me and the liars spread their reports and the army was much disturbed. But by Allah I knew nothing about it.

'Then we came to Medina and immediately I became very ill and so heard nothing of the matter. The story had reached the

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apostle and my parents, yet they told me nothing of it though I missed the apostle's accustomed kindness to me. When I was ill he used to show compassion and kindness to me, but in this illness he did not and I missed his attentions. When he came in to see me when my mother was nursing me (740), all he said was, "How is she?" (The form used indicates the plural and, to some extent, the speaker's indifference.) so that I was pained and asked him to let me be taken to my mother so that she could nurse me. "Do what you like," he said, and so I was taken to my mother, knowing nothing of what had happened until I recovered from my illness some twenty days later. Now we were an Arab people: we did not have those privies which foreigners have in their houses; we loathe and detest them. Our practice was to go out into the open spaces of Medina. The women used to go out even' night, and one night I went out with Umm Mistah. d. Abu Ruhm b. al-Muttalib b. Abdu Manaf. Her mother was d. Sakhr b. Amir b. Kab b. Sad b. Taym aunt of Abu Bakr. As she was walking with me she stumbled over her gown and exclaimed, "May Mistah stumble," Mistah being the nickname of Auf. I said, "That is a bad thing to say about one of the emigrants who fought at Badr." She replied, "Haven't you heard the news, O daughter of Abu Bakr?" and when I said that I had not heard she went on to tell me of what the liars had said, and when I showed my astonishment she told me that all this really had happened. By Allah, I was unable to do what I had to do and went back. I could not stop crying until I thought that the weeping would burst my liver. I said to my mother, "God forgive you! Men have spoken ill of me (Tabari 1521: and you have known of it) and have not told me a thing about it." She replied "My little daughter, do not let the matter weigh on you. Seldom is there a beautiful woman married to a man who loves her but her rival wives gossip about her and men do the same."

'The apostle had got up and addressed the men, though I knew nothing about it. After praising God he said: "What do certain men mean by worrying me about my family and saying false things about them? By Allah, I know only good of them, and they say these things of a man of whom I know naught but good, who never enters a house of mine but in my company."

'The greatest offenders were Abdullah b. Ubayy among the Khazraj and Mistah and Hamna d. Jahsh, for the reason that her sister Zaynab d. Jahsh was one of the apostle's wives and only she could rival me in his favour. As for Zaynab, Allah protected her by her religion and she spoke nothing but good. But Hamna spread the report far and wide opposing me (Tabari: rivalling me) for the sake of her sister, and I suffered (Or 'she [Zaynab] suffered'.) much from that.

'When the apostle made this speech Usayd b. Hudayr said: "If they are of Aus let us rid you of them; and if they are of the Khazraj give us your orders, for they ought to have their heads cut off." Sad b. Ubada got up —before that he had been thought a pious man— and said, "By Allah, you lie. They shall not be beheaded. You would not have said this had you not known that they were of Khazraj. Had they been your own people you would not have said it." Usayd answered, "Liar yourself! You are a disaffected person arguing on behalf of the disaffected." (Koran Sura 4.107) Feeling ran so high that there was almost fighting between these two clans of Aus and Khazraj. The apostle left and came in to see me. He called Ali and Usama b. Zayd and asked their advice. Usama spoke highly of me and said "They are your family (Care is taken to avoid the use of Aisha's name.) and we and you know only good of them, and this is a lie and a falsehood.

'As for Ali he said: "Women are plentiful, and you can easily change one for another. Ask the slave girl, for she will tell you the truth." So the apostle called Burayra to ask her, and 'Ali got up and gave her a violent beating, saying, "Tell the apostle the truth," to which she replied, "I know only good of her. The only fault I have to find with Aisha is that when I am kneading dough and tell her to watch it she neglects it and falls asleep and the sheep (Tabari: 'pet lamb') comes and eats it!"

'Then the apostle came in to me. My parents and a woman of the Ansar were with me and both of us were weeping. He sat down and after praising God he said, "'Aisha, you know what people say about you. Fear God and if you have done wrong as men say then repent towards God, for He accepts repentance from His slaves." As he said this my tears ceased and I could not feel them. I waited for my parents to answer the apostle but they said nothing. By Allah I thought myself too insignificant for God to send down concerning me a Koran which could be read in the mosques and used in prayer, but I was hoping that the apostle would see something in a dream by which God would clear away the lie from me, because He knew my innocence, or that there would be some communication. As for a Koran coming down about me by Allah I thought far too little of myself for that. When I saw that my parents would not speak I asked them why, and they replied that they did not know what to answer, and by Allah I do not know a household which suffered as did the family of Abu Bakr in those days. When they remained silent my weeping broke out afresh and then I said: "Never will I repent towards God of what you mention. By Allah, I know that if I were to confess what men say of me, God knowing that I am innocent of it, I should admit what did not happen; and if I denied what they said you would not believe me." Then I racked my brains for the name of Jacob and could not remember it, so I said, "I will say what the father of Joseph said: 'My duty is to show becoming patience and God's aid is to be asked against what you describe (Koran 12.18).'"

'And, by God, the apostle had not moved from where he was sitting when there came over him from God what used to come over him and he was wrapped in his garment and a leather cushion was put under his head. As for me, when I saw this I felt no fear or alarm, for I knew that I was innocent and that God would not treat me unjustly. As for my parents, as soon as the apostle recovered I thought that they would die from fear that confirmation would come from God of what men had said. Then the apostle recovered and sat up and there fell from him as it were drops of water on a winter day, and he began to wipe the sweat from his brow, saying, "Good news, Aisha! God has sent down (word) about your innocence." I said, "Praise be to God," and he went out to the men and addressed them and recited to them what God had sent down concerning that (Tabari: "me"). Then he gave orders about Mistah b. Uthatha and Hassan b. Thabit and Hamna d. Jahsh who were the most explicit in their slander and they were flogged with the prescribed number of stripes (i.e. eighty.).

'My father Ishaq b. Yasar told me from some of the men of B. al-Najjar that the wife of Abu Ayyub Khalid b. Zayd said to him, "Have you heard what people are saying about Aisha?" "Certainly, but it is a lie," he said. "Would you do such a thing?" (sc. what Aisha was accused of.) She answered "No, by Allah, I would not." He said, "Well, Aisha is a better woman than you."'

Aisha continued: When the Koran came down with the mention of those of the slanderers who repeated what the liars had said, God said: 'Those who bring the lie are a band among you. Do not regard it as a bad thing for you; nay it is good for you. Every man of them will get what he has earned from the sin, and he who had the greater share therein will have a painful punishment,' (Koran 24.11) meaning Hassan b. Thabit and his companions who said what they said (741).

Then God said, 'Why did not the believing men and women when you heard it think good of themselves?' i.e. say what Abu Ayyub and his wife said. Then He said, 'When you welcomed it with your tongues and spoke with your mouths that of which you had no knowledge you thought it a light thing, yet with God it is grave.'

When this came down about Aisha and about those who spoke about her, Abu Bakr who used to make an allowance to Mistah because he was of his kin and needy said, 'Never will I give anything to Mistah again, nor will I ever help him in any way after what he said about Aisha and brought evil on us.' She continued: 'So God sent down concerning that "And let not those who possess dignity and ease among you swear not to give to kinsmen and the poor and those who emigrate for God's sake. Let them forgive and show forbearance. Do you not wish that God should forgive you? And God is forgiving, merciful" ' (742).

Abu Bakr said, 'Yes, by Allah, I want God to forgive me,' so he continued the allowance that he was accustomed to give to Mistah, saying, 'I will never withdraw it from him.'

Then Safwan b. al-Muattal met Hassan b. Thabit with a sword when he heard what he was saying about him, for Hassan had also uttered some verse alluding to him and the Arabs of Mudar who had accepted Islam:

The vagabond immigrants have become powerful and numerous
And Ibnul-Furaya has become solitary in the land. (Here in a bad sense. He is speaking of himself submerged in a sea of refugees.)
As good as bereaved is the mother of the man I fight
Or caught in the claws of a lion.
The man I kill will not be paid for
By money or by blood.
When the wind blows in the north and the sea rides high
And bespatters the shore with foam
Tis no more violent than I when you see me in a rage
Devastating as a cloud of hail.
As for Quraysh, I will never make peace with them
Until they leave error for righteousness
And abandon al-Lat and al-Uzza
And all bow down to the One, The Eternal,
And testify that what the apostle said to them is true,
And faithfully fulfil the solemn oath with God. (The language is reminiscent of the Koran. The point of the reference to Safwan is not clear to me.)

Safwan met him and smote him with his sword, saying according to what Yaqub b. Utba told me:

Here's the edge of my sword for you!
When you lampoon a man like me you do not get a poem in return!

Mohammed b. Ibrahim b. al-Harith al-Tayml told me that Thabit b. Qays b. al-Shammas leapt upon Safwan when he smote Hassan and tied his hands to his neck and took him to the quarter of (the) B. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj. Abdullah b. Rawaha met him and asked what had happened, and he said: 'Do I surprise you? He smote Hassan with the sword and by Allah he must have killed him.' Abdullah asked if the apostle knew about what he had done, and when he said that he did not he told him that he had been very daring and that he must free the man. He did so. Then they came to the apostle and told him of the affair and he summoned

Hassan and Safwan. The latter said, 'He insulted and satirized me and rage so overcame me that I smote him.' The apostle said to Hassan, 'Do you look with an evil eye on my people because God has guided them to Islam?' He added, 'Be charitable about what has befallen you.' Hassan said, 'It is yours, O apostle' (743).

The same informant told me that the apostle gave him in compensation Bir Ha, today the castle of (the) B. Hudayla in Medina. It was a property belonging to Abu Talha b. Sahl which he had given as alms to the apostle who gave it to Hassan for his blow. He also gave him Sirin a Copt (Coptic = Egyptian Christian) slavegirl, and she bare him Abdul-Rahman.

Aisha used to say, 'Questions were asked about Ibnul-Muattal and they found that he was impotent; he never touched women. He was killed as a martyr after this."

Hassan b. Thabit said, excusing himself for what he had said about Aisha:

Chaste, keeping to her house, above suspicion,
Never thinking of reviling innocent women;
A noble woman of the clan of Luayy b. Ghalib,
Seekers of honour whose glory passes not away.
Pure, God having purified her nature
And cleansed her from all evil and falsehood.
If I said what you allege that I said
Let not my hands perform their office.
How could I, with my lifelong affection and support
For the family of the apostle who lends splendour to all gatherings,
His rank so high above all others that
The highest leap would fall short of it?
What has been said will not hold
But is the word of one who would slander me (744).

A Muslim said about the flogging of Hassan and his companions for slandering Aisha (745):

Hassan, Hamna, and Mistah tasted what they deserved
For uttering unseemly slander;
They slandered with ill-founded accusations their prophet's wife;
They angered the Lord of the glorious throne and were chastised.
They injured God's apostle through her
And were made a public and lasting disgrace.
Lashes rained upon them like
Raindrops falling from the highest clouds.

THE AFFAIR OF AL-HUDAYBIYA, 6 A.H. THE WILLING HOMAGE AND THE PEACE BETWEEN THE APOSTLE AND SUHAYL B. AMR

Then the apostle stayed in Medina during the months of Ramadan and Shawwal and went out on the little pilgrimage in Dhul-Qada with no intention of making war (746). He called together the Arabs and neighbouring Bedouin to march with him, fearing that Quraysh would oppose him with arms or prevent him from visiting the temple, as they actually did. Many of the Arabs held back from him, and he went out with the emigrants and Ansar and such of the Arabs as stuck to him. He took the sacrificial victims with him and donned the pilgrim garb so that all would know that he did not intend war and that his purpose was to visit the temple and to venerate it.

Mohammed b. Muslim b. Shihab al-Zuhri from Urwa b. al-Zubayr from Miswar b. Makhrama and Marwan b. al-Hakam told me: The apostle went out in the year of al-rludaybiya with peaceful intent meaning to visit the temple, and took with him seventy camels for sacrifice. There were seven hundred men so that each camel was on behalf of ten men. Jabir b. Abdullah, so I have heard, used to say, 'We, the men of al-Hudaybiya, were fourteen hundred.'

Al-Zuhri continued: When the apostle was in Usfan, Bishr b. Sufyan al-Kabi met him (747) and said: 'There are Quraysh who have heard of your coming and have come out with their milch-camels and have put on leopards' skins*, and have encamped at Dhu Tuwa swearing that you will never enter Mecca in defiance of them. (* This passage and 744, line 5. imply that leopard skins were actually worn. The language in Hamdsa 82.13 and Mufad. 640.6 appears to be figurative. For milch-camels some substitute 'women and children'.) This man Khalid b. al-Walid is with their cavalry which they have sent in advance to Kuraul-Ghamim (A wadi about 8 miles / 12 km from Usfan.).

The apostle said: Alas, Quraysh, war has devoured them! What harm would they have suffered if they had left me and the rest of the Arabs to go our own ways? If they should kill

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me that is what they desire, and if God should give me the victory over them they would enter Islam in flocks.

If they do not do that they will fight while they have the strength, so what are Quraysh thinking of? By Allah, I will not cease to fight for the mission with which God has entrusted me until He makes it victorious or I perish.' Then he said, 'Who will take us out by a way in which we shall not meet them ?'

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that a man of Aslam volunteered to do so and he took them by a rugged, rocky track between passes which was very hard on the Muslims, and when they emerged from it on to the easy ground at the end of the wadi the apostle said to the men, 'Say, We ask God's forgiveness and we repent towards Him.' They did so and he said, 'That is the "putting away" (Mm is said to mean 'take away our sins'. Cf. Suras 2.55 and 7.161) that was enjoined on the children of Israel; but they did not say the words.'

The apostle ordered the force to turn to the right through the salty growth (Hamd here may be a place-name, but the place of this name in Yaq. ii. 339 is much too far away from Mecca.) on the road which leads by the pass of al-Murar to the declivity of al-Hudaybiya below Mecca. They did so, and when the Quraysh cavalry saw from the dust of the army that they had turned aside from their path they returned at a gallop to Quraysh. The apostle went as far as the pass of al-Murar and when his camel knelt and the men said, 'The camel will not get up,' he said: 'It has not refused and such is not its nature, but the One who restrained the elephant from Mecca is keeping it back. Today whatever condition Quraysh make in which they ask me to show kindness to kindred I shall agree to.' Then he told the people to dismount. They objected that there was no water there by which they could halt, so he took an arrow from his quiver and gave it to one of his companions and he took it down into one of the waterholes and prodded the middle of it and the water rose until the men's camels were satisfied with drinking and lay down there.

One of the B. Aslam told me that the man who went into the hole with the apostle's arrow was Najiya b. Jundub b. Umayr b. Yamar b. Darim b. Amr b. Waila b. Sahm b. Mazin b. Salaman b. Aslam b. Afsa b. Abu Haritha who drove the apostle's camels to sacrifice (748).

A traditionist alleged to me that al-Bara b. Azib used to say that it was he who went down with the apostle's arrow, and God knows which it was. The Aslam quoted verses from the lines which Najiya made. We think that it was he who went down with the arrow. Aslam allege that a slave-girl of the Ansar came up with her bucket while Najiya was in the well supplying the people with water and said:

O you down below, my bucket is here.
I can hear all our men who wish you good cheer
Praising the one who draws water here (749).

Najiya said as he was in the hole getting the water:
The Yamani slave-girl knows
That I am Najiya down below getting water.
Many a wide bloody wound I have made
In the breasts of advancing foes.

In his tradition al-Zuhri said: When the apostle had rested Budayl b. Warqa' al-Khuzai came to him with some men of Khuzaa and asked him 'what he had come for. He told them that he had not come for war but to go on pilgrimage and venerate the sacred precincts. Then he said to them what he had said to Bishr b. Sufyan. Then they returned to (the) Quraysh and told them what they had heard; but they suspected them and spoke roughly to them, saying, 'He may have come not wanting war but by Allah he shall never come in here against our will, nor shall the Arabs ever say that we have allowed it.'

Khuzaa were the apostle's confidants, both their Muslims and their polytheists. They kept him informed of everything that happened in Mecca. Then Quraysh sent Mikraz b. Hafs b. al-Akhyaf brother of (the) B. Amir b. Lu'ayy to him. When he saw him approaching the apostle said, 'This is a treacherous fellow!' When he came up and spoke to him the apostle gave him the same reply as he had given Budayl and his companions, and he returned and told the Quraysh what the apostle had said.

Then they sent to him al-Hulays b. Alqama or Ibn Zabban, who was at that time chief of the black troops, being one of (the) B. al-Harith b. Abdu Manat b. Kinana. When he saw him the apostle said, 'This is one of the devout people, so send the sacrificial animals to meet him so that he can see them! When he saw them going past him from the side of the wadi with their festive collars round their necks and how they had eaten their hair*

because they had been so long kept back from the place of sacrifice, he went back to (the) Quraysh and did not come to the apostle, so greatly was he impressed by what he had seen. When he told them that, they said, 'Sit down! You are only a Bedouin, utterly ignorant.' (It is just possible that aubur is the plural of aubur, a bitter salty herb with thorns (hamida).

In that case it would support the rendering of tfamd on p. 741.)

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that this enraged al-Hulays, who said: 'You men of (the) Quraysh, it was not for this that we made an alliance and agreement with you. Is a man who comes to do honour to God's house to be excluded from it? By him who holds my life in his hand, either you let Mohammed do what he has come to do or I shall take away the black troops to the last man.' They said, 'Be quiet, Hulays! until we obtain for ourselves acceptable terms.'

In his narrative al-Zuhri said: Then they sent Urwa b. Masud al-Thaqafi to the apostle and he said: 'You men of (the) Quraysh, I have seen the harshness and rude words with which you have received those you sent to Mohammed when they returned to you. You know that you are the father and I am the son—for 'Urwa was the son of Subay'a d. Abdu Shams—I heard of what befell you and I collected those of my people who obeyed me; then I came to you to help you.' They agreed and said that they did not suspect him. So he came to the apostle and sat before him and said:

'Mohammed, have you collected a mixed people together and then brought them to your own people to destroy them? Quraysh have come out with their milch-camels^ clad in leopard skins swearing that you shall never enter Mecca by force. By God I think I see you deserted by these people (here) tomorrow.' Now Abu Bakr was sitting behind the apostle and he said, 'Suck al-Lat's nipples! Should we desert him?' He asked who had spoken, and when he heard it was Ibn Abu Quhafa he said, 'By Allah, did I not owe you a favour I would pay you back for that, but now we are quits.' Then he began to take hold of the apostle's beard as he talked to him. Al-Mughira b. Shuba was standing by the apostle's head clad in mail and he began to hit his hand as he held the apostle's beard saying, 'Take your hand away from the apostle's face before you lose it." Urwa said, 'Confound you, how rough and rude you are!' The apostle smiled and when Urwa asked who the man was he told him that it was his brother's son, al-Mughira b. Shuba and he said, 'O wretch, it was only yesterday that I washed your dirty parts!' (750).

The apostle told him what he had told the others, namely that he had not come out for war. He got up from the apostle's presence having seen how his companions treated him. Whenever he performed his ablutions they ran to get the water he had used; if he spat they ran to it; if a hair of his head fell they ran to pick it up. So he returned to (the) Quraysh and said, 'I have been to Chosroes in his kingdom, and Caesar in his kingdom and the Negus in his kingdom, but never have I seen a king among a people like Mohammed among his companions. I have seen a people who will never abandon him for any reason, so form your own opinion.'

A traditionist told me that the apostle called Khirash b. Umayya al-Khuzai and sent him to (the) Quraysh in Mecca, mounting him on one of his camels called al-Thalab to tell their chiefs from him what he had come for. They hamstrung the apostle's camel and wanted to kill the man, but the black troops protected him and let him go his way so that he came back to the apostle.

One whom I do not suspect from Ikrima client of Ibn Abbas from the latter told me that (the) Quraysh had sent forty or fifty men with orders to surround the apostle's camp and get hold of one of his companions for them, but they were caught and brought to the apostle, who forgave them and let them go their way. They had attacked the camp with stones and arrows. Then he called Umar to send him to Mecca with the same message, but Umar told him that he feared for his life with (the) Quraysh, because there were none of (the) B. Adiy b. Kab in Mecca to protect him, and (the) Quraysh knew of his enmity and his rough treatment of them. He recommended that a man more prized there than himself should be sent, namely Uthman. The apostle summoned Uthman and sent him to Abu Sufyan and the chiefs of (the) Quraysh to tell them that he had not come for war but merely to visit the house and to venerate its sanctity.

As Uthman entered or was about to enter Mecca Aban b. Said b. al-As met him and carried him in front of him. Then he gave him his protection until he could convey the apostle's message to them. Having heard what Uthman had to say, they said: 'If you want to go round the temple, go round it.' He said that he could not do so until Mohammed did so, and Quraysh kept him a prisoner with them. The apostle and the Muslims were informed that Uthman had been killed.

THE WILLING HOMAGE

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that when the apostle heard that Uthman had been killed he said that they would not leave until they fought the enemy, and he summoned the men to give their undertaking. The pledge of al-Ridwan took place under a tree. Men used to say that the apostle took their pledge unto death. Jabir b. Abdullah used to say that the apostle did not take their pledge unto death, but rather their undertaking that they would not run away. Not one of the Muslims who were present failed to give his hand except al-Jadd b. Qays, brother of (the) B. Salima. Jabir used to say: 'By Allah, I can almost see him now sticking to his camel's side cringing as he tried to hide himself from the men.' Then the apostle heard that the news about 'Uthman was false (751).

THE ARMISTICE

Al-Zuhri said: Then Quraysh sent Suhayl b. Amr brother of B. Amir b. Luayy to the apostle with instructions to make peace with him on condition that he went back this year, so that none of the Arabs could say that he made a forcible entry. When the apostle saw him coming he said, 'The people want to make peace seeing that they have sent this man.' After a long discussion peace was made and nothing remained but to write an agreement. Umar jumped up and went to Abu Bakr saying, 'Is he not God's apostle, and are we not Muslims, and are they not polytheists?' to which Abu Bakr agreed, and he went on: 'Then why should we agree to what is demeaning to our religion?' He replied, 'Stick to what he says, for I testify that he is God's apostle.' Umar said, 'And so do I.' Then he went to the apostle and put the same questions to which the apostle answered, 'I am God's slave and His apostle. I will not go against His commandment and He will not make me the loser.' Umar used to say, 'I have not ceased giving alms and fasting and praying and freeing slaves because of what I did that day out of fear for what I had said, when I hoped that (my plan) would be better.'

Then the apostle summoned Ali and told him to write 'In the name of Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful' (This is a phrase.' Suhayl said 'I do not recognise this; but write "In thy name, O Allah.'" The apostle told him to write the latter and he did so. Then he said: 'Write "This is what Mohammed, the apostle of God has agreed with Suhayl b. Amr.'" Suhayl said, 'If I witnessed that you were God's apostle I would not have fought you. Write your own name and the name of your father.' The apostle said: 'Write "This is what Mohammed b. Abdullah has agreed with Suhayl b. Amr: they have agreed to lay aside war for ten years during which men can be safe and refrain from hostilities on condition that if anyone comes to Mohammed without the permission of his guardian he will return him to them; and if anyone of those with Mohammed comes to (the) Quraysh they will not return him to him. We will not show enmity one to another and there shall be no secret reservation or bad faith. He who wishes to enter into a bond and agreement with Mohammed may do so and he who wishes to enter into a bond and agreement with Quraysh may do so." Here Khuzaa leapt up and said, 'We are in a bond and agreement with Mohammed,' and (the) B. Bakr leapt up and said the same with regard to (the) Quraysh, adding 'You must retire from us this year and not enter Mecca against our will, and next year we will make way for you and you can enter it with your companions, and stay there three nights. You may carry a rider's weapons, the swords in their sheaths. You can bring in nothing more.'

While the apostle and Suhayl were writing the document, suddenly Abu Jandal b. Suhayl appeared walking in fetters, having escaped to the apostle. The apostle's companions had gone out without any doubt of occupying Mecca because of the vision which the apostle had seen, and when they saw the negotiations for peace and a withdrawal going on and what the apostle had taken on himself they felt depressed almost to the point of death. When Suhayl saw Abu Jandal he got up and hit him in the face and took hold of his collar, saying, 'Mohammed, the agreement between us was concluded before this man came to you.' He replied, 'You are right.' He began to pull him roughly by his collar and to drag him away to return him to Quraysh, while Abu Jandal shrieked at the top of his voice, 'Am I to be returned to the polytheists that they may entice me from my religion O Muslims?' and that increased the people's dejection. The apostle said, 'O Abu Jandal, be patient and control yourself, for God will provide relief and a means of escape for you and those of you who are helpless. We have made peace with them and we and they have invoked God in our agreement and we cannot deal falsely with them.' Umar jumped up and walked alongside Abu Jandal saying, 'Be patient for they are only polytheists; the blood of one of them is but the blood of a dog,' and he brought the hilt of his sword close up to him. Umar used to say, 'I hoped that he would take the sword and kill his father with it, but the man spared his father and so the matter ended.'

When the apostle had finished the document he summoned representatives of the Muslims and polytheists to witness to the peace, namely Abu Bakr, Umar, and Abdul-Rahman b. Auf, Abdullah b. Suhayl b. Amr, and Sad b. Abu Waqqas, Mahmud b. Maslama, Mikraz b. Hafs who was a polytheist at the time, and Ali who was the writer of the document.

The apostle was encamped in the profane country, and he used to pray in the sacred area. When the peace was concluded he slaughtered his victims and sat down and shaved his head. I have heard that it was Khirash b. Umayya b. al-Fadl al-Khuzai who shaved him then. When the men saw what the apostle had done they leapt up and did the same.

Abdullah b. Abu Najlh from Mujahid from Ibn Abbas told me, 'Some men shaved their heads on the day of al-Hudaybiya while others cut their hair.' The apostle said, 'May God have mercy on the shavers.' They said, 'The cutters, too, O apostle?' Three times they had to put this question until finally he added 'and the cutters'. When they asked him why he had

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repeatedly confined the invocation of God's mercy to the shavers he replied, 'Because they did not doubt.'

The same authorities told me that the apostle sacrificed in the year of al-Hudaybiya among his victims a camel belonging to Abu Jahl which had a silver nose-ring, thus enraging the polytheists.

Zuhri continued: The apostle then went on his way back and when he was half-way back the sura al-Fath came down: 'We have given you a plain victory that God may forgive you your past sin and the sin which is to come and may complete his favour upon you and guide you on an upright path (Koran 48).' Then the account goes on about him and his companions until he comes to mention the oath of allegiance and He said: 'Those who swear allegiance to you really swear allegiance to God, the hand of God being above their hands; so he who breaks his oath breaks it to his own hurt; while he who is faithful to what he has covenanted with God, to him will He give a great reward.'

Then He mentioned the Bedouin who held back from him. Then He said when he urged them to take the field with him and they procrastinated, 'The Bedouin who were left behind will say to you: Our possessions and our families preoccupied us!' Then follows an account of them until the words 'Those who were left behind will say when you go out to capture spoil, Let us follow you, wishing to change what God has said. Say, You shall not follow us. Thus has God said beforehand.' Then follows an account of them and how it was explained to them that they must fight a people of great prowess.

Abdullah b. Abu Najih from Ata b. Abu Rabah from Ibn Abbas said (That means) Persia. One whom I do not suspect from al-Zuhri told me that 'a people of great prowess' meant Hanifa with the arch-liar.

Then He said: 'God was pleased with the believers when they swore allegiance to you under the tree and He knew what was in their hearts, and He sent down the Sakina* upon them and rewarded them with a recent victory and much spoil which they will take. God is mighty, wise. God has promised you much spoil which you will capture and has given you this in advance, and kept men's hands from you, that it may be a sign to the believers and that He may guide you on an upright path, and other (things) which you have not been able to get. God encompasses them, and God is almighty.' (* This is (1st) a genuine Arabic word meaning 'tranquillity', 'calm'; and (2nd) a borrowing from the Hebrew shekinah, possibly through the medium of Syriac-Aramaic. A summary of what has been said about it with a bibliography is given by A. Jeffery. Foreign Vocabulary of the Koran 174)

Then He mentioned how He had kept him away from battle after the victory over them, meaning those He had kept from him. Then He said: 'He it is who has kept their hands from you and your hands from them in the vale of Mecca, after He had given you victory over them. God is a seer of what you do.' Then He said: 'They are those who disbelieved and debarred you from the sacred mosque and the offering from reaching its goal' (752). 'And had it not been for the believing men and women whom you did not know lest you should tread them under foot and thus incur guilt for them unwittingly.' Ma ana means 'a fine', i.e. lest you should suffer loss for them unwittingly and pay its bloodwit; as for real guilt he did not fear it on their account (753).

Then he said, 'When those who disbelieve had set in their hearts zealotry, the zealotry of paganism,' i.e. Suhayl b. Amr when he scorned to write 'In the name of Allah the Compassionate the Merciful' and that Mohammed is God's apostle. Then He said 'God sent down His sakina1 upon His apostle and the believers and imposed on them the word of piety, for they were meet and worthy of it,' i.e. the declaration of God's unity, the witness that there is no God but Allah and that Mohammed is His slave and His apostle.

Then He said: 'God has fulfilled the vision to His apostle in truth. You shall enter the sacred mosque if God will, safely with heads shaved and hair cut short fearing not. For He knows what you do not know,' i.e. the vision which the apostle saw that he would enter Mecca safely without fear. He says 'with your heads shaved and hair cut short' along with him without fear, for He knows what you do not know of that, and more than that He has wrought a near victory, the peace of al-Hudaybiya.

No previous victory in Islam was greater than this. There was nothing but battle when men met; but when there was an armistice and war was abolished and men met in safety and consulted together none talked about Islam intelligently without entering it. In those two years double as many or more than double as many entered Islam as ever before (754).

THE CASE OF THOSE LEFT HELPLESS AFTER THE PEACE

When the apostle arrived in Medina Abu Basir Utba b. Asid b. Jariya, one of those imprisoned in Mecca, came to him. Azhar d. Abdu Auf b. Abd b. al-Harith b. Zuhra and al-Akhnas b. Shariq b. Amr b. Wahb al-Thaqafi wrote to the apostle about him, and they sent a man of B. Amir b. Luayy with a freed slave of theirs. When they came to the apostle with the letter he said, 'You know the undertaking we gave these people and it ill becomes us that treachery should enter our religion. God will bring relief and a way of escape to those helpless like you, so go back to your people.' He said, 'Would you return me to the polytheists who will seduce me from my religion?' He said, 'Go, for God will bring relief and a way of escape for you and the helpless ones with you.' So he went with them as far as Dhul-Hulayfa (About six or seven miles / 10 km from Medina.) where he and the two men sat against a wall. Abu Basir said, 'Is your sword sharp, O brother of B. Amir?' When he said that it was he said that he would like to look at it. 'Look at it if you want to,' he replied. Abu Basir unsheathed it and dealt him a blow that killed him. The freedman ran off to the apostle who was sitting in the mosque, and when the apostle saw him coming he said, 'This man has seen something frightful.' When he came up the apostle said, 'What's the matter, woe to your' He said: 'Your man has killed my man,' and almost at once Abu Basir came up girt with the sword, and standing by the apostle he said, 'Your obligation is over and God has removed it from you. You duly handed me over to the men and I have protected myself in my religion lest I should be seduced therein or scoffed at.' The apostle said, 'Woe is his mother, he would have kindled a war had there been others with him (Or, 'The firebrand! Would that others had been with him!').'

Then Abu Basir went off until he halted at al-Is in the region of Dhul-Marwa by the sea-shore on the road which Quraysh were accustomed to take to Syria. The Muslims who were confined in Mecca heard what the apostle had said of Abu Basir so they went out to join him in al-Is. About seventy men attached themselves to him, and they so harried (the) Quraysh, killing everyone they could get hold of and cutting to pieces every caravan that passed them, that Quraysh wrote to the apostle begging him by the ties of kinship to take these men in, for they had no use for them; so the apostle took them in and they came to him in Medina (755).

When Suhayl heard that Abu Basir had killed his Amiri guard he leant his back against the Kaaba and swore that he would not remove it until this man's bloodwit was paid. Abu Sufyan b. Harb said, 'By God, this is sheer folly. It will not be paid.' Three times he said it.

Mauhab b. Riyah Abu Unays, an ally of B. Zuhra, said (756):

A brief word from Suhayl reached me
And woke me from my sleep.
If you wish to reproach me
Then reproach me, for you are not far from me.
Would you threaten me when Abdu Manaf is round me
With Makhzum? Alas, whom are you attacking?
If you put me to the test you will not find me
A weak support in grave misfortunes.
I can rival in birth the best of my people.
When the weak are ill-treated I protect them.
They defend the heights of Mecca without doubt
As far as the valleys and the wadi sides
With every blood mare and fiery horse
Grown thin from long fighting.
Maadd know they have in al-Khayf (A place in Mina.)
A pavilion of glory exalted high.

Abdullah b. al-Zibara answered him:
Mauhab has become like a poor donkey
Braying in a village as he passes through it.
A man like you cannot attack Suhayl.
Vain is your effort. Whom are you attacking?
Shut up, you son of a blacksmith,
And stop talking nonsense in the land.
Do not mention the blame of Abu Yazid.
There's a great difference between oceans and puddles.

THE WOMEN WHO EMIGRATED AFTER THE ARMISTICE

Umm Kulthum d. Uqba b. Abu Muayt migrated to the apostle during this period. Her two brothers Umara and al-Walid sons of Uqba came and asked the apostle to return her to them in accordance with the agreement between him and (the) Quraysh at Hudaybiya, but he would not. God forbade it.

Al-Zuhri from Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me: I came in to him as he was writing a letter to Ibn Abu Hunayda, the friend of al-Walid b. Abdul-Malik who had written to ask him about the word of God: 'O you who believe, when believing women come to you as emigrants test them. God knows best about their faith. If you know that they are believers do not send them back to the unbelievers. They are not lawful to them nor vice versa. And give them (the unbelievers) what they have spent on them. It is no sin for you to marry them when you have given them their dues, and hold not to the ties of unbelieving women' (Koran 60.10) (757). Ask for what you have spent and let them ask for what they have spent. That is the judgement of Allah who judges between you. God is a knower, wise.'

Urwa b. al-Zubayr* wrote to him: The apostle made peace with (the) Quraysh on the day of al-Hudaybiya on condition that he should return to them those who came without the permission of their guardians. (* He was the principal authority on apostolic tradition. His father was a cousin of the prophet, his mother Asma was a daughter of Abu Bakr, and his brother was a candidate for the caliphate, and he was closely associated with Aisha, who was his aunt. He was born in 645 A.D. [23 A.H.] and died in 716 A.D. [94 A.H.].) But when women migrated to the apostle and to Islam God refused to allow them to be returned to the polytheists if they had been tested by the test of Islam, and they knew that they came only out of desire for Islam, and He ordered that their dowries should be returned to (the) Quraysh if their women were withheld from them if they returned to the Muslims the dowries of the women they had withheld from them. 'That is the judgement of God which He judges between you, and Allah is knowing, wise.' So the apostle withheld the women and returned the men, and he asked what God ordered him to ask of the dowries of the women who were withheld from them, and that they should return what was due if the other side did the same. Had it not been for this judgement of God's the apostle would have returned the women as he returned the men. And had it not been for the armistice and covenant between them on the day of al-Hudaybiya he would have kept the women and not returned the dowries, for that is what he used to do with the Muslim women who came to him before the covenant.

I asked al-Zuhri about this passage: 'And if any of your wives have gone to the unbelievers and you have your turn of triumph, then give those whose wives have gone the like of what they spent, and fear Allah in whom you believe.' He said, If one of you loses his family to the unbelievers and a woman does not come to you you may take for her the like of what they take from you, then compensate them from any booty that you secure. When this verse came down, 'O you who believe when believing women come to you as emigrants,' as far as the words 'and hold not to the cords of disbelieving women' it referred to Umar's divorcing his wife Qurayba d. Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira. Muawiya b. Abu Sufyan married her afterwards while they were both polytheists in Mecca; and Umm Kulthum the Khuzaite woman d. Jarwal mother of Ubaydullah b, Umar whom Abu Jahm b. Hudhayfa b. Ghanim a man of Umar's people married while they both were polytheists (758).

THE EXPEDITION TO KHAYBAR, 629 A.D. / 7 A.H.

After his return from al-Hudaybiya the apostle stayed in Medina during Dhul-Hijja and part of al-Muharram, the polytheists superintending the pilgrimage. Then he marched against Khaybar (759).

Mohammed b. Ibrahim b. al-Harith al-Taymi from Abul-Haytham b. Nasr b. Duhr al-Aslami from his father who said that he heard the apostle as he journeyed say to Amir b. al-Akwa who was the uncle of Salama b. Amr b. al-Akwa who was named Sinan: 'Dismount, Ibn al-Akwa, and chant one of your camel-songs for us'; so he got down and recited this rough rhyme:

But for Allah we should not have been guided
Nor given alms nor prayed.
If people treat us unjustly
And if they wish to seduce us we resist.
Send down Sakina upon us
And make our feet firm when we meet our enemies.

The apostle said, 'May God have mercy on you!' Umar said, 'You have made his death inevitable, O apostle of God. Would that you had let us enjoy him longer.' He was killed at Khaybar as a martyr. I have heard that his sword turned upon him as he was fighting and gave him such a grievous wound that he died of it. The Muslims were in doubt as to whether he died a martyr, saying that he had died by his own weapon. But his nephew Salama b. Amr b. al-Akwa asked the apostle about it, telling him what men were saying, and he said, 'Certainly he is a martyr,' and he and the Muslims prayed over him.

One whom I do not suspect told me from Ata b. Abu Marwan al-Aslami from his father from Abu Muattib b. Amr that when the apostle looked down on Khaybar he told his companions, among whom I was one, to stop. Then he said:

'O God, Lord of the heavens and what they overshadow
And Lord of the lands and what they make to grow
And Lord of the devils and what into error they throw
And Lord of the winds and what they winnow,

We ask Thee for the good of this town and the good of its people and the good of what is in it, and we take refuge in Thee from its evil and the evil of its people and the evil that is in it. Forward in the name of Allah.' He used to say that of every town he entered.

One whom I do not suspect told me from Anas b. Malik: When the apostle raided a people he waited until the morning. If he heard a call to prayer* he held back; if he did not hear it he attacked. (* This is the usual meaning of adhan, but probably here a more general term is indicated: 'a call to get up and work'.) We came to Khaybar by night, and the apostle

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passed the night there; and when morning came he did not hear the call to prayer*, so he rode and we rode with him, and I rode behind Abu Talha with my foot touching the apostle's foot. We met the workers of Khaybar coming out in the morning with their spades and baskets. When they saw the apostle and the army they cried, 'Mohammed with his force,' and turned tail and fled. The apostle said, 'Allah akbar! Khaybar is destroyed. When we arrive in a people's square it is a bad morning for those who have been warned.' Harun told us from Humayd from Anas similarly.

When the apostle marched from Medina to Khaybar he went by way of Isr (A mountain between Medina and Wadil-Fur.), and a mosque was built for him there; then by way of al-Sahba (An evening's journey from Khaybar.). Then he went forward with the army until he halted in a wadi called al-Raji, halting between the men of Khaybar and Ghatafan so as to prevent the latter reinforcing Khaybar, for they were on their side against the apostle.

I have heard that when Ghatafan heard about the apostle's attack on Khaybar they gathered together and marched out to help the Jews against him; but after a day's journey, hearing a rumour about their property and families, they thought that they had been attacked during their absence, so they went back on their tracks and left the way to Khaybar open to the apostle.

The apostle seized the property piece by piece and conquered the forts one by one as he came to them. The first to fall was the fort of Naim; there Mahmud b. Maslama was killed by a millstone which was thrown on him from it; then al-Qamus the fort of B. Abul-Huqayq. The apostle took captives from them among whom was Safiya d. Huyayy b. Akhtab who had been the wife of Kinana b. al-Rabi b. Abul-Huqayq, and two cousins of hers. The apostle chose Safiya for himself.

Dihya b. Khalifa al-Kalbi had asked the apostle for Safiya, and when he chose her for himself he gave him her two cousins. The women of Khaybar were distributed among the Muslims. The Muslims ate the meat of the domestic donkeys and the apostle got up and forbade the people to do a number of things which he enumerated.

Abdullah b. Amr b. Damra al-Fazari told me from Abdullah b. Abu Salit from his father: The apostle's prohibition of the flesh of domestic donkeys reached us as the pots were boiling with it, so we turned them upside down.

Abdullah b. Abu Najih told me from Makhul that the apostle prohibited four things that day: carnal intercourse with pregnant women who were captured; eating the flesh of domestic donkeys; eating any carnivorous animal; and selling booty before it had been duly allotted.

Sallam b. Kirkira told me from Amr b. Dinar from Jabir b. Abdullah al-Ansari (Jabir had not been present at Khaybar) that when the apostle forbade the flesh of donkeys he allowed them to eat horseflesh.

Yazid b. Abu Habib told me from Abu Marzuq client of Tujib from Hanash al-Sanani: With Ruwayfi b. Thabit al-Ansari we attacked the Maghrib, and one of its towns called Jirba (An island near Qabis.) was conquered. A man arose as a preacher and said, 'Let me tell you what I heard the apostle say on the day of Khaybar. He got up among us and said It is not lawful for a man who believes in Allah and the last day to mingle his seed with another man's (meaning to approach carnally a pregnant woman among the captives), nor is it lawful for him to take her until he has made sure that she is in a state of cleanness; nor is it lawful for him to sell booty until it has been properly divided; nor is it lawful for him to ride an animal belonging to the booty of the Muslims with the intention of returning it to the pool when he has worn it out; nor is it lawful for him to wear a garment belonging to the booty of the Muslims with the intention of returning it to the pool when he has reduced it to rags.'"

Yazid b. Abdullah b. Qusayt told me that he was told from Ubada b. al-Samit: On the day of Khaybar the apostle forbade us to buy or sell gold ore for gold coin or silver ore for silver coin. He said, 'Buy gold ore with silver coin and silver ore with gold coin.' Then the apostle began to take the forts and the property one by one.

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that one of Aslam told him that (the) B. Sahm of Aslam came to the apostle and complained that they had fought and got nothing and found nothing with the apostle which he could give them. He said: !0 God, You know their condition and that they have no strength, and that I have nothing to give them, so conquer for them the wealthiest of the enemy's forts with the richest food.' The following day God conquered the fort of al-Sab b. Muadh which contained the richest food in Khaybar.

When the apostle had conquered some of their forts and got possession of some of their property he came to their two forts al-Watlh and al-Sulalim, the last to be taken, and the apostle besieged them for some ten nights Abdullah b. Sahl b. Abdul-Rahman b. Sahl, brother of (the) B. Haritha, told me from Jabir b. Abdullah: Marhab the Jew came out from their fort carrying his weapons and saying:

Khaybar knows that I am Marhab,
An experienced warrior armed from head to foot,
Now piercing, now slashing,
As when lions advance in their rage.
The hardened warrior gives way before my onslaught;
My hima* cannot be approached.

(* The sacred territory of an idol or a sanctuary and so any place that a man is bound to protect from violation.)

With these words he challenged all to single combat and Kab b. Malik

answered him thus:

Khaybar knows that I am Kab,
The smoother of difficulties, bold and dour.
When war is stirred up another follows.
I carry a sharp sword that glitters like lightning—
We will tread you down till the strong are humbled;
We will make you pay till the spoil is divided—

In the hand of a warrior sans reproche (The obvious break in the sense is corrected in Ibn Hisham's version. 'Lightning' (aqiq) in 1.4 may mean 'a jewel'.) (761).

The apostle said, 'Who will deal with this fellow?' Mohammed b. Maslama said that he would, for he was bound to take revenge on the man who had killed his brother the day before. The apostle told him to go and prayed Allah to help him. When they approached the one the other an old tree with soft wood (Said by Lane, 2051c, to be the Asclepias gigantia or great swallow-wort.) lay between them and they began to hide behind it. Each took shelter from the other. When one hid behind the tree the other slashed at it with his sword so that the intervening branches were cut away (Tabari's text 1576 is clearer here.) and they came face to face. The tree remained bereft of its branches like a man standing upright. Then Marhab attacked Mohammed b. Maslama and struck him. He took the blow on his shield and the sword bit into it and remained fast. Mohammed then gave Marhab a fatal wound.

After Marhab's death his brother Yasir came out with his challenge:

(Tabari 1578: Khaybar knows that I am Yasir,
Fully armed, a doughty warrior.
As when lions advance at a rush
The enemy give way before my onslaught.)

Hisham b. Urwa alleged that al-Zubayr b. al-Awwam went out to fight Yasir. His mother Safiya d. Abdul-Mujtalib said, 'Will he kill my son, O apostle?' He replied, 'Nay, your son will kill him, if God will.' So al-Zubayr went out saying:

(Tabari: Khaybar know that I am Zabbar,
Chief of a people no cowardly runaways,
The son of those who defend their glory, the son of princes.
O Yasir, let not all the unbelievers deceive you,
For all of them are like a slowly moving mirage).
When the two met al-Zubayr killed Yasir.

Hisham b. Urwa told me that it was said to al-Zubayr, 'By God, you must have had a sharp sword that day,' to which he replied that it was not sharp, but he used it with great force.

Burayda b. Sufyan b. Farwa al-Aslami told me from his father Sufyan from Salama b. Amr b. al-Akwa: The apostle sent Abu Bakr with his banner (762) against one of the forts of Khaybar. He fought but returned having suffered losses and not taken it. On the morrow he sent Umar and the same thing happened. The apostle said, 'Tomorrow I will give the flag to a man who loves Allah and his apostle. Allah will conquer it by his means; he is no runaway.' So he called Ali who was suffering from ophthalmia at the time and spat in his eye, saying, 'Take this flag and go with it until God gives victory through you.' So Ali went off with it, gasping as he hurried, while we followed behind in his tracks until he stuck the flag in a pile of rocks under the fort. A Jew looked at him from the top of the fort and asked who he was, and when he told him he said, 'You have won, by what was revealed to Moses!' (Apparently the Jew takes the name Ali as an omen when he .ay. 'alautum.) or words to that effect. He did not return until God had conquered by his hands.

Abdullah b. al-Hasan told me from one of his family from Abu Raff, freed slave of the apostle: We went with Ali when the apostle sent him with his flag and when he got near the fort the garrison came out and he fought them. A Jew struck him so that his shield fell from his hand, so Ali laid hold of a door by the fort and used it as a shield. He kept it in his hand as he fought until God gave victory, throwing it away when all was over. I can see myself with seven others trying to turn that door over, but we could not.

Burayda b. Sufyan al-Aslami told me from one of (the) B. Salima from Abul-Yasar Kab b. Amr: We were with the apostle one evening at Khaybar when along came some sheep belonging to a Jew, making for their fort while we were besieging them. The apostle asked who would get this food for us and Abul-Yasar volunteered to go. He said, 'I went out running like an ostrich, and when the apostle saw me coming back he said "O God, may we long enjoy him." I had overtaken the flock as the first sheep entered the fort and I seized the two last and carried them off under my arms, bringing them back at a run as though I carried nothing until I cast them down before the apostle. They were duly killed and eaten. Abul-Yasar was the last of the apostle's companions to die. Whenever he told this story he used to weep, saying, 'They did enjoy me a long time; indeed I am the last of them.'

When the apostle had conquered al-Qamus the fort of B. Abul-Huqayq, Safiya d. Huyayy b. Aktyab was brought to him along with another woman.

Bilal who was bringing them led them past the Jews who were slain ; and when the woman who was with Safiya saw them she shrieked and slapped her face and poured dust on her head. When the apostle saw her he said,

'Take this she-devil away from me.' He gave orders that Safiya was to be put behind him and threw his mantle over her, so that the Muslims knew that he had chosen her for himself. I have heard that the apostle said to Bilal when he saw this Jewess behaving in that way, 'Had you no compassion, Bilal, when you brought two women past their dead husbands?' Now Safiya had seen in a dream when she was the wife of Kinana b. al-Rabi b. Abul-Huqayq that the moon would fall into her lap. When she told her husband he said, 'This simply means that you covet the king of the Hijaz, Mohammed.' He gave her such a blow in the face that he blacked her eye!

When she was brought to the apostle the mark was still there, and when he asked the cause of it she told him this story.

THE REST OF THE AFFAIR OF KHAYBAR

Kinana b. al-Rabi, who had the custody of the treasure of (the) B. al-Nadir, was brought to the apostle who asked him about it. He denied that he knew where it was. A Jew came (Tabari 1582: was brought) to the apostle and said that he had seen Kinana going round a certain ruin every morning early. When the apostle said to Kinana, 'Do you know that if we find you have it I shall kill you?' he said Yes. The apostle gave orders that the ruin was to be excavated and some of the treasure was found. When he asked him about the rest he refused to produce it, so the apostle gave orders to al-Zubayr b. al-Awwam, 'Torture him until you extract what he has,' so he kindled a fire with flint and steel on his chest until he was nearly dead. Then the apostle delivered him to Mohammed b. Maslama and he struck off his head, in revenge for his brother Mahmud.

[See Baladhuri, p.25. He quotes Abdullah b. Abu Bakr as Ibn Ishaq's authority: The apostle besieged the people of Khaybar in their two forts al-Watih and al-Sulalim until when they could hold out no longer they asked him' to let them go, and spare their lives, and he did so. Now the apostle had taken possession of all their property—al-Shaqq, Nata, and al-Katiba and all their forts—except what appertained to these two.] When the people of Fadak heard of what had happened they sent to the apostle asking him to let them go and to spare their lives and they would leave him their property, and he did so. The one who acted as intermediary was Muhayyisa b. Masud, brother of (the) B. Haritha.' When the people of Khaybar surrendered on these conditions they asked the apostle to employ them on the property with half share in the produce, saying, 'We know more about it than you and we are better farmers.' The apostle agreed to this arrangement on the condition that 'if we wish to expel you we will expel you.' He made a similar arrangement with the men of Fadak. So Khaybar became the prey of the Muslims, while Fadak was the personal property of the apostle because they had not driven horses or camels against it (Cf. Koran 17.66, i.e. captured it by force of arms.).

When the apostle had rested Zaynab d. al-Harith, the wife of Sallam b. Mishkam prepared for him a roast lamb, having first inquired what joint he preferred. When she learned that it was the shoulder she put a lot of poison in it and poisoned the whole lamb. Then she brought it in and placed it before him. He took hold of the shoulder and chewed a morsel of it but he did not swallow it. Bishr b. al-Bara b. Marur who was with him took some of it as the apostle had done, but he swallowed it, while the apostle spat it out, saying, This bone tells me that it is poisoned. Then he called for the woman and she confessed, and when he asked her what had induced her to do this she answered: 'You know what you have done to my people. I said to myself, If he is a king I shall ease myself of him and if he is a prophet he will be informed (of what I have done).' So the apostle let her off. Bishr died from what he had eaten.

Marwan b. Uthman b. Abu Said b. al-Mualla told me: The apostle had said in his illness of which he was to die when Uram Bishr d. al-Bara came to visit him, 'O Uram Bishr, this is the time in which I feel a deadly pain from what I ate with your brother at Khaybar.' The Muslims considered that the apostle died as a martyr in addition to the prophetic office with which God had honoured him.

Having finished with Khaybar, the apostle went to Wadil-Qura and besieged its people for some nights, then he left to return to Medina.

Thaur b Zayd told me from Salim, freed slave of Abdullah b. Muti from Abu Hurayra, who said: When we left Khaybar to go to Wadil-Qura with the apostle we halted there in the evening as the sun was setting. The apostle had a slave which Rifaa b. Zayd al-Judhami, of the dan al-Dubaybi, had given

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him (763). He was laying down the apostle s saddle when suddenly a random arrow hit him and kiUed him. We congratulated him on paradise, but the apostle said, 'Certainly not. His cloak is even now burning on him in Hell. He had surreptitiously stolen it on the day of Khaybar from the spoil of the Muslims.' One of his companions heard this and came to him saying, 'I took two sandal thongs.' He said, Two thongs of fire will be cut for you like them.'

One I do not suspect told me from 'Abdullah b. Mughaffal al-Muzani: 'I took a bag of lard from the booty of Khaybar and carried it off on my shoulder to my companions, when the man who had been put over the spoil (loot) met me and laid hold of the end of it, saying, "Hie! This we must divide among the Muslims." I said that I would not give him it and he began to try and pull the bag away from me. The apostle saw what was happening and laughed. Then he said to the officer in charge of the spoil "Let him have it, confound you," so he let go of it and I went off to my companions and we ate it.'

When the apostle married Safiya in Khaybar or on the way, she having been beautified and combed, and got in a fit state for the apostle by Umm Sulaym d. Milhan mother of Anas b. Malik, the apostle passed the night with her in a tent of his. Abu Ayyub, Khalid b. Zayd brother of (the) B. al-Najjar passed the night girt with his sword, guarding the apostle and going round the tent until in the morning the apostle saw him there and asked him what he meant by his action. He replied, 'I was afraid for you with this woman for you have killed her father, her husband, and her people, and till recently she was in unbelief, so I was afraid for you on her account.' They allege that the apostle said 'O God, preserve Abu Ayyub as he spent the night preserving me.'

Al-Zuhri told me from Said b. al-Musayyab: When the apostle left Khaybar and was on the way he said towards the end of the night: 'Who will watch over us till the dawn so that we may sleep?' Bilal volunteered to do so, so all lay down and slept. Bilal got up and prayed as long as God willed that he should; then he propped himself against his camel, and there was the dawn as he was looking at it, and his eyes were heavy and he slept. The first thing to wake the others was the feel of the sun. The apostle was the first to wake up and he asked Bilal what he had done to them. He said that the same thing had happened to him as had happened to the apostle, and he admitted that he was right. Then the apostle let himself be taken a short distance; then he made his camel kneel, and he and the men performed their ablutions. Then he ordered Bilal to call to prayer, and the apostle led them in prayer. Having finished he went to them and said, 'If you forget your prayers, pray them when you remember them, for God has said, "Perform prayer for My remembrance (Koran 20.14)."'

I have heard that the apostle gave Ibn Luqaym al-Absi the hens and domestic animals which were in Khaybar. The conquest took place in Safar. Ibn Luqaym said:

Naja was stormed by the apostle's squadron
Fully armed, powerful, and strong.
It was certain of humiliation when it was split up
With the men of Aslam and Ghifar in its midst.
They attacked (the) B. Amr b. Zura in the morning
And Shaqq's people met a day of gloom.
They trailed their cloaks* in their plains

(*Wellhausen's reading 'They made the cocks run' may be right.)

And left only hens cackling among the trees. (C. ashar.)
Every fort had a man of Abdu-Ashhal or (the) B. al-Najjar
Busy with their horses,
And Emigrants who had displayed their badges
Above their helms, never thinking of flight.
I knew that Mohammed would conquer
And would stay there many Safars.
The Jews in the fighting that day
Opened their eyes in the dust (764). (The glassy eyes of the dead are meant. The reading ama ima l-ansar with farra understood as 'fled' seems much inferior.)

Some Muslim women were with the apostle at Khaybar, and the apostle allowed them a small portion of the booty. He did not give them a definite share.

Sulayman b. Suhaym told me from Umayya b. Abul-Salt from a woman of (the) B. Ghifar whom he named to me: She said, 'I came to the apostle with some women of (the) B. Ghifar and we told the apostle, as he was going to Khaybar, that we wanted to go with him where he went, to tend the wounded and to help the Muslims as far as we could. He told us to go with God's blessing, and so we went with him. I was a young girl and the apostle took me on the back of his saddle. When the apostle dismounted for morning prayer and I got off the back of his saddle, lo, some of my blood was on it. It was the first time that this had happened to me. I rushed to the camel in my shame. When the apostle saw my distress and the blood he guessed the reason and told me to cleanse myself; then to take water and put some salt in it, and then to wash the back of the saddle and go back to my mount.'

She added: 'When the apostle conquered Khaybar he gave us a small part of the booty. He took this necklace which you see on my neck and gave it to me and hung it round my neck with his own hand, and by God it will never leave me.' It was on her neck until she died when she gave instructions that it was to be buried with her. She never cleansed herself but she put salt in the purifying water, and gave instructions that it should be put in the water with which she was washed when she was dead. The names of the Muslims who met martyrdom at Khaybar are: of (the) Quraysh of the clan of (the) B. Umayya b. Abdu Shams of their allies: Rabia b. Aktham b. Sakhbara b. Amr, and Rifaa b. Amir b. Ghanm b. Dudan b. Asad, and Thaqif b. Amr and Rifaa b. Masruh. Of (the) B. Asad b. Abdul-Uzza: Abdullah b. al Hubayb (765). Of the Ansar of (the) B. Salima: Bishr b. al-Bara b. Marur who died of the mutton with which the apostle was poisoned, and Fudayl b. al-Numan, 2 men. Of B. Zurayq: Masud b. Sad b. Qays b. Khalada b. Amir b. Zurayq. Of Aus of (the) B. Abdul-Ashhal: Mahmud b. Maslama b. Khalid b. Adiy b. Majdaa b. Haritha b. al-Harith, an ally of theirs from B. Haritha. Of (the) B. Amr b. Auf: Abu Payyah b. Thabit b. al-Numan b. Umayya b. Imruul-Qays b. Thalaba b. Amr b. Auf; al-Harith b. Hatib; Urwa b. Murra b. Suraqa; Aus b. al-Qaid; Unayf b. Habib; Thabit b. Athla, and Talha. Of (the) B. Ghifar: Umara b. Uqba, shot by an arrow. Of Aslam: Amir b. al-Akwa, and al-Aswad the shepherd whose name was Aslam (766).

Of those who found martyrdom at Khaybar according to what Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri said was Masud b. Rabia, an ally of (the) B. Zuhra from al-Qara; and from the Ansar of (the) B. Amr b. Auf, Aus b. Qatada.

THE AFFAIR OF AL-ASWAD THE SHEPHERD

According to what I have heard al-Aswad came to the apostle with his flock of sheep as he was besieging Khaybar. He was the hired servant of a Jew there. He asked the apostle to explain Islam to him, and when he dtd so he accepted it, for the apostle never thought too little of anyone to invite him to accept Islam. Having become a Muslim he told the apostle that he was the hired servant of the owner of the sheep which were entrusted to his care, and what was he to do with them? He told him to hit them in the face and they would go back to their owner. So al-Aswad got up and took a handful of pebbles and threw them in their faces, saying, 'Go back to your master, for I will look after you no more.' They went off in a body as though someone were driving them, until they went into the fort. Afterwards he advanced to the fort with the Muslims and was struck by a stone and killed, never having prayed a single prayer. He was brought to the apostle and laid behind him and covered by his shepherd's cloak. The apostle, who was accompanied by a number of his companions, turned towards him and then turned away. When they asked him why, he said, 'He has with him now his two wives from the dark-eyed houris.' Abdullah b. Abu Najlh told me that he was told that, when a martyr is slain, his two wives from the dark-eyed houris pet him, wiping the dust from his face, saying the while, 'May God put dust on the face of the man who put dust on your face, and slay him who slew you!'

THE AFFAIR OF AL-HAJJAJ B. ILAT AL-SULAMI

When Kaybar had been conquered al-Hajjaj b. Ilat al-Sulami of the clan al-Bahz said to the apostle, 'I have money with my wife Umm Shayba d. Abu Talha—when they had lived together he had a son called Murid by her—and money scattered among the Meccan merchants, so give me permission to go and get it.' Having got his permission he said, 'I must tell lies, O apostle.' He said, 'Tell them.' "Al-Hajjaj said, 'When I came to Mecca I found in the pass of al-Bayda (The pass of al-Tanim in Mecca.) some men of Quraysh trying to get news and asking how the apostle fared because they had heard that he had gone to Khaybar. They knew that it was the principal town of the Hijaz in fertility, fortifications, and population, and they were searching for news and interrogating passing riders. They did not know that I was a Muslim and when they saw me they said, "It is al-Hajjaj b. Ilat. He is sure to have news. Tell us, O Abu Mohammed, for we have heard that the highwayman has gone to Khaybar which is the town of the Jews and the garden of the Hijaz." I said, "I have heard that and I have some news that will please you." They came up eagerly on either side of my camel, saying, "Out with it, Hajjaj!" I said, "He has suffered a defeat such as you have never heard of and his companions have been slaughtered; you have never heard the like, and Mohammed has been captured." The men of Khaybar said, "We will not kill him until we send him to the Meccans and let them kill him among themselves in revenge for their men whom he has killed." They got up and shouted in Mecca, "Here's news for you! You have only to wait for this fellow Mohammed to be sent to you to be killed in your midst." I said, "Help me to collect my money in Mecca and to get in the money owed to me, for I want to go to Khaybar to get hold of the fugitives from Mohammed and his companions (The word fall, for which I.H. quotes the variant fay, 'spoil', may possibly mean the same thing: more often it means a defeated force. Perhaps we could render 'to get some advantage from the defeat of Mohammed and his companions'.) before the merchants get there" (767). They got up and collected my money for me quicker than I could have supposed possible. I went to my wife and asked her for the money which she had by her, telling her that I should probably go to Khaybar and seize the opportunity to buy before the merchants got there first. When Abbas heard the news and heard about me he came and stood at my side as I was in one of the merchants' tents, asking about the news which I had brought. I asked him if he could keep a secret if I entrusted it to him. He said he could, and I said, "Then wait until I can meet you privately, for I am collecting my money as you see, so leave me (Tabari 1587: and he left me) until I have finished"; and so, when I had collected everything I had in Mecca and decided to leave, I met Abbas and said, "Keep my story secret for three nights, then say what you will for I am afraid of being pursued." When he said that he would, I said, "I left your brother's son married to the daughter of their king, meaning Safiya, and Khaybar has been conquered and all that is in it removed and become the property of Mohammed and his companions." He said, "What are you saying, Hajjaj?" I said, "Yes, by Allah, but keep my secret. I have become a Muslim and have come only to get my money fearing that I may be deprived of it. When three nights have passed publish the news as you will." When the third day came Abbas put on a robe of his and scented himself and took his stick, and went to the Kaaba and went round it. When the people saw him they said, "O Abul-Fadl, this is indeed steadfastness in a great misfortune!" He answered, "By no means, by Allah by whom you swear, Mohammed has conquered Khaybar and was left married to the daughter of their king. He has seized all that they possess and it is now his property and the property of his companions." They asked, "Who brought you this news?" He said, "The man who brought you your news. He came in to you as a Muslim and has taken his money and gone off to join Mohammed and his companions and to be with him." They said "O men of Allah, the enemy of Allah has escaped. Had we known we would have dealt with him." Almost at once the true news reached them.'

Among the verses about the day of Khaybar are the following from Hassan b. Thabit:

How badly the Khaybaris fought
To preserve their crops and dates!
They disliked the thought of death and so their preserve became a spoil
And they behaved like miserable cowards.
Would they flee from death?
The death of the starved is not seemly*.

(* These sarcastic six lines show clearly the cynic attitude of Arabs towards hard-working farmers and their wish to protect their work. Instead, Arabs have viewed looting, pillaging, and killing people as hounourable activity.)

Hassan also said, excusing Ayman b. Umm Ayman b. Ubayd who had stayed behind from Khaybar (he was of the B. Auf b. al-Khazraj. His mother Umm Ayman was a freed slave of the apostle, the mother of Usama b. Zayd who was thus brother to Ayman by his mother):

At the time when Ayman's mother said to him
You are a coward and were not with the horsemen of Khaybar
Ayman was no coward, but his horse
Was sick from drinking fermented barley-water.
Had it not been for the state of his horse
He would have fought with them as a horseman with his right hand.
What stopped him was the behaviour of his horse
And what had happened to it seemed to him more serious (768).

Najiya b. Jundub al-Aslami said:

O servants of Allah, why do you prize
What is nothing but food and drink
When Paradise has amazing joy?

He also said:

I am Ibn Jundub to one who does not know me.
How many an adversary when I charged turned aside.
He perished in the feeding-place of vultures and jackals (769).

THE ACCOUNT OF THE DIVISION OF THE SPOIL OF KHAYBAR

When the spoil of Khaybar was divided, al-Shaqq and Nata fell to the Muslims while al-Katiba was divided into five sections: God's fifth; the prophet's share (Tabari: fifth); the share of kindred, orphans, the poor (Tabari 1588: and wayfarers); maintenance of the prophet's wives; and maintenance of the men who acted as intermediaries in the peace negotiations with the men of Fadak. To Muhayyisa, who was one of these men, the apostle gave thirty loads of barley and thirty loads of dates. Khaybar was apportioned among the men of al-Hudaybiya without regard to whether they were present at Khaybar or not. Only Jabir b. Abdullah b. Amr b. Haram was absent and the apostle gave him the same share as the others. Its two wadis, al-Surayr and Khass, formed the territory into which Khaybar was divided. Nata

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and al-Shaqq formed 18 shares of which Nata formed 5 and al-Shaqq 13. These two places were divided into 1,800 shares.

The number of the companions among whom Khaybar was divided was 1,800 with shares for horse and foot; 1,400 men and 200 horses; every horse got two shares and his rider one; every footman got one share. There was a chief over every allotment for every 100 men, i.e. 18 blocks of shares (770) .

The chiefs were Ali; al-Zubayr b. al-Awwam; Talha b. Ubaydullah; Umar; Abdul-Rahman; Asim b. Adiy; Usayd b. Hudayr. Then the share of al-Harith b. al-Khazraj; then the share in Naim ; then the share of B. Bayada, B. Ubayd, B. Haram of (the) B. Salima, and Ubayd 'of the shares' (771), (the) Saida, Ghifar and Aslam, (the) al-Najjar, Haritha, and Aus.

The first lot in Nata fell to al-Zubayr, namely al-Khau, and al-Surayr followed it; the second to the B. Bayada; the third to Usayd; the fourth to (the) B. al-Harith; the fifth in Naim to (the) B. Auf b. al-Khazraj and Muzayna and their partners. In it Mahmud b. Maslama was killed. So much for Nata.

Then they went down to al-Shaqq: the first lot fell to Asim b. Adiy brother of B. al-Ajlan and with it the apostle's share; then the shares of Abdul-Rahman, Saida, al-Najjar, Ali, Talha, Ghifar and Aslam, Umar, Salama b. Ubayd and (the) B. Haram, Haritha, Ubayd 'of the shares'; then the share of Aus which was the share of al-Lafif to which Juhayna and the rest of the Arabs who were at Khaybar was joined; opposite it was the apostle's share which he got with Asim's share*.

[* This complicated and unsystematic account can be understood thus: the 18,000 shares were divided into 18 which were allotted

(a) to the chief distributors, viz. Ali, al-Zubayr, Talha, Umar, Abdul-Rahman, Asim and Usayd: 7

(b) to tribal shareholders', viz. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj, B. Bayada, B. Ubayd, B. Haram, B. Saida, B. Ghifar and Aslam, B. al-Najjar, B. Haritha, B. Aus, and other elements: 9

(c) By the name of the property itself, Naim: 1

(d) By the name of the owner Ubayd, who bought up the shares: 1

Total 18]

Then the apostle distributed al-Katiba which is Wadi Khass between his kindred and wives and to other men and women. He gave his daughter Fatima 200 loads; Ali 100; Usima b. Zayd 200 and 50 loads of dates; Aisha 200; Abu Bakr 100; Aqil b. Abu Talib 140; B. Jafar 50; Rabia b. al-Harith 100; al-Salt b. Makhrama and his two sons 100, 40 of them for al-Salt himself; Abu Nabiqa 50; Rukana b. Abdu Yazid 50; Qays b. Makhrama 30; his brother Abul-Qasim 40; the daughters of Ubayda b. al-Harith and the daughter of al-Husayn b. al-Harith 100; the B. Ubayd b. Abdu Yazid 60; Ibn Aus b. Makhrama 30; Mistah b. Uthatha and Ibn Ilyas 50; Umm Rumaytha 40; Nuaym b. Hind 30; Buhayna d. al-Harith 30; Ujayr b. Abdu Yazid 30; Umm Hakim d. al-Zubayr b. Abdul-776 Muttalib 30; Jumana d. Abu Talib 30; Ibn al-Arqam 50; Abdul-Rahman b. Abu Bakr 40; Hamna d. Jahsh 30; Ummul-Zubayr 40; Dubaa d. al-Zubayr 40; Ibn Abu Khunaysh 30; Umm Talib 40; Abu Basra 20; Numayla al-Kalbi 50; Abdullah b. Wahb and his two daughters 90 of which 40 were for his two sons; Umm Hablb d. Jahsh 30; Malku* b. Abda 30; and to his own wives 700 (772). (*Proper names with final waw written out instead of nunation are common in Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions, but are rarely met with in classical Arabic.)

In the Name of Allah the Compassionate the Merciful. A memorandum of what Mohammed the apostle of Allah gave his wives from the wheat of Khaybar. He distributed to them 180 loads. He gave his daughter Fatima 85, Usama b. Zayd 40, al-Miqdad b. al-Aswad 15, Umm Rumaytha 5. Uthman b. Affan was witness and Abbas wrote the document.

Salih b. Kaysan told me from Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri from Ubaydullah b. Abdullah b. Utba b. Masud: The only dispositions that the apostle made at his death were three: He bequeathed to the Rahawls land which produced a hundred loads in Khaybar, to the Dariyis, the Sabais, and the Asharis the same. He also gave instructions that the mission of Usama b. Zayd b. Haritha should be carried through (The reading of Wellhausen's tanfil should be corrected to tanfidh with C. See Musa b. Uqba, Nos. 13 and 14.) and that two religions should not be allowed to remain in the peninsula of the Arabs (It means that absolute suppremacy of Islam, and the consequent annihilation of anyone else, has been the goal.).

THE AFFAIR OF FADAK

When the apostle had finished with Khaybar, God struck terror to the hearts of the men of Fadak when they heard what the apostle had done to the men of Khaybar. They sent to him an offer of peace on condition that they should keep half of their produce. Their messengers came to him in Khaybar or on the road (The reading of Wellhausen's bil-Taif should be corrected to bil-tariq with the Manuscripts and Tabari.) or after he came to Medina, and he accepted their terms. Thus Fadak became his private property, because it had not been attacked by horse or camel (See: Koran 7.66 and supra, p. 764 of Wellhausen's text.).

THE NAMES OF THE DARIYUN

They were B. al-Dar b. Hani b. Habib b. Numara b. Lakhm who had come to the apostle from Syria, namely, Tamim b. Aus and Nuaym his brother, Yazid b. Qays, and Arafa b. Malik whom the apostle named Abdul-Rahman (773), arid his brother Murran b. Malik, and Fakih b. Numan, Jabala b. Malik, and Abu Hind b. Barr and his brother al-Tayyib whom the apostle named Abdullah.

According to what Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me the apostle used to send to Khaybar Abdullah b. Rawaha to act as assessor between the Muslims and the Jews. When he made his assessment they would say, 'You have wronged us,' and he would say, 'If you wish it is yours and if you like it is ours,' and the Jews would say, 'On this (foundation) Heaven and earth stand (This is a characteristically Jewish expression and if one compares the Arabic bihadha qamat . . . al-ard with Pirqe Abhuth 1.19 'on three things the world stands (qaim): on justice, truth, and peace' one can hardly doubt that Abdullah b. Abu Bakr has preserved an accurate account of what took place.). But Abdullah acted as assessor for one year only before he was killed at Muta. After him Jabbar b. Sakhr b. Umayya b. Khansa' brother of (the) B. Salima took over the work. All went well and the Muslims found no fault in their behaviour until they attacked 'Abdullah b. Sahl brother of (the) B. Haritha and killed him in violation of their agreement with the apostle, and the apostle and the Muslims suspected them on that account.

Al-Zuhri and Bushayr b. Yasar told me from Sahl b. Abu Hathma: Abdullah b. Sahl was killed in Khaybar. He had gone there with friends of his to take away the dates and was found in a pool with his neck broken, having been thrown there. So they took him and buried him and then came to the apostle and told him about the affair. His brother Abdul-Rahman came to him accompanied by his two cousins Huwayyisa and Muhayyisa the sons of Masud. Now Abdul-Rahman was the youngest of them and the avenger of blood and a prominent man among his people and when he spoke before his two cousins the apostle said, The eldest first, the eldest first!' (774) and he became silent. The two cousins then spoke and he spoke after them. They told the apostle of the killing of their relative and he said, 'Can you name the killer, then swear fifty oaths against him that we should deliver him up to you?' They said that they could not swear to what they did not know. He said, 'If they swear fifty oaths that they did not kill him and do not know the slayer, will they be free from the guilt of his blood?' They answered, 'We cannot accept the oaths of Jews. Their infidelity is so great that they would swear falsely.' The apostle paid the bloodwit of a hundred she-camels from his own property. Sahl said, 'By Allah, I shall not forget a young red camel who kicked me as I was leading her.' (Sahl is the transmitter of the story. The avenger of blood was Abdul-Rahman b. Sahl.)

Mohammed b. Ibrahim b. al-Harith al-Taymi told me from Abdul-Rahman b. Bujayd b. Qayzl brother of (the) B. Haritha. Mohammed b. Ibrahim said: 'By God, Sahl did not know more than he, but he was the elder. He said to him, 'By Allah, the affair was not thus but Sahl misunderstood. The apostle did not say "Swear to something you have no knowledge of," but he wrote to the Jews of Khaybar when the Ansar spoke to him: "A dead man has been found among your dwellings. Pay his bloodwit." The Jews wrote back swearing by Allah that they had not killed him and did not know who had, so the apostle paid the blood-money.'

Amr b. Shuayb told me the same story as Abdul-Rahman except that he said, 'Pay the blood-money or be prepared for war.'

I asked Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri, (This incident is reported by al-Baladhuri from Ibn Ishaq via al-Bakkai in an abbreviated form. There is no significant difference.) 'How was it that the apostle gave the Jews of Khaybar their palms when he gave them on a tax basis? Did he assign that to them until he was taken or did he give them them for some other necessary reason?' He told me that the apostle took Khaybar by force after fighting and Khaybar was part of what God gave to him as booty. The apostle divided it into five parts and distributed it among the Muslims, and after the fighting the population surrendered on condition that they should migrate. The apostle called them and said that if they wished he would let them have the property on condition that they worked it and the produce was equally divided between both parties and he would leave them there as long as God let them stay. They accepted the terms and used to work the property on those conditions. The apostle used to send 'Abdullah b. Rawaha and he would divide the produce and make a just assessment. When God took away His prophet, Abu Bakr continued the arrangement until his death, and so did Umar for the beginning of his amirate. Then he heard that the apostle had said in his last illness, 'Two religions shall not remain together in the peninsula of the Arabs' and he made inquiries until he got confirmation. Then he sent to the Jews saying, 'God has given permission for you to emigrate,' quoting the apostle's words. 'If anyone has an agreement with the apostle let him bring it to me and I will carry it out; he who has no such agreement let him get ready to emigrate.' Thus Umar expelled those who had no agreement with the apostle.

Nafi client of Abdullah b. Umar told me from Abdullah b. Umar: With al-Zubayr and al-Miqdad b. al-Aswad I went out to our property in Khaybar to inspect it, and when we got there we separated to see to our individual affairs. In the night I was attacked as I was asleep on my bed and my arms were dislocated at the elbows. In the morning I called my companions to my aid and when they came and asked me who had done this I had to say that I did not know. They reset my arms and then took me to 'Umar who said, 'This is the work of the Jews.' Then he got up and addressed those present saying that the apostle had arranged with the Jews of Khaybar that we could expel them if we wished; that they had attacked 'Abdullah b. Umar and dislocated his arms, as they had heard, in addition to their attack on the Ansari previously. There was no doubt that they were the authors of these outrages because there was no other enemy on the spot. Therefore if anyone had property in Khaybar he should go to it, for he was on the point of expelling the Jews. And he did expel them.

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me from Abdullah b. Maknaf brother of (the) B. Haritha: When Umar expelled the Jews from Khaybar he rode with the Muhajirin and Ansar and Jabbar b. Sakhr b. Umayya b. Khansa brother of (the) B. Salima who was the assessor and accountant of the Medinans and Yazid b. Thabit; and these two divided Khaybar among its owners according to the original agreement of the lots.

Umar divided Wadil-Qura into share*: one each to Uthman, Abdul-Rahman, Amr b. Abu Salama, Amir b. Abu Rabia, Amr b. Suraqa, Ushaym (775), Muayqib and Abdullah b. al-Aqam; two shares each to Abdullah and Ubaydullah; one share each to the son of Abdullah b. Jahsh, Ibnul-Bukayr, Mutamir, Zayd b. Thabit, Ubayy b. Kab, Muadh b. Afra, Abu Talha and Hasan, Jabbar b. Sakhr, Jabir b. Abdullah b. Riab, Malik b. Sasaa, Jabir b. Abdullah b. Amr, the son of Hudayr, the son of Sad b. Muadh, Salama b. Salama, Abdul-Rahman b. Thabit, Abu Sharik, Abu Abs b. Jabr, Mohammed b. Maslama and Ubada b. Tariq (776); half a share each to Jabr b. Atik and the two sons of al-Harith b. Qays; one share to Ibn Hazama. Such is our information about the allocation of Khaybar and Wadil-Qura (777).

(* Khafer. Ibn Hisham [note 777] says that the word means 'share'. My colleague, Dr. R. B. Sergeant, Le Mutton, lxvi, 1953, p. 130, writes of the Hadramaut: 'The main bund or channel leading the flood water from the wadi to the fields is called khatar [plural: khutur], a word known to Ibn Hisham, Sira, p. 780.' If Ibn Ishaq meant 'irrigation channel', as is very probable, then the channels would mark out the limits of each man's property or 'share'. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that such an unusual word was used in a technical sense. It is not astonishing that a word of external origin should be used in this context because the Arabs of the Hijaz in this epoch looked down on agriculture, and most of the terms they used were borrowed from their neighbours.)

THE RETURN OF THOSE WHO HAD MIGRATED TO ABYSSINIA (Ethiopia) (778)

These are the names of the prophet's companions who stayed in Abyssinia (Ethiopia) until he sent Amr b. Umayya al-Damri to the Negus to fetch them back in two boats and who ultimately rejoined him in Khaybar after al-Hudaybiya (The genealogies I have drastically shortened. Full detais have already been given.):

From (the) B. Hashim: Jafar b. Abu Talib with his wife Asma d. Umays; and his son Abdullah who was born to him in Abyssinia. Jafar was killed at Muta in Syria when acting as the apostle's amir (commander, general).

From (the) B. Abdu Shams: Khalid b. Said b. al-As b. Umayya with his wife Umayna d. Khalaf b. Asad (779); his two children Said and Ama begotten in Abyssinia (Khalid was killed at Marj al-Suffar, a place in Damascus, Syria, in the caliphate of Abu Bakr); his brother Amr whose wife, Fatima d. Safwan b. Umayya b. Muharrith al-Kinani, died in Abyssinia (Ethiopia. Amr was killed at Ajnadayn in Syria during the caliphate of Abu Bakr).

With reference to Amr b. Said his father Said b. al-As b. Umayya Abu Uhayha said:

O Amr, I wish that I knew about you whether
When you carry arms when your arms have grown strong
Will you leave your people's affairs in such disorder
As will disclose the rage they retain in their breasts?

With reference to Amr and Khalid, their brother Aban said when the former had become Muslims, and their father Sa'id had died in al-Zurayba in the region of Taif:

Would that a dead man in Zurayba could see
What Amr and Khalid are falsely introducing into religion!
They obeyed the commands of women concerning us And assisted the very enemies we were fighting.

Khalid answered him and said:

I do not insult my brother's honour since he is my brother
Though he does not refrain from evil words.
When affairs went ill with him he said,

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'Would that a man dead in Zurayba would rise from the grave!'
Leave the dead in peace, for he has gone his way,
And deal with the man at hand who has more need of you.

And Muayqib b. Abu Fatima who became Umar's guardian of the public purse; he belonged to the family of Said b. al-As; and Abu Musa al-Ashari Abdullah b. Qays, an ally of the family of Utba b. Rabia b. Abdu Shams. 4.

From (the) B. Asad b. Abdul-Uzza: Al-Aswad b. Naufal. 1.

From (the) B. Abdul-Dar: Jahm b. Qays with his two sons Amr and Khuzayma. His wife Umm Harmala d. Abdul-Aswad (she died in Abyssinia) with her two children. 1.

From (the) B. Zuhra b. Kilab: Amir b. Abu Waqqas and Utba b. Masud an ally of theirs from Hudhayl. 2.

From (the) B. Taym b. Murra: Al-Harith b. Khalid whose wife Rayta d. al-Harith b. Jubayla died in Abyssinia 1.

From (the) B. Jumah b. Amr: Uthman b. Rabia b. Uhban. 1.

From (the) B. Sahm b. Amr: Mahmiya b. al Jaz, an ally of theirs from B. Zubayd. The apostle put him in charge of the fifths of the Muslims. 1.

From (the) B. Adiy b. Kab: Mamar b. Abdullah. 1.

From (the) B. Amir: Abu Hatib b. Amr; Malik b. Rabia with his wife Amra d. al-Sadl b. Waqdan. 2.

From (the) B. al-Harith b. Fihr: Al-Harith b. Abdu Qays. 1.

The widows of those who had died in Abyssinia were also brought in the two boats.

The total number of the men whom the Negus sent in the two boats with Amr b. Umayya was 16.

Of those who migrated to Abyssinia and did not return until after Badr and the Negus did not send in the two boats to the apostle; and those who came afterwards and those who died in Abyssinia were:

From (the) B. Umayya b. Abdu Shams: Ubaydullah b. Jahsh, an ally from Asad of Khuzayma with his wife Umm Habiba d. Abu Sufyan and his daughter Habiba from whom Abu Sufyan's daughter got her kunya, her own name being Ramla. Ubaydullah had migrated with the Muslims, but when he got to Abyssinia he turned Christian and died there as such having abandoned Islam. The apostle afterwards married his wife.

Mohammed b. Jafar b. al-Zubayr from Urwa told me about Ubaydullah's turning Christian and said: When he passed by the apostle's companions he used to say, 'Our eyes are opened but yours veiled,' i.e. We can see clearly but you are only trying to see: you cannot yet see clearly, the metaphor being taken from a puppy who tries to open its eyes and flutters them before he can do so, i.e. We have opened our eyes and we see, but you have not opened your eyes to see though you are trying to do so.

And Qays b. Abdullah of (the) B. Asad b. Khuzayma who was father of Umayya d. Qays who was with Umm Habiba, and his wife Baraka d. Yasar, the freed slave of Abu Sufyan. They were the two foster-mothers of Ubaydullah b. Jahsh and Umm Hablba d. Abu Sufyan. They took them with them when he migrated to Abyssinia (Ethiopia). 2 men.

From (the) B. Asad b. Abdul-Uzza: Yazid b. Zamaa who was killed a martyr with the apostle at Hunayn; and Amr b. Umayya b. al-Harith who died in Abyssinia. 2 men.

From (the) B. Abdul-Dar: Abul-Rum b. Umayr and Firas b. al-Nadr. 2.

From (the) B. Zuhra b. Kilab: Al-Muttalib b. Azhar with his wife Ramla d. Abu Auf b. Pubayra who died in Abyssinia. She bare him there Abdullah b. al-Muttalib. It was said that he was the first man in Islam to inherit his father's property. 1.

From (the) B. Taym b. Murra: Amr b. Uthman who was killed at Qadisiya with Sad b. Abu Waqqas. 1.

From (the) B. Makhzum b. Yaqaza: Habbar b. Sufyan b. Abdul-Asad killed at Ajnadayn in Abu Bakr's caliphate; and his brother Abdullah killed in the year of al-Yarmuk in Umar's caliphate. (There is doubt as to whether he was killed there or not); and Hisham b. Abu Hudhayfa. 3.

From (the) B. Jumah b. Amr: Hapb b. al-Harith and his two sons Mohammed and al-Harith with his wife Fatima d. al-Mujallal. Hatib died in Abyssinia as a Muslim and his wife and his two sons came in one of the boats; and his brother Hattab with his wife Fukayha d. Yasar. He died there as a Muslim and his wife Fukayha came in one of the boats; and Sufyan b. Mamar b. Habib and his two sons Junada and Jabir with their mother Hasana, and their half-brother by their mother Shurahbll b. Hasana. Sufyan and his two sons Junada and Jabir died in the caliphate of Umar. 6.

From B. Sahm b. Amr: Abdullah b. al-Harith who died in Abyssinia; and Qays b. Hudhafa; and Abu Qays b. al-Harith who was killed at al-Yamama in the caliphate of Abu Bakr; and Abdullah b. Hudhafa who was the apostle's envoy to Chosroes; and al-Harith b. al-Harith b. Qays; and Mamar b. al-Harith ; and Bishr b. al-Harith and a son of his mother from (the) B. Tamim called Said b. Amr who was killed at Ajnadayn in the caliphate of Abu Bakr; and Said b. al-Harith who was killed in the year of al-Yarmuk in the caliphate of Umar; and al-Saib b. al-Harith who was wounded at al-Taif with the apostle and killed in the battle of Fihl (In Syria. Cf. Yaq. 853.) in the caliphate of Umar—others say in the fight at Khaybar; and Umayr b. Riab who was killed at Ayn al-Tamr with Khalid b. al-Walid when he came from al-Yamama in the caliphate of Abu Bakr. 11 men.

From (the) B. Adiy b. Kab: Urwa b. Abdul-Uzza who died in Abyssinia; and Adiy b. Nadla who also died there. 2.

Adiy had a son called al-Numan who returned with the Muslims. In the caliphate of Umar he was put over Maysan in the district of Basra.

He composed some verses:

Has al-Hasna (Or 'the beauty.) not heard that her husband in Maysan
Is drinking from glasses and jars?
If I wished, the chief men of the city would sing to me
And dancing-girls pirouette on tiptoe.
If you are my friend, give me a drink in the largest cup,
Do not give me the smallest half broken!
Perhaps the commander of the faithful will take it amiss
That we're drinking together in a tumbledown castle!

When Umar heard of these verses he said: 'He's right, by God, I do take it amiss! Anyone who sees him can tell him that I have deposed him.'

After his deposition he came to Umar and pleaded that he had never acted in the way that his verses implied, but that he was a poet who wrote in their exaggerated way. Umar replied that as long as he lived he would never act as his governor after having used such words.

From (the) B. Amir b. Ghalib: Salit b. Amr who was the apostle's envoy to Haudha b. Ali al-Hanafi in al-Yamama. 1.

From (the) B. al-Harith b. Fihr: Uthman b. Abdu Ghanm; and Sad b. Abdu Qays; and Iyad b. Zuhayr. 3.

The total number of those who were not at Badr and did not come to the apostle in Mecca, and those who came afterwards, and those whom the Negus (Ethiopian emperor) did not send in the two boats was 34 men.

The names of those who died in Abyssinia and their children were:

From (the) B. Abdu Shams: Ubaydullah b. Jahsh who died a Christian.

From (the) B. Asad b. Abdul-Uzza: Amr b. Umayya b. al-Harith.

From (the) B. Jumah: Hatib b. al-Harith and his brother Hattab.

From (the) B. Sahm b. Amr: Abdullah b. al-Harith.

From (the) B. Adiyb. Kab: Urwa b. Abdul-Uzza and Adiy b. Nadla. 7 men.

Of their children: Musa b. al-Harith b. Khalid b. Sakhr b. Amir from (the) B. Taym b. Murra. 1 man.

The total number of women who migrated to Abyssinia, those who came back and those who died there was 16 women besides their daughters whom they bore there who came back and who died there and who went along with them:

From (the) Quraysh of (the) B. Hashim: Ruqayya d. of the apostle.

From (the) B. Umayya: Umm Habiba d. Abu Sufyan with her daughter Habiba. She took her with her from Mecca and they returned together.

From (the) B. Makhzum: Umm Salama d. Abu Umayya. She brought back her daughter Zaynab whom she bore there.

From (the) B. Taym b. Murra: Rayfa d. al-Harith b. Jubayla who died on the journey and her two daughters Aisha and Zaynab by al-Harith born in Abyssinia. They all, together with their brother Musa b. al-Harith, died on the journey from drinking foul water. Only her daughter Fatima, born there, survived to return.

From (the) B. Sahm b. Amr: Ramla d. Abu Auf b. Pubayra.

From (the) B. Adly b. Kab: Layla d. Abu Hathma b. Ghanim.

From (the) B. Amir b. Luayy: Sauda d. Zamaa b. Qays; and Sahla d. Suhayl b. Amr and his daughter al-Mujallal; and Amra d. al-Sadi b. Waqdan; and Umm Kulthum d. Suhayl b. Amr.

From distant Arab tribes: Asma d. Umays b. al-Numan al-Khathamiya; and Fatima d. Safwan b. Umayyab. Muharrith al-Kinaniya; and Fukayha d. Yasar; and Baraka d. Yasar; and Hasana Umm Shurahbil b. Hasana.

These are the names of the children who were born to them in Abyssinia:

From (the) B. Hashim: Abdullah b. Jafar b. Abu Talib.

From (the) B. Abdu Shams: Mohammed b. Abu Hudhayfa; and Said b. Khalid b. Said and his sister Ama.

From (the) B. Makhzum: Zaynab d. Abu Salama b. al-Asad.

From (the) B. Zuhra: Abdullah b. al-Muttalib b. Azhar.

From (the) B. Taym: Musa b. al-Harith b. Khalid and his sisters Aisha and Fatima and Zaynab. 5 boys and 5 girls.

THE FULFILLED PILGRIMAGE, 1 A.H. 7

When the apostle returned from Khaybar to Medina he stayed there from the first Rabi until Shawwal, sending out raiding parties and expeditions. Then in Dhul-Qada —the month in which the polytheists had prevented him from pilgrimage— he went out to make the 'fulfilled pilgrimage' (780) in place of the Umra (Lit. 'to visit a populated place', is an Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca that can be undertaken at any time of the year, in contrast to the Hajj, which has specific dates according to the Islamic lunar calendar.) from which they had excluded him. Those Muslims who had been excluded with him went out in 629 A.D. / 7 A.H., and when the Meccans heard of it they got out of his way. Quraysh said among themselves, 'Mohammed and his companions are in destitution, want, and privation.'

A man I have no reason to suspect told me that Ibn Abbas said: 'They gathered at the door of the assembly house to look at him and his companions, and when the apostle entered the mosque he threw the end of his cloak over his left shoulder leaving his right upper arm free. Then he said:

"God have mercy on a man who shows them today that he is strong."

Then he kissed (istalama means to embrace with outstretched arms; to stroke with the hand; and to kiss.) the stone, and went out trotting as did his companions until when the temple concealed him from them and he had kissed the southern corner he walked to kiss the black stone. Then he trotted simi larly three circuits and walked the rest.' Ibn Abbas used to say, 'People used to think that this practice was not incumbent on them because the apostle only did it for this clan of Quraysh because of what he had heard about them until when he made the farewell pilgrimage he adhered to it (Here, for falazimaha, Tabari has faramalaha.) and the sunna carried it on.'

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that when the apostle entered Mecca on that pilgrimage Abdullah b. Rawaha was holding the halter of his camel and saying:

Get out of his way, you unbelievers, make way (Tabari: adds a spurious hemistich [half line of a verse] which destroys the balance of the poem.).
Every good thing goes with His apostle.
O Lord I believe in his word,
1 know God's truth in accepting it.

We will fight you about its interpretation (Ibn Hisham's comment is cogent. S. says the occasion of the poem was Siffin: in other words it belongs to Shiite polemic.)

As we have fought you about its revelation
With strokes that will remove heads from shoulders
And make friend unmindful of friend (781).

Aban b. Salih and Abdullah b. Abu Najih from Ata b. Abu Rabah and Mujahid Abul-Hajjaj from Ibn Abbas told me that the apostle married Maymuna d. al-Harith in that journey of his when he was haram. Al-Abbas b. Abdul-Muttalib married him to her (This is a tradition which is a bone of contention among Muslim lawyers. Cf. J. Schacht, The Origins of Mohammedan Jurisprudence, Oxford, 1950, p. 153) (782).

The apostle remained three days in Mecca. Huwayjib b. Abdul-Uzza b. Abu Qays b. Abdu Wudd b. Nasr b. Malik b. Hisl with a few (the) Quraysh came to him on the third day because Quraysh had entrusted him with the duty of sending the apostle out of Mecca. They said: 'Your time is up, so get out from us.' The apostle answered: 'How would it harm you if you were to let me stay and I gave a wedding feast among you and we prepared food and you came too?' They replied, 'We do not need your food, so get out.' So the apostle went out and left Abu Rafi his client in charge of Maymuna until he brought her to him in Sarif (place near al-Tanim.). (Tabari: The apostle ordered them to change the [normal] sacrificial animal and did so himself. Camels were hard to come by so he allowed them to offer oxen.) The apostle consummated his marriage with her there, and then went on to Medina in Dhul-Hijja (783).

THE RAID ON MUTA IN 8 A.H.

He remained there for the rest of Dhul-Hijja, while the polytheists supervised the pilgrimage, and throughout al-Muharram and Safar and the two Rabis. In Jumadal-Ola he sent to Syria his force which met with disaster in Muta.

Mohammed b. Jafar b. al-Zubayr from Urwa b. al-Zubayr said: The apostle sent his expedition to Muta in Jumadal-Ula in the year 8 (630 A.D.) and put Zayd b. Haritha in command; if Zayd were slain then Jafar b. Abu Talib was to take command, and if he were killed then Abdullah b. Rawaha. The expedition got ready to the number of 3,000 and prepared to start. When they were about to set off they bade farewell to the apostle's chiefs and saluted them. When Abdullah b. Rawaha took his leave of the chiefs he wept and when they asked him the reason he said, 'By God, it is not that I love the world and am inordinately attached to you, but I heard the apostle read a verse from God's book in which he mentioned hell: "There is not one of you but shall come to it; that is a determined decree of your Lord (Koran 19.72)," and I do not know how I can return after I have been to it.' The Muslims said, 'God be with you and protect you and bring you back to us safe and sound.' Abdullah said:

But I ask the Merciful's pardon
And a wide open wound discharging blood,
Or a deadly lance-thrust from a zealous warrior
That will pierce the bowels and liver;
So that men will say when they pass my grave,

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'God guide him, fine raider that he was, he did well!'

Then, when the people were about to start, 'Abdullah came to the apostle to bid him farewell and said:

May God confirm the good things He gave you
As he confirmed them to Moses with victory. (The dubious syntax and faulty rhyme in these lines is rightly corrected by Ibn Hisham.)
I perceived goodness in you by a natural gift.
God knows that I can see deeply.
You are the apostle and he who is deprived of his gifts
And the sight of him has no real worth (784).

Then the people marched forth, the apostle accompanying them until he said farewell and returned. Abdullah said:

May peace remain on the best companion and friend,
The man I said good-bye to amid the palms.

They went on their way as far as Maan in Syria where they heard that (the Roman emperor) Heraclius had come down to Maab in the Balqa with (a huge army of) 100,000 Greeks joined by 100,000 men from Lakhm and Judham and al-Qayn and Bahra and Bali commanded by a man of Bali of Irasha called Malik b. Zafila.

When the Muslims heard this they spent two nights at Maan pondering what to do. They were in favour of writing to the apostle to tell him of the enemy's numbers; if he sent reinforcements well and good, otherwise they would await his orders. Abdullah b. Rawaha encouraged the men saying, 'Men, what you dislike is that which you have come out in search of, viz. martyrdom. We are not fighting the enemy with numbers, or strength or multitude, but we are confronting (Tabari: fighting) them with this religion with which God has honoured us. So come on! Both prospects are fine: victory or martyrdom.' The men said, 'By God, Ibn Rawaha is right.' So they went forward and Abdullah said concerning their holding back:

We urged on our horses from Aja and Far (Two mountains of Tayyi.),
Their bellies gorged with the grass they had eaten.
We gave them as shoes the smooth hard ground,
Its surface smooth as leather.
They stayed two nights at Ma'an;
After their rest they were full of spirit.
We went forward, our horses given free rein,
The hot wind blowing in their nostrils.
I swear that we will come to Maab
Though Arabs and Greeks be there.
We arranged their bridles and they came furiously,
Their dust arose in streamers
With an army whose helmets as their points appeared
Seemed to shine like stars.
The woman who enjoys life our spears divorced.
She can remarry or remain a widow (785).

Then the army went forward, and Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that he was told that Zayd b. Arqam said: I was an orphan child of Abdullah b. Rawaha and he took me with him on this expedition riding on the back of his saddle, and as he journeyed by night I heard him reciting these verses of his (He addresses his camel.):

When you have brought me and carried my gear
A four nights' journey from the swampy ground,
Then enjoy life and bear no blame
And may I never return to my people at home. (And when)
The Muslims have gone and left me
In Syria where I wish to be,
And a near relative of mine in God,
Though no blood relation, has brought you back,
There I shall not care for fruit that depends on rain
Or palms whose roots are watered by man.

I wept on hearing these words and he flicked me with his whip and said,

'Why worry, wretched fellow, if God grants me martyrdom and you return firmly in the saddle?' Then in one of his rajaz poems he said:

O Zayd, Zayd of the swift lean camels,
Long is the night you have been led, so dismount.

The people went forward until when they were on the borders of the Balqa the Greek and Arab forces of Heraclius met them in a village called Masharif. When the enemy approached, the Muslims withdrew to a village called Muta. There the forces met and the Muslims made their dispositions, putting over the right wing Qutba b. Qatada of the B. Udhra, and over the left wing an Ansari called Ubaya b. Malik (786).

When fighting began Zayd b. Haritha fought holding the apostle's standard, until he died from loss of blood among the spears of the enemy. Then Jafar took it and fought with it until when the battle hemmed him in he jumped off his roan (a horse that has a reddish-brown colour.) and hamstrung her and fought till he was killed. Jafar was the first man in Islam to hamstring his horse (to hamstring a horse means to bind the two forelegs at the height of the knees together so that it cannot run away.).

Yahya b. Abbad b. Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from his father who said, 'My foster-father, who was of the B. Murra b. Auf, and was in the Muta raid said, "I seem to see Jafar when he got off his sorrel and hamstrung her and then fought until he was killed as he said:

Welcome Paradise so near,
Sweet and cool to drink its cheer.
Greeks will soon have much to fear
Infidels, of descent unclear
When we meet their necks I shall shear (meaning: 'cut'.).'" (787)

Yahya b. Abbad on the same authority told me that when Jafar was killed Abdullah b. Rawaha took the standard and advanced with it riding his horse. He had to put pressure on himself as he felt reluctant to go forward. Then he said:

I swear, my soul, you shall come to the battle;
You shall fight or be made to fight.
Though men shout and scream aloud,
Why should you spurn Paradise?
Long have you been at ease.
You are nothing but a drop in a worn-out skin!

He also said:

O soul, if you are not killed you will die.
This is the fate of death which you suffer (There is a play on the words here.).
You have been given what you hoped for.

If you do what those two did you will have been guided arightmeaning his two companions Zayd and Jafar. Then he dismounted and a cousin of his came up with a meat bone, saying, 'Strengthen yourself with this, for you have met in these battles of yours difficult days.' He took it and ate a little. Then he heard the sounds of confusion in the force and threw it away, saying, 'And you are still living?' He seized his sword and died fighting. Then Thabit b. Aqram took the standard. He was brother of (the) B. al-Ajlan. He called on the Muslims to rally round one man, and when they wanted to rally to him he demurred and they rallied to Khalid b. al-Walid. When he took the standard he tried to keep the enemy off and to avoid an engagement (Some Manuscripts have wakhasha bihim 'took precautions for their safety', a reading which is supported by 798.10, and may well be right.). Then he retreated and the enemy turned aside from him until he got away with the men.

According to what I have been told, when the army was smitten the apostle said: 'Zayd took the standard and fought with it until he was killed as a martyr; then Jafar took it and fought until he was killed as a martyr.' Then he was silent until the faces of the Ansar fell and they thought that something disastrous had happened to Abdullah b. Rawaha. Then he said: 'Abdullah took it and fought by it until he was killed as a martyr. I saw in a vision that they were carried up to me in Paradise upon beds of gold. I saw Abdullah's bed turning away from the beds of the other two, and when I asked why, I was told that they had gone on but he hesitated before he went forward.'

(Tabari 1617: Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that when the news of Jafar's death reached the apostle he said, 'Jafar went by yesterday with a company of angels making for Bisha in the Yaman. He had two wings whose forefeathers were stained with blood.')

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr from Umm Isa al-Khuzaiya from Umm Jafar d. Mohammed b. Jafar b. Abu Talib from her grandmother Asma d. Umays said: When Jafar and his companions were killed, the apostle came in to me when I had just tanned forty skins (788) and kneaded my dough and washed and oiled and cleaned my children. He asked me to bring him Jafar's sons and when I did so he smelt them and his eyes filled with tears. I asked him whether he had heard bad news about Jafar and his companions, and he said that he had and that they had been killed that day. I got up and cried aloud and the women gathered to me. The apostle went out to his family saying, 'Do not neglect Jafar's family so as not to provide them with food, for they are occupied with the disaster that has happened to their head.' (A reference to the practice of sending cooked food to a bereaved family to provide a meal for the mourners and their visitors.)

Abdul- Rahman b. al-Qasim b. Mohammed told me from his father from Aisha the prophet's wife who said: When news of Jafar's death came we saw sorrow on the apostle's face. A man went to him and said, 'The women trouble us and disturb us.' He told him to go back and quieten them. He went but came back again saying the same words. Aisha here commented, 'Meddling often injures the meddler.' The apostle said, 'Go and tell them to be quiet, and if they refuse throw dust in their mouths.' Aisha added: 'I said to myself, God curse you, for you have neither spared yourself the indignity of a snub nor are you able to do what the apostle said. I knew he could not throw dust in their mouths.'

Qutba b. Qatada al-Udhri who was over the right wing had attacked Malik b. Zafila (Tabari; leader of the mixed Arabs) and killed him, and said:

I pierced Ibn Zafila b. al-Irash with a spear
Which went through him and then broke.
I gave his neck a blow
So that he bent like a bough of mimosa (any of the various tropical plants, shrubs and trees having clusters of flowers that are very sensitive to touch and light.).
We led off the wives of his cousins
On the day of Raquqayn as sheep (789).

A kahina of Hadas who heard about the advance of the apostle's army had said to her people who were a clan called B. Ghanm:

I warn you of a proud people
Who are hostile in their gaze.
They lead their horses in single file
And shed turgid (noble and pompous) blood.

They took heed to her words and separated themselves from Lakhm. Afterwards Hadas remained a large and prosperous tribe. Those who took part in the war that day, the B. Thalaba a clan of Hadas, remained insignificant. When Khalid went off with the men he took the homeward road.

Mohammed b. Jafar b. al-Zubayr told me from Urwa b. al-Zubayr that when they got near Medina the apostle and the Muslims met them and the boys came running while the apostle came with the people on his beast. He said, 'Take the boys and carry them and give me Jafar's son.' They gave him Abdullah and he took him and carried him in front of him. The men began to throw dirt at the army, saying, 'You runaways, you fled in the way of God!' The apostle said, 'They are not runaways but come-agains if God will.'

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me from Amir b. Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from one of the family of al-Harith b. Hisham who were his maternal uncles, from Umm Salama the prophet's wife who said to the wife of Salama b. Hisham b. al-As b. al-Mughira, 'Why is it that I do not see Salama at prayers with the apostle with the rest of the Muslims?' She replied, 'By God, he cannot go out. Whenever he goes out the men call out "Runaway! You ran away when in the path of God!" until he has taken to sitting in his house and not going out at all.'

Qays b. al-Musahhar al-Yamuri composed the following verses in which he made excuses for what he and the other men did that day and shows how Khalid took precautions for their safety and got away with them:

By God, I never cease to blame myself for stopping
When the horses were leaping forward (The readings vary: qaia leaping; naia lifting up their heads; qabia panting.) with bolting eyes.
I stopped there neither asking help nor acting decisively
Nor protecting those for whom death was decreed.
However, I did but imitate Khalid
And Khalid has no equal in the army.
My heart was moved for Jafar in Muta
When an arrow was no good to an archer.
And he linked up their two wings to us
Muhajirs not polytheists nor unarmed.
Thus Qays made clear in his verses the facts which people dispute, namely
that the army kept their distance and were afraid of death, and established
the fact that Khalid and his men avoided battle (790).

Among the lamentations over the apostle's companions who died at
Muta are the lines of Hassan b. Thabit:

A miserable night I had in Yathrib,
Anxiety that robbed me of sleep when others slept soundly.
At the thought of a friend my tears ran fast.
(Memory is oft the cause of weeping.
Nay, the loss of a friend is a calamity,
And how many a noble soul is afflicted and endures patiently.)
I saw the best of the believers follow one another to death,
Though some held back behind them. (This is banal. The Divan, xxi, 'for I had been kept back with those who were left behind' is better.)
May God receive the slain at Muta who went one after another.
Among them Jafar now borne on wings,
And Zayd and Abdullah when they too followed
When the cords of death were active
On the day they went on with the believers,
The fortunate radiant one leading them to death.
Bright as the full moon—of Hashim's sons,
Haughty against wrong, daringly bold,
He fought till he fell unpillowed
On the battlefield, a broken shaft in his body.
He has his reward with the martyrs,
Gardens and green spreading trees.

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We saw in Jafar a man loyal to Mohammed,
One who gave decisive orders.
May there ever be in Islam of Hashim's line
Pillars of strength and an endless source of pride;
In Islam they are a mountain and the people round them
Are rocks piled up to a mount majestic and lofty.
Splendid leaders: of them Jafar and his brother 'All
And of them Ahmad the chosen one.
And Hamza and al-Abbas and Aqil
And the sap of the wood from which he was squeezed (In popular language: a chip of the old block.).'
By them relief comes in every hard dusty fight
Whenever men are in a tight corner.
They are the friends of God Who sent down His wisdom to them
And among them is the purified bringcr of the Book (All this reads like Alide propaganda.).

Kab b. Malik said:
While the eyes of others slept mv eye shed tears
Like the dripping of a faulty water-skin.
In the night when sorrows came upon me
WTien I was not sobbing (Or, reading ahinnu 'yearning' or 'moaning'.) I turned restlessly on my couch.
Grief came repeatedly and I passed the night
As though I had to shepherd Ursa (Bear) and Pisces (Fishes) (i.e. he watched the stars in their passage across the sky while others slept. A cliche.).
'Twas (it was) as though between my ribs and bowels
A burning piercing pain afflicted me,
Sorrowing for those who one after another
Were left lying that day in Muta.
God bless them, the heroes,
And may plenteous rains refresh their bones!
They forced themselves for God's sake
To ignore the fear of death and cowardly failure.
They went in front of the Muslims
Like stallion foals, clad in long mail
When they were led by Jafar and his flag
In front of their leader, and what a fine leader.
Until the ranks were breached and Jafar
Where the ranks were trapped lay prostrate.
The moon lost its radiance at his death,
The sun eclipsed and wellnigh dark.
A chief of high lineage from Hashim,
In lofty eminence and authority immovable,
A people by whom God protected His servants,
To them was sent down the revealed book.
They excelled other tribes in glory and honour
And their enlightened minds covered up the ignorance of others.
They would not embark on a vicious enterprise,
You could see their speaker deciding justly.

They met their end when they went their way
And I with the survivors am left to life's sorrows.
Three men were sent forward and advanced
To death's loathed pool of blood.
The names of those who died a martyr's death at Muta:
Of Quraysh: of the clan of B. Hashim, Jafar and Zayd.
Of B. Achy b. Kab: Masud b. al-Aswad b. Haritha b. Nadia.
Of B. Malik b. Hisl: Wahb b. Sad b. Abu Sarh.
Of the Ansar: of the clan of B. al-Harith b. ai-Khazraj, Abdullah b.
Rawaha and Abbad b. Qays.
Of B. Ghanam b. Malik b. al-Najjar, al-Harith b. Nu'man b. Usaf b.
Nadla b. Abd b. Auf b. Ghanam.
Of B. Mazin b. al-Najjar, Suraqa b. Amr b. 'Atiya b. Khansa' (791).

THE CAUSES THAT LED TO THE OCCUPATION OF MECCA, 8 A.H.

After he had sent his force to Muta the apostle stayed in Medina during the latter Jumada and Rajab. Then the B. Bakr b. Abdu Manat b. Kinana attacked Khuzaa while they were at a well of theirs in the lower region of Mecca called al-Watir. The cause of the quarrel was that a man of (the) B. al-Hadrami called Malik b. Abbad—the Hadrami being at that time allies of al-Aswad b. Razn—had gone out on a trading journey; and when he reached the middle of the Khuzaa country they attacked and killed him and took his possessions. So (the) B. Bakr attacked a man of Khuza'a and killed him; and just before Islam Khuzaa attacked the sons of al-Aswad b. Razn al-Dili who were the most prominent chiefs of (the) B. Kinana—Salma, Kulthum, and Dhuayb—and killed them in Arafa at the boundary stones of
the sacred area.

One of the B. al-Dil told me that B. al-Aswad during the pagan era were paid double bloodwit because of their position among them, while they only got a single bloodwit.

While B. Bakr and Khuzaa were thus at enmity Islam intervened and occupied men's minds. When the peace of Hudaybiya was concluded between the apostle and Quraysh one of the conditions—according to what al-Zuhri told me from Urwa b. al-Zubayr from al-Miswar b. Makhrama and Marwan b. al-Hakam and other traditionists—was that anyone who wanted to enter into a treaty relationship with either party could do so; the B. Bakr joined Quraysh and Khuzaa joined the apostle. When the armistice was established B. al-Dil of B. Bakr took advantage of it against Khuzaa in their desire to revenge themselves on them for the sons of Aswad whom they had killed. So Naufal b. Muawiya al-Dili, who was their leader at the time, went out with the B. al-Dil, though all the B. Bakr did not follow him, and attacked Khuzaa by night while they were at al Watir their well, killing one of their men. Both parties fell back and continued the fight. Quraysh helped B. Bakr with weapons and some of them fought with them secretly under cover of the night until they drove Khuzaa into the sacred area. When they reached it the B. Bakr said, 'O Naufal, we are in the sacred area. Remember your God, remember your God!' He replied in blasphemous words that he had no god that day. 'Take your revenge, ye sons of Bakr. By my life, if you used to steal in the sacred area, will you not take vengeance in it?' Now on the night they attacked them in al-Watir they killed a man called Munabbih who had gone out w th one of his tribesmen called Tamim b. Asad. Munabbih had a weak hear and he told Tamim to escape for he was as good as dead whether they killed him or let him go, for his heart had given out. So Tamim made off and escaped and Munabbih was overtaken and killed.

When Khuzaa entered Mecca they took refuge in the house of Budayl b. Warqa and the house of a freed slave of theirs called Rafi.

Tamim in excusing himself for running away from Munabbih said:
When I saw the B. Nufatha had advanced
Covering every plain and hill,
Rock and upland, no one else in sight,
Leading their swift wide-nostrilled horses
And I remembered the old blood feud between us,
A legacy of years gone by;
And I smelt the odour of death coming from them
And feared the stroke of a sharp sword
And knew that they would leave him they smote
Meat for mother lions and carrion for crows,
I set my feet firmly not fearing stumbling
And threw my garments on the bare ground.
I ran—no wild ass strong, lean-flanked, ran as I ran.
She may blame me, but had she been there
Her disapproval would have been urine wetting her.
Men well know that I did not leave Munabbih willingly.
Ask my companions (if you do not believe me) (792).

Al-Akhzar b. Lut al-Dili describing the fight between Kinana and Khuzaa said:
Have not the most distant Ahabish (Possibly the Abyssinians / Ethiopians are meant.) heard
That we repulsed (the) B. Kab in impotent disgrace? ('with arrows snapped off near the feathered end'.)
We made them keep to the dwelling of the slave Rafi'
And they were confined helpless with Budayl
In the house of a low person who accepts humiliation
After we had slaked our vengeance on them with the sword.
We held them there for many a day
Until from every pass we charged down on them.
We slaughtered them like goats,
We were like lions racing to get our teeth in them.
They had wronged us and behaved as enemies
And were the first to shed blood at the sacred boundary.
When they pursued them with their vanguard in the wadi's bend
They were like young ostriches in full flight*.
(* Fathur is a place in Najd as A.Dh. says; but unless the action referred to occurred before they reached the haram it is hard to see what the combatants were doing. As fathur means the contingent that leads the pursuit of a fleeing enemy it is to be preferred here to W.'s 'dthur.)

Budayl b. Abdu Manat b. Salama b. Amr b. al-Ajabb who was called Budayl b. Imm Asra-m answered him thus:
May those people lose one another who boast
Since we left them no chief to call them to assembly save Nafil.
Was it for fear of a people you scorn
That you went past al-Watlr fearful, never to return?
Every day we give to others to pay bloodwit for those they have killed
While we take no help in paying our bloodwit.
We came to your home in al-Talaa (A well belonging to B. Kinana. The second hemistich is a reference to the proverb 'The sword comes before recrimination'.),
Our swords silenced all complaints.
From Bayd and Itwad (Places belonging to Kinana.) to the slopes of Radwa
We held otf the attacks of horsemen.
On the day of al-Ghamim (Between Mecca and Medina.) Ubays ran away.
We terrified him with a doughty leader.
Was it because the mother of one of you defecated in her house in her trepidation
While you were leaping about that we met no opposition?
By God's house you lie, you did not fight
But we left you in utter confusion (793).

When Quraysh and B. Bakr had combined against Khuzaa and killed some of them, thereby breaking their covenanted word with the apostle in violating Khuzaa who were in treaty with him, Amr b. Salim al-Khuzai of the clan of B. Kab went to the apostle in Medina. (This led to the conquest of Mecca.) He stood by him as he was sitting among the men in the mosque and said:
O Lord, I come to remind Mohammed
Of the old alliance between our fathers.
You are sons for whom we provided the mother,
Then we made peace* and have not changed our minds.
(* S. insists on this meaning for aslamnd, despite the last verse, on the ground that Khuzaa had not yet become Muslims. The poem is a later invention and the natural translation 'Then we became Muslims' is to be preferred.)

Help us, now God guide you,
And call God's servants to our aid.
Among them the apostle of God prepared for war (Or, reading taharrada, 'enraged'.).
When he is wronged his face becomes black with anger
With a great army foaming like the sea.
Verily Quraysh have broken their promise to you,
They have violated their pledged word,
And they set men to watch out for me in Kada (A place on the heights above Mecca.).
They claim that I can get no one to help us
And they but a miserable few.
They attacked us at night in al-Watir
And killed us as we performed the ritual prayers (794).

The apostle said, 'May you be helped O Amr b. Salim!' (Or perhaps nusirta here means 'You shall be helped'.) Then as a cloud appeared in the sky he said, 'This cloud will provide help for the B. Kab.'

Then Budayl b. Warqa came with a number of Khuzaa to the apostle in Medina and told him of their misfortune and how Quraysh had helped (the) B. Bakr against them. Having done so they returned to Mecca. The apostle said, 'I think you will see Abu Sufyan coming to strengthen the agreement and to ask for more time.' When Budayl and his companions had got as far as Usfan (Two days' journey on the road from Mecca to Medina.) they met Abu Sufyan who had been sent by Quraysh to strengthen the agreement with the apostle and to ask for an extension, for they were afraid of the consequences of what they had done. Abu Sufyan asked Budayl whence he had come because he suspected him of having visited the apostle. He replied that he had come along the shore and the bottom of this valley with the Khuzaa, and denied that he had been to Mohammed. When Budayl had gone off to Mecca Abu Sufyan said, 'If Budayl came to Medina he will have given his camels dates to eat there,' so he went to where the camels had knelt and split up their dung and looked at the stones. 'By God, I swear Budayl has come from Mohammed,' he said.

Having arrived at Medina he went in to his daughter Umm Habiba, and as he went to sit on the apostle's carpet she folded it up so that he could not sit on it. 'My dear daughter,' he said, 'I hardly know if you think that the carpet is too good for me or that I am too good for the carpet!' She replied: 'It is the apostle's carpet and you are an unclean polytheist. I do not want you to sit on the apostle's carpet.' 'By God,' he said, 'since you left me you have gone to the bad.' Then he went to the apostle, who would not speak to him; he then went to Abu Bakr and asked him to speak to the apostle for him; he refused to do so. Then he went to Umar who said, 'Should I intercede for you with the apostle! If I had only an ant I would fight you with it.' Then he went in to see 'All with whom was Fatima the apostle's daughter who had with her Ali's little son Hasan crawling in front of her. He appealed to Ali on the ground of their close relationship to intercede with the apostle so that he would not have to return disappointed; but he answered that if the apostle had determined on a thing it was useless for anyone to talk to him about it; so he turned to Fatima and said, 'O daughter of Mohammed, will you let your little son here act as a protector between men so that he may become lord of the Arabs for ever?' She replied that her little boy was not old enough to undertake such a task and in any case none could give protection against God's apostle. He then asked for Ali's advice in the desperate situation. He said, 'I do not see anything that can really help you, but you are the chief of B. Kinana, so get up and grant protection between men and then go back home.' When he asked if he thought that that would do any good he replied that he did not, but that he could see nothing else. Thereupon Abu Sufyan got up in the mosque and said, 'O men, I grant protection between men.' He then mounted his camel and rode off to (the) Quraysh who asked for his news. He said that Mohammed would not speak to him, that he got no good from Abu Quhafa's son, and that he

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found Umar an implacable enemy (795). He had found Ali the most helpful and he had done what he recommended, though he did not know whether it would do any good. He told them what he had done and when they asked whether Mohammed had endorsed his words, he had to admit that he had not. They complained that Ali had made a fool of him and that his pronouncement was valueless, and he said that he could find nothing else to do or say.

The apostle ordered preparations to be made for a foray and Abu Bakr came in to see his daughter Aisha as she was moving some of the apostle's equipment. He asked if the apostle had ordered her to get things ready, and she said that he had, and that her father had better get ready also. She told him that she did not know where the troops were going. Later the apostle informed the men that he was going to Mecca and ordered them to make careful preparations. He said, 'O God, take eyes and ears (i.e. reports from travellers and others who have seen the Muslims assembling.) from Quraysh so that we may take them by surprise in their land,' and the men got themselves ready.

Hassan b. Thabit, inciting the men and mentioning the killing of the men of Khuzaa, said:

It pained me though I did not see in Mecca's valley
The men of Banu Kab with their heads cut off
By men who had not drawn their swords
And the many dead who were left unburied (He means that the Quraysh were really responsible for the death of these men in the sacred territory. This is implied in the v.l. in the Diwan which has qatla bi-haqqin.).

Would that I knew if my help with its biting satire (Hassan was no fighter. He relied on his tongue to hurt the enemy.)
Would injure Suhayl b. Amr, and Safwan
That old camel who groans from his arse.
This is the time for war—its girths are tightened (War is compared to a camel.).
Do not feel safe from us, son of Umm Mujalid,
When its pure milk is extracted and its teeth are crooked.
Do not be disappointed, for our swords
Will open the door to death (796).

Mohammed b. Jafar b. al-Zubayr from Urwa b. al-Zubayr and another of our traditionists said that when the apostle decided to go to Mecca Hatib b. Abu Baltaa wrote a letter to Quraysh telling them that the apostle intended to come at them. He gave it to a woman whom Mohammed b. Jafar alleged was from Muzayna while my other informant said she was Sara, a freed woman of one of the B. Abdul-Muttalib. He paid her some money to carry it to Quraysh. She put the letter on her head and then plaited her locks over it and went off. The apostle received news from heaven of Hatib's action and sent Ali and al-Zubayr b. al-Awwam with instructions to go after her. They overtook her in al-Khulayqa of (the) B. Abu Ahmad. They made her dismount and searched her baggage but found nothing. Ali swore that the apostle could not be mistaken nor could they, and that if she did not produce the letter they would strip her. When she saw that he was in earnest she told him to turn aside, and then she let down her locks and drew out the letter and gave it to him and he took it to the apostle. The apostle summoned Hatib and asked him what induced him to act thus. He replied that he believed in God and His apostle and had never ceased to do so, but that he was not a man of standing among (the) Quraysh and he had a son and a family there and that he had to deal prudently with them for their sakes. Umar wanted to cut off his head as a hypocrite but the apostle said, 'How do you know, Umar; perhaps God looked favourably on those who were at Badr and said, "Do as you please, for I have forgiven you."' Then God sent down concerning Hatib: 'O you who believe, choose not My enemies and yours as friends so as to show them kindness' as far as the words 'You have a good example in Abraham and those with him when they said to their people: We are quit of you and what you worship beside God; we renounce you and between us and you enmity and hatred will ever endure until you believe in God alone (Koran 60.1-4.).'

Mohammed b. Muslim b. Shihab al-Zuhri from Ubaydullah b. Abdullah b. Utba b. Masud from Abdullah b. Abbas told me: Then the apostle went on his journey and put over Medina Abu Ruhm Kulthum b. Husayn b. Utba b. Khalaf al-Ghifari. He went out on the 10th of Ramadan and he and the army fasted until when he reached al-Kudayd between Usfan and Amaj he broke his fast. He went on until he came to Marr al-Zahran with 10,000 Muslims; Sulaym numbered 700 and some say 1,000; and Muzayna 1,000; and in every tribe there was a considerable number and Islam. The Muhajirs and Helpers went as one man; not one stayed behind.

When the apostle had reached Marr al-Zahran Quraysh were completely ignorant of the fact and did not even know what he was doing. On those nights Abu Sufyan b. Harb and Hakim b. Hizam and Budayl b. Warqa went out searching for news by eye or ear when al-Abbas had met the apostle in the way (797).

Abu Sufyan b. al-Harith b. Abdul-Muttalib and Abdullah b. Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira had met the apostle also in Niqul-Uqab between Mecca and Medina and tried to get in to him. Umm Salama spoke to him about them, calling them his cousin and his brother-in-law. He replied: 'I have no use for them. As for my cousin he has wounded my pride; and as for my aunt's son and my brother-in-law he spoke insultingly of me in Mecca.' When this was conveyed to them Abu Sufyan who had his little son with him said, 'By God, he must let me in or I will take this little boy of mine and we will wander through the land until we die of hunger and thirst.' When he heard this the apostle felt sorry for them and let them come in and they accepted Islam. Abu Sufyan recited the following verses about his Islam in which he' excused himself for what had gone before:

By thy life when I carried a banner
To give al-Lat's cavalry the victory over Mohammed
I was like one going astray in the darkness of the night,
But now I am led on the right track.
I could not guide myself, and he who with God overcame me
Was he whom I had driven away with all my might.
I used to do all I could to keep men from Mohammed
And I was called a relative of his, though I did not claim the relation.
They are what they are. He who does not hold with them
Though he be a man of sense is blamed and given the lie.
I wanted to be on good terms with them (Muslims)
But I coujd not join them while I was not guided.
Say to Thaqif I do not want to fight them;
Say, too, 'Threaten somebody else!'
I was not m the army that attacked Amir,
I had no part with hand or tongue.
'Twas (it was) tribes that came from a distant land,
Strangers from Saham and Surdad (798).

They allege that when he recited his words 'He who with God overcame me was he whom I had driven away with all my might' the apostle punched him in the chest and said, 'You did indeed!'

When the apostle camped at Marr al-Zahran Abbas said (Tabari 1630 f. following Yunus's version of Ibn Ishaq has a slightly longer text. Only significant differences will be noted.), 'Alas, (the) Quraysh, if the apostle enters Mecca by force before they come and ask for protection that will be the end of (the) Quraysh for ever.' I sat upon the apostle's white mule and went out on it until I came to the arak trees, thinking that I might find some woodcutters or milkers or someone who could go to Mecca and tell them where the apostle was so that they could come out and ask for safety before he entered the town by assault. As I was going along with this intent suddenly I heard the sound of Abu Sufyan (Tabari: and Hakim b. Hazam) and Budayl talking together. Abu Sufyan was saying, 'I have never seen such fires and such a camp before.' Budayl was saying, 'These, by God, are (the fires of) Khuza'a which war has kindled.' Abu Sufyan was saying, 'Khuzaa are too poor and few to have fires and camps like these.' I recognized his voice and called to him and he recognised my voice. I told him that the apostle was here with his army and expressed concern for him and for (the) Quraysh: 'If he takes you he will behead you, so ride on the back of this mule so that I can take you to him and ask for you his protection.' So he rode behind me and his two companions returned. Whenever we passed a Muslim fire we were challenged, and when they saw the apostle's mule with me riding it they said it was the prophet's uncle riding his mule until I passed by Ulnar's fire. He challenged me and got up and came to me, and when he saw Abu Sufyan on the back of the beast he cried: 'Abu Sufyan, the enemy of God! Thanks be to God who has delivered you up without agreement or word.' Then he ran towards the apostle and I made the mule gallop, and the mule won by the distance a slow beast will outrun a slow man. I dismounted and went in to the apostle and Umar came in saying the same words and adding, 'Let me take off his head.' I told the apostle that I had promised him my protection; then I sat by him and took hold of his head and said, 'By God, none shall talk confidentially to him this night without my being present'; and when Umar continued to remonstrate I said, 'Gently, Umar! If he had been one of the B. Adiy b. Kab you would not have said this; but you know that he is one of the B. Abdu Manaf.' He replied, 'Gently, Abbas! for by God your Islam the day you accepted it was dearer to me than the Islam of al-Khattab would have been had he become a Muslim. One thing I surely know is that your Islam was dearer to the apostle than my father's would have been.' The apostle told me to take him away to my quarters and bring him back in the morning. He stayed the night with me "and I took him in to see the apostle early in the morning and when he saw him he said, is it not time that you should recognise that there is no God but Allah?" He answered, 'You are dearer to me than father and mother. How great is your clemency, honour, and kindness! By God, I thought that had there been another God with God he would have continued to help me.'

He said: 'Woe to you, Abu Sufyan, is it not time that you recognise am God's apostle?' He answered, 'As to that I still have some doubt.' I said to him, 'Submit (surrender) and testify that there is no God but Allah and that Mohammed is the apostle of God before you lose your head,' so he did so. I pointed out to the apostle that Abu Sufyan was a man who liked to have some cause for pride and asked him to do something for him. He said, 'He who enters Abu Sufyan's house is safe, and he who locks his door is safe, and he who enters the mosque is safe.' When he went off to go back the apostle told me to detain him in the narrow part of the wadi where the mountain projected (Lit. 'at the nose of the mountain'.) so that God's armies would pass by and he would see them; so I went and detained him where the prophet had ordered.

The squadrons passed him with their standards, and he asked who they were. When I said Sulaym he would say, 'What have I to do with Sulaym and so with Muzayna until all had passed, he asking the same question and making the same response to the reply. Finally the apostle passed with his greenish-black squadron (799) in which were Muhajirs and Ansar whose eyes alone were visible because of their armour. He said, 'Good heavens, Abbas, who are these?' and when I told him he said that none could withstand them. 'By God, O Abu Fadl, the authority of your brother's son has become great.' I told him that it was due to his prophetic office, and he said that in that case he had nothing to say against it.

I told him to hurry to his people. When he came to them he cried at the top of his voice: 'O Quraysh, this is Mohammed who has come to you with a force you cannot resist. He who enters Abu Sufyan's house is safe.' Hind d. Utba went up to him, and seizing his moustaches cried, 'Kill this fat greasy bladder of lard! What a rotten protector of the people!' He said, 'Woe to you, don't let this woman deceive you, for you cannot resist what has come. He who enters Abu Sufyan's house will be safe.' 'God slay you,' they said, 'what good will your house be to us?' (i.e. it could not provide cover for them all.) He added, 'And he who shuts his door upon himself will be safe and he who enters the mosque will be safe.' Thereupon the people dispersed to their houses and the mosque.

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that when the apostle came to Dhu Tuwa he halted on his beast turbaned with a piece of red Yamani cloth and that he lowered his head in submission to God, when he saw how God had honoured him with victory, so that his beard almost touched the middle of the saddle.

Yahya b. Abbad b. Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from his father from his grandmother Asma d. Abu Bakr said: When the apostle stopped in Dhu Tuwa Abu Quhafa said to a daughter of his, one of his youngest children, 'Take me up to Abu Qubays,' for his sight had almost gone. When they got there he asked her what she could see and she told him *a mass of black." 'Those are the horses,' he said. Then she told him that she could see a man running up and down in front of them and he said that that was the adjutant, meaning the man who carries and transmits the orders to the cavalry. Then she said, 'By God, the black mass has spread.* He said, 'In that case the cavalry have been released, so bring me quickly to my house.' She took him down and the cavalry encountered him before he could get to his house. The girl had a silver necklace and a man who met her tore it from her neck. When the apostle came in and entered the mosque Abu Bakr came leading his father. On seeing him the apostle said, 'Why did you not leave the old man in his house so that I could come to him there?' Abu Bakr replied that it was more fitting that he should come to him than vice versa. He made him sit before him and stroked his chest and asked him to accept Islam and he did so. When Abu Bakr brought his father in his head was as white as edelweiss (German for 'noble white', that is a small Alpine flowering plant having very bright white flowers.), and the apostle told them to dye it.

Then Abu Bakr got up and taking his sister's hand said, 'I ask in the name of God and Islam for my sister's necklace' and none answered him, and he said, 'Sister, regard your necklace as taken by God (and look to Him to requite you) for there is not much honesty among people nowadays.'

Abdullah b. Abu Najih told me that the apostle divided his force at Dhu Tuwa ordering al-Zubayr b. al-Awwam to go in with some of the men from Kuda. Al-Zubayr commanded the left wing; Sad b. Ubada he ordered to go in with some of the men from Kada'.

Some traditionists allege thai when Sad started off he said,
Today is a day of war,
Sanctuary is no more, and one of the muhajirs (800) heard him and told the apostle that it was to be feared that he would resort to violence. The apostle ordered Ali to go after him and take the flag from him and enter with it himself.

Abdullah b. Abu Najih in his story told me that the apostle ordered Khalid to enter from al-Lit, the lower part of Mecca, with some men. Khalid was in command of the right wing with Aslam, Sulaym, Ghifar, Muzayna, Juhayna, and other Arab tribes. Abu Ubayda b. al-Jarrah advanced with the troops pouring into Mecca in front of the apostle who entered from Adhakhir (Yaqut knows nothing of this place, but it is mentioned frequently by al-Azraqi, Mecca, 1352, ii. 232 ff. as a pass near Mecca.) until he halted above Mecca and his tent was pitched there.

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Abdullah b. Abu Najih and Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that Safwan b. Umayya and Ikrima b. Abu Jahl and Suhayl b. Amr had collected some men in al-Khandama (Not mentioned by Yaquf. Azr. i. 146 says it is a peak on Abu Qubaya.) to fight. Himas b. Qays b. Khalid brother of (the) B. Bakr was sharpening his sword before the apostle entered Mecca, and his wife asked him why he was doing so. When he told her it was for Mohammed and his companions she said that she did not think thai it would do them any harm. He answered that he hoped to give her one of them as a slave and said:

I have no excuse if today they advance.
Here is my weapon, a long-bladed lance,
A two-edged sword in their faces will dance!

Then he went to al-Khandama with Safwan, Suhayl, and Ikrima and when the Muslims under Khalid arrived a skirmish' followed in which Kurz b. Jabir, one of the B. Muharib b. Fihr, and Khunays b. Khalid b. Rabia b. Asram, an ally of (the) B. Munqidh, who were in Khalid's cavalry, were killed. They had taken a road of their own apart from Khalid and were killed together. Khunays was killed first and Kurz put him between his feet and fought in his defence until he was slain, saving meanwhile:

Safra of the B. Fihr knows
The pure of face and heart
That I fight today in defence of Abu Sakhr.

Khunays was sumamed Abu Sakhr (80 1).

Salama b. al-Mayla, one of Khalid's horsemen, was killed, and the polytheists lost about 12 or 13 men; then they took to flight. Himas ran off and went into his house and told his wife to bolt the door. When she asked what had become of his former words he said:

If you had witnessed the battle of Khandama
When Safwan and Ikrima fled
And Abu Yazid was standing like a pillar*
And the Muslims met them with their swords
Which cut through arms and skulls,
Only confused cries being heard
Behind us their cries and groans,
You would not have uttered the least word of blame (802)

(* This explanation of mutima is based on S.'s statement that elsewhere Ibn Ishaq says that such is the meaning. The alternative 'A widow left with fatherless children' is supported by Azraqi, 47 kalajuzil-mutima (quoted by Theodor Nöldeke, Glos. 103 and Tabari's kal-matama).)

The apostle had instructed his commanders when they entered Mecca only to fight those who resisted them, except a small number who were to be killed even if they were found beneath the curtains of the Kaaba. Among them was Abdullah b. Sad, brother of the B. Amir b. Luayy. The reason he ordered him to be killed was that he had been a Muslim and used to write down revelation; then he apostatized and returned to (the) Quraysh and fled to Uthman b. Affan whose foster-brother he was. The latter hid him until he brought him to the apostle after the situation in Mecca was tranquil, and asked that he might be granted immunity. They allege that the apostle remained silent for a long time till finally he said yes. When Uthman had left he said to his companions who were sitting around him, 'I kept silent so that one of you might get up and strike off his head!' One of the Ansar said, 'Then why did you not give me a sign, O apostle of God?' He answered that a prophet does not kill by pointing (803).

Another was Abdullah b. Khatal of (the) B. Taym b. Ghalib. He had become a Muslim and the apostle sent him to collect the poor tax in company with one of the Ansar. He had with him a freed slave who served him. (He was a Muslim.) When they halted he ordered the latter to kill a goat for him and prepare some food, and went to sleep. When he woke up the man had done nothing, so he attacked and killed him and apostatized. He had two singing-girls Fartana and her friend who used to sing satirical songs about the apostle, so he ordered that they should be killed with him. Another was al-Huwayrith b. Nuqaydh b. Wahb b. Abd b. Qusayy, one of those who used to insult him in Mecca (804).

Another was Miqyas b. Hubaba (W. Dubaba. On p. 728 he writes Subaba which may well be right in spite of C. which follows the Qamus.) because he had killed an Ansari who had killed his brother accidentally, and returned to Quraysh as a polytheist. And Sara, freed slave of one of the B. Abdul-Muttalib; and Ikrima b. Abu Jahl. Sara had insulted him in Mecca. As for Ikrima, he fled to the Yaman. His wife Umm Hakim d. al-Harith b. Hisham became a Muslim and asked immunity for him and the apostle gave it. She went to the Yaman in search of him and brought him to the apostle and he accepted Islam. (Tabari 1640: 'Ikrima used to relate, according to what they say, that what turned him to Islam when he had gone to the Yaman was that he had determined to cross the sea to Abyssinia and when he found a ship the master said, 'O servant of God, you cannot travel in my ship until you acknowledge that God is one and disavow any rival to Him, for I fear that if you do not do so we should perish.' When I asked if none but such persons was allowed to travel in his ship he replied, 'Yes, and he must be sincere.' So I thought: Why should I leave Mohammed when this is what he has brought us? Truly our God on the sea is our God on the dry land. Thereupon I recognised Islam and it entered into my heart.) Abdullah b. Khatal was killed by Said b. Hurayth al-Makhzumi and Abu Barza al-Aslami acting together. Miqyas was killed by Numayla b. Abdullah, one of his own people. Miqyas's sister said of his killing:

By my life, Numayla shamed his people
And distressed the winter guests when he slew Miqyas.
Whoever has seen a man like Miqyas
Who provided food for young mothers in hard times.

As for Ibn Khatal's two singing-girls, one was killed and the other ran away until the apostle, asked for immunity, gave it her. Similarly Sara, who lived until in the time of Umar a mounted soldier trod her down in the valley of Mecca and killed her. Al-Huwayrith was killed by Ali.

Said b. Abu Hind from Abu Murra, freed slave of Aqil b. Abu Talib, told me that Umm Hani d. Abu Talib said: When the apostle halted in the upper part of Mecca two of my brothers-in-law from (the) B. Makhzum fled to me. (She was the wife of Hubayra b. Abu Wahb al-Makhzumi.) Ali came in swearing that he would kill them, so I bolted the door of my house on them and went to the apostle and found him washing in a large bowl in which was the remains of dough while his daughter Fatima was screening him with his garment. When he had washed he took his garment and wrapped himself in it and prayed eight bendings of the morning prayer.

Then he came forward and welcomed me and asked me why I had come. When I told him about the two men and 'AH he said: 'We give protection to whomsoever you give protection and we give safety to those you protect. He must not kill them' (805).

Mohammed b. Jafar b. al-Zubayr from Ubaydullah b. Abdullah b. Abu Thaur from Safiya d. Shayba told me that the apostle after arriving in Mecca when the populace had settled down went to the temple and encompassed it seven times on his camel touching the black stone with a stick which he had in his hand. This done he summoned Uthman b. Talha and took the key of the Kaaba from him, and when the door was opened for him he went in. There he found a dove made of wood. He broke it in his hands and threw it away. Then he stood by the door of the Kaaba while the men in the mosque gathered to him (Other explanations given for the word istakaffa are 'fixed their gaze on' and 'surrounded'.).

[Azr. i. 70; Ibn Ishaq: from Abdullah b. Abu Bakr from Ali b. Abdullah b. Abbas: The apostle entered Mecca on the day of the conquest and it contained idols which Iblis (A parallel tradition on the authority of I. Abbas via al-Zuhrl simply says that the idols were strengthened by lead.) had strengthened with lead. The apostle was standing by them with a stick in his hand, saying, 'The truth has come and falsehood has passed away; verily falsehood is sure to pass away' (Sura 17. 82). Then he pointed at them with his stick and they collapsed on their backs one after the other.

When the apostle prayed the noon prayer on the day of the conquest he ordered that all the idols which were round the Kaaba should be collected and burned with fire and broken up. Fadala b. al-Mulawwih al-Laythi said commemorating the day of the conquest:

Had you seen Mohammed and his troops
The day the idols were smashed when he entered,
You would have seen God's light become manifest
And darkness covering the face of idolatry.]

[Azr. 107 Ibn Ishaq: from Hakim b. Abbad b. Hanif and other traditionists: (The) Quraysh had put pictures in the Kaaba including two of Jesus son of Mary and Mary (on both of whom be peace!). Ibn Shihab said: Asma d. Shaqr said that a woman of Ghassan joined in the pilgrimage of the Arabs and when she saw the picture of Mary in the Kaaba she said, 'My father and my mother be your ransom! You are surely an Arab woman!" The apostle ordered that the pictures should be erased except those of Jesus and Mary. Apparently Ibn Hisham has cut out what Ibn Ishaq wrote and adopted the later tradition that all the pictures were obliterated. A more detailed account of these pictures will be found in Azr. 104-6.]

A traditionist (Tabari: here names the informant as Umar b. Musab al-Wajih from Qatada al-Sadusi.) told me that the apostle stood at the door of the Kaaba and said: 'There is no God but Allah alone; He has no associate. He has made good His promise and helped His servant. He has put to flight the confederates alone. Every claim of privilege (Especially inherited authority.) or blood or property are abolished by me except the custody of the temple and the watering of the pilgrims. The unintentionally slain in a quasi-intentional way by club or whip, (i.e. manslaughter.) for him the bloodwit is most severe: a hundred camels, forty of them to be pregnant. O Quraysh, God has taken from you the haughtiness of paganism and its veneration of ancestors. Man springs from Adam and Adam sprang from dust.' Then he read to them this verse: 'O men, We created you from male and female and made you into peoples and tribes that you may know one another: of a truth the most noble of you in God's sight is the most pious' to the end of the passage (Koran 49.13.). Then he added, 'O Quraysh, what do you think that I am about to do with you?' They replied, 'Good. You are a noble brother, son of a noble brother.' He said, 'Go your way for you are the freed ones.'

[Tabari, pp. 1642 (ult.) to 1644. 13.: Thus the apostle let them go though God had given him power over their lives and they were his spoil. For this reason the Meccans were called 'the freed ones'. Then the populace gathered together in Mecca to do homage to the apostle in Islam. As I have heard, he sat (waiting) for them on al-Safa while Umar remained below him imposing conditions on the people who paid homage to the apostle promising to hear and obey God and His apostle to the best of their ability. This applied to the men; when they had finished he dealt with the women. Among the Quraysh women who came was Hind d. 'Utba who came veiled and disguised because of what she had done especially in regard to Hamza, for she was afraid that the apostle would punish her. According to what I heard, when they approached him he asked if they gave their word not to associate anything with God, and Hind said, 'By God, you lay on us something that you have not laid on the men and we will carry it out.' He said, 'And you shall not steal.' She said, 'By God, I used to take a little of Abu Sufyan's money and I do not know whether that is lawful for me or not.' Abu Sufyan who was present when she said this told her that so far as the past was concerned it was lawful. The apostle said, 'Then you are Hind d. Utba?' and she said 'I am; forgive me what is past and God will forgive you.' He said, 'And do not commit adultery.' She answered, 'Does a free woman commit adultery, O apostle of God?' He said, 'And you shall not kill your children.' She said, 'I brought them up when they were little and you killed them on the day of Badr when they were grown up, so you are the one to know about them!' Umar laughed immoderately at her reply. He said, 'You shall not invent slanderous tales.' She said, 'By God, slander is disgraceful, but it is sometimes better to ignore it.' He said, 'You shall not disobey me in carrying out orders to do good.' She said, 'We should not have sat all this time if we wanted to disobey you in such orders.' The apostle said to Umar, 'Accept their troth,' and he asked God's forgiveness for them while Umar accepted their homage on his behalf. The apostle never used to take the women's hands; he did not touch a woman nor did one touch him except one whom God had made lawful to him or was one of his harim. Ibn Ishaq from Abban b. Salih said that the women's homage according to what some traditionists had told him was in this wise: a vessel containing water was put in front of the apostle and when he laid the conditions upon them and they accepted them he plunged his hand into the vessel and then withdrew it and the women did the same. Then after that he would impose conditions on them and when they accepted them he said, 'Go, I have accepted your homage,' and added nothing further.]

Then the apostle sat in the mosque and Ali came to him with the key of the Kaaba in his hand asking him to grant his family the right of guarding the temple as well as the watering of the pilgrims, but the apostle called for Uthman b. Talha and said, 'Here is your key ; today is a day of good faith' (806).

Said b. Abu Sandar al-Aslami from one of his tribesmen said: We had with us a brave man called Ahmar Basan (Or Ihmarra Basan. A strange nickname. 'Red in power', 'Ruddybold', or the like.). When he slept he snored so loudly that everyone knew where he was. When he spent the night with his clan he slept apart. If the clan was attacked at night they would call his name and he would leap up like a lion and nothing could withstand him. It happened that a party of raiders from Hudhayl came, making for the people at their water; and when they drew near Ibn al-Athwa' al-Hudhall told them not to hurry him until he had looked round; for if Ahmar was among the group there was no way to get at them. He snored so loudly that one could tell where he was. So he listened and when he heard his snoring he walked up to him and thrust his sword into his breast pressing on it so that he killed him. Then they rushed upon the party who cried Ahmar!' But thev had no Ahmar.

On the morrow of the conquest of Mecca Ibn al-Athwa came into Mecca to look round and find out what the situation was. Now he was still a polytheist, and Khuzaa saw and recognized him, and they surrounded him as he was at the side of one of the walls of Mecca, saying, 'Are you the man who killed Ahmar?' 'Yes', he said, 'and what about it?' Thereupon Khirash b. Umayya advanced on him with drawn sword saying, 'Get away from the man.' We supposed that he wanted to get the people away from him; but when we drew away he ran at him and thrust his sword in his belly. By God, I can almost see him now with his entrails flowing forth from his belly and his eyes two mere slits in his head the while he said, 'Have you done it, you men of Khuzaa?' until he collapsed and fell. The apostle said, 'Stop this killing, Khuzaa; there has been too much killing even if there were profit in it. I will pay the bloodwit for the man you have killed.'

Abdul-Rahman b. Harmala al-Aslami from Said b. al-Musayvib told me that when the apostle heard what Khirash had done he said, Khirash is too prone to kill,' thereby rebuking him.

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Said b. Abu Said al-Maqburi from Abu Shurayh al-Khuzai said: When Amr b. al-Zubayr (S. here points out that this is a mistake on the part of Ibn Hisham and that the man was Amr b. Said b. al-As b. Umayya; that the mistake is due either to Ibn Hisham or to al-Bakkai; and that the true tradition is given by Yunus.) came to Mecca to fight his brother Abdullah, I came to him and said, 'Listen! When we were with the apostle the day after the conquest of Mecca, Khuzaa attacked a man of Hudhayl and killed him, he being a polytheist. The apostle arose and addressed us, saying, "God made Mecca holy the day He created heaven and earth, and it is the holy of holies until the resurrection day. It is not lawful for anyone who believes in God and the last day to shed blood therein, nor to cut down trees therein. It was not lawful to anyone before me and it will not be lawful to anyone after me. Indeed, it is not lawful for me except at this time because of (God's) anger against its people. Now it has regained its former holiness. Let those here now tell those that are not here. If anyone should say, The apostle killed men in Mecca, say God permitted His apostle to do so but He does not permit you. Refrain from killing, you men of Khuzaa, for there has been too much killing even if there were profit in it. Since you have killed a man I will pay his bloodwit. If anyone is killed after my sojourn here his people have a choice: they can have his killer's life or the blood-money." Then the apostle paid the bloodwit for the man whom Khuzaa had slain.' 'Amr replied, 'Be off with you, old man! We know more about its sanctity than you. It does not protect the shedder of blood, nor the man who casts off his allegiance nor him who withholds tax.' Abu Shurayh answered, ' I was there and you were not. The apostle ordered us who were present to tell those who were absent. I have told you and the responsibility now rests with you' (807).

Mohammed b. Jafar from Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me that Safwan b. Umayya went out to Judda to take ship to the Yaman. Umayr b. Wahb told the prophet that Safwan, who was a chief among his people, had fled from him to cast himself into the sea, and asked him to grant him immunity. The prophet agreed to do So, and Umayr asked him for a sign to prove it, and he gave him the turban with which he had entered Mecca. Umayr took it and overtook Safwan just as he was about to embark. He begged him not to commit suicide and produced the token of his safety. Safwan told him to be off and not to speak to him. He replied, 'My parents be your ransom! He is the most virtuous, most pious, most clement, and best of men, your very cousin. His honour is your honour.' He replied, 'I go in fear of my life because of him.' He answered, 'He is too clement and too honourable to kill you.' So he went back with him to the apostle and told him that 'Umayr had said that he had promised him immunity.

He said that that was true. Safwan asked for two months in which to make up his mind, and he gave him four months (808).

Al-Zuhri told me that Umm Hakim d. al-Harith b. Hisham and Fakhita d. al-Walid (who was married to Safwan, while Umm Hakim's husband was Ikrima b. Abu Jahl) had become Muslims. The latter asked immunity for her husband and the apostle granted it and she joined him in the Yaman and brought him back. When Ikrima and Safwan became Muslims the apostle confirmed their first marriages.

Said b. Abdul-Rahman b. Hassan b. Thabit told me that Hassan directed a single verse and no more at I. al-Zibara who was in Najran at the time (The point is interesting because the Diwan (H. cxlii) adds two more verses which fit the context poorly. It looks almost as though Hassan's grandson knew that they had been grafted on to Hassan's line and resented the impertinence.):

Do not be without a man, hatred of whom
Has made you live in Najran in utmost misery!

When this reached Ibn al-Zibara he went to the apostle and accepted Islam. Then he said:

O apostle of God, my tongue is repairing
The mischief I did when a perishing (sinner)
When I followed Satan in going astray.
(He who turns aside with him must perish.)
My flesh and my bones believe in my Lord.
My heart bears witness that you are the warner.
1 will drive the clan of Luayy from you there,
All of them being deceived.

When he became a Muslim he said also:

Cares and anxieties withheld sleep from me
And night pitch black was agitated above me
Because I heard that Ahmad had blamed me;
I passed the night like a man with fever.
O best of those, a swift light-footed
Straight-running camel ever carried,
Forgive me for what I said and did
When I went wandering in error,
What time Sahm gave me most misleading orders,
And Makhzum did the same;
When I supported evil courses
Led by those who erred, whose way was ill omened.
Today my heart believes in the prophet Mohammed.
He who misses this is a loser.
Enmity has passed, its ties are ended;
Kinship and reason call us together.
Forgive my mistakes—my parents be thy ransom,
For you are compassionate having found mercy.
Upon you is the sign of God's knowledge,
A light most bright and a seal imprinted.
After His love He gave you His proof to honour you
And God's proof is great.
I testify that your religion is true
And that you are great among men.
And God testifies that Ahmad is the chosen,
The noble one, cynosure of the righteous,
A prince whose lofty house is from Hashim,
Strong from top to bottom (809).

As for Hubayra b. Abu Wahb al-Makhzumi, he lived there until he died an unbeliever. His wife was Umm Hani d. Abu Talib whose name was Hind. When he heard that she had become a Muslim he said:

Does Hind long for you or do you know that she has asked about you?
Thus distance produces many changes.
On a high inaccessible fort in Najran she has banished my sleep.
When night falls her phantom roams abroad.
O that reproacher who wakes me at night and blames me!
She reproaches me by night—may her error err utterly!
Asserting that if I obey my family I shall perish,
But will anything but the loss of her kill me?
But I am of a people who if they do their utmost
They attain their end forthwith.
I protect the rear of my tribe
When they wheel beneath the spear points
And the swords in their hands become like
The sticks boys play with, no shade but the swords. (This line is an imitation of 1.41 in the Muallaqa of Amr b. Kulthum: "kaanna suyufand mirmd tiaminhum makhariqun biaydi la ibina". Some lexicographers favour a rendering 'knotted rags'. In either case the meaning is that they regarded the swords as mere toys.)
I loathe the envious and their works:
God will provide food for myself and my family.
Words spoken without truth
Are like an arrow without a head.
If you have followed Mohammed's religion
And the ties of kinship draw you to your kin,
Then stay far distant on a high round rock,
Dry dust its only moisture (The poet apostrophises himself.) (810).

The Muslims who were present at the conquest of Mecca numbered 10,000: of (the) B. Sulaym 700 (some say 1,000); of B. Ghifar 400; of Aslam 400; of Muzayna 1,003; and the rest of them were from (the) Quraysh and the Ansar and their allies and parties of Arabs from Tamim and Qays and Asad.

Among the poems about the conquest is the following from Hassan b. Thabit:

From Dhatul-Asabi and al-Jiwa (These places are in Syria; the latter was the camp of al-Harith b. Abu Shamr the Ghassanid whom Hassan used to visit.) to Adhra (One post distant from Damascus)
Traces have disappeared, their camping-ground is empty.
The camps of (the) B. al-Hashas (A clan of the B. Asad tribe.) are a desert
Obliterated by wind and rain.
There used always to be a friend there;
Its pastures held choice camels and sheep.
But leave that! Who will rid me of the night vision
Which keeps me from sleep when night's first hours have gone,
Of Shatha (Who this woman was is not certain: some say she was d. Sallam b. Mishkam the Jew; others say a woman of Khuzaa; others someone else.) who fills me with longing
So that my heart cannot be cured of it?
She is like the wine of Bayt Ras (A place in Jordan noted for its wine.)
Mixed with honey and water.
All draughts that could be mentioned
Cannot be compared with that wine.
We blame it for what we do amiss
If we are quarrelsome or insulting to others.
When we drink it we are as kings and lions,
Nothing can keep us from the fray.
May we lose our horses if you do not see them (From this point the poem begins its theme.)
Raising the dust-clouds, their rendezvous Kada.
They tug at the reins turning their necks to one side,
The thirsty lances couched above their shoulders.
As our horses raced along,
The women flapped their veils in their faces.
If you do not oppose us we shall celebrate the Umra,
The conquest will be completed and the covering removed.
But if you do, expect a fight on the day
When God helps those He pleases.
Gabriel, God's messenger, is with us and
The holy spirit has no equal.
God said, 'I have sent a man
Who speaks the truth if you will profit by experience.
(* Tamattara in this sense is supported by Tabari 1650. life Gloss. 'Rain-bespattered', suggested by A.Dh. gives a poor sense unless it is a poetical way of saying that the sides of the horses were covered with foam. The Lisan explains that the women flapped their veils to hinder them. The reading in Diwan and in some Manuscripts yubarinal-asinnata may be right: "they try to catch vip with the points of the lances whose thirsty shafts were couched above their shoulders'. The horses could see the lance tips on their right front. Cf. Wellhausen 707. 1 5.)

I bear witness to him, so arise (The Diwan has 'and my people confessed", etc.) confess him truthful.'
But you said, 'We will not and we do not wish to.'
And God said, 'I have sent an army,
The Ansar accustomed to the fray.'
Every day we get from Maadd (i.e. the Quraysh who were descended from Adnan.)
Cursing, battle, or lampooning.
We will repulse with verses those who lampoon us
And smite them when war breaks out.
Give Abu Sufyan a message from me,
For what was hidden has become clear,
Namely that our swords have left you a slave,
The heads of the Abdul-Dar mere bondwomen.
You lampooned Mohammed and I answered for him:
There is a reward for that with God.
Would you lampoon him whom you cannot equal?
(The worse of you be a ransom for the better of you!)
You have lampooned the pure blessed hanif,
God's trusted one whose nature is loyalty.
Is he who lampoons God's apostle
And he who praises and helps him equal?
My father, my grandfather, and my honour
Protect Mohammed's honour against you.
My tongue is a sharp sword without a flaw,
My verse a sea which the buckets cannot make turbid (i.e. however many verses he composes from his inexhaustible stock the well of poesy
will not be fouled by bad and ineffectual lines.) (81 1).

Anas b. Zunaym al-Dili apologising to the apostle for what Amr b.
Salim al-Khuzai said about them said:
Was it you by whose orders Maadd was led?
Nay God guided them and said to you, Testify!
No camel ever carried a purer man
More true to his promise than Mohammed;
Swifter to do good, more lavish in giving
When he went forth like a polished Indian sword;
More generous in giving a rich Yamani robe hardly worn
And the horse that was easilv first in the race.
Know, O apostle of God, that you will get me
And that a threat from you is as good as fulfilled.
Know, O apostle, that you have power
Over them that dwell in highland and plain.
Know that the riders, the riders of Uwaymir,
Are liars which break ever) promise.
They told the apostle that I satirised him.
Were it true may my hand never lift a whip!
I merely said, Woe is the mother of the heroes
Who were slain in unhappy unlucky days!
Those not their equal in blood killed them
And great was my weeping and dismay.
831 You would break the covenant if you slandered
Abd b. Abdullah and the daughter of Mahwad.
Dhuayb and Kulthum and Salma went successively to death,
So if my eye does not weep let me grieve.
There is no clan like Salma and his brothers;
Are kings the same as slaves?
I have not broken with custom or shed blood.
Consider, you who know the truth, and act!
Budayl b. Abdu Manaf b. Umm Asram answered him:
Anas wept Razn, how loud was his cry.
He should have wept for Adiy unavenged and destroyed.
You wept, Abu Abs, because they were blood relations
That you might have an excuse if none started a war.
Noble warriors killed them on the day of Khandama (A mountain in Mecca.),
Nufayl and Mabad among them if you inquire.
If your tears flow for them you will not be blamed
And if the eye does not weep then be sad (812).

Bujayr b. Zuhayr b. Abu Sulma said concerning the day of the conquest:
Muzayna and the Band Khufaf that day
Expelled the people of al-Haballaq* from every ravine.
(I cannot understand this verse. If 'the people of al-Haballaq' were, as S. says, the tribes of Muzayna and Qays, the B. Khufaf being a clan of Sulaym, then we have the extraordinary statement that Muzayna expelled their own tribesmen. We can take 'every ravine' as the subject of the sentence, as C. does, and take nafd in the sense of 'sent out";

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but then we must take Muzayna as an accusative and read Bani Kh. A.Dh. says that haballaq means 'small sheep' but that Rives little help. What one would expect is some reference to the Mcccans, but they were not expelled from the town.)

We smote them with our sharp swords
The day the good prophet entered Mecca.
We came on them with seven hundred from Sulaym
And a full thousand from Banu Uthman.
We smote (Lit. 'trod'. For aktafahum some Manuscripts have aknafahum 'their flanks'.) their shoulders with cut and thrust
And shot them with our feathered shafts.
You could hear among the ranks their whisper
As if the notched end were split from its binding. (After long hesitation I have adopted this rendering; but it might be that the poet is thinking of the arrows of the opposing forces passing one another in the air.)
We went with lances straight levelled

While our horses wheeled among them.
We came back plundering as we would
While they went back discomfited.
We pledged our faith to the apostle
In sincere friendship.
They heard what we said and determined
To depart from us that day of fear (813).

KHALID'S EXPEDITION AFTER THE CONQUEST TO THE B. JADHIMA OF KINANA AND ALI'S EXPEDITION TO REPAIR KHALID'S ERROR

The apostle sent out troops in the district round Mecca inviting men to God: he did not order them to fight. Among those he sent was Khalid b. al-Walid whom he ordered to go to the lower part of the flat country as a missionary; he did not send him to fight. He subdued the B. Jadhima and killed some of them (Tabari's history (1649) is better arranged. It shows that Ibn Ishaq's narrative recorded that the force halted at al-Ghumaysa, a well belonging to Jadhima, and records the latter's killing of Khalid's uncle. Ibn Hisham has disturbed the natural flow of events.) (814).

Hakim b. Hakim b. Abbad b. Hunayf from Abu Jafar Mohammed b. Ali said: When he took possession of Mecca the apostle sent Khalid forth as a missionary. He did not send him to fight. He had with him the Arab tribes of Sulaym b. Mansur and Mudlij b. Murra, and they subdued (the) B. Jadhima b. Amir b. Abdu Manat b. Kinana. When the people saw him they grasped their weapons, and Khalid said, 'Lay down your arms, for everybody has accepted Islam.'

A traditionist of (the) B. Jadhima who was one of our companions told me: 'When Khalid ordered us to lay down our arms one of our men called Jahdam said, "Woe to you, B. Jadhima! This is Khalid. If you lay down your arms you will be bound, and after you have been bound you will be beheaded. By God, I shall never lay down my arms." Some of his people laid hold of him saying "Do you want to shed our blood? Everyone else has accepted Islam and laid down their arms; war is over and everybody is safe." They persisted to the point of taking away his arms, and they themselves laid down their arms at Khalid's word.'

Hakim b. Hakim from Abu Jafar Mohammed b. Ali told me: As soon as they had laid down their arms Khalid ordered their hands to be tied behind their backs and put them to the sword, killing a number of them. When the news reached the apostle he raised his hands to heaven and said, 'O God, I am innocent before Thee of what Khalid has done' (815). Hakim on the same authority told me that the apostle summoned Ali and told him to go to these people and look into the affair, and abolish the practices of the pagan era. So Ali went to them with the money the apostle had sent and paid the bloodwit and made good their monetary loss even for a dog's bowl. When all blood and property had been paid for he still had some money over. He asked if any compensation was still due and when they said it was not he gave them the rest of the money on behalf of the apostle in case claims of which neither he nor they knew at the time should arise. Then he returned and reported to the apostle what he had done and he commended him. Then the apostle arose and faced the Qibla and raised his arms so that his armpits could be seen and said: 'O God, I am innocent before Thee of what Khalid has done.' This he said three times.

Some who would excuse Khalid said that he said: 'I did not fight until Abdullah b. Hudhafa al-Sahmi ordered me to do so and he said, "'The apostle has ordered you to fight them because they keep back from Islam"' (816).

Jahdam had said to them when they laid down their arms and he saw what' Khalid was doing with the B. Jadhima: 'O you B. Jadhima, the battle is lost. I gave you full warning of the disaster into which you have fallen.' I have heard that Khalid and Abul-Rahman b. Auf had words about this. The latter said to him, 'You have done a pagan act in Islam,' to which he replied that he had only avenged Abdul-Rahman's father. He answered that he was a liar because he himself had killed his father's slayer; but Khalid had taken vengeance for his uncle al-Fakih b. al-Mughira so that there was bad feeling between them. Hearing of this the apostle said, 'Gently, Khalid, leave my companions alone, for by God if you had a mountain (Lit. Uhud.) of gold and spent it for God's sake you would not approach the merit of my companions.'

Now al-Fakih b. al-Mughira b. Abdullah b. Umar b. Makhzum, and Auf b. Abdu Auf b. Abdul-Harith b. Zuhra, and Affan b. Abul-As b. Umayya b. Abdu Shams had gone out trading to the Yaman. Affan took his son Uthman and Auf took his son Abdul-Rahman. When they returned they carried the money of a man of (the) B. Jadhima b. Amir, who had died in the Yaman, to his heirs. One of their men called Khalid b. Hisham claimed it and met them in the Jadhima territory before they could get to the dead man's family. They refused to give it up. A fight for the possession of the money took place during which Auf and al-Fakih were killed, Affan and his son escaping. They seized the property of al-Fakih and Auf and took it away and Abdul-Rahman killed Khalid b. Hisham the slayer of his father. Quraysh meditated an attack on (the) B. Jadhima, but they declared that the assault had not been planned by them and that they did not know of it until afterwards. They offered to pay compensation for blood and property and (the) Quraysh agreed, and so war was avoided. One of the B. Jadhima said, though some say it was a woman called Salma:

Had not one tribe said to another. Be Muslims,
Sulaym, that day, would have met a strong opponent.
Busr and the men of Jahdam and Murra would have smitten them
Until they left the camels groaning in pain.
How many warriors did you see on the day of Ghumaysa'
Dead, never wounded before, always giving the wounds? (If lam yajrah be read here, the meaning would be: 'Dead, having wounded no one, though they could have done so, had they had the chance.')
(War) made husbandless women remain with the marriagemakers
And separated the men who were married from their wives (817).

Abbas b. Mirdas answered her; some say it was al-Jahhaf b. Hakim al-Sulami:

Stop this idle talk: sufficient opponent
Are we always to the hero of the battle.
Khalid was more to be excused than you
The day he took the plain way in the affair.
Helped by God's command driving towards you
(Horses) which stumble not going left and right.
They brought the news of Malik's death in the plain when they went down to it
Stern visaged showing their teeth in clouds of dust.
If we have bereaved you, Salma,
You have left (C. 'you have been left'. In the absence of further information one can only adopt what seems the more probable sense: you were the aggressors when you killed Malik.) men and women to bewail Malik.

Al-Jahhaf b. Hakim al-Sulaml said:

Horses given free rein were with the prophet at Hunayn
Bleeding from their wounds;
In Khalid's raid too their hooves
Galloped in the sacred area.
We set our faces against the spears
Faces never given to be slapped.
I am not one to throw my garments from me (it, to expose himself so as to obtain quarter from his opponent; or. if thiyab here means 'mail', to reduce his weight so that his mount could run away the faster.)
Whenever a warrior shakes his lance,
But my colt beneath me bears me
To the heights (Perhaps meaning 'to the heights of glory'.) with my sharp sword.

Yaqub b. Utba b. al-Mughira b. al-Akhnas from al-Zuhri from Ibn Abu Hadrad al-Aslami told me: I was with Khalid's cavalry that day when a young man of the B. Jadhima who was about my own age spoke to me. His hands were tied to his neck by an old rope and the women were standing in a group a short distance away. He asked me to take hold of the rope and lead him to the women so that he might say what he had to say and then bring him back and do what we liked with him. I said that that was a small thing to ask and I led him to them. As he stood by them he said,

'Fare you well, Hubaysha, though life is at an end.'
Tell me when I sought and found you in Halya
Or came on you in al-Khawaniq,
Was I not a lover worthy to be given what he asked,
Who undertook journeys by night and noonday?
I did no wrong when I said when our people were together,
Reward me with love before some misfortune befalls!
Reward me with love before distance divides
And the chief goes off with a dear one thus parted.
For I was never disloyal to our secret troth
And my eye never looked admiringly at another.
When the tribe's troubles distracted me from love
Even then the attraction of love was there (818).

The same authority told me that she said: 'May your life be prolonged seven and ten continuous years and eight thereafter.' Then I took him away and he was beheaded. Abu Firas b. Abu Sunbula al-Aslami from some of their shaykhs from one who was present said: She went to him when he was beheaded and bent over him and kept on kissing him until she died at his side. One of the B. Jadhima said:

God requite Mudlij for the evil they did us
Wherever they go or rest.
They took our goods and divided them;
The spears came at us not once nor twice.
Were it not for the religion of Mohammed's people
Their cavalry (Reading with C. khuyul.) would have fled and been driven off.
What hindered them from helping a squadron
Like a swarm of locusts loose and scattered abroad?
If they repent or return to their (right) way
We will not repay them for what the squadron lost. (Or, reading the passive with Wellhausen, 'for the squadron having been led astray'.)

Wahb of the B. Layth answered him:

We called Amir to Islam and the truth.
It is not our fault if Amir turned their backs.
What happened to Amir, confound them, is not our fault
Because their minds were foolish and went astray.

One of the B. Jadhima said:

Congratulate B. Kab on the coming of Khalid and his companions
The morn when the squadrons came on us.
Ibn Khuwaylid showed no desire for revenge.

You would have been content had you not been there.
Our men do not keep their fools from us,
Nor is the malady of the day of al-Ghumaysa cured.

A young man of B. Jadhima who was leading his mother and his two
sisters in their flight from Khalid's force said:

Set free your skirts, let your garments trail;
Walk as chaste women who do not quail.
We guard our women, we will not fail.

Young men of B. Jadhima known as B. Musahiq were composing rough
verse when they heard of Khalid, and one of them said:

Safra white of flanks whom a man with flocks and camels
Possesses, knows that I will do all a man can do this day.

And another said:

Safra who diverts her husband well knows,
She who eats but a morsel of meat,
That today I will deliver a swift blow
As one leaving the sacred area hits sluggish pregnant camels.

And another said:

No long-maned lion with ponderous paws,
Ferocious mien, and tawny whiskers (I prefer this reading to Wellhausen's thibal, 'cubs'.),
Roaring betwixt jungle and thicket when the morn is cold,
Whose only food is man,
Is bolder than I was that day, I swear.

KHALID'S JOURNEY TO DESTROY AL-UZZA

Then the apostle sent Khalid to al-Uzza which was in Nakhla. It was a temple which this tribe of (the) Quraysh and Kinana and all Mudar used to venerate. Its guardians and wardens were B. Shayban of (the) B. Sulaym, allies of (the) B. Hashim. When the Sulami guardian heard of Khalid's coming he hung his sword on her, climbed the mountain on which she stood, and said:

O Uzza, make an annihilating attack on Khalid,
Throw aside your veil and gird up your train.
O Uzza, if you do not kill this man Khalid
Then bear a swift punishment or become a Christian*.
(* For bu see Lane, 270c; ithm can stand both for crime and punishment. Tanassari really means 'become a Muslim', because the speaker at that date saw no difference between the two religions.)

When Khalid arrived he destroyed her and returned to the apostle.

Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri from Ubaydullah b. Abdullah b. Utba b. Masud said: The apostle stayed in Mecca after he had occupied it for fifteen nights, shortening prayers. The occupation of Mecca took place on the 20th Ramadan in 8 A.H.

THE BATTLE OF HUNAYN, 8 A.H.

When Hawazin heard how Cod had given the apostle possession of Mecca, Malik b. Auf al-Nasri collected them together. There assembled to him also all Thaqif and all Nasr

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and Jusham; and Sad b. Bakr, and a few men from (the) B. Hilal. There were no others present from (the) Qays Aylan. Kab and Kilab of Hawazin kept away and no one of any importance from them was present. Among the B. Jusham was Durayd b. al-Simma, a very old man whose sole remaining use was his valuable advice and his knowledge of war, for he was an experienced leader. Thaqif had two leaders: Qarib b. al-Aswad b. Masud b. Muattib commanded the Ahlaf, and Dhul-Khimar Subay b. al-Harith b. Malik and his brother Ahmar commanded the B. Malik. The general direction of affairs lay with Malik b. Auf al-Nasri. When he decided to attack the apostle he placed with the men their cattle, wives, and children. When he halted at Autas the men assembled to him, among them Durayd b. al-Simma in a sort of howdah in which he was carried. As soon as he arrived he inquired what wadi they were in and when he was told that it was Autas he said that it was a fine place for cavalry. 'Not a hill with jagged rocks, nor a plain full of dust; but why do I hear the groaning of camels and the braying of asses, and the crying of children and the bleating of sheep?' They told him that Malik had brought them with the men, and he immediately inquired for him and said, 'O Malik, you have become the chief of your people and this is a day which will be followed by great events.' He then inquired about the cattle and the women and children, and Malik explained that his purpose in bringing them and putting them behind the men was to make them fight to the death in their defence. He made a sound indicative of dismay (Lit. 'said Tchk'; other authorities say it means snapping the fingers.) and said: 'You sheep-tender, do you suppose that anything will turn back a man that runs away? If all goes well nothing will help you but sword and lance; if it goes ill you will be disgraced with your family and property.' Then he asked what had happened to Kab and Kilab; and when he heard that they were not there he said, 'Bravery and force are not here; were it a day of lofty deeds Kab and Kilab would not have stayed away. I wish that you had done what they have done. What clans have you got?' They told him (the) Amr b. Amir and (the) Auf b. Amir and he said, 'Those two sprigs of Amir can do0. no0thing either way. You have done no good, Malik, by sending forward the mainbody, the mainbody of Hawazin, to meet the cavalry. Send them up to the high and inaccessible part of their land and meet the apostates* on horseback. (* The sabi was one who changed his religion; in this case the newly converted Muslims. This treacherous act is called 'apostacy'. A muslim who turns his back on Islam [commits apostacy] in order to join another faith is liable to the death penalty according to the Koran and its Sharia law. This includes also criticising Mohammed, the Koranic scripture, and the policies of any part of Islam itself. See: The Wars of Apostacy.) If all goes well those behind can join you, and if the battle goes against you you will have saved your families and stock.' Malik answered, 'I will not do it. You are an old dotard. You will either obey me, O Hawazin, or I will lean on my sword until it comes out from my back.' He could not bear Durayd's having any credit in the matter. Hawazin said that they would obey him and Durayd said, 'This is a day which I did not witness (as a warrior) and did not altogether miss.'

Would that I were young again!
I would ride forward gently
Leading long-haired steeds
Like young antelopes (819).

(Tabari 1657: Durayd was the chief of the B. Jusham and their leader and greatest man, but old age had overtaken him so that he was feeble. His full name was Durayd b. al-Simma b. Bakr b. Alqama b. Judaa b. Ghaziya b. Jusham b. Muawiya b. Bakr b. Hawazin. Then Malik said to the men, 'As soon as you see them, break your scabbards and attack them as one man.')

Umayya b. Abdullah b. Amr b. Uthman informed me that he was told that Malik sent out spies who came back with their joints dislocated. When he asked what on earth had happened to them they said, 'We saw white men on piebald horses and immediately we suffered as you see.' And, by God, even that did not turn him back from the course he intended.

When the prophet heard about them he sent Abdullah b. Abu Hadrad al-Aslami to them and ordered him to go among them and stay with them until he learned all about them, and then bring him back the news. Abdullah went and stayed with them until he learned that they had decided to fight the apostle and the dispositions of Hawazin, and then came back to tell the apostle. (Tabari: The apostle called for 'Umar and told him what Ibn Abu Hadrad had said. 'Umar said that he was a liar. He replied, 'You may call me a liar, 'Umar, but for a long time you denied the truth.' Umar said, 'Do you not hear what he says, O apostle?' and the apostle answered, 'You were in error and God guided you, Umar.')

When the apostle decided to go out against Hawazin he was told that Safwan b. Umayya had some armour and weapons, so he sent to him though he was at that time a polytheist, saying, 'Lend us these weapons of yours so that we may fight our enemy tomorrow.' Safwan asked, 'Are you demanding them by force, Mohammed?' He said, 'No, they are a loan and a trust until we return them to you.' He said that in that case there was no objection and he gave him a hundred coats of mail with sufficient arms to go with them. They allege that the apostle asked for transport to carry them and he provided it.

Then the apostle marched with 2,000 Meccans and 10,000 of his companions who had gone out with him when he conquered Mecca, 12,000 in all. The apostle left in charge of Mecca Attab b. Asld b. Abul-Is b. Umayya b. Abdu Shams to look after the men who had stayed behind. Then he went forward to meet Hawazin. Abbas b. Mirdas al-Sulami said:

This year the ghoul of their people has smitten Ril (A tribe of Sulaym. Hawazin and Sulaym were brother tribes. The name Salaym has liguistic connections to the Hebrew name Solomon.)

In the midst of their tents, for the ghoul has many forms.

Alas for the mother of Kilab when the cavalry of Ibn Haudha

And Insan* came on them unopposed. (* A tribe of Qays of the clan of B. Nasr; or from B. Jusham b. Bakr. According to A. Dh. they were a tribe of Hawazin.)

Deny not your kindred, strengthen the bonds with your proteges,

Your cousins are Sad and Duhman (Two sons of Nasr b. Muawiya b. Bakr of Hawazin.).

You will not return them though it is a flagrant disgrace (not to do so),

As long as milk is in the captured camels.

It is a disgrace by whose shame Hadan* has been covered

And Dhu Shaughar and Silwan (* Hadan is a mountain in Najd. Dhu Shaughar and Silwan are wadis. A wadi or wad, is the Arabic term traditionally referring to a valley. In some instances, it may refer to a dry riverbed that contains water only when heavy rain occurs.) flow with it.

It is no better than what Hadhaf roasted

When he said, 'All roasted wild ass is inedible' (A paraphrase of the somewhat coarse original.).

Hawazin are a good tribe save that they have a Yamani disease (An insulting term for 'being Jewish'.):

If they are not treacherous they are deceitful.

They have a brother—had they been true to their covenant

And had we reduced them by war they would have been kindly.

Take to Hawazin one and all
A plain message of advice from me.
I think God's apostle will attack you in the morning
With an army extending over all the plain;
Among them your brother Sulaym who will not let you go.
And the Muslims, God's servants, Ghassan.
On his right are the Banu Asad
And the redoubtable Banu Abs and Dhubyan.
The earth almost quaked in fear,
And in the van are Aus and Uthman.
Aus and 'Uthman are two tribes of Muzayna (820).

Ibn Shihab al-Zuhrl from Sinan b. Abu Sinan al-Du'all from Abu Waqid al-Laythl told me that al-Harith b. Malik said: We went forth with the apostle to Hunayn fresh from paganism. The heathen Quraysh and other Arabs had a great green tree called Dhatu Anwat to which they used to come every year and hang their weapons on it and sacrifice beside it and devote themselves to it for a day. As we were going with the apostle we saw a great lote tree and we called out to the apostle from the sides of the way, 'Make us a tree to hang things on such as they have.' He said, 'Allah akbar! (Allah is great!) By Him who holds my life in His hand, You have said what Moses' people said to him: "'Make us a god even as they have gods." He said, "You are an ignorant people. You would follow the customs of those who were before you (Koran 7.134)."'

Asim b. Umar b. Qatada from Abdul-Rahman b. Jabir from his father Jabir b. Abdullah told me: When we approached Wad! Hunayn we came down through a wadi wide and sloping. We were descending gradually in the morning twilight. The enemy had got there before us and had hidden themselves in its bypaths and side tracks and narrow places. They had collected and were fully prepared, and by God we were terrified when, as we were coming down, the squadrons attacked us as one man. The people broke and fled none heeding the other. The apostle withdrew to the right and said, 'Where are you going, men? Come to me. I am God's apostle. I am Mohammed the son of Abdullah.' And not for nothing did

the camels bump one into the other. The men ran away except that a number of Muhajirs and Ansar and men of his family remained with the apostle. Of the Muhajirs who stood firm were Abu Bakr and Umar; of his family Ali and al-Abbas and Abu Sufyan b. al-Harith and his son; and al-Fadl b. Abbas, and Rabia b. al-Harith and Usama b. Zayd and Ayman b. Umm Ayman b. Ubayd who was killed that day (821).

There was a man of Hawazin on a red camel carrying a black banner at the end of a long spear leading Hawazin. When he overtook a man he thrust him with his spear. When people moved out of his reach he lifted his spear to those behind him and they went after them.

When the men fled and the rude fellows from Mecca who were with the apostle saw the flight some of them spoke in such a way as to disclose their enmity. Abu Sufyan b. Harb said, 'Their flight will not stop before they get to the sea!' He had his divining arrows with him in his quiver. Jabala b. al-Hanbal (linguistically related to 'Hannibal'.) cried (822) (he together with his brother Safwan b. Umayya was a polytheist during the respite which the apostle had given him): 'Surely sorcery is vain today.' Safwan said, 'Shut up! God smash your mouth! I would rather be ruled by a man of Quraysh than a man of Hawazin' (823).

Shayba b. Uthman b. Abu Talha, brother of B. Abdul-Dar, said: I said, Today I will get my revenge on Mohammed (for his father had been killed at Uhud). Today I will kill Mohammed. I went round him to kill him and something happened to stay my purpose so that I could not do it and I knew that he was protected from me.

One of the Meccans told me that when the apostle left Mecca for Hunayn and saw the great number of God's armies that were with him he said, 'We shall not be worsted today for want of numbers.' Some people allege that a man of B. Bakr said this.

Al-Zuhri from Kathir b. al-Abbas from his father told me: I was with the apostle holding the ring of the bridle which I had put between the jaws of his white mule. I was a big man with a powerful voice. The apostle was saying when he saw the army in confusion, 'Where are you going, men?' And not one of them paid heed, and he said, 'O Abbas cry loudly, "O Ansar, O comrades of the acacia tree" and they answered 'Here we are'; and a man would try to turn his beast and could not do it; and he would take his mail and throw it on its neck, and take his sword and shield and get off his mount and let it go its way and make for the voice until he came to the apostle. Finally a hundred were gathered by him and they went forward and fought. At first the cry was 'To me, Ansar!' and finally 'To me, Khazraj!' They were steadfast in the fight and the apostle standing in his stirrups looked down at the melee (French for 'noisy riotous fight') as they were fighting and said, 'Now the oven is hot.' (Watis, a word play on the name Autas.)

Asim b. Umar b. Qatada from Abdul-Rahman from his father Jabir b. Abdullah said, 'While that man with the Hawazin standard on his camel was doing as he did Ali and one of the Ansar turned aside making for him. Ali came on him from behind and hamstrung his camel and it fell upon its rump; and the Ansari leapt upon him and struck him a blow which sent his foot flying with half his shank and he fell from his saddle. The men went on fighting and, by God, when those who had run away returned they found only prisoners handcuffed with the apostle.

The apostle turned to Abu Sufyan who was one of those who stood firm with the apostle that day and was an excellent Muslim when he accepted the faith, as he was holding on to the back of the saddle of his mule and asked who it was. He replied, 'I am your mother's son, O apostle of God.' (He was actually his cousin. Mother here stands for grandmother.)

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that the apostle turned and saw Umm Sulaym d. Milhan who was with her husband Abu Talha. She was wearing a striped girdle and was pregnant with her son Abdullah b. Abu Talha.

She had her husband's camel with her and was afraid that it would be too much for her, so she brought its head near to her and put her hand in the nose ring of hair along with the nose rein. After telling the apostle who she was in response to his question she said, 'Kill those who run away from you as you kill those who fight you, for they are worthy of death!' The apostle said, 'Rather God will save (me the need), O Umm Sulaym!' She had a knife with her and Abu Talha asked why, and she said, 'I took the knife so that if a polytheist came near me 1 could rip him up with it!' He said, 'Do you hear what Umm Sulaym al-Rumaysa' says, O apostle?'

When he set out for Hunayn the apostle had joined (the) B. Sulaym to al-Dahhaq b. Sufyan al-Kilabi so that they went along with him. And when the men fled Malik b. Auf said, addressing his horse:

Forward, Muhaj! (The name of his horse.) This is a difficult day
Such as 1 on such as thee turns ever to the fight.
If the front and rear ranks are lost
Still they come band after band,
Squadrons the eyes tire in counting.
I used to thrust with a spear dripping with blood.
When the lurking craven was blamed
I would make a wide gash whence blood gushed audibly;
Blood spurting from its midst,
Sometimes in spouts, sometimes quietly flowing,
The spear shaft broken in it.
O Zayd, O Ibn Hamham, where are you fleeing?
Now teeth are gone, old age has come.
The white long-veiled women know
That I am no tyro (Latin: tiro, meaning: novice or beginner) in such affairs

When the chaste wife is sent out from the curtains. (i.e. when the enemy attack the encampment and the women cannot be protected.)

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Malik also said:
Forward, Muhaj! They are fine horsemen.
Do not think that the enemy have gone (824).

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that he was told from Abu Qatada al-Ansari; and one of our companions whom I have no reason to suspect told me from Nafi, client of B. Ghifar Abu Mohammed from Abu Qatada, that the latter said : On the day of Hunayn I saw two men fighting, a Muslim and a polytheist. A friend of the latter was making to help him against the Muslim, so I went up to him and struck off his hand, and he throttled me with the other; and by God he did not let me go until I smelt the reek of blood (825). He had all but killed me and had not loss of blood weakened him he would have done so. But he fell and I struck and killed him, and was too occupied with the fighting to pay any more attention to him. One of the Meccans passed by and stripped him, and when the fighting was over and we had finished with the enemy the apostle said that anyone who had killed a foe could have his spoil. I told the apostle that I had killed a man who was worth stripping and had been too occupied with fighting at the time and that I did not know who had spoiled him. One of the Meccans admitted that I had spoken the truth and that the spoil was in his possession. 'So pay him to his satisfaction on my behalf from his spoil.' Abu Bakr said, 'No, by Allah, he shall not "give him satisfaction" from it. Are you going to make one of God's lions who fought for His religion go shares with you in his prey? Return the spoil of the man he killed to him!' The apostle confirmed Abu Bakr's words, so I took the spoil from him and sold it and bought with the money a small palm-grove. It is the first property I ever held. One I do not suspect told me from Abu Salama from Ishaq b. Abdullah b. Abu Talha from Anas b. Malik: Abu Talha alone took the spoil of twenty men.

My father Ishaq b. Yasar told me that he was told from Jubayr b. Mutim: Before the people fled and men were fighting one another I saw the iike of a black garment coming from heaven until it fell between us and the enemy. I looked, and Io black ants everywhere filled the wadi. I had no doubt that they were the angels. Then the enemy fled.

When God put to flight the polytheists of Hunayn and gave his apostle power over them a Muslim woman said:
Allah's cavalry have beaten Al-Lat's cavalry
And Allah best deserves to hold fast (826).

When Hawazin were put to flight the killing of Thaqlf among the B. Malik was severe and seventy of them were killed beneath their flag, among whom were Uthman b. Abdullah b. Rabia b. al-Harith b. Habib. Their flag was with Dhul-Khimar. When he was killed Uthman b. Abdullah took it and fought by it until he was killed.

Amir b. Wahb b. al-Aswad told me that when news of his death reached the apostle he said, 'God curse him! He used to hate (the) Quraysh.'

Yaqub b. Utba b. al-Mughira b. al-Akhnas told me that a young uncircumcised Christian slave was killed with Uthman, and while one of the Ansaris was plundering the slain of Thaqif he stripped the slave to plunder hini and found that he was uncircumcised. He called out at the top of his voice, 'Look, you Arabs, God knows that Thaqif are uncircumcised.'

Mughira b. Shuba took hold of his hand, for he was afraid that this report would go out from them among the Arabs, and told him not to say that, for the man concerned was only a Christian slave. Then he began to uncover the slain and showed that they were circumcised.

The flag of the Ahlaf was with Qarib b. al-Aswad, and when the men were routed he leant it against a tree, and he and his cousins and his people fled. Only two men of the Ahlaf were killed and one of the B. Ghiyara called Wahb and another of (the) B. Kubba called al-Julah. When the apostle heard of the killing of al-Julah he said, 'The chief of the young men of Thaqif except Ibn Hunayda has been killed today, meaning by him al-Harith b. Uways.

Abbas b. Mirdas al-Sulami, mentioning Qarib b. al-Aswad and his flight from his father's sons, and Dhul-Khimar and his shutting up his people to death, said:
Who will tell Ghaylan and Urwa from me
(I think one who knows will come to him).
I send to tell you something
Which is different from what you say which will go round
That Mohammed is a man, an apostle to my Lord
Who errs not, neither does he sin.
We have found him a prophet like Moses,
Any who would rival him in goodness must fail.
Evil was the state of the B. Qasiy in Wajj (Qasi is a name of Thaqif and Wajj is a wadi in al-Taif.)
When each one's affairs were decreed.
They lost the day (and every people has a ruler
And fortunes change).
We came on them like lions of the thickets,
The armies of God came openly.
We came at the main body of (the) B. Qasiy
Almost flying at them in our rage.
Had they stayed I swear we would have come at them
With armies and they would not have got away.
We were as lions of Liya (A place near al-Taif.) there until we destroyed them
And al-Nusur (The family of Malik b. Auf al-Nasri.) were forced to surrender.
There was a day before that day at Hunayn which is past
And blood then flowed freely.
In former days there was no battle like this;
Men of long memories have never heard of such.
We slew (the) B. Hutayt in the dust by their flags
While the cavalry turned away.
Dhul-Khimar was not the chief of a people
Who possessed intelligence to blame or disapprove.
He led them on the road to death
As everyone could see.
Those who escaped were choked with terror,
A multitude of them were slain.
The languid man could not help in such a case
Nor he who was too shy and hesitant to attack.
He destroyed them and he perished himself.
They had given him the leadership and the leaders fled.
Banu Auf's horses went at a fair pace
Fed on fresh grass and barley.
But for Qarib and his father's sons
The fields and castles would have been divided,
But they attained prominence
By the lucky advice they were given.
They obeyed Qarib and they had good fortune
And good sense that brought them glory.
If they are guided to Islam they will be found
Leaders of men while time lasts.
If they do not accept it they call
For God's war in which they will have no helper.
As war destroyed the B. Sad
And fate the clan of B. Ghaziya.
The B. Muawiya b. Bakr
Were like a flock of sleep coming bleating to Islam.
We said, 'Be Muslims; we are your brethren,
For our breasts are free from enmity.'
When the people came to us they seemed
Blind to hatred after peace had come (827).

When the polytheists were routed they came to al-Taif. Malik b. Auf was with them and others were encamped in Autas. Some of them made for Nakhla, but only the B. Ghiyara of Thaqif. The apostle's cavalry followed those who took the road to Nakhla, but not those who went to the passes.

Rabia b. Rufay b. Uhban b. Thalaba b. Rabia b. Yarbu b. Sammal b. Auf b. Imruul-Qays who was called after his mother Ibn Dughunna more often (828) overtook Durayd b. al-Simma and took hold of his camel's halter, thinking that he was a woman because he was in his howdah. And lo, it was a man; he made the camel kneel and it was a very old man—Durayd b. al-Simma. The young man did not know him and Durayd asked him what he wanted and what was his name. He told him and said that he wanted to kill him, and struck him with his sword to no effect. Durayd said, "What a poor weapon your mother has given you! Take this sword of mine that is behind the saddle in the howdah and strike me with that above the spine and below the head, for that is the way I used to strike men. Then when you come to your mother tell her that you have killed Durayd b. al-Simma, for many's the day I have protected your women.' (Maw. 68 quotes two lines of verse attributed to Durayd which may have been in the Maghazi. Cf. Hamasa, 377.)

The B. Sulaym allege that Rabia said, 'When I smote him he fell and exposed himself, and lo his crotch and the inside of his thighs were like paper from riding horses bareback. When Rabia returned to his mother he told her that he had killed him and she said, 'By God, he set free three mothers and grandmothers of yours. Amra d. Durayd said of Rabia's killing him:
In faith I did not fear the army of fate
On Durayd's account in the valley of Sumayra.
God repay the B. Sulaym for him
And may ingratitude rend them for what they have done.
May He give us the blood of their best men to drink
When we lead an army against them.
Many a calamity did you avert from them
When they were at the point of death.
Many a noble woman of theirs did you free
And others you loosed from bonds.
Many a man of Sulaym named you noble
As he died when you had answered his call.
Our reward from them is ingratitude and grief
Which melts our very bones.
May the traces of your cavalry after hard travel
In Dhu Baqar as far as the desert of al-Nuhaq be effaced!

Amra also said:
They said, 'We have killed Durayd.' 'True,' I said,
And my tears flowed down my garment.
Were it not for Him who has conquered all the tribes
Sulaym and Kab would have seen what counsel to follow.
A great army of pungent smell (Accoutrements were often polished with dung.)
Would have attacked them continuously wherever they were (829).

The apostle sent Abu Amir al-Ashari on the track of those who had gone towards Autas and he overtook some of the fugitives. In the skirmishes which followed Abu Amir was killed by an arrow and Abu Musa al-Ashari, his cousin, took the standard. He continued the fight and God gave him the victory and routed the enemy. It is alleged that Salama b. Durayd shot Abu Amir in the knee and the wound proved fatal. He said:
If you ask about me I am Salama,
The son of Samadir to one who asks further.
I smite with my sword the heads of the Muslims.
Samadir was his mother.

The B. Nasr killed many of (the) B. Riab and they allege that Abdullah b. Qays, called b. al-Aura, one of B. Wahb b. Ri'ab, said to the apostle, '(The) B. Riab have perished,' and they allege that the apostle said, 'O God, make good their losses.'

Malik b. Auf during the flight stopped with some of his horsemen at a pass on the road and told them to wait until the weak ones passed and those in the rear had caught up, and they did so. Malik said of that:

Were it not for two charges on Muhaj
The way would be difficult for the camp followers.
But for the charge of Duhman b. Nasr
At the palms where al-Shadiq (A well in the suburbs of al-Taif.) flows
Ja'far and Banu Hilal would have returned discomfited
Riding two on a camel in their distress (830).

Salama b. Durayd who was conducting his wife until he escaped them said:
You would have me forget though you are unhurt
And though you know that day at the foot of al-Azrub
That I protected you and walked behind you
Watching on all sides when to ride would have been a boon,
When every well-trained warrior with flowing locks
Fled from his mother and did not return to his friend (831).

One of our companions told us that the apostle that day passed by a woman whom Khalid b. al-Walid had killed while men had gathered round her. When he heard what had happened he sent word to Khalid and forbade him to kill child, or woman, or hired slave.

One of (the) B. Sad b. Bakr told me that the apostle said that day, 'If you get hold of Bijad, a man of (the) B. Sad b. Bakr, do not let him escape you,' for he had done great wrong. When the Muslims took him they led him away with his family and with him (Tabari: his sister) al-Shayma d. al-Harith (Tabari: b. Abdullah) b. Abdul-Uzza, foster-sister of the apostle. They treated her roughly as they brought her along and she told the Muslims that she was the foster-sister of the apostle, but they did not believe her until they had brought her to the apostle.

Yazid b. Ubayd al-Sadi told me that when she was brought to the apostle she claimed to be his foster-sister, and when he asked for proof she said, 'The bite you gave me in my back when I carried you at my hip.' The apostle acknowledged the proof and stretched out his robe for her to sit on and treated her kindly. He gave her the choice of living with him in affection and honour or going back to her people with presents, and she chose the latter. The B. Sad allege that he gave her a slave called Makhul and a slave girl; the one married the other and their progeny still exists (832).

The names of those martyred at Hunayn were:
From Quraysh of B. Hashim: Ayman b. Ubayd.
From B. Asad b. Abdul-Uzza: Yazid b. Zamaa b. al-Aswad b. al-Muttalib b. Asad. A horse of his called al-Janah threw him and killed him.
From the Ansar: Suraqa b. al-Harith b. Adiy from B. Ajlan.
From the Ash'ariyQn: Abu Amir al-Ashari.

The captives of Hunayn were brought to the apostle with their property.

Masud b. Amr al-Ghifari (Tabari: al-Qari) was over the spoils and the apostle ordered that the captives and the animals should be brought to al-Jirana and be kept in ward there.

Bujayr b. Zuhayr b. Abu Sulma said about Hunayn:
But for God and His servant you would have turned back
When fear overwhelmed every coward'
On the slope the day our opponents met us
While the horses galloped at full stretch,
Some running clutching their garments,
Others knocked sideways by hooves and chests.
God honoured us and made our religion victorious
And glorified us in the worship of the Compassionate.
God destroyed them and dispersed them all
And humiliated them in the worship of Satan (833).

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Abbas b. Mirdas said about the battle of Hunayn:
By the swift horses on the day of Muzdalifa
And by what the apostle recites from the Book
I liked the punishment Thaqif got yesterday on the side of the valley.
They were the chief of the enemies from Najd
And their killing was sweeter than drink.
We put to flight all the army of (the) B. Qasiy.
The full weight fell on (the) B. Riab.
The tents of Hilal in Autas
Were left covered with dust.
If our horses had met (the) B. Kilab's army
Their women would have got up as the dust arose. (Sc. 'to wail over the dead.')
We galloped among them from Buss to al-Aural (A place in Jusham country. The Aural are three black mountains near water belonging to Abdullah b. Darim.)
Panting after the spoil
With a loud-voiced army, among them
The apostle's squadron advancing to the fray (834).
Atiya b. Ufayyif al-Nasri answered him:
Does Rifaa boast about Hunayn?
And Abbas son of her who sucks milkless sheep!
For you to boast is like a maid who struts about
In her mistress's robes while the rest of her is bare! (ihab generally means a hide or skin but can be applied to the skin of a human being.)
Atiya spoke these two verses because of Abbas's vehemence against
Hawazin. Rifaa was of Juhayna.
Abbas b. Mirdas also said:
O Seal of the Prophets, you are sen with the truth
With all guidance for the way.
God has built up love upon you
In His creation and named you Mohammed.
Then those who were faithful to your agreement with them,
An army over whom you set al-Ipahhak,
A man with sharp weapons as though
When the enemy surrounded him he saw you.*
He attacked those of (his) kith and kin
Seeking only to please God and you.
(* This is what the commentators propose, but the line seems impossibly bad. If we understand dharab to mean 'wound' and treat yaraka as a by-form of araka with hamza softened to ya [cf. Suyuti's Muzhir, Cairo, i. 463] we could render: "A man scarred by weapons, When the enemy surrounded him he was like an arik tree." I owe this suggestion to Dr. Arafat. The arak is a thorny tree. The u»e of the accusative for the nominative is not without parallel. Cf. Wright ii, 83B.)

I tell you I saw him charging in clouds of dust
Crushing the heads of the polytheists;
Now throttling with bare hands,
Now splitting their skulls with his sharp sword. (C. adds here: "Smiting the heads of the warriors with it, If you had seen as I saw his prowess you would have been satisfied.)
The B. Sulaym (linguistically related to Solomon.) hastened before him
With continual cuts and thrusts at the enemy.
They walked beneath his banner there
Like lions with a haunt they mean to defend.
They did not hope for consideration of kinship
But obedience to their Lord and your love.
These were our doings for which we are renowned.
And our Helper is your Lord.
He said also:
If you saw, O Umm Farwa, our horses
Some led riderless and lame!
The battle had reduced their fitness,
Blood gushed from deep wounds.
Many a woman whom our prowess protected
From the hardship of war so that she (Or 'her people', sirbuha.) had no fear, said,
'There are none like those who came to make an agreement
Which forged an inseparable link with Mohammed.'
A deputation among them Abu Qasan, Huzaba
And Abul-Ghuyuth and Wasi and al-Miqna
And he who led the hundred which brought
The nine hundred to a complete thousand.
(The) Banu Auf and the clan of Mukhashin collected six hundred
And four hundred were brought from Khufaf
There when the prophet was helped by our thousand
He handed us a fluttering standard.
We conquered with his flag and his commission bequeathed (The choice of words brings out the double meaning of 'tying' and making an agreement.)
A glorious life and authority that will not cease.
The day that we formed the prophet's flank
In the vale of Mecca when spears were quivering 'twas (it was)
Our answer to him who called us to our Lord in truth:
We went helmeted and unmailed alike,
With long mail whose mesh David chose
When he weaved iron, and Tubba too.
By Hunayn's two wells we had a train
Which slew the hypocrites—an immovable army.
By us the prophet gained victory; we are the people who
In any emergency inflict loss and do well.
We drove off Hawazin that day with spears.
Our cavalry was submerged in rising dust
When even the prophet feared their bravery, and as they came en masse
The sun all but ceased to shine thereat.
Banu Jusham were summoned and the hordes of Nasr
In the midst while the spears were thrusting
Until the apostle Mohammed said,
'O Banu Sulaym, you have kept your word, now desist.'
We went off and but for us their bravery
Would have injured the believers and they would have kept what they
had gained.
He also said:
Mijdal is deserted by its people and Mutali (Mutali is a mountain in Najd, the central region of the Arabian peninsula.)
And the plain of Arik, and its cisterns are empty.
We had homes, O Juml, when all life was pleasant
And the change of abode (One Manuscript has dahri 'time's changes' which is a cliche that is often used by the poets and may well be right here.) brought the tribe together.
Long absence afar has changed my beloved,
But can a happy past ever return?
If you seek the unbelievers I do not blame you,
But I am a helper and follower of the prophet.
The best of embassies I know summoned us to them,
Khuzayma, and al-Marrar and Wasi,
So we came with a thousand of Sulaym finely clad
In armour woven by David.
We hailed him lord at the two mountains of Mecca
And it was to God that we paid homage.
We entered Mecca publicly with the guided one by force of arms,
While the dust arose in all directions.
Sweat covered the backs of the horses
And warm blood from within grew hotter.
On the day of Hunayn when Hawazin came against us
And we could scarcelv breathe
We stood steadfast with al-Pahhak;
Struggle and combat did not dismay us.
In front of the apostle a banner fluttered above us
Like the rapid movement of a cloud.
The night that Dahhak b. Sufyan fought with the apostle's sword
And death was near
We defended our brother from our brother. (The point is that he is of the Sulaym who was from the Qays to whom the Hawazin belonged. The line runs: Aylan—Qays—Khasafa—Ikrima—Mansur, the 'father' of Hawazin and Sulaym. L.H.: The Banu Sad, or Banu Sa'd, was one of the tribes of Arabia during Mohammed's era. The Banu Sad were a subgroup of the larger Hawazin tribal confederation. They were notable for being allies to the polytheist Meccans and warring with the Muslims during Islam's early days. Halima Sadia, Mohammed's wet nurse, belonged to this tribe. Banu Sad were one of the leading tribes in Arabia during Mohammed's era. They had close family relations with Mohammed.)
Had we a choice we would have followed our own kin,
But God's religion is the religion of Mohammed.
We are satisfied with it; it contains guidance and laws.
By it he set our affairs right after we had erred
And none can avert the decree of God.

He also said:
The last link with Umm Mu'ammal is broken,
She has changed her mind contrary to her promise;
She had sworn by God she would not break the link,
But she did not keep her word or fulfil her oath.
She is of Banu Khufaf who summer in the vale of al-Aqiq (A wadi [valley] in the Hijaz / Hejaz, in the northwest of the Arabian peninsula.).
And occupy Wajra and Urf in the deserts.
Though Umm Muammal follows the unbelievers
She has made me love her more despite her distance from me.
Someone will tell her that we refuse to do so
And seek only our Lord in alliance;
And that we are on the side of the guide, the prophet Mohammed,
And number a thousand which (number) no (other) tribe reached.
With strong warriors of Sulaym
Who obey his orders to the letter,
Khufaf and Dhakwan and Auf whom you would think
Were black stallions walking among the she-camels
As though our reddish-white mail and helmets (The reading here should be bayda 'helmets', not bida 'swords' as in C. The word is left unpointed in Wellhausen. The poet is comparing the chain flaps depending from the helmets to the long ears of lions.)
Clothed long-eared lions which meet one another in their lairs.
By us God's religion is undeniably strong.
We added a like number to the clan that was with him.
When we came to Mecca, our banner
Was like an eagle soaring to dart on its prey
(Riding) on horses which gazed upwards.
You would think when they gallop in their bits there is a sound of
jinn among them, (This line is difficult. A. Dh. says marawidiha means its pegs or pins [watid] while S. suggests that it means 'where animals pasture', i.e. go to and fro. I am indebted to Dr. W. Arafat for the rendering given above.)
The day we trod down the unbelievers
And found no deviation or turning from the apostle's order.
In a battle mid which the people heard only
Our exhortations to fight and the smashing of skulls
By swords that sent heads flying from their base
And severed the necks of warriors at a blow.
Often have we left the slain cut to pieces
And a widow crying Alas! over her husband.
'Tis (it is) God not man we seek to please;
To Him belongs the seen and the unseen.
He also said:
What ails thine eye painful and sleepless,
Its lash feeling like a piece of chaff?
Sorrow brings sleeplessness to the eye
And tears now cover it, now flow down
Like a string of pearls with the stringer
The thread breaks and they are scattered.
How far off is the home of her you long for,
Al-Samman and al-Hafar stand in the way!
Talk no more of the days of youth.
Youth is gone and scant white locks have come,
And remember the fighting of Sulaym in their settlements;
And Sulaym have something to boast about:
They are the people who helped God
And followed the apostle's religion while men's affairs were confused.
They do not plant young palms in their midst
And cows do not low in their winter quarters.
But steeds like eagles are kept near them
Surrounded by multitudes of camels.
Khufaf and Auf were summoned on their flanks
And the clan of Dhakwan armed and keen to fight.
They smote the armies of the polytheists openly
In Mecca's vale, and killed them quickly,
Until we departed, and their dead
Were like uprooted palms in the open valley.
On Hunayn's day our stand strengthened religion
And with God that is stored up.
Then we risked death in the gloom
As the black scattered dust cleared away from the horses
Under the banner with al-Pahhak leading us
As a lion walks when he enters his thicket
In a narrow place where war pressed hard. (Bevan queried this hemistich. Reckendorff, Ar. Syntax, 173 reads kalkalaha and renders: 'in einer Enge wo der Kampf seine Brust hin und her zerrt"; and refers to Theodor Nöldeke, Z. Gramm. 75 and Fleischer, i. 184 f.)
Sun and moon were almost blotted out by it.
We devoted our lances to God in Autas,
We helped whom we would and we became victorious
Until certain people returned to their dwellings, who
But for us and God would not have returned.
You will see no tribe great or small
But we have left our mark upon them.

He also said:
O rider with whom there hastens
A strong, sturdy, firm footed she-camel,
If you come to the prophet say to him as you should
When the assembly is quiet,
'O best that ever rode a camel
Or walked the earth, if souls are weighed,
We were faithful to our covenant with you
When the cavalry were driven off by warriors and wounded
When there flowed from all the sides of (the) Buhtha (A clan of Sulaym.)
A multitude which shook the mountain paths
Until we came on the people of Mecca with a squadron
Glittering with steel, led by a proud chief
Composed of Sulaym's sturdiest men
Capped in strong iron mesh with iron top
Blooding their shafts when they dashed into battle.
You would think them glowering lions.
They engaged the squadron wearing their badges,
Sword and spear in hand.
At Hunayn we were a thousand strong
By which the apostle was reinforced.
They defended the believers in the vanguard.
The sun was reflected a thousand times from their steel.

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We went forward, God guarding us,
And God does not lose those He guards.
We made a stand in Manaqib, (On the Mecca-Taif road.)
Which pleased God, what a fine stand it was!
On the day of Autas we fought so fiercely
That the enemy had enough and cried Stop!
Hawazin appealed to the brotherhood between us—
The breast that supplied them with milk, is dry—
Until we left them like wild asses
Which wild beasts have continually preyed upon (835).

He also said:
We helped God's apostle, angry on his account,
With a thousand warriors apart from unarmed men,
We carried his flag on the end of our lances,
His helper protecting it in deadly combat.
We dyed it with blood, for that was its colour,
The day of Hunayn when Safwan thrust with his spear.
We were his right wing in Islam,
We had charge of the flag and displayed it.
We were his bodyguard before other troops,
He consulted us and we consulted him.
He summoned us and named us intimates first of all
And we helped him against his opponents.
God richly reward that fine prophet Mohammed
And strengthen him with victory, for God is his helper! (836)

He also said:
Who will tell the peoples that Mohammed, God's apostle,
Is rightly guided wherever he goes?
He prayed to his Lord and asked His help alone.
He gave it graciously fulfilling His promise.
We journeyed and met Mohammed at Qudayd,
He intending to do with us what God had determined.
They doubted about us in the dawn and then
They saw clearly warriors on horseback with levelled lances,
Firmly clad in mail, our infantry
A strong force like a rushing torrent.
The best of the tribe if you must ask
Were Sulaym and those who claimed to be Sulaym,
And an army of Helpers who did not leave him
Obeying what he said unquestioningly.
Since you have made Khalid chief of the army
And promoted him he has become a chief indeed
In an army guided by God whose commander you are
By which you smite the wicked with every right.
I swore a true oath to Mohammed
And I fulfilled it with a thousand bridled horses.
The prophet of the believers said, Advance!
And we rejoiced that we were the vanguard.
We passed the night at the pool of Mustadir;
There was no fear in us but desire and preparedness (for war).
We obeyed you till all the enemy surrendered
And until in the morning we overtook the crowd, the people of Yalamlam (A halt two marches distant from Mecca for pilgrims coming from the Yaman [Yemen].).
The piebald steed (a fast, black and white horse) with reddish barrel (torso) went astray (Even such a conspicuous animal was lost in the great crowd. The meaning of the next line may be: 'The old man was not content until he wore a distinguishing mark.')
And the chief was not content till it was marked.
We attacked them like a flock of grouse the morning affrights.
Everyone was too concerned to see to his fellow,
From morn till eve till we left Hunayn
With its watercourses streaming with blood.
Wherever you looked you could see a fine mare
And its rider lying beside a broken lance.
Hawazin had recovered their herds from us
And it pleased them that we should be disappointed and deprived (of them).

Damdam b. al-Harith b. Jusham b. Abd b. Habib b. Malik b. Auf b. Yaqaza b. Usayya al-Sulami said concerning Hunayn (Thaqif had killed Kinana b. al-Hakam b. Khalid b. al-Sharid, so he killed Mihjan and a nephew of his, both of Thaqif):
We brought our horses without overdriving them
To Jurash (In the Yaman / in Yemen) from the people of Zayyan and al-Fam,
Killing the young lions and making for the temples
Built before our day and not yet destroyed.
If you boast of the killing of Ibn al-Sharid
I have left many widows in Wajj (A place in al-Taif.).
I killed the two of them avenging Ibn al-Sharid
Whom your promise of protection deceived and he blameless.
Our spears slew the men of Thaqif
And our swords inflicted grievous wounds.

He also said:
Tell the men with you who have wives,
Never trust a woman
After what a woman said to her neighbour,
'Had the raiders not returned I should have been in the house.' (i.e. at the disposal of callers.)
When she saw a man whom the fierce heat of a torrid land
Had left with blackened face and fleshless bones.
You could see his leanness at the end of the night
As he was clad in his mail for a raid.
I am always in the saddle of a thick short-haired mare,
My garment touching my belt (As the horse rushed forward sword and belt and garments would face the same direction. The husband is speaking at this point.);
One day in quest of booty,
Another, fighting along with the Ansar.
How much fertile land have I travelled,
How much rough uneven ground at gentle pace
That I might change her state of poverty,
And she did not want me to return, the baggage! (837)

Malik b. Auf excusing his flight said:
Slit-eared camels straying from the track
Prevented sleep for even an hour.
Ask (the) Hawazin do I not injure their enemy
And help any of them who suffers a loss?
Many a squadron did I meet with a squadron
Half of them mailed, half of them without armour.
Many a place which would appal the bold
Did I occupy first, as my people well know.
I came down to it and left brothers coming down
To its waters—waters of blood (Ghamra sometimes, as here, means 'the thick of the fight'.);
When its waters rolled away they bequeathed to me
The glory of life and spoil to be divided.
You charged me with the fault of Mohammed's people,
But God knows who is more ungrateful and unjust.
You forsook me when I fought alone
You forsook me when Khath'am fought.
When I built up glory one of you pulled it down.
Builder and destroyer are not equal.
Many a man who becomes thin in winter, hasting to glory,
Generous, devoted to lofty aims,
I stabbed with a black shaft of Yazan's work (Dhu Yazan, one of the kings of Himyar; v.s.)
Headed by a long blade.
I left his wife turning back his friend
And saying, You cannot come at so-and-so.
Fully armed I opposed the spears
Like a target which is pierced and split.
An anonymous poet also said about Hawazin mentioning their expedition against the apostle with Malik b. Auf after he had acccepted Islam:
Recall their march against the enemy when they assembled
When the flags fluttered over Malik.
None was above Malik on the day of Hunayn (Or 'Malik was a king, none above him'.)
When the crown glittered on his head
Until they met courage when courage led them
Wearing their helmets, mail, and shields.
They smote the men till they saw none
Round the prophet and until dust hid him.
Then Gabriel was sent down from heaven to help them
And we were routed and captured.
If any other but Gabriel had fought us
Our noble swords would have protected us.
Umar al-Faraq escaped me when they were put to flight
With a thrust that soaked his saddle in blood. (This is the natural translation of the line, but as there is no record of Umar having been wounded in this battle the meaning may be that he escaped a thrust which would have soaked his saddle in blood.)

A woman of (the) B. Jusham lamenting two of her brothers who were slain at Hunayn said:
O eyes, be generous with your tears
For Malik and al-Ala; be not niggardly.
They were the slayers of Abu Amir
Who held a sword with streaky marks.
They left him a bleeding lump
Staggering, feebly unsupported.
Abu Thawab Zayd b. Suhar, one of (the) B. Sad b. Bakr, said:
Have you not heard that (the) Quraysh conquered Hawazin (Misfortunes have their causes).
There was a time, (the) Quraysh, when if we were angry
Red blood flowed because of our rage.
There was a time, (the) Quraysh, when if we were angry
It seemed as though snuff were in our nostrils.
And now (the) Quraysh drive us
Like camels urged on by peasants.
I am not in a position to refuse humiliation
Nor am I disposed to give in to them (838).

Abdullah b. Wahb, one of (the) B. Tamim of the clan of Usayyid, answered him:
By God's command we smote those we met
In accordance with the best command.
When we met, O Hawazin,
We were saturating heads with fresh blood.
When you and (the) B. Qasay assembled
We crushed opposition like beaten leaves.
Some of your chiefs we slew
And we turned to kill both fugitive and standfast.
Al-Multath lay with outstretched hands,
His dying breath sounding like a gasping young camel.
If (the) Qays Aylan be angry
My snuff has always subdued them.
Khadij b. al-Auja al-Nasrisaid:
When we drew near to the waters of Hunayn
We saw repellent black and white shapes
In a dense well-armed throng; if they had thrown them
At the peaks of Uzwa they would have become flat.
If my people's chiefs had obeyed me
We should not then have met the thick* cloud
(* I conjecture mutakath thif for mutakash shif which gives a poor sense. On p. 870.7 the Manuscripts vacillate between kathifan and kashifan, and again the former is the better reading. However, some such meaning as 'looming' might be ascribed to mutakashshif. C. says it means zahir.)
Nor should we have met the army of Mohammed's people,
Eighty thousand reinforced by Khindif.

THE CAPTURE OF AL-TAIF, 8 A.H.
When the fugitives of Thaqif came to al-Taif they shut the gates of the city and made preparations for war. Neither Urwa b. Masud nor Ghaylan b. Salama were present at Hunayn or at the siege of al-Taif; they were in Jurash learning the use of the testudo (Dubur, a sort of testudo. Described here is how the Arabs learned from the Romans to use a moveable shelter. Basically, we are talking about a kind of tank that worked like a boat turned upside-down under which the soldiers could endure a hail of projectiles unharmed.), the catapult, and other instruments. When he had finished at Hunayn the apostle went to al-Taif.
Kab b. Malik when the apostle came to this decision said:

We put an end to doubt in the lowlands and Khaybar,
Then we gave our swords a rest.
We gave them the choice and could they have spoken
Their blades would have said, Give us Daus or Thaqif.
May I be motherless if you do not see
Thousands of us in your courts.
We will tear off the roofs in the valley of Wajj
And we will make your houses desolate.
Our swiftest cavalry will come on you
Leaving behind a tangled mass.
When they come down on your courts
You will hear a cry of alarm
With sharp cutting swords in their hands like flashes of lightning
By which they bring death to those who would fight them
Tempered by Indian smiths—not beaten into plates.
You would think that the flowing blood of the warriors
Was mingled with saffron the morn the forces met.
Good God, had they no adviser
From the peoples who knew about us
To tell them that we had gathered
The finest blood horses and that we had brought an army
To surround the walls of their fort with troops?
Our leader the prophet, firm,
Pure of heart, steadfast, continent,
Straightforward, full of wisdom, knowledge, and clemency;
Not frivolous nor light minded.
We obey our prophet and we obey a Lord
Who is the Compassionate, most kind to us (but only to us Muslims!).
If you offer peace we will accept it
And make you partners in peace and war.
If you refuse we will fight you doggedly,
'Twill (it will) be no weak faltering affair.
We shall fight as long as we live
Till you turn to Islam, humbly seeking refuge (totally surrender).
We will right not caring whom we meet
Whether we destroy ancient holdings or newly gotten gains.
How many tribes assembled against us
Their finest stock and allies!
They came at us thinking they had no equal
And we cut off their noses and ears
With our fine polished Indian swords (India produced at that time the very finest steel swords and exported them to Arabia and Persia).,
Driving them violently before us
To the command of God and Islam,
Until religion is established, just and straight, and
Al-Lat and al-Uzza and Wudd are forgotten
And we plunder them of their necklaces and earrings.

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For they had become established and confident (The meaning of this hemistich may be: 'And then they professed Islam and therefore had peace'.),
And he who cannot protect himself must suffer disgrace.

Kinana b. Abdu Yalil b. Amr b. Umayr answered him:

He Who covets us wishing to fight us (let him come).
We are in a well-known home which we never leave.
Our fathers were here long since
And we hold its wells and vineyards.
Amr b. Amir put us to the test aforetime (This is a hit at the Ansar through their common descent.)
And the wise and intelligent told them about it.
They know if they speak the truth that we
Bring down the high looks of the proud (Twist into position the head turned aside in disdain.).
We force the strong to become meek
And the wrongdoer to become known to the discerning.
We wear light mail the legacy of one who burned men (i.e. Amr b. Amir.)
Gleaming like stars in the sky.
We drive them from us with sharp swords,
When they are drawn from the scabbard we do not sheathe them.

Shaddad b. Arid al-Jushami said about the apostle's expedition to al-Taif:
Do not help al-Lat for God is about to destroy her.
How can one who cannot help herself be helped?
She that was burned in black smoke and caught fire.
None fighting before her stones, is an outcast (Lit. 'not one for whom bloodwit must be paid'.).
When the apostle descends on your land
None of her people will be left when he leaves.

The apostle journeyed by Nakhlatul-Yamaniya, and Qarn, and al-Mulayh and Buhratul-Rugha of Liya (These are places in the area of Taif.). A mosque was built there and he prayed in it.

Amr b. Shuayb told me that when he came there that day he allowed retaliation for homicide (murder), and that was the first time such a thing happened in Islam. A man of B. Layth had killed a man of Hudhayl and he killed him in retaliation. When he was in Liya the apostle ordered that the fort of Malik b. Auf should be destroyed. Then he went on a road called al-Dayqa (As we should say 'a tight corner' and therefore an inauspicious name which has to be altered.). As he was passing along it he asked its name. When he was told that it was 'the strait' he said, 'No, it is the easy.' (al-Yusra.) Then he went by Nakhb till he halted under a lote tree called al-Sadira near the property of a man of Thaqif. The apostle sent word to him, 'Either come out or we will destroy your wall.' (hait means a wall and also the garden which it surrounds.) He refused to come out so the apostle ordered his wall to be destroyed.

He went on until he halted near al-Taif and pitched his camp there. Some of his companions were killed by arrows there because the camp had come too close to the wall of al-Taif and the arrows were reaching them. The Muslims could not get through their wall for they had fastened the gate. When these men were killed by arrows he (Tabari: withdrew and) pitched his camp near where his mosque stands today. He besieged them for some twenty days (839).

He had two of his wives with him: Umm Salama d. Abu Umayya (f.and another with her). He struck two tents for them and prayed between the tents. Then he stayed there. When Thaqif surrendered Amr b. Umayya b. Wahb b. Muattib b. Malik built a mosque over the place where he prayed. There was a pillar in the mosque. Some allege that the sun never rises over it any day but a creaking noise* is heard from it. (* naqid. Ibn al-Athir, Nihaya, sub voce, explains this word from the creaking of a camel's litter and the noise given out by a roof when the wood moves [expands in the heat?].) The apostle besieged them and fought them bitterly and the two sides exchanged arrows (840), until when the day of storming came at the wall of al-Taif a number of his companions went under a testudo and advanced up to the wall to breach it. Thaqif let loose on them scraps of hot iron so they came out from under it and Thaqif shot them with arrows and killed some of them. The apostle ordered that the vineyards of Thaqif should be cut down and the men fell upon them cutting them down.

Abu Sufyan b. Harb and al-Mughira b. Shuba went up to al-Taif and called to Thaqif to grant them safety so that they could speak to them. When they agreed they called on the women of (the) Quraysh and (the) B. Kinana to come out to them for they were afraid that they would be captured, but they refused to come. They were Amina d. Abu Sufyan who was married to Urwa b. Masud by whom she gave birth to Daud b. Urwa (844); and al-Firasiya d. Suwayd b. Amr b. Thalaba whose son was Abdul-Rahman b. Qarib; and al-Fuqaymlya Umayma d. the intercalator Umayya b. Qal. When they refused to come out Ibn al-Aswad b. Masud said to the two men, 'Let me tell you of something better than that which you have come about. You know where the property of (the) B. Aswad is.' (The apostle was between it and al-Ta'if in a valley called al-'Aqiq.) 'There is no property in al-Taif more laborious to water, harder to cultivate, and more difficult to maintain than this property of (the) B. Aswad. If Mohammed cuts down its trees it will never be cultivated again, so speak to him and let him take it for himself or leave it to God and kinsmen, for there is a well-known relationship between us.' They allege that the apostle left it to them.

I have heard that the apostle said to Abu Bakr while he was besieging al-Taif, 'I saw (in a dream) that I was given a bowl of butter and a cock pecked at it and spilt it.' Abu Bakr said, 'I don't think that you will attain your desire from them today.' The apostle said that he did not think so either.

Then Khuwayla d. Hakim b. Umayya b. Haritha b. al-Auqas al-Sulamiya, wife of Uthman b. Mazun, asked the apostle to give her the jewellery of Badiya d. Ghaylan b. Salama, or the jewellery of al-Faria d. Aqil if God gave him victory over al-Taif, for they were the best bejewelled women of Thaqif. I have been told that the apostle said to her, 'And if Thaqif is not permitted to me, O Khuwayla?' She left him and went and told Umar, who came and asked the apostle if he had really said that. On hearing that he had, he asked if he should give the order to break camp, and receiving his permission he did so.

When the army moved off Said b. Ubayd b. Asld b. Abu Amr b. Allaj called out, 'The tribe is holding out.' Uyayna b. Hisn said, 'Yes, nobly and gloriously.' One of the Muslims said to him, 'God smite you, Uyayna! Do you praise the polytheists for holding out against the apostle when you have come to help him ?' 'I did not come to fight Thaqif with you,' he answered, 'but I wanted Mohammed to get possession of al-Taif so that I might get a girl from Thaqif whom I might tread (Tabari: make pregnant) so that she might bear me a son, for Thaqif are a people who produce intelligent children.'

During his session there some of the slaves besieged in al-Taif came to him and accepted Islam and he freed them. One whom I do not suspect from Abdullah b. Mukaddam from men of Thaqif said that when al-Taif surrendered some of them talked about these slaves, but the apostle refused to do anything saying that they were God's free men. One of those who spoke about them was al-Harith b. Kalada (842).

Now Thaqif had seized the family of Marwan b. Qays al-Dausi, he having become a Muslim and helped the apostle against Thaqif. Thaqif allege—and Thaqif is the ancestor on whom the tribe's claim to be of Qays is based—that the apostle said to Marwan b. Qays, 'Seize in revenge for your family the first man of Qays that you meet.' He met Ubayy b. Malik al-Qushayri and took him until they should return his family to him. Al-Dahhak b. Sufyan al-Kilabi took the matter in hand and spoke to Thaqif until they let Marwan's family go, and he freed Ubayy. Al-Dahhak in reference to what passed between him and Ubayy said:

Will you forget my kindness, O Ubayy b. Malik,
The day the apostle looked away from you?
Marwan b. Qays led you by his rope
Submissive as a well-trained beast.
Some of Thaqif behaved badly to you,
(If anyone comes to them asking for trouble they get it!)
Yet they were your relatives and their minds turned to you
When you were almost in despair (843).

These are the names of the Muslims who were martyred at al-Taif:

From (the) Quraysh: the clan of (the) B. Umayya b. Abdu Shams: Said b. Said b. al-As b. Umayya; and Urfuja b. Jannab, an ally from al-Asd b. al-Ghauth (844); the clan of (the) B. Taym b. Murra: Abdullah b. Abu Bakr was shot by an arrow and died of it in Medina after the death of the apostle; the clan of Makhzum: Abdullah b. Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira from an arrow that day; the clan of B. Adiy b. Kab: Abdullah b. Amir b. Rabia an ally; the clan of (the) B. Sahm b. Amr; Al-Saib b. al-Harith b. Qays b. Adiy and his brother Abdullah; the clan of (the) B. Sad b. Layth: Julayha b. Abdullah.

From the Ansar: from B. Salima: Thabit b. al-Jadha; from B. Mazin b. al-Najjar: al-Harith b. Sahl b. Abu Sasaa; from (the) B. Saida: al-Mundhir b. Abdullah; from al-Aus: Ruqaym b. Thabit b. Thalaba b. Zayd b. Laudhan b. Muawiya.

Twelve of the apostle's companions were martyred at al-Taif, seven from Quraysh, four from the Ansar, and a man from (the) B. Layth.

When the apostle left al-Taif after the fighting and the siege Bujayr b. Zuhayr b. Abu Sulma said commemorating Hunayn and al-Taif:

(Al-Taif) was a sequel to the battle of Hunayn
And Autas and al-Abraq when
Hawazin gathered their force in their folly
And were dispersed like scattered birds.
The (men of al-Taif) could not hold a single place against us
Except their wall and the bottom of the trench.
We showed ourselves that they might come forth,
But they shut themselves in behind a barred gate.

Our unmailed men (The alternative 'wearied men' [plural of hasir] seems less fitting. Hasra is plural of hasir.) returned to a strong surging force
Fully armed glittering with death-dealing weapons;
Compact, dark green, (if one threw them at Hadan [A mountain in Najd.]
It would become as though it had not been created [i.e. as if it had never been there at all.].)

With the gait of lions (Or 'hounds'.) walking on thorns, as though we were horses (Following C. qudur which the commentators say means 'horses that put the hind-leg where the fore-leg has trod'. Wellhausen has fudur 'camels' or 'wild goats'. It may be that camels are meant.)
Now separated now coming together as they are led,
In long armour which whenever it is donned
Is like a shimmering pool ruffled by the win;
Well-woven armour which reaches to our sandals
Woven by David and the family of Muharriq (i.e. Amr b. Hind, King of Hira.).

DIVISION OF THE SPOIL (Loot / Booty) OF HAWAZIN AND GIFTS TO GAIN MEN'S HEARTS

When he left al-Taif the apostle went by way of Dahna until he stopped at al-Jirana with his men, having a large number of Hawazin captives. One of his companions on the day he left Thaqif asked him to curse them but he said, 'O God, guide Thaqif and bring them (to Islam).'

Then a deputation from Hawazin came to him in al-Jirana where he held 6,000 women and children, and sheep and camels innumerable which had been captured from them. Amr b. Shuayb from his father from his grandfather Abdullah b. Amr said that the deputation from Hawazin came to the apostle after they had accepted Islam, saying that the disaster which had befallen them was well known and asking him to have pity on them for God's sake. One of the Hawazin of the clan B. Sad b. Bakr (Tabari: it was they who had provided the fostermother for the apostle) called Zuhayr Abu Surad said: 'O Apostle of God, in the enclosures are your paternal and maternal aunts and the women who suckled you who used to look after you. Had we acted as fosterparents for al-Harith b. Abu Shimr or al-Numan b. al-Mundhir and then got into the position in which you hold us we could hope for his kindness and favour, and you are the best of trustworthy men' (845).
(Tabari: Then he said:
Have pity on us, apostle of God, generously,
For you are the man from whom we hope and expect pity.
Have pity on a people whom fate has frustrated,
Their well-being shattered by time's misfortunes.)

The apostle said, 'Which are dearest to you? Your sons and your wives or your cattle?' They replied, 'Do you give us the choice between our cattle and our honour? Nay, give us back our wives and our sons, for that is what we most desire.' He said, 'So far as concerns what I and the B. Abdul-Muttalib have they are yours. When I have prayed the noon prayer with the men then get up and say, 'We ask the apostle's intercession with the Muslims, and the Muslims' intercession with the apostle for our sons and our wives." I will then give them to you and make application on your behalf.' When the apostle had ended the noon prayers they did as he had ordered them, and he said what he had promised to say. Then the Muhajirs said that what was theirs was the apostle's, and the Ansar said the same. But al-Aqra' b. Habis said, 'So far as I and (the) B. Tamim are concerned, No.' Uyayna b. Hisn said No on behalf of himself and (the) B. Fazara and so did Abbas b. Mirdas for himself and (the) B. Sulaym; but (the) B. Sulaym said, 'Not so; what is ours is the apostle's.' 'Abbas said to (the) B. Sulaym, 'You have put me to shame.' Then the apostle said, 'He who holds to his right to these captives shall have six camels for every man from the first booty I (Tabari: we) take.' Then the women and children were returned to their men.

Abu Wajza Yazid b. Ubayd al-Sadi told me that the apostle gave Ali a girl* called Rayja d. Hilal b. Hayyan b. Umayra b. Hilal b. Nasira b. Qusayya b. Nasr b. Sad b. Bakr; and he gave Uthman a girl called Zaynab d. Hayyan; and he gave Umar a girl whom Umar gave to his son Abdullah. (* In Arabic culture, and therefore in Islam, a captured woman, especially a non-Muslim one, is considered 'a thing' and can be treated as sex-slave, can be raped, can be killed. This notion still exists today quite simply because Mohammed, who allowed this treatment of captured women, is considered the 'perfect example of a human being'. It does not only reflect a behaviour in the past but is also a practice in modern times.)

Nafi, a client of Abdullah b. Umar from Abdullah b. Umar, told me: I sent her to my aunts of (the) B. Jumah to prepare and get her ready for me until I had circumambulated the temple and could come to them, wanting to take her when I returned. When I had finished I came out of the mosque and lo the men were running about, and when I asked why they told me that the apostle had returned their wives and children to them, so I told them that their woman was with (the) B. Jumah and they could go and take her, and they did so. Uyayna b. Hisn took an old woman of Hawazin and said as he

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took her, 'I see that she is a person of standing in the tribe and her ransom may well be high.' When the apostle returned the captives at a price of six camels each he refused to give her back. Zuhayr Abu Surad told him to let her go, for her mouth was cold and her breasts flat; she could not conceive and her husband would not care and her milk was not rich. So he let her go for the six camels when Zuhayr said this. They allege that when Uyayna met al-Aqra b. Habis he complained to him about the matter and he said: By God, you did not take her as a virgin in her prime nor even a plump middle age!'

The apostle asked the Hawazin deputation about Malik b. Auf and they said that he was in al-Taif with Thaqif. The apostle told them to tell Malik that if he came to him as a Muslim he would return his family and property to him and give him a hundred camels. On hearing this Malik came out from al-Taif. He had been afraid that Thaqif would get to know what the apostle had said and imprison him, so he ordered that his camel should be got ready for him and that a horse should be brought to him in al-Taif. He came out by night, mounted his horse, and rode hard until he got to the place where his camel was tethered, and rode off to join the apostle, overtaking him in al-Jirana or Mecca. He gave him back his family and property and gave him a hundred camels. He became an excellent Muslim and at the time he said:

I have never seen or heard of a man
Like Mohammed in the whole world;
Faithful to his word and generous when asked for a gift,
And when you wish he will tell you of the future.
When the squadron shows its strength
With spears and swords that strike,
In the dust of war he is like a lion
Guarding its cubs in its den.

The apostle put him in command of those of his people who had accepted Islam, and those tribes (Tabari: round al-Taif) were Thumala, Salima, and Fahm. He began to fight Thaqif with them: none of their flocks could come out but he raided them until they were in sore straits Abu Mihjan b. Habib b. Amr b. Umayr al-Thaqafi said:

Enemies have always dreaded our neighbourhood.
And now the Banu Salima raid us!
Malik brought them on us
Breaking his covenant and solemn word.
They attacked us in our settlements
And we have always been men who take revenge.

When the apostle had returned the captives of Hunayn to their people he rode away and the men followed him, saying, 'O apostle, divide our spoil of camels and herds among us' until they forced him back against a tree and his mantle was torn from him and he cried, 'Give me back my mantle, men, for by God if you had (Tabari: I had) as many sheep as the trees of Tihama I would distribute them among you; you have not found me niggardly or cowardly or false.' Then he went to his camel and took a hair from its hump and held it aloft in his fingers, saying, 'Men, I have nothing but a fifth of your booty even to this hair, and the fifth I will return to you; so give back the needle and the thread ; for dishonesty will be a shame and a flame and utter ignominy to a man on the resurrection day.' One of the Ansar came with a ball of camel hair, saying, 'O apostle, I took this ball to make a pad for a sore camel of mine.' He answered, 'As for my share in that you can keep it!' 'If it has come to that,' he said, 'I do not want it,' and he threw it away (846).

The apostle gave gifts to those whose hearts were to be won over, notably the chiefs of the army, to win them and through them their people. He 881 gave to the following 100 camels: Abu Sufyan b. Harb; his son Muawiya Hakim b. Hizam; al-Harith b. al-Harith b. Kalada brother of B. Abdul-Dar (847); al-Harith b. Hisham; Suhayl b. Amr; Huwaytib b. Abdul-Uzza b. Abu Qays; al-Ala b. Jariya al-Thaqafi an ally of B. Zuhra ; Uyayna b. Hisn b. Hudhayfa b. Badr; al-Aqra b. Habis al-Tamimi; Malik b. Auf al-Nasri; and Safwan b. Umayya.

He gave less than 100 camels to the following men of Quraysh: Makhrama b. Naufal al-Zuhri; Umayr b. Wahb Jalumahi; Hisham b. Amr brother of B. Amir b. Luayy and others. He gave 50 to Said b. Yarbu b. Ankatha b. Amir b. MakhzUm and to al-Sahmi (848)

He gave Abbas b. Mirdas some camels and he was dissatisfied with them and blamed the apostle in the following verses:

It was spoil that I gained
When I charged on my horse in the plain
And kept the people awake lest they should sleep
And when they slept kept watch.
My spoil and that of Ubayd my horse
Is shared by Uyayna and al-Aqra.
Though I protected my people in the battle,
Myself unprotected I was given nothing
But a few small camels
To the number of their four legs!

Yet neither Habis nor Hisn (They were the fathers of Uyayna and al-Aqra, the two men mentioned in line 6.)

Surpass my father in the assembly,
And I am not inferior to either of them.
And he whom you demean today will not be exalted (849).

The apostle said, 'Get him away and cut off his tongue from me,' so they gave him (camels) until he was satisfied, this being what the apostle meant by his order (Ibn Hisham's note in which Sura 36.69 is quoted rests on the absurd statement of an anonymous traditionist that Mohammed was so ignorant of verse that he could not recognise rhyme when he heard it, a poor compliment to the greatest Arab of all time. Here, for want of a better place, I cite Ibn Ishaq from al-Zuhri via Yunus (Sura 36. 69): '"We have not taught him verse. That does not befit him." The meaning is "What We have taught him is not verse. It is not fitting that he should bring verse from Us." The apostle only uttered verse which had been spoken by others before him.' Akhbarul-Nahwiyin al-Basriyin, by al-Sirafi, ed. F. Krenkow, Beyrut, 1936, pp. 72 f) (850).

Mohammed b. Ibrahim b. al-Harith al-Taymi told me that a companion said to the apostle: 'You have given Uyayna and al-Aqra a hundred camels each and left out Juayl b. Suraqa al-Damri!' He answered, 'By Him in whose hand is the soul of Mohammed, Juayl is better than the whole world full of men like those two; but I have treated them generously so that they may become Muslims, and I have entrusted Juayl to his Islam.'

Abu Ubayda b. Mohammed b. Ammar b. Yasir from Miqsam Abul-Qasim, freed slave of Abdullah b. al-Harith b. Naufal, told me: I went in company with Talid b. Kilab al-Laythi to Abdullah b. Amr b. al-As as he was going round the temple with his sandals in his hand, and we asked him whether he was with the apostle when the Tamimite spoke to him on the day of Hunayn. He said that he was and that a man of Tamim called Dhul-Khuwaysira came and stood by the apostle as he was making gifts to the men and said, 'Mohammed, I have seen what you have done today.' 'Well, and what do you think?' he answered. He said, 'I do not think you have been just.' The prophet was angry and said, 'If justice is not to be found with me* then where will you find it?' Umar asked to be allowed to kill him, but he said, 'Let him alone, for he will have a following that will go so deeply into religion that they will come out of it as an arrow comes out of the target; you look at the head and there is nothing on it; you look at the butt end and there is nothing on it ; then at the notch and there is nothing on it. It went through before flesh and blood could adhere to it.' (* This is a very clear statement. It says that Mohammed is the basis of Islam, the Koran, and consequently of the Sharia Law! There can be no doubt about this. This is the very reason why Islam and its Sharia Law cannot be reformed, made 'more modern or human', or otherwise changed or interpreted!)

Mohammed b. Ali b. al-Husayn, Abu Jafar, told me a similar story and named the man Dhul-Khuwaysira. Abdullah b. Abu Najih told me the same from his father (851).

(Tabari 1683:) Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that one of the apostle's companions who was at Hunayn with him said, 'I was riding my camel by the side of the apostle, wearing a rough sandal, when my camel jostled his and the toe of my sandal hit the apostle's shank and hurt him. He hit my foot with his

whip, saying, "You hurt me. Get behind!" so I went behind him. The next morning the apostle was looking for me and I thought it was because I had hurt his leg, so I came expecting (punishment); but he said, "You hurt my leg yesterday and I struck your foot with my whip. Now I have summoned you to compensate you for it," and he gave me eighty she-camels for the one blow he struck me.' (Some Manuscripts have here a gloss in which Ibn Hisham takes up the narrative of Ibn Ishaq which he broke off when he cut out the passage from Jabari that contains what Ibn Ishaq wrote.)

Asim b. Umar b. Qatada from Mahmud b. Labid from Abu Said al-Khudri told me: When the apostle had distributed these gifts among (the) Quraysh and the Bedouin tribes, and the Ansar got nothing, this tribe of Ansar took the matter to heart and talked a great deal about it, until one of them said, 'By God, the apostle has met his own people.' Sad b. Ubada went to the apostle and told him what had happened. He asked, 'Where do you stand in this matter, Sad?' He said, 'I stand with my people.' 'Then gather your people in this enclosure,' he said. He did so, and when some of the Muhajirs came, he let them come, while others he sent back. When he had got them altogether he went and told the apostle, and he came to them, and after praising and thanking God he addressed them thus: 'O men of Ansar, what is this I hear of you? Do you think ill of me in your hearts? Did I not come to you when you were erring and God guided you; poor and God made you rich; enemies and God softened your hearts?'

They answered; 'Yes indeed, God and His apostle are most kind and generous.' He continued: 'Why do you not answer me, O Ansar?' They said, 'How shall we answer you? Kindness and generosity belong to God and His apostle.' He said, 'Had you so wished you could have said—and you would have spoken the truth and have been believed—You came to us discredited and we believed you; deserted and we helped you; a fugitive and we took you in; poor and we comforted you. Are you disturbed in mind because of the good things of this life by which I win over a people that they may become Muslims while I entrust you to your Islam? Are you not satisfied that men should take away flocks and herds while you take back with you the apostle of God? By Him in whose hand is the soul of Mohammed, but for the migration (Had he not been joined by the Muhajirs from Mecca who had remained faithful to him, he would have severed his connexion with the Quraysh altogether and joined the community of Medina. L.H.: Migration was and still is, because of Mohammed's own example, a main doctrine of Islam. With Migration, and the subsequent untermination of the new host communities or civilisations, in connexion with a rapid reproduction number, Muslims spread Islam anywhere else. The main tool for this undertaking is Sharia Law which tries, first carefully and polite, to implement Islamic demands, such as general availability of halal food, free time for the daily five prayers, and the provision of 'gathering places [prayer-rooms and mosques]. Later it becomes stricter by prohibiting non-halal food, equality of gender etc. With gaining political power by getting high positions, Muslims are obliged to disfunctionalise the new host communities in order to put Sharia Law in place of the host's law.) I should be one of the Ansar myself. If all men went one way and the Ansar another I should take the way of the Ansar. God have mercy on the Ansar, their sons and their sons' sons.' (Similarly Musa b. Uqba, No. 10.) The people wept until the tears ran down their beards as they said: 'We are satisfied with the apostle of God as our lot and portion'. Then the apostle went off and they dispersed.

THE APOSTLE MAKES THE LESSER PILGRIMAGE FROM AL-JIRANA

Then the apostle left al-Jirana to make the lesser pilgrimage. He gave orders that the rest of the spoil should be kept back in Majanna near Marrul-Zahran. Having completed the pilgrimage he returned to Medina. He left Attab b. Asid in charge of Mecca. He also left behind with him Muadh b. Jabal to instruct the people in religion and to teach them the Koran (This is a clear indication that the Koran was already written at this time.). He himself was followed by the rest of the spoil (852).

The apostle's pilgrimage was in Dhul-Qada, and he arrived in Medina towards the end of that month or in Dhul-Hijja (853).

The people made the pilgrimage that year in the way the (pagan) Arabs used to do. Attab made the pilgrimage with the Muslims tfrat year, 8 A.H. The people of al-Taif continued in their polytheism and obstinacy in their city from the time the apostle left in Dhul-Qada of the year 8 until Ramadan of the following year.

THE AFFAIR OF KAB B. ZUHAYR AFTER THE DEPARTURE FROM AL-TAIF

When the apostle arrived (at Medina) after his departure from al-Taif Bujayr b. Zuhayr b. Abu Sulma wrote to his brother Kab telling him that the apostle had killed some of the men in Mecca who had satirized and insulted him and that the Quraysh poets who were left —Ibn al-Zibara and Hubayra b. Abu Wahb— had fled in all directions. 'If you have any use for your life then come quickly to the apostle, for he does not kill anyone who comes to him in repentance. If you do not do that, then get to some safe place.' Kab had said:

Give Bujayr a message from me:
Do you accept what I said, confound you?
Tell us plainly if you do not accept what I say
For what reason other than that has he led you
To a religion I cannot find his fathers ever held
And you cannot find that your father followed?
If you do not accept what I say I shall not grieve
Nor say if you stumble God help you!
Al-Mamun has given you a full cup to drink
And added a second draught of the same (854).

Bujayr said to Kab:

Who will tell Kab that that for which you wrongly blame me
Is the better course?
To God alone not al-Uzza and al-Lat
You will escape and be safe while escape is possible,
On a day when none will escape
Except a Muslim pure of heart.
Zuhayr's religion is a thing of naught
And the religion of Abu Sulma is forbidden to me.

Kab used the title al-Mamun (855) simply for the reason that (the) Quraysh used to name the apostle thus.

When Kab received the missive he was deeply distressed and anxious for his life. His enemies in the neighbourhood spread alarming reports about him saying that he was as good as slain. Finding no way out, he wrote his ode in which he praised the apostle and mentioned his fear and the slanderous reports of his enemies. Then he set out for Medina and stayed with a man of Juhayna whom he knew, according to my

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information. He took him to the apostle when he was praying morning prayers, and he prayed with him. The man pointed out the apostle to him and told him to go and ask for his life. He got up and went and sat by the apostle and placed his hand in his, the apostle not knowing who he was. He said, 'O apostle, Kab b. Zuhayr has come to ask security from you as a repentant Muslim. Would you accept him as such if he came to you?' When the apostle said that he would, he confessed that he was Kab b. Zuhayr.

Asim b. Umar b. Qatada told me that one of the Ansar leapt upon him asking to be allowed to behead the enemy of God, but the apostle told him to let him alone because he had come repentant breaking away from his past. Kab was angry at this tribe of the Ansar because of what this man had done and moreover the men of the Muhajirin spoke only well of him. In his ode which he recited when he came to the apostle he said:

Suad is gone, and today my heart is love-sick, in thrall to her, unrequited, bound with chains;

And Suad, when she came forth on the morn of departure, was but as a gazelle with bright black downcast eyes.

When she smiles, she lays bare a shining row of side-teeth that seems to have been bathed once and twice in (fragrant) wine—

Wine mixed with pure cold water from a pebbly hollow where the north-wind blows, in a bend of the valley,

From which the winds drive away every speck of dust, and it brims over with white-foamed torrents fed by showers gushing from a cloud of morn.

Oh, what a rare mistress were she, if only she were true to her promise and would hearken to good advice!

But hers is a love in whose blood are mingled paining and lying and faithlessness and inconstancy.

She is not stable in her affection—even as ghouls change the hue of their garments—

And she does not hold to her plighted word otherwise than as sieves hold water.

The promises of Urqub were a parable of her, and his promises were naught but vanity.

I hope and expect that women will ever be ready to keep their word; but never, methinks, are they ready.

Let not the wishes she inspired and the promises she made beguile thee: lo, these wishes and dreams are a delusion.

In the evening Su'ad came to a land whither none is brought save by camels that are excellent and noble and fleet.

To bring him there, he wants a stout she-camel which, though fatigued, loses not her wonted speed and pace;

One that largely bedews the bone behind her ear when she sweats, one that sets herself to cross a trackless unknown wilderness;

Scanning the high grounds with eyes keen ks those of a solitary white oryx, when stony levels and sand-hills are kindled (by the sun);

Big in the neck, fleshy in the hock, surpassing in her make the other daughters of the sire;

Thick-necked, full-cheeked, robust, male-like, her flanks wide, her front (tall) as a milestone;

Whose tortoise-shell skin is not pierced at last even by a lean (hungry) tick on the outside of her back;

A hardy beast whose brother is her sire by a noble dam, and her sire's brother is her dam's brother; a long-necked one and nimble.

The qurad (A large species of tick.) crawls over her: then her smooth breast and flanks cause it to slip off.

Onager-like is she; her side slabbed with firm flesh, her elbow-joint (i.e. the middle joint of the foreleg.)

far removed from the ribs;

Her nose aquiline; in her generous ears are signs of breeding plain for the expert to see, and in her cheeks smoothness.

Her muzzle juts out from her eyes and throat, as though it were a pick-axe.

She lets a tail like a leafless palm-branch with small tufts of hair hang down over a sharp-edged (unrounded) udder from which its teats do not take away (milk) little by little (i.e. she is a camel for riding, not for milking.).

Though she be not trying, she races along on light slender feet that skim the ground as they fall,

With tawny hock-tendons—feet that leave the gravel scattered and are not shod so that they should be kept safe from the blackness of the heaped stones,

The swift movement of her forelegs, when she sweats and the mirage enfolds the hills—

On a day when the chameleon basks in some high spot until its exposed part is baked as in fire,

And, the grey cicalas having begun to hop on the gravel, the cameldriver bids his companions take the siesta—

Resembles the beating of hand on hand by a bereaved grey-haired woman who rises to lament and is answered by those who have lost many a child,

One wailing shrilly, her arms weak, who had no understanding when news was brought of the death of her firstborn son:

She tears her breast with her hands, while her tunic is rent in pieces from her collar-bones.

The fools walk on both sides of my camel, saying, 'Verily, O grandson of Abu Sulma, thou art as good as slain' (Referring to his journey to the Prophet, who had already given the order for his death. L.H.: In other words: Mohammed considered himself to be procecutor, judge, and executioner. When Muslims today take Mohammed as prime example of how a human being should be, they are all too ready to follow him in this regard too.);

And every friend of whom I was hopeful said, 'I will not help thee out: I am too busy to mind thee.'

I said, 'Let me go my way, may ye have no father! for whatever the Merciful hath decreed shall be done.

Every son of woman, long though his safety be, one day is borne upon a gibbous bier.'

I was told that the Messenger of Allah threatened me (with death), but with the Messenger of Allah I have hope of finding pardon.

Gently! mayst thou be guided by Him who gave thee the gift of the Koran, wherein are warnings and a plain setting-out (of the matter).

Do not punish me, when I have not sinned, on account of what is said by the informers, even should the (false) sayings about me be many.

Ay, I stand in such a place that if an elephant stood there, seeing (what I see) and hearing what I hear,

The sides of his neck would be shaken with terror—if there be no forgiveness from the Messenger of Allah.

I did not cease to cross the desert, plunging betimes into the darkness when the mantle of Night is fallen,

Till I laid my right hand, not to withdraw it, in the hand of the avenger whose word is the word of truth.

For indeed he is more feared by me when I speak to him—and they told me I should be asked of my lineage—

Than a lion of the jungle, one whose lair is amidst dense thickets in the lowland of Aththar;

He goes in the morning to feed two cubs, whose victual is human flesh rolled in the dust and torn to pieces;

When he springs on his adversary, 'tis (it is) against his law that he should leave the adversary ere he is broken;

From him the asses of the broad dale flee in affright, and men do not walk in his wadi,

Albeit ever in his wadi is a trusty fere, his armour and hardworn raiment smeared with blood—ready to be devoured.

Truly the Messenger is a light whence illumination is sought—a drawn Indian sword, one of the swords of Allah,

Amongst a band of Kuraish, whose spokesman said when they professed Islam in the valley of Mecca, 'Depart ye!'

They departed, but no weaklings were they or shieldless in battle or without weapons and courage;

They march like splendid camels and defend themselves with blows when the short black men take to flight (Probably a hit at the people of Medina, some of whom had urged Mohammed to show the poet no mercy.);

Warriors with noses high and straight, clad for the fray in mail-coats of David's weaving (David is described in the Koran (12.80) as a maker of coats of mail.),

Bright, ample, with pierced rings strung together like the rings of the qafa (Name of a plant.).

They are not exultant if their spears overtake an enemy or apt to despair if they be themselves overtaken.

The spear-thrust falls not but on their throats: for them there is no shrinking from the ponds of death (i.e. places where draughts of death are drunk. By the courtesy of the Cambridge University Press I take this translation from Translations of Eastern Poetry and Prose by my old friend R. A. Nicholson.) (856).

Asim b. Umar b. Qatada said: When Kab said, 'When the short black men take to flight,' he meant us, the Ansar, because of the way one of us had treated him. He singled out the Muhajirin among the apostle's companions for praise. This excited the Ansar's anger against him. After he had become a Muslim he spoke in praise of the Ansar and mentioned their trials with the apostle and their position among the Yaman tribes:

He who loves a glorious life
Let him ever be with the horsemen of the righteous Ansar,
Who transmit glorious deeds from father to son.
The best men are they, sons of the best men
Who launch with their arms spears
Like long Indian swords,
Who peer forward unweariedly
With eyes red as burning coals.

Who devote their lives to their prophet
On the day of hand-to-hand fighting and cavalry attacks.
They purify themselves with the blood of infidels (Kafirs, Kufr = vile non-Muslims);
They consider that an act of piety.
Their habit is that of thick-necked lions
Accustomed to hunt in a valleyed thicket.
If you come to them for protection

You are as it were in the inaccessible haunts of mountain goats.

They smote Ali* such a blow on the day of Badr
As brought the downfall of all Nizar.

(* S. ii. 315 explains that the Quraysh is meant by Ali because the B. Ali = the B. Kinana = the Quraysh. On the authorship of these verses see Introduction, xxviii.)

If people knew all that I know about them
Those that dispute with me would recognise the truth of what I say.

They are a people who richly feed the night-travellers,
Who arrive in a time of dearth (857).

THE RAID ON TABUK, 9 A.H.

The apostle stayed in Medina from Dhul-Hijja to Rajab, and then gave orders to prepare to raid the (Eastern) Romans. The following account is based on what al-Zuhri and Yazid b. Ruman (mind the linguistic relation to the word Roman) and Abdullah b. Abu Bakr and Asim b. Umar b. Qatada and other authorities told me; some supplied information which others lacked.

The apostle ordered his companions to prepare to raid the Byzantines at a time when men were hard pressed; the heat was oppressive and there was a drought; fruit was ripe (Tabari 1692: and shade was eagerly sought) and the men wanted to stay in the shade with their fruit and disliked travelling at that season. Now the apostle nearly always referred allusively to the destination of a raid and announced that he was making for a place other than that which he actually intended. This was the sole exception, for he said plainly that he was making for the Romans because the journey was long, the season difficult, and the enemy in great strength, so that the men could make suitable preparations. He ordered them to get ready and told them that he was making for the Romans. (Tabari: So the men got ready in spite of their dislike for the journey in itself to say nothing of their respect for the reputation of true Romans.)

One day when he was making his arrangements the apostle said to Jadd b. Qays of (the) B. Salima: 'Would you like to fight the B. Asfar*, (the) Jadd?' (* i.e. 'the sallow men'. A.Dh says they are the descendants of Esau who is said to have been of a sallow [meaning yellowish] countenance. He distinguishes between the Romans (Rum) and the old Greeks [Yunan]. L.H.: Although Romans and Greeks were the object of speculation, a more likely speculation in this regard would be Central or Eastern Asians who clearly have a yellowish taint and frequently visited the Arabian peninsula.) He replied, 'Will you allow me to stay behind and not tempt me, for everyone knows that I am strongly addicted to women and I am afraid that if I see the Roman women I shall not be able to control* myself.' The apostle gave him permission to remain behind and turned away from him. It was about him that the verse came down, 'There are some who say Give me leave (to stay behind) and do not tempt me. Surely they have fallen into temptation already and hell encompasses the unbelievers (Koran 9.49),' i.e. it was not that he feared temptation from the Roman women: the temptation he had fallen into was greater in that he hung back from the apostle and sought to please himself rather than the apostle. God said, 'Verily hell is behind him (Koran 14.19).'

The disaffected said one to another, 'Do not go forth in the heat,' disliking strenuous war, doubting the truth, and creating misgivings about the apostle. So God sent down concerning them: 'And they said, Go not forth in the heat. Say: The fire of hell is hotter did they but understand. Let them laugh a little and let them weep much as a reward for what they were earning (Koran 9.82) (858).

The apostle went forward energetically with his preparations and ordered the men to get ready with all speed. He urged the men of means to help in providing money and mounts for God's work (Tabari: and persuaded them). The wealthy men provided mounts and stored up a reward with God. Uthman b. Affan spent a larger sum than any had ever done (859).

Then seven Muslims known as The Weepers, Ansar, and others from (the) B. Amr b. Auf came to the apostle and asked him to provide them with mounts for they were without means. Their names were: Salim b. Umayr; Ulba b. Zayd, brother of B. Haritha; Abu Layla Abdul-Rahman b. Kab, brother of (the) B. Mazin b. al-Najjar; Amr b. Humam b. al-Jamuh, brother of B. Salima; Abdullah b. al-Mughaffal al Muzani (or b. Amr); Haramly b. Abdullah, brother of (the) B. Waqif; and Irbad b. Sariya al-Fazari. He said that he had no mount to give them and they turned back, their eyes flowing with tears for grief that they had not the wherewithal to meet the expense of the raid.

I have heard that Ibn Yamln b. Umayr b. Kab al-Nadri met Abu Layla and Abdullah b. Mughaffal as they were weeping, and when he asked what they were crying for they told him that they had applied to the apostle for a mount, but that he had none to give them and they had nothing. Thereupon he gave them a watering camel, and they saddled it and he provided them with some dates and so they went off with the apostle.

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Some Bedouin came to apologise for not going, but God would not accept their excuse. I have been told that they were from B. Ghifar. (Tabari: One of them was Khufaf b. Ima b. Rahda.)

When the apostle's road was clear he determined to set off. Now there was a number of Muslims who were slow to make up their minds so that they lagged behind without any doubt or misgivings. They were Kab b. Malik b. Abu Kab, brother of (the) B. Salima; Murara b. al-Rabi, brother of (the) B. Amr b. Auf; Hilal b. Umayya, brother of (the) B. Waqif; Abu Khaythama, brother of B. Salim b. Auf; they were loyal men whose Islam was above suspicion.

When the apostle had set out he pitched his camp by Thaniyatul-Wada (A pass overlooking Medina.) (86o).

Abdullah b. Ubayy (Tabari: b. Salul) pitched his camp separately below him in the direction of Dhubab (Tabari: a mountain in al-Jabbana below Thaniyatul-Wada.) It is alleged that it was not the smaller camp. When the apostle went on, Abdullah b. Ubayy separated from him and stayed behind with the hypocrites and doubters. (Tabari: Abdullah was brother of (the) B. Auf b. al-Khazraj, and Abdullah b. Nabtal was brother of the B. Amr b. Auf; and Rifaa b. Zayd b. al-Tabut was brother of the B. Qaynuqa. These were the principal men among the hypocrites and wished ill to Islam and its people. Concerning them God sent down: 'They sought rebellion aforetime and upset things for you.' Koran 9.48)

The apostle left Ali behind to look after his family, and ordered him to stay with them. The hypocrites spoke evil of him, saying that he had been left behind because he was a burden to the apostle and he wanted to get rid of him. On hearing this Ali seized his weapons and caught up with the apostle when he was halting in al-Jurf and repeated to him what the hypocrites were saying. He replied: 'They lie. I left you behind because of what I had left behind, so go back and represent me in my family and yours. Are you not content, Ali, to stand to me as Aaron stood to Moses, except that there will be no prophet after me?' So Ali returned to Medina and the apostle went on his way. Mohammed b. Jalha b. Yazid b. Rukana from Ibrahim b. Sad b. Abu Waqqas from his father Sad told me that he heard the apostle saying these words to Ali.

Then Ali returned to Medina and the apostle went his way. Abu Khaythama (Tabari: brother of the B. Salim) returned to his family on a hot day some days after the apostle had set out. He found two wives of his in huts in his garden. Each had sprinkled her hut and cooled it with water and got ready food for him. When he arrived he stood at the door of the hut and looked at his wives and what they had done for him and said: 'The apostle is out in the sun and the wind and the heat and Abu Khaythama is in a cool shade, food prepared for him, resting in his property with a fair woman. This is not just. By God, I will not enter either of your huts, but join the apostle; so get ready some food for me.' They did so and he went to his camel and saddled it and went out in search of the apostle until he overtook him in Tabuk. Umayr b. Wahb al-Jumahi had overtaken Abu Khaythama

on the road as he came to find the apostle, and they joined forces. When they approached Tabuk Abu Khaythama said to Umayr, 'I have done wrong. You can stay behind me if you like until I come to the apostle,' and he did so. When he approached the apostle as he was stopping in Tabuk, the army called attention to a man riding on the way and the apostle said it would be Abu Khaythama, and so it was. Having dismounted he came and saluted the apostle, who said, 'Woe to you, Abu Khaythama!' Then he told the apostle what had happened, and he spoke him well and blessed him (861).

When the apostle passed al-Hijr (Hijra / Hegira)* he stopped, and the men got water from its well. When they went the apostle said, 'Do not drink any of its water nor use it for ablutions. (* Often called Madain Saleh, in other words: "Medina". Doughty's account of this place in Arabia Deserta, passim, is still the most interesting. This place was once a large city whose architecture was identical to that one in its sister-city Petra [called Makka / Mecca in Pharan / Faran by the Armenian 9th century Chronist Tovmi Artsruni] As the name Hijr = Hijra suggests, this may well have been the first and 'real' Medina to which Mohammed migrated. This explains also why Mohammed warned not to drink from the well whose water was germ-infested, as he very well knew. It is a matter of debate among historians whether he was forced to migrate a second time to the modern Medina.) If you have used any of it for dough, then feed it to the camels and eat none of it. Let none of you go out at night alone but take a companion.' The men did as they were told except two of them of (the) B. Saida: one went out to relieve himself and the other to look for a camel of his. The first was half choked* on his way and the second was carried away by a wind which cast him on the two mountains of Tayyi (The lexicologists say that khundqiya is a disease which attacks men and horses [and sometimes birds] in the throat.). The apostle was told of this and reminded the men that he had forbidden them to go out alone. Then he prayed for the man who was choked on the way and he recovered; the other man was brought to the apostle in Medina by a man of Tayyi. This story comes from Abdullah b. Abu Bakr from Abbas b. Sahl b. Sad al-Saidi. Abdullah told me that Abbas had told him who they were, but confidentially, so he refused to name them to me (862).

In the morning when the men had no water they complained to the apostle, so he prayed, and God sent a cloud, and so much rain fell that they were satisfied and carried away all the water they needed. Asim b. Umar b. Qatadah from Mahmud b. Labid from men of (the) B. Abdul-Ashhal told me that he said to Mahmud, 'Do the men know the hypocrites among them?' He replied that a man would know that hypocrisy existed in his brother, his father, his uncle, and his family, yet they would cover up each other. Then Mahmud said: Some of my tribesmen told me of a man whose hypocrisy was notorious. He used to go wherever the apostle went and when the affair at al-Hijr happened and the apostle prayed as he did and God sent a cloud which brought a heavy rain they said, 'We went to him saying "Woe to you! Have you anything more to say after this?" He said, "It is a passing cloud!"'

During the course of the journey the apostle's camel strayed and his companions went in search of it. The apostle had with him a man called Umara b. Hazm who had been at al-Aqaba and Badr, uncle of (the) B. Amr b. Hazm. He had in his company Zayd al-Lusayt al-Qaynuqai who was a hypocrite (863). Zayd said while he was in Umara's camp and Umara was with the apostle, 'Does Mohammed allege that he is a prophet and can tell you news from heaven when he doesn't know where his camel is?' The apostle said while Umara was with him: 'A man has said: Now Mohammed tells you that he is a prophet and alleges that he tells you of heavenly things and yet doesn't know where his camel is. By God, I know only what God has told me and God has shown me where it is. It is in this wadi in such-and-such a glen. A tree has caught it by its halter; so go and bring it to me.' They went and brought it. 'Umara returned to his camp and said: 'By God, the apostle has just told us a wonderful thing about something someone has said which God has told him of.' Then he repeated the words. One of his company who had not been present with the apostle exclaimed, 'Why, Zayd said this before you came. Umara advanced on Zayd pricking him in the neck and saying, 'To me, you servants of God! I had a misfortune in my company and knew nothing of it. Get out, you enemy of God, and do not associate with me.' Some people allege that Zayd subsequently repented; others say that he was suspected of evil until the day of his death.

Then the apostle continued his journey and men began to drop behind. When the apostle was told that So-and-so had dropped behind he said, 'Let him be; for if there is any good in him God will join him to you; if not God has rid you of him.' Finally it was reported that Abu Dharr had dropped behind and his camel had delayed him. The apostle said the same words. Abu Dharr waited on his camel and when it walked slowly with him he took his gear and loaded it on his back and went off walking in the track of the apostle. The apostle stopped at one of his halting-places when a man called his attention to someone walking on the way alone. The apostle said that he hoped it was Abu Dharr, and when the people had looked carefully they said that it was he. The apostle said, 'God have mercy on Abu Dharr. He walks alone and he will die alone and be raised alone.'

Burayda b. Sufyan al-Aslaml from Mohammed b. Kab al-Qurazi from Abdullah b. Masud told me that when Uthman exiled Abu Dharr to al-Rabadha 1 and his appointed time came there was none with him but his wife and his slave. He instructed them to wash him and wind jiim in his shroud and lay him on the surface of the road and to tell the first caravan that passed who he was and ask them to help in burying him. When he died they did this. Abdullah b. Masud came up with a number of men from Iraq on pilgrimage when suddenly they saw the bier on the top of the road: the camels had almost trodden on it. The slave got up and said, 'This is Abu Dharr the apostle's companion. Help us to bury him.' Abdullah b. Masud broke out into loud weeping sayjng, 'The apostle was right. You walked alone, and you died alone, and you will be raised alone.' Then he and his companions alighted and buried him and he told them his story and what the apostle had said on the road to Tabuk.

A band of hypocrites, among them Wadia b. Thabit, brother of (the) B. Amr b. Auf, and a man of Ashja an ally of B. Salima called Mukhashshin b. Humayyir (864) were pointing at (Tabari: going with) the apostle as he was journeying to Tabuk saying one to another, 'Do you think that fighting the Romans is like a war between Arabs? By God we (Tabari: I) seem to see you bound with ropes tomorrow' so as to cause alarm and dismay to the believers. Mukhashshin said, 'I would rather that every one of us were sentenced to a hundred lashes than that a verse should come down about us concerning what you have said.'

The apostle—so I have heard—told Ammar b. Yasir to join the men, for they had uttered lies, and ask them what they had said. If they refused to answer, tell them that they said so-and-so. 'Ammar did as he was ordered and they came to the apostle making excuses. Wadia said as the apostle had halted on his camel, and as he spoke he laid hold of its girth, 'We were merely chatting and joking, O apostle.' Then God sent down, 'If you ask them they will say, We were merely chatting and joking (Koran 9.66).' Mukhashshin b. Humayyir said, 'O apostle, my name and my father's name disgrace me.' (Mukhashshin implies harshness and rudeness, and Humayyir means a little donkey.) The man who was pardoned in this verse was Mukhashshin and he was named Abdul-Rahman. He asked God to kill him as a martyr with none to know the place of his death. He was killed on the

day of al-Yamama and no trace of him was found.

When the apostle reached Tabuk Yuhanna b. Ruba governor of Ayla came and made a treaty with him and paid him the poll tax. The people of Jarba and Adhruh also came and paid the poll tax (The Jizya tax imposed on Jewish and Christian non-Muslims). The apostle wrote* for them a document which they still have. He wrote to Yuhanna b. Ruba thus: 'In the name of God the Compassionate and Merciful. This is a guarantee from God and Mohammed the prophet, the apostle of God, to Yuhanna b. Ruba and the people of Ayla, for their ships and their caravans by land and sea. They and all that are with them, men of Syria, and the Yaman (Yemen), and seamen, all have the protection of God and the protection of Mohammed the prophet. Should any one of them break the treaty by introducing some new factor then his wealth shall not save him; it is the fair prize of him who takes it. It is not permitted that they shall be restrained from going down to their wells or using their roads by land or sea.' (* This text shows with enviable clarity that Mohammed could read and write. All speculation that he might have been an uneducated person have no foundation. Due to his knowledge of the scripture it is very likely that he read the Jewish and Christian literature, and he wrote parts of the Koran on his very own accordingly.)

Then the apostle summoned Khalid b. al-Walid and sent him to Ukaydir at Duma. Ukaydir b. Abdul-Malik was a man of Kinda who was ruler of Duma; he was a Christian. The apostle told Khalid that he would find him hunting wild cows. Khalid went off until he came within sight of his fort. It was a summer night with a bright moon and Ukaydir was on the roof with his wife. The cows were rubbing their horns against the gate of the fort all the night. His wife asked him if he had ever known anything of the kind in the past, and urged him to go after them. He called for his horse, and when it was saddled he rode off with a number of his family, among them a brother called Hassan. As they were riding the apostle's cavalry fell in with them and seized him and killed his brother. Ukaydir was wearing a gown of brocade covered with gold. Khalid stripped him of this and sent it to the apostle before he brought him to him.

Asim b. Umar b. Qatada from Anas b. Malik said: I saw Ukaydir's gown when it was brought to the apostle. The Muslims were feeling it and admiring it, and the apostle said, 'Do you admire this? By Him in whose hand is my life the napkins of Sad b. Muadh in Paradise are better than this.'

Then Khalid brought Ukaydir to the apostle who spared his life and made peace with him on condition that he paid the poll tax. Then he released him and he returned to his town. A man of Tayyi called Bujayr b. Bujara remembering the words of the apostle to Khalid, 'You will find him hunting wild cows,' said that what the cows did that night in bringing him out of his fort was to confirm what the apostle had said:

Blessed is He who drove out the cows.
I see God guiding every leader.
Those who turn aside from yonder Tabuk, (let them)
For we have been ordered to fight.

The apostle stayed in Tabuk some ten nights, not more. Then he returned to Medina.

On the way there was water issuing from a rock—enough to water two or three riders. It was in a wadi called al-Mushaqqaq. The apostle ordered anyone who should get there before him not to take water from it until he came. A number of the disaffected got there first and drew water from it. When the apostle arrived he halted and saw no water there. He asked who had got there first and was told their names. He exclaimed, 'Did I not forbid you to take water from it until I came V Then he cursed them and called down God's vengeance on them. Then he alighted and placed his hand under the rock, and water began to flow into his hand as God willed. Then he sprinkled the rock with the water and rubbed it with his hand and prayed as God willed him to pray. Then water burst forth, as one who heard it said, with a sound like thunder. The men drank and satisfied their need from it, and the apostle said, 'If you live, or those of you who live, will hear of this wadi that it is more fertile than its neighbours.'

Mohammed b. Ibrahim b. al-Harith al-Taymi told me that Abdullah b. Masud used to say: I got up in the middle of the night when I was with the apostle in the raid on Tabuk when I saw a light near the camp. I went after it to look at it and lo it was the apostle with Abu Bakr and Umar; and Abdullah Dhul-Bijadayn had just died and they had dug a grave for him. The apostle was in the grave and Abu Bakr and Umar were letting him down to him as he was saying, 'Bring your brother near to me,' so they let him down and as he arranged him for

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his niche he said, 'O God, I am pleased with him; be Thou pleased with him!' Abdullah b. Masud used to say, 'Would that I had been the man in the grave' (865).

Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri reported from Ibn Ukayma al-Laythi from Ibn Akhl Abl Ruhm al-Ghifari that he heard Abu Ruhm Kulthum b. al-Husayn, who was one of the companions who did homage to the apostle beneath the tree, say: When I made the raid on Tabuk with the apostle I journeyed the night with him. While we were at al-Akhdar near the apostle, God cast a heavy sleep on us and I began to wake up when my camel had come near the apostle's camel. I was afraid that if it came too near his foot would be hurt in the stirrup. I began to move my camel away from him until sleep overcame me on the way. Then during the night my camel jostled against his while his foot was in the stirrup and I was wakened by his voice saying, 'Look out.' I asked his pardon and he told me to carry on. The apostle began to ask me about those who had dropped out from (the) B. Ghifar and I told him. He asked me about the people with long straggling red beards and I told him that they had dropped out. Then he asked about the men with short curly hair and I confessed that I did not know that they were of us. 'But yes,' he said, 'they are those who own camels in Shabakatu Shadakh.' Then I remembered that they were among (the) B. Ghifar, but I did not remember them until I recalled that they were a clan of Aslam who were allies of ours. When I told him this he said, 'What prevented one of these when he fell out from mounting a zealous man in the way of God on one of his camels? The most painful thing to me is that muhajirun from Quraysh and the Ansar and Ghifar and Aslam should stay behind.'

THE OPPOSITION MOSQUE

The apostle went on until he stopped in Dhu Awan a town an hour's daylight journey from Medina. The owners of the mosque of opposition had come to the apostle as he was preparing for Tabuk, saying, 'We have built a mosque for the sick and needy and for nights of bad weather, and we should like you to come to us and pray for us there.' He said that he was on the point of travelling, and was preoccupied, or words to that effect, and that when he came back if God willed he would come to them and pray for them in it.

When he stopped in Dhu Awan news of the mosque came to him, and he summoned Malik b. al-Dukhshum, brother of B. Salim b. Auf, and Maan b. Adiy (or his brother Asim) brother of B. al-Ajlan, and told them to go to the mosque of those evil men and destroy and burn it. They went quickly to B. Salim b. Auf who were Malik's clan, and Malik said to Maan, 'Wait for me until I can bring fire from my people.' So he went in and took a palm-branch and lighted it, and then the two of them ran into the mosque where its people were and burned and destroyed it and the people ran away from it. A portion of the Koran came down concerning them: 'Those who chose a mosque in opposition and unbelief and to cause division among believers' to the end of the passage (Koran 9.108).

The twelve men who built it were: Khidharn b. Khalid of B. Ubayd b. Zayd, one of (the) B. Amr b. Auf; his house opened on to the schismatic mosque; Thalaba b. Hatib of B. Umayya b. Zayd; Muattib b. Qushayr; Abu Habiba b. al-Azar, both of (the) B. Dubaya b. Zayd; Abbad b. Hunayf, brother of Sahl of (the) B. Ar b. Auf; Jarmiya b. Amir and his two sons Mujammi and Zayd; Nabtal b. al-Harith; Bahzaj; and Bijad b. Uthman, all of B. Dubaya; and Wadia b. Thabit of (the) B. Umayya b. Zayd, the clan of Abu Lubaba b. Abdul-Mundhir.

The apostle's mosques between Tabuk and Medina are well known and named. They are the mosques in Tabuk; Thaniyatu Midran; Dhatul-Zirab; al-Akhdar; Dhatul-Khitmi; Ala; beside al-Batra' at the end of Kawakih (In Yaqut al-Kawakih.); Shiqq, Shiqq Tara; Dhul-Jifa; Sadr Hauda; al-Hijr; al-Said; the wadi known today as Wadi'l-Qura; al-Ruq'a of Shiqqa, the Shiqqa of (the) B. Udhra; Dhul-Marwa; Fayfa; and Dhu Khushub.

THE THREE MEN WHO ABSTAINED FROM THE RAID ON TABUK

When the apostle came to Medina he found that some disaffected persons had stayed behind. Among them were three Muslims who had not held back through doubt or disaffection, namely Kab b. Malik, Murara b. al-Rabi, and Hilal b. Umayya. The apostle told his companions not to speak to these three. The disaffected who had stayed behind came and made excuses with oaths and he forgave them, but neither God nor His apostle accepted their excuse. The Muslims withdrew from these three and would not speak to them (Tabari: 1705 until God sent down His word concerning them). (Koran 9.118-120).

Mohammed b. Muslim b. Shihab al-Zuhri from Abdul-Rahman b. Abdullah b. Kab b. Malik said that his father, wrhom he used to lead about when his sight failed, said: I heard my father Ka'b telling his story of how he held back from the apostle in his raid on Tabuk, and the story of his two companions:

I had never held back from any raid the apostle had undertaken except the battle of Badr, and that was an engagement which none was blamed either by God or His apostle for missing because the apostle had gone out only to find the Quraysh caravan when God brought him and his enemies together without previous intent. I was present with the apostle at al-Aqaba when we pledged our faith in Islam, and I should not prefer to have been at Badr rather than there even if the battle of Badr is more famous. The fact was that when I stayed behind in the raid on Tabuk I had never been stronger and wealthier. Never before had I possessed two camels. Seldom did the apostle intend a raid but he pretended that he had another objective except on this occasion. He raided it in violent heat and faced a long journey and a powerful enemy and told men what they had to do so that they might make adequate provision, and he told them the direction he intended to take. The Muslims who followed him were many and he did not enrol them in a book. (He meant by that a register; he did not enrol them in a written register). The few who wanted to absent themselves thought that they could conceal it from him as long as no revelation came down from God about it. The apostle made that raid when the fruits were ripe and shade was desirable so that men were averse from it. The apostle made his preparations and the Muslims likewise, and I would go to get ready with them and come back not having done what was necessary, saying to myself, 'I can do that when I want to,' and I continued procrastinating until the men had acted with energy and in the morning they and the apostle had gone while I had made no preparation. I thought that I could get ready a day or two later and then join them. Day after day passed and I had done nothing until the raiders had gone far ahead and still I thought of going and overtaking and I wish that I had done so but I did not. After the apostle had gone when I went about among the men it pained me to see only those who were accused of disaffection or a man whom God had excused because of his helpless women. The apostle did not remember me until he reached Tabuk when he asked, as he was sitting among the men, what had become of me. One of the B. Salima said that my fine clothes and conceit of my appearance kept me at home. Muadh b. Jabal said that that was an evil thing to say and that they knew nothing but good of me. But the apostle was silent.

When I heard that the apostle was on his way back from Tabuk I was smitten with remorse and began to think of a lie I could tell to escape from his anger and get some of my people to support me in it; but when I heard that he was near at hand falsehood left me and I knew that I could only escape by telling the truth, so I determined to do so. In the morning the apostle entered Medina and went into the mosque and after performing two rakas he sat down to await the men. Those who had stayed behind came and began to make excuses with oaths—there were about eighty of them—and the apostle accepted their public declarations and oaths and asked the divine forgiveness for them, referring their secret thoughts to God. Last of all I came and saluted him and he smiled as one who is angry. He told me to come near, and when I sat before him he asked me what had kept me back, and had I not bought my mount. I said, 'O apostle of God, were I sitting with anyone else in the world I should count on escaping his anger by an excuse, for I am astute in argument. But I know that if I tell you a lie today you will accept it and that God will soon excite your anger against me; and yet if I tell you the truth which will make you angry with me, I have hopes that God will reward me for it in the end. Indeed, I have no excuse. I was never stronger and richer than when I stayed behind.' The apostle said, 'So far as that goes you have told the truth, but get up until God decides about you.' So I got up and some of B. Salima rose in annoyance and followed me, saying, 'We have never known you do wrong before, and you were unable to excuse yourself to the apostle as the others who stayed behind did. It would have sufficed if the apostle had asked pardon for your sin.' They kept at me until I wanted to go back to the apostle and give the lie to myself. Then I asked them if any others were in the same case and they said that there were two men who had said what I had said, and they got the same answer. They were Murara b. al-Rabi al-Amri of B. Amr b. Auf, and Hilal b. Abu Umayya al-Waqifi, two honest men of exemplary character. When they mentioned them I was silent. The apostle forbade anyone to speak to us three out of those who had stayed behind, so men avoided us and showed an altered demeanour, until I hated myself and the whole world as never before. We endured this for fifty nights. As for my two companions in misfortune they were humiliated and stayed in their houses, but I was younger and hardier, so I used to go out and attend prayers with the Muslims, and go round the markets while no one spoke to me; and I would go to the apostle and salute him while he sat after prayers, asking myself if his lips had moved in returning the salutation or not; then I would pray near him and steal a look at him. When I performed my prayer he looked at me, and when I turned towards him he turned away from me. When I had endured much from the harshness of the Muslims I walked off and climbed over the wall of Abu Qatada's orchard. He was my cousin and the dearest of men to me. I saluted him and by God he did not return my saldm so I said, 'O Abu Qatada, I adjure you by God, do you not know that I love God and His apostle?'; but he answered me not a word. Again I adjured him and he was silent; again, and he said, 'God and His apostle know best.' At that my eyes swam with tears and I jumped up and climbed over the wall.

In the morning I walked in the market and there was one of the Nabati traders from Syria who came to sell food in Medina asking for me. When he asked for me the people pointed me out to him, and he came and gave me a letter from the king of Ghassan which he had written on a piece of silk which read as follows: 'We hear that your master has treated you badly. God has not put you in a house of humiliation and loss, so come to us and we will provide for you.' When I read it I thought that this too was part of the ordeal. My situation was such that a polytheist hoped to win me over; so I took the letter to the oven and burned it.

Thus we went on until forty of the fifty nights had passed and then the apostle's messenger came to me and told me that the apostle ordered that I should separate myself from my wife. I asked whether this meant that I was to divorce her, but he said No, I was to separate myself and not approach her. My two companions received similar orders. I told my wife to rejoin her family until such time as God should give a decision in the matter. The wife of Hilal came to the apostle and told him that he was an old man, lost without a servant, was there any objection to her serving him? He said there was not provided that he did not approach her. She told the apostle that he never made a movement towards her and that his weeping was so prolonged that she feared that he would lose his sight. One of my family suggested that I should ask for similar permission from the apostle, but I declined to do so because I did not know what he would say in reply since I was a young man. Ten more nights passed until fifty nights since the apostle had forbidden men to speak to us were complete. I prayed the morning prayer on the top of one of our houses on the morn of the fiftieth night in the way that God had prescribed. The world,

spacious as it is, closed in on us and my soul was deep distressed (The language is borrowed from Sura 9. 119 v.i.). I had set up a tent on the top of a crag and I used to stay there when suddenly I heard the voice of a crier coming over the top of the crag shouting at the top of his voice 'Good news, Kab b. Malik!' I fell down prostrate, knowing that relief had come at last.

The apostle announced God's forgiveness when he prayed the dawn prayer and men went off to tell us the good news. They went to my two fellows with the news and a man galloped off to me on a horse, and a runner from Aslam ran until he came over the mountain, and the voice was quicker than the horse. When the man whom I had heard shouting the good news came, I tore off my clothes and gave them to him as a reward for good tidings, and by God at the time I had no others and had to borrow more and put them on. Then I set off towards the apostle and men met me and told me the good news and congratulated me on God's having forgiven me. I went into the mosque and there was the apostle surrounded by men. Talha b. Ubaydullah got up and greeted me and congratulated me, but no other muhajir did so. (Ka'b never forgot this action of Talha's.)

When I saluted the apostle he said as his face shone with joy, 'This is the best day of your life. Good news to you!' I said, 'From you or from God?' 'From God, of course,* he said. When he told good news his face used to be like the moon, and we used to recognise it. When I sat before him I told him that as an act of penitence I would give away my property as alms to God and His apostle. He told me to keep some of it for that would be better for me. I told him that I would keep my share in Khaybar booty, and I said, 'God has saved me through truthfulness, and part of my repentance towards God is that I will not speak anything but the truth so long as I live; and by God I do not know any man whom God has favoured (Cf. 318.4. 'tested' is a possible alternative.) in speaking the truth since I told the apostle that more graciously than He favoured me. From the day I told the apostle that to the present day I never even purposed a lie, and I hope that God will preserve me for the time that remains.'

God sent down: 'God has forgiven the prophet and the emigrants and the helpers who followed him in the hour of difficulty after the hearts of a party of them had almost swerved; then He forgave them. He is kind and merciful to them and to the three who were left behind' as far as the words 'And be with the truthful (Koran 9.118).'

Kab said: 'God never showed me a greater favour after He had guided me to Islam than when I told the apostle the truth that day so that I did not lie and perish like those who lied; for God said about those who lied to him when He sent down the revelation "They will swear to you by God when you return to them that you may turn from them. Do turn from them for they are unclean and their resting place is hell, in reward for what they have earned. They swear to you that you may be satisfied with them, and if you are satisfied with them God is not satisfied with an evil people (Koran 9.96).'"

We three were kept back from the affair of those from whom the apostle accepted an apology when they swore an oath to him and he asked forgiveness for them. And the apostle postponed our affair until God gave His judgement, and

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about that God said, 'And to the three who were left behind (Koran 9.119).'

When God used the word khullifu it had nothing to do with our holding back from the raid, but to his holding us back and postponing our affair from those who swore to him and made excuses which he accepted.

THE ENVOYS OF THAQIF ACCEPT ISLAM, 9 A.H.

The apostle returned from Tabuk in Ramadan and in that month the deputation of Thaqif came to him.

When the apostle came away from them Urwa b. Masud al-Thaqafi followed him until he caught up with him before he got to Medina, and accepted Islam. He asked that he might go back to his people as a Muslim, but the apostle said;—so his people say—'They will kill you,' for the apostle knew the proud spirit of opposition that was in them. Urwa said that he was dearer to them than their firstborn (866).

He was a man who was loved and obeyed and he went out calling his people to Islam and hoping that they would not oppose him because of his position among them. When he went up to an upper room and showed himself to them after he had invited them to Islam and shown his religion to them they shot arrows at him from all directions, and one hit him and killed him. The B. Malik allege that one of their men killed him; his name was Aus b. Auf, brother of (the) B. Salim b. Malik. The Ahlaf allege that one of their men from (the) B. Attab b. Malik called Wahb b. Jabir killed him. It was said to Urwa, 'What do you think about your death?' He said, 'It is a gift which God has honoured me with and a martyrdom which God has led me to. I am like the martyrs who were killed with the apostle before he went away from you; so bury me with them.' They did bury him with them and they allege that the apostle said about him, 'Among his people he is like the hero of Ya Sin among his people (Koran 36.19).'

Thaqif delayed some months after the killing of Urwa. Then they took counsel among themselves and decided that they could not fight the Arabs all around them, who had paid homage and accepted Islam.

Yaqub b. Utba b. al-Mughira b. al-Akhnas told me that Amr b. Umayya, brother of (the) B. Ilaj, was not on speaking terms with Abdu Yalil b. Amr and there was bad feeling between them. Amr was a most crafty man and he walked to Abdu Yalil and entered his dwelling and sent word to him to come out to him. Abdu Yalil expressed great surprise that Amr who was so careful of his life should come to him, so he came out, and when he saw him he welcomed him. Amr said to him: 'We are in an impasse. You have seen how the affair of this man has progressed. All the Arabs have accepted Islam and you lack the power to fight them, so look to your case.' Thereupon Thaqif took counsel and said one to another, 'Do you not see that your herds are not safe; none of you can go out without being cut off.' So after conferring together they decided to send a man to the apostle as they had sent Urwa. They spoke to Abdu Yalil, who was a contemporary of Urwa, and laid the plan before him, but he refused to act, fearing that on his return he would be treated as Urwa was. He said that he would not go unless they sent some men with him. They decided to send two men from al-Ahlaf and three from (the) B. Malik, six in all. They sent with Abdu Yalil, al-Hakam b. Amr b. Wahb b. Muattib, and

Shurahbil b. Ghaylan b. Salima b. Muattib; and from (the) B. Malik, Uthman b. Abul-As b. Bishr b. Abdu Duhman, brother of (the) B. Yasar, and Aus b. Auf, brother of (the) B. Salim b. Auf, and Numayr b. Kharasha b. Rabia, brother of (the) B. al-Harith. Abdu Yalil went with them as leader in charge of the affair. He took them with him only out of fear of meeting the same fate as Urwa and in order that each man on his return could secure the attention of his clan.

When they approached Medina and halted at Qanat they met there al-Mughira b. Shuba whose turn it was to pasture the camels of the apostle's companions, for the companions took this duty in turn. When he saw them he left the camels with the Thaqafis and jumped up to run to give the apostle the good news of their coming. Abu Bakr met him before he could get to the apostle and he told him that riders of Thaqif had come to make their submission and accept Islam on the apostle's conditions provided that they could get a document guaranteeing their people and their land and animals. Abu Bakr implored al-Mughira to let him be the first to tell the apostle the news and he agreed, so Abu Bakr went in and told the apostle while al-Mughira rejoined his companions and brought the camels back. He taught them how to salute the apostle, for they were used to the salutation of paganism. When they came to the apostle he pitched a tent for them near his mosque, so they allege. Khalid b. Said b. al-As acted as intermediary between them and the apostle until they got their document; it was he who actually wrote it. They would not eat the food which came to them from the apostle until Khalid ate some and until they had accepted Islam and had got their document.

Among the things they asked the apostle was that they should be allowed to retain their idol Al-Lat undestroyed for three years. The apostle refused, and they continued to ask him for a year or two, and he refused; finally they asked for a month after their return home; but he refused to agree to any set time. All that they wanted as they were trying to show was to be safe from their fanatics and women and children by leaving her, and they did not want to frighten their people by destroying her until they had accepted Islam. The apostle refused this, but he sent Abu Sufyan b. Harb and al-Mughira b. Shuba to destroy her. They had also asked that he would excuse them from prayer and that they should not have to break their idols with their own hands. The apostle said: 'We excuse you from breaking your idols with your own hands, but as for prayer there is no good in a religion which has no prayers.' They said that they would perform them though it was demeaning.

When they had accepted Islam and the apostle had given them their document he appointed Uthman b. Abul-As over them although he was the youngest of them. This was because he was the most zealous in studying Islam and learning the Koran. Abu Bakr had told the apostle this. Isa (Jesus) b. Abdullah b. Atiya b. Sufyan b. Rabia al-Thaqafi from one of the deputation told me: Bilal used to come to us when we had become Muslims and we fasted with the apostle for the rest of Ramadan, and bring our supper and our breakfast from the apostle. He would come to us in the morning twilight and we would say 'We see that the dawn has risen.'

He would say, 'I left the apostle eating at daybreak, so as to make the dawn meal later (The last clause may be an explanatory gloss from Ibn Ishaq.) and he would bring our evening meal and we would say, 'We see that the sun has not entirely vanished,' and he would say, 'I did not come to you until the apostle had eaten.' Then he would put his hand in the dish and eat from it (867).

Said b. Abu Hind from Mutarrif b. Abdullah b. al-Shakhkhir from Uthman b. Abul-As said: The last thing the apostle enjoined on me when he sent me to Thaqif was to be brief in prayer, to measure men by their weakest members; for there were old and young, sick and infirm among them.

When they had accomplished their task and had set out to return to their country the apostle sent with them Abu Sufyan and al-Mughira to destroy the idol. They travelled with the deputation and when they neared al-Taif, al-Mughira wanted to send on Abu Sufyan in advance. The latter refused and told him to go to his people while he stayed in his property in Dhul-Haram (Ibn Hisham here has bidhil-hadam, but the true reading given above is in Tabari 1692.1. There is no doubt about this because the rhyming word of the saj given in Yiq. iv. 960 requires the letter r.). When al-Mughira entered he went up to the idol and struck it with a pickaxe. His people the B. Muattib stood in front of him fearing that he would be shot or killed as Urwa had been. The women of Thaqif came out with their heads uncovered bewailing her and saying:

O weep for our protector
Poltroons would neglect her
Whose swords need a corrector (868).

Abu Sufyan, as al-Mughira smote her with the axe, said 'Alas for you, alas!' When al-Mughira had destroyed her and taken what was on her and her jewels he sent for Abu Sufyan when her jewellery and gold and beads had been collected.

Now Abu Mulayh b. Urwa and Qarib b. al-Aswad had come to the apostle before the Thaqif deputation when Urwa was killed, desiring to separate themselves from Thaqif and to have nothing to do with them. When they became Muslims the apostle said to them, 'Take as friends whom you will,' and they said, 'We choose God and His apostle.' The apostle said, 'and your maternal uncle Abu Sufyan b. Harb,' and they said, 'Even so.'

When the people of al-Taif had accepted Islam and the apostle had sent Abu Sufyan and al-Mughlra to destroy the idol, Abu Mulayh b. Urwa asked the apostle to settle a debt his father had incurred from the property of the idol. The apostle agreed and Qarib b. al-Aswad asked for the same privilege for his father. Now Urwa and al-Aswad were full brothers. The apostle said, 'But al-Aswad died a polytheist.' He answered, 'But you will be doing a favour to a Muslim a near relation,' meaning himself; 'the debt is only incumbent on me and from me it is required.' The apostle ordered Abu Sufyan to satisfy the debts of 'Urwa and al-Aswad from the property of the idol, and when al-Mughira had collected its money he told Abu Sufyan that the apostle had ordered him to satisfy these debts thus, and he did so.

The text of the document the apostle wrote for them runs: 'In the name of God the Compassionate the Merciful. From Mohammed the prophet, the apostle of God, to the believers: The acacia trees of Wajj (A place in al-Taif.) and its game are not to be injured. Anyone found doing this will be scourged and his garments confiscated. If he repeats the offence he will be seized and brought to the prophet Mohammed. This is the order of the prophet Mohammed, the apostle of God.' Khalid b. Said has written by the order of the apostle Mohammed b. Abdullah, so let none repeat the offence to his own injury in what the apostle of God Mohammed has ordered.

ABU BAKR LEADS THE PILGRIMAGE, 9 A.H.

The apostle remained there for the rest of the month of Ramadan and Shawwal and Dhul-Qada. Then he sent Abu Bakr in command of the hajj in the year 9 to enable the Muslims to perform their hajj while the polytheists were at their pilgrimage stations. Abu Bakr and the Muslims duly departed.

A discharge came down permitting the breaking of the agreement between the apostle and the polytheists that none should be kept back from the temple when he came to it, and that none need fear during the sacred month. That was a general agreement between him and the polytheists; meanwhile there were particular agreements between the apostle and the Arab tribes for specified terms. And there came down about it and about the disaffected who held back from him in the raid on Tabuk, and about what they said (revelations) in which God uncovered the secret thoughts of people who were dissembling. We know the names of some of them, of others we do not. He said: (Koran 9: This chapter is a commentary on it.) 'A discharge from God and His apostle towards those polytheists with whom you made a treaty,' i.e. those polytheists with whom you made a general agreement. 'So travel through the land for four months and know that you cannot escape God and that God will put the unbelievers to shame. And a proclamation from God and His apostle to men on the day of the greater pilgrimage that God and His apostle are free from obligation to the polytheists,' i.e. after this pilgrimage. 'So if you repent it will be better for you; and if you turn back know that you cannot escape God. Inform those who disbelieve, about a painful punishment except those polytheists with whom you have made a treaty,' i.e. the special treaty for a specified term, 'since they have not come short in anything in regard to you and have not helped anyone against you. So fulfil your treaty with them to their allotted time. God loves the pious. And when the sacred months are passed,' He means the four which he fixed as their time, 'then kill the polytheists wherever you find them, and seize them and besiege them and lie in wait for them in every ambush. But if they repent and perform prayer and pay the poor-tax, then let them go their way. God is forgiving, merciful. If one of the polytheists,' i.e. one of those whom I have ordered you to kill, 'asks your protection, give it him so that he may hear the word of God; then convey him to his place of safety. That is because they are a people who do not know.'

Then He said: 'How can there be for the polytheists' with whom you had a general agreement that they should not put you in fear and that you would not put them in fear neither in the holy places nor in the holy months 'a treaty with God and His apostle except for those with whom you made a treaty at the sacred mosque?' They were the tribes of (the) B. Bakr who had entered into an agreement with (the) Quraysh on the day of al-Hudaybiya up to the time agreed between the apostle and Quraysh. It was only this clan of (the) Quraysh who had broken it. They were al-Dil of (the) B. Bakr b. Wail who had entered into the agreement of (the) Quraysh. So he was ordered to fulfil the agreement with those of (the) B. Bakr who had not broken it, up to their allotted time. 'So long as they are true to you be true to them. God loves the pious.'

Then He said: 'And how, if when they have the upper hand of you,' i.e. the polytheists who have no agreement up to a time under the general agreement with the polytheists 'they regard not pact or compact in regard to you' (869).

'They satisfy you with their lips while their hearts refuse. Most of them are wrongdoers. They have sold the revelations of God for a low price and debarred (men) from His way. Evil is that which they are wont to do. They observe neither pact nor compact with a believer. Those are the transgressors,' i.e. they have transgressed against you. 'But if they repent and perform prayer and pay the poor tax, then they are your brothers in religion. We make clear the revelations for a people who have knowledge.'

Hakim b. Hakim b. Abbad b. Hunayf from Abu Jafar Mohammed b. Ali told me that when the discharge came down to the apostle after he had sent Abu Bakr to superintend the hajj, someone expressed the wish that he would send news of it to Abu Bakr. He said, 'None shall transmit it from me but a man of my own house.' Then he summoned Ali and said: 'Take this section from the beginning of "The Discharge" and proclaim it to the people on the day of sacrifice when they assemble at Mina. No unbeliever shall enter Paradise, and no polytheist shall make pilgrimage after this year, and no naked person shall circumambulate the temple. He who has an agreement with the apostle has it for his appointed time (only). Ali went forth on the apostle's slit-eared camel and overtook Abu Bakr on the way. When Abu Bakr saw him he asked whether he had come to give orders or to convey them. He said 'to convey them.' They went on together and Abu Bakr superintended the hajj, the Arabs in that year doing as they had done in the heathen period. When the day of sacrifice came Ali arose and proclaimed what the apostle had ordered him to say, and he gave the men a period of four months from the date of the proclamation to return to their place of safety or their country; afterwards there was to be no treaty or compact except for one with whom the apostle had an

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agreement for a period, and he could have it for that period. After that year no polytheist went on pilgrimage or circumambulated the temple naked. Then the two of them returned to the apostle. This was the Discharge in regard to the polytheists who had a general agreement, and those who had a respite for the specified time.

Then the apostle gave orders to fight the polytheists who had broken the special agreement as well as those who had a general agreement after the four months which had been given them as a fixed time, save that if anyone of them showed hostility he should be killed for it. And He said, 'Will you not fight a people who broke their oaths and thought to drive out the apostle and attacked you first? Do you fear them when God is more worthy to be feared if you are believers? Fight them! God will punish them by your hands, and put them to shame and give you the victory over them and will heal the breasts of a believing people, and He will remove the anger of their hearts and God will relent,' i.e. after that 'towards whom He will, for God is knowing, wise.' 'Or do you think that you will be left (idle) when God does not yet know those of you who bestir yourselves and choose none for friend but God and His apostle and the believers? God is informed about what you do' (870).

Then He mentioned the words of (the) Quraysh, 'We are the people of the sanctuary, the waterers of the pilgrims, and the tenders of this temple and none is superior to us,' and He said: 'He only shall tend God's sanctuaries who believes in God and the last day,' i.e. your tending was not thus. Only those who tend God's sanctuaries means tend them as they ought to be tended 'who believes in God and the last day and performs prayer and pays the poor tax and fears only God,' i.e. those are its tenders, 'perhaps those may be the rightly guided.' 'Perhaps' coming from God means a fact. Then he said: 'Would you make the watering of the pilgrims and the tending of the sacred mosque equal to one who believes in God and the last day and fights in the way of God? They are not equal with God.'

Then comes the story of their enemy until he arrives at the mention of Hunayn and what happened there and their turning back from their enemy and how God sent down help after they had abandoned one another. Then He said (v. 28): 'The polytheists are nothing but unclean (meaning: they are not circumcised, do not obey the halal food law, do not take baths and mix with everyone, etc.), so let them not approach the sacred mosque after this year of theirs, and if you fear poverty' that was because the people said 'the markets will be cut off from us, trade will be destroyed, and we shall lose the good things we used to enjoy,' and God said, 'If you fear poverty God will enrich you from His bounty,' i.e. in some other way, 'if He will. He is knowing, wise. Fight those who do not believe in God and the last day and forbid not that which God and His apostle have forbidden and follow not the religion of truth from among those who have been given the scripture until they pay. the poll tax (Jizya) out of hand being humbled,' i.e. as a compensation for what you fear to lose by the closing of the markets. God gave them compensation for what He cut off from them in their former polytheism by what He gave them by way of poll tax (Jizya) from the people of scripture (Jews and Christians).

Then He mentioned the two peoples of scripture (Jews and Christians) with their evil and their lies against Him until the words 'Many of the rabbis and monks devour men's wealth wickedly and turn men from the way of God. Those who hoard up gold and silver and do not spend it in the way of God, announce to them a painful punishment.'

Then He mentioned the fixing of the sacred months and the innovations of the Arabs in the matter. Nasi means making profane months which God has declared holy and vice versa. 'The number of the months with God is twelve in the book of God on the day He created heaven and earth. Four of them are sacred; that is the standing religion, so wrong not yourselves therein,' i.e. do not make the sacred profane or the profane sacred as the polytheists did. 'Postponement (of a sacred month)' which they used to practise 'is excess of infidelity whereby those who disbelieve are misled; they allow it one year and forbid it another year that they may make up the number of the months which God has made sacred so that they allow that which God has forbidden, the evil of their deeds seeming good to them. But God does not guide a disbelieving people.'

Then He mentioned Tabuk and how the Muslims were weighed down by it and exaggerated the difficulty of attacking the Romans when the apostle called them to fight them; and the disaffection of some; then how the apostle upbraided them for their behaviour in Islam. God said, 'O you who believe, what was the matter with you that when it was said to you, Go forth in the way of God you were weighed down to the earth' then as far as His words 'He will punish you with a painful punishment and choose a people other than you' to the words 'if you do not help him still God helped him when those who disbelieve drove him out the second of two when the twain were in the cave.'

Then He said to His prophet, mentioning the disaffected: 'Had it been a near adventure and a short journey they would have followed you, but the long distance weighed upon them. And they will swear by God, Had we been able we would have set forth with you. They destroy themselves, God knowing that they are liars,' i.e. that they were able. 'May God forgive you. Why did you give them leave (to stay behind) before those who told the truth were plain to you and you knew the liars?' as far as the words 'Had they gone forth with you they would have contributed naught but trouble and have hurried about among you seeking to cause sedition among you there being among you some who would have listened to them' (871).

Among the men of high standing who asked his permission (to stay behind) according to my information were 'Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Salul and al-Jadd b. Qays. They were nobles among their people and God kept them back because He knew that if they went forth with him they would cause disorder in his army, for in the army were men who loved them and would obey them in anything they asked because of their high standing among them. God said: 'And among them are some who would have listened to them, and God knows about the evil-doers. In the past they sought to cause sedition,' i.e. before they asked your ermission, 'and overturned your affairs,' i.e. to draw away your companions from you and to frustrate your affair 'until the truth came and God's command. became manifest though they were averse'. Of them is he who said, Give me permission (to stay behind) and tempt me not. Have they not fallen into temptation already?' The one who said that according to what we were told was al-Jadd b. Qays, brother of (the) B. Salima, when the apostle called him to war with the Romans. Then the account goes on to the words 'If they were to find a refuge or caverns or a place to enter they would have turned to it with all speed. And of them is he who defamed you in the matter of alms. If they are given some they are content; but if they are not given some they are enraged,' i.e. their whole aim, their satisfaction, and their anger, are concerned with their worldly life.

Then He explained and specified to whom alms should be given: 'Alms are only for the poor and needy and the collectors of it and for those whose hearts are to be won, and to free captives and debtors, and for the way of God and for the wayfarer as an ordinance from God and God is knowing, wise.'

Then He mentioned their duplicity and their vexing the apostle and said: 'And of them are those who vex the prophet and say, He is an ear. Say: an ear of good for you, who believes in God and is faithful to the believers and a mercy for those of you who believe. There is a painful punishment for those who vex (anger, annoy) God's apostle.' According to my information the man who said those words was Nabtal b. al-Harith, brother of (the) B. Amr b. Auf, and this verse came down about him because he used to say 'Mohammed is only an ear. If anyone tells him a thing he believes it.' God said, 'Say: An ear of good to you,' i.e. he hears good and believes it.

Then He said, 'They swear by God to you to please you, but God and His apostle have more right that they should please Him if they are believers.' (The syntax of this verse is forced and it is probable that some early scribe wrote warasuluhu mechanically.)

Then He said, 'If you ask them they will say We were but talking and jesting. Say: Do you scoff at God and His signs and His apostle?' as far as the words 'If We pardon a party of you We will punish a party.' The one who said these words was Wadi'a b. Thabit, brother of (the) B. Umayya b. Zayd of (the) B. Amr b. Auf. The one who was pardoned, according to my information, was Mukhashshin b. Humayyir al-Ashjai, an ally of (the) B. Salima, because he disapproved of what he heard them saying.

The description of them continues to the words, 'O prophet, fight the unbelievers and disaffected, and deal roughly with them. Their abode is hell, an evil resting-place. They swear by God that they did not say it but they did say the word of unbelief and disbelieved after their Islam and planned what they could not attain. They sought revenge only because God and His apostle had enriched them from His bounty' to the words 'no friend and no helper.' The one who said those words was al-Julas b. Suwayd b. Samit, and a man of his family called Umayr b. Sad reported them and he denied that he had said them and swore an oath by God. But when the Koran came down concerning them he repented and changed his mind. His repentance and his state became excellent as I have heard. Then He said, 'And of them is he who made a covenant with God: If He gives us of His bounty we will give alms and become of the righteous.' The ones who made a covenant with God were Thalaba b. Hatib and Muattib b. Qushayr, both of (the) B. Amr b. Auf.

Then He said, 'Those who defame such of the believers as give freely in alms and such as can only give their efforts and scoff at them, God will scoff at them and they will have a painful punishment.' The believers who freely gave alms were Abdul-Rahman b. Auf and Asim b. Adiy, brother of (the) B. Ajlan, because the apostle incited and urged men to almsgiving. Abdul-Rahman arose and gave 4,000 dirhams, and 'Asim arose and gave 100 loads of dates, and they defamed them and said, 'This is nothing but ostentation.' The man who gave in alms all he could was Abu Aqil, brother of (the) B. Unayf, who brought a measure of dates and cast it all into the alms. They laughed at him saying, 'God can do without Abu Aqil's paltry measure.'

Then He mentioned what they said one to another when the apostle ordered war and the expedition to Tabuk in great heat and sterile conditions. 'They said, Go not forth in the heat. Say: The fire of hell is much hotter did you but understand. But let them laugh a little and weep much' as far as the words 'and let not their wealth and children astonish you.'

Al-Zuhri from Ubaydullah b. Abdullah b. Utba from b. Abbas said: I heard 'Umar saying, 'When Abdullah b. Ubayy died the apostle was called to pray over him; and when he went and stood by him about to pray I changed my position so as to confront him and said "Are you going to pray over God's enemy 'Abdullah b. Ubayy, the man who said so-and-so on such-and-such occasions?" The apostle smiled when I had made a long story and said, "Get behind me, Umar. I have been given the choice and I have chosen. It was said to me, 'Ask pardon for them or ask it not. If you ask pardon for them seventy times God will not pardon them.' Did I know that if I added to the seventy he would be forgiven I would add thereto." Then he prayed over him and walked with him till he stood over his grave until he was disposed of. I was astonished at myself and my boldness when God and His apostle know best. It was not long before these two verses came down "And never pray for any one of them who dies and do not stand by his grave for they disbelieved in God and His apostle and died as evil-doers." Afterwards the apostle never prayed over a disaffected person until the day of his death.' Then He said: 'And when a sura is sent down: Believe in God and strive along with His apostle, men of wealth among them asked your permission (to stay behind).' Ibn Ubayy was one of them and God upbraided him for it, then He said: 'But the apostle and those who believe with him strive with their wealth and their lives; for them are the good things; they are the successful. God has prepared for them gardens beneath which rivers flow wherein they shall abide for ever; that is the great triumph. And the excuse-offering Bedouin came to ask leave and those who disbelieved God and His apostle stayed at home' to the end of the account. The men with excuses so I have heard were a number of (the) B. Ghifar among whom was Khufaf b. Ayma b. Rahada; He goes on with the story of these to the words 'nor to those who when they came to you to mount them you said I cannot find a beast on which to mount you, turned back, their eyes flowing with tears for grief that they could not find the wherewithal to spend.' Those were the weepers.

Then He said: 'The way (of blame) is only against those who asked leave, they being rich. They wanted to be with the women. God sealed their hearts and they do not know.' The khawalif were the women. Then He mentioned their oath and their excuse to the Muslims and said, 'Turn away from them' to His words 'And if you are satisfied with them God will not be satisfied with an evil people.'

Then He mentioned the Bedouin and the disaffected among them and how they waited for (the discomfiture of) the apostle and the believers: 'And of the Bedouin there is he who regards what is spent,' i.e. of the alms or expenses in the way of God 'as a tax and awaits evil fortune for you. The evil fortune will be theirs and God is hearing, knowing.'

Then He mentioned the sincere and faithful Bedouin among them and said: 'And of the Bedouin there is he who believes in God and the last day and regards what he spends and the prayers of the apostle as acceptable offerings with God. It is an acceptable offering for them.'

Then He mentioned the first emigrants and helpers and their merit and the goodly reward which God promised them. Then he joined with them their later followers in goodness and He said, 'God is pleased with them and they are pleased with Him.' Then He said: 'And of the Bedouin round you there are the disaffected and of the people of Medina there are those who are stubborn in disaffection,' i.e. persist in it and refuse to be otherwise; 'we shall punish them twice.' The punishment with which God threatened them twice according to my information is their grief over their position in Islam and their inward rage at not getting a (heavenly) reward; then their punishment in the grave when they get there; then the great punishment to which they will be brought, the punishment of hell eternally. Then He said: 'And there are others who acknowledged their faults. They mixed a good deed with another that was bad; perhaps God will relent towards them, for He is forgiving, merciful.'

Then He said, 'Take alms from their wealth wherewith to purify and cleanse them' to the end of the passage. Then He said: 'And there are others who are postponed to God's decree; either He will punish them or relent towards them.' They are the three who were left in abeyance and the apostle postponed their case until their forgiveness came from God. Then He said, 'And as for those who chose a mosque out of opposition' to the end of the passage. Then He said: 'God has bought from the believers their lives and their wealth for the Garden that will be theirs.' Then comes the narrative dealing with Tabuk to the end of the chapter. In the time of the prophet and

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afterwards Baraa was called al-Muba-thira (Cf. Koran 82.4 and 100.9) because it laid bare the secret thoughts of men. Tabuk was the last raid that the apostle made.

THE POETRY OF HASSAN ENUMERATING THE BATTLES

Hassan b. Thabit, enumerating the battles and campaigns in which the Ansar fought in company with the apostle, said: (872)

Am I not the best of Ma'add in family and tribe (S. explains that Hassan who was not of Maadd meant men in general and says 'Maadd' because of their great number.)
If all of them be reckoned and counted?
A people all of whom witnessed Badr with the apostle
Neither falling short nor deserting.
They gave him their fealty, not one betrayed it,
And there was no deceit in their plighted word.
On the day when in the glen of Uhud
Well-aimed blows blazing like a hot fire met them
And the day of Dhu Qarad when dust rose above them as they rode
They did not flinch nor fear.
At Dhul-Ushayra they overrode them with the apostle
Armed with sword and spear.
At Waddan they drove out its people
Galloping along till hill and mountain stopped us.
And the night when they sought their enemy for God's sake
(And God will reward them for what they did).
And the raid on Najd, where with the apostle
They gained much spoil and booty.
And the night in Hunayn when they fought with him
He gave them a second taste of combat.
And the raid of al-Qa when we scattered the enemy
As camels are scattered before their drinking-place.
They were the people who paid him homage
To the point of war—they succoured him and left him not.
In the raid on Mecca they were on guard among his troops
Neither light-minded nor hasty.
At Khaybar they were in his squadron
Each man walking like a hero facing death
With swords quivering in their right hands
Sometimes bent through striking, sometimes straight.
The day the apostle went to Tabuk seeking God's reward
They were his first standard-bearers.
They had the conduct of war if it seemed good to them
Until advance or retreat seemed the best.
Those are the people, the prophet's Ansar,
And they are my people—to them I belong when my descent is searched.
They died honourably, faith unbroken,
And when they were killed it was for God's sake (873).

Hassan also said:
We were kings of men before Mohammed
And when Islam came we had the superiority.
God the only God honoured us with
Bygone days that have no parallel
In our help to God and His apostle and His religion,
And God has given us a name which has no equal.
Those people of mine are the best of all people.
Whatever is counted good my people are worthy of it.
They surpass all their predecessors in generosity
And the way to their generosity is never barred.
When men come to their assemblies they do not behave unseemly,
Nor are they mean when asked for a gift.
They arc inimitable in war and peace.
To fight them is death; to make peace ease.
Their sojourner's house is high and inaccessible.
While staying with us he enjoys respect and hospitality.
If one of them assumes a debt he pays it
Without defaulting or running into debt.
He who speaks speaks the truth,
Their clemency is constant, their judgement just.
He whom the Muslims trusted while he lived (Sad b. Muadh according to A.Dh.)
And he whom the angels* washed of his impurity were of us (874).
(* The word generally rendered 'apostles'. The story of Hanzala has been given above.)

Hassan also said:
These are my people if you ask,
Generous when a guest arrives.
Large are the cooking-pots for the gamesters
Wherein they cook the fat-humped camels.
They give the sojourner a life of plenty
And protect their friend when he is wronged.
They were kings in their lands,
They call for the sword when injustice is flagrant (Another reading is 'they display anger'.).
They were kings over men—never by others
Have they been ruled even for a short time.
Tell (Or, 'They told', etc.) about Ad and its peoples:
Of Thamud and the survivors of Iram,
Of Yathrib where they had built forts among the palms
And cattle were housed there,
Watering camels which the Jews trained
Saying, Off with you, and Come!
They had what they wanted of wine and pleasure,
An easy life free of care.
We came to them with our equipment
On our white war-loving camels;
Beside them we led war-horses
Covered with thick leather.
When we halted on the sides of Sirar (A mountain at Medina.)
And made fast the saddles with twisted ropes
They were scared by the speed of the horses
And the sudden attack from the rear.
They fled swiftly in terror
As we came on them like lions of the jungle
On our long, carefully tended mares
Which were not out of condition from long stabling.
Dark bays, spirited,
Strong jointed like arrows,
Carrying horsemen accustomed to fighting warriors
And to smiting down brave foes;
Kings when (others) behaved as tyrants in the land,
Never retreating but always advancing.
We came back with their leading men
And their women and children also were divided among the victors.
We inherited their houses when they had gone
And remained there as owners.
When the rightly guided apostle brought us the truth
And light after darkness
We said, 'You speak the truth, O God's apostle;
Come and dwell with us.
We bear witness that you are the slave of God
Sent in light with an upright religion.
We and our children are a protection for you
And our wealth is at your disposal (Act as a judge in our affairs [or property].).
Such are we if others give you the lie,
So shrink not from proclaiming aloud,
Proclaim what you have hidden
Openly without concealing it.'
The erring ones came with their swords
Thinking that he would be slain.
We attacked them with our swords,
Fighting the miscreants of the peoples in his defence
With our brightly polished swords
Fine-edged, biting, cutting.
When they encountered hard bones
They did not recoil or become blunted.
Such have our nobles bequeathed us
In ancestral glory and proud fame.
When one passes another takes his place
And he leaves a scion when he dies.
There is none who is not indebted to us,
Though he may have been disloyal (875).

THE YEAR OF THE DEPUTATIONS, 9 A.H.

When the apostle had gained possession of Mecca, and had finished with Tabuk, and Thaqif had surrendered and paid homage, deputations from the Arabs came to him from all directions (876).

In deciding their attitude to Islam the Arabs were only waiting to see what happened to this clan of (the) Quraysh and the apostle. For (the) Quraysh were the leaders and guides of men, the people of the sacred temple, and the pure stock of Ishmael son of Abraham; and the leading Arabs did not contest this. It was (the) Quraysh who had declared war on the apostle and opposed him; and when Mecca was occupied and (the) Quraysh became subject to him and he subdued them to Islam, and the Arabs knew that they could not fight the apostle or display enmity towards him they entered into God's religion 'in batches' as God said, coming to him from all directions. God said to His prophet: 'When God's help came and the victory, and you saw men entering into God's religion in batches, then glorify God with praise and ask His pardon for He is most forgiving,' (Koran 110. For a criticism of this translation [demanded by Ibn Ishaq's exegesis] and of Ibn Ishaq's explanation sec Suhayli in loc.) i.e. praise God for His having made your religion victorious, and ask His pardon, for He is most forgiving.

THE COMING OF THE DEPUTATION OF THE BANU TAMIM

Then deputations of Arabs came to the apostle. There came to him Ujarid b. Hajib b. Zurara b. Udus al-Tamimi among the nobles of (the) B. Tamim including al-Aqra b. Habis and al-Zibriqan b. Badr one of (the) B. Sad, and Amr b. al Ahtam and al-Habhab b. Zayd (877).

And in the deputation of (the) B. Tamim were Nuaym b. Yazid and Qays b. al-Harith and Qays b. Asim brother of (the) B. Sad with a great deputation from (the) B. Tamim (878). With them was Uyayna b. Hisn b. Hudhayfa b. Badr al-Fazari.

Al-Aqra and Uyayna had been with the apostle at the occupation of Mecca and Hunayn and al-Taif, and when the deputation came they were among them. When the deputation entered the mosque they called out to the apostle who was behind in his private apartments, 'Come out to us, Mohammed!' This loud call annoyed the apostle and he came out to them, and they said, 'Mohammed, we have come to compete with you in boasting, so give permission to our poet and our orator.' The apostle did so, and Utarid b. Hajib got up and said:

'Praise belongs to God for His favour to us and He is worthy to be praised, who has made us kings and given us great wealth wherewith we are generous, and has made us the strongest people of the east and the greatest in number, and the best equipped, so who among mankind is our equal? Are we not the princes of men and their superiors? He who would compete with us let him enumerate what we have enumerated. If we wished we could say more, but we are too modest to say much of what He has given us and are well known for that. I say this that you may bring forward the like and anything better.' Then he sat down. The apostle said to Thabit b. Qays b. al-Shammas, brother of (the) B. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj, 'Get up and answer the man's speech'; so Thabit got up and said:

'Praise belongs to God Who created heaven and earth and established His rule therein, and His knowledge includes His throne; nothing exists but by His bounty. By His power He made us kings and chose the best of His creation as an apostle, and honoured him with lineage, made him truthful in speech, and favoured him with reputation, and sent down to him His book and entrusted him with it above (all) that He had created. He was God's choice from the worlds. Then He summoned men to believe in him, and the emigrants from his people and his kinsmen believed in God's apostle; the most noble men in reputation, the highest in dignity, and the best in deeds. The first of creatures to answer and respond to God when the apostle called them were ourselves. We are God's helpers and the assistants of His apostle, and will fight men until they believe in God; and he who believes in God and His apostle has protected his life and property from us; and he who disbelieves we will fight in God unceasingly and killing him will be a small matter to us. These are my words and I ask God's pardon for myself and the believers both men and women. Peace upon you (During his regency in Medina, Mohammed fought 96 battles to make Islam supreme. He was by no means anything like an Islamic Jesus. When he died after ten years, the entire Arabian peninsula was Islamic. No Jew, Christian, or other non-Muslim survived when they not totally surrendered to him. Within this context, a phrase like 'Peace upon you' sounds at least cynical.).'

(Tabari: Then they said, 'Give permission to our poet to speak' and he did so,) and al-Zibriqan got up and said:
We are the nobles, no tribe can equal us.
From us kings are born and in our midst churches are built.
How many tribes have we plundered,
For excellence in glory is to be sought after.
In time of dearth we feed our meat to the hungry
When no rain cloud can be seen.
You can see chiefs coming to us from every land,
And we feed them lavishly.
We slaughter fat-humped young camels as a matter of course;
Guests when they come are satisfied with food.
You will see whenever we challenge a tribe's superiority
They yield and abandon leadership (Lit. 'become as a head that is cut off'.).
He who challenges us we know the result:
His people withdraw and the news is noised abroad.
We forbid others but none forbid us.
Thus we are justly exalted in pride (879).

Hassan was absent at the time and the apostle sent a messenger to tell him to come and answer the B. Tamim's poet. Hassan said, As I went to the apostle I was saying:
We protected God's apostle when he dwelt among us
Whether Maadd liked it or not.

We protected him when he dwelt among our houses
With our swords against every evil wretch
In a unique house whose glory and wealth
Is in Jabiyatul-Jaulan among the foreigners.
Is glory aught but ancient lordship and generosity,
The dignity of kings and the bearing of great burdens?

When I came to the apostle and the tribal poet had said his say, I made allusions to what he had said on the same pattern. When al-Zibriqan had finished the apostle said to Hassan, 'Get up and answer the man,' and Hassan arose and said:
The leaders of Fihr and their brothers
Have shown a way of life to be followed.
Everyone whose bean is devout
And does all manner of good approves them.

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Such a people when they fight injure their enemies
Or gain the advantage of their adherents which they seek.
Such is their nature—no recent habit.
(The worst of characteristics is innovation.)
If there are men who surpass those who come after them
Then they would be behind the last of them.
Men do not repair what their hands have destroyed in fighting,
Nor destroy what they have repaired.
If they compete with others they take the lead.
If weighed against men famous for liberality they send down the scale.
Chaste men whose chastity is mentioned in revelation,
Undefiled, no impurity can injure them.
Not mean with their wealth towards the sojourner
And no stain of covetousness touches them.
When we attack a tribe we do not go softly to them
Like a calf running to the wild cow.
We rise up when the claws of war reach us
When good-for-naughts are humbled by its nails.
They do not boast when they overcome their enemy,
And if they are beaten they are not weak nor despairing.
In battle when death is at hand
They are like lions in Halya with crooked claws.
Take what you can get if they are enraged
And seek not what they have forbidden.
To fight them is to meet poison and bane
So do not antagonise them.
How noble the people who have God's apostle with them (Rasulullahi shiatuhum.)
When sects and parties differ!
My heart sings their praises
Aided in its beloved task by an eloquent and ready tongue,
For they are the best of all creatures
In matters grave and gay (merry) (880).

When Hassan had ended al-Aqra said: 'By my father, this man has a ready helper. His orator and his poet are better than ours and their voices are sweeter (So C. [ahla]. Wellhausen has ala 'rise above ours'.) than ours.' In the end they accepted Islam and the apostle gave them valuable gifts.

They had left Amr b. al-Ahtam behind with their camels, he being the youngest of them. Qays b. Asim, who hated Amr, said, 'O apostle of God, there is one of our men with the camels, a mere youngster,' and he spoke disparagingly of him. But the apostle gave him the same as he gave the others. When Amr heard that Qays had said that, he satirised him thus:

You exposed yourself to contempt when you defamed me to the apostle.
You were a liar and spoke not the truth.
(T. You may hate us, for Roman is your origin
But Rome does not hold hatred for the Arabs.)
We ruled you with a wide authority, but your authority
Is that of one sitting on his behind and showing his teeth!*
(* i.e. a dog. In Tabari 1717 the verse runs: "We ruled and our authority is ancient, but your authority Is behind at the root of the rump and the tail".

If we may suppose that there is a play on the word aud which should be read as ud and understood as a synonym of qadib [cf. Ibn Tufayl, Hayy b. Yaqzan, 85], it is easy to see why Ibn Hisham cut out one verse and bowdlerised the next.) (881)

Concerning them the Koran came down: 'Those who call you from behind the private apartments most of them have no sense.'

(* Tabari has '"Those of the Banu Tamim who call you from behind the private apartments have no sense" and that is the preferable reading.' Koran 49.4. Cf. Wellhausen, Muhammed in Medina, 387.)

THE STORY OF AMIR B. AL-TUFAYL AND ARBAD B. QAYS

Among the deputation from B. Amir was Amir b. al-Tufayl and Arbad b. Qays b. Jaz b. Khalid b. Jafar, and Jabbar b. Salma b. Malik b. Jafar. These three were the chiefs and leaders of the tribe.

Amir, the enemy of God (Tabari omits this label.), came to the apostle intending to kill him treacherously. His people had urged him to accept Islam because others had done so, but he said: 'I have sworn that I will not stop until the Arabs follow me. Am I to follow in the steps of this fellowr from (the) Quraysh?' Then he said to Arbad: 'When we get to the man I will distract his attention from you, and when I do that smite him with your sword.' When they got to the apostle Amir said, 'Mohammed, come apart with me.' (A less likely meaning, as the commentators point out, is 'make friends with me".) He replied, 'No, I will not until you believe in God alone (This is the same uncompromising and arrogant attitude that also the ancient Messianic Movement from Qumran held.).' He repeated the request and went on talking to him expecting that Arbad would do as he had told him but he remained inactive. He again repeated his request and got the same answer. When the apostle refused he said, 'By God I will fill the land against you with horses and men.' When they went away the apostle said, 'O God, rid me of Amir b. al-Tufayl.' On their way back Amir said to Arbad, 'Confound you, Arbad, why did you not do what I ordered? By God there is no man on the face of the earth whom I fear more than you, but by God I shall never fear you after today.' He answered, 'Do not be hasty with me. Whenever I tried to get at him as you ordered, you got in the way so that I could see only you. Was I to smite you with the sword?'

(Tabari 1747: Amir b. al-Tufayl said:

The apostle sent word about what you know and it was as though
We were making a planned raid on the squadrons
And our worn-out horses had brought us to Medina
And we had killed the Ansar in its midst.)

As they were on their way back God sent a bubonic plague in Amir's neck, and God killed him in the house of a woman of B. Salul. He began to say, 'O Banu Amir, A boil like the boil of a young camel in the house of a woman of Banu Salul! (These words are proverbial; see Freytag, Prov. ii. 172.) (882)'

When they had buried him his companions returned to the B. Amir country to winter and the people asked Arbad what had happened. 'Nothing, by God,' he said; 'he asked us to worship something. I wish he were here now and I would kill him with an arrow.' A day or two after saying this he went out with his camel behind him and God sent on him and his camel a thunderbolt which consumed them. Arbad was brother of Labid b. Rabia by the same mother (883).

Labid said, weeping Arbad:
The fates spare none,
Neither anxious father nor son.
I feared a violent death for Arbad
But I did not fear the blow of Pisces and Leo.
O eye, why do you not weep for Arbad
Since we and the women rise in sorrow?
If men blustered he took no notice,
If they were moderate in judgement he showed moderation.
Sweet, astute, withal in his sweetness bitter,
Gentle in bowels and liver.
O eye, why do you not weep for Arbad
When the winter winds strip the leaves from the trees
And make pregnant camels milkless
Until the last few drops appear? (He was)
Bolder than a man-eating lion in his thicket.
Eager for fame and far-seeing.
The eye could not see as far as it wished
The night the horses came weak from the battle.
Who sent the mourning-women among his mourners
Like young gazelles in a barren land.
The lightning and thunderbolts distressed me
For the brave knight on the day of misfortune.
Who spoiled the spoiler to repay the spoiled
Who came to him distressed and if he asked for more he gave it;
Liberal when times were bad
As the gentle spring rain that waters the grass.
All sons of a freewoman must become few
However many she bare.
Envied though they be, they must fall;
Though they hold authority one day they must perish and die (884).

Labid also said:
Gone is the guard and protector
Who saved her from shame on the day of battle.
I was sure we had parted (for ever) the day they said,
Arbad's property is being divided by lot.'
The shares of the heirs fly off in double and single lots
And authority (Another explanation of zaama is 'the beat of the inheritance'.) goes to the young man.
Bid farewell to Abu Hurayz with a blessing,
Though farewell to Arbad brings little of that.
You were our leader and organiser,
For beads must be held together by a string;
And Arbad was a warlike knight
When the howdahs with their coverings were overthrown;
When in the morning the women were carried pillion
With faces unveiled and legs bare;
On that day men fled to him for safety
As a man at large flees to the sanctuary.
He who came to Arbad's cooking-pot praised it
And those who had much meat were not reproached.
If a woman were his guest
She had gifts and a share of the best meat;
If she stayed she was honoured and respected;
If she went forth 'twas with a kind farewell.
Have you ever heard of two brothers who endured for ever
Save the two sons of Shamam? (Two mountains.)
Or the two stars of the polar region and the Great Bear (Ursa Mayor)
Everlasting, their destruction unthinkable (In Brockelmann's edition the poem [xviii] has 31 verses. The text in Chalidi, p. 17, is in better sequence.).

Labid also said:
Announce to the noble the death of noble Arbad,
Announce the death of the chief, the kind-hearted,
Giving away his wealth that he might gain praise,
Camels like wild untamed cows,
Abundant in virtues if they were reckoned,
Who filled the platter again and again.
Whenever a poor man came he ate at will
As when a lion finds water in a dry land.
The more he is threatened the nearer he comes.
You have left us no paltry inheritance,
And wealth newly acquired and sons,
Youths like hawks, young men, and beardless boys.

Labid also said:
You will never exhaust the good deeds of Arbad, so weep for him continually.
Say, He was the protecting warrior when armour was donned.
He kept wrong-doers from us when we met insolent enemies.
The Lord of creation took him away since He saw there was no long stay on earth.
He died painlessly without hurt and he is sorely missed.

Labid also said:
Every bitter opponent whose way seemed harmful reminds me of Arbad.
If they were fair, then he was nobly fair: if they were unfair so was he.
He guided the people carefully when their guide went astray in the desert (885).

Labid also said:
I went walking after (the death of) Salma b. Malik
And Abu Qays and Urwa like a camel whose hump is cut off. (By its starving owners in their hunger.)
When it sees the shadow of a raven it shoos it away
Anxious for the rest of its spine and sinews (886).

THE COMING OF DIMAM B. THALABA AS A DEPUTY FROM THE BANU SAD B. BAKR

The B. Sad b. Bakr sent one of their men called Dimam b. Thalaba to the apostle. Mohammed b. al-Walid b. Nuwayfi from Kurayb client of Abdullah b. Abbas from Ibn Abbas told me: When the B. Sad sent Dimam to the apostle he came and made his camel kneel at the door of the mosque, hobbled it, and went into the mosque where the apostle was sitting with his companions. Now pimam was a thickset hairy man with two forelocks. Me came forward until he stood over the apostle and said, 'Which of you is the son of Abdul-Muttalib?' The apostle said that he was. 'Are you Mohammed?' he asked. When he said that he was he said, 'O son of Abdul-Muttalib, I am going to ask you a hard question, so don't take it amiss.' The apostle told him to ask what he liked and he would not take it amiss and he said, 'I adjure you by God your God and the God of those before you and the God of those who will come after you, has God sent you to us as an apostle?' 'Yes, by God He has,' he replied. He then adjured him to answer the questions. 'Has He ordered you to order us to serve Him alone and not to associate anything with Him and to discard those rival deities which our fathers used to worship along with Him; and to pray these five prayers; then the ordinances of Islam one by one, alms, fasting, pilgrimage, and all the laws of Islam?' At the end he said: 'I testify that there is no God but Allah and I testify that Mohammed is the apostle of God, and I will carry out these ordinances, and I will avoid what you have forbidden me to do; I will neither add to, nor diminish from them.' Then he went back to his camel. The apostle said, 'If this man with the two forelocks is sincere he will go to Paradise.'

The man went to his camel, freed it from its hobble, and went off to his people, and when they gathered to him the first thing he said was, 'How evil are al-Lat and al-Uzza!' (The expression may have a coarser meaning.) 'Heavens above, Dimam,' they said, 'beware of leprosy and elephantiasis and madness!' He said: 'Woe to you, they can neither hurt nor heal. God has sent an apostle and sent down to him a book, so seek deliverance thereby from your present state; as for me, I bear witness that there is no God but the one God who is without associate*, and that Mohammed is His slave and apostle. (* This is a sideswipe against Roman mainstream Christianity in which Jesus has been declared a God accompanied even by a third god, the so-called 'Holy Spirit', an act which clearly violates the 1st of Moses' Commandments 'Thou shalt not take any God except one God' [Exodus 20: 1-17 & Deuteronomy 5: 6-21] which we also find in the Koran 47.19: 'There is no God except one God. From the Christian doctrine of the Trinity origins the main theological conflict between Islam and Christianity. Most Christians are not aware that their Trinity has its origin in the Roman Imperial Cult in which Julius

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Caesar was the Father, Augustus Caesar the Son and the Holy Pantheon was the third part. This tradition was renewed by the Flavian Dynasty. The conflict between Islam and Judaism had no theological rift as origin but a political power struggle between the Jewish Messianic Movement and Mohammed's conquering Islam that treatened to replace the Jewish Messianic Movement.) I have brought you what He has commanded you to do and what He has ordered you not to do.'

And by God before the night was over there was not a man or woman in the tribe who had not become a Muslim. Abdullah b. Abbas said: We have never heard of a representative of a tribe finer than Pimam b. Thalaba.

THE COMING OF AL-JARUD IN THE DEPUTATION FROM ABDUL-QAYS

Al-Jarud b. Amr b. Hanash, brother of Abdul-Qays, came to the apostle (887).

One of whom I have no suspicion told me from al-Hasan that when he came to the apostle he spoke to him, and the apostle explained Islam to him and invited him to enter it with kindly words. He replied: 'Mohammed, I owe a debt. If I leave my religion for yours will you guarantee my debt?' The apostle said, 'Yes, I guarantee that what God has guided you to is better than that', so he and his companions accepted Islam. Then he asked the apostle for some mounts, but he told him that he had none available. Al-Jarud pointed out that there were some stray beasts lying between Medina and his country and could he not ride away on them? He replied, 'No, beware of them, for that would lead to hell fire.'

Al-Jarud went off to his own tribe, a good Muslim, firm in his religion until his death, having lived to the time of the Apostasy. And when some of his people who had become Muslims returned to their former religion with al-Gharur* b. al-Mundhir b. al-Numan b. al-Mundhir, al-Jarud got up and spoke and confessed his faith and called them to Islam. (* According to S. his name was al-Mundhir and he got the name of 'The Deceiver' because he misled (gharra) his people in the Apostate Wars that happened due to Mohammed's death.) He pronounced the shahdda and declared that he would regard anyone who refused to do likewise as an infidel (888).

The apostle had sent al-Ala b. al-Hadrami to al-Mundhir b. Sawa al-Abdi before the conquest of Mecca, and he became a good Muslim. He died after the apostle but before the apostasy of the people of al-Bahrayn. Al-Ala was with him as governor for the apostle over al-Bahrayn.

THE DEPUTATION FROM BANU HANIFA WITH WHOM WAS MUSAYLIMA

The deputation of (the) B. Hanifa came to the apostle bringing with them Musaylima b. Habib al-Hanafi, the arch liar (889). They lodged in the house of d. al-HSrith, a woman of the Ansar of (the) B. al-Najjar. One of the scholars of Medina told me that (the) B. Hanifa brought him to the apostle hiding him in garments. The apostle was sitting among his companions having a palm-branch with some leaves on its upper end. When he came to the apostle as they were covering him with garments he spoke to him and asked him (for a gift). The apostle answered: 'If you were to ask me for this palm branch (Tabari: which I hold) I would not give it to you.'

A shaykh (sheik) of (the) B. Hanifa from the people of al-Yamama told me that the incident happened otherwise. He alleged that the deputation came to the apostle having left Musaylima behind with the camels and the baggage. When they had accepted Islam they remembered where he was, and told the apostle that they had left a companion of theirs to guard their stuff. The apostle ordered that he should be given the same as the rest, saying, 'His position is no worse than yours,' i.e. in minding the property of his companions. That is what the apostle meant.

Then they left the apostle and brought him what he had given him. When they reached al-Yamama the enemy of God apostatised, gave himself out as a prophet, and played the liar. He said, 'I am a partner with him in the affair,' and then he said to the deputation who had been with him, 'Did he not say to you when you mentioned me to him "His position is no worse than yours"? What can that mean but that he knows that I am a partner with him in the affair?' Then he began to utter rhymes in saj and speak in imitation of the style of the Koran: 'God has been gracious to the pregnant woman; He has brought forth from her a living being that can move; from her very midst.' He permitted them to drink wine and fornicate, and let them dispense with prayer, yet he was acknowledging the apostle as a prophet, and Hanifa agreed with him on that. But God knows what the truth was.

ZAYDUL-KHAYL COMES WITH THE DEPUTATION FROM TAYYI

The deputation of Tayyi containing Zaydul-Khayl who was their chief came to the apostle, and after some conversation he explained Islam to them and they became good Muslims. A man of Tayyi whom I have no reason to suspect told me that the apostle said, 'No Arab has ever been spoken of in the highest terms but when I have met him I have found that he falls below what was said of him except Zaydul-Khayl, and he exceeds all that has been said about him.' Then the apostle named him Zaydul-Khayr and allotted to him Fayd and some lands with it and gave him a deed accordingly.

As Zayd went back to his tribe the apostle said that he hoped he would escape the Medina fever. The apostle did not call it Humma or Umm Maldam; my informant could not say what. When he reached one of the watering-places of Najd called Farda the fever overcame him and he died. When he felt his end coming he said:

Are my people to travel eastwards tomorrow
While I am to be left in a house in Farda in Najd?
How often if I were sick would women visit me
If not worn out by the journey at least tired.

When he was dead his wife got the deeds which the apostle had given him and burnt them in the fire.

ADIY B. HATIM

I have been told that Adiy b. Hatim used to say, 'No Arab disliked the apostle when he first heard of him more than I. Now I was a chief of noble birth, a Christian, and I used to travel about among my people to collect a quarter of their stock. I was my own master in religious matters and was a king among my people and treated as such. When I heard of the apostle I disliked him and said to an Arab servant of mine who was looking after my camels, "Prepare some of my well-trained, well-fed camels, and keep them near me, and when you hear of Mohammed's army coming into this country bring me word (a report)." One morning he came to me and said, "Whatever you are going to do when Mohammed's cavalry comes upon you, do it now, for I have seen flags and I learn that they are the troops of Mohammed." I ordered him to bring my camels and I put my family and children on them and decided to join my fellow Christians in Syria. I went as far as al-Jaushiya (890) and I left one of Hatim's daughters in the settlement. When I reached Syria I stopped there.

In my absence the apostle's cavalry came and among the captives they took was Hatim's daughter, and she was brought to the apostle among the captives of Tayyi. The apostle had heard of my flight to Syria. Hatim's daughter was put in the enclosure by the door of the mosque in which the captives were imprisoned and the apostle passed by her. She got up to meet him, for she was a courteous woman, and said, 'O apostle of God, my father is dead and the man who should act for me* has gone. (* I doubt if wafid means 'visitor' as A.Dh., followed by C. asserts, or 'clan' as Qdmus, s.v., Uyun, ii, 239, quoted in Tabari 1708, reports that some scholars find the word meaningless and its explanation far-fetched. See Tabari Gloss.) If you spare me God will spare you.' He asked her who her man was and when she told him it was Adiy b. Hatim he exclaimed, 'The man who runs away from God and His apostle.' Then he went on and left her. Exactly the same thing happened the next day, and on the following day she was in despair. Then a man behind him motioned to her to get up and speak to him. She said the same words as before and he replied, "I have done so, but do not hurry away until you find one of your people whom you can trust who can take you to your country, then let me know." I asked the name of the man who had beckoned to me to speak and was told that it was Ali. I stayed until some riders came from Bali or Qudaa. All I wanted was to go to my brother in Syria. I went to the apostle and told him that some trustworthy man of reputation from my people had come for me. The apostle gave me clothing and put me on a camel and gave me money and I went away with them until I came to Syria.

Adiy said: 'I was sitting among my people when I saw a howdah making for us and I said "It is Hatim's daughter" and so it was, and when she got to me she reviled me, saying, 'You evil rascal, you carried away your family and children and abandoned your father's daughter.' I said, "Do not say anything that is bad, little sister, for by God I have no excuse. I did do what you say." Then she alighted and stayed with me; and as she was a discreet woman I asked her what she thought of this man and she said, "I think that you should join him quickly, for if the man is a prophet then those who get to him first will be preferred ; and if he is a king you will not be shamed in the glory of al-Yaman, you being the man you are." I said that this was a sound judgement so I went to the apostle when he was in his mosque in Medina and saluted him and told him my name and he got up to take me to his house. As we were making for it there met him an old feeble woman who asked him to stop and he stopped for a long time while she told him of her needs. I said to myself "This is no king." Then he took mc into his house and took hold of a leather cushion stuffed with palm leaves and threw it to me saying, "Sit on that." I said, "No, you sit on it," and he said "No, you!" So I sat on it and he sat on the ground. I said to myself, "This is not the way a king behaves." Then he said, "Now 'Adiy, are you not half a Christian ?" (Rakusi is defined as a man midway between a Christian and a Sabi [a Sabaean, a Gnostic, a Mandaean, or a Manichaean whose religion bore similarities to Christianity but did not follow the doctrines of the Roman Church.], that is a which latter, as we have seen, means a man who changes his religion. Thus 'Adiy would seem to be, like so many of the Arabs at this time, a convert but not a practising Christian in the full sense.) When I said that I was he said, "Do not you go among your people collecting a quarter of their stock?" When I admitted that he said: "But that is not permitted to you in your religion." "Quite true," I said, and I knew that he was a prophet sent by God knowing what is not generally known. Then he said, "It may well be that the poverty you see prevents you from joining this religion but, by God, wealth will soon flow so copiously among them that there will not be the people to take it. But perhaps it is that you see how many are their enemies and how few they are? But, by God, you will hear of a woman coming on her camel from Qadisiya to visit this temple* unafraid (* The words imply the Kaaba at Mecca and the next paragraph makes this certain. As the conversation is said to have taken place in Medina the authenticity of the tradition is suspect, unless hadha means no more than 'yon'. L.H.: The word 'temple' was normal to use in early Islam because Islam is based on Judaism. We just need to take a look into the Koran and the first thing that strikes us are the many Jewish names. Many Arabs, including Mohammed, can trace back their origin to those Jews who survived the Roman-Jewish Wars as they have fled into Arab territories.). But perhaps it is that you see that others have the power and sovereignty, but by God you will soon hear that the white castles of Babylon have been opened to them." Then I became a Muslim.'

Adiy used to say that the two things happened and the third remained to be fulfilled. I saw the white castles of Babylon laid open and I saw women coming from Qadisiya on camels unafraid to make the pilgrimage to this temple; and, by God, the third will come to pass: wealth will flow until there will not be the people to take it.

THE COMING OF FARWA B. MUSAYK AL-MURADI

Farwa b. Musayk al-Muradi came to the apostle, separating himself from the kings of Kinda. Shortly before Islam there had been a battle between Murad and Hamdan in which the former suffered a severe defeat, losing many men in the engagement called al-Radm (Tabari: al-Razm). The leader of Hamdan was al-Ajda b. Malik (891).

Farwa said about the battle:

They passed by Lufat (In Murad territory.) with sunken eyes
Tugging at the reins as they turned to one side.
If we conquer we were conquerors of old
And if we are conquered we were not often conquered.
Cowardice is not our habit,
But our fate and the fortune of others (caused our defeat).
Thus fate's wheel turns
Now for and now against a man.
While we are happy and rejoice in it,
Though we have enjoyed its favour for years,
Suddenly fate's wheel is turned
And you find those who were envied ground to pieces.
Those whom men envy for fate's favours
Will find time's changes deceitful.
If kings were immortal we should be so;
And if the noble persisted so should we;
But the chiefs of my people are swept away
Like the generations before them (892).

When Farwa set out to go to the apostle, leaving the kings of Kinda, he said:

When I saw the kings of Kinda had failed to go right,
Like a man whose leg sinew lets him down,
I brought up my camel to go to Mohammed
Hoping for its welfare and good ground (893).

When he reached the apostle he asked him, so I have been told, 'Are you upset at what befell your people on the day of al-Radm?' He answered that such a tribal defeat as that would distress any man, and the apostle said that if that were so Islam could bring them only good. The prophet appointed him governor over Murad and Zubayd and Madhhij and sent with him Khalid b. Said b. al-As in charge of the poor tax; he remained with him in his land until the death of the apostle.

THE COMING OF MADIKARIB FROM THE BANO ZUBAYD

Amr b. Madikarib came to the apostle with some men of (the) B. Zubayd and accepted Islam. He had said to Qays b. Makshuh al-Muradi when news of the apostle reached them, 'You are the chief of your tribe, Qays. We have heard that a man of (the) Quraysh called Mohammed has appeared in the Hijaz claiming to be a prophet, so come with us so that we may find out the facts. If he is a prophet as he says, it will be apparent to you and when we meet him we will follow him. If he is not a prophet we shall know.' But Qays refused and declared his advice to be folly. Thereupon Amr rode off to the apostle and accepted Islam. When Qays heard of this he was enraged and threatened Amr, saying that he had gone against him and rejected his advice. Amr said concerning that:

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I gave you an order on the day of Dhu Sana,
An order that was plainly right.
I ordered you to fear God and to practise goodness.
You went off after pleasure like a young ass
Whose lust beguiled him.
He wished to meet me on a horse on which I sat as a lion
Wearing a loose coat of mail glittering like a pool
On hard ground which makes the water clear.
Mail that turns back the lances with bent points
With broken shafts flying apart.
Had you met me you would have met a lion with flowing mane.
You would meet a ravening beast
With mighty paws and lofty shoulders
Matching his adversary whom he overthrows if he makes for him:
Seizes him, picks him up, throws him down and kills him;
Dashes out his brains and shatters him;
Tears him in pieces and devours him,
Admitting none a share in the prey his teeth and claws hold fast (894).

Amr stayed with his people the B. Zubayd while Farwa b. Musayk was over them. When the apostle died Amr revolted, and said:

We have found Farwa's rule the worst of rules,
An ass sniffing at a female ass.
If you were to look at Abu Umayr
You would think he was a caul with its filthy discharge (895)

AL-ASHATH B. QAYS COMES WITH THE DEPUTATION OF KINDA

Al-Ashath b. Qays came to the apostle with the deputation of Kinda. Al-Zuhri told me that he came with eighty riders from Kinda and they went in to the apostle in the mosque. They had combed their locks and blackened their eyes with kohl (coal), and they wore striped robes bordered with silk. The apostle asked them if they had accepted Islam and when they said that they had he asked why this silk was round their necks. So they tore it off and threw it away.

Then al-Ashath said, 'We are the sons of the eater of bitter herbs and so are you.' The apostle smiled and said that to al-Abbas b. Abdul-Muttalib and Rabia b. al-Harith that ancestry was attributed. These two men were merchants and when they went about among the Arabs and were asked who they were they would say that they were sons of the eater of bitter herbs, taking pride in that because Kinda were kings. Then he said to them, 'Nay, we are the sons of al-Nadr b. Kinana: we do not follow our mother's line and disown our father.' (This throws light on Robertson Smith's theory of a primitive matriarchy in ancient Arabia.) Al-Ashath said 'Have you finished (Tabari: Do you know), O men of Kinda? By God if I hear a man saying that (Tabari: after today) I will give him eighty strokes' (896).

THE COMING OF SURAD B. ABDULLAH AL-AZDI

Surad came to the apostle and became a good Muslim with the deputation from al-Azd. The apostle put him in command of those of his people who had accepted Islam and ordered him to fight the neighbouring polytheists from the tribes of the Yaman (Yemen) with them. Surad went away to carry out the apostle's orders and stopped at Jurash, which at that time was a closed town containing some of the tribes of the Yaman. Khatham had taken refuge with them and entered it when they heard of the approach of the Muslims. The latter besieged them for about a month, but they could not force an entry. Surad withdrew as far as one of their mountains (now) called Shakar, and the inhabitants of Jurash, thinking that he had fled from them, went out in pursuit of him, and when they overtook him he turned on them and killed a large number of them.

Now the people of Jurash had sent two of their men to the apostle in Medina to look about them and see (what was happening), and while they were with the apostle after the afternoon prayer he asked where Shakar was. The two men got up and told him that there was a mountain in their country called Kashar by the people of Jurash, to which he replied that it was not Kashar but Shakar. 'Then what is the news of it? -they asked.

'Victims offered to God are being killed there now,' he said. The two men went and sat with Abu Bakr or it may have been Uthman and he said, 'Woe to you! the apostle has just announced to you the death of your people, so get up and ask him to pray to God to spare your people.'

They did so, and he did so pray. They left the apostle and returned to their people and found that they had been smitten on the day that Surad attacked them on the very day and at the very hour in which the apostle said these words.

The deputation of Jurash came to the apostle and accepted Islam and he gave them a special reserve' round their town with definite marks for horses, riding camels, and ploughing oxen. The cattle of any (other) man who pastured it could be seized with impunity. One of the Azd in reference to that raid said: (Khatham used to assail Azd in pagan times and attack them in the sacred month):

What a successful raid we had! Mules, and horses and asses.
Until we came to Himyar with its forts
Where Khatham had been given full warning.
If I could satisfy the rancour I feel
I should not care whether they were Muslims or heathen.

THE DEPUTATION OF THE KINGS OF HIMYAR

On his return from Tabuk a messenger brought a letter from the kings of Himyar (The old word hima, meaning a sacred area, has lost its force here.) with their acceptance of Islam: al-Harith b. Abdu Kulal, and Nuaym b. Abdu Kulal, and al-Numan prince of Dhu Ruayn and Maafir and Hamdan. Zura Dhu Yazan sent Malik b. Murra al-Rahawi with their submission to Islam and abandonment of polytheism and its adherents. Then the apostle wrote to them: 'In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful, from Mohammed the apostle of God, the prophet, to al-Harith b. Abdu Kulal and to Nuaym b. Abdu Kulal (Bal. 71 adds 'and to Sharb b. Abdu Kulal' and omits all words after 'Hamdan' as far as 'polytheists'.) and to al-Numan prince of Dhu Ruayn and Maafir and Hamdan. I praise God the only God unto you. Your messenger reached me on my return from the land of the Byzantines and he met us in Medina and conveyed your message and your news and informed us of your Islam and of your killing the polytheists. God has guided you with His guidance. If you do well and obey God and His apostle and perform prayer, and pay alms, and God's fifth of booty and the apostle's share and selected part (i.e. the part he chooses as his before the property is divided.), and the poor tax which is incumbent on believers from land, namely a tithe of that watered by fountains and rain; of that watered by the bucket a twentieth; for every forty camels a milch camel; for every thirty camels a young male camel; for every five camels a sheep; for every ten camels two sheep; for every forty cows one cow; for every thirty cows a bull calf or a cow calf; for every forty sheep at pasture one sheep. This is whafc God has laid upon the believers. Anyone who does more it is to his merit. He who fulfils this and bears witness to his Islam and helps the believers against the polytheists he is a believer with a believer's rights and obligations and he has the guarantee of God and His apostle. If a Jew or a Christian becomes a Muslim he is a believer with his rights and obligations. He who holds fast to his religion, Jew or Christian, is not to be turned (Tabari: seduced) from it. He must pay the poll tax—for every adult, male or female, free or slave, one full dinar calculated on the valuation of Maafir (Tabari: or its value) or its equivalent in clothes. He who pays that to God's apostle has the guarantee of God and His apostle, and he who withholds it is the enemy of God and His apostle.

'The apostle of God, Mohammed the prophet, has sent to Zura Dhu Yazan: When my messenger Muadh b. Jabal, and Abdullah b. Zayd, and Malik b. Ubada, and Uqba b. Nimr, and Malik b. Murra and their companions come to you I commend them to your good offices. Collect the alms and the poll tax from your provinces and hand them over to my messengers. Their leader is Muadh b. Jabal, and let him not return unless satisfied. Mohammed witnesses that there is no God but Allah and that he is His servant and apostle.

'Malik b. Murra al-Rahawi has told me that you were the first of Himyar to accept Islam and have killed the polytheists, and I congratulate you and order you to treat Himyar well and not to be false and treacherous, for the apostle of God is the friend both of your poor and your rich. The alms tax is not lawful to Mohammed or his household; it is alms to be given to the poor Muslims and the wayfarer. Malik has brought the news and kept secret what is confidential, and I order you to treat him well. I have sent to you some of the best of my people, religious and learned men, and I order you to treat them well, for they must be respected (A difficult expression. Perhaps 'they are people of importance', or even 'they will be watched', i.e. to see how they fare.). Peace upon you and the mercy and blessings of God.'

THE APOSTLE'S INSTRUCTIONS TO MUADH WHEN HE SENT HIM TO THE YAMAN

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that he was told that when the apostle sent Muadh he gave him instructions and orders and then said: Deal gently and not harshly; announce good news and do not repel people. You are going to one of the people with scripture who will ask you about the key of heaven. Say to them it is the witness that there is no God but Allah, Who has no partner. Muadh went off to the Yaman and did as he was ordered and a woman came to him and said, 'O companion of God's apostle, what rights has a husband over his wife ?' He said, 'Woe to you, a woman can never fulfil her husband's rights, so do your utmost to fulfil his claims as best you can.' She said, 'By God, if you are the companion of God's apostle you must know what rights a husband has over his wife!' He said, 'If you were to go back and find him with his nostrils running with pus and blood and sucked until you got rid of them you would not have fulfilled your obligation.'

FARWA B. AMR AL-JUDHAMI BECOMES A MUSLIM

Farwa b. Amr b. al-Nafira al-Judhami of the clan of Nufatha sent to the apostle that he had accepted Islam, and gave him a white mule. Farwa was governor for the Romans of the Arabs lying near the Roman border based on Maan and the surrounding land of Syria. When the news reached the Romans they went after him, caught him, and imprisoned him. In his imprisonment he said:

Sulayma came to my companions by night
When the Romans were between the door and the water troughs.
The spectre shrank away sad at what it saw,
And I thought to sleep but it had made me weep.
Paint not thine eye with kohl, Salma, after I am dead
And do not approach for intercourse.
You know, Abu Kubaysha, that among the great ones
My tongue is not silent.
If I perish you will miss your brother
And if I live you will recognize my rank,
For I possess the noblest qualities a man can have:

When the Romans determined to crucify him by a pool in Judaea called Afra he said:

Has Salma heard that her husband
Is by the water of Afra raised on a riding camel (The following line makes the point clear.),
A camel whose mother no stallion ever mounted,
Its branches shorn with sickles?
Al-Zuhri alleged
Tell the chiefs of the Muslims that I him he said:

Then they beheaded him and hung him up by that water. May God have mercy on him!

THE BANUL-HARITH ACCEPT ISLAM

Then the apostle sent Khalid b. al-Walld in the month of Rabiul-Akhir or Jumadal-Ula in the year 10 to the B. al-Harith b. Kab in Najran, and ordered him to invite them to Islam three days before he attacked them. If they accepted then he was to accept it from them*; and if they declined he was to fight them. So Khalid set out and came to them, and sent out riders in all directions inviting the people to Islam, saying, 'If you accept Islam you will be safe,' so the men accepted Islam as they were invited. Khalid stayed with them teaching them Islam and the book of God and the sunna of His prophet, for that was what the apostle of God had ordered him to do if they accepted Islam and did not fight*. (* After these words Tabari has 'And stay with them and teach them the book of Clod and the sunna of the prophet and the institutions of Islam'. It looks as if these words had fallen out of Ibn Hisham's recension, unless he deliberately excised them and that he wrote in the clause beginning "for that' which Tabari omits. Clearly one of them is redundant, and the passage in Tabari reads more smoothly. The words 'to stay with them' in Khalid's letter are given by C, not by Wellhausen.)

Then Khalid wrote to the apostle: In the name of God the compassionate, the merciful. To Mohammed the prophet the apostle of God. From Khalid b. al-Walld. Peace be upon you, O apostle of God, and God's mercy and blessings. I praise God the only God unto you. You sent me to the B. al-Harith b. Ka'b and ordered me when I came to them not to fight them for three days and to invite them to Islam; and if they accepted it to stay with them, and to accept it from them and teach them the institutions of Islam, the book of God, and the sunna of His prophet.

And if they did not surrender I was to fight them. I duly came to them and invited them to Islam three days as the apostle ordered me, and I sent riders among them with your message. They have surrendered and have not fought and I am staying among them instructing them in the apostle's positive and negative commands and teaching them the institutions of Islam and the prophet's sunna until the apostle writes to me. Peace upon you, etc.

The apostle wrote to him with the same preamble as before, saying: 'I have received your letter which came with your messenger telling me that the B. al-Harith surrendered before you fought them and responded to your invitation to Islam and pronounced the shahada, and that God had guided them with His guidance. So promise them good and warn them and come. And let their deputation come with you. Peace upon you, etc.

So Khalid came to the apostle with the deputation of (the) B. al-Harith, among whom were Qays b. al-Husayn Dhul-Ghussa, and Yazid b. Abdul-Madan, and Yazid b. al-Muhajjal, and Abduilah b. Qurad al-Ziyadi, and Shaddad b. Abdullah al-Qanani, and Arar b. Abdullah al-Dibabi.

When they came to the apostle he asked who these people who looked like Indians were, and was told that they were the B. al-Harith b. Kab.

When they came to the apostle they said, 'We testify that you are the apostle of God and that there is no God but Allah.' But he said, 'And I testify that there is no God but Allah and that I am the apostle of Allah.' (They had placed man before God. L.H.: With the arrival of Classic Greek and Roman civilisation, the Theocracies got a rival. Before the invention of democracy in Greece, most civilisations were

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ruled by the 'Law of God' and King-Priests. Particularly the Semitic [Poenician, Aramaic, Syriac, Hebrew, Arabic speaking] peoples around the southern and eastern Mediterranean built a kind of powerblock in which the Laws of Moses or similar covenants applied. The monarchies had a double role to play in which religion and politics built a unity. Due to a period of cruel tyranny, the Greeks changed it and created with democracy the 'Law of Man' in which citizens got the power to vote. With the huge conquests of Alexander the Great and the Romans, a clash of civilations began in earnest and it still lasts up to now. Orthodox Judaism and Islam are civilisations in which the 'Law of God' is more important than the 'Law of Man'. The structure of modern society based on the 'Law of Man', is incompatible and even irreconciliable with ultra-orthodox religions such as Islam. In Islam, religion and politics are always closely intertwined. Islam conciders itself to be perfect, and therefore, perfect things cannot be reformed!) Then he said, 'You are the people who when they were driven away pushed forward,' and they remained silent, and none of them answered him. He repeated the words thYee times without getting an answer, and the fourth time Yazid b. Abdul-Madan said, 'Yes, we are,' and said it four times. The apostle said, 'If Khalid had not written to me that you had accepted Islam and had not fought I would throw your heads beneath your feet.' Yazid answered, 'We do not praise you and we do not praise Khalid.' 'Then whom do you praise?' he asked. He said: 'We praise God who guided us by you.' 'You are right,' he said, and asked them how they used to conquer those they fought in the pagan period. They said that they never conquered anyone. 'Nay, but you did conquer those who fought you,' he said. They replied, 'We used to conquer those we fought because we were united and had no dissentients, and never began an injustice.' He said, 'You are right,' and he appointed Qays b. al-Husayn as their leader.

The deputation returned to their people towards the end of Shawwal or at the beginning of Dhul-Qada, and some four months after their return the apostle died.

Now the apostle had sent to them after their deputation had returned Amr b. Hazm to instruct them in religion and to teach them the sunna and the institutions of Islam and to collect their alms; and he wrote him a letter in which he gave him his orders and injunctions as follows: In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful. This is a clear announcement from God and His apostle. O you who believe, be faithful to your agreements (Koran 5.1). The instructions of Mohammed the prophet the apostle of God to Amr b. Hazm when he sent him to the Yaman. He orders him to observe piety to God in all his doings for God is with those who are pious and who do well (Koran 16.128); and he commanded him to behave with truth as God commanded him; and that he should give people the good news and command them to follow it and to teach men the Koran and instruct them in it and to forbid men to do wrong so that none but the pure should touch the Koran and should instruct men in their privileges and obligations and be lenient to them when they behave aright and severe on injustice, for God hates injustice and has forbidden it. 'The curse of God is on the evildoers (Koran 5.1).' Give men the good news of paradise and the way to earn it, and warn them of hell and the way to earn it, and make friends with men so that they may be instructed in religion, and teach men the rites of the hajj, its customs and its obligation and what God has ordered about it: the greater hajj is the greater hajj and the lesser hajj is the umra; and prohibit men from praying in one small garment unless it be a garment whose ends are double over their shoulders, and forbid men from squatting in one garment which exposes their person to the air, and forbid them to twist the hair of the head (Tabari: if it is long) on the back of the neck (i.e. to wear a pigtail; L.H.: as long hair and the pigtail were the hairstyle of Hindus, Buddhists, Sikhs, and other 'unclean and impure' polytheists from India and therefore Muslims consider them dispisable.); and if there is a quarrel between men forbid them to appeal to tribes and families, and let their appeal be to God; they who do not appeal to God but to tribes and families let them be smitten with the sword until their appeal is made to God; and command men to perform the ablutions, their faces, and their hands to the elbows and their feet to the ankles, and let them wipe their heads as God has ordered; and command prayer at the proper time with bowing, prostration, and humble reverence; prayer at daybreak, at noon when the sun declines, in the afternoon when the sun is descending, at even when the night approaches not delaying it until the stars appear in the sky; later at the beginning of the night; order them to run to the mosques when they are summoned, and to wash when they go to them, and order them to take from the booty God's fifth and what alms are enjoined on the Muslims from land—a tithe of what the fountains water (Tabari: the baal waters. Here undoubtedly Tabari and Bal. 70 retain the original text. For the original sense of Baal's land see W. Robertson Smith, Religion of the Semites, pp. 98 f. Probably it means land watered by underground streams. Baal is another Semitic word for 'god'.) and the sky waters, and a twentieth of what the bucket waters; and for every ten camels two sheep; and for every twenty camels four sheep; for every forty cows one cow; for every thirty cows a bull or cow calf; for every forty sheep at grass one sheep; this is what God has enjoined on the believers in the matter of alms. He who adds thereto it is a merit to him. A Jew or a Christian who becomes a sincere Muslim of his own accord and obeys the religion of Islam is a believer with the same rights and the same obligations. If one of them holds fast to his religion he is not to be turned (Tabari: seduced) from it. Every adult, male or female, bond or free, must pay a golden dinar or its equivalent in clothes. He who performs this has the guarantee of God and His apostle; he who withholds it is the enemy of God and His apostle and all believers.

THE COMING OF RIFAA B. ZAYD AL-JUDHAMI

Rifa'a b. Zayd al-Judhami of the clan of al-Pubayb came to the apostle during the armistice of al-Hudaybiya before Khaybar. He gave the apostle a slave and he became a good Muslim. The apostle gave him a letter to his people in which he wrote (I have omitted the introductory formula.):

"To Rifaa b. Zayd whom I have sent to his people and those who have joined them to invite them to God and His apostle. Whosoever comes forward is of the party of God and His apostle, and whosoever turns back has two months' grace".

When Rifaa came to his people they responded and accepted Islam; then they went to al-Harra, the Harra of al-Rajla', and stopped there (897).

THE LIARS MUSAYLIMA AL-HANAFI AND AL-ASWAD AL-ANSI

Now the two arch-liars Musaylima b. Habib and al-Aswad b. Kab al-Ansi had spoken during the apostle's lifetime, the first in al-Yamama among the B. Hanifa, and the second in Sana (Yemen). Yazid b. Abdullah b. Qusayt told

me from Ata b. Yasar, or his brother Sulayman, from Abu Said al-Khudri, saying: 'I heard the apostle as he was addressing the people from his pulpit say "I saw the night of al-qadr and then I was made to forget it; and I saw on my arms two bracelets of gold which I disliked so I blew on them and they flew away. I interpreted it to mean these two liars, the man of al-Yamama and the man of al-Yaman (Yemen).'"

One whom I do not suspect on the authority of Abu Hurayra said: 'I heard the apostle say: The hour will not come until thirty anti-Christs come forth, each of them claiming to be a prophet.'

THE SENDING OUT OF COLLECTORS OF THE POOR-TAX

The apostle sent out his officials and representatives to every district subject to Islam to collect the poor-tax. He sent al-Muhajir b. Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira to Sana, and al-Ansi came out against him while he was there. Ziyad b. Labid, brother of (the) B. Bayada al-Ansari, he sent to Hadramaut. Adiy b. Hatim he sent to Tayyi and B. Asad; Malik b. Nuwayra (898), to (the) B. Hanzala. The poor-tax of (the) B. Sad he divided between two men: Zibriqan b. Badr and Qays b. Asim each to be in charge of a section; al-Ala b. al-IIadraml to al-Bahrayn, and Ali b. Abu Talib to the people of Najran, to collect the poor-tax and to superintend the collection of the poll-tax.

musaylima's letter and the apostle's answer THERETO

Musaylima had written to the apostle: 'From Musaylima* the apostle of God to Mohammed the apostle of God. Peace upon you. I have been made partner with you in authority. To us belongs half the land and to (the) Quraysh half, but (the) Quraysh are a hostile people.' Two messengers brought this letter. (L.H.: Musaylima was an 'apostle' or 'messiah' inspirated by the ancient Messianic Movement. In fact, the where around half a dozen 'prophets' in Arabia and Mesopotamia fighting each other for years. . . . .)

A shaykh (sheik) of Ashja told me on the authority of Salama b. Nuaym b. Masud al-Ashjai from his father Nuaym: I heard the apostle saying to them when he read his letter 'What do you say about it?' They said that they said the same as Musaylima. He replied, 'By God, were it not that heralds* are not to be killed I would behead the pair of you!' Then he wrote to Musaylima: 'From Mohammed the apostle of God to Musaylima the liar. Peace be upon him who follows the guidance (Koran 20.49). The earth is God's. He lets whom He will of His creatures inherit it and the result is to the pious (Koran 7.125).' This was at the end of the year 10. (* L.H.: A herald was an appointed officer who delivered messages from one leader to another. Those heralds were protected by a kind of law code that guaranteed them free movement and protection against robbery and murder.)

THE FAREWELL PILGRIMAGE

In the beginning of Dhul-Qada the apostle prepared to make the pilgrimage and ordered the men to get ready.

Abdul-Rahman b. al-Qasim from his father al-Qasim b. Mohammed from Aisha the prophet's wife told me that the apostle went on pilgrimage on the 25th Dhul-Qada (899).

Neither he nor the men spoke of anything but the pilgrimage, until when he was in Sarif and had brought the victims with him as also some dignitaries had done, he ordered the people to remove their pilgrim garments except those who brought victims. That day my menses were upon me and he came in to me as I was weeping and asked me what ailed me, guessing correctly what was the matter. I told him he was right and said I wished to God that I had not come out with him on the journey this year.

He said (Tabari: Do not do that) 'Do not say that, for you can do all that the pilgrims do except go round the temple.' The apostle entered Mecca and everyone who had no sacrificial victim, and his wives, took off the pilgrim garment. When the day of sacrifice came I was sent a lot of beef and it was put in my house. When I asked what it was they said that the apostle had sacrificed cows on behalf of his wives. When the night that the pebbles were thrown duly came the apostle sent me along with my brother Abdul-Rahman and let me perform the umra from al-Tanim in place of the umra which I had missed.

Nafi, client of Abdullah b. Umar from Abdullah, from Hafsa d. Umar, said that when the apostle ordered his wives to remove the pilgrim garments they asked him what prevented him from doing the same and he said: 'I have sent on my victims and have matted' my hair, but I shall not be free of the ihram until I slaughter my victims.'

Abdullah b. Abu Najih told me that the apostle had sent Ali to Najran (in the South) and met him in Mecca when he was still in a state of ihram. He went in to Fatima the apostle's daughter and found her dressed in her ordinary clothes. When he asked why, she told him that the apostle had ordered his wives so to do. Then he went to the apostle and reported the result of his journey and he told him to go and circumambulate the temple and remove the pilgrim garb as the others had done. He said that he wanted to slaughter a victim as the apostle did. The apostle again told him to remove the pilgrim garb. He replied: 'I said when I put on the pilgrim garb, "O God, I will invoke thy name over a victim as your prophet and your slave and your apostle Mohammed does."' When he asked him if he had a victim he said that he had not, and the apostle gave him a share in his, so he retained the pilgrim garb with the apostle until both of them had completed the pilgrimage and the apostle slaughtered the victim on behalf of them both.

Yahya b. Abdullah b. Abdul-Rahman b. Abu Amra from Yazid b. Talha b. Yazid b. Rukana told me that when Ali came from the Yaman (from Yemen) to meet; the apostle in Mecca he hurried to him and left in charge of his army one of his companions who went and covered every man in the force with clothes from the linen 'AH had. When the army approached he went out to meet them and found them dressed in the clothes. When he asked what on earth had happened the man said that he had dressed the men so that they might appear seemly when they mingled with the people. He told him to take off the clothes before they came to the apostle and they did so and put them back among the spoil. The army showed resentment at their treatment.

Abdullah b. Abdul-Rahman b. Mamar b. Hazm from Sulayman b. Mohammed b. Kab b. Ujra from his aunt Zaynab d. Kab who was married to Abu Said al-Khudri, on the authority of the latter told me that when the men complained of Ali the apostle arose to address them and he heard him say: 'Do not blame Ali, for he is too scrupulous in the things of God, or in the way of God, to be blamed.'

Then the apostle continued his pilgrimage and showed the men the rites and taught them the customs of their hajj (Cf. Musa b. Uqba, No.17). He made a speech in which he made things clear. He praised and glorified God, then he said: 'O men, listen to my words. I do not know whether I shall ever meet you in this place again after this year. Your blood and your property are sacrosanct until you meet your Lord, as this day and this month are holy. You will surely meet your Lord and He will ask you of your works. I have told you. He who has a pledge let him return it to him who entrusted him with it; all usury is abolished, but you have your capital. Wrong not and you shall not be wronged. God has decreed that there is to be no usury and the usury of Abbas b. Abdul-Muttalib is abolished, all of it. All blood shed in the pagan period is to be left unavenged. The first claim on blood I abolish is that of b. Rabia b. al-Harith b. Abdul-Muttalib (who was fostered among the B. Layth and whom Hudhayl killed). It is the first blood shed in the pagan period which I deal with. Satan despairs of ever being worshipped in your land, but if he can be obeyed in anything short of worship he will be pleased in matters you may be disposed to think of little account, so beware of him in your religion. "Postponement of a sacred month is only an excess of disbelief whereby those who disbelieve are misled; they allow it one year and forbid it another year that they may make up the number of the months which God has hallowed, so that they permit what God has forbidden, and forbid what God has allowed (Koran 9.37)." Time has completed its cycle and is as it was on the day that God created the heavens and the earth. The number of months with God is twelve; four of them are sacred, three consecutive

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and the Rajab of Mudar (A.Dh. explains that it was so called because Mudar used to treat it as sacred while other Arabs did not. (I suspect that in Brönnle's edition, p. 449. taklidumutu is a mistake for tuharrimuhu.), which is between Jumada and Shaban.

You have rights over your wives and they have rights over you. Youhave the right that they should not defile your bed and that they should not behave with open unseemliness. If they do, God allows you to put them in separate rooms and to beat them but not with severity. If they refrain from these things they have the right to their food and clothing with kindness. Lay injunctions on women kindly, for they are prisoners with you having no control- of their persons. You have taken them only as a trust from God (bi amanatillah. This is a difficult phrase. It is probably to be understood in the sense of Sura 8.27 and more particularly 33.72 where the Koranic commentators differ widely. See Lane, 1020.), and you have the enjoyment of their persons by the words of God, so understand (Tabari: and listen to) my words, O men, for I have told you. I have left with you something which if you will hold fast to it you will never fall into error—a plain indication, the book of God and the practice of His prophet, so give good heed to what I say.

Know that every Muslim is a Muslim's brother, and that the Muslims are brethren. It is only lawful to take from a brother what he gives you willingly, so wrong not yourselves. O God, have I not told you? I was told that the men said '0 God, yes,' and the apostle said 'O God, bear witness.'

Yahya b. Abbad b. Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from his father told me that the man who used to act as crier for the apostle when he was on Arafa was Rabi'a b. Umayya b. Khalaf. The apostle said to him, 'Say: O men, the apostle of God says, Do you know what month this is?' and they would say the holy month. Then he said, 'Say to them: God has hallowed your blood and your property until you meet your Lord like the sanctity of this month. Do you know what country this is?' And they said 'The holy land' and he said the same as before. Do you know what day this is? and they said the day of the great hajj, and he said the same again.

Layth b. Abu Sulaym from Shahr b. Haushab al-Ashari from Amr b. Kharija told me: Attab b. Usayd sent me to the apostle on a matter while the apostle was standing on Arafa. I came to him and stood beneath his camel and its foam was falling on my head. I heard him say: 'God has assigned to everyone his due. Testamentary bequests to an heir are not lawful. The child belongs to the bed and the adulterer must be stoned. He who claims as father him who is not his father, or a client a master who is not his master, on him rests the curse of God, the angels, and men everywhere. God will not receive from him compensatory atonement, however great.'

Abdullah b. Abu Najih told me that when the apostle stood on Arafa he said, 'This station goes with the mountain that is above it and all Arafa is a station.' When he stood on Quzah on the morning of al-Muzdalifa he said, 'This is the station and all al-Muzdalifa is a station.' Then when he had slaughtered in the slaughtering place in Mina he said, 'This is the slaughtering place and all Mina is a slaughtering place.' The apostle completed the hajj and showed men the rites, and taught them what God had prescribed as to their hajj, the station, the throwing of stones, the circumambulation of the temple, and what Me had permitted and forbidden. It was the pilgrimage of completion and the pilgrimage of farewell because the apostle did not go on pilgrimage after that.

THE SENDING OF USAMA B. ZAYD TO JUDAEA

Then the apostle returned and stopped in Medina for the rest of Dhul-Hijja, Muharram, and Safar. He ordered the people to make an expedition to Syria and put over them Usama b. Zayd b. Haritha, his freed slave. He ordered him to lead his cavalry into the territory of the Balqa and al-Darum in the land of Judaea. The men got ready and all the first emigrants went with Usama (900).

MESSENGERS SENT TO THE VARIOUS KINGDOMS

(Tabari 1560: As to Ibn Ishaq according to what Ibn Hamid alleged and told us saying that Salama had it from him, he said: The apostle had sent out some of his companions in different directions to the kings of the Arabs and the non-Arabs inviting them to Islam in the period between al-Hudaybiya and his death.)

Yazid b. Abu Habib al-Misri [of Egypt] told me that he found a document in which was a memorandum (Tabari: the names) of those the apostle sent to the countries and kings of the Arabs and non-Arabs and what he said to his companions when he sent them. I sent it to Mohammed b. Shihab al-Zuhri (Tabari: with a trusty countryman of his) and he recognised it. It contained the statement that the apostle went out to his companions and said: 'God has sent me as a mercy to all men, so take a message from me, God have mercy on you. Do not hang back from me (Or, perhaps, 'differ in your response to me'.) as the disciples hung back from Jesus son of Mary.' They asked how they had hung back and he said, 'He called them to a task similar to that to which I have called you. Those who had to go a short journey were pleased and accepted; those who had a long journey before them were displeased and refused to go, and Jesus complained of them to God. (Tabari: From that very night) every one of them was able to speak the language of the people to whom he was sent.' (Tabari: Jesus said 'This is a thing which God has determined that you should do, so go.')

Those whom Jesus son of Mary sent, both disciples and those who came after them, in the land were: Peter the disciple and Paul with him, (Paul belonged to the followers and was not a disciple) to Rome [Italy, Greece]; Andrew and Matthew to the land of the cannibals [Celtic land such as Gallia and Britannia]; Thomas to the land of Babel [Mesopotamia, Persia, India] which is in the land of the east; Philip to Carthage [North Africa] which is Africa; John to Ephesus [Asia Minor] the city of the young men of the cave; James to Jerusalem which is "Aelia" [Aelia Capitolina, the little capital Aelia. The main Roman capital of Judaea was Caesarea Maritima near Jaffa.] the city of the sanctuary; Bartholomew to Arabia which is the land of the Hijaz; Simon to the land of the Berbers [Northwest Africa]; Judah who was not one of the disciples was put in the place of Judas (The forms of the names shows that the source was Greek. It probably came to Ibn Ishaq through Syriac.).

(Tabari 1560:) Then the apostle divided his companions and sent Salit b. Amr b. Abdu Shams b. Abdu Wudd, brother of (the) B. Amir b. Luayy, to Haudha b. Ali ruler of al-Yamama; al-Ala b. al-Hadrami to al-Mundhir b. Sawa, brother of B. Abdul-Qays, ruler of al-Bahrayn; Amr b. al-As to Jayfar b. Julanda and Abbad his brother the Asdis, rulers of Uman; Hatib b. Abu Baltaa to the Muqauqis ruler of Alexandria. He handed over to him the apostle's letter and the Muqauqis gave to the apostle four slave girls, one of whom was Mary mother of Ibrahim the apostle's son; Dihya b. Khalifa al-Kalbi al-Khazraji he sent to Caesar, who was (Flavius) Heraclius, emperor of Rome. When he came to him with the apostle's letter he looked at it and then put it between his thighs and his ribs.) (From this point to the summary of the prophet's raids Tabari's extracts, pp. 1560 f., from the lost work of Ibn Ishaq are given. Doubtless Ibn Hisham omitted them for the reasons given in his Introduction.)

(Tabari 1561:) Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri from Ubaydullah b. Abdullah b. Utba b. Masud from Abdullah b. Abbas from Abu Sufyan b. Harb told me, saying, 'We were a merchant people and the war between us and the apostle had shut us in until our goods were stale. When there was an armistice between us we felt sure that we should be safe. So I went out with a number of (the) Quraysh merchants to Syria making for Gaza. We got there when Heraclius had conquered the Persians who were in his territory and driven them out and recaptured from them his great cross which they had plundered. When he had thus got the better of them and heard that his cross had been recovered he came out from Hims, which was his headquarters, walking on foot in thanks to God for what He had restored to him, so that he could pray in the holy city (The cross was recovered from the Persians by Heraclius in A.D. 628.). Carpets were spread for him and aromatic herbs were thrown on them. When he came to Aelia and had finished praying there with his patricians and the Roman nobles he became sorrowful, turning his eyes to heaven; and his patricians said, "You have become very sorrowful this morning, O king." He said, "Yes, in a vision of the night I saw the kingdom of a circumcised man victorious." They said that they did not know a people who circumcised themselves except the Jews and they were under his sovereignty. They recommended him to send orders to everyone of authority in his dominions to behead every Jew and thus rid himself of his anxiety. And by God as they were trying to induce him to do this, lo the messenger of the governor of Busra came in leading a man while the princes were exchanging news, and said, "This man, O king, is from the Arabs, people of sheep and camels. He speaks of something wonderful that has happened in his country, so ask him about it." Accordingly the king asked his interpreter to inquire what had happened and the man said, "A man appeared among us alleging that he was a prophet. Some followed and believed him; others opposed him. Fights between them occurred in many places, and I left them thus." When he had given his news the king told them to strip him; they did so, and lo he was circumcised. Heraclius said, "This, by God, is the vision I saw; not what you say. Give him his clothes. Be off with you."

(Tabari 1563:) Then he summoned his chief of police and told him to turn Syria upside down until he brought him a man of the people of that man, meaning the prophet. We were in Gaza when the chief of police came down upon us asking if we were of the people of this man in the Hijaz; and learning that we were he told us to come to the king, and when we came to him he asked if we were of the clan of this man and which was the nearest of kin to him. I said that I was, and by God I have never seen a man whom I consider more shrewd than that uncircumcised man, meaning Heraclius. He told me to approach and sat me in front of him with my companions behind me. Then he said, "I will interrogate him, and if he lies confute him." But, by God, if I were to lie they could not confute me. But I am a man of high birth too honourable to lie and I knew that it was only too easy for them, if I lied to him, to remember it against me and to repeat it in my name, so I did not lie to him. He said, "Tell me about this man who has appeared among you making these claims." I began to belittle him and to speak disparagingly of his affair and to say, "Do not let him cause you anxiety; his importance is less than you have heard," but he took no heed. Then he said, "Tell me what I ask you about him." I told him to ask what he liked and he asked about his lineage among us. I told him it was pure; our best lineage. Then he asked if any of his house had made the same claims which he was copying. When I said No he asked if he possessed any sovereignty among us which we had robbed him of and had he made this claim so that we might return it to him? Again I said No. Then he asked about the character of his followers. I told him that they were the weak and poor and young slaves and young women; not one of the elders and nobles of his people followed him. Then he asked whether those who followed him loved him and stuck to him or despised him and left him, and I told him that none of his followers had left him.

(Tabari 1564:) Then he asked about the war between us and him. I said that its fortunes varied. Then he asked if he was treacherous. This was the only question of his which I found fault with. I said No, and that while we had an armistice with him we did not fear treachery; but he paid no attention to what I said. Then he summed up and said: "I asked you about his lineage and you alleged that it was pure and of your best and God chooses only a man of the noblest lineage as a prophet. Then I asked if any man of his family made similar claims and you said No. Then I asked if he had been robbed of dominion and made this claim to recover it, and you said No. Then I asked you about his followers and you said that they were the weak and poor and young slaves and women, and such have been the followers of the prophets in all ages. Then I asked if his followers left him and you said None. Thus is the sweetness of faith: it does not enter the heart and depart. Then I asked if he was treacherous and you said No; and truly if you have told me the truth about him he will conquer me on the ground that is beneath my feet, and I wish that I were with him that I might wash his feet. Go about your business.' (Tabari 1565:) So I got up rubbing my hands together and saying that the affair of Ibn Abu Kabsha had become great in that the kings of the Greeks dreaded him in their sovereignty in Syria. The apostle's letter with Dihya b. Khalifa al-Kalbi came to him saying, "If you accept Islam you will be safe ; if you accept Islam God will give you a double reward ; if you turn back the sin of the husbandmen* will be upon you," i.e. the burden of it.' (* This appears to be an allusion to the Gospel of Matthew 21.33 f.)

From al-Zuhri from Ubaydullah from Abdullah b. Utba from Ibn Abbas, who said: Abu Sufyan b. Harb told me practically the same story.

Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri told me that he met a Christian bishop in the time of Abdul-Malik b. Marwan who told him that he knew about the affair of the apostle and Heraclius and understood it. When the apostle's letter by Dihya came to him he took it and put it between his thighs and his ribs. (Tabari 1566:) Then he wrote to a man in Rome (Nova Roma = Constantinople) who used to read in Hebrew what they read telling him about his affair and describing his circumstances and telling him about what had come from him. The man in Rome replied that he is the prophet whom we expect: there is no doubt about it, so follow him and believe in him. So Heraclius ordered the Roman generals to assemble in a room and commanded that the doors should be fastened.

Then he looked down on them from an upper chamber (for he was afraid of them) and said: 'O Romans, I have brought you together for a good purpose. This man has written me a letter summoning me to his religion.

By God, he is truly the prophet whom we expect and find in our books, so come and let us follow him and believe in him that it may be well with us in this world and the next.* As one man they uttered cries of disgust and ran to the doors to get out, but found them bolted. He ordered that they should be brought back to him, fearing for his life, and said: 'I spoke these words that I might see the firmness of your religion in face of what has happened, and I am delighted with what I have seen of your behaviour.' They fell down in obeisance and he ordered that the doors should be opened and they went off.

A traditionist said that Heraclius said to Dihya b. Khalifa when he brought the apostle's letter: 'Alas, I know that your master is a prophet sent (by God) and that it is he whom we expect and find in our book, but I go in fear of my life from the Romans ; but for that I would follow him. Go to Paghatir the bishop and tell him about your master, for he is greater among the Romans than I, and his word counts for more than mine. (Tabari 1567:) See what he says to you.' So Dihya went and told him about what he had brought from the apostle and of his invitation to Heraclius.

Paghatir said: 'Your master is a prophet who has been sent; we know him by his description, and we find him mentioned by name in our scriptures.' Then he went and discarded his

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black clothes and put on white garments and took his staff and went out to the Romans who were in church and said: 'O Romans, a letter has come to us from Ahmad in which he calls us to God and I bear witness that there is no God but Allah and that Ahmad is his slave and apostle.' They leapt upon him with one accord and beat him until he was dead. When Dihya returned to Heraclius and told him the news he said: 'I told you that we feared death at their hands and Paghafir was greater among them and his word counted for more than mine.'

From Khalid b. Yasar from one of the first people of Syria: When Heraclius wanted to go from Syria to Constantinople when he heard about the apostle he gathered the Romans together and said: 'I am laying before you some matters which I want to carry out. You know that this man is a prophet who has been sent; we find him in our book; we know him by his description, so come and let us follow him that it may be well with us in this world and the next.* They said, 'Are we to be under the hands of the Arabs when we are a people with a greater kingdom, a larger population, and a finer country!' He said, 'Come and I will pay him the poll-tax every year and avert his onslaught and get rest from war by the money I pay him.' (Tabari 1568:) They replied, 'Are we to pay the low and insignificant Arabs a tax when we are more numerous, with greater sovereignty and a stronger country? By God, we will never do it.' He said, 'Then come and let me make peace with him on condition that I give him the land of Syria while he leaves me the land of Sham.' Syria with them meant Palestine, Jordan, Damascus, Hims, and what is below the Pass of the land of Syria*, while what was beyond the Pass meant Sham. (* These are precisely the boundaries of Sham in the early days of the Arab conquest. Yazid 1 added the jund of Qinnisrin. The Pass (darb) may mean that over Amanus or the Taurus or the Cilician Gates.) They said, 'Are we to give him the land of Syria, when you know that it is the navel of Sham? By God, we will never do it.* At this refusal he said, 'You will see that you will be conquered when you protect yourselves against him in your province.' Then he got on his mule and rode off until he looked down on the Pass facing Sham and said, 'Farewell for the last time, O land of Syria.' Then he rode off rapidly to Constantinople.

The apostle sent Shuja b. Wahb, brother of B. Asad b. Khuzayma, to al-Mundhir b. al-Harith b. Abu Shimr al-Ghassani, lord of Damascus.

(Tabari 1569:) via Salama: The apostle sent Amr b. Umayya al-pamri to the

Negus about Jafar b. Abu Talib and his companions and sent a letter with him . . . 'From Mohammed the apostle of God to the Negus al-Asham king of Abyssinia, Peace. I praise Allah unto you the King, the Holy, the Peace, the Faithful, the Watcher, (An extract from Koran 59.23) and I bear witness that Jesus son of Mary is the spirit of God and His word which He cast to Mary the Virgin, the good, the pure, so that she conceived Jesus. God created him from His spirit and His breathing as He created Adam by His hand and His breathing. I call you to God the Unique without partner and to His obedience, and to follow me and to believe in that which came to me, for I am the apostle of God. I have sent to you my nephew Jafar with a number of Muslims, and when they come to you entertain them without haughtiness, for I invite you and your armies to God. I have accomplished (my work) and my admonitions, so receive my advice. Peace upon all those that follow true guidance.'

The Negus (emperor of Ethiopia) replied: . . . 'From the Negus al-Asham b. Abjar, Peace upon you, O prophet of Allah, and mercy and blessing from Allah beside Whom there is no God, who has guided me to Islam. I have received your letter in which you mention the matter of Jesus and by the Lord of heaven and earth he is not one scrap more than what you say. We know that with which you were sent to us and we have entertained your nephew and his companions. I testify that you are God's apostle, true and confirming (those before you). I have given my fealty to you and to your nephew and I have surrendered myself through him to the Lord of the worlds. I have sent to you my son Arha. I have control only over myself and if you wish me to come to you, O apostle of God, I will do so. I bear witness that what you say is true'.

I was told that the Negus sent his son with sixty Abyssinians by boat, and when they were in the middle of the sea the boat foundered and they all perished.) (It will be seen that there is no isnad for this tradition. Ibn Hisham has dealt with it in his summary to this section. I have omitted Tabari 1574-4 to 1575-5 because it is unintelligible without the preceding story from Yazid b. Abu Habib which evidently ran parallel with what Ibn Ishaq had said.)

(Tabari 1572:) via Salama. From Abdullah b. Abu Bakr from al-Zuhri from Abu Salama from Abdul-Rahman b. Auf. Abdullah b. Hudhafa brought the apostle's letter to Chosroes and when he had read it he tore it up. When the apostle heard that he had torn his letter up he said, 'His kingdom will be torn in pieces.')

(Tabari 1573:) via Yazid b. Abu Habib. Then Chosroes wrote to Badhan, who was governor of the Yaman (of Yemen), 'Send two stout fellows to this man in the Hijaz and tell them to bring him to me.' So Badhan sent his steward Babawayh who was a skilled scribe with a Persian called Kharkhasrah to carry a letter to the apostle ordering him to go with them to Chosroes. He told Babawayh to go to this man's country and speak to him and then come back and report. When they got as far as al-Taif they found some men of (the) Quraysh in (wadi) Nakhb and inquired about him. They told them that he was in Medina. They rejoiced at meeting these men, saying, 'This is good news, for Chosroes king of kings is moved against the man and you will be rid of him.'

The two men came to the apostle and Babawayh told him that Shahanshah king of kings Chosroes had written to the governor (malik.) Badhan ordering him to send men to bring him to him and that they had been sent to take him away. If he obeyed, Badhan would write to the king of kings on his behalf and keep him from him; but if he refused to come he knew what sort of man he was: he would destroy his people and lay waste his country. They had come in to the apostle's presence with shaven beards and long moustaches, so that he could not bear to look at them. He advanced on them and said, 'Who ordered you to do this?' To which they replied, 'Our Lord' meaning Chosroes. The apostle answered, 'But my Lord has ordered me to let my beard grow long and to cut my moustache.' Then he told them to come back in the morning.

News came from heaven to the apostle to the effect that God had given Shirawayh power over his father Chosroes and he had killed him on a certain night of a certain month at a certain hour. (Tabari 1574:) Thereupon he summoned them and told them. They said: 'Do you know what you are saying? We can take revenge on you. What is easier? Shall we write this as from you and tell the king of it?' He said, 'Yes, tell him that from me and tell him that my religion and my sovereignty will reach limits which the kingdom of Chosroes never attained. Say to him, "If you submit I will give you what you already hold and appoint you king over your people in the Yaman (in Yemen)." ' Then he gave Kharkhasrah a girdle containing gold and silver which one of the kings had given him.

They left him and came to BSdhan and reported. He exclaimed, 'This is not the speech of a king. In my opinion he is a prophet as he says. We will see what happens. If what he said is true then he is a prophet who has been sent by God; if it is not, we must consider the matter further.' Hardly had he finished speaking when there came a letter from Shirawayh saying that he had killed Chosroes because he had angered the Persians by killing their nobles and keeping them on the frontiers. He must see that his men pledged their obedience to the new king. He must see the man about whom Chosroes had written, but not provoke him to war until further instructions came.

(Tabari 1575:) When Badhan received this letter he said, 'Without doubt this man is an apostle,' and he became a Muslim as did the Persians with him in the Yaman (in Yemen).

The men of Himyar used to call Kharkhasrah 'Dhul-Mijaza' because of the girdle which the apostle gave him, because 'girdle' in the Himyari tongue is mijaza. To this day his sons keep the nickname. Babawayh said to Badhan, 'I never spoke to a man for whom I felt more respectful awe.' Badhan inquired, 'Did he have any police with him?' He answered No.

A SUMMARY OF THE APOSTLE'S FIGHTS

The apostle took part personally in twenty-seven (Tabari: twenty-six) raids:

(Ibn Ishaq has counted the pilgrimage as a raid.)
Waddan which was the raid of al-Abwa.
Buwat in the direction of Radwa.
Ushayra in the valley of Yanbu.
The first fight at Badr in pursuit of Kurz b. Jabir.
The great battle of Badr in which God slew the chiefs of Quraysh (Tabari:
and their nobles and captured many).
Banu Sulaym until he reached al-Kudr.
Al-Sawiq in pursuit of Abu Sufyan b. Harb (Tabari: until he reached
Qarqara al-Kudr).
Ghatafan (Tabari: towards Najd), which is the raid of Dhu Amarr.
Bahran, a mine in the Hijaz (Tabari: above al-Furu).
Uhud.
Hamraul-Asad.
Banu Nadir.
Dhatul-Riqa of Nakhl.
The last battle of Badr.
Dumatul-Jandal.
Al-Khandaq.
(the) Banu Qurayza.
(the) Banu Lihyan of Hudhayl.
Dhu Qarad.
Banul-Mustaliq of Khuzaa.
Al-Hudaybiya not intending to fight where the polytheists opposed his
passage.
Khaybar.
Then he went on the accomplished pilgrimage.
The occupation of Mecca.
Hunayn.
Al-Taif.
Tabuk.

He actually fought in nine engagements: Badr; Uhud; al-Khandaq; (the) Qurayza; al-Mustaliq; Khaybar; the occupation; Hunayn; and al-Taif.

A SUMMARY OF THE EXPEDITIONS AND RAIDING PARTIES

These were thirty-eight (Tabari: thirty-five) in number (Tabari: between the time of his coming to Medina and his death). Ubayda b. al-Harith was sent to the lower part (Tabari: to the tribes) of Thaniyatul-Mara (Tabari: which is a well in the Hijaz); Hamza b. Abdul-Muttalib to the coast in the direction of al-Is. (Some people date Hamza's raid before that of Ubayda); Sad b. Abu Waqqas to al-Kharrar (Tabari: in the Hijaz); Abdullah b. Jahsh to Nakhla; Zayd b. Haritha to al-Qarda (Tabari: a well in Najd); Mohammed b. Maslama's attack on Kab b. al-Ashraf; Marthad b. Abu Marthad al-Ghanawi to al-Raji; al-Mundhir b. Amr to Bir Mauna; Abu Ubayda b. al-Jarrah to Dhul-Qassa on the Iraq road; Umar b. al-Khaftab to Turba in the B. Amir country; Ali b. Abu Talib to the Yaman; Ghalib b. Abdullah al-Kalbi, the Kalb of Layth, to al-Kadid where he smote (the) B. al-Mulawwah.

GHALIB'S RAID ON THE B. AL-MULAWWAH

Yaqub b. Utba b. al-Mughira b. al-Akhnas from Muslim b. Abdullah b. Khubayb al-Juhani from al-Mundhir from Jundab b. Makith al-Juhani told me that the latter said: The apostle sent Ghalib b. Abdullah al-Kalbi, Kalb of (the) B. Auf b. Layth, on a night raid in which I took part.

He ordered him to make a cavalry raid on (the) B. al-Mulawwah who were in al-Kadid. We went out and when we reached Qudayd we fell in with al-Harith b. Malik b. al-Barsa al-Laythi and seized him. He said that he had come to be a Muslim and was going to the apostle. We told him that if he was a Muslim it would not hurt him to be tied up for a night, and if he were not we should make sure of him; so we bound him tightly and left him in charge of a young negro and told him to cut off his head if he tried to attack him.

We went on until we came to (Tabari: the valley of) al-Kadid at sunset. We were in the wadi and my companions sent me on to scout for them. So I left them and went on until I came to a hill overlooking the enemy's camp. I went up to the top and looked down at the camp; and by God as I was lying on the hill out came a man from his tent and said to his wife, 'I see something black on the hill which I didn't see at the beginning of the day. Look and see if any of your gear is missing; perhaps the dogs have dragged off something.' She went to look and told him that nothing was missing. He then told her to fetch him his bow and a couple of arrows and he shot me in the side. I pulled out the arrow and laid it aside and kept my place (Tabari: did not move). Then he shot me again in my shoulder. Again I pulied it out and kept my place. He said to his wife, 'If this had been a scout of some party he would have moved, for both my arrows hit him; in the morning go and get them. Don't let the dogs gnaw them.' Then he went inside his tent.

We gave them time until they quietened down and went to sleep (Tabari: until their cattle returned in the evening and they milked them and lay down quietly, and a third of the night passed) and towards dawn we attacked them and killed some and drove off the cattle. They cried out to one another for aid, and a multitude that we could not resist came at us (Tabari omits and has 'and we went on quickly until we passed by al-Harith') and we went on with the cattle and passed Ibn al-Barsa and his companion and carried them along with us. The enemy were hard on our heels and only the Wadi Qudayd was between us, when God sent a flood m the wadi from whence He pleased, for there were no clouds that we could see and no rain. It brought such water that none could resist it and none could pass over. And there they stood looking at us as we drove off their cattle. Not one of them could cross to us as we hurried off with them until we got away; they could not pursue us, and we brought them to the apostle.

A man of Aslam on the authority of another of them told me that the war-cry of the apostle's companions that night was Slay! Slay! A rajiz of the Muslims who was driving the cattle rhymed:

Abul-Qasim refused to let you graze
On luscious herbs which you amaze
With yellow tops the colour of maize (901).

I will now continue the summary of the night raids and raiding parties (From C. The whole passage in Tabari 1598 f. differs in phraseology though not in from Ibn Hisham who has apparently edited the text freely.): Ali to (the) B. Abdullah b. Sad of Fadak; Abul-Auja al-Sulami to (the) B. Sulaym country where he and all his companions were killed; Ukkasha b. Mihsan to al-Ghamra; Abu Salama b. Abdul-Asad to Qa{an, a well of (the) B. Asad in the direction of Najd. Mas ud b. Urwa was killed there; Mohammed b.

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Maslama, brother of b. Haritha, to al-Qurafa of Hawazin; Bashir b. Sad to B. Murra in Fadak; Bashir b. Sad in the direction of Khaybar; Zayd b. Haritha to al-Jamum in (the) B. Sulaym country; Zayd also to Judham in Khushayn country. So says Ibn Hisham, but al-Shafii from Amr b. Habib from Ibn Ishaq say 'in Hisma country'.

THE RAID OF ZAYD B. HARITHA AGAINST JUDHAM

One whom I can trust told me from some men of Judham who knew about the affair that Rifaa b. Zayd al-Judham! when he came to his people with the apostle's letter inviting them to Islam and they accepted it, was soon followed by Dihya b. Khalifa al-Kalbi who came from Caesar (Flavius Heraclius), king of the Greeks (emperor of the Romans), whom the apostle had sent having with him some merchandise of his. When he reached one of their wadis called Shanar, al-Hunayd b. Us and his son Us of Dulay a clan of Judham attacked Dihya and seized everything he had with him. News of this reached some of al-Pubayb of the kin of Rifaa b. Zayd who had become Muslims and they went after al-Hunayd and his son; al-Numan b. Abu Jial of (the) B. al-Dubayb was among them. They fell in with them and a skirmish took place. On that day Qurra b. Ashqar al-Difari of the clan al-Dulay proclaimed his origin and said, 'I am the son of Lubna,' and shot al-Numan b. Abu Jial with an arrow, hitting him in the knee, saying, 'Take that! I am the son of Lubna.' Lubna was his mother. Now Hassan b. Milla al-Dubaybi had been a friend of Dihya before that and he had taught him the first sura of the Koran (902). They recovered what Hunayd and his son had taken and restored it to Dihya, and Dihya went off and told the apostle what had happened and asked him to let him kill al-Hunayd and his son. The apostle sent Zayd b. Haritha against them and that was what provoked the raid of Zayd on Judham. He sent a force with him. Ghatafan of Judham and Wail and they of Salaman and Sad b. Hudhaym set off when Rifaa b. Zayd came to them with the apostle's letter and halted in the lava belt of al-Bajla, while Rifaa was in Kura Rabba, knowing nothing, with some of the (the) B. al-Dubayb while the rest of B. Dubayb were in Wadi Madan. in the region of the lava belt where it flows to the east. Zayd's force came up from the direction of al-Aulaj and attacked al-Maqis from the harra. They rounded up the cattle and men they found and killed al-Hunayd and his son and two men of (the) B. al-Ahnaf (903), and one of (the) B. al-Khasib. When (the) B. al-Dubayb and the force in Fayfau Madan heard of this some of them went off, among those who rode with them being Hassan b. Milla on a horse belonging to Suwayd b. Zayd called al-Ajaja, and Unayf b. Milla on a horse of Milla's called Righal, and Abu Zayd b. Amr on a horse called Shamir. They went on until they came near the army when Abu Zayd and Hassan said to Unayf b. Milla, 'Leave us and go for we are afraid of your tongue.' (Tabari: So he withdrew) and stopped near them. Hardly had they left him when his horse began to paw the ground and rear and he said (to it), 'I am more interested in the two men than you in the two horses.' He let her go until he overtook them and they said to him, 'Seeing that you have behaved thus, spare us your tongue and do not bring us bad luck today.' They agreed among themselves that only Hassan should speak. Now they had a word which they used in the pagan period which they learned one from another: if one wanted to smite with his sword he said Burl or Thuri. When they came near the army the men came running to them and Hassan said to them, 'We are Muslims.' The first man to meet them was on a black horse (Tabari 1743: with lance outstretched, the man who displayed it had as it were fixed it on the withers of his horse as he cried, 'Forward, outstrip them!') and he advanced driving them. Unayf said 'Buri,' but Hassan said 'Gently.' When they stopped by Zayd b. Haritha Hassan said, 'We are Muslims.' Zayd said, 'Then recite the first sura.' When he did so Zayd ordered that it should be proclaimed through the army that God had declared their land sacrosanct except as regards those who had broken their covenant.

Hassan's sister, the wife of Abu Wabr b. Adiy b. Umayya b. al-Pubayb, was among the prisoners and Zayd told him to take her and she clasped him by the waist. Ummul-Fizr of Dulay said, 'Are you taking your daughters and leaving your mothers?' One of (the) B. al-Khasib said, 'She is (of the) B. al-Dubayb and their tongue utters spells all the day long.' Some of the army heard this and told Zayd and he gave orders that the hands of Hassan's sister should be loosed from his waist and told her to sit with the daughters of her uncle until God should decide what should be done with them. So they went back. He forbade the army to go down into the valley whence they had come and they passed the night with their people. They sought their night draught of milk from a herd belonging to Suwayd b. Zayd and when they had drunk it they rode off to Rifaa b. Zayd. Among those who went were Abu Zayd b. Amr; Abu Shammas b. Amr; Suwayd b. Zayd; Baja and Bardha and Thalaba, sons of Zayd; Mukharriba b. Adiy; Unayf b. Milla; and Hassan b. Milla, until in the morning they came up with Rifaa in Kura Rabba behind (Or 'on the top of'.) the harra by a well there of Harra Layla. Hassan said to him, 'Here you sit milking goats while the women of Judham (Tabari: are dragged as) prisoners. The letter which you brought has deceived them.' Rifaa called for his camel, and as he began to saddle it he said: 'Are you alive or do you call the living?' When morning came they and he with Umayya b. Dafara, the brother of the slain Khasibite, departed early from behind (Or 'on the top of'.) the harra; they journeyed for three nights to Medina and when they entered it and came to the mosque a man looked at them and told them not to make their camels kneel lest their legs should be cut off. So they dismounted, leaving them standing. When they entered the mosque and the apostle saw them he beckoned to them to advance; and as Rifaa began to speak a man said, 'Apostle, these men are sorcerers (a person who seeks to control and use magic tricks),' and repeated the accusation twice. Rifaa said, 'God be gracious to him who treats us well today.' Then he handed the apostle the letter which he had written to him, saying, 'Take it, O apostle; it was written long since but its violation is recent.' The apostle told a young man to read it openly, and when he had done so he asked what had happened, and they told him. Three times he said, 'What am I to do about the slain?' Rifaa answered, 'You know best, O apostle. We do not regard as wrong what you think is right or the converse.' Abu Zayd b. Amr said, 'Give us back those who are alive and those who are dead I disregard.' The apostle said that Abu Zayd was right and told Ali to ride with them. Ali objected that Zayd would not obey him, whereupon the apostle told him to take his sword and gave it to him. Ali then said that he had no beast to ride, so they (Tabari: the apostle) mounted him on a beast belonging to Thalaba b. Amr called al-Mikhal (linguistically related to Michael) and they went off, when lo a messenger from Zayd b. Haritha came on a camel of Abu Wabr called al-Shamir. They made him dismount and he asked Ali how he stood. He said that they knew their property and they took it. They went on and fell in with the army in Fayfaul-Fahlatayn and took their property which they held even to the smallest pad from a woman's saddle. When they had finished their task Abu Jial said:

There is many a woman who scolds unkindly,
Who but for us would be feeding her captor's fire
Pushed about with her two daughters among the captives
With no hope of an easy release.
Had she been entrusted to Us and Aus
Circumstances would have prevented her release.
Had she seen our camels in Misr (Egypt)
She would have dreaded a repetition of the journey.
We came to the waters of Yathrib (Medina) in anger
(After four nights, search for water is painful)
With every hardened warrior like a wolf
Dour on the saddle of his swift camel.
May every force* in Yathrib be a ransom

(* A.Dh. in Brönnle's text has jibs with the explanation 'rascal'.)

For Abu Sulayman when they meet breast to breast
The day you see the experienced warrior humbled,
His head turning as he flees away (904).

Zayd b. Haritha also raided al-Taraf in the region of Nakhl on the road to Iraq.

ZAYD B. HARITHA'S RAID ON THE B. FAZARA AND THE DEATH OF UMM QIRFA

Zayd also raided Wadil-Qura, where he met (the) B. Fazara and some of his companions were killed; he himself was carried wounded from the field.

Ward b. Amr b. Madash, one of B. Sad b. Hudhayl, was killed by one of (the) B. Badr (whose name was Sad b. Hudhaym—Tabari and Ibn Hisham). When Zayd came he swore that he would use no ablution (i.e. abstain from sexual intercourse. The Semites, like other ancient peoples, tabooed intercourse during war. Cf. 1 Samuel 21.5.6 and Robertson Smith, Religion of the Semites, 454 et passim.) until he raided (the) B. Fazara; and when he recovered from his wounds the apostle sent him against them with a force. He fought (Tabari: he met) them in Wadil-Qura and killed some of them. Qays b. al-Musahhar al-Yamuri killed Masada b. Hakama b. Malik b. Hudhayfa b. Badr, and Umm Qirfa Fatima d. Rabia b. Badr was taken prisoner. She was a very old woman, wife of Malik. Her daughter and Abdullah b. Masada were also taken. Zayd ordered Qays b. al-Musahhar to kill Umm Qirfa and he killed her cruelly (Tabari: by putting a rope to her two legs and to two camels and driving them until they rent [tore] her in two.). Then they brought Umm Qirfa's daughter and Masada's son to the apostle. The daughter of Umm Qirfa belonged to Salama b. Amr b. al-Akwa who had taken her. She held a position of honour among her people, and the Arabs used to say, 'Had you been more powerful than Umm Qirfa you could have done no more.' Salama asked the apostle to let him have her and he gave her to him and he presented her to his uncle Hazn b. Abu Wahb and she bare him Abdul-Rahman b. Hazn. Qays b. al-Musahhar said about the killing of Masada:

I tried as his mother's son would to get revenge for Ward.
As long as I live I will avenge Ward.
When I saw him I attacked him on my steed,
That doughty warrior of the family of Badr.
I impaled him on my lance of Qadabi make
Which seemed to flash like a fire in an open space.

ABDULLAH B. RAWAHA'S RAID TO KILL AL-YUSAYR B. RIZAM

Abdullah b. Rawaha raided Khaybar twice; on one occasion he killed al-Yusayr b. Rizam (905). Now al-Yusayr (Tabari: the Jew) was in Khaybar collecting Ghatafan to attack the apostle. The latter sent Abdullah b. Rawaha with a number of his companions, among whom were Abdullah b. Unays, an ally of (the) B. Salima. When they came to him they spoke to him (Tabari: and made him promises) and treated him well, saying that if he would come to the apostle he would give him an appointment and honour him. They kept on at him until he went with them with a number of Jews. Abdullah b. Unays mounted him on his beast (Tabari and he rode behind him) until when he was in al-Qarqara, about six miles from Khaybar, al-Yusayr changed his mind about going to the apostle. Abdullah perceived his intention as he was preparing to draw his sword, so he rushed at him and struck him with his sword cutting off his leg. Al-Yusayr hit him with a stick of shauhat wood which he had in his hand and wounded his head (Tabari: and God killed Yusayr). All the apostle's companions fell upon their Jewish companions and killed them except one man who escaped on his feet (Tabari: his beast). When Abdullah b. Unays came to the apostle he spat on his wound and it did not suppurate or cause him pain.

On the second occasion Abdullah b. Atik raided Khaybar and killed Rafi b. Abul-Huqayq.

ABDULLAH B. UNAYS'S RAID TO KILL KHALID B. SUFYAN B. NUBAYH

The apostle sent him against Khalid, who was in Nakhla or Urana collecting men to attack the apostle, and he killed him.

Mohammed b. Jafar b. al-Zubayr told me that Abdullah b. Unays said: The apostle called me and said that he had heard that Ibn Sufyan b. Nubayh al-Hudhali was collecting a force to attack him, and that he was in Nakhla or 'Urana and that I was to go and kill him. I asked him to describe him so that I might know him, and he said, 'If you see him he will remind you of Satan. A sure sign is that when you see him you will feel a shudder.' I went out girding on my sword until I came on him with a number of women in a howdah seeking a halting-place for them. It was the time for afternoon prayer, and when I saw him I felt a shuddering as the apostle had said. I advanced towards him fearing that something would prevent my praying, so I prayed as I walked towards him bowing my head. When I came to him he asked who I was and I answered, 'An Arab who has heard of you and your gathering a force against this fellow and has come to you.' He said, 'Yes, I am doing so.' I walked a short distance with him and when my chance came I struck him with my sword and killed him, and went off leaving his women bending over him. When I came to the apostle he saw me and said, 'The aim is accomplished.' I said, 'I have killed him, O Apostle,' and he said, 'You are right.'

Then he took me into his house and gave me a stick telling me to keep it by me. When I went out with it the people asked me what I was doing with a stick. I told them that the apostle had given it to me and told me to keep it, and they said, 'Why do you not go back to the apostle and ask him why?' So I did so, and he said, 'It is a sign between you and me on the resurrection day. There are few men who will be carrying sticks then.' So Abdullah b. Unays fastened it to his sword and it remained with him until his death, when he ordered that it should be put in his winding sheet and it was buried with him (906).

To return to the expeditions: The raid of Zayd b. Haritha and Jafar b. Abu Talib and Abdullah b. Rawaha to Muta in Syria in which all were killed; and the raid of Kab b. Umayr al-Ghifari to Dhatu Atlah in Syria in which he and all his companions were killed; and the raid of Uyayna b. Hisn on (the) B. al-Anbar of (the) B. Tamim.

THE RAID OF UYAYNA B. HISN ON B. AL-ANBAR OF THE B. TAMIM

The apostle sent him to raid them, and he killed some and captured others. Asim b. Umar b. Qatada told me that Aisha said to the apostle that she must free a slave of the sons of Ismail, and he said, 'The captives of (the) B. al-Anbar are coming now. We will give you one whom you can set free.' When they were brought to the apostle a deputation from (the) B. Tamim rode with them until they reached the apostle. Among them were Rabia b. Rufay; Sahara b. Amr; al-Qaqa b. Mabad; Wardan b. Muhriz; Qays b. Asim; Malik b. Amr; al-Aqra b. Plabis; and Firas b. Habis. They spoke to the apostle on their behalf and he liberated some and accepted ransom for others.

Among the B. al-Anbar who were killed that day were Abdullah and two brothers of his, sons of Wahb; Shaddad b. Firas; and Hanzala b. Darim. Among the women who were captured were Asma d. Malik; Kas d. Any; Najwa d. Nahd;

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Jumaya d. Qays; and Amra d. Matar. Salma d. Attab said about that day:

Adiy b. Jundab had a serious fall
From which it was hard to rise.
Enemies surrounded them on every side
And their glory and prosperity disappeared (907).

GHALIB B. ABDULLAH'S RAID ON THE LAND OF B. MURRA

The raid of Ghalib b. Abdullah al-Kalbi, the Kalb of Layth, was on the country of (the) B. Murra in which he slew Mirdas b. Nahik, an ally of theirs from al-Hurqa of Juhayna. Usama b. Zayd and a man of the Ansar killed him (908). Usama b. Zayd said: 'When I and a man of the Ansar overtook him and attacked him with our weapons he pronounced the shahdda, but we did not stay our hands and killed him. When we came to the apostle we told him what had happened and he said, "Who will absolve you, Usama, from ignoring the confession of faith?" I told him that the man had pronounced the words merely to escape death; but he repeated his question and continued to do so until I wished that I had not been a Muslim heretofore and had only become one that day and that I had not killed the man. I asked him to forgive me and promised that I would never kill a man who pronounced the shahdda. He said, "You will say it after me (i.e. after Mohammed's death.), Usama?" and I said that I would.'

AMR B. AL-AS RAIDS DHATUL-SALASIL

The raid of Amr on Dhatul-Salasil in the country of (Tabari: Bali and the raid on the) B. Udhra. The apostle sent him to convoke the Arabs to war on Syria. The mother of al-As b. Wail was a woman of Bali, so the apostle sent him to them to claim their help. When Amr came to water in the country of Judham called al-Salsal (Tabari: Salasil), from which the raid took its name, he took alarm and sent to the apostle for reinforcements. The apostle sent him Abu Ubayda b. al-Jarrah with the first Muhajirs among whom were Abu Bakr and Umar. He told Abu Ubayda when he sent him not to quarrel. Now when he reached Amr the latter said, 'You have come only to reinforce me.' 'No,' said Abu Ubayda, 'but I have my sphere of command and you have yours'; for he was a man of easy gentle disposition on whom the affairs of this world sat lightly. So when Amr insisted that he had come to reinforce him he said, 'The apostle told us not to quarrel, and though you disobey me I will obey you,' to which he replied, 'I am your superior officer and you are here only to reinforce me.' 'Have it your own way,' said he, and 'Amr took the lead in the prayers.

An informant who had it from Rafi b. Abu Rafi al-Taiy who was Rafi b. Umayra told me that the latter said: I was a Christian called Sarjis, the surest and best guide in the sandy desert. During the pagan period I used to bury water which I had put in ostrich shells in various places in the desert and then raid men's camels. When I had got them into the sand I was safely in possession of them and none dare follow me thither. Then I would go to the places where I had concealed the water and drink it. When I became a Muslim I went on the raid on which the apostle sent Amr b. al-As to Dhatul-Salasil, and I made up my mind to choose a companion, and selected Abu Bakr with whom I rode. He wore a Fadak cloak and whenever we halted he spread it out, and put it on when we rode. Then he fastened it on him with a packing-needle. That was the reason why the people of Najd when they apostatised said, 'Are we to accept as ruler the man with the cloak?' When we approached Medina on our return I told Abu Bakr that I had joined him so that God might profit me by him, and I asked for his advice and instruction. He told me that he would have given this even if I had not asked, and told me to proclaim the unity of God and not to associate anything with Him; to perform prayer; to pay the poor-tax; to fast in Ramadan; to go on pilgrimage; to wash after impurity ; and never to assume authority over two Muslims. I told him that I hoped that I should never associate anyone with God; that I would never abandon prayer if God so willed; that if I had the means I would always pay the poor-tax; that I would never neglect Ramadan; that I would go on pilgrimage if I were able; and would wash after impurity; but as to leadership I observed that only those who exercised it were held in honour with the apostle and the people, so why should he exclude me from it? He answered, 'You asked me for the best advice that I could give you, and I will tell you. God sent Mohammed with this religion and he strove for it until men accepted it voluntarily or by force. Once they had entered it they were God's proteges and neighbours under His protection. Beware that you do not betray God's trust in regard to His neighbours so that He pursue you relentlessly on behalf of His protege. For if one of you were wronged in this way his muscles would swell with anger if the sheep or camels of his protege" had been seized, and God is more angry on behalf of those under His protection.' Thereupon we parted.

When the apostle died and Abu Bakr was set over men I went to him and reminded him that he had forbidden me to assume authority over two Muslims. He said that he still forbade me to do so, and when I asked him what had induced him to assume authority over every one he said that he had no alternative; he was afraid that Mohammed's community would split up.

Yazid b. Abu Habib told me that he was informed on the authority of Auf b. Malik al-Ashja'i that he said: I was in the raid on which the apostle sent Amr b. al-As to Dhatul-Salasil, in company with Abu Bakr and Umar. I passed by some people who were butchering a camel they had slaughtered. They could not dismember it, while I was a skilled butcher; so I asked them if they would give me a share if I divided it between them, and when they agreed I took a couple of knives and cut it up on the spot. I took my share and carried it to my companions and we cooked and ate it. Abu Bakr and Umar asked me where I had got the meat, and when I told them they said that I had done wrong in giving it to them to eat, and they got up and forced themselves to exgurgitate what they had swallowed. When the army returned from that expedition I was the first to come to the apostle as he was at prayer in his house. When I saluted him he asked if I were Auf b. Malik the butcher of that camel, and he would say nothing more.

THE RAID OF IBN ABU HADRAD ON THE VALLEY OF IDAM AND THE KILLING OF AMIR B. AL-ADBAT AL-ASHJAI

Yazid b. Abdullah b. Qusayt from al-Qaqa b. Abdullah b. Abu Hadrad from his father said: The apostle sent us to Idam with a number of Muslims among whom were Abu Qatada al-Harith b. Ribiy; and Muhallim b. Jaththama b. Qays. We set forth until when we were in the valley of Idam (Tabari: this was before the conquest of Mecca) Amir b. al-Adba al-Ashjai passed by us on a camel of his with a meagre supply of provisions and a skin of laban. As he passed us he saluted us as a Muslim and we held off from him. But Muhallim b. Jaththama attacked and killed him on account of a quarrel they had had, and took his camel and provisions. When we came to the apostle and told him the news there came down concerning us: 'O you who believe, when you go forth in the way of God act circumspectly and do not say to one who salutes you, "You are no believer," coveting the gain of this world,' etc. (Koran 4.96) (909).'

Mohammed b. Jafar b. al-Zubayr told me that he heard Ziyad b. Dumayra b. Sad al-Sulami relating from Urwa b. al-Zubayr from his father from his grandfather who were both present at Hunayn with the apostle: The apostle prayed the noon prayer with us, then he sought the shelter of a tree and sat beneath it in Hunayn. Al-Aqra b. Habis and Uyayna b. Hisn b. Hudhayfa b. Badr went up to him quarrelling about Amir b. al-Adbaf al-Ashjai, Uyayna, who was at that time chief of Ghatafan, demanding vengeance for the blood of Amir and al-Aqra protecting Muhallim b. Jaththama because of his position among Khindif. The quarrel went on a long time in the apostle's presence and as we listened we heard Uyayna say, 'O apostle, I won't let him off until I make his women taste the burning grief he made my women taste'; while the apostle said, 'No, but you will accept fifty camels as bloodmoney on this journey and fifty on our return.' He went on refusing the offer when up got a man of (the) B. Layth called Mukaythir, a short compact fellow (910), and said, 'O apostle, the only thing to which I can compare this man who has been slain in the beginning of Islam is sheep who come with their leaders shot and the ones behind run away. Let the law of blood stand today and accept bloodwit later.' The apostle lifted up his hand and said, 'No, you must take fifty camels as blood-money on this expedition and fifty more when we return,' and they accepted them. Then they said, 'Where is this fellow of yours that the apostle may ask God's pardon for him?' Thereupon a tall thin man wearing a garment which he had taken to fight (Or, perhaps 'die in'.) in got up and sat in front of the apostle. He admitted that he was Muhallim b. Jaththama and the apostle said three times, 'O God, pardon not Muhallim b. Jaththama.' He got up wiping away his tears with the end of his garment. As for us, we still hoped that the apostle asked for the divine forgiveness for him, but what we saw him do was what has just been said.

One whom I have no reason to suspect told me from al-Hasan al-Basri that the apostle said when he sat before him, 'You gave him security in God and then you killed him!' Then he said the words which have been quoted, and by God Muhallim died within a week, and the earth I swear rejected him. They buried him again, but the earth rejected him, and yet a third time the same thing happened. Worn out, his people made for two heights (forming a narrow gap) and laid him out between them and then rolled rocks on him until they had covered him. When the apostle heard about this he said, 'The earth has covered worse than he, but God wants to give you a warning of what you must not do by what He has shown you.'

Salim Abul-Nadr told us that he was informed that Uyayna b. Hisn and Qays were addressed privately by al-Aqra thus: 'You men of Qays, you have opposed the apostle about a man slain when he wanted to make peace between people. Are you sure that the apostle will not curse you so that God will curse you with his curse, or that he will not be angry with you so that God will also be angry with you? I swear that unless you submit him to the apostle and let him do with him as he pleases I will bring fifty men of the B. Tamim who will all call God to witness that your friend who was slain was an unbeliever who never prayed at all and thus cause his blood to be disregarded (i.e. not to be wiped out by the blood of his slayer or tribesmen or to be paid for.).' When they heard that they agreed to take the bloodwit (911).

THE RAID OF IBN ABO HADRAD AL-ASLAMI ON AL-GHABA TO KILL RIFAA B. QAYS AL-JUSHAMI

One whom I have no reason to suspect told me from Ibn Hadrad as follows: I had married a woman of my tribe and promised her two hundred dirhams as a dowry. I came to the apostle and asked him to help me in the matter and when I told him the amount that I had promised he said, 'Good gracious, if you could get dirhams from the bottom of a valley you could not have offered more! I have not the money to help you.' I waited for some days when a man of (the) B. Jusham b. Muawiya Called Rifaa b. Qays or Qays b. Rifaa came with a numerous clan of (the) B. Jusham and encamped with them in al-Ghaba intending to gather Qays to fight the apostle, he being a man of high reputation among Jusham. The apostle summoned me and two other Muslims and told us to go to this man (Tabari: and bring him to him or) bring news of him, and sent us an old thin she-camel. One of us mounted her, but she was so weak that she could not get up until men pushed her up from behind, and even then she hardly managed to do so. Then he said, 'Make the best of her and ride her in turn.'

We set forth taking our arrows and swords until we arrived near the settlement in the evening as the sun was setting. I hid at one end and ordered my companions to'hide at the other end of the camp and told them that when they heard me cry 'Allah akbar' (Allah is great) as I ran to the camp they were to do the same and run with me. There we were waiting to take the enemy by surprise or to get something from them until much of the night had passed. Now they had a shepherd who had gone out with the animals and was so late in returning that they became alarmed on his behalf. Their chief this Rifaa b. Qays got up and took his sword and hung it round his neck, saying that he would go on the track of the shepherd, for some harm must have befallen him ; whereupon some of his company begged him not to go alone for they "would protect him, but he insisted on going alone. As he went he passed by me, and when he came in range I shot him in the heart with an arrow, and he died without uttering a word. I leapt upon him and cut off his head and ran in the direction of the camp shouting 'Allah akbar' and my two companions did likewise, and by God, shouting out to one another they all fled at once with their wives and children and such of their property as they could lay hands on easily. We drove off a large number of camels and sheep and brought them to the apostle and I took Rifa'a's head to the apostle, who gave me thirteen of the camels to help me with the woman's dowry, and I consummated my marriage.

ABDUL-RAHMAN B. AUF'S RAID ON DUMATUL-JANDAL

One whom I have no reason to suspect told me from Ata b. Abu Ribah that he said that he heard a man of Basra ask Abdullah b. Umar b. al-Khattab about wearing the turban flying loosely behind one. He said that he would give them information on the point. 'I was', he said, 'the tenth of ten of the apostle's companions in his mosque, namely Abu Bakr, Umar, Uthman, Ali, Abdul-Rahman b. Auf, Ibn Masud, Muadh b. Jabal, Hudhayfa b. al-Yaman, Abu Said al-Khudri, and myself. Suddenly one of the Ansar came and saluted the apostle and sat down and asked the apostle who was the most excellent of the believers. "The best in character," he replied. "And who is the wisest?" "The one who most often remembers death and makes the best preparation for it before it comes to him. Such men are the wise." The man remained silent, and the apostle said to us, "O Muhajirs, there are five things which may befall you and I pray God that you may escape them: moral decay never openly shows itself among a people but they suffer from pestilence and disease such as their fathers have never known; they do not use light weights and measures but they are smitten by famine and the injustice of rulers; they do not hold back the poor-tax from their herds but rain is withheld, for but for the beasts there would be no rain sent; they do not break the covenant with God and His apostle but an enemy is given power over them and takes much of their possessions; and their imams do not give judgement about God's book and behave arrogantly (Wellhausen: watahayyaru 'become perplexed'.) in regard to what God has sent down but God brings upon them the calamity they have engendered."

'Then he ordered Abdul-Rahman b. Auf to make his preparations for the expedition. In the morning he wore a black turban of cotton. The apostle told him to approach and unwound it and then rewound it leaving four fingers or so loose behind him, saying, "Turban yourself thus, Ibn Auf, for thus it is better and neater (araf perhaps means 'more in keeping with accepted practice'.)." Then he ordered Bilal to give him the standard and he did so. Then he gave praise to God and prayed for himself. He then said, "Take it, Ibn Auf;

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fight everyone in the way of God and kill those who disbelieve in God. Do not be deceitful with the spoil; do not be treacherous, nor mutilate, nor kill children. This is God's ordinance and the practice (sira.) of his prophet among you." Thereupon Abdul-Rahman took the standard' (912).

ABUL BAYDA B. AL-JARRAH'S RAID TO THE COAST

Ubada b. al-Walid b. Ubada b. al-Samit from his father from his grandfather Ubada b. al-Samit told me: The apostle sent a force to the coast commanded by Abu Ubayda and furnished them with a supply of dates. He began to ration them until the day came when he had to count them, and finally he could give each man but one date a day. One day he divided them among us and a man lacked even a date and we felt the loss of them that day. When we were exhausted by hunger God brought us a whale from the sea, and we fell upon its flesh and fat and stayed by it for twenty nights until we grew fat and recovered our strength. Our leader took one of its ribs and set it in the way; then he sent for our largest camel and mounted our largest man upon it; he sat on it and came out from under it without lowering his head. When we came to the apostle we gave him the news and asked him what he thought about our having eaten the whale. He said, 'It was food which God provided for you' (913).

(Tabari 1437 and 1438: Ibn Hamid told us from Salama b. al-Fadl from Mohammed b. Ishaq from Jafar b. al-Fadl b. al-Hasan b. Amr b. Umayya al-Damri from his father from his grandfather Amr b. Umayya that the last-named said: After the killing of Khubayb and his companions the apostle sent an Ansari with me telling us to go and kill Abu Sufyan, so we set out. My companion had no camel and his leg was injured, so I carried him on my beast as far as the valley of Yajaj where we tethered our beast in the corner of a pass and rested there. I suggested to my companion that we should go to Abu Sufyan's house and I would try to kill him while he kept watch. If there was a commotion or he feared danger he should take to his camel and go to Medina and tell the prophet the news; he could leave me because I knew the country well and was fleet-footed. When we entered Mecca I had a small dagger like an eagle's feather which I held in readiness: if anyone laid hold of me I could kill him with it. My companion asked that we might begin by going round the Kaaba seven times and pray a couple of rakas. I told him that I knew more about the Meccans than he: in the evening their courts are sprinkled with water and they sit there, and I am more easily recognisable than a piebald horse. However, he kept on at me until we did as he wanted, and as we came out of the Kaaba we passed by one of their groups and a man recognized me and called out at the top of his voice, 'This is Amr b. Umayya!' Thereupon the Meccans rushed at us, saying, 'By God, Amr has come for no good. He has never brought anything but evil,' for Amr was a violent unruly fellow in heathen days.

Tabari 1439: They got up to pursue us and I told my companion to escape, for the very thing I feared had happened, and as to Abu Sufyan there was no means of getting at him. So we made off with all speed and climbed the mountain and went into a cave where we spent the night, having successfully eluded them so that they returned to Mecca. When we entered the cave I put some rocks at the entrance as a screen and told my companion to keep quiet until the pursuit should die down, for they would search for us that night and the following day until the evening. While we were in the cave up came Uthman b. Malik b. Ubaydullah al-Taymi cutting grass for a horse of his. He kept coming nearer until he was at the very entrance of the cave. I told my friend who he was and that he would give us away to the Meccans, and I went out and stabbed him under the breast with the dagger. He shrieked so loud that the Meccans heard him and came towards him. I went back to the cave and told my friend to stay where he was. The Meccans hastened in the direction of the sound and found him at the last gasp. They asked him who had stabbed him and he told them that it was I, and died. They did not get to know where we were and said, 'By God, we knew 'Amr was up to no good.' They were so occupied with the dead man whom they carried off that they could not look for us, and we stayed a couple of days in the cave until the pursuit died down. Then we went to al-Tanim, and lo, Khubayb's cross (See Wellhausen 641 supra.). My friend asked if we should take him down from the cross, for there he was.

Tabari 1440: I told him to leave the matter to me and to get away from me for guards were posted round it. If he was afraid of anything he must go to his camel and tell the apostle what had happened. I ran up to Khubayb's cross, freed him from it, and carried him on my back. Hardly had I taken forty steps when they became aware of me and I threw him down and I cannot forget the thud when he dropped. They ran after me and I took the way to al-Safra and when they wearied of the pursuit they went back and my friend rode to the prophet and told him our news. I continued on foot until I looked down on the valley of Dajnan. I went into a cave there taking my bow and arrows, and while I was there in came a one-eyed man of B. al-Dil driving a sheep of his. When he asked who I was I told him that I was one of (the) B. Bakr. He said that he was also, adding of (the) B. al-Dil clan. Then he ley down beside me and lifting up his voice began to sing:

I will not be a Muslim as long as I live,
Nor heed to their religion give.

I said (to myself), 'You will soon know!' and as soon as the badu was asleep and snoring I got up and killed him in a more horrible way than any man has been killed. I put the end of my bow in his sound eye, then I bore down on it until I forced it out at the back of his neck. Then I came out like a beast of prey and took the highroad like an eagle hastening until I came out at a village which, (said the narrator), he described; then to Rakuba and al-Naqi where suddenly there appeared two Meccans whom

Tabari 1441: (The) Quraysh had sent to spy on the apostle. I recognised them and called on them to surrender, and when they refused I shot one and killed him, and the other surrendered. I bound him and took him to the apostle. Ibn Ishaq from Sulayman b. Wardan from his father from Amr b. Umayya: 'When I got to Medina I passed some shaykhs of the Ansar and when they exclaimed at me some young men heard my name and ran to tell the apostle. Now I had bound my prisoner's thumbs with my bowstring, and when the apostle looked at him he laughed so that one could see his back teeth. He asked my news and when I told him what had happened he blessed me' [Ibn Hisham's account will be found in the section devoted to his additions.].) (914).

SALIM B. UMAYR'S EXPEDITION TO KILL ABU AFAK

Abu Afak was one of B.Amrb. Auf of the B. Ubayda clan. He showed his disaffection when the apostle killed al-Harith b. Suwayd b. Samit and said:

Long have I lived but never have I seen
An assembly or collection of people
More faithful to their undertaking
And their allies when called upon
Than the sons of Qayla (Qayla was the putative ancestress of Aus and Khazraj. when they assembled,
Men who overthrew mountains and never submitted.
A rider who came to them split them in two (saying)
'Permitted', 'Forbidden' (A gibe at the language of the Koran.) of all sorts of things.
Had you believed in glory or kingship
You would have followed Tubba (i.e. You resisted Tubba who, after all, was a king in fact and a man of great reputation, so why believe in Mohammed's claims?.)

The apostle said, 'Who will deal with this rascal for me?' whereupon Salim b. Umayr, brother of B. Amr b. Auf one of the 'weepers', went forth and killed him. Umama b. Muzayriya said concerning that:

You gave the lie to God's religion and the man Ahmad!
By him who was your father, evil is the son he produced!
A hanlf gave you a thrust in the night saying
'Take that Abu Afak in spite of your age!'
Though I knew whether it was man or jinn Waq.
Who slew you in the dead of night (I would say naught). (Wellhausen, p. 91, proposed an emendation of the text which hardly seems necessary. This line is not in Wellhausen.)

UMAYR B. ADIY'S JOURNEY TO KILL ASMA D. MARWAN

She was of B. Umayya b. Zayd. When Abu Afak had been killed she displayed disaffection. Abdullah b. al-Harith b. al-Fudayl from his father said that she was married to a man of B. Khatma called Yazid b. Zayd. Blaming Islam and its followers she said:

I despise B. Malik and al-Nabit
And Auf and (the) B. al-Khazraj.
You obey a stranger who is none of yours,
One not of Murad or Madhhij (Two tribes of Yamani / Yemenite origin.).
Do you expect good from him after the killing of your chiefs
Like a hungry man waiting for a cook's broth?
Is there no man of pride who would attack him by surprise
And cut off the hopes of those who expect aught from him?

Hassan b. Thabit answered her:

(The) Banu Wail and (the) B. Waqif and Khatma
Are inferior to (the) B. al-Khazraj.
When she called for folly woe to her in her weeping,
For death is coming.
She stirred up a man of glorious origin,
Noble in his going out and his coming in.
Before midnight he dyed her in her blood
And incurred no guilt thereby.

When the apostle heard what she hao" said he said, 'Who will rid me of Marwan's daughter?' Umayr b. Adiy al-Khatmi who was with him heard him, and that very night he went to her house and killed her. In the morning he came to the apostle and told him what he had done and he said, 'You have helped God and His apostle, O Umayr!' When he asked if he would have to bear any evil consequences the apostle said, 'Two goats will not butt their heads about her,' so Umayr went back to his people.

Now there was a great commotion among (the) B. Khatma that day about the affair of Bint Marwan. She had five sons, and when 'Umayr went to them from the apostle he said, 'I have killed Bint Marwan, O sons of Khatma. Withstand me if you can; don't keep me waiting (Koran 11.58).' That was the first day that Islam became powerful among B. Khatma; before that those who were Muslims concealed the fact. The first of them to accept Islam was Umayr b. Adly who was called 'the Reader', and Abdullah b. Aus and Khuzayma b. Thabit. The day after Bint Marwan was killed the men of (the) B. Khatma became Muslims because they saw the power of Islam.

THE CAPTURE OF THUMAMA B. ATHAL AL-HANAFL

I heard on the authority of Abu Said al-Maqburi from Abu Hurayra that the latter said: The apostle's cavalry went out and captured a man of (the) B. Hanifa not knowing who he was until they brought him to the apostle who told them that he was Thumama b. Athal al-Hanafi and that they must treat him honourably in his captivity. The apostle went back to his house and told them to send what food they had to him, and ordered that his milch-camel should be taken to him night and morning; but this failed to satisfy Thumama. The apostle went to him and urged him to accept Islam. He said, 'Enough, Mohammed; if you kill me you kill one whose blood must be paid for, if jou want a ransom, ask what you like.' Matters remained thus so long as God willed and then the apostle said that Thumama was to be released. When they let him go he went as far as al-Baqi, where he purified himself and then returned and paid homage to the prophet in Islam. When evening came they brought him food as usual, but he would take only a little of it and only a small quantity of the camel's milk. The Muslims were astonished at this; but when the apostle heard of it he said, 'Why are you astonished? At a man who at the beginning of the day ate with an unbeliever's stomach and at the end of the day with a Muslim's? An unbeliever eats with seven stomachs: the believer with one only' (915).

THE EXPEDITION OF ALQAMA B. MUJAZZIZ

When Waqqas b. Mujazziz al-Mudliji was killed on the day of Dhu Qarad, Alqama b. Mujazziz asked the apostle to send him on the track of the people so that he might take vengeance on them. Abdul-Aziz b. Mohammed from Mohammed b. Amr b. Alqama from Umar b. al-Hakam b. Thauban from Abu Said al-Khudri said: The apostle sent Alqama b. Mujazziz, I being with the force, and when we were on the way he summoned a part of the force and appointed Abdullah b. Hudhafa al-Sahmi their leader. He was one of the apostle's companions—a facetious fellow, and when they were on the way he kindled a fire and said to the men: 'Have I not claim on your obedience so that if I order you to do something you must do it?' and when they agreed he said, 'Then by virtue of my claim on your obedience I order you to leap into this fire.' Some of them began to gird up their loins so that he thought that they would leap into the fire, and then he said, 'Sit down, I was only laughing at you !' When the apostle was told of this after they had returned he said, 'If anyone orders you to do something which you ought not to do, do not obey him.'

Mohammed b. Jalha said that Alqama and his companions returned without fighting.

KURZ B. JABIR'S EXPEDITION
TO KILL THE BAJILIS WHO HAD KILLED YASAR

A traditionist told me from one who had told him from Mohammed b. Talha from Uthman b. Abdul-Rahman that in the raid of Muharib and (the) B. Thalaba the apostle had captured a slave called Yasar, and he put him in charge of his milch-camels to shepherd them in the neighbourhood of al-Jamma. Some men of Qays of Kubba of Bajila came to the apostle suffering from an epidemic and enlarged spleens, and the apostle told them that if they went to the milch-camels and drank their milk and urine they would recover, so off they went. When they recovered their health and their bellies contracted to their normal size they fell upon the apostle's shepherd Yasar and killed him and stuck thorns in his eyes and drove away his camels. The apostle sent Kurz b. Jabir in pursuit and he overtook them and brought them to the apostle as he returned from the raid of Dhu Qarad. He cut off their hands and feet and gouged out their eyes.

ALI'S RAID ON THE YAMAN

Ali raided the Yaman (Yemen) twice (916).

USAMA B. ZAYD'S MISSION TO PALESTINE

The apostle sent Usama to Syria and commanded him to take the cavalry into the borders of the Balqa and al-Dartim in the land of Judaea. So the men got ready and all the first emigrants went with Usama (917).

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THE BEGINNING OF THE APOSTLE'S ILLNESS

While matters were thus the apostle began to suffer from the illness by which God took him to what honour and compassion He intended for him shortly before the end of Safar or in the beginning of Rabiul-awwal. It began, so I have been told, when he went to Baqiul-Gharqad in the middle of the night and prayed for the dead. Then he returned to bis family and in the morning his sufferings began.

Abdullah b. Umar from Ubayd b. Jubayr, a freedman of al-Hakam b. Abul-As, from Abdullah b. Amr b. al-As from Abu Muwayhiba, a freedman of the apostle, said: In the middle of the night the apostle sent for me and told me that he was ordered to pray for the dead in this cemetery and that I was to go with him. I went; and when he stood among them he said, 'Peace upon you, O people of the graves! Happy are you that you are so much better off than men here. Dissensions have come like waves of darkness one after the other, the last being worse than the first.' Then he turned to me and said, 'I have been given the choice between the keys of the treasuries of this world and long life here followed by Paradise, and meeting my Lord and Paradise (at once).' I urged him to choose the former, but he said that he had chosen the latter. Then he prayed for the dead there and went away. Then it was that the illness through which God took him began.

Yaqub b. Utba from Mohammed b. Muslim al-Zuhri from Ubaydullah b. Abdullah b. Utba b. Masud from Aisha, the prophet's wife, said: The apostle returned from the cemetery to find me suffering from a severe headache and I was saying, 'O my head!' He said, 'Nay, Aisha, O my head!' Then he said, 'Would it distress you if you were to die before me so that I might wrap you in your shroud and pray over you and bury you?' I said, 'Methinks I see you if you had done that returning to my house and spending a bridal night therein with one of your wives.' The apostle smiled and then his pain overcame him as he was going the round of his wives, until he was overpowered in the house of Maymuna. He called his wives and asked their permission to be nursed in my house, and they agreed (918).

THE APOSTLE'S ILLNESS IN THE HOUSE OF AISHA.

(Ibn Ishaq's tradition from Aisha continues.)

The apostle went out walking between two men of his family, one of whom was al-Fadl b. al-Abbas. His head was bound in a cloth and his feet were dragging as he came to my house. Ubaydullah told this tradition to Abdullah b. al-Abbas who told him that the other man was Ali (Tabari but that Aisha could not bring herself to speak well of him though she was able to do so).

Then the apostle's illness worsened and he suffered much pain. He said, 'Pour seven skins of water from different wells over me so that I may go out to the men and instruct them.' We made him sit down in a tub belonging to Hafsa d. Umar and we poured water over him until he cried, 'Enough, enough!'

Al-Zuhri said that Ayyub b. Bashir told him that the apostle went out with his head bound up and sat in the pulpit. The first thing he uttered was a prayer over the men of Uhud asking God's forgiveness for them and praying for them a long time; then he said, 'God has given one of his servants the choice between this world and that which is with God and he has chosen the latter.' Abu Bakr perceived that he meant himself and he wept, saying, 'Nay, we and our children will be your ransom.' He replied, 'Gently, Abu Bakr,' adding, 'See to these doors that open on to the mosque and shut them except one from Abu Bakr's house, for I know no one who is a better friend to me than he' (919).

Abdul-Rahman b. Abdullah told me from one of the family of Said b. al-Mualla that the apostle said in his speech that day, 'If I were able to choose a friend on earth I would choose Abu Bakr, but comradeship and brotherhood in the faith remain until God unites us in His presence.'

Mohammed b. Jafar b. al-Zubayr told me from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr and other learned men that the apostle found the people tardy in joining the expedition of Usama b. Zayd while he was suffering, so he went out with his head bound up until he sat in the pulpit. Now people had criticised the leadership of Usama, saying, 'He has put a young man in command of the best of the emigrants and the helpers.' After praising God as is His due he said, 'O men, dispatch UsSma's force, for though you criticize his leadership as you criticised the leadership of his father before him, he is just as worthy of the command as his father was.' Then he came down and the people hurried on with their preparations. The apostle's pain became severe and Usama and his army went out as far as al-Jurf, about a stage from Medina, and encamped there and men gathered to him. When the apostle became seriously ill Usama and his men stayed there to see what God would decide about the apostle.

Zuhri said that Abdullah b. Kab b. Malik told him that the apostle said on the day that he asked God's forgiveness for the men of Uhud, 'O Muhajirs, behave kindly to the Ansar, for other men increase but they in the nature of things cannot grow more numerous. They were my constant comfort and support. So treat their good men well and forgive those of them who are remiss.' Then he came down and entered his house and his pain increased until he was exhausted. Then some of his wives gathered to him, Umm Salama and Maymuna and some of the wives of the Muslims, among them Asma d. Umays while his uncle Abbas was with him, and they agreed to force him to take medicine. Abbas said, 'Let me force him,' but they did it. When he recovered he asked who had treated him thus. When they told him it was his uncle he said, 'This is a medicine which women have brought from that country,' and he pointed in the direction of Abyssinia. When he asked why they had done that his uncle said, 'We were afraid that you would get pleurisy;' he replied, 'That is a disease which God would not afflict me with. Let no one stop in the house until they have been forced to take this medicine, except my uncle.' Maymuna was forced to take it although she was fasting because of the apostle's oath, as a punishment for what they had done to him.

(Tabari 1809: Mohammed b. Jafar b. al-Zubayr told me from Urwa b. al-Zubayr that Aisha told him that when they said that they were afraid that he would get pleurisy he said, 'That is something which comes from the devil, and God would not let it have power over me.')

Said b. Ubayd b. al-Sabbaq from Mohammed b. Usama from his father told me that when the apostle's illness became severe he and the men came down to Medina and he went in to the apostle who was unable to speak. He began to lift his hand towards heaven and then bring it down upon him, from which he knew that he was blessing him.

Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri told me from Ubayd b. Abdullah b. Utba from Aisha that she used to hear the apostle say, 'God never takes a prophet to Himself without giving him the choice.' Wnen he was at the point of death the last word I heard the apostle saying was, 'Nay, rather the Exalted Companion of paradise (Koran 4.71).' I said (to myself), Then by God he is not choosing us! And I knew that that was what he used to tell us, namely that a prophet does not die without being given the choice.

Al-Zuhri said, Hamza b. Abdullah b. Umar told me that Aisha said: 'When the prophet became seriously ill he ordered the people to tell Abu Bakr to superintend the prayers. Aisha told him that Abu Bakr was a delicate man with a weak voice who wept much when he read the Koran. He repeated his order nevertheless, and I repeated my objection. He said, "You are like Joseph's companions; tell him to preside at prayers." My only reason for saying what I did was that I wanted Abu Bakr to be spared this task, because I knew that people would never like a man who occupied the apostle's place, and would blame him for every misfortune that occurred, and I wanted Abu Bakr to be spared this.'

Ibn Shihab said, 'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr b. Abdul-Rahman b. al-Harith b. Hisham told me from his father from Abdullah b. Zamaa b. al-Aswad b. al-Muttalib b. Asad that when the apostle was seriously ill and I with a number of Muslims was with him Bilal called him to prayer, and he told us to order someone to preside at prayers. So I went out and there was Umar with the people, but Abu Bakr was not there. I told Umar to get up and lead the prayers, so he did so, and when he shouted Allah Akbar the apostle heard his voice, for he had a powerful voice, and he asked where Abu Bakr was, saying twice over, 'God and the Muslims forbid that.' So I was sent to Abu Bakr and he came after Umar had finished that prayer and presided. Umar asked me what on earth I had done, saying, 'When you told me to take the prayers I thought that the apostle had given you orders to that effect ; but for that I would not have done so.' I replied that he had not ordered me to do so, but when I could not see Abu Bakr I thought that he was most worthy of those present to preside at prayers.

Al-Zuhri said that Anas b. Malik told him that on the Monday (Tabari: the day) on which God took His apostle he went out to the people as they were praying the morning prayer. The curtain was lifted and the door opened and out came the apostle and stood at Aisha's door. The Muslims were almost seduced from their prayers for joy at seeing him, and he motioned to them (Tabari: with his hand) that they should continue their prayers. The apostle smiled with joy when he marked their mien in prayer, and I never saw him with a nobler expression than he had that day. Then he went back and the people went away thinking that the apostle had recovered from his illness. Abu Bakr returned to his wife in al-Sunh.

Mohammed b. Ibrahim b. al-Harith told me from al-Qasim b. Mohammed that when the apostle heard Umar saying Allah Akbar in the prayer he asked where Abu Bakr was. 'God and the Muslims forbid this.' Had it not been for what 'Umar said when he died, the Muslims would not have doubted that the apostle had appointed Abu Bakr his successor; but he said when he died, 'If I appoint a successor, one better than I did so; and if I leave them (to elect my successor) one better than I did so.' So the people knew that the apostle had not appointed a successor and Umar was not suspected of hostility towards Abu Bakr (Abu Bakr appointed Umar to succeed him; the prophet made no pointment.).

Abu Bakr b. Abdullah b. Abu Mulayka told me that when the Monday came the apostle went out to morning prayer with his head wrapped up while Abu Bakr was leading the prayers. When the apostle went out the people's attention wavered, and Abu Bakr knew that the people would not behave thus unless the apostle had come, so he withdrew from his place; but the apostle pushed him in the back, saying, 'Lead the men in prayer,' and the apostle sat at his side praying in a sitting posture on the right of Abu Bakr. When he had ended prayer he turned to the men and spoke to them with a loud voice which could be heard outside the mosque: 'O men, the fire is kindled, and rebellions come like the darkness of the night. By God, you can lay nothing to my charge. I allow only what the Koran allows and forbid only what the Koran forbids.' When he had ended these words Abu Bakr said to him: 'O prophet of God, I see that this morning you enjoy the favour and goodness of God as we desire; today is the day of Bint Kharija. May I go to her?' The apostle agreed and went indoors and Abu Bakr went to his wife in al-Sunh.

Al-Zuhri said, and Abdullah b. Kab b. Malik from Abdullah b. Abbas told me: That day Ali went out from the apostle and the men asked him how the apostle was and he replied that thanks be to God he had recovered.

Abbas took him by the hand and said, Ali, three nights hence you will be a slave. I swear by God that I recognised death in the apostle's face as I used to recognise it in the faces of the sons of Abdul-Muttalib. So let us go to the apostle; if authority is to be with us, we shall know it, and if it is to be with others we will request him to enjoin the people to treat us well.' Ali answered: 'By God, I will not. If it is withheld from us none after him will give it to us.' The apostle died with the heat of noon that day.

Yaqub (Jacob) b. Utba from al-Zuhri from Urwa from Aisha said: The apostle came back to me from the mosque that day and lay in my bosom. A man of Abu Bakr's family came in to me with a toothpick in his hand and the apostle looked at it in such a way that I knew he wanted it, and when I asked him if he wanted me to give it him he said Yes; so I took it and chewed it for him to soften it and gave it to him. He rubbed his teeth with it more energetically than I had ever seen him rub before; then he laid it down. I found him heavy in my bosom and as I looked into his face, lo his eyes were fixed and he was saying, 'Nay, the most Exalted Companion is of paradise.' I said, 'You were given the choice and you have chosen, by Him Who sent you with the truth!' Andso the apostle was taken.

Yahya (John) b. Abbad b. Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from his father told me that he heard Aisha say: The apostle died in my bosom during my turn: I had wronged none in regard to him. It was due to my ignorance and extreme youth that the apostle died in my arms. Then I laid his head on a pillow and got up beating my breast and slapping my face along with the other women.

Al-Zuhri said, and Said b. al-Musayyib from Abu Hurayra told me: When the apostle was dead Umar got up and said: 'Some of the disaffected will allege that the apostle is dead, but by God he is not dead: he has gone to his Lord as Moses b. Imran went and was hidden from his people for forty days, returning to them after it was said that he had died. By God, the apostle will return as Moses returned and will cut off the hands and feet of men who allege that the apostle is dead.' When Abu Bakr heard what was happening he came to the door of the mosque as Umar was speaking to the people. He paid no attention but went in to Aisha's house to the apostle, who was lying covered by a mantle of Yamani cloth. He went and uncovered his face and kissed him, saying, 'You are dearer than my father and mother. You have tasted the death which God had decreed: a second death will never overtake you.' Then he replaced the mantle on the apostle's face and went out. Umar was still speaking and he said, 'Gently, 'Umar, be quiet.' But 'Umar refused and went on talking, and when Abu Bakr saw that he would not be silent he went forward to the people who, when they heard his words, came to him and left Umar. Giving thanks and praise to God he said: 'O men, if anyone worships Mohammed, Mohammed is dead: if anyone worships God, God is alive, immortal.' Then he recited this verse: 'Mohammed is nothing but an apostle. Apostles have passed away before him. Can it be that if he were to die or be killed you would turn back on your heels? He who turns back does no harm to God and God will reward the grateful (Koran 3.138).' By God, it was as though the people did not know that this verse (Tabari: concerning the apostle) had come down until Abu Bakr recited it that day. The people took it from him and it was (constantly) in their mouths. Umar said, 'By God, when I heard Abu Bakr recite these words I was dumbfounded so that my legs would not bear me and I fell to the ground knowing that the apostle was indeed dead.

THE MEETING IN THE HALL OF THE B. SAIDA

When the apostle was taken this clan of the Ansar gathered round Sad b. Ubada in the hall of (the) B. Saida, and Ali and al-Zubayr b. al-Awwam and Talha b. Ubaydullah separated themselves in Fatima's house while the rest of the Muhajirin gathered round Abu Bakr accompanied by Usayd b. Hudayr with the B. Abdul-Ashhal. Then someone came to Abu Bakr and Umar telling them that this clan of the Ansar had

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gathered round Sad in the hall of (the) B. Saida. 'If you want to have command of the people, then take it before their action becomes serious.' Now the apostle was still in his house, the burial arrangements not having been completed, and his family had locked the door of the house. Umar said, 'I said to Abu Bakr, Let us go to these our brothers of the Ansar to see what they are doing.'

In connexion with these events Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me from Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri from Ubaydullah b. Abdullah b. Utba b. Masud from Abdullah b. Abbas who said, I was waiting for Abdul-Rahman b. Auf in his station in Mina while he was with Umar in the last pilgrimage which Umar performed. When he returned he found me waiting, for I was teaching him to read the Koran. Abdul-Rahman said to me: 'I wish you could have seen a man who came to the commander of the faithful and said, "O commander of the faithful, would you like a man who said, By God, if Umar were dead I would hail So-and-so. Fealty given to Abu Bakr was a hasty mistake and was ratified."' Umar was angry and said, 'God willing, I shall get up among the men tonight and warn them against those who want to usurp power over them.' I said, Do not do it, commander of the faithful, for the festival brings together the riff-raff and the lowest of the people; they are the ones who will be in the majority in your proximity (Tabari: your assembly) when you stand among the people. And I am afraid lest you should get up and say something which they will repeat everywhere, not understanding what you say or interpreting it aright; so wait until you come to Medina, for it is the home of the sunna and you can confer privately with the lawyers and the nobles of the people. (Tabari: you will come to the home of the hijra and the sunna and you can confer privately with the apostle's companions both muhajirin and ansar.) (The difference between the two reports of what Ibn Ishaq said is interesting. Ziyad makes the lawyers and the sharifs the ultimate authority while Tabari has nothing to say about them and regards the prophet's companions as the real authorities. If the tradition is genuine Tabari's version must be authentic because there can hardly have been lawyers in Umar's day. However, it is possible that at that time fiqh did not bear its later meaning.) You can say what you will and the lawyers (Tabari: they) will understand what you say and interpret it properly.' Umar replied, 'By God, if He will I will do so as soon as I get to Medina.'

We came to Medina at the end of Dhul-Hijja and on the Friday I returned quickly when the sun had set and found Said b. Zayd b. Amr b. Nufayl sitting by the support of the pulpit and I sat opposite him knee to knee. Immediately 'Umar came out and when I saw him coming I said to Said, 'He will say something tonight on this pulpit which he has never said since he was made caliph.' Said was annoyed and asked, 'What do you suppose that he is going to say that he has never said before?' Umar sat in the pulpit, and when the muezzins were silent he praised God as was fitting and said: 'I am about to say to you today something which God has willed that I should say and I do not know whether perhaps it is my last utterance. He who understands and heeds it let him take it with him whithersoever he goes; and as for him who fears that he will not heed it, he may not deny that I said it. God sent Mohammed and sent down the scripture to him. Part of what he sent down was the passage on stoning; we read it, we were taught it, and we heeded it. The apostle stoned (adulterers) and we stoned them after him. I fear that in time to come men will say that they find no mention of stoning in God's book and thereby go astray by neglecting an ordinance which God has sent down. Verily stoning in the book of God is a penalty laid on married men and women who commit adultery, if proof stands or pregnancy is clear or confession is made. Then we read in what we read from God's book: "Do not desire to have ancestors other than your own for it is infidelity so to do."' (This citation, which on the face of it has nothing to do with adultery, shows that the dya of which it is the beginning was well known in Ibn Ishaq's time. It continues: 'If an adult man or woman commit adultery stone them without exception as a punishment from God. God is mighty and wise.' See Nöldeke-Schwally, Geschichte des Qorans, i. 248, where the authorities are given. If it was part of the Koran it is difficult to see where it stood originally. Muslim authorities suggest Sura 33, but the rhyme forbids this; and Sura 24, but there the punishment is scourging. Most commentators hold that the verse is one of those that was afterwards abrogated, while others say that it was accidentally lost owing to a domestic animal eating the part of the page on which the revelation was written. Cf. Zamakhshari on Sura 33, and others. This tradition which is carried back to Aisha is condemned as the invention of sectarians. There is a real problem which can hardly be satisfactorily solved: on the one hand, the Koran teaches that adulterers must be scourged; on the other hand, this exceeding early tradition—much older than the later canonical collections of hadith—that they must be stoned is evidently the authority which lies behind the penalty prescribed by Muslim lawbooks to this day. See the authorities quoted op. cit., p. 251.

Since the words shaykha and albatta occur nowhere in the Koran and since the first part of the verse appears in a slightly different form as a saying of Mohammed in Muslim's Sahih [Iman 27], the probability is that it never formed part of the Koran. However, if the traditional form of Umar's speech as given by Ibn Ishaq (and by Tabari on another authority) is authentic, it remains to be explained why Umar, who was a most truthful man, should have stated publicly in the strongest possible terms that the verse was to be read in the Koran.)

Did not the apostle say, 'Do not praise me extravagantly as Jesus son of Mary was praised and say The servant and the apostle of God?' I have heard that someone said, 'If Umar were dead I would hail So-and-so.' Do not let a man deceive himself by saying that the acceptance of Abu Bakr was an unpremeditated affair* which was ratified. (* The exact meaning is somewhat elusive.) Admittedly it was that, but God averted the evil of it. There is none among you to whom people would devote themselves as they did to Abu Bakr. He who accepts a man as ruler without consulting the Muslims, such acceptance has no validity for either of them: they are in danger of being killed. What happened was that when God took away His apostle the Ansar opposed us and gathered with their chiefs in the hall of (the) B. Saida; and Ali and al-Zubayr and their companions withdrew from us; while the Muhajirin gathered to Abu Bakr.

I told Abu Bakr that we should go to our brothers the Ansar, so we went off to go to them when two honest fellows met us and told us of the conclusion the people had come to. They asked us where we were going, and when we told them they said that there was no need for us to approach them and we must make our own decision. I said, 'By God, we will go to them,' and we found them in the hall of (the) B. Saida. In the middle of them was a man wrapped up. In answer to my inquiries they said that he was Sad b. Ubada and that he was ill. When we sat down their speaker pronounced the shahdda and praised God as was fitting and then continued: 'We are God's Helpers and the squadron of Islam. You, O Muhajirin, are a family of ours and a company of your people have come to settle.' (Umar) said, 'And lo, they were trying to cut us off from our origin and wrest authority from us.' (The crucial word qala indicating that Umar was the speaker is missing from Wellhausen. Tabari 1822 makes the passage perfectly clear. 'He said When I saw that they wanted to cut us off from (yakhtazilu) our origin and wrest authority from us and I had prepared," etc. The passage is of great importance in that it shows how the Emigrants were then the dominating party and henceforth the Ansar would have to take a subordinate place.) When he had finished I wanted to speak, for I had prepared a speech in my mind which pleased me much. I wanted to produce it before Abu Bakr and I was trying to soften a certain asperity of his; but Abu Bakr said, 'Gently, Umar!' I did not like to anger him and so he spoke. He was a man with more knowledge and dignity than I, and by God he did not omit a single word which I had thought of and he uttered it in his inimitable way better than I could have done. He said: 'All the good that you have said about yourselves is deserved. But the Arabs will recognise authority only in this clan of (the) Quraysh, they being the best of the Arabs in blood and country. I offer you one of these two men: accept which you please.' Thus saying he took hold of my hand and that of Abu Ubayda b. al-Jarrah who was sitting between us. Nothing he said displeased me more than that. By God, I would rather have come forward and have had my head struck off—if that were no sin—than rule over a people of whom Abu Bakr was one.

One of the Ansar said: 'I am the rubbing post and the fruitful propped-up palm (i.e. a man who can cure people's ills and is held in high esteem became of his great experience.). Let us have one ruler and you another, O Quraysh.' Altercation waxed hotter and voices were raised until when a complete breach was to be feared I said, 'Stretch out your hand, Abu Bakr.' He did so and I paid him homage; the Muhajirin followed and then the Ansar. (In doing so) we jumped on Sad b. Ubada and someone said that we had killed him I said, 'God kill him.'

Al-Zuhri said that Urwa b. al-Zubayr told him that one of the two men whom they met on the way to the hall was Uwaym b. Saida and the other was Man b. Adiy, brother of (the) B. al-Ajlan. Concerning Uwaym we have heard that when the apostle was asked who were those of whom God said 'In it are men who love to purify themselves and God loves those who purify themselves' (Koran 1.109), the apostle said that the best man of them was Uwaym b. Saida. As to Man, we have heard that when me*n wept over the apostle's death and said that they wished that they had died before him because they feared that they would split up into factions, he said that he did not want to die before him so that he could bear witness to his truth when he was dead as he had done when he was alive. Man was killed on the day of al-Yamama as a martyr in the caliphate of Abu Bakr, the day of Musaylima the arch-liar. Al-Zuhri told me on the authority of Anas b. Malik: On the morrow of Abu Bakr's acceptance in the hall he sat in the pulpit and 'Umar got up and spoke before him, and after praising God as was meet he said, 'O men, yesterday I said something (Tabari 1828: based on my own opinion and) which I do not find in God's book nor was it something which the apostle entrusted to me; but I thought that the apostle would order our affairs (until) he was the last of us (alive). God has left His book with you, that by which He guided His apostle, and if you hold fast to that God will guide you as He guided him. God has placed your affairs in the hands of the best one among you, the companion of the apostle, "the second of the two when they were in the cave" (Koran 9.40), so arise and swear fealty to him.' Thereupon the people swore fealty to Abu Bakr as a body after the pledge in the hall.

Abu Bakr said after praising God: 'I have been given authority over you but I am not the best of you. If I do well, help me, and if I do ill, then put me right. Truth consists in loyalty and falsehood in treachery. The weak among you shall be strong in my eyes until I secure his right if God will; and the strong among you shall be weak in my eyes until I wrest the right from him. If a people refrain from fighting in the way of God, God will smite them with disgrace. Wickedness is never widespread in a people but God brings calamity upon them all. Obey me as long as I obey God and His apostle, and if I disobey them you owe me no obedience. Arise to prayer. God have mercy on you.'

Husayn b. Abdullah told me from Ikrima.from Ibn Abbas who said: 'When Umar was caliph I was walking with him while he was intent on business of his. We were alone and he had a whip in his Hand, and as he talked to himself he swished the side of his legs with his whip. As he turned to me he asked me if I knew what induced him to speak as he did when the apostle died. I said that only he could know that, and he went on: "It was because I used to read 'thus we have made you a middle people that you may be witnesses against men and that the apostle may be a witness against you (Koran 1.37),' and by God I thought that the apostle would remain among his people until he could witness against them as to the last things they did. That was what induced me to say what I did."'

THE BURIAL PREPARATIONS

When fealty had been sworn to Abu Bakr men came to prepare the apostle for burial on the Tuesday. Abdullah b. Abu Bakr and Husayn b. Abdullah and others of our companions told me that Ali and Abbas and his sons al-Fadl and Qutham, and Usama b. Zayd, and Shuqran freedman of the apostle were those who took charge of the washing of him; and that Aus b. Khauli, one of (the) B. Auf b. al-Khazraj, said, 'I adjure you by God, Ali, and by our share in the apostle (i.e. 'that you will let me take part' or some such apodosis.).' Aus was one of the apostle's companions who had been at Badr. Ali gave him permission to enter and he came in and sat down and was present at the washing of the apostle. Ali drew him on to his breast and Abbas and al-Fadl and Qutham turned him over along with him. Usama and Shuqran poured the water over him, while Ali washed him, having drawn him towards his breast. He still wore his shirt with which he rubbed him from the outside without touching the apostle's body with his hand the while he said, 'Dearer than my father and my mother, how sweet you are alive and dead!' The apostle's body did not present the appearance of an ordinary corpse.

Yahya b. Abbad b. Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from his father Abbad from Aisha: When they wanted to wash the apostle dispute arose. They did not know whether they were to strip him of his clothes as they stripped their dead or to wash him with his clothes on. As they disputed God cast a deep sleep upon them so that every man's chin was sunk on his chest. Then a voice came from the direction of the house, none knowing who it was: 'Wash the apostle with his clothes on.' So they got up and went to the apostle and washed him with his shirt on, pouring water on the shirt, and rubbing him with the shirt between him and them (Tabari: Aisha used to say, 'Had I known at the beginning of my affair what I knew at the end of it none but his wives would have washed him').

Jafar b. Mohammed b. Ali b. al-Husayn from his father from his grandfather Ali b. al-Husayn, and al-Zuhri from Ali b. al-Husayn, said that when the apostle had been washed he was wrapped in three garments, two of Suhar make (There are two towns of this name, one in the Yaman and the other in al-Yamama in the B. Tamim territory.) and a striped mantle wrapped the one over the other.

Husayn b. Abdullah told me from Ikrima from Ibn Abbas: Now Abu Ubayda b. al-Jarrah used to open the ground as the Meccans dig, and Abu Talha Zayd b. Sahl used to dig graves for the Medinans and to make a niche in them and when they wanted to bury the apostle al-Abbas called two men and told one to go to Abu Ubayda and the other to Abu Talha saying, 'O God, choose for (thy) the apostle.' The one sent to Abu Talha found his man and brought him and he dug the grave with the niche for the apostle (All Muslim graves contain this niche or recess.).

When the preparations for burial had been completed on the Tuesday he was laid upon his bed in his house. The Muslims had disputed over the place of burial. Some were in favour of burying him in his mosque, while others wanted to bury him with his companions. Abu Bakr said, 'I heard the apostle say, "No prophet dies but he is buried where he died"';

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so the bed on which he died was taken up and they made a grave beneath it. Then the people came to visit the apostle praying over him by companies: first came the men, then the women, then the children (Tabari: then the slaves). No man acted as imam in the prayers over the apostle. The apostle was buried in the middle of the night of the Wednesday.

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me from his wife Fatima d. (Mohammed b.) Umara from Amra d. Abdul-Rahman b. Sad b. Zurara that Aisha said: We knew nothing about the burial of the apostle until we heard the sound of the pickaxes in the middle of the Wednesday night. Ibn Ishaq said: Fatima told me this tradition.

Those who descended into the grave were Ali and al-Fadl and Qutham the sons of Abbas, and Shuqran. Aus implored Ali in the name of God and his share in the apostle to let him descend, and he let him go with the others. When the apostle was laid in his grave and the earth was laid over him Shuqran his freedman took a garment which the apostle used to wear and use as a rug and buried (Tabari: cast) it in the grave saying, 'By God, none shall ever wear it after you,' so it was buried with the apostle. Al-Mughira b. Shuba used to claim that he was the last man to be with the apostle. He used to say, 'I took my ring and let it fall into the grave and said, My ring has dropped. But I threw it in purposely that I might touch the apostle and be the last man to be with him.'

My father Ishaq b. Yasar told me from Miqsam, freedman of Abdullah b. al-Harith b. Naufal, from his freedman Abdullah b. al-Harith: I went on the little pilgrimage with Ali in the time of Umar or Uthman and he visited his sister Umm Hani d. Abu Talib. When he had finished his pilgrimage (Tabari: I poured out) ablution water was poured out for him and he washed. When he had finished some Iraqis came in saying that they had come to ask him about a matter on which they would like him to give them some information. He said, 'I suppose that al-Mughira tells you that he was the last person to be with the apostle?' When they said that that was so, he said, 'He lies. The last man to be with the apostle was Qutham b. Abbas.'

Salih b. Kaysan told me from al-Zuhri from Ubaydullah b. Abdullah b. Utba that Aisha told him: The apostle wore a black cloak when he suffered severe pain. Sometimes he would put it over his face, at others he would take it off, saying the while, 'God slay a people who choose the graves of their prophets as mosques,' warning his community against such a practice.

On the same authority I was told that the last injunction the apostle gave was in his words 'Let not two religions be left in the Arabian peninsula.'

(Tabari 1834: The apostle died on the 12th Rabiul-awwal on the very day that he came to Medina as an emigrant, having completed exactly twelve years in his migration.) When the apostle was dead the Muslims were sore stricken. I have heard that Aisha used to say, 'When the apostle died the Arabs apostatised and Christianity and Judaism raised their heads and disaffection appeared. The Muslims became as sheep exposed to rain on a winter's night through the loss of their prophet until God united them under Abu Bakr' (920).

Hassan said mourning the apostle:
Tell the poor that plenty has left them
With the prophet who departed from them this morning.
Who was it who has a saddle and a camel for me,
My family's sustenance when rain fails?
Or with whom can we argue without anxiety
When the tongue runs away with a man?
He was the light and the brilliance we followed.
He was sight and hearing second only to God.
The day they laid him in the grave
And cast the earth upon him
Would that God had not left one of us
And neither man nor woman had survived him!
The BanG'l-Najjar were utterly abased,
But it was a thing decreed by God.
The booty was divided to the exclusion of all the people
And they scattered it openly and uselessly among themselves

(Apparently 'the people' are the Ansar and 'they' are the Quraysh. The connexion of this line with the preceding is obscure. This and the following poem come via Ibn Ishaq.).

Hassan also said:
I swear that no man is more careful than I
In swearing an oath true and without falsehood.
By God, no woman has conceived and given birth
To one like the apostle the prophet and guide of his people;
Nor has God created among his creatures
One more faithful to his sojourner or his promise
Than he who was the source of our light,
Blessed in his deeds, just, and upright.
Your wives stripped the tents in mourning
And did hot strike the pegs behind the curtains.
Like nuns they put on garments of hair
Certain of misery after happiness.
O best of men, I was as it were in a river
Without which I have become lonely in my thirst (921).

IBN HISHAM'S NOTES

(Ibn Hisham's Notes contain more than 900 supplements on genealogy, marriage, names and other minor issues. They will not all be displayed here. However, we will show here some issues from the beginning of Ibn Hishams Notes, as well as points 913 to 918 from the end of the Notes, as they might be of significance.)

10. What I have just written about the prophet's genealogy back to Adam and about Idris and others I was told by Ziyad b. Abdullah al-Bakkai on the authority of Mohammed b. Ishaq.

Khallad b. Qurra b. Khalid al-Sadusi on the authority of Shayban b. Zuhayr b. Shaqiq from Qatada b. Diama gave a slightly different version from Ismail upwards, namely: Asragh-Arghu-Falikh-Abir and (later) Mahlail b. Qayin b. Anush.

God willing I shall begin this book with Ismail son of Ibrahim and mention those of his offspring who were the ancestors of God's apostle one by one with what is known about them, taking no account of Isma'il's other children, for the sake of brevity, confining myself to the prophet's biography and omitting some of the things which Ibn Ishaq has recorded in this book in which there is no mention of the apostle and about which the Koran says nothing and which are not relevant to anything in this book or an explanation of it or evidence for it; poems which he quotes that no authority on poetry whom I have met knows of; things which it is disgraceful to discuss; matters which would distress certain people; and such reports as al-Bakkai told me he could not accept as trustworthy—all these things I have omitted. But God willing I shall give a full account of everything else so far as it is known and trustworthy tradition is available.

12. The Arabs say Hajar and Ajar, changing the h into a as in the verb haraqa and ardqa 'to pour out'. Hajar was an Egyptian. Abdullah b. Wahb from Abdullah b. Lahia on the authority of Umar client of Ghufra told me that the apostle said: 'Show piety in dealing with the protected peoples, those of the settled lands, the black, the crinkly haired, for they have a noble ancestor and marriage ties (with us).' The said Umar explained that by ancestry the prophet referred to the fact that the prophet Ismail's mother came from them, and the marriage tie was contracted when the apostle took one of them as concubine.

Ibn Lahia said: Ismail's mother Hagar, the mother of the Arabs, came from a town in Egypt facing Farama (Said to be the ancient Pelusium.); and Ibrahim's mother Maria, the prophet's concubine whom the Muqauqis gave him, came from Hafn (In the Said on the cast bank of the Nile.) in the province of Ansina.

13. All the Arabs are descended from Ismail and Qahtan. Some of the people of the Yaman claim that Qahfan was a son of Ismail and so according to them Ismail is the father of all the Arabs. (with comments like this, the Arabs tried to hide their humble background and to portray themselves as superior race)

14. Akk dwelt in the Yaman because he took a wife among the Asharites and lived with them and adopted their language. The Asharites are descended from Ashar b. Nabt b. Udad b. Zayd b. Humaysa b. Amr b. Arib b. Yashjub b. Zayd b. Kahlan b. Saba b. Yashjub b- Yarub b. Qahtan. Others say Ashar is Nabt b. Udad; or that Ash'ar was the son of Malik who was Madhhij b. Udad b. Zayd b. Humaysa; or Ashar is the son of Saba b. Yashjub.

Abu Muhriz Khalaf al-Ahmar and Abu Ubayda quoted to me the following verse of Abbas b. Mirdas who belonged to B. Sulaym b. Mansur b. Ikrima b. Khasafa b. Qays b. Aylan b. Mudar b. Nizar b. Maadd b. Adnan in which he boasted of his descent from Akk:

And Akk b. Adnan who made a mock of Ghassan
Until they were driven out completely.

Ghassan is the name of the water got from the dam at Marib in the Yaman which was drunk by the descendants of Mazin b. al-Asd b. al-Ghauth and they were named after it. Others say that Ghassan is the name of water at al-Mushallal near al-Juhfa (Mushallal is a mountain near Medina. Al-Juhfa lies on the Medina-Mecca road.), and those who drink of it and take their name from it are the tribes descended from Mazin b. al-Asd b. al-Ghauth b. Nabt b. Malik b. Zayd b. Kahlan b. Saba b. Yashjub b. Yarub b. Qahtan. Among the verses of Hassan b. Thabit al-Ansari—the Ansar being the tribes of Aus and Khazraj, the two sons of Haritha b. Thalaba b. Amr b. Amir b. Haritha b. Imruul-Qays b. Thalaba b. Mazin b. al-Asd b. al-Ghauth-is this:

If you ask about us we are a noble people.
Al-Asd is our forefather and Ghassan our water.

The Yamanites and some of the Akk who live in Khurasan report their descent from Akk b. Adnan b. Abdullah b. al-Asd b. al-Ghauth. Others say Udthan in the place of Adnan.

17. Lakhm was the son of Adiy b. al-Harith b. Murra b. Udad b. Zayd b. Humaysa b. Amr b. Arib b. Yashjub b. Zayd b. Kahlan b. Saba. Others say of Adiy b. Amr b. Saba. According to others Rabia b. Nasr b. Abu Haritha b. Amr b. Amir. He remained behind in the Yaman after Amr b. Amir's migration thence.

HOW AMR B. AMIR LEFT THE YAMAN
AND THE STORY OF THE DAM OF MARIB

The cause of Amr's migration from the Yaman as it was told me by Abu Zayd al-Ansari is as follows: Amr saw a rat burrowing in the dam at Marib where they used to hold back the water and then direct it where it was most needed. He perceived that the dam could not last and he determined to leave the Yaman. He proposed to deceive his people in this wise. He ordered his youngest son to get up and hit him in retaliation for his rough treatment; and when he did so Amr said publicly that he would not go on living in a land where the youngest son could slap his father's face. He offered his goods for sale and the principal men of the Yaman took advantage, as they thought, of his rage, and bought his property, and he went off with his sons and grandchildren. The Azdites said that they would not remain if Amr left the country so they sold their property and went with him. They travelled until they came to the land of the Akk tribe which they penetrated, desiring to find settlements. Akk took up arms against them, but the fighting was indecisive. It was of this that Abbas b. Mirdas composed the verse on p. 6. After this they moved on and went their several ways in the lands. The family of Jafna b. Amr b. Amir settled in Syria; Aus and Khazraj in Yathrib; Khuzaa in Marr (Marr, called Marr al-Zaharan (and Marr Zaharim). is a day's journey from Mecca.); Azd al-Sarat in Al-Sarat (Said to be a mountain overlooking Arafa. See further Yaqut, Mujam.) and Azd Uman in Uman (Oman.).

Then God sent a torrent against the dam and destroyed it. Concerning this event God revealed to his prophet Mohammed: 'Saba' in their dwelling-place had a sign: two gardens one to the right and another to the left; (they were commanded) Eat from what your Lord has furnished and be grateful to Him. It is a goodly land and a forgiving Lord. But they turned away and We sent against them the torrent of al-Arim (Koran 34.14).' This latter word means 'dams'; its singular is arima according to what Abu Ubayda told me.

Al-Asha of (the) B. Qays b. Thalaba b. Ukaba b. Sab b. Aly b. Bakr b. Wail b. Hinb b. Afsa b. Jadila b. Asad b. Rabfa b. Nizar b. Maadd. (Others say Afsa b. Dumi b. Jadila.) Al-Asha (Maymun b. Qays b. Jandal b. Sharahil b. Auf b. Sad b. Dubaya b. Qays b. Thalaba) wrote the following lines:
Herein is a moral for him who looks for it.
The dams (that were breached) destroyed Marib.
(Himyar had built them of marble for them.
When the floods rose high they stood fast.
When their water was sent out in channels
It watered the crops and the vines).
Then they became wanderers unable
To give drink to their tender bahes.

Umayya b. Abu al-Salt the Thaqafite—the name of Thaqif is Qasiy b. Munabbih b. Bakr b. Hawazin b. Mansur b. Ikrima b. Khasafa b. Qays b. Aylan b. Mudar b. Nizar b. Maadd b. Adnan-recited:
From Saba who dwelt in Marib when
They built dams against its torrent.

This verse occurs in a poem of his, but it is also attributed to al-Nabigah
al-Jadi whose name was Qays b. Abdullah, one of (the) B. Jada b. Kab b. Rabfa b. Amir b. Sasaa b. Muawiya b. Bakr b. Hawazin. But this is a long story which I am compelled to cut short for the reasons I have already given.

(As Ibn Hisham has obviously cut out much of what Ibn Ishaq had written and so the following extract from Tabari's version of Ibn Ishaq is left in the air, I have included it here.)

(Tabari 909: Before that a soothsayer Shaft' b. Kulayb al-Sadafi had come to Tubba and lived with him and when he wished to bid him farewell Tubba asked him whether he had anything of importance to communicate, and in the customary rhymes of saj he told him in reply to the question whether any king would fight with Tubba, 'No, but the king of Ghassan had a son whose kingdom would be surpassed by a man of great piety, helped by the Almighty, described in the psalms; his people would be favoured by revelation, he would dispel darkness by light, Ahmad the prophet. How blessed his people when he comes, one of the sons of Luayy of (the) B. Qusayy!' Tubba sent for a copy of the psalms, examined them, and found the description of the prophet (New religions have a great problem. Most people would meet them with suspicion. Therefore, early Muslims deparately tried to find points in Jewish and Christian text that could in any way be used as 'proof' for the legitimacy of Mohammed's Islam. The early Christians did pretty much the same thing with the Tanakh / the Old Testament. They wrote their gospels in a kind of 'refering style' which is also called 'Typology'. Passages were written in a way that reminded the readers of the texts in the Old Testament. At the same time, those borrowing new

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religion try to degrade their sources verbally or literally, or even shun them.)

Ibn Ishaq gleaned and assembled the following traditions from what Said b. Jubayr told him from Ibn Abbas and some learned Yamani traditionist: A Lakhmid king was in Yaman in the territory of the Tubba's of Himyar called Rabfa b. Nasr. Before him there had reigned in the Yaman Tubba I, Zayd b. Sahl (Here follows his genealogy which is given by Ibn Ishaq when he deals with Abu Karib.). With him came Shamir Yurish b. Yasir Yunim b. Amr Dhul-Adhar his cousin and Shamir Yurish who raided China and built Samarqand and discomfited al-Hira (A poor pun.). He it was who said:

I am Shamir Abu Karib al-Yamani.
I imported horses from Yaman and Syria
That I might send the slaves who rebelled against us
In Athm and Yam beyond China. (Yam is in the Yaman [in Yemen]. The name Athm is unknown and the reading is not certain.)
We rule in their land by a just law
That no creature can transgress.)

913. THE SENDING OF AMR B. UMAYYA AL-DAMRI TO KILL ABU SUFYAN B. HARB AND WHAT HE DID ON THE WAY

Among the missions and expeditions which the apostle sent out which Ibn Ishaq does not record* is the mission of Amr b. Umayya al-Damri, whom the apostle sent to Mecca—according to what a trustworthy traditionist told me—after the killing of Khubayb b. Adiy and his companions, ordering him to kill Abu Sufyan b. Harb. With him he sent Jabbar b. Sakhr al-Ansari.

(* This statement implies that the Manuscript which Ibn Hisham had contained no account of these happenings, but the extract from Tabari 1437 f. which I have restored to the text gives a graphic description on the authority of Ibn Ishaq. S. also points out that Ibn Hisham is in error in saying that Ibn Ishaq does not report the story.)

When they reached Mecca they tied their two camels in one of the narrow passes of Yajaj and entered the town by night. Jabbar suggested to Amr that they should circumambulate the temple and pray two rak'as, to which Amr replied that at night the inhabitants were wont to sit in their courtyards. 'God willing they will not be,' he replied. Amr said: We went round the temple and prayed and then came away making for Abu Sufyan. As we were walking in the town a man looked at me and recognised me and cried, 'It is Amr b. Umayya. By God, he has come only for some evil purpose.' I told my companion to run and we went out quickly and got up a mountain, and they came out in pursuit of us and did not desist until we had got to its top. We came back and went into a cave in the mountain and passed the night there, having piled rocks in front of it. In the morning came a man of Quraysh leading a horse, cutting grass for it, drawing near to us as we were in the cave. I said, 'If he sees us he will give the alarm and we shall be taken and killed.' Now I had a dagger with me which I had got ready for Abu Sufyan, and I stabbed him in the chest and he gave a cry which reached the ears of the Meccans, so I went back and entered the cave. The men came running to him as he was at the last gasp and asked him who had stabbed him and he said Amr b. Umayya, and died on the spot without having revealed where we were. They carried him away. When night fell I told my companion that we must get away, so we left Mecca making for Medina. We passed by some guards who were watching the corpse of Khubayb b. Adiy when one of them said, 'By God, I have never seen before tonight anything more like the gait of Amr b. Umayya; were it not that he is in Medina should have said that it was he.' When he came in face of the gallows he ran to it and took it and carried it away, and the two of them hurried off, while they (the guards) came behind him, until he came to a hollow in the cliff at the ravine of Yajaj where he threw the gallows into the hollow and God hid him from them while they could do nothing. I said to my companion, 'Escape! Escape! until you get to your camel and mount it while I occupy the men so that they cannot hinder you', for the Ansari could hardly walk.

I went on until I came out at Dajnan; then I betook me to a mountain and entered a cave. While I was there suddenly an old man of (B. al-Dil, a one-eyed man, came in with a young sheep and asked who I was. I told him I was of (the) B. Bakr and he said he was too. I said 'Welcome,' and as he stretched himself out he lifted up his voice and said:

I will not be a Muslim as long as I live
Nor heed to their religion give.

I said to myself 'You will soon know!' I gave him time until when he was asleep I took my bow and inserted the end of it in his sound eye and bore down upon it until it reached the bone. Then I hurried off until I came to al-Arj (A place on the Mecca road. The name is also given to a wadi in the Hijaz.), then Rakuba (A pass between the two harams.) until I dropped down to al-Naql (In Muzayna country about two nights' journey from Medina.) where there were two polythcists of Quraysh who had been sent as spies to Medina. I called on them to surrender but they refused, so I shot one and killed him and the other surrendered. I bound him tightly and took him to Medina.

914. ZAYD B. HARITHA'S EXPEDITION TO MADYAN

This is recorded by Abdullah b. Hasan b. Hasan from his mother Fatima d. al-Husayn b. Ali Zayd was accompanied by Dumayra, a client of Ali's, and a brother of his. They took several captives from the people of Mina which is on the shore, a mixed lot among them. They were sold as slaves and families were separated. The apostle arrived as they were weeping and inquired the reason. When he was told he said, 'Sell them only in lots', meaning the mothers with the children.

915. I have heard that when he went on the little pilgrimage he uttered the cry 'Labbayka' in the vale of Mecca. He was the first to enter Mecca with the cry. Quraysh seized him and exclaimed at his audacity. They were about to strike off his head when one of them said, 'Let him alone, for you have need of al-Yamama for your food' so they let him go his way.

Concerning this al-Hanafi said:

It was our man who said publicly in Mecca
In the sacred months 'labbayka' despite Abu Sufyan.

I was told that when he became a Muslim he said to the apostle : 'Your face used to be the most hateful to me, but now it is the most beloved.' He spoke similarly about (his) religion and country. Then he went on the little pilgrimage, and when he came to Mecca they said, 'Have you changed your religion, Thumama?' 'No,' he said, 'but I follow the best religion, the religion of Mohammed; and by God not a grain of corn will reach you from al-Yamama until the apostle gives permission.' He went back to al-Yamama and prevented them from sending anything to Mecca. Then the people wrote to the apostle: 'You order that ties of kinship should be observed, yet you sever those with us; you have killed the fathers with the sword and the children with hunger.' So the apostle wrote to him to let the carriage of food go on.

916. Abu Amr al-Madani said: The apostle sent Ali to the Yaman and sent Khalid b. al-Walid with another force and ordered that when the forces met Ali was to be in supreme command. Ibn Ishaq mentioned the sending of Khalid in his account, but he did not reckon it among the missions and expeditions so that the number of them in his account ought to be 39.

918. THE APOSTLE'S WIVES

They were nine: Aisha d. Abu Bakr; Hafsa d. Umar; Umm Habiba d. Abu Sufyan; Umm Salama d. Abu Umjryya b. al-Mughira; Sauda d. Zamaa b. Qays; Zaynab d. Jahsh b. Riab; Maymuna d. al-Harith b. Hazn; Juwayriya d. al-Harith b. Abu Pirar; and Safiya d. Huyay b. Akhfab according to what more than one traditionist has told me.

He married thirteen women: Khadija d. Khuwaylid, his first wife whom her father Khuwaylid b. Asad, or according to others her brother Amr, married to him. The apostle gave her as dowry twenty she-camels. She bare all the apostle's children except Ibrahim. She had been previously married to Abu Hala b. Malik, one of (the) B. Usayyid b. Amr b. Tamim, an ally of (the) B. Abdul-Dar to whom she bore Hind b. Abu Hala and Zaynab. Before that she had been married to Utayyiq b. Abid b. Abdullah b. Umar b. Makhzum to whom she bore Abdullah and Jariya.

He married Aisha in Mecca when she was a child of seven and lived with her in Medina when she was nine or ten. She was the only virgin that he married. Her father, Abu Bakr, married her to him and the apostle gave her four hundred dirhams.

He married Sauda d. Zamaa b. Qays b. Abdu Shams b. Abdu Wudd b. Nasr b. Malik b. Hisl b. Amir b. Luayy. Sail b. Amr, or according to others Abu Hafib b. Amr, married her to him, and the apostle gave her four hundred dirhams.

Ibn Ishaq contradicts this tradition saying that Salif and Abu Hafib were absent in Abyssinia at this time. Before that she had been married to al-Sakran b. Amr b. Abdu Shams.

He married Zaynab d. Jahsh b. Riab al-Asadiya. Her brother Abu Ahmad married her to him and the apostle gave her four hundred dirhams. She had been previously married to Zayd b. Haritha, the freed slave of the apostle, and it was about her that God sent down: 'So when Zayd had done as he wished in divorcing her We married her to you (Koran 33.37).'

He married Umm Salama d. Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira al-Makhzumiya. Her name was Hind (This name is closely related to the word 'Hindu'. She therefore might have been a Hindu or came from India.). Her son Salama b. Abu Salama married her to him and the apostle gave her a bed stuffed with palm-leaves a bowl, a dish, and a handmill. She had been married to Abu Salama b Abdul-Asad whose name was Abdullah. She had borne him Salama, Umar, Zaynab, and Ruqayya.

He married Hafsa d. Umar with her father's consent and the apostle gave her four hundred dirhams. She had been married to Khunays b. Hudhafa al-Sahmi.

He married Umm Habiba whose name was Ramla d. Abu Sufyan. Khalid b. Said b. al-As married her to him when they were both in Abyssinia and the Negus (the emperor of Ethiopia.) gave her on behalf of the apostle four hundred dinars. It was he who arranged the marriage for the apostle. She had been married to Ubaydullah b. Jahsh al-Asadi.

He married Juwayriya d. al-Harith b. Abu pirar al-Khuza lya who was among the captives of (the) B. Mustaliq of Khuza a. She had fallen to the lot of Thabit b. Qays b. al-Shammas al-Ansari and he wrote a contract of redemption which she brought to the apostle asking his help. He asked her if she would like something better than that, and when she asked what that could be he said, 'Shall I rid you of the contract and marry you myself? She said Yes, and so he married her. This tradition was given us by Ziyad b. Abdullah al-Bakkai from Mohammed b. Ishaq from Mohammed b. Jafar b. al-Zubayr from Urwa from Aisha.

It is said that when the aposde came back from the raid on (the) B. al-Mustaliq with Juwayriya and was in the midst of the army he gave Juwayriya to one of the Ansar and ordered him to guard her. When the apostle reached Medina her father al-Harith came to him with his daughter's ransom. When he was in al-Aqiq he had looked at the camels which he had brought for the ransom and admired two of them greatly, so he hid them in one of the passes of al-Aqiq. Then he came to the prophet saying, 'Here is my daughter's ransom.' The apostle said: 'But where are the two camels which you hid in al-Aqiq in such-and-such a pass?' Al-Harith said, 'I testify that there is no God but Allah and that you are the apostle of God, for by God none could have known of that but God most High'; so he bfccame a Muslim, as did two of his sons who were with him and some of his people. He sent and fetched the two camels and handed them over to the prophet and his daughter Juwayriva was given back to him. She became an excellent Muslim. The apostle asked her father to let him marry her and he agreed and the apostle gave her four hundred dirhams. She had been previously married to a cousin of hers called Abdullah. It is said that the apostle bought her from Thabit b. Qays, freed her, married her, and gave her four hundred dirhams.

He married Safiya d. Huyay b. Akhab whom he had captured at Khaybar and chosen for himself. The apostle made a feast of gruel and dates: there was no meat or fat (Presumably because she was a Jewess and would eat only kosher meat.).

She had been married to Kinana b. al-Rabi b. Abul-Huqayq. He married Maymuna d. al-Harith b. Hazn b. Bahir b. Huzam b. Ruwayba b. Abdullah b. Hilal b. Amir b. Sasaa. Al-Abbas b. Abdul-Muttalib married her to him and gave her on the apostle's behalf four hundred dirhams. She had been married to Abu Ruhm b. Abdul-Uzza b. Abu Qays b. Abdu Wudd b. Nasr b. Malik b. Hisl b. Amir b. Luayy. It is said that it was she who gave herself to the prophet because his offer of marriage came to her when she was on her camel. She said, 'The camel and
what is on it belongs to God and His apostle.' So God sent down: 'And a believing woman if she gives herself to the prophet (Koran 33.49).'

It is said that the one who gave herself to the prophet was Zaynab d. Jahsh, or Umm Shank Ghaziya d. Jabir b. Wahb of (the) B. Munqidh b. Amr b. Mais b. Amir b. Luayy. Others say it was a woman of B. Sama b. Luayy and the apostle postponed the matter.

He married Zaynab d. Khuzayma b. al-Harith b. Abdullah b. Amr b. Abdu Manaf b. Hilal b. Amir b. Sasaa who was called 'Mother of the Poor' because of her kindness to them and her pity for them. Qabisa b. Amr al-Hilali married her to him and the apostle gave her four hundred dirhams. She had been married to Ubayda b. al-Harith b. al-Muttalib b. Abdu Manaf; before that to Jahm b. Amr b. al-Harith who was her cousin.

The apostle consummated his marriage with eleven women, two of whom died before him, namely Khadija and Zaynab. He died leaving the nine we have mentioned. With two he had no marital relations, namely Asma d. al-Numan, the Kindite woman, whom he married and found to be suffering from leprosy and so returned to her people with a suitable gift; and Amra d. Yazid the Kilab woman who was recently an unbeliever. When she came to the apostle she said 'I seek God's protection against you,' and he replied that one who did that was inviolable so he sent her back to her people. Others say that the one who said this was a Kindite woman, a cousin of Asma d. al-Numan, and that the apostle summoned her and she said 'We are a people to whom others come; we come to none!' so he returned her to her people.

There were six Quraysh women among the prophet's wives, namely, Khadija, Aisha, Hafsa, Umm Habiba, Umm Salama, and Sauda.

The Arab women and others were seven, namely, Zaynab d. Jahsh, Maymuna, Zaynab d. Khuzayma, Juwayriya, Asma, and Amra. The non-Arab woman was Safiya d. Huyay b. Akhtab of (the) B. al-Nadir.

THE END

(of Alfred Guillaume's edition of the Sirat Rasul Allah).

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AFTERMATH
(Taken from The Life of Mahomet,
edited by William Muir, 1861)

Campaign of Osama on the Syrian Border. Concluding Observations.

The first concern of Abu Bakr, on assuming the Caliphate, was to despatch the Syrian army, and thus fulfil the dying wish of Mahomet. But the horizon all around was lowering; and many urged that the Moslem force should not be sent upon this distant expedition. Even Omar joined in the cry,—"Scatter not the believers; rather keep our soldiers here together: we may yet have need of them to defend the city." "Never!" replied Abu Bakr;—"the command of the Prophet shall be carried out, even if I be left here in the city all alone, a prey to the wolves and beasts of the desert." Then they besought that a more experienced soldier might be appointed to the chief command. Abu Bakr arose in wrath: —"Out upon thee!" he cried, as he seized Omar by the beard;—"hath the Prophet of the Lord named Osama to the leadership, and dost thou counsel me to take it from him!" The Caliph would admit of no excuse and no delay ; the force was soon marshalled again at Jorf. Abu Bakr repaired to the camp, and treating Osama with the profound respect due to a commander appointed by Mahomet himself, begged permission that Omar might be left behind at Medina as his counsellor. The request was granted. Abu Bakr then, bidding Osama farewell, exhorted him to go forward in the name of the Lord, and fulfil the commission he had received at the Prophet's hands. The army marched; and the Caliph, with Omar alone, returned to Medina. (Tabari [Kosegarten, pp. 42, 51; K. Wackidi, 138.] The period at which the expedition started is given by the Secretary as the beginning of the 2nd Rabi, that is, more than a fortnight after the Prophet's burial. The narrative given by Tabari would lead to the supposition that Osama marched earlier; since Abu Bakr is represented as ordering the fulfilment of Mahomet's commands regarding the campaign a day or two after his death. On the other hand, the general anxiety to keep the troops back, in consequence of the threatened rising of the Arabs, makes it probable that some little time had elapsed.

According to the Secretary, it was Abu Bakr who desired to keep back the troops from their march, in consequence of the rebellion of the Arabs; and it was Osama who insisted on an immediate march, in pursuance of the command of Mahomet. [K. Wackidi, 139.] But the traditions on the subject in Tabari seem stronger, and I have followed them.)

Within twenty days of his departure from Jorf, Osama had overrun the province of "Belcaa". In fire and blood, he avenged his father's death and the disastrous field of Muta. "They ravaged the land," says the historian, "with the well-known cry of Ya Mansur Amit ('Strike, ye conquerors!') they slew all who ventured to oppose them in the field, and carried off captive the remainder. They burned the villages, the fields of standing corn, and the groves of palm trees: and there went up behind them, as it were, a whirlwind of fire and smoke (K. Wackidi, 139: The Secretary represents Osama as killing in battle the very man that slew his father.)

Having thus fulfilled the Prophet's last command, they retraced their steps. It was a triumphal procession as they approached Medina; Osama rode upon his father's horse, and the banner, bound so lately by Mahomet's own hand, floated before him. Abu Bakr and the citizens went forth to meet him, and received the army with acclamations of joy. Attended by the Caliph, and the chief companions of the Prophet, Osama proceeded to the Mosque, and offered up prayer with thanksgiving for the success which had so richly crowned his arms. (The tidings of this bloody expedition alarmed Heraclius, and he sent a strong force into Belcaa. The attention' of Abu Bakr had first to be directed nearer home. Reinforced by the army of Osama, he had to quell the fierce spirit of insurrection rising all around. But a year had not elapsed, when he was again in a position to take the field in Syria, and to enter on the career of conquest which quickly wrested that fair province from Christendom.)

With the return of Osama's army to Medina a new era opens upon us. The Prophet had hardly departed this life when Arabia was convulsed by the violent endeavour of its tribes to shake off the trammels of Islam, and regain their previous freedom. The hordes of the desert rose up in rebellion, and during the first year of his Caliphate Abu Bakr had to struggle for the very existence of the faith. Step by step the wild Bedouins were subdued, and forced to tender their submission. By a master stroke of policy, they were induced again to take up their arms, and aroused, by the prospect of boundless spoil, to wield them on the side of Islam. Like blood-hounds eager for the chase, the Arabs were let forth upon mankind,—the whole world their prey. They gloried in the belief that they were the hosts of God, destined for the conversion of his elect,—for the destruction of his enemies. The pretexts of religion thus disguised and gilded every baser motive. The vast plunder of Syria was accepted as but the earnest of a greater destiny yet in store. Once maddened by the taste of blood into a wild and irresistible fanaticism, the armies of Arabia swept their enemies everywhere before them. Checked towards the north by the strongholds of the Bosphorus, the surging wave spread to the east and to the west with incredible rapidity, till in a few short years it had engulphed in a common ruin the earliest seats of Christianity, and the faith of Zoroaster.

But this is a province of history upon which it is not my object to enter. In some respects, indeed, it might be connected indirectly with the subject of these volumes. The simplicity and earnestness of the early caliphs, and the first burst of zeal and devotion exhibited by his followers after the Prophet's death, are strong evidence of their belief in his sincerity: and the belief of these men must carry undeniable weight in the formation of our own estimate of his sincerity, since the opportunities they enjoyed for testing the grounds of their convictions were both close and long continued. It is enough, that I here barely allude to this consideration, as strengthening generally the view of Mahomet's character, which in these volumes I have endeavoured to support.

THE END
(of The Life of Mahomet, edited by William Muir, 1861).

APPENDIX

ISLAM EARLY TIMELINE

This is a timeline of the early history of Islam during the lifetime of Mohammed (610–632). The information provided in this article is based on Islamic oral tradition, not on historical or archaeological evidence.

• Mohammed's **first revelation** (Koran 96:1–5): According to Islamic tradition, the archangel Gabriel appeared before Mohammed in the year 610 AD and said, 'Recite', upon which he replied, 'I am unable to recite'. Thereupon the angel caught hold of him and embraced him heavily. This happened two more time after which the angel commanded Mohammed to recite the following verses: "Proclaim! (or read!) in the name of thy Lord and Cherisher, Who Created man, out of a (mere) clot of congealed blood: Proclaim! And thy Lord is Most Bountiful,- Who taught (the use of) the pen,-Taught man that which he knew not." (Sahih al-Bukhari, 1:1:3)

• **First Muslim convert** was a woman, not a man: Khadija, Mohammed's first wife, 610: When Mohammed reported his first revelation from the Angel Gabriel (Jibril), Khadija was the first person to convert to Islam. (Ibn Ishaq, Sirat Rasul Allah)

First Male Muslim convert: Ali Ibn Abi Talib, 610: Ali ibn Abi Talib is considered the first Muslim convert. The early historian Ibn Ishaq and Tabari puts Ali Mohammed's cousin and son-in-law as the first male convert; Mohammed ibn Jarir al-Tabari presents three candidates, and does not decide between them.

Another account in Tabari says that the first male convert was Zayd ibn Harithah, a freed slave who had become Mohammed's adopted son. It is known that Ali was indeed the first person to convert to Islam, however some dispute this arguing he was only 12 years old at the time he embraced Islam. (Ibn Ishaq, Sirat Rasul Allah; Tabari, Volume 6)

• **First Public Dawah** (preach in order to convert non-Muslims to convert to Islam), 613: Around 613, Mohammed began to preach to the public (Koran 26:214). Most Meccans ignored him and mocked him, though a few became his followers. There were three main groups of early converts to Islam: younger brothers and sons of great merchants; people who had fallen out of the first rank in their tribe or failed to attain it; and the weak, mostly unprotected foreigners. (Ibn Ishaq, Sirat Rasul Allah)

• **First Muslim Martyrs**: first Muslim to be killed or tortured: Sumayyah bint Khabbab, 615: Tradition records at great length about persecution and ill-treatment towards Mohammed and his followers was used as propaganda tool from early on: Sumayyah bint Khabbab, a slave of a prominent Meccan leader Abu Jahl, is famous as the first martyr of Islam; killed with a spear by her master when she refused to give up her faith. (Ibn Ishaq, Sirat Rasul Allah)

First Muslim to be tortured: Bilal ibn Ribah, 615: When Bilal's master, Umayyah ibn Khalaf found out he had converted to Islam, he violently tortured Bilal. After news of this slave reached Mohammed, he then sent Abu Bakr. Eventually, Abu Bakr negotiated a deal with Umayyah to purchase Bilal and emancipate him from slavery. (Tabari, Volume 6)

• **First migration to another country**: Ethiopia 615: In 615, some of Mohammed's followers emigrated to the Ethiopian Aksumite Empire and founded a small colony. This was known as the Hijrah. (Tabari, Volume 6; Ibn Ishaq, Sirat Rasul Allah)

• **First Muslim Ambassador and Envoy**: Musab ibn Umair, September 621: Musab ibn Umair al-Abdari was the first Muslim Ambassador. He was sent to Yathrib (now Medina) to teach the people the doctrines of Islam and give them guidance (Tabari, Volume 6; Ibn Ishaq, Sirat Rasul Allah)

• **First pledge of war made amongst Muslims**: Second pledge at al-Aqabah, 622. Converts to Islam came from nearly all Arab tribes present in Medina, such that by June of the subsequent year there were seventy-five Muslims coming to Mecca for pilgrimage and to meet Mohammed. Meeting him secretly by night, the group made what was known as the "Second Pledge of al-`Aqaba", or "The Second Pledge of Mount Aqabah" where the pledge was made. It has been described by both Orientalists and Muslim scholars as "Pledge of War". Conditions of the pledge, many of which similar to the first, included obedience to Mohammed, "enjoining good and forbidding evil" as well as responding to the call to arms when required. Tabari also refers it to a pledge of war, he wrote: "the second al-'Aqabah took the pledge of war" (Sahih al-Bukhari, 5:58:229; Ibn Ishaq, Sirat Rasul Allah; Tabari, Volume 6)

• **First military operation**, and first offensive campaign: Al-Is Caravan Raid

According to Ar-Raheeq Al-Makhtum (The Sealed Nectar), a modern Islamic hagiography of Mohammed written by the Indian Muslim author Safi ur-Rahman Mubarakpuri, Mohammed ordered the first caravan raid led by Hamza ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib (Mohammed's uncle) seven to nine months after the Hijra. A party of thirty to forty men assembled at the seacoast near al-Is, between Mecca and Medina, where Amr ibn Hishām (Abu Jahl), the leader of the caravan was camping with three hundred Meccan riders.

• **First Muslim military commander**: Hamza ibn Abdul-Muttalib, a foster brother to Mohammed, 623 Hamza met Abu Jahl there with a view to attack the caravan, but Majdi bin Amr al-Juhani, a Quraysh who was friendly to both the parties intervened between them; so, both parties separated without fighting.

It is mentioned in Ibn Hisham and Ibn Ishaq's biography of Mohammed (the earliest surviving biography of Mohammed from the 7th century), that for these caravan raids Mohammed gave permission to "plunder" the caravans of theirs enemies and seize their goods and property(s) and said: "Go forth against this caravan; it may be that Allah will grant you plunder" (Ibn Ishaq, Sirat Rasul Allah; Al-Waqidi, Kitab al-Maghazi)

• **First Muslim to take part in actual fighting** in the name of Islam: Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas, 623: In 623, Mohammed ordered the Batn Rabigh Caravan Raid to raid Quraysh caravan to relieve themselves from poverty. Sa'd ibn Abi Waqas was the first person to fire an arrow in the name of Islam, it mentioned in the Sunni hadith collection Sahih al-Bukhari "I heard Sa'd saying, "I was the first amongst the 'Arabs who shot an arrow for Allah's Cause. We used to fight along with the Prophet." (Sahih al-Bukhari, 5:57:74)

• **First peace treaty**: Banu Darhma peace treaty, August 623: Mohammed ordered the Invasion of Waddan with the purpose of raiding Quraysh caravan to relieve themselves from poverty. But the Caravan of Amr Bin Makhshi Al Dhamri of the Banu Damrah tribe was raided instead. Negotiations began and the two leaders signed a treaty with Banu Damrah. According to Muslim scholar Mohammed al-Zurqani, the provisions of the pact/treaty go as follows: "This document is from Mohammed, the messenger of Allah, concerning the Banu Darmah. In which he (Muhamnmad)established them safety and security in their wealth and lives. They can expect support from the Muslims, unless they oppose the religion of Allah. They are also expected to respond positively if the prophet sought their help." The treaty meant that both parties were forbidden from raiding each other, to join hostile concentrations against each other and to support each other's enemies. William Montgomery Watt, saw this as a deliberate attempt by Mohammed to provoke the Meccan's. (Sahih al-Bukhari, 5:57:74; Ibn Sa'd, Kitab al-tabaqat al-kabir, Volume 2; Ibn Sa'd, Kitab al-tabaqat al-kabir, Volume 2)

• **First person(s) taken captive by Muslims**: Uthman bin Abdullah and Nawfal bin Abdullah, January 624: Also during the Nakhla Raid, Nawfal bin Abdullah was captured and taken prisoner by Abd-Allah ibn Jahsh According to the Muslim scholar Ibn Kathir, Mohammed refused to accept ransom for Nawfal bin Abdullah and another captive, until he was sure his companions were safe, he also threatened to kill the captives. Mohammed said: "For we fear for their safety with you. If you kill them, we will kill your people", Ibn Kathir cites Ibn Ishaqs 7th century biography of Mohammed as the primary source for this quote. The 2 companions in question were Sa`d bin Abu Waqqas and `Utbah bin Ghazwan who had lost their camels and gotten lost, Mohammed feared the Quraysh my find them and kill them. (Mohammed Saed Abdul-Rahman, Tafsir Ibn Kathir Juz' 2 (Part 2): Al-Baqarah 142 to Al-Baqarah 252 2nd Edition, p. 139)

• **First Muslim to murder another person in the name of Islam**, January 624: Waqid ibn Abdullah participated in the Nakhla Raid that was ordered by Mohammed. He was the first person to kill someone in the name of Islam. While they (the Quraysh) were busy preparing food during the Nakhla Raid, the Muslims attacked. In the short battle that took place, Waqid ibn Abdullah killed Amr ibn Hadrami by

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shooting arrow at the leader of the Quraysh caravan. Nawfal ibn Abdullah managed to escape. The Muslims took Uthman ibn Abdullah and al-Hakam ibn Kaysan as captives. Abdullah ibn Jahsh returned to Medina with the booty and with the two captured Quraysh tribe members. The followers planned to give one-fifth of the booty to Mohammed. (Koran 2:217)

• **The first murder of people who spoke out and protested against Islam**: Asma bint Marwan and Ka'b ibn al-Ashraf, January 624: Mohammed ordered the killing of 'Asma' bint Marwan for opposing Mohammed with poetry and for provoking others to attack him.

For those scholar who consider this as unreliable, Ka'b ibn al-Ashraf is considered the first person to be assassinated by Muslims: September 624: According to Ibn Ishaq, Mohammed ordered his followers to kill Ka'b because he "had gone to Mecca after Badr and inveighed against Mohammed. He also composed verses in which he bewailed the victims of Quraysh who had been killed at Badr. Shortly afterwards he returned to Medina and composed amatory verses of an insulting nature about the Muslim women". (Sahih al-Bukhari, 5:59:369; Sahih Muslim, 19:4436; Ibn Ishaq, Sirat Rasul Allah; Ibn Sa'd, Kitab al-tabaqat al-kabir, Volume 2)

• First person(s) to be beheaded and executed by Muslims: Nadr ibn al-Harith and Uqba ibn Abu Mu'ayt, March 624: According to the Muslim scholar Safiur Rahman al-Mubarakpuri, after the Battle of Badr two captives – Nadr bin Harith and ʻUqbah ibn Abū Muʻayṭ were beheaded by Ali. (Sunan Abu Dawud no 2686; Anwal Ma'bud 3/12; Koran 8:31; Sunan Abu Dawud no 2686; Anwal Ma'bud 3/12; Koran 8:31)

• **First Siege carried out by Muslims**: Invasion of Banu Qaynuqa, February 624: Mohammed ordered his followers to attack the Banu Qaynuqa Jews for allegedly breaking the treaty known as the Constitution of Medina by pinning the clothes of a Muslim woman, which lead to her being stripped naked. As a result, a Muslim killed a Jew in retaliation, and the Jews in turn killed the Muslim man. This escalated to a chain of revenge killings, and enmity grew between Muslims and the Banu Qaynuqa, leading to the siege of their fortress. The tribe eventually surrendered to Mohammed, who initially wanted to kill the members of Banu Qaynuqa but ultimately yielded to Abdullah ibn Ubayy's insistence and agreed to expel the Qaynuqa. (Koran 8:58, 3:118, 3:12, 3:13; Sahih Muslim, 19:4364; Ibn Sa'd, Kitab al-tabaqat al-kabir, Volume 2; Tabari, Volume 7.)

• **First person to try and assassinate Mohammed**: Ghwarath ibn al-Harith during the Invasion of Dhi Amr, September 624. (Ghwarath ibn al-Harith was the first person to try and assassinate Mohammed during the Invasion of Dhi Amr. According to Muslim scholar Sami Strauch, it is reported in Sahih Bukhari that it was raining, and Mohammed took his garments off and hung it on a tree to dry, while the enemy was watching, Ghwarath ibn al-Harith went to attack Mohammed. He threatened Mohammed with his sword and said "who will protect you from me on this day". Then according to Muslim Scholars the Angel Gabriel came and thumped Ghawrath in the chest and forced him to drop his sword. Mohammed then picked up the sword and said "who will protect you from me". (Sahih al-Bukhari, 5:59:458; Ibn Sa'd, Kitab al-tabaqat al-kabir, Volume 2)

• **First defensive military campaign**: Battle of Uhud, March 625: The purpose of the Battle of Uhud was to defend against a Quraysh attack. According to the Muslim scholar Dr. Mosab Hawarey, this battle was the first truly defensive military campaign. All military campaigns prior to this were of an offensive nature. (Koran 8:36, 3:122, 3:167; Sahih al-Bukhari, 4:52:276, 3:30:108.

• **First Muslim missionaries to be killed**: Asim ibn Thabit, Khubyab bin Adi and Zayd bin al-Dathinnah during the Expedition of Al Raji 625: Some men requested that Mohammed send instructors to teach them Islam, but the men were bribed by the two tribes of Khuzaymah who wanted revenge for the assassination of Khalid bin Sufyan (chief of the Banu Lahyan tribe) by Mohammed's followers. 8 or 10 Muslims were killed. According to William Montgomery Watt the seven men Mohammed sent may have been spies for Mohammed and instructors for Arab tribes. Watt's claim that they were spies and not missionaries is mentioned in the Sunni Hadith collection Sahih al-Bukhari, 5:59:412 The 7th century Muslim scholar al-Waqidi also mentioned that they were spies but a tribe did come to them requesting to teach Islam but Mohammed decided to send them for spying to inform him about the Quraysh. (Sahih al-Bukhari, 5:59:412, Sahih Muslim, 4:1442; Ibn Ishaq, Sirat Rasul Allah; Ibn Sa'd, Kitab al-tabaqat al-kabir, Volume 2

• **First Massacre of Muslims**: Expedition of Bir Maona, July 625: Mohammed sends Missionaries at request of some men from the Banu Amir tribe, but the Muslims are killed as revenge for the assassination of Khalid bin Sufyan by Mohammed's followers. 70 Muslims were killed and 2 Non-Muslims were killed. (Koran 3:169-173; Ibn Ishaq, Sirat Rasul Allah; Sahih al-Bukhari, 5:59:405, Sahih Muslim, 4:1433)

• **First massacre carried out by Muslims**: Mass murder of Banu Qurayza

February–March 627 AD: Mohammed ordered his followers to attack the Banu Qurayza. Al-Waqidi claims Mohammed had a treaty with the tribe which was torn apart. After the Qurayza surrendered to Mohammed, he ordered 600-900 members of the Banu Qurayza to be beheaded in a grand execution spectacle (Ibn Ishaq, Sirat Rasul Allah; Tabari, Ibn Hisham; Koran 33:09, 33:10, 33:26; Sunan Abu Dawood, 38:4390; Sahih al-Bukhari, 4:52:68, 4:57:66ff; Tabari, Volume 8, Victory of Islam

• **First woman captured** by Mohammed as war booty: Rayhana, March 627. After the Invasion of Banu Qurayza as part of his share of the spoils, Mohammed selected one of the women, Rayhana, for himself and took her as part of his booty. Mohammed offered to free and marry her and according to some sources she accepted his proposal, while according to others she rejected it and remained Mohammed's slave. She is said to have later become a Muslim. Watt, "Kurayza, Banu" Encyclopaedia of Islam (Ibn Ishaq, Sirat Rasul Allah)

• **First Muslim treasurer**: Bilal ibn Ribah 630. Mohammed appointed Bilal ibn Ribah as the first Muslim treasurer after he completed his conquest of the Arabian Peninsula (Tabari, Volume 5)

CURRENCY:

• dirham, dirhem or dirhm was and, in some cases, still is a unit of currency in several Arab states. It was formerly the related unit of mass, the Ottoman 'dram', in the Ottoman Empire and old Persian states. One silver dirham used to weigh circa 3.36 grammes, 4,000 dirhams weigh almost 14.5 kg. The name derives from the name of the ancient Greek currency, drachma or drachmon. The dirham / drachma is equivalent to one denarius (dinar). One denarius was equal to 4 sesterces.

Religious literature, such as the Pahlavi Videvdad, provide an idea of the purchasing power of the drachma: One sheep cost three sters or sestertius (Vd. 4.2); a cow 12, 14, or 30 sters, depending on whether it was of inferior, medium, or superior quality (Vd. 7.41); and a man 125 sters. According to Madayan i hazar dadestan (12.7-9), a slave was sold for 500 drachmas and a sheep for 10 (104.6), but a good piece of land was worth more than 500 drachmas (Vd. 4.2). According to this, 4,000 dirhams are a huge amount of money.). Other Islamic currencies: oke, piastre.

IMPORTANT PERSONS:

• **Mohammed** = Mohammed ibn Abdullah (Mohammed son of Abdullah), the so-called "messenger" or "prophet" of Allah and Islam (c.570 – c. 632). Mohammed was a member of the Banu Hashim or "Hashemite" clan in the Arab-Nabataean Quraysh tribe. His great-grandfather was Hashim ibn Abd Manaf, for whom the clan is named. Members of this clan are referred to as Hashemites. They still live in Jordan and the north-west of Saudi-Arabia. The monarchs of Jordan are Hashemites. All Islamic scripture are based on the deeds and sayings of Mohammed. And this point must be understood: As Mohammed is understood as "the perfect man", the Islamic scripture such as the Sira, Koran and the Hadith are considered perfect too. Remember: In any kind of debate about Islam, Mohammed has absolute authority and always preveils over private opinions that a Muslim might have!

• **Abu Talib** = Abu Talib ibn Abd al-Muttalib (c.539 – c. 619), He was the uncle and protector of Mohammed, and father of the (fourth) Caliph Ali. He was the leader of Banu Hashim, a clan of the Quraysh tribe of Mecca in the Hejazi region of the Arabian Peninsula. After the death of his father Abd al-Muttalib ibn Hashim ibn Abd Manaf, he inherited this position, and the offices of Siqaya and Rifada. He was well-respected in Mecca despite a declining fortune. There is a debate among Muslim scholars on whether he died a Muslim or a non-Muslim.

• **Kadijah** = Khadijah bint Khuwaylid or Khadijah al-Kubra (Khadijah the Great), 555 (or 567 AD)– 22 November 619) was the first wife and first follower of the Islamic prophet Mohammed. She is commonly regarded by Muslims as the "Mother of the Believers". Like her father, Khadijah was a successful and wealthy merchant in her own rights who possessed the largest caravans in the region and controlled the route between Syria and Yemen. She was from the Quraish tribe. In 595 Khadija needed an agent for a transaction in Syria and hired Mohammed, who was then 25 years old. Khadija, who was 15 years his senior, entrusted a friend to approach Mohammed and ask if he would consider marrying. They agreed and Mohammed was monogamously married to her for 25 years. They had between 6 and 8 children but only Fatimah survived to continue the blood line. Khadija died in about April or May 620. Mohammed later called this year "the Year of Sorrow", as his uncle and protector Abu Talib also died at this time. After the death of Khadijah, Mohammed re-married several times.

• **Fatima** / Fatimah = daughter of Mohammed and Kadijah (605–632), although it is sometimes asserted that she was born during the first year of Mohammed's mission (610–611). She had the by-name "The mother of her father", as she took over caring for her father and being a support to her father once her mother died. She married Ali, who became the fourth Caliph in 656. (According to early debate after the death of Mohammed, some would argue that Ali would be the proper succession to Mohammed.) Ali and Fatimah moved to a small village in Ghoba after the marriage, but later moved back to Medina to live next door to Mohammed. Mohammed forbade Ali to take additional wives because, "What caused pain to his daughter grieved him as well." Fatima died in 632 from an attack during a coup-d'etat of Mohammed's succession by men of Umar (who would become the second caliph). All of Mohammed's surviving descendants are by Fatima's children.

• **Aisha**, full name: Aisha bint Abu Bakr (c. 613/614 – c.678), was Mohammed's third and youngest wife. Aisha had an important role in early Islamic history, both during Mohammed's life and after his death. In Sunni tradition, Aisha is portrayed as scholarly and inquisitive. She contributed to the spread of Mohammed's message and served the Muslim community for 44 years after his death. She is also known for narrating 2210 hadiths, not just on matters related to Mohammed's private life, but also on topics such as inheritance, pilgrimage, and eschatology. Her intellect and knowledge in various subjects, including poetry and medicine, were highly praised by early luminaries such as al-Zuhri and her student Urwa ibn al-Zubayr. Her father, Abu Bakr, became the first caliph to succeed Mohammed, and after two years was succeeded by Umar. During the time of the third caliph Uthman, Aisha had a leading part in the opposition that grew against him, though she did not agree either with those responsible for his assassination nor with the party of Ali. During the reign of Ali, she wanted to avenge Uthman's death, which she attempted to do in the Battle of the Camel. She participated in the battle by giving speeches and leading troops on the back of her camel. She ended up losing the battle, but her involvement and determination left a lasting impression. Because of her involvement in this battle, Shia Muslims have a generally negative view of Aisha. Afterwards, she lived quietly in Medina for more than twenty years, took no part in politics, became reconciled to Ali and did not oppose caliph Muawiya. Some traditional hadith sources state that Aisha was betrothed to Mohammed at the age of 6 or 7; other sources say she was 9 when she had a small marriage ceremony; some sources put the date in her teens; but both the date and her age at marriage and later consummation with Mohammed in Medina are sources of controversy and discussion amongst scholars. Aisha was probably assassinated by Muawiyah.

• **Abu Bakr**, 1st (Rashid) caliph, full name: Abdallah ibn Abu Quhafah (c. 573 – 23 August 634), was a companion and—through his daughter Aisha—a father-in-law of the Islamic prophet Mohammed. Abu Bakr was born in Mecca in 573 to Uthman Abu Quhafa and Salma Umm al-Khair. He is commonly regarded as the fourth person to have accepted Islam, after Khadija bint Khuwaylid, Ali ibn Abi Talib, and Zayd ibn Harith. Abu Bakr was present at a number of battles of Islam, such as the Battle of Badr and the Battle of Uhud; his role in the early battles of Islam has been the subject of extensive analysis by historians. Abu Bakr was present at the Farewell Pilgrimage, as well as the event of Ghadir Khumm, in 632. However, shortly after Mohammed died, Abu Bakr and some others left the still-unburied body of Mohammed and gathered at a place known as Saqifa. After lengthy debates that included violence, Umar ibn Al-Khattab pledged allegiance to Abu Bakr at Saqifa; he was followed in this by two others at Saqifa, as well as a group of Bedouin tribesmen who had arrived at the scene. Saqifa was later described by the famous Sunni historian Al-Tabari as "a scene from the period of Jahiliya (the pre-Islamic era)". Abu Bakr thus assumed power, ruling over the Rashidun Caliphate from 632 to 634. Once in power, Abu Bakr launched the Ridda Wars to quell an outbreak of "apostasy" in various lands outside Medina. The Ridda Wars, however, were expanded to include the use of force against Muslims who did not recognise Abu Bakr's government, instead of solely focusing on those who had left Islam. After the conclusion of the Ridda Wars, Abu Bakr launched campaigns into Syria and Persia, but died before their conclusion. Another significant event during Abu Bakr's reign was the seizure of the land of Fadak from Fatimah, Mohammed's daughter. In 634, Abu Bakr fell ill from a sickness or poisoning and died shortly thereafter. He was succeeded by Umar.

• **Umar** / Omar, 2nd (Rashid) caliph, full name: Umar ibn al-Khattab, "Umar, Son of Al-Khattab"; c. 584– 3 Nov 644), was one of the most powerful and influential Muslim caliphs in history. He was a senior companion of the Islamic prophet Mohammed. He succeeded Abu Bakr (632–634) as the second caliph of the Rashidun Caliphate on 23 August 634. He was an expert Muslim jurist known for his pious and just nature, which earned him the epithet Al-Farooq ("the one who distinguishes (between right and wrong)"). He is sometimes referred to as Umar I by historians of Islam, since a later

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Umayyad caliph, Umar II, also bore that name. He attacked the Sassanid Persian Empire resulted in its conquest in less than two years (642–644). Under Umar, the caliphate expanded at an unprecedented rate, conquering also more than two-thirds of the Eastern Roman Empire, including the Holy Land. Millions of Christians got killed and many more millions were enslaved by Umar. According to Jewish tradition, Umar set aside the Christian ban on Jews and allowed them into Jerusalem and to worship. Umar created the Edict of Umar, also known as Treaty of Umar, in which he brought Jews and Christians into a "dhimmi" status of semi-slaves in all his empire. During his reign, the Levant, Egypt, Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, Fezzan, Eastern Anatolia, almost the whole of the Sassanid Persian Empire including Bactria, Persia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Caucasus and Makran were annexed to his Rashidun Caliphate. According to one estimate more than 4,050 (mostly, Christian, Jewish, Zoroastrian, and Buddhist) cities were captured during these military conquests. Prior to his death in 644, Umar had ceased all military expeditions apparently to consolidate his rule in recently conquered Roman Egypt and the newly conquered Persian Sassanid Empire (642–644). His troops blocked the Chinese-Persian-Roman Silk Road and began to attack China. At his death in November 644, his rule extended from present day Libya in the west to the Indus river in the east and the Oxus river in the north. Umar is revered in the Sunni tradition as a great ruler and paragon of Islamic virtues, and some hadiths identify him as the second greatest of the Sahaba after Abu Bakr. He is viewed negatively in the Shia tradition. Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians and Buddhists perceived him as cruel slaughterer who caused millions of deaths by war, execution, famine and plague. Umar was eventually killed, by the Persian slave Piruz Nahavandi (also known as Abu-Lu'lu'ah) as a revenge for the conquest and cruel treatment of his Persian people, in 644.

• **Uthman /** Usman, 3rd (Rashid) caliph, full name: Uthman ibn Affan (Uthman ibn Affan), also known in English by the Turkish and Persian rendering Osman (579/583 – 17 June 656), was a son-in-law and notable companion of the Islamic prophet Mohammed, the third of the Rashidun, or "Rightly Guided Caliphs". Born into a prominent Meccan clan, Banu Umayya of the Quraysh tribe, he played a major role in early Islamic history, and is known for having ordered the compilation of the **standard version of the Koran** which we still have today. When Caliph Umar died in office aged 59/60 years, Uthman, aged 64/65 years, succeeded him and was the second-oldest to rule as Caliph. Uthman was married to Ruqayyah, and upon her death, married Umm Kulthum. Both his wives were elder daughters of Mohammed and Khadija. Thus he was also brother-in-law of the fourth Rashidun Caliph Ali. Ali's wife Fatimah was the younger sister of Uthman's wives Ruqayyah and Umm Kulthum. Under Uthman's leadership, the Islamic empire expanded into Fars (present-day Iran) in 650, and some areas of Khorasan (present-day Afghanistan) in 651. The conquest of Armenia had begun by the 640s. His reign also saw widespread protests and unrest that eventually led to armed revolt and his assassination.

• **Ali**, 4th (Rashid) caliph, full name: Ali ibn Abu Talib (13 September 601 – 29 January 661) was the cousin and son-in-law of Mohammed, the last prophet of Islam. Although he was appointed caliph by Mohammed, he was denied this in a coup-d'etat organised by Abu Bakr and Umar. He ruled as the fourth caliph from 656 to 661, but is regarded as the rightful immediate successor to Mohammed as an Imam by Shia Muslims. Born to Abu Talib and Fatimah bint Asad, Ali was born inside the sacred sanctuary of the Kaaba in Mecca, the holiest place in Islam. Ali was the first male who accepted Islam, and, according to some authors, the first Muslim. Ali protected Mohammed from an early age and took part in almost all the battles fought by the nascent Muslim community. After migrating to Medina, he married Mohammed's daughter Fatimah. He was appointed caliph by Mohammed's companions in 656, after Caliph Uthman ibn Affan was assassinated. Ali's reign saw civil wars and in 661, he was attacked and assassinated by a Kharijite while praying in the Great Mosque of Kufa.

• **Hasan**, 5th caliph, full name: Al-Hasan ibn Ali ibn Abu Talib (624–670 AD), also spelled Hassan. He was the eldest son of Ali and Mohammed's daughter Fatimah and therefore a grandson of Mohammed. Among Shia Muslims, Hasan is revered as the second Imam. Hasan was elected for the caliphate after his father's death, but surrendered it after six or seven months to Muawiyah I, the founder of the Umayyad dynasty to end the First Fitna (Islamic Civil War). He was probably poisoned to death.

• **Muawiyah I**, 6th caliph: full name: Muawiyah ibn Abi Sufyan (602–680), was the founder and first caliph of the Umayyad Caliphate. In 639, Muawiyah I was appointed the Governor of Syria by Umar after his elder brother Yazid ibn Abi Sufyan (Governor of Syria) died in a plague. To stop the Romans from reconquering their lost territories by sea during the Arab-Roman Wars, Muawiyah set up a navy in 649, manned by Monophysite Christians, Copts and Jacobite Syrian Christians sailors, and Muslim troops. This resulted in the defeat of the Roman navy at the Battle of the Masts in 655 AD. 500 Roman ships were destroyed in the battle, and Emperor Constans II was almost killed. Under the instructions of the caliph Uthman ibn al-Affan, Muawiyah then prepared for the siege of Constantinople. He was the first who established the Umayyad dynasty in Islam of the caliphate, and was the second caliph from the Umayyad clan, the first being Uthman ibn Affan. By his creation of a fleet, Muawiyah was the driving force of the Muslim effort against the Roman Empire. His navy challenged the Roman navy and raided the Roman islands and coasts at will. The shocking defeat of the imperial fleet by the young Muslim navy at the Battle of the Masts in 655 was a critical turning point. It opened up the Mediterranean Sea, considered a "Roman lake", for the Arabs and closed it down for the Romans. A centuries-long series of naval conflicts over the control of the Mediterranean began and in the end strangled the remaining rump of the Roman Empire to death. This also allowed the expansion of the state into north Africa and Spain. Trade between the Muslim eastern and southern shores and the Christian northern shores almost ceased during this period, isolating western Europe from developments in the Muslim world: "In antiquity, and again in the high Middle Ages, the voyage from Italy to Alexandria was a commonplace; in early Islamic times the two countries were so remote that even the most basic information was unknown". Muawiyah had a few rare virtues. He was politically adept in dealing with the eastern Roman Empire and was therefore made into a secretary by Mohammed. The Battle of Siffin, May–July 657, occurred during the First Fitna, or first Muslim civil war, with the main engagement taking place from July 26 to July 28. It was fought between Ali ibn Abi Talib who ruled as the Fourth Caliph and Muawiyah I, on the banks of the Euphrates river, in what is now Raqqa, Syria. In the Battle of Siffin over 70,000 people (among them many of the last surviving companions of Mohammed) were killed. Notable among the Companions who were killed by Muawiyah's forces in the battle of Siffin. He was ruthless as well as strategically clever. He was probably responsible for the assassination of Aisha. Once peace was established, Muawiya reconciled many of the people who had been fighting each other by his generosity and fairness. Even the most stubborn of opponents would often melt under his generosity and diplomacy. He also managed by diplomacy to balance out tribal rivalries.

THE SAHABA

Sahaba or Sahabah (Arabic: As-sahabah, "The Companions") were companions, disciples, scribes and family members of Mohammed. List:

• Abbad ibn Bishr
• Abdullah ibn Jafar
• Abdul-Rahman ibn Abu Bakr
• Abd al-Rahman ibn Awf
• Abdullah ibn Abbas
• Abd-Allah ibn Abd-Allah ibn Ubayy
• Abd Allah ibn Amr ibn al-As
• Abu Baseer
• Abdullah ibn al-Zubayr
• Abdullah ibn Hudhafah as-Sahmi
• Abdullah ibn Jahsh
• Abdullah ibn Masud
• Abdullah ibn Suhail
• Abd Allah ibn Rawahah
• Abdullah ibn Salam
• Abul-Tufayl Amir b. Wathila al-Kinani
• Abdullah ibn Umar
• Abdullah ibn Umm Maktum
• Abid ibn Hamal
• Abid ibn Hunay
• Abjr al-Muzni
• Abu al-Aas ibn al-Rabiah, son in law of Mohammed.
• Abu Ayyub al-Ansari
• Abbas ibn Abd al-Muttalib
• Abu Bakr Abdullah ibn Uthman, father-in-law of Mohammed. 1st Caliph
• Abu Dardaa
• Abu Dhar al-Ghifari
• Abu Dujana
• Abu Fuhayra
• Abu-Hudhayfah ibn Utbah
• Abu Hurairah
• Abu Jandal ibn Suhail
• Abu Lubaba ibn Abd al-Mundhir
• Abu Musa al-Ashari
• Abu Said al-Khudri
• Abu Salama Abd Allah ibn Abd al-Asad
• Abu Sufyan ibn al-Harith
• Abu Sufyan ibn Harb
• Abu Ubaidah ibn al-Jarrah
• Abza al-Khuzai
• Adhayna ibn al-Harith
• Adi ibn Hatim at-Tai
• Aflah ibn Abi Qays
• Ahmad ibn Hafs
• Ahmar Abu Usayb
• Ahmar ibn Jazi
• Ahmar ibn Mazan ibn Aws
• Ahmar ibn Muawiya ibn Salim
• Ahmar ibn Qatan al-Hamdani
• Ahmar ibn Salim
• Ahmar ibn Suwai ibn Adi
• Ahmar Mawla Umm Salama
• Ahnaf ibn Qais
• Ahyah ibn Umayya ibn Khalaf
• Ahzab bin Usaid
• Aisha bint Abi Bakr, wife of Mohammed.
• Al-Ala Al-Hadrami
• Al-Bara ibn Malik al-Ansari
• Al-Qaqaa ibn Amr at-Tamimi
• Ali ibn Abu Talib, son-in-law of Mohammed. 4th Caliph
• Ammar bin Yasir
• Amr bin Alas
• Amr ibn al-Jamuh
• Amru bin Maadi Yakrib
• Anas ibn Nadhar
• Anas ibn Malik
• An-Nuayman ibn Amr
• An-Numan ibn Muqarrin
• Arbad ibn Jabir
• Al-Arqam ibn-abil-Arqam
• Asma bint Abi Bakr
• Asma bint Umays
• Asim ibn Thabit
• Asim ibn Umar
• At-Tufayl ibn Amr ad-Dawsi
• Ayman ibn Ubayd
• Ayyash ibn abi Rabiah
• Abu Mihjan as Tsaqafi
• Bilal ibn Malik al-Mazni
• Bilal ibn Rabah
• Bilal ibn Yahya
• Dihyah al-Kalbi
• Dhiraar bin Al-Azwar
• Fadl ibn Abbas
• Fatima az-Zahra bint Mohammed
• Fatima bint Al-Aswad
• Fatima bint al-Walid ibn Abdi Shams
• Fatima bint al-Walid ibn al-Moughira
• Fatima bint az-Zubayr
• Fatima bint Asad
• Fayruz ad-Daylami
• Fatimah bint al-Khattab
• Habab ibn Mundhir
• Habib ibn Zayd al-Ansari
• Habibah binte Ubayd-Allah
• Hafsa bint Umar ibn al-Khattab.Wife of Mohammed.
• Hakim ibn Hizam
• Halimah bint Abi Dhuayb
• Hammanah bint Jahsh
• Hamza ibn Abd al-Muttalib
• Hanzala ibn Abi Amir
• Al-Harith ibn Hisham ibn Al-Mughira
• Harith ibn Rabi
• Hashim ibn Utbah
• Hassan ibn Thabit
• Hatib bin Abi Baltaah
• Hind bint Awf
• Hind bint Utbah
• Hisham ibn Al-Aas
• Hudhayfah ibn al-Yaman
• Hujr ibn Adi
• Hasan ibn Ali. Grandson of Mohammed. 5th Caliph
• Hussain. Grandson of Mohammed.
• Ibrahim Abu Rafai
• Ibrahim al-Adhri
• Ibrahim al-Ansari
• Ibrahim al-Ashhali
• Ibrahim an-Najar
• Ibrahim at-Taifi
• Ibrahim al-Thaqafi
• Ibrahim az-Zuhri
• Ibrahim ibn Abdillah
• Ibrahim ibn Harith
• Ibrahim ibn Ibad ibn Asaf
• Ibrahim ibn Jabir
• Ibrahim ibn Khalad
• Ibrahim ibn Mohammed
• Ibrahim ibn Naim
• Ibrahim ibn Qays
• Ibrahim ibn Qays ibn Hajar
• Ikrima ibn Abi Jahl
• Imran ibn Husain
• Isaf ibn Anmar as-Salmi
• Ishaq al-Ghanawy
• Ismail ibn Abdillah al-Ghafari
• Ismail ibn Said ibn Abid

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• Jabr (Christian slave of the Banu I-Hadrami)
• Jabir ibn Abdullah al-Ansari
• Jafar ibn Abi Talib
• Jubayr ibn Mutim
• Julaybib
• Jarir ibn Abdullah Al Bajali
• Kab ibn Malik
• Kab ibn Zuhayr
• Khadijah bint Khuwaylid (Wife of Mohammed)
• Khalid ibn al-As
• Khalid ibn al-Waleed
• Khalid ibn Said
• Kharija bin Huzafa
• Khawlah bint Hakim
• Khubayb ibn Adiy
• Khunays ibn Hudhayfa
• Khuzayma ibn Thabit
• Kinana ibn Rabi
• Khabbab ibn al-Aratt
• Al-Khansa
• Labid ibn Rabia
• Layla bint al-Minhal
• Lubaba bint al-Harith
• Lubaynah
• Malak ibn Nuwayra
• Malik al-Dar
• Maria al-Qibtiyya. Wife of Mohammed.
• Marwan I.
• Malik al-Ashtar
• Maymuna bint al-Harith. Wife of Mohammed.
• Mazin bin Ghadooba
• Miqdad ibn al-Aswad
• Muadh ibn Amr
• Muadh ibn Jabal
• Muawiyah I, Muawiyah ibn Abi Sufyan, 6th Caliph, Umayyad Dynasty
• Muawwaz ibn Amr
• Mohammed ibn Abi Bakr
• Mohammed ibn Maslamah
• Munabbih ibn Kamil
• Musab ibn Umair
• Malik bin Huwairith
• Al-Muthanna ibn Haritha
• Naila bint al-Farafisa
• Nauman Nabagha al-Juadi
• Najiyah bint al-Walid
• Nasiba bint al-Harith
• Nuaym ibn Masud
• Nafi ibn al-Harith
• Nufay ibn al-Harith
• Nusayba bint al-Harith
• Rabah ibn Umayah
• Rabiah ibn Kab
• Rabiah ibn al-Harith
• Ramlah bint Abi Sufyan. Wife of Mohammed.
• Rufaida Al-Aslamia
• Ruqayyah bint Mohammed. Daughter of Mohammed.
• Rumaysa bint Milhan
• Sasaa ibn Suhan
• Sad ibn Abi Waqas
• Sad ibn ar-Rabi
• Said ibn Jazied
• Sad ibn Malik
• Sad ibn Muadh
• Sad ibn Ubadah
• Sabra ibn Mabad
• Said ibn Amir al-Jumahi
• Said ibn Zayd
• Safana bint Hatim at-Tai
• Safiyyah bint Abd al-Muttalib
• Safiyya bint Huyayy. Wife of Mohammed.
• Safwan ibn Umayya
• Salama Abu Hashim
• Salama ibn al-Aqwa
• Salim Mawla Abi Hudhayfah
• Salma bint Amir
• Salma bint Umays
• Salma bint Sakhri ibn Amir (Umm al-Khayr)
• Salman al-Farisi
• Sahl ibn Sad
• Sahl ibn Hunaif
• Sahla bint Suhayl
• Salim Al-Rai
• Salit bin Amr Ala bin Hadrami
• Sakhr ibn Wadaa
• Sakhr ibn Wadia
• Samra ibn Jundab
• Saraqa ibn Amru
• Sawda bint Zama. Wife of Mohammed
• Shams ibn Uthman
• Shadad ibn Aus
• Sharhabeel ibn Hasana
• Shayba ibn Uthman al-Awqas
• Al-Shifa bint Abdullah
• Sirin bint Shamun
• Suhayb ar-Rumi
• Suhayl ibn Amr
• Sumayyah bint Khayyat
• Suraqa bin Malik
• Shuja ibn Wahab al-Asad
• Suwwad ibn Qarib
• Talhah ibn Ubaydullah
• Tamim Abu Ruqayya (see also Bayt Jibrin)
• Tamim al-Ansari
• Tamim al-Dari
• Thabit ibn Qays
• Thumamah ibn Uthal
• Thuwaybah
• Ubayd Allah ibn Abd Allah
• Ubaydah ibn al-Harith
• Ubayda ibn as-Samit
• Ubayy ibn al-Qashab al-Azdi
• Ubayy ibn Kab ibn Abd Thawr al-Muzni
• Ubayy ibn Kab ibn Qays
• Ubayy ibn Malik al-Qachiri
• Ubayy ibn Muadh ibn Anas
• Ubayy ibn Shriq
• Ubayy ibn Thabit al-Ansari
• Ubayy ibn Ujlan ibn al-Bahili
• Ubayy ibn Umar
• Ubayy ibn Umayya ibn Harfan
• Umar ibn Abi Salma
• Umar ibn al-Khattab. Father-in-law of Mohammed. 2nd Caliph
• Umar ibn Harith
• Umayr ibn Sad al-Ansari
• Umayr ibn Wahb
• Umamah bint Zaynab. Grand daughter of Mohammed.
• Umm Ayman (Baraka bint Thalaba)
• Umm Hakim
• Umm Haram
• Umm Kulthum bint Abi Bakr
• Umm Kulthum bint Asim
• Umm Khultum bint Jarwila Khuzima
• Umm Kulthum bint Mohammed. Daughter of Mohammed.
• Umm Kulthum bint Uqba
• Umm Ruman bint Amir
• Umm Salamah.Wife of Mohammed.
• Umm Sharik
• Umm Ubays
• Umm ul-Banin
• Ukasha Bin al-Mihsan
• Uqbah ibn Amir
• Urwah ibn Masud
• Usama ibn Zayd
• Utbah ibn Ghazwan
• Utban ibn Malik
• Uthal ibn Numan al-Hanafi
• Uthman ibn Affan. Son-in-law of Mohammed. 3rd Caliph
• Uthman ibn Hunayf
• Uthman ibn Madhun
• Uthman ibn Talha (His family owns key to Kabah)
• Uways al-Qarni
• Wahb ibn Umayr
• Wahshi ibn Harb
• Walid ibn Uqba
• Walid ibn al Walid
• Zayd al-Khayr
• Zayd ibn al-Khattab
• Zayd ibn Arqam
• Zayd ibn Harithah
• Zayd ibn Thabit
• Zayd ibn Sahl
• Zaynab bint Ali.Grand daughter of Mohammed.
• Zaynab bint Jahsh.Wife of Mohammed.
• Zaynab bint Khuzayma.Wife of Mohammed.
• Zaynab bint Mohammed. Daughter of Mohammed.
• Ziyad ibn Abi Sufyan
• Zubair ibn al-Awam
• Zunairah al-Rumiya

MOHAMMED'S WIVES AND HIS CHILDREN

• 1 Khadija bint Khuwaylid, 555–619; married 595, 6 Children:
•• Qasim ibn Mohammed, 598 – 601 AD
•• Zainab bint Mohammed, 599 – 630 AD, son: Ali ibn Zainab, daughter: Umamah bint Zainab, died in 670 aged c. 50
•• Ruqayyah bint Mohammed, c. 601 - 624, son from previous marriage: Abdullah Ibn Uthman
•• Umm Kulthum bint Mohammed, c.603–630
•• Abd-Allah ibn Mohammed, c. 604–615 AD
•• Fatimah bint Mohammed, 605—632 (5 Children: Hasan ibn Ali, Husayn ibn Ali, Muhsin ibn Ali, Zaynab bint Ali, Umm Kulthum bint Ali.)
• 2 Sawda bint Zama, c. 580–644, married 619–632
• 3 Aisha bint Abu Bakr, c. 613–678, married c.620–632, 2210 Hadiths
• 4 Hafsa bint Umar, c. 605–665, married 624–632
• 5 Zaynab bint Khuzayma, 595–630, married 625–627
• 6 Hind bint Abi Umayya, 593–680, married 625–632, 378 Hadiths
• 7 Zaynab bint Jahsh, c. 590–641, 1st cousin, adopted son's divorced wife, wife 627–632, Arabs condemned this marriage as incestuous!
• 8 Juwayriyya bint al-Harith, c. 608 – 676, married 628–632
• 9 Ramla bint Abi Sufyan, c. 589 or 594-665, married 628–632
• 10 Rayhana bint Zayd, c. 610-631, married 629–631
• 11 Safiyya bint Huyayy, c. 610–670, married 629–632
• 12 Maymunah bint al-Harith, c. 594–673, married 630–632, probably a cousin of Zaynab bint al-Harith, executed 628, as she is said to have poisoned Mohammed for he was the cause of her brothers death.
• 13 Maria bint Shamun (known as 'the Copt'), sister of Sirin bint Shamun (who became wife to the Islamic poet Hassan ibn Thabit, 563-674 AD), c. 615-637, married 630–632, one son:
•• Ibrahim ibn Mohammed, 630–631

LIST OF MOHAMMED'S 95 EXPEDITIONS

In the 13 years between 610 and 622, when Mohammed was a preacher in Mecca, he hardly converted more than 100 people to his invented religion called Islam. After he was forced to leave Mecca (the so-called 'Hijra', the migration) due to his constant troublemakings, Mohammed converted the entire population in the Arabian peninsula to Islam by war, conquest and executions. The list of expeditions either ordered or executed by Mohammed himself. Unless noted otherwise, the dates given in this list are based on Mohammed at Medina by Montgomery Watt, who in turn follows the chronology proposed by Leone Caetani.

No.*; Name; A.D. date; A.H. year

(* In brackets: wars, battles, expeditions, raids, invasions, conquests, or assassinations under Mohammed's direct command.)

1 Expedition of Hamza ibn 'Abdul-Muttalib, Mar 623, 1
2 Expedition of Ubaydah ibn al-Harith, Apr 623, 1
3 al-Kharrar expedition, May 623, 1
4 (1) Patrol of Waddan (al-Abwa), Aug 623, 1
5 (2) Patrol of Buwat, Sep 623, 2
6 (3) First Expedition to Badr (Safwan), Sep 623, 2
7 (4) Patrol of Zul Al-Ushairah, Dec 623, 2
8 Nakhla Raid, Jan 624, 2
9 (5) Battle of Badr, 15 Mar 624, 2
10 Killing of Asma bint Marwan, Mar 624, 2
11 Killing of Abu Afak, Mar 624, 2
12 (6) Invasion of the Banu Qaynuqa, Apr 624, 2
13 (7) Invasion of Sawiq, May/Jun 624, 2
14 (8) Al Kudr Invasion, May 624, 3
15 Killing of Ka'b ibn al-Ashraf, Aug/Sep 624, 3
16 (9) Dhu Amarr raid, Sep 624, 3
17 (10) Invasion of Buhran, Oct/Nov 624, 3
18 Al-Qarada raid, Nov 624, 3
19 (11) Battle of Uhud, 23 Mar 625, 3
20 (12) Battle of Hamra al-Asad, Mar 625, 3
21 Expedition of Qatan, Jun 625, 4
22 Expedition of Abdullah Ibn Unais, Jun 625, 4
23 Expedition of Al Raji, Jul 625, 4
24 Expedition of Bir Maona, Jul 625, 4
25 (13) Invasion of Banu Nadir, Aug 625, 4
26 (14) Expedition of Badr al-Mawid, Apr 626, 4
27 (15) Expedition of Dhat al-Riqa, Jun 626, 5
28 (16) Expedition of Dumat al-Jandal, Aug/Sep 626, 5
29 Expedition of al-Muraysi, Jan 627, 5
30 (17) Battle of the Trench, Apr 627, 5
31 (18) Invasion of Banu Qurayza, May 627, 5
32 Expedition of Mohammed ibn Maslamah, Jun 627, 6
33 (19) Invasion of Banu Lahyan, Jul 627, 6
34 Expedition of Dhu Qarad, Aug 627, 6
35 Expedition of Ukasha bin Al-Mihsan, Aug/Sep 627, 6
36 First Raid on Banu Thalabah, Aug/Sep 627, 6
37 Second Raid on Banu Thalabah, Aug/Sep 627, 6
38 Expedition of Zaid ibn Haritha (Al-Jumum), Sep 627, 6
39 Expedition of Zaid ibn Haritha (Al-Is), Sep/Oct 627, 6
40 Third Raid on Banu Thalabah, Oct/Nov 627, 6
41 Expedition of Zaid ibn Haritha (Hisma), Oct/Nov 627, 6
42 Expedition of Zaid ibn Haritha (Wadi al-Qura), Nov/Dec 627, 6
43 Expedition of Abdur Rahman bin Auf, Dec 627/Jan 628, 6
44 Expedition of Fidak, Dec 627/Jan 628, 6
45 Second Expedition of Wadi al-Qura, 628, 6
46 Expedition of Kurz bin Jabir Al-Fihri, Jan/Feb 628, 6
47 Expedition of Abdullah ibn Rawaha, Feb/Mar 628, 6
48 (20) Treaty of Hudaybiyyah, Mar 628, 6
49 (21) Conquest of Fidak, May 628, 7
50 (22) Battle of Khaybar, May/Jun 628, 7
51 (23) Third Expedition of Wadi al Qura, May 628, 7

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52 Expedition of Umar ibn al-Khatab, Dec 628, 7
53 Expedition of Abu Bakr As-Siddiq, Dec 628, 7
54 Expedition of Bashir Ibn Sa'd al-Ansari (Fadak), Dec 628, 7
55 Expedition of Ghalib ibn Abdullah al-Laithi (Mayfah), Jan 629, 7
56 Expedition of Bashir Ibn Sa'd al-Ansari (Yemen), Feb 629, 7
57 Expedition of Ibn Abi Al-Awja Al-Sulami, Apr 629, 7
58 Expedition of Ghalib ibn Abdullah al-Laithi (Fadak), May 629, 7
59 Expedition of Ghalib ibn Abdullah al-Laithi (Al-Kadid), Jun 629, 8
60 Expedition of Shuja ibn Wahb al-Asadi, Jun 629, 8
61 Expedition of Ka'b ibn Umair al-Ghifari, Jul 629, 8
62 Battle of Mutah, Sep 629, 8
63 Expedition of Amr ibn al-As, Oct 629, 8
64 Expedition of Abu Ubaidah ibn al Jarrah, Oct 629, 8
65 Expedition of Abi Hadrad al-Aslami, 629, 8
66 Expedition of Abu Qatadah ibn Rab'i al-Ansari (Khadirah), Dec 629, 8
67 Expedition of Abu Qatadah ibn Rab'i al-Ansari (Batn Edam), Dec 629, 8
68 (24) Conquest of Mecca, Jan 630, 8
69 Expedition of Khalid ibn al-Walid (Nakhla), Jan 630, 8
70 Raid of Amr ibn al-As, Jan 630, 8
71 Raid of Sad ibn Zaid al-Ashhali, Jan 630, 8
72 Expedition of Khalid ibn al-Walid (Banu Jadhimah), Jan 630, 8
73 (25) Battle of Hunayn, Jan 630, 8
74 Expedition of At-Tufail ibn Amr Ad-Dausi, Jan 630, 8
75 (26) Battle of Autas, 630, 8
76 Expedition of Abu Amir Al-Ashari, Jan 630, 8
77 Expedition of Abu Musa Al-Ashari, Jan 630, 8
78 (27) Siege of Taif, Feb 630, 8
79 Expedition of Uyainah bin Hisn, Apr/May 630, 9
80 Expedition of Qutbah ibn Amir, May/Jun 630, 9
81 Expedition of Dahhak al-Kilabi, Jun/Jul 630, 9
82 Expedition of Alqammah bin Mujazziz, Jul/Aug 630, 9
83 Expedition of Ali ibn Abi Talib (Al-Fuls), Jul/Aug 630, 9
84 Expedition of Ukasha bin Al-Mihsan (Udhrah and Baliy), 630, 9
85 (28) Battle of Tabouk, Oct/Dec 630, 9
86 Expedition of Khalid ibn al-Walid (Dumatul Jandal), Oct 630, 9
87 Expedition of Abu Sufyan ibn Harb, 630, 9
88 Demolition of Masjid al-Dirar, 630, 9
89 Expedition of Khalid ibn al-Walid (2nd Dumatul Jandal), Apr 631, 9
90 Expedition of Surad ibn Abdullah, Apr 631, 9
91 Expedition of Khalid ibn al-Walid (Najran), Jun/Jul 631, 10
92 Expedition of Ali ibn Abi Talib (Mudhij), Dec 631, 10
93 Expedition of Ali ibn Abi Talib (Hamdan), 632, 10
94 Demolition of Dhul Khalasa, Apr 632, 10
95 Expedition of Usama bin Zayd, May 632, 10

THE 5 PILLARS OF ISLAM:
1) Shahada/Declaration of Faith
2) Salah/Prayer
3) Fasting
4) Zakat/Charity
5) Hajj

THE 7 PILLARS OF FAITH:
1) Allah
2) Angels of Allah (Mala'ikah)
3) Books of Allah (Kutubullah)
4) Messengers of Allah(Rusulullah)
5) The day of Judgement (Yawmuddin)
6) Predestination or supremacy of divine (Al-Qadr)
7) Life after death (Akhirah)

DOCUMENTS:

THE CONSTITUTION OF MEDINA
or The Charter of Medina
Translation: Anonymus

(The Constitution of Medina or the Charter of Medina is the constitution of an Islamic State in the city of Medina. It is the very first Islamic document of its kind and it has therefore often the reputation of being a part of The Koran.)

1 This is a document from Mohammed the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, governing relations between the Believers and Muslims of Quraysh (the main tribe of Mecca to which also Mohammed belonged) and Yathrib (the City of Medina) and those who followed them and worked hard with them. They form one nation - the Umma.

2 The Quraysh Mohajireen will continue to pay blood money, according to their present custom.

3 In case of war with any body they will redeem their prisoners with kindness and justice common among Believers. (Not according to pre-Islamic nations where the rich and the poor were treated differently).

4 The Bani Awf will decide the blood money, within themselves, according to their existing custom.

5 In case of war with anybody all parties other than Muslims will redeem their prisoners with kindness and justice according to practice among Believers and not in accordance with pre-Islamic notions.

6 The Bani Saeeda, the Bani Harith, the Bani Jusham and the Bani Najjar will be governed on the lines of the above principles.

7 The Bani Amr, Bani Awf, Bani Al-Nabeet, and Bani Al-Aws will be governed in the same manner.

8 Believers will not fail to redeem their prisoners they will pay blood money on their behalf. It will be a common responsibility of the Ummat and not of the family of the prisoners to pay blood money.

9 A Believer will not make the freedman of another Believer as his ally against the wishes of the other Believers.

10 The Believers, who fear Allah, will oppose the rebellious elements and those that encourage injustice or sin, or enmity or corruption among Believers.

11 If anyone is guilty of any such act all the Believers will oppose him even if he be the son of any one of them.

12 A Believer will not kill another Believer, for the sake of an un-Believer. (i.e. even though the un-Believer is his close relative).

13 No Believer will help an un-Believer against a Believer.

14 Protection (when given) in the Name of Allah will be common. The weakest among Believers may give protection (In the Name of Allah) and it will be binding on all Believers.

15 Believers are all friends to each other to the exclusion of all others.

16 Those Jews who follow the Believers will be helped and will be treated with equality. (Social, legal and economic equality is promised to all loyal citizens of the State).

17 No Jew will be wronged for being a Jew.

18 The enemies of the Jews who follow us will not be helped.

19 The peace of the Believers of the State of Medina cannot be divided. (it is either peace or war for all. It cannot be that a part of the population is at war with the outsiders and a part is at peace).

20 No separate peace will be made by anyone in Medina when Believers are fighting in the Path of Allah.

21 Conditions of peace and war and the accompanying ease or hardships must be fair and equitable to all citizens alike.

22 When going out on expeditions a rider must take his fellow member of the Army-share his ride.

23 The Believers must avenge the blood of one another when fighting in the Path of Allah (This clause was to remind those in front of whom there may be less severe fighting that the cause was common to all. This also meant that although each battle appeared a separate entity it was in fact a part of the War, which affected all Muslims equally).

24 The Believers (because they fear Allah) are better in showing steadfastness and as a result receive guidance from Allah in this respect. Others must also aspire to come up to the same standard of steadfastness.

25 No un-Believer will be permitted to take the property of the Quraysh (the enemy) under his protection. Enemy property must be surrendered to the State.

26 No un-Believer will intervene in favour of a Quraysh, (because the Quraysh having declared war are the enemy).

27 If any un-believer kills a Believer, without good cause, he shall be killed in return, unless the next of kin are satisfied as it creates law and order problems and weakens the defence of the State. All Believers shall be against such a wrong-doer. No Believer will be allowed to shelter such a man.

28 When you differ on anything regarding this Document the matter shall be referred to Allah and Mohammed, may Allah bless him and grant him peace.

29 The Jews will contribute towards the war when fighting alongside the Believers.

30 The Jews of Bani Awf will be treated as one community with the Believers. The Jews have their religion. This will also apply to their freedmen. The exception will be those who act unjustly and sinfully. By so doing they wrong themselves and their families.

31 The same applies to Jews of Bani Al-Najjar, Bani Al Harith, Bani Saeeda, Bani Jusham, Bani Al Aws, Thaalba, and the Jaffna, (a clan of the Bani Thaalba) and the Bani Al Shutayba.

32 Loyalty gives protection against treachery. (loyal people are protected by their friends against treachery. As long as a person remains loyal to the State he is not likely to succumb to the ideas of being treacherous. He protects himself against weakness).

33 The freedmen of Thaalba will be afforded the same status as Thaalba themselves. This status is for fair dealings and full justice as a right and equal responsibility for military service.

34 Those in alliance with the Jews will be given the same treatment as the Jews.

35 No one (no tribe which is party to the Pact) shall go to war except with the permission of Muhammed, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. If any wrong has been done to any person or party it may be avenged.

36 Any one who kills another without warning (there being no just cause for it) amounts to his slaying himself and his household, unless the killing was done due to a wrong being done to him.

37 The Jews must bear their own expenses (in War) and the Muslims bear their expenses.

38 If anyone attacks anyone who is a party to this Pact the other must come to his help.

39 The parties to this Pact must seek mutual advice and consultation.

40 Loyalty gives protection against treachery. Those who avoid mutual consultation do so because of lack of sincerity and loyalty.

41 A man will not be made liable for misdeeds of his ally.

42 Anyone (any individual or party) who is wronged must be helped.

43 The Jews must pay (for war) with the Muslims. (this clause appears to be for occasions when Jews are not taking part in the war. Section 37 deals with occasions when they are taking part in war).

44 Yathrib (the City of Medina) will be Sanctuary for the people of this Pact.

45 A stranger (individual) who has been given protection (by anyone party to this Pact) will be treated as his host who has given him protection while he is doing no harm and is not committing any crime. Those given protection but indulging in anti-state activities will be liable to punishment.

46 A woman will be given protection only with the consent of her family (Guardian). (a good precaution to avoid inter-tribal conflicts).

47 In case of any dispute or controversy, which may result in trouble the matter must be referred to Allah and Muhammed, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. The Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, of Allah will accept anything in this document, which is for bringing about piety and goodness.

48 Quraysh and their allies will not be given protection.

49 The parties to this Pact are bound to help each other in the event of an attack on Yathrib.

50 If they the parties to the Pact other than the Muslims are called upon to make and maintain peace within the State they must do so. If a similar demand of making and maintaining peace is made on the Muslims, it must be carried out, except when the Muslims are already engaged in a war in the Path of Allah. (so that no secret ally of the enemy can aid the enemy by calling upon Muslims to end hostilities under this clause).

51 Every individual will have his share of treatment in accordance with what party he belongs to. Individuals must benefit or suffer for the good or bad deed of the group they belong to. Without such a rule party affiliations and discipline cannot be maintained.

52 The Jews of al-Aws, including their freedmen, have the same standing, as other parties to the Pact, as long as they are loyal to the Pact. Loyalty is a protection against treachery.

53 Anyone who acts loyally or otherwise does it for his own good or loss.

54 Allah approves this Document.

55 This document will not be employed to protect one who is unjust or commits a crime against other parties of the Pact.

56 Whether an individual goes out to fight (in accordance with the terms of this Pact) or remains in his home, he will be safe unless he has committed a crime or is a sinner. (i.e. No one will be punished in his individual capacity for not having gone out to fight in accordance with the terms of this Pact).

57 Allah is the Protector of the good people and those who fear Allah, and Mohammed, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, is the Messenger of Allah (He guarantees protection for those who are good and fear Allah).

THE EDICT OF UMAR
The Pact of Umar, or Treaty of Umar
Source of copy: Abu Bakr al-Turtushi, c. 1090 AD
Translation: Lord Henfield, 2022
Estimated Range of Dating: 634-644 AD

(The Pact of Umar is an Islamic law text that clarifies the relationship between the "superior Muslims" on the one side and the "inferior Kafirs" [non-Muslims] on the other side [Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians, Mandaeans, etc.]. It specifies rights and restrictions for non-Muslims (dhimmis) living under Islamic rule [known as dhimmitude]. In general, the laws contain a list of rights and restrictions on non-Muslims (dhimmis). By abiding to them, non-Muslims are granted security of their persons, their families, and their possessions. Other rights and stipulations may also apply. According to Ibn Taymiyya, one of the jurists who accepted the authenticity of the pact, the dhimmis (non-Muslims) have the right "to free themselves from the Covenant of 'Umar and claim equal status with the Muslims if they enlisted in the army of the state and

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fought alongside the Muslims in battle." The text later gained a canonical status in Islamic jurisprudence.

The pact is traditionally attributed to the second Rashidun Caliph Umar I. [Some historians attribute the pact to the Umayyad Caliph Umar II (717-720), or to 9th century Mujtahids (Islamic scholars).] Umar I or Omar I (full name: Umar ibn al-Khattab, "Umar, Son of Al-Khattab"; c. 584 – 644 AD), was a senior companion of the Islamic prophet Mohammed. He succeeded Abu Bakr (632–634) as the second caliph of the Rashidun Caliphate on 23 August 634. He was the most likely person who created this pact because he was known as an expert Islamic jurist. The sneering style of the pact was implying that the Christians were begging for the Muslim's protection telling them what they voluntarily would do to put themselves into dhimmitude, a sub-dued position in Islam. This pact was in reality an edict to make sure that the culture of non-Muslims would be in perpetual decline.

Content:

There are several different versions of the pact that differ both in their language and stipulations.

The points:

• The ruler would provide security for the Christian believers who follow the rules of the pact.

• Prohibition against building new churches, places of worship, monasteries, monks or a new cell. (Hence it was also forbidden to build new synagogues, although it is known that new synagogues were built after the occupation of the Islam, for example in Jerusalem and Ramle. The law that prohibits to build new synagogues was not new for the Jews, it was applied also during the Byzantines. It was new for the Christians.)

• Prohibition against rebuilding destroyed churches, by day or night, in their own neighbourhoods or those situated in the quarters of the Muslims.

• Prohibition against hanging a cross on the Churches.

• Muslims should be allowed to enter Churches (for shelter) in any time, both in day and night.

• Obliging the call of prayer by a bell or a kind of Gong (Nakos) to be low in volume.

• Prohibition of Christians and Jews against raising their voices at prayer times.

• Prohibition against teaching non-Muslim children the Koran.

• Christians were forbidden to show their religion in public, or to be seen with Christian books or symbols in public, on the roads or in the markets of the Muslims.

• Palm Sunday and Easter parades were banned.

• Funerals should be conducted quietly.

• Prohibition against burying non-Muslim dead near Muslims.

• Prohibition against raising a pig next to a Muslims neighbour.

• Christian were forbidden to sell Muslims alcoholic beverage.

• Christians were forbidden to provide cover or shelter for spies.

• Prohibition against telling a lie about Muslims.

• Obligation to show deference toward Muslims. If a Muslim wishes to sit, non-Muslim should be rise from his seats and let the Muslim sit.

• Prohibition against preaching to Muslims in an attempt to convert them from Islam.

• Prohibition against preventing the conversion to Islam of some one who wants to convert.

• The appearance of the non-Muslims has to be different from those of the Muslims: Prohibition against wearing Qalansuwa (kind of dome that was used to wear by Bedouin), Bedouin turban (Amamh), Muslims shoes, and Sash to their waists. As to their heads, it was forbidden to comb the hair sidewise as the Muslim custom, and they were forced to cut the hair in the front of the head. Also non-Muslim shall not imitate the Arab-Muslim way of speech nor shall adopt the kunyas (Arabic byname, such as "abu Khattib").

• Obligation to identify non-Muslims as such by clipping the heads' forelocks and by always dressing in the same manner, wherever they go, with binding the zunar (a kind of belt) around the waists. Christians to wear blue belts or turbans, Jews to wear yellow belts or turbans, Zoroastrians to wear black belts or turbans, and Samaritans to wear red belts or turbans.

• Prohibition against riding animals in the Muslim custom, and prohibition against riding with a saddle.

• Prohibition against adopting a Muslim title of honor.

• Prohibition against engraving Arabic inscriptions on signet seals.

• Prohibition against any possession of weapons.

• Non-Muslims must host a Muslim passerby for at least 3 days and feed him.

• Non-Muslims prohibited from buying a Muslim prisoner.

• Prohibition against taking slaves who have been allotted to Muslims.

• Prohibition against non-Muslims to lead, govern or employ Muslims.

• If a non-Muslim beats a Muslim, his Dhimmi is removed.

• The worship places of non-Muslims must be lower in elevation than the lowest mosque in town.

• The houses of non-Muslims must not be taller in elevation than the houses of Muslims.)

We take from Abd al-Rahman b. Ghunm (d. 687) the following: When Umar Ibn al-Khattab granted peace to the Christians of Syria, we wrote him a letter thus worded:

In the name of Allah, the Merciful Benefactor!

This is a letter addressed by the Christians of such a city to the servant of Allah, Umar Ibn al-Khattab, Commander of the Faithful. When you came to this country, we asked you to safeguard (amān) for us, our offspring, our property and our co-religionists, and we made the following commitment to you. We will no longer build in our cities and in their surroundings, neither convents, nor churches, nor cells of monks, nor hermitages. We will not repair, day or night, those of the buildings which would fall into ruin, or which would be located in the Moslem districts. We will hold our doors wide open to passers-by and travellers. We will give hospitality to all Muslims who come to us and will house them for three days. We will not give asylum, neither in our churches nor in our homes, to any spy. We will hide nothing from Muslims that is likely to harm them. We will not teach the Koran to our children. We will not publicly manifest our worship or preach it. We will not prevent any of our parents from embracing Islam, if that is their will. We will be full of respect towards Muslims. We will rise from our seats when they want to sit down. We will not try to resemble them, in terms of clothing, by the cap (qalansuwa), the turban or the shoes, or by the way of combing our hair. We will not make use of speaking to them; we will not take their kunya'. We will not ride on saddles. We will not gird the sword. We will not hold any kind of weapon and will not carry any on us. We will not have our seals engraved in Arabic characters. We will not sell fermented drinks. We will shave the front of our heads. We will always dress the same, wherever we are. We will tighten our waist with the belt (zunnār). We will not display our crosses and our books on the paths frequented by Muslims and in their markets. We will beat the simander (nāqūs; a bell) in our churches only very softly. We will not raise our voice there in the presence of Muslims. We will not be doing public processions on Palm Sunday and Easter. We will not raise our voices when accompanying our dead. We will not pray aloud on the paths frequented by Muslims and in their markets. We will not bury our dead in the vicinity of Muslims. We will not employ the slaves who have fallen to the share of the Muslims. We will not have a view of the houses of the Muslims.

These are the conditions to which we and our co-religionists have subscribed, and in exchange for which we receive safeguard. If we happened to contravene some of these commitments for which our persons remain guarantors, we would no longer be entitled to the dhimma and we would be liable to the penalties reserved for rebels and seditious Umar b. al-Khattab answered him: "Sanction their request, but not without having added to what they have subscribed the following two conditions that I impose on them: "- They will not be able to buy individuals taken prisoner by the Muslims. Whoever deliberately strikes a Muslim will no longer benefit from the guarantee of this pact."

MOHAMMED'S LETTERS TO THE HEADS OF STATE

[According to al-Tabari in his History of the Prophets and Kings, Mohammed decided after the Treaty of Hudaybiyyah to send letters to many rulers of the world, inviting them to Islam. Historians have disputed this tradition, however. Mohammed, according to traditional Islamic historiography, sent ambassadors with such letters to Heraclius the Caesar of Byzantium, Chosroes II the Khosrau of Persia, the Negus of Abyssinia, Muqawqis the ruler of Egypt, Harith Gassani the governor of Syria, Munzir ibn Sawa and to the ruler of Bahrain.]

• The letter to Roman emperor Flavius Heraclius, as transmitted by Muslim historians, reads as follows:

"In the name of God, the Most Merciful, the Bestower of some Mercy

From Mohammed, son of Abdullah to Heraclius the Leader of the Romans:

Peace be upon he who follows the guidance.

Furthermore, I invite you with the invitation of peace. If you submit then you will find safety and God will double your reward. If you turn away, you will bear the Arians' sins.

"O People of the Scripture! Come to a common word between us and you: that we shall worship none but God, and that we shall ascribe no partner unto Him, and that none of us shall take others for lords beside God. And if they turn away, then say: Bear witness that we are they who have surrendered (unto Him)'." (Koran, Chapter: Aal Imran "The House of Joachim" 3:64)

• The letter of Muhammed to Armah, the Negus (Emperor of Ethiopia):

"Letter of the Prophet of Islam, peace be upon him. In the name of God the most beneficial the Merciful. Mohammed the Prophet of Islam to Nagaci king of Ethiopia:

Peace to you that I thank God for you, God, who there is no god but He, the King, the Holy peace insured dominant, and I bear witness that Jesus son of Mary, the Spirit of God and his speech was delivered to the Virgin Mary the good bunker. God created Jesus from his soul, just as he created Adam with his hand, and I invite you and your soldiers to God Almighty, has reached and advised receive my advice, and peace be upon those who follow guidance."

• The Letter of Muhammed to Munzir ibn Sawa Al Tamimi the governor of Bahrain:

"In the name of Allah the Beneficent, the Merciful: From Mohammed the Messenger of Allah to Munzir bin Sawa, may peace be on you! I praise Allah, who is one and there none to be worshiped but except Him. I bear evidence that there is no God but Allah and that Mohammed is a servant of Allah and His Prophet. Thereafter I remind you of Allah. Whoever accepts admonition does it for his own good. Whoever followed my messengers and acted in accordance their guidance; he, in fact,followed me and accepted my advice. My messengers have highly praised your behavior. You shall continue in your present office. You should remain faithful to Allah and his Prophet. I accept your recommendation regarding the people of Bahrain. I forgive the offenses of the offenders.

Therefore, you may also forgive them of the people of Bahrain whoever want to continue in their Jewish or Majusi faith, should be made to pay Jizia. Seal: Allah's Prophet Mohammed."

• The Letter of Muhammed to the Muqawqis of Egypt.

[The letter that Mohammed sent to al-Muqawqis, through his emissary Hatib ibn Abi Balta'ah, and his reply are both available. Al-Muqawqis is mentioned in Islamic history as a ruler of Egypt, who corresponded with the Islamic prophet Mohammed. He is often identified with Cyrus, Patriarch of Alexandria, who administered Egypt on behalf of the Christian Roman Empire. However, this identification is challenged as being based on untenable assumptions. An alternative view identifies al-Muqawqis with the Sassanid governor of Egypt. He was a Greek man and was known as Kirolos, leader of the Copts.]

The letter reads:

"In the name of Allah the Rahman, the Merciful. From the Apostle of Allah to the Mukaukis, chief of the Copts.

Peace be upon him who follows the guidance. Next, I summon thee with the appeal of establish peace (or submitting your will to Allah): establish peace (submit your will to Allah) and you will have peace. Allah shall give you your reward twofold. But if you decline then on you is the guilt of the Copts.

O ye People of the Book, come unto an equal arrangement between us and you, that we should serve none save Allah, associating nothing with Him, and not taking one another for Lords besides Allah. And if ye decline, then bear witness that we have submitted our will to Allah."

Other translation:

"In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. This letter is from Mohammed the slave of Allah and his Apostle: to Muqawqis, Vicegerent of Egypt.

Peace be upon him who follows the right path. Furthermore, I invite you to Islam and if you become a Muslim you will be safe, and Allah will double your reward, and if you reject this invitation of Islam you will be committing a sin by misguiding your subjects. (And I recite to you Allah's statement:)

'O People of the Scriptures! Come to a word common to you and us that we worship none but Allah and that we associate nothing in worship with Him, and that none of us shall take others as Lords beside Allah. Then if they turn away, say: Bear witness that we are Muslims (those who have surrendered to Allah)'." Seal: God's Prophet, Mohammed (Koran: 3,64)

[Al-Muqawqis ordered that the letter should be placed in an ivory casket, to be kept safely in the government treasury, and he sent the following reply:]

"From Muqawqis:

I read your letter and understood what you have written. I know that the coming of a Prophet is still due. But I thought, he would be born in Syria – I have treated your messenger with respect and honor. I am sending two maids for you as presents. These maids belong to a very respectable family amongst us. In addition I send for you clothes and a Duldul (steed) for riding. May God bestow security on you."

(The two maids mentioned are Maria al-Qibtiyya and her sister Sirin.)

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DIFFERENT KORAN VERSIONS

There is the claim made by Islamic scholars [teachers] that the Koran has come down to us totally unchanged, unedited, absolutely unaltered what so ever. This claim is unfounded as not supported by Islamic scripture itself. In fact, the Koran had already changed at the time of Mohammed due to his constant wars in which he lost not only beloved companions but also those companions how had memorised the Koran either entirely or in parts. The death in battle of those "Koran-carrying" warriors made Mohammed aware of the urgent need to write down the Koran in the first place. There are clear indications that this problem existed already at Mohammed's lifetime.

The Sahih al-Bukhari [Book of Virtues of the Koran], Volume 6, Book 61, Number 514, reports the following incidence: "Narrated by 'Umar bin Al-Khattab: 'What is said about Al-Mutaawwilin (those who form wrong opinions of disbelief about their Muslim brothers). Umar bin Al-Khattab said, "I heard Hisham bin Al-Hakim reciting Surat-al-Furqan during the lifetime of Allah's Apostle. I listened to his recitation and noticed that he recited it in several different ways which Allah's Apostle had not taught me. So I was about to jump over him during his prayer but I waited till he finished his prayer whereupon I put, either his upper garment or my upper garment, around his neck and seized him by it and asked him, "Who has taught you this Sura?" He replied, "Allah's Apostle has taught it to me." I said (to him), "You have told a lie! By Allah, Allah's Apostle has taught me this Sura which I have heard you reciting." So I dragged him, to Allah's Apostle, I said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have heard this man reciting Surat-al-Furqan in a way which you have not taught me, and you did teach me Surat-al-Furqan." On that Allah's Apostle said, "O Umar, release him! Recite, O Hisham." So Hisham recited before him in the way as I had heard him reciting. Allah's Apostle said, "It has been revealed like this." Then Allah's Apostle said, "Recite O Umar." So I recited it. The Prophet said, "It has been revealed like this." And then he added, "This Koran has been revealed to be recited in seven different ways, so recite it which ever way easier for you'."

Mohammed was, according to modern standards, most certainly cruel, hypocritical, violent, dishonest, and all the rest of it. But he was neither an idiot nor illiterate. He was a practical man striving for pragmatical solutions. After all, he was a merchant and therefore he could sense what was possible, and what was not. His practical solution was to say, "This Koran has been revealed to be recited in seven different ways, so recite it which ever way easier for you," meaning that different wordings are allowed provided that the contents and connotations of the narrative do not change!

The next text deals with human errors that naturally occur. Loss of exact memory either by biological limitations or by death, was a common problem in those brutal times. Sahih Muslim, Vol. 3, Book of Zakat, Hadith 2286, reports: "Abu Harb b. Abu al-Aswad reported on the authority of his father that Abu Musa al-Ash'ari sent for the reciters of Basra. They came to him and they were three hundred in number. They recited the Qur'an and he said: You are the best among the inhabitants of Basra, for you are the reciters among them. So continue to recite it. (But bear in mind) that your reciting for a long time may not harden your hearts as were hardened the hearts of those before you. We used to recite a surah which resembled in length and severity to (Surah) Bara'at. I have, however, forgotten it with the exception of this which I remember out of it:" If there were two valleys full of riches, for the son of Adam, he would long for a third valley, and nothing would fill the stomach of the son of Adam but dust." And we used so recite a slirah which resembled one of the surahs of Musabbihat, and I have forgotten it, but remember (this much) out of it: "Oh people who believe, why do you say that which you do not practise" and that is recorded in your necks as a witness (against you) and you would be asked about it on the Day of Resurrection."

The next Hadith refers to Inner-Islamic disputation as to which texts are considered valuable. The Sahih al-Bukhari 5005 reports: "Narrated Ibn Abbas*: 'Umar* said, Ubai was the best of us in the recitation (of the Koran) yet we leave [out] some of what he recites.' Ubai says, 'I have taken it from the mouth of Allah's Messenger and will not leave for anything whatever." But Allah said "None of Our Revelations do We abrogate or cause to be forgotten but We substitute something better or similar." [Koran 2.106, refering to abrogation in which Muslims must give superiority to the newer text over the older one.] [* Abd Allah ibn Abbas (c. 619– 687), also known simply as Ibn Abbas, was the son of Abbas ibn Abd al-Muttalib, an uncle of the Islamic prophet Mohammed, and a nephew of Maymunah bint al-Harith, who later became Mohammed's wife. He was one of Mohammed's cousins and one of the early Koran scholars. Nepotism was as common in those times as it is today. Almost everybody in the Islamic powerbase was related to Mohammed and this lasted for generations. * Abu Bakr Abdullah ibn Uthman (c. 573–634 AD) was a companion and, through his daughter Aisha, a father-in-law of Mohammed, as well as his successor, the first Rashidun Caliph. * Umar I, or: Omar I; Umar ibn al-Khattab, c. 584–644 AD, "Umar, Son of Al-Khattab", one of Mohammed's closest friends;), was one of the most powerful and influential Muslim caliphs in history. He was a senior companion of the Islamic prophet Mohammed. He succeeded Abu Bakr (632–634) as the second caliph of the Rashidun Caliphate on 23 August 634. He was an expert Muslim jurist known for his pious and just nature.]

First Compilations of Koran Codices

Immediately after the death of Mohammed in 632 AD, it was Ali who collected all documents in Mohammed's dwellings. Ali ibn Abi Talib (Ali ibn Abi Talib; 601–661 AD) was cousin and son-in-law of Mohammed. Ali was born inside the Kaaba* in Mecca [probably Makka in Paran, today known as Petra], to Abu Talib and Fatimah bint Asad. [* indicating that his parents were priests who had access to the Kaaba = the Temple.] He was the first male who accepted Islam under Mohammed's watch. Ali protected Mohammed from an early age, and took part in almost all the 95 battles of Mohammed. After migrating to Medina, he married Mohammed's youngest daughter Fatimah, and after her death, he had other wives, including Mohammed's granddaughter Umamah bint Zaynab.

When Mohammed died, a fierce power struggle ensued for his successor. Ali might not have had the backing of the entire army so he retired. Next, Ali compiled a complete version of the Koran, mus'haf, six months after the death of Mohammed. The volume was completed and carried by camel to show to other people in Medina. The order of Ali's Koran Codex [mus'haf] differed from that which was gathered later during the Uthmanic era [Theodor Nöldeke, Geschichte des Qorâns, German, 1860.]. Ali's Koran was rejected by several people when he showed it to them. Despite this, Ali made no resistance against the other standardised mus'haf which most likely was a work by Aisha*. [* Aisha bint Abi Bakr (c. 614–678 AD) was Mohammed's third and youngest wife. Like Hafsa, Aisha had her script of the Quran written after Mohammed's death. Aisha was one of three wives (the other two being Hafsa bint Umar and Umm Salama) who memorised the Koran. Like Hafsa, Aisha had her script of the Koran written after Mohammed's death. Shia Muslims have a generally negative view of Aisha as she was probably involved in the coup-de-etat launched by her father Abu Bakr.]

During the next 24 years, Ali took no part in battle or conquest, nor did he assume any executive position, instead withdrawing from political affairs, especially after the death of his wife, Fatimah Zahra. He used his time to serve his family and worked as a farmer and dug a lot of wells known today as Abar Ali, "Ali's wells". Abu Bakr ruled for two years, 632–634, he was succeeded by Umar I, 634–644 AD and then by Uthman ibn Affan (Persian, Turkish: Osman), 576–656. Ali was appointed caliph by Mohammed's companions in 656 and ruled as the 4th caliph from 656. He is one of the central figures in Shia Islam and is regarded as the rightful immediate successor to Mohammed as an Imam by Shia Muslims for he has been Mohammed's closest relative. He after Caliph Uthman ibn Affan was assassinated. Ali's reign saw civil wars and in January 661, he was attacked and assassinated by a Kharijite* while praying in the Great Mosque of Kufa, dying two days later. It seems to be that all, Mohammed, Abu Bakr, Umar, Uthman, Ali, met death by assassination. [* The Kharijites, also called the ash-Shurah (from shurah for "council or consultation".), were a radical Islamic sect [similar to the Messianic Movement from Qumran, see Jewish War 66–73 AD.] that engulfed the Muslim society in Civil War for decades.]

Uthman ibn Affan, the 3rd caliph, produced another standardised version of the Koran in 652 most likely using material written by Hamsa and Aisha, Mohammed's wives. He sent a copy to each of the 9 provinces, and ordered that all other Koranic materials "whether written in fragmentary manuscripts or whole copies," must be burned. The Sahih al-Bukhari: Book 6, Volume 61, Hadith 510 reveal some of the events: "Narrated Anas bin Malik: 'Hudhaifa bin Al-Yaman came to Uthman at the time when the people of Sham and the people of Iraq were Waging war to conquer Arminya [Armenia] and Adharbijan [Azerbaijan]. Hudhaifa was afraid of their (the people of Sham and Iraq) differences in the recitation of the Qur'an, so he said to Uthman, "O chief of the Believers! Save this nation before they differ about the Book (Koran) as Jews and the Christians did before." So Uthman sent a message to Hafsa saying, "Send us the manuscripts of the Koran so that we may compile the Qur'anic materials in perfect copies and return the manuscripts to you." Hafsa sent it to Uthman. Uthman then ordered Zaid bin Thabit, Abdullah bin Az Zubair, Said bin Al-As and Abdur Rahman bin Harith bin Hisham to rewrite the manuscripts in perfect copies. Uthman said to the three Quraishi men, "In case you disagree with Zaid bin Thabit on any point in the Qur'an, then write it in the dialect of Quraish, the Qur'an was revealed in their tongue." They did so, and when they had written many copies, 'Uthman returned the original manuscripts to Hafsa. 'Uthman sent to every Muslim province one copy of what they had copied, and ordered that all the other Qur'anic materials, whether written in fragmentary manuscripts or whole copies, be burnt. Said bin Thabit added, "A Verse from Surat Ahzab was missed by me when we copied the Qur'an and I used to hear Allah's Apostle reciting it. So we searched for it and found it with Khuzaima bin Thabit Al-Ansari. (That Verse was): 'Among the Believers are men who have been true in their covenant with Allah'." (Koran 33.23)

Versions, Variations and Readers

Certain variant readings existed and, indeed, persisted and increased as the Companions who had memorised the text died, and because the inchoate (basic) Arabic script, lacking vowel signs and even necessary diacriticals to distinguish between certain consonants, was inadequate. ... In the 4th Islamic century, it was decided to have recourse (to return) to "readings" (qira'at) handed down from seven authoritative "readers" (qurra'); in order, moreover, to ensure accuracy of transmission, two "transmitters" (rawi, pl. ruwah) were accorded to each. There resulted from this seven basic texts (al-qira'at as-sab', "the seven readings"), each having two transmitted versions (riwayatan) with only minor variations in phrasing, but all containing meticulous vowel-points and other necessary diacritical marks. The authoritative "readers" are in chronological order by birth year:

1. Ibn Amir ad-Dimashqi (from Damascus; 640-736 AD).
2. Ibn Kathir al-Makki (from Mecca; 665-737 AD).
3. Nafi al-Madani (from Medina; 689-785 AD).
4. Abu Amr al-Basri (from Basra; 689-771 AD).
5. Hamzah az-Zaiyyat (from Kufa; 699-772 AD).
6. Aasim ibn Abi an-Najud (from Kufa; 700-745 AD).
7. Al-Kisa'i (from Kufa; 737-805 AD).

Whether these seven authoritative [or canonical readings] refer to those seven variations mentined by Mohammed in the Hadith of the Sahih al-Bukhari above, is unclear. Most of the differences between the various readings involve consonant / diacritical marks (I'jam) and vowels marks (Harakat), but not in the rasm or "skeleton" of the writing, since canonical readings were required to comply with at least one of the regional Uthmanic copies (which had a small number of differences). Qirat are sometimes confused with Ahruf—both being variants of the Koran and both said to have seven different varieties. There were multiple views on the nature of the ahruf and how they relate to the qira'at, one being that varieties of ahruf were discontinued by order of caliph Uthman sometime in the mid-7th century AD. The seven readings, or Qira'at, were selected by Abu Bakr Ibn Mujahid and canonized in the 8th century AD. Even after centuries of Islamic scholarship, the variants of the Qira'at have been said (by Ammar Khatib and Nazir Khan) to continue "to astound and puzzle" Islamic scholars. The Koran Codex [mashaf] that is in "general use" throughout almost all the Muslim world today, is a 1924 Egyptian edition based on the Qira'at reading of Hafs on the authority of Asim, (Hafs being the Rawi, or "transmitter", and Asim being the Qari or "reader").

Arabic Script and Marks

When a Muslim teacher says that the Koran is "perfectly preserved" he refers to the "naked" letters without dots. What this kind of teacher really wants to say is that the Koran be perfect while non-Islamic scriptures were not! The Muslim teacher, however, does not get the whole point right from the start because non-Muslims have never claimed such perfection.

In order to understand Muslim claim that the Koran ist "perfectly preserved, unaltered and not tampered with in any way" we have to get down to linguistics [science of language] and orthography [the art of writing].

The Arabic script is a writing system used for writing Arabic and several other languages of Asia and Africa. The Arabic script is written from right to left in a cursive style, in which most of the letters are written in slightly different forms according to whether they stand alone or are joined to a following or preceding letter. In any case, it is a cursive script. Arabic developed in the following sequence: Proto-Sinaitic, Phoenician-Canaanite, Aramaic, Nabataean Aramaic, and then from the Persian form of Syriac Aramaic to Arabic script.

The Arabic script has been adapted for use in a wide variety of languages besides Arabic, including Persian, Malay and Urdu, which are not Semitic. Such adaptations may feature altered or new characters to represent phonemes that do not appear in Arabic phonology. For example, the Arabic language lacks a voiceless bilabial plosive (the [p] sound), therefore many languages add their own letter to represent [p] in the script, though the specific letter used varies from language to language.

The Arabic alphabet is considered an abjad, meaning it only uses consonants, but it is now considered an "impure abjad". As with other impure abjads, such as the Hebrew alphabet, scribes later devised means of indicating vowel sounds by separate vowel diacritics. Arabic, as most Semitic languages, have only 3 vowels: **a**, **i**, **u**. Writing out extra vowel sounds have been considered not important and are omitted for this reason. Semitic speakers are supposed to be able to guess the

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needed vowel. The following table shows why Arabic has another difficulty in store, which is a typical hurdle in decophering a handwriting.

We have to see what this is all about and therefore we show you in the following table what Arabic looks like. For this purpose, we have assorted the letters into little groups according to their similarity. We immediately can see that the **kha**, **ha** and the **jim** have the very same shape, so have the **tha**, **ta**, **ba**, [and the **nun**], the **dad** and **sad**, the **shin** and **sin**, the **fa**, **qaf**, **waw**, the **zay** and **ra**, the dhal and **dal**, the **lam** and **kaf**, the **gayn** and **ayn**, the **za** and **ta**. That leaves only half a doven letters with a unique shape!

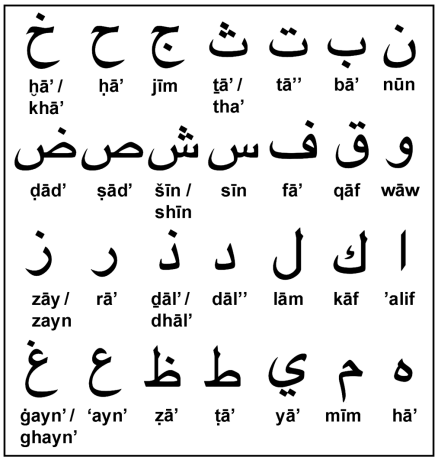

Due this "over-simplification", it became necessary to introduce marks, dots and dashes that makes each letter unique again. This system also has been used to distinguish the vowels from une another. Due to misinterpretations of the Koran texts, diacritic marks were introduced in the 8th and 9th centuries AD also for writing the correct vowels. The failure to write out the correct diacritic marks is a common mistake and the main cause for misunderstandings. The culmination of such mark mistakes has led to different Koran versions with a range from a few hundred different writing of diacritic marks up to several thousand. Many of those mistakes are caused by differences among the dialects in Arabic. Comparison of Warsh and Asim's recitation

The Warsh [Naafi] recitation of the Koran differs from Hafs [Asim] in orthography. The majority of differences do not affect the meaning. Yet in some cases the differences change the implications of the verse. In verse 2:184 Hafs recites the verse to be "... a ransom [as substitute] of feeding a poor person...". On the other hand, Warsh reads it "... a ransom [as substitute] of feeding poor people..." Other variants orthography include:

Hafs Koran	Warsh Koran	Chap : Vers
you do	they do	2:85
enjoined	instructed	2:132
And hasten to	Hasten to	3:133
We do not send down...	they do not come down...	15:8
that I may bestow	that He may bestow	19:19
He said	say!	21:4
mighty	multitudinous	33:68
then it is what	it is what	42:30
who are the slaves of the Beneficent	who are with the Beneficent	43:19
he makes him enter	we make him enter	48:17

Another major difference between Hafs and Warsh recitation of the Quran is the pronunciation of the words. Modern Koran have diacritical marks (known as Tashkil) and in some cases pronouncing the word differently could imply different meaning. Here are some examples:

Hafs Koran	Warsh Koran	Chap : Vers
Owner	King	1:4 (1:3 in Warsh)
they lie	they were lied to (or) they deny	2:10 (2:9 in Warsh)
And many a prophet fought	And many a prophet was killed	3:146
two works of magic	two magicians	28:48

All of the Islamic evidence shows there are different canonical versions of the Qur'an used around the world today. They differ in their words, basic letters, diacritical dots, vowels, and the Basmalah; and these change the meaning of words and sentences. Therefore how the Koran is recited around the world today is different; not all Korans are identical. Islamic leaders should stop exaggerating about the Koran. If you are a Muslim, please do not believe these exaggerated claims about the Koran. If you are a Kafir [non-Muslim], do not believe the exaggerated claims Muslims make about the Koran.

The Seven Ahruf And Ten Qirat

Why are there so many different versions of the Koran and not one? The traditional Islamic answer comes from the above quoted Hadith in which Mohammed said Allah gave the Koran in seven different ways (ahruf). As for what is meant by these seven ahruf, there is a great deal of difference on this issue. Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276 AH.) recorded 35 opinions on the issue, and as-Suyootee listed over 40. Up to now, 32 different Koran versions have been identified [Hatun Tash, Jay Smith, Al Fadi, 2020.].

These are some options for what the ahruf may be: 1. Different Arabic dialects; Synonyms; Differences in Arabic grammar, i.e. sentence construction. Not knowing exactly what the ahruf are is a significant issue, because the Koran is said to be revealed in seven ahruf. If we do not know exactly what the ahruf are then how can we say exactly what the Koran is? This is a major problem for Muslim scholars who want to define the Koran precisely. The seven ahruf and ten qira'at are related but are not the same thing. The following illustrates the structured relationship of 23 versions:

THE READERS AND THEIR TRANSMITTED VERSIONS	
10 QIRAT [Qari] The Reader	**20 RIWAYATES** The Transmitter
AHRUF 'The Seven Readers'	
1 (Zayd ibn Thaabit*, **Medina**) Nafi 689-785	**1** Warsh 728-812; [*used in: West Africa, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Sudan.*]
	2 Qalun 737-835 [**1732**]; [*used in: Tunisia, Libya and Qatar.*]
2 (Abdullah ibn Saib* 682, **Mecca**) Ibn Kathir 665-737	**3** al-Bazzi 786-864 [**1094**]
	4 Qunbul 810-904
3 (Amir ibn Abdul Qays* 690, **Basra**); Aasim ibn Abi al-Najud 745, **Kufa**; [and then] Abu Amr [ibn] al-Ala 687-770, Damascus	**5** Al-Duri 767-860 [**4645**]; [*used in: Sudan and West Africa.*]
	6 al-Suri [al-Susi] 874 [**2869**]; [*used in: Sudan, West Africa.*]
4 (al Mugira ibn Shuba* 670, **Damascus**) Ibn Amir 629-736	**7** Hisham 770-859 [**1347**]; [*used in: Yemen.*]
	8 Ibn Dhakwan (Zkwaan) 789-856
5 (Abu Abd ar Rahmam as Sulami* 690, **Kufa**) Hamzah 699-772	**9** Khalaf al-Bazzar 767-844 [**2629**-2892]
	10 Khallad 835
6 (Abu Abd ar Rahmam as Sulami* 690, **Kufa**) al-Qisa'i 737-804	**11** al-Duri 860
	12 Abu'l-Harith 864 [**5000**]
7 (Abu Abd ar Rahmam as Sulami* 690, **Kufa**) Aasim ibn Abi al-Najud 745; [and then] Abu Bakr Asim 745-778	**13** **Hafs*** 708-796 / 805 (authorised in Cairo, 1924 !)
	14 Abu Bakr Shoba ibn Ayyash 713-809 [**504**-618]
'The Three Readers'	
8 Abu Jafar 747, **Medina**	**15** Ibn Wardan 777 [**3085**]
	16 Ibn Jamaz 786
9 Yaqub al-Hashimi 735-820, **Basra**	**17** Ruways 852 / 853
	18 Rawh 848 / 849 [**1724**]
10 Khalaf al-Bazzar 757-843, **Baghdad**	**19** Ishaq 899
	20 Idris al-Haddad 905
* In round brackets: (Names, dates, and **place of origin** of the Qirat's predecessors. A 'Nafi Koran' is called a 'Medina Koran', so are the Warsh and Qalun!)	* **Hafs**: The most common Koran version. [*Italic leters:* Places where other versions are used.] In **bold** letters: Amout of differences to the Hafs version.
Additional Readers	
21 Hasan al-Basri 728, **Basra**	
22 Ibn Musa'isin of Mecca 740, **Mecca**	
23 Yahya al-Yazidi 817, **Basra**	

Here is a summary from the Islamic sources of what seems to be the best explanation for how the seven ahruf became the ten qirat:

1. Mohammed allowed the seven ahruf of the Koran. Each ahruf was a way of reciting the Koran, that is, each ahruf had its own qirah / reading.

2. These differences caused problems for the early Muslims.

Narrated Anas bin Malik: Hudhaifa bin Al-Yaman came to Uthman at the time when the people (Muslims) of Syria and the people of Iraq were waging war to conquer Armenia and Azarbaijan. Hudhaifa was afraid of their (the people of Syria and Iraq) differences in the recitation of the Koran, so he said to Uthman, "O chief of the Believers! Save this nation before they differ about the Book (Koran) ... (Sahih al-Bukhari: vol. 6, bk. 61, no. 510)

3. Caliph Uthman solved this problem by establishing one text, in one dialect, and destroying the other versions. His goal was to remove the differences and unite the Muslim community around a single text recited in the Qurayshi dialect.

So Uthman sent a message to Hafsa saying, "Send us the manuscripts of the Koran so that we may compile the Koranic materials in perfect copies and return the manuscripts to you." Hafsa sent it to Uthman. Uthman then ordered Zaid bin Thabit, Abdullah bin Az-Zubair, Said bin Al-As and Abdur Rahman bin Harith bin Hisham to rewrite the manuscripts in perfect copies. Uthman said to the three Quraishi men, "In case you disagree with Zaid bin Thabit on any point in the Qur'an, then write it in the dialect of Quraish, the Qur'an was revealed in their tongue." They did so, and when they had written many copies, Uthman returned the original manuscripts to Hafsa. Uthman sent to every Muslim province one copy of what they had copied, and ordered that all the other Koranic materials, whether written in fragmentary manuscripts or whole copies, be burnt. ... (Sahih al-Bukhari: vol. 6, bk. 61, no. 510)

4. Uthman's Koran removed most of the differences between what Muslims were reciting, however, some were able to remain due to the vague nature of the Arabic script that was used at this time.

The (Arabic) script used in the seventh century, i.e. during the lifetime of the Prophet Mohammed, consisted of very basic symbols, which expressed only the consonantal structure of a word, and even that with much ambiguity. While today letters such as baa, taa, thaa, yaa, are easily distinguished by points, this was not so in the early days and all these letters used to be written with a straight line. (Von Denffer, Ulum Al-Qur'an - An Introduction to the Sciences of the Qur'an, p. 57)

This vague nature of the script of Uthman's Koran allowed sections of the qirat / readings from the other ahruf to be transferred into Uthman's Koran. If the qirat / readings of the other ahruf was compatible with Uthman's basic text, it could continued to be read in Uthman's Koran. In this case the basic script was vocalised with different diacritical and vowel markings (as we have seen). This resulted in different readings/qira'at/vocalisations for the same word in Uthman's Koran. Thus, Uthman's Koran was no longer a single ahruf with its own reading / qirah but a mixture of readings from different ahruf.

5. This vague nature of the Arabic text also allowed new variants to arise that were compatible with Uthmanic text.

When more and more Muslims of non-Arab origin and also many ignorant Arabs studied the Koran, faulty pronunciation and wrong readings began to increase. It is related that at the time of Du'ali (d. 69 AH / 638 AD) someone in Basra read the following aya from the Koran in a faulty way, which changed the meaning completely:

1. "That God and his apostle dissolve obligations with the pagans" (9:3)

2. "That God dissolves obligations with the pagans and the apostle".

This mistake occurred through wrongly reading rasulihi in place of rasuluhu, which could not be distinguished from the written text, because there were no signs or accents indicating the correct pronunciation. Unless someone had memorised the correct version he could out of ignorance easily commit such a mistake. (Von Denffer, Ulum Al-Qur'an - An Introduction to the Sciences of the Qur'an, p. 58)

Islamic scholars record that at least 50 different readings / qirat / vocalisations systems had developed for Uthman's Koran. These different qirat show that a range of opinions existed as to how the Uthman text could be read, and that there was some confusion about this.

6. In the 4th Islamic century, Ahmad ibn Musa ibn Mujahid solved this problem by choosing seven of these qirat / reading systems as canonical, and in time another three were accepted. Reciting any of the non-canonical qirat was now forbidden and punishable.

Two Koran readers were famously tried for reciting unacceptable variants, Ibn Miqsam in 322 AH / 934 AD and Ibn Shannabudh in 323 AH / 935 AD. Both were forced to recant. (Christopher Melchert, Ibn Mujahid and the Establishment of the Seven Qur'anic Readings, p. 5)

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The result is there are now ten canonical qirat / readings / vocalisations systems for Uthman's Koran. This is how the qirat of the seven ahruf, and the variants that arose from the vagueness of the text, became the ten qirat of Uthman's Koran. This is why there are different versions of the Koran today. For more detailed examination of this history read The Preservation of the Koran

How Do Islamic Scholars Understand The Different Qirat?

In this article we have considered the Ten Accepted Readers and looked at two of them in particular, however, there are many others. Islamic scholars record up to 50 different versions. No one accepts all of these as authentic. They are judged in the same way a hadith is judged for authenticity. In this way the Koran is the same as the Hadith.

The Orthodox Islamic view is that all of the authentic versions are from God, and the differences between them are to be harmonized.

This oral tradition (of the Koran) embraces ten distinct systems of recitation, or, as they are generally called among scholars, "Readings" (qirat), each tranmitted by a "school" of Koran-readers deriving its authority from a prominent reader of the second or early third century of the Islamic era. The slight variation among the Ten Readings is attributable to the dialectal variation in the original Revelation. ... It should be emphasized that all of the Readings were transmitted orally from the Prophet. (Labib as-Said, The Recited Koran: A History of the First Recorded Version, p. 53)

Every reading in accordance with Arabic (grammar) even if (only) in some way, and in accordance with one of the masaahif of Uthmaan, even if (only) probable, and with sound chain of transmission, is a correct (Sahih) reading, which must not be rejected, and may not be denied, but it belongs to the seven modes (ahruf) according to which the Koran was revealed, and the people are obliged to accept it, no matter whether it is from the seven Imaans, or the ten or from other accepted Imaans (Abu-l-Khair bin al-Jazari; cited from Ahmad von Denffer, Ulum Al-Qur'an, p. 119.)

However, not all Islamic scholars hold this view. They consider it unreasonable to think that the Koran can be recited 10 different ways. They believe there is only one recitation of the Koran and that the different qira'at come from the Readers and not God.

The Koran was originally recited in one language and one dialect, namely that of the Quraysh. However, as soon as readers from the different tribes began to recite it, a variety of readings emerged, reflecting dialectal differences among the readers. The diversity was so great that later generations of readers and scholars had to labour intensely over the recording and careful analysis of these readings. In so doing they give rise to a special science, or rather special sciences, devoted exclusively to this enterprise. ...

I should pause here to note that certain religious authorities have supposed that the Seven Readings were transmitted by a process of continuous transmission (tawaatur) on a wide scale from the Prophet himself, unto whom, so they allege, they were revealed by Gabriel. These authorities therefore consider that whoever rejects any of the established readings is an unbeliever. They have not, however, been able to produce any evidence for what they claim except that the tradition which reads, "The Koran was revealed in seven dialects (ahruf)".

The truth of the matter is that the seven Readings had nothing to do with the Revelation, nothing in the least; and whoever rejects any of them is not for having done so an unbeliever; nor has he sinned or gone astray in his religion. The origin of these Readings is to be found in the diversity of tribal dialects among the early Muslim Arabs, and everyone has the right to dispute them, and to accept and reject them, or parts of them, as seems proper.

In point of fact, people have disputed the Readings and argued over them, and have even accused each other of error with respect to them; yet we know of no Muslim who ever charged another with unbelief over this matter (Taahaa Husayn, Fi'l-Adab al-jaahilii, cited from Labib as-Said, The Recited Koran: A History of the First Recorded Version, pp. 97 & 99)

It is generally known that there are seven or ten different recitations of the Koran - By recitation is meant the different wordings which convey the same or allied meanings Maalik and Malik - Such as Yatta'harna and Yat'harna. It is generally believed the recitation of the seven or the ten reciters of the first, second and third century of Islam are valid and the Muslims are allowed to adopt either of these in their reciting Koran and it is generally held that the origin of these various recitations go back to the time of the Holy Prophet who approved these varieties but according to the Shia Ithna-Ashari School whose views are based on the teachings of the Holy Imams, the revealed recitation of the Koran cannot be but one and as the Imam puts it, " Koran is One, came down from the One, the variation in recitation comes from the reciters not from God." (S. V. Mir Ahmed Ali, The Holy Qur'an: Text, Translation and Commentary, p. 58a)

EARLY KORAN MANUSCRIPTS

In Muslim tradition the Koran is a final revelation from God, Islam's divine text, delivered to the Prophet of Islam Mohammed, through the angel Jibril (Gabriel). Mohammed's revelations were said to have been recorded orally and in writing, through Mohammed and his followers up until his death in 632, and then compiled by first caliph Abu Bakr and codified during the reign of the third caliph Uthman (r. 644–656) so that the standard codex edition of the Quran or "Muṣḥaf" was completed around 650 AD, according to Muslim scholars. However, some Western scholars (John Wansbrough) have questioned this, suggesting the Quran was canonized at a later date, based on the fact that the classical Islamic narratives were written generations—150 to 200 years—after the death of Mohammed. According to Corpus Coranicum, a research organisation funded by the Government of Germany, more than 60 fragments including more than 2000 folios (leaves, 4000 pages) are so far known as the textual witnesses (manuscripts) of the Koran before 800 AD (within 168 years after the death of Prophet Mohammed).

Koran Codices

A mus'haf (plural masahif) is the Arabic word for "codex" or collection of sheets. Sometimes but also refers to a written copy of the entire Koran. These are chapters of the Koran, which Muslims believe was revealed during a 23-year period in Mohammed's lifetime, were written on various pieces of paper during Mohammed's era. Two decades later, these papers were assembled into one volume under the third caliph, Uthman ibn Affan, and this collection has formed the basis of all written copies of the Quran to the present day.

In Arabic, al-qur'an means 'the Recitation', and Islam states that it was recited orally by Mohammed after receiving it via the angel Gabriel. The word "mus'haf" is meant to distinguish between Mohammed's recitations and the physical, written Quran. This term does not appear in the Quran itself, though it does refer to itself as a kitab, or book, in one verse.

Some Islamic scholars also use the term mus'haf to refer to all the revelations contained within the book itself, while using al-Qur'ān to refer to all verses revealed to Mohammed during his lifetime, including those abrogated and removed from the mus•haf prior to its final written form, as mentioned in some Hadith. For this reason, these scholars say that there is only one possible version of the Koran, but multiple possible versions of the mus'haf. Some of the earliest Korans are:

The Birmingham Koran Codex

In 2015, experts from the University of Birmingham UK introduced a manuscript which is possibly the oldest manuscript of the Quran in the world. BnF Arabe 328(c), formerly bound with BnF Arabe 328(ab), has 16 leaves, with two additional leaves discovered in Birmingham in 2015 (Mingana 1572a, bound with an unrelated Quranic manuscript).

Radiocarbon tests to determine the age of the manuscript revealed that this manuscript could be traced back to between 6th or 7th century having no noticeable differences from the current Koran (between 568 and 645 AD).

The Birmingham Quran manuscript is a parchment on which two leaves of an early Quranic manuscript are written. It is part of the Mingana Collection of Middle Eastern manuscripts, held by the university's Cadbury Research Library. The manuscript is written in ink on parchment, using an Arabic Hijazi script and is still clearly legible. The leaves preserve parts of Surahs 18 (Al-Kahf) to 20 (Taha). It was on display at the University of Birmingham in 2015 and then at Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery until 5 August 2016. The Cadbury Research Library has carried out multispectral analysis of the manuscript and XRF analysis of the inks.

In 2015 the manuscript, which is held by the University of Birmingham, was radiocarbon dated to between 568 and 645 AD (in the Islamic calendar, between 56 BH and 25 AH). Subsequent ultraviolet testing of the leaves has confirmed no underwriting, and excludes the possibility of there being a palimpsest [In textual studies, a palimpsest is a manuscript page, either from a scroll or a book, from which the text has been scraped away, washed off, or painted over, so that the page can be reused for another document.].

The Sanaa Koran Codex

The Sanaa palimpsest or Sanaa Quran is one of the oldest Quranic manuscripts in existence. Part of a sizable cache of Koranic and non- Koranic fragments discovered in Yemen during a 1972 restoration of the Great Mosque of Sanaa, the manuscript was identified as a palimpsest Koran in 1981; as it is written on parchment and comprises two layers of text. The upper text largely conforms to the standard 'Uthmanic' Quran in text and in the standard order of chapters (suwar, singular sūrah); whereas the lower text (the original text that was erased and written over by the upper text, but can still be read with the help of ultraviolet light and computer processing) contains many variations from the standard text, and the sequence of its chapters corresponds to no known Koranic order. A partial reconstruction of the lower text was published in 2012; and a reconstruction of the legible portions of both lower and upper texts of the 38 folios in the Sana'a House of Manuscripts was published in 2017 utilising post-processed digital images of the lower text. A radiocarbon analysis has dated the parchment of one of the detached leaves sold at auction, and hence its lower text, to between 578 AD (44 BH) and 669 AD (49 AH) with a 95% accuracy.

The manuscript is a palimpsest, meaning the parchment was written over once. The original text (the "lower" text) was erased, and written over a second time (the "upper" text) with this process potentially being repeated over time with the same parchment.[citation needed] In the Sana'a palimpsest, both the upper and the lower text are the Koran written in the Hijazi script.

The upper text conforms closely with that underlying the modern Koran in use, and has been dated as probably from sometime between the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 8th century AD.

Although the suras of the lower text do not follow the canonical order and have many additional words and phrases, nevertheless, with only two exceptions, within each sura, the surviving lower text presents the same verses as the standard Koran and in exactly the same order – the exceptions being in sura 20, where Sadeghi and Goudarzi find that verses 31 and 32 are transposed, and in sura 9, where Sadeghi and Goudarzi find that the whole of verse 85 is absent, which he explains as "parablepsis, a form of scribal error in which the eye skips from one text to a similar text".

The lower text is believed to have been written sometime between 632–669 AD, as the parchment of the Stanford folio has been radiocarbon dated with 95% accuracy to before 669 AD, and 75% probability from before 646 AD. François Déroche puts the lower text to the second half of the 7th century. The lower text includes sura At-Tawba, which is believed in Islamic tradition to have been recited by Mohammed in 632 AD.

The Topkapi Koran Codex

The Topkapi manuscript, Topkapi codex or Topkapi Koran is an early manuscript of the Koran and is kept in the Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul, Turkey. It is traditionally attributed to Uthman Ibn Affan (d. 656). The paleographic assessment, hoever, indicates that the Topkapi manuscript comes closest to those writings that date back to the early or mid 8th century AD)

The Codex Parisino-Petropolitanus

The codex Parisino-petropolitanus is one of the very oldest extant manuscripts of the Koran, attributed to the 7th century. Most surviving leaves represent a Koran that is preserved in various fragments, the largest part of which are kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, as BNF Arabe 328(ab). 46 leaves are held at the National Library of Russia and one each in the Vatican Library and in the Khalili Collections. François Déroche says that the production of codex Parisino-petropolitanus could be dated as far back as the late 7th century AD (third quarter of the 1st century AH). David S. Powers agrees with this early date. Others agree with a date in the early 8th century AD, which Déroche also advocated in some of his earlier work. Still some suggest significantly later dates.

The Tübingen Fragment

In November 2014, the University of Tübingen in Germany announced that a partial Koran manuscript in their possession (Ms M a VI 165), had been carbon dated (with a confidence of 94.8%), to between 649 and 675. The manuscript is now recognised as being written in hijazi script, although in the 1930 catalogue of the collection it is classified as "Kufic", and consists of the Koranic verses 17:36, to 36:57 (and part of verse 17:35).

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THE HADITH
or The Prophetic Traditions
also known as The Sahih Al-Bukhari
or as as The Bukhari Sharif
Translation: Dr M. Muhsin Khan

(Sahih al-Bukhari, also known as Bukhari Sharif, or simply "The Hadith", is one of the Kutub al-Sittah (six major Hadith collections) of Sunni Islam. The Hadith, or in plural Ahadith, (Arabic for: "traditions") in Islam refers to the record of the words, actions, and the silent approval, of the Islamic prophet Mohammed (c. 570–632 AD.). Although considered Apocryphical, within Islam the authority of Hadith as a source for religious law and moral guidance ranks second only to that of the Koran (which Muslims hold to be the word of Allah revealed to his messenger Mohammed). The writings of The Hadith, were collected about 250 years after the death of Mohammed by the Muslim scholar Mohammed al-Bukhari (810–870 AD.)., after being transmitted orally for generations. The word sahih translates as "authentic or correct". Bukhari's collection of Hadith is recognised by the overwhelming majority of the Muslim world to be the most authentic collection (after the Koran). It is also used as an authentic Hadith collection by Zaidi Shia Muslims. It contains over 7500 Hadith (with repetitions) in 93 books.)

Volume 1
1. Revelation
2. Belief
3. Knowledge
4. Ablution (Wudu')
5. Bathing (Ghusl)
6. Menstrual Periods
7. Ablution with dust
8. Prayer (Salat)
9. Prayer Hall (Sutra)
10. Times of the Prayer
11. Call to Prayer
12. Characteristics of Prayer

Volume 2
13. Friday Prayer
14. Fear Prayer
15. The Two Festivals (Eids)
16. Witr Prayer
17. Dua' for Rain (Istisqaa)
18. Eclipses
19. Prostration
20. Shortening Prayers
21. Night Prayer (Tahajjud)
22. Actions while Praying
23. Funerals (Al-Janaa'iz)
24. Tax (Zakat)
25. Tax (Zakat ul Fitr)
26. Pilgrimmage (Hajj)

Volume 3
27. Minor Pilgrimmage
28. Pilgrims Prevented
29. Prilgrims Hunting Penalty
30. Virtues of Madinah
31. Fasting
32. Ramadan Prayer
33. Stay in Mosque (I'tikaf)
34. Sales and Trade
35. Paid in Advance
36. Hiring
37. Debt Transfer
38. Business by Proxy
39. Agriculture
40. Distributing Water
41. Loans, Bankruptcy
42. Lost & Found
43. Oppressions
44. Partnership
45. Mortgaging
46. Freeing Slaves
47. Gifts
48. Witnesses
49. Peacemaking
50. Conditions

Volume 4
51. Wills
52. Jihaad
53. One-fifth of Booty
54. Begining of Creation
55. Prophets
56. Merits of Sunnah

Volume 5
57. The Companions
58. Merits of Al-Ansaar
59. Expeditions

Volume 6
60. Prophetic Commentary
61. Virtues of the Koran

Volume 7
62. Marriage
63. Divorce
64. Supporting Family
65. Food, Meals
66. Sacrifice on Birth
67. Hunting, Slaughter
68. Al-Adha Sacrifice
69. Drinks
70. Patients
71. Medicine
72. Dress

Volume 8
73. Good Manners
74. Asking Permission
75. Invocations
76. Softening the Heart
77. Divine Will (Qadar)
78. Oaths and Vows
79. Unfulfilled Oaths
80. Inheritance Laws
81. Punishment Laws
82. Disbelievers (war)

Volume 9
83. Blood Money
84. Dealing with Apostates
85. Under Duress
86. Tricks
87. Interpretations of Dreams
88. End of the World
89. Judgements
90. Wishes
91. Truthfull Word
92. Holding Steadfast
93. Oneness of Allah

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, VOLUME 1

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 1:
Revelation

Volume 1, Book 1, Number 1:
Narrated Umar bin Al-Khattab:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "The reward of deeds depends upon the intentions and every person will get the reward according to what he has intended. So whoever emigrated for worldly benefits or for a woman to marry, his emigration was for what he emigrated for."

Volume 1, Book 1, Number 2:
Narrated Aisha:
(the mother of the faithful believers) Al-Harith bin Hisham asked Allah's Apostle "O Allah's Apostle! How is the Divine Inspiration revealed to you?" Allah's Apostle replied, "Sometimes it is (revealed) like the ringing of a bell, this form of Inspiration is the hardest of all and then this state passes ' off after I have grasped what is inspired. Sometimes the Angel comes in the form of a man and talks to me and I grasp whatever he says." Aisha added: Verily I saw the Prophet being inspired Divinely on a very cold day and noticed the Sweat dropping from his forehead (as the Inspiration was over).

Volume 1, Book 1, Number 3:
Narrated Aisha:
(the mother of the faithful believers) The commencement of the Divine Inspiration to Allah's Apostle was in the form of good dreams which came true like bright day light, and then the love of seclusion was bestowed upon him. He used to go in seclusion in the cave of Hira where he used to worship (Allah alone) continuously for many days before his desire to see his family. He used to take with him the journey food for the stay and then come back to (his wife) Khadija to take his food like-wise again till suddenly the Truth descended upon him while he was in the cave of Hira. The angel came to him and asked him to read. The Prophet replied, "I do not know how to read.
The Prophet added, "The angel caught me (forcefully) and pressed me so hard that I could not bear it any more. He then released me and again asked me to read and I replied, 'I do not know how to read.' Thereupon he caught me again and pressed me a second time till I could not bear it any more. He then released me and again asked me to read but again I replied, 'I do not know how to read (or what shall I read)?' Thereupon he caught me for the third time and pressed me, and then released me and said, 'Read in the name of your Lord, who has created (all that exists) has created man from a clot. Read! And your Lord is the Most Generous." (96.1, 96.2, 96.3) Then Allah's Apostle returned with the Inspiration and with his heart beating severely. Then he went to Khadija bint Khuwailid and said, "Cover me! Cover me!" They covered him till his fear was over and after that he told her everything that had happened and said, "I fear that something may happen to me." Khadija replied, "Never! By Allah, Allah will never disgrace you. You keep good relations with your Kith and kin, help the poor and the destitute, serve your guests generously and assist the deserving calamity-afflicted ones."
Khadija then accompanied him to her cousin Waraqa bin Naufal bin Asad bin Abdul 'Uzza, who, during the PreIslamic Period became a Christian and used to write the writing with Hebrew letters. He would write from the Gospel in Hebrew as much as Allah wished him to write. He was an old man and had lost his eyesight. Khadija said to Waraqa, "Listen to the story of your nephew, O my cousin!" Waraqa asked, "O my nephew! What have you seen?" Allah's Apostle described whatever he had seen. Waraqa said, "This is the same one who keeps the secrets (angel Gabriel) whom Allah had sent to Moses. I wish I were young and could live up to the time when your people would turn you out." Allah's Apostle asked, "Will they drive me out?" Waraqa replied in the affirmative and said, "Anyone (man) who came with something similar to what you have brought was treated with hostility; and if I should remain alive till the day when you will be turned out then I would support you strongly." But after a few days Waraqa died and the Divine Inspiration was also paused for a while.
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah Al-Ansari while talking about the period of pause in revelation reporting the speech of the Prophet "While I was walking, all of a sudden I heard a voice from the sky. I looked up and saw the same angel who had visited me at the cave of Hira' sitting on a chair between the sky and the earth. I got afraid of him and came back home and said, 'Wrap me (in blankets).' And then Allah revealed the following Holy Verses (of Koran):
'O you (i.e. Mohammed)! wrapped up in garments!' Arise and warn (the people against Allah's Punishment),... up to 'and desert the idols.' (74.1-5) After this the revelation started coming strongly, frequently and regularly."

Volume 1, Book 1, Number 4:
Narrated Said bin Jubair:
Ibn Abbas in the explanation of the Statement of Allah. 'Move not your tongue concerning (the Koran) to make haste therewith." (75.16) Said "Allah's Apostle used to bear the revelation with great trouble and used to move his lips (quickly) with the Inspiration." Ibn Abbas moved his lips saying, "I am moving my lips in front of you as Allah's Apostle used to move his." Said moved his lips saying: "I am moving my lips, as I saw Ibn Abbas moving his." Ibn Abbas added, "So Allah revealed 'Move not your tongue concerning (the Koran) to make haste therewith. It is for us to collect it and to give you (O Mohammed) the ability to recite it (the Koran) (75.16-17) which means that Allah will make him (the Prophet) remember the portion of the Koran which was revealed at that time by heart and recite it. The Statement of Allah: And 'When we have recited it to you (O Mohammed through Gabriel) then you follow its (Koran) recital' (75.18) means 'listen to it and be silent.' Then it is for Us (Allah) to make It clear to you' (75.19) means 'Then it is (for Allah) to make you recite it (and its meaning will be clear by itself through your tongue). Afterwards, Allah's Apostle used to listen to Gabriel whenever he came and after his departure he used to recite it as Gabriel had recited it."

Volume 1, Book 1, Number 5:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle was the most generous of all the people, and he used to reach the peak in generosity in the month of Ramadan when Gabriel met him. Gabriel used to meet him every night of Ramadan to teach him the Koran. Allah's Apostle was the most generous person, even more generous than the strong uncontrollable wind (in readiness and haste to do charitable deeds).

Volume 1, Book 1, Number 6:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
Abu Sufyan bin Harb informed me that Heraclius had sent a messenger to him while he had been accompanying a caravan from Quraish. They were merchants doing business in Sham (Syria, Palestine, Lebanon and Jordan), at the time when Allah's Apostle had truce with Abu Sufyan and Quraish infidels. So Abu Sufyan and his companions went to Heraclius at Ilya (Jerusalem). Heraclius called them in the court and he had all the senior Roman dignitaries around him. He called for his translator who, translating Heraclius's question said to them, "Who amongst you is closely related to that man who claims to be a Prophet?" Abu Sufyan replied, "I am the nearest relative to him (amongst the group)."
Heraclius said, "Bring him (Abu Sufyan) close to me and make his companions stand behind him." Abu Sufyan added, Heraclius told his translator to tell my companions that he wanted to put some questions to me regarding that man (The

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Prophet) and that if I told a lie they (my companions) should contradict me." Abu Sufyan added, "By Allah! Had I not been afraid of my companions labeling me a liar, I would not have spoken the truth about the Prophet. The first question he asked me about him was:

'What is his family status amongst you?'

I replied, 'He belongs to a good (noble) family amongst us.'

Heraclius further asked, 'Has anybody amongst you ever claimed the same (i.e. to be a Prophet) before him?'

I replied, 'No.'

He said, 'Was anybody amongst his ancestors a king?'

I replied, 'No.'

Heraclius asked, 'Do the nobles or the poor follow him?'

I replied, 'It is the poor who follow him.'

He said, 'Are his followers increasing decreasing (day by day)?'

I replied, 'They are increasing.'

He then asked, 'Does anybody amongst those who embrace his religion become displeased and renounce the religion afterwards?'

I replied, 'No.'

Heraclius said, 'Have you ever accused him of telling lies before his claim (to be a Prophet)?'

I replied, 'No. '

Heraclius said, 'Does he break his promises?'

I replied, 'No. We are at truce with him but we do not know what he will do in it.' I could not find opportunity to say anything against him except that.

Heraclius asked, 'Have you ever had a war with him?'

I replied, 'Yes.'

Then he said, 'What was the outcome of the battles?'

I replied, 'Sometimes he was victorious and sometimes we.'

Heraclius said, 'What does he order you to do?'

I said, 'He tells us to worship Allah and Allah alone and not to worship anything along with Him, and to renounce all that our ancestors had said. He orders us to pray, to speak the truth, to be chaste and to keep good relations with our Kith and kin.'

Heraclius asked the translator to convey to me the following, I asked you about his family and your reply was that he belonged to a very noble family. In fact all the Apostles come from noble families amongst their respective peoples. I questioned you whether anybody else amongst you claimed such a thing, your reply was in the negative. If the answer had been in the affirmative, I would have thought that this man was following the previous man's statement. Then I asked you whether anyone of his ancestors was a king. Your reply was in the negative, and if it had been in the affirmative, I would have thought that this man wanted to take back his ancestral kingdom.

I further asked whether he was ever accused of telling lies before he said what he said, and your reply was in the negative. So I wondered how a person who does not tell a lie about others could ever tell a lie about Allah. I, then asked you whether the rich people followed him or the poor. You replied that it was the poor who followed him. And in fact all the Apostle have been followed by this very class of people. Then I asked you whether his followers were increasing or decreasing. You replied that they were increasing, and in fact this is the way of true faith, till it is complete in all respects. I further asked you whether there was anybody, who, after embracing his religion, became displeased and discarded his religion. Your reply was in the negative, and in fact this is (the sign of) true faith, when its delight enters the hearts and mixes with them completely. I asked you whether he had ever betrayed. You replied in the negative and likewise the Apostles never betray. Then I asked you what he ordered you to do. You replied that he ordered you to worship Allah and Allah alone and not to worship any thing along with Him and forbade you to worship idols and ordered you to pray, to speak the truth and to be chaste. If what you have said is true, he will very soon occupy this place underneath my feet and I knew it (from the scriptures) that he was going to appear but I did not know that he would be from you, and if I could reach him definitely, I would go immediately to meet him and if I were with him, I would certainly wash his feet.' Heraclius then asked for the letter addressed by Allah's Apostle

which was delivered by Dihya to the Governor of Busra, who forwarded it to Heraclius to read. The contents of the letter were as follows: "In the name of Allah the Beneficent, the Merciful (This letter is) from Mohammed the slave of Allah and His Apostle to Heraclius the ruler of Byzantine. Peace be upon him, who follows the right path. Furthermore I invite you to Islam, and if you become a Muslim you will be safe, and Allah will double your reward, and if you reject this invitation of Islam you will be committing a sin by misguiding your Arisiyin (peasants). (And I recite to you Allah's Statement:)

'O people of the scripture! Come to a word common to you and us that we worship none but Allah and that we associate nothing in worship with Him, and that none of us shall take others as Lords beside Allah. Then, if they turn away, say: Bear witness that we are Muslims (those who have surrendered to Allah).' (3:64).

Abu Sufyan then added, "When Heraclius had finished his speech and had read the letter, there was a great hue and cry in the Royal Court. So we were turned out of the court. I told my companions that the question of Ibn-Abi-Kabsha) (the Prophet Mohammed) has become so prominent that even the King of Bani Al-Asfar (Byzantine) is afraid of him. Then I started to become sure that he (the Prophet) would be the conqueror in the near future till I embraced Islam (i.e. Allah guided me to it)."

The sub narrator adds, "Ibn An-Natur was the Governor of llya' (Jerusalem) and Heraclius was the head of the Christians of Sham. Ibn An-Natur narrates that once while Heraclius was visiting ilya' (Jerusalem), he got up in the morning with a sad mood. Some of his priests asked him why he was in that mood? Heraclius was a foreteller and an astrologer. He replied, 'At night when I looked at the stars, I saw that the leader of those who practice circumcision had appeared (become the conqueror). Who are they who practice circumcision?' The people replied, 'Except the Jews nobody practices circumcision, so you should not be afraid of them (Jews).

'Just Issue orders to kill every Jew present in the country.'

While they were discussing it, a messenger sent by the king of Ghassan to convey the news of Allah's Apostle to Heraclius was brought in. Having heard the news, he (Heraclius) ordered the people to go and see whether the messenger of Ghassan was circumcised. The people, after seeing him, told Heraclius that he was circumcised. Heraclius then asked him about the Arabs. The messenger replied, 'Arabs also practice circumcision.'

(After hearing that) Heraclius remarked that sovereignty of the 'Arabs had appeared. Heraclius then wrote a letter to his friend in Rome who was as good as Heraclius in knowledge. Heraclius then left for Homs. (a town in Syrian and stayed there till he received the reply of his letter from his friend who agreed with him in his opinion about the emergence of the Prophet and the fact that he was a Prophet. On that Heraclius invited all the heads of the Byzantines to assemble in his palace at Homs. When they assembled, he ordered that all the doors of his palace be closed. Then he came out and said, 'O Byzantines! If success is your desire and if you seek right guidance and want your empire to remain then give a pledge of allegiance to this Prophet (i.e. embrace Islam).'

(On hearing the views of Heraclius) the people ran towards the gates of the palace like onagers but found the doors closed. Heraclius realized their hatred towards Islam and when he lost the hope of their embracing Islam, he ordered that they should be brought back in audience.

(When they returned) he said, 'What already said was just to test the strength of your conviction and I have seen it.' The people prostrated before him and became pleased with him, and this was the end of Heraclius's story (in connection with his faith).

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 2:
Belief

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 8:
Narrated Ibn Umar:

Allah's Apostle said: Islam is based on (the following) five (principles):

1. To testify that none has the right to be worshipped but Allah and Mohammed is Allah's Apostle.
2. To offer the (compulsory congregational) prayers dutifully and perfectly.
3. To pay Zakat (i.e. obligatory charity) .
4. To perform Hajj. (i.e. Pilgrimage to Mecca)
5. To observe fast during the month of Ramadan.

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 9:
Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "Faith (Belief) consists of more than sixty branches (i.e. parts). And Haya (This term "Haya" covers a large number of concepts which are to be taken together; amongst them are self respect, modesty, bashfulness, and scruple, etc.) is a part of faith."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 10:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:

The Prophet said, "A Muslim is the one who avoids harming Muslims with his tongue and hands. And a Muhajir (emigrant) is the one who gives up (abandons) all what Allah has forbidden."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 11:
Narrated Abu Musa:

Some people asked Allah's Apostle, "Whose Islam is the best? i.e. (Who is a very good Muslim)?" He replied, "One who avoids harming the Muslims with his tongue and hands."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 12:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:

A man asked the Prophet , "What sort of deeds or (what qualities of) Islam are good?" The Prophet replied, 'To feed (the poor) and greet those whom you know and those whom you do not Know (See Hadith No. 27).

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 13:
Narrated Anas:

The Prophet said, "None of you will have faith till he wishes for his (Muslim) brother what he likes for himself."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 14:
Narrated Abu Huraira:

"Allah's Apostle said, "By Him in Whose Hands my life is, none of you will have faith till he loves me more than his father and his children."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 15:
Narrated Anas:

The Prophet said "None of you will have faith till he loves me more than his father, his children and all mankind."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 16:
Narrated Anas:

The Prophet said, "Whoever possesses the following three qualities will have the sweetness (delight) of faith:

1. The one to whom Allah and His Apostle becomes dearer than anything else.
2. Who loves a person and he loves him only for Allah's sake.
3. Who hates to revert to Atheism (disbelief) as he hates to be thrown into the fire."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 17:
Narrated Anas:

The Prophet said, "Love for the Ansar is a sign of faith and hatred for the Ansar is a sign of hypocrisy."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 18:
Narrated 'Ubada bin As-Samit:

who took part in the battle of Badr and was a Naqib (a person heading a group of six persons), on the night of Al-'Aqaba pledge: Allah's Apostle said while a group of his companions were around him, "Swear allegiance to me for:

1. Not to join anything in worship along with Allah.
2. Not to steal.
3. Not to commit illegal sexual intercourse.
4. Not to kill your children.
5. Not to accuse an innocent person (to spread such an accusation among people).
6. Not to be disobedient (when ordered) to do good deed."

The Prophet added: "Whoever among you fulfills his pledge will be rewarded by Allah. And whoever indulges in any one of them (except the ascription of partners to Allah) and gets the punishment in this world, that punishment will be an expiation for that sin. And if one indulges in any of them, and Allah conceals his sin, it is up to Him to forgive or punish him (in the Hereafter)." 'Ubada bin As-Samit added: "So we swore allegiance for these." (points to Allah's Apostle)

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 19:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

Allah's Apostle said, "A time will come that the best property of a Muslim will be sheep which he will take on the top of mountains and the places of rainfall (valleys) so as to flee with his religion from afflictions."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 20:
Narrated Aisha:

Whenever Allah's Apostle ordered the Muslims to do something, he used to order them deeds which were easy for them to do, (according to their strength endurance). They said, "O Allah's Apostle! We are not like you. Allah has forgiven your past and future sins." So Allah's Apostle became angry and it was apparent on his face. He said, "I am the most Allah fearing, and know Allah better than all of you do."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 21:
Narrated Anas:

The Prophet said, "Whoever possesses the following three qualities will taste the sweetness of faith:

1. The one to whom Allah and His Apostle become dearer than anything else.
2. Who loves a person and he loves him only for Allah's sake.
3. Who hates to revert to disbelief (Atheism) after Allah has brought (saved) him out from it, as he hates to be thrown in fire."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 22:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

The Prophet said, "When the people of Paradise will enter Paradise and the people of Hell will go to Hell, Allah will order those who have had faith equal to the weight of a grain of mustard seed to be taken out from Hell. So they will be taken out but (by then) they will be blackened (charred). Then they will be put in the river of Haya' (rain) or Hayat (life) (the

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Narrator is in doubt as to which is the right term), and they will revive like a grain that grows near the bank of a flood channel. Don't you see that it comes out yellow and twisted"

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 23:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
Allah's Apostle said, "While I was sleeping I saw (in a dream) some people wearing shirts of which some were reaching up to the breasts only while others were even shorter than that. Umar bin Al-Khattab was shown wearing a shirt that he was dragging." The people asked, "How did you interpret it? (What is its interpretation) O Allah's Apostle?" He (the Prophet) replied, "It is the Religion."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 24:
Narrated Abdullah (bin Umar):
Once Allah's Apostle passed by an Ansari (man) who was admonishing to his brother regarding Haya'. On that Allah's Apostle said, "Leave him as Haya' is a part of faith." (See Hadith No. 8)

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 25:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said: "I have been ordered (by Allah) to fight against the people until they testify that none has the right to be worshipped but Allah and that Mohammed is Allah's Apostle, and offer the prayers perfectly and give the obligatory charity, so if they perform that, then they save their lives and property from me except for Islamic laws and then their reckoning (accounts) will be done by Allah."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 26:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle was asked, "What is the best deed?" He replied, "To believe in Allah and His Apostle (Mohammed). The questioner then asked, "What is the next (in goodness)? He replied, "To participate in Jihad (religious fighting) in Allah's Cause." The questioner again asked, "What is the next (in goodness)?" He replied, "To perform Hajj (Pilgrim age to Mecca) 'Mubrur, (which is accepted by Allah and is performed with the intention of seeking Allah's pleasure only and not to show off and without committing a sin and in accordance with the traditions of the Prophet)."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 27:
Narrated Sa'd:
Allah's Apostle distributed (Zakat) amongst (a group of) people while I was sitting there but Allah's Apostle left a man whom I thought the best of the lot. I asked, "O Allah's Apostle! Why have you left that person? By Allah I regard him as a faithful believer." The Prophet commented: "Or merely a Muslim." I remained quiet for a while, but could not help repeating my question because of what I knew about him. And then asked Allah's Apostle, "Why have you left so and so? By Allah! He is a faithful believer." The Prophet again said, "Or merely a Muslim." And I could not help repeating my question because of what I knew about him. Then the Prophet said, "O Sa'd! I give to a person while another is dearer to me, for fear that he might be thrown on his face in the Fire by Allah."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 28:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
A person asked Allah's Apostle . "What (sort of) deeds in or (what qualities of) Islam are good?" He replied, "To feed (the poor) and greet those whom you know and those whom you don't know."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 29:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said: "I was shown the Hell-fire and that the majority of its dwellers were women who were ungrateful." It was asked, "Do they disbelieve in Allah?" (or are they ungrateful to Allah?) He replied, "They are ungrateful to their husbands and are ungrateful for the favors and the good (charitable deeds) done to them. If you have always been good (benevolent) to one of them and then she sees something in you (not of her liking), she will say, 'I have never received any good from you."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 30:
Narrated Al-Ma'rur:
At Ar-Rabadha I met Abu Dhar who was wearing a cloak, and his slave, too, was wearing a similar one. I asked about the reason for it. He replied, "I abused a person by calling his mother with bad names." The Prophet said to me, 'O Abu Dhar! Did you abuse him by calling his mother with bad names You still have some characteristics of ignorance. Your slaves are your brothers and Allah has put them under your command. So whoever has a brother under his command should feed him of what he eats and dress him of what he wears. Do not ask them (slaves) to do things beyond their capacity (power) and if you do so, then help them.' "

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 31:
Narrated Al-Ahnaf bin Qais:
While I was going to help this man (Ali Ibn Abi Talib), Abu Bakra met me and asked, "Where are you going?" I replied, "I am going to help that person." He said, "Go back for I have heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'When two Muslims fight (meet) each other with their swords, both the murderer as well as the murdered will go to the Hell-fire.' I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! It is all right for the murderer but what about the murdered one?' Allah's Apostle replied, "He surely had the intention to kill his companion."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 32:
Narrated Abdullah:
When the following Verse was revealed: "It is those who believe and confuse not their belief with wrong (worshipping others besides Allah.)" (6:83), the companions of Allah's Apostle asked, "Who is amongst us who had not done injustice (wrong)?" Allah revealed: "No doubt, joining others in worship with Allah is a great injustice (wrong) indeed." (31.13)

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 33:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The signs of a hypocrite are three:
1. Whenever he speaks, he tells a lie.
2. Whenever he promises, he always breaks it (his promise).
3. If you trust him, he proves to be dishonest. (If you keep something as a trust with him, he will not return it.)"

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 34:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
The Prophet said, "Whoever has the following four (characteristics) will be a pure hypocrite and whoever has one of the following four characteristics will have one characteristic of hypocrisy unless and until he gives it up.
1. Whenever he is entrusted, he betrays.
2. Whenever he speaks, he tells a lie.
3. Whenever he makes a covenant, he proves treacherous.
4. Whenever he quarrels, he behaves in a very imprudent, evil and insulting manner."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 35:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever establishes the prayers on the night of Qadr out of sincere faith and hoping to attain Allah's rewards (not to show off) then all his past sins will be forgiven."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 36:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The person who participates in (Holy battles) in Allah's cause and nothing compels him to do so except belief in Allah and His Apostles, will be recompensed by Allah either with a reward, or booty (if he survives) or will be admitted to Paradise (if he is killed in the battle as a martyr). Had I not found it difficult for my followers, then I would not remain behind any sariya going for Jihad and I would have loved to be martyred in Allah's cause and then made alive, and then martyred and then made alive, and then again martyred in His cause."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 37:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said: "Whoever establishes prayers during the nights of Ramadan faithfully out of sincere faith and hoping to attain Allah's rewards (not for showing off), all his past sins will be forgiven."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 38:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever observes fasts during the month of Ramadan out of sincere faith, and hoping to attain Allah's rewards, then all his past sins will be forgiven."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 39:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Religion is very easy and whoever overburdens himself in his religion will not be able to continue in that way. So you should not be extremists, but try to be near to perfection and receive the good tidings that you will be rewarded; and gain strength by worshipping in the mornings, the nights." (See Fath-ul-Bari, Page 102, Vol 1).

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 40:
Narrated Al-Bara (bin Azib):
When the Prophet came to Medina, he stayed first with his grandfathers or maternal uncles from Ansar. He offered his prayers facing Baitul-Maqdis (Jerusalem) for sixteen or seventeen months, but he wished that he could pray facing the Kaaba (at Mecca). The first prayer which he offered facing the Kaaba was the Asr prayer in the company of some people. Then one of those who had offered that prayer with him came out and passed by some people in a mosque who were bowing during their prayers (facing Jerusalem). He said addressing them, "By Allah, I testify that I have prayed with Allah's Apostle facing Mecca (Kaaba).' Hearing that, those people changed their direction towards the Kaaba immediately. Jews and the people of the scriptures used to be pleased to see the Prophet facing Jerusalem in prayers but when he changed his direction towards the Kaaba, during the prayers, they disapproved of it.
Al-Bara added, "Before we changed our direction towards the Kaaba (Mecca) in prayers, some Muslims had died or had been killed and we did not know what to say about them (regarding their prayers.) Allah then revealed: And Allah would never make your faith (prayers) to be lost (i.e. the prayers of those Muslims were valid).' " (2:143).

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 41:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "If any one of you improve (follows strictly) his Islamic religion then his good deeds will be rewarded ten times to seven hundred times for each good deed and a bad deed will be recorded as it is."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 42:
Narrated Aisha:
Once the Prophet came while a woman was sitting with me. He said, "Who is she?" I replied, "She is so and so," and told him about her (excessive) praying. He said disapprovingly, "Do (good) deeds which is within your capacity (without being overtaxed) as Allah does not get tired (of giving rewards) but (surely) you will get tired and the best deed (act of Worship) in the sight of Allah is that which is done regularly."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 43:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "Whoever said "None has the right to be worshipped but Allah and has in his heart good (faith) equal to the weight of a barley grain will be taken out of Hell. And whoever said: "None has the right to be worshipped but Allah and has in his heart good (faith) equal to the weight of a wheat grain will be taken out of Hell. And whoever said, "None has the right to be worshipped but Allah and has in his heart good (faith) equal to the weight of an atom will be taken out of Hell."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 44:
Narrated Umar bin Al-Khattab:
Once a Jew said to me, "O the chief of believers! There is a verse in your Holy Book Which is read by all of you (Muslims), and had it been revealed to us, we would have taken that day (on which it was revealed as a day of celebration." Umar bin Al-Khattab asked, "Which is that verse?" The Jew replied, "This day I have perfected your religion For you, completed My favor upon you, And have chosen for you Islam as your religion." (5:3) Umar replied,"No doubt, we know when and where this verse was revealed to the Prophet. It was Friday and the Prophet was standing at 'Arafat (i.e. the Day of Hajj)"

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 45:
Narrated Talha bin Ubaidullah:
A man from Najd with unkempt hair came to Allah's Apostle and we heard his loud voice but could not understand what he was saying, till he came near and then we came to know that he was asking about Islam. Allah's Apostle said, "You have to offer prayers perfectly five times in a day and night (24 hours)." The man asked, "Is there any more (praying)?" Allah's Apostle replied, "No, but if you want to offer the Nawafil prayers (you can)." Allah's Apostle further said to him: "You have to observe fasts during the month of Ramad, an." The man asked, "Is there any more fasting?" Allah's Apostle replied, "No, but if you want to observe the Nawafil fasts (you can.)" Then Allah's Apostle further said to him, "You have to pay the Zakat (obligatory charity)." The man asked, "Is there any thing other than the Zakat for me to pay?" Allah's Apostle replied, "No, unless you want to give alms of your own." And then that man retreated saying, "By Allah! I will neither do less nor more than this." Allah's Apostle said, "If what he said is true, then he will be successful (i.e. he will be granted Paradise)."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 46:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "(A believer) who accompanies the funeral procession of a Muslim out of sincere faith and hoping to attain Allah's reward and remains with it till the funeral prayer is offered and the burial ceremonies are over, he will return with a reward of two Qirats. Each Qirat is like the size of the (Mount) Uhud. He who offers the funeral prayer only and returns before the burial, will return with the reward of one Qirat only."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 47:
Narrated Abdullah:

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The Prophet said, "Abusing a Muslim is Fusuq (an evil doing) and killing him is Kufr (disbelief)." Narrated 'Ubada bin As-Samit: "Allah's Apostle went out to inform the people about the (date of the) night of decree (Al-Qadr) but there happened a quarrel between two Muslim men. The Prophet said, "I came out to inform you about (the date of) the night of Al-Qadr, but as so and so and so and so and so quarrelled, its knowledge was taken away (I forgot it) and maybe it was better for you. Now look for it in the 7th, the 9th and the 5th (of the last 10 nights of the month of Ramadan)."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 48:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
One day while the Prophet was sitting in the company of some people, (The angel) Gabriel came and asked, "What is faith?" Allah's Apostle replied, 'Faith is to believe in Allah, His angels, (the) meeting with Him, His Apostles, and to believe in Resurrection." Then he further asked, "What is Islam?" Allah's Apostle replied, "To worship Allah Alone and none else, to offer prayers perfectly to pay the compulsory charity (Zakat) and to observe fasts during the month of Ramadan." Then he further asked, "What is Ihsan (perfection)?" Allah's Apostle replied, "To worship Allah as if you see Him, and if you cannot achieve this state of devotion then you must consider that He is looking at you." Then he further asked, "When will the Hour be established?" Allah's Apostle replied, "The answerer has no better knowledge than the questioner. But I will inform you about its portents.
1. When a slave (lady) gives birth to her master.
2. When the shepherds of black camels start boasting and competing with others in the construction of higher buildings. And the Hour is one of five things which nobody knows except Allah.
The Prophet then recited: "Verily, with Allah (Alone) is the knowledge of the Hour--." (31. 34) Then that man (Gabriel) left and the Prophet asked his companions to call him back, but they could not see him. Then the Prophet said, "That was Gabriel who came to teach the people their religion." Abu Abdullah said: He (the Prophet) considered all that as a part of faith.

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 49:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
I was informed by Abu Sufyan that Heraclius said to him, "I asked you whether they (followers of Mohammed) were increasing or decreasing. You replied that they were increasing. And in fact, this is the way of true Faith till it is complete in all respects. I further asked you whether there was anybody, who, after embracing his (the Prophets) religion (Islam) became displeased and discarded it. You replied in the negative, and in fact, this is (a sign of) true faith. When its delight enters the heart and mixes with them completely, nobody can be displeased with it."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 50:
Narrated An-Nu'man bin Bashir:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'Both legal and illegal things are evident but in between them there are doubtful (suspicious) things and most of the people have no knowledge about them. So whoever saves himself from these suspicious things saves his religion and his honor. And whoever indulges in these suspicious things is like a shepherd who grazes (his animals) near the Hima (private pasture) of someone else and at any moment he is liable to get in it. (O people!) Beware! Every king has a Hima and the Hima of Allah on the earth is His illegal (forbidden) things. Beware! There is a piece of flesh in the body if it becomes good (reformed) the whole body becomes good but if it gets spoilt the whole body gets spoilt and that is the heart.

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 51:
Narrated Abu Jamra:
I used to sit with Ibn Abbas and he made me sit on his sitting place. He requested me to stay with him in order that he might give me a share from his property. So I stayed with him for two months. Once he told (me) that when the delegation of the tribe of Abdul Qais came to the Prophet, the Prophet asked them, "Who are the people (i.e. you)? (Or) who are the delegate?" They replied, "We are from the tribe of Rabi'a." Then the Prophet said to them, "Welcome! O people (or O delegation of Abdul Qais)! Neither will you have disgrace nor will you regret." They said, "O Allah's Apostle! We cannot come to you except in the sacred month and there is the infidel tribe of Mudar intervening between you and us. So please order us to do something good (religious deeds) so that we may inform our people whom we have left behind (at home), and that we may enter Paradise (by acting on them)." Then they asked about drinks (what is legal and what is illegal). The Prophet ordered them to do four things and forbade them from four things. He ordered them to believe in Allah Alone and asked them, "Do you know what is meant by believing in Allah Alone?" They replied, "Allah and His Apostle know better." Thereupon the Prophet said, "It means:
1. To testify that none has the right to be worshipped but Allah and Mohammed is Allah's Apostle.
2. To offer prayers perfectly
3. To pay the Zakat (obligatory charity)
4. To observe fast during the month of Ramadan.
5. And to pay Al-Khumus (one fifth of the booty to be given in Allah's Cause).
Then he forbade them four things, namely, Hantam, Dubba,' Naqir Ann Muzaffat or Muqaiyar; (These were the names of pots in which Alcoholic drinks were prepared) (The Prophet mentioned the container of wine and he meant the wine itself). The Prophet further said (to them): "Memorize them (these instructions) and convey them to the people whom you have left behind."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 52:
Narrated Umar bin Al-Khattab:
Allah's Apostle said, "The reward of deeds depends upon the intention and every person will get the reward according to what he has intended. So whoever emigrated for Allah and His Apostle, then his emigration was for Allah and His Apostle. And whoever emigrated for worldly benefits or for a woman to marry, his emigration was for what he emigrated for."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 53:
Narrated Abu Mas'ud:
The Prophet said, "If a man spends on his family (with the intention of having a reward from Allah) sincerely for Allah's sake then it is a (kind of) alms-giving in reward for him.

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 54:
Narrated Sa'd bin Abi Waqqas:
Allah's Apostle said, "You will be rewarded for whatever you spend for Allah's sake even if it were a morsel which you put in your wife's mouth."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 55:
Narrated Jarir bin Abdullah:
I gave the pledge of allegiance to Allah's Apostle for the following:
1. offer prayers perfectly
2. pay the Zakat (obligatory charity)
3. and be sincere and true to every Muslim.

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 56:
Narrated Ziyad bin'Ilaqa:
I heard Jarir bin Abdullah (Praising Allah). On the day when Al-Mughira bin Shu'ba died, he (Jarir) got up (on the pulpit) and thanked and praised Allah and said, "Be afraid of Allah alone Who has none along with Him to be worshipped.(You should) be calm and quiet till the (new) chief comes to you and he will come to you soon. Ask Allah's forgiveness for your (late) chief because he himself loved to forgive others." Jarir added, "Amma badu (now then), I went to the Prophet and said, 'I give my pledge of allegiance to you for Islam." The Prophet conditioned (my pledge) for me to be sincere and true to every Muslim so I gave my pledge to him for this. By the Lord of this mosque! I am sincere and true to you (Muslims). Then Jarir asked for Allah's forgiveness and came down (from the pulpit).

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 3:
Knowledge

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 56:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
While the Prophet was saying something in a gathering, a Bedouin came and asked him, "When would the Hour (Doomsday) take place?" Allah's Apostle continued his talk, so some people said that Allah's Apostle had heard the question, but did not like what that Bedouin had asked. Some of them said that Alllah's Apostle had not heard it. When the Prophet finished his speech, he said, "Where is the questioner, who enquired about the Hour (Doomsday)?" The Bedouin said, "I am here, O Allah's Apostle ." Then the Prophet said, "When honesty is lost, then wait for the Hour (Doomsday)." The Bedouin said, "How will that be lost?" The Prophet said, "When the power or authority comes in the hands of unfit persons, then wait for the Hour (Doomsday.)"

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 57:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
Once the Prophet remained behind us in a journey. He joined us while we were performing ablution for the prayer which was over-due. We were just passing wet hands over our feet (and not washing them properly) so the Prophet addressed us in a loud voice and said twice or thrice: "Save your heels from the fire."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 58:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "Amongst the trees, there is a tree, the leaves of which do not fall and is like a Muslim. Tell me the name of that tree." Everybody started thinking about the trees of the desert areas. And I thought of the date-palm tree but felt shy to answer the others then asked, "What is that tree, O Allah's Apostle ?" He replied, "It is the date-palm tree."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 59:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "Amongst the trees, there is a tree, the leaves of which do not fall and is like a Muslim. Tell me the name of that tree." Everybody started thinking about the trees of the desert areas. And I thought of the date-palm tree. The others then asked, "Please inform us what is that tree, O Allah's Apostle?" He replied, "It is the date-palm tree."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 60:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
same as above Hadith 59.

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 61:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
same as above Hadith 59.

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 62:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
same as above Hadith 59.

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 63:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
While we were sitting with the Prophet in the mosque, a man came riding on a camel. He made his camel kneel down in the mosque, tied its foreleg and then said: "Who amongst you is Mohammed?" At that time the Prophet was sitting amongst us (his companions) leaning on his arm. We replied, "This white man reclining on his arm." The an then addressed him, "O Son of Abdul Muttalib."
The Prophet said, "I am here to answer your questions." The man said to the Prophet, "I want to ask you something and will be hard in questioning. So do not get angry." The Prophet said, "Ask whatever you want." The man said, "I ask you by your Lord, and the Lord of those who were before you, has Allah sent you as an Apostle to all the mankind?" The Prophet replied, "By Allah, yes." The man further said, "I ask you by Allah. Has Allah ordered you to offer five prayers in a day and night (24 hours).? He replied, "By Allah, Yes." The man further said, "I ask you by Allah! Has Allah ordered you to observe fasts during this month of the year (i.e. Ramadan)?" He replied, "By Allah, Yes." The man further said, "I ask you by Allah. Has Allah ordered you to take Zakat (obligatory charity) from our rich people and distribute it amongst our poor people?" The Prophet replied, "By Allah, yes." Thereupon that man said, "I have believed in all that with which you have been sent, and I have been sent by my people as a messenger, and I am Dimam bin Tha'laba from the brothers of Bani Sa'd bin Bakr."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 64:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
Once Allah's Apostle gave a letter to a person and ordered him to go and deliver it to the Governor of Bahrain. (He did so) and the Governor of Bahrain sent it to Chousroes, who read that letter and then tore it to pieces. (The sub-narrator (Ibn Shihab) thinks that Ibn Al-Musaiyab said that Allah's Apostle invoked Allah against them (saying), "May Allah tear them into pieces, and disperse them all totally.)"

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 65:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Once the Prophet wrote a letter or had an idea of writing a letter. The Prophet was told that they (rulers) would not read letters unless they were sealed. So the Prophet got a silver ring made with "Mohammed Allah's Apostle" engraved on it. As if I were just observing its white glitter in the hand of the Prophet

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 66:
Narrated Abu Waqid Al-Laithi:
While Allah's Apostle was sitting in the mosque with some people, three men came. Two of them came in front of Allah's Apostle and the third one went away. The two persons kept on standing before Allah's Apostle for a while and then one of them found a place in the circle and sat there while the other sat behind the gathering, and the third one went away. When Allah's Apostle finished his preaching, he said, "Shall I tell you about these three persons? One of them be-took himself to Allah, so Allah took him into His grace and mercy and accommodated him, the second felt shy from Allah, so Allah sheltered Him in His mercy (and did not punish him), while the third turned his face from Allah and went away, so Allah turned His face from him likewise. "

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 67:
Narrated Abdur Rahman bin Abi Bakra's father:

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Once the Prophet was riding his camel and a man was holding its rein. The Prophet asked, "What is the day today?" We kept quiet, thinking that he might give that day another name. He said, "Isn't it the day of Nahr (slaughtering of the animals of sacrifice)" We replied, "Yes." He further asked, "Which month is this?" We again kept quiet, thinking that he might give it another name. Then he said, "Isn't it the month of Dhul-Hijja?" We replied, "Yes." He said, "Verily! Your blood, property and honor are sacred to one another (i.e. Muslims) like the sanctity of this day of yours, in this month of yours and in this city of yours. It is incumbent upon those who are present to inform those who are absent because those who are absent might comprehend (what I have said) better than the present audience."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 68:
Narrated Ibn Mas'ud:
The Prophet used to take care of us in preaching by selecting a suitable time, so that we might not get bored. (He abstained from pestering us with sermons and knowledge all the time).

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 69:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "Facilitate things to people (concerning religious matters), and do not make it hard for them and give them good tidings and do not make them run away (from Islam)."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 70:
Narrated Abu Wail:
Abdullah used to give a religious talk to the people on every Thursday. Once a man said, "O Aba Abdur-Rahman! (By Allah) I wish if you could preach us daily." He replied, "The only thing which prevents me from doing so, is that I hate to bore you, and no doubt I take care of you in preaching by selecting a suitable time just as the Prophet used to do with us, for fear of making us bored."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 71:
Narrated Muawiya:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "If Allah wants to do good to a person, He makes him comprehend the religion. I am just a distributor, but the grant is from Allah. (And remember) that this nation (true Muslims) will keep on following Allah's teachings strictly and they will not be harmed by any one going on a different path till Allah's order (Day of Judgement) is established."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 72:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
We were with the Prophet and a spadix of date-palm tree was brought to him. On that he said, "Amongst the trees, there is a tree which resembles a Muslim." I wanted to say that it was the date-palm tree but as I was the youngest of all (of them) I kept quiet. And then the Prophet said, "It is the date-palm tree."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 73:
Narrated Abdullah bin Mas'ud:
The Prophet said, "Do not wish to be like anyone except in two cases. (The first is) A person, whom Allah has given wealth and he spends it righteously; (the second is) the one whom Allah has given wisdom (the Holy Koran) and he acts according to it and teaches it to others." (Fateh-al-Bari page 177 Vol. 1)

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 74:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
That he differed with Hur bin Qais bin Hisn Al-Fazari regarding the companion of (the Prophet) Moses. Ibn Abbas said that he was Khadir. Meanwhile, Ubai bin Ka'b passed by them and Ibn Abbas called him, saying "My friend (Hur) and I have differed regarding Moses' companion whom Moses, asked the way to meet. Have you heard the Prophet mentioning something about him? He said, "Yes. I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "While Moses was sitting in the company of some Israelites, a man came and asked him. "Do you know anyone who is more learned than you? Moses replied: "No." So Allah sent the Divine Inspiration to Moses: 'Yes, Our slave Khadir (is more learned than you.)' Moses asked (Allah) how to meet him (Khadir). So Allah made the fish as a sign for him and he was told that when the fish was lost, he should return (to the place where he had lost it) and there he would meet him (Al-Khadir). So Moses went on looking for the sign of the fish in the sea. The servant-boy of Moses said to him: Do you remember when we betook ourselves to the rock, I indeed forgot the fish, none but Satan made me forget to remember it. On that Moses said: 'That is what we have been seeking? (18.64) So they went back retracing their foot-steps, and found Khadir. (And) what happened further to them is narrated in the Holy Koran by Allah. (18.54 up to 18.82)

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 75:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Once the Prophet embraced me and said, "O Allah! Bestow on him the knowledge of the Book (Koran)."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 76:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Once I came riding a she-ass and had (just) attained the age of puberty. Allah's Apostle was offering the prayer at Mina. There was no wall in front of him and I passed in front of some of the row while they were offering their prayers. There I let the she-ass loose to graze and entered the row, and nobody objected to it.

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 77:
Narrated Mahmud bin Rabi'a:
When I was a boy of five, I remember, the Prophet took water from a bucket (used far getting water out of a well) with his mouth and threw it on my face.

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 78:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
that he differed with Hur bin Qais bin Hisn Al-Fazari regarding the companion of the Prophet Moses. Meanwhile, Ubai bin Ka'b passed by them and Ibn Abbas called him saying, "My friend (Hur) and I have differed regarding Moses' companion whom Moses asked the way to meet. Have you heard Allah's Apostle mentioning something about him? Ubai bin Ka'b said: "Yes, I heard the Prophet mentioning something about him (saying) while Moses was sitting in the company of some Israelites, a man came and asked him: "Do you know anyone who is more learned than you? Moses replied: "No." So Allah sent the Divine Inspiration to Moses: '--Yes, Our slave Khadir is more learned than you. Moses asked Allah how to meet him (Al-Khadir). So Allah made the fish a sign for him and he was told when the fish was lost, he should return (to the place where he had lost it) and there he would meet him (Al-Khadir). So Moses went on looking for the sign of the fish in the sea. The servant-boy of Moses said: 'Do you remember when we betook ourselves to the rock, I indeed forgot the fish, none but Satan made me forget to remember it. On that Moses said, 'That is what we have been seeking.' So they went back retracing their footsteps, and found Kha,dir. (and) what happened further about them is narrated in the Holy Koran by Allah." (18.54 up to 18.82)

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 79:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet said, "The example of guidance and knowledge with which Allah has sent me is like abundant rain falling on the earth, some of which was fertile soil that absorbed rain water and brought forth vegetation and grass in abundance. (And) another portion of it was hard and held the rain water and Allah benefited the people with it and they utilized it for drinking, making their animals drink from it and for irrigation of the land for cultivation. (And) a portion of it was barren which could neither hold the water nor bring forth vegetation (then that land gave no benefits). The first is the example of the person who comprehends Allah's religion and gets benefit (from the knowledge) which Allah has revealed through me (the Prophets and learns and then teaches others. The last example is that of a person who does not care for it and does not take Allah's guidance revealed through me (He is like that barren land.)"

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 80:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle said, "From among the portents of the Hour are (the following):
1. Religious knowledge will be taken away (by the death of Religious learned men).
2. (Religious) ignorance will prevail.
3. Drinking of Alcoholic drinks (will be very common).
4. There will be prevalence of open illegal sexual intercourse.

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 81:
Narrated Anas:
I will narrate to you a Hadith and none other than I will tell you about after it. I heard Allah's Apostle saying: From among the portents of the Hour are (the following):
1. Religious knowledge will decrease (by the death of religious learned men).
2. Religious ignorance will prevail.
3. There will be prevalence of open illegal sexual intercourse.
4. Women will increase in number and men will decrease in number so much so that fifty women will be looked after by one man.

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 82:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "While I was sleeping, I saw that a cup full of milk was brought to me and I drank my fill till I noticed (the milk) its wetness coming out of my nails. Then I gave the remaining milk to Umar Ibn Al-Khattab" The companions of the Prophet asked, "What have you interpreted (about this dream)? "O Allah's Apostle ,!" he replied, "(It is religious) knowledge."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 83:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr bin Al 'Aas:
Allah's Apostle stopped (for a while near the Jimar) at Mina during his last Hajj for the people and they were asking him questions. A man came and said, "I forgot and got my head shaved before slaughtering the Hadi (sacrificing animal)." The Prophet said, "There is no harm, go and do the slaughtering now." Then another person came and said, "I forgot and slaughtered (the camel) before Rami (throwing of the pebbles) at the Jamra." The Prophet said, "Do the Rami now and there is no harm."
The narrator added: So on that day, when the Prophet was asked about anything (as regards the ceremonies of Hajj) performed before or after its due time, his reply was: "Do it (now) and there is no harm."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 84:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Somebody said to the Prophet (during his last Hajj), "I did the slaughtering before doing the Rami.' The Prophet beckoned with his hand and said, "There is no harm in that." Then another person said. "I got my head shaved before offering the sacrifice." The Prophet beckoned with his hand saying, "There is no harm in that."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 85:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "(Religious) knowledge will be taken away (by the death of religious scholars) ignorance (in religion) and afflictions will appear; and Harj will increase." It was asked, "What is Harj, O Allah's Apostle?" He replied by beckoning with his hand indicating "killing." (Fateh-al-Bari Page 192, Vol. 1)

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 86:
Narrated Asma:
I came to Aisha while she was praying, and said to her, "What has happened to the people?" She pointed out towards the sky. (I looked towards the mosque), and saw the people offering the prayer. Aisha said, "Subhan Allah." I said to her, "Is there a sign?" She nodded with her head meaning, "Yes." I, too, then stood (for the prayer of eclipse) till I became (nearly) unconscious and later on I poured water on my head. After the prayer, the Prophet praised and glorified Allah and then said,
"Just now at this place I have seen what I have never seen before, including Paradise and Hell. No doubt it has been inspired to me that you will be put to trials in your graves and these trials will be like the trials of Masiah-ad-Dajjal or nearly like it (the sub narrator is not sure which expression Asma used). You will be asked, 'What do you know about this man (the Prophet Mohammed)?' Then the faithful believer (or Asma said a similar word) will reply, 'He is Mohammed Allah's Apostle who had come to us with clear evidences and guidance and so we accepted his teachings and followed him. And he is Mohammed.' And he will repeat it thrice. Then the angels will say to him, 'Sleep in peace as we have come to know that you were a faithful believer.' On the other hand, a hypocrite or a doubtful person will reply, 'I do not know, but I heard the people saying something and so I said it.' (the same). "

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 87:
Narrated Abu Jamra:
I was an interpreter between the people and Ibn Abbas. Once Ibn Abbas said that a delegation of the tribe ofAbdul Qais came to the Prophet who asked them, "Who are the people (i.e. you)? (Or) who are the delegates?" They replied, "We are from the tribe of Rabi'a." Then the Prophet said to them, "Welcome, O people (or said, "O delegation (of Abdul Qais).") Neither will you have disgrace nor will you regret." They said, "We have come to you from a distant place and there is the tribe of the infidels of Mudar intervening between you and us and we cannot come to you except in the sacred month. So please order us to do something good (religious deeds) and that we may also inform our people whom we have left behind (at home) and that we may enter Paradise (by acting on them.)" The Prophet ordered them to do four things, and forbade them from four things. He ordered them to believe in Allah Alone, the Honorable the Majestic and said to them, "Do you know what is meant by believing in Allah Alone?" They replied, "Allah and His Apostle know better." Thereupon the Prophet said, "(That means to testify that none has the right to be worshipped but Allah and that Mohammed is His Apostle, to offer prayers perfectly, to pay Zakat, to observe fasts during the month of Ramadan, (and) to pay Al-Khumus (one fifth of the booty to be given in Allah's cause)." Then he forbade them four things, namely Ad-Dubba.' Hantam, Muzaffat (and) An-Naqir or Muqaiyar(These were the names of pots in which alcoholic

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drinks used to be prepared). The Prophet further said, "Memorize them (these instructions) and tell them to the people whom you have left behind."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 88:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abi Mulaika:
Uqba bin Al-Harith said that he had married the daughter of Abi Ihab bin Aziz. Later on a woman came to him and said, "I have suckled (nursed) Uqba and the woman whom he married (his wife) at my breast." Uqba said to her, "Neither I knew that you have suckled (nursed) me nor did you tell me." Then he rode over to see Allah's Apostle at Medina, and asked him about it. Allah's Apostle said, "How can you keep her as a wife when it has been said (that she is your foster-sister)?" Then Uqba divorced her, and she married another man.

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 89:
Narrated Umar:
My Ansari neighbour from Bani Umaiya bin Zaid who used to live at 'Awali Al-Medina and used to visit the Prophet by turns. He used to go one day and I another day. When I went I used to bring the news of that day regarding the Divine Inspiration and other things, and when he went, he used to do the same for me. Once my Ansari friend, in his turn (on returning from the Prophet), knocked violently at my door and asked if I was there." I became horrified and came out to him. He said, "Today a great thing has happened." I then went to Hafsa and saw her weeping. I asked her, "Did Allah's Apostle divorce you all?" She replied, "I do not know." Then, I entered upon the Prophet and said while standing, "Have you divorced your wives?" The Prophet replied in the negative. On what I said, "Allahu-Akbar (Allah is Greater)." (See Hadith No. 119, Vol. 3 for details)

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 90:
Narrated Abu Mas'ud Al-Ansari:
Once a man said to Allah's Apostle "O Allah's Apostle! I may not attend the (compulsory congregational) prayer because so and so (the Imam) prolongs the prayer when he leads us for it. The narrator added: "I never saw the Prophet more furious in giving advice than he was on that day. The Prophet said, "O people! Some of you make others dislike good deeds (the prayers). So whoever leads the people in prayer should shorten it because among them there are the sick the weak and the needy (having some jobs to do)."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 91:
Narrated Zaid bin Khalid Al-Juhani:
A man asked the Prophet about the picking up of a "Luqata" (fallen lost thing). The Prophet replied, "Recognize and remember its tying material and its container, and make public announcement (about it) for one year, then utilize it but give it to its owner if he comes." Then the person asked about the lost camel. On that, the Prophet got angry and his cheeks or his Face became red and he said, "You have no concern with it as it has its water container, and its feet and it will reach water, and eat (the leaves) of trees till its owner finds it." The man then asked about the lost sheep. The Prophet replied, "It is either for you, for your brother (another person) or for the wolf."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 92:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet was asked about things which he did not like, but when the questioners insisted, the Prophet got angry. He then said to the people, "Ask me anything you like." A man asked, "Who is my father?" The Prophet replied, "Your father is Hudhafa." Then another man got up and said, "Who is my father, O Allah's Apostle ?" He replied, "Your father is Salim, Maula (the freed slave) of Shaiba." So when Umar saw that (the anger) on the face of the Prophet he said, "O Allah's Apostle! We repent to Allah (Our offending you)."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 93:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
One day Allah's Apostle came out (before the people) and Abdullah bin Hudhafa stood up and asked (him) "Who is my father?" The Prophet replied, "Your father is Hudhafa." The Prophet told them repeatedly (in anger) to ask him anything they liked. Umar knelt down before the Prophet and said thrice, "We accept Allah as (our) Lord and Islam as (our) religion and Mohammed as (our) Prophet." After that the Prophet became silent.

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 94:
Narrated Anas:
Whenever the Prophet asked permission to enter, he knocked the door thrice with greeting and whenever he spoke a sentence (said a thing) he used to repeat it thrice. (See Hadith No. 261, Vol. 8).

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 95:
Narrated Anas:
Whenever the Prophet spoke a sentence (said a thing), he used to repeat it thrice so that the people could understand it properly from him and whenever he asked permission to enter, (he knocked the door) thrice with greeting.

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 96:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
Once Allah's Apostle remained behind us in a journey. He joined us while we were performing ablution for the Asr prayer which was over-due. We were just passing wet hands over our feet (not washing them properly) so the Prophet addressed us in a loud voice and said twice or thrice, "Save your heels from the fire."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 97:
Narrated Abu Burda's father:
Allah's Apostle said "Three persons will have a double reward:
1. A Person from the people of the scriptures who believed in his prophet (Jesus or Moses) and then believed in the Prophet Mohammed (i .e. has embraced Islam).
2. A slave who discharges his duties to Allah and his master.
3. A master of a woman-slave who teaches her good manners and educates her in the best possible way (the religion) and manumits her and then marries her."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 97g:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Once Allah's Apostle came out while Bilal was accompanying him. He went towards the women thinking that they had not heard him (i.e. his sermon). So he preached them and ordered them to pay alms. (Hearing that) the women started giving alms; some donated their ear-rings, some gave their rings and Bilal was collecting them in the corner of his garment.

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 98:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I said: "O Allah's Apostle! Who will be the luckiest person, who will gain your intercession on the Day of Resurrection?" Allah's Apostle said: O Abu Huraira! "I have thought that none will ask me about it before you as I know your longing for the (learning of) Hadiths. The luckiest person who will have my intercession on the Day of Resurrection will be the one who said sincerely from the bottom of his heart "None has the right to be worshipped but Allah."
And Umar bin Abdul Aziz wrote to Abu Bakr bin Hazm, "Look for the knowledge of Hadith and get it written, as I am afraid that religious knowledge will vanish and the religious learned men will pass away (die). Do not accept anything save the Hadiths of the Prophet. Circulate knowledge and teach the ignorant, for knowledge does not vanish except when it is kept secretly (to oneself)."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 99:
Narrated Abdullah Ibn Dinar:
also narrates the same (above-mentioned statement) as has been narrated by Umar bin Abdul Aziz up to "The religious scholar (learned men) will pass away (die)."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 100:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr bin Al' As:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "Allah does not take away the knowledge, by taking it away from (the hearts of) the people, but takes it away by the death of the religious learned men till when none of the (religious learned men) remains, people will take as their leaders ignorant persons who when consulted will give their verdict without knowledge. So they will go astray and will lead the people astray."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 101:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
Some women requested the Prophet to fix a day for them as the men were taking all his time. On that he promised them one day for religious lessons and commandments. Once during such a lesson the Prophet said, "A woman whose three children die will be shielded by them from the Hell fire." On that a woman asked, "If only two die?" He replied, "Even two (will shield her from the Hell-fire)."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 102:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
as above (the sub narrators are different). Abu Huraira qualified the three children referred to in the above mentioned Hadith as not having reached the age of committing sins (i.e. age of puberty) .

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 103:
Narrated Ibn Abu Mulaika:
Whenever Aisha (the wife of the Prophet) heard anything which she did not understand, she used to ask again till she understood it completely. Aisha said: "Once the Prophet said, "Whoever will be called to account (about his deeds on the Day of Resurrection) will surely be punished." I said, "Doesn't Allah say: "He surely will receive an easy reckoning." (84.8) The Prophet replied, "This means only the presentation of the accounts but whoever will be argued about his account, will certainly be ruined."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 104:
Narrated Said:
Abu Shuraih said, "When Amr bin Said was sending the troops to Mecca (to fight Abdullah bin Az-Zubair) I said to him, 'O chief! Allow me to tell you what the Prophet said on the day following the conquests of Mecca. My ears heard and my heart comprehended, and I saw him with my own eyes, when he said it. He glorified and praised Allah and then said, "Allah and not the people has made Mecca a sanctuary. So anybody who has belief in Allah and the Last Day (i.e. a Muslim) should neither shed blood in it nor cut down its trees. If anybody argues that fighting is allowed in Mecca as Allah's Apostle did fight (in Mecca), tell him that Allah gave permission to His Apostle, but He did not give it to you. The Prophet added: Allah allowed me only for a few hours on that day (of the conquest) and today (now) its sanctity is the same (valid) as it was before. So it is incumbent upon those who are present to convey it (this information) to those who are absent." Abu- Shuraih was asked, "What did Amr reply?" He said Amr said, "O Abu Shuraih! I know better than you (in this respect). Mecca does not give protection to one who disobeys (Allah) or runs after committing murder, or theft (and takes refuge in Mecca).

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 105:
Narrated Abu Bakra:
The Prophet said. No doubt your blood, property, the sub-narrator Mohammed thought that Abu Bakra had also mentioned and your honor (chastity), are sacred to one another as is the sanctity of this day of yours in this month of yours. It is incumbent on those who are present to inform those who are absent." (Mohammed the Subnarrator used to say, "Allah's Apostle told the truth.") The Prophet repeated twice: "No doubt! Haven't I conveyed Allah's message to you.

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 106:
Narrated Ali:
The Prophet said, "Do not tell a lie against me for whoever tells a lie against me (intentionally) then he will surely enter the Hell-fire."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 107:
Narrated Abdullah bin Az-Zubair:
I said to my father, 'I do not hear from you any narration (Hadith) of Allah s Apostle as I hear (his narrations) from so and so?" Az-Zubair replied. l was always with him (the Prophet) and I heard him saying "Whoever tells a lie against me (intentionally) then (surely) let him occupy, his seat in Hell-fire.

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 108:
Narrated Anas:
The fact which stops me from narrating a great number of Hadiths to you is that the Prophet said: "Whoever tells a lie against me intentionally, then (surely) let him occupy his seat in Hell-fire."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 109:
Narrated Salama:
I heard the Prophet saying, "Whoever (intentionally) ascribes to me what I have not said then (surely) let him occupy his seat in Hell-fire."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 110:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Name yourselves with my name (use my name) but do not name yourselves with my Kunya name (i.e. Abu-l Qasim). And whoever sees me in a dream then surely he has seen me for Satan cannot impersonate me. And whoever tells a lie against me (intentionally), then (surely) let him occupy his seat in Hell-fire."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 111:
Narrated Ash-Sha'bi:
Abu Juhaifa said, "I asked Ali, 'Have you got any book (which has been revealed to the Prophet apart from the Koran)?' Ali replied, 'No, except Allah's Book or the power of understanding which has been bestowed (by Allah) upon a Muslim or what is (written) in this sheet of paper (with me).' Abu Juhaifa said, "I asked, 'What is (written) in this sheet of paper?' Ali replied, it deals with The Diyya (compensation (blood money) paid by the killer to the relatives of the victim), the ransom for the releasing of the captives from the hands of the enemies, and the law that no Muslim should be killed in Qisas (equality in punishment) for the killing of (a disbeliever).

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 112:
Narrated Abu Huraira:

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In the year of the Conquest of Mecca, the tribe of Khuza'a killed a man from the tribe of Bani Laith in revenge for a killed person, belonging to them. They informed the Prophet about it. So he rode his Rahila (she-camel for riding) and addressed the people saying, "Allah held back the killing from Mecca. (The sub-narrator is in doubt whether the Prophet said "elephant or killing," as the Arabic words standing for these words have great similarity in shape), but He (Allah) let His Apostle and the believers over power the infidels of Mecca. Beware! (Mecca is a sanctuary) Verily! Fighting in Mecca was not permitted for anyone before me nor will it be permitted for anyone after me. It (war) in it was made legal for me for few hours or so on that day. No doubt it is at this moment a sanctuary, it is not allowed to uproot its thorny shrubs or to uproot its trees or to pick up its Luqatt (fallen things) except by a person who will look for its owner (announce it publicly). And if somebody is killed, then his closest relative has the right to choose one of the two-- the blood money (Diyya) or retaliation having the killer killed. In the meantime a man from Yemen came and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Get that written for me." The Prophet ordered his companions to write that for him. Then a man from Quraish said, "Except Al-Iqhkhir (a type of grass that has good smell) O Allah's Apostle, as we use it in our houses and graves." The Prophet said, "Except Al-Idhkhiri.e. Al-Idhkhir is allowed to be plucked."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 113:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
There is none among the companions of the Prophet who has narrated more Hadiths than I except 'Abdallah bin Amr (bin Al-'As) who used to write them and I never did the same.

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 114:
Narrated Ubaidullah bin Abdullah:
Ibn Abbas said, "When the ailment of the Prophet became worse, he said, 'Bring for me (writing) paper and I will write for you a statement after which you will not go astray.' But Umar said, 'The Prophet is seriously ill, and we have got Allah's Book with us and that is sufficient for us.' But the companions of the Prophet differed about this and there was a hue and cry. On that the Prophet said to them, 'Go away (and leave me alone). It is not right that you should quarrel in front of me." Ibn Abbas came out saying, "It was most unfortunate (a great disaster) that Allah's Apostle was prevented from writing that statement for them because of their disagreement and noise. (Note: It is apparent from this Hadith that Ibn 'Abbes had witnessed the event and came out saying this statement. The truth is not so, for Ibn Abbas used to say this statement on narrating the Hadith and he had not witnessed the event personally. See Fath Al-Bari Vol. 1, p.220 footnote.) (See Hadith No. 228, Vol. 4).

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 115:
Narrated Um Salama:
One night Allah's Apostle got up and said, "Subhan Allah! How many afflictions have been descended tonight and how many treasures have been disclosed! Go and wake the sleeping lady occupants of these dwellings (his wives) up (for prayers). A well-dressed (soul) in this world may be naked in the Hereafter. "

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 116:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Once the Prophet led us in the 'Isha' prayer during the last days of his life and after finishing it (the prayer) (with Taslim) he said: "Do you realize (the importance of) this night?" Nobody present on the surface of the earth tonight will be living after the completion of one hundred years from this night."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 117:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
I stayed overnight in the house of my aunt Maimuna bint Al-Harith (the wife of the Prophet) while the Prophet was there with her during her night turn. The Prophet offered the 'Isha' prayer (in the mosque), returned home and after having prayed four Rakat, he slept. Later on he got up at night and then asked whether the boy (or he used a similar word) had slept? Then he got up for the prayer and I stood up by his left side but he made me stand to his right and offered five Rakat followed by two more Rakat. Then he slept and I heard him snoring and then (after a while) he left for the (Fajr) prayer.

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 118:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
People say that I have narrated many Hadiths (The Prophet's narrations). Had it not been for two verses in the Koran, I would not have narrated a single Hadith, and the verses are:
"Verily those who conceal the clear sign and the guidance which We have sent down . . . (up to) Most Merciful." (2:159-160). And no doubt our Muhajir (emigrant) brothers used to be busy in the market with their business (bargains) and our Ansari brothers used to be busy with their property (agriculture). But I (Abu Huraira) used to stick to Allah's Apostle contented with what will fill my stomach and I used to attend that which they used not to attend and I used to memorize that which they used not to memorize.

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 119:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I said to Allah's Apostle "I hear many narrations (Hadiths) from you but I forget them." Allah's Apostle said, "Spread your Rida' (garment)." I did accordingly and then he moved his hands as if filling them with something (and emptied them in my Rida') and then said, "Take and wrap this sheet over your body." I did it and after that I never forgot any thing.

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 120:
Narrated Ibrahim bin Al-Mundhir:
Ibn Abi Fudaik narrated the same as above (Hadith...119) but added that the Prophet had moved his hands as if filling them with something and then he emptied them in the Rida' of Abu Huraira.

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 121:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I have memorized two kinds of knowledge from Allah's Apostle . I have propagated one of them to you and if I propagated the second, then my pharynx (throat) would be cut (i.e. killed).

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 122:
Narrated Jarir:
The Prophet said to me during Hajjat-al-Wida': Let the people keep quiet and listen. Then he said (addressing the people), "Do not (become infidels) revert to disbelief after me by striking the necks (cutting the throats) of one another (killing each other)."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 123:
Narrated Said bin Jubair:
I said to Ibn Abbas, "Nauf-Al-Bakali claims that Moses (the companion of Khadir) was not the Moses of Bani Israel but he was another Moses." Ibn Abbas remarked that the enemy of Allah (Nauf) was a liar.

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 124:
Narrated Ubai bin Ka'b:
The Prophet said, "Once the Prophet Moses stood up and addressed Bani Israel. He was asked, "Who is the most learned man amongst the people. He said, "I am the most learned." Allah admonished Moses as he did not attribute absolute knowledge to Him (Allah). So Allah inspired to him "At the junction of the two seas there is a slave amongst my slaves who is more learned than you." Moses said, "O my Lord! How can I meet him?" Allah said: Take a fish in a large basket (and proceed) and you will find him at the place where you will lose the fish. So Moses set out along with his (servant) boy, Yusha' bin Nuin and carried a fish in a large basket till they reached a rock, where they laid their heads (i.e. lay down) and slept. The fish came out of the basket and it took its way into the sea as in a tunnel. So it was an amazing thing for both Moses and his (servant) boy. They proceeded for the rest of that night and the following day. When the day broke, Moses said to his (servant) boy: "Bring us our early meal. No doubt, we have suffered much fatigue in this journey." Moses did not get tired till he passed the place about which he was told. There the (servant) boy told Moses, "Do you remember when we betook ourselves to the rock, I indeed forgot the fish." Moses remarked, "That is what we have been seeking. So they went back retracing their foot-steps, till they reached the rock. There they saw a man covered with a garment (or covering himself with his own garment). Moses greeted him. Al-Khadir replied saying, "How do people greet each other in your land?" Moses said, "I am Moses." He asked, "The Moses of Bani Israel?" Moses replied in the affirmative and added, "May I follow you so that you teach me of that knowledge which you have been taught." Al-Khadir replied, "Verily! You will not be able to remain patient with me, O Moses! I have some of the knowledge of Allah which He has taught me and which you do not know, while you have some knowledge which Allah has taught you which I do not know." Moses said, "Allah willing, you will find me patient and I will not disobey you in aught. So both of them set out walking along the sea-shore, as they did not have a boat. In the meantime a boat passed by them and they requested the crew of the boat to take them on board. The crew recognized Al-Khadir and took them on board without fare. Then a sparrow came and stood on the edge of the boat and dipped its beak once or twice in the sea. Al-Khadir said: "O Moses! My knowledge and your knowledge have not decreased Allah's knowledge except as much as this sparrow has decreased the water of the sea with its beak." Al-Khadir went to one of the planks of the boat and plucked it out. Moses said, "These people gave us a free lift but you have broken their boat and scuttled it so as to drown its people." Al-Khadir replied, "Didn't I tell you that you will not be able to remain patient with me." Moses said, "Call me not to account for what I forgot." The first (excuse) of Moses was that he had forgotten. Then they proceeded further and found a boy playing with other boys. Al-Khadir took hold of the boy's head from the top and plucked it out with his hands (i.e. killed him). Moses said, "Have you killed an innocent soul who has killed none." Al-Kha,dir replied, "Did I not tell you that you cannot remain patient with me?" Then they both proceeded till when they came to the people of a town, they asked them for food, but they refused to entertain them. Then they found there a wall on the point of collapsing. Al-Khadir repaired it with his own hands. Moses said, "If you had wished, surely you could have taken wages for it." Al-Khadir replied, "This is the parting between you and me." The Prophet added, "May Allah be Merciful to Moses! Would that he could have been more patient to learn more about his story with Al-Khadir. "

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 125:
Narrated Abu Musa:
A man came to the Prophet and asked, "O Allah's Apostle! What kind of fighting is in Allah's cause? (I ask this), for some of us fight because of being enraged and angry and some for the sake of his pride and haughtiness." The Prophet raised his head (as the questioner was standing) and said, "He who fights so that Allah's Word (Islam) should be superior, then he fights in Allah's cause."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 126:
Narrated Abdullah bin 'Amar:
I saw the Prophet near the Jamra and the people were asking him questions (about religious problems). A man asked, "O Allah's Apostle! I have slaughtered the Hadi (animal) before doing the Rami." The Prophet replied, "Do the Rami (now) and there is no harm." Another person asked, "O Allah's Apostle! I got my head shaved before slaughtering the animal." The Prophet replied, "Do the slaughtering (now) and there is no harm." So on that day, when the Prophet was asked about anything as regards the ceremonies of Hajj performed before or after its due time his reply was, "Do it (now) and there is no harm."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 127:
Narrated Abdullah:
While I was going with the Prophet through the ruins of Medina and he was reclining on a date-palm leaf stalk, some Jews passed by. Some of them said to the others: Ask him (the Prophet) about the spirit. Some of them said that they should not ask him that question as he might give a reply which would displease them. But some of them insisted on asking, and so one of them stood up and asked, "O Aba-l-Qasim ! What is the spirit?" The Prophet remained quiet. I thought he was being inspired Divinely. So I stayed till that state of the Prophet (while being inspired) was over. The Prophet then said, "And they ask you (O Mohammed) concerning the spirit --Say: The spirit -- its knowledge is with my Lord. And of knowledge you (mankind) have been given only a little)." (17.85)

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 128:
Narrated Aswad:
Ibn Az-Zubair said to me, "Aisha used to tell you secretly a number of things. What did she tell you about the Kaaba?" I replied, "She told me that once the Prophet said, 'O Aisha! Had not your people been still close to the pre-Islamic period of ignorance (infidelity)! I would have dismantled the Kaaba and would have made two doors in it; one for entrance and the other for exit." Later on Ibn Az-Zubair did the same.

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 129:
Narrated Abu At-Tufail:
the above mentioned Statement of Ali.

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 130:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
"Once Mu'adh was along with Allah's Apostle as a companion rider. Allah's Apostle said, "O Mu'adh bin Jabal." Mu'adh replied, "Labbaik and Sa'daik. O Allah's Apostle!" Again the Prophet said, "O Mu'adh!" Mu'adh said thrice, "Labbaik and Sa'daik, O Allah's Apostle!" Allah's Apostle said, "There is none who testifies sincerely that none has the right to be worshipped but Allah and Mohammed is his Apostle, except that Allah, will save him from the Hell-fire." Mu'adh said, "O Allah's Apostle ! Should I not inform the people about it so that they may have glad tidings?" He replied, "When the people hear about it, they will solely depend on it." Then Mu'adh narrated the above-mentioned Hadith just before his death, being afraid of committing sin (by not telling the knowledge).

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 131:
Narrated Anas:
I was informed that the Prophet had said to Mu'adh, "Whosoever will meet Allah without associating anything in

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worship with Him will go to Paradise." Mu'adh asked the Prophet, "Should I not inform the people of this good news?" The Prophet replied, "No, I am afraid, lest they should depend upon it (absolutely)."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 132:
Narrated Um Salama:
Um-Sulaim came to Allah's Apostle and said, "Verily, Allah is not shy of (telling you) the truth. Is it necessary for a woman to take a bath after she has a wet dream (nocturnal sexual discharge?) The Prophet replied, "Yes, if she notices a discharge." Um Salama, then covered her face and asked, "O Allah's Apostle! Does a woman get a discharge?" He replied, "Yes, let your right hand be in dust (An Arabic expression you say to a person when you contradict his statement meaning "you will not achieve goodness"), and that is why the son resembles his mother."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 133:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Once Allah's Apostle said, "Amongst the trees there is a tree, the leaves of which do not fall and is like a Muslim, tell me the name of that tree." Everybody started thinking about the trees of the desert areas and I thought of the date-palm tree but felt shy (to answer). The others asked, "O Allah's Apostle! inform us of it." He replied, "it is the date-palm tree." I told my father what had come to my mind and on that he said, "Had you said it I would have preferred it to such and such a thing that I might possess."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 134:
Narrated Ali:
I used to get the emotional urethral discharge frequently so I requested Al-Miqdad to ask the Prophet about it. Al-Miqdad asked him and he replied, "One has to perform ablution (after it)." (See Hadith No. 269).

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 135:
Narrated Nafi:
Abdullah bin Umar said: "A man got up in the mosque and said: O Allah's Apostle 'At which place you order us that we should assume the Ihram?' Allah's Apostle replied, 'The residents of Medina should assure the Ihram from Dhil-Hulaifa, the people of Syria from Al-Ju,hfa and the people of Najd from Qarn." Ibn Umar further said, "The people consider that Allah's Apostle had also said, 'The residents of Yemen should assume Ihram from Yalamlam.' " Ibn Umar used to say, "I do not: remember whether Allah's Apostle had said the last statement or not?"

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 136:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
A man asked the Prophet : "What (kinds of clothes) should a Muhrim (a Muslim intending to perform Umra or Hajj) wear? He replied, "He should not wear a shirt, a turban, trousers, a head cloak or garment scented with saffron or Wars (kinds of perfumes). And if he has n slippers, then he can use Khuffs (leather socks) but the socks should be cut short so as to make the ankles bare." (See Hadith No. 615, Vol. 2).

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 4:
Ablutions (Wudu')

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 137:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The prayer of a person who does ,Hadath (passes, urine, stool or wind) is not accepted till he performs (repeats) the ablution." A person from Hadaramout asked Abu Huraira, "What is 'Hadath'?" Abu Huraira replied, " 'Hadath' means the passing of wind from the anus."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 138:
Narrated Nu'am Al-Mujmir:
Once I went up the roof of the mosque, along with Abu Huraira. He perform ablution and said, "I heard the Prophet saying, "On the Day of Resurrection, my followers will be called "Al-Ghurr-ul-Muhajjalun" from the trace of ablution and whoever can increase the area of his radiance should do so (i.e. by performing ablution regularly).' "

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 139:
Narrated Abbas bin Tamim:
My uncle asked Allah's Apostle about a person who imagined to have passed wind during the prayer. Allah' Apostle replied: "He should not leave his prayers unless he hears sound or smells something."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 140:
Narrated Kuraib:
Ibn Abbas said, "The Prophet slept till he snored and then prayed (or probably lay till his breath sounds were heard and then got up and prayed)." Ibn Abbas added: "I stayed overnight in the house of my aunt, Maimuna, the Prophet slept for a part of the night, (See Fateh-al-Bari page 249, Vol. 1), and late in the night, he got up and performed ablution from a hanging water skin, a light (perfect) ablution and stood up for the prayer. I, too, performed a similar ablution, then I went and stood on his left. He drew me to his right and prayed as much as Allah wished, and again lay and slept till his breath sounds were heard. Later on the Mua'dhdhin (callmaker for the prayer) came to him and informed him that it was time for Prayer. The Prophet went with him for the prayer without performing a new ablution." (Sufyan said to Amr that some people said, "The eyes of Allah's Apostle sleep but his heart does not sleep." Amr replied, "I heard Ubaid bin Umar saying that the dreams of Prophets were Divine Inspiration, and then he recited the verse: 'I (Abraham) see in a dream, (O my son) that I offer you in sacrifice (to Allah)." (37.102) (See Hadith No. 183)

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 141:
Narrated Usama bin Zaid:
Allah's Apostle proceeded from 'Arafat till when he reached the mountain pass, he dismounted, urinated and then performed ablution but not a perfect one. I said to him, ("Is it the time for) the prayer, O Allah's Apostle?" He said, "The (place of) prayer is ahead of you." He rode till when he reached Al-Muzdalifa, he dismounted and performed ablution and a perfect one, The (call for) Iqama was pronounced and he led the Maghrib prayer. Then everybody made his camel kneel down at its place. Then the Iqama was pronounced for the 'Isha' prayer which the Prophet led and no prayer was offered in between the two . prayers ('Isha' and Maghrib).

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 142:
Narrated 'Ata' bin Yasar:
Ibn Abbas performed ablution and washed his face (in the following way): He ladled out a handful of water, rinsed his mouth and washed his nose with it by putting in water and then blowing it out. He then, took another handful (of water) and did like this (gesturing) joining both hands, and washed his face, took another handful of water and washed his right forearm. He again took another handful of water and washed his left forearm, and passed wet hands over his head and took another handful of water and poured it over his right foot (up to his ankles) and washed it thoroughly and similarly took another handful of water and washed thoroughly his left foot (up to the ankles) and said, "I saw Allah's Apostle performing ablution in this way."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 143:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "If anyone of you on having sexual relations with his wife said (and he must say it before starting) 'In the name of Allah. O Allah! Protect us from Satan and also protect what you bestow upon us (i.e. the coming offspring) from Satan, and if it is destined that they should have a child then, Satan will never be able to harm that offspring."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 144:
Narrated Anas:
Whenever the Prophet went to answer the call of nature, he used to say, "Allah-umma inni a'udhu bika minal khubuthi wal khaba'ith i.e. O Allah, I seek Refuge with You from all offensive and wicked things (evil deeds and evil spirits)."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 145:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Once the Prophet entered a lavatory and I placed water for his ablution. He asked, "Who placed it?" He was informed accordingly and so he said, "O Allah! Make him (Ibn Abbas) a learned scholar in religion (Islam)."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 146:
Narrated Abu Aiyub Al-Ansari:
Allah's Apostle said, "If anyone of you goes to an open space for answering the call of nature he should neither face nor turn his back towards the Qibla; he should either face the east or the west."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 147:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
People say, "Whenever you sit for answering the call of nature, you should not face the Qibla or Bait-ulMaqdis (Jerusalem)." I told them. "Once I went up the roof of our house and I saw Allah's Apostle answering the call of nature while sitting on two bricks facing Bait-ul-Maqdis (Jerusalem) (but there was a screen covering him. ' (FatehAl-Bari, Page 258, Vol. 1).

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 148:
Narrated Aisha:
The wives of the Prophet used to go to Al-Manasi, a vast open place (near Baqia at Medina) to answer the call of nature at night. Umar used to say to the Prophet "Let your wives be veiled," but Allah's Apostle did not do so. One night Sauda bint Zam'a the wife of the Prophet went out at 'Isha' time and she was a tall lady. Umar addressed her and said, "I have recognized you, O Sauda." He said so, as he desired eagerly that the verses of Al-Hijab (the observing of veils by the Muslim women) may be revealed. So Allah revealed the verses of "Al-Hijab" (A complete body cover excluding the eyes).

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 149:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said to his wives, "You are allowed to go out to answer the call of nature. "

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 150:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
I went up to the roof of Hafsa's house for some job and I saw Allah's Apostle answering the call of nature facing Sham (Syria, Jordan, Palestine and Lebanon regarded as one country) with his back towards the Qibla. (See Hadith No. 147).

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 151:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Once I went up the roof of our house and saw Allah's Apostle answering the call of nature while sitting over two bricks facing Bait-ul-Maqdis (Jerusalem). (See Hadith No. 147).

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 152:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Whenever Allah's Apostle went to answer the call of nature, I along with another boy used to accompany him with a tumbler full of water. (Hisham commented, "So that he might wash his private parts with it.)"

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 153:
Narrated Anas:
Whenever Allah's Apostle went to answer the call of nature, I along with another boy from us used to go behind him with a tumbler full of water.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 154:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Whenever Allah's Apostle went to answer the call of nature, I along with another boy used to carry a tumbler full of water (for cleaning the private parts) and an Anza (spear-headed stuck).

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 155:
Narrated Abu Qatada:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whenever anyone of you drinks water, he should not breathe in the drinking utensil, and whenever anyone of you goes to a lavatory, he should neither touch his penis nor clean his private parts with his right hand."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 156:
Narrated Abu Qatada:
The Prophet said, "Whenever anyone of you makes water he should not hold his penis or clean his private parts with his right hand. (And while drinking) one should not breathe in the drinking utensil ."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 157:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I followed the Prophet while he was going out to answer the call of nature. He used not to look this way or that. So, when I approached near him he said to me, "Fetch for me some stones for ' cleaning the privates parts (or said something similar), and do not bring a bone or a piece of dung." So I brought the stones in the corner of my garment and placed them by his side and I then went away from him. When he finished (from answering the call of nature) he used, them .

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 158:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet went out to answer the call of nature and asked me to bring three stones. I found two stones and searched for the third but could not find it. So took a dried piece of dung and brought it to him. He took the two stones and threw away the dung and said, "This is a filthy thing."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 159:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet performed ablution by washing the body parts only once.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 160:
Narrated Abdullah bin Zaid:
The Prophet performed ablution by washing the body parts twice.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 161:
Narrated Humran:

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(the slave of Uthman) I saw Uthman bin 'Affan asking for a tumbler of water (and when it was brought) he poured water over his hands and washed them thrice and then put his right hand in the water container and rinsed his mouth, washed his nose by putting water in it and then blowing it out. then he washed his face and forearrlns up to the elbows thrice, passed his wet hands over his head and washed his feet up to the ankles thrice. Then he said, "Allah's Apostle said 'If anyone Performs ablution like that of mine and offers a two-rak'at prayer during which he does not think of anything else (not related to the present prayer) then his past sins will be forgiven.' " After performing the ablution Uthman said, "I am going to tell you a Hadith which I would not have told you, had I not been compelled by a certain Holy Verse (the sub narrator Urwa said: This verse is: "Verily, those who conceal the clear signs and the guidance which we have sent down...)" (2:159). I heard the Prophet saying, 'If a man performs ablution perfectly and then offers the compulsory congregational prayer, Allah will forgive his sins committed between that (prayer) and the (next) prayer till he offers it.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 162:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Whoever performs ablution should clean his nose with water by putting the water in it and then blowing it out, and whoever cleans his private parts with stones should do it with odd number of stones."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 163:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "If anyone of you performs ablution he should put water in his nose and then blow it out and whoever cleans his private parts with stones should do so with odd numbers. And whoever wakes up from his sleep should wash his hands before putting them in the water for ablution, because nobody knows where his hands were during sleep."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 164:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
The Prophet remained behind us on a journey. He joined us while we were performing ablution for the Asr prayer which was over-due and we were just passing wet hands over our feet (not washing them thoroughly) so he addressed us in a loud voice saying twice orthriae, "Save your heels from the fire."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 165:
Narrated Humran:
(the freed slave of Uthman bin 'Affan) I saw Uthman bin 'Affan asking (for a tumbler of water) to perform ablution (and when it was brought) he poured water from it over his hands and washed them thrice and then put his right hand in the water container and rinsed his mouth and washed his nose by putting water in it and then blowing it out. Then he washed his face thrice and (then) forearms up to the elbows thrice, then passed his wet hands over his head and then washed each foot thrice. After that Uthman said, "I saw the Prophet performing ablution like this of mine, and he said, 'If anyone performs ablution like that of mine and offers a two-rak'at prayer during which he does not think of anything else (not related to the present prayer) then his past sins will be forgiven. '

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 166:
Narrated Mohammed Ibn Ziyad:
I heard Abu Huraira saying as he passed by us while the people were performing ablution from a utensil containing water, "Perform ablution perfectly and thoroughly for Abul-Qasim (the Prophet) said, 'Save your heels from the Hell-fire.' "

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 167:
Narrated Ubaid Ibn Juraij:
I asked Abdullah bin Umar, "O Abu Abdur-Rahman! I saw you doing four things which I never saw being done by anyone of you companions?" Abdullah bin Umar said, "What are those, O Ibn Juraij?" I said, "I never saw you touching any corner of the Kaaba except these (two) facing south (Yemen) and I saw you wearing shoes made of tanned leather and dyeing your hair with Hinna; (a kind of dye). I also noticed that whenever you were in Mecca, the people assume l,hram on seeing the new moon crescent (1st of Dhul-Hijja) while you did not assume the Ihlal (Ihram)--(Ihram is also called Ihlal which means 'Loud calling' because a Muhrim has to recite Talbiya aloud when assuming the state of Ihram)--till the 8th of Dhul-Hijja (Day of Tarwiya). Abdullah replied, "Regarding the corners of Kaaba, I never saw Allah's Apostle touching except those facing south (Yemen) and regarding the tanned leather shoes, no doubt I saw Allah's Apostle wearing non-hairy shoes and he used to perform ablution while wearing the shoes (i.e. wash his feet and then put on the shoes). So I love to wear similar shoes. And about the dyeing of hair with Hinna; no doubt I saw Allah's Apostle dyeing his hair with it and that is why I like to dye (my hair with it). Regarding Ihlal, I did not see Allah's Apostle assuming Ihlal till he set out for Hajj (on the 8th of Dhul-Hijja)."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 168:
Narrated Um-Atiya:
that the Prophet at the time of washing his deceased daughter had said to them, "Start from the right side beginning with those parts which are washed in ablution."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 169:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet used to like to start from the right side on wearing shoes, combing his hair and cleaning or washing himself and on doing anything else.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 170:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
saw Allah's Apostle when the Asr prayer was due and the people searched for water to perform ablution but they could not find it. Later on (a pot full of) water for ablution was brought to Allah's Apostle . He put his hand in that pot and ordered the people to perform ablution from it. I saw the water springing out from underneath his fingers till all of them performed the ablution (it was one of the miracles of the Prophet).

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 171:
Narrated Ibn Sirrn:
I said to 'Ablda, "I have some of the hair of the Prophet which I got from Anas or from his family." 'Abida replied. "No doubt if I had a single hair of that it would have been dearer to me than the whole world and whatever is in it."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 172:
Narrated Anas:
When Allah's Apostle got his head shaved, Abu- Talha was the first to take some of his hair.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 173:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "If a dog drinks from the utensil of anyone of you it is essential to wash it seven times."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 174:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "A man saw a dog eating mud from (the severity of) thirst. So, that man took a shoe (and filled it) with water and kept on pouring the water for the dog till it quenched its thirst. So Allah approved of his deed and made him to enter Paradise." And narrated Hamza bin Abdullah: My father said. "During the lifetime of Allah's Apostle, the dogs used to urinate, and pass through the mosques (come and go), nevertheless they never used to sprinkle water on it (urine of the dog.)"

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 175:
Narrated Adi bin Hatim:
I asked the Prophet (about the hunting dogs) and he replied, "If you let loose (with Allah's name) your tamed dog after a game and it hunts it, you may eat it, but if the dog eats of (that game) then do not eat it because the dog has hunted it for itself." I further said, "Sometimes I send my dog for hunting and find another dog with it. He said, "Do not eat the game for you have mentioned Allah's name only on sending your dog and not the other dog."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 176:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "A person is considered in prayer as long as he is waiting for the prayer in the mosque as long as he does not do Hadath." A non-Arab man asked, "O Abii Huraira! What is Hadath?" I replied, "It is the passing of wind (from the anus) (that is one of the types of Hadath)."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 177:
Narrated Abbas bin Tamim:
My uncle said: The Prophet said, "One should not leave his prayer unless he hears sound or smells something."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 178:
Narrated Ali:
I used to get emotional urethral discharges frequently and felt shy to ask Allah's Apostle about it. So I requested Al-Miqdad bin Al-Aswad to ask (the Prophet) about it. Al-Miqdad asked him and he replied, "On has to perform ablution (after it)."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 179:
Narrated Zaid bin Khalid:
I asked Uthman bin 'Affan about a person who engaged in intercourse but did no discharge. Uthman replied, "He should perform ablution like the one for ar ordinary prayer but he must wash his penis." Uthman added, "I heard it from Allah's Apostle." I asked Ali Az-Zubair, Talha and Ubai bin Ka'b about it and they, too, gave the same reply. (This order was cancelled later on and taking a bath became necessary for such cases).

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 180:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khud:
Allah's Apostle sent for a Ansari man who came with water dropping from his head. The Prophet said, "Perhaps we have forced you to hurry up, haven't we?" The Ansari replied, "Yes." Allah's Apostle further said, "If you are forced to hurry up (during intercourse) or you do not discharge then ablution is due on you (This order was cancelled later on, i.e. one has to take a bath).

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 181:
Narrated Usama bin Zaid:
"When Allah's Apostle departed from 'Arafat, he turned towards a mountain pass where he answered the call of nature. (After he had finished) I poured water and he performed ablution and then I said to him, "O Allah's Apostle! Will you offer the prayer?" He replied, "The Musalla (place of the prayer) is ahead of you (in Al-Muzdalifa)."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 182:
Narrated Al-Mughira bin Shu'ba:
I was in the company of Allah's Apostle on one of the journeys and he went out to answer the call of nature (and after he finished) I poured water and he performed ablution; he washed his face, forearms and passed his wet hand over his head and over the two Khuff, (leather socks).

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 183:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
that he stayed overnight in the house of Maimuna the wife of the Prophet, his aunt. He added : I lay on the bed (cushion transversally) while Allah's Apostle and his wife lay in the length-wise direction of the cushion. Allah's Apostle slept till the middle of the night, either a bit before or a bit after it and then woke up, rubbing the traces of sleep off his face with his hands. He then, recited the last ten verses of Sura Al-Imran, got up and went to a hanging water-skin. He then Performed the ablution from it and it was a perfect ablution, and then stood up to offer the prayer. I, too, got up and did as the Prophet had done. Then I went and stood by his side. He placed his right hand on my head and caught my right ear and twisted it. He prayed two Rakat then two Rakat and two Rakat and then two Rakat and then two Rakat and then two Rakat (separately six times), and finally one Rak'a (the Witr). Then he lay down again in the bed till the Mu'adhdhin came to him where upon the Prophet got up, offered a two light Rakat prayer and went out and led the Fajr prayer

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 184:
Narrated Asma bint Abu Bakr:
I came to Aisha the wife of the Prophet during the solar eclipse. The people were standing and offering the prayer and she was also praying. I asked her, "What is wrong with the people?" She beckoned with her hand towards the sky and said, "Subhan Allah." I asked her, "Is there a sign?" She pointed out, "Yes." So I, too, stood for the prayer till I fell unconscious and later on I poured water on my head. After the prayer, Allah's Apostle praised and glorified Allah and said, "Just now I have seen something which I never saw before at this place of mine, including Paradise and Hell. I have been inspired (and have understood) that you will be put to trials in your graves and these trials will be like the trials of Ad-Dajjal, or nearly like it (the sub narrator is not sure of what Asma said). Angels will come to every one of you and ask, 'What do you know about this man?' A believer will reply, 'He is Mohammed, Allah's Apostle , and he came to us with self-evident truth and guidance. So we accepted his teaching, believed and followed him.' Then the angels will say to him to sleep in peace as they have come to know that he was a believer. On the other hand a hypocrite or a doubtful person will reply, 'I do not know but heard the people saying something and so I said the same.' "

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 185:
Narrated Yahya Al-Mazini:
A person asked Abdullah bin Zaid who was the grandfather of Amr bin Yahya, "Can you show me how Allah's Apostle used to perform ablution?" Abdullah bin Zaid replied in the affirmative and asked for water. He poured it on his hands and washed them twice, then he rinsed his mouth thrice and washed his nose with water thrice by putting water in it and blowing it out. He washed his face thrice and after that he washed his forearms up to the elbows twice and then passed his wet hands over his head from its front to its back and vice versa (beginning from the front and taking them to the back of his head up to the nape of the neck and then brought them to the front again from where he had started) and washed his feet (up to the ankles).

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Volume 1, Book 4, Number 186:
Narrated Amr:
My father saw Amr bin Abi Hasan asking Abdullah bin Zaid about the ablution of the Prophet. Abdullah bin Zaid asked for earthen-ware pot containing water and in front of them performed ablution like that of the Prophet . He poured water from the pot over his hand and washed his hands thrice and then he put his hands in the pot and rinsed his mouth and washed his nose by putting water in it and then blowing it out with three handfuls of water. Again he put his hand in the water and washed his face thrice and washed his forearms up to the elbows twice; and then put his hands in the water and then passed them over his head by bringing them to the front and then to the rear of the head once, and then he washed his feet up to the ankles.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 187:
Narrated Abu Juhaifa:
Allah's Apostle came to us at noon and water for ablution was brought to him. After he had performed ablution, the remaining water was taken by the people and they started smearing their bodies with it (as a blessed thing). The Prophet offered two Rakat of the Zuhr prayer and then two Rakat of the Asr prayer while an Anza (spear-headed stick) was there (as a Sutra) in front of him. Abu Musa said: The Prophet asked for a tumbler containing water and washed both his hands and face in it and then threw a mouthful of water in the tumbler and said to both of us (Abu Musa and Bilal), "Drink from the tumbler and pour some of its water on your faces and chests."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 188:
Narrated Ibn Shihab:
Mahmud bin Ar-Rabi who was the person on whose face the Prophet had ejected a mouthful of water from his family's well while he was a boy, and Urwa (on the authority of Al-Miswar and others) who testified each other, said, "Whenever the Prophet , performed ablution, his companions were nearly fighting for the remains of the water."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 189:
Narrated As-Sa'ib bin Yazid:
My aunt took me to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! This son of my sister has got a disease in his legs." So he passed his hands on my head and prayed for Allah's blessings for me; then he performed ablution and I drank from the remaining water. I stood behind him and saw the seal of Prophethood between his shoulders, and it was like the "Zir-al-Hijla" (means the button of a small tent, but some said 'egg of a partridge.' etc.)

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 190:
Narrated Amr bin Yahya:
(on the authority of his father) Abdullah bin Zaid poured water on his hands from a utensil containing water and washed them and then with one handful of water he rinsed his mouth and cleaned his nose by putting water in it and then blowing it out. He repeated it thrice. He, then, washed his hands and forearms up to the elbows twice and passed wet hands over his head, both forwards and backwards, and washed his feet up to the ankles and said, "This is the ablution of Allah's Apostle."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 191:
Narrated Amr bin Yahya:
My father said, "I saw Amr bin Abi Hasan asking Abdullah bin Zaid about the ablution of the Prophet. Abdullah bin Zaid asked for an earthenware pot containing water and performed ablution in front of them. He poured water over his hands and washed them thrice. Then he put his (right) hand in the pot and rinsed his mouth and washed his nose by putting water in it and then blowing it out thrice with three handfuls of water Again he put his hand in the water and washed his face thrice. After that he put his hand in the pot and washed his forearms up to the elbows twice and then again put his hand in the water and passed wet hands over his head by bringing them to the front and then to the back and once more he put his hand in the pot and washed his feet (up to the ankles.)"

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 192:
Narrated Wuhaib: that he (the Prophet in narration 191 above) had passed his wet hands

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 193:
Narrated Jabir:
Allah's Apostle came to visit me while I was sick and unconscious. He performed ablution and sprinkled the remaining water on me and I became conscious and said, "O Allah's Apostle! To whom will my inheritance go as I have neither ascendants nor descendants?" Then the Divine verses regarding Fara'id (inheritance) were revealed.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 194:
Narrated Anas:
It was the time for prayer, and those whose houses were near got up and went to their people (to perform ablution), and there remained some people (sitting). Then a painted stove pot (Mikhdab) containing water was brought to Allah's Apostles The pot was small, not broad enough for one to spread one's hand in; yet all the people performed ablution. (The sub narrator said, "We asked Anas, 'How many persons were you?' Anas replied 'We were eighty or more"). (It was one of the miracles of Allah's Apostle).

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 195:
Narrated Abu Musa:
Once the Prophet asked for a tumbler containing water. He washed his hands and face in it and also threw a mouthful of water in it.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 196:
Narrated Abdullah bin Zaid:
Once Allah's Apostle came to us and we brought out water for him in a brass pot. He performed ablution thus: He washed his face thrice, and his forearms to the elbows twice, then passed his wet hands lightly over the head from front to rear and brought them to front again and washed his feet (up to the ankles).

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 197:
Narrated Aisha:
When the ailment of the Prophet became aggravated and his disease became severe, he asked his wives to permit him to be nursed (treated) in my house. So they gave him the permission. Then the Prophet came (to my house) with the support of two men, and his legs were dragging on the ground, between Abbas, and another man." Ubaid-Ullah (the sub narrator) said, "I informed Abdullah bin Abbas of what Aisha said. Ibn Abbas said: 'Do you know who was the other man?' I replied in the negative. Ibn Abbas said, 'He was Ali (bin Abi Talib)." Aisha further said, "When the Prophet came to my house and his sickness became aggravated he ordered us to pour seven skins full of water on him, so that he might give some advice to the people. So he was seated in a Mikhdab (brass tub) belonging to Hafsa, the wife of the Prophet. Then, all of us started pouring water on him from the water skins till he beckoned to us to stop and that we have done (what he wanted us to do). After that he went out to the people."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 198:
Narrated Amr bin Yahya:
(on the authority of his father) My uncle used to perform ablution extravagantly and once he asked Abdullah bin Zaid to tell him how he had seen the Prophet performing ablution. He asked for an earthen-ware pot containing water, and poured water from it on his hands and washed them thrice, and then put his hand in the earthen-ware pot and rinsed his mouth and washed his nose by putting water in it and then blowing it Out thrice with one handful of water; he again put his hand in the water and took a handful of water and washed his face thrice, then washed his hands up to the elbows twice, and took water with his hand, and passed it over his head from front to back and then from back to front, and then washed his feet (up to the ankles) and said, "I saw the Prophet performing ablution in that way."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 199:
Narrated Thabit:
Anas said, "The Prophet asked for water and a tumbler with a broad base and no so deep, containing a small quantity of water, was brought to him whereby he put his fingers in it." Anas further said, ' noticed the water springing out from amongst his fingers." Anas added, ' estimated that the people who performed ablution with it numbered between seventy to eighty."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 200:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet used to take a bath with one Saor up to five Mudds (1 Sa'= Mudds) of water and used to perform ablution with one Mudd of water.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 201:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Sa'd bin Abi Waqqas said, "The Prophet passed wet hands over his Khuffs." Abdullah bin Umar asked Umar about it. Umar replied in the affirmative and added, "Whenever Sa'd narrates a Hadith from the Prophet, there is no need to ask anyone else about it."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 202:
Narrated Al-Mughlra bin Shu'ba:
Once Allah's Apostle went out to answer the call of nature and I followed him with a tumbler containing water, and when he finished, I poured water and he performed ablution and passed wet hands over his Khuffs.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 203:
Narrated Jafar bin Amr bin Umaiya Ad-Damri:
My father said, "I saw the Prophet passing wet hands over his Khuffs."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 204:
Narrated Jafar bin Amr:
My father said, "I saw the Prophet passing wet hands over his turban and Khuffs (leather socks)."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 205:
Narrated Urwa bin Al-Mughira:
My father said, "Once I was in the company of the Prophet on a journey and I dashed to take off his Khuffs. He ordered me to leave them as he had put them after performing ablution. So he passed wet hands or them.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 206:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
Allah's Apostle ate a piece of cooked mutton from the shoulder region and prayed without repeating ablution.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 207:
Narrated Jafar bin Amr bin Umaiya:
My father said, "I saw Allah's Apostle taking a piece of (cooked) mutton from the shoulder region and then he was called for prayer. He put his knife down and prayed without repeating ablution."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 208:
Narrated Suwaid bin Al-Nu'man:
In the year of the conquest of Khaibar I went with Allah's Apostle till we reached Sahba,' a place near Khaibar, where Allah's Apostle offered the Asr prayer and asked for food. Nothing but Sawrq was brought. He ordered it to be moistened with water. He and all of us ate it and the Prophet got up for the evening prayer (Maghrib prayer), rinsed his mouth with water and we did the same, and he then prayed without repeating the ablution.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 209:
Narrated Maimuna:
The Prophet ate (a piece of) mutton from the shoulder region and then prayed without repeating the ablution.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 210:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle drank milk, rinsed his mouth and said, "It has fat."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 211:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle said, "If anyone of you feels drowsy while praying he should go to bed (sleep) till his slumber is over because in praying while drowsy one does not know whether one is asking for forgiveness or for a bad thing for oneself."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 212:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "If anyone of you feels drowsy while praying, he should sleep till he understands what he is saying (reciting)."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 213:
Narrated Amr bin Amir:
Anas said, "The Prophet used to perform ablution for every prayer." I asked Anas, "What you used to do?' Anas replied, "We used to pray with the same ablution until we break it with Hadath."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 214:
Narrated Suwaid bin Nu'man:
In the year of the conquest of Khaibar I went with Allah's Apostle till we reached As-Sahba' where Allah's Apostle led the Asr prayer and asked for the food. Nothing but Sawiq was brought and we ate it and drank (water). The Prophet got up for the (Maghrib) Prayer, rinsed his mouth with water and then led the prayer without repeating the ablution.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 215:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Once the Prophet, while passing through one of the grave-yards of Medina or Mecca heard the voices of two persons who were being tortured in their graves. The Prophet said, "These two persons are being tortured not for a major sin (to avoid)." The Prophet then added, "Yes! (they are being tortured for a major sin). Indeed, one of them never saved himself from being soiled with his urine while the other used to go about with calumnies (to make enmiy between friends). The Prophet then asked for a green leaf of a date-palm tree, broke it into two pieces and put one on each grave. On being

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asked why he had done so, he replied, "I hope that their torture might be lessened, till these get dried."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 216:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Whenever the Prophet went to answer the call of nature, I used to bring water with which he used to clean his private parts.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 217:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet once passed by two graves and said, "These two persons are being tortured not for a major sin (to avoid). One of them never saved himself from being soiled with his urine, while the other used to go about with calumnies(to make enmity between friends)." The Prophet then took a green leaf of a date-palm tree, split it into (pieces) and fixed one on each grave. They said, "O Allah's Apostle! Why have you done so?" He replied, "I hope that their punishment might be lessened till these (the pieces of the leaf) become dry." (See the foot-note of Hadith 215).

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 218:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet saw a Bedouin making water in the mosque and told the people not to disturb him. When he finished, the Prophet asked for some water and poured it over (the urine).

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 219:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A Bedouin stood up and started making water in the mosque. The people caught him but the Prophet ordered them to leave him and to pour a bucket or a tumbler of water over the place where he had passed the urine. The Prophet then said, "You have been sent to make things easy and not to make them difficult."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 220:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said as above (219).

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 221:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
A Bedouin came and passed urine in one corner of the mosque. The people shouted at him but the Prophet stopped them till he finished urinating. The Prophet ordered them to spill a bucket of water over that place and they did so.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 222:
Narrated Aisha:
(the mother of faithful believers) A child was brought to Allah's Apostle and it urinated on the garment of the Prophet. The Prophet asked for water and poured it over the soiled place.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 223:
Narrated Um Qais bint Mihsin:
I brought my young son, who had not started eating (ordinary food) to Allah's Apostle who took him and made him sit in his lap. The child urinated on the garment of the Prophet, so he asked for water and poured it over the soiled (area) and did not wash it.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 224:
Narrated Hudhaifa:
Once the Prophet went to the dumps of some people and passed urine while standing. He then asked for water and so I brought it to him and he performed ablution.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 225:
Narrated Hudhaifa':
The Prophet and I walked till we reached the dumps of some people. He stood, as any one of you stands, behind a wall and urinated. I went away, but he beckoned me to come. So I approached him and stood near his back till he finished.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 226:
Narrated Abu Wail:
Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari used to lay great stress on the question of urination and he used to say, "If anyone from Bani Israel happened to soil his clothes with urine, he used to cut that portion away." Hearing that, Hudhaifa said to Abu Wail, "I wish he (Abu Musa) didn't (lay great stress on that matter)." Hudhaifa added, "Allah's Apostle went to the dumps of some people and urinated while standing."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 227:
Narrated Asma':
A woman came to the Prophet and said, "If anyone of us gets menses in her clothes then what should she do?" He replied, "She should (take hold of the soiled place), rub it and put it in the water and rub it in order to remove the traces of blood and then pour water over it. Then she can pray in it."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 228:
Narrated Aisha:
Fatima bint Abi Hubaish came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle I get persistent bleeding from the uterus and do not become clean. Shall I give up my prayers?" Allah's Apostle replied, "No, because it is from a blood vessel and not the menses. So when your real menses begins give up your prayers and when it has finished wash off the blood (take a bath) and offer your prayers." Hisham (the sub narrator) narrated that his father had also said, (the Prophet told her): "Perform ablution for every prayer till the time of the next period comes."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 229:
Narrated Aisha:
I used to wash the traces of Janaba (semen) from the clothes of the Prophet and he used to go for prayers while traces of water were still on it (water spots were still visible).

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 230:
Narrated Aisha:
as above (229).

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 231:
Narrated Sulaiman bin Yasar:
I asked Aisha about the clothes soiled with semen. She replied, "I used to wash it off the clothes of Allah's Apostle and he would go for the prayer while water spots were still visible. "

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 232:
Narrated Amr bin Maimun:
I heard Sulaiman bin Yasar talking about the clothes soiled with semen. He said that Aisha had said, "I used to wash it off the clothes of Allah's Apostle and he would go for the prayers while water spots were still visible on them.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 233:
Narrated Aisha:
I used to wash the semen off the clothes of the Prophet and even then I used to notice one or more spots on them.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 234:
Narrated Abu Qilaba:
Anas said, "Some people of Ukl or Uraina tribe came to Medina and its climate did not suit them. So the Prophet ordered them to go to the herd of (Milch) camels and to drink their milk and urine (as a medicine). So they went as directed and after they became healthy, they killed the shepherd of the Prophet and drove away all the camels. The news reached the Prophet early in the morning and he sent (men) in their pursuit and they were captured and brought at noon. He then ordered to cut their hands and feet (and it was done), and their eyes were branded with heated pieces of iron, They were put in 'Al-Harra' and when they asked for water, no water was given to them." Abu Qilaba said, "Those people committed theft and murder, became infidels after embracing Islam and fought against Allah and His Apostle ."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 235:
Narrated Anas:
Prior to the construction of the mosque, the Prophet offered the prayers at sheep-folds.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 236:
Narrated Maimuna:
Allah's Apostle was asked regarding ghee (cooking butter) in which a mouse had fallen. He said, "Take out the mouse and throw away the ghee around it and use the rest."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 237:
Narrated Maimuna:
The Prophet was asked regarding ghee in which a mouse had fallen. He said, "Take out the mouse and throw away the ghee around it (and use the rest.)"

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 238:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "A wound which a Muslim receives in Allah's cause will appear on the Day of Resurrection as it was at the time of infliction; blood will be flowing from the wound and its color will be that of the blood but will smell like musk."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 239:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "We (Muslims) are the last (people to come in the world) but (will be) the foremost (on the Day of Resurrection)." The same narrator told that the Prophet had said, "You should not pass urine in stagnant water which is not flowing then (you may need to) wash in it."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 240:
Narrated Abdullah:
While Allah's Apostle was prostrating (as stated below).

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 241:
Narrated Abdullah bin Mas'ud:
Once the Prophet was offering prayers at the Kaaba. Abu Jahl was sitting with some of his companions. One of them said to the others, "Who amongst you will bring the abdominal contents (intestines, etc.) of a camel of Bani so and so and put it on the back of Mohammed, when he prostrates?" The most unfortunate of them got up and brought it. He waited till the Prophet prostrated and then placed it on his back between his shoulders. I was watching but could not do any thing. I wish I had some people with me to hold out against them. They started laughing and falling on one another. Allah's Apostle was in prostration and he did not lift his head up till Fatima (Prophet's daughter) came and threw that (camel's abdominal contents) away from his back. He raised his head and said thrice, "O Allah! Punish Quraish." So it was hard for Abu Jahl and his companions when the Prophet invoked Allah against them as they had a conviction that the prayers and invocations were accepted in this city (Mecca). The Prophet said, "O Allah! Punish Abu Jahl, Utba bin Rabi'a, Shaiba bin Rabi'a, Al-Walid bin Utba, Umaiya bin Khalaf, and Uqba bin Al Mu'it (and he mentioned the seventh whose name I cannot recall). By Allah in Whose Hands my life is, I saw the dead bodies of those persons who were counted by Allah's Apostle in the Qalib (one of the wells) of Badr.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 242:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet once spat in his clothes.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 243:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said, "All drinks that produce intoxication are Haram (forbidden to drink).

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 244:
Narrated Abu Hazim:
Sahl bin Sa'd As-Sa'idi, was asked by the people, "With what was the wound of the Prophet treated? Sahl replied, "None remains among the people living who knows that better than I. 'Ah used to bring water in his shield and Fatima used to wash the blood off his face. Then straw mat was burnt and the wound was filled with it."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 245:
Narrated Abu Burda:
My father said, "I came to the Prophet and saw him carrying a Siwak in his hand and cleansing his teeth, saying, 'U' U'," as if he was retching while the Siwak was in his mouth."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 246:
Narrated Hudhaifa:
Whenever the Prophet got up at night, he used to clean his mouth with Siwak.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 247:
Narrated Al-Bara 'bin Azib:
The Prophet said to me, "Whenever you go to bed perform ablution like that for the prayer, lie or your right side and say, "Allahumma aslamtu wajhi ilaika, wa fauwadtu amri ilaika, wa alja'tu Zahri ilaika raghbatan wa rahbatan ilaika. La Malja' wa la manja minka illa ilaika. Allahumma amantu bikitabika-l-ladhi anzalta wa bina-biyika-l ladhi arsalta" (O Allah! I surrender to You and entrust all my affairs to You and depend upon You for Your Blessings both with hope and fear of You. There is no fleeing from You, and there is no place of protection and safety except with You O Allah! I believe in Your Book (the Koran) which You have revealed and in Your Prophet (Mohammed) whom You have sent). Then if you die on that very night, you will die with faith (i.e. or the religion of Islam). Let the aforesaid words be your last utterance (before sleep)." I repeated it before the Prophet and when I reached "Allahumma amantu bikitabika-l-ladhi anzalta (O Allah I believe in Your Book which You have revealed)." I said, "Wa-rasulika (and your Apostle)." The Prophet said, "No, (but say): 'Wanabiyika-l-ladhi arsalta (Your Prophet whom You have sent), instead."

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 5:
Bathing (Ghusl)

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 248:
Narrated Aisha:
Whenever the Prophet took a bath after Janaba he started by washing his hands and then performed ablution like that for the prayer. After that he would put his fingers in water and move the roots of his hair with them, and then pour three

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handfuls of water over his head and then pour water all over his body.

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 249:
Narrated Maimuna:
(the wife of the Prophet) Allah's Apostle performed ablution like that for the prayer but did not wash his feet. He washed off the discharge from his private parts and then poured water over his body. He withdrew his feet from that place (the place where he took the bath) and then washed them. And that was his way of taking the bath of Janaba.

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 250:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet and I used to take a bath from a single pot called 'Faraq'.

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 251:
Narrated Abu Salama:
Aisha's brother and I went to Aisha and he asked her about the bath of the Prophet. She brought a pot containing about a Sa' of water and took a bath and poured it over her head and at what time there was a screen between her and us.

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 252:
Narrated Abu Jafar:
While I and my father were with Jabir bin Abdullah, some People asked him about taking a bath He replied, "A Sa' of water is sufficient for you." A man said, "A Sa' is not sufficient for me." Jabir said, "A Sa was sufficient for one who had more hair than you and was better than you (meaning the Prophet)." And then Jabir (put on) his garment and led the prayer.

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 253:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet and Maimuna used to take a bath from a single pot.

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 254:
Narrated Jubair bin Mutim:
Allah's Apostle said, "As for me, I pour water three times on my head." And he pointed with both his hands.

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 255:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet used to pour water three times on his head.

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 256:
Narrated Abu Jafar:
Jabir bin Abdullah said to me, "Your cousin (Hasan bin Mohammed bin Al-Hanafiya) came to me and asked about the bath of Janaba. I replied, 'The Prophet uses to take three handfuls of water, pour them on his head and then pour more water over his body.' Al-Hasan said to me, 'I am a hairy man.' I replied, 'The Prophet had more hair than you'. "

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 257:
Narrated Maimuna:
I placed water for the bath of the Prophet. He washed his hands twice or thrice and then poured water on his left hand and washed his private parts. He rubbed his hands over the earth (and cleaned them), rinsed his mouth, washed his nose by putting water in it and blowing it out, washed his face and both forearms and then poured water over his body. Then he withdrew from that place and washed his feet.

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 258:
Narrated Aisha:
Whenever the Prophet took the bath of Janaba (sexual relation or wet dream) he asked for the Hilab or some other scent. He used to take it in his hand, rub it first over the right side of his head and then over the left and then rub the middle of his head with both hands.

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 259:
Narrated Maimuna:
I placed water for the bath of the Prophet and he poured water with his right hand on his left and washed them. Then he washed his private parts and rubbed his hands on the ground, washed them with water, rinsed his mouth and washed his nose by putting water in it and blowing it out, washed his face and poured water on his head. He withdrew from that place and washed his feet. A piece of cloth (towel) was given to him but he did not use it.

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 260:
Narrated Maimuna:
The Prophet took the bath of Janaba. (sexual relation or wet dream). He first cleaned his private parts with his hand, and then rubbed it(that hand) on the wall (earth) and washed it. Then he performed ablution like that for the prayer, and after the bath he washed his feet.

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 261:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet and I used to take a bath from a single pot of water and our hands used to go in the pot after each other in turn.

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 262:
Narrated Aisha:
Whenever Allah's Apostle took a bath of Janaba, he washed his hands first.

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 263:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet and I used to take a bath from a single pot of water after Janaba.

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 264:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
the Prophet and one of his wives used to take a bath from a single pot of water. (Shu'ba added to Anas's Statement "After the Janaba")

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 265:
Narrated Maimuna:
I placed water for the bath of Allah's Apostle and he poured water over his hands and washed them twice or thrice; then he poured water with his right hand over his left and washed his private parts (with his left hand). He rubbed his hand over the earth and rinsed his mouth and washed his nose by putting water in it and blowing it out. After that he washed his face, both fore arms and head thrice and then poured water over his body. He withdrew from that place and washed his feet.

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 266:
Narrated Maimuna bint Al-Harith:
I placed water for the bath of Allah's Apostle and put a screen. He poured water over his hands, and washed them once or twice. (The subnarrator added that he did not remember if she had said thrice or not). Then he poured water with his right hand over his left one and washed his private parts. He rubbed his hand over the earth or the wall and washed it. He rinsed his mouth and washed his nose by putting water in it and blowing it out. He washed his face, forearms and head. He poured water over his body and then withdrew from that place and washed his feet. I presented him a piece of cloth (towel) and he pointed with his hand (that he does not want it) and did not take it.

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 267:
Narrated Mohammed bin Al-Muntathir:
on the authority of his father that he had asked Aisha (about the Hadith of Ibn Umar). She said, "May Allah be Merciful to Abu Abdur-Rahman. I used to put scent on Allah's Apostle and he used to go round his wives, and in the morning he assumed the Ihram, and the fragrance of scent was still coming out from his body."

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 268:
Narrated Qatada:
Anas bin Malik said, "The Prophet used to visit all his wives in a round, during the day and night and they were eleven in number." I asked Anas, "Had the Prophet the strength for it?" Anas replied, "We used to say that the Prophet was given the strength of thirty (men)." And Sa'id said on the authority of Qatada that Anas had told him about nine wives only (not eleven).

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 269:
Narrated Ali:
I used to get emotional urethral discharge frequently. Being the son-in-law of the Prophet I requested a man to ask him about it. So the man asked the Prophet about it. The Prophet replied, "Perform ablution after washing your organ (penis)."

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 270:
Narrated Mohammed bin Al-Muntathir:
on the authority of his father that he had asked Aisha about the saying of Ibn Umar(i.e. he did not like to be a Muhrim while the smell of scent was still coming from his body). Aisha said, "I scented Allah's Apostle and he went round (had sexual intercourse with) all his wives, and in the morning he was Muhrim (after taking a bath)."

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 271:
Narrated Aisha:
It is as if I am just looking at the glitter of scent in the parting of the Prophet's head hair while he was a Muhrim.

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 272:
Narrated Hisham bin Urwa:
(on the authority of his father) Aisha said, "Whenever Allah's Apostle took the bath of Janaba, he cleaned his hands and performed ablution like that for prayer and then took a bath and rubbed his hair, till he felt that the whole skin of the head had become wet, then he would pour water thrice and wash the rest of the body." Aisha further said, "I and Allah's Apostle used to take a bath from a single water container, from which we took water simultaneously."

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 273:
Narrated Maimuna:
Water was placed for the ablution of Allah's Apostle after Janaba. He poured water with his right hand over his left twice or thrice and then washed his private parts and rubbed his hand on the earth or on a wall twice or thrice and then rinsed his mouth, washed his nose by putting water in it and then blowing it out arid then washed his face and forearms and poured water over his head and washed his body. Then he shifted from that place and washed his feet. I brought a piece of cloth, but he did not take it and removed the traces of water from his body with his hand."

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 274:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Once the call (Iqama) for the prayer was announced and the rows were straightened. Allah's Apostle came out; and when he stood up at his Musalla, he remembered that he was Junub. Then he ordered us to stay at our places and went to take a bath and then returned with water dropping from his head. He said, "Allahu-Akbar", and we all offered the prayer with him.

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 275:
Narrated Maimuna:
I placed water for the bath of the Prophet and screened him with a garment. He poured water over his hands and washed them. After that he poured water with his right hand over his left and washed his private parts, rubbed his hands with earth and washed them, rinsed his mouth, washed his nose by putting water in it and then blowing it out and then washed his face and forearms. He poured water over his head and body. He then shifted from that place and washed his feet. I gave him a piece of cloth but he did not take it and came out removing the water (from his body) with both his hands.

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 276:
Narrated Aisha:
Whenever any one of us was Junub, she poured water over her head thrice with both her hands and then rubbed the right side of her head with one hand and rubbed the left side of the head with the other hand.

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 277:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, 'The (people of) Bani Israel used to take bath naked (all together) looking at each other. The Prophet Moses used to take a bath alone. They said, 'By Allah! Nothing prevents Moses from taking a bath with us except that he has a scrotal hernia.' So once Moses went out to take a bath and put his clothes over a stone and then that stone ran away with his clothes. Moses followed that stone saying, "My clothes, O stone! My clothes, O stone! till the people of Bani Israel saw him and said, 'By Allah, Moses has got no defect in his body. Moses took his clothes and began to beat the stone." Abu Huraira added, "By Allah! There are still six or seven marks present on the stone from that excessive beating."
Narrated Abu Huraira: The Prophet said, "When the Prophet Job (Aiyub) was taking a bath naked, golden locusts began to fall on him. Job started collecting them in his clothes. His Lord addressed him, 'O Job! Haven't I given you enough so that you are not in need of them.' Job replied, 'Yes!' By Your Honor (power)! But I cannot dispense with Your Blessings.' "

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 278:
Narrated Um Hani bint Abi Talib:
I went to Allah's Apostle in the year of the conquest of Mecca and found him taking a bath while Fatima was screening him. The Prophet asked, "Who is it?" I replied, "I am Um-Hani."

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 279:
Narrated Maimuna:
I screened the Prophet while he was taking a bath of Janaba. He washed his hands, poured water from his right hand over his left and washed his private parts. Then he rubbed his hand over a wall or the earth, and performed ablution similar to that for the prayer but did not wash his feet. Then he poured water over his body, shifted from that place, and washed his feet.

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 280:
Narrated Um-Salama:
(the mother of the believers) Um Sulaim, the wife of Abu Talha, came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Verily Allah is not shy of (telling you) the truth. Is it necessary for a woman to take a bath after she has a wet dream

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(nocturnal sexual discharge)?" Allah's Apostle replied, "Yes, if she notices a discharge."

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 281:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet came across me in one of the streets of Medina and at that time I was Junub. So I slipped away from him and went to take a bath. On my return the Prophet said, "O Abu Huraira! Where have you been?" I replied, "I was Junub, so I disliked to sit in your company." The Prophet said, "Subhan Allah! A believer never becomes impure."

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 282:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet used to visit all his wives in one night and he had nine wives at that time.

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 283:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle came across me and I was Junub He took my hand and I went along with him till he sat down I slipped away, went home and took a bath. When I came back. he was still sitting there. He then said to me, "O AbuHuraira! Where have you been?' I told him about it The Prophet said, "Subhan Allah! O Abu Huraira! A believer never becomes impure."

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 284:
Narrated Abu Salama :
I asked Aisha "Did the Prophet use to sleep while he was Junub?" She replied, "Yes, but he used to perform ablution (before going to bed).

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 285:
Narrated Umar bin Al-Khattab:
I asked Allah's Apostle "Can any one of us sleep while he is Junub?" He replied, "Yes, if he performs ablution, he can sleep while he is Junub."

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 286:
Narrated Aisha:
Whenever the Prophet intended to sleep while he was Junub, he used to wash his private parts and perform ablution like that for the prayer.

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 287:
Narrated Abdullah:
Umar asked the Prophet "Can anyone of us sleep while he is Junub?" He replied, "Yes, if he performs ablution."

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 288:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Umar bin Al-Khattab told Allah's Apostle, "I became Junub at night." Allah's Apostle replied, "Perform ablution after washing your private parts and then sleep."

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 289:
Narrated Hisham:
as the following Hadith 290.

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 290:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "When a man sits in between the four parts of a woman and did the sexual intercourse with her, bath becomes compulsory."

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 291:
Narrated Zaid bin Khalid AjJuhani:
I asked Uthman bin 'Affan about a man who engaged in the sexual intercourse with his wife but did not discharge. Uthman replied, "He should perform ablution like that for the prayer after washing his private parts." Uthman added, "I heard that from Allah's Apostle." I asked Ali bin Abi Talib, Az-Zubair bin Al-Awwam, Talha bin Ubaidullah and Ubai bin Ka'b and a gave the same reply. (Abu Aiylub said that he had heard that from Allah's Apostle) (This order was cancelled later on so one has to take a bath. See, Hadith No. 180).

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 292:
Narrated Ubai bin Ka'b:
I asked Allah's Apostle about a man who engages in sexual intercourse with his wife but does not discharge. He replied, "He should wash the parts which comes in contact with the private parts of the woman, perform ablution and then pray." (Abu Abdullah said, "Taking a bath is safer and is the last order.")

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 6:
Menstrual Periods

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 293:
Narrated Al-Qasim:
Aisha said, "We set out with the sole intention of performing Hajj and when we reached Sarif, (a place six miles from Mecca) I got my menses. Allah's Apostle came to me while I was weeping. He said 'What is the matter with you? Have you got your menses?' I replied, 'Yes.' He said, 'This is a thing which Allah has ordained for the daughters of Adam. So do what all the pilgrims do with the exception of the Tawaf (Circumambulation) round the Kaaba." Aisha added, "Allah's Apostle sacrificed cows on behalf of his wives."

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 294:
Narrated Aisha:
While in menses, I used to comb the hair of Allah's Apostle .

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 295:
Narrated Urwa:
A person asked me, "Can a woman in menses serve me? And can a Junub woman come close to me?" I replied, "All this is easy for me. All of them can serve me, and there is no harm for any other person to do the same. Aisha told me that she used to comb the hair of Allah's Apostle while she was in her menses, and he was in Itikaf (in the mosque). He would bring his head near her in her room and she would comb his hair, while she used to be in her menses."

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 296:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet used to lean on my lap and recite Koran while I was in menses.

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 297:
Narrated Um Salama:
While I was laying with the Prophet under a single woolen sheet, I got the menses. I slipped away and put on the clothes for menses. He said, "Have you got "Nifas" (menses)?" I replied, "Yes." He then called me and made me lie with him under the same sheet.

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 298:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet and I used to take a bath from a single pot while we were Junub. During the menses, he used to order me to put on an Izar (dress worn below the waist) and used to fondle me. While in Itikaf, he used to bring his head near me and I would wash it while I used to be in my periods (menses).

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 299:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Al-Aswad:
(on the authority of his father) Aisha said: "Whenever Allah's Apostle wanted to fondle anyone of us during her periods (menses), he used to order her to put on an Izar and start fondling her." Aisha added, "None of you could control his sexual desires as the Prophet could."

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 300:
Narrated Maimuna:
When ever Allah's Apostle wanted to fondle any of his wives during the periods (menses), he used to ask her to wear an Izar.

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 301:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
Once Allah's Apostle went out to the Musalla (to offer the prayer) o 'Id-al-Adha or Al-Fitr prayer. Then he passed by the women and said, "O women! Give alms, as I have seen that the majority of the dwellers of Hell-fire were you (women)." They asked, "Why is it so, O Allah's Apostle ?" He replied, "You curse frequently and are ungrateful to your husbands. I have not seen anyone more deficient in intelligence and religion than you. A cautious sensible man could be led astray by some of you." The women asked, "O Allah's Apostle! What is deficient in our intelligence and religion?" He said, "Is not the evidence of two women equal to the witness of one man?" They replied in the affirmative. He said, "This is the deficiency in her intelligence. Isn't it true that a woman can neither pray nor fast during her menses?" The women replied in the affirmative. He said, "This is the deficiency in her religion."

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 302:
Narrated Aisha:
We set out with the Prophet for Hajj and when we reached Sarif I got my menses. When the Prophet came to me, I was weeping. He asked, "Why are you weeping?" I said, "I wish if I had not performed Hajj this year." He asked, "May be that you got your menses?" I replied, "Yes." He then said, "This is the thing which Allah has ordained for all the daughters of Adam. So do what all the pilgrims do except that you do not perform the Tawaf round the Kaaba till you are clean."

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 303:
Narrated Aisha:
Fatima bint Abi Hubaish said to Allah's Apostle, "O Allah's Apostle! I do not become clean (from bleeding). Shall I give up my prayers?" Allah's Apostle replied: "No, because it is from a blood vessel and not the menses. So when the real menses begins give up your prayers and when it (the period) has finished wash the blood off your body (take a bath) and offer your prayers."

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 304:
Narrated Asma bint Abi Bakr:
A woman asked Allah's Apostle, "O Allah's Apostle! What should we do, if the blood of menses falls on our clothes?" Allah's Apostle replied, "If the blood of menses falls on the garment of anyone of you, she must take hold of the blood spot, rub it, and wash it with water and then pray in (with it)."

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 305:
Narrated Aisha:
Whenever anyone of us got her menses, she, on becoming clean, used to take hold of the blood spot and rub the blood off her garment, and pour water over it and wash that portion thoroughly and sprinkle water over the rest of the garment. After that she would pray in (with) it.

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 306:
Narrated Aisha:
Once one of the wives of the Prophet did Itikaf along with him and she was getting bleeding in between her periods. She used to see the blood (from her private parts) and she would perhaps put a dish under her for the blood. (The sub-narrator 'Ikrima added, Aisha once saw the liquid of safflower and said, "It looks like what so and so used to have.")

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 307:
Narrated Aisha:
"One of the wives of Allah's Apostle joined him in l'tikaf and she noticed blood and yellowish discharge (from her private parts) and put a dish under her when she prayed."

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 308:
Narrated Aisha:
One of the mothers of the faithful believers (i.e. the wives of the Prophet) did l'tikaf while she was having bleeding in between her periods.

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 309:
Narrated Aisha:
None of us had more than a single garment and we used to have our menses while wearing it. Whenever it got soiled with blood of menses we used to apply saliva to the blood spot and rub off the blood with our nails.

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 310:
Narrated Um-Atiya:
We were forbidden to mourn for a dead person for more than three days except in the case of a husband for whom mourning was allowed for four months and ten days. (During that time) we were not allowed to put ko,hl (Antimony eye power) in our eyes or to use perfumes or to put on colored clothes except a dress made of 'Asb (a kind of Yemen cloth, very coarse and rough). We were allowed very light perfumes at the time of taking a bath after menses and also we were forbidden to go with the funeral procession .

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 311:
Narrated Aisha:
A woman asked the Prophet about the bath which is take after finishing from the menses. The Prophet told her what to do and said, "Purify yourself with a piece of cloth scented with musk." The woman asked, "How shall I purify myself with it" He said, "Subhan Allah! Purify yourself (with it)." I pulled her to myself and said, "Rub the place soiled with blood with it."

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 312:
Narrated Aisha:
An Ansari woman asked the Prophet how to take a bath after finishing from the menses. He replied, "Take a piece a cloth perfumed with musk and clean the private parts with it thrice." The Prophet felt shy and turned his face. So pulled her to me and told her what the Prophet meant.

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 313:
Narrated Aisha:
In the last Hajj of Allah's Apostle I assume the Ihram for Hajj along with Allah Apostle. I was one of those who intended Tamattu' (to perform Hajj an Umra) and did not take the Hadi (animal for sacrifice) with me. I got my menses and was not clean till the night of 'Arafa I said, "O Allah's Apostle! It is the night of the day of 'Arafat and I intended to perform the Hajj Tamattu' with Umra Allah's Apostle told me to undo my hair and comb it and to postpone the Umra. I did the same and completed the Hajj. On the night of Al-Hasba (i.e. place outside Mecca where the pilgrims go after finishing all the ceremonies Hajj at Mina) he (the Prophet ordered Abdur Rahman (Aisha's brother) to take me to At-Tan'im to

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assume the lhram forUmra in lieu of that of Hajj-atTamattu' which I had intended to perform.

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 314:
Narrated Aisha:
On the 1st of Dhul-Hijja we set out with the intention of performing Hajj. Allah's Apostle said, "Any one who likes to assume the Ihram for Umra he can do so. Had I not brought the Hadi with me, I would have assumed the Ihram for Umra. "Some of us assumed the Ihram for Umra while the others assumed the Ihram for Hajj. I was one of those who assumed the Ihram for Umra. I got menses and kept on menstruating until the day of 'Arafat and complained of that to the Prophet . He told me to postpone my Umra, undo and comb my hair, and to assure the Ihram of Hajj and I did so. On the right of Hasba, he sent my brother Abdur-Rahman bin Abi Bakr with me to At-Tah'im, where I assumed the Ihram forUmra in lieu of the previous one. Hisham said, "For that (Umra) no Hadi, fasting or alms were required.

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 315:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "At every womb Allah appoints an angel who says, 'O Lord! A drop of semen, O Lord! A clot. O Lord! A little lump of flesh." Then if Allah wishes (to complete) its creation, the angel asks, (O Lord!) Will it be a male or female, a wretched or a blessed, and how much will his provision be? And what will his age be?' So all that is written while the child is still in the mother's womb."

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 316:
Narrated Urwa:
Aisha said, "We set out with the Prophet in his last Hajj. Some of us intended to perform Umra while others Hajj. When we reached Mecca, Allah's Apostle said, 'Those who had assumed the lhram forUmra and had not brought the Hadi should finish his lhram and whoever had assumed the Ihram for Umra and brought the Hadi should not finish the Ihram till he has slaughtered his Hadi and whoever had assumed the lhram for Hajj should complete his Hajj." Aisha further said, "I got my periods (menses) and kept on menstruating till the day of 'Arafat, and I had assumed the Ihram for Umra only (Tamattu'). The Prophet ordered me to undo and comb my head hair and assume the lhram for Hajj only and leave the Umra. I did the same till I completed the Hajj. Then the Prophet sent Abdur Rahman bin Abi Bakr with me and ordered me to perform Umra from At-Tan'im in lieu of the missed Umra."

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 317:
Narrated Aisha:
Fatima bint Abi Hubaish used to have bleeding in between the periods, so she asked the Prophet about it . He replied, "The bleeding is from a blood vessel and not the menses. So give up the prayers when the (real) menses begin and when it has finished, take a bath and start praying."

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 318:
Narrated Mu'adha:
A woman asked Aisha, "Should I offer the prayers that which I did not offer because of menses" Aisha said, "Are you from the Huraura' (a town in Iraq?) We were with the Prophet and used to get our periods but he never ordered us to offer them (the Prayers missed during menses)." Aisha perhaps said, "We did not offer them."

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 319:
Narrated Zainab bint Abi Salama:
Um-Salama said, "I got my menses while I was lying with the Prophet under a woolen sheet. So I slipped away, took the clothes for menses and put them on. Allah's Apostle said, 'Have you got your menses?' I replied, 'Yes.' Then he called me and took me with him under the woolen sheet." Um Salama further said, "The Prophet used to kiss me while he was fasting. The Prophet and I used to take the bath of Janaba from a single pot."

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 320:
Narrated Um Salama:
While I was lying with the Prophet under a woolen sheet, I got my menses. I slipped away and put on the clothes for menses. The Prophet said, "Have you got your menses?" I replied, "Yes." He called me and I slept with him under the woolen sheet.

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 321:
Narrated Aiyub:
Hafsa said, 'We used to forbid our young women to go out for the two 'Id prayers. A woman came and stayed at the palace of Bani Khalaf and she narrated about her sister whose husband took part in twelve holy battles along with the Prophet and her sister was with her husband in six (out of these twelve). She (the woman's sister) said, "We used to treat the wounded, look after the patients and once I asked the Prophet, 'Is there any harm for any of us to stay at home if she doesn't have a veil?' He said, 'She should cover herself with the veil of her companion and should participate in the good deeds and in the religious gathering of the Muslims.' When Um Atiya came I asked her whether she had heard it from the Prophet. She replied, "Yes. May my father be sacrificed for him (the Prophet)! (Whenever she mentioned the Prophet she used to say, 'May my father be sacrificed for him) I have heard the Prophet saying, 'The unmarried young virgins and the mature girl who stay often screened or the young unmarried virgins who often stay screened and the menstruating women should come out and participate in the good deeds as well as the religious gathering of the faithful believers but the menstruating women should keep away from the Musalla (praying place).' " Hafsa asked Um Atiya surprisingly, "Do you say the menstruating women?" She replied, "Doesn't a menstruating woman attend 'Arafat (Hajj) and such and such (other deeds)?"

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 322:
Narrated Aisha:
Fatima bint Abi Hubaish asked the Prophet, "I got persistent bleeding (in between the periods) and do not become clean. Shall I give up prayers?" He replied, "No, this is from a blood vessel. Give up the prayers only for the days on which you usually get the menses and then take a bath and offer your prayers."

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 323:
Narrated Um Atiya:
We never considered yellowish discharge as a thing of importance (as menses).

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 324:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) Um Habiba got bleeding in between the periods for seven years. She asked Allah's Apostle about it. He ordered her to take a bath (after the termination of actual periods) and added that it was (from) a blood vessel. So she used to take a bath for every prayer.

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 325:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) I told Allah's Apostle that Safiya bint Huyai had got her menses. He said, "She will probably delay us. Did she perform Tawaf (Al-Ifada) with you?" We replied, "Yes." On that the Prophet told her to depart.

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 326:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
A woman is al lowed to leave (go back home) if she gets menses (after Tawaf-Allfada). Ibn Umar formerly used to say that she should not leave but later on I heard him saying, "She may leave, since Allah's Apostle gave them the permission to leave (after Tawaf-Allfada."

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 327:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said to me, "Give up the prayer when your menses begin and when it has finished, wash the blood off your body (take a bath) and start praying."

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 328:
Narrated Samura bin Jundab:
The Prophet offered the funeral prayer for the dead body of a woman who died of (during) delivery (i.e. child birth) and he stood by the middle of her body.

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 329:
Narrated Maimuna:
(the wife of the Prophet) During my menses, I never prayed, but used to sit on the mat beside the mosque of Allah's Apostle. He used to offer the prayer on his sheet and in prostration some of his clothes used to touch me."

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 7:
Rubbing hands and feet with dust (Tayammum)

Volume 1, Book 7, Number 330:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) We set out with Allahs Apostle on one of his journeys till we reached Al-Baida or Dhatul-Jaish, a necklace of mine was broken (and lost). Allah's Apostle stayed there to search for it, and so did the people along with him. There was no water at that place, so the people went to Abu-Bakr As-Siddiq and said, "Don't you see what Aisha has done? She has made Allah's Apostle and the people stay where there is no water and they have no water with them." Abu Bakr came while Allah's Apostle was sleeping with his head on my thigh, He said, to me: "You have detained Allah's Apostle and the people where there is no water and they have no water with them.

So he admonished me and said what Allah wished him to say and hit me on my flank with his hand. Nothing prevented me from moving (because of pain) but the position of Allah's Apostle on my thigh. Allah's Apostle got up when dawn broke and there was no water. So Allah revealed the Divine Verses of Tayammum. So they all performed Tayammum. Usaid bin Hudair said, "O the family of Abu Bakr! This is not the first blessing of yours." Then the camel on which I was riding was caused to move from its place and the necklace was found beneath it.

Volume 1, Book 7, Number 331:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "I have been given five things which were not given to any one else before me.
1. Allah made me victorious by awe, (by His frightening my enemies) for a distance of one month's journey.
2. The earth has been made for me (and for my followers) a place for praying and a thing to perform Tayammum, therefore anyone of my followers can pray wherever the time of a prayer is due.
3. The booty has been made Halal (lawful) for me yet it was not lawful for anyone else before me.
4. I have been given the right of intercession (on the Day of Resurrection).
5. Every Prophet used to be sent to his nation only but I have been sent to all mankind.

Volume 1, Book 7, Number 332:
Narrated Urwa's father:
Aisha said, "I borrowed a necklace from Asma and it was lost. So Allah's Apostle sent a man to search for it and he found it. Then the time of the prayer became due and there was no water. They prayed (without ablution) and informed Allah's Apostle about it, so the verse of Tayammum was revealed." Usaid bin Hudair said to Aisha, "May Allah reward you. By Allah, whenever anything happened which you did not like, Allah brought good for you and for the Muslims in that."
Al-Jurf and the time for the Asr prayer became due while he was at Marbad-AnNa'am (sheep-fold), so he (performed Tayammum) and prayed there and then entered Medina when the sun was still high but he did not repeat that prayer.

Volume 1, Book 7, Number 333:
Narrated Abu Juhaim Al-Ansari:
The Prophet came from the direction of Bir Jamal. A man met him and greeted him. But he did not return back the greeting till he went to a (mud) wall and smeared his hands and his face with its dust (performed Tayammum) and then returned back the greeting.

Volume 1, Book 7, Number 334:
Narrated Abdur Rahman bin Abza:
A man came to Umar bin Al-Khattab and said, "I became Junub but no water was available." Ammar bin Yasir said to Umar, "Do you remember that you and I (became Junub while both of us) were together on a journey and you didn't pray but I rolled myself on the ground and prayed? I informed the Prophet about it and he said, 'It would have been sufficient for you to do like this.' The Prophet then stroked lightly the earth with his hands and then blew off the dust and passed his hands over his face and hands."

Volume 1, Book 7, Number 335:
Narrated Said bin Abdur Rahman bin Abza:
(on the authority of his father who said) Ammar said so (the above Statement). And Shu'ba stroked lightly the earth with his hands and brought them close to his mouth (blew off the dust) and passed them over his face and then the backs of his hands. Ammar said, "Ablution (meaning Tayammum here) is sufficient for a Muslim if water is not available."

Volume 1, Book 7, Number 336:
Narrated Abdur Rahman bin Abza:
that while he was in the company of Umar, Ammar said to Umar, "We were in a detachment and became Junub and I blew the dust off my hands (performed the rolling over the earth and prayed.)"

Volume 1, Book 7, Number 337:
Narrated Abdur Rahman bin Abza:
Ammar said to Umar "I rolled myself in the dust and came to the Prophet who said, 'Passing dusted hands over the face and the backs of the hands is sufficient for you.' "

Volume 1, Book 7, Number 338:
Narrated Ammar:
as above.

Volume 1, Book 7, Number 339:
Narrated Ammar:

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The Prophet stroked the earth with his hands and then passed them over his face and the backs of his hands (while demonstrating Tayammum).

Volume 1, Book 7, Number 340:
Narrated Imran:
Once we were traveling with the Prophet and we carried on traveling till the last part of the night and then we (halted at a place) and slept (deeply). There is nothing sweeter than sleep for a traveler in the last part of the night. So it was only the heat of the sun that made us to wake up and the first to wake up was so and so, then so and so and then so and so (the narrator 'Auf said that Abu Raja' had told him their names but he had forgotten them) and the fourth person to wake up was Umar bin Al-Khattab. And whenever the Prophet used to sleep, nobody would wake up him till he himself used to get up as we did not know what was happening (being revealed) to him in his sleep. So, Umar got up and saw the condition of the people, and he was a strict man, so he said, "Allahu Akbar" and raised his voice with Takbir, and kept on saying loudly till the Prophet got up because of it. When he got up, the people informed him about what had happened to them. He said, "There is no harm (or it will not be harmful). Depart!" So they departed from that place, and after covering some distance the Prophet stopped and asked for some water to perform the ablution. So he performed the ablution and the call for the prayer was pronounced and he led the people in prayer. After he finished from the prayer, he saw a man sitting aloof who had not prayed with the people. He asked, "O so and so! What has prevented you from praying with us?" He replied, "I am Junub and there is no water. " The Prophet said, "Perform Tayammum with (clean) earth and that is sufficient for you."
Then the Prophet proceeded on and the people complained to him of thirst. Thereupon he got down and called a person (the narrator 'Auf added that Abu Raja' had named him but he had forgotten) and Ali, and ordered them to go and bring water. So they went in search of water and met a woman who was sitting on her camel between two bags of water. They asked, "Where can we find water?" She replied, "I was there (at the place of water) this hour yesterday and my people are behind me." They requested her to accompany them. She asked, "Where?" They said, "To Allah's Apostle ." She said, "Do you mean the man who is called the Sabi, (with a new religion)?" They replied, "Yes, the same person. So come along." They brought her to the Prophet and narrated the whole story. He said, "Help her to dismount." The Prophet asked for a pot, then he opened the mouths of the bags and poured some water into the pot. Then he closed the big openings of the bags and opened the small ones and the people were called upon to drink and water their animals. So they all watered their animals and they (too) all quenched their thirst and also gave water to others and last of all the Prophet gave a pot full of water to the person who was Junub and told him to pour it over his body. The woman was standing and watching all that which they were doing with her water. By Allah, when her water bags were returned the looked like as if they were more full (of water) than they had been before (Miracle of Allah's Apostle) Then the Prophet ordered us to collect something for her; so dates, flour and Sawiq were collected which amounted to a good meal that was put in a piece of cloth. She was helped to ride on her camel and that cloth full of food-stuff was also placed in front of her and then the Prophet said to her, "We have not taken your water but Allah has given water to us." She returned home late. Her relatives asked her: "O so and so what has delayed you?" She said, "A strange thing! Two men met me and took me to the man who is called the Sabi' and he did such and such a thing. By Allah, he is either the greatest magician between this and this (gesturing with her index and middle fingers raising them towards the sky indicating the heaven and the earth) or he is Allah's true Apostle."
Afterwards the Muslims used to attack the pagans around her abode but never touched her village. One day she said to her people, "I think that these people leave you purposely. Have you got any inclination to Islam?" They obeyed her and all of them embraced Islam.
Abu Abdultah said: The word Saba'a means "The one who has deserted his old religion and embraced a new religion." Abul 'Ailya said, "The Sabis are a sect of people of the Scripture who recite the Book of Psalms."

Volume 1, Book 7, Number 341:
Narrated Abu Wail:
Abu Muisa said toAbdullah bin Mas'ud, "If one does not find water (for ablution) can he give up the prayer?" Abdullah replied, "If you give the permission to perform Tayammum they will perform Tayammum even if water was available if one of them found it cold." Abu Musa said, "What about the statement of Ammar to Umar?" Abdullah replied, "Umar was not satisfied by his statement."

Volume 1, Book 7, Number 342:
Narrated Shaqiq bin Salama:
I was with Abdullah and Abu Musa; the latter asked the former, "O Abu AbdurRahman! What is your opinion if somebody becomes Junub and no water is available?" Abdullah replied, "Do not pray till water is found." Abu Musa said, "What do you say about the statement of Ammar (who was ordered by the Prophet to perform Tayammum). The Prophet said to him: "Perform Tayammum and that would be sufficient." Abdullah replied, "Don't you see that Umar was not satisfied by Ammar's statement?" Abu- Musa said, "All right, leave 'Ammalr's statement, but what will you say about this verse (of Tayammum)?" 'Abqiullah kept quiet and then said, "If we allowed it, then they would probably perform Tayammum even if water was available, if one of them found it (water) cold." The narrator added, "I said to Shaqrq, "Then did Abdullah dislike to perform Tayammum because of this?" He replied, "Yes."

Volume 1, Book 7, Number 343:
Narrated Al-A'mash:
Shaqiq said, "While I was sitting with Abdullah and Abu Musa Al-Ash-'ari, the latter asked the former, 'If a person becomes Junub and does not find water for one month, can he perform Tayammum and offer his prayer?' (He applied in the negative). Abu Musa said, 'What do you say about this verse from Surat "Al-Ma'ida": When you do not find water then perform Tayammum with clean earth? Abdullah replied, 'If we allowed it then they would probably perform Tayammum with clean earth even if water were available but cold.' I said to Shaqiq, 'You then disliked to perform Tayammum because of this?' Shaqiq said,'Yes.' (Shaqiq added), "Abu Musa said, 'Haven't you heard the statement of Ammar to Umar? He said: I was sent out by Allah's Apostle for some job and I became Junub and could not find water so I rolled myself over the dust (clean earth) like an animal does, and when I told the Prophet of that he said, 'Like this would have been sufficient.' The Prophet (saying so) lightly stroked the earth with his hand once and blew it off, then passed his (left) hand over the back of his right hand or his (right) hand over the back of his left hand and then passed them over his face.' So Abdullah said to Abu- Musa, 'Don't you know that Umar was not satisfied with Ammar's statement?' "
Narrated Shaqiq: While I was with Abdullah and Abu Musa, the latter said to the former, "Haven't you heard the statement of Ammar to Umar? He said, "Allah's Apostle sent you and me out and I became Junub and rolled myself in the dust (clean earth) (for Tayammum). When we came to Allah's Apostle I told him about it and he said, 'This would have been sufficient,' passing his hands over his face and the backs of his hands once only.' "

Volume 1, Book 7, Number 344:
Narrated Imran bin Husain Al-Khuza'i:
Allah's Apostle saw a person sitting aloof and not praying with the people. He asked him, "O so and so! What prevented you from offering the prayer with the people?" He replied, "O Allah's Apostle! I am Junub and there is no water." The Prophet said, "Perform Tayammum with clean earth and that will be sufficient for you."

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 8

Volume 1, Book 8. Prayer (Salat)

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 345 :
Narrated by Abu Dhar
Allah's Apostle said, "While I was at Mecca the roof of my house was opened and Gabriel descended, opened my chest, and washed it with Zam-zam water. Then he brought a golden tray full of wisdom and faith and having poured its contents into my chest, he closed it. Then he took my hand and ascended with me to the nearest heaven, when I reached the nearest heaven, Gabriel said to the gatekeeper of the heaven, 'Open (the gate).' The gatekeeper asked, 'Who is it?' Gabriel answered: 'Gabriel.' He asked, 'Is there anyone with you?' Gabriel replied, 'Yes, Mohammed I is with me.' He asked, 'Has he been called?' Gabriel said, 'Yes.' So the gate was opened and we went over the nearest heaven and there we saw a man sitting with some people on his right and some on his left. When he looked towards his right, he laughed and when he looked toward his left he wept. Then he said, 'Welcome! O pious Prophet and pious son.' I asked Gabriel, 'Who is he?' He replied, 'He is Adam and the people on his right and left are the souls of his offspring. Those on his right are the people of Paradise and those on his left are the people of Hell and when he looks towards his right he laughs and when he looks towards his left he weeps.' Then he ascended with me till he reached the second heaven and he (Gabriel) said to its gatekeeper, 'Open (the gate).' The gatekeeper said to him the same as the gatekeeper of the first heaven had said and he opened the gate. Anas said: "Abu Dhar added that the Prophet met Adam, Idris, Moses, Jesus and Abraham, he (Abu Dhar) did not mention on which heaven they were but he mentioned that he (the Prophet) met Adarn on the nearest heaven and Abraham on the sixth heaven. Anas said, "When Gabriel along with the Prophet passed by Idris, the latter said, 'Welcome! O pious Prophet and pious brother.' The Prophet asked, 'Who is he?' Gabriel replied, 'He is Idris." The Prophet added, "I passed by Moses and he said, 'Welcome! O pious Prophet and pious brother.' I asked Gabriel, 'Who is he?' Gabriel replied, 'He is Moses.' Then I passed by Jesus and he said, 'Welcome! O pious brother and pious Prophet.' I asked, 'Who is he?' Gabriel replied, 'He is Jesus. Then I passed by Abraham and he said, 'Welcome! O pious Prophet and pious son.' I asked Gabriel, 'Who is he?' Gabriel replied, 'He is Abraham. The Prophet added, 'Then Gabriel ascended with me to a place where I heard the creaking of the pens." Ibn Hazm and Anas bin Malik said: The Prophet said, "Then Allah enjoined fifty prayers on my followers when I returned with this order of Allah, I passed by Moses who asked me, 'What has Allah enjoined on your followers?' I replied, 'He has enjoined fifty prayers on them.' Moses said, 'Go back to your Lord (and appeal for reduction) for your followers will not be able to bear it.' (So I went back to Allah and requested for reduction) and He reduced it to half. When I passed by Moses again and informed him about it, he said, 'Go back to your Lord as your followers will not be able to bear it.' So I returned to Allah and requested for further reduction and half of it was reduced. I again passed by Moses and he said to me: 'Return to your Lord, for your followers will not be able to bear it. So I returned to Allah and He said, 'These are five prayers and they are all (equal to) fifty (in reward) for My Word does not change.' I returned to Moses and he told me to go back once again. I replied, 'Now I feel shy of asking my Lord again.' Then Gabriel took me till we " reached Sidrat-il-Muntaha (Lote tree of; the utmost boundry) which was shrouded in colors, indescribable. Then I was admitted into Paradise where I found small (tents or) walls (made) of pearls and its earth was of musk."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 346 :
Narrated by Aisha
the mother of believers: Allah enjoined the prayer when He enjoined it, it was two Rakat only (in every prayer) both when in residence or on journey. Then the prayers offered on journey remained the same, but (the Rakat of) the prayers for non-travellers were increased.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 347 :
Narrated by Um Atiya
We were ordered to bring out our menstruating women and veiled women in the religious gatherings and invocation of Muslims on the two 'Id festivals. These menstruating women were to keep away from their Musalla. A woman asked, "O Allah's Apostle ' What about one who does not have a veil?" He said, "Let her share the veil of her companion."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 348 :
Narrated by Mohammed bin Al-Munkadir
Once Jabir prayed with his Izar tied to his back while his clothes were Lying beside him on a wooden peg. Somebody asked him, "Do you offer your prayer in a single Izar?" He replied, "I did so to show it to a fool like you. Had anyone of us two garments in the life-time of the Prophet?"

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 349 :
Narrated by Mohammed bin Al Munkadir
I saw Jabir bin Abdullah praying in a single garment and he said that he had seen the Prophet praying in a single garment.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 350 :
Narrated by Umar bin Abi Salama
The Prophet prayed in one garment and crossed its ends.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 351 :
Narrated by Umar bin Abi Salama
I saw the Prophet offering prayers in a single garment in the house of Um-Salama and he had crossed its ends around his shoulders.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 352 :
Narrated by Umar bin Abi Salama
In the house of Um-Salama I saw Allah's Apostle offering prayers, wrapped in a single garment around his body with its ends crossed round his shoulders.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 353 :
Narrated by Abu Murra
(the freed slave of Um Hani) Um Hani, the daughter of Abi Talib said, "I went to Allah's Apostle in the year of the conquest of Mecca and found him taking a bath and his daughter Fatima was screening him. I greeted him. He asked, 'Who is she?' I replied, 'I am Um Hani bint Abi Talib.' He said, 'Welcome! O Um Hani.' When he finished his bath he stood up and prayed eight Rak at while wearing a single garment wrapped round his body and when he finished I said, 'O Allah's Apostle ! My brother has told me that he will kill a person whom I gave shelter and that person is so and so the

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son of Hubaira.' The Prophet said, 'We shelter the person whom you have sheltered.' " Um Ham added, "And that was before noon (Duha)."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 354 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
A person asked Allah's Apostle about the offering of the prayer in a single garment. Allah's Apostle replied, "Has every one of you got two garments?"

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 355 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
The Prophet said, "None of you should offer prayer in a single garment that does not cover the shoulders."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 356 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever prays in a single garment must cross its ends (over the shoulders)."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 357 :
Narrated by Said bin Al-Harith
I asked Jabir bin Abdullah about praying in a single garment. He said, "I travelled with the Prophet during some of his journeys, and I came to him at night for some purpose and I found him praying. At that time, I was wearing a single garment with which I covered my shoulders and prayed by his side. When he finished the prayer, he asked, 'O Jabir! What has brought you here?' I told him what I wanted. When I finished, he asked, 'O Jabir! What is this garment which I have seen and with which you covered your shoulders?' I replied, 'It is a (tight) garment.' He said, 'If the garment is large enough, wrap it round the body (covering the shoulders) and if it is tight (too short) then use it as an Izar (tie it around your waist only.)' "

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 358 :
Narrated by Sahl
The men used to pray with the Prophet with their Izars tied around their necks as boys used to do; therefore the Prophet told the women not to raise their heads till the men sat down straight (while praying).

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 359 :
Narrated by Mughira bin Shu'ba
Once I was traveling with the Prophet and he said, "O Mughira! take this container of water." I took it and Allah's Apostle went far away till he disappeared. He answered the call of nature and was wearing a Syrian cloak. He tried to take out his hands from its sleeve but it was very tight so he took out his hands from under it. I poured water and he performed ablution like that for prayers and passed his wet hands over his Khuff (leather socks) and then prayed.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 360 :
Narrated by Jabir bin Abdullah
While Allah's Apostle was carrying stones (along) with the people of Mecca for (the building of) the Kaaba wearing an Izar (waist-sheet cover), his uncle Al-Abbas said to him, "O my nephew! (It would be better) if you take off your Izar and put it over your shoulders underneath the stones." So he took off his Izar and put it over his shoulders, but he fell unconscious and since then he had never been seen naked.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 361 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
A man stood up and asked the Prophet about praying in a single garment. The Prophet said, "Has every one of you two garments?" A man put a similar question to Umar on which he replied, "When Allah makes you wealthier then you should clothe yourself properly during prayers. Otherwise one can pray with an Izar and a Rida' (a sheet covering the upper part of the body.) Izar and a shirt, Izar and a Qaba', trousers and a Rida, trousers and a shirt or trousers and a Qaba', Tubban and a Qaba' or Tubban and a shirt." (The narrator added, "I think that he also said a Tubban and a Rida. ")

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 362 :
Narrated by Ibn Umar
A person asked Allah's Apostle, "What should a Muhrim wear?" He replied, "He should not wear shirts, trousers, a burnus (a hooded cloak), or clothes which are stained with saffron or Wars (a kind of perfume). Whoever does not find a sandal to wear can wear Khuffs, but these should be cut short so as not to cover the ankles.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 363 :
Narrated by Abu Said Al-Khudri
Allah's Apostle forbade Ishtimal-As-Samma' (wrapping one's body with a garment so that one cannot raise its end or take one's hand out of it). He also forbade Al-Ihtiba' (sitting on buttocks with knees close to abdomen and feet apart with the hands circling the knees) while wrapping oneself with a single garment, without having a part of it over the private parts.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 364 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
The Prophet forbade two kinds of sales i.e. Al-Limais and An-Nibadh (the former is a kind of sale in which the deal is completed if the buyer touches a thing, without seeing or checking it properly and the latter is a kind of a sale in which the deal is completed when the seller throws a thing towards the buyer giving him no opportunity to see, touch or check it) and (the Prophet forbade) also Ishtimal-As-Samma' and Al-Ihtiba' in a single garment.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 365 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
On the Day of Nahr (10th of Dhul-Hijja, in the year prior to the last Hajj of the Prophet when Abu Bakr was the leader of the pilgrims in that Hajj) Abu Bakr sent me along with other announcers to Mina to make a public announcement: "No pagan is allowed to perform Hajj after this year and no naked person is allowed to perform the Tawaf around the Kaaba. Then Allah's Apostle sent 'All to read out the Surat Bara'a (At-Tauba) to the people; so he made the announcement along with us on the day of Nahr in Mina: "No pagan is allowed to perform Hajj after this year and no naked person is allowed to perform the Tawaf around the Kaaba."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 366 :
Narrated by Mohammed bin Al-Munkadir
I went to Jabir bin Abdullah and he was praying wrapped in a garment and his Rida was Lying beside him. When he finished the prayers, I said "O Abdullah! You pray (in a single garment) while your Rida' is lying beside you." He replied, "Yes, I did it intentionally so that the ignorant ones like you might see me. I saw the Prophet praying like this. "

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 367 :
Narrated by Abdul Aziz
Anas said, 'When Allah's Apostle invaded Khaibar, we offered the Fajr prayer there yearly in the morning) when it was still dark. The Prophet rode and Abu Talha rode too and I was riding behind Abu Talha. The Prophet passed through the lane of Khaibar quickly and my knee was touching the thigh of the Prophet . He uncovered his thigh and I saw the whiteness of the thigh of the Prophet. When he entered the town, he said, 'Allahu Akbar! Khaibar is ruined. Whenever we approach near a (hostile) nation (to fight) then evil will be the morning of those who have been warned.' He repeated this thrice. The people came out for their jobs and some of them said, 'Mohammed (has come).' (Some of our companions added, "With his army.") We conquered Khaibar, took the captives, and the booty was collected. Dihya came and said, 'O Allah's Prophet! Give me a slave girl from the captives.' The Prophet said, 'Go and take any slave girl.' He took Safiya bint Huyai. A man came to the Prophet and said, 'O Allah's Apostles! You gave Safiya bint Huyai to Dihya and she is the chief mistress of the tribes of Quraiza and An-Nadir and she befits none but you.' So the Prophet said, 'Bring him along with her.' So Dihya came with her and when the Prophet saw her, he said to Dihya, 'Take any slave girl other than her from the captives.' Anas added: The Prophet then manumitted her and married her." Thabit asked Anas, "O Abu Hamza! What did the Prophet pay her (as Mahr)?" He said, "Her self was her Mahr for he manumitted her and then married her." Anas added, "While on the way, Um Sulaim dressed her for marriage (ceremony) and at night she sent her as a bride to the Prophet . So the Prophet was a bridegroom and he said, 'Whoever has anything (food) should bring it.' He spread out a leather sheet (for the food) and some brought dates and others cooking butter. (I think he (Anas) mentioned As-SawTq). So they prepared a dish of Hais (a kind of meal). And that was Walrma (the marriage banquet) of Allah's Apostle ."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 368 :
Narrated by Aisha
Allah's Apostle used to offer the Fajr prayer and some believing women covered with their veiling sheets used to attend the Fajr prayer with him and then they would return to their homes unrecognized .

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 369 :
Narrated by Aisha
The Prophet prayed in a Khamisa (a square garment) having marks. During the prayer, he looked at its marks. So when he finished the prayer he said, "Take this Khamisa of mine to Abu Jahm and get me his Inbijaniya (a woolen garment without marks) as it (the Khamisa) has diverted my attention from the prayer."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 370 :
Narrated by Aisha
The Prophet said, 'I was looking at its (Khamisa's) marks during the prayers and I was afraid that it may put me in trial (by taking away my attention).

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 371 :
Narrated by Anas
Aisha had a Qiram (a thin marked woolen curtain) with which he had screened one side of her home. The Prophet said, "Take away this Qiram of yours, as its pictures are still displayed in front of me during my prayer (i.e. they divert my attention from the prayer)."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 372 :
Narrated by Uqba bin Amir
The Prophet was given a silken Farruj as a present. He wore it while praying. When he had finished his prayer, he took it off violently as if with a strong aversion to it and said, "It is not the dress of Allah-fearing pious people."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 373 :
Narrated by Abu Juhaifa
I saw Allah's Apostle in a red leather tent and I saw Bilal taking the remaining water with which the Prophet had performed ablution. I saw the people taking the utilized water impatiently and whoever got some of it rubbed it on his body and those who could not get any took the moisture from the others' hands. Then I saw Bilal carrying an Anza (a spear-headed stick) which he planted in the ground. The Prophet came out tucking up his red cloak, and led the people in prayer and offered two Rakat (facing the Kaaba) taking Anza as a Sutra for his prayer. I saw the people and animals passing in front of him beyond the 'Anza.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 374 :
Narrated by Abu Hazim
Sahl bin Sa'd was asked about the (Prophet's) pulpit as to what thing it was made of? Sahl replied: "None remains alive amongst the people, who knows about it better than I. It was made of tamarisk (wood) of the forest. So and so, the slave of so and so prepared it for Allah's Apostle . When it was constructed and place (in the Mosque), Allah's Apostle stood on it facing the Qibla and said 'Allahu Akbar', and the people stood behind him (and led the people in prayer). He recited and bowed and the people bowed behind him. Then he raised his head and stepped back, got down and prostrated on the ground and then he again ascended the pulpit, recited, bowed, raised his head and stepped back, got down and prostrate on the ground. So, this is what I know about the pulpit." Ahmad bin Hanbal said, "As the Prophet was at a higher level than the people, there is no harm according to the above-mentioned Hadith if the Imam is at a higher level than his followers during the prayers."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 375 :
Narrated by Anas bin Malik
Once Allah's Apostle fell off a horse and his leg or shoulder got injured. He swore that he would not go to his wives for one month and he stayed in a Mashruba (attic room) having stairs made of date palm trunks. So his companions came to visit him, and he led them in prayer sitting, whereas his companions were standing. When he finished the prayer, he said, "Imam is meant to be followed, so when he says 'Allahu Akbar,' say 'Allahu Akbar' and when he bows, bow and when he prostrates, prostrate and if he prays standing pray, standing. After the 29th day the Prophet came down (from the attic room) and the people asked him, "O Allah's Apostle! You swore that you will not go to your wives for one month." He said, "The month is 29 days."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 376 :
Narrated by Abdullah bin Shaddad
Maimuna said, "Allah's Apostle was praying while I was in my menses, sitting beside him and sometimes his clothes would touch me during his prostration." Maimuna added, "He prayed on a Khumra (a small mat sufficient just for the face and the hands while prostrating during prayers).

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 377 :
Narrated by Ishaq
Anas bin Malik said, "My grand-mother Mulaika invited Allah's Apostle for a meal which she herself had prepared. He ate from it and said, 'Get up! I will lead you in the prayer.' " Anas added, "I took my Hasir, washed it with water as it had become dark because of long use and Allah's Apostle stood on it. The orphan (Damira or Ruh) and I aligned behind him and the old lady (Mulaika) stood behind us. Allah's Apostle led us in the prayer and offered two Rak'at and then left."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 378 :
Narrated by Maimuna
Allah's Apostle used to pray on Khumra.

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Volume 1, Book 8, Number 379 :
Narrated by Abu Salama
Aisha the wife of the Prophet said, "I used to sleep in front of Allah's Apostle and my legs were opposite his Qibla and in prostration he pushed my legs and I withdrew then and when he stood, I stretched them.' Aisha added, "In those days the houses were without lights."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 380 :
Narrated by Aisha
Allah Apostle prayed while I was lying like a dead body on his family bed between him and his Qibla.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 381 :
Narrated by Urwa
The Prophet prayed while Aisha was lying between him and his Qibla on the bed on which they used to sleep.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 382 :
Narrated by Anas bin Malik
We used to pray with the Prophet and some of us used to place the ends of their clothes at the place of prostration because of scorching heat.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 383 :
Narrated by Abu Maslama
Said bin Yazid Al-Azdi: I asked Anas bin Malik whether the Prophet had ever, prayed with his shoes on. He replied "Yes."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 384 :
Narrated by Ibrahim
Hammam bin Al-Harith said, "I saw Jarir bin Abdullah urinating. Then he performed ablution and passed his (wet) hands over his Khuffs, stood up and prayed. He was asked about it. He replied that he had seen the Prophet doing the same." They approved of this narration as Jarir was one of those who embraced Islam very late.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 385 :
Narrated by Al-Mughira bin Shu'ba
I helped the Prophet in performing ablution and he passed his wet hands over his Khuffs and prayed.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 385 :
Narrated by Abdullah bin Malik
Ibn Buhaina, "When the Prophet prayed, he used to separate his arms from his body so widely that the whiteness of his armpits was visible."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 386 :
Narrated by Anas bin Malik
Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever prays like us and faces our Quibla and eats our slaughtered animals is a Muslim and is under Allah's and His Apostle's protection. So do not betray Allah by betraying those who are in His protection."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 387 :
Narrated by Anas bin Malik
Allah's Apostle said, "I have been ordered to fight the people till they say: 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah.' And if they say so, pray like our prayers, face our Qibla and slaughter as we slaughter, then their blood and property will be sacred to us and we will not interfere with them except legally and their reckoning will be with Allah." Narrated Maimun ibn Siyah that he asked Anas bin Malik, "O Abu Hamza! What makes the life and property of a person sacred?" He replied, "Whoever says, 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah', faces our Qibla during the prayers, prays like us and eats our slaughtered animal, then he is a Muslim, and has got the same rights and obligations as other Muslims have."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 388 :
Narrated by Abu Aiyub Al-Ansari
The Prophet said, "While defecating, neither face nor turn your back to the Qibla but face either east or west." Abu Aiyub added. "When we arrived in Sham we came across some lavatories facing the Qibla; therefore we turned ourselves while using them and asked for Allah's forgiveness."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 389 :
Narrated by Amr bin Dmar
I asked Ibn Umar, "Can a person who has performed the Tawaf around the Kaaba for Umra but has not performed the (Sa'i) Tawaf of Safa and Marwa, have a sexual relation with his wife?" Ibn Umar replied "When the Prophet reached Mecca he performed the Tawaf around the Kaaba (circumambulated it seven times) and offered a two-Rak'at prayer (at the place) behind the station (of Abraham) and then performed the Tawaf (Sa'i) of Safa and Marwa, and verily in Allah's Apostle you have a good example." Then we put the same question to Jabir bin Abdullah and he too replied, "He should not go near his wife (for sexual relation) till he has finished the Tawaf of Safa and Marwa."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 390 :
Narrated by Mujahid
Someone came to Ibn Umar and said, "Here is Allah's Apostle entering the Kaaba." Ibn Umar said, "I went there but the Prophet had come out of the Kaaba and I found Bilal standing between its two doors. I asked Bilal, 'Did the Prophet pray in the Kaaba?' Bilal replied, 'Yes, he prayed two Rakat between the two pillars which are to your left on entering the Kaaba. Then Allah's Apostle came out and offered a two-Rak'at prayer facing the Kaaba.' "

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 391 :
Narrated by Ibn Abbas
When the Prophet entered the Kaaba, he invoked Allah in each and every side of it and did not pray till he came out of it, and offered a two-Rak'at prayer facing the Kaaba and said, "This is the Qibla."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 392 :
Narrated by Bara' bin Azib
Allah's Apostle prayed facing Baitul-Maqdis for sixteen or seventeen months but he loved to face the Kaaba (at Mecca) so Allah revealed: "Verily, We have seen the turning of your face to the heaven!" (2:144) So the Prophet faced the Kaaba and the fools amongst the people namely "the Jews" said, "What has turned them from their Qibla (Bait-ul-Maqdis) which they formerly observed"" (Allah revealed): "Say: 'To Allah belongs the East and the West. He guides whom he will to a straight path'." (2:142) A man prayed with the Prophet (facing the Kaaba) and went out. He saw some of the Ansar praying the Asr prayer with their faces towards Bait-ul-Maqdis, he said, "I bear witness that I prayed with Allah's Apostle facing the Kaaba." So all the people turned their faces towards the Kaaba.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 393 :
Narrated by Jabir
Allah's Apostle used to pray (optional, non-obligatory prayer) while riding on his mount (Rahila) wherever it turned, and whenever he wanted to pray the compulsory prayer he dismounted and prayed facing the Qibla.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 394 :
Narrated by Abdullah
The Prophet prayed (and the subnarrator Ibrahim said, "I do not know whether he prayed more or less than usual"), and when he had finished the prayers he was asked, "O Allah's Apostle! Has there been any change in the prayers?" He said, "What is it?' The people said, "You have prayed so much and so much." So the Prophet bent his legs, faced the Qibla and performed two prostrations (of Sahu) and finished his prayers with Tasiim (by turning his face to right and left saying: 'As-Salamu'Alaikum-Warahmat-ullah'). When he turned his face to us he said, "If there had been anything changed in the prayer, surely I would have informed you but I am a human being like you and liable to forget like you. So if I forget remind me and if anyone of you is doubtful about his prayer, he should follow what he thinks to be correct and complete his prayer accordingly and finish it and do two prostrations (of Sahu)."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 395 :
Narrated by Umar (bin Al-Khattab)
My Lord agreed with me in three things: 1. I said,"O Allah's Apostle, I wish we took the station of Abraham as our praying place (for some of our prayers). So came the Divine Inspiration: And take you (people) the station of Abraham as a place of prayer (for some of your prayers e.g. two Rakat of Tawaf of Kaaba)". (2.125) 2. And as regards the (verse of) the veiling of the women, I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! I wish you ordered your wives to cover themselves from the men because good and bad ones talk to them.' So the verse of the veiling of the women was revealed. 3. Once the wives of the Prophet made a united front against the Prophet and I said to them, 'It may be if he (the Prophet) divorced you, (all) that his Lord (Allah) will give him instead of you wives better than you.' So this verse (the same as I had said) was revealed." (66.5).

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 396 :
Narrated by Anas
as above (395).

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 397 :
Narrated by Abdullah bin Umar
While the people were offering the Fajr prayer at Quba (near Medina), someone came to them and said: "It has been revealed to Allah's Apostle tonight, and he has been ordered to pray facing the Kaaba." So turn your faces to the Kaaba. Those people were facing Sham (Jerusalem) so they turned their faces towards Kaaba (at Mecca).

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 398 :
Narrated by Abdullah
"Once the Prophet offered five Rakat in Zuhr prayer. He was asked, "Is there an increase in the prayer?" The Prophet said, "And what is it?" They said, "You have prayed five Rakat.' So he bent his legs and performed two prostrations (of Sahu).

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 399 :
Narrated by Anas bin Malik
The Prophet saw some sputum in the direction of the Qibla (on the wall of the mosque) and he disliked that and the sign of disgust was apparent from his face. So he got up and scraped it off with his hand and said, "Whenever anyone of you stands for the prayer, he is speaking in private to his Lord or his Lord is between him and his Qibla. So, none of you should spit in the direction of the Qibla but one can spit to the left or under his foot." The Prophet then took the corner of his sheet and spat in it and folded it and said, "Or you can do like this. "

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 400 :
Narrated by Abdullah bin Umar
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar: Allah's Apostle saw sputum on the wall of the mosque in the direction of the Qibla and scraped it off. He faced the people and said, "Whenever any one of you is praying, he should not spit in front of him because in the prayer Allah is in front of him."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 401 :
Narrated by Aisha
(the mother of faithful believers) Allah's Apostle saw some nasal secretions, expectoration or sputum on the wall of the mosque in the direction of the Qibla and scraped it off.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 402 :
Narrated by Abd Huraira and Abu Said
Allah's Apostle saw some expectoration on the wall of the mosque; he took gravel and scraped it off and said, "If anyone of you wanted to spit he should neither spit in front of him nor on his right but he could spit either on his left or under his left foot."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 403 :
Narrated by Abd Huraira and Abu Sa'id
Allah's Apostle saw some expectoration on the wall of the mosque; he took gravel and scraped it off and said, "If anyone of you wanted to spit, he should neither spit in front of him nor on his right but could spit either on his left or under his left foot."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 404 :
Narrated by Anas
The Prophet said, "None of you should spit in front or on his right but he could spit either on his left or under his foot."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 405 :
Narrated by Anas bin Malik
The Prophet said, "A faithful believer while in prayer is speaking in private to his Lord, so he should neither spit in front of him nor to his right side but he could spit either on his left or under his foot."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 406 :
Narrated by Abu Said
The Prophet saw sputum on (the wall of) the mosque in the direction of the Qibla and scraped it off with gravel. Then he forbade Spitting in front or on the right, but allowed it on one's left or under one's left foot.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 407 :
Narrated by Anas bin Malik
The Prophet said, "Spitting in the mosque is a sin and its expiation is to bury it."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 408 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
Prophet said, "If anyone of you stands for prayer, he should not spit in front of him because in prayer he is speaking in private to Allah and he should not spit on his right as there is an angel, but he can spit either on his left or under his left foot and bury it (i.e. expectoration)."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 409 :
Narrated by Anas
The Prophet saw expectoration (on the wall of the mosque) in the direction of the Qibla and scraped it off with his hand. It seemed that he disliked it and the sign of disgust was apparent from his face. He said, "If anyone of you stands for the prayer, he is speaking in private to his Lord, (or) his Lord is between him and his Qibla, therefore he should not spit towards his Qibla, but he could spit either on his left or under his foot." Then he took the corner of his sheet and spat in it, folded it and said, "Or do like this."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 410 :

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Narrated by Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle said, "Do you consider or see that my face is towards the Qibla? By Allah, neither your submissiveness nor your bowing is hidden from me, surely I see you from my back."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 411 :
Narrated by Anas bin Malik
The Prophet led us in a prayer and then got up on the pulpit and said, "In your prayer and bowing, I certainly see you from my back as I see you (while looking at you.)"

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 412 :
Narrated by Abdullah bin Umar
Allah's Apostle ordered for a horse race; the trained horses were to run from a place called Al-Hafya' to Thaniyat Al-Wada' and the horses which were not trained were to run from Al-Thaniya to the Masjid (mosque of) Bani Zuraiq. The sub narrator added: Ibn Umar was one of those who took part in the race.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 413 :
Narrated by Anas
Some goods came to Allah's Apostle from Bahrain. The Prophet ordered the people to spread them in the mosque --it was the biggest amount of goods Allah's Apostle had ever received. He left for prayer and did not even look at it. After finishing the prayer, he sat by those goods and gave from those to everybody he saw. Al-Abbas came to him and said, "O Allah's Apostle! give me (something) too, because I gave ransom for myself and 'Aqil" Allah's Apostle told him to take. So he stuffed his garment with it and tried to carry it away but he failed to do so. He said, "O Allah's Apostle! Order someone to help me in lifting it." The Prophet refused. He then said to the Prophet: Will you please help me to lift it?" Allah's Apostle refused. Then Al-Abbas threw some of it and tried to lift it (but failed). He again said, "O Allah's Apostle Order someone to help me to lift it." He refused. Al-Abbas then said to the Prophet: "Will you please help me to lift it?" He again refused. Then Al-Abbas threw some of it, and lifted it on his shoulders and went away. Allah's Apostle kept on watching him till he disappeared from his sight and was astonished at his greediness. Allah's Apostle did not get up till the last coin was distributed.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 414 :
Narrated by Anas
I found the Prophet in the mosque along with some people. He said to me, "Did Abu Talha send you?" I said, "Yes". He said, "For a meal?" I said, "Yes." Then he said to his companions, "Get up." They set out and I was ahead of them.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 415 :
Narrated by Sahl bin Sa'd
A man said, "O Allah's Apostle! If a man finds another man with his wife, (committing adultery) should the husband kill him?" Later on I saw them (the man and his wife) doing Lian in the mosque.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 416 :
Narrated by 'Itban bin Malik
The Prophet came to my house and said, "Where do you like me to pray?" I pointed to a place. The Prophet then said, "Allahu Akbar", and we aligned behind him and he offered a two-Rak'at prayer.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 417 :
Narrated by 'Itban bin Malik
who was one of the companions of Allah's Apostle and one of the Ansar's who took part in the battle of Badr: I came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle I have weak eyesight and I lead my people in prayers. When it rains the water flows in the valley between me and my people so I cannot go to their mosque to lead them in prayer. O Allah's Apostle! I wish you would come to my house and pray in it so that I could take that place as a Musalla. Allah's Apostle said. "Allah willing, I will do so." Next day after the sun rose high, Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr came and Allah's Apostle asked for permission to enter. I gave him permission and he did not sit on entering the house but said to me, "Where do you like me to pray?" I pointed to a place in my house. So Allah's Apostle stood there and said, 'Allahu Akbar', and we all got up and aligned behind him and offered a two-Rak'at prayer and ended it with Taslim. We requested him to stay for a meal called "Khazira" which we had prepared for him. Many members of our family gathered in the house and one of them said, "Where is Malik bin Al-Dukhaishin or Ibn Al-Dukhshun?" One of them replied, "He is a hypocrite and does not love Allah and His Apostle." Hearing that, Allah's Apostle said, "Do not say so. Haven't you seen that he said, 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah' for Allah's sake only?" He said, "Allah and His Apostle know better. We have seen him helping and advising hypocrites." Allah's Apostle said, "Allah has forbidden the (Hell) fire for those who say, 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah' for Allah's sake only."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 418 :
Narrated by Aisha
The Prophet used to start every thing from the right (for good things) whenever it was possible in all his affairs; for example: in washing, combing or wearing shoes.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 419 :
Narrated by Aisha
Um Habiba and Um Salama mentioned about a church they had seen in Ethiopia in which there were pictures. They told the Prophet about it, on which he said, "If any religious man dies amongst those people they would build a place of worship at his grave and make these pictures in it. They will be the worst creature in the sight of Allah on the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 420 :
Narrated by Anas
When the Prophet arrived Medina he dismounted at 'Awali-i-Medina amongst a tribe called Banu Amr bin 'Auf. He stayed there For fourteen nights. Then he sent for Bani An-Najjar and they came armed with their swords. As if I am looking (just now) as the Prophet was sitting over his Rahila (Mount) with Abu Bakr riding behind him and all Banu An-Najjar around him till he dismounted at the courtyard of Abu Aiyub's house. The Prophet loved to pray wherever the time for the prayer was due even at sheep-folds. Later on he ordered that a mosque should be built and sent for some people of Banu-An-Najjar and said, "O Banu An-Najjar! Suggest to me the price of this (walled) piece of land of yours." They replied, "No! By Allah! We do not demand its price except from Allah." Anas added: There were graves of pagans in it and some of it was unleveled and there were some date-palm trees in it. The Prophet ordered that the graves of the pagans be dug out and the unleveled land be level led and the date-palm trees be cut down . (So all that was done). They aligned these cut date-palm trees towards the Qibla of the mosque (as a wall) and they also built two stone side-walls (of the mosque). His companions brought the stones while reciting some poetic verses. The Prophet was with them and he kept on saying, "There is no goodness except that of the Hereafter, O Allah! So please forgive the Ansars and the emigrants. "

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 421 :
Narrated by Abu Al-Taiyah
Anas said, "The Prophet prayed in the sheep fold." Later on I heard him saying, "He prayed in the sheep folds before the construction of the, mosque."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 422 :
Narrated by Nafi
"I saw Ibn Umar praying while taking his camel as a Sutra in front of him and he said, "I saw the Prophet doing the same."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 423 :
Narrated by Abdullah bin Abbas
The sun eclipsed and Allah's Apostle offered the eclipse prayer and said, "I have been shown the Hellfire (now) and I never saw a worse and horrible sight than the sight I have seen today."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 424 :
Narrated by Ibn Umar
The Prophet had said, "Offer some of your prayers (Nawafil) at home, and do not take your houses as graves."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 425 :
Narrated by Abdullah bin Umar
Allah's Apostle said, "Do not enter (the places) of these people where Allah's punishment had fallen unless you do so weeping. If you do not weep, do not enter (the places of these people) because Allah's curse and punishment which fell upon them may fall upon you."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 426 :
Narrated by Aisha
Um Salama told Allah's Apostle about a church which she had seen in Ethiopia and which was called Mariya. She told him about the pictures which she had seen in it. Allah's Apostle said, "If any righteous pious man dies amongst them, they would build a place of worship at his grave and make these pictures in it; they are the worst creatures in the sight of Allah."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 427 :
Narrated by Aisha and Abdullah bin Abbas
When the last moment of the life of Allah's Apostle came he started putting his 'Khamisa' on his face and when he felt hot and short of breath he took it off his face and said, "May Allah curse the Jews and Christians for they built the places of worship at the graves of their Prophets." The Prophet was warning (Muslims) of what those had done.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 428 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle said, "May Allah's curse be on the Jews for they built the places of worship at the graves of their Prophets."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 429 :
Narrated by Jabir bin Abdullah
Allah's Apostle said, "I have been given five things which were not given to any amongst the Prophets before me. These are: 1. Allah made me victorious by awe (by His frightening my enemies) for a distance of one month's journey. 2. The earth has been made for me (and for my followers) a place for praying and a thing to perform Tayammum. Therefore my followers can pray wherever the time of a prayer is due. 3. The booty has been made Halal (lawful) for me (and was not made so for anyone else). 4. Every Prophet used to be sent to his nation exclusively but I have been sent 1o all mankind. 5. I have been given the right of intercession (on the Day of Resurrection.)

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 430 :
Narrated by Aisha
There was a black slave girl belonging to an 'Arab tribe and they manumitted her but she remained with them. The slave girl said, "Once one of their girls (of that tribe) came out wearing a red leather scarf decorated with precious stones. It fell from her or she placed it somewhere. A kite passed by that place, saw it Lying there and mistaking it for a piece of meat, flew away with it. Those people searched for it but they did not find it. So they accused me of stealing it and started searching me and even searched my private parts." The slave girl further said, "By Allah! while I was standing (in that state) with those people, the same kite passed by them and dropped the red scarf and it fell amongst them. I told them, 'This is what you accused me of and I was innocent and now this is it.' " Aisha added: That slave girl came to Allah's Apostle and embraced Islam. She had a tent or a small room with a low roof in the mosque. Whenever she called on me, she had a talk with me and whenever she sat with me, she would recite the following: "The day of the scarf (band) was one of the wonders of our Lord, verily He rescued me from the disbelievers' town. Aisha added: "Once I asked her, 'What is the matter with you? Whenever you sit with me, you always recite these poetic verses.' On that she told me the whole story. "

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 431 :
Narrated by Naf'a
Abdullah bin Umar said: I used to sleep in the mosque of the Prophet while I was young and unmarried.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 432 :
Narrated by Sahl bin Sa'd
Allah's Apostle went to Fatima's house but did not find Ali there. So he asked, "Where is your cousin?" She replied, "There was something between us and he got angry with me and went out. He did not sleep (mid-day nap) in the house." Allah's Apostle asked a person to look for him. That person came and said, "O Allah's Apostle! He (Ali) is sleeping in the mosque." Allah's Apostle went there and Ali was lying. His upper body cover had fallen down to one side of his body and he was covered with dust. Allah's Apostle started cleaning the dust from him saying: "Get up! O Aba Turab. Get up! O Aba Turab (literally means: O father of dust).

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 433 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
I saw seventy of As-Suffa men and none of them had a Rida' (a garment covering the upper part of the body). They had either Izars (only) or sheets which they tied round their necks. Some of these sheets reached the middle of their legs and some reached their heels and they used to gather them with their hands lest their private parts should become naked.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 434 :
Narrated by Jabir bin Abdullah
I went to the Prophet in the mosque (the sub-narrator Mas'ar thought that Jabir had said, "In the forenoon.") He ordered me to pray two Rakat. He owed me some money and he repaid it to me and gave more than what was due to me.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 435 :
Narrated by Abu Qatada Al-Aslami
Allah's Apostle said, "If anyone of you enters a mosque, he should pray two Rakat before sitting."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 436 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira

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In the life-time of Allah's Apostle the mosque was built of adobes, its roof of the leaves of date-palms and its pillars of the stems of date-palms. Abu Bakr did not alter it. Umar expanded it on the same pattern as it was in the lifetime of Allah's Apostle by using adobes, leaves of date-palms and changing the pillars into wooden ones. Uthman changed it by expanding it to a great extent and built its walls with engraved stones and lime and made its pillars of engraved stones and its roof of teak wood.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 437 :
Narrated by Abdullah bin Umar
In the life-time of Allah's Apostle the mosque was built of adobes, its roof of the leaves of date-palms and its pillars of the stems of date-palms. Abu Bakr did not alter it. Umar expanded it on the same pattern as it was in the lifetime of Allah's Apostle by using adobes, leaves of date-palms and changing the pillars into wooden ones. Uthman changed it by expanding it to a great extent and built its walls with engraved stones and lime and made its pillars of engraved stones and its roof of teak wood.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 438 :
Narrated by 'Ikrima
Ibn Abbas said to me and to his son Ali, "Go to Abu Sa'id and listen to what he narrates." So we went and found him in a garden looking after it. He picked up his Rida', wore it and sat down and started narrating till the topic of the construction of the mosque reached. He said, "We were carrying one adobe at a time while Ammar was carrying two. The Prophet saw him and started removing the dust from his body and said, "May Allah be Merciful to Ammar. He will be inviting them (i.e. his murderers, the rebellious group) to Paradise and they will invite him to Hell-fire." Ammar said, "I seek refuge with Allah from affliction."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 439 :
Narrated by Sahl
Allah's Apostle sent someone to a woman telling her to "Order her slave, carpenter, to prepare a wooden pulpit for him to sit on."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 440 :
Narrated by Jabir
A woman said, "O Allah's Apostle! Shall I get something constructed for you to sit on as I have a slave who is a carpenter?" He replied, "Yes, if you like." So she had that pulpit constructed.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 441 :
Narrated by 'Ubdaidullah Al-Khaulani
I heard Uthman bin 'Affan saying, when people argued too much about his intention to reconstruct the mosque of Allah's Apostle, "You have talked too much. I heard the Prophet saying, 'Whoever built a mosque, (Bukair thought that 'Asim, another subnarrator, added, "Intending Allah's Pleasure"), Allah would build for him a similar place in Paradise.' "

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 442 :
Narrated by Amr
I heard Jabir bin Abdullah saying, "A man passed through the mosque carrying arrows. Allah's Apostle said to him, 'Hold them by their heads.' "

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 443 :
Narrated by Abu Burda bin Abdulla
(on the authority of his father) The Prophet said, "Whoever passes through our mosques or markets with arrows should hold them by their heads lest he should injure a Muslim."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 444 :
Narrated by Hassan bin Thabit Al-Ansari
I asked Abu Huraira "By Allah! Tell me the truth whether you heard the Prophet saying, 'O Hassan! Reply on behalf of Allah's Apostle. O Allah! Help him with the Holy Spirit." Abu Huraira said, "Yes . "

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 445 :
Narrated by Aisha
Once I saw Allah's Apostle at the door of my house while some Ethiopians were playing in the mosque (displaying their skill with spears). Allah's Apostle was screening me with his Rida' so as to enable me to see their display. (Urwa said that Aisha said, "I saw the Prophet and the Ethiopians were playing with their spears.")

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 446 :
Narrated by Aisha
Barira came to seek my help regarding her manumission. I told herself you like I would pay your price to your masters but your Al-Wala(1) would be for me." Her masters said, "If you like, you can pay what remains (of the price of her manumission), (Sufyan the sub-narrator once said), or if you like you can manumit her, but her (inheritance) Al-Wala would be for us. "When Allah's Apostle came, I spoke to him about it. He said, "Buy her and manumit her. No doubt Al-Wala(1) is for the manumitted." Then Allah's Apostle stood on the pulpit (or Allah's Apostle ascended the pulpit as Sufyan once said), and said, "What about some people who impose conditions which are not present in Allah's Book (Laws)? Whoever imposes conditions which are not in Allah's Book (Laws), his conditions will be invalid even if he imposed them a hundred times."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 447 :
Narrated by Ka'b
In the mosque I asked Ibn Abi Hadrad to pay the debts which he owed to me and our voices grew louder. Allah's Apostle heard that while he was in his house. So he came to us raising the curtain of his room and said, "O Ka'b!" I replied, "Labaik, O Allah's Apostle!" He said, "O Ka'b! reduce your debt to one half," gesturing with his hand. I said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have done so." Then Allah's Apostle said (to Ibn Abi Hadrad), "Get up and pay the debt to him."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 448 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
A black man or a black woman used to sweep the mosque and he or she died. The Prophet asked about her (or him). He was told that she (or he) had died. He said, "Why did you not inform me? Show me his grave (or her grave)." So he went to her (his) grave and offered her (his) funeral prayer."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 449 :
Narrated by Aisha
When the verses of Surat "Al-Baqara"' about the usury Riba were revealed, the Prophet went to the mosque and recited them in front of the people and then banned the trade of alcohol.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 450 :
Narrated by Abu Rafi
Abu Huraira said, "A man or a woman used to clean the mosque." (A sub-narrator said, 'Most probably a woman..') Then he narrated the Hadith of the Prophet.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 450 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
"The Prophet said, "Last night a big demon (afreet) from the Jinns came to me and wanted to interrupt my prayers (or said something similar) but Allah enabled me to overpower him. I wanted to fasten him to one of the pillars of the mosque so that all of you could See him in the morning but I remembered the statement of my brother Solomon (as stated in Koran): My Lord! Forgive me and bestow on me a kingdom such as shall not belong to anybody after me (38.35)." The sub narrator Rauh said, "He (the demon) was dismissed humiliated."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 451 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
The Prophet sent some horsemen to Najd and they brought a man called Thumama bin Uthal from Bani Hanifa. They fastened him to one of the pillars of the mosque. The Prophet came and ordered them to release him. He went to a (garden of) date-palms near the mosque, took a bath and entered the, mosque again and said, "None has the right to be worshipped but Allah an Mohammed is His Apostle (i.e. he embraced Islam)."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 452 :
Narrated by Aisha
On the day of Al-Khandaq (battle of the Trench' the medial arm vein of Sa'd bin Mu'ad was injured and the Prophet pitched a tent in the mosque to look after him. There was another tent for Banu Ghaffar in the mosque and the blood started flowing from Sa'd's tent to the tent of Bani Ghaffar. They shouted, "O occupants of the tent! What is coming from you to us?" They found that Sa'd' wound was bleeding profusely and Sa'd died in his tent.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 453 :
Narrated by Um Salama
I complained to Allah's Apostle that I was sick. He told me to perform the Tawaf behind the people while riding. So I did so and Allah's Apostle was praying beside the Kaaba and reciting the Sura starting with "Wat-tur-wa-Kitabinmastur."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 454 :
Narrated by Anas bin Malik
Two of the companions of the Prophet departed from him on a dark night and were led by two lights like lamps (going in front of them from Allah as a miracle) lighting the way in front of them, and when they parted, each of them was accompanied by one of these lights till he reached their (respective) houses.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 455 :
Narrated by Abu Said Al-Khudri
The Prophet delivered a sermon and said, "Allah gave a choice to one of (His) slaves either to choose this world or what is with Him in the Hereafter. He chose the latter." Abu Bakr wept. I said lo myself, "Why is this Sheikh weeping, if Allah gave choice to one (of His) slaves either to choose this world or what is with Him in the Here after and he chose the latter?" And that slave was Allah's Apostle himself. Abu Bakr knew more than us. The Prophet said, "O Abu Bakr! Don't weep. The Prophet added: Abu- Bakr has favored me much with his property and company. If I were to take a Khalil from mankind I would certainly have taken Abu Bakr but the Islamic brotherhood and friendship is sufficient. Close all the gates in the mosque except that of Abu Bakr.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 456 :
Narrated by Ibn Abbas
"Allah's Apostle in his fatal illness came out with a piece of cloth tied round his head and sat on the pulpit. After thanking and praising Allah he said, "There is no one who had done more favor to me with life and property than Abu Bakr bin Abi Quhafa. If I were to take a Khalil, I would certainly have taken Abu- Bakr but the Islamic brotherhood is superior. Close all the small doors in this mosque except that of Abu Bakr."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 457 :
Narrated by Nafi
Ibn Umar said, "The Prophet arrived at Mecca and sent for Uthman bin Talha. He opened the gate of the Kaaba and the Prophet, Bilal, Usama bin Zaid and Uthman bin Talha entered the Kaaba and then they closed its door (from inside). They stayed there for an hour, and then came out." Ibn Umar added, "I quickly went to Bilal and asked him (whether the Prophet had prayed). Bilal replied, 'He prayed in it.' I asked, 'Where?' He replied, 'Between the two pillars.' "Ibn Umar added, "I forgot to ask how many Rakat he (the Prophet) had prayed in the Kaaba."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 458 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle sent some horse men to Najd and they brought a man called Thumama bin Uthal from Bani Hanifa. They fastened him to one of the pillars of the mosque.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 459 :
Narrated by Al-Sa'ib bin Yazid
I was standing in the mosque and somebody threw a gravel at me. I looked and found that he was Umar bin Al-Khattab. He said to me, "Fetch those two men to me." When I did, he said to them, "Who are you? (Or) where do you come from?" They replied, "We are from Ta'if." Umar said, "Were you from this city (Medina) I would have punished you for raising your voices in the mosque of Allah's Apostle.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 460 :
Narrated by 'Kab bin Malik
During the life-time of Allah's Apostle I asked Ibn Abi Hadrad in the mosque to pay the debts which he owed to me and our voices grew so loud that Allah's Apostle heard them while he was in his house. So he came to us after raising the curtain of his room. The Prophet said, "O Ka'b bin Malik!" I replied, "Labaik, O Allah's Apostle." He gestured with his hand to me to reduce the debt to one half. I said, "O Allah's Apostle have done it." Allah's Apostle said (to Ibn Hadrad), "Get up and pay it."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 461 :
Narrated by Nafi
Ibn Umar said, "While the Prophet was on the pulpit, a man asked him how to offer the night prayers. He replied, 'Pray two Rakat at a time and then two and then two and so on, and if you are afraid of the dawn (the approach of the time of the Fajr prayer) pray one Rak'a and that will be the witr for all the Rakat which you have offered." Ibn Umar said, "The last Rakat of the night prayer should be odd for the Prophet ordered it to be so.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 462 :
Narrated by Ibn Umar
A man came to the Prophet while he was delivering the sermon and asked him how to offer the night prayers. The Prophet replied, 'Pray two Rakat at a time and then two and then two and so on and if you are afraid of dawn (the approach of the time of the Fajr prayer) pray one Rak'a and that will be the with for all the Rakat which you have prayed." Narrated Ubaidullah bin Abdullah bin Umar: A man called the Prophet while he was in the mosque.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 463 :
Narrated by Abu Waqid al-Laithi
While Allah's Apostle was sitting in the mosque (with some people) three men came, two of them came in front of Allah's

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Apostle and the third one went away, and then one of them found a place in the circle and sat there while the second man sat behind the gathering, and the third one went away. When Allah's Apostle finished his preaching, he said, "Shall I tell you about these three persons? One of them betook himself to Allah and so Allah accepted him and accommodated him; the second felt shy before Allah so Allah did the same for him and sheltered him in His Mercy (and did not punish him), while the third turned his face from Allah, and went away, so Allah turned His face from him likewise.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 464 :
Narrated by 'Abbad bin Tamim
That his uncle said, "I saw Allah's Apostle lying flat (on his back) in the mosque with one leg on the other." Narrated Said bin Al-Musaiyab that Umar and Uthman used to do the same.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 465 :
Narrated by Aisha
(the wife of the Prophet) I had seen my parents following Islam since I attained the age of puberty. Not a day passed but the Prophet visited us, both in the mornings and evenings. My father Abii Bakr thought of building a mosque in the courtyard of his house and he did so. He used to pray and recite the Koran in it. The pagan women and their children used to stand by him and look at him with surprise. Abu Bakr was a Softhearted person and could not help weeping while reciting the Koran. The chiefs of the Quraish pagans became afraid of that (i.e. that their children and women might be affected by the recitation of Koran)."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 466 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
The Prophet said, "The prayer offered in congregation is twenty five times more superior (in reward) to the prayer offered alone in one's house or in a business center, because if one performs ablution and does it perfectly, and then proceeds to the mosque with the sole intention of praying, then for each step which he takes towards the mosque, Allah upgrades him a degree in reward and (forgives) crosses out one sin till he enters the mosque. When he enters the mosque he is considered in prayer as long as he is waiting for the prayer and the angels keep on asking for Allah's forgiveness for him and they keep on saying: 'O Allah! Be Merciful to him, O Allah! Forgive him, as long as he keeps on sitting at his praying place and does not pass wind. (See Hadith No. 620).

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 467 :
Narrated by Ibn Umar or Ibn Amr
The Prophet clasped his hands, by interlacing his fingers. Narrated Abdullah that Allah's Apostle said, "O Abdullah bin Amr! What will be your condition when you will be left with the sediments of (worst) people?" (They will be in conflict with each other).

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 468 :
Narrated by Abu Musa
The Prophet said, "A faithful believer to a faithful believer is like the bricks of a wall, enforcing each other." While (saying that) the Prophet clasped his hands, by interlacing his fingers.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 469 :
Narrated by Ibn Sirin
Abu Huraira said, "Allah's Apostle led us in one of the two 'Isha' prayers (Abu Huraira named that prayer but I forgot it)." Abu Huraira added, "He prayed two Rakat and then finished the prayer with Tasllm. He stood up near a piece of wood Lying across the mosque and leaned on it in such a way as if he was angry. Then he put his right hand over the left and clasped his hands by interlacing his fingers and then put his J right cheek on the back of his left hand. The people who were in haste left the mosque through its gates. They wondered whether the prayer was reduced. And amongst them were Abu Bakr and Umar but they hesitated to ask the Prophet. A long-handed man called Dhul-Yadain asked the Prophet, 'O Allah's Apostle! Have you; forgotten or has the prayer been reduced?' The Prophet replied, 'I have neither forgotten nor has the prayer been reduced' The Prophet added, 'Is what Dhul Yadain has said true?' They (the people) said, 'Yes, it is true.' The Prophet stood up again and led the prayer, completing the remaining prayer, forgotten by him, and performed Talsrm, and then said, 'Allahu Akbar.' And then he did a prostration as he used to prostrate or longer than that. He then raised his head saying, 'Allahu Akbar; he then again said, 'Allahu Akbar', and prostrated as he used to prostrate or longer than that. Then he raised his head and said, 'Allahu Akbar.' " (The subnarrator added, "I think that they asked (Ibn Sirin) whether the Prophet completed the prayer with Taslim. He replied, "I heard that Imran bin Husain had said, 'Then he (the Prophet) did Taslim.")

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 470 :
Narrated by Fudail bin Sulaiman
Musa bin Uqba said, "I saw Salim bin Abdullah looking for some places on the way and prayed there. He narrated that his father used to pray there, and had seen the Prophet praying at those very places." Narrated Nafi on the authority of Ibn Umar who said, "I used to pray at those places." Musa the narrator added, "I asked Salim on which he said, 'I agree with Nafi concerning those places, except the mosque situated at the place called Sharaf Ar-Rawha."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 471 :
Narrated by Unknown
Narrated Hadith is about the various places on the way from Medina to Mecca where the Prophet prayed and their In locations impossible to translate.

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 9:
Virtues of the Prayer Hall (Sutra of the Musalla)

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 472:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Once I came riding a she-ass when I had just attained the age of puberty. Allah's Apostle was offering the prayer at Mina with no wall in front of him and I passed in front of some of the row. There I dismounted and let my she-ass loose to graze and entered the row and nobody objected to me about it.

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 473:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Whenever Allah's Apostle came out on 'Id day, he used to order that a Harba (a short spear) to be planted in front of him (as a Sutra for his prayer) and then he used to pray facing it with the people behind him and used to do the same while on a journey. After the Prophet , this practice was adopted by the Muslim rulers (who followed his traditions).

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 474:
Narrated 'Aun bin Abi Juhaifa:
I heard my father saying, "The Prophet led us, and prayed a two-Rak'at Zuhr prayer and then a two-Rak'at Asr prayer at Al-Batha' with an Anza (planted) in front of him (as a Sutra) while women and donkeys were passing in front of him (beyond that 'Anza)."

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 475:
Narrated Sahl (bin Sa'd):
The distance between the Musalla of Allah's Apostle and the wall was just sufficient for a sheep to pass through .

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 476:
Narrated Salama:
The distance between the wall of the mosque and the pulpit was hardly enough for a sheep to pass through.

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 477:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet used to get a Harba planted in front of him (as a Sutra) and pray behind it.

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 478:
Narrated 'Aun bin Abi Juhaifa:
that he had heard his father saying, "Allah's Apostle came to us at mid-day and water was brought for his ablution. He performed ablution and led us in Zuhr and Asr prayers with an Anza planted in front of him (as a Sutra), while women and donkeys were passing beyond it."

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 479:
Narrated Anas Ibn Malik:
Whenever the Prophet went for answering the call of nature, I and another boy used to go after him with a staff, a stick or an Anza and a tumbler of water and when he finished from answering the call of nature we would hand that tumbler of water to him.

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 480:
Narrated Abu Juhaifa:
Allah's Apostle came out at midday and offered a two-Rak'at Zuhr and Asr prayers at Al-Batha and an Anza was planted in front of him (as a Sutra). He performed ablution and the people took the remaining water left after his ablution and rubbed their bodies with it.

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 481:
Narrated Yazid bin Al Ubaid:
I used to accompany Salama bin Al-Akwa' and he used to pray behind the pillar which was near the place where the Koran's were kept I said, "O Abu Muslim! I see you always seeking to pray behind this pillar." He replied, "I saw Allah's Apostle always seeking to pray near that pillar."

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 482:
Narrated Anas:
I saw the most famous people amongst the companions of the Prophet hurrying towards the pillars at the Maghrib prayer before the Prophet came for the prayer.

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 483:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet entered the Kaaba along with Usama bin Zaid, Uthman bin Talha and Bilal and remained there for a long time. When they came out, I was the first man to enter the Kaaba. I asked Bilal "Where did the Prophet pray?" Bilal replied, "Between the two front Pillars."

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 484:
Narrated Nafi:
Abdullah bin Umar said, "Allah's Apostle entered the Kaaba along with Usama bin Zaid, Bilal and Uthman bin Talha Al-Hajabi and closed the door and stayed there for some time. I asked Bilal when he came out, 'What did the Prophet do?' He replied, 'He offered prayer with one pillar to his left and one to his right and three behind.' In those days the Kaaba was supported by six pillars." Malik said: "There were two pillars on his (the Prophet's) right side."

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 485:
Narrated Nafi:
"The Prophet used to make his she-camel sit across and he would pray facing it (as a Sutra)." I asked, "What would the Prophet do if the she-camel was provoked and moved?" He said, "He would take its camel-saddle and put it in front of him and pray facing its back part (as a Sutra). And Ibn Umar used to do the same." (This indicates that one should not pray except behind a Sutra).

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 486:
Narrated Aisha:
Do you make us (women) equal to dogs and donkeys? While I used to lie in my bed, the Prophet would come and pray facing the middle of the bed. I used to consider it not good to stand in front of him in his prayers. So I used to slip away slowly and quietly from the foot of the bed till I got out of my guilt.

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 487:
Narrated Abu Sa'id:
The Prophet said, (what is ascribed to him in the following Hadith 488):

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 488:
Narrated Abu Salih As-Samman:
I saw Abu Said Al-Khudri praying on a Friday, behind something which acted as a Sutra. A young man from Bani Abi Mu'ait, wanted to pass in front of him, but Abu Said repulsed him with a push on his chest. Finding no alternative he again tried to pass but Abu Said pushed him with a greater force. The young man abused Abu Said and went to Marwan and lodged a complaint against Abu Said and Abu Said followed the young man to Marwan who asked him, "O Abu Said! What has happened between you and the son of your brother?" Abu Sa'id said to him, "I heard the Prophet saying, 'If anybody amongst you is praying behind something as a Sutra and somebody tries to pass in front of him, then he should repulse him and if he refuses, he should use force against him for he is a satan.' "

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 489:
Narrated Busr bin Said:
that Zaid bin Khalid sent him to Abi Juhaim to ask him what he had heard from Allah's Apostle about a person passing in front of another person who was praying. Abu Juhaim replied, "Allah's Apostle said, 'If the person who passes in front of another person in prayer knew the magnitude of his sin he would prefer to wait for 40 (days, months or years) rather than to pass in front of him." Abu An-Nadr said, "I do not remember exactly whether he said 40 days, months or years."

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 490:
Narrated Aisha:
The things which annul the prayers were mentioned before me. They said, "Prayer is annulled by a dog, a donkey and a woman (if they pass in front of the praying people)." I said, "You have made us (i.e. women) dogs. I saw the Prophet praying while I used to lie in my bed between him and the Qibla. Whenever I was in need of something, I would slip away. for I disliked to face him."

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 491:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet used to pray while I was sleeping across in his bed in front of him. Whenever he wanted to pray Witr, he would wake me up and I would pray Witr.

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Volume 1, Book 9, Number 492:
Narrated Aisha:
the wife of the Prophet, "I used to sleep in front of Allah's Apostle with my legs opposite his Qibla (facing him); and whenever he prostrated, he pushed my feet and I withdrew them and whenever he stood, I stretched them." Aisha added, "In those days there were no lamps in the houses."

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 493:
Narrated Aisha:
The things which annual prayer were mentioned before me (and those were): a dog, a donkey and a woman. I said, "You have compared us (women) to donkeys and dogs. By Allah! I saw the Prophet praying while I used to lie in (my) bed between him and the Qibla. Whenever I was in need of something, I disliked to sit and trouble the Prophet. So, I would slip away by the side of his feet."

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 494:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) Allah's Apostle used to get up at night and pray while I used to lie across between him and the Qibla on his family's bed.

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 495:
Narrated Abu Qatada Al-Ansari:
Allah's Apostle was praying and he was carrying Umama the daughters of Zainab, the daughter of Allah's Apostle and she was the daughter of 'As bin Rabi'a bin 'AbduShams. When he prostrated, he put her down and when he stood, he carried her (on his neck).

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 496:
Narrated Maimuna bint Al-Harith:
My bed was beside the praying place (Musalla) of the Prophet and sometimes his garment fell on me while I used to lie in my bed.

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 497:
Narrated Maimuna:
The Prophet used to pray while I used to sleep beside him during my periods (menses) and in prostrations his garment used to touch me.

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 498:
Narrated Aisha:
It is not good that you people have made us (women) equal to dogs and donkeys. No doubt I saw Allah's Apostle praying while I used to lie between him and the Qibla and when he wanted to prostrate, he pushed my legs and I withdrew them.

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 499:
Narrated Amr bin Maimuin:
Abdullah bin Mas'ud said, "While Allah's Apostle was praying beside the Kaaba, there were some Quraish people sitting in a gathering. One of them said, 'Don't you see this (who does deeds just to show off)? Who amongst you can go and bring the dung, blood and the abdominal contents (intestines, etc). of the slaughtered camels of the family of so and so and then wait till he prostrates and put that in between his shoulders?' The most unfortunate amongst them (Uqba bin Abi Mu'ait) went (and brought them) and when Allah's Apostle prostrated, he put them between his shoulders. The Prophet remained in prostration and they laughed so much so that they fell on each other. A passerby went to Fatima, who was a young girl in those days. She came running and the Prophet was still in prostration. She removed them and cursed upon the Quraish on their faces. When Allah's Apostle completed his prayer, he said, 'O Allah! Take revenge on Quraish.' He said so thrice and added, 'O Allah! take revenge on Amr bin Hisham, Utba bin Rabia, Shaiba bin Rabi'a, Al-Walid binUtba, Umaiya bin Khalaf, Uqba bin Abi Mu'ait and Umar a bin Al-Walid." Abdullah added, "By Allah! I saw all of them dead in the battle field on the day of Badr and they were dragged and thrown in the Qalib (a well) at Badr: Allah's Apostle then said, 'Allah's curse has descended upon the people of the Qalib (well).

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 10:
Times of the Prayers

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 500:
Narrated Ibn Shihab:
OnceUmar bin Abdul Aziz delayed the prayer and Urwa bin Az-Zubair went to him and said, "Once in 'Iraq, Al-MughTra bin Shu'ba delayed his prayers and Abi Mas'ud Al-Ansari went to him and said, 'O Mughira! What is this? Don't you know that once Gabriel came and offered the prayer (Fajr prayer) and Allah's Apostle prayed too, then he prayed again (Zuhr prayer) and so did Allah's Apostle and again he prayed (Asr prayers and Allah's Apostle did the same; again he prayed (Maghrib-prayer) and so did Allah's Apostle and again prayed ('Isha prayer) and so did Allah's Apostle and (Gabriel) said, 'I was ordered to do so (to demonstrate the prayers prescribed to you)?'" Umar (bin Abdul AzTz) said to Urwa, "Be sure of what you Say. Did Gabriel lead Allah's Apostle at the stated times of the prayers?" Urwa replied, "Bashir bin Abi Mas'ud narrated like this on the authority of his father." Urwa added, "Aisha told me that Allah's Apostle used to pray Asr prayer when the sun-shine was still inside her residence (during the early time of Asr)."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 501:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
"Once a delegation of Abdul Qais came to Allah's Apostle and said, "We belong to such and such branch of the tribe of Rab'a and we can only come to you in the sacred months. Order us to do something good so that we may (carry out) take it from you and also invite to it our people whom we have left behind (at home)." The Prophet said, " I order you to do four things and forbid you from four things. (The first four are as follows):
1. To believe in Allah. (And then he: explained it to them i.e.) to testify that none has the right to be worshipped but Allah and (Mohammed) am Allah's Apostle
2. To offer prayers perfectly (at the stated times):
3. To pay Zakat (obligatory charity)
4. To give me Khumus
(The other four things which are forbidden are as follows):
1. Dubba
2. Hantam
3. Muqaiyat
4. Naqir (all these are utensils used for the preparation of alcoholic drinks)."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 502:
Narrated Jarir bin Abdullah:
I gave the pledge of allegiance to Allah's Apostle for to offer prayers perfectly, to pay Zakat regularly, and to give good advice to every Muslim.

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 503:
Narrated Shaqiq:
that he had heard Hudhaifa saying, "Once I was sitting with Umar and he said, 'Who amongst you remembers the statement of Allah's Apostle about the afflictions?' I said, 'I know it as the Prophet had said it.' Umar said, 'No doubt you are bold.' I said, 'The afflictions caused for a man by his wife, money, children and neighbour are expiated by his prayers, fasting, charity and by enjoining (what is good) and forbidding (what is evil).' Umar said, 'I did not mean that but I asked about that affliction which will spread like the waves of the sea.' I (Hudhaifa) said, 'O leader of the faithful believers! You need not be afraid of it as there is a closed door between you and it.' Umar asked, Will the door be broken or opened?' I replied, 'It will be broken.' Umar said, 'Then it will never be closed again.' I was asked whether Umar knew that door. I replied that he knew it as one knows that there will be night before the tomorrow morning. I narrated a Hadith that was free from any mis-statement" The subnarrator added that they deputed Masruq to ask Hudhaifa (about the door). Hudhaifa said, "The door was Umar himself."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 504:
Narrated Ibn Mas'ud:
A man kissed a woman (unlawfully) and then went to the Prophet and informed him. Allah revealed:
And offer prayers perfectly At the two ends of the day And in some hours of the night (i.e. the five compulsory prayers). Verily! good deeds remove (annul) the evil deeds (small sins) (11.114). The man asked Allah's Apostle, "Is it for me?" He said, "It is for all my followers."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 505:
Narrated Abdullah:
I asked the Prophet "Which deed is the dearest to Allah?" He replied, "To offer the prayers at their early stated fixed times." I asked, "What is the next (in goodness)?" He replied, "To be good and dutiful to your parents" I again asked, "What is the next (in goodness)?" He replied, 'To participate in Jihad (religious fighting) in Allah's cause." Abdullah added, "I asked only that much and if I had asked more, the Prophet would have told me more."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 506:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "If there was a river at the door of anyone of you and he took a bath in it five times a day would you notice any dirt on him?" They said, "Not a trace of dirt would be left." The Prophet added, "That is the example of the five prayers with which Allah blots out (annuls) evil deeds."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 507:
Narrated Ghailan:
Anas said, "I do not find (now-a-days) things as they were (practiced) at the time of the Prophet." Somebody said "The prayer (is as it was.)" Anas said, "Have you not done in the prayer what you have done?
Narrated Az-Zuhri that he visited Anas bin Malik at Damascus and found him weeping and asked him why he was weeping. He replied, "I do not know anything which I used to know during the life-time of Allah's Apostle except this prayer which is being lost (not offered as it should be)."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 508:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "Whenever anyone of you offers his prayer he is speaking in private to his Lord. So he should not spit to his right but under his left foot." Qatada said, "He should not spit in front of him but to his left or under his feet." And Shu'ba said, "He should not spit in front of him, nor to his right but to his left or under his foot." Anas said: The Prophet said, "He should neither spit in the direction of his Qibla nor to his right but to his left or under his foot."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 509:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "Do the prostration properly and do not put your fore-arms flat with elbows touching the ground like a dog. And if you want to spit, do not spit in front, nor to the right for the person in prayer is speaking in private to his Lord."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 510:
Narrated Abu Huraira and Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "If it is very hot, then pray the Zuhr prayer when it becomes (a bit) cooler, as the severity of the heat is from the raging of the Hell-fire."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 511:
Narrated Abu Dhar:
The Muadhdhin (call-maker) of the Prophet pronounced the Adhan (call) for the Zuhr prayer but the Prophet said, "Let it be cooler, let it be cooler." Or said, 'Wait, wait, because the severity of heat is from the raging of the Hell-fire. In severe hot weather, pray when it becomes (a bit) cooler and the shadows of hillocks appear."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 512:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "In very hot weather delay the Zuhr prayer till it becomes (a bit) cooler because the severity of heat is from the raging of Hell-fire. The Hell-fire of Hell complained to its Lord saying: O Lord! My parts are eating (destroying) one another. So Allah allowed it to take two breaths, one in the winter and the other in the summer. The breath in the summer is at the time when you feel the severest heat and the breath in the winter is at the time when you feel the severest cold."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 513:
Narrated Abu Sa'id:
that Allah's Apostle said, "Pray Zuhr prayer when it becomes (a bit) cooler as the severity of heat is from the raging of the Hell-fire."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 514:
Narrated Abu Dhar Al-Ghifar:
We were with the Prophet on a journey and the Mu'adhdhin (call maker for the prayer) wanted to pronounce the Adhan (call) for the Zuhr prayer. The Prophet said, 'Let it become cooler." He again (after a while) wanted to pronounce the Adhan but the Prophet said to him, "Let it become cooler till we see the shadows of hillocks." The Prophet added, "The severity of heat is from the raging of the Hell-fire, and in very hot weather pray (Zuhr) when it becomes cooler."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 515:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle came out as the sun declined at mid-day and offered the Zuhr prayer. He then stood on the pulpit and spoke about the Hour (Day of Judgement) and said that in it there would be tremendous things. He then said, "Whoever likes to ask me about anything he can do so and I shall reply as long as I am at this place of mine. Most of the people wept and the Prophet said repeatedly, "Ask me." Abdullah bin Hudhafa As-Sahmi stood up and said, "Who is my father?" The Prophet said, "Your father is Hudhafa." The Prophet repeatedly said, "Ask me." Then Umar knelt before him and said, "We are pleased with Allah as our Lord, Islam as our religion, and Mohammed as our Prophet." The Prophet then became quiet and said, "Paradise and Hell-fire were displayed in front of me on this wall just now and I have never seen a better thing (than the former) and a worse thing (than the latter)."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 516:
Narrated Abu Al-Minhal:
Abu Barza said, "The Prophet used to offer the Fajr (prayer) when one could recognize the person sitting by him (after the

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prayer) and he used to recite between 60 to 100 Ayat (verses) of the Koran. He used to offer the Zuhr prayer as soon as the sun declined (at noon) and the Asr at a time when a man might go and return from the farthest place in Medina and find the sun still hot. (The sub-narrator forgot what was said about the Maghrib). He did not mind delaying the 'Isha prayer to one third of the night or the middle of the night."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 517:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
When we offered the Zuhr prayers behind Allah's Apostle we used to prostrate on our clothes to protect ourselves from the heat.

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 518:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
"The Prophet prayed eight Rakat for the Zuhr and Asr, and seven for the Maghrib and 'Isha prayers in Medina." Aiyub said, "Perhaps those were rainy nights." Anas said, "May be."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 519:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle used to offer the Asr prayer when the sunshine had not disappeared from my chamber.

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 520:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle used to offer the Asr prayers at a time when the sunshine was still inside my chamber and no shadow had yet appeared in it.

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 521:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet used to pray the Asr prayers at a time when the sunshine was still inside my chamber and no shadow had yet appeared in it.

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 522:
Narrated Saiyar bin Salama:
I along with my father went to Abu- Barza Al-Aslarrni and my father asked him, "How Allah's Apostle used to offer the five compulsory congregational prayers?" Abu- Barza said, "The Prophet used to pray the Zuhr prayer which you (people) call the first one at mid-day when the sun had just declined The Asr prayer at a time when after the prayer, a man could go to the house at the farthest place in Medina (and arrive) while the sun was still hot. (I forgot about the Maghrib prayer). The Prophet Loved to delay the 'Isha which you call Al- Atama and he disliked sleeping before it and speaking after it. After the Fajr prayer he used to leave when a man could recognize the one sitting beside him and he used to recite between 60 to 100 Ayat (in the Fajr prayer) .

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 523:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
We used to pray the Asr prayer and after that if someone happened to go to the tribe of Bani Amr bin Auf, he would find them still praying the Asr (prayer).

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 524:
Narrated Abu Bakr bin Uthman bin Sahl bin Hunaif:
that he heard Abu Umama saying: We prayed the Zuhr prayer with Umar bin Abdul Aziz and then went to Anas bin Malik and found him offering the Asr prayer. I asked him, "O uncle! Which prayer have you offered?" He said 'The Asr and this is (the time of) the prayer of Allah s Apostle which we used to pray with him."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 525:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle used to offer the Asr prayer at a time when the sun was still hot and high and if a person went to Al-'Awali (a place) of Medina, he would reach there when the sun was still high. Some of Al-'Awali of Medina were about four miles or so from the town.

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 526:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
We used to pray the Asr and after that if one of US went to Quba'he would arrive there while the sun was still high.

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 527:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever misses the Asr prayer (intentionally) then it is as if he lost his family and property."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 528:
Narrated Abu Al-Mahh:
We were with Buraida in a battle on a cloudy day and he said, "Offer the Asr prayer early as the Prophet said, "Whoever leaves the Asr prayer, all his (good) deeds will be annulled."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 529:
Narrated Qais:
Jarir said, "We were with the Prophet and he looked at the moon--full-moon--and said, 'Certainly you will see your Lord as you see this moon and you will have no trouble in seeing Him. So if you can avoid missing (through sleep or business, etc.) a prayer before the sun-rise (Fajr) and a prayer before sunset (Asr), you must do so.' He then recited Allah's Statement:
And celebrate the praises Of your Lord before The rising of the sun And before (its) setting." (50.39) Isma'il said, "Offer those prayers and do not miss them."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 530:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Angels come to you in succession by night and day and all of them get together at the time of the Fajr and Asr prayers. Those who have passed the night with you (or stayed with you) ascend (to the Heaven) and Allah asks them, though He knows everything about you, well, "In what state did you leave my slaves?" The angels reply: "When we left them they were praying and when we reached them, they were praying."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 531:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "If anyone of you can get one Rak'a of the Asr prayer before sunset, he should complete his prayer. If any of you can get one Rak'a of the Fajr prayer before sunrise, he should complete his prayer."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 532:
Narrated Salim bin Abdullah:
My father said, "I heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'The period of your stay as compared to the previous nations is like the period equal to the time between the Asr prayer and sunset. The people of the Torah were given the Torah and they acted (upon it) till mid-day then they were exhausted and were given one Qirat (of gold) each. And then the people of the Gospel were given the Gospel and they acted (upon it) till the Asr prayer then they were exhausted and were! given one Qirat each. And then we were given the Koran and we acted (upon it) till sunset and we were given two Qirats each. On that the people of both the scriptures said, 'O our Lord! You have given them two Qirats and given us one Qirat, though we have worked more than they.' Allah said, 'Have I usurped some of your right?' They said, 'No.' Allah said: "That is my blessing I bestow upon whomsoever I wish."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 533:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet said, "The example of Muslims, Jews and Christians is like the example of a man who employed laborers to work for him from morning till night. They worked till mid-day and they said, 'We are not in need of your reward.' SO the man employed another batch and said to them, 'Complete the rest of the day and yours will be the wages I had fixed (for the first batch). They worked Up till the time of the Asr prayer and said, 'Whatever we have done is for you.' He employed another batch. They worked for the rest of the day till sunset, and they received the wages of the two former batches."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 534:
Narrated Rafi' bin Khadij:
We used to offer the Maghrib prayer with the Prophet and after finishing the prayer one of us may go away and could still see as Par as the spots where one's arrow might reach when shot by a bow.

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 535:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet used to pray the Zuhr at mid-day, and the Asr at a time when the sun was still bright, the Maghrib after sunset (at its stated time) and the Isha at a variable time. Whenever he saw the people assembled (for Isha' prayer) he would pray earlier and if the people delayed, he would delay the prayer. And they or the Prophet used to offer the Fajr Prayers when it still dark.

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 536:
Narrated Salama:
We used to pray the Maghrib prayer with the Prophet when the sun disappeared from the horizon.

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 537:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet prayed seven Rakat together and eight Rakat together.

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 538:
Narrated Abdullah Al-Muzani:
The Prophet said, "Do not be influenced by bedouins regarding the name of your Maghrib prayer which is called 'Isha' by them."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 539:
Narrated Abdullah:
"One night Allah's Apostle led us in the 'Isha' prayer and that is the one called Al-'Atma by the people. After the completion of the prayer, he faced us and said, "Do you know the importance of this night? Nobody present on the surface of the earth to-night will be living after one hundred years from this night." (See Hadith No. 575).

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 540:
Narrated Mohammed bin Amr:
We asked Jabir bin Abdullah about the prayers of the Prophet . He said, "He used to pray Zuhr prayer at mid-day, the Asr when the sun was still hot, and the Maghrib after sunset (at its stated time). The 'Isha was offered early if the people gathered, and used to be delayed if their number was less; and the morning prayer was offered when it was still dark. "

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 541:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle once delayed the 'Isha' prayer and that was during the days when Islam still had not spread. The Prophet did not come out till Umar informed him that the women and children had slept. Then he came out and said to the people of the mosque:"None amongst the dwellers of the earth has been waiting for it ('Isha prayer) except you."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 542:
Narrated Abu Musa:
My companions, who came with me in the boat and I landed at a place called Baqi Buthan. The Prophet was in Medina at that time. One of us used to go to the Prophet by turns every night at the time of the Isha prayer. Once I along with my companions went to the Prophet and he was busy in some of his affairs, so the 'Isha' prayer was delayed to the middle of the night He then came out and led the people (in prayer). After finishing from the prayer, he addressed the people present there saying, "Be patient! Don't go away. Have the glad tiding. It is from the blessing of Allah upon you that none amongst mankind has prayed at this time save you." Or said, "None except you has prayed at this time." Abu Muisa added, 'So we returned happily after what we heard from Alllah's Apostle ."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 543:
Narrated Abu Barza:
Allah's Apostle disliked to sleep before the 'Isha' prayer and to talk after it.

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 544:
Narrated Ibn Shihab from Urwa:
Aisha said, "Once Allah's Apostle delayed the 'Isha' prayer till Umar reminded him by saying, "The prayer!" The women and children have slept. Then the Prophet came out and said, 'None amongst the dwellers of the earth has been waiting for it (the prayer) except you." Urwa said, "Nowhere except in Medina the prayer used to be offered (in those days)." He further said, "The Prophet used to offer the 'Isha' prayer in the period between the disappearance of the twilight and the end of the first third of the night."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 545:
Narrated Ibn Juraij from Nafi:
Abdullah bin Umar said, "Once Allah's Apostle was busy (at the time of the 'Isha'), so the prayer was delayed so much so that we slept and woke up and slept and woke up again. The Prophet came out and said, 'None amongst the dwellers of the earth but you have been waiting for the prayer." Ibn Umar did not find any harm in praying it earlier or in delaying it unless he was afraid that sleep might overwhelm him and he might miss the prayer, and sometimes he used to sleep before the 'Isha' prayer. Ibn Juraij said, "I said to 'Ata', 'I heard Ibn Abbas saying: Once Allah's Apostle delayed the 'Isha' prayer to such an extent that the people slept and got up and slept again and got up again. Then Umar bin Al-Khattab I, stood up and reminded the Prophet I of the prayer.' 'Ata' said, 'Ibn Abbas said: The Prophet came out as if I was looking at him at this time, and water was trickling from his head and he was putting his hand on his head and then said, 'Hadn't I thought it hard for my followers, I would have ordered them to pray ('Isha' prayer) at this time.' I asked 'Ata' for further information, how the Prophet had kept his hand on his head as he was told by Ibn Abbas. 'Ata' separated his fingers slightly and put their tips on the side of the head, brought the fingers downwards approximating them till the thumb touched the lobe of the ear at the side of the temple and the beard on the face. He neither slowed nor hurried in this action but he acted like that. The Prophet said: "Hadn't I

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thought it hard for my followers I would have ordered them to pray at this time."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 546:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet delayed the'lsha' prayer till midnight and then he offered the prayer and said, "The people prayed and slept but you have been in prayer as long as you have been waiting for it (the prayer)." Anas added: As if I am looking now at the glitter of the ring of the Prophet on that night.

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 547:
Narrated Jarir bin Abdullah:
We were with the Prophet on a full moon night. He looked at the moon and said, "You will certainly see your Lord as you see this moon, and there will be no trouble in seeing Him. So if you can avoid missing (through sleep, business, etc.) a prayer before the rising of the sun (Fajr) and before its setting (Asr) you must do so. He (the Prophet) then recited the following verse:
And celebrate the praises Of Your Lord before The rising of the sun And before (its) setting." (50.39)

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 548:
Narrated Abu Bakr bin Abi Musa:
My father said, "Allah's Apostle said, 'Whoever prays the two cool prayers (Asr and Fajr) will go to Paradise.' "

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 549:
Narrated Anas:
Zaid bin Thabit said, "We took the "Suhur" (the meal taken before dawn while fasting is observed) with the Prophet and then stood up for the (morning) prayer." I asked him how long the interval between the two (Suhur and prayer) was. He replied, 'The interval between the two was just sufficient to recite fifty to Sixth 'Ayat."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 550:
Narrated Qatada:
Anas bin Malik said, "The Prophet and Zaid bin Thabit took the 'Suhur' together and after finishing the meal, the Prophet stood up and prayed (Fajr prayer)." I asked Anas, "How long was the interval between finishing their 'Suhur' and starting the prayer?" He replied, "The interval between the two was just sufficient to recite fifty 'Ayat." (Verses of the Koran)."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 551:
Narrated Sahl bin Sa'd:
I used to take the "Suhur" meal with my family and hasten so as to catch the Fajr (morning prayer) with Allah's Apostle

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 552:
Narrated Aisha:
The believing women covered with their veiling sheets used to attend the Fajr prayer with Allah's Apostle, and after finishing the prayer they would return to their home and nobody could recognize them because of darkness.

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 553:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever could get one Rak'a (of the Fajr prayer) before sunrise, he has got the (morning) prayer and whoever could get one Rak'a of theAsr prayer before sunset, he has got the (Asr) prayer."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 554:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever could get one Rak'a of a prayer, (in its proper time) he has got the prayer."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 555:
Narrated Umar:
"The Prophet forbade praying after the Fajr prayer till the sun rises and after the Asr prayer till the sun sets."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 556:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Some people told me the same narration (as above).

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 557:
Narrated Hisham's father:
Ibn Umar said, "Allah's Apostle said, 'Do not pray at the time of sunrise and at the time of sunset.' " Ibn Umar said, "Allah's Apostle said, 'If the edge of the sun appears (above the horizon) delay the prayer till it becomes high, and if the edge of the sun disappears, delay the prayer till it sets (disappears completely).' "

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 558:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle forbade two kinds of sales, two kinds of dresses, and two prayers. He forbade offering prayers after the Fajr prayer till the rising of the sun and after the Asr prayer till its setting. He also forbade "Ishtimal-Assama" and "al-Ihtiba" in one garment in such a way that one's private parts are exposed towards the sky. He also forbade the sales called "Munabadha" and "Mulamasa." (See Hadith No. 354 and 355 Vol. 3).

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 559:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "None of you should try to pray at sunrise or sunset."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 560:
Narrated Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "There is no prayer after the morning prayer till the sun rises, and there is no prayer after the Asr prayer till the sun sets."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 561:
Narrated Muawiya:
You offer a prayer which I did not see being offered by Allah's Apostle when we were in his company and he certainly had forbidden it (i.e. two Rakat after the Asr prayer).

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 562:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle forbade the offering of two prayers:
1. after the morning prayer till the sunrises.
2. after the Asr prayer till the sun sets.

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 563:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
I pray as I saw my companions praying. I do not forbid praying at any time during the day or night except at sunset and sunrise.

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 564:
Narrated Aisha:
By Allah, Who took away the Prophet. The Prophet never missed them (two Rakat) after the Asr prayer till he met Allah and he did not meet Allah till it became heavy for him to pray while standing so he used to offer most of the prayers while sitting. (She meant the two Rakat after Asr) He used to pray them in the house and never prayed them in the mosque lest it might be hard for his followers and he loved what was easy for them .

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 565:
Narrated Hisham's father:
Aisha (addressing me) said, "O son of my sister! The Prophet never missed two prostrations (i.e. Rakat) after the Asr prayer in my house."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 566:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle never missed two Rakat before the Fajr prayer and after the Asr prayer openly and secretly.

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 567:
Narrated Aisha:
Whenever the Prophet come to me after the Asr prayer, he always prayed two Rakat.

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 568:
Narrated Ibn Abu Malih:
I was with Buraida on a cloudy day and he said, "Offer the Asr prayer earlier as the Prophet said, 'Whoever leaves the Asr prayer will have all his (good) deeds annulled." (See Hadith No. 527 and 528)

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 569:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abi Qatada:
My father said, "One night we were traveling with the Prophet and some people said, 'We wish that Allah's Apostle would take a rest along with us during the last hours of the night.' He said, 'I am afraid that you will sleep and miss the (Fajr) prayer.' Bilal said, 'I will make you get up.' So all slept and Bilal rested his back against his Rahila and he too was overwhelmed (by sleep) and slept. The Prophet got up when the edge of the sun had risen and said, 'O Bilal! What about your statement?' He replied, 'I have never slept such a sleep.' The Prophet said, 'Allah captured your souls when He wished, and released them when He wished. O Bilal! Get up and pronounce the Adhan for the prayer.' The Prophet performed ablution and when the sun came up and became bright, he stood up and prayed."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 570:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
On the day of Al-Khandaq (the battle of trench.) Umar bin Al-Khattab came cursing the disbelievers of Quraish after the sun had set and said, "O Allah's Apostle I could not offer the Asr prayer till the sun had set." The Prophet said, "By Allah! I, too, have not prayed." So we turned towards Buthan, and the Prophet performed ablution and we too performed ablution and offered the Asr prayer after the sun had set, and then he offered the Maghrib prayer.

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 571:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "If anyone forgets a prayer he should pray that prayer when he remembers it. There is no expiation except to pray the same." Then he recited: "Establish prayer for My (i.e. Allah's) remembrance." (20.14).

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 572:
Narrated Jabir:
Umar came cursing the disbelievers (of Quraish) on the day of Al-Khandaq (the battle of Trench) and said, "I could not offer the Asr prayer till the sun had set. Then we went to Buthan and he offered the (Asr) prayer after sunset and then he offered the Maghrib prayer.

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 573:
Narrated Abu-l-Minhal:
My father and I went to Abi Barza Al-Aslami and my father said to him, "Tell us how Allah's Apostle used to offer the compulsory congregational prayers." He said, "He used to pray the Zuhr prayer, which you call the first prayer, as the sun declined at noon, the Asr at a time when one of US could go to his family at the farthest place in Medina while the sun was still hot. (The narrator forgot what Abu Barza had said about the Maghrib prayer), and the Prophet preferred to pray the 'Isha' late and disliked to sleep before it or talk after it. And he used to return after finishing the morning prayer at such a time when it was possible for one to recognize the person sitting by his side and he (the Prophet) used to recite 60 to 100 'Ayat' (verses) of the Koran in it."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 574:
Narrated Qurra bin Khalid:
Once he waited for Al-Hasan and he did not show up till it was about the usual time for him to start his speech; then he came and apologized saying, "Our neighbours invited us." Then he added, "Narrated Anas, 'Once we waited for the Prophet till it was midnight or about midnight. He came and led the prayer, and after finishing it, he addressed us and said, 'All the people prayed and then slept and you had been in prayer as long as you were waiting for it." Al-Hasan said, "The people are regarded as performing good deeds as long as they are waiting for doing good deeds." Al-Hasan's statement is a portion of Anas's Hadith from the Prophet .

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 575:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
The Prophet prayed one of the'lsha' prayer in his last days and after finishing it with Taslim, he stood up and said, "Do you realize (the importance of) this night? Nobody present on the
surface of the earth to-night would be living after the completion of one hundred years from this night."
The people made a mistake in grasping the meaning of this statement of Allah's Apostle and they indulged in those things which are said about these narrators (i.e. some said that the Day of Resurrection will be established after 100 years etc.) But the Prophet said, "Nobody present on the surface of earth tonight would be living after the completion of 100 years from this night"; he meant "When that century (people of that century) would pass away."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 576:
Narrated Abu Uthman:
Abdur Rahman bin Abi Bakr said, "The Suffa Companions were poor people and the Prophet said, 'Whoever has food for two persons should take a third one from them (Suffa companions). And whosoever has food for four persons he should take one or two from them' Abu Bakr took three men and the Prophet took ten of them."
Abdur Rahman added, my father my mother and I were there (in the house). (The sub-narrator is in doubt whether Abdur Rahman also said, 'My wife and our servant who was common for both my house and Abu Bakr's house). Abu Bakr took his supper with the Prophet and remained there till the 'Isha' prayer was offered. Abu Bakr went back and stayed with the Prophet till the Prophet took his meal and then Abu Bakr returned to his house after a long portion of the night had passed. Abu Bakr's wife said, 'What detained you from your guests (or guest)?' He said, 'Have you not served them yet?' She said, 'They refused to eat until you come. The food was served for them but they refused." Abdur Rahman added, "I went away and hid myself (being afraid of Abu Bakr) and in the meantime he (Abu Bakr) called me, 'O Ghunthar (a harsh word)!' and also called me bad names and abused me and then said (to his family), 'Eat. No welcome for you.' Then (the supper was served). Abu Bakr took an oath that he would not eat that food. The narrator added: By Allah, whenever any one of us (myself and the guests of Suffa companions) took anything from the food, it increased from underneath. We all

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ate to our fill and the food was more than it was before its serving.

Abu Bakr looked at it (the food) and found it as it was before serving or even more than that. He addressed his wife (saying) 'O the sister of Bani Firas! What is this?' She said, 'O the pleasure of my eyes! The food is now three times more than it was before.' Abu Bakr ate from it, and said, 'That (oath) was from Satan' meaning his oath (not to eat). Then he again took a morsel (mouthful) from it and then took the rest of it to the Prophet. So that meal was with the Prophet. There was a treaty between us and some people, and when the period of that treaty had elapsed the Prophet divided us into twelve (groups) (the Prophet's companions) each being headed by a man. Allah knows how many men were under the command of each (leader). So all of them (12 groups of men) ate of that meal."

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 11:
Call to Prayers (Adhaan)

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 577:
Narrated Anas:
The people mentioned the fire and the bell (they suggested those as signals to indicate the starting of prayers), and by that they mentioned the Jews and the Christians. Then Bilal was ordered to pronounce Adhan for the prayer by saying its wordings twice, and for the Iqama (the call for the actual standing for the prayers in rows) by saying its wordings once. (Iqama is pronounced when the people are ready for the prayer).

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 578:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
When the Muslims arrived at Medina, they used to assemble for the prayer, and used to guess the time for it. During those days, the practice of Adhan for the prayers had not been introduced yet. Once they discussed this problem regarding the call for prayer. Some people suggested the use of a bell like the Christians, others proposed a trumpet like the horn used by the Jews, but Umar was the first to suggest that a man should call (the people) for the prayer; so Allah's Apostle ordered Bilal to get up and pronounce the Adhan for prayers.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 579:
Narrated Anas:
Bilal was ordered to repeat the wording of the Adhan for prayers twice, and to pronounce the wording of the Iqamas once except "Qad-qamat-is-Salat".

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 580:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
When the number of Muslims increased they discussed the question as to how to know the time for the prayer by some familiar means. Some suggested that a fire be lit (at the time of the prayer) and others put forward the proposal to ring the bell. Bilal was ordered to pronounce the wording of Adhan twice and of the Iqama once only.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 581:
Narrated Abu Qilaba:
Anas said, "Bilal was ordered to pronounce the wording of Adhan twice and of Iqama once only." The sub narrator Isma'li said, "I mentioned that to Aiyub and he added (to that), "Except Iqama (i.e. Qad-Qamatis-Salat which should be said twice)."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 582:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "When the Adhan is pronounced Satan takes to his heels and passes wind with noise during his flight in order not to hear the Adhan. When the Adhan is completed he comes back and again takes to his heels when the Iqama is pronounced and after its completion he returns again till he whispers into the heart of the person (to divert his attention from his prayer) and makes him remember things which he does not recall to his mind before the prayer and that causes him to forget how much he has prayed."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 583:
Narrated Abdul Rahman:
Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri told my father, "I see you liking sheep and the wilderness. So whenever you are with your sheep or in the wilderness and you want to pronounce Adhan for the prayer raise your voice in doing so, for whoever hears the Adhan, whether a human being, a jinn or any other creature, will be a witness for you on the Day of Resurrection." Abu Said added, "I heard it (this narration) from Allah's Apostle."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 584:
Narrated Humaid:
Anas bin Malik said, "Whenever the Prophet went out with us to fight (in Allah's cause) against any nation, he never allowed us to attack till morning and he would wait and see: if he heard Adhan he would postpone the attack and if he did not hear Adhan he would attack them." Anas added, "We reached Khaibar at night and in the morning when he did not hear the Adhan for the prayer, he (the Prophet) rode and I rode behind Abi Talha and my foot was touching that of the Prophet.

The inhabitants of Khaibar came out with their baskets and spades and when they saw the Prophet they shouted 'Mohammed! By Allah, Mohammed and his army.' When Allah's Apostle saw them, he said, "Allahu-Akbar! Allahu-Akbar! Khaibar is ruined. Whenever we approach a (hostile) nation (to fight), then evil will be the morning of those who have been warned."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 585:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whenever you hear the Adhan, say what the Mu'adhdhin is saying.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 586:
Narrated 'Isa bin Talha:
that he had heard Muawiya repeating the words of Adhan up to "Wa ash-hadu Anna Mohammedan Rasulul-lah (and I testify that Mohammed is Allah's Apostle.)"

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 587:
Narrated Yahya as above (586) and added:
"Some of my companions told me that Hisham had said, "When the Mu'adhdhin said, "Haiya alas-sala(t) (come for the prayer)." Muawiya said, "La hawla wala quwata illa billah (There is neither might nor any power except with Allah)" and added, "We heard your Prophet saying the same."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 588:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever after listening to the Adhan says, 'Allahumma Rabba hadhihi-d-da' watit-tammati was-salatil qa'imati, ati Mohammedan al-wasilata wal-fadilata, wab' athhu maqaman mahmudan-il-ladhi wa' adtahu (O Allah! Lord of this perfect call (of not ascribing partners to You) and of the regular prayer which is going to be established! Kindly give Mohammed the right of intercession and superiority and send him (on the Day of Judgement) to the best and the highest place in Paradise which You promised him)', then intercession for me will be permitted for him on the Day of Resurrection").

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 589:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "If the people knew the reward for pronouncing the Adhan and for standing in the first row (in congregational prayers) and found no other way to get that except by drawing lots they would draw lots, and if they knew the reward of the Zuhr prayer (in the early moments of its stated time) they would race for it (go early) and if they knew the reward of 'Isha' and Fajr (morning) prayers in congregation, they would come to offer them even if they had to crawl."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 590:
Narrated Abdullah bin Al-Harith:
Once on a rainy muddy day, Ibn Abbas delivered a sermon in our presence and when the Mu'adhdhin pronounced the Adhan and said, "Haiya ala-s-sala(t) (come for the prayer)" Ibn Abbas ordered him to say 'Pray at your homes.' The people began to look at each other (surprisingly). Ibn Abbas said. "It was done by one who was much better than I (i.e. the Prophet or his Mu'adhdhin), and it is a license.'

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 591:
Narrated Salim bin Abdullah:
My father said that Allah s Apostle said, "Bilal pronounces 'Adhan at night, so keep on eating and drinking (Suhur) till Ibn Um Maktum pronounces Adhan." Salim added, "He was a blind man who would not pronounce the Adhan unless he was told that the day had dawned."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 592:
Narrated Hafsa:
When the Muadh-dhin pronounced the Adhan for Fajr prayer and the dawn became evident the Prophet ordered a two Rakat light prayer (Sunna) before the Iqama of the compulsory (congregational) prayer.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 593:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet used to offer two light Rakat between the Adhan and the Iqama of the Fajr prayer.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 594:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "Bilal pronounces the Adhan at night, so keep on eating and drinking (Suhur) till Ibn Um Maktum pronounces the Adhan."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 595:
Narrated Abdullah bin Mas'ud:
The Prophet said, "The Adhan pronounced by Bilal should not stop you from taking Suhur, for he pronounces the Adhan at night, so that the one offering the late night prayer (Tahajjud) from among you might hurry up and the sleeping from among you might wake up. It does not mean that dawn or morning has started." Then he (the Prophet) pointed with his fingers and raised them up (towards the sky) and then lowered them (towards the earth) like this (Ibn Mas'ud imitated the gesture of the Prophet). Az-Zuhri gestured with his two index fingers which he put on each other and then stretched them to the right and left. These gestures illustrate the way real dawn appears. It spreads left and right horizontally. The dawn that appears in the high sky and lowers down is not the real dawn) .

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 596:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said, "Bilal pronounces the Adhan at night, so eat and drink (Suhur) till Ibn Um Maktum pronounces the Adhan."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 597:
Narrated Abdullah bin Mughaffal Al-Muzani:
Allah's Apostle said thrice, "There is a prayer between the two Adhans (Adhan and Iqama)," and added, "For the one who wants to pray."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 598:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
"When the Mu'adhdhin pronounced the Adhan, some of the companions of the Prophet would proceed to the pillars of the mosque (for the prayer) till the Prophet arrived and in this way they used to pray two Rakat before the Maghrib prayer. There used to be a little time between the Adhan and the Iqama." Shu'ba said, "There used to be a very short interval between the two (Adhan and Iqama)."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 599:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle used to pray two light Rakat before the morning (compulsory) prayer after the day dawned and the Mu'adhdhin had finished his Adhan. He then would lie on his right side till the Mu'adhdhin came to pronounce the Iqama.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 600:
Narrated Abdullah bin Mughaffal:
The prophet said, "There is a prayer between the two Adhans (Adhan and Iqama), there is a prayer between the two Adhans." And then while saying it the third time he added, "For the one who wants to (pray)."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 601:
Narrated Malik bin Huwairth:
I came to the Prophet with some men from my tribe and stayed with him for twenty nights. He was kind and merciful to us. When he realized our longing for our families, he said to us, "Go back and stay with your families and teach them the religion, and offer the prayer and one of you should pronounce the Adhan for the prayer when its time is due and the oldest one amongst you should lead the prayer."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 602:
Narrated Abu Dhar:
We were in the company of the Prophet on a journey and the Mu'adhdhin wanted to pronounce the Adhan for the (Zuhr) prayer. The Prophet said to him, "Let it become cooler." Then he again wanted to pronounce the Adhan but the Prophet; said to him, "Let it become cooler." The Mu'adh-dhin again wanted to pronounce the Adhan for the prayer but the Prophet said, "Let it become cooler," till the shadows of the hillocks become equal to their sizes. The Prophet added, "The severity of the heat is from the raging of Hell."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 603:
Narrated Malik bin Huwairth:
Two men came to the Prophet with the intention of a journey. The Prophet said, "When (both of) you set out, pronounce Adhan and then Iqama and the oldest of you should lead the prayer."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 604:
Narrated Malik:
We came to the Prophet and stayed with him for twenty days and nights. We were all young and of about the same age. The Prophet was very kind and merciful. When he realized our longing for our families, he asked about our homes and the people there and we told him. Then he asked us to go back to our families and stay with them and teach them (the religion) and to order them to do good things. He also mentioned some other things which I have (remembered or) forgotten. The Prophet then added, "Pray as you have seen

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me praying and when it is the time for the prayer one of you should pronounce the Adhan and the oldest of you should lead the prayer.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 605:
Narrated Nafi:
Once in a cold night, Ibn Umar pronounced the Adhan for the prayer at ,Dajnan (the name of a mountain) and then said, "Pray at your homes", and informed us that Allah's Apostle used to tell the Mu'adhdin to pronounce Adhan and say, "Pray at your homes" at the end of the Adhan on a rainy or a very cold night during the journey."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 606:
Narrated 'Aun bin Abi Juhaifa:
My father said, "I saw Allah's Apostle at a place called Al-Abtah. Bilal came and informed him about the prayer and then came out with an Anza and planted it in front of Allah's Apostle at Al-Abtah and pronounced the Iqama."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 607:
Narrated 'Aun bin Abi Juhaifa:
My father said, "I saw Bilal turning his face from side to side while pronouncing the Adhan for the prayer."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 608:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abi Qatada:
My father said, "While we were praying with the Prophet he heard the noise of some people. After the prayer he said, 'What is the matter?' They replied 'We were hurrying for the prayer.' He said, 'Do not make haste for the prayer, and whenever you come for the prayer, you should come with calmness, and pray whatever you get (with the people) and complete the rest which you have missed."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 609:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "When you hear the Iqama, proceed to offer the prayer with calmness and solemnity and do not make haste. And pray whatever you are able to pray and complete whatever you have missed.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 610:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abi Qatada:
My father said. "Allah's Apostle said, 'If the Iqama is pronounced then do not stand for the prayer till you see me (in front of you).' "

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 611:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abi:
Qatada, My father said, "Allah's Apostle said, 'If the Iqama is pronounced, then do not stand for the prayer till you see me (in front of you) and do it calmly.' "

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 612:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle went out (of the mosque) when the Iqama had been pronounced and the rows straightened. The Prophet stood at his Musalla (praying place) and we waited for the Prophet to begin the prayer with Takbir. He left and asked us to remain in our places. We kept on standing till the Prophet returned and the water was trickling from his head for he had taken a bath (of Janaba).

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 613:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Once iqama was pronounced and the people had straightened the rows, Allah's Apostle went forward (to lead the prayer) but he was Junub, so he said, "Remain in your places." And he went out, took a bath and returned with water trickling from his head. Then he led the prayer.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 614:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
On the day of Al-Khandaq (the trench), Umar bin Al-Khattab went to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! By Allah, I could not pray (the Asr) till the sun had set." Umar told this to the Prophet at the time when a fasting person had done Iftar (taken his meals). The Prophet then went to Buthan and I was with him. He performed ablution and offered the Asr prayer after the sun had set and then the Maghrib prayer.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 615:
Narrated Anas:
Once the Iqama was pronounced and the Prophet was talking to a man (in a low voice) in a corner of the mosque and he did not lead the prayer till (some of) the people had slept (dozed in a sitting posture) .

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 616:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Once Iqama was pronounced a man came to the Prophet and detained him (from the prayer).

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 617:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "By Him in Whose Hand my soul is I was about to order for collecting fire-wood (fuel) and then order Someone to pronounce the Adhan for the prayer and then order someone to lead the prayer then I would go from behind and burn the houses of men who did not present themselves for the (compulsory congregational) prayer. By Him, in Whose Hands my soul is, if anyone of them had known that he would get a bone covered with good meat or two (small) pieces of meat present in between two ribs, he would have turned up for the 'Isha' prayer.'

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 618:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "The prayer in congregation is twenty seven times superior to the prayer offered by person alone."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 619:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
The Prophet said, "The prayer in congregation is twenty five times superior to the prayer offered by person alone."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 620:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The reward of the prayer offered by a person in congregation is twenty five times greater than that of the prayer offered in one's house or in the market (alone). And this is because if he performs ablution and does it perfectly and then proceeds to the mosque with the sole intention of praying, then for every step he takes towards the mosque, he is upgraded one degree in reward and his one sin is taken off (crossed out) from his accounts (of deeds). When he offers his prayer, the angels keep on asking Allah's Blessings and Allah's forgiveness for him as long as he is (staying) at his Musalla. They say, 'O Allah! Bestow Your blessings upon him, be Merciful and kind to him.' And one is regarded in prayer as long as one is waiting for the prayer."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 621:
Narrated Abu Salama bin Abdur Rahman:
Abu Huraira said, "I heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'The reward of a prayer in congregation is twenty five times greater than that of a prayer offered by a person alone. The angels of the night and the angels of the day gather at the time of Fajr prayer.' " Abu Huraira then added, "Recite the Holy Book if you wish, for "Indeed, the recitation of the Koran in the early dawn (Fajr prayer) is ever witnessed." (17.18).
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar: The reward of the congregational prayer is twenty seven times greater (than that of the prayer offered by a person alone).

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 622:
Narrated Salim:
I heard Um Ad-Darda' saying, "Abu Ad-Darda' entered the house in an angry mood. I said to him. 'What makes you angry?' He replied, 'By Allah! I do not find the followers of Mohammed doing those good things (which they used to do before) except the offering of congregational prayer." (This happened in the last days of Abu Ad-Darda' during the rule of Uthman) .

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 623:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet said, "The people who get tremendous reward for the prayer are those who are farthest away (from the mosque) and then those who are next farthest and so on. Similarly one who waits to pray with the Imam has greater reward than one who prays and goes to bed. "

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 624:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "While a man was going on a way, he saw a thorny branch and removed it from the way and Allah became pleased by his action and forgave him for that." Then the Prophet said, "Five are martyrs: One who dies of plague, one who dies of an abdominal disease, one who dies of drowning, one who is buried alive (and) dies and one who is killed in Allah's cause." (The Prophet further said, "If the people knew the reward for pronouncing the Adhan and for standing in the first row (in the congregational prayer) and found no other way to get it except by drawing lots they would do so, and if they knew the reward of offering the Zuhr prayer early (in its stated time), they would race for it and they knew the reward for 'Isha' and Fajr prayers in congregation, they would attend them even if they were to crawl')

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 625:
Narrated Humaid:
Anas said, "The Prophet said, 'O Bani Salima! Don't you think that for every step of yours (that you take towards the mosque) there is a reward (while coming for prayer)?" Mujahid said: "Regarding Allah's Statement: "We record that which they have sent before (them), and their traces" (36.12). 'Their traces' means 'their steps.' " And Anas said that the people of Bani Salima wanted to shift to a place near the Prophet but Allah's Apostle disliked the idea of leaving their houses uninhabited and said, "Don't you think that you will get the reward for your footprints." Mujahid said, "Their foot prints mean their foot steps and their going on foot."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 626:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "No prayer is harder for the hypocrites than the Fajr and the 'Isha' prayers and if they knew the reward for these prayers at their respective times, they would certainly present themselves (in the mosques) even if they had to c awl." The Prophet added, "Certainly I decided to order the Mu'adh-dhin (call-maker) to pronounce Iqama and order a man to lead the prayer and then take a fire flame to burn all those who had not left their houses so far for the prayer along with their houses."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 627:
Narrated Malik bin Huwairith:
Prophet said (to two persons), "Whenever the prayer time becomes due, you should pronounce Adhan and then Iqama and the older of you should lead the prayer."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 628:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The angels keep on asking for Allah's Blessing and Forgiveness for anyone of you as long as he is at his Musalla (praying place) and does not do Hadath (passes wind). The angels say, 'O Allah! Forgive him and be Merciful to him.' Each one of you is in the prayer as long as he is waiting for the prayer and nothing but the prayer detains him from going to his family."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 629:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Allah will give shade, to seven, on the Day when there will be no shade but His. (These seven persons are) a just ruler, a youth who has been brought up in the worship of Allah (i.e. worships Allah sincerely from childhood), a man whose heart is attached to the mosques (i.e. to pray the compulsory prayers in the mosque in congregation), two persons who love each other only for Allah's sake and they meet and part in Allah's cause only, a man who refuses the call of a charming woman of noble birth for illicit intercourse with her and says: I am afraid of Allah, a man who gives charitable gifts so secretly that his left hand does not know what his right hand has given (i.e. nobody knows how much he has given in charity), and a person who remembers Allah in seclusion and his eyes are then flooded with tears."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 630:
Narrated Humaid:
Anas was asked, "Did Allah's Apostle wear a ring?" He said, "Yes. Once he delayed the 'Isha' prayer till mid-night and after the prayer, he faced us and said, 'The people prayed and have slept and you remained in prayer as long as you waited for it.' " Anas added, "As if I were just now observing the glitter of his ring."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 631:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Allah will prepare for him who goes to the mosque (every) morning and in the afternoon (for the congregational prayer) an honorable place in Paradise with good hospitality for (what he has done) every morning and afternoon goings.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 632:
Narrated Malik Ibn Buhaina:
Allah's Apostle passed by a man praying two Rakat after the Iqama (had been pronounced). When Allah's Apostle completed the prayer, the people gathered around him (the Prophet) or that man and Allah's Apostle said to him (protesting), Are there four Rakat in Fajr prayer? Are there four Rakat in Fajr prayer?"

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 633:
Narrated Al-Aswad:
"We were with Aisha discussing the regularity of offering the prayer and dignifying it. She said, 'When Allah's Apostle fell sick with the fatal illness and when the time of prayer became due and Adhan was pronounced, he said, 'Tell Abu Bakr to lead the people in prayer.' He was told that Abu Bakr was a soft-hearted man and would not be able to lead the prayer in his place. The Prophet gave the same order again but he was given the same reply. He gave the order for the third time and said, 'You (women) are the companions of Joseph. Tell Abu Bakr to lead the prayer.' So Abu Bakr came out to lead the prayer. In the meantime the condition of the Prophet improved a bit and he came out with the help of two men one on each side. As if I was observing his legs dragging

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on the ground owing to the disease. Abu Bakr wanted to retreat but the Prophet beckoned him to remain at his place and the Prophet was brought till he sat beside Abu Bakr." Al-A'mash was asked, "Was the Prophet praying and Abu Bakr following him, and were the people following Abu Bakr in that prayer?" Al-A'mash replied in the affirmative with a nod of his head. Abu Muawiya said, "The Prophet was sitting on the left side of Abu Bakr who was praying while standing."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 634:
Narrated Aisha:
"When the Prophet became seriously ill and his disease became aggravated he asked for permission from his wives to be nursed in my house and he was allowed. He came out with the help of two men and his legs were dragging on the ground. He was between Al-Abbas and another man."
Ubaid Ullah said, "I told Ibn Abbas what Aisha had narrated and he said, 'Do you know who was the (second) man whose name Aisha did not mention'" I said, 'No.' Ibn Abbas said, 'He was Ali Ibn Abi Talib.' "

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 635:
Narrated Nafi:
Once on a very cold and stormy night, Ibn Umar pronounced the Adhan for the prayer and then said, "Pray in your homes." He (Ibn Umar) added. "On very cold and rainy nights Allah's Apostle used to order the Mu'adhdhin to say, 'Pray in your homes.' "

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 636:
Narrated Mahmuid bin Rabi' Al-Ansari:
'Itban bin Malik used to lead his people (tribe) in prayer and was a blind man, he said to Allah's Apostle , "O Allah's Apostle! At times it is dark and flood water is flowing (in the valley) and I am blind man, so please pray at a place in my house so that I can take it as a Musalla (praying place)." So Allah's Apostle went to his house and said, "Where do you like me to pray?" 'Itban pointed to a place in his house and Allah's Apostle, offered the prayer there.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 637:
Narrated Abdullah bin Al-Harith:
Ibn Abbas addressed us on a (rainy and) muddy day and when the Mu'adh-dhin said, "Come for the prayer" Ibn Abbas ordered him to say, "Pray in your homes." The people began to look at one another with surprise as if they did not like it. Ibn Abbas said, "It seems that you thought ill of it but no doubt it was done by one who was better than I (i.e. the Prophet). It (the prayer) is a strict order and I disliked to bring you out."
Ibn Abbas narrated the same as above but he said, "I did not like you to make you sinful (in refraining from coming to the mosque) and to come (to the mosque) covered with mud up to the knees."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 638:
Narrated Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri:
A cloud came and it rained till the roof started leaking and in those days the roof used to be of the branches of date-palms. Iqama was pronounced and I saw Allah's Apostles prostrating in water and mud and even I saw the mark of mud on his forehead.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 639:
Narrated Anas bin Sirin:
I heard Anas saying, "A man from Ansar said to the Prophet, 'I cannot pray with you (in congregation).' He was a very fat man and he prepared a meal for the Prophet and invited him to his house. He spread out a mat for the Prophet, and washed one of its sides with water, and the Prophet prayed two Rakat on it." A man from the family of Al-Jaruid asked, "Did the Prophet used to pray the Duha (forenoon) prayer?" Anas said, "I did not see him praying the Duha prayer except on that day."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 640:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said, "If supper is served, and Iqama is pronounced one should start with the supper."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 641:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle said, "If the supper is served start having it before praying the Maghrib prayer and do not be hasty in finishing it."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 642:
Narrated Nafi:
Ibn Umar said, "Allah's Apostle said, 'If the supper is served for anyone of you and the Iqama is pronounced, start with the supper and don't be in haste (and carry on eating) till you finish it." If food was served for Ibn Umar and Iqama was pronounced, he never came to the prayer till he finished it (i.e. food) in spite of the fact that he heard the recitation (of the Koran) by the Imam (in the prayer). Narrated Ibn Umar: The Prophet said, "If anyone of you is having his meals, he should not hurry up till he is; satisfied even if the prayer has been started."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 643:
Narrated Jafar bin Amr bin Umaiya:
My father said, "I saw Allah's Apostle eating a piece of meat from the shoulder of a sheep and he was called for the prayer. He stood up, put down the knife and prayed but did not perform ablutilon."
Volume 1, Book 11, Number 644:
Narrated Al-Aswad:
That he asked Aisha "What did the Prophet use to do in his house?" She replied, "He used to keep himself busy serving his family and when it was the time for prayer he would go for it."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 645:
Narrated Aiyub:
Abu Qilaba said, "Malik bin Huwairith came to this Mosque of ours and said, 'I pray in front of you and my aim is not to lead the prayer but to show you the way in which the Prophet used to pray.' " I asked Abu Qilaba,"How did he use to pray?' " He replied, "(The Prophet used to pray) like this Sheikh of ours and the Sheikh used to sit for a while after the prostration, before getting up after the first Rak'a. "

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 646:
Narrated Abu Musa:
"The Prophet became sick and when his disease became aggravated, he said, "Tell Abu Bakr to lead the prayer." Aisha said, "He is a soft-hearted man and would not be able to lead the prayer in your place." The Prophet said again, "Tell Abu Bakr to lead the people in prayer." She repeated the same reply but he said, "Tell Abu Bakr to lead the people in prayer. You are the companions of Joseph." So the messenger went to Abu Bakr (with that order) and he led the people in prayer in the lifetime of the Prophet.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 647:
Narrated Aisha:
the mother of the believers: Allah's Apostle in his illness said, "Tell Abu Bakr to lead the people in prayer." I said to him, "If Abu Bakr stands in your place, the people would not hear him owing to his (excessive) weeping. So please order Umar to lead the prayer." Aisha added I said to Hafsa, "Say to him: If Abu Bakr should lead the people in the prayer in your place, the people would not be able to hear him owing to his weeping; so please, order Umar to lead the prayer." Hafsa did so but Allah's Apostle said, "Keep quiet! You are verily the Companions of Joseph. Tell Abu Bakr to lead the people in the prayer. " Hafsa said to Aisha, "I never got anything good from you."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 648:
Narrated Az-Zuhn:
Anas bin Malik Al-Ansari, told me, "Abu Bakr used to lead the people in prayer during the fatal illness of the Prophet till it was Monday. When the people aligned (in rows) for the prayer the Prophet lifted the curtain of his house and started looking at us and was standing at that time. His face was (glittering) like a page of the Koran and he smiled cheerfully. We were about to be put to trial for the pleasure of seeing the Prophet, Abu Bakr retreated to join the row as he thought that the Prophet would lead the prayer. The Prophet beckoned us to complete the prayer and he let the curtain fall. On the same day he died."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 649:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet did not come out for three days. The people stood for the prayer and Abu Bakr went ahead to lead the prayer. (In the meantime) the Prophet caught hold of the curtain and lifted it. When the face of the Prophet appeared we had never seen a scene more pleasing than the face of the Prophet as it appeared then. The Prophet beckoned to Abu Bakr to lead the people in the prayer and then let the curtain fall. We did not see him (again) till he died.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 650:
Narrated Hamza bin Abdullah:
My father said, "When Allah's Apostle became seriously ill, he was told about the prayer. He said, 'Tell Abu Bakr to lead the people in the prayer.' Aisha said, Abu Bakr is a soft-hearted man and he would be over-powered by his weeping if he recited the Koran.' He said to them, 'Tell him (Abu Bakr) to lead the prayer. The same reply was given to him. He said again, 'Tell him to lead the prayer. You (women) are the companions of Joseph."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 651:
Narrated Urwa's father:
Aisha said, "Allah's Apostle ordered Abu Bakr to lead the people in the prayer during his illness and so he led them in prayer." Urwa, a sub narrator, added, "Allah's Apostle felt a bit relieved and came out and Abu Bakr was leading the people. When Abu Bakr saw the Prophet he retreated but the Prophet beckoned him to remain there. Allah's Apostle sat beside Abu Bakr. Abu Bakr was following the prayer of Allah's Apostle and the people were following the prayer of Abu Bakr."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 652:
Narrated Sahl bin Sa'd As-Sa'idi:
Allah's Apostle went to establish peace among Bani Amr bin 'Auf. In the meantime the time of prayer was due and the Mu'adh-dhin went to Abu Bakr and said, "Will you lead the prayer, so that I may pronounce the Iqama?" Abu Bakr replied in the affirmative and led the prayer. Allah's Apostle came while the people were still praying and he entered the rows of the praying people till he stood in the (first row). The people clapped their hands. Abu Bakr never glanced sideways in his prayer but when the people continued clapping, Abu Bakr looked and saw Allah's Apostle. Allah's Apostle beckoned him to stay at his place. Abu Bakr raised his hands and thanked Allah for that order of Allah's Apostle and then he retreated till he reached the first row. Allah's Apostle went forward and led the prayer. When Allah's Apostle finished the prayer, he said, "O Abu Bakr! What prevented you from staying when I ordered you to do so?"
Abu Bakr replied, "How can Ibn Abi Quhafa (Abu Bakr) dare to lead the prayer in the presence of Allah's Apostle?" Then Allah's Apostle said, "Why did you clap so much? If something happens to anyone during his prayer he should say Subhan Allah. If he says so he will be attended to, for clapping is for women."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 653:
Narrated Malik bin Huwairth:
We went to the Prophet and we were all young men and stayed with him for about twenty nights. The Prophet was very merciful. He said, "When you return home, impart religious teachings to your families and tell them to offer perfectly such and such a prayer at such and such a time and such and such a prayer at such and such a time. And al the time of the prayer one of you should pronounce the Adhan and the oldest of you should lead the prayer."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 654:
Narrated Itban bin Malik Al-Ansari:
The Prophet (came to my house and) asked permission for entering and I allowed him. He asked, "Where do you like me to pray in your house?" I pointed to a place which I liked. He stood up for prayer and we aligned behind him and he finished the prayer with Taslim and we did the same.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 655:
Narrated Ubaid-Ullah Ibn Abdullah bin Utba:
I went to Aisha and asked her to describe to me the illness of Allah's Apostle. Aisha said, "Yes. The Prophet became seriously ill and asked whether the people had prayed. We replied, 'No. O Allah's Apostle! They are waiting for you.' He added, 'Put water for me in a trough." Aisha added, "We did so. He took a bath and tried to get up but fainted. When he recovered, he again asked whether the people had prayed. We said, 'No, they are waiting for you. O Allah's Apostle,' He again said, 'Put water in a trough for me.' He sat down and took a bath and tried to get up but fainted again. Then he recovered and said, 'Have the people prayed?' We replied, 'No, they are waiting for you. O Allah's Apostle.' He said, 'Put water for me in the trough.' Then he sat down and washed himself and tried to get up but he fainted. When he recovered, he asked, 'Have the people prayed?' We said, 'No, they are waiting for you. O Allah's Apostle! The people were in the mosque waiting for the Prophet for the 'Isha prayer. The Prophet sent for Abu Bakr to lead the people in the prayer. The messenger went to Abu Bakr and said, 'Allah's Apostle orders you to lead the people in the prayer.' Abu Bakr was a soft-hearted man, so he asked Umar to lead the prayer but Umar replied, 'You are more rightful.' So Abu Bakr led the prayer in those days. When the Prophet felt a bit better, he came out for the Zuhr prayer with the help of two persons one of whom was Al-Abbas. while Abu Bakr was leading the people in the prayer. When Abu Bakr saw him he wanted to retreat but the Prophet beckoned him not to do so and asked them to make him sit beside Abu Bakr and they did so. Abu Bakr was following the Prophet (in the prayer) and the people were following Abu Bakr. The Prophet (prayed) sitting."
Ubaid-Ullah added "I went to Abdullah bin Abbas and asked him, Shall I tell you what Aisha has told me about the fatal illness of the Prophet?' Ibn Abbas said, 'Go ahead. I told him her narration and he did not deny anything of it but asked whether Aisha told me the name of the second person (who helped the Prophet) along with Al-Abbas. I said. 'No.' He said, 'He was Ali (Ibn Abi Talib).

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Volume 1, Book 11, Number 656:
Narrated Aisha:
the mother of the believers: Allah's Apostle during his illness prayed at his house while sitting whereas some people prayed behind him standing. The Prophet beckoned them to sit down. On completion of the prayer, he said, 'The Imam is to be followed: bow when he bows, raise up your heads (stand erect) when he raises his head and when he says, 'Sami a-l-lahu liman-hamida ' (Allah heard those who sent praises to Him) say then 'Rabbana wa laka-l-hamd' (O our Lord! All the praises are for You), and if he prays sitting then pray sitting."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 657:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Once Allah's Apostle rode a horse and fell down and the right side (of his body) was injured. He offered one of the prayers while sitting and we also prayed behind him sitting. When he completed the prayer, he said, "The Imam is to be followed. Pray standing if he prays standing and bow when he bows; rise when he rises; and if he says, 'Sami a-l-lahu-liman hamida, say then, 'Rabbana wa Lakal-hamd' and pray standing if he prays standing and pray sitting (all of you) if he prays sitting."
Humaid said: The saying of the Prophet "Pray sitting, if he (Imam) prays sitting" was said in his former illness (during his early life) but the Prophet prayed sitting afterwards (in the last illness) and the people were praying standing behind him and the Prophet did not order them to sit. We should follow the latest actions of the Prophet.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 658:
Narrated Al-Bara:
(and he was not a liar) When Allah's Apostle said, "Sami a-l-lahu Liman hamida " none of us bent his back (for prostrations) till the Prophet prostrated and then we would prostrate after him.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 659:
Narrated Abu Ishaq:
as above.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 660:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Isn't he who raises his head before the Imam afraid that Allah may transform his head into that of a donkey or his figure (face) into that of a donkey?"

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 661:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
When the earliest emigrants came to Al-'Usba a place in Quba', before the arrival of the Prophet- Salim, the slave of Abu Hudhaifa, who knew the Koran more than the others used to lead them in prayer.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 662:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "Listen and obey (your chief) even if an Ethiopian whose head is like a raisin were made your chief."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 663:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "If the Imam leads the prayer correctly then he and you will receive the rewards but if he makes a mistake (in the prayer) then you will receive the reward for the prayer and the sin will be his."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 664:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said to Abu-Dhar, "Listen and obey (your chief) even if he is an Ethiopian with a head like a raisin."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 665:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Once I passed the night in the house of my aunt Maimuna. Allah's Apostle offered the 'Isha' prayer and then came to the house and offered four Rakat an slept. Later on, he woke up and stood for the prayer and I stood on his left side. He drew me to his right and prayed five Rakat and then two. He then slept till I heard him snoring (or heard his breath sounds). Afterwards he went out for the morning prayer.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 666:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
One night I slept at the house of (my aunt) Maimuna and the Prophet was there on that night. He performed ablution and stood up for the prayer. I joined him and stood on his left side but he drew me to his right and prayed thirteen Rakat and then slept till I heard his breath sounds. And whenever he slept, he used to breathe with audible sounds. The Mu'adhdhin came to the Prophet and he went out and prayed the morning prayer) without repeating the ablution.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 667:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Once I passed the night in the house of my aunt Maimuna. The Prophet stood for the night prayer and I joined him and stood on his left side but he drew me to his right by holding me by the head.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 668:
Narrated Mu'adh bin Jabal:
I used to pray the 'Isha prayer with the Prophet and then go to lead my people in the prayer.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 669:
Narrated Amr:
Jabir bin Abdullah said, "Mu'adh bin Jabal used to pray with the Prophet and then go to lead his people in prayer Once he led the 'Isha' prayer and recited Surat "Al-Baqra." Somebody left the prayer and Mu'adh criticized him. The news reached the Prophet and he said to Mu'adh, 'You are putting the people to trial,' and repeated it thrice (or said something similar) and ordered him to recite two medium Suras of Mufassal." (Amr said that he had forgotten the names of those Suras).

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 670:
Narrated Abu Mas'ud:
A man came and said, "O Allah's Apostle! By Allah, I keep away from the morning prayer only because So and so prolongs the prayer when he leads us in it." The narrator said, "I never saw Allah's Apostle more furious in giving advice than he was at that time. He then said, "Some of you make people dislike good deeds (the prayer). So whoever among you leads the people in prayer should shorten it because among them are the weak, the old and the needy."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 671:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "If anyone of you leads the people in the prayer, he should shorten it for amongst them are the weak, the sick and the old; and if anyone among your prays alone then he may prolong (the prayer) as much as he wishes."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 672:
Narrated Abu Mas'ud:
A man came and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I keep away from the morning prayer because so-and-so (Imam) prolongs it too much." Allah's Apostle became furious and I had never seen him more furious than he was on that day. The Prophet said, "O people! Some of you make others dislike the prayer, so whoever becomes an Imam he should shorten the prayer, as behind him are the weak, the old and the needy."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 673:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah Al-Ansari:
Once a man was driving two Nadihas (camels used for agricultural purposes) and night had fallen. He found Mu'adh praying so he made his camel kneel and joined Mu'adh in the prayer. The latter recited Surat 'AlBaqara" or Surat "An-Nisa", (so) the man left the prayer and went away. When he came to know that Mu'adh had criticized him, he went to the Prophet, and complained against Mu'adh. The Prophet said thrice, "O Mu'adh ! Are you putting the people to trial?" It would have been better if you had recited "Sabbih Isma Rabbika-l-a-la (87)", Wash-Shamsi wadu-haha (91)", or "Wal-laili Idha yaghsha (92)", for the old, the weak and the needy pray behind you." Jabir said that Mu'adh recited Sura Al-Baqara in the 'Isha' prayer.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 674:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet used to pray a short prayer (in congregation) but used to offer it in a perfect manner.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 675:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abi Qatada:
My father said, "The Prophet said, 'When I stand for prayer, I intend to prolong it but on hearing the cries of a child, I cut it short, as I dislike to trouble the child's mother.' "

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 676:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
I never prayed behind any Imam a prayer lighter and more perfect than that behind the Prophet and he used to cut short the prayer whenever he heard the cries of a child lest he should put the child's mother to trial.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 677:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "When I start the prayer I intend to prolong it, but on hearing the cries of a child, I cut short the prayer because I know that the cries of the child will incite its mother's passions."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 678:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet, said, "Whenever I start the prayer I intend to prolong it, but on hearing the cries of a child, I cut short the prayer because I know that the cries of the child will incite its mother's passions."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 679:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
Mu'adh used to pray with the Prophet and then go and lead his people (tribe) in the prayer.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 680:
Narrated Aisha:
When the Prophet, became ill in his fatal illness, Someone came to inform him about the prayer, and the Prophet told him to tell Abu Bakr to lead the people in the prayer. I said, "Abu Bakr is a soft-hearted man and if he stands for the prayer in your place, he would weep and would not be able to recite the Koran." The Prophet said, "Tell Abu Bakr to lead the prayer." I said the same as before. He (repeated the same order and) on the third or the fourth time he said, "You are the companions of Joseph. Tell Abu Bakr to lead the prayer." So Abu Bakr led the prayer and meanwhile the Prophet felt better and came out with the help of two men; as if I see him just now dragging his feet on the ground. When Abu Bakr saw him, he tried to retreat but the Prophet beckoned him to carry on. Abu Bakr retreated a bit and the Prophet sat on his (left) side. Abu Bakr was repeating the Takbir (Allahu Akbar) of Allah's Apostle for the people to hear.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 681:
Narrated Aisha:
When Allah's Apostle became seriously ill, Bilal came to him for the prayer. He said, "Tell Abu Bakr to lead the people in the prayer." I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Abu Bakr is a soft-hearted man and if he stands in your place, he would not be able to make the people hear him. Will you order Umar (to lead the prayer)?" The Prophet said, "Tell Abu Bakr to lead the people in the prayer." Then I said to Hafsa, "Tell him, Abu i Bakr is a soft-hearted man and if he stands in his place, he would not be able to make the people hear him. Would you order Umar to lead the prayer?' " Hafsa did so. The Prophet said, "Verily you are the companions of Joseph. Tell Abu Bakr to lead the people in the prayer." So Abu- Bakr stood for the prayer. In the meantime Allah's Apostle felt better and came out with the help of two persons and both of his legs were dragging on the ground till he entered the mosque. When Abu Bakr heard him coming, he tried to retreat but Allah's Apostle beckoned him to carry on. The Prophet sat on his left side. Abu Bakr was praying while standing and Allah's Apostle was leading the prayer while sitting. Abu Bakr was following the Prophet and the people were following Abu Bakr (in the prayer).

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 682:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Once Allah's Apostle prayed two Rakat (instead of four) and finished his prayer. Dhu-l-yadain asked him whether the prayer had been reduced or whether he had forgotten. Allah's Apostle asked the people whether Dhu-l-yadain was telling the truth. The people replied in the affirmative. Then Allah's Apostle stood up, offered the remaining two Rakat and then finished his prayer with Taslim and then said, "Allahu Akbar." He followed it with two prostrations like ordinary prostrations or a bit longer.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 683:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet prayed two Rakat of Zuhr prayer (instead of four) and he was told that he had prayed two Rakat only. Then he prayed two more Rakat and finished them with the Taslim followed by two prostrations.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 684:
Narrated Aisha:
the mother of the faithful believers: Allah's Apostle in his last illness said, "Tell Abu Bakr to lead the people in the prayer." I said, "If Abu Bakr stood in your place, he would not be able to make the people hear him owing to his weeping. So please order Umar to lead the prayer." He said, "Tell Abu Bakr to lead the people in the prayer." I said to Hafsa, "Say to him, Abu Bakr is a softhearted man and if he stood in your place he would not be able to make the people hear him owing to his weeping. So order Umar to lead the people in the prayer.' " Hafsa did so but Allah's Apostle said, "Keep quiet. Verily you are the companions of (Prophet) Joseph. Tell Abu Bakr to lead the people in the prayer." Hafsa said to me, "I never got any good from you."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 685:
Narrated An-Nu'man bin 'Bashir:
The Prophet said, "Straighten your rows or Allah will alter your faces."

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Volume 1, Book 11, Number 686:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "Straighten your rows, for I see you from behind my back.'

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 687:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Once the Iqama was pronounced and Allah's Apostle faced us and said, "Straighten your rows and stand closer together, for I see you from behind my back.'

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 688:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Martyrs are those who die because of drowning, plague, an abdominal disease, or of being buried alive by a falling building." And then he added, "If the people knew the Reward for the Zuhr prayer in its early time, they would race for it. If they knew the reward for the 'Isha' and the Fajr prayers in congregation, they would join them even if they had to crawl. If they knew the reward for the first row, they would draw lots for it."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 689:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The Imam is (appointed) to be followed. So do not differ from him, bow when he bows, and say, "Rabbana-lakal hamd" if he says "Sami'a-l-lahu Liman hamida"; and if he prostrates, prostrate (after him), and if he prays sitting, pray sitting all together, and straighten the rows for the prayer, as the straightening of the rows is amongst those things which make your prayer a correct and perfect one. (See Hadith No. 657).

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 690:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "Straighten your rows as the straightening of rows is essential for a perfect and correct prayer. "

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 691:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
I arrived at Medina and was asked whether I found any change since the days of Allah's Apostle. I said, "I have not found any change except that you do not stand in alignment in your prayers."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 692:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "Straighten your rows for I see you from behind my back." Anas added, "Everyone of us used to put his shoulder with the shoulder of his companion and his foot with the foot of his companion."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 693:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
I prayed with the Prophet one night and stood on his left side. Allah's Apostle caught hold of my head from behind and drew me to his right and then offered the prayer and slept. Later the Mu'adh-dhin came and the Prophet stood up for prayer without performing ablution.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 694:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
One night an orphan and I offered the prayers behind the Prophet in my house and my mother (Um Sulaim) was standing behind us (by herself forming a row).

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 695:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
One night I stood to the left of the Prophet in the prayer but he caught hold of me by the hand or by the shoulder (arm) till he made me stand on his right and beckoned with his hand (for me) to go from behind (him). (Al-Kashmaihani-Fateh al-Bari).

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 696:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle used to pray in his room at night. As the wall of the room was LOW, the people saw him and some of them stood up to follow him in the prayer. In the morning they spread the news. The following night the Prophet stood for the prayer and the people followed him. This went on for two or three nights. Thereupon Allah's Apostle did not stand for the prayer the following night, and did not come out. In the morning, the people asked him about it. He replied, that he way afraid that the night prayer might become compulsory.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 697:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet had a mat which he used to spread during the day and use as a curtain at night. So a number of people gathered at night facing it and prayed behind him.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 698:
Narrated Zaid bin Thabit:
Allah's Apostle made a small room in the month of Ramadan (Sa'id said, "I think that Zaid bin Thabit said that it was made of a mat") and he prayed there for a few nights, and so some of his companions prayed behind him. When he came to know about it, he kept on sitting. In the morning, he went out to them and said, "I have seen and understood what you did. You should pray in your houses, for the best prayer of a person is that which he prays in his house except the compulsory prayers."

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 12:
Characteristics of Prayer

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 699:
Narrated Anas bin Malik Al-Ansari:
Allah's Apostle rode a horse and fell down and the right side of his body was injured. On that day he prayed one of the prayers sitting and we also prayed behind him sitting. When the Prophet finished the prayer with Taslim, he said, "The Imam is to be followed and if he prays standing then pray standing, and bow when he bows, and raise your heads when he raises his head; prostrate when he prostrates; and if he says "Sami'a-l-lahu Liman hamida", you should say, "Rabbana wa-laka-l hamd.:

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 700:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle fell from a horse and got injured so he led the prayer sitting and we also prayed sitting. When he completed the prayer he said, "The Imam is to be followed; if he says Takbir then say Takbir, bow if he bows; raise your heads when he raises his head, when he says, 'Sami a-l-lahu Liman hamida say, 'Rabbana laka-l-hamd', and prostrate when he prostrates."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 701:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The Imam is to be followed. Say the Takbir when he says it; bow if he bows; if he says 'Sami a-l-lahu Liman hamida', say, ' Rabbana wa-laka-l-hamd', prostrate if he prostrates and pray sitting altogether if he prays sitting."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 702:
Narrated Salim bin Abdullah:
My father said, "Allah's Apostle used to raise both his hands up to the level of his shoulders when opening the prayer; and on saying the Takbir for bowing. And on raising his head from bowing he used to do the same and then say "Sami a-l-lahu Liman hamida, Rabbana walaka-l-hamd." And he did not do that (i.e. raising his hands) in prostrations.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 703:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
I saw that whenever Allah's Apostle stood for the prayer, he used to raise both his hands up to the shoulders, and used to do the same on saying the Takbir for bowing and on raising his head from it and used to say, "Sami a-l-lahu Liman hamida". But he did not do that (i.e. raising his hands) in prostrations.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 704:
Narrated Abu Qilaba:
I saw Malik bin Huwairith saying Takbir and raising both his hands (on starting the prayers and raising his hands on bowing and also on raising his head after bowing. Malik bin Huwairith said, "Allah's Apostle did the same."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 705:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
I saw Allah's Apostle opening the prayer with the Takbir and raising his hands to the level of his shoulders at the time of saying the Takbir, and on saying the Takbir for bowing he did the same; and when he said, "Sami a-l-lahu Liman hamida ", he did the same and then said, "Rabbana wa laka-l-hamd." But he did not do the same on prostrating and on lifting the head from it."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 706:
Narrated Nafi:
Whenever Ibn Umar started the prayer with Takbir, he used to raise his hands: whenever he bowed, he used to raise his hands (before bowing) and also used to raise his hands on saying, "Sami a-l-lahu Liman hamida", and he used to do the same on rising from the second Rak'a (for the 3rd Rak'a). Ibn Umar said: "The Prophet used to do the same."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 707:
Narrated Sahl bin Sa'd:
The people were ordered to place the right hand on the left forearm in the prayer. Abu Hazim said, "I knew that the order was from the Prophet ."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 708:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "You see me facing the Qibla; but, by Allah, nothing is hidden from me regarding your bowing and submissiveness and I see you from behind my back."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 709:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "Perform the bowing and the prostrations properly. By Allah, I see you from behind me (or from behind my back) when you bow or prostrate."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 710:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet, Abu Bakr and Umar used to start the prayer with "Al-hamdu lil-lahi Rabbil-'ala-min (All praises are for Allah the Lord of the Worlds)."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 711:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle used to keep silent between the Takbir and the recitation of Koran and that interval of silence used to be a short one. I said to the Prophet "May my parents be sacrificed for you! What do you say in the pause between Takbir and recitation?" The Prophet said, "I say, 'Allahumma, ba'id baini wa baina khatayaya kama ba'adta baina-l-mashriqi wa-l-maghrib. Allahumma, naqqim min khatayaya kama yunaqqa-ththawbu-l-abyadu mina-ddanas. Allahumma, ighsil khatayaya bil-ma'i wa-th-thalji wal-barad (O Allah! Set me apart from my sins (faults) as the East and West are set apart from each other and clean me from sins as a white garment is cleaned of dirt (after thorough washing). O Allah! Wash off my sins with water, snow and hail.)"

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 712:
Narrated Asma bint Abi Bakr:
The Prophet once offered the eclipse prayer. He stood for a long time and then did a prolonged bowing. He stood up straight again and kept on standing for a long time, then bowed a long bowing and then stood up straight and then prostrated a prolonged prostration and then lifted his head and prostrated a prolonged prostration. And then he stood up for a long time and then did a prolonged bowing and then stood up straight again and kept on standing for a long time. Then he bowed a long bowing and then stood up straight and then prostrated a prolonged prostration and then lifted his head and went for a prolonged prostration. On completion o the prayer, he said, "Paradise became s near to me that if I had dared, I would have plucked one of its bunches for you and Hell became so near to me that said, 'O my Lord will I be among those people?' Then suddenly I saw a woman and a cat was lacerating her with it claws. On inquiring, it was said that the woman had imprisoned the cat till it died of starvation and she neither fed it no freed it so that it could feed itself."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 713:
Narrated Abu Ma'mar:
We asked Khabbab whether Allah's Apostle used to recite (the Koran) in the Zuhr and the Asr prayers. He replied in the affirmative. We said, "How did you come to know about it?" He said, "By the movement of his beard."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 714:
Narrated Al-Bara:
(And Al-Bara was not a liar) Whenever we offered prayer with the Prophet and he raised his head from the bowing, we used to remain standing till we saw him prostrating .

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 715:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
Once solar eclipse occurred during the lifetime of Allah's Apostle. He offered the eclipse prayer. His companions asked, "O Allah's Apostle! We saw you trying to take something while standing at your place and then we saw you retreating." The Prophet said, "I was shown Paradise and wanted to have a bunch of fruit from it. Had I taken it, you would have eaten from it as long as the world remains."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 716:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet led us in prayer and then went up to the pulpit and beckoned with both hands towards the Qibla of the mosque and then said, "When I started leading you in prayer, I saw the display of Paradise and Hell on the wall of the mosque (facing the Qibla). I never saw good and bad as I have seen today." He repeated the last statement thrice.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 717:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "What is wrong with those people who look towards the sky during the prayer?" His talk grew stern

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while delivering this speech and he said, "They should stop (looking towards the sky during the prayer); otherwise their eye-sight would be taken away."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 718:
Narrated Aisha:
I asked Allah's Apostle about looking hither and thither in prayer. He replied, "It is a way of stealing by which Satan takes away (a portion) from the prayer of a person."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 719:
Narrated Aisha:
Once the Prophet prayed on a Khamisa with marks on it and said, "The marks on it diverted my attention, take this Khamisa to Abu Jahm and bring an Inbijaniya (from him.)"

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 720:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet saw expectoration in the direction of the Qibla of the mosque while he was leading the prayer, and scratched it off. After finishing the prayer, he said, "Whenever any of you is in prayer he should know that Allah is in front of him. So none should spit in front of him in the prayer."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 721:
Narrated Anas:
While the Muslims were offering the Fajr prayer, Al lah's Apostle suddenly appeared before them by living the curtain of the dwelling place of Aisha, looked towards the Muslims who were standing in rows. He smiled with pleasure. Abu Bakr started retreating to join the row on the assumption that the Prophet wanted to come out for the prayer. The Muslims intended to leave the prayer (and were on the verge of being put to trial), but the Prophet beckoned them to complete their prayer and then he let the curtain fall. He died in the last hours of that day.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 722:
Narrated Jabir bin Samura:
The People of Kufa complained against Sa'd to Umar and the latter dismissed him and appointed Ammar as their chief . They lodged many complaints against Sa'd and even they alleged that he did not pray properly. Umar sent for him and said, "O Aba Ishaq! These people claim that you do not pray properly." Abu Ishaq said, "By Allah, I used to pray with them a prayer similar to that of Allah's Apostle and I never reduced anything of it. I used to prolong the first two Rakat of 'Isha prayer and shorten the last two Rakat." Umar said, "O Aba Ishaq, this was what I thought about you." And then he sent one or more persons with him to Kufa so as to ask the people about him. So they went there and did not leave any mosque without asking about him. All the people praised him till they came to the mosque of the tribe of Bani Abs; one of the men called Usama bin Qatada with a surname of Aba Sa'da stood up and said, "As you have put us under an oath; I am bound to tell you that Sa'd never went himself with the army and never distributed (the war booty) equally and never did justice in legal verdicts." (On hearing it) Sa'd said, "I pray to Allah for three things: O Allah! If this slave of yours is a liar and got up for showing off, give him a long life, increase his poverty and put him to trials." (And so it happened). Later on when that person was asked how he was, he used to reply that he was an old man in trial as the result of Sa'd's curse. Abdul Malik, the sub narrator, said that he had seen him afterwards and his eyebrows were over-hanging his eyes owing to old age and he used to tease and assault the small girls in the way.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 723:
Narrated 'Ubada bin As-Samit:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever does not recite Al-Fatiha in his prayer, his prayer is invalid."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 724:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle entered the mosque and a person followed him. The man prayed and went to the Prophet and greeted him. The Prophet returned the greeting and said to him, "Go back and pray, for you have not prayed." The man went back prayed in the same way as before, returned and greeted the Prophet who said, "Go back and pray, for you have not prayed." This happened thrice. The man said, "By Him Who sent you with the Truth, I cannot offer the prayer in a better way than this. Please, teach me how to pray." The Prophet said, "When you stand for Prayer say Takbir and then recite from the Holy Koran (of what you know by heart) and then bow till you feel at ease. Then raise your head and stand up straight, then prostrate till you feel at ease during your prostration, then sit with calmness till you feel at ease (do not hurry) and do the same in all your prayers

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 725:
Narrated Jabir bin Samura:
Sa'd said, "I used to pray with them a prayer similar to that of Allah's Apostle (the prayer of Zuhr and Asr) reducing nothing from them. I used to prolong the first two Rakat and shorten the last two Rak'at." Umar said to Sa'd "This was what we thought about you."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 726:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abi Qatada:
My father said, "The Prophet in Zuhr prayers used to recite Al-Fatiha along with two other Suras in the first two Rakat: a long one in the first Rak'a and a shorter (Sura) in the second, and at times the verses were audible. In the Asr prayer the Prophet used to recite Al-Fatiha and two more Suras in the first two Rakat and used to prolong the first Rak'a. And he used to prolong the first Rak'a of the Fajr prayer and shorten the second.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 727:
Narrated Abu Ma'mar:
I asked Khabbab whether the Prophet used to recite the Koran in the Zuhr and the Asr prayers. He replied in the affirmative. We said, "How did you come to know that?" He said, "From the movement of his beard."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 728:
Narrated Abu Ma'mar:
I asked Khabbab bin Al-Art whether the Prophet used to recite the Koran in the Zuhr and the Asr prayers. He replied in the affirmative. I said, "How did you come to know that?" He replied, "From the movement of his beard."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 729:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abi Qatada:
My father said, "The Prophet used to recite Al-Fatiha along with another Sura in the first two Rakat of the Zuhr and the Asr prayers and at times a t verse or so was audible to us."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 730:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
(My mother) Umu-l-Fadl heard me reciting "Wal Mursalati 'Urfan" (77) and said, "O my son! By Allah, your recitation made me remember that it was the last Sura I heard from Allah's Apostle. He recited it in the Maghrib prayer. "

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 731:
Narrated Marwan bin Al-Hakam:
Zaid bin Thabit said to me, "Why do you recite very short S&ras in the Maghrib prayer while I heard the Prophet reciting the longer of the two long Suras?"

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 732:
Narrated Jubair bin Mut'im:
My father said, "I heard Allah's Apostle reciting "At-Tur" (52) in the Maghrib prayer."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 733:
Narrated Abu Rafi:
I offered the 'Isha' prayer behind Abu Huraira and he recited, "Idha-s-Sama'u-n-Shaqqat" (84) and prostrated. On my inquiring, he said, "I prostrated behind Abu-l-Qasim (the Prophet) (when he recited that Sura) and I will go on doing it till I meet him."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 734:
Narrated Al-Bara:
The Prophet was on a journey and recited in one of the first two Rakat of the 'Isha' prayer "Wat-tini waz-zaituni." (95)

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 735:
Narrated Abu Rafi':
Once I prayed the 'Isha' prayer with Abu Huraira and he recited, "Idha-s-Sama' u-nShaqqat" (84) and prostrated. I said, "What is that?" He said, "I prostrated behind Abu-l-Qasim, (the Prophet) (when he recited that Sura) and I will go on doing it till I meet him."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 736:
Narrated Al-Bara:
I heard the Prophet reciting wat-tini wazzaituni" (95) in the 'Isha' prayer, and I never heard a sweeter voice or a better way of recitation than that of the Prophet.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 737:
Narrated Jabir bin Samura:
Umar said to Sa'd, "The people complained against you in everything, even in prayer." Sa'd replied, "Really I used to prolong the first two Rakat and shorten the last two and I will never shorten the prayer in which I follow Allah's Apostle." Umar said, "You are telling the truth and that is what I think a tout you."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 738:
Narrated Saiyar bin Salama:
My father and I went to Abu Barza-al-Aslami to ask him about the stated times for the prayers. He replied, "The Prophet used to offer the Zuhr prayer when the sun just declined from its highest position at noon; the Asr at a time when if a man went to the farthest place in Medina (after praying) he would find the sun still hot (bright). (The sub narrator said: I have forgotten what Abu Barza said about the Maghrib prayer). The Prophet never found any harm in delaying the 'Isha' prayer to the first third of the night and he never liked to sleep before it and to talk after it. He used to offer the morning prayer at a time when after finishing it one could recognize the person sitting beside him and used to recite between 60 to 100 verses in one or both the Rakat."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 739:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Koran is recited in every prayer and in those prayers in which Allah's Apostle recited aloud for us, we recite aloud in the same prayers for you; and the prayers in which the Prophet recited quietly, we recite quietly. If you recite "Al-Fatiha" only it is sufficient but if you recite something else in addition, it is better.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 740:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet set out with the intention of going to Suq 'Ukaz (market of 'Ukaz) along with some of his companions. At the same time, a barrier was put between the devils and the news of heaven. Fire commenced to be thrown at them. The Devils went to their people, who asked them, "What is wrong with you?" They said, "A barrier has been placed between us and the news of heaven. And fire has been thrown at us." They said, "The thing which has put a barrier between you and the news of heaven must be something which has happened recently. Go eastward and westward and see what has put a barrier between you and the news of heaven." Those who went towards Tuhama came across the Prophet at a place called Nakhla and it was on the way to Suq 'Ukaz and the Prophet was offering the Fajr prayer with his companions. When they heard the Koran they listened to it and said, "By Allah, this is the thing which has put a barrier between us and the news of heaven." They went to their people and said, "O our people; verily we have heard a wonderful recital (Koran) which shows the true path; we believed in it and would not ascribe partners to our Lord." Allah revealed the following verses to his Prophet (Sura 'Jinn') (72): "Say: It has been revealed to me." And what was revealed to him was the conversation of the Jinns.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 741:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet recited aloud in the prayers in which he was ordered to do so and quietly in the prayers in which he was ordered to do so. "And your Lord is not forgetful." "Verily there was a good example for you in the ways of the Prophet."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 742:
Narrated Abu Wa'il:
A man came to Ibn Mas'ud and said, "I recited the Mufassal (Suras) at night in one Rak'a." Ibn Mas'ud said, "This recitation is (too quick) like the recitation of poetry. I know the identical Suras which the Prophet used to recite in pairs." Ibn Mas'ud then mentioned 20 Mufassal Suras including two Suras from the family of (i.e. those verses which begin with) AL, HA, MIM (which the Prophet used to recite) in each Rak'a.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 743:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abi Qatada:
My father said, "The Prophet uses to recite Al-Fatiha followed by another Sura in the first two Rakat of the prayer and used to recite only Al-Fatiha in the last two Rakat of the Zuhr prayer. Sometimes a verse or so was audible and he used to prolong the first Rak'a more than the second and used to do the same in the Asr and Fajr prayers."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 744:
Narrated Abu Ma'mar:
We said to Khabbab "Did Allah's Apostle used to recite in Zuhr and Asr prayers?" He replied in the affirmative. We said, "How did you come to know about it?" He said, "By the movement of his beard."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 745:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abi Qatada:
My father said, "The Prophet used to recite Al-Fatiha along with another Sura in the first two Rakat of the Zuhr and Asr prayers. A verse or so was audible at times and he used to prolong the first Rak'a."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 746:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abi Qatada:
My father said, "The Prophet used to prolong the first Rak'a of the Zuhr prayer and shorten the second one and used to do the same in the Fajr prayer."

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Volume 1, Book 12, Number 747:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Say Amin" when the Imam says it and if the Amin of any one of you coincides with that of the angels then all his past sins will be forgiven." Ibn Shihab said, "Allah's Apostle used to Say "Amin."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 748:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "If any one of you says, "Amin" and the angels in the heavens say "Amin" and the former coincides with the latter, all his past sins will be forgiven."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 749:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Say Amen' when the Imam says "Ghair-il-maghdubi 'alaihim wala-ddal-lin; not the path of those who earn Your Anger (such as Jews) nor of those who go astray (such as Christians); all the past sins of the person whose saying (of Amin) coincides with that of the angels, will be forgiven.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 750:
Narrated Abu Bakra:
I reached the Prophet in the mosque while he was bowing in prayer and I too bowed before joining the row mentioned it to the Prophet and he said to me, "May Allah increase your love for the good. But do not repeat it again (bowing in that way)."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 751:
Narrated Imran bin Husain:
I offered the prayer with Ali in Basra and he made us remember the prayer which we used to pray with Allah's Apostle. Ali said Takbir on each rising and bowing.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 752:
Narrated Abu Salama:
When Abu Huraira led us in prayer he used to say Takbir on each bowing and rising. On the completion of the prayer he used to say, "My prayer is more similar to the prayer of Allah's Apostle than that of anyone of you."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 753:
Narrated Mutarrif bin Abdullah:
Imran bin Husain and I offered the prayer behind Ali bin Abi Talib. When Ali prostrated, he said the Takbir, when he raised his head, he said the Takbir and when he got up for the third Rak'a he said the Takbir. On completion of the prayer Imran took my hand and said, "This (i.e. Ali) made me remember the prayer of Mohammed" Or he said, "He led us in a prayer like that of Mohammed."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 754:
Narrated 'Ikrima:
I saw a person praying at Muqam-lbrahim (the place of Abraham by the Kaaba) and he was saying Takbir on every bowing, rising, standing and sitting. I asked Ibn Abbas (about this prayer). He admonished me saying: "Isn't that the prayer of the Prophet?"

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 755:
Narrated 'Ikrima:
I prayed behind a Sheikh at Mecca and he said twenty two Takbirs (during the prayer). I told Ibn Abbas that he (i.e. that Sheikh) was foolish. Ibn Abbas admonished me and said, "This is the tradition of Abu-l-Qasim." And narrated Abu Huraira: Whenever Allah's Apostle stood for the prayer, he said Takbir on starting the prayer and then on bowing. On rising from bowing he said, "Sami a-l-lahu liman hamida," and then while standing straight he used to say, "Rabbana laka-l hamd" (Al-Laith said, "(The Prophet said), 'Walaka-l-hamd'." He used to say Takbir on prostrating and on raising his head from prostration; again he would Say Takbir on prostrating and raising his head. He would then do the same in the whole of the prayer till it was completed. On rising from the second Rak'a (after sitting for At-Tahiyyat), he used to say Takbir.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 756:
Narrated Mus'ab bin Sa'd:
I offered prayer beside my father and approximated both my hands and placed them in between the knees. My father told me not to do so and said, "We used to do the same but we were forbidden (by the Prophet) to do it and were ordered to place the hands on the knees."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 757:
Narrated Zaid binWahb:
Hudhaifa saw a person who was not performing the bowing and prostrations perfectly. He said to him, "You have not prayed and if you should die you would die on a religion other than that of Mohammed."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 758:
Narrated Al-Bara:
The bowing, the prostration the sitting in between the two prostrations and the standing after the bowing of the Prophet but not Qiyam (standing in the prayer) and Qu'ud (sitting in the prayer) used to be approximately equal (in duration).

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 759:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Once the Prophet entered the mosque, a man came in, offered the prayer and greeted the Prophet. The Prophet returned his greeting and said to him, "Go back and pray again for you have not prayed." The man offered the prayer again, came back and greeted the Prophet. He said to him thrice, "Go back and pray again for you have not prayed." The man said, "By Him Who has sent you with the truth! I do not know a better way of praying. Kindly teach Me how to pray." He said, "When you stand for the prayer, say Takbir and then recite from the Koran what you know and then bow with calmness till you feel at ease, then rise from bowing till you stand straight. Afterwards prostrate calmly till you feel at ease and then raise (your head) and sit with Calmness till you feel at ease and then prostrate with calmness till you feel at ease in prostration and do the same in the whole of your prayer."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 760:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet used to say in his bowing and prostrations, "Subhanaka-Allahumma Rabbana wa-bihamdika Allahumma-ighfirli.' (I honor Allah from all what (unsuitable things) is ascribed to Him. O Allah Our Lord! And all the praises are for You. O Allah! Forgive me)."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 761:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
When the Prophet said, "Sami a-l-lahu Liman hamida," (Allah heard those who sent praises to Him), he would say, "Rabbana wa-laka-l-hamd." On bowing and raising his head from it the Prophet used to say Takbir. He also used to say Takbir on rising after the two prostrations. (See Hadith No. 656).

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 762:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "When the Imam says, "Sami a-l-lahu Liman hamida," you should say, "Allahumma Rabbana laka-l-hamd." And if the saying of any one of you coincides with that of the angels, all his past sins will be forgiven."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 763:
Narrated Anas:
The Qunut used to be recited in the Maghrib and the Fajr prayers.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 764:
Narrated Rifa'a bin Rafi AzZuraqi:
One day we were praying behind the Prophet. When he raised his head from bowing, he said, "Sami'a-l-lahu Liman hamida." A man behind him said, "Rabbana walaka-l hamd hamdan Kathiran taiyiban mubarakan fihi" (O our Lord! All the praises are for You, many good and blessed praises). When the Prophet completed the prayer, he asked, "Who has said these words?" The man replied, "I." The Prophet said, "I saw over thirty angels competing to write it first." Prophet rose (from bowing) and stood straight till all the vertebrae of his spinal column came to a natural position.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 765:
Narrated Thabit:
Anas used to demonstrate to us the prayer of the Prophet and while demonstrating, he used to raise his head from bowing and stand so long that we would say that he had forgotten (the prostration).

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 766:
Narrated Al-Bara:
The bowing, the prostrations, the period of standing after bowing and the interval between the two prostrations of the Prophet used to be equal in duration .

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 767:
Narrated Aiyub:
Abu Qilaba said, "Malik bin Huwairith used to demonstrate to us the prayer of the Prophet at times other than that of the compulsory prayers. So (once) he stood up for prayer and performed a perfect Qiyam (standing and reciting from the Holy Koran) and then bowed and performed bowing perfectly; then he raised his head and stood straight for a while." Abu Qilaba added, "Malik bin Huwairith in that demonstration prayed like this Sheikh of ours, Abu Yazid." Abu, Yazid used to sit (for a while) on raising his head from the second prostration before getting up.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 768:
Narrated Abu Bakr bin Abdur Rahman Ibn Harith bin Hisham and Abu Salama bin Abdur Rahman:
Abu Huraira used to say Takbir in all the prayers, compulsory and optional -- in the month of Ramadan or other months. He used to say Takbir on standing for prayer and on bowing; then he would say, "Salmi'a-l-lahu Liman hamida," and before prostrating he would say "Rabbana walaka-l-hamd." Then he would say Takbir on prostrating and on raising his head from the prostration, then another Takbir on prostrating (for the second time), and on raising his head from the prostration. He also would say the Takbir on standing from the second Rak'a. He used to do the same in every Rak'a till he completed the prayer. On completion of the prayer, he would say, "By Him in Whose Hands my soul is! No doubt my prayer is closer to that of Allah's Apostle than yours, and this was His prayer till he left this world." And Abu Huraira said, "When Allah's Apostle raised his head from (bowing) he used to say "Sami a-l-lahu Liman hamida, Rabbana walakal-hamd." He Would invoke Allah for some people by naming them: "O Allah! Save Al-Walid bin Al-Walid and Salama bin Hisham and 'Aiyash bin Abi Rabi'a and the weak and the helpless people among the faithful believers O Allah! Be hard on the tribe of Mudar and let them suffer from famine years like that of the time of Joseph." In those days the Eastern section of the tribe of Mudar was against the Prophet.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 769:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle fell from a horse and the right side of his body was injured. We went to enquire about his health meanwhile it was time for the prayer and he led the prayer sitting and we also prayed while sitting. On completion of the prayer he said, "The Imam is to be followed; say Takbir when he says it; bow when he bows; rise when he rises and when he says "Sami'a-l-lahu Liman hamida," say, "Rabbana walaka-lhamd", and prostrate if he prostrates." Sufyan narrated the same from Ma'mar. Ibn Juraij said that his (the Prophet's) right leg had been injured.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 770:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The people said, "O Allah's Apostle! Shall we see our Lord on the Day of Resurrection?" He replied, "Do you have any doubt in seeing the full moon on a clear (not cloudy) night?" They replied, "No, O Allah's Apostle!" He said, "Do you have any doubt in seeing the sun when there are no clouds?" They replied in the negative. He said, "You will see Allah (your Lord) in the same way. On the Day of Resurrection, people will be gathered and He will order the people to follow what they used to worship. So some of them will follow the sun, some will follow the moon, and some will follow other deities; and only this nation (Muslims) will be left with its hypocrites. Allah will come to them and say, 'I am Your Lord.' They will say, 'We shall stay in this place till our Lord comes to us and when our Lord will come, we will recognize Him. Then Allah will come to them again and say, 'I am your Lord.' They will say, 'You are our Lord.' Allah will call them, and As-Sirat (a bridge) will be laid across Hell and I (Mohammed) shall be the first amongst the Apostles to cross it with my followers. Nobody except the Apostles will then be able to speak and they will be saying then, 'O Allah! Save us. O Allah Save us.'
There will be hooks like the thorns of Sa'dan in Hell. Have you seen the thorns of Sa'dan?" The people said, "Yes." He said, "These hooks will be like the thorns of Sa'dan but nobody except Allah knows their greatness in size and these will entangle the people according to their deeds; some of them will fall and stay in Hell forever; others will receive punishment (torn into small pieces) and will get out of Hell, till when Allah intends mercy on whomever He likes amongst the people of Hell, He will order the angels to take out of Hell those who worshipped none but Him alone. The angels will take them out by recognizing them from the traces of prostrations, for Allah has forbidden the (Hell) fire to eat away those traces. So they will come out of the Fire, it will eat away from the whole of the human body except the marks of the prostrations. At that time they will come out of the Fire as mere skeletons. The Water of Life will be poured on them and as a result they will grow like the seeds growing on the bank of flowing water. Then when Allah had finished from the Judgements amongst his creations, one man will be left between Hell and Paradise and he will be the last man from the people of Hell to enter paradise. He will be facing Hell, and will say, 'O Allah! Turn my face from the fire as its wind has dried me and its steam has burnt me.' Allah will ask him, "Will you ask for anything more in case this favor is granted to you?' He will say, "No by Your (Honor) Power!" And he will give to his Lord (Allah) what he will of the pledges and the covenants. Allah will then turn his face from the Fire. When he will face Paradise and will see its charm, he will remain quiet as long as Allah will. He then will say, 'O my Lord! Let me go to the gate of Paradise.' Allah will ask him, 'Didn't you give pledges and make covenants (to the effect)

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that you would not ask for anything more than what you requested at first?' He will say, 'O my Lord! Do not make me the most wretched, amongst Your creatures.' Allah will say, 'If this request is granted, will you then ask for anything else?' He will say, 'No! By Your Power! I shall not ask for anything else.' Then he will give to his Lord what He will of the pledges and the covenants. Allah will then let him go to the gate of Paradise. On reaching then and seeing its life, charm, and pleasure, he will remain quiet as long as Allah wills and then will say, 'O my Lord ! Let me enter Paradise.' Allah will say, May Allah be merciful unto you, O son of Adam! How treacherous you are! Haven't you made covenants and given pledges that you will not ask for anything more that what you have been given?' He will say, 'O my Lord! Do not make me the most wretched amongst Your creatures.' So Allah will laugh and allow him to enter Paradise and will ask him to request as much as he likes. He will do so till all his desires have been fulfilled . Then Allah will say, 'Request more of such and such things.' Allah will remind him and when all his desires and wishes; have been fulfilled, Allah will say "All this is granted to you and a similar amount besides." Abu Said Al-Khudri, said to Abu Huraira, 'Allah's Apostle said, "Allah said, 'That is for you and ten times more like it.' "Abu Huraira said, "I do not remember from Allah's Apostle except (his saying), 'All this is granted to you and a similar amount besides." Abu Sahd said, "I heard him saying, 'That is for you and ten times more the like of it."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 771:
Narrated Abdullah bin Malik bin Buhaina:
Whenever the Prophet used to offer prayer he used to keep arms away (from the body) so that the whiteness of his armpits was visible.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 772:
Narrated Abu Wail:
Hudhaifa said, "I saw a person not performing his bowing and prostrations perfectly. When he completed the prayer, I told him that he had not prayed." I think that Hudhaifa added (i.e. said to the man), "Had you died, you would have died on a tradition other than that of the Prophet Mohammed."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 773:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet was ordered (by Allah) to prostrate on seven parts and not to tuck up the clothes or hair (while praying). Those parts are: the forehead (along with the tip of nose), both hands, both knees, and (toes of) both feet.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 774:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "We have been ordered to prostrates on seven bones and not to tuck up the clothes or hair."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 775:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
(and he was not a liar) We used to pray behind the Prophet and when he said, "Sami a-l-lahu Liman hamida", none of us would bend his back (to go for prostration) till the Prophet had placed his, forehead on the ground.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 776:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "I have been ordered to prostrate on seven bones i.e. on the forehead along with the tip of the nose and the Prophet pointed towards his nose, both hands, both knees and the toes of both feet and not to gather the clothes or the hair."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 777:
Narrated Abu Salama:
Once I went to Abu- Sa'id Al-Khudri and asked him, "Won't you come with us to the date-palm trees to have a talk?" So Abu Said went out and I asked him, "Tell me what you heard from the Prophet about the Night of Qadr." Abu Said replied, "Once Allah's Apostle performed I'tikaf (seclusion) on the first ten days of the month of Ramadan and we did the same with him. Gabriel came to him and said, 'The night you are looking for is ahead of you.' So the Prophet performed the I'tikaf in the middle (second) ten days of the month of Ramadan and we too performed I'tikaf with him. Gabriel came to him and said, 'The night which you are looking for is ahead of you.' In the morning of the 20th of Ramadan the Prophet delivered a sermon saying, 'Whoever has performed I'tikaf with me should continue it. I have been shown the Night of "Qadr", but have forgotten its date, but it is in the odd nights of the last ten nights. I saw in my dream that I was prostrating in mud and water.' In those days the roof of the mosque was made of branches of date-palm trees. At that time the sky was clear and no cloud was visible, but suddenly a cloud came and it rained. The Prophet led us in the prayer and I saw the traces of mud on the forehead and on the nose of Allah's Apostle. So it was the confirmation of that dream."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 778:
Narrated Sahl bin Sa'd:
The people used to pray with the Prophet tying their Izars around their necks because of their small sizes and the women were directed that they should not raise their heads from the prostrations till the men had sat straight.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 779:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet was ordered to prostrate on seven bony parts and not to tuck up his clothes or hair.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 780:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "I have been ordered to prostrate on seven (bones) and not to tuck up the hair or garment."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 781:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet used to say frequently in his bowing and prostrations "Subhanaka-Allahumma Rabbana Wabihamdika, Allahumma Ighfir-li" (I honor Allah from all what (unsuitable things) is ascribed to Him, O Allah! Our Lord! All praises are for You. O Allah! Forgive me). In this way he was acting on what was explained to him in the Holy Koran.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 782:
Narrated Abu Qilaba:
Once Malik bin Huwairith said to his friends, "Shall I show you how Allah's Apostle used to offer his prayers?" And it was not the time for any of the compulsory congregational prayers. So he stood up (for the prayer) bowed and said the Takbir, then he raised his head and remained standing for a while and then prostrated and raised his head for a while (sat up for a while). He prayed like our Sheikh Amr Ibn Salama. (Aiyub said, "The latter used to do a thing which I did not see the people doing i.e. he used to sit between the third and the fourth Rak'a). IMalik bin Huwairith said, "We came to the Prophet (after embracing Islam) and stayed with him. He said to us, 'When you go back to your families, pray such and such a prayer at such and such a time, pray such and such a prayer at such and such a time, and when there is the time for the prayer then only of you should pronounce the Adhan for the prayer and the oldest of you should lead the prayer."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 783:
Narrated Al-Bara:
The time taken by the Prophet in prostrations, bowing, and the sitting interval between the two prostrations was about the same.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 784:
Narrated Thabit:
Anas said, "I will leave no stone unturned in making you offer the prayer as I have seen the Prophet making us offer it." Anas used to do a thing which I have not seen you doing. He used to stand after the bowing for such a long time that one would think that he had forgotten (the prostrations) and he used to sit in-between the prostrations so long that one would think that he had forgotten the second prostration.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 785:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "Be straight in the prostrations and none of you should put his forearms on the ground (in the prostration) like a dog."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 786:
Narrated Malik bin Huwairith Al-Laithi:
I saw the Prophet praying and in the odd Rakat, he used to sit for a moment before getting up.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 787:
Narrated Aiyub:
Abu Qilaba said, "Malik bin Huwairith came to us and led us in the prayer in this mosque of ours and said, 'I lead you in prayer but I do not want to offer the prayer but just to show you how Allah's Apostle performed his prayers." I asked Abu Qilaba, "How was the prayer of Malik bin Huwairith?" He replied, "Like the prayer of this Sheikh of ours-- i.e. Amr bin Salima." That Sheikh used to pronounce the Takbir perfectly and when he raised his head from the second prostration he would sit for a while and then support himself on the ground and get up.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 788:
Narrated Said bin Al-Harith:
Abu Said led us in the prayer and said the Takbir aloud on arising from the prostration, and on prostrating, on rising again, and on getting up from the second Rak'a. Abu Said said, "I saw the Prophet doing the same."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 789:
Narrated Mutarrif:
Imran and I prayed behind Ali bin Abi Talib and he said Takbir on prostrating, on rising and on getting up after the two Rakat (i.e. after the second Rak'a). When the prayer was finished, Imran took me by the hand and said, "He (Ali) has prayed the prayer of Mohammed" (or said, "He made us remember the prayer of Mohammed)."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 790:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abdullah:
I saw Abdullah bin Umar crossing his legs while sitting in the prayer and I, a mere youngster in those days, did the same. Ibn Umar forbade me to do so, and said, "The proper way is to keep the right foot propped up and bend the left in the prayer." I said questioningly, "But you are doing so (crossing the legs)." He said, "My feet cannot bear my weight."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 791:
Narrated Mohammed bin Amr bin 'Ata':
I was sitting with some of the companions of Allah's Apostle and we were discussing about the way of praying of the Prophet. Abu Humaid As-Saidi said, "I remember the prayer of Allah's Apostle better than any one of you. I saw him raising both his hands up to the level of the shoulders on saying the Takbir; and on bowing he placed his hands on both knees and bent his back straight, then he stood up straight from bowing till all the vertebrate took their normal positions. In prostrations, he placed both his hands on the ground with the forearms away from the ground and away from his body, and his toes were facing the Qibla. On sitting In the second Rak'a he sat on his left foot and propped up the right one; and in the last Rak'a he pushed his left foot forward and kept the other foot propped up and sat over the buttocks".

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 792:
Narrated Abdullah bin Buhaina:
(he was from the tribe of Uzd Shan'u'a and was the ally of the tribe of Abdul-Manaf and was one of the companions of the Prophet): Once the Prophet led us in the Zuhr prayer and stood up after the second Rak'a and did not sit down. The people stood up with him. When the prayer was about to end and the people were waiting for him to say the Taslim, he said Takbir while sitting and prostrated twice before saying the Taslim and then he said the Taslim."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 793:
Narrated Abdullah bin Malik bin Buhaina:
Once Allah's Apostle led us in the Zuhr prayer and got up (after the prostrations of the second Rak'a) although he should have sat (for the Tashah-hud). So at the end of the prayer, he prostrated twice while sitting (prostrations of Sahu).

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 794:
Narrated Shaqlq bin Salama:
Abdullah said, "Whenever we prayed behind the Prophet we used to recite (in sitting) 'Peace be on Gabriel, Michael, peace be on so and so. Once Allah's Apostle looked back at us and said, 'Allah Himself is As-Salam (Peace), and if anyone of you prays then he should say, At-Tahiyatu lil-lahi wassalawatu wat-taiyibatu. AsSalamu 'alalika aiyuha-n-Nabiyu wa rahmatu-l-lahi wa barakatuhu. As-Salam alaina wa ala ibadil-lah is-salihin. (All the compliments, prayers and good things are due to Allah: peace be on you, O Prophet and Allah's mercy and blessings be on you. Peace be on us an on the true pious slaves of Allah). (If you say that, it will be for all the slaves in the heaven and the earth). Ash-hadu an la-ilaha illa-l-lahu wa ash-hadu anna Mohammedan 'abduhu wa Rasuluhu. (I testify that none has the right to be worshipped but Allah and I also testify that Mohammed is His slave and His Apostle)."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 795:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) Allah's Apostle used to invoke Allah in the prayer saying "Allahumma inni a'udhu bika min adhabil-qabri, wa a'udhu bika min fitnatil-masihid-dajjal, wa a'udhu bika min fitnatil-mahya wa fitnatil-mamati. Allahumma inni a'udhu bika minal-ma thami wal-maghrami. (O Allah, I seek refuge with You from the punishment of the grave and from the afflictions of Masi,h Ad-Dajjal and from the afflictions of life and death. O Allah, I seek refuge with You from the sins and from being in debt)." Somebody said to him, "Why do you so frequently seek refuge with Allah from being in debt?" The Prophet replied, "A person in debt tells lies whenever he speaks, and breaks promises whenever he makes (them)." Aisha also narrated: I heard Allah's Apostle in his prayer seeking refuge with Allah from the afflictions of Ad-dajjal.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 796:
Narrated Abu Bakr As-Siddiq:

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I asked Allah's Apostle to teach me an invocation so that I may invoke Allah with it in my prayer. He told me to say, "Allahumma inni zalumtu nafsi zulman kathiran, Wala yaghfirudhdhunuba illa anta faghfirli maghfiratan min 'Indika, war-hamni innaka antal-ghafururrahim (O Allah! I have done great injustice to myself and none except You forgives sins, so please forgive me and be Merciful to me as You are the Forgiver, the Merciful)."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 797:
Narrated Abdullah:
When we prayed with the Prophet we used to say, "Peace be on Allah from His slaves and peace be on so and so." The Prophet said, "Don't say As-Salam be on Allah, for He Himself is As-Salam, but say, 'At-tahiyatu lil-lahi was-salawatu wat-taiyibatu. As-salamu 'Alaika aiyuhan-Nabiyu warahmatu-l-lahi wa barakatuhu. As-salamu 'alaina wa 'ala ibadillahis-salihin. (If you say this then it will be for all the slaves in heaven or between heaven and earth). Ashhadu an la-ilaha illallahu wa ashhadu anna Mohammedan 'Abduhu wa Rasuluhu.' Then select the invocation you like best and recite it." (See Hadith No. 794, 795 & 796).

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 798:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
I saw Allah's Apostle prostrating in mud and water and saw the mark of mud on his forehead.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 799:
Narrated Um Salama:
Whenever Allah's Apostle finished his prayers with Taslim, the women would get up and he would stay on for a while in his place before getting up. Ibn Shihab said, "I think (and Allah knows better), that the purpose of his stay was that the women might leave before the men who had finished their prayer. "

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 800:
Narrated 'Itban bin Malik:
We prayed with the Prophet and used to finish our prayer with the Taslim along with him.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 801:
Narrated Mahmud bin Ar-Rabi:
I remember Allah's Apostle and also the mouthful of water which he took from a bucket in our house and ejected (on me). I heard from ltban bin Malik Al-Ansari, who was one from Bani Salim, saying, "I used to lead my tribe of Bani Salim in prayer. Once I went to the Prophet and said to him, 'I have weak eye-sight and at times the rainwater flood intervenes between me and the mosque of my tribe and I wish that you would come to my house and pray at some place so that I could take that place as a place for praying (mosque). He said, "Allah willing, I shall do that." Next day Allah's Apostle along with Abu Bakr, came to my house after the sun had risen high and he asked permission to enter. I gave him permission, but he didn't sit till he said to me, "Where do you want me to pray in your house?" I pointed to a place in the house where I wanted him to pray. So he stood up for the prayer and we aligned behind him. He completed the prayer with Taslim and we did the same simultaneously."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 802:
Narrated Abu Ma'bad:
(the freed slave of Ibn Abbas) Ibn Abbas told me, "In the lifetime of the Prophet it was the custom to celebrate Allah's praises aloud after the compulsory congregational prayers." Ibn Abbas further said, "When I heard the Dhikr, I would learn that the compulsory congregational prayer had ended."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 803:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
I used to recognize the completion of the prayer of the Prophet by hearing Takbir.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 804:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Some poor people came to the Prophet and said, "The wealthy people will get higher grades and will have permanent enjoyment and they pray like us and fast as we do. They have more money by which they perform the Hajj, and Umra; fight and struggle in Allah's Cause and give in charity." The Prophet said, "Shall I not tell you a thing upon which if you acted you would catch up with those who have surpassed you? Nobody would overtake you and you would be better than the people amongst whom you live except those who would do the same. Say "Sub-han-al-lah", "Alhamdu-lillah" and "Allahu Akbar" thirty three times each after every (compulsory) prayer." We differed and some of us said that we should say, "Subhan-al-lah" thirty three times and "Alhamdu lillah" thirty three times and "Allahu Akbar" thirty four times. I went to the Prophet who said, "Say, "Subhan-al-lah" and "Alhamdu lillah" and "Allahu Akbar" all together for thirty three times."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 805:
Narrated Warrad:
(the clerk of Al-Mughira bin Shu'ba) Once Al-Mughira dictated to me in a letter addressed to Mu'awiya that the Prophet used to say after every compulsory prayer, "La ilaha illallah wahdahu la sharika lahu, lahul-mulku wa-lahul-hamdu, wahuwa ala kulli shai in qadir. Allahumma la mani 'a lima a'taita, wa la mu'tiya lima mana'ta, wa la yanfa'u dhal-jaddi minka-l-jadd. (None has the right to be worshipped but Allah and He has no partner in Lordship or in worship or in the Names and the Qualities, and for Him is the Kingdom and all the praises are for Him and He is omnipotent. O Allah! Nobody can hold back what you give and nobody can give what You hold back. Hard (efforts by anyone for anything cannot benefit one against Your Will)." And Al-Hasan said, "Al-jadd' means prosperity."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 806:
Narrated Samura bin Jundab:
The Prophet used to face us on completion of the prayer.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 807:
Narrated Zaid bin Khalid Al-Juhani:
The Prophet led us in the Fajr prayer at Hudaibiya after a rainy night. On completion of the prayer, he faced the people and said, "Do you know what your Lord has said (revealed)?" The people replied, "Allah and His Apostle know better." He said, "Allah has said, 'In this morning some of my slaves remained as true believers and some became non-believers; whoever said that the rain was due to the Blessings and the Mercy of Allah had belief in Me and he disbelieves in the stars, and whoever said that it rained because of a particular star had no belief in Me but believes in that star.' "

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 808:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Once the Prophet delayed the 'Isha' prayer until midnight and then came to us. Having prayed he faced us and said, "The people had prayed and slept but you were in the prayer as long as you were waiting for it."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 809:
Narrated Um Salama:
"The Prophet after finishing the prayer with Taslim used to stay at his place for a while." Ibn Shihab said, "I think (and Allah knows better), that he used to wait for the departure of the women who had prayed." Ibn Shihab wrote that he had heard it from Hind bint Al-Harith Al-Firasiya from Um Salama, the wife of the Prophet (Hind was from the companions of Um Salama) who said, "When the Prophet finished the prayer with Taslim, the women would depart and enter their houses before Allah's Apostle departed."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 810:
Narrated Uqba:
I offered the Asr prayer behind the Prophet at Medina. When he had finished the prayer with Taslim, he got up hurriedly and went out by crossing the rows of the people to one of the dwellings of his wives. The people got scared at his speed . The Prophet came back and found the people surprised at his haste and said to them, "I remembered a piece of gold Lying in my house and I did not like it to divert my attention from Allah's worship, so I have ordered it to be distributed (in charity)."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 811:
Narrated Abdullah:
You should not give away a part of your prayer to Satan by thinking that it is necessary to depart (after finishing the prayer) from one's right side only; I have seen the Prophet often leave from the left side.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 812:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
During the holy battle of Khaibar the Prophet said, "Whoever ate from this plant (i.e. garlic) should not enter our mosque."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 813:
Narrated 'Ata':
I heard Jabir bin Abdullah saying, "The Prophet said, 'Whoever eats (from) this plant (he meant garlic) should keep away from our mosque." I said, "What does he mean by that?" He replied, "I think he means only raw garlic."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 814:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "Whoever eats garlic or onion should keep away from our mosque or should remain in his house." (Jabir bin Abdullah, in another narration said, "Once a big pot containing cooked vegetables was brought. On finding unpleasant smell coming from it, the Prophet asked, 'What is in it?' He was told all the names of the vegetables that were in it. The Prophet ordered that it should be brought near to some of his companions who were with him. When the Prophet saw it he disliked to eat it and said, 'Eat. (I don't eat) for I converse with those whom you don't converse with (i.e. the angels)."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 815:
Narrated Abdul Aziz:
A man asked Anas, "What did you hear from the Prophet about garlic?" He said, "The Prophet said, 'Whoever has eaten this plant should neither come near us nor pray with us."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 816:
Narrated Sulaiman Ash-Shaibam:
I heard Ash-Sha'bi saying, "A person who was accompanying the Prophet passed by a grave that was separated from the other graves told me that the Prophet once led the people in the (funeral) prayer and the people had aligned behind him. I said, "O Aba Amr! Who told you about it?" He said, "Ibn Abbas."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 817:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
The Prophet said, "Ghusl (taking a bath) on Friday is compulsory for every Muslim reaching the age of puberty."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 818:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
One night I slept at the house of my aunt Maimuna and the Prophet slept (too). He got up (for prayer) in the last hours of the night and performed a light ablution from a hanging leather skin. (Amr, the sub-narrator described that the ablution was very light). Then he stood up for prayer and I got up too and performed the ablution in the same way and joined him on his left side. He pulled me to the right and prayed as much as Allah will. Then he lay down and slept and I heard his breath sounds till the Mu'adh-dhin came to him to inform him about the (Fajr) prayer. He left with him for the prayer and prayed without repeating the ablution. (Sufyan the subnarrator said: We said to Amr, "Some people say, 'The eyes of the Prophet sleep but his heart never sleeps.' " Amr said, "Ubai bin Umar said, 'The dreams of the Prophets are Divine Inspirations. Then he recited, '(O my son), I have seen in dream that I was slaughtering you (offering you in sacrifice).") (37.102)

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 819:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
My grandmother Mulaika invited Allah's Apostle for a meal which she had prepared specially for him. He ate some of it and said, "Get up. I shall lead you in the prayer." I brought a mat that had become black owing to excessive use and I sprinkled water on it. Allah's Apostle stood on it and prayed two Rakat; and the orphan was with me (in the first row), and the old lady stood behind us.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 820:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Once I came riding a she-ass and I, then, had just attained the age of puberty. Allah's Apostle was leading the people in prayer at Mina facing no wall. I passed in front of the row and let loose the she-ass for grazing and joined the row and no one objected to my deed.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 821:
Narrated Aisha:
Once Allah's Apostle delayed the 'Isha' prayer till Umar informed him that the women and children had slept. Then Allah's Apostle came out and said: "None from amongst the dwellers of earth have prayed this prayer except you." In those days none but the people of Medina prayed.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 822:
Narrated Abdur Rahman bin 'Abis:
A person asked Ibn Abbas, "Have you ever presented yourself at the ('Id) prayer with Allah's Apostle?" He replied, "Yes." And had it not been for my kinship (position) with the Prophet it would not have been possible for me to do so (for he was too young). The Prophet went to the mark near the house of Kathir bin As-Salt and delivered a sermon. He then went towards the women. He advised and reminded them and asked them to give alms. So the woman would bring her hand near her neck and take off her necklace and put it in the garment of Bilal. Then the Prophet and Bilal came to the house."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 823:
Narrated Aisha:
Once Allah's Apostle delayed the 'Isha' prayer till Umar informed him that the women and children had slept. The Prophet came out and said, "None except you from amongst

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the dwellers of earth is waiting for this prayer." In those days, there was no prayer except in Medina and they used to pray the 'Isha' prayer between the disappearance of the twilight and the first third of the night.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 824:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "If your women ask permission to go to the mosque at night, allow them."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 825:
Narrated Um Salama:
(the wife of the Prophet) In the lifetime of Allah's Apostle the women used to get up when they finished their compulsory prayers with Taslim. The Prophet and the men would stay on at their places as long as Allah will. When the Prophet got up, the men would then get up.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 826:
Narrated Aisha:
When Allah's Apostle finished the Fajr prayer, the women would leave covered in their sheets and were not recognized owing to the darkness.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 827:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abi Qatada Al-Ansari:
My father said, "Allah's Apostle said, "Whenever I stand for prayer, I want to prolong it but on hearing the cries of a child, I would shorten it as I dislike to put its mother in trouble."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 828:
Narrated Aisha:
Had Allah's Apostle known what the women were doing, he would have forbidden them from going to the mosque as the women of Bani Israel had been forbidden. Yahya bin Said (a sub-narrator) asked Amra (another sub-narrator), "Were the women of Bani Israel forbidden?" She replied "Yes."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 829:
Narrated Um Salama:
Whenever Allah's Apostle completed the prayer with Taslim, the women used to get up immediately and Allah's Apostle would remain at his place for someone before getting up. (The sub-narrator (Az-Zuhri) said, "We think, and Allah knows better, that he did so, so that the women might leave before men could get in touch with them)."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 830:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet prayed in the house of Um Sulaim; and I, along with an orphan stood behind him while Um Sulaim (stood) behind us.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 831:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle used to offer the Fajr prayer when it was still dark and the believing women used to return (after finishing their prayer) and nobody could recognize them owing to darkness, or they could not recognize one another.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 832:
Narrated Salim bin Abdullah:
My father said, "The Prophet said, 'If the wife of any one of you asks permission (to go to the mosque) do not forbid her."

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, VOLUME 2

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 13:
Friday Prayer 0

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 1:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "We (Muslims) are the last (to come) but (will be) the foremost on the Day of Resurrection though the former nations were given the Holy Scriptures before us. And this was their day (Friday) the celebration of which was made compulsory for them but they differed about it. So Allah gave us the guidance for it (Friday) and all the other people are behind us in this respect: the Jews' (holy day is) tomorrow (i.e. Saturday) and the Christians' (is) the day after tomorrow (i.e. Sunday)."

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 2:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "Anyone of you attending the Friday (prayers) should take a bath."

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 3:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
While Umar bin Al-Khattab was standing and delivering the sermon on a Friday, one of the companions of the Prophet, who was one of the foremost Muhajirs (emigrants) came. Umar said to him, "What is the time now?" He replied, "I was busy and could not go back to my house till I heard the Adhan. I did not perform more than the ablution." Thereupon Umar said to him, "Did you perform only the ablution although you know that Allah's Apostle used to order us to take a bath (on Fridays)?"

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 4:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
Allah's Apostle said, "The taking of a bath on Friday is compulsory for every male (Muslim) who has attained the age of puberty."

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 5:
Narrated Abu Said:
I testify that Allah's Apostle said, "The taking of a bath on Friday is compulsory for every male Muslim who has attained the age of puberty and (also) the cleaning of his teeth with Siwak, and the using of perfume if it is available." Amr (a sub-narrator) said, "I confirm that the taking of a bath is compulsory, but as for the Siwak and the using of perfume, Allah knows better whether it is obligatory or not, but according to the Hadith it is as above.")

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 6:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Any person who takes a bath on Friday like the bath of Janaba and then goes for the prayer (in the first hour i.e. early), it is as if he had sacrificed a camel (in Allah's cause); and whoever goes in the second hour it is as if he had sacrificed a cow; and whoever goes in the third hour, then it is as if he had sacrificed a horned ram; and if one goes in the fourth hour, then it is as if he had sacrificed a hen; and whoever goes in the fifth hour then it is as if he had offered an egg. When the Imam comes out (i.e. starts delivering the Khutba), the angels present themselves to listen to the Khutba."

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 7:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
While Umar (bin Al-Khattab) was delivering the Khutba on a Friday, a man entered (the mosque). Umar asked him, "What has detained you from the prayer?" The man said, "It was only that when I heard the Adhan I performed ablution (for the prayer)." On that Umar said, "Did you not hear the Prophet saying: 'Anyone of you going out for the Jumua prayer should take a bath'?".

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 8:
Narrated Salman-Al-Farsi:
The Prophet said, "Whoever takes a bath on Friday, purifies himself as much as he can, then uses his (hair) oil or perfumes himself with the scent of his house, then proceeds (for the Jumua prayer) and does not separate two persons sitting together (in the mosque), then prays as much as (Allah has) written for him and then remains silent while the Imam is delivering the Khutba, his sins in-between the present and the last Friday would be forgiven."

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 9:
Narrated Tawus:
I said to Ibn Abbas, "The people are narrating that the Prophet said, 'Take a bath on Friday and wash your heads (i.e. take a thorough bath) even though you were not Junub and use perfume'." On that Ibn Abbas replied, "I know about the bath, (i.e. it is essential) but I do not know about the perfume (i.e. whether it is essential or not.)~

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 10:
Narrated Tawus:
Ibn Abbas mentioned the statement of the Prophet regarding the taking of a bath on Friday and then I asked him whether the Prophet had ordered perfume or (hair) oil to be used if they could be found in one's house. He (Ibn Abbas) replied that he did not know about it.

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 11:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Umar bin Al-Khattab saw a silken cloak (being sold) at the gate of the Mosque and said to Allah's Apostle, "I wish you would buy this to wear on Fridays and also on occasions of the arrivals of the delegations." Allah's Apostle replied, "This will be worn by a person who will have no share (reward) in the Hereafter." Later on similar cloaks were given to Allah's Apostle and he gave one of them to Umar bin Al-Khattab. On that Umar said, "O Allah's Apostle! You have given me this cloak although on the cloak of Atarid (a cloak merchant who was selling that silken cloak at the gate of the mosque) you passed such and such a remark." Allah's Apostle replied, "I have not given you this to wear". And so Umar bin Al-Khattab gave it to his pagan brother in Mecca to wear.

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 12:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "If I had not found it hard for my followers or the people, I would have ordered them to clean their teeth with Siwak for every prayer."

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 13:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle I said, "I have told you repeatedly to (use) the Siwak. (The Prophet put emphasis on the use of the Siwak.)

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 14:
Narrated Hudhaifa:
When the Prophet got up at night (for the night prayer), he used to clean his mouth .

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 15:
Narrated Aisha:
AbdurRahman bin Abi Bakr came holding a Siwak with which he was cleaning his teeth. Allah's Apostle looked at him. I requested Abdur-Rahman to give the Siwak to me and after he gave it to me I divided it, chewed it and gave it to Allah's Apostle. Then he cleaned his teeth with it and (at that time) he was resting against my chest.

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 16:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet used to recite the following in the Fajr prayer of Friday, "Alif, Lam, Mim, Tanzil" (Surat-as-Sajda #32) and "Hal-ata-ala-l-Insani" (i.e. Surah-Ad-Dahr #76).

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 17:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The first Jumua prayer which was offered after a Jumua prayer offered at the mosque of Allah's Apostle took place in the mosque of the tribe of Abdul Qais at Jawathi in Bahrain.

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 18:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "All of you are Guardians." Yunis said: Ruzaiq bin Hukaim wrote to Ibn Shihab while I was with him at Wadi-al-Qura saying, "Shall I lead the Jumua prayer?" Ruzaiq was working on the land (i.e farming) and there was a group of Sudanese people and some others with him; Ruzaiq was then the Governor of Aila. Ibn Shihab wrote (to Ruzaiq) ordering him to lead the Jumua prayer and telling him that Salim told him that Abdullah bin Umar had said, "I heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'All of you are guardians and responsible for your wards and the things under your care. The Imam (i.e. ruler) is the guardian of his subjects and is responsible for them and a man is the guardian of his family and is responsible for them. A woman is the guardian of her husband's house and is responsible for it. A servant is the guardian of his master's belongings and is responsible for them.' I thought that he also said, 'A man is the guardian of his father's property and is responsible for it. All of you are guardians and responsible for your wards and the things under your care."

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 19:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "Anyone of you coming for the Jumua prayer should take a bath."

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 20:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
Allah's Apostle said, "The taking of a bath on Friday is compulsory for every Muslim who has attained the age of puberty."

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 21:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said "We are the last (to come amongst the nations) but (will be) the foremost on the Day of Resurrection. They were given the Holy Scripture before us and we were given the Koran after them. And this was the day (Friday) about which they differed and Allah gave us the guidance (for that). So tomorrow (i.e. Saturday) is the Jews' (day), and the day after tomorrow (i.e. Sunday) is the Christians'." The Prophet remained silent (for a while) and then said, "It is obligatory for every Muslim that he should take a bath once in seven days, when he should wash his head and body."
Narrated Abu Huraira through different narrators that the Prophet said, "It is Allah's right on every Muslim that he should take a bath (at least) once in seven days."

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 22:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "Allow women to go to the Mosques at night."

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 23:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
One of the wives of Umar (bin Al-Khattab) used to offer the Fajr and the 'Isha' prayer in congregation in the Mosque. She

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

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 24:
Narrated Mohammed bin Sirin:
On a rainy day Ibn Abbas said to his Muadh-dhin, "After saying, 'Ash-hadu anna Mohammedan Rasulullah' (I testify that Mohammed is Allah's Apostle), do not say 'Haiya 'Alas-Salat' (come for the prayer) but say 'Pray in your houses'." (The man did so). But the people disliked it. Ibn Abbas said, "It was done by one who was much better than I (i.e. the Prophet). No doubt, the Jumua prayer is compulsory but I dislike to put you to task by bringing you out walking in mud and slush."

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 25:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) The people used to come from their abodes and from Al-'Awali (i.e. outskirts of Medina up to a distance of four miles or more from Medina). They used to pass through dust and used to be drenched with sweat and covered with dust; so sweat used to trickle from them. One of them came to Allah's Apostle who was in my house. The Prophet said to him, "I wish that you keep yourself clean on this day of yours (i.e. take a bath)."

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 26:
Narrated Yahya bin Said:
I asked Amra about taking a bath on Fridays. She replied, " Aisha said, 'The people used to work (for their livelihood) and whenever they went for the Jumua prayer, they used to go to the mosque in the same shape as they had been in work. So they were asked to take a bath on Friday.' "

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 27:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet used to offer the Jumua prayer immediately after mid-day.

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 28:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
We used to offer the Jumua prayer early and then have an afternoon nap.

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 29:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet used to offer the prayer earlier if it was very cold; and if it was very hot he used to delay the prayer, i.e. the Jumua prayer.

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 30:
Narrated Abu Abs:
I heard the Prophet saying, "Anyone whose feet are covered with dust in Allah's cause, shall be saved by Allah from the Hell-Fire."

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 31:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
heard Allah's Apostles saying, "If the prayer is started do not run for it but just walk for it calmly and pray whatever you get, and complete whatever is missed. "

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 32:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abi Qatada on the authority of his father:
The Prophet said, "Do not stand up (for prayer) unless you see me, and observe calmness and solemnity".

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 33:
Narrated Salman Al-Farsi:
Allah's Apostle said, "Anyone who takes a bath on Friday and cleans himself as much as he can and puts oil (on his hair) or scents himself; and then proceeds for the prayer and does not force his way between two persons (assembled in the mosque for the Friday prayer), and prays as much as is written for him and remains quiet when the Imam delivers the Khutba, all his sins in between the present and the last Friday will be forgiven."

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 34:
Narrated Ibn Juraij:
I heard Nazi' saying, "Ibn Umar, said, 'The Prophet forbade that a man should make another man to get up to sit in his place' ". I said to Nafi, 'Is it for Jumua prayer only?' He replied, "For Jumua prayer and any other (prayer)."

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 35:
Narrated As-Saib bin Yazid:
In the life-time of the Prophet, Abu Bakr and Umar, the Adhan for the Jumua prayer used to be pronounced when the Imam sat on the pulpit. But during the Caliphate of Uthman when the Muslims increased in number, a third Adhan at Az-Zaura' was added. Abu Abdullah said, "Az-Zaura' is a place in the market of Medina."

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 36:
Narrated As-Saib bin Yazid:
The person who increased the number of Adhans for the Jumua prayers to three was Uthman bin Affan and it was when the number of the (Muslim) people of Medina had increased. In the life-time of the Prophet there was only one Muadh-dhin and the Adhan used to be pronounced only after the Imam had taken his seat (i.e. on the pulpit).

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 37:
Narrated Abu Umama bin Sahl bin Hunaif:
I heard Muawiya bin Abi Sufyan (repeating the statements of the Adhan) while he was sitting on the pulpit. When the Muadh-dhin pronounced the Adhan saying, "Allahu-Akbar, Allahu Akbar", Muawiya said: "Allah Akbar, Allahu Akbar." And when the Muadh-dhin said, "Ash-hadu an la ilaha illal-lah (I testify that none has the right to be worshipped but Allah)", Muawiya said, "And (so do) I". When he said, "Ash-hadu anna Mohammedan Rasulullah" (I testify that Mohammed is Allah's Apostle), Muawiya said, "And (so do) I". When the Adhan was finished, Muawiya said, "O people, when the Muadh-dhin pronounced the Adhan I heard Allah's Apostle on this very pulpit saying what you have just heard me saying".

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 38:
Narrated As-Sa'ib bin Yazid I :
Uthman bin 'Affan introduced the second Adhan on Fridays when the number of the people in the mosque increased. Previously the Adhan on Fridays used to be pronounced only after the Imam had taken his seat (on the pulpit).

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 39:
Narrated Az-Zuhri:
I heard As-Saib bin Yazid, saying, "In the life-time of Allah's Apostle, and Abu Bakr and Umar, the Adhan for the Jumua prayer used to be pronounced after the Imam had taken his seat on the pulpit. But when the people increased in number during the caliphate of Uthman, he introduced a third Adhan (on Friday for the Jumua prayer) and it was pronounced at Az-Zaura' and that new state of affairs remained so in the succeeding years.

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 40:
Narrated Abu Hazim bin Dinar:
Some people went to Sahl bin Sad As-Sa'idi and told him that they had different opinions regarding the wood of the pulpit. They asked him about it and he said, "By Allah, I know of what wood the pulpit was made, and no doubt I saw it on thy very first day when Allah's Apostle I took his seat on it. Allah's Apostle sent for such and such an Ansari woman (and Sahl mentioned her name) and said to her, 'Order your slave-carpenter to prepare for me some pieces of wood (i.e. pulpit) on which I may sit at the time of addressing the people.' So she ordered her slave-carpenter and he made it from the tamarisk of the forest and brought it (to the woman). The woman sent that (pulpit) to Allah's Apostle who ordered it to be placed here. Then I saw Allah's Apostle praying on it and then bowed on it. Then he stepped back, got down and prostrated on the ground near the foot of the pulpit and again ascended the pulpit. After finishing the prayer he faced the people and said, 'I have done this so that you may follow me and learn the way I pray.' "

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 41:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet used to stand by a stem of a date-palm tree (while delivering a sermon). When the pulpit was placed for him we heard that stem crying like a pregnant she-camel till the Prophet got down from the pulpit and placed his hand over it.

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 42:
Narrated Salim:
My father said , "I heard the Prophet delivering the Khutba on the pulpit and he said, 'Whoever comes for the Jumua prayer should take a bath (before coming).' "

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 43:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet used to deliver the Khutba while standing and then he would sit, then stand again as you do now-a-days.

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 44:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
One day the Prophet sat on the pulpit and we sat around him.

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 45:
Narrated Amr bin Taghlib:
Some property or something was brought to Allah's Apostle and he distributed it. He gave to some men and ignored the others. Later he got the news of his being admonished by those whom he had ignored. So he glorified and praised Allah and said, "Amma ba'du. By Allah, I may give to a man and ignore another, although the one whom I ignore is more beloved to me than the one whom I give. But I give to some people as I feel that they have no patience and no contentment in their hearts and I leave those who are patient and self-contented with the goodness and wealth which Allah has put into their hearts and Amr bin Taghlib is one of them." Amr added, By Allah! Those words of Allah's Apostle are more beloved to me than the best red camels.

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 46:
Narrated Aisha:
Once in the middle of the night Allah's Apostle went out and prayed in the mosque and some men prayed with him. The next morning the people spoke about it and so more people gathered and prayed with him (in the second night). They circulated the news in the morning, and so, on the third night the number of people increased greatly. Allah's Apostle came out and they prayed behind him. On the fourth night the mosque was overwhelmed by the people till it could not accommodate them. Allah's Apostle came out only for the Fajr prayer and when he finished the prayer, he faced the people and recited "Tashah-hud" (I testify that none has the right to be worshipped but Allah and that Mohammed is His Apostle), and then said, "Amma ba'du. Verily your presence (in the mosque at night) was not hidden from me, but I was afraid that this prayer (Prayer of Tahajjud) might be made compulsory and you might not be able to carry it out."

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 47:
Narrated Abu Hummaid As-Sa'idi
One night Allah's Apostle stood up after the prayer and recited "Tashah-hud" and then praised Allah as He deserved and said, "Amma ba'du."

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 48:
Narrated Al-Miswar bin Makhrama:
Once Allah's Apostle got up for delivering the Khutba and I heard him after "Tashah-hud" saying "Amma ba'du."

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 49:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Once the Prophet ascended the pulpit and it was the last gathering in which he took part. He was covering his shoulder with a big cloak and binding his head with an oily bandage. He glorified and praised Allah and said, "O people! Come to me." So the people came and gathered around him and he then said, "Amma ba'du." "From now onward the Ansar will decrease and other people will increase. So anybody who becomes a ruler of the followers of Mohammed and has the power to harm or benefit people then he should accept the good from the benevolent amongst them (Ansar) and overlook the faults of their wrong-doers."

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 50:
Narrated Abdullah Ibn Umar:
The Prophet used to deliver two Khutbas and sit in between them

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 51:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "When it is a Friday, the angels stand at the gate of the mosque and keep on writing the names of the persons coming to the mosque in succession according to their arrivals. The example of the one who enters the mosque in the earliest hour is that of one offering a camel (in sacrifice). The one coming next is like one offering a cow and then a ram and then a chicken and then an egg respectively. When the Imam comes out (for Jumua prayer) they (i.e. angels) fold their papers and listen to the Khutba."

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 52:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
A person entered the mosque while the Prophet was delivering the Khutba on a Friday. The Prophet said to him, "Have you prayed?" The man replied in the negative. The Prophet said, "Get up and pray two Rakat."

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 53:
Narrated Jabir:
A man entered the Mosque while the Prophet was delivering the Khutba. The Prophet said to him, "Have you prayed?" The man replied in the negative. The Prophet said, "Pray two Rakat."

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 54:
Narrated Anas:

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While the Prophet was delivering the Khutba on a Friday, a man stood up and said, "O, Allah's Apostle! The livestock and the sheep are dying, so pray to Allah for rain." So he (the Prophet) raised both his hands and invoked Allah (for it).

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 55:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Once in the lifetime of the Prophet the people were afflicted with drought (famine). While the Prophet was delivering the Khutba on a Friday, a Bedouin stood up and said, "O, Allah's Apostle! Our possessions are being destroyed and the children are hungry; Please invoke Allah (for rain)". So the Prophet raised his hands. At that time there was not a trace of cloud in the sky. By Him in Whose Hands my soul is as soon as he lowered his hands, clouds gathered like mountains, and before he got down from the pulpit, I saw the rain falling on the beard of the Prophet. It rained that day, the next day, the third day, the fourth day till the next Friday. The same Bedouin or another man stood up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! The houses have collapsed, our possessions and livestock have been drowned; Please invoke Allah (to protect us)". So the Prophet I raised both his hands and said, "O Allah! Round about us and not on us". So, in whatever direction he pointed with his hands, the clouds dispersed and cleared away, and Medina's (sky) became clear as a hole in between the clouds. The valley of Qanat remained flooded, for one month, none came from outside but talked about the abundant rain.

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 56:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "When the Imam is delivering the Khutba, and you ask your companion to keep quiet and listen, then no doubt you have done an evil act."

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 57:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle talked about Friday and said, "There is an hour (opportune time) on Friday and if a Muslim gets it while praying and asks something from Allah, then Allah will definitely meet his demand." And he (the Prophet) pointed out the shortness of that time with his hands.

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 58:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
While we were praying (Jumua Khutba & prayer) with the Prophet (p.b.u.h), some camels loaded with food, arrived (from Sham.~ The people diverted their attention towards the camels (and left the mosque), and only twelve persons remained with the Prophet. So this verse was revealed: "But when they see Some bargain or some amusement, They disperse headlong to it, And leave you standing." (62.11)

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 59:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle used to pray two Rakat before the Zuhr prayer and two Rakat after it. He also used to pray two Rakat after the Maghrib prayer in his house, and two Rakat after the 'Isha' prayer. He never prayed after Jumua prayer till he departed (from the Mosque), and then he would pray two Rakat at home.

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 60:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
There was a woman amongst us who had a farm and she used to sow Silq (a kind of vegetable) on the edges of streams in her farm. On Fridays she used to pull out the Silq from its roots and put the roots in a utensil. Then she would put a handful of powdered barley over it and cook it. The roots of the Silq were a substitute for meat. After finishing the Jumua prayer we used to greet her and she would give us that food which we would eat with our hands, and because of that meal, we used to look forward to Friday.

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 61:
Narrated Sahl:
As above with the addition: We never had an afternoon nap nor meals except after offering the Jumua prayer.

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 62:
Narrated Anas:
We used to offer the Jumua prayer early and then have the afternoon nap.

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 63:
Narrated Sahl:
We used to offer the Jumua prayer with the Prophet and then take the afternoon nap.

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 14:
Fear Prayer

Volume 2, Book 14, Number 64:
Narrated Shu'aib:
I asked Az-Zuhri, "Did the Prophet ever offer the Fear Prayer?" Az-Zuhri said, "I was told by Salim that Abdullah bin Umar I had said, 'I took part in a holy battle with Allah's Apostle I in Najd. We faced the enemy and arranged ourselves in rows. Then Allah's Apostle stood up to lead the prayer and one party stood to pray with him while the other faced the enemy. Allah's Apostle and the former party bowed and performed two prostrations. Then that party left and took the place of those who had not prayed. Allah's Apostle prayed one Raka (with the latter) and performed two prostrations and finished his prayer with Taslim. Then everyone of them bowed once and performed two prostrations individually.' "

Volume 2, Book 14, Number 65:
Narrated Nafi:
Ibn Umar said something similar to Mujahid's saying: Whenever (Muslims and non-Muslims) stand face to face in battle, the Muslims can pray while standing. Ibn Umar added, "The Prophet said, 'If the number of the enemy is greater than the Muslims, they can pray while standing or riding (individually).' "

Volume 2, Book 14, Number 66:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Once the Prophet led the fear prayer and the people stood behind him. He said Takbir (Allahu-Akbar) and the people said the same. He bowed and some of them bowed. Then he prostrated and they also prostrated. Then he stood for the second Raka and those who had prayed the first Raka left and guarded their brothers. The second party joined him and performed bowing and prostration with him. All the people were in prayer but they were guarding one another during the prayer.

Volume 2, Book 14, Number 67:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
On the day of the Khandaq Umar came, cursing the disbelievers of Quraish and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have not offered the Asr prayer and the sun has set." The Prophet replied, "By Allah! I too, have not offered the prayer yet. "The Prophet then went to Buthan, performed ablution and performed the Asr prayer after the sun had set and then offered the Maghrib prayer after it."

Volume 2, Book 14, Number 68:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle offered the Fajr prayer when it was still dark, then he rode and said, 'Allah Akbar! Khaibar is ruined. When we approach near to a nation, the most unfortunate is the morning of those who have been warned." The people came out into the streets saying, "Mohammed and his army." Allah's Apostle vanquished them by force and their warriors were killed; the children and women were taken as captives. Safiya was taken by Dihya Al-Kalbi and later she belonged to Allah's Apostle go who married her and her Mahr was her manumission.

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 15:
The Two Festivals (Eids)

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 69:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Umar bought a silk cloak from the market, took it to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Take it and adorn yourself with it during the 'Id and when the delegations visit you." Allah's Apostle replied, "This dress is for those who have no share (in the Hereafter)." After a long period Allah's Apostle sent to Umar a cloak of silk brocade. Umar came to Allah's Apostle with the cloak and said, "O Allah's Apostle! You said that this dress was for those who had no share (in the Hereafter); yet you have sent me this cloak." Allah's Apostle said to him, "Sell it and fulfill your needs by it."

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 70:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle came to my house while two girls were singing beside me the songs of Buath (a story about the war between the two tribes of the Ansar, the Khazraj and the Aus, before Islam). The Prophet lay down and turned his face to the other side. Then Abu Bakr came and spoke to me harshly saying, "Musical instruments of Satan near the Prophet ?" Allah's Apostle turned his face towards him and said, "Leave them." When Abu Bakr became inattentive, I signalled to those girls to go out and they left. It was the day of 'Id, and the Black people were playing with shields and spears; so either I requested the Prophet or he asked me whether I would like to see the display. I replied in the affirmative. Then the Prophet made me stand behind him and my cheek was touching his cheek and he was saying, "Carry on! O Bani Arfida," till I got tired. The Prophet asked me, "Are you satisfied (Is that sufficient for you)?" I replied in the affirmative and he told me to leave.

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 71:
Narrated Al-Bara:
I heard the Prophet delivering a Khutba saying, "The first thing to be done on this day (first day of Id ul Adha) is to pray; and after returning from the prayer we slaughter our sacrifices (in the name of Allah) and whoever does so, he acted according to our Sunna (traditions)."

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 72:
Narrated Aisha:
Abu Bakr came to my house while two small Ansari girls were singing beside me the stories of the Ansar concerning the Day of Buath. And they were not singers. Abu Bakr said protestingly, "Musical instruments of Satan in the house of Allah's Apostle !" It happened on the 'Id day and Allah's Apostle said, "O Abu Bakr! There is an 'Id for every nation and this is our 'Id."

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 73:
Narrated Anas bin Malik,:
Allah's Apostle never proceeded (for the prayer) on the Day of 'Id-ul-Fitr unless he had eaten some dates. Anas also narrated: The Prophet used to eat odd number of dates.

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 74:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "Whoever slaughtered (his sacrifice) before the 'Id prayer, should slaughter again." A man stood up and said, "This is the day on which one has desire for meat," and he mentioned something about his neighbours. It seemed that the Prophet I believed him. Then the same man added, "I have a young she-goat which is dearer to me than the meat of two sheep." The Prophet permitted him to slaughter it as a sacrifice. I do not know whether that permission was valid only for him or for others as well.

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 75:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
The Prophet delivered the Khutba after offering the prayer on the Day of Nahr and said, "Whoever offers the prayer like us and slaughters like us then his Nusuk (sacrifice) will be accepted by Allah. And whoever slaughters his sacrifice before the 'Id prayer then he has not done the sacrifice." Abi Burda bin Niyar, the uncle of Al-Bara said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have slaughtered my sheep before the 'Id prayer and I thought today as a day of eating and drinking (not alcoholic drinks), and I liked that my sheep should be the first to be slaughtered in my house. So slaughtered my sheep and took my food before coming for the prayer." The Prophet said, "The sheep which you have slaughtered is just mutton (not a Nusuk)." He (Abu Burda) said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have a young she-goat which is dearer to me than two sheep. Will that be sufficient as a Nusuk on my behalf? "The Prophet said, "Yes, it will be sufficient for you but it will not be sufficient (as a Nusuk) for anyone else after you."

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 76:
Narrated Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri:
The Prophet used to proceed to the Musalla on the days of Id-ul-Fitr and Id-ul-Adha; the first thing to begin with was the prayer and after that he would stand in front of the people and the people would keep sitting in their rows. Then he would preach to them, advise them and give them orders, (i.e. Khutba). And after that if he wished to send an army for an expedition, he would do so; or if he wanted to give and order, he would do so, and then depart. The people followed this tradition till I went out with Marwan, the Governor of Medina, for the prayer of Id-ul-Adha or Id-ul-Fitr.
When we reached the Musalla, there was a pulpit made by Kathir bin As-Salt. Marwan wanted to get up on that pulpit before the prayer. I got hold of his clothes but he pulled them and ascended the pulpit and delivered the Khutba before the prayer. I said to him, "By Allah, you have changed (the Prophet's tradition)." He replied, "O Abu Sa'id! Gone is that which you know." I said, "By Allah! What I know is better than what I do not know." Marwan said, "People do not sit to listen to our Khutba after the prayer, so I delivered the Khutba before the prayer."

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 77:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle used to offer the prayer of 'Id-ul-Adha and 'Id-ul-Fitr and then deliver the Khutba after the prayer.

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 78:
Narrated Ibn Juraij:
'Ata' said, "Jabir bin Abdullah said, 'The Prophet went out on the Day of 'Id-ul-Fitr and offered the prayer before

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delivering the Khutba, Ata told me that during the early days of IbnAz-Zubair, Ibn Abbas had sent a message to him telling him that the Adhan for the 'Id Prayer was never pronounced (in the life time of Allah's Apostle) and the Khutba used to be delivered after the prayer. Ata told me that Ibn Abbas and Jabir bin Abdullah, had said, . . . where was no Adhan for the prayer of '7d-ul-Fitr and 'Id-ul-Aqha." 'At a' said, "I heard Jabir bin Abdullah saying, 'The Prophet stood up and started with the prayer, and after it he delivered the Khutba. When the Prophet of Allah finished (the Khutba), he went to the women and preached to them, while he was leaning on Bilal's hand. Bilal was spreading his garment and the ladies were putting alms in it.' " I said to Ata, "Do you think it incumbent upon an Imam to go to the women and preach to them after finishing the prayer and Khutba?" 'Ata' said, "No doubt it is incumbent on Imams to do so, and why should they not do so?"

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 79:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
I offered the 'Id prayer with Allah's Apostle, Abu Bakr, Umar and Uthman and all of them offered the prayer before delivering the Khutba.

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 80:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle, Abu Bakr and Umar! used to offer the two 'Id prayers before delivering the Khutba.

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 81:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet offered a two Rakat prayer on the Day of Id ul Fitr and he did not pray before or after it. Then he went towards women along with Bilal and ordered them to pay alms and so they started giving their earrings and necklaces (in charity).

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 82:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
The Prophet said, "The first thing that we should do on this day of ours is to pray and then return to slaughter the sacrifice. So anyone who does so, he acted according to our Sunna (tradition), and whoever slaughtered the sacrifice before the prayer, it was just meat which he presented to his family and would not be considered as Nusuk." A person from the Ansar named Abu Burda bin Niyyar said, "O Allah's Apostle! I slaughtered the Nusuk (before the prayer) but I have a young she-goat which is better than an older sheep." The Prophet I said, "Sacrifice it in lieu of the first, but it will be not sufficient (as a sacrifice) for anybody else after you."

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 83:
Narrated Said bin Jubair:
I was with Ibn Umar when a spear head pierced the sole of his foot and his foot stuck to the paddle of the saddle and I got down and pulled his foot out, and that happened in Mina. Al-Hajjaj got the news and came to enquire about his health and said, "Alas! If we could only know the man who wounded you!" Ibn Umar said, "You are the one who wounded me." Al-Hajjaj said, "How is that?" Ibn Umar said, "You have allowed the arms to be carried on a day on which nobody used to carry them and you allowed arms to be carried in the Haram even though it was not allowed before."

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 84:
Narrated Said bin Amr bin Said bin Al-'Aas:
Al-Hajjaj went to Ibn Umar while I was present there. Al-Hajjaj asked Ibn Umar, "How are you?" Ibn Umar replied, "I am all right," Al-Hajjaj asked, "Who wounded you?" Ibn Umar replied, "The person who allowed arms to be carried on the day on which it was forbidden to carry them (he meant Al-Hajjaj)"

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 85:
Narrated Al-Bara:
The Prophet delivered the Khutba on the day of Nahr ('Id-ul-Adha) and said, "The first thing we should do on this day of ours is to pray and then return and slaughter (our sacrifices). So anyone who does so he acted according to our Sunna; and whoever slaughtered before the prayer then it was just meat that he offered to his family and would not be considered as a sacrifice in any way. My uncle Abu Burda bin Niyyar got up and said, "O, Allah's Apostle! I slaughtered the sacrifice before the prayer but I have a young she-goat which is better than an older sheep." The Prophet said, "Slaughter it in lieu of the first and such a goat will not be considered as a sacrifice for anybody else after you."

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 86:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "No good deeds done on other days are superior to those done on these (first ten days of Dhul Hijja)." Then some companions of the Prophet said, "Not even Jihad?" He replied, "Not even Jihad, except that of a man who does it by putting himself and his property in danger (for Allah's sake) and does not return with any of those things."

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 87:
Narrated Mohammed bin Abi Bakr Al-Thaqafi:
While we were going from Mina to 'Arafat, I asked Anas bin Malik, about Talbiya, "How did you use to say Talbiya in the company of the Prophet?" Anas said: "People used to say Talbiya and their saying was not objected to and they used to say Takbir and that was not objected to either. "

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 88:
Narrated Um Atiya:
We used to be ordered to come out on the Day of 'Id and even bring out the virgin girls from their houses and menstruating women so that they might stand behind the men and say Takbir along with them and invoke Allah along with them and hope for the blessings of that day and for purification from sins.

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 89:
Narrated Ibn Umar: On the day of 'Id-ul-Fitr and 'Id-ul-Adha a spear used to be planted in front of the Prophet I (as a Sutra for the prayer) and then he would pray.

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 90:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet used to proceed to the Musalla and an 'Anaza used to be carried before him and planted in the Musalla in front of him and he would pray facing it (as a Sutra).

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 91:
Narrated Mohammed:
Um 'Atiyya said: "Our Prophet ordered us to come out (on 'Id day) with the mature girls and the virgins staying in seclusion." Hafsa narrated the above mentioned Hadith and added, "The mature girls or virgins staying in seclusion but the menstruating women had to keep away from the Musalla."

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 92:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
I (in my boyhood) went out with the Prophet on the day of Id ul Fitr or Id-ul-Adha. The Prophet prayed and then delivered the Khutba and then went towards the women, preached and advised them and ordered them to give alms.

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 93:
Narrated Al-Bara:
The Prophet went towards Al-Baqi (the grave-yard at Medina) on the day of Id-ul-Adha and offered a two-Rakat prayer (of 'Id-ul-Adha) and then faced us and said, "On this day of ours, our first act of worship is the offering of prayer and then we will return and slaughter the sacrifice, and whoever does this concords with our Sunna; and whoever slaughtered his sacrifice before that (i.e. before the prayer) then that was a thing which he prepared earlier for his family and it would not be considered as a Nusuk (sacrifice.)" A man stood up and said, "O, Allah's Apostle! I slaughtered (the animal before the prayer) but I have a young she-goat which is better than an older sheep." The Prophet said to him, "Slaughter it. But a similar sacrifice will not be sufficient for anybody else after you."

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 94:
Narrated Abdur Rahman bin 'Abis:
Ibn Abbas was asked whether he had joined the Prophet in the 'Id prayer. He said, "Yes. And I could not have joined him had I not been young. (The Prophet came out) till he reached the mark which was near the house of Kathir bin As-Salt, offered the prayer, delivered the Khutba and then went towards the women. Bilal was accompanying him. He preached to them and advised them and ordered them to give alms. I saw the women putting their ornaments with their outstretched hands into Bilal's garment. Then the Prophet along with Bilal returned home.

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 95:
Narrated Ibn Juraij:
'Ata' told me that he had heard Jabir bin Abdullah saying, "The Prophet stood up to offer the prayer of the Id ul Fitr. He first offered the prayer and then delivered the Khutba. After finishing it he got down (from the pulpit) and went towards the women and advised them while he was leaning on Bilal's hand. Bilal was spreading out his garment where the women were putting their alms." I asked 'Ata' whether it was the Zakat of Id ul Fitr. He said, "No, it was just alms given at that time. Some lady put her finger ring and the others would do the same." I said, (to 'Ata'), "Do you think that it is incumbent upon the Imam to give advice to the women (on 'Id day)?" He said, "No doubt, it is incumbent upon the Imams to do so and why should they not do so?" Al-Hasan bin Muslim told me that Ibn Abbas had said, "I join the Prophet, Abu Bakr, Umar and Uthman in the Id ul Fitr prayers. They used to offer the prayer before the Khutba and then they used to deliver the Khutba afterwards. Once the Prophet I came out (for the 'Id prayer) as if I were just observing him waving to the people to sit down. He, then accompanied by Bilal, came crossing the rows till he reached the women. He recited the following verse: 'O Prophet! When the believing women come to you to take the oath of fealty to you . . . (to the end of the verse) (60.12).' After finishing the recitation he said, "O ladies! Are you fulfilling your covenant?" None except one woman said, "Yes." Hasan did not know who was that woman. The Prophet said, "Then give alms." Bilal spread his garment and said, "Keep on giving alms. Let my father and mother sacrifice their lives for you (ladies)." So the ladies kept on putting their Fatkhs (big rings) and other kinds of rings in Bilal's garment." Abdur-Razaq said, " 'Fatkhs' is a big ring which used to be worn in the (Pre-Islamic) period of ignorance.

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 96:
Narrated Aiyub:
Hafsa bint Sirin said, "On Id we used to forbid our girls to go out for 'Id prayer. A lady came and stayed at the palace of Bani Khalaf and I went to her. She said, 'The husband of my sister took part in twelve holy battles along with the Prophet and my sister was with her husband in six of them. My sister said that they used to nurse the sick and treat the wounded. Once she asked, 'O Allah's Apostle! If a woman has no veil, is there any harm if she does not come out (on 'Id day)?' The Prophet said, 'Her companion should let her share her veil with her, and the women should participate in the good deeds and in the religious gatherings of the believers.' " Hafsa added, "When Um-Atiya came, I went to her and asked her, 'Did you hear anything about so-and-so?' Um-'Atlya said, 'Yes, let my father be sacrificed for the Prophet (p.b.u.h). (And whenever she mentioned the name of the Prophet she always used to say, 'Let my father be' sacrificed for him). He said, 'Virgin mature girls staying often screened (or said, 'Mature girls and virgins staying often screened--Aiyub is not sure as which was right) and menstruating women should come out (on the 'Id day). But the menstruating women should keep away from the Musalla. And all the women should participate in the good deeds and in the religious gatherings of the believers'." Hafsa said, "On that I said to Um-Atiya, 'Also those who are menstruating?' " Um-Atiya replied, "Yes. Do they not present themselves at 'Arafat and elsewhere?".

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 97:
Narrated Um-Atiya:
We were ordered to go out (for 'Id) and also to take along with us the menstruating women, mature girls and virgins staying in seclusion. (Ibn 'Aun said, "Or mature virgins staying in seclusion)." The menstruating women could present themselves at the religious gathering and invocation of Muslims but should keep away from their Musalla.

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 98:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet used to Nahr or slaughter sacrifices at the Musalla (on 'Id-ul-Adha).

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 99:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
On the day of Nahr Allah's Apostle delivered the Khutba after the 'Id prayer and said, "Anyone who prayed like us and slaughtered the sacrifice like we did then he acted according to our (Nusuk) tradition of sacrificing, and whoever slaughtered the sacrifice before the prayer, then that was just mutton (i.e. not sacrifice)." Abu Burda bin Naiyar stood up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! By Allah, I slaughtered my sacrifice before I offered the (Id) prayer and thought that today was the day of eating and drinking (non-alcoholic drinks) and so I made haste (in slaughtering) and ate and also fed my family and neighbours." Allah's Apostle said, "That was just mutton (not a sacrifice)." Then Abu Burda said, "I have a young she-goat and no doubt, it is better than two sheep. Will that be sufficient as a sacrifice for me?" The Prophet replied, "Yes. But it will not be sufficient for anyone else (as a sacrifice), after you."

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 100:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle .~ offered the prayer on the day of Nahr and then delivered the Khutba and ordered that whoever had slaughtered his sacrifice before the prayer should repeat it, that is, should slaughter another sacrifice. Then a person from the Ansar stood up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! because of my neighbours (he described them as being very needy or poor) I slaughtered before the prayer. I have a young she-goat which, in my opinion, is better than two sheep." The Prophet gave him the permission for slaughtering it as a sacrifice.

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 101:
Narrated Jundab:
On the day of Nahr the Prophet offered the prayer and delivered the Khutba and then slaughtered the sacrifice and

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said, "Anybody who slaughtered (his sacrifice) before the prayer should slaughter another animal in lieu of it, and the one who has not yet slaughtered should slaughter the sacrifice mentioning Allah's name on it."

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 102:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
On the Day of 'Id the Prophet used to return (after offering the 'Id prayer) through a way different from that by which he went.

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 103:
Narrated Urwa on the authority of Aisha:
On the days of Mina, (11th, 12th, and 13th of Dhul-Hijjah) Abu Bakr came to her while two young girls were beating the tambourine and the Prophet was lying covered with his clothes. Abu Bakr scolded them and the Prophet uncovered his face and said to Abu Bakr, "Leave them, for these days are the days of 'Id and the days of Mina." Aisha further said, "Once the Prophet was screening me and I was watching the display of black slaves in the Mosque and (Umar) scolded them. The Prophet said, 'Leave them. O Bani Arfida! (carry on), you are safe (protected)'."

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 104:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet went out and offered a two Rakat prayer on the Day of Id ul Fitr and did not offer any other prayer before or after it and at that time Bilal was accompanying him.

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 16:
Witr Prayer

Volume 2, Book 16, Number 105:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Once a person asked Allah's Apostle about the night prayer. Allah's Apostle replied, "The night prayer is offered as two Rakat followed by two Rakat and so on and if anyone is afraid of the approaching dawn (Fajr prayer) he should pray one Raka and this will be a Witr for all the Rakat which he has prayed before." Nafi told that Abdullah bin Umar used to say Taslim between (the first) two Rakat and (the third) odd one in the Witr prayer, when he wanted to attend to a certain matter (during that interval between the Rakat).

Volume 2, Book 16, Number 106:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Once I passed the night in the house of Maimuna (his aunt). I slept across the bed while Allah's Apostle and his wife slept length-wise. The Prophet slept till midnight or nearly so and woke up rubbing his face and recited ten verses from Surat "Aal-Imran." Allah's Apostle went towards a leather skin and performed ablution in the most perfect way and then stood for the prayer. I did the same and stood beside him. The Prophet put his right hand on my head, twisted my ear and then prayed two Rakat five times and then ended his prayer with Witr. He laid down till the Muadh-dhin came then he stood up and offered two Rakat (Sunna of Fajr prayer) and then went out and offered the Fajr prayer.
(See Hadith No. 183, Vol. 1)

Volume 2, Book 16, Number 107:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar :
The Prophet said, "Night prayer is offered as two Rakat followed by two Rakat and so on, and if you want to finish it, pray only one Raka which will be Witr for all the previous Rakat." Al-Qasim said, "Since we attained the age of puberty we have seen some people offering a three-Rakat prayer as Witr and all that is permissible. I hope there will be no harm in it."

Volume 2, Book 16, Number 108:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle used to pray eleven Rakat at night and that was his night prayer and each of his prostrations lasted for a period enough for one of you to recite fifty verses before Allah's Apostle raised his head. He also used to pray two Rakat (Sunna) before the (compulsory) Fajr prayer and then lie down on his right side till the Muadh-dhin came to him for the prayer.

Volume 2, Book 16, Number 109:
Narrated Anas bin Sirin:
I asked Ibn Umar, "What is your opinion about the two Rakat before the Fajr (compulsory) prayer, as to prolonging the recitation in them?" He said, "The Prophet used to pray at night two Rakat followed by two and so on, and end the prayer by one Raka Witr. He used to offer two Rakat before the Fajr prayer immediately after the Adhan." (Hammad, the sub-narrator said, "That meant (that he prayed) quickly.)"

Volume 2, Book 16, Number 110:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle offered Witr prayer at different nights at various hours extending (from the 'Isha' prayer) up to the last hour of the night.

Volume 2, Book 16, Number 111:
Narrated Aisha :
The Prophet used to offer his night prayer while I was sleeping across in his bed. Whenever he intended to offer the Witr prayer, he used to wake me up and I would offer the Witr prayer too.

Volume 2, Book 16, Number 112:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
The Prophet said, "Make s your last prayer at night."

Volume 2, Book 16, Number 113:
Narrated Said bin Yasar:
I was going to Mecca in the company of Abdullah bin Umar and when I apprehended the approaching dawn, I dismounted and offered the Witr prayer and then joined him. Abdullah bin Umar said, "Where have you been?" I replied, "I apprehended the approaching dawn so I dismounted and prayed the Witr prayer." Abdullah said, "Isn't it sufficient for you to follow the good example of Allah's Apostle?" I replied, "Yes, by Allah." He said, "Allah's Apostle used to pray Witr on the back of the camel (while on a journey)."

Volume 2, Book 16, Number 114:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet used to offer (Nawafil) prayers on his Rahila (mount) facing its direction by signals, but not the compulsory prayer. He also used to pray Witr on his (mount) Rahila.

Volume 2, Book 16, Number 115:
Narrated Mohammed bin Sirin:
Anas was asked, "Did the Prophet recite Qunut in the Fajr prayer?" Anas replied in the affirmative. He was further asked, "Did he recite Qunut before bowing?" Anas replied, "He recited Qunut after bowing for some time (for one month)."

Volume 2, Book 16, Number 116:
Narrated 'Asim:
I asked Anas bin Malik about the Qunut. Anas replied, "Definitely it was (recited)". I asked, "Before bowing or after it?" Anas replied, "Before bowing." I added, "So and so has told me that you had informed him that it had been after bowing." Anas said, "He told an untruth (i.e. "was mistaken," according to the Hijazi dialect). Allah's Apostle recited Qunut after bowing for a period of one month." Anas added, "The Prophet sent about seventy men (who knew the Koran by heart) towards the pagans (of Najd) who were less than they in number and there was a peace treaty between them and Allah's Apostles (but the Pagans broke the treaty and killed the seventy men). So Allah's Apostle recited Qunut for a period of one month asking Allah to punish them."

Volume 2, Book 16, Number 117:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet recited Qunut for one month (in the Fajr prayer) asking Allah to punish the tribes of Ral and Dhakwan.

Volume 2, Book 16, Number 118:
Narrated Anas:
The Qunut used to be recited in the Maghrib and the Fajr prayers.

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 17:
Invoking Allah for Rain (Istisqaa)

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 119:
Narrated Abbas bin Tamim's uncle:
The Prophet went out to offer the Istisqa' prayer and turned (and put on) his cloak inside out.

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 120:
Narrated Abu Huraira;
Whenever the Prophet lifted his head from the bowing in the last Raka he used to say: "O Allah! Save 'Aiyash bin Abi Rabi'a. O Allah! Save Salama bin Hisham. O Allah! Save Walid bin Walid. O Allah! Save the weak faithful believers. O Allah! Be hard on the tribes of Mudar and send (famine) years on them like the famine years of (Prophet) Joseph ." The Prophet further said, "Allah forgive the tribes of Ghifar and save the tribes of Aslam." Abu Az-Zinad (a sub-narrator) said, "The Qunut used to be recited by the Prophet in the Fajr prayer."

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 121:
Narrated Masruq:
We were with Abdullah and he said, "When the Prophet saw the refusal of the people to accept Islam he said, "O Allah! Send (famine) years on them for (seven years) like the seven years (of famine during the time) of (Prophet) Joseph." So famine overtook them for one year and destroyed every kind of life to such an extent that the people started eating hides, carcasses and rotten dead animals. Whenever one of them looked towards the sky, he would (imagine himself to) see smoke because of hunger. So Abu Sufyan went to the Prophet and said, "O Mohammed! You order people to obey Allah and to keep good relations with kith and kin. No doubt the people of your tribe are dying, so please pray to Allah for them." So Allah revealed: "Then watch you For the day that The sky will bring forth a kind Of smoke Plainly visible ... Verily! You will return (to disbelief) On the day when We shall seize You with a mighty grasp. (44.10-16) Ibn Masud added, "Al-Batsha (i.e. grasp) happened in the battle of Badr and no doubt smoke, Al-Batsha, Al-Lizam, and the verse of Surat Ar-Rum have all passed .

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 122:
Narrated Abdullah bin Dinar:
My father said, "I heard Ibn Umar reciting the poetic verses of Abu Talib: And a white (person) (i.e. the Prophet) who is requested to pray for rain and who takes care of the orphans and is the guardian of widows." Salim's father (Ibn Umar) said, "The following poetic verse occurred to my mind while I was looking at the face of the Prophet while he was praying for rain. He did not get down till the rain water flowed profusely from every roof-g utter: And a white (person) who is requested to pray for rain and who takes care of the orphans and is the guardian of widows . . . And these were the words of Abu Talib."

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 123:
Narrated Anas:
Whenever drought threatened them, Umar bin Al-Khattab, used to ask Al-Abbas bin Abdul Muttalib to invoke Allah for rain. He used to say, "O Allah! We used to ask our Prophet to invoke You for rain, and You would bless us with rain, and now we ask his uncle to invoke You for rain. O Allah ! Bless us with rain."(1) And so it would rain.

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 124:
Narrated Abdullah bin Zaid:
The Prophet turned his cloak inside out on Istisqa.

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 125:
Narrated Abdullah bin Zaid
The Prophet went towards the Musalla and invoked Allah for rain. He faced the Qibla and wore his cloak inside out, and offered two Rakat.

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 126:
Narrated Sharik bin Abdullah bin Abi Namir:
I heard Anas bin Malik saying, "On a Friday a person entered the main Mosque through the gate facing the pulpit while Allah's Apostle was delivering the Khutba. The man stood in front of Allah's Apostle and said, 'O Allah's Apostle! The livestock are dying and the roads are cut off; so please pray to Allah for rain.' " Anas added, "Allah's Apostle raised both his hands and said, 'O Allah! Bless us with rain! O Allah! Bless us with rain! O Allah! Bless us with rain!' " Anas added, "By Allah, we could not see any trace of cloud in the sky and there was no building or a house between us and (the mountains of) Sila." Anas added, "A heavy cloud like a shield appeared from behind it (i.e. Sila' Mountain). When it came in the middle of the sky, it spread and then rained." Anas further said, "By Allah! We could not see the sun for a week. Next Friday a person entered through the same gate and at that time Allah's Apostle was delivering the Friday's Khutba. The man stood in front of him and said, 'O Allah's Apostle! The livestock are dying and the roads are cut off, please pray to Allah to with-hold rain.' " Anas added, "Allah's Apostle I raised both his hands and said, 'O Allah! Round about us and not on us. O Allah! On the plateaus, on the mountains, on the hills, in the valleys and on the places where trees grow.' So the rain stopped and we came out walking in the sun." Sharik asked Anas whether it was the same person who had asked for the rain (the last Friday). Anas replied that he did not know.

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 127:
Narrated Sharik:
Anas bin Malik said, "A person entered the Mosque on a Friday through the gate facing the Daril-Qada' and Allah's Apostle was standing delivering the Khutba (sermon). The man stood in front of Allah's Apostle and said, 'O Allah's Apostle, livestock are dying and the roads are cut off; please pray to Allah for rain.' So Allah's Apostle raised both his hands and said, 'O Allah! Bless us with rain. O Allah! Bless us with rain. O Allah! Bless us with rain!" Anas added, "By Allah, there were no clouds in the sky and there was no house or building between us and the mountain of Silas'. Then a big cloud like a shield appeared from behind it (i.e. Silas Mountain) and when it came in the middle of the sky, it spread and then rained. By Allah! We could not see the sun for a week. The next Friday, a person entered through the same

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gate and Allah's Apostle was delivering the Friday Khutba and the man stood in front of him and said, 'O Allah's Apostle! The livestock are dying and the roads are cut off; Please pray to Allah to withhold rain.' " Anas added, "Allah's Apostle raised both his hands and said, 'O Allah! Round about us and not on us. O Allah!' On the plateaus, on the mountains, on the hills, in the valleys and on the places where trees grow.' " Anas added, "The rain stopped and we came out, walking in the sun." Sharik asked Anas whether it was the same person who had asked for rain the previous Friday. Anas replied that he did not know.

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 128:
Narrated Qatada:
Anas I said, "While Allah's Apostle was delivering the Friday Khutba (sermon) a man came and said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Rain is scarce; please ask Allah to bless us with rain.' So he invoked Allah for it, and it rained so much that we could hardly reach our homes and it continued raining till the next Friday." Anas further said, "Then the same or some other person stood up and said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Invoke Allah to withhold the rain.' On that, Allah's Apostle I said, 'O Allah! Round about us and not on us.' " Anas added, "I saw the clouds dispersing right and left and it continued to rain but not over Medina."

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 129:
Narrated Anas:
A man came to the Prophet and said, "Livestock are destroyed and the roads are cut off." So Allah's Apostle invoked Allah for rain and it rained from that Friday till the next Friday. The same person came again and said, "Houses have collapsed, roads are cut off, and the livestock are destroyed. Please pray to Allah to withhold the rain." Allah's Apostle (stood up and) said, "O Allah! (Let it rain) on the plateaus, on the hills, in the valleys and over the places where trees grow." So the clouds cleared away from Medina as clothes are taken off .

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 130:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
A man came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Livestock are destroyed and the roads are cut off. So please invoke Allah." So Allah's Apostle prayed and it rained from that Friday to the next Friday. Then he came to Allah's Apostle I and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Houses have collapsed, roads are cut off and the livestock are destroyed." So Allah's Apostle prayed, "O Allah! (Let it rain) on the tops of mountains, on the plateaus, in the valleys and over the places where trees grow." So the clouds cleared away from Medina as clothes are taken off.

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 131:
Narrated Anas bin Malik
I p man complained to the Prophet about the destruction of livestock and property and the hunger of the offspring. So he invoked (Allah for rain. The narrator (Anas) did not mention that the Prophet had worn his cloak inside out or faced the Qibla.

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 132:
Narrated Anas bin Malik
A man came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Livestock are destroyed and the roads are cut off; so please invoke Allah." So Allah's Apostle prayed for rain and it rained from that Friday till the next Friday. Then a man came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! The houses have collapsed, roads are cut off and the livestock are destroyed." So Allah's Apostle said, "O Allah ! (Let it rain) on the tops of the mountains, on the plateaus, in the valleys and over the places where trees grow." So the clouds cleared away from Medina as clothes are taken off.

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 133:
Narrated Masruq:
One day I went to Ibn Masud who said, "When Quraish delayed in embracing Islam, the Prophet I invoked Allah to curse them, so they were afflicted with a (famine) year because of which many of them died and they ate the carcasses and Abu Sufyan came to the Prophet and said, 'O Mohammed! You came to order people to keep good relation with kith and kin and your nation is being destroyed, so invoke Allah I ? So the Prophet I recited the Holy verses of Sirat-Ad-Dukhan: 'Then watch you For the day that The sky will Bring forth a kind Of smoke Plainly visible.' (44.10) When the famine was taken off, the people renegade once again as nonbelievers. The statement of Allah, (in Sura "Ad-Dukhan"-44) refers to that: 'On the day when We shall seize You with a mighty grasp.' (44.16) And that was what happened on the day of the battle of Badr." Asbath added on the authority of Mansur, "Allah's Apostle prayed for them and it rained heavily for seven days. So the people complained of the excessive rain. The Prophet said, 'O Allah! (Let it rain) around us and not on us.' So the clouds dispersed over his head and it rained over the surroundings."

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 134:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle I was delivering the Khutba (sermon) on a Friday when the people stood up, shouted and said, "O Allah's Apostle! There is no rain (drought), the trees have dried and the livestock are destroyed; Please pray to Allah for rain." So Allah's Apostle said twice, "O Allah! Bless us with rain." By Allah, there was no trace of cloud in the sky and suddenly the sky became overcast with clouds and it started raining. The Prophet came down the pulpit and offered the prayer. When he came back from the prayer (to his house) it was raining and it rained continuously till the next Friday. When the Prophet started delivering the Friday Khutba (sermon), the people started shouting and said to him, "The houses have collapsed and the roads are cut off; so please pray to Allah to withhold the rain." So the Prophet smiled and said, "O Allah! Round about us and not on us." So the sky became clear over Medina but it kept on raining over the outskirts (of Medina) and not a single drop of rain fell over Median. I looked towards the sky which was as bright and clear as a crown.

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 135:
Narrated Abbas bin Tamim
that his uncle (who was one of the companions of the Prophet) had told him, "The Prophet went out with the people to invoke Allah for rain for them. He stood up and invoked Allah for rain, then faced the Qibla and turned his cloak (inside out) and it rained."

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 136:
Narrated Abbas bin Tamim
from his uncle who said, "The Prophet went out to invoke Allah for rain. He faced the Qibla invoking Allah. He turned over his cloak (inside out) and then offered two Rakat and recited the Koran aloud in them."

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 137:
Narrated Abbas bin Tamim from his uncle,
"I saw the Prophet on the day when he went out to offer the Istisqa' prayer. He turned his back towards the people and faced the Qibla and asked Allah for rain. Then he turned his cloak inside out and led us in a two Rakat prayer and recited the Koran aloud in them."

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 138:
Narrated Abbas bin Tamlm from his uncle who said,
"The Prophet invoked Allah for rain and offered a two Rakat prayer and he put his cloak inside out."

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 139:
Narrated Abbas bin Tamim from his uncle who said,
"The Prophet went out to the Musalla to offer the Istisqa' prayer, faced the Qibla and offered a two-Rakat prayer and turned his cloak inside out." Narrated Abu Bakr, "The Prophet put the right side of his cloak on his left side."

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 140:
Narrated Abdullah bin Zaid Al-Ansari:
The Prophet went out towards the Musalla in order to offer the Istisqa' prayer and when he intended to invoke (Allah) or started invoking, he faced the Qibla and turned his cloak inside out.

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 141:
Narrated Anas bin Malik
The Prophet never raised his hands for any invocation except for that of Istisqa' and he used to raise them so much that the whiteness of his armpits became visible. (Note: It may be that Anas did not see the Prophet raising his hands, but it is narrated that the Prophet used to raise his hands for invocations other than Istisqa. See Hadith No. 807 & 808 and also see Hadith No. 612, Vol. 5).

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 142:
Narrated Aisha:
Whenever Allah's Apostle saw the rain, he used to say, "O Allah! Let it be a strong fruitful rain."

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 143:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
In the life-time of Allah's Apostle the people were afflicted with a (famine) year. While the Prophet was delivering the Khutba (sermon) on the pulpit on a Friday, a Bedouin stood up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! The livestock are dying and the families (offspring) are hungry: please pray to Allah to bless us with rain." Allah's Apostle raised both his hands towards the sky and at that time there was not a trace of cloud in they sky. Then the clouds started gathering like mountains. Before he got down from the pulpit I saw rain-water trickling down his beard. It rained that day, the next day, the third day, the fourth day and till the next Friday, when the same Bedouin or some other person stood up (during the Friday Khutba) and said, "O Allah's Apostle! The houses have collapsed and the livestock are drowned. Please invoke Allah for us." So Allah's Apostle raised both his hands and said, "O Allah! Around us and not on us." Whichever side the Prophet directed his hand, the clouds dispersed from there till a hole (in the clouds) was formed over Medina. The valley of Qanat remained flowing (with water) for one month and none, came from outside who didn't talk about the abundant rain.

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 144:
Narrated Anas:
Whenever a strong wind blew, anxiety appeared on the face of the Prophet (fearing that wind might be a sign of Allah's wrath).

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 145:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "I was granted victory with As-Saba and the nation of 'Ad was destroyed by Ad-Dabur (westerly wind) .

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 146:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The Hour (Last Day) will not be established until (religious) knowledge will be taken away (by the death of religious learned men), earthquakes will be very frequent, time will pass quickly, afflictions will appear, murders will increase and money will overflow amongst you." (See Hadith No. 85 Vol 1).

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 147:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
(The Prophet) said, "O Allah! Bless our Sham and our Yemen." People said, "Our Najd as well." The Prophet again said, "O Allah! Bless our Sham and Yemen." They said again, "Our Najd as well." On that the Prophet said, "There will appear earthquakes and afflictions, and from there will come out the side of the head of Satan."

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 148:
Narrated Zaid bin Khalid Al-Juhani:
Allah's Apostle led the morning prayer in Al-Hudaibiya and it had rained the previous night. When the Prophet had finished the prayer he faced the people and said, "Do you know what your Lord has said?" They replied, "Allah and His Apostle know better." (The Prophet said), "Allah says, 'In this morning some of My worshipers remained as true believers and some became non-believers; he who said that it had rained with the blessing and mercy of Allah is the one who believes in Me and does not believe in star, but he who said it had rained because of such and such (star) is a disbeliever in Me and is a believer in star.' "

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 149:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "Keys of the unseen knowledge are five which nobody knows but Allah . . . nobody knows what will happen tomorrow; nobody knows what is in the womb; nobody knows what he will gain tomorrow; nobody knows at what place he will die; and nobody knows when it will rain."

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 18:
Eclipses

Volume 2, Book 18, Number 150:
Narrated Abu Bakra:
We were with Allah's Apostle when the sun eclipsed. Allah's Apostle stood up dragging his cloak till he entered the Mosque. He led us in a two-Rakat prayer till the sun (eclipse) had cleared. Then the Prophet said, "The sun and the moon do not eclipse because of someone's death. So whenever you see these eclipses pray and invoke (Allah) till the eclipse is over."

Volume 2, Book 18, Number 151:
Narrated Abu Masud:
The Prophet said, "The sun and the moon do not eclipse because of the death of someone from the people but they are two signs amongst the signs of Allah. When you see them stand up and pray."

Volume 2, Book 18, Number 152:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "The sun and the moon do not eclipse because of the death or life (i.e. birth) of someone but they are two signs amongst the signs of Allah. When you see them offer the prayer."

Volume 2, Book 18, Number 153:
Narrated Al-Mughira bin Shu'ba:
"The sun eclipsed in the life-time of Allah's Apostle on the day when (his son) Ibrahim died. So the people said that the

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sun had eclipsed because of the death of Ibrahim. Allah's Apostle said, "The sun and the moon do not eclipse because of the death or life (i.e. birth) of some-one. When you see the eclipse pray and invoke Allah."

Volume 2, Book 18, Number 154:
Narrated Aisha :
In the life-time of Allah's Apostle the sun eclipsed, so he led the people in prayer, and stood up and performed a long Qiyam, then bowed for a long while. He stood up again and performed a long Qiyam but this time the period of standing was shorter than the first. He bowed again for a long time but shorter than the first one, then he prostrated and prolonged the prostration. He did the same in the second Raka as he did in the first and then finished the prayer; by then the sun (eclipse) had cleared. He delivered the Khutba (sermon) and after praising and glorifying Allah he said, "The sun and the moon are two signs against the signs of Allah; they do not eclipse on the death or life of anyone. So when you see the eclipse, remember Allah and say Takbir, pray and give Sadaqa." The Prophet then said, "O followers of Mohammed! By Allah! There is none who has more ghaira (self-respect) than Allah as He has forbidden that His slaves, male or female commit adultery (illegal sexual intercourse). O followers of Mohammed! By Allah! If you knew that which I know you would laugh little and weep much.

Volume 2, Book 18, Number 155:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr :
"When the sun eclipsed in the life-time of Allah's Apostle an announcement was made that a prayer was to be offered in congregation."

Volume 2, Book 18, Number 156:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet In the lifetime of the Prophet the sun eclipsed and he went to the Mosque and the people aligned behind him. He said the Takbir (starting the prayer) and prolonged the recitation (from the Koran) and then said Takbir and performed a prolonged bowing; then he (lifted his head and) said, "Sami allahu liman hamidah" (Allah heard him who sent his praises to Him). He then did not prostrate but stood up and recited a prolonged recitation which was shorter than the first recitation. He again said Takbir and then bowed a prolonged bowing but shorter than the first one and then said, "Sami 'a-l-lahu Lyman hamidah Rabbana walak-lhamd, (Allah heard him who sent his praises to Him. O our Sustainer! All the praises are for You)" and then prostrated and did the same in the second Raka; thus he completed four bowing and four prostrations. The sun (eclipse) had cleared before he finished the prayer. (After the prayer) he stood up, glorified and praised Allah as He deserved and then said, "The sun and the moon are two of the signs of Allah. They do not eclipse because of the death or the life (i.e. birth) of someone. When you see them make haste for the prayer." Narrated Az-Zuhri: I said to 'Ursa, "When the sun eclipsed at Medina your brother (Abdullah bin Az-Zubair) offered only a two-Rakat prayer like that of the morning (Fajr) prayer." 'Ursa replied, "Yes, for he missed the Prophet's tradition (concerning this matter)."

Volume 2, Book 18, Number 157:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) On the day when the sun Khasafat (eclipsed) Allah's Apostle prayed; he stood up and said Takbir and recited a prolonged recitation, then he performed a prolonged bowing, then he raised his head and said, "Sami'a-l-lahu Lyman Hamidah," and then remained standing and recited a prolonged recitation which was shorter than the first. Then he performed a prolonged bowing which was shorter than the first. Then he prostrated and prolonged the prostration and he did the same in the second Raka as in the first and then finished the prayer with Taslim. By that time the sun (eclipse) had cleared He addressed the people and said, "The sun and the moon are two of the signs of Allah; they do not eclipse (Yakhsifan) because of the death or the life (i.e. birth) of someone. So when you see them make haste for the prayer."

Volume 2, Book 18, Number 158:
Narrated Abu Bakra:
Allah's Apostle said: "The sun and the moon are two signs amongst the signs of Allah and they do not eclipse because of the death of someone but Allah frightens His devotees with them."

Volume 2, Book 18, Number 159:
Narrated Amra bint AbdurRahman:
A Jewess came to ask Aisha (the wife of the Prophet) about something. She said to her, "May Allah give you refuge from the punishment of the grave." So Aisha ' asked Allah's Apostle "Would the people be punished in their graves?" Allah's Apostle after seeking refuge with Allah from the punishment of the grave (and thus replied in the affirmative). Then one day, Allah's Apostle rode to go to some place but the sun eclipsed. He returned in the forenoon and passed through the rear of the dwellings (of his wives) and stood for the (eclipse) prayer, and the people stood behind him. He stood up for a long period and then performed a prolonged bowing which was shorter than the first bowing. Then he raised his head and prostrated. Then he stood up (for the second Raka) for a long while but the standing was shorter than that of the first Raka. Then he performed a prolonged bowing which was shorter than the first one. Then he raised his head and prostrated. Then he stood up for a long time but shorter than the first. Then he performed a prolonged bowing but shorter than the first. Then he raised his head and prostrated and finished the prayer and (then delivered the sermon and) said as much as Allah wished. And then he ordered the people to seek refuge with Allah from the punishment of the grave.

Volume 2, Book 18, Number 160:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr
When the sun eclipsed in the lifetime of Allah's Apostle and an announcement was made that the prayer was to be held in congregation. The Prophet performed two bowing in one Raka. Then he stood up and performed two bowing in one Raka. Then he sat down and finished the prayer; and by then the (eclipse) had cleared Aisha said, "I had never performed such a long prostration."

Volume 2, Book 18, Number 161:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
The sun eclipsed in the life-time of the Prophet . Allah's Apostle offered the eclipse prayer and stood for a long period equal to the period in which one could recite Surat-al-Baqara. Then he bowed for a long time and then stood up for a long period which was shorter than that of the first standing, then bowed again for a long time but for a shorter period than the first; then he prostrated twice and then stood up for a long period which was shorter than that of the first standing; then he bowed for a long time which was shorter than the previous one, and then he raised his head and stood up for a long period which was shorter than the first standing, then he bowed for a long time which was shorter than the first bowing, and then prostrated (twice) and finished the prayer. By then, the sun (eclipse) had cleared. The Prophet then said, "The sun and the moon are two of the signs of Allah. They eclipse neither because of the death of somebody nor because of his life (i.e. birth). So when you see them, remember Allah." The people say, "O Allah's Apostle! We saw you taking something from your place and then we saw you retreating." The Prophet replied, "I saw Paradise and stretched my hands towards a bunch (of its fruits) and had I taken it, you would have eaten from it as long as the world remains. I also saw the Hell-fire and I had never seen such a horrible sight. I saw that most of the inhabitants were women." The people asked, "O Allah's Apostle! Why is it so?" The Prophet replied, "Because of their ungratefulness." It was asked whether they are ungrateful to Allah. The Prophet said, "They are ungrateful to their companions of life (husbands) and ungrateful to good deeds. If you are benevolent to one of them throughout the life and if she sees anything (undesirable) in you, she will say, 'I have never had any good from you.' "

Volume 2, Book 18, Number 162:
Narrated Fatima bint Al-Mundhir:
Asma bint Al Bakr said, "I came to Aisha the wife of the Prophet during the solar eclipse. The people were standing and offering the prayer and she was also praying too. I asked her, 'What has happened to the people?' She pointed out with her hand towards the sky and said, 'Subhan-Allah'. I said, 'Is there a sign?' She pointed out in the affirmative." Asma further said, "I too then stood up for the prayer till I fainted and then poured water on my head. When Allah's Apostle had finished his prayer, he thanked and praised Allah and said, 'I have seen at this place of mine what I have never seen even Paradise and Hell. No doubt, it has been inspired to me that you will be put to trial in the graves like or nearly like the trial of (Masih) Ad-Dajjal. (I do not know which one of the two Asma said.) (The angels) will come to everyone of you and will ask what do you know about this man (i.e. Mohammed). The believer or a firm believer (I do not know which word Asma said) will reply, 'He is Mohammed, Allah's Apostle who came to us with clear evidences and guidance, so we accepted his teachings, believed and followed him.' The angels will then say to him, 'Sleep peacefully as we knew surely that you were a firm believer.' The hypocrite or doubtful person (I do not know which word Asma said) will say, 'I do not know. I heard the people saying something so I said it (the same).' "

Volume 2, Book 18, Number 163:
Narrated Asma:
No doubt the Prophet ordered people to manumit slaves during the solar eclipse.

Volume 2, Book 18, Number 164:
Narrated Amra bint AbdurRahman:
A Jewess came to Aisha to ask her about something and then she said, "May Allah give you refuge from the punishment of the grave." So Aisha asked Allah's Apostle, "Would the people be punished in their graves?" Allah's Apostle asked Allah's refuge from the punishment of the grave (indicating an affirmative reply). Then one day Allah's Apostle rode (to leave for some place) but the sun eclipsed. He returned on the forenoon and passed through the rear of the dwellings (of his wives) and stood up and started offering the (eclipse) prayer and the people stood behind him. He stood for a long period and then performed a long bowing and then stood straight for a long period which was shorter than that of the first standing, then he performed a prolonged bowing which was shorter than the first bowing, then he raised his head and prostrated for a long time and then stood up (for the second Raka) for a long while, but the standing was shorter than the standing of the first Raka. Then he performed a prolonged bowing which was shorter than that of the first one. He then stood up for a long time but shorter than the first, then again performed a long bowing which was shorter than the first and then prostrated for a shorter while than that of the first prostration. Then he finished the prayer and delivered the sermon and) said what Allah wished; and ordered the people to seek refuge with Allah from the punishment of the grave.

Volume 2, Book 18, Number 165:
Narrated Abu Masud:
Allah's Apostle said, "The sun and the moon do not eclipse because of someone's death or life but they are two signs amongst the signs of Allah, so pray whenever you see them."

Volume 2, Book 18, Number 166:
Narrated Aisha:
In the lifetime of the Prophet the sun eclipsed and the Prophet stood up to offer the prayer with the people and recited a long recitation, then he performed a prolonged bowing, and then lifted his head and recited a prolonged recitation which was shorter than the first. Then he performed a prolonged bowing which was shorter than the first and then lifted his head and performed two prostrations. He then stood up for the second Raka and offered it like the first. Then he stood up and said, "The sun and the moon do not eclipse because of someone's life or death but they are two signs amongst the signs of Allah which He shows to His worshipers. So whenever you see them, make haste for the prayer."

Volume 2, Book 18, Number 167:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The sun eclipsed and the Prophet got up, being afraid that it might be the Hour (i.e. Day of Judgement). He went to the Mosque and offered the prayer with the longest Qiyam, bowing and prostration that I had ever seen him doing. Then he said, "These signs which Allah sends do not occur because of the life or death of somebody, but Allah makes His worshipers afraid by them. So when you see anything thereof, proceed to remember Allah, invoke Him and ask for His forgiveness."

Volume 2, Book 18, Number 168:
Narrated Al-Mughira bin Shu'ba :
On the day of Ibrahim's death, the sun eclipsed and the people said that the eclipse was due to the death of Ibrahim (the son of the Prophet). Allah's Apostle said, "The sun and the moon are two signs amongst the signs of Allah. They do not eclipse because of someone's death or life. So when you see them, invoke Allah and pray till the eclipse is clear."

Volume 2, Book 18, Number 169:
Narrated Abu Bakra:
In the life-time of the Prophet the sun eclipsed and then he offered a two Rakat prayer.

Volume 2, Book 18, Number 170:
Narrated Abu Bakra:
In the life-time of the Allah's Apostle the sun eclipsed and he went out dragging his clothes till he reached the Mosque. The people gathered around him and he led them and offered two Rakat. When the sun (eclipse) cleared, he said, "The sun and the moon are two signs amongst the signs of Allah; they do not eclipse because of the death of someone, and so when an eclipse occurs, pray and invoke Allah till the eclipse is over." It happened that a son of the Prophet called Ibrahim died on that day and the people were talking about that (saying that the eclipse was caused by his death).

Volume 2, Book 18, Number 171:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet led us and performed four bowing in two Rakat during the solar eclipse and the first Raka was longer.

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Volume 2, Book 18, Number 172:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet recited (the Koran) aloud during the eclipse prayer and when he had finished the eclipse prayer he said the Takbir and bowed. When he stood straight from bowing he would say "Sami 'al-l-ahu Lyman hamidah Rabbana walaka-l-hamd." And he would again start reciting. In the eclipse prayer there are four bowing and four prostrations in two Rakat. Al-Auza'i and others said that they had heard Az-Zuhi from 'Ursa from Aisha saying, "In the life-time of Allah's Apostle the sun eclipsed, and he made a person to announce: 'Prayer in congregation.' He led the prayer and performed four bowing and four prostrations in two Rakat." Narrated Al-Walid that Abdur-Rahman bin Namir had informed him that he had heard the same. Ibn Shihab heard the same. Az-Zuhrl said, "I asked ('Ursa), 'What did your brother Abdullah bin AzZubair do? He prayed two Rakat (of the eclipse prayer) like the morning prayer, when he offered the (eclipse) prayer in Median.' 'Ursa replied that he had missed (i.e. did not pray according to) the Prophet's tradition." Sulaiman bin Kathir and Sufyan bin Husain narrated from Az-Zuhri that the prayer for the eclipse used to be offered with loud recitation.

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 19:
Prostration During Recital of Koran

Volume 2, Book 19, Number 173:
Narrated Abdullah bin Masud :
The Prophet recited Suratan-Najm (103) at Mecca and prostrated while reciting it and those who were with him did the same except an old man who took a handful of small stones or earth and lifted it to his forehead and said, "This is sufficient for me." Later on, I saw him killed as a non-believer.

Volume 2, Book 19, Number 174:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
On Fridays the Prophet used to recite Alf Lam Mim Tanzil-As-Sajda (in the first Raka) and Hal ata'alal-lnsani i.e. Suratad-Dahr (LXXVI) (in the second Raka), in the Fajr prayer.

Volume 2, Book 19, Number 175:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The prostration of Sad is not a compulsory one but I saw the Prophet prostrating while reciting it.

Volume 2, Book 19, Number 176:
Narrated Abdullah bin Masud:
The Prophet recited Surat-an-Najm (53) and prostrated while reciting it and all the people prostrated and a man amongst the people took a handful of stones or earth and raised it to his face and said, "This is sufficient for me." Later on I saw him killed as a non-believer.

Volume 2, Book 19, Number 177:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet I prostrated while reciting An-Najm and with him prostrated the Muslims, the pagans, the jinns, and all human beings.

Volume 2, Book 19, Number 178:
Narrated 'Ata' bin Yasar:
I asked Zaid bin Thabit about prostration on which he said that he had recited An-Najm before the Prophet, yet he (the Prophet) had not performed a prostration.

Volume 2, Book 19, Number 179:
Narrated Zaid bin Thabit:
I recited An-Najm before the Prophet, yet he did not perform a prostration.

Volume 2, Book 19, Number 180:
Narrated Abu Salma:
I saw Abu Huraira reciting Idha-Sama' un-Shaqqat and he prostrated during its recitation. I asked Abu Huraira, "Didn't I see you prostrating?" Abu Huraira said, "Had I not seen the Prophet prostrating, I would not have prostrated."

Volume 2, Book 19, Number 181:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
When the Prophet recited a Sura that contained the prostration he would prostrate and we would do the same and some of us (because of the heavy rush) could not find a place for prostration.

Volume 2, Book 19, Number 182:
Narrated Ibn Umar,
When the Prophet recited Surat As-Sajda and we were with him, he would prostrate and we also would prostrate with him and some of us (because of the heavy rush) would not find a place (for our foreheads) to prostrate on.

Volume 2, Book 19, Number 183:
Narrated Rabi'a:
Umar bin Al-Khattab recited Surat-an-Nahl on a Friday on the pulpit and when he reached the verse of Sajda he got down from the pulpit and prostrated and the people also prostrated. The next Friday Umar bin Al-Khattab recited the same Sura and when he reached the verse of Sajda he said, "O people! When we recite the verses of Sajda (during the sermon) whoever prostrates does the right thing, yet it is no sin for the one who does not prostrate." And Umar did not prostrate (that day). Added Ibn Umar "Allah has not made the prostration of recitation compulsory but if we wish we can do it."

Volume 2, Book 19, Number 184:
Narrated Abu Rafi:
I offered the 'Isha' prayer behind Abu Huraira and he recited Idhas-Sama' Un-Shaqqat, and prostrated. I said, "What is this?" Abu Huraira said, "I prostrated behind Abu-l-Qasim and I will do the same till I meet him."

Volume 2, Book 19, Number 185:
Narrated Ibn Umar.
Whenever the Prophet recited the Sura which contained the prostration of recitation he used to prostrate and then, we, too, would prostrate and some of us did not find a place for prostration.

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 20:
Shortening the Prayers (At-Taqseer)

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 186:
Narrated Ibn Abbas :
The Prophet once stayed for nineteen days and prayed shortened prayers. So when we travel led (and stayed) for nineteen days, we used to shorten the prayer but if we travelled (and stayed) for a longer period we used to offer the full prayer.

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 187:
Narrated Yahya bin Ishaq:
I heard Anas saying, "We travelled with the Prophet from Medina to Mecca and offered two Rakat (for every prayer) till we returned to Medina." I said, "Did you stay for a while in Mecca?" He replied, "We stayed in Mecca for ten days."

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 188:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
I offered the prayer with the Prophet, Abu Bakr and Umar at Mina and it was of two Rakat. Uthman in the early days of his caliphate did the same, but later on he started praying the full prayer.

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 189:
Narrated Haritha bin Wahab:
The Prophet I led us in the prayer at Mina during the peace period by offering two Rakat.

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 190:
Narrated Abdur Rahman bin Yazid:
We offered a four Rakat prayer at Mina behind Ibn 'Affan . Abdullah bin Masud was informed about it. He said sadly, "Truly to Allah we belong and truly to Him we shall return." And added, "I prayed two Rakat with Allah's Apostle at Mina and similarly with Abu Bakr and with Umar (during their caliphates)." He further said, "May I be lucky enough to have two of the four Rakat accepted (by Allah)."

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 191:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet and his companions reached Mecca in the morning of the 4th Dhul-Hijja reciting Talbiya (O Allah! We are obedient to your orders, we respond 4 to your call) . . . intending to perform Hajj. The Prophet ordered his companions to assume the lhram for Umra instead of Hajj, excepting those who had Hadi (sacrifice) with them.

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 192:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "A woman should not travel for more than three days except with a Dhi-Mahram (i.e. a male with whom she cannot marry at all, e.g. her brother, father, grandfather, etc.) or her own husband.)"

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 193:
Narrated IbnUmar:
The Prophet said, "A woman should not travel for more than three days except with a Dhi-Mahram."

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 194:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "It is not permissible for a woman who believes in Allah and the Last Day to travel for one day and night except with a Mahram."

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 195:
Narrated Anas bin Malik :
offered four Rakat of Zuhr prayer with the Prophet at Medina and two Rakat at Dhul-Hulaifa. (i.e. shortened the Asr prayer).

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 196:
Narrated Aisha:
"When the prayers were first enjoined they were of two Rakat each. Later the prayer in a journey was kept as it was but the prayers for non-travellers were completed." Az-Zuhri said, "I asked Urwa what made Aisha pray the full prayers (in journey)." He replied, "She did the same as Uthman did."

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 197:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
"I saw Allah's Apostle delaying the Maghrib prayer till he offered it along with the 'Isha' prayer whenever he was in a hurry during the journey." Salim narrated, "Ibn Umar used to do the same whenever he was in a hurry during the journey." And Salim added, "Ibn Umar used to pray the Maghrib and 'Isha' prayers together in Al-Muzdalifa." Salim said, "Ibn Umar delayed the Maghrib prayer because at that time he heard the news of the death of his wife Safiya bint Abi Ubaid. I said to him, 'The prayer (is due).' He said, 'Go on.' Again I said, 'The prayer (is due).' He said, 'Go on,' till we covered two or three miles. Then he got down, prayed and said, 'I saw the Prophet praying in this way, whenever he was in a hurry during the journey.' Abdullah (bin Umar) added, "Whenever the Prophet was in a hurry, he used to delay the Maghrib prayer and then offer three Rakat (of the Maghrib) and perform Taslim, and after waiting for a short while, Iqama used to be pronounced for the 'Isha' prayer when he would offer two Rakat and perform Taslim. He would never offer any optional prayer till the middle of the night (when he used to pray the Tahajjud)."

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 198:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amir from his father who said:
I saw the Prophet offering the prayer on his mount (Rahila) whatever direction it took.

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 199:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah,
The Prophet used to offer the Nawafil, while riding, facing a direction other than that of the Qibla.

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 200:
Narrated Nafi:
Ibn Umar (while on a journey) used to offer the prayer and the Witr on his mount (Rahila). He said that the Prophet used to do so.

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 201:
Narrated Abdullah bin Dinar:
On traveling, Abdullah bin Umar used to offer the prayer on his Mount by signs whatever direction it took. Abdullah said that the Prophet used to do so.

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 202:
Narrated Amir bin Rabi'a,
I saw the Prophet on his Mount praying Nawafil by nodding his head, whatever direction he faced, but Allah's Apostle never did the same in offering the compulsory prayers. Narrated Salim: At nightAbdullah bin Umar used to offer the prayer on the back of his animal during the journey and never cared about the direction he faced. Ibn Umar said, "Allah's Apostle used to offer the optional prayer on the back of his Mount facing any direction and also used to pray the Witr on it but never offered the compulsory prayer on it."

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 203:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah
The Prophet used to pray (the Nawafil) on his Mount facing east and whenever he wanted to offer the compulsory prayer, he used to dismount and face the Qibla.

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 204:
Narrated Anas bin Sirin:
We went to receive Anas bin Malik when he returned from Sham and met him at a place called 'Ain-at-Tamr. I saw him praying riding the donkey, with his face to this direction, i.e. to the left of the Qibla. I said to him, "I have seen you offering the prayer in a direction other than that of the Qibla." He replied, "If I had not seen Allah's Apostle doing it, I would not have done it."

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 205:
Narrated Hafs bin 'Asim:

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Ibn Umar went on a journey and said, "I accompanied the Prophet and he did not offer optional prayers during the journey, and Allah says: 'Verily! In Allah's Apostle you have a good example to follow.' " (33.21)

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 206:
Narrated Ibn Umar :
I accompanied Allah's Apostle and he never offered more than two Rakat during the journey. Abu Bakr, Umar and Uthman used to do the same.

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 207:
Narrated Ibn Abu Laila:
Only Um Hani told us that she had seen the Prophet offering the Duha (forenoon prayer). She said, "On the day of the conquest of Mecca, the Prophet took a bath in my house and offered eight Rakat. I never saw him praying such a light prayer but he performed perfect prostration and bowing. Narrated Abdullah bin amir that his father had told him that he had seen the Prophet praying Nawafil at night on the back of his Mount on a journey, facing whatever direction it took.

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 208:
Narrated Salim bin Abdullah:
Ibn Umar said, "Allah's Apostle used to pray the Nawafil on the back of his Mount (carriage) by signs facing any direction." Ibn Umar used to do the same.

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 209:
Narrated Salim's father:
The Prophet used to offer the Maghrib and Isha' prayers together whenever he was in a hurry on a journey.
Narrated Ibn Abbas: Allah's Apostle used to offer the Zuhr and Asr prayers together on journeys, and also used to offer the Maghrib and 'Isha' prayers together.
Narrated Anas bin Malik: The Prophet used to offer the Maghrib and the 'Isha' prayers together on journeys.

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 210:
Narrated Az-Zuhri:
Salim told me, "Abdullah bin Umar said, 'I saw Allah's Apostle delaying the Maghrib prayer till he offered it along with the Isha prayer whenever he was in a hurry during the journey.' " Salim said, "Abdullah bin Umar used to do the same whenever he was in a hurry during the journey. After making the call for Iqama, for the Maghrib prayer he used to offer three Rakat and then perform Tasllm. After waiting for a short while, he would pronounce the Iqama for the 'Isha' prayer and offer two Rakat and perform Taslim. He never prayed any Nawafil in between the two prayers or after the 'Isha' prayers till he got up in the middle of the night (for Tahajjud prayer)."

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 211:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle used to offer these two prayers together on journeys i.e. the Maghrib and the 'Isha'.

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 212:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Whenever the Prophet started a journey before noon, he used to delay the Zuhr prayer till the time of Asr and then offer them together; and if the sun declined (at noon) he used to offer the Zuhr prayer and then ride (for the journey).

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 213:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Whenever the Prophet started the journey before noon, he used to delay the Zuhr prayer till the time for the Asr prayer and then he would dismount and pray them together; and whenever the sun declined before he started the journey he used to offer the Zuhr prayer and then ride (for the journey).

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 214:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle prayed in his house while sitting during his illness and the people prayed behind him standing and he pointed to them to sit down. When he had finished the prayer, he said, "The Imam is to be followed and so when he bows you should bow; and when he lifts his head you should also do the same."

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 215:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle fell down from a horse and his right side was either injured or scratched, so we went to inquire about his health. The time for the prayer became due and he offered the prayer while sitting and we prayed while standing. He said, "The Imam is to be followed; so if he says Takbir, you should also say Takbir, and if he bows you should also bow; and when he lifts his head you should also do the same and if he says: Sami'a-l-lahu Liman Hamidah (Allah hears whoever sends his praises to Him) you should say: Rabbana walakal-Hamd (O our Lord! All the praises are for You.") (See Hadith No. 656 Vol. 1).

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 216:
Narrated Imran bin Husain:
(who had piles) I asked Allah's Apostle about the praying of a man while sitting. He said, "If he prays while standing it is better and he who prays while sitting gets half the reward of that who prays standing; and whoever prays while Lying gets half the reward of that who prays while sitting."

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 217:
NarratedAbdullah bin Buraida:
Imran bin Husain had piles. Once Abu Ma mar narrated from Imran bin Husain had said, "I asked the Prophet about the prayer of a person while sitting. He said, 'It is better for one to pray standing; and whoever prays sitting gets half the reward of that who prays while standing; and whoever prays while Lying gets half the reward of that who prays while sitting.' "

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 218:
Narrated Imran bin Husain:
had piles, so I asked the Prophet about the prayer. He said, "Pray while standing and if you can't, pray while sitting and if you cannot do even that, then pray Lying on your side."

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 219:
Narrated Aisha:
(the mother of the faithful believers) I never saw Allah's Apostle offering the night prayer while sitting except in his old age and then he used to recite while sitting and whenever he wanted to bow he would get up and recite thirty or forty verses (while standing) and then bow.

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 220:
Narrated Aisha:
(the mother of the faithful believers) Allah's Apostle (in his last days) used to pray sitting. He would recite while sitting, and when thirty or forty verses remained from the recitation he would get up and recite them while standing and then he would bow and prostrate. He used to do the same in the second Raka. After finishing the Prayer he used to look at me and if I was awake he would talk to me and if I was asleep, he would lie down.

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 21:
Prayer at Night (Tahajjud)

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 221:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
When the Prophet got up at night to offer the Tahajjud prayer, he used to say: Allahumma lakal-hamd. Anta qaiyimus-samawati wal-ard wa man fihinna. Walakal-hamd, Laka mulkus-samawati wal-ard wa man fihinna. Walakal-hamd, anta nurus-samawati wal-ard. Walakalhamd, anta-l-haq wa wa'duka-l-haq, wa liqa'uka Haq, wa qualuka Haq, wal-jannatu Han wan-naru Haq wannabiyuna Haq. Wa Mohammedun, sallal-lahu'alaihi wasallam, Haq, was-sa'atu Haq. Allahumma aslamtu Laka wabika amantu, wa 'Alaika tawakkaltu, wa ilaika anabtu wa bika khasamtu, wa ilaika hakamtu faghfir li ma qaddamtu wama akh-khartu wama as-rartu wama'a lantu, anta-l-muqaddim wa anta-l-mu akh-khir, la ilaha illa anta (or la ilaha ghairuka). (O Allah! All the praises are for you, You are the Holder of the Heavens and the Earth, And whatever is in them. All the praises are for You; You have the possession of the Heavens and the Earth And whatever is in them. All the praises are for You; You are the Light of the Heavens and the Earth And all the praises are for You; You are the King of the Heavens and the Earth; And all the praises are for You; You are the Truth and Your Promise is the truth, And to meet You is true, Your Word is the truth And Paradise is true And Hell is true And all the Prophets (Peace be upon them) are true; And Mohammed is true, And the Day of Resurrection is true. O Allah ! I surrender (my will) to You; I believe in You and depend on You. And repent to You, And with Your help I argue (with my opponents, the non-believers) And I take You as a judge (to judge between us). Please forgive me my previous And future sins; And whatever I concealed or revealed And You are the One who make (some people) forward And (some) backward. There is none to be worshipped but you . Sufyan said that Abdul Karim Abu Umaiya added to the above, 'Wala haula Wala quwata illa billah' (There is neither might nor power except with Allah).

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 222:
Narrated Salim's father:
In the life-time of the Prophet whosoever saw a dream would narrate it to Allah's Apostle. I had a wish of seeing a dream to narrate it to Allah's Apostle I was a grown up boy and used to sleep in the Mosque in the life-time of the Prophet. I saw in the dream that two angels caught hold of me and took me to the Fire which was built all round like a built well and had two poles in it and the people in it were known to me. I started saying, "I seek refuge with Allah from the Fire." Then I met another angel who told me not to be afraid. I narrated the dream to Hafsa who told it to Allah's Apostle. The Prophet said, "Abdullah is a good man. I wish he prayed Tahajjud." After that Abdullah (i.e. Salim's father) used to sleep but a little at night.

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 223:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle used to offer eleven Rakat and that was his prayer. He used to prolong the prostration to such an extent that one could recite fifty verses (of the Koran) before he would lift his head. He used to pray two Rakat (Sunna) before the Fajr prayer and then used to lie down on his right side till the call-maker came and informed him about the prayer.

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 224:
Narrated Jundab:
The Prophet became sick and did not get up (for Tahajjud prayer) for a night or two.

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 225:
Narrated Jundab bin Abdullah :
Gabriel did not come to the Prophet (for some time) and so one of the Quraish women said, "His Satan has deserted him." So came the Divine Revelation: "By the forenoon And by the night When it is still! Your Lord (O Mohammed) has neither Forsaken you Nor hated you." (93.1-3)

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 226:
Narrated Um Salama:
One night the Prophet got up and said, "Subhan Allah! How many afflictions Allah has revealed tonight and how many treasures have been sent down (disclosed). Go and wake the sleeping lady occupants of these dwellings up (for prayers), perhaps a well-dressed in this world may be naked in the Hereafter."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 227:
Narrated Ali bin Abi Talib
One night Allah's Apostle came to me and Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet and asked, "Won't you pray (at night)?" I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Our souls are in the hands of Allah and if He wants us to get up He will make us get up." When I said that, he left us without saying anything and I heard that he was hitting his thigh and saying, "But man is more quarrelsome than anything." (18.54)

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 228:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle used to give up a good deed, although he loved to do it, for fear that people might act on it and it might be made compulsory for them. The Prophet never prayed the Duha prayer, but I offer it.

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 229:
Narrated Aisha, the mother of the faithful believers:
One night Allah's Apostle offered the prayer in the Mosque and the people followed him. The next night he also offered the prayer and too many people gathered. On the third and the fourth nights more people gathered, but Allah's Apostle did not come out to them. In the morning he said, "I saw what you were doing and nothing but the fear that it (i.e. the prayer) might be enjoined on you, stopped me from coming to you." And that happened in the month of Ramadan.

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 230:
Narrated Al-Mughira:
The Prophet used to stand (in the prayer) or pray till both his feet or legs swelled. He was asked why (he offered such an unbearable prayer) and he said, "should I not be a thankful slave."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 231:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr bin Al-'As:
Allah's Apostle told me, "The most beloved prayer to Allah is that of David and the most beloved fasts to Allah are those of David. He used to sleep for half of the night and then pray for one third of the night and again sleep for its sixth part and used to fast on alternate days."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 232:
Narrated Masruq:
I asked Aisha which deed was most loved by the Prophet. She said, "A deed done continuously." I further asked, "When did he used to get up (in the night for the prayer)." She said, "He used to get up on hearing the crowing of a cock."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 233:
Narrated Al-Ashath:
He (the Prophet) used to get up for the prayer on hearing the crowing of a cock.

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Volume 2, Book 21, Number 234:
Narrated Aisha:
In my house he (Prophet) never passed the last hours of the night but sleeping.

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 235:
Narrated Qatada:
Anas bin Malik said, "The Prophet and Zaid bin Thabit took their Suhur together. When they finished it, the Prophet stood for the (Fajr) prayer and offered it." We asked Anas, "What was the interval between their finishing the Suhur and the starting of the morning prayer?" Anas replied, "It was equal to the time taken by a person in reciting fifty verses of the Koran."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 236:
Narrated Abu-Wa il:
Abdullah said, "One night I offered the Tahajjud prayer with the Prophet and he kept on standing till an ill-thought came to me." We said, "What was the ill-thought?" He said, "It was to sit down and leave the Prophet (standing)."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 237:
Narrated Hudhaifa :
Whenever the Prophet got up for Tahajjud prayer he used to clean his mouth (and teeth) with Siwak.

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 238:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar :
A man said, "O Allah's Apostle! How is the prayer of the night?" He said, "Two Rakat followed by two Rakat and so on, and when you apprehend the approaching dawn, offer one Raka as Witr."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 239:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The prayer of the Prophet used to be of thirteen Rakat, i.e. of the night prayer.

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 240:
Narrated Masruq:
I asked Aisha about the night prayer of Allah's Apostle and she said, "It was seven, nine or eleven Rakat besides the two Rakat of the Fajr prayer (i.e. Sunna). "

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 241:
Narrated Aisha,
The Prophet used to offer thirteen Rakat of the night prayer and that included the Witr and two Rakat (Sunna) of the Fajr prayer.

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 242:
Narrated Anas bin Malik
Sometimes Allah's Apostle would not fast (for so many days) that we thought that he would not fast that month and he sometimes used to fast (for so many days) that we thought he would not leave fasting through-out that month and (as regards his prayer and sleep at night), if you wanted to see him praying at night, you could see him praying and if you wanted to see him sleeping, you could see him sleeping.

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 243:
Narrated Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle said, "Satan puts three knots at the back of the head of any of you if he is asleep. On every knot he reads and exhales the following words, 'The night is long, so stay asleep.' When one wakes up and remembers Allah, one knot is undone; and when one performs ablution, the second knot is undone, and when one prays the third knot is undone and one gets up energetic with a good heart in the morning; otherwise one gets up lazy and with a mischievous heart."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 244:
Narrated Samura bin Jundab:
The Prophet said in his narration of a dream that he saw, "He whose head was being crushed with a stone was one who learnt the Koran but never acted on it, and slept ignoring the compulsory prayers."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 245:
Narrated Abdullah :
A person was mentioned before the Prophet and he was told that he had kept on sleeping till morning and had not got up for the prayer. The Prophet said, "Satan urinated in his ears."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 246:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Our Lord, the Blessed, the Superior, comes every night down on the nearest Heaven to us when the last third of the night remains, saying: "Is there anyone to invoke Me, so that I may respond to invocation? Is there anyone to ask Me, so that I may grant him his request? Is there anyone seeking My forgiveness, so that I may forgive him?"

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 247:
Narrated Al-Aswad:
I asked Aisha "How is the night prayer of the Prophet?" She replied, "He used to sleep early at night, and get up in its last part to pray, and then return to his bed. When the Muadh-dhin pronounced the Adhan, he would get up. If he was in need of a bath he would take it; otherwise he would perform ablution and then go out (for the prayer)."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 248:
Narrated Abu Salma bin Abdur Rahman:
I asked Aisha, "How is the prayer of Allah's Apostle during the month of Ramadan." She said, "Allah's Apostle never exceeded eleven Rakat in Ramadan or in other months; he used to offer four Rakat-- do not ask me about their beauty and length, then four Rakat, do not ask me about their beauty and length, and then three Rakat." Aisha further said, "I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Do you sleep before offering the Witr prayer?' He replied, 'O Aisha! My eyes sleep but my heart remains awake'!"

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 249:
Narrated Aisha:
I did not see the Prophet reciting (the Koran) in the night prayer while sitting except when he became old; when he used to recite while sitting, and when thirty or forty verses remained from the Sura, he would get up and recite them and then bow.

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 250:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
At the time of the Fajr prayer the Prophet asked Bilal, "Tell me of the best deed you did after embracing Islam, for I heard your footsteps in front of me in Paradise." Bilal replied, "I did not do anything worth mentioning except that whenever I performed ablution during the day or night, I prayed after that ablution as much as was written for me."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 251r:
Narrated Anas bin Malik
Once the Prophet entered the Mosque and saw a rope hanging in between its two pillars. He said, "What is this rope?" The people said, "This rope is for Zainab who, when she feels tired, holds it (to keep standing for the prayer.)" The Prophet said, "Don't use it. Remove the rope. You should pray as long as you feel active, and when you get tired, sit down."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 251n:
Narrated Aisha:
A woman from the tribe of Bani Asad was sitting with me and Allah's Apostle came to my house and said, "Who is this?" I said, "(She is) So and so. She does not sleep at night because she is engaged in prayer." The Prophet said disapprovingly: Do (good) deeds which is within your capacity as Allah never gets tired of giving rewards till you get tired of doing good deeds."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 252:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr bin Al-'As:
Allah's Apostle said to me, "O Abdullah! Do not be like so and so who used to pray at night and then stopped the night prayer."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 253:
Narrated 'Ubada bin As-Samit:
The Prophet "Whoever gets up at night and says: -- 'La ilaha il-lallah Wahdahu la Sharika lahu Lahu-l-mulk, waLahu-l-hamd wahuwa 'ala kullishai'in Qadir. Alhamdu lil-lahi wa subhanal-lahi wa la-ilaha il-lal-lah wa-l-lahu akbar wa la hawla Wala Quwata il-la-bil-lah.' (None has the right to be worshipped but Allah. He is the Only One and has no partners . For Him is the Kingdom and all the praises are due for Him. He is Omnipotent. All the praises are for Allah. All the glories are for Allah. And none has the right to be worshipped but Allah, And Allah is Great And there is neither Might nor Power Except with Allah). And then says: -- Allahumma, Ighfir li(O Allah! Forgive me). Or invokes (Allah), he will be responded to and if he performs ablution (and prays), his prayer will be accepted."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 254:
Narrated Abu Huraira
That once Allah's Apostle said, "Your brother, i.e. Abdullah bin Rawaha does not say obscene (referring to his verses): Amongst us is Allah's Apostle, who recites His Book when it dawns. He showed us the guidance, after we were blind. We believe that whatever he says will come true. And he spends his nights in such a way as his sides do not touch his bed. While the pagans were deeply asleep."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 255:
Narrated Nafi:
Ibn Umar said, "In the life-time of the Prophet I dreamt that a piece of silk cloth was in my hand and it flew with me to whichever part of Paradise I wanted. I also saw as if two persons (i.e. angels) came to me and wanted to take me to Hell. Then an angel met us and told me not to be afraid. He then told them to leave me. Hafsa narrated one of my dreams to the Prophet and the Prophet said, "Abdullah is a good man. Would that he offer the night prayer (Tahajjud)!" So after that day Abdullah (bin Umar) started offering Tahajjud. The companions of the Prophet used to tell him their dreams that (Laila-tul-Qadr) was on the 27th of the month of Ramadan. The Prophet said, "I see that your dreams agree on the last ten nights of Ramadan and so whoever is in search of it should seek it in the last ten nights of Ramadan."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 256:
Narrated Aisha;
Allah's Apostle offered the 'Isha' prayer (and then got up at the Tahajjud time) and offered eight Rakat and then offered two Rakat while sitting. He then offered two Rakat in between the Adhan and Iqama (of the Fajr prayer) and he never missed them.

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 257:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet used to lie down on his right side, after offering two Rakat (Sunna) of the Fajr prayer.

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 258:
Narrated Aisha :
After offering the Sunna of the Fajr prayer, the Prophet used to talk to me, if I happen to be awake; otherwise he would lie down till the Iqama call was proclaimed (for the Fajr prayer).

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 259:
Narrated Aisha:
After offering the two Rakat (Sunna) the Prophet used to talk to me, if I happen to be awake; otherwise he would lie down.

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 260:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet was never more regular and particular in offering any Nawafil than the two Rakat (Sunna) of the Fajr prayer.

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 261:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle used to offer thirteen Rakat in the night prayer and on hearing the Adhan for the morning prayer, he used to offer two light Rakat.

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 262:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet used to make the two Rakat before the Fajr prayer so light that I would wonder whether he recited Al-Fatiha (or not).

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 263:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah :
The Prophet used to teach us the way of doing Istikhara (Istikhara means to ask Allah to guide one to the right sort of action concerning any job or a deed), in all matters as he taught us the Suras of the Koran. He said, "If anyone of you thinks of doing any job he should offer a two Rakat prayer other than the compulsory ones and say (after the prayer): -- 'Allahumma inni astakhiruka bi'ilmika, Wa astaqdiruka bi-qudratika, Wa as'alaka min fadlika al-Azlm Fa-innaka taqdiru Wala aqdiru, Wa ta'lamu Wala a'lamu, Wa anta 'allamu l-ghuyub. Allahumma, in kunta ta'lam anna hadha-l-amra Khairun li fi dini wa ma'ashi wa'aqibati amri (or 'ajili amri wa'ajilihi) Faqdirhu wa yas-sirhu li thumma barik li Fihi, Wa in kunta ta'lamu anna hadha-lamra shar-run li fi dini wa ma'ashi wa'aqibati amri (or fi'ajili amri wa ajilihi) Fasrifhu anni was-rifni anhu. Waqdir li al-khaira haithu kana Thumma ardini bihi.' (O Allah! I ask guidance from Your knowledge, And Power from Your Might and I ask for Your great blessings. You are capable and I am not. You know and I do not and You know the unseen. O Allah! If You know that this job is good for my religion and my subsistence and in my Hereafter--(or said: If it is better for my present and later needs)--Then You ordain it for me and make it easy for me to get, And then bless me in it, and if You know that this job is harmful to me In my religion and subsistence and in the Hereafter--(or said: If it is worse for my present and later needs)--Then keep it away from me and let me be away from it. And ordain for me whatever is good for me, And make me satisfied with it). The Prophet added that then the person should name (mention) his need.

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 264:
Narrated Abu Qatada bin Rabi Al-Ansari;

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The Prophet said, "If anyone of you enters a Mosque, he should not sit until he has offered a two-Rakat prayer."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 265:
Narrated Anas bin Malik
Allah's Apostle led us and offered a two Rakat prayer and then went away.

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 266:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar Abu,
I offered with Allah's Apostle a two Rakat prayer before the Zuhr prayer and two Rakat after the Zuhr prayer, two Rakat after Jumua, Maghrib and 'Isha' prayers.

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 267:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah :
While delivering a sermon, Allah's Apostle said, "If anyone of you comes while the Imam is delivering the sermon or has come out for it, he should offer a two Rakat prayer."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 268:
Narrated Mujahid:
Somebody came to the house of Ibn Umar and told him that Allah's Apostles had entered the Kaaba. Ibn Umar said, "I went in front of the Kaaba and found that Allah's Apostle had come out of the Kaaba and I saw Bilal standing by the side of the gate of the Kaaba. I said, 'O Bilal! Has Allah's Apostle prayed inside the Kaaba?' Bilal replied in the affirmative. I said, 'Where (did he pray)?' He replied, '(He prayed) Between these two pillars and then he came out and offered a two Rakat prayer in front of the Kaaba.' " Abu Abdullah said: Abu Huraira said, "The Prophet advised me to offer two Rakat of Duha prayer (prayer to be offered after sunrise and before midday). " Itban (bin Malik) said, "Allah's Apostle
and Abu Bakr, came to me after sunrise and we aligned behind the Prophet and offered two Rakat."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 269:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
I offered with the Prophet two Rakat before the Zuhr and two Rakat after the Zuhr prayer; two Rakat after Maghrib, Isha' and the Jumua prayers. Those of the Maghrib and 'Isha' were offered in his house. My sister Hafsa told me that the Prophet used to offer two light Rakat after dawn and it was the time when I never went to the Prophet."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 270:
Narrated Amr:
I heard Abu Ash-sha'tha' Jabir saying, "I heard Ibn Abbas saying, 'I offered with Allah's Apostle eight Rakat (of Zuhr and Asr prayers) together and seven Rakat (the Maghrib and the 'Isha' prayers) together.' " I said, "O Abu Ash-shatha! I think he must have prayed the Zuhr late and the Asr early; the 'Isha early and the Maghrib late." Abu Ash-sha'tha' said, "I also think so." (See Hadith No. 518 Vol. 1).

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 271:
Narrated Muwarriq:
I asked Ibn Umar "Do you offer the Duha prayer?" He replied in the negative. I further asked, "Did Umar use to pray it?" He (Ibn Umar) replied in the negative. I again asked, "Did Abu Bakr use to pray it?" He replied in the negative. I again asked, "Did the Prophet use to pray it?" Ibn Umar replied, "I don't think he did."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 272:
Narrated Abdur Rahman bin Abi Laila:
Only Um Hani narrated to me that she had seen the Prophet offering the Duha prayer. She said, "On the day of the conquest of Mecca, the Prophet entered my house, took a bath and offered eight Rakat (of Duha prayers. I had never seen the Prophet offering such a light prayer but he performed bowing and prostrations perfectly .

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 273:
Narrated Aisha:
I never saw the Prophet offering the Duha prayer but I always offer it.

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 274:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
My friend (the Prophet) advised me to do three things and I shall not leave them till I die, these are: To fast three days every month, to offer the Duha prayer, and to offer Witr before sleeping.

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 275t:
Narrated Anas bin Sirin:
I heard Anas bin Malik al-Ansari saying, "An Ansari man, who was very fat, said to the Prophet, 'I am unable to present myself for the prayer with you.' He prepared a meal for the Prophet and invited him to his house. He washed one side of a mat with water and the Prophet offered two Rakat on it." So and so, the son of so and so, the son of Al-Jarud asked Anas, "Did the Prophet use to offer the Duha prayer?" Anas replied, "I never saw him praying (the Duha prayer) except on that day."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 275:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
I remember ten Rakat of Nawafil from the Prophet, two Rakat before the Zuhr prayer and two after it; two Rakat after Maghrib prayer in his house, and two Rakat after 'Isha' prayer in his
house, and two Rakat before the Fajr prayer and at that time nobody would enter the house of the Prophet Hafsa told me that the Prophet used to offer two Rakat after the call maker had made the Adhan and the day had dawned.

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 276:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet never missed four Rakat before the Zuhr prayer and two Rakat before the Fajr prayer.

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 277:
Narrated Abdullah Al-Muzni:
The Prophet said, "Pray before the Maghrib (compulsory) prayer." He (said it thrice) and in the third time, he said, "Whoever wants to offer it can do so." He said so because he did not like the people to take it as a tradition.

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 278:
Narrated Marthad bin Abdullah Al-Yazani:
I went to Uqba bin Amir Al-Juhani and said, "Is it not surprising that Abi Tamim offers two Rakat before the Maghrib prayer?" Uqba said, "We used to do so in the life-time of Allah's Apostle." I asked him, "What prevents you from offering it now?" He replied, "Business."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 279:
Narrated Mahmud bin Ar-Rabi Al-Ansari,
that he remembered Allah's Apostle and he also remembered a mouthful of water which he had thrown on his face, after taking it from a well that was in their house. Mahmud said that he had heard Itban bin Malik, who was present with Allah's Apostle in the battle of Badr saying, "I used to lead my people at Bani Salim in the prayer and there was a valley between me and those people. Whenever it rained it used to be difficult for me to cross it to go to their mosque. So I went to Allah's Apostle and said, 'I have weak eye-sight and the valley between me and my people flows during the rainy season and it becomes difficult for me to cross it; I wish you would come to my house and pray at a place so that I could take that place as a praying place.' Allah's Apostle said, 'I will do so.' So Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr came to my house in the (next) morning after the sun had risen high. Allah's Apostle asked my permission to let him in and I admitted him. He did not sit before saying, 'Where do you want us to offer the prayer in your house?' I pointed to the place where I wanted him to pray. So Allah's Apostle stood up for the prayer and started the prayer with Takbir and we aligned in rows behind him; and he offered two Rakat, and finished them with Taslim, and we also performed Taslim with him. I detained him for a meal called "Khazir" which I had prepared for him.--("Khazir" is a special type of dish prepared from barley flour and meat soup)--
When the neighbours got the news that Allah's Apostle was in my house, they poured it till there were a great number of men in the house. One of them said, 'What is wrong with Malik, for I do not see him?' One of them replied, 'He is a hypocrite and does not love Allah and His Apostle.' On that Allah's Apostle said, 'Don't say this. Haven't you seen that he said, 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah for Allah's sake only.' The man replied, 'Allah and His Apostle know better; but by Allah, we never saw him but helping and talking with the hypocrites.' Allah's Apostle replied, 'No doubt, whoever says. None has the right to be worshipped but Allah, and by that he wants the pleasures of Allah, then Allah will save him from Hell." Mahmud added, "I told the above narration to some people, one of whom was Ab-u Aiyub, the companion of Allah's Apostle in the battle in which he (Ab-u Aiyub) died and Yazid bin Mu'aw7ya was their leader in Roman Territory. Abu Aiyub denounced the narration and said, 'I doubt that Allah's Apostle ever said what you have said.' I felt that too much, and I vowed to Allah that if I remained alive in that holy battle, I would (go to Medina and) ask Itban bin Malik if he was still living in the mosque of his people. So when he returned, I assumed Ihram for Hajj or Umra and then I proceeded on till I reached Medina. I went to Bani Salim and Itban bin Malik, who was by then an old blind man, was leading his people in the prayer. When he finished the prayer, I greeted him and introduced myself to him and then asked him about that narration. He told that narration again in the same manner as he had narrated it the first time."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 280:
Narrated Ibn Umar,
Allah's Apostle said, "Offer some of your prayers in your houses and do not make them graves."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 281:
Narrated Quza'a:
I heard Abu Said saying four words. He said, "I heard the Prophet (saying the following narrative)." He had participated in twelve holy battles with the Prophet.
Narrated Abu Huraira: The Prophet said, "Do not set out on a journey except for three Mosques i.e. Al-Masjid-AI-Haram, the Mosque of Allah's Apostle , and the Mosque of Al-Aqsa, (Mosque of Jerusalem)."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 282:
Narrated Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle said, "One prayer in my Mosque is better than one thousand prayers in any other mosque excepting Al-Masjid-Al-Haram."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 283:
Narrated Nafi:
Ibn Umar never offered the Duha prayer except on two occasions:
(1) Whenever he reached Mecca; and he always used to reach Mecca in the forenoon. He would perform Tawaf round the Kaaba and then offer two Rakat at the rear of Maqam Ibrahim.
(2) Whenever he visited Quba, for he used to visit it every Saturday. When he entered the Mosque, he disliked to leave it without offering a prayer. Ibn Umar narrated that Allah's Apostle used to visit the Mosque of Quba (sometime) walking and (sometime) riding. And he (i.e. Ibn Umar) used to say, "I do only what my companions used to do and I don't forbid anybody to pray at any time during the day or night except that one should not intend to pray at sunrise or sunset."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 284:
Narrated Abdullah bin Dinar:
Ibn Umar said, "The Prophet used to go to the Mosque of Quba every Saturday (sometimes) walking and (sometimes) riding." Abdullah (Ibn Umar) used to do the same.

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 285:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet used to go to the Mosque of Quba (sometimes) walking and sometimes riding. Added Nafi (in another narration), "He then would offer two Rakat (in the Mosque of Quba)."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 286:
Narrated Abdullah bin Zaid Al-Mazini:
Allah's Apostle said, "Between my house and the pulpit there is a garden of the gardens of Paradise."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 287:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Between my house and my pulpit there is a garden of the gardens of Paradise, and my pulpit is on my fountain tank (i.e. Al-Kauthar)."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 288:
Narrated Qaza'a Maula:
(freed slave of) Ziyad: I heard Abu Said Al-khudri narrating four things from the Prophet and I appreciated them very much. He said, conveying the words of the Prophet.
(1) "A woman should not go on a two day journey except with her husband or a Dhi-Mahram.
(2) No fasting is permissible on two days: 'Id-ul-Fitr and 'Id-ul-Adha.
(3) No prayer after two prayers, i.e. after the Fajr prayer till the sunrises and after the Asr prayer till the sun sets.
(4) Do not prepare yourself for a journey except to three Mosques, i.e. Al-Masjid-AI-Haram, the Mosque of Aqsa (Jerusalem) and my Mosque."

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 22:
Actions while Praying

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 289:
Narrated Kuraib Maula Ibn Abbas:
Abdullah bin Abbas said that he had passed a night in the house of Maimuna the mother of the faithful believers , who was his aunt. He said, "I slept across the bed, and Allah's Apostle along with his wife slept lengthwise. Allah's Apostle slept till mid-night or slightly before or after it. Then Allah's Apostle woke up, sat, and removed the traces of sleep by rubbing his hands over his face. Then he recited the last ten verses of Surat-Al Imran (2). Then he went towards a hanging leather water-container and performed a perfect ablution and then stood up for prayer." Abdullah bin Abbas added, "I got up and did the same as Allah's Apostle had done and then went and stood by his side. Allah's Apostle then put his right hand over my head and caught my right ear and twisted it. He

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offered two Rakat, then two Rakat, then two Rakat, then two Rakat, then two Rakat, then two Rakat and then offered one Raka Witr. Then he lay down till the Muadh-dhin came and then he prayed two light Rakat and went out and offered the early morning (Fajr) prayer."

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 290:
Narrated Abdullah:
We used to greet the Prophet while he was praying and he used to answer our greetings. When we returned from AnNajashi (the ruler of Ethiopia), we greeted him, but he did not answer us (during the prayer) and (after finishing the prayer) he said, "In the prayer one is occupied (with a more serious matter)."

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 291:
Narrated Abdullah
the same as No. 290. from the Prophet

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 292:
Narrated Zaid bin Arqam:
In the life-time of the Prophet we used to speak while praying, and one of us would tell his needs to his companions, till the verse, 'Guard strictly your prayers (2.238) was revealed. After that we were ordered to remain silent while praying.

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 293:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
The Prophet went out to affect a reconciliation between the tribes of Bani Amr bin 'Auf and the time of the prayer became due; Bilal went to Abu Bakr and said, "The Prophet is detained. Will you lead the people in the prayer?" Abu Bakr replied, "Yes, if you wish." So Bilal pronounced the Iqama and Abu Bakr led the prayer. In the meantime the Prophet came crossing the rows (of the praying people) till he stood in the first row and the people started clapping. Abu Bakr never looked hither and thither during the prayer but when the people clapped too much, he looked back and saw the Prophet in the (first) row. The Prophet waved him to remain at his place, but Abu Bakr raised both his hands and sent praises to Allah and then retreated and the Prophet went forward and led the prayer. (See Hadith No. 295 & 296)

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 294:
Narrated Abdullah bin Masud:
We used to say the greeting, name and greet each other in the prayer. Allah's Apostle heard it and said:--"Say, 'At-tahiyyatu lil-lahi was-salawatu wat-taiyibatu . Assalamu 'Alaika aiyuha-n-Nabiyu wa-rahmatu-l-lahi wa-barakatuhu. _ Assalamu alaina wa-'ala 'ibadi-l-lahi as-salihin.. Ashhadu an la ilaha illa-l-lah wa ashhadu anna Mohammedan 'abdu hu wa Rasuluh. (All the compliments are for Allah and all the prayers and all the good things (are for Allah). Peace be on you, O Prophet, and Allah's mercy and blessings (are on you). And peace be on us and on the good (pious) worshipers of Allah. I testify that none has the right to be worshipped but Allah and that Mohammed is His slave and Apostle.) So, when you have said this, then you have surely sent the greetings to every good (pious) worship per of Allah, whether he be in the Heaven or on the Earth . "

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 295:
Narrated Abu Huraira :
The Prophet said, "The saying 'Sub Han Allah' is for men and clapping is for women." (If something happens in the prayer, the men can invite the attention of the Imam by saying "Sub Han Allah". And women, by clapping their hands).

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 296:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad,
The Prophet said, "The saying 'Sub Han Allah' is for men and clapping is for women.

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 297:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
While Abu Bakr was leading the people in the morning prayer on a Monday, the Prophet came towards them suddenly having lifted the curtain of Aisha's house, and looked at them as they were standing in rows and smiled. Abu Bakr tried to come back thinking that Allah's Apostle wanted to come out for the prayer. The attention of the Muslims was diverted from the prayer because they were delighted to see the Prophet. The Prophet waved his hand to them to complete their prayer, then he went back into the room and let down the curtain. The Prophet expired on that very day.

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 297m:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "A woman called her son while he was in his hermitage and said, 'O Juraij' He said, 'O Allah, my mother (is calling me) and (I am offering) my prayer (what shall I do)?' She again said, 'O Juraij!' He said again, 'O Allah ! My mother (is calling me) and (I am offering) my prayer (what shall I do)?' She again said, 'O Juraij' He again said, 'O Allah! My mother (is calling me) and (I am offering) my prayer. (What shall I do?)' She said, 'O Allah! Do not let Juraij die till he sees the faces of prostitutes.' A shepherdess used to come by his hermitage for grazing her sheep and she gave birth to a child. She was asked whose child that was, and she replied that it was from Juraij and that he had come out from his hermitage. Juraij said, 'Where is that woman who claims that her child is from me?' (When she was brought to him along with the child), Juraij asked the child, 'O Babus, who is your father?' The child replied, 'The shepherd.' " (See Hadith No 662. Vol 3).

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 298:
Narrated Mu'aiqib:
The Prophet talked about a man leveling the earth on prostrating, and said, "If you have to do so, then do it once."

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 299:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
We used to pray with the Prophet in scorching heat, and if someone of us could not put his face on the earth (because of the heat) then he would spread his clothes and prostrate over them.

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 300:
Narrated Aisha:
I used to stretch my legs towards the Qibla of the Prophet while he was praying; whenever he prostrated he touched me, and I would withdraw my legs, and whenever he stood up, I would restretch my legs.

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 301:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet once offered the prayer and said, "Satan came in front of me and tried to interrupt my prayer, but Allah gave me an upper hand on him and I choked him. No doubt, I thought of tying him to one of the pillars of the mosque till you get up in the morning and see him. Then I remembered the statement of Prophet Solomon, 'My Lord ! Bestow on me a kingdom such as shall not belong to any other after me.' Then Allah made him (Satan) return with his head down (humiliated)."

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 302:
Narrated Al-Azraq bin Qais:
We were at Al-Ahwaz fighting the AlHaruriya (tribe). While I was at the bank of a river a man was praying and the reins of his animal were in his hands and the animal was struggling and he was following the animal. (Shu'ba, a sub-narrator, said that man was Abu Barza al-Aslaml). A man from the Khawarij said, "O Allah! Be harsh to this sheik." And when the sheik (Abu Barza) finished his prayer, he said, "I heard your remark. No doubt, I participated with Allah's Apostle in six or seven or eight holy battles and saw his leniency, and no doubt, I would rather retain my animal than let it return to its stable, as it would cause me much trouble. "

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 303:
Narrated Aisha:
Once the sun eclipsed and Allah's Apostle stood up for the prayer and recited a very long Sura and when bowed for a long while and then raised his head and started reciting another Sura. Then he bowed, and after finishing, he prostrated and did the same in the second Raka and then said, "These (lunar and solar eclipses) are two of the signs of Allah and if you see them, pray till the eclipse is over. No doubt, while standing at this place I saw everything promised to me by Allah and I saw (Paradise) and I wanted to pluck a bunch (of grapes) therefrom, at the time when you saw me stepping forward. No doubt, I saw Hell with its different parts destroying each other when you saw me retreating and in it I saw Amr bin Luhai who started the tradition of freeing animals (set them free) in the name of idols."

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 304:
Narrated IbnUmar:
The Prophet saw some sputum on the wall facing the Qibla of the mosque and became furious with the people of the mosque and said, "During the prayer, Allah is in front of everyone of you and so he should not spit (or said, 'He should not expectorate')." Then he got down and scratched the sputum with his hand. Ibn Umar said (after narrating), "If anyone of you has to spit during the prayer, he should spit to his left."

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 305:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "Whenever anyone of you is in prayer, he is speaking in private to his Lord and so he should neither spit in front of him nor on his right side but to his left side under his left foot."

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 306:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
The people used to offer the prayer with the Prophet with their waist-sheets tied round their necks because of the shortness of the sheets and the women were ordered not to lift their heads till the men had sat straight.

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 307:
NarratedAbdullah:
I used to greet the Prophet while he was in prayer and he would return my greeting, but when we returned (from Ethiopia) I greeted the Prophet (while he was praying) but he did not return the greeting, and (after finishing the prayer) he said, "In the prayer one is occupied (with a more serious matter)."

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 308:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle sent me for some job and when I had finished it I returned and came to the Prophet and greeted him but he did not return my greeting. So I felt so sorry that only Allah knows it and I said to myself,, 'Perhaps Allah's Apostle is angry because I did not come quickly, then again I greeted him but he did not reply. I felt even more sorry than I did the first time. Again I greeted him and he returned the greeting and said, "The thing which prevented me from returning the greeting was that I was praying." And at that time he was on his Rahila and his face was not towards the Qibla.

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 309:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
The news about the differences amongst the people of Bani Amr bin 'Auf at Quba reached Allah's Apostle and so he went to them along with some of his companions to affect a reconciliation. Allah's Apostle was delayed there and the time for the prayer became due. Bilal came to Abu Bakr! and said, "O Abu Bakr! Allah's Apostle is detained (there) and the time for the prayer is due. Will you lead the people in prayer?" Abu Bakr replied, "Yes, if you wish." So Bilal pronounced the Iqama and Abu Bakr went forward and the people said Takbir. In the meantime, Allah's Apostle came piercing through the rows till he stood in the (first) row and the people started clapping. Abu Bakr, would never look hither and thither during the prayer but when the people clapped much he looked back and saw Allah's Apostle. The Prophet beckoned him to carry on. Abu Bakr raised both his hands, praised Allah and retreated till he stood in the row and Allah's Apostle went forward and led the people in the prayer. When he had finished the prayer, he addressed the people and said, "O people! Why did you start clapping when something happened to you in the prayer? Clapping is for women. Whenever one is confronted with something unusual in the prayer one should say, 'Sub Han Allah'." Then the Prophet looked towards Abu Bakr and asked, "What prevented you from leading the prayer when I beckoned you to carry on?" Abu Bakr replied, "It does not befit the son of Al Quhafa to lead the prayer in the presence of Allah's Apostle

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 310:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
It was forbidden to keep the hands on the hips during the prayer. (This is narrated by Abu Huraira from the Prophet.)

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 311:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
It was forbidden to pray with the hands over one's hips.

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 312:
Narrated Uqba bin Al-Harith:
I offered the Asr prayer with the Prophet and after finishing the prayer with Taslim he got up quickly and went to some of his wives and then came out. He noticed the signs of astonishment on the faces of the people caused by his speed. He then said, "I remembered while I was in my prayer that a piece of gold was Lying in my house and I disliked that it should remain with us throughout the night, and so I have ordered it to be distributed."

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 313:
Narrated Abu Huraira,
Allah's Apostle said, "When the Adhan for the prayer is pronounced, then Satan takes to his heels passing wind so that he may not hear the Adhan and when the Muadh-dhin finishes, he comes back; and when the Iqama is pronounced he again takes to his heels and when it is finished, he again comes back and continues reminding the praying person of things that he used not to remember when not in prayer till he forgets how much he has prayed." Abu Salama bin Abdur-Rahman said, "If anyone of you has such a thing (forgetting the number of Rakat he has prayed) he should perform two prostrations of Sahu (i.e. forgetfulness) while sitting." Abu Salama narrates this from Abu Huraira.

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Volume 2, Book 22, Number 314:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
People say that I narrate too many narrations of the Prophet; once I met a man (during the life-time of the Prophet) and asked him, "Which Sura did Allah's Apostle s recite yesterday in the 'Isha' prayer?" He said, "I do not know." I said, "Did you not attend the prayer?" He said, "Yes, (I did)." I said, "I know. He recited such and such Sura."

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 315:
Narrated Abdullah bin Buhaina :
Allah's Apostle once led us in a prayer and offered two Rakat and got up (for the third Raka) without sitting (after the second Raka). The people also got up with him, and when he was about to finish his prayer, we waited for him to finish the prayer with Taslim but he said Takbir before Taslim and performed two prostrations while sitting and then finished the prayer with Taslim.

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 316:
Narrated Abdullah bin Buhaina :
Allah's Apostle got up after the second Raka of the Zuhr prayer without sitting in between (the second and the third Rakat). When he finished the prayer he performed two prostrations (of Sahu) and then finished the prayer with Tasllm.

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 317:
Narrated' Abdullah:
Once Allah's Apostle offered five Rakat in the Zuhr prayer, and somebody asked him whether there was some increase in the prayer. Allah's Apostle said, "What is that?" He said, "You have offered five Rakat." So Allah's Apostle performed two prostrations of Sahu after Taslim.

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 318:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet led us in the Asr or the Zuhr prayer and finished it with Taslim. Dhul-Yadain said to him, "O Allah's Apostle! Has the prayer been reduced?" The Prophet asked his companions in the affirmative. So Allah's Apostle I offered two more Rakat and then performed two prostrations (of Sahu). Sad said, "I saw that 'Ursa bin Az-Zubair had offered two Rakat in the Maghrib prayer and finished it with Taslim. He then talked (and when he was informed about it) he completed the rest of his prayer and performed two prostrations, and said, 'The Prophet prayed like this.' "

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 319:
Narrated Abu Huraira.
Once Allah's Apostle offered two Rakat and finished his prayer. So Dhul-Yadain asked him, "Has the prayer been reduced or have you forgotten?" Allah's Apostle said, "Has DhulYadain spoken the truth?" The people replied in the affirmative. Then Allah's Apostle stood up and offered the remaining two Rakat and performed Taslim, and then said Takbir and performed two prostrations like his usual prostrations, or a bit longer, and then got up.

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 320:
Narrated Salama bin 'Alqama:
I asked Mohammed (bin Sirin) whether Tashah-hud should be recited after the two prostrations of Sahu. He replied, "It is not (mentioned) in Abu Huraira's narration . "

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 321:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet offered one of the evening prayers (the sub-narrator Mohammed said, "I think that it was most probably the Asr prayer") and he finished it after offering two Rakat only. He then stood near a price of wood in front of the Mosque and put his hand over it. Abu Bakr and Umar were amongst those who were present, but they dared not talk to him about that (because of excessive respect for him), and those who were in a hurry went out. They said, "Has the prayer been reduced?" A man who was called DhulYadain by the Prophet said (to the Prophet), "Has the prayer been reduced or have you forgotten?" He said, "Neither have I forgotten, nor has the prayer been reduced." He said, "Certainly you have forgotten." So the Prophet offered two more Rakat and performed Tashm and then said Takbir and performed a prostration of Sahu like his ordinary prostration or a bit longer and then raised his head and said Takbir and then put his head down and performed a prostration like his ordinary prostration or a bit longer, and then raised his head and said Takbir.

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 322:
Narrated Abdullah bin Buhaina Al-Asdi:
(the ally of Bani Abdul Muttalib) Allah's Apostle stood up for the Zuhr prayer and he should have sat (after the second Raka but he stood up for the third Raka without sitting for Tashah-hud) and when he finished the prayer he performed two prostrations and said Takbir on each prostration while sitting, before ending (the prayer) with Taslim; and the people too performed the two prostrations with him instead of the sitting he forgot.

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 323:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "When the call for prayer is made, Satan takes to his heels passing wind so that he may not hear the Adhan and when the call is finished he comes back, and when the Iqama is pronounced, Satan again takes to his heels, and when the Iqama is finished he comes back again and tries to interfere with the person and his thoughts and say, "Remember this and that (which he has not thought of before the prayer)", till the praying person forgets how much he has prayed. If anyone of you does not remember whether he has offered three or four Rakat then he should perform two prostrations of Sahu while sitting.

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 324:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "When anyone of you stands for the prayers, Satan comes and puts him in doubts till he forgets how many Rakat he has prayed. So if this happens to anyone of you, he should perform two prostrations of Sahu while sitting.

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 325:
Narrated Kuraib:
I was sent to Aisha by Ibn Abbas, Al-Miswar bin Makhrama and Abdur-Rahman bin Azhar . They told me to greet her on their behalf and to ask her about the offering of the two Rakat after the Asr prayer and to say to her, "We were informed that you offer those two Rakat and we were told that the Prophet had forbidden offering them." Ibn Abbas said, "I along with Umar bin Al-Khattab used to beat the people whenever they offered them." I went to Aisha and told her that message. Aisha said, "Go and ask Um Salama about them." So I returned and informed them about her statement. They then told me to go to Um Salama with the same question with which t sent me to Aisha. Um Salama replied, "I heard the Prophet forbidding them. Later I saw him offering them immediately after he prayed the Asr prayer. He then entered my house at a time when some of the Ansari women from the tribe of Bani Haram were sitting with me, so I sent my slave girl to him having said to her, 'Stand beside him and tell him that Um Salama says to you, "O Allah's Apostle! I have heard you forbidding the offering of these (two Rakat after the Asr prayer) but I have seen you offering them." If he waves his hand then wait for him.' The slave girl did that. The Prophet beckoned her with his hand and she waited for him. When he had finished the prayer he said, "O daughter of Bani Umaiya! You have asked me about the two Rakat after the Asr prayer. The people of the tribe of Abdul-Qais came to me and made me busy and I could not offer the two Rakat after the Zuhr prayer. These (two Rakat that I have just prayed) are for those (missed) ones.

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 326:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad As-Sa'idi :
The news about the differences amongst the people of BaniAmr bin 'Auf reached Allah's Apostle and so he went to them along with some of his companions to affect a reconciliation between them. Allah's Apostle was delayed there, and the time of the prayer was due. Bilal went to Abu Bakr and said to him, "Allah's Apostle has been delayed (there) and the time of prayer is due. So will you lead the people in prayer?" Abu Bakr said, "Yes, if you wish." Bilal pronounced the Iqama and Abu Bakr, went forward and said Takbir for the people. In the mean-time Allah's Apostle came crossing the rows (of the praying people) and stood in the (first) row and the people started clapping. Abu Bakr, would never glance side-ways in his prayer but when the people clapped much he looked back and (saw) Allah's Apostle . Allah's Apostle beckoned him to carry on the prayer. Abu Bakr raised his hands and thanked Allah, and retreated till he reached the (first) row. Allah's Apostle went forward and led the people in the prayer. When he completed the prayer he faced the people and said, "O people! Why did you start clapping when something unusual happened to you in the prayer? Clapping is only for women. So whoever amongst you comes across something in the prayer should say, 'Subhan-Allah' for there is none who will not turn round on hearing him saying Subhan-Allah. O Ab-u Bakr! What prevented you from leading the people in the prayer when I beckoned you to do so?" Abu Bakr replied, "How dare the son of Abu Quhafa lead the prayer in the presence of Allah's Apostle ?"

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 327:
Narrated Asma':
I went to Aisha and she was standing praying and the people, too, were standing (praying). So I said, "What is the matter with the people?" She beckoned with her head towards the sky.

I said, "(Is there) a sign?" She nodded intending to say, "Yes."

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 328:
Narrated Aisha the wife of the Prophet:
Allah's Apostle during his illness prayed in his house sitting, whereas some people followed him standing, but the Prophet beckoned them to sit down. On completion of the prayer he said, "The Imam is to be followed. So, bow when he bows, and raise your head when he raises his head." (See Hadith No. 657 Vol 1 for taking the verdict).

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 23:
Funerals (Al-Janaa'iz)

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 329:
Narrated Abu Dhar:
Allah's Apostle said, "Someone came to me from my Lord and gave me the news (or good tidings) that if any of my followers dies worshipping none (in any way) along with Allah, he will enter Paradise." I asked, "Even if he committed illegal sexual intercourse (adultery) and theft?" He replied, "Even if he committed illegal sexual intercourse (adultery) and theft."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 330:
Narrated Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle said, "Anyone who dies worshipping others along with Allah will definitely enter the Fire." I said, "Anyone who dies worshipping none along with Allah will definitely enter Paradise."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 331:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
Allah's Apostle ordered us to do seven things and forbade us to do other seven. He ordered us:
to follow the funeral procession. to visit the sick, to accept invitations, to help the oppressed, to fulfill the oaths, to return the greeting and to reply to the sneezer: (saying, "May Allah be merciful on you," provided the sneezer says, "All the praises are for Allah,"). He forbade us to use silver utensils and dishes and to wear golden rings, silk (clothes), Dibaj (pure silk cloth), Qissi and Istabraq (two kinds of silk cloths).

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 332:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "The rights of a Muslim on the Muslims are to follow the funeral processions, to accept invitation and to reply the sneezer. (see Hadith No 331)

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 333:
Narrated Aisha :
Abu Bakr came riding his horse from his dwelling place in As-Sunh. He got down from it, entered the Mosque and did not speak with anybody till he came to me and went direct to the Prophet, who was covered with a marked blanket. Abu Bakr uncovered his face. He knelt down and kissed him and then started weeping and said, "My father and my mother be sacrificed for you, O Allah's Prophet! Allah will not combine two deaths on you. You have died the death which was written for you."
Narrated Abu Salama from Ibn Abbas : Abu Bakr came out and Umar , was addressing the people, and Abu Bakr told him to sit down but Umar refused. Abu Bakr again told him to sit down but Umar again refused. Then Abu Bakr recited the Tashah-hud (i.e. none has the right to be worshipped but Allah and Mohammed is Allah's Apostle) and the people attended to Abu Bakr and left Umar. Abu Bakr said, "Amma ba'du, whoever amongst you worshipped Mohammed, then Mohammed is dead, but whoever worshipped Allah, Allah is alive and will never die. Allah said: 'Mohammed is no more than an Apostle and indeed (many) Apostles have passed away before him ..(up to the) grateful.' " (3.144) (The narrator added, "By Allah, it was as if the people never knew that Allah had revealed this verse before till Abu Bakr recited it and then whoever heard it, started reciting it ")

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 334:
Narrated Kharija bin Zaid bin Thabit:
Um Al-'Ala', an Ansari woman who gave the pledge of allegiance to the Prophet said to me, "The emigrants were distributed amongst us by drawing lots and we got in our share Uthman bin Maz'un. We made him stay with us in our house. Then he suffered from a disease which proved fatal when he died and was given a bath and was shrouded in his clothes, Allah's Apostle came I said, 'May Allah be merciful to you, O Abu As-Sa'ib! I testify that Allah has honored you'. The Prophet said, 'How do you know that Allah has honored him?' I replied, 'O Allah's Apostle! Let my father be sacrificed for you! On whom else shall Allah bestow His honor?' The Prophet said, 'No doubt, death came to him. By Allah, I too wish him good, but by Allah, I do not know what Allah will do with me though I am Al lah's Apostle. ' By Allah, I never attested the piety of anyone after that."

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Volume 2, Book 23, Number 335:
Narrated Al-Laith as above.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 336:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah :
When my father was martyred, I lifted the sheet from his face and wept and the people forbade me to do so but the Prophet did not forbid me. Then my aunt Fatima began weeping and the Prophet said, "It is all the same whether you weep or not. The angels were shading him continuously with their wings till you shifted him (from the field). "

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 337:
Narrated Abu Huraira,
Allah's Apostle informed (the people) about the death of An-Najashi on the very day he died. He went towards the Musalla (praying place) and the people stood behind him in rows. He said four Takbirs (i.e. offered the Funeral prayer).

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 338:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "Zaid took over the flag and was martyred. Then it was taken by Jafar who was martyred as well. Then Abdullah bin Rawaha took the flag but he too was martyred and at that time the eyes of Allah's Apostle were full of tears. Then Khalid bin Al-Walid took the flag without being nominated as a chief (before hand) and was blessed with victory."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 339:
Narrated Ibn Abbas.
A person died and Allah's Apostle used to visit him. He died at night and (the people) buried him at night. In the morning they informed the Prophet (about his death). He said, "What prevented you from informing me?" They replied, "It was night and it was a dark night and so we disliked to trouble you." The Prophet went to his grave and offered the (funeral) prayer.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 340:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "A Muslim whose three children die before the age of puberty will be granted Paradise by Allah due to his mercy for them."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 341:
Narrated Abu Sa'id:
The women requested the Prophet, "Please fix a day for us." So the Prophet preached to them and said, "A woman whose three children died would be screened from the Hell Fire by them," Hearing that, a woman asked, "If two died?" The Prophet replied, "Even two (would screen her from the (Hell) Fire. " And Abu Huraira added, "Those children should be below the age of puberty. "

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 342:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "No Muslim whose three children died will go to the Fire except for Allah's oath (i.e. everyone has to pass over the bridge above the lake of fire)."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 343:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet passed by a woman who was sitting and weeping beside a grave and said to her, "Fear Allah and be patient."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 344:
Narrated Um 'Atiyya al-Ansariya:
Allah's Apostle came to us when his daughter died and said, "Wash her thrice or five times or more, if you see it necessary, with water and Sidr and then apply camphor or some camphor at the end; and when you finish, notify me." So when we finished it, we informed him and he gave us his waist-sheet and told us to shroud the dead body in it.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 345:
Narrated Um 'Atiyya
Allah's Apostle came to us and we were giving a bath to his (dead) daughter and said, "Wash her three, five or more times with water and Sidr and sprinkle camphor on her at the end; and when you finish, notify me." So when we finished, we informed him and he gave us his waist-sheet and told us to shroud her in it. Aiyub said that Hafsa narrated to him a narration similar to that of Mohammed in which it was said that the bath was to be given for an odd number of times, and the numbers 3, 5 or 7 were mentioned. It was also said that they were to start with the right side and with the parts which were washed in ablution, and that Um 'Atiyya also mentioned, "We combed her hair and divided them in three braids."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 346:
Narrated Um 'Atiyya:
Allah's Apostle , concerning his (dead) daughter's bath, said, "Start with the right side, and the parts which are washed in ablution."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 347:
Narrated Um 'Atiyya :
When we washed the deceased daughter of the Prophet, he said to us, while we were washing her, "Start the bath from the right side and from the parts which are washed in ablution."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 348:
Narrated Um 'Atiyya:
The daughter of the Prophet expired, and he said to us, "Wash her three or five times, or more if you see it necessary, and when you finish, notify me." So, (when we finished) we informed him and he unfastened his waist-sheet and told us to shroud her in it.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 349:
Narrated Mohammed:
Um 'Atiyya said, "One of the daughters of the Prophet died and he came out and said, 'Wash her three or five times or more, if you think it necessary, with water and Sidr, and last of all put camphor (or some camphor) and when you finish, inform me.' " Um Atiyya added, "When we finished we informed him and he gave us his waist-sheet and said, 'Shroud her in it.' " And Um 'Atiyya (in another narration) added, "The Prophet said, 'Wash her three, five or seven times or more, if you think it necessary.' " Hafsa said that Um 'Atiyya had also said, "We entwined her hair into three braids."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 350:
Narrated Hafsa bint Sirin:
Um 'Atiyya said that they had entwined the hair of the daughter of Allah's Apostle in three braids. They first undid her hair, washed and then entwined it in three braids."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 351:
Narrated Ibn Sirin:
Um 'Atiyya (an Ansari woman who gave the pledge of allegiance to the Prophet) came to Basra to visit her son, but she could not find him. She narrated to us, "The Prophet came to us while we were giving bath to his (dead) daughter, he said: 'Wash her three times, five times or more, if you think it necessary, with water and Sidr, and last of all put camphor, and when you finish, notify me.' " Um 'Atiyya added, "After finishing, we informed him and he gave us his waist sheet and told us to shroud her in it and did not say more than that."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 352:
Narrated Um 'Atiyya:
We entwined the hair of the dead daughter of the Prophet into three braids. Waki said that Sufyan said, "One braid was entwined in front and the other two were entwined on the sides of the head."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 353:
Narrated Um 'Atiyya:
One of the daughters of the Prophet expired and he came to us and said, "Wash her with Sidr (water) for odd number of times, i.e. three, five or more, if you think it necessary, and in the last, put camphor or (some camphor on her), and when you finish, notify me." So when we finished we informed him. He gave his waist-sheet to us (to shroud her). We entwined the hair (of the deceased girl) in three braids and made them fall at her back.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 354:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle was shrouded in three Yemenite white Suhuliya (pieces of cloth) of cotton, and in them there was neither a shirt nor a turban."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 355:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
While a man was riding (his Mount) in 'Arafat, he fell down from it (his Mount) and broke his neck (and died). The Prophet said, "Wash him with water and Sidr and shroud him in two pieces of cloth, and neither perfume him, nor cover his head, for he will be resurrected on the Day of Resurrection saying, 'Labbaik,' (i.e. like a pilgrim)."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 356:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
While a man was at 'Arafat (for Hajj) with Allah's Apostle the fell down from his Mount and broke his neck (and died). So Allah's Apostle said, "Wash him with water and Sidr and shroud him in two pieces of cloth and neither perfume him nor cover his head, for Allah will resurrect him on the Day of Resurrection and he will be saying 'Labbaik."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 357:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
A man was killed by his camel while we were with the Prophet and he was a Muhrim. So the Prophet said, "Wash him with water and Sidr and shroud him in two pieces of cloth and neither perfume him nor cover his head, for Allah will resurrect him on the Day of Resurrection and he will be saying 'Labbaik' . "

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 358:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
A man fell from his Mount and died while he was with the Prophet at 'Arafat. The Prophet said, "Wash him with water and Sidr and shroud him in two pieces of cloth and neither perfume him nor cover his head, for he will be resurrected on the Day of Resurrection saying, 'Labbaik'."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 359:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
When Abdullah bin Ubai (the chief of hypocrites) died, his son came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Please give me your shirt to shroud him in it, offer his funeral prayer and ask for Allah's forgiveness for him." So Allah's Apostle gave his shirt to him and said, "Inform me (When the funeral is ready) so that I may offer the funeral prayer." So, he informed him and when the Prophet intended to offer the funeral prayer, Umar took hold of his hand and said, "Has Allah not forbidden you to offer the funeral prayer for the hypocrites? The Prophet said, "I have been given the choice for Allah says: '(It does not avail) Whether you (O Mohammed) ask forgiveness for them (hypocrites), or do not ask for forgiveness for them. Even though you ask for their forgiveness seventy times, Allah will not forgive them. (9.80)" So the Prophet offered the funeral prayer and on that the revelation came: "And never (O Mohammed) pray (funeral prayer) for any of them (i.e. hypocrites) that dies." (9. 84)

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 360:
Narrated Jabir:
The Prophet came to (the grave of) Abdullah bin Ubai after his body was buried. The body was brought out and then the Prophet put his saliva over the body and clothed it in his shirt.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 361:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet was shrouded in three pieces of cloth which were made of Suhul (a type of cotton), and neither a shirt nor a turban were used.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 362:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle was shrouded in three pieces of cloth and neither a shirt nor a turban were used.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 363:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle was shrouded in three pieces of cloth which were made of white Suhul and neither a shirt nor a turban were used.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 364:
Narrated Sad from his father:
Once the meal of Abdur-Rahman bin 'Auf was brought in front of him, and he said, "Mustab bin Umar was martyred and he was better than I, and he had nothing except his Burd (a black square narrow dress) to be shrouded in. Hamza or another person was martyred and he was also better than I and he had nothing to be shrouded in except his Burd. No doubt, I fear that the rewards of my deeds might have been given early in this world." Then he started weeping.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 365:
Narrated Ibrahim:
Once a meal was brought to Abdur-Rahman bin 'Auf and he was fasting. He said, "Mustab bin Umar was martyred and he was better than I and was shrouded in his Burd and when his head was covered with it, his legs became bare, and when his legs were covered his head got uncovered. Hamza was martyred and was better than I. Now the worldly wealth have been bestowed upon us (or said a similar thing). No doubt, I fear that the rewards of my deeds might have been given earlier in this world." Then he started weeping and left his food.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 366:
Narrated Khabbab:
We emigrated with the Prophet in Allah's cause, and so our reward was then surely incumbent on Allah. Some of us died and they did not take anything from their rewards in this world, and amongst them was Mustab bin Umar; and the others were those who got their rewards. Mustab bin Umar was martyred on the day of the Battle of Uhud and we could get nothing except his Burd to shroud him in. And when we covered his head his feet became bare and vice versa. So the Prophet ordered us to cover his head only and to put idhkhir (a kind of shrub) over his feet.

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Volume 2, Book 23, Number 367:
Narrated Sahl:
A woman brought a woven Burda (sheet) having edging (border) to the Prophet, Then Sahl asked them whether they knew what is Burda, they said that Burda is a cloak and Sahl confirmed their reply. Then the woman said, "I have woven it with my own hands and I have brought it so that you may wear it." The Prophet accepted it, and at that time he was in need of it. So he came out wearing it as his waist-sheet. A man praised it and said, "Will you give it to me? How nice it is!" The other people said, "You have not done the right thing as the Prophet is in need of it and you have asked for it when you know that he never turns down anybody's request." The man replied, "By Allah, I have not asked for it to wear it but to make it my shroud." Later it was his shroud.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 368:
Narrated Um 'Atiyya:
We were forbidden to accompany funeral processions but not strictly.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 369:
Narrated Mohammed bin Sirin:
One of the sons of Um 'Atiyya died, and when it was the third day she asked for a yellow perfume and put it over her body, and said, "We were forbidden to mourn for more than three days except for our husbands."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 370:
Narrated Zainab bint Abi Salama:
When the news of the death of Abu Sufyan reached from Sham, Um Habiba on the third day, asked for a yellow perfume and scented her cheeks and forearms and said, "No doubt, I would not have been in need of this, had I not heard the Prophet saying: "It is not legal for a woman who believes in Allah and the Last Day to mourn for more than three days for any dead person except her husband, for whom she should mourn for four months and ten days."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 371:
Narrated Zainab bint Abi Salama :
I went to Um Habiba, the wife of Prophet, who said, "I heard the Prophets saying, 'It is not legal for a woman who believes in Allah and the Last Day to mourn for any dead person for more than three days except for her husband, (for whom she should mourn) for four months and ten days'." Later I went to Zainab bint Jahsh when her brother died; she asked for some scent, and after using it she said, "I am not in need of scent but I heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'It is not legal for a woman who believes in Allah and the Last Day to mourn for more than three days for any dead person except her husband, (for whom she should mourn) for four months and ten days.' "

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 372:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet passed by a woman who was weeping beside a grave. He told her to fear Allah and be patient. She said to him, "Go away, for you have not been afflicted with a calamity like mine." And she did not recognize him. Then she was informed that he was the Prophet . so she went to the house of the Prophet and there she did not find any guard. Then she said to him, "I did not recognize you." He said, "Verily, the patience is at the first stroke of a calamity."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 373:
Narrated Usama bin Zaid:
The daughter of the Prophet sent (a messenger) to the Prophet requesting him to come as her child was dying (or was gasping), but the Prophet returned the messenger and told him to convey his greeting to her and say: "Whatever Allah takes is for Him and whatever He gives, is for Him, and everything with Him has a limited fixed term (in this world) and so she should be patient and hope for Allah's reward." She again sent for him, swearing that he should come. The Prophet got up, and so did Sad bin 'Ubada, Muadh bin Jabal, Ubai bin Ka'b, Zaid bin Thabit and some other men. The child was brought to Allah's Apostle while his breath was disturbed in his chest (the sub-narrator thinks that Usama added:) as if it was a leather water-skin. On that the eyes of the Prophet started shedding tears. Sad said, "O Allah's Apostle! What is this?" He replied, "It is mercy which Allah has lodged in the hearts of His slaves, and Allah is merciful only to those of His slaves who are merciful (to others).

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 374:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
We were (in the funeral procession) of one of the daughters of the Prophet and he was sitting by the side of the grave. I saw his eyes shedding tears. He said, "Is there anyone among you who did not have sexual relations with his wife last night?" Abu Talha replied in the affirmative. And so the Prophet told him to get down in the grave. And so he got down in her grave.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 375:
Narrated Abdullah bin Ubaidullah bin Abi Mulaika:
One of the daughters of Uthman died at Mecca. We went to attend her funeral procession. Ibn Umar and Ibn Abbas were also present. I sat in between them (or said, I sat beside one of them. Then a man came and sat beside me.) Abdullah bin Umar said to Amr bin Uthman, "Will you not prohibit crying as Allah's Apostle has said, 'The dead person is tortured by the crying of his relatives.?" Ibn Abbas said, "Umar used to say so." Then he added narrating, "I accompanied Umar on a journey from Mecca till we reached Al-Baida. There he saw some travelers in the shade of a Samura (A kind of forest tree). He said (to me), "Go and see who those travelers are." So I went and saw that one of them was Suhaib. I told this to Umar who then asked me to call him. So I went back to Suhaib and said to him, "Depart and follow the chief of the faithful believers." Later, when Umar was stabbed, Suhaib came in weeping and saying, "O my brother, O my friend!" (on this Umar said to him, "O Suhaib! Are you weeping for me while the Prophet said, "The dead person is punished by some of the weeping of his relatives?" Ibn Abbas added, "When Umar died I told all this to Aisha and she said, 'May Allah be merciful to Umar. By Allah, Allah's Apostle did not say that a believer is punished by the weeping of his relatives. But he said, Allah increases the punishment of a non-believer because of the weeping of his relatives." Aisha further added, "The Koran is sufficient for you (to clear up this point) as Allah has stated: 'No burdened soul will bear another's burden.' " (35.18). Ibn Abbas then said, "Only Allah makes one laugh or cry." Ibn Umar did not say anything after that.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 376:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) Once Allah's Apostle passed by (the grave of) a Jewess whose relatives were weeping over her. He said, "They are weeping over her and she is being tortured in her grave."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 377:
Narrated Abu Burda:
That his father said, "When Umar was stabbed, Suhaib started crying: O my brother! Umar said, 'Don't you know that the Prophet said: The deceased is tortured for the weeping of the living'?"

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 378:
Narrated Al-Mughira:
I heard the Prophet saying, "Ascribing false things to me is not like ascribing false things to anyone else. Whosoever tells a lie against me intentionally then surely let him occupy his seat in Hell-Fire." I heard the Prophet saying, "The deceased who is wailed over is tortured for that wailing."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 379:
Narrated Ibn Umar from his father:
The Prophet said, "The deceased is tortured in his grave for the wailing done over him."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 380:
Narrated Shu'ba:
The deceased is tortured for the wailing of the living ones over him .

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 381:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah :
On the day of the Battle of Uhud, my father was brought and he had been mayhemed and was placed in front of Allah's Apostle and a sheet was over him. I went intending to uncover my father but my people forbade me; again I wanted to uncover him but my people forbade me. Allah's Apostle gave his order and he was shifted away. At that time he heard the voice of a crying woman and asked, "Who is this?" They said, "It is the daughter or the sister of Amr." He said, "Why does she weep? (or let her stop weeping), for the angels had been shading him with their wings till he (i.e. the body of the martyr) was shifted away."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 382:
Narrated Abdullah:
the Prophet said, "He who slaps his cheeks, tears his clothes and follows the ways and traditions of the Days of Ignorance is not one of us."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 383:
Narrated Amir bin Sad bin Abi Waqqas:
That his father said, "In the year of the last Hajj of the Prophet I became seriously ill and the Prophet used to visit me inquiring about my health. I told him, 'I am reduced to this state because of illness and I am wealthy and have no inheritors except a daughter, (In this narration the name of Amir bin Sad is mentioned and in fact it is a mistake; the narrator is Aisha bint Sad bin Abi Waqqas). Should I give two-thirds of my property in charity?' He said, 'No.' I asked, 'Half?' He said, 'No.' then he added, 'One-third, and even one-third is much. You'd better leave your inheritors wealthy rather than leaving them poor, begging others. You will get a reward for whatever you spend for Allah's sake, even for what you put in your wife's mouth.' I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Will I be left alone after my companions have gone?' He said, 'If you are left behind, whatever good deeds you will do will upgrade you and raise you high. And perhaps you will have a long life so that some people will be benefited by you while others will be harmed by you. O Allah! Complete the emigration of my companions and do not turn them renegades.' But Allah's Apostle felt sorry for poor Sad bin Khaula as he died in Mecca." (but Sad bin Abi Waqqas lived long after the Prophet (p.b.u.h).)

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 384:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "He who slaps the cheeks, tears the clothes and follows the tradition of the Days of Ignorance is not from us."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 385:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "He who slaps the cheeks, tears the clothes and follows the traditions of the Days of Ignorance is not from us."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 386:
Narrated Aisha:
When the Prophet got the news of the death of Ibn Haritha, Jafar and Ibn Rawaha he sat down and looked sad and I was looking at him through the chink of the door. A man came and told him about the crying of the women of Jafar. The Prophet ordered him to forbid them. The man went and came back saying that he had told them but they did not listen to him. The Prophet said, "Forbid them." So again he went and came back for the third time and said, "O Allah's Apostle! By Allah, they did not listen to us at all." (Aisha added): Allah's Apostle ordered him to go and put dust in their mouths. I said, (to that man) "May Allah stick your nose in the dust (i.e. humiliate you)! You could neither (persuade the women to) fulfill the order of Allah's Apostle nor did you relieve Allah's Apostle from fatigue. "

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 387:
Narrated Anas:
When the reciters of Koran were martyred, Allah's Apostle recited Qunut for one month and I never saw him (i.e. Allah's Apostle) so sad as he was on that day.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 388:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
One of the sons of Abu Talha became sick and died and Abu Talha at that time was not at home. When his wife saw that he was dead, she prepared him (washed and shrouded him) and placed him somewhere in the house. When Abu Talha came, he asked, "How is the boy?" She said, "The child is quiet and I hope he is in peace." Abu Talha thought that she had spoken the truth. Abu Talha passed the night and in the morning took a bath and when he intended to go out, she told him that his son had died, Abu Talha offered the (morning) prayer with the Prophet and informed the Prophet of what happened to them. Allah's Apostle said, "May Allah bless you concerning your night. (That is, may Allah bless you with good offspring)." Sufyan said, "One of the Ansar said, 'They (i.e. Abu Talha and his wife) had nine sons and all of them became reciters of the Koran (by heart).' "

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 389:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "The real patience is at the first stroke of a calamity."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 390:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
We went with Allah's Apostle to the blacksmith Abu Saif, and he was the husband of the wet-nurse of Ibrahim (the son of the Prophet). Allah's Apostle took Ibrahim and kissed him and smelled him and later we entered Abu Saif's house and at that time Ibrahim was in his last breaths, and the eyes of Allah's Apostle started shedding tears. Abdur Rahman bin 'Auf said, "O Allah's Apostle, even you are weeping!" He said, "O Ibn 'Auf, this is mercy." Then he wept more and said, "The eyes are shedding tears and the heart is grieved, and we will not say except what pleases our Lord, O Ibrahim ! Indeed we are grieved by your separation."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 391:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar :
Sad bin 'Ubada became sick and the Prophet along with Abdur Rahman bin 'Auf, Sad bin Abi Waqqas and Abdullah bin Masud visited him to enquire about his health. When he came to him, he found him surrounded by his household and he asked, "Has he died?" They said, "No, O Allah's Apostle." The Prophet wept and when the people saw the weeping of

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Allah's Apostle they all wept. He said, "Will you listen? Allah does not punish for shedding tears, nor for the grief of the heart but he punishes or bestows His Mercy because of this." He pointed to his tongue and added, "The deceased is punished for the wailing of his relatives over him." Umar used to beat with a stick and throw stones and put dust over the faces (of those who used to wail over the dead).

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 392:
Narrated Aisha:
When the news of the martyrdom of Zaid bin Haritha, Jafar and Abdullah bin Rawaha came, the Prophet sat down looking sad, and I was looking through the chink of the door. A man came and said, "O Allah's Apostle! The women of Jafar," and then he mentioned their crying . The Prophet ordered h im to stop them from crying. The man went and came back and said, "I tried to stop them but they disobeyed." The Prophet ordered him for the second time to forbid them. He went again and came back and said, "They did not listen to me, (or "us": the sub-narrator Mohammed bin Haushab is in doubt as to which is right). " (Aisha added: The Prophet said, "Put dust in their mouths." I said (to that man), "May Allah stick your nose in the dust (i.e. humiliate you)." By Allah, you could not (stop the women from crying) to fulfill the order, besides you did not relieve Allah's Apostle from fatigue."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 393:
Narrated Um 'Atiyya:
At the time of giving the pledge of allegiance to the Prophet one of the conditions was that we would not wail, but it was not fulfilled except by five women and they are Um Sulaim, Um Al-'Ala', the daughter of Abi Sabra (the wife of Muadh), and two other women; or the daughter of Abi Sabra and the wife of Muadh and another woman.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 394:
Narrated Amir bin Rabi'a:,
The Prophet said, "Whenever you see a funeral procession, stand up till the procession goes ahead of you." Al-Humaidi added, "Till the coffin leaves you behind or is put down."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 395:
Narrated Amir bin Rabi'a:
The Prophet said, "If any one of you see a funeral procession and he is not going along with it, then he should stand and remain standing till he gets behind it, or it leaves him behind, or the coffin is put down before it goes ahead of him . "

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 396:
Narrated Said Al-Maqburi:
That his father said, "While we were accompanying a funeral procession, Abu Huraira got hold of the hand of Marwan and they sat down before the coffin was put down. Then Abu Said came and took hold of Marwan's hand and said, "Get up. By Allah, no doubt this (i.e. Abu Huraira) knows that the Prophet forbade us to do that." Abu Huraira said, "He (Abu Said) has spoken the truth."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 397:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri
The Prophet said, "When you see a funeral procession, you should stand up, and whoever accompanies it should not sit till the coffin is put down."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 398:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah :
A funeral procession passed in front of us and the Prophet stood up and we too stood up. We said, 'O Allah's Apostle! This is the funeral procession of a Jew." He said, "Whenever you see a funeral procession, you should stand up."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 399:
Narrated Abdur Rahman bin Abi Laila:
Sahl bin Hunaif and Qais bin Sad were sitting in the city of Al-Qadisiya. A funeral procession passed in front of them and they stood up. They were told that funeral procession was of one of the inhabitants of the land i.e. of a non-believer, under the protection of Muslims. They said, "A funeral procession passed in front of the Prophet and he stood up. When he was told that it was the coffin of a Jew, he said, "Is it not a living being (soul)?"

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 400:
Narrated Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri :
Allah's Apostle said, When the funeral is ready and the men carry it on their shoulders, if the deceased was righteous it will say, 'Present me (hurriedly),' and if he was not righteous, it will say, 'Woe to it (me)! Where are they taking it (me)?' Its voice is heard by everything except man and if he heard it he would fall unconscious."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 401:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Hurry up with the dead body for if it was righteous, you are forwarding it to welfare; and if it was otherwise, then you are putting off an evil thing down your necks."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 402:
Narrated Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri
The Prophet said, "When a funeral is ready and the men carry the deceased on their necks (shoulders), if it was pious then it will say, 'Present me quickly', and if it was not pious, then it will say, 'Woe to it (me), where are they taking it (me)?' And its voice is heard by everything except mankind and if he heard it he would fall unconscious."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 403:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle offered the funeral prayer for An-Najashi and I was in the second or third row.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 404:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet informed his companions about the death of AnNajashi and then he went ahead (to lead the prayer) and the people lined up behind him in rows and he said four Takbir.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 405:
Narrated Ash-Shaibani:
Ash Sha'bi said, "I was informed by a man who had seen the Prophet going to a grave that was separate from the other graves and he aligned the people in rows and said four Takbir." I said, "O Abu Amr! who narrated (that) to you"? He said, "Ibn Abbas. "

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 406:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah :
The Prophet said, "Today a pious man from Ethiopia (i.e. An Najashi) has expired, come on to offer the funeral prayer." (Jabir said): We lined up in rows and after that the Prophet led the prayer and we were in rows. Jabir added, I was in the second row."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 407:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle passed by a grave of a deceased who had been buried at night. He said, "When was this (deceased) buried?" The people said, "Yesterday." He said, "Why did you not inform me?" They said, "We buried him when it was dark and so we disliked to wake you up." He stood up and we lined up behind him. (Ibn Abbas said): I was one of them, and the Prophet offered the funeral prayer.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 408:
Narrated Ash-Shaibani:
Ash-Sha'bi said, "Somebody who passed along with your Prophet by a grave that was separate from the other graves informed me (saying), "The Prophet
led us (in the prayer) and we aligned behind him." We said, "O Abu Amr! Who told you this narration?" He replied, "Ibn Abbas."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 409:
Narrated Nafi:
Ibn Umar was told that Abu Huraira said, "Whoever accompanies the funeral procession will have a reward equal to one Qirat." Ibn Umar said, "Abu Huraira talks of a too enormous reward." Aisha attested Abu Huraira's narration and said, "I heard Allah's Apostle saying like that." Ibn Umar said, "We have lost numerous Qirats."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 410:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
that Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever attends the funeral procession till he offers the funeral prayer for it, will get a reward equal to one Qirat, and whoever accompanies it till burial, will get a reward equal to two Qirats." It was asked, "What are two Qirats?" He replied, "Like two huge mountains."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 411:
Narrated Amir:
Ibn Abbas (who was at that time a boy) said, "Allah's Apostle came to a grave and the people said, 'He or she was buried yesterday.' " Ibn Abbas added, "We aligned behind the Prophet and he led the funeral prayer of the deceased."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 412:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle informed about the news of the death of An-Najash (King of Ethiopia) on the day he expired. He said, "Ask Allah's forgiveness for your brother. " Narrated Abu Huraira: The Prophet made them align in rows at the Musalla and said four Takbir.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 413:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar :
The Jew brought to the Prophet a man and a woman from amongst them who have committed (adultery) illegal sexual intercourse. He ordered both of them to be stoned (to death), near the place of offering the funeral prayers beside the mosque."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 414:
Narrated Urwa:
Aisha said, "The Prophet in his fatal illness said, 'Allah cursed the Jews and the Christians because they took the graves of their Prophets as places for praying.'" Aisha added, "Had it not been for that the grave of the Prophet
would have been made prominent but I am afraid it might be taken (as a) place for praying.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 415:
Narrated Samura bin Jundab:
I offered the funeral prayer behind the Prophet for a woman who had died during child-birth and he stood up by the middle of the coffin.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 416:
Narrated Samura bin Jundab
I offered the funeral prayer behind the Prophet for a woman who had died during child-birth and he stood up by the middle of the coffin.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 417:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle informed about the news of the death of An-Najash on the day he died. He went out with us to the Musalla and we aligned in rows and he said four Takbirs for An-Najashi's funeral prayer.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 418:
Narrated Jabir:
The Prophet offered the funeral prayer of As-Hama An-Najash and said four Takbir.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 419:
Narrated Talha bin Abdullah bin 'Auf:
I offered the funeral prayer behind Ibn Abbas and he recited Al-Fatiha and said, "You should know that it (i.e. recitation of Al-Fatiha) is the tradition of the Prophet Mohammed.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 420:
Narrated Sulaiman Ash-Shaibani:
I heard Ash-Sha'bi saying, "I was told by a man who had passed with the Prophet by a grave that was separate from the other graves that he (the Prophet) led them in the prayer and they prayed behind him." I said, "O Abu Amr! Who narrated that to you?" He replied, "Ibn Abbas."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 421:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A black person, a male or a female used to clean the Mosque and then died. The Prophet did not know about it . One day the Prophet remembered him and said, "What happened to that person?" The people replied, "O Allah's Apostle! He died." He said, "Why did you not inform me?" They said, "His story was so and so (i.e. regarded him as insignificant)." He said, "Show me his grave." He then went to his grave and offered the funeral prayer.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 422:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "When a human being is laid in his grave and his companions return and he even hears their foot steps, two angels come to him and make him sit and ask him: What did you use to say about this man, Mohammed ? He will say: I testify that he is Allah's slave and His Apostle. Then it will be said to him, 'Look at your place in the Hell-Fire. Allah has given you a place in Paradise instead of it.' " The Prophet added, "The dead person will see both his places. But a non-believer or a hypocrite will say to the angels, 'I do not know, but I used to say what the people used to say! It will be said to him, 'Neither did you know nor did you take the guidance (by reciting the Koran).' Then he will be hit with an iron hammer between his two ears, and he will cry and that cry will be heard by whatever approaches him except human beings and jinns."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 423:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The angel of death was sent to Moses and when he went to him, Moses slapped him severely, spoiling one of his eyes. The angel went back to his Lord, and said, "You sent me to a slave who does not want to die." Allah restored his eye and said, "Go back and tell him (i.e. Moses) to place his hand over the

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back of an ox, for he will be allowed to live for a number of years equal to the number of hairs coming under his hand." (So the angel came to him and told him the same). Then Moses asked, "O my Lord! What will be then?" He said, "Death will be then." He said, "(Let it be) now." He asked Allah that He bring him near the Sacred Land at a distance of a stone's throw. Allah's Apostle said, "Were I there I would show you the grave of Moses by the way near the red sand hill."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 424:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet offered the funeral prayer of a man one night after he was buried, he and his companions stood up (for the Prayer). He had asked them about him before standing, saying, "Who is this?" They said, "He is so and so and was buried last night." So all of them offered the funeral prayer.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 425:
Narrated Aisha:
When the Prophet became ill, some of his wives talked about a church which they had seen in Ethiopia and it was called Mariya. Um Salma and Um Habiba had been to Ethiopia, and both of them narrated its (the Church's) beauty and the pictures it contained. The Prophet raised his head and said, "Those are the people who, whenever a pious man dies amongst them, make a place of worship at his grave and then they make those pictures in it. Those are the worst creatures in the Sight of Allah."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 426:
Narrated Anas:
We were in the funeral procession of the daughter of Allah's Apostle and Allah's Apostle was sitting near the grave and I saw his eyes full of tears. He said, "Is there anyone amongst you who did not have sexual relations with his wife last night?" Abu Talha replied in the affirmative. And so Allah's Apostle told him to get down in her grave and he got down in her grave and buried her.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 427:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet collected every two martyrs of Uhud in one piece of cloth, then he would ask, "Which of them had (knew) more of the Koran?" When one of them was pointed out for him, he would put that one first in the grave and say, "I will be a witness on these on the Day of Resurrection." He ordered them to be buried with their blood on their bodies and they were neither washed nor was a funeral prayer offered for them.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 428:
Narrated Uqba bin Amir:
One day the Prophet went out and offered the funeral prayers of the martyrs of Uhud and then went up the pulpit and said, "I will pave the way for you as your predecessor and will be a witness on you. By Allah! I see my Fount (Kauthar) just now and I have been given the keys of all the treasures of the earth (or the keys of the earth). By Allah! I am not afraid that you will worship others along with Allah after my death, but I am afraid that you will fight with one another for the worldly things."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 429:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah :
The Prophet buried every two martyrs in of Uhud in one grave.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 430:
Narrated Jabir:
The Prophet said, "Bury them (i.e. martyrs) with their blood." (that was) On the day of the Battle of Uhud. He did not get them washed.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 431:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah :
Allah's Apostle shrouded every two martyrs of Uhud in one piece of cloth and then he would ask, "Which of them knew more Koran?" When one of them was pointed out he would put him first in the grave. He said, "I am a witness on these." Then he ordered them to be buried with blood on their bodies. Neither did he offer their funeral prayer nor did he get them washed. (Jabir bin Abdullah added): Allah's Apostle used to ask about the martyrs of Uhud as to which of them knew more of the Koran." And when one of them was pointed out as having more of it he would put him first in the grave and then his companions. (Jabir added): My father and my uncle were shrouded in one sheet.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 432:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "Allah has made Mecca a sanctuary (sacred place) and it was a sanctuary before me and will be so after me. It was made legal for me (to fight in it) for a few hours of the day. None is allowed to uproot its thorny shrubs or to cut its trees or to chase its game or to pick up its fallen things except by a person who announces it publicly." On that Al-Abbas said (to the Prophet), "Except Al-Idhkhir for our goldsmiths and for our graves." And so the Prophet added, "Except Al-Idhkhir. " And Abu Huraira narrated that the Prophet said, "Except Al-Idhkhir for our graves and houses." And Ibn Abbas said, "For their goldsmiths and houses."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 433:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle came to Abdullah bin Ubai (a hypocrite) after his death and he has been laid in his pit (grave). He ordered (that he be taken out of the grave) and he was taken out. Then he placed him on his knees and threw some of his saliva on him and clothed him in his (the Prophet's) own shirt. Allah knows better (why he did so). Abdullah bin Ubai had given his shirt to Al-Abbas to wear. Abu Harun said, "Allah's Apostle at that time had two shirts and the son of Abdullah bin Ubai said to him, 'O Allah's Apostle! Clothe my father in your shirt which has been in contact with your skin.' ' Sufyan added, "Thus people think that the Prophet clothed Abdullah bin Tubal in his shirt in lieu of what he (Abdullah) had done (for Al Abbas, the Prophet's uncle.)"

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 434:
Narrated Jabir:
When the time of the Battle of Uhud approached, my father called me at night and said, "I think that I will be the first amongst the companions of the Prophet to be martyred. I do not leave anyone after me dearer to me than you, except Allah's Apostle's soul and I owe some debt and you should repay it and treat your sisters favorably (nicely and politely)." So in the morning he was the first to be martyred and was buried along with another (martyr). I did not like to leave him with the other (martyr) so I took him out of the grave after six months of his burial and he was in the same condition as he was on the day of burial, except a slight change near his ear.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 435:
Narrated Jabir:
A man was buried along with my father and I did not like it till I took him (i.e. my father) out and buried him in a separate grave.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 436:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet collected every two martyrs of Uhud (in one grave) and then he would ask, "Which of them knew the Koran more?" And if one of them was pointed out for him as having more knowledge, he would put him first in the Lahd. The Prophet said, "I will be a witness on these on the Day of Resurrection." Then he ordered them to be buried with their blood on their bodies and he did not have them washed.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 437:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Umar set out along with the Prophet with a group of people to Ibn Saiyad till they saw him playing with the boys near the hillocks of Bani Mughala. Ibn Saiyad at that time was nearing his puberty and did not notice (us) until the Prophet stroked him with his hand and said to him, "Do you testify that I am Allah's Apostle?" Ibn Saiyad looked at him and said, "I testify that you are the Messenger of illiterates." Then Ibn Saiyad asked the Prophet (p.b.u.h), "Do you testify that I am Allah's Apostle?" The Prophet refuted it and said, "I believe in Allah and His Apostles." Then he said (to Ibn Saiyad), "What do you think?" Ibn Saiyad answered, "True people and liars visit me." The Prophet said, "You have been confused as to this matter." Then the Prophet said to him, "I have kept something (in my mind) for you, (can you tell me that?)" Ibn Saiyad said, "It is Al-Dukh (the smoke)." (2) The Prophet said, "Let you be in ignominy. You cannot cross your limits." On that Umar, said, "O Allah's Apostle! Allow me to chop his head off." The Prophet said, "If he is he (i.e. Dajjal), then you cannot over-power him, and if he is not, then there is no use of murdering him." (Ibn Umar added): Later on Allah's Apostle once again went along with Ubai bin Ka'b to the date-palm trees (garden) where Ibn Saiyad was staying. The Prophet wanted to hear something from Ibn Saiyad before Ibn Saiyad could see him, and the Prophet saw him lying covered with a sheet and from where his murmurs were heard. Ibn Saiyad's mother saw Allah's Apostle while he was hiding himself behind the trunks of the date-palm trees. She addressed Ibn Saiyad, "O Saf ! (and this was the name of Ibn Saiyad) Here is Mohammed." And with that Ibn Saiyad got up. The Prophet said, "Had this woman left him (Had she not disturbed him), then Ibn Saiyad would have revealed the reality of his case.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 438:
Narrated Anas:
A young Jewish boy used to serve the Prophet and he became sick. So the Prophet went to visit him. He sat near his head and asked him to embrace Islam. The boy looked at his father, who was sitting there; the latter told him to obey Abu-l-Qasim and the boy embraced Islam. The Prophet came out saying: "Praises be to Allah Who saved the boy from the Hell-fire."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 439:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
My mother and I were among the weak and oppressed. I from among the children, and my mother from among the women.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 440:
Narrated Ibn Shihab:
The funeral prayer should be offered for every child even if he were the son of a prostitute as he was born with a true faith of Islam (i.e. to worship none but Allah Alone). If his parents are Muslims, particularly the father, even if his mother were a non-Muslim, and if he after the delivery cries (even once) before his death (i.e. born alive) then the funeral prayer must be offered. And if the child does not cry after his delivery (i.e. born dead) then his funeral prayer should not be offered, and he will be considered as a miscarriage. Abu Huraira, narrated that the Prophet said, "Every child is born with a true faith (i.e. to worship none but Allah Alone) but his parents convert him to Judaism or to Christianity or to Magainism, as an animal delivers a perfect baby animal. Do you find it mutilated?" Then Abu Huraira recited the holy verses: 'The pure Allah's Islamic nature (true faith i.e. to worship none but Allah Alone), with which He has created human beings.' " (30.30).

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 441:
Narrated Abu Huraira :
Allah's Apostle said, "Every child is born with a true faith of Islam (i.e. to worship none but Allah Alone) but his parents convert him to Judaism, Christianity or Magainism, as an animal delivers a perfect baby animal. Do you find it mutilated?" Then Abu Huraira recited the holy verses: "The pure Allah's Islamic nature (true faith of Islam) (i.e. worshipping none but Allah) with which He has created human beings. No change let there be in the religion of Allah (i.e. joining none in worship with Allah). That is the straight religion (Islam) but most of men know, not." (30.30)

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 442:
Narrated Said bin Al-Musaiyab from his father:
When the time of the death of Abu Talib approached, Allah's Apostle went to him and found Abu Jahl bin Hisham and Abdullah bin Abi Umaiya bin Al-Mughira by his side. Allah's Apostle said to Abu Talib, "O uncle! Say: None has the right to be worshipped but Allah, a sentence with which I shall be a witness (i.e. argue) for you before Allah. Abu Jahl and Abdullah bin Abi Umaiya said, "O Abu Talib! Are you going to denounce the religion of Abdul Muttalib?" Allah's Apostle kept on inviting Abu Talib to say it (i.e. 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah') while they (Abu Jahl and Abdullah) kept on repeating their statement till Abu Talib said as his last statement that he was on the religion of Abdul Muttalib and refused to say, 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah.' (Then Allah's Apostle said, "I will keep on asking Allah's forgiveness for you unless I am forbidden (by Allah) to do so." So Allah revealed (the verse) concerning him (i.e. It is not fitting for the Prophet and those who believe that they should invoke (Allah) for forgiveness for pagans even though they be of kin, after it has become clear to them that they are companions of the fire (9.113).

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 443:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet once passed by two graves, and those two persons (in the graves) were being tortured. He said, "They are being tortured not for a great thing (to avoid). One of them never saved himself from being soiled with his urine, while the other was going about with calumnies (to make enmity between friends). He then took a green leaf of a date-palm tree split it into two pieces and fixed one on each grave. The people said, "O Allah's Apostle! Why have you done so?" He replied, "I hope that their punishment may be lessened till they (the leaf) become dry."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 444:
Narrated Ali:
" We were accompanying a funeral procession in Baqi-I-Gharqad. The Prophet came to us and sat and we sat around him. He had a small stick in his hand then he bent his head and started scraping the ground with it. He then said, "There is none among you, and not a created soul, but has place either in Paradise or in Hell assigned for him and it is also determined for him whether he will be among the blessed or wretched." A man said, "O Allah's Apostle! Should we not depend on what has been written for us and leave the deeds as whoever amongst us is blessed will do the deeds of a blessed person and whoever amongst us will be wretched, will do the deeds of a wretched person?" The Prophet said, "The good

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deeds are made easy for the blessed, and bad deeds are made easy for the wretched." Then he recited the Verses:-- "As for him who gives (in charity) and is Allah-fearing And believes in the Best reward from Allah. " (92.5-6)

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 445:
Narrated Thabit bin Ad-Dahhak:
The Prophet said, "Whoever intentionally swears falsely by a religion other than Islam, then he is what he has said, (e.g. if he says, 'If such thing is not true then I am a Jew,' he is really a Jew). And whoever commits suicide with piece of iron will be punished with the same piece of iron in the Hell Fire." Narrated Jundab the Prophet said, "A man was inflicted with wounds and he committed suicide, and so Allah said: My slave has caused death on himself hurriedly, so I forbid Paradise for him."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 446:
Narrated Abu Huraira-:
The Prophet said, "He who commits suicide by throttling shall keep on throttling himself in the Hell Fire (forever) and he who commits suicide by stabbing himself shall keep on stabbing himself in the Hell-Fire."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 447:
Narrated Umar bin Al-Khattab :
When Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul died, Allah's Apostle was called upon to offer his funeral prayer. When Allah's Apostle stood up to offer the prayer, I got up quickly and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Are you going to pray for Ibn Ubai and he said so and so on such and such occasions?" And started mentioning all that he had said. Allah's Apostle smiled and said, "O Umar! Go away from me." When I talked too much he said, "I have been given the choice and so I have chosen (to offer the prayer). Had I known that he would be forgiven by asking for Allah's forgiveness for more than seventy times, surely I would have done so." (Umar added): Allah's Apostle offered his funeral prayer and returned and after a short while the two verses of Surat Bara' were revealed: i.e. "And never (O Mohammed) pray for any of them who dies . . . (to the end of the verse) rebellion (9.84)" -- (Umar added), "Later I astonished at my daring before Allah's Apostle on that day. And Allah and His Apostle know better."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 448:
Narrated Anas bin Malik, :
A funeral procession passed and the people praised the deceased. The Prophet said, "It has been affirmed to him." Then another funeral procession passed and the people spoke badly of the deceased. The Prophet said, "It has been affirmed to him". Umar bin Al-Khattab asked (Allah's Apostle), "What has been affirmed?" He replied, "You praised this, so Paradise has been affirmed to him; and you spoke badly of this, so Hell has been affirmed to him. You people are Allah's witnesses on earth."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 449:
Narrated Abu Al-Aswad:
I came to Medina when an epidemic had broken out. While I was sitting with Umar bin Al-Khattab a funeral procession passed by and the people praised the deceased. Umar said, "It has been affirmed to him." And another funeral procession passed by and the people praised the deceased. Umar said, "It has been affirmed to him." A third (funeral procession) passed by and the people spoke badly of the deceased. He said, "It has been affirmed to him." I (Abu Al-Aswad) asked, "O chief of the believers! What has been affirmed?" He replied, "I said the same as the Prophet had said, that is: if four persons testify the piety of a Muslim, Allah will grant him Paradise." We asked, "If three persons testify his piety?" He (the Prophet) replied, "Even three." Then we asked, "If two?" He replied, "Even two." We did not ask him regarding one witness.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 450:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib :
The Prophet said, "When a faithful believer is made to sit in his grave, then (the angels) come to him and he testifies that none has the right to be worshipped but Allah and Mohammed is Allah's Apostle. And that corresponds to Allah's statement: Allah will keep firm those who believe with the word that stands firm . . . (14.27).

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 451:
Narrated Shu'ba:
Same as above and added, "Allah will keep firm those who believe . . . (14.27) was revealed concerning the punishment of the grave."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 452:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet looked at the people of the well (the well in which the bodies of the pagans killed in the Battle of Badr were thrown) and said, "Have you found true what your Lord promised you?" Somebody said to him, "You are addressing dead people." He replied, "You do not hear better than they but they cannot reply."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 453:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said, "They now realize that what I used to tell them was the truth. "And Allah said, 'Verily! You cannot make the dead to hear (i.e. benefit them, and similarly the disbelievers) nor can you make the deaf hear. (27.80).

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 454:
Narrated Masruq:
Aisha said that a Jewess came to her and mentioned the punishment in the grave, saying to her, "May Allah protect you from the punishment of the grave." Aisha then asked Allah's Apostle about the punishment of the grave. He said, "Yes, (there is) punishment in the grave." Aisha added, "After that I never saw Allah's Apostle but seeking refuge with Allah from the punishment in the grave in every prayer he prayed."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 455:
Narrated Asma bint Abi Bakr :
Allah's Apostle once stood up delivering a sermon and mentioned the trial which people will face in the grave. When he mentioned that, the Muslims started shouting loudly.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 456:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle said, "When (Allah's) slave is put in his grave and his companions return and he even hears their footsteps, two angels come to him and make him sit and ask, 'What did you use to say about this man (i.e. Mohammed)?' The faithful Believer will say, 'I testify that he is Allah's slave and His Apostle.' Then they will say to him, 'Look at your place in the Hell Fire; Allah has given you a place in Paradise instead of it.' So he will see both his places." (Qatada said, "We were informed that his grave would be made spacious." Then Qatada went back to the narration of Anas who said;) Whereas a hypocrite or a non-believer will be asked, "What did you use to say about this man." He will reply, "I do not know; but I used to say what the people used to say." So they will say to him, "Neither did you know nor did you take the guidance (by reciting the Koran)." Then he will be hit with iron hammers once, that he will send such a cry as everything near to him will hear, except Jinns and human beings. (See Hadith No. 422).

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 457:
Narrated Abi Aiyub:
Once the Prophet went out after sunset and heard a dreadful voice, and said, "The Jews are being punished in their graves."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 458:
Narrated Musa bin Uqba:
(From the daughter of Khalid bin Sa id bin Al-'Asi) who said that she had heard the Prophet seeking refuge with Allah from the punishment in the grave.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 459:
Narrated Abu Huraira :
Allah's Apostle used to invoke (Allah): "Allahumma ini a'udhu bika min 'adhabi-l-Qabr, wa min 'adhabi-nnar, wa min fitnati-l-mahya wa-lmamat, wa min fitnati-l-masih ad-dajjal. (O Allah! I seek refuge with you from the punishment in the grave and from the punishment in the Hell fire and from the afflictions of life and death, and the afflictions of Al-Masih Ad-Dajjal."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 460:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet once passed by two graves and said, "They (the deceased persons in those graves) are being tortured not for a great thing to avoid." And then added, "Yes, (they are being punished for a big sin), for one of them used to go about with calumnies while the other never saved himself from being soiled with his urine." (Ibn Abbas added): Then he took a green leaf of a date-palm) and split it into two pieces and fixed one piece on each grave and said, "May their punishment be abated till these (two pieces) get dry."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 461:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar :
Allah's Apostle said, "When anyone of you dies, he is shown his place both in the morning and in the evening. If he is one of the people of Paradise; he is shown his place in it, and if he is from the people of the Hell-Fire; he is shown his place there-in. Then it is said to him, 'This is your place till Allah resurrect you on the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 462:
Narrated Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri :
Allah's Apostle said, "When the funeral is ready (for its burial) and the people lift it on their shoulders, then if the deceased is a righteous person he says, 'Take me ahead,' and if he is not a righteous one then he says, 'Woe to it (me)! Where are you taking it (me)?' And his voice is audible to everything except human beings; and if they heard it they would fall down unconscious . "

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 463:
Narrated Anas bin Malik
Allah's Apostle said, "Any Muslim whose three children died before the age of puberty will be granted Paradise by Allah because of His mercy to them."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 464:
Narrated Al-Bara:
When Ibrahim (the son of Prophet) expired, Allah's Apostle said, "There is a wet-nurse for him in Paradise."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 465:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle was asked about the children of (Mushrikeen) pagans. The Prophet replied, "Since Allah created them, He knows what sort of deeds they would have done."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 466:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet was asked about the offspring of pagans (Mushrakeen); so he said, "Allah knows what sort of deeds they would have done."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 467:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Every child is born with a true faith of Islam (i.e. to worship none but Allah Alone) and his parents convert him to Judaism or Christianity or Magianism, as an animal delivers a perfect baby animal. Do you find it mutilated?"

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 468:
Narrated Samura bin Jundab:
Whenever the Prophet finished the (morning) prayer, he would face us and ask, "Who amongst you had a dream last night?" So if anyone had seen a dream he would narrate it. The Prophet would say: "Ma sha'a-llah" (An Arabic maxim meaning literally, 'What Allah wished,' and it indicates a good omen.) One day, he asked us whether anyone of us had seen a dream. We replied in the negative. The Prophet said, "But I had seen (a dream) last night that two men came to me, caught hold of my hands, and took me to the Sacred Land (Jerusalem). There, I saw a person sitting and another standing with an iron hook in his hand pushing it inside the mouth of the former till it reached the jaw-bone, and then tore off one side of his cheek, and then did the same with the other side; in the mean-time the first side of his cheek became normal again and then he repeated the same operation again. I said, 'What is this?' They told me to proceed on and we went on till we came to a man Lying flat on his back, and another man standing at his head carrying a stone or a piece of rock, and crushing the head of the Lying man, with that stone. Whenever he struck him, the stone rolled away.
The man went to pick it up and by the time he returned to him, the crushed head had returned to its normal state and the man came back and struck him again (and so on). I said, 'Who is this?' They told me to proceed on; so we proceeded on and passed by a hole like an oven; with a narrow top and wide bottom, and the fire was kindling underneath that hole. Whenever the fire-flame went up, the people were lifted up to such an extent that they about to get out of it, and whenever the fire got quieter, the people went down into it, and there were naked men and women in it. I said, 'Who is this?' They told me to proceed on. So we proceeded on till we reached a river of blood and a man was in it, and another man was standing at its bank with stones in front of him, facing the man standing in the river. Whenever the man in the river wanted to come out, the other one threw a stone in his mouth and caused him to retreat to his original position; and so whenever he wanted to come out the other would throw a stone in his mouth, and he would retreat to his original position. I asked, 'What is this?' They told me to proceed on and we did so till we reached a well-flourished green garden having a huge tree and near its root was sitting an old man with some children. (I saw) Another man near the tree with fire in front of him and he was kindling it up. Then they (i.e. my two companions) made me climb up the tree and made me enter a house, better than which I have ever seen. In it were some old men and young men, women and children.
Then they took me out of this house and made me climb up the tree and made me enter another house that was better and superior (to the first) containing old and young people. I said to them (i.e. my two companions), 'You have made me ramble all the night. Tell me all about that I have seen.' They said, 'Yes. As for the one whose cheek you saw being torn away, he

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was a liar and he used to tell lies, and the people would report those lies on his authority till they spread all over the world. So, he will be punished like that till the Day of Resurrection.

The one whose head you saw being crushed is the one whom Allah had given the knowledge of Koran (i.e. knowing it by heart) but he used to sleep at night (i.e. he did not recite it then) and did not use to act upon it (i.e. upon its orders etc.) by day; and so this punishment will go on till the Day of Resurrection. And those you saw in the hole (like oven) were adulterers (those men and women who commit illegal sexual intercourse). And those you saw in the river of blood were those dealing in Riba (usury). And the old man who was sitting at the base of the tree was Abraham and the little children around him were the offspring of the people. And the one who was kindling the fire was Malik, the gate-keeper of the Hell-fire. And the first house in which you have gone was the house of the common believers, and the second house was of the martyrs. I am Gabriel and this is Michael. Raise your head.' I raised my head and saw a thing like a cloud over me. They said, 'That is your place.' I said, 'Let me enter my place.' They said, 'You still have some life which you have not yet completed, and when you complete (that remaining portion of your life) you will then enter your place.' "

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 469:
Narrated Hisham's father:

Aisha said, "I went to Abu Bakr (during his fatal illness) and he asked me, 'In how many garments was the Prophet shrouded?' She replied, 'In three Sahuliya pieces of white cloth of cotton, and there was neither a shirt nor a turban among them.' Abu Bakr further asked her, 'On which day did the Prophet die?' She replied, 'He died on Monday.' He asked, 'What is today?' She replied, 'Today is Monday.' He added, 'I hope I shall die sometime between this morning and tonight.' Then he looked at a garment that he was wearing during his illness and it had some stains of saffron. Then he said, 'Wash this garment of mine and add two more garments and shroud me in them.' I said, 'This is worn out.' He said, 'A living person has more right to wear new clothes than a dead one; the shroud is only for the body's pus.' He did not die till it was the night of Tuesday and was buried before the morning."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 470:
Narrated Aisha:

A man said to the Prophet (p.b.u.h), "My mother died suddenly and I thought that if she had lived she would have given alms. So, if I give alms now on her behalf, will she get the reward?" The Prophet replied in the affirmative.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 471:
Narrated Aisha:

During his sickness, Allah's Apostle was asking repeatedly, "Where am I today? Where will I be tomorrow?" And I was waiting for the day of my turn (impatiently). Then, when my turn came, Allah took his soul away (in my lap) between my chest and arms and he was buried in my house.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 472:
Narrated Aisha:

Allah's Apostle in his fatal illness said, "Allah cursed the Jews and the Christians, for they built the places of worship at the graves of their prophets." And if that had not been the case, then the Prophet's grave would have been made prominent before the people. So (the Prophet) was afraid, or the people were afraid that his grave might be taken as a place for worship.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 473:
Narrated Abu Bakr bin 'Aiyash :

Sufyan At-Tammar told me that he had seen the grave of the Prophet elevated and convex.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 474:
Narrated Urwa:

When the wall fell on them (i.e. graves) during the caliphate of Al-Walid bin Abdul Malik, the people started repairing it, and a foot appeared to them. The people got scared and thought that it was the foot of the Prophet. No-one could be found who could tell them about it till I (Urwa) said to them, "By Allah, this is not the foot of the Prophet but it is the foot of Umar." Aisha narrated that she made a will to Abdullah bin Zubair, "Do not bury me with them (the Prophet and his two companions) but bury me with my companions (wives of the Prophet) in Al-Baqi as I would not like to be looked upon as better than I really am (by being buried near the Prophet)."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 475:
Narrated Amr bin Maimun Al-Audi:

I saw Umar bin Al-Khattab (when he was stabbed) saying, "O Abdullah bin Umar! Go to the mother of the believers Aisha and say, Umar bin Al-Khattab sends his greetings to you,' and request her to allow me to be buried with my companions." (So, Ibn Umar conveyed the message to Aisha.) She said, "I had the idea of having this place for myself but today I prefer him (Umar) to myself (and allow him to be buried there)." When Abdullah bin Umar returned, Umar asked him, "What (news) do you have?" He replied, "O chief of the believers! She has allowed you (to be buried there)." On that Umar said, "Nothing was more important to me than to be buried in that (sacred) place. So, when I expire, carry me there and pay my greetings to her (Aisha) and say, Umar bin Al-Khattab asks permission; and if she gives permission, then bury me (there) and if she does not, then take me to the grave-yard of the Muslims. I do not think any person has more right for the caliphate than those with whom Allah's Apostle was always pleased till his death. And whoever is chosen by the people after me will be the caliph, and you people must listen to him and obey him," and then he mentioned the name of Uthman, Ali, Talha, Az-Zubair, Abdur-Rahman bin 'Auf and Sad bin Abi Waqqas.

By this time a young man from Ansar came and said, "O chief of the believers! Be happy with Allah's glad tidings. The grade which you have in Islam is known to you, then you became the caliph and you ruled with justice and then you have been awarded martyrdom after all this." Umar replied, "O son of my brother! Would that all that privileges will counterbalance (my short comings), so that I neither lose nor gain anything. I recommend my successor to be good to the early emigrants and realize their rights and to protect their honor and sacred things. And I also recommend him to be good to the Ansar who before them, had homes (in Medina) and had adopted the Faith. He should accept the good of the righteous among them and should excuse their wrongdoers. I recommend him to abide by the rules and regulations concerning the Dhimmis (protectees) of Allah and His Apostle, to fulfill their contracts completely and fight for them and not to tax (overburden) them beyond their capabilities."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 476:
Narrated Aisha :

The Prophet said, "Don't abuse the dead, because they have reached the result of what they forwarded."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 477:
Narrated Ibn Abbas.:

Abu Lahab, may Allah curse him, once said to the Prophet (p.b.u.h), "Perish you all the day."

Then the Divine Inspiration came: "Perish the hands of Abi Lahab! And perish he!" (111.1).

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 478:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:

Thy Prophet sent Muadh to Yemen and said, "Invite the people to testify that none has the right to be worshipped but Allah and I am Allah's Apostle, and if they obey you to do so, then teach them that Allah has enjoined on them five prayers in every day and night (in twenty-four hours), and if they obey you to do so, then teach them that Allah has made it obligatory for them to pay the Zakat from their property and it is to be taken from the wealthy among them and given to the poor."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 479:
Narrated Abu Aiyub:

A man said to the Prophet "Tell me of such a deed as will make me enter Paradise." The people said, "What is the matter with him? What is the matter with him?" The Prophet said, "He has something to ask. (What he needs greatly) The Prophet said: (In order to enter Paradise) you should worship Allah and do not ascribe any partners to Him, offer prayer perfectly, pay the Zakat and keep good relations with your Kith and kin." (See Hadith No. 12, Vol 8).

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 480:
Narrated Abu Huraira:

A Bedouin came to the Prophet and said, "Tell me of such a deed as will make me enter Paradise, if I do it." The Prophet said, "Worship Allah, and worship none along with Him, offer the (five) prescribed compulsory prayers perfectly, pay the compulsory Zakat, and fast the month of Ramadan." The Bedouin said, "By Him, in Whose Hands my life is, I will not do more than this." When he (the Bedouin) left, the Prophet said, "Whoever likes to see a man of Paradise, then he may look at this man."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 481:
Narrated Abu Zur'a:

from the Prophet the same as above.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 482:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:

A delegation of the tribe of Abdul Qais came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! We are from the tribe of Rabi'a, and the infidels of the tribe of Mudar stands between us and you; so we cannot come to you except during the Sacred Months. Please order us to do something (religious deeds) which we may carry out and also invite to it our people whom we have left behind." The Prophet said, "I order you to do four things and forbid you four others: (I order you) to have faith in Allah, and confess that none has the right to be worshipped but Allah, (and the Prophet gestured with his hand like this (i.e. one knot) and to offer prayers perfectly and to pay the Zakat, and to pay one-fifth of the booty in Allah's Cause. And I forbid you to use Dubba', Hantam, Naqir and Muzaffat (all these are the names of utensils used for preparing alcoholic drinks)."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 483:
Narrated Abu Huraira:

When Allah's Apostle died and Abu Bakr became the caliph some Arabs renegade (reverted to disbelief) (Abu Bakr decided to declare war against them), Umar, said to Abu Bakr, "How can you fight with these people although Allah's Apostle said, 'I have been ordered (by Allah) to fight the people till they say: "None has the right to be worshipped but Allah, and whoever said it then he will save his life and property from me except on trespassing the law (rights and conditions for which he will be punished justly), and his accounts will be with Allah.' " Abu Bakr said, "By Allah! I will fight those who differentiate between the prayer and the Zakat as Zakat is the compulsory right to be taken from the property (according to Allah's orders) By Allah! If they refuse to pay me even a she-kid which they used to pay at the time of Allah's Apostle . I would fight with them for withholding it" Then Umar said, "By Allah, it was nothing, but Allah opened Abu Bakr's chest towards the decision (to fight) and I came to know that his decision was right."

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 24:
Obligatory Charity Tax (Zakat)

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 484:
Narrated Jarir bin Abdullah ,

I gave the pledge of allegiance to the Prophet for offering prayer perfectly giving Zakat and giving good advice to every Muslim.

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 485:
Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "(On the Day of Resurrection) camels will come to their owner in the best state of health they have ever had (in the world), and if he had not paid their Zakat (in the world) then they would tread him with their feet; and similarly, sheep will come to their owner in the best state of health they have ever had in the world, and if he had not paid their Zakat, then they would tread him with their hooves and would butt him with their horns." The Prophet added, "One of their rights is that they should be milked while water is kept in front of them." The Prophet added, "I do not want anyone of you to come to me on the Day of Resurrection, carrying over his neck a sheep that will be bleating. Such a person will (then) say, 'O Mohammed! (please intercede for me,) I will say to him. 'I can't help you, for I conveyed Allah's Message to you.' Similarly, I do not want anyone of you to come to me carrying over his neck a camel that will be grunting. Such a person (then) will say "O Mohammed! (please intercede for me)." I will say to him, "I can't help you for I conveyed Allah's message to you."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 486:
Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever is made wealthy by Allah and does not pay the Zakat of his wealth, then on the Day of Resurrection his wealth will be made like a bald-headed poisonous male snake with two black spots over the eyes. The snake will encircle his neck and bite his cheeks and say, 'I am your wealth, I am your treasure.' " Then the Prophet recited the holy verses:-- 'Let not those who withhold . . .' (to the end of the verse). (3.180).

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 487:
Narrated Abu Said:

Allah's Apostle said, "No Zakat is due on property mounting to less than five Uqiyas (of silver), and no Zakat is due on less than five camels, and there is no Zakat on less than five Wasqs." (A Wasqs equals 60 Sa's) & (1 Sa=3 K gms App.)

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 488:
Narrated Zaid bin Wahab:

I passed by a place called Ar-Rabadha and by chance I met Abu Dhar and asked him, "What has brought you to this place?" He said, "I was in Sham and differed with Muawiya on the meaning of (the following verses of the Koran): 'They who hoard up gold and silver and spend them not in the way of Allah.' (9.34). Muawiya said, 'This verse is revealed regarding the people of the scriptures." I said, It was revealed regarding us and also the people of the scriptures." So we had a quarrel and Mu'awiya sent a complaint against me to Uthman. Uthman wrote to me to come to Medina, and I came to Medina. Many people came to me as if they had not seen me before. So I told this to Uthman who said to me, "You may

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depart and live nearby if you wish." That was the reason for my being here for even if an Ethiopian had been nominated as my ruler, I would have obeyed him .

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 489:
Narrated Al-Ahnaf bin Qais:
While I was sitting with some people from Quraish, a man with very rough hair, clothes, and appearance came and stood in front of us, greeted us and said, "Inform those who hoard wealth, that a stone will be heated in the Hell-fire and will be put on the nipples of their breasts till it comes out from the bones of their shoulders and then put on the bones of their shoulders till it comes through the nipples of their breasts the stone will be moving and hitting." After saying that, the person retreated and sat by the side of the pillar, I followed him and sat beside him, and I did not know who he was. I said to him, "I think the people disliked what you had said." He said, "These people do not understand anything, although my friend told me." I asked, "Who is your friend?" He said, "The Prophet said (to me), 'O Abu Dhar! Do you see the mountain of Uhud?' And on that I (Abu Dhar) started looking towards the sun to judge how much remained of the day as I thought that Allah's Apostle wanted to send me to do something for him and I said, 'Yes!' He said, 'I do not love to have gold equal to the mountain of Uhud unless I spend it all (in Allah's cause) except three Dinars (pounds). These people do not understand and collect worldly wealth. No, by Allah, Neither I ask them for worldly benefits nor am I in need of their religious advice till I meet Allah, The Honorable, The Majestic." '

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 490:
Narrated Ibn Masud:
I heard the Prophet saying, "There is no envy except in two: a person whom Allah has given wealth and he spends it in the right way, and a person whom Allah has given wisdom (i.e. religious knowledge) and he gives his decisions accordingly and teaches it to the others."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 491:
Narrated Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle said, "If one give in charity what equals one date-fruit fro the honestly-earned money and Allah accepts only the honestly earned money --Allah takes it in His right (hand) ar then enlarges its reward for that person (who has given it), as anyone of you brings up his baby horse, so much s that it becomes as big as a mountain

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 492:
Narrated Haritha bin Wahab :
I heard the Prophet saying, "O people! Give in charity as a time will come upon you when a person will wander about with his object of charity and will not find anybody to accept it, and one (who will be requested to take it) will say, "If you had brought it yesterday, would have taken it, but to-day I am not in need of it."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 493:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The Hour (Day of Judgement) will not be established till your wealth increases so much so that one will be worried, for no one will accept his Zakat and the person to whom he will give it will reply, 'I am not in need of it.' "

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 494:
Narrated Adi bin Hatim:
While I was sitting with Allah's Apostle two person came to him; one of them complained about his poverty and the other complained about the prevalence of robberies. Allah's Apostle said, "As regards stealing and robberies, there will shortly come a time when a caravan will go to Mecca (from Medina) without any guard. And regarding poverty, The Hour (Day of Judgement) will not be established till one of you wanders about with his object of charity and will not find anybody to accept it And (no doubt) each one of you will stand in front of Allah and there will be neither a curtain nor an interpreter between him and Allah, and Allah will ask him, 'Did not I give you wealth?' He will reply in the affirmative. Allah will further ask, 'Didn't I send a messenger to you?' And again that person will reply in the affirmative Then he will look to his right and he will see nothing but Hell-fire, and then he will look to his left and will see nothing but Hell-fire. And so, any (each one) of you should save himself from the fire even by giving half of a date-fruit (in charity). And if you do not find a half date-fruit, then (you can do it through saying) a good pleasant word (to your brethren). (See Hadith No. 793 Vol. 4).
Volume 2, Book 24, Number 495:
Narrated Abu Musa:
Thy Prophet said, "A time will come upon the people when a person will wander about with gold as Zakat and will not find anybody to accept it, and one man will be seen followed by forty women to be their guardian because of scarcity of men and great number of women. "

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 496:
Narrated Abu Masud:
When the verses of charity were revealed, we used to work as porters. A man came and distributed objects of charity in abundance. And they (the people) said, "He is showing off." And another man came and gave a sa (a small measure of food grains); they said, "Allah is not in need of this small amount of charity." And then the Divine Inspiration came: "Those who criticize such of the believers who give in charity voluntarily and those who could not find to give in charity except what is available to them." (9.79).

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 497:
Narrated Abu Masud Al-Ansar:
Whenever Allah's Apostle ordered us to give in charity, we used to go to the market and work as porters and get a Mudd (a special measure of grain) and then give it in charity. (Those were the days of poverty) and to-day some of us have one hundred thousand.

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 498:
Narrated Adi bin Hatim heard the Prophet saying:
"Save yourself from Hell-fire even by giving half a date-fruit in charity."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 499:
Narrated Aisha:
A lady along with her two daughters came to me asking (for some alms), but she found nothing with me except one date which I gave to her and she divided it between her two daughters, and did not eat anything herself, and then she got up and went away. Then the Prophet came in and I informed him about this story. He said, "Whoever is put to trial by these daughters and he treats them generously (with benevolence) then these daughters will act as a shield for him from Hell-Fire." (See Hadith No. 24, Vol. 8).

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 500:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A man came to the Prophet and asked, "O Allah's Apostle! Which charity is the most superior in reward?" He replied, "The charity which you practice while you are healthy, niggardly and afraid of poverty and wish to become wealthy. Do not delay it to the time of approaching death and then say, 'Give so much to such and such, and so much to such and such.' And it has already belonged to such and such (as it is too late)."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 501:
Narrated Aisha:
Some of the wives of the Prophet asked him, "Who amongst us will be the first to follow you (i.e. die after you)?" He said, "Whoever has the longest hand." So they started measuring their hands with a stick and Sauda's hand turned out to be the longest. (When Zainab bint Jahsh died first of all in the caliphate of Umar), we came to know that the long hand was a symbol of practicing charity, so she was the first to follow the Prophet and she used to love to practice charity. (Sauda died later in the caliphate of Muawiya).

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 502:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "A man said that he would give something in charity. He went out with his object of charity and unknowingly gave it to a thief. Next morning the people said that he had given his object of charity to a thief. (On hearing that) he said, "O Allah! All the praises are for you. I will give alms again." And so he again went out with his alms and (unknowingly) gave it to an adulteress. Next morning the people said that he had given his alms to an adulteress last night. The man said, "O Allah! All the praises are for you. (I gave my alms) to an adulteress. I will give alms again." So he went out with his alms again and (unknowingly) gave it to a rich person. (The people) next morning said that he had given his alms to a wealthy person. He said, "O Allah! All the praises are for you. (I had given alms) to a thief, to an adulteress and to a wealthy man." Then someone came and said to him, "The alms which you gave to the thief, might make him abstain from stealing, and that given to the adulteress might make her abstain from illegal sexual intercourse (adultery), and that given to the wealthy man might make him take a lesson from it and spend his wealth which Allah has given him, in Allah's cause."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 503:
Narrated Ma'n bin Yazid:
My grandfather, my father and I gave the pledge of allegiance to Allah's Apostle. The Prophet got me engaged and then got me married. One day I went to the Prophet with a complaint. My father Yazid had taken some gold coins for charity and kept them with a man in the mosque (to give them to the poor) But I went and took them and brought them to him (my father). My father said, "By Allah! I did not intend to give them to you. " I took (the case) to Allah's Apostle . On that Allah's Apostle said, "O Yazid! You will be rewarded for what you intended. O Man! Whatever you have taken is yours."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 504:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Seven people will be shaded by Allah under His shade on the day when there will be no shade except His. They are:
(1) a just ruler;
(2) a young man who has been brought up in the worship of Allah, (i.e. worship Allah (Alone) sincerely from his childhood),
(3) a man whose heart is attached to the mosque (who offers the five compulsory congregational prayers in the mosque);
(4) two persons who love each other only for Allah's sake and they meet and part in Allah's cause only;
(5) a man who refuses the call of a charming woman of noble birth for an illegal sexual intercourse with her and says: I am afraid of Allah;
(6) a person who practices charity so secretly that his left hand does not know what his right hand has given (i.e. nobody knows how much he has given in charity).
(7) a person who remembers Allah in seclusion and his eyes get flooded with tears."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 505:
Narrated Haritha bin Wahab Al-Khuza'i:
I heard the Prophet saying, "(O people!) Give in charity (for Allah's cause) because a time will come when a person will carry his object of charity from place to place (and he will not find any person to take it) and any person whom he shall request to take it, I will reply, 'If you had brought it yesterday I would have taken it, but today I am not
in need of it."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 506:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle said, "When a woman gives in charity some of the foodstuff (which she has in her house) without spoiling it, she will receive the reward for what she has spent, and her husband will receive the reward because of his earning, and the storekeeper will also have a reward similar to it. The reward of one will not decrease the reward of the others . "

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 507:
Narrated Abu Huraira :
The Prophet said, "The best charity is that which is practiced by a wealthy person. And start giving first to your dependents."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 508:
Narrated Hakim bin Hizam
The Prophet said, "The upper hand is better than the lower hand (i.e. he who gives in charity is better than him who takes it). One should start giving first to his dependents. And the best object of charity is that which is given by a wealthy person (from the money which is left after his expenses). And whoever abstains from asking others for some financial help, Allah will give him and save him from asking others, Allah will make him self-sufficient."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 509:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
I heard Allah's Apostle while he was on the pulpit speaking about charity, to abstain from asking others for some financial help and about begging others, saying, "The upper hand is better than the lower hand. The upper hand is that of the giver and the lower (hand) is that of the beggar."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 510:
Narrated Uqba bin Al-Harith:
Once the Prophet offered the Asr prayer and then hurriedly went to his house and returned immediately. I (or somebody else) asked him (as to what was the matter) and he said, "I left at home a piece of gold which was from the charity and I disliked to let it remain a night in my house, so I got it distributed . "

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 511:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet went out for the 'Id prayer on the 'Id day and offered a two Rakat prayer; and he neither offered a prayer before it or after it. Then he went towards the women along with Bilal. He preached them and ordered them to give in charity. And some (amongst the women) started giving their fore-arm bangles and ear-rings.

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 512:
Narrated Abu Burda bin Abu Musa:
that his father said, "Whenever a beggar came to Allah's Apostle or he was asked for something, he used to say (to his companions), "Help and recommend him and you will receive

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the reward for it; and Allah will bring about what He will through His Prophet's tongue."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 513:
Narrated Asma:
The Prophet said to me, "Do not withhold your money, (for if you did so) Allah would with-hold His blessings from you."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 514:
Narrated 'Abda:
T he Prophet said, "Do not with-hold your money by counting it (i.e. hoarding it), (for if you did so), Allah would also with-hold His blessings from you."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 515:
Narrated Asma bint Abu Bakr:
that she had gone to the Prophet and he said, "Do not shut your money bag; otherwise Allah too will with-hold His blessings from you. Spend (in Allah's Cause) as much as you can afford. "

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 516:
Narrated Abu Wail:
Hudhaifa said, "Umar said, 'Who amongst you remembers the statement of Allah's Apostle about afflictions'?' I said, 'I know it as the Prophet had said it.' Umar said, 'No doubt, you are bold. How did he say it?' I said, 'A man's afflictions (wrong deeds) concerning his wife, children and neighbours are expiated by (his) prayers, charity, and enjoining good.' (The sub-narrator Sulaiman added that he said, 'The prayer, charity, enjoining good and forbidding evil.') Umar said, 'I did not mean that, but I ask about that affliction which will spread like the waves of the sea.' I said, 'O chief of the believers! You need not be afraid of it as there is a closed door between you and it.' He asked, 'Will the door be broken or opened?' I replied, 'No, it will be broken.' He said, 'Then, if it is broken, it will never be closed again?' I replied, 'Yes.' " Then we were afraid to ask what that door was, so we asked Masruq to inquire, and he asked Hudhaifa regarding it. Hudhaifa said, "The door was Umar. "We further asked Hudhaifa whether Umar knew what that door meant. Hudhaifa replied in the affirmative and added, "He knew it as one knows that there will be a night before the tomorrow morning."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 517:
Narrated Hakim bin Hizam:
I said to Allah's Apostle, "Before embracing Islam I used to do good deeds like giving in charity, slave-manumitting, and the keeping of good relations with Kith and kin. Shall I be rewarded for those deeds?" The Prophet replied, "You became Muslim with all those good deeds (Without losing their reward)."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 518:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle said, "When a woman gives in charity from her husband's meals without wasting the property of her husband, she will get a reward for it, and her husband too will get a reward for what he earned and the store-keeper will have the reward likewise."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 519:
Narrated Abu Musa :
The Prophet said, "An honest Muslim store-keeper who carries out the orders of his master and pays fully what he has been ordered to give with a good heart and pays to that person to whom he was ordered to pay, is regarded as one of the two charitable persons."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 520:
Narrate Aisha :
The Prophet said, "If a woman gives in charity from her husband's house .." The Prophet also said, "If a lady gives meals (in charity) from her husband's house without spoiling her husband's property, she will get a reward and her husband will also get a reward likewise. The husband will get a reward because of his earnings and the woman because of her spending."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 521:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said, "When a woman gives in charity from her house meals in Allah's Cause without spoiling her husband's property, she will get a reward for it, and her husband will also get the reward for his earnings and the storekeeper will get a reward likewise."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 522:
Narrated Abu Huraira :
The Prophet said, "Every day two angels come down from Heaven and one of them says, 'O Allah! Compensate every person who spends in Your Cause,' and the other (angel) says, 'O Allah! Destroy every miser.' "

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 523:
Narrated Abu Huraira :
The Prophet said, "The example of a miser and an alms-giver is like the example of two persons wearing iron cloaks." Allah's Apostle also said, "The example of an alms-giver and a miser is like the example of two persons who have two iron cloaks on them from their breasts to their collar bones, and when the alms-giver wants to give in charity, the cloak becomes capacious till it covers his whole body to such an extent that it hides his fingertips and covers his footprints (obliterates his tracks). (1) And when the miser wants to spend, it (the iron cloak) sticks and every ring gets stuck to its place and he tries to widen it, but it did not become wide.

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 524:
Narrated Abu Burda:
from his father from his grandfather that the Prophet said, "Every Muslim has to give in charity." The people asked, "O Allah's Prophet! If someone has nothing to give, what will he do?" He said, "He should work with his hands and benefit himself and also give in charity (from what he earns)." The people further asked, "If he cannot find even that?" He replied, "He should help the needy who appeal for help." Then the people asked, "If he cannot do that?" He replied, "Then he should perform good deeds and keep away from evil deeds and this will be regarded as charitable deeds."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 525:
Narrated Um 'Atiyya:
A sheep was sent to me (Nusaiba Al-Ansariya) (in charity) and I sent some of it to Aisha. The Prophet asked Aisha for something to eat. Aisha replied that there was nothing except what Nusaiba Al-Ansariya had sent of that sheep. The Prophet said to her, "Bring it as it has reached its place."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 526:
Narrated Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri :
Allah's Apostle said, "There is no Zakat on less than five camels and also there is no Zakat on less than five Awaq (of silver). (5 Awaq = 22 Fransa Riyals of Yamen or 200 Dirhams.) And there is no Zakat on less than five Awsuq. (A special measure of food-grains, and one Wasq equals 60 Sa's.) (For gold 20, Dinars i.e. equal to 12 Guinea English. No Zakat for less than 12 Guinea (English) of gold or for silver less than 22 Fransa Riyals of Yamen.)

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 527:
Narrated Abi Sa'id Al-Khudri :
I heard the Prophet saying (as above--No. 526 ..)

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 528:
Narrated Anas:
Abu Bakr wrote to me what Allah had instructed His Apostle to do regarding the one who had to pay one Bint Makhad (i.e. one year-old she-camel) as Zakat, and he did not have it but had got Bint Labun (two year old she-camel). (He wrote that) it could be accepted from him as Zakat, and the collector of Zakat would return him 20 Dirhams or two sheep; and if the Zakat payer had not a Bint Makhad, but he had Ibn Labun (a two year old he-camel) then it could be accepted as his Zakat, but he would not be paid anything .

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 529:
Narrated Ibn Abbas :
I am a witness that Allah's Apostle offered the Id prayer before delivering the sermon and then he thought that the women would not be able to hear him (because of the distance), so he went to them along with Bilal who was spreading his garment. The Prophet advised and ordered them to give in charity. So the women started giving their ornaments (in charity). (The sub-narrator Aiyub pointed towards his ears and neck meaning that they gave ornaments from those places such as ear-rings and necklaces.)

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 530:
Narrated Anas:
Abu Bakr wrote to me what was made compulsory by Allah's Apostle and that was (regarding the payments of Zakat): Neither the property of different people may be taken together nor the joint property may be split for fear of (paying more, or receiving less) Zakat. (1)

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 531:
Narrated Anas:
Abu Bakr wrote to me what Allah's Apostle has made compulsory (regarding Zakat) and this was mentioned in it: If a property is equally owned by two partners, they should pay the combined Zakat and it will be considered that both of them have paid their Zakat equally.

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 532:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
A Bedouin asked Allah's Apostle about the emigration. The Prophet said, "May Allah have mercy on you! The matter of emigration is very hard. Have you got camels? Do you pay their Zakat?" The Bedouin said, "Yes, I have camels and I pay their Zakat." The Prophet said, Work beyond the seas and Allah will not decrease (waste) any of your good deeds." (See Hadith No. 260 Vol. 5).

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 533:
Narrated Anas:
Abu Bakr , wrote to me about the Zakat which Allah had ordered His Apostle to observe: Whoever had to pay Jahda (Jahda means a four-year-old she-camel) as Zakat from his herd of camels and he had not got one, and he had Hiqqa (three-year-old she-camel), that Hiqqa should be accepted from him along with two sheep if they were available or twenty Dirhams (one Durham equals about 1/4 Saudi Riyal) and whoever had to pay Hiqqa as Zakat and he had no Hiqqa but had a Jadha, the Jadha should be accepted from him, and the Zakat collector should repay him twenty Dirhams or two sheep; and whoever had to pay Hiqqa as Zakat and he had not got one, but had a Bint Labun (two-year-old she-camel), it should be accepted from him along with two sheep or twenty Dirhams; and whoever had to pay Bint Labun and had a Hiqqa, that Hiqqa should be accepted from him and the Zakat collector should repay him twenty Dirhams or two sheep; and whoever had to pay Bint Labun and he had not got one but had a Bint Makhad (one-year-old she camel), that Bint Makhad should be accepted from him along with twenty Dirhams or two sheep.

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 534:
Narrated Anas:
When Abu Bakr; sent me to (collect the Zakat from) Bahrein, he wrote to me the following:-- (In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful). These are the orders for compulsory charity (Zakat) which Allah's Apostle had made obligatory for every Muslim, and which Allah had ordered His Apostle to observe: Whoever amongst the Muslims is asked to pay Zakat accordingly, he should pay it (to the Zakat collector) and whoever is asked more than that (what is specified in this script) he should not pay it; for twenty-four camels or less, sheep are to be paid as Zakat; for every five camels one sheep is to be paid, and if there are between twenty-five to thirty-five camels, one Bint Makhad is to be paid; and if they are between thirty-six to forty-five (camels), one Bint Labun is to be paid; and if they are between forty-six to sixty (camels), one Hiqqa is to be paid; and if the number is between sixty-one to seventy-five (camels), one Jadh'a is to be paid; and if the number is between seventy-six to ninety (camels), two Bint Labuns are to be paid; and if they are from ninety-one to one-hundred-and twenty (camels), two Hiqqas are to be paid; and if they are over one-hundred and-twenty (camels), for every forty (over one-hundred-and-twenty) one Bint Labun is to be paid, and for every fifty camels (over one-hundred-and-twenty) one Hiqqa is to be paid; and who ever has got only four camels, has to pay nothing as Zakat, but if the owner of these four camels wants to give something, he can. If the number of camels increases to five, the owner has to pay one sheep as Zakat. As regards the Zakat for the (flock) of sheep; if they are between forty and one-hundred-and-twenty sheep, one sheep is to be paid; and if they are between one-hundred-and-twenty to two hundred (sheep), two sheep are to be paid; and if they are between two-hundred to three-hundred (sheep), three sheep are to be paid; and for over three-hundred sheep, for every extra hundred sheep, one sheep is to be paid as Zakat. And if somebody has got less than forty sheep, no Zakat is required, but if he wants to give, he can. For silver the Zakat is one-fortieth of the lot (i.e. 2.5%), and if its value is less than two-hundred Dirhams, Zakat is not required, but if the owner wants to pay he can.'

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 535:
Narrated Anas:
Abu Bakr wrote to me what Allah had ordered His Apostle (about Zakat) which goes: Neither an old nor a defected animal, nor a male-goat may be taken as Zakat except if the Zakat collector wishes (to take it).

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 536:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Abu Bakr said, "By Allah! If they (pay me the Zakat and) with-hold even a she-kid which they used to pay during the life-time of Allah's Apostle, I will fight with them for it." Umar said, "It was nothing but Allah Who opened Abu Bakr's chest towards the decision to fight, and I came to know that his decision was right."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 537:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
When Allah's Apostle sent Muadh to Yemen, he said (to him), "YOU are going to people of a (Divine) Book. First of all invite them to worship Allah (alone) and when they come to know Allah, inform them that Allah has enjoined on them, five prayers in every day and night; and if they start offering these prayers, inform them that Allah has enjoined on them,

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the Zakat. And it is to be taken from the rich amongst them and given to the poor amongst them; and if they obey you in that, take Zakat from them and avoid (don't take) the best property of the people as Zakat."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 538:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri :
Allah's Apostle said, "No Zakat is imposed on less than five Awsuq of dates; no Zakat is imposed on less than five Awaq of silver, and no Zakat is imposed on less than five camels."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 539:
Narrated Abu Dhar:
Once I went to him (the Prophet) and he said, "By Allah in Whose Hands my life is (or probably said, 'By Allah, except Whom none has the right to be worshipped) whoever had camels or cows or sheep and did not pay their Zakat, those animals will be brought on the Day of Resurrection far bigger and fatter than before and they will tread him under their hooves, and will butt him with their horns, and (those animals will come in circle): When the last does its turn, the first will start again, and this punishment will go on till Allah has finished the judgements amongst the people."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 540:
Narrated Ishaq bin Abdullah bin Al Talha:
I heard Anas bin Malik saying, "Abu Talha had more property of date-palm trees gardens than any other amongst the Ansar in Medina and the most beloved of them to him was Bairuha garden, and it was in front of the Mosque of the Prophet . Allah's Apostle used to go there and used to drink its nice water." Anas added, "When these verses were revealed:--'By no means shall you Attain righteousness unless You spend (in charity) of that Which you love. ' (3.92) Abu Talha said to Allah's Apostle 'O Allah's Apostle! Allah, the Blessed, the Superior says: By no means shall you attain righteousness, unless you spend (in charity) of that which you love. And no doubt, Bairuha' garden is the most beloved of all my property to me. So I want to give it in charity in Allah's Cause. I expect its reward from Allah. O Allah's Apostle! Spend it where Allah makes you think it feasible.' On that Allah's Apostle said, 'Bravo! It is useful property. I have heard what you have said (O Abu Talha), and I think it would be proper if you gave it to your Kith and kin.' Abu Talha said, I will do so, O Allah's Apostle.' Then Abu Talha distributed that garden amongst his relatives and his cousins."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 541:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri
On Id ul Fitr or Id ul Adha Allah's Apostle went out to the Musalla. After finishing the prayer, he delivered the sermon and ordered the people to give alms. He said, "O people! Give alms." Then he went towards the women and said. "O women! Give alms, for I have seen that the majority of the dwellers of Hell-Fire were you (women)." The women asked, "O Allah's Apostle! What is the reason for it?" He replied, "O women! You curse frequently, and are ungrateful to your husbands. I have not seen anyone more deficient in intelligence and religion than you. O women, some of you can lead a cautious wise man astray." Then he left. And when he reached his house, Zainab, the wife of Ibn Masud, came and asked permission to enter It was said, "O Allah's Apostle! It is Zainab." He asked, 'Which Zainab?" The reply was that she was the wife of Ibn Mas'ub. He said, "Yes, allow her to enter." And she was admitted. Then she said, "O Prophet of Allah! Today you ordered people to give alms and I had an ornament and intended to give it as alms, but Ibn Masud said that he and his children deserved it more than anybody else." The Prophet replied, "Ibn Masud had spoken the truth. Your husband and your children had more right to it than anybody else."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 542:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "There is no Zakat either on a horse or a slave belonging to a Muslim"

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 543:
Narrated Abu Huraira :-
The Prophet said,"There is no Zakat either on a slave or on a horse belonging to a Muslim.

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 544:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri :
Once the Prophet sat on a pulpit and we sat around him. Then he said, "The things I am afraid of most for your sake (concerning what will befall you after me) is the pleasures and splendors of the world and its beauties which will be disclosed to you." Somebody said, "O Allah's Apostle! Can the good bring forth evil?" The Prophet remained silent for a while. It was said to that person, "What is wrong with you? You are talking to the Prophet while he is not talking to you." Then we noticed that he was being inspired divinely. Then the Prophet wiped off his sweat and said, "Where is the questioner?" It seemed as if the Prophet liked his question. Then he said, "Good never brings forth evil. Indeed it is like what grows on the banks of a water-stream which either kill or make the animals sick, except if an animal eats its fill the Khadira (a kind of vegetable) and then faces the sun, and then defecates and urinates and grazes again. No doubt this wealth is sweet and green. Blessed is the wealth of a Muslim from which he gives to the poor, the orphans and to needy travelers. (Or the Prophet said something similar to it) No doubt, whoever takes it illegally will be like the one who eats but is never satisfied, and his wealth will be a witness against him on the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 545:
Narrated Amr bin Al-Harith:
Zainab, the wife of Abdullah said, "I was in the Mosque and saw the Prophet saying, 'O women ! Give alms even from your ornaments.' " Zainab used to provide for Abdullah and those orphans who were under her protection. So she said to Abdullah, "Will you ask Allah's Apostle whether it will be sufficient for me to spend part of the Zakat on you and the orphans who are under my protection?" He replied "Will you yourself ask Allah's Apostle ?" (Zainab added): So I went to the Prophet and I saw there an Ansari woman who was standing at the door (of the Prophet) with a similar problem as mine. Bilal passed by us and we asked him, 'Ask the Prophet whether it is permissible for me to spend (the Zakat) on my husband and the orphans under my protection.' And we requested Bilal not to inform the Prophet about us. So Bilal went inside and asked the Prophet regarding our problem. The Prophet asked, "Who are those two?" Bilal replied that she was Zainab. The Prophet said, "Which Zainab?" Bilal said, "The wife of 'Adullah (bin Masud)." The Prophet said, "Yes, (it is sufficient for her) and she will receive a double rewards (for that): One for helping relatives, and the other for giving Zakat."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 546:
Narrated Zainab,:
(the daughter of Um Salama) My mother said, "O Allah's Apostle! Shall I receive a reward if I spend for the sustenance of Abu Salama's offspring, and in fact they are also my sons?" The Prophet replied, "Spend on them and you will get a reward for what you spend on them."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 547:
Narrated Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle ordered (a person) to collect Zakat, and that person returned and told him that Ibn Jamil, Khalid bin Al-Walid, and Abbas bin Abdul Muttalib had refused to give Zakat." The Prophet said, "What made Ibn Jamll refuse to give Zakat though he was a poor man, and was made wealthy by Allah and His Apostle ? But you are unfair in asking Zakat from Khalid as he is keeping his armor for Allah's Cause (for Jihad). As for Abbas bin Abdul Muttalib, he is the uncle of Allah's Apostle and Zakat is compulsory on him and he should pay it double."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 548:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
Some Ansari persons asked for (something) from Allah's Apostle and he gave them. They again asked him for (something) and he again gave them. And then they asked him and he gave them again till all that was with him finished. And then he said "If I had anything. I would not keep it away from you. (Remember) Whoever abstains from asking others, Allah will make him contented, and whoever tries to make himself self-sufficient, Allah will make him self-sufficient. And whoever remains patient, Allah will make him patient. Nobody can be given a blessing better and greater than patience."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 549:
Narrated Abu Huraira :
Allah's Apostle said, "By Him in Whose Hand my life is, it is better for anyone of you to take a rope and cut the wood (from the forest) and carry it over his back and sell it (as a means of earning his living) rather than to ask a person for something and that person may give him or not."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 550:
Narrated Az-Zubair bin Al'Awwam:
The Prophet said, "It is better for anyone of you to take a rope (and cut) and bring a bundle of wood (from the forest) over his back and sell it and Allah will save his face (from the Hell-Fire) because of that, rather than to ask the people who may give him or not."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 551:
Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair and Said bin Al-Musaiyab:
Haklm bin Hizam said, "(Once) I asked Allah's Apostle (for something) and he gave it to me. Again I asked and he gave (it to me). Again I asked and he gave (it to me). And then he said, "O Hakim! This property is like a sweet fresh fruit; whoever takes it without greediness, he is blessed in it, and whoever takes it with greediness, he is not blessed in it, and he is like a person who eats but is never satisfied; and the upper (giving) hand is better than the lower (receiving) hand." Hakim added, "I said to Allah's Apostle , 'By Him (Allah) Who sent you with the Truth, I shall never accept anything from anybody after you, till I leave this world.' " Then Abu Bakr (during his caliphate) called Hakim to give him his share from the war booty (like the other companions of the Prophet), he refused to accept anything. Then Umar (during his caliphate) called him to give him his share but he refused. On that Umar said, "O Muslims! I would like you to witness that I offered Hakim his share from this booty and he refused to take it." So Hakim never took anything from anybody after the Prophet till he died.

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 552:
Narrated Umar:
Allah's Apostle used to give me something but I would say to him, "would you give it to a poorer and more needy one than l?" The Prophet said to me, "Take it. If you are given something from this property, without asking for it or having greed for it take it; and if not given, do not run for it."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 553:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar
The Prophet said, "A man keeps on asking others for something till he comes on the Day of Resurrection without any piece of flesh on his face." The Prophet added, "On the Day of Resurrection, the Sun will come near (to, the people) to such an extent that the sweat will reach up to the middle of the ears, so, when all the people are in that state, they will ask Adam for help, and then Moses, and then Mohammed ." The sub-narrator added "Mohammed will intercede with Allah to judge amongst the people. He will proceed on till he will hold the ring of the door (of Paradise) and then Allah will exalt him to Maqam Mahmud (the privilege of intercession, etc.). And all the people of the gathering will send their praises to Allah.

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 554:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The poor person is not the one who asks a morsel or two (of meals) from the others, but the poor is the one who has nothing and is ashamed to beg from others."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 555:
Narrated Ash-sha'bi:
The clerk of Al-Mughira bin Shu'ba narrated, "Muawiya wrote to Al-Mughira bin Shu'ba: Write to me something which you have heard from the Prophet ." So Al-Mughira wrote: I heard the Prophet saying, "Allah has hated for you three things:
1. Vain talks, (useless talk) that you talk too much or about others.
2. Wasting of wealth (by extravagance)
3. And asking too many questions (in disputed religious matters) or asking others for something (except in great need). (See Hadith No. 591, Vol. Ill)

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 556:
Narrated Sad (bin Abi Waqqas) :
Allah's Apostle distributed something (from the resources of Zakat) amongst a group of people while I was sitting amongst them, but he left a man whom I considered the best of the lot. So, I went up to Allah's Apostle and asked him secretly, "Why have you left that person? By Allah! I consider him a believer." The Prophet said, "Or merely a Muslim (Who surrender to Allah)." I remained quiet for a while but could not help repeating my question because of what I knew about him. I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Why have you left that person? By Allah! I consider him a believer. " The Prophet said, "Or merely a Muslim." I remained quiet for a while but could not help repeating my question because of what I knew about him. I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Why have you left that person? By Allah! I consider him a believer." The Prophet said, "Or merely a Muslim." Then Allah's Apostle said, "I give to a person while another is dearer to me, for fear that he may be thrown in the Hell-fire on his face (by renegating from Islam)."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 557:
Narrated Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle said, "The poor person is not the one who goes round the people and ask them for a mouthful or two (of meals) or a date or two but the poor is that who has not enough (money) to satisfy his needs and whose condition is not known to others, that others may give him something in charity, and who does not beg of people."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 558:
Narrated Abu Huraira
The Prophet said, "No doubt, it is better for a person to take a rope and proceed in the morning to the mountains and

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cut the wood and then sell it, and eat from this income and give alms from it than to ask others for something."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 559:
Narrated Abu Humaid As-Sa'idi
We took part in the holy battle of Tabuk in the company of the Prophet and when we arrived at the Wadi-al-Qura, there was a woman in her garden. The Prophet asked his companions to estimate the amount of the fruits in the garden, and Allah's Apostle estimated it at ten Awsuq (One Wasaq = 60 Sa's) and 1 Sa'= 3 kg. approximately). The Prophet said to that lady, "Check what your garden will yield." When we reached Tabuk, the Prophet said, "There will be a strong wind to-night and so no one should stand and whoever has a camel, should fasten it." So we fastened our camels. A strong wind blew at night and a man stood up and he was blown away to a mountain called Taiy, The King of Aila sent a white mule and a sheet for wearing to the Prophet as a present, and wrote to the Prophet that his people would stay in their place (and will pay Jizya taxation.) (1) When the Prophet reached Wadi-al-Qura he asked that woman how much her garden had yielded. She said, "Ten Awsuq," and that was what Allah's Apostle had estimated. Then the Prophet said, "I want to reach Medina quickly, and whoever among you wants to accompany me, should hurry up." The sub-narrator Ibn Bakkar said something which meant: When the Prophet saw Medina he said, "This is Taba." And when he saw the mountain of Uhud, he said, "This mountain loves us and we love it. Shall I tell you of the best amongst the Ansar?" They replied in the affirmative. He said, "The family of Bani-n-Najjar, and then the family of Bani Sa'ida or Bani Al-Harith bin Al-Khazraj. (The above-mentioned are the best) but there is goodness in all the families of Ansar."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 560:
Narrated Salim bin Abdullah from his father:
The Prophet said, "On a land irrigated by rain water or by natural water channels or if the land is wet due to a near by water channel Ushr (i.e. one-tenth) is compulsory (as Zakat); and on the land irrigated by the well, half of an Ushr (i.e. one-twentieth) is compulsory (as Zakat on the yield of the land)."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 561:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri :
The Prophet said, "There is no Zakat on less than five Awsuq (of dates), or on less than five camels, or on less than five Awaq of silver." (22 Yameni Riyals Faransa).

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 562:
Narrated Abu Huraira :
Dates used to be brought to Allah's Apostle immediately after being plucked. Different persons would bring their dates till a big heap collected (in front of the Prophet). Once Al-Hasan and Al-Husain were playing with these dates. One of them took a date and put it in his mouth. Allah's Apostle looked at him and took it out from his mouth and said, "Don't you know that Mohammed's offspring do not eat what is given in charity?"

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 563:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet had forbidden the sale of dates till they were good (ripe), and when it was asked what it meant, the Prophet said, "Till there is no danger of blight."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 564:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah :
The Prophet had forbidden the sale of fruits till they were ripe (free from blight).

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 565:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle forbade the selling of fruits until they were ripe. The Prophet added, "It means that they become red ."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 566:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Umar bin Al-Khattab gave a horse in charity in Allah's Cause and later he saw it being sold in the market and intended to purchase it. Then he went to the Prophet and asked his permission. The Prophet said, "Do not take back what you have given in charity." For this reason, Ibn Umar never purchased the things which he had given in charity, and in case he had purchased something (unknowingly) he would give it in charity again.

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 567:
Narrated Umar:
Once I gave a horse in Allah's Cause (in charity) but that person did not take care of it. I intended to buy it, as I thought he would sell it at a low price. So, I asked the Prophet about it. He said, "Neither buy, nor take back your alms which you have given, even if the seller were willing to sell it for one Dirham, for he who takes back his alms is like the one who swallows his own vomit."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 568:
Narrated Abu Huraira :
Al-Hasan bin Ali took a date from the dates given in charity and put it in his mouth. The Prophet said, "Expel it from your mouth. Don't you know that we do not eat a thing which is given in charity?"

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 569:
Narrated Ibn Abbas :
The Prophet saw a dead sheep which had been given in charity to a freed slavegirl of Maimuna, the wife of the Prophet . The Prophet said, "Why don't you get the benefit of its hide?" They said, "It is dead." He replied, "Only to eat (its meat) is illegal."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 570:
Narrated Al-Aswad:
Aisha intended to buy Barira (a slave-girl) in order to manumit her and her masters intended to put the condition that her Al-wala would be for them. Aisha mentioned that to the Prophet who said to her, "Buy her, as the "Wala" is for the manumitted." Once some meat was presented to the Prophet and Aisha said to him, "This (meat) was given in charity to Barira." He said, "It is an object of charity for Barira but a gift for us."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 571:
Narrated Um 'Atiyya Al-Ansariya :
The Prophet went to Aisha and asked her whether she had something (to eat). She replied that she had nothing except the mutton (piece) which Nusaiba (Um 'Atiyya) had sent to us (Buraira) in charity." The Prophet said, "It has reached its place and now it is not a thing of charity but a gift for us."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 572:
Narrated Anas:
Some meat was presented to the Prophet and it had been given to Barira (the freed slave-girl of Aisha) in charity. He said, "This meat is a thing of charity for Barira but it is a gift for us."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 573:
Narrated Abu Ma'bad,:
(the slave of Ibn Abbas) Allah's Apostle said to Muadh when he sent him to Yemen, "You will go to the people of the Scripture. So, when you reach there, invite them to testify that none has the right to be worshipped but Allah, and that Mohammed is His Apostle. And if they obey you in that, tell them that Allah has enjoined on them five prayers in each day and night. And if they obey you in that tell them that Allah has made it obligatory on them to pay the Zakat which will be taken from the rich among them and given to the poor among them. If they obey you in that, then avoid taking the best of their possessions, and be afraid of the curse of an oppressed person because there is no screen between his invocation and Allah."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 574i:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abu Aufa :
Whenever a person came to the Prophet with his alms, the Prophet would say, "O Allah! Send your Blessings upon so and so." My father went to the Prophet with his alms and the Prophet said, "O Allah! Send your blessings upon the offspring of Abu Aufa."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 574f:
Narrated Abu Huraira
The Prophet said, "A man from Bani Israel asked someone from Bani Israel to give him a loan of one thousand Dinars and the later gave it to him. The debtor went on a voyage (when the time for the payment of the debt became due) but he did not find a boat, so he took a piece of wood and bored it and put 1000 diners in it and threw it into the sea. The creditor went out and took the piece of wood to his family to be used as fire-wood." (See Hadith No. 488 B, Vol. 3). And the Prophet narrated the narration (and said), "When he sawed the wood, he found his money."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 575:
Narrated Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle said, "There is no compensation for one killed or wounded by an animal or by falling in a well, or because of working in mines; but Khumus is compulsory on Rikaz."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 576:
Narrated Abu Humaid Al-Sa'idi:
Allah's Apostle appointed a man called Ibn Al-Lutbiya, from the tribe of Al-Asd to collect Zakat from Bani Sulaim. When he returned, (after collecting the Zakat) the Prophet checked the account with him.

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 577:
Narrated Anas:
Some people from Uraina tribe came to Medina and its climate did not suit them, so Allah's Apostle allowed them to go to the herd of camels (given as Zakat) and they drank their milk and urine (as medicine) but they killed the shepherd and drove away all the camels. So Allah's Apostle sent (men) in their pursuit to catch them, and they were brought, and he had their hands and feet cut, and their eyes were branded with heated pieces of iron and they were left in the Harra (a stony place at Medina) biting the stones. (See Hadith No. 234, Vol. 1)

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 578:
Narrated Anas bin Malik
took Abdullah bin Abu Talha to Allah's Apostle to perform Tahnik for him. (Tahnik was a custom among the Muslims that whenever a child was born they used to take it to the Prophet who would chew a piece of date and put a part of its juice in the child's mouth). I saw the Prophet and he had an instrument for branding in his hands and was branding the camels of Zakat.

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 25:
Obligatory Charity Tax After Ramadaan (Zakat ul Fitr)

Volume 2, Book 25, Number 579:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle enjoined the payment of one Sa' of dates or one Sa' of barley as Zakat-ul-Fitr on every Muslim slave or free, male or female, young or old, and he ordered that it be paid before the people went out to offer the 'Id prayer. (One Sa' = 3 Kilograms approx.)

Volume 2, Book 25, Number 580:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle made it incumbent on all the slave or free Muslims, male or female, to pay one Sa' of dates or barley as Zakat-ul-Fitr.

Volume 2, Book 25, Number 581:
Narrated Abu Said:
We used to give one Sa' of barley as Sadaqatul-Fitr (per head).

Volume 2, Book 25, Number 582:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
We used to give one Sa' of meal or one Sa' of barley or one Sa' of dates, or one Sa' of cottage cheese or one Sa' of Raisins (dried grapes) as Zakat-ul-Fitr.

Volume 2, Book 25, Number 583:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar
The Prophet ordered (Muslims) to give one Sa' of dates or one Sa' of barley as Zakat-ul-Fitr. The people rewarded two Mudds of wheat as equal to that.

Volume 2, Book 25, Number 584:
Narrated Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri:
In the life-time of the Prophet we used to give one Sa' of food or one Sa' of dates or one Sa' of barley or one Sa' of Raisins (dried grapes) as Sadaqat-ul-Fitr. And when Muawiya became the Caliph and the wheat was (available in abundance) he said, "I think (observe) that one Mudd (of wheat) equals two Mudds (of any of the above mentioned things).

Volume 2, Book 25, Number 585:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet ordered the people to pay Zakat-ul-Fitr before going to the 'Id prayer.

Volume 2, Book 25, Number 586:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
In the life-time of Allah's Apostle , we used to give one Sa' of food (edible things) as Sadaqat-ul-Fit,r (to the poor). Our food used to be either of barley, raisins (dried grapes), cottage cheese or dates.

Volume 2, Book 25, Number 587:
Narrated Nafi:
Ibn Umar said, "The Prophet made incumbent on every male or female, free man or slave, the payment of one Sa' of dates or barley as Sadaqat-ul-Fitr (or said Sadaqa-Ramadan)." The people then substituted half Sa' of wheat for that. Ibn Umar used to give dates (as Sadaqat-ulFitr). Once there was scarcity of dates in Medina and Ibn Umar gave barley. 'And Ibn Umar used to give Sadaqat-ul-Fitr for every young and old person. He even used to give on behalf of my children. Ibn Umar used to give Sadaqatul-Fitr to those who had been officially appointed for its collection. People used to give Sadaqat-ul-Fitr (even) a day or two before the 'Id.

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Volume 2, Book 25, Number 588:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle has made Sadaqatul-Fitr obligatory, (and it was), either one Sa' of barley or one Sa' of dates (and its payment was obligatory) on young and old people, and on free men as well as on slaves.

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 26:
Pilgrimmage (Hajj)

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 589:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas :
Al-Fadl (his brother) was riding behind Allah's Apostle and a woman from the tribe of Khath'am came and Al-Fadl started looking at her and she started looking at him. The Prophet turned Al-Fadl's face to the other side. The woman said, "O Allah's Apostle! The obligation of Hajj enjoined by Allah on His devotees has become due on my father and he is old and weak, and he cannot sit firm on the Mount; may I perform Hajj on his behalf?" The Prophet replied, "Yes, you may." That happened during the Hajj-al-Wida (of the Prophet).

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 590:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
I saw that Allah's Apostle used to ride on his Mount at Dhul Hulaifa and used to start saying, "Labbaik" when the Mount stood upright.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 591:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah :
that Allah's Apostle started saying, "Labbaik" from Dhul-Hulaifa when his Mount stood upright carrying him .

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 592:
Narrated Thumama bin Abdullah bin Anas:
Anas performed the Hajj on a pack-saddle and he was not a miser. Anas said, "Allah's Apostle
performed Hajj on a pack-saddle and the same Mount was carrying his baggage too."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 593:
Narrated Al-Qasim bin Mohammed:
Aisha said, "O Allah's Apostle! You performed Umra but I did not." He said, "O Abdur-Rahman! Go along with your sister and let her perform Umra from Tan'im." Abdur-Rahman made her ride over the pack-saddle of a she-camel and she performed Umra.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 594:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet was asked, "Which is the best deed?" He said, "To believe in Allah and His Apostle." He was then asked, "Which is the next (in goodness)?" He said, "To participate in Jihad in Allah's Cause." He was then asked, "Which is the next?" He said, "To perform Hajj-Mabrur. "

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 595:
Narrated Aisha:
(the mother of the faithful believers) I said, "O Allah's Apostle! We consider Jihad as the best deed." The Prophet said, "The best Jihad (for women) is Hajj Mabrur. "

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 596:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Whoever performs Hajj for Allah's pleasure and does not have sexual relations with his wife, and does not do evil or sins then he will return (after Hajj free from all sins) as if he were born anew."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 597:
Narrated Zaid bin Jubair:
I went to visit Abdullah bin Umar at his house which contained many tents made of cotton cloth and these were encircled with Suradik (part of the tent). I asked him from where, should one assume Ihram for Umra. He said, "Allah's Apostle had fixed as Miqat (singular of Mawaqit) Qarn for the people of Najd, Dhul-Hulaifa for the people of Medina, and Al-Juhfa for the people of Sham."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 598:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The people of Yemen used to come for Hajj and used not to bring enough provisions with them and used to say that they depend on Allah. On their arrival in Medina they used to beg the people, and so Allah revealed, "And take a provision (with you) for the journey, but the best provision is the fear of Allah." (2.197).

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 599:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle made Dhul-Huiaifa as the Miqat for the people of Medina; Al-Juhfa for the people of Sham; Qarn-al-Manazil for the people of Najd; and Yalamlam for the people of Yemen; and these Mawaqit are for the people at those very places, and besides them for those who come thorough those places with the intention of performing Hajj and Umra; and whoever is living within these boundaries can assume Ihram from the place he starts, and the people of Mecca can assume Ihram from Mecca.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 600:
Narrated Nafi:
Abdullah bin Umar said, "Allah's Apostle said, 'The people of Medina should assume Ihram from Dhul-Hulaifa; the people of Sham from Al-Juhfa; and the people of Najd from Qarn." And Abdullah added, "I was informed that Allah's Apostle had said, 'The people of Yemen should assume Ihram from Yalamlam.' "

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 601:
Narrated Ibn Abbas :
Allah's Apostle had fixed Dhul Hulaifa as the Mlqat for the people of Medina; Al-Juhfa for the people of Sham; and Qarn Ul-Manazil for the people of Najd; and Yalamlam for the people of Yemen. So, these (above mentioned) are the Mawaqit for all those living at those places, and besides them for those who come through those places with the intention of performing Hajj and Umra and whoever lives within these places should assume Ihram from his dwelling place, and similarly the people of Mecca can assume Ihram from Mecca.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 602:
Narrated Salim from his father who said,:
"The Prophet had fixed the Mawaqit as follows: (No. 603)

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 603:
Narrated Salim bin Abdullah from his father:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "The Miqat for the people of Medina is Dhul-Hulaifa; for the people of Sham is Mahita; (i.e. Al-Juhfa); and for the people of Najd is Qarn. And said Ibn Umar, "They claim, but I did not hear personally, that the Prophet said, "The Miqat for the people of Yemen is Yalamlam."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 604:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet fixed Dhul-Hulaifa as the Miqat for the people of Medina, Al-Juhfa, for the people of Sham, Yalamlam for the people of Yemen, and Qarn for the people of Najd. And these Mawaqlt are for those living at those very places, and besides them for those who come through those places with the intention of performing Hajj and Umra; and whoever is living inside these places can assume lhram from his own dwelling place, and the people of Mecca can assume lhram from Mecca.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 605:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet fixed Dhul-Hulaifa as the Miqat for the people of Medina, Al-Juhfa for the people of Sham, Qarn-ul-Manazil for the people of Najd, and Yalamlam for the people of Yemen; and these Mawaqit are for those living at those very places, and besides them for those whom come through them with the intention of performing Hajj and Umra; and whoever is living within these Mawaqit should assume lhram from where he starts, and the people of Mecca can assume Ihram from Mecca.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 606:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
When these two towns (Basra and Kufa) were captured, the people went to Umar and said, "O the Chief of the faithful believers! The Prophet fixed Qarn as the Miqat for the people of Najd, it is beyond our way and it is difficult for us to pass through it." He said, "Take as your Miqat a place situated opposite to Qarn on your usual way. So, he fixed Dhatu-Irq (as their Miqat)."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 607:
Narrated Nafi :
Abdullah bin Umar' said, "Allah's Apostle made his camel sit (i.e. he dismounted) at Al-Batha' in Dhul-Hulaifa and offered the prayer." Abdullah bin Umar used to do the same.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 608:
Narrated Ibn Umar :
Allah's Apostle used to go (for Hajj) via Ash-Shajara way and return via Muarras way; and no doubt, whenever Allah's Apostle went to Mecca, he used to offer the prayer in the Mosque of Ash-Shajara; and on his return, he used to offer the prayer at Dhul-Hulaifa in the middle of the valley, and pass the night there till morning.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 609:
Narrated Umar:
In the valley of Al-'Aqiq I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "To night a messenger came to me from my Lord and asked me to pray in this blessed valley and to assume Ihram for Hajj and Umra together. "

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 610:
Narrated Musa bin Uqba:
Salim bin Abdullah's father said, "The Prophet said that while resting in the bottom of the valley at Mu'arras in Dhul-Hulaifa, he had been addressed in a dream: 'You are verily in a blessed valley.' " Salim made us to dismount from our camels at the place where Abdullah used to dismount, aiming at the place where Allah's Apostle had rested and it was below the Mosque situated in the middle of the valley in between them (the residence) and the road.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 611:
Narrated Said bin Jubair:
Ibn Umar used to oil his hair. I told that to Ibrahim who said, "What do you think about this statement: Narrated Aswad from Aisha: As if I were now observing the glitter of the scent in the parting of the hair of the Prophet while he was Muhrim?"

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 612:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet I used to scent Allah's Apostle when he wanted to assume Ihram and also on finishing Ihram before the Tawaf round the Kaaba (Tawaf-al-ifada).

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 613:
Narrated Salim from his father:
I heard that Allah's Apostle assumed Ihram with his hair matted together.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 614:
Narrated Salim bin Abdullah :
I heard my father saying, "Never did Allah's Apostle assume Ihram except at the Mosque, that is, at the Mosque of Dhul-Hulaifa.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 615:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
A man asked, "O Allah's Apostle! What kind of clothes should a Muhrim wear?" Allah's Apostle replied, "He should not wear a shirt, a turban, trousers, a headcloak or leather socks except if he can find no slippers, he then may wear leather socks after cutting off what might cover the ankles. And he should not wear clothes which are scented with saffron or Wars (kinds of Perfumes) . "

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 616:
Narrated Ubaidullah bin Abdullah:
Ibn Abbas' said, "Usama rode behind Allah's Apostle from 'Arafat to Al-Muzdalifa; and then Al-Fadl rode behind Allah's Apostle from Al-Muzdalifa to Mina." Ibn Abbas added, "Both of them said, 'The Prophet kept on reciting Talbiya till he did the Rami of Jamrat-al-'Aqaba.' "

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 617:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
The Prophet with his companions started from Medina after combing and oiling his hair and putting on two sheets of Ihram (upper body cover and waist cover). He did not forbid anyone to wear any kind of sheets except the ones colored with saffron because they may leave the scent on the skin. And so in the early morning, the Prophet mounted his Mount while in Dhul-Hulaifa and set out till they reached Baida', where he and his companions recited Talbiya, and then they did the ceremony of Taqlid (which means to put the colored garlands around the necks of the Budn (camels for sacrifice). And all that happened on the 25th of Dhul-Qa'da. And when he reached Mecca on the 4th of Dhul-Hijja he performed the Tawaf round the Kaaba and performed the Tawaf between Safa and Marwa. And as he had a Badana and had garlanded it, he did not finish his Ihram. He proceeded towards the highest places of Mecca near Al-Hujun and he was assuming the Ihram for Hajj and did not go near the Kaaba after he performed Tawaf (round it) till he returned from 'Arafat. Then he ordered his companions to perform the Tawaf round the Kaaba and then the Tawaf of Safa and Marwa, and to cut short the hair of their heads and to finish their Ihram. And that was only for those people who had not garlanded Budn. Those who had their wives with them were permitted to contact them (have sexual intercourse), and similarly perfume and (ordinary) clothes were permissible for them.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 618:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet offered four Rakat in Medina and then two Rakat at DhuII lulaifa and then passed the night at Dhul-Hulaifa till it was morning and when he mounted his Mount and it stood up, he started to recite Talbiya.

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Volume 2, Book 26, Number 619:
Narrated Abu Qilaba:
Anas bin Malik said, "The Prophet offered four Rakat of the Zuhr prayer in Medina and two Rakat of Asr prayer at Dhul-Hulaifa." I think that the Prophet passed the night there till morning.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 620:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet offered four Rakat of the Zuhr prayer in Medina and two Rakat of the Asr prayer in Dhul-Hulaifa and I heard them (the companions of the Prophet) reciting Talbiya together loudly to the extent of shouting.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 621:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar :
The Talbiya of Allah's Apostle was : 'Labbaika Allahumma labbaik, Labbaika la sharika Laka labbaik, Inna-l-hamda wan-ni'mata Laka walmu Lk, La sharika Laka' (I respond to Your call O Allah, I respond to Your call, and I am obedient to Your orders, You have no partner, I respond to Your call All the praises and blessings are for You, All the sovereignty is for You, And You have no partners with you.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 622:
Narrated Aisha:
I know how the Prophet used to say (Talbiya) and it was: 'Labbaika Allahumma Labbaik, Labbaika la sharika Laka labbaik, Inna-l-hamda wan-ni'mata Laka walmu Lk, La sharika Laka'.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 623:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle offered four Rakat of Zuhr prayer at Medina and we were in his company, and two Rakat of the Asr prayer at Dhul-Hulaifa and then passed the night there till it was dawn; then he rode, and when he reached Al-Baida, he praised and glorified Allah and said Takbir (i.e. Alhamdu-lillah and Subhanallah(1) and Allahu-Akbar). Then he and the people along with him recited Talbiya with the intention of performing Hajj and Umra. When we reached (Mecca) he ordered us to finish the lhram (after performing the Umra) (only those who had no Hadi (animal for sacrifice) with them were asked to do so) till the day of Tarwiya that is 8th Dhul-Hijja when they assumed Ihram for Hajj. The Prophet sacrificed many camels (slaughtering them) with his own hands while standing. While Allah's Apostle was in Medina he sacrificed two horned rams black and white in color in the Name of Allah."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 624:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet recited Talbiya when he had mounted his Mount and was ready to set out.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 625:
Narrated Nafi:
Whenever Ibn Umar intended to go to Mecca he used to oil himself with a sort of oil that had no pleasant smell, then he would go to the Mosque of Al-Hulaita and offer the prayer, and then ride. When he mounted well on his Mount and the Mount stood up straight, he would proclaim the intention of assuming Ihram, and he used to say that he had seen the Prophet doing the same.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 626:
Narrated Mujahid:
I was in the company of Ibn Abbas and the people talked about Ad-Dajjal and said, "Ad-Dajjal will come with the word Kafir (non-believer) written in between his eyes." On that Ibn Abbas said, "I have not heard this from the Prophet but I heard him saying, 'As if I saw Moses just now entering the valley reciting Talbyia. ' "

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 627:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet We set out with the Prophet in his last Hajj and we assumed Ihram for Umra. The Prophet then said, "Whoever has the Hadi with him should assume Ihram for Hajj along with Umra and should not finish the Ihram till he finishes both." I was menstruating when I reached Mecca, and so I neither did Tawaf round the Kaaba nor Tawaf between Safa and Marwa. I complained about that to the Prophet on which he replied, "Undo and comb your head hair, and assume Ihram for Hajj (only) and leave the Umra." So, I did so. When we had performed the Hajj, the Prophet sent me with my brother Abdur-Rahman bin Abu Bakr to Tan'im. So I performed the Umra. The Prophet said to me, "This Umra is instead of your missed one." Those who had assumed Ihram for Umra (Hajj-atTamattu) performed Tawaf round the Kaaba and between Safa and Marwa and then finished their Ihram. After returning from Mina, they performed another Tawaf (between Safa and Marwa). Those who had assumed Ihram for Hajj and Umra together (Hajj-al-Qiran) performed only one Tawaf (between Safa and Marwa).

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 628:
Narrated Ata:
Jabir said, "The Prophet ordered Ali to keep on assuming his Ihram." The narrator then informed about the narration of Suraqa.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 629:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Ali came to the Prophet from Yemen (to Mecca). The Prophet asked Ali, "With what intention have you assumed Ihram?" Ali replied, "I have assumed Ihram with the same intention as that of the Prophet." The Prophet said, "If I had not the Hadi with me I would have finished the Ihram." Mohammed bin Bakr narrated extra from Ibn Juraij, "The Prophet said to Ali, "With what intention have you assumed the Ihram, O Ali?" He replied, "With the same (intention) as that of the Prophet." The Prophet said, "Have a Hadi and keep your Ihram as it is."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 630:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet sent me to some people in Yemen and when I returned, I found him at Al-Batha. He asked me, "With what intention have you assumed Ihram (i.e. for Hajj or for Umra or for both?") I replied, "I have assumed Ihram with an intention like that of the Prophet." He asked, "Have you a Hadi with you?" I replied in the negative. He ordered me to perform Tawaf round the Kaaba and between Safa and Marwa and then to finish my Ihram. I did so and went to a woman from my tribe who combed my hair or washed my head. Then, when Umar came (i.e. became Caliph) he said, "If we follow Allah's Book, it orders us to complete Hajj and Umra; as Allah says: "Perform the Hajj and Umra for Allah." (2.196). And if we follow the tradition of the Prophet who did not finish his Ihram till he sacrificed his Hadi."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 631:
Narrated Al-Qasim bin Mohammed:
' Aisha said, "We set out with Allah's Apostles in the months of Hajj, and (in) the nights of Hajj, and at the time and places of Hajj and in a state of Hajj. We dismounted at Sarif (a village six miles from Mecca). The Prophet then addressed his companions and said, "Anyone who has not got the Hadi and likes to do Umra instead of Hajj may do so (i.e. Hajj-al-Tamattu) and anyone who has got the Hadi should not finish the Ihram after performing ' Umra). (i.e. Hajj-al-Qiran). Aisha added, "The companions of the Prophet obeyed the above (order) and some of them (i.e. who did not have Hadi) finished their Ihram after Umra." Allah's Apostle and some of his companions were resourceful and had the Hadi with them, they could not perform Umra (alone) (but had to perform both Hajj and Umra with one Ihram). Aisha added, "Allah's Apostle came to me and saw me weeping and said, "What makes you weep, O Hantah?" I replied, "I have heard your conversation with your companions and I cannot perform the Umra." He asked, "What is wrong with you?' I replied, ' I do not offer the prayers (i.e. I have my menses).' He said, ' It will not harm you for you are one of the daughters of Adam, and Allah has written for you (this state) as He has written it for them. Keep on with your intentions for Hajj and Allah may reward you that." Aisha further added, "Then we proceeded for Hajj till we reached Mina and I became clean from my menses. Then I went out from Mina and performed Tawaf round the Kaaba." Aisha added, "I went along with the Prophet in his final departure (from Hajj) till he dismounted at Al-Muhassab (a valley outside Mecca), and we too, dismounted with him." He called ' Abdur-Rahman bin Abu Bakr and said to him, ' Take your sister outside the sanctuary of Mecca and let her assume Ihram for ' Umra, and when you had finished ' Umra, return to this place and I will wait for you both till you both return to me.' " ' Aisha added, ' ' So we went out of the sanctuary of Mecca and after finishing from the ' Umra and the Tawaf we returned to the Prophet at dawn. He said, 'Have you performed the ' Umra?' We replied in the affirmative. So he announced the departure amongst his companions and the people set out for the journey, and the Prophet: too left for Medina."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 632:
Narrated Al-Aswad:
' Aisha said, We went out with the Prophet (from Medina) with the intention of performing Hajj only and when we reached Mecca we performed Tawaf round the Kaba and then the Prophet ordered those who had not driven the Hadi along with them to finish their Ihram. So the people who had not driven the Hadi along with them finished their Ihram. The Prophet's wives, too, had not driven the Hadi with them, so they too, finished their Ihram." Aisha added, "I got my menses and could not perform Tawaf round the Kaaba." So when it was the night of Hasba (i.e. when we stopped at Al-Muhassab), I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Everyone is returning after performing Hajj and Umra but I am returning after performing Hajj only.' He said, 'Didn't you perform Tawaf round the Kaaba the night we reached Mecca?' I replied in the negative. He said, 'Go with your brother to Tan'im and assume the Ihram forUmra, (and after performing it) come back to such and such a place.' On that Safiya said, 'I feel that I will detain you all.' The Prophet said, 'O 'Aqra Halqa! Didn't you perform Tawaf of the Kaaba on the day of sacrifice? (i.e. Tawaf-al-ifada) Safiya replied in the affirmative. He said, (to Safiya). 'There is no harm for you to proceed on with us.' " Aisha added, "(after returning from Umra), the Prophet met me while he was ascending (from Mecca) and I was descending to it, or I was ascending and he was descending."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 633:
Narrated Aisha:
We set out with Allah's Apostles (to Mecca) in the year of the Prophet's Last Hajj. Some of us had assumed Ihram for Umra only, some for both Hajj and Umra, and others for Hajj only. Allah's Apostle assumed Ihram for Hajj. So whoever had assumed Ihram for Hajj or for both Hajj and Umra did not finish the Ihram till the day of sacrifice. (See Hadith No. 631, 636, and 639).

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 634:
Narrated Marwan bin Al-Hakam:
I saw Uthman and Ali. Uthman used to forbid people to perform Hajj-at-Tamattu' and Hajj-al-Qiran (Hajj and Umra together), and when Ali saw (this act of Uthman), he assumed Ihram for Hajj and Umra together saying, "Lubbaik for Umra and Hajj," and said, "I will not leave the tradition of the Prophet on the saying of somebody."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 635:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The people (of the Pre-lslamic Period) used to think that to perform Umra during the months of Hajj was one of the major sins on earth. And also used to consider the month of Safar as a forbidden (i.e. sacred) month and they used to say, "When the wounds of the camel's back heal up (after they return from Hajj) and the signs of those wounds vanish and the month of Safar passes away then (at that time) Umra is permissible for the one who wishes to perform it." In the morning of the 4th of Dhul-Hijja, the Prophet and his companions reached Mecca, assuming Ihram for Hajj and he ordered his companions to make their intentions of the Ihram forUmra only (instead of Hajj) so they considered his order as something great and were puzzled, and said, "O Allah's Apostle! What kind (of finishing) of Ihram is allowed?" The Prophet replied, "Finish the Ihram completely like a non-Muhrim (you are allowed everything)."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 636:
Narrated Abu Musa:
came to the Prophet (from Yemen and was assuming Ihram for Hajj) and he ordered me to finish the Ihram (after performing the Umra).

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 637:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Hafsa the wife of the Prophet said, "O Allah's Apostle! Why have the people finished their Ihram after performing Umra but you have not finished your Ihram after performing Umra?" He replied, "I have matted my hair and garlanded my Hadi. So I will not finish my Ihram till I have slaughtered (my Hadi). "

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 638:
Narrated Shu'ba:
Abu Jamra Nasr bin Imran Ad-Duba'i said, "I intended to perform Hajj-at-Tamattu' and the people advised me not to do so. I asked Ibn Abbas regarding it and he ordered me to perform Hajj-at-Tammatu'. Later I saw in a dream someone saying to me, 'Hajj-Mabrur (Hajj performed in accordance with the Prophet's tradition without committing sins and accepted by Allah) and an accepted Umra.' So I told that dream to Ibn Abbas. He said, 'This is the tradition of Abu-l-Qasim.' Then he said to me, 'Stay with me and I shall give you a portion of my property.' " I (Shu'ba) asked, "Why (did he invite you)?" He (Abu Jamra) said, "Because of the dream which I had seen."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 639:
Narrated Abu Shihab:
I left for Mecca for Hajj-at-Tamattu' assuming Ihram for Umra. I reached Mecca three days before the day of Tarwiya (8th Dhul-Hijja). Some people of Mecca said to me, "Your Hajj will be like the Hajj performed by the people of Mecca (i.e. you will lose the superiority of assuming Ihram from the Miqat). So I went to 'Ata' asking him his view about it. He said, "Jabir bin Abdullah narrated to me, 'I performed Hajj with Allah's Apostle on the day when he drove camels with him. The people had assumed Ihram for Hajj-al-Ifrad. The

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Prophet ordered them to finish their Ihram after Tawaf round the Kaaba, and between Safa and Marwa and to cut short their hair and then to stay there (in Mecca) as non-Muhrims till the day of Tarwiya (i.e. 8th of Dhul-Hijja) when they would assume Ihram for Hajj and they were ordered to make the Ihram with which they had come as for Umra only. They asked, 'How can we make it Umra (Tamattu') as we have intended to perform Hajj?' The Prophet said, 'Do what I have ordered you. Had I not brought the Hadi with me, I would have done the same, but I cannot finish my Ihram till the Hadi reaches its destination (i.e. is slaughtered).' So, they did (what he ordered them to do)."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 640:
Narrated Said bin Al-Musaiyab:
Ali and Uthman differed regarding Hajj-at-Tamattu' while they were at 'Usfan (a familiar place near Mecca). Ali said, "I see you want to forbid people to do a thing that the Prophet did?" When Ali saw that, he assumed Ihram for both Hajj and Umra.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 641:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah :
We came with Allah's Apostle (to Mecca) and we were saying: 'Labbaika Allahumma Labbaik' for Hajj. Allah's Apostle ordered us to perform Umra with that Ihram (instead of Hajj).

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 642:
Narrated Imran:
We performed Hajj-at-Tamattu' in the lifetime of Allah's Apostle and then the Koran was revealed (regarding Hajj-at-Tamattu') and somebody said what he wished (regarding Hajj-at-Tamattu') according his own opinion.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 643:
Narrated Nafi:
On reaching the sanctuary of Mecca, Ibn Umar used to stop, reciting Talbiya and then he would pass the night at Dhi-Tuwa and then offer the Fajr prayer and take a bath. He used to say that the Prophet used to do the same.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 644:
Narrated Nafi:
' Ibn Umar said, "The Prophet passed the night at Dhi-Tuwa till it was dawn and then he entered Mecca." Ibn Umar used to do the same.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 645:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle used to enter Mecca from the high Thaniya and used to leave Mecca from the low Thaniya.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 646:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle entered Mecca from Kada' from the highest Thaniya which is at Al-Batha' and used to leave Mecca from the low Thaniya.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 647:
Narrated Aisha:
When the Prophet came to Mecca he entered from its higher side and left from its lower side.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 648:
Narrated Aisha':
In the year of the conquest of Mecca, the Prophet entered Mecca from Kada' and left Mecca from Kuda, from the higher part of Mecca.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 649:
Narrated Aisha:
In the year of the conquest of Mecca, the Prophet entered Mecca from Kada' at the higher place of Mecca. (Hisham, a sub-narrator said, " Urwa used to enter (Mecca) from both Kada' and Kuda and he often entered through Kada' which was nearer to his dwelling place.)"

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 650:
Narrated Hisham:
Urwa said, "The Prophet entered Mecca in the year of the conquest of Mecca from the side of Kada' which is at the higher part of Mecca." Urwa often entered from Kada' which was nearer of the two to his dwelling place.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 651:
Narrated Hisham from his father :
In the year of the conquest of Mecca, the Prophet entered Mecca from the side of Kada. Urwa used to enter through both places and he often entered through Kada' which was nearer of the two to his dwelling place.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 652:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
When the Kaaba was built, the Prophet and Abbas went to bring stones (for its construction). Al Abbas said to the Prophet, "Take off your waist sheet and put it on your neck." (When the Prophet took it off) he fell on the ground with his eyes open towards the sky and said, "Give me my waist sheet." And he covered himself with it.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 653:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) that Allah's Apostle said to her, "Do you know that when your people (Quraish) rebuilt the Kaaba, they decreased it from its original foundation laid by Abraham?" I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Why don't you rebuild it on its original foundation laid by Abraham?" He replied, "Were it not for the fact that your people are close to the pre-lslamic Period of ignorance (i.e. they have recently become Muslims) I would have done so." The sub-narrator, Abdullah (bin Umar) stated: Aisha 'must have heard this from Allah's Apostle for in my opinion Allah's Apostle had not placed his hand over the two corners of the Kaaba opposite Al-Hijr only because the Kaaba was not rebuilt on its original foundations laid by Abraham.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 654:
Narrated Aisha:
I asked the Prophet whether the round wall (near Kaaba) was part of the Kaaba. The Prophet replied in the affirmative. I further said, "What is wrong with them, why have they not included it in the building of the Kaaba?" He said, "Don't you see that your people (Quraish) ran short of money (so they could not include it inside the building of Kaaba)?" I asked, "What about its gate? Why is it so high?" He replied, "Your people did this so as to admit into it whomever they liked and prevent whomever they liked. Were your people not close to the Pre-lslamic Period of ignorance (i.e. they have recently embraced Islam) and were I not afraid that they would dislike it, surely I would have included the (area of the) wall inside the building of the Kaaba and I would have lowered its gate to the level of the ground."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 655:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle said to me, "Were your people not close to the Pre-lslamic period of ignorance, I would have demolished the Kaaba and would have rebuilt it on its original foundations laid by Abraham (for Quraish had curtailed its building), and I would have built a back door (too)."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 656:
Narrated Yazid bin Ruman from Urwa:
Aisha said that the Prophet said to her, "O Aisha! Were your nation not close to the Pre-lslamic Period of Ignorance, I would have had the Kaaba demolished and would have included in it the portion which had been left, and would have made it at a level with the ground and would have made two doors for it, one towards the east and the other towards the west, and then by doing this it would have been built on the foundations laid by Abraham." That was what urged Ibn-Az-Zubair to demolish the Kaaba. Jazz said, "I saw Ibn-Az-Zubair when he demolished and rebuilt the Kaaba and included in it a portion of Al-Hijr (the unroofed portion of Kaaba which is at present in the form of a compound towards the north-west of the Kaaba). I saw the original foundations of Abraham which were of stones resembling the humps of camels." So Jarir asked Yazid, "Where was the place of those stones?" Jazz said, "I will just now show it to you." So Jarir accompanied Yazid and entered Al-Hijr, and Jazz pointed to a place and said, "Here it is." Jarir said, "It appeared to me about six cubits from Al-Hijr or so."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 657:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
On the Day of the Conquest of Mecca, Allah's Apostle said, "Allah has made this town a sanctuary. Its thorny bushes should not be cut, its game should not be chased, and its fallen things should not be picked up except by one who would announce it publicly."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 658:
Narrated Usama bin Zaid:
I asked, "O Allah's Apostle! Where will you stay in Mecca? Will you stay in your house in Mecca?" He replied, "Has 'Aqil left any property or house?" Aqil along with Talib had inherited the property of Abu Talib. Jafar and Ali did not inherit anything as they were Muslims and the other two were non-believers. Umar bin Al-Khattab used to say, "A believer cannot inherit (anything from an) infidel." Ibn Shihab, (a sub-narrator) said, "They (Umar and others) derived the above verdict from Allah's Statement: "Verily! those who believed and Emigrated and strove with their life And property in Allah's Cause, And those who helped (the emigrants) And gave them their places to live in, These are (all) allies to one another." (8.72)

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 659:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
When Allah's Apostle intended to enter Mecca he said, "Our destination tomorrow, if Allah wished, will be Khaif Bani Kinana where (the pagans) had taken the oath of Kufr." (Against the Prophet i.e. to be loyal to heathenism by boycotting Bani Ha shim, the Prophets folk) (See Hadith No. 221 Vol. 5)

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 660:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
On the Day of Nahr at Mina, the Prophet said, "Tomorrow we shall stay at Khaif Bani Kinana where the pagans had taken the oath of Kufr (heathenism)." He meant (by that place) Al-Muhassab where the Quraish tribe and Bani Kinana concluded a contract against Bani Hashim and Bani Abdul-Muttalib or Bani Al-Muttalib that they would not intermarry with them or deal with them in business until they handed over the Prophet to them.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 661:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet;; said, "Dhus-Suwaiqa-tain (literally: One with two lean legs) from Ethiopia will demolish the Kaaba."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 662:
Narrated Aisha:
The people used to fast on 'Ashura (the tenth day of the month of Muharram) before the fasting of Ramadan was made obligatory. And on that day the Kaaba used to be covered with a cover. When Allah made the fasting of the month of Ramadan compulsory, Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever wishes to fast (on the day of 'Ashura') may do so; and whoever wishes to leave it can do so."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 663:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
The Prophet said "The people will continue performing the Hajj and Umra to the Kaaba even after the appearance of Gog and Magog."
Narrated Shu'ba extra:
The Hour (Day of Judgement) will not be established till the Hajj (to the Kaaba) is abandoned.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 664:
Narrated Abu Wail:
(One day) I sat along with Shaiba on the chair inside the Kaaba. He (Shaiba) said, "No doubt, Umar sat at this place and said, 'I intended not to leave any yellow (i.e. gold) or white (i.e. silver) (inside the Kaaba) undistributed.' I said (to Umar), 'But your two companions (i.e. The Prophet and Abu Bakr) did not do so.' Umar said, They are the two persons whom I always follow.' "

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 665:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "As if I were looking at him, a black person with thin legs plucking the stones of the Kaaba one after another. "

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 666:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "DhusSuwaiqatain (the thin legged man) from Ethiopia will demolish the Kaaba."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 667:
Narrated 'Abis bin Rabia:
Umar came near the Black Stone and kissed it and said "No doubt, I know that you are a stone and can neither benefit anyone nor harm anyone. Had I not seen Allah's Apostle kissing you I would not have kissed you."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 668:
Narrated Salim that his father said,
"Allah's Apostle, Usama bin Zaid, Bilal, and Uthman bin abu Talha entered the Kaaba and then closed its door. When they opened the door I was the first person to enter (the Kaaba). I met Bilal and asked him, "Did Allah's Apostle offer a prayer inside (the Kaaba)?" Bilal replied in the affirmative and said, "(The Prophet offered the prayer) in between the two right pillars."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 669:
Narrated Nafi:
Whenever Ibn Umar entered the Kaaba he used to walk straight keeping the door at his back on entering, and used to proceed on till about three cubits from the wall in front of him, and then he would offer the prayer there aiming at the place where Allah's Apostle prayed, as Bilal had told him. There is no harm for any person to offer the prayer at any place inside the Kaaba.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 670:
Narrated Isma'li bin Abu Khalid:

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Abdullah bin Abu Aufa said, "Allah's Apostle performed the Umra. He performed Tawaf of the Kaaba and offered two Rakat behind the Maqam (Abraham's place) and was accompanied by those who were screening him from the people." Somebody asked Abdullah, "Did Allah's Apostle enter the Kaaba?" Abdullah replied in the negative.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 671:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
When Allah's Apostle came to Mecca, he refused to enter the Kaaba with idols in it. He ordered (idols to be taken out). So they were taken out. The people took out the pictures of Abraham and Ishmael holding Azlams in their hands. Allah's Apostle said, "May Allah curse these people. By Allah, both Abraham and Ishmael never did the game of chance with Azlams." Then he entered the Kaaba and said Takbir at its corners but did not offer the prayer in it.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 672:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
When Allah's Apostle and his companions came to Mecca, the pagans circulated the news that a group of people were coming to them and they had been weakened by the Fever of Yathrib (Medina). So the Prophet ordered his companions to do Ramal in the first three rounds of Tawaf of the Kaaba and to walk between the two corners (The Black Stone and Yemenite corner). The Prophet did not order them to do Ramal in all the rounds of Tawaf out of pity for them.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 673:
Narrated Salim that his father said:
I saw Allah's Apostle arriving at Mecca; he kissed the Black Stone Corner first while doing Tawaf and did ramal in the first three rounds of the seven rounds (of Tawaf).

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 674:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar :
The Prophet did Ramal in (first) three rounds (of Tawaf), and walked in the remaining four, in Hajj and Umra.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 675:
Narrated Zaid bin Aslam from his father who said:
"Umar bin Al-Khattab addressed the Corner (Black Stone) saying, 'By Allah! I know that you are a stone and can neither benefit nor harm. Had I not seen the Prophet touching (and kissing) you, I would never have touched (and kissed) you.' Then he kissed it and said, 'There is no reason for us to do Ramal (in Tawaf) except that we wanted to show off before the pagans, and now Allah has destroyed them.' Umar added, '(Nevertheless), the Prophet did that and we do not want to leave it (i.e. Ramal).'

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 676:
Narrated Nafi:
Ibn Umar. said, "I have never missed the touching of these two stones of Kaaba (the Black Stone and the Yemenite Corner) both in the presence and the absence of crowds, since I saw the Prophet touching them." I asked Nafi: "Did Ibn Umar use to walk between the two Corners?" Nafi replied, "He used to walk in order that it might be easy for him to touch it (the Corner Stone)."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 677:
Narrated Ibn Abbas.:
In his Last Hajj the Prophet performed Tawaf of the Kaaba riding a camel and pointed a bent-headed stick towards the Corner (Black Stone).

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 678:
Narrated Salim bin Abdullah that his father said:
"I have not seen the Prophet touching except the two Yemenite Corners (i.e. the ones facing Yemen)."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 679:
Narrated Zaid bin Aslam that his father said:
"I saw Umar bin Al-Khattab kissing the Black Stone and he then said, (to it) 'Had I not seen Allah's Apostle kissing you, (stone) I would not have kissed you.' "

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 680:
Narrated Az-Zubair bin 'Arabi:
A man asked Ibn Umar about the touching of the Black Stone. Ibn Umar said, "I saw Allah's Apostle touching and kissing it." The questioner said, "But if there were a throng (much rush) round the Kaaba and the people overpowered me, (what would I do?)" He replied angrily, "Stay in Yemen (as that man was from Yemen). I saw Allah's Apostle touching and kissing it."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 681:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet performed Tawaf of the Kaaba while riding a camel, and whenever he came in front of the Corner, he pointed towards it (with something).

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 682:
Narrated Ibn Abbas
The Prophet performed Tawaf of the Kaaba riding a camel, and every time he came in front of the Corner (having the Black Stone), he pointed towards it with something he had with him and said Takbir.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 683:
Narrated Urwa:
Aisha said, "The first thing the Prophet did on reaching Mecca, was the ablution and then he performed Tawaf of the Kaaba and that was not Umra (alone), (but Hajj-al-Qiran). Urwa added: Later Abu Bakr and Umar did the same in their Hajj." And I performed the Hajj with my father Az-Zubair, and the first thing he did was Tawaf of the Kaaba. Later I saw the Muhajirin (Emigrants) and the Ansar doing the same. My mother (Asma') told me that she, her sister (Aisha), Az-Zubair and such and such persons assumed Ihram for Umra, and after they passed their hands over the Black Stone Corner (of the Kaaba) they finished the Ihram. (i.e. After doing Tawaf of the Kaaba and Sa'i between Safa-Marwa.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 684:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar :
When Allah's Apostle performed Tawaf of the Kaaba for Hajj or Umra, he used to do Ramal during the first three rounds, and in the last four rounds he used to walk; then after the Tawaf he used to offer two Rakat and then performed Tawaf between Safa and Marwa.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 685:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
When the Prophet performed the Tawaf of the Kaaba, he did Ramal during the first three rounds and in the last four rounds he used to walk and while doing Tawaf between Safa and Marwa, he used to run in the midst of the rain water passage.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 686:
Narrated Um Salama:
(the wife of the Prophet) I informed Allah's Apostle that I was ill. So he said, "Perform the Tawaf while riding behind the people." I did so, and at that time the Prophet was praying beside the Kaaba and reciting Surat-at-Tur.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 687:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
While the Prophet was performing Tawaf of the Kaba, he passed by a person who had tied his hands to another person with a rope or string or something like that. The Prophet cut it with his own hands and said, "Lead him by the hand."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 688:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet saw a man performing Tawaf of the Kaba tied with a string or something else. So the Prophet cut that string.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 689:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
In the year prior to the last Hajj of the Prophet when Allahs Apostle made Abu Bakr the leader of the pilgrims, the latter (Abu Bakr) sent me in the company of a group of people to make a public announcement: 'No pagan is allowed to perform Hajj after this year, and no naked person is allowed to perform Tawaf of the Kaba.' (See Hadith No. 365 Vol. 1)

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 690:
Narrated Amr:
We asked Ibn Umar: "May a man have sexual relations with his wife during the Umra before performing Tawaf between Safa and Marwa?" He said, "Allah's Apostle arrived (in Mecca) and circumambulated the Kaba seven times, then offered two Rakat behind Maqam Ibrahim (the station of Abraham), then performed Tawaf between Safa and Marwa." Ibn Umar added, "Verily! In Allah's Apostle you have a good example." And I asked Jabir bin Abdullah (the same question), and he replied, "You should not go near your wives (have sexual relations) till you have finished Tawaf between Safa and Marwa. "

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 691:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet arrived at Mecca and performed Tawaf of the Kaba and Sa'i between Safa and Marwa, but he did not go near the Kaba after his Tawaf till he returned from Arafat.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 692:
Narrated Um Salama:
(the wife of the Prophet) I informed Allah's Apostle (about my illness). (Through other sub-narrators, Um Salama narrated that when Allah's Apostle was at Mecca and had just decided to leave (Mecca) while she had not yet done Tawaf of the Kaba (and after listening to her). The Prophet said, "When the morning prayer is established, perform the Tawaf on your camel while the people are in prayer." So she did the same and did not offer the two Rakat of Tawaf until she came out of the Mosque.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 693:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet reached Mecca, circumambulated the Kaba seven times and then offered a two Rakat prayer behind Maqam ibrahim. Then he went towards the Safa. Allah has said, "Verily, in Allah's Apostle you have a good example."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 694:
Narrated Urwa from Aisha:
Some people performed Tawaf (of the Kaba) after the morning prayer and then sat to listen to a preacher till sunrise, and then they stood up for the prayer. Then Aisha commented, "Those people kept on sitting till it was the time in which the prayer is disliked and after that they stood up for the prayer."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 695:
Narrated Abdullah:
heard the Prophet forbidding the offering of prayers at the time of sunrise and sunset.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 696:
Narrated Abida bin Humaid:
Abdul, Aziz bin Rufai Said, "I saw Abdullah bin Az-Zubair performing Tawaf of the Kaba after the morning prayer then offering the two Rakat prayer." Abdul Aziz added, "I saw Abdullah bin Az-Zubair offering a two Rakat prayer after the Asr prayer." He informed me that Aisha told him that the Prophet used to offer those two Rakat whenever he entered her house."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 697:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle performed Tawaf (of the Kaba) ending a camel (at that time the Prophet had foot injury). Whenever he came to the Corner (having the Black Stone) he would point out towards it with a thing in his hand and say, "Allahu-Akbar."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 698:
Narrated Um Salama:
I informed Allah's Apostle that I was sick. He said, "Perform Tawaf (of the Kaba) while riding behind the people." So, I performed the Tawaf while Allah's Apostle was offering the prayer beside the Kaba and was reciting Surat-at-Tur.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 699:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Al Abbas bin Abdul-Muttalib asked the permission of Allahs Apostle to let him stay in Mecca during the nights of Mina in order to provide the pilgrims with water to drink, so the Prophet permitted him.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 700:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle came to the drinking place and asked for water. Al-Abbas said, "O Fadl! Go to your mother and bring water from her for Allah's Apostle ." Allah's Apostle said, "Give me water to drink." Al-Abbas said, "O Allahs Apostle! The people put their hands in it." Allah's Apostle again said, 'Give me water to drink. So, he drank from that water and then went to the Zam-zam (well) and there the people were offering water to the others and working at it (drawing water from the well). The Prophet then said to them, "Carry on! You are doing a good deed." Then he said, "Were I not afraid that other people would compete with you (in drawing water from Zam-zam), I would certainly take the rope and put it over this (i.e. his shoulder) (to draw water)." On saying that the Prophet pointed to his shoulder.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 701:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
I gave Zam-zam water to Allah's Apostle and he drank it while standing. 'Asia (a sub-narrator) said that 'Ikrima took the oath that on that day the Prophet had not been standing but riding a camel.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 702:
Narrated Aisha:
We set out with Allah's Apostle in the year of his Last Hajj and we mended (the Ihram) for Umra. Then the Prophet said, "Whoever has a Hadi with him should assume Ihram for both Hajj and Umra, and should not finish it till he performs both of the them (Hajj and Umra)." When we reached Mecca, I had my menses. When we had performed our Hajj, the Prophet sent me with Abdur-Rahman to Tan'im and I performed the Umra. The Prophet said, "This is in lieu of your missed Umra." Those who had assumed Ihram for Umra performed Tawaf (between Safa and Marwa) and then finished their Ihram. And then they performed another Tawaf (between Safa and Marwa) after returning from Mina. And those who had

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assumed lhram for Hajj and Umra to get her (Hajj-Qiran) performed only one Tawaf (between Safa and Marwa).

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 703:
Narrated Nafi:
Abdullah bin Abdullah bin Umar and his riding animal entered the house of Ibn Umar. He (the son of Ibn Umar) said, "I fear that this year a battle might take place between the people and you might be prevented from going to the Kaaba. I suggest that you should stay here." Ibn Umar said, "Once Allah's Apostle set out for the pilgrimage, and the pagans of Quraish intervened between him and the Kaaba. So, if the people intervened between me and the Kaaba, I would do the same as Allah's Apostle had done . . . "Verily, in Allah's Apostle you have a good example." Then he added, "I make you a witness that I have intended to perform Hajj along with Umra." After arriving at Mecca, Ibn Umar performed one Tawaf only (between Safa and Marwa).

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 704:
Narrated Nafi:
Ibn Umar intended to perform Hajj in the year when Al-Hajjaj attacked Ibn Az-Zubair. Somebody said to Ibn Umar, "There is a danger of an impending war between them." Ibn Umar said, "Verily, in Allah's Apostle you have a good example. (And if it happened as you say) then I would do the same as Allah's Apostle had done. I make you witness that I have decided to perform Umra." Then he set out and when he reached Al-Baida, he said, "The ceremonies of both Hajj and Umra are similar. I make you witness that I have made Hajj compulsory for me along with Umra." He drove (to Mecca) a Hadi which he had bought from (a place called) Qudaid and did not do more than that. He did not slaughter the Hadi or finish his Ihram, or shave or cut short his hair till the day of slaughtering the sacrifices (10th Dhul-Hijja). Then he slaughtered his Hadi and shaved his head and considered the first Tawaf (of Safa and Marwa) as sufficient for Hajj and Umra. Ibn Umar said, "Allah's Apostle did the same."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 705:
Narrated Mohammed bin AbdurRahman bin Nawfal Al-Qurashi:
I asked Urwa bin Az-Zubair (regarding the Hajj of the Prophet). Urwa replied, "Aisha narrated, 'When the Prophet reached Mecca, the first thing he started with was the ablution, then he performed Tawaf of the Kaaba and his intention was not Umra alone (but Hajj and Umra together).' " Later Abu Bakr I performed the Hajj and the first thing he started with was Tawaf of the Kaaba and it was not Umra alone (but Hajj and Umra together). And then Umar did the same. Then Uthman performed the Hajj and the first thing he started with was Tawaf of the Kaaba and it was not Umra alone. And then Muawiya and Abdullah bin Umar did the same. I performed Hajj with Ibn Az-Zubair and the first thing he started with was Tawaf of the Kaaba and it was not Umra alone, (but Hajj and Umra together). Then I saw the Muhajirin (Emigrants) and Ansar doing the same and it was not Umra alone. And the last person I saw doing the same was Ibn Umar, and he did not do another Umra after finishing the first. Now here is Ibn Umar present amongst the people! They neither ask him nor anyone of the previous ones. And all these people, on entering Mecca, would not start with anything unless they had performed Tawaf of the Kaaba, and would not finish their Ihram. And no doubt, I saw my mother and my aunt, on entering Mecca doing nothing before performing Tawaf of the Kaaba, and they would not finish their lhram. And my mother informed me that she, her sister, Az-Zubair and such and such persons had assumed lhram for Umra and after passing their hands over the Corner (the Black Stone) (i.e. finishing their Umra) they finished their Ihram."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 706:
Narrated Urwa:
I asked Aisha : "How do you interpret the statement of Allah,. : Verily! (the mountains) As-Safa and Al-Marwa are among the symbols of Allah, and whoever performs the Hajj to the Kaaba or performs Umra, it is not harmful for him to perform Tawaf between them (Safa and Marwa.) (2.158). By Allah! (it is evident from this revelation) there is no harm if one does not perform Tawaf between Safa and Marwa." Aisha said, "O, my nephew! Your interpretation is not true. Had this interpretation of yours been correct, the statement of Allah should have been, 'It is not harmful for him if he does not perform Tawaf between them.' But in fact, this divine inspiration was revealed concerning the Ansar who used to assume lhram for worship ping an idol called "Manat" which they used to worship at a place called Al-Mushallal before they embraced Islam, and whoever assumed Ihram (for the idol), would consider it not right to perform Tawaf between Safa and Marwa.
When they embraced Islam, they asked Allah's Apostle regarding it, saying, "O Allah's Apostle! We used to refrain from Tawaf between Safa and Marwa." So Allah revealed: 'Verily; (the mountains) As-Safa and Al-Marwa are among the symbols of Allah.' " Aisha added, "Surely, Allah's Apostle set the tradition of Tawaf between Safa and Marwa, so nobody is allowed to omit the Tawaf between them." Later on I (Urwa) told Abu Bakr bin Abdur-Rahman (of Aisha's narration) and he said, 'i have not heard of such information, but I heard learned men saying that all the people, except those whom Aisha mentioned and who used to assume lhram for the sake of Manat, used to perform Tawaf between Safa and Marwa.
When Allah referred to the Tawaf of the Kaaba and did not mention Safa and Marwa in the Koran, the people asked, 'O Allah's Apostle! We used to perform Tawaf between Safa and Marwa and Allah has revealed (the verses concerning) Tawaf of the Kaaba and has not mentioned Safa and Marwa. Is there any harm if we perform Tawaf between Safa and Marwa?' So Allah revealed: "Verily As-Safa and Al-Marwa are among the symbols of Allah." Abu Bakr said, "It seems that this verse was revealed concerning the two groups, those who used to refrain from Tawaf between Safa and Marwa in the Pre-Islamic Period of ignorance and those who used to perform the Tawaf then, and after embracing Islam they refrained from the Tawaf between them as Allah had enjoined Tawaf of the Kaaba and did not mention Tawaf (of Safa and Marwa) till later after mentioning the Tawaf of the Kaaba.'

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 707:
Narrated Nafi:
Ibn Umar said, "When Allah's Apostle performed the first Tawaf he did Ramal in the first three rounds and then walked in the remaining four rounds (of Tawaf of the Kaaba), where as in performing Tawaf between Safa and Marwa he used to run in the midst of the rain-water passage," I asked Nafi, "Did Abdullah (bin Umar) use to walk steadily on reaching the Yemenite Corner?" He replied, "No, unless people were crowded at the Corner; otherwise he would not leave it without touching it."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 708:
Narrated Amr bin Dinar:
We asked Ibn Umar whether a man who, while performing Umra, had performed Tawaf of the Kaaba; and had not yet performed Tawaf between Safa and Marwa, could have sexual relation with his wife, Ibn Umar replied "The Prophet reached Mecca and performed the seven rounds (of Tawaf) of the Kaaba and then offered a two-Rakat prayer behind Maqam ibrahim and then performed the seven rounds (of Tawaf) between Safa and Marwa." He added, "Verily! In Allah's Apostle you have a good example." We asked Jabir bin Abdullah (the same question) and he said, "He (that man) should not come near (his wife) till he has completed Tawaf between Safa and Marwa."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 709:
Narrated Amr bin Dinar:
I heard Ibn Umar saying, "The Prophet arrived at Mecca and performed Tawaf of the Kaaba and then offered a two-Rakat prayer and then performed Tawaf between Safa and Marwa." Ibn Umar then recited (the verse): "Verily! In Allah's Apostle you have a good example. "

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 710:
Narrated 'Asim:
I asked Anas bin Malik: "Did you use to dislike to perform Tawaf between Safa and Marwa?" He said, "Yes, as it was of the ceremonies of the days of the Pre-Islamic period of ignorance, till Allah revealed: 'Verily! (The two mountains) As-Safa and Al-Marwa are among the symbols of Allah. It is therefore no sin for him who performs the pilgrimage to the Kaaba, or performs Umra, to perform Tawaf between them.' " (2.158)

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 711:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle performed Tawaf of the Kaaba and the Sa'i of Safa and Marwa so as to show his strength to the pagans.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 712:
Narrated Aisha:
I was menstruating when I reached Mecca. So, I neither performed Tawaf of the Kaaba, nor the Tawaf between Safa and Marwa. Then I informed Allah's Apostle about it. He replied, "Perform all the ceremonies of Hajj like the other pilgrims, but do not perform Tawaf of the Kaaba till you get clean (from your menses)."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 713:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet and his companions assumed Ihram for Hajj and none except the Prophet and Talha had the Hadi (sacrifice) with them. Ali arrived from Yemen and had a Hadi with him. Ali said, "I have assumed Ihram for what the Prophet has done." The Prophet ordered his companions to perform the Umra with the lhram which they had assumed, and after finishing Tawaf (of Kaaba, Safa and Marwa) to cut short their hair, and to finish their lhram except those who had Hadi with them. They (the people) said, "How can we proceed to Mina (for Hajj) after having sexual relations with our wives?" When that news reached the Prophet he said, "If I had formerly known what I came to know lately, I would not have brought the Hadi with me. Had there been no Hadi with me, I would have finished the state of lhram." Aisha got her menses, so she performed all the ceremonies of Hajj except Tawaf of the Kaaba, and when she got clean (from her menses), she performed Tawaf of the Kaaba. She said, "O Allah's Apostle! (All of you) are returning with the Hajj and Umra, but I am returning after performing Hajj only." So the Prophet ordered Abdur-Rahman bin Abu Bakr to accompany her to Tan'im and thus she performed the Umra after the Hajj.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 714:
Narrated Hafsa:
(On 'Id) We used to forbid our virgins to go out (for 'Id prayer). A lady came and stayed at the Palace of Bani Khalaf. She mentioned that her sister was married to one of the companions of Allah's Apostle who participated in twelve Ghazawats along with Allah's Apostle and her sister was with him in six of them. She said, "We used to dress the wounded and look after the patients." She (her sister) asked Allah's Apostle , "Is there any harm for a woman to stay at home if she doesn't have a veil?" He said, "She should cover herself with the veil of her companion and she should take part in the good deeds and in the religious gatherings of the believers." When Um 'Atiyya came, I asked her. "Did you hear anything about that?" Um 'Atiyya said, "Bi Abi" and she never mentioned the name of Allah's Apostle without saying "Bi Abi" (i.e. 'Let my father be sacrificed for you'). We asked her, "Have you heard Allah's Apostle saying so and so (about women)?" She replied in the affirmative and said, "Let my father be sacrificed for him. He told us that unmarried mature virgins who stay often screened or unmarried young virgins and mature girls who stay often screened should come out and take part in the good deeds and in the religious gatherings of the believers. But the menstruating women should keep away from the Musalla (praying place)." I asked her, "The menstruating women?" She replied, "Don't they present themselves at 'Arafat and at such and such places?"

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 715:
Narrated Abdul Aziz bin Rufai:
I asked Anas bin Malik, "Tell me what you remember from Allah's Apostle (regarding these questions): Where did he offer the Zuhr and Asr prayers on the day of Tarwiya (8th day of Dhul-Hajja)?" He relied, "(He offered these prayers) at Mina." I asked, "Where did he offer the Asr prayer on the day of Nafr (i.e. departure from Mina on the 12th or 13th of Dhul-Hijja)?" He replied, "At Al-Abtah," and then added, "You should do as your chiefs do."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 716:
Narrated Abdul Aziz:
I went out to Mina on the day of Tarwiya and met Anas going on a donkey. I asked him, "Where did the Prophet offer the Zuhr prayer on this day?" Anas replied, "See where your chiefs pray and pray similarly."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 717:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar :
Allah's Apostle offered a two-Rakat prayer at Mina. Abu Bakr, Umar and Uthman, (during the early years of his caliphate) followed the same practice.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 718:
Narrated Haritha bin Wahab Al-Khuza'i:
The Prophet led us in a two-Rakat prayer at Mina although our number was more than ever and we were in better security than ever.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 719:
Narrated Abdullah bin Masud:
I offered (only a) two Rakat prayer with the Prophet (at Mina), and similarly with Abu Bakr and with Umar, and then you d offered in opinions. Wish that I would be lucky enough to have two of the four Rakat accepted (by Allah).

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 720:
Narrated Um Al-Fadl:
The people doubted whether the Prophet was observing the fast on the Day of 'Arafat, so I sent something for him to drink and he drank it.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 721:
Narrated Mohammed bin Abu Bakr Al-Thaqafi:
I asked Anas bin Malik while we were proceeding from Mina to 'Arafat, "What do you use to do on this day when you were with Allah's Apostle ?" Anas said, "Some of us used to recite Talbiya and nobody objected to that, and others used to recite Takbir and nobody objected to that."

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Volume 2, Book 26, Number 722:
Narrated Salim:
Abdul Malik wrote to Al-Hajjaj that he should not differ from Ibn Umar during Hajj. On the Day of 'Arafat, when the sun declined at midday, Ibn Umar came along with me and shouted near Al-Hajjaj's cotton (cloth) tent. Al-Hajjaj came Out, wrapping himself with a waist-sheet dyed with safflower, and said, "O Abu Abdur-Rahman! What is the matter?" He said, If you want to follow the Sunna (the tradition of the Prophet) then proceed (to 'Arafat)." Al-Hajjaj asked, "At this very hour?" Ibn Umar said, "Yes." He replied, "Please wait for me till I pour some water over my head (i.e. take a bath) and come out." Then Ibn Umar dismounted and waited till Al-Hajjaj came out. So, he (Al-Hajjaj) walked in between me and my father (Ibn Umar). I said to him, "If you want to follow the Sunna then deliver a brief sermon and hurry up for the stay at 'Arafat." He started looking at Abdullah (Ibn Umar) (inquiringly), and when Abdullah noticed that, he said that he had told the truth.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 723:
Narrated Um Al-Fadl bint Al Harith:
On the day of 'Arafat, some people who were with me, differed about the fasting of the Prophet some said that he was fasting while others said that he was not fasting. So I sent a bowl full of milk to him while he was riding his camel, and he drank that milk.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 724:
Narrated Salim bin Abdullah bin Umar:
Abdul-Malik bin Marwan wrote to Al-Hajjaj that he should follow Abdullah bin Umar in all the ceremonies of Hajj. So when it was the Day of 'Arafat (9th of Dhul-Hajja), and after the sun has deviated or has declined from the middle of the sky, I and Ibn Umar came and he shouted near the cotton (cloth) tent of Al-Hajjaj, "Where is he?" Al-Hajjaj came out. Ibn Umar said, "Let us proceed (to 'Arafat)." Al-Hajjaj asked, "Just now?" Ibn Umar replied, "Yes." Al-Hajjaj said, "Wait for me till I pour water on me (i.e. take a bath)." So, Ibn Umar dismounted (and waited) till Al-Hajjaj came out. He was walking between me and my father. I informed Al-Hajjaj, "If you want to follow the Sunna today, then you should shorten the sermon and then hurry up for the stay (at 'Arafat)." Ibn Umar said, "He (Salim) has spoken the truth."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 725:
Narrated Mohammed bin Jubair bin Mut'im:
My father said, "(Before Islam) I was looking for my camel .." The same narration is told by a different sub-narrator. Jubair bin Mut'im said, "My camel was lost and I went out in search of it on the day of 'Arafat, and I saw the Prophet standing in 'Arafat. I said to myself: By Allah he is from the Hums (literally: strictly religious, Quraish were called so, as they used to say, 'We are the people of Allah we shall not go out of the sanctuary). What has brought him here?"

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 726:
Narrated Urwa:
During the pre-lslamic period of Ignorance, the people used to perform Tawaf of the Kaaba naked except the Hums; and the Hums were Quraish and their offspring. The Hums used to give clothes to the men who would perform the Tawaf wearing them; and women (of the Hums) used to give clothes to the women who would perform the Tawaf wearing them. Those to whom the Hums did not give clothes would perform Tawaf round the Kaaba naked. Most of the people used to go away (disperse) directly from 'Arafat but they (Hums) used to depart after staying at Al-Muzdalifa. Urwa added, "My father narrated that Aisha had said, 'The following verses were revealed about the Hums: Then depart from the place whence all the people depart--(2.199) Urwa added, "They (the Hums) used to stay at Al-Muzdalifa and used to depart from there (to Mina) and so they were sent to 'Arafat (by Allah's order)."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 727:
Narrated Urwa:
Usama was asked in my presence, "How was the speed of (the camel of) Allah's Apostle while departing from 'Arafat during the Hajjatul Wada?" Usama replied, "The Prophet proceeded on with a modest pace, and when there was enough space he would (make his camel) go very fast."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 728:
Narrated Usama bin Zaid:
As soon as the Prophet departed from 'Arafat, he went towards the mountain pass, and there he answered the call of) the prayer is ahead of you (i.e. at asked, "O Allah's Apostle! Will you offer the prayer here?" He replied, "(The place of) the prayer is ahead of you (i.e. at Al-Muzdalifa)."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 729:
Narrated Nafi:
Abdullah bin Umar used to offer the Maghrib and 'Isha' prayers together at Jam' (Al-Muzdalifa). But he used to pass by that mountain pass where Allah's Apostle went, and he would enter it and answer the call of nature and perform ablution, and would not offer any prayer till he had prayed at Jam.'

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 730:
Narrated Usama bin Zaid
rode behind Allah's Apostle from 'Arafat and when Allah's Apostle reached the mountain pass on the left side which is before Al-Muzdalifa he made his camel kneel and then urinated, and then I poured water for his ablution. He performed light ablution and then I said to him: (Is it the time for) the prayer, O Allah's Apostle!" He replied, "The (place of) prayer is ahead of you (i.e. at Al-Muzdalifa)." So Allah's Apostle rode till he reached Al-Muzdalifa and then he offered the prayer (there) . Then in the morning (10th Dhul-Hijja) Al-Faql (bin Abbas) rode behind Allah's Apostle. Kuraib, (a sub-narrator) said that Abdullah bin Abbas narrated from Al-Fadl, "Allah's Apostle kept on reciting Talbiya (during the journey) till he reached the Jamra." (Jamrat-al-Aqaba)

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 731:
Narrated Ibn Abbas. :
I proceeded along with the Prophet on the day of 'Arafat (9th Dhul-Hijja). The Prophet heard a great hue and cry and the beating of camels behind him. So he beckoned to the people with his lash, "O people! Be quiet. Hastening is not a sign of righteousness."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 732:
Narrated Usama bin Zaid:
Allah's Apostle proceeded from 'Arafat and dismounted at the mountainous pass and then urinated and performed a light ablution. I said to him, "(Shall we offer) the prayer?" He replied, "The prayer is ahead of you (i.e. at Al-Muzdalifa)." When he came to Al-Muzdalifa, he performed a perfect ablution. Then Iqama for the prayer was pronounced and he offended the Maghrib prayer and then every person made his camel kneel at his place; and then Iqama for the prayer was pronounced and he offered the ('Isha') prayer and he did not offer any prayer in between them (i.e. Maghrib and 'Isha' prayers).

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 733:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet offered the Maghrib and 'Isha' prayers together at Jam' (i.e. Al-Muzdalifa) with a separate Iqama for each of them and did not offer any optional prayer in between them or after each of them.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 734:
Narrated Abu Aiyub Al-Ansari :
Allah's Apostle coffered the Maghrib and 'Isha' prayers together at Al-Muzdalifa.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 735:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Yazid:
Abdullah;- performed the Hajj and we reached Al-Muzdalifa at or about the time of the 'Isha' prayer. He ordered a man to pronounce the Adhan and Iqama and then he offered the Maghrib prayer and offered two Rakat after it. Then he asked for his supper and took it, and then, I think, he ordered a man to pronounce the Adhan and Iqama (for the 'isha' prayer). (Amr, a sub-narrator said: The intervening statement 'I think', was said by the sub-narrator Zuhair) (i.e. not by 'Abdu-Rahman). Then Abdullah offered two Rakat of 'Isha' prayer. When the day dawned, Abdullah said, "The Prophet never offered any prayer at this hour except this prayer at this time and at this place and on this day." Abdullah added, "These two prayers are shifted from their actual times -- the Maghrib prayer (is offered) when the people reached Al-Muzdalifa and the Fajr (morning) prayer at the early dawn." Abdullah added, "I saw the Prophet doing that."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 736:
Narrated Salim:
Abdullah bin Umar used to send the weak among his family early to Mina. So they used to depart from Al-Mash'ar Al-Haram (that is Al-Muzdalifa) at night (when the moon had set) and invoke Allah as much as they could, and then they would return (to Mina) before the Imam had started from Al-Muzdalifa to Mina. So some of them would reach Mina at the time of the Fajr prayer and some of them would come later. When they reached Mina they would throw pebbles on the Jamra (Jamrat-al-Aqaba) Ibn Umar used to say, "Allah's Apostle gave the permission to them (weak people) to do so."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 737:
Narrated Ibn Abbas :
Allah's Apostle had sent me from Jam' (i.e. Al-Muzdalifa) at night.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 738:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
I as among those whom the Prophet sent on the night of Al-Muzdalifa early being among the weak members of his family.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 739:
Narrated Abdullah:
(the slave of Asma') During the night of Jam', Asma got down at Al-Muzdalifa and stood up for (offering) the prayer and offered the prayer for some time and then asked, "O my son! Has the moon set?" I replied in the negative and she again prayed for another period and then asked, "Has the moon set?" I replied, "Yes." So she said that we should set out (for Mina), and we departed and went on till she threw pebbles at the Jamra (Jamrat-al-Aqaba) and then she returned to her dwelling place and offered the morning prayer. I asked her, "O you! I think we have come (to Mina) early in the night." She replied, "O my son! Allah's Apostle gave permission to the women to do so."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 740:
Narrated Aisha :
Sauda asked the permission of the Prophet to leave earlier at the night of Jam', and she was a fat and very slow woman. The Prophet gave her permission.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 741:
Narrated Aisha:
We got down at Al-Muzdalifa and Sauda asked the permission of the Prophet to leave (early) before the rush of the people. She was a slow woman and he gave her permission, so she departed (from Al-Muzdalifa) before the rush of the people. We kept on staying at Al-Muzdalifa till dawn, and set out with the Prophet but (I suffered so much that) I wished I had taken the permission of Allah's Apostle as Sauda had done, and that would have been dearer to me than any other happiness.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 742:
Narrated Abdullah:
I never saw the Prophet offering any prayer not at its stated time except two; he prayed the Maghrib and the 'Isha' together and he offered the morning prayer before its usual time.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 743:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Yazid
I went out with Abdullah , to Mecca and when we proceeded to am' he offered the two prayers (the Maghrib and the 'Isha') together, making the Adhan and Iqama separately for each prayer. He took his supper in between the two prayers. He offered the Fajr prayer as soon as the day dawned. Some people said, "The day had dawned (at the time of the prayer)," and others said, "The day had not dawned." Abdullah then said, "Allah's Apostle said, 'These two prayers have been shifted from their stated times at this place only (at Al-Muzdalifa); first: The Maghrib and the 'Isha'. So the people should not arrive at Al-Muzdalifa till the time of the 'Isha' prayer has become due. The second prayer is the morning prayer which is offered at this hour.' " Then Abdullah stayed there till it became a bit brighter. He then said, "If the chief of the believers hastened onwards to Mina just now, then he had indeed followed the Sunna." I do not know which proceeded the other, his (Abdullah's) statement or the departure of Uthman . Abdullah was reciting Talbiya till he threw pebbles at the Jamrat-al-'Aqaba on the Day of Nahr (slaughtering) (that is the 10th of Dhul-Hijja).

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 744:
Narrated Amr bin Maimun:
I saw Umar, offering the Fajr (morning) prayer at Jam'; then he got up and said, "The pagans did not use to depart (from Jam') till the sun had risen, and they used to say, 'Let the sun shine on Thabir (a mountain).' But the Prophet contradicted them and departed from Jam' before sunrise."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 745:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet made Al-Faql ride behind him, and Al-Fadl informed that he (the Prophet) kept on reciting Talbiya till he did the Rami of the Jamra. (Jamrat-al-Aqaba.)

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 746:
Narrated Ubaidullah bin Abdullah:
Ibn Abbas said, "Usama bin Zaid rode behind the Prophet from 'Arafat to Al-Muzdalifa; and then from Al-Muzdalifa to Mina, Al-Fadl rode behind him." He added, "Both of them (Usama and Al-Fadl) said, 'The Prophet was constantly reciting Talbiya till he did Rami of the Jamarat-al-'Aqaba."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 747:
Narrated Abu Jamra:
I asked Ibn Abbas about Hajj-at-Tamattu'. He ordered me to perform it. I asked him about the Hadi (sacrifice). He said, "You have to slaughter a camel, a cow or a sheep, or you may

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share the Hadi with the others." It seemed that some people disliked it (Hajj-at-Tamattu). I slept and dreamt as if a person was announcing: "Hajj Mabrur and accepted Mut'ah (Hajj-At-Tamattu')" I went to Ibn Abbas and narrated it to him. He said, "Allah is Greater. (That was) the tradition of Abu Al-Qasim (i.e. Prophet). Narrated Shu'ba that the call in the dream was. "An accepted Umra and Hajj-Mabrur. "

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 748:
Narrated Abu Huraira' :
Allah's Apostle saw a man driving his Badana (sacrificial camel). He said, "Ride on it." The man said, "It is a Badana." The Prophet said, "Ride on it." He (the man) said, "It is a Badana." The Prophet said, "Ride on it." And on the second or the third time he (the Prophet) added, "Woe to you."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 749:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet saw a man driving a Badana. He said, "Ride on it." The man replied, "It is a Badana." The Prophet said (again), "Ride on it." He (the man) said, "It is a Badana." The Prophet said thrice, "Ride on it."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 750:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
During the last Hajj (Hajj-al-Wada') of Allah's Apostle he performed Umra and Hajj. He drove a Hadi along with him from Dhul-Hulaifa. Allah's Apostle started by assuming Ihram forUmra and Hajj. And the people, too, performed the Umra and Hajj along with the Prophet. Some of them brought the Hadi and drove it along with them, while the others did not. So, when the Prophet arrived at Mecca. he said to the people, "Whoever among you has driven the Hadi, should not finish his Ihram till he completes his Hajj. And whoever among you has not (driven) the Hadi with him, should perform Tawaf of the Kaaba and the Tawaf between Safa and Marwa, then cut short his hair and finish his Ihram, and should later assume Ihram for Hajj; but he must offer a Hadi (sacrifice); and if anyone cannot afford a Hadi, he should fast for three days during the Hajj and seven days when he returns home. The Prophet performed Tawaf of the Kaaba on his arrival (at Mecca); he touched the (Black Stone) corner first of all and then did Ramal (fast walking with moving of the shoulders) during the first three rounds round the Kaaba, and during the last four rounds he walked. After finishing Tawaf of the Kaaba, he offered a two Rakat prayer at Maqam Ibrahim, and after finishing the prayer he went to Safa and Marwa and performed seven rounds of Tawaf between them and did not do any deed forbidden because of Ihram, till he finished all the ceremonies of his Hajj and sacrificed his Hadi on the day of Nahr (10th day of Dhul-Hijja). He then hastened onwards (to Mecca) and performed Tawaf of the Kaaba and then everything that was forbidden because of Ihram became permissible. Those who took and drove the Hadi with them did the same as Allah's Apostle did.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 751:
Narrated Nafi:
Abdullah (bin Abdullah) bin Umar said to his father, "Stay here, for I am afraid that it (affliction between Ibn Zubair and Al-Hajjaj) might prevent you from reaching the Kaaba." Ibn Umar said, "(In this case) I would do the same as Allah's Apostle did, and Allah has said, 'Verily, in Allah's Apostle, you have a good example (to follow).' So, I make you, people, witness that I have made Umra compulsory for me." So he assumed Ihram forUmra. Then he went out and when he reached Al-Baida, he assumed Ihram for Hajj and Umra (together) and said, "The conditions (requisites) of Hajj and Umra are the same." He, then brought a Hadi from Qudaid. Then he arrived (at Mecca) and performed Tawaf (between Safa and Marwa) once for both Hajj and Umra and did not finish the Ihram till he had finished both Hajj and Umra.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 752:
Narrated Al-Miswar bin Makhrama and Marwan:
The Prophet set out from Medina with over one thousand of his companions (at the time of the Treaty of Hudaibiya) and when they reached Dhul-Hulaifa, the Prophet garlanded his Hadi and marked it and assumed Ihram forUmra.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 753:
Narrated Aisha:
I twisted with my own hands the garlands for the Budn of the Prophet who garlanded and marked them, and then made them proceed to Mecca; Yet no permissible thing was regarded as illegal for him then.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 754:
Narrated Hafsa:
I said, "O Allah's Apostle! What is wrong with the people, they have finished their Ihram but you have not?" He said, "I matted my hair and I have garlanded my Hadi, so I will not finish my Ihram till I finished my Hajj ."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 755:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle used to send the Hadi from Medina and I used to twist the garlands for his Hadi and he did not keep away from any of these things which a Muhrim keeps away from.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 756:
Narrated Aisha:
I twisted the garlands for the Hadis of the Prophet and then he marked and garlanded them (or I garlanded them) and then made them proceed to the Kaaba but he remained in Medina and no permissible thing was regarded as illegal for him then .

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 757:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abu Bakr bin Amr bin Hazm
that Amra bint Abdur-Rahman had told him, "Zaid bin Abu Sufyan wrote to Aisha that Abdullah bin Abbas had stated, 'Whoever sends his Hadi (to the Kaaba), all the things which are illegal for a (pilgrim) become illegal for that person till he slaughters it (i.e. till the 10th of Dhul-Hijja).' " Amra added, Aisha said, 'It is not like what Ibn Abbas had said: I twisted the garlands of the Hadis of Allah's Apostle with my own hands. Then Allah's Apostle put them round their necks with his own hands, sending them with my father; Yet nothing permitted by Allah was considered illegal for Allah's Apostle till he slaughtered the Hadis.' "

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 758:
Narrated Aisha:
Once the Prophet sent sheep as Hadi.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 759:
Narrated Aisha:
I used to make the garlands for (the Hadis of) the Prophet and he would garland the sheep (with them) and would stay with his family as a non-Muhrim.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 760:
Narrated Aisha:
I used to twist the garlands for the sheep of the Prophet and he would send them (to the Kaaba), and stay as a non-Muhrim.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 761:
Narrated Aisha:
I twisted (the garlands) for the Hadis of the Prophet before he assumed Ihram.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 762:
Narrated Aisha:
I twisted the garlands of the Hadis from the wool which was with me.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 763:
Narrated 'Ikrima:
Abu Huraira said, "The Prophet saw a man driving a Badana (sacrificial camel). The Prophet said (to him), 'Ride on it.' He replied, 'It is a Badana.' The Prophet again said, 'Ride on it!' Abu Huraira added, 'Then I saw that man riding it, showing obedience to the Prophet (p.b.u.h), and a shoe was (hanging) from its neck.' "

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 764:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
From the Prophet: (as above).

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 765:
Narrated Ali:
Allah's Apostle ordered me to give in charity the skin and the coverings of the Budn which I had slaughtered.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 766:
Narrated Nafi:
Ibn Umar intended to perform Hajj in the year of the Hajj of Al-Harawriya during the rule of Ibn Az-Zubair. Some people said to him, "It is very likely that there will be a fight among the people, and we are afraid that they might prevent you (from performing Hajj)." He replied, "Verily, in Allah's Apostle there is a good example for you (to follow). In this case I would do the same as he had done. I make you witness that I have intended to perform Umra." When he reached Al-Baida, he said, "The conditions for both Hajj and Umra are the same. I make you witness that I have intended to perform Hajj along with Umra." After that he took a garlanded Hadi (to Mecca) which he bought (on the way). When he reached (Mecca), he performed Tawaf of the Kaaba and of Safa (and Marwa) and did not do more than that. He did not make legal for himself the things which were illegal for a Muhrim till it was the Day of Nahr (sacrifice), when he had his head shaved and slaughtered (the sacrifice) and considered sufficient his first Tawaf (between Safa and Marwa), as a (Sa'i) for his Hajj and Umra both. He then said, "The Prophet used to do like that."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 767:
Narrated Amra bint AbdurRahman:
I heard Aisha saying, "Five days before the end of Dhul-Qa'ada we set out from Medina in the company of Allah's Apostle with the intention of performing Hajj only. When we approached Mecca, Allah's Apostle ordered those who had no Hadi with them to finish their Ihram after performing Tawaf of the Kaaba and (Sa'i) and between Safa and Marwa." Aisha added, "On the day of Nahr (slaughtering of sacrifice) beef was brought to us. I asked, 'What is this?' The reply was, 'Allah's Apostle has slaughtered (sacrifices) on behalf of his wives.' "

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 768:
Narrated Nafi:
Abdullah (bin Umar), used to slaughter (his sacrifice) at the Manhar. (Ubaidullah, a sub-narrator said, "The Manhar of Allah's Apostle.")

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 769:
Narrated Nafi:
Ibn Umar used to send his Hadi from Jam' (to Mina) in the last third of the night with the pilgrims amongst whom there were free men and slaves, till it was taken into the Manhar (slaughtering place) of the Prophet .

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 770:
Narrated Sahl bin Bakkar:
The narration of Anas abridged, saying, "The Prophet slaughtered seven Budn (camels) while standing, with his own hands. On the day of 'Id-ul-Adha he slaughtered (sacrificed) two horned rams, black and white in color.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 771:
Narrated Zaid bin Jubair:
I saw Ibn Umar passing by a man who had made his Badana sit to slaughter it. Ibn Umar said, "Slaughter it while it is standing with one leg tied up as is the tradition of Mohammed."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 772:
Narrated Anas :
The Prophet offered four Rakat of Zuhr prayer at Medina; and two Rakat of Asr prayer at Dhul-hulaifa and spent the night there and when (the day) dawned, he mounted his Mount and started saying, "None has the right to be worshipped but Allah, and Glorified be Allah." When he reached Al-Baida he recited Talbiya for both Hajj and Umra. And when he arrived at Mecca, he ordered them (his companions) to finish their Ihram. The Prophet slaughtered seven Budn (camel) with his own hands while the camels were standing He also sacrificed two horned rams (black and white in color) at Medina.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 773:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet offered four Rakat of Zuhr prayer at Medina and two Rakat of Asr prayer at Dhul-Hulaifa. Narrated Aiyub: "A man said: Anas said, "Then he (the Prophet passed the night there till dawn and then he offered the morning (Fajr) prayer, and mounted his Mount and when it arrived at Al-Baida he assumed Ihram for both Umra and Hajj."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 774:
Narrated Ali:
The Prophet sent me to supervise the (slaughtering of) Budn (Hadi camels) and ordered me to distribute their meat, and then he ordered me to distribute their covering sheets and skins. 'All added, "The Prophet ordered me to supervise the slaughtering (of the Budn) and not to give anything (of their bodies) to the butcher as wages for slaughtering."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 775:
Narrated Ali:
The Prophet ordered me to supervise the (slaughtering) of Budn (Hadi camel) and to distribute their meat, skins and covering sheets in charity and not to give anything (of their bodies) to the butcher as wages for slaughtering.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 776:
Narrated Ali:
The Prophet offered one hundred Budn as Hadi and ordered me to distribute their meat (in charity) and I did so. Then he ordered me to distribute their covering sheets in charity and I did so. Then he ordered me to distribute their skins in charity and I did so.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 777:
Narrated Ibn Juraij:
'Ata' said, "I heard Jabir bin Abdullah saying, 'We never ate the meat of the Budn for more than three days of Mina. Later, the Prophet gave us permission by saying: 'Eat and take (meat) with you. So we ate (some) and took (some) with us.' " I asked

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'Ata', "Did Jabir say (that they went on eating the meat) till they reached Medina?" 'Ata' replied, "No."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 778:
Narrated Amra:
I heard Aisha saying, "We set out (from Medina) along with Allah's Apostle five days before the end of Dhul-Qa'da with the intention of performing Hajj only. When we approached Mecca, Allah's Apostle ordered those who had no Hadi along with them to finish the lhram after performing Tawaf of the Kaaba, (Safa and Marwa). Aisha added, "Beef was brought to us on the Day of Nahr and I said, 'What is this?' Somebody said, 'The Prophet has slaughtered (cows) on behalf of his wives.' "

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 779:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet was asked about a person who had his head shaved before slaughtering (his Hadi) (or other similar ceremonies of Hajj). He replied, "There is no harm, there is no harm."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 780:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
A man said to the Prophet "I performed the Tawaf-al-Ifada before the Rami (throwing pebbles at the Jamra)." The Prophet replied, "There is no harm." The man said, "I had my head shaved before slaughtering." The Prophet replied, "There is no harm." He said, "I have slaughtered the Hadi before the Rami." The Prophet replied, "There is no harm."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 781:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet was asked by a man who said, "I have done the Rami in the evening." The Prophet replied, "There is no harm in it." Another man asked, "I had my head shaved before the slaughtering." The Prophet replied, "There is no harm in it."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 782:
Narrated Abu Musa:
came upon Allah's Apostle when he was at Al-Bat-ha. He asked me, "Have you intended to perform the Hajj?" I replied in the affirmative. He asked, "For what have you assumed lhram?" I replied," I have assumed Ihram with the same intention as that of the Prophet ." The Prophet said, "You have done well! Go and perform Tawaf round the Kaaba and between Safa and Marwa." Then I went to one of the women of Bani Qais and she took out lice from my head. Later, I assumed the Ihram for Hajj. So, I used to give this verdict to the people till the caliphate of Umar. When I told him about it, he said, "If we take (follow) the Holy Book, then it orders us to complete Hajj and Umra (Hajj-at-Tamattu') and if we follow the tradition of Allah's Apostle then Allah's Apostle did not finish his lhram till the Hadi had reached its destination (had been slaughtered). (i.e. Hajj-al-Qiran). (See Hadith No. 630)

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 783:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Hafsa said, "O Allah's Apostle! What is wrong with the people; they finished their Ihram after performing Umra, but you have not finished it after your Umra?" He replied, "I matted my hair and have garlanded my Hadi. So, I cannot finish my Ihram till I slaughter (my Hadi). "

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 784:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle (got) his head shaved after performing his Hajj.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 785:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "O Allah! Be merciful to those who have their head shaved." The people said, "O Allah's Apostle! And (invoke Allah for) those who get their hair cut short." The Prophet said, "O Allah! Be merciful to those who have their head shaved." The people said, "O Allah's Apostle! And those who get their hair cut short." The Prophet said (the third time), "And to those who get their hair cut short." Nafi said that the Prophet had said once or twice, "O Allah! Be merciful to those who get their head shaved," and on the fourth time he added, "And to those who have their hair cut short."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 786:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "O Allah! Forgive those who get their heads shaved." The people asked. "Also those who get their hair cut short?" The Prophet said, "O Allah! Forgive those who have their heads shaved." The people said, "Also those who get their hair cut short?" The Prophet (invoke Allah for those who have their heads shaved and) at the third time said, "also (forgive) those who get their hair cut short."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 787:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet and some of his companions got their heads shaved and some others got their hair cut short. Narrated Muawiya: I cut short the hair of Allah's Apostle with a long blade.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 788:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
When the Prophet came to Mecca, he ordered his Companions to perform Tawaf round the Kaaba and between Safa and Marwa, to finish their Ihram and get their hair shaved off or cut short.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 789:
Narrated Aisha:
We performed Hajj with the Prophet and performed Tawaf-al-ifada on the Day of Nahr (slaughtering). Safiya got her menses and the Prophets desired from her what a husband desires from his wife. I said to him, "O Allah's Apostle! She is having her menses." He said, "Is she going to detain us?" We informed him that she had performed Tawaf-al-Ifada on the Day of Nahr. He said, "(Then you can) depart."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 790:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet was asked about the slaughtering, shaving (of the head), and the doing of Rami before or after the due times. He said, "There is no harm in that."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 791:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet was asked (as regards the ceremonies of Hajj) at Mina on the Day of Nahr and he replied that there was no harm. Then a man said to him, "I got my head shaved before slaughtering." He replied, "Slaughter (now) and there is no harm in it." (Another) man said, "I did the Rami (of the Jimar) after midday." The Prophet replied, "There was no harm in it."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 792:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr :
Allah's Apostle stopped (for a while near the Jimar at Mina) during his last Hajj and the people started asking him questions. A man said, "Ignorantly I got my head shaved before slaughtering." The Prophet replied, "Slaughter (now) and there is no harm in it." Another man said, "Unknowingly I slaughtered the Hadi before doing the Rami." The Prophet said, "Do Rami now and there is no harm in it." So, on that day, when the Prophet was asked about anything (about the ceremonies of Hajj) done before or after (its stated time) his reply was, "Do it (now) and there is no harm."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 793:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr bin Al-'As:
I witnessed the Prophet when he was delivering the sermon on the Day of Nahr. A man stood up and said, "I thought that such and such was to be done before such and such. I got my hair shaved before slaughtering." (Another said), "I slaughtered the Hadi before doing the Rami." So, the people asked about many similar things. The Prophet said, "Do it (now) and there is no harm in all these cases." Whenever the Prophet was asked about anything on that day, he replied, "Do it (now) and there is no harm in it."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 794:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr bin Al-'As:
Allah's Apostle stopped while on his she-camel (the subnarrator then narrated the Hadith as above, i.e. 793).

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 795:
Narrated 'Ikrima:
Ibn Abbas said: "Allah's Apostle delivered a sermon on the Day of Nahr, and said, 'O people! (Tell me) what is the day today?' The people replied, 'It is the forbidden (sacred) day.' He asked again, 'What town is this?' They replied, 'It is the forbidden (Sacred) town.' He asked, 'Which month is this?' They replied, 'It is the forbidden (Sacred) month.' He said, 'No doubt! Your blood, your properties, and your honor are sacred to one another like the sanctity of this day of yours, in this (sacred) town (Mecca) of yours, in this month of yours.' The Prophet repeated his statement again and again. After that he raised his head and said, 'O Allah! Haven't conveyed (Your Message) to them'. Haven't I conveyed Your Message to them?' " Ibn Abbas added, "By Him in Whose Hand my soul is, the following was his will (Prophet's will) to his followers:--It is incumbent upon those who are present to convey this information to those who are absent Beware don't renegade (as) disbelievers (turn into infidels) after me, Striking the necks (cutting the throats) of one another.' "

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 796:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
I heard the Prophet delivering a sermon at 'Arafat.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 797:
Narrated Abu Bakra:
The Prophet delivered to us a sermon on the Day of Nahr. He said, "Do you know what is the day today?" We said, "Allah and His Apostle know better." He remained silent till we thought that he might give that day another name. He said, "Isn't it the Day of Nahr?" We said, "It is." He further asked, "Which month is this?" We said, "Allah and His Apostle know better." He remained silent till we thought that he might give it another name. He then said, "Isn't it the month of Dhul-Hijja?" We replied: "Yes! It is." He further asked, "What town is this?" We replied, "Allah and His Apostle know it better." He remained silent till we thought that he might give it another name. He then said, "Isn't it the forbidden (Sacred) town (of Mecca)?" We said, "Yes. It is." He said, "No doubt, your blood and your properties are sacred to one another like the sanctity of this day of yours, in this month of yours, in this town of yours, till the day you meet your Lord. No doubt! Haven't I conveyed Allah's message to you? They said, "Yes." He said, "O Allah! Be witness. So it is incumbent upon those who are present to convey it (this information) to those who are absent because the informed one might comprehend it (what I have said) better than the present audience, who will convey it to him. Beware! Do not renegade (as) disbelievers after me by striking the necks (cutting the throats) of one another."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 798:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
At Mina, the Prophet said, "Do you know what is the day today?" The people replied, "Allah and His Apostle know it better." He said, "It is the forbidden (sacred) day. And do you know what town is this?" They replied, "Allah and His Apostle know it better." He said, "This is the forbidden (Sacred) town (Mecca). And do you know which month is this?" The people replied, "Allah and His Apostle know it better." He said, "This is the forbidden (sacred) month." The Prophet added, "No doubt, Allah made your blood, your properties, and your honor sacred to one another like the sanctity of this day of yours in this month of yours in this town of yours." Narrated Ibn Umar: On the Day of Nahr (10th of Dhul-Hijja), the Prophet stood in between the Jamrat during his Hajj which he performed (as in the previous Hadith) and said, "This is the greatest Day (i.e. 10th of Dhul-Hijjah)." The Prophet started saying repeatedly, "O Allah! Be Witness (I have conveyed Your Message)." He then bade the people farewell. The people said, "This is Hajjat-al-Wada)."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 799:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet permitted (them).

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 800:
Narrated Ibn Umar
That the Prophet allowed (as above).

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 801:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Al-Abbas asked the permission from the Prophet to stay at Mecca during the nights of Mina in order to provide water to the people, so the Prophet allowed him.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 802:
Narrated Wabra:
I asked Ibn Umar, "When should I do the Rami of the Jimar?" He replied, "When your leader does that." I asked him again the same question. He replied, "We used to wait till the sun declined and then we would do the Rami (i.e. on the 11th and 12th of Dhul-Hijja)."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 803:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Yazid:
Abdullah, did the Rami from the middle of the valley. So, I said, "O, Abu Abdur-Rahman! Some people do the Rami (of the Jamra) from above it (i.e. from the top of the valley)." He said, "By Him except whom none has the right to be worshipped, this is the place from where the one on whom Surat-al-Baqara was revealed (i.e. Allah's Apostle) did the Rami."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 804:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Yazid:
When Abdullah, reached the big Jamra (i.e. Jamrat-ul-Aqaba) he kept the Kaaba on the left side and Mina on his right side and threw seven pebbles (at the Jamra) and said, "The one on whom Surat-al-Baqara was revealed (i.e. the Prophet) had done the Rami similarly."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 805:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Yazid:
I performed Hajj with Ibn Masud , and saw him doing Rami of the big Jamra (Jamrat-ul-Aqaba) with seven small pebbles, keeping the Kaaba on his left side and Mina on his right. He

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then said, "This is the place where the one on whom Surat-al-Baqara was revealed (i.e. Allah's Apostle) stood."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 806:
Narrated Al-Amash:
I heard Al-Hajjaj saying on the pulpit, "The Sura in which Al-Baqara (the cow) is mentioned and the Sura in which the family of Imran is mentioned and the Sura in which the women (An-Nisa) is mentioned." I mentioned this to Ibrahim, and he said, Abdur-Rahman bin Yazid told me, 'I was with Ibn Masud, when he did the Rami of the Jamrat-ul-Aqaba. He went down the middle of the valley, and when he came near the tree (which was near the Jamra) he stood opposite to it and threw seven small pebbles and said: 'Allahu-Akbar' on throwing every pebble.' Then he said, 'By Him, except Whom none has the right to be worshipped, here (at this place) stood the one on whom Surat-al-Baqra was revealed (i.e. Allah's Apostle).' "

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 807:
Narrated Salim:
Ibn Umar used to do Rami of the Jamrat-ud-Dunya (the Jamra near to the Khaif mosque) with seven small stones and used to recite Takbir on throwing every pebble. He then would go ahead till he reached the level ground where he would stand facing the Qibla for a long time to invoke (Allah) while raising his hands (while invoking). Then he would do Rami of the Jamrat-ul-Wusta (middle Jamra) and then he would go to the left towards the middle ground, where he would stand facing the Qibla. He would remain standing there for a long period to invoke (Allah) while raising his hands, and would stand there for a long period. Then he would do Rami of the Jamrat-ul-Aqaba from the middle of the valley, but he would not stay by it, and then he would leave and say, "I saw the Prophet doing like this."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 808:
Narrated Salim bin Abdullah:
Abdullah bin Umar used to do Rami of the Jamrat-ud-Dunya with seven small pebbles and used to recite Takbir on throwing each stone. He, then, would proceed further till he reached the level ground, where he would stay for a long time, facing the Qibla to invoke (Allah) while raising his hands. Then he would do Rami of the Jamrat-ul-Wusta similarly and would go to the left towards the level ground, where he would stand for a long time facing the Qibla to invoke (Allah) while raising his hands. Then he would do Rami of the Jamrat-ul-'Aqaba from the middle of the valley, but he would not stay by it. Ibn Umar used to say, "I saw Allah's Apostle doing like that."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 809:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Al-Qasim:
I heard my father who was the best man of his age, saying, "I heard Aisha saying, 'I perfumed Allah's Apostle with my own hands before finishing his Ihram while yet he has not performed Tawaf-al-Ifada.' She spread her hands (while saying so.)"

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 810:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The people were ordered to perform the Tawaf of the Kaaba (Tawaf-al-Wada') as the lastly thing, before leaving (Mecca), except the menstruating women who were excused.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 811:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet offered the Zuhr, Asr, Maghrib and the 'Isha' prayers and slept for a while at a place called Al-Mahassab and then rode to the Kaaba and performed Tawaf round it .

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 812:
Narrated Aisha:
Safiya bint Huyay, the wife of the Prophet got her menses, and Allah's Apostle was informed of that. He said, "Would she delay us?" The people said, "She has already performed Tawaf-al-Ifada." He said, "Therefore she will not (delay us)."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 813:
Narrated 'Ikrima:
The people of Medina asked Ibn Abbas about a woman who got her menses after performing Tawaf-al-Ifada. He said, "She could depart (from Mecca)." They said, "We will not act on your verdict and ignore the verdict of Zaid." Ibn Abbas said, "When you reach Medina, inquire about it." So, when they reached Medina they asked (about that). One of those whom they asked was Um Sulaim. She told them the narration of Safiya (812).

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 814:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
A menstruating woman was allowed to leave Mecca if she had done Tawaf-al-Ifada. Tawus (a sub-narrator) said from his father, "I heard Ibn Umar saying that she would not depart. Then later I heard him saying that the Prophet had allowed them (menstruating women) to depart."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 815:
Narrated Aisha:
We set out with the Prophet with the intention of performing Hajj only. The Prophet reached Mecca and performed Tawaf of the Kaaba and between Safa and Marwa and did not finish the Ihram, because he had the Hadi with him. His companions and his wives performed Tawaf (of the Kaaba and between Safa and Marwa), and those who had no Hadi with them finished their Ihram. I got the menses and performed all the ceremonies of Hajj. So, when the Night of Hasba (night of departure) came, I said, "O Allah's Apostle! All your companions are returning with Hajj and Umra except me." He asked me, "Didn't you perform Tawaf of the Kaaba (Umra) when you reached Mecca?" I said, "No." He said, "Go to Tan'im with your brother Abdur-Rahman, and assume Ihram for Umra and I will wait for you at such and such a place." So I went with Abdur-Rahman to Tan'im and assumed Ihram for Umra. Then Safiya bint Huyay got menses. The Prophet said, " 'Aqra Halqa! You will detain us! Didn't you perform Tawaf-al-Ifada on the Day of Nahr (slaughtering)?" She said, "Yes, I did." He said, "Then there is no harm, depart." So I met the Prophet when he was ascending the heights towards Mecca and I was descending, or vice-versa.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 816:
Narrated Abdul-Aziz bin Rufai:
I asked Anas bin Malik, "Tell me something you have observed about the Prophet concerning where he offered the Zuhr prayer on the Day of Tarwiya (8th Dhul-Hijja)." Anas replied, "He offered it at Mina." I said, "Where did he offer the Asr prayer on the Day of Nafr (day of departure from Mina)?" He replied, "At Al-Abtah," and added, "You should do as your leaders do."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 817:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet offered the Zuhr, Asr, Maghrib and 'Isha' prayers and slept for a while at a place called Al-Mahassab and then he rode towards the Kaaba and performed Tawaf (al-Wada').

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 818:
Narrated Aisha:
It (i.e. Al-Abtah) was a place where the Prophet used to camp so that it might be easier for him to depart.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 819:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Staying at Al-Mahassab is not one of the ceremonies (of Hajj), but Al-Mahassab is a place where Allah's Apostle camped (during his Hajjat-ul-wida).

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 820:
Narrated Nafi:
Ibn Umar used to spend the night at Dhi-Tuwa in between the two Thaniyas and then he would enter Mecca through the Thaniya which is at the higher region of Mecca, and whenever he came to Mecca for Hajj or Umra, he never made his she camel kneel down except near the gate of the Masjid (Sacred Mosque) and then he would enter (it) and go to the Black (stone) Corner and start from there circumambulating the Kaaba seven times: hastening in the first three rounds (Ramal) and walking in the last four. On finishing, he would offer two Rakat prayer and set out to perform Tawaf between Safa and Marwa before returning to his dwelling place. On returning (to Medina) from Hajj or Umra, he used to make his camel kneel down at Al-Batha which is at Dhu-l-Hulaifa, the place where the Prophet used to make his camel kneel down.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 821:
Narrated Khalid bin Al-Harith:
Ubaidullah was asked about Al Mahassab. Ubaidullah narrated: Nafi said, 'Allah's Apostles, Umar and Ibn Umar camped there." Nafi added, "Ibn Umar used to offer the Zuhr and Asr prayers at it (i.e. Al-Mahassab)." I think he mentioned the Maghrib prayer also. I said, "I don't doubt about 'Isha' (i.e. he used to offer it there also), and he used to sleep there for a while. He used to say, 'The Prophet used to do the same.' "

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 822:
Narrated Ibn ' Abbas :
Dhul-Majaz and 'Ukaz were the markets of the people during the pre-lslamic period of ignorance. When the people embraced Islam, they disliked to do bargaining there till the following Holy Verses were revealed:-- There is no harm for you If you seek of the bounty Of your Lord (during Hajj by trading, etc.) (2.198)

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 823:
Narrated ' Aisha:
Safiya got her menses on the night of Nafr (departure from Hajj), and she said, "I see that I will detain you." The Prophet said, "Aqra Halqa! Did she perform the Tawaf on the Day of Nahr (slaughtering)?" Somebody replied in the affirmative. He said, "Then depart." (Different narrators mentioned that) Aisha said, "We set out with Allah's Apostle (from Medina) with the intention of performing Hajj only. When we reached Mecca, he ordered us to finish the Ihram. When it was the night of Nafr (departure), Safiya bint Huyay got her menses. The Prophet said, "Halqa Aqra! I think that she will detain you," and added, "Did you perform the Tawaf (Al-Ifada) on the Day of Nahr (slaughtering)?" She replied, "Yes." He said, "Then depart." I said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have not (done the Umra)." He replied, "Perform Umra from Tan'im." My brother went with me and we came across the Prophet in the last part of the night. He said, "Wait at such and such a place."

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI,VOLUME 3

Translation of Sahih Bukhari, Book 27:
Minor Pilgrammage (Umra)

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 1:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "(The performance of) Umra is an expiation for the sins committed (between it and the previous one). And the reward of Hajj Mabrur (the one accepted by Allah) is nothing except Paradise."

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 2:
Narrated Ibn Juraij:
Ikrima bin Khalid asked Ibn Umar about performing Umra before Hajj. Ibn Umar replied, "There is no harm in it." 'Ikrima said, "Ibn Umar also said, 'The Prophet had performed Umra before performing Hajj.'"

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 3:
Narrated 'Ikrima bin Khalid:
"I asked Ibn Umar the same (as above)."

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 4:
Narrated Mujahid:
Ursa bin AzZubair and I entered the Mosque (of the Prophet) and saw Abdullah bin Umar sitting near the dwelling place of Aisha and some people were offering the Duha prayer. We asked him about their prayer and he replied that it was a heresy. He (Ursa) then asked him how many times the Prophet had performed Umra. He replied, 'Four times; one of them was in the month of Rajab." We disliked to contradict him. Then we heard Aisha, the Mother of faithful believers cleaning her teeth with Siwak in the dwelling place. 'Ursa said, "O Mother! O Mother of the believers! Don't you hear what Abu Abdur Rahman is saying?" She said, "What does he say?" 'Ursa said, "He says that Allah's Apostle performed four Umra and one of them was in the month of Rajab." Aisha said, "May Allah be merciful to Abu Abdur Rahman! The Prophet did not perform any Umra except that he was with him, and he never performed any Umra in Rajab."

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 5:
Narrated 'Ursa bin Az-Zubair:
I asked Aisha (whether the Prophet had performed Umra in Rajab). She replied, "Allah's Apostle never performed any Umra in Rajab."

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 6:
Narrated Qatada:
I asked Anas how many times the Prophet had performed Umra. He replied, "Four times. 1. Umra of Hudaibiya in Dhi-l-Qa'da when the pagans hindered him; 2. Umra in the following year in Dhi-l-Qa'da after the peace treaty with them (the pagans); 3. Umra from Al-Jr'rana where he distributed the war booty." I think he meant the booty (of the battle) of Hunain. I asked, "How many times did he perform Hajj?" He (Anas) replied, "Once. "

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 7:
Narrated Qatada:
I asked Anas (about the Prophet's Umra) and he replied, "The Prophet performed Umra when the pagans made him return, and Umra of al-Hudaibiya (the next year), and another Umra in Dhi-l-Qa'da, and another Umra in combination with his Hajj."

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 8:
Narrated Hammam:
The Prophet performed four Umra (three) in Dhi-l-Qa'da except the (one) Umra which he performed with his Hajj: His Umra from Al-hudaibiya, and the one of the following year,

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and the one from Al-Jr'rana where he distributed the booty (of the battle) of Hunain, and another Umra with his Hajj.

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 9:
Narrated Abu Ishaq:
I asked Masruq, 'Ata' and Mujahid (about the Umra of Allah's Apostle). They said, "Allah's Apostle had performed Umra in Dhi-l-Qa'da before he performed Hajj." I heard Al-Bara bin Azib saying, "Allah's Apostle had performed Umra in Dhi-l-Qa'da twice before he performed Hajj."

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 10:
Narrated Ata:
I heard Ibn Abbas saying, "Allah's Apostle asked an Ansari woman (Ibn Abbas named her but 'Ata' forgot her name), 'What prevented you from performing Hajj with us?' She replied, 'We have a camel and the father of so-and-so and his son (i.e. her husband and her son) rode it and left one camel for us to use for irrigation.' He said (to her), 'Perform Umra when Ramadan comes, for Umra in Ramadan is equal to Hajj (in reward),' or said something similar."

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 11:
Narrated Aisha:
We set out along with Allah's Apostle shortly before the appearance of the new moon (crescent) of the month of Dhi-l-Hijja and he said to us, "Whoever wants to assume Ihram for Hajj may do so; and whoever wants to assume Ihram for Umra may do so. Hadn't I brought the Hadi (animal for sacrificing) (with me), I would have assumed Ihram for Umra." (Aisha added,): So some of us assumed Ihram for Umra while the others for Hajj. I was amongst those who assumed Ihram for Umra. The day of 'Arafat approached and I was still menstruating. I complained to the Prophet (about that) and he said, "Abandon your Umra, undo and comb your hair, and assume Ihram for Hajj;." When it was the night of Hasba, he sent Abdur Rahman with me to At-Tan'im and I assumed Ihram for Umra (and performed it) in lieu of my missed Umra.

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 12:
Narrated Amr bin Aus:
Abdul Rahman bin Abu Bakr told me that the Prophet had ordered him to let Aisha ride behind him and to make he perform Umra from At-Tan'im.

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 13:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet and his companions assumed Ihram for Hajj and none except the Prophet and Talha had the Hadi with them. Ali had come from Yemen and he had the Hadi with him. He (Ali) said, "I have assumed Ihram with an intention like that of Allah's Apostle has assumed it." The Prophet ordered his companions to intend the Ihram with which they had come for Umra, to perform the Tawaf of the Kaaba (and between Safa and Marwa), to get their hair cut short and then to finish their Ihram with the exception of those who had the Hadi with them. They asked, "Shall we go to Mina and the private organs of some of us are dribbling (if we finish Ihram and have sexual relations with our wives)?" The Prophet heard that and said, "Had I known what I know now, I would not have brought the Hadi. If I did not have the Hadi with me I would have finished my Ihram." Aisha got her menses and performed all the ceremonies (of Hajj) except the Tawaf . So when she became clean from her menses, and she had performed the Tawaf of the Kaaba, she said, "O Allah's Apostle! You (people) are returning with both Hajj and Umra and I am returning only with Hajj!" So, he ordered Abdur Rahman bin Abu Bakr to go with her to At-Tan'im. Thus she performed Umra after the Hajj in the month of Dhi-l-Hijja. Suraqa bin Malik bin Ju'sham met the Prophet at Al-'Aqaba (Jamrat-ul 'Aqaba) while the latter was stoning it and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Is this permissible only for you?" The Prophet replied, "No, it is for ever (i.e. it is permissible for all Muslims to perform Umra before Hajj."

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 14:
Narrated Aisha:
We set out with Allah's Apostle shortly before the appearance of the new moon of Dhi-l-Hiija and he said, "Whoever wants to assume Ihram for Umra may do so, and whoever wants to assume Ihram for Hajj may do so. Had not I brought the Hadi with me, I would have assumed Ihram for Umra." Some of the people assumed Ihram for Umra while others for Hajj. I was amongst those who had assumed Ihram for Umra. I got my menses before entering Mecca, and was menstruating till the day of 'Arafat. I complained to Allah's Apostle about it, he said, "Abandon your Umra, undo and comb your hair, and assume Ihram for Hajj." So, I did that accordingly. When it was the night of Hasba (day of departure from Mina), the Prophet sent Abdur Rahman with me to At-Tanim.
The sub-narrator adds: He (AbdurRahman) let her ride behind him. And she assumed Ihram for Umra in lieu of the abandoned one. Aisha completed her Hajj and Umra, and no Hadi, Sadaqa (charity), or fasting was obligatory for her.

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 15:
Narrated Al-Aswad:
That Aisha said, "O Allah's Apostle! The people are returning after performing the two Nusuks (i.e. Hajj and Umra) but I am returning with one only?" He said, "Wait till you become clean from your menses and then go to At-Tan'im, assume Ihram (and after performing Umra) join us at such-and-such a place. But it (i.e. the reward if Umra) is according to your expenses or the hardship (which you will undergo while performing it)."

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 16:
Narrated Aisha:
We set out assuming the Ihram for Hajj in the months of Hajj towards the sacred precincts of Hajj. We dismounted at Sarif and the Prophet said to his companions, "Whoever has not got the Hadi with him and likes to make it as Umra, he should do it, but he who has got the Hadi with him should not do it." The Prophet and some of his wealthy companions had the Hadi with them, so they did not finish Ihram after performing the Umra. The Prophet came to me while I was weeping. He asked me the reason for it. I replied, "I have heard of what you have said to your companions and I cannot do the Umra." He asked me, "What is the matter with you?" I replied, "I am not praying." He said, "There is no harm in it as you are one of the daughters of Adam and the same is written for you as for others. So, you should perform Hajj and I hope that Allah will enable you to perform the Umra as well." So, I carried on till we departed from Mina and halted at Al-Mahassab. The Prophet called Abdur-Rahman and said, "Go out of the sanctuary with your sister and let her assume Ihram for Umra, and after both of you have finished the Tawaf I will be waiting for you at this place." We came back at mid-night and the Prophet asked us, "Have you finished?" I replied in the affirmative. He announced the departure and the people set out for the journey and some of them had performed the Tawaf of the Kaaba before the morning prayer, and after that the Prophet set out for Medina.

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 17:
Narrated Safwan bin Ya'la bin Umaiya from his father who said:
"A man came to the Prophet while he was at Ji'rana. The man was wearing a cloak which had traces of Khaluq or Sufra (a kind of perfume). The man asked (the Prophet), 'What do you order me to perform in my Umra?' So, Allah inspired the Prophet divinely and he was screened by a place of cloth. I wished to see the Prophet being divinely inspired. Umar said to me, 'Come! Will you be pleased to look at the Prophet while Allah is inspiring him?' I replied in the affirmative. Umar lifted one corner of the cloth and I looked at the Prophet who was snoring. (The sub-narrator thought that he said: The snoring was like that of a camel). When that state was over, the Prophet asked, "Where is the questioner who asked about Umra? Put off your cloak and wash away the traces of Khaluq from your body and clean the Sufra (yellow color) and perform in your Umra what you perform in your Hajj (i.e. the Tawaf round the Kaaba and the Sa'i between Safa and Marwa). "

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 18:
Narrated Hisham Ibn Urwa from his father who said:
While I was a youngster, I asked Aisha the wife of the Prophet. "What about the meaning of the Statement of Allah;
"Verily! (the mountains) As-Safa and Al Marwa, are among the symbols of Allah. So, it is not harmful if those who perform Hajj or Umra of the House (Kaaba at Mecca) to perform the going (Tawaf) between them? (2.158) I understand (from that) that there is no harm if somebody does not perform the Tawaf between them." Aisha replied, "No, for if it were as you are saying, then the recitation would have been like this: 'It is not harmful not to perform Tawaf between them.' This verse was revealed in connection with the Ansar who used to assume the Ihram for the idol Manat which was put beside a place called Qudaid and those people thought it not right to perform the Tawaf of As-Safa and Al-Marwa. When Islam came, they asked Allah's Apostle about that, and Allah revealed:--
"Verily! (the mountains) As-Safa and Al-Marwa Are among the symbols of Allah. So, it is not harmful of those who perform Hajj or Umra of the House (Kaaba at Mecca) to perform the going (Tawaf) between them." (2.158) Sufyan and Abu Muawiya added from Hisham (from Aisha): "The Hajj or Umra of the person who does not perform the going (Tawaf) between As-Safa and Al-Marwa is incomplete in Allah's sight.

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 19:
Narrated Isma'il:
Abdullah bin Abu Aufa said: "Allah's Apostle performed Umra and we too performed Umra along with him. When he entered Mecca he performed the Tawaf (of Kaaba) and we too performed it along with him, and then he came to the As-Safa and Al-Marwa (i.e. performed the Sai) and we also came to them along with him. We were shielding him from the people of Mecca lest they may hit him with an arrow." A friend of his asked him (i.e. Abdullah bin Aufa), "Did the Prophet enter the Kaaba (during that Umra)?" He replied in the negative. Then he said, "What did he (the Prophet) say about Khadija?" He (Abdullah bin Aufa) said, "(He said) 'Give Khadija the good tidings that she will have a palace made of Qasab in Paradise and there will be neither noise nor any trouble in it."

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 20:
Narrated Amr bin Dinar:
We asked Ibn Umar whether a man who had performed the Tawaf of the Kaaba but had not performed the Tawaf between As-Safa and Al-Marwa yet, was permitted to have sexual relation with his wife. He replied, "The Prophet arrived (at Mecca) and circumambulated the Kaaba seven times and then offered a two Rak'at prayer behind Maqam-Ibrahim and then performed the going (Tawaf) between As-Safa and Al-Marwa (seven times) (and verily, in Allah's Apostle you have a good example." And we asked Jabir bin Abdullah (the same question) and he replied, "He should not go near her till he has finished the going (Tawaf) between As-Safa and Al-Marwa."

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 21:
Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ashari:
I came to the Prophet at Al-Batha' while his camel was kneeling down and he asked me, "Have you intended to perform the Hajj?" I replied in the affirmative. He asked me, 'With what intention have you assumed Ihram?" I replied, "I have assumed Ihram with the same intention as that of the Prophet. He said, "You have done well. Perform the Tawaf of the Kaaba and (the Sai) between As-safa and Al-Marwa and then finish the Ihram." So, I performed the Tawaf around the Kaaba and the Sai) between As-Safa and Al-Marwa and then went to a woman of the tribe of Qais who cleaned my head from lice. Later I assumed the Ihram for Hajj. I used to give the verdict of doing the same till the caliphate of Umar who said, "If you follow the Holy Book then it orders you to remain in the state of Ihram till you finish from Hajj, if you follow the Prophet then he did not finish his Ihram till the Hadi (sacrifice) had reached its place of slaughtering (Hajj-al-Qiran)."

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 22:
Narrated Al-Aswad:
Abdullah the slave of Asma bint Abu Bakr, told me that he used to hear Asma', whenever she passed by Al-Hajun, saying, "May Allah bless His Apostle Mohammed. Once we dismounted here with him, and at that time we were traveling with light luggage; we had a few riding animals and a little food ration. I, my sister, Aisha, Az-Zubair and such and such persons performed Umra, and when we had passed our hands over the Kaaba (i.e. performed Tawaf round the Kaaba and between As-Safa and Al-Marwa) we finished our Ihram. Later on we assumed Ihram for Hajj the same evening."

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 23:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Whenever Allah's Apostle returned from a Ghazwa, Hajj or Umra, he used to say Takbir thrice at every elevation of the ground and then would say, "None has the right to be worshipped but Allah; He is One and has no partner. All the kingdoms is for Him, and all the praises are for Him, and He is Omnipotent. We are returning with repentance, worshipping, prostrating, and praising our Lord. He has kept up His promise and made His slave victorious, and He Alone defeated all the clans of (non-believers)."

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 24:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
When the Prophet arrived at Mecca, some boys of the tribe of Bani Abdul Muttalib went to receive him, and the Prophet made one of them ride in front of him and the other behind him.

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 25:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Whenever Allah's Apostle left for Mecca, he used to pray in the mosque of Ash-Shajra, and when he returned (to Medina), he used to pray in the middle of the valley of Dhul-Hulaifa and used to pass the night there till morning.

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 26:
Narrated Anas: The Prophet never returned to his family from a journey at night. He

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 27:
Narrated Jabir: The Prophet forbade going to one's family at night (on arrival from a

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Volume 3, Book 27, Number 28:
Narrated Humaid:
Anas said, "Whenever Allah's Apostle returned from a journey, he, on seeing the high places of Medina, would make his she-camel proceed faster; and if it were another animal, even then he used to make it proceed faster."
Narrated Humaid that the Prophet used to make it proceed faster out of his love for Medina.

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 29:
Narrated Anas:
As above, but mentioned "the walls of Medina" instead of "the high places of Medina. Al-Harith bin Umar agrees with Anas.

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 30:
Narrated Abu Ishaq:
I heard Al-Bara saying, "The above Verse was revealed regarding us, for the Ansar on returning from Hajj never entered their houses through the proper doors but from behind. One of the Ansar came and entered through the door and he was taunted for it. Therefore, the following was revealed: --
"It is not righteousness That you enter the houses from the back, But the righteous man is He who fears Allah, Obeys His order and keeps away from What He has forbidden So, enter houses through the proper doors." (2.189)

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 31:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Traveling is a kind of torture as it prevents one from eating, drinking and sleeping properly. So, when one's needs are fulfilled, one should return quickly to one's family."

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 32:
Narrated Zaid bin Aslam from his father:
I was with Ibn Umar on the way to Mecca, and he got the news that Safiya bint Abu Ubaid was seriously ill. So, he hastened his pace, and when the twilight disappeared, he dismounted and offered the Maghrib and 'Isha' prayers together. Then he said, "I saw that whenever the Prophet had to hasten when traveling, he would delay the Maghrib prayer and join them together (i.e. offer the Maghrib and the Isha prayers together)."

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 28:
Pilgrims Prevented from Completing the Pilgrimmage

Volume 3, Book 28, Number 33:
Narrated Nafi:
When Abdullah bin Umar set out for Mecca intending to perform Umra, at the time of afflictions, he said, "If I should be prevented from reaching the Kaba, then I would do the same as Allah's Apostle did, so I assume the lhram for Umra as Allah's Apostle assumed the Ihram for Umra in the year of Hudaibiya."

Volume 3, Book 28, Number 34:
Narrated Nafi:
That Ubaidullah bin Abdullah and Salim bin Abdullah informed him that they told Ibn Umar when Ibn Az-Zubair was attacked by the army, saying "There is no harm for you if you did not perform Hajj this year. We are afraid that you may be prevented from reaching the Kaba." Ibn Umar said "We set out with Allah's Apostle and the non-believers of Quraish prevented us from reaching the Kaaba, and so the Prophet slaughtered his Hadi and got his head shaved." Ibn Umar added, "I make you witnesses that I have made Umra obligatory for me. And, Allah willing, I will go and then if the way to Kaaba is clear, I will perform the Tawaf, but if I am prevented from going to the Kaaba then I will do the same as the Prophet did while I was in his company." Ibn Umar then assumed Ihram for Umra from Dhul-Hulaifa and proceeded for a while and said, "The conditions of Umra and Hajj are similar and I make you witnesses that I have made Umra and Hajj obligatory for myself." So, he did not finish the Ihram till the day of Nahr (slaughtering) came, and he slaughtered his Hadi. He used to say, "I will not finish the Ihram till I perform the Tawaf, one Tawaf on the day of entering Mecca (i.e. of Safa and Marwa for both Umra and Hajj)."

Volume 3, Book 28, Number 35:
Narrated Nafi: Some of the sons of Abdullah told him (i.e. Abdullah) if he had sta

Volume 3, Book 28, Number 36:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle was prevented from performing (Umra) Therefore, he shaved his head and had sexual relations with his wives and slaughtered his Hadi and performed Umra in the following year.

Volume 3, Book 28, Number 37:
Narrated Salim:
(Abdullah) bin Umar used to say, "Is not (the following of) the tradition of Allah's Apostle sufficient for you? If anyone of you is prevented from performing Hajj, he should perform the Tawaf of the Kaaba and between As-Safa and Al-Marwa and then finish the Ihram and everything will become legal for him which was illegal for him (during the state of Ihram) and he can perform Hajj in a following year and he should slaughter a Hadi or fast in case he cannot afford the Hadi."

Volume 3, Book 28, Number 38:
Narrated Al-Miswar:
Allah's Apostle slaughtered (the Hadi) before he had his head shaved and then he ordered his Companions to do the same.

Volume 3, Book 28, Number 39:
Narrated Nafi:
That Abdullah and Salim said to Abdullah bin Umar, "(You should not go for Hajj this year)." Abdullah bin Umar replied, "We set out with the Prophet (to Mecca for performing Umra) and e infidels of Quraish prevented us from reaching the Kaaba. Allah's Apostle slaughtered his Budn (camels for sacrifice) and got his head shaved."

Volume 3, Book 28, Number 40:
Narrated Nafi:
When Abdullah bin Umar set out for Mecca with the intentions performing Umra in the period of afflictions, he said, "If I should be prevented from reaching the Kaaba, then I would do the same as we did while in the company of Allah's Apostle ." So, he assumed the Ihram for Umra since the Prophet had assumed the Ihram for Umra in the year of Al-Hudaibiya. Then Abdullah bin Umar thought about it and said, "The conditions for both Hajj and Umra are similar." He then turned towards his companions and said, "The conditions of both Hajj and Umra are similar and I make you witnesses that I have made the performance of Hajj obligatory for myself along with Umra." He then performed one Tawaf (between As-Safa and Al-Marwa) for both of them (i.e. Hajj and (Umra) and considered that to be sufficient for him and offered a Hadi.

Volume 3, Book 28, Number 41:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Abu Layla:
Ka'b bin 'Ujra said that Allah's Apostle said to him (Ka'b), "Perhaps your lice have troubled you?" Ka'b replied, "Yes! O Allah's Apostle." Allah's Apostle said, "Have your head shaved and then either fast three days or feed six poor persons or slaughter one sheep as a sacrifice."

Volume 3, Book 28, Number 42:
Narrated Ka'b bin Umra:
Allah's Apostle stood beside me at Al-Hudaibiya and the lice were falling from my head in great number. He asked me, "Have your lice troubled you?" I replied in the affirmative. He ordered me to get my head shaved. Ka'b added, "This Holy Verse:--'And if any of you is ill, or has ailment in his scalp (2.196), etc. was revealed regarding me. "The Prophet then ordered me either to fast three days, or to feed six poor persons with one Faraq (three Sas) (of dates), or to slaughter a sheep, etc (sacrifice) whatever was available.

Volume 3, Book 28, Number 43:
Narrated Abdullah bin Ma'qal:
I sat with Ka'b bin 'Ujra and asked him about the Fidya. He replied, "This revelation was revealed concerning my case especially, but it is also for you in general. I was carried to Allah's Apostle and the lice were falling in great number on my face. The Prophet said, "I have never thought that your ailment (or struggle) has reached to such an extent as I see. Can you afford a sheep?" I replied in the negative. He then said, "Fast for three days, or feed six poor persons each with half a Sa of food." (1 Sa = 3 Kilograms approx.)

Volume 3, Book 28, Number 44:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Abu Layla:
(Reporting the speech of Ka'b bin Umra) Allah's Apostle saw him (i.e. Ka'b) while the lice were falling on his face. He asked (him), "Have your lice troubled you?" He replied in the affirmative. So, he ordered him to get his head shaved while he was at Al-Hudaibiya. At that time they were not permitted to finish their Ihram, and were still hoping to enter Mecca. So, Allah revealed the verses of Al-Fidya. Allah's Apostle ordered him to feed six poor persons with one Faraq of food or to slaughter one sheep (as a sacrifice) or to fast for three days.

Volume 3, Book 28, Number 45:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever performs Hajj to this House (Kaaba) and does not approach his wife for sexual relations nor commits sins (while performing Hajj), he will come out as sinless as a newly-born child. (Just delivered by his mother)."

Volume 3, Book 28, Number 46:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Whoever performs Hajj to this Kaaba and does not approach his wife for sexual relations nor commit sins (while performing Hajj), he will come out as sinless as a new-born child, (just delivered by his mother)."

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 29:
Penalty of Hunting while on Pilgrimmage

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 47:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abu Qatada:
My father set out (for Mecca) in the year of Al-Hudaibiya, and his companions assumed Ihram, but he did not. At that time the Prophet was informed that an enemy wanted to attack him, so the Prophet proceeded onwards. While my father was among his companions, some of them laughed among themselves. (My father said), "I looked up and saw an onager. I attacked, stabbed and caught it. I then sought my companions' help but they refused to help me. (Later) we all ate its meat. We were afraid that we might be left behind (separated) from the Prophet so I went in search of the Prophet and made my horse to run at a galloping speed at times and let it go slow at an ordinary speed at other times till I met a man from the tribe of Bani Ghifar at midnight. I asked him, "Where did you leave the Prophet ?" He replied, "I left him at Ta'hun and he had the intention of having the midday rest at As-Suqya. I followed the trace and joined the Prophet and said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Your people (companions) send you their compliments, and (ask for) Allah's Blessings upon you. They are afraid lest they may be left behind; so please wait for them.' I added, 'O Allah's Apostle! I hunted an onager and some of its meat is with me. The Prophet told the people to eat it though all of them were in the state of Ihram."

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 48:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abu Qatada:
That his father said "We proceeded with the Prophet in the year of Al-Hudaibiya and his companions assumed Ihram but I did not. We were informed that some enemies were at Ghaiqa and so we went on towards them. My companions saw an onager and some of them started laughing among themselves. I looked and saw it. I chased it with my horse and stabbed and caught it. I wanted some help from my companions but they refused. (I slaughtered it all alone). We all ate from it (i.e. its meat). Then I followed Allah's Apostle lest we should be left behind. At times I urged my horse to run at a galloping speed and at other times at an ordinary slow speed. On the way I met a man from the tribe of Bani Ghifar at midnight. I asked him where he had left Allah's Apostle . The man replied that he had left the Prophet at a place called Ta'hun and he had the intention of having the midday rest at As-Suqya. So, I followed Allah's Apostle till I reached him and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have been sent by my companions who send you their greetings and compliments and ask for Allah's Mercy and Blessings upon you. They were afraid lest the enemy might intervene between you and them; so please wait for them." So he did. Then I said, "O Allah's Apostle! We have hunted an onager and have some of it (i.e. its meat) left over." Allah's Apostle told his companions to eat the meat although all of them were in a state of Ihram."

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 49:
Narrated Abu Qatada:
We were in the company of the Prophet at a place called Al-Qaha (which is at a distance of three stages of journey from Medina). Abu Qatada narrated through another group of narrators: We were in the company of the Prophet at a place called Al-Qaha and some of us had assumed Ihram while the others had not. I noticed that some of my companions were watching something, so I looked up and saw an onager. (I rode my horse and took the spear and whip) but my whip fell down (and I asked them to pick it up for me) but they said, "We will not help you by any means as we are in a state of Ihram." So, I picked up the whip myself and attacked the onager from behind a hillock and slaughtered it and brought it to my companions. Some of them said, "Eat it." While some others said, "Do not eat it." So, I went to the Prophet who was ahead of us and asked him about it, He replied, "Eat it as it is Halal (i.e. it is legal to eat it)."

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 50:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abu Qatada:
That his father had told him that Allah's Apostle set out for Hajj and so did his companions. He sent a batch of his companions by another route and Abu Qatada was one of them. The Prophet said to them, "Proceed along the sea-shore till we meet all together." So, they took the route of the sea-shore, and when they started all of them assumed Ihram except Abu Qatada. While they were proceeding on, his companions saw a group of onagers. Abu Qatada chased the onagers and attacked and wounded a she-onager. They got down and ate some of its meat and said to each other: "How do we eat the

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meat of the game while we are in a state of Ihram?" So, we (they) carried the rest of the she-onager's meat, and when they met Allah's Apostle they asked, saying, "O Allah's Apostle! We assumed Ihram with the exception of Abu Qatada and we saw (a group) of onagers. Abu Qatada attacked them and wounded a she-onager from them. Then we got down and ate from its meat. Later, we said, (to each other), 'How do we eat the meat of the game and we are in a state of Ihram?' So, we carried the rest of its meat. The Prophet asked, "Did anyone of you order Abu Qatada to attack it or point at it?" They replied in the negative. He said, "Then eat what is left of its meat."

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 51:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
From As-Sa'b bin Jath-thama Al-Laithi that the latter presented an onager to Allah's Apostle while he was at Al-Abwa' or at Waddan, and he refused it. On noticing the signs of some unpleasant feeling of disappointment on his (As-Sab's) face, the Prophet said to him, "I have only returned it because I am Muhrim."

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 52:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "It is not sinful of a Muhrim to kill five kinds of animals."

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 53:
One of the wives of the Prophet narrated:
The Prophet said, "A Muhrim can kill (five kinds of animals.)"

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 54:
Narrated Hafsa:
Allah's Apostle said, "It is not sinful (of a Muhrim) to kill five kinds of animals, namely: the crow, the kite, the mouse, the scorpion and the rabid dog."

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 55:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle said, "Five kinds of animals are harmful and could be killed in the Haram (Sanctuary). These are: the crow, the kite, the scorpion, the mouse and the rabid dog."

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 56:
Narrated Abdullah:
While we were in the company of the Prophet in a cave at Mina, when Surat-wal-Mursalat were revealed and he recited it and I heard it (directly) from his mouth as soon as he recited its revelation. Suddenly a snake sprang at us and the Prophet said (ordered us): "Kill it." We ran to kill it but it escaped quickly. The Prophet said, "It has escaped your evil and you too have escaped its evil."

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 57:
Narrated Aisha the wife of the Prophet:
Allah's Apostle called the salamander a bad animal, but I did not hear him ordering it to be killed."

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 58:
Narrated Said bin Abu Said Al-Maqburi:
Abu Shuraih, Al-'Adawi said that he had said to Amr bin Sa'id when he was sending the troops to Mecca (to fight Abdullah bin Az-Zubair), "O Chief! Allow me to tell you what Allah's Apostle said on the day following the Conquest of Mecca. My ears heard that and my heart understood it thoroughly and I saw with my own eyes the Prophet when he, after Glorifying and Praising Allah, started saying, 'Allah, not the people, made Mecca a sanctuary, so anybody who has belief in Allah and the Last Day should neither shed blood in it, nor should he cut down its trees. If anybody tells (argues) that fighting in it is permissible on the basis that Allah's Apostle did fight in Mecca, say to him, 'Allah allowed His Apostle and did not allow you.' "Allah allowed me only for a few hours on that day (of the conquest) and today its sanctity is valid as it was before. So, those who are present should inform those who are absent (concerning this fact." Abu Shuraih was asked, "What did Amr reply?" He said, (Amr said) 'O Abu Shuraih! I know better than you in this respect Mecca does not give protection to a sinner, a murderer or a thief."

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 59:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
"The Prophet said, 'Allah has made Mecca, a sanctuary, so it was a sanctuary before me and will continue to be a sanctuary after me. It was made legal for me (i.e. I was allowed to fight in it) for a few hours of a day. It is not allowed to uproot its shrubs or to cut its trees, or to chase (or disturb) its game, or to pick up its luqata (fallen things) except by a person who would announce that (what he has found) publicly.' Al-Abbas said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Except Al-Idhkhir (a kind of grass) (for it is used) by our goldsmiths and for our graves.' The Prophet then said, 'Except Al-idhkhir.' " 'Ikrima said, 'Do you know what "chasing or disturbing" the game means? It means driving it out of the shade to occupy its place."

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 60:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
their blacksmiths and for their domestic purposes)." So, the Prophet s

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 61:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle was cupped while he was in a state of Ihram.

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 62:
Narrated Ibn Buhaina: The Prophet, while in the state of Ihram, was cupped at the middle of his head at Liha-Jamal.

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 63:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet married Maimuna while he was in the state of Ihram, (only the ceremonies of marriage were held).

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 64:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
A person stood up and asked, "O Allah's: Apostle! What clothes may be worn in the state of Ihram?" The Prophet replied, "Do not wear a shirt or trousers, or any headgear (e.g. a turban), or a hooded cloak; but if somebody has no shoes he can wear leather stockings provided they are cut short off the ankles, and also, do not wear anything perfumed with Wars or saffron, and the Muhrima (a woman in the state of Ihram) should not cover her face, or wear gloves."

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 65:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
A man was crushed to death by his she-camel and was brought to Allah's Apostle who said, "Give him a bath and shroud him, but do not cover his head, and do not bring any perfume near to him, as he will be resurrected reciting Talbiya."

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 66:
Narrated Abdullah bin Hunain:
Abdullah bin Al-Abbas and Al-Miswar bin Makhrama differed at Al-Abwa'; Ibn Abbas said that a Muhrim could wash his head; while Al-Miswar maintained that he should not do so. Abdullah bin Abbas sent me to Abu Aiyub Al-Ansari and I found him bathing between the two wooden posts (of the well) and was screened with a sheet of cloth. I greeted him and he asked who I was. I replied, "I am Abdullah bin Hunain and I have been sent to you by Ibn Abbas to ask you how Allah's Apostle used to wash his head while in the state of Ihram." Abu Aiyub Al-Ansarl caught hold of the sheet of cloth and lowered it till his head appeared before me, and then told somebody to pour water on his head. He poured water on his head, and he (Abu Aiyub) rubbed his head with his hands by bringing them from back to front and from front to back and said, "I saw the Prophet doing like this."

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 67:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
I heard the Prophet delivering a sermon at 'Arafat saying, "If a Muhrim does not find slippers, he could wear Khuffs (but he has to cut short the Khuffs below the ankles), and if he does not find an Izar (a waist sheet for wrapping the lower half of the body) he could wear trousers."

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 68:
Narrated Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle was asked what sort of clothes a Muhrim should wear. He replied, "He should not wear a shirt, turbans, trousers, a hooded cloak, or a dress perfumed with saffron or Wars; and if slippers are not available he can wear Khuffs but he should cut them so that they reach below the ankles.

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 69:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet delivered a sermon at 'Arafat and said, "Whoever does not get an Izar can wear trousers, and whoever cannot get a pair of shoes can wear Khuffs."

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 70:
Narrated Al-Bara:
The Prophet assumed Ihram for Umra in the month of Dhul-Qa'da but the (pagan) people of Mecca refused to admit him into Mecca till he agreed on the condition that he would not bring into Mecca any arms but sheathed.

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 71:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet fixed Dhul-Hulaifa as the Miqat (the place for assuming Ihram) for the people of Medina, and Qaran-al-Manazil for the people of Najd, and Yalamlam for the people of Yemen. These Mawaqit are for those people and also for those who come through these Mawaqit (from places other than the above-mentioned) with the intention of (performing) Hajj and Umra. And those living inside these Mawaqit can assume Ihram from the place where they start; even the people of Mecca can assume Ihram from Mecca.

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 72:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle entered Mecca in the year of its Conquest wearing an Arabian helmet on his head and when the Prophet took it off, a person came and said, "Ibn Khatal is holding the covering of the Kaaba (taking refuge in the Kaaba)." The Prophet said, "Kill him."

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 73:
Narrated Ya'li:
ame as you do in your Hajj." A man bit the hand of another man but in

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 74:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 75:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
While a man was standing with the Prophet at 'Arafat, he fell from his Mount and his neck was crushed by it. The Prophet said, "Wash the deceased with water and Sidr and shroud him in two pieces of cloth, and neither perfume him nor cover his head, for Allah will resurrect him on the Day of Resurrection and he will be reciting Talbiya."

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 76:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
A man was in the company of the Prophet and his she-camel crushed his neck while he was in a state of Ihram and he died Allah's Apostle said, "Wash him with water and Sidr and shroud him in his two garments; neither perfume him nor cover his head, for he will be resurrected on the Day of Resurrection, reciting Talbiya."

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 77:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
A woman from the tribe of Juhaina came to the Prophet and said, "My mother had vowed to perform Hajj but she died before performing it. May I perform Hajj on my mother's behalf?" The Prophet replied, "Perform Hajj on her behalf. Had there been a debt on your mother, would you have paid it or not? So, pay Allah's debt as He has more right to be paid."

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 78:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
A woman from the tribe of Khath'am came in the year (of ,Hajjat-ul-wada' of the Prophet) and said, "O Allah's Apostle! My father has come under Allah's obligation of performing Hajj but he is a very old man and cannot sit properly on his Mount. Will the obligation be fulfilled if I perform Hajj on his behalf?" The Prophet replied in the affirmative.

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 79:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
Al-Fadl was riding behind the Prophet and a woman from the tribe of Khath'am came up. Al-Fadl started looking at her and she looked at him. The Prophet turned Al-Fadl's face to the other side. She said, "My father has come under Allah's obligation of performing Hajj but he is a very old man and cannot sit properly on his Mount. Shall I perform Hajj on his behalf? The Prophet replied in the affirmative. That happened during Hajjat-ul-wada' of the Prophet .

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 80:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet sent me (to Mina) with the luggage from Jam'(i.e. Al-Muzdalifa) at night.

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 81:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
I came riding on my she-ass and had (just) then attained the age of puberty. Allah's Apostle was praying at Mina. I passed in front of a part of the first row and then dismounted from it, and the animal started grazing. I aligned with the people behind Allah's Apostle (The sub-narrator added that happened in Mina during the Prophet's Hajjat-ul-wada.)

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 82:
Narrated As-Sa'ib bin Yazid:
(While in the company of my parents) I was made to perform Hajj with Allah's Apostle and I was a seven-year-old boy then. (Fatch-Al-Bari, p.443, Vol.4)

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 83:
Narrated Al-Ju'aid bin AbdurRahman:

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I heard Umar bin Abdul Azlz telling about As-Sa'ib bin Yazid that he had performed Hajj (while carried) with the belongings of the Prophet

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 84:
Narrated Aisha (mother of the faithful believers):
I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Shouldn't we participate in Holy battles and Jihad along with you?" He replied, "The best and the most superior Jihad (for women) is Hajj which is accepted by Allah." Aisha added: Ever since I heard that from Allah's Apostle I have determined not to miss Hajj.

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 85:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "A woman should not travel except with a Dhu-Mahram (her husband or a man with whom that woman cannot marry at all according to the Islamic Jurisprudence), and no man may visit her except in the presence of a Dhu-Mahram." A man got up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I intend to go to such and such an army and my wife wants to perform Hajj." The Prophet said (to him), "Go along with her (to Hajj)."

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 86:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
When the Prophet returned after performing his Hajj, he asked Um Sinan Al-Ansari, "What did forbid you to perform Hajj?" She replied, "Father of so-and-so (i.e. her husband) had two camels and he performed Hajj on one of them, and the second is used for the irrigation of our land." The Prophet said (to her), "Perform Umra in the month of Ramadan, (as it is equivalent to Hajj or Hajj with me (in reward)."

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 87:
Narrated Qaza'a, the slave of Ziyad: Abu Said who participated in twelve Ghazawat with the Prophet said, "I heard four things from Allah's Apostle (or I narrate them from the Prophet) which won my admiration and appreciation. They are:
1. "No lady should travel without her husband or without a Dhu-Mahram for a two-days' journey.
2. No fasting is permissible on two days of 'Id-al-Fitr, and 'Id-al-Adha.
3. No prayer (may be offered) after two prayers: after the Asr prayer till the sun set and after the morning prayer till the sun rises.
4. Not to travel (for visiting) except for three mosques: Masjid-al-Haram (in Mecca), my Mosque (in Medina), and Masjid-al-Aqsa (in Jerusalem)."

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 88:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet saw an old man walking, supported by his two sons, and asked about him. The people informed him that he had vowed to go on foot (to the Kaaba). He said, "Allah is not in need of this old man's torturing himself," and ordered him to ride.

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 89:
Narrated Uqba bin Amir:
My sister vowed to go on foot to the Kaaba, and she asked me to take the verdict of the Prophet about it. So, I did and the Prophet said, "She should walk and also should ride."

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 90:
Narrated Abu-l-Khair from Uqba as above.

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 30:
Virtues of Madinah

Volume 3, Book 30, Number 91:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "Medina is a sanctuary from that place to that. Its trees should not be cut and no heresy should be innovated nor any sin should be committed in it, and whoever innovates in it an heresy or commits sins (bad deeds), then he will incur the curse of Allah, the angels, and all the people." (See Hadith No. 409, Vol 9).

Volume 3, Book 30, Number 92:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet came to Medina and ordered a mosque to be built and said, "O Bani Najjar! Suggest to me the price (of your land)." They said, "We do not want its price except from Allah" (i.e. they wished for a reward from Allah for giving up their land freely). So, the Prophet ordered the graves of the pagans to be dug out and the land to be levelled, and the date-palm trees to be cut down. The cut date-palms were fixed in the direction of the Qibla of the mosque.

Volume 3, Book 30, Number 93:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "I have made Medina a sanctuary between its two (Harrat) mountains." The Prophet went to the tribe of Bani Haritha and said (to them), "I see that you have gone out of the sanctuary," but looking around, he added, "No, you are inside the sanctuary."

Volume 3, Book 30, Number 94:
Narrated Ali:
We have nothing except the Book of Allah and this written paper from the Prophet (where-in is written:) Medina is a sanctuary from the 'Air Mountain to such and such a place, and whoever innovates in it an heresy or commits a sin, or gives shelter to such an innovator in it will incur the curse of Allah, the angels, and all the people, none of his compulsory or optional good deeds of worship will be accepted. And the asylum (of protection) granted by any Muslim is to be secured (respected) by all the other Muslims; and whoever betrays a Muslim in this respect incurs the curse of Allah, the angels, and all the people, and none of his compulsory or optional good deeds of worship will be accepted, and whoever (freed slave) befriends (take as masters) other than his manumitters without their permission incurs the curse of Allah, the angels, and all the people, and none of his compulsory or optional good deeds of worship will be accepted.

Volume 3, Book 30, Number 95:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "I was ordered to migrate to a town which will swallow (conquer) other towns and is called Yathrib and that is Medina, and it turns out (bad) persons as a furnace removes the impurities of iron.

Volume 3, Book 30, Number 96:
Narrated Abu Humaid:
We came with the Prophet from Tabuk, and when we reached near Medina, the Prophet said, "This is Tabah."

Volume 3, Book 30, Number 97:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
If I saw deers grazing in Medina, I would not chase them, for Allah's Apostle said, "(Medina) is a sanctuary between its two mountains."

Volume 3, Book 30, Number 98:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "The people will leave Medina in spite of the best state it will have, and none except the wild birds and the beasts of prey will live in it, and the last persons who will die will be two shepherds from the tribe of Muzaina, who will be driving their sheep towards Medina, but will find nobody in it, and when they reach the valley of Thaniyat-al-Wada', they will fall down on their faces dead."

Volume 3, Book 30, Number 99:
Narrated Abu Zuhair:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "Yemen will be conquered and some people will migrate (from Medina) and will urge their families, and those who will obey them to migrate (to Yemen) although Medina will be better for them; if they but knew. Sham will also be conquered and some people will migrate (from Medina) and will urge their families and those who will obey them, to migrate (to Sham) although Medina will be better for them; if they but knew. 'Iraq will be conquered and some people will migrate (from Medina) and will urge their families and those who will obey them to migrate (to 'Iraq) although Medina will be better for them; if they but knew."

Volume 3, Book 30, Number 100:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Verily, Belief returns and goes back to Medina as a snake returns and goes back to its hole (when in danger)."

Volume 3, Book 30, Number 101:
Narrated Sad:
I heard the Prophet saying, "None plots against the people of Medina but that he will be dissolved (destroyed) like the salt is dissolved in water."

Volume 3, Book 30, Number 102:
Narrated Usama:
Once the Prophet stood at the top of a (looked out from upon one) castle amongst the castles (or the high buildings) of Medina and said, "Do you see what I see? (No doubt) I see the spots where afflictions will take place among your houses (and these afflictions will be) as numerous as the spots where rain-drops fall."

Volume 3, Book 30, Number 103:
Narrated Abu Bakra:
The Prophet said, "The terror caused by Al-Masih Ad-Dajjal will not enter Medina and at that time Medina will have seven gates and there will be two angels at each gate guarding them."

Volume 3, Book 30, Number 104:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "There are angels guarding the entrances (or roads) of Medina, neither plague nor Ad-Dajjal will be able to enter it."

Volume 3, Book 30, Number 105:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "There will be no town which Ad-Dajjal will not enter except Mecca and Medina, and there will be no entrance (road) (of both Mecca and Medina) but the angels will be standing in rows guarding it against him, and then Medina will shake with its inhabitants thrice (i.e. three earth-quakes will take place) and Allah will expel all the nonbelievers and the hypocrites from it."

Volume 3, Book 30, Number 106:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
Allah's Apostle told us a long narrative about Ad-Dajjal, and among the many things he mentioned, was his saying, "Ad-Dajjal will come and it will be forbidden for him to pass through the entrances of Medina. He will land in some of the salty barren areas (outside) Medina; on that day the best man or one of the best men will come up to him and say, 'I testify that you are the same Dajjal whose description was given to us by Allah's Apostle .' Ad-Dajjal will say to the people, 'If I kill this man and bring him back to life again, will you doubt my claim?' They will say, 'No.' Then Ad-Dajjal will kill that man and bring him back to life. That man will say, 'Now I know your reality better than before.' Ad-Dajjal will say, 'I want to kill him but I cannot.' "

Volume 3, Book 30, Number 107:
Narrated Jabir:
A bedouin came to the Prophet and gave a pledge of allegiance for embracing Islam. The next day he came with fever and said (to the Prophet), "Please cancel my pledge (of embracing Islam and of emigrating to Medina)." The Prophet refused (that request) three times and said, "Medina is like a furnace, it expels out the impurities (bad persons) and selects the good ones and makes them perfect."

Volume 3, Book 30, Number 108:
Narrated Zaid bin Thabit:
When the Prophet went out for (the battle of) Uhud, some of his companions (hypocrites) returned (home). A party of the believers remarked that they would kill those (hypocrites) who had returned, but another party said that they would not kill them. So, this Divine Inspiration was revealed: "Then what is the matter with you that you are divided into two parties concerning the hypocrites." (4.88) The Prophet said, "Medina expels the bad persons from it, as fire expels the impurities of iron."

Volume 3, Book 30, Number 109:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "O Allah! Bestow on Medina twice the blessings You bestowed on Mecca."

Volume 3, Book 30, Number 110:
Narrated Anas:
Whenever the Prophet returned from a journey and observed the walls of Medina, he would make his Mount go fast, and if he was on an animal (i.e. a horse), he would make it gallop because of his love for Medina.

Volume 3, Book 30, Number 111:
Narrated Anas:
(The people of) Bani Salama intended to shift near the mosque (of the Prophet) but Allah's Apostle disliked to see Medina vacated and said, "O the people of Bani Salama! Don't you think that you will be rewarded for your footsteps which you take towards the mosque?" So, they stayed at their old places.

Volume 3, Book 30, Number 112:
Narrated Abu Huraira: The Prophet said, "There is a garden from the gardens of Paradise between my house and my pulpit, and my pulpit is on my Lake Fount (Al-Kauthar)."

Volume 3, Book 30, Number 113:
Narrated Aisha:
When Allah's Apostle reached Medina, Abu Bakr and Bilal became ill. When Abu Bakr's fever got worse, he would recite (this poetic verse): "Everybody is staying alive with his People, yet Death is nearer to him than His shoe laces." And Bilal, when his fever deserted him, would recite: "Would that I could stay overnight in A valley wherein I would be Surrounded by Idhkhir and Jalil (kinds of good-smelling grass). Would that one day I could Drink the water of the Majanna, and Would that (The two mountains) Shama and

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Tafil would appear to me!" The Prophet said, "O Allah! Curse Shaiba bin Rabi'a and Utba bin Rabi'a and Umaiya bin Khalaf as they turned us out of our land to the land of epidemics." Allah's Apostle then said, "O Allah! Make us love Medina as we love Mecca or even more than that. O Allah! Give blessings in our Sa and our Mudd (measures symbolizing food) and make the climate of Medina suitable for us, and divert its fever towards Aljuhfa." Aisha added: When we reached Medina, it was the most unhealthy of Allah's lands, and the valley of Bathan (the valley of Medina) used to flow with impure colored water.

Volume 3, Book 30, Number 114:
Narrated Zaid bin Aslam from his father:
Umar said, O Allah! Grant me martyrdom in Your cause, and let my death be in the city of Your Apostle."

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 31:
Fasting

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 115:
Narrated Talha bin Ubaid-Ullah:
A bedouin with unkempt hair came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Inform me what Allah has made compulsory for me as regards the prayers." He replied: "You have to offer perfectly the five compulsory prayers in a day and night (24 hours), unless you want to pray Nawafil." The bedouin further asked, "Inform me what Allah has made compulsory for me as regards fasting." He replied, "You have to fast during the whole month of Ramadan, unless you want to fast more as Nawafil." The bedouin further asked, "Tell me how much Zakat Allah has enjoined on me." Thus, Allah's Apostle informed him about all the rules (i.e. fundamentals) of Islam. The bedouin then said, "By Him Who has honored you, I will neither perform any Nawafil nor will I decrease what Allah has enjoined on me. Allah's Apostle said, "If he is saying the truth, he will succeed (or he will be granted Paradise)."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 116:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet observed the fast on the 10th of Muharram ('Ashura), and ordered (Muslims) to fast on that day, but when the fasting of the month of Ramadan was prescribed, the fasting of the 'Ashura' was abandoned. Abdullah did not use to fast on that day unless it coincided with his routine fasting by chance.

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 117:
Narrated Aisha:
(The tribe of) Quraish used to fast on the day of Ashura' in the Pre-lslamic period, and then Allah's Apostle ordered (Muslims) to fast on it till the fasting in the month of Ramadan was prescribed; whereupon the Prophet said, "He who wants to fast (on 'Ashura') may fast, and he who does not want to fast may not fast."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 118:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Fasting is a shield (or a screen or a shelter). So, the person observing fasting should avoid sexual relation with his wife and should not behave foolishly and impudently, and if somebody fights with him or abuses him, he should tell him twice, 'I am fasting." The Prophet added, "By Him in Whose Hands my soul is, the smell coming out from the mouth of a fasting person is better in the sight of Allah than the smell of musk. (Allah says about the fasting person), 'He has left his food, drink and desires for My sake. The fast is for Me. So I will reward (the fasting person) for it and the reward of good deeds is multiplied ten times."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 119:
Narrated Abu Wail from Hudhaifa:
Umar asked the people, "Who remembers the narration of the Prophet about the affliction?" Hudhaifa said, "I heard the Prophet saying, 'The affliction of a person in his property, family and neighbours is expiated by his prayers, fasting, and giving in charity." Umar said, "I do not ask about that, but I ask about those afflictions which will spread like the waves of the sea." Hudhaifa replied, "There is a closed gate in front of those afflictions." Umar asked, "Will that gate be opened or broken?" He replied, "It will be broken." Umar said, "Then the gate will not be closed again till the Day of Resurrection." We said to Masruq, "Would you ask Hudhaifa whether Umar knew what that gate symbolized?" He asked him and he replied "He (Umar) knew it as one knows that there will be night before tomorrow, morning.

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 120:
Narrated Sahl:
The Prophet said, "There is a gate in Paradise called Ar-Raiyan, and those who observe fasts will enter through it on the Day of Resurrection and none except them will enter through it. It will be said, 'Where are those who used to observe fasts?' They will get up, and none except them will enter through it. After their entry the gate will be closed and nobody will enter through it."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 121:
'Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever gives two kinds (of things or property) in charity for Allah's Cause, will be called from the gates of Paradise and will be addressed, 'O slaves of Allah! Here is prosperity.' So, whoever was amongst the people who used to offer their prayers, will be called from the gate of the prayer; and whoever was amongst the people who used to participate in Jihad, will be called from the gate of Jihad; and whoever was amongst those who used to observe fasts, will be called from the gate of Ar-Raiyan; whoever was amongst those who used to give in charity, will be called from the gate of charity." Abu Bakr said, "Let my parents be sacrificed for you, O Allah's Apostle! No distress or need will befall him who will be called from those gates. Will there be any one who will be called from all these gates?" The Prophet replied, "Yes, and I hope you will be one of them."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 122:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "When Ramadan begins, the gates of Paradise are opened."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 123:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "When the month of Ramadan starts, the gates of the heaven are opened and the gates of Hell are closed and the devils are chained."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 124:
Narrated Ibn Umar: I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "When you see the crescent (of the month of Ramadan), start fasting, and when you see the crescent (of the month of Shawwal), stop fasting; and if the sky is overcast (and you can't see It) then regard the crescent (month) of Ramadan (as of 30 days)".

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 125:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Whoever established prayers on the night of Qadr out of sincere faith and hoping for a reward from Allah, then all his previous sins will be forgiven; and whoever fasts in the month of Ramadan out of sincere faith, and hoping for a reward from Allah, then all his previous sins will be forgiven."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 126:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet was the most generous amongst the people, and he used to be more so in the month of Ramadan when Gabriel visited him, and Gabriel used to meet him on every night of Ramadan till the end of the month. The Prophet used to recite the Holy Koran to Gabriel, and when Gabriel met him, he used to be more generous than a fast wind (which causes rain and welfare).

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 127:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Whoever does not give up forged speech and evil actions, Allah is not in need of his leaving his food and drink (i.e. Allah will not accept his fasting.)"

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 128:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Allah said, 'All the deeds of Adam's sons (people) are for them, except fasting which is for Me, and I will give the reward for it.' Fasting is a shield or protection from the fire and from committing sins. If one of you is fasting, he should avoid sexual relation with his wife and quarreling, and if somebody should fight or quarrel with him, he should say, 'I am fasting.' By Him in Whose Hands my soul is' The unpleasant smell coming out from the mouth of a fasting person is better in the sight of Allah than the smell of musk. There are two pleasures for the fasting person, one at the time of breaking his fast, and the other at the time when he will meet his Lord; then he will be pleased because of his fasting."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 129:
Narrated 'Alqama: While I was walking with Abdullah he said, "We were in the company of the Prophet and he said, 'He who can afford to marry should marry, because it will help him refrain from looking at other women, and save his private parts from looking at other women, and save his private parts from committing illegal sexual relation; and he who cannot afford to marry is advised to fast, as fasting will diminish his sexual power."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 130:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle mentioned Ramadan and said, "Do not fast unless you see the crescent (of Ramadan), and do not give up fasting till you see the crescent (of Shawwal), but if the sky is overcast (if you cannot see it), then act on estimation (i.e. count Sha'ban as 30 days)."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 131:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "The month (can be) 29 nights (i.e. days), and do not fast till you see the moon, and if the sky is overcast, then complete Sha'ban as thirty days."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 132:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "The month is like this and this," (at the same time he showed the fingers of both his hands thrice) and left out one thumb on the third time.

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 133:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet or Abu-l-Qasim said, "Start fasting on seeing the crescent (of Ramadan), and give up fasting on seeing the crescent (of Shawwal), and if the sky is overcast (and you cannot see it), complete thirty days of Sha'ban."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 134:
Narrated Um Salama:
The Prophet vowed to keep aloof from his wives for a period of one month, and after the completion of 29 days he went either in the morning or in the afternoon to his wives. Someone said to him "You vowed that you would not go to your wives for one month." He replied, "The month is of 29 days."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 135:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle vowed to keep aloof from his wives for one month, and he had dislocation of his leg. So, he stayed in a Mashruba for 29 nights and then came down. Some people said, "O Allah's Apostle! You vowed to stay aloof for one month," He replied, "The month is of 29 days."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 136:
Narrated Abu Bakra:
The Prophet said, "The two months of 'Id i.e. Ramadan and Dhul-Hijja, do not decrease (in superiority)."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 137:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "We are an illiterate nation; we neither write, nor know accounts. The month is like this and this, i.e. sometimes of 29 days and sometimes of thirty days."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 138:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "None of you should fast a day or two before the month of Ramadan unless he has the habit of fasting (Nawafil) (and if his fasting coincides with that day) then he can fast that day."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 139:
Narrated Al-Bara:
It was the custom among the companions of Mohammed that if any of them was fasting and the food was presented (for breaking his fast), but he slept before eating, he would not eat that night and the following day till sunset.
Qais bin Sirma-al-Ansari was fasting and came to his wife at the time of Iftar (breaking one's fast) and asked her whether she had anything to eat. She replied, "No, but I would go and bring some for you." He used to do hard work during the day, so he was overwhelmed by sleep and slept. When his wife came and saw him, she said, "Disappointment for you." When it was midday on the following day, he fainted and the Prophet was informed about the whole matter and the following verses were revealed: "You are permitted To go to your wives (for sexual relation) At the night of fasting." So, they were overjoyed by it. And then Allah also revealed: "And eat and drink Until the white thread Of dawn appears to you Distinct from the black thread (of the night)." (2.187)

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 140:
Narrated Adi bin Hatim:
When the above verses were revealed: 'Until the white thread appears to you, distinct from the black thread,' I took two (hair) strings, one black and the other white, and kept them under my pillow and went on looking at them throughout the night but could not make anything out of it. So, the next morning I went to Allah's Apostle and told him the whole story. He explained to me, "That verse means the darkness of the night and the whiteness of the dawn."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 141:
Narrated Sahl bin Saud:

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When the following verses were revealed: 'Eat and drink until the white thread appears to you, distinct from the black thread' and of dawn was not revealed, some people who intended to fast, tied black and white threads to their legs and went on eating till they differentiated between the two. Allah then revealed the words, 'of dawn', and it became clear that meant night and day.

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 142:
Narrated Aisha:
Bilal used to pronounce the Adhan at night, so Allah's Apostle? said, "Carry on taking your meals (eat and drink) till Ibn Um Maktum pronounces the Adhan, for he does not pronounce it till it is dawn.

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 143:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
I used to take my Suhur meals with my family and then hurry up for presenting myself for the (Fajr) prayer with Allah's Apostle.

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 144:
Narrated Anas:
Zaid bin Thabit said, "We took the Suhur with the Prophet . Then he stood for the prayer." I asked, "What was the interval between the Suhur and the Adhan?" He replied, "The interval was sufficient to recite fifty verses of the Koran."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 145:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet fasted for days continuously; the people also did the same but it was difficult for them. So, the Prophet forbade them (to fast continuously for more than one day). They slid, "But you fast without break (no food was taken in the evening or in the morning)." The Prophet replied, "I am not like you, for I am provided with food and drink (by Allah)."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 146:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "Take Suhur as there is a blessing in it."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 147:
Narrated Salama bin Al-Akwa:
Once the Prophet ordered a person on 'Ashura' (the tenth of Muharram) to announce, "Whoever has eaten, should not eat any more, but fast, and who has not eaten should not eat, but complete his fast (till the end of the day).

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 148:
Narrated Aisha and Um Salama:
At times Allah's Apostle used to get up in the morning in the state of Janaba after having sexual relations with his wives. He would then take a bath and fast.

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 149:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet used to kiss and embrace (his wives) while he was fasting, and he had more power to control his desires than any of you. Said Jabir, "The person who gets discharge after casting a look (on his wife) should complete his fast."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 150:
Narrated Hisham's father:
Aisha said, "Allah's Apostle used to kiss some of his wives while he was fasting," and then she smiled.

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 151:
Narrated Zainab:
(daughter of Um Salama) that her mother said, "While I was (lying) with Allah's Apostle underneath a woolen sheet, I got the menstruation, and then slipped away and put on the clothes (which I used to wear) in menses. He asked, "What is the matter? Did you get your menses?" I replied in the affirmative and then entered underneath that woolen sheet. I and Allah's Apostle used to take a bath from one water pot and he used to kiss me while he was fasting."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 152:
Narrated Aisha:
(At times) in Ramadan the Prophet used to take a bath in the morning not because of a wet dream and would continue his fast.

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 153:
Narrated Abu Bakr bin Abdur-Rahman:
My father and I went to Aisha and she said, "I testify that Allah's Apostle at times used to get up in the morning in a state of Janaba from sexual intercourse, not from a wet dream and then he would fast that day." Then he went to Um Salama and she also narrated a similar thing.

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 154:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "If somebody eats or drinks forgetfully then he should complete his fast, for what he has eaten or drunk, has been given to him by Allah." Narrated Amir bin Rabi'a, "I saw the Prophet cleaning his teeth with Siwak while he was fasting so many times as I can't count." And narrated Abu Huraira, "The Prophet said, 'But for my fear that it would be hard for my followers, I would have ordered them to clean their teeth with Siwak on every performance of ablution." The same is narrated by Jabir and Zaid bin Khalid from the Prophet who did not differentiate between a fasting and a nonfasting person in this respect (using Siwak).
Aisha said, "The Prophet said, "It (i.e. Siwak) is a purification for the mouth and it is a way of seeking Allah's pleasures." Ata' and Qatada said, "There is no harm in swallowing the resultant saliva."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 155:
Narrated Humran:
I saw Uthman performing ablution; he washed his hands thrice, rinsed his mouth and then washed his nose, by putting water in it and then blowing it out, and washed his face thrice, and then washed his right forearm up to the elbow thrice, and then the left-forearm up to the elbow thrice, then smeared his head with water, washed his right foot thrice, and then his left foot thrice and said, "I saw Allah's Apostle performing ablution similar to my present ablution, and then he said, 'Whoever performs ablution like my present ablution and then offers two Rakat in which he does not think of worldly things, all his previous sins will be forgiven."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 156:
Narrated Aisha:
A man came to the Prophet and said that he had been burnt (ruined). The Prophet asked him what was the matter. He replied, "I had sexual intercourse with my wife in Ramadan (while I was fasting)." Then a basket full of dates was brought to the Prophet and he asked, "Where is the burnt (ruined) man?" He replied, "I am present." The Prophet told him to give that basket in charity (as expiation).

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 157:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
While we were sitting with the Prophet a man came and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have been ruined." Allah's Apostle asked what was the matter with him. He replied "I had sexual intercourse with my wife while I was fasting." Allah's Apostle asked him, "Can you afford to manumit a slave?" He replied in the negative. Allah's Apostle asked him, "Can you fast for two successive months?" He replied in the negative. The Prophet asked him, "Can you afford to feed sixty poor persons?" He replied in the negative. The Prophet kept silent and while we were in that state, a big basket full of dates was brought to the Prophet . He asked, "Where is the questioner?" He replied, "I (am here)." The Prophet said (to him), "Take this (basket of dates) and give it in charity." The man said, "Should I give it to a person poorer than I? By Allah; there is no family between its (i.e. Medina's) two mountains who are poorer than I." The Prophet smiled till his pre-molar teeth became visible and then said, 'Feed your family with it."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 158:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A man came to the Prophet and said, "I had sexual intercourse with my wife on Ramadan (while fasting)." The Prophet asked him, "Can you afford to manumit a slave?" He replied in the negative. The Prophet asked him, "Can you fast for two successive months?" He replied in the negative. He asked him, "Can you afford to feed sixty poor persons?" He replied in the negative. (Abu Huraira added): Then a basket full of dates was brought to the Prophet and he said (to that man), "Feed (poor people) with this by way of atonement." He said, "(Should I feed it) to poorer people than we? There is no poorer house than ours between its (Medina's) mountains." The Prophet said, "Then feed your family with it."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 159:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet was cupped while he was in the state of lhram, and also while he was observing a fast.

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 160:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet was cupped while he was fasting.

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 161:
Narrated Thabit Al-Bunani:
Anas bin Malik was asked whether they disliked the cupping for a fasting person. He replied in the negative and said, "Only if it causes weakness."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 162:
Narrated Ibn Abi Aufa:
We were in the company of Allah's Apostle on a journey. He said to a man, "Get down and mix Sawiq (powdered barley) with water for me." The man said, "The sun (has not set yet), O Allah's Apostle." The Prophet again said to him, "Get down and mix Sawiq with water for me." The man again said, "O Allah's Apostle! The sun!" The Prophet said to him (for the third time) "Get down and mix Sawiq with water for me." The man dismounted and mixed Sawiq with water for him. The Prophet drank it and then beckoned with his hand (towards the East) and said, "When you see the night falling from this side, then a fasting person should break his fast."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 163:
Narrated Aisha:
Hamza bin Amr Al-Aslami said, "O Allah's Apostle! I fast continuously."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 164:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) Hamza bin Amr Al-Aslami asked the Prophet, "Should I fast while traveling?" The Prophet replied, "You may fast if you wish, and you may not fast if you wish."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 165:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle set out for Mecca in Ramadan and he fasted, and when he reached Al-Kadid, he broke his fast and the people (with him) broke their fast too. (Abu Abdullah said, "Al-Kadid is a land covered with water between Usfan and Qudaid.")

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 166:
Narrated Abu Ad-Darda:
We set out with Allah's Apostle on one of his journeys on a very hot day, and it was so hot that one had to put his hand over his head because of the severity of heat. None of us was fasting except the Prophet and Ibn Rawaha.

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 167:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle was on a journey and saw a crowd of people, and a man was being shaded (by them). He asked, "What is the matter?" They said, "He (the man) is fasting." The Prophet said, "It is not righteousness that you fast on a journey."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 168:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
We used to travel with the Prophet and neither did the fasting persons criticize those who were not fasting, nor did those who were not fasting criticize the fasting ones.

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 169:
Narrated Tawus:
Ibn Abbas said, "Allah's Apostle set out from Medina to Mecca and he fasted till he reached 'Usfan, where he asked for water and raised his hand to let the people see him, and then broke the fast, and did not fast after that till he reached Mecca, and that happened in Ramadan." Ibn Abbas used to say, "Allah's Apostle (sometimes) fasted and (sometimes) did not fast during the journeys so whoever wished to fast could fast, and whoever wished not to fast, could do so."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 170:
Narrated Nafi:
Ibn Umar recited the verse: "They had a choice either to fast or to feed a poor person for every day, and said that the order of this Verse was cancelled.

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 171:
Narrated Aisha:
Sometimes I missed some days of Ramadan, but could not fast in lieu of them except in the month of Sha'ban." Said Yahya, a sub-narrator, "She used to be busy serving the Prophet ."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 172:
Narrated Abu Said:
The Prophet said, "Isn't it true that a woman does not pray and does not fast on menstruating? And that is the defect (a loss) in her religion."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 173:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever died and he ought to have fasted (the missed days of Ramadan) then his guardians must fast on his behalf."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 174:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
A man came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! My mother died and she ought to have fasted one month (for her missed Ramadan). Shall I fast on her behalf?" The

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Prophet replied in the affirmative and said, "Allah's debts have more right to be paid." In another narration a woman is reported to have said, "My sister died..."

Narrated Ibn Abbas: A woman said to the Prophet "My mother died and she had vowed to fast but she didn't fast." In another narration Ibn Abbas is reported to have said, "A woman said to the Prophet, "My mother died while she ought to have fasted for fifteen days."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 175:
Narrated Umar bin Al-Khattab:
Allah's Apostle said, "When night falls from this side and the day vanishes from this side and the sun sets, then the fasting person should break his fast."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 176:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abi Aufa:
We were in the company of the Prophet on a journey and he was fasting, and when the sun set, he addressed somebody, "O so-and-so, get up and mix Sawiq with water for us." He replied, "O Allah's Apostle! (Will you wait) till it is evening?" The Prophet said, "Get down and mix Sawiq with water for us." He replied, "O Allah's Apostle! (If you wait) till it is evening." The Prophet said again, "Get down and mix Sawiq with water for us." He replied, "It is still daytime."(1) The Prophet said again, "Get down and mix Sawiq with water for us." He got down and mixed Sawiq for them. The Prophet drank it and then said, "When you see night falling from this side, the fasting person should break his fast."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 177:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abi Aufa"
We were traveling with Allah's Apostle and he was fasting, and when the sun set, he said to (someone), "Get down and mix Sawiq with water for us." He replied, "O Allah's Apostle! (Will you wait) till it is evening?" The Prophet again said, "Get down and mix Sawiq with water for us." He replied, "O Allah's Apostle! It is still daytime." The Prophet said again, "Get down and mix Sawiq with water for us." So, he got down and carried out that order. The Prophet then said, "When you see night falling from this side, the fasting person should break his fast," and he beckoned with his finger towards the east.

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 178:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
Allah's Apostle said, "The people will remain on the right path as long as they hasten the breaking of the fast."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 179:
Narrated Ibn Abi Aufa:
I was with the Prophet on a journey, and he observed the fast till evening. The Prophet said to a man, "Get down and mix Sawiq with water for me." He replied, "Will you wait till it is evening?" The Prophet said, "Get down and mix Sawiq with water for me; when you see night falling from this side, the fasting person should break his fast."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 180:
Narrated Abu Usama from Hisham bin 'Ursa from Fatima:
Asma bint Abi Bakr said, "We broke our fast during the lifetime of the Prophet on a cloudy day and then the sun appeared." Hisham was asked, "Were they ordered to fast in lieu of that day?" He replied, "It had to be made up for." Ma'mar said, "I heard Hisham saying, "I don't know whether they fasted in lieu of that day or not."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 181:
Narrated Ar-Rubi' bint Mu'awadh:
"The Prophet sent a messenger to the village of the Ansar in the morning of the day of 'Ashura' (10th of Muharram) to announce: 'Whoever has eaten something should not eat but complete the fast, and whoever is observing the fast should complete it.' "She further said, "Since then we used to fast on that day regularly and also make our boys fast. We used to make toys of wool for the boys and if anyone of them cried for, he was given those toys till it was the time of the breaking of the fast."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 182:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "Do not practice Al-Wisal (fasting continuously without breaking one's fast in the evening or eating before the following dawn)." The people said to the Prophet, "But you practice Al-Wisal?" The Prophet replied, "I am not like any of you, for I am given food and drink (by Allah) during the night."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 183:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle forbade Al-Wisal. The people said (to him), "But you practice it?" He said, "I am not like you, for I am given food and drink by Allah."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 184:
'Narrated Abu Sa'id:
That he had heard the Prophet saying, "Do not fast continuously (practise Al-Wisal), and if you intend to lengthen your fast, then carry it on only till the Suhur (before the following dawn)." The people said to him, "But you practice (Al-Wisal), O Allah's Apostle!" He replied, "I am not similar to you, for during my sleep I have One Who makes me eat and drink."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 185:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle forbade Al-Wisal out of mercy to them. They said to him, "But you practice Al-Wisal?" He said, "I am not similar to you, for my Lord gives me food and drink. "

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 186:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle forbade Al-Wisal in fasting. So, one of the Muslims said to him, "But you practice Al-Wisal. O Allah's Apostle!" The Prophet replied, "Who amongst you is similar to me? I am given food and drink during my sleep by my Lord." So, when the people refused to stop Al-Wisal (fasting continuously), the Prophet fasted day and night continuously along with them for a day and then another day and then they saw the crescent moon (of the month of Shawwal). The Prophet said to them (angrily), "If It (the crescent) had not appeared, I would have made you fast for a longer period." That was as a punishment for them when they refused to stop (practising Al-Wisal).

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 187:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said twice, "(O you people) Be cautious! Do not practice Al-Wisal." The people said to him, "But you practice Al-Wisal?" The Prophet replied, "My Lord gives me food and drink during my sleep. Do that much of deeds which is within your ability."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 188:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
Allah's Apostle said, "Do not fast continuously day and night (practise Al-Wisal) and if anyone of you intends to fast continuously day and night, he should continue till the Suhur time." They said, "But you practise Al-Wisal, O Allah's Apostle!" The Prophet said, "I am not similar to you;. during my sleep I have One Who makes me eat and drink."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 189:
Narrated Abu Juhaifa:
The Prophet made a bond of brotherhood between Salman and Abu Ad-Darda.' Salman paid a visit to Abu Ad-Darda' and found Um Ad-Darda' dressed in shabby clothes and asked her why she was in that state. She replied, "Your brother Abu Ad-Darda' is not interested in (the luxuries of) this world." In the meantime Abu Ad-Darda' came and prepared a meal for Salman. Salman requested Abu Ad-Darda' to eat (with him), but Abu Ad-Darda' said, "I am fasting." Salman said, "I am not going to eat unless you eat." So, Abu Ad-Darda' ate(with Salman). When it was night and (a part of the night passed), Abu Ad-Darda' got up (to offer the night prayer), but Salman told him to sleep and Abu Ad-Darda' slept. After sometime Abu Ad-Darda' again got up but Salman told him to sleep. When it was the last hours of the night, Salman told him to get up then, and both of them offered the prayer. Salman told Abu Ad-Darda', "Your Lord has a right on you, your soul has a right on you, and your family has a right on you; so you should give the rights of all those who has a right on you." Abu Ad-Darda' came to the Prophet and narrated the whole story. The Prophet said, "Salman has spoken the truth."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 190:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle used to fast till one would say that he would never stop fasting, and he would abandon fasting till one would say that he would never fast. I never saw Allah's Apostle fasting for a whole month except the month of Ramadan, and did not see him fasting in any month more than in the month of Sha'ban.

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 191:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet never fasted in any month more than in the month of Sha'ban. He used to say, "Do those deeds which you can do easily, as Allah will not get tired (of giving rewards) till you get bored and tired (of performing religious deeds)." The most beloved prayer to the Prophet was the one that was done regularly (throughout the life) even if it were little. And whenever the Prophet offered a prayer he used to offer it regularly .

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 192:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet never fasted a full month except the month of Ramadan, and he used to fast till one could say, "By Allah, he will never stop fasting," and he would abandon fasting till one would say, "By Allah, he will never fast."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 193:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle used to leave fasting in a certain month till we thought that he would not fast in that month, and he used to fast in another month till we thought he would not stop fasting at all in that month. And if one wanted to see him praying at night, one could see him (in that condition), and if one wanted to see him sleeping at night, one could see him (in that condition) too.

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 194:
Narrated Humaid:
I asked Anas about the fasting of the Prophet. He said "Whenever I liked to see the Prophet fasting in any month, I could see that, and whenever I liked to see him not fasting, I could see that too, and if I liked to see him praying in any night, I could see that, and if I liked to see him sleeping, I could see that, too." Anas further said, "I never touched silk or velvet softer than the hand of Allah's Apostle and never smelled musk or perfumed smoke more pleasant than the smell of Allah's Apostle."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 195:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr bin Al-'As:
"Once Allah's Apostle came to me," and then he narrated the whole narration, i.e. your guest has a right on you, and your wife has a right on you. I then asked about the fasting of David. The Prophet replied, "Half of the year," (i.e. he used to fast on every alternate day).

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 196:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr bin Al-'As:
Allah's Apostle said to me, "O Abdullah! Have I not been informed that you fast during the day and offer prayers all the night." Abdullah replied, "Yes, O Allah's Apostle!" The Prophet said, "Don't do that; fast for few days and then give it up for few days, offer prayers and also sleep at night, as your body has a right on you, and your wife has a right on you, and your guest has a right on you. And it is sufficient for you to fast three days in a month, as the reward of a good deed is multiplied ten times, so it will be like fasting throughout the year." I insisted (on fasting) and so I was given a hard instruction. I said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have power." The Prophet said, "Fast like the fasting of the Prophet David and do not fast more than that." I said, "How was the fasting of the Prophet of Allah, David?" He said, "Half of the year," (i.e. he used to fast on every alternate day).
Afterwards when Abdullah became old, he used to say, "It would have been better for me if I had accepted the permission of the Prophet (which he gave me i.e. to fast only three days a month)."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 197:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
Allah's Apostle was informed that I had taken an oath to fast daily and to pray (every night) all the night throughout my life (so Allah's Apostle came to me and asked whether it was correct): I replied, "Let my parents be sacrificed for you! I said so." The Prophet said, "You can not do that. So, fast for few days and give it up for few days, r ray and sleep. Fast three days a month as the reward of good deeds is multiplied ten times and that will be equal to one year of fasting." I replied, "I can do better than that." The Prophet said to me, "Fast one day and give up fasting for a day and that is the fasting of Prophet David and that is the best fasting." I said, "I have the power to fast better (more) than that." The Prophet said, "There is no better fasting than that."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 198:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
The news of my daily fasting and praying every night throughout the night reached the Prophet. So he sent for me or I met him, and he said, "I have been informed that you fast everyday and pray every night (all the night). Fast (for some days) and give up fasting (for some days); pray and sleep, for your eyes have a right on you, and your body and your family (i.e. wife) have a right on you." I replied, "I have more power than that (fasting)." The Prophet said, "Then fast like the fasts of (the Prophet) David". I said, "How?" He replied, "He used to fast on alternate days, and he used not to flee on meeting the enemy." I said, "From where can I get that chance?" ('Ata' said, "I do not know how the expression of fasting daily throughout the life occurred.") So, the Prophet said, twice, "Whoever fasts daily throughout his life is just as the one who does not fast at all."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 199:
Narrated Mujahid from Abdullah bin Amr:

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The Prophet said (to Abdullah), "Fast three days a month." Abdullah said, (to the Prophet) "I am able to fast more than that." They kept on arguing on this matter till the Prophet said, "Fast on alternate days, and recite the whole Koran once a month." Abdullah said, "I can recite more (in a month)," and the argument went on till the Prophet said, "Recite the Koran once each three days." (i.e. you must not recite the whole Koran in less than three days).

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 200:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr bin Al-'As:
The Prophet said to me, "You fast daily all the year and pray every night all the night?" I replied in the affirmative. The Prophet said, "If you keep on doing this, your eyes will become weak and your body will get tired. He who fasts all the year is as he who did not fast at all. The fasting of three days (a month) will be equal to the tasting of the whole year." I replied, "I have the power for more than this." The Prophet said, "Then fast like the fasting of David who used to fast on alternate days and would never flee from the battle field, on meeting the enemy.

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 201:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
Allah's Apostle was informed about my fasts, and he came to me and I spread for him a leather cushion stuffed with palm fires, but he sat on the ground and the cushion remained between me and him, and then he said, "Isn't it sufficient for you to fast three days a month?" I replied, "O Allah's Apostle! (I can fast more)." He said, "Five?" I replied, "O Allah's Apostle! (I can fast more)." He said, "Seven?" I replied, "O Allah's Apostle! (I can fast more)." He said, "Nine (days per month)?" I replied, "O Allah's Apostle! (I can fast more)" He said, "Eleven (days per month)?" And then the Prophet said, "There is no fast superior to that of the Prophet David it was for half of the year. So, fast on alternate days."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 202:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
My friend (the Prophet) advised me to observe three things:
(1) to fast three days a month;
(2) to pray two Rakat of Duha prayer (fore-noon prayer); and
(3) to pray Witr before sleeping.

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 203:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet paid a visit to Um-Sulaim and she placed before him dates and ghee. The Prophet said, "Replace the ghee and dates in their respective containers for I am fasting." Then he stood somewhere in her house and offered an optional prayer and then he invoked good on Um-Sulaim and her family. Then Um-Sulaim said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have a special request (today)." He said, "What is it?" She replied, "(Please invoke for) your servant Anas." So Allah's Apostle did not leave anything good in the world or the Hereafter which he did not invoke (Allah to bestow) on me and said, "O Allah! Give him (i.e. Anas) property and children and bless him." Thus I am one of the richest among the Ansar and my daughter Umaina told me that when A-Hajjaj came to Basra, more than 120 of my offspring had been buried.

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 204:
Narrated Mutarrif from Imran Ibn Husain:
That the Prophet asked him (Imran) or asked a man and Imran was listening, "O Abu so-and-so! Have you fasted the last days of this month?" (The narrator thought that he said, "the month of Ramadan"). The man replied, "No, O Allah's Apostle!" The Prophet said to him, "When you finish your fasting (of Ramadan) fast two days (in Shawwal)." Through another series of narrators Imran said, "The Prophet said, '(Have you fasted) the last days of Sha'ban?"

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 205:
Narrated Mohammed bin Abbas:
I asked Jabir "Did the Prophet forbid fasting on Fridays?" He replied, "Yes." (Other narrators added, "If he intends to fast only that day.")

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 206:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard the Prophet saying, "None of you should fast on Friday unless he fasts a day before or after it."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 207:
Narrated Abu Aiyub from Juwairiya bint Al-Harith:
The Prophet visited her (Juwairiya) on a Friday and she was fasting. He asked her, "Did you fast yesterday?" She said, "No." He said, "Do you intend to fast tomorrow?" She said, "No." He said, "Then break your fast." Through another series of narrators, Abu Aiyub is reported to have said, "He ordered her and she broke her fast."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 208:
Narrated Alqama:
I asked Aisha "Did Allah s Apostle, use to choose some special days (for fasting)?" She replied, "No, but he used to be regular (constant) (in his service of worshipping). Who amongst you can endure what Allah's Apostle used to endure?"

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 209:
Narrated Um Al-Fadl bint Al-Harith:
"While the people were with me on the day of 'Arafat they differed as to whether the Prophet was fasting or not; some said that he was fasting while others said that he was not fasting. So, I sent to him a bowl full of milk while he was riding over his camel and he drank it."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 210:
Narrated Maimuna:
The people doubted whether the Prophet was fasting on the day of 'Arafat or not, so I sent milk while he was standing at 'Arafat, he drank it and the people were looking at him.

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 211:
Narrated Abu Ubaid:
(the slave of Ibn Azhar) I witnessed the 'Id with Umar bin Al-Kattab who said, Allah's Apostle has forbidden people to fast on the day on which you break fasting (the fasts of Ramadan) and the day on which you eat the meat of your sacrifices (the first day of Id ul Fitr and Id ul-Adha).

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 212:
Narrated Abu Sa'id:
The Prophet forbade the fasting of 'Id-ul-Fitr and 'Id-ul-Adha (two feast days) and also the wearing of As-Samma' (a single garment covering the whole body), and sitting with one's leg drawn up while being wrapped in one garment. He also forbade the prayers after the Fajr (morning) and the Asr (afternoon) prayers.

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 213:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Two fasts and two kinds of sale are forbidden: fasting on the day of Id ul Fitr and 'Id-ul-Adha and the kinds of sale called Mulamasa and Munabadha. (These two kinds of sale used to be practiced in the days of Pre-lslamic period of ignorance; Mulamasa means when you touch something displayed for sale you have to buy it; Munabadha means when the seller throws something to you, you have to buy it.)

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 214:
Narrated Ziyad bin Jubair:
A man went to Ibn Umar I. and said, "A man vowed to fast one day (the sub-narrator thinks that he said that the day was Monday), and that day happened to be 'Id day." Ibn Umar said, "Allah orders vows to be fulfilled and the Prophet forbade the fasting on this day (i.e. Id)."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 215:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
(who fought in twelve Ghazawat in the company of the Prophet). I heard four things from the Prophet and they won my admiration. He said;
1. "No lady should travel on a journey of two days except with her husband or a Dhi-Mahram;
2. "No fasting is permissible on the two days of Id-ul-Fitr and 'Id-ul-Adha;
3. "No prayer (may be offered) after the morning compulsory prayer until the sun rises; and no prayer after the Asr prayer till the sun sets;
4. "One should travel only for visiting three Masajid (Mosques): Masjid-ul-Haram (Mecca), Masjid-ul-Aqsa (Jerusalem), and this (my) Mosque (at Medina)."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 216:
Narrated Aisha and Ibn Umar:
Nobody was allowed to fast on the days of Tashrlq except those who could not afford the Hadi (Sacrifice).

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 217:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Fasting for those who perform ,Hajj-at-Tamattu' (in lieu of the Hadi which they cannot afford) may be performed up to the day of 'Arafat. And if one does not get a Hadi and has not fasted (before the 'Id) then one should fast of the days of Mina. (11, 12 and 13th of Dhul Hajja).

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 218:
Narrated Salim's father:
The Prophet said, "Whoever wishes may fast on the day of 'Ashura'."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 219:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle ordered (the Muslims) to fast on the day of 'Ashura', and when fasting in the month of Ramadan was prescribed, it became optional for one to fast on that day ('Ashura') or not.

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 220:
Narrated Aisha:
Quraish used to fast on the day of 'Ashura' in the Pre-lslamic period, and Allah's Apostle too, used to fast on that day. When he came to Medina, he fasted on that day and ordered others to fast, too. Later when the fasting of the month of Ramadan was prescribed, he gave up fasting on the day of 'Ashura' and it became optional for one to fast on it or not.

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 221:
Narrated Humaid bin Abdur Rahman:
That he heard Muawiya bin Abi Sufyan on the day of 'Ashura' during the year he performed the Hajj, saying on the pulpit, "O the people of Medina! Where are your Religious Scholars? I heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'This is the day of 'Ashura'. Allah has not enjoined its fasting on you but I am fasting it. You have the choice either to fast or not to fast (on this day).' "

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 222:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet came to Medina and saw the Jews fasting on the day of Ashura. He asked them about that. They replied, "This is a good day, the day on which Allah rescued Bani Israel from their enemy. So, Moses fasted this day." The Prophet said, "We have more claim over Moses than you." So, the Prophet fasted on that day and ordered (the Muslims) to fast (on that day).

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 223:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The day of 'Ashura' was considered as 'Id day by the Jews. So the Prophet ordered, "I recommend you (Muslims) to fast on this day."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 224:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
I never saw the Prophet seeking to fast on a day more (preferable to him) than this day, the day of 'Ashura', or this month, i.e. the month of Ramadan.

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 225:
Narrated Salama bin Al-Akwa:
The Prophet ordered a man from the tribe of Bani Aslam to announce amongst the people that whoever had eaten should fast the rest of the day, and whoever had not eaten should continue his fast, as that day was the day of 'Ashura' .

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 32:
Praying at Night in Ramadaan (Taraweeh)

Volume 3, Book 32, Number 226:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying regarding Ramadan, "Whoever prayed at night in it (the month of Ramadan) out of sincere Faith and hoping for a reward from Allah, then all his previous sins will be forgiven."

Volume 3, Book 32, Number 227:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever prayed at night the whole month of Ramadan out of sincere Faith and hoping for a reward from Allah, then all his previous sins will be forgiven." Ibn Shihab (a sub-narrator) said, "Allah's Apostle died and the people continued observing that (i.e. Nawafil offered individually, not in congregation), and it remained as it was during the Caliphate of Abu Bakr and in the early days of Umar's Caliphate." Abdur Rahman bin Abdul Qari said, "I went out in the company of Umar bin Al-Khattab one night in Ramadan to the mosque and found the people praying in different groups. A man praying alone or a man praying with a little group behind him. So, Umar said, 'In my opinion I would better collect these (people) under the leadership of one Qari (Reciter) (i.e. let them pray in congregation!)'. So, he made up his mind to congregate them behind Ubai bin Ka'b. Then on another night I went again in his company and the people were praying behind their reciter. On that, Umar remarked, 'What an excellent Bid'a (i.e. innovation in religion) this is; but the prayer which they do not perform, but sleep at its time is better than the one they are offering.' He meant the prayer in the last part of the night. (In those days) people used to pray in the early part of the night."

Volume 3, Book 32, Number 228:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) Allah's Apostle used to pray (at night) in Ramadan.

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Volume 3, Book 32, Number 229:
Narrated Urwa:
That he was informed by Aisha, "Allah's Apostle went out in the middle of the night and prayed in the mosque and some men prayed behind him. In the morning, the people spoke about it and then a large number of them gathered and prayed behind him (on the second night). In the next morning the people again talked about it and on the third night the mosque was full with a large number of people. Allah's Apostle came out and the people prayed behind him. On the fourth night the Mosque was overwhelmed with people and could not accommodate them, but the Prophet came out (only) for the morning prayer. When the morning prayer was finished he recited Tashah-hud and (addressing the people) said, "Amma ba'du, your presence was not hidden from me but I was afraid lest the night prayer (Qiyam) should be enjoined on you and you might not be able to carry it on." So, Allah's Apostle died and the situation remained like that (i.e. people prayed individually). "

Volume 3, Book 32, Number 230:
Narrated Abu Salama bin Abdur Rahman:
that he asked Aisha "How was the prayer of Allah's Apostle in Ramadan?" She replied, "He did not pray more than eleven Rakat in Ramadan or in any other month. He used to pray four Rakat ---- let alone their beauty and length----and then he would pray four ----let alone their beauty and length ---- and then he would pray three Rakat (Witr)." She added, "I asked, 'O Allah's Apostle! Do you sleep before praying the Witr?' He replied, 'O Aisha! My eyes sleep but my heart does not sleep."

Volume 3, Book 32, Number 231:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Whoever fasted the month of Ramadan out of sincere Faith (i.e. belief) and hoping for a reward from Allah, then all his past sins will be forgiven, and whoever stood for the prayers in the night of Qadr out of sincere Faith and hoping for a reward from Allah, then all his previous sins will be forgiven ."

Volume 3, Book 32, Number 232:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Some men amongst the companions of the Prophet were shown in their dreams that the night of Qadr was in the last seven nights of Ramadan. Allah's Apostle said, "It seems that all your dreams agree that (the Night of Qadr) is in the last seven nights, and whoever wants to search for it (i.e. the Night of Qadr) should search in the last seven (nights of Ramadan)."

Volume 3, Book 32, Number 233:
Narrated Abu Salama:
I asked Abu Sa'id, and he was a friend of mine, (about the Night of Qadr) and he said, "We practiced Itikaf (seclusion in the mosque) in the middle third of the month of Ramadan with the Prophet . In the morning of the 20th of Ramadan, the Prophet came and addressed us and said, 'I was informed of (the date of the Night of Qadr) but I was caused to forget it; so search for it in the odd nights of the last ten nights of the month of Ramadan. (In the dream) I saw myself prostrating in mud and water (as a sign). So, whoever was in l'tikaf with me should return to it with me (for another 10-day's period)', and we returned. At that time there was no sign of clouds in the sky but suddenly a cloud came and it rained till rain-water started leaking through the roof of the mosque which was made of date-palm leaf stalks. Then the prayer was established and I saw Allah's Apostle prostrating in mud and water and I saw the traces of mud on his forehead."

Volume 3, Book 32, Number 234:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle said, "Search for the Night of Qadr in the odd nights of the last ten days of Ramadan."

Volume 3, Book 32, Number 235:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
Allah's Apostle used to practice Itikaf (in the mosque) in the middle third of Ramadan and after passing the twenty nights he used to go back to his house on the 21st, and the people who were in Itikaf with him also used to go back to their houses. Once in Ramadan, in which he practiced Itikaf, he established the night prayers at the night in which he used to return home, and then he addressed the people and ordered them whatever Allah wished him to order and said, "I used to practice Itikaf for these ten days (i.e. the middle 113rd but now I intend to stay in Itikaf for the last ten days (of the month); so whoever was in Itikaf with me should stay at his place of seclusion. I have verily been shown (the date of) this Night (of Qadr) but I have forgotten it. So search for it in the odd nights of the last ten days (of this month). I also saw myself (in the dream) prostrating in mud and water." On the night of the 21st, the sky was covered with clouds and it rained, and the rain-water started leaking through the roof of the mosque at the praying place of the Prophet . I saw with my own eyes the Prophet at the completion of the morning prayer leaving with his face covered with mud and water.

Volume 3, Book 32, Number 236:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said, "Look for (the Night of Qadr)."

Volume 3, Book 32, Number 237:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle used to practice Itikaf in the last ten nights of Ramadan and used to say, "Look for the Night of Qadr in the last ten nights of the month of Ramadan ,"

Volume 3, Book 32, Number 238:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "Look for the Night of Qadr in the last ten nights of Ramadan ,' on the night when nine or seven or five nights remain out of the last ten nights of Ramadan (i.e. 21, 23, 25, respectively)."

Volume 3, Book 32, Number 239:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle said, "The Night of Qadr is in the last ten nights of the month (Ramadan), either on the first nine or in the last (remaining) seven nights (of Ramadan)." Ibn Abbas added, "Search for it on the twenty-fourth (of Ramadan)."

Volume 3, Book 32, Number 240:
Narrated 'Ubada bin As-Samit:
The Prophet came out to inform us about the Night of Qadr but two Muslims were quarreling with each other. So, the Prophet said, "I came out to inform you about the Night of Qadr but such-and-such persons were quarreling, so the news about it had been taken away; yet that might be for your own good, so search for it on the 29th, 27th and 25th (of Ramadan).

Volume 3, Book 32, Number 241:
Narrated Aisha:
With the start of the last ten days of Ramadan, the Prophet used to tighten his waist belt (i.e. work hard) and used to pray all the night, and used to keep his family awake for the prayers.

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 33:
Retiring to a Mosque for Remembrance of Allah (I'tikaf)

Volume 3, Book 33, Number 242:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle used to practise Itikaf in the last ten days of the month of Ramadan.

Volume 3, Book 33, Number 243:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) The Prophet used to practice Itikaf in the last ten days of Ramadan till he died and then his wives used to practice Itikaf after him.

Volume 3, Book 33, Number 244:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
Allah's Apostle used to practice Itikaf in the middle ten days of Ramadan and once he stayed in Itikaf till the night of the twenty-first and it was the night in the morning of which he used to come out of his Itikaf. The Prophet said, "Whoever was in Itikaf with me should stay in Itikaf for the last ten days, for I was informed (of the date) of the Night (of Qadr) but I have been caused to forget it. (In the dream) I saw myself prostrating in mud and water in the morning of that night. So, look for it in the last ten nights and in the odd ones of them." It rained that night and the roof of the mosque dribbled as it was made of leaf stalks of date-palms. I saw with my own eyes the mark of mud and water on the forehead of the Prophet (i.e. in the morning of the twenty-first).

Volume 3, Book 33, Number 245:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet used to (put) bend his head (out) to me while he was in Itikaf in the mosque during my monthly periods and I would comb and oil his hair.

Volume 3, Book 33, Number 246:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) Allah's Apostle used to let his head in (the house) while he was in the mosque and I would comb and oil his hair. When in Itikaf he used not to enter the house except for a need.

Volume 3, Book 33, Number 247:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet used to embrace me during my menses. He also used to put his head out of the mosque while he was in Itikaf, and I would wash it during my menses.

Volume 3, Book 33, Number 248:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Umar asked the Prophet "I vowed in the Pre-Islamic period of ignorance to stay in Itikaf for one night in Al-Masjid al-Haram." The Prophet said to him, "Fulfill your vow."

Volume 3, Book 33, Number 249:
Narrated Amra:
Aisha said, "the Prophet used to practice Itikaf in the last ten days of Ramadan and I used to pitch a tent for him, and after offering the morning prayer, he used to enter the tent." Hafsa asked the permission of Aisha to pitch a tent for her and she allowed her and she pitched her tent. When Zainab bint Jahsh saw it, she pitched another tent. In the morning the Prophet noticed the tents. He said, 'What is this?" He was told of the whole situation. Then the Prophet said, "Do you think that they intended to do righteousness by doing this?" He therefore abandoned the Itikaf in that month and practiced Itikaf for ten days in the month of Shawwal."

Volume 3, Book 33, Number 250:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet intended to practice Itikaf and when he reached the place where he intended to perform Itikaf, he saw some tents, the tents of Aisha, Hafsa and Zainab. So, he said, "Do you consider that they intended to do righteousness by doing this?" And then he went away and did not perform Itikaf (in Ramadan) but performed it in the month of Shawwal for ten days.

Volume 3, Book 33, Number 251:
Narrated Ali bin Al-Husain:
Safiya, the wife of the Prophet told me that she went to Allah's Apostle to visit him in the mosque while he was in Itikaf in the last ten days of Ramadan. She had a talk with him for a while, then she got up in order to return home. The Prophet accompanied her. When they reached the gate of the mosque, opposite the door of Um-Salama, two Ansari men were passing by and they greeted Allah's Apostle . He told them: Do not run away! And said, "She is (my wife) Safiya bint Huyai." Both of them said, "Subhan Allah, (How dare we think of any evil) O Allah's Apostle!" And they felt it. The Prophet said (to them), "Satan reaches everywhere in the human body as blood reaches in it, (everywhere in one's body). I was afraid lest Satan might insert an evil thought in your minds."

Volume 3, Book 33, Number 252:
Narrated Abu Salama bin Abdur-Rahman:
I asked Abu Said Al-Khudri, "Did you hear Allah's Apostle talking about the Night of Qadr?" He replied in the affirmative and said, "Once we were in Itikaf with Allah's Apostle in the middle ten days of (Ramadan) and we came out of it in the morning of the twentieth, and Allah's Apostle-delivered a sermon on the 20th (of Ramadan) and said, 'I was informed (of the date) of the Night of Qadr (in my dream) but had forgotten it. So, look for it in the odd nights of the last ten nights of the month of Ramadan. I saw myself prostrating in mud and water on that night (as a sign of the Night of Qadr). So, whoever had been in Itikaf with Allah's Apostle should return for it.' The people returned to the mosque (for Itikaf). There was no trace of clouds in the sky. But all of a sudden a cloud came and it rained. Then the prayer was established (they stood for the prayer) and Allah's Apostle prostrated in mud and water and I saw mud over the forehead and the nose of the Prophet.

Volume 3, Book 33, Number 253:
Narrated Aisha:
One of the wives of Allah's Apostle practiced Itikaf with him while she ad bleeding in between her periods and she would see red (blood) or yellowish traces, and sometimes we put a tray beneath her when she offered the prayer.

Volume 3, Book 33, Number 254:
Narrated Ali bin Al-Husain (from Safiya, the Prophet's wife):
The wives of the Prophet were with him in the mosque (while he was in Itikaf) and then they departed and the Prophet said to Safiya bint Huyai, "Don't hurry up, for I shall accompany you," (and her dwelling was in the house of Usama). The Prophet went out and in the meantime two Ansari men met him and they looked at the Prophet and passed by. The Prophet said to them, "Come here. She is (my wife) Safiya bint Huyai." They replied, "Subhan Allah, (How dare we think of evil) O Allah's Apostle! (we never expect anything bad from you)." The Prophet replied, "Satan circulates in the human being as blood circulates in the body, and I was afraid lest Satan might insert an evil thought in your minds."

Volume 3, Book 33, Number 255:
Narrated Ali bin Al-Husain from Safiya:
Safiya went to the Prophet while he was in Itikaf. When she returned, the Prophet accompanied her walking. An Ansari

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man saw him. When the Prophet noticed him, he called him and said, "Come here. She is Safiya. (Sufyan a sub-narrator perhaps said that the Prophet had said, "This is Safiya"). And Satan circulates in the body of Adam's offspring as his blood circulates in it."

(A sub-narrator asked Sufyan, "Did Safiya visit him at night?" He said, "Of course, at night.")

Volume 3, Book 33, Number 256:
Narrated Abu Said:

We practiced Itikaf with Allah's Apostle in the middle ten days (of Ramadan). In the morning of the twentieth (of Ramadan) we shifted our baggage, but Allah's Apostle came to us and said, "Whoever was m Itikaf should return to his place of Itikaf, for I saw (i.e. was informed about the date of) this Night (of Qadr) and saw myself prostrating in mud and water." When I returned to my place the sky was overcast with clouds and it rained. By Him Who sent Mohammed with the Truth, the sky was covered with clouds from the end of that day, and the mosque which was roofed with leaf-stalks of date palm trees (leaked with rain) and I saw the trace of mud and water over the nose of the Prophet and its tip.

Volume 3, Book 33, Number 257:
Narrated Amra bint Abdur-Rahman from Aisha:

Allah's Apostle used to practice Itikaf every year in the month of Ramadan. And after offering the morning prayer, he used to enter the place of his Itikaf. Aisha asked his permission to let her practice Itikaf and he allowed her, and so she pitched a tent in the mosque. When Hafsa heard of that, she also pitched a tent (for herself), and when Zainab heard of that, she too pitched another tent. When, in the morning, Allah's Apostle had finished the morning prayer, he saw four tents and asked, "What is this?" He was informed about it. He then said, "What made them do this? Is it righteousness? Remove the tents, for I do not want to see them." So, the tents were removed. The Prophet did not perform Itikaf that year in the month of Ramadan, but did it in the last ten days of Shawwal.

Volume 3, Book 33, Number 258:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

Umar bin Al-Khattab said, "O Allah's Apostle! I vowed in the Pre-lslamic period to perform Itikaf in Al-Masjid-al-Haram for one night." The Prophet said, "Fulfill your vow." So, he performed Itikaf for one night.

Volume 3, Book 33, Number 259:
Narrated Ibn Umar:

that Umar had vowed in the Pre-lslamic period to perform Itikaf in Al-Masjid-al-Haram. (A sub-narrator thinks that Umar vowed to perform Itikaf for one night.) Allah's Apostle said to Umar, "Fulfill your vow."

Volume 3, Book 33, Number 260:
Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet used to perform Itikaf every year in the month of Ramadan for ten days, and when it was the year of his death, he stayed in Itikaf for twenty days.

Volume 3, Book 33, Number 261:
Narrated Amra bint AbdurRahman from Aisha: Allah's Apostle mentioned that he would practice Itikaf in the last ten days of Ramadan. Aisha asked his permission to perform Itikaf and he permitted her. Hafsa asked Aisha to take his permission for

Volume 3, Book 33, Number 262:
Narrated Urwa:

Aisha during her menses used to comb and oil the hair of the Prophet while he used to be in Itikaf in the mosque. He would stretch out his head towards her while she was in her chamber.

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 34:
Sales and Trade

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 263:
Narrated Abu Huraira:

You people say that Abu Huraira tells many narrations from Allah's Apostle and you also wonder why the emigrants and Ansar do not narrate from Allah's Apostle as Abu Huraira does. My emigrant brothers were busy in the market while I used to stick to Allah's Apostle content with what fills my stomach; so I used to be present when they were absent and I used to remember when they used to forget, and my Ansari brothers used to be busy with their properties and I was one of the poor men of Suffa. I used to remember the narrations when they used to forget. No doubt, Allah's Apostle once said, "Whoever spreads his garment till I have finished my present speech and then gathers it to himself, will remember whatever I will say." So, I spread my colored garment which I was wearing till Allah's Apostle had finished his saying, and then I gathered it to my chest. So, I did not forget any of that narrations.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 264:
Narrated Ibrahim bin Sad from his father from his grand-father:

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

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 265:
Narrated Anas:

When Abdur-Rahman bin Auf came to Medina, the Prophet established a bond of brotherhood between him and Sad bin Ar-Rabi al-Ansari. Sad was a rich man, so he said to Abdur-Rahman, "I will give you half of my property and will help you marry." Abdur-Rahman said (to him), "May Allah bless you in your family and property. Show me the market." So Abdur-Rahman did not return from the market) till he gained some dried buttermilk (yoghurt) and butter (through trading). He brought that to his house-hold. We stayed for some-time (or as long as Allah wished), and then Abdur-Rahman came, scented with yellowish perfume. The Prophet said (to him) "What is this?" He replied, "I got married to an Ansari woman." The Prophet asked, "What did you pay her?" He replied, "A gold stone or gold equal to the weight of a date stone." The Prophet said (to him), "Give a wedding banquet even if with one sheep."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 266:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:

'Ukaz, Majanna and Dhul-Majaz were market-places in the Pre-lslamic period of ignorance. When Islam came, Muslims felt that marketing there might be a sin. So, the Divine Inspiration came: "There is no harm for you to seek the bounty of your Lord (in the seasons of Hajj)." (2.198) Ibn Abbas recited the Verse in this way.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 267:
Narrated An-Nu'man bin Bashir:

The Prophet said "Both legal and illegal things are obvious, and in between them are (suspicious) doubtful matters. So who-ever forsakes those doubtful things lest he may commit a sin, will definitely avoid what is clearly illegal; and who-ever indulges in these (suspicious) doubtful things bravely, is likely to commit what is clearly illegal. Sins are Allah's Hima (i.e. private pasture) and whoever pastures (his sheep) near it, is likely to get in it at any moment."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 268:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abu Mulaika:

y the same woman)?" His wife was the daughter of Abu Ihab-al-Tamimi.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 269:
Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 270:
Narrated Adi bin Hatim:

I asked Allah's Apostle about Al Mirad (i.e. a sharp-edged piece of wood or a piece of wood provided with a piece of iron used for hunting). He replied, "If the game is hit by its sharp edge, eat it, and if it is hit by its broad side, do not eat it, for it has been beaten to death." I asked, "O Allah's Apostle! I release my dog by the name of Allah and find with it at the game, another dog on which I have not mentioned the name of Allah, and I do not know which one of them caught the game." Allah's Apostle said (to him), 'Don't eat it as you have mentioned the name of Allah on your dog and not on the other dog."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 271:
Narrated Anas:

The Prophet passed by a fallen date and said, "Were it not for my doubt that this might have been given in charity, I would have eaten it." And narrated Abu Huraira the Prophet said, "I found a date-fruit fallen on my bed."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 272:
Narrated Abbas bin Tamim:

that his uncle said: "The Prophet was asked: If a person feels something during his prayer; should one interrupt his prayer?" The Prophet said: No! You should not give it up unless you hear a sound or smell something." Narrated Ibn Abi Hafsa: Az-Zuhri said, "There is no need of repeating ablution unless you detect a smell or hear a sound."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 273:
Narrated Aisha:

Some people said, "O Allah's Apostle! Meat is brought to us by some people and we are not sure whether the name of Allah has been mentioned on it or not (at the time of slaughtering the animals)." Allah's Apostle said (to them), "Mention the name of Allah and eat it."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 274:
Narrated Jabir:

While we were offering the prayer with the Prophet a caravan carrying food came from Sham. The people looked towards the caravan (and went to it) and only twelve persons remained with the Prophet. So, the Divine Inspiration came; "But when they see some bargain or some amusement, they disperse headlong to it." (62.11)

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 275:
Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "A time will come when one will not care how one gains one's money, legally or illegally."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 276:
Narrated Abu Al-Minhal:

I used to practice money exchange, and I asked Zaid bin 'Arqam about it, and he narrated what the Prophet said in the following: Abu Al-Minhal said, "I asked Al-Bara bin Azib and Zaid bin Arqam about practicing money exchange. They replied, 'We were traders in the time of Allah's Apostle and I asked Allah's Apostle about money exchange. He replied, 'If it is from hand to hand, there is no harm in it; otherwise it is not permissible."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 277:
Narrated Ubai bin Umar:

Abu Musa asked Umar to admit him but he was not admitted as Umar was busy, so Abu Musa went back. When Umar finished his job he said, "Didn't I hear the voice of Abdullah bin Qais? Let him come in." Umar was told that he had left. So, he sent for him and on his arrival, he (Abu Musa) said, "We were ordered to do so (i.e. to leave if not admitted after asking permission thrice). Umar told him, "Bring witness in proof of your statement." Abu Musa went to the Ansar's meeting places and asked them. They said, "None amongst us will give this witness except the youngest of us, Abu Said Al-Khudri. Abu Musa then took Abu Said Al-Khudri (to Umar) and Umar said, surprisingly, "Has this order of Allah's Apostle been hidden from me?" (Then he added), "I used to be busy trading in markets."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 278:
Narrated Jabir:

A caravan arrived (at Medina) while we were offering the Jumua prayer with the Prophet. The people left out for the caravan, with the exception of twelve persons. Then this Verse was revealed: 'But when they see some bargain or some amusement, they disperse headlong to it and leave you standing." (62.11)

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 279:
Narrated Aisha:

The Prophet said, "If a woman gives in charity from her house meals without wasting (i.e. being extravagant), she will get the reward for her giving, and her husband will also get

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the reward for his earning and the storekeeper will also get a similar reward. The acquisition of the reward of none of them will reduce the reward of the others."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 280:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "If a woman gives something (i.e. in charity) from her husband's earnings without his permission, she will get half his reward."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 281:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "whoever desires an expansion in his sustenance and age, should keep good relations with his Kith and kin."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 282:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet purchased food grains from a Jew on credit and mortgaged his iron armor to him.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 283:
Narrated Qatada:
Anas went to the Prophet with barley bread having some dissolved fat on it. The Prophet had mortgaged his armor to a Jew in Medina and took from him some barley for his family. Anas heard him saying, "The household of Mohammed did not possess even a single Sa of wheat or food grains for the evening meal, although he has nine wives to look after." (See Hadith No. 685)

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 284:
Narrated Aisha:
When Abu Bakr As-Siddiq was chosen Caliph, he said, "My people know that my profession was not incapable of providing substance to my family. And as I will be busy serving the Muslim nation, my family will eat from the National Treasury of Muslims, and I will practise the profession of serving the Muslims."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 285:
Narrated Aisha:
The companions of Allah's Apostle used to practise manual labor, so their sweat used to smell, and they were advised to take a bath.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 286:
Narrated Al-Miqdam:
The Prophet said, "Nobody has ever eaten a better meal than that which one has earned by working with one's own hands. The Prophet of Allah, David used to eat from the earnings of his manual labor."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 287:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The Prophet David used not to eat except from the earnings of his manual labor."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 288:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "One would rather cut and carry a bundle of wood on his back than ask somebody who may or may not live him."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 289:
Narrated Az-Zubair bin Al-Awwam:
The Prophet said, "One would rather take a rope and cut wood and carry it than ask others)."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 290:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle said, "May Allah's mercy be on him who is lenient in his buying, selling, and in demanding back his money."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 291:
Narrated Hudhaifa:
The Prophet said, "Before your time the angels received the soul of a man and asked him, 'Did you do any good deeds (in your life)?' He replied, 'I used to order my employees to grant time to the rich person to pay his debts at his convenience.' So Allah said to the angels; "Excuse him." Rabi said that (the dead man said), 'I used to be easy to the rich and grant time to the poor.' Or, in another narration, 'grant time to the well-off and forgive the needy,' or, 'accept from the well-off and forgive the needy.'

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 292:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "There was a merchant who used to lend the people, and whenever his debtor was in straitened circumstances, he would say to his employees, 'Forgive him so that Allah may forgive us.' So, Allah forgave him."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 293:
Narrated Hakim bin Hizam:
Allah's Apostle said, "The seller and the buyer have the right to keep or return goods as long as they have not parted or till they part; and if both the parties spoke the truth and described the defects and qualities (of the goods), then they would be blessed in their transaction, and if they told lies or hid something, then the blessings of their transaction would be lost."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 294:
Narrated Abu Said:
We used to be given mixed dates (from the booty) and used to sell (barter) two Sas of those dates) for one Sa (of good dates). The Prophet said (to us), "No (bartering of) two Sas for one Sa nor two Dirhams for one Dirham is permissible", (as that is a kind of usury). (See Hadith No. 405).

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 295:
Narrated Abu Mas'ud:
An Ansari man, called Abu Shu'aib, came and told his butcher slave, "Prepare meals sufficient for five persons, for I want to invite the Prophet along with four other persons as I saw signs of hunger on his face." Abu Shu'aib invited them and another person came along with them. The Prophet said (to Abu Shu'aib), This man followed us, so if you allow him, he will join us, and if you want him to return, he will go back." Abu Shu'aib said, "No, I have allowed him (i.e. he, too, is welcomed to the meal)."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 296:
Narrated Hakim bin Hizam:
The Prophet aid, "The buyer and the seller have the option to cancel or to confirm the deal, as long as they have not parted or till they part, and if they spoke the truth and told each other the defects of the things, then blessings would be in their deal, and if they hid something and told lies, the blessing of the deal would be lost."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 297:
Narrated Aisha:
When the last Verses of Surat al- Baqara were revealed, the Prophet recited them in the mosque and proclaimed the trade of alcohol as illegal.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 298:
Narrated Samura bin Jundab:
The Prophet said, "This night I dreamt that two men came and took me to a Holy land whence we proceeded on till we reached a river of blood, where a man was standing, and on its bank was standing another man with stones in his hands. The man in the middle of the river tried to come out, but the other threw a stone in his mouth and forced him to go back to his original place. So, whenever he tried to come out, the other man would throw a stone in his mouth and force him to go back to his former place. I asked, 'Who is this?' I was told, 'The person in the river was a Riba-eater."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 299:
Narrated 'Aun bin Abu Juhaifa:
My father bought a slave who practiced the profession of cupping. (My father broke the slave's instruments of cupping). I asked my father why he had done so. He replied, "The Prophet forbade the acceptance of the price of a dog or blood, and also forbade the profession of tattooing, getting tattooed and receiving or giving Riba, (usury), and cursed the picture-makers."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 300:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "The swearing (by the seller) may persuade the buyer to purchase the goods but that will be deprived of Allah's blessing."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 301:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abu Aufa:
A man displayed some goods in the market and swore by Allah that he had been offered so much for that, that which was not offered, and he said so, so as to cheat a Muslim. On that occasion the following Verse was revealed: "Verily! Those who purchase a small gain at the cost of Allah's covenant and their oaths (They shall have no portion in the Hereafter ..etc.)' (3.77)

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 302:
Narrated Ali:
I got an old she-camel as my share from the booty, and the Prophet had given me another from Al-Khumus. And when I intended to marry Fatima (daughter of the Prophet), I arranged that a goldsmith from the tribe of Bani Qainuqa' would accompany me in order to bring Idhkhir and then sell it to the goldsmiths and use its price for my marriage banquet.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 303:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle said, "Allah made Mecca a sanctuary and it was neither permitted for anyone before, nor will it be permitted for anyone after me (to fight in it). And fighting in it was made legal for me for a few hours of a day only. None is allowed to uproot its thorny shrubs or to cut down its trees or to chase its game or to pick up its Luqata (fallen things) except by a person who would announce it publicly." Abbas bin Abdul-Muttlib requested the Prophet, "Except Al-Idhkhir, for our goldsmiths and for the roofs of our houses." The Prophet said, "Except Al-Idhkhir." 'Ikrima said, "Do you know what is meant by chasing its game? It is to drive it out of the shade and sit in its place." Khalid said, "(Abbas said: Al-Idhkhir) for our goldsmiths and our graves."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 304:
Narrated Khabbab:
I was a blacksmith in the Pre-Islamic period, and 'Asi bin Wail owed me some money, so I went to him to demand it. He said (to me), "I will not pay you unless you disbelieve Mohammed." I said, "I will not disbelieve till Allah kills you and then you get resurrected." He said, "Leave me till I die and get resurrected, then I will be given wealth and children and I will pay you your debt." On that occasion it was revealed to the Prophet:
'Have you seen him who disbelieved in Our signs and says: Surely I will be given wealth and children? Has he known the unseen, or has he taken a covenant from the Beneficent (Allah)? (19.77-78)

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 305:
Narrated Ishaq bin Abdullah bin Abu Talha:
I heard Anas bin Malik saying, "A tailor invited Allah's Apostle to a meal which he had prepared. " Anas bin Malik said, "I accompanied Allah's Apostle to that meal. He served the Prophet with bread and soup made with gourd and dried meat. I saw the Prophet taking the pieces of gourd from the dish." Anas added, "Since that day I have continued to like gourd."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 306:
Narrated Abu Hazim:
I heard Sahl bin Sad saying, "A woman brought a Burda (i.e. a square piece of cloth having edging). I asked, 'Do you know what a Burda is?' They replied in the affirmative and said, "It is a cloth sheet with woven margins." Sahl went on, "She addressed the Prophet and said, 'I have woven it with my hands for you to wear.' The Prophet took it as he was in need of it, and came to us wearing it as a waist sheet. One of us said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Give it to me to wear.' The Prophet agreed to give it to him. The Prophet sat with the people for a while and then returned (home), wrapped that waist sheet and sent it to him. The people said to that man, 'You haven't done well by asking him for it when you know that he never turns down anybody's request.' The man replied, 'By Allah, I have not asked him for it except to use it as my shroud when I die." Sahl added; "Later it (i.e. that sheet) was his shroud."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 307:
Narrated Abu Hazim:
Some men came to Sahl bin Sad to ask him about the pulpit. He replied, "Allah's Apostle sent for a woman (Sahl named her) (this message): 'Order your slave carpenter to make pieces of wood (i.e. a pulpit) for me so that I may sit on it while addressing the people.' So, she ordered him to make it from the tamarisk of the forest. He brought it to her and she sent it to Allah's Apostle . Allah's Apostle ordered it to be placed in the mosque: so, it was put and he sat on it.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 308:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah: An Ansari woman said to Allah's Apostle, "O Allah's Apostle! Shall I make something for you to sit on, as I have a slave who is a carpenter?" He replied, "If you wish." So, she got a pulpit made for him. When it was Friday

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 309:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle bought food grains from a Jew on credit and mortgaged his armor to him.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 310:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
I was with the Prophet in a Ghazwa (Military Expedition) and my camel was slow and exhausted. The Prophet came up to me and said, "O Jabir." I replied, "Yes?" He said, "What is the matter with you?" I replied, "My camel is slow and tired, so I am left behind." So, he got down and poked the camel with his stick and then ordered me to ride. I rode the camel and it became so fast that I had to hold it from going ahead of Allah's Apostle . He then asked me, have you got married?" I replied in the affirmative. He asked, "A virgin or a matron?" I replied, "I married a matron." The Prophet said, "Why have you not married a virgin, so that you may play with her and

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she may play with you?" Jabir replied, "I have sisters (young in age) so I liked to marry a matron who could collect them all and comb their hair and look after them." The Prophet said, "You will reach, so when you have arrived (at home), I advise you to associate with your wife (that you may have an intelligent son)." Then he asked me, "Would you like to sell your camel?" I replied in the affirmative and the Prophet purchased it for one Uqiya of gold. Allah's Apostle reached before me and I reached in the morning, and when I went to the mosque, I found him at the door of the mosque. He asked me, "Have you arrived just now?" I replied in the affirmative. He said, "Leave your camel and come into (the mosque) and pray two Rakat." I entered and offered the prayer. He told Bilal to weigh and give me one Uqiya of gold. So Bilal weighed for me fairly and I went away. The Prophet sent for me and I thought that he would return to me my camel which I hated more than anything else. But the Prophet said to me, "Take your camel as well as its price."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 311:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
'Ukaz, Majanna and Dhul-Majaz were markets in the Pre-lslamic period. When the people embraced Islam they considered it a sin to trade there. So, the following Holy Verse came:-- 'There is no harm for you if you seek of the bounty of your Lord (Allah) in the Hajj season." (2.198) Ibn Abbas recited it like this.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 312:
Narrated Amr:
Here (i.e. in Mecca) there was a man called Nawwas and he had camels suffering from the disease of excessive and unquenchable thirst. Ibn Umar went to the partner of Nawwas and bought those camels. The man returned to Nawwas and told him that he had sold those camels. Nawwas asked him, "To whom have you sold them?" He replied, "To such and such Sheikh." Nawwas said, "Woe to you; By Allah, that Sheikh was Ibn Umar." Nawwas then went to Ibn Umar and said to him, "My partner sold you camels suffering from the disease of excessive thirst and he had not known you." Ibn Umar told him to take them back. When Nawwas went to take them, Ibn Umar said to him, "Leave them there as I am happy with the decision of Allah's Apostle that there is no oppression . "

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 313:
Narrated Abu Qatada:
We set out with Allah's Apostle in the year of Hunain, (the Prophet gave me an armor). I sold that armor and bought a garden in the region of the tribe of Bani Salama and that was the first property I got after embracing Islam.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 314:
Narrated Abu Musa:
Allah's Apostle said, "The example of a good companion (who sits with you) in comparison with a bad one, is I like that of the musk seller and the blacksmith's bellows (or furnace); from the first you would either buy musk or enjoy its good smell while the bellows would either burn your clothes or your house, or you get a bad nasty smell thereof."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 315:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Abu Taiba cupped Allah's Apostle so he ordered that he be paid one Sa of dates and ordered his masters to reduce his tax (as he was a slave and had to pay a tax to them).

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 316:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Once the Prophet got his blood out (medically) and paid that person who had done it. If it had been illegal, the Prophet would not have paid him.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 317:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Once the Prophet sent to Umar a silken two-piece garment, and when he saw Umar wearing it, he said to him, "I have not sent it to you to wear. It is worn by him who has no share in the Hereafter, and I have sent it to you so that you could benefit by it (i.e. sell it)."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 318:
Narrated Aisha:
(mother of the faithful believers) I bought a cushion with pictures on it. When Allah's Apostle saw it, he kept standing at the door and did not enter the house. I noticed the sign of disgust on his face, so I said, "O Allah's Apostle! I repent to Allah and H is Apostle . (Please let me know) what sin I have done." Allah's Apostle said, "What about this cushion?" I replied, "I bought it for you to sit and recline on." Allah's Apostle said, "The painters (i.e. owners) of these pictures will be punished on the Day of Resurrection. It will be said to them, 'Put life in what you have created (i.e. painted).' " The Prophet added, "The angels do not enter a house where there are pictures."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 319:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "O Bani Najjar! Suggest a price for your garden." Part of it was a ruin and it contained some date palms.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 320:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "The buyer and the seller have the option to cancel or confirm the bargain before they separate from each other or if the sale is optional." Nafi said, "Ibn Umar used to separate quickly from the seller if he had bought a thing which he liked."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 321:
Narrated Haklm bin Hizam"
The Prophet said, "The buyer and the seller have the option of cancelling or confirming the deal unless they separate."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 322:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "The seller and the buyer have the option of cancelling or confirming the deal unless they separate, or one of them says to the other, 'Choose (i.e. decide to cancel or confirm the bargain now)." Perhaps he said, 'Or if it is an optional sale.' " Ibn Umar, Shuraih, Ash-Shabi, Tawus, Ata, and Ibn Abu Mulaika agree upon this judgement.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 323:
Narrated Hakim bin Hizam:
The Prophet said, "The buyer and the seller have the option of cancelling or confirming the bargain unless they separate, and if they spoke the truth and made clear the defects of the goods, them they would be blessed in their bargain, and if they told lies and hid some facts, their bargain would be deprived of Allah's blessings."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 324:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar: Allah's Apostle said, "Both the buyer and the seller have the option of cancelling or confirming a bargain unless they separate, or the sale is optional." (See Hadith No.320).

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 325:
Narrated Ibn Umar: Allah's Apostle said, "Both the buyer and the seller have the option of cancelling or confirming the bargain, as long as they are still together, and unless they separate or one of them gives the other the option of keeping or re

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 326:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "No deal is settled and finalized unless the buyer and the seller separate, except if the deal is optional (whereby the validity of the bargain depends on the stipulations agreed upon)."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 327:
Narrated Hakim bin Hizam:
The Prophet said, "Both the buyer and the seller have the option of cancelling or confirming the bargain unless they separate." The sub-narrator, Hammam said, "I found this in my book: 'Both the buyer and the seller give the option of either confirming or cancelling the bargain three times, and if they speak the truth and mention the defects, then their bargain will be blessed, and if they tell lies and conceal the defects, they might gain some financial gain but they will deprive their sale of (Allah's) blessings."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 328:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
A person came to the Prophet and told him that he was always betrayed in purchasing. The Prophet told him to say at the time of buying, "No cheating."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 329:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle said, "An army will invade the Kaaba and when the invaders reach Al-Baida, all the ground will sink and swallow the whole army." I said, "O Allah's Apostle! How will they sink into the ground while amongst them will be their markets (the people who worked in business and not invaders) and the people not belonging to them?" The Prophet replied, "all of those people will sink but they will be resurrected and judged according to their intentions."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 330:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The congregational prayer of anyone amongst you is more than twenty (five or twenty seven) times in reward than his prayer in the market or in his house, for if he performs ablution completely and then goes to the mosque with the sole intention of performing the prayer, and nothing urges him to proceed to the mosque except the prayer, then, on every step which he takes towards the mosque, he will be raised one degree or one of his sins will be forgiven. The angels will keep on asking Allah's forgiveness and blessings for everyone of you so long as he keeps sitting at his praying place. The angels will say, 'O Allah, bless him! O Allah, be merciful to him!' as long as he does not do Hadath or a thing which gives trouble to the other." The Prophet further said, "One is regarded in prayer so long as one is waiting for the prayer."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 331:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
While the Prophet was in the market, somebody, called, "O Abu-l-Qasim." The Prophet turned to him. The man said, "I have called to this (i.e. another man)." The Prophet said, "Name yourselves by my name but not by my Kuniya (name)." (In Arabic world it is the custom to call the man as the father of his eldest son, e.g. Abu-l-Qasim.)
(See Hadith No. 737, Vol. 4)

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 332:
Narrated Anas:
A man at Al-Baqi' called, "O Abu-l-Qasim!" The Prophet turned to him and the man said (to the Prophet), "I did not intend to call you." The prophet said, "Name yourselves by my name but not by my kuniya (name)."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 333:
Narrated Abu Huraira Ad-Dausi:
Once the Prophet went out during the day. Neither did he talk to me nor I to him till he reached the market of Bani Qainuqa and then he sat in the compound of Fatima's house and asked about the small boy (his grandson Al-Hasan) but Fatima kept the boy in for a while. I thought she was either changing his clothes or giving the boy a bath. After a while the boy came out running and the Prophet embraced and kissed him and then said, 'O Allah! Love him, and love whoever loves him.'

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 334:
Narrated Nafi:
Ibn Umar told us that the people used to buy food from the caravans in the lifetime of the Prophet. The Prophet used to forbid them to sell it at the very place where they had purchased it (but they were to wait) till they carried it to the market where foodstuff was sold. Ibn Umar said, 'The Prophet also forbade the reselling of foodstuff by somebody who had bought it unless he had received it with exact full measure'

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 335:
Narrated Ata bin Yasar:
I met Abdullah bin Amr bin Al-'As and asked him, "Tell me about the description of Allah's Apostle which is mentioned in Torah (i.e. Old Testament.") He replied, 'Yes. By Allah, he is described in Torah with some of the qualities attributed to him in the Koran as follows:
"O Prophet ! We have sent you as a witness (for Allah's True religion) And a giver of glad tidings (to the faithful believers), And a warner (to the unbelievers) And guardian of the illiterates. You are My slave and My messenger (i.e. Apostle). I have named you "Al-Mutawakkil" (who depends upon Allah). You are neither discourteous, harsh Nor a noise-maker in the markets And you do not do evil to those Who do evil to you, but you deal With them with forgiveness and kindness. Allah will not let him (the Prophet) Die till he makes straight the crooked people by making them say: "None has the right to be worshipped but Allah," With which will be opened blind eyes And deaf ears and enveloped hearts."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 336:
Narrated Abdullah ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "He who buys foodstuff should not sell it till he is satisfied with the measure with which he has bought it.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 337:
Narrated Jabir:
Abdullah bin Amr bin Haram died and was in debt to others. I asked the Prophet to intercede with his creditors for some reduction in the debts. The Prophet requested them (to reduce the debts) but they refused. The Prophet said to me, "Go and put your dates (In heaps) according to their different kinds. The Ajwa on one side, the cluster of Ibn Zaid on another side, etc.. Then call me." I did that and called the Prophet He came and sat at the head or in the middle of the heaps and ordered me. Measure (the dates) for the people (creditors)." I measured for them till I paid all the debts. My dates remained as it nothing had been taken from them. In other narrations, Jabir said; The Prophet said, "He (i.e. Abdullah) continued measuring for them till he paid all the

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debts." The Prophet said (to Abdullah), "Cut (clusters) for him (i.e. one of the creditors) and measure for him fully."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 338:
Narrated Al-Miqdam bin Ma'diyakrib:
The Prophet said, "Measure your foodstuff and you will be blessed."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 339:
Narrated Abdullah bin Zaid:
The Prophet said, "The Prophet Abraham made Mecca a sanctuary, and asked for Allah's blessing in it. I made Medina a sanctuary as Abraham made Mecca a sanctuary and I asked for Allah's Blessing in its measures the Mudd and the Sa as Abraham did for Mecca.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 340:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle said, "O Allah bestow your blessings on their measures, bless their Mudd and Sa." The Prophet meant the people of Medina.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 341:
Narrated Salim:
that his father said. "I saw those, who used to buy foodstuff without measuring or weighing in the life time of the Prophet being punished if they sold it before carrying it to their own houses."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 342:
Narrated Tawus:
Ibn Abbas said, "Allah's Apostle forbade the selling of foodstuff before its measuring and transferring into one's possession." I asked Ibn Abbas, "How is that?" Ibn Abbas replied, "It will be just like selling money for money, as the foodstuff has not been handed over to the first purchaser who is the present seller."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 343:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "He who buys foodstuff should not sell it till he has received it."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 344:
Narrated Az-Zuhri from Malik bin Aus:
that the latter said, "Who has change?" Talha said, "I (will have change) when our store-keeper comes from the forest."
Narrated Umar bin Al-Khattab: Allah's Apostle said, "The bartering of gold for silver is Riba, (usury), except if it is from hand to hand and equal in amount, and wheat grain for wheat grain is usury except if it is form hand to hand and equal in amount, and dates for dates is usury except if it is from hand to hand and equal in amount, and barley for barley is usury except if it is from hand to hand and equal in amount." (See Riba-Fadl in the glossary).

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 345:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet forbade the selling of foodstuff before receiving it. I consider that all types of sellings should be done similarly.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 346:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "The buyer of foodstuff should not sell it before it has been measured for him." Isma'il narrated instead, "He should not sell it before receiving it."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 347:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
I saw the people buy foodstuff randomly (i.e. blindly without measuring it) in the life-time of Allah's Apostle and they were punished (by beating), if they tried to sell it before carrying it to their own houses.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 348:
Narrated Aisha:
Rarely did the Prophet fail to visit Abu Bakr's house everyday, either in the morning or in the evening. When the permission for migration to Medina was granted, all of a sudden the Prophet came to us at noon and Abu Bakr was informed, who said, "Certainly the Prophet has come for some urgent matter." The Prophet said to Abu Bark, when the latter entered "Let nobody stay in your home." Abu Bakr said, "O Allah's Apostle! There are only my two daughters (namely Aisha and Asma') present." The Prophet said, "I feel (am informed) that I have been granted the permission for migration." Abu Bakr said, "I will accompany you, O Allah's Apostle!" The Prophet said, "You will accompany me." Abu Bakr then said "O Allah's Apostle! I have two she-camels I have prepared specially for migration, so I offer you one of them. The Prophet said, "I have accepted it on the condition that I will pay its price."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 349:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "Do not urge somebody to return what he has already bought (i.e. in optional sale) from another seller so as to sell him your own goods."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 350:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle forbade the selling of things by a town dweller on behalf of a desert dweller; and similarly Najsh was forbidden. And one should not urge somebody to return the goods to the seller so as to sell him his own goods; nor should one demand the hand of a girl who has already been engaged to someone else; and a woman should not try to cause some other woman to be divorced in order to take her place.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 351:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
A man decided that a slave of his would be manumitted after his death and later on he was in need of money, so the Prophet took the slave and said, "Who will buy this slave from me?" Nu'aim bin Abdullah bought him for such and such price and the Prophet gave him the slave.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 352:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle forbade Najsh.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 353:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle forbade the sale called 'Habal-al-Habala which was a kind of sale practiced in the Pre-Islamic Period of ignorance. One would pay the price of a she-camel which was not born yet would be born by the immediate offspring of an extant she-camel.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 354:
Narrated Abu Said:
Allah's Apostle forbade the selling by Munabadha, i.e. to sell one's garment by casting it to the buyer not allowing him to examine or see it. Similarly he forbade the selling by Mulamasa. Mulamasa is to buy a garment, for example, by merely touching it, not looking at it.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 355:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet forbade two kinds of dressing; (one of them) is to sit with one's legs drawn up while wrapped in one garment. (The other) is to lift that garment on one's shoulders. And also forbade two kinds of sale: Al-Limas and An-Nibadh.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 356:
Narrated Abu Huraira :
Allah's Apostle forbade selling by Mulamasa and Munabadha.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 357:
Narrated Abu Said:
The Prophet forbade two kinds of dresses and two kinds of sale, i.e., Mulamasa and Munabadha.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 358:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Don't keep camels and sheep unmilked for a long time, for whoever buys such an animal has the option to milk it and then either to keep it or return it to the owner along with one Sa of dates." Some narrated from Ibn Sirin (that the Prophet had said), "One Sa of wheat, and he has the option for three days." And some narrated from Ibn Sirin, " ... a Sa of dates," not mentioning the option for three days. But a Sa of dates is mentioned in most narrations.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 359:
Narrated Abdullah bin Mas'ud:
Whoever buys a sheep which has not been milked for a long time, has the option of returning it along with one Sa of dates; and the Prophet forbade going to meet the seller on the way (as he has no knowledge of the market price and he may sell his goods at a low price).

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 360:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Do not go forward to meet the caravan (to buy from it on the way before it reaches the town). And do not urge buyers to cancel their purchases to sell them (your own goods) yourselves, and do not practice Najsh. A town dweller should not sell the goods for the desert dweller. Do not leave sheep unmilked for a long time, when they are on sale, and whoever buys such an animal has the option of returning it, after milking it, along with a Sa of dates or keeping it. it has been kept unmilked for a long period by the seller (to deceive others).

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 361:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever buys a sheep which has been kept unmilked for a long period, and milks it, can keep it if he is satisfied, and if he is not satisfied, he can return it, but he should pay one Sa of dates for the milk."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 362:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "If a slave-girl commits illegal sexual intercourse and it is proved beyond doubt, then her owner should lash her and should not blame her after the legal punishment. And then if she repeats the illegal sexual intercourse he should lash her again and should not blame her after the legal punishment, and if she commits it a third time, then he should sell her even for a hair rope."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 363:
Narrated Abu Huraira and Zaid bin Khalid:
Allah's Apostle was asked about the slave-girl, if she was a virgin and committed illegal sexual intercourse. The Prophet said, "If she committed illegal sexual intercourse, lash her, and if she did it a second time, then lash her again, and if she repeated the third time, then sell her even for a hair rope." Ibn Shihab said, "I don't know whether to sell her after the third or fourth offense."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 364:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle came to me and I told him about the slave-girl (Buraira) Allah's Apostle said, "Buy and manumit her, for the Wala is for the one who manumits." In the evening the Prophet got up and glorified Allah as He deserved and then said, "Why do some people impose conditions which are not present in Allah's Book (Laws)? Whoever imposes such a condition as is not in Allah's Laws, then that condition is invalid even if he imposes one hundred conditions, for Allah's conditions are more binding and reliable."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 365:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Aisha wanted to buy Buraira and he (the Prophet) went out for the prayer. When he returned, she told him that they (her masters) refused to sell her except on the condition that her Wala would go to them. The Prophet replied, 'The Wala would go to him who manumits.' " Hammam asked Nafi whether her (Buraira's) husband was a free man or a slave. He replied that he did not know.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 366:
Narrated Jarir:
I have given a pledge of allegiance to Allah's Apostle for to testify that None has the right to be worshipped but Allah, and Mohammed is His Apostle, to offer prayers perfectly, to pay Zakat, to listen to and obey (Allah's and His Prophet's orders), and to give good advice to every Muslim.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 367:
Narrated Tawus:
Ibn Abbas said, "Allah's Apostle said, 'Do not go to meet the caravans on the way (for buying their goods without letting them know the market price); a town dweller should not sell the goods of a desert dweller on behalf of the latter.' I asked Ibn Abbas, 'What does he mean by not selling the goods of a desert dweller by a town dweller?' He said, 'He should not become his broker.' "

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 368:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle forbade the selling of the goods of a desert dweller by a town person.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 369:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "A buyer should not urge a seller to restore a purchase so as to buy it himself, and do not practice Najsh; and a town dweller should not sell goods of a desert dweller."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 370:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
We were forbidden that a town dweller should sell goods of a desert dweller.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 371:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet forbade the meeting (of caravans) on the way and the selling of goods by an inhabitant of the town on behalf of a desert dweller.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 372:
Narrated Tawus:

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I asked Ibn Abbas, "What is the meaning of, 'No town dweller should sell (or buy) for a desert dweller'?" Ibn Abbas said, "It means he should not become his broker."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 373:
Narrated Abdullah:
Whoever buys an animal which has been kept unmilked for a long time, could return it, but has to pay a Sa of dates along with it. And the Prophet forbade meeting the owners of goods on the way away from the market.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 374:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "You should not try to cancel the purchases of one another (to get a benefit thereof), and do not go ahead to meet the caravan (for buying the goods) (but wait) till it reaches the market."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 375:
Narrated Abdullah:
We used to go ahead to meet the caravan and used to buy foodstuff from them. The Prophet forbade us to sell it till it was carried to the market.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 376:
Narrated Abdullah:
Some people used to buy foodstuff at the head of the market and used to sell it on the spot. Allah's Apostle forbade them to sell it till they brought it to (their) places.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 377:
Narrated Urwa:
Aisha said, "Buraira came to me and said, 'I have agreed with my masters to pay them nine Uqiyas (of gold) (in installments) one Uqiya per year; please help me.' I said, 'I am ready to pay the whole amount now provided your masters agree that your Wala will be for me.' So, Buraira went to her masters and told them about that offer but they refused to accept it. She returned, and at that time, Allah's Apostle was sitting (present). Buraira said, 'I told them of the offer but they did not accept it and insisted on having the Wala.'.' The Prophet heard that." Aisha narrated the whole story to the Prophet . He said to her, "Buy her and stipulate that her Wala would be yours as the Wala is for the manumitted." Aisha did so. Then Allah's Apostle stood up in front of the people, and after glorifying Allah he said, "Amma Badu (i.e. then after)! What about the people who impose conditions which are not in Allah's Book (Laws)? Any condition that is not in Allah's Book (Laws) is invalid even if they were one hundred conditions, for Allah's decisions are the right ones and His conditions are the strong ones (firmer) and the Wala will be for the manumitted."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 378:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Aisha, (mother of the faithful believers) wanted to buy a slave girl and manumit her, but her masters said that they would sell her only on the condition that her Wala would be for them. Aisha told Allah's Apostle of that. He said, "What they stipulate should not hinder you from buying her, as the Wala is for the manumitted."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 379:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "The selling of wheat for wheat is Riba (usury) except if it is handed from hand to hand and equal in amount. Similarly the selling of barley for barley, is Riba except if it is from hand to hand and equal in amount, and dates for dates is usury except if it is from hand to hand and equal in amount. (See Riba-Fadl in the glossary).

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 380:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle forbade Muzabana; and Muzabana is the selling of fresh dates for dried old dates by measure, and the selling of fresh grapes for dried grapes by measure.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 381:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet forbade Muzabana; and Muzabana is the selling of fresh fruit (without measuring it) for something by measure on the basis that if that thing turns to be more than the fruit, the increase would be for the seller of the fruit, and if it turns to be less, that would be of his lot.
Narrated Ibn Umar from Zaid bin Thabit that the Prophet allowed the selling of the fruits on the trees after estimation (when they are ripe).

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 382:
Narrated Ibn Shihab:
that Malik bin Aus said, "I was in need of change for one-hundred Dinars. Talha bin Ubaid-Ullah called me and we discussed the matter, and he agreed to change (my Dinars). He took the gold pieces in his hands and fidgeted with them, and then said, "Wait till my storekeeper comes from the forest." Umar was listening to that and said, "By Allah! You should not separate from Talha till you get the money from him, for Allah's Apostle said, 'The selling of gold for gold is Riba (usury) except if the exchange is from hand to hand and equal in amount, and similarly, the selling of wheat for wheat is Riba (usury) unless it is from hand to hand and equal in amount, and the selling of barley for barley is usury unless it is from hand to hand and equal in amount, and dates for dates, is usury unless it is from hand to hand and equal in amount"

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 383:
Narrated Abu Bakra:
Allah's Apostle said, "Don't sell gold for gold unless equal in weight, nor silver for silver unless equal in weight, but you could sell gold for silver or silver for gold as you like."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 384:
Narrated Abu Said:
(Concerning exchange) that he heard Allah's Apostle saying, "Do not sell gold for gold unless equal in weight, and do not sell silver unless equal in weight."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 385:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
Allah's Apostle said, "Do not sell gold for gold unless equivalent in weight, and do not sell less amount for greater amount or vice versa; and do not sell silver for silver unless equivalent in weight, and do not sell less amount for greater amount or vice versa and do not sell gold or silver that is not present at the moment of exchange for gold or silver that is present.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 386:
Narrated Abu Salih Az-Zaiyat:
I heard Abu Said Al-Khudri saying, "The selling of a Dinar for a Dinar, and a Dirham for a Dirham (is permissible)." I said to him, "Ibn Abbas does not say the same." Abu Said replied, "I asked Ibn Abbas whether he had heard it from the Prophet s or seen it in the Holy Book. Ibn Abbas replied, "I do not claim that, and you know Allah's Apostle better than I, but Usama informed me that the Prophet had said, 'There is no Riba (in money exchange) except when it is not done from hand to hand (i.e. when there is delay in payment).' "

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 387:
Narrated Abu Al-Minhal:
I asked Al-Bara bin Azib and Zaid bin Arqam about money exchanges. Each of them said, "This is better than I," and both of them said, "Allah's Apostle forbade the selling of silver for gold on credit. "

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 388:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Abu Bakra:
that his father said, "The Prophet forbade the selling of gold for gold and silver for silver except if they are equivalent in weight, and allowed us to sell gold for silver and vice versa as we wished."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 389:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "Do not sell fruits of dates until they become free from all the dangers of being spoilt or blighted; and do not sell fresh dates for dry dates."
Narrated Salim and Abdullah from Zaid bin Habit' "Later on Allah's Apostle permitted the selling of ripe fruits on trees for fresh dates or dried dates in Bai'-l-'Araya, and did not allow it for any other kind of sale."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 390:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle forbade Muzabana; and Muzabana means the selling of fresh dates (on the trees) for dried dates by measure and also the selling of fresh grapes for dried grapes by measure.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 391:
Narrated Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri:
Allah's Apostle forbade Muzabana and Muhaqala; and Muzabana means the selling of ripe dates for dates still on the trees.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 392:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet forbade Muzabana and Muhaqala.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 393:
Narrated Zaid bin Thabit:
Allah's Apostle al lowed the owner of 'Araya to sell the fruits on the trees by means of estimation.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 394:
Narrated Jabir:
The Prophet forbade the selling of fruits unless they get ripe, and none of them should be sold except for Dinar or Dirham (i.e. money), except the 'Araya trees (the dates of which could be sold for dates).

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 395:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet allowed the sale of the dates of 'Araya provided they were about five Awsuq (singular: Wasaq which means sixty Sa's) or less (in amount).

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 396:
Narrated Sahl bin Abu Hathma:
Allah's Apostle forbade the selling of fruits (fresh dates) for dried dates but allowed the sale of fruits on the 'Araya by estimation and their new owners might eat their dates fresh. Sufyan (in another narration) said, "I told Yahya (a sub-narrator) when I was a mere boy, 'Meccans say that the Prophet allowed them the sale of the fruits on 'Araya by estimation.' Yahya asked, 'How do the Meccans know about it?' I replied, 'They narrated it (from the Prophet) through Jabir.' On that, Yahya kept quiet." Sufyan said, "I meant that Jabir belonged to Medina." Sufyan was asked whether in Jabir's narration there was any prohibition of selling fruits before their benefit is evident (i.e. no dangers of being spoilt or blighted). He replied that there was none.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 397:
Narrated Ibn Umar from Zaid bin Thabit:
Allah's Apostle allowed the sale of 'Araya by estimating the dates on them for measured amounts of dried dates. Musa bin Uqba said, "Al- 'Araya were distinguished date palms; one could come and buy them (i.e. their fruits)."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 398:
Narrated Zaid:
Same as above (Hadith 397).

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 399:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle forbade the sale of fruits till their benefit is evident. He forbade both the seller and the buyer (such sale).

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 400:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle forbade the sale of date fruits till they were ripe. Abu Abdullah (Al-Bukhari) said, "That means till they were red (can be eaten)."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 401:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet forbade the s of (date) fruits till they were red or yellow and fit for eating.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 402:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet forbade the sale of fruits till their benefit is evident; and the sale of date palms till the dates are almost ripe. He was asked what 'are almost ripe' meant. He replied, "Got red and yellow."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 403:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle forbade the sale of fruits till they are almost ripe. He was asked what is meant by 'are almost ripe.' He replied, "Till they become red." Allah's Apostle further said, "If Allah spoiled the fruits, what right would one have to take the money of one's brother (i.e. other people)?"
Narrated Ibn Shihab: If somebody bought fruits before their benefit is evident and then the fruits were spoiled with blights, the loss would be suffered by the owner (not the buyer).
Narrated Salim bin Abdullah from Ibn Umar: Allah's Apostle said, "Do not sell or buy fruits before their benefit was evident and do not sell fresh fruits (dates) for dried dates."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 404:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet bought some foodstuff from a Jew on credit and mortgaged his armor to him.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 405:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri and Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle appointed somebody as a governor of Khaibar. That governor brought to him an excellent kind of dates (from Khaibar). The Prophet asked, "Are all the dates of Khaibar like this?" He replied, "By Allah, no, O Allah's Apostle! But we barter one Sa of this (type of dates) for two Sas of dates of ours and two Sas of it for three of ours." Allah's Apostle said, "Do not do so (as that is a kind of usury) but sell the mixed dates (of inferior quality) for money, and then buy good dates with that money."

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Volume 3, Book 34, Number 406:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "If somebody sells pollinated date palms, the fruits will be for the seller unless the buyer stipulates that they will be for himself (and the seller agrees)."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 407:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle forbade Al-Muzabana, i.e. to sell ungathered dates of one's garden for measured dried dates or fresh ungathered grapes for measured dried grapes; or standing crops for measured quantity of foodstuff. He forbade all such bargains.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 408:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "Whoever pollinates date palms and then sells them, the fruits will belong to him unless the buyer stipulates that the fruits should belong to him (and the seller agrees)."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 409:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle forbade Muhaqala, Mukhadara, Mulamasa, Munabadha and Muzabana. (See glossary and previous Hadiths for the meanings of these terms.)

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 410:
Narrated Humaid:
Anas said, "The Prophet forbade the selling of dates till they were almost ripe." We asked Anas, "What does 'almost ripe' mean?" He replied, "They get red and yellow. The Prophet added, 'If Allah destroyed the fruits present on the trees, what right would the seller have to take the money of his brother (somebody else)?' "

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 411:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
I was with the Prophet while he was eating spadix. He said, "From the trees there is a tree which resembles a faithful believer." I wanted to say that it was the date palm, but I was the youngest among them (so I kept quiet). He added, "It is the date palm." Shuraih told the weavers, "You are permitted to follow your own conventions to solve your problems (it is legal for you to stick to your traditions in bargain) . "
Narrated Abdul Wahab: Aiyub said: Mohammed said, "There is no harm in selling for eleven what you buy for ten, and you are allowed to take a profit for expenses . "
The Prophet told Hind, "Take what is reasonable and sufficient for you and your sons." Allah says: Whoever is poor, can eat (from the orphan's property) reasonably (according to his labors).
Al-Hasan hired a donkey from Abdullah bin Mirdas and asked him about the hire. The latter replied that it was for two Daniqs (a Daniq equals 116th Dirham). So Al-Hasan rode away. Another time, Al-Hasan came to Abdullah bin Mirdas and asked him to hire the donkey to him and rode away without asking him about the hire, but he sent him half a Dirham.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 412:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Abu Taiba cupped Allah's Apostle and so Allah's Apostle ordered that a Sa of dates be paid to him and ordered his masters (for he was a slave) to reduce his tax.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 413:
Narrated Aisha:
Hind, the mother of Mu'awiya said to Allah's Apostle, "Abu Sufyan (her husband) is a miser. Am I allowed to take from his money secretly?" The Prophet said to her, "You and your sons may take what is sufficient reasonably and fairly."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 414:
Narrated Hisham bin Urwa from his father:
who heard Aisha saying, "The Holy Verse; 'Whoever amongst the guardians is rich, he should take no wages (from the property of the orphans) but If he is poor, let him have for himself what is just and reasonable (according to his labors)' (4.6) was revealed concerning the guardian of the orphans who looks after them and manages favorably their financial affairs; If the guardian Is poor, he could have from It what Is just and reasonable, (according to his labors)."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 415:
Narrated Jabir:
Allah's Apostle gave pre-emption (to the partner) in every joint property, but if the boundaries of the property were demarcated or the ways and streets were fixed, then there was no pre-emption.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 416:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle decided the validity of pre-emption in every joint undivided property, but if the boundaries were well marked or the ways and streets were fixed, then there was no pre-emption.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 417:
Narrated Mussaddad from Abdul Wahid:
the same as above but said, "... in every joint undivided thing..." Narrated Hisham from Ma'mar the same as above but said, " ... in every property... "

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 418:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "While three persons were walking, rain began to fall and they had to enter a cave in a mountain. A big rock rolled over and blocked the mouth of the cave. They said to each other, 'Invoke Allah with the best deed you have performed (so Allah might remove the rock)'. One of them said, 'O Allah! My parents were old and I used to go out for grazing (my animals). On my return I would milk (the animals) and take the milk in a vessel to my parents to drink. After they had drunk from it, I would give it to my children, family and wife. One day I was delayed and on my return I found my parents sleeping, and I disliked to wake them up. The children were crying at my feet (because of hunger). That state of affairs continued till it was dawn. O Allah! If You regard that I did it for Your sake, then please remove this rock so that we may see the sky.' So, the rock was moved a bit. The second said, 'O Allah! You know that I was in love with a cousin of mine, like the deepest love a man may have for a woman, and she told me that I would not get my desire fulfilled unless I paid her one-hundred Dinars (gold pieces). So, I struggled for it till I gathered the desired amount, and when I sat in between her legs, she told me to be afraid of Allah, and asked me not to deflower her except rightfully (by marriage). So, I got up and left her. O Allah! If You regard that I did if for Your sake, kindly remove this rock.' So, two-thirds of the rock was removed. Then the third man said, 'O Allah! No doubt You know that once I employed a worker for one Faraq (three Sa's) of millet, and when I wanted to pay him, he refused to take it, so I sowed it and from its yield I bought cows and a shepherd. After a time that man came and demanded his money. I said to him: Go to those cows and the shepherd and take them for they are for you. He asked me whether I was joking with him. I told him that I was not joking with him, and all that belonged to him. O Allah! If You regard that I did it sincerely for Your sake, then please remove the rock.' So, the rock was removed completely from the mouth of the cave."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 419:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Abu Bakr:
We were with the Prophet when a tall pagan with long matted unkempt hair came driving his sheep. The Prophet asked him, "Are those sheep for sale or for gifts?" The pagan replied, "They are for sale." The Prophet bought one sheep from him.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 420:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The Prophet Abraham emigrated with Sarah and entered a village where there was a king or a tyrant. (The king) was told that Abraham had entered (the village) accompanied by a woman who was one of the most charming women. So, the king sent for Abraham and asked, 'O Abraham! Who is this lady accompanying you?' Abraham replied, 'She is my sister (i.e. in religion).' Then Abraham returned to her and said, 'Do not contradict my statement, for I have informed them that you are my sister. By Allah, there are no true believers on this land except you and 1.' Then Abraham sent her to the king. When the king got to her, she got up and performed ablution, prayed and said, 'O Allah! If I have believed in You and Your Apostle, and have saved my private parts from everybody except my husband, then please do not let this pagan overpower me.' On that the king fell in a mood of agitation and started moving his legs. Seeing the condition of the king, Sarah said, 'O Allah! If he should die, the people will say that I have killed him.' The king regained his power, and proceeded towards her but she got up again and performed ablution, prayed and said, 'O Allah! If I have believed in You and Your Apostle and have kept my private parts safe from all except my husband, then please do not let this pagan overpower me.' The king again fell in a mood of agitation and started moving his legs. On seeing that state of the king, Sarah said, 'O Allah! If he should die, the people will say that I have killed him.' The king got either two or three attacks, and after recovering from the last attack he said, 'By Allah! You have sent a satan to me. Take her to Abraham and give her Ajar.' So she came back to Abraham and said, 'Allah humiliated the pagan and gave us a slavegirl for service."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 421:
Narrated Aisha:
Sad bin Abi Waqqas and Abu bin Zam'a quarreled over a boy. Sad said, "O Allah's Apostle! This boy is the son of my brother (Utba bin Abi Waqqas) who took a promise from me that I would take him as he was his (illegal) son. Look at him and see whom he resembles." Abu bin Zam'a said, "O Allah's Apostle! This is my brother and was born on my father's bed from his slave-girl." Allah's Apostle cast a look at the boy and found definite resemblance to Utba and then said, "The boy is for you, O Abu bin Zam'a. The child goes to the owner of the bed and the adulterer gets nothing but the stones (despair, i.e. to be stoned to death). Then the Prophet said, "O Sauda bint Zama! Screen yourself from this boy." So, Sauda never saw him again.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 422:
Narrated Sad that his father said:
Abdur-Rahman bin Auf said to Suhaib, 'Fear Allah and do not ascribe yourself to somebody other than your father.' Suhaib replied, 'I would not like to say it even if I were given large amounts of money, but I say I was kidnapped in my childhood.' "

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 423:
Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair:
Hakim bin Hizam said, "O Allah's Apostle! I used to do good deeds in the Pre-lslamic period of Ignorance, e.g., keeping good relations with my Kith and kin, manumitting slaves and giving alms. Shall I receive a reward for all that?" Allah's Apostle replied, "You embraced Islam with all the good deeds which you did in the past."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 424:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
Once Allah's Apostle passed by a dead sheep and said to the people, "Wouldn't you benefit by its skin?" The people replied that it was dead. The Prophet said, "But its eating only is illegal."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 425:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "By Him in Whose Hands my soul is, son of Mary (Jesus) will shortly descend amongst you people (Muslims) as a just ruler and will break the Cross and kill the pig and abolish the Jizya (a tax taken from the non-Muslims, who are in the protection, of the Muslim government). Then there will be abundance of money and no-body will accept charitable gifts.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 426:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Once Umar was informed that a certain man sold alcohol. Umar said, "May Allah curse him! Doesn't he know that Allah's Apostle said, 'May Allah curse the Jews, for Allah had forbidden them to eat the fat of animals but they melted it and sold it."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 427:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "May Allah curse the Jews, because Allah made fat illegal for them but they sold it and ate its price. "

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 428:
Narrated Said bin Abu Al-Hasan:
While I was with Ibn Abbas a man came and said, "O father of Abbas! My sustenance is from my manual profession and I make these pictures." Ibn Abbas said, "I will tell you only what I heard from Allah's Apostle . I heard him saying, 'Whoever makes a picture will be punished by Allah till he puts life in it, and he will never be able to put life in it.' " Hearing this, that man heaved a sigh and his face turned pale. Ibn Abbas said to him, "What a pity! If you insist on making pictures I advise you to make pictures of trees and any other unanimated objects."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 429:
Narrated Aisha:
When the last verses of Surat-al-Baqara were revealed, the Prophet went out (of his house to the Mosque) and said, "The trade of alcohol has become illegal."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 430:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Allah says, 'I will be against three persons on the Day of Resurrection:
1. One who makes a covenant in My Name, but he proves treacherous.
2. One who sells a free person (as a slave) and eats the price,
3. And one who employs a laborer and gets the full work done by him but does not pay him his wages.' "

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 431:

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Narrated Anas:
Amongst the captives was Safiya. First she was given to Dihya Al-Kalbi and then to the Prophet.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 432:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
that while he was sitting with Allah's Apostle he said, "O Allah's Apostle! We get female captives as our share of booty, and we are interested in their prices, what is your opinion about coitus interrupt us?" The Prophet said, "Do you really do that? It is better for you not to do it. No soul that which Allah has destined to exist, but will surely come into existence.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 433:
Narrated Jabir:
The Prophet sold a Mudabbar (on behalf of his master who was still living and in need of money).

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 434:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle sold a Mudabbar.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 435:
Narrated Zaid bin Khalid and Abu Huraira:
that Allah's Apostle was asked about an unmarried slave-girl who committed illegal sexual intercourse. They heard him saying, "Flog her, and if she commits illegal sexual intercourse after that, flog her again, and on the third (or the fourth) offense, sell her."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 436:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard the Prophet saying, "If a slave-girl of yours commits illegal sexual intercourse and her illegal sexual intercourse is proved, she should be lashed, and after that nobody should blame her, and if she commits illegal sexual intercourse the second time, she should be lashed and nobody should blame her after that, and if she does the offense for the third time and her illegal sexual intercourse is proved, she should be sold even for a hair rope."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 437:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet came to Khaibar and when Allah made him victorious and he conquered the town by breaking the enemy's defense, the beauty of Safiya bint Huyai bin Akhtab was mentioned to him and her husband had been killed while she was a bride. Allah's Apostle selected her for himself and he set out in her company till he reached Sadd-ar-Rawha' where her menses were over and he married her. Then Hais (a kind of meal) was prepared and served on a small leather sheet (used for serving meals). Allah's Apostle then said to me, "Inform those who are around you (about the wedding banquet)." So that was the marriage banquet given by Allah's Apostle for (his marriage with) Safiya. After that we proceeded to Medina and I saw that Allah's Apostle was covering her with a cloak while she was behind him. Then he would sit beside his camel and let Safiya put her feet on his knees to ride (the camel).

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 438:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
I heard Allah's Apostle, in the year of the Conquest of Mecca, saying, "Allah and His Apostle made illegal the trade of alcohol, dead animals, pigs and idols." The people asked, "O Allah's Apostle! What about the fat of dead animals, for it was used for greasing the boats and the hides; and people use it for lights?" He said, "No, it is illegal." Allah's Apostle further said, "May Allah curse the Jews, for Allah made the fat (of animals) illegal for them, yet they melted the fat and sold it and ate its price."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 439:
Narrated Abu Mas'ud Al-Ansari:
Allah's Apostle forbade taking the price of a dog, money earned by prostitution and the earnings of a soothsayer.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 440:
Narrated Aun bin Abu Juhaifa:
I saw my father buying a slave whose profession was cupping, and ordered that his instruments (of cupping) be broken. I asked him the reason for doing so. He replied, "Allah's Apostle prohibited taking money for blood, the price of a dog, and the earnings of a slave-girl by prostitution; he cursed her who tattoos and her who gets tattooed, the eater of Riba (usury), and the maker of pictures."

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 35:
Sales in which a Price is paid for Goods to be Delivered Later (As-Salam)

Volume 3, Book 35, Number 441:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle came to Medina and the people used to pay in advance the price of fruits to be delivered within one or two years. (The sub-narrator is in doubt whether it was one to two years or two to three years.) The Prophet said, "Whoever pays money in advance for dates (to be delivered later) should pay it for known specified weight and measure (of the dates)."

Volume 3, Book 35, Number 442:
Narrated Ibn Abi Najih:
as above, mentioning only specific measure.

Volume 3, Book 35, Number 443:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet came to Medina and the people used to pay in advance the price of dates to be delivered within two or three years. He said (to them), "Whoever pays in advance the price of a thing to be delivered later should pay it for a specified measure at specified weight for a specified period."

Volume 3, Book 35, Number 444:
Narrated Ibn Abi Najih:
as above, saying, "He should pay the price in advance for a specified measure and for a specified period."

Volume 3, Book 35, Number 445:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet came (to Medina) and he told the people (regarding the payment of money in advance that they should pay it) for a known specified measure and a known specified weight and a known specified period.

Volume 3, Book 35, Number 446:
Narrated Shu'ba:
Mohammed or Abdullah bin Abu Al-Mujalid said, "Abdullah bin Shaddad and Abu Burda differed regarding As-Salam, so they sent me to Ibn Abi Aufa and I asked him about it. He replied, 'In the life-time of Allah's Apostle, Abu Bakr and Umar, we used to pay in advance the prices of wheat, barley, dried grapes and dates to be delivered later. I also asked Ibn Abza and he, too, replied as above.' "

Volume 3, Book 35, Number 447:
Narrated Mohammed bin Al-Majalid:
Abdullah bin Shaddad and Abu Burda sent me to Abdullah bin Abi Aufa and told me to ask Abdullah whether the people in the life-time of the Prophet used to pay in advance for wheat (to be delivered later). Abdullah replied, "We used to pay in advance to the peasants of Sham for wheat, barley and olive oil of a known specified measure to be delivered in a specified period." I asked (him), "Was the price paid (in advance) to those who had the things to be delivered later?" Abdullah bin Aufa replied, "We did not use to ask them about that." Then they sent me to Abdur Rahman bin Abza and I asked him. He replied, "The companions of the Prophet used to practice Salam in the life-time of the Prophet; and we did not use to ask them whether they had standing crops or not."

Volume 3, Book 35, Number 448:
Narrated Mohammed bin Abi Al-Mujalid:
as above (446) and said, "We used to pay them in advance for wheat and barley (to be delivered later). Narrated Ash-Shaibani--"And also for oil."

Volume 3, Book 35, Number 449:
Narrated Ash-Shaibani:
who said "We used to pay in advance for wheat barley and dried grapes."

Volume 3, Book 35, Number 450:
Narrated Abu Bakhtari At-Tai:
I asked Ibn Abbas about Salam for (the fruits of) date-palms. He replied "The Prophet forbade the sale a dates on the trees till they became fit for eating and could be weighed." A man asked what to be weighed (as the dates were still on the trees). Another man sitting beside Ibn Abbas replied, "Till they are cut and stored." Narrated Abu Al-Bakhtari: I heard Ibn Abbas (saying) that the Prophet forbade ... etc. as above.

Volume 3, Book 35, Number 451:
Narrated Abu Al-Bakhtari:
I asked Ibn Umar about Salam (the fruits of) date-palms. He replied, "The Prophet forbade the sale of dates till their benefit becomes evident and fit for eating and also the sale of silver (for gold) on credit." I asked Ibn Abbas about Salam for dates and he replied, "The Prophet forbade the sale of dates till they were fit for eating and could be estimated."

Volume 3, Book 35, Number 452:
Narrated Abu Al-Bakhtari:
I asked Ibn Umar about Salam for dates. Ibn Umar replied, "The Prophet forbade the sale (the fruits) of datepalms until they were fit for eating and also forbade the sale of silver for gold on credit." I also asked Ibn Abbas about it. Ibn Abbas replied, "The Prophet forbade the sale of dates till they were fit for eating, and could be weighed." I asked him, "What is to be weighed (as the dates are on the trees)?" A man sitting by Ibn Abbas said, "It means till they are cut and stored."

Volume 3, Book 35, Number 453:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle bought some foodstuff (barley) from a Jew on credit and mortgaged his iron armor to him (the armor stands for a guarantor).

Volume 3, Book 35, Number 454:
Narrated Al-A'mash:
We argued at Ibrahim's dwelling place about mortgaging in Salam. He said, "Aisha said, 'The Prophet bought some foodstuff from a Jew on credit and the payment was to be made by a definite period, and he mortgaged his iron armor to him."

Volume 3, Book 35, Number 455:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet came to Medina and the people used to pay in advance the prices of fruits to be delivered within two to three years. The Prophet said (to them), "Buy fruits by paying their prices in advance on condition that the fruits are to be delivered to you according to a fixed specified measure within a fixed specified period." Ibn Najih said, " ... by specified measure and specified weight."

Volume 3, Book 35, Number 456:
Narrated Mohammed bin Abi Al-Mujalid:
Abu Burda and Abdullah bin Shaddad sent me to Abdur Rahman bin Abza and Abdullah bin Abi Aufa to ask them about the Salaf (Salam). They said, "We used to get war booty while we were with Allah's Apostle and when the peasants of Sham came to us we used to pay them in advance for wheat, barley, and oil to be delivered within a fixed period." I asked them, "Did the peasants own standing crops or not?" They replied, "We never asked them about it."

Volume 3, Book 35, Number 457:
Narrated Abdullah:
The people used to sell camels on the basis of Habal-al-Habala. The Prophet forbade such sale. Nafi explained Habalal-Habala by saying. "The camel is to be delivered to the buyer after the she-camel gives birth."

Volume 3, Book 35, Number 458:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle gave a verdict regarding Shuf'a in every undivided joint thing (property). But if the limits are defined (or demarcated) or the ways and streets are fixed, then there is no pre-emption.

Volume 3, Book 35, Number 459:
Narrated Amr bin Ash-Sharid:
While I was standing with Sad bin Abi Waqqas, Al-Miswar bin Makhrama came and put his hand on my shoulder. Meanwhile Abu Rafi', the freed slave of the Prophet came and asked Sad to buy from him the (two) dwellings which were in his house. Sad said, "By Allah I will not buy them." Al-Miswar said, "By Allah, you shall buy them." Sad replied, "By Allah, I will not pay more than four thousand (Dirhams) by installments." Abu Rafi' said, "I have been offered five hundred Dinars (for it) and had I not heard the Prophet saying, 'The neighbour has more right than anyone else because of his nearness, I would not give them to you for four-thousand (Dirhams) while I am offered five-hundred Dinars (one Dinar equals ten Dirhams) for them." So, he sold it to Sad.

Volume 3, Book 35, Number 460:
Narrated Aisha:
I said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have two neighbours and would like to know to which of them I should give presents." He replied, "To the one whose door is nearer to you."

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 36:
Hiring

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 461:
Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ashari:
The Prophet said, "The honest treasurer who gives willingly what he is ordered to give, is one of the two charitable persons, (the second being the owner)."

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 462:
Narrated Abu Musa:
I went to the Prophet with two men from Ash-ari tribe. I said (to the Prophet), "I do not know that they want employment." The Prophet said, "No, we do not appoint for our jobs anybody who demands it earnestly."

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 463:
Narrated Abu Huraira:

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The Prophet said, "Allah did not send any prophet but shepherded sheep." His companions asked him, "Did you do the same?" The Prophet replied, "Yes, I used to shepherd the sheep of the people of Mecca for some Qirats."

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 464:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet and Abu Bakr employed a (pagan) man from the tribe of Bani Ad-Dail and the tribe of Bani Abu bin Adi as a guide. He was an expert guide and he broke the oath contract which he had to abide by with the tribe of Al-'Asi bin Wail and he was on the religion of Quraish pagans. The Prophet and Abu Bakr had confidence in him and gave him their riding camels and told him to bring them to the Cave of Thaur after three days. So, he brought them their two riding camels after three days and both of them (The Prophet and Abu Bakr) set out accompanied by Amir bin Fuhaira and the Dili guide who guided them below Mecca along the road leading to the sea-shore.

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 465:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr hired a man from the tribe of Bani-Ad-Dil as an expert guide who was a pagan (follower of the religion of the pagans of Quraish). The Prophet and Abu Bakr gave him their two riding camels and took a promise from him to bring their riding camels in the morning of the third day to the Cave of Thaur.

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 466:
Narrated Ya'la bin Umaya:
I fought in Jaish-al-Usra (Ghazwa of Tabuk) along with the Prophet and in my opinion that was the best of my deeds. Then I had an employee, who quarrel led with someone and one of the them bit and cut the other's finger and caused his own tooth to fall out. He then went to the Prophet (with a complaint) but the Prophet cancelled the suit and said to the complainant, "Did you expect him to let his finger in your mouth so that you might snap and cut it (as does a stallion camel)?"
Narrated Ibn Juraij from Abdullah bin Abu Mulaika from his grandfather a similar story: A man bit the hand of another man and caused his own tooth to fall out, but Abu Bakr judged that he had no right for compensation (for the broken tooth).

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 467:
Narrated Ubai bin Ka'b:
Allah's Apostle said, "Both of them (Moses and Al-Khadir) proceeded on till they reached a wall which was about to fall." Sa'd said, "(Al-Khadir pointed) with his hands (towards the wall) and then raised his hands and the wall became straightened up." Ya'la said, "I think Said said, 'He (Khadir) passed his hand over it and it was straightened up." (Moses said to him), "if you had wanted, you could have taken wages for it." Said said, "Wages with which to buy food . "

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 468:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "Your example and the example of the people of the two Scriptures (i.e. Jews and Christians) is like the example of a man who employed some laborers and asked them, 'Who will work for me from morning till midday for one Qirat?' The Jews accepted and carried out the work. He then asked, Who will work for me from midday up to the Asr prayer for one Qirat?' The Christians accepted and fulfilled the work. He then said, 'Who will work for me from the Asr till sunset for two Qirats?' You, Muslims have accepted the offer. The Jews and the Christians got angry and said, 'Why should we work more and get lesser wages?' (Allah) said, 'Have I with-held part of your right?' They replied in the negative. He said, 'It is My Blessing, I bestow upon whomever I wish .'

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 469:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar bin Al-Khattab:
Allah's Apostle said, "Your example and the example of Jews and Christians is like the example of a man who employed some laborers to whom he said, 'Who will work for me up to midday for one Qirat each?' The Jews carried out the work for one Qirat each; and then the Christians carried out the work up to the Asr prayer for one Qirat each; and now you Muslims are working from the Asr prayer up to sunset for two Qirats each. The Jews and Christians got angry and said, 'We work more and are paid less.' The employer (Allah) asked them, 'Have I usurped some of your right?' They replied in the negative. He said, 'That is My Blessing, I bestow upon whomever I wish.' "

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 470:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Allah said, 'I will be an opponent to three types of people on the Day of Resurrection:
1. One who makes a covenant in My Name, but proves treacherous;
2. One who sells a free person and eats his price; and
3. One who employs a laborer and takes full work from him but does not pay him for his lab our.' "

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 471:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet said, "The example of Muslims, Jews and Christians is like the example of a man who employed laborers to work for him from morning till night for specific wages. They worked till midday and then said, 'We do not need your money which you have fixed for us and let whatever we have done be annulled.' The man said to them, 'Don't quit the work, but complete the rest of it and take your full wages.' But they refused and went away. The man employed another batch after them and said to them, 'Complete the rest of the day and yours will be the wages I had fixed for the first batch.' So, they worked till the time of Asr prayer. Then they said, "Let what we have done be annulled and keep the wages you have promised us for yourself.' The man said to them, 'Complete the rest of the work, as only a little of the day remains,' but they refused. Thereafter he employed another batch to work for the rest of the day and they worked for the rest of the day till the sunset, and they received the wages of the two former batches. So, that was the example of those people (Muslims) and the example of this light (guidance) which they have accepted willingly.

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 472:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "Three men from among those who were before you, set out together till they reached a cave at night and entered it. A big rock rolled down the mountain and closed the mouth of the cave. They said (to each other), Nothing could save you Tom this rock but to invoke Allah by giving referenda to the righteous deed which you have done (for Allah's sake only).' So, one of them said, 'O Allah! I had old parents and I never provided my family (wife, children etc.) with milk before them. One day, by chance I was delayed, and I came late (at night) while they had slept. I milked the sheep for them and took the milk to them, but I found them sleeping. I disliked to provide my family with the milk before them. I waited for them and the bowl of milk was in my hand and I kept on waiting for them to get up till the day dawned. Then they got up and drank the milk. O Allah! If I did that for Your Sake only, please relieve us from our critical situation caused by this rock.' So, the rock shifted a little but they could not get out."
The Prophet added, "The second man said, 'O Allah! I had a cousin who was the dearest of all people to me and I wanted to have sexual relations with her but she refused. Later she had a hard time in a famine year and she came to me and I gave her one-hundred-and-twenty Dinars on the condition that she would not resist my desire, and she agreed. When I was about to fulfill my desire, she said: It is illegal for you to outrage my chastity except by legitimate marriage. So, I thought it a sin to have sexual intercourse with her and left her though she was the dearest of all the people to me, and also I left the gold I had given her. O Allah! If I did that for Your Sake only, please relieve us from the present calamity.' So, the rock shifted a little more but still they could not get out from there."
The Prophet added, "Then the third man said, 'O Allah! I employed few laborers and I paid them their wages with the exception of one man who did not take his wages and went away. I invested his wages and I got much property thereby. (Then after some time) he came and said to me: O Allah's slave! Pay me my wages. I said to him: All the camels, cows, sheep and slaves you see, are yours. He said: O Allah's slave! Don't mock at me. I said: I am not mocking at you. So, he took all the herd and drove them away and left nothing. O Allah! If I did that for Your Sake only, please relieve us from the present suffering.' So, that rock shifted completely and they got out walking.

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 473:
Narrated Abu May' id Al-Ansari:
Whenever Allah's Apostle ordered us to give in charity we would go to the market and work as porters to earn a Mudd (two hand-fulls) (of foodstuff) but now some of us have one-hundred thousand Dirhams or Diners. (The sub-narrator) Shaqiq said, "I think Abu Mas'ud meant himself by saying (some of us) .

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 474:
Narrated Tawus:
Ibn Abbas said, "The Prophet forbade the meeting of caravans (on the way) and ordained that no townsman is permitted to sell things on behalf of a bedouin." I asked Ibn Abbas, "What is the meaning of his saying, 'No townsman is permitted to sell things on behalf of a bedouin.' " He replied, "He should not work as a broker for him."

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 475:
Narrated Khabbab:
I was a blacksmith and did some work for Al-'As bin Wail. When he owed me some money for my work, I went to him to ask for that amount. He said, "I will not pay you unless you disbelieve in Mohammed." I said, "By Allah! I will never do that till you die and be resurrected." He said, "Will I be dead and then resurrected after my death?" I said, "Yes." He said, "There I will have property and offspring and then I will pay you your due." Then Allah revealed. 'Have you seen him who disbelieved in Our signs, and yet says: I will be given property and offspring?' (19.77)

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 476:
Narrated Abu Said:
Some of the companions of the Prophet went on a journey till they reached some of the 'Arab tribes (at night). They asked the latter to treat them as their guests but they refused. The chief of that tribe was then bitten by a snake (or stung by a scorpion) and they tried their best to cure him but in vain. Some of them said (to the others), "Nothing has benefited him, will you go to the people who resided here at night, it may be that some of them might possess something (as treatment)," They went to the group of the companions (of the Prophet) and said, "Our chief has been bitten by a snake (or stung by a scorpion) and we have tried everything but he has not benefitted. Have you got anything (useful)?" One of them replied, "Yes, by Allah! I can recite a Ruqya, but as you have refused to accept us as your guests, I will not recite the Ruqya for you unless you fix for us some wages for it." They agrees to pay them a flock of sheep. One of them then went and recited (Suratul-Fatiha): 'All the praises are for the Lord of the Worlds' and puffed over the chief who became all right as if he was released from a chain, and got up and started walking, showing no signs of sickness.
They paid them what they agreed to pay. Some of them (i.e. the companions) then suggested to divide their earnings among themselves, but the one who performed the recitation said, "Do not divide them till we go to the Prophet and narrate the whole story to him, and wait for his order." So, they went to Allah's Apostle and narrated the story. Allah's Apostle asked, "How did you come to know that Surat-ul-Fatiha was recited as Ruqya?" Then he added, "You have done the right thing. Divide (what you have earned) and assign a share for me as well." The Prophet smiled thereupon.

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 477:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
When Abu Taiba cupped the Prophet and the Prophet ordered that he be paid one or two Sas of foodstuff and he interceded with his masters to reduce his taxes.

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 478:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
When the Prophet was cupped, he paid the man who cupped him his wages.

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 479:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
When the Prophet was cupped, he paid the man who cupped him his wages. If it had been undesirable he would not have paid him.

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 480:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet used to get cupped and would never withhold the wages of any person .

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 481:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet sent for a slave who had the profession of cupping, and he cupped him. The Prophet ordered that he be paid one or two Sas, or one or two Mudds of foodstuff, and appealed to his masters to reduce his taxes:

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 482:
Narrated Abu Masud Al-Ansari:
Allah's Apostle regarded illegal the price of a dog, the earnings of a prostitute, and the charges taken by a soothsayer.

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 483:
Narrated Abu Huraira: The Prophet prohibited the earnings of slave girls (through prostitution).

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 484:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet forbade taking a price for animal copulation.

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 485:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
"Allah's Apostle gave the land of Khaibar to the Jews to work on and cultivate and take half of its yield. Ibn Umar added, "The land used to be rented for a certain portion (of its yield)." Nafi mentioned the amount of the portion but I

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forgot it. Rafi' bin Khadij said, "The Prophet forbade renting farms." Narrated Ubaid-Ullah Nafi said: Ibn Umar said: (The contract of Khaibar continued) till Umar evacuated the Jews (from Khaibar).

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 37:
Transferance of a Debt from One Person to Another (Al-Hawaala)

Volume 3, Book 37, Number 486:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Procrastination (delay) in paying debts by a wealthy man is injustice. So, if your debt is transferred from your debtor to a rich debtor, you should agree."

Volume 3, Book 37, Number 487:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Procrastination (delay) in paying debts by a wealthy person is injustice. So, if your debt is transferred from your debtor to a rich debtor, you should agree."

Volume 3, Book 37, Number 488r:
Narrated Salama bin Al-Akwa:
Once, while we were sitting in the company of Prophet, a dead man was brought. The Prophet was requested to lead the funeral prayer for the deceased. He said, "Is he in debt?" The people replied in the negative. He said, "Has he left any wealth?" They said, "No." So, he led his funeral prayer. Another dead man was brought and the people said, "O Allah's Apostle! Lead his funeral prayer." The Prophet said, "Is he in debt?" They said, "Yes." He said, "Has he left any wealth?" They said, "Three Dinars." So, he led the prayer. Then a third dead man was brought and the people said (to the Prophet), Please lead his funeral prayer." He said, "Has he left any wealth?" They said, "No." He asked, "Is he in debt?" They said, ("Yes! He has to pay) three Diners.', He (refused to pray and) said, "Then pray for your (dead) companion." Abu Qatada said, "O Allah's Apostle! Lead his funeral prayer, and I will pay his debt." So, he led the prayer.

Volume 3, Book 37, Number 488h:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "An Israeli man asked another Israeli to lend him one thousand Dinars. The second man required witnesses. The former replied, 'Allah is sufficient as a witness.' The second said, 'I want a surety.' The former replied, 'Allah is sufficient as a surety.' The second said, 'You are right,' and lent him the money for a certain period. The debtor went across the sea. When he finished his job, he searched for a conveyance so that he might reach in time for the repayment of the debt, but he could not find any. So, he took a piece of wood and made a hole in it, inserted in it one thousand Dinars and a letter to the lender and then closed (i.e. sealed) the hole tightly. He took the piece of wood to the sea and said. 'O Allah! You know well that I took a loan of one thousand Dinars from so-and-so. He demanded a surety from me but I told him that Allah's Guarantee was sufficient and he accepted Your guarantee. He then asked for a witness and I told him that Allah was sufficient as a Witness, and he accepted You as a Witness. No doubt, I tried hard to find a conveyance so that I could pay his money but could not find, so I hand over this money to You.' Saying that, he threw the piece of wood into the sea till it went out far into it, and then he went away. Meanwhile he started searching for a conveyance in order to reach the creditor's country.
One day the lender came out of his house to see whether a ship had arrived bringing his money, and all of a sudden he saw the piece of wood in which his money had been deposited. He took it home to use for fire. When he sawed it, he found his money and the letter inside it. Shortly after that, the debtor came bringing one thousand Dinars to him and said, 'By Allah, I had been trying hard to get a boat so that I could bring you your money, but failed to get one before the one I have come by.' The lender asked, 'Have you sent something to me?' The debtor replied, 'I have told you I could not get a boat other than the one I have come by.' The lender said, 'Allah has delivered on your behalf the money you sent in the piece of wood. So, you may keep your one thousand Dinars and depart guided on the right path.' "

Volume 3, Book 37, Number 489:
Narrated Said bin Jubair:
Ibn Abbas said, "In the verse: To every one We have appointed ' (Muwaliya Mawaliya means one's) heirs (4.33).' (And regarding the verse) 'And those with whom your right hands have made a pledge.' Ibn Abbas said, "When the emigrants came to the Prophet in Medina, the emigrant would inherit the Ansari while the latter's relatives would not inherit him because of the bond of brotherhood which the Prophet established between them (i.e. the emigrants and the Ansar). When the verse: 'And to everyone We have appointed heirs' (4.33) was revealed, it cancelled (the bond (the pledge) of brotherhood regarding inheritance)." Then he said, "The verse: To those also to whom your right hands have pledged, remained valid regarding co-operation and mutual advice, while the matter of inheritance was excluded and it became permissible to assign something in one's testament to the person who had the right of inheriting before.

Volume 3, Book 37, Number 490:
Narrated Anas:
Abdur-Rahman bin 'Auf came to us and Allah's Apostle established a bond of brotherhood between him and Sad bin Rabi'a.

Volume 3, Book 37, Number 491:
Narrated Asim:
I heard Anas bin Malik, "Have you ever heard that the Prophet said, 'There is no alliance in Islam?' " He replied, "The Prophet made alliance between Quarish and the Ansar in my house."

Volume 3, Book 37, Number 492:
Narrated Salama bin Al-Akwa:
A dead person was brought to the Prophet so that he might lead the funeral prayer for him. He asked, "Is he in debt?" When the people replied in the negative, he led the funeral prayer. Another dead person was brought and he asked, "Is he in debt?" They said, "Yes." He (refused to lead the prayer and) said, "Lead the prayer of your friend." Abu Qatada said, "O Allah's Apostle! I undertake to pay his debt." Allah's Apostle then led his funeral prayer.

Volume 3, Book 37, Number 493:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
Once the Prophet said (to me), "If the money of Bahrain comes, I will give you a certain amount of it." The Prophet had breathed his last before the money of Bahrain arrived. When the money of Bahrain reached, Abu Bakr announced, "Whoever was promised by the Prophet should come to us." I went to Abu Bakr and said, "The Prophet promised me so and so." Abu Bakr gave me a handful of coins and when I counted them, they were five-hundred in number. Abu Bakr then said, "Take twice the amount you have taken (besides)."

Volume 3, Book 37, Number 494:
Narrated Aisha:
(wife of the Prophet) Since I reached the age when I could remember things, I have seen my parents worshipping according to the right faith of Islam. Not a single day passed but Allah's Apostle visited us both in the morning and in the evening. When the Muslims were persecuted, Abu Bakr set out for Ethiopia as an emigrant. When he reached a place called Bark-al-Ghimad, he met Ibn Ad-Daghna, the chief of the Qara tribe, who asked Abu Bakr, "Where are you going?" Abu Bakr said, "My people have turned me out of the country and I would like to tour the world and worship my Lord." Ibn Ad-Daghna said, "A man like you will not go out, nor will he be turned out as you help the poor earn their living, keep good relation with your Kith and kin, help the disabled (or the dependents), provide guests with food and shelter, and help people during their troubles. I am your protector. So, go back and worship your Lord at your home." Ibn Ad-Daghna went along with Abu Bakr and took him to the chiefs of Quraish saying to them, "A man like Abu Bakr will not go out, nor will he be turned out. Do you turn out a man who helps the poor earn their living, keeps good relations with Kith and kin, helps the disabled, provides guests with food and shelter, and helps the people during their troubles?"
So, Quraish allowed Ibn Ad-Daghna's guarantee of protection and told Abu- Bakr that he was secure, and said to Ibn Ad-Daghna, "Advise Abu Bakr to worship his Lord in his house and to pray and read what he liked and not to hurt us and not to do these things publicly, for we fear that our sons and women may follow him." Ibn Ad-Daghna told Abu Bakr of all that, so Abu- Bakr continued worshipping his Lord in his house and did not pray or recite Koran aloud except in his house. Later on Abu Bakr had an idea of building a mosque in the court yard of his house. He fulfilled that idea and started praying and reciting Koran there publicly. The women and the offspring of the pagans started gathering around him and looking at him astonishingly. Abu Bakr was a softhearted person and could not help weeping while reciting Koran. This horrified the pagan chiefs of Quraish. They sent for Ibn Ad-Daghna and when he came, they said, "We have given Abu Bakr protection on condition that he will worship his Lord in his house, but he has transgressed that condition and has built a mosque in the court yard of his house and offered his prayer and recited Koran in public. We are afraid lest he mislead our women and offspring. So, go to him and tell him that if he wishes he can worship his Lord in his house only, and if not, then tell him to return your pledge of protection as we do not like to betray you by revoking your pledge, nor can we tolerate Abu Bakr's public declaration of Islam (his worshipping)."
Aisha added: Ibn Ad-Daghna came to Abu Bakr and said, "You know the conditions on which I gave you protection, so you should either abide by those conditions or revoke my protection, as I do not like to hear the 'Arabs saying that Ibn Ad-Daghna gave the pledge of protection to a person and his people did not respect it." Abu Bakr said, "I revoke your pledge of protection and am satisfied with Allah's protection." At that time Allah's Apostle was still in Mecca and he said to his companions, "Your place of emigration has been shown to me. I have seen salty land, planted with date-palms and situated between two mountains which are the two ,Harras." So, when the Prophet told it, some of the companions migrated to Medina, and some of those who had migrated to Ethiopia returned to Medina. When Abu Bakr prepared for emigration, Allah's Apostle said to him, "Wait, for I expect to be permitted to emigrate." Abu Bakr asked, "May my father be sacrificed for your sake, do you really expect that?" Allah's Apostle replied in the affirmative. So, Abu Bakr postponed his departure in order to accompany Allah's Apostle and fed two camels which he had, with the leaves of Samor trees for four months.

Volume 3, Book 37, Number 495:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Whenever a dead man in debt was brought to Allah's Apostle he would ask, "Has he left anything to repay his debt?" If he was informed that he had left something to repay his debts, he would offer his funeral prayer, otherwise he would tell the Muslims to offer their friend's funeral prayer. When Allah made the Prophet wealthy through conquests, he said, "I am more rightful than other believers to be the guardian of the believers, so if a Muslim dies while in debt, I am responsible for the repayment of his debt, and whoever leaves wealth (after his death) it will belong to his heirs. "

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 38:
Representation, Authorization, Business by Proxy

Volume 3, Book 38, Number 496:
Narrated Ali: Allah's Apostle ordered me to distribute the saddles and skins of the Budn which had slaughtered.

Volume 3, Book 38, Number 497:
Narrated Uqba bin Amir:
that the Prophet had given him sheep to distribute among his companions and a male kid was left (after the distribution). When he informed the Prophet of it, he said (to him), "Offer it as a sacrifice on your behalf."

Volume 3, Book 38, Number 498:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin 'Auf:
I got an agreement written between me and Umaiya bin Khalaf that Umaiya would look after my property (or family) in Mecca and I would look after his in Medina. When I mentioned the word 'Ar-Rahman' in the documents, Umaiya said, "I do not know 'Ar-Rahman.' Write down to me your name, (with which you called yourself) in the Pre-Islamic Period of Ignorance." So, I wrote my name ' 'Abdu Amr'. On the day (of the battle) of Badr, when all the people went to sleep, I went up the hill to protect him. Bilal(1) saw him (i.e. Umaiya) and went to a gathering of Ansar and said, "(Here is) Umaiya bin Khalaf! Woe to me if he escapes!" So, a group of Ansar went out with Bilal to follow us (Abdur-Rahman and Umaiya). Being afraid that they would catch us, I left Umaiya's son for them to keep them busy but the Ansar killed the son and insisted on following us. Umaiya was a fat man, and when they approached us, I told him to kneel down, and he knelt, and I laid myself on him to protect him, but the Ansar killed him by passing their swords underneath me, and one of them injured my foot with his sword. (The sub narrator said, " Abdur-Rahman used to show us the trace of the wound on the back of his foot.")

Volume 3, Book 38, Number 499:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri and Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle employed someone as a governor at Khaibar. When the man came to Medina, he brought with him dates called Janib. The Prophet asked him, "Are all the dates of Khaibar of this kind?" The man replied, "(No), we exchange two Sa's of bad dates for one Sa of this kind of dates (i.e. Janib), or exchange three Sa's for two." On that, the Prophet said, "Don't do so, as it is a kind of usury (Riba) but sell the dates of inferior quality for money, and then buy Janib with the money". The Prophet said the same thing about dates sold by weight. (See Hadith No. 506).

Volume 3, Book 38, Number 500:
Narrated Ibn Ka'b bin Malik from his father:
We had some sheep which used to graze at Sala'. One of our slavegirls saw a sheep dying and she broke a stone and slaughtered the sheep with it. My father said to the people, "Don't eat it till I ask the Prophet about it (or till I send somebody to ask the Prophet)." So, he asked or sent somebody to ask the Prophet, and the Prophet permitted him to eat it. Ubaidullah (a sub-narrator) said, "I admire that girl,

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for though she was a slave-girl, she dared to slaughter the sheep . "

Volume 3, Book 38, Number 501:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet owed somebody a camel of a certain age. When he came to demand it back, the Prophet said (to some people), "Give him (his due)." When the people searched for a camel of that age, they found none, but found a camel one year older. The Prophet said, "Give (it to) him." On that, the man remarked, "You have given me my right in full. May Allah give you in full." The Prophet said, "The best amongst you is the one who pays the rights of others generously."

Volume 3, Book 38, Number 502:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A man came to the Prophet demanding his debts and behaved rudely. The companions of the Prophet intended to harm him, but Allah's Apostle said (to them), "Leave him, for the creditor (i.e. owner of a right) has the right to speak." Allah's Apostle then said, "Give him a camel of the same age as that of his." The people said, "O Allah's Apostle! There is only a camel that is older than his." Allah's Apostle said, "Give (it to) him, for the best amongst you is he who pays the rights of others handsomely."

Volume 3, Book 38, Number 503:
Narrated Marwan bin Al-Hakam and Al-Miswar bin Makhrama:
When the delegates of the tribe of Hawazin after embracing Islam, came to Allah's Apostle, he got up. They appealed to him to return their properties and their captives. Allah's Apostle said to them, "The most beloved statement to me is the true one. So, you have the option of restoring your properties or your captives, for I have delayed distributing them." The narrator added, Allah's Apostle c had been waiting for them for more than ten days on his return from Taif. When they realized that Allah's Apostle would return to them only one of two things, they said, "We choose our captives." So, Allah's Apostle got up in the gathering of the Muslims, praised Allah as He deserved, and said, "Then after! These brethren of yours have come to you with repentance and I see it proper to return their captives to them. So, whoever amongst you likes to do that as a favor, then he can do it, and whoever of you wants to stick to his share till we pay him from the very first booty which Allah will give us then he can do so." The people replied, "We agree to give up our shares willingly as a favor for Allah's Apostle." Then Allah's Apostle said, "We don't know who amongst you has agreed and who hasn't. Go back and your chiefs may tell us your opinion." So, all of them returned and their chiefs discussed the matter with them and then they (i.e. their chiefs) came to Allah's Apostle to tell him that they (i.e. the people) had given up their shares gladly and willingly.

Volume 3, Book 38, Number 504:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
I was accompanying the Prophet on a journey and was riding a slow camel that was lagging behind the others. The Prophet passed by me and asked, "Who is this?" I replied, "Jabir bin Abdullah." He asked, "What is the matter, (why are you late)?" I replied, "I am riding a slow camel." He asked, "Do you have a stick?" I replied in the affirmative. He said, "Give it to me." When I gave it to him, he beat the camel and rebuked it. Then that camel surpassed the others thenceforth. The Prophet said, "Sell it to me." I replied, "It is (a gift) for you, O Allah's Apostle." He said, "Sell it to me. I have bought it for four Dinars (gold pieces) and you can keep on riding it till Medina." When we approached Medina, I started going (towards my house). The Prophet said, "Where are you going?" I Sad, "I have married a widow." He said, "Why have you not married a virgin to fondle with each other?" I said, "My father died and left daughters, so I decided to marry a widow (an experienced woman) (to look after them)." He said, "Well done." When we reached Medina, Allah's Apostle said, "O Bilal, pay him (the price of the camel) and give him extra money." Bilal gave me four Dinars and one Qirat extra. (A sub-narrator said): Jabir added, "The extra Qirat of Allah's Apostle never parted from me." The Qirat was always in Jabir bin Abdullah's purse.

Volume 3, Book 38, Number 505r:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
A woman came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I want to give up myself to you." A man said, "Marry her to me." The Prophet said, "We agree to marry her to you with what you know of the Koran by heart."

Volume 3, Book 38, Number 505t:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle deputed me to keep Sadaqat (al-Fitr) of Ramadan. A comer came and started taking handfuls of the foodstuff (of the Sadaqa) (stealthily). I took hold of him and said, "By Allah, I will take you to Allah's Apostle ." He said, "I am needy and have many dependents, and I am in great need." I released him, and in the morning Allah's Apostle asked me, "What did your prisoner do yesterday?" I said, "O Allah's Apostle! The person complained of being needy and of having many dependents, so, I pitied him and let him go." Allah's Apostle said, "Indeed, he told you a lie and he will be coming again." I believed that he would show up again as Allah's Apostle had told me that he would return. So, I waited for him watchfully. When he (showed up and) started stealing handfuls of foodstuff, I caught hold of him again and said, "I will definitely take you to Allah's Apostle. He said, "Leave me, for I am very needy and have many dependents. I promise I will not come back again." I pitied him and let him go.
In the morning Allah's Apostle asked me, "What did your prisoner do." I replied, "O Allah's Apostle! He complained of his great need and of too many dependents, so I took pity on him and set him free." Allah's Apostle said, "Verily, he told you a lie and he will return." I waited for him attentively for the third time, and when he (came and) started stealing handfuls of the foodstuff, I caught hold of him and said, "I will surely take you to Allah's Apostle as it is the third time you promise not to return, yet you break your promise and come." He said, "(Forgive me and) I will teach you some words with which Allah will benefit you." I asked, "What are they?" He replied, "Whenever you go to bed, recite "Ayat-al-Kursi"-- 'Allahu la ilaha illa huwa-l-Haiy-ul Qaiyum' till you finish the whole verse. (If you do so), Allah will appoint a guard for you who will stay with you and no satan will come near you till morning. " So, I released him. In the morning, Allah's Apostle asked, "What did your prisoner do yesterday?" I replied, "He claimed that he would teach me some words by which Allah will benefit me, so I let him go." Allah's Apostle asked, "What are they?" I replied, "He said to me, 'Whenever you go to bed, recite Ayat-al-Kursi from the beginning to the end ---- Allahu la ilaha illa huwa-lHaiy-ul-Qaiyum----.' He further said to me, '(If you do so), Allah will appoint a guard for you who will stay with you, and no satan will come near you till morning.' (Abu Huraira or another sub-narrator) added that they (the companions) were very keen to do good deeds. The Prophet said, "He really spoke the truth, although he is an absolute liar. Do you know whom you were talking to, these three nights, O Abu Huraira?" Abu Huraira said, "No." He said, "It was Satan."

Volume 3, Book 38, Number 506:
Narrated Abu Said al-Khudri:
Once Bilal brought Barni (i.e. a kind of dates) to the Prophet and the Prophet asked him, "From where have you brought these?" Bilal replied, "I had some inferior type of dates and exchanged two Sas of it for one Sa of Barni dates in order to give it to the Prophet; to eat." Thereupon the Prophet said, "Beware! Beware! This is definitely Riba (usury)! This is definitely Riba (Usury)! Don't do so, but if you want to buy (a superior kind of dates) sell the inferior dates for money and then buy the superior kind of dates with that money."

Volume 3, Book 38, Number 507:
Narrated Amr:
Concerning the Waqf of Umar: It was not sinful of the trustee (of the Waqf) to eat or provide his friends from it, provided the trustee had no intention of collecting fortune (for himself). Ibn Umar was the manager of the trust of Umar and he used to give presents from it to those with whom he used to stay at Mecca.

Volume 3, Book 38, Number 508:
Narrated Zaid bin Khalid and Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "O Unais! Go to the wife of this (man) and if she confesses (that she has committed illegal sexual intercourse), then stone her to death."

Volume 3, Book 38, Number 509:
Narrated Uqba bin Al-Harith:
When An-Nuaman or his son was brought in a state of drunkenness, Allah's Apostle ordered all those who were present in the house to beat him. I was one of those who beat him. We beat him with shoes and palm-leaf stalks.

Volume 3, Book 38, Number 510:
Narrated Aisha:
I twisted the garlands of the Hadis (i.e. animals for sacrifice) of Allah's Apostle with my own hands. Then Allah's Apostle put them around their necks with his own hands, and sent them with my father (to Mecca). Nothing legal was regarded illegal for Allah's Apostle till the animals were slaughtered.

Volume 3, Book 38, Number 511:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Abu Talha was the richest man in Medina amongst the Ansar and Beeruha' (garden) was the most beloved of his property, and it was situated opposite the mosque (of the Prophet.). Allah's Apostle used to enter it and drink from its sweet water. When the following Divine Verse were revealed: 'you will not attain righteousness till you spend in charity of the things you love' (3.93), Abu Talha got up in front of Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Allah says in His Book, 'You will not attain righteousness unless you spend (in charity) that which you love,' and verily, the most beloved to me of my property is Beeruha (garden), so I give it in charity and hope for its reward from Allah. O Allah's Apostle! Spend it wherever you like." Allah's Apostle appreciated that and said, "That is perishable wealth, that is perishable wealth. I have heard what you have said; I suggest you to distribute it among your relatives." Abu Talha said, "I will do so, O Allah's Apostle." So, Abu Talha distributed it among his relatives and cousins. The sub-narrator (Malik) said: The Prophet said: "That is a profitable wealth," instead of "perishable wealth".

Volume 3, Book 38, Number 512:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet said, "An honest treasurer who gives what he is ordered to give fully, perfectly and willingly to the person to whom he is ordered to give, is regarded as one of the two charitable persons."

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 39:
Agriculture

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 513:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle said, "There is none amongst the Muslims who plants a tree or sows seeds, and then a bird, or a person or an animal eats from it, but is regarded as a charitable gift for him."

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 514:
Narrated Abu Umama al-Bahili:
I saw some agricultural equipments and said: "I heard the Prophet saying: "There is no house in which these equipment enters except that Allah will cause humiliation to enter it."

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 515:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever keeps a dog, one Qirat of the reward of his good deeds is deducted daily, unless the dog is used for guarding a farm or cattle." Abu Huraira (in another narration) said from the Prophet, "unless it is used for guarding sheep or farms, or for hunting." Narrated Abu Hazim from Abu Huraira: The Prophet said, "A dog for guarding cattle or for hunting."

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 516:
Narrated As-Sa'ib bin Yazid:
Abu Sufyan bin Abu Zuhair, a man from Azd Shanu'a and one of the companions of the Prophet said, "I heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'If one keeps a dog which is meant for guarding neither a farm nor cattle, one Qirat of the reward of his good deeds is deducted daily." I said, "Did you hear this from Allah's Apostle?" He said, "Yes, by the Lord of this Mosque."

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 517:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "While a man was riding a cow, it turned towards him and said, 'I have not been created for this purpose (i.e. carrying), I have been created for sloughing." The Prophet added, "I, Abu Bakr and Umar believe in the story." The Prophet went on, "A wolf caught a sheep, and when the shepherd chased it, the wolf said, 'Who will be its guard on the day of wild beasts, when there will be no shepherd for it except me?' "After narrating it, the Prophet said, "I, Abu Bakr and Umar too believe it." Abu Salama (a sub-narrator) said, "Abu Bakr and Umar were not present then." (It has been written that a wolf also spoke to one of the companions of the Prophet near Medina as narrated in Fatah-al-Bari:
Narrated Unais bin Amr: Ahban bin Aus said, "I was amongst my sheep. Suddenly a wolf caught a sheep and I shouted at it. The wolf sat on its tail and addressed me, saying, 'Who will look after it (i.e. the sheep) when you will be busy and not able to look after it? Do you forbid me the provision which Allah has provided me?' " Ahban added, "I clapped my hands and said, 'By Allah, I have never seen anything more curious and wonderful than this!' On that the wolf said, 'There is something (more curious) and wonderful than this; that is, Allah's Apostle in those palm trees, inviting people to Allah (i.e. Islam).' "Unais bin Amr further said, "Then Ahban went to Allah's Apostle and informed him what happened and embraced Islam.)" palm trees or other trees and share the fruits with me."

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 518:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Ansar said to the Prophet "Distribute the date palm trees between us and our emigrant brothers." He replied,

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"No." The Ansar said (to the emigrants), "Look after the trees (water and watch them) and share the fruits with us." The emigrants said, "We listen and obey."

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 519:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet got the date palm trees of the tribe of Bani-An-Nadir burnt and the trees cut down at a place called Al-Buwaira . Hassan bin Thabit said in a poetic verse: "The chiefs of Bani Lu'ai found it easy to watch fire spreading at Al-Buwaira."

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 520:
Narrated Rafi' bin Khadij:
We worked on farms more than anybody else in Medina. We used to rent the land at the yield of specific delimited portion of it to be given to the landlord. Sometimes the vegetation of that portion was affected by blights etc., while the rest remained safe and vice versa, so the Prophet forbade this practice. At that time gold or silver were not used (for renting the land). If they provided the seeds, they would get so-and-so much. Al-Hasan said, "There is no harm if the land belongs to one but both spend on it and the yield is divided between them." Az-Zuhri had the same opinion. Al-Hasan said, "There is no harm if cotton is picked on the condition of having half the yield." Ibrahim, Ibn Siain, 'Ata', Al-Hakam, Az-Zuhri and Qatada said, "There is no harm in giving the yarn to the weaver to weave into cloth on the basis that one-third or one-fourth (or any other portion) of the cloth is given to the weaver for his labor." Ma'am said, "There is no harm in hiring animals for a definite (fixed) period on the basis that one-third or one-fourth of the products carried by the animals is given to the owner of the animals."

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 521:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
The Prophet concluded a contract with the people of Khaibar to utilize the land on the condition that half the products of fruits or vegetation would be their share. The Prophet used to give his wives one hundred Wasqs each, eighty Wasqs of dates and twenty Wasqs of barley. (When Umar became the Caliph) he gave the wives of the Prophet the option of either having the land and water as their shares, or carrying on the previous practice. Some of them chose the land and some chose the Wasqs, and Aisha chose the land.

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 522:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet made a deal with the people of Khaibar that they would have half the fruits and vegetation of the land they cultivated.

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 523:
Narrated Amr:
I said to Tawus, "I wish you would give up Mukhabara (Share-cropping), for the people say that the Prophet forbade it." On that Tawus replied, "O Amr! I give the land to share-croppers and help them. No doubt; the most learned man, namely Ibn Abbas told me that the Prophet had not forbidden it but said, 'It is more beneficial for one to give his land free to one's brother than to charge him a fixed rental."

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 524:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle gave the land of Khaibar to the Jew's on the condition that they work on it and cultivate it, and be given half of its yield.

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 525:
Narrated Rafi:
We worked on farms more than anybody else in Medina. We used to rent the land and say to the owner, "The yield of this portion is for us and the yield of that portion is for you (as the rent)." One of those portions might yield something and the other might not. So, the Prophet forbade us to do so.

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 526:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
The Prophet said, "While three men were walking, It started raining and they took shelter (refuge) in a cave in a mountain. A big rock rolled down from the mountain and closed the mouth of the cave. They said to each other, "Think of good deeds which you did for Allah's sake only, and invoke Allah by giving reference to those deeds so that He may remove this rock from you." One of them said, 'O Allah! I had old parents and small children and I used to graze the sheep for them. On my return to them in the evening, I used to milk (the sheep) and start providing my parents first of all before my children. One day I was delayed and came late at night and found my parents sleeping. I milked (the sheep) as usual and stood by their heads. I hated to wake them up and disliked to give milk to my children before them, although my children were weeping (because of hunger) at my feet till the day dawned. O Allah! If I did this for Your sake only, kindly remove the rock so that we could see the sky through it.' So, Allah removed the rock a little and they saw the sky. The second man said, 'O Allah! I was in love with a cousin of mine like the deepest love a man may have for a woman. I wanted to outrage her chastity but she refused unless I gave her one hundred Dinars. So, I struggled to collect that amount. And when I sat between her legs, she said, 'O Allah's slave! Be afraid of Allah and do not deflower me except rightfully (by marriage).' So, I got up. O Allah! If I did it for Your sake only, please remove the rock.' The rock shifted a little more. Then the third man said, 'O Allah! I employed a laborer for a Faraq of rice and when he finished his job and demanded his right, I presented it to him, but he refused to take it. So, I sowed the rice many time till I gathered cows and their shepherd (from the yield). (Then after some time) He came and said to me, 'Fear Allah (and give me my right)." I said, 'Go and take those cows and the shepherd.' He said, 'Be afraid of Allah! Don't mock at me.' I said, 'I am not mocking at you. Take (all that).' So, he took all that. O Allah! If I did that for Your sake only, please remove the rest of the rock.' So, Allah removed the rock."

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 527:
Narrated Zaid bin Aslam from his father:
Umar said, "But for the future Muslim generations, I would have distributed the land of the villages I conquer among the soldiers as the Prophet distributed the land of Khaibar."

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 528:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said, "He who cultivates land that does not belong to anybody is more rightful (to own it)." Urwa said, "Umar gave the same verdict in his Caliphate."

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 529:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
While the Prophet was passing the night at his place of rest in Dhul-Hulaifa in the bottom of the valley (of Aqiq), he saw a dream and it was said to him, "You are in a blessed valley." Musa said, "Salim let our camels kneel at the place where Abdullah used to make his camel kneel, seeking the place where Allah's Apostle used to take a rest, which is situated below the mosque which is in the bottom of the valley; it is midway between the mosque and the road."

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 530:
Narrated Umar:
While the Prophet was in Al-'Aqiq he said, "Someone (meaning Gabriel) came to me from my Lord tonight (in my dream) and said, 'Offer the prayer in this blessed valley and say (I intend to perform) Umra along with Hajj (together).' "

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 531:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Umar expelled the Jews and the Christians from Hijaz. When Allah's Apostle had conquered Khaibar, he wanted to expel the Jews from it as its land became the property of Allah, His Apostle, and the Muslims. Allah's Apostle intended to expel the Jews but they requested him to let them stay there on the condition that they would do the labor and get half of the fruits. Allah's Apostle told them, "We will let you stay on thus condition, as long as we wish." So, they (i.e. Jews) kept on living there until Umar forced them to go towards Taima' and Ariha'.

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 532:
Narrated Rafi bin Khadij:
My uncle Zuhair said, "Allah's Apostle forbade us to do a thing which was a source of help to us." I said, "Whatever Allah's Apostle said was right." He said, "Allah's Apostle sent for me and asked, 'What are you doing with your farms?' I replied, 'We give our farms on rent on the basis that we get the yield produced at the banks of the water streams (rivers) for the rent, or rent it for some Wasqs of barley and dates.' Allah's Apostle said, 'Do not do so, but cultivate (the land) yourselves or let it be cultivated by others gratis, or keep it uncultivated.' I said, 'We hear and obey.'

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 533:
Narrated Jabir:
The people used to rent their land for cultivation for one-third, one-fourth or half its yield. The Prophet said, "Whoever has land should cultivate it himself or give it to his (Muslim) brother gratis; otherwise keep it uncultivated."
Narrated Abu Huraira: Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever has land should cultivate it himself or give it to his (Muslim) brother gratis; otherwise he should keep it uncultivated."

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 534:
Narrated Amr:
When I mentioned it (i.e. the narration of Rafi 'bin Khadij: no. 532) to Tawus, he said, "It is permissible to rent the land for cultivation, for Ibn Abbas said, 'The Prophet did not forbid that, but said: One had better give the land to one's brother gratis rather than charge a certain amount for it.' "

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 535:
Narrated Nafi:
Ibn Umar used to rent his farms in the time of Abu Bakr, Umar, Uthman, and in the early days of Muawiya. Then he was told the narration of Rafi 'bin Khadij that the Prophet had forbidden the renting of farms. Ibn Umar went to Rafi' and I accompanied him. He asked Rafi who replied that the Prophet had forbidden the renting of farms. Ibn Umar said, "You know that we used to rent our farms in the life-time of Allah's Apostle for the yield of the banks of the water streams (rivers) and for certain amount of figs.

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 536:
Narrated Salim:
Abdullah bin Umar said, "I knew that the land was rented for cultivation in the life-time of Allah's Apostle ." Later on Ibn Umar was afraid that the Prophet had forbidden it, and he had no knowledge of it, so he gave up renting his land.

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 537:
Narrated Hanzla bin Qais:
Rafi bin Khadij said, "My two uncles told me that they (i.e. the companions of the Prophet) used to rent the land in the life-time of the Prophet for the yield on the banks of water streams (rivers) or for a portion of the yield stipulated by the owner of the land. The Prophet forbade it." I said to Rafi, "What about renting the land for Dinars and Dirhams?" He replied, "There is no harm in renting for Dinars-Dirhams. Al-Laith said, "If those who have discernment for distinguishing what is legal from what is illegal looked into what has been forbidden concerning this matter they would not permit it, for it is surrounded with dangers."

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 538:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Once the Prophet was narrating (a story), while a bedouin was sitting with him. "One of the inhabitants of Paradise will ask Allah to allow him to cultivate the land. Allah will ask him, 'Are you not living in the pleasures you like?' He will say, 'Yes, but I like to cultivate the land.' " The Prophet added, "When the man (will be permitted he) will sow the seeds and the plants will grow up and get ripe, ready for reaping and so on till it will be as huge as mountains within a wink. Allah will then say to him, 'O son of Adam! Take here you are, gather (the yield); nothing satisfies you.' " On that, the bedouin said, "The man must be either from Quraish (i.e. an emigrant) or an Ansari, for they are farmers, whereas we are not farmers." The Prophet smiled (at this).

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 539:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
We used to be very happy on Friday as an old lady used to cut some roots of the Silq, which we used to plant on the banks of our small water streams, and cook them in a pot of her's, adding to them, some grains of barley. (Ya'qub, the sub-narrator said, "I think the narrator mentioned that the food did not contain fat or melted fat (taken from meat).") When we offered the Friday prayer we would go to her and she would serve us with the dish. So, we used to be happy on Fridays because of that. We used not to take our meals or the midday nap except after the Jumua prayer (i.e. Friday prayer) .

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 540:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The people say that Abu Huraira narrates too many narrations. In fact Allah knows whether I say the truth or not. They also ask, "Why do the emigrants and the Ansar not narrate as he does?" In fact, my emigrant brethren were busy trading in the markets, and my Ansar brethren were busy with their properties. I was a poor man keeping the company of Allah's Apostle and was satisfied with what filled my stomach. So, I used to be present while they (i.e. the emigrants and the Ansar) were absent, and I used to remember while they forgot (the Hadith). One day the Prophet said, "Whoever spreads his sheet till I finish this statement of mine and then gathers it on his chest, will never forget anything of my statement." So, I spread my covering sheet which was the only garment I had, till the Prophet finished his statement and then I gathered it over my chest. By Him Who had sent him (i.e. Allah's Apostle) with the truth, since then I did not forget even a single word of that statement of his, until this day of mine. By Allah, but for two verses in Allah's Book, I would never have related any narration (from the Prophet). (These two verses are): "Verily! Those who conceal the clear signs and the guidance which we have sent down .....(up to) the Merciful.' (2.159-160)

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SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 40:
Distribution of Water

Volume 3, Book 40, Number 541:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
A tumbler (full of milk or water) was brought to the Prophet who drank from it, while on his right side there was sitting a boy who was the youngest of those who were present and on his left side there were old men. The Prophet asked, "O boy, will you allow me to give it (i.e. the rest of the drink) to the old men?" The boy said, "O Allah's Apostle! I will not give preference to anyone over me to drink the rest of it from which you have drunk." So, the Prophet gave it to him.

Volume 3, Book 40, Number 542:
Narrated Az-Zuhri:
Anas bin Malik said, that once a domestic sheep was milked for Allah's Apostle while he was in the house of Anas bin Malik. The milk was mixed with water drawn from the well in Anas's house. A tumbler of it was presented to Allah's Apostle who drank from it. Then Abu Bakr was sitting on his left side and a bedouin on his right side. When the Prophet removed the tumbler from his mouth, Umar was afraid that the Prophet might give it to the bedouin, so he said. "O Allah's Apostle! Give it to Abu Bakr who is sitting by your side." But the Prophet gave it to the bedouin, who was to his right and said, "You should start with the one on your right side."

Volume 3, Book 40, Number 543:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Do not withhold the superfluous water, for that will prevent people from grazing their cattle."

Volume 3, Book 40, Number 544:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
that Allah's Apostle said, "Do not withhold the superfluous water in order to withhold the superfluous grass."

Volume 3, Book 40, Number 545:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "No bloodmoney will be charged if somebody dies in a mine or in a well or is killed by an animal; and if somebody finds a treasure in his land he has to give one-fifth of it to the Government."

Volume 3, Book 40, Number 546:
Narrated Abdullah (bin Mas'ud):
The Prophet said, "Whoever takes a false oath to deprive somebody of his property will meet Allah while He will be angry with him." Allah revealed: 'Verily those who purchase a little gain at the cost of Allah's covenant, and their oaths.' .....(3.77)

Al-Ash'ath came (to the place where Abdullah was narrating) and said, "What has Abu Abdur-Rahman (i.e. Abdullah) been telling you? This verse was revealed concerning me. I had a well in the land of a cousin of mine. The Prophet asked me to bring witnesses (to confirm my claim). I said, 'I don't have witnesses.' He said, 'Let the defendant take an oath then.' I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! He will take a (false) oath immediately.' Then the Prophet mentioned the above narration and Allah revealed the verse to confirm what he had said." (See Hadith No. 692)

Volume 3, Book 40, Number 547:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "There are three persons whom Allah will not look at on the Day of Resurrection, nor will he purify them and theirs shall be a severe punishment. They are:
1. A man possessed superfluous water, on a way and he withheld it from travelers.
2. A man who gave a pledge of allegiance to a ruler and he gave it only for worldly benefits. If the ruler gives him something he gets satisfied, and if the ruler withholds something from him, he gets dissatisfied.
3. And man displayed his goods for sale after the Asr prayer and he said, 'By Allah, except Whom None has the right to be worshipped, I have been given so much for my goods,' and somebody believes him (and buys them)."
The Prophet then recited: "Verily! Those who purchase a little gain at the cost of Allah's Covenant and their oaths." (3.77)

Volume 3, Book 40, Number 548:
Narrated Abdullah bin Az-Zubair:
An Ansari man quarrelled with Az-Zubair in the presence of the Prophet about the Harra Canals which were used for irrigating the date-palms. The Ansari man said to Az-Zubair, "Let the water pass' but Az-Zubair refused to do so. So, the case was brought before the Prophet who said to Az-Zubair, "O Zubair! Irrigate (your land) and then let the water pass to your neighbour." On that the Ansari got angry and said to the Prophet, "Is it because he (i.e. Zubair) is your aunt's son?" On that the color of the face of Allah's Apostle changed (because of anger) and he said, "O Zubair! Irrigate (your land) and then withhold the water till it reaches the walls between the pits round the trees." Zubair said, "By Allah, I think that the following verse was revealed on this occasion": "But no, by your Lord They can have No faith Until they make you judge In all disputes between them." (4.65)

Volume 3, Book 40, Number 549:
Narrated Urwa:
When a man from the Ansar quarrelled with AzZubair, the Prophet said, "O Zubair! Irrigate (your land) first and then let the water flow (to the land of the others)." "On that the Ansari said, (to the Prophet), "It is because he is your aunt's son." On that the Prophet said, "O Zubair! Irrigate till the water reaches the walls between the pits around the trees and then stop (i.e. let the water go to the other's land)." I think the following verse was revealed concerning this event: "But no, by your Lord They can have No faith Until they make you judge In all disputes between them." (4.65)

Volume 3, Book 40, Number 550:
Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair:
An-Ansari man quarrelled with Az-Zubair about a canal in the Harra which was used for irrigating date-palms. Allah's Apostle, ordering Zubair to be moderate, said, "O Zubair! Irrigate (your land) first and then leave the water for your neighbour." The Ansari said, "Is it because he is your aunt's son?" On that the color of the face of Allah's Apostle changed and he said, "O Zubair! Irrigate (your land) and withhold the water till it reaches the walls that are between the pits around the trees." So, Allah's Apostle gave Zubair his full right. Zubair said, "By Allah, the following verse was revealed in that connection": "But no, by your Lord They can have No faith Until they make you judge In all disputes between them." (4.65)
(The sub-narrator,) Ibn Shihab said to Juraij (another sub-narrator), "The Ansar and the other people interpreted the saying of the Prophet, 'Irrigate (your land) and with-hold the water till it reaches the walls between the pits around the trees,' as meaning up to the ankles."

Volume 3, Book 40, Number 551:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "While a man was walking he felt thirsty and went down a well and drank water from it. On coming out of it, he saw a dog panting and eating mud because of excessive thirst. The man said, 'This (dog) is suffering from the same problem as that of mine. So he (went down the well), filled his shoe with water, caught hold of it with his teeth and climbed up and watered the dog. Allah thanked him for his (good) deed and forgave him." The people asked, "O Allah's Apostle! Is there a reward for us in serving (the) animals?" He replied, "Yes, there is a reward for serving any animate."

Volume 3, Book 40, Number 552:
Narrated Asma bint Abi Bakr:
The Prophet prayed the eclipse prayer, and then said, "Hell was displayed so close that I said, 'O my Lord ! Am I going to be one of its inhabitants?"' Suddenly he saw a woman. I think he said, who was being scratched by a cat. He said, "What is wrong with her?" He was told, "She had imprisoned it (i.e. the cat) till it died of hunger."

Volume 3, Book 40, Number 553:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "A woman was tortured and was put in Hell because of a cat which she had kept locked till it died of hunger." Allah's Apostle further said, (Allah knows better) Allah said (to the woman), 'You neither fed it nor watered when you locked it up, nor did you set it free to eat the insects of the earth."

Volume 3, Book 40, Number 554:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
Once a tumbler (full of milk or water) was brought to Allah's Apostle who drank from it, while on his right side there was sitting a boy who was the youngest of those who were present, and on his left side there were old men. The Prophet asked, "O boy ! Do you allow me to give (the drink) to the elder people (first)?" The boy said, "I will not prefer anybody to have my share from you, O Allah's Apostle!" So, he gave it to the boy.

Volume 3, Book 40, Number 555:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "By Him in Whose Hands my soul is, I will drive some people out from my (sacred) Fount on the Day of Resurrection as strange camels are expelled from a private trough."

Volume 3, Book 40, Number 556:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "May Allah be merciful to the mother of Ishmael! If she had left the water of Zam-Zam (fountain) as it was, (without constructing a basin for keeping the water), (or said, "If she had not taken handfuls of its water"), it would have been a flowing stream. Jurhum (an Arab tribe) came and asked her, 'May we settle at your dwelling?' She said, 'Yes, but you have no right to possess the water.' They agreed."

Volume 3, Book 40, Number 557:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "There are three types of people whom Allah will neither talk to, nor look at, on the Day of Resurrection. (They are):
1. A man who takes an oath falsely that he has been offered for his goods so much more than what he is given,
2. a man who takes a false oath after the Asr prayer in order to grab a Muslim's property, and
3. a man who with-holds his superfluous water. Allah will say to him, "Today I will with-hold My Grace from you as you with-held the superfluity of what you had not created."

Volume 3, Book 40, Number 558:
Narrated As-Sab bin Jaththama:
Allah's Apostle said, No Hima except for Allah and His Apostle. We have been told that Allah's Apostle made a place called An-Naqi' as Hima, and Umar made Ash-Sharaf and Ar-Rabadha Hima (for grazing the animals of Zakat).

Volume 3, Book 40, Number 559:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Keeping horses may be a source of reward to some (man), a shelter to another (i.e. means of earning one's living), or a burden to a third. He to whom the horse will be a source of reward is the one who keeps it in Allah's Cause (prepare it for holy battles) and ties it by a long rope in a pasture (or a garden). He will get a reward equal to what its long rope allows it to eat in the pasture or the garden, and if that horse breaks its rope and crosses one or two hills, then all its foot-steps and its dung will be counted as good deeds for its owner; and if it passes by a river and drinks from it, then that will also be regarded as a good deed for its owner even if he has had no intention of watering it then. Horses are a shelter from poverty to the second person who keeps horses for earning his living so as not to ask others, and at the same time he gives Allah's right (i.e. Rakat) (from the wealth he earns through using them in trading etc.,) and does not overburden them. He who keeps horses just out of pride and for showing off and as a means of harming the Muslims, his horses will be a source of sins to him." When Allah's Apostle was asked about donkeys, he replied, "Nothing particular was revealed to me regarding

Volume 3, Book 40, Number 560:
Narrated Zaid bin Khalid:
A man came to Allah's Apostle and asked about Al-Luqata (a fallen thing). The Prophet said, "Recognize its container and its tying material and then make a public announcement about it for one year and if its owner shows up, give it to him; otherwise use it as you like." The man said, "What about a lost sheep?" The Prophet said, "It is for you, your brother or the wolf." The man said "What about a lost camel?" The Prophet said, "Why should you take it as it has got its water-container (its stomach) and its hooves and it can reach the places of water and can eat the trees till its owner finds it?"

Volume 3, Book 40, Number 561:
Narrated Az-Zubair bin Al 'Awwam:
The Prophet said, "No doubt, one had better take a rope (and cut) and tie a bundle of wood and sell it whereby Allah will keep his face away (from Hell-fire) rather than ask others who may give him or not."
Volume 3, Book 40, Number 562:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "No doubt, you had better gather a bundle of wood and carry it on your back (and earn your living thereby) rather than ask somebody who may give you or not."

Volume 3, Book 40, Number 563:
Narrated Husain bin Ali:
Ali bin Abi Talib said: "I got a she-camel as my share of the war booty on the day (of the battle) of Badr, and Allah's Apostle gave me another she-camel. I let both of them kneel at the door of one of the Ansar, intending to carry Idhkhir on them to sell it and use its price for my wedding banquet on marrying Fatima. A goldsmith from Bam Qainqa' was with me. Hamza bin Abdul-Muttalib was in that house drinking wine and a lady singer was reciting: "O Hamza! (Kill) the (two) fat old she camels (and serve them to your guests)."
So Hamza took his sword and went towards the two she-camels and cut off their humps and opened their flanks and took a part of their livers." (I said to Ibn Shihab, "Did he take part of the humps?" He replied, "He cut off their humps and carried them away.") Ali further said, "When I saw that

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dreadful sight, I went to the Prophet and told him the news. The Prophet came out in the company of Zaid bin Haritha who was with him then, and I too went with them. He went to Hamza and spoke harshly to him. Hamza looked up and said, 'Aren't you only the slaves of my forefathers?' The Prophet retreated and went out. This incident happened before the prohibition of drinking."

Volume 3, Book 40, Number 564:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet decided to grant a portion of (the uncultivated land of) Bahrain to the Ansar. The Ansar said, "(We will not accept it) till you give a similar portion to our emigrant brothers (from Quraish)." He said, "(O Ansar!) You will soon see people giving preference to others, so remain patient till you meet me (on the Day of Resurrection).

Volume 3, Book 40, Number 565:
Narrated Abu Huraira: The Prophet said, "One of the rights of a she camel is that it should be milked at a place of water."

Volume 3, Book 40, Number 566:
Narrated Zaid bin Thabit:
The Prophet permitted selling the dates of the 'Araya for ready dates by estimating the amount of the former (as they are still on the trees).

Volume 3, Book 40, Number 567:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet forbade the sales called Al-Mukhabara, Al-Muhaqala and Al-Muzabana and the selling of fruits till they are free from blights. He forbade the selling of the fruits except for money, except the 'Araya.

Volume 3, Book 40, Number 568:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet allowed the sale of the dates of the 'Araya for ready dates by estimating the former which should be estimated as less than five Awsuq or five Awsuq. (Dawud, the sub-narrator is not sure as to the right amount.)

Volume 3, Book 40, Number 569:
Narrated Rafi 'bin Khadij and Sahl bin Al Hathma:
Allah's Apostle forbade the sale of Muzabana, i.e. selling of fruits for fruits, except in the case of 'Araya; he allowed the owners of 'Araya such kind of sale.

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 41:
Loans, Payment of Loans, Freezing of Property, Bankruptcy

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 570:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
While I was in the company of the Prophet in one of his Ghazawat, he asked, "What is wrong with your camel? Will you sell it?" I replied in the affirmative and sold it to him. When he reached Medina, I took the camel to him in the morning and he paid me its price.

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 571:
Narrated Al-Amash:
When we were with Ibrahim, we talked about mortgaging in deals of Salam. Ibrahim narrated from Aswad that Aisha had said, "The Prophet bought some foodstuff on credit from a Jew and mortgaged an iron armor to him."

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 572:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Whoever takes the money of the people with the intention of repaying it, Allah will repay it on his behalf, and whoever takes it in order to spoil it, then Allah will spoil him."

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 573:
Narrated Abu Dhar:
Once, while I was in the company of the Prophet, he saw the mountain of Uhud and said, "I would not like to have this mountain turned into gold for me unless nothing of it, not even a single Dinar remains of it with me for more than three days (i.e. I will spend all of it in Allah's Cause), except that Dinar which I will keep for repaying debts." Then he said, "Those who are rich in this world would have little reward in the Hereafter except those who spend their money here and there (in Allah's Cause), and they are few in number." Then he ordered me to stay at my place and went not far away. I heard a voice and intended to go to him but I remembered his order, "Stay at your place till I return." On his return I said, "O Allah's Apostle! (What was) that noise which I heard?" He said, "Did you hear anything?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Gabriel came and said to me, 'Whoever amongst your followers dies, worshipping none along with Allah, will enter Paradise.' " I said, "Even if he did such-and-such things (i.e. even if he stole or committed illegal sexual intercourse)" He said, "Yes."

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 574:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "If I had gold equal to the mountain of Uhud, it would not please me that it should remain with me for more than three days, except an amount which I would keep for repaying debts."

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 575:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A man demanded his debts from Allah's Apostle in such a rude manner that the companions of the Prophet intended to harm him, but the Prophet said, "Leave him, no doubt, for he (the creditor) has the right to demand it (harshly). Buy a camel and give it to him." They said, "The camel that is available is older than the camel he demands. "The Prophet said, "Buy it and give it to him, for the best among you are those who repay their debts handsomely. "

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 576:
Narrated Hudhaifa:
I heard the Prophet saying, "Once a man died and was asked, 'What did you use to say (or do) (in your life time)?' He replied, 'I was a business-man and used to give time to the rich to repay his debt and (used to) deduct part of the debt of the poor.' So he was forgiven (his sins.)" Abu Masud said, "I heard the same (Hadith) from the Prophet."

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 577:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A man came to the Prophet and demanded a camel (the Prophet owed him). Allah's Apostle told his companions to give him (a camel). They said, "We do not find except an older camel (than what he demands). (The Prophet ordered them to give him that camel). The man said, "You have paid me in full and may Allah also pay you in full." Allah's Apostle said, "Give him, for the best amongst the people is he who repays his debts in the most handsome manner."

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 578:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet owed a camel of a certain age to a man who came to demand it back. The Prophet ordered his companions to give him. They looked for a camel of the same age but found nothing but a camel one year older. The Prophet told them to give it to him. The man said, "You have paid me in full, and may Allah pay you in full." The Prophet said, "The best amongst you is he who pays his debts in the most handsome manner."

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 579:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
I went to the Prophet while he was in the Mosque. (Mis'ar thinks, that Jabir went in the forenoon.) After the Prophet told me to pray two Rakat, he repayed me the debt he owed me and gave me an extra amount.

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 580:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
My father was martyred on the day (of the battle) of Uhud, and he was in debt. His creditors demanded their rights persistently. I went to the Prophet (and informed him about it). He told them to take the fruits of my garden and exempt my father from the debts but they refused to do so. So, the Prophet did not give them my garden and told me that he would come to me the next morning. He came to us early in the morning and wandered among the datepalms and invoked Allah to bless their fruits. I then plucked the dates and paid the creditors, and there remained some of the dates for us.

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 581:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
When my father died he owed a Jew thirty Awsuq (of dates). I requested him to give me respite for repaying but he refused. I requested Allah's Apostle to intercede with the Jew. Allah's Apostle went to the Jew and asked him to accept the fruits of my trees in place of the debt but the Jew refused. Allah's Apostle entered the garden of the date-palms, wandering among the trees and ordered me (saying), "Pluck (the fruits) and give him his due." So, I plucked the fruits for him after the departure of Allah's Apostle and gave his thirty Awsuq, and still had seventeen Awsuq extra for myself. Jabir said: I went to Allah's Apostle to inform of what had happened, but found him praying the Asr prayer. After the prayer I told him about the extra fruits which remained. Allah's Apostle told me to inform (Umar) Ibn Al-Khatab about it. When I went to Umar and told him about it, Umar said, "When Allah's Apostle walked in your garden, I was sure that Allah would definitely bless it."

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 582:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle used to invoke Allah in the prayer saying, "O Allah, I seek refuge with you from all sins, and from being in debt." Someone said, O Allah's Apostle! (I see you) very often you seek refuge with Allah from being in debt. He replied, "If a person is in debt, he tells lies when he speaks, and breaks his promises when he promises."

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 583:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "If someone leaves some property, it will be for the inheritors, and if he leaves some weak offspring, it will be for us to support them."

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 584:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "I am closer to the believers than their selves in this world and in the Hereafter, and if you like, you can read Allah's Statement: "The Prophet is closer to the believers than their own selves." (33.6) So, if a true believer dies and leaves behind some property, it will be for his inheritors (from the father's side), and if he leaves behind some debt to be paid or needy offspring, then they should come to me as I am the guardian of the deceased."

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 585:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Procrastination (delay) in repaying debts by a wealthy person is injustice."

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 586:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A man came to the Prophet and demanded his debts and used harsh words. The companions of the Prophet wanted to harm him, but the Prophet said, "Leave him, as the creditor (owner of the right) has the right to speak."

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 587:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "If a man finds his very things with a bankrupt, he has more right to take them back than anyone else."

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 588:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
A man pledged that his slave would be manumitted after his death. The Prophet asked, "Who will buy the slave from me?" No'aim bin Abdullah bought the slave and the Prophet took its price and gave it to the owner.

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 589:
Narrated Jabir:
When Abdullah (my father) died, he left behind children and debts. I asked the lenders to put down some of his debt, but they refused, so I went to the Prophet to intercede with them, yet they refused. The Prophet said (to me), "Classify your dates into their different kinds: 'Adhq bin Zaid, Lean and 'Ajwa, each kind alone and call all the creditors and wait till I come to you." I did so and the Prophet came and sat beside the dates and started measuring to each his due till he paid them fully, and the amount of dates remained as it was before, as if he had not touched them.
(On another occasion) I took part in one of Ghazawat among with the Prophet and I was riding one of our camels. The camel got tired and was lagging behind the others. The Prophet hit it on its back. He said, "Sell it to me, and you have the right to ride it till Medina." When we approached Medina, I took the permission from the Prophet to go to my house, saying, "O Allah's Apostle! I have newly married." The Prophet asked, "Have you married a virgin or a matron (a widow or divorcee)?" I said, "I have married a matron, as Abdullah (my father) died and left behind daughters small in their ages, so I married a matron who may teach them and bring them up with good manners." The Prophet then said (to me), "Go to your family." When I went there and told my maternal uncle about the selling of the camel, he admonished me for it. On that I told him about its slowness and exhaustion and about what the Prophet had done to the camel and his hitting it. When the Prophet arrived, I went to him with the camel in the morning and he gave me its price, the camel itself, and my share from the war booty as he gave the other people.

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 590:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
A man came to the Prophet and said, "I am often betrayed in bargaining." The Prophet advised him, "When you buy something, say (to the seller), 'No deception." The man used to say so afterwards.

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 591:
Narrated Al-Mughira bin Shu'ba:
The Prophet said, "Allah has forbidden for you, (1) to be undutiful to your mothers, (2) to bury your daughters alive, (3) to not to pay the rights of the others (e.g. charity, etc.)

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and (4) to beg of men (begging). And Allah has hated for you (1) vain, useless talk, or that you talk too much about others, (2) to ask too many questions, (in disputed religious matters) and (3) to waste the wealth (by extravagance).

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 592:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "Everyone of you is a guardian, and responsible for what is in his custody. The ruler is a guardian of his subjects and responsible for them; a husband is a guardian of his family and is responsible for it; a lady is a guardian of her husband's house and is responsible for it, and a servant is a guardian of his master's property and is responsible for it." I heard that from Allah's Apostle and I think that the Prophet also said, "A man is a guardian of is father's property and is responsible for it, so all of you are guardians and responsible for your wards and things under your care."

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 593:
Narrated Abdullah:
I heard a man reciting a verse (of the Holy Koran) but I had heard the Prophet reciting it differently. So, I caught hold of the man by the hand and took him to Allah's Apostle who said, "Both of you are right." Shu'ba, the sub-narrator said, "I think he said to them, "Don't differ, for the nations before you differed and perished (because of their differences). "

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 594:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Two persons, a Muslim and a Jew, quarrelled. The Muslim said, "By Him Who gave Mohammed superiority over all the people! The Jew said, "By Him Who gave Moses superiority over all the people!" At that the Muslim raised his hand and slapped the Jew on the face. The Jew went to the Prophet and informed him of what had happened between him and the Muslim. The Prophet sent for the Muslim and asked him about it. The Muslim informed him of the event. The Prophet said, "Do not give me superiority over Moses, for on the Day of Resurrection all the people will fall unconscious and I will be one of them, but I will. be the first to gain consciousness, and will see Moses standing and holding the side of the Throne (of Allah). I will not know whether (Moses) has also fallen unconscious and got up before me, or Allah has exempted him from that stroke."

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 595:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
While Allah's Apostle was sitting, a Jew came and said, "O Abul Qasim! One of your companions has slapped me on my face." The Prophet asked who that was. He replied that he was one of the Ansar. The Prophet sent for him, and on his arrival, he asked him whether he had beaten the Jew. He (replied in the affirmative and) said, "I heard him taking an oath in the market saying, 'By Him Who gave Moses superiority over all the human beings.' I said, 'O wicked man! (Has Allah given Moses superiority) even over Mohammed I became furious
and slapped him over his face." The Prophet said, "Do not give a prophet superiority over another, for on the Day of Resurrection all the people will fall unconscious and I will be the first to emerge from the earth, and will see Moses standing and holding one of the legs of the Throne. I will not know whether Moses has fallen unconscious or the first unconsciousness was sufficient for him."

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 596:
Narrated Anas:
A Jew crushed the head of a girl between two stones. The girl was asked who had crushed her head, and some names were mentioned before her, and when the name of the Jew was mentioned, she nodded agreeing. The Jew was captured and when he confessed, the Prophet ordered that his head be crushed between two stones.

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 597:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
A man was often cheated in buying. The Prophet said to him, "When you buy something, say (to the seller), No cheating." The man used to say so thenceforward .

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 598:
Narrated Jabir: A man manumitted a slave and he had no other property than that, so the Prophet cancelled the manumission (and sold the slave for him). No'aim bin Al-Nahham bought the slave from him.

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 599:
Narrated Abdullah bin Mas'ud:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever takes a false oath so as to take the property of a Muslim (illegally) will meet Allah while He will be angry with him." Al-Ash'ath said: By Allah, that saying concerned me. I had common land with a Jew, and the Jew later on denied my ownership, so I took him to the Prophet who asked me whether I had a proof of my ownership. When I replied in the negative, the Prophet asked the Jew to take an oath. I said, "O Allah's Apostle! He will take an oath and deprive me of my property." So, Allah revealed the following verse: "Verily! Those who purchase a little gain at the cost of Allah's covenant and their oaths." (3.77)

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 600:
Narrated Abdullah bin Ka'b bin Malik:
Ka'b demanded his debt back from Ibn Abi Hadrad in the Mosque and their voices grew louder till Allah's Apostle heard them while he was in his house. He came out to them raising the curtain of his room and addressed Ka'b, "O Ka'b!" Ka'b replied, "Labaik, O Allah's Apostle." (He said to him), "Reduce your debt to one half," gesturing with his hand. Kab said, "I have done so, O Allah's Apostle!" On that the Prophet said to Ibn Abi Hadrad, "Get up and repay the debt, to him."

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 601:
Narrated Umar bin Al-Khattab:
I heard Hisham bin Hakim bin Hizam reciting Surat-al-Furqan in a way different to that of mine. Allah's Apostle had taught it to me (in a different way). So, I was about to quarrel with him (during the prayer) but I waited till he finished, then I tied his garment round his neck and seized him by it and brought him to Allah's Apostle and said, "I have heard him reciting Surat-al-Furqan in a way different to the way you taught it to me." The Prophet ordered me to release him and asked Hisham to recite it. When he recited it, Allah s Apostle said, "It was revealed in this way." He then asked me to recite it. When I recited it, he said, "It was revealed in this way. The Koran has been revealed in seven different ways, so recite it in the way that is easier for you."

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 602:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "No doubt, I intended to order somebody to pronounce the Iqama of the (compulsory congregational) prayer and then I would go to the houses of those who do not attend the prayer and burn their houses over them."

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 603:
Narrated Aisha:
Abu bin Zam'a and Sad bin Abi Waqqas carried the case of their claim of the (ownership) of the son of a slave-qirl of Zam'a before the Prophet. Sad said, "O Allah's Apostle! My brother, before his death, told me that when I would return (to Mecca), I should search for the son of the slave-girl of Zam'a and take him into my custody as he was his son." Abu bin Zam'a said, 'the is my brother and the son of the slave-girl of my father, and was born or my father's bed." The Prophet noticed a resemblance between Utba and the boy but he said, "O Abu bin Zam'a! You will get this boy, as the son goes to the owner of the bed. You, Sauda, screen yourself from the boy."

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 604:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle sent horsemen to Najd and they arrested and brought a man called Thumama bin Uthal, the chief of Yamama, and they fastened him to one of the pillars of the Mosque. When Allah's Apostle came up to him; he asked, "What have you to say, O Thumama?" He replied, "I have good news, O Mohammed!" Abu Huraira narrated the whole narration which ended with the order of the Prophet "Release him!"

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 605:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet sent some horsemen to Najd and they arrested and brought a man called Thumama bin Uthal from the tribe of Bani Hanifa, and they fastened him to one of the pillars of the Mosque.

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 606:
Narrated Abdullah bin Ka'b bin Malik Al-Ansari from Ka'b bin Malik:
That Abdullah bin Abi Hadrad Al-Aslami owed him some debt. Ka'b met him and caught hold of him and they started talking and their voices grew loudest. The Prophet passed by them and addressed Ka'b, pointing out to him to reduce the debt to one half. So, Ka'b got one half of the debt and exempted the debtor from the other half.

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 607:
Narrated Khabbab:
I was a blacksmith In the Pre-lslamic period of ignorance, and 'Asi bin Wail owed me some money. I went to him to demand it, but he said to me, "I will not pay you unless you reject faith in Mohammed." I replied, "By Allah, I will never disbelieve Mohammed till Allah let you die and then resurrect you." He said, "Then wait till I die and come to life again, for then I will be given property and offspring and will pay your right." So, thus revelation came: "Have you seen him who disbelieved in Our signs and yet says, 'I will be given property and offspring?' " (19.77)

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 42:
Lost Things Picked up by Someone (Luqaata)

Volume 3, Book 42, Number 608:
Narrated Ubai bin Ka'b:
I found a purse containing one hundred Diners. So I went to the Prophet (and informed him about it), he said, "Make public announcement about it for one year" I did so, but nobody turned up to claim it, so I again went to the Prophet who said, "Make public announcement for another year." I did, but none turned up to claim it. I went to him for the third time and he said, "Keep the container and the string which is used for its tying and count the money it contains and if its owner comes, give it to him; otherwise, utilize it."
The sub-narrator Salama said, "I met him (Suwaid, another sub-narrator) in Mecca and he said, 'I don't know whether Ubai made the announcement for three years or just one year.'"

Volume 3, Book 42, Number 609:
Narrated Zaid bin Khalid Al-Juhani:
A bedouin went to the Prophet and asked him about picking up a lost thing. The Prophet said, "Make public announcement about it for one year. Remember the description of its container and the string with which it is tied; and if somebody comes and claims it and describes it correctly, (give it to him); otherwise, utilize it." He said, "O Allah's Apostle! What about a lost sheep?" The Prophet said, "It is for you, for your brother (i.e. its owner), or for the wolf." He further asked, "What about a lost camel?" On that the face of the Prophet became red (with anger) and said, "You have nothing to do with it, as it has its feet, its water reserve and can reach places of water and drink, and eat trees."

Volume 3, Book 42, Number 610:
Narrated Sulaiman bin Bilal from Yahya:
Yazid Maula Al-Munba'ith heard Zaid bin Khalid al-Juham saying, "The Prophet was asked about Luqata. He said, 'Remember the description of its container and the string it is tied with, and announce it publicly for one year.' " Yazid added, "If nobody claims then the person who has found it can spend it, and it is regarded as a trust entrusted to him." Yahya said, "I do not know whether the last sentences were said by the Prophet or by Yazid." Zaid further said, "The Prophet was asked, 'What about a lost sheep?' The Prophet said, 'Take it, for it is for you or for your brother (i.e. its owner) or for the wolf." Yazid added that it should also be announced publicly. The man then asked the Prophet about a lost camel. The Prophet said, "Leave it, as it has its feet, water container (reservoir), and it will reach a place of water and eat trees till its owner finds it."

Volume 3, Book 42, Number 611:
Narrated Zaid bin Khalid:
A man came and asked Allah's Apostle about picking a lost thing. The Prophet said, "Remember the description of its container and the string it is tied with, and make public announcement about it for one year. If the owner shows up, give it to him; otherwise, do whatever you like with it." He then asked, "What about a lost sheep?" The Prophet said, "It is for you, for your brother (i.e. its owner), or for the wolf." He further asked, "What about a lost camel?" The Prophet said, "It is none of your concern. It has its water-container (reservoir) and its feet, and it will reach water and drink it and eat the trees till its owner finds it."

Volume 3, Book 42, Number 612:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet passed a date fallen on the way and said, "Were I not afraid that it may be from a Sadaqa (charitable gifts), I would have eaten it."
Narrated Abu Huraira: The Prophet said, "Sometimes when I return home and find a date fallen on my bed, I pick it up in order to eat it, but I fear that it might be from a Sadaqa, so I throw it."

Volume 3, Book 42, Number 613:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
When Allah gave victory to His Apostle over the people of Mecca, Allah's Apostle stood up among the people and after glorifying Allah, said, "Allah has prohibited fighting in Mecca and has given authority to His Apostle and the believers over it, so fighting was illegal for anyone before me, and was made legal for me for a part of a day, and it will not be legal for anyone after me. Its game should not be chased, its thorny bushes should not be uprooted, and picking up its fallen things is not allowed except for one who makes public announcement for it, and he whose relative is murdered has the option either to accept a compensation for it or to

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retaliate." Al-Abbas said, "Except Al-ldhkhir, for we use it in our graves and houses." Allah's Apostle said, "Except Al-ldhkhir." Abu Shah, a Yemenite, stood up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Get it written for me." Allah's Apostle said, "Write it for Abu Shah." (The sub-narrator asked Al-Auza'i): What did he mean by saying, "Get it written, O Allah's Apostle?" He replied, "The speech which he had heard from Allah's Apostle ."

Volume 3, Book 42, Number 614:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "An animal should not be milked without the permission of its owner. Does any of you like that somebody comes to his store and breaks his container and takes away his food? The udders of the animals are the stores of their owners where their provision is kept, so nobody should milk the animals of somebody else, without the permission of its owner."

Volume 3, Book 42, Number 615:
Narrated Zaid bin Khalid Al-Juhani:
A man asked Allah's Apostle about the Luqata. He said, "Make public announcement of it for one year, then remember the description of its container and the string it is tied with, utilize the money, and if its owner comes back after that, give it to him." The people asked, "O Allah's Apostle! What about a lost sheep?" Allah's Apostle said, "Take it, for it is for you, for your brother, or for the wolf." The man asked, "O Allah's Apostle! What about a lost camel?" Allah's Apostle got angry and his cheeks or face became red, and said, "You have no concern with it as it has its feet, and its water-container, till its owner finds it."

Volume 3, Book 42, Number 616:
Narrated Suwaid bin Ghafala:
While I as in the company of Salman bin Rabi'a and Suhan, in one of the holy battles, I found a whip. One of them told me to drop it but I refused to do so and said that I would give it to its owner if I found him, otherwise I would utilize it. On our return we performed Hajj and on passing by Medina, I asked Ubai bin Ka'b about it. He said, "I found a bag containing a hundred Dinars in the lifetime of the Prophet and took it to the Prophet who said to me, 'Make public announcement about it for one year.' So, I announced it for one year and went to the Prophet who said, 'Announce it publicly for another year.' So, I announced it for another year. I went to him again and he said, "Announce for an other year." So I announced for still another year. I went to the Prophet for the fourth time, and he said, 'Remember the amount of money, the description of its container and the string it is tied with, and if the owner comes, give it to him; otherwise, utilize it.' "

Volume 3, Book 42, Number 617:
Narrated Salama:
the above narration (Hadith 616) from Ubai bin Ka'b: adding, "I met the sub-narrator at Mecca later on, but he did not remember whether Ka'b had announced what he had found one year or three years."

Volume 3, Book 42, Number 618:
Narrated Zaid bin Khalid:
A bedouin asked the Prophet about the Luqata. The Prophet said, "Make public announcement about it for one year and if then somebody comes and describes the container of the Luqata and the string it was tied with, (give it to him); otherwise, spend it." He then asked the Prophet about a lost camel. The face of the Prophet become red and he said, "You have o concern with it as it has its water reservoir and feet and it will reach water and drink and eat trees. Leave it till its owner finds it." He then asked the Prophet about a lost sheep. The Prophet said, "It is for you, for your brother, or for the wolf."

Volume 3, Book 42, Number 619:
Narrated Abu Bakr:
While I was on my way, all of a sudden I saw a shepherd driving his sheep, I asked him whose servant he was. He replied that he was the servant of a man from Quraish, and then he mentioned his name and I recognized him. I asked, "Do your sheep have some milk?" He replied in the affirmative. I said, "Are you going to milk for me?" He replied in the affirmative. I ordered him and he tied the legs of one of the sheep. Then I told him to clean the udder (teats) of dust and to remove dust off his hands. He removed the dust off his hands by clapping his hands. He then milked a little milk. I put the milk for Allah's Apostle in a pot and closed its mouth with a piece of cloth and poured water over it till it became cold. I took it to the Prophet and said, "Drink, O Allah's Apostle!" He drank it till I was pleased.

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 43:
Oppressions

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 620:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
Allah's Apostle said, "When the believers pass safely over (the bridge across) Hell, they will be stopped at a bridge in between Hell and Paradise where they will retaliate upon each other for the injustices done among them in the world, and when they get purified of all their sins, they will be admitted into Paradise. By Him in Whose Hands the life of Mohammed is everybody will recognize his dwelling in Paradise better than he recognizes his dwelling in this world."

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 621:
Narrated Safwan bin Muhriz Almazini:
While I was walking with Ibn Umar holding his hand, a man came in front of us and asked, "What have you heard from Allah's Apostle about An-Najwa?" Ibn Umar said, "I heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'Allah will bring a believer near Him and shelter him with His Screen and ask him: Did you commit such-and-such sins? He will say: Yes, my Lord. Allah will keep on asking him till he will confess all his sins and will think that he is ruined. Allah will say: 'I did screen your sins in the world and I forgive them for you today', and then he will be given the book of his good deeds. Regarding infidels and hypocrites (their evil acts will be exposed publicly) and the witnesses will say: These are the people who lied against their Lord. Behold! The Curse of Allah is upon the wrongdoers." (11.18)

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 622:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "A Muslim is a brother of another Muslim, so he should not oppress him, nor should he hand him over to an oppressor. Whoever fulfilled the needs of his brother, Allah will fulfill his needs; whoever brought his (Muslim) brother out of a discomfort, Allah will bring him out of the discomforts of the Day of Resurrection, and whoever screened a Muslim, Allah will screen him on the Day of Resurrection . "

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 623:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle said, "Help your brother, whether he is an oppressor or he is an oppressed one."

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 624:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle said, "Help your brother, whether he is an oppressor or he is an oppressed one. People asked, "O Allah's Apostle! It is all right to help him if he is oppressed, but how should we help him if he is an oppressor?" The Prophet said, "By preventing him from oppressing others."

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 625:
Narrated Muawiya bin Suwald:
I heard Al-Bara bin Azib saying, "The Prophet orders us to do seven things and prohibited us from doing seven other things." Then Al-Bara mentioned the following:--
(1) To pay a visit to the sick (inquiring about his health),
(2) to follow funeral processions,
(3) to say to a sneezer, "May Allah be merciful to you" (if he says, "Praise be to Allah!"),
(4) to return greetings,
(5) to help the oppressed,
(6) to accept invitations,
(7) to help others to fulfill their oaths. (See Hadith No. 753, Vol. 7)

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 626:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet said, "A believer to another believer is like a building whose different parts enforce each other." The Prophet then clasped his hands with the fingers interlaced (while saying that).

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 627:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "Oppression will be a darkness on the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 628:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet sent Mu'adh to Yemen and said, "Be afraid, from the curse of the oppressed as there is no screen between his invocation and Allah."

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 629:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever has oppressed another person concerning his reputation or anything else, he should beg him to forgive him before the Day of Resurrection when there will be no money (to compensate for wrong deeds), but if he has good deeds, those good deeds will be taken from him according to his oppression which he has done, and if he has no good deeds, the sins of the oppressed person will be loaded on him."

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 630:
Narrated Aisha:
Regarding the explanation of the following verse:-- "If a wife fears Cruelty or desertion On her husband's part." (4.128) A man may dislike his wife and intend to divorce her, so she says to him, "I give up my rights, so do not divorce me." The above verse was revealed concerning such a case.

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 631:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad As-Sa'idi:
A drink (milk mixed with water) was brought to Allah's Apostle who drank some of it. A boy was sitting to his right, and some old men to his left. Allah's Apostle said to the boy, "Do you allow me to give the rest of the drink to these people?" The boy said, "O Allah's Apostle! I will not give preference to anyone over me to drink the rest of it from which you have drunk." Allah's Apostle then handed the bowl (of drink) to the boy. (See Hadith No. 541).

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 632:
Narrated Said bin Zaid:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever usurps the land of somebody unjustly, his neck will be encircled with it down the seven earths (on the Day of Resurrection). "

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 633:
Narrated Abu Salama:
That there was a dispute between him and some people (about a piece of land). When he told Aisha about it, she said, "O Abu Salama! Avoid taking the land unjustly, for the Prophet said, 'Whoever usurps even one span of the land of somebody, his neck will be encircled with it down the seven earths."

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 634:
Narrated Salim's father (i.e. Abdullah):
The Prophet said, "Whoever takes a piece of the land of others unjustly, he will sink down the seven earths on the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 635:
Narrated Jabala:
"We were in Medina with some of the Iraqi people, and we were struck with famine and Ibn Az-Zubair used to give us dates. Ibn Umar used to pass by and say, "The Prophet forbade us to eat two dates at a time, unless one takes the permission of one's companions."

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 636:
Narrated Abu Mas'ud:
There was an Ansari man called Abu Shu'aib who had a slave butcher. Abu Shu'aib said to him, "Prepare a meal sufficient for five persons so that I might invite the Prophet besides other four persons." Abu Shu'aib had seen the signs of hunger on the face of the Prophet and so he invited him. Another man who was not invited, followed the Prophet. The Prophet said to Abu Shu'aib, "This man has followed us. Do you allow him to share the meal?" Abu Shu'aib said, "Yes."

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 637:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said, "The most hated person in the sight of Allah is the most quarrelsome person."

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 638:
Narrated Um Salama:
(the wife of the Prophet) Allah's Apostle heard some people quarreling at the door of his dwelling. He came out and said, "I am only a human being, and opponents come to me (to settle their problems); maybe someone amongst you can present his case more eloquently than the other, whereby I may consider him true and give a verdict in his favor. So, If I give the right of a Muslim to another by mistake, then it is really a portion of (Hell) Fire, he has the option to take or give up (before the Day of Resurrection)."

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 639:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
The Prophet said, "Whoever has (the following) four characters will be a hypocrite, and whoever has one of the following four characteristics will have one characteristic of hypocrisy until he gives it up. These are: (1) Whenever he talks, he tells a lie; (2) whenever he makes a promise, he breaks it; (3) whenever he makes a covenant he proves treacherous; (4) and whenever he quarrels, he behaves impudently in an evil insulting manner." (See Hadith No. 33 Vol. 1)

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Volume 3, Book 43, Number 640:
Narrated Aisha:
Hind bint Utba (Abu Sufyan's wife) came and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Abu Sufyan is a miser. Is there any harm if I spend something from his property for our children?" He said, there is no harm for you if you feed them from it justly and reasonably (with no extravagance)."

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 641:
Narrated Uqba bin Amir:
We staid to the Prophet, "You send us out and it happens that we have to stay with such people as do not entertain us. What do you think about it? He said to us, "If you stay with some people and they entertain you as they should for a guest, accept their hospitality, but If they don't do, take the right of the guest from them."

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 642:
Narrated Umar:
When Allah took away the soul of His Prophet at his death, the Ansar assembled In the shed of Bani Sa'ida. I said to Abu Bakr, "Let us go." So, we come to them (i.e. to Ansar) at the shed of Bani Sa'ida. (See Hadith No. 19, Vol. 5 for details)

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 643:
Narrated Al-Araj:
Abu Huraira said, "Allah's Apostle said, 'No-one should prevent his neighbour from fixing a wooden peg in his wall." Abu Huraira said (to his companions), "Why do I find you averse to it? By Allah, I certainly will narrate it to you."

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 644:
Narrated Anas:
I was the butler of the people in the house of Abu Talha, and in those days drinks were prepared from dates. Allah's Apostle ordered somebody to announce that alcoholic drinks had been prohibited. Abu Talha ordered me to go out and spill the wine. I went out and spilled it, and it flowed in the streets of Medina. Some people said, "Some people were killed and wine was still in their stomachs." On that the Divine revelation came:-- "On those who believe And do good deeds There is no blame For what they ate (in the past)." (5.93)

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 645:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
The Prophet said, "Beware! Avoid sitting on he roads (ways)." The people said, "There is no way out of it as these are our sitting places where we have talks." The Prophet said, "If you must sit there, then observe the rights of the way." They asked, "What are the rights of the way?" He said, "They are the lowering of your gazes (on seeing what is illegal to look at), refraining from harming people, returning greetings, advocating good and forbidding evil."

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 646:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "A man felt very thirsty while he was on the way, there he came across a well. He went down the well, quenched his thirst and came out. Meanwhile he saw a dog panting and licking mud because of excessive thirst. He said to himself, "This dog is suffering from thirst as I did." So, he went down the well again and filled his shoe with water and watered it. Allah thanked him for that deed and forgave him. The people said, "O Allah's Apostle! Is there a reward for us in serving the animals?" He replied: "Yes, there is a reward for serving any animate (living being)." (See Hadith No. 551)

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 647:
Narrated Usama bin Zaid:
Once the Prophet stood at the top of one of the castles (or higher buildings) of Medina and said, "Do you see what I see? No doubt I am seeing the spots of afflictions amongst your houses as numerous as the spots where rain-drops fall (during a heavy rain). (See Hadith No. 102)

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 648:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
I had been eager to ask Umar about the two ladies from among the wives of the Prophet regarding whom Allah said (in the Koran saying): If you two (wives of the Prophet namely Aisha and Hafsa) turn in repentance to Allah your hearts are indeed so inclined (to oppose what the Prophet likes) (66.4), till performed the Hajj along with Umar (and on our way back from Hajj) he went aside (to answer the call of nature) and I also went aside along with him carrying a tumbler of water. When he had answered the call of nature and returned. I poured water on his hands from the tumbler and he performed ablution. I said, "O Chief of the believers! ' Who were the two ladies from among the wives of the Prophet to whom Allah said:
'If you two return in repentance (66.4)? He said, "I am astonished at your question, O Ibn Abbas. They were Aisha and Hafsa."
Then Umar went on relating the narration and said. "I and an Ansari neighbour of mine from Bani Umaiya bin Zaid who used to live in 'Awali Al-Medina, used to visit the Prophet in turns. He used to go one day, and I another day. When I went I would bring him the news of what had happened that day regarding the instructions and orders and when he went, he used to do the same for me. We, the people of Quraish, used to have authority over women, but when we came to live with the Ansar, we noticed that the Ansari women had the upper hand over their men, so our women started acquiring the habits of the Ansari women. Once I shouted at my wife and she paid me back in my coin and I disliked that she should answer me back. She said, 'Why do you take it ill that I retort upon you? By Allah, the wives of the Prophet retort upon him, and some of them may not speak with him for the whole day till night.' What she said scared me and I said to her, 'Whoever amongst them does so, will be a great loser.' Then I dressed myself and went to Hafsa and asked her, 'Does any of you keep Allah's Apostle angry all the day long till night?' She replied in the affirmative. I said, 'She is a ruined losing person (and will never have success)! Doesn't she fear that Allah may get angry for the anger of Allah's Apostle and thus she will be ruined? Don't ask Allah's Apostle too many things, and don't retort upon him in any case, and don't desert him. Demand from me whatever you like, and don't be tempted to imitate your neighbour (i.e. Aisha) in her behavior towards the Prophet), for she (i.e. Aisha) is more beautiful than you, and more beloved to Allah's Apostle.
In those days it was rumored that Ghassan, (a tribe living in Sham) was getting prepared their horses to invade us. My companion went (to the Prophet on the day of his turn, went and returned to us at night and knocked at my door violently, asking whether I was sleeping. I was scared (by the hard knocking) and came out to him. He said that a great thing had happened. I asked him: What is it? Have Ghassan come? He replied that it was worse and more serious than that, and added that Allah's Apostle had divorced all his wives. I said, Hafsa is a ruined loser! I expected that would happen some day.' So I dressed myself and offered the Fajr prayer with the Prophet. Then the Prophet entered an upper room and stayed there alone. I went to Hafsa and found her weeping. I asked her, 'Why are you weeping? Didn't I warn you? Have Allah's Apostle divorced you all?' She replied, 'I don't know. He is there in the upper room.' I then went out and came to the pulpit and found a group of people around it and some of them were weeping. Then I sat with them for some time, but could not endure the situation. So I went to the upper room where the Prophet was and requested to a black slave of his: "Will you get the permission of (Allah's Apostle) for Umar (to enter)? The slave went in, talked to the Prophet about it and came out saying, 'I mentioned you to him but he did not reply.' So, I went and sat with the people who were sitting by the pulpit, but I could not bear the situation, so I went to the slave again and said: "Will you get he permission for Umar? He went in and brought the same reply as before. When I was leaving, behold, the slave called me saying, "Allah's Apostle has granted you permission." So, I entered upon the Prophet and saw him lying on a mat without wedding on it, and the mat had left its mark on the body of the Prophet, and he was leaning on a leather pillow stuffed with palm fires. I greeted him and while still standing, I said: "Have you divorced your wives?' He raised his eyes to me and replied in the negative. And then while still standing, I said chatting: "Will you heed what I say, 'O Allah's Apostle! We, the people of Quraish used to have the upper hand over our women (wives), and when we came to the people whose women had the upper hand over them..."
Umar told the whole story (about his wife). "On that the Prophet smiled." Umar further said, "I then said, 'I went to Hafsa and said to her: Do not be tempted to imitate your companion (Aisha) for she is more beautiful than you and more beloved to the Prophet.' The Prophet smiled again. When I saw him smiling, I sat down and cast a glance at the room, and by Allah, I couldn't see anything of importance but three hides. I said (to Allah's Apostle) "Invoke Allah to make your followers prosperous for the Persians and the Byzantines have been made prosperous and given worldly luxuries, though they do not worship Allah?' The Prophet was leaning then (and on hearing my speech he sat straight) and said, 'O Ibn Al-Khatttab! Do you have any doubt (that the Hereafter is better than this world)? These people have been given rewards of their good deeds in this world only.' I asked the Prophet . 'Please ask Allah's forgiveness for me. The Prophet did not go to his wives because of the secret which Hafsa had disclosed to Aisha, and he said that he would not go to his wives for one month as he was angry with them when Allah admonished him (for his oath that he would not approach Maria). When twenty-nine days had passed, the Prophet went to Aisha first of all. She said to him, 'You took an oath that you would not come to us for one month, and today only twenty-nine days have passed, as I have been counting them day by day.' The Prophet said, 'The month is also of twenty-nine days.' That month consisted of twenty-nine days. Aisha said, 'When the Divine revelation of Choice was revealed, the Prophet started with me, saying to me, 'I am telling you something, but you needn't hurry to give the reply till you can consult your parents." Aisha knew that her parents would not advise her to part with the Prophet . The Prophet said that Allah had said:--
'O Prophet! Say To your wives; If you desire The life of this world And its glitter, ... then come! I will make a provision for you and set you free In a handsome manner. But if you seek Allah And His Apostle, and The Home of the Hereafter, then Verily, Allah has prepared For the good-doers amongst you A great reward.' (33.28) Aisha said, 'Am I to consult my parents about this? I indeed prefer Allah, His Apostle, and the Home of the Hereafter.' After that the Prophet gave the choice to his other wives and they also gave the same reply as Aisha did."

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 649:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle took an oath that he would not go to his wives for one month as his foot had been sprained. He stayed in an upper room when Umar went to him and said, "Have you divorced your wives?" He said, "No, but I have taken an oath that I would not go to them for one month." The Prophet stayed there for twenty-nine days, and then came down and went to his wives.

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 650:
Narrated Jabir:
The Prophet entered the Mosque, and I too went there after tying the camel at the pavement of the Mosque. I said (to the Prophet), "This is your camel." He came out and started examining the camel and said, "Both the camel and its price are for you."

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 651:
Narrated Hudhaifa:
I saw Allah's Apostle coming (or the Prophet came) to the dumps of some people and urinated there while standing .

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 652:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "While a man was on the way, he found a thorny branch of a tree there on the way and removed it. Allah thanked him for that deed and forgave him."

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 653:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet judged that seven cubits should be left as a public way when there was a dispute about the land.

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 654:
Narrated Abdullah bin Yazid Al-Ansari:
The Prophet forbade robbery (taking away what belongs to others without their permission), and also forbade mutilation (or maiming) of bodies.

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 655:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "When an adulterer commits illegal sexual intercourse, then he is not a believer at the time, he is doing it, and when a drinker of an alcoholic liquor drinks it, then he is not a believer at the time of drinking it, and when a thief steals, then he is not a believer at the time of stealing, and when a robber robs, and the people look at him, then he is not a believer at the time of doing robbery.

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 656:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The Hour will not be established until the son of Mary (i.e. Jesus) descends amongst you as a just ruler, he will break the cross, kill the pigs, and abolish the Jizya tax. Money will be in abundance so that nobody will accept it (as charitable gifts).

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 657:
Narrated Salama bin Al-Akwa:
On the day of Khaibar the Prophet saw fires being lighted. He asked, "Why are these fires being lighted?" The people replied that they were cooking the meat of donkeys. He said, "Break the pots and throw away their contents." The people said, "Shall we throw away their contents and wash the pots (rather than break them)?" He said, "Wash them."

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 658:
Narrated Abdullah bin Masud:
The Prophet entered Mecca and (at that time) there were three hundred-and-sixty idols around the Kaaba. He started stabbing the idols with a stick he had in his hand and reciting: "Truth (Islam) has come and Falsehood (disbelief) has vanished."

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 659:
Narrated Al-Qasim:

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Aisha said that she hung a curtain decorated with pictures (of animates) on a cupboard. The Prophet tore that curtain and she turned it into two cushions which remained in the house for the Prophet to sit on.

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 660:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr bin Al-'As:
I heard the Prophet saying, "Whoever is killed while protecting his property then he is a martyr."

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 661:
Narrated Anas:
While the Prophet was with one of his wives, one of the mothers of the believers (i.e. one of his wives) sent a wooden bowl containing food with a servant. The wife (in whose house he was sitting) stroke the bowl with her hand and broke it. The Prophet collected the shattered pieces and put the food back in it and said, "Eat." He kept the servant and the bowl till he had eaten the food. Then the Prophet gave another unbroken. bowl to the servant and kept the broken one.

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 662:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "There was an Israeli man called Juraij, while he was praying, his mother came and called him, but he did not respond to her call. He said (to himself) whether he should continue the prayer or reply to his mother. She came to him the second time and called him and said, "O Allah! Do not let him die until he sees the faces of prostitutes." Juraij used to live in a hermitage. A woman said that she would entice Juraij, so she went to him and presented herself (for an evil act) but he refused. She then went to a shepherd and allowed him to commit an illegal sexual intercourse with her and later she gave birth to a boy. She alleged that the baby was from Juraij. The people went to Juraij and broke down his hermitage, pulled him out of it and abused him. He performed ablution and offered the prayer, then he went to the male (baby) and asked him; "O boy! Who is your father?" The baby replied that his father was the shepherd. The people said that they would build for him a hermitage of gold but Juraij asked them to make it of mud only."

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 44:
Partnership

Volume 3, Book 44, Number 663:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
"Allah's Apostle sent an army towards the east coast and appointed Abu Ubaida bin Al-Jarrah as their chief, and the army consisted of three-hundred men including myself. We marched on till we reached a place where our food was about to finish. Abu- Ubaida ordered us to collect all the journey food and it was collected. My (our) journey food was dates. Abu Ubaida kept on giving us our daily ration in small amounts from it, till it was exhausted. The share of everyone of us used to be one date only." I said, "How could one date benefit you?" Jabir replied, "We came to know its value when even that too finished." Jabir added, "When we reached the sea-shore, we saw a huge fish which was like a small mountain. The army ate from it for eighteen days. Then Abu Ubaida ordered that two of its ribs be fixed and they were fixed in the ground. Then he ordered that a she-camel be ridden and it passed under the two ribs (forming an arch) without touching them."

Volume 3, Book 44, Number 664:
Narrated Salama:
Once the journey food diminished and the people were reduced to poverty. They went to the Prophet and asked his permission to slaughter their camels, and he agreed. Umar met them and they told him about it, and he said, "How would you survive after slaughtering your camels?" Then he went to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! How would they survive after slaughtering their camels?" Allah's Apostle ordered Umar, "Call upon the people to bring what has remained of their food." A leather sheet was spread and al I the journey food was collected and heaped over it. Allah's Apostle stood up and invoked Allah to bless it, and then directed all the people to come with their utensils, and they started taking from it till all of them got what was sufficient for them. Allah's Apostle then said, "I testify that None has the right to be worshipped but Allah, and I am His Apostle. "

Volume 3, Book 44, Number 665:
Narrated Rafi bin Khadij:
We used to offer the Asr prayer with the Prophet and slaughter a camel, the meat of which would be divided in ten parts. We would eat the cooked meat before sunset.

Volume 3, Book 44, Number 666:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet said, "When the people of Ash'ari tribe ran short of food during the holy battles, or the food of their families in Medina ran short, they would collect all their remaining food in one sheet and then distribute it among themselves equally by measuring it with a bowl. So, these people are from me, and I am from them."

Volume 3, Book 44, Number 667:
Narrated Anas:
that Abu Bakr As-Siddiq wrote to him the law of Zakat which was made obligatory by Allah's Apostle. He wrote: 'Partners possessing joint property (sheep) have to pay its Zakat equally.

Volume 3, Book 44, Number 668:
Narrated 'Abaya bin Rafa'a bin Raft' bin Khadij:
My grandfather said, "We were in the company of the Prophet at Dhul-Hulaifa. The people felt hungry and captured some camels and sheep (as booty). The Prophet was behind the people. They hurried and slaughtered the animals and put their meat in pots and started cooking it. (When the Prophet came) he ordered the pots to be upset and then he distributed the animals (of the booty), regarding ten sheep as equal to one camel. One of the camels fled and the people ran after it till they were exhausted. At that time there were few horses. A man threw an arrow at the camel, and Allah stopped the camel with it. The Prophet said, "Some of these animals are like wild animals, so if you lose control over one of these animals, treat it in this way (i.e. shoot it with an arrow)." Before distributing them among the soldiers my grandfather said, "We may meet the enemies in the future and have no knives; can we slaughter the animals with reeds?" The Prophet said, "Use whatever causes blood to flow, and eat the animals if the name of Allah has been mentioned on slaughtering them. Do not slaughter with teeth or fingernails and I will tell you why: It is because teeth are bones (i.e. cannot cut properly) and fingernails are the tools used by the Ethiopians (whom we should not imitate for they are infidels)."

Volume 3, Book 44, Number 669:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet decreed that one should not eat two dates together at a time unless he gets the permission from his companions (sharing the meal with him).

Volume 3, Book 44, Number 670:
Narrated Jabala:
"While at Medina we were struck with famine. Ibn Az-Zubair used to provide us with dates as our food. Ibn Umar used to pass by us and say, "Don't eat two dates together at a time as the Prophet has forbidden eating two dates together at a time (in a gathering) unless one takes the permission of one's companion brother."

Volume 3, Book 44, Number 671:
Narrated Nafi:
Ibn Umar said, "Allah's Apostle said, 'If one manumits his share of a jointly possessed slave, and can afford the price of the other shares according to the adequate price of the slave, the slave will be completely manumitted; otherwise he will be partially manumitted.' " (Aiyub, a sub-narrator is not sure whether the saying " ... otherwise he will be partially manumitted" was said by Nafi or the Prophet.)

Volume 3, Book 44, Number 672:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Whoever manumits his share of a jointly possessed slave, it is imperative for him to get that slave manumitted completely by paying the remaining price, and if he does not have sufficient money to manumit him, then the price of the slave should be estimated justly, and he is to be allowed to work and earn the amount that will manumit him (without overburdening him)".

Volume 3, Book 44, Number 673:
Narrated An-Nu'man bin Bashir:
The Prophet said, "The example of the person abiding by Allah's order and restrictions in comparison to those who violate them is like the example of those persons who drew lots for their seats in a boat. Some of them got seats in the upper part, and the others in the lower. When the latter needed water, they had to go up to bring water (and that troubled the others), so they said, 'Let us make a hole in our share of the ship (and get water) saving those who are above us from troubling them. So, if the people in the upper part left the others do what they had suggested, all the people of the ship would be destroyed, but if they prevented them, both parties would be safe."

Volume 3, Book 44, Number 674:
Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair:
That he had asked Aisha about the meaning of the Statement of Allah: "If you fear that you shall not Be able to deal justly With the orphan girls, then Marry (Other) women of your choice Two or three or four." (4.3)

She said, "O my nephew! This is about the orphan girl who lives with her guardian and shares his property. Her wealth and beauty may tempt him to marry her without giving her an adequate Mahr (bridal-money) which might have been given by another suitor. So, such guardians were forbidden to marry such orphan girls unless they treated them justly and gave them the most suitable Mahr; otherwise they were ordered to marry any other woman." Aisha further said, "After that verse the people again asked the Prophet (about the marriage with orphan 'girls), so Allah revealed the following verses:-- 'They ask your instruction Concerning the women. Say: Allah Instructs you about them And about what is Recited unto you In the Book, concerning The orphan girls to whom You give not the prescribed portions and yet whom you Desire to marry..." (4.127)
What is meant by Allah's Saying:-- 'And about what is Recited unto you is the former verse which goes:-- 'If you fear that you shall not Be able to deal justly With the orphan girls, then Marry (other) women of your choice.' (4.3) Aisha said, "Allah's saying in the other verse:--'Yet whom you desire to marry' (4.127) means the desire of the guardian to marry an orphan girl under his supervision when she has not much property or beauty (in which case he should treat her justly). The guardians were forbidden to marry their orphan girls possessing property and beauty without being just to them, as they generally refrain from marrying them (when they are neither beautiful nor wealthy)."

Volume 3, Book 44, Number 675:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet established the right of Shu'fa (i.e. Pre-emption) in joint properties; but when the land is divided and the ways are demarcated, then there is no pre-emption.

Volume 3, Book 44, Number 676:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "The right of pre-emption is valid in every joint property, but when the land is divided and the way is demarcated, then there is no right of pre-emption."

Volume 3, Book 44, Number 677:
Narrated Sulaiman bin Abu Muslim:
I asked Abu Minhal about money exchange from hand to hand. He said, "I and a partner of mine bought something partly in cash and partly on credit." Al-Bara bin Azib passed by us and we asked about it. He replied, "I and my partner Zaid bin Al-Arqam did the same and then went to the Prophet and asked him about it. He said, 'Take what was from hand to hand and leave what was on credit.' "

Volume 3, Book 44, Number 678:
Narrated Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle rented the land of Khaibar to the Jews on the condition that they would work on it and cultivate it and take half of its yield.

Volume 3, Book 44, Number 679:
Narrated Uqba bin Amir:
that Allah's Apostle gave him some sheep to distribute among his companions in order to sacrifice them and a kid was left. He told the Prophet about it and the Prophet said to him, "Sacrifice it on your behalf."

Volume 3, Book 44, Number 680:
Narrated Abdullah bin Hisham:
that his mother Zainab bint Humaid took him to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Take the pledge of allegiance from him." But he said, "He is still too young for the pledge," and passed his hand on his (i.e. Abdullah's) head and invoked for Allah's blessing for him. Zuhra bin Ma'bad stated that he used to go with his grandfather, Abdullah bin Hisham, to the market to buy foodstuff. Ibn Umar and Ibn Az-Zubair would meet him and say to him, "Be our partner, as the Prophet invoked Allah to bless you." So, he would be their partner, and very often he would win a camel's load and send it home.

Volume 3, Book 44, Number 681:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "Whoever manumits his share o a jointly possessed slave, it is imperative on him to manumit the slave completely if he has sufficient money to pay the rest of its price which is to be estimated justly. He should pay his partners their shares and release him (the freed one).

Volume 3, Book 44, Number 682:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Whoever manumits his share of a jointly possessed slave, it is essential for him to manumit the slave completely if he has sufficient money. Otherwise he should look for some work for the slave (to earn what would enable him to emancipate himself), without overburdening him with work."

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Volume 3, Book 44, Number 683:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet (along with his companions) reached Mecca in the morning of the fourth of Dhul-Hijja assuming Ihram for Hajj only. So when we arrived at Mecca, the Prophet ordered us to change our intentions of the Ihram forUmra and that we could finish our Ihram after performing the Umra and could go to our wives (for sexual intercourse). The people began talking about that. Jabir said surprisingly, "Shall we go to Mina while semen is dribbling from our male organs?" Jabir moved his hand while saying so. When this news reached the Prophet he delivered a sermon and said, "I have been informed that some peoples were saying so and so; By Allah I fear Allah more than you do, and am more obedient to Him than you. If I had known what I know now, I would not have brought the Hadi (sacrifice) with me and had the Hadi not been with me, I would have finished the Ihram." At that Suraqa bin Malik stood up and asked "O Allah's Apostle! Is this permission for us only or is it forever?" The Prophet replied, "It is forever." In the meantime Ali bin Abu Talib came from Yemen and was saying Labbaik for what the Prophet has intended. (According to another man, Ali was saying Labbaik for Hajj similar to Allah's Apostle's). The Prophet told him to keep on the Ihram and let him share the Hadi with him.

Volume 3, Book 44, Number 684:
Narrated Abaya bin Rifaa:
My grandfather, Rafi bin Khadij said, "We were in the valley of Dhul-Hulaifa of Tuhama in the company of the Prophet and had some camels and sheep (of the booty). The people hurried (in slaughtering the animals) and put their meat in the pots and started cooking. Allah's Apostle came and ordered them to upset the pots, and distributed the booty considering one camel as equal to ten sheep. One of the camels fled and the people had only a few horses, so they got worried. (The camel was chased and) a man slopped the camel by throwing an arrow at it. Allah's Apostle said, 'Some of these animals are untamed like wild animals, so if anyone of them went out of your control, then you should treat it as you have done now.' " My grandfather said, "O Allah's Apostle! We fear that we may meet our enemy tomorrow and we have no knives, could we slaughter the animals with reeds?" The Prophet said, "Yes, or you can use what would make blood flow (slaughter) and you can eat what is slaughtered and the Name of Allah is mentioned at the time of slaughtering. But don't use teeth or fingernails (in slaughtering). I will tell you why, as for teeth, they are bones, and fingernails are used by Ethiopians for slaughtering. (See Hadith 668)

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 45:
Mortgaging

Volume 3, Book 45, Number 685:
Narrated Anas:
No doubt, the Prophet mortgaged his armor for barley grams. Once I took barley bread with some dissolved fat on it to the Prophet and I heard him saying, "The household of Mohammed did not possess except a Sa (of food grain, barley, etc.) for both the morning and the evening meals although they were nine houses."

Volume 3, Book 45, Number 686:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet bought some foodstuff on credit for a limited period and mortgaged his armor for it.

Volume 3, Book 45, Number 687:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle said, "Who would kill Ka'b bin Al-Ashraf as he has harmed Allah and His Apostle ?" Mohammed bin Maslama (got up and) said, "I will kill him." So, Mohammed bin Maslama went to Ka'b and said, "I want a loan of one or two Wasqs of food grains." Ka'b said, "Mortgage your women to me." Mohammed bin Maslama said, "How can we mortgage our women, and you are the most handsome among the Arabs?" He said, "Then mortgage your sons to me." Mohammed said, "How can we mortgage our sons, as the people will abuse them for being mortgaged for one or two Wasqs of food grains? It is shameful for us. But we will mortgage our arms to you." So, Mohammed bin Maslama promised him that he would come to him next time. They (Mohammed bin Maslama and his companions came to him as promised and murdered him. Then they went to the Prophet and told him about it.

Volume 3, Book 45, Number 688:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "One can ride the mortgaged animal because of what one spends on it, and one can drink the milk of a milch animal as long as it is mortgaged. "

Volume 3, Book 45, Number 689:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The mortgaged animal can be used for riding as long as it is fed and the milk of the milch animal can be drunk according to what one spend on it. The one who rides the animal or drinks its milk should provide the expenditures."

Volume 3, Book 45, Number 690:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle bought some foodstuff from a Jew and mortgaged his armor to him.

Volume 3, Book 45, Number 691:
Narrated Ibn Abu Mulaika:
I wrote a letter to Ibn Abbas and he wrote to me that the Prophet had given the verdict that the defendant had to take an oath.

Volume 3, Book 45, Number 692:
Narrated Abu Wail:
Abdullah (bin Mas'ud) said, "Whoever took a false oath in order to grab somebody's property will meet Allah while Allah will be angry with him." Allah revealed the following verse to confirm that:--"Verily! Those who purchase a small gain at the cost of Allah's covenant And their oaths...a painful torment." (3.77)
Al-Ash'ath bin Qais came to us and asked as to what Abu Abdur-Rehman (i.e. Ibn Mas'ud) was telling you." We related the story to him. On that he said, "He has told the truth. This verse was revealed about me. I had some dispute with another man regarding a well and we took the case before Allah's Apostle. Allah's Apostle said (to me), "Produce two witnesses (to support your claim); otherwise the defendant has the right to take an oath (to refute your claim).' I said, 'The defendant would not mind to take a false oath." Allah's Apostle then said, 'Whoever took a false oath in order to grab someone else's property will meet Allah, Allah will be angry with him.' Allah then revealed what Confirmed it." Al-Ash'ath then recited the following Verse:--"Verily! Those who purchase a small gain at the cost of Allah's covenant, And their oaths . . . (to) . . . they shall have a painful torment!' (3.77) (See Hadith No. 546)

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 46:
Manumission of Slaves

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 693:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Whoever frees a Muslim slave, Allah will save all the parts of his body from the (Hell) Fire as he has freed the body-parts of the slave." Said bin Marjana said that he narrated that Hadith to Ali bin Al-Husain and he freed his slave for whom Abdullah bin Jafar had offered him ten thousand Dirhams or one-thousand Dinars.

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 694:
Narrated Abu Dhar:
I asked the Prophet, "What is the best deed?" He replied, "To believe in Allah and to fight for His Cause." I then asked, "What is the best kind of manumission (of slaves)?" He replied, "The manumission of the most expensive slave and the most beloved by his master." I said, "If I cannot afford to do that?" He said, "Help the weak or do good for a person who cannot work for himself." I said, "If I cannot do that?" He said, "Refrain from harming others for this will be regarded as a charitable deed for your own good."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 695:
Narrated Asma bint Abu Bakr:
The Prophet ordered us to free slaves at the time of solar eclipses.

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 696:
Narrated Asma bint Abu Bakr:
We were ordered to free slaves at the time of lunar eclipses.

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 697:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "Whoever manumits a slave owned by two masters, should manumit him completely (not partially) if he is rich after having its price evaluated."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 698:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever frees his share of a common slave and he has sufficient money to free him completely, should let its price be estimated by a just man and give his partners the price of their shares and manumit the slave; otherwise (i.e. if he has not sufficient money) he manumits the slave partially."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 699:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever manumits his share of a slave, then it is essential for him to get that slave manumitted' completely as long as he has the money to do so. If he has not sufficient money to pay the price of the other shares (after the price of the slave is evaluated justly), the manumitted manumits the slave partially in proportion to his share.

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 700:
Narrated Ubaidullah:
as above Briefly.

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 701:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "He who manumits his share of a slave and has money sufficient to free the remaining portion of that slave's price (justly estimated) then he should manumit him (by giving the rest of his price to the other co-owners)." Nafi added, "Otherwise the slave is partially free." Aiyub is not sure whether the last statement was said by Nafi or it was a part of the Hadith.

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 702:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
That he used to give his verdict regarding the male or female slaves owned by more than one master, one of whom may manumit his share of the slave. Ibn Umar used to say in such a case, "The manumitted should manumit the slave completely if he has sufficient money to pay the rest of the price of that slave (which is to be justly estimated) and the other share-holders are to take the price of their shares and the slave is freed (released from slavery)." Ibn Umar narrated this verdict from the Prophet.

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 703:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
that the Prophet said, "Whoever frees his portion of a (common) slave."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 704:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Whoever frees his portion of a common slave should free the slave completely by paying the rest of his price from his money if he has enough money; otherwise the price of the slave is to be estimated and the slave is to be helped to work without hardship till he pays the rest of his price."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 705:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Allah has accepted my invocation to forgive what whispers in the hearts of my followers, unless they put it to action or utter it." (See Hadith No. 657 Vol. 8)

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 706:
Narrated Umar bin Al-Khattab:
The Prophet said, "The (reward of) deeds depend on intentions, and every person will get the reward according to what he intends. So, whoever migrated for Allah and His Apostle, then his migration will be for Allah and His Apostle, and whoever migrated for worldly benefits or for marrying a woman, then his migration will be for what he migrated for." (See Hadith No. 1, Vol. 1)

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 707:
Narrated Qais:
When Abu Huraira accompanied by his slave set out intending to embrace Islam they lost each other on the way. The slave then came while Abu Huraira was sitting with the Prophet. The Prophet said, "O Abu Huraira! Your slave has come back." Abu Huraira said, "Indeed, I would like you to witness that I have manumitted him." That happened at the time when Abu Huraira recited (the following poetic verse):--'What a long tedious tiresome night! Nevertheless, it has delivered us From the land of Kufr (disbelief).

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 708:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
On my way to the Prophet I was reciting:-- 'What a long tedious tiresome night! Nevertheless, it has saved us From the land of Kufr (disbelief).' I had a slave who ran away from me on the way. When I went to the Prophet and gave the pledge of allegiance for embracing Islam, the slave showed up while I was still with the Prophet who remarked, "O Abu Huraira! Here is your slave!" I said, "I manumit him for Allah's Sake," and so I freed him.

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 709:
Narrated Qais:
When Abu Huraira accompanied by his slave came intending to embrace Islam, they lost each other on the way. (When the slave showed up) Abu Huraira said (to the Prophet), "I make you witness that the slave is free for Allah's Cause."

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Volume 3, Book 46, Number 710:
Narrated Aisha:
Utba bin Abi Waqqas authorized his brother Sad bin Abi Waqqas to take the son of the slave-girl of Zam'a into his custody, telling him that the boy was his own (illegal) son. When Allah's Apostle went (to Mecca) at the time of the Conquest, Sad took the son of the slavegirl of Zam'a to Allah's Apostle and also brought Abu bin Zam'a with him and said, "O Allah's Apostle! This is the son of my brother Utba who authorized me to take him into my custody." Abu bin Zam'a said, "O Allah's Apostle! He is my brother, the son of Zam'a' slave-girl and he was born on his bed." Allah's Apostle looked at the son of the slave-girl of Zam'a and noticed much resemblance (to Utba). Allah's Apostle said, "It is for you, O Abu bin Zam'a as he was born on the bed of your father." Allah's Apostle then told Sauda bint Zam'a to observe veil in the presence of the boy as he noticed the boy's resemblance to Utba and Sauda was the wife of the Prophet .

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 711:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
A man amongst us declared that his slave would be freed after his death. The Prophet called for that slave and sold him. The slave died the same year.

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 712:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle forbade the selling or donating the Wala of a freed slave.

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 713:
Narrated Aisha:
I bought Buraira but her masters put the condition that her Wala would be for them. I told the Prophet about it. He said (to me), "Manumit her as her Wala will be for the one who pays the price." So, I manumitted her. The Prophet called Buraira and gave her the option of either staying with her husband or leaving him. She said, "Even if he gave me so much money, I would not stay with him," and so she preferred her freedom to her husband.

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 714:
Narrated Anas:
Some men of the Ansar asked for the permission of Allah's Apostle and said, "Allow us to give up the ransom from our nephew Al-Abbas. The Prophet said (to them), "Do not leave (even) a Dirham (of his ransom)."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 715:
Narrated Hisham:
My father told me that Hakim bin Hizam manumitted one-hundred slaves in the pre-Islamic period of ignorance and slaughtered one-hundred camels (and distributed them in charity). When he embraced Islam he again slaughtered one-hundred camels and manumitted one-hundred slaves. Hakim said, "I asked Allah's Apostle, 'O Allah's Apostle! What do you think about some good deeds I used to practice in the prelslamic period of ignorance regarding them as deeds of righteousness?' Allah's Apostle said, "You have embraced Islam along with all those good deeds you did."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 716:
Narrated Marwan and Al-Miswar bin Makhrama:
When the delegates of the tribe of Hawazin came to the Prophet and they requested him to return their properties and captives. The Prophet stood up and said to them, "I have other people with me in this matter (as you see) and the most beloved statement to me is the true one; you may choose either the properties or the prisoners as I have delayed their distribution." The Prophet had waited for them for more than ten days since his arrival from Ta'if. So, when it became evident to them that the Prophet was not going to return them except one of the two, they said, "We choose our prisoners." The Prophet got up amongst the people and glorified and praised Allah as He deserved and said, "Then after, these brethren of yours have come to us with repentance, and I see it logical to return them the captives. So, whoever amongst you likes to do that as a favor, then he can do it, and whoever of you likes to stick to his share till we recompense him from the very first war booty which Allah will give us, then he can do so (i.e. give up the present captives)." The people unanimously said, "We do that (return the captives) willingly." The Prophet said, "We do not know which of you has agreed to it and which have not, so go back and let your leaders forward us your decision." So, all the people then went back and discussed the matter with their leaders who returned and informed the Prophet that all the people had willingly given their consent to return the captives. This is what has reached us about the captives of Hawazin. Narrated Anas that Abbas said to the Prophet, "I paid for my ransom and Aqil's ransom."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 717:
Narrated Ibn Aun:
I wrote a letter to Nafi and Nafi wrote in reply to my letter that the Prophet had suddenly attacked Bani Mustaliq without warning while they were heedless and their cattle were being watered at the places of water. Their fighting men were killed and their women and children were taken as captives; the Prophet got Juwairiya on that day. Nafi said that Ibn Umar had told him the above narration and that Ibn Umar was in that army.

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 718:
Narrated Ibn Muhairiz:
I saw Abu Said and asked him about coitus interruptus. Abu Said said, "We went with Allah's Apostle, in the Ghazwa of Barli Al-Mustaliq and we captured some of the 'Arabs as captives, and the long separation from our wives was pressing us hard and we wanted to practice coitus interruptus. We asked Allah's Apostle (whether it was permissible). He said, "It is better for you not to do so. No soul, (that which Allah has) destined to exist, up to the Day of Resurrection, but will definitely come, into existence."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 719:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I have loved the people of the tribe of Bani Tamim ever since I heard, three things, Allah's Apostle said about them. I heard him saying, These people (of the tribe of Bani Tamim) would stand firm against Ad-Dajjal." When the Sadaqat (gifts of charity) from that tribe came, Allah's Apostle said, "These are the Sadaqat (i.e. charitable gifts) of our folk." Aisha had a slave-girl from that tribe, and the Prophet said to Aisha, "Manumit her as she is a descendant of Ishmael (the Prophet)."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 720:
Narrated Abu Musa:
Allah's Apostle said, "He who has a slave-girl and educates and treats her nicely and then manumits and marries her, will get a double reward."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 721:
Narrated Al-Ma'rur bin Suwaid:
I saw Abu Dhar Al-Ghifari wearing a cloak, and his slave, too, was wearing a cloak. We asked him about that (i.e. how both were wearing similar cloaks). He replied, "Once I abused a man and he complained of me to the Prophet . The Prophet asked me, 'Did you abuse him by slighting his mother?' He added, 'Your slaves are your brethren upon whom Allah has given you authority. So, if one has one's brethren under one's control, one should feed them with the like of what one eats and clothe them with the like of what one wears. You should not overburden them with what they cannot bear, and if you do so, help them (in their hard job)."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 722:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "If a slave is honest and faithful to his master and worships his Lord (Allah) in a perfect manner, he will get a double reward."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 723:
Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ashari:
The Prophet said, "He who has a slave-girl and teaches her good manners and improves her education and then manumits and marries her, will get a double reward; and any slave who observes Allah's right and his master's right will get a double reward."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 724:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "A pious slave gets a double reward." Abu Huraira added: By Him in Whose Hands my soul is but for Jihad (i.e. holy battles), Hajj, and my duty to serve my mother, I would have loved to die as a slave.

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 725:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Goodness and comfort are for him who worships his Lord in a perfect manner and serves his master sincerely."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 726:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "If a slave serves his Saiyid (i.e. master) sincerely and worships his Lord (Allah) perfectly, he will get a double reward."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 727:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet said, "The Mamluk (slave) who worships his Lord in a perfect manner, and is dutiful, sincere and obedient to his Saiyid (master), will get a double reward."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 728:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "You should not say, 'Feed your lord (Rabbaka), help your lord in performing ablution, or give water to your lord, but should say, 'my master (e.g. Feed your master instead of lord etc.) (Saiyidi), or my guardian (Maulai), and one should not say, my slave (Abdi), or my girl-slave (Amati), but should say, my lad (Fatai), my lass (Fatati), and 'my boy (Ghulami)."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 729:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "If one manumits his share of a common slave (Abd), and he has money sufficient to free the remaining portion of the price of the slave (justly estimated), then he should free the slave completely by paying the rest of his price; otherwise the slave is freed partly. "

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 730:
Narrated Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle said, "Everyone of you is a guardian and is responsible for his charges. The ruler who has authority over people, is a guardian and is responsible for them, a man is a guardian of his family and is responsible for them; a woman is a guardian of her husband's house and children and is responsible for them; a slave (Abu) is a guardian of his master's property and is responsible for it; so all of you are guardians and are responsible for your charges."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 731:
Narrated Abu Huraira and Zaid bin Khalid:
The Prophet said, "If a slave-girl (Ama) commits illegal sexual intercourse, scourge her; if she does it again, scourge her again; if she repeats it, scourge her again." The narrator added that on the third or the fourth offence, the Prophet said, "Sell her even for a hair rope."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 732:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "When your servant brings your meals to you then if he does not let him sit and share the meals, then he should at least give him a mouthful or two mouthfuls of that meal or a meal or two meals, as he has prepared it."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 733:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
That he heard Allah's Apostle saying, "Everyone of you is a guardian and is responsible for his charge; the ruler is a guardian and is responsible for his subjects; the man is a guardian in his family and responsible for his charges; a woman is a guardian of her husband's house and responsible for her charges; and the servant is a guardian of his master's property and is responsible for his charge." I definitely heard the above from the Prophet and think that the Prophet also said, "A man is a guardian of his father's property and responsible for his charges; so everyone of you is a guardian and responsible for his charges."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 734:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "If somebody fights (or beats somebody) then he should avoid the face."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 735:
Narrated Urwa:
That Aisha told him that Buraira came to seek her help in her writing of emancipation (for a certain sum) and that time she had not paid anything of it. Aisha said to her, "Go back to your masters, and if they agree that I will pay the amount of your writing of emancipation and get your Wala', I will do so." Buraira informed her masters of that but they refused and said, "If she (i.e. Aisha) is seeking Allah's reward, then she can do so, but your Wala will be for us." Aisha mentioned that to Allah's Apostle who said to her, "Buy and manumit her, as the Wala is for the liberator." Allah's Apostle then got up and said, "What about the people who stipulate conditions which are not present in Allah's Laws? Whoever imposes conditions which are not present in Allah's Laws, then those conditions will be invalid, even if he imposed these conditions a hundred times. Allah's conditions (Laws) are the truth and are more solid."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 736:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Aisha wanted to buy a slave-girl in order to manumit her. The girl's masters stipulated that her Wala would be for them. Allah's Apostle said (to Aisha), "What they stipulate should not stop you, for the Wala is for the liberator."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 737:
Narrated Aisha:
Buraira came (to Aisha) and said, "I have made a contract of emancipation with my masters for nine Uqiyas (of gold) to be paid in yearly installments. Therefore, I seek your help." Aisha said, "If your masters agree, I will pay them the sum at once and free you on condition that your Wala will be for

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me." Buraira went to her masters but they refused that offer. She (came back) and said, "I presented to them the offer but they refused, unless the Wala was for them." Allah's Apostle heard of that and asked me about it, and I told him about it. On that he said, "Buy and manumit her and stipulate that the Wala should be for you, as Wala is for the liberator." Aisha added, "Allah's Apostle then got up amongst the people, Glorified and Praised Allah, and said, 'Then after: What about some people who impose conditions which are not present in Allah's Laws? So, any condition which is not present in Allah's Laws is invalid even if they were one-hundred conditions. Allah's ordinance is the truth, and Allah's condition is stronger and more solid. Why do some men from you say, O so-and-so! manumit the slave but the Wala will be for me? Verily, the Wala is for the liberator."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 738:
Narrated Amra bint AbdurRahman:
Buraira went to Aisha, the mother of the faithful believers to seek her help in her emancipation Aisha said to her, "If your masters agree, I will pay them your price in a lump sum and manumit you." Buraira mentioned that offer to her masters but they refused to sell her unless the Wala was for them. Aisha told Allah's Apostle about it. He said, "Buy and manumit her as the Wala is for the liberator."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 739:
Narrated Abdul Wahid bin Aiman:
I went to Aisha and said, "I was the slave of Utba bin Abu Lahab. "Utba died and his sons became my masters who sold me to Ibn Abu Amr who manumitted me. The sons of Utba stipulated that my Wala should be for them." Aisha said, "Buraira came to me and she was given the writing of emancipation by her masters and she asked me to buy and manumit her. I agreed to it, but Buraira told me that her masters would not sell her unless her Wala was for them." Aisha said, "I am not in need of that." When the Prophet heard that, or he was told about it, he asked Aisha about it. Aisha mentioned what Buraira had told her. The Prophet said, "Buy and manumit her and let them stipulate whatever they like." So, Aisha bought and manumitted her and her masters stipulated that her Wala should be for them." The Prophet;, said, "The Wala will be for the liberator even if they stipulated a hundred conditions."

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 47:
Gifts

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 740:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "O Muslim women! None of you should look down upon the gift sent by her she-neighbour even if it were the trotters of the sheep (fleshless part of legs)."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 741:
Narrated Urwa:
Aisha said to me, "O my nephew! We used to see the crescent, and then the crescent and then the crescent in this way we saw three crescents in two months and no fire (for cooking) used to be made in the houses of Allah's Apostle. I said, "O my aunt! Then what use to sustain you?" Aisha said, "The two black things: dates and water, our neighbours from Ansar had some Manarh and they used to present Allah's Apostle some of their milk and he used to make us drink."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 742:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "I shall accept the invitation even if I were invited to a meal of a sheep's trotter, and I shall accept the gift even if it were an arm or a trotter of a sheep."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 743:
Narrated Sahl:
The Prophet sent for a woman from the emigrants and she had a slave who was a carpenter. The Prophet said to her "Order your slave to prepare the wood (pieces) for the pulpit." So, she ordered her slave who went and cut the wood from the tamarisk and prepared the pulpit, for the Prophet. When he finished the pulpit, the woman informed the Prophet that it had been finished. The Prophet asked her to send that pulpit to him, so they brought it. The Prophet lifted it and placed it at the place in which you see now."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 744:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abu Qatada Al-Aslami:
That his father said, "One day I was sitting with some of the Prophet's companions on the way to Mecca. Allah's Apostle was ahead of us. All of my companions were in the state of Ihram while I was a non-Muhrim. They saw an onager while I was busy repairing my shoes, so they did not tell me about it but they wished I had seen it. By chance I looked up and saw it. So, I turned to the horse, saddled it and rode on it, forgetting to take the spear and the whip. I asked them if they could hand over to me the whip and the spear but they said, 'No, by Allah, we shall not help you in that in any way.' I became angry and got down from the horse, picked up both the things and rode the horse again. I attacked the onager and slaughtered it, and brought it (after it had been dead). They took it (cooked some of it) and started eating it, but they doubted whether it was allowed for them to eat it or not, as they were in the state of Ihram. So, we proceeded and I hid with me one of its fore-legs. When we met Allah's Apostle and asked him about the case, he asked, 'Do you have a portion of it with you?' I replied in the affirmative and gave him that fleshy fore-leg which he ate completely while he was in the state of Ihram .

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 745:
Narrated Anas:
Once Allah's Apostle visited us in this house of ours and asked for something to drink. We milked one of our sheep and mixed it with water from this well of ours and gave it to him. Abu Bakr was sitting on his left side and Umar in front of him and a bedouin on his right side. When Allah's Apostle finished, Umar said to Allah's Apostle "Here is Abu Bakr." But Allah's Apostle gave the remaining milk to the bedouin and said twice, "The (persons on the) right side! So, start from the right side." Anas added, "It is a Sunna (the Prophet's traditions)" and repeated it thrice.

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 746:
Narrated Anas:
We chased a rabbit at Mar-al-Zahran and the people ran after it but were exhausted. I overpowered and caught it, and gave it to Abu Talha who slaughtered it and sent its hip or two thighs to Allah's Apostle. (The narrator confirms that he sent two thighs). The Prophet accepted that. (The sub-narrator asked Anas, "Did the Prophet; eat from it?" Anas replied, "He ate from it.")

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 747:
Narrated As-Sa'b bin Jaththama:
An onager was presented to Allah's Apostle at the place called Al-Abwa' or Waddan, but Allah's Apostle rejected it. When the Prophet noticed the signs of sorrow on the giver's face he said, "We have not rejected your gift, but we are in the state of Ihram." (i.e. if we were not in a state of Ihram we would have accepted your gift, Fateh-al-Bari page 130, Vol. 6)

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 748:
Narrated Aisha:
The people used to look forward for the days of my (Aisha's) turn to send gifts to Allah's Apostle in order to please him.

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 749:
Narrated Said bin Jubair:
Ibn Abbas said: Um Hufaid, Ibn Abbas's aunt sent some dried yogurt (butter free), ghee (butter) and a mastigar to the Prophet as a gift. The Prophet ate the dried yogurt and butter but left the mastigar because he disliked it. Ibn Abbas said, "The mastigar was eaten at the table of Allah's Apostle and if it had been illegal to eat, it could not have been eaten at the table of Allah's Apostle."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 750:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Whenever a meal was brought to Allah's Apostle, he would ask whether it was a gift or Sadaqa (something given in charity). If he was told that it was Sadaqa, he would tell his companions to eat it, but if it was a gift, he would hurry to share it with them.

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 751:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Some meat was brought to the Prophet and it was said that the meat had been given in charity to Buraira. He said, "It was Sadaqa for Buraira but a gift for us."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 752:
Narrated Aisha:
I intended to buy Buraira but her masters stipulated that her Wala should be for them. When the Prophet was told about it, he said to me, "Buy and manumit her, as the Wala is for the liberator." Once Buraira was given some meat, and the Prophet asked, "What is this?" I said, "It has been given to Buraira in charity." He said, "It is sadaqa for her but a gift for us." Buraira was given the option (to stay with her husband or to part with him). AbdurRahman (a sub-narrator) wondered, "Was her husband a slave or a free man?" Shu'ba (another sub-narrator) said, "I asked Abdur-Rahman whether her husband was a slave or a free man. He replied that he did not know whether he was a slave or a free man."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 753:
Narrated Um 'Atiyya:
Once the Prophet went to Aisha and asked her whether she had something (to eat). She said that she had nothing except the mutton which Um 'Atiyya had sent to (Buraira) in charity. The Prophet said that it had reached its destination (i.e. it is no longer an object of charity.)

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 754:
Narrated Aisha:
The people used to send gifts to the Prophet on the day of my turn. Um Salama said: "My companions (the wives of the Prophet Other than Aisha) gathered and they complained about it. So I informed the Prophet about it on their behalf, but he remained silent.

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 755:
Narrated Urwa from Aisha:
The wives of Allah's Apostle were in two groups. One group consisted of Aisha, Hafsa, Safiyya and Sauda; and the other group consisted of Um Salama and the other wives of Allah's Apostle. The Muslims knew that Allah's Apostle loved Aisha, so if any of them had a gift and wished to give to Allah's Apostle, he would delay it, till Allah's Apostle had come to Aisha's home and then he would send his gift to Allah's Apostle in her home. The group of Um Salama discussed the matter together and decided that Um Salama should request Allah's Apostle to tell the people to send their gifts to him in whatever wife's house he was. Um Salama told Allah's Apostle of what they had said, but he did not reply. Then they (those wives) asked Um Salama about it. She said, "He did not say anything to me." They asked her to talk to him again. She talked to him again when she met him on her day, but he gave no reply. When they asked her, she replied that he had given no reply. They said to her, "Talk to him till he gives you a reply." When it was her turn, she talked to him again. He then said to her, "Do not hurt me regarding Aisha, as the Divine Inspirations do not come to me on any of the beds except that of Aisha." On that Um Salama said, "I repent to Allah for hurting you." Then the group of Um Salama called Fatima, the daughter of Allah's Apostle and sent her to Allah's Apostle to say to him, "Your wives request to treat them and the daughter of Abu Bakr on equal terms." Then Fatima conveyed the message to him. The Prophet said, "O my daughter! Don't you love whom I love?" She replied in the affirmative and returned and told them of the situation. They requested her to go to him again but she refused. They then sent Zainab bint Jahsh who went to him and used harsh words saying, "Your wives request you to treat them and the daughter of Ibn Abu Quhafa on equal terms." On that she raised her voice and abused Aisha to her face so much so that Allah's Apostle looked at Aisha to see whether she would retort. Aisha started replying to Zainab till she silenced her. The Prophet then looked at Aisha and said, "She is really the daughter of Abu Bakr."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 756:
Narrated Azra bin Thabit Al-Ansari:
When I went to Thumama bin Abdullah, he gave me some perfume and said that Anas would not reject the gifts of perfume. Anas said: The Prophet used not to reject the gifts of perfume.

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 757:
Narrated Al-Miswar bin Makhrama and Marwan:
When the delegates of the tribe of Hawazin came to the Prophet he stood up amongst the people, Glorified and Praised Allah as He deserved, and said, "Then after: Your brethren have come to you with repentance and I see it logical to return to them their captives; so whoever amongst you likes to do that as a favor, then he can do it, and whoever of you like to stick to his share till we give him his right from the very first Fai (war booty) (1) which Allah will bestow on us, then (he can do so)." The people replied, "We do that (to return the captives) willingly as a favor for your sake."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 758:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostles used to accept gifts and used to give something in return.

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 759:
Narrated An-Nu'man bin Bashir:
that his father took him to Allah's Apostle and said, "I have given this son of mine a slave." The Prophet asked, "Have you given all your sons the like?" He replied in the negative. The Prophet said, "Take back your gift then."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 760:
Narrated Amir:
I heard An-Nu'man bin Bashir on the pulpit saying, "My father gave me a gift but Amra bint Rawaha (my mother) said that she would not agree to it unless he made Allah's Apostle as a witness to it. So, my father went to Allah's Apostle and said, 'I have given a gift to my son from Amra bint Rawaha, but she ordered me to make you as a witness to it, O Allah's

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Apostle!' Allah's Apostle asked, 'Have you given (the like of it) to everyone of your sons?' He replied in the negative. Allah's Apostle said, 'Be afraid of Allah, and be just to your children.' My father then returned and took back his gift."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 761:
Narrated Az-Zuhari:
Ubaidullah bin Abdullah told me that Aisha had said, "When the Prophet became sick and his condition became serious, he requested his wives to allow him to be treated in my house, and they allowed him. He came out leaning on two men while his feet were dragging on the ground. He was walking between Al-Abbas and another man." Ubaidullah said, "When I informed Ibn Abbas of what Aisha had said, he asked me whether I knew who was the second man whom Aisha had not named. I replied in the negative. He said, 'He was Ali bin Abi Talib."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 762:
Narrated Ibn Abbas: The Prophet said, "One who takes back his gift (which he has already given) is like a dog that swallows its vomit."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 763:
Narrated Asma:
Once I said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have no property except what has been given to me by Az-Zubair (i.e. her husband). May I give in charity?" The Prophet said, "Give in charity and do not withhold it; otherwise Allah will withhold it back from you . "

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 764:
Narrated Asma:
Allah's Apostle said, "Give (in charity) and do not give reluctantly lest Allah should give you in a limited amount; and do not withhold your money lest Allah should withhold it from you."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 765:
Narrated Kurib:
the freed slave of Ibn Abbas, that Maimuna bint Al-Harith told him that she manumitted a slave-girl without taking the permission of the Prophet. On the day when it was her turn to be with the Prophet, she said, "Do you know, O Allah's Apostle, that I have manumitted my slave-girl?" He said, "Have you really?" She replied in the affirmative. He said, "You would have got more reward if you had given her (i.e. the slave-girl) to one of your maternal uncles."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 766:
Narrated Aisha:
Whenever Allah's Apostle wanted to go on a journey, he would draw lots as to which of his wives would accompany him. He would take her whose name came out. He used to fix for each of them a day and a night. But Sauda bint Zam'a gave up her (turn) day and night to Aisha, the wife of the Prophet in order to seek the pleasure of Allah's Apostle (by that action).

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 767:
Narrated Aisha:
I said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have two neighbours; which of them should I give a gift to?" The Prophet said, "(Give) to the one whose door is nearer to you."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 768:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
That he heard As-Sa'b bin Jaththama Al-Laithi, who was one of the companions of the Prophet, saying that he gave the meat of an onager to Allah's Apostle while he was at a place called Al-Abwa' or Waddan, and was in a state of Ihram. The Prophet did not accept it. When the Prophet saw the signs of sorrow on As-Sa'b's face because of not accepting his present, he said (to him), "We are not returning your present, but we are in the state of Ihram." (See Hadith No. 747)

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 769:
Narrated Abu Humaid Al-Sa'idi:
The Prophet appointed a man from the tribe of Al-Azd, called Ibn 'Utbiyya for collecting the Zakat. When he returned he said, "This (i.e. the Zakat) is for you and this has been given to my as a present." The Prophet said, "Why hadn't he stayed in his father's or mother's house to see whether he would be given presents or not? By Him in Whose Hands my life is, whoever takes something from the resources of the Zakat (unlawfully) will be carrying it on his neck on the Day of Resurrection; if it be a camel, it will be grunting; if a cow, it will be mooing; and if a sheep, it will be bleating." The Prophet then raised his hands till we saw the whiteness of his armpits, and he said thrice, "O Allah! Haven't I conveyed Your Message (to them)?"

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 770:
Narrated Jabir:
The Prophet said to me, "I will give you so much (the Prophet pointed thrice with his hands) when funds of Bahrain will come to me." But the Prophet died before the money reached him. (When it came) Abu Bakr ordered an announcer to announce that whoever had a money claim on the Prophet or was promised to be given something, should come to Abu Bakr. I went to Abu Bakr and told him that the Prophet had promised to give me so much. On that Abu Bakr gave me three handfuls (of money).

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 771:
Narrated Al-Miswar bin Makhrama:
Allah's Apostle distributed some cloaks but did not give anything thereof to Makhrama. Makhrama said (to me), "O son! accompany me to Allah's Apostle." When I went with him, he said, "Call him to me." I called him (i.e. the Prophet) for my father. He came out wearing one of those cloaks and said, "We kept this (cloak) for you, (Makhrama)." Makhrama looked at the cloak and said, "Makhrama is pleased," (or the Prophet said), "Is Makhrama pleased?"

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 772:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A man came to Allah's Apostle and said, "I am ruined." The Prophet asked, "What do you mean?" He said, "I had a sexual intercourse with my wife during Ramadan (while fasting)." The Prophet asked him, "Can you manumit a slave?" He replied in the negative. He then asked him, "Can you fast for two successive months continuously" He replied in the negative. The Prophet then asked him, "Can you feed sixty poor persons?" He replied in the negative. In the meantime an Ansari came with a basket full of dates. The Prophet said to the man, "Take it and give it in charity (as an expiation of your sin)." The man said "Should I give it to some people who are poorer than we O Allah's Apostle? By Him Who has sent you with the Truth, there is no family between Medina's two mountains poorer than we." Allah's Apostle told him to take it and provide his family with it."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 773:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
My father was martyred on the day (of the battle) of Uhud and his creditors demanded the debt back in a harsh manner. So I went to Allah's Apostle and informed him of that, he asked them to accept the fruits of my garden and excuse my father, but they refused. So, Allah's Apostle did not give them the fruits, nor did he cut them and distribute them among them, but said, "I will come to you tomorrow morning." So, he came to us the next morning and walked about in between the date-palms and invoked Allah to bless their fruits. I plucked the fruits and gave back all the rights of the creditors in full, and a lot of fruits were left for us. Then I went to Allah's Apostle, who was sitting, and informed him about what happened. Allah's Apostle told Umar, who was sitting there, to listen to the story. Umar said, "Don't we know that you are Allah's Apostle? By Allah! you are Allah's Apostle!"

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 774:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
A drink (milk mixed with water) was brought to the Prophet who drank some of it while a boy was sitting on his right and old men on his left. The Prophet said to the boy, "If you permit me, I'll give (the rest of the drink to) these old men first." The boy said, "I will not give preference to any one over me as regards my share from you, O Allah's Apostle!" The Prophet then put that container in the boy's hand. (See Hadith No. 541).

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 775:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
I sold a camel to the Prophet on one of the journeys. When we reached Medina, he ordered me to go to the Mosque and offer two Rakat. Then he weighed for me (the price of the camel in gold) and gave an extra amount over it. A part of it remained with me till it was taken by the army of Sham on the day of Harra."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 776:
Narrated Shal bin Sad:
A drink (of milk and water) was brought to Allah's Apostle while a boy was sitting on his right side and old men were sitting on his left side. He asked the boy, "Will you allow me to give it to these (people)?" The boy said, "No, by Allah, I will not allow anyone to take my right from you." Then the Prophet put the bowl in the boy's hand.

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 777:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle owed a man some debt (and that man demanded it very harshly). The companions of the Prophet wanted to harm him, but the Prophet said to them, "Leave him, as the creditor has the right to speak harshly." He then added, "Buy (a camel) of the same age and give it to him." They said, "We cannot get except a camel of an older age than that of his." He said, "Buy it and give it to him, as the best amongst you is he who pays back his debt in the most handsome way.'

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 778:
Narrated Marwan bin Al-Hakam and Al-Miswar bin Makhrama:
When the delegates of the tribe of Hawazin came to the Prophet they requested him to return their property and their captives. He said to them, "This concerns also other people along with me as you see, and the best statement to me is the true one, so you may choose one of two alternatives; either the captives or the property and (I have not distributed the booty for) I have been waiting for you."
When the Prophet had returned from Ta'if, he waited for them for more than ten nights. When they came to know that the Prophet would not return except one of the two, they chose their captives. The Prophet then stood up amongst the Muslims, Glorified and Praised Allah as He deserved, and then said, "Then after: These brothers of yours have come to you with repentance and I see it proper to return their captives, so whoever amongst you likes to do that as a favor, then he can do it, and whoever of you wants to stick to his share till we pay him from the very first Fai (i.e. war booty) which Allah will give us, then he can do so." The people said, "We return (the captives) to them willingly as a favor, O Allah's Apostle!" The Prophet said, "I do not know who of you has given his consent and who has not; so go back and your leaders may present your decision to me." The people went away, and their leaders discussed the matter with them, and then came to the Prophet to tell him that all of them had given their consent (to return the captives) willingly. (Az-Zuhn, the sub-narrator said, "This is what we know about the captives, of Hawazin.")

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 779:
Narrated Ibn Abbas: That the people sitting with that person will be his co-owners. But this report is not confirmed by an authentic narration. (Refer to Hadith 778)

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 780:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet took a camel of special age from somebody on credit. Its owner came and demanded it back (harshly). The Prophet said, "No doubt, he who has a right, can demand it." Then the Prophet gave him an older camel than his camel and said, "The best amongst you is he who repays his debts in the most handsome way."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 781:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
That he was in the company of the Prophet on a journey, riding a troublesome camel belonging to Umar. The camel used to go ahead of the Prophet, so Ibn Umar's father would say, "O Abdullah! No one should go ahead of the Prophet." The Prophet said to him, "Sell it to me." Umar said to the Prophet "It is for you." So, he bought it and said, "O Abdullah! It is for you, and you can do with it what you like."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 782:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Umar bin Al-Khattab saw a silken dress (cloak) being sold at the gate of the Mosque and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Would that you buy it and wear it on Fridays and when the delegates come to you!" Allah's Apostle said, "This is worn by the one who will have no share in the Hereafter." Later on some silk dresses were brought and Allah's Apostle sent one of them to Umar. Umar said, "How do you give me this to wear while you said what you said about the dress of 'Utarid?" Allah's Apostle said, "I have not given it to you to wear." So, Umar gave it to a pagan brother of his in Mecca.

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 783:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Once the Prophet went to the house of Fatima but did not enter it. Ali came and she told him about that. When 'All asked the Prophet about it, he said, "I saw a (multi-colored) decorated curtain on her door. I am not interested in worldly things." Ali went to Fatima and told her about it. Fatima said, "I am ready to dispense with it in the way he suggests." The Prophet ordered her to send it to such-and-such needy people. "

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 784:
Narrated Ali:
The Prophet gave me a silken dress as a gift and I wore it. When I saw the signs of anger on his face, I cut it into pieces and distributed it among my wives."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 785:
Narrated Anas:
A Jubba (i.e. cloak) made of thick silken cloth was presented to the Prophet. The Prophet used to forbid people to wear silk. So, the people were pleased to see it. The Prophet said, "By Him in Whose Hands Mohammed's soul is,

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the handkerchiefs of Sad bin Mu'adh in Paradise are better than this." Anas added, "The present was sent to the Prophet by Ukaidir (a Christian) from Dauma."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 786:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
A Jewess brought a poisoned (cooked) sheep for the Prophet who ate from it. She was brought to the Prophet and he was asked, "Shall we kill her?" He said, "No." I continued to see the effect of the poison on the palate of the mouth of Allah's Apostle .

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 787:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Abu Bakr:
We were one-hundred and thirty persons accompanying the Prophet who asked us whether anyone of us had food. There was a man who had about a Sa of wheat which was mixed with water then. A very tall pagan came driving sheep. The Prophet asked him, "Will you sell us (a sheep) or give it as a present?" He said, "I will sell you (a sheep)." The Prophet bought a sheep and it was slaughtered. The Prophet ordered that its liver and other abdominal organs be roasted. By Allah, the Prophet gave every person of the one-hundred-and-thirty a piece of that; he gave all those of them who were present; and kept the shares of those who were absent.The Prophet then put its meat in two huge basins and all of them ate to their fill, and even then more food was left in the two basins which were carried on the camel (or said something like it).

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 788:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Umar saw a silken cloak over a man for sale and requested the Prophet to buy it in order to wear it on Fridays and while meeting delegates. The Prophet said, "This is worn by the one who will have no share in the Hereafter." Later on Allah's Apostle got some silken cloaks similar to that one, and he sent one to Umar. Umar said to the Prophet "How can I wear it, while you said about it what you said?" The Prophet said, "I have not given it to you to wear, but to sell or to give to someone else." So, Umar sent it to his brother at Mecca before he embraced Islam.

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 789:
Narrated Asma bint Abu Bakr:
My mother came to me during the lifetime of Allah's Apostle and she was a pagan. I said to Allah's Apostle (seeking his verdict), "My mother has come to me and she desires to receive a reward from me, shall I keep good relations with her?" The Prophet said, "Yes, keep good relation with her. "

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 790:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "He who takes back his present is like him who swallows his vomit."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 791:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "The bad example is not for us. He who takes back his present is like a dog that swallows back its vomit."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 792:
Narrated Umar bin Al-Khattab:
I gave a horse in Allah's Cause. The person to whom it was given, did not look after it. I intended to buy it from him, thinking that he would sell it cheap. When I asked the Prophet he said, "Don't buy it, even if he gives it to you for one Dirham, as the person who takes back what he has given in charity, is like a dog that swallows back its vomit."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 793:
Narrated Jabir: The Prophet gave the verdict that Umra is for the one to whom it is presented.

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 794:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Umra is permissible." Ata said, "Jabir narrated the same to me from the Prophet."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 795:
Narrated Anas:
Once the people of Medina were frightened, so the Prophet borrowed a horse from Abu Talha called Al-Mandub, and rode it. When he came back he said, "We have not seen anything (to be afraid of), but the horse was very fast (having an energy as inexhaustible as the water of the sea)."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 796:
Narrated Aiman:
I went to Aisha and she was wearing a coarse dress costing five Dirhams. Aisha said, "Look up and see my slave-girl who refuses to wear it in the house though during the lifetime of Allah's Apostle I had a similar dress which no woman desiring to appear elegant (before her husband) failed to borrow from me."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 797:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "What a good Maniha (the she-camel which has recently given birth and which gives profuse milk) is, and (what a good Maniha) (the sheep which gives profuse milk, a bowl in the morning and another in the evening) is!"

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 798:
Narrated Malik:
Maniha is a good deed of charity.

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 799:
Narrated Ibn Shihab Az-Zuhri:
Anas bin Malik said, "When the emigrants came Medina, they had nothing whereas the Ansar had land and property. The Ansar gave them their land on condition that the emigrants would give them half the yearly yield and work on the land and provide the necessaries for cultivation." His (i.e. Anas's mother who was also the mother of Abdullah bin Abu Talha, gave some date-palms to Allah' Apostle who gave them to his freed slave-girl (Um Aiman) who was also the mother of Usama bin Zaid. When the Prophet finished from the fighting against the people of Khaibar and returned to Medina, the emigrants returned to the Ansar the fruit gifts which the Ansar had given them. The Prophet also returned to Anas's mother the date-pallms. Allah's Apostle gave Um Aiman other trees from his garden in lieu of the old gift.

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 800:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
That Allah's Apostle said, "There are forty virtuous deeds and the best of them is the Maniha of a she-goat, and anyone who does one of these virtuous deeds hoping for Allah's reward with firm confidence that he will get it, then Allah will make him enter Paradise because of Hassan (a sub-narrator) said, "We tried to count those good deeds below the Maniha; we mentioned replying to the sneezer, removing harmful things from the road, etc., but we failed to count even fifteen."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 801:
Narrated Jabir:
Some men had superfluous land and they said that they would give it to others to cultivate on the condition that they would get one-third or one-fourth or one half of its yield. The Prophet said, "Whoever has land should cultivate it himself or give it to his brother or keep it uncultivated."
Narrated Abu Said: A bedouin came to the Prophet and asked him about emigration. The Prophet said to him, "May Allah be merciful to you. The matter of emigration is difficult. Have you got some camels?" He replied in the affirmative. The Prophet asked him, "Do you pay their Zakat?" He replied in the affirmative. He asked, "Do you lend them so that their milk may be utilized by others?" The bedouin said, "Yes." The Prophet asked, "Do you milk them on the day off watering them?" He replied, "Yes." The Prophet said, "Do good deeds beyond the merchants (or the sea) and Allah will never disregard any of your deeds." (See Hadith No. 260, Vol. 5)

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 802:
Narrated Tawus:
That he was told by the most learned one amongst them (i.e. Ibn Abbas) that the Prophet went towards some land which was flourishing with vegetation and asked to whom it belonged. He was told that such and such a person took it on rent. The Prophet said, "It would have been better (for the owner) if he had given it to him gratis rather than charging him a fixed rent.

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 803:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The Prophet Abraham migrated with Sarah. The people (of the town where they migrated) gave her Ajar (i.e. Hajar). Sarah returned and said to Abraham, "Do you know that Allah has humiliated that pagan and he has given a slave-girl for my service?"

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 804:
Narrated Umar bin Al-Khatab:
Once I gave a horse (for riding) in Allah's Cause. Later I saw it being sold. I asked Allah's Apostle (whether I could buy it). He said, "Don't buy it, for you should not get back what you have given in charity."

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 48:
Witnesses

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 805:
Narrated Urwa bin Al-Musayyab, Alqama bin Waqqas and Ubaidullah bin Abdullah:
About the story of Aisha and their narrations were similar attesting each other, when the liars said what they invented about Aisha, and the Divine Inspiration was delayed, Allah's Apostle sent for Ali and Usama to consult them in divorcing his wife (i.e. Aisha). Usama said, "Keep your wife, as we know nothing about her except good." Buraira said, "I cannot accuse her of any defect except that she is still a young girl who sleeps, neglecting her family's dough which the domestic goats come to eat (i.e. she was too simpleminded to deceive her husband)." Allah's Apostle said, "Who can help me to take revenge over the man who has harmed me by defaming the reputation of my family? By Allah, I have not known about my family-anything except good, and they mentioned (i.e. accused) a man about whom I did not know anything except good."

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 806:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle and Ubai bin Kab Al-Ansari went to the garden where Ibn Saiyad used to live. When Allah's Apostle entered (the garden), he (i.e. Allah's Apostle) started hiding himself behind the datepalms as he wanted to hear secretly the talk of Ibn Saiyad before the latter saw him. Ibn Saiyad wrapped with a soft decorated sheet was lying on his bed murmuring. Ibn Saiyad's mother saw the Prophet hiding behind the stems of the date-palms. She addressed Ibn Saiyad saying, "O Saf, this is Mohammed." Hearing that Ibn Saiyad stopped murmuring (or got cautious), the Prophet said, "If she had left him undisturbed, he would have revealed his reality." (See Hadith No. 290, Vol 4 for details)

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 807:
Narrated Aisha:
The wife of Rifa'a Al-Qurazi came to the Prophet and said, "I was Rifa'a's wife, but he divorced me and it was a final irrevocable divorce. Then I married AbdurRahman bin Az-Zubair but he is impotent." The Prophet asked her 'Do you want to remarry Rifa'a? You cannot unless you had a complete sexual relation with your present husband." Abu Bakr was sitting with Allah's Apostle and Khalid bin Said bin Al-'As was at the door waiting to be admitted. He said, "O Abu Bakr! Do you hear what this (woman) is revealing frankly before the Prophet ?"

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 808:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abu Mulaika from Uqba bin Al-Harith:
Uqba married the daughter of Abu Ihab bin Aziz, and then a woman came and said, "I suckled Uqba and his wife." Uqba said to her, "I do not know that you have suckled me, and you did not inform me." He then sent someone to the house of Abu Ihab to enquire about that but they did not know that she had suckled their daughter. Then Uqba went to the Prophet in Medina and asked him about it. The Prophet said to him, "How (can you keep your wife) after it has been said (that both of you were suckled by the same woman)?" So, he divorced her and she was married to another (husband).

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 809:
Narrated Umar bin Al-Khattab:
People were (sometimes) judged by the revealing of a Divine Inspiration during the lifetime of Allah's Apostle but now there is no longer any more (new revelation). Now we judge you by the deeds you practice publicly, so we will trust and favor the one who does good deeds in front of us, and we will not call him to account about what he is really doing in secret, for Allah will judge him for that; but we will not trust or believe the one who presents to us with an evil deed even if he claims that his intentions were good.

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 810:
Narrated Anas:
A funeral procession passed in front of the Prophet and the people praised the deceased. The Prophet said, "It has been affirmed (Paradise)." Then another funeral procession passed by and the people talked badly of the deceased. The Prophet said, "It has been affirmed (Hell)." Allah's Apostle was asked, "O Allah's Apostle! You said it has been affirmed for both?" The Prophet said, "The testimony of the people (is accepted), (for) the believer are Allah's witnesses on the earth."

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 811:
Narrated Abu Al-Aswad:
Once I went to Medina where there was an outbreak of disease and the people were dying rapidly. I was sitting with Umar and a funeral procession passed by. The people praised the deceased. Umar said, "It has been affirmed" (Paradise). Then another funeral procession passed by. The people praised the deceased. Umar said, "It has been affirmed." (Paradise). Then another funeral procession passed by. The people praised the deceased. Umar said, "It has been affirmed (Paradise)." Then a third funeral procession passed by and the people talked badly of the deceased. Umar said, "It has been affirmed (Hell)." I asked Umar, "O chief of the believers!

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What has been affirmed?" He said, "I have said what the Prophet said. He said, 'Allah will admit into paradise any Muslim whose good character is attested by four persons.' We asked the Prophet, 'If there were three witnesses only?' He said, 'Even three.' We asked, 'If there were two only?' He said, 'Even two.' But we did not ask him about one witness."

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 812:
Narrated Aisha:
Aflah asked the permission to visit me but I did not allow him. He said, "Do you veil yourself before me although I am your uncle?" Aisha said, "How is that?" Aflah replied, "You were suckled by my brother's wife with my brother's milk." I asked Allah's Apostle about it, and he said, "Allah is right, so permit him to visit you."

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 813:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said about Hamza's daughter, "I am not legally permitted to marry her, as foster relations are treated like blood relations (in marital affairs). She is the daughter of my foster brother."

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 814:
Narrated Amra bint Abdur-Rahman:
That Aisha the wife of the Prophet told her uncle that once, while the Prophet was in her house, she heard a man asking Hafsa's permission to enter her house. Aisha said, "I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! I think the man is Hafsa's foster uncle.' " Aisha added, "O Allah's Apostle! There is a man asking the permission to enter your house." Allah's Apostle replied, "I think the man is Hafsa's foster uncle." Aisha said, "If so-and-so were living (i.e. her foster uncle) would he be allowed to visit me?" Allah's Apostle said, "Yes, he would, as the foster relations are treated like blood relations (in marital affairs)."

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 815:
Narrated Aisha:
Once the Prophet came to me while a man was in my house. He said, "O Aisha! Who is this (man)?" I replied, "My foster brothers" He said, "O Aisha! Be sure about your foster brothers, as fostership is only valid if it takes place in the suckling period (before two years of age)."

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 816:
Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair:
A woman committed theft in the Ghazwa of the Conquest (of Mecca) and she was taken to the Prophet who ordered her hand to be cut off. Aisha said, "Her repentance was perfect and she was married (later) and used to come to me (after that) and I would present her needs to Allah's Apostle."

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 817:
Narrated Zaid bin Khalid:
Allah's Apostle ordered that an unmarried man who committed illegal sexual intercourse be scourged one hundred lashes and sent into exile for one year.

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 818:
Narrated An-Nu'man bin Bashir:
My mother asked my father to present me a gift from his property; and he gave it to me after some hesitation. My mother said that she would not be satisfied unless the Prophet was made a witness to it. I being a young boy, my father held me by the hand and took me to the Prophet . He said to the Prophet, "His mother, bint Rawaha, requested me to give this boy a gift." The Prophet said, "Do you have other sons besides him?" He said, "Yes." The Prophet said, "Do not make me a witness for injustice." Narrated Ash-Shabi that the Prophet said, "I will not become a witness for injustice."

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 819:
Narrated Zahdam bin Mudrab:
I heard Imran bin Husain saying, "The Prophet said, 'The best people are those living in my generation, then those coming after them, and then those coming after (the second generation)." Imran said "I do not know whether the Prophet mentioned two or three generations after your present generation. The Prophet added, 'There will be some people after you, who will be dishonest and will not be trustworthy and will give witness (evidences) without being asked to give witness, and will vow but will not fulfill their vows, and fatness will appear among them."

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 820:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "The people of my generation are the best, then those who follow them, and then whose who follow the latter. After that there will come some people whose witness will go ahead of their oaths, and their oaths will go ahead of their witness." Ibrahim (a sub-narrator) said, "We used to be beaten for taking oaths by saying, 'I bear witness by the Name of Allah or by the Covenant of Allah."

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 821:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet was asked about the great sins He said, "They are:--
(1) To join others in worship with Allah,
(2) To be undutiful to one's parents.
(3) To kill a person (which Allah has forbidden to kill) (i.e. to commit the crime of murdering).
(4) And to give a false witness."

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 822:
Narrated Abu Bakra:
The Prophet said thrice, "Should I inform you out the greatest of the great sins?" They said, "Yes, O Allah's Apostle!" He said, "To join others in worship with Allah and to be undutiful to one's parents." The Prophet then sat up after he had been reclining (on a pillow) and said, "And I warn you against giving a false witness, and he kept on saying that warning till we thought he would not stop. (See Hadith No. 7, Vol. 8)

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 823:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet heard a man (reciting Koran) in the Mosque, and he said, "May Allah bestow His Mercy upon him. No doubt, he made me remember such-and such Verses of such-and-such Sura which I dropped (from my memory).
Narrated Aisha: The Prophet performed the Tahajjud prayer in my house, and then he heard the voice of Abbas who was praying in the Mosque, and said, "O Aisha! Is this 'Abbad's voice?" I said, "Yes." He said, "O Allah! Be merciful to Abbas!"

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 824:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
The Prophet said, "Bilal pronounces the Adhan when it is still night (before dawn), so eat and drink till the next Adhan is pronounced (or till you hear Ibn Um Maktum's Adhan)." Ibn Um Maktum was a blind man who would not pronounce the Adhan till he was told that it was dawn.

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 825:
Narrated Al-Miswar bin Makhrama:
Some outer garments were received the Prophet and my father (Makhrama) said to me, "Let us go to the Prophet so that he may give us something from the garments." So, my father stood at the door and spoke. The Prophet recognized his voice and came out carrying a garment and telling Makhrama the good qualities of that garment, adding, "I have kept this for you, I have sent this for you."

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 826:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
The Prophet said, "Isn't the witness of a woman equal to half of that of a man?" The women said, "Yes." He said, "This is because of the deficiency of a woman's mind."

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 827:
Narrated Uqba bin Al-Harith:
That he had married Um Yahya bint Abu Ihab. He said. "A black slave-lady came and said, 'I suckled you both.' I then mentioned that to the Prophet who turned his face aside." Uqba further said, "I went to the other side and told the Prophet about it. He said, 'How can you (keep her as your wife) when the lady has said that she suckled both of you (i.e. you and your wife?)" So, the Prophet ordered him to divorce her.
Volume 3, Book 48, Number 828:
Narrated Uqba bin Al-Harith:
I married a woman and later on a woman came and said, "I suckled you both." So, I went to the Prophet (to ask him about it). He said, "How can you (keep her as a wife) when it has been said (that you were foster brother and sister)? Leave (divorce) her.

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 829:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) "Whenever Allah's Apostle intended to go on a journey, he would draw lots amongst his wives and would take with him the one upon whom the lot fell. During a Ghazwa of his, he drew lots amongst us and the lot fell upon me, and I proceeded with him after Allah had decreed the use of the veil by women. I was carried in a Howdah (on the camel) and dismounted while still in it. When Allah's Apostle was through with his Ghazwa and returned home, and we approached the city of Medina, Allah's Apostle ordered us to proceed at night. When the order of setting off was given, I walked till I was past the army to answer the call of nature. After finishing I returned (to the camp) to depart (with the others) and suddenly realized that my necklace over my chest was missing. So, I returned to look for it and was delayed because of that. The people who used to carry me on the camel, came to my Howdah and put it on the back of the camel, thinking that I was in it, as, at that time, women were light in weight, and thin and lean, and did not use to eat much. So, those people did not feel the difference in the heaviness of the Howdah while lifting it, and they put it over the camel. At that time I was a young lady. They set the camel moving and proceeded on. I found my necklace after the army had gone, and came to their camp to find nobody. So, I went to the place where I used to stay, thinking that they would discover my absence and come back in my search. While in that state, I felt sleepy and slept.
Safwan bin Mu'attal As-Sulami Adh-Dhakwani was behind the army and reached my abode in the morning. When he saw a sleeping person, he came to me, and he used to see me before veiling. So, I got up when I heard him saying, "Inna lil-lah-wa inn a ilaihi rajiun (We are for Allah, and we will return to Him)." He made his camel knell down. He got down from his camel, and put his leg on the front legs of the camel and then I rode and sat over it. Safwan set out walking, leading the camel by the rope till we reached the army who had halted to take rest at midday. Then whoever was meant for destruction, fell into destruction, (some people accused me falsely) and the leader of the false accusers was Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul. After that we returned to Medina, and I became ill for one month while the people were spreading the forged statements of the false accusers. I was feeling during my ailment as if I were not receiving the usual kindness from the Prophet which I used to receive from him when I got sick. But he would come, greet and say, 'How is that (girl)?' I did not know anything of what was going on till I recovered from my ailment and went out with Um Mistah to the Manasi where we used to answer the call of nature, and we used not to go to answer the call of nature except from night to night and that was before we had lavatories near to our houses. And this habit of ours was similar to the habit of the old 'Arabs in the open country (or away from houses). So. I and Um Mistah bint Ruhm went out walking. Um Mistah stumbled because of her long dress and on that she said, 'Let Mistah be ruined.' I said, 'You are saying a bad word. Why are you abusing a man who took part in (the battle of) Badr?' She said, 'O Hanata (you there) didn't you hear what they said?' Then she told me the rumors of the false accusers.
My sickness was aggravated, and when I returned home, Allah's Apostle came to me, and after greeting he said, 'How is that (girl)?' I requested him to allow me to go to my parents. I wanted then to be sure of the news through them I Allah's Apostle allowed me, and I went to my parents and asked my mother, 'What are the people talking about?' She said, 'O my daughter! Don't worry much about this matter. By Allah, never is there a charming woman loved by her husband who has other wives, but the women would forge false news about her.' I said, 'Glorified be Allah! Are the people really taking of this matter?' That night I kept on weeping and could not sleep till morning. In the morning Allah's Apostle called Ali bin Abu Talib and Usama bin Zaid when he saw the Divine Inspiration delayed, to consul them about divorcing his wife (i.e. Aisha). Usama bin Zaid said what he knew of the good reputation of his wives and added, 'O Allah's Apostle! Keep you wife, for, by Allah, we know nothing about her but good.' Ali bin Abu Talib said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Allah has no imposed restrictions on you, and there are many women other than she, yet you may ask the woman-servant who will tell you the truth.' On that Allah's Apostle called Buraira and said, 'O Burair. Did you ever see anything which roused your suspicions about her?' Buraira said, 'No, by Allah Who has sent you with the Truth, I have never seen in her anything faulty except that she is a girl of immature age, who sometimes sleeps and leaves the dough for the goats to eat.' On that day Allah's Apostle ascended the pulpit and requested that somebody support him in punishing Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul. Allah's Apostle said, 'Who will support me to punish that person (Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul) who has hurt me by slandering the reputation of my family? By Allah, I know nothing about my family but good, and they have accused a person about whom I know nothing except good, and he never entered my house except in my company.'
Sad bin Mu'adh got up and said, 'O Allah's Apostle! by Allah, I will relieve you from him. If that man is from the tribe of the Aus, then we will chop his head off, and if he is from our brothers, the Khazraj, then order us, and we will fulfill your order.' On that Sad bin 'Ubada, the chief of the Khazraj and before this incident, he had been a pious man, got up, motivated by his zeal for his tribe and said, 'By Allah, you have told a lie; you cannot kill him, and you will never be able to kill him.' On that Usaid bin Al-Hadir got up and said (to Sad bin 'Ubada), 'By Allah! you are a liar. By Allah, we will kill him; and you are a hypocrite, defending the hypocrites.' On this the two tribes of Aus and Khazraj got excited and were about to fight each other, while Allah's Apostle was standing on the pulpit. He got down and quietened them till they became silent and he kept quiet. On that day I kept on weeping so much so that neither did my tears stop, nor could I sleep.
In the morning my parents were with me and I had wept for two nights and a day, till I thought my liver would burst from weeping. While they were sitting with me and I was weeping,

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an Ansari woman asked my permission to enter, and I allowed her to come in. She sat down and started weeping with me. While we were in this state, Allah's Apostle came and sat down and he had never sat with me since the day they forged the accusation. No revelation regarding my case came to him for a month. He recited Tashah-hud (i.e. None has the right to be worshipped but Allah and Mohammed is His Apostle) and then said, 'O Aisha! I have been informed such-and-such about you; if you are innocent, then Allah will soon reveal your innocence, and if you have committed a sin, then repent to Allah and ask Him to forgive you, for when a person confesses his sin and asks Allah for forgiveness, Allah accepts his repentance.' When Allah's Apostle finished his speech my tears ceased completely and there remained not even a single drop of it. I requested my father to reply to Allah's Apostle on my behalf. My father said, By Allah, I do not know what to say to Allah's Apostle.' I said to my mother, 'Talk to Allah's Apostle on my behalf.' She said, 'By Allah, I do not know what to say to Allah's Apostle.

I was a young girl and did not have much knowledge of the Koran. I said. 'I know, by Allah, that you have listened to what people are saying and that has been planted in your minds and you have taken it as a truth. Now, if I told you that I am innocent and Allah knows that I am innocent, you would not believe me and if I confessed to you falsely that I am guilty, and Allah knows that I am innocent you would believe me. By Allah, I don't compare my situation with you except to the situation of Joseph's father (i.e. Jacob) who said, 'So (for me) patience is most fitting against that which you assert and it is Allah (Alone) whose help can be sought.' Then I turned to the other side of my bed hoping that Allah would prove my innocence. By Allah I never thought that Allah would reveal Divine Inspiration in my case, as I considered myself too inferior to be talked of in the Holy Koran. I had hoped that Allah's Apostle might have a dream in which Allah would prove my innocence. By Allah, Allah's Apostle had not got up and nobody had left the house before the Divine Inspiration came to Allah's Apostle. So, there overtook him the same state which used to overtake him, (when he used to have, on being inspired divinely). He was sweating so much so that the drops of the sweat were dropping like pearls though it was a (cold) wintry day. When that state of Allah's Apostle was over, he was smiling and the first word he said, Aisha! Thank Allah, for Allah has declared your innocence.' My mother told me to go to Allah's Apostle . I replied, 'By Allah I will not go to him and will not thank but Allah.' So Allah revealed: "Verily! They who spread the slander are a gang among you . . ." (24.11)

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

"And let not those who are good and wealthy among you swear not to help their kinsmen, those in need and those who left their homes in Allah's Cause. Let them forgive and overlook. Do you not wish that Allah should forgive you? Verily! Allah is Oft-forgiving, Most Merciful." (24.22) After that Abu Bakr said, 'Yes ! By Allah! I like that Allah should forgive me,' and resumed helping Mistah whom he used to help before. Allah's Apostle also asked Zainab bint Jahsh (i.e. the Prophet's wife about me saying, 'What do you know and what did you see?' She replied, 'O Allah's Apostle! I refrain to claim hearing or seeing what I have not heard or seen. By Allah, I know nothing except goodness about Aisha." Aisha further added "Zainab was competing with me (in her beauty and the Prophet's love), yet Allah protected her (from being malicious), for she had piety."

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 830:
Narrated Abu Bakra:
A man praised another man in front of the Prophet . The Prophet said to him, "Woe to you, you have cut off your companion's neck, you have cut off your companion's neck," repeating it several times and then added, "Whoever amongst you has to praise his brother should say, 'I think that he is so and so, and Allah knows exactly the truth, and I do not confirm anybody's good conduct before Allah, but I think him so and so,' if he really knows what he says about him."

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 831:
Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ashari:
The Prophet heard someone praising another and exaggerating in his praise. The Prophet said, "You have ruined or cut the man's back (by praising him so much).

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 832:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle called me to present myself in front of him or the eve of the battle of Uhud, while I was fourteen years of age at that time, and he did not allow me to take part in that battle, but he called me in front of him on the eve of the battle of the Trench when I was fifteen years old, and he allowed me (to join the battle)." Nafi said, "I went to Umar bin Abdul Aziz who was Caliph at that time and related the above narration to him, He said, "This age (fifteen) is the limit between childhood and manhood," and wrote to his governors to give salaries to those who reached the age of fifteen.

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 833:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
The Prophet said, "Bath on Friday is compulsory for those who have attained the age of puberty."

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 834:
Narrated Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle said, "If somebody takes a false oath in order to get the property of a Muslim (unjustly) by that oath, then Allah will be angry with him when he will meet Him." Al-Ash'ath informed me, "By Allah! This was said regarding me. There was a dispute about a piece of land between me and a man from the Jews who denied my right. I took him to the Prophet. Allah's Apostle asked me, 'Do you have an evidence?' I replied in the negative. He said to the Jew, 'Take an oath.' I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! He will surely take an oath and take my property unjustly." So, Allah revealed: "Verily! Those who purchase a little gain at the cost of Allah's covenant and their oaths . . . " (3.77)

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 835:
Narrated Ibn Abu Mulaika:
Ibn Abbas wrote that the Prophet gave his verdict on the basis of the defendant's oath.

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 836:
Narrated Abu Wail:
Abdullah (bin Mas'ud) said, "Whoever takes a (false) oath in order to grab some property (unjustly), Allah will be angry with him when he will meet Him. Allah confirmed that through His Divine Revelation: "Verily! Those who purchase a little gain at the cost of Allah's covenant and their oaths . . . they will have a painful punishment." (3.77)

Al-Ash'ath bin Qais came to us and asked, 'What is Abu Abdur-Rahman (i.e. Abdullah) telling you? 'We told him what he was narrating to us. He said, 'He was telling the truth; this Divine Verse was revealed in connection with me. There was a dispute between me and another man about something and the case was filed before Allah's Apostle who said, 'Produce your two witnesses or else the defendant is to take an oath.' I said, The defendant will surely take a (false) oath caring for nothing.' The Prophet said, 'Whoever takes a false oath in order to grab (other's) property, then Allah will be angry with him when he will meet Him.' Then Allah revealed its confirmation. Al-Ashath then recited the above Divine Verse." (3.77)

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 837:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Hilal bin Umaiya accused his wife before the Prophet of committing illegal sexual intercourse with Sharik bin Sahma.' The Prophet said, "Produce a proof, or else you would get the legal punishment (by being lashed) on your back." Hilal said, "O Allah's Apostle! If anyone of us saw another man over his wife, would he go to search for a proof." The Prophet went on saying, "Produce a proof or else you would get the legal punishment (by being lashed) on your back." The Prophet then mentioned the narration of Lian (as in the Holy Book). (Surat-al-Nur: 24)

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 838:
Narrated Abu Huraira: Allah's Apostle said, "There are three persons whom Allah will neither talk to nor look at, nor purify from (the sins), and they will have a painful punishment. (They are):

(1) A man possessed superfluous water on a way and he withheld it from the travelers.

(2) a man who gives a pledge of allegiance to a Muslim ruler and gives it only for worldly gains. If the ruler gives him what he wants, he remains obedient to It, otherwise he does not abide by it, and

(3) a man bargains with another man after the Asr prayer and the latter takes a false oath in the Name of Allah) claiming that he has been offered so much for the thing and the former (believes him and) buys it."

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 839:
Narrated Ibn Mas'ud:
The Prophet said, "Whoever takes a (false) oath in order to grab (others) property, then Allah will be angry with him when he will meet Him."

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 840:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet asked some people to take an oath, and they hurried for it. The Prophet ordered that lots should be drawn amongst them as to who would take an oath first.

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 841:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abu Aufa:
A man displayed some goods in the market and took a false oath that he had been offered so much for them though he was not offered that amount Then the following Divine Verse was revealed:-- "Verily! Those who purchase a little gain at the cost of Allah's covenant and their oaths . . . Will get painful punishment." (3.77) Ibn Abu Aufa added, "Such person as described above is a treacherous Riba-eater (i.e. eater of usury).

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 842:
Narrated Abu Wail from Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "Whoever takes a false oath in order to grab another man's (or his brother's) property, then Allah will be angry with him when he will meet him." Then Allah confirmed this by revealing the Divine Verse: "Verily! Those who purchase a little gain at the cost of Allah's Covenant and their oaths . . . Will get painful punishment." (3.77) Al-Ash'ath met me and asked, "What did Abdullah tell you today?" I said, "So and so." He said, "The Verse was revealed regarding my case."

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 843:
Narrated Talha bin Ubaidullah:
A man came to Allah's Apostle asking him about Islam, Allah's Apostle said, "You have to offer five compulsory prayers in a day and a night (24 hours)." The man asked, "Is there any more compulsory prayers for me?" Allah's Apostle said, "No, unless you like to offer Nawafil (i.e. optional prayers)." Allah's Apostle then added, "You have to observe fasts during the month of Ramadan." The man said, "Am I to fast any other days?' Allah's Apostle said, "No, unless you wish to observe the optional fast voluntarily." Then Allah's Apostle told him about the compulsory Zakat. The man asked, "Do I have to give anything besides?" Allah's Apostle said, "No, unless you wish to give in charity voluntarily." So, the man departed saying, "By Allah I will neither do more nor less than that." Allah's Apostle said, "If he has said the truth he will be successful."

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 844:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "Whoever has to take an oath should swear by Allah or remain silent." (i.e. He should not swear by other than Allah.)

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 845:
Narrated Um Salama:
Once Allah's Apostle said, "You people present your cases to me and some of you may be more eloquent and persuasive in presenting their argument. So, if I give some one's right to another (wrongly) because of the latter's (tricky) presentation of the case, I am really giving him a piece of fire; so he should not take it."

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 846:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
Abu Sufyan told me that Heraclius said to him, "When I enquired you what he (i.e. Mohammed) ordered you, you replied that he ordered you to establish the prayer, to speak the truth, to be chaste, to keep promises and to pay back trusts." Then Heraclius added, "These are really the qualities of a prophet."

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 847:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The signs of a hypocrite are three:
(1) whenever he speaks, he tells a lie,
(2) whenever he is entrusted, he proves to be dishonest,
(3) whenever he promises, he breaks his promise.

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 848:
Narrated Mohammed bin Ali:
Jabir bin Abdullah said, "When the Prophet died, Abu Bakr received some property from Al-Ala bin Al-Hadrami. Abu Bakr said to the people, "Whoever has a money claim on the Prophet, or was promised something by him, should come to us (so that we may pay him his right)." Jabir added, "I said (to Abu Bakr), Allah's Apostle promised me that he would give me this much, and this much, and this much (spreading his hands three times)." Jabir added, "Abu Bakr counted for me and handed me five-hundred (gold pieces), and then five-hundred, and then five-hundred."

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 849:
Narrated Said bin Jubair:
A Jew from Hira asked me which one of the two periods Musa (i.e. Prophet Moses) completed. I said, "I don't know, (but wait) till I see the most learned 'Arab and enquire him about it." So, I went to Ibn Abbas and asked him. He replied, "Moses completed the longer and better period." Ibn Abbas

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added, "No doubt, an apostle of Allah always does what he says."

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 850:
Narrated Ubaidullah bin Abdullah bin Utba:
Ibn Abbas said, "O Muslims? How do you ask the people of the Scriptures, though your Book (i.e. the Koran) which was revealed to His Prophet is the most recent information from Allah and you recite it, the Book that has not been distorted? Allah has revealed to you that the people of the scriptures have changed with their own hands what was revealed to them and they have said (as regards their changed Scriptures): This is from Allah, in order to get some worldly benefit thereby." Ibn Abbas added: "Isn't the knowledge revealed to you sufficient to prevent you from asking them? By Allah I have never seen any one of them asking (Muslims) about what has been revealed to you."

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 851:
Narrated An-Nu'man bin Bashir:
The Prophet said, "The example of the person abiding by Allah's orders and limits (or the one who abides by the limits and regulations prescribed by Allah) in comparison to the one who do wrong and violate Allah's limits and orders is like the example of people drawing lots for seats in a boat. Some of them got seats in the upper part while the others in the lower part ; those in the, lower part have to pass by those in the upper one to get water, and that troubled the latter. One of them (i.e. the people in the lower part) took an axe and started making a hole in the bottom of the boat. The people of the upper part came and asked him, (saying), 'What is wrong with you?' He replied, "You have been troubled much by my (coming up to you), and I have to get water.' Now if they prevent him from doing that they will save him and themselves, but if they leave him (to do what he wants), they will destroy him and themselves."

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 852:
Narrated Um Al-Ala:
That when the Ansar drew lots as to which of the emigrants should dwell with which of the Ansar, the name of Uthman bin Mazun came out (to be in their lot). Um Al-Ala further said, "Uthman stayed with us, and we nursed him when he got sick, but he died. We shrouded him in his clothes, and Allah's Apostle came to our house and I said, (addressing the dead Uthman), 'O Abu As-Sa'ib! May Allah be merciful to you. I testify that Allah has blessed you.' The Prophet said to me, "How do you know that Allah has blessed him?" I replied, 'I do not know O Allah's Apostle! May my parents be sacrificed for you.' Allah's Apostle said, 'As regards Uthman, by Allah he has died and I really wish him every good, yet, by Allah, although I am Allah's Apostle, I do not know what will be done to him.' Um Al-Ala added, 'By Allah I shall never attest the piety of anybody after him. And what Allah's Apostles said made me sad." Um Al-Ala further said, "Once I slept and saw in a dream, a flowing stream for Uthman. So I went to Allah's Apostle and told him about it, he said, 'That is (the symbol of) his deeds."

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 853:
Narrated Aisha:
Whenever Allah's Apostle intended to go on a journey, he used to draw lots among his wives and would take with him the one on whom the lot fell. He also used to fix for everyone of his wives a day and a night, but Sauda bint Zam'a gave her day and night to Aisha, the wife of the Prophet intending thereby to please Allah's Apostle.

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 854:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "If the people knew what is the reward of making the call (for the prayer) and (of being in) the first row (in the prayer), and if they found no other way to get this privilege except by casting lots, they would certainly cast lots for it. If they knew the reward of the noon prayer, they would race for it, and if they knew the reward of the morning (i.e. Fajr) and Isha prayers, they would present themselves for the prayer even if they had to crawl to reach there.

Translation of Sahih Bukhari, Book 49:
Peacemaking

Volume 3, Book 49, Number 855:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
There was a dispute amongst the people of the tribe of Bani Amr bin 'Auf. The Prophet went to them along with some of his companions in order to make peace between them. The time for the prayer became due but the Prophet did not turn up; Bilal pronounced the Adhan (i.e. call) for the prayer but the Prophet did not turn up, so Bilal went to Abu Bakr and said, "The time for the prayer is due and the Prophet i detained, would you lead the people in the prayer?" Abu Bakr replied, "Yes, you wish." So, Bilal pronounced the Iqama of the prayer and Abu Bakr went ahead (to lead the prayer), but the Prophet came walking among the rows till he joined the first row. The people started clapping and they clapped too much, and Abu Bakr used not to look hither and thither in the prayer, but he turned round and saw the Prophet standing behind him. The Prophet beckoned him with his hand to keep on praying where he was. Abu Bakr raised his hand and praised Allah and then retreated till he came in the (first) row, and the Prophet went ahead and lead the people in the prayer. When the Prophet finished the prayer, he turned towards the people and said, "O people! When something happens to you during the prayer, you start clapping. Really clapping is (permissible) for women only. If something happens to one of you in his prayer, he should say: 'Subhan Allah', (Glorified be Allah), for whoever hears him (saying so) will direct his attention towards him. O Abu Bakr! What prevented you from leading the people in the prayer when I beckoned to you (to continue)?" Abu Bakr replied, "It did not befit the son of Abu Quhafa to lead the prayer in front of the Prophet.

Volume 3, Book 49, Number 856:
Narrated Anas:
It was said to the Prophet "Would that you see Abdullah bin Ubai." So, the Prophet went to him, riding a donkey, and the Muslims accompanied him, walking on salty barren land. When the Prophet reached Abdullah bin Ubai, the latter said, "Keep away from me! By Allah, the bad smell of your donkey has harmed me." On that an Ansari man said (to Abdullah), "By Allah! The smell of the donkey of Allah's Apostle is better than your smell." On that a man from Abdullah's tribe got angry for Abdullah's sake, and the two men abused each other which caused the friends of the two men to get angry, and the two groups started fighting with sticks, shoes and hands. We were informed that the following Divine Verse was revealed (in this concern):-- "And if two groups of Believers fall to fighting then, make peace between them." (49.9)

Volume 3, Book 49, Number 857:
Narrated Um Kulthum bint Uqba:
That she heard Allah's Apostle saying, "He who makes peace between the people by inventing good information or saying good things, is not a liar."

Volume 3, Book 49, Number 858:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
Once the people of Quba fought with each other till they threw stones on each other. When Allah's Apostle was informed about it, he said, "Let us go to bring about a reconciliation between them."

Volume 3, Book 49, Number 859:
Narrated Aisha:
The following Verse: If a woman fears cruelty or desertion on her husband's part (i.e. the husband notices something unpleasant about his wife, such as old age or the like, and wants to divorce her, but she asks him to keep her and provide for her as he wishes). (4.128) "There is no blame on them if they reconcile on such basis."

Volume 3, Book 49, Number 860:
Narrated Abu Huraira and Zaid bin Khalid Al-Juhani:
A bedouin came and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Judge between us according to Allah's Laws." His opponent got up and said, "He is right. Judge between us according to Allah's Laws." The bedouin said, "My son was a laborer working for this man, and he committed illegal sexual intercourse with his wife. The people told me that my son should be stoned to death; so, in lieu of that, I paid a ransom of one hundred sheep and a slave girl to save my son. Then I asked the learned scholars who said, "Your son has to be lashed one-hundred lashes and has to be exiled for one year." The Prophet said, "No doubt I will judge between you according to Allah's Laws. The slave-girl and the sheep are to go back to you, and your son will get a hundred lashes and one year exile." He then addressed somebody, "O Unais! go to the wife of this (man) and stone her to death" So, Unais went and stoned her to death.

Volume 3, Book 49, Number 861:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle said, "If somebody innovates something which is not in harmony with the principles of our religion, that thing is rejected."

Volume 3, Book 49, Number 862:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
When Allah's Apostle concluded a peace treaty with the people of Hudaibiya, Ali bin Abu Talib wrote the document and he mentioned in it, "Mohammed, Allah's Apostle ." The pagans said, "Don't write: 'Mohammed, Allah's Apostle', for if you were an apostle we would not fight with you." Allah's Apostle asked Ali to rub it out, but Ali said, "I will not be the person to rub it out." Allah's Apostle rubbed it out and made peace with them on the condition that the Prophet and his companions would enter Mecca and stay there for three days, and that they would enter with their weapons in cases.

Volume 3, Book 49, Number 863:
Narrated Al-Bara:
When the Prophet intended to perform Umra in the month of Dhul-Qada, the people of Mecca did not let him enter Mecca till he settled the matter with them by promising to stay in it for three days only. When the document of treaty was written, the following was mentioned: 'These are the terms on which Mohammed, Allah's Apostle agreed (to make peace).' They said, "We will not agree to this, for if we believed that you are Allah's Apostle we would not prevent you, but you are Mohammed bin Abdullah." The Prophet said, "I am Allah's Apostle and also Mohammed bin Abdullah." Then he said to Ali, "Rub off (the words) 'Allah's Apostle' ", but Ali said, "No, by Allah, I will never rub off your name." So, Allah's Apostle took the document and wrote, 'This is what Mohammed bin Abdullah has agreed upon: No arms will be brought into Mecca except in their cases, and nobody from the people of Mecca will be allowed to go with him (i.e. the Prophet) even if he wished to follow him and he (the Prophet) will not prevent any of his companions from staying in Mecca if the latter wants to stay.' When the Prophet entered Mecca and the time limit passed, the Meccans went to Ali and said, "Tell your Friend (i.e. the Prophet) to go out, as the period (agreed to) has passed." So, the Prophet went out of Mecca. The daughter of Hamza ran after them (i.e. the Prophet and his companions), calling, "O Uncle! O Uncle!" Ali received her and led her by the hand and said to Fatima, "Take your uncle's daughter." Zaid and Jafar quarrel ed about her. Ali said, "I have more right to her as she is my uncle's daughter." Jafar said, "She is my uncle's daughter, and her aunt is my wife." Zaid said, "She is my brother's daughter." The Prophet judged that she should be given to her aunt, and said that the aunt was like the mother. He then said to 'All, "You are from me and I am from you", and said to Jafar, "You resemble me both in character and appearance", and said to Zaid, "You are our brother (in faith) and our freed slave."

Volume 3, Book 49, Number 864:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle set out for the Umra but the pagans of Quraish prevented him from reaching the Kaaba. So, he slaughtered his sacrifice and got his head shaved at Al-Hudaibiya, and agreed with them that he would perform Umra the following year and would not carry weapons except swords and would not stay in Mecca except for the period they al lowed. So, the Prophet performed the Umra in the following year and entered Mecca according to the treaty, and when he stayed for three days, the pagans ordered him to depart, and he departed.

Volume 3, Book 49, Number 865:
Narrated Sahl bin Abu Hathma:
Abdullah bin Sahl and Muhaiyisa bin Mas'ud bin Zaid went to Khaibar when it had a peace treaty (with the Muslims).

Volume 3, Book 49, Number 866:
Narrated Anas:
Ar-Rabi, the daughter of An-Nadr broke the tooth of a girl, and the relatives of Ar-Rabi requested the girl's relatives to accept the Irsh (compensation for wounds etc.) and forgive (the offender), but they refused. So, they went to the Prophet who ordered them to bring about retaliation. Anas bin An-Nadr asked, "O Allah"; Apostle! Will the tooth of Ar-Rabi be broken? No, by Him Who has sent you with the Truth, her tooth will not be broken." The Prophet said, "O Anas! Allah"; law ordains retaliation." Later the relatives of the girl agreed and forgave her. The Prophet said, "There are some of Allah's slaves who, if they take an oath by Allah, are responded to by Allah i.e. their oath is fulfilled). Anas added, "The people agreed and accepted the Irsh."

Volume 3, Book 49, Number 867:
Narrated Al-Hasan Al-Basri:
By Allah, Al-Hasan bin Ali led large battalions like mountains against Muawiya. Amr bin Al-As said (to Muawiya), "I surely see battalions which will not turn back before killing their opponents." Muawiya who was really the best of the two men said to him, "O Amr! If these killed those and those killed these, who would be left with me for the jobs of the public, who would be left with me for their women, who would be left with me for their children?" Then Muawiya sent two Quraishi men from the tribe of 'Abd-i-Shams called Abdur Rahman bin Sumura and Abdullah bin Amir bin Kuraiz to Al-Hasan saying to them, "Go to this man (i.e. Al-Hasan) and negotiate peace with him and talk and appeal to him." So, they went to Al-Hasan and talked and appealed to him to accept peace. Al-Hasan said, "We, the offspring of Abdul Muttalib, have got wealth and people have indulged in killing and corruption (and money only will appease them)." They said to Al-Hasan, "Muawiya offers you so and so, and

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appeals to you and entreats you to accept peace." Al-Hasan said to them, "But who will be responsible for what you have said?" They said, "We will be responsible for it." So, whatever Al-Hasan asked they said, "We will be responsible for it for you." So, Al-Hasan concluded a peace treaty with Muawiya. Al-Hasan (Al-Basri) said: I heard Abu Bakr saying, "I saw Allah's Apostle on the pulpit and Al-Hasan bin Ali was by his side. The Prophet was looking once at the people and once at Al-Hasan bin Ali saying, 'This son of mine is a Saiyid (i.e. a noble) and may Allah make peace between two big groups of Muslims through him."

Volume 3, Book 49, Number 868:
Narrated Aisha:
Once Allah's Apostle heard the loud voices of some opponents quarreling at the door. One of them was appealing to the other to deduct his debt and asking him to be lenient but the other was saying, "By Allah I will not do so." Allah's Apostle went out to them and said, "Who is the one who was swearing by Allah that he would not do a favor?" That man said, "I am that person, O Allah's Apostle! I will give my opponent whatever he wishes."

Volume 3, Book 49, Number 869:
Narrated Abdullah bin Kab bin Malik from Kab bin Malik:
Abdullah bin Abu Hadrad Al-Aslami owed Kab bin Malik some money. One day the latter met the former and demanded his right, and their voices grew very loud. The Prophet passed by them and said, "O Ka'b," beckoning with his hand as if intending to say, "Deduct half the debts." So, Kab took half what the other owed him and remitted the other half.

Volume 3, Book 49, Number 870:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "There is a Sadaqa to be given for every joint of the human body; and for every day on which the sun rises there is a reward of a Sadaqa (i.e. charitable gift) for the one who establishes justice among people."

Volume 3, Book 49, Number 871:
Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair:
Az-Zubair told me that he quarrelled with an Ansari man who had participated in (the battle of) Badr in front of Allah's Apostle about a water stream which both of them used for irrigation. Allah's Apostle said to Az-Zubair, "O Zubair! Irrigate (your garden) first, and then let the water flow to your neighbour." The Ansari became angry and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Is it because he is your cousin?" On that the complexion of Allah's Apostle changed (because of anger) and said (to Az-Zubair), "I irrigate (your garden) and then withhold the water till it reaches the walls (surrounding the palms)." So, Allah's Apostle gave Az-Zubair his full right. Before that Allah's Apostle had given a generous judgement beneficial for Az-Zubair and the Ansari, but when the Ansan irritated Allah's Apostle he gave Az-Zubair his full right according to the evident law. Az-Zubair said, "By Allah ! I think the following Verse was revealed concerning that case: "But no by your Lord They can have No faith Until they make you judge In all disputes between them." (4.65)

Volume 3, Book 49, Number 872:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
My father died and was in debt. I suggested that his creditors take the fruits (i.e. dates) of my garden in lieu of the debt of my father, but they refused the offer, as they thought that it would not cover the full debt. So, I went to the Prophet and told him about it. He said (to me), "When you pluck the dates and collect them in the Mirbad (i.e. a place where dates are dried), call me (Allah's Apostle)." Finally he came accompanied by Abu Bakr and Umar and sat on the dates and invoked Allah to bless them. Then he said, "Call your creditors and give them their full rights." So, I paid all my father's creditors in full and yet thirteen extra Wasqs of dates remained, seven of which were 'Ajwa and six were Laun or six of which were Ajwa and seven were Laun. I met Allah's Apostle at sunset and informed him about it. On that he smiled and said, "Go to Abu Bakr and Umar and tell them about it." They said, "We perceived that was going to happen, as Allah's Apostle did what he did."

Volume 3, Book 49, Number 873:
Narrated Abdullah bin Kab:
That Ka'b bin Malik told him that in the lifetime of Allah's Apostle he demanded his debt from Ibn Abu Hadrad in the Mosque. Their voices grew louder till Allah's Apostle heard them while he was in his house. So he lifted the curtain of his room and called Ka'b bin Malik saying, "O Ka'b!" He replied, "Labbaik! O Allah's Apostle!" He beckoned to him with his hand suggesting that he deduct half the debt. Ka'b said, "I agree, O Allah's Apostle!" Allah's Apostle then said (to Ibn Abu Hadrad), "Get up and pay him the rest."

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 50:
Conditions

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 874:
Narrated Marwan and al-Miswar bin Makhrama:
(from the companions of Allah's Apostle) When Suhail bin Amr agreed to the Treaty (of Hudaibiya), one of the things he stipulated then, was that the Prophet should return to them (i.e. the pagans) anyone coming to him from their side, even if he was a Muslim; and would not interfere between them and that person. The Muslims did not like this condition and got disgusted with it. Suhail did not agree except with that condition. So, the Prophet agreed to that condition and returned Abu Jandal to his father Suhail bin Amr. Thenceforward the Prophet returned everyone in that period (of truce) even if he was a Muslim. During that period some believing women emigrants including Um Kalthum bint Uqba bin Abu Muait who came to Allah's Apostle and she was a young lady then. Her relative came to the Prophet and asked him to return her, but the Prophet did not return her to them for Allah had revealed the following Verse regarding women:
"O you who believe! When the believing women come to you as emigrants. Examine them, Allah knows best as to their belief, then if you know them for true believers, Send them not back to the unbelievers, (for) they are not lawful (wives) for the disbelievers, Nor are the unbelievers lawful (husbands) for them (60.10)
Narrated Urwa: Aisha told me, "Allah's Apostle used to examine them according to this Verse: "O you who believe! When the believing women come to you, as emigrants test them . . . for Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful." (60.10-12) Aisha said, "When any of them agreed to that condition Allah's Apostle would say to her, 'I have accepted your pledge of allegiance.' He would only say that, but, by Allah he never touched the hand of any women (i.e. never shook hands with them) while taking the pledge of allegiance and he never took their pledge of allegiance except by his words (only)."

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 875:
Narrated Jarir:
When I gave the pledge of allegiance to Allah's Apostle and he stipulated that I should give good advice to every Muslim.

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 876:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
I gave the pledge of allegiance to Allah's Apostle for offering the prayers perfectly paying the Zakat and giving good advice to every Muslim.

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 877:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "If someone sells pollinated date-palms, their fruits will be for the seller, unless the buyer stipulates the contrary."

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 878:
Narrated Urwa:
Aisha told me that Buraira came to seek her help in writing for emancipation and at that time she had not paid any part of her price. Aisha said to her, "Go to your masters and if they agree that I will pay your price (and free you) on condition that your Wala will be for me, I will pay the money." Buraira told her masters about that, but they refused, and said, "If Aisha wants to do a favor she could, but your Wala will be for us." Aisha informed Allah's Apostle of that and he said to her, "Buy and manumit Buraira as the Wala will go to the manumitted."

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 879:
Narrated Jabir:
While I was riding a (slow) and tired camel, the Prophet passed by and beat it and prayed for Allah's Blessings for it. The camel became so fast as it had never been before. The Prophet then said, "Sell it to me for one Uqiyya (of gold)." I said, "No." He again said, "Sell it to me for one Uqiyya (of gold)." I sold it and stipulated that I should ride it to my house. When we reached (Medina) I took that camel to the Prophet and he gave me its price. I returned home but he sent for me (and when I went to him) he said, "I will not take your camel. Take your camel as a gift for you." (Various narrations are mentioned here with slight variations in expressions relating the condition that Jabir had the right to ride the sold camel up to Medina).

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 880:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Ansar said to the Prophet, "Divide our date-palms between us and our emigrant brothers." The Prophet said, "No." The Ansar said to the emigrants, "You may do the labor (in our gardens) and we will share the fruits with you." The emigrants said, "We hear and obey."

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 881:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle gave the land of Khaibar to the Jews on the condition that they would work on it and cultivate it and they would get half of its yield.

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 882:
Narrated Uqba bin Amir:
Allah's Apostle said, "From among all the conditions which you have to fulfill, the conditions which make it legal for you to have sexual relations (i.e. the marriage contract) have the greatest right to be fulfilled."

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 883:
Narrated Rafi bin Khadij:
We used to work on the fields more than the other Ansar, and we used to rent the land (for the yield of a specific portion of it). But sometimes that portion or the rest of the land did not give any yield, so we were forbidden (by the Prophet) to follow such a system, but we were allowed to rent the land for money.

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 884:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "No town-dweller should sell for a bedouin. Do not practice Najsh (i.e. Do not offer a high price for a thing which you do not want to buy, in order to deceive the people). No Muslim should offer more for a thing already bought by his Muslim brother, nor should he demand the hand of a girl already engaged to another Muslim. A Muslim woman shall not try to bring about The divorce of her sister (i.e. another Muslim woman) in order to take her place herself."

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 885:
Narrated Abu Huraira and Zaid bin Khalid Al-Juhani:
A bedouin came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's apostle! I ask you by Allah to judge My case according to Allah's Laws." His opponent, who was more learned than he, said, "Yes, judge between us according to Allah's Laws, and allow me to speak." Allah's Apostle said, "Speak." He (i .e. the bedouin or the other man) said, "My son was working as a laborer for this (man) and he committed illegal sexual intercourse with his wife. The people told me that it was obligatory that my son should be stoned to death, so in lieu of that I ransomed my son by paying one hundred sheep and a slave girl. Then I asked the religious scholars about it, and they informed me that my son must be lashed one hundred lashes, and be exiled for one year, and the wife of this (man) must be stoned to death." Allah's Apostle said, "By Him in Whose Hands my soul is, I will judge between you according to Allah's Laws. The slave-girl and the sheep are to be returned to you, your son is to receive a hundred lashes and be exiled for one year. You, Unais, go to the wife of this (man) and if she confesses her guilt, stone her to death." Unais went to that woman next morning and she confessed. Allah's Apostle ordered that she be stoned to death.

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 886:
Narrated Aiman Al-Makki:
rs had stipulated that her Wala would be for them.' The Prophet said,

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 887:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle forbade (1) the meeting of the caravan (of goods) on the way, (2) and that a residing person buys for a bedouin, (3) and that a woman stipulates the divorce of the wife of the would-be husband, (4) and that a man tries to cause the cancellation of a bargain concluded by another. He also forbade An-Najsh (see Hadith 824) and that one withholds the milk in the udder of the animal so that he may deceive people on selling it.

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 888:
Narrated Ubai bin Kab:
Allah's Apostle said, "Moses the Apostle of Allah," and then he narrated the whole story about him. Al-Khadir said to Moses, "Did not I tell you that you can have no patience with me." (18.72). Moses then violated the agreement for the first time because of forgetfulness, then Moses promised that if he asked Al-Khadir about anything, the latter would have the right to desert him. Moses abided by that condition and on the third occasion he intentionally asked Al-Khadir and caused that condition to be applied. The three occasions referred to above are referred to by the following Verses:
"Call me not to account for forgetting And be not hard upon me." (18.73)
"Then they met a boy and Khadir killed him." (18.74)
"Then they proceeded and found a wall which was on the verge of falling and Khadir set it up straight." (18.77)

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 889:
Narrated Urwa:
Aisha said, "Buraira came to me and said, 'My people (masters) have written the contract for my emancipation for

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nine Awaq) of gold) to be paid in yearly installments, one Uqiyya per year; so help me." Aisha said (to her), "If your masters agree, I will pay them the whole sum provided the Wala will be for me." Buraira went to her masters and told them about it, but they refused the offer and she returned from them while Allah's Apostles was sitting. She said, "I presented the offer to them, but they refused unless the Wala would be for them." When the Prophet heard that and Aisha told him about It, he said to her, "Buy Buraira and let them stipulate that her Wala will be for them, as the Wala is for the manumitted." Aisha did so. After that Allah's Apostle got up amidst the people, Glorified and Praised Allah and said, "What is wrong with some people who stipulate things which are not in Allah's Laws? Any condition which is not in Allah's Laws is invalid even if there were a hundred such conditions. Allah's Rules are the most valid and Allah's Conditions are the most solid. The Wala is for the manumitted."

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 890:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
When the people of Khaibar dislocated Abdullah bin Umar's hands and feet, Umar got up delivering a sermon saying, "No doubt, Allah's Apostle made a contract with the Jews concerning their properties, and said to them, 'We allow you (to stand in your land) as long as Allah allows you.' Now Abdullah bin Umar went to his land and was attacked at night, and his hands and feet were dislocated, and as we have no enemies there except those Jews, they are our enemies and the only people whom we suspect, I have made up my mind to exile them." When Umar decided to carry out his decision, a son of Abu Al-Haqiq's came and addressed Umar, "O chief of the believers, will you exile us although Mohammed allowed us to stay at our places, and made a contract with us about our properties, and accepted the condition of our residence in our land?" Umar said, "Do you think that I have forgotten the statement of Allah's Apostle, i.e.: What will your condition be when you are expelled from Khaibar and your camel will be carrying you night after night?" The Jew replied, "That was joke from Abu-l-Qasim." Umar said, "O the enemy of Allah! You are telling a lie." Umar then drove them out and paid them the price of their properties in the form of fruits, money, camel saddles and ropes, etc."

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 891:
Narrated Al-Miswar bin Makhrama and Marwan:
(whose narrations attest each other) Allah's Apostle set out at the time of Al-Hudaibiya (treaty), and when they proceeded for a distance, he said, "Khalid bin Al-Walid leading the cavalry of Quraish constituting the front of the army, is at a place called Al-Ghamim, so take the way on the right." By Allah, Khalid did not perceive the arrival of the Muslims till the dust arising from the march of the Muslim army reached him, and then he turned back hurriedly to inform Quraish. The Prophet went on advancing till he reached the Thaniyya (i.e. a mountainous way) through which one would go to them (i.e. people of Quraish). The she-camel of the Prophet sat down. The people tried their best to cause the she-camel to get up but in vain, so they said, "Al-Qaswa' (i.e. the she-camel's name) has become stubborn! Al-Qaswa' has become stubborn!" The Prophet said, "Al-Qaswa' has not become stubborn, for stubbornness is not her habit, but she was stopped by Him Who stopped the elephant." Then he said, "By the Name of Him in Whose Hands my soul is, if they (i.e. the Quraish infidels) ask me anything which will respect the ordinances of Allah, I will grant it to them."

The Prophet then rebuked the she-camel and she got up. The Prophet changed his way till he dismounted at the farthest end of Al-Hudaibiya at a pit (i.e. well) containing a little water which the people used in small amounts, and in a short while the people used up all its water and complained to Allah's Apostle; of thirst. The Prophet took an arrow out of his arrow-case and ordered them to put the arrow in that pit. By Allah, the water started and continued sprouting out till all the people quenched their thirst and returned with satisfaction. While they were still in that state, Budail bin Warqa-al-Khuza'i came with some persons from his tribe Khuza'a and they were the advisers of Allah's Apostle who would keep no secret from him and were from the people of Tihama. Budail said, "I left Kab bin Luai and Amir bin Luai residing at the profuse water of Al-Hudaibiya and they had milch camels (or their women and children) with them, and will wage war against you, and will prevent you from visiting the Kaba." Allah's Apostle said, "We have not come to fight anyone, but to perform the Umra. No doubt, the war has weakened Quraish and they have suffered great losses, so if they wish, I will conclude a truce with them, during which they should refrain from interfering between me and the people (i.e. the 'Arab infidels other than Quraish), and if I have victory over those infidels, Quraish will have the option to embrace Islam as the other people do, if they wish; they will at least get strong enough to fight. But if they do not accept the truce, by Allah in Whose Hands my life is, I will fight with them defending my Cause till I get killed, but (I am sure) Allah will definitely make His Cause victorious." Budail said, "I will inform them of what you have said." So, he set off till he reached Quraish and said, "We have come from that man (i.e. Mohammed) whom we heard saying something which we will disclose to you if you should like." Some of the fools among Quraish shouted that they were not in need of this information, but the wiser among them said, "Relate what you heard him saying." Budail said, "I heard him saying so-and-so," relating what the Prophet had told him.

Urwa bin Mas'ud got up and said, "O people! Aren't you the sons? They said, "Yes." He added, "Am I not the father?" They said, "Yes." He said, "Do you mistrust me?" They said, "No." He said, "Don't you know that I invited the people of 'Ukaz for your help, and when they refused I brought my relatives and children and those who obeyed me (to help you)?" They said, "Yes." He said, "Well, this man (i.e. the Prophet) has offered you a reasonable proposal, you'd better accept it and allow me to meet him." They said, "You may meet him." So, he went to the Prophet and started talking to him. The Prophet told him almost the same as he had told Budail. Then Urwa said, "O Mohammed! Won't you feel any scruple in extirpating your relations? Have you ever heard of anyone amongst the Arabs extirpating his relatives before you? On the other hand, if the reverse should happen, (nobody will aid you, for) by Allah, I do not see (with you) dignified people, but people from various tribes who would run away leaving you alone." Hearing that, Abu Bakr abused him and said, "Do you say we would run and leave the Prophet alone?" Urwa said, "Who is that man?" They said, "He is Abu Bakr." Urwa said to Abu Bakr, "By Him in Whose Hands my life is, were it not for the favor which you did to me and which I did not compensate, I would retort on you." Urwa kept on talking to the Prophet and seizing the Prophet's beard as he was talking while Al-Mughira bin Shu'ba was standing near the head of the Prophet, holding a sword and wearing a helmet. Whenever Urwa stretched his hand towards the beard of the Prophet, Al-Mughira would hit his hand with the handle of the sword and say (to Urwa), "Remove your hand from the beard of Allah's Apostle." Urwa raised his head and asked, "Who is that?" The people said, "He is Al-Mughira bin Shu'ba." Urwa said, "O treacherous! Am I not doing my best to prevent evil consequences of your treachery?"

Before embracing Islam Al-Mughira was in the company of some people. He killed them and took their property and came (to Medina) to embrace Islam. The Prophet said (to him, "As regards your Islam, I accept it, but as for the property I do not take anything of it. (As it was taken through treason). Urwa then started looking at the Companions of the Prophet. By Allah, whenever Allah's Apostle spat, the spittle would fall in the hand of one of them (i.e. the Prophet's companions) who would rub it on his face and skin; if he ordered them they would carry his orders immediately; if he performed ablution, they would struggle to take the remaining water; and when they spoke to him, they would lower their voices and would not look at his face constantly out of respect. Urwa returned to his people and said, "O people! By Allah, I have been to the kings and to Caesar, Khosrau and An-Najashi, yet I have never seen any of them respected by his courtiers as much as Mohammed is respected by his companions. By Allah, if he spat, the spittle would fall in the hand of one of them (i.e. the Prophet's companions) who would rub it on his face and skin; if he ordered them, they would carry out his order immediately; if he performed ablution, they would struggle to take the remaining water; and when they spoke, they would lower their voices and would not look at his face constantly out of respect." Urwa added, "No doubt, he has presented to you a good reasonable offer, so please accept it." A man from the tribe of Bani Kinana said, "Allow me to go to him," and they allowed him, and when he approached the Prophet and his companions, Allah's Ap le I said, "He is so-and-so who belongs to the tribe that respects the Budn (i.e. camels of the sacrifice). So, bring the Budn in front of him." So, the Budn were brought before him and the people received him while they were reciting Talbiya. When he saw that scene, he said, "Glorified be Allah! It is not fair to prevent these people from visiting the Kaaba." When he returned to his people, he said, 'I saw the Budn garlanded (with colored knotted ropes) and marked (with stabs on their backs). I do not think it is advisable to prevent them from visiting the Kaaba." Another person called Mikraz bin Hafs got up and sought their permission to go to Mohammed, and they allowed him, too. When he approached the Muslims, the Prophet said, "Here is Mikraz and he is a vicious man." Mikraz started talking to the Prophet and as he was talking, Suhail bin Amr came.

When Suhail bin Amr came, the Prophet said, "Now the matter has become easy." Suhail said to the Prophet "Please conclude a peace treaty with us." So, the Prophet called the clerk and said to him, "Write: By the Name of Allah, the most Beneficent, the most Merciful." Suhail said, "As for 'Beneficent,' by Allah, I do not know what it means. So write: By Your Name O Allah, as you used to write previously." The Muslims said, "By Allah, we will not write except: By the Name of Allah, the most Beneficent, the most Merciful." The Prophet said, "Write: By Your Name O Allah." Then he dictated, "This is the peace treaty which Mohammed, Allah's Apostle has concluded." Suhail said, "By Allah, if we knew that you are Allah's Apostle we would not prevent you from visiting the Kaba, and would not fight with you. So, write: "Mohammed bin Abdullah." The Prophet said, "By Allah! I am Apostle of Allah even if you people do not believe me. Write: Mohammed bin Abdullah." (Az-Zuhri said, "The Prophet accepted all those things, as he had already said that he would accept everything they would demand if it respects the ordinance of Allah, (i.e. by letting him and his companions perform Umra.)" The Prophet said to Suhail, "On the condition that you allow us to visit the House (i.e. Kaaba) so that we may perform Tawaf around it." Suhail said, "By Allah, we will not (allow you this year) so as not to give chance to the 'Arabs to say that we have yielded to you, but we will allow you next year." So, the Prophet got that written.

Then Suhail said, "We also stipulate that you should return to us whoever comes to you from us, even if he embraced your religion." The Muslims said, "Glorified be Allah! How will such a person be returned to the pagans after he has become a Muslim? While they were in this state Abu- Jandal bin Suhail bin Amr came from the valley of Mecca staggering with his fetters and fell down amongst the Muslims. Suhail said, "O Mohammed! This is the very first term with which we make peace with you, i.e. you shall return Abu Jandal to me." The Prophet said, "The peace treaty has not been written yet." Suhail said, "I will never allow you to keep him." The Prophet said, "Yes, do." He said, "I won't do.: Mikraz said, "We allow you (to keep him)." Abu Jandal said, "O Muslims! Will I be returned to the pagans though I have come as a Muslim? Don't you see how much I have suffered?"

Abu Jandal had been tortured severely for the Cause of Allah. Umar bin Al-Khattab said, "I went to the Prophet and said, 'Aren't you truly the Apostle of Allah?' The Prophet said, 'Yes, indeed.' I said, 'Isn't our Cause just and the cause of the enemy unjust?' He said, 'Yes.' I said, 'Then why should we be humble in our religion?' He said, 'I am Allah's Apostle and I do not disobey Him, and He will make me victorious.' I said, 'Didn't you tell us that we would go to the Kaaba and perform Tawaf around it?' He said, 'Yes, but did I tell you that we would visit the Kaaba this year?' I said, 'No.' He said, 'So you will visit it and perform Tawaf around it?' " Umar further said, "I went to Abu Bakr and said, 'O Abu Bakr! Isn't he truly Allah's Prophet?' He replied, 'Yes.' I said, 'Then why should we be humble in our religion?' He said, 'Indeed, he is Allah's Apostle and he does not disobey his Lord, and He will make him victorious. Adhere to him as, by Allah, he is on the right.' I said, 'Was he not telling us that we would go to the Kaba and perform Tawaf around it?' He said, 'Yes, but did he tell you that you would go to the Kaaba this year?' I said, 'No.' He said, "You will go to Kaaba and perform Tawaf around it." (Az-Zuhri said, " Umar said, 'I performed many good deeds as expiation for the improper questions I asked them.' ")

When the writing of the peace treaty was concluded, Allah's Apostle said to his companions, "Get up and' slaughter your sacrifices and get your head shaved." By Allah none of them got up, and the Prophet repeated his order thrice. When none of them got up, he left them and went to Um Salama and told her of the people's attitudes towards him. Um Salama said, "O the Prophet of Allah! Do you want your order to be carried out? Go out and don't say a word to anybody till you have slaughtered your sacrifice and call your barber to shave your head." So, the Prophet went out and did not talk to anyone of them till he did that, i.e. slaughtered the sacrifice and called his barber who shaved his head. Seeing that, the companions of the Prophet got up, slaughtered their sacrifices, and started shaving the heads of one another, and there was so much rush that there was a danger of killing each other. Then some believing women came (to the Prophet); and Allah revealed the following Divine Verses:--

"O you who believe, when the believing women come to you as emigrants examine them . . ." (60.10)

Umar then divorced two wives of his who were infidels. Later on Muawiya bin Abu Sufyan married one of them, and Safwan bin Umaya married the other. When the Prophet returned to Medina, Abu Basir, a new Muslim convert from Quraish came to him. The Infidels sent in his pursuit two men who said (to the Prophet), "Abide by the promise you gave us." So, the Prophet handed him over to them. They took him out (of the City) till they reached Dhul-Hulaifa where they dismounted to eat some dates they had with them. Abu Basir said to one of them, "By Allah, O so-and-so, I see you have a fine sword." The other drew it out (of the scabbard) and said, "By Allah, it is very fine and I have tried it many times." Abu Bair said, "Let me have a look at it."

When the other gave it to him, he hit him with it till he died, and his companion ran away till he came to Medina and entered the Mosque running. When Allah's Apostle saw him he said, "This man appears to have been frightened." When he reached the Prophet he said, "My companion has been murdered and I would have been murdered too." Abu Basir came and said, "O Allah's Apostle, by Allah, Allah has made you fulfill your obligations by your returning me to them (i.e. the Infidels), but Allah has saved me from them." The Prophet

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said, "Woe to his mother! what excellent war kindler he would be, should he only have supporters." When Abu Basir heard that he understood that the Prophet would return him to them again, so he set off till he reached the seashore. Abu Jandal bin Suhail got himself released from them (i.e. infidels) and joined Abu Basir. So, whenever a man from Quraish embraced Islam he would follow Abu Basir till they formed a strong group. By Allah, whenever they heard about a caravan of Quraish heading towards Sham, they stopped it and attacked and killed them (i.e. infidels) and took their properties. The people of Quraish sent a message to the Prophet requesting him for the Sake of Allah and Kith and kin to send for (i.e. Abu Basir and his companions) promising that whoever (amongst them) came to the Prophet would be secure. So the Prophet sent for them (i.e. Abu Basir's companions) and Allah I revealed the following Divine Verses:

"And it is He Who Has withheld their hands from you and your hands From them in the midst of Mecca, After He made you the victorious over them. . . . the unbelievers had pride and haughtiness, in their hearts . . . the pride and haughtiness of the time of ignorance." (48.24-26) And their pride and haughtiness was that they did not confess (write in the treaty) that he (i.e. Mohammed) was the Prophet of Allah and refused to write: "In the Name of Allah, the most Beneficent, the Most Merciful," and prevented the Mushriks from visiting the Kaaba.

Narrated Az-Zuhri: Urwa said, "Aisha told me that Allah's Apostle used to examine the women emigrants. We have been told also that when Allah revealed the order that the Muslims should return to the pagans what they had spent on their wives who emigrated (after embracing Islam) and that the Mushriks should not. keep unbelieving women as their wives, Umar divorced two of his wives, Qariba, the daughter of Abu Urhaiya and the daughter of Jarwal Al-Khuza'i. Later on Mu'awlya married Qariba and Abu Jahm married the other."

When the pagans refused to pay what the Muslims had spent on their wives, Allah revealed: "And if any of your wives have gone from you to the unbelievers and you have an accession (By the coming over of a woman from the other side) (Then pay to those whose wives have gone) The equivalent of what they had spent (On their Mahr)." (60.11)

So, Allah ordered that the Muslim whose wife, has gone, should be given, as a compensation of the Mahr he had given to his wife, from the Mahr of the wives of the pagans who had emigrated deserting their husbands.

We do not know any of the women emigrants who deserted Islam after embracing it. We have also been told that Abu Basir bin Asid Ath-Thaqafi came to the Prophet as a Muslim emigrant during the truce. Al-Akhnas bin Shariq wrote to the Prophet requesting him to return Abu Basir.

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 892:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle mentioned a person who asked an Israeli man to lend him one-thousand Dinars, and the Israeli lent him the sum for a certain fixed period.

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 893:
Narrated Amra:
Aisha said that Buraira came to seek her help in the writing of her emancipation. Aisha said to her, "If you wish, I will pay your masters (your price) and the Wala will be for me." When Allah's Apostle came, she told him about it. The Prophet said to her, "Buy her (i.e. Buraira) and manumit her, for the Wala is for the one who manumits." Then Allah's Apostle ascended the pulpit and said, "What about those people who stipulate conditions which are not in Allah's Laws? Whoever stipulates such conditions as are not in Allah's Laws, then those conditions are invalid even if he stipulated a hundred such conditions."

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 894:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Allah has ninety-nine names, i.e. one-hundred minus one, and whoever knows them will go to Paradise." (Please see Hadith No. 419 Vol. 8)

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 895:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Umar bin Khattab got some land in Khaibar and he went to the Prophet to consult him about it saying, "O Allah' Apostle got some land in Khaibar better than which I have never had, what do you suggest that I do with it?" The Prophet said, "If you like you can give the land as endowment and give its fruits in charity." So Umar gave it in charity as an endowment on the condition that would not be sold nor given to anybody as a present and not to be inherited, but its yield would be given in charity to the poor people, to the Kith and kin, for freeing slaves, for Allah's Cause, to the travelers and guests; and that there would be no harm if the guardian of the endowment ate from it according to his need with good intention, and fed others without storing it for the future."

Translation of Sahih Bukhari, Book 51:
Wills and Testaments (Wasaayaa)

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 1:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar: Allah's Apostle said, "It is not permissible for any Muslim who has something to will to stay for two nights without having his last will and testament written and kept ready with him."

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 2:
Narrated Amr bin Al-Harith:
(The brother of the wife of Allah's Apostle. Juwaira bint Al-Harith) When Allah's Apostle died, he did not leave any Dirham or Dinar (i.e. money), a slave or a slave woman or anything else except his white mule, his arms and a piece of land which he had given in charity .

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 3:
Narrated Talha bin Musarrif:
I asked Abdullah bin Abu Aufa "Did the Prophet make a will?" He replied, "No," I asked him, "How is it then that the making of a will has been enjoined on people, (or that they are ordered to make a will)?" He replied, "The Prophet bequeathed Allah's Book (i.e. Koran)."

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 4:
Narrated Al-Aswad:
In the presence of Aisha some people mentioned that the Prophet had appointed Ali by will as his successor. Aisha said, "When did he appoint him by will? Verily when he died he was resting against my chest (or said: in my lap) and he asked for a wash-basin and then collapsed while in that state, and I could not even perceive that he had died, so when did he appoint him by will?"

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 5:
Narrated Sad bin Abu Waqqas:
The Prophet came visiting me while I was (sick) in Mecca, (Amir the sub-narrator said, and he disliked to die in the land, whence he had already migrated). He (i.e. the Prophet) said, "May Allah bestow His Mercy on Ibn Afra (Sad bin Khaula)." I said, "O Allah's Apostle! May I will all my property (in charity)?" He said, "No." I said, "Then may I will half of it?" He said, "No". I said, "One third?" He said: "Yes, one third, yet even one third is too much. It is better for you to leave your inheritors wealthy than to leave them poor begging others, and whatever you spend for Allah's sake will be considered as a charitable deed even the handful of food you put in your wife's mouth. Allah may lengthen your age so that some people may benefit by you, and some others be harmed by you." At that time Sad had only one daughter.

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 6:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
I recommend that people reduce the proportion of what they bequeath by will to the fourth (of the whole legacy), for Allah's Apostle said, "One-third, yet even one third is too much."

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 7:
Narrated Sad:
I fell sick and the Prophet paid me a visit. I said to him, "O Allah's Apostle! I invoke Allah that He may not let me expire in the land whence I migrated (i.e. Mecca)." He said, "May Allah give you health and let the people benefit by you." I said, "I want to will my property, and I have only one daughter and I want to will half of my property (to be given in charity)." He said," Half is too much." I said, "Then I will one third." He said, "One-third, yet even one-third is too much." (The narrator added, "So the people started to will one third of their property and that was Permitted for them.")

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 8:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) Utba bin Abi Waqqas entrusted (his son) to his brother Sad bin Abi Waqqas saying, "The son of the slave-girl of Zam'a is my (illegal) son, take him into your custody." So during the year of the Conquest (of Mecca) Sad took the boy and said, "This is my brother's son whom my brother entrusted to me." Abu bin Zam's got up and said, "He is my brother and the son of the slave girl of my father and was born on my father's bed." Then both of them came to Allah's Apostle and Sad said, "O Allah's Apostle! This is my brother's son whom my brother entrusted to me."

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

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 9:
Narrated Anas:
A Jew crushed the head of a girl between two stones. She was asked, "Who has done so to you, so-and-so? So-and-so?" Till the name of the Jew was mentioned, whereupon she nodded (in agreement). So the Jew was brought and was questioned till he confessed. The Prophet then ordered that his head be crushed with stones.

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 10:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The custom (in old days) was that the property of the deceased would be inherited by his offspring; as for the parents (of the deceased), they would inherit by the will of the deceased. Then Allah cancelled from that custom whatever He wished and fixed for the male double the amount inherited by the female, and for each parent a sixth (of the whole legacy) and for the wife an eighth or a fourth and for the husband a half or a fourth.

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 11:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A man asked the Prophet, "O Allah's Apostle! What kind of charity is the best?" He replied. "To give in charity when you are healthy and greedy hoping to be wealthy and afraid of becoming poor. Don't delay giving in charity till the time when you are on the death bed when you say, 'Give so much to so-and-so and so much to so-and so,' and at that time the property is not yours but it belongs to so-and-so (i.e. your inheritors)."

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 12:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The signs of a hypocrite are three: Whenever he speaks he tells a lie; whenever he is entrusted he proves dishonest; whenever he promises he breaks his promise."

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 13:
Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair: Hakim bin Hizam said, "I asked Allah's Apostle for something, and he gave me, and I asked him again and he gave me and said, 'O Hakim! This wealth is green and sweet (i.e. as tempting as fruits), and whoever takes it with.

The upper (i.e. giving) hand is better than the lower (i.e. taking) hand." Hakim added, "I said, O Allah's Apostle! By Him Who has sent you with the Truth I will never demand anything from anybody after you till I die." Afterwards Abu Bakr used to call Hakim to give him something but he refused to accept anything from him. Then Umar called him to give him (something) but he refused. Then Umar said, "O Muslims! I offered to him (i.e. Hakim) his share which Allah has ordained for him from this booty and he refuses to take it." Thus Hakim did not ask anybody for anything after the Prophet, till he died--may Allah bestow His mercy upon him.

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 14:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "All of you are guardians and responsible for your charges: the Ruler (i.e. Imam) is a guardian and responsible for his subjects; and a man is a guardian of his family and is responsible for his charges; and a lady is a guardian in the house of her husband and is responsible for her charge; and a servant is a guardian of the property of his master and is responsible for his charge." I think he also said, "And a man is a guardian of the property of his father."

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 15:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said to Abu Talha, "I recommend that you divide (this garden) amongst your relatives." Abu Talha said, "O Allah's Apostle! I will do the same." So Abu Talha divided it among his relatives and cousins.

Ibn 'Abbes said, "When the Koranic Verse:
"Warn your nearest kinsmen." (26.214)
Was revealed, the Prophet started calling the various big families of Quraish, "O Bani Fihr! O Bani Adi!".

Abu Huraira said, "When the Verse: "Warn your nearest kinsmen" was revealed, the Prophet said (in a loud voice), "O people of Quraish!"

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 16:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
When Allah revealed the Verse: "Warn your nearest kinsmen," Allah's Apostle got up and said, "O people of Quraish (or said similar words)! Buy (i.e. save) yourselves (from the Hellfire) as I cannot save you from Allah's Punishment; O Bani Abd Manaf! I cannot save you from Allah's Punishment, O Safiya, the Aunt of Allah's Apostle! I cannot save you from Allah's Punishment; O Fatima bint Mohammed! Ask me anything from my wealth, but I cannot save you from Allah's Punishment."

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Volume 4, Book 51, Number 17:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet saw a man driving a Badana (i.e. camel for sacrifice) and said to him, "Ride on it." The man said, "O Allah's Apostle! It is a Bandana." (The Prophet repeated his order) and on the third or fourth time he said, "Ride it, (woe to you" or said: "May Allah be merciful to you)."

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 18:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle saw a man driving a Badana and said to him, "Ride on it," and on the second or the third time he added, "Woe to you."

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 19:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The mother of Sad bin 'Ubada died in his absence. He said, "O Allah's Apostle! My mother died in my absence; will it be of any benefit for her if I give Sadaqa on her behalf?" The Prophet said, "Yes," Sad said, "I make you a witness that I gave my garden called Al Makhraf in charity on her behalf."

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 20:
Narrated Kab bin Malik:
I said, "O Allah's Apostle! For the acceptance of my repentance I wish to give all my property in charity for Allah's sake through His Apostle ." He said, "It is better for you to keep some of the property for yourself." I said, "Then I will keep my share in Khaibar."

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 21:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Some people claim that the order in the above Verse is cancelled, by Allah, it is not cancelled, but the people have stopped acting on it. There are two kinds of guardians (who are in charge of the inheritance): One is that who inherits; such a person should give (of what he inherits to the relatives, the orphans and the needy, etc.), the other is that who does not inherit (e.g. the guardian of the orphans): such a person should speak kindly and say (to those who are present at the time of distribution), "I can not give it to you (as the wealth belongs to the orphans)."

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 22:
Narrated Aisha:
A man said to the Prophet, "My mother died suddenly, and I think that if she could speak, she would have given in charity. May I give in charity on her behalf?" He said, "Yes! Give in charity on her behalf."

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 23:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Sad bin Ubada consulted Allah's Apostle saying, "My mother died and she had an unfulfilled vow." The Prophet said, "Fulfill it on her behalf."

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 24:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
That the mother of Sad bin Ubada the brother of Bani Saida died in Sad's absence, so he came to the Prophet saying, "O Allah's Apostle! My mother died in my absence, will it benefit her if I give in charity on her behalf?" The Prophet said, "Yes." Sad said, "I take you as my witness that I give my garden Al-Makhraf in charity on her behalf."

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 25:
Narrated Az-Zuhri:
Urwa bin Az-Zubair said that he asked Aisha about the meaning of the Koranic Verse:--
"And if you fear that you will not deal fairly with the orphan girls then marry (other) women of your choice." (4.2-3)
Aisha said, "It is about a female orphan under the guardianship of her guardian who is inclined towards her because of her beauty and wealth, and likes to marry her with a Mahr less than what is given to women of her standard. So they (i.e. guardians) were forbidden to marry the orphans unless they paid them a full appropriate Mahr (otherwise) they were ordered to marry other women instead of them. Later on the people asked Allah's Apostle about it. So Allah revealed the following Verse:--
"They ask your instruction (O Mohammed!) regarding women. Say: Allah instructs you regarding them..." (4.127)
and in this Verse Allah indicated that if the orphan girl was beautiful and wealthy, her guardian would have the desire to marry her without giving her an appropriate Mahr equal to what her peers could get, but if she was undesirable for lack of beauty or wealth, then he would not marry her, but seek to marry some other woman instead of her. So, since he did not marry her when he had no inclination towards her, he had not the right to marry her when he had an interest in her, unless he treated her justly by giving her a full Mahr and securing all her rights.

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 26:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
In the lifetime of Allah's Apostle , Umar gave in charity some of his property, a garden of date-palms called Thamgh. Umar said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have some property which I prize highly and I want to give it in charity." The Prophet; said, "Give it in charity (i.e. as an endowment) with its land and trees on the condition that the land and trees will neither be sold nor given as a present, nor bequeathed, but the fruits are to be spent in charity." So Umar gave it in charity, and it was for Allah's Cause, the emancipation of slaves, for the poor, for guests, for travelers, and for kinsmen. The person acting as its administrator could eat from it reasonably and fairly, and could let a friend of his eat from it provided he had no intention of becoming wealthy by its means.

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 27:
Narrated Aisha:
The following Verse:--
"If a guardian is well-off, let him claim no remuneration (i.e. wages), but if he is poor, let him have for himself what is just and reasonable." (4.6)
was revealed in connection with the guardian of an orphan, and it means that if he is poor he can have for himself (from the orphan's wealth) what is just and reasonable according to the orphan's share of the inheritance.

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 28:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Avoid the seven great destructive sins." The people enquire, "O Allah's Apostle! What are they? "He said, "To join others in worship along with Allah, to practice sorcery, to kill the life which Allah has forbidden except for a just cause, (according to Islamic law), to eat up Riba (usury), to eat up an orphan's wealth, to give back to the enemy and fleeing from the battlefield at the time of fighting, and to accuse, chaste women, who never even think of anything touching chastity and are good believers.

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 29:
Narrated Anas:
When Allah's Apostle came to Medina; he did not have any servant. Abu Talha (Anas' step-father) took me to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Anas is a wise boy, so let him serve you." So, I served him at home and on journeys. If I did anything, he never asked me why I did it, and if I refrained from doing anything, he never asked me why I refrained from doing it.

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 30:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Abu Talha had the greatest wealth of date-palms amongst the Ansar in Medina, and he prized above all his wealth (his garden) Bairuha', which was situated opposite the Mosque (of the Prophet). The Prophet used to enter It and drink from its fresh water. When the following Divine Verse came:--
"By no means shall you attain piety until you spend of what you love," (3.92)
Abu Talha got up saying. "O Allah's Apostle! Allah says, 'You will not attain piety until you spend of what you love,' and I prize above al I my wealth, Bairuha' which I want to give in charity for Allah's Sake, hoping for its reward from Allah. So you can use it as Allah directs you." On that the Prophet said, "Bravo! It is a profitable (or perishable) property. (Ibn Maslama is not sure as to which word is right, i.e. profitable or perishable.) I have heard what you have said, and I recommend that you distribute this amongst your relatives." On that Abu Talha said, "O Allah's Apostle! I will do (as you have suggested)." So, Abu Talha distributed that garden amongst his relatives and cousins.

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 31:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
A man said to Allah's Apostle , "My mother died, will it benefit her if I give in charity on her behalf?" The Prophet replied in the affirmative. The man said, "I have a garden and I make you a witness that I give it in charity on her behalf."

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 32:
Narrated Anas:
When the Prophet ordered that the mosque be built, he said, "O Bani An-Najjar! Suggest to me a price for this garden of yours." They replied, "By Allah! We will demand its price from none but Allah."

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 33:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
When Umar got a piece of land in Khaibar, he came to the Prophet saying, "I have got a piece of land, better than which I have never got. So what do you advise me regarding it?" The Prophet said, "If you wish you can keep it as an endowment to be used for charitable purposes." So, Umar gave the land in charity (i.e. as an endowments on the condition that the land would neither be sold nor given as a present, nor bequeathed, (and its yield) would be used for the poor, the kinsmen, the emancipation of slaves, Jihad, and for guests and travelers; and its administrator could eat in a reasonable just manner, and he also could feed his friends without intending to be wealthy by its means."

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 34:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Umar got some property in Khaibar and he came to the Prophet and informed him about it. The Prophet said to him, "If you wish you can give it in charity." So Umar gave it in charity (i.e. as an endowment) the yield of which was to be used for the good of the poor, the needy, the kinsmen and the guests.

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 35:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
When Allah's Apostle came to Medina, he ordered that a mosque be built. He said, "O Bani An-Najjar! Suggest me a price for the garden of yours." They replied, "By Allah, we will not ask its price except from Allah."

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 36:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Once Umar gave a horse in charity to be used in holy fighting. It had been given to him by Allah's Apostle . Umar gave it to another man to ride. Then Umar was informed that the man put the horse for sale, so he asked Allah's Apostle whether he could buy it. Allah's Apostle replied, "You should not buy it, for you should not take back what you have given in charity."

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 37:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "My heirs will not inherit a Dinar or a Dirham (i.e. money), for whatever I leave (excluding the adequate support of my wives and the wages of my employees) is given in charity."

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 38:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
When Umar founded an endowment he stipulated that its administrator could eat from it and also feed his friend on the condition that he would not store anything for himself from it.

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 39:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said (at the time of building the Mosque), "O Ban, An-Najjar! Suggest to me a price for your garden." They replied, "We do not ask its price except from Allah."

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 40:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah Al-Ansari:
My father was martyred on the day (of the Ghazwa) of Uhud and left six daughters and some debts to be paid. When the time of plucking the date-fruits came, I went to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! you know that my father was martyred on Uhud's day and owed much debt, and I wish that the creditors would see you." The Prophet said, "Go and collect the various kinds of dates and place them separately in heaps"' I did accordingly and called him. On seeing him, the creditors started claiming their rights pressingly at that time. When the Prophet saw how they behaved, he went round the biggest heap for three times and sat over it and said, "Call your companions (i.e. the creditors)." Then he kept on measuring and giving them, till Allah cleared all my father's debts. By Allah, it would have pleased me that Allah would clear the debts of my father even though I had not taken a single date to my sisters. But by Allah, all the heaps were complete, (as they were) and I looked at the heap where Allah's Apostle was sitting and noticed as if not a single date had been taken thereof.

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 52:
Fighting for the Cause of Allah (Jihaad)

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 41:
Narrated Abdullah bin Masud:
I asked Allah's Apostle, "O Allah's Apostle! What is the best deed?" He replied, "To offer the prayers at their early stated fixed times." I asked, "What is next in goodness?" He replied, "To be good and dutiful to your parents." I further asked, what is next in goodness?" He replied, "To participate in Jihad in Allah's Cause." I did not ask Allah's Apostle anymore and if I had asked him more, he would have told me more.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 42:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle said, "There is no Hijra (i.e. migration) (from Mecca to Medina) after the Conquest (of Mecca), but Jihad and good intention remain; and if you are called (by the Muslim ruler) for fighting, go forth immediately.

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Volume 4, Book 52, Number 43:
Narrated Aisha:
(That she said), "O Allah's Apostle! We consider Jihad as the best deed. Should we not fight in Allah's Cause?" He said, "The best Jihad (for women) is Hajj-Mabrur (i.e. Hajj which is done according to the Prophet's tradition and is accepted by Allah)."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 44:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A man came to Allah's Apostle and said, "Instruct me as to such a deed as equals Jihad (in reward)." He replied, "I do not find such a deed." Then he added, "Can you, while the Muslim fighter is in the battle-field, enter your mosque to perform prayers without cease and fast and never break your fast?" The man said, "But who can do that?" Abu- Huraira added, "The Mujahid (i.e. Muslim fighter) is rewarded even for the footsteps of his horse while it wanders bout (for grazing) tied in a long rope."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 45:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
Somebody asked, "O Allah's Apostle! Who is the best among the people?" Allah's Apostle replied "A believer who strives his utmost in Allah's Cause with his life and property." They asked, "Who is next?" He replied, "A believer who stays in one of the mountain paths worshipping Allah and leaving the people secure from his mischief."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 46:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "The example of a Mujahid in Allah's Cause-- and Allah knows better who really strives in His Cause----is like a person who fasts and prays continuously. Allah guarantees that He will admit the Mujahid in His Cause into Paradise if he is killed, otherwise He will return him to his home safely with rewards and war booty."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 47:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle used to visit Um Haran bint Milhan, who would offer him reals. Um-Haram was the wife of Ubada bin As-Samit. Allah's Apostle, once visited her and she provided him with food and started looking for lice in his head. Then Allah's Apostle slept, and afterwards woke up smiling. Um Haran asked, "What causes you to smile, O Allah's Apostle?" He said. "Some of my followers who (in a dream) were presented before me as fighters in Allah's Cause (on board a ship) amidst this sea cause me to smile; they were as kings on the thrones (or like kings on the thrones)." (Ishaq, a sub-narrator is not sure as to which expression the Prophet used.) Um-Haram said, "O Allah's Apostle! Invoke Allah that he makes me one of them. Allah's Apostle invoked Allah for her and slept again and woke up smiling. Once again Um Haram asked, "What makes you smile, O Allah's Apostle?" He replied, "Some of my followers were presented to me as fighters in Allah's Cause," repeating the same dream. Um-Haram said, "O Allah's Apostle! Invoke Allah that He makes me one of them." He said, "You are amongst the first ones." It happened that she sailed on the sea during the Caliphate of Mu'awlya bin Abi Sufyan, and after she disembarked, she fell down from her riding animal and died.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 48:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Whoever believes in Allah and His Apostle, offer prayer perfectly and fasts the month of Ramadan, will rightfully be granted Paradise by Allah, no matter whether he fights in Allah's Cause or remains in the land where he is born." The people said, "O Allah's Apostle ! Shall we acquaint the people with the is good news?" He said, "Paradise has one-hundred grades which Allah has reserved for the Mujahidin who fight in His Cause, and the distance between each of two grades is like the distance between the Heaven and the Earth. So, when you ask Allah (for something), ask for Al-firdaus which is the best and highest part of Paradise." (i.e. The sub-narrator added, "I think the Prophet also said, 'Above it (i.e. Al-Firdaus) is the Throne of Beneficent (i.e. Allah), and from it originate the rivers of Paradise.")

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 49:
Narrated Samura:
The Prophet said, "Last night two men came to me (in a dream) and made me ascend a tree and then admitted me into a better and superior house, better of which I have never seen. One of them said, 'This house is the house of martyrs."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 50:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "A single endeavor (of fighting) in Allah's Cause in the forenoon or in the afternoon is better than the world and whatever is in it."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 51:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "A place in Paradise as small as a bow is better than all that on which the sun rises and sets (i.e. all the world)." He also said, "A single endeavor in Allah's Cause in the afternoon or in the forenoon is better than all that on which the sun rises and sets."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 52:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
The Prophet said, "A single endeavor in Allah's Cause in the afternoon and in the forenoon is better than the world and whatever is in it."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 53:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "Nobody who dies and finds good from Allah (in the Hereafter) would wish to come back to this world even if he were given the whole world and whatever is in it, except the martyr who, on seeing the superiority of martyrdom, would like to come back to the world and get killed again (in Allah's Cause)."
Narrated Anas: The Prophet said, "A single endeavor (of fighting) in Allah's Cause in the afternoon or in the forenoon is better than all the world and whatever is in it. A place in Paradise as small as the bow or lash of one of you is better than all the world and whatever is in it. And if a houri from Paradise appeared to the people of the earth, she would fill the space between Heaven and the Earth with light and pleasant scent and her head cover is better than the world and whatever is in it."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 54:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "By Him in Whose Hands my life is! Were it not for some men amongst the believers who dislike to be left behind me and whom I cannot provide with means of conveyance, I would certainly never remain behind any Sariya' (army-unit) setting out in Allah's Cause. By Him in Whose Hands my life is! I would love to be martyred in Al1ah's Cause and then get resurrected and then get martyred, and then get resurrected again and then get martyred and then get resurrected again and then get martyred.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 55:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet delivered a sermon and said, "Zaid took the flag and was martyred, and then Jafar took the flag and was martyred, and then Abdullah bin Rawaha took the flag and was martyred too, and then Khalid bin Al-Walid took the flag though he was not appointed as a commander and Allah made him victorious." The Prophet further added, "It would not please us to have them with us." Aiyub, a sub-narrator, added, "Or the Prophet, shedding tears, said, 'It would not p ease them to be with us."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 56:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Um Haram said, "Once the Prophet slept in my house near to me and got up smiling. I said, 'What makes you smile?' He replied, 'Some of my followers who (i.e. in a dream) were presented to me sailing on this green sea like kings on thrones.' I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Invoke Allah to make me one of them." So the Prophet invoked Allah for her and went to sleep again. He did the same (i.e. got up and told his dream) and Um Haran repeated her question and he gave the same reply. She said, "Invoke Allah to make me one of them." He said, "You are among the first batch." Later on it happened that she went out in the company of her husband 'Ubada bin As-Samit who went for Jihad and it was the first time the Muslims undertook a naval expedition led by Mu awiya. When the expedition came to an end and they were returning to Sham, a riding animal was presented to her to ride, but the animal let her fall and thus she died.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 57:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet sent seventy men from the tribe of Bani Salim to the tribe of Bani Amir. When they reached there, my maternal uncle said to them, "I will go ahead of you, and if they allow me to convey the message of Allah's Apostle (it will be all right); otherwise you will remain close to me." So he went ahead of them and the pagans granted him security But while he was reporting the message of the Prophet , they beckoned to one of their men who stabbed him to death. My maternal uncle said, "Allah is Greater! By the Lord of the Kaba, I am successful." After that they attached the rest of the party and killed them all except a lame man who went up to the top of the mountain. (Hammam, a sub-narrator said, "I think another man was saved along with him)." Gabriel informed the Prophet that they (i.e the martyrs) met their Lord, and He was pleased with them and made them pleased. We used to recite, "Inform our people that we have met our Lord, He is pleased with us and He has made us pleased " Later on this Koranic Verse was cancelled. The Prophet invoked Allah for forty days to curse the murderers from the tribe of Ral, Dhakwan, Bani Lihyan and Bam Usaiya who disobeyed Allah and his Apostle

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 58:
Narrated Jundab bin Sufyan:
In one of the holy Battles a finger of Allah's Apostle (got wounded and) bled. He said, "You are just a finger that bled, and what you got is in Allah's Cause."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 59:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "By Him in Whose Hands my soul is! Whoever is wounded in Allah's Cause....and Allah knows well who gets wounded in His Cause....will come on the Day of Resurrection with his wound having the color of blood but the scent of musk."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 60:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
That Abu Sufyan told him that Heraclius said to him, "I asked you about the outcome of your battles with him (i.e. the Prophet) and you told me that you fought each other with alternate success. So the Apostles are tested in this way but the ultimate victory is always theirs.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 61:
Narrated Anas:
My uncle Anas bin An-Nadr was absent from the Battle of Badr. He said, "O Allah's Apostle! I was absent from the first battle you fought against the pagans. (By Allah) if Allah gives me a chance to fight the pagans, no doubt. Allah will see how (bravely) I will fight." On the day of Uhud when the Muslims turned their backs and fled, he said, "O Allah! I apologize to You for what these (i.e. his companions) have done, and I denounce what these (i.e. the pagans) have done." Then he advanced and Sad bin Muadh met him. He said "O Sad bin Muadh ! By the Lord of An-Nadr, Paradise! I am smelling its aroma coming from before (the mountain of) Uhud," Later on Sad said, "O Allah's Apostle! I cannot achieve or do what he (i.e. Anas bin An-Nadr) did. We found more than eighty wounds by swords and arrows on his body. We found him dead and his body was mutilated so badly that none except his sister could recognize him by his fingers." We used to think that the following Verse was revealed concerning him and other men of his sort: "Among the believers are men who have been true to their covenant with Allah....." (33.23)
His sister Ar-Rubbaya' broke a front tooth of a woman and Allah's Apostle ordered for retaliation. On that Anas (bin An-Nadr) said, "O Allah's Apostle! By Him Who has sent you with the Truth, my sister's tooth shall not be broken." Then the opponents of Anas's sister accepted the compensation and gave up the claim of retaliation. So Allah's Apostle said, "There are some people amongst Allah's slaves whose oaths are fulfilled by Allah when they take them."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 62:
Narrated Kharija bin Zaid:
Zaid bin Thabit said, "When the Koran was compiled from various written manuscripts, one of the Verses of Surat Al-Ahzab was missing which I used to hear Allah's Apostle reciting. I could not find it except with Khuzaima bin Thabjt Al-Ansari, whose witness Allah's Apostle regarded as equal to the witness of two men. And the Verse was:-- "Among the believers are men who have been true to what they covenanted with Allah." (33.23)

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 63:
Narrated Al-Bara:
A man whose face was covered with an iron mask (i.e. clad in armor) came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Shall I fight or embrace Islam first? "The Prophet said, "Embrace Islam first and then fight." So he embraced Islam, and was martyred. Allah's Apostle said, A Little work, but a great reward. "(He did very little (after embracing Islam), but he will be rewarded in abundance)."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 64:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Um Ar-Rubaibint Al-Bara, the mother of Hartha bin Suraqa came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Prophet! Will you tell me about Hartha?" Hartha has been killed (i.e. martyred) on the day of Badr with an arrow thrown by an unidentified person. She added, "If he is in Paradise, I will be patient; otherwise, I will weep bitterly for him." He said, "O mother of Hartha! There are Gardens in Paradise and your son got the Firdausal-ala (i.e. the best place in Paradise)."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 65:
Narrated Abu Musa:
A man came to the Prophet and asked, "A man fights for war booty; another fights for fame and a third fights for

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showing off; which of them fights in Allah's Cause?" The Prophet said, "He who fights that Allah's Word (i.e. Islam) should be superior, fights in Allah's Cause."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 66:
Narrated Abu Abs:
(who is Abdur-Rahman bin Jabir) Allah's Apostle said," Anyone whose both feet get covered with dust in Allah's Cause will not be touched by the (Hell) fire."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 67:
Narrated 'Ikrima:
that Ibn Abbas told him and Ali bin Abdullah to go to Abu Said and listen to some of his narrations; So they both went (and saw) Abu Said and his brother irrigating a garden belonging to them. When he saw them, he came up to them and sat down with his legs drawn up and wrapped in his garment and said, "(During the construction of the mosque of the Prophet) we carried the adobe of the mosque, one brick at a time while Ammar used to carry two at a time. The Prophet passed by Ammar and removed the dust off his head and said, "May Allah be merciful to Ammar. He will be killed by a rebellious aggressive group. Ammar will invite them to (obey) Allah and they will invite him to the (Hell) fire."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 68:
Narrated Aisha:
When Allah's Apostle returned on the day (of the battle) of Al-Khandaq (i.e. Trench), he put down his arms and took a bath. Then Gabriel whose head was covered with dust, came to him saying, "You have put down your arms! By Allah, I have not put down my arms yet." Allah's Apostle said, "Where (to go now)?" Gabriel said, "This way," pointing towards the tribe of Bani Quraiza. So Allah's Apostle went out towards them .

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 69:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
For thirty days Allah's Apostle invoked Allah to curse those who had killed the companions of Bir-Mauna; he invoked evil upon the tribes of Ral, Dhakwan, and Usaiya who disobeyed Allah and His Apostle. There was reveled about those who were killed at Bir-Mauna a Koranic Verse we used to recite, but it was cancelled later on. The Verse was:
"Inform our people that we have met our Lord. He is pleased with us and He has made us pleased"

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 70:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
"Some people drank alcohol in the morning of the day (of the battle) of Uhud and were martyred (on the same day)." Sufyan was asked, "(Were they martyred) in the last part of the day?)" He replied, "Such information does not occur in the narration."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 71:
Narrated Jabir:
My father's mutilated body was brought to the Prophet and was placed in front of him. I went to uncover his face but my companions forbade me. Then mourning cries of a lady were heard, and it was said that she was either the daughter or the sister of Amr. The Prophet said, "Why is she crying?" Or said, "Do not cry, for the angels are still shading him with their wings." (Al-Bukhari asked Sadqa, a sub-narrator, "Does the narration include the expression: 'Till he was lifted?' " The latter replied, "Jabir may have said it.")

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 72:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "Nobody who enters Paradise likes to go back to the world even if he got everything on the earth, except a Mujahid who wishes to return to the world so that he may be martyred ten times because of the dignity he receives (from Allah)." Narrated Al-Mughira bin Shu'ba: Our Prophet told us about the message of our Lord that "Whoever amongst us is killed will go to Paradise." Umar asked the Prophet, "Is it not true that our men who are killed will go to Paradise and their's (i.e. those of the Pagan's) will go to the (Hell) fire?" The Prophet said, "Yes."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 73:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abi Aufa:
Allah's Apostle said, "Know that Paradise is under the shades of swords."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 74i:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Once Solomon, son of David said, '(By Allah) Tonight I will have sexual intercourse with one hundred (or ninety-nine) women each of whom will give birth to a knight who will fight in Allah's Cause.' On that a (i.e. if Allah wills) but he did not say, 'Allah willing.' Therefore only one of those women conceived and gave birth to a half-man. By Him in Whose Hands Mohammed's life is, if he had said, "Allah willing', (he would have begotten sons) all of whom would have been knights striving in Allah's Cause."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 74n:
Narrated Anas: The Prophet was the best, the bravest and the most generous of all the people. Once when the people of Medina got frightened, the Prophet rode a horse and went ahead of them and said, "We found this horse very fast."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 75:
Narrated Mohammed bin Jubair:
Jubair bin Mut'im told me that while he was in the company of Allah's Apostle with the people returning from Hunain, some people (bedouins) caught hold of the Prophet and started begging of him so much so that he had to stand under a (kind of thorny tree (i.e. Samurah) and his cloak was snatched away. The Prophet stopped and said, "Give me my cloak. If I had as many camels as these thorny trees, I would have distributed them amongst you and you will not find me a miser or a liar or a coward."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 76:
Narrated Amr bin Maimun Al-Audi:
Sad used to teach his sons the following words as a teacher teaches his students the skill of writing and used to say that Allah's Apostle used to seek Refuge with Allah from them (i.e. the evils) at the end of every prayer. The words are:
'O Allah! I seek refuge with You from cowardice, and seek refuge with You from being brought back to a bad stage of old life and seek refuge with You from the afflictions of the world, and seek refuge with You from the punishments in the grave.'

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 77:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet used to say, "O Allah! I seek refuge with You from helplessness, laziness, cowardice and feeble old age; I seek refuge with You from afflictions of life and death and seek refuge with You from the punishment in the grave."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 78:
Narrated As-Sa'-ib bin Yazid:
I was in the company of Talha bin Ubaidullah, Sad, Al-Miqdad bin Al-Aswad and Abdur Rahman bin 'Auf and I heard none of them narrating anything from Allah's Apostle but Talha was talking about the day (of the battle) of Uhud.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 79:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
On the day of the Conquest (of Mecca) the Prophet said, "There is no emigration after the Conquest but Jihad and intentions. When you are called (by the Muslim ruler) for fighting, go forth immediately." (See Hadith No. 42)

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 80i:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Allah welcomes two men with a smile; one of whom kills the other and both of them enter Paradise. One fights in Allah's Cause and gets killed. Later on Allah forgives the 'killer who also get martyred (In Allah's Cause)."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 80n:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I went to Allah's Apostle while he was at Khaibar after it had fallen in the Muslims' hands. I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Give me a share (from the land of Khaibar)."
One of the sons of Sa'id bin Al-'As said, "O Allah's Apostle! Do not give him a share." I said, "This is the murderer of Ibn Qauqal." The son of Said bin Al-As said, "Strange! A Wabr (i.e. guinea pig) who has come down to us from the mountain of Qaduim (i.e. grazing place of sheep) blames me for killing a Muslim who was given superiority by Allah because of me, and Allah did not disgrace me at his hands (i.e. was not killed as an infidel)." (The sub-narrator said "I do not know whether the Prophet gave him a share or not.")

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 81:
Narrated Anas bin Malik
In the life-time of the Prophet, Abu Talha did not fast because of the Jihad, but after the Prophet died I never saw him without fasting except on 'Id-ul-Fitr and 'Id-ul-Aclha.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 82:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Five are regarded as martyrs: They are those who die because of plague, abdominal disease, drowning or a falling building etc., and the martyrs in Allah's Cause."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 83:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "Plauge is the cause of martyrdom of every Muslim (who dies because of it)."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 84:
Narrated Al-Bara:
When the Divine Inspiration: "Those of the believers who sit (at home), was revealed the Prophet sent for Zaid (bin Thabit) who came with a shoulder-blade and wrote on it. Ibn Um-Maktum complained about his blindness and on that the following revelation came: "Not equal are those believers who sit (at home) except those who are disabled (by injury, or are blind or lame etc.) and those who strive hard and fight in the Way of Allah with their wealth and lives)." (4.95)

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 85:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad As-Sa'idi:
I saw Marwan bin Al-Hakam sitting in the Mosque. So I came forward and sat by his side. He told us that Zaid bin Thabit had told him that Allah's Apostle had dictated to him the Divine Verse:
"Not equal are those believers who sit (at home) and those who strive hard and fight in the Cause of Allah with their wealth and lives.' (4.95)
Zaid said, "Ibn-Maktum came to the Prophet while he was dictating to me that very Verse. On that Ibn Um Maktum said, "O Allah's Apostle! If I had power, I would surely take part in Jihad." He was a blind man. So Allah sent down revelation to His Apostle while his thigh was on mine and it became so heavy for me that I feared that my thigh would be broken. Then that state of the Prophet was over after Allah revealed "...except those who are disabled (by injury or are blind or lame etc.) (4.95)

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 86:
Narrated Salim Abu-An-Nadr:
Abdullah bin Abi Aufa wrote and I read what he wrote that Allah's Apostle said, "When you face them (i.e. your enemy) then be patient."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 87:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle went towards the Khandaq (i.e. Trench) and saw the Emigrants and the Ansar digging in a very cold morning as they did not have slaves to do that for them. When he noticed their fatigue and hunger he said, "O Allah! The real life is that of the Here-after, (so please) forgive the Ansar and the Emigrants." In its reply the Emigrants and the Ansar said, "We are those who have given a pledge of allegiance to Mohammed that we will carry on Jihad as long as we live."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 88:
Narrated Anas:
The Emigrants and the Ansar started digging the trench around Medina carrying the earth on their backs and saying, "We are those who have given a pledge of allegiance to Mohammed that we will I carry on Jihad as long as we live." The Prophet kept on replying, "O Allah, there is no good except the good of the Hereafter; so confer Your Blessings on the Ansar and the Emigrants."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 89:
Narrated Al-Bara:
The Prophet went on carrying (i.e. the earth) and saying, "Without You (O Allah!) we would have got no guidance."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 90:
Narrated Al-Bara:
On the day (of the battle) of Al-Ahzab (i.e. clans) I saw the Prophet carrying earth, and the earth was covering the whiteness of his abdomen. And he was saying, "Without You (O Allah!) we would have got no guidance, nor given in charity, nor prayed. So please bless us with tranquility and make firm our feet when we meet our enemies.
Indeed (these) people have rebelled against (oppressed) us but never shall we yield if they try to bring affliction upon us."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 91:
Narrated Anas:
We returned from the Ghazwa of Tabuk along with the Prophet. (See Hadith No. 92 below) .

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 92:
Narrated Anas:
While the Prophet was in a Ghazwa he said, "Some people have remained behind us in Medina and we never crossed a mountain path or a valley, but they were with us (i.e. sharing the reward with us), as they have been held back by a (legal) excuse. "

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 93:
Narrated Abu Said:
I heard the Prophet saying, "Indeed, anyone who fasts for one day for Allah's Pleasure, Allah will keep his face away from the (Hell) fire for (a distance covered by a journey of) seventy years."

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Volume 4, Book 52, Number 94:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Whoever spends two things in Allah's Cause, will be called by all the gate-keepers of Paradise who will be saying, 'O so-and-so! Come here.' " Abu Bakr said, "O Allah's Apostle! Such persons will never be destroyed." The Prophet said, "I hope you will be one of them."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 95:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
Allah's Apostle ascended the pulpit and said, "Nothing worries me as to what will happen to you after me, except the temptation of worldly blessings which will be conferred on you." Then he mentioned the worldly pleasures. He started with the one (i.e. the blessings) and took up the other (i.e. the pleasures). A man got up saying, "O Allah's Apostle! Can the good bring about evil?" The Prophet remained silent and we thought that he was being inspired divinely, so all the people kept silent with awe. Then the Prophet wiped the sweat off his face and asked, "Where is the present questioner?" "Do you think wealth is good?" he repeated thrice, adding, "No doubt, good produces nothing but good. Indeed it is like what grows on the banks of a stream which either kills or nearly kills the grazing animals because of gluttony except the vegetation-eating animal which eats till both its flanks are full (i.e. till it gets satisfied) and then stands in the sun and defecates and urinates and again starts grazing. This worldly property is sweet vegetation. How excellent the wealth of the Muslim is, if it is collected through legal means and is spent in Allah's Cause and on orphans, poor people and travelers. But he who does not take it legally is like an eater who is never satisfied and his wealth will be a witness against him on the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 96:
Narrated Zaid bin Khalid:
Allah's Apostle said, " He who pre pares a Ghazi going in Allah's Cause is given a reward equal to that of) a Ghazi; and he who looks after properly the dependents of a Ghazi going in Allah's Cause is (given a reward equal to that of) Ghazi."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 97:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet used not to enter any house in Medina except the house of Um Sulaim besides those of his wives when he was asked why, he said, "I take pity on her as her brother was killed in my company. "

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 98:
Narrated Ibn Aun:
Once Musa bin Anas while describing the battle of Yamama, said, "Anas bin Malik went to Thabit bin Qais, who had lifted his clothes from his thighs and was applying Hunut to his body. Anas asked, 'O Uncle! What is holding you back (from the battle)?' He replied, 'O my nephew! I am coming just now,' and went on perfuming himself with Hunut, then he came and sat (in the row). Anas then mentioned that the people fled from the battle-field. On that Thabit said, 'Clear the way for me to fight the enemy. We would never do so (i.e. flee) in the company of Allah's Apostle. How bad the habits you have acquired from your enemies!"

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 99:
Narrated Jabir:
The Prophet said, "Who will bring me the information about the enemy on the day (of the battle) of Al-Ahzab (i.e. Clans)?" Az-Zubair said, "I will." The Prophet said again, "Who will bring me the information about the enemy?" Az-Zubair said again, "I will." The Prophet said, "Every prophet had a disciple and my disciple is Az-Zubair. "

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 100:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
When the Prophet called the people (Sadqa, a sub-narrator, said, 'Most probably that happened on the day of Al-Khandaq) Az-Zubair responded to the call (i.e. to act as a reconnoiter). The Prophet) called the people again and Az-Zubair responded to the call. The Prophet then said, "Every prophet had a disciple and my disciple is Zubair bin Al-Awwam."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 101:
Narrated Malik bin Al-Huwairith:
On my departure from the Prophet he said to me and to a friend of mine, "You two, pronounce the Adhan and the Iqama for the prayer and let the elder of you lead the prayer."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 102:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "Good will remain (as a permanent quality) in the foreheads of horses till the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 103:
Narrated Ursa bin ALGA:
The Prophet said, "Good will remain (as a permanent quality) in the foreheads of horses till the Day of Resurrection."
And narrated Anas bin Malik: Allah's Apostle said, "There is a blessing in the fore-heads of horses."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 104:
Narrated Urwa Al-Bariqi:
The Prophet said, "Good will remain (as a permanent quality) in the foreheads of horses (for Jihad) till the Day of Resurrection, for they bring about either a reward (in the Hereafter) or booty (in this world."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 105:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "If somebody keeps a horse in Allah's Cause motivated by his faith in Allah and his belief in His Promise, then he will be rewarded on the Day of Resurrection for what the horse has eaten or drunk and for its dung and urine."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 106:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abi Qatada:
(from his father) Abu Qatada went out (on a journey) with Allah's Apostle but he was left behind with some of his companions who were in the state of Ihram. He himself was not in the state of Ihram. They saw an opener before he could see it. When they saw the opener, they did not speak anything till Abu Qatada saw it. So, he rode over his horse called Al-Jarada and requested them to give him his lash, but they refused. So, he himself took it and then attacked the opener and slaughtered it. He ate of its meat and his companions ate, too, but they regretted their eating. When they met the Prophet (they asked him about it) and he asked, "Have you some of its meat (left) with you?" Abu Qatada replied, "Yes, we have its leg with us." So, the Prophet took and ate it.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 107:
Narrated Sahl:
In our garden there was a horse belonging to the Prophet called Al-Luhaif or Al-Lakhif.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 108:
Narrated Mu'adh:
I was a companion rider of the Prophet on a donkey called 'Ufair. The Prophet asked, "O Mu'adh! Do you know what Allah's right on His slaves is, and what the right of His slaves on Him is?" I replied, "Allah and His Apostle know better." He said, "Allah's right on His slaves is that they should worship Him (Alone) and should not worship any besides Him. And slave's right on Allah is that He should not punish him who worships none besides Him." I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Should I not inform the people of this good news?" He said, "Do not inform them of it, lest they should depend on it (absolutely)."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 109:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Once there was a feeling of fright in Medina, so the Prophet borrowed a horse belonging to us called Mandub (and he rode away on it). (When the Prophet returned) he said, "I have not seen anything of fright and I found it (i.e. this horse) very fast."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 110:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
I heard the Prophet saying. "Evil omen is in three things: The horse, the woman and the house."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 111:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad Saidi:
Allah's Apostle said "If there is any evil omen in anything, then it is in the woman, the horse and the house."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 112:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, " Horses are kept for one of three purposes; for some people they are a source of reward, for some others they are a means of shelter and for some others they are a source of sins. The one for whom they are a source of reward, is he who keeps a horse for Allah's Cause (i.e. Jihad) tying it with a long tether on a meadow or in a garden with the result that whatever it eats from the area of the meadow or the garden where it is tied will be counted as good deeds for his benefit, and if it should break its rope and jump over one or two hillocks then all its dung and its foot marks will be written as good deeds for him; and if it passes by a river and drinks water from it even though he had no intention of watering it, even then he will get the reward for its drinking. As for the man for whom horses are a source of sins, he is the one who keeps a horse for the sake of pride and pretense and showing enmity for Muslims: such a horse will be a source of sins for him. When Allah's Apostle was asked about donkeys, he replied, "Nothing has been revealed to me about them except this unique, comprehensive Verse: "Then anyone who does an atom's (or a small ant's) weight of good shall see it; And anyone who does an atom's (or a small ant's) weight of evil, shall see it.' (101.7-8)

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 113:
Narrated Muslim from Abu Aqil from Abu Al-Mutawakkil An-Naji:
I called on Jabir bin Abdullah Al-Ansari and said to him, "Relate to me what you have heard from Allah's Apostle ." He said, "I accompanied him on one of the journeys." (Abu Aqil said, "I do not know whether that journey was for the purpose of Jihad or Umra.") "When we were returning," Jabir continued, "the Prophet said, 'Whoever wants to return earlier to his family, should hurry up.' We set off and I was on a black red tainted camel having no defect, and the people were behind me. While I was in that state the camel stopped suddenly (because of exhaustion). On that the Prophet said to me, 'O Jabir, wait!' Then he hit it once with his lash and it started moving on a fast pace. He then said, 'Will you sell the camel?' I replied in the affirmative when we reached Medina, and the Prophet went to the Mosque along with his companions. I, too, went to him after tying the camel on the pavement at the Mosque gate. Then I said to him, 'This is your camel.' He came out and started examining the camel and saying, 'The camel is ours.' Then the Prophet sent some Awaq (i.e. an amount) of gold saying, 'Give it to Jabir.' Then he asked, 'Have you taken the full price (of the camel)?' I replied in the affirmative. He said, 'Both the price and the camel are for you.' "

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 114:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
There was a feeling of fright in Medina, so the Prophet borrowed a horse called Mandub belonging 'to Abu Talha and mounted it. (On his return), he said, "I did not see anything of fright and I found this horse very fast."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 115:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle fixed two shares for the horse and one share for its rider (from the war booty).

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 116:
Narrated Abu Ishaq:
Somebody asked Al-Bar-a bin Azib, "Did you flee deserting Allah's Apostle during the battle of Hunain?" Al-Bara replied, "But Allah's Apostle did not flee. The people of the Tribe of Hawazin were good archers. When we met them, we attacked them, and they fled. When the Muslims started collecting the war booty, the pagans faced us with arrows, but Allah's Apostle did not flee. No doubt, I saw him on his white mule and Abu Sufyan was holding its reins and the Prophet was saying, 'I am the Prophet in truth: I am the son of Abdul Muttalib.' "

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 117:
Narrated IbnUmar:
When the Prophet put his feet in the stirrup and the she-camel got up carrying him he would start reciting Talbiya at the mosque of Dhul-Hulaifa.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 118:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet met them (i.e. the people) while he was riding an unsaddled horse with his sword slung over his shoulder.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 119:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Once the people of Medina were frightened, so the Prophet rode a horse belonging to Abu Talha and it ran slowly, or was of narrow paces. When he returned, he said, "I found your (i.e. Abu Talha's) horse very fast. After that the horse could not be surpassed in running..'

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 120:
Narrated (Abdullah) bin Umar:
The Prophet arranged for a horse race amongst the horses that had been made lean to take place between Al-Hafya" and Thaniyat Al-Wada' (i.e. names of two places) and the horses which had not been mad.? lean from Ath-Thaniyat to the mosque of Bani Zuraiq. I was also amongst those who took part in that horse race. Sufyan, a sub-narrator, said, "The distance between Al-Hafya and Thaniya Al-Wada' is five or six miles; and between Thaniya and the mosque of Bani Zuraiq is one mile."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 121:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet arranged for a horse race of the horses which had not been made lean; the area of the race was from Ath-Thaniya to the mosque of Bani Zuraiq. (The sub-narrator said, "Abdullah bin Umar was amongst those who participated in that horse race.").

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Volume 4, Book 52, Number 122:
Narrated Abu Ishaq from Musa bin Uqba from Mafia from Ibn Umar who said:
"Allah's Apostle arranged a horse race amongst the horses that had been made lean, letting them start from Al-Hafya' and their limit (distance of running) was up to Thaniyat-al-Wada'. I asked Musa, 'What was the distance between the two places?' Musa replied, 'Six or seven miles. He arranged a race of the horses which had not been made lean sending them from Thaniyat-al-Wada', and their limit was up to the mosque of Bani Zuraiq.' I asked, 'What was the distance between those two places?' He replied 'One mile or so.' Ibn Umar was amongst those who participated in that horse race."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 123:
Narrated Anas:
The she camel of the Prophet was called Al-Adba.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 124:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet had a she camel called Al Adba which could not be excelled in a race. (Humaid, a sub-narrator said, "Or could hardly be excelled.") Once a bedouin came riding a camel below six years of age which surpasses it (i.e. Al'Adba) in the race. The Muslims felt it so much that the Prophet noticed their distress. He then said, "It is Allah's Law that He brings down whatever rises high in the world."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 125:
Narrated Amr bin Al-Harith:
The Prophet did not leave anything behind him after his death except a white mule, his arms and a piece of land which he left to be given in charity.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 126:
Narrated Al-Bara:
that a man asked him. "O Abu Umara! Did you flee on the day (of the battle) of Hunain?" He replied, "No, by Allah, the Prophet did not flee but the hasty people fled and the people of the Tribe of Hawazin attacked them with arrows, while the Prophet was riding his white mule and Abu Sufyan bin Al-Harith was holding its reins, and the Prophet was saying, 'I am the Prophet in truth, I am the son of Abdul Muttalib.' "

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 127:
Narrated Aisha:
the mother of the faithful believers, I requested the Prophet permit me to participate in Jihad, but he said, "Your Jihad is the performance of Hajj."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 128:
Narrated Aisha:
the mother of the faithful believers: The Prophet was asked by his wives about the Jihad and he replied, "The best Jihad (for you) is (the performance of) Hajj."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 129:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle went to the daughter of Milhan and reclined there (and slept) and then (woke up) smiling. She asked, "O Allah's Apostle! What makes you smile?" He replied, (I dreamt that) some people amongst my followers were sailing on the green sea in Allah's Cause, resembling kings on thrones." She said, "O Allah's Apostle! Invoke Allah to make me one of them." He said, "O Allah! Let her be one of them." Then he (slept again and woke up and) smiled. She asked him the same question and he gave the same reply. She said, "Invoke Allah to make me one of them." He replied, "You will be amongst the first group of them; you will not be amongst the last." Later on she married 'Ubada bin As-Samit and then she sailed on the sea with bint Qaraza, Mu'awiya's wife (for Jihad). On her return, she mounted her riding animal, which threw her down breaking her neck, and she died on falling down.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 130:
Narrated Aisha:
Whenever the Prophet intended to proceed on a journey, he used to draw lots amongst his wives and would take the one upon whom the lot fell. Once, before setting out for Jihad, he drew lots amongst us and the lot came to me; so I went with the Prophet; and that happened after the revelation of the Verse Hijab (i.e. veiling).

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 131:
Narrated Anas:
On the day (of the battle) of Uhad when (some) people retreated and left the Prophet, I saw Aisha bint Abu Bakr and Um Sulaim, with their robes tucked up so that the bangles around their ankles were visible hurrying with their water skins (in another narration it is said, "carrying the water skins on their backs"). Then they would pour the water in the mouths of the people, and return to fill the water skins again and came back again to pour water in the mouths of the people.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 132:
Narrated Tha'laba bin Abi Malik:
Umar bin Al-Khattab distributed some garments amongst the women of Medina. One good garment remained, and one of those present with him said, "O chief of the believers! Give this garment to your wife, the (grand) daughter of Allah's Apostle." They meant Um Kulthum, the daughter of Ali. Umar said, Um Salit has more right (to have it)." Um Salit was amongst those Ansari women who had given the pledge of allegiance to Allah's Apostle.' Umar said, "She (i.e. Um Salit) used to carry the water skins for us on the day of Uhud."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 133:
Narrated Ar-Rubayyi bint Mu'auwidh:
We were in the company of the Prophet providing the wounded with water and treating them and bringing the killed to Medina (from the battle field) .

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 134:
Narrated Ar-Rabibint Mu'auwidh:
We used to take part in holy battles with the Prophet by providing the people with water and serving them and bringing the killed and the wounded back to Medina.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 135:
Narrated Abu Musa:
Abu Amir was hit with an arrow in his knee, so I went to him and he asked me to remove the arrow. When I removed it, the water started dribbling from it. Then I went to the Prophet and told him about it. He said, "O Allah! Forgive Ubaid Abu Amir."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 136:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet was vigilant one night and when he reached Medina, he said, "Would that a pious man from my companions guard me tonight!" Suddenly we heard the clatter of arms. He said, "Who is that? " He (The new comer) replied, " I am Sad bin Abi Waqqas and have come to guard you." So, the Prophet slept (that night).

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 137:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Let the slave of Dinar and Dirham of Quantify and Khamisa (i.e. money and luxurious clothes) perish for he is pleased if these things are given to him, and if not, he is displeased!" Narrated Abu Huraira: The Prophet said, " Let the slave of Dinar and Dirham, of Quantify and Khamisa perish as he is pleased if these things are given to him, and if not, he is displeased. Let such a person perish and relapse, and if he is pierced with a thorn, let him not find anyone to take it out for him. Paradise is for him who holds the reins of his horse to strive in Allah's Cause, with his hair unkempt and feet covered with dust: if he is appointed in the vanguard, he is perfectly satisfied with his post of guarding, and if he is appointed in the rearward, he accepts his post with satisfaction; (he is so simple and unambiguous that) if he asks for permission he is not permitted, and if he intercedes, his intercession is not accepted."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 138:
Narrated Anas:
I was in the company of Jabir bin Abdullah on a journey and he used to serve me though he was older than I. Jarir said, "I saw the Ansar doing a thing (i.e. showing great reverence to the Prophet) for which I have vowed that whenever I meet any of them, I will serve him."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 139:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
I went along with the Prophet to Khaibar so as to serve him. (Later on) when the Prophet returned he, on seeing the Uhud mountain, said, "This is a mountain that loves us andis loved by us." Then he pointed to Medina with his hand saying, "O Allah! I make the area which is in between Medina's two mountains a sanctuary, as Abraham made Mecca a sanctuary. O Allah! Bless us in our Sa and Mudd (i.e. units of measuring)."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 140:
Narrated Anas:
We were with the Prophet (on a journey) and the only shade one could have was the shade made by one's own garment. Those who fasted did not do any work and those who did not fast served the camels and brought the water on them and treated the sick and (wounded). So, the Prophet said, "Today, those who were not fasting took (all) the reward."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 141:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Charity is obligatory everyday on every joint of a human being. If one helps a person in matters concerning his riding animal by helping him to ride it or by lifting his luggage on to it, all this will be regarded charity. A good word, and every step one takes to offer the compulsory Congregational prayer, is regarded as charity; and guiding somebody on the road is regarded as charity."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 142:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad As-Sa'di :
Allah's Apostle said, "To guard Muslims from infidels in Allah's Cause for one day is better than the world and whatever is on its surface, and a place in Paradise as small as that occupied by the whip of one of you is better than the world and whatever is on its surface; and a morning's or an evening's journey which a slave (person) travels in Allah's Cause is better than the world and whatever is on its surface."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 143:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said to Abu Talha, "Choose one of your boy servants to serve me in my expedition to Khaibar." So, Abu Talha took me letting me ride behind him while I was a boy nearing the age of puberty. I used to serve Allah's Apostle when he stopped to rest. I heard him saying repeatedly, "O Allah! I seek refuge with You from distress and sorrow, from helplessness and laziness, from miserliness and cowardice, from being heavily in debt and from being overcome by men." Then we reached Khaibar; and when Allah enabled him to conquer the Fort (of Khaibar), the beauty of Safiya bint Huyai bin Akhtab was described to him. Her husband had been killed while she was a bride. So Allah's Apostle selected her for himself and took her along with him till we reached a place called Sad-AsSahba,' where her menses were over and he took her for his wife. Haris (a kind of dish) was served on a small leather sheet. Then Allah's Apostle told me to call those who were around me. So, that was the marriage banquet of Allah's Apostle and Safiya. Then we left for Medina. I saw Allah's Apostle folding a cloak round the hump of the camel so as to make a wide space for Safiya (to sit on behind him) He sat beside his camel letting his knees for Safiya to put her feet on so as to mount the camel. Then, we proceeded till we approached Medina; he looked at Uhud (mountain) and said, "This is a mountain which loves us and is loved by us." Then he looked at Medina and said, "O Allah! I make the area between its (i.e. Medina's) two mountains a sanctuary as Abraham made Mecca a sanctuary. O Allah! Bless them (i.e. the people of Medina) in their Mudd and Sa (i.e. measures)."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 144:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Um Haram told me that the Prophet one day took a midday nap in her house. Then he woke up smiling. Um Haram asked, "O Allah's Apostle! What makes you smile?" He replied "I was astonished to see (in my dream) some people amongst my followers on a sea-voyage looking like kings on the thrones." She said, "O Allah's Apostle! Invoke Allah to make me one of them." He replied, "You are amongst them." He slept again and then woke up smiling and said the same as before twice or thrice. And she said, "O Allah's Apostle! Invoke Allah to make me one of them." And he said, "You are amongst the first batch." 'Ubada bin As-Samit married her (i.e. Um Haram) and then he took her for Jihad. When she returned, an animal was presented to her to ride, but she fell down and her neck was broken.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 145:
Narrated Mus'ab bin Sad:
Once Sad (bin Abi Waqqas) thought that he was superior to those who were below him in rank. On that the Prophet said, "You gain no victory or livelihood except through (the blessings and invocations of) the poor amongst you."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 146:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri
The Prophet said, "A time will come when groups of people will go for Jihad and it will be asked, 'Is there anyone amongst you who has enjoyed the company of the Prophet?' The answer will be, 'Yes.' Then they will be given victory (by Allah) (because of him). Then a time will come when it will be asked. 'Is there anyone amongst you who has enjoyed the company of the companions of the Prophet?' It will be said, 'Yes,' and they will be given victory (by Allah). Then a time will come when it will be said. 'Is there anyone amongst you who has enjoyed the company of the companions of the companions of the Prophet?' It will be said, 'Yes,' and they will be given victory (by Allah)."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 147:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad As-Sa'idi:
Allah's Apostle and the pagans faced each other and started fighting. When Allah's Apostle returned to his camp and when the pagans returned to their camp, somebody talked about a man amongst the companions of Allah's Apostle who

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would follow and kill with his sword any pagan going alone. He said, "Nobody did his job (i.e. fighting) so properly today as that man." Allah's Apostle said, "Indeed, he is amongst the people of the (Hell) Fire." A man amongst the people said, "I shall accompany him (to watch what he does)" Thus he accompanied him, and wherever he stood, he would stand with him, and wherever he ran, he would run with him.

Then the (brave) man got wounded seriously and he decided to bring about his death quickly. He planted the blade of the sword in the ground directing its sharp end towards his chest between his two breasts. Then he leaned on the sword and killed himself. The other man came to Allah's Apostle and said, "I testify that you are Allah's Apostle." The Prophet asked, "What has happened?" He replied, "(It is about) the man whom you had described as one of the people of the (Hell) Fire. The people were greatly surprised at what you said, and I said, 'I will find out his reality for you.' So, I came out seeking him. He got severely wounded, and hastened to die by slanting the blade of his sword in the ground directing its sharp end towards his chest between his two breasts. Then he eased on his sword and killed himself." when Allah's Apostle said, "A man may seem to the people as if he were practising the deeds of the people of Paradise while in fact he is from the people of the Hell) Fire, another may seem to the people as if he were practicing the deeds of the people of Hell (Fire), while in fact he is from the people of Paradise."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 148:
Narrated Salama bin Al-Akwa:
The Prophet passed by some people of the tribe of Bani Aslam who were practicing archery. The Prophet said, "O Bani Ismail ! Practice archery as your father Isma'il was a great archer. Keep on throwing arrows and I am with Bani so-and-so." So one of the parties ceased throwing. Allah's Apostle said, "Why do you not throw?" They replied, "How should we throw while you are with them (i.e. on their side)?" On that the Prophet said, "Throw, and I am with all of you."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 149:
Narrated Abu Usaid:
On the day (of the battle) of Badr when we stood in rows against (the army of) Quraish and they stood in rows against us, the Prophet said, "When they do come near you, throw arrows at them."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 150:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
While some Ethiopians were playing in the presence of the Prophet, Umar came in, picked up a stone and hit them with it. On that the Prophet said, "O Umar! Allow them (to play)." Ma'mar (the sub-narrator) added that they were playing in the Mosque.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 151:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Abu Talha and the Prophet used to shield themselves with one shield. Abu Talha was a good archer, and when he threw (his arrows) the Prophet would look at the target of his arrows.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 152:
Narrated Sahl:
When the helmet of the Prophet was smashed on his head and blood covered his face and one of his front teeth got broken, Ali brought the water in his shield and Fatima the Prophet's daughter) washed him. But when she saw that the bleeding increased more by the water, she took a mat, burnt it, and placed the ashes on the wound of the Prophet and so the blood stopped oozing out.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 153:
Narrated Umar:
The properties of Bani An-Nadir which Allah had transferred to His Apostle as Fai Booty were not gained by the Muslims with their horses and camels. The properties therefore, belonged especially to Allah's Apostle who used to give his family their yearly expenditure and spend what remained thereof on arms and horses to be used in Allah's Cause.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 154:
Narrated Ali:
I never saw the Prophet saying, "Let my parents sacrifice their lives for you," to any man after Sad. I heard him saying (to him), "Throw (the arrows)! Let my parents sacrifice their lives for you."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 155:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle came to my house while two girls were singing beside me the songs of Bu'ath (a story about the war between the two tribes of the Ansar, i.e. Khazraj and Aus, before Islam.) The Prophet reclined on the bed and turned his face to the other side. Abu Bakr came and scolded me and said protestingly, "Instrument of Satan in the presence of Allah's Apostle?" Allah's Apostle turned his face towards him and said, "Leave them." When Abu Bakr became inattentive, I waved the two girls to go away and they left. It was the day of 'Id when negroes used to play with leather shields and spears. Either I requested Allah's Apostle or he himself asked me whether I would like to see the display. I replied in the affirmative. Then he let me stand behind him and my cheek was touching his cheek and he was saying, "Carry on, O Bani Arfida (i.e. negroes)!" When I got tired, he asked me if that was enough. I replied in the affirmative and he told me to leave.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 156:
Narrated Anas:
The 'Prophet was the best and the bravest amongst the people. Once the people of Medina got terrified at night, so they went in the direction of the noise (that terrified them). The Prophet met them (on his way back) after he had found out the truth. He was riding an unsaddled horse belonging to Abu Talha and a sword was hanging by his neck, and he was saying, "Don't be afraid! Don't be afraid!" He further said, "I found it (i.e. the horse) very fast," or said, "This horse is very fast." (Qastala-ni)

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 157:
Narrated Abu Umama:
Some people conquered many countries and their swords were decorated neither with gold nor silver, but they were decorated with leather, lead and iron.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 158:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
That he proceeded in the company of Allah's Apostle towards Najd to participate in a Ghazwa. (Holy-battle) When Allah's Apostle returned, he too returned with him. Midday came upon them while they were in a valley having many thorny trees. Allah's Apostle and the people dismounted and dispersed to rest in the shade of the trees. Allah's Apostle rested under a tree and hung his sword on it. We all took a nap and suddenly we heard Allah's Apostle calling us. (We woke up) to see a bedouin with him. The Prophet said, "This bedouin took out my sword while I was sleeping and when I woke up, I found the unsheathed sword in his hand and he challenged me saying, 'Who will save you from me?' I said thrice, 'Allah.' The Prophet did not punish him but sat down.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 159:
Narrated Sahl:
That he was asked about the wound of the Prophet on the day (of the battle) of Uhud. He said, "The face of the Prophet as wounded and one of his front teeth as broken and the helmet over his head was smashed. Fatima washed of the blood while Ali held water. When she saw that bleeding was increasing continuously, she burnt a mat (of date-palm leaves) till it turned into ashes which she put over the wound and thus the bleeding ceased."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 160:
Narrated Amr bin Al-Harith:
The Prophet did not leave behind him after his death, anything except his arms, his white mule, and a piece of land at Khaibar which he left to be given in charity .

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 161:
Narrated Jabir:
as above (Hadith No. 158).
Volume 4, Book 52, Number 162:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
That he participated in a Ghazwa (Holy-Battle) in the company of Allah's Apostle. Midday came upon them while they were in a valley having many thorny trees. The people dispersed to rest in the shade of the trees. The Prophet rested under a tree, hung his sword on it, and then slept. Then he woke up to find near to him, a man whose presence he had not noticed before. The Prophet said, "This (man) took my sword (out of its scabbard) and said, 'Who will save you from me.' I replied, 'Allah.' So, he put the sword back into its scabbard, and you see him sitting here." Anyhow, the Prophet did not punish him. (See Hadith No. 158)

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 163:
Narrated Abu Qatada:
That he was in the company of Allah's Apostle and when they had covered a portion of the road to Mecca, he and some of the companions lagged behind. The latter were in a state of Ihram, while he was not. He saw an onager and rode his horse and requested his companions to give him his lash but they refused. Then he asked them to give him his spear but they refused, so he took it himself, attacked the onager, and killed it. Some of the companions of the Prophet ate of it while some others refused to eat. When they caught up with Allah's Apostle they asked him about that, and he said, "That was a meal Allah fed you with." (It is also said that Allah's Apostle asked, "Have you got something of its meat?")

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 164:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet , while in a tent (on the day of the battle of Badr) said, "O Allah! I ask you the fulfillment of Your Covenant and Promise. O Allah! If You wish (to destroy the believers) You will never be worshipped after today." Abu Bakr caught him by the hand and said, "This is sufficient, O Allah's Apostle! You have asked Allah pressingly." The Prophet was clad in his armor at that time. He went out, saying to me: "There multitude will be put to flight and they will show their backs. Nay, but the Hour is their appointed time (for their full recompense) and that Hour will be more grievous and more bitter (than their worldly failure)." (54.45-46) Khalid said that was on the day of the battle of Badr.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 165:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle died while his (iron) armor was mortgaged to a Jew for thirty Sas of barley.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 166:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The example of a miser and the one who gives in charity, is like the example of two men wearing iron cloaks so tightly that their arms are raised forcibly towards their collar-bones. So, whenever a charitable person wants to give in charity, his cloak spreads over his body so much so that it wipes out his traces, but whenever the miser wants to give in charity, the rings (of the iron cloak) come closer to each other and press over his body, and his hands gets connected to his collar-bones. Abu Huraira heard the Prophet saying. "The miser then tries to widen it but in vain."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 167:
Narrated Al-Mughira bin Shu'ba:
Allah's Apostle went out to answer the call of nature and on his return I brought some water to him. He performed the ablution while he was wearing a Sha'mi cloak. He rinsed his mouth and washed his nose by putting water in it and then blowing it out, and washed his face. Then he tried to take out his hands through his sleeves but they were tight, so he took them out from underneath, washed them and passed wet hands over his head and over his leather socks.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 168:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet allowed Abdur-Rahman bin 'Auf and Az-Zubair to wear silken shirts because they had a skin disease causing itching.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 169:
Narrated Anas:
as above.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 170:
Narrated Anas:
Abdur Rahman bin 'Auf and Az-Zubair complained to the Prophet, i.e. about the lice (that caused itching) so he allowed them to wear silken clothes. I saw them wearing such clothes in a holy battle.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 171:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet allowed Abdur-Rahman bin 'Auf and Az-Zubair bin Al-Awwam to wear silk.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 172:
Narrated Anas:
(Wearing of silk) was allowed to them (i.e. AbdurRahman and Az-Zubair) because of the itching they suffered from.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 173:
Narrated Umaiya Ad-Damri:
I saw the Prophet eating of a shoulder (of a sheep) by cutting from it and then he was called to prayer and he prayed without repeating his ablution.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 174:
Narrated Az-Zuhri:
as above (Hadith No. 173...) and added that the Prophet put the knife down.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 175:
Narrated Khalid bin Madan:
That 'Umair bin Al-Aswad Al-Anasi told him that he went to 'Ubada bin As-Samit while he was staying in his house at the sea-shore of Hims with (his wife) Um Haram. 'Umair said. Um Haram informed us that she heard the Prophet saying, "Paradise is granted to the first batch of my followers who will undertake a naval expedition." Um Haram added, I said,

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'O Allah's Apostle! Will I be amongst them?' He replied, 'You are amongst them.' The Prophet then said, 'The first army amongst' my followers who will invade Caesar's City will be forgiven their sins.' I asked, 'Will I be one of them, O Allah's Apostle?' He replied in the negative."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 176:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "You (i.e. Muslims) will fight wi the Jews till some of them will hide behind stones. The stones will (betray them) saying, 'O Abdullah (i.e. slave of Allah)! There is a Jew hiding behind me; so kill him.' "

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 177:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The Hour will not be established until you fight with the Jews, and the stone behind which a Jew will be hiding will say. "O Muslim! There is a Jew hiding behind me, so kill him."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 178:
Narrated Amr bin Taghlib:
The Prophet said, "One of the portents of the Hour is that you will fight with people wearing shoes made of hair; and one of the portents of the Hour is that you will fight with broad-faced people whose faces will look like shields coated with leather."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 179:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The Hour will not be established until you fight with the Turks; people with small eyes, red faces, and flat noses. Their faces will look like shields coated with leather. The Hour will not be established till you fight with people whose shoes are made of hair."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 180:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The Hour will not be established till you fight with people wearing shoes made of hair. And the Hour will not be established till you fight with people whose faces look like shields coated with leather. " (Abu Huraira added, "They will be) small-eyed, flat nosed, and their faces will look like shields coated with leather.")

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 181:
Narrated Abu Ishaq:
A man asked Al-Bara, "O Abu Umara! Did you all flee on the day (of the battle) of Hunain?" He replied, "No, by Allah! Allah's Apostle did not flee, but his young unarmed companions passed by the archers of the tribe of Hawazin and Bani Nasr whose arrows hardly missed a target, and they threw arrows at them hardly missing a shot. So the Muslims retreated towards the Prophet while he was riding his white mule which was being led by his cousin Abu Sufyan bin Al-Harith bin Abdul Muttalib. The Prophet dismounted and invoked Allah for victory; then he said, 'I am the Prophet, without a lie; I am the son of Abdul Muttalib, and then he arranged his companions in rows."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 182:
Narrated Ali:
When it was the day of the battle of Al-Ahzab (i.e. the clans), Allah's Apostle said, "O Allah! Fill their (i.e. the infidels') houses and graves with fire as they busied us so much that we did not perform the prayer (i.e. Asr) till the sun set."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 183:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet used to recite the following invocations during Qunut: "O Allah! Save Salama bin Hisham. O Allah! Save Al-Walid bin Al-Walid. O Allah! Save 'Aiyash bin Rabi'a O Allah ! Save the weak Muslims. O Allah! Be very hard on Mudar tribe. O Allah! Afflict them with years (of famine) similar to the (famine) years of the time of Prophet Joseph."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 184:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abi Aufa:
Allah's Apostle invoked evil upon the pagans on the ay (of the battle) of Al-Ahzab, saying, "O Allah! The Revealer of the Holy Book, the Swift-Taker of Accounts, O Allah, defeat Al-Ahzab (i.e. the clans), O Allah, defeat them and shake them."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 185:
Narrated Abdullah:
Once the Prophet was offering the prayer in the shade of the Kaaba. Abu Jahl and some Quraishi men sent somebody to bring the abdominal contents of a shecamel which had been slaughtered somewhere in Mecca, and when he brought them, they put them over the Prophet Then Fatima (i.e. the Prophet's daughter) came and threw them away from him, and he said, "O Allah! Destroy (the pagans of) Quraish; O Allah! Destroy Quraish; O Allah Destroy Quraish," naming especially Abu Jahl bin Hisham, Utba bin Rabi'a, Shaiba bin Rabi'a, Al Walid bin Utba, Ubai bin Khalaf and Uqba bin Abi Mitt. (The narrator, Abdullah added, "I saw them all killed and thrown in the Badr well).

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 186:
Narrated Aisha:
Once the Jews came to the Prophet and said, "Death be upon you." So I cursed them. The Prophet said, "What is the matter?" I said, "Have you not heard what they said?" The Prophet said, "Have you not heard what I replied (to them)? (I said), ('The same is upon you.')"

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 187:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
Allah's Apostle wrote a letter to Caesar saying, "If you reject Islam, you will be responsible for the sins of the peasants (i.e. your people)."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 188:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Tufail bin Amr Ad-Dausi and his companions came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! The people of the tribe of Daus disobeyed and refused to follow you; so invoke Allah against them." The people said, "The tribe of Daus is ruined." The Prophet said, "O Allah! Give guidance to the people of Daus, and let them embrace Islam."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 189:
Narrated Anas:
When the Prophet intended to write a letter to the ruler of the Byzantines, he was told that those people did not read any letter unless it was stamped with a seal. So, the Prophet got a silver ring-- as if I were just looking at its white glitter on his hand ---- and stamped on it the expression "Mohammed, Apostle of Allah".

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 190:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
Allah's Apostle sent his letter to Khusrau and ordered his messenger to hand it over to the Governor of Bahrain who was to hand it over to Khusrau. So, when Khusrau read the letter he tore it. Said bin Al-Musaiyab said, "The Prophet then invoked Allah to disperse them with full dispersion, (destroy them (i.e. Khusrau and his followers) severely)".

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 191:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
Allah's Apostle wrote to Caesar and invited him to Islam and sent him his letter with Dihya Al-Kalbi whom Allah's Apostle ordered to hand it over to the Governor of Busra who would forward it to Caesar. Caesar as a sign of gratitude to Allah, had walked from Hims to Ilya (i.e. Jerusalem) when Allah had granted Him victory over the Persian forces. So, when the letter of Allah's Apostle reached Caesar, he said after reading t, 'Seek for me any one of his people! (Arabs of Quraish tribe) if present here, in order to ask him about Allah's Apostle. At that time Abu Sufyan bin Harb was in Sham with some men frown Quraish who had come (to Sham) as merchants during the truce that had been concluded between Allah's Apostle; and the infidels of Quraish. Abu Sufyan said, Caesar's messenger found us somewhere in Sham so he took me and my companions to Ilya and we were admitted into Ceasar's court to find him sitting in his royal court wearing a crown and surrounded by the senior dignitaries of the Byzantine. He said to his translator. 'Ask them who amongst them is a close relation to the man who claims to be a prophet." Abu Sufyan added, "I replied, 'I am the nearest relative to him.' He asked, 'What degree of relationship do you have with him?' I replied, 'He is my cousin,' and there was none of Bani Abu Manaf in the caravan except myself. Caesar said, 'Let him come nearer.' He then ordered that my companions stand behind me near my shoulder and said to his translator, 'Tell his companions that I am going to ask this man about the man who claims to be a prophet. If he tells a lie, they should contradict him immediately." Abu Sufyan added, "By Allah ! Had it not been shameful that my companions label me a liar, I would not have spoken the truth about him when he asked me. But I considered it shameful to be called a liar by my companions. So I told the truth. He then said to his translator, 'Ask him what kind of family does he belong to.' I replied, 'He belongs to a noble family amongst us.' He said, 'Have anybody else amongst you ever claimed the same before him? 'I replied, 'No.' He said, 'Had you ever blamed him for telling lies before he claimed what he claimed? ' I replied, 'No.' He said, 'Was anybody amongst his ancestors a king?' I replied, 'No.' He said, "Do the noble or the poor follow him?" I replied, 'It is the poor who follow him.' He said, 'Are they increasing or decreasing (day by day)?' I replied,' They are increasing.' He said, 'Does anybody amongst those who embrace his (the Prophet's) Religion become displeased and then discard his Religion?'. I replied, 'No. ' He said, 'Does he break his promises? I replied, 'No, but we are now at truce with him and we are afraid that he may betray us." Abu Sufyan added, "Other than the last sentence, I could not say anything against him. Caesar then asked, 'Have you ever had a war with him?' I replied, 'Yes.' He said, 'What was the outcome of your battles with him?' I replied, 'The result was unstable; sometimes he was victorious and sometimes we.' He said, 'What does he order you to do?' I said, 'He tells us to worship Allah alone, and not to worship others along with Him, and to leave all that our fore-fathers used to worship. He orders us to pray, give in charity, be chaste, keep promises and return what is entrusted to us.' When I had said that, Caesar said to his translator, 'Say to him: I ask you about his lineage and your reply was that he belonged to a noble family. In fact, all the apostles came from the noblest lineage of their nations. Then I questioned you whether anybody else amongst you had claimed such a thing, and your reply was in the negative. If the answer had been in the affirmative, I would have thought that this man was following a claim that had been said before him. When I asked you whether he was ever blamed for telling lies, your reply was in the negative, so I took it for granted that a person who did not tell a lie about (others) the people could never tell a lie about Allah. Then I asked you whether any of his ancestors was a king. Your reply was in the negative, and if it had been in the affirmative, I would have thought that this man wanted to take back his ancestral kingdom. When I asked you whether the rich or the poor people followed him, you replied that it was the poor who followed him. In fact, such are the followers of the apostles. Then I asked you whether his followers were increasing or decreasing. You replied that they were increasing. In fact, this is the result of true faith till it is complete (in all respects). I asked you whether there was anybody who, after embracing his religion, became displeased and discarded his religion; your reply was in the negative. In fact, this is the sign of true faith, for when its cheerfulness enters and mixes in the hearts completely, nobody will be displeased with it. I asked you whether he had ever broken his promise. You replied in the negative. And such are the apostles; they never break their promises. When I asked you whether you fought with him and he fought with you, you replied that he did, and that sometimes he was victorious and sometimes you. Indeed, such are the apostles; they are put to trials and the final victory is always theirs. Then I asked you what he ordered you. You replied that he ordered you to worship Allah alone and not to worship others along with Him, to leave all that your fore-fathers used to worship, to offer prayers, to speak the truth, to be chaste, to keep promises, and to return what is entrusted to you. These are really the qualities of a prophet who, I knew (from the previous Scriptures) would appear, but I did not know that he would be from amongst you. If what you say should be true, he will very soon occupy the earth under my feet, and if I knew that I would reach him definitely, I would go immediately to meet Him; and were I with him, then I would certainly wash his feet.' " Abu Sufyan added, "Caesar then asked for the letter of Allah's Apostle and it was read. Its contents were:--

"In the name of Allah, the most Beneficent, the most Merciful (This letter is) from Mohammed, the slave of Allah, and His Apostle, to Heraculius, the Ruler of the Byzantine. Peace be upon the followers of guidance. Now then, I invite you to Islam (i.e. surrender to Allah), embrace Islam and you will be safe; embrace Islam and Allah will bestow on you a double reward. But if you reject this invitation of Islam, you shall be responsible for misguiding the peasants (i.e. your nation). O people of the Scriptures! Come to a word common to you and us and you, that we worship. None but Allah, and that we associate nothing in worship with Him; and that none of us shall take others as Lords besides Allah. Then if they turn away, say: Bear witness that we are (they who have surrendered (unto Him)..(3.64)

Abu Sufyan added, "When Heraclius had finished his speech, there was a great hue and cry caused by the Byzantine Royalties surrounding him, and there was so much noise that I did not understand what they said. So, we were turned out of the court. When I went out with my companions and we were alone, I said to them, 'Verily, Ibn Abi Kabsha's (i.e. the Prophet's) affair has gained power. This is the King of Bani Al-Asfar fearing him." Abu Sufyan added, "By Allah, I remained low and was sure that his religion would be victorious till Allah converted me to Islam, though I disliked it "

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 192:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
That he heard the Prophet on the day (of the battle) of Khaibar saying, "I will give the flag to a person at whose hands Allah will grant victory." So, the companions of the Prophet got up, wishing eagerly to see to whom the flag will be given, and everyone of them wished to be given the flag. But the Prophet asked for Ali. Someone informed him that he was suffering from eye-trouble. So, he ordered them to bring Ali in front of him. Then the Prophet spat in his eyes and his eyes were cured immediately as if he had never any eye-trouble. Ali said, "We will fight with them (i.e. infidels) till they become like us (i.e. Muslims)." The Prophet said, "Be patient, till you face them and invite them to Islam and inform them of

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what Allah has enjoined upon them. By Allah! If a single person embraces Islam at your hands (i.e. through you), that will be better for you than the red camels."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 193:
Narrated Anas:
Whenever Allah's Apostle attacked some people, he would never attack them till it was dawn. If he heard the Adhan (i.e. call for prayer) he would delay the fight, and if he did not hear the Adhan, he would attack them immediately after dawn. We reached Khaibar at night.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 194:
Narrated Anas: as Hadith No. 193 above.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 195:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet set out for Khaibar and reached it at night. He used not to attack if he reached the people at night, till the day broke. So, when the day dawned, the Jews came out with their bags and spades. When they saw the Prophet; they said, "Mohammed and his army!" The Prophet said, Allahu--Akbar! (Allah is Greater) and Khaibar is ruined, for whenever we approach a nation (i.e. enemy to fight) then it will be a miserable morning for those who have been warned."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 196:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah 's Apostle said, " I have been ordered to fight with the people till they say, 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah,' and whoever says, 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah,' his life and property will be saved by me except for Islamic law, and his accounts will be with Allah, (either to punish him or to forgive him.)"

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 197:
Narrated Ka'b bin Malik:
Whenever Allah's Apostle intended to lead a Ghazwa, he would use an equivocation from which one would understand that he was going to a different destination .

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 198:
Narrated Ka'b bin Malik:
Whenever Allah's Apostle intended to carry out a Ghazwa, he would use an equivocation to conceal his real destination till it was the Ghazwa of Tabuk which Allah's Apostle carried out in very hot weather. As he was going to face a very long journey through a wasteland and was to meet and attack a large number of enemies. So, he made the situation clear to the Muslims so that they might prepare themselves accordingly and get ready to conquer their enemy. The Prophet informed them of the destination he was heading for (Ka'b bin Malik used to say, "Scarcely did Allah's Apostle set out for a journey on a day other than Thursday.")

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 199:
Narrated Ka'b bin Malik:
The Prophet set out on Thursday for the Ghazwa of Tabuk and he used to prefer to set out (i.e. travel) on Thursdays.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 200:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet offered a four-Rak'at Zuhr prayer at Medina and then offered a two Rak'at Asr prayer at Dhul-Hulaifa and I heard the companions of the Prophet reciting Talbiya aloud (for Hajj and Umra) altogether.
Volume 4, Book 52, Number 201:
Narrated Aisha:
We set out in the company of Allah's Apostle five days before the end of Dhul Qa'da intending to perform Hajj only. When we approached Mecca Allah's Apostle ordered those who did not have the Hadi (i.e. an animal for sacrifice) with them, to perform the Tawaf around the Kaaba, and between Safa and Marwa and then finish their Ihram. Beef was brought to us on the day of (i.e. the days of slaughtering) and I asked, "What is this?" Somebody said, Allah's Apostle has slaughtered (a cow) on behalf of his wives."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 202:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Once the Prophet set out in the month of Ramadan. He observed fasting till he reached a place called Kadid where he broke his fast.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 203:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The 'Prophet said, "It is obligatory for one to listen to and obey (the ruler's orders) unless these orders involve one disobedience (to Allah); but if an act of disobedience (to Allah) is imposed, he should not listen to or obey it."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 204:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
That heard Allah's Apostle saying, "We are the last but will be the foremost to enter Paradise)." The Prophet added, "He who obeys me, obeys Allah, and he who disobeys me, disobeys Allah. He who obeys the chief, obeys me, and he who disobeys the chief, disobeys me. The Imam is like a shelter for whose safety the Muslims should fight and where they should seek protection. If the Imam orders people with righteousness and rules justly, then he will be rewarded for that, and if he does the opposite, he will be responsible for that."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 205:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
When we reached (Hudaibiya) in the next year (of the treaty of Hudaibiya), not even two men amongst us agreed unanimously as to which was the tree under which we had given the pledge of allegiance, and that was out of Allah's Mercy. (The sub narrator asked Naf'i, "For what did the Prophet take their pledge of allegiance, was it for death?" Naf'i replied "No, but he took their pledge of allegiance for patience.")

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 206:
Narrated Abdullah bin Zaid:
that in the time (of the battle) of Al-Harra a person came to him and said, "Ibn Hanzala is taking the pledge of allegiance from the people for death." He said, "I will never give a pledge of allegiance for such a thing to anyone after Allah's Apostle."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 207:
Narrated Yazid bin Ubaid:
Salama said, "I gave the Pledge of allegiance (Al-Ridwan) to Allah's Apostle and then I moved to the shade of a tree. When the number of people around the Prophet diminished, he said, 'O Ibn Al-Akwa ! Will you not give to me the pledge of Allegiance?' I replied, 'O Allah's Apostle! I have already given to you the pledge of Allegiance.' He said, 'Do it again.' So I gave the pledge of allegiance for the second time." I asked 'O Abu Muslim! For what did you give he pledge of Allegiance on that day?" He replied, "We gave the pledge of Allegiance for death."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 208:
Narrated Anas:
On the day (of the battle) of the Trench, the Ansar were saying, "We are those who have sworn allegiance to Mohammed for Jihaid (for ever) as long as we live." The Prophet replied to them, "O Allah! There is no life except the life of the Hereafter. So honor the Ansar and emigrants with Your Generosity."
And Narrated Mujashi: My brother and I came to the Prophet and I requested him to take the pledge of allegiance from us for migration. He said, "Migration has passed away with its people." I asked, "For what will you take the pledge of allegiance from us then?" He said, "I will take (the pledge) for Islam and Jihad."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 209:
Narrated Abdullah:
Today a man came to me and asked me a question which I did not know how to answer. He said, "Tell me, if a wealthy active man, well-equipped with arms, goes out on military expeditions with our chiefs, and orders us to do such things as we cannot do (should we obey him?)" I replied, "By Allah, I do not know what to reply you, except that we, were in the company of the Prophet and he used to order us to do a thing once only till we finished it. And no doubt, everyone among you will remain in a good state as long as he obeys Allah. If one is in doubt as to the legality of something, he should ask somebody who would satisfy him, but soon will come a time when you will not find such a man. By Him, except Whom none has the right to be worshipped. I see that the example of what has passed of this life (to what remains thereof) is like a pond whose fresh water has been used up and nothing remains but muddy water."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 210:
Narrated Salim Abu An-Nadr:
The freed slave of Umar bin Ubaidullah who was Umar's clerk: Abdullah bin Abi Aufa wrote him (i.e. Umar) a letter that contained the following:--
"Once Allah's Apostle (during a holy battle), waited till the sun had declined and then he got up among the people and said, "O people! Do not wish to face the enemy (in a battle) and ask Allah to save you (from calamities) but if you should face the enemy, then be patient and let it be known to you that Paradise is under the shades of swords." He then said,, "O Allah! The Revealer of the (Holy) Book, the Mover of the clouds, and Defeater of Al-Ahzab (i.e. the clans of infidels), defeat them infidels and bestow victory upon us."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 211:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
I participated in a Ghazwa along with Allah's Apostle The Prophet met me (on the way) while I was riding a camel of ours used for irrigation and it had got so tired that it could hardly walk. The Prophet asked me, "What is wrong with the camel?" I replied, "It has got tired." So. Allah's Apostle came from behind it and rebuked it and prayed for it so it started surpassing the other camels and going ahead of them. Then he asked me, "How do you find your camel (now)?" I replied, "I find it quite well, now as it has received your blessings." He said, "Will you sell it to me?" I felt shy (to refuse his offer) though it was the only camel for irrigation we had. So, I said, "Yes." He said, "Sell it to me then." I sold it to him on the condition that I should keep on riding it till I reached Medina. Then I said, "O Allah's Apostle! I am a bridegroom," and requested him to allow me to go home. He allowed me, and I set out for Medina before the people till I reached Medina, where I met my uncle, who asked me about the camel and I informed him all about it and he blamed me for that. When I took the permission of Allah's Apostle he asked me whether I had married a virgin or a matron and I replied that I had married a matron. He said, "Why hadn't you married a virgin who would have played with you, and you would have played with her?" I replied, "O Allah's Apostle! My father died (or was martyred) and I have some young sisters, so I felt it not proper that I should marry a young girl like them who would neither teach them manners nor serve them. So, I have married a matron so that she may serve them and teach them manners." When Allah's Apostle arrived in Medina, I took the camel to him the next morning and he gave me its price and gave me the camel itself as well.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 212:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Once there was a feeling of fright at Medina, so Allah's Apostle rode a horse belonging to Abu Talha and (on his return) he said, "We have not seen anything (fearful), but we found this horse very fast."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 213:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Once the people got frightened, so Allah's Apostle rode a slow horse belonging to Abu Talha, and he set out all alone, making the horse gallop. Then the people rode, making their horses gallop after him. On his return he said, "Don't be afraid (there is nothing to be afraid of) (and I have found) this horse a very fast one." That horse was never excelled in running hence forward. (Qastalani Vol. 5)

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 214:
Narrated Umar bin Al-Khattab:
I gave a horse to be used in Allah's Cause, but later on I saw it being sold. I asked the Prophet whether I could buy it. He said, "Don't buy it and don't take back your gift of charity."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 215:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Umar gave a horse to be used in Allah's Cause, but later on he found it being sold. So, he intended to buy it and asked Allah's Apostle who said, "Don't buy it and don't take back your gift of charity."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 216:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Were it not for the fear that it would be difficult for my followers, I would not have remained behind any Sariya, (army-unit) but I don't have riding camels and have no other means of conveyance to carry them on, and it is hard for me that my companions should remain behind me. No doubt I wish I could fight in Allah's Cause and be martyred and come to life again to be martyred and come to life once more."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 217:
Narrated Yali:
I participated in the Ghazwa of Tabuk along with Allah's Apostle and I gave a young camel to be ridden in Jihad and that was, to me, one of my best deeds. Then I employed a laborer who quarrelled with another person. One of them bit the hand of the other and the latter drew his hand from the mouth of the former pulling out his front tooth. Then the former instituted a suit against the latter before the Prophet who rejected that suit saying, "Do you expect him to put out his hand for you to snap as a male camel snaps (vegetation)?"

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 218:
Narrated Tha'laba bin Abi Malik Al-Qurazi:
When Qais bin Sad Al-Ansari, who used to carry the flag of the Prophet, intended to perform Hajj, he combed his hair.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 219c:
Narrated Salama bin Al-Akwa:
Ali remained behind the Prophet during the battle of Khaibar as he way suffering from some eye trouble but then he said, "How should I stay behind Allah's Apostle?" So, he set

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out till he joined the Prophet. On the eve of the day of the conquest of Khaibar, Allah's Apostle said, "(No doubt) I will give the flag or, tomorrow, a man whom Allah and His Apostle love or who loves Allah and His apostle will take the flag. Allah will bestow victory upon him." Suddenly Ali joined us though we were not expecting him. The people said, "Here is Ali. "So, Allah's Apostle gave the flag to him and Allah bestowed victory upon him.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 219n:
Narrated Nafi bin Jubair:
I heard Al Abbas telling Az-Zubair, "The Prophet ordered you to fix the flag here."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 220:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "I have been sent with the shortest expressions bearing the widest meanings, and I have been made victorious with terror (cast in the hearts of the enemy), and while I was sleeping, the keys of the treasures of the world were brought to me and put in my hand." Abu Huraira added: Allah's Apostle has left the world and now you, people, are bringing out those treasures (i.e. the Prophet did not benefit by them).

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 221:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Abu Sufyan said, "Heraclius sent for me when I was in 'llya' (i.e. Jerusalem). Then he asked for the letter of Allah's Apostle and when he had finished its reading there was a great hue and cry around him and the voices grew louder and we were asked to quit the place. When we were turned out, I said to my companions, 'The cause of Ibn Abi Kabsha has become conspicuous as the King of Bani Al-Asfar is afraid of him.' "

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 222:
Narrated Asma:
I prepared the journey-food for Allah's Apostle in Abu Bakr's house when he intended to emigrate to Medina. I could not find anything to tie the food-container and the water skin with. So, I said to Abu Bakr, "By Allah, I do not find anything to tie (these things) with except my waist belt." He said, "Cut it into two pieces and tie the water-skin with one piece and the food-container with the other (the sub-narrator added, "She did accordingly and that was the reason for calling her Dhatun-Nitaqain (i.e. two-belted woman))."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 223:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
During the life-time of the Prophet we used to take the meat of sacrificed animals (as journey food) to Medina. (See Hadith No. 474 Vol. 7)

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 224:
Narrated Suwaid bin An-Nu'man:
That he went out in the company o; the Prophet during the year of Khaibar (campaign till they reached a place called As-Sahba', the lower part of Khaibar. They offered the Asr prayer (there) and the Prophet asked for the food. Nothing but Sawiq was brought to the Prophet. So, they chewed it and ate it and drank water. After that the Prophet got up, washed his mouth, and they too washed their mouths and then offered the prayer.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 225:
Narrated Salama:
Once the journey-food of the people ran short and they were in great need. So, they came to the Prophet to take his permission for slaughtering their camels, and he permitted them. Then Umar met them and they informed him about it. He said, "What will sustain you after your camels (are finished)?" Then Umar went to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! What will sustain them after their camels (are finished)?" Allah's Apostle said, "Make an announcement amongst the people that they should bring all their remaining food (to me)." (They brought it and) the Prophet invoked Allah and asked for His Blessings for it. Then he asked them to bring their food utensils and the people started filling their food utensils with their hands till they were satisfied. Allah's Apostle then said, "I testify that None has the right to be worshipped but Allah, and I am His Apostle. "

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 226:
Narrated Wahb bin Kaisan:
Jabir bin Abdullah said, "We set out, and we were three-hundred men carrying our journey-food on our shoulders. Then we began to eat a single date each per day." A man asked (Jabir), "O Abu Abdullah! How could a person be satisfied with a single date?" Jabir replied, "We realized the value of that one date when we could not even have that much till we reached the sea-shore, when all of a sudden we saw a huge fish cast by the sea. So, we ate of it as much as we wished for eighteen days."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 227:
Narrated Aisha:
That she said, "O Allah's Apostle! Your companions are returning with the reward of both Hajj and Umra, while I am returning with (the reward of) Hajj only." He said to her, "Go, and let Abdur-Rahman (i.e. your brother) make you sit behind him (on the animal)." So, he ordered AbdurRahman to let her perform Umra from Al-Tan'im. Then the Prophet waited for her at the higher region of Mecca till she returned.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 228:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Abi Bakr As-Siddiq:
The Prophet ordered me to let Aisha sit behind me (on the animal) and to let her perform Umra from At-Tan'im.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 229:
Narrated Anas:
I was riding behind Abu Talha (on the same) riding animal) and (the Prophet's companions) were reciting Talbiya aloud for both Hajj and Umra.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 230:
Narrated Urwa from Usama bin Zaid:
Allah's Apostle rode a donkey on which there was a saddle covered by a velvet sheet and let Usama ride behind him (on the donkey).

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 231:
Narrated Nafi from Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle came to Mecca through its higher region on the day of the Conquest (of Mecca) riding his she-camel on which Usama was riding behind him. Bilal and Uthman bin Talha, one of the servants of the Kaaba, were also accompanying him till he made his camel kneel in the mosque and ordered the latter to bring the key of the Kaaba. He opened the door of the Kaaba and Allah's Apostle entered in the company of Usama, Bilal and Uthman, and stayed in it for a long period. When he came out, the people rushed to it, and Abdullah bin Umar was the first to enter it and found Bilal standing behind the door. He asked Bilal, "Where did the Prophet offer his prayer?" He pointed to the place where he had offered his prayer. Abdullah said, "I forgot to ask him how many Rakat he had performed."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 232:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "There is a (compulsory) Sadaqa (charity) to be given for every joint of the human body (as a sign of gratitude to Allah) everyday the sun rises. To judge justly between two persons is regarded as Sadaqa, and to help a man concerning his riding animal by helping him to ride it or by lifting his luggage on to it, is also regarded as Sadaqa, and (saying) a good word is also Sadaqa, and every step taken on one's way to offer the compulsory prayer (in the mosque) is also Sadaqa and to remove a harmful thing from the way is also Sadaqa."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 233:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle forbade the people to travel to a hostile country carrying (copies of) the Koran.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 234:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet reached Khaibar in the morning, while the people were coming out carrying their spades over their shoulders. When they saw him they said, "This is Mohammed and his army! Mohammed and his army!" So, they took refuge in the fort. The Prophet raised both his hands and said, "Allahu Akbar, Khaibar is ruined, for when we approach a nation (i.e. enemy to fight) then miserable is the morning of the warned ones." Then we found some donkeys which we (killed and) cooked: The announcer of the Prophet announced: "Allah and His Apostle forbid you to eat donkey's meat." So, all the pots including their contents were turned upside down.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 235:
Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ashari:
We were in the company of Allah's Apostle (during Hajj). Whenever we went up a high place we used to say: "None has the right to be worshipped but Allah, and Allah is Greater," and our voices used to rise, so the Prophet said, "O people! Be merciful to yourselves (i.e. don't raise your voice), for you are not calling a deaf or an absent one, but One Who is with you, no doubt He is All-Hearer, ever Near (to all things)."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 236:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
Whenever we went up a place we would say, "Allahu--Akbar (i.e. Allah is Greater)", and whenever we went down a place we would say, "Subhan Allah."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 237:
Narrated Jabir:
Whenever we went up a place we would say Takbir, and whenever we went down we would say, "Subhan Allah."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 238:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Whenever the Prophet returned from the Hajj or the Umra or a Ghazwa, he would say Takbir thrice. Whenever he came upon a mountain path or wasteland, and then he would say, "None has the right to be worshipped but Allah, Alone Who has no partner. All the Kingdom belongs to Him and all the praises are for Him and He is Omnipotent. We are returning with repentance, worshipping, prostrating ourselves and praising our Lord. Allah fulfilled His Promise, granted victory to His slave and He Alone defeated all the clans."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 239:
Narrated Ibrahim Abu Isma'il As-Saksaki:
I heard Abu Burda who accompanied Yazid bin Abi Kabsha on a journey. Yazid used to observe fasting on journeys. Abu Burda said to him, "I heard Abu Musa several times saying that Allah's Apostle said, 'When a slave falls ill or travels, then he will get reward similar to that he gets for good deeds practiced at home when in good health."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 240:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
On the day of the battle of the Trench, the Prophet wanted somebody from amongst the people to volunteer to be a reconnoitre. Az-Zubair volunteered. He demanded the same again and Az-Zubair volunteered again. Then he repeated the same demand (thrice) and AzZubair volunteered once more. The Prophet then said, " Every prophet has a disciple and my disciple is Az-Zubair."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 241:
Narrated Ibn' Umar:
from the Prophet the following Hadith (No. 242).

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 242:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "If the people knew what I know about traveling alone, then nobody would travel alone at night."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 243:
Narrated Hisham's father:
Usama bin Zaid was asked at what pace the Prophet rode during Hajjat-ul-Wada' "He rode at a medium pace, but when he came upon an open way he would go at full pace."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 244:
Narrated Aslam:
While I was in the company of Abdullah bin Umar on the way to Mecca, he received the news of the severe illness of Safiya bint Abi Ubaid (i.e. his wife), so he proceeded at greater speed, and when the twilight disappeared, he dismounted and offered the Maghrib and 'Isha 'prayers together and said, " I saw the Prophet delaying the Maghrib prayer to offer it along with the 'Isha' when he was in a hurry on a journey."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 245:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Journey is a piece of torture, for it disturbs one's sleep, eating and drinking. So, when you fulfill your job, you should hurry up to your family."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 246:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Umar bin Al-Khattab gave a horse to be ridden in Allah's Cause and then he found it being sold. He intended to purchase it. So, he consulted Allah's Apostle who said, "Don't buy it and don't take back your gift of charity."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 247:
Narrated Aslam:
I heard Umar bin Al-Khattab saying, "I gave a horse to be ridden in Allah's Cause and the person who got it intended to sell it or neglected it. So, I wanted to buy it as I thought he would sell it cheap. I consulted the Prophet who said, "Do not buy it even if for one Dirham, because he who takes back his gift is like a dog swallowing its vomit."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 248:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
A man came to the Prophet asking his permission to take part in Jihad. The Prophet asked him, "Are your parents alive?" He replied in the affirmative. The Prophet said to him, "Then exert yourself in their service."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 249:
Narrated Abu Bashir Al-Ansari:
That he was in the company of Allah's Apostle on some of his journeys. (The sub-narrator Abdullah adds, "I think that Abu Bashir also said, 'And the people were at their sleeping

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places.") Allah's Apostle sent a messenger ordering: "There shall not remain any necklace of string or any other kind of necklace round the necks of camels except it is cut off."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 250:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
That he heard the Prophet saying, "It is not permissible for a man to be alone with a woman, and no lady should travel except with a Muhram (i.e. her husband or a person whom she cannot marry in any case for ever; e.g. her father, brother, etc.)." Then a man got up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have enlisted in the army for such-and-such Ghazwa and my wife is proceeding for Hajj." Allah's Apostle said, "Go, and perform the Hajj with your wife."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 251:
Narrated Ubaidullah bin Abi Rafi:
I heard Ali saying, "Allah's Apostle sent me, Az-Zubair and Al-Miqdad somewhere saying, 'Proceed till you reach Rawdat Khakh. There you will find a lady with a letter. Take the letter from her.' " So, we set out and our horses ran at full pace till we got at Ar-Rawda where we found the lady and said (to her). "Take out the letter." She replied, "I have no letter with me." We said, "Either you take out the letter or else we will take off your clothes." So, she took it out of her braid. We brought the letter to Allah's Apostle and it contained a statement from Hatib bin Abi Balta a to some of the Meccan pagans informing them of some of the intentions of Allah's Apostle. Then Allah's Apostle said, "O Hatib! What is this?" Hatib replied, "O Allah's Apostle! Don't hasten to give your judgement about me. I was a man closely connected with the Quraish, but I did not belong to this tribe, while the other emigrants with you, had their relatives in Mecca who would protect their dependents and property . So, I wanted to recompense for my lacking blood relation to them by doing them a favor so that they might protect my dependents. I did this neither because of disbelief not apostasy nor out of preferring Kufr (disbelief) to Islam." Allah's Apostle, said, "Hatib has told you the truth." Umar said, O Allah's Apostle! Allow me to chop off the head of this hypocrite." Allah's Apostle said, "Hatib participated in the battle of Badr, and who knows, perhaps Allah has already looked at the Badr warriors and said, 'Do whatever you like, for I have forgiven you."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 252:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
When it was the day (of the battle) of Badr, prisoners of war were brought including Al-Abbas who was undressed. The Prophet looked for a shirt for him. It was found that the shirt of Abdullah bin Ubai would do, so the Prophet let him wear it. That was the reason why the Prophet took off and gave his own shirt to Abdullah. (The narrator adds, "He had done the Prophet some favor for which the Prophet liked to reward him.")

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 253:
Narrated Sahl:
On the day (of the battle) of Khaibar the Prophet said, "Tomorrow I will give the flag to somebody who will be given victory (by Allah) and who loves Allah and His Apostle and is loved by Allah and His Apostle." So, the people wondered all that night as to who would receive the flag and in the morning everyone hoped that he would be that person. Allah's Apostle asked, "Where is Ali?" He was told that Ali was suffering from eye-trouble, so he applied saliva to his eyes and invoked Allah to cure him. He at once got cured as if he had no ailment. The Prophet gave him the flag. Ali said, "Should I fight them till they become like us (i.e. Muslim)?" The Prophet said, "Go to them patiently and calmly till you enter the land. Then, invite them to Islam, and inform them what is enjoined upon them, for, by Allah, if Allah gives guidance to somebody through you, it is better for you than possessing red camels."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 254:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Allah wonders at those people who will enter Paradise in chains."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 255:
Narrated Abu Burda's father:
The Prophet said, "Three persons will get their reward twice. (One is) a person who has a slave girl and he educates her properly and teaches her good manners properly (without violence) and then manumits and marries her. Such a person will get a double reward. (Another is) a believer from the people of the scriptures who has been a true believer and then he believes in the Prophet (Mohammed). Such a person will get a double reward. (The third is) a slave who observes Allah's Rights and Obligations and is sincere to his master."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 256:
Narrated As-Sab bin Jaththama:
The Prophet passed by me at a place called Al-Abwa or Waddan, and was asked whether it was permissible to attack the pagan warriors at night with the probability of exposing their women and children to danger. The Prophet replied, "They (i.e. women and children) are from them (i.e. pagans)." I also heard the Prophet saying, "The institution of Hima is invalid except for Allah and His Apostle."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 257:
Narrated Abdullah:
During some of the Ghazawat of the Prophet a woman was found killed. Allah's Apostle disapproved the killing of women and children.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 258:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
During some of the Ghazawat of Allah's Apostle a woman was found killed, so Allah's Apostle forbade the killing of women and children.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 259:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle sent us in a mission (i.e. am army-unit) and said, "If you find so-and-so and so-and-so, burn both of them with fire." When we intended to depart, Allah's Apostle said, "I have ordered you to burn so-and-so and so-and-so, and it is none but Allah Who punishes with fire, so, if you find them, kill them."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 260:
Narrated Ikrima:
Ali burnt some people and this news reached Ibn Abbas, who said, "Had I been in his place I would not have burnt them, as the Prophet said, 'Don't punish (anybody) with Allah's Punishment.' No doubt, I would have killed them, for the Prophet said, 'If somebody (a Muslim) discards his religion, kill him.' "

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 261:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
A group of eight men from the tribe of 'Ukil came to the Prophet and then they found the climate of Medina unsuitable for them. So, they said, "O Allah's Apostle! Provide us with some milk." Allah's Apostle said, "I recommend that you should join the herd of camels." So they went and drank the urine and the milk of the camels (as a medicine) till they became healthy and fat. Then they killed the shepherd and drove away the camels, and they became unbelievers after they were Muslims. When the Prophet was informed by a shouter for help, he sent some men in their pursuit, and before the sun rose high, they were brought, and he had their hands and feet cut off. Then he ordered for nails which were heated and passed over their eyes, and whey were left in the Harra (i.e. rocky land in Medina). They asked for water, and nobody provided them with water till they died (Abu Qilaba, a sub-narrator said, "They committed murder and theft and fought against Allah and His Apostle, and spread evil in the land.")

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 262:
Narrated Jarir:
Allah's Apostles said to me, "Will you relieve me from Dhul-Khalasa? Dhul-Khalasa was a house (of an idol) belonging to the tribe of Khath'am called Al-Kaaba Al-Yama-niya. So, I proceeded with one hundred and fifty cavalry men from the tribe of Ahmas, who were excellent knights. It happened that I could not sit firm on horses, so the Prophet , stroke me over my chest till I saw his finger-marks over my chest, he said, 'O Allah! Make him firm and make him a guiding and rightly guided man.' " Jarir proceeded towards that house, and dismantled and burnt it. Then he sent a messenger to Allah's Apostle informing him of that. Jarir's messenger said, "By Him Who has sent you with the Truth, I did not come to you till I had left it like an emancipated or gabby camel (i.e. completely marred and spoilt)." Jarir added, "The Prophet asked for Allah's Blessings for the horses and the men of Ahmas five times."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 263:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet burnt the date-palms of Bani An-Nadir.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 264:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
Allah's Apostle sent a group of Ansari men to kill Abu-Rafi. One of them set out and entered their (i.e. the enemies) fort. That man said, "I hid myself in a stable for their animals. They closed the fort gate. Later they lost a donkey of theirs, so they went out in its search. I, too, went out along with them, pretending to look for it. They found the donkey and entered their fort. And I, too, entered along with them. They closed the gate of the fort at night, and kept its keys in a small window where I could see them. When those people slept, I took the keys and opened the gate of the fort and came upon Abu Rafi and said, 'O Abu Rafi. When he replied me, I proceeded towards the voice and hit him. He shouted and I came out to come back, pretending to be a helper. I said, 'O Abu Rafi, changing the tone of my voice. He asked me, 'What do you want; woe to your mother?' I asked him, 'What has happened to you?' He said, 'I don't know who came to me and hit me.' Then I drove my sword into his belly and pushed it forcibly till it touched the bone. Then I came out, filled with puzzlement and went towards a ladder of theirs in order to get down but I fell down and sprained my foot. I came to my companions and said, 'I will not leave till I hear the wailing of the women.' So, I did not leave till I heard the women bewailing Abu Rafi, the merchant pf Hijaz. Then I got up, feeling no ailment, (and we proceeded) till we came upon the Prophet and informed him."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 265:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
Allah's Apostle sent a group of the Ansar to Abu Rafi. Abdullah bin Atik entered his house at night and killed him while he was sleeping.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 266l:
Narrated Salim Abu An-Nadr:
(the freed slave of Umar bin Ubaidullah) I was Umar's clerk. Once Abdullah bin Abi Aufa wrote a letter to Umar when he proceeded to Al-Haruriya. I read in it that Allah's Apostle in one of his military expeditions against the enemy, waited till the sun declined and then he got up amongst the people saying, "O people! Do not wish to meet the enemy, and ask Allah for safety, but when you face the enemy, be patient, and remember that Paradise is under the shades of swords." Then he said, "O Allah, the Revealer of the Holy Book, and the Mover of the clouds and the Defeater of the clans, defeat them, and grant us victory over them."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 266c:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said: "Do not wish to meet the enemy, but when you meet face) the enemy, be patient."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 267:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Khosrau will be ruined, and there will be no Khosrau after him, and Caesar will surely be ruined and there will be no Caesar after him, and you will spend their treasures in Allah's Cause." He called, "War is deceit'.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 268:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle called,: "War is deceit".

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 269:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "War is deceit."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 270:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "Who is ready to kill Ka'b bin Al-Ashraf who has really hurt Allah and His Apostle?" Mohammed bin Maslama said, "O Allah's Apostle! Do you like me to kill him?" He replied in the affirmative. So, Mohammed bin Maslama went to him (i.e. Ka'b) and said, "This person (i.e. the Prophet) has put us to task and asked us for charity." Ka'b replied, "By Allah, you will get tired of him." Mohammed said to him, "We have followed him, so we dislike to leave him till we see the end of his affair." Mohammed bin Maslama went on talking to him in this way till he got the chance to kill him.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 271:
Narrated Jabir:
The Prophet said, "Who is ready to kill Ka'b bin Ashraf (i.e. a Jew)." Mohammed bin Maslama replied, "Do you like me to kill him?" The Prophet replied in the affirmative. Mohammed bin Maslama said, "Then allow me to say what I like." The Prophet replied, "I do (i.e. allow you)."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 272:
Narrated Al-Bara:
I saw Allah's Apostle on the day (of the battle) of the Trench carrying earth till the hair of his chest were covered with dust and he was a hairy man. He was reciting the following verses of Abdullah (bin Rawaha): "O Allah, were it not for You, We would not have been guided, Nor would we have given in charity, nor prayed. So, bestow on us calmness, and when we meet the enemy. Then make our feet firm, for indeed, Yet if they want to put us in affliction, (i.e. want to fight against us) we would not (flee but withstand them)." The Prophet used to raise his voice while reciting these verses. (See Hadith No. 432, Vol. 5).

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 273:
Narrated Jarir:
Allah's Apostle did not screen himself from me since my embracing Islam, and whenever he saw me he would receive

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me with a smile. Once I told him that I could not sit firm on horses. He stroke me on the chest with his hand and said, "O Allah! Make him firm and make him a guiding and a rightly-guided man."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 274:
Narrated Abu Hazim:
The people asked Sahl bin Sad As-Sa' idi "With what thing (medicine) was the wound of Allah's Apostle treated?" He replied, "There is none left (living) amongst the people who knows it better than. Ali used to bring water in his shield and Fatima (i.e. the Prophet's daughter) used to wash the blood off his face. Then a mat (of palm leaves) was burnt and its ash was inserted in the wound of Allah's Apostle."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 275:
Narrated Abu Burda:
That his father said, "The Prophet sent Mu'adh and Abu Musa to Yemen telling them. 'Treat the people with ease and don't be hard on them; give them glad tidings and don't fill them with aversion; and love each other, and don't differ."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 276:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
The Prophet appointed Abdullah bin Jubair as the commander of the infantry men (archers) who were fifty on the day (of the battle) of Uhud. He instructed them, "Stick to your place, and don't leave it even if you see birds snatching us, till I send for you; and if you see that we have defeated the infidels and made them flee, even then you should not leave your place till I send for you." Then the infidels were defeated. By Allah, I saw the women fleeing lifting up their clothes revealing their leg-bangles and their legs. So, the companions of Abdullah bin Jubair said, "The booty! O people, the booty ! Your companions have become victorious, what are you waiting for now?" Abdullah bin Jubair said, "Have you forgotten what Allah's Apostle said to you?" They replied, "By Allah! We will go to the people (i.e. the enemy) and collect our share from the war booty." But when they went to them, they were forced to turn back defeated. At that time Allah's Apostle in their rear was calling them back. Only twelve men remained with the Prophet and the infidels martyred seventy men from us.
On the day (of the battle) of Badr, the Prophet and his companions had caused the 'Pagans to lose 140 men, seventy of whom were captured and seventy were killed. Then Abu Sufyan asked thrice, "Is Mohammed present amongst these people?" The Prophet ordered his companions not to answer him. Then he asked thrice, "Is the son of Abu Quhafa present amongst these people?" He asked again thrice, "Is the son of Al-Khattab present amongst these people?" He then returned to his companions and said, "As for these (men), they have been killed." Umar could not control himself and said (to Abu Sufyan), "You told a lie, by Allah! O enemy of Allah! All those you have mentioned are alive, and the thing which will make you unhappy is still there." Abu Sufyan said, "Our victory today is a counterbalance to yours in the battle of Badr, and in war (the victory) is always undecided and is shared in turns by the belligerents, and you will find some of your (killed) men mutilated, but I did not urge my men to do so, yet I do not feel sorry for their deed" After that he started reciting cheerfully, "O Hubal, be high! (1) On that the Prophet said (to his companions), "Why don't you answer him back?" They said, "O Allah's Apostle What shall we say?" He said, "Say, Allah is Higher and more Sublime." (Then) Abu Sufyan said, "We have the (idol) Al Uzza, and you have no Uzza." The Prophet said (to his companions), "Why don't you answer him back?" They asked, "O Allah's Apostle! What shall we say?" He said, "Says Allah is our Helper and you have no helper."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 277:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle was the (most handsome), most generous and the bravest of all the people. Once the people of Medina got frightened having heard an uproar at night. So, the Prophet met the people while he was riding an unsaddled horse belonging to Abu Talha and carrying his sword (slung over his shoulder). He said (to them), "Don't get scared, don't get scared." Then he added, "I found it (i.e the horse) very fast."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 278:
Narrated Salama:
I went out of Medina towards Al-Ghaba. When I reached the mountain path of Al-Ghaba, a slave of Abdur-Rahman bin 'Auf met me. I said to him, "Woe to you! What brought you here?" He replied, "The she-camels of the Prophet have been taken away." I said, "Who took them?" He said, "Ghatafan and Fazara." So, I sent three cries, "O Sabaha-h ! O Sabahah !" so loudly that made the people in between its (i.e. Medina's) two mountains hear me. Then I rushed till I met them after they had taken the camels away. I started throwing arrows at them saying, "I am the son of Al-Akwa"; and today perish the mean people!" So, I saved the she-camels from them before they (i.e. the robbers) could drink water. When I returned driving the camels, the Prophet met me, I said, "O Allah's Apostle Those people are thirsty and I have prevented them from drinking water, so send some people to chase them." The Prophet said, "O son of Al-Akwa', you have gained power (over your enemy), so forgive (them). (Besides) those people are now being entertained by their folk."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 279:
Narrated Abu Ishaq:
A man asked Al-Bara "O Abu Umara! Did you flee on the day (of the battle) of Hunain?" Al-Bara replied while I was listening, "As for Allah's Apostle he did not flee on that day. Abu Sufyan bin Al-Harith was holding the reins of his mule and when the pagans attacked him, he dismounted and started saying, 'I am the Prophet, and there is no lie about it; I am the son of Abdul Muttalib.' On that day nobody was seen braver than the Prophet

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 280:
Narrated Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri:
When the tribe of Bani Quraiza was ready to accept Sad's judgement, Allah's Apostle sent for Sad who was near to him. Sad came, riding a donkey and when he came near, Allah's Apostle said (to the Ansar), "Stand up for your leader." Then Sad came and sat beside Allah's Apostle who said to him. "These people are ready to accept your judgement." Sad said, "I give the judgement that their warriors should be killed and their children and women should be taken as prisoners." The Prophet then remarked, "O Sad! You have judged amongst them with (or similar to) the judgement of the King Allah."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 281:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle sent a Sariya of ten men as spies under the leadership of 'Asim bin Thabit al-Ansari, the grandfather of 'Asim bin Umar Al-Khattab. They proceeded till they reached Hadaa, a place between 'Usfan, and Mecca, and their news reached a branch of the tribe of Hudhail called Bani Lihyan. About two-hundred men, who were all archers, hurried to follow their tracks till they found the place where they had eaten dates they had brought with them from Medina. They said, "These are the dates of Yathrib (i.e. Medina), "and continued following their tracks When 'Asim and his companions saw their pursuers, they went up a high place and the infidels circled them. The infidels said to them, "Come down and surrender, and we promise and guarantee you that we will not kill any one of you" 'Asim bin Thabit; the leader of the Sariya said, "By Allah! I will not come down to be under the protection of infidels. O Allah! Convey our news to Your Prophet. Then the infidels threw arrows at them till they martyred 'Asim along with six other men, and three men came down accepting their promise and convention, and they were Khubaib-al-Ansari and Ibn Dathina and another man So, when the infidels captured them, they undid the strings of their bows and tied them. Then the third (of the captives) said, "This is the first betrayal. By Allah! I will not go with you. No doubt these, namely the martyred, have set a good example to us." So, they dragged him and tried to compel him to accompany them, but as he refused, they killed him. They took Khubaid and Ibn Dathina with them and sold them (as slaves) in Mecca (and all that took place) after the battle of Badr. Khubaib was bought by the sons of Al-Harith bin Amir bin Naufal bin 'Abd Manaf. It was Khubaib who had killed Al-Harith bin Amir on the day (of the battle of) Badr. So, Khubaib remained a prisoner with those people.
Narrated Az-Zuhri: Ubaidullah bin 'Iyyad said that the daughter of Al-Harith had told him, "When those people gathered (to kill Khubaib) he borrowed a razor from me to shave his pubes and I gave it to him. Then he took a son of mine while I was unaware when he came upon him. I saw him placing my son on his thigh and the razor was in his hand. I got scared so much that Khubaib noticed the agitation on my face and said, 'Are you afraid that I will kill him? No, I will never do so.' By Allah, I never saw a prisoner better than Khubaib. By Allah, one day I saw him eating of a bunch of grapes in his hand while he was chained in irons, and there was no fruit at that time in Mecca." The daughter of Al-Harith used to say, "It was a boon Allah bestowed upon Khubaib." When they took him out of the Sanctuary (of Mecca) to kill him outside its boundaries, Khubaib requested them to let him offer two Rakat (prayer). They allowed him and he offered Two Rakat and then said, "Hadn't I been afraid that you would think that I was afraid (of being killed), I would have prolonged the prayer. O Allah, kill them all with no exception." (He then recited the poetic verse):-- "I being martyred as a Muslim, Do not mind how I am killed in Allah's Cause, For my killing is for Allah's Sake, And if Allah wishes, He will bless the amputated parts of a torn body" Then the son of Al Harith killed him. So, it was Khubaib who set the tradition for any Muslim sentenced to death in captivity, to offer a two-Rak'at prayer (before being killed). Allah fulfilled the invocation of Asim bin Thabit on that very day on which he was martyred. The Prophet informed his companions of their news and what had happened to them. Later on when some infidels from Quraish were informed that Asim had been killed, they sent some people to fetch a part of his body (i.e. his head) by which he would be recognized. (That was because) 'Asim had killed one of their chiefs on the day (of the battle) of Badr. So, a swarm of wasps, resembling a shady cloud, were sent to hover over Asim and protect him from their messenger and thus they could not cut off anything from his flesh.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 282:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet said, "Free the captives, feed the hungry and pay a visit to the sick."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 283:
Narrated Abu Juhaifa:
I asked Ali, "Do you have the knowledge of any Divine Inspiration besides what is in Allah's Book?" Ali replied, "No, by Him Who splits the grain of corn and creates the soul. I don't think we have such knowledge, but we have the ability of understanding which Allah may endow a person with, so that he may understand the Koran, and we have what is written in this paper as well." I asked, "What is written in this paper?" He replied, "(The regulations of) blood-money, the freeing of captives, and the judgement that no Muslim should be killed for killing an infidel."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 284:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Some Ansari men asked permission from Allah's Apostle saying, "O Allah's Apostle! Allow us not to take the ransom of our nephew Al Abbas. The Prophet replied, "Do not leave a single Dirham thereof."
(In another narration) Anas said, "Some wealth was brought to the Prophet from Bahrain. Al Abbas came to him and said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Give me (some of it), as I have paid my and 'Aqil's ransom.' The Prophet said, 'Take,' and gave him in his garment."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 285:
Narrated Jubair:
(who was among the captives of the Battle of Badr) I heard the Prophet reciting 'Surat-at-Tur' in the Maghrib prayer.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 286:
Narrated Salama bin Al-Akwa:
"An infidel spy came to the Prophet while he was on a journey. The spy sat with the companions of the Prophet and started talking and then went away. The Prophet said (to his companions), 'Chase and kill him.' So, I killed him." The Prophet then gave him the belongings of the killed spy (in addition to his share of the war booty).

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 287:
Narrated Amr bin Maimun:
Umar (after he was stabbed), instructed (his would-be-successor) saying, "I urge him (i.e. the new Caliph) to take care of those non-Muslims who are under the protection of Allah and His Apostle in that he should observe the convention agreed upon with them, and fight on their behalf (to secure their safety) and he should not over-tax them beyond their capability."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 288:
Narrated Said bin Jubair:
Ibn Abbas said, "Thursday! What (great thing) took place on Thursday!" Then he started weeping till his tears wetted the gravels of the ground . Then he said, "On Thursday the illness of Allah's Apostle was aggravated and he said, "Fetch me writing materials so that I may have something written to you after which you will never go astray." The people (present there) differed in this matter and people should not differ before a prophet. They said, "Allah's Apostle is seriously sick.' The Prophet said, "Let me alone, as the state in which I am now, is better than what you are calling me for." The Prophet on his death-bed, gave three orders saying, "Expel the pagans from the Arabian Peninsula, respect and give gifts to the foreign delegates as you have seen me dealing with them." I forgot the third (order)" (Ya'qub bin Mohammed said, "I asked Al-Mughira bin Abdur-Rahman about the Arabian Peninsula and he said, 'It comprises Mecca, Medina, Al-Yamama and Yemen." Ya'qub added, "And Al-Arj, the beginning of Tihama.")

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 289:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Umar saw a silken cloak being sold in the market and he brought it to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Buy this cloak and adorn yourself with it on the 'Id festivals and on meeting the delegations." Allah's Apostle replied, "This is the dress for the one who will have no share in the Hereafter (or, this is worn by one who will have no share in the Hereafter)." After sometime had passed, Allah's Apostle

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sent a silken cloak to Umar. Umar took it and brought it to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! You have said that this is the dress of that who will have no share in the Hereafter (or, this is worn by one who will have no share in the Hereafter), yet you have sent me this!" The Prophet said," I have sent it) so that you may sell it or fulfill with it some of your needs."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 290d:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Umar and a group of the companions of the Prophet set out with the Prophet to Ibn Saiyad. He found him playing with some boys near the hillocks of Bani Maghala. Ibn Saiyad at that time was nearing his puberty. He did not notice (the Prophet's presence) till the Prophet stroked him on the back with his hand and said, "Ibn Saiyad! Do you testify that I am Allah's Apostle?" Ibn Saiyad looked at him and said, "I testify that you are the Apostle of the illiterates."
Then Ibn Saiyad asked the Prophet. "Do you testify that I am the apostle of Allah?" The Prophet said to him, "I believe in Allah and His Apostles." Then the Prophet said (to Ibn Saiyad). "What do you see?" Ibn Saiyad replied, "True people and false ones visit me." The Prophet said, "Your mind is confused as to this matter." The Prophet added, " I have kept something (in my mind) for you." Ibn Saiyad said, "It is Ad-Dukh." The Prophet said (to him), "Shame be on you! You cannot cross your limits." On that Umar said, "O Allah's Apostle! Allow me to chop his head off." The Prophet said, "If he should be him (i.e. Ad-Dajjal) then you cannot overpower him, and should he not be him, then you are not going to benefit by murdering him."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 290:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
(Later on) Allah's Apostle (once again) went along with Ubai bin Ka'b to the garden of date-palms where Ibn Saiyad was staying. When the Prophet entered the garden, he started hiding himself behind the trunks of the date-palms as he wanted to hear something from the Ibn Saiyad before the latter could see him. Ibn Saiyad was lying in his bed, covered with a velvet sheet from where his murmurs were heard. Ibn Saiyad's mother saw the Prophet while he was hiding himself behind the trunks of the date-palms. She addressed Ibn Saiyad, "O Saf!" (And this was his name). Ibn Saiyad got up. The Prophet said, "Had this woman let him to himself, he would have revealed the reality of his case." Then the Prophet got up amongst the people, glorifying Allah as He deserves, he mentioned Ad-Dajjal, saying, "I warn you about him (i.e. Ad-Dajjal) and there is no prophet who did not warn his nation about him, and Noah warned his nation about him, but I tell you a statement which no prophet informed his nation of. You should understand that he is a one-eyed man and Allah is not one-eyed."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 291:
Narrated Usama bin Zaid:
I asked the Prophet during his Hajj, "O Allah's Apostle! Where will you stay tomorrow?" He said, "Has Aqil left for us any house?" He then added, "Tomorrow we will stay at Khaif Bani Kinana, i.e. Al-Muhassab, where (the Pagans of) Quraish took an oath of Kufr (i.e. to be loyal to heathenism) in that Bani Kinana got allied with Quraish against Bani Hashim on the terms that they would not deal with the members of the is tribe or give them shelter." (Az-Zuhri said, "Khaif means valley.") (See Hadith No. 659, Vol. 2)

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 292:
Narrated Aslam:
Umar bin Al-Khattab appointed a freed slave of his, called Hunai, manager of the Hima (i.e. a pasture devoted for grazing the animals of the Zakat or other specified animals). He said to him, "O Hunai! Don't oppress the Muslims and ward off their curse (invocations against you) for the invocation of the oppressed is responded to (by Allah); and allow the shepherd having a few camels and those having a few sheep (to graze their animals), and take care not to allow the livestock of Abdur-Rahman bin 'Auf and the livestock of (Uthman) bin 'Affan, for if their livestock should perish, then they have their farms and gardens, while those who own a few camels and those who own a few sheep, if their livestock should perish, would bring their dependents to me and appeal for help saying, 'O chief of the believers! O chief of the believers!' Would I then neglect them? (No, of course). So, I find it easier to let them have water and grass rather than to give them gold and silver (from the Muslims' treasury). By Allah, these people think that I have been unjust to them. This is their land, and during the pre-Islamic period, they fought for it and they embraced Islam (willingly) while it was in their possession. By Him in Whose Hand my life is! Were it not for the animals (in my custody) which I give to be ridden for striving in Allah's Cause, I would not have turned even a span of their land into a Hima."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 293:
Narrated Hudhaifa:
The Prophet said (to us), " List the names of those people who have announced that they are Muslims." So, we listed one thousand and five hundred men. Then we wondered, "Should we be afraid (of infidels) although we are one thousand and five hundred in number?" No doubt, we witnessed ourselves being afflicted with such bad trials that one would have to offer the prayer alone in fear.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 294:
Narrated Al-Amash:
"We (listed the Muslims and) found them five hundred." And Abu Muawiya said, "Between six-hundred to seven-hundred."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 295:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
A man came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have enlisted in the army for such-and-such Ghazwa, and my wife is leaving for Hajj." Allah's Apostle said, "Go back and perform Hajj with your wife."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 296:
Narrated Az-Zuhri:
as follows in Hadith 297.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 297:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
We were in the company of Allah's Apostle in a Ghazwa, and he remarked about a man who claimed to be a Muslim, saying, "This (man) is from the people of the (Hell) Fire." When the battle started, the man fought violently till he got wounded. Somebody said, "O Allah's Apostle! The man whom you described as being from the people of the (Hell) Fire fought violently today and died." The Prophet said, "He will go to the (Hell) Fire." Some people were on the point of doubting (the truth of what the Prophet had said) while they were in this state, suddenly someone said that he was still alive but severely wounded. When night fell, he lost patience and committed suicide. The Prophet was informed of that, and he said, "Allah is Greater! I testify that I am Allah's Slave and His Apostle." Then he ordered Bilal to announce amongst the people: 'None will enter Paradise but a Muslim, and Allah may support this religion (i.e. Islam) even with a disobedient man.'

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 298:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle delivered a sermon and said, "Zaid received the flag and was martyred, then Jafar took it and was martyred, then Abdullah bin Rawaha took it and was martyred, and then Khalid bin Al-Walid took it without being appointed, and Allah gave him victory." The Prophet added, "I am not pleased (or they will not be pleased) that they should remain (alive) with us," while his eyes were shedding tears.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 299:
Narrated Anas:
The people of the tribes of Ril, Dhakwan, 'Usiya and Bani Lihyan came to the Prophet and claimed that they had embraced Islam, and they requested him to support them with some men to fight their own people. The Prophet supported them with seventy men from the Ansar whom we used to call Al-Qurra'(i.e. Scholars) who (out of piety) used to cut wood during the day and pray all the night. So, those people took the (seventy) men till they reached a place called Bi'r-Ma'ana where they betrayed and martyred them. So, the Prophet invoked evil on the tribe of Ril, Dhakwan and Bani Lihyan for one month in the prayer. Narrated Qatada: Anas told us that they (i.e. Muslims) used to recite a Koranic Verse concerning those martyrs which was:-- "O Allah! Let our people be informed on our behalf that we have met our Lord Who has got pleased with us and made us pleased." Then the Verse was cancelled.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 300:
Narrated Abu Talha:
Whenever the Prophet conquered some people, he would stay in their town for three days.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 301:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet performed Umra, setting out from Al-Jarana where he distributed the war booty of Hunain.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 302:
Narrated Nafi:
Once a slave of Ibn Umar fled and joined the Byzantine. Khalid bin Al-Walid got him back and returned him to Abdullah (bin Umar). Once a horse of Ibn Umar also ran away and followed the Byzantines, and he (i.e. Khalid) got it back and returned it to Abdullah.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 303:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
That he was riding a horse on the day, the Muslims fought (against the Byzantines), and the commander of the Muslim army was Khalid bin Al-Walid who had been appointed by Abu Bakr. The enemy took the horse away, and when the enemy was defeated, Khalid returned the horse to him.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 304:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
I said, "O Allah's Apostle! We have slaughtered a young sheep of ours and have ground one Sa of barley. So, I invite you along with some persons." So, the Prophet said in a loud voice, "O the people of the Trench! Jabir had prepared "Sur" so come along."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 305:
Narrated Um Khalid:
(the daughter of Khalid bin Said) I went to Allah's Apostle with my father and I was Nearing a yellow shirt. Allah's Apostle said, "Sanah, Sanah!" (Abdullah, the narrator, said that 'Sanah' meant 'good' in the Ethiopian language). I then started playing with the seal of Prophethood (in between the Prophet's shoulders) and my father rebuked me harshly for that. Allah's Apostle said. "Leave her," and then Allah's Apostle (invoked Allah to grant me a long life) by saying (thrice), "Wear this dress till it is worn out and then wear it till it is worn out, and then wear it till it is worn out." (The narrator adds, "It is said that she lived for a long period, wearing that (yellow) dress till its color became dark because of long wear.")

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 306:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Al-Hasan bin 'All took a date from the dates of the Sadaqa and put it in his mouth. The Prophet said (to him) in Persian, "Kakh, kakh! (i.e. Don't you know that we do not eat the Sadaqa (i.e. what is given in charity) (charity is the dirt of the people))."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 307:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet got up amongst us and mentioned Al Ghulul, emphasized its magnitude and declared that it was a great sin saying, "Don't commit Ghulul for I should not like to see anyone amongst you on the Day of Ressurection, carrying over his neck a sheep that will be bleating, or carrying over his neck a horse that will be neighing. Such a man will be saying: 'O Allah's Apostle! Intercede with Allah for me,' and I will reply, 'I can't help you, for I have conveyed Allah's Message to you Nor should I like to see a man carrying over his neck, a camel that will be grunting. Such a man will say, 'O Allah's Apostle! Intercede with Allah for me, and I will say, 'I can't help you for I have conveyed Allah's Message to you,' or one carrying over his neck gold and silver and saying, 'O Allah's Apostle! Intercede with Allah for me,' and I will say, 'I can't help you for I have conveyed Allah's Message to you,' or one carrying clothes that will be fluttering, and the man will say, 'O Allah's Apostle! Intercede with Allah for me.' And I will say, 'I can't help you, for I have conveyed Allah's Message to you."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 308:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
There was a man who looked after the family and the belongings of the Prophet and he was called Karkara. The man died and Allah's Apostle said, "He is in the '(Hell) Fire." The people then went to look at him and found in his place, a cloak he had stolen from the war booty.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 309:
Narrated Abaya bin Rifaa:
My grandfather, Rafi said, "We were in the company of the Prophet at DhulHulaifa, and the people suffered from hunger. We got some camels and sheep (as booty) and the Prophet was still behind the people. They hurried and put the cooking pots on the fire. (When he came) he ordered that the cooking pots should be upset and then he distributed the booty (amongst the people) regarding ten sheep as equal to one camel then a camel fled and the people chased it till they got tired, as they had a few horses (for chasing it). So a man threw an arrow at it and caused it to stop (with Allah's Permission). On that the Prophet said, 'Some of these animals behave like wild beasts, so, if any animal flee from you, deal with it in the same way." My grandfather asked (the Prophet), "We hope (or are afraid) that we may meet the enemy tomorrow and we have no knives. Can we slaughter our animals with canes?" Allah's Apostle replied, "If the instrument used for killing causes the animal to bleed profusely and if Allah's Name is mentioned on killing it, then eat its meat (i.e. it is lawful) but won't use a tooth or a nail and I am telling you the reason: A tooth is a bone (and slaughtering with a bone is forbidden), and a nail is the slaughtering instrument of the Ethiopians."

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Volume 4, Book 52, Number 310:
Narrated Qais:
Jarir bin Abdullah said to me, "Allah's Apostle said to me, 'Won't you relieve me from Dhul-Khalasa?' Dhul-Khalasa was a house where the tribe of Khatham used to stay, and it used to be called Kaabat-ul Yamaniya. So I proceeded with one hundred-and-fifty (men) from the tribe of Ahmas who were good cavalry. I informed the Prophet that I could not sit firm on horses, so he stroke me on the chest with his hand and I noticed his finger marks on my chest. He invoked, 'O Allah! Make him firm and a guiding and rightly-guided man." Jarir set out towards that place, dismantled and burnt it, and then sent the good news to Allah's Apostle . The messenger of Jarir said to Allah's Apostle. "O Allah's Apostle! By Him Who has sent you with the Truth, I did not come to you till it (i.e. the house) had been turned (black) like a scabby camel (covered with tar)." So the Prophet invokes Allah to Bless the horses of the men of Ahmas five times.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 311:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, on the day of the Conquest of Mecca, "There is no migration (after the Conquest), but Jihad and good intentions, and when you are called for Jihad, you should immediately respond to the call."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 312:
Narrated Abu Uthman An-Nahdi:
Mujashi (bin Mas'ud) took his brother Mujalid bin Musud to the Prophet and said, "This is Mujalid and he will give a pledge of allegiance to you for migration." The Prophet said, "There is no migration after the Conquest of Mecca, but I will take his pledge of allegiance for Islam."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 313:
Narrated 'Ata':
I and Ubai bin Umar went to Aisha while she was staying near Thabir (i.e. a mountain). She said, "There is no Migration after Allah gave His Prophet victory over Mecca."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 314:
Narrated Sad bin Ubaida:
Abu Abdur-Rahman who was one of the supporters of Uthman said to Abu Talha who was one of the supporters of Ali, "I perfectly know what encouraged your leader (i.e. Ali) to shed blood. I heard him saying: Once the Prophet sent me and Az-Zubair saying, 'Proceed to such-and-such Ar-Roudah (place) where you will find a lady whom Hatib has given a letter. So when we arrived at Ar-Roudah, we requested the lady to hand over the letter to us. She said, 'Hatib has not given me any letter.' We said to her. 'Take out the letter or else we will strip off your clothes.' So she took it out of her braid. So the Prophet sent for Hatib, (who came) and said, 'Don't hurry in judging me, for, by Allah, I have not become a disbeliever, and my love to Islam is increasing. (The reason for writing this letter was) that there is none of your companions but has relatives in Mecca who look after their families and property, while I have nobody there, so I wanted to do them some favor (so that they might look after my family and property).' The Prophet believed him. Umar said, 'Allow me to chop off his (i.e. Hatib's) neck as he has done hypocrisy.' The Prophet said, (to Umar), 'Who knows, perhaps Allah has looked at the warriors of Badr and said (to them), 'Do whatever you like, for I have forgiven you.' " Abdur-Rahman added, "So this is what encouraged him (i.e. Ali)."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 315:
Narrated Ibn Abi Mulaika:
Ibn Az-Zubair said to Ibn Jafar "Do you remember when I, you and Ibn Abbas went out to receive Allah's Apostle?" Ibn Jafar replied in the affirmative. Ibn Az-Zubair added, "And Allah's Apostle made us (i.e. I and Ibn Abbas) ride along with him and left you."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 316:
Narrated As-Sa'ib bin Yazid:
I along with some boys went out to receive Allah's Apostle at Thaniyatal-Wada'.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 317:
Narrated Abdullah:
When the Prophet returned (from Jihad), he would say Takbir thrice and add, "We are returning, if Allah wishes, with repentance and worshipping and praising (our Lord) and prostrating ourselves before our Lord. Allah fulfilled His Promise and helped His Slave, and He Alone defeated the (infidel) clans."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 318:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
We were in the company of the Prophet while returning from 'Usfan, and Allah's Apostle was riding his she-camel keeping Safiya bint Huyay riding behind him. His she-camel slipped and both of them fell down. Abu Talha jumped from his camel and said, "O Allah's Apostle! May Allah sacrifice me for you." The Prophet said, "Take care of the lady." So, Abu Talha covered his face with a garment and went to Safiya and covered her with it, and then he set right the condition of their shecamel so that both of them rode, and we were encircling Allah's Apostle like a cover. When we approached Medina, the Prophet said, "We are returning with repentance and worshipping and praising our Lord." He kept on saying this till he entered Medina.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 319:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
That he and Abu Talha came in the company of the Prophet and Safiya was accompanying the Prophet, who let her ride behind him on his she-camel. During the journey, the she-camel slipped and both the Prophet and (his) wife fell down. Abu Talha (the sub-narrator thinks that Anas said that Abu Talha jumped from his camel quickly) said, "O Allah's Apostle! May Allah sacrifice me for your sake! Did you get hurt?" The Prophet replied,"No, but take care of the lady." Abu Talha covered his face with his garment and proceeded towards her and covered her with his garment, and she got up. He then set right the condition of their she-camel and both of them (i.e. the Prophet and his wife) rode and proceeded till they approached Medina. The Prophet said, "We are returning with repentance and worshipping and praising our Lord." The Prophet kept on saying this statement till he entered Medina.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 320:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
I was on a journey in the company of the Prophet and when we reached Medina, he said to me, "Enter the Mosque and offer two Rakat."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 321:
Narrated Ka'b:
Whenever the Prophet returned from a journey in the forenoon, he would enter the Mosque and offer two Rakat before sitting.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 322:
Narrated Muharib bin Dithar:
Jabir bin Abdullah said, "When Allah's Apostle arrived at Medina, he slaughtered a camel or a cow." Jabir added, "The Prophet bought a camel from me for two Uqiyas (of gold) and one or two Dirhams. When he reached Sirar, he ordered that a cow be slaughtered and they ate its meat. When he arrived at Medina, he ordered me to go to the Mosque and offer two Rakat, and weighed (and gave) me the price of the camel."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 323:
Narrated Jabir:
Once I returned from a journey and the Prophet said (to me) "Offer two Rakat." (Sirar is a place near Medina).

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 53:
One-fifth of Booty to the Cause of Allah (Khumus)

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 324:
Narrated Ali:
I got a she-camel in my share of the war booty on the day (of the battle) of Badr, and the Prophet had given me a she-camel from the Khumus. When I intended to marry Fatima, the daughter of Allah's Apostle, I had an appointment with a goldsmith from the tribe of Bani Qainuqa' to go with me to bring Idhkhir (i.e. grass of pleasant smell) and sell it to the goldsmiths and spend its price on my wedding party. I was collecting for my she-camels equipment of saddles, sacks and ropes while my two she-camels were kneeling down beside the room of an Ansari man. I returned after collecting whatever I collected, to see the humps of my two she-camels cut off and their flanks cut open and some portion of their livers was taken out. When I saw that state of my two she-camels, I could not help weeping. I asked, "Who has done this?" The people replied, "Hamza bin Abdul Muttalib who is staying with some Ansari drunks in this house." I went away till I reached the Prophet and Zaid bin Haritha was with him. The Prophet noticed on my face the effect of what I had suffered, so the Prophet asked. "What is wrong with you." I replied, "O Allah's Apostle! I have never seen such a day as today. Hamza attacked my two she-camels, cut off their humps, and ripped open their flanks, and he is sitting there in a house in the company of some drunks." The Prophet then asked for his covering sheet, put it on, and set out walking followed by me and Zaid bin Haritha till he came to the house where Hamza was. He asked permission to enter, and they allowed him, and they were drunk. Allah's Apostle started rebuking Hamza for what he had done, but Hamza was drunk and his eyes were red. Hamza looked at Allah's Apostle and then he raised his eyes, looking at his knees, then he raised up his eyes looking at his umbilicus, and again he raised up his eyes look in at his face. Hamza then said, "Aren't you but the slaves of my father?" Allah's Apostle realized that he was drunk, so Allah's Apostle retreated, and we went out with him.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 325:
Narrated Aisha:
(mother of the believers) After the death of Allah 's Apostle Fatima the daughter of Allah's Apostle asked Abu Bakr As-Siddiq to give her, her share of inheritance from what Allah's Apostle had left of the Fai (i.e. booty gained without fighting) which Allah had given him. Abu Bakr said to her, "Allah's Apostle said, 'Our property will not be inherited, whatever we (i.e. prophets) leave is Sadaqa (to be used for charity)." Fatima, the daughter of Allah's Apostle got angry and stopped speaking to Abu Bakr, and continued assuming that attitude till she died. Fatima remained alive for six months after the death of Allah's Apostle.
She used to ask Abu Bakr for her share from the property of Allah's Apostle which he left at Khaibar, and Fadak, and his property at Medina (devoted for charity). Abu Bakr refused to give her that property and said, "I will not leave anything Allah's Apostle used to do, because I am afraid that if I left something from the Prophet's tradition, then I would go astray." (Later on) Umar gave the Prophet's property (of Sadaqa) at Medina to Ali and Abbas, but he withheld the properties of Khaibar and Fadak in his custody and said, "These two properties are the Sadaqa which Allah's Apostle used to use for his expenditures and urgent needs. Now their management is to be entrusted to the ruler." (Az-Zuhrl said, "They have been managed in this way till today.")

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 326:
Narrated Malik bin Aus:
While I was at home, the sun rose high and it got hot. Suddenly the messenger of Umar bin Al-Khattab came to me and said, "The chief of the believers has sent for you." So, I went along with him till I entered the place where Umar was sitting on a bedstead made of date-palm leaves and covered with no mattress, and he was leaning over a leather pillow. I greeted him and sat down. He said, "O Malik! Some persons of your people who have families came to me and I have ordered that a gift should be given to them, so take it and distribute it among them." I said, "O chief of the believers! I wish that you order someone else to do it." He said, "O man! Take it." While I was sitting there with him, his doorman Yarfa' came saying, "Uthman, Abdur-Rahman bin 'Auf, Az-Zubair and Sad bin Abi Waqqas are asking your permission (to see you); may I admit them?" Umar said, "Yes", So they were admitted and they came in, greeted him, and sat down. After a while Yarfa' came again and said, "May I admit Ali and Abbas?" Umar said, "yes." So, they were admitted and they came in and greeted (him) and sat down. Then Abbas said, "O chief of the believers! Judge between me and this (i.e. Ali)." They had a dispute regarding the property of Bani An-Nadir which Allah had given to His Apostle as Fai. The group (i.e. Uthman and his companions) said, "O chief of the believers! Judge between them and relieve both of them front each other." Umar said, "Be patient! I beseech you by Allah by Whose Permission the Heaven and the Earth exist, do you know that Allah's Apostle said, 'Our (i.e. prophets') property will not be inherited, and whatever we leave, is Sadaqa (to be used for charity),' and Allah's Apostle meant himself (by saying "we")?" The group said, "He said so." Umar then turned to Ali and Abbas and said, "I beseech you by Allah, do you know that Allah's Apostle said so?" They replied, " He said so." Umar then said, "So, I will talk to you about this matter. Allah bestowed on His Apostle with a special favor of something of this Fai (booty) which he gave to nobody else." Umar then recited the Holy Verses: "What Allah bestowed as (Fai) Booty on his Apostle (Mohammed) from them --- for this you made no expedition with either cavalry or camelry: But Allah gives power to His Apostles over whomever He will 'And Allah is able to do all things." 9:6)
Umar added "So this property was especially given to Allah's Apostle, but, by Allah, neither did he take possession of it and leave your, nor did he favor himself with it to your exclusion, but he gave it to all of you and distributed it amongst you till this property remained out of it. Allah's Apostle used to spend the yearly expenses of his family out of this property and used to keep the rest of its revenue to be spent on Allah 's Cause. Allah 's Apostle kept on doing this during all his lifetime. I ask you by Allah do you know this?" They replies in the affirmative. Umar then said to Ali and Abbas. "I ask you by Allah, do you know this?" Umar added, "When Allah had taken His Prophet unto Him, Abu Bakr said, 'I am the successor of Allah's Apostle so, Abu Bakr took over that property and managed it in the same way as Allah's Apostle used to do, and Allah knows that he was true, pious and rightly-guided, and he was a follower of what was right. Then Allah took Abu Bakr unto Him and I became Abu Bakr's successor, and I kept that property in my possession for the first two years of my Caliphate, managing it in the same way as Allah's Apostle used to do and as Abu Bakr used to do, and Allah knows that I have been true, pious, rightly guided, and a follower of what is right. Now you both (i.e. 'Ah and

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Abbas) came to talk to me, bearing the same claim and presenting the same case; you, Abbas, came to me asking for your share from your nephew's property, and this man, i.e. Ali, came to me asking for his wife's share from her father's property. I told you both that Allah's Apostle said, 'Our (prophets') properties are not to be inherited, but what we leave is Sadaqa (to be used for charity).' When I thought it right that I should hand over this property to you, I said to you, 'I am ready to hand over this property to you if you wish, on the condition that you would take Allah's Pledge and Convention that you would manage it in the same way as Allah's Apostle used to, and as Abu Bakr used to do, and as I have done since I was in charge of it.' So, both of you said (to me), 'Hand it over to us,' and on that condition I handed it over to you. So, I ask you by Allah, did I hand it over to them on this condition?" The group aid, "Yes." Then Umar faced Ali and Abbas saying, "I ask you by Allah, did I hand it over to you on this condition?" They said, "Yes. " He said, " Do you want now to give a different decision? By Allah, by Whose Leave both the Heaven and the Earth exist, I will never give any decision other than that (I have already given). And if you are unable to manage it, then return it to me, and I will do the job on your behalf."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 327:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The delegates of the tribe of Abdul-Qais came and said, "O Allah's Apostle! We are from the tribe of Rabi'a, and there is the infidels of the tribe of Mudar intervening between you and us, so we cannot come to you except in the Sacred Months. So please order us some instructions that we may apply it to ourselves and also invite our people whom we left behind us to observe as well." The Prophet said, "I order you (to do) four (things) and forbid you (to do) four: I order you to believe in Allah, that is, to testify that None has the right to be worshipped but Allah (the Prophet pointed with his hand); to offer prayers perfectly; to pay Zakat; to fast the month of Ramadan, and to pay the Khumus (i.e. one-fifth) of the war booty to Allah and I forbid you to use Ad-dubba', An-Naqir, Al-Hantam and Al-Muzaffat (i.e. utensils used for preparing alcoholic drinks)." (See Hadith No. 50, Vol. 1).

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 328:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "My heirs should not take even a single Dinar (i.e. anything from my property), and whatever I leave, excluding the expenditure of my wives and my laborers, will be Sadaqa (i.e. be used for charity).'"

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 329:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle died, and there was nothing in my house that a living being could eat, except some barley Lying on a shelf. So, I ate of it for a long period and measured it, and (after a short period) it was consumed.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 330:
Narrated Amr bin Al-Harith:
The Prophet did not leave anything (after his death) except his arms, a white mule, and a (piece of) land which he had given as Sadaqa.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 331:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) When the sickness of Allah's Apostle got aggravated, he asked the permission of his wives that he should be treated in my house, and they permitted him.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 332:
Narrated Ibn Abu Mulaika:
Aisha said, "The Prophet died in my house on the day of my turn while he was leaning on my chest closer to my neck, and Allah made my saliva mix with his Saliva." Aisha added, "AbdurRahman came with a Siwak and the Prophet was too weak to use it so I took it, chewed it and then (gave it to him and he) cleaned his teeth with it."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 333:
Narrated Safiya:
(the wife of the Prophet) That she came to visit Allah's Apostle while he was in Itikaf(i.e. seclusion in the Mosque during the last ten days of Ramadan. When she got up to return, Allah's Apostle got up with her and accompanied her, and when he reached near the gate of the Mosque close to the door (of the house) of Um Salama, the wife of the Prophet, two Ansari men passed by them and greeted Allah's Apostle and then went away. Allah's Apostle addressed them saying, "Don't hurry! (She is my wife)," They said, "Glorified be Allah! O Allah's Apostle (You are far away from any suspicion)," and his saying was hard on them. Allah's Apostle said, "Satan circulates in the mind of a person as blood does (in his body). I was afraid that Satan might put some (evil) thoughts in your minds."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 334:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Once I went upstairs in Hafsa's house and saw the Prophet answering the call of nature with his back towards the Qibla and facing Sham.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 335:
Narrated Aisha:
That Allah's Apostle used to offer the Asr prayer while the sun was still shining in her Hujra (i.e. her dwelling place).

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 336:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet stood up and delivered a sermon, and pointing to Aisha's house (i.e. eastwards), he said thrice, "Affliction (will appear from) here," and, "from where the side of the Satan's head comes out (i.e. from the East)."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 337:
Narrated Amra bint Abdur-Rahman:
Aisha, the wife of the Prophet told her that once Allah's Apostle was with her and she heard somebody asking permission to enter Hafsa's house. She said, "O Allah's Apostle! This man is asking permission to enter your house." Allah's Apostle replied, "I think he is so-and-so (meaning the foster uncle of Hafsa). What is rendered illegal because of blood relations, is also rendered illegal because of the corresponding foster-relations."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 338:
Narrated Anas:
That when Abu Bakr became the Caliph, he sent him to Bahrain and wrote this letter for him, and stamped it with the Ring of the Prophet. Three lines were engraved on the Ring, (the word) 'Mohammed' was in a line, 'Apostle' was in another line, and 'Allah' in a third.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 339:
Narrated 'Isa bin Tahman:
Anas brought out to us two worn out leather shoes without hair and with pieces of leather straps. Later on Thabit Al-Banani told me that Anas said that they were the shoes of the Prophet.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 340:
Narrated Abu Burda:
Aisha brought out to us a patched wool Len garment, and she said, "(It chanced that) the soul of Allah's Apostle was taken away while he was wearing this." Abu-Burda added, "Aisha brought out to us a thick waist sheet like the ones made by the Yemenites, and also a garment of the type called Al-Mulabbada."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 341:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
When the cup of Allah's Apostle got broken, he fixed it with a silver wire at the crack. (The sub-narrator, 'Asim said, "I saw the cup and drank (water) in it.")

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 342:
Narrated Ali bin Al-Husain:
That when they reached Medina after returning from Yazid bin Mu'awaiya after the martyrdom of Husain bin Ali (may Allah bestow His Mercy upon him), Al-Miswar bin Makhrama met him and said to him, "Do you have any need you may order me to satisfy?" Ali said, "No." Al-Miswar said, Will you give me the sword of Allah's Apostle for I am afraid that people may take it from you by force? By Allah, if you give it to me, they will never be able to take it till I die." When Ali bin Abu Talib demanded the hand of the daughter of Abi Jahal to be his wife besides Fatima, I heard Allah's Apostle on his pulpit delivering a sermon in this connection before the people, and I had then attained my age of puberty. Allah's Apostle said, "Fatima is from me, and I am afraid she will be subjected to trials in her religion (because of jealousy)." The Prophet then mentioned one of his son-in-law who was from the tribe of Abu Shams, and he praised him as a good son-in-law, saying, "Whatever he said was the truth, and he promised me and fulfilled his promise. I do not make a legal thing illegal, nor do I make an illegal thing legal, but by Allah, the daughter of Allah's Apostle and the daughter of the enemy of Allah, (i.e. Abu Jahl) can never get together (as the wives of one man) (See Hadith No. 76, Vo. 5).

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 343:
Narrated Ibn Al-Hanafiya:
If Ali had spoken anything bad about Uthman then he would have mentioned the day when some persons came to him and complained about the Zakat officials of Uthman. Ali then said to me, "Go to Uthman and say to him, 'This document contains the regulations of spending the Sadaqa of Allah's Apostle so order your Zakat officials to act accordingly." I took the document to Uthman. Uthman said, "Take it away, for we are not in need of it." I returned to Ali with it and informed him of that. He said, "Put it whence you took it."
Narrated Mohammed bin Suqa: I heard Mundhir At-Tuzi reporting Ibn Hanafiya who said, "My father sent me saying, 'Take this letter to Uthman for it contains the orders of the Prophet concerning the Sadaqa.' "

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 344:
Narrated Ali:
Fatima complained of what she suffered from the hand mill and from grinding, when she got the news that some slave girls of the booty had been brought to Allah's Apostle. She went to him to ask for a maid-servant, but she could not find him, and told Aisha of her need. When the Prophet came, Aisha informed him of that. The Prophet came to our house when we had gone to our beds. (On seeing the Prophet) we were going to get up, but he said, 'Keep at your places,' I felt the coolness of the Prophet's feet on my chest. Then he said, "Shall I tell you a thing which is better than what you asked me for? When you go to your beds, say: 'Allahu Akbar (i.e. Allah is Greater)' for 34 times, and 'Alhamdu Lillah (i.e. all the praises are for Allah)' for 33 times, and Subhan Allah (i.e. Glorified be Allah) for 33 times. This is better for you than what you have requested."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 345:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah Al-Ansari:
A man amongst us begot a boy whom he named Al-Qasim. On that the Ansar said, (to the man), "We will never call you Abu-al-Qasim and will never please you with this blessed title." So, he went to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have begotten a boy whom I named Al-Qasim and the Ansar said, 'We will never call you Abu-al-Qasim, nor will we please you with this title.' " The Prophet said, "The Ansar have done well. Name by my name, but do not name by my Kunya, for I am Qasim."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 346:
Narrated Muawiya:
Allah's Apostle said, "If Allah wants to do good for somebody, he makes him comprehend the Religion (i.e. Islam), and Allah is the Giver and I am Al-Qasim (i.e. the distributor), and this (Muslim) nation will remain victorious over their opponents, till Allah's Order comes and they will still be victorious "
Narrated Abu Huraira: Allah's Apostle said, "Neither do I give you (anything) nor withhold (anything) from you, but I am just a distributor (i.e. Qasim), and I give as I am ordered."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 347:
Narrated Khaula Al-Ansariya:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "Some people spend Allah's Wealth (i.e. Muslim's wealth) in an unjust manner; such people will be put in the (Hell) Fire on the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 348:
Narrated Urwa-al-Bariqi:
The Prophet said, "Horses are always the source of good, namely, rewards (in the Hereafter) and booty, till the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 349:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "When Khosrau is ruined, there will be no Khosrau after him; and when Caesar is ruined, there will be no Caesar after him. By Him in Whose Hands my life is, you will spend their treasures in Allah's Cause."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 350:
Narrated Jabir bin Samura:
Allah's Apostle said, "When Khosrau is ruined, there will be no Khosrau after him; and when Caesar is ruined, their will be no Caesar after him. By Him in Whose Hands my life is, you will spend their treasures in Allah's Cause."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 351:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle said, "Booty has been made legal for me."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 352:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Allah guarantees him who strives in His Cause and whose motivation for going out is nothing but Jihad in His Cause and belief in His Word, that He will admit him into Paradise (if martyred) or bring him back to his dwelling place, whence he has come out, with what he gains of reward and booty."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 353:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "A prophet amongst the prophets carried out a holy military expedition, so he said to his followers, 'Anyone who has married a woman and wants to consummate

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the marriage, and has not done so yet, should not accompany me; nor should a man who has built a house but has not completed its roof; nor a man who has sheep or shecamels and is waiting for the birth of their young ones.' So, the prophet carried out the expedition and when he reached that town at the time or nearly at the time of the Asr prayer, he said to the sun, 'O sun! You are under Allah's Order and I am under Allah's Order O Allah! Stop it (i.e. the sun) from setting.' It was stopped till Allah made him victorious.

Then he collected the booty and the fire came to burn it, but it did not burn it. He said (to his men), 'Some of you have stolen something from the booty. So one man from every tribe should give me a pledge of allegiance by shaking hands with me.' (They did so and) the hand of a man got stuck over the hand of their prophet. Then that prophet said (to the man), 'The theft has been committed by your people. So all the persons of your tribe should give me the pledge of allegiance by shaking hands with me.' The hands of two or three men got stuck over the hand of their prophet and he said, "You have committed the theft.' Then they brought a head of gold like the head of a cow and put it there, and the fire came and consumed the booty. The Prophet added: Then Allah saw our weakness and disability, so he made booty legal for us."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 354:
Narrated Aslam:
Umar said, "Were it not for those Muslims who have not come to existence yet, I would have distributed (the land of) every town I conquer among the fighters as the Prophet distributed the land of Khaibar."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 355:
Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ashari:
A bedouin asked the Prophet, "A man may fight for the sake of booty, and another may fight so that he may be mentioned by the people, and a third may fight to show his position (i.e. bravery); which of these regarded as fighting in Allah's Cause?" The Prophet said, "He who fights so that Allah's Word (i.e. Islam) should be superior, fights for Allah's Cause."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 356:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abu Mulaika:
Some silken cloaks with golden buttons were presented to the Prophet. He distributed them amongst his companions and kept one for Makhrama, bin Naufal. Later on Makhrama came along with his son Al-Miswar bin Makhrama, and stood up at the gate and said (to his son). "Call him (i.e. the Prophet) to me." The Prophet heard his voice, took a silken cloak and brought it to him, placing those golden buttons in front of him saying, "O Abu-al-Miswar! I have kept this aside for you! O Abu-al Miswar! I have kept this aside for you!" Makhrama was a bad-tempered man.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 357:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
People used to give some of their datepalms to the Prophet (as a gift), till he conquered Bani Quraiza and Bani An-Nadir, whereupon he started returning their favors.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 358:
Narrated Abdullah bin Az-Zubair:
When Az-Zubair got up during the battle of Al-Jamal, he called me and I stood up beside him, and he said to me, "O my son! Today one will be killed either as an oppressor or as an oppressed one. I see that I will be killed as an oppressed one. My biggest worry is my debts. Do you think, if we pay the debts, there will be something left for us from our money?" Az-Zubair added, "O my son! Sell our property and pay my debts." Az-Zubair then willed one-third of his property and willed one-third of that portion to his sons; namely, Abdullah's sons. He said, "One-third of the one third. If any property is left after the payment of the debts, one-third (of the one-third of what is left) is to be given to your sons." (Hisham, a sub-narrator added, "Some of the sons of Abdullah were equal in age to the sons of Az-Zubair e.g. Khubaib and Abbas. Abdullah had nine sons and nine daughters at that time." (The narrator Abdullah added:) My father (Az-Zubair) went on drawing my attention to his debts saying, "If you should fail to pay part of the debts, appeal to my Master to help you." By Allah! I could not understand what he meant till I asked, "O father! Who is your Master?" He replied, "Allah (is my Master)." By Allah, whenever I had any difficulty regarding his debts, I would say, "Master of Az-Zubair! Pay his debts on his behalf ." and Allah would (help me to) pay it. Az-Zubair was martyred leaving no Dinar or Dirham but two pieces of land, one of which was (called) Al-Ghaba, and eleven houses in Medina, two in Basra, one in Kufa and one in Egypt. In fact, the source of the debt which he owed was, that if somebody brought some money to deposit with him. Az Zubair would say, "No, (i won't keep it as a trust), but I take it as a debt, for I am afraid it might be lost." Az-Zubair was never appointed governor or collector of the tax of Kharaj or any other similar thing, but he collected his wealth (from the war booty he gained) during the holy battles he took part in, in the company of the Prophet, Abu Bakr, Umar, and Uthman. (Abdullah bin Az-Zubair added:) When I counted his debt, it turned to be two million and two hundred thousand. (The sub-narrator added:) Hakim bin Hizam met Abdullah bin Zubair and asked, "O my nephew! How much is the debt of my brother?" Abdullah kept it as a secret and said, "One hundred thousand," Hakim said, "By Allah! I don't think your property will cover it." On that Abdullah said to him, "What if it is two million and two hundred thousand?" Hakim said, "I don't think you can pay it; so if you are unable to pay all of it, I will help you." Az-Zubair had already bought Al-Ghaba for one hundred and seventy thousand. Abdullah sold it for one million and six hundred thousand. Then he called the people saying, "Any person who has any money claim on Az-Zubair should come to us in Al-Ghaba." There came to him Abdullah bin Jafar whom Az-Zubair owed four hundred thousand. He said to Abdullah bin Az-Zubair, "If you wish I will forgive you the debt." Abdullah (bin Az-Zubair) said, "No." Then Ibn Jafar said, "If you wish you can defer the payment if you should defer the payment of any debt." Ibn Az-Zubair said, "No." Abdullah bin Jafar said, "Give me a piece of the land." Abdullah bin AzZubair said (to him), "Yours is the land extending from this place to this place." So, Abdullah bin Az-Zubair sold some of the property (including the houses) and paid his debt perfectly, retaining four and a half shares from the land (i.e. Al-Ghaba). He then went to Mu'awlya while Amr bin Uthman, Al-Mundhir bin Az-Zubair and Ibn Zam'a were sitting with him. Mu'awiya asked, "At what price have you appraised Al-Ghaba?" He said, "One hundred thousand for each share," Muawiya asked, "How many shares have been left?" Abdullah replied, "Four and a half shares." Al-Mundhir bin Az-Zubair said, "I would like to buy one share for one hundred thousand." Amr bin Uthman said, "I would like to buy one share for one hundred thousand." Ibn Zam'a said, "I would like to buy one share for one hundred thousand." Muawiya said, "How much is left now?" Abdullah replied, "One share and a half." Muawiya said, "I would like to buy it for one hundred and fifty thousand." Abdullah also sold his part to Muawiya six hundred thousand. When Ibn AzZubair had paid all the debts. Az-Zubair's sons said to him, "Distribute our inheritance among us." He said, "No, by Allah, I will not distribute it among you till I announce in four successive Hajj seasons, 'Would those who have money claims on Az-Zubair come so that we may pay them their debt." So, he started to announce that in public in every Hajj season, and when four years had elapsed, he distributed the inheritance among the inheritors. Az-Zubair had four wives, and after the one-third of his property was excluded (according to the will), each of his wives received one million and two hundred thousand. So the total amount of his property was fifty million and two hundred thousand.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 359:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Uthman did not join the Badr battle because he was married to one of the daughters of Allah's Apostle and she was ill. So, the Prophet said to him. "You will get a reward and a share (from the war booty) similar to the reward and the share of one who has taken part in the Badr battle."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 360:
Narrated Marwan bin Al-Hakim and Miswar bin Makhrama:
When the Hawazin delegation came to Allah's Apostle after they had embraced Islam and requested him to return their properties and war prisoners to them, Allah's Apostle said, "To me the best talk is the truest, so you may choose either of two things; the war prisoners or the wealth, for I have delayed their distribution." Allah's Apostle had waited for them for over ten days when he returned from Ta'if. So, when those people came to know that Allah's Apostle was not going to return to them except one of the two things the said, "We choose our war Prisoners 'Allah's Apostle stood up amongst the Muslims, and after glorifying Allah as He deserved, he said, "Now then, these brothers of yours have come to us with repentance, and I see it logical that I should return their captives to them, so whoever of you likes to do that as a favor then he can do it, and whoever amongst you likes to stick to his share, let him give up his prisoners and we will compensate him from the very first Fai' (i.e. war booty received without fight) which Allah will give us." On that, all the people said. 'O Allah's Apostles We have agreed willingly to do so (return the captives)" Then Allah's Apostle said to them "I do not know who amongst you has agreed to this and who has not. You should return and let your leaders inform me of your agreement." The people returned and their leaders spoke to them, and then came to Allah's Apostle and said, "All the people have agreed willingly to do so and have given the permission to return the war prisoners (without Compensation)" (Az-Zuhri, the sub-narrator states) This is what has been related to us about the captives of Hawazin.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 361:
Narrated Zahdam:
Once we were in the house of Abu Musa who presented a meal containing cooked chicken. A man from the tribe of Bani Taim Allah with red complexion as if he were from the Byzantine war prisoners, was present. Abu Musa invited him to share the meal but he (apologised) saying. "I saw chickens eating dirty things and so I have had a strong aversion to eating them, and have taken an oath that I will not eat chickens." Abu Musa said, "Come along, I will tell you about this matter (i.e. how to cancel one's oat). I went to the Prophet in the company of a group of Al-Ashariyin, asked him to provide us with means of conveyance. He said, 'By Allah, I will not provide you with any means of conveyance and I have nothing to make you ride on.' Then some camels as booty were brought to Allah's Apostle and he asked for us saying. 'Where are the group of Al-Ash'ariyun?' Then he ordered that we should be given five camels with white humps. When we set out we said, 'What have we done? We will never be blessed (with what we have been given).' So, we returned to the Prophet and said, 'We asked you to provide us with means of conveyance, but you took an oath that you would not provide us with any means of conveyance. Did you forget (your oath when you gave us the camels)? He replied. 'I have not provided you with means of conveyance, but Allah has provided you with it, and by Allah, Allah willing, if ever I take an oath to do something, and later on I find that it is more beneficial to do something different, I will do the thing which is better, and give expiation for my oath."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 362:
Narrated Nafi from Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle sent a Sariya towards Najd, and Abdullah bin Umar was in the Sariya. They gained a great number of camels as war booty. The share of each one of them was twelve or eleven camels, and they were given an extra camel each.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 363:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle used to give extra share to some of the members of the Sariya he used to send, in addition to the shares they shared with the army in general.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 364:
Narrated Abu Musa:
We got the news of the migration of the Prophet while we were in Yemen, so we set out migrating to him. We were, I and my two brothers, I being the youngest, and one of my brothers was Abu Burda and the other was Abu Ruhm. We were over fifty (or fifty-three or fifty two) men from our people. We got on board a ship which took us to An-Najashi in Ethiopia, and there we found Jafar bin Abu Talib and his companions with An-Najaishi. Jafar said (to us), "Allah's Apostle has sent us here and ordered us to stay here, so you too, stay with us." We stayed with him till we all left (Ethiopia) and met the Prophet at the time when he had conquered Khaibar. He gave us a share from its booty (or gave us from its booty). He gave only to those who had taken part in the Ghazwa with him. but he did not give any share to any person who had not participated in Khaibar's conquest except the people of our ship, besides Jafar and his companions, whom he gave a share as he did them (i.e. the people of the ship).

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 365:
Narrated Jabir:
Allah's Apostle said (to me), "If the property of Bahrain had come to us, I would have given you so much and so much." But the Bahrain property did not come till the Prophet had died. When the Bahrain property came. Abu Bakr ordered somebody to announce, "Any person who has money claim on Allah's Apostle or whom Allah's Apostle had promised something, should come to us." So, I went to him and said, "Allah's Apostle had promised to give me so much an so much." Abu Bakr scooped up money with both hands thrice for me." (The sub-narrator Sufyan illustrated this action by scooping up with both hands and said, "Ibn Munkadir, another sub-narrator, used to illustrate it in this way.")

Narrated Jabir: Once I went to Abu Bakr and asked for the money but he did not give me, and I went to him again, but he did not give me, so I went to him for the third time and said, "I asked you, but you did not give me; then I asked you (for the second time) and you did not give me; then I asked you (for the third time) but you did not give me. You should either give me or allow yourself to be considered a miser regarding my case." Abu Bakr said, "You tell me that I am a miser with regard to you. But really, whenever I rejected your request, I had the inclination to give you."

(In another narration Jabir added:) So, Abu Bakr scooped up money with both hands for me and asked me to count it. I found out that It was five hundred. Abu Bakr told me to take twice that amount.

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Volume 4, Book 53, Number 366:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
While Allah's Apostle was distributing the booty at Al-Ja'rana, somebody said to him "Be just (in your distribution)." The Prophet replied, "Verily I would be miserable if I did not act justly."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 367:
Narrated Jubair bin Mutim:
The Prophet talked about war prisoners of Badr saying, "Had Al-Mutim bin Adi been alive and interceded with me for these mean people, I would have freed them for his sake."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 368:
Narrated Jubair bin Mutim:
I and Uthman bin 'Affan went to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! You have given to Bani Al-Muttalib and left us although they and we are of the same kinship to you." Allah's Apostle said, "Bani Muttalib and Bani Hashim are one and the same." The Prophet did not give a share to Bani Abd Shams and Bani Naufai. (Ibn Ishaq said, "Abd Shams and Hashim and Al-Muttalib were maternal brothers and their mother was 'Atika bint Murra and Naufal was their paternal brother.)

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 369:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin 'Auf:
While I was standing in the row on the day (of the battle) of Badr, I looked to my right and my left and saw two young Ansari boys, and I wished I had been stronger than they. One of them called my attention saying, "O Uncle! Do you know Abu Jahl?" I said, "Yes, What do you want from him, O my nephew?" He said, "I have been informed that he abuses Allah's Apostle. By Him in Whose Hands my life is, if I should see him, then my body will not leave his body till either of us meet his fate." I was astonished at that talk. Then the other boy called my attention saying the same as the other had said. After a while I saw Abu Jahl walking amongst the people. I said (to the boys), "Look! This is the man you asked me about." So, both of them attacked him with their swords and struck him to death and returned to Allah'S Apostle to inform him of that. Allah's Apostle asked, "Which of you has killed him?" Each of them said, "I Have killed him." Allah's Apostle asked, "Have you cleaned your swords?" They said, "No. " He then looked at their swords and said, "No doubt, you both have killed him and the spoils of the deceased will be given to Muadh bin Amr bin Al-Jamuh." The two boys were Muadh bin 'Afra and Muadh bin Amr bin Al-Jamuh.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 370:
Narrated Abu Qatada:
We set out in the company of Allah's Apostle on the day (of the battle) of Hunain. When we faced the enemy, the Muslims retreated and I saw a pagan throwing himself over a Muslim. I turned around and came upon him from behind and hit him on the shoulder with the sword He (i.e. the pagan) came towards me and seized me so violently that I felt as if it were death itself, but death overtook him and he released me. I followed Umar bin Al Khattab and asked (him), "What is wrong with the people (fleeing)?" He replied, "This is the Will of Allah," After the people returned, the Prophet sat and said, "Anyone who has killed an enemy and has a proof of that, will posses his spoils." I got up and said, "Who will be a witness for me?" and then sat down. The Prophet again said, "Anyone who has killed an enemy and has proof of that, will possess his spoils." I (again) got up and said, "Who will be a witness for me?" and sat down. Then the Prophet said the same for the third time. I again got up, and Allah's Apostle said, "O Abu Qatada! What is your story?" Then I narrated the whole story to him. A man (got up and) said, "O Allah's Apostle! He is speaking the truth, and the spoils of the killed man are with me. So please compensate him on my behalf." On that Abu Bakr As-Siddiq said, "No, by Allah, he (i.e. Allah's Apostle) will not agree to give you the spoils gained by one of Allah's Lions who fights on the behalf of Allah and His Apostle." The Prophet said, "Abu Bakr has spoken the truth." So, Allah's Apostle gave the spoils to me. I sold that armor (i.e. the spoils) and with its price I bought a garden at Bani Salima, and this was my first property which I gained after my conversion to Islam.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 371:
Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair:
Hakim bin Hizam said, "I asked Allah's Apostle for something, and he gave me. I asked him again, and he gave me, and said to me. 'O Hakim! This wealth is like green sweet (i.e. fruit), and if one takes it without greed, then one is blessed in it, and if one takes it with greediness, then one is not blessed in it, and will be like the one who eats without satisfaction. And an upper (i.e. giving) hand is better than a lower (i.e. taking) hand,' I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! By Him Who has sent you with the Truth. I will not ask anyone for anything after you till I leave this world." So, when Abu Bakr during his Caliphate, called Hakim to give him (some money), Hakim refused to accept anything from him. Once Umar called him (during his Caliphate) in order to give him something, but Hakim refused to accept it, whereupon Umar said, "O Muslims! I give him (i.e. Haklm) his right which Allah has assigned to him) from this Fai '(booty), but he refuses to take it." So Haklm never took anything from anybody after the Prophet till he died.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 372:
Narrated Nafi:
Umar bin Al-Khattab said, "O Allah's Apostle! I vowed to observe Itikaf for one day during the Pre-lslamic period." The Prophet ordered him to fulfill his vow. Umar gained two lady captives from the war prisoners of Hunain and he left them in some of the houses at Mecca. When Allah's Apostle freed the captives of Hunain without ransom, they came out walking in the streets. Umar said (to his son), "O Abdullah! See what is the matter." Abdullah replied, "Allah's Apostle has freed the captives without ransom." He said (to him), "Go and set free those two slave girls." (Nafi added:) Allah's Apostle did not perform the Umra from Al-Jarana, and if he had performed the Umra, it would not have been hidden from Abdullah.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 373:
Narrated Amr bin Taghlib:
Allah's Apostle gave (gifts) to some people to the exclusion of some others. The latter seemed to be displeased by that. The Prophet said, "I give to some people, lest they should deviate from True Faith or lose patience, while I refer other people to the goodness and contentment which Allah has put in their hearts, and Amr bin Taghlib is amongst them." Amr bin Taghlib said, "The statement of Allah's Apostle is dearer to me than red camels."
Narrated Al-Hasan: Amr bin Taghlib told us that Allah's Apostle got some property or some war prisoners and he distributed them in the above way (i.e. giving to some people to the exclusion of others) .

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 374:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "I give to Quraish people in order to let them adhere to Islam, for they are near to their life of Ignorance (i.e. they have newly embraced Islam and it is still not strong in their hearts."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 375:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
When Allah favored His Apostle with the properties of Hawazin tribe as Fai (booty), he started giving to some Quarries men even up to one-hundred camels each, whereupon some Ansari men said about Allah's Apostle, "May Allah forgive His Apostle! He is giving to (men of) Quraish and leaves us, in spite of the fact that our swords are still dropping blood (of the infidels)" When Allah's Apostle was informed of what they had said, he called the Ansar and gathered them in a leather tent and did not call anybody else along, with them. When they gathered, Allah's Apostle came to them and said, "What is the statement which, I have been informed, and that which you have said?" The learned ones among them replied," O Allah's Apostle! The wise ones amongst us did not say anything, but the youngsters amongst us said, 'May Allah forgive His Apostle; he gives the Quarish and leaves the Ansar, in spite of the fact that our swords are still dribbling (wet) with the blood of the infidels.' " Allah's Apostle replied, I give to such people as are still close to the period of Infidelity (i.e. they have recently embraced Islam and Faith is still weak in their hearts). Won't you be pleased to see people go with fortune, while you return with Allah's Apostle to your houses? By Allah, what you will return with, is better than what they are returning with." The Ansar replied, "Yes, O Allah's Apostle, we are satisfied' Then the Prophet said to them." You will find after me, others being preferred to you. Then be patient till you meet Allah and meet His Apostle at Al-Kauthar (i.e. a fount in Paradise)." (Anas added:) But we did not remain patient.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 376:
Narrated Jubair bin Mutim:
That while he was with Allah's Apostle who was accompanied by the people on their way back from Hunain, the bedouins started begging things of Allah's Apostle so much so that they forced him to go under a Samura tree where his loose outer garment was snatched away. On that, Allah's Apostle stood up and said to them, "Return my garment to me. If I had as many camels as these trees, I would have distributed them amongst you; and you will not find me a miser or a liar or a coward."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 377:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
While I was walking with the Prophet who was wearing a Najrani outer garment with a thick hem, a bedouin came upon the Prophet and pulled his garment so violently that I could recognize the impress of the hem of the garment on his shoulder, caused by the violence of his pull. Then the bedouin said, "Order for me something from Allah's Fortune which you have." The Prophet turned to him and smiled, and ordered that a gift be given to him.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 378:
Narrated Abdullah:
On the day (of the battle) of Hunain, Allah's Apostle favored some people in the distribution of the booty (to the exclusion of others); he gave Al-Aqra' bin Habis one-hundred camels and he gave 'Uyaina the same amount, and also gave to some of the eminent Arabs, giving them preference in this regard. Then a person came and said, "By Allah, in this distribution justice has not been observed, nor has Allah's Pleasure been aimed at." I said (to him), "By Allah, I will inform the Prophet (of what you have said), "I went and informed him, and he said, "If Allah and His Apostle did not act justly, who else would act justly. May Allah be merciful to Moses, for he was harmed with more than this, yet he kept patient."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 379:
Narrated Asma bint Abu Bakr:
I used to carry the date stones on my head from the land of Az-Zubair which Allah's Apostle had given to him, and it was at a distance of 2/3 of a Farsakh from my house.
Narrated Hisham's father: The Prophet (gave Az-Zubair a piece of land from the property of Bani An-Nadir (gained as war booty).

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 380:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Umar bin Al-Khattab expelled all the Jews and Christians from the land of Hijaz. Allah's Apostle after conquering Khaibar, thought of expelling the Jews from the land which, after he conquered it belonged to Allah, Allah's Apostle and the Muslims. But the Jews requested Allah's Apostle to leave them there on the condition that they would do the labor and get half of the fruits (the land would yield). Allah's Apostle said, "We shall keep you on these terms as long as we wish." Thus they stayed till the time of Umar's Caliphate when he expelled them to Taima and Ariha.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 381:
Narrated Abdullah bin Mughaffal:
While we were besieging the fort of Khaibar, a person threw a leather container containing fat, and I ran to take it, but when I turned I saw the Prophet (standing behind), so I felt embarrassed in front of him.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 382:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
In our holy battles, we used to get honey and grapes, as war booty which we would eat and would not store.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 383:
Narrated Ibn Abi Aufa:
We were afflicted with hunger during the besiege of Khaibar, and when it was the day of (the battle of) Khaibar, we slaughtered the donkeys and when the pots got boiling (with their meat). Allah's Apostle made an announcement that all the pots should be upset and that nobody should eat anything of the meat of the donkeys. We thought that the Prophet prohibited that because the Khumus had not been taken out of the booty (i.e. donkeys); other people said, "He prohibited eating them for ever." The sub-narrator added, "I asked Said bin Jubair who said, 'He has made the eating of donkeys' meat illegal for ever.")

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 384:
Narrated Umar bin Dinar:
I was sitting with Jabir bin Zaid and Amr bin Aus, and Bjalla was narrating to them in 70 A.H. the year when Musab bin Az-Zubair was the leader of the pilgrims of Basra. We were sitting at the steps of Zam-zam well and Bajala said, "I was the clerk of Juz bin Muawiya, Al-Ahnaf's paternal uncle. A letter came from Umar bin Al-Khattab one year before his death; and it was read:-- "Cancel every marriage contracted among the Magians between relatives of close kinship (marriages that are regarded illegal in Islam: a relative of this sort being called Dhu-Mahram.)" Umar did not take the Jizya from the Magian infidels till Abdur-Rahman bin 'Auf testified that Allah's Apostle had taken the Jizya from the Magians of Hajar.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 385:
Narrated Amr bin 'Auf Al-Ansari:
(who was an ally of Bam Amr bin Lu'ai and one of those who had taken part in (the Ghazwa of) Badr): Allah's Apostle sent Abu Ubaida bin Al-Jarreh to Bahrain to collect the Jizya. Allah's Apostle had established peace with the people of Bahrain and appointed Al-'Ala' bin Al-Hadrami as their governor. When Abu Ubaida came from Bahrain with the money, the Ansar heard of Abu Ubaida's arrival which

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coincided with the time of the morning prayer with the Prophet. When Allah's Apostle led them in the morning prayer and finished, the Ansar approached him, and he looked at them and smiled on seeing them and said, "I feel that you have heard that Abu. Ubaida has brought something?" They said, "Yes, O Allah's Apostle' He said, "Rejoice and hope for what will please you! By Allah, I am not afraid of your poverty but I am afraid that you will lead a life of luxury as past nations did, whereupon you will compete with each other for it, as they competed for it, and it will destroy you as it destroyed them."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 386:
Narrated Jubair bin Haiya:
Umar sent the Muslims to the great countries to fight the pagans. When Al-Hurmuzan embraced Islam, Umar said to him. "I would like to consult you regarding these countries which I intend to invade." Al-Hurmuzan said, "Yes, the example of these countries and their inhabitants who are the enemies. of the Muslims, is like a bird with a head, two wings and two legs; If one of its wings got broken, it would get up over its two legs, with one wing and the head; and if the other wing got broken, it would get up with two legs and a head, but if its head got destroyed, then the two legs, two wings and the head would become useless. The head stands for Khosrau, and one wing stands for Caesar and the other wing stands for Faris. So, order the Muslims to go towards Khosrau." So, Umar sent us (to Khosrau) appointing An-Numan bin Muqrin as our commander. When we reached the land of the enemy, the representative of Khosrau came out with forty-thousand warriors, and an interpreter got up saying, "Let one of you talk to me!" Al-Mughira replied, "Ask whatever you wish." The other asked, "Who are you?" Al-Mughira replied, "We are some people from the Arabs; we led a hard, miserable, disastrous life: we used to suck the hides and the date stones from hunger; we used to wear clothes made up of fur of camels and hair of goats, and to worship trees and stones. While we were in this state, the Lord of the Heavens and the Earths, Elevated is His Remembrance and Majestic is His Highness, sent to us from among ourselves a Prophet whose father and mother are known to us. Our Prophet, the Messenger of our Lord, has ordered us to fight you till you worship Allah Alone or give Jizya (i.e. tribute); and our Prophet has informed us that our Lord says:-- "Whoever amongst us is killed (i.e. martyred), shall go to Paradise to lead such a luxurious life as he has never seen, and whoever amongst us remain alive, shall become your master." (Al-Mughira, then blamed An-Numan for delaying the attack and) An-Nu' man said to Al-Mughira, "If you had participated in a similar battle, in the company of Allah's Apostle he would not have blamed you for waiting, nor would he have disgraced you. But I accompanied Allah's Apostle in many battles and it was his custom that if he did not fight early by daytime, he would wait till the wind had started blowing and the time for the prayer was due (i.e. after midday)."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 387:
Narrated Abu Humaid As-Saidi:
We accompanied the Prophet in the Ghazwa of Tabuk and the king of 'Aila presented a white mule and a cloak as a gift to the Prophet. And the Prophet wrote to him a peace treaty allowing him to keep authority over his country.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 388:
Narrated Juwairiya bin Qudama At-Tamimi:
We said to Umar bin Al-Khattab, Jo Chief of the believers! Advise us." He said, "I advise you to fulfill Allah's Convention (made with the Dhimmis) as it is the convention of your Prophet and the source of the livelihood of your dependents (i.e. the taxes from the Dhimmis.) "

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 389:
Narrated Yahya bin Said:
Once the Prophet called the Ansar in order to grant them part of the land of Bahrain. On that they said, "No! By Allah, we will not accept it unless you grant a similar thing to our Quarries brothers as well." He said, "That will be their's if Allah wishes." But when the Ansar persisted in their request, he said, "After me you will see others given preference over you in this respect (in which case) you should be patient till you meet me at the Tank (of Al-Kauthar)."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 390:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle once said to me, "If the revenue of Bahrain came, I would give you this much and this much." When Allah's Apostle had died, the revenue of Bahrain came, and Abu Bakr announced, " Let whoever was promised something by Allah's Apostle come to me." So, I went to Abu Bakr and said, "Allah's Apostle said to me, 'If the revenue of Bahrain came, I would give you this much and this. much." On that Abu Bakr said to me, "Scoop (money) with both your hands." I scooped money with both my hands and Abu Bakr asked me to count it. I counted it and it was five-hundred (gold pieces). The total amount he gave me was one thousand and five hundred (gold pieces.)
Narrated Anas: Money from Bahrain was brought to the Prophet . He said, "Spread it in the Mosque." It was the biggest amount that had ever been brought to Allah's Apostle . In the meantime Al-Abbas came to him and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Give me, for I gave the ransom of myself and Aqil." The Prophet said (to him), "Take." He scooped money with both hands and poured it in his garment and tried to lift it, but he could not and appealed to the Prophet, "Will you order someone to help me in lifting it?" The Prophet said, "No." Then Al-Abbas said, "Then will you yourself help me carry it?" The Prophet said, "No." Then Al Abbas threw away some of the money, but even then he was not able to lift it, and so he gain requested the Prophet "Will you order someone to help me carry it?" The Prophet said, "No." Then Al-Abbas said, "Then will you yourself yelp me carry it?" The Prophet said, 'No." So, Al-Abbas threw away some more money and lifted it on his shoulder and went away. The Prophet kept on looking at him with astonishment at his greediness till he went out of our sight. Allah's Apostle did not get up from there till not a single Dirham remained from that money.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 391:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
The Prophet said, "Whoever killed a person having a treaty with the Muslims, shall not smell the smell of Paradise though its smell is perceived from a distance of forty years."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 392:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
While we were in the Mosque, the Prophet came out and said, "Let us go to the Jews" We went out till we reached Bait-ul-Midras. He said to them, "If you embrace Islam, you will be safe. You should know that the earth belongs to Allah and His Apostle, and I want to expel you from this land. So, if anyone amongst you owns some property, he is permitted to sell it, otherwise you should know that the Earth belongs to Allah and His Apostle."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 393:
Narrated Said bin Jubair:
that he heard Ibn Abbas saying, "Thursday! And you know not what Thursday is? After that Ibn Abbas wept till the stones on the ground were soaked with his tears. On that I asked Ibn Abbas, "What is (about) Thursday?" He said, "When the condition (i.e. health) of Allah's Apostle deteriorated, he said, 'Bring me a bone of scapula, so that I may write something for you after which you will never go astray.'The people differed in their opinions although it was improper to differ in front of a prophet, They said, 'What is wrong with him? Do you think he is delirious? Ask him (to understand). The Prophet replied, 'Leave me as I am in a better state than what you are asking me to do.' Then the Prophet ordered them to do three things saying, 'Turn out all the pagans from the Arabian Peninsula, show respect to all foreign delegates by giving them gifts as I used to do.' " The sub-narrator added, "The third order was something beneficial which either Ibn Abbas did not mention or he mentioned but I forgot.'

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 394:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
When Khaibar was conquered, a roasted poisoned sheep was presented to the Prophets as a gift (by the Jews). The Prophet ordered, "Let all the Jews who have been here, be assembled before me." The Jews were collected and the Prophet said (to them), "I am going to ask you a question. Will you tell the truth?" They said, "Yes.' The Prophet asked, "Who is your father?" They replied, "So-and-so." He said, "You have told a ie; your father is so-and-so." They said, "You are right." He siad, "Will you now tell me the truth, if I ask you about something?" They replied, "Yes, O AbuAl-Qasim; and if we should tell a lie, you can realize our lie as you have done regarding our father." On that he asked, "Who are the people of the (Hell) Fire?" They said, "We shall remain in the (Hell) Fire for a short period, and after that you will replace us." The Prophet said, "You may be cursed and humiliated in it! By Allah, we shall never replace you in it." Then he asked, "Will you now tell me the truth if I ask you a question?" They said, "Yes, O Ab Li-AI-Qasim." He asked, "Have you poisoned this sheep?" They said, "Yes." He asked, "What made you do so?" They said, "We wanted to know if you were a liar in which case we would get rid of you, and if you are a prophet then the poison would not harm you."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 395:
Narrated 'Asim:
I asked Anas about the Qunut (i.e. invocation in the prayer). Anas said, "It should be recited before bowing." I said, "So-and-so claims that you say that it should be recited after bowing." He replied, "He is mistaken." Then Anas narrated to us that the Prophet invoked evil on the tribe of Bani-Sulaim for one month after bowing. ' Anas Further said, "The Prophet had sent 40 or 70 Qaris (i.e. men well versed in the knowledge of the Koran) to some pagans, but the latter struggled with them and martyred them, although there was a peace pact between them and the Prophet I had never seen the Prophet so sorry and worried about anybody as he was about them (i.e. the Qaris)."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 396:
Narrated Um Hani:
the daughter of Abu Talib: I went to Allah's Apostle on the day of the conquest of Mecca and found him taking a bath, and his daughter Fatima was screening him. I greeted him and he asked, "Who is that?" I said, "I, Um Hani bint Abi Talib." He said, "Welcome, O Um Hani." When he had finished his bath, he stood up and offered eight Rakat while dressed in one garment. I said, "O Allah's Apostle! My brother Ali has declared that he will kill a man to whom I have granted asylum. The man is so and-so bin Hubaira." Allah's Apostle said, "O Um Hani! We will grant asylum to the one whom you have granted asylum." (Um Hani said, "That (visit) took place in the Duha (i.e. forenoon)).

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 397:
Narrated Ibrahim At-Tamimi's father:
Ali delivered a sermon saying, "We have no book to read except the Book of Allah and what is written in this paper which contains verdicts regarding (retaliation for) wounds, the ages of the camels (given as Zakat or as blood money) and the fact that Medina is a sanctuary in between Air mountain to so-and-so (mountain). So, whoever innovates in it an heresy or commits a sin or gives shelter in it, to such an innovator will incur the Curse of Allah, the angels and all the people, and none of his compulsory or optional good deeds of worship will be accepted. And whoever (freed slave) takes as his master (i.e. befriends) other than his real masters will incur the same (Curse). And the asylum granted by any Muslim is to be secured by all the other Muslims, and whoever betrays a Muslim in this respect will incur the same (Curse)."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 398:
Narrated Sahl bin Abi Hathma:
Abdullah bin Sahl and Muhaiyisa bin Mas'ud bin Zaid set out to Khaibar, the inhabitants of which had a peace treaty with the Muslims at that time. They parted and later on Muhaiyisa came upon Abdullah bin Sah! and found him murdered agitating in his blood. He buried him and returned to Medina. Abdur Rahman bin Sahl, Muhaiyisa and Huwaiuisa, the sons of Mas'ud came to the Prophet and Abdur Rahman intended to talk, but the Prophet said (to him), "Let the eldest of you speak." as Abdur-Rahman was the youngest:. Abdur-Rahman kept silent and the other two spoke. The Prophet said, "If you swear as to who has committed the murder, you will have the right to take your right from the murderer." They said, "How should we swear if we did not witness the murder or see the murderer?" The Prophet said, "Then the Jews can clear themselves from the charge by taking Alaska (an oath taken by men that it was not they who committed the murder)." The!y said, "How should we believe in the oaths of infidels?" So, the Prophet himself paid the blood money (of Abdullah). (See Hadith No. 36 Vol. 9.)

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 399:
Narrated ' Abdullah bin Abbas:
That Abu Sufyan bin Harb Informed him that Heraclius called him and the members of a caravan from Quraish who had gone to Sham as traders, during the truce which Allah's Apostle had concluded with Abu Sufyan and the Quraish infidels.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 400:
Narrated Aisha:
Once the Prophet was bewitched so that he began to imagine that he had done a thing which in fact he had not done.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 401:
Narrated Auf bin Mali:
I went to the Prophet during the Ghazwa of Tabuk while he was sitting in a leather tent. He said, "Count six signs that indicate the approach of the Hour: my death, the conquest of Jerusalem, a plague that will afflict you (and kill you in great numbers) as the plague that afflicts sheep, the increase of wealth to such an extent that even if one is given one hundred Dinars, he will not be satisfied; then an affliction which no Arab house will escape, and then a truce between you and Bani Al-Asfar (i.e. the Byzantines) who will betray you and attack you under eighty flags. Under each flag will be twelve thousand soldiers.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 402:
Narrated Abu Huraira:

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Abu Bakr, on the day of Nahr (i.e. slaughtering of animals for sacrifice), sent me in the company of others to make this announcement: "After this year, no pagan will be allowed to perform the Hajj, and none will be allowed to perform the Tawaf of the Kaaba undressed." And the day of Al-Hajj-ul-Akbar is the day of Nahr, and it called Al-Akbar because the people call the Umra Al-Hajj-ul-Asghar (i.e. the minor Hajj). Abu Bakr threw back the pagans' covenant that year, and therefore, no pagan performed the Hajj in the year of Hajj-ul-Wada' of the Prophets.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 403:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever has (the following) four characteristics will be a pure hypocrite: "If he speaks, he tells a lie; if he gives a promise, he breaks it, if he makes a covenant he proves treacherous; and if he quarrels, he behaves in a very imprudent evil insulting manner (unjust). And whoever has one of these characteristics, has one characteristic of a hypocrite, unless he gives it us."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 404:
Narrated Ali:
We did not, write anything from the Prophet except the Koran and what is written in this paper, (wherein) the Prophet said, "Medina is a sanctuary from (the mountain of) Air to so and-so, therefore, whoever innovates (in it) an heresy or commits a sin, or gives shelter to such an innovator, will incur the Curse of Allah. the angels and all the people; and none of his compulsory or optional good deeds of worship will be accepted And the asylum granted by any Muslim Is to be secured by all the Muslims even if it is granted by one of the lowest social status among them. And whoever betrays a Muslim in this respect will incur the Curse of Allah, the angels and all the people, and his compulsory and optional good deeds of worship will not be accepted. And any freed slave will take as masters (befriends) people other than his own real masters who freed him without taking the permission of the latter, will incur the Curse of Allah, the angels and all the people, and his compulsory and optional good deeds of worship will not be accepted."
Narrated Said: Abu Huraira once said (to the people), "What will your state be when you can get no Dinar or Dirhan (i.e. taxes from the Dhimmis)?" on that someone asked him, "What makes you know that this state will take place, O Abu- Hu raira?" He said, "By Him in Whose Hands Abu Huraira's life is, I know it through the statement of the true and truly inspired one (i.e. the Prophet)." The people asked, "What does the Statement say?" He replied, "Allah and His Apostle's asylum granted to Dhimmis, i.e. non-Muslims living in a Muslim territory) will be outraged, and so Allah will make the hearts of these Dhimmis so daring that they will refuse to pay the Jizya they will be supposed to pay."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 405:
Narrated Al-Amash:
I asked Abu Wail, "Did you take part in the battle of Siffin?" He said, 'Yes, and I heard Sahl bin Hunaif (when he was blamed for lack of zeal for fighting) saying, "You'd better blame your wrong opinions. I wish you had seen me on the day of Abu Jandal. If I had the courage to disobey the Prophet's orders, I would have done so. We had kept out swords on our necks and shoulders, for a thing which frightened us. And we did so, we found it easier for us, except in the case of the above battle (of ours).' "

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 406:
Narrated Abu Wail:
We were in Siffin and Sahl bin Hunaif got up and said, "O people! Blame yourselves! We were with the Prophet on the day of Hudaibiya, and if we had been called to fight, we would have fought. But Umar bin Al Khatab came and said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Aren't we in the right and our opponents in the wrongs' Allah's Apostle said, 'Yes.' Umar said, 'Aren't our killed persons in Paradise and their's in Hell?' He said, 'Yes.' Umar said, 'Then why should we accept hard terms in matters concerning our religion? Shall we return before Allah judges between us and them?' Allah's Apostle said, 'O Ibn Al-Khattab! I am the Apostle of Allah and Allah will never degrade me. Then Umar went to Abu Bakr and told him the same as he had told the Prophet.
On that Abu Bakr said (to Umar). 'He is the Apostle of Allah and Allah will never degrade him.' Then Surat-al-Fath (i.e. Victory) was revealed and Allah's Apostle recited it to the end in front of Umar. On that Umar asked, 'O Allah's Apostle! Was it (i.e. the Hudaibiya Treaty) a victory?' Allah's Apostle said, "Yes"

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 407:
Narrated Asma bint Abi Bakr:
During the period of the peace treaty of Quraish with Allah's Apostle, my mother, accompanied by her father, came to visit me, and she was a pagan. I consulted Allah's Apostle, "O Allah's Apostle! My mother has come to me and she desires to receive a reward from me, shall I keep good relation with her?" He said, "Yes, keep good relation with her."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 408:
Narrated Al-Bara:
When the Prophet intended to perform the Umra he sent a person to the people of Mecca asking their permission to enter Mecca. They stipulated that he would not stay for more than three days and would not enter it except with sheathed arms and would not preach (Islam) to any of them. So Ali bin Abi-Talib started writing the treaty between them. He wrote, "This is what Mohammed, Apostle of Allah has agreed to." The (Meccans) said, "If we knew that you (Mohammed) are the Apostle of Allah, then we would not have prevented you and would have followed you. But write, 'This is what Mohammed bin Abdullah has agreed to..' " On that Allah's Apostle said, "By Allah, I am Mohammed bin Abdullah, and, by Allah, I am Apostle of 'Allah." Allah's Apostle used not to write; so he asked Ali to erase the expression of Apostle of Allah. On that Ali said, "By Allah I will never erase it." Allah's Apostle said (to Ali), "Let me see the paper." When Ali showed him the paper, the Prophet erased the expression with his own hand. When Allah's Apostle had entered Mecca and three days had elapsed, the Meccans came to Ali and said, "Let your friend (i.e. the Prophet) quit Mecca." Ali informed Allah's Apostle about it and Allah's Apostle said, "Yes," and then he departed.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 409:
Narrated Abdullah:
While the Prophet was in the state of prostration, surrounded by a group of people from Quraish pagans. Uqba bin Abi Mu'ait came and brought the intestines of a camel and threw them on the back of the Prophet . The Prophet did not raise his head from prostration till Fatima (i.e. his daughter) came and removed those intestines from his back, and invoked evil on whoever had done (the evil deed). The Prophet said, "O Allah! Destroy the chiefs of Quraish, O Allah! Destroy Abu Jahl bin Hisham, Utba bin Rabi'a, Shaiba bin Rabi'a. Uqba bin Abi Mu'ait 'Umaiya bin Khalaf (or Ubai bin Kalaf)." Later on I saw all of them killed during the battle of Badr and their bodies were thrown into a well except the body of Umaiya or Ubai, because he was a fat person, and when he was pulled, the parts of his body got separated before he was thrown into the well.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 410:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "Every betrayer will have a flag on the Day of Resurrection" One of the two sub-narrators said that the flag would be fixed, and the other said that it would be shown on the Day of Resurrection, so that the betrayer might be recognized by it.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 411:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "Every betrayer will have a flag which will be fixed on the Day of Resurrection, and the flag's prominence will be made in order to show the betrayal he committed."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 412:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle said on the day of the conquest of Mecca, "There is no migration now, but there is Jihad (i.e.. holy battle) and good intentions. And when you are called for Jihad, you should come out at once" Allah's Apostle also said, on the day of the conquest of Mecca, "Allah has made this town a sanctuary since the day He created the Heavens and the Earth. So, it is a sanctuary by Allah's Decree till the Day of Resurrection. Fighting in it was not legal for anyone before me, and it was made legal for me only for an hour by daytime. So, it (i.e. Mecca) is a sanctuary by Allah's Decree till the Day of Resurrection. Its thorny bushes should not be cut, and its game should not be chased, its fallen property (i.e. Luqata) should not be picked up except by one who will announce it publicly; and its grass should not be uprooted," On that Al-Abbas said, "O Allah's Apostle! Except the Idhkhir, because it is used by the goldsmiths and by the people for their houses." On that the Prophet said, "Except the Idhkhir."

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 54:
Beginning of Creation

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 413:
Narrated Imran bin Husain:
Some people of Bani Tamim came to the Prophet and he said (to them), "O Bani Tamim! rejoice with glad tidings." They said, "You have given us glad tidings, now give us something." On hearing that the color of his face changed then the people of Yemen came to him and he said, "O people of Yemen ! Accept the good tidings, as Bani Tamim has refused them." The Yemenites said, "We accept them. Then the Prophet started taking about the beginning of creation and about Allah's Throne. In the mean time a man came saying, "O Imran! Your she-camel has run away!" (I got up and went away), but l wish I had not left that place (for I missed what Allah's Apostle had said).

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 414:
Narrated Imran bin Husain:
I went to the Prophet and tied my she-camel at the gate. The people of Bani Tamim came to the Prophet who said "O Bani Tamim! Accept the good tidings." They said twice, 'You have given us the good tidings, now give us something" Then some Yemenites came to him and he said, "Accept the good tidings, O people of Yemem, for Bani Tamim refused them." They said, "We accept it, O Allah's Apostle! We have come to ask you about this matter (i.e. the start of creations)." He said, "First of all, there was nothing but Allah, and (then He created His Throne). His throne was over the water, and He wrote everything in the Book (in the Heaven) and created the Heavens and the Earth." Then a man shouted, "O Ibn Husain! Your she-camel has gone away!" So, I went away and could not see the she-camel because of the mirage. By Allah, I wished I had left that she-camel (but not that gathering).
Narrated Umar: One day the Prophet stood up amongst us for a long period and informed us about the beginning of creation (and talked about everything in detail) till he mentioned how the people of Paradise will enter their places and the people of Hell will enter their places. Some remembered what he had said, and some forgot it.

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 415:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Allah the Most Superior said, "The son of Adam slights Me, and he should not slight Me, and he disbelieves in Me, and he ought not to do so. As for his slighting Me, it is that he says that I have a son; and his disbelief in Me is his statement that I shall not recreate him as I have created (him) before."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 416:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "When Allah completed the creation, He wrote in His Book which is with Him on His Throne, "My Mercy overpowers My Anger."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 417:
Narrated Mohammed bin Ibrahim bin Al-Harith:
from Abu Salama bin Abdur-Rahman who had a dispute with some people on a piece of land, and so he went to Aisha and told her about it. She said, "O Abu Salama, avoid the land, for Allah's Apostle said, 'Any person who takes even a span of land unjustly, his neck shall be encircled with it down seven earths.' "

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 418:
Narrated Salim's father:
The Prophet said, "Any person who takes a piece of land unjustly will sink down the seven earths on the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 419:
Narrated Abu Bakra:
The Prophet said. "(The division of time has turned to its original form which was current when Allah created the Heavens and the Earths. The year is of twelve months, out of which four months are sacred: Three are in succession Dhul-Qa' da, Dhul-Hijja and Muharram, and (the fourth is) Rajab of (the tribe of) Mudar which comes between Jumadi-ath-Thaniyah and Sha ban."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 420:
Narrated Said bin Zaid bin Amr bin Nufail:
That Arwa sued him before Marwan for a right, which she claimed, he had deprived her of. On that Said said, "How should I deprive her of her right? I testify that I heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'If anyone takes a span of land unjustly, his neck will be encircled with it down seven earths on the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 421:
Narrated Abu Dhar:
The Prophet asked me at sunset, "Do you know where the sun goes (at the time of sunset)?" I replied, "Allah and His Apostle know better." He said, "It goes (i.e. travels) till it prostrates Itself underneath the Throne and takes the permission to rise again, and it is permitted and then (a time will come when) it will be about to prostrate itself but its prostration will not be accepted, and it will ask permission to go on its course but it will not be permitted, but it will be ordered to return whence it has come and so it will rise in the west. And that is the interpretation of the Statement of Allah: "And the sun Runs its fixed course For a term (decreed). that is The Decree of (Allah) The Exalted in Might, The All-Knowing." (36.38)

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Volume 4, Book 54, Number 422:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The sun and the moon will be folded up (deprived of their light) on the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 423:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
The Prophet said, "The sun and the moon do not eclipse because of someone's death or wife (i.e. birth), but they are two signs amongst the Signs of Allah. So, if you see them (i.e. eclipse) offer the Prayer (of eclipse)."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 424:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
The Prophet said, "The sun and the moon are two signs amongst the Signs of Allah. They do not eclipse because of someone's death or life. So, if you see them (i.e. eclipse), celebrate the Praises of Allah (i.e. pray)."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 425:
Narrated Aisha:
On the day of a solar eclipse, Allah's Apostle stood up (to offer the eclipse prayer). He recited Takbir, recited a long recitation (of Holy Verses), bowed a long bowing, and then he raised h is head saying. "Allah hears him who sends his praises to Him." Then he stayed standing, recited a long recitation again, but shorter than the former, bowed a long bowing, but shorter than the first, performed a long prostration and then performed the second Rak'a in the same way as he had done the first. By the time he had finished his prayer with Taslim, the solar eclipse had been over. Then he addressed the people referring to the solar and lunar eclipses saying, "These are two signs amongst the Signs of Allah, and they do not eclipse because of anyone's death or life. So, if you see them, hasten for the Prayer."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 426:
Narrated Abu Mas'ud:
The Prophet said, "the sun and the moon do not eclipse because of the death or life of someone, but they are two signs amongst the Signs of Allah. So, if you see them, offer the Prayer (of eclipse)."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 427:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "I have been made victorious with the Saba (i.e. easterly wind) and the people of 'Ad were destroyed with the Dabur (i.e. westerly wind) ."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 428:
Narrated Ata:
Aisha said If the Prophet saw a cloud In the sky, he would walk to and fro in agitation, go out and come in, and the color of his face would change, and if it rained, he would feel relaxed." So Aisha knew that state of his. So the Prophet said, I don't know (am afraid), it may be similar to what happened to some people referred to in the Holy Koran in the following Verse: -- "Then when they saw it as a dense cloud coming towards their valleys, they said, 'This is a cloud bringing us rain!' Nay, but, it is that (torment) which you were asking to be hastened a wind wherein is severe torment." (46.24)

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 429:
Narrated Malik bin Sasaa:
The Prophet said, "While I was at the House in a state midway between sleep and wakefulness, (an angel recognized me) as the man lying between two men. A golden tray full of wisdom and belief was brought to me and my body was cut open from the throat to the lower part of the abdomen and then my abdomen was washed with Zam-zam water and (my heart was) filled with wisdom and belief. Al-Buraq, a white animal, smaller than a mule and bigger than a donkey was brought to me and I set out with Gabriel. When I reached the nearest heaven. Gabriel said to the heaven gate-keeper, 'Open the gate.' The gatekeeper asked, 'Who is it?' He said, 'Gabriel.' The gate-keeper,' Who is accompanying you?' Gabriel said, 'Mohammed.' The gate-keeper said, 'Has he been called?' Gabriel said, 'Yes.' Then it was said, 'He is welcomed. What a wonderful visit his is!' Then I met Adam and greeted him and he said, 'You are welcomed O son and a Prophet.' Then we ascended to the second heaven. It was asked, 'Who is it?' Gabriel said, 'Gabriel.' It was said, 'Who is with you?' He said, 'Mohammed' It was asked, 'Has he been sent for?' He said, 'Yes.' It was said, 'He is welcomed. What a wonderful visit his is!'" Then I met Jesus and Yahya (John) who said, 'You are welcomed, O brother and a Prophet.' Then we ascended to the third heaven. It was asked, 'Who is it?' Gabriel said, 'Gabriel.' It was asked, 'Who is with you? Gabriel said, 'Mohammed.' It was asked, 'Has he been sent for?' 'Yes,' said Gabriel. 'He is welcomed. What a wonderful visit his is!' (The Prophet added:). There I met Joseph and greeted him, and he replied, 'You are welcomed, O brother and a Prophet!' Then we ascended to the 4th heaven and again the same questions and answers were exchanged as in the previous heavens. There I met Idris and greeted him. He said, 'You are welcomed O brother and Prophet.' Then we ascended to the 5th heaven and again the same questions and answers were exchanged as in previous heavens. there I met and greeted Aaron who said, 'You are welcomed O brother and a Prophet". Then we ascended to the 6th heaven and again the same questions and answers were exchanged as in the previous heavens. There I met and greeted Moses who said, 'You are welcomed O brother and. a Prophet.' When I proceeded on, he started weeping and on being asked why he was weeping, he said, 'O Lord! Followers of this youth who was sent after me will enter Paradise in greater number than my followers.' Then we ascended to the seventh heaven and again the same questions and answers were exchanged as in the previous heavens. There I met and greeted Abraham who said, 'You are welcomed o son and a Prophet.' Then I was shown Al-Bait-al-Ma'mur (i.e. Allah's House). I asked Gabriel about it and he said, This is Al Bait-ul-Ma'mur where 70,000 angels perform prayers daily and when they leave they never return to it (but always a fresh batch comes into it daily).' Then I was shown Sidrat-ul-Muntaha (i.e. a tree in the seventh heaven) and I saw its Nabk fruits which resembled the clay jugs of Hajr (i.e. a town in Arabia), and its leaves were like the ears of elephants, and four rivers originated at its root, two of them were apparent and two were hidden. I asked Gabriel about those rivers and he said, 'The two hidden rivers are in Paradise, and the apparent ones are the Nile and the Euphrates.' Then fifty prayers were enjoined on me. I descended till I met Moses who asked me, 'What have you done?' I said, 'Fifty prayers have been enjoined on me.' He said, 'I know the people better than you, because I had the hardest experience to bring Bani Israel to obedience. Your followers cannot put up with such obligation. So, return to your Lord and request Him (to reduce the number of prayers.' I returned and requested Allah (for reduction) and He made it forty. I returned and (met Moses) and had a similar discussion, and then returned again to Allah for reduction and He made it thirty, then twenty, then ten, and then I came to Moses who repeated the same advice. Ultimately Allah reduced it to five. When I came to Moses again, he said, 'What have you done?' I said, 'Allah has made it five only.' He repeated the same advice but I said that I surrendered (to Allah's Final Order)'" Allah's Apostle was addressed by Allah, "I have decreed My Obligation and have reduced the burden on My slaves, and I shall reward a single good deed as if it were ten good deeds."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 430:
Narrated Abdullah bin Mus'ud:
Allah's Apostle, the true and truly inspired said, "(The matter of the Creation of) a human being is put together in the womb of the mother in forty days, and then he becomes a clot of thick blood for a similar period, and then a piece of flesh for a similar period. Then Allah sends an angel who is ordered to write four things. He is ordered to write down his (i.e. the new creature's) deeds, his livelihood, his (date of) death, and whether he will be blessed or wretched (in religion). Then the soul is breathed into him. So, a man amongst you may do (good deeds till there is only a cubit between him and Paradise and then what has been written for him decides his behavior and he starts doing (evil) deeds characteristic of the people of the (Hell) Fire. And similarly a man amongst you may do (evil) deeds till there is only a cubit between him and the (Hell) Fire, and then what has been written for him decides his behavior, and he starts doing deeds characteristic of the people of Paradise."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 431:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "If Allah loves a person, He calls Gabriel saying, 'Allah loves so and-so; O Gabriel! Love him.' Gabriel would love him and make an announcement amongst the inhabitants of the Heaven. 'Allah loves so-and-so, therefore you should love him also,' and so all the inhabitants of the Heaven would love him, and then he is granted the pleasure of the people on the earth."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 432:
Narrated Aisha:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "The angels descend, the clouds and mention this or that matter decreed in the Heaven. The devils listen stealthily to such a matter, come down to inspire the soothsayers with it, and the latter would add to it one-hundred lies of their own."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 433:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "On every Friday the angels take heir stand at every gate of the mosques to write the names of the people chronologically (i.e. according to the time of their arrival for the Friday prayer and when the Imam sits (on the pulpit) they fold up their scrolls and get ready to listen to the sermon."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 434:
Narrated Sa'id bin Al-Musaiyab:
Umar came to the Mosque while Hassan was reciting a poem. (Umar disapproved of that). On that Hassan said, "I used to recite poetry in this very Mosque in the presence of one (i.e. the Prophet) who was better than you." Then he turned towards Abu Huraira and said (to him), "I ask you by Allah, did you hear Allah's Apostle saying (to me), "Retort on my behalf. O Allah! Support him (i.e. Hassan) with the Holy Spirit?" Abu Huraira said, "Yes."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 435:
Narrated Al Bara:
The Prophet said to Hassan, "Lampoon them (i.e. the pagans) and Gabriel is with you."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 436:
Narrated Jarir:
as below (Hadith 437).

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 437:
Narrated Humaid bin Hilal:
Anas bin Malik said, "As if I say a cloud of dust swirling up in the lane of Bani Ghanim." Musa added, "That was caused by the procession of Gabriel."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 438:
Narrated Aisha:
Al Harith bin Hisham asked the Prophet, "How does the divine inspiration come to you?" He replied, "In all these ways: The Angel sometimes comes to me with a voice which resembles the sound of a ringing bell, and when this state abandons me, I remember what the Angel has said, and this type of Divine Inspiration is the hardest on me; and sometimes the Angel comes to me in the shape of a man and talks to me, and I understand and remember what he says."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 439:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard the Prophet saying, "Who ever spends a couple (of objects) in Allah's cause, will be called by the Gatekeepers of Paradise who will say, "O so-and-so, come on!" Abu Bakr said, "Such a person will never perish or be miserable' The Prophet said, "I hope you will be among such person."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 440:
Narrated Abu Salama:
Aisha said that the Prophet said to her "O Aisha' This is Gabriel and he sends his (greetings) salutations to you." Aisha said, "Salutations (Greetings) to him, and Allah's Mercy and Blessings be on him," and addressing the Prophet she said, "You see what I don't see."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 441:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle asked Gabriel, "Why don't you visit us more often than you do?" Then the following Holy Verse was revealed (in this respect):-- "And we (angels) descend not but by the order of your Lord. To Him belong what is before us and what is behind us, and what is between those two and your Lord was never forgetful." (19.64)

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 442:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle said, "Gabriel read the Koran to me in one way (i.e. dialect) and I continued asking him to read it in different ways till he read it in seven different ways."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 443:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle was the most generous of all the people, and he used to be more generous in the month of Ramadan when Gabriel used to meet him. Gabriel used to meet him every night in Ramadan to study the Holy Koran carefully together. Allah's Apostle used to become more generous than the fast wind when he met Gabriel

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 444:
Narrated Ibn Shihab:
Once Umar bin Abdul Aziz delayed the Asr prayer a little. Urwa said to him, "Gabriel descended and led the prayer in front of the Prophet " On that Umar said, "O Urwa! Be sure of what you say." "Urwa, "I heard Bashir bin Abi Masud narrating from Ibn Masud who heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'Gabriel descended and led me in prayer; and then prayed with him again, and then prayed with him again, and then prayed with him again, and then prayed with him again, counting with his fingers five prayers."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 445:
Narrated Abu Dhar:
The Prophet said, "Gabriel said to me, 'Whoever amongst your followers die without having worshipped others besides Allah, will enter Paradise (or will not enter the (Hell) Fire)."

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The Prophet asked. "Even if he has committed illegal sexual intercourse or theft?" He replied, "Even then."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 446:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Angels keep on descending from and ascending to the Heaven in turn, some at night and some by daytime, and all of them assemble together at the time of the Fajr and Asr prayers. Then those who have stayed with you over-night, ascent unto Allah Who asks them, and He knows the answer better than they, "How have you left My slaves?" They reply, "We have left them praying as we found them praying." If anyone of you says "Amin" (during the Prayer at the end of the recitation of Surat-al-Faitiha), and the angels in Heaven say the same, and the two sayings coincide, all his past sins will be forgiven."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 447:
Narrated Aisha:
I stuffed for the Prophet a pillow decorated with pictures (of animals) which looked like a Namruqa (i.e. a small cushion). He came and stood among the people with excitement apparent on his face. I said, "O Allah's Apostle! What is wrong?" He said, "What is this pillow?" I said, "I have prepared this pillow for you, so that you may recline on it." He said, "Don't you know that angels do not enter a house wherein there are pictures; and whoever makes a picture will be punished on the Day of Resurrection and will be asked to give life to (what he has created)?"

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 448:
Narrated Abu Talha:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying; "Angels (of Mercy) do not enter a house wherein there is a dog or a picture of a living creature (a human being or an animal)."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 449:
Narrated Busr bin Said:
That Zaid bin Khalid Al-Juhani narrated to him something in the presence of Said bin Ubaidullah Al-Khaulani who was brought up in the house of Maimuna the wife of the Prophet. Zaid narrated to them that Abu Talha said that the Prophet said, "The Angels (of Mercy) do not enter a house wherein there is a picture." Busr said, "Later on Zaid bin Khalid fell ill and we called on him. To our surprise we saw a curtain decorated with pictures in his house. I said to Ubaidullah Al-Khaulani, "Didn't he (i.e. Zaid) tell us about the (prohibition of) pictures?" He said, "But he excepted the embroidery on garments. Didn't you hear him?" I said, "No." He said, "Yes, he did."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 450:
Narrated Salim's father:
Once Gabriel promised the Prophet (that he would visit him, but Gabriel did not come) and later on he said, "We, angels, do not enter a house which contains a picture or a dog."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 451:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "When the Imam, during the prayer, says, "Allah hears him who praises Him', say: 'O Allah! Our Lord! All the praises are for You/, for if the saying of anyone of you coincides with the saying of the angels, his past sins will be forgiven."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 452:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "As long as any-one of you is waiting for the prayer, he is considered to be praying actually, and the angels say, 'O Allah! Be merciful to him and forgive him', (and go on saying so) unless he leaves his place of praying or passes wind (i.e. breaks his ablution)."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 453:
Narrated Yali:
I heard the Prophet reciting the following Verse on the pulpit: "They will call: O Mali.....' and Sufyan said that Abdullah recited it: 'They will call: O Mali..' (43.77)

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 454:
Narrated Aisha:
That she asked the Prophet , 'Have you encountered a day harder than the day of the battle) of Uhud?" The Prophet replied, "Your tribes have troubled me a lot, and the worse trouble was the trouble on the day of 'Aqaba when I presented myself to Ibn 'Abd-Yalail bin 'Abd-Kulal and he did not respond to my demand. So I departed, overwhelmed with excessive sorrow, and proceeded on, and could not relax till I found myself at Qarnath-Tha-alib where I lifted my head towards the sky to see a cloud shading me unexpectedly. I looked up and saw Gabriel in it. He called me saying, 'Allah has heard your people's saying to you, and what they have replied back to you, Allah has sent the Angel of the Mountains to you so that you may order him to do whatever you wish to these people.' The Angel of the Mountains called and greeted me, and then said, "O Mohammed! Order what you wish. If you like, I will let Al-Akh-Shabain (i.e. two mountains) fall on them." The Prophet said, "No but I hope that Allah will let them beget children who will worship Allah Alone, and will worship None besides Him."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 455:
Narrated Abu Ishaq-Ash-Shaibani:
I asked Zir bin Hubaish regarding the Statement of Allah: "And was at a distance Of but two bow-lengths Or (even) nearer; So did (Allah) convey The Inspiration to His slave (Gabriel) and then he (Gabriel) Conveyed (that to Mohammed). (53.9-10) On that, Zir said, "Ibn Mas'ud informed us that the Prophet had seen Gabriel having 600 wings."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 456:
Narrated Abdullah:
Regarding the Verse: "Indeed he (Mohammed) did see. Of the Signs of his Lord, The Greatest!" (53.18) That the Prophet had seen a green carpet spread all over the horizon of the sky.

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 457:
Narrated Aisha:
Whoever claimed that (the Prophet) Mohammed saw his Lord, is committing a great fault, for he only saw Gabriel in his genuine shape in which he was created covering the whole horizon.

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 458:
Narrated Masruq:
I asked Aisha "What about His Statement:-- "Then he (Gabriel) approached And came closer, And was at a distance Of but two bow-lengths Or (even) nearer?" (53.8-9) She replied, "It was Gabriel who used to come to the Prophet in the figure of a man, but on that occasion, he came in his actual and real figure and (he was so huge) that he covered the whole horizon."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 459:
Narrated Samura:
The Prophet said, "Last night I saw (in a dream) two men coming to me. One of them said, "The person who kindles the fire is Malik, the gate-keeper of the (Hell) Fire, and I am Gabriel, and this is Michael."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 460:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "If a husband calls his wife to his bed (i.e. to have sexual relation) and she refuses and causes him to sleep in anger, the angels will curse her till morning."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 461:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
that he heard the Prophet saying, "The Divine Inspiration was delayed for a short period but suddenly, as I was walking. I heard a voice in the sky, and when I looked up towards the sky, to my surprise, I saw the angel who had come to me in the Hira Cave, and he was sitting on a chair in between the sky and the earth. I was so frightened by him that I fell on the ground and came to my family and said (to them), 'Cover me! (with a blanket), cover me!' Then Allah sent the Revelation: "O, You wrapped up (In a blanket)! (Arise and warn! And your Lord magnify And keep pure your garments, And desert the idols." (74.1-5)

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 462:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "On the night of my Ascent to the Heaven, I saw Moses who was a tall brown curly-haired man as if he was one of the men of Shan'awa tribe, and I saw Jesus, a man of medium height and moderate complexion inclined to the red and white colors and of lank hair. I also saw Malik, the gate-keeper of the (Hell) Fire and Ad-Dajjal amongst the signs which Allah showed me." (The Prophet then recited the Holy Verse): "So be not you in doubt of meeting him' when you met Moses during the night of Mi'raj over the heavens" (32.23)
Narrated Anas and Abu Bakra: "The Prophet said, "The angels will guard Medina from Ad-Dajjal (who will not be able to enter the city of Medina)."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 463:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "When anyone of you dies, he will be shown his destination both in the morning and in the evening, and if he belongs to the people of Paradise, he will be shown his place in Paradise, and if he is from the people of Hell, he will be shown his place in Hell."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 464:
Narrated Imran bin Husain:
The Prophet said, "I looked at Paradise and found poor people forming the majority of its inhabitants; and I looked at Hell and saw that the majority of its inhabitants were women."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 465:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
While we were in the company of the Prophet, he said, "While I was asleep, I saw myself in Paradise and there I beheld a woman making ablution beside a palace, I asked, To whom does this palace belong? 'They said, To Umar bin Al-Khattab.' Then I remembered Umar's Ghaira (concerning women), and so I quickly went away from that palace." (When Umar heard this from the Prophet), he wept and said, "Do you think it is likely that I feel Ghaira because of you, O Allah's Apostle?"

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 466:
Narrated Abdullah bin Qais Al-Ashari:
The Prophet said, "A tent (in Paradise) is like a hollow pearl which is thirty miles in height and on every corner of the tent the believer will have a family that cannot be seen by the others." (Narrated Abu Imran in another narration, "(The tent is) sixty miles (in height)")

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 467:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Allah said, "I have prepared for My Pious slaves things which have never been seen by an eye, or heard by an ear, or imagined by a human being." If you wish, you can recite this Verse from the Holy Koran:--"No soul knows what is kept hidden for them, of joy as a reward for what they used to do." (32.17)

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 468:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The first group (of people) who will enter Paradise will be (glittering) like the moon when it is full. They will not spit or blow their noses or relieve nature. Their utensils will be of gold and their combs of gold and silver; in their >s the aloe wood will be used, and their sweat will smell like musk. Everyone of them will have two wives; the marrow of the bones of the wives' legs will be seen through the flesh out of excessive beauty. They (i.e. the people of Paradise) will neither have differences nor hatred amongst themselves; their hearts will be as if one heart and they will be glorifying Allah in the morning and in the evening."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 469:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The first batch (of people) who will enter Paradise will be (glittering) like a full moon; and those who will enter next will be (glittering) like the brightest star. Their hearts will be as if the heart of a single man, for they will have no enmity amongst themselves, and everyone of them shall have two wives, each of whom will be so beautiful, pure and transparent that the marrow of the bones of their legs will be seen through the flesh. They will be glorifying Allah in the morning and evening, and will never fall ill, and they will neither blow their noses, nor spit. Their utensils will be of gold and silver, and their combs will be of gold, and the fuel used in their >s will be the aloes-wood, and their sweat will smell like musk."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 470:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
The Prophet said, "Verily! 70,000 or 700,000 of my followers will enter Paradise altogether; so that the first and the last amongst them will enter at the same time, and their faces will be glittering like the bright full moon."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 471:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
A silken cloak was presented to the Prophet and he used to forbid the usage of silk (by men). When the people were fascinated by the cloak. he said, "By Allah in Whose Hands the life of Mohammed is, the handkerchiefs of Sad bin Mu'adh in Paradise are better than this."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 472:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
Allah's Apostle was given a silken garment, and its beauty and delicacy astonished the people. On that, Allah's Apostle said, "No doubt, the handkerchiefs of Sad bin Muadh in Paradise are better than this."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 473:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad Al-Saidi:
Allah's Apostle said, "A place in Paradise equal to the size of a lash is better than the whole world and whatever is in it."

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Volume 4, Book 54, Number 474:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "There is a tree in Paradise (which is so big and huge that) if a rider travels in its shade for one hundred years, he would not be able to cross it."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 475:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said "There is a tree in Paradise (which is so big and huge that) a rider could travel in its shade for a hundred years. And if you wish, you can recite:--'In shade long extended..' (56. 30) and a place in Paradise equal to an arrow bow of one of you, is better than (the whole earth) on which the sun rises and sets."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 476:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The first batch (of people) who will enter Paradise will be (glittering) like the full moon, and the batch next to them will be (glittering) like the most brilliant star in the sky. Their hearts will be as if the heart of a single man, for they will have neither enmity nor jealousy amongst themselves; everyone will have two wives from the houris, (who will be so beautiful, pure and transparent that) the marrow of the bones of their legs will be seen through the bones and the flesh."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 477:
Narrated Al-Bara (bin Azib):
The Prophet, after the death of his son Ibrahim, said, "There is a wet-nurse for him (i.e. Ibrahim) in Paradise."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 478:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
The Prophet said, "The people of Paradise will look at the dwellers of the lofty mansions (i.e. a superior place in Paradise) in the same way as one looks at a brilliant star far away in the East or in the West on the horizon; all that is because of their superiority over one another (in rewards)." On that the people said, "O Allah's Apostle! Are these lofty mansions for the prophets which nobody else can reach? The Prophet replied," No! "By Allah in whose Hands my life is, these are for the men who believed in Allah and also believed in the Apostles."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 479:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
The Prophet said, "Paradise has eight gates, and one of them is called Ar-Raiyan through which none will enter but those who observe fasting." The Prophet also said, "If a person spends two different kinds of something (for Allah's Cause), he will be called from the gates of Paradise."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 480:
Narrated Abu Dhar:
While the Prophet was on a journey, he said (regarding the performance of the Zuhr prayer), "Wait till it (i.e. the weather) gets cooler." He said the same again till the shade of the hillocks extended. Then he said, "Delay the (Zuhr) Prayer till it gets cooler, for the severity of heat is from the increase in heat of Hell (fire)."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 481:
Narrated Abu Sad: The Prophet said, "Delay the (Zuhr) Prayer till it gets cooler, for t

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 482:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The (Hell) Fire complained to its Lord saying, 'O my Lord! My different parts eat up each other.' So, He allowed it to take two breaths, one in the winter and the other in summer, and this is the reason for the severe heat and the bitter cold you find (in weather)."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 483:
Narrated Abu Jamra Ad-Dabi:
I used to sit with Ibn Abbas in Mecca. Once I had a fever and he said (to me), "Cool your fever with Zam-zam water, for Allah's Apostle said: 'It, (the Fever) is from the heat of the (Hell) Fire; so, cool it with water (or Zam-zam water)."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 484:
Narrated Rafi bin Khadij:
I heard the Prophet saying, "Fever is from the heat of the (Hell) Fire; so cool it with water."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 485:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said, "Fever is from the heat of the (Hell) Fire, so cool it with water."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 486:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "Fever is from the heat of the (Hell) Fire; so abate fever with water."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 487:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Your (ordinary) fire is one of 70 parts of the (Hell) Fire." Someone asked, "O Allah's Apostle This (ordinary) fire would have been sufficient (to torture the unbelievers)," Allah's Apostle said, "The (Hell) Fire has 69 parts more than the ordinary (worldly) fire, each part is as hot as this (worldly) fire."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 488:
Narrated Yali:
That he heard the Prophet on the pulpit reciting:--
"They will cry: "O Malik!' (43.77) (Malik is the gate-keeper (angel) of the (Hell) Fire.)

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 489:
Narrated Abu Wail:
Somebody said to Usama, "Will you go to so-and-so (i.e. Uthman) and talk to him (i.e. advise him regarding ruling the country)?" He said, "You see that I don't talk to him. Really I talk to (advise) him secretly without opening a gate (of affliction), for neither do I want to be the first to open it (i.e. rebellion), nor will I say to a man who is my ruler that he is the best of all the people after I have heard something from Allah s Apostle ." They said, What have you heard him saying? He said, "I have heard him saying, "A man will be brought on the Day of Resurrection and thrown in the (Hell) Fire, so that his intestines will come out, and he will go around like a donkey goes around a millstone. The people of (Hell) Fire will gather around him and say: O so-and-so! What is wrong with you? Didn't you use to order us to do good deeds and forbid us to do bad deeds? He will reply: Yes, I used to order you to do good deeds, but I did not do them myself, and I used to forbid you to do bad deeds, yet I used to do them myself."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 490:
Narrated Aisha:
Magic was worked on the Prophet so that he began to fancy that he was doing a thing which he was not actually doing. One day he invoked (Allah) for a long period and then said, "I feel that Allah has inspired me as how to cure myself. Two persons came to me (in my dream) and sat, one by my head and the other by my feet. One of them asked the other, "What is the ailment of this man?" The other replied, 'He has been bewitched" The first asked, 'Who has bewitched him?' The other replied, 'Lubaid bin Al-A'sam.' The first one asked, 'What material has he used?' The other replied, 'A comb, the hair gathered on it, and the outer skin of the pollen of the male date-palm.' The first asked, 'Where is that?' The other replied, 'It is in the well of Dharwan.' " So, the Prophet went out towards the well and then returned and said to me on his return, "Its date-palms (the date-palms near the well) are like the heads of the devils." I asked, "Did you take out those things with which the magic was worked?" He said, "No, for I have been cured by Allah and I am afraid that this action may spread evil amongst the people." Later on the well was filled up with earth.

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 491:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "During your sleep, Satan knots three knots at the back of the head of each of you, and he breathes the following words at each knot, 'The night is, long, so keep on sleeping,' If that person wakes up and celebrates the praises of Allah, then one knot is undone, and when he performs ablution the second knot is undone, and when he prays, all the knots are undone, and he gets up in the morning lively and gay, otherwise he gets up dull and gloomy. "

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 492:
Narrated Abdullah:
It was mentioned before the Prophet that there was a man who slept the night till morning (after sunrise). The Prophet said, "He is a man in whose ears (or ear) Satan had urinated."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 493:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "If anyone of you, when having sexual relation with his wife, say: 'In the name of Allah. O Allah! Protect us from Satan and prevent Satan from approaching our offspring you are going to give us,' and if he begets a child (as a result of that relation) Satan will not harm it."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 494:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "When the (upper) edge of the sun appears (in the morning), don't perform a prayer till the sun appears in full, and when the lower edge of the sun sets, don't perform a prayer till it sets completely. And you should not seek to pray at sunrise or sunset for the sun rises between two sides of the head of the devil (or Satan)."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 495:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
The Prophet said, "If while you are praying, somebody intends to pass in front of you, prevent him; and should he insist, prevent him again; and if he insists again, fight with him (i.e. prevent him violently e.g. pushing him violently), because such a person is (like) a devil."
Narrated Mohammed bin Sirin: Abu Huraira said, "Allah's Apostle put me in charge of the Zakat of Ramadan (i.e. Zakat-ul-Fitr). Someone came to me and started scooping some of the foodstuff of (Zakat) with both hands. I caught him and told him that I would take him to Allah's Apostle." Then Abu Huraira told the whole narration and added "He (i.e. the thief) said, 'Whenever you go to your bed, recite the Verse of "Al-Kursi" (2.255) for then a guardian from Allah will be guarding you, and Satan will not approach you till dawn.' " On that the Prophet said, "He told you the truth, though he is a liar, and he (the thief) himself was the Satan."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 496:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Satan comes to one of you and says, 'Who created so-and-so? 'till he says, 'Who has created your Lord?' So, when he inspires such a question, one should seek refuge with Allah and give up such thoughts."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 497:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "When the month of Ramadan comes, the gates of Paradise are opened and the gates of the (Hell) Fire are closed, and the devils are chained."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 498:
Narrated Ubai bin Kab:
That he heard Allah's Apostle saying, "(The prophet) Moses said to his attendant, "Bring us our early meal' (18.62). The latter said, 'Did you remember when we betook ourselves to the rock? I indeed forgot the fish and none but Satan made me forget to remember it." (18.63) Moses did not feel tired till he had crossed the place which Allah ordered him to go to."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 499:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
I saw Allah's Apostle pointing towards the east saying, "Lo! Afflictions will verily emerge hence; afflictions will verily emerge hence where the (side of the head of) Satan appears."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 500:
Narrated Jabir:
The Prophet said, "When nightfalls, then keep your children close to you, for the devil spread out then. An hour later you can let them free; and close the gates of your house (at night), and mention Allah's Name thereupon, and cover your utensils, and mention Allah's Name thereupon, (and if you don't have something to cover your utensil) you may put across it something (e.g. a piece of wood etc.)."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 501:
Narrated Safiya bint Huyay:
While Allah's Apostle was in Itikaf, I called on him at night and having had a talk with him, I got up to depart. He got up also to accompany me to my dwelling place, which was then in the house of Usama bin Zaid. Two Ansari men passed by, and when they saw the Prophet they hastened away. The Prophet said (to them). "Don't hurry! It is Safiya, the daughter of Huyay (i.e. my wife)." They said, "Glorified be Allah! O Allah's Apostle! (How dare we suspect you?)" He said, "Satan circulates in the human mind as blood circulates in it, and I was afraid that Satan might throw an evil thought (or something) into your hearts."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 502:
Narrated Sulaiman bin Surd:
While I was sitting in the company of the Prophet, two men abused each other and the face of one of them became red with anger, and his jugular veins swelled (i.e. he became furious). On that the Prophet said, "I know a word, the saying of which will cause him to relax, if he does say it. If he says: 'I seek Refuge with Allah from Satan.' then all is anger will go away." Some body said to him, "The Prophet has said, 'Seek refuge with Allah from Satan."' The angry man said, "Am I mad?"

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 503:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "If anyone of you, on having sexual relation with his wife, says: 'O Allah! Protect me from Satan, and prevent Satan from approaching the offspring you are going to give me,' and if it happens that the lady conceives a child, Satan will neither harm it nor be given power over it."

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Volume 4, Book 54, Number 504:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet offered a prayer, and (after finishing) he said, "Satan came in front of me trying persistently to divert my attention from the prayer, but Allah gave me the strength to over-power him."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 505:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "When the call for the prayer is pronounced, Satan takes to his heels, passing wind with noise, When the call for the prayer is finished, he comes back. And when the Iqama is pronounced, he again takes to his heels, and after its completion, he returns again to interfere between the (praying) person and his heart, saying to him. 'Remember this or that thing.' till the person forgets whether he has offered three or four Rakat: so if one forgets whether he has prayed three or four Rak'a-t, he should perform two prostrations of Sahu (i.e. forgetfulness)."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 506:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "When any human being is born. Satan touches him at both sides of the body with his two fingers, except Jesus, the son of Mary, whom Satan tried to touch but failed, for he touched the placenta-cover instead."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 507:
Narrated Alqama:
I went to Sham (and asked. "Who is here?"), The people said, "Abu Ad-Darda." Abu Darda said, "Is the person whom Allah has protected against Satan, (as Allah's Apostle said) amongst you". The sub-narrator, Mughira said that the person who was given Allah's Refuge through the tongue of the Prophet was Ammar (bin Yasir).

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 508:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said, "While the angels talk amidst the clouds about things that are going to happen on earth, the devils hear a word of what they say and pour it in the ears of a soothsayer as one pours something in a bottle, and they add one hundred lies to that (one word)."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 509:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Yawning is from Satan and if anyone of you yawns, he should check his yawning as much as possible, for if anyone of you (during the act of yawning) should say: 'Ha', Satan will laugh at him."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 510:
Narrated Aisha:
On the day (of the battle) of Uhud when the pagans were defeated, Satan shouted, "O slaves of Allah! Beware of the forces at your back," and on that the Muslims of the front files fought with the Muslims of the back files (thinking they were pagans). Hudhaifa looked back to see his father "Al-Yaman," (being attacked by the Muslims). He shouted, "O Allah's Slaves! My father! My father!" By Allah, they did not stop till they killed him. Hudhaifa said, "May Allah forgive you." Urwa said that Hudhaifa continued to do good (invoking Allah to forgive the killer of his father till he met Allah (i.e. died).

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 511:
Narrated Aisha:
I asked the Prophet about one's looking here and there during the prayer. He replied, "It is what Satan steals from the prayer of any one of you."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 512:
Narrated Abu Qatada:
as below i.e. Hadith No. 513)

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 513:
Narrated Abu Qatada:
The Prophet said, "A good dream is from Allah, and a bad or evil dream is from Satan; so if anyone of you has a bad dream of which he gets afraid, he should spit on his left side and should seek Refuge with Allah from its evil, for then it will not harm him."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 514:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "If one says one-hundred times in one day: "None has the right to be worshipped but Allah, the Alone Who has no partners, to Him belongs Dominion and to Him belong all the Praises, and He has power over all things (i.e. Omnipotent)", one will get the reward of manumitting ten slaves, and one-hundred good deeds will be written in his account, and one-hundred bad deeds will be wiped off or erased from his account, and on that day he will be protected from the morning till evening from Satan, and nobody will be superior to him except one who has done more than that which he has done."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 515:
Narrated Sad bin Abi Waqqas:
Once Umar asked the leave to see Allah's Apostle in whose company there were some Quraishi women who were talking to him and asking him for more financial support raising their voices. When Umar asked permission to enter the women got up (quickly) hurrying to screen themselves. When Allah's Apostle admitted Umar, Allah's Apostle was smiling, Umar asked, "O Allah's Apostle! May Allah keep you gay always." Allah's Apostle said, "I am astonished at these women who were with me. As soon as they heard your voice, they hastened to screen themselves." Umar said, "O Allah's Apostle! You have more right to be feared by them." Then he addressed (those women) saying, "O enemies of your own souls! Do you fear me and not Allah's Apostle ?" They replied. "Yes, for you are a fearful and fierce man as compared with Allah's Apostle." On that Allah's Apostle said (to Umar), "By Him in Whose Hands my life is, whenever Satan sees you taking a path, he follows a path other than yours."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 516:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "If anyone of you rouses from sleep and performs the ablution, he should wash his nose by putting water in it and then blowing it out thrice, because Satan has stayed in the upper part of his nose all the night."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 517:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Abdullah bin Abdur-Rahman bin Abi Sasaa Ansari:
That Abu Said Al-Khudri said to his father. "I see you are fond of sheep and the desert, so when you want to pronounce the Adhan, raise your voice with it for whoever will hear the Adhan whether a human being, or a Jinn, or anything else, will bear witness, in favor on the Day of Resurrection." Abu Said added, "I have heard this from Allah's Apostle ."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 518:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
That he heard the Prophet delivering a sermon on the pulpit saying, "Kill snakes and kill Dhu-at-Tufyatain (i.e. a snake with two white lines on its back) and ALBATROSS (i.e. a snake with short or mutilated tail) for they destroy the sight of one's eyes and bring about abortion." (Abdullah bin Umar further added): Once while I was chasing a snake in order, to kill it, Abu Lubaba called me saying: "Don't kill it," I said. "Allah's Apostle ordered us to kill snakes." He said, "But later on he prohibited the killing of snakes living in the houses." (Az-Zubri said. "Such snakes are called Al-Awamir.")

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 519:
Narrated Abu Said al-Khudri:
Allah's Apostle said, "There will come a time when the best property of a man will be sheep which he will graze on the tops of mountains and the places where rain falls (i.e. pastures) escaping to protect his religion from afflictions."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 520:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The main source of disbelief is in the east. Pride and arrogance are characteristics of the owners of horses and camels, and those bedouins who are busy with their camels and pay no attention to Religion; while modesty and gentleness are the characteristics of the owners of sheep."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 521:
Narrated Uqba bin Umar and Abu Mas'ud:
Allah's Apostle pointed with his hand towards Yemen and said, "True Belief is Yemenite yonder (i.e. the Yemenite, had True Belief and embraced Islam readily), but sternness and mercilessness are the qualities of those who are busy with their camels and pay no attention to the Religion where the two sides of the head of Satan will appear. Such qualities belong to the tribe of Rabi'a and Mudar."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 522:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "When you hear the crowing of cocks, ask for Allah's Blessings for (their crowing indicates that) they have seen an angel. And when you hear the braying of donkeys, seek Refuge with Allah from Satan for (their braying indicates) that they have seen a Satan."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 523:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 524:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "A group of Israelites were lost. Nobody knows what they did. But I do not see them except that they were cursed and changed into rats, for if you put the milk of a she-camel in front of a rat, it will not drink it, but if the milk of a sheep is put in front of it, it will drink it." I told this to Ka'b who asked me, "Did you hear it from the Prophet ?" I said, "Yes." Ka'b asked me the same question several times.; I said to Ka'b. "Do I read the Torah? (i.e. I tell you this from the Prophet.)"

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 525:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet called the Salamander, a mischief-doer. I have not heard him ordering that it should be killed. Sad bin Waqqas claims that the Prophet ordered that it should be killed.

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 526:
Narrated Um Sharik:
That the Prophet ordered her to kill Salamanders.

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 527:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said, "Kill the snake with two white lines on its back, for it blinds the on-looker and causes abortion."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 528:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet ordered that a short-tailed or mutilated-tailed snake (i.e. Abtar) should be killed, for it blinds the on-looker and causes abortion."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 529:
Narrated Abu Mulaika:
Ibn Umar used to kill snakes, but afterwards he forbade their killing and said, "Once the Prophet pulled down a wall and saw a cast-off skin of a snake in it. He said, 'Look for the snake. 'They found it and the Prophet said, "Kill it." For this reason I used to kill snakes. Later on I met Abu Lubaba who told me the Prophet said, 'Do not kill snakes except the short-tailed or mutilated-tailed snake with two white lines on its back, for it causes abortion and makes one blind. So kill it.' "

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 530:
Narrated Nafi:
Ibn Umar used to kill snakes but when Abu Lubaba informed him that the Prophet had forbidden the killing of snakes living in houses, he gave up killing them.

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 531:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said, "Five kinds of animals are mischief-doers and can be killed even in the Sanctuary: They are the rat the scorpion, the kite, the crow and the rabid dog."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 532:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "It is not sinful of a person in the state of Ihram to kill any of these five animals: The scorpion, the rat, the rabid dog, the crow and the kite."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 533:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "Cover your utensils and tie your water skins, and close your doors and keep your children close to you at night, as the Jinns spread out at such time and snatch things away. When you go to bed, put out your lights, for the mischief-doer (i.e. the rat) may drag away the wick of the candle and burn the dwellers of the house." Ata said, "The devils." (instead of the Jinns).

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 534:
Narrated Abdullah:
Once we were in the company of Allah's Apostle in a cave. Surat-al-Mursalat (77) was revealed there, and we were learning it from Allah's Apostle . Suddenly a snake came out of its hole and we rushed towards it to kill it, but it hastened and entered its hole before we were able to catch it. Allah's Apostle said," It has been saved from your evil and you have been saved from its evil."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 535:
Narrated Ibn Umar: The Prophet said, "A woman entered the (Hell) Fire because of a cat which she had tied, neither giving it food nor setting it free to eat from the vermin of the earth."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 536:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Once while a prophet amongst the prophets was taking a rest underneath a tree, an ant bit him. He, therefore, ordered that his luggage be taken away from underneath that tree and then ordered that the dwelling place of the ants should be set on fire. Allah sent him a revelation:-- "Wouldn't it have been sufficient to burn a single ant? (that bit you): (See Page 162, chapter No. 153).

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Volume 4, Book 54, Number 537:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said "If a house fly falls in the drink of anyone of you, he should dip it (in the drink), for one of its wings has a disease and the other has the cure for the disease."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 538:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "A prostitute was forgiven by Allah, because, passing by a panting dog near a well and seeing that the dog was about to die of thirst, she took off her shoe, and tying it with her head-cover she drew out some water for it. So, Allah forgave her because of that."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 539:
Narrated Abu Talha:
The Prophet said, "Angels do not enter a house witch has either a dog or a picture in it."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 540:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle ordered that the dogs should be killed.

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 541:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "If somebody keeps a dog, he loses one Qirat (of the reward) of his good deeds everyday, except if he keeps it for the purpose of agriculture or for the protection of livestock. "

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 542:
Narrated Sufyan bin Abi Zuhair Ash-Shani:
That he heard Allah's Apostle saying, "If somebody keeps a dog that is neither used for farm work nor for guarding the livestock, he will lose one Qirat (of the reward) of his good deeds everyday."

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 55
Book of Prophets

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 543 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
The Prophet said, "Allah created Adam, making him 60 cubits tall. When He created him, He said to him, "Go and greet that group of angels, and listen to their reply, for it will be your greeting (salutation) and the greeting (salutations of your offspring." So, Adam said (to the angels), As-Salamu Alaikum (i.e. Peace be upon you). The angels said, "As-salamu Alaika wa Rahmatu-l-lahi" (i.e. Peace and Allah's Mercy be upon you). Thus the angels added to Adam's salutation the expression, 'Wa Rahmatu-l-lahi,' Any person who will enter Paradise will resemble Adam (in appearance and figure). People have been decreasing in stature since Adam's creation.

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 544 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle said, "The first group of people who will enter Paradise, will be glittering like the full moon and those who will follow them, will glitter like the most brilliant star in the sky. They will not urinate, relieve nature, spit, or have any nasal secretions. Their combs will be of gold, and their sweat will smell like musk. The aloes-wood will be used in their centers. Their wives will be houris. All of them will look alike and will resemble their father Adam (in statute), sixty cubits tall."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 545 :
Narrated by Abu Salama
Um Salama said, "Um Salaim said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Allah does not refrain from saying the truth! Is it obligatory for a woman to take a bath after she gets nocturnal discharge?' He said, 'Yes, if she notices the water (i.e. discharge).' Um Salama smiled and said, 'Does a woman get discharge?' Allah's Apostle said. 'Then why does a child resemble (its mother)?"

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 546 :
Narrated by Anas
When Abdullah bin Salam heard the arrival of the Prophet at Medina, he came to him and said, "I am going to ask you about three things which nobody knows except a prophet: What is the first portent of the Hour? What will be the first meal taken by the people of Paradise? Why does a child resemble its father, and why does it resemble its maternal uncle" Allah's Apostle said, "Gabriel has just now told me of their answers." Abdullah said, "He (i.e. Gabriel), from amongst all the angels, is the enemy of the Jews." Allah's Apostle said, "The first portent of the Hour will be a fire that will bring together the people from the east to the west; the first meal of the people of Paradise will be Extra-lobe (caudate lobe) of fish-liver. As for the resemblance of the child to its parents: If a man has sexual intercourse with his wife and gets discharge first, the child will resemble the father, and if the woman gets discharge first, the child will resemble her." On that Abdullah bin Salam said, "I testify that you are the Apostle of Allah." Abdullah bin Salam further said, "O Allah's Apostle! The Jews are liars, and if they should come to know about my conversion to Islam before you ask them (about me), they would tell a lie about me." The Jews came to Allah's Apostle and Abdullah went inside the house. Allah's Apostle asked (the Jews), "What kind of man is Abdullah bin Salam amongst you?" They replied, "He is the most learned person amongst us, and the best amongst us, and the son of the best amongst us." Allah's Apostle said, "What do you think if he embraces Islam (will you do as he does)?" The Jews said, "May Allah save him from it." Then Abdullah bin Salam came out in front of them saying, "I testify that None has the right to be worshipped but Allah and that Mohammed is the Apostle of Allah." Thereupon they said, "He is the evilest among us, and the son of the evilest amongst us," and continued talking badly of him.

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 547 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
The Prophet said, "But for the Israelis, meat would not decay and but for Eve, wives would never betray their husbands."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 548 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
Allah 's Apostle said, "Treat women nicely, for a women is created from a rib, and the most curved portion of the rib is its upper portion, so, if you should try to straighten it, it will break, but if you leave it as it is, it will remain crooked. So treat women nicely."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 549 :
Narrated by Abdullah
Allah's Apostle, the true and truly inspired said, "(as regards your creation), every one of you is collected in the womb of his mother for the first forty days, and then he becomes a clot for an other forty days, and then a piece of flesh for an other forty days. Then Allah sends an angel to write four words: He writes his deeds, time of his death, means of his livelihood, and whether he will be wretched or blessed (in religion). Then the soul is breathed into his body. So a man may do deeds characteristic of the people of the (Hell) Fire, so much so that there is only the distance of a cubit between him and it, and then what has been written (by the angel) surpasses, and so he starts doing deeds characteristic of the people of Paradise and enters Paradise. Similarly, a person may do deeds characteristic of the people of Paradise, so much so that there is only the distance of a cubit between him and it, and then what has been written (by the angel) surpasses, and he starts doing deeds of the people of the (Hell) Fire and enters the (Hell) Fire."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 550 :
Narrated by Anas bin Malik
The Prophet said, "Allah has appointed an angel in the womb, and the angel says, 'O Lord! A drop of discharge (i.e. of semen), O Lord! a clot, O Lord! a piece of flesh.' And then, if Allah wishes to complete the child's creation, the angel will say. 'O Lord! A male or a female? O Lord! wretched or blessed (in religion)? What will his livelihood be? What will his age be?' The angel writes all this while the child is in the womb of its mother."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 551 :
Narrated by Anas
The Prophet said, "Allah will say to that person of the (Hell) Fire who will receive the least punishment, 'If you had everything on the earth, would you give it as a ransom to free yourself (i.e. save yourself from this Fire)?' He will say, 'Yes.' Then Allah will say, 'While you were in the backbone of Adam, I asked you much less than this, i.e. not to worship others besides Me, but you insisted on worshipping others besides me.' "

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 552 :
Narrated by Abdullah
Allah's Apostle said, "Whenever a person is murdered unjustly, there is a share from the burden of the crime on the first son of Adam for he was the first to start the tradition of murdering."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 553 :
Narrated by Ibn Umar
Once Allah's Apostle stood amongst the people, glorified and praised Allah as He deserved and then mentioned the Dajjal saying, "I warn you against him (i.e. the Dajjal) and there was no prophet but warned his nation against him. No doubt, Noah warned his nation against him but I tell you about him something of which no prophet told his nation before me. You should know that he is one-eyed, and Allah is not one-eyed."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 554 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle said, "Shall I not tell you about the Dajjal a story of which no prophet told his nation? The Dajjall is one-eyed and will bring with him what will resemble Hell and Paradise, and what he will call Paradise will be actually Hell; so I warn you (against him) as Noah warned his nation against him."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 555 :
Narrated by Abu Said
Allah's Apostle said, "Noah and his nation will come (on the Day of Resurrection and Allah will ask (Noah), "Did you convey (the Message)?' He will reply, 'Yes, O my Lord!' Then Allah will ask Noah's nation, 'Did Noah convey My Message to you?' They will reply, 'No, no prophet came to us.' Then Allah will ask Noah, 'Who will stand a witness for you?' He will reply, 'Mohammed and his followers (will stand witness for me).' So, I and my followers will stand as witnesses for him (that he conveyed Allah's Message)." That is, (the interpretation) of the Statement of Allah: "Thus we have made you a just and the best nation that you might be witnesses Over mankind .." (2.143)

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 556 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
We were in the company of the Prophet at a banquet and a cooked (mutton) forearm was set before him, and he used to like it. He ate a morsel of it and said, "I will be the chief of all the people on the Day of Resurrection. Do you know how Allah will gather all the first and the last (people) in one level place where an observer will be able to see (all) of them and they will be able to hear the announcer, and the sun will come near to them. Some People will say: Don't you see, in what condition you are and the state to which you have reached? Why don't you look for a person who can intercede for you with your Lord? Some people will say: Appeal to your father, Adam.' They will go to him and say: 'O Adam! You are the father of all mankind, and Allah created you with His Own Hands, and ordered the angels to prostrate for you, and made you live in Paradise. Will you not intercede for us with your Lord? Don't you see in what (miserable) state we are, and to what condition we have reached?' On that Adam will reply, 'My Lord is so angry as He has never been before and will never be in the future; (besides), He forbade me (to eat from) the tree, but I disobeyed (Him), (I am worried about) myself! Myself! Go to somebody else; go to Noah.' They will go to Noah and say; 'O Noah! You are the first amongst the messengers of Allah to the people of the earth, and Allah named you a thankful slave. Don't you see in what a (miserable) state we are and to what condition we have reached? Will you not intercede for us with your Lord? Noah will reply: 'Today my Lord has become so angry as he had never been before and will never be in the future Myself! Myself! Go to the Prophet (Mohammed). The people will come to me, and I will prostrate myself underneath Allah's Throne. Then I will be addressed: 'O Mohammed! Raise your head; intercede, for your intercession will be accepted, and ask (for anything). for you will be given. "

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 557 :
Narrated by Abdullah
Allah's Apostle recited the following Verse) in the usual tone: 'Fahal-Min-Muddalkir.' (54.15)

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 558 :
Narrated by Ibn Abbas
The Prophet said, "I have been made victorious with As-Saba (i.e. an easterly wind) and the people of 'Ad were destroyed by Ad-Dabur (i.e. a westerly wind)." Narrated Abu Said: Ali sent a piece of gold to the Prophet who distributed it among four persons: Al-Aqra' bin Habis Al-Hanzali from the tribe of Mujashi, 'Uyaina bin Badr Al-Fazari, Zaid At-Ta'i who belonged to (the tribe of) Bani Nahban, and 'Alqama bin Ulatha Al-Amir who belonged to (the tribe of) Bani Kilab. So the Quraish and the Ansar became angry and said, "He (i.e. the Prophet,) gives the chief of Najd and does not give us." The Prophet said, "I give them) so as to attract their hearts (to Islam)." Then a man with sunken eyes, prominent checks, a raised forehead, a thick beard and a shaven head, came (in front of the Prophet) and said, "Be afraid of Allah, O Mohammed!" The Prophet ' said "Who would obey Allah if I disobeyed Him? (Is it fair that) Allah has trusted all the people of the earth to me while, you do not trust me?" Somebody who, I think was Khalid bin Al-Walid, requested the Prophet to let him chop that man's head off, but he prevented him. When the man left, the Prophet said, "Among the off-spring of this man will be some who will recite the Koran but the Koran will not reach beyond their throats (i.e. they will recite like parrots and will not understand it nor act on it), and they will renegade from the religion as an arrow goes through the game's body. They will kill the Muslims but will not disturb the idolaters. If I should

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live up to their time' I will kill them as the people of 'Ad were killed (i.e. I will kill all of them)."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 559 :
Narrated by Abdullah
I heard the Prophet reciting: "Fahal Min Muddakir." (See Hadith No. 557)

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 560 :
Narrated by Abdullah bin Zam'a
I heard the Prophet while referring to the person who had cut the legs of the she-camel (of the Prophet Salih), saying, "The man who was appointed for doing this job, was a man of honor and power in his nation like Abu Zam'a."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 561 :
Narrated by Ibn Umar
When Allah's Apostle landed at Al-Hijr during the Ghazwa of Tabuk, he ordered his companions not to drink water from its well or reserve water from it. They said, "We have already kneaded the dough with its water. and also filled our bags with its water." On that, the Prophet ordered them to throw away the dough and pour out the water.

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 562 :
Narrated by Abdullah bin Umar
The people landed at the land of Thamud called Al-Hijr along with Allah's Apostle and they took water from its well for drinking and kneading the dough with it as well. (When Allah's Apostle heard about it) he ordered them to pour out the water they had taken from its wells and feed the camels with the dough, and ordered them to take water from the well whence the she-camel (of Prophet Salih) used to drink.

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 563 :
Narrated by Abdullah bin Umar
When the Prophet passed by (a place called) Al Hijr, he said, "Do not enter the house of those who were unjust to themselves, unless (you enter) weeping, lest you should suffer the same punishment as was inflicted upon them." After that he covered his face with his sheet cloth while he was on the camel-saddle.

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 564 :
Narrated by Ibn Umar
Allah's Apostle said, "Do not enter the ruined dwellings of those who were unjust to themselves unless (you enter) weeping, lest you should suffer the same punishment as was inflicted upon them."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 565 :
Narrated by Zainab bint Jahsh
That the Prophet once came to her in a state of fear and said, "None has the right to be worshipped but Allah. Woe unto the Arabs from a danger that has come near. An opening has been made in the wall of Gog and Magog like this," making a circle with his thumb and index finger. Zainab bint Jahsh said, "O Allah's Apostle! Shall we be destroyed even though there are pious persons among us?" He said, "Yes, when the evil person will increase."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 566 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
The Prophet said, "Allah has made an opening in the wall of the Gog and Magog (people) like this, and he made with his hand (with the help of his fingers).

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 567 :
Narrated by Abu Said Al-Khudri
The Prophet said, "Allah will say (on the Day of Resurrection), 'O Adam.' Adam will reply, 'Labbaik wa Sa'daik', and all the good is in Your Hand.' Allah will say: 'Bring out the people of the fire.' Adam will say: 'O Allah! How many are the people of the Fire?' Allah will reply: 'From every one thousand, take out nine-hundred-and ninety-nine.' At that time children will become hoary headed, every pregnant female will have a miscarriage, and one will see mankind as drunken, yet they will not be drunken, but dreadful will be the Wrath of Allah." The companions of the Prophet asked, "O Allah's Apostle! Who is that (excepted) one?" He said, "Rejoice with glad tidings; one person will be from you and one-thousand will be from Gog and Magog." The Prophet further said, "By Him in Whose Hands my life is, hope that you will be one-fourth of the people of Paradise." We shouted, "Allahu Akbar!" He added, "I hope that you will be one-third of the people of Paradise." We shouted, "Allahu Akbar!" He said, "I hope that you will be half of the people of Paradise." We shouted, "Allahu Akbar!" He further said, "You (Muslims) (compared with non Muslims) are like a black hair in the skin of a white ox or like a white hair in the skin of a black ox (i.e. your number is very small as compared with theirs)."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 568 :
Narrated by Ibn Abbas
The Prophet said, "You will be gathered (on the Day of Judgement), bare-footed, naked and not circumcised." He then recited:--'As We began the first creation, We, shall repeat it: A Promise We have undertaken: Truly we shall do it.' (21.104) He added, "The first to be dressed on the Day of Resurrection, will be Abraham, and some of my companions will be taken towards the left side (i.e. to the (Hell) Fire), and I will say: 'My companions! My companions!' It will be said: 'They renegade from Islam after you left them.' Then I will say as the Pious slave of Allah (i.e. Jesus) said. 'And I was a witness Over them while I dwelt amongst them. When You took me up You were the Watcher over them, And You are a witness to all things. If You punish them. They are Your slaves And if You forgive them, Verily you, only You are the All-Mighty, the All-Wise." (5.120-121)

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 569 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
The Prophet said, "On the Day of Resurrection Abraham will meet his father Azar whose face will be dark and covered with dust.(The Prophet Abraham will say to him): 'Didn't I tell you not to disobey me?' His father will reply: 'Today I will not disobey you.' 'Abraham will say: 'O Lord! You promised me not to disgrace me on the Day of Resurrection; and what will be more disgraceful to me than cursing and dishonoring my father?' Then Allah will say (to him):' 'I have forbidden Paradise for the disbelievers." Then he will be addressed, 'O Abraham! Look! What is underneath your feet?' He will look and there he will see a Dhabh (an animal,) blood-stained, which will be caught by the legs and thrown in the (Hell) Fire."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 570 :
Narrated by Ibn Abbas
The Prophet entered the Kaaba and found in it the pictures of (Prophet) Abraham and Mary. On that he said' "What is the matter with them (i.e. Quraish)? They have already heard that angels do not enter a house in which there are pictures; yet this is the picture of Abraham. And why is he depicted as practicing divination by arrows?"

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 571 :
Narrated by Ibn Abbas
When the Prophet saw pictures in the Kaaba, he did not enter it till he ordered them to be erased. When he saw (the pictures of Abraham and Ishmael carrying the arrows of divination, he said, "May Allah curse them (i.e. the Quraish)! By Allah, neither Abraham nor Ishmael practiced divination by arrows."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 572 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
The people said, "O Allah's Apostle! Who is the most honorable amongst the people (in Allah's Sight)?" He said, "The most righteous amongst them." They said, "We do not ask you, about this. " He said, "Then Joseph, Allah's Prophet, the son of Allah's Prophet, The son of Allah's Prophet the son of Allah's Khalil (i.e. Abraham)." They said, "We do not want to ask about this," He said' "Then you want to ask about the descent of the Arabs. Those who were the best in the pre-Islamic period of ignorance will be the best in Islam provided they comprehend the religious knowledge."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 573 :
Narrated by Samura
Allah's Apostle said, "Two persons came to me at night (in dream) (and took me along with them). We passed by a tall man who was so tall that I was not able to see his head and that person was Abraham."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 574 :
Narrated by Mujahid
That when the people mentioned before Ibn Abbas that the Dajjal would have the word Kafir, (i.e. unbeliever) or the letters Kafir (the root of the Arabic verb 'disbelieve') written on his forehead, I heard Ibn Abbas saying, "I did not hear this, but the Prophet said, 'If you want to see Abraham, then look at your companion (i.e. the Prophet) but Moses was a curly-haired, brown man (who used to ride) a red camel, the reins of which was made of fires of date-palms. As if I were now looking down a valley."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 575 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle said, "Abraham did his circumcision with an adze at the age of eighty."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 576 :
Narrated by Abu Az-Zinad
(as above in Hadith No. 575) With an adze.

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 577 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle said, "Abraham did not tell a lie except on three occasions."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 578 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
Abraham did not tell a lie except on three occasion. Twice for the Sake of Allah when he said, "I am sick," and he said, "(I have not done this but) the big idol has done it." The (third was) that while Abraham and Sarah (his wife) were going (on a journey) they passed by (the territory of) a tyrant. Someone said to the tyrant, "This man (i.e. Abraham) is accompanied by a very charming lady." So, he sent for Abraham and asked him about Sarah saying, "Who is this lady?" Abraham said, "She is my sister." Abraham went to Sarah and said, "O Sarah! There are no believers on the surface of the earth except you and I. This man asked me about you and I have told him that you are my sister, so don't contradict my statement." The tyrant then called Sarah and when she went to him, he tried to take hold of her with his hand, but (his hand got stiff and) he was confounded. He asked Sarah. "Pray to Allah for me, and I shall not harm you." So Sarah asked Allah to cure him and he got cured. He tried to take hold of her for the second time, but (his hand got as stiff as or stiffer than before and) was more confounded. He again requested Sarah, "Pray to Allah for me, and I will not harm you." Sarah asked Allah again and he became alright. He then called one of his guards (who had brought her) and said, "You have not brought me a human being but have brought me a devil." The tyrant then gave Hajar as a girl-servant to Sarah. Sarah came back (to Abraham) while he was praying. Abraham, gesturing with his hand, asked, "What has happened?" She replied, "Allah has spoiled the evil plot of the infidel (or immoral person) and gave me Hajar for service." (Abu Huraira then addressed his listeners saying, "That (Hajar) was your mother, O Bani Ma-is-Sama (i.e. the Arabs, the descendants of Ishmael, Hajar's son)."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 579 :
Narrated by Um Sharik
Allah's Apostle ordered that the salamander should be killed and said, "It (i.e. the salamander) blew (the fire) on Abraham."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 580 :
Narrated by Abdullah
When the Verse: "It is those who believe and do not confuse their belief with wrong (i.e. joining others in worship with Allah" (6.83) was revealed, we said, "O Allah's Apostle! Who is there amongst us who has not done wrong to himself?" He replied, "It is not as you say, for 'wrong' in the Verse and 'do not confuse their belief, with wrong means 'SHIRK' (i.e. joining others in worship with Allah). Haven't you heard Luqman's saying to his son, 'O my son! Join not others in worship with Allah, verily joining others in worship with Allah is a great wrong indeed." (31.13)

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 581 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
One day some meat was given to the Prophet and he said, "On the Day of Resurrection Allah will gather all the first and the last (people) in one plain, and the voice of the announcer will reach all of them, and one will be able to see them all, and the sun will come closer to them." (The narrator then mentioned the narration of intercession): "The people will go to Abraham and say: 'You are Allah's Prophet and His Khalil on the earth. Will you intercede for us with your Lord?' Abraham will then remember his lies and say: 'Myself! Myself! Go to Moses."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 582 :
Narrated by Ibn Abbas
The Prophet said, "May Allah bestow His Mercy on the mother of Ishmael! Had she not hastened (to fill her water-skin with water from the Zam-zam well). Zam-zam would have been a stream flowing on the surface of the earth." Ibn Abbas further added, "(The Prophet) Abraham brought Ishmael and his mother (to Mecca) and she was suckling Ishmael and she had a water-skin with her.'

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 583 :
Narrated by Ibn Abbas
The first lady to use a girdle was the mother of Ishmael. She used a girdle so that she might hide her tracks from Sarah. Abraham brought her and her son Ishmael while she was suckling him, to a place near the Kaaba under a tree on the spot of Zam-zam, at the highest place in the mosque. During those days there was nobody in Mecca, nor was there any water So he made them sit over there and placed near them a leather bag containing some dates, and a small water-skin containing some water, and set out homeward. Ishmael's mother followed him saying, "O Abraham! Where are you going, leaving us in this valley where there is no person whose

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company we may enjoy, nor is there anything (to enjoy)?" She repeated that to him many times, but he did not look back at her Then she asked him, "Has Allah ordered you to do so?" He said, "Yes." She said, "Then He will not neglect us," and returned while Abraham proceeded onwards, and on reaching the Thaniya where they could not see him, he faced the Kaaba, and raising both hands, invoked Allah saying the following prayers: 'O our Lord! I have made some of my offspring dwell in a valley without cultivation, by Your Sacred House (Kaba at Mecca) in order, O our Lord, that they may offer prayer perfectly. So fill some hearts among men with love towards them, and (O Allah) provide them with fruits, so that they may give thanks.' (14.37) Ishmael's mother went on suckling Ishmael and drinking from the water (she had). When the water in the water-skin had all been used up, she became thirsty and her child also became thirsty. She started looking at him (i.e. Ishmael) tossing in agony; She left him, for she could not endure looking at him, and found that the mountain of Safa was the nearest mountain to her on that land. She stood on it and started looking at the valley keenly so that she might see somebody, but she could not see anybody. Then she descended from Safa and when she reached the valley, she tucked up her robe and ran in the valley like a person in distress and trouble, till she crossed the valley and reached the Marwa mountain where she stood and started looking, expecting to see somebody, but she could not see anybody. She repeated that (running between Safa and Marwa) seven times." The Prophet said, "This is the source of the tradition of the walking of people between them (i.e. Safa and Marwa). When she reached the Marwa (for the last time) she heard a voice and she asked herself to be quiet and listened attentively. She heard the voice again and said, 'O, (whoever you may be)! You have made me hear your voice; have you got something to help me?" And behold! She saw an angel at the place of Zam-zam, digging the earth with his heel (or his wing), till water flowed from that place. She started to make something like a basin around it, using her hand in this way, and started filling her water-skin with water with her hands, and the water was flowing out after she had scooped some of it." The Prophet added, "May Allah bestow Mercy on Ishmael's mother! Had she let the Zam-zam (flow without trying to control it) (or had she not scooped from that water) (to fill her water-skin), Zam-zam would have been a stream flowing on the surface of the earth." The Prophet further added, "Then she drank (water) and suckled her child. The angel said to her, 'Don't be afraid of being neglected, for this is the House of Allah which will be built by this boy and his father, and Allah never neglects His people.' The House (i.e. Kaba) at that time was on a high place resembling a hillock, and when torrents came, they flowed to its right and left. She lived in that way till some people from the tribe of Jurhum or a family from Jurhum passed by her and her child, as they (i.e. the Jurhum people) were coming through the way of Kada'. They landed in the lower part of Mecca where they saw a bird that had the habit of flying around water and not leaving it. They said, 'This bird must be flying around water, though we know that there is no water in this valley.' They sent one or two messengers who discovered the source of water, and returned to inform them of the water. So, they all came (towards the water)." The Prophet added, "Ishmael's mother was sitting near the water. They asked her, 'Do you allow us to stay with you?" She replied, 'Yes, but you will have no right to possess the water.' They agreed to that." The Prophet further said, "Ishmael's mother was pleased with the whole situation as she used to love to enjoy the company of the people. So, they settled there, and later on they sent for their families who came and settled with them so that some families became permanent residents there. The child (i.e. Ishmael) grew up and learnt Arabic from them and (his virtues) caused them to love and admire him as he grew up, and when he reached the age of puberty they made him marry a woman from amongst them. After Ishmael's mother had died, Abraham came after Ishmael's marriage in order to see his family that he had left before, but he did not find Ishmael there. When he asked Ishmael's wife about him, she replied, 'He has gone in search of our livelihood.' Then he asked her about their way of living and their condition, and she replied, 'We are living in misery; we are living in hardship and destitution,' complaining to him. He said, 'When your husband returns, convey my salutation to him and tell him to change the threshold of the gate (of his house).' When Ishmael came, he seemed to have felt something unusual, so he asked his wife, 'Has anyone visited you?' She replied, 'Yes, an old man of so-and-so description came and asked me about you and I informed him, and he asked about our state of living, and I told him that we were living in a hardship and poverty.' On that Ishmael said, 'Did he advise you anything?' She replied, 'Yes, he told me to convey his salutation to you and to tell you to change the threshold of your gate.' Ishmael said, 'It was my father, and he has ordered me to divorce you. Go back to your family.' So, Ishmael divorced her and married another woman from amongst them (i.e. Jurhum). Then Abraham stayed away from them for a period as long as Allah wished and called on them again but did not find Ishmael. So he came to Ishmael's wife and asked her about Ishmael. She said, 'He has gone in search of our livelihood.' Abraham asked her, 'How are you getting on?' asking her about their sustenance and living. She replied, 'We are prosperous and well-off (i.e. we have everything in abundance).' Then she thanked Allah' Abraham said, 'What kind of food do you eat?' She said. 'Meat.' He said, 'What do you drink?' She said, 'Water." He said, "O Allah! Bless their meat and water." The Prophet added, "At that time they did not have grain, and if they had grain, he would have also invoked Allah to bless it." The Prophet added, "If somebody has only these two things as his sustenance, his health and disposition will be badly affected, unless he lives in Mecca." The Prophet added," Then Abraham said Ishmael's wife, "When your husband comes, give my regards to him and tell him that he should keep firm the threshold of his gate.' When Ishmael came back, he asked his wife, 'Did anyone call on you?' She replied, 'Yes, a good-looking old man came to me,' so she praised him and added. 'He asked about you, and I informed him, and he asked about our livelihood and I told him that we were in a good condition.' Ishmael asked her, 'Did he give you any piece of advice?' She said, 'Yes, he told me to give his regards to you and ordered that you should keep firm the threshold of your gate.' On that Ishmael said, 'It was my father, and you are the threshold (of the gate). He has ordered me to keep you with me.' Then Abraham stayed away from them for a period as long as Allah wished, and called on them afterwards. He saw Ishmael under a tree near Zamzam, sharpening his arrows. When he saw Abraham, he rose up to welcome him (and they greeted each other as a father does with his son or a son does with his father). Abraham said, 'O Ishmael! Allah has given me an order.' Ishmael said, 'Do what your Lord has ordered you to do.' Abraham asked, 'Will you help me?' Ishmael said, 'I will help you.' Abraham said, Allah has ordered me to build a house here,' pointing to a hillock higher than the land surrounding it." The Prophet added, "Then they raised the foundations of the House (i.e. the Kaaba). Ishmael brought the stones and Abraham was building, and when the walls became high, Ishmael brought this stone and put it for Abraham who stood over it and carried on building, while Ishmael was handing him the stones, and both of them were saying, 'O our Lord! Accept (this service) from us, Verily, You are the All-Hearing, the All-Knowing.' The Prophet added, "Then both of them went on building and going round the Kaaba saying: O our Lord ! Accept (this service) from us, Verily, You are the All-Hearing, the All-Knowing." (2.127)

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 584 :
Narrated by Ibn Abbas
When Abraham had differences with his wife), (because of her jealousy of Hajar, Ishmael's mother), he took Ishmael and his mother and went away. They had a water-skin with them containing some water, Ishmael's mother used to drink water from the water-skin so that her milk would increase for her child. When Abraham reached Mecca, he made her sit under a tree and afterwards returned home. Ishmael's mother followed him, and when they reached Kada', she called him from behind, 'O Abraham! To whom are you leaving us?' He replied, '(I am leaving you) to Allah's (Care).' She said, 'I am satisfied to be with Allah.' She returned to her place and started drinking water from the water-skin, and her milk increased for her child. When the water had all been used up, she said to herself, 'I'd better go and look so that I may see somebody.' She ascended the Safa mountain and looked, hoping to see somebody, but in vain. When she came down to the valley, she ran till she reached the Marwa mountain. She ran to and fro (between the two mountains) many times. They she said to herself, 'i'd better go and see the state of the child,' she went and found it in a state of one on the point of dying. She could not endure to watch it dying and said (to herself), 'If I go and look, I may find somebody.' She went and ascended the Safa mountain and looked for a long while but could not find anybody. Thus she completed seven rounds (of running) between Safa and Marwa. Again she said (to herself), 'I'd better go back and see the state of the child.' But suddenly she heard a voice, and she said to that strange voice, 'Help us if you can offer any help.' Lo! It was Gabriel (who had made the voice). Gabriel hit the earth with his heel like this (Ibn Abbas hit the earth with his heel to Illustrate it), and so the water gushed out. Ishmael's mother was astonished and started digging. (Abu Al-Qasim) (i.e. the Prophet) said, "If she had left the water, (flow naturally without her intervention), it would have been flowing on the surface of the earth.") Ishmael's mother started drinking from the water and her milk increased for her child . Afterwards some people of the tribe of Jurhum, while passing through the bottom of the valley, saw some birds, and that astonished them, and they said, 'Birds can only be found at a place where there is water.' They sent a messenger who searched the place and found the water, and returned to inform them about it. Then they all went to her and said, 'O ishmael's mother! Will you allow us to be with you (or dwell with you)?' (And thus they stayed there.) Later on her boy reached the age of puberty and married a lady from them. Then an idea occurred to Abraham which he disclosed to his wife (Sarah), 'I want to call on my dependents I left (at Mecca).' When he went there, he greeted (Ishmael's wife) and said, 'Where is Ishmael?' She replied, 'He has gone out hunting.' Abraham said (to her), 'When he comes, tell him to change the threshold of his gate.' When he came, she told him the same whereupon Ishmael said to her, 'You are the threshold, so go to your family (i.e. you are divorced).' Again Abraham thought of visiting his dependents whom he had left (at Mecca), and he told his wife (Sarah) of his intentions. Abraham came to Ishmael's house and asked. "Where is Ishmael?" Ishmael's wife replied, "He has gone out hunting," and added, "Will you stay (for some time) and have something to eat and drink?' Abraham asked, 'What is your food and what is your drink?' She replied, 'Our food is meat and our drink is water.' He said, 'O Allah! Bless their meals and their drink." Abu Al-Qa-sim (i.e. Prophet) said, "Because of Abraham's invocation there are blessings (in Mecca)." Once more Abraham thought of visiting his family he had left (at Mecca), so he told his wife (Sarah) of his decision. He went and found Ishmael behind the Zam-zam well, mending his arrows. He said, "O Ishmael, Your Lord has ordered me to build a house for Him." Ishmael said, "Obey (the order of) your Lord." Abraham said, "Allah has also ordered me that you should help me therein." Ishmael said, "Then I will do." So, both of them rose and Abraham started building (the Kaaba) while Ishmael went on handing him the stones, and both of them were saying, "O our Lord ! Accept (this service) from us, Verily, You are the All-Hearing, the All-Knowing." (2.127). When the building became high and the old man (i.e. Abraham) could no longer lift the stones (to such a high position), he stood over the stone of Al-Maqam and Ishmael carried on handing him the stones, and both of them were saying, 'O our Lord! Accept (this service) from us, Verily You are All-Hearing, All-Knowing." (2.127)

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 585 :
Narrated by Abu Dhar
I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Which mosque was first built on the surface of the earth?" He said, "Al-Masjid-ul-,Haram (in Mecca)." I said, "Which was built next?" He replied "The mosque of Al-Aqsa (in Jerusalem) ." I said, "What was the period of construction between the two?" He said, "Forty years." He added, "Wherever (you may be, and) the prayer time becomes due, perform the prayer there, for the best thing is to do so (i.e. to offer the prayers in time)."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 586 :
Narrated by Anas bin Malik
When the mountain of Uhud came in the sight of Allah's Apostle he said. "This is a mountain that loves us and is loved by us. O Allah! Abraham made Mecca a sanctuary, and I make (the area) in between these two mountains (of Medina) a sanctuary."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 587 :
Narrated by Aisha
(the wife of the Prophet) Allah's Apostle said (to her). "Don't you see that when your folk built the Kaaba, they did not build it on all the foundations built by Abraham?" I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Why don't we rebuild it on the foundations of Abraham?" He said. "But for the fact that your folk have recently given up infidelity (I would have done so)." Narrated Ibn Umar: Aisha must have heard this from Allah's Apostle for I see that Allah's Apostle used not to touch the two corners facing Al-Hijr only because the House had not been built on the foundations of Abraham"

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 588 :
Narrated by Abu Humaid As-Sa'idi
The people asked, "O Allah's Apostle! How shall we (ask Allah to) send blessings on you?" Allah's Apostle replied, "Say: O Allah! Send Your Mercy on Mohammed and on his wives and on his off spring, as You sent Your Mercy on Abraham's family; and send Your Blessings on Mohammed and on his offspring, as You sent Your Blessings on Abraham's family, for You are the Most Praise-worthy, the Most Glorious."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 589 :
Narrated by Abdur-Rahman bin Abi Laila
Ka'b bin Ujrah met me and said, "Shall I not give you a present I got from the Prophet?" Abdur-Rahman said, "Yes, give it to me." I said, "We asked Allah's Apostle saying, 'O Allah's Apostle! How should one (ask Allah to) send blessings on you, the members of the family, for Allah has taught us how to salute you (in the prayer)?' He said, 'Say: O Allah! Send Your Mercy on Mohammed and on the family of Mohammed, as You sent Your Mercy on Abraham and on the family of Abraham, for You are the Most Praise-worthy, the Most Glorious. O Allah! Send Your Blessings on Mohammed and the family of Mohammed, as You sent your Blessings on Abraham and on the family of Abraham, for You are the Most Praise-worthy, the Most Glorious.' "

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Volume 4, Book 55, Number 590 :
Narrated by Ibn Abbas
The Prophet used to seek Refuge with Allah for Al-Hasan and Al-Husain and say: "Your forefather (i.e. Abraham) used to seek Refuge with Allah for Ishmael and Isaac by reciting the following: 'O Allah! I seek Refuge with Your Perfect Words from every devil and from poisonous pests and from every evil, harmful, envious eye.' "

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 591 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle said, "We are more liable to be in doubt than Abraham when he said, 'My Lord! Show me how You give life to the dead." . He (i.e. Allah) slid: 'Don't you believe then?' He (i.e. Abraham) said: "Yes, but (I ask) in order to be stronger in Faith." (2.260) And may Allah send His Mercy on Lot! He wished to have a powerful support. If I were to stay in prison for such a long time as Joseph did I would have accepted the offer (of freedom without insisting on having my guiltless less declared)."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 592 :
Narrated by Salama bin Al-Akwa
The Prophet passed by some persons of the tribe of Aslam practicing archery (i.e. the throwing of arrows) Allah's Apostle said, "O offspring of Ishmael! Practice archery (i.e. arrow throwing) as your father was a great archer (i.e. arrow-thrower). I am with (on the side of) the son of so-and-so-." Hearing that, one of the two teams stopped throwing. Allah's Apostle asked them, ' Why are you not throwing?" They replied, "O Allah's Apostle! How shall we throw when you are with the opposite team?" He said, "Throw, for I am with you all."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 593 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
Some people asked the Prophet: "Who is the most honorable amongst the people?" He replied, "The most honorable among them is the one who is the most Allah-fearing." They said, "O Allah's Prophet! We do not ask about this." He said, "Then the most honorable person is Joseph, Allah's Prophet, the son of Allah's Prophet, the son of Allah's Prophet, the son of Allah's Khalil." They said, "We do not ask about this." He said, "Then you want to ask me about the Arabs' descent?" They said, "Yes." He said, "Those who were best in the pre-lslamic period, are the best in Islam, if they comprehend (the religious knowledge)."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 594 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
The Prophet said, "May Allah forgive Lot: He wanted to have a powerful support."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 595 :
Narrated by Abdullah
The Prophet recited: 'Hal-min-Muddakir' (54.15) (Is there any that will remember) (and avoid evil).

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 596 :
Narrated by Ibn Umar
The Prophet said, "The honorable is the son of the honorable, the son the honorable, i.e. Joseph, the son of Jacob, the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 597 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle was asked, "Who is the most honorable amongst the people?" He replied, "The most Allah fearing." The people said, "We do not want to ask you about this." He said, "The most honorable person is Joseph, Allah's Prophet, the son of Allah's Prophet, the son of Allah's Prophet, the son of Allah's Khalil" The people said, 'We do not want to ask you about this." He said," Then you want to ask me about the origins of the Arabs? People are of various origins. The best in the pre-lslamic period are the best in Islam, provided they comprehend (the religious knowledge)."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 598 :
Narrated by Aisha
That the Prophet said (to her). "Order Abu Bakr to lead the people in prayer." She replied," Abu Bakr is a soft-hearted person and when he stands at your place, he will weep (so he will not be able to lead the prayer)." The Prophet repeated the same order and she gave the same reply. The narrator, Shuba said that the Prophet said on the third or fourth time. "You are (like) the female companions of Joseph. Order Abu Bakr to lead the prayer. "

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 599 :
Narrated by Abu Musa
When the Prophet fell ill, he said, "Order Abu Bakr to lead the people in prayer." Aisha said, "Abu Bakr is a soft-hearted person. The Prophet gave the same order again and she again gave the same reply. He again said, "Order Abu Bakr (to lead the prayer)! You are (like) the female companions of Joseph." Consequently Abu Bakr led the people in prayer in the life-time of the Prophet.

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 600 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle said, "O Allah! Save Aiyyash bin Abi Rabia (from the unjust treatment of the infidels). O Allah! Save Salama bin Hisham. O Allah! Send your Punishment on (the tribe of) Mudar. O Allah! Let them suffer from years (of drought) similar to that inflicted during the life-time of Joseph."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 601 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle said, "May Allah bestow His Mercy on Lot. He wanted to have a powerful support. If I were to stay in prison (for a period equal to) the stay of Joseph (prison) and then the offer of freedom came to me, then I would have accepted it." (See Hadith No. 591)

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 602 :
Narrated by Masruq
I asked Um Ruman, Aisha's mother about the accusation forged against Aisha. She said, "While I was sitting with Aisha, an Ansari woman came to us and said, 'Let Allah condemn such-and-such person.' I asked her, 'Why do you say so?' She replied, 'For he has spread the (slanderous) story.' Aisha said, 'What story?' The woman then told her the story. Aisha asked, 'Have Abu Bakr and Allah's Apostle heard about it ?' She said, 'Yes.' Aisha fell down senseless (on hearing that), and when she came to her senses, she got fever and shaking of the body. The Prophet came and asked, 'What is wrong with her?' I said, 'She has got fever because of a story which has been rumored.' Aisha got up and said, 'By Allah! Even if I took an oath, you would not believe me, and if I put forward an excuse, You would not excuse me. My example and your example is just like that example of Jacob and his sons. Against that which you assert, it is Allah (Alone) Whose Help can be sought.' (12.18) The Prophet left and then Allah revealed the Verses (concerning the matter), and on that Aisha said, 'Thanks to Allah (only) and not to anybody else."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 603 :
Narrated by Urwa
I asked Aisha the wife of the Prophet about the meaning of the following Verse: "(Respite will be granted) 'Until when the apostles give up hope (of their people) and thought that they were denied (by their people)..."(12.110) Aisha replied, "Really, their nations did not believe them." I said, "By Allah! They were definite that their nations treated them as liars and it was not a matter of suspecting." Aisha said, "O 'Uraiya (i.e. Urwa)! No doubt, they were quite sure about it." I said, "May the Verse be read in such a way as to mean that the apostles thought that Allah did not help them?" Aisha said, "Allah forbid! (Impossible) The Apostles did not suspect their Lord of such a thing. But this Verse is concerned with the Apostles' followers who had faith in their Lord and believed in their apostles and their period of trials was long and Allah's Help was delayed till the apostles gave up hope for the conversion of the disbelievers amongst their nation and suspected that even their followers were shaken in their belief, Allah's Help then came to them." Narrated Ibn Umar: The Prophet said, "The honorable, the son of the honorable, the son of the honorable, (was) Joseph, the son of Jacob! the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 604 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
The Prophet said, "While Job was naked, taking a bath, a swarm of gold locusts fell on him and he started collecting them in his garment. His Lord called him, 'O Job! Have I not made you rich enough to need what you see? He said, 'Yes, O Lord! But I cannot dispense with your Blessing."'

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 605 :
Narrated by Aisha
The Prophet returned to Khadija while his heart was beating rapidly. She took him to Waraqa bin Naufal who was a Christian convert and used to read the Gospels in Arabic Waraqa asked (the Prophet), "What do you see?" When he told him, Waraqa said, "That is the same angel whom Allah sent to the Prophet) Moses. Should I live till you receive the Divine Message, I will support you strongly."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 606 :
Narrated by Malik bin Sasaa
Allah's Apostle talked to his companions about his Night Journey to the Heavens. When he reached the fifth Heaven, he met Aaron. (Gabriel said to the Prophet), "This is Aaron." The Prophet said, "Gabriel greeted and so did I, and he returned the greeting saying, 'Welcome, O Pious Brother and Pious Prophet."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 607 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle said, "On the night of my Ascension to Heaven, I saw (the prophet) Moses who was a thin person with lank hair, looking like one of the men of the tribe of Shanua; and I saw Jesus who was of average height with red face as if he had just come out of a bathroom. And I resemble prophet Abraham more than any of his offspring does. Then I was given two cups, one containing milk and the other wine. Gabriel said, 'Drink whichever you like.' I took the milk and drank it. Gabriel said, 'You have accepted what is natural, (True Religion i.e. Islam) and if you had taken the wine, your followers would have gone astray.' "

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 608 :
Narrated by Ibn Abbas
The Prophet said, "One should not say that I am better than Jonah (i.e. Yunus) bin Matta." So, he mentioned his father Matta. The Prophet mentioned the night of his Ascension and said, "The prophet Moses was brown, a tall person as if from the people of the tribe of Shanu'a. Jesus was a curly-haired man of moderate height." He also mentioned Malik, the gate-keeper of the (Hell) Fire, and Ad-Dajjal.

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 609 :
Narrated by Ibn Abbas
When the Prophet came to Medina, he found (the Jews) fasting on the day of 'Ashura' (i.e. 10th of Muharram). They used to say: "This is a great day on which Allah saved Moses and drowned the folk of Pharaoh. Moses observed the fast on this day, as a sign of gratitude to Allah." The Prophet said, "I am closer to Moses than they." So, he observed the fast (on that day) and ordered the Muslims to fast on it.

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 610 :
Narrated by Abu Said
The Prophet said, 'People will be struck unconscious on the Day of Resurrection and I will be the first to regain consciousness, and behold! There I will see Moses holding one of the pillars of Allah's Throne. I will wonder whether he has become conscious before me of he has been exempted, because of his unconsciousness at the Tur (mountain) which he received (on the earth)."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 611 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
The Prophet said, "Were it not for Bani Israel, meat would not decay; and were it not for Eve, no woman would ever betray her husband."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 612 :
Narrated by Ibn Abbas
That he differed with Al-Hur bin Qais Al-Fazari regarding the companion of Moses. Ibn Abbas said that he was Al-Khadir. Meanwhile Ubai bin Ka'b passed by them and Ibn Abbas called him saying, "My friend and I have differed regarding Moses' companion whom Moses asked the way to meet. Have you heard Allah's Apostle mentioning something about him?" He said, "Yes, I heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'While Moses was sitting in the company of some Israelites, a man came and asked (him), 'Do you know anyone who is more learned than you?' Moses replied, 'No.' So, Allah sent the Divine Inspiration to Moses: 'Yes, Our slave, Khadir (is more learned than you).' Moses asked how to meet him (i.e. Khadir). So, the fish, was made, as a sign for him, and he was told that when the fish was lost, he should return and there he would meet him. So, Moses went on looking for the sign of the fish in the sea. The servant boy of Moses said to him, 'Do you know that when we were sitting by the side of the rock, I forgot the fish, and t was only Satan who made me forget to tell (you) about it.' Moses said, That was what we were seeking after,' and both of them returned, following their footmarks and found Khadir; and what happened further to them, is mentioned in Allah's Book."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 613 :
Narrated by Said bin Jubair
I said to Ibn Abbas, "Nauf Al-Bukah claims that Moses, the companion of Al-Khadir was not Moses (the prophet) of the children of Israel, but some other Moses." Ibn Abbas said, "Allah's enemy (i.e. Nauf) has told a lie. Ubai bin Ka'b told us that the Prophet said, 'Once Moses stood up and addressed Bani Israel. He was asked who was the most learned man amongst the people. He said, 'I.' Allah admonished him as he did not attribute absolute knowledge to Him (Allah). So, Allah said to him, 'Yes, at the junction of the two seas there is a Slave of Mine who is more learned than you.' Moses said, 'O my Lord! How can I meet him?' Allah said, 'Take a fish and put it in a large basket and you will find him at the place where you will lose the fish.' Moses took a fish and put it in a basket and proceeded along with his (servant) boy, Yusha 'bin Nun, till they reached the rock where they laid their heads (i.e. lay down). Moses slept, and the fish, moving out of the basket, fell into the sea. It took its way into the sea (straight) as in a

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tunnel. Allah stopped the flow of water over the fish and it became like an arch (the Prophet pointed out this arch with his hands). They travelled the rest of the night, and the next day Moses said to his boy (servant), 'Give us our food, for indeed, we have suffered much fatigue in this journey of ours.' Moses did not feel tired till he crossed that place which Allah had ordered him to seek after. His boy (servant) said to him, 'Do you know that when we were sitting near that rock, I forgot the fish, and none but Satan caused me to forget to tell (you) about it, and it took its course into the sea in an amazing way?.' So there was a path for the fish and that astonished them. Moses said, 'That was what we were seeking after.' So, both of them retraced their footsteps till they reached the rock. There they saw a man Lying covered with a garment. Moses greeted him and he replied saying, 'How do people greet each other in your land?' Moses said, 'I am Moses.' The man asked, 'Moses of Bani Israel?' Moses said, 'Yes, I have come to you so that you may teach me from those things which Allah has taught you.' He said, 'O Moses! I have some of the Knowledge of Allah which Allah has taught me, and which you do not know, while you have some of the Knowledge of Allah which Allah has taught you and which I do not know.' Moses asked, 'May I follow you?' He said, 'But you will not be able to remain patient with me for how can you be patient about things which you will not be able to understand?' (Moses said, 'You will find me, if Allah so will, truly patient, and I will not disobey you in aught.') So, both of them set out walking along the sea-shore, a boat passed by them and they asked the crew of the boat to take them on board. The crew recognized Al-Khadir and so they took them on board without fare. When they were on board the boat, a sparrow came and stood on the edge of the boat and dipped its beak once or twice into the sea. Al-Khadir said to Moses, 'O Moses! My knowledge and your knowledge have not decreased Allah's Knowledge except as much as this sparrow has decreased the water of the sea with its beak.' Then suddenly Al-Khadir took an adze and plucked a plank, and Moses did not notice it till he had plucked a plank with the adze. Moses said to him, 'What have you done? They took us on board charging us nothing; yet you I have intentionally made a hole in their boat so as to drown its passengers. Verily, you have done a dreadful thing.' Al-Khadir replied, 'Did I not tell you that you would not be able to remain patient with me?' Moses replied, 'Do not blame me for what I have forgotten, and do not be hard upon me for my fault.' So the first excuse of Moses was that he had forgotten. When they had left the sea, they passed by a boy playing with other boys. Al-Khadir took hold of the boys head and plucked it with his hand like this. (Sufyan, the sub narrator pointed with his fingertips as if he was plucking some fruit.) Moses said to him, "Have you killed an innocent person who has not killed any person? You have really done a horrible thing." Al-Khadir said, "Did I not tell you that you could not remain patient with me?' Moses said "If I ask you about anything after this, don't accompany me. You have received an excuse from me.' Then both of them went on till they came to some people of a village, and they asked its inhabitant for wood but they refused to entertain them as guests. Then they saw therein a wall which was just going to collapse (and Al Khadir repaired it just by touching it with his hands). (Sufyan, the sub-narrator, pointed with his hands, illustrating how Al-Khadir passed his hands over the wall upwards.) Moses said, "These are the people whom we have called on, but they neither gave us food, nor entertained us as guests, yet you have repaired their wall. If you had wished, you could have taken wages for it." Al-Khadir said, "This is the parting between you and me, and I shall tell you the explanation of those things on which you could not remain patient." The Prophet added, "We wished that Moses could have remained patient by virtue of which Allah might have told us more about their story. (Sufyan the sub-narrator said that the Prophet said, "May Allah bestow His Mercy on Moses! If he had remained patient, we would have been told further about their case.")

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 614 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
The Prophet said, "Al-Khadir was named so because he sat over a barren white land, it turned green with plantation after (his sitting over it."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 615 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle said, "It was said to Bani Israel, Enter the gate (of the town) with humility (prostrating yourselves) and saying: "Repentance", but they changed the word and entered the town crawling on their buttocks and saying: "A wheat grain in the hair."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 616 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle said, "(The Prophet) Moses was a shy person and used to cover his body completely because of his extensive shyness. One of the children of Israel hurt him by saying, 'He covers his body in this way only because of some defect in his skin, either leprosy or scrotal hernia, or he has some other defect.' Allah wished to clear Moses of what they said about him, so one day while Moses was in seclusion, he took off his clothes and put them on a stone and started taking a bath. When he had finished the bath, he moved towards his clothes so as to take them, but the stone took his clothes and fled; Moses picked up his stick and ran after the stone saying, 'O stone! Give me my garment!' Till he reached a group of Bani Israel who saw him naked then, and found him the best of what Allah had created, and Allah cleared him of what they had accused him of. The stone stopped there and Moses took and put his garment on and started hitting the stone with his stick. By Allah, the stone still has some traces of the hitting, three, four or five marks. This was what Allah refers to in His Saying:-- "O you who believe! Be you not like those Who annoyed Moses, But Allah proved his innocence of that which they alleged, And he was honorable In Allah's Sight." (33.69)

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 617 :
Narrated by Abdullah
Once the Prophet distributed something (among his followers. A man said, "This distribution has not been done (with justice) seeking Allah's Countenance." I went to the Prophet and told him (of that). He became so angry that I saw the signs of anger oh his face. Then he said, "May Allah bestow His Mercy on Moses, for he was harmed more (in a worse manner) than this; yet he endured patiently."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 618 :
Narrated by Jabir bin Abdullah
We were with Allah's Apostle picking the fruits of the 'Arak trees, and Allah's Apostle said, "Pick the black fruit, for it is the best." The companions asked, "Were you a shepherd?" He replied, "There was no prophet who was not a shepherd."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 619 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
The Angel of Death was sent to Moses when he came to Moses, Moses slapped him on the eye. The angel returned to his Lord and said, "You have sent me to a Slave who does not want to die." Allah said, "Return to him and tell him to put his hand on the back of an ox and for every hair that will come under it, he will be granted one year of life." Moses said, "O Lord! What will happen after that?" Allah replied, "Then death." Moses said, "Let it come now." Moses then requested Allah to let him die close to the Sacred Land so much so that he would be at a distance of a stone's throw from it." Abu Huraira added, "Allah's Apostle said, 'If I were there, I would show you his grave below the red sand hill on the side of the road."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 620 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
A Muslim and a Jew quarreled. The Muslim taking an oath, said, "By Him Who has preferred Mohammed over all people...!" The Jew said, "By Him Who has preferred Moses, over all people." The Muslim raised his hand and slapped the Jew who came to the Prophet to tell him what had happened between him and the Muslim. The Prophet said, "Don't give me superiority over Moses, for the people will become unconscious (on the Day of Resurrection) and I will be the first to gain consciousness to see Moses standing and holding a side of Allah's Throne. I will not know if he has been among those people who have become unconscious; and that he has gained consciousness before me, or he has been amongst those whom Allah has exempted."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 621 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle said, "Adam and Moses argued with each other. Moses said to Adam. 'You are Adam whose mistake expelled you from Paradise.' Adam said to him, 'You are Moses whom Allah selected as His Messenger and as the one to whom He spoke directly; yet you blame me for a thing which had already been written in my fate before my creation?"' Allah's Apostle said twice, "So, Adam overpowered Moses."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 622 :
Narrated by Ibn Abbas
The Prophet once came to us and said, "All the nations were displayed in front of me, and I saw a large multitude of people covering the horizon. Somebody said, 'This is Moses and his followers.' "

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 623 :
Narrated by Abu Musa
Allah's Apostle said, "Many amongst men reached (the level of) perfection but none amongst the women reached this level except Asia, Pharaoh's wife, and Mary, the daughter of Imran. And no doubt, the superiority of Aisha to other women is like the superiority of Tharid (i.e. a meat and bread dish) to other meals."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 624 :
Narrated by Abdullah
The Prophet said, "None of you should say that I am better than Yunus (i.e. Jonah)." Musadded added, "Jonah bin Matta."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 625 :
Narrated by Ibn Abbas
The Prophet said, "No slave (of Allah) should say that I am better than Yunus bin Matta." So the Prophet mentioned his father's name with his name.

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 626 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
Once while a Jew was selling something, he was offered a price that he was not pleased with. So, he said, "No, by Him Who gave Moses superiority over all human beings!" Hearing him, an Ansari man got up and slapped him on the face and said, "You say: By Him Who Gave Moses superiority over all human beings although the Prophet (Mohammed) is present amongst us!" The Jew went to the Prophet and said, "O Abu-l-Qasim! I am under the assurance and contract of security, so what right does so-and-so have to slap me?" The Prophet asked the other, "Why have you slapped". He told him the whole story. The Prophet became angry, till anger appeared on his face, and said, "Don't give superiority to any prophet amongst Allah's Prophets, for when the trumpet will be blown, everyone on the earth and in the heavens will become unconscious except those whom Allah will exempt. The trumpet will be blown for the second time and I will be the first to be resurrected to see Moses holding Allah's Throne. I will not know whether the unconsciousness which Moses received on the Day of Tur has been sufficient for him, or has he got up before me. And I do not say that there is anybody who is better than Yunus bin Matta."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 627 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
The Prophet said, "None should say that I am better than Yunus bin Matta."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 628 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
The Prophet said, "The reciting of the Zabur (i.e. Psalms) was made easy for David. He used to order that his riding animals be saddled, and would finish reciting the Zabur before they were saddled. And he would never eat except from the earnings of his manual work."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 629 :
Narrated by Abdullah bin Amr
Allah's Apostle was informed that I have said: "By Allah, I will fast all the days and pray all the nights as long as I live." On that, Allah's Apostle asked me. "Are you the one who says: 'I will fast all the days and pray all the nights as long as I live?' " I said, "Yes, I have said it." He said, "You cannot do that. So fast (sometimes) and do not fast (sometimes). Pray and sleep. Fast for three days a month, for the reward of a good deed is multiplied by ten time, and so the fasting of three days a month equals the fasting of a year." I said, "O Allah's Apostle! I can do (fast) more than this." He said, "Fast on every third day. I said: I can do (fast) more than that, He said: "Fast on alternate days and this was the fasting of David which is the most moderate sort of fasting." I said, "O Allah's Apostle! I can do (fast) more than that." He said, "There is nothing better than that."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 630 :
Narrated by Abdullah bin Amr bin Al-As
The Prophet said to me, "I have been informed that you pray all the nights and observe fast all the days; is this true?" I replied, "Yes." He said, "If you do so, your eyes will become weak and you will get bored. So fast three days a month, for this will be the fasting of a whole year, or equal to the fasting of a whole year." I said, "I find myself able to fast more." He said, "Then fast like the fasting of (the Prophet) David who used to fast on alternate days and would not flee on facing the enemy."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 631 :
Narrated by Abdullah bin Amr
Allah's Apostle said to me, "The most beloved fasting to Allah was the fasting of (the Prophet) David who used to fast on alternate days. And the most beloved prayer to Allah was the prayer of David who used to sleep for (the first) half of the night and pray for 1/3 of it and (again) sleep for a sixth of it."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 632 :
Narrated by Mujahid
I asked Ibn Abbas, "Should we perform a prostration on reciting Surat-Sad?" He recited (the Sura) including: 'And among his progeny, David, Solomon..(up to)...so follow their guidance (6.84-91) And then he said, "Your Prophet is

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amongst those people who have been ordered to follow them (i.e. the preceding apostles).

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 633 :
Narrated by Ibn Abbas
The prostration in Sura-Sad is not amongst the compulsory prostrations, though I saw the Prophet prostrating on reciting The Statement of Allah: and to David We gave Solomon (for a son). How excellent (a) slave he was ever oft-returning in repentance (to us) (38.30) And His Statement: He said: My Lord Forgive me and grant me a kingdom such as shall not belong to any other after me.' (38.35) And His Statement: 'And they followed what the Devils gave out (falsely), of magic in the life-time of Solomon.' (2.102)

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 634 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
The Prophet said, "A strong demon from the Jinns came to me yesterday suddenly, so as to spoil my prayer, but Allah enabled me to overpower him, and so I caught him and intended to tie him to one of the pillars of the Mosque so that all of you might see him, but I remembered the invocation of my brother Solomon: 'And grant me a kingdom such as shall not belong to any other after me.' (38.35) so I let him go cursed."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 635 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
The Prophet said, "Solomon (the son of) David said, 'Tonight I will sleep with seventy ladies each of whom will conceive a child who will be a knight fighting for "Allah's Cause.' His companion said, 'If Allah will.' But Solomon did not say so; therefore none of those women got pregnant except one who gave birth to a half child." The Prophet further said, "If the Prophet Solomon had said it (i.e. 'If Allah will') he would have begotten children who would have fought in Allah's Cause." Shuaib and Ibn Abi Az-Zinad said, "Ninety (women) is more correct (than seventy)."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 636 :
Narrated by Abu Dhaar
I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Which mosque was built first?" He replied, "Al-Masjid-ul-Haram." I asked, "Which (was built) next?" He replied, "Al-Masjid-ul-Aqs-a (i.e. Jerusalem)." I asked, "What was the period in between them?" He replied, "Forty (years)." He then added, "Wherever the time for the prayer comes upon you, perform the prayer, for all the earth is a place of worshipping for you."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 637 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle said, "My example and the example o the people is like that of a person who lit a fire and let the moths, butterflies and these insects fall in it." He also said, "There were two women, each of whom had a child with her. A wolf came and took away the child of one of them, whereupon the other said, 'It has taken your child.' The first said, 'But it has taken your child.' So they both carried the case before David who judged that the living child be given to the elder lady. So both of them went to Solomon bin David and informed him (of the case). He said, 'Bring me a knife so as to cut the child into two pieces and distribute it between them.' The younger lady said, 'May Allah be merciful to you! Don't do that, for it is her (i.e. the other lady's) child.' So he gave the child to the younger lady."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 638 :
Narrated by Abdullah
When the Verse: 'Those who believe and mix not their belief with wrong." was revealed, the companions of the Prophet said, "Who amongst us has not mixed his belief with wrong?" Then Allah revealed: "Join none in worship with Allah, Verily joining others in worship with Allah is a great wrong indeed."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 639 :
Narrated by Abdullah
When the Verse: 'Those who believe and mix not their belief with wrong.' was revealed, the Muslims felt it very hard on them and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Who amongst us does not do wrong to himself?" He replied, "The Verse does not mean this. But that (wrong) means to associate others in worship to Allah: Don't you listen to what Luqman said to his son when he was advising him," O my son! Join not others in worship with Allah. Verily joining others in worship with Allah is a great wrong indeed." (31.13)

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 640 :
Narrated by Malik bin Sasaa
That the Prophet talked to them about the night of his Ascension to the Heavens. He said, "(Then Gabriel took me) and ascended up till he reached the second heaven where he asked for the gate to be opened, but it was asked, 'Who is it?' Gabriel replied, 'I am Gabriel.' It was asked, 'Who is accompanying you?' He replied, 'Mohammed.' It was asked, 'Has he been called?' He said, 'Yes.' When we reached over the second heaven, I saw Yahya (i.e. John) and Jesus who were cousins. Gabriel said, 'These are John (Yahya) and Jesus, so greet them.' I greeted them and they returned the greeting saying, 'Welcome, O Pious Brother and Pious Prophet!' "

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 641 :
Narrated by Said bin Al-Musaiyab
Abu Huraira said, "I heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'There is none born among the off-spring of Adam, but Satan touches it. A child therefore, cries loudly at the time of birth because of the touch of Satan, except Mary and her child." Then Abu Huraira recited: "And I seek refuge with You for her and for her offspring from the outcast Satan" (3.36)

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 642 :
Narrated by Ali
I heard the Prophet saying, "Mary, the daughter of Imran, was the best among the women (of the world of her time) and Khadija is the best amongst the women. (of this nation)."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 643 :
Narrated by Abu Musa Al-Ashari
The Prophet said, "The superiority of Aisha to other ladies is like the superiority of Tharid (i.e. meat and bread dish) to other meals. Many men reached the level of perfection, but no woman reached such a level except Mary, the daughter of Imran and Asia, the wife of Pharaoh." Narrated Abu Huraira: I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "Amongst all those women who ride camels (i.e. Arabs), the ladies of Quraish are the best. They are merciful and kind to their off-spring and the best guardians of their husbands' properties.' Abu Huraira added, "Mary the daughter of Imran never rode a camel."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 644 :
Narrated by 'Ubada
The Prophet said, "If anyone testifies that None has the right to be worshipped but Allah Alone Who has no partners, and that Mohammed is His Slave and His Apostle, and that Jesus is Allah's Slave and His Apostle and His Word which He bestowed on Mary and a Spirit created by Him, and that Paradise is true, and Hell is true, Allah will admit him into Paradise with the deeds which he had done even if those deeds were few." (Junada, the sub-narrator said, " 'Ubada added, 'Such a person can enter Paradise through any of its eight gates he likes.")

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 645 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
The Prophet said, "None spoke in cradle but three: (The first was) Jesus, (the second was), there a man from Bani Israel called Juraij. While he was offering his prayers, his mother came and called him. He said (to himself), 'Shall I answer her or keep on praying?" (He went on praying) and did not answer her, his mother said, "O Allah! Do not let him die till he sees the faces of prostitutes." So while he was in his hermitage, a lady came and sought to seduce him, but he refused. So she went to a shepherd and presented herself to him to commit illegal sexual intercourse with her and then later she gave birth to a child and claimed that it belonged to Juraij. The people, therefore, came to him and dismantled his hermitage and expelled him out of it and abused him. Juraij performed the ablution and offered prayer, and then came to the child and said, 'O child! Who is your father?' The child replied, 'The shepherd.' (After hearing this) the people said, 'We shall rebuild your hermitage of gold,' but he said, 'No, of nothing but mud.'(The third was the hero of the following story) A lady from Bani Israel was nursing her child at her breast when a handsome rider passed by her. She said, 'O Allah ! Make my child like him.' On that the child left her breast, and facing the rider said, 'O Allah! Do not make me like him.' The child then started to suck her breast again. (Abu Huraira further said, "As if I were now looking at the Prophet sucking his finger (in way of demonstration.") After a while the people passed by, with a lady slave and she (i.e. the child's mother) said, 'O Allah! Do not make my child like this (slave girl)!, On that the child left her breast and said, 'O Allah! Make me like her.' When she asked why, the child replied, 'The rider is one of the tyrants while this slave girl is falsely accused of theft and illegal sexual intercourse."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 646 :
Narrated by Hisham
From Ma'mar as below.

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 647 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
The Prophet said, "I met Moses on the night of my Ascension to heaven." The Prophet then described him saying, as I think, "He was a tall person with lank hair as if he belonged to the people of the tribe of Shanu's.' The Prophet further said, "I met Jesus." The Prophet described him saying, "He was one of moderate height and was red-faced as if he had just come out of a bathroom. I saw Abraham whom I resembled more than any of his children did." The Prophet further said, "(That night) I was given two cups; one full of milk and the other full of wine. I was asked to take either of them which I liked, and I took the milk and drank it. On that it was said to me, 'You have taken the right path (religion). If you had taken the wine, your (Muslim) nation would have gone astray."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 648 :
Narrated by Ibn Umar
The Prophet said, "I saw Moses, Jesus and Abraham (on the night of my Ascension to the heavens). Jesus was of red complexion, curly hair and a broad chest. Moses was of brown complexion, straight hair and tall stature as if he was from the people of Az-Zutt."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 649 :
Narrated by Abdullah
The Prophet mentioned the Massiah Ad-Dajjal in front of the people saying, Allah is not one eyed while Messsiah, Ad-Dajjal is blind in the right eye and his eye looks like a bulging out grape. While sleeping near the Kaaba last night, I saw in my dream a man of brown color the best one can see amongst brown color and his hair was long that it fell between his shoulders. His hair was lank and water was dribbling from his head and he was placing his hands on the shoulders of two men while circumambulating the Kaba. I asked, 'Who is this?' They replied, 'This is Jesus, son of Mary.' Behind him I saw a man who had very curly hair and was blind in the right eye, resembling Ibn Qatan (i.e. an infidel) in appearance. He was placing his hands on the shoulders of a person while performing Tawaf around the Kaaba. I asked, 'Who is this? 'They replied, 'The Masih, Ad-Dajjal.' "

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 650 :
Narrated by Salim from his father
No, By Allah, the Prophet did not tell that Jesus was of red complexion but said, "While I was asleep circumambulating the Kaaba (in my dream), suddenly I saw a man of brown complexion and lank hair walking between two men, and water was dropping from his head. I asked, 'Who is this?' The people said, 'He is the son of Mary.' Then I looked behind and I saw a red-complexioned, fat, curly-haired man, blind in the right eye which looked like a bulging out grape. I asked, 'Who is this?' They replied, 'He is Ad-Dajjal.' The one who resembled to him among the people, was Ibn Qatar." (Az-Zuhri said, "He (i.e. Ibn Qatan) was a man from the tribe Khuza'a who died in the pre-Islamic period.")

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 651 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "I am the nearest of all the people to the son of Mary, and all the prophets are paternal brothers, and there has been no prophet between me and him (i.e. Jesus)."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 652 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle said, "Both in this world and in the Hereafter, I am the nearest of all the people to Jesus, the son of Mary. The prophets are paternal brothers; their mothers are different, but their religion is one."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 653 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
The Prophet said, "Jesus, seeing a man stealing, asked him, 'Did you steal?, He said, 'No, by Allah, except Whom there is None who has the right to be worshipped' Jesus said, 'I believe in Allah and suspect my eyes."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 654 :
Narrated by Umar
I heard the Prophet saying, "Do not exaggerate in praising me as the Christians praised the son of Mary, for I am only a Slave. So, call me the Slave of Allah and His Apostle."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 655 :
Narrated by Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari
Allah's Apostle said, "If a person teaches his slave girl good manners properly, educates her properly, and then manumits and marries her, he will get a double reward. And if a man believes in Jesus and then believes in me, he will get a double reward. And if a slave fears his Lord (i.e. Allah) and obeys his masters, he too will get a double reward."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 656 :
Narrated by Ibn Abbas
Allah's Apostle said, "You will be resurrected (and assembled) bare-footed, naked and uncircumcised." The Prophet then recited the Divine Verse:-- "As We began the first creation, We shall repeat it: A promise We have undertaken. Truly we shall do it." (21.104) He added, "The first to be dressed will be Abraham. Then some of my companions will take to the right and to the left. I will say:

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'My companions! 'It will be said, 'They had been renegades since you left them.' I will then say what the Pious Slave Jesus, the son of Mary said: 'And I was a witness over them while I dwelt amongst them; when You did take me up, You were the Watcher over them, and You are a Witness to all things. If You punish them, they are Your slaves, and if you forgive them, You, only You are the All-Mighty the All-Wise.' " (5.117-118) Narrated Quaggas, "Those were the apostates who renegade from Islam during the Caliphate of Abu Bakr who fought them".

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 657 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle said, "By Him in Whose Hands my soul is, surely (Jesus,) the son of Mary will soon descend amongst you and will judge mankind justly (as a Just Ruler); he will break the Cross and kill the pigs and there will be no Jizya (i.e. taxation taken from non Muslims). Money will be in abundance so that nobody will accept it, and a single prostration to Allah (in prayer) will be better than the whole world and whatever is in it." Abu Huraira added "If you wish, you can recite (this verse of the Holy Book): 'And there is none Of the people of the Scriptures (Jews and Christians) But must believe in him (i.e Jesus as an Apostle of Allah and a human being) Before his death. And on the Day of Judgement He will be a witness Against them." (4.159) (See Fateh Al Bari, Page 302 Vol 7)

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 658 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle said "How will you be when the son of Mary (i.e. Jesus) descends amongst you and he will judge people by the Law of the Koran and not by the law of Gospel (Fateh-ul Bari page 304 and 305 Vol 7)

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 56:
Virtues and Merits of the Prophet (pbuh) and his Companions

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 659:
Narrated Rabi bin Hirash:
Uqba bin Amr said to Hudhaifa, "Won't you relate to us of what you have heard from Allah's Apostle ?" He said, "I heard him saying, "When Al-Dajjal appears, he will have fire and water along with him. What the people will consider as cold water, will be fire that will burn (things). So, if anyone of you comes across this, he should fall in the thing which will appear to him as fire, for in reality, it will be fresh cold water." Hudhaifa added, "I also heard him saying, 'From among the people preceding your generation, there was a man whom the angel of death visited to capture his soul. (So his soul was captured) and he was asked if he had done any good deed.' He replied, 'I don't remember any good deed.' He was asked to think it over. He said, 'I do not remember, except that I used to trade with the people in the world and I used to give a respite to the rich and forgive the poor (among my debtors). So Allah made him enter Paradise." Hudhaifa further said, "I also heard him saying, 'Once there was a man on his death-bed, who, losing every hope of surviving said to his family: When I die, gather for me a large heap of wood and make a fire (to burn me). When the fire eats my meat and reaches my bones, and when the bones burn, take and crush them into powder and wait for a windy day to throw it (i.e. the powder) over the sea. They did so, but Allah collected his particles and asked him:
Why did you do so? He replied: For fear of You. So Allah forgave him." Uqba bin Amr said, "I heard him saying that the Israeli used to dig the grave of the dead (to steal their shrouds)."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 660:
Narrated Aisha and Ibn Abbas:
On his death-bed Allah's Apostle put a sheet over his-face and when he felt hot, he would remove it from his face. When in that state (of putting and removing the sheet) he said, "May Allah's Curse be on the Jews and the Christians for they build places of worship at the graves of their prophets." (By that) he intended to warn (the Muslim) from what they (i.e. Jews and Christians) had done.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 661:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The Israelis used to be ruled and guided by prophets: Whenever a prophet died, another would take over his place. There will be no prophet after me, but there will be Caliphs who will increase in number." The people asked, "O Allah's Apostle! What do you order us (to do)?" He said, "Obey the one who will be given the pledge of allegiance first. Fulfil their (i.e. the Caliphs) rights, for Allah will ask them about (any shortcoming) in ruling those Allah has put under their guardianship."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 662:
Narrated Abu Said:
The Prophet said, "You will follow the wrong ways, of your predecessors so completely and literally that if they should go into the hole of a mastigure, you too will go there." We said, "O Allah's Apostle! Do you mean the Jews and the Christians?" He replied, "Whom else?" (Meaning, of course, the Jews and the Christians.)

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 663:
Narrated Anas:
The people mentioned the fire and the bell (as means proposed for announcing the time of prayer) and by such a suggestion they referred to the Jews and the Christians. But Bilal was ordered, "Pronounce the words of the Adhan (i.e. call for the prayer) twice and the Iqama once only."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 664:
Narrated Aisha:
That she used to hate that one should keep his hands on his flanks while praying. She said that the Jew used to do so.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 665:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "Your period (i.e. the Muslims' period) in comparison to the periods of the previous nations, is like the period between the Asr prayer and sunset. And your example in comparison to the Jews and the Christians is like the example of a person who employed some laborers and asked them, 'Who will work for me till midday for one Qirat each?' The Jews worked for half a day for one Qirat each. The person asked, 'Who will do the work for me from midday to the time of the Asr (prayer) for one Qirat each?' The Christians worked from midday till the Asr prayer for one Qirat. Then the person asked, 'Who will do the work for me from the Asr till sunset for two Qirats each?' " The Prophet added, "It is you (i.e. Muslims) who are doing the work from the Asr till sunset, so you will have a double reward. The Jews and the Christians got angry and said, 'We have done more work but got less wages.' Allah said, 'Have I been unjust to you as regards your rights?' They said, 'No.' So Allah said, 'Then it is My Blessing which I bestow on whomever I like. "

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 666:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
I heard Umar saying, "May Allah Curse so-and-so! Doesn't he know that the Prophet said, 'May Allah curse the Jews for, though they were forbidden (to eat) fat, they liquefied it and sold it. "

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 667:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
The Prophet said, "Convey (my teachings) to the people even if it were a single sentence, and tell others the stories of Bani Israel (which have been taught to you), for it is not sinful to do so. And whoever tells a lie on me intentionally, will surely take his place in the (Hell) Fire."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 668:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The Jews and the Christians do not dye (their grey hair), so you shall do the opposite of what they do (i.e. dye your grey hair and beards)."
Volume 4, Book 56, Number 669:
Narrated Jundub:
Allah's Apostle said, "Amongst the nations before you there was a man who got a wound, and growing impatient (with its pain), he took a knife and cut his hand with it and the blood did not stop till he died. Allah said, 'My Slave hurried to bring death upon himself so I have forbidden him (to enter) Paradise.' "

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 670:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
that he heard Allah's Apostle saying, "Allah willed to test three Israelis who were a Leper, a blind man and a bald-headed man. So, he sent them an angel who came to the leper and said, 'What thing do you like most?' He replied, "Good color and good skin, for the people have a strong aversion to me.' The angel touched him and his illness was cured, and he was given a good color and beautiful skin. The angel asked him, 'What kind of property do you like best?' He replied, 'Camels (or cows).' (The narrator is in doubt, for either the leper or the bald-headed man demanded camels and the other demanded cows.) So he (i.e. the leper) was given a pregnant she-camei, and the angel said (to him), 'May Allah bless you in it.'
The angel then went to the bald-headed man and said, 'What thing do you like most?' He said, 'I like good hair and wish to be cured of this disease, for the people feel repulsion for me.' The angel touched him and his illness was cured, and he was given good hair. The angel asked (him), 'What kind of property do you like bests' He replied, 'Cows,' The angel gave him a pregnant cow and said, 'May Allah bless you in it.' The angel went to the blind man and asked, 'What thing do you like best?' He said, '(I like) that Allah may restore my eye-sight to me so that I may see the people.' The angel touched his eyes and Allah gave him back his eye-sight. The angel asked him, "What kind of property do you like best?' He replied, 'Sheep.' The angel gave him a pregnant sheep. Afterwards, all the three pregnant animals gave birth to young ones, and multiplied and brought forth so much that one of the (three) men had a herd of camels filling a valley, and one had a herd of cows filling a valley, and one had a flock of sheep filling a valley. Then the angel, disguised in the shape and appearance of a leper, went to the leper and said, I am a poor man, who has lost all means of livelihood while on a journey. So none will satisfy my need except Allah and then you. In the Name of Him Who has given you such nice color and beautiful skin, and so much property, I ask you to give me a camel so that I may reach my destination. The man replied, 'I have many obligations (so I cannot give you).' The angel said, 'I think I know you; were you not a leper to whom the people had a strong aversion? Weren't you a poor man, and then Allah gave you (all this property).' He replied, '(This is all wrong), I got this property through inheritance from my fore-fathers' The angel said, 'If you are telling a lie, then let Allah make you as you were before. '
Then the angel, disguised in the shape and appearance of a bald man, went to the bald man and said to him the same as he told the first one, and he too answered the same as the first one did. The angel said, 'If you are telling a lie, then let Allah make you as you were before.'
The angel, disguised in the shape of a blind man, went to the blind man and said, 'I am a poor man and a traveler, whose means of livelihood have been exhausted while on a journey. I have nobody to help me except Allah, and after Him, you yourself. I ask you in the Name of Him Who has given you back your eye-sight to give me a sheep, so that with its help, I may complete my journey' The man said, 'No doubt, I was blind and Allah gave me back my eye-sight; I was poor and Allah made me rich; so take anything you wish from my property. By Allah, I will not stop you for taking anything (you need) of my property which you may take for Allah's sake.' The angel replied, 'Keep your property with you. You (i.e 3 men) have been tested and Allah is pleased with you and is angry with your two companions."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 671:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "Once three persons (from the previous nations) were traveling, and suddenly it started raining and they took shelter in a cave. The entrance of the cave got closed while they were inside. They said to each other, 'O you! Nothing can save you except the truth, so each of you should ask Allah's Help by referring to such a deed as he thinks he did sincerely (i.e. just for gaining Allah's Pleasure).' So one of them said, 'O Allah! You know that I had a laborer who worked for me for one Faraq (i.e. three Sas) of rice, but he departed, leaving it (i.e. his wages). I sowed that Faraq of rice and with its yield I bought cows (for him). Later on when he came to me asking for his wages, I said (to him), 'Go to those cows and drive them away.' He said to me, 'But you have to pay me only a Faraq of rice,' I said to him, 'Go to those cows and take them, for they are the product of that Faraq (of rice).' So he drove them. O Allah! If you consider that I did that for fear of You, then please remove the rock.' The rock shifted a bit from the mouth of the cave. The second one said, 'O Allah, You know that I had old parents whom I used to provide with the milk of my sheep every night. One night I was delayed and when I came, they had slept, while my wife and children were crying with hunger. I used not to let them (i.e. my family) drink unless my parents had drunk first. So I disliked to wake them up and also disliked that they should sleep without drinking it, I kept on waiting (for them to wake) till it dawned. O Allah! If You consider that I did that for fear of you, then please remove the rock.' So the rock shifted and they could see the sky through it. The (third) one said, 'O Allah! You know that I had a cousin (i.e. my paternal uncle's daughter) who was most beloved to me and I sought to seduce her, but she refused, unless I paid her one-hundred Dinars (i.e. gold pieces). So I collected the amount and brought it to her, and she allowed me to sleep with her. But when I sat between her legs, she said, 'Be afraid of Allah, and do not deflower me but legally. 'I got up and left the hundred Dinars (for her). O Allah! If You consider that I did that for fear of you than please remove the rock. So Allah saved them and they came out (of the cave)." (This Hadith indicates that one can only ask Allah for help directly or through his performed good deeds. But to ask Allah through dead or absent prophets, saints, spirits, holy men, angels etc. is absolutely forbidden in Islam and it is a kind of disbelief.)

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 672:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
That he heard Allah's Apostle saying, "While a lady was nursing her child, a rider passed by and she said, 'O Allah! Don't let my child die till he becomes like this (rider).' The

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child said, 'O Allah! Don't make me like him,' and then returned to her breast (sucking it). (After a while) they passed by a lady who was being pulled and teased (by the people). The child's mother said, 'O Allah! Do not make my child like her.' The child said, 'O Allah! Make me like her.' Then he said, 'As for the rider, he is an infidel, while the lady is accused of illegal sexual intercourse (falsely) and she says: Allah is sufficient for me (He knows the truth)."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 673:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "While a dog was going round a well and was about to die of thirst, an Israeli prostitute saw it and took off her shoe and watered it. So Allah forgave her because of that good deed."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 674:
Narrated Humaid bin Abdur-Rahman:
That he heard Muawiya bin Abi Sufyan (talking) on the pulpit in the year when he performed the Hajj. He took a tuft of hair that was in the hand of an orderly and said, "O people of Medina! Where are your learned men? I heard the Prophet forbidding such a thing as this (i.e. false hair) and he used to say, 'The Israelis were destroyed when their ladies practiced this habit (of using false hair to lengthen their locks)."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 675:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Amongst the people preceding you there used to be 'Muhaddithun' (i.e. persons who can guess things that come true later on, as if those persons have been inspired by a divine power), and if there are any such persons amongst my followers, it is Umar bin Al-Khattab."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 676:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
The Prophet said, "Amongst the men of Bani Israel there was a man who had murdered ninety-nine persons. Then he set out asking (whether his repentance could be accepted or not). He came upon a monk and asked him if his repentance could be accepted. The monk replied in the negative and so the man killed him. He kept on asking till a man advised to go to such and such village. (So he left for it) but death overtook him on the way. While dying, he turned his chest towards that village (where he had hoped his repentance would be accepted), and so the angels of mercy and the angels of punishment quarrelled amongst themselves regarding him. Allah ordered the village (towards which he was going) to come closer to him, and ordered the village (whence he had come), to go far away, and then He ordered the angels to measure the distances between his body and the two villages. So he was found to be one span closer to the village (he was going to). So he was forgiven."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 677:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Once Allah's Apostle; offered the morning prayer and then faced the people and said, "While a man was driving a cow, he suddenly rode over it and beat it. The cow said, "We have not been created for this, but we have been created for sloughing." On that the people said astonishingly, "Glorified be Allah! A cow speaks!" The Prophet said, "I believe this, and Abu Bakr and Umar too, believe it, although neither of them was present there. While a person was amongst his sheep, a wolf attacked and took one of the sheep. The man chased the wolf till he saved it from the wolf, where upon the wolf said, 'You have saved it from me; but who will guard it on the day of the wild beasts when there will be no shepherd to guard them except me (because of riots and afflictions)? ' " The people said surprisingly, "Glorified be Allah! A wolf speaks!" The Prophet said, "But I believe this, and Abu Bakr and Umar too, believe this, although neither of them was present there." (See the Foot-note of page No. 10 Vol.5)

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 678:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "A man bought a piece of and from another man, and the buyer found an earthenware jar filled with gold in the land. The buyer said to the seller. 'Take your gold, as I have bought only the land from you, but I have not bought the gold from you.' The (former) owner of the land said, "I have sold you the land with everything in it.' So both of them took their case before a man who asked, 'Do you have children?' One of them said, "I have a boy.' The other said, "I have a girl.' The man said, 'Marry the girl to the boy and spend the money on both of them and give the rest of it in charity.' "

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 679:
Narrated Usama bin Zaid:
Allah's Apostle said, "Plague was a means of torture sent on a group of Israelis (or on some people before you). So if you hear of its spread in a land, don't approach it, and if a plague should appear in a land where you are present, then don't leave that land in order to run away from it (i.e. plague)."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 680:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) I asked Allah's Apostle about the plague. He told me that it was a Punishment sent by Allah on whom he wished, and Allah made it a source of mercy for the believers, for if one in the time of an epidemic plague stays in his country patiently hoping for Allah's Reward and believing that nothing will befall him except what Allah has written for him, he will get the reward of a martyr."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 681:
Narrated Aisha:
The people of Quraish worried about the lady from Bani Makhzum who had committed theft. They asked, "Who will intercede for her with Allah's Apostle?" Some said, "No one dare to do so except Usama bin Zaid the beloved one to Allah's Apostle ." When Usama spoke about that to Allah's Apostle Allah's Apostle said, (to him), "Do you try to intercede for somebody in a case connected with Allah's Prescribed Punishments?" Then he got up and delivered a sermon saying, "What destroyed the nations preceding you, was that if a noble amongst them stole, they would forgive him, and if a poor person amongst them stole, they would inflict Allah's Legal punishment on him. By Allah, if Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed stole, I would cut off her hand."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 682:
Narrated Ibn Mas'ud:
I heard a person reciting a (Koranic) Verse in a certain way, and I had heard the Prophet reciting the same Verse in a different way. So I took him to the Prophet and informed him of that but I noticed the sign of disapproval on his face, and then he said, "Both of you are correct, so don't differ, for the nations before you differed, so they were destroyed."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 683:
Narrated Abdullah:
As if I saw the Prophet talking about one of the prophets whose nation had beaten him and caused him to bleed, while he was cleaning the blood off his face and saying, "O Allah! Forgive my nation, for they have no knowledge."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 684:
Narrated Abu Sa'id:
The Prophet said, "Amongst the people preceding your age, there was a man whom Allah had given a lot of money. While he was in his death-bed, he called his sons and said, 'What type of father have I been to you? They replied, 'You have been a good father.' He said, 'I have never done a single good deed; so when I die, burn me, crush my body, and scatter the resulting ashes on a windy day.' His sons did accordingly, but Allah gathered his particles and asked (him), 'What made you do so?' He replied, "Fear of you.' So Allah bestowed His Mercy upon him. (forgave him)."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 685:
Narrated Ribi bin Hirash:
Uqba said to Hudhaifa, "Won't you narrate to us what you heard from Allah's Apostle ?" Hudhaifa said, "I heard him saying, 'Death approached a man and when he had no hope of surviving, he said to his family, 'When I die, gather for me much wood and build a fire (to burn me),. When the fire has eaten my flesh and reached my bones, take the bones and grind them and scatter the resulting powder in the sea on a hot (or windy) day.' (That was done.) But Allah collected his particles and asked (him), 'Why did you do so?' He replied, 'For fear of You.' So Allah forgave him."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 686:
Narrated 'Abdu Malik:
as above, saying, "On a windy day."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 687:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "A man used to give loans to the people and used to say to his servant, 'If the debtor is poor, forgive him, so that Allah may forgive us.' So when he met Allah (after his death), Allah forgave him."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 688:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "A man used to do sinful deeds, and when death came to him, he said to his sons, 'After my death, burn me and then crush me, and scatter the powder in the air, for by Allah, if Allah has control over me, He will give me such a punishment as He has never given to anyone else.' When he died, his sons did accordingly. Allah ordered the earth saying, 'Collect what you hold of his particles.' It did so, and behold! There he was (the man) standing. Allah asked (him), 'What made you do what you did?' He replied, 'O my Lord! I was afraid of You.' So Allah forgave him. " Another narrator said "The man said, Fear of You, O Lord!"

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 689:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "A lady was punished because of a cat which she had imprisoned till it died. She entered the (Hell) Fire because of it, for she neither gave it food nor water as she had imprisoned it, nor set it free to eat from the vermin of the earth."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 690:
Narrated Abu Masud Uqba:
The Prophet said, "One of the sayings of the prophets which the people have got, is. 'If you do not feel ashamed, then do whatever you like."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 691:
Narrated Abu Mus'ud:
The Prophet said, "One of the sayings of the prophets which the people have got is, 'If you do not feel ashamed, then do whatever you like."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 692:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "While a man was walking, dragging his dress with pride, he was caused to be swallowed by the earth and will go on sinking in it till the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 693:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "We are the last (to come) but we will be the foremost on the Day of Resurrection, nations were given the Book (i.e. Scripture) before us, and we were given the Holy Book after them. This (i.e. Friday) is the day about which they differed. So the next day (i.e. Saturday) was prescribed for the Jews and the day after it (i.e. Sunday) for the Christians. It is incumbent on every Muslim to wash his head and body on a Day (i.e. Friday) (at least) in every seven days."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 694:
Narrated Said bin Al-Musaiyab:
When Muawiya bin Abu Sufyan came to Medina for the last time, he delivered a sermon before us. He took out a tuft of hair and said, "I never thought that someone other than the Jews would do such a thing (i.e. use false hair). The Prophet named such a practice, Az-Zur' (i.e. falsehood)," meaning the use of false hair.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 695:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Regarding the Verse: 'And (We) made you into Shu'ub and Qabail-- (49.13) that Shu'uib means the big Qabail (i.e. nations) while the Qabail (i.e. tribes) means the branch tribes.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 696:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Once Allah's Apostle was asked, "Who is the most honorable amongst the people?" He said, "The most righteous (i.e. Allah-fearing) amongst you." They said, "We do not ask you about this." He said, "Then Joseph, the prophet of Allah."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 697:
Narrated Kulaib bin Wail:
I asked Zainab bint Abi Salama (i.e. daughter of the wife of the Prophet, "Tell me about the Prophet . Did he belong to the tribe of Mudar?" She replied, "Yes, he belonged to the tribe of Mudar and was from the offspring of An-Nadr bin Kinana."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 698:
Narrated Kulaib:
I was told by the Rabiba (i.e. daughter of the wife of the Prophet) who, I think, was Zainab, that the Prophet (forbade the utensils (of wine called) Ad-Dubba, Al-Hantam, Al-Muqaiyar and Al-Muzaffat. I said to her, 'Tell me as to which tribe the Prophet belonged; was he from the tribe of Mudar?' She replied, "He belonged to the tribe of Mudar and was from the offspring of An-Nadr bin Kinana. "

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 699:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "You see that the people are of different natures. Those who were the best in the pre-Islamic period, are also the best in Islam if they comprehend religious knowledge. You see that the best amongst the people in this respect (i.e. ambition of ruling) are those who hate it most. And you see that the worst among people is the double faced (person) who appears to these with one face and to the others with another face (i.e a hypocrite)."

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Volume 4, Book 56, Number 700:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The tribe of Quraish has precedence over the people in this connection (i.e the right of ruling). The Muslims follow the Muslims amongst them, and the infidels follow the infidels amongst them. People are of different natures: The best amongst them in the pre-lslamic period are the best in Islam provided they comprehend the religious knowledge. You will find that the best amongst the people in this respect (i.e. of ruling) is he who hates it (i.e. the idea of ruling) most, till he is given the pledge of allegiance."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 701:
Narrated Tawus:
Ibn Abbas recited the Koranic Verse:--'Except to be kind to me for my kin-ship to you--" (42.23) Said bin Jubair said, "(The Verse implies) the kinship of Mohammed." Ibn Abbas said, "There was not a single house (i.e. sub-tribe) of Quraish but had a kinship to the Prophet and so the above Verse was revealed in this connection, and its interpretation is: 'O Quraish! You should keep good relation between me (i.e. Mohammed) and you."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 702:
Narrated Abi Mas'ud:
The Prophet said, "From this side from the east, afflictions will appear. Rudeness and lack of mercy are characteristics of the rural bedouins who are busy with their camels and cows (and pay no attention to religion). Such are the tribes of Rabi'a and Mudar."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 703:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "Pride and arrogance are characteristics of the rural bedouins while calmness is found among the owners of sheep. Belief is Yemenite, and wisdom is also Yemenite i.e. the Yemenites are well-known for their true belief and wisdom)." Abu Abdullah (Al-Bukhari) said, "Yemen was called so because it is situated to the right of the Kaaba, and Sham was called so because it is situated to the left of the Kaaba."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 704:
Narrated Mohammed bin Jubair bin Mut'im:
That while he was with a delegation from Quraish to Muawiya, the latter heard the news that Abdullah bin Amr bin Al-'As said that there would be a king from the tribe of Qahtan. On that Muawiya became angry, got up and then praised Allah as He deserved, and said, "Now then, I have heard that some men amongst you narrate things which are neither in the Holy Book, nor have been told by Allah's Apostle. Those men are the ignorant amongst you. Beware of such hopes as make the people go astray, for I heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'Authority of ruling will remain with Quraish, and whoever bears hostility to them, Allah will destroy him as long as they abide by the laws of the religion.' "

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 705:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "Authority of ruling will remain with Quraish, even if only two of them remained."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 706:
Narrated Jubair bin Mut'im:
Uthman bin Affan went (to the Prophet) and said, "O Allah's Apostle! You gave property to Bani Al-Muttalib and did not give us, although we and they are of the same degree of relationship to you." The Prophet said, "Only Bani Hashim and Bani Al Muttalib are one thing (as regards family status)."
Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair: Abdullah bin Az-Zubair went with some women of the tribe of Bani Zuhra to Aisha who used to treat them nicely because of their relation to Allah's Apostle.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 707:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The tribe of Quraish, the Ansar, the (people of the tribe of) Julhaina, Muzaina, Aslam, Ashja', and Ghifar are my disciples and have no protectors except Allah and His Apostle."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 708:
Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair:
Abdullah bin Az-Zubair was the most beloved person to Aisha excluding the Prophet and Abu Bakr, and he in his turn, was the most devoted to her, Aisha used not to withhold the money given to her by Allah, but she used to spend it in charity. (Abdullah) bin AzZubair said, " Aisha should be stopped from doing so." (When Aisha heard this), she said protestingly, "Shall I be stopped from doing so? I vow that I will never talk to Abdullah bin Az-Zubair." On that, Ibn Az-Zubair asked some people from Quraish and particularly the two uncles of Allah's Apostle to intercede with her, but she refused (to talk to him). Az-Zuhriyun, the uncles of the Prophet, including Abdur-Rahman bin Al-Aswad bin 'Abd Yaghuth and Al-Miswar bin Makhrama said to him, "When we ask for the permission to visit her, enter her house along with us (without taking her leave)." He did accordingly (and she accepted their intercession). He sent her ten slaves whom she manumitted as an expiation for (not keeping) her vow. Aisha manumitted more slaves for the same purpose till she manumitted forty slaves. She said, "I wish I had specified what I would have done in case of not fulfilling my vow when I made the vow, so that I might have done it easily."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 709:
Narrated Anas:
Uthman called Zaid bin Thabit, Abdullah bin Az-Zubair, Said bin Al-'As and AbdurRahman bin Al-Harith bin Hisham, and then they wrote the manuscripts of the Holy Koran in the form of book in several copies. Uthman said to the three Quraishi persons. " If you differ with Zaid bin Thabit on any point of the Koran, then write it in the language of Quraish, as the Koran was revealed in their language." So they acted accordingly. (Said bin Thabit was an Ansari and not from Quraish).

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 710:
Narrated Salama:
Allah's Apostle passed by some people from the tribe of Aslam practicing archery. He said, "O children of Ishmael! Throw (arrows), for your father was an archer. I am on the side of Bani so-and-so," meaning one of the two teams. The other team stopped throwing, whereupon the Prophet said, "What has happened to them?" They replied, "How shall we throw while you are with Bani so-and-so?" He said, "Throw for I am with all of you."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 711:
Narrated Abu Dhar:
The Prophet said, "If somebody claims to be the son of any other than his real father knowingly, he but disbelieves in Allah, and if somebody claims to belong to some folk to whom he does not belong, let such a person take his place in the (Hell) Fire."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 712:
Narrated Wathila bin Al-Asqa:
Allah's Apostle said, "Verily, one of the worst lies is to claim falsely to be the son of someone other than one's real father, or to claim to have had a dream one has not had, or to attribute to me what I have not said."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 713:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The delegates of 'Abd-ul-Qais came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! We are from the tribe of Rabi'a and the infidels of Mudar tribe stand between us and you, so that we cannot come to you except in the Sacred Months. Therefore we would like you to give us some instructions which we may follow and convey to our people staying behind us." The Prophet said, "I order you to observe four things and forbid you (to do) four things: (I order you) to believe in Allah testifying that None has the right to be worshipped except Allah; to offer the prayer perfectly; to pay the Zakat; and to give one-fifth of the war booty to Allah. And I forbid you to use Ad-Dubba, Al-Hantam, An-Naqir and Al-Muzaffat." (These are names of utensils in which alcoholic drinks were served.)
Volume 4, Book 56, Number 714:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
I heard Allah's Apostle on the pulpit saying, "Verily, afflictions (will start) from here," pointing towards the east, "whence the side of the head of Satan comes out."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 715:
Narrated Abu Huraira: The Prophet said, "The tribes of Quraish, Al-Ansar, Juhaina, Muzaina, Aslam, Ghifar and Ashja' are my helpers, and they have no protector (i.e. Master) except Allah and His Apostle."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 716:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
While Allah's Apostle was on the pulpit, he said, "May Allah give the tribe of Ghifar! And may Allah save the tribe of Aslam! The tribe of 'Usaiya have disobeyed Allah and His Apostle."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 717:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "May Allah save the tribe of Aslam, and may Allah forgive the tribe of Ghifar!"

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 718:
Narrated Abu Bakra:
The Prophet said, "Do you think that the tribes of Juhaina, Muzaina, Aslam and Ghifar are better than the tribes of Bani Tamim, Bani Asad, Bam Abdullah bin Ghatafan and Bani Amir bin Sasaa?" A man said, "They were unsuccessful and losers." The Prophet added," (Yes), they are better than the tribes of Bani Tamim, Bani Asad, Bani Abdullah bin Ghatafan and Bani Amir bin Sasaa."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 719:
Narrated Abu Bakra:
Al-Aqra' bin Habis said to the Prophet "Nobody gave you the pledge of allegiance but the robbers of the pilgrims (i.e. those who used to rob the pilgrims) from the tribes of Aslam, Ghifar, Muzaina." (Ibn Abi Ya'qub is in doubt whether Al-Aqra' added. 'And Juhaina.') The Prophet said, "Don't you think that the tribes of Aslam, Ghifar, Muzaina (and also perhaps) Juhaina are better than the tribes of Bani Tamim, Bani Amir, Asad, and Ghatafan?" Somebody said, "They were unsuccessful and losers!" The Prophet said, "Yes, by Him in Whose Hands my life is, they (i.e. the former) are better than they (i.e. the latter)."
Abu Huraira said, "(The Prophet said), '(The people of) Bani Aslam, Ghifar and some people of Muzaina (or some people of Juhaina or Muzaina) are better in Allah's Sight (or on the Day of Resurrection) than the tribes of Asad, Tamim, Hawazin and Ghatafan.' "

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 720:
Narrated Jabir:
We were in the company of the Prophet in a Ghazwa. A large number of emigrants joined him and among the emigrants there was a person who used to play jokes (or play with spears); so he (jokingly) stroked an Ansari man on the hip. The Ans-ari got so angry that both of them called their people. The Ansari said, "Help, O Ansar!" And the emigrant said "Help, O emigrants!" The Prophet came out and said, "What is wrong with the people (as they are calling) this call of the period of Ignorance? "Then he said, "What is the matter with them?" So he was told about the stroke of the emigrant to the Ansari. The Prophet said, "Stop this (i.e. appeal for help) for it is an evil call. "Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul (a hypocrite) said, "The emigrants have called and (gathered against us); so when we return to Medina, surely, the more honorable people will expel therefrom the meaner," Upon that Umar said, "O Allah's Prophet! Shall we not kill this evil person (i.e. Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul) ?" The Prophet) said, "(No), lest the people should say that Mohammed used to kill his companions."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 721:
Narrated Abdullah (bin Mas'ud):
The Prophet said, "Who-ever slaps his face or tears the bosom of his dress, or calls the calls of the Period of Ignorance, is not from us."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 722:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Amr bin Luhai bin Qam'a bin Khindif was the father of Khuza'a.'

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 723:
Narrated Said bin Al-Musaiyab:
Al-Bahira was an animal whose milk was spared for the idols and other dieties, and so nobody was allowed to milk it. As-Saiba was an animal which they (i.e infidels) used to set free in the names of their gods so that it would not be used for carrying anything. Abu Huraira said, "The Prophet said, 'I saw Amr bin Amir bin Luhai Al-Khuzai dragging his intestines in the (Hell) Fire, for he was the first man who started the custom of releasing animals (for the sake of false gods).' "

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 724:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
When the news of the advent of the Prophet reached Abu Dhar, he said to his brother, "Ride to this valley and bring me the news of this man (i.e. the Prophet) who claims to be a Prophet receiving information from the Heaven. Listen to him and then come to me." His brother set out till he met the Prophet and listened to his speech and returned to Abu Dhar and said to him, "I have seen him exhorting people to virtues and his speech was not like poetry." Abu Dhar said, "You have not satisfied me as to what I wanted." So, he took his journey-food and a water-skin full of water and set out till he reached Mecca, where he went to the Mosque looking for the Prophet , whom he did not know, and he would not like to ask someone about him. So, a portion of the night had passed when Ali saw him and realized that he was a stranger. Abu Dhar followed him (to his house), but neither of them asked the other about anything till it was morning, when he carried his water-skin and food and went to the Mosque. He spent that day without being observed by the Prophet till it was night, when he returned to his sleeping place. Ali again passed by him and said, "Hasn't the man (i.e. Abu Dhar) recognized his dwelling place yet?" So, Ali let him get up and took him (to his house), but neither of them asked the other about

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anything, till it was the third day when Ali had the same experience with him and Abu Dhar again stayed with him. Ali then asked, "Won't you tell me what has brought you here?" He replied, "If you give me a promise and a convention that you will guide me, then I will tell you." When Ali did, Abu Dhar informed him (of his purpose). Ali said, "It is the Truth, and he (i.e. Mohammed) is the Apostle of Allah. So when the morning comes, follow me, and if I should perceive any danger threatening you, I will give you a hint by pretending to go to the watercloset. But if I carried on walking, follow me till you enter the place that I will enter." Abu Dhur agreed and followed Ali till he entered the place of the Prophet and Abu Dhur entered with him. He then listened to the speech of the Prophet and embraced Islam on that very spot. The Prophet said to him, "Go back to your people and inform them (of this religion) till you receive my (further) orders." Abu Dhur said, "By Him in Whose Hands my life is! I will proclaim my conversion to Islam publicly amongst them (i.e. infidels)." He went out till he reached the Mosque and announced as loudly as possible, "I testify that None has the right to be worshipped but Allah and that Mohammed is the Apostle of Allah." The people then got up and beat him till they knocked him down. Al-Abbas came and threw himself over him (to protect him) saying, Woe to you! Don't you know that he is from Ghifar and there is the route (road) to your merchants towards Sham (i.e. through the place where this tribe dwells)?" Thus he saved him from them. Abu Dhar did the same on the next day and the people beat him again and Al-Abbas drew himself over him (to save him as before).

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 725:
Narrated Abu Jamra:
Ibn Abbas said to us, "Shall I tell you the story of Abu Dhar's conversion to Islam?" We said, "Yes." He said, "Abu Dhar said: I was a man from the tribe of Ghifar. We heard that a man had appeared in Mecca, claiming to be a Prophet. ! said to my brother, 'Go to that man and talk to him and bring me his news.' He set out, met him and returned. I asked him, 'What is the news with you?' He said, 'By Allah, I saw a man enjoining what is good and forbidding what is evil.' I said to him, 'You have not satisfied me with this little information.' So, I took a waterskin and a stick and proceeded towards Mecca. Neither did I know him (i.e. the Prophet), nor did I like to ask anyone about him. I Kept on drinking Zam zam water and staying in the Mosque. Then Ali passed by me and said, 'It seems you are a stranger?' I said, 'Yes.' He proceeded to his house and I accompanied him. Neither did he ask me anything, nor did I tell him anything. Next morning I went to the Mosque to ask about the Prophet but no-one told me anything about him. Ali passed by me again and asked, 'Hasn't the man recognized his dwelling place yet' I said, 'No.' He said, 'Come along with me.' He asked me, 'What is your business? What has brought you to this town?' I said to him, 'If you keep my secret, I will tell you.' He said, 'I will do,' I said to him, 'We have heard that a person has appeared here, claiming to be a Prophet. I sent my brother to speak to him and when he returned, he did not bring a satisfactory report; so I thought of meeting him personally.' Ali said (to Abu Dhar), 'You have reached your goal; I am going to him just now, so follow me, and wherever I enter, enter after me. If I should see someone who may cause you trouble, I will stand near a wall pretending to mend my shoes (as a warning), and you should go away then.' Ali proceeded and I accompanied him till he entered a place, and I entered with him to the Prophet to whom I said, 'Present (the principles of) Islam to me.' When he did, I embraced Islam 'immediately. He said to me, 'O Abu Dhar! Keep your conversion as a secret and return to your town; and when you hear of our victory, return to us. ' I said, 'By H him Who has sent you with the Truth, I will announce my conversion to Islam publicly amongst them (i.e. the infidels),' Abu Dhar went to the Mosque, where some people from Quraish were present, and said, 'O folk of Quraish ! I testify that None has the right to be worshipped except Allah, and I (also) testify that Mohammed is Allah's Slave and His Apostle.' (Hearing that) the Quraishi men said, 'Get at this Sabi (i.e. Muslim) !' They got up and beat me nearly to death. Al Abbas saw me and threw himself over me to protect me. He then faced them and said, 'Woe to you! You want to kill a man from the tribe of Ghifar, although your trade and your communications are through the territory of Ghifar?' They therefore left me. The next morning I returned (to the Mosque) and said the same as I have said on the previous day. They again said, 'Get at this Sabi!' I was treated in the same way as on the previous day, and again Al-Abbas found me and threw himself over me to protect me and told them the same as he had said the day before.' So, that was the conversion of Abu Dhar (may Allah be Merciful to him) to Islam."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 726:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
If you wish to know about the ignorance of the Arabs, refer to Surat-al-Anam after Verse No. 130:--Indeed lost are those who have killed their children From folly without knowledge and have forbidden that which Allah has provided for them, inventing a lie against Allah. They have indeed gone astray and were not guided.' (6.14)

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 727:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
When the Verse:-- 'And warn your tribe of near kindred.' (26.214) was revealed, the Prophet started calling (the 'Arab tribes), "O Bani Fihr, O Bani 'Adi" mentioning first the various branch tribes of Quraish.
Narrated Ibn Abbas: When the Verse:-- 'And warn your tribe of near kindred' (26.214). was revealed, the Prophet started calling every tribe by its name.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 728:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "O Bani 'Abd Munaf! Buy yourselves from Allah; O Bani Abdul-Muttalib! Buy yourselves from Allah; O mother of Az-Zubair bin Al-Awwam, the aunt of Allah's Apostle, and O Fatima bint Mohammed! Buy yourselves from Allah, for I cannot defend you before Allah. You (both) can ask me from my property as much as you like. "

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 729:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet sent for the Ansar (and when they came), he asked, 'Is there any stranger amongst you?" They said, "No except the son of our sister." Allah's Apostle said, "The son of the sister of some people belongs to them."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 730:
Narrated Aisha:
That during the Mina days, Abu Bakr came to her, while there where two girls with her, beating drums, and the Prophet was (lying) covering himself with his garment. Abu Bakr rebuked the two girls, but the Prophet uncovered his face and said, "O Abu Bakr! Leave them, for these are the days of Id (festival)." Those days were the days of Mina-. Aisha added, "I was being screened by the Prophet while I was watching the Ethiopians playing in the Mosque. Umar rebuked them, but the Prophet said, "Leave them, O Bani Arfida! Play. (for) you are safe."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 731:
Narrated Aisha:
Once Hassan bin Thabit asked the permission of the Prophet to lampoon (i.e. compose satirical poetry defaming) the infidels. The Prophet said, "What about the fact that I have common descent with them?" Hassan replied, "I shall take you out of them as a hair is taken out of dough."
Narrated Urwa: I started abusing Hassan in front of Aisha, whereupon she said. "Don't abuse him, for he used to defend the Prophet (with his poetry)."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 732:
Narrated Jubair bin Mutim:
Allah's Apostle said, "I have five names: I am Mohammed and Ahmad; I am Al-Mahi through whom Allah will eliminate infidelity; I am Al-Hashir who will be the first to be resurrected, the people being resurrected there after; and I am also Al-'Aqib (i.e. There will be no prophet after me)."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 733:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Doesn't it astonish you how Allah protects me from the Quraish's abusing and cursing? They abuse Mudhammam and curse Mudhammam while I am Mohammed (and not Mudhammam)"

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 734:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "My similitude in comparison with the other prophets is that of a man who has built a house completely and excellently except for a place of one brick. When the people enter the house, they admire its beauty and say: 'But for the place of this brick (how splendid the house will be)!"

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 735:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "My similitude in comparison with the other prophets before me, is that of a man who has built a house nicely and beautifully, except for a place of one brick in a corner. The people go about it and wonder at its beauty, but say: 'Would that this brick be put in its place!' So I am that brick, and I am the last of the Prophets."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 736:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet died when he was sixty three years old.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 737:
Narrated Anas:
While the Prophet was in the market, a man called (somebody), "O Abu-l-Qasim!' The Prophet turned to him and said "Name yourselves after me but do not call yourselves by my Kuniya."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 738:
Narrated Jabir:
The Prophet said, "Name yourselves after me, but do not call yourselves by my Kuniya."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 739:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Abu-l-Qasim said, "Name yourselves after me, but do not call yourselves by my Kuniya."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 740:
Narrated Al-Ju'aid bin Abdur Rahman:
I saw As-Sa'ib bin Yazid when he was ninety-four years old, quite strong and of straight figure. He said, "I know that I enjoyed my hearing and seeing powers only because of the invocation of Allah's Apostle . My aunt took me to him and said, 'O Allah's Apostle! My nephew is sick; will you invoke Allah for him?' So he invoked (Allah) for me."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 741:
Narrated As- Scab bin Yazid:
My aunt took me to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! My nephew is sick"' The Prophet passed his hands over my head and blessed me. Then he performed ablution and I drank the remaining water, and standing behind him. A saw the seal in between his shoulders."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 742:
Narrated Uqba bin Al-Harith:
(Once) Abu Bakr offered the Asr prayer and then went out walking and saw Al-Hasan playing with the boys. He lifted him on to his shoulders and said, " Let my parents be sacrificed for your sake! (You) resemble the Prophet and not Ali," while Ali was smiling.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 743:
Narrated Abu Juhaifa:
I saw the Prophet, and Al-Hasan resembled him.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 744:
Narrated Isma'il bin Abi Khalid:
I heard Abii Juhaifa saying, "I saw the Prophet, and Al-Hasan bin Ali resembled him." I said to Abu- Juhaifa, "Describe him for me." He said, "He was white and his beard was black with some white hair. He promised to give us 13 young she-camels, but he expired before we could get them."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 745:
Narrated Wahb Abu Juhaifa As-Sawwai:
I saw the Prophet and saw some white hair below his lower lip above the chin.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 746:
Narrated Hariz bin Uthman:
That he asked Abdullah bin Busr (i.e. the companion of the Prophet), "Did you see the Prophet when he was old?" He said, "He had a few white hairs between the lower lip and the chin."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 747:
Narrated Rabia bin Abi Abdur-Rahman:
I heard Anas bin Malik describing the Prophet saying, "He was of medium height amongst the people, neither tall nor short; he had a rosy color, neither absolutely white nor deep brown; his hair was neither completely curly nor quite lank. Divine Inspiration was revealed to him when he was forty years old. He stayed ten years in Mecca receiving the Divine Inspiration, and stayed in Medina for ten more years. When he expired, he had scarcely twenty white hairs in his head and beard." Rabi'a said, "I saw some of his hairs and it was red. When I asked about that, I was told that it turned red because of scent. "

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 748:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle was neither very tall nor short, neither absolutely white nor deep brown. His hair was neither curly nor lank. Allah sent him (as an Apostle) when he was forty years old. Afterwards he resided in Mecca for ten years and in Medina for ten more years. When Allah took him unto Him, there was scarcely twenty white hairs in his head and beard.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 749:
Narrated Al-Bara:
Allah's Apostle was the handsomest of all the people, and had the best appearance. He was neither very tall nor short.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 750:
Narrated Qatada:

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I asked Anas, "Did the Prophet use to dye (his) hair?" He said, "No, for there were only a few white hairs on his temples."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 751:
Narrated Al-Bara:
The Prophet was of moderate height having broad shoulders (long) hair reaching his ear-lobes. Once I saw him in a red cloak and I had never seen a more handsome than him."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 752:
Narrated Abu Ishaq:
Al-Bara was asked, "Was the face of the Prophet (as bright) as a sword?" He said, "No, but (as bright) as a moon."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 753:
Narrated Abu Juhaifa:
Once Allah's Apostle went to Al-Batha' at noon, performed the ablution and offered' a two Rakat Zuhr prayer and a two-Rak'at Asr prayer while a spearheaded stick was planted before him and the passersby were passing in front of it. (After the prayer), the people got up and held the hands of the Prophet and passed them on their faces. I also took his hand and kept it on my face and noticed that it was colder than ice, and its smell was nicer than musk.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 754:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet was the most generous of all the people, and he used to become more generous in Ramadan when Gabriel met him. Gabriel used to meet him every night during Ramadan to revise the Koran with him. Allah's Apostle then used to be more generous than the fast wind.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 755:
Narrated Aisha:
That Allah's Apostle came to her in a happy mood with his features glittering with joy, and said, "Have you not heard what the Qaif has said about Zaid and Us-ama? He saw their feet and remarked. These belong to each other." (i.e. They are father and son.)

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 756:
Narrated Abdullah bin Ka'b:
I heard Ka'b bin Malik talking after his failure to join (the Ghazwa of) Tabuk. He said, "When I greeted Allah's Apostle whose face was glittering with happiness, for whenever Allah's Apostle was happy, his face used to glitter, as if it was a piece of the moon, and we used to recognize it (i.e. his happiness) from his face."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 757:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "I have been sent (as an Apostle) in the best of all the generations of Adam's offspring since their Creation."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 758:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle used to let his hair hang down while the infidels used to part their hair. The people of the Scriptures were used to letting their hair hang down and Allah's Apostle liked to follow the people of the Scriptures in the matters about which he was not instructed otherwise. Then Allah's Apostle parted his hair.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 759:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
The Prophet never used bad language neither a "Fahish nor a Mutafahish. He used to say "The best amongst you are those who have the best manners and character." (See Hadith No. 56 (B) Vol. 8)

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 760:
Narrated Aisha:
Whenever Allah's Apostle was given the choice of one of two matters, he would choose the easier of the two, as long as it was not sinful to do so, but if it was sinful to do so, he would not approach it. Allah's Apostle never took revenge (over anybody) for his own sake but (he did) only when Allah's Legal Bindings were outraged in which case he would take revenge for Allah's Sake.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 761:
Narrated Anas:
I have never touched silk or Dibaj (i.e. thick silk) softer than the palm of the Prophet nor have I smelt a perfume nicer than the sweat of the Prophet

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 762:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
The Prophet was shier than a veined virgin girl.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 763:
Narrated Shuba:
A similar Hadith (i e. No. 762) with this addition: And if he (i.e. the Prophet) disliked something, the sign of aversion would appear on his face.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 764:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet never criticized any food (presented him), but he would eat it if he liked it; otherwise, he would leave it (without expressing his dislike).

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 765:
Narrated Abdullah bin Malik bin Buhaina Al-Asdi:
When the Prophet prostrated, he used to keep his arms so widely apart that we used to see his armpits. (The sub-narrator, Ibn Bukair said, "The whiteness of his armpits.")

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 766:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle did not use to raise his hands in his invocations except in the Istisqa (i.e. invoking Allah for the rain) in which he used to raise his hands so high that one could see the whiteness of his armpits. (Note: It may be that Anas did not see the prophet (as) raising his hands but it has been narrated that the Prophet (as) used to raise his hands for invocations other than Istisqa. See Hadith No. 612 Vol. 5. and Hadith No. 807 & 808 Vol 2.)

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 767:
Narrated Abu Juhaifa:
By chance I went to the Prophet at noon while he was at Al-Abtah (resting) in a tent. Bilal came out (of the tent) and pronounced the Adhan for the prayer, and entering again, he brought out the water which was left after Allah's Apostle had performed the ablution. The people rushed to take some of the water. Bilal again went in and brought out a spear-headed stick, and then Allah's Apostle came out. As if I were now looking at the whiteness of his leg. Bilal fixed the stick and the Prophet offered a two-Rakat Zuhr prayer and a two-Rak'at Asr prayer, while women and donkeys were passing in front of the Prophet (beyond the stick) .

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 768:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet used to talk so clearly that if somebody wanted to count the number of his words, he could do so. Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair: Aisha said (to me), "Don't you wonder at Abu so-and-so who came and sat by my dwelling and started relating the traditions of Allah's Apostle intending to let me hear that, while I was performing an optional prayer. He left before I finished my optional prayer. Had I found him still there. I would have said to him, 'Allah's Apostle never talked so quickly and vaguely as you do.' "

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 769:
Narrated Abu Salama bin Abdur-Rahman:
That he asked Aisha "How was the prayer of Allah's Apostle in the month of Ramadan?" She replied, "He used not to pray more than eleven Rakat whether in Ramadan or in any other month. He used to offer four Rakat, let alone their beauty and length, and then four Rakat, let alone their beauty and length. Afterwards he would offer three Rakat. I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Do you go to bed before offering the Witr prayer?' He said, 'My eyes sleep, but my heart does not sleep.'"

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 770:
Narrated Sharik bin Abdullah bin Abi Namr:
I heard Anas bin Malik telling us about the night when the Prophet was made to travel from the Kaaba Mosque. Three persons (i.e. angels) came to the Prophet before he was divinely inspired was an Aspostle), while he was sleeping in Al Masjid-ul-Haram. The first (of the three angels) said, "Which of them is he?" The second said, "He is the best of them." That was all that happened then, and he did not see them till they came at another night and he perceived their presence with his heart, for the eyes of the Prophet were closed when he was asleep, but his heart was not asleep (not unconscious). This is characteristic of all the prophets: Their eyes sleep but their hearts do not sleep. Then Gabriel took charge of the Prophet and ascended along with him to the Heaven.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 771:
Narrated Imran bin Husain:
That they were with the Prophet on a journey. They travelled the whole night, and when dawn approached, they took a rest and sleep overwhelmed them till the sun rose high in the sky. The first to get up was Abu Bakr. Allah's Apostles used not to be awakened from his sleep, but he would wake up by himself. Umar woke up and then Abu Bakr sat by the side of the Prophet's head and started saying: Allahu-Akbar raising his voice till the Prophet woke up, (and after traveling for a while) he dismounted and led us in the morning prayer. A man amongst the people failed to join us in the prayer. When the Prophet had finished the prayer, he asked (the man), "O so-and-so! What prevented you from offering the prayer with us?" He replied, "I am Junub," Alllah's Apostle ordered him to perform Tayammam with clean earth. The man then offered the prayer. Allah's Apostle ordered me and a few others to go ahead of him. We had become very thirsty. While we were on our way (looking for water), we came across a lady (riding an animal), hanging her legs between two water-skins. We asked her, "Where can we get water?" She replied, "Oh ! There is no water." We asked, "how far is your house from the water?" She replied, "A distance of a day and a night travel." We said, "Come on to Allah's Apostle, "She asked, "What is Allah's Apostle ?" So we brought her to Allah's Apostle against her will, and she told him what she had told us before and added that she was the mother of orphans. So the Prophet ordered that her two water-skins be brought and he rubbed the mouths of the water-skins. As we were thirsty, we drank till we quenched our thirst and we were forty men. We also filled all our waterskins and other utensils with water, but we did not water the camels. The waterskin was so full that it was almost about to burst. The Prophet then said, "Bring what (foodstuff) you have." So some dates and pieces of bread were collected for the lady, and when she went to her people, she said, "I have met either the greatest magician or a prophet as the people claim." So Allah guided the people of that village through that lady. She embraced Islam and they all embraced Islam.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 772:
Narrated Anas:
A bowl of water was brought to the Prophet while he was at Az-Zawra. He placed his hand in it and the water started flowing among his fingers. All the people performed ablution (with that water). Qatada asked Anas, "How many people were you?" Anas replied, "Three hundred or nearly three-hundred."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 773:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
I saw Allah's Apostle at the 'time when the Asr prayer was due. Then the people were searching for water for ablution but they could not find any. Then some water was brought to Allah's Apostle and he placed his hand in the pot and ordered the people to perform the ablution with the water. I saw water flowing from underneath his fingers and the people started performing the ablution till all of them did it.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 774:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet went out on one of his journeys with some of his companions. They went on walking till the time of the prayer became due. They could not find water to perform the ablution. One of them went away and brought a little amount of water in a pot. The Prophet took it and performed the ablution, and then stretched his four fingers on to the pot and said (to the people), "Get up to perform the ablution." They started performing the ablution till all of them did it, and they were seventy or so persons.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 775:
Narrated Humaid:
Anas bin Malik said, "Once the time of the prayer became due and the people whose houses were close to the Mosque went to their houses to perform ablution, while the others remained (sitting there). A stone pot containing water was brought to the Prophet, who wanted to put his hand in it, but It was too small for him to spread his hand in it, and so he had to bring his fingers together before putting his hand in the pot. Then all the people performed the ablution (with that water)." I asked Anas, "How many persons were they." He replied, "There were eighty men."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 776:
Narrated Salim bin Abi Aj-Jad:
Jabir bin Abdullah said, "The people became very thirsty on the day of Al-Hudaibiya (Treaty). A small pot containing some water was in front of the Prophet and when he had finished the ablution, the people rushed towards him. He asked, 'What is wrong with you?' They replied, 'We have no water either for performing ablution or for drinking except what is present in front of you.' So he placed his hand in that pot and the water started flowing among his fingers like springs. We all drank and performed ablution (from it)." I asked Jabir, "How many were you?" he replied, "Even if we had been one-hundred-thousand, it would have been sufficient for us, but we were fifteen-hundred."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 777:
Narrated Al-Bara:
We were one-thousand-and-four-hundred persons on the day of Al-Hudaibiya (Treaty), and (at) Al-Hudaibiya (there) was a well. We drew out its water not leaving even a single drop. The Prophet sat at the edge of the well and asked for some water with which he rinsed his mouth and then he threw

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it out into the well. We stayed for a short while and then drew water from the well and quenched our thirst, and even our riding animals drank water to their satisfaction.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 778:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Abu Talha said to Um Sulaim, "I have noticed feebleness in the voice of Allah's Apostle which I think, is caused by hunger. Have you got any food?" She said, "Yes." She brought out some loaves of barley and took out a veil belonging to her, and wrapped the bread in part of it and put it under my arm and wrapped part of the veil round me and sent me to Allah's Apostle. I went carrying it and found Allah's Apostle in the Mosque sitting with some people. When I stood there, Allah's Apostle asked, "Has Abu Talha sent you?" I said, "Yes". He asked, "With some food? I said, "Yes" Allah's Apostle then said to the men around him, "Get up!" He set out (accompanied by them) and I went ahead of them till I reached Abu Talha and told him (of the Prophet's visit). Abu Talha said, "O Um Sulaim! Allah's Apostle is coming with the people and we have no food to feed them." She said, "Allah and His Apostle know better." So Abu Talha went out to receive Allah's Apostle. Allah's Apostle came along with Abu Talha. Allah's Apostle said, "O Um Sulaim! Bring whatever you have." She brought the bread which Allah's Apostle ordered to be broken into pieces. Um Sulaim poured on them some butter from an oilskin. Then Allah's Apostle recited what Allah wished him to recite, and then said, "Let ten persons come (to share the meal)." Ten persons were admitted, ate their fill and went out. Then he again said, "Let another ten do the same." They were admitted, ate their fill and went out. Then he again said, ""Let another ten persons (do the same.)" They were admitted, ate their fill and went out. Then he said, "Let another ten persons come." In short, all of them ate their fill, and they were seventy or eighty men.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 779:
Narrated Abdullah:
We used to consider miracles as Allah's Blessings, but you people consider them to be a warning. Once we were with Allah's Apostle on a journey, and we ran short of water. He said, "Bring the water remaining with you." The people brought a utensil containing a little water. He placed his hand in it and said, "Come to the blessed water, and the Blessing is from Allah." I saw the water flowing from among the fingers of Allah's Apostle , and no doubt, we heard the meal glorifying Allah, when it was being eaten (by him).

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 780:
Narrated Jabir:
My father had died in debt. So I came to the Prophet and said, "My father (died) leaving unpaid debts, and I have nothing except the yield of his date palms; and their yield for many years will not cover his debts. So please come with me, so that the creditors may not misbehave with me." The Prophet went round one of the heaps of dates and invoked (Allah), and then did the same with another heap and sat on it and said, "Measure (for them)." He paid them their rights and what remained was as much as had been paid to them.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 781:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Abi Bakr:
The companions of Suffa were poor people. The Prophet once said, "Whoever has food enough for two persons, should take a third one (from among them), and whoever has food enough for four persons, should take a fifth or a sixth (or said something similar)." Abu Bakr brought three persons while the Prophet took ten. And Abu Bakr with his three family member (who were I, my father and my mother) (the sub-narrator is in doubt whether Abdur-Rahman said, "My wife and my servant who was common for both my house and Abu Bakr's house.") Abu Bakr took his supper with the Prophet and stayed there till he offered the 'Isha' prayers. He returned and stayed till Allah's Apostle took his supper. After a part of the night had passed, he returned to his house. His wife said to him, "What has detained you from your guests?" He said, "Have you served supper to them?" She said, "They refused to take supper) until you come. They (i.e. some members of the household) presented the meal to them but they refused (to eat)" I went to hide myself and he said, "O Ghunthar!" He invoked Allah to cause my ears to be cut and he rebuked me. He then said (to them): Please eat!" and added, I will never eat the meal." By Allah, whenever we took a handful of the meal, the meal grew from underneath more than that handful till everybody ate to his satisfaction; yet the remaining food was more than the original meal. Abu Bakr saw that the food was as much or more than the original amount. He called his wife, "O sister of Bani Firas!" She said, "O pleasure of my eyes. The food has been tripled in quantity." Abu Bakr then started eating thereof and said, "It (i.e. my oath not to eat) was because of Sa all." He took a handful from it, and carried the rest to the Prophet. SO that food was with the Prophet . There was a treaty between us and some people, and when the period of that treaty had elapsed, he divided US into twelve groups, each being headed by a man. Allah knows how many men were under the command of each leader. Anyhow, the Prophet surely sent a leader with each group. Then all of them ate of that meal.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 782:
Narrated Anas:
Once during the lifetime of Allah's Apostle, the people of Medina suffered from drought. So while the Prophet was delivering a sermon on a Friday a man got up saying, "O Allah's Apostle! The horses and sheep have perished. Will you invoke Allah to bless us with rain?" The Prophet lifted both his hands and invoked. The sky at that time was as clear as glass. Suddenly a wind blew, raising clouds that gathered together, and it started raining heavily. We came out (of the Mosque) wading through the flowing water till we reached our homes. It went on raining till the next Friday, when the same man or some other man stood up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! The houses have collapsed; please invoke Allah to withhold the rain." On that the Prophet smiled and said, "O Allah, (let it rain) around us and not on us." I then looked at the clouds to see them separating forming a sort of a crown round Medina.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 783:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet used to deliver his sermons while standing beside a trunk of a datepalm. When he had the pulpit made, he used it instead. The trunk started crying and the Prophet went to it, rubbing his hand over it (to stop its crying).

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 784:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet used to stand by a tree or a date-palm on Friday. Then an Ansari woman or man said. "O Allah's Apostle! Shall we make a pulpit for you?" He replied, "If you wish." So they made a pulpit for him and when it was Friday, he proceeded towards the pulpit (for delivering the sermon). The date-palm cried like a child! The Prophet descended (the pulpit) and embraced it while it continued moaning like a child being quietened. The Prophet said, "It was crying for (missing) what it used to hear of religious knowledge given near to it."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 785:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
That he heard Jabir bin Abdullah saying, "The roof of the Mosque was built over trunks of date-palms working as pillars. When the Prophet delivered a sermon, he used to stand by one of those trunks till the pulpit was made for him, and he used it instead. Then we heard the trunk sending a sound like of a pregnant she-camel till the Prophet came to it, and put his hand over it, then it became quiet."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 786:
Narrated Hudhaifa:
Once Umar bin Al-Khattab said, said, "Who amongst you remembers the statement of Allah's Apostle regarding the afflictions?" Hudhaifa replied, "I remember what he said exactly." Umar said. "Tell (us), you are really a daring man!" Hudhaifa said, "Allah's Apostle said, 'A man's afflictions (i.e. wrong deeds) concerning his relation to his family, his property and his neighbours are expiated by his prayers, giving in charity and enjoining what is good and forbidding what is evil.' " Umar said, "I don't mean these afflictions but the afflictions that will be heaving up and down like waves of the sea." Hudhaifa replied, "O chief of the believers! You need not fear those (afflictions) as there is a closed door between you and them." Umar asked, "Will that door be opened or broken?" Hudhaifa replied, "No, it will be broken." Umar said, "Then it is very likely that the door will not be closed again." Later on the people asked Hudhaifa, "Did Umar know what that door meant?" He said. "Yes, Umar knew it as everyone knows that there will be night before the tomorrow morning. I narrated to Umar an authentic narration, not lies." We dared not ask Hudhaifa; therefore we requested Masruq who asked him, "What does the door stand for?" He said, "Umar."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 787:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The Hour will not be established till you fight a nation wearing hairy shoes, and till you fight the Turks, who will have small eyes, red faces and flat noses; and their faces will be like flat shields. And you will find that the best people are those who hate responsibility of ruling most of all till they are chosen to be the rulers. And the people are of different natures: The best in the pre-lslamic period are the best in Islam. A time will come when any of you will love to see me rather than to have his family and property doubled."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 788:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The Hour will not be established till you fight with the Khudh and the Kirman from among the non-Arabs. They will be of red faces, flat noses and small eyes; their faces will look like flat shields, and their shoes will be of hair."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 789:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I enjoyed the company of Allah's Apostle for three years, and during the other years of my life, never was I so anxious to understand the (Prophet's) traditions as I was during those three years. I heard him saying, beckoning with his hand in this way, "Before the Hour you will fight with people who will have hairy shoes and live in Al-Bariz." (Sufyan, the sub-narrator once said, "And they are the people of Al-Bazir.")

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 790:
Narrated Umar bin Taghlib:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "Near the Hour you will fight with people who will wear hairy shoes; and you will also fight people with flat faces like shields."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 791:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "The Jews will fight with you, and you will be given victory over them so that a stone will say, 'O Muslim! There is a Jew behind me; kill him!' "

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 792:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
The Prophet said, "A time will come when the people will wage holy war, and it will be asked, 'Is there any amongst you who has enjoyed the company of Allah's Apostle?' They will say: 'Yes.' And then victory will be bestowed upon them. They will wage holy war again, and it will be asked: 'Is there any among you who has enjoyed the company of the companions of Allah's Apostle ?' They will say: 'Yes.' And then victory will be bestowed on them."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 793:
Narrated Adi bin Hatim:
While I was in the city of the Prophet, a man came and complained to him (the Prophet,) of destitution and poverty. Then another man came and complained of robbery (by highwaymen). The Prophet said, "Adi! Have you been to Al-Hira?" I said, "I haven't been to it, but I was informed about it." He said, "If you should live for a long time, you will certainly see that a lady in a Howdah traveling from Al-Hira will (safely reach Mecca and) perform the Tawaf of the Kaaba, fearing none but Allah." I said to myself, "What will happen to the robbers of the tribe of Tai who have spread evil through out the country?" The Prophet further said. "If you should live long, the treasures of Khosrau will be opened (and taken as spoils)." I asked, "You mean Khosrau, son of Hurmuz?" He said, "Khosrau, son of Hurmuz; and if you should live long, you will see that one will carry a handful of gold or silver and go out looking for a person to accept it from him, but will find none to accept it from him. And any of you, when meeting Allah, will meet Him without needing an interpreter between him and Allah to interpret for him, and Allah will say to him: 'Didn't I send a messenger to teach you?' He will say: 'Yes.' Allah will say: 'Didn't I give you wealth and do you favors?' He will say: 'Yes.' Then he will look to his right and see nothing but Hell, and look to his left and see nothing but Hell."
Adi further said: I heard the Prophet saying, "Save yourself from the (Hell) Fire even with half a date (to be given in charity) and if you do not find a half date, then with a good pleasant word." Adi added: (later on) I saw a lady in a Howdah traveling from Al-Hira till she performed the Tawaf of the Kaaba, fearing none but Allah. And I was one of those who opened (conquered) the treasures of Khosrau, son of Hurmuz. If you should live long, you will see what the Prophet Abu-l-Qasim had said: 'A person will come out with a handful. of gold...etc.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 794:
Narrated 'Adi:
as above (i.e. Hadith No. 793).

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 795:
Narrated Uqba bin Amr:
The Prophet once came out and offered the funeral prayer for the martyrs of Uhud, and proceeded to the pulpit and said, "I shall be your predecessor and a witness on you, and I am really looking at my sacred Fount now, and no doubt, I have been given the keys of the treasures of the world. By Allah, I am not afraid that you will worship others along with Allah, but I am afraid that you will envy and fight one another for worldly fortunes."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 796:
Narrated Usama:

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Once the Prophet stood on one of the high buildings (of Medina) and said, "Do you see what I see? I see affliction pouring among your hours like raindrops."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 797:
Narrated Zainab bint Jahsh:
That the Prophet came to her in a state of fear saying, "None has the right to be worshiped but Allah! Woe to the Arabs because of evil that has come near. Today a hole has been made in the wall of Gog and Magog as large as this." pointing with two of his fingers making a circle. Zainab said, "I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Shall we be destroyed though amongst us there are pious people? ' He said, 'Yes, if evil increases."
Narrated Um Salama: The Prophet woke up and said, "Glorified be Allah: What great (how many) treasures have been sent down, and what great (how many) afflictions have been sent down!"

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 798:
Narrated Sasaa:
Abu Said Al-Khudr said to me, "I notice that you like sheep and you keep them; so take care of them and their food, for I have heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'A time will come upon the people when the best of a Muslim's property will be sheep, which he will take to the tops of mountains and to the places of rain-falls to run away with his religion in order to save it from afflictions.' "

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 799:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "There will be afflictions (and at the time) the sitting person will be better than the standing one, and the standing one will be better than the walking, and the walking will be better than the running. And whoever will look towards those afflictions, they will overtake him, and whoever will find a refuge or a shelter, should take refuge in it." The same narration is reported by Abu Bakr, with the addition, "(The Prophet said), 'Among the prayers there is a prayer the missing of which will be to one like losing one's family and property."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 800:
Narrated Ibn Mas'ud:
The Prophet said, "Soon others will be preferred to you, and there will be things which you will not like." The companions of the Prophet asked, "O Allah's Apostle! What do you order us to do (in this case)? " He said, "(I order you) to give the rights that are on you and to ask your rights from Allah."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 801:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "This branch from Quraish will ruin the people." The companions of the Prophet asked, "What do you order us to do (then)?" He said, "I would suggest that the people keep away from them."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 802:
Narrated Said Al-Umawi:
I was with Marwan and Abu Huraira and heard Abu Huraira saying, "I heard the trustworthy, truly inspired one (i.e. the Prophet) saying, 'The destruction of my followers will be brought about by the hands of some youngsters from Quraish." Marwan asked, "Youngsters?" Abu Huraira said, "If you wish, I would name them: They are the children of so-and-so and the children of so-and-so."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 803:
Narrated Hudhaifa bin Al-Yaman:
The people used to ask Allah's Apostle about good, but I used to ask him about evil for fear that it might overtake me. Once I said, "O Allah's Apostle! We were in ignorance and in evil and Allah has bestowed upon us the present good; will there by any evil after this good?" He said, "Yes." I asked, "Will there be good after that evil?" He said, "Yes, but it would be tained with Dakhan (i.e. Little evil)." I asked, "What will its Dakhan be?" He said, "There will be some people who will lead (people) according to principles other than my tradition. You will see their actions and disapprove of them." I said, "Will there by any evil after that good?" He said, "Yes, there will be some people who will invite others to the doors of Hell, and whoever accepts their invitation to it will be thrown in it (by them)." I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Describe those people to us." He said, "They will belong to us and speak our language" I asked, "What do you order me to do if such a thing should take place in my life?" He said, "Adhere to the group of Muslims and their Chief." I asked, "If there is neither a group (of Muslims) nor a chief (what shall I do)?" He said, "Keep away from all those different sects, even if you had to bite (i.e. eat) the root of a tree, till you meet Allah while you are still in that state."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 804:
Narrated Hudhaifa:
My companions learned (something about) good (through asking the Prophet while I learned (something about) evil.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 805:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The Day of (Judgement) will not be established till there is a war between two groups whose claims (or religion) will be the same."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 806:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The Hour will not be established till there is a war between two groups among whom there will be a great number of casualties, though the claims (or religion) of both of them will be one and the same. And the Hour will not be established till there appear about thirty liars, all of whom will be claiming to be the messengers of Allah. "

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 807:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
While we were with Allah's Apostle who was distributing (i.e. some property), there came Dhu-l-Khuwaisira, a man from the tribe of Bani Tamim and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Do Justice." The Prophet said, "Woe to you! Who could do justice if I did not? I would be a desperate loser if I did not do justice." Umar said, "O Allah's Apostle! Allow me to chop his head off." The Prophet said, "Leave him, for he has companions who pray and fast in such a way that you will consider your fasting negligible in comparison to theirs. They recite Koran but it does not go beyond their throats (i.e. they do not act on it) and they will desert Islam as an arrow goes through a victim's body, so that the hunter, on looking at the arrow's blade, would see nothing on it; he would look at its Risaf and see nothing: he would look at its Na,di and see nothing, and he would look at its Qudhadh (l) and see nothing (neither meat nor blood), for the arrow has been too fast even for the blood and excretions to smear. The sign by which they will be recognized is that among them there will be a black man, one of whose arms will resemble a woman's breast or a lump of meat moving loosely. Those people will appear when there will be differences amongst the people." I testify that I heard this narration from Allah's Apostle and I testify that Ali bin Abi Talib fought with such people, and I was in his company. He ordered that the man (described by the Prophet) should be looked for. The man was brought and I looked at him and noticed that he looked exactly as the Prophet had described him.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 808:
Narrated Ali:
I relate the traditions of Allah's Apostle to you for I would rather fall from the sky than attribute something to him falsely. But when I tell you a thing which is between you and me, then no doubt, war is guile. I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "In the last days of this world there will appear some young foolish people who will use (in their claim) the best speech of all people (i.e. the Koran) and they will abandon Islam as an arrow going through the game. Their belief will not go beyond their throats (i.e. they will have practically no belief), so wherever you meet them, kill them, for he who kills them shall get a reward on the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 809:
Narrated Khabbab bin Al-Arat:
We complained to Allah's Apostle (of the persecution inflicted on us by the infidels) while he was sitting in the shade of the Kaaba, leaning over his Burd (i.e. covering sheet). We said to him, "Would you seek help for us? Would you pray to Allah for us?" He said, "Among the nations before you a (believing) man would be put in a ditch that was dug for him, and a saw would be put over his head and he would be cut into two pieces; yet that (torture) would not make him give up his religion. His body would be combed with iron combs that would remove his flesh from the bones and nerves, yet that would not make him abandon his religion. By Allah, this religion (i.e. Islam) will prevail till a traveler from Sana (in Yemen) to Hadrarmaut will fear none but Allah, or a wolf as regards his sheep, but you (people) are hasty.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 810:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet noticed the absence of Thabit bin Qais. A man said, "O Allah's Apostle! I shall bring you his news." So he went to him and saw him sitting in his house drooping his head (sadly). He asked Thabit, "What's the matter?" Thabit replied, "An evil situation: A man used to raise his voice over the voice of the Prophet and so all his good deeds have been annulled and he is from the people of Hell." The man went back and told the Prophet that Thabit had said so-and-so. (The sub-narrator, Musa bin Anas said, "The man went to Thabit again with glad tidings)." The Prophet said to him, "Go and say to Thabit: 'You are not from the people of Fire, but from the people of Paradise."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 811:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
A man recited Surat-al-Kahf (in his prayer) and in the house there was a (riding) animal which got frightened and started jumping. The man finished his prayer with Taslim, but behold! A mist or a cloud hovered over him. He informed the Prophet of that and the Prophet said, "O so-and-so! Recite, for this (mist or cloud) was a sign of peace descending for the recitation of Koran."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 812:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
Abu Bakr came to my father who was at home and purchased a saddle from him. He said to Azib. "Tell your son to carry it with me." So I carried it with him and my father followed us so as to take the price (of the saddle). My father said, "O Abu Bakr! Tell me what happened to you on your night journey with Allah's Apostle (during Migration)." He said, "Yes, we travelled the whole night and also the next day till midday. when nobody could be seen on the way (because of the severe heat) . Then there appeared a long rock having shade beneath it, and the sunshine had not come to it yet. So we dismounted there and I levelled a place and covered it with an animal hide or dry grass for the Prophet to sleep on (for a while). I then said, 'Sleep, O Allah's Apostle, and I will guard you.' So he slept and I went out to guard him. Suddenly I saw a shepherd coming with his sheep to that rock with the same intention we had when we came to it. I asked (him). 'To whom do you belong, O boy?' He replied, 'I belong to a man from Medina or Mecca.' I said, 'Do your sheep have milk?' He said, 'Yes.' I said, 'Will you milk for us?' He said, 'Yes.' He caught hold of a sheep and I asked him to clean its teat from dust, hairs and dirt. (The sub-narrator said that he saw Al-Bara striking one of his hands with the other, demonstrating how the shepherd removed the dust.) The shepherd milked a little milk in a wooden container and I had a leather container which I carried for the Prophet to drink and perform the ablution from. I went to the Prophet, hating to wake him up, but when I reached there, the Prophet had already awakened; so I poured water over the middle part of the milk container, till the milk was cold. Then I said, 'Drink, O Allah's Apostle!' He drank till I was pleased. Then he asked, 'Has the time for our departure come?' I said, 'Yes.' So we departed after midday. Suraqa bin Malik followed us and I said, 'We have been discovered, O Allah's Apostle!' He said, Don't grieve for Allah is with us.' The Prophet invoked evil on him (i.e. Suraqa) and so the legs of his horse sank into the earth up to its belly. (The subnarrator, Zuhair is not sure whether Abu Bakr said, "(It sank) into solid earth.") Suraqa said, 'I see that you have invoked evil on me. Please invoke good on me, and by Allah, I will cause those who are seeking after you to return.' The Prophet invoked good on him and he was saved. Then, whenever he met somebody on the way, he would say, 'I have looked for him here in vain.' So he caused whomever he met to return. Thus Suraqa fulfilled his promise."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 813:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet paid a visit to a sick bedouin. The Prophet when visiting a patient used to say, "No harm will befall you! May Allah cure you! May Allah cure you!" So the Prophet said to the bedouin. "No harm will befall you. May Allah cure you!" The bedouin said, "You say, may Allah cure me? No, for it is a fever which boils in (the body of) an old man, and will lead him to the grave." The Prophet said, "Yes, then may it be as you say."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 814:
Narrated Anas:
There was a Christian who embraced Islam and read Surat-al-Baqara and Al-Imran, and he used to write (the revelations) for the Prophet. Later on he returned to Christianity again and he used to say: "Mohammed knows nothing but what I have written for him." Then Allah caused him to die, and the people buried him, but in the morning they saw that the earth had thrown his body out. They said, "This is the act of Mohammed and his companions. They dug the grave of our companion and took his body out of it because he had run away from them." They again dug the grave deeply for him, but in the morning they again saw that the earth had thrown his body out. They said, "This is an act of Mohammed and his companions. They dug the grave of our companion and threw his body outside it, for he had run away from them." They dug the grave for him as deep as they could, but in the morning they again saw that the earth had thrown his body out. So they believed that what had befallen him was not done by human beings and had to leave him thrown (on the ground).

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 815:
Narrated Abu Huraira:

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Allah's Apostle said, "When Khosrau perishes, there will be no (more) Khosrau after him, and when Caesar perishes, there will be no more Caesar after him. By Him in Whose Hands Mohammed's life is, you will spend the treasures of both of them in Allah's Cause."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 816:
Narrated Jabir bin Samura:
The Prophet said, "When Khosrau perishes, there will be no more Khosrau a after him, and when Caesar perishes, there will be no more Caesar after him," The Prophet also said, "You will spend the treasures of both of them in Allah's Cause."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 817:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Musailama-al-Kadhdhab (i.e. the liar) came in the life-time of Allah's Apostle with many of his people (to Medina) and said, "If Mohammed makes me his successor, I will follow him." Allah's Apostle went up to him with Thabit bin Qais bin Shams; and Allah's Apostle was carrying a piece of a date-palm leaf in his hand. He stood before Musailama (and his companions) and said, "If you asked me even this piece (of a leaf), I would not give it to you. You cannot avoid the fate you are destined to, by Allah. If you reject Islam, Allah will destroy you. I think that you are most probably the same person whom I have seen in the dream." Abu Huraira told me that Allah's Apostle; said, "While I was sleeping, I saw (in a dream) two gold bracelets round my arm, and that worried me too much. Then I was instructed divinely in my dream, to blow them off and so I blew them off, and they flew away. I interpreted the two bracelets as symbols of two liars who would appear after me. And so one of them was Al-Ansi and the other was Musailama Al-Kadhdhab from Al-Yamama."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 818:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet said, "In a dream I saw myself migrating from Mecca to a place having plenty of date trees. I thought that it was Al-Yamama or Hajar, but it came to be Medina i.e. Yathrib. In the same dream I saw myself moving a sword and its blade got broken. It came to symbolize the defeat which the Muslims suffered from, on the Day of Uhud. I moved the sword again, and it became normal as before, and that was the symbol of the victory Allah bestowed upon Muslims and their gathering together. I saw cows in my dream, and by Allah, that was a blessing, and they symbolized the believers on the Day of Uhud. And the blessing was the good Allah bestowed upon us and the reward of true belief which Allah gave us after the day of Badr.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 819:
Narrated Aisha:
Once Fatima came walking and her gait resembled the gait of the Prophet . The Prophet said, "Welcome, O my daughter!" Then he made her sit on his right or on his left side, and then he told her a secret and she started weeping. I asked her, "Why are you weeping?" He again told her a secret and she started laughing. I said, "I never saw happiness so near to sadness as I saw today." I asked her what the Prophet had told her. She said, "I would never disclose the secret of Allah's Apostle ." When the Prophet died, I asked her about it. She replied. "The Prophet said.) 'Every year Gabriel used to revise the Koran with me once only, but this year he has done so twice. I think this portends my death, and you will be the first of my family to follow me.' So I started weeping. Then he said. 'Don't you like to be the mistress of all the ladies of Paradise or the mistress of all the lady believers? So I laughed for that."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 820:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet in his fatal illness, called his daughter Fatima and told her a secret because of which she started weeping. Then he called her and told her another secret, and she started laughing. When I asked her about that, she replied, The Prophet told me that he would die in his fatal illness, and so I wept, but then he secretly told me that from amongst his family, I would be the first to join him, and so I laughed."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 821:
Narrated Said bin Jubair:
About Ibn Abbas: Umar bin Al-Khattab used to treat Ibn Abbas very favorably Abdur Rahman bin 'Auf said to him. "We also have sons that are equal to him (but you are partial to him.)" Umar said, "It is because of his knowledge." Then Umar asked Ibn Abbas about the interpretation of the Verse:- 'When come the Help of Allah and the conquest (of Mecca) (110.1) Ibn Abbas said. "It portended the death of Allah's Apostle, which Allah had informed him of." Umar said, "I do not know from this Verse but what you know."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 822:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle in his fatal illness came out, wrapped with a sheet, and his head was wrapped with an oiled bandage. He sat on the pulpit, and praising and glorifying Allah, he said, "Now then, people will increase but the Ansar will decrease in number, so much so that they, compared with the people, will be just like the salt in the! meals. So, if any of you should take over the authority by which he can either benefit some people or harm some others, he should accept the goodness of their good people (i.e. Ansar) and excuse the faults of their wrong-doers." That was the last gathering which the Prophet attended.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 823:
Narrated Abu Bakra:
Once the Prophet brought out Al-Hasan and took him up the pulpit along with him and said, "This son of mine is a Saiyid (i.e. chief) and I hope that Allah will help him bring about reconciliation between two Muslim groups."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 824:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet had informed us of the death of Jafar and Zaid before the news of their death reached us, and his eyes were shedding tears.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 825:
Narrated Jabir:
(Once) the Prophet said, "Have you got carpets?" I replied, "Whence can we get carpets?" He said, "But you shall soon have carpets." I used to say to my wife, "Remove your carpets from my sight," but she would say, "Didn't the Prophet tell you that you would soon have carpets?" So I would give up my request.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 826:
Narrated Abdullah bin Mas'ud:
Sa'd bin Mu'adh came to Mecca with the intention of performing Umra, and stayed at the house of Umaiya bin Khalaf Abi Safwan, for Umaiya himself used to stay at Sa'd's house when he passed by Medina on his way to Sham. Umaiya said to Sad, "Will you wait till midday when the people are (at their homes), then you may go and perform the Tawaf round the Kaaba?" So, while Sad was going around the Kaaba, Abu Jahl came and asked, "Who is that who is performing Tawaf?" Sad replied, "I am Sad." Abu Jahl said, "Are you circumambulating the Kaaba safely although you have given refuge to Mohammed and his companions?" Sad said, "Yes," and they started quarreling. Umaiya said to Sad, "Don't shout at Abi-l-Hakam (i.e. Abu Jahl), for he is chief of the valley (of Mecca)." Sad then said (to Abu Jahl). 'By Allah, if you prevent me from performing the Tawaf of the Kaaba, I will spoil your trade with Sham." Umaiya kept on saying to Sad, "Don't raise your voice." and kept on taking hold of him. Sad became furious and said, (to Umaiya), "Be away from me, for I have heard Mohammed saying that he will kill you." Umaiiya said, "Will he kill me?" Sad said, "Yes,." Umaiya said, "By Allah! When Mohammed says a thing, he never tells a lie." Umaiya went to his wife and said to her, "Do you know what my brother from Yathrib (i.e. Medina) has said to me?" She said, "What has he said?" He said, "He claims that he has heard Mohammed claiming that he will kill me."
She said, By Allah! Mohammed never tells a lie." So when the infidels started to proceed for Badr (Battle) and declared war (against the Muslims), his wife said to him, "Don't you remember what your brother from Yathrib told you?" Umaiya decided not to go but Abu Jahl said to him, "You are from the nobles of the valley of Mecca), so you should accompany us for a day or two." He went with them and thus Allah got him killed.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 827:
Narrated Abu Uthman:
I got the news that Gabriel came to the Prophet while Um Salama was present. Gabriel started talking (to the Prophet and then left. The Prophet said to Um Salama, "(Do you know) who it was?" (or a similar question). She said, "It was Dihya (a handsome person amongst the companions of the Prophet)." Later on Um Salama said, "By Allah! I thought he was none but Dihya, till I heard the Prophet talking about Gabriel in his sermon." (The Sub-narrator asked Abu Uthman, "From where have you heard this narration?" He replied, "From Usama bin Zaid.")

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 828:
Narrated Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle said, "I saw (in a dream) the people assembled in a gathering, and then Abu Bakr got up and drew one or two buckets of water (from a well) but there was weakness in his drawing. May Allah forgive him. Then Umar took the bucket and in his hands it turned into a very large bucket. I had never seen anyone amongst: the people who could draw the water as strongly as Umar till all the people drank their fill and watered their camels that knelt down there.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 829:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
The Jews came to Allah's Apostle and told him that a man and a woman from amongst them had committed illegal sexual intercourse. Allah's Apostle said to them, "What do you find in the Torah (old Testament) about the legal punishment of Ar-Rajm (stoning)?" They replied, (But) we announce their crime and lash them." Abdullah bin Salam said, "You are telling a lie; Torah contains the order of Rajm." They brought and opened the Torah and one of them solaced his hand on the Verse of Rajm and read the verses preceding and following it. Abdullah bin Salam said to him, "Lift your hand." When he lifted his hand, the Verse of Rajm was written there. They said, "Mohammed has told the truth; the Torah has the Verse of Rajm. The Prophet then gave the order that both of them should be stoned to death. (Abdullah bin Umar said, "I saw the man leaning over the woman to shelter her from the stones."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 830:
Narrated Abdullah bin Masud:
During the lifetime of the Prophet the moon was split into two parts and on that the Prophet said, "Bear witness (to thus)."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 831:
Narrated Anas:
That the Meccan people requested Allah's Apostle to show them a miracle, and so he showed them the splitting of the moon.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 832:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The moon was split into two parts during the lifetime of the Prophet.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 833:
Narrated Anas:
Once two men from the companions of Allah's Apostle went out of the house of the Prophet on a very dark night. They were accompanied by two things that resembled two lamps lighting the way in front of them, and when they parted, each of them was accompanied by one of those two things (lamps) till they reached their homes.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 834:
Narrated Al-Mughira bin Shu'ba:
The Prophet said, "Some of my followers will remain victorious (and on the right path) till the Last Day comes, and they will still be victorious."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 835:
Narrated Muawiya:
I heard the Prophet saying, "A group of people amongst my followers will remain obedient to Allah's orders and they will not be harmed by anyone who will not help them or who will oppose them, till Allah's Order (the Last Day) comes upon them while they are still on the right path."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 836:
Narrated Urwa:
That the Prophet gave him one Dinar so as to buy a sheep for him. Urwa bought two sheep for him with the money. Then he sold one of the sheep for one Dinar, and brought one Dinar and a sheep to the Prophet. On that, the Prophet invoked Allah to bless him in his deals. So Urwa used to gain (from any deal) even if he bought dust. (In another narration) Urwa said, "I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "There is always goodness in horses till the Day of Resurrection." (The subnarrator added, "I saw 70 horses in Urwa's house.') (Sufyan said, "The Prophet asked Urwa to buy a sheep for him as a sacrifice.")

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 837:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "There is always goodness in horses till the Day of Resurrection. "

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 838:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "There is always goodness in horses.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 839:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "A horse may be kept for one of three purposes: for a man it may be a source of reward; for another it may be a means of living; and for a third it may be a burden (a source of committing sins). As for the one for whom it is a source of reward, he is the one who keeps his horse for the sake of Jihad in Allah's Cause; he ties it with a long rope on a pasture or in a garden. So whatever its rope allows it to eat,

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will be regarded as good rewardable deeds (for its owner). And if it breaks off its rope and jumps over one or two hillocks, even its dung will be considered amongst his good deeds. And if it passes by a river and drinks water from it, that will be considered as good deeds for his benefit) even if he has had no intention of watering it. A horse is a shelter for the one who keeps it so that he may earn his living honestly and takes it as a refuge to keep him from following illegal ways (of gaining money), and does not forget the rights of Allah (i.e. paying the Zakat and allowing others to use it for Allah's Sake). But a horse is a burden (and a source of committing sins for him who keeps it out of pride and pretense and with the intention of harming the Muslims."

The Prophet was asked about donkeys. He replied, "Nothing has been revealed to be concerning them except this comprehensive Verse (which covers everything) :--'Then whosoever has done good equal to the weight of an atom (or a small ant), Shall see it (its reward) And whosoever has done evil equal to the weight of an atom (or a small) ant), Shall see it (Its punishment)." (99.7-8)

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 840:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle reached Khaibar in the early morning and the people of Khaibar came out with their spades, and when they saw the Prophet they said, "Mohammed and his army!" and returned hurriedly to take refuge in the fort. The Prophet raised his hands and said, "Allah is Greater! Khaibar is ruined ! If we approach a nation, then miserable is the morning of those who are warned."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 841:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I said, "O Allah's Apostle! I hear many narrations from you but I forget them." He said, "Spread your covering sheet." I spread my sheet and he moved both his hands as if scooping something and emptied them in the sheet and said, "Wrap it." I wrapped it round my body, and since then I have never forgotten a single Hadith.

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI,VOLUME 5

Translation of Sahih Bukhari, Book 57:
Companions of the Prophet

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 1:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
"Allah's Apostle said, "A time will come upon the people, when a group of people will wage a holy war and it will be said, 'Is there amongst you anyone who has accompanied Allah's Apostle?' They will say, 'Yes.' And so victory will be bestowed on them. Then a time will come upon the people when a group of people will wage a holy war, and it will be said, "Is there amongst you a none who has accompanied the companions of Allah's Apostle?' They will say, 'Yes.' And so victory will be bestowed on them. Then a time will come upon the people when a group of people will wage a holy war, and it will be said, "Is there amongst you anyone who has been in the company of the companions of the companions of Allah's Apostle ?' They will say, 'Yes.' And victory will be bestowed on them."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 2:
Narrated Imran bin Husain:
"Allah's Apostle said, 'The best of my followers are those living in my generation (i.e. my contemporaries). and then those who will follow the latter" Imran added, "I do not remember whether he mentioned two or three generations after his generation, then the Prophet added, 'There will come after you, people who will bear witness without being asked to do so, and will be treacherous and untrustworthy, and they will vow and never fulfill their vows, and fatness will appear among them."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 3:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "The best people are those living in my generation, and then those who will follow them, and then those who will follow the latter. Then there will come some people who will bear witness before taking oaths, and take oaths before bearing witness." (Ibrahim, a sub-narrator said, "They used to beat us for witnesses and covenants when we were still children.")

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 4:
Narrated Al-Bara:
Abu Bakr bought a (camel) saddle from Azib for thirteen Dirhams. Abu Bakr said to Azib, "Tell Al-Bara to carry the saddle for me." Azib said, "No, unless you relate to me what happened to you and Allah 's Apostle when you left Mecca while the pagans were in search of you." Abu Bakr said, "We left Mecca and we travel led continuously for that night and the following day till it was midday. I looked (around) searching for shade to take as shelter, and suddenly I came across a rock, and found a little shade there. So I cleaned the place and spread a bed for the Prophet in the shade and said to him, 'Lie down, O Allah's Apostle.' So the Prophet lay down and I went out, looking around to see if there was any person pursuing us. Suddenly I saw a shepherd driving his sheep towards the rock, seeking what we had already sought from it. I asked him, 'To whom do you belong, O boy?' He said, 'I belong to a man from Quraish.' He named the man and I recognized him. I asked him, 'Is there any milk with your sheep?' He said, 'Yes.' I said, 'Will you then milk (some) for us?' He said, 'Yes.' Then I asked him to tie the legs of one of the sheep and clean its udder, and then ordered him to clean his hands from dust. Then the shepherd cleaned his hands by striking his hands against one another. After doing so, he milked a small amount of milk. I used to keep for Allah's Apostle a leather water-container, the mouth of which was covered with a piece of cloth. I poured water on the milk container till its lower part was cold. Then I took the milk to the Prophet whom I found awake. I said to him, 'Drink, O Allah's Apostle.' So he drank till I became pleased. Then I said, 'It is time for us to move, O Allahs Apostle!' He said, 'Yes.' So we set out while the people (i.e. Quraish pagans) were searching for us, but none found us except Suraiqa bin Malik bin Jushum who was riding his horse. I said, 'These are our pursuers who have found us. O Allah's Apostle!' He said, 'Do not grieve, for Allah is with us."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 5:
Narrated Abu Bakr:
I said to the Prophet while I was in the Cave. "If any of them should look under his feet, he would see us." He said, "O Abu Bakr! What do you think of two (persons) the third of whom is Allah?"

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 6:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
Allah's Apostle addressed the people saying, "Allah has given option to a slave to choose this world or what is with Him. The slave has chosen what is with Allah." Abu Bakr wept, and we were astonished at his weeping caused by what the Prophet mentioned as to a Slave (of Allah) who had been offered a choice, (we learned later on) that Allah's Apostle himself was the person who was given the choice, and that Abu Bakr knew best of all of us. Allah's Apostle added, "The person who has favored me most of all both with his company and wealth, is Abu Bakr. If I were to take a Khalil other than my Lord, I would have taken Abu Bakr as such, but (what relates us) is the Islamic brotherhood and friendliness. All the gates of the Mosque should be closed except the gate of Abu Bakr."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 7:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
We used to compare the people as to who was better during the lifetime of Allah's Apostle . We used to regard Abu Bakr as the best, then Umar, and then Uthman .

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 8:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "If I were to take a Khalil, I would have taken Abu Bakr, but he is my brother and my companion (in Islam)."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 9:
Narrated Aiyub:
The Prophet said, "If I were to take a Khalil, I would have taken him (i.e. Abu Bakr) as a Khalil, but the Islamic brotherhood is better."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 10:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abi Mulaika:
The people of Kufa sent a letter to Ibn Az-Zubair, asking about (the inheritance of) (paternal) grandfather. He replied that the right of the inheritance of (paternal) grandfather is the same as that of father if the father is dead) and added, "Allah's Apostle said, ' If I were to take a Khalil from this nation, I would have taken him (i.e. Abu Bakr)."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 11:
Narrated Jubair bin Mutim:
A woman came to the Prophet who ordered her to return to him again. She said, "What if I came and did not find you?" as if she wanted to say, "If I found you dead?" The Prophet said, "If you should not find me, go to Abu Bakr."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 12:
Narrated Ammar:
I saw Allah's Apostle and there was none with him but five slaves, two women and Abu Bakr (i.e. those were the only converts to Islam then).

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 13:
Narrated Abu Ad-Darda:
While I was sitting with the Prophet, Abu Bakr came, lifting up one corner of h is garment uncovering h is knee. The Prophet said, "Your companion has had a quarrel." Abu Bakr greeted (the Prophet) and said, "O Allah's Apostle! There was something (i.e. quarrel) between me and the Son of Al-Khattab. I talked to him harshly and then regretted that, and requested him to forgive me, but he refused. This is why I have come to you." The Prophet said thrice, "O Abu Bakr! May Allah forgive you." In the meanwhile, Umar regretted (his refusal of Abu Bakr's excuse) and went to Abu Bakr's house and asked if Abu Bakr was there. They replied in the negative. So he came to the Prophet and greeted him, but signs of displeasure appeared on the face of the Prophet till Abu Bakr pitied (Umar), so he knelt and said twice, "O Allah's Apostle! By Allah! I was more unjust to him (than he to me)." The Prophet said, "Allah sent me (as a Prophet) to you (people) but you said (to me), 'You are telling a lie,' while Abu Bakr said, 'He has said the truth,' and consoled me with himself and his money." He then said twice, "Won't you then give up harming my companion?" After that nobody harmed Abu Bakr.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 14:
Narrated Amr bin Al-As:
The Prophet deputed me to read the Army of Dhat-as-Salasil. I came to him and said, "Who is the most beloved person to you?" He said, " Aisha." I asked, "Among the men?" He said, "Her father." I said, "Who then?" He said, "Then Umar bin Al-Khattab." He then named other men.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 15:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "While a shepherd was amongst his sheep, a wolf attacked them and took away one sheep. When the shepherd chased the wolf, the wolf turned towards him and said, 'Who will be its guard on the day of wild animals when nobody except I will be its shepherd. And while a man was driving a cow with a load on it, it turned towards him and spoke to him saying, 'I have not been created for this purpose, but for ploughing." The people said, "Glorified be Allah." The Prophet said, "But I believe in it and so does Abu Bakr end Umar."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 16:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "While I was sleeping, I saw myself standing at a well, on it there was a bucket. I drew water from the well as much as Allah wished. Then Ibn Abi Quhafa (i.e. Abu Bakr) took the bucket from me and brought out one or two buckets (of water) and there was weakness in his drawing the water. May Allah forgive his weakness for him. Then the bucket turned into a very big one and Ibn Al-Khattab took it over and I had never seen such a mighty person amongst the people as him in performing such hard work, till the people drank to their satisfaction and watered their camels that knelt down there."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 17:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
That Allah's Apostle said, "Allah will not look on the Day of Judgement at him who drags his robe (behind him) out of pride." Abu Bakr said "One side of my robe slacks down unless I get very cautious about it." Allah's Apostle said, "But you do not do that with a pride."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 18:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "Anybody who spends a pair of something in Allah's Cause will be called from all the gates of Paradise, "O Allah's slave! This is good.' He who is amongst those who pray will be called from the gate of the prayer (in Paradise) and he who is from the people of Jihad will be called from the gate of Jihad, and he who is from those' who give in charity (i.e. Zakat) will be called from the gate of charity, and he who is amongst those who observe fast will be called from the gate of fasting, the gate of Raiyan." Abu Bakr said, "He who is called from all those gates will need nothing," He added, "Will anyone be called from all those gates, O Allah's Apostle?" He said, "Yes, and I hope you will be among those, O Abu Bakr."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 19:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) Allah's Apostle died while Abu Bakr was at a place called As-Sunah (Al-Aliya) Umar stood up and said, "By Allah! Allah's Apostle is not dead!" Umar (later on) said, "By Allah! Nothing occurred to my mind except that." He said, "Verily! Allah will resurrect him and he will cut the hands and legs of some men." Then Abu Bakr came and uncovered the face of Allah's Apostle, kissed him and said, "Let my mother and father be sacrificed for you, (O Allah's Apostle), you are good in life and in death. By Allah in Whose Hands my life is, Allah will never make you taste death twice." Then he went out and said, "O oath-taker!

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Don't be hasty." When Abu Bakr spoke, Umar sat down. Abu Bakr praised and glorified Allah and said, No doubt! Whoever worshipped Mohammed, then Mohammed is dead, but whoever worshipped Allah, then Allah is Alive and shall never die." Then he recited Allah's Statement.:-- "(O Mohammed) Verily you will die, and they also will die." (39.30) He also recited:--

"Mohammed is no more than an Apostle; and indeed many Apostles have passed away, before him, If he dies Or is killed, will you then Turn back on your heels? And he who turns back On his heels, not the least Harm will he do to Allah And Allah will give reward to those Who are grateful." (3.144)

The people wept loudly, and the Ansar were assembled with Sad bin 'Ubada in the shed of Bani Saida. They said (to the emigrants). "There should be one Amir from us and one from you." Then Abu Bakr, Umar bin Al-Khattab and Abu 'baida bin Al-Jarrah went to them. Umar wanted to speak but Abu Bakr stopped him. Umar later on used to say, "By Allah, I intended only to say something that appealed to me and I was afraid that Abu Bakr would not speak so well. Then Abu Bakr spoke and his speech was very eloquent. He said in his statement, "We are the rulers and you (Ansars) are the ministers (i.e. advisers)," Hubab bin Al-Mundhir said, "No, by Allah we won't accept this. But there must be a ruler from us and a ruler from you." Abu Bakr said, "No, we will be the rulers and you will be the ministers, for they (i.e. Quarish) are the best family amongst the 'Arabs and of best origin. So you should elect either Umar or Abu Ubaida bin Al-Jarrah as your ruler." Umar said (to Abu Bakr), "No but we elect you, for you are our chief and the best amongst us and the most beloved of all of us to Allah's Apostle." So Umar took Abu Bakr's hand and gave the pledge of allegiance and the people too gave the pledge of allegiance to Abu Bakr. Someone said, "You have killed Sad bin Ubada." Umar said, "Allah has killed him." Aisha said (in another narration), ("When the Prophet was on his death-bed) he looked up and said thrice, (Amongst) the Highest Companion (See Koran 4.69)' Aisha said, Allah benefited the people by their two speeches. Umar frightened the people some of whom were hypocrites whom Allah caused to abandon Islam because of Umar's speech. Then Abu Bakr led the people to True Guidance and acquainted them with the right path they were to follow so that they went out reciting:-- "Mohammed is no more than an Apostle and indeed many Apostles have passed away before him.." (3.144)

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 20:
Narrated Mohammed bin Al-Hanafiya:
I asked my father (Ali bin Abi Talib), "Who are the best people after Allah's Apostle ?" He said, "Abu Bakr." I asked, "Who then?" He said, "Then Umar. " I was afraid he would say "Uthman, so I said, "Then you?" He said, "I am only an ordinary person.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 21:
Narrated Aisha:
We went out with Allah's Apostle on one of his journeys till we reached Al-Baida or Dhatul-Jaish where my necklace got broken (and lost). Allah's Apostle stopped to search for it and the people too stopped with him. There was no water at that place and they had no water with them. So they went to Abu Bakr and said, "Don't you see what Aisha has done? She has made Allah's Apostle and the people stop where there is no water and they have no water with them. Abu Bakr came while Allah's Apostle was sleeping with his head on my thigh and said, "You detained Allah Apostle and the people where there is no water and they have no water." He then admonished me and said what Allah wished and pinched me at my flanks with his hands, but I did not move because the head of Allah's Apostle was on my thigh .

Allah's Apostle kept on sleeping till be got up in the morning and found no water. Then Allah revealed the Divine Verse of Tayammum, and the people performed Tayammum. Usaid bin AlHudair said. "O family of Abu Bakr! This is not the first blessings of yours." We urged the camel on which I was sitting to get up from its place and the necklace was found under it.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 22:
Narrated Abu Said:
The Prophet said, "Do not abuse my companions for if any one of you spent gold equal to Uhud (in Allah's Cause) it would not be equal to a Mud or even a half Mud spent by one of them."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 23:
Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ashari:
I performed ablution in my house and then went out and said, "Today I shall stick to Allah's Apostle and stay with him all this day of mine (in his service)." I went to the Mosque and asked about the Prophet . They said, "He had gone in this direction." So I followed his way, asking about him till he entered a place called Bir Aris. I sat at its gate that was made of date-palm leaves till the Prophet finished answering the call of nature and performed ablution. Then I went up to him to see him sitting at the well of Aris at the middle of its edge with his legs uncovered, hanging in the well. I greeted him and went back and sat at the gate. I said, "Today I will be the gatekeeper of the Prophet." Abu Bakr came and pushed the gate. I asked, "Who is it?" He said, "Abu Bakr." I told him to wait, went in and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Abu Bakr asks for permission to enter." He said, "Admit him and give him the glad tidings that he will be in Paradise." So I went out and said to Abu Bakr, "Come in, and Allah's Apostle gives you the glad tidings that you will be in Paradise" Abu Bakr entered and sat on the right side of Allah's Apostle on the built edge of the well and hung his legs n the well as the Prophet did and uncovered his legs. I then returned and sat (at the gate). I had left my brother performing ablution and he intended to follow me. So I said (to myself). "If Allah wants good for so-and-so (i.e. my brother) He will bring him here." Suddenly somebody moved the door. I asked, "Who is it?" He said, "Umar bin Al-Khattab." I asked him to wait, went to Allah's Apostle, greeted him and said, Umar bin Al-Khattab asks the permission to enter." He said, "Admit him, and give him the glad tidings that he will be in Paradise." I went to "Umar and said "Come in, and Allah's Apostle, gives you the glad tidings that you will be in Paradise." So he entered and sat beside Allah's Apostle on the built edge of the well on the left side and hung his legs in the well. I returned and sat (at the gate) and said, (to myself), "If Allah wants good for so-and-so, He will bring him here." Somebody came and moved the door. I asked "Who is it?" He replied, "Uthman bin Affan." I asked him to wait and went to the Prophet and informed him. He said, "Admit him, and give him the glad tidings of entering Paradise, I asked him to wait and went to the Prophet and informed him. He said, "Admit him, and give him the glad tidings of entering Paradise after a calamity that will befall him." So I went up to him and said to him, "Come in; Allah's Apostle gives you the glad tidings of entering Paradise after a calamity that will befall you. "Uthman then came in and found that the built edge of the well was occupied, so he sat opposite to the Prophet on the other side. Said bin Al-Musaiyab said, "I interpret this (narration) in terms of their graves."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 24:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet once climbed the mountain of Uhud with Abu Bakr, Umar and Uthman. The mountain shook with them. The Prophet said (to the mountain), "Be firm, O Uhud! For on you there are no more than a Prophet, a Siddiq and two martyrs.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 25:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar: Allah's Apostle said. "While (in a dream), I was standing by a well, drawing water from it. Abu Bakr and Umar came to me. Abu Bakr took the bucket (from me) and drew one or two buckets of water, and there was some weakness

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 26:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
While I was standing amongst the people who were invoking Allah for Umar bin Al-Khattab who was lying (dead) on his bed, a man behind me rested his elbows on my shoulder and said, "(O Umar!) May Allah bestow His Mercy on you. I always hoped that Allah will keep you with your two companions, for I often heard Allah's Apostle saying, "I, Abu Bakr and Umar were (somewhere). I, Abu Bakr and Umar did (something). I, Abu Bakr and Umar set out.' So I hoped that Allah will keep you with both of them." I turned back to see that the speaker was Ali bin Abi Talib.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 27:
Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair:
I asked Abdullah bin Amr, "What was the worst thing the pagans did to Allah's Apostle?" He said, "I saw Uqba bin Abi Mu'ait coming to the Prophet while he was praying.' Uqba put his sheet round the Prophet's neck and squeezed it very severely. Abu Bakr came and pulled Uqba away from the Prophet and said, "Do you intend to kill a man just because he says: 'My Lord is Allah, and he has brought forth to you the Evident Signs from your Lord?"

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 28:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "I saw myself (in a dream) entering Paradise, and behold! I saw Ar-Rumaisa', Abu Talha's wife. I heard footsteps. I asked, Who is it? Somebody said, 'It is Bilal ' Then I saw a palace and a lady sitting in its courtyard. I asked, 'For whom is this palace?' Somebody replied, 'It is for Umar.' I intended to enter it and see it, but I thought of your (Umar's) Ghira (and gave up the attempt)." Umar said, "Let my parents be sacrificed for you, O Allah's Apostle! How dare I think of my Ghira (self-respect) being offended by you?

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 29:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
While we were with Allah's Apostle he said, "While I was sleeping, I saw myself in Paradise, and suddenly I saw a woman performing ablution beside a palace. I asked, 'For whom is this palace?' They replied, 'It is for Umar.' Then I remembered Umar's Ghira (self-respect) and went away quickly." Umar wept and Said, O Allah's Apostle! How dare I think of my ghira (self-respect) being offended by you?

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 30:
Narrated Hamza's father:
Allah's Apostle said, "While I was sleeping, I saw myself drinking (i.e. milk), and I was so contented that I saw the milk flowing through my nails. Then I gave (the milk) to Umar." They (i.e. the companions of the Prophet) asked, "What do you interpret it?" He said, "Knowledge."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 31:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
The Prophet said, "In a dream I saw myself drawing water from a well with a bucket. Abu Bakr came and drew a bucket or two weakly. May Allah forgive him. Then Umar bin Al-Khattab came and the bucket turned into a very large one in his hands. I had never seen such a mighty person as he in doing such hard work till all the people drank to their satisfaction and watered their camels that knelt down there.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 32:
Narrated Sad bin Abi Waqqas:
Umar bin Al-Khattab asked the permission of Allah's Apostle to see him while some Quraishi women were sitting with him, talking to him and asking him for more expenses, raising their voices above the voice of Allah's Apostle.

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

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 33:
Narrated Abdullah:
We have been powerful since Umar embraced Islam.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 34:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
When (the dead body of) Umar was put on his deathbed, the people gathered around him and invoked (Allah) and prayed for him before the body was taken away, and I was amongst them. Suddenly I felt somebody taking hold of my shoulder and found out that he was Ali bin Abi Talib. Ali invoked Allah's Mercy for Umar and said, "O Umar! You have not left behind you a person whose deeds I like to imitate and meet Allah with more than I like your deeds. By Allah! I always thought that Allah would keep you with your two companions, for very often I used to hear the Prophet saying, 'I, Abu Bakr and Umar went (somewhere); I, Abu Bakr and Umar entered (somewhere); and I, Abu Bakr and Umar went out.'"

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 35:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet ascended the mountain of Uhud and he was accompanied by Abu Bakr, Umar and Uthman. The mountain shook beneath them. The Prophet hit it with his foot and said, "O Uhud ! Be firm, for on you there is none but a Prophet, a Siddiq and a martyr (i.e. and two martyrs).

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 36:
Narrated Aslam:
Ibn Umar asked me about some matters concerning Umar. He said, "Since Allah's Apostle died. I have never seen anybody more serious, hard working and generous than Umar bin Al-Khattab (till the end of his life."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 37:
Narrated Anas:
A man asked the Prophet about the Hour (i.e. Day of Judgement) saying, "When will the Hour be?" The Prophet said, "What have you prepared for it?" The man said, "Nothing, except that I love Allah and His Apostle." The Prophet said, "You will be with those whom you love." We had never been so glad as we were on hearing that saying of the Prophet (i.e., "You will be with those whom you love.") Therefore, I love the Prophet, Abu Bakr and Umar, and I

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hope that I will be with them because of my love for them though my deeds are not similar to theirs.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 38:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Among the nations before you there used to be people who were inspired (though they were not prophets). And if there is any of such a persons amongst my followers, it is Umar."
Narrated Abu Huraira: The Prophet said, "Among the nation of Bani Israel who lived before you, there were men who used to be inspired with guidance though they were not prophets, and if there is any of such persons amongst my followers, it is Umar."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 39:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whilst a shepherd was amongst his sheep, a wolf attacked them and took away a sheep. The shepherd chased it and got that sheep freed from the wolf. The wolf turned towards the shepherd and said, 'Who will guard the sheep on the day of wild animals when it will have no shepherd except myself?" The people said, "Glorified be Allah." The Prophet said, "But I believe in it and so do Abu Bakr and Umar although Abu Bakr and Umar were not present there (at the place of the event).

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 40:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "While I was sleeping, the people were presented to me (in a dream). They were wearing shirts, some of which were merely covering their (chests). and some were a bit longer. Umar was presented before me and his shirt was so long that he was dragging it." They asked, "How have you interpreted it, O Allah's Apostle?" He said, "Religion."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 41:
Narrated Al-Miswar bin Makhrama:
When Umar was stabbed, he showed signs of agony. Ibn Abbas, as if intending to encourage Umar, said to him, "O Chief of the believers! Never mind what has happened to you, for you have been in the company of Allah's Apostle and you kept good relations with him and you parted with him while he was pleased with you. Then you were in the company of Abu Bakr and kept good relations with him and you parted with him (i.e. he died) while he was pleased with you. Then you were in the company of the Muslims, and you kept good relations with them, and if you leave them, you will leave them while they are pleased with you." Umar said, (to Ibn "Abbas), "As for what you have said about the company of Allah's Apostle and his being pleased with me, it is a favor, Allah did to me; and as for what you have said about the company of Abu Bakr and his being pleased with me, it is a favor Allah did to me; and concerning my impatience which you see, is because of you and your companions. By Allah! If (at all) I had gold equal to the earth, I would have ransomed myself with it from the Punishment of Allah before I meet Him."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 42:
Narrated Abu Musa:
While I was with the Prophet in one of the gardens of Medina, a man came and asked me to open the gate. The Prophet said to me, "Open the gate for him and give him the glad tidings that he will enter Paradise." I opened (the gate) for him, and behold! It was Abu Bakr. I informed him of the glad tidings the Prophet had said, and he praised Allah. Then another man came and asked me to open the gate. The Prophet said to me "Open (the gate) and give him the glad tidings of entering Paradise." I opened (the gate) for him, and behold! It was Umar. I informed him of what the Prophet had said, and he praised Allah. Then another man came and asked me to open the gate. The Prophet said to me. "Open (the gate) for him and inform him of the glad tidings, of entering Paradise with a calamity which will befall him. " Behold ! It was Uthman, I informed him of what Allah's Apostle had said. He praised Allah and said, "I seek Allah's Aid."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 43:
Narrated Abdullah bin Hisham:
We were with the Prophet while he was holding Umar bin Al-Khattab by the hand.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 44:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet entered a garden and ordered me to guard its gate. A man came and asked permission to enter. The Prophet said, "Admit him and give him the glad tidings of entering Paradise." Behold! It was Abu Bakr. Another man came and asked the permission to enter. The Prophet said, "Admit him and give him the glad tidings of entering Paradise." Behold! It was Umar. Then another man came, asking the permission to enter. The Prophet kept silent for a short while and then said, "Admit him and give him the glad tidings of entering Paradise with a calamity which will befall him." Behold! It was Uthman bin 'Affan. 'Asim, in another narration, said that the Prophet was sitting in a place where there was water, and he was uncovering both his knees or his knee, and when Uthman entered, he covered them (or it).

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 45:
Narrated Ubaid-ullah bin Adi bin Al-Khiyar:
Al-Miswar bin Makhrama and Abdur-Rahman bin Al-Aswad bin Abu Yaghuth said (to me), "What forbids you to talk to Uthman about his brother Al-Walid because people have talked much about him?" So I went to Uthman and when he went out for prayer I said (to him), "I have something to say to you and it is a piece of advice for you " Uthman said, "O man, from you." (Umar said: I see that he said, "I seek Refuge with Allah from you.") So I left him and went to them. Then the messenger of Uthman came and I went to him (i.e. Uthman), Uthman asked, "What is your advice?" I replied, "Allah sent Mohammed with the Truth, and revealed the Divine Book (i.e. Koran) to him; and you were amongst those who followed Allah and His Apostle, and you participated in the two migrations (to Ethiopia and to Medina) and enjoyed the company of Allah's Apostle and saw his way. No doubt, the people are talking much about Al-Walid." Uthman said, "Did you receive your knowledge directly from Allah's Apostle ?" I said, "No, but his knowledge did reach me and it reached (even) to a virgin in her seclusion." Uthman said, "And then Allah sent Mohammed with the Truth and I was amongst those who followed Allah and His Apostle and I believed in what ever he (i.e. the Prophet) was sent with, and participated in two migrations, as you have said, and I enjoyed the company of Allah's Apostle and gave the pledge of allegiance him. By Allah! I never disobeyed him, nor did I cheat him till Allah took him unto Him. Then I treated Abu Bakr and then Umar similarly and then I was made Caliph. So, don't I have rights similar to theirs?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Then what are these talks reaching me from you people? Now, concerning what you mentioned about the question of Al-Walid, Allah willing, I shall deal with him according to what is right." Then he called Ali and ordered him to flog him, and Ali flogged him (i.e. Al-Walid) eighty lashes.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 46:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle ascended the (mountain) of Uhud with Abu Bakr and Uthman and it shook. Allah's Apostle said, "Be calm, O Uhud!" I think he stroked it with his foot and added, "There is none on you but a Prophet, a Siddiq and two martyrs." (The two martyrs were Umar and Uthman) (See Hadith No. 24)

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 47:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
During the lifetime of the Prophet we considered Abu Bakr as peerless and then Umar and then Uthman (coming next to him in superiority) and then we used not to differentiate between the companions of the Prophet

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 48:
Narrated Uthman:
(the son of Muhib) An Egyptian who came and performed the Hajj to the Kaba saw some people sitting. He enquire, "Who are these people?" Somebody said, "They are the tribe of Quraish." He said, "Who is the old man sitting amongst them?" The people replied, "He is Abdullah bin Umar." He said, "O Ibn Umar! I want to ask you about something; please tell me about it. Do you know that Uthman fled away on the day (of the battle) of Uhud?" Ibn Umar said, "Yes." The (Egyptian) man said, "Do you know that Uthman was absent on the day (of the battle) of Badr and did not join it?" Ibn Umar said, "Yes." The man said, "Do you know that he failed to attend the Ar Ridwan pledge and did not witness it (i.e. Hudaibiya pledge of allegiance)?" Ibn Umar said, "Yes." The man said, "Allahu Akbar!" Ibn Umar said, "Let me explain to you (all these three things). As for his flight on the day of Uhud, I testify that Allah has excused him and forgiven him; and as for his absence from the battle of Badr, it was due to the fact that the daughter of Allah's Apostle was his wife and she was sick then. Allah's Apostle said to him, "You will receive the same reward and share (of the booty) as anyone of those who participated in the battle of Badr (if you stay with her).' As for his absence from the Ar-Ridwan pledge of allegiance, had there been any person in Mecca more respectable than Uthman (to be sent as a representative). Allah's Apostle would have sent him instead of him. No doubt, Allah's Apostle had sent him, and the incident of the Ar-Ridwan pledge of Allegiance happened after Uthman had gone to Mecca. Allah's Apostle held out his right hand saying, 'This is Uthman's hand.' He stroke his (other) hand with it saying, 'This (pledge of allegiance) is on the behalf of Uthman.' Then Ibn Umar said to the man, 'Bear (these) excuses in mind with you.'

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 49:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet ascended the mountain of Uhud and Abu Bakr, Umar and Uthman were accompanying him. The mountain gave a shake (i.e. trembled underneath them) . The Prophet said, "O Uhud ! Be calm." I think that the Prophet hit it with his foot, adding, "For upon you there are none but a Prophet, a Siddiq and two martyrs."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 50:
Narrated Amr bin Maimun:
I saw Umar bin Al-Khattab a few days before he was stabbed in Medina. He was standing with Hudhaifa bin Al-Yaman and Uthman bin Hunaif to whom he said, "What have you done? Do you think that you have imposed more taxation on the land (of As-Swad i.e. 'Iraq) than it can bear?" They replied, "We have imposed on it what it can bear because of its great yield." Umar again said, "Check whether you have imposed on the land what it can not bear." They said, "No, (we haven't)." Umar added, "If Allah should keep me alive I will let the widows of Iraq need no men to support them after me." But only four days had elapsed when he was stabbed (to death). The day he was stabbed, I was standing and there was nobody between me and him (i.e. Umar) except Abdullah bin Abbas. Whenever Umar passed between the two rows, he would say, "Stand in straight lines."
When he saw no defect (in the rows), he would go forward and start the prayer with Takbir. He would recite Surat Yusuf or An-Nahl or the like in the first Rak'a so that the people may have the time to Join the prayer. As soon as he said Takbir, I heard him saying, "The dog has killed or eaten me," at the time he (i.e. the murderer) stabbed him. A non-Arab infidel proceeded on carrying a double-edged knife and stabbing all the persons he passed by on the right and left (till) he stabbed thirteen persons out of whom seven died. When one of the Muslims saw that, he threw a cloak on him. Realizing that he had been captured, the non-Arab infidel killed himself, Umar held the hand of Abdur-Rahman bin Auf and let him lead the prayer.
Those who were standing by the side of Umar saw what I saw, but the people who were in the other parts of the Mosque did not see anything, but they lost the voice of Umar and they were saying, "Subhan Allah! Subhan Allah! (i.e. Glorified be Allah)." Abdur-Rahman bin Auf led the people a short prayer. When they finished the prayer, Umar said, "O Ibn Abbas! Find out who attacked me." Ibn Abbas kept on looking here and there for a short time and came to say. "The slave of Al Mughira." On that Umar said, "The craftsman?" Ibn Abbas said, "Yes." Umar said, "May Allah curse him. I did not treat him unjustly. All the Praises are for Allah Who has not caused me to die at the hand of a man who claims himself to be a Muslim. No doubt, you and your father (Abbas) used to love to have more non-Arab infidels in Medina." Al-Abbas had the greatest number of slaves. Ibn Abbas said to Umar. "If you wish, we will do." He meant, "If you wish we will kill them." Umar said, "You are mistaken (for you can't kill them) after they have spoken your language, prayed towards your Qibla, and performed Hajj like yours."
Then Umar was carried to his house, and we went along with him, and the people were as if they had never suffered a calamity before. Some said, "Do not worry (he will be Alright soon)." Some said, "We are afraid (that he will die)." Then an infusion of dates was brought to him and he drank it but it came out (of the wound) of his belly. Then milk was brought to him and he drank it, and it also came out of his belly. The people realized that he would die. We went to him, and the people came, praising him. A young man came saying, "O chief of the believers! Receive the glad tidings from Allah to you due to your company with Allah's Apostle and your superiority in Islam which you know. Then you became the ruler (i.e. Caliph) and you ruled with justice and finally you have been martyred." Umar said, "I wish that all these privileges will counterbalance (my shortcomings) so that I will neither lose nor gain anything."
When the young man turned back to leave, his clothes seemed to be touching the ground. Umar said, "Call the young man back to me." (When he came back) Umar said, "O son of my brother! Lift your clothes, for this will keep your clothes clean and save you from the Punishment of your Lord." Umar further said, "O Abdullah bin Umar! See how much I am in debt to others." When the debt was checked, it amounted to approximately eighty-six thousand. Umar said, "If the property of Umar's family covers the debt, then pay the debt thereof; otherwise request it from Bani Adi bin Ka'b, and if that too is not sufficient, ask for it from Quraish tribe, and do not ask for it from any one else, and pay this debt on my behalf."
Umar then said (to Abdullah), "Go to Aisha (the mother of the believers) and say: "Umar is paying his salutation to you. But don't say: 'The chief of the believers,' because today I am not the chief of the believers. And say: "Umar bin Al-Khattab asks the permission to be buried with his two companions (i.e. the Prophet, and Abu Bakr)." Abdullah greeted Aisha and asked for the permission for entering, and then entered to her

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and found her sitting and weeping. He said to her, "Umar bin Al-Khattab is paying his salutations to you, and asks the permission to be buried with his two companions." She said, "I had the idea of having this place for myself, but today I prefer Umar to myself." When he returned it was said (to Umar), "Abdullah bin Umar has come." Umar said, "Make me sit up." Somebody supported him against his body and Umar asked (Abdullah), "What news do you have?" He said, "O chief of the believers! It is as you wish. She has given the permission." Umar said, "Praise be to Allah, there was nothing more important to me than this. So when I die, take me, and greet Aisha and say: "Umar bin Al-Khattab asks the permission (to be buried with the Prophet), and if she gives the permission, bury me there, and if she refuses, then take me to the grave-yard of the Muslims."

Then Hafsa (the mother of the believers) came with many other women walking with her. When we saw her, we went away. She went in (to Umar) and wept there for sometime. When the men asked for permission to enter, she went into another place, and we heard her weeping inside. The people said (to Umar), "O chief of the believers! Appoint a successor." Umar said, "I do not find anyone more suitable for the job than the following persons or group whom Allah's Apostle had been pleased with before he died." Then Umar mentioned Ali, Uthman, AzZubair, Talha, Sad and Abdur-Rahman (bin Auf) and said, "Abdullah bin Umar will be a witness to you, but he will have no share in the rule. His being a witness will compensate him for not sharing the right of ruling. If Sad becomes the ruler, it will be alright: otherwise, whoever becomes the ruler should seek his help, as I have not dismissed him because of disability or dishonesty." Umar added, "I recommend that my successor takes care of the early emigrants; to know their rights and protect their honor and sacred things.

I also recommend that he be kind to the Ansar who had lived in Medina before the emigrants and Belief had entered their hearts before them. I recommend that the (ruler) should accept the good of the righteous among them and excuse their wrong-doers, and I recommend that he should do good to all the people of the towns (Al-Ansar), as they are the protectors of Islam and the source of wealth and the source of annoyance to the enemy. I also recommend that nothing be taken from them except from their surplus with their consent. I also recommend that he do good to the 'Arab bedouin, as they are the origin of the 'Arabs and the material of Islam. He should take from what is inferior, amongst their properties and distribute that to the poor amongst them. I also recommend him concerning Allah's and His Apostle's protectees (i.e. Dhimmis) to fulfill their contracts and to fight for them and not to overburden them with what is beyond their ability." So when Umar expired, we carried him out and set out walking. Abdullah bin Umar greeted (Aisha) and said, "Umar bin Al-Khattab asks for the permission." Aisha said, "Bring him in." He was brought in and buried beside his two companions.

When he was buried, the group (recommended by Umar) held a meeting. Then Abdur-Rahman said, " Reduce the candidates for rulership to three of you." Az-Zubair said, "I give up my right to Ali." Talha said, "I give up my right to Uthman," Sad, 'I give up my right to Abdur-Rahman bin 'Auf." Abdur-Rahman then said (to Uthman and Ali), "Now which of you is willing to give up his right of candidacy to that he may choose the better of the (remaining) two, bearing in mind that Allah and Islam will be his witnesses." So both the sheiks (i.e. Uthman and Ali) kept silent. Abdur-Rahman said, "Will you both leave this matter to me, and I take Allah as my Witness that I will not choose but the better of you?" They said, "Yes." So Abdur-Rahman took the hand of one of them (i.e. Ali) and said, "You are related to Allah's Apostle and one of the earliest Muslims as you know well. So I ask you by Allah to promise that if I select you as a ruler you will do justice, and if I select Uthman as a ruler you will listen to him and obey him." Then he took the other (i.e. Uthman) aside and said the same to him. When Abdur-Rahman secured (their agreement to) this covenant, he said, "O Uthman! Raise your hand." So he (i.e. Abdur-Rahman) gave him (i.e. Uthman) the solemn pledge, and then Ali gave him the pledge of allegiance and then all the (Medina) people gave him the pledge of allegiance.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 51:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:

Allah's Apostle said, "Tomorrow I will give the flag to a man with whose leadership Allah will grant (the Muslim) victory." So the people kept on thinking the whole night as to who would be given the flag. The next morning the people went to Allah's Apostle and every one of them hoped that he would be given the flag. The Prophet said, "Where is Ali bin Abi Talib?" The people replied, "He is suffering from eye trouble, O Allah's Apostle." He said, "Send for him and bring him to me." So when Ali came, the Prophet spat in his eyes and invoked good on him, and he became alright as if he had no ailment. The Prophet then gave him the flag. Ali said, "O Allah's Apostle! Shall I fight them (i.e. enemy) till they become like us?" The Prophet said, "Proceed to them steadily till you approach near to them and then invite them to Islam and inform them of their duties towards Allah which Islam prescribes for them, for by Allah, if one man is guided on the right path (i.e. converted to Islam) through you, it would be better for you than (a great number of) red camels."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 52:
Narrated Salama:

Ali happened to stay behind the Prophet and (did not join him) during the battle of Khaibar for he was having eye trouble. Then he said, "How could I remain behind Allah's Apostle?" So Ali set out following the Prophet , When it was the eve of the day in the morning of which Allah helped (the Muslims) to conquer it, Allah's Apostle said, "I will give the flag (to a man), or tomorrow a man whom Allah and His Apostle love will take the flag," or said, "A man who loves Allah and His Apostle; and Allah will grant victory under his leadership." Suddenly came Ali whom we did not expect. The people said, "This is Ali." Allah's Apostle gave him the flag and Allah granted victory under his leadership.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 53:
Narrated Abu Hazim:

A man came to Sahl bin Sad and said, "This is so-and-so," meaning the Governor of Medina, "He is calling Ali bad names near the pulpit." Sahl asked, "What is he saying?" He (i.e. the man) replied, "He calls him (i.e. Ali) Abu Turab." Sahl laughed and said, "By Allah, none but the Prophet called him by this name and no name was dearer to Ali than this." So I asked Sahl to tell me more, saying, "O Abu Abbas! How (was this name given to Ali)?" Sahl said, "Ali went to Fatima and then came out and slept in the Mosque. The Prophet asked Fatima, "Where is your cousin?" She said, "In the Mosque." The Prophet went to him and found that his (i.e. Ali's) covering sheet had slipped of his back and dust had soiled his back. The Prophet started wiping the dust off his back and said twice, "Get up! O Abu Turab (i.e. O. man with the dust)."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 54:
Narrated Sad bin Ubaida:

A man came to Ibn Umar and asked about Uthman and Ibn Umar mentioned his good deeds and said to the questioner. "Perhaps these facts annoy you?" The other said, "Yes." Ibn Umar said, "May Allah stick your nose in the dust (i.e. degrade you)!' Then the man asked him about Ali. Ibn Umar mentioned his good deeds and said, "It is all true, and that is his house in the midst of the houses of the Prophet. Perhaps these facts have hurt you?" The questioner said, "Yes." Ibn Umar said, "May Allah stick your nose in the dust (i.e. degrade you or make you do things which you hate) ! Go away and do whatever you can against me."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 55:
Narrated Ali:

Fatima complained of the suffering caused to her by the hand mill. Some Captives were brought to the Prophet, she came to him but did not find him at home Aisha was present there to whom she told (of her desire for a servant). When the Prophet came, Aisha informed him about Fatima's visit. Ali added "So the Prophet came to us, while we had gone to our bed I wanted to get up but the Prophet said, "Remain at your place". Then he sat down between us till I found the coolness of his feet on my chest. Then he said, "Shall I teach you a thing which is better than what you have asked me? When you go to bed, say, 'Allahu-Akbar' thirty-four times, and 'Subhan Allah thirty-three times, and 'Alhamdu-lillah thirty-three times for that is better for you both than a servant."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 56:
Narrated Ubaida:

Ali said (to the people of 'Iraq), "Judge as you used to judge, for I hate differences (and I do my best) till the people unite as one group, or I die as my companions have died." And narrated Sad that the Prophet said to Ali, "Will you not be pleased from this that you are to me like Aaron was to Moses?"

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 57:
Narrated Abu Huraira:

The people used to say, "Abu Huraira narrates too many narrations." In fact I used to keep close to Allah's Apostle and was satisfied with what filled my stomach. I ate no leavened bread and dressed no decorated striped clothes, and never did a man or a woman serve me, and I often used to press my belly against gravel because of hunger, and I used to ask a man to recite a Koranic Verse to me although I knew it, so that he would take me to his home and feed me. And the most generous of all the people to the poor was Jafar bin Abi Talib. He used to take us to his home and offer us what was available therein. He would even offer us an empty folded leather container (of butter) which we would split and lick whatever was in it.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 58:
Narrated Ash-Sha'bi:

Whenever Ibn Umar greeted Ibn Jafar, he used to say: "As-salamu-'Alaika (i.e. Peace be on you) O son of Dhu-l-Janahain (son of the two-winged person)."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 59:
Narrated Anas:

Whenever there was drought, Umar bin Al-Khattab used to ask Allah for rain through AlAbbas bin Abdul Muttalib, saying, "O Allah! We used to request our Prophet to ask You for rain, and You would give us. Now we request the uncle of our Prophet to ask You for rain, so give us rain." And they would be given rain."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 60:
Narrated Aisha:

Fatima sent somebody to Abu Bakr asking him to give her her inheritance from the Prophet from what Allah had given to His Apostle through Fai (i.e. booty gained without fighting). She asked for the Sadaqa (i.e. wealth assigned for charitable purposes) of the Prophet at Medina, and Fadak, and what remained of the Khumus (i.e., one-fifth) of the Khaibar booty. Abu Bakr said, "Allah's Apostle said, 'We (Prophets), our property is not inherited, and whatever we leave is Sadaqa, but Mohammed's Family can eat from this property, i.e. Allah's property, but they have no right to take more than the food they need.' By Allah! I will not bring any change in dealing with the Sadaqa of the Prophet (and will keep them) as they used to be observed in his (i.e. the Prophet's) life-time, and I will dispose with it as Allah's Apostle used to do," Then Ali said, "I testify that None has the right to be worshipped but Allah, and that Mohammed is His Apostle," and added, "O Abu Bakr! We acknowledge your superiority." Then he (i.e. Ali) mentioned their own relationship to Allah's Apostle and their right. Abu Bakr then spoke saying, "By Allah in Whose Hands my life is. I love to do good to the relatives of Allah's Apostle rather than to my own relatives" Abu Bark added: Look at Mohammed through his family (i.e. if you are no good to his family you are not good to him).

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 61:
Narrated Al-Miswar bin Makhrama:

Allah's Apostle said, "Fatima is a part of me, and he who makes her angry, makes me angry."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 62:
Narrated Aisha:

The Prophet called his daughter Fatima during his illness in which he died, and told her a secret whereupon she wept. Then he called her again and told her a secret whereupon she laughed. When I asked her about that, she replied, "The Prophet spoke to me in secret and informed me that he would die in the course of the illness during which he died, so I wept. He again spoke to me in secret and informed me that I would be the first of his family to follow him (after his death) and on that I laughed."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 63:
Narrated Marwan bin Al-Hakam:

Uthman bin 'Affan was afflicted with severe nose-bleeding in the year when such illness was prevelant and that prevented him from performing Hajj, and (because of it) he made his will. A man from Quraish came to him and said, "Appoint your successor." Uthman asked, "Did the people name him? (i.e. the successor) the man said, "Yes." Uthman asked, "Who is that?" The man remained silent. Another man came to Uthman and I think it was Al-Harith. He also said, "Appoint your successor." Uthman asked, "Did the people name him?" The man replied "Yes." Uthman said, "Who is that?" The man remained silent. Uthman said, "Perhaps they have mentioned Az-Zubair?" The man said, "Yes." Uthman said, "By Him in Whose Hands my life is, he is the best of them as I know, and the dearest of them to Allah's Apostle ."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 64:
Narrated Marwan bin Al-Hakam:

While I was with Uthman, a man came to him and said, "Appoint your successor." Uthman said, "Has such successor been named?" He replied, "Yes, Az-Zubair." Uthman said, thrice, "By Allah! Indeed you know that he is the best of you."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 65:
Narrated Jabir:

The Prophet said, "Every prophet used to have a Hawari (i.e. disciple), and my Hawari is Az-Zubair bin Al-Awwam."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 66:
Narrated Abdullah bin Az-Zubair:

During the battle of Al-Ahzab, I and Umar bin Abi-Salama were kept behind with the women. Behold! I saw (my father) Az-Zubair riding his horse, going to and coming from Bani

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Quraiza twice or thrice. So when I came back I said, "O my father! I saw you going to and coming from Bani Quraiza?" He said, "Did you really see me, O my son?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Allah's Apostle said, 'Who will go to Bani Quraiza and bring me their news?' So I went, and when I came back, Allah's Apostle mentioned for me both his parents saying, "Let my father and mother be sacrificed for you.'"

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 67:
Narrated Urwa:
On the day of the battle of Al-Yarmuk, the companions of the Prophet said to Az-Zubair, "Will you attack the enemy vigorously so that we may attack them along with you?" So Az-Zubair attacked them, and they inflicted two wounds over his shoulder, and in between these two wounds there was an old scar he had received on the day of the battle of Badr When I was a child, I used to insert my fingers into those scars in play.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 68:
Narrated Umar:
"Before the Prophet died, he was pleased with him (Talha bin Ubaidullah)."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 69:
Narrated Abu Uthman:
During one of the Ghazawat in which Allah's Apostle was fighting, none remained with the Prophet but Talha and Sad.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 70:
Narrated Qais bin Abi Hazim:
I saw Talha's paralyzed hand with which he had protected the Prophet (from an arrow) .

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 71:
Narrated Sad: On the day of the battle of Uhud the Prophet mentioned for me both hi

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 72:
Narrated Sad:
No doubt, (for some time) I stood for one-third of the Muslims.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 73:
Narrated Sad bin Abi Waqqas:
No man embraced Islam before the day on which I embraced Islam, and no doubt, I remained for seven days as one third of the then extant Muslims.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 74:
Narrated Qais:
I heard Sad saying, "I was the first amongst the 'Arabs who shot an arrow for Allah's Cause. We used to fight along with the Prophets, while we had nothing to eat except the leaves of trees so that one's excrete would look like the excrete balls of camel or a sheep, containing nothing to mix them together. Today Banu Asad tribe blame me for not having understood Islam. I would be a loser if my deeds were in vain." Those people complained about Sad to Umar, claiming that he did not offer his prayers perfectly.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 75:
Narrated about the sons-in-law of the Prophet and one of them is Abu Al-'As bin Ar-Rabi.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 76:
Narrated Al-Miswar bin Makhrama:
Ali demanded the hand of the daughter of Abu Jahl. Fatima heard of this and went to Allah's Apostle saying, "Your people think that you do not become angry for the sake of your daughters as Ali is now going to marry the daughter of Abu Jahl. "On that Allah's Apostle got up and after his recitation of Tashah-hud. I heard him saying, "Then after! I married one of my daughters to Abu Al-'As bin Al-Rabi' (the husband of Zainab, the daughter of the Prophet) before Islam and he proved truthful in whatever he said to me. No doubt, Fatima is a part of me, I hate to see her being troubled. By Allah, the daughter of Allah's Apostle and the daughter of Allah's Enemy cannot be the wives of one man." So Ali gave up that engagement.
'Al-Miswar further said: I heard the Prophet talking and he mentioned a son-in-law of his belonging to the tribe of Bani 'Abd-Shams. He highly praised him concerning that relationship and said (whenever) he spoke to me, he spoke the truth, and whenever he promised me, he fulfilled his promise."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 77:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
The Prophet sent an army under the command of Usama bin Zaid. When some people criticized his leadership, the Prophet said, "If you are criticizing Usama's leadership, you used to criticize his father's leadership before. By Allah! He was worthy of leadership and was one of the dearest persons to me, and (now) this (i.e. Usama) is one of the dearest to me after him (i.e. Zaid)."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 78:
Narrated Urwa:
Aisha said, "A Qaif (i.e. one skilled in recognizing the lineage of a person through Physiognomy and through examining the body parts of an infant) came to me while the Prophet was present, and Usama bin Zaid and Zaid bin Haritha were Lying asleep. The Qa'if said. These feet (of Usama and his father) are of persons belonging to the same lineage.' " The Prophet was pleased with that saying which won his admiration, and he told Aisha of it.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 79:
Narrated Aisha:
The people of the Quraish tribe were worried about the Makhzumiya woman. They said. "Nobody dare speak to him (i.e. the Prophet) except Usama bin Zaid as he is the most beloved to Allah's Apostle." Aisha said, "A woman from Bani Makhzumiya committed a theft and the people said, 'Who can intercede with the Prophet for her?' So nobody dared speak to him (i.e. the Prophet) but Usama bin Zaid spoke to him. The Prophet said, 'If a reputable man amongst the children of Bani Israel committed a theft, they used to forgive him, but if a poor man committed a theft, they would cut his hand. But I would cut even the hand of Fatima (i.e. the daughter of the Prophet) if she committed a theft."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 80:
Narrated Abdullah bin Dinar:
One day Ibn Umar, while in the Mosque, looked at a man who was dragging his clothes while walking in one of the corners of the Mosque He said, "See who is that. I wish he was near to me." Somebody then said (to Ibn Umar), "Don't you know him, O Abu Abdur-Rahman? He is Mohammed bin Usama." On that Ibn Umar bowed his head and dug the earth with his hands and then, said, "If Allah's Apostle saw him, he would have loved him."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 81:
Narrated Usama bin Zaid:
That the Prophet used to take him (i.e. Usama) and Al-Hassan (in his lap) and say: "O Allah! Love them, as I love them." The freed slave of Usama bin Zaid said, "Al-Hajjaj bin Aiman bin Um Aiman and Aiman Ibn Um Aiman was Usama's brother from the maternal side, and he was one of the Ansar. He was seen by Ibn Umar not performing his bowing and prostrations in a perfect manner. So Ibn Umar told him to repeat his prayer. Harmala, the freed slave of Usama bin Zaid said that while he was in the company of Abdullah bin Umar, Al-Hajjaj bin Aiman came in and (while praying) he did not perform his bowing and prostrations properly. So Ibn Umar told him to repeat his prayer. When he went away, Ibn Umar asked me, "Who is he?" I said, "Al-Hajjaj bin Um Aiman." Ibn Umar said, "If Allah's Apostle saw him, he would have loved him." Then Ibn Umar mentioned the love of the Prophet for the children of Um Aimn. Sulaiman said that Um Aiman was one of the nurses of the Prophet.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 82:
The merits of Abdullah bin Umar bin Al-Khattab.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 83:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
If a man saw a dream during the lifetime of the Prophet he would narrate it to the Prophet. Once I wished to see a dream and narrate it to the Prophet I was young, unmarried, and used to sleep in the Mosque during the lifetime of the Prophet. I dreamt that two angels took me and went away with me towards the (Hell) Fire which looked like a well with the inside walls built up, and had two side-walls like those of a well. There I saw some people in it whom I knew. I started saying, "I seek Refuge with Allah from the (Hell) Fire, I seek Refuge with Allah from the (Hell) Fire." Then another angel met the other two and said to me, "Do not be afraid." I narrated my dream to Hafsa who, in her turn, narrated it to the Prophet. He said, "What an excellent man Abdullah is if he only observes the night prayer." (Salem, a sub-narrator said, "Abdullah used not to sleep at night but very little hence forward."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 84:
Narrated Ibn Umar from Hafsa his sister:
That the Prophet had said to her, "Abdullah is a pious man."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 85:
Narrated 'Alqama:
I went to Sham and offered a two-Rak'at prayer and then said, "O Allah! Bless me with a good pious companion." So I went to some people and sat with them. An old man came and sat by my side. I asked, "Who is he?" They replied, "(He is) Abu-Ad-Darda.' I said (to him), "I prayed to Allah to bless me with a pious companion and He sent you to me." He asked me, "From where are you?" I replied, "From the people of Al-Kufa." He said, "Isn't there amongst you Ibn Um 'Abd, the one who used to carry the shoes, the cushion(or pillow) and the water for ablution? Is there amongst you the one whom Allah gave Refuge from Satan through the request of His Prophet. Is there amongst you the one who keeps the secrets of the Prophet which nobody knows except him?" Abu Darda further asked, "How does Abdullah (bin Mas'ud) recite the Sura starting with, 'By the Night as it conceals (the light)." (92.1) Then I recited before him:
'By the Night as it envelops: And by the Day as it appears in brightness; And by male and female.' (91.1-3) On this Abu Ad-Darda' said, "By Allah, the Prophet made me recite the Sura in this way while I was listening to him (reciting it)."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 86:
Narrated Ibrahim: 'Alqama went to Sham and when he entered the mosque, he said, "O Allah ! Bless me with a pious companion." So he sat with Abu Ad-Darda. Abu Ad-Darda' asked him, "Where are you from?" 'Alqama replied, "From the people of Kufa." Abu Ad

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 87:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle said, " Every nation has an extremely trustworthy man, and the trustworthy man of this (i.e. Muslim) nation is Abu Ubaida bin Al-Jarrah."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 88:
Narrated Hudhaifa:
The Prophet said to the people of Nijran, "I will send you the most trustworthy man." (Every one of) the companions of the Prophet was looking forward (to be that person). He then sent Abu Ubaida.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 89:
Narrated Abu Bakra:
I heard the Prophet talking at the pulpit while Al-Hasan was sitting beside him, and he (i.e. the Prophet) was once looking at the people and at another time Al-Hasan, and saying, "This son of mine is a Saiyid (i.e. chief) and perhaps Allah will bring about an agreement between two sects of the Muslims through him."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 90:
Narrated Usama bin Zaid:
That the Prophet used to take him and Al-Hasan, and used to say, "O Allah! I love them, so please love them," or said something similar.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 91:
Narrated Mohammed:
Anas bin Malik said, "The head of Al-Husain was brought to Ubaidullah bin Ziyad and was put in a tray, and then Ibn Ziyad started playing with a stick at the nose and mouth of Al-Husain's head and saying something about his handsome features." Anas then said (to him), "Al-Husain resembled the Prophet more than the others did." Anas added, "His (i.e. Al-Husain's) hair was dyed with Wasma (i.e. a kind of plant used as a dye)."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 92:
Narrated Al-Bara:
I saw the Prophet carrying Al-Hasan on his shoulder an saying, "O Allah! I love him, so please love him."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 93:
Narrated Uqba bin Al-Harith:
I saw Abu Bakr carrying Al-Hasan and saying, "Let my father be sacrificed for you; you resemble the Prophet and not Ali," while Ali was laughing at this.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 94:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Abu Bakr used to say, "Please Mohammed (i.e. the Prophet) by doing good to his family."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 95:
Narrated Anas:
None resembled the Prophet more than Al-Hasan bin Ali did.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 96:
Narrated Ibn Abi Nu'm:
A person asked Abdullah bin Umar whether a Muslim could kill flies. I heard him saying (in reply). "The people of Iraq are asking about the killing of flies while they themselves murdered the son of the daughter of Allah's Apostle . The Prophet said, They (i.e. Hasan and Husain) are my two sweet basils in this world."

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Narrated the merits of Bilal bin Rabah the freed slave of Abu Bakr. The Prophet said (to Bilal), "I heard the sound of your shoes in Paradise just in front of me."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 98:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
Umar used to say, "Abu Bakr is our chief, and he manumitted our chief," meaning Bilal.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 99:
Narrated Qais:
Bilal said to Abu Bakr, "If you have bought me for yourself then keep me (for yourself), but if you have bought me for Allah's Sake, then leave me for Allah's Work."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 100:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Once the Prophet embraced me (pressed me to his chest) and said, "O Allah, teach him wisdom (i.e. the understanding of the knowledge of Koran)."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 101r:
Narrated Abdul Warith:
The same but said, "O Allah, teach him (Ibn Abbas) the Book (i.e. the understanding of the knowledge of Koran)."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 101a:
Narrated Khalid:
As above.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 102:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet had informed the people about the death of Zaid, Jafar and Ibn Rawaha before the news of their death reached them. He said with his eyes flowing with tears, "Zaid took the flag and was martyred; then Jafar took the flag and was martyred, and then Ibn Rawaha took the flag and was martyred. Finally the flag was taken by one of Allah's Swords (i.e. Khalid bin Al-Walid) and Allah gave them (i.e. the Muslims) victory."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 103:
Narrated Masruq:
Abdullah (bin Mas'ud) was mentioned before Abdullah bin Amr. The latter said, "That is a man I continue to love because I heard Allah's Apostle saying, ' Learn the recitation of the Koran from (any of these) four persons: Abdullah bin Masud, Salim the freed slave of Abu Hudhaifa, Ubai bin Kab, and Muadh bin Jabal." I do not remember whether he mentioned Ubai first or Muadh.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 104:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
Allah's Apostle neither talked in an insulting manner nor did he ever speak evil intentionally. He used to say, "The most beloved to me amongst you is the one who has the best character and manners." He added, " Learn the Koran from (any of these) four persons. Abdullah bin Mas'ud, Salim the freed slave of Abu Hudhaifa, Ubai bin Ka'b, and Mu'adh bin Jabal."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 105:
Narrated Alqama:
I went to Sham and was offering a two-Rak'at prayer; I said, "O Allah! Bless me with a (pious) companion." Then I saw an old man coming towards me, and when he came near I said, (to myself), "I hope Allah has given me my request." The man asked (me), "Where are you from?" I replied, "I am from the people of Kufa." He said, "Weren't there amongst you the Carrier of the (Prophet's) shoes, Siwak and the ablution water container? Weren't there amongst you the man who was given Allah's Refuge from the Satan? And weren't there amongst you the man who used to keep the (Prophet's) secrets which nobody else knew? How did Ibn Um 'Abd (i.e. Abdullah bin Mas'ud) use to recite Surat-al-lail (the Night:92)?" I recited:--
"By the Night as it envelops By the Day as it appears in brightness. And by male and female." (92.1-3) On that, Abu Darda said, "By Allah, the Prophet made me read the Verse in this way after listening to him, but these people (of Sham) tried their best to let me say something different."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 106:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Yazid:
We asked Hudhaifa to tell us of a person resembling (to some extent) the Prophet in good appearance and straight forward behavior so that we may learn from him (good manners and acceptable conduct). Hudhaifa replied, "I do not know anybody resembling the Prophet (to some extent) in appearance and conduct more than Ibn Um 'Abd.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 107:
Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ashari:
My brother and I came from Yemen, and for some time we continued to consider Abdullah bin Mas'ud as one of the members of the family of the Prophet because we used to see him and his mother going in the house of the Prophet very often.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 108:
Narrated Ibn Abu Mulaika:
Muawiya offered one Rak'a Witr prayer after the 'Isha prayer, and at that time a freed slave of Ibn Abbas was present. He (i.e. the slave) went to Ibn Abbas (and told him that Muawiya offered one Rak'a Witr prayer). Ibn Abbas said, "Leave him, for he was in the company of Allah's Apostle."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 109:
Narrated Ibn Abi Mulaika:
Somebody said to Ibn Abbas, "Can you speak to the chief of the believers Muwaiya, as he does not pray except one Rak'a as Witr?" Ibn Abbas replied, "He is a Faqih (i.e. a learned man who can give religious verdicts) ."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 110:
Narrated Humran bin Abbas:
Muawiya said (to the people), "You offer a prayer which we, who were the companions of the Prophet never saw the Prophet offering, and he forbade its offering," i.e. the two Rakat after the compulsory Asr prayer.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 111:
Narrated Al-Miswar bin Makhrama:
Allah's Apostle said, "Fatima is a part of me, and whoever makes her angry, makes me angry."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 112:
Narrated Abu Salama:
Aisha said, "Once Allah's Apostle said (to me), 'O Aish (Aisha)! This is Gabriel greeting you.' I said, 'Peace and Allah's Mercy and Blessings be on him, you see what I don't see' " She was addressing Allah 's Apostle.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 113:
Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari:
Allah's Apostle said, "Many amongst men attained perfection but amongst women none attained the perfection except Mary, the daughter of Imran and Asiya, the wife of Pharaoh. And the superiority of Aisha to other women is like the superiority of Tharid (i.e. an Arabic dish) to other meals."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 114:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle said, "The superiority of Aisha over other women is like the superiority of Tharid to other meals."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 115:
Narrated Al-Qasim bin Mohammed:
Once Aisha became sick and Ibn Abbas went to see her and said, "O mother of the believers! You are leaving for truthful fore-runners i.e. for Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 116:
Narrated Abu Wail:
When Ali sent Ammar and Al-Hasan to (the people of) Kufa to urge them to fight, Ammar addressed them saying, "I know that she (i.e. Aisha) is the wife of the Prophet in this world and in the Hereafter (world to come), but Allah has put you to test, whether you will follow Him (i.e. Allah) or her."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 117:
Narrated Aisha:
That she borrowed a necklace from Asma and it was lost. Allah's Apostle sent some of his companions to look for it. During their journey the time of prayer was due and they prayed without ablution. When they returned to the Prophet they complained about it. So the Divine Verse of Tayammum was revealed. Usaid bin Hudair said (to Aisha), "May Allah reward you handsomely. By Allah, whenever you have a difficulty, Allah took you out of it and brought with it, a Blessing for the Muslims."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 118:
Narrated Hisham's father:
When Allah's Apostle was in his fatal illness, he started visiting his wives and saying, "Where will I be tomorrow?" He was anxious to be in Aisha's home. Aisha said, "So when it was my day, the Prophet became silent (no longer asked the question)."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 119:
Narrated Hisham's father:
The people used to send presents to the Prophet on the day of Aisha's turn. Aisha said, "My companions (i.e. the other wives of the Prophet) gathered in the house of Um Salama and said, "0 Um Salama! By Allah, the people choose to send presents on the day of Aisha's turn and we too, love the good (i.e. presents etc.) as Aisha does. You should tell Allah's Apostle to tell the people to send their presents to him wherever he may be, or wherever his turn may be." Um Salama said that to the Prophet and he turned away from her, and when the Prophet returned to her (i.e. Um Salama), she repeated the same, and the Prophet again turned away, and when she told him the same for the third time, the Prophet said, "O Um Salama! Don't trouble me by harming Aisha, for by Allah, the Divine Inspiration never came to me while I was under the blanket of any woman amongst you except her."

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 58:
Merits of the Helpers in Madinah (Ansaar)

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 120:
Narrated Ghailan bin Jarir:
I asked Anas, "Tell me about the name 'Al-Ansar.; Did you call yourselves by it or did Allah call you by it?" He said, "Allah called us by it." We used to visit Anas (at Basra) and he used to narrate to us the virtues and deeds of the Ansar, and he used to address me or a person from the tribe of Al-Azd and say, "Your tribe did so-and-so on such-and-such a day."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 121:
Narrated Aisha:
The day of Bu'ath (i.e. Day of fighting between the two tribes of the Ansar, the Aus and Khazraj) was brought about by Allah for the good of His Apostle so that when Allah's Apostle reached (Medina), the tribes of Medina had already divided and their chiefs had been killed and wounded. So Allah had brought about the battle for the good of H is Apostle in order that they (i.e. the Ansar) might embrace Islam.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 122:
Narrated Anas:
On the day of the Conquest of Mecca, when the Prophet had given (from the booty) the Quraish, the Ansar said, "By Allah, this is indeed very strange: While our swords are still dribbling with the blood of Quraish, our war booty are distributed amongst them." When this news reached the Prophet he called the Ansar and said, "What is this news that has reached me from you?" They used not to tell lies, so they replied, "What has reached you is true." He said, "Doesn't it please you that the people take the booty to their homes and you take Allah's Apostle to your homes? If the Ansar took their way through a valley or a mountain pass, I would take the Ansar's valley or a mountain pass."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 123:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet or Abul-Qasim said, "If the Ansar took their way through a valley or a mountain pass, I would take Ansar's valley. And but for the migration, I would have been one of the Ansar." Abu Huraira used to say, "The Prophet is not unjust (by saying so). May my parents be sacrificed for him, for the Ansar sheltered and helped him," or said a similar sentence.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 124:
Narrated Sa'd's father:
When the emigrants reached Medina. Allah's Apostle established the bond of fraternity between Abdur-Rahman and Sad bin Ar-Rabi. Sad said to Abdur-Rahman, "I am the richest of all the Ansar, so I want to divide my property (between us), and I have two wives, so see which of the two you like and tell me, so that I may divorce her, and when she finishes her prescribed period (i.e. 'Idda) of divorce, then marry her." Abdur-Rahman said, "May Allah bless your family and property for you; where is your market?" So they showed him the Qainuqa' market. (He went there and) returned with a profit in the form of dried yogurt and butter. He continued going (to the market) till one day he came, bearing the traces of yellow scent. The Prophet asked, "What is this (scent)?" He replied, "I got married." The Prophet asked, "How much Mahr did you give her?" He replied, "I gave her a date-stone of gold or a gold piece equal to the weight of a date-stone." (The narrator, Ibrahim, is in doubt as to which is correct.)

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 125:
Narrated Anas:
When Abdur-Rahman bin 'Auf came to us, Allah's Apostle made a bond of fraternity between him and Sad bin Ar-Rabi who was a rich man, Sad said, "The Ansar know that I am the richest of all of them, so I will divide my property into two parts between me and you, and I have two wives; see which of the two you like so that I may divorce her and you can marry her after she becomes lawful to you by her passing the prescribed period (i.e. 'Idda) of divorce. Abdur Rahman said, "May Allah bless you your family (i.e. wives) for you." (But Abdur-Rahman went to the market) and did not return on that day except with some gain of dried yogurt and butter. He went on trading just a few days till he came to Allah's Apostle bearing the traces of yellow scent over his clothes. Allah's

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Apostle asked him, "What is this scent?" He replied, "I have married a woman from the Ansar." Allah's Apostle asked, "How much Mahr have you given?" He said, "A date-stone weight of gold or a golden date-stone." The Prophet said, "Arrange a marriage banquet even with a sheep."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 126:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Ansar said (to the Prophet), "Please divide the date-palm trees between us and them (i.e. emigrants)." The Prophet said, "No." The Ansar said, "Let them (i.e. the emigrants) do the labor for us in the gardens and share the date-fruits with us." The emigrants said, "We accepted this."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 127:
Narrated Al-Bara:
I heard the Prophet saying (or the Prophet said), "None loves the Ansar but a believer, and none hates them but a hypocrite. So Allah will love him who loves them, and He will hate him who hates them."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 128:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "The sign of Belief is to love the Ansar, and the sign of hypocrisy is to hate the Ansar."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 129:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet saw the women and children (of the Ansar) coming forward. (The sub-narrator said, "I think that Anas said, 'They were returning from a wedding party.") The Prophet stood up and said thrice, "By Allah! You are from the most beloved people to me."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 130:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Once an Ansari woman, accompanied by a son of hers, came to Allah's Apostle. Allah's Apostle spoke to her and said twice, "By Him in Whose Hand my life is, you are the most beloved people to me."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 131:
Narrated Zaid bin Al-Arqam:
The Annwar said, "O Allah's Apostle! Every prophet has his own followers and we have followed you. So will you invoke Allah to let our followers be considered from us (as Ansar too)?" So he invoked Allah accordingly.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 132:
Narrated Abu Hamza:
(A man from the Ansar) The Ansar said, "Every nation has followers and (O Prophet) we have followed you, so invoke Allah to let our followers be considered from us (as Ansar like ourselves)." So the Prophet said, "O Allah! Let their followers be considered as Ansar like themselves."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 133:
Narrated Abu Usaid:
The Prophet said, "The best of the Ansar's families (homes) are those of Banu An-Najjar and then (those of) Banu Abdul Ash-hal, then (those of) Banu Al-Harith bin Al-Khazraj and then (those of) Banu Sa'ida; nevertheless, there is good in all the families (houses) of the Ansar." On this, Sad (bin Ubada) said, "I see that the Prophet has preferred some people to us." Somebody said (to him), "No, but he has given you superiority to many."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 134:
Narrated Abu Usaid:
That he heard the Prophet saying, "The best of the Ansar, or the best of the Ansar families (homes) are Banu An-Najjar, Bani Abdul Ash-hal, Banu Al-Harith and Banu Sai'da."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 135:
Narrated Abu Humaid:
The Prophet said, "The best of the Ansar families (homes) are the families (homes) of Banu An-Najjar, and then that of Banu Abdul Ash-hal, and then that of Banu Al-Harith, and then that of Banu Saida; and there is good in all the families (homes) of the Ansar." Sad bin 'Ubada followed us and said, "O Abu Usaid ! Don't you see that the Prophet compared the Ansar and made us the last of them in superiority?
Then Sad met the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! In comparing the Ansar's families (homes) as to the degree of superiority, you have made us the last of them." Allah's Apostle replied, "Isn't it sufficient that you are regarded amongst the best?"

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 136:
Narrated Usaid bin Hudair:
A man from the Ansar said, "O Allah's Apostle! Will you appoint me as you have appointed so-and-so?" The Prophet said, "After me you will see others given preference to you; so be patient till you meet me at the Tank (i.e. Lake of Kauthar). (on the Day of Resurrection)."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 137:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said to the Ansar, "After me you will see others given preference to you; so be patient till you meet me, and your promised place (of meeting) will be the Tank (i.e. Lake of Kauthar)."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 138:
Narrated Yahya bin Said:
That he heard Anas bin Malik when he went with him to Al-Walid, saying, "Once the Prophet called the Ansar in order to give them the territory of Bahrain they said, 'No, unless you give to our emigrant brethren a similar share.' On that he said 'If you do not agree to it, then be patient till you meet me, for after me others will be given preference to you.'"

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 139:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle said, "There is no life except the life of the Hereafter; so, O Allah! Improve the state of the Ansar and the Muhajirun." And Anas added that the Prophet also said, "O Allah! Forgive the Ansar."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 140:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
On the day of the battle of the Trench (i.e. Ghazwat-ul-Khandaq) the Ansar used to say, "We are those who have given the pledge of allegiance to Mohammed for Jihad (i.e. holy fighting) as long as we live." The Prophet , replied to them, "O Allah! There is no life except the life of the Hereafter; so please honor the Ansar and the Emigrants."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 141:
Narrated Sahl:
Allah's Apostle came to us while we were digging the trench and carrying out the earth on our backs. Allah's Apostle then said, "O Allah ! There is no life except the life of the Hereafter, so please forgive the Emigrants and the Ansar."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 142:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A man came to the Prophet. The Prophet sent a messenger to his wives (to bring something for that man to eat) but they said that they had nothing except water. Then Allah's Apostle said, "Who will take this (person) or entertain him as a guest?" An Ansar man said, "I." So he took him to his wife and said to her, "Entertain generously the guest of Allah's Apostle " She said, "We have got nothing except the meals of my children." He said, "Prepare your meal, light your lamp and let your children sleep if they ask for supper." So she prepared her meal, lighted her lamp and made her children sleep, and then stood up pretending to mend her lamp, but she put it off. Then both of them pretended to be eating, but they really went to bed hungry. In the morning the Ansari went to Allah's Apostle who said, "Tonight Allah laughed or wondered at your action." Then Allah revealed:
"But give them (emigrants) preference over themselves even though they were in need of that And whosoever is saved from the covetousness Such are they who will be successful." (59.9)

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 143:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Abu Bakr and Al-Abbas passed by one of the gatherings of the Ansar who were weeping then. He (i.e. Abu Bakr or Al-Abbas) asked, "Why are you weeping?" They replied, "We are weeping because we remember the gathering of the Prophet with us." So Abu Bakr went to the Prophet and told him of that. The Prophet came out, tying his head with a piece of the hem of a sheet. He ascended the pulpit which he never ascended after that day. He glorified and praised Allah and then said, "I request you to take care of the Ansar as they are my near companions to whom I confided my private secrets. They have fulfilled their obligations and rights which were enjoined on them but there remains what is for them. So, accept the good of the good-doers amongst them and excuse the wrongdoers amongst them."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 144:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle (in his fatal illness) came out wrapped in a sheet covering his shoulders and his head was tied with an oily tape of cloth till he sat on the pulpit, and after praising and glorifying Allah, he said, "Then-after, O people! The people will go on increasing, but the Ansar will go on decreasing till they become just like salt in a meal. So whoever amongst you will be the ruler and have the power to harm or benefit others, should accept the good of the good-doers amongst them and excuse the wrong-doers amongst them."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 145:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "The Ansar are my near companions to whom I confided my private secrets, People will go on increasing but the Ansar will go on decreasing; so accept the good of the good-doers amongst them and excuse the wrong-doers amongst them. "

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 146:
Narrated Al-Bara:
A silken cloth was given as a present to the Prophet . His companions started touching it and admiring its softness. The Prophet said, "Are you admiring its softness? The handkerchiefs of Sad bin Muadh (in Paradise) are better and softer than it."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 147:
Narrated Jabir:
I heard the Prophet saying, "The Throne (of Allah) shook at the death of Sad bin Muadh." Through another group of narrators, Jabir added, "I heard the Prophet : saying, 'The Throne of the Beneficent shook because of the death of Sad bin Muadh."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 148:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
Some people (i.e. the Jews of Bani bin Quraiza) agreed to accept the verdict of Sad bin Muadh so the Prophet sent for him (i.e. Sad bin Muadh). He came riding a donkey, and when he approached the Mosque, the Prophet said, "Get up for the best amongst you." or said, "Get up for your chief." Then the Prophet said, "O Sad! These people have agreed to accept your verdict." Sad said, "I judge that their warriors should be killed and their children and women should be taken as captives." The Prophet said, "You have given a judgement similar to Allah's Judgement (or the King's judgement)."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 149:
Narrated Anas:
Two men left the Prophet on a very dark night. Suddenly a light came in front of them, and when they separated, the light also separated along with them.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 150:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
I heard the Prophet saying, "Learn the recitation of Koran from four persons: Ibn Mas'ud, Salim, the freed slave of Abu Hudhaifa, Ubai and Muadh bin Jabal."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 151:
Narrated the virtue of Sad bin Ubada:
Aisha said, "Before that, he (i.e. Sad) was a pious man."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 152:
Narrated Abu Usaid:
Allah's Apostle said, "The best of the Ansar's houses are those of Bani An-Najjar, then those of Bani Abdul Ash-hal, then those of Bani Al-Harith bin Al-Khazraj, then those of Bani Saida; but there is goodness in all the houses of the Ansar." Sad bin Ubada who was one of those who embraced Islam early, said, "I see that Allah's Apostle is giving others superiority above us." Some people said to him, "But he has given you superiority above many other people."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 153:
Narrated Masruq:
Abdullah bin Masud was mentioned before Abdullah bin Amr who said, "That is a man I still love, as I heard the Prophet saying 'Learn the recitation of Koran from four from Abdullah bin Mas'ud --he started with him--Salim, the freed slave of Abu Hudaifa, Mu'adh bin Jabal and Ubai bin Ka'b."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 154:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said to Ubai, "Allah has ordered me to recite to you: 'Those who disbelieve (Surat-al-Bayina 98).' " Ubai said, "Has He mentioned my name?" The Prophet said, "Yes." On hearing this, Ubai started weeping.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 155:
Narrated Qatada:
Anas said, "The Koran was collected in the lifetime of the Prophet by four (men), all of whom were from the Ansar: Ubai, Muadh bin Jabal, Abu Zaid and Zaid bin Thabit." I asked Anas, "Who is Abu Zaid?" He said, "One of my uncles."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 156:
Narrated Anas:
On the day of the battle of Uhud, the people ran away, leaving the Prophet , but Abu- Talha was shielding the Prophet with his shield in front of him. Abu Talha was a strong, experienced archer who used to keep his arrow bow strong and well stretched. On that day he broke two or three arrow bows. If any man passed by carrying a quiver full of arrows, the Prophet would say to him, "Empty it in front of Abu Talha." When the Prophet stated looking at the enemy

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by raising his head, Abu Talha said, "O Allah's Prophet! Let my parents be sacrificed for your sake! Please don't raise your head and make it visible, lest an arrow of the enemy should hit you. Let my neck and chest be wounded instead of yours." (On that day) I saw Aisha, the daughter of Abu Bakr and Um Sulaim both lifting their dresses up so that I was able to see the ornaments of their legs, and they were carrying the water skins of their arms to pour the water into the mouths of the thirsty people and then go back and fill them and come to pour the water into the mouths of the people again. (On that day) Abu Talha's sword fell from his hand twice or thrice.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 157:
Narrated Sad bin Abi Waqqas:
I have never heard the Prophet saying about anybody walking on the earth that he is from the people of Paradise except Abdullah bin Salam. The following Verse was revealed concerning him: "And a witness from the children of Israel testifies that this Koran is true" (46.10)

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 158:
Narrated Qais bin Ubad:
While I was sitting in the Mosque of Medina, there entered a man (Abdullah bin Salam) with signs of solemnity over his face. The people said, "He is one of the people of Paradise." He prayed two light Rakat and then left. I followed him and said, "When you entered the Mosque, the people said, 'He is one of the people of Paradise.' " He said, "By Allah, one ought not say what he does not know; and I will tell you why. In the lifetime of the Prophet I had a dream which I narrated to him. I saw as if I were in a garden." He then described its extension and greenery. He added: In its > there was an iron pillar whose lower end was fixed in the earth and the upper end was in the sky, and at its upper end there was a (ring-shaped) hand-hold. I was told to climb it. I said, "I can't." "Then a servant came to me and lifted my clothes from behind and I climbed till I reached the top (of the pillar). Then I got hold of the hand-hold, and I was told to hold it tightly, then I woke up and (the effect of) the hand-hold was in my hand. I narrated al I that to the Prophet who said, 'The garden is Islam, and the hand-hold is the Most Truth-worthy Hand-Hold. So you will remain as a Muslim till you die." The narrator added: "The man was Abdullah bin Salam."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 159:
Narrated Abu Burda:
When I came to Medina. I met Abdullah bin Salam. He said, "Will you come to me so that I may serve you with Sawiq (i.e. powdered barley) and dates, and let you enter a (blessed) house that in which the Prophet entered?" Then he added, "You are In a country where the practice of Riba (i.e. usury) is prevalent; so if somebody owe you something and he sends you a present of a load of chopped straw or a load of barley or a load of provender then do not take it, as it is Riba."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 160:
Narrated Jarir bin Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle has never refused to admit me since I embraced Islam, and whenever he saw me, he would smile. (In another narration) Jarir bin Abdullah narrated: There was a house called Dhul-Khalasa in the Pre-lslamic Period and it was also called Al-Kaaba Al-Yamaniya or Al-Kaaba Ash-Shamiya. Allah's Apostle said to me, "Will you relieve me from Dhul-Khalasa?" So I left for it with 150 cavalrymen from the tribe of Ahmas and then we destroyed it and killed whoever we found there. Then we came to the Prophet and informed him about it. He invoked good upon us and upon the tribe of Ahmas.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 161:
Narrated Aisha:
On the day of the battle of Uhud the pagans were defeated completely. Then Satan shouted loudly, "O Allah's slaves! Beware the ones behind you!" So the front files attacked the back ones. Then Hudhaifa looked and saw his father, and said loudly, "O Allah's slaves! My father! My father!" By Allah, they did not stop till they killed him (i.e. Hudaifa's father). Hudhaifa said, "May Allah forgive you!" The sub-narrator said, "By Allah, because of what Hudhaifa said, he remained in a good state till he met Allah (i.e. died)."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 162:
Narrated Ali:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying (as below).

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 163:
Narrated Ali:
The Prophet said, "The best of the world's women is Mary (at her lifetime), and the best of the world's women is Khadija (at her lifetime)."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 164:
Narrated
Aisha: I did not feel jealous of any of the wives of the Prophet as much as I did of Khadija (although) she died before he married me, for I often heard him mentioning her, and Allah had told him to give her the good tidings that she would have a palace of Qasab (i.e. pipes of precious stones and pearls in Paradise), and whenever he slaughtered a sheep, he would send her women-friends a good share of it.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 165:
Narrated Aisha:
I did not feel jealous of any woman as much as I did of Khadija because Allah's Apostle used to mention her very often. He married me after three years of her death, and his Lord (or Gabriel) ordered him to give her the good news of having a palace of Qasab in Paradise.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 166:
Narrated Aisha:
I did not feel jealous of any of the wives of the Prophet as much as I did of Khadija though I did not see her, but the Prophet used to mention her very often, and when ever he slaughtered a sheep, he would cut its parts and send them to the women friends of Khadija. When I sometimes said to him, "(You treat Khadija in such a way) as if there is no woman on earth except Khadija," he would say, "Khadija was such-and-such, and from her I had children."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 167:
Narrated Ismail:
I asked Abdullah bin Abi Aufa, "Did the Prophet give glad tidings to Khadija?" He said, "Yes, of a palace of Qasab (in Paradise) where there will be neither any noise nor any fatigue."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 168:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Gabriel came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! This is Khadija coming to you with a dish having meat soup (or some food or drink). When she reaches you, greet her on behalf of her Lord (i.e. Allah) and on my behalf, and give her the glad tidings of having a Qasab palace in Paradise wherein there will be neither any noise nor any fatigue (trouble) . "
Narrated Aisha: Once Hala bint Khuwailid, Khadija's sister, asked the permission of the Prophet to enter. On that, the Prophet remembered the way Khadija used to ask permission, and that upset him. He said, "O Allah! Hala!" So I became jealous and said, "What makes you remember an old woman amongst the old women of Quraish an old woman (with a teethless mouth) of red gums who died long ago, and in whose place Allah has given you somebody better than her?"

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 169:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
The Prophet met Zaid bin Amr bin Nufail in the bottom of (the valley of) Baldah before any Divine Inspiration came to the Prophet. A meal was presented to the Prophet but he refused to eat from it. (Then it was presented to Zaid) who said, "I do not eat anything which you slaughter in the name of your stone idols. I eat none but those things on which Allah's Name has been mentioned at the time of slaughtering." Zaid bin Amr used to criticize the way Quraish used to slaughter their animals, and used to say, "Allah has created the sheep and He has sent the water for it from the sky, and He has grown the grass for it from the earth; yet you slaughter it in other than the Name of Allah. He used to say so, for he rejected that practice and considered it as something abominable.
Narrated Ibn Umar: Zaid bin Amr bin Nufail went to Sham, inquiring about a true religion to follow. He met a Jewish religious scholar and asked him about their religion. He said, "I intend to embrace your religion, so tell me some thing about it." The Jew said, "You will not embrace our religion unless you receive your share of Allah's Anger." Zaid said, "'I do not run except from Allah's Anger, and I will never bear a bit of it if I have the power to avoid it. Can you tell me of some other religion?" He said, "I do not know any other religion except the Hanif." Zaid enquired, "What is Hanif?" He said, "Hanif is the religion of (the prophet) Abraham who was neither a Jew nor a Christian, and he used to worship None but Allah (Alone)" Then Zaid went out and met a Christian religious scholar and told him the same as before. The Christian said, "You will not embrace our religion unless you get a share of Allah's Curse." Zaid replied, "I do not run except from Allah's Curse, and I will never bear any of Allah's Curse and His Anger if I have the power to avoid them. Will you tell me of some other religion?" He replied, "I do not know any other religion except Hanif." Zaid enquired, "What is Hanif?" He replied, Hanif is the religion of (the prophet) Abraham who was neither a Jew nor a Christian and he used to worship None but Allah (Alone)" When Zaid heard their Statement about (the religion of) Abraham, he left that place, and when he came out, he raised both his hands and said, "O Allah! I make You my Witness that I am on the religion of Abraham."

Narrated Asma bint Abi Bakr: I saw Zaid bin Amr bin Nufail standing with his back against the Kaaba and saying, "O people of Quraish! By Allah, none amongst you is on the religion of Abraham except me." He used to preserve the lives of little girls: If somebody wanted to kill his daughter he would say to him, "Do not kill her for I will feed her on your behalf." So he would take her, and when she grew up nicely, he would say to her father, "Now if you want her, I will give her to you, and if you wish, I will feed her on your behalf."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 170:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
When the Kaaba was rebuilt, the Prophet and Abbas went to carry stones. Abbas said to the Prophet "(Take off and) put your waist sheet over your neck so that the stones may not hurt you." (But as soon as he took off his waist sheet) he fell unconscious on the ground with both his eyes towards the sky. When he came to his senses, he said, "My waist sheet! My waist sheet!" Then he tied his waist sheet (round his waist).

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 171:
Narrated Amr bin Dinar and Ubaidullah bin Abi Yazid:
In the lifetime of the Prophet there was no wall around the Kaaba and the people used to pray around the Kaaba till Umar became the Caliph and he built the wall around it. Ubaidullah further said, "Its wall was low, so Ibn Az-Zubair built it."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 172:
Narrated Aisha:
'Ashura' (i.e. the tenth of Muharram) was a day on which the tribe of Quraish used to fast in the pre-lslamic period of ignorance. The Prophet also used to fast on this day. So when he migrated to Medina, he fasted on it and ordered (the Muslims) to fast on it. When the fasting of Ramadan was enjoined, it became optional for the people to fast or not to fast on the day of Ashura.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 173:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The people used to consider the performance of Umra in the months of Hajj an evil deed on the earth, and they used to call the month of Muharram as Safar and used to say, "When (the wounds over) the backs (of the camels) have healed and the foot-marks (of the camels) have vanished (after coming from Hajj), then Umra becomes legal for the one who wants to perform Umra." Allah's Apostle and his companions reached Mecca assuming Ihram for Hajj on the fourth of Dhul-Hijja. The Prophet ordered his companions to perform Umra (with that lhram instead of Hajj). They asked, "O Allah's Apostle! What kind of finishing of Ihram?" The Prophet said, "Finish the Ihram completely.'

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 174:
Narrated Sa'id bin Al-Musaiyab's grand-father:
In the pre-lslamic period of ignorance a flood of rain came and filled the valley in between the two mountains (around the Kaaba).....

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 175:
Narrated Qais bin Abi Hazim:
Abu Bakr went to a lady from the Ahmas tribe called Zainab bint Al-Muhajir and found that she refused to speak. He asked, "Why does she not speak." The people said, "She has intended to perform Hajj without speaking." He said to her, "Speak, for it is illegal not to speak, as it is an action of the pre-islamic period of ignorance. So she spoke and said, "Who are you?" He said, "A man from the Emigrants." She asked, "Which Emigrants?" He replied, "From Quraish." She asked, "From what branch of Quraish are you?" He said, "You ask too many questions; I am Abu Bakr." She said, "How long shall we enjoy this good order (i.e. Islamic religion) which Allah has brought after the period of ignorance?" He said, "You will enjoy it as long as your Imams keep on abiding by its rules and regulations." She asked, "What are the Imams?" He said, "Were there not heads and chiefs of your nation who used to order the people and they used to obey them?" She said, "Yes." He said, "So they (i.e. the Imams) are those whom I meant."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 176:
Narrated Aisha:
A black lady slave of some of the 'Arabs embraced Islam and she had a hut in the mosque. She used to visit us and talk to us, and when she finished her talk, she used to say: "The day of the scarf was one of our Lord's wonders: Verily! He has delivered me from the land of Kufr." When she said the above verse many times, I (i.e. Aisha) asked her, "What was the day of the scarf?" She replied, "Once the daughter of some of my masters went out and she was wearing a leather scarf (round her neck) and the leather scarf fell from her and a kite descended and picked it up, mistaking it for a piece of meat. They (i.e. my masters) accused me of stealing it and they

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tortured me to such an extent that they even looked for it in my private parts. So, while they all were around me, and I was in my great distress, suddenly the kite came over our heads and threw the scarf, and they took it. I said to them 'This is what you accused me of stealing, though I was innocent."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 177:
Narrated Umar:
The Prophet said, "If anybody has to take an oath, he should swear only by Allah." The people of Quraish used to swear by their fathers, but the Prophet said, "Do not swear by your fathers. "

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 178:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Al-Qasim:
Al-Qasim used to walk in front of the funeral procession. He used not to get up for the funeral procession (in case it passed by him). And he narrated from Aisha that she said, "The people of the pre-lslamic period of ignorance used to stand up for the funeral procession. When they saw it they used to say twice: 'You were noble in your family. What are you now?"

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 179:
Narrated Umar:
The pagans used not to leave Jam' (i.e. Muzdalifa) till the sun had risen on Thabir mountain. The Prophet contradicted them by leaving (Muzdalifa) before the sun rose.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 180:
Narrated Husain:
That Ikrima said, "Kasan Dihaqa means glass full (of something) followed successively with other full glasses." Ibn Abbas said, "In the pre-lslamic period of ignorance I heard my father saying, "Provide us with Kasan Dihaqa."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 181:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The most true words said by a poet was the words of Labid." He said, Verily, Everything except Allah is perishable and Umaiya bin As-Salt was about to be a Muslim (but he did not embrace Islam).

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 182:
Narrated Aisha:
Abu Bakr had a slave who used to give him some of his earnings. Abu Bakr used to eat from it. One day he brought something and Abu Bakr ate from it. The slave said to him, "Do you know what this is?" Abu Bakr then enquired, "What is it?" The slave said, "Once, in the pre-Islamic period of ignorance I foretold somebody's future though I did not know this knowledge of foretelling but I, cheated him, and when he met me, he gave me something for that service, and that is what you have eaten from." Then Abu Bakr put his hand in his mouth and vomited whatever was present in his stomach.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 183:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
In the pre-lslamic period of ignorance the people used to bargain with the meat of camels on the principle of Habal-al-Habala which meant the sale of a she-camel that would be born by a she-camel that had not yet been born. The Prophet forbade them such a transaction.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 184:
Narrated Ghailan bin Jarir:
We used to visit Anas bin Malik and he used to talk to us about the Ansar, and used to say to me: "Your people did so-and-so on such-and-such a day, and your people did so-and-so on such-and-such a day."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 185:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The first event of Qasama in the pre-lslamic period of ignorance was practiced by us (i.e. Banu Hashim). A man from Banu Hashim was employed by a Quraishi man from another branch-family. The (Hashimi) laborer set out with the Quraishi driving his camels. There passed by him another man from Banu Hashim. The leather rope of the latter's bag had broken so he said to the laborer, "Will you help me by giving me a rope in order to tie the handle of my bag lest the camels should run away from me?" The laborer gave him a rope and the latter tied his bag with it. When the caravan halted, all the camels' legs were tied with their fetters except one camel. The employer asked the laborer, "Why, from among all the camels has this camel not been fettered?" He replied, "There is no fetter for it." The Quraishi asked, "Where is its fetter?" and hit the laborer with a stick that caused his death (later on Just before his death) a man from Yemen passed by him. The laborer asked (him), "Will you go for the pilgrimage?" He replied, "I do not think I will attend it, but perhaps I will attend it." The (Hashimi) laborer said, "Will you please convey a message for me once in your life?" The other man said, "yes." The laborer wrote: 'When you attend the pilgrimage, call the family of Quraish, and if they respond to you, call the family of Banu Hashim, and if they respond to you, ask about Abu Talib and tell him that so-and-so has killed me for a fetter." Then the laborer expired. When the employer reached (Mecca), Abu Talib visited him and asked, "What has happened to our companion?" He said, "He became ill and I looked after him nicely (but he died) and I buried him." Then Abu Talib said, "The deceased deserved this from you." After some time, the messenger whom the laborer has asked to convey the message, reached during the pilgrimage season. He called, "O the family of Quraish!" The people replied, "This is Quraish." Then he called, "O the family of Banu Hashim!" Again the people replied, "This is Banu Hashim." He asked, "Who is Abu Talib?" The people replied, "This is Abu Talib." He said, "'So-and-so has asked me to convey a message to you that so-and-so has killed him for a fetter (of a camel)." Then Abu Talib went to the (Quraishi) killer and said to him, "Choose one of three alternatives: (i) If you wish, give us one-hundred camels because you have murdered our companion, (ii) or if you wish, fifty of your men should take an oath that you have not murdered our companion, and if you do not accept this, (iii) we will kill you in Qisas." The killer went to his people and they said, "We will take an oath." Then a woman from Banu Hashim who was married to one of them (i.e.the Quraishis) and had given birth to a child from him, came to Abu Talib and said, "O Abu Talib! I wish that my son from among the fifty men, should be excused from this oath, and that he should not take the oath where the oath-taking is carried on." Abu Talib excused him. Then another man from them came (to Abu Talib) and said, "O Abu Talib! You want fifty persons to take an oath instead of giving a hundred camels, and that means each man has to give two camels (in case he does not take an oath). So there are two camels I would like you to accept from me and excuse me from taking an oath where the oaths are taken. Abu Talib accepted them from him. Then 48 men came and took the oath. Ibn Abbas further said:) By Him in Whose Hand my life is, before the end of that year, none of those 48 persons remained alive.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 186:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah caused the day of Buath to take place before Allah's Apostle was sent (as an Apostle) so that when Allah's Apostle reached Medina, those people had already divided (in different groups) and their chiefs had been killed or wounded. So Allah made that day precede Allah's Apostle so that they (i.e. the Ansar) might embrace Islam.
Narrated Ibn Abbas: To run along the valley between two green pillars of Safa and Marwa (mountains) was not Sunna, but the people in the pre-islamic period of ignorance used to run along it, and used to say: "We do not cross this rain stream except running strongly. "

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 187:
Narrated Abu As-Safar:
I heard Ibn Abbas saying, "O people! Listen to what I say to you, and let me hear whatever you say, and don't go (without understanding), and start saying, 'Ibn Abbas said so-and-so, Ibn Abbas said so-and-so, Ibn Abbas said so-and-so.' He who wants to perform the Tawaf around the Kaaba should go behind Al-Hijr (i.e. a portion of the Kaaba left out unroofed) and do not call it Al-Hatim, for in the pre-Islamic period of ignorance if any man took an oath, he used to throw his whip, shoes or bow in it.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 188:
Narrated Amr bin Maimun:
During the pre-lslamic period of ignorance I saw a she-monkey surrounded by a number of monkeys. They were all stoning it, because it had committed illegal sexual intercourse. I too, stoned it along with them.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 189:
Narrated Sufyan:
Ubaidullah said: "I heard Ibn Abbas saying, "Following are some traits of the people of the pre-Islamic period of ignorance (i) to defame the ancestry of other families, (ii) and to wail over the dead." Ubaidullah forgot the third trait. Sufyan said, "They say it (i.e. the third trait) was to believe that rain was caused by the influence of stars (i.e. if a special star appears it will rain)."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 190:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle was inspired Divinely at the age of forty. Then he stayed in Mecca for thirteen years, and then was ordered to migrate, and he migrated to Medina and stayed there for ten years and then died.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 191:
Narrated Khabbaba:
I came to the Prophet while he was leaning against his sheet cloak in the shade of the Kaaba. We were suffering greatly from the pagans in those days. i said (to him). "Will you invoke Allah (to help us)?" He sat down with a red face and said, "(A believer among) those who were before you used to be combed with iron combs so that nothing of his flesh or nerves would remain on his bones; yet that would never make him desert his religion. A saw might be put over the parting of his head which would be split into two parts, yet all that would never make him abandon his religion. Allah will surely complete this religion (i.e. Islam) so that a traveler from Sana to Hadra-maut will not be afraid of anybody except Allah." (The sub-narrator, Baiyan added, "Or the wolf, lest it should harm his sheep.")

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 192:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet recited Surat An-Najam and prostrated, and there was nobody who did not prostrate then except a man whom I saw taking a handful of pebbles, lifting it, and prostrating on it. He then said, "This is sufficient for me." No doubt I saw him killed as a disbeliever afterwards.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 193:
Narrated Abdullah:
While the Prophet was prostrating, surrounded by some of Quraish, Uqba bin Abi Mu'ait brought the intestines (i.e. abdominal contents) of a camel and put them over the back of the Prophet. The Prophet did not raise his head, (till) Fatima, came and took it off his back and cursed the one who had done the harm. The Prophet said, "O Allah! Destroy the chiefs of Quraish, Abu Jahl bin Hisham, Utba bin Rabi'al, Shaba bin Rabi'a, Umaiya bin Khalaf or Ubai bin Khalaf." (The sub-narrator Shu'ba, is not sure of the last name.) I saw these people killed on the day of Badr battle and thrown in the well except Umaiya or Ubai whose body parts were mutilated but he was not thrown in the well.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 194:
Narrated Said bin Jubair:
AbdurRahman bin Abza said, "Ask Ibn Abbas about these two Koranic Verses: 'Nor kill such life as Allah has made sacred, Except for just cause.' (25.168) "And whoever kills a believer intentionally, his recompense is Hell. (4.93)
So I asked Ibn Abbas who said, "When the Verse that is in Sura-al-Furqan was revealed, the pagans of Mecca said, 'But we have slain such life as Allah has made sacred, and we have invoked other gods along with Allah, and we have also committed fornication.' So Allah revealed:-- 'Except those who repent, believe, and do good-- (25.70)
So this Verse was concerned with those people. As for the Verse in Surat-an-Nisa (4-93), it means that if a man, after understanding Islam and its laws and obligations, murders somebody, then his punishment is to dwell in the (Hell) Fire forever." Then I mentioned this to Mujahid who said, "Except the one who regrets (one's crime) . "

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 195:
Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair:
I asked Ibn Amr bin Al-As, "Tell me of the worst thing which the pagans did to the Prophet." He said, "While the Prophet was praying in the Hijr of the Kaaba; Uqba bin Abi Mu'ait came and put his garment around the Prophet's neck and throttled him violently. Abu Bakr came and caught him by his shoulder and pushed him away from the Prophet and said, "Do you want to kill a man just because he says, 'My Lord is Allah?' "

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 196:
Narrated Urwa:
As above (Hadith 195).

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 197:
Narrated Ammar bin Yasir:
I saw Allah's Apostle , and the only converts (to Islam) with him, were five slaves, two women and Abu Bakr.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 198:
Narrated Abu Ishaq Saud bin Abi Waqqas:
None embraced Islam, except on the day I embraced it. And for seven days I was one of the three persons who were Muslims (one-third of Islam).

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 199:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman:
"I asked Masruq, 'Who informed the Prophet about the Jinns at the night when they heard the Koran?' He said, 'Your father Abdullah informed me that a tree informed the Prophet about them.' "

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 200:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
That once he was in the, company of the Prophet carrying a water pot for his ablution and for cleaning his private parts.

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While he was following him carrying it(i.e. the pot), the Prophet said, "Who is this?" He said, "I am Abu Huraira." The Prophet said, "Bring me stones in order to clean my private parts, and do not bring any bones or animal dung." Abu Huraira went on narrating: So I brought some stones, carrying them in the corner of my robe till I put them by his side and went away. When he finished, I walked with him and asked, "What about the bone and the animal dung?" He said, "They are of the food of Jinns. The delegate of Jinns of (the city of) Nasibin came to me--and how nice those Jinns were--and asked me for the remains of the human food. I invoked Allah for them that they would never pass by a bone or animal dung but find food on them."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 201:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
When Abu Dhar received the news of the Advent of the Prophet he said to his brother, "Ride to this valley (of Mecca) and try to find out the truth of the person who claims to be a prophet who is informed of the news of Heaven. Listen to what he says and come back to me." So his brother set out and came to the Prophet and listened to some of his talks, and returned to Abu Dhar and said to him. "I have seen him enjoining virtuous behavior and saying something that is not poetry." Abu Dhar said, "You have not satisfied me as to what I wanted." He then took his journey-food and carried a water-skin of his, containing some water till be reached Mecca. He went to the Mosque and searched for the Prophet and though he did not know him, he hated to ask anybody about him. When a part of the night had passed away, Ali saw him and knew that he was a stranger. So when Abu Dhar saw Ali, he followed him, and none of them asked his companion about anything, and when it was dawn, Abu Dhar took his journey food and his water-skin to the Mosque and stayed there all the day long without being perceived by the Prophet, and when it was evening, he came back to his retiring place. Ali passed by him and said, "Has the man not known his dwelling place yet?" So Ali awakened him and took him with him and none of them spoke to the other about anything. When it was the third day. Ali did the same and Abu Dhar stayed with him. Then Ali said "Will you tell me what has brought you here?" Abu Dhar said, "If you give me a firm promise that you will guide me, then I will tell you." Ali promised him, and he informed Ali about the matter. Ali said, "It is true, and he is the Apostle of Allah. Next morning when you get up, accompany me, and if I see any danger for you, I will stop as if to pass water, but if I go on, follow me and enter the place which I will enter." Abu Dhar did so, and followed Ali till he entered the place of the Prophet, and Abu Dhar went in with him, Abu Dhar listened to some of the Prophet's talks and embraced Islam on the spot. The Prophet said to him, "Go back to your people and inform them (about it) till you receive my order." Abu Dhar said, "By Him in Whose Hand my life is, I will proclaim my conversion loudly amongst them (i.e. the pagans)." So he went out, and when he reached the Mosque, he said as loudly as possible, "I bear witness that None has the right to be worshipped except Allah, and Mohammed is the Apostle of Allah." The People got up and beat him painfully. Then Al-Abbas came and knelt over him ((to protect him) and said (to the people), "Woe to you! Don't you know that this man belongs to the tribe of Ghifar and your trade to Sha'm is through their way?" So he rescued him from them. Abu Dhar again did the same the next day. They beat him and took vengeance on him and again Al-Abbas knelt over him (to protect him).

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 202:
Narrated Qais:
I heard Said bin Zaid bin Amr bin Nufail saying in the mosque of Al-Kufa. "By Allah, I have seen myself tied and forced by Umar to leave Islam before Umar himself embraced Islam. And if the mountain of Uhud could move from its place for the evil which you people have done to Uthman, then it would have the right to move from its place."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 203:
Narrated Abdullah bin Mus'ud:
We have been powerful since Umar embraced Islam.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 204:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
While Umar was at home in a state of fear, there came Al-'As bin Wail As-Sahmi Abu Amr, wearing an embroidered cloak and a shirt having silk hems. He was from the tribe of Bani Sahm who were our allies during the pre-Islamic period of ignorance. Al-'As said to Umar "What is wrong with you?" He said, "Your people claim that they would kill me if I become a Muslim." Al-'As said, "Nobody will harm you after I have given protection to you." So Al-'As went out and met the people streaming in the whole valley. He said, "Where are you going?" They said, "We want Ibn Al-Khattab who has embraced Islam." Al-'As said, "There is no way for anybody to touch him." So the people retreated.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 205:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
When Umar embraced Islam, all The (disbelieving) people gathered around his home and said, "Umar has embraced Islam." At that time I was still a boy and was on the roof of my house. There came a man wearing a cloak of Dibaj (i.e. a kind of silk), and said, "Umar has embraced Islam. Nobody can harm him for I am his protector." I then saw the people going away from Umar and asked who the man was, and they said, "Al-'As bin Wail."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 206:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
I never heard Umar saying about something that he thought it would be so-and-so, but he was quite right. Once, while Umar was sitting, a handsome man passed by him, Umar said, "If I am not wrong, this person is still on his religion of the pre-lslamic period of ignorance or he was their foreteller. Call the man to me." When the man was called to him, he told him of his thought. The man said, "I have never seen such a day on which a Muslim is faced with such an accusation." Umar said, "I am determined that you should tell me the truth." He said, "I was a foreteller in the pre-lslamic period of ignorance." Then Umar said, "Tell me the most astonishing thing your female Jinn has told you of." He said, "One-day while I was in the market, she came to me scared and said, 'Haven't you seen the Jinns and their despair and they were overthrown after their defeat (and prevented from listening to the news of the heaven) so that they (stopped going to the sky and) kept following camel-riders (i.e. 'Arabs)?" Umar said, "He is right." and added, "One day while I was near their idols, there came a man with a calf and slaughtered it as a sacrifice (for the idols). An (unseen) creature shouted at him, and I have never heard harsher than his voice. He was crying, 'O you bold evil-doer! A matter of success! An eloquent man is saying: None has the right to be worshipped except you (O Allah).' On that the people fled, but I said, 'I shall not go away till I know what is behind this.' Then the cry came again: 'O you bold evil-doer! A matter of success! An eloquent man is saying: None has the right to be worshipped except Allah.' I then went away and a few days later it was said, "A prophet has appeared."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 207:
Narrated Qais:
I heard Said bin Zaid saying to the people, "If you but saw me and Umar's sister tied and forced by Umar to leave Islam while he was not yet a Muslim. And if the mountain of Uhud could move from its place for the evil which you people have done to Uthman, it would have the right to do that."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 208:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The people of Mecca asked Allah's Apostle to show them a miracle. So he showed them the moon split in two halves between which they saw the Hiram' mountain.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 209:
Narrated Abdullah:
The moon was split (into two pieces) while we were with the Prophet in Mina. He said, "Be witnesses." Then a Piece of the moon went towards the mountain.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 210:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
During the lifetime of Allah's Apostle the moon was split (into two places).

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 211:
Narrated Abdullah:
The moon was split (into two pieces).

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 212:
Narrated Ubaidullah bin Adi bin Al-Khiyar:
That Al-Miswar bin Makhrama and Abdur-Rahman bin Al-Aswad bin Abu Yaghuth had said to him, "What prevents you from speaking to your uncle Uthman regarding his brother Al-Walid bin Uqba?" The people were speaking against the latter for what he had done. Ubaidullah said, "So I kept waiting for Uthman, and when he went out for the prayer, I said to him, 'I have got something to say to you as a piece of advice.' Uthman said, 'O man! I seek Refuge with Allah from you. So I went away. When I finished my prayer, I sat with Al-Miswar and Ibn Abu Yaghuth and talked to both of them of what I had said to Uthman and what he had said to me. They said, 'You have done your duty.' So while I was sitting with them. Uthman's Messenger came to me. They said, 'Allah has put you to trial." I set out and when I reached Uthman, he said, 'What is your advice which you mentioned a while ago?' I recited Tashahhud and added, 'Allah has sent Mohammed and has revealed the Holy Book (i.e. Koran) to him. You (O Uthman!) were amongst those who responded to the call of Allah and His Apostle and had faith in him. And you took part in the first two migrations (to Ethiopia and to Medina), and you enjoyed the company of Allah's Apostle and learned his traditions and advice. Now the people are talking much about Al-Walid bin Uqba and so it is your duty to impose on him the legal punishment.' Uthman then said to me, 'O my nephew! Did you ever meet Allah's Apostle ?' I said, 'No, but his knowledge has reached me as it has reached the virgin in her seclusion.' Uthman then recited Tashahhud and said, 'No doubt, Allah has sent Mohammed with the Truth and has revealed to him His Holy Book (i.e. Koran) and I was amongst those who responded to the call of Allah and His Apostle and I had faith in Mohammed's Mission, and I had performed the first two migrations as you have said, and I enjoyed the company of Allah's Apostle and gave the pledge of allegiance to him. By Allah, I never disobeyed him and never cheated him till Allah caused him to die. Then Allah made Abu Bakr Caliph, and by Allah, I was never disobedient to him, nor did I cheat him. Then Umar became Caliph, and by Allah, I was never disobedient to him, nor did I cheat him. Then I became Caliph. Have I not then the same rights over you as they had over me?' I replied in the affirmative. Uthman further said, 'The what are these talks which are reaching me from you? As for what you ha mentioned about Al-Walid bin 'Uqb; Allah willing, I shall give him the leg; punishment justly. Then Uthman ordered that Al-Walid be flogged fort lashes. He ordered Ali to flog him an he himself flogged him as well."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 213:
Narrated Aisha:
Um Habiba and Um Salama mentioned a church they had seen in Ethiopia and in the church there were pictures. When they told the Prophet of this, he said, "Those people are such that if a pious man amongst them died, they build a place of worship over his grave and paint these pictures in it. Those people will be Allah's worst creatures on the Day of Resurrection . "

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 214:
Narrated Um Khalid bint Khalid:
When I came from Ethiopia (to Medina), I was a young girl. Allah's Apostle made me wear a sheet having marks on it. Allah's Apostle was rubbing those marks with his hands saying, "Sanah! Sanah!" (i.e. good, good).

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 215:
Narrated Abdullah:
We used to greet the Prophet while he used to be in prayers, and he used to reply to our greetings. But when we came back from Najashi (the King of Ethiopia) we greeted him (while he was praying) and he did not reply to us. We said, "O Allah's Apostle! We used to greet you in the past and you used to reply to us." He said, "Verily The Mind is occupied and busy with more important matter during the prayer." (So one cannot return One's greetings.)

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 216:
Narrated Abu Musa:
We received the news of the departure of the Prophet (to Medina) while we were in Yemen. So we went on board a ship but our ship took us away to An-Najashi (the Negus) in Ethiopia. There we met Jafar bin Abi Talib and stayed with him till we came (to Medina) by the time when the Prophet had conquered Khaibar. The Prophet said, "O you people of the ship! You will have (the reward of) two migrations."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 217:
Narrated Jabir:
When Negus died, the Prophet said, "Today a pious man has died. So get up and offer the funeral prayer for your brother Ashama

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 218:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah Al-Ansari:
Allah's Apostle led the funeral prayer for the Negus and made us stand in rows behind him and I was in the second or third row.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 219:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet offered the funeral prayer for Ashama, the Negus, with four Takbir.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 220:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
that Allah's Apostle informed them (i.e. his companions) of the death of Negus, the king of Ethiopia, on the very day on which the latter died, and said, "Ask Allah's Forgiveness for your brother" Abu Huraira further said, "Allah's Apostle made them (i.e. the Muslims) stand in rows at the Musalla (i.e. praying place) and led the funeral prayer for the Negus and said four Takbir."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 221:
Narrated Abu Huraira:

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Allah's Apostle, while going out for the battle of Hunain, said, "Tomorrow Allah willing, we will encamp at Khaif Bani Kinana where the pagans(of Quraish) took the oath of Kufr (against the Prophet i.e. to be loyal to heathenism, by boycotting Banu Hashim, the Prophet's folk, See Hadith No. 659 Vol. 2) .

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 222:
Narrated Al-Abbas bin Abdul Muttalib:
That he said to the Prophet "You have not been of any avail to your uncle (Abu Talib) (though) by Allah, he used to protect you and used to become angry on your behalf." The Prophet said, "He is in a shallow fire, and had It not been for me, he would have been in the bottom of the (Hell) Fire."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 223:
Narrated Al-Musaiyab:
When Abu Talib was in his death bed, the Prophet went to him while Abu Jahl was sitting beside him. The Prophet said, "O my uncle! Say: None has the right to be worshipped except Allah, an expression I will defend your case with, before Allah." Abu Jahl and Abdullah bin Umaya said, "O Abu Talib! Will you leave the religion of Abdul Muttalib?" So they kept on saying this to him so that the last statement he said to them (before he died) was: "I am on the religion of Abdul Muttalib." Then the Prophet said, " I will keep on asking for Allah's Forgiveness for you unless I am forbidden to do so." Then the following Verse was revealed:--
"It is not fitting for the Prophet and the believers to ask Allah's Forgiveness for the pagans, even if they were their near relatives, after it has become clear to them that they are the dwellers of the (Hell) Fire." (9.113)
The other Verse was also revealed:-- "(O Prophet!) Verily, you guide not whom you like, but Allah guides whom He will ....." (28.56)

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 224:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
That he heard the Prophet when somebody mentioned his uncle (i.e. Abu Talib), saying, "Perhaps my intercession will be helpful to him on the Day of Resurrection so that he may be put in a shallow fire reaching only up to his ankles. His brain will boil from it."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 225:
Narrated Yazid:
(as above, Hadith 224) using the words: "will make his brain boil."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 226:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
That he heard Allah's Apostle saying, "When the people of Quraish did not believe me (i.e. the story of my Night Journey), I stood up in Al-Hijr and Allah displayed Jerusalem in front of me, and I began describing it to them while I was looking at it."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 227:
Narrated Abbas bin Malik:
Malik bin Sasaa said that Allah's Apostle described to them his Night Journey saying, "While I was lying in Al-Hatim or Al-Hijr, suddenly someone came to me and cut my body open from here to here." I asked Al-Jarud who was by my side, "What does he mean?" He said, "It means from his throat to his pubic area," or said, "From the top of the chest." The Prophet further said, "He then took out my heart. Then a gold tray of Belief was brought to me and my heart was washed and was filled (with Belief) and then returned to its original place. Then a white animal which was smaller than a mule and bigger than a donkey was brought to me." (On this Al-Jarud asked, "Was it the Buraq, O Abu Hamza?" I (i.e. Anas) replied in the affirmative). The Prophet said, "The animal's step (was so wide that it) reached the farthest point within the reach of the animal's sight. I was carried on it, and Gabriel set out with me till we reached the nearest heaven.
When he asked for the gate to be opened, it was asked, 'Who is it?' Gabriel answered, 'Gabriel.' It was asked, 'Who is accompanying you?' Gabriel replied, 'Mohammed.' It was asked, 'Has Mohammed been called?' Gabriel replied in the affirmative. Then it was said, 'He is welcomed. What an excellent visit his is!' The gate was opened, and when I went over the first heaven, I saw Adam there. Gabriel said (to me). 'This is your father, Adam; pay him your greetings.' So I greeted him and he returned the greeting to me and said, 'You are welcomed, O pious son and pious Prophet.' Then Gabriel ascended with me till we reached the second heaven. Gabriel asked for the gate to be opened. It was asked, 'Who is it?' Gabriel answered, 'Gabriel.' It was asked, 'Who is accompanying you?' Gabriel replied, 'Mohammed.' It was asked, 'Has he been called?' Gabriel answered in the affirmative. Then it was said, 'He is welcomed. What an excellent visit his is!' The gate was opened.
When I went over the second heaven, there I saw Yahya (i.e. John) and 'Isa (i.e. Jesus) who were cousins of each other. Gabriel said (to me), 'These are John and Jesus; pay them your greetings.' So I greeted them and both of them returned my greetings to me and said, 'You are welcomed, O pious brother and pious Prophet.' Then Gabriel ascended with me to the third heaven and asked for its gate to be opened. It was asked, 'Who is it?' Gabriel replied, 'Gabriel.' It was asked, 'Who is accompanying you?' Gabriel replied, 'Mohammed.' It was asked, 'Has he been called?' Gabriel replied in the affirmative. Then it was said, 'He is welcomed, what an excellent visit his is!' The gate was opened, and when I went over the third heaven there I saw Joseph. Gabriel said (to me), 'This is Joseph; pay him your greetings.' So I greeted him and he returned the greeting to me and said, 'You are welcomed, O pious brother and pious Prophet.' Then Gabriel ascended with me to the fourth heaven and asked for its gate to be opened. It was asked, 'Who is it?' Gabriel replied, 'Gabriel' It was asked, 'Who is accompanying you?' Gabriel replied, 'Mohammed.' It was asked, 'Has he been called?' Gabriel replied in the affirmative. Then it was said, 'He is welcomed, what an excel lent visit his is!'
The gate was opened, and when I went over the fourth heaven, there I saw Idris. Gabriel said (to me), 'This is Idris; pay him your greetings.' So I greeted him and he returned the greeting to me and said, 'You are welcomed, O pious brother and pious Prophet.' Then Gabriel ascended with me to the fifth heaven and asked for its gate to be opened. It was asked, 'Who is it?' Gabriel replied, 'Gabriel.' It was asked. 'Who is accompanying you?' Gabriel replied, 'Mohammed.' It was asked, 'Has he been called?' Gabriel replied in the affirmative. Then it was said He is welcomed, what an excellent visit his is! So when I went over the fifth heaven, there I saw Harun (i.e. Aaron), Gabriel said, (to me). This is Aaron; pay him your greetings.' I greeted him and he returned the greeting to me and said, 'You are welcomed, O pious brother and pious Prophet.' Then Gabriel ascended with me to the sixth heaven and asked for its gate to be opened. It was asked. 'Who is it?' Gabriel replied, 'Gabriel.' It was asked, 'Who is accompanying you?' Gabriel replied, 'Mohammed.' It was asked, 'Has he been called?' Gabriel replied in the affirmative. It was said, 'He is welcomed. What an excellent visit his is!'
When I went (over the sixth heaven), there I saw Moses. Gabriel said (to me),' This is Moses; pay him your greeting. So I greeted him and he returned the greetings to me and said, 'You are welcomed, O pious brother and pious Prophet.' When I left him (i.e. Moses) he wept. Someone asked him, 'What makes you weep?' Moses said, 'I weep because after me there has been sent (as Prophet) a young man whose followers will enter Paradise in greater numbers than my followers.' Then Gabriel ascended with me to the seventh heaven and asked for its gate to be opened. It was asked, 'Who is it?' Gabriel replied, 'Gabriel.' It was asked,' Who is accompanying you?' Gabriel replied, 'Mohammed.' It was asked, 'Has he been called?' Gabriel replied in the affirmative. Then it was said, 'He is welcomed. What an excellent visit his is!'
So when I went (over the seventh heaven), there I saw Abraham. Gabriel said (to me), 'This is your father; pay your greetings to him.' So I greeted him and he returned the greetings to me and said, 'You are welcomed, O pious son and pious Prophet.' Then I was made to ascend to Sidrat-ul-Muntaha (i.e. the Lote Tree of the utmost boundary) Behold! Its fruits were like the jars of Hajr (i.e. a place near Medina) and its leaves were as big as the ears of elephants. Gabriel said, 'This is the Lote Tree of the utmost boundary) . Behold ! There ran four rivers, two were hidden and two were visible, I asked, 'What are these two kinds of rivers, O Gabriel?' He replied,' As for the hidden rivers, they are two rivers in Paradise and the visible rivers are the Nile and the Euphrates.'
Then Al-Bait-ul-Ma'mur (i.e. the Sacred House) was shown to me and a container full of wine and another full of milk and a third full of honey were brought to me. I took the milk. Gabriel remarked, 'This is the Islamic religion which you and your followers are following.' Then the prayers were enjoined on me: They were fifty prayers a day. When I returned, I passed by Moses who asked (me), 'What have you been ordered to do?' I replied, 'I have been ordered to offer fifty prayers a day.' Moses said, 'Your followers cannot bear fifty prayers a day, and by Allah, I have tested people before you, and I have tried my level best with Bani Israel (in vain). Go back to your Lord and ask for reduction to lessen your followers' burden.' So I went back, and Allah reduced ten prayers for me. Then again I came to Moses, but he repeated the same as he had said before. Then again I went back to Allah and He reduced ten more prayers. When I came back to Moses he said the same, I went back to Allah and He ordered me to observe ten prayers a day. When I came back to Moses, he repeated the same advice, so I went back to Allah and was ordered to observe five prayers a day.
When I came back to Moses, he said, 'What have you been ordered?' I replied, 'I have been ordered to observe five prayers a day.' He said, 'Your followers cannot bear five prayers a day, and no doubt, I have got an experience of the people before you, and I have tried my level best with Bani Israel, so go back to your Lord and ask for reduction to lessen your follower's burden.' I said, 'I have requested so much of my Lord that I feel ashamed, but I am satisfied now and surrender to Allah's Order.' When I left, I heard a voice saying, 'I have passed My Order and have lessened the burden of My Worshipers."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 228:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Regarding the Statement of Allah"
"And We granted the vision (Ascension to the heavens) which We made you see (as an actual eye witness) was only made as a trial for the people." (17.60)
Ibn Abbas added: The sights which Allah's Apostle was shown on the Night Journey when he was taken to Bait-ulMaqdis (i.e. Jerusalem) were actual sights, (not dreams). And the Cursed Tree (mentioned) in the Koran is the tree of Zaqqum (itself) .

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 229:
Narrated Abdullah bin Ka'b:
Who was Kab's guide when Ka'b turned blind: I heard Ka'b bin Malik narrating: When he remained behind (i.e. did not Join) the Prophet in the Ghazwa of Tabuk. Ibn Bukair, in his narration stated that Ka'b said, " I witnessed the Al-'Aqaba pledge of allegiance at night with the Prophet when we jointly agreed to support Islam with all our efforts I would not like to have attended the Badr battle instead of that 'Aqaba pledge although Badr is more well-known than it, amongst the people."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 230:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
I was present with my two maternal uncles at Al-'Aqaba (where the pledge of allegiance was given). (Ibn 'Uyaina said, "One of the two was Al-Bara bin Marur.")

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 231:
Narrated Jabir:
My father, my two maternal uncles and I were among those who took part in the 'Aqaba Pledge.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 232:
Narrated 'Ubada bin As-Samit:
Who had taken part in the battle of Badr with Allah's Apostle and had been amongst his companions on the night of Al-'Aqaba Pledge: Allah's Apostle, surrounded by a group of his companions said, "Come along and give me the pledge of allegiance that you will not worship anything besides Allah, will not steal, will not commit illegal sexual intercourse will not kill your children, will not utter; slander, invented by yourself, and will not disobey me if I order you to do something good. Whoever among you will respect and fulfill this pledge, will be rewarded by Allah. And if one of you commits any of these sins and is punished in this world then that will be his expiation for it, and if one of you commits any of these sins and Allah screens his sin, then his matter, will rest with Allah: If He will, He will punish him and if He will,. He will excuse him." So I gave the pledge of allegiance to him for these conditions.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 233:
Narrated 'Ubada bin As Samit:
I was one of the Naqibs who gave the ('Aqaba) Pledge of Allegiance to Allah's Apostle . We gave the pledge of allegiance to him that we would not worship anything other than Allah, would not steal, would not commit illegal sexual intercourse, would not kill a person whose killing Allah has made illegal except rightfully, would not rob each other, and we would not be promised Paradise jf we did the above sins, then if we committed one of the above sins, Allah will give His Judgement concerning it.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 234:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet engaged me when I was a girl of six (years). We went to Medina and stayed at the home of Bani-al-Harith bin Khazraj. Then I got ill and my hair fell down. Later on my hair grew (again) and my mother, Um Ruman, came to me while I was playing in a swing with some of my girl friends. She called me, and I went to her, not knowing what she wanted to do to me. She caught me by the hand and made me stand at the door of the house. I was breathless then, and when my breathing became Allright, she took some water and rubbed my face and head with it. Then she took me into the house. There in the house I saw some Ansari women who said, "Best wishes and Allah's Blessing and a good luck." Then she entrusted me to them and they prepared me (for the marriage). Unexpectedly Allah's Apostle came to me in the forenoon and my mother handed me over to him, and at that time I was a girl of nine years of age.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 235:
Narrated Aisha:

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That the Prophet said to her, "You have been shown to me twice in my dream. I saw you pictured on a piece of silk and some-one said (to me). 'This is your wife.' When I uncovered the picture, I saw that it was yours. I said, 'If this is from Allah, it will be done."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 236:
Narrated Hisham's father:
Khadija died three years before the Prophet departed to Medina. He stayed there for two years or so and then he married Aisha when she was a girl of six years of age, and he consumed that marriage when she was nine years old.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 237:
Narrated Abu Wail:
We visited Khabbaba who said, "We migrated with the Prophet for Allah's Sake, so our reward became due and sure with Allah. Some of us passed away without taking anything of their rewards (in this world) and one of them was Mus'ab bin Umar who was martyred on the day (of the battle) of Uhud leaving a striped woolen cloak. When we covered his head with it, his feet became naked, and when covered his feet, his head became naked.
So Allah's Apostle ordered us to cover his head and put some Idhkhir (i.e. a special kind of grass) on his feet. (On the other hand) some of us have had their fruits ripened (in this world) and they are collecting them."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 238:
Narrated Umar:
I heard the Prophet saying, "The reward of deeds depends on the intentions, so whoever emigrated for the worldly benefits or to marry a woman, his emigration was for that for which he emigrated, but whoever emigrated for the Sake of Allah and His Apostle, his emigration is for Allah and His Apostle."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 239:
Narrated Mujahid bin Jabir Al-Makki:
Abdullah bin Umar used to say, "There is no more Hijrah (i.e. migration) after the Conquest of Mecca."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 240:
Narrated 'Ata bin Abi Rabah:
Ubaid bin Umar Al-Laithi and I visited Aisha and asked her about the Hijra (i.e. migration), and she said, "Today there is no (Hijrah) emigration. A believer used to run away with his religion to Allah and His Apostle lest he should be put to trial because of his religion. Today Allah has made Islam triumphant, and today a believer can worship his Lord wherever he likes. But the deeds that are still rewardable (in place of emigration) are Jihad and good intentions." (See Hadith No. 42 Vol. 4).

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 241:
Narrated Aisha:
Sad said, "O Allah! You know that there is none against whom I am eager to fight more willingly for Your Cause than those people who disbelieved Your Apostle and drove him out (of his city). O Allah! I think that You have ended the fight between us and them."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 242:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle started receiving the Divine Inspiration at the age of forty. Then he stayed in Mecca for thirteen years, receiving the Divine Revelation. Then he was ordered to migrate and he lived as an Emigrant for ten years and then died at the age of sixty-three (years).

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 243:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle stayed in Mecca for thirteen years (after receiving the first Divine Inspiration) and died at the age of sixty-three.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 244:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
Allah's Apostle sat on the pulpit and said, "Allah has given one of His Slaves the choice of receiving the splendor and luxury of the worldly life whatever he likes or to accept the good (of the Hereafter) which is with Allah. So he has chosen that good which is with Allah." On that Abu Bakr wept and said, "Our fathers and mothers be sacrificed for you." We became astonished at this. The people said, "Look at this old man! Allah's Apostle talks about a Slave of Allah to whom He has given the option to choose either the splendor of this worldly life or the good which is with Him, while he says. 'our fathers and mothers be sacrifice(i for you." But it was Allah's Apostle who had been given option, and Abu Bakr knew it better than we. Allah's Apostle added, "No doubt, I am indebted to Abu Bakr more than to anybody else regarding both his companionship and his wealth. And if I had to take a Khalil from my followers, I would certainly have taken Abu Bakr, but the fraternity of Islam is. sufficient. Let no door (i.e. Khoukha) of the Mosque remain open, except the door of Abu Bakr."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 245:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) I never remembered my parents believing in any religion other than the true religion (i.e. Islam), and (I don't remember) a single day passing without our being visited by Allah's Apostle in the morning and in the evening. When the Muslims were put to test (i.e. troubled by the pagans), Abu Bakr set out migrating to the land of Ethiopia, and when he reached Bark-al-Ghimad, Ibn Ad-Daghina, the chief of the tribe of Qara, met him and said, "O Abu Bakr! Where are you going?" Abu Bakr replied, "My people have turned me out (of my country), so I want to wander on the earth and worship my Lord." Ibn Ad-Daghina said, "O Abu Bakr! A man like you should not leave his home-land, nor should he be driven out, because you help the destitute, earn their livings, and you keep good relations with your Kith and kin, help the weak and poor, entertain guests generously, and help the calamity-stricken persons. Therefore I am your protector. Go back and worship your Lord in your town."
So Abu Bakr returned and Ibn Ad-Daghina accompanied him. In the evening Ibn Ad-Daghina visited the nobles of Quraish and said to them. "A man like Abu Bakr should not leave his homeland, nor should he be driven out. Do you (i.e. Quraish) drive out a man who helps the destitute, earns their living, keeps good relations with his Kith and kin, helps the weak and poor, entertains guests generously and helps the calamity-stricken persons?" So the people of Quraish could not refuse Ibn Ad-Daghina's protection, and they said to Ibn Ad-Daghina, "Let Abu Bakr worship his Lord in his house. He can pray and recite there whatever he likes, but he should not hurt us with it, and should not do it publicly, because we are afraid that he may affect our women and children." Ibn Ad-Daghina told Abu Bakr of all that. Abu Bakr stayed in that state, worshipping his Lord in his house. He did not pray publicly, nor did he recite Koran outside his house.
Then a thought occurred to Abu Bakr to build a mosque in front of his house, and there he used to pray and recite the Koran. The women and children of the pagans began to gather around him in great number. They used to wonder at him and look at him. Abu Bakr was a man who used to weep too much, and he could not help weeping on reciting the Koran. That situation scared the nobles of the pagans of Quraish, so they sent for Ibn Ad-Daghina. When he came to them, they said, "We accepted your protection of Abu Bakr on condition that he should worship his Lord in his house, but he has violated the conditions and he has built a mosque in front of his house where he prays and recites the Koran publicly. We are now afraid that he may affect our women and children unfavorably. So, prevent him from that. If he likes to confine the worship of his Lord to his house, he may do so, but if he insists on doing that openly, ask him to release you from your obligation to protect him, for we dislike to break our pact with you, but we deny Abu Bakr the right to announce his act publicly." Ibn Ad-Daghina went to Abu-Bakr and said, ("O Abu Bakr!) You know well what contract I have made on your behalf; now, you are either to abide by it, or else release me from my obligation of protecting you, because I do not want the 'Arabs hear that my people have dishonored a contract I have made on behalf of another man." Abu Bakr replied, "I release you from your pact to protect me, and am pleased with the protection from Allah."
At that time the Prophet was in Mecca, and he said to the Muslims, "In a dream I have been shown your migration place, a land of date palm trees, between two mountains, the two stony tracts." So, some people migrated to Medina, and most of those people who had previously migrated to the land of Ethiopia, returned to Medina. Abu Bakr also prepared to leave for Medina, but Allah's Apostle said to him, "Wait for a while, because I hope that I will be allowed to migrate also." Abu Bakr said, "Do you indeed expect this? Let my father be sacrificed for you!" The Prophet said, "Yes." So Abu Bakr did not migrate for the sake of Allah's Apostle in order to accompany him. He fed two she-camels he possessed with the leaves of As-Samur tree that fell on being struck by a stick for four months.
One day, while we were sitting in Abu Bakr's house at noon, someone said to Abu Bakr, "This is Allah's Apostle with his head covered coming at a time at which he never used to visit us before." Abu Bakr said, "May my parents be sacrificed for him. By Allah, he has not come at this hour except for a great necessity." So Allah's Apostle came and asked permission to enter, and he was allowed to enter. When he entered, he said to Abu Bakr. "Tell everyone who is present with you to go away." Abu Bakr replied, "There are none but your family. May my father be sacrificed for you, O Allah's Apostle!" The Prophet said, "i have been given permission to migrate." Abu Bakr said, "Shall I accompany you? May my father be sacrificed for you, O Allah's Apostle!" Allah's Apostle said, "Yes." Abu Bakr said, "O Allah's Apostle! May my father be sacrificed for you, take one of these two she-camels of mine." Allah's Apostle replied, "(I will accept it) with payment." So we prepared the baggage quickly and put some journey food in a leather bag for them. Asma, Abu Bakr's daughter, cut a piece from her waist belt and tied the mouth of the leather bag with it, and for that reason she was named Dhat-un-Nitaqain (i.e. the owner of two belts).
Then Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr reached a cave on the mountain of Thaur and stayed there for three nights. Abdullah bin Abi Bakr who was intelligent and a sagacious youth, used to stay (with them) aver night. He used to leave them before day break so that in the morning he would be with Quraish as if he had spent the night in Mecca. He would keep in mind any plot made against them, and when it became dark he would (go and) inform them of it. Amir bin Fuhaira, the freed slave of Abu Bakr, used to bring the milch sheep (of his master, Abu Bakr) to them a little while after nightfall in order to rest the sheep there. So they always had fresh milk at night, the milk of their sheep, and the milk which they warmed by throwing heated stones in it. Amir bin Fuhaira would then call the herd away when it was still dark (before daybreak). He did the same in each of those three nights. Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr had hired a man from the tribe of Bani Ad-Dail from the family of Bani Abd bin Adi as an expert guide, and he was in alliance with the family of Al-'As bin Wail As-Sahmi and he was on the religion of the infidels of Quraish. The Prophet and Abu Bakr trusted him and gave him their two she-camels and took his promise to bring their two she camels to the cave of the mountain of Thaur in the morning after three nights later. And (when they set out), Amir bin Fuhaira and the guide went along with them and the guide led them along the sea-shore.
The nephew of Suraqa bin Ju'sham said that his father informed him that he heard Suraqa bin Ju'sham saying, "The messengers of the heathens of Quraish came to us declaring that they had assigned for the persons why would kill or arrest Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr, a reward equal to their bloodmoney. While I was sitting in one of the gatherings of my tribe. Bani Mudlij, a man from them came to us and stood up while we were sitting, and said, "O Suraqa! No doubt, I have just seen some people far away on the seashore, and I think they are Mohammed and his companions." Suraqa added, "I too realized that it must have been they. But I said 'No, it is not they, but you have seen so-and-so, and so-and-so whom we saw set out.' I stayed in the gathering for a while and then got up and left for my home. and ordered my slave-girl to get my horse which was behind a hillock, and keep it ready for me.
Then I took my spear and left by the back door of my house dragging the lower end of the spear on the ground and keeping it low. Then I reached my horse, mounted it and made it gallop. When I approached them (i.e. Mohammed and Abu Bakr), my horse stumbled and I fell down from it, Then I stood up, got hold of my quiver and took out the divining arrows and drew lots as to whether I should harm them (i.e. the Prophet and Abu Bakr) or not, and the lot which I disliked came out. But I remounted my horse and let it gallop, giving no importance to the divining arrows. When I heard the recitation of the Koran by Allah's Apostle who did not look hither and thither while Abu Bakr was doing it often, suddenly the forelegs of my horse sank into the ground up to the knees, and I fell down from it. Then I rebuked it and it got up but could hardly take out its forelegs from the ground, and when it stood up straight again, its fore-legs caused dust to rise up in the sky like smoke. Then again I drew lots with the divining arrows, and the lot which I disliked, came out. So I called upon them to feel secure. They stopped, and I remounted my horse and went to them. When I saw how I had been hampered from harming them, it came to my mind that the cause of Allah's Apostle (i.e. Islam) will become victorious. So I said to him, "Your people have assigned a reward equal to the bloodmoney for your head." Then I told them all the plans the people of Mecca had made concerning them. Then I offered them some journey food and goods but they refused to take anything and did not ask for anything, but the Prophet said, "Do not tell others about us." Then I requested him to write for me a statement of security and peace. He ordered Amr bin Fuhaira who wrote it for me on a parchment, and then Allah's Apostle proceeded on his way.
Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair: Allah's Apostle met Az-Zubair in a caravan of Muslim merchants who were returning from Sham. Az-Zubair provided Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr with white clothes to wear. When the Muslims of Medina heard the news of the departure of Allah's Apostle from Mecca (towards Medina), they started going to the Harra every morning . They would wait for him till the heat of the noon forced them to return. One day, after waiting for a long while, they returned home, and when they went into their houses, a Jew climbed up the roof of one of the forts of his people to look for some thing, and he saw Allah's Apostle and his companions dressed in white clothes, emerging out of the desert mirage.
The Jew could not help shouting at the top of his voice, "O you 'Arabs! Here is your great man whom you have been

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

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

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

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 246:
Narrated Asma:

I prepared the journey food for the Prophet and Abu Bakr when they wanted (to migrate to) Medina. I said to my father (Abu Bakr), "I do not have anything to tie the container of the journey food with except my waist belt." He said, "Divide it lengthwise into two." I did so, and for this reason I was named 'Dhat-un-Nitaqain' (i.e. the owner of two belts). (Ibn Abbas said, "Asma', Dhat-un-Nitaq.")

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 247:
Narrated Al-Bara:

When the Prophet migrated to Medina, Suraqa bin Malik bin Ju'sham pursued him. The Prophet invoked evil on him, therefore the forelegs of his horse sank into the ground. Suraqa said (to the Prophet), "Invoke Allah to rescue me, and I will not harm you. "The Prophet invoked Allah for him. Then Allah's Apostle felt thirsty and he passed by a shepherd. Abu Bakr said, "I took a bowl and milked a little milk in it and brought it to the Prophet and he drank till I was pleased."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 248:
Narrated Asma:

That she conceived Abdullah bin Az-Zubair. She added, "I migrated to Medina while I was at full term of pregnancy and alighted at Quba where I gave birth to him. Then I brought him to the Prophet and put him in his lap. The Prophet asked for a date, chewed it, and put some of its juice in the child's mouth. So, the first thing that entered the child's stomach was the saliva of Allah's Apostle. Then the Prophet rubbed the child's palate with a date and invoked for Allah's Blessings on him, and he was the first child born amongst the Emigrants in the Islamic Land (i.e. Medina).

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 249:
Narrated Aisha:

The first child who was born in the Islamic Land (i.e. Medina) amongst the Emigrants, was Abdullah bin Az-Zubair. They brought him to the Prophet. The Prophet took a date, and after chewing it, put its juice in his mouth. So the first thing that went into the child's stomach, was the saliva of the Prophet

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 250:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:

Allah's Apostle arrived at Medina with Abu Bakr, riding behind him on the same camel. Abu Bakr was an elderly man known to the people, while Allah's Apostle was a youth that was unknown. Thus, if a man met Abu Bakr, he would day, "O Abu Bakr! Who is this man in front of you?" Abu Bakr would say, "This man shows me the Way," One would think that Abu Bakr meant the road, while in fact, Abu Bakr meant the way of virtue and good. Then Abu Bakr looked behind and saw a horse-rider persuing them. He said, "O Allah's Apostle! This is a horse-rider persuing us." The Prophet looked behind and said, "O Allah! Cause him to fall down." So the horse threw him down and got up neighing. After that the rider, Suraqa said, "O Allah's Prophet! Order me whatever you want." The Prophet said, "Stay where you are and do not allow anybody to reach us." So, in the first part of the day Suraqa was an enemy of Allah's Prophet and in the last part of it, he was a protector. Then Allah's Apostle alighted by the side of the Al-Harra and sent a message to the Ansar, and they came to Allah's Prophet and Abu Bakr, and having greeted them, they said, "Ride (your she-camels) safe and obeyed." Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr rode and the Ansar, carrying their arms, surrounded them. The news that Allah's Prophet had come circulated in Medina. The people came out and were eagerly looking and saying "Allah's Prophet has come! Allah's Prophet has come! So the Prophet went on till he alighted near the house of Abu Aiyub. While the Prophet was speaking with the family members of Abu Aiyub, Abdullah bin Salam heard the news of his arrival while he himself was picking the dates for his family from his family garden. He hurried to the Prophet carrying the dates which he had collected for his family from the garden. He listened to Allah's Prophet and then went home.

Then Allah's Prophet said, "Which is the nearest of the houses of our Kith and kin?" Abu Aiyub replied, "Mine, O Allah's Prophet! This is my house and this is my gate." The Prophet said, "Go and prepare a place for our midday rest." Abu Aiyub said, "Get up (both of you) with Allah's Blessings." So when Allah's Prophet went into the house, Abdullah bin Salaim came and said "I testify that you (i.e. Mohammed) are Apostle of Allah and that you have come with the Truth. The Jews know well that I am their chief and the son of their chief and the most learned amongst them and the son of the most learned amongst them. So send for them (i.e. Jews) and ask them about me before they know that I have embraced Islam, for if they know that they will say about me things which are not correct." So Allah's Apostle sent for them, and they came and entered. Allah's Apostle said to them, "O (the group of) Jews! Woe to you: be afraid of Allah. By Allah except Whom none has the right to be worshipped, you people know for certain, that I am Apostle of Allah and that I have come to you with the Truth, so embrace Islam." The Jews replied, "We do not know this." So they said this to the Prophet and he repeated it thrice. Then he said, "What sort of a man is Abdullah bin Salam amongst you?" They said, "He is our chief and the son of our chief and the most learned man, and the son of the most learned amongst us." He said, "What would you think if he should embrace Islam?" They said, "Allah forbid! He can not embrace Islam." He said, " What would you think if he should embrace Islam?" They said, "Allah forbid! He can not embrace Islam." He said, "What would you think if he should embrace Islam?" They said, "Allah forbid! He can not embrace Islam." He said, "O Ibn Salaim! Come out to them." He came out and said, "O (the group of) Jews! 8e afraid of Allah except Whom none has the right to be worshipped. You know for certain that he is Apostle of Allah and that he has brought a True Religion!' They said, "You tell a lie." On that Allah's Apostle turned them out.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 251:
Narrated Ibn Umar:

Umar bin Al-Khattab fixed a grant of 4000 (Dirhams) for every Early Emigrant (i.e. Muhajir) and fixed a grant of 3500 (Dirhams) only for Ibn Umar. Somebody said to Umar, "Ibn Umar is also one of the Early Emigrants; why do you give him less than four-thousand?" Umar replied, "His parents took him with them when they migrated, so he was not like the one who had migrated by himself.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 252:
Narrated Khabbab:

We migrated with Allah's Apostle (See Hadith No. 253 below).

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 253:
Narrated Khabbab:

We migrated with Allah's Apostle seeking Allah's Countenance, so our rewards became due and sure with Allah. Some of us passed away without eating anything of their rewards in this world. One of these was Mus'ab bin Umar who was martyred on the day of the battle of Uhud. We did not find anything to shroud his body with except a striped cloak. When we covered his head with it, his feet remained uncovered, and when we covered his feet with it, his head remained uncovered. So Allah's Apostle ordered us to cover his head with it and put some Idhkhir (i.e. a kind of grass) over his feet. And there are some amongst us whose fruits have ripened and they are collecting them (i.e. they have received their rewards in this world).

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 254:
Narrated Abu Burda Bin Abi Musa Al-Ashari:

Abdullah bin Umar said to me, "Do you know what my father said to your father once?" I said, "No." He said, "My father said to your father, 'O Abu Musa, will it please you that we will be rewarded for our conversion to Islam with Allah's Apostle and our migration with him, and our Jihad with him and all our good deeds which we did, with him, and that all the deeds we did after his death will be disregarded whether good or bad?' Your father (i.e. Abu Musa) said, 'No, by Allah, we took part in Jihad after Allah's Apostle , prayed and did plenty of good deeds, and many people have embraced Islam at our hands, and no doubt, we expect rewards from Allah for these good deeds.' On that my father (i.e. Umar) said, 'As for myself, By Him in Whose Hand Umar's soul is, I wish that the deeds done by us at the time of the Prophet remain rewardable while whatsoever we did after the death of the Prophet be enough to save us from Punishment in that the good deeds compensate for the bad ones.' " On that I said (to Ibn Umar), "By Allah, your father was better than my father!"

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 255:
Narrated Abu Uthman:

I heard that Ibn Umar used to become angry if someone mentioned that he had migrated before his father (Umar), and he used to say, " Umar and I came to Allah's Apostle and found him having his midday rest, so we returned home. Then Umar sent me again (to the Prophet) and said, 'Go and see whether he is awake.' I went to him and entered his place and gave him the pledge of allegiance. Then I went back to Umar and informed him that the Prophet was awake. So we both went, running slowly, and when Umar entered his place, he gave him the pledge of allegiance and thereafter I too gave him the pledge of allegiance,"

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 256:
Narrated Al-Bara:

Abu Bakr bought a (camel's) saddle from Azib, and I carried it for him. Azib (i.e. my father) asked Abu Bakr regarding the journey of the migration of Allah's Apostle. Abu Bakr said, "Close observers were appointed by our enemies to watch us. So we went out at night and travelled throughout the night and the following day till it was noon, then we perceived a rock and went towards it, and there was some shade under it. I spread a cloak I had with me for Allah's Apostle and then the Prophet layed on it. I went out to guard him and all of a sudden I saw a shepherd coming with his sheep looking for the same, the shade of the rock as we did, I asked him, 'O boy, to whom do you belong?' He replied, 'I belong to so-and-so.' I asked him, 'Is there some milk in your sheep?' He replied in the affirmative. I asked him, 'Will you milk?' He replied in the affirmative. Then he got hold of one of his sheep. I said to him, 'Remove the dust from its udder.' Then he milked a little milk. I had a water-skin with me which was tied with a piece of cloth. I had prepared the water-skin for Allah's Apostle . So I poured some water over the milk (container) till its bottom became cold. Then I brought the milk to the Prophet and said, 'Drink, O Allah's Apostle.' Allah's Apostle drank till I became pleased. Then we departed and the pursuers were following us." Al-Bara added: I then went with Abu Bakr into his home (carrying that saddle) and there I saw his daughter Aisha Lying in a bed because of heavy fever and I saw her father Abu Bakr kissing her cheek and saying, "How are you, little daughter?"

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 257:
Narrated Anas:

(the servant of the Prophet) When the Prophet arrived (at Medina), there was not a single companion of the Prophet who had grey and black hair except Abu Bakr, and he dyed his hair with Henna' and Katam (i.e. plants used for dying hair). Through another group of narrators, Anas bin Malik said,. "When the Prophet arrived at Medina, the eldest amongst his companions was Abu Bakr. He dyed his hair with Hinna and Katam till it became of dark red color.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 258:
Narrate Aisha:

Abu Bakr married a woman from the tribe of Bani Kalb, called Um Bakr. When Abu Bakr migrated to Medina, he divorced her and she was married by her cousin, the poet who said the following poem lamenting the infidels of Quraish:

"What is there kept in the well, The well of Badr, (The owners of) the trays of Roasted camel humps? What is there kept in the well, The well of Badr, (The owners of) lady singers And friends of the honorable companions; who used to drink (wine) together, Um Bakr greets us With the greeting of peace, But can I find peace After my people have gone? The Apostle tells us that We shall live again, But what sort of life will owls and skulls live?:

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 259:
Narrated Abu Bakr:

I was with the Prophet in the Cave. When I raised my head, I saw the feet of the people. I said, "O Allah's Apostle! If some of them should look down, they will see us." The Prophet said, "O Abu Bakr, be quiet! (For we are) two and Allah is the Third of us."

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Volume 5, Book 58, Number 260:
Narrated Abu Said:
Once a bedouin came to the Prophet and asked him about the migration. The Prophet said, "Mercy of Allah be on you! The migration is a quite difficult matter. Have you got some camels?" He replied in the affirmative. Then the Prophet said, "Do you give their Zakat?" He replied in the affirmative. The Prophet said, "Do you let others benefit by their milk gratis?" He replied in the affirmative. Then the Prophet asked, "Do you milk them on their watering days and give their milk to the poor and needy?" He replied in the affirmative. The Prophet, said, "Go on doing like this from beyond the seas, and there is no doubt that Allah will not overlook any of your good deeds."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 261:
Narrated Al-Bara:
The first people who came to us (in Medina) were Mus'ab bin Umar and Ibn Um Maktum. Then came to us Ammar bin Yasir and Bilal.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 262:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
The first people who came to us (in Medina) were Mus'ab bin Umar and Ibn Um Maktum who were teaching Koran to the people. Then their came Bilal. Sad and Ammar bin Yasir. After that Umar bin Al-Khattab came along with twenty other companions of the Prophet. Later on the Prophet himself (to Medina) and I had never seen the people of Medina so joyful as they were on the arrival of Allah's Apostle, for even the slave girls were saying, "Allah's Apostle has arrived!" And before his arrival I had read the Sura starting with:-- "Glorify the Name of your Lord, the Most High" (87.1) together with other Suras of Al-Mufassal.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 263:
Narrated Aisha:
When Allah's Apostle came to Medina, Abu Bakr and Bilal got fever, and I went to both of them and said, "O my father, how do you feel? O Bilal, how do you feel?" Whenever Abu Bakr's fever got worse, he would say, "Every man will meet his death once in one morning while he will be among his family, for death is really nearer to him than his leather shoe laces (to his feet)." And whenever fever deserted Bilal, he would say aloud, "Would that I know whether I shall spend a night in the valley (of Mecca) with Idhkhir and Jalil (i.e. kinds of grass) around me, and whether I shall drink one day the water of Mijannah, and whether I shall see once again the hills of Shamah and Tafil?" Then I went to Allah's Apostle and told him of that. He said, "O Allah, make us love Medina as much as or more than we used to love Mecca, O Allah, make it healthy and bless its Sa' and Mud (i.e. measures), and take away its fever to Al-Juhfa."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 264:
Narrated Ubaidullah bin Ad bin Khiyair:
I went to Uthman. After reciting Tashah-hud, he said,. "Then after no doubt, Allah sent Mohammed with the Truth, and I was amongst those who responded to the Call of Allah and His Prophet and believed in the message of Mohammed. Then took part in the two migrations. I became the son-in-law of Allah's Apostle and gave the pledge of allegiance to him By Allah, I never disobeyed him, nor did I deceive him till Allah took him unto Him."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 265:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
During the last Hajj led by Umar, Abdur-Rahman bin 'Auf returned to his family at Mina and met me there. AbdurRahman said (to Umar), "O chief of the believers! The season of Hajj is the season when there comes the scum of the people (besides the good amongst them), so I recommend that you should wait till you go back to Medina, for it is the place of Migration and Sunna (i.e. the Prophet's tradition), and there you will be able to refer the matter to the religious scholars and the nobles and the people of wise opinions." Umar said, "I will speak of it in Medina on my very first sermon I will deliver there."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 266:
Narrated 'Um al-'Ala:
An Ansari woman who gave the pledge of allegiance to the Prophet that the Ansar drew lots concerning the dwelling of the Emigrants. Uthman bin Maz'un was decided to dwell with them (i.e. Um al-'Ala's family), Uthman fell ill and I nursed him till he died, and we covered him with his clothes. Then the Prophet came to us and I (addressing the dead body) said, "O Abu As-Sa'ib, may Allah's Mercy be on you! I bear witness that Allah has honored you." On that the Prophet said, "How do you know that Allah has honored him?" I replied, "I do not know. May my father and my mother be sacrificed for you, O Allah's Apostle! But who else is worthy of it (if not Uthman)?" He said, "As to him, by Allah, death has overtaken him, and I hope the best for him. By Allah, though I am the Apostle of Allah, yet I do not know what Allah will do to me," By Allah, I will never assert the piety of anyone after him. That made me sad, and when I slept I saw in a dream a flowing stream for Uthman bin Maz'un. I went to Allah's Apostle and told him of it. He remarked, "That symbolizes his (good) deeds."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 267:
Narrated Aisha:
The day of Bu'ath was a day (i.e. battle) which Allah caused to take place just before the mission of His Apostle so that when Allah's Apostle came to Medina, they (the tribes) had divided (into hostile groups) and their nobles had been killed; and all that facilitated their conversion to Islam.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 268:
Narrated Aisha:
That once Abu Bakr came to her on the day of 'Id-ul-Fitr or Id ul Adha while the Prophet was with her and there were two girl singers with her, singing songs of the Ansar about the day of Buath. Abu Bakr said twice. "Musical instrument of Satan!" But the Prophet said, "Leave them Abu Bakr, for every nation has an 'Id (i.e. festival) and this day is our 'Id."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 269:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
When Allah's Apostle arrived at Medina, he alighted at the upper part of Medina among the people called Bani Amr bin 'Auf and he stayed with them for fourteen nights. Then he sent for the chiefs of Bani An-Najjar, and they came, carrying their swords. As if I am just now looking at Allah's Apostle on his she-camel with Abu Bakr riding behind him (on the same camel) and the chiefs of Bani An-Najjar around him till he dismounted in the courtyard of Abu Aiyub's home. The Prophet used to offer the prayer wherever the prayer was due, and he would pray even in sheepfolds. Then he ordered that the mosque be built. He sent for the chiefs of Banu An-Najjar, and when they came, he said, "O Banu An-Najjar! Suggest to me the price of this garden of yours." They replied "No! By Allah, we do not demand its price except from Allah." In that garden there were the (following) things that I will tell you: Graves of pagans, unleveled land with holes and pits etc., and date-palm trees. Allah's Apostle ordered that the graves of the pagans be dug up and, the unleveled land be leveled and the date-palm trees be cut down. The trunks of the trees were arranged so as to form the wall facing the Qibla. The Stone pillars were built at the sides of its gate. The companions of the Prophet were carrying the stones and reciting some lyrics, and Allah's Apostle . . was with them and they were saying, "O Allah! There is no good Excel the good of the Hereafter, so bestow victory on the Ansar and the Emigrants. "

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 270:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Humaid Az-Zuhri:
I heard Umar bin Abdul-Aziz asking As-Sa'ib, the nephew of An-Nimr. "What have you heard about residing in Mecca?" The other said, "I heard Al-Ala bin Al-Hadrami saying, Allah's Apostle said: An Emigrant is allowed to stay in Mecca for three days after departing from Mina (i.e. after performing all the ceremonies of Hajj)"

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 271:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
The Prophet's companions did not take as a starting date for the Muslim calendar, the day, the Prophet had been sent as an Apostle or the day of his death, but the day of his arrival at Medina.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 272:
Narrated Aisha:
Originally, two Rakat were prescribed in every prayer. When the Prophet migrated (to Medina) four Rakat were enjoined, while the journey prayer remained unchanged(i.e. two Rakat).

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 273:
Narrated Sad bin Malik:
In the year of Hajjat-ul-Wada' the Prophet visited me when I fell ill and was about to die because of that illness. I said, "O Allah's Apostle! I am very ill as you see, and I am a rich man and have no heir except my only daughter. Shall I give 2/3 of my property in charity?" He said, "No." I said, "Shall I then give one half of it in charity?" He said, "O Sad! Give 1/3 (in charity) and even 1/3 is too much. No doubt, it is better to leave your children rich than to leave them poor, reduced to begging from others. And Allah will reward you for whatever you spend with the intention of gaining Allah's Pleasure even if it were a mouthful of food you put into your wives mouth." I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Am I to be left behind (in Mecca) after my companions have gone?" He said, "If you should be left behind, you will be upgraded and elevated for every deed you will do with a desire to achieve Allah's Pleasure. I hope that you will live long so that some people will benefit by you while others will be harmed. O Allah! Please fulfill the migration of my companions and do not make them turn back on their heels. But (we feel sorry for) the unlucky Sad bin Khaulah." Allah's Apostle lamented his death in Mecca.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 274:
Narrated Anas:
When Abdur-Rahman bin Auf came to Medina and the Prophet established the bond of brotherhood between him and Sad bin Ar-Rabi-al-Ansari, Saud suggested that Abdur-Rahman should accept half of his property and family. Abdur Rahman said, "May Allah bless you in your family and property; guide me to the market." So Abdur-Rahman (while doing business in the market) made some profit of some condensed dry yoghurt and butter. After a few days the Prophet saw him wearing clothes stained with yellow perfume. The Prophet asked, "What is this, O Abdur-Rahman?" He said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have married an Ansar' woman." The Prophet asked, "What have you given her as Mahr?" He (i.e. Abdur-Rahman) said, "A piece of gold, about the weight of a date stone." Then the Prophet said, Give a banquet, even though of a sheep."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 275:
Narrated Anas:
When the news of the arrival of the Prophet at Medina reached Abdullah bin Salam, he went to him to ask him about certain things, He said, "I am going to ask you about three things which only a Prophet can answer: What is the first sign of The Hour? What is the first food which the people of Paradise will eat? Why does a child attract the similarity to his father or to his mother?" The Prophet replied, "Gabriel has just now informed me of that." Ibn Salam said, "He (i.e. Gabriel) is the enemy of the Jews amongst the angels. The Prophet said, "As for the first sign of The Hour, it will be a fire that will collect the people from the East to the West. As for the first meal which the people of Paradise will eat, it will be the caudate (extra) lobe of the fish-liver. As for the child, if the man's discharge proceeds the woman's discharge, the child attracts the similarity to the man, and if the woman's discharge proceeds the man's, then the child attracts the similarity to the woman."
On this, Abdullah bin Salam said, "I testify that None has the right to be worshipped except Allah, and that you are the Apostle of Allah." and added, "O Allah's Apostle! Jews invent such lies as make one astonished, so please ask them about me before they know about my conversion to I slam . " The Jews came, and the Prophet said, "What kind of man is Abdullah bin Salam among you?" They replied, "The best of us and the son of the best of us and the most superior among us, and the son of the most superior among us. "The Prophet said, "What would you think if Abdullah bin Salam should embrace Islam?" They said, "May Allah protect him from that." The Prophet repeated his question and they gave the same answer. Then Abdullah came out to them and said, "I testify that None has the right to be worshipped except Allah and that Mohammed is the Apostle of Allah!" On this, the Jews said, "He is the most wicked among us and the son of the most wicked among us." So they degraded him. On this, he (i.e. Abdullah bin Salam) said, "It is this that I was afraid of, O Allah's Apostle.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 276:
Narrated Abu Al-Minhal AbdurRahman bin Mut'im:
A partner of mine sold some Dirhams on credit in the market. I said, "Glorified be Allah! Is this legal?" He replied, "Glorified be Allah! By Allah, when I sold them in the market, nobody objected to it." Then I asked Al-Bara bin Azib (about it) he said, "We used to make such a transaction when the Prophet came to Medina. So he said, 'There is no harm in it if it is done from hand to hand, but it is not allowed on credit.' Go to Zaid bin Al- Arqam and ask him about it for he was the greatest trader of all of us." So I asked Zaid bin Al-Arqam., and he said the same (as Al-Bara) did."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 277:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Had only ten Jews (amongst their chiefs) believe me, all the Jews would definitely have believed me."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 278:
Narrated Abu Musa:
When the Prophet arrived at Medina, he noticed that some people among the Jews used to respect Ashura' (i.e. 10th of Muharram) and fast on it. The Prophet then said, "We have more right to observe fast on this day." and ordered that fasting should be observed on it.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 279:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
When the Prophet arrived at Medina he found that the Jews observed fast on the day of 'Ashura'. They were asked the reason for the fast. They replied, "This is the day when Allah caused Moses and the children of Israel to have victory over Pharaoh, so we fast on this day as a sign of glorifying it."

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Allah's Apostle said, "We are closer to Moses than you." Then he ordered that fasting on this day should be observed.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 280:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
The Prophet used to keep his hair falling loose while the pagans used to part their hair, and the People of the Scriptures used to keep their hair falling loose, and the Prophet liked to follow the People of the Scriptures in matters about which he had not been instructed differently, but later on the Prophet started parting his hair.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 281:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
They, the people of the Scriptures, divided this Scripture into parts, believing in some portions of it and disbelieving the others. (See 15:91)

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 282:
Narrated Salman Al-Farisi:
That he was sold (as a slave) by one master to another for more than ten times (i.e between 13 and 19).

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 283:
Narrated Salman:
I am from Ram-Hurmuz (i.e. a Persian town).

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 284:
Narrated Salman:
The interval between Jesus and Mohammed was six hundred years.

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 59:
Military Expeditions led by the Prophet (Al-Maghaazi)

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 285:
Narrated Abu Ishaq:
Once, while I was sitting beside Zaid bin Al-Arqam, he was asked, "How many Ghazwat did the Prophet undertake?" Zaid replied, "Nineteen." They said, "In how many Ghazwat did you join him?" He replied, "Seventeen." I asked, "Which of these was the first?" He replied, "Al-'Ashira or Al-'Ashiru."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 286:
Narrated Abdullah bin Mas'ud:
From Sad bin Mu'adh: Sad bin Mu'adh was an intimate friend of Umaiya bin Khalaf and whenever Umaiya passed through Medina, he used to stay with Sad, and whenever Sad went to Mecca, he used to stay with Umaiya. When Allah's Apostle arrived at Medina, Sa'd went to perform Umra and stayed at Umaiya's home in Mecca. He said to Umaiya, "Tell me of a time when (the Mosque) is empty so that I may be able to perform Tawaf around the Kaaba." So Umaiya went with him about midday. Abu Jahl met them and said, "O Abu Safwan! Who is this man accompanying you?" He said, "He is Sad." Abu Jahl addressed Sad saying, "I see you wandering about safely in Mecca inspite of the fact that you have given shelter to the people who have changed their religion (i.e. became Muslims) and have claimed that you will help them and support them. By Allah, if you were not in the company of Abu Safwan, you would not be able to go your family safely." Sad, raising his voice, said to him, "By Allah, if you should stop me from doing this (i.e. performing Tawaf) I would certainly prevent you from something which is more valuable for you, that is, your passage through Medina." On this, Umaiya said to him, "O Sad do not raise your voice before Abu-l-Hakam, the chief of the people of the Valley (of Mecca)." Sad said, "O Umaiya, stop that! By Allah, I have heard Allah's Apostle predicting that the Muslim will kill you." Umaiya asked, "In Mecca?" Sad said, "I do not know." Umaiya was greatly scared by that news.
When Umaiya returned to his family, he said to his wife, "O Um Safwan! Don't you know what Sad told me? "She said, "What has he told you?" He replied, "He claims that Mohammed has informed them (i.e. companions that they will kill me. I asked him, 'In Mecca?' He replied, 'I do not know." Then Umaiya added, "By Allah, I will never go out of Mecca." But when the day of (the Ghazwa of) Badr came, Abu Jahl called the people to war, saying, "Go and protect your caravan." But Umaiya disliked to go out (of Mecca). Abu Jahl came to him and said, "O Abu Safwan! If the people see you staying behind though you are the chief of the people of the Valley, then they will remain behind with you." Abu Jahl kept on urging him to go until he (i.e. Umaiya) said, "As you have forced me to change my mind, by Allah, I will buy the best camel in Mecca. Then Umaiya said (to his wife). "O Um Safwan, prepare what I need (for the journey)." She said to him, "O Abu Safwan! Have you forgotten what your Yathribi brother told you?" He said, "No, but I do not want to go with them but for a short distance." So when Umaiya went out, he used to tie his camel wherever he camped. He kept on doing that till Allah caused him to be killed at Badr.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 287:
Narrated Kab bin Malik:
I never failed to join Allah's Apostle in any of his Ghazawat except in the Ghazwa of Tabuk. However, I did not take part in the Ghazwa of Badr, but none who failed to take part in it, was blamed, for Allah's Apostle had gone out to meet the caravans of (Quraish, but Allah caused them (i.e. Muslims) to meet their enemy unexpectedly (with no previous intention) .

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 288:
Narrated Ibn Masud:
I witnessed Al-Miqdad bin Al-Aswad in a scene which would have been dearer to me than anything had I been the hero of that scene. He (i.e. Al-Miqdad) came to the Prophet while the Prophet was urging the Muslims to fight with the pagans. Al-Miqdad said, "We will not say as the People of Moses said: Go you and your Lord and fight you two. (5.27). But we shall fight on your right and on your left and in front of you and behind you." I saw the face of the Prophet getting bright with happiness, for that saying delighted him.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 289:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
On the day of the battle of Badr, the Prophet said, "O Allah! I appeal to You (to fulfill) Your Covenant and Promise. O Allah! If Your Will is that none should worship You (then give victory to the pagans)." Then Abu Bakr took hold of him by the hand and said, "This is sufficient for you." The Prophet came out saying, "Their multitude will be put to flight and they will show their backs." (54.45)

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 290:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The believers who failed to join the Ghazwa of Badr and those who took part in it are not equal (in reward).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 291:
Narrated Al-Bara:
I and Ibn Umar were considered too young to take part in the battle of Badr.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 292:
Narrated Al-Bara:
I and Ibn Umar were considered too young (to take part) in the battle of Badr, and the number of the Emigrant warriors were over sixty (men) and the Ansar were over 249.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 293:
Narrated Al-Bara:
The companions of (the Prophet) Mohammed who took part in Badr, told me that their number was that of Saul's (i.e. Talut's) companions who crossed the river (of Jordan) with him and they were over three-hundred-and-ten men. By Allah, none crossed the river with him but a believer. (See Koran 2:249)

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 294:
Narrated Al-Bara:
We, the Companions of Mohammed used to say that the number of the warriors of Badr was the same as the number of Saul's companions who crossed the river (of Jordan) with him, and none crossed the river with him but a believer, and the were over three-hundred-and-ten men.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 295:
Narrated Al-Bara:
As below (Hadith 295).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 296:
Narrated Al-Bara:
We used to say that the warriors of Badr were over three-hundred-and-ten, as many as the Companions of Saul who crossed the river with him; and none crossed the river with him but a believer.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 297:
Narrated Abdullah bin Mas'ud:
The Prophet faced the Kaaba and invoked evil on some people of Quraish, on Shaiba bin Rabi'a, Utba bin Rabi'a, Al-Walid bin Utba and Abu Jahl bin Hisham. I bear witness, by Allah, that I saw them all dead, putrefied by the sun as that day was a very hot day.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 298:
Narrated Abdullah: That he came across Abu Jahl while he was on the point of death on the day of Badr. Abu Jahl said, "You should not be proud that you have killed me nor I am ashamed of being killed by my own folk."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 299:
Narrated Anas:
As below (Hadith 300).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 300:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "Who will go and see what has happened to Abu Jahl?" Ibn Mas'ud went and found that the two sons of 'Afra had struck him fatally (and he was in his last breaths). Abdullah bin Mas'ud said, "Are you Abu Jahl?" And took him by the beard. Abu Jahl said, "Can there be a man superior to one you have killed or one whom his own folk have killed?"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 301:
Narrated Anas:
On the day of Badr, the Prophet said, "Who will go and see what has happened to Abu Jahl?" Ibn Mas'ud went and found that the two sons of 'Afra had struck him fatally. Abdullah bin Mas'ud got hold of his beard and said, "'Are you Abu Jahl?" He replied, "Can there be a man more superior to one whom his own folk have killed (or you have killed)?"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 302:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
(as above Hadith 301).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 303:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin 'Auf:
(the grandfather of Salih bin Ibrahim) the story of Badr, namely, the narration regarding the sons of 'Afra'.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 304:
Narrated Abu Mijlaz:
From Qais bin Ubad: Ali bin Abi Talib said, "I shall be the first man to kneel down before (Allah), the Beneficent to receive His judgement on the day of Resurrection (in my favor)." Qais bin Ubad also said, "The following Verse was revealed in their connection:--
"These two opponents believers and disbelievers) Dispute with each other About their Lord." (22.19) Qais said that they were those who fought on the day of Badr, namely, Hamza, Ali, Ubaida or Abu Ubaida bin Al-Harith, Shaiba bin Rabi'a, Utba and Al-Wahd bin Utba.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 305:
Narrated Abu Dhar:
The following Holy Verse:--
"These two opponents (believers & disbelievers) dispute with each other about their Lord," (22.19) was revealed concerning six men from Quraish, namely, Ali, Hamza, Ubaida bin Al-Harith; Shaiba bin Rabi'a, Utba bin Rabi'a and Al-Walid bin Utba.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 306:
Narrated Ali:
The following Holy Verse:-- "These two opponents (believers and disbelievers) dispute with each other about their Lord." (22.19) was revealed concerning us.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 307:
Narrated Qais bin Ubad:
I heard Abu Dhar swearing that these Holy Verses were revealed in connection with those six persons on the day of Badr.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 308:
Narrated Qais:
I heard Abu Dhar swearing that the following Holy verse:--
"These two opponents (believers and disbelievers) disputing with each other about their Lord," (22.19) was revealed concerning those men who fought on the day of Badr, namely, Hamza, Ali, Ubaida bin Al-Harith, Utba and Shaiba----the two sons of Rabi'a-- and Al-Walid bin Utba.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 309:
Narrated Abu Ishaq:
A man asked Al-Bara and I was listening, "Did Ali take part in (the battle of) Badr?" Al-Bara said, "(Yes). he even met (his enemies) in a duel and was clad in two armors (one over the other),"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 310:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin 'Auf:
"I had an agreement with Umaiya bin Khalaf (that he would look after my relatives and property in Mecca, and I would look after his relatives and property in Medina)." Abdur-Rahman then mentioned the killing of Umaiya and his son on the day of Badr, and Bilal said, "Woe to me if Umaiya remains safe (i.e. alive) . "

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 311:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet recited Surat-an-Najm and then prostrated himself, and all who were with him prostrated too. But an old man took a handful of dust and touched his forehead with it saying, "This is sufficient for me." Later on I saw him killed as an infidel.

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Narrated Urwa (the son of Az- Zubair): Az-Zubair had three scars caused by the sword, one of which was over his shoulder and I used to insert my fingers in it. He received two of those wounds on the day of Badr and one on the day of Al-Yarmuk. When Abdullah bin Zubair was killed, Abdul-Malik bin Marwan said to me, "O Urwa, do you recognize the sword of Az-Zubair?" I said, "Yes." He said, "What marks does it have?" I replied, "It has a dent in its sharp edge which was caused in it on the day of Badr." Abdul- Malik said, "You are right! (i.e. their swords) have dents because of clashing with the regiments of the enemies Then Abdul-Malik returned that sword to me (i.e. Urwa). (Hisham, Urwa's son said, "We estimated the price of the sword as three-thousand (Dinars) and after that it was taken by one of us (i.e. the inheritors) and I wish I could have had it.")

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 312:
Narrated Hisham:
That his father said, "The sword of Az-Zubair was decorated with silver." Hisham added, "The sword of Urwa was (also) decorated with silver. "

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 313:
Narrated Urwa:
On the day of (the battle) of Al-Yarmuk, the companions of Allah's Apostle said to Az-Zubair, "Will you attack the enemy so that we shall attack them with you?" Az-Zubair replied, "If I attack them, you people would not support me." They said, "No, we will support you." So Az-Zubair attacked them (i.e. Byzantine) and pierced through their lines, and went beyond them and none of his companions was with him. Then he returned and the enemy got hold of the bridle of his (horse) and struck him two blows (with the sword) on his shoulder. Between these two wounds there was a scar caused by a blow, he had received on the day of Badr (battle). When I was a child I used to play with those scars by putting my fingers in them. On that day (my brother) "Abdullah bin Az-Zubair was also with him and he was ten years old. Az-Zubair had carried him on a horse and let him to the care of some men.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 314:
Narrated Abu Talha:
On the day of Badr, the Prophet ordered that the corpses of twenty four leaders of Quraish should be thrown into one of the dirty dry wells of Badr. (It was a habit of the Prophet that whenever he conquered some people, he used to stay at the battle-field for three nights. So, on the third day of the battle of Badr, he ordered that his she-camel be saddled, then he set out, and his companions followed him saying among themselves." "Definitely he (i.e. the Prophet) is proceeding for some great purpose." When he halted at the edge of the well, he addressed the corpses of the Quraish infidels by their names and their fathers' names, "O so-and-so, son of so-and-so and O so-and-so, son of so-and-so! Would it have pleased you if you had obeyed Allah and His Apostle? We have found true what our Lord promised us. Have you too found true what your Lord promised you? "Umar said, "O Allah's Apostle! You are speaking to bodies that have no souls!" Allah's Apostle said, "By Him in Whose Hand Mohammed's soul is, you do not hear, what I say better than they do." (Qatada said, "Allah brought them to life (again) to let them hear him, to reprimand them and slight them and take revenge over them and caused them to feel remorseful and regretful.")

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 315:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
regarding the Statement of Allah:--"Those who have changed Allah's Blessings for disbelief..." (14.28) The people meant here by Allah, are the infidels of Quraish. (Amr, a sub-narrator said, "Those are (the infidels of) Quraish and Mohammed is Allah's Blessing. Regarding Allah's Statement:"..and have led their people Into the house of destruction? (14.29) Ibn Abbas said, "It means the Fire they will suffer from (after their death) on the day of Badr."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 316:
Narrated Hisham's father:
It was mentioned before Aisha that Ibn Umar attributed the following statement to the Prophet "The dead person is punished in the grave because of the crying and lamentation Of his family." On that, Aisha said, "But Allah's Apostle said, 'The dead person is punished for his crimes and sins while his family cry over him then." She added, "And this is similar to the statement of Allah's Apostle when he stood by the (edge of the) well which contained the corpses of the pagans killed at Badr, 'They hear what I say.' She added, "But he said now they know very well what I used to tell them was the truth." Aisha then recited: 'You cannot make the dead hear.' (30.52) and 'You cannot make those who are in their Graves, hear you.' (35.22) that is, when they had taken their places in the (Hell) Fire.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 317:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet stood at the well of Badr (which contained the corpses of the pagans) and said, "Have you found true what your lord promised you?" Then he further said, "They now hear what I say." This was mentioned before Aisha and she said, "But the Prophet said, 'Now they know very well that what I used to tell them was the truth.' Then she recited (the Holy Verse):-- "You cannot make the dead hear... ...till the end of Verse)." (30.52)

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 318:
Narrated Anas:
Haritha was martyred on the day (of the battle) of Badr, and he was a young boy then. His mother came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! You know how dear Haritha is to me. If he is in Paradise, I shall remain patient, and hope for reward from Allah, but if it is not so, then you shall see what I do?" He said, "May Allah be merciful to you! Have you lost your senses? Do you think there is only one Paradise? There are many Paradises and your son is in the (most superior) Paradise of Al-Firdaus."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 319:
Narrated Ali:
Allah's Apostle sent me, Abu Marthad and Az-Zubair, and all of us were riding horses, and said, "Go till you reach Raudat-Khakh where there is a pagan woman carrying a letter from Hatib bin Abi Balta' a to the pagans of Mecca." So we found her riding her camel at the place which Allah's Apostle had mentioned. We said (to her),"(Give us) the letter." She said, "I have no letter." Then we made her camel kneel down and we searched her, but we found no letter. Then we said, "Allah's Apostle had not told us a lie, certainly. Take out the letter, otherwise we will strip you naked." When she saw that we were determined, she put her hand below her waist belt, for she had tied her cloak round her waist, and she took out the letter, and we brought her to Allah's Apostle Then Umar said, "O Allah's Apostle! (This Hatib) has betrayed Allah, His Apostle and the believers! Let me cut off his neck!" The Prophet asked Hatib, "What made you do this?" Hatib said, "By Allah, I did not intend to give up my belief in Allah and His Apostle but I wanted to have some influence among the (Mecca) people so that through it, Allah might protect my family and property. There is none of your companions but has some of his relatives there through whom Allah protects his family and property." The Prophet said, "He has spoken the truth; do no say to him but good." Umar said, "He as betrayed Allah, His Apostle and the faithful believers. Let me cut off his neck!" The Prophet said, "Is he not one of the Badr warriors? May be Allah looked at the Badr warriors and said, 'Do whatever you like, as I have granted Paradise to you, or said, 'I have forgiven you."' On this, tears came out of Umar's eyes, and he said, "Allah and His Apostle know better."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 320:
Narrated Usaid:
On the day of Badr, Allah's Apostle said to us, "When the enemy comes near to you, shoot at them but use your arrows sparingly (so that your arrows should not be wasted)."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 321:
Narrated Abu Usaid:
On the day of (the battle of) Badr, Allah's Apostle said to us, "When your enemy comes near to you (i.e. overcome you by sheer number), shoot at them but use your arrows sparingly."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 322:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
On the day of Uhud the Prophet appointed Abdullah bin Jubair as chief of the archers, and seventy among us were injured and martyred. On the day (of the battle) of Badr, the Prophet and his companions had inflicted 140 casualties on the pagans, 70 were taken prisoners, and 70 were killed. Abu Sufyan said, "This is a day of (revenge) for the day of Badr and the issue of war is undecided ."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 323:
Narrated Abu Musa:
That the Prophet said, "The good is what Allah gave us later on (after Uhud), and the reward of truthfulness is what Allah gave us after the day (of the battle) of Badr."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 324:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin 'Auf:
While I was fighting in the front file on the day (of the battle) of Badr, suddenly I looked behind and saw on my right and left two young boys and did not feel safe by standing between them. Then one of them asked me secretly so that his companion may not hear, "O Uncle! Show me Abu Jahl." I said, "O nephew! What will you do to him?" He said, "I have promised Allah that if I see him (i.e. Abu Jahl), I will either kill him or be killed before I kill him." Then the other said the same to me secretly so that his companion should not hear. I would not have been pleased to be in between two other men instead of them. Then I pointed him (i.e. Abu Jahl) out to them. Both of them attacked him like two hawks till they knocked him down. Those two boys were the sons of 'Afra' (i.e. an Ansari woman).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 325:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle sent out ten spies under the command of 'Asim bin Thabit Al-Ansari, the grand-father of 'Asim bin Umar Al-Khattab. When they reached (a place called) Al-Hadah between 'Usfan and Mecca, their presence was made known to a sub-tribe of Hudhail called Banu Lihyan. So they sent about one hundred archers after them. The archers traced the footsteps (of the Muslims) till they found the traces of dates which they had eaten at one of their camping places. The archers said, "These dates are of Yathrib (i.e. Medina)," and went on tracing the Muslims' footsteps. When 'Asim and his companions became aware of them, they took refuge in a (high) place. But the enemy encircled them and said, "Come down and surrender. We give you a solemn promise and covenant that we will not kill anyone of you." 'Asim bin Thabit said, "O people! As for myself, I will never get down to be under the protection of an infidel. O Allah! Inform your Prophet about us." So the archers threw their arrows at them and martyred 'Asim. Three of them came down and surrendered to them, accepting their promise and covenant and they were Khubaib, Zaid bin Ad-Dathina and another man. When the archers got hold of them, they untied the strings of the arrow bows and tied their captives with them. The third man said, "This is the first proof of treachery! By Allah, I will not go with you for I follow the example of these." He meant the martyred companions. The archers dragged him and struggled with him (till they martyred him). Then Khubaib and Zaid bin Ad-Dathina were taken away by them and later on they sold them as slaves in Mecca after the event of the Badr battle.

The sons of Al-Harit bin Amr bin Naufal bought Khubaib for he was a person who had killed (their father) Al-Hari bin Amr on the day (of the battle) of Badr. Khubaib remained imprisoned by them till they decided unanimously to kill him. One day Khubaib borrowed from a daughter of Al-Harith, a razor for shaving his public hair, and she lent it to him. By chance, while she was inattentive, a little son of hers went to him (i.e. Khubaib) and she saw that Khubaib had seated him on his thigh while the razor was in his hand. She was so much terrified that Khubaib noticed her fear and said, "Are you afraid that I will kill him? Never would I do such a thing." Later on (while narrating the story) she said, "By Allah, I had never seen a better captive than Khubaib. By Allah, one day I saw him eating from a bunch of grapes in his hand while he was fettered with iron chains and (at that time) there was no fruit in Mecca." She used to say," It was food Allah had provided Khubaib with."

When they took him to Al-Hil out of Mecca sanctuary to martyr him, Khubaib requested them. "Allow me to offer a two-Rak'at prayer." They allowed him and he prayed two Rakat and then said, "By Allah! Had I not been afraid that you would think I was worried, I would have prayed more." Then he (invoked evil upon them) saying, "O Allah! Count them and kill them one by one, and do not leave anyone of them"' Then he recited: "As I am martyred as a Muslim, I do not care in what way I receive my death for Allah's Sake, for this is for the Cause of Allah. If He wishes, He will bless the cut limbs of my body." Then Abu Sarva, 'Ubqa bin Al-Harith went up to him and killed him. It was Khubaib who set the tradition of praying for any Muslim to be martyred in captivity (before he is executed). The Prophet told his companions of what had happened (to those ten spies) on the same day they were martyred. Some Quraish people, being informed of 'Asim bin Thabit's death, sent some messengers to bring a part of his body so that his death might be known for certain, for he had previously killed one of their leaders (in the battle of Badr). But Allah sent a swarm of wasps to protect the dead body of 'Asim, and they shielded him from the messengers who could not cut anything from his body.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 326:
Narrated Nafi:
Ibn Umar was once told that Said bin Zaid bin Amr bin Nufail, one of the Badr warriors, had fallen ill on a Friday. Ibn Umar rode to him late in the forenoon. The time of the Friday prayer approached and Ibn Umar did not take part in the Friday prayer.

Narrated Subaia bint Al-Harith: That she was married to Sad bin Khaula who was from the tribe of Bani Amr bin Luai, and was one of those who fought the Badr battle. He died while she wa pregnant during Hajjat-ul-Wada.' Soon after his death, she gave birth to a child. When she completed the term of deliver (i.e. became clean), she prepared herself for suitors. Abu As-Sanabil bin Bu'kak, a man from the tribe of Bani Abd-ud-Dal called on her and said to her, "What! I see you dressed up for the people to ask you in marriage. Do you want

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to marry By Allah, you are not allowed to marry unless four months and ten days have elapsed (after your husband's death)." Subai'a in her narration said, "When he (i.e. Abu As-Sanabil) said this to me. I put on my dress in the evening and went to Allah's Apostle and asked him about this problem. He gave the verdict that I was free to marry as I had already given birth to my child and ordered me to marry if I wished."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 327:
Narrated Rifaa:
(who was one of the Badr warriors) Gabriel came to the Prophet and said, "How do you look upon the warriors of Badr among yourselves?" The Prophet said, "As the best of the Muslims." or said a similar statement. On that, Gabriel said, "And so are the Angels who participated in the Badr (battle)."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 328:
Narrated Mu'adh bin Rifa'a bin Rafi:
Rifa'a was one of the warriors of Badr while (his father) Rafi' was one of the people of Al-'Aqaba (i.e. those who gave the pledge of allegiance at Al-'Aqaba). Rafi' used to say to his son, "I would not have been happier if I had taken part in the Badr battle instead of taking part in the 'Aqaba pledge."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 329:
Narrated Mu'adh:
The one who asked (the Prophet) was Gabriel.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 330:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said on the day (of the battle) of Badr, "This is Gabriel holding the head of his horse and equipped with arms for the battle.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 331:
Narrated Anas:
Abu Zaid died and did not leave any offspring, and he was one of the Badr warriors.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 332:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Abu Said bin Malik Al-Khudri returned from a journey and his family offered him some meat of sacrifices offered at Id ul Adha. On that he said, "I will not eat it before asking (whether it is allowed)." He went to his maternal brother, Qatada bin N i 'man, who was one of the Badr warriors, and asked him about it. Qatada said, "After your departure, an order was issued by the Prophet cancelling the prohibition of eating sacrifices after three days."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 333:
Narrated Urwa:
Az-Zubair said, "I met Ubaida bin Said bin Al-As on the day (of the battle) of Badr and he was covered with armor; so much that only his eyes were visible. He was surnamed Abu Dhat-al-Karish. He said (proudly), 'I am Abu-al-Karish.' I attacked him with the spear and pierced his eye and he died. I put my foot over his body to pull (that spear) out, but even then I had to use a great force to take it out as its both ends were bent." Urwa said, "Later on Allah's Apostle asked Az-Zubair for the spear and he gave it to him. When Allah's Apostle died, Az-Zubair took it back. After that Abu Bakr demanded it and he gave it to him, and when Abu Bakr died, Az-Zubair took it back. Umar then demanded it from him and he gave it to him. When Umar died, Az-Zubair took it back, and then Uthman demanded it from him and he gave it to him. When Uthman was martyred, the spear remained with Ali's offspring. Then Abdullah bin Az-Zubair demanded it back, and it remained with him till he was martyred.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 334:
Narrated 'Ubada bin As-Samit:
(who was one of the Badr warriors) Allah's Apostle said, "Give me the pledge of allegiance."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 335:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) Abu Hudhaifa, one of those who fought the battle of Badr, with Allah's Apostle adopted Salim as his son and married his niece Hind bint Al-Wahd bin Utba to him' and Salim was a freed slave of an Ansari woman. Allah's Apostle also adopted Zaid as his son. In the Pre-lslamic period of ignorance the custom was that, if one adopted a son, the people would call him by the name of the adopted-father whom he would inherit as well, till Allah revealed: "Call them (adopted sons) By (the names of) their fathers." (33.5)

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 336:
Narrated Ar-Rubai bint Muauwidh:
The Prophet came to me after consuming his marriage with me and sat down on my bed as you (the sub-narrator) are sitting now, and small girls were beating the tambourine and singing in lamentation of my father who had been killed on the day of the battle of Badr. Then one of the girls said, "There is a Prophet amongst us who knows what will happen tomorrow." The Prophet said (to her)," Do not say this, but go on saying what you have spoken before."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 337:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
As below (Hadith 338).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 338:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Abu Talha, a companion of Allah's Apostle and one of those who fought at Badr together with Allah's Apostle told me that Allah's Apostle said. "Angels do not enter a house in which there is a dog or a picture" He meant the images of creatures that have souls.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 339:
Narrated Ali:
as below (Hadith 340).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 340:
Narrated Ali:
I had a she-camel which I got in my share from the booty of the battle of Badr, and the Prophet had given me another she camel from the Khumus which Allah had bestowed on him that day. And when I intended to celebrate my marriage to Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet, I made an arrangement with a goldsmith from Bani Qainuqa 'that he should go with me to bring Idhkhir (i.e. a kind of grass used by gold-smiths) which I intended to sell to gold-smiths in order to spend its price on the marriage banquet. While I was collecting ropes and sacks of pack saddles for my two she-camels which were kneeling down beside an Ansari's dwelling and after collecting what I needed, I suddenly found that the humps of the two she-camels had been cut off and their flanks had been cut open and portions of their livers had been taken out. On seeing that, I could not help weeping. I asked, "Who has done that?" They (i.e. the people) said, "Hamza bin Abdul Muttalib has done it. He is present in this house with some Ansari drinkers, a girl singer, and his friends. The singer said in her song, "O Hamza, get at the fat she-camels!" On hearing this, Hamza rushed to his sword and cut of the camels' humps and cut their flanks open and took out portions from their livers." Then I came to the Prophet, with whom Zaid bin Haritha was present. The Prophet noticed my state and asked, "What is the matter?" I said, "O Allah's Apostle, I have never experienced such a day as today! Hamza attacked my two she-camels, cut off their humps and cut their flanks open, and he is still present in a house along some drinkers." The Prophet asked for his cloak, put it on, and proceeded, followed by Zaid bin Haritha and myself, till he reached the house where Hamza was. He asked the permission to enter, and he was permitted. The Prophet started blaming Hamza for what he had done. Hamza was drunk and his eyes were red. He looked at the Prophet then raised his eyes to look at his knees and raised his eves more to look at his face and then said, "You are not but my father's slaves." When the Prophet understood that Hamza was drunk, he retreated, walking backwards went out and we left with him.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 341:
Narrated Ibn Maqal:
Ali led the funeral prayer of Sahl bin Hunaif and said, "He was one of the warriors of Badr."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 342:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Umar bin Al-Khattab said, "When (my daughter) Hafsa bint Umar lost her husband Khunais bin Hudhaifa As-Sahrni who was one of the companions of Allah's Apostle and had fought in the battle of Badr and had died in Medina, I met Uthman bin 'Affan and suggested that he should marry Hafsa saying, "If you wish, I will marry Hafsa bint Umar to you,' on that, he said, 'I will think it over.' I waited for a few days and then he said to me. 'I am of the opinion that I shall not marry at present.' Then I met Abu Bakr and said, 'if you wish, I will marry you, Hafsa bint Umar.' He kept quiet and did not give me any reply and I became more angry with him than I was with Uthman . Some days later, Allah's Apostle demanded her hand in marriage and I married her to him. Later on Abu Bakr met me and said, "Perhaps you were angry with me when you offered me Hafsa for marriage and I gave no reply to you?" I said, 'Yes.' Abu Bakr said, 'Nothing prevented me from accepting your offer except that I learnt that Allah's Apostle had referred to the issue of Hafsa and I did not want to disclose the secret of Allah's Apostle , but had he (i.e. the Prophet) given her up I would surely have accepted her."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 343:
Narrated Abu Masud Al-Badri:
The Prophet said, "A man's spending on his family is a deed of charity."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 344:
Narrated Az-Zuhri:
I heard Urwa bin Az-Zubair talking to Umar bin Abdul Aziz during the latter's Governorship (at Medina), he said, "Al-Mughira bin Shu'ba delayed the Asr prayer when he was the ruler of Al-Kufa. On that, Abu Mas'ud. Uqba bin Amr Al-Ansari, the grand-father of Zaid bin Hasan, who was one of the Badr warriors, came in and said, (to Al-Mughira), 'You know that Gabriel came down and offered the prayer and Allah's Apostle prayed five prescribed prayers, and Gabriel said (to the Prophet), "I have been ordered to do so (i.e. offer these five prayers at these fixed stated hours of the day)."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 345:
Narrated Abu Masud Al-Badri:
Allah's Apostle said, "It is sufficient for one to recite the last two Verses of Surat-al-Baqara at night."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 346:
Narrated Mahmud bin Ar-Rabi:
That 'Itban bin Malik who was one of the companions of the Prophet and one of the warriors of Badr, came to Allah's Apostle.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 347:
Narrated Ibn Shihab:
I asked Al-Husain bin Mohammed who was one of the sons of Salim and one of the nobles amongst them, about the narration of Mahmud bin Ar-Rabi 'from 'Itban bin Malik, and he confirmed it.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 348:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr bin Rabi'a:
who was one of the leaders of Bani Adi and his father participated in the battle of Badr in the company of the Prophet. Umar appointed Qudama bin Maz'un as ruler of Bahrain, Qudama was one of the warriors of the battle of Badr and was the maternal uncle of Abdullah bin Umar and Hafsa.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 349:
Narrated Az-Zuhri:
Salim bin Abdullah told me that Rafi' bin Khadij told Abdullah bin Umar that his two paternal uncles who had fought in the battle of Badr informed him that Allah's Apostle forbade the renting of fields. I said to Salim, "Do you rent your land?" He said, "Yes, for Rafi' is mistaken."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 350:
Narrated Abdullah bin Shaddad bin Al-Had Al-Laithi:
I saw Rifa'a bin Rafi Al-Ansari who was a Badr warrior.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 351:
Narrated Al-Miswar bin Makhrama:
That Amr bin Auf, who was an ally of Bani Amir bin Luai and one of those who fought at Badr in the company of the Prophet , said, "Allah's Apostle sent Abu Ubaida bin Al-Jarrah to Bahrain to bring the Jizya taxation from its people, for Allah's Apostle had made a peace treaty with the people of Bahrain and appointed Al-'Ala' bin Al-Hadrami as their ruler. So, Abu Ubaida arrived with the money from Bahrain. When the Ansar heard of the arrival of Abu Ubaida (on the next day) they offered the morning prayer with the Prophet and when the morning prayer had finished, they presented themselves before him. On seeing the Ansar, Allah's Apostle smiled and said, "I think you have heard that Abu Ubaida has brought something?" They replied, "Indeed, it is so, O Allah's Apostle!" He said, "Be happy, and hope for what will please you. By Allah, I am not afraid that you will be poor, but I fear that worldly wealth will be bestowed upon you as it was bestowed upon those who lived before you. So you will compete amongst yourselves for it, as they competed for it and it will destroy you as it did them."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 352:
Narrated Nafi: Ibn Umar used to kill all kinds of snakes until Abu Lubaba Al-Badri told him that the Prophet had forbidden the killing of harmless snakes living in houses and called Jinan. So Ibn Umar gave up killing them.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 353:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Some men of the Ansar requested Allah's Apostle to allow them to see him, they said, "Allow us to forgive the ransom of our sister's son, Abbas." The Prophet said, "By Allah, you will not leave a single Dirham of it!"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 354:
Narrated Ubaidullah bin Adi bin Al-Khiyar:
That Al-Miqdad bin Amr Al-Kindi, who was an ally of Bani Zuhra and one of those who fought the battle of Badr together with Allah's Apostle told him that he said to Allah's Apostle, "Suppose I met one of the infidels and we fought, and he struck one of my hands with his sword and cut it off and

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then took refuge in a tree and said, "I surrender to Allah (i.e. I have become a Muslim),' could I kill him, O Allah's Apostle, after he had said this?" Allah's Apostle said, "You should not kill him." Al-Miqdad said, "O Allah's Apostle! But he had cut off one of my two hands, and then he had uttered those words?" Allah's Apostle replied, "You should not kill him, for if you kill him, he would be in your position where you had been before killing him, and you would be in his position where he had been before uttering those words."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 355:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle said on the day of Badr, "Who will go and see what has happened to Abu Jahl?" Ibn Mas'ud went and saw him struck by the two sons of 'Afra and was on the point of death . Ibn Mas'ud said, "Are you Abu Jahl?" Abu Jahl replied, "Can there be a man more superior to the one whom you have killed (or as Sulaiman said, or his own folk have killed.)?" Abu Jahl added, "Would that I had been killed by other than a mere farmer. "

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 356:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Umar said, "When the Prophet died I said to Abu Bakr, 'Let us go to our Ansari brethren.' We met two pious men from them, who had fought in the battle of Badr." When I mentioned this to Urwa bin Az-Zubair, he said, "Those two pious men were 'Uwaim bin Sa'ida and Manbin Adi."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 357:
Narrated Qais:
The Badr warriors were given five thousand (Dirhams) each, yearly. Umar said, "I will surely give them more than what I will give to others."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 358:
Narrated Jubair bin Mut'im:
I heard the Prophet reciting Surat-at-Tur in Maghrib prayer, and that was at a time when belief was first planted in my heart. The Prophet while speaking about the war prisoners of Badr, said, "Were Al-Mutim bin Adi alive and interceded with me for these filthy people, I would definitely forgive them for his sake."
Narrated Said bin Al-Musaiyab: When the first civil strife (in Islam) took place because of the murder of Uthman, it left none of the Badr warriors alive. When the second civil strife, that is the battle of Al-Harra, took place, it left none of the Hudaibiya treaty companions alive. Then the third civil strife took place and it did not subside till it had exhausted all the strength of the people.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 359:
Narrated Yunus bin Yazid:
I heard Az-Zuhri saying, "I heard Urwa bin Az-Zubair. Said bin Al-Musaiyab, 'Alqama bin Waqqas and Ubaidullah bin Abdullah each narrating part of the narrative concerning Aisha the wife of the Prophet. Aisha said: When I and Um Mistah were returning, Um Mistah stumbled by treading on the end of her robe, and on that she said, 'May Mistah be ruined.' I said, 'You have said a bad thing, you curse a man who took part in the battle of Badr!.." Az-Zuhri then narrated the narration of the Lie (forged against Aisha).
Volume 5, Book 59, Number 360:
Narrated Ibn Shihab:
These were the battles of Allah's Apostle (which he fought), and while mentioning (the Badr battle) he said, "While the corpses of the pagans were being thrown into the well, Allah's Apostle said (to them), 'Have you found what your Lord promised true?" Abdullah said, "Some of the Prophet's companions said, "O Allah's Apostle! You are addressing dead people.' Allah's Apostle replied, 'You do not hear what I am saying, better than they.' The total number of Muslim fighters from Quraish who fought in the battle of Badr and were given their share of the booty, were 81 men." Az-Zubair said, "When their shares were distributed, their number was 101 men. But Allah knows it better."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 361:
Narrated Az-Zubair:
On the day of Badr, (Quraishi) Emigrants received 100 shares of the war booty."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 362:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Bani An-Nadir and Bani Quraiza fought (against the Prophet violating their peace treaty), so the Prophet exiled Bani An-Nadir and allowed Bani Quraiza to remain at their places (in Medina) taking nothing from them till they fought against the Prophet again) . He then killed their men and distributed their women, children and property among the Muslims, but some of them came to the Prophet and he granted them safety, and they embraced Islam. He exiled all the Jews from Medina. They were the Jews of Bani Qainuqa', the tribe of Abdullah bin Salam and the Jews of Bani Haritha and all the other Jews of Medina.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 363:
Narrated Said bin Jubair:
I mentioned to Ibn Abbas Surat-Hashr. He said, "Call it Surat-an-Nadir."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 364:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Some people used to allot some date palm trees to the Prophet as gift till he conquered Banu Quraiza and Bani An-Nadir, where upon he started returning their date palms to them.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 365:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle had the date-palm trees of Bani Al-Nadir burnt and cut down at a place called Al-Buwaira. Allah then revealed: "What you cut down of the date-palm trees (of the enemy) Or you left them standing on their stems. It was by Allah's Permission." (59.5)

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 366:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet burnt the date-palm trees of Bani An-Nadir. Hassan bin Thabit said the following poetic Verses about this event:-- "the terrible burning of Al-Buwaira Has been received indifferently By the nobles of Bani Luai (The masters and nobles of Quraish)." Abu Sufyan bin Al-Harith (i.e. the Prophet's cousin who was still a disbeliever then) replied to Hassan, saying in poetic verses:-- "May Allah bless that burning And set all its (i.e. Medina's) Parts on burning fire. You will see who is far from it (i.e. Al-Buwaira) And which of our lands will be Harmed by it (i.e. the burning of Al-Buwaira)."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 367:
Narrated Malik bin Aus Al-Hadathan An-Nasri:
That once Umar bin Al-Khattab called him and while he was sitting with him, his gatekeeper, Yarfa came and said, "Will you admit Uthman, Abdur-Rahman bin Auf, AzZubair and Sad (bin Abi Waqqas) who are waiting for your permission?" Umar said, "Yes, let them come in." After a while, Yarfa- came again and said, "Will you admit Ali and Abbas who are asking your permission?" Umar said, "Yes." So, when the two entered, Abbas said, "O chief of the believers! Judge between me and this (i.e. Ali). "Both of them had a dispute regarding the property of Bani An-Nadir which Allah had given to His Apostle as Fai (i.e. booty gained without fighting), Ali and Abbas started reproaching each other. The (present) people (i.e. Uthman and his companions) said, "O chief of the believers! Give your verdict in their case and relieve each from) the other." Umar said, "Wait I beseech you, by Allah, by Whose Permission both the heaven and the earth stand fast! Do you know that Allah's Apostle said, 'We (Prophets) our properties are not to be inherited, and whatever we leave, is to be spent in charity,' and he said it about himself?" They (i.e. Uthman and his company) said, "He did say it. "Umar then turned towards Ali and Abbas and said, "I beseech you both, by Allah! Do you know that Allah's Apostle said this?" They replied in the affirmative. He said, "Now I am talking to you about this matter. Allah the Glorified favored His Apostle with something of this Fai (i.e. booty won without fighting) which He did not give to anybody else. Allah said:--
"And what Allah gave to His Apostle ("Fai"" Booty) from them--For which you made no expedition With either Calvary or camelry. But Allah gives power to His Apostles Over whomsoever He will And Allah is able to do all things." (59.6)
So this property was especially granted to Allah's Apostle . But by Allah, the Prophet neither took it all for himself only, nor deprived you of it, but he gave it to all of you and distributed it amongst you till only this remained out of it. And from this Allah's Apostle used to spend the yearly maintenance for his family, and whatever used to remain, he used to spend it where Allah's Property is spent (i.e. in charity), Allah's Apostle kept on acting like that during all his life, Then he died, and Abu Bakr said, 'I am the successor of Allah's Apostle.' So he (i.e. Abu Bakr) took charge of this property and disposed of it in the same manner as Allah's Apostle used to do, and all of you (at that time) knew all about it." Then Umar turned towards Ali and Abbas and said, "You both remember that Abu Bakr disposed of it in the way you have described and Allah knows that, in that matter, he was sincere, pious, rightly guided and the follower of the right. Then Allah caused Abu Bakr to die and I said, 'I am the successor of Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr.' So I kept this property in my possession for the first two years of my rule (i.e. Caliphate and I used to dispose of it in the same wa as Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr used to do; and Allah knows that I have been sincere, pious, rightly guided an the follower of the right (in this matte Later on both of you (i.e. Ali and Abbas) came to me, and the claim of you both was one and the same, O Abbas! You also came to me. So I told you both that Allah's Apostle said, "Our property is not inherited, but whatever we leave is to be given in charity.' Then when I thought that I should better hand over this property to you both or the condition that you will promise and pledge before Allah that you will dispose it off in the same way as Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr did and as I have done since the beginning of my caliphate or else you should not speak to me (about it).' So, both of you said to me, 'Hand it over to us on this condition.' And on this condition I handed it over to you. Do you want me now to give a decision other than that (decision)? By Allah, with Whose Permission both the sky and the earth stand fast, I will never give any decision other than that (decision) till the Last Hour is established. But if you are unable to manage it (i.e. that property), then return it to me, and I will manage on your behalf." The sub-narrator said, "I told Urwa bin Az-Zubair of this Hadith and he said, 'Malik bin Aus has told the truth" I heard Aisha, the wife of the Prophet saying, 'The wives of the Prophet sent Uthman to Abu Bakr demanding from him their 1/8 of the Fai which Allah had granted to his Apostle. But I used to oppose them and say to them: Will you not fear Allah? Don't you know that the Prophet used to say: Our property is not inherited, but whatever we leave is to be given in charity? The Prophet mentioned that regarding himself. He added: 'The family of Mohammed can take their sustenance from this property. So the wives of the Prophet stopped demanding it when I told them of that.' So, this property (of Sadaqa) was in the hands of Ali who withheld it from Abbas and overpowered him. Then it came in the hands of Hasan bin Ali, then in the hands of Husain bin Ali, and then in the hands of Ali bin Husain and Hasan bin Hasan, and each of the last two used to manage it in turn, then it came in the hands of Zaid bin Hasan, and it was truly the Sadaqa of Allah's Apostle ."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 368:
Narrated Aisha:
Fatima and AlAbbas came to Abu Bakr, claiming their inheritance of the Prophet's land of Fadak and his share from Khaibar. Abu Bakr said, "I heard the Prophet saying, 'Our property is not inherited, and whatever we leave is to be given in charity. But the family of Mohammed can take their sustenance from this property.' By Allah, I would love to do good to the Kith and kin of Allah's Apostle rather than to my own Kith and kin."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 369:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle said, "Who is willing to kill Ka'b bin Al-Ashraf who has hurt Allah and His Apostle?" Thereupon Mohammed bin Maslama got up saying, "O Allah's Apostle! Would you like that I kill him?" The Prophet said, "Yes," Mohammed bin Maslama said, "Then allow me to say a (false) thing (i.e. to deceive Kab). "The Prophet said, "You may say it." Then Mohammed bin Maslama went to Kab and said, "That man (i.e. Mohammed demands Sadaqa (i.e. Zakat) from us, and he has troubled us, and I have come to borrow something from you." On that, Kab said, "By Allah, you will get tired of him!" Mohammed bin Maslama said, "Now as we have followed him, we do not want to leave him unless and until we see how his end is going to be. Now we want you to lend us a camel load or two of food." (Some difference between narrators about a camel load or two.) Kab said, "Yes, (I will lend you), but you should mortgage something to me." Mohammed bin Mas-lama and his companion said, "What do you want?" Ka'b replied, "Mortgage your women to me." They said, "How can we mortgage our women to you and you are the most handsome of the 'Arabs?" Ka'b said, "Then mortgage your sons to me." They said, "How can we mortgage our sons to you? Later they would be abused by the people's saying that so-and-so has been mortgaged for a camel load of food. That would cause us great disgrace, but we will mortgage our arms to you." Mohammed bin Maslama and his companion promised Kab that Mohammed would return to him. He came to Kab at night along with Kab's foster brother, Abu Na'ila. Kab invited them to come into his fort, and then he went down to them. His wife asked him, "Where are you going at this time?" Kab replied, "None but Mohammed bin Maslama and my (foster) brother Abu Na'ila have come." His wife said, "I hear a voice as if dropping blood is from him, Ka'b said. "They are none but my brother Mohammed bin Maslama and my foster brother Abu Naila. A generous man should respond to a call at night even if invited to be killed." Mohammed bin Maslama went with two men. (Some narrators mention the men as Abu bin Jabr. Al Harith bin Aus and Abbad bin Bishr). So Mohammed bin Maslama went in together with two men, and sail to them, "When Ka'b comes, I will touch his hair and smell it, and when you see that I have got hold of his head, strip him. I will let you smell his head." Kab bin Al-Ashraf came down to them wrapped in his clothes, and diffusing perfume. Mohammed bin Maslama said. " have never smelt a better scent than this. Ka'b replied. "I have got the best 'Arab women who know how to use the high class of perfume." Mohammed bin Maslama requested Ka'b

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"Will you allow me to smell your head?" Ka'b said, "Yes." Mohammed smelt it and made his companions smell it as well. Then he requested Ka'b again, "Will you let me (smell your head)?" Ka'b said, "Yes." When Mohammed got a strong hold of him, he said (to his companions), "Get at him!" So they killed him and went to the Prophet and informed him. (Abu Rafi) was killed after Ka'b bin Al-Ashraf."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 370:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
Allah's Apostle sent a group of persons to Abu Rafi. Abdullah bin Atik entered his house at night, while he was sleeping, and killed him.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 371:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
Allah's Apostle sent some men from the Ansar to ((kill) Abu Rafi, the Jew, and appointed Abdullah bin Atik as their leader. Abu Rafi used to hurt Allah's Apostle and help his enemies against him. He lived in his castle in the land of Hijaz. When those men approached (the castle) after the sun had set and the people had brought back their livestock to their homes. Abdullah (bin Atik) said to his companions, "Sit down at your places. I am going, and I will try to play a trick on the gate-keeper so that I may enter (the castle)." So Abdullah proceeded towards the castle, and when he approached the gate, he covered himself with his clothes, pretending to answer the call of nature. The people had gone in, and the gate-keeper (considered Abdullah as one of the castle's servants) addressing him saying, "O Allah's Servant! Enter if you wish, for I want to close the gate." Abdullah added in his story, "So I went in (the castle) and hid myself. When the people got inside, the gate-keeper closed the gate and hung the keys on a fixed wooden peg. I got up and took the keys and opened the gate. Some people were staying late at night with Abu Rafi for a pleasant night chat in a room of his. When his companions of nightly entertainment went away, I ascended to him, and whenever I opened a door, I closed it from inside. I said to myself, 'Should these people discover my presence, they will not be able to catch me till I have killed him.' So I reached him and found him sleeping in a dark house amidst his family, I could not recognize his location in the house. So I shouted, 'O Abu Rafi!' Abu Rafi said, 'Who is it?' I proceeded towards the source of the voice and hit him with the sword, and because of my perplexity, I could not kill him. He cried loudly, and I came out of the house and waited for a while, and then went to him again and said, 'What is this voice, O Abu Rafi?' He said, 'Woe to your mother! A man in my house has hit me with a sword! I again hit him severely but I did not kill him. Then I drove the point of the sword into his belly (and pressed it through) till it touched his back, and I realized that I have killed him. I then opened the doors one by one till I reached the staircase, and thinking that I had reached the ground, I stepped out and fell down and got my leg broken in a moonlit night. I tied my leg with a turban and proceeded on till I sat at the gate, and said, 'I will not go out tonight till I know that I have killed him.' So, when (early in the morning) the cock crowed, the announcer of the casualty stood on the wall saying, 'I announce the death of Abu Rafi, the merchant of Hijaz. Thereupon I went to my companions and said, 'Let us save ourselves, for Allah has killed Abu Rafi,' So I (along with my companions proceeded and) went to the Prophet and described the whole story to him. "He said, 'Stretch out your (broken) leg. I stretched it out and he rubbed it and it became All right as if I had never had any ailment whatsoever."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 372:
Narrated Al-Bara:
Allah's Apostle sent Abdullah bin 'Atik and Abdullah bin Utba with a group of men to Abu Rafi (to kill him). They proceeded till they approached his castle, whereupon Abdullah bin Atik said to them, "Wait (here), and in the meantime I will go and see." Abdullah said later on, "I played a trick in order to enter the castle. By chance, they lost a donkey of theirs and came out carrying a flaming light to search for it. I was afraid that they would recognize me, so I covered my head and legs and pretended to answer the call to nature. The gatekeeper called, 'Whoever wants to come in, should come in before I close the gate.' So I went in and hid myself in a stall of a donkey near the gate of the castle. They took their supper with Abu Rafi and had a chat till late at night. Then they went back to their homes. When the voices vanished and I no longer detected any movement, I came out. I had seen where the gate-keeper had kept the key of the castle in a hole in the wall. I took it and unlocked the gate of the castle, saying to myself, 'If these people should notice me, I will run away easily.' Then I locked all the doors of their houses from outside while they were inside, and ascended to Abu Rafi by a staircase. I saw the house in complete darkness with its light off, and I could not know where the man was. So I called, 'O Abu Rafi!' He replied, 'Who is it?' I proceeded towards the voice and hit him. He cried loudly but my blow was futile. Then I came to him, pretending to help him, saying with a different tone of my voice, ' What is wrong with you, O Abu Rafi?' He said, 'Are you not surprised? Woe on your mother! A man has come to me and hit me with a sword!' So again I aimed at him and hit him, but the blow proved futile again, and on that Abu Rafi cried loudly and his wife got up. I came again and changed my voice as if I were a helper, and found Abu Rafi lying straight on his back, so I drove the sword into his belly and bent on it till I heard the sound of a bone break. Then I came out, filled with astonishment and went to the staircase to descend, but I fell down from it and got my leg dislocated. I bandaged it and went to my companions limping. I said (to them), 'Go and tell Allah's Apostle of this good news, but I will not leave (this place) till I hear the news of his (i.e. Abu Rafi's) death.' When dawn broke, an announcer of death got over the wall and announced, 'I convey to you the news of Abu Rafi's death.' I got up and proceeded without feeling any pain till I caught up with my companions before they reached the Prophet to whom I conveyed the good news."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 373:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
On the day of Uhud. the Prophet said, "This is Gabriel holding the head of his horse and equipped with war material.'

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 374:
Narrated Uqba bin Amir:
Allah's Apostle offered the funeral prayers of the martyrs of Uhud eight years after (their death), as if bidding farewell to the living and the dead, then he ascended the pulpit and said, "I am your predecessor before you, and I am a witness on you, and your promised place to meet me will be Al-Haud (i.e. the Tank) (on the Day of Resurrection), and I am (now) looking at it from this place of mine. I am not afraid that you will worship others besides Allah, but I am afraid that worldly life will tempt you and cause you to compete with each other for it." That was the last look which I cast on Allah's Apostle.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 375:
Narrated Al-Bara:
We faced the pagans on that day (of the battle of Uhud) and the Prophet placed a batch of archers (at a special place) and appointed Abdullah (bin Jubair) as their commander and said, "Do not leave this place; and if you should see us conquering the enemy, do not leave this place, and if you should see them conquering us, do not (come to) help us," So, when we faced the enemy, they took to their heel till I saw their women running towards the mountain, lifting up their clothes from their legs, revealing their leg-bangles. The Muslims started saying, "The booty, the booty!" Abdullah bin Jubair said, "The Prophet had taken a firm promise from me not to leave this place." But his companions refused (to stay). So when they refused (to stay there), (Allah) confused them so that they could not know where to go, and they suffered seventy casualties. Abu Sufyan ascended a high place and said, "Is Mohammed present amongst the people?" The Prophet said, "Do not answer him." Abu Sufyan said, "Is the son of Abu Quhafa present among the people?" The Prophet said, "Do not answer him." Abd Sufyan said, "Is the son of Al-Khattab amongst the people?" He then added, "All these people have been killed, for, were they alive, they would have replied." On that, Umar could not help saying, "You are a liar, O enemy of Allah! Allah has kept what will make you unhappy." Abu Safyan said, "Superior may be Hubal!" On that the Prophet said (to his companions), "Reply to him." They asked, "What may we say?" He said, "Say: Allah is More Elevated and More Majestic!" Abu Sufyan said, "We have (the idol) Al-'Uzza, whereas you have no 'Uzza!" The Prophet said (to his companions), "Reply to him." They said, "What may we say?" The Prophet said, "Say: Allah is our Helper and you have no helper." Abu Sufyan said, "(This) day compensates for our loss at Badr and (in) the battle (the victory) is always undecided and shared in turns by the belligerents. You will see some of your dead men mutilated, but neither did I urge this action, nor am I sorry for it." Narrated Jabir: Some people took wine in the morning of the day of Uhud and were then killed as martyrs.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 376:
Narrated Sad bin Ibrahim:
A meal was brought to Abdur-Rahman bin 'Auf while he was fasting. He said, "Musab bin Umar was martyred, and he was better than I, yet he was shrouded in a Burda (i.e. a sheet) so that, if his head was covered, his feet became naked, and if his feet were covered, his head became naked." Abdur-Rahman added, "Hamza was martyred and he was better than 1. Then worldly wealth was bestowed upon us and we were given thereof too much. We are afraid that the reward of our deeds have been given to us in this life." Abdur-Rahman then started weeping so much that he left the food.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 377:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
On the day of the battle of Uhud, a man came to the Prophet and said, "Can you tell me where I will be if I should get martyred?" The Prophet replied, "In Paradise." The man threw away some dates he was carrying in his hand, and fought till he was martyred .

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 378:
Narrated Khabbab bin Al-Art:
We migrated in the company of Allah's Apostle, seeking Allah's Pleasure. So our reward became due and sure with Allah. Some of us have been dead without enjoying anything of their rewards (here), and one of them was Mus'ab bin Umar who was martyred on the day of the battle of Uhud, and did not leave anything except a Namira (i.e. a sheet in which he was shrouded). If we covered his head with it, his feet became naked, and if we covered his feet with it, his head became naked. So the Prophet said to us, "Cover his head with it and put some Idhkhir (i.e. a kind of grass) over his feet or throw Idhkhir over his feet." But some amongst us have got the fruits of their labor ripened, and they are collecting them.
Narrated Anas: His uncle (Anas bin An-Nadr) was absent from the battle of Badr and he said, "I was absent from the first battle of the Prophet (i.e. Badr battle), and if Allah should let me participate in (a battle) with the Prophet, Allah will see how strongly I will fight." So he encountered the day of Uhud battle. The Muslims fled and he said, "O Allah ! I appeal to You to excuse me for what these people (i.e. the Muslims) have done, and I am clear from what the pagans have done." Then he went forward with his sword and met Sad bin Mu'adh (fleeing), and asked him, "Where are you going, O Sad? I detect a smell of Paradise before Uhud." Then he proceeded on and was martyred. No-body was able to recognize him till his sister recognized him by a mole on his body or by the tips of his fingers. He had over 80 wounds caused by stabbing, striking or shooting with arrows.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 379:
Narrated Zaid bin Thabit:
When we wrote the Holy Koran, I missed one of the Verses of Surat-al-Ahzab which I used to hear Allah's Apostle reciting. Then we searched for it and found it with Khuzaima bin Thabit Al-Ansari. The Verse was:--
'Among the Believers are men Who have been true to Their Covenant with Allah, Of them, some have fulfilled Their obligations to Allah (i.e. they have been Killed in Allah's Cause), And some of them are (still) waiting" (33.23) So we wrote this in its place in the Koran.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 380:
Narrated Zaid bin Thabit:
When the Prophet set out for (the battle of) Uhud, some of those who had gone out with him, returned. The companions of the Prophet were divided into two groups. One group said, "We will fight them (i.e. the enemy)," and the other group said, "We will not fight them." So there came the Divine Revelation:-- '(O Muslims!) Then what is the matter within you that you are divided. Into two parties about the hypocrites? Allah has cast them back (to disbelief) Because of what they have earned.' (4.88) On that, the Prophet said, "That is Taiba (i.e. the city of Medina) which clears one from one's sins as the fire expels the impurities of silver."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 381:
Narrated Jabir:
This Verse: "When two of your parties almost Decided to fall away..." was revealed in our connection, i.e. Bani Salama and Bani Haritha and I would not have liked that, if it was not revealed, for Allah said:-- But Allah was their Protector.....(3.122)

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 382:
Narrated Jabir:
"Allah's Apostle said to me, "Have you got married O Jabir?" I replied, "Yes." He asked "What, a virgin or a matron?" I replied, "Not a virgin but a matron." He said, "Why did you not marry a young girl who would have fondled with you?" I replied, "O Allah's Apostle! My father was martyred on the day of Uhud and left nine (orphan) daughters who are my nine sisters; so I disliked to have another young girl of their age, but (I sought) an (elderly) woman who could comb their hair and look after them." The Prophet said, "You have done the right thing."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 383:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
That his father was martyred on the day of the battle of Uhud and was in debt and left six (orphan) daughters. Jabir, added, "When the season of plucking the dates came, I went to Allah's Apostle and said, "You know that my father was martyred on the day of Uhud, and he was heavily in debt, and I would like that the creditors should see you." The Prophet said, "Go and pile every kind of dates apart." I did so and called him (i.e. the Prophet). When the creditors saw him, they started claiming their debts from me then in such a harsh

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manner (as they had never done before). So when he saw their attitude, he went round the biggest heap of dates thrice, and then sat over it and said, 'O Jabir), call your companions (i.e. the creditors).' Then he kept on measuring (and giving) to the creditors (their due) till Allah paid all the debt of my father. I would have been satisfied to retain nothing of those dates for my sisters after Allah had paid the debts of my father. But Allah saved all the heaps (of dates), so that when I looked at the heap where the Prophet had been sitting, it seemed as if a single date had not been taken away thereof."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 384:
Narrated Sad bin Abi Waqqas:
I saw Allah's Apostle on the day of the battle of Uhud accompanied by two men fighting on his behalf. They were dressed in white and were fighting as bravely as possible. I had never seen them before, nor did I see them later on.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 385:
Narrated Sad bin Abi Waqqas:
The Prophet took out a quiver (of arrows) for me on the day of Uhud and said, "Throw (arrows); let my father and mother be sacrificed for you."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 386:
Narrated Sad:
Allah's Apostle mentioned both his father and mother for me on the day of the battle of Uhud.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 387:
Narrated Ibn Al Musaiyab:
Sad bin Abi Waqqas said, "Allah's Apostle mentioned both his father and mother for me on the day of the battle of Uhud." He meant when the Prophet said (to Sad) while the latter was fighting. "Let my father and mother be sacrificed for you!"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 388:
Narrated Ali: I have never heard the Prophet mentioning both his father and mother for anybody other than Sad.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 389:
Narrated Ali: I have never heard the Prophet mentioning his father and mother for anybody other than Sad bin Malik. I heard him saying on the day of Uhud, "O Sad throw (arrows)! Let my father and mother be sacrificed for you !"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 390:
Narrated Mu'tamir's father:
Uthman said that on the day of the battle of Uhud, none remained with the Prophet but Talha and Sad.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 391:
Narrated As-Saib bin Yazid:
I have been in the company of AbdurRahman bin 'Auf, Talha bin Ubaidullah, Al-Miqdad and Sad, and I heard none of them narrating anything from the Prophet excepting the fact that I heard Talha narrating about the day of Uhud (battle) .

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 392:
Narrated Qais:
I saw Talha's paralyzed hand with which he had protected the Prophet on the day of Uhud.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 393:
Narrated Anas:
When it was the day of Uhud, the people left the Prophet while Abu Talha was in front of the Prophet shielding him with his leather shield. Abu Talha was a skillful archer who used to shoot violently. He broke two or three arrow bows on that day. If a man carrying a quiver full of arrows passed by, the Prophet would say (to him), put (scatter) its contents for Abu Talha." The Prophet would raise his head to look at the enemy, whereupon Abu Talha would say, "Let my father and mother be sacrificed for you ! Do not raise your head, lest an arrow of the enemy should hit you. (Let) my neck (be struck) rather than your neck." I saw Aisha, the daughter of Abu Bakr, and Um Sulaim rolling up their dresses so that I saw their leg-bangles while they were carrying water skins on their backs and emptying them in the mouths of the (wounded) people. They would return to refill them and again empty them in the mouths of the (wounded) people. The sword fell from Abu Talha's hand twice or thrice (on that day).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 394:
Narrated Aisha:
When it was the day of Uhud, the pagans were defeated. Then Satan, Allah's Curse be upon him, cried loudly, "O Allah's Worshippers, beware of what is behind!" On that, the front files of the (Muslim) forces turned their backs and started fighting with the back files. Hudhaifa looked, and on seeing his father Al-Yaman, he shouted, "O Allah's Worshippers, my father, my father!" But by Allah, they did not stop till they killed him. Hudhaifa said, "May Allah forgive you." (The sub-narrator, Urwa, said, "By Allah, Hudhaifa continued asking Allah's Forgiveness for the killers of his father till he departed to Allah (i.e. died).")

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 395:
Narrated Uthman bin Mauhab:
A man came to perform the Hajj to (Allah's) House. Seeing some people sitting, he said, "Who are these sitting people?" Somebody said, "They are the people of Quraish." He said, "Who is the old man?" They said, "Ibn Umar." He went to him and said, "I want to ask you about something; will you tell me about it? I ask you with the respect due to the sanctity of this (Sacred) House, do you know that Uthman bin 'Affan fled on the day of Uhud?" Ibn Umar said, "Yes." He said, "Do you know that he (i.e. Uthman) was absent from the Badr (battle) and did not join it?" Ibn Umar said, "Yes." He said, "Do you know that he failed to be present at the Ridwan Pledge of allegiance (i.e. Pledge of allegiance at Hudaibiya) and did not witness it?" Ibn Umar replied, "Yes," He then said, "Allahu-Akbar!" Ibn Umar said, "Come along; I will inform you and explain to you what you have asked. As for the flight (of Uthman) on the day of Uhud, I testify that Allah forgave him. As regards his absence from the Badr (battle), he was married to the daughter of Allah's Apostle and she was ill, so the Prophet said to him, 'You will have such reward as a man who has fought the Badr battle will get, and will also have the same share of the booty.' As for his absence from the Ridwan Pledge of allegiance if there had been anybody more respected by the Meccans than Uthman bin 'Affan, the Prophet would surely have sent that man instead of Uthman. So the Prophet sent him (i.e. Uthman to Mecca) and the Ridwan Pledge of allegiance took place after Uthman had gone to Mecca. The Prophet raised his right hand saying. 'This is the hand of Uthman,' and clapped it over his other hand and said, "This is for Uthman.'" Ibn Umar then said (to the man), "Go now, after taking this information."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 396:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
The Prophet appointed Abdullah bin Jubair as the commander of the cavalry archers on the day of the battle of Uhud. Then they returned defeated, and that what is referred to by Allah's Statement:-- "And the Apostle (Mohammed) in your rear was calling you." (3.153)

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 397:
Narrated Salim's father:
That he heard Allah's Apostle, when raising his head from bowing of the first Rak'a of the morning prayer, saying, "O Allah! Curse so-and-so and so-and-so" after he had said, "Allah hears him who sends his praises to Him. Our Lord, all the Praises are for you!" So Allah revealed:-- "Not for you (O Mohammed!).....(till the end of Verse) they are indeed wrong-doers." (3.128) Salim bin Abdullah said' "Allah's Apostle used to invoke evil upon Safwan bin Umaiya, Suhail bin Amr and Al-Harith bin Hisham. So the Verse was revealed:-- "Not for you (O Mohammed!).....(till the end of Verse) For they are indeed wrong-doers." (3.128)

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 398:
Narrated Tha'laba bin Abi Malik:
Umar bin Al-Khattab distributed woolen clothes amongst some women of Medina, and a nice woolen garment remained. Some of those who were sitting with him, said, "O chief of the believers! Give it to the daughter of Allah's Apostle who is with you," and by that, they meant Um Kulthum, the daughter of Ali. Umar said, "Um Salit has got more right than she." Um Saht was amongst those Ansari women who had given the pledge of allegiance to Allah's Apostle . Umar added, "She (i.e. Um Salit) used to carry the filled water skins for us on the day of the battle of Uhud."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 399:
Narrated Jafar bin Amr bin Umaiya:
I went out with Ubaidullah bin Adi Al-Khaiyar. When we reached Hims (i.e. a town in Syria), Ubaidullah bin Adi said (to me), "Would you like to see Wahshi so that we may ask him about the killing of Hamza?" I replied, "Yes." Wahshi used to live in Hims. We enquired about him and somebody said to us, "He is that in the shade of his palace, as if he were a full water skin." So we went up to him, and when we were at a short distance from him, we greeted him and he greeted us in return. Ubaidullah was wearing his turban and Wahshi could not see except his eyes and feet. Ubaidullah said, "O Wahshi! Do you know me?" Wahshi looked at him and then said, "No, by Allah! But I know that Adi bin Al-Khiyar married a woman called Um Qital, the daughter of Abu Al-Is, and she delivered a boy for him at Mecca, and I looked for a wet nurse for that child. (Once) I carried that child along with his mother and then I handed him over to her, and your feet resemble that child's feet." Then Ubaidullah uncovered his face and said (to Wahshi), "Will you tell us (the story of) the killing of Hamza?" Wahshi replied "Yes, Hamza killed Tuaima bin Adi bin Al-Khaiyar at Badr (battle) so my master, Jubair bin Mut'im said to me, 'If you kill Hamza in revenge for my uncle, then you will be set free." When the people set out (for the battle of Uhud) in the year of 'Ainain ..'Ainain is a mountain near the mountain of Uhud, and between it and Uhud there is a valley.. I went out with the people for the battle. When the army aligned for the fight, Siba' came out and said, 'Is there any (Muslim) to accept my challenge to a duel?' Hamza bin Abdul Muttalib came out and said, 'O Siba'. O Ibn Um Anmar, the one who circumcises other ladies! Do you challenge Allah and His Apostle?' Then Hamza attacked and killed him, causing him to be non-extant like the bygone yesterday. I hid myself under a rock, and when he (i.e. Hamza) came near me, I threw my spear at him, driving it into his umbilicus so that it came out through his buttocks, causing him to die. When all the people returned to Mecca, I too returned with them. I stayed in (Mecca) till Islam spread in it (i.e. Mecca). Then I left for Taif, and when the people (of Taif) sent their messengers to Allah's Apostle, I was told that the Prophet did not harm the messengers; So I too went out with them till I reached Allah's Apostle. When he saw me, he said, 'Are you Wahshi?' I said, 'Yes.' He said, 'Was it you who killed Hamza?' I replied, 'What happened is what you have been told of.' He said, 'Can you hide your face from me?' So I went out when Allah's Apostle died, and Musailamah Al-Kadhdhab appeared (claiming to be a prophet). I said, 'I will go out to Musailamah so that I may kill him, and make amends for killing Hamza. So I went out with the people (to fight Musailamah and his followers) and then famous events took place concerning that battle. Suddenly I saw a man (i.e. Musailamah) standing near a gap in a wall. He looked like an ash-colored camel and his hair was dishevelled. So I threw my spear at him, driving it into his chest in between his breasts till it passed out through his shoulders, and then an Ansari man attacked him and struck him on the head with a sword. Abdullah bin Umar said, 'A slave girl on the roof of a house said: Alas! The chief of the believers (i.e. Musailamah) has been killed by a black slave."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 400:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle (pointing to his broken canine tooth) said, "Allah's Wrath has become severe on the people who harmed His Prophet. Allah's Wrath has become severe on the man who is killed by the Apostle of Allah in Allah's Cause."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 401:
Narrated Ibn Abbas
Allah's Wrath became severe on him whom the Prophet had killed in Allah's Cause. Allah's Wrath became severe on the people who caused the face of Allah's Prophet to bleed.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 402:
Narrated Abu Hazim:
That he heard Sahl bin Sad being asked about the wounds of Allah's Apostle saying, "By Allah, I know who washed the wounds of Allah's Apostle and who poured water (for washing them), and with what he was treated." Sahl added, "Fatima, the daughter of Allah's Apostle used to wash the wounds, and Ali bin Abi Talib used to pour water from a shield. When Fatima saw that the water aggravated the bleeding, she took a piece of a mat, burnt it, and inserted its ashes into the wound so that the blood was congealed (and bleeding stopped). His canine tooth got broken on that day, and face was wounded, and his helmet was broken on his head."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 403:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Wrath gets severe on a person killed by a prophet, and Allah's Wrath became severe on him who had caused the face of Allah's Apostle to bleed

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 404:
Narrated Aisha:
Regarding the Holy Verse: "Those who responded (To the call) of Allah And the Apostle (Mohammed), After being wounded, For those of them Who did good deeds And refrained from wrong, there is a great reward." (3.172)
She said to Urwa, "O my nephew! Your father, Az-Zubair and Abu Bakr were amongst them (i.e. those who responded to the call of Allah and the Apostle on the day (of the battle of Uhud). When Allah's Apostle, suffered what he suffered on the day of Uhud and the pagans left, the Prophet was afraid that they might return. So he said, 'Who will go on their (i.e. pagans') track?' He then selected seventy men from amongst them (for this purpose)." (The sub-narrator added, "Abu Bakr and Az-Zubair were amongst them.")

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 405:
Narrated Qatada:
We do not know of any tribe amongst the 'Arab tribes who lost more martyrs than Al-Ansar, and they will have

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superiority on the Day of Resurrection. Anas bin Malik told us that seventy from the Ansar were martyred on the day of Uhud, and seventy on the day (of the battle of) Bir Ma'una, and seventy on the day of Al-Yamama. Anas added, "The battle of Bir Ma'una took place during the lifetime of Allah's Apostle and the battle of Al-Yamama, during the caliphate of Abu Bakr, and it was the day when Musailamah Al-Kadhdhab was killed."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 406:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah
Allah's Apostle used to shroud two martyrs of Uhud in one sheet and then say, "Which of them knew Koran more?" When one of the two was pointed out, he would put him first in the grave. Then he said, "I will be a witness for them on the Day of Resurrection." He ordered them to be buried with their blood (on their bodies). Neither was the funeral prayer offered for them, nor were they washed. Jabir added, "When my father was martyred, I started weeping and uncovering his face. The companions of the Prophet stopped me from doing so but the Prophet did not stop me. Then the Prophet said, '(O Jabir.) don't weep over him, for the angels kept on covering him with their wings till his body was carried away (for burial)."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 407:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet said, "I saw in a dream that I moved a sword and its blade got broken, and that symbolized the casualties which the believers suffered on the day of Uhud. Then I moved it again, and it became as perfect as it had been, and that symbolized the Conquest (of Mecca) which Allah helped us to achieve, and the union of all the believers. I (also) saw cows in the dream, and what Allah does is always beneficial. Those cows appeared to symbolize the faithful believers (who were martyred) on the day of Uhud."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 408:
Narrated Khabbab:
We migrated with the Prophet for Allah's Cause, so our reward became due with Allah. Some of us passed away (i.e. died) without enjoying anything from their reward, and one of them was Mus'ab bin Umar who was killed (i.e. martyred) on the day of Uhud. He did not leave behind except a sheet of striped woolen cloth. If we covered his head with it, his feet became naked, and if we covered his feet with it, his head became naked. The Prophet said to us, "Cover his head with it and put Idhkhir (i.e. a kind of grass) over his feet," or said, "Put some Idhkhir over his feet." But some of us have got their fruits ripened, and they are collecting them.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 409:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "This is a mountain that loves us and is loved by us."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 410:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
When the mountain of Uhud appeared before Allah's Apostle he said, "This IS a mountain that loves us and is loved by us. O, Allah! Abraham made Mecca a Sanctuary, and I have made Medina (i.e. the area between its two mountains) a Sanctuary as well."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 411:
Narrated Uqba:
One day the Prophet went out and offered the (funeral) prayer for the people (i.e. martyrs) of Uhud as he used to offer a funeral prayer for any dead person, and then (after returning) he ascended the pulpit and said, "I am your predecessor before you, and I am a witness upon you, and I am looking at my Tank just now, and I have been given the keys of the treasures of the world (or the keys of the world). By Allah, I am not afraid that you will worship others besides Allah after me, but I am afraid that you will compete with each other for (the pleasures of) this world."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 412:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet sent a Sariya of spies and appointed 'Asim bin Thabit, the grandfather of 'Asim bin Umar bin Al-Khattab, as their leader. So they set out, and when they reached (a place) between 'Usfan and Mecca, they were mentioned to one of the branch tribes of Bani Hudhail called Lihyan. So, about one-hundred archers followed their traces till they (i.e. the archers) came to a journey station where they (i.e. 'Asim and his companions) had encamped and found stones of dates they had brought as journey food from Medina.
The archers said, "These are the dates of Medina," and followed their traces till they took them over. When 'Asim and his companions were not able to go ahead, they went up a high place, and their pursuers encircled them and said, "You have a covenant and a promise that if you come down to us, we will not kill anyone of you." 'Asim said, "As for me, I will never come down on the security of an infidel. O Allah! Inform Your Prophet about us." So they fought with them till they killed 'Asim along with seven of his companions with arrows, and there remained Khubaib, Zaid and another man to whom they gave a promise and a covenant. So when the infidels gave them the covenant and promise, they came down. When they captured them, they opened the strings of their arrow bows and tied them with it. The third man who was with them said, "This is the first breach in the covenant," and refused to accompany them. They dragged him and tried to make him accompany them, but he refused, and they killed him. Then they proceeded on taking Khubaib and Zaid till they sold them in Mecca. The sons of Al-Harith bin Amr bin Naufal bought Khubaib. It was Khubaib who had killed Al-Harith bin Amr on the day of Badr. Khubaib stayed with them for a while as a captive till they decided unanimously to kill him. (At that time) Khubaib borrowed a razor from one of the daughters of Al-Harith to shave his pubic hair. She gave it to him. She said later on, "I was heedless of a little baby of mine, who moved towards Khubaib, and when it reached him, he put it on his thigh.
When I saw it, I got scared so much that Khubaib noticed my distress while he was carrying the razor in his hand. He said 'Are you afraid that I will kill it? Allah willing, I will never do that,' " Later on she used to say, "I have never seen a captive better than Khubaib Once I saw him eating from a bunch of grapes although at that time no fruits were available at Mecca, and he was fettered with iron chains, and in fact, it was nothing but food bestowed upon him by Allah." So they took him out of the Sanctuary (of Mecca) to kill him. He said, "Allow me to offer a two-Rak'at prayer." Then he went to them and said, "Had I not been afraid that you would think I was afraid of death, I would have prayed for a longer time." So it was Khubaib who first set the tradition of praying two Rakat before being executed. He then said, "O Allah! Count them one by one," and added, 'When I am being martyred as a Muslim, I do not care in what way I receive my death for Allah's Sake, because this death is in Allah's Cause. If He wishes, He will bless the cut limbs." Then Uqba bin Al-Harith got up and martyred him. The narrator added: The Quraish (infidels) sent some people to 'Asim in order to bring a part of his body so that his death might be known for certain, for 'Asim had killed one of their chiefs on the day of Badr. But Allah sent a cloud of wasps which protected his body from their messengers who could not harm his body consequently.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 413:
Narrated Jabir:
The person who killed Khubaib was Abu Sarua (i.e. Uqba bin Al-Harith).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 414:
Narrated Abdul Aziz:
Anas said, "The Prophet sent seventy men, called Al-Qurra 'for some purpose. The two groups of Bani Sulaim called Ri'l and Dhakwan, appeared to them near a well called Bir Ma'una. The people (i.e. Al-Qurra) said, 'By Allah, we have not come to harm you, but we are passing by you on our way to do something for the Prophet.' But (the infidels) killed them. The Prophet therefore invoked evil upon them for a month during the morning prayer. That was the beginning of Al Qunut and we used not to say Qunut before that." A man asked Anas about Al-Qunut, "Is it to be said after the Bowing (in the prayer) or after finishing the Recitation (i.e. before Bowing)?" Anas replied, "No, but (it is to be said) after finishing the Recitation."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 415:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle said Al-Qunut for one month after the posture of Bowing, invoking evil upon some 'Arab tribes.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 416:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
(The tribes of) Ril, Dhakwan, 'Usaiya and Bani Lihyan asked Allah's Apostle to provide them with some men to support them against their enemy. He therefore provided them with seventy men from the Ansar whom we used to call Al-Qurra' in their lifetime. They used to collect wood by daytime and pray at night. When they were at the well of Ma'una, the infidels killed them by betraying them. When this news reached the Prophet , he said Al-Qunut for one month In the morning prayer, invoking evil upon some of the 'Arab tribes, upon Ril, Dhakwan, 'Usaiya and Bani Libyan. We used to read a verse of the Koran revealed in their connection, but later the verse was cancelled. It was: "convey to our people on our behalf the information that we have met our Lord, and He is pleased with us, and has made us pleased." (Anas bin Malik added:) Allah's Prophet said Qunut for one month in the morning prayer, invoking evil upon some of the 'Arab tribes (namely), Ril, Dhakwan, Usaiya, and Bani Libyan. (Anas added:) Those seventy Ansari men were killed at the well of Mauna.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 417:
Narrated Anas:
That the Prophet sent his uncle, the brother of Um Sulaim at the head of seventy riders. The chief of the pagans, Amir bin At-Tufail proposed three suggestions (to the Prophet) saying, "Choose one of three alternatives: (1) that the bedouins will be under your command and the townspeople will be under my command; (2) or that I will be your successor, (3) or otherwise I will attack you with two thousand from Bani Ghatafan." But Amir was infected with plague in the House of Um so-and-so. He said, "Shall I stay in the house of a lady from the family of so-and-so after having a (swelled) gland like that she-camel? Get me my horse." So he died on the back of his horse. Then Haram, the brother of Um Sulaim and a lame man along with another man from so-and-so (tribe) went towards the pagans (i.e. the tribe of Amir). Haram said (to his companions), "Stay near to me, for I will go to them. If they (i.e. infidels) should give me protection, you will be near to me, and if they should kill me, then you should go back to your companions. Then Haram went to them and said, "Will you give me protection so as to convey the message of Allah's Apostle ?" So, he started talking to them' but they signalled to a man (to kill him) and he went behind him and stabbed him (with a spear). He (i.e. Haram) said, "Allahu Akbar! I have succeeded, by the Lord of the Kaaba!" The companion of Haram was pursued by the infidels, and then they (i.e. Haram's companions) were all killed except the lame man who was at the top of a mountain. Then Allah revealed to us a verse that was among the cancelled ones later on. It was: 'We have met our Lord and He is pleased with us and has made us pleased.' (After this event) the Prophet invoked evil on the infidels every morning for 30 days. He invoked evil upon the (tribes of) Ril, Dhakwan, Bani Lihyan and Usaiya who disobeyed Allah and His Apostle

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 418:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
That when Haram bin Milhan, his uncle was stabbed on the day of Bir Ma'una he sprinkled his blood over his face and his head this way and then said, "I have succeeded, by the Lord of the Kaaba.'

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 419:
Narrated Aisha:
Abu Bakr asked the Prophet to allow him to go out (of Mecca) when he was greatly annoyed (by the infidels). But the Prophet said to him, "Wait." Abu Bakr said, O Allah's Apostle! Do you hope that you will be allowed (to migrate)?" Allah's Apostle replied, "I hope so." So Abu Bakr waited for him till one day Allah's Apostle came at noon time and addressed him saying "Let whoever is present with you, now leave you." Abu Bakr said, "None is present but my two daughters." The Prophet said, "Have you noticed that I have been allowed to go out (to migrate)?" Abu Bakr said, "O Allah's Apostle, I would like to accompany you." The Prophet said, "You will accompany me." Abu Bakr said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have got two she-camels which I had prepared and kept ready for (our) going out." So he gave one of the two (she-camels) to the Prophet and it was Al-Jad'a . They both rode and proceeded till they reached the Cave at the mountain of Thaur where they hid themselves. Amir bin Fuhaira was the slave of Abdullah bin Al-Tufail bin Sakhbara Aisha's brother from her mother's side. Abu Bakr had a milch she-camel. Amir used to go with it (i.e. the milch she-camel) in the afternoon and come back to them before noon by setting out towards them in the early morning when it was still dark and then he would take it to the pasture so that none of the shepherds would be aware of his job. When the Prophet (and Abu Bakr) went away (from the Cave), he (i.e. Amir) too went along with them and they both used to make him ride at the back of their camels in turns till they reached Medina. Amir bin Fuhaira was martyred on the day of Bir Ma'una.
Narrated Urwa: When those (Muslims) at Bir Ma'una were martyred and Amr bin Umaiya Ad-Damri was taken prisoner, Amir bin At-Tufail, pointing at a killed person, asked Amr, "Who is this?" Amr bin Umaiya said to him, "He is Amir bin Fuhaira." Amir bin At-Tufail said, "I saw him lifted to the sky after he was killed till I saw the sky between him and the earth, and then he was brought down upon the earth. Then the news of the killed Muslims reached the Prophet and he announced the news of their death saying, "Your companions (of Bir Ma'una) have been killed, and they have asked their Lord saying, 'O our Lord! Inform our brothers about us as we are pleased with You and You are pleased with us." So Allah informed them (i.e. the Prophet and his companions) about them (i.e. martyrs of Bir Mauna).
On that day, Urwa bin Asma bin As-Salt who was one of them, was killed, and Urwa (bin Az-Zubair) was named after Urwa bin Asma and Mundhir (bin AzZubair) was named after Mundhir bin Amr (who had also been martyred on that day).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 420:
Narrated Anas:

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The Prophet said Al-Qunut after Bowing (i.e. Ar-Ruku') for one month, invoking evil upon (the tribes of) Ril and Dhakwan. He used to say, "Usaiya disobeyed Allah and His Apostle."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 421:
Narrated Anas bin Malik :
The Prophet invoked evil upon those (people) who killed his companions at Bir Mauna for 30 days (in the morning prayer). He invoked evil upon (tribes of) Ril, Lihyan and Usaiya who disobeyed Allah and His Apostle. Allah revealed a Koranic Verse to His Prophet regarding those who had been killed, i.e. the Muslims killed at Bir Ma'una, and we recited the Verse till later it was cancelled. (The Verse was:) 'Inform our people that we have met our Lord, and He is pleased with us, and we are pleased with Him."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 422:
Narrated Asim Al-Ahwal:
I asked Anas bin Malik regarding Al-Qunut during the prayer. Anas replied, "Yes (Al-Qunut was said by the Prophet in the prayer)." I said, "Is it before Bowing or after Bowing?" Anas replied, "(It was said) before (Bowing)." I said, "So-and-so informed me that you told him that it was said after Bowing." Anas replied, "He was mistaken, for Allah's Apostle said Al-Qunut after Bowing for one month. The Prophet had sent some people called Al-Qurra who were seventy in number, to some pagan people who had concluded a peace treaty with Allah's Apostle . But those who had concluded the treaty with Allah's Apostle violated the treaty (and martyred all the seventy men). So Allah's Apostle said Al-Qunut after Bowing (in the prayer) for one month, invoking evil upon them.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 423:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
That the Prophet inspected him on the day of Uhud while he was fourteen years old, and the Prophet did not allow him to take part in the battle. He was inspected again by the Prophet on the day of Al-Khandaq (i.e. battle of the Trench) while he was fifteen years old, and the Prophet allowed him to take Part in the battle.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 424:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
We were with Allah's Apostle in the Trench, and some were digging the trench while we were carrying the earth on our shoulders. Allah's Apostle said, 'O Allah! There is no life except the life of the Hereafter, so please forgive the Emigrants and the Ansar."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 425:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle went out towards the Khandaq (i.e. Trench) and saw the Emigrants and the Ansar digging the trench in the cold morning. They had no slaves to do that (work) for them. When the Prophet saw their hardship and hunger, he said, 'O Allah! The real life is the life of the Hereafter, so please forgive Ansar and the Emigrants." They said in reply to him, "We are those who have given the Pledge of allegiances to Mohammed for to observe Jihad as long as we live."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 426:
Narrated Anas:
Al-Muhajirun (i.e. the Emigrants) and the Ansar were digging the trench around Medina and were carrying the earth on their backs while saying, "We are those who have given the pledge of allegiance to Mohammed for Islam as long as we live." The Prophet said in reply to their saying, "O Allah! There is no goodness except the goodness of the Hereafter; so please grant Your Blessing to the Ansar and the Emigrants." The people used to bring a handful of barley, and a meal used to be prepared thereof by cooking it with a cooking material (i.e. oil, fat and butter having a change in color and smell) and it used to be presented to the people (i.e. workers) who were hungry, and it used to stick to their throats and had a nasty smell.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 427:
Narrated Jabir:
We were digging (the trench) on the day of (Al-Khandaq (i.e. Trench)) and we came across a big solid rock. We went to the Prophet and said, "Here is a rock appearing across the trench." He said, "I am coming down." Then he got up, and a stone was tied to his belly for we had not eaten anything for three days. So the Prophet took the spade and struck the big solid rock and it became like sand. I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Allow me to go home." (When the Prophet allowed me) I said to my wife, "I saw the Prophet in a state that I cannot treat lightly. Have you got something (for him to eat?" She replied, "I have barley and a she goat." So I slaughtered the she-kid and she ground the barley; then we put the meat in the earthenware cooking pot. Then I came to the Prophet when the dough had become soft and fermented and (the meat in) the pot over the stone trivet had nearly been well-cooked, and said, "I have got a little food prepared, so get up O Allah's Apostle, you and one or two men along with you (for the food)." The Prophet asked, "How much is that food?" I told him about it. He said, "It is abundant and good. Tell your wife not to remove the earthenware pot from the fire and not to take out any bread from the oven till I reach there." Then he said (to all his companions), "Get up." So the Muhajirn (i.e. Emigrants) and the Ansar got up. When I came to my wife, I said, "Allah's Mercy be upon you! The Prophet came along with the Muhajirin and the Ansar and those who were present with them." She said, "Did the Prophet ask you (how much food you had)?" I replied, "Yes." Then the Prophet said, "Enter and do not throng." The Prophet started cutting the bread (into pieces) and put the cooked meat over it. He covered the earthenware pot and the oven whenever he took something out of them. He would give the food to his companions and take the meat out of the pot. He went on cutting the bread and scooping the meat (for his companions) till they all ate their fill, and even then, some food remained. Then the Prophet said (to my wife), "Eat and present to others as the people are struck with hunger."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 428:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
When the Trench was dug, I saw the Prophet in the state of severe hunger. So I returned to my wife and said, "Have you got anything (to eat), for I have seen Allah's Apostle in a state of severe hunger." She brought out for me, a bag containing one Sa of barley, and we had a domestic she animal (i.e. a kid) which I slaughtered then, and my wife ground the barley and she finished at the time I finished my job (i.e. slaughtering the kid). Then I cut the meat into pieces and put it in an earthenware (cooking) pot, and returned to Allah's Apostle . My wife said, "Do not disgrace me in front of Allah's Apostle and those who are with him." So I went to him and said to him secretly, "O Allah's Apostle! I have slaughtered a she-animal (i.e. kid) of ours, and we have ground a Sa of barley which was with us. So please come, you and another person along with you." The Prophet raised his voice and said, "O people of Trench ! Jabir has prepared a meal so let us go." Allah's Apostle said to me, "Don't put down your earthenware meat pot (from the fireplace) or bake your dough till I come." So I came (to my house) and Allah's Apostle too, came, proceeding before the people. When I came to my wife, she said, "May Allah do so-and-so to you." I said, "I have told the Prophet of what you said." Then she brought out to him (i.e. the Prophet the dough, and he spat in it and invoked for Allah's Blessings in it. Then he proceeded towards our earthenware meat-pot and spat in it and invoked for Allah's Blessings in it. Then he said (to my wife). Call a lady-baker to bake along with you and keep on taking out scoops from your earthenware meat-pot, and do not put it down from its fireplace." They were one-thousand (who took their meals), and by Allah they all ate, and when they left the food and went away, our earthenware pot was still bubbling (full of meat) as if it had not decreased, and our dough was still being baked as if nothing had been taken from it.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 429:
Narrated Aisha:
As regards the following Koranic Verse:-- "When they came on you from above and from below you (from east and west of the valley) and when the eyes grew wild and the hearts reached up to the throats....." (33.10) That happened on the day of Al-Khandaq (i.e. Trench).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 430:
Narrated Al-Bara:
The Prophet was carrying earth on the day of Al-Khandaq till his abdomen was fully covered with dust, and he was saying, "By Allah, without Allah we would not have been guided, neither would we have given in charity, nor would we have prayed. So (O Allah), please send Sakina (i.e. calmness) upon us, and make our feet firm if we meet the enemy as the enemy have rebelled against us, and if they intended affliction, (i.e. want to frighten us and fight against us then we would not flee but withstand them)." The Prophet used to raise his voice saying, "Abaina! Abaina! (i.e. would not, we would not)."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 431:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "I have been made victorious by As-Saba (i.e. an easterly wind) and the Ad nation was destroyed by Ad-Dabur (i.e. a westerly wind)."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 432:
Narrated Al-Bara:
When it was the day of Al-Ahzab (i.e. the clans) and Allah's Apostle dug the trench, I saw him carrying earth out of the trench till dust made the skin of his abdomen out of my sight and he was a hairy man. I heard him reciting the poetic verses composed by Ibn Rawaha while he was carrying the earth, "O Allah! Without You we would not have been guided, nor would we have given in charity, nor would we have prayed. So, (O Allah), please send Sakina (i.e. calmness) upon us and make our feet firm if we meet the enemy, as they have rebelled against us. And if they intend affliction (i.e. want to frighten us, and fight against us) then we would not (flee but withstand them)." The Prophet would then prolong his voice at the last words.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 433:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The first day (i.e. Ghazwa) I participated in, was the day of Al-Khandaq (i.e. Trench).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 434:
Narrated Ikrima bin Khalid:
Ibn Umar said, "I went to Hafsa while water was dribbling from her twined braids. I said, 'The condition of the people is as you see, and no authority has been given to me.' Hafsa said, (to me), 'Go to them, and as they (i.e. the people) are waiting for you, and I am afraid your absence from them will produce division amongst them.' " So Hafsa did not leave Ibn Umar till we went to them. When the people differed. Muawiya addressed the people saying, "'If anybody wants to say anything in this matter of the Caliphate, he should show up and not conceal himself, for we are more rightful to be a Caliph than he and his father." On that, Habib bin Masalama said (to Ibn Umar), "Why don't you reply to him (i.e. Muawiya)?" Abdullah bin Umar said, "I untied my garment that was going round my back and legs while I was sitting and was about to say, 'He who fought against you and against your father for the sake of Islam, is more rightful to be a Caliph,' but I was afraid that my statement might produce differences amongst the people and cause bloodshed, and my statement might be interpreted not as I intended. (So I kept quiet) remembering what Allah has prepared in the Gardens of Paradise (for those who are patient and prefer the Hereafter to this worldly life)." Habib said, "You did what kept you safe and secure (i.e. you were wise in doing so)."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 435:
Narrated Sulaiman bin Surd:
On the day of Al-Ahzab (i.e. clans) the Prophet said, (After this battle) we will go to attack them(i.e. the infidels) and they will not come to attack us."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 436:
Narrated Sulaiman bin Surd:
When the clans were driven away, I heard the Prophet saying, "From now onwards we will go to attack them (i.e. the infidels) and they will not come to attack us, but we will go to them."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 437:
Narrated Ali:
On the day of Al-Khandaq (i.e. Trench), the Prophet said '(Let) Allah fill their (i.e. the infidels') houses and graves with fire just as they have prevented us from offering the Middle Prayer (i.e. Asr prayer) till the sun had set."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 438:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
Umar bin Al-Khattab came on the day of Al-Khandaq after the sun had set and he was abusing the infidels of Quraish saying, "O Allah's Apostle! I was unable to offer the (Asr) prayer till the sun was about to set." The Prophet said, "By Allah, I have not offered this (i.e. Asr) prayer." So we came down along with the Prophet to Buthan where he performed ablution for the prayer and then we performed the ablution for it. Then he offered the Asr prayer after the sun had set, and after it he offered the Maghrib prayer.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 439:
Narrated Jabir:
On the day of Al-Ahzab (i.e. clans), Allah's Apostle said, 'Who will bring us the news of the people (i.e. the clans of Quraish infidels)?" Az-Zubair said, "I." The Prophet again said, "Who will bring us the news of the people?" AzZubair said, "I." The Prophet again said, "Who will bring us the news of the people?" Az-Zubair said, "I." The Prophet then said, "Every prophet has his Hawari (i.e. disciple-special helper); my disciple is Az-Zubair.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 440:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle used to say, "None has the right to be worshipped except Allah Alone (Who) honored His Warriors and made His Slave victorious, and He (Alone) defeated the (infidel) clans; so there is nothing after Him.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 441:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abi 'Aufa:
Allah's Apostle invoked evil upon the clans saying, "Allah, the Revealer of the Holy Book (i.e. the Koran), the Quick

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Taker of the accounts! Please defeat the clans. O Allah! Defeat them and shake them."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 442:
Narrated Abdullah:
Whenever Allah's Apostle returned from a Ghazwa, Hajj or Umra, he used to start (saying), "Allahu-Akbar," thrice and then he would say, "None has the right to be worshipped except Allah alone Who has no partners. To Him belongs the Kingdom, all praises are for Him, and He is able to do all things (i.e. Omnipotent). We are returning with repentance (to Allah) worshipping, prostrating, and praising our Lord. Allah has fulfilled His Promise, made His Slave victorious, and He (Alone) defeated the clans (of infidels) ."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 443:
Narrated Aisha:
When the Prophet returned from Al-Khandaq (i.e. Trench) and laid down his arms and took a bath, Gabriel came and said (to the Prophet), You have laid down your arms? By Allah, we angels have not laid them down yet. So set out for them." The Prophet said, "Where to go?" Gabriel said, "Towards this side," pointing towards Banu Quraiza. So the Prophet went out towards them.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 444:
Narrated Anas:
As if I am just now looking at the dust rising in the street of Banu Ghanm (in Medina) because of the marching of Gabriel's regiment when Allah's Apostle set out to Banu Quraiza (to attack them).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 445:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
On the day of Al-Ahzab (i.e. Clans) the Prophet said, "None of you Muslims) should offer the Asr prayer but at Banu Quraiza's place." The Asr prayer became due for some of them on the way. Some of those said, "We will not offer it till we reach it, the place of Banu Quraiza," while some others said, "No, we will pray at this spot, for the Prophet did not mean that for us." Later on It was mentioned to the Prophet and he did not berate any of the two groups.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 446:
Narrated Anas:
Some (of the Ansar) used to present date palm trees to the Prophet till Banu Quraiza and Banu An-Nadir were conquered (then he returned to the people their date palms). My people ordered me to ask the Prophet to return some or all the date palms they had given to him, but the Prophet had given those trees to Um Aiman. On that, Um Aiman came and put the garment around my neck and said, "No, by Him except Whom none has the right to be worshipped, he will not return those trees to you as he (i.e. the Prophet) has given them to me." The Prophet go said (to her), "Return those trees and I will give you so much (instead of them)." But she kept on refusing, saying, "No, by Allah," till he gave her ten times the number of her date palms.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 447:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
The people of (Banu) Quraiza agreed to accept the verdict of Sad bin Mu'adh. So the Prophet sent for Sad, and the latter came (riding) a donkey and when he approached the Mosque, the Prophet said to the Ansar, "Get up for your chief or for the best among you." Then the Prophet said (to Sad)." These (i.e. Banu Quraiza) have agreed to accept your verdict." Sad said, "Kill their (men) warriors and take their offspring as captives, "On that the Prophet said, "You have judged according to Allah's Judgement," or said, "according to the King's judgement."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 448:
Narrated Aisha:
Sad was wounded on the day of Khandaq (i.e. Trench) when a man from Quraish, called Hibban bin Al-'Araqa hit him (with an arrow). The man was Hibban bin Qais from (the tribe of) Bani Mais bin Amir bin Lu'ai who shot an arrow at Sad's medial arm vein (or main artery of the arm). The Prophet pitched a tent (for Sad) in the Mosque so that he might be near to the Prophet to visit. When the Prophet returned from the (battle) of Al-Khandaq (i.e. Trench) and laid down his arms and took a bath Gabriel came to him while he (i.e. Gabriel) was shaking the dust off his head, and said, "You have laid down the arms?" By Allah, I have not laid them down. Go out to them (to attack them)." The Prophet said, "Where?" Gabriel pointed towards Bani Quraiza. So Allah's Apostle went to them (i.e. Banu Quraiza) (i.e. besieged them). They then surrendered to the Prophet's judgement but he directed them to Sad to give his verdict concerning them. Sad said, "I give my judgement that their warriors should be killed, their women and children should be taken as captives, and their properties distributed."

Narrated Hisham: My father informed me that Aisha said, "Sad said, "O Allah! You know that there is nothing more beloved to me than to fight in Your Cause against those who disbelieved Your Apostle and turned him out (of Mecca). O Allah! I think you have put to an end the fight between us and them (i.e. Quraish infidels). And if there still remains any fight with the Quraish (infidels), then keep me alive till I fight against them for Your Sake. But if you have brought the war to an end, then let this wound burst and cause my death thereby.' So blood gushed from the wound. There was a tent in the Mosque belonging to Banu Ghifar who were surprised by the blood flowing towards them . They said, 'O people of the tent! What is this thing which is coming to us from your side?' Behold! Blood was flowing profusely out of Sad's wound. Sad then died because of that."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 449:
Narrated Al-Bara:
The Prophet said to Hassan, "Abuse them (with your poems), and Gabriel is with you (i.e, supports you)." (Through another group of sub narrators) Al-Bara bin Azib said, "On the day of Quraiza's (besiege), Allah's Apostle said to Hassan bin Thabit, Abuse them (with your poems), and Gabriel is with you (i.e. supports you).' "

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 450:
Narrated Abu Burda:
Abu Musa said, "We went out in the company of the Prophet for a Ghazwa and we were six persons having one camel which we rode in rotation. So, (due to excessive walking) our feet became thin and my feet became thin and my nail dropped, and we used to wrap our feet with the pieces of cloth, and for this reason, the Ghazwa was named Dhat-ur-Riqa as we wrapped our feet with rags." When Abu- Musa narrated this (Hadith), he felt regretful to do so and said, as if he disliked to have disclosed a good deed of his.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 451:
Narrated Salih bin Khawwat:
Concerning those who witnessed the Fear Prayer that was performed in the battle of Dhat-ur-Riqa' in the company of Allah's Apostle; One batch lined up behind him while another batch (lined up) facing the enemy. The Prophet led the batch that was with him in one Rak'a, and he stayed in the standing posture while that batch completed their (two Rakat) prayer by themselves and went away, lining in the face of the enemy, while the other batch came and he (i.e. the Prophet) offered his remaining Rak'a with them, and then, kept on sitting till they completed their prayer by themselves, and he then finished his prayer with Taslim along with them.
Narrated Ibn Az-Zubair: Jabir said, "We were with the Prophet at Nakhl," and then he mentioned the Fear prayer.
Narrated Al-Qasim bin Mohammed: The Prophet offered the Fear prayer in the Ghazwa of Banu Anmar.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 452:
Narrated Sahl bin Abi Hathma:
(describing the Fear prayer): The Imam stands up facing the Qibla and one batch of them (i.e. the army) (out of the two) prays along with him and the other batch faces the enemy. The Imam offers one Rak'a with the first batch they themselves stand up alone and offer one bowing and two prostrations while they are still in their place, and then go away to relieve the second batch, and the second batch comes (and takes the place of the first batch in the prayer behind the Imam) and he offers the second Rak'a with them. So he completes his two-Rak'at and then the second batch bows and prostrates two prostrations (i.e. complete their second Rak'a and thus all complete their prayer)

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 453:
Narrated Salih bin Hathma:
The Prophet said as above (Hadith 452).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 454:
Narrated Salih bin Khawwat:
Sahl said as above (Hadith 452).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 455:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
I took part in a Ghazwa towards Najd along with Allah's Apostle and we clashed with the enemy, and we lined up for them.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 456:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle led the Fear-prayer with one of the two batches of the army while the other (batch) faced the enemy. Then the first batch went away and took places of their companions (i.e. second batch) and the second batch came and he led his second Rak'a with them. Then he (i.e. the Prophet: finished his prayer with Taslim and then each of the two batches got up and completed their remaining one Rak'a.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 457:
Narrated Sinan and Abu Salama:
Jabir mentioned that he had participated in a Ghazwa towards Najd in the company of Allah's Apostle .

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 458:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
That he fought in a Ghazwa towards Najd along with Allah's Apostle and when Allah's Apostle returned, he too, returned along with him. The time of the afternoon nap overtook them when they were in a valley full of thorny trees. Allah's Apostle dismounted and the people dispersed amongst the thorny trees, seeking the shade of the trees. Allah's Apostle took shelter under a Samura tree and hung his sword on it. We slept for a while when Allah's Apostle suddenly called us, and we went to him, to find a bedouin sitting with him. Allah's Apostle said, "This (bedouin) took my sword out of its sheath while I was asleep. When I woke up, the naked sword was in his hand and he said to me, 'Who can save you from me?, I replied, 'Allah.' Now here he is sitting." Allah's Apostle did not punish him (for that).
Through another group of narrators, Jabir said, "We were in the company of the Prophet (during the battle of) Dhat-ur-Riqa', and we came across a shady tree and we left it for the Prophet (to take rest under its shade). A man from the pagans came while the Prophet's sword was hanging on the tree. He took it out of its sheath secretly and said (to the Prophet), 'Are you afraid of me?' The Prophet said, 'No.' He said, 'Who can save you from me?' The Prophet said, Allah.' The companions of the Prophet threatened him, then the Iqama for the prayer was announced and the Prophet offered a two Rakat Fear prayer with one of the two batches, and that batch went aside and he offered two Rak'a-t with the other batch. So the Prophet offered four Rakat but the people offered two Rakat only." (The sub-narrator) Abu Bishr added, "The man was Ghaurath bin Al-Harith and the battle was waged against Muharib Khasafa." Jabir added, "We were with the Prophet at Nakhl and he offered the Fear prayer." Abu Huraira said, "I offered the Fear prayer with the Prophet during the Ghazwa (i.e. the battle) of Najd." Abu Huraira came to the Prophet during the day of Khaibar.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 459:
Narrated Ibn Muhairiz:
I entered the Mosque and saw Abu Said Al-Khudri and sat beside him and asked him about Al-Azl (i.e. coitus interruptus). Abu Said said, "We went out with Allah's Apostle for the Ghazwa of Banu Al-Mustaliq and we received captives from among the Arab captives and we desired women and celibacy became hard on us and we loved to do coitus interruptus. So when we intended to do coitus interrupt us, we said, 'How can we do coitus interruptus before asking Allah's Apostle who is present among us?" We asked (him) about it and he said, 'It is better for you not to do so, for if any soul (till the Day of Resurrection) is predestined to exist, it will exist."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 460:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
We took part in the Ghazwa of Najd along with Allah's Apostle and when the time for the afternoon rest approached while he was in a valley with plenty of thorny trees, he dismounted under a tree and rested in its shade and hung his sword (on it). The people dispersed amongst the trees in order to have shade. While we were in this state, Allah's Apostle called us and we came and found a bedouin sitting in front of him. The Prophet said, "This (Bedouin) came to me while I was asleep, and he took my sword stealthily. I woke up while he was standing by my head, holding my sword without its sheath. He said, 'Who will save you from me?' I replied, 'Allah.' So he sheathed it (i.e. the sword) and sat down, and here he is." But Allah's Apostle did not punish him.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 461:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah Al-Ansari:
I saw the Prophet offering his Nawafil prayer on his Mount facing the East during the Ghazwa of Anmar.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 462:
Narrated Aisha:
Whenever Allah's Apostle intended to go on a journey, he used to draw lots amongst his wives, and Allah's Apostle used to take with him the one on whom lot fell. He drew lots amongst us during one of the Ghazwat which he fought. The lot fell on me and so I proceeded with Allah's Apostle after Allah's order of veiling (the women) had been revealed. I was carried (on the back of a camel) in my howdah and carried down while still in it (when we came to a halt). So we went on till Allah's Apostle had finished from that Ghazwa of his and returned.
When we approached the city of Medina he announced at night that it was time for departure. So when they announced the news of departure, I got up and went away from the army camps, and after finishing from the call of nature, I came back

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

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

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

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

Then she told me the slander of the people of Ifk. So my ailment was aggravated, and when I reached my home, Allah's Apostle came to me, and after greeting me, said, 'How is that (lady)?' I said, 'Will you allow me to go to my parents?' as I wanted to be sure about the news through them. Allah's Apostle allowed me (and I went to my parents) and asked my mother, 'O mother! What are the people talking about?' She said, 'O my daughter! Don't worry, for scarcely is there a charming woman who is loved by her husband and whose husband has other wives besides herself that they (i.e. women) would find faults with her.' I said, 'Subhan-Allah! (I testify the uniqueness of Allah). Are the people really talking in this way?' I kept on weeping that night till dawn I could neither stop weeping nor sleep then in the morning again, I kept on weeping. When the Divine Inspiration was delayed.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 463:
Narrated Az-Zuhri:
Al-Walid bin Abdul Malik said to me, "Have you heard that Ali' was one of those who slandered Aisha?" I replied, "No, but two men from your people (named) Abu Salama bin Abdur-Rahman and Abu Bakr bin Abdur-Rahman bin Al-Harith have informed me that Aisha told them that Ali remained silent about her case."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 464:
Narrated Masruq bin Al-Aida:
Um Ruman, the mother of Aisha said that while Aisha and she were sitting, an Ansari woman came and said, "May Allah harm such and-such a person!" Um Ruman said to her, What is the matter?" She replied, "My son was amongst those who talked of the story (of the Slander)." Um Ruman said, "What is that?" She said, "So-and-so...." and narrated the whole story. On that Aisha said, "Did Allah's Apostle hear about that?" She replies, "yes." Aisha further said, "And Abu Bakr too?" She replied, "Yes." On that, Aisha fell down fainting, and when she came to her senses, she had got fever with rigors. I put her clothes over her and covered her. The Prophet came and asked, "What is wrong with this (lady)?" Um Ruman replied, "O Allah's Apostle! She (i.e. Aisha) has got temperature with rigors." He said, "Perhaps it is because of the story that has been talked about?" She said, "Yes." Aisha sat up and said, "By Allah, if I took an oath (that I am innocent), you would not believe me, and if I said (that I am not innocent), you would not excuse me. My and your example is like that of Jacob and his sons (as Jacob said): 'It is Allah (Alone) Whose Help can be sought against that you assert.' Um Ruman said, "The Prophet then went out saying nothing. Then Allah declared her innocence. On that, Aisha said (to the Prophet), "I thank Allah only; thank neither anybody else nor you."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 465:
Narrated Ibn Abi Malaika:
Aisha used to recite this Verse:-- 'Ida taliqunahu bi-alsinatikum' (24.15) "(As you tell lie with your tongues.)" and used to say "Al-Walaq" means "telling of a lie. "She knew this Verse more than anybody else as it was revealed about her.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 466:
Narrated Hisham's father:
I started abusing Hassan in front of Aisha. She said, "Do not abuse him as he used to defend Allah's Apostle (against the infidels). Aisha added, "Once Hassan took the permission from the Prophet to say poetic verses against the infidels. On that the Prophet said, 'How will you exclude my forefathers (from that)? Hassan replied, 'I will take you out of them as one takes a hair out of the dough." Hisham's father added, "I abused Hassan as he was one of those who spoke against Aisha."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 467:
Narrated Masruq:
We went to Aisha while Hassan bin Thabit was with her reciting poetry to her from some of his poetic verses, saying "A chaste wise lady about whom nobody can have suspicion. She gets up with an empty stomach because she never eats the flesh of indiscreet (ladies)." Aisha said to him, "But you are not like that." I said to her, "Why do you grant him admittance, though Allah said:-- "and as for him among them,

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who had the greater share therein, his will be a severe torment." (24.11)

On that, Aisha said, "And what punishment is more than blinding?" She, added, "Hassan used to defend or say poetry on behalf of Allah's Apostle (against the infidels)."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 468:
Narrated Zaid bin Khalid:
We went out with Allah's Apostle in the year of Al-Hudaibiya. One night it rained and Allah's Apostle led us in the Fajr prayer and (after finishing it), turned to us and said, " Do you know what your Lord has said?" We replied, "Allah and His Apostle know it better." He said, "Allah said:-- "(Some of) My slaves got up believing in Me, And (some of them) disbelieving in Me. The one who said: We have been given Rain through Allah's Mercy and Allah's Blessing and Allah's Bounty, Then he is a believer in Me, and is a Disbeliever in the star. And whoever said: We have been given rain because of such-and-such star, Then he is a believer in the star, and is a disbeliever in Me."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 469:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle performed four Umras, all in the month of Dhul-Qa'da, except the one which he performed with his Hajj (i.e. in Dhul-Hijja). He performed one Umra from Al-Hudaibiya in Dhul-Qa'da, another Umra in the following year in Dhul Qa'da a third from Al-Jirana where he distributed the war booty of Hunain, in Dhul Qa'da, and the fourth Umra he performed was with his Hajj.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 470:
Narrated Abu Qatada:
We set out with the Prophet in the year of Al-Hudaibiya, and all his companions assumed the state of Ihram but I did not.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 471:
Narrated Al-Bara:
Do you (people) consider the conquest of Mecca, the Victory (referred to in the Koran 48:1). Was the conquest of Mecca a victory? We really consider that the actual Victory was the Ar-Ridwan Pledge of allegiance which we gave on the day of Al-Hudaibiya (to the Prophet) . On the day of Al-Hudaibiya we were fourteen hundred men along with the Prophet Al-Hudaibiya was a well, the water of which we used up leaving not a single drop of water in it. When the Prophet was informed of that, he came and sat on its edge. Then he asked for a utensil of water, performed ablution from it, rinsed (his mouth), invoked (Allah), and poured the remaining water into the well. We stayed there for a while and then the well brought forth what we required of water for ourselves and our riding animals.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 472:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
That they were in the company of Allah's Apostle on the day of Al-Hudaibiya and their number was 1400 or more. They camped at a well and drew its water till it was dried. When they informed Allah's Apostle of that, he came and sat over its edge and said, "Bring me a bucket of its water." When it was brought, he spat and invoked (Allah) and said, "Leave it for a while." Then they quenched their thirst and watered their riding animals (from that well) till they departed.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 473:
Narrated Salim:
Jabir said "On the day of Al-Hudaibiya, the people felt thirsty and Allah's Apostle had a utensil containing water. He performer ablution from it and then the people came towards him. Allah's Apostle said, 'What is wrong with you?' The people said, 'O Allah's Apostle! We haven't got any water to perform ablution with or to drink, except what you have in your utensil.' So the Prophet put his hand in the utensil and the water started spouting out between his fingers like springs. So we drank and performed ablution." I said to Jabir, "What was your number on that day?" He replied, "Even if we had been one hundred thousand, that water would have been sufficient for us. Anyhow, we were 1500.'

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 474:
Narrated Qatada:
I said to Sa'id bin Al-Musaiyab, "I have been informed that Jabir bin Abdullah said that the number (of Al-Hudaibiya Muslim warriors) was 1400." Sa'id said to me, "Jabir narrated to me that they were 1500 who gave the Pledge of allegiance to the Prophet on the day of Al-Hudaibiya.'

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 475:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
On the day of Al-Hudaibiya, Allah's Apostle said to us' "You are the best people on the earth!" We were 1400 then. If I could see now, I would have shown you the place of the Tree (beneath which the Pledge of allegiance was given by us)," Salim said, "Our number was 1400." Abdullah bin Abi Aufa said, "The people (who gave the Pledge of allegiance) under the Tree numbered 1300 and the number of Bani Aslam was 1/8 of the Emigrants."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 476:
Narrated Mirdas Al-Aslami:
Who was among those (who had given the Pledge of allegiance) under the Tree: Pious people will die in succession, and there will remain the dregs of society who will be like the useless residues of dates and barley and Allah will pay no attention to them.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 477:
Narrated Marwan and Al-Miswar bin Makhrama:
The Prophet went out in the company of 1300 to 1500 of his companions in the year of Al-Hudaibiya, and when they reached Dhul-Hulaifa, he garlanded and marked his Hadi and assumed the state of Ihram.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 478:
Narrated Kab bin Ujra:
That Allah's Apostle saw him with the lice falling (from his head) on his face. Allah's Apostle said, "Are your lice troubling you? Ka'b said, "Yes." Allah's Apostle thus ordered him to shave his head while he was at Al-Hudaibiya. Up to then there was no indication that all of them would finish their state of Ihram and they hoped that they would enter Mecca. Then the order of Al-Fidya was revealed, so Allah's Apostle ordered Kab to feed six poor persons with one Faraq of food or slaughter a sheep or fast for three days.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 479:
Narrated Aslam:
Once I went with Umar bin Al-Khattab to the market. A young woman followed Umar and said, "O chief of the believers! My husband has died, leaving little children. By Allah, they have not even a sheep's trotter to cook; they have no farms or animals. I am afraid that they may die because of hunger, and I am the daughter of Khufaf bin Ima Al-Ghafari, and my father witnessed the Pledge of allegiance) of Al-Hudaibiya with the Prophet.' Umar stopped and did not proceed, and said, "I welcome my near relative." Then he went towards a strong camel which was tied in the house, and carried on to it, two sacks he had loaded with food grains and put between them money and clothes and gave her its rope to hold and said, "Lead it, and this provision will not finish till Allah gives you a good supply." A man said, "O chief of the believers! You have given her too much." "Umar said disapprovingly. "May your mother be bereaved of you! By Allah, I have seen her father and brother besieging a fort for a long time and conquering it, and then we were discussing what their shares they would have from that war booty."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 480:
Narrated Said bin Al-Musaiyab:
That his father said, "I saw the Tree (of the Ar-Ridwan Pledge of allegiance and when I returned to it later, I was not able to recognize it. (The sub--narrator MahmiJd said, Al-Musaiyab said, 'Then; forgot it (i.e., the Tree).)"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 481:
Narrated Tariq bin Abdur-Rahman:
When I set out for Hajj, I passed by some people offering a prayer, I asked, "What is this mosque?" They said, "This is the Tree where Allah's Apostle took the Ar-Ridwan Pledge of allegiance. Then I went to Sa'id bin Musaiyab and informed him about it. Said said, "My father said that he was amongst those who had given the Pledge of allegiance to Allah's Apostle beneath the Tree. He (i.e. my father) said, "When we set out the following year, we forgot the Tree and were unable to recognize it. "Then Said said (perhaps ironically) "The companions of the Prophet could not recognize it; nevertheless, you do recognize it; therefore you have a better knowledge."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 482:
Narrated Said bin Al-Musaiyab:
That his father was amongst those who had given the Pledge of allegiance (to the Prophet) beneath the Tree, and the next year when they went towards the Tree, they were not able to recognize it.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 483:
Narrated Tariq:
(The tree where the Ridwan Pledge of allegiance was taken by the Prophet) was mentioned before Said bin Al-Musaiyab. On that he smiled and said, "My father informed me (about it) and he had witnessed it (i.e. the Pledge) ."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 484:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abi Aufa:
(Who was one of those who had given the Pledge of allegiance to the Prophet beneath the Tree) When the people brought Sadaqa (i.e. Rakat) to the Prophet he used to say, "O Allah! Bless them with your Mercy." Once my father came with his Sadaqa to him whereupon he (i.e. the Prophet) said. "O Allah! Bless the family of Abu Aufa."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 485:
Narrated Abbas bin Tamim:
When it was the day (of the battle) of Al-Harra the people were giving Pledge of allegiance to Abdullah bin Hanzala. Ibn Zaid said, "For what are the people giving Pledge of allegiance to Abdullah bin Hanzala?" It was said to him, "For death." Ibn Zaid said, "I will never give the Pledge of allegiance for that to anybody else after Allah's Apostle ." Ibn Zaid was one of those who had witnessed the day of Al-Hudaibiya with the Prophet.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 486:
Narrated Iyas bin Salama bin Al-Akwa:
My father who was amongst those who had given the Pledge of allegiance to the Prophet beneath the Tree, said to me, "We used to offer the Jumua prayer with the Prophet and then depart at a time when the walls had no shade for us to take shelter in."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 487:
Narrated Yazid bin Abi Ubaid:
I said to Salama bin Al-Akwa, "For what did you give the Pledge of allegiance to Allah's Apostle on the day of Al-Hudaibiya?" He replied, "For death (in the Cause of Islam.)."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 488:
Narrated Al-Musaiyab:
I met Al-Bara bin Azib and said (to him). "May you live prosperously! You enjoyed the company of the Prophet and gave him the Pledge of allegiance (of Al-Hudaibiya) under the Tree." On that, Al-Bara said, "O my nephew! You do not know what we have done after him (i.e. his death)."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 489:
Narrated Abu Qilaba:
that Thabit bin Ad-Dahhak had informed him that he was one of those who had given the Pledge of allegiance (of Al-Hudaibiya) beneath the Tree.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 490:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
regarding Allah's Statement: "Verily! We have granted you (O, Mohammed) Manifest victory." (48.1) It refers to the Al-Hudaibiya Pledge. And the companions of the Prophet said (to the Prophet), "Congratulations and happiness for you; but what reward shall we get?" So Allah revealed:-- "That He may admit the believing men and women to gardens beneath which rivers flow." (48.5)

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 491:
Narrated Zahir Al-Aslami:
(who was one of those who had witnessed (the Pledge of allegiance beneath) the Tree) While I was making fire beneath the cooking pots containing donkey's meat, the announcer of Allah's Apostle announced, "Allah's Apostle forbids you to eat donkey's meat."
The same narration was told by Majzaa from a man called Uhban bin Aus who was one of those who had witnessed (the Pledge of allegiance beneath) the Tree., and who had some trouble in his knee so that while doing prostrations, he used to put a pillow underneath his knee.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 492:
Narrated Suwaid bin An-Numan:
who was one of those who witnessed (the Pledge of allegiance beneath) the Tree: Allah's Apostle and his companions were given Sawiq and they chewed it.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 493:
Narrated Abu Jamra:
I asked Aidh bin Amr, who was one of the companions of the Prophet one of those (who gave the allegiance to the Prophet the Tree: "Can the Witr prayer be repeated (in one night)?" He said, "If you have offered it in the first part of the night, you should not repeat it in the last part 'of the night." (See Fateh-al-Bari page 458 Vol 8th).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 494:
Narrated Zaid bin Aslam:
My father said, "Allah's Apostle was proceeding at night on one of his journeys and Umar bin Al-Khattab was going along with him. Umar bin Al-Khattab asked him (about something) but Allah's Apostle did not answer him. Umar asked him again, but he did not answer him. He asked him again (for the third time) but he did not answer him. On that Umar bin Al-Khattab addressed himself saying, "May your mother be bereaved of you, O Umar, for you have asked Allah's Apostle thrice, yet he has not answered you." Umar said, "Then I made my camel run fast and took it in front of

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the other Muslims, and I was afraid that something might be revealed in my connection. I had hardly waited for a moment when I heard somebody calling me. I said, 'I was afraid that something might have been revealed about me.' Then I came to Allah's Apostle and greeted him. He (i.e. the Prophet) said, 'Tonight there has been revealed to me, a Sura which is dearer to me than (all the world) on which the sun rises,' and then he recited: 'Verily! We have granted you (O Mohammed) A manifest victory." (48.1)

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 495:
Narrated Al-Miswar bin Makhrama and Marwan bin Al-Hakam:
(one of them said more than his friend): The Prophet set out in the company of more than one-thousand of his companions in the year of Al-Hudaibiya, and when he reached Dhul-Hulaifa, he garlanded his Hadi (i.e. sacrificing animal), assumed the state of Ihram for Umra from that place and sent a spy of his from Khuzi'a (tribe). The Prophet proceeded on till he reached (a village called) Ghadir-al-Ashtat. There his spy came and said, "The Quraish (infidels) have collected a great number of people against you, and they have collected against you the Ethiopians, and they will fight with you, and will stop you from entering the Kaaba and prevent you." The Prophet said, "O people! Give me your opinion. Do you recommend that I should destroy the families and offspring of those who want to stop us from the Kaaba? If they should come to us (for peace) then Allah will destroy a spy from the pagans, or otherwise we will leave them in a miserable state." On that Abu Bakr said, "O Allah Apostle! You have come with the intention of visiting this House (i.e. Kaaba) and you do not want to kill or fight anybody. So proceed to it, and whoever should stop us from it, we will fight him." On that the Prophet said, "Proceed on, in the Name of Allah !"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 496:
Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair:
That he heard Marwan bin Al-Hakam and Al-Miswar bin Makhrama relating one of the events that happened to Allah's Apostle in the Umra of Al-Hudaibiya. They said, "When Allah's Apostle concluded the truce with Suhail bin Amr on the day of Al-Hudaibiya, one of the conditions which Suhail bin Amr stipulated, was his saying (to the Prophet), "If anyone from us (i.e. infidels) ever comes to you, though he has embraced your religion, you should return him to us, and should not interfere between us and him." Suhail refused to conclude the truce with Allah's Apostle except on this condition. The believers disliked this condition and got disgusted with it and argued about it. But when Suhail refused to conclude the truce with Allah's Apostle except on that condition, Allah's Apostle concluded it. Accordingly, Allah's Apostle then returned Abu Jandal bin Suhail to his father, Suhail bin Amr, and returned every man coming to him from them during that period even if he was a Muslim. The believing women Emigrants came (to Medina) and Um Kulthum, the daughter of Uqba bin Abi Mu'ait was one of those who came to Allah's Apostle and she was an adult at that time. Her relatives came, asking Allah's Apostle to return her to them, and in this connection, Allah revealed the Verses dealing with the believing (women). Aisha said, "Allah's Apostle used to test all the believing women who migrated to him, with the following Verse:-- "O Prophet! When the believing Women come to you, to give the pledge of allegiance to you." (60.12)
Urwa's uncle said, "We were informed when Allah ordered His Apostle to return to the pagans what they had given to their wives who lately migrated (to Medina) and we were informed that Abu Basir..." relating the whole narration.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 497:
Narrated Nafi:
Abdullah bin Umar set out for Umra during the period of afflictions, and he said, "If I should be stopped from visiting the Kaba, I will do what we did when we were with Allah's Apostle." He assumed Ihram for Umra in the year of Al-Hudaibiya.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 498:
Narrated Nafi:
Ibn Umar assumed Ihram and said, "If something should intervene between me and the Kaaba, then I will do what the Prophet did when the Quraish infidels intervened between him and (the Kaaba). Then Ibn Umar recited: "You have indeed in Allah's Apostle A good example to follow." (33.21)

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 499:
Narrated Nafi:
One of Abdullah's sons said to Abdullah (bin Umar) "I wish you would stay this year (and not perform Hajj) as I am afraid that you will not be able to reach the Kaba." On that he (i.e. Abdullah bin Umar) said, "We went out with the Prophet (for Umra), and when the Quraish infidel intervened between us and the Kaaba, the Prophet slaughtered his Hadi and shaved (his head), and his companions cut short their hair." Then Abdullah bin Umar said, "I make you witness that I have intended to perform Umra and if I am allowed to reach the Kaba, I will perform the Tawaf, and if something (i.e. obstacles) intervene between me and the Kaba, then I will do what Allah's Apostle did." Then after going for a while, he said, "I consider the ceremonies (of both Umra and Hajj as one and the same, so I would like you to witness that I have intended to perform Hajj along with my Umra." So he performed only one Tawaf and one Sai (between Safa and Marwa) and finished the Ihram of both Umra and Hajj).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 500:
Narrated Nafi:
The people used to say that Ibn Umar had embraced Islam before Umar. This is not true. What happened is that Umar sent Abdullah to bring his horse from an Ansari man so as to fight on it. At that time the people were giving the Pledge of allegiance to Allah's Apostle near the Tree, and Umar was not aware of that. So Abdullah (bin Umar) gave the Pledge of Allegiance (to the Prophet) and went to take the horse and brought it to Umar. While Umar was putting on the armor to get ready for fighting, Abdullah informed him that the people were giving the Pledge of allegiance to Allah's Apostle beneath the Tree. So Umar set out and Abdullah accompanied him till he gave the Pledge of allegiance to Allah's Apostle, and it was this event that made people say that Ibn Umar had embraced Islam before Umar. "Abdullah bin Umar added, "The people were along with the Prophet on the day of Al-Hudaibiya spreading in the shade of the trees. Suddenly the people surrounded the Prophet and started looking at him." Umar said, "O Abdullah! Go and see why the people are encircling Allah's Apostle and looking at him." Abdullah bin Umar then saw the people giving the Pledge o allegiance to the Prophet. So he also gave the Pledge of allegiance and returned to Umar who went out in his turn and gave the Pledge of allegiance to the Prophet.'

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 501:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abi Aufa:
We were in the company of the Prophet when he performed the Umra. He performed the Tawaf and we did the same; he offered the prayer and we also offered the prayer with him. Then he performed the Sai between Safa and Marwa and we were guarding him against the people of Mecca so that nobody should harm him.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 502:
Narrated Abu Wail:
When Sahl bin Hunaif returned from (the battle of) Siffin, we went to ask him (as to why he had come back). He replied, "(You should not consider me a coward) but blame your opinions. I saw myself on the day of Abu Jandal (inclined to fight), and if I had the power of refusing the order of Allah's Apostle then, I would have refused it (and fought the infidels bravely). Allah and His Apostle know (what is convenient) better. Whenever we put our swords on our shoulders for any matter that terrified us, our swords led us to an easy agreeable solution before the present situation (of disagreement and dispute between the Muslims). When we mend the breach in one side, it opened in another, and we do not know what to do about it."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 503:
Narrated Kab bin Ujra:
The Prophet came to me at the time of Al-Hudaibiya Pledge while lice were falling on my face. He said, "Are the lice of your head troubling you?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Shave your head and fast for three days, or feed six poor persons, or slaughter a sheep as sacrifice." (The sub-narrator, Aiyub said, "I do not know with which of these three options he started.")

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 504:
Narrated Ka'b bin Ujra:
We were in the company of Allah's Apostle at Al-Hudaibiya in the state of Ihram and the pagans did not allow us to proceed (to the Kaaba). I had thick hair and lice started falling on my face. The Prophet passed by me and said, "Are the lice of your head troubling you?" I replied, Yes." (The sub-narrator added, "Then the following Divine Verse was revealed:-- "And if anyone of you is ill or has an ailment in his scalp, (necessitating shaving) must pay a ransom (Fida) of either fasting or feeding the poor, Or offering a sacrifice." (2.196)

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 505:
Narrated Anas:
Some people of the tribe of Ukl and Uraina arrived at Medina to meet the Prophet and embraced Islam and said, "O Allah's Prophet! We are the owners of milch livestock (i.e. bedouins) and not farmers (i.e. countrymen)." They found the climate of Medina unsuitable for them. So Allah's Apostle ordered that they should be provided with some milch camels and a shepherd and ordered them to go out of Medina and to drink the camels' milk and urine (as medicine) So they set out and when they reached Al-Harra, they reverted to Heathenism after embracing Islam, and killed the shepherd of the Prophet and drove away the camels. When this news reached the Prophet, he sent some people in pursuit of them. (So they were caught and brought back to the Prophet). The Prophet gave his orders in their concern. So their eyes were branded with pieces of iron and their hands and legs were cut off and they were left away in Harra till they died in that state of theirs. (See Hadith 234 Vol 1)

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 506:
Narrated Abu Raja:
The freed slave of Abu Qilaba, who was with Abu Qilaba in Sham: Umar bin Abdul Aziz consulted the people saying, "What do you think of Qasama." They said, "'It is a right (judgement) which Allah's Apostle and the Caliphs before you acted on." Abu Qilaba was behind Umar's bed. 'Anbasa bin Said said, But what about the narration concerning the people of Uraina?" Abu Qilaba said, "Anas bin Malik narrated it to me," and then narrated the whole story.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 507:
Narrated Salama bin Al-Akwa:
Once I went (from Medina) towards (Al-Ghaba) before the first Adhan of the Fajr Prayer. The she-camels of Allah's Apostle used to graze at a place called Dhi-Qarad. A slave of Abdur-Rahman bin 'Auf met me (on the way) and said, "The she-camels of Allah's Apostle had been taken away by force." I asked, "Who had taken them?" He replied "(The people of) Ghatafan." I made three loud cries (to the people of Medina) saying, "O Sabahah!" I made the people between the two mountains of Medina hear me. Then I rushed onward and caught up with the robbers while they were watering the camels. I started throwing arrows at them as I was a good archer and I was saying, "I am the son of Al-Akwa', and today will perish the wicked people." I kept on saying like that till I restored the she-camels (of the Prophet), I also snatched thirty Burda (i.e. garments) from them. Then the Prophet and the other people came there, and I said, "O Allah's Prophet! I have stopped the people (of Ghatafan) from taking water and they are thirsty now. So send (some people) after them now." On that the Prophet said, "O the son of Al-Akwa'! You have over-powered them, so forgive them." Then we all came back and Allah's Apostle seated me behind him on his she-camel till we entered Medina.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 508:
Narrated Suwaid bin An-Numan:
I went out in the company of the Prophet in the year of Khaibar, and when we reached As Sahba' which is the lower part of Khaibar, the Prophet offered the Asr prayer and then asked the people to collect the journey food. Nothing was brought but Sawiq which the Prophet ordered to be moistened with water, and then he ate it and we also ate it. Then he got up to offer the Maghrib prayer. He washed his mouth, and we too washed our mouths, and then he offered the prayer without repeating his abulution.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 509:
Narrated Salama bin Al-Akwa:
We went out to Khaibar in the company of the Prophet. While we were proceeding at night, a man from the group said to Amir, "O Amir! Won't you let us hear your poetry?" Amir was a poet, so he got down and started reciting for the people poetry that kept pace with the camels' footsteps, saying:-- "O Allah! Without You we Would not have been guided On the right path Neither would be have given In charity, nor would We have prayed. So please forgive us, what we have committed (i.e. our defects); let all of us Be sacrificed for Your Cause And send Sakina (i.e. calmness) Upon us to make our feet firm When we meet our enemy, and If they will call us towards An unjust thing, We will refuse. The infidels have made a hue and Cry to ask others' help Against us." The Prophet on that, asked, "Who is that (camel) driver (reciting poetry)?" The people said, "He is Amir bin Al-Akwa'."
Then the Prophet said, "May Allah bestow His Mercy on him." A man amongst the people said, "O Allah's Prophet! has (martyrdom) been granted to him. Would that you let us enjoy his company longer." Then we reached and besieged Khaibar till we were afflicted with severe hunger. Then Allah helped the Muslims conquer it (i.e. Khaibar). In the evening of the day of the conquest of the city, the Muslims made huge fires. The Prophet said, "What are these fires? For cooking what, are you making the fire?" The people replied, "(For cooking) meat." He asked, "What kind of meat?" They (i.e. people) said, "The meat of donkeys." The Prophet said, "Throw away the meat and break the pots!" Some man said, "O Allah's Apostle! Shall we throw away the meat and wash the pots instead?" He said, "(Yes, you can do) that too." So when the army files were arranged in rows (for the clash), Amir's sword was short and he aimed at the leg of a Jew to strike it, but the sharp blade of the sword returned to him and injured his own knee, and that caused him to die. When they returned from the battle, Allah's Apostle saw me (in a sad

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mood). He took my hand and said, "What is bothering you?" I replied, "Let my father and mother be sacrificed for you! The people say that the deeds of Amir are lost." The Prophet said, "Whoever says so, is mistaken, for Amir has got a double reward." The Prophet raised two fingers and added, "He (i.e. Amir) was a persevering struggler in the Cause of Allah and there are few 'Arabs who achieved the like of (good deeds) Amir had done."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 510:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle reached Khaibar at night and it was his habit that, whenever he reached the enemy at night, he will not attack them till it was morning. When it was morning, the Jews came out with their spades and baskets, and when they saw him(i.e. the Prophet), they said, "Mohammed! By Allah! Mohammed and his army!" The Prophet said, "Khaibar is destroyed, for whenever we approach a (hostile) nation (to fight), then evil will be the morning for those who have been warned."

Narrated Anas bin Malik: We reached Khaibar early in the morning and the inhabitants of Khaibar came out carrying their spades, and when they saw the Prophet they said, "Mohammed! By Allah! Mohammed and his army!" The Prophet said, "Allahu-Akbar! Khaibar is destroyed, for whenever we approach a (hostile) nation (to fight) then evil will be the morning for those who have been warned." We then got the meat of donkeys (and intended to eat it), but an announcement was made by the announcer of the Prophet, "Allah and His Apostle forbid you to eat the meat of donkeys as it is an impure thing."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 511:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Someone came to Allah's Apostles and said, "The donkeys have been eaten (by the Muslims)." The Prophet kept quiet. Then the man came again and said, "The donkeys have been eaten." The Prophet kept quiet. The man came to him the third time and said, "The donkeys have been consumed." On that the Prophet ordered an announcer to announce to the people, "Allah and His Apostle forbid you to eat the meat of donkeys." Then the cooking pots were upset while the meat was still boiling in them.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 512:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet offered the Fajr Prayer near Khaibar when it was still dark and then said, "Allahu-Akbar! Khaibar is destroyed, for whenever we approach a (hostile) nation (to fight), then evil will be the morning for those who have been warned." Then the inhabitants of Khaibar came out running on the roads. The Prophet had their warriors killed, their offspring and woman taken as captives. Safiya was amongst the captives, She first came in the share of Dahya Alkali but later on she belonged to the Prophet . The Prophet made her manumission as her 'Mahr'.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 513:
Narrated Abdul Aziz bin Suhaib:
Anas bin Malik said, "The Prophet took Safiya as a captive. He manumitted her and married her." Thabit asked Anas, "What did he give her as Mahr (i.e. marriage gift)?" Anas replied. "Her Mahr was herself, for he manumitted her."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 514:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad As Saidi:
Allah's Apostle (and his army) encountered the pagans and the two armies.,, fought and then Allah's Apostle returned to his army camps and the others (i.e. the enemy) returned to their army camps. Amongst the companions of the Prophet there was a man who could not help pursuing any single isolated pagan to strike him with his sword. Somebody said, "None has benefited the Muslims today more than so-and-so." On that Allah's Apostle said, "He is from the people of the Hell-Fire certainly." A man amongst the people (i.e. Muslims) said, "I will accompany him (to know the fact)." So he went along with him, and whenever he stopped he stopped with him, and whenever he hastened, he hastened with him. The (brave) man then got wounded severely, and seeking to die at once, he planted his sword into the ground and put its point against his chest in between his breasts, and then threw himself on it and committed suicide. On that the person (who was accompanying the deceased all the time) came to Allah's Apostle and said, "I testify that you are the Apostle of Allah." The Prophet said, "Why is that (what makes you say so)?" He said "It is concerning the man whom you have already mentioned as one of the dwellers of the Hell-Fire. The people were surprised by your statement, and I said to them, "I will try to find out the truth about him for you." So I went out after him and he was then inflicted with a severe wound and because of that, he hurried to bring death upon himself by planting the handle of his sword into the ground and directing its tip towards his chest between his breasts, and then he threw himself over it and committed suicide." Allah's Apostle then said, "A man may do what seem to the people as the deeds of the dwellers of Paradise but he is from the dwellers of the Hell-Fire and another may do what seem to the people as the deeds of the dwellers of the Hell-Fire, but he is from the dwellers of Paradise."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 515:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
We witnessed (the battle of) Khaibar. Allah's Apostle said about one of those who were with him and who claimed to be a Muslim. "This (man) is from the dwellers of the Hell-Fire." When the battle started, that fellow fought so violently and bravely that he received plenty of wounds. Some of the people were about to doubt (the Prophet's statement), but the man, feeling the pain of his wounds, put his hand into his quiver and took out of it, some arrows with which he slaughtered himself (i.e. committed suicide). Then some men amongst the Muslims came hurriedly and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Allah has made your statement true so-and-so has committed suicide. "The Prophet said, "O so-and-so! Get up and make an announcement that none but a believer will enter Paradise and that Allah may support the religion with an unchaste (evil) wicked man.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 516:
Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ashari:
When Allah's Apostle fought the battle of Khaibar, or when Allah's Apostle went towards it, (whenever) the people, (passed over a high place overlooking a valley, they raised their voices saying, "Allahu-Akbar! Allahu-Akbar! None has the right to be worshipped except Allah." On that Allah's Apostle said (to them), "Lower your voices, for you are not calling a deaf or an absent one, but you are calling a Hearer Who is near and is with you." I was behind the riding animal of Allah's Apostle and he heard me saying. "There Is neither might, nor power but with Allah," On that he said to me, "O Abdullah bin Qais!" I said, "Labbaik. O Allah's Apostle!" He said, "Shall I tell you a sentence which is one of the treasures of Paradise" I said, "Yes, O Allah's Apostle! Let my father and mother be sacrificed for your sake." He said, "It is: There is neither might nor power but with Allah."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 517:
Narrated Yazid bin Abi Ubaid:
I saw the trace of a wound in Salama's leg. I said to him, "O Abu Muslim! What is this wound?" He said, "This was inflicted on me on the day of Khaibar and the people said, 'Salama has been wounded.' Then I went to the Prophet and he puffed his saliva in it (i.e. the wound) thrice., and since then I have not had any pain in it till this hour."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 518:
Narrated Sahl:
During one of his Ghazawat, the Prophet encountered the pagans, and the two armies fought, and then each of them returned to their army camps. Amongst the (army of the) Muslims there was a man who would follow every pagan separated from the army and strike him with his sword. It was said, "O Allah's Apostle! None has fought so satisfactorily as so-and-so (namely, that brave Muslim). "The Prophet said, "He is from the dwellers of the Hell-Fire." The people said, "Who amongst us will be of the dwellers of Paradise if this (man) is from the dwellers of the Hell-Fire?" Then a man from amongst the people said, "I will follow him and accompany him in his fast and slow movements." The (brave) man got wounded, and wanting to die at once, he put the handle of his sword on the ground and its tip in between his breasts, and then threw himself over it, committing suicide. Then the man (who had watched the deceased) returned to the Prophet and said, "I testify that you are Apostle of Allah." The Prophet said, "What is this?" The man told him the whole story. The Prophet said, "A man may do what may seem to the people as the deeds of the dwellers of Paradise, but he is of the dwellers of the Hell-Fire and a man may do what may seem to the people as the deeds of the dwellers of the Hell-Fire, but he is from the dwellers of Paradise."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 519:
Narrated Abu Imran:
Anas looked at the people wearing Tailsans (i.e. a special kind of head covering worn by Jews in old days). On that Anas said, "At this moment they (i.e. those people) look like the Jews of Khaibar."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 520:
Narrated Salama:
Ali remained behind the Prophet during the Ghazwa of Khaibar as he was suffering from eye trouble. He then said, "(How can) I remain behind the Prophet ," and followed him. So when he slept on the night of the conquest of Khaibar, the Prophet said, "I will give the flag tomorrow, or tomorrow the flag will be taken by a man who is loved by Allah and His Apostle , and (Khaibar) will be conquered through him, (with Allah's help)" While every one of us was hopeful to have the flag, it was said, "Here is Ali" and the Prophet gave him the flag and Khaibar was conquered through him (with Allah's Help).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 521:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
On the day of Khaibar, Allah's Apostle said, "Tomorrow I will give this flag to a man through whose hands Allah will give us victory. He loves Allah and His Apostle, and he is loved by Allah and His Apostle." The people remained that night, wondering as to who would be given it. In the morning the people went to Allah's Apostle and everyone of them was hopeful to receive it (i.e. the flag). The Prophet said, "Where is Ali bin Abi Talib?" It was said, "He is suffering from eye trouble O Allah's Apostle." He said, "Send for him." Ali was brought and Allah's Apostle spat in his eye and invoked good upon him. So Ali was cured as if he never had any trouble. Then the Prophet gave him the flag. Ali said "O Allah's Apostle! I will fight with them till they become like us." Allah's Apostle said, "Proceed and do not hurry. When you enter their territory, call them to embrace Islam and inform them of Allah's Rights which they should observe, for by Allah, even if a single man is led on the right path (of Islam) by Allah through you, then that will be better for you than the nice red camels.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 522:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
We arrived at Khaibar, and when Allah helped His Apostle to open the fort, the beauty of Safiya bint Huyai bin Akhtaq whose husband had been killed while she was a bride, was mentioned to Allah's Apostle. The Prophet selected her for himself, and set out with her, and when we reached a place called Sidd-as-Sahba,' Safiya became clean from her menses then Allah's Apostle married her. Hais (i.e. an 'Arabian dish) was prepared on a small leather mat. Then the Prophet said to me, "I invite the people around you." So that was the marriage banquet of the Prophet and Safiya. Then we proceeded towards Medina, and I saw the Prophet, making for her a kind of cushion with his cloak behind him (on his camel). He then sat beside his camel and put his knee for Safiya to put her foot on, in order to ride (on the camel).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 523:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet stayed with Safiya bint Huyai for three days on the way of Khaibar where he consummated his marriage with her. Safiya was amongst those who were ordered to use a veil.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 524:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet stayed for three rights between Khaibar and Medina and was married to Safiya. I invited the Muslim to h s marriage banquet and there wa neither meat nor bread in that banquet but the Prophet ordered Bilal to spread the leather mats on which dates, dried yogurt and butter were put. The Muslims said amongst themselves, "Will she (i.e. Safiya) be one of the mothers of the believers, (i.e. one of the wives of the Prophet) or just (a lady captive) of what his right-hand possesses" Some of them said, "If the Prophet makes her observe the veil, then she will be one of the mothers of the believers (i.e. one of the Prophet's wives), and if he does not make her observe the veil, then she will be his lady slave." So when he departed, he made a place for her behind him (on his and made her observe the veil.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 525:
Narrated Abdullah bin Mughaffal:
While we were besieging Khaibar, a person threw a leather container containing some fat and I ran to take it. Suddenly I looked behind, and behold! The Prophet was there. So I felt shy (to take it then).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 526:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
On the day of Khaiber, Allah's Apostle forbade the eating of garlic and the meat of donkeys.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 527:
Narrated Ali bin Abi Talib:
On the day of Khaibar, Allah's Apostle forbade the Mut'a (i.e. temporary marriage) and the eating of donkey-meat.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 528:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
On the day of Khaibar, Allah's Apostle forbade the eating of donkey meat.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 529:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle forbade the eating of donkey-meat.

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Volume 5, Book 59, Number 530:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
On the day of Khaibar, Allah's Apostle forbade the eating of donkey meat and allowed the eating of horse meat.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 531:
Narrated Ibn Abi Aufa:
We where afflicted with severe hunger on the day of Khaibar. While the cooking pots were boiling and some of the food was well-cooked, the announcer of the Prophet came to say, "Do not eat anything the donkey-meat and upset the cooking pots." We then thought that the Prophet had prohibited such food because the Khumus had not been taken out of it. Some others said, "He prohibited the meat of donkeys from the point of view of principle, because donkeys used to eat dirty things."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 532:
Narrated Al-Bara and Abdullah bin Abl Aufa:
That when they were in the company of the Prophet, they got some donkeys which they (slaughtered and) cooked. Then the announcer of the Prophet said, "Turn the cooking pots upside down (i.e. throw out the meat)."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 533:
Narrated Al-Bara and Ibn Abi Aufa:
On the day of Khaibar when the cooking pots were put on the fire, the Prophet said, "Turn the cooking pots upside down."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 534:
Narrated Al-Bara:
We took part in a Ghazwa with the Prophet (same as Hadith No. 533).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 535:
Narrated Al-Bara Bin Azib:
During the Ghazwa of Khaibar, the Prophet ordered us to throw away the meat of the donkeys whether it was still raw or cooked. He did not allow us to eat it later on.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 536:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
I do not know whether the Prophet forbade the eating of donkey-meat (temporarily) because they were the beasts of burden for the people, and he disliked that their means of transportation should be lost, or he forbade it on the day of Khaibar permanently.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 537:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
On the day of Khaibar, Allah's Apostle divided (the war booty of Khaibar) with the ratio of two shares for the horse and one-share for the foot soldier. (The sub-narrator, Nafi explained this, saying, "If a man had a horse, he was given three shares and if he had no horse, then he was given one share.")

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 538:
Narrated Jubair bin Mutim:
Uthman bin 'Affan and I went to the Prophet and said, "You had given Banu Al-Muttalib from the Khumus of Khaibar's booty and left us in spite of the fact that we and Banu Al-Muttalib are similarly related to you." The Prophet said, "Banu Hashim and Banu Al-Muttalib only are one and the same." So the Prophet did not give anything to Banu Abd Shams and Banu Nawfal.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 539:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The news of the migration of the Prophet (from Mecca to Medina) reached us while we were in Yemen. So we set out as emigrants towards him. We were (three) I and my two brothers. I was the youngest of them, and one of the two was Abu Burda, and the other, Abu Ruhm, and our total number was either 53 or 52 men from my people. We got on board a boat and our boat took us to Negus in Ethiopia. There we met Jafar bin Abi Talib and stayed with him. Then we all came (to Medina) and met the Prophet at the time of the conquest of Khaibar. Some of the people used to say to us, namely the people of the ship, "We have migrated before you." Asma bint 'Umais who was one of those who had come with us, came as a visitor to Hafsa, the wife the Prophet . She had migrated along with those other Muslims who migrated to Negus. Umar came to Hafsa while Asma bint 'Umais was with her. Umar, on seeing Asma,' said, "Who is this?" She said, "Asma bint 'Umais," Umar said, "Is she the Ethiopian? Is she the sea-faring lady?" Asma replied, "Yes." Umar said, "We have migrated before you (people of the boat), so we have got more right than you over Allah's Apostle " On that Asma became angry and said, "No, by Allah, while you were with Allah's Apostle who was feeding the hungry ones amongst you, and advised the ignorant ones amongst you, we were in the far-off hated land of Ethiopia, and all that was for the sake of Allah's Apostle . By Allah, I will neither eat any food nor drink anything till I inform Allah's Apostle of all that you have said. There we were harmed and frightened. I will mention this to the Prophet and will not tell a lie or curtail your saying or add something to it." So when the Prophet came, she said, "O Allah's Prophet Umar has said so-and-so." He said (to Asma'), "What did you say to him?" Asma's aid, "I told him so-and-so." The Prophet said, "He (i.e. Umar) has not got more right than you people over me, as he and his companions have (the reward of) only one migration, and you, the people of the boat, have (the reward of) two migrations." Asma later on said, "I saw Abu Musa and the other people of the boat coming to me in successive groups, asking me about this narration,, and to them nothing in the world was more cheerful and greater than what the Prophet had said about them."

Narrated Abu Burda: Asma said, "I saw Abu Musa requesting me to repeat this narration again and again."

Narrated Abu Burda: Abu Musa said, "The Prophet said, "I recognize the voice of the group of Al-Ashariyun, when they recite the Koran, when they enter their homes at night, and I recognize their houses by (listening) to their voices when they are reciting the Koran at night although I have not seen their houses when they came to them during the day time. Amongst them is Hakim who, on meeting the cavalry or the enemy, used to say to them (i.e. the enemy). My companions order you to wait for them.' "

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 540:
Narrated Abu Musa:
We came upon the Prophet after he had conquered Khaibar. He then gave us a share (from the booty), but apart from us he did not give to anybody else who did not attend the Conquest.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 541:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
When we conquered Khaibar, we gained neither gold nor silver as booty, but we gained cows, camels, goods and gardens. Then we departed with Allah's Apostle to the valley of Al-Qira, and at that time Allah's Apostle had a slave called Mid'am who had been presented to him by one of Banu Ad-Dibbab. While the slave was dismounting the saddle of Allah's Apostle an arrow the thrower of which was unknown, came and hit him. The people said, "Congratulations to him for the martyrdom." Allah's Apostle said, "No, by Him in Whose Hand my soul is, the sheet (of cloth) which he had taken (illegally) on the day of Khaibar from the booty before the distribution of the booty, has become a flame of Fire burning him." On hearing that, a man brought one or two leather straps of shoes to the Prophet and said, "These are things I took (illegally)." On that Allah's Apostle said, "This is a strap, or these are two straps of Fire."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 542:
Narrated Umar bin Al-Khattab:
By Him in Whose Hand my soul is, were I not afraid that the other Muslims might be left in poverty, I would divide (the land of) whatever village I may conquer (among the fighters), as the Prophet divided the land of Khaibar. But I prefer to leave it as a (source of) a common treasury for them to distribute it revenue amongst themselves.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 543:
Narrated Umar:
But for the other Muslims (i.e. coming generations) I would divide (the land of) whatever villages the Muslims might conquer (among the fighters), as the Prophet divided (the land of) Khaibar.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 544:
Narrated 'Anbasa bin Said:
Abu Huraira came to the Prophet and asked him (for a share from the Khaibar booty). On that, one of the sons of Said bin Al-'As said to him, "O Allah's Apostle! Do not give him." Abu Huraira then said (to the Prophet) "This is the murderer of Ibn Qauqal." Sa'id's son said, "How strange! A guinea pig coming from Qadum Ad-Dan!"

Narrated Abu Huraira: Allah's Apostle sent Aban from Medina to Najd as the commander of a Sariya. Aban and his companions came to the Prophet at Khaibar after the Prophet had conquered it, and the reins of their horses were made of the fire of date palm trees. I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Do not give them a share of the booty." on, that, Aban said (to me), "Strange! You suggest such a thing though you are what you are, O guinea pig coming down from the top of Ad-Dal (a lotus tree)! "On that the Prophet said, "O Aban, sit down ! " and did not give them any share.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 545:
Narrated Said:
Aban bin Said came to the Prophet and greeted him. Abu Huraira said, "O Allah's Apostle! This (Aban) is the murderer of the Ibn Qauqal." (On hearing that), Aban said to Abu Huraira, "How strange your saying is! You, a guinea pig, descending from Qadum Dan, blaming me for (killing) a person whom Allah favored (with martyrdom) with my hand, and whom He forbade to degrade me with his hand.'

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 546:
Narrated Aisha:
Fatima the daughter of the Prophet sent someone to Abu Bakr (when he was a caliph), asking for her inheritance of what Allah's Apostle had left of the property bestowed on him by Allah from the Fai (i.e. booty gained without fighting) in Medina, and Fadak, and what remained of the Khumus of the Khaibar booty. On that, Abu Bakr said, "Allah's Apostle said, "Our property is not inherited. Whatever we leave, is Sadaqa, but the family of (the Prophet) Mohammed can eat of this property.' By Allah, I will not make any change in the state of the Sadaqa of Allah's Apostle and will leave it as it was during the lifetime of Allah's Apostle, and will dispose of it as Allah's Apostle used to do." So Abu Bakr refused to give anything of that to Fatima. So she became angry with Abu Bakr and kept away from him, and did not task to him till she died. She remained alive for six months after the death of the Prophet. When she died, her husband Ali, buried her at night without informing Abu Bakr and he said the funeral prayer by himself. When Fatima was alive, the people used to respect Ali much, but after her death, Ali noticed a change in the people's attitude towards him. So Ali sought reconciliation with Abu Bakr and gave him an oath of allegiance. Ali had not given the oath of allegiance during those months (i.e. the period between the Prophet's death and Fatima's death). Ali sent someone to Abu Bakr saying, "Come to us, but let nobody come with you," as he disliked that Umar should come, Umar said (to Abu Bakr), "No, by Allah, you shall not enter upon them alone " Abu Bakr said, "What do you think they will do to me? By Allah, I will go to them' So Abu Bakr entered upon them, and then Ali uttered Tashah-hud and said (to Abu Bakr), "We know well your superiority and what Allah has given you, and we are not jealous of the good what Allah has bestowed upon you, but you did not consult us in the question of the rule and we thought that we have got a right in it because of our near relationship to Allah's Apostle ."

Thereupon Abu Bakr's eyes flowed with tears. And when Abu Bakr spoke, he said, "By Him in Whose Hand my soul is to keep good relations with the relatives of Allah's Apostle is dearer to me than to keep good relations with my own relatives. But as for the trouble which arose between me and you about his property, I will do my best to spend it according to what is good, and will not leave any rule or regulation which I saw Allah's Apostle following, in disposing of it, but I will follow." On that Ali said to Abu Bakr, "I promise to give you the oath of allegiance in this after noon." So when Abu Bakr had offered the Zuhr prayer, he ascended the pulpit and uttered the Tashah-hud and then mentioned the story of Ali and his failure to give the oath of allegiance, and excused him, accepting what excuses he had offered; Then Ali (got up) and praying (to Allah) for forgiveness, he uttered Tashah-hud, praised Abu Bakr's right, and said, that he had not done what he had done because of jealousy of Abu Bakr or as a protest of that Allah had favored him with. Ali added, "But we used to consider that we too had some right in this affair (of rulership) and that he (i.e. Abu Bakr) did not consult us in this matter, and therefore caused us to feel sorry." On that all the Muslims became happy and said, "You have done the right thing." The Muslims then became friendly with Ali as he returned to what the people had done (i.e. giving the oath of allegiance to Abu Bakr).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 547:
Narrated Aisha:
When Khaibar was conquered, we said, "Now we will eat our fill of dates!"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 548:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
We did not eat our fill except after we had conquered Khaibar.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 549:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri and Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle appointed a man as the ruler of Khaibar who later brought some Janib (i.e. dates of good quality) to the Prophet. On that, Allah's Apostle said (to him). "Are all the dates of Khaibar like this?" He said, "No, by Allah, O Allah's Apostle! But we take one Sa of these (dates of good quality) for two or three Sa's of other dates (of inferior quality)." On that, Allah's Apostle said, "Do not do so, but first sell the inferior quality dates for money and then with that money, buy Janib." Abu Said and Abu Huraira said, "The Prophet made the brother of Bani Adi from the Ansar as the ruler of Khaibar.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 550:
Narrated Abdullah:

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The Prophet gave (the land of) Khaibar to the Jews (of Khaibar) on condition that they would work on it and cultivate it and they would have half of its yield.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 551:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
When Khaibar was conquered, a (cooked) sheep containing poison, was given as a present to Allah's Apostle

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 552:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle appointed Usama bin Zaid as the commander of some people. Those people criticized his leadership. The Prophet said, "If you speak ill of his leadership, you have already spoken ill of his father's leadership before. By Allah, he deserved to be a Commander, and he was one of the most beloved persons to me and now this (i.e. Usama) is one of the most beloved persons to me after him.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 553:
Narrated Al-Bara:
When the Prophet went out for the Umra in the month of Dhal-Qa'da, the people of Mecca did not allow him to enter Mecca till he agreed to conclude a peace treaty with them by virtue of which he would stay in Mecca for three days only (in the following year). When the agreement was being written, the Muslims wrote: "This is the peace treaty, which Mohammed, Apostle of Allah has concluded."
The infidels said (to the Prophet), "We do not agree with you on this, for if we knew that you are Apostle of Allah we would not have prevented you for anything (i.e. entering Mecca, etc.), but you are Mohammed, the son of Abdullah." Then he said to Ali, "Erase (the name of) 'Apostle of Allah'." Ali said, "No, by Allah, I will never erase you (i.e. your name)." Then Allah's Apostle took the writing sheet...and he did not know a better writing..and he wrote or got it the following written! "This is the peace treaty which Mohammed, the son of Abdullah, has concluded: "Mohammed should not bring arms into Mecca except sheathed swords, and should not take with him any person of the people of Mecca even if such a person wanted to follow him, and if any of his companions wants to stay in Mecca, he should not forbid him."
(In the next year) when the Prophet entered Mecca and the allowed period of stay elapsed, the infidels came to Ali and said "Tell your companion (Mohammed) to go out, as the allowed period of his stay has finished." So the Prophet departed (from Mecca) and the daughter of Hamza followed him shouting "O Uncle, O Uncle!" Ali took her by the hand and said to Fatima, "Take the daughter of your uncle." So she made her ride (on her horse). (When they reached Medina) Ali, Zaid and Jafar quarreled about her. Ali said, "I took her for she is the daughter of my uncle." Jafar said, "She is the daughter of my uncle and her aunt is my wife." Zaid said, "She is the daughter of my brother." On that, the Prophet gave her to her aunt and said, "The aunt is of the same status as the mother." He then said to Ali, "You are from me, and I am from you," and said to Jafar, "You resemble me in appearance and character," and said to Zaid, "You are our brother and our freed slave." Ali said to the Prophet 'Won't you marry the daughter of Hamza?" The Prophet said, "She is the daughter of my foster brother."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 554:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle set out with the intention of performing Umra, but the infidels of Quraish intervened between him and the Kaaba, so the Prophet slaughtered his Hadi (i.e. sacrificing animals and shaved his head at Al-Hudaibiya and concluded a peace treaty with them (i.e. the infidels) on condition that he would perform the Umra the next year and that he would not carry arms against them except swords, and would not stay (in Mecca) more than what they would allow. So the Prophet performed the Umra in the following year and according to the peace treaty, he entered Mecca, and when he had stayed there for three days, the infidels ordered him to leave, and he left.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 555:
Narrated Mujahid:
Urwa and I entered the Mosque and found Abdullah bin Umar sitting beside the dwelling place of Aisha. Urwa asked (Ibn Umar), "How many Umras did the Prophet perform?" Ibn Umar replied, "Four, one of which was in Rajab." Then we heard Aisha brushing her teeth whereupon Urwa said, "O mother of the believers! Don't you hear what Abu Abdur-Rahman is saying? He is saying that the Prophet performed four Umra, one of which was in Rajab." Aisha said, "The Prophet did not perform any Umra but he (i.e. Ibn Umar) witnessed it. And he (the Prophet) never did any Umra in (the month of) Rajab."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 556:
Narrated Ibn Abi Aufa:
When Allah's Apostle performed the Umra (which he performed in the year following the treaty of Al-Hudaibiya) we were screening Allah's Apostle from the infidels and their boys lest they should harm him.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 557:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
When Allah's Apostle and his companions arrived (at Mecca), the pagans said, "There have come to you a group of people who have been weakened by the fever of Yathrib (i.e. Medina)." So the Prophet ordered his companions to do Ramal (i.e. fast walking) in the first three rounds of Tawaf around the Kaaba and to walk in between the two corners (i.e. the black stone and the Yemenite corner). The only cause which prevented the Prophet from ordering them to do Ramal in all the rounds of Tawaf, was that he pitied them.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 558:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet hastened in going around the Kaaba and between the Safa and Marwa in order to show the pagans his strength. Ibn Abbas added, "When the Prophet arrived (at Mecca) in the year of peace (following that of Al-Hudaibiya treaty with the pagans of Mecca), he (ordered his companions) to do Ramal in order to show their strength to the pagans and the pagans were watching (the Muslims) from (the hill of) Quaiqan.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 559:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet married Maimuna while he was in the state of lhram but he consummated that marriage after finishing that state. Maimuna died at Saraf (i.e. a place near Mecca). Ibn Abbas added, The Prophet married Maimuna during the Umrat-al-Qada' (i.e. the Umra performed in lieu of the Umra which the Prophet could not perform because the pagans, prevented him to perform that Umra)

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 560:
Narrated Nafi:
Ibn Umar informed me that on the day (of Mu'tah) he stood beside Jafar who was dead (i.e. killed in the battle), and he counted fifty wounds in his body, caused by stabs or strokes, and none of those wounds was in his back.
Abdullah bin Umar said, "Allah's Apostle appointed Zaid bin Haritha as the commander of the army during the Ghazwa of Mu'tah and said, "If Zaid is martyred, Jafar should take over his position, and if Jafar is martyred, Abdullah bin Rawaha should take over his position.' " Abdulla-h bin Umar further said, "I was present amongst them in that battle and we searched for Jafar bin Abi Talib and found his body amongst the bodies of the martyred ones, and found over ninety wounds over his body, caused by stabs or shots (of arrows).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 561:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet had informed the people of the martyrdom of Zaid, Jafar and Ibn Rawaha before the news of their death reached. The Prophet said, "Zaid took the flag (as the commander of the army) and was martyred, then Jafar took it and was martyred, and then Ibn Rawaha took it and was martyred." At that time the Prophet's eyes were shedding tears. He added, "Then the flag was taken by a Sword amongst the Swords of Allah (i.e. Khalid) and Allah made them (i.e. the Muslims) victorious."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 562:
Narrated Amra:
I heard Aisha saying, "When the news of the martyrdom of Ibn Haritha, Jafar bin Abi Talib and Abdullah bin Rawaka reached, Allah's Apostle sat with sorrow explicit on his face." Aisha added, "I was then peeping through a chink in the door. A man came to him and said, "O Allah's Apostle! The women of Jafar are crying.' Thereupon the Prophet told him to forbid them to do so. So the man went away and returned saying, "I forbade them but they did not listen to me." The Prophet ordered him again to go (and forbid them). He went again and came saying, 'By Allah, they overpowered me (i.e. did not listen to me)." Aisha said that Allah's Apostle said (to him), "Go and throw dust into their mouths." Aisha added, "I said, May Allah put your nose in the dust! By Allah, neither have you done what you have been ordered, nor have you relieved Allah's Apostle from trouble."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 563:
Narrated Amir:
Whenever Ibn Umar greeted the son of Jafar, he used to say (to him), "Assalam 'Alaika (i.e. peace be on you) O the son of two-winged person."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 564:
Narrated Khalid bin Al-Walid:
On the day (of the battle of) Mu'tah, nine swords were broken in my hand, and nothing was left in my hand except a Yemenite sword of mine.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 565:
Narrated Khalid bin Al-Walid:
On the day of Mu'tah, nine swords were broken in my hand and only a Yemenite sword of mine remained in my hand.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 566:
Narrated An-Nu'man bin Bashir:
Abdullah bin Rawaha fell down unconscious and his sister Amra started crying and was saying loudly, "O Jabala! Oh so-and-so! Oh so-and-so! and went on calling him by his (good) qualities one by one). When he came to his senses, he said (to his sister), "When-ever you said something, I was asked, 'Are you really so (i.e. as she says)?"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 567:
Narrated Ash Shabi:
An Nu'man bin Bashir said, "Abdullah bin Rawaha fell down unconscious.." (and mentioned the above Hadith adding, "Thereupon, when he died she (i.e. his sister) did not weep over him."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 568:
Narrated Usama bin Zaid:
Allah's Apostle sent us towards Al-Huruqa, and in the morning we attacked them and defeated them. I and an Ansari man followed a man from among them and when we took him over, he said, "La ilaha illal-Lah." On hearing that, the Ansari man stopped, but I killed him by stabbing him with my spear. When we returned, the Prophet came to know about that and he said, "O Usama! Did you kill him after he had said "La ilaha ilal-Lah?" I said, "But he said so only to save himself." The Prophet kept on repeating that so often that I wished I had not embraced Islam before that day.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 569:
Narrated Salama bin Al-Akwa:
I fought in seven Ghazwat (i.e. battles) along with the Prophet and fought in nine battles, fought by armies dispatched by the Prophet. Once Abu Bakr was our commander and at another time, Usama was our commander.
Narrated Salama in another narration: I fought seven Ghazwat (i.e. battles) along with the Prophet and also fought in nine battles, fought by armies sent by the Prophet . Once Abu Bakr was our commander and another time, Usama was (our commander).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 570:
Narrated Salama bin Al-Akwa:
I fought in nine Ghazwa-t along with the Prophet, I also fought along with Ibn Haritha when the Prophet made him our commander.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 571:
Narrated Yazid bin Abi Ubaid:
Salama bin Al-Akwa' said, "I fought in seven Ghazwat along with the Prophet." He then mentioned Khaibar, Al-Hudaibiya, the day (i.e. battle) of Hunain and the day of Al-Qurad. I forgot the names of the other Ghazwat.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 572:
Narrated Ali:
Allah's Apostle sent me, Az-Zubair and Al-Miqdad saying, "Proceed till you reach Rawdat Khakh where there is a lady carrying a letter, and take that (letter) from her." So we proceeded on our way with our horses galloping till we reached the Rawda, and there we found the lady and said to her, "Take out the letter." She said, "I have no letter." We said, "Take out the letter, or else we will take off your clothes." So she took it out of her braid, and we brought the letter to Allah's Apostle . The letter was addressed from Hatib, bin Abi Balta'a to some pagans of Mecca, telling them about what Allah's Apostle intended to do. Allah's Apostle said, "O Hatib! What is this?" Hatib replied, "O Allah's Apostle! Do not make a hasty decision about me. I was a person not belonging to Quraish but I was an ally to them from outside and had no blood relation with them, and all the Emigrants who were with you, have got their kinsmen (in Mecca) who can protect their families and properties. So I liked to do them a favor so that they might protect my relatives as I have no blood relation with them. I did not do this to renegade from my religion (i.e. Islam) nor did I do it to choose Heathenism after Islam." Allah's Apostle said to his companions." As regards him, he (i.e. Hatib) has told you the truth." Umar said, "O Allah's Apostle! Allow me to chop off the head of this hypocrite!" The Prophet said, "He (i.e. Hatib) has witnessed the Badr battle (i.e. fought in it) and what could tell you, perhaps Allah looked at those who witnessed Badr and said, "O the people of Badr (i.e. Badr Muslim

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warriors), do what you like, for I have forgiven you. "Then Allah revealed the Sura:--

"O you who believe! Take not my enemies And your enemies as friends offering them (Your) love even though they have disbelieved in that Truth (i.e. Allah, Prophet Mohammed and this Koran) which has come to you ....(to the end of Verse)....(And whosoever of you (Muslims) does that, then indeed he has gone (far) astray (away) from the Straight Path." (60.1

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 573:
Narrated Ubaidullah bin Abdullah bin Utba:
Ibn Abbas said, Allah's Apostle fought the Ghazwa (i.e. battles of Al-Fath during Ramadan."
Narrated Az-Zuhri: Ibn Al-Musaiyab (also) said the same. Ibn Abbas added, "The Prophet fasted and when he reached Al-Kadid, a place where there is water between Kudaid and 'Usfan, he broke his fast and did not fast afterwards till the whole month had passed away.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 574:
Narrated Ibn Abbas :
The Prophet left Medina (for Mecca) in the company of ten-thousand (Muslim warriors) in (the month of) Ramadan, and that was eight and a half years after his migration to Medina. He and the Muslims who were with him, proceeded on their way to Mecca. He was fasting and they were fasting, but when they reached a place called Al-Kadid which was a place of water between 'Usfan and Kudaid, he broke his fast and so did they. (Az-Zuhri said, "One should take the last action of Allah's Apostle and leave his early action (while taking a verdict.")

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 575:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle set out towards Hunain in the month of Ramadan and some of the people were fasting while some others were not fasting, and when the Prophet mounted his she-camel, he asked for a tumbler of milk or water and put it on the palm of his hand or on his she-camel and then the people looked at him; and those who were not fasting told those who were fasting, to break their fast (i.e. as the Prophet had done so). Ibn Abbas added, "The Prophet went (to Hunain) in the year of the Conquest (of Mecca)."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 576:
Narrated Tawus:
Ibn Abbas said, "Allah's Apostle travelled in the month of Ramadan and he fasted till he reached (a place called) 'Usfan, then he asked for a tumbler of water and drank it by the daytime so that the people might see him. He broke his fast till he reached Mecca." Ibn Abbas used to say, "Allah's Apostle fasted and sometimes did not fast while traveling, so one may fast or may not (on journeys)"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 577:
Narrated Hisham's father:
When Allah's Apostle set out (towards Mecca) during the year of the Conquest (of Mecca) and this news reached (the infidels of Quraish), Abu Sufyan, Hakim bin Hizam and Budail bin Warqa came out to gather information about Allah's Apostle , They proceeded on their way till they reached a place called Marr-az-Zahran (which is near Mecca). Behold! There they saw many fires as if they were the fires of Arafat. Abu Sufyan said, "What is this? It looked like the fires of Arafat." Budail bin Warqa' said, "Banu Amr are less in number than that." Some of the guards of Allah's Apostle saw them and took them over, caught them and brought them to Allah's Apostle. Abu Sufyan embraced Islam.
When the Prophet proceeded, he said to Al-Abbas, "Keep Abu Sufyan standing at the top of the mountain so that he would look at the Muslims. So Al-Abbas kept him standing (at that place) and the tribes with the Prophet started passing in front of Abu Sufyan in military batches. A batch passed and Abu Sufyan said, "O Abbas Who are these?" Abbas said, "They are (Banu) Ghifar." Abu Sufyan said, I have got nothing to do with Ghifar." Then (a batch of the tribe of) Juhaina passed by and he said similarly as above. Then (a batch of the tribe of) Sad bin Huzaim passed by and he said similarly as above. then (Banu) Sulaim passed by and he said similarly as above. Then came a batch, the like of which Abu Sufyan had not seen. He said, "Who are these?" Abbas said, "They are the Ansar headed by Sad bin Ubada, the one holding the flag." Sad bin Ubada said, "O Abu Sufyan! Today is the day of a great battle and today (what is prohibited in) the Kaaba will be permissible." Abu Sufyan said., "O Abbas! How excellent the day of destruction is! "Then came another batch (of warriors) which was the smallest of all the batches, and in it there was Allah's Apostle and his companions and the flag of the Prophet was carried by Az-Zubair bin Al Awwam. When Allah's Apostle passed by Abu Sufyan, the latter said, (to the Prophet), "Do you know what Sad bin 'Ubada said?" The Prophet said, "What did he say?" Abu Sufyan said, "He said so-and-so." The Prophet said, "Sad told a lie, but today Allah will give superiority to the Kaaba and today the Kaaba will be covered with a (cloth) covering." Allah's Apostle ordered that his flag be fixed at Al-Hajun.
Narrated Urwa: Nafi bin Jubair bin Mut'im said, "I heard Al-Abbas saying to Az-Zubair bin Al-Awwam, 'O Abu Abdullah ! Did Allah's Apostle order you to fix the flag here?" " Allah's Apostle ordered Khalid bin Al-Walid to enter Mecca from its upper part from Ka'da while the Prophet himself entered from Kuda. Two men from the cavalry of Khalid bin Al-Wahd named Hubaish bin Al-Ash'ar and Kurz bin Jabir Al-Fihri were martyred on that day.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 578:
Narrated Abdullah bin Mughaffal:
I saw Allah's Apostle on the day of the Conquest of Mecca over his she-camel, reciting Surat-al-Fath in a vibrant quivering tone. (The sub-narrator, Mu'awiya added, "Were I not afraid that the people may gather around me, I would recite in vibrant quivering tone as he (i.e. Abdullah bin Mughaffal) did, imitating Allah's Apostle.")

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 579:
Narrated Amr bin Uthman:
Usama bin Zaid said during the Conquest (of Mecca), "O Allah's Apostle! Where will we encamp tomorrow?" The Prophet said, "But has 'Aqil left for us any house to lodge in?" He then added, "No believer will inherit an infidel's property, and no infidel will inherit the property of a believer." Az-Zuhri was asked, "Who inherited Abu Talib?" Az-Zuhri replied, "Ail and Talib inherited him."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 580:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "If Allah makes us victorious, our encamping place will be Al-Khaif, the place where the infidels took an oath to be loyal to Heathenism (by boycotting Banu Hashim, the Prophet's folk)."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 581:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
When Allah's Apostle intended to carry on the Ghazwa of Hunain, he said, "Tomorrow, if Allah wished, our encamping) plaice will be Khaif Bani Kinana where (the infidels) took an oath to be loyal to Heathenism."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 582:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
On the day of the Conquest, the Prophet entered Mecca, wearing a helmet on his head. When he took it off, a man came and said, "Ibn Khatal is clinging to the curtain of the Kaaba." The Prophet said, "Kill him." (Malik a sub-narrator said, "On that day the Prophet was not in a state of Ihram as it appeared to us, and Allah knows better.")

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 583:
Narrated Abdullah:
When the Prophet entered Mecca on the day of the Conquest, there were 360 idols around the Kaaba. The Prophet started striking them with a stick he had in his hand and was saying, "Truth has come and Falsehood will neither start nor will it reappear.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 584:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
When Allah's Apostle arrived in Mecca, he refused to enter the Kaaba while there were idols in it. So he ordered that they be taken out. The pictures of the (Prophets) Abraham and Ishmael, holding arrows of divination in their hands, were carried out. The Prophet said, "May Allah ruin them (i.e. the infidels) for they knew very well that they (i.e. Abraham and Ishmael) never drew lots by these (divination arrows). Then the Prophet entered the Kaaba and said. "Allahu Akbar" in all its directions and came out and not offer any prayer therein.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 585:
Narrated Aisha:
During the year of the Conquest (of Mecca), the Prophet entered Mecca through Kada which was at the upper part of Mecca.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 586:
Narrated Hisham's father:
During the year of the Conquest (of Mecca), the Prophet entered Mecca through its upper part through Kada.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 587:
Narrated Ibn Laila:
None informed us that he saw the Prophet offering the Duha (i.e. forenoon) prayer, except Um Ham who mentioned that the Prophet took a bath in her house on the day of the Conquest (of Mecca) and then offered an eight Rakat prayer. She added, "I never saw the Prophet offering a lighter prayer than that prayer, but he was performing perfect bowing and prostrations."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 588:
Narrated Ibn Abbas :
Umar used to admit me (into his house) along with the old men who had fought in the Badr battle. Some of them said (to Umar), "Why do you allow this young man to enter with us, while we have sons of his own age? " Umar said, "You know what person he is." One day Umar called them and called me along with them, I had thought he called me on that day to show them something about me (i.e. my knowledge). Umar asked them, "What do you say about (the Sura): "When comes the help of Allah and the Conquest (of Mecca) And you see mankind entering the Religion of Allah (i.e. Islam) in crowds. 'So celebrate the Praises Of your Lord and ask for His forgiveness, Truly, He is the One Who accepts repentance and forgives." (110.1-3)
Some of them replied, "We are ordered to praise Allah and repent to Him if we are helped and granted victory." Some said, "We do not know." Others kept quiet. Umar then said to me, "Do you say similarly?" I said, "No." Umar said "What do you say then?" I said, "This Verse indicates the approaching of the death of Allah's Apostle of which Allah informed him. When comes the help of Allah and the Conquest, i.e. the Conquest of Mecca, that will be the sign of your Prophet's) approaching death, so testify the uniqueness of your Lord (i.e. Allah) and praise Him and repent to Him as He is ready to forgive." On that, Umar said, "I do not know about it anything other than what you know."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 589:
Narrated Abu Shuraih:
Al-Adawi that he said to Amr bin Said while the latter was sending troops in batches to Mecca, "O chief! Allow me to tell you a statement which Allah's Apostle said on the second day of the Conquest of Mecca. My two ears heard it and my heart remembered it and my two eyes saw him when he said it. He (i.e. the Prophet) praised Allah and then said, 'Mecca has been made a sanctuary by Allah and not by the people, so it is not lawful for a person, who believes in Allah and the Last Day to shed blood in it, or to cut its trees and if someone asks the permission to fight in Mecca because Allah's Apostle was allowed to fight in it, say to him; Allah permitted His Apostle and did not allow you, and even he (i.e. the Apostle) was allowed for a short period of the day, and today its (Mecca's sanctity has become the same as it was before (of old) so those who are present should inform those who are absent (this Hadith)." Then Abu Shuraih, was asked, "What did Amr say to you? Abu Shuraih said, "He said, "I knew that better than you, O Abu Shuraih! The Haram (i.e. Mecca) does not give refuge to a sinner or a fleeing murderer or a person running away after causing destruction."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 590:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
That he heard Allah's Apostle saying in the year of the Conquest (of Mecca) while he was in Mecca, "Allah and His Apostle have made the selling of wine (i.e. alcoholic drinks) unlawful."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 591:
Narrated Anas:
We stayed (in Mecca) for ten days along with the Prophet and used to offer shortened prayers (i.e. journey prayers).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 592:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet stayed in Mecca for 19 days during which he prayed 2 Rakat in each prayer.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 593:
Narrated 'Ikrima:
Ibn Abbas said, "We stayed for 19 days with Prophet on a journey during which we used to offer shortened prayers." Ibn Abbas added, "We offer the Qasr prayer (i.e. shortened prayer) If we stay up to 19 days as travelers, But if we stay longer, we offer complete prayers

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 594:
Narrated Az-Zuhri:
While we were in the company of the Ibn Al-Musaiyab, Sunain Abi Jamila informed us (a Hadith), Abu Jamila said that he lived during the lifetime of the Prophet and that he had accompanied him (to Mecca) during the year of the Conquest (of Mecca).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 595:
Narrated Amr bin Salama:
We were at a place which was a thoroughfare for the people, and the caravans used to pass by us and we would ask them, "What is wrong with the people? What is wrong with the people? Who is that man?. They would say, "That man claims that Allah has sent him (as an Apostle), that he has been

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divinely inspired, that Allah has revealed to him such-and-such." I used to memorize that (Divine) Talk, and feel as if it was inculcated in my chest (i.e. mind) And the 'Arabs (other than Quraish) delayed their conversion to Islam till the Conquest (of Mecca). They used to say." "Leave him (i.e. Mohammed) and his people Quraish: if he overpowers them then he is a true Prophet. So, when Mecca was conquered, then every tribe rushed to embrace Islam, and my father hurried to embrace Islam before (the other members of) my tribe. When my father returned (from the Prophet) to his tribe, he said, "By Allah, I have come to you from the Prophet for sure!" The Prophet afterwards said to them, 'Offer such-and-such prayer at such-and-such time, and when the time for the prayer becomes due, then one of you should pronounce the Adhan (for the prayer), and let the one amongst you who knows Koran most should, lead the prayer." So they looked for such a person and found none who knew more Koran than I because of the Koranic material which I used to learn from the caravans. They therefore made me their Imam ((to lead the prayer) and at that time I was a boy of six or seven years, wearing a Burda (i.e. a black square garment) proved to be very short for me (and my body became partly naked). A lady from the tribe said, "Won't you cover the anus of your reciter for us?" So they bought (a piece of cloth) and made a shirt for me. I had never been so happy with anything before as I was with that shirt.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 596:
Narrated Aisha:
Utba bin Abi Waqqas authorized his brother Sad to take the son of the slave-girl of Zam'a into his custody. Utba said (to him). "He is my son." When Allah's Apostle arrived in Mecca during the Conquest (of Mecca), Sad bin Abi Waqqas took the son of the slave-girl of Zam'a and took him to the Prophet 'Abd bin Zam'a too came along with him. Sad said. "This is the son of my brother and the latter has informed me that he is his son." 'Abd bin Zam'a said, "O Allah's Apostle! This is my brother who is the son of the slave-girl of Zam'a and was born on his (i.e. Zam'as) bed.' Allah's Apostle looked at the son of the slave-girl of Zam'a and noticed that he, of all the people had the greatest resemblance to Utba bin Abi Waqqas. Allah's Apostle then said (to 'Abd), " He is yours; he is your brother, O 'Abd bin Zam'a, he was born on the bed (of your father)." (At the same time) Allah's Apostle said (to his wife Sauda), "Veil yourself before him (i.e. the son of the slave-girl) O Sauda," because of the resemblance he noticed between him and Utba bin Abi Waqqas. Allah's Apostle added, "The boy is for the bed (i.e. for the owner of the bed where he was born), and stone is for the adulterer."
(Ibn Shihab said, "Abu Huraira used to say that (i.e. the last statement of the Prophet in the above Hadith 596, publicly.")

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 597:
Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair:
A lady committed theft during the lifetime of Allah's Apostle in the Ghazwa of Al-Fath, ((i.e. Conquest of Mecca). Her folk went to Usama bin Zaid to intercede for her (with the Prophet). When Usama interceded for her with Allah's Apostle, the color of the face of Allah's Apostle changed and he said, "Do you intercede with me in a matter involving one of the legal punishments prescribed by Allah?" Usama said, "O Allah's Apostle! Ask Allah's Forgiveness for me." So in the afternoon, Allah's Apostle got up and addressed the people. He praised Allah as He deserved and then said, "Amma ba'du ! The nations prior to you were destroyed because if a noble amongst them stole, they used to excuse him, and if a poor person amongst them stole, they would apply (Allah's) Legal Punishment to him. By Him in Whose Hand Mohammed's soul is, if Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed stole, I would cut her hand." Then Allah's Apostle gave his order in the case of that woman and her hand was cut off. Afterwards her repentance proved sincere and she got married. Aisha said, "That lady used to visit me and I used to convey her demands to Allah's Apostle

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 598:
Narrated Majashi:
I took my brother to the Prophet after the Conquest (of Mecca) and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have come to you with my brother so that you may take a pledge of allegiance from him for migration." The Prophet said, The people of migration (i.e. those who migrated to Medina before the Conquest) enjoyed the privileges of migration (i.e. there is no need for migration anymore)." I said to the Prophet, "For what will you take his pledge of allegiance?" The Prophet said, "I will take his pledge of allegiance for Islam, Belief, and for Jihad (i.e. fighting in Allah's Cause)"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 599:
Narrated Mujashi bin Masud:
I took Abu Mabad to the Prophet in order that he might give him the pledge of allegiance for migration. The Prophet said, "Migration has gone to its people, but I take the pledge from him (i.e. Abu Mabad) for Islam and Jihad."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 600:
Narrated Mujahid:
I said to Ibn Umar, "I want to migrate to Sham." He said, "There is no migration, but Jihad (for Allah's Cause). Go and offer yourself for Jihad, and if you find an opportunity for Jihad (stay there) otherwise, come back." (In an other narration) Ibn Umar said, "There is no migration today or after Allah's Apostle." (and completed his statement as above.)

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 601:
Narrated Mujahid bin Jabr:
Abdullah bin Umar used to say, "There is no migration after the Conquest (of Mecca)."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 602:
Narrated 'Ata' bin Abi Rabah:
Ubaid bin Umar and I visited Aisha, and he asked her about the migration. She said, "There is no migration today. A believer used to flee with his religion to Allah and His Prophet for fear that he might be put to trial as regards his religion. Today Allah has rendered Islam victorious; therefore a believing one can worship one's Lord wherever one wishes. But there is Jihad (for Allah's Cause) and intentions." (See Hadith 42, in the 4th Vol. for its Explanation)

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 603:
Narrated Mujahid:
Allah's Apostle got up on the day of the Conquest of Mecca and said, "Allah has made Mecca a sanctuary since the day He created the Heavens and the Earth, and it will remain a sanctuary by virtue of the sanctity Allah has bestowed on it till the Day of Resurrection. It (i.e. fighting in it) was not made lawful to anyone before me!, nor will it be made lawful to anyone after me, and it was not made lawful for me except for a short period of time. Its game should not be chased, nor should its trees be cut, nor its vegetation or grass uprooted, not its Luqata (i.e. Most things) picked up except by one who makes a public announcement about it." Al-Abbas bin Abdul Muttalib said, "Except the Idhkhir, O Allah's Apostle, as it is indispensable for blacksmiths and houses." On that, the Prophet kept quiet and then said, "Except the Idhkhir as it is lawful to cut."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 604:
Narrated Ismail:
I saw (a healed scar of) blow over the hand of Ibn Abi Aufa who said, "I received that blow in the battle of Hunain in the company of the Prophet." I said, "Did you take part in the battle of Hunain?" He replied, "Yes (and in other battles) before it."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 605:
Narrated Abu Ishaq:
I heard Al-Bara narrating when a man came and said to him, "O Abu Umara! Did you flee on the day (of the battle) of Hunain?" Al-Bara replied, "I testify that the Prophet did not flee, but the hasty people hurried away and the people of Hawazin threw arrows at them. At that time, Abu Sufyan bin Al-Harith was holding the white mule of the Prophet by the head, and the Prophet was saying, "I am the Prophet undoubtedly: I am the son of Abdul-Muttalib."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 606:
Narrated Abu Ishaq:
Al-Bara was asked while I was listening, "Did you flee (before the enemy) along with the Prophet on the day of (the battle of) Hunain?" He replied, "As for the Prophet, he did not (flee). The enemy were good archers and the Prophet was saying, "I am the Prophet undoubtedly; I am the son of Abdul Muttalib."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 607:
Narrated Abu Ishaq:
That he heard Al-Bara narrating when a man from Qais (tribe) asked him "Did you flee leaving Allah's Apostle on the day (of the battle) of Hunain?" Al-Bara replied, "But Allah's Apostle did not flee. The people of Hawazin were good archers, and when we attacked them, they fled. But rushing towards the booty, we were confronted by the arrows (of the enemy). I saw the Prophet riding his white mule while Abu Sufyan was holding its reins, and the Prophet was saying "I am the Prophet undoubtedly." (Israil and Zuhair said, "The Prophet dismounted from his Mule.")

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 608:
Narrated Marwan and Al-Miswar bin Makhrama:
When the delegate of Hawazin came to Allah's Apostle declaring their conversion to Islam and asked him to return their properties and captives, Allah's Apostle got up and said to them, "There Is involved in this matter, the people whom you see with me, and the most beloved talk to me, is the true one. So choose one of two alternatives: Either the captives or the properties. I have been waiting for you (i.e. have not distributed the booty)." Allah's Apostle had delayed the distribution of their booty over ten nights after his return from Ta'if. So when they came to know that Allah's Apostle was not going to return to them but one of the two, they said, "We prefer to have our captives." So Allah's Apostle got up amongst the Muslims, and praising Allah as He deserved, said, "To proceed! Your brothers have come to you with repentance and I see (it logical) to return their captives. So, whoever of you likes to do that as a favor then he can do it. And whoever of you likes to stick to his share till we give him from the very first booty which Allah will give us, then he can do so." The people said, "We do that (i.e. return the captives) willingly as a favor, 'O Allah's Apostle!" Allah's Apostle said, "We do not know which of you have agreed to it and which have not; so go back and let your chiefs forward us your decision." They went back and their chief's spoke to them, and they (i.e. the chiefs) returned to Allah's Apostle and informed him that all of them had agreed (to give up their captives) with pleasure, and had given their permission (i.e. that the captives be returned to their people). (The sub-narrator said, "That is what has reached me about the captives of Hawazin tribe.")

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 609:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
When we returned from (the battle of) Hunain, Umar asked the Prophet about a vow which he had made during the Pre-Islamic period of Ignorance that he would perform Itikaf. The Prophet ordered him to fulfill his vow.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 610:
Narrated Abu Qatada:
We set out along with the Prophet during the year of (the battle of) Hunain, and when we faced the enemy, the Muslims (with the exception of the Prophet and some of his companions) retreated (before the enemy). I saw one of the pagans over-powering one of the Muslims, so I struck the pagan from behind his neck causing his armor to be cut off. The pagan headed towards me and pressed me so forcibly that I felt as if I was dying. Then death took him over and he released me. Afterwards I followed Umar and said to him, "What is wrong with the people?" He said, "It is the Order of Allah." Then the Muslims returned (to the battle after the flight) and (after overcoming the enemy) the Prophet sat and said, "Whoever had killed an Infidel and has an evidence to this issue, will have the Salb (i.e. the belonging of the deceased e.g. clothes, arms, horse, etc)." I (stood up) and said, "Who will be my witness?" and then sat down. Then the Prophet repeated his question. Then the Prophet said the same (for the third time). I got up and said, "Who will be my witness?" and then sat down. The Prophet asked his former question again. So I got up. The Prophet said, What is the matter, O Abu Qatada?" So I narrated the whole story; A man said, "Abu Qatada has spoken the truth, and the Salb of the deceased is with me, so please compensate Abu Qatada on my behalf." Abu Bakr said, "No! By Allah, it will never happen that the Prophet will leave a Lion of Allah who fights for the Sake of Allah and His Apostle and give his spoils to you." The Prophet said, "Abu Bakr has spoken the truth. Give it (the spoils) back to him (O man)!" So he gave it to me and I bought a garden in (the land of) Banu Salama with it (i.e. the spoils) and that was the first property I got after embracing Islam.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 611:
Narrated Abu Qatada:
When it was the day of (the battle of) Hunain, I saw a Muslim man fighting with one of the pagans and another pagan was hiding himself behind the Muslim in order to kill him. So I hurried towards the pagan who was hiding behind the Muslim to kill him, and he raised his hand to hit me but I hit his hand and cut it off. That man got hold of me and pressed me so hard that I was afraid (that I would die), then he knelt down and his grip became loose and I pushed him and killed him. The Muslims (excepting the Prophet and some of his companions) started fleeing and I too, fled with them. Suddenly I met Umar bin Al-Khattab amongst the people and I asked him, "What is wrong with the people?" He said, "It is the order of Allah" Then the people returned to Allah's Apostle (after defeating the enemy). Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever produces a proof that he has killed an infidel, will have the spoils of the killed man." So I got up to look for an evidence to prove that I had killed an infidel, but I could not find anyone to bear witness for me, so I sat down. Then it came to my mind (that I should speak of it) and I mentioned the case to Allah's Apostle. A man from the persons who were sitting with him (i.e. the Prophet), said, "The arms of the deceased one whom he (i.e. Abu Qatada) has mentioned, are with me, so please compensate him for it (i.e. the spoils)," Abu Bakr said, "No, Allah's Apostle will not give it (i.e. the spoils) to a weak humble person from Quraish and leave one of Allah's Lions who fights on behalf of Allah and His Apostle."

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Allah's Apostle then got up and gave that (spoils) to me, and I bought with it, a garden which was the first property I got after embracing Islam.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 612:
Narrated Abu Musa:
When the Prophet had finished from the battle of Hunain, he sent Abu Amir at the head of an army to Autas He (i.e. Abu Amir) met Duraid bin As Summa and Duraid was killed and Allah defeated his companions. The Prophet sent me with Abu Amir. Abu Amir was shot at his knee with an arrow which a man from Jushm had shot and fixed into his knee. I went to him and said, "O Uncle! Who shot you?" He pointed me out (his killer) saying, "That is my killer who shot me (with an arrow)." So I headed towards him and overtook him, and when he saw me, he fled, and I followed him and started saying to him, "Won't you be ashamed? Won't you stop?" So that person stopped, and we exchanged two hits with the swords and I killed him. Then I said to Abu Amir. "Allah has killed your killer." He said, "Take out this arrow" So I removed it, and water oozed out of the wound. He then said, "O son of my brother! Convey my compliments to the Prophet and request him to ask Allah's Forgiveness for me." Abu Amir made me his successor in commanding the people (i.e. troops). He survived for a short while and then died. (Later) I returned and entered upon the Prophet at his house, and found him lying in a bed made of stalks of date-palm leaves knitted with ropes, and on it there was bedding. The strings of the bed had their traces over his back and sides. Then I told the Prophet about our and Abu Amir's news and how he had said "Tell him to ask for Allah's Forgiveness for me." The Prophet asked for water, performed ablution and then raised hands, saying, "O Allah's Forgive Ubaid, Abu Amir." At that time I saw the whiteness of the Prophet's armpits. The Prophet then said, "O Allah, make him (i.e. Abu Amir) on the Day of Resurrection, superior to many of Your human creatures." I said, "Will you ask Allah's Forgiveness for me?" (On that) the Prophet said, "O Allah, forgive the sins of Abdullah bin Qais and admit him to a nice entrance (i.e. paradise) on the Day of Resurrection." Abu Burda said, "One of the prayers was for Abu Amir and the other was for Abu Musa (i.e. Abdullah bin Qais)."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 613:
Narrated Um Salama:
The Prophet came to me while there was an effeminate man sitting with me, and I heard him (i.e. the effeminate man) saying to Abdullah bin Abi Umaiya, "O Abdullah! See if Allah should make you conquer Ta'if tomorrow, then take the daughter of Ghailan (in marriage) as (she is so beautiful and fat that) she shows four folds of flesh when facing you, and eight when she turns her back." The Prophet then said, "These (effeminate men) should never enter upon you (O women!)." Ibn Juraij said, "That effeminate man was called Hit."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 614:
Narrated Hisham:
The above narration and added extra, that at that time, the Prophet, was besieging Taif.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 615:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
When Allah's Apostle besieged Taif and could not conquer its people, he said, "We will return (to Medina) If Allah wills." That distressed the Companions (of the Prophet and they said, "Shall we go away without conquering it (i.e. the Fort of Taif)?" Once the Prophet said, "Let us return." Then the Prophet said (to them), "Fight tomorrow." They fought and (many of them) got wounded, whereupon the Prophet said, "We will return (to Medina) tomorrow if Allah wills." That delighted them, whereupon the Prophet smiled. The sub-narrator, Sufyan said once, "(The Prophet) smiled."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 616:
Narrated Abu Uthman:
I heard from Sad, the first man who has thrown an arrow in Allah's Cause, and from Abu Bakra who jumped over the wall of the Ta'if Fort along with a few persons and came to the Prophet. They both said, "We heard the Prophet saying, " If somebody claims to be the son of somebody other than his father knowingly, he will be denied Paradise (i.e. he will not enter Paradise).' "
Narrated Ma'mar from 'Asim from Abu AlAliya or Abu Uthman An-Nahdi who said. "I heard Sad and Abu Bakra narrating from the Prophet." 'Asim said, "I said (to him), 'Very trustworthy persons have narrated to you.' He said, 'Yes, one of them was the first to throw an arrow in Allah's Cause and the other came to the Prophet in a group of thirty-three persons from Ta'if.'

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 617:
Narrated Abu Burda:
Abu Musa said, "I was with the Prophet when he was encamping at Al-Jarana (a place) between Mecca and Medina and Bilal was with him. A bedouin came to the Prophet and said, "Won't you fulfill what you have promised me?" The Prophet said, 'Rejoice (at what I will do for you).' The bedouin said, "(You have said to me) rejoice too often." Then the Prophet turned to me (i.e. Abu Musa) and Bilal in an angry mood and said, 'The bedouin has refused the good tidings, so you both accept them.' Bilal and I said, 'We accept them.' Then the Prophet asked for a drinking bowl containing water and washed his hands and face in it, and then took a mouthful of water and threw it therein saying (to us), "Drink (some of) it and pour (some) over your faces and chests and be happy at the good tidings." So they both took the drinking bowl and did as instructed. Um Salama called from behind a screen, "Keep something (of the water for your mother." So they left some of it for her.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 618:
Narrated Safwan bin Ya'la bin Umaiya:
Ya'la used to say, "I wish I could see Allah's Apostle at the time when he is being inspired divinely." Ya'la added "While the Prophet was at Al-Ja'rana, shaded with a cloth sheet (in the form of a tent) and there were staying with him, some of his companions under it, suddenly there came to him a bedouin wearing a cloak and perfumed extravagantly. He said, "O Allah's Apostle ! What is your opinion regarding a man who assumes the state of Ihram for Umra wearing a cloak after applying perfume to his body?" Umar signalled with his hand to Ya'la to come (near). Ya'la came and put his head (underneath that cloth sheet) and saw the Prophet red-faced and when that state (of the Prophet) was over, he said, "Where is he who as already asked me about the Umra?" The man was looked for and brought to the Prophet The Prophet said (to him), "As for the perfume you have applied to your body, wash it off your body) thrice, and take off your cloak, and then do in your Umra the rites you do in your Hajj."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 619:
Narrated Abdullah bin Zaid bin Asim: When Allah gave to His Apostle the war booty on the day of Hunain, he distributed that booty amongst those whose hearts have been (recently) reconciled (to Islam), but did not give anything to the Ansar. So they

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 620:
Narrated Anas Bin Malik:
hen." Anas added: But they did not remain patient.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 621:
Narrated Anas:
When it was the day of the Conquest (of Mecca) Allah's Apostle distributed the war booty amongst the people of Quraish which caused the Ansar to become angry. So the Prophet said, "Won't you be pleased that the people take the worldly things and you take Allah's Apostle with you? "They said, "Yes." The Prophet said, "If the people took their way through a valley or mountain pass, I would take my way through the Ansar's valley or mountain pass."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 622:
Narrated Anas:
When it was the day of (the battle of) Hunain, the Prophet confronted the tribe of Hawazin while there were ten-thousand (men) besides the Tulaqa' (i.e. those who had embraced Islam on the day of the Conquest of Mecca) with the Prophet. When they (i.e. Muslims) fled, the Prophet said, "O the group of Ansari" They replied, "Labbaik, O Allah's Apostle and Sadaik! We are under your command." Then the Prophet got down (from his mule) and said, "I am Allah's Slave and His Apostle." Then the pagans were defeated. The Prophet distributed the war booty amongst the Tulaqa and Muhajirin (i.e. Emigrants) and did not give anything to the Ansar. So the Ansar spoke (i.e. were dissatisfied) and he called them and made them enter a leather tent and said, Won't you be pleased that the people take the sheep and camels, and you take Allah's Apostle along with you?" The Prophet added, "If the people took their way through a valley and the Ansar took their way through a mountain pass, then I would choose a mountain pass of the Ansar"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 623:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet gathered some people of Ansar and said, "The People of Quraish are still close to their Pre-Islamic period of ignorance and have suffered a lot, and I want to help them and attract their hearts (by giving them the war booty). Won't you be pleased that the people take the worldly things) and you take Allah's Apostle with you to your homes?" They said, "Yes, (i.e. we are pleased with this distribution)." The Prophet said, "'If the people took their way through a valley and the Ansar took their way through a mountain pass, then I would take the Ansar's valley or the Ansar's mountain pass."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 624:
Narrated Abdullah:
When the Prophet distribute the war booty of Hunain, a man from the Ansar said, "He (i.e. the Prophet), did not intend to please Allah in this distribution." So I came to the Prophet and informed him of that (statement) whereupon the color of his face changed and he said, "May Allah bestow His Mercy on Moses, for he was troubled with more than this, but he remained patient."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 625:
Narrated Abdullah:
When it was the day of Hunain, Prophet favored some people over some others (in the distribution of the booty). He gave Al-Aqra' one-hundred camels and gave Uyaina the same, and also gave other people (of Quraish). A man said, "Allah's Pleasure was not the aim, in this distribution." I said, "I will inform the Prophet (about your statement)." The Prophet said, "May Allah bestow Mercy on Moses, for he was troubled more this but he remained patient."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 626:
Narrated Anas Bin Malik:
When it was the day (of the battle) of Hunain, the tributes of Hawazin and Ghatafan and others, along with their animals and offspring (and wives) came to fight against the Prophet The Prophet had with him, ten thousand men and some of the Tulaqa. The companions fled, leaving the Prophet alone. The Prophet then made two calls which were clearly distinguished from each other. He turned right and said, "O the group of Ansar!" They said, "Labbaik, O Allah's Apostle! Rejoice, for we are with you!" Then he turned left and said, "O the group of Ansar!" They said, "Labbaik! O Allah's Apostle! Rejoice, for we are with you!" The Prophet at that time, was riding on a white mule; then he dismounted and said, "I am Allah's Slave and His Apostle." The infidels then were defeated, and on that day the Prophet gained a large amount of booty which he distributed amongst the Muhajirin and the Tulaqa and did not give anything to the Ansar. The Ansar said, "When there is a difficulty, we are called, but the booty is given to other than us." The news reached the Prophet and he gathered them in a leather tent and said, "What is this news reaching me from you, O the group of Ansar?" They kept silent, He added," O the group of Ansar! Won't you be happy that the people take the worldly things and you take Allah's Apostle to your homes reserving him for yourself?" They said, "Yes." Then the Prophet said, "If the people took their way through a valley, and the Ansar took their way through a mountain pass, surely, I would take the Ansar's mountain pass." Hisham said, "O Abu Hamza (i.e. Anas)! Did you witness that? " He replied, "And how could I be absent from him?"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 627:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet sent a Sariya towards Najd and I was in it, and our share from the booty amounted to twelve camels each, and we were given an additional camel each. So we returned with thirteen camels each.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 628:
Narrated Salim's father:
The Prophet sent Khalid bin Al-Walid to the tribe of Jadhima and Khalid invited them to Islam but they could not express themselves by saying, "Aslamna (i.e. we have embraced Islam)," but they started saying "Saba'na! Saba'na (i.e. we have come out of one religion to another)." Khalid kept on killing (some of) them and taking (some of) them as captives and gave every one of us his Captive. When there came the day then Khalid ordered that each man (i.e. Muslim soldier) should kill his captive, I said, "By Allah, I will not kill my captive, and none of my companions will kill his captive." When we reached the Prophet, we mentioned to him the whole story. On that, the Prophet raised both his hands and said twice, "O Allah! I am free from what Khalid has done."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 629:
Narrated Ali:
The Prophet sent a Sariya under the command of a man from the Ansar and ordered the soldiers to obey him. He (i.e. the commander) became angry and said "Didn't the Prophet order you to obey me!" They replied, "Yes." He said, "Collect fire-wood for me." So they collected it. He said, "Make a fire." When they made it, he said, "Enter it (i.e. the fire)." So they intended to do that and started holding each other and saying, "We run towards (i.e. take refuge with) the Prophet from the fire." They kept on saying that till the fire was extinguished and the anger of the commander abated. When that news reached the Prophet he said, "If they had entered it (i.e. the fire), they would not have come out of it till the Day

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of Resurrection. Obedience (to somebody) is required when he enjoins what is good."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 630:
Narrated Abu Burda:
Allah's Apostle sent Abu Musa and Muadh bin Jabal to Yemen. He sent each of them to administer a province as Yemen consisted of two provinces. The Prophet said (to them), "Facilitate things for the people and do not make things difficult for them (Be kind and lenient (both of you) with the people, and do not be hard on them) and give the people good tidings and do not repulse them. So each of them went to carry on his job. So when any one of them toured his province and happened to come near (the border of the province of) his companion, he would visit him and greet him. Once Mu'adh toured that part of his state which was near (the border of the province of) his companion Abu Musa. Mu'adh came riding his mule till he reached Abu Musa and saw him sitting, and the people had gathered around him. Behold! There was a man tied with his hands behind his neck. Mu'adh said to Abu Musa, "O Abdullah bin Qais! What is this?" Abu Musa replied. "This man has reverted to Heathenism after embracing Islam." Mu'adh said, "I will not dismount till he is killed." Abu Musa replied, "He has been brought for this purpose, so come down." Mu'adh said, "I will not dismount till he is killed." So Abu Musa ordered that he be killed, and he was killed. Then Mu'adh dismounted and said, "O Abdullah (bin Qais)! How do you recite the Koran ?" Abu Musa said, "I recite the Koran regularly at intervals and piecemeal. How do you recite it O Mu'adh?" Mu'adh said, "I sleep in the first part of the night and then get up after having slept for the time devoted for my sleep and then recite as much as Allah has written for me. So I seek Allah's Reward for both my sleep as well as my prayer (at night)."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 631:
Narrated Abi Burda:
That Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari said that the Prophet had sent him to Yemen and he asked the Prophet about certain (alcoholic) drink which used to be prepared there The Prophet said, "What are they?" Abu Musa said, "Al-Bit' and Al-Mizr?" He said, "Al-Bit is an alcoholic drink made from honey; and Al-Mizr is an alcoholic drink made from barley." The Prophet said, "All intoxicants are prohibited."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 632:
Narrated Abu Burda:
That the Prophet sent his (i.e. Abu Burda's) grandfather, Abu Musa and Mu'adh to Yemen and said to both of them "Facilitate things for the people (Be kind and lenient) and do not make things difficult (for people), and give them good tidings, and do not repulse them and both of you should obey each other." Abu Musa said, "O Allah's Prophet! In our land there is an alcoholic drink (prepared) from barley called Al-Mizr, and another (prepared) from honey, called Al-Bit"' The Prophet said, "All intoxicants are prohibited." Then both of them proceeded and Mu'adh asked Abu Musa, "How do you recite the Koran?" Abu Musa replied, "I recite it while I am standing, sitting or riding my riding animals, at intervals and piecemeal." Muadh said, "But I sleep and then get up. I sleep and hope for Allah's Reward for my sleep as I seek His Reward for my night prayer." Then he (i.e. Muadh) pitched a tent and they started visiting each other. Once Muadh paid a visit to Abu Musa and saw a chained man. Muadh asked, "What is this?" Abu Musa said, "(He was) a Jew who embraced Islam and has now turned apostate." Muadh said, "I will surely chop off his neck!"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 633:
Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ashari:
Allah's Apostle sent me (as a governor) to the land of my people, and I came while Allah's Apostle was encamping at a place called Al-Abtah. The Prophet said, "Have you made the intention to perform the Hajj, O Abdullah bin Qais?" I replied, "Yes, O Allah's Apostle!" He said, "What did you say?" I replied, "I said, 'Labbaik' and expressed the same intention as yours." He said, "Have you driven the Hadi along with you?" I replied, "No, I did not drive the Hadi." He said, "So perform the Tawaf of the Kaaba and then the Sai, between Safa and Marwa and then finish the state of Ihram." So I did the same, and one of the women of (the tribe of) Banu-Qais combed my hair. We continued follow in that tradition till the caliphate of Umar.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 634:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle said to Muadh bin Jabal when he sent him to Yemen. "You will come to the people of Scripture, and when you reach them, invite them to testify that none has the right to be worshipped except Allah and that Mohammed is His Apostle. And if they obey you in that, then tell them that Allah has enjoined on them five prayers to be performed every day and night. And if they obey you in that, then tell them that Allah has enjoined on them Sadaqa (i.e. Rakat) to be taken from the rich amongst them and given to the poor amongst them. And if they obey you in that, then be cautious! Don't take their best properties (as Zakat) and be afraid of the curse of an oppressed person as there is no screen between his invocation and Allah.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 635:
Narrated Amr bin Maimuin:
When Mu'adh arrived at Yemen, he led them (i.e. the people of Yemen) in the Fajr prayer wherein he recited: 'Allah took Abraham as a Khalil.' A man amongst the people said, "(How) glad the mother of Abraham is!" (In another narration) Amr said, "The Prophet sent Mu'adh to Yemen and he (led the people) in the Fajr prayer and recited: 'Allah took Abraham as a Khalil. A man behind him said, "(How) glad the mother of Abraham is!"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 636:
Narrated Al-Bara:
Allah's Apostle sent us to Yemen along with Khalid bin Al-Walid. Later on he sent Ali bin Abi Talib in his place. The Prophet said to Ali, "Give Khalid's companions the choice of either staying with you (in Yemen) or returning to Medina." I was one of those who stayed with him (i.e. Ali) and got several Awaq (of gold from the war booty.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 637:
Narrated Buraida:
The Prophet sent Ali to Khalid to bring the Khumus (of the booty) and I hated Ali, and Ali had taken a bath (after a sexual act with a slave-girl from the Khumus). I said to Khalid, "Don't you see this (i.e. Ali)?" When we reached the Prophet I mentioned that to him. He said, "O Buraida! Do you hate Ali?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Do you hate him, for he deserves more than that from the Khumlus."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 638:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
Ali bin Abi Talib sent a piece of gold not yet taken out of its ore, in a tanned leather container to Allah's Apostle . Allah's Apostle distributed that amongst four Persons: 'Uyaina bin Badr, Aqra bin Habis, Zaid Al-Khail and the fourth was either Alqama or Amir bin At Tufail. On that, one of his companions said, "We are more deserving of this (gold) than these (persons)." When that news reached the Prophet , he said, "Don't you trust me though I am the truth worthy man of the One in the Heavens, and I receive the news of Heaven (i.e. Divine Inspiration) both in the morning and in the evening?" There got up a man with sunken eyes, raised cheek bones, raised forehead, a thick beard, a shaven head and a waist sheet that was tucked up and he said, "O Allah's Apostle! Be afraid of Allah." The Prophet said, "Woe to you! Am I not of all the people of the earth the most entitled to fear Allah?" Then that man went away. Khalid bin Al-Wahd said, "O Allah's Apostle! Shall I chop his neck off?" The Prophet said, "No, for he may offer prayers." Khalid said, "Numerous are those who offer prayers and say by their tongues (i.e. mouths) what is not in their hearts." Allah's Apostle said, "I have not been ordered (by Allah) to search the hearts of the people or cut open their bellies." Then the Prophet looked at him (i.e. that man) while the latter was going away and said, "From the offspring of this (man there will come out (people) who will recite the Koran continuously and elegantly but it will not exceed their throats. (They will neither understand it nor act upon it). They would go out of the religion (i.e. Islam) as an arrow goes through a game's body." I think he also said, "If I should be present at their time I would kill them as the nations a Thamud were killed."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 639:
Narrated 'Ata:
Jabir said, "The Prophet ordered Ali to keep the state of Ihram." Jabir added, "Ali bin Abi Talib returned (from Yemen) when he was a governor (of Yemen). The Prophet said to him, 'With what intention have you assumed the state of Ihram?' Ali said, "I have assumed Ihram with an intention as that of the Prophet." Then the Prophet said (to him), 'Offer a Hadi and keep the state of Ihram in which you are now.' Ali slaughtered a Hadi on his behalf."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 640:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet assumed the state of Ihram for Umra and Hajj, and we to assumed it for Hajj with him. When we arrived at Mecca, the Prophet said, "Whoever does not possess a Hadi should regard his Ihram for Umra only." The Prophet had a Hadi with him. Ali bin Abi Talib came to us from Yemen with the intention of performing Hajj. The Prophet said (to him), "With what intention have you assumed the Ihram, for your wife is with us?" Ali said, "I assumed the Ihram with the same intention as that of the Prophet ." The Prophet said, "Keep on the state of Ihram, as we have got the Hadi."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 641:
Narrated Jarir:
In the Pre-Islamic Period of Ignorance there was a house called Dhu-l-Khalasa or Al-Kaaba Al-Yamaniya or Al-Kaaba Ash-Shamiya. The Prophet said to me, "Won't you relieve me from Dhu-l-Khalasa?" So I set out with one-hundred-and-fifty riders, and we dismantled it and killed whoever was present there. Then I came to the Prophet and informed him, and he invoked good upon us and Al-Ahmas (tribe) .

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 642:
Narrated Qais:
Jarir said to me, The Prophet said to me, "Won't you relieve me from Dhu-l-Khalasa?" And that was a house (in Yemem belonging to the tribe of) Khatham called Al-Kaba Al Yamaniya. I proceeded with one-hundred and-fifty cavalry from Ahmas (tribe) who were horse riders. I used not to sit firm on horses, so the Prophet stroke me over my chest till I saw the mark of his fingers over my chest, and then he said, 'O Allah! Make him (i.e. Jarir) firm and one who guides others and is guided on the right path." So Jarir proceeded to it dismantled and burnt it, and then sent a messenger to Allah's Apostle. The messenger of Jarir said (to the Prophet), "By Him Who sent you with the Truth, I did not leave that place till it was like a scabby camel." The Prophet blessed the horses of Ahmas and their men five times.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 643:
Narrated Qais:
Jarir said "Allah's Apostle said to me, "Won't you relieve me from Dhul-Khalasa?" I replied, "Yes, (I will relieve you)." So I proceeded along with one-hundred and fifty cavalry from Ahmas tribe who were skillful in riding horses. I used not to sit firm over horses, so I informed the Prophet of that, and he stroke my chest with his hand till I saw the marks of his hand over my chest and he said, O Allah! Make him firm and one who guides others and is guided (on the right path).' Since then I have never fallen from a horse. Dhul-l--Khulasa was a house in Yemen belonging to the tribe of Khatham and Bajaila, and in it there were idols which were worshipped, and it was called Al-Kaaba." Jarir went there, burnt it with fire and dismantled it. When Jarir reached Yemen, there was a man who used to foretell and give good omens by casting arrows of divination. Someone said to him. "The messenger of Allah's Apostle is present here and if he should get hold of you, he would chop off your neck." One day while he was using them (i.e. arrows of divination), Jarir stopped there and said to him, "Break them (i.e. the arrows) and testify that None has the right to be worshipped except Allah, or else I will chop off your neck." So the man broke those arrows and testified that none has the right to be worshipped except Allah. Then Jarir sent a man called Abu Artata from the tribe of Ahmas to the Prophet to convey the good news (of destroying Dhu-l-Khalasa). So when the messenger reached the Prophet, he said, "O Allah's Apostle! By Him Who sent you with the Truth, I did not leave it till it was like a scabby camel." Then the Prophet blessed the horses of Ahmas and their men five times.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 644:
Narrated Abu Uthman:
Allah's Apostle sent Amr bin Al As as the commander of the troops of Dhat-us-Salasil. Amr bin Al-'As said, "(On my return) I came to the Prophet and said, 'Which people do you love most?' He replied, Aisha.' I said, 'From amongst the men?' He replied, 'Her father (Abu Bakr)'. I said, 'Whom (do you love) next?' He replied, "Umar.' Then he counted the names of many men, and I became silent for fear that he might regard me as the last of them."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 645:
Narrated Jarir:
While I was at Yemen, I met two men from Yemen called Dhu Kala and Dhu Amr, and I started telling them about Allah's Apostle. Dhu Amr said to me, "If what you are saying about your friend (i.e. the Prophet) is true, then he has died three days ago." Then both of them accompanied me to Medina, and when we had covered some distance on the way to Medina, we saw some riders coming from Medina. We asked them and they said, "Allah's Apostle has died and Abu Bakr has been appointed as the Caliph and the people are in a good state.' Then they said, "Tell your friend (Abu Bakr) that we have come (to visit him), and if Allah will, we will come again." So they both returned to Yemen. When I told Abu Bakr their statement, he said to me, "I wish you had brought them (to me)." Afterwards I met Dhu Amr, and he said to me, "O Jarir! You have done a favor to me and I am going to tell you something, i.e. you, the nation of 'Arabs, will remain prosperous as long as you choose and appoint another chief whenever a former one is dead. But if authority is obtained by the power of the sword, then the rulers will become kings who will get angry, as kings get angry, and will be delighted as kings get delighted."

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Volume 5, Book 59, Number 646:
Narrated Wahab bin Kaisan:
Jabir bin Abdullah said, "Allah's Apostle sent troops to the sea coast and appointed Abu Ubaida bin Al-Jarrah as their commander, and they were 300 (men). We set out, and we had covered some distance on the way, when our journey food ran short. So Abu Ubaida ordered that all the food present with the troops be collected, and it was collected. Our journey food was dates, and Abu Ubaida kept on giving us our daily ration from it little by little (piecemeal) till it decreased to such an extent that we did not receive except a date each." I asked (Jabir), "How could one date benefit you?" He said, "We came to know its value when even that finished." Jabir added, "Then we reached the sea (coast) where we found a fish like a small mountain. The people (i.e. troops) ate of it for 18 nights (i.e. days). Then Abu Ubaida ordered that two of its ribs be fixed on the ground (in the form of an arch) and that a she-camel be ridden and passed under them. So it passed under them without touching them."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 647:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle sent us who were three-hundred riders under the command of Abu Ubaida bin Al-Jarrah in order to watch the caravan of the Quraish pagans. We stayed at the seashore for half a month and were struck with such severe hunger that we ate even the Khabt (i.e. the leaves of the Salam, a thorny desert tree), and because of that, the army was known as Jaish-ul-Khabt. Then the sea threw out, an animal (i.e. a fish) called Al-'Anbar and we ate of that for half a month, and rubbed its fat on our bodies till our bodies returned to their original state (i.e. became strong and healthy). Abu Ubaida took one of its ribs, fixed it on the ground; then he went to the tallest man of his companions (to let him pass under the rib). Once Sufyan said, "He took a rib from its parts and fixed it, and then took a man and camel and they passed from underneath it (without touching it). " Jabir added: There was a man amongst the people who slaughtered three camels and then slaughtered another three camels and then slaughtered other three camels, and then Abu Ubaida forbade him to do so.
Narrated Abu Salih: Qais bin Sad said to his father. "I was present in the army and the people were struck with severe hunger." He said, "You should have slaughtered (camels) (for them)." Qais said, "I did slaughter camels but they were hungry again. He said, "You should have slaughtered (camels) again." Qais said, "I did slaughter (camels) again but the people felt hungry again." He said, "You should have slaughtered (camels) again." Qais said, "I did slaughter (camels) again, but the people again felt hungry." He said, "You should have slaughtered (camels) again." Qais said, "But I was forbidden (by Abu Ubaida this time)."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 648:
Narrated Jabir:
We set out in the army of Al-Khabt and Abu Ubaida was the commander of the troops. We were struck with severe hunger and the sea threw out a dead fish the like of which we had never seen, and it was called Al-'Anbar. We ate of it for half a month. Abu Ubaida took (and fixed) one of its bones and a rider passed underneath it (without touching it). (Jabir added:) Abu Ubaida said (to us), "Eat (of that fish)." When we arrived at Medina, we informed the Prophet about that, and he said, "Eat, for it is food Allah has brought out for you, and feed us if you have some of it." So some of them gave him (of that fish) and he ate it.
Volume 5, Book 59, Number 649:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
That during the Hajj in which the Prophet had made Abu Bakr As Siddiq as chief of the, Hajj before the Hajj-ul-Wida,' on the day of Nahr, Abu Bakr sent him along with a group of persons to announce to the people. "No pagan is permitted to perform Hajj after this year, and nobody is permitted to perform the Tawaf of the Kaaba naked."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 650:
Narrated Al-Bara:
The last Sura which was revealed in full was Baraa (i.e. Sura-at-Tauba), and the last Sura (i.e. part of a Sura) which was revealed was the last Verses of Sura-an-Nisa':-- "They ask you for a legal decision. Say: Allah directs (thus) About those who have No descendants or ascendants As heirs." (4.177)

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 651:
Narrated Imran bin Hussein:
A delegation from Banu Tamim came to the Prophet . The Prophet said, "Accept the good tidings, O Banu Tamim!" They said, "O Allah's Apostle! You have given us good tidings, so give us (something)." Signs of displeasure appeared on his face. Then another delegation from Yemen came and he said (to them), "Accept the good tidings, for Banu Tamim refuses to accept them." They replied, "We have accepted them, O Allah's Apostle!"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 652:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I have not ceased to like Banu Tamim ever since I heard of three qualities attributed to them by Allah's Apostle (He said): They, out of all my followers, will be the strongest opponent of Ad-Dajjal; Aisha had a slave-girl from them, and the Prophet told her to manumit her as she was from the descendants of (the Prophet) Ishmael; and, when their Zakat was brought, the Prophet said, "This is the Zakat of my people."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 653:
Narrated Ibn Abi Mulaika:
Abdullah bin Az-Zubair said that a group of riders belonging to Banu Tamim came to the Prophet, Abu Bakr said (to the Prophet), "Appoint Al-Qa'qa bin Mabad bin Zurara as (their) ruler." Umar said (to the Prophet). "No! But appoint Al-Aqra bin Habis." Thereupon Abu Bakr said (to Umar). "You just wanted to oppose me." Umar replied. "I did not want to oppose you." So both of them argued so much that their voices became louder, and then the following Divine Verses were revealed in that connection:-- "O you who believe ! Do not be forward in the presence of Allah and His Apostle..." (till the end of Verse)...(49.1)

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 654:
Narrated Abu Jamra:
I said to Ibn Abbas, "I have an earthenware pot containing Nabidh (i.e. water and dates or grapes) for me, and I drink of it while it is sweet. If I drink much of it and stay with the people for a long time, I get afraid that they may discover it (for I will appear as if I were drunk). Ibn Abbas said, "A delegation of Abdul Qais came to Allah's Apostle and he said, "Welcome, O people! Neither will you have disgrace nor will you regret." They said, "O Allah's Apostle! There are the Mudar pagans between you and us, so we cannot come to you except in the sacred Months. So please teach us some orders on acting upon which we will enter Paradise. Besides, we will preach that to our people who are behind us." The Prophet said, "I order you to do four things and forbid you from four things (I order you): To believe in Allah...Do you know what is to believe in Allah? That is to testify that None has the right to be worshipped except Allah: (I order you also to offer prayers perfectly to pay Zakat; and to fast the month of Ramadan and to give the Khumus (i.e. one-fifth of the booty) (for Allah's Sake). I forbid you from four other things (i.e. the wine that is prepared in) Ad-Dubba, An-Naquir, Az-Hantam and Al-Muzaffat. (See Hadith No. 50 Vol. 1)

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 655:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The delegation of Abdul Qais came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle We belong to the tribe of Rabia. The infidels of Mudar tribe intervened between us and you so that we cannot come to you except in the Sacred Months, so please order us some things we may act on and invite those left behind to act on. The Prophet said, "I order you to observe four things and forbid you from four things: (I order you) to believe in Allah, i.e. to testify that None has the right to be worshipped except Allah." The Prophet pointed with finger indicating one and added, "To offer prayers perfectly: to give Zakat, and to give one-fifth of the booty you win (for Allah's Sake). I forbid you to use Ad-Dubba', An-Naquir, Al-Hantam and Al-Muzaffat, (Utensils used for preparing alcoholic liquors and drinks)

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 656:
Narrated Bukair:
That Kuraib, the freed slave of Ibn Abbas told him that Ibn Abbas, Abdur-Rahman bin Azhar and Al-Miswar bin Makhrama sent him to Aisha saying, "Pay her our greetings and ask her about our offering of the two-Rak'at after Asr Prayer, and tell her that we have been informed that you offer these two Rakat while we have heard that the Prophet had forbidden their offering." Ibn Abbas said, "I and Umar used to beat the people for their offering them." Kuraib added, "I entered upon her and delivered their message to her.' She said, 'Ask Um Salama.' So, I informed them (of Aisha's answer) and they sent me to Um Salama for the same purpose as they sent me to Aisha. Um Salama replied, 'I heard the Prophet forbidding the offering of these two Rakat. Once the Prophet offered the Asr prayer, and then came to me. And at that time some Ansari women from the Tribe of Banu Haram were with me. Then (the Prophet) offered those two Rakat, and I sent my (lady) servant to him, saying, 'Stand beside him and say (to him): Um Salama says, 'O Allah's Apostle! Didn't I hear you forbidding the offering of these two Rakat (after the Asr prayer yet I see you offering them?' And if he beckons to you with his hand, then wait behind.' So the lady slave did that and the Prophet beckoned her with his hand, and she stayed behind, and when the Prophet finished his prayer, he said, 'O the daughter of Abu Umaiya (i.e. Um Salama), You were asking me about these two Rakat after the Asr prayer. In fact, some people from the tribe of Abdul Qais came to me to embrace Islam and busied me so much that I did not offer the two Rakat which were offered after Zuhr compulsory prayer, and these two Rakat (you have seen me offering) make up for those."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 657:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The first Friday (i.e. Jumua) prayer offered after the Friday Prayer offered at the Mosque of Allah's Apostle was offered at the mosque of Abdul Qais situated at Jawathi, that is a village at Al Bahrain .

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 658:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet sent some cavalry towards Najd and they brought a man from the tribe of Banu Hanifa who was called Thumama bin Uthal. They fastened him to one of the pillars of the Mosque. The Prophet went to him and said, "What have you got, O Thumama?" He replied," I have got a good thought, O Mohammed! If you should kill me, you would kill a person who has already killed somebody, and if you should set me free, you would do a favor to one who is grateful, and if you want property, then ask me whatever wealth you want." He was left till the next day when the Prophet said to him, "What have you got, Thumama? He said, "What I told you, i.e. if you set me free, you would do a favor to one who is grateful." The Prophet left him till the day after, when he said, "What have you got, O Thumama?" He said, "I have got what I told you. "On that the Prophet said, "Release Thumama." So he (i.e. Thumama) went to a garden of date-palm trees near to the Mosque, took a bath and then entered the Mosque and said, "I testify that None has the right to be worshipped except Allah, and also testify that Mohammed is His Apostle! By Allah, O Mohammed! There was no face on the surface of the earth most disliked by me than yours, but now your face has become the most beloved face to me. By Allah, there was no religion most disliked by me than yours, but now it is the most beloved religion to me. By Allah, there was no town most disliked by me than your town, but now it is the most beloved town to me. Your cavalry arrested me (at the time) when I was intending to perform the Umra. And now what do you think?" The Prophet gave him good tidings (congratulated him) and ordered him to perform the Umra. So when he came to Mecca, someone said to him, "You have become a Sabian?" Thumama replied, "No! By Allah, I have embraced Islam with Mohammed, Apostle of Allah. No, by Allah! Not a single grain of wheat will come to you from Jamaica unless the Prophet gives his permission."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 659:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Musailima Al-Kadhdhab came during the lifetime of the Prophet and started saying, "If Mohammed gives me the rule after him, I will follow him." And he came to Medina with a great number of the people of his tribe. Allah's Apostle went to him in the company of Thabit bin Qais bin Shammas, and at that time, Allah's Apostle had a stick of a date-palm tree in his hand. When he (i.e. the Prophet) stopped near Musailima while the latter was amidst his companions, he said to him, "If you ask me for this piece (of stick), I will not give it to you, and Allah's Order you cannot avoid, (but you will be destroyed), and if you turn your back from this religion, then Allah will destroy you. And I think you are the same person who was shown to me in my dream, and this is Thabit bin Qais who will answer your questions on my behalf." Then the Prophet went away from him. I asked about the statement of Allah's Apostle : "You seem to be the same person who was shown to me in my dream," and Abu Huraira informed me that Allah's Apostle said, "When I was sleeping, I saw (in a dream) two bangles of gold on my hands and that worried me. And then I was inspired Divinely in the dream that I should blow on them, so I blew on them and both the bangles flew away. And I interpreted it that two liars (who would claim to be prophets) would appear after me. One of them has proved to be Al Ansi and the other, Musailima."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 660:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "While I was sleeping, I was given the treasures of the earth and two gold bangles were put in my hands, and I did not like that, but I received the inspiration that I should blow on them, and I did so, and both of them vanished. I interpreted it as referring to the two liars between whom I am present; the ruler of Sana and the Ruler of Yamaha."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 661:
Narrated Abu Raja Al-Utaridi:
We used to worship stones, and when we found a better stone than the first one, we would throw the first one and take the latter, but if we could not get a stone then we would collect some earth (i.e. soil) and then bring a sheep and milk that sheep over it, and perform the Tawaf around it. When the month of Rajab came, we used (to stop the military

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actions), calling this month the iron remover, for we used to remove and throw away the iron parts of every spear and arrow in the month of Rajab. Abu Raja' added: When the Prophet sent with (Allah's) Message, I was a boy working as a shepherd of my family camels. When we heard the news about the appearance of the Prophet, we ran to the fire, i.e. to Musailima al-Kadhdhab.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 662:
Narrated Ubaidullah bin Abdullah bin Utba:
We were informed that Musailima Al-Kadhdhab had arrived in Medina and stayed in the house of the daughter of Al-Harith. The daughter of Al-Harith bin Kuraiz was his wife and she was the mother of Abdullah bin Amir. There came to him Allah's Apostle accompanied by Thabit bin Qais bin Shammas who was called the orator of Allah's Apostle. Allah's Apostle had a stick in his hand then. The Prophet stopped before Musailima and spoke to him. Musailima said to him, "If you wish, we would not interfere between you and the rule, on condition that the rule will be ours after you... The Prophet said, "If you asked me for this stick, I would not give it to you. I think you are the same person who was shown to me in a dream. And this is Thabit bin Al-Qais who will answer you on my behalf." The Prophet then went away. I asked Ibn Abbas about the dream Allah's Apostle had mentioned. Ibn Abbas said, "Someone told me that the Prophet said, "When I was sleeping, I saw in a dream that two gold bangles were put in my hands, and that frightened me and made me dislike them. Then I was allowed to blow on them, and when I blew at them, both of them flew. Then I interpreted them as two liars who would appear.' One of them was Al-'Ansi who was killed by Fairuz in Yemen and the other was Musailima Al-Kadhdbab."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 663:
Narrated Hudhaifa:
Al-'Aqib and Saiyid, the rulers of Najran, came to Allah's Apostle with the intention of doing Lian one of them said to the other, "Do not do (this Lian) for, by Allah, if he is a Prophet and we do this Lian, neither we, nor our offspring after us will be successful." Then both of them said (to the Prophet), "We will give what you should ask but you should send a trustworthy man with us, and do not send any person with us but an honest one." The Prophet said, "I will send an honest man who Is really trustworthy." Then every one of the companions of Allah's Apostle wished to be that one. Then the Prophet said, "Get up, O Abu Ubaida bin Al-Jarrah." When he got up, Allah's Apostle said, "This is the Trustworthy man of this (Muslim) nation."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 664:
Narrated Hudhaifa:
The people of Najran came to the Prophet and said, "Send an honest man to us." The Prophet said, "I will send to you an honest man who is really trustworthy." Everyone of the (Muslim) people hoped to be that one. The Prophet then sent Abu Ubaida bin Al-Jarrah.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 665:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "Every nation has an Amin (i.e. the most honest man), and the Amin of this nation is Abu Ubaida bin Al-Jarrah."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 666:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle said to me, "If the revenue of Al-Bahrain should come, I will give you so much and so much," repeating "so much" thrice. But the revenue of Al-Bahrain did not come till Allah's Apostle had died. When the revenue came during the rule of Abu Bakr. Abu Bakr ordered an announcer to announce, "Whoever had any debt or promise due upon the Prophet, should present himself to me (i.e. Abu Bakr). I came to Abu Bakr and informed him that the Prophet had said (to me), "If the revenue of Al-Bahrain should come, I will give you so-much and so much," repeating "so much" thrice. So Abu Bakr gave me (in another narration Jaibir said,). I met Abu Bakr after that and asked him (to give me what the Prophet had promised me) but he did not give me. I again went to him but he did not give me. I again went to him (for the third time) but he did not give me; On that I said to him, "I came to you but you did not give me, then I came to you and you did not give me, and then again I came to you, but you did not give me; so you should either give me or else you are like a miserly to me, on that, Abu Bakr said, "Do you say, 'You are like a miserly to me?' There is no worse disease than miserliness." Abu Bakr said it thrice and added, "Whenever I refused to give you, I had the intention of giving you." (In another narration) Jabir bin Abdullah said, "I went to Abu Bakr (and he gave me a handful of money) and told me to count it, I counted and found it five-hundred, and then Abu Bakr said (to me), "Take the same amount twice."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 667:
Narrated Abu Musa:
My brother and I came from Yemen (to Medina) and remained for some time, thinking that Ibn Masud and his mother belonged to the family of the Prophet because of their frequent entrance (upon the Prophet) and their being attached to him.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 668:
Narrated Zahdam:
When Abu Musa arrived (at Kufa as a governor) he honored this family of Jarm (by paying them a visit). I was sitting near to him, and he was eating chicken as his lunch, and there was a man sitting amongst the people. Abu Musa invited the man to the lunch, but the latter said, "I saw chickens (eating something (dirty) so I consider them unclean." Abu Musa said, "Come on! I saw the Prophet eating it (i.e. chicken)." The man said "I have taken an oath that I will not ea (chicken)" Abu Musa said." Come on! I will tell you about your oath. We, a group of Al-Ash'ariyin people went to the Prophet and asked him to give us something to ride, but the Prophet refused. Then we asked him for the second time to give us something to ride, but the Prophet took an oath that he would not give us anything to ride. After a while, some camels of booty were brought to the Prophet and he ordered that five camels be given to us. When we took those camels we said, "We have made the Prophet forget his oath, and we will not be successful after that." So I went to the Prophet and said, "O Allah' Apostle ! You took an oath that you would not give us anything to ride, but you have given us." He said, "Yes, for if I take an oath and later I see a better solution than that, I act on the later (and gave the expiation of that oaths"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 669:
Narrated Imran bin Husain:
The people of Banu Tamim came to Allah's Apostle, and he said, "Be glad (i.e. have good tidings). O Banu Tamim!" They said, "As you have given us good tidings then give us (some material things)." On that the features of Allah's Apostle changed (i.e. he took it ill). Then some people from Yemen came, and the Prophet said (to them) "Accept good tidings as Banu Tamim have not accepted them." They said, "We accept them, O Allah's Apostle!"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 670:
Narrated Abu Masud: The Prophet beckoned with his hand towards Yemen and said, "Belief is there." The harshness and mercilessness are the qualities of those farmers etc, who are busy with their camels and pay no attention to the religion (is towards

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 671:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The people of Yemen have come to you and they are more gentle and soft-hearted. Belief is Yemenite and Wisdom is Yemenite, while pride and haughtiness are the qualities of the owners of camels (i.e. bedouins). Calmness and solemnity are the characters of the owners of sheep."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 672:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Belief is Yemenite while afflictions appear from there (the east) from where the side of the head of Satan will appear."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 673:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The people of Yemen have come to you, and they are more soft hearted and gentle hearted people. The capacity for understanding religion is Yemenite and Wisdom is Yemenite."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 674:
Narrated Alqama:
We were sitting with Ibn Masud when Khabbab came and said, "O Abu Abdur-Rahman! Can these young fellows recite Koran as you do?" Ibn Mas'ud said, "If you wish I can order one of them to recite (Koran) for you ." Khabbab replied, "Yes. "Ibn Mas'ud said, "Recite, O 'Alqama!" On that, Zaid bin Hudair, the brother of Ziyad bin Hudair said, (to Ibn Mas'ud), "Why have you ordered 'Alqama to recite though he does not recite better than we?" Ibn Mas'ud said, "If you like, I would tell you what the Prophet said about your nation and his (i.e. 'Alqama's) nation." So I recited fifty Verses from Sura-Maryam. Abdullah (bin Mas'ud) said to Khabbab, "What do you think (about 'Alqama's recitation)?" Khabbab said, "He has recited well." Abdullah said, "Whatever I recite, 'Alqama recites." Then Abdullah turned towards Khabbab and saw that he was wearing a gold ring, whereupon he said, "Hasn't the time for its throwing away come yet?" Khabbab said, "You will not see me wearing it after today," and he throw it away.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 675:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Tufail bin Amr came to the Prophet and said, "The Daus (nation) have perished as they disobeyed and refused to accept Islam. So invoke Allah against them." But the Prophet said, "O Allah! Give guidance to the Daus (tribe) and bring them (to Islam)!"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 676:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
When I came to the Prophet said on my way, "O what a long tedious tiresome night; nevertheless, it has rescued me from the place of Heathenism." A slave of mine ran away on the way. When I reached the Prophet I gave him the oath of allegiance (for Islam), and while I was sitting with him, suddenly the slave appeared. The Prophet said to me. "O Abu Huraira! Here is your slave," I said, "He (i.e. the slave) is (free) for Allah's Sake," and manumitted him.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 677:
Narrated Adi bin Hatim:
We came to Umar in a delegation (during his rule). He started calling the men one by one, calling each by his name. (As he did not call me early) I said to him. "Don't you know me, O chief of the Believers?" He said, "Yes, you embraced Islam when they (i.e. your people) disbelieved; you have come (to the Truth) when they ran away; you fulfilled your promises when they broke theirs; and you recognized it (i.e. the Truth of Islam) when they denied it." On that, Adi said, "I therefore don't care."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 678:
Narrated Aisha:
We went out with Allah's Apostle during Hajjat-ul-Wada' and we assumed the Ihram for Umra. Then Allah's Apostle said to us, "Whoever has got the Hadi should assume the Ihram for Hajj and Umra and should not finish his Ihram till he has performed both (Umra and Hajj)." I arrived at Mecca along with him (i.e. the Prophet) while I was menstruating, so I did not perform the Tawaf around the Kaaba or between Safa and Marwa. I informed Allah's Apostle about that and he said, "Undo your braids and comb your hair, and then assume the Ihram for Hajj and leave the Umra." I did so, and when we performed and finished the Hajj, Allah's Apostles sent me to At-Tanim along with (my brother) Abdur-Rahman bin Abu Bakr As-Siddiq, to perform the Umra. The Prophet said, "This Umra is in lieu of your missed Umra." Those who had assumed the Ihram for Umra, performed the Tawaf around the Kaaba and between Safa and Marwa, and then finished their Ihram, and on their return from Mina, they performed another Tawaf (around the Kaaba and between Safa and Marwa), but those who combined their Hajj and Umra, performed only one Tawaf (between Safa and Marwa) (for both).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 679:
Narrated Ibn Juraij:
'Ata' said, "Ibn Abbas said, 'If he (i.e. the one intending to perform Umra) has performed the Tawaf around the Kaaba, his Ihram is considered to have finished.' said, 'What proof does Ibn Abbas has as to this saying?" 'Ata' said, "(The proof is taken) from the Statement of Allah:-- "And afterwards they are brought For sacrifice unto Ancient House (Kaaba at Mecca)" (22.33) and from the order of the Prophet to his companions to finish their Ihram during Hajjat-ul-Wada." I said (to 'Ata'), "That (i.e. finishing the Ihram) was after coming form 'Arafat." 'Ata' said, "Ibn Abbas used to allow it before going to 'Arafat (after finishing the Umra) and after coming from it (i.e. after performing the Hajj)."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 680:
Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ashari:
I came to the Prophet at a place called Al-Batha'. The Prophet said, "Did you assume the Ihram for Hajj?" I said, "Yes," He said, "How did you express your intention (for performing Hajj)? " I said, "Labbaik (i.e. I am ready) to assume the Ihram with the same intention as that of Allah's Apostle." The Prophet said, "Perform the Tawaf around the Kaaba and between Safa and Marwa, and then finish your Ihram." So I performed the Tawaf around the Kaaba and between Safa and Marwa and then I came to a woman from the tribe of Qais who removed the lice from my head.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 681:
Narrated Hafsa:
(the wife of the Prophet) The Prophet ordered all his wives to finish their Ihram during the year of Hajjat-ul-Wada. On that, I asked the Prophet "What stops you from finishing your Ihram?" He said, "I have matted my hair and garlanded my Hadi. So I will not finish my Ihram unless I have slaughtered my Hadi."

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Volume 5, Book 59, Number 682:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
A woman from the tribe of Khath'am asked for the verdict of Allah's Apostle (regarding something) during Hajjat-ul-Wada' while Al-Fadl bin Abbas was the companion-rider behind Allah's Apostle. She asked, "Allah's ordained obligation (i.e. compulsory Hajj) enjoined on His slaves has become due on my old father who cannot sit firmly on the riding animal. Will it be sufficient if I perform the Hajj on his behalf?" He said, "Yes."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 683:
Narrated (Abdullah) bin Umar:
The Prophet arrived (at Mecca) in the year of the Conquest (of Mecca) while Usama was riding behind him on (his she-camel)'. Al-Qaswa.' Bilal and Uthman bin Talha were accompanying him. When he made his she-camel kneel down near the Kaaba, he said to Uthman, "Get us the key (of the Kaaba). He brought the key to him and opened the gate (of the Kaaba), for him. The Prophet, Usama, Bilal and Uthman (bin Talha) entered the Kaaba and then closed the gate behind them (from inside). The Prophet stayed there for a long period and then came out. The people rushed to get in, but I went in before them and found Bilal standing behind the gate, and I said to him, "Where did the Prophet pray?" He said, "He prayed between those two front pillars." The Kaaba was built on six pillars, arranged in two rows, and he prayed between the two pillars of the front row leaving the gate of the Kaaba at his back and facing (in prayer) the wall which faces one when one enters the Kaaba. Between him and that wall (was the distance of about three cubits). But I forgot to ask Bilal about the number of Rakat the Prophet had prayed. There was a red piece of marble at the place where he (i.e. the Prophet) had offered the prayer.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 684:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) Safiya bin Huyai, the wife of the Prophet menstruated during Hajjat-ul-Wada' The Prophet said, "Is she going to detain us?" I said to him, "She has already come to Mecca and performed the Tawaf (ul-ifada) around the Kaaba, O Allah's Apostle." The Prophet said, " Let her then proceed on (to Medina)."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 685:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
We were talking about Hajjat-ul-Wada, while the Prophet was amongst us. We did not know what Hajjat-ul-Wada' signified. The Prophet praised Allah and then mentioned Al-Masih Ad-Dajjal and described him extensively, saying, "Allah did not send any prophet but that prophet warned his nation of Al-Masih Ad-Dajjal. Noah and the prophets following him warned (their people) of him. He will appear amongst you (O Mohammed's followers), and if it happens that some of his qualities may be hidden from you, but your Lord's State is clear to you and not hidden from you. The Prophet said it thrice. Verily, your Lord is not blind in one eye, while he (i.e. Ad-Dajjal) is blind in the right eye which looks like a grape bulging out (of its cluster). No doubt,! Allah has made your blood and your properties sacred to one another like the sanctity of this day of yours, in this town of yours, in this month of yours." The Prophet added: No doubt! Haven't I conveyed Allah's Message to you? " They replied, "Yes," The Prophet said thrice, "O Allah! Be witness for it." The Prophet added, "Woe to you!" (or said), "May Allah be merciful to you! Do not become infidels after me (i.e. my death) by cutting the necks (throats) of one another."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 686:
Narrated Zaid bin Arqam:
The Prophet fought nineteen Ghazwas and performed only one Hajj after he migrated (to Medina), and did not perform another Hajj after it, and that was Hajj-ul-Wada,' Abu Ishaq said, "He performed when he was in Mecca."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 687:
Narrated Jarir:
The Prophet ordered me during Hajjatul-Wada'. "Ask the people to listen." He then said, "Do not become infidels after me by cutting the necks (throats) of one another. "

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 688:
Narrated Abu Bakra:
The Prophet said, "Time has taken its original shape which it had when Allah created the Heavens and the Earth. The year is of twelve months, four of which are sacred, and out of these (four) three are in succession, i.e. Dhul-Qa'da, Dhul-Hijja and Al-Muharram, and the fourth is Rajab which is named after the Mudar tribe, between (the month of) Jumaida (ath-thania) and Sha'ban." Then the Prophet asked, "Which is this month?" We said, "Allah and His Apostle know better." On that the Prophet kept quiet so long that we thought that he might name it with another name. Then the Prophet said, "Isn't it the month of Dhul-Hijja?" We replied, "Yes." Then he said, "Which town is this?" "We replied, "Allah and His Apostle know better." On that he kept quiet so long that we thought that he might name it with another name. Then he said, "Isn't it the town of Mecca?" We replied, "Yes, " Then he said, "Which day is today?" We replied, "Allah and His Apostle know better." He kept quiet so long that we thought that he might name it with another name. Then he said, "Isn't it the day of An-Nahr (i.e. sacrifice)?" We replied, "Yes." He said, "So your blood, your properties, (The sub-narrator Mohammed said, 'I think the Prophet also said: And your honor..) are sacred to one another like the sanctity of this day of yours, in this city of yours, in this month of yours; and surely, you will meet your Lord, and He will ask you about your deeds. Beware! Do not become infidels after me, cutting the throats of one another. It is incumbent on those who are present to convey this message (of mine) to those who are absent. May be that some of those to whom it will be conveyed will understand it better than those who have actually heard it." (The sub-narrator, Mohammed, on remembering that narration, used to say, "Mohammed spoke the truth!") He (i.e. Prophet) then added twice, "No doubt! Haven't I conveyed (Allah's Message) to you?"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 689:
Narrated Tariq bin Shibab:
Some Jews said, "Had this Verse been revealed to us, we would have taken that day as 'Id (festival)." Umar said, "What Verse?" They said:-- "This day I have Perfected your religion for you, Completed My Favor upon you And have chosen for you Islam as your religion" (5.3) Umar said, "I know the place where it was revealed; It was revealed while Allah's Apostle was staying at 'Arafat."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 690:
Narrated Aisha:
We set out with Allah's Apostle, and some of us assumed the Ihram for Umra, some assumed it for Hajj, and some assumed it for both Hajj and Umra. Allah's Apostle assumed the Ihram for Hajj. So those who had assumed the Ihram for Hajj or for both Hajj and Umra, did not finish their Ihram till the day of An-Nahr (i.e. slaughter of sacrifices).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 691:
Narrated Malik:
The same as above (Hadith 690), saying, "(We set out) with Allah's Apostle in Hajjat-ul-Wada'...)"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 692:
Narrated Malik:
The same as above (Hadith 690).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 693:
Narrated Sad:
The Prophet visited me during Hajjat ul-Wada' while I was suffering from a disease which brought me to the verge of death. I said, "O Allah's Apostle! My ailment has reached such a (bad) state as you see, and I have much wealth, but I have no-one to inherit from me except my only daughter. Shall I give 2/3 of my property as alms (in charity)?" The Prophet said, "No," I said, "Shall I give half of my property as alms?" He said, "No." I said, "(Shall I give) 1/3 of it? " He replied, " 1/3, and even 1/3 is too much. It is better for you to leave your inheritors wealthy rather than to leave them poor, begging people (for their sustenance); and whatever you spend for Allah's Sake, you will get reward for it even for the morsel of food which you put in your wives mouth." I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Should I remain (in Mecca) behind my companions (who are going with you to Medina)?" The Prophet said, "If you remain behind, any good deed which you will do for Allah's Sake, will upgrade and elevate you. May be you will live longer so that some people may benefit by you and some other (i.e. infidels) may get harmed by you." The Prophet then added, "O Allah! Complete the Migration of my companions and do not turn them on their heels. But the poor Sad bin Khaula (not the above mentioned Sad) (died in Mecca) ." Allah's Apostle pitied Sad for he died in Mecca.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 694:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet got his head shaved during Hajjat-ul-Wada.'

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 695:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
During Hajjat-ul-Wada', the Prophet and some of his companions got their heads shaved while some of his companions got their head-hair cut short.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 696:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
That he came riding a donkey when Allah 's Apostle was standing at Mina during Hajjat-ul-Wada', leading the people in prayer. The donkey passed in front of a part of the row (of the people offering the prayer). Then he dismounted from it and took his position in the row with the people.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 697:
Narrated Hisham's father:
In my presence, Usama was asked about the speed of the Prophet during his Hajj. He replied, "It was Al-'Anaq (i.e. moderate easy speed) and if he encountered an open space, he used to increase his speed."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 698:
Narrated Abdullah bin Yazid Al-Khatmi:
That Abu Aiyub informed him that he offered the Maghrib and 'Isha' prayers together with the Prophet during Hajjat-ul-Wada.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 699:
Narrated Abu Musa:
My Companions sent me to Allah's Apostle to ask him for some animals to ride on as they were accompanying him in the army of Al-Usra, and that was the Ghazwa (Battle) of Tabuk, I said, "O Allah's Prophet! My companions have sent me to you to provide them with means of transportation." He said, "By Allah! I will not make you ride anything." It happened that when I reached him, he was in an angry mood, and I didn't notice it. So I returned in a sad mood because of the refusal the Prophet and for the fear that the Prophet might have become 'angry with me. So I returned to my companions and informed them of what the Prophet had said. Only a short while had passed when I heard Bilal calling, "O Abdullah bin Qais!" I replied to his call. Bilal said, "Respond to Allah's Apostle who is calling you." When I went to him (i.e. the Prophet), he said, "Take these two camels tied together and also these two camels tied together,"' referring to six camels he had brought them from Sad at that time. The Prophet added, "Take them to your companions and say, 'Allah (or Allah's Apostle) allows you to ride on these,' so ride on them." So I took those camels to them and said, "The Prophet allows you to ride on these (camels) but by Allah, I will not leave you till some of you proceed with me to somebody who heard the statement of Allah's Apostle. Do not think that I narrate to you a thing which Allah's Apostle has not said." They said to me, "We consider you truthful, and we will do what you like." The sub-narrator added: So Abu Musa proceeded along with some of them till they came to those who have heard the statement of Allah's Apostle wherein he denied them (some animals to ride on) and (his statement) whereby he gave them the same. So these people told them the same information as Abu Musa had told them.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 700:
Narrated Sad:
Allah's Apostle set out for Tabuk. appointing Ali as his deputy (in Medina). Ali said, "Do you want to leave me with the children and women?" The Prophet said, "Will you not be pleased that you will be to me like Aaron to Moses? But there will be no prophet after me."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 701:
Narrated Safwan bin Yala bin Umaiya:
that his father said, "I participated in Al-Usra (i.e. Tabuk) along with the Prophet." Yala added, "(My participation in) that Ghazwa was the best of my deeds to me." Ya'la said, "I had a laborer who quarrelled with somebody, and one of the two bit the hand of the other ('Ata', the sub-narrator, said, "Safwan told me who bit whom but I forgot it"), and the one who was bitten, pulled his hand out of the mouth of the biter, so one of the incisors of the biter was broken. So we came to the Prophet and he considered the biter's claim as invalid (i.e. the biter did not get a recompense for his broken incisor). The Prophet said, "Should he leave his hand in your mouth so that you might snap it as if it were in the mouth of a male camel to snap it?"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 702:
Narrated Abdullah bin Kab bin Malik:
Who, from among Kab's sons, was the guide of Kab when he became blind: I heard Kab bin Malik narrating the story of (the Ghazwa of) Tabuk in which he failed to take part. Kab said, "I did not remain behind Allah's Apostle in any Ghazwa that he fought except the Ghazwa of Tabuk, and I failed to take part in the Ghazwa of Badr, but Allah did not admonish anyone who had not participated in it, for in fact, Allah's Apostle had gone out in search of the caravan of Quraish till Allah made them (i.e. the Muslims) and their enemy meet without any appointment. I witnessed the night of Al-'Aqaba (pledge) with Allah's Apostle when we pledged for Islam, and I would not exchange it for the Badr battle although the Badr battle is more popular amongst the people than it (i.e. Al-'Aqaba pledge). As for my news (in this battle of Tabuk), I had never been stronger or wealthier than I was when I remained behind the Prophet in that Ghazwa.
By Allah, never had I two she-camels before, but I had then at the time of this Ghazwa. Whenever Allah's Apostle wanted to make a Ghazwa, he used to hide his intention by apparently referring to different Ghazwa till it was the time of that Ghazwa (of Tabuk) which Allah's Apostle fought in severe

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heat, facing, a long journey, desert, and the great number of enemy. So the Prophet announced to the Muslims clearly (their destination) so that they might get prepared for their Ghazwa. So he informed them clearly of the destination he was going to. Allah's Apostle was accompanied by a large number of Muslims who could not be listed in a book namely, a register." Ka'b added, "Any man who intended to be absent would think that the matter would remain hidden unless Allah revealed it through Divine Revelation. So Allah's Apostle fought that Ghazwa at the time when the fruits had ripened and the shade looked pleasant. Allah's Apostle and his companions prepared for the battle and I started to go out in order to get myself ready along with them, but I returned without doing anything. I would say to myself, 'I can do that.' So I kept on delaying it every now and then till the people got ready and Allah's Apostle and the Muslims along with him departed, and I had not prepared anything for my departure, and I said, I will prepare myself (for departure) one or two days after him, and then join them.' In the morning following their departure, I went out to get myself ready but returned having done nothing. Then again in the next morning, I went out to get ready but returned without doing anything.

Such was the case with me till they hurried away and the battle was missed (by me). Even then I intended to depart to take them over. I wish I had done so! But it was not in my luck. So, after the departure of Allah's Apostle, whenever I went out and walked amongst the people (i.e, the remaining persons), it grieved me that I could see none around me, but one accused of hypocrisy or one of those weak men whom Allah had excused. Allah's Apostle did not remember me till he reached Tabuk. So while he was sitting amongst the people in Tabuk, he said, 'What did Ka'b do?' A man from Banu Salama said, 'O Allah's Apostle! He has been stopped by his two Burdas (i.e. garments) and his looking at his own flanks with pride.' Then Mu'adh bin Jabal said, 'What a bad thing you have said! By Allah! O Allahs Apostle! We know nothing about him but good.' Allah's Apostle kept silent." Ka'b bin Malik added, "When I heard that he (i.e. the Prophet) was on his way back to Medina. I got dipped in my concern, and began to think of false excuses, saying to myself, 'How can I avoid his anger tomorrow?' And I took the advice of wise member of my family in this matter. When it was said that Allah's Apostle, had come near all the evil false excuses abandoned from my mind and I knew well that I could never come out of this problem by forging a false statement. Then I decided firmly to speak the truth. So Allah's Apostle arrived in the morning, and whenever he returned from a journey., he used to visit the Mosque first of all and offer a two-Rak'at prayer therein and then sit for the people. So when he had done all that (this time), those who had failed to join the battle (of Tabuk) came and started offering (false) excuses and taking oaths before him. They were something over eighty men; Allah's Apostle accepted the excuses they had expressed, took their pledge of allegiance asked for Allah's Forgiveness for them, and left the secrets of their hearts for Allah to judge. Then I came to him, and when I greeted him, he smiled a smile of an angry person and then said, 'Come on.' So I came walking till I sat before him. He said to me, 'What stopped you from joining us. Had you not purchased an animal For carrying you?' I answered, "Yes, O Allah's Apostle! But by Allah, if I were sitting before any person from among the people of the world other than you, I would have avoided his anger with an excuse.

By Allah, I have been bestowed with the power of speaking fluently and eloquently, but by Allah, I knew well that if today I tell you a lie to seek your favor, Allah would surely make you angry with me in the near future, but if I tell you the truth, though you will get angry because of it, I hope for Allah's Forgiveness. Really, by Allah, there was no excuse for me. By Allah, I had never been stronger or wealthier than I was when I remained behind you.' Then Allah's Apostle said, 'As regards this man, he has surely told the truth. So get up till Allah decides your case.' I got up, and many men of Banu Salama followed me and said to me. 'By Allah, we never witnessed you doing any sin before this. Surely, you failed to offer excuse to Allah's Apostle as the others who did not join him, have offered. The prayer of Allah's Apostle to Allah to forgive you would have been sufficient for you.' By Allah, they continued blaming me so much that I intended to return (to the Prophet) and accuse myself of having told a lie, but I said to them, 'Is there anybody else who has met the same fate as I have?' They replied, 'Yes, there are two men who have said the same thing as you have, and to both of them was given the same order as given to you.' I said, 'Who are they?' They replied, Murara bin Ar-Rabi Al-Amri and Hilal bin Umaiya Al-Waqifi.' By that they mentioned to me two pious men who had attended the Ghazwa (Battle) of Badr, and in whom there was an example for me. So I did not change my mind when they mentioned them to me. Allah's Apostle forbade all the Muslims to talk to us, the three aforesaid persons out of all those who had remained behind in that Ghazwa. So we kept away from the people and they changed their attitude towards us till the very land (where I lived) appeared strange to me as if I did not know it.

We remained in that condition for fifty nights. As regards my two fellows, they remained in their houses and kept on weeping, but I was the youngest of them and the firmest of them, so I used to go out and witness the prayers along with the Muslims and roam about in the markets, but none would talk to me, and I would come to Allah's Apostle and greet him while he was sitting In his gathering after the prayer, and I would wonder whether the Prophet did move his lips in return to my greetings or not. Then I would offer my prayer near to him and look at him stealthily. When I was busy with my prayer, he would turn his face towards me, but when I turned my face to him, he would turn his face away from me. When this harsh attitude of the people lasted long, I walked till I scaled the wall of the garden of Abu Qatada who was my cousin and dearest person to me, and I offered my greetings to him. By Allah, he did not return my greetings. I said, 'O Abu Qatada! I beseech you by Allah! Do you know that I love Allah and His Apostle?' He kept quiet. I asked him again, beseeching him by Allah, but he remained silent. Then I asked him again in the Name of Allah. He said, "Allah and His Apostle know it better.' Thereupon my eyes flowed with tears and I returned and jumped over the wall." Ka'b added, "While I was walking in the market of Medina, suddenly I saw a Nabati (i.e. a Christian farmer) from the Nabatis of Sham who came to sell his grains in Medina, saying, 'Who will lead me to Kab bin Malik?' The people began to point (me) out for him till he came to me and handed me a letter from the king of Ghassan in which the following was written:

"To proceed, I have been informed that your friend (i.e. the Prophet) has treated you harshly. Anyhow, Allah does not let you live at a place where you feel inferior and your right is lost. So join us, and we will console you."

When I read it, I said to myself, 'This is also a sort of a test.' Then I took the letter to the oven and made a fire therein by burning it. When forty out of the fifty nights elapsed, behold ! There came to me the messenger of Allah's Apostle and said, 'Allah's Apostle orders you to keep away from your wife,' I said, 'Should I divorce her; or else! what should I do?' He said, 'No, only keep aloof from her and do not cohabit her.' The Prophet sent the same message to my two fellows. Then I said to my wife. 'Go to your parents and remain with them till Allah gives His Verdict in this matter." Kab added, "The wife of Hilal bin Umaiya came to Apostle and said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Hilal bin Umaiya is a helpless old man who has no servant to attend on him. Do you dislike that I should serve him? ' He said, 'No (you can serve him) but he should not come near you.' She said, 'By Allah, he has no desire for anything. By, Allah, he has never ceased weeping till his case began till this day of his.'

On that, some of my family members said to me, 'Will you also ask Allah's Apostle to permit your wife (to serve you) as he has permitted the wife of Hilal bin Umaiya to serve him?' I said, 'By Allah, I will not ask the permission of Allah's Apostle regarding her, for I do not know What Allah's Apostle would say if I asked him to permit her (to serve me) while I am a young man.' Then I remained in that state for ten more nights after that till the period of fifty nights was completed starting from the time when Allah's Apostle prohibited the people from talking to us. When I had offered the Fajr prayer on the 50th morning on the roof of one of our houses and while I was sitting in the condition which Allah described (in the Koran) i.e. my very soul seemed straitened to me and even the earth seemed narrow to me for all its spaciousness, there I heard the voice of one who had ascended the mountain of Sala' calling with his loudest voice, 'O Kab bin Malik! Be happy (by receiving good tidings).' I fell down in prostration before Allah, realizing that relief has come. Allah's Apostle had announced the acceptance of our repentance by Allah when he had offered the Fajr prayer. The people then went out to congratulate us. Some bringers of good tidings went out to my two fellows, and a horseman came to me in haste, and a man of Banu Aslam came running and ascended the mountain and his voice was swifter than the horse. When he (i.e. the man) whose voice I had heard, came to me conveying the good tidings, I took off my garments and dressed him with them; and by Allah, I owned no other garments than them on that day. Then I borrowed two garments and wore them and went to Allah's Apostle.

The people started receiving me in batches, congratulating me on Allah's Acceptance of my repentance, saying, 'We congratulate you on Allah's Acceptance of your repentance." Kab further said, "When I entered the Mosque. I saw Allah's Apostle sitting with the people around him. Talha bin Ubaidullah swiftly came to me, shook hands with me and congratulated me. By Allah, none of the Muhajirin (i.e. Emigrants) got up for me except him (i.e. Talha), and I will never forget this for Talha." Kab added, "When I greeted Allah's Apostle he, his face being bright with joy, said "Be happy with the best day that you have got ever since your mother delivered you." Kab added, "I said to the Prophet 'Is this forgiveness from you or from Allah?' He said, 'No, it is from Allah.' Whenever Allah's Apostle became happy, his face would shine as if it were a piece of moon, and we all knew that characteristic of him. When I sat before him, I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Because of the acceptance of my repentance I will give up all my wealth as alms for the Sake of Allah and His Apostle. Allah's Apostle said, 'Keep some of your wealth, as it will be better for you.' I said, 'So I will keep my share from Khaibar with me,' and added, 'O Allah's Apostle! Allah has saved me for telling the truth; so it is a part of my repentance not to tell but the truth as long as I am alive. By Allah, I do not know anyone of the Muslims whom Allah has helped fortelling the truth more than me. Since I have mentioned that truth to Allah's Apostle till today, I have never intended to tell a lie. I hope that Allah will also save me (from telling lies) the rest of my life. So Allah revealed to His Apostle the Verse:--

"Verily, Allah has forgiven the Prophet, the Muhajirin (i.e. Emigrants (up to His Saying) And be with those who are true (in word and deed)." (9.117-119)

By Allah, Allah has never bestowed upon me, apart from His guiding me to Islam, a Greater blessing than the fact that I did not tell a lie to Allah's Apostle which would have caused me to perish as those who have told a lie perished, for Allah described those who told lies with the worst description He ever attributed to anybody else. Allah said:-- "They (i.e. the hypocrites) will swear by Allah to you when you return to them (up to His Saying) Certainly Allah is not pleased with the rebellious people--" (9.95-96) Kab added, "We, the three persons, differed altogether from those whose excuses Allah's Apostle accepted when they swore to him. He took their pledge of allegiance and asked Allah to forgive them, but Allah's Apostle left our case pending till Allah gave His Judgement about it. As for that Allah said):-- And to the three (He did for give also) who remained behind." (9.118)

What Allah said (in this Verse) does not indicate our failure to take part in the Ghazwa, but it refers to the deferment of making a decision by the Prophet about our case in contrast to the case of those who had taken an oath before him and he excused them by accepting their excuses.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 703:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
When the Prophet passed by Al-Hijr, he said, "Do not enter the dwelling places of those people who were unjust to themselves unless you enter in a weeping state lest the same calamity as of theirs should befall you." Then he covered his head and made his speed fast till he crossed the valley.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 704:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said to his companions who were at Al-Hijr, "Do not enter upon these people who are being punished, except in a weeping state, lest the same calamity as of theirs should befall you..."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 705:
Narrated Urwa bin Al-Mughira:
Al-Mughira bin Shu'ba, said, "The Prophet went out to answer the call of nature and (when he had finished) I got up to pour water for him." I think that he said that the event had taken place during the Ghazwa of Tabuk. Al-Mughira added. "The Prophet washed his face, and when he wanted to wash his forearms, the sleeves of his cloak became tight over them, so he took them out from underneath the cloak and then he washed them (i.e. his forearms) and passed wet hands over his Khuffs."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 706:
Narrated Abu Humaid: We returned in the company of the Prophet from the Ghazwa of Tabuk, and when we looked upon Medina, the Prophet said, "This is Taba (i.e. Medina), and this is Uhud, a mountain that loves us and is loved by us."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 707:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle returned from the Ghazwa of Tabuk, and when he approached Medina, he said, "There are some people in Medina who were with you all the time, you did not travel any portion of the journey nor crossed any valley, but they were with you they (i.e. the people) said, "O Allah's Apostle! Even though they were at Medina?" He said, "Yes, because they were stopped by a genuine excuse."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 708:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle sent a letter to Khosrau with Abdullah bin Hudhafa As-Sahmi and told him to hand it over to the governor of Al-Bahrain. The governor of Al-Bahrain handed it over to Khosrau, and when he read the latter, he tore it into pieces. (The sub-narrator added, "I think that Ibn Al-Musaiyab said, 'Allah 's Apostle invoked (Allah) to tear them all totally Khosrau and his companions) into pieces.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 709:
Narrated Abu Bakra:
During the days (of the battle) of Al-Jamal, Allah benefited me with a word I had heard from Allah's Apostle after I had

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been about to join the Companions of Al-Jamal (i.e. the camel) and fight along with them. When Allah's Apostle was informed that the Persians had crowned the daughter of Khosrau as their ruler, he said, "Such people as ruled by a lady will never be successful."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 710:
Narrated As-Sa'ib bin Yazid:
I remember that I went out with the boys to (the place called) Thaniyat-ul-Wada to receive Allah's Apostle .

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 711:
Narrated As-Saib:
I remember I went out with the boys to Thaniyat-ul-Wada' to receive the Prophet when he returned from the Ghazwa of Tabuk.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 712:
Narrated Um Al-Fadl bint Al-Harith:
I heard the Prophet reciting Surat-al-Mursalat 'Urfan (77) in the Maghrib prayer, and after that prayer he did not lead us in any prayer till he died.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 713:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Umar bin Al-Khattab used to let Ibn Abbas sit beside him, so AbdurRahman bin 'Auf said to Umar, "We have sons similar to him." Umar replied, "(I respect him) because of his status that you know." Umar then asked Ibn Abbas about the meaning of this Holy Verse:-- "When comes the help of Allah and the conquest of Mecca . . ." (110.1)
Ibn Abbas replied, "That indicated the death of Allah's Apostle which Allah informed him of." Umar said, "I do not understand of it except what you understand."
Narrated Aisha: The Prophet in his ailment in which he died, used to say, "O Aisha! I still feel the pain caused by the food I ate at Khaibar, and at this time, I feel as if my aorta is being cut from that poison."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 714:
Narrated Aisha:
Whenever Allah's Apostle became ill, he used to recite Al-Muawidhatan (i.e. the last two Suras of the Koran) and then blow his breath and passed his hand over himself. When he had his fatal illness, I started reciting Al-Muawidhatan and blowing my breath over him as he used to do, and then I rubbed the hand of the Prophet over his body.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 715:
Narrated Aisha:
I heard the Prophet and listened to him before his death while he was Lying supported on his back, and he was saying, "O Allah! Forgive me, and bestow Your Mercy on me, and let me meet the (highest) companions (of the Hereafter)." See the Koran (4.69) and See Hadith No. 719.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 716:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Thursday! And how great that Thursday was! The ailment of Allah's Apostle became worse (on Thursday) and he said, fetch me something so that I may write to you something after which you will never go astray." The people (present there) differed in this matter, and it was not right to differ before a prophet. Some said, "What is wrong with him ? (Do you think) he is delirious (seriously ill)? Ask him (to understand his state)." So they went to the Prophet and asked him again. The Prophet said, "Leave me, for my present state is better than what you call me for." Then he ordered them to do three things. He said, "Turn the pagans out of the 'Arabian Peninsula; respect and give gifts to the foreign delegations as you have seen me dealing with them." (Said bin Jubair, the sub-narrator said that Ibn Abbas kept quiet as rewards the third order, or he said, "I forgot it.") (See Hadith No. 116 Vol. 1)

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 717:
Narrated Ubaidullah bin Abdullah:
Ibn Abbas said, "When Allah's Apostle was on his deathbed and there were some men in the house, he said, 'Come near, I will write for you something after which you will not go astray.' Some of them (i.e. his companions) said, 'Allah's Apostle is seriously ill and you have the (Holy) Koran. Allah's Book is sufficient for us.' So the people in the house differed and started disputing. Some of them said, 'Give him writing material so that he may write for you something after which you will not go astray.' while the others said the other way round. So when their talk and differences increased, Allah's Apostle said, "Get up." Ibn Abbas used to say, "No doubt, it was very unfortunate (a great disaster) that Allah's Apostle was prevented from writing for them that writing because of their differences and noise."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 718:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet called Fatima during his fatal illness and told her something secretly and she wept. Then he called her again and told her something secretly, and she started laughing. When we asked her about that, she said, "The Prophet first told me secretly that he would expire in that disease in which he died, so I wept; then he told me secretly that I would be the first of his family to follow him, so I laughed (at that time)."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 719:
Narrated Aisha:
Used to hear (from the Prophet) that no Prophet dies till he is given the option to select either the worldly life or the life of the Hereafter. I heard the Prophet in his fatal disease, with his voice becoming hoarse, saying, "In the company of those on whom is the grace of Allah ..(to the end of the Verse)." (4.69) Thereupon I thought that the Prophet had been given the option.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 720:
Narrated Aisha:
When the Prophet fell ill in his fatal illness, he started saying, "With the highest companion."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 721:
Narrated Aisha:
When Allah 's Apostle was in good health, he used to say, "Never does a prophet die unless he is shown his place in Paradise (before his death), and then he is made alive or given option." When the Prophet became ill and his last moments came while his head was on my thigh, he became unconscious, and when he came to his senses, he looked towards the roof of the house and then said, "O Allah! (Please let me be) with the highest companion." Thereupon I said, "Hence he is not going to stay with us? " Then I came to know that his state was the confirmation of the narration he used to mention to us while he was in good health.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 722:
Narrated Aisha:
Abdur-Rahman bin Abu Bakr entered upon the Prophet while I was supporting the Prophet on my chest. AbdurRahman had a fresh Siwak then and he was cleaning his teeth with it. Allah's Apostle looked at it, so I took the Siwak, cut it (chewed it with my teeth), shook it and made it soft (with water), and then gave it to the Prophet who cleaned his teeth with it. I had never seen Allah's Apostle cleaning his teeth in a better way. After finishing the brushing of his teeth, he lifted his hand or his finger and said thrice, "O Allah! Let me be with the highest companions," and then died. Aisha used to say, "He died while his head was resting between my chest and chin."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 723:
Narrated Aisha:
Whenever Allah's Apostle became ill, he used to recite the Muawidhatan and blow his breath over himself (after their recitation) and rubbed his hands over his body. So when he was afflicted with his fatal illness. I started reciting the Muawidhatan and blowing my breath over him as he used to blow and made the hand of the Prophet pass over his body.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 724:
Narrated Aisha:
I heard the Prophet and listened to him before his death while he was leaning his back on me and saying, "O Allah! Forgive me, and bestow Your Mercy on me, and let me meet the companions."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 725:
Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair:
Aisha said, "The Prophet said during his fatal illness, "Allah cursed the Jews for they took the graves of their prophets as places for worship." Aisha added, "Had it not been for that (statement of the Prophet) his grave would have been made conspicuous. But he was afraid that it might be taken as a place for worship."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 726:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet died while he was between my chest and chin, so I never dislike the death agony for anyone after the Prophet.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 727:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) "When the ailment of Allah's Apostle became aggravated, he requested his wives to permit him to be (treated) nursed in my house, and they gave him permission. He came out (to my house), walking between two men with his feet dragging on the ground, between Abbas bin Abdul--Muttalib and another man" Ubaidullah said, "I told Abdullah of what Aisha had said, Abdullah bin Abbas said to me, 'Do you know who is the other man whom Aisha did not name?' I said, 'No.' Ibn Abbas said, 'It was Ali bin Abu Talib." Aisha, the wife of the Prophet used to narrate saying, "When Allah's Apostle entered my house and his disease became aggravated, he said, " Pour on me the water of seven water skins, the mouths of which have not been untied, so that I may give advice to the people.' So we let him sit in a big basin belonging to Hafsa, the wife of the Prophet and then started to pour water on him from these water skins till he started pointing to us with his hands intending to say, 'You have done your job." Aisha added, "Then he went out to the people and led them in prayer and preached to them." Aisha and Abdullah bin Abbas said, "When Allah's Apostle became ill seriously, he started covering his face with his woolen sheet, and when he felt short of breath, he removed it from hi; face and said, 'That is so! Allah's (curse be on the Jews and the Christians, as they took the graves of their prophets as (places of worship),' intending to warn (the Muslims) of what they had done." Aisha added, "I argued with Allah's Apostle repeatedly about that matter (i.e. his order that Abu Bakr should lead the people in prayer in his place when he was ill), and what made me argue so much, was, that it never occurred to my mind that after the Prophet, the people would ever love a man who had taken his place, and I felt that anybody standing in his place, would be a bad omen to the people, so I wanted Allah's Apostle to give up the idea of choosing Abu Bakr (to lead the people in prayer)."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 728:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
Ali bin Abu Talib came out of the house of Allah's Apostle during his fatal illness. The people asked, "O Abu Hasan (i.e. Ali)! How is the health of Allah's Apostle this morning?" Ali replied, "He has recovered with the Grace of Allah." Abbas bin Abdul Muttalib held him by the hand and said to him, "In three days you, by Allah, will be ruled (by somebody else), And by Allah, I feel that Allah's Apostle will die from this ailment of his, for I know how the faces of the offspring of Abdul Muttalib look at the time of their death. So let us go to Allah's Apostle and ask him who will take over the Caliphate. If it is given to us we will know as to it, and if it is given to somebody else, we will inform him so that he may tell the new ruler to take care of us." Ali said, "By Allah, if we asked Allah's Apostle for it (i.e. the Caliphate) and he denied it us, the people will never give it to us after that. And by Allah, I will not ask Allah's Apostle for it."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 729:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
While the Muslims were offering the Fajr prayer on Monday and Abu Bakr was leading them in prayer, suddenly Allah's Apostle lifted the curtain of Aisha's dwelling and looked at them while they were in the rows of the prayers and smiled. Abu Bakr retreated to join the row, thinking that Allah's Apostle wanted to come out for the prayer. The Muslims were about to be put to trial in their prayer (i.e. were about to give up praying) because of being overjoyed at seeing Allah's Apostle. But Allah's Apostle beckoned them with his hand to complete their prayer and then entered the dwelling and let fall the curtain.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 730:
Narrated Aisha:
It was one of the favors of Allah towards me that Allah's Apostle expired in my house on the day of my turn while he was leaning against my chest and Allah made my saliva mix with his saliva at his death. Abdur-Rahman entered upon me with a Siwak in his hand and I was supporting (the back of) Allah's Apostle (against my chest). I saw the Prophet looking at it (i.e. Siwak) and I knew that he loved the Siwak, so I said (to him), "Shall I take it for you ? " He nodded in agreement. So I took it and it was too stiff for him to use, so I said, "Shall I soften it for you ?" He nodded his approval. So I softened it and he cleaned his teeth with it. In front of him there was a jug or a tin, (The sub-narrator, Umar is in doubt as to which was right) containing water. He started dipping his hand in the water and rubbing his face with it, he said, "None has the right to be worshipped except Allah. Death has its agonies." He then lifted his hands (towards the sky) and started saying, "With the highest companion," till he expired and his hand dropped down.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 731:
Narrated Urwa:
Aisha said, "Allah's Apostle in his fatal illness, used to ask, 'Where will I be tomorrow? Where will I be tomorrow?", seeking Aisha's turn. His wives allowed him to stay wherever he wished. So he stayed at Aisha's house till he expired while he was with her." Aisha added, "The Prophet expired on the day of my turn in my house and he was taken unto Allah while his head was against my chest and his saliva mixed with my saliva." Aisha added, "Abdur-Rahman bin Abu Bakr came in, carrying a Siwak he was cleaning his teeth with. Allah's Apostle looked at it and I said to him, 'O AbdurRahman! Give me this Siwak.' So he gave it to me and I cut it, chewed it (it's end) and gave it to Allah's Apostle who cleaned his teeth with it while he was resting against my chest."

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Volume 5, Book 59, Number 732:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet expired in my house and on the day of my turn, leaning against my chest. One of us (i.e. the Prophet's wives) used to recite a prayer asking Allah to protect him from all evils when he became sick. So I started asking Allah to protect him from all evils (by reciting a prayer). He raised his head towards the sky and said, "With the highest companions, with the highest companions." Abdur-Rahman bin Abu Bakr passed carrying a fresh leaf-stalk of a date-palm and the Prophet looked at it and I thought that the Prophet was in need of it (for cleaning his teeth). So I took it (from Abdur Rahman) and chewed its head and shook it and gave it to the Prophet who cleaned his teeth with it, in the best way he had ever cleaned his teeth, and then he gave it to me, and suddenly his hand dropped down or it fell from his hand (i.e. he expired). So Allah made my saliva mix with his saliva on his last day on earth and his first day in the Hereafter.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 733:
Narrated Aisha:
Abu Bakr came from his house at As-Sunh on a horse. He dismounted and entered the Mosque, but did not speak to the people till he entered upon Aisha and went straight to Allah's Apostle who was covered with Hibra cloth (i.e. a kind of Yemenite cloth). He then uncovered the Prophet's face and bowed over him and kissed him and wept, saying, "Let my father and mother be sacrificed for you. By Allah, Allah will never cause you to die twice. As for the death which was written for you, has come upon you."
Narrated Ibn Abbas: Abu Bakr went out while Umar bin Al-Khattab was talking to the people. Abu Bakr said, "Sit down, O Umar!" But Umar refused to sit down. So the people came to Abu Bakr and left Umar. Abu Bakr said, "To proceed, if anyone amongst you used to worship Mohammed , then Mohammed is dead, but if (anyone of) you used to worship Allah, then Allah is Alive and shall never die. Allah said:--"Mohammed is no more than an Apostle, and indeed (many) apostles have passed away before him..(till the end of the Verse).....Allah will reward to those who are thankful." (3.144) By Allah, it was as if the people never knew that Allah had revealed this Verse before till Abu Bakr recited it and all the people received it from him, and I heard everybody reciting it (then).
Narrated Az-Zuhri: Said bin Al-Musaiyab told me that Umar said, "By Allah, when I heard Abu Bakr reciting it, my legs could not support me and I fell down at the very moment of hearing him reciting it, declaring that the Prophet had died."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 734:
Narrated Aisha and Ibn Abbas:
Abu Bakr kissed the Prophet after his death.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 735:
Narrated Aisha:
We poured medicine in one side of the Prophet's mouth during his illness and he started pointing to us, meaning to say, "Don't pour medicine in my mouth." We said, "(He says so) because a patient dislikes medicines." When he improved and felt a little better, he said, "Didn't I forbid you to pour medicine in my mouth ?" We said, " (We thought it was because of) the dislike, patients have for medicines. He said, "Let everyone present in the house be given medicine by pouring it in his mouth while I am looking at him, except Abbas as he has not witnessed you (doing the same to me)."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 736:
Narrated Al-Aswad:
It was mentioned in the presence of Aisha that the Prophet had appointed Ali as successor by will. Thereupon she said, "Who said so? I saw the Prophet, while I was supporting him against my chest. He asked for a tray, and then fell on one side and expired, and I did not feel it. So how (do the people say) he appointed Ali as his successor?"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 737:
Narrated Talha:
I asked Abdullah bin Abu 'Aufa "Did the Prophet make a will? ' He replied, "No." I further asked, "How comes it that the making of a will was enjoined on the people or that they were ordered to make it? " He said, "The Prophet made a will concerning Allah's Book."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 738:
Narrated Amir bin Al-Harith:
Allah's Apostle did not leave a Dinar or a Dirham or a male or a female slave. He left only his white mule on which he used to ride, and his weapons, and a piece of land which he gave in charity for the needy travelers.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 739:
Narrated Anas:
When the ailment of the Prophet got aggravated, he became unconscious whereupon Fatima said, "Oh, how distressed my father is!" He said, "Your father will have no more distress after today." When he expired, she said, "O Father! Who has responded to the call of the Lord Who has invited him! O Father, whose dwelling place is the Garden of Paradise (i.e. Al-Firdaus)! O Father! We convey this news (of your death) to Gabriel." When he was buried, Fatima said, "O Anas! Do you feel pleased to throw earth over Allah's Apostle?"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 740:
Narrated Aisha:
When the Prophet was healthy, he used to say, "No soul of a prophet is captured till he is shown his place in Paradise and then he is given the option." When death approached him while his head was on my thigh, he became unconscious and then recovered his consciousness. He then looked at the ceiling of the house and said, "O Allah! (with) the highest companions." I said (to myself), "Hence, he is not going to choose us." Then I realised that what he had said was the application of the narration which he used to mention to us when he was healthy. The last word he spoke was, "O Allah! (with) the highest companion."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 741:
Narrated Aisha and Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet stayed for ten years in Mecca with the Koran being revealed to him and he stayed in Medina for ten years.'

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 742:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah 's Apostle died when he was sixty-three years of age.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 743:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet died while his armor was mortgaged to a Jew for thirty Sa's of barley.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 744:
Narrated Salim's father:
The Prophet appointed Usama as the commander of the troops (to be sent to Syria). The Muslims spoke about Usama (unfavorably). The Prophet said, " I have been informed that you spoke about Usama. (Let it be known that) he is the most beloved of all people to me."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 745:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle sent troops appointed Usama bin Zaid as their commander. The people criticized his leadership. Allah's Apostle got up and said, "If you (people) are criticizing his (i.e. Usama's) leadership you used to criticize the leadership of his father before. By Allah, he (i.e. Zaid) deserved the leadership indeed, and he used to be one of the most beloved persons to me, and now this (i.e. his son, Usama) is one of the most beloved persons to me after him."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 746:
Narrated Ibn Abu Habib:
Abu Al-Khair said, "As-Sanabih, I asked (me), 'When did you migrate?' I (i.e. Abu Al-Khair) said, 'We went out from Yemen as emigrants and arrived at Al-Juhfa, and there came a rider whom I asked about the news. The rider said: We buried the Prophet five days ago." I asked (As-Sanabihi), 'Did you hear anything about the night of Qadr?' He replied, 'Bilal, the Mu'adhdhin of the Prophet informed me that it is on one of the seven nights of the last ten days (of Ramadan)."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 747:
Narrated Abu Ishaq:
I asked Zaid bin Al-Arqam, "In how many Ghazawat did you take part in the company of Allah's Apostle?" He replied, "Seventeen." I further asked, "How many Ghazawat did the Prophet fight?" He replied, "Nineteen."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 748:
Narrated Al-Bara:
I fought fifteen Ghazawat in the company of the Prophet.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 749:
Narrated Buraida:
That he fought sixteen Ghazawat with Allah's Apostle.

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, VOLUME 6

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 60
Prophetic Commentary on the Koran (Tafsir of the Prophet, meaning: exegesis or interpretation of the Koran.)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 1:
Narrated Abu Said bin Al-Mu'alla:
While I was praying in the Mosque, Allah's Messenger called me but I did not respond to him. Later I said, "O Allah's Messenger! I was praying." He said, "Did Allah not say'--"Give your response to Allah (by obeying Him) and to His Apostle when he calls you." (8.24) He then said to me, "I will teach you a Sura which is the greatest Sura in the Koran, before you leave the Mosque." Then he got hold of my hand, and when he intended to leave (the Mosque), I said to him, "Did you not say to me, 'I will teach you a Sura which is the greatest Sura in the Koran?' He said, "Al-Hamdu-Li l-lah Rabbi-l-alamin (i.e. Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds) which is Al-Sab'a Al-Mathani (i.e. seven repeatedly recited Verses) and the Grand Koran which has been given to me."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 2:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Messenger said, "When the Imam says: 'Ghair-il-Maghdubi 'alaihim Walad-Dallin (i.e. not the path of those who earn Your Anger, nor the path of those who went astray (1.7)), then you must say, 'Ameen', for if one's utterance of 'Ameen' coincides with that of the angels, then his past sins will be forgiven."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 3:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "On the Day of Resurrection the Believers will assemble and say, 'Let us ask somebody to intercede for us with our Lord.' So they will go to Adam and say, 'You are the father of all the people, and Allah created you with His Own Hands, and ordered the angels to prostrate to you, and taught you the names of all things; so please intercede for us with your Lord, so that He may relieve us from this place of ours.' Adam will say, 'I am not fit for this (i.e. intercession for you).' Then Adam will remember his sin and feel ashamed thereof. He will say, 'Go to Noah, for he was the first Apostle, Allah sent to the inhabitants of the earth.' They will go to him and Noah will say, 'I am not fit for this undertaking.' He will remember his appeal to his Lord to do what he had no knowledge of, then he will feel ashamed thereof and will say, 'Go to the Khalil--r-Rahman (i.e. Abraham).' They will go to him and he will say, 'I am not fit for this undertaking. Go to Moses, the slave to whom Allah spoke (directly) and gave him the Torah .' So they will go to him and he will say, 'I am not fit for this undertaking.' and he will mention (his) killing a person who was not a killer, and so he will feel ashamed thereof before his Lord, and he will say, 'Go to Jesus, Allah's Slave, His Apostle and Allah's Word and a Spirit coming from Him. Jesus will say, 'I am not fit for this undertaking, go to Mohammed the Slave of Allah whose past and future sins were forgiven by Allah.' So they will come to me and I will proceed till I will ask my Lord's Permission and I will be given permission. When I see my Lord, I will fall down in Prostration and He will let me remain in that state as long as He wishes and then I will be addressed.' (Mohammed!) Raise your head. Ask, and your request will be granted; say, and your saying will be listened to; intercede, and your intercession will be accepted.' I will raise my head and praise Allah with a saying (i.e. invocation) He will teach me, and then I will intercede. He will fix a limit for me (to intercede for) whom I will admit into Paradise. Then I will come back again to Allah, and when I see my Lord, the same thing will happen to me. And then I will intercede and Allah will fix a limit for me to intercede whom I will let into Paradise, then I will come back for the third time; and then I will come back for the fourth time, and will say, 'None remains in Hell but those whom the Koran has imprisoned (in Hell) and who have been destined to an eternal stay in Hell.' " (The compiler) Abu Abdullah said: 'But those whom the Koran has imprisoned in Hell,' refers to the Statement of Allah: "They will dwell therein forever." (16.29)
Volume 6, Book 60, Number 4:
Narrated Abdullah:
I asked the Prophet, "What is the greatest sin in the Sight of Allah?" He said, "That you set up a rival unto Allah though He Alone created you." I said, "That is indeed a great sin." Then asked, "What is next?" He said, "To kill your son lest he should share your food with you." I asked, "What is next?" He said, "To commit illegal sexual intercourse with the wife of your neighbour."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 5:
Narrated Said bin Zaid:
Allah's Messenger said, "The Kam'a (i.e. a kind of edible fungus) is like the Manna (in that it is obtained without effort) and its water is a (medicine) cure for eye trouble."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 6:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "It was said to the children of Israel, 'Enter the gate (of the town), prostrate (in humility) and say: Hittatun (i.e. repentance) i.e. O Allah! Forgive our sins.' But they entered by dragging themselves on their buttocks, so they did something different (from what they had been ordered to do) and said, 'Hittatun,' but added, "A grain in a hair."

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Volume 6, Book 60, Number 7:
Narrated Anas:
Abdullah bin Salam heard the news of the arrival of Allah's Messenger (at Medina) while he was on a farm collecting its fruits. So he came to the Prophet and said, "I will ask you about three things which nobody knows unless he be a prophet. Firstly, what is the first portent of the Hour? What is the first meal of the people of Paradise? And what makes a baby look like its father or mother?'. The Prophet said, "Just now Gabriel has informed me about that." Abdullah said, "Gabriel?" The Prophet said, "Yes." Abdullah said, "He, among the angels is the enemy of the Jews." On that the Prophet recited this Holy Verse:-- "Whoever is an enemy to Gabriel (let him die in his fury!) for he has brought it (i.e. Koran) down to your heart by Allah's permission." (2.97) Then he added, "As for the first portent of the Hour, it will be a fire that will collect the people from the East to West. And as for the first meal of the people of Paradise, it will be the caudite (i.e. extra) lobe of the fish liver. And if a man's discharge proceeded that of the woman, then the child resembles the father, and if the woman's discharge proceeded that of the man, then the child resembles the mother." On hearing that, Abdullah said, "I testify that None has the right to be worshipped but Allah, and that you are the Messenger of Allah, O, Allah's Messenger; the Jews are liars, and if they should come to know that I have embraced Islam, they would accuse me of being a liar." In the meantime some Jews came (to the Prophet) and he asked them, "What is Abdullah's status amongst you?" They replied, "He is the best amongst us, and he is our chief and the son of our chief." The Prophet said, "What would you think if Abdullah bin Salam embraced Islam?" They replied, "May Allah protect him from this!" Then Abdullah came out and said, "I testify that None has the right to be worshipped but Allah and that Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah." The Jews then said, "Abdullah is the worst of us and the son of the worst of us," and disparaged him. On that Abdullah said, "O Allah's Messenger! This is what I was afraid of!"

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 8:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Umar said, "Our best Koran reciter is Ubai and our best judge is Ali; and in spite of this, we leave some of the statements of Ubai because Ubai says, 'I do not leave anything that I have heard from Allah's Messenger while Allah: "Whatever verse (Revelations) do We abrogate or cause to be forgotten but We bring a better one or similar to it." (2.106)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 9:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "Allah said, 'The son of Adam tells a lie against me though he has no right to do so, and he abuses Me though he has no right to do so. As for his telling a lie against Me, it is that he claims that I cannot recreate him as I created him before; and as for his abusing Me, it is his statement that I have offspring. No! Glorified be Me! I am far from taking a wife or offspring.' "

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 10:
Narrated Anas:
Umar said, "I agreed with Allah in three things," or said, "My Lord agreed with me in three things. I said, 'O Allah's Messenger! Would that you took the station of Abraham as a place of prayer.' I also said, 'O Allah's Messenger! Good and bad persons visit you! Would that you ordered the Mothers of the believers to cover themselves with veils.' So the Divine Verses of Al-Hijab (i.e. veiling of the women) were revealed. I came to know that the Prophet had blamed some of his wives so I entered upon them and said, 'You should either stop (troubling the Prophet) or else Allah will give His Apostle better wives than you.' When I came to one of his wives, she said to me, 'O Umar! Does Allah's Messenger haven't what he could advise his wives with, that you try to advise them?' " Thereupon Allah revealed:-- "It may be, if he divorced you (all) his Lord will give him instead of you, wives better than you Muslims (who submit to Allah).." (66.5)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 11:
Narrated Aisha:
(The wife of the Prophet) Allah's Messenger said, "Don't you see that when your people built the Kaba, they did not build it on all Abraham's foundations?" I said, "O Allah's Messenger! Why don't you rebuild it on Abraham's foundations?" He said, "Were your people not so close to (the period of Heathenism, i.e. the Period between their being Muslims and being infidels), I would do so." The sub-narrator, Abdullah bin Umar said, "Aisha had surely heard Allah's Messenger saying that, for I do not think that Allah's Messenger left touching the two corners of the Kaba facing Al-Hijr except because the Kaba was not built on all Abraham's foundations."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 12:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The people of the Scripture (Jews) used to recite the Torah in Hebrew and they used to explain it in Arabic to the Muslims. On that Allah's Messenger said, "Do not believe the people of the Scripture or disbelieve them, but say:-- "We believe in Allah and what is revealed to us." (2.136)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 13:
Narrated Al-Bara:
The Prophet prayed facing Bait-ulMaqdis (i.e. Jerusalem) for sixteen or seventeen months but he wished that his Qibla would be the Kaba (at Mecca). (So Allah Revealed (2.144) and he offered Asr prayers(in his Mosque facing Kaba at Mecca) and some people prayed with him. A man from among those who had prayed with him, went out and passed by some people offering prayer in another mosque, and they were in the state of bowing. He said, "I, (swearing by Allah,) testify that I have prayed with the Prophet facing Mecca." Hearing that, they turned their faces to the Kaba while they were still bowing. Some men had died before the Qibla was changed towards the Kaba. They had been killed and we did not know what to say about them (i.e. whether their prayers towards Jerusalem were accepted or not). So Allah revealed:-- "And Allah would never make your faith (i.e. prayer) to be lost (i.e. your prayers offered (towards Jerusalem). Truly Allah is Full of Pity, Most Merciful towards mankind." (2.143)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 14:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
Allah's Messenger said, "Noah will be called on the Day of Resurrection and he will say, 'Labbaik and Sadaik, O my Lord!' Allah will say, 'Did you convey the Message?' Noah will say, 'Yes.' His nation will then be asked, 'Did he convey the Message to you?' They will say, 'No Warner came to us.' Then Allah will say (to Noah), 'Who will bear witness in your favor?' He will say, 'Mohammed and his followers. So they (i.e. Muslims) will testify that he conveyed the Message. And the Apostle (Mohammed) will be a witness over yourselves, and that is what is meant by the Statement of Allah "Thus We have made of you a just and the best nation that you may be witnesses over mankind and the Apostle (Mohammed) will be a witness over yourselves." (2.143)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 15:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
While some people were offering Fajr prayer in the Quba' mosque, some-one came and said, "Allah has revealed to the Prophet Koranic instructions that you should face the Kaba (while praying) so you too, should face it." Those people then turned towards the Kaba.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 16:
Narrated Anas:
None remains of those who prayed facing both Qiblas (that is, Jerusalem and Mecca) except myself.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 17:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
While some people were offering morning prayer at Quba' a man came to them and said, "A Koranic Order has been revealed to Allah's Messenger tonight that he should face the Kaba at Mecca (in prayer), so you too should turn your faces towards it." At that moment their faces were towards Sham (i.e. Jerusalem) (and on hearing that) they turned towards the Kaba (at Mecca).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 18:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
While some people were offering Fajr prayer at Quba' (mosque), some-one came to them and said, "Tonight some Koranic Verses have been revealed to the Prophet and he has been ordered to face the Kaba (at Mecca) (during prayers), so you too should turn your faces towards it." At that time their faces were towards Sham (Jerusalem) so they turned towards the Kaba (at Mecca).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 19:
Narrated Al-Bara:
We prayed along with the Prophet facing Jerusalem for sixteen or seventeen months. Then Allah ordered him to turn his face towards the Qibla (in Mecca):-- "And from whence-so-ever you start forth (for prayers) turn your face in the direction of (the Sacred Mosque of Mecca) Al-Masjid-ul Haram.." (2.149)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 20:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
While some people were at Quba (offering) morning prayer, a man came to them and said, "Last night Koranic Verses have been revealed whereby the Prophet has been ordered to face the Kaba (at Mecca), so you too should face it." So they, keeping their postures, turned towards the Kaba. Formerly the people were facing Sham (Jerusalem) (Allah said):-- "And from whence-so-ever you start forth (for prayers), turn your face in the direction of the Sacred Mosque of Mecca (Al-Masjid-ul-Haram), and whence-so-ever you are, turn your face towards it (when you pray)" (2.150)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 21:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
While some people were offering Fajr prayer at Quba mosque, someone came to them and said, "Koranic literature" has been revealed to Allah's Messenger tonight, and he has been ordered to face the Kaba (of Mecca) so you too, should turn your faces towards it. Their faces were then towards Sham (Jerusalem), so they turned towards the Qibla (i.e. Kaba of Mecca).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 22:
Narrated Urwa:
I said to Aisha, the wife of the Prophet, and I was at that time a young boy, "How do you interpret the Statement of Allah: "Verily, Safa and Marwa (i.e. two mountains at Mecca) are among the Symbols of Allah." So it is not harmful of those who perform the Hajj to the House of Allah) or perform the Umra, to ambulate (Tawaf) between them. In my opinion it is not sinful for one not to ambulate (Tawaf) between them." Aisha said, "Your interpretation is wrong for as you say, the Verse should have been: "So it is not harmful of those who perform the Hajj or Umra to the House, not to ambulate (Tawaf) between them.' This Verse was revealed in connection with the Ansar who (during the Pre-Islamic Period) used to visit Manat (i.e. an idol) after assuming their Ihram, and it was situated near Qudaid (i.e. a place at Mecca), and they used to regard it sinful to ambulate between Safa and Marwa after embracing Islam. When Islam came, they asked Allah's Messenger about it, whereupon Allah revealed:-- "Verily, Safa and Marwa (i.e. two mountains at Mecca) are among the Symbols of Allah. So it is not harmful of those who perform the Hajj of the House (of Allah) or perform the Umra, to ambulate (Tawaf) between them." (2.158)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 23:
Narrated Asim bin Sulaiman:
I asked Anas bin Malik about Safa and Marwa. Anas replied, "We used to consider (i.e. going around) them a custom of the Pre-islamic period of Ignorance, so when Islam came, we gave up going around them. Then Allah revealed" "Verily, Safa and Marwa (i.e. two mountains at Mecca) are among the Symbols of Allah. So it is not harmful of those who perform the Hajj of the House (of Allah) or perform the Umra to ambulate (Tawaf) between them." (2.158)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 24:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet said one statement and I said another. The Prophet said "Whoever dies while still invoking anything other than Allah as a rival to Allah, will enter Hell (Fire)." And I said, "Whoever dies without invoking anything as a rival to Allah, will enter Paradise."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 25:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The law of Qisas (i.e. equality in punishment) was prescribed for the children of Israel, but the Diya (i.e. blood money was not ordained for them). So Allah said to this Nation (i.e. Muslims): "O you who believe! The law of Al-Qisas (i.e. equality in punishment) is prescribed for you in cases of murder: The free for the free, the slave for the slave, and the female for the female. But if the relatives (or one of them) of the killed (person) forgive their brother (i.e. the killers something of Qisas (i.e. not to kill the killer by accepting blood money in the case of intentional murder)---- then the relatives (of the killed person) should demand blood-money in a reasonable manner and the killer must pay with handsome gratitude. This is an allevitation and a Mercy from your Lord, (in comparison to what was prescribed for the nations before you). So after this, whoever transgresses the limits (i.e. to kill the killer after taking the blood-money) shall have a painful torment." (2.178)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 26:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "The prescribed Law of Allah is the equality in punishment (i.e. Al-Qisas)." (In cases of murders, etc.)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 27:
Narrated Anas:
That his aunt, Ar-Rubai' broke an incisor tooth of a girl. My aunt's family requested the girl's relatives for forgiveness but they refused; then they proposed a compensation, but they refused. Then they went to Allah's Messenger and refused everything except Al-Qisas (i.e. equality in punishment). So Allah's Apostle passed the judgement of Al-Qisas (i.e. equality of punishment). Anas bin Al-Nadr said, "O Allah's Messenger! Will the incisor tooth of Ar-Rubai be broken? No, by Him Who sent you with the Truth, her incisor tooth will not be broken." Allah's Messenger said, "O Anas! The prescribed law

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of Allah is equality in punishment (i.e. Al-Qisas.)" Thereupon those people became satisfied and forgave her. Then Allah's Messenger said, "Among Allah's Worshippers there are some who, if they took Allah's Oath (for something), Allah fulfill their oaths."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 28:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Fasting was observed on the day of 'Ashura' (i.e. 10th of Muharram) by the people of the Pre-lslamic Period. But when (the order of compulsory fasting) in the month of Ramadan was revealed, the Prophet said, "It is up to one to fast on it (i.e. day of 'Ashura') or not."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 29:
Narrated Aisha:
The people used to fast on the day of 'Ashura' before fasting in Ramadan was prescribed but when (the order of compulsory fasting in) Ramadan was revealed, it was up to one to fast on it (i.e. 'Ashura') or not.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 30:
Narrated Abdullah:
That Al-Ash'ath entered upon him while he was eating. Al-Ash'ath said, "Today is 'Ashura." I said (to him), "Fasting had been observed (on such a day) before (the order of compulsory fasting in) Ramadan was revealed. But when (the order of fasting in) Ramadan was revealed, fasting (on 'Ashura') was given up, so come and eat."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 31:
Narrated Aisha:
During the Pre-lslamic Period of ignorance the Quraish used to observe fasting on the day of 'Ashura', and the Prophet himself used to observe fasting on it too. But when he came to Medina, he fasted on that day and ordered the Muslims to fast on it. When (the order of compulsory fasting in) Ramadan was revealed, fasting in Ramadan became an obligation, and fasting on 'Ashura' was given up, and who ever wished to fast (on it) did so, and whoever did not wish to fast on it, did not fast.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 32:
Narrated Ata:
That he heard Ibn Abbas reciting the Divine Verse:-- "And for those who can fast they had a choice either fast, or feed a poor for every day.." (2.184) Ibn Abbas said, "This Verse is not abrogated, but it is meant for old men and old women who have no strength to fast, so they should feed one poor person for each day of fasting (instead of fasting).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 33:
Narrated Nafi:
Ibn Umar recited: "They had a choice, either fast or feed a poor for every day.." and added, "This Verse is abrogated."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 34:
Narrated Salama:
When the Divine Revelation: "For those who can fast, they had a choice either fast, or feed a poor for every day," (2.184) was revealed, it was permissible for one to give a ransom and give up fasting, till the Verse succeeding it was revealed and abrogated it.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 35:
Narrated Al-Bara:
When the order of compulsory fasting of Ramadan was revealed, the people did not have sexual relations with their wives for the whole month of Ramadan, but some men cheated themselves (by violating that restriction). So Allah revealed: "Allah is aware that you were deceiving yourselves but He accepted your repentance and forgave you.." (3.187)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 36:
Narrated Ash-Shubi:
Adi took a white rope (or thread) and a black one, and when some part of the night had passed, he looked at them but he could not distinguish one from the other. The next morning he said, "O Allah's Apostle! I put (a white thread and a black thread) underneath my pillow." The Prophet said, "Then your pillow is too wide if the white thread (of dawn) and the black thread (of the night) are underneath your pillow! "

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 37:
Narrated Adi bin Hatim:
I said, "O Allah's Messenger! What is the meaning of the white thread distinct from the black thread? Are these two threads?" He said, "You are not intelligent if you watch the two threads." He then added, "No, it is the darkness of the night and the whiteness of the day."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 38:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad The Verse "And eat and drink until the white thread appears to you distinct:
from the black thread." was revealed, but: '... of dawn' was not revealed (along with it) so some men, when intending to fast, used to tie their legs, one with white thread and the other with black thread and would keep on eating till they could distinguish one thread from the other. Then Allah revealed' ... of dawn,' whereupon they understood that meant the night and the day.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 39:
Narrated Al-Bara:
In the Pre-lslamic Period when the people assumed Ihram, they would enter their houses from the back. So Allah revealed:-- "And it is not righteousness that you enter houses from the back, but the righteous man is he who fears Allah, obeys His Orders and keeps away from what He has forbidden. So enter houses through their doors." (2.189)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 40:
Narrated Nafi:
During the affliction of Ibn Az-Zubair, two men came to Ibn Umar and said, "The people are lost, and you are the son of Umar, and the companion of the Prophet, so what forbids you from coming out?" He said, "What forbids me is that Allah has prohibited the shedding of my brother's blood." They both said, "Didn't Allah say, 'And fight then until there is no more affliction?" He said "We fought until there was no more affliction and the worship is for Allah (Alone while you want to fight until there is affliction and until the worship become for other than Allah." Narrated Nafi (through another group of sub-narrators): A man came to Ibn Umar and said, "O Abu Abdur Rahman! What made you perform Hajj in one year and Umra in another year and leave the Jihad for Allah' Cause though you know how much Allah recommends it?" Ibn Umar replied, "O son of my brother! Islam is founded on five principles, i.e. believe in Allah and His Apostle, the five compulsory prayers, the fasting of the month of Ramadan, the payment of Zakat, and the Hajj to the House (of Allah)." The man said, "O Abu Abdur Rahman! Won't you listen to why Allah has mentioned in His Book: 'If two groups of believers fight each other, then make peace between them, but if one of then transgresses beyond bounds against the other, then you all fight against the one that transgresses. (49.9) and:--"And fight them till there is no more affliction (i.e. no more worshiping of others along with Allah)." Ibn Umar said, "We did it, during the lifetime of Allah's Messenger when Islam had only a few followers. A man would be put to trial because of his religion; he would either be killed or tortured. But when the Muslims increased, there was no more afflictions or oppressions." The man said, "What is your opinion about Uthman and Ali?" Ibn Umar said, "As for Uthman, it seems that Allah has forgiven him, but you people dislike that he should be forgiven. And as for Ali, he is the cousin of Allah's Messenger and his son-in-law." Then he pointed with his hand and said, "That is his house which you see."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 41:
Narrated Abu Wail:
Hudhaifa said, "The Verse:-- "And spend (of your wealth) in the Cause of Allah and do not throw yourselves in destruction," (2.195) was revealed concerning spending in Allah's Cause (i.e. Jihad).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 42:
Narrated Abdullah bin Maqal:
I sat with Kab bin Ujra in this mosque, i.e. Kufa Mosque, and asked him about the meaning of: "Pay a ransom (i.e. Fidya) of either fasting or . . . . (2.196)" He said, "I was taken to the Prophet while lice were falling on my face. The Prophet said, 'I did not think that your trouble reached to such an extent. Can you afford to slaughter a sheep (as a ransom for shaving your head)?' I said, 'No.' He said, 'Then fast for three days, or feed six poor persons by giving half a Sa of food for each and shave your head.' So the above Verse was revealed especially for me and generally for all of you."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 43:
Narrated Imran bin Husain:
The Verse of Hajj-at-Tamatu was revealed in Allah's Book, so we performed it with Allah's Messenger, and nothing was revealed in Koran to make it illegal, nor did the Prophet prohibit it till he died. But the man (who regarded it illegal) just expressed what his own mind suggested.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 44:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Ukaz, Mijanna and Dhul-Majaz were markets during the Pre-islamic Period. They (i.e. Muslims) considered it a sin to trade there during the Hajj time (i.e. season), so this Verse was revealed:-- "There is no harm for you if you seek of the Bounty of your Lord during the Hajj season." (2.198)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 45:
Narrated Aisha:
The Quraish people and those who embraced their religion, used to stay at Muzdalifa and used to call themselves Al-Hums, while the rest of the Arabs used to stay at Arafat. When Islam came, Allah ordered His Prophet to go to Arafat and stay at it, and then pass on from there, and that is what is meant by the Statement of Allah:--"Then depart from the place whence all the people depart....." (2.199)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 46:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
A man who wants to perform the Hajj (from Mecca) can perform the Tawaf around the Kaba as long as he is not in the state of Ihram till he assumes the Ihram for Hajj. Then, if he rides and proceeds to Arafat, he should take a Hadi (i.e. animal for sacrifice), either a camel or a cow or a sheep, whatever he can afford; but if he cannot afford it, he should fast for three days during the Hajj before the day of Arafat, but if the third day of his fasting happens to be the day of Arafat (i.e. 9th of Dhul-Hijja) then it is no sin for him (to fast on it). Then he should proceed to Arafat and stay there from the time of the Asr prayer till darkness falls. Then the pilgrims should proceed from Arafat, and when they have departed from it, they reach Jam' (i.e. Al-Muzdalifa) where they ask Allah to help them to be righteous and dutiful to Him, and there they remember Allah greatly or say Takbir (i.e. Allah is Greater) and Tahlil (i.e. None has the right to be worshipped but Allah) repeatedly before dawn breaks. Then, after offering the morning (Fajr) prayer you should pass on (to Mina) for the people used to do so and Allah said:-- "Then depart from the place whence all the people depart. And ask for Allah's Forgiveness. Truly! Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful." (2.199) Then you should go on doing so till you throw pebbles over the Jamra.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 47:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet used to say, "O Allah! Our Lord! Give us in this world that, which is good and in the Hereafter that, which is good and save us from the torment of the Fire." (2.201)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 48:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said, "The most hated man in the Sight of Allah is the one who is the most quarrelsome."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 49:
Narrated Ibn Abu Mulaika:
Ibn Abbas recited: "(Respite will be granted) until when the Apostles gave up hope (of their people) and thought that they were denied (by their people). There came to them Our Help ...." (12.110) reading Kudhibu without doubling the sound 'dh', and that was what he understood of the Verse. Then he went on reciting: "..even the Apostle and those who believed along with him said: When (will come) Allah's Help? Yes, verily, Allah's Help is near." (2.214) Then I met Urwa bin Az-Zubair and I mentioned that to him. He said, "Aisha said, 'Allah forbid! By Allah, Allah never promised His Apostle anything but he knew that it would certainly happen before he died. But trials were continuously presented before the Apostles till they were afraid that their followers would accuse them of telling lies. So I used to recite:-- "Till they (come to) think that they were treated as liars." reading 'Kudh-dhibu with double 'dh.'

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 50:
Narrated Nafi:
Whenever Ibn Umar recited the Koran, he would not speak to anyone till he had finished his recitation. Once I held the Koran and he recited Surat-al-Baqara from his memory and then stopped at a certain Verse and said, "Do you know in what connection this Verse was revealed? " I replied, "No." He said, "It was revealed in such-and-such connection." Ibn Umar then resumed his recitation. Nafi added regarding the Verse:--"So go to your tilth when or how you will" Ibn Umar said, "It means one should approach his wife in .."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 51:
Narrated Jabir:
Jews used to say: "If one has sexual intercourse with his wife from the back, then she will deliver a squint-eyed child." So this Verse was revealed:-- "Your wives are a tilth unto you; so go to your tilth when or how you will." (2.223)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 52:
Narrated Al-Hasan:
The sister of Ma'qal bin Yasar was divorced by her husband who left her till she had fulfilled her term of 'Iddat (i.e. the period which should elapse before she can Remarry) and then he wanted to remarry her but Maqal refused, so this Verse was

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revealed:-- "Do not prevent them from marrying their (former) husbands." (2.232)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 53:
Narrated Ibn Az-Zubair:
I said to Uthman bin Affan (while he was collecting the Koran) regarding the Verse:-- "Those of you who die and leave wives ..." (2.240) "This Verse was abrogated by an other Verse. So why should you write it? (Or leave it in the Koran)?" Uthman said. "O son of my brother! I will not shift anything of it from its place."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 54:
Narrated Mujahi:
(regarding the Verse):-- "Those of you who die and leave wives behind. They - (their wives) -- shall wait (as regards their marriage) for four months and ten days)." (2.234) The widow, according to this Verse, was to spend this period of waiting with her husband's family, so Allah revealed: "Those of you who die and leave wives (i.e. widows) should bequeath for their wives, a year's maintenance and residences without turning them out, but if they leave (their residence), there is no blame on you for what they do with themselves provided it is honorable.' (i.e. lawful marriage) (2.240). So Allah entitled the widow to be bequeathed extra maintenance for seven months and twenty nights, and that is the completion of one year. If she wished she could stay (in her husband's home) according to the will, and she could leave it if she wished, as Allah says: "..without turning them out, but if they leave (the residence), there is no blame on you." So the 'Idda (i.e. four months and ten days as it) is obligatory for her. 'Ata said: Ibn Abbas said, "This Verse, i.e. the Statement of Allah: "..without turning them out.." cancelled the obligation of staying for the waiting period in her dead husband's house, and she can complete this period wherever she likes." 'Ata's aid: If she wished, she could complete her 'Idda by staying in her dead husband's residence according to the will or leave it according to Allah's Statement:-- "There is no blame on you for what they do with themselves." Ata' added: Later the regulations of inheritance came and abrogated the order of the dwelling of the widow (in her dead husband's house), so she could complete the 'Idda wherever she likes. And it was no longer necessary to provide her with a residence. Ibn Abbas said, "This Verse abrogated her (i.e. widow's) dwelling in her dead husband's house and she could complete the 'Idda (i.e. four months and ten days) wherever she liked, as Allah's Statement says:--"...without turning them out..."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 55:
Narrated Mohammed bin Seereen:
I sat in a gathering in which the chiefs of the Ansar were present, and Abdur-Rahman bin Abu Laila was amongst them. I mentioned the narration of Abdullah bin Utba regarding the question of Subai'a bint Al-Harith. Abdur-Rahman said, "But Abdullah's uncle used not to say so." I said, "I am too brave if I tell a lie concerning a person who is now in Al-Kufa," and I raised my voice. Then I went out and met Malik bin Amir or Malik bin Auf, and said, "What was the verdict of Ibn Masud about the pregnant widow whose husband had died?" He replied, "Ibn Masud said, 'Why do you impose on her the hard order and don't let her make use of the leave? The shorter Sura of women (i.e. Surat-at- Talaq) was revealed after the longer Sura (i.e. Surat-al-Baqara)." (i.e. Her 'Idda is up till she delivers.)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 56:
Narrated Ali (through two chains):
On the day of Al-Khandaq (the battle of the Trench). the Prophet said, "They (i.e. pagans prevented us from offering the middle (the Best) Prayer till the sun had set. May Allah fill their graves, their houses (or their bodies) with fire."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 57:
Narrated Zaid bin Arqam:
We used to speak while in prayer. One of us used to speak to his brother (while in prayer) about his need, till the Verse was revealed:-- "Guard strictly the (five obligatory) prayers, especially the middle (the Best) (Asr) Prayer and stand before Allah with obedience (and not to speak to others during the prayers)." Then we were ordered not to speak in the prayers.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 58:
Narrated Nafi:
Whenever Abdullah bin Umar was asked about Salat-al-Khauf (i.e. prayer of fear) he said, "The Imam comes forward with a group of people and leads them in a one raka prayer while another group from them who has not prayed yet, stay between the praying group and the enemy. When those who are with the Imam have finished their one raka, they retreat and take the positions of those who have not prayed but they will not finish their prayers with Taslim. Those who have not prayed, come forward to offer a raka with the Imam (while the first group covers them from the enemy). Then the Imam, having offered two rakat, finishes his prayer. Then each member of the two groups offer the second raka alone after the Imam has finished his prayer. Thus each one of the two groups will have offered two rakat. But if the fear is too great, they can pray standing on their feet or riding on their mounts, facing the Qibla or not." Nafi added: I do not think that Abdullah bin Umar narrated this except from Allah's Messenger (See Hadith No. 451, Vol 5 to know exactly "The Fear Prayer.")

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 59:
Narrated Ibn Az-Zubair:
I said to Uthman, "This Verse which is in Surat-al-Baqara: "Those of you who die and leave widows behind...without turning them out." has been abrogated by another Verse. Why then do you write it (in the Koran)?" Uthman said. "Leave it (where it is), O the son of my brother, for I will not shift anything of it (i.e. the Koran) from its original position."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 60:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Messenger said, "We have more right to be in doubt than Abraham when he said, 'My Lord! Show me how You give life to the dead.' He said, 'Do you not believe?' He said, 'Yes (I believe) but to be stronger in Faith.' "(2.260)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 61:
Narrated Ubaid bin Umair:
Once Umar (bin Al-Khattab) said to the companions of the Prophet "What do you think about this Verse:--"Does any of you wish that he should have a garden?" They replied, "Allah knows best." Umar became angry and said, "Either say that you know or say that you do not know!" On that Ibn Abbas said, "O chief of the believers! I have something in my mind to say about it." Umar said, "O son of my brother! Say, and do not under estimate yourself." Ibn Abbas said, "This Verse has been set up as an example for deeds." Umar said, "What kind of deeds?" Ibn Abbas said, "For deeds." Umar said, "This is an example for a rich man who does goods out of obedience of Allah and then Allah sends him Satan whereupon he commits sins till all his good deeds are lost."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 62:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The poor person is not the one for whom a date or two or a morsel or two (of food is sufficient but the poor person is he who does not (beg or) ask the people (for something) or show his poverty at all. Recite if you wish, (Allah's Statement): "They do not beg of people at all." (2.273)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 63:
Narrated Aisha:
When the Verses of Surat-al-Baqara regarding usury (i.e. Riba) were revealed, Allah's Messenger recited them before the people and then he prohibited the trade of alcoholic liquors.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 64:
Narrated Aisha:
When the last Verses of Surat-al-Baqara were revealed. Allah's Messenger went out and recited them in the Mosque and prohibited the trade of alcoholic liquors.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 65:
Narrated Aisha:
When the last Verses of Surat-al-Baqara were revealed, the Prophet read them in the Mosque and prohibited the trade of alcoholic liquors.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 66:
Narrated Aisha:
When the last Verses of Surat-al-Baqara were revealed, Allah's Messenger stood up and recited them before us and then prohibited the trade of alcoholic liquors.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 67:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The last Verse (in the Koran) revealed to the Prophet was the Verse dealing with usury (i.e. Riba).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 68:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
This Verse:--"Whether you show what is in your minds or conceal it.." (2.284) was abrogated.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 69:
Narrated Marwan Al-Asghar:
A man from the companions of Allah's Messenger who I think, was Ibn Umar said, "The Verse:-- "Whether you show what is in your minds or conceal it...." was abrogated by the Verse following it."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 70:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Messenger recited the Verse:-- "It is He who has sent down to you the Book. In it are Verses that are entirely clear, they are the foundation of the Book, others not entirely clear. So as for those in whose hearts there is a deviation (from the Truth). follow thereof that is not entirely clear seeking affliction and searching for its hidden meanings; but no one knows its hidden meanings but Allah. And those who are firmly grounded in knowledge say: "We believe in it (i.e. in the Koran) the whole of it (i.e. its clear and unclear Verses) are from our Lord. And none receive admonition except men of understanding." (3.7) Then Allah's Messenger said, "If you see those who follow thereof that is not entirely clear, then they are those whom Allah has named [as having deviation (from the Truth)] 'So beware of them."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 71:
Narrated Said bin Al-Musaiyab:
Abu Huraira said, "The Prophet said, 'No child is born but that, Satan touches it when it is born whereupon it starts crying loudly because of being touched by Satan, except Mary and her son." Abu Huraira then said, "Recite, if you wish: "And I seek Refuge with You (Allah) for her and her offspring from Satan, the outcast." (3.36)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 72:
Narrated Abu Wail:
Abdullah bin Masud said, "Allah's Messenger said, 'Whoever takes an oath when asked to do so, in which he may deprive a Muslim of his property unlawfully, will meet Allah Who will be angry with him.' So Allah revealed in confirmation of this statement:--"Verily! Those who Purchase a small gain at the cost of Allah's Covenant and oaths, they shall have no portion in the Hereafter..." (3.77) Then entered Al-Ash'ath bin Qais and said, "What is Abu Abdur-Rahman narrating to you?" We replied, 'So-and-so." Al-Ash'ath said, "This Verse was revealed in my connection. I had a well in the land of my cousin (and he denied my, possessing it). On that the Prophet said to me, 'Either you bring forward a proof or he (i.e. your cousin) takes an oath (to confirm his claim)' I said, 'I am sure he would take a (false) oath, O Allah's Messenger.' He said, 'If somebody takes an oath when asked to do so through which he may deprive a Muslim of his property (unlawfully) and he is a liar in his oath, he will meet Allah Who will be angry with him.' "

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 73:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abu Aufa:
A man displayed some merchandise in the market and took an oath that he had been offered a certain price for it while in fact he had not, in order to cheat a man from the Muslims. So then was revealed:-- "Verily! Those who purchase a small gain at the cost of Allah's Covenant and their oaths..."(3.77)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 74:
Narrated Ibn Abu Mulaika:
Two women were stitching shoes in a house or a room. Then one of them came out with an awl driven into her hand, and she sued the other for it. The case was brought before Ibn Abbas, Ibn Abbas said, "Allah's Messenger said, 'If people were to be given what they claim (without proving their claim) the life and property of the nation would be lost.' Will you remind her (i.e. the defendant), of Allah and recite before her:--"Verily! Those who purchase a small gain at the cost of Allah's Covenant and their oaths..."(3.77) So they reminded her and she confessed. Ibn Abbas then said, "The Prophet said, 'The oath is to be taken by the defendant (in the absence of any proof against him).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 75:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Abu Sufyan narrated to me personally, saying, "I set out during the Truce that had been concluded between me and Allah's Messenger. While I was in Sham, a letter sent by the Prophet was brought to Heraclius. Dihya Al-Kalbi had brought and given it to the governor of Busra, and the latter forwarded it to Heraclius. Heraclius said, 'Is there anyone from the people of this man who claims to be a prophet?' The people replied, 'Yes.' So I along with some of Quraishi men were called and we entered upon Heraclius, and we were seated in front of him. Then he said, 'Who amongst you is the nearest relative to the man who claims to be a prophet?' So they made me sit in front of him and made my companions sit behind me. Then he called upon his translator and said (to him). 'Tell them (i.e. Abu Sufyan's companions) that I am going to ask him (i.e. Abu Sufyan) regarding that man who claims to be a prophet. So, if he tell me a lie, they should contradict him (instantly).' By Allah, had I not been afraid that my companions would consider me a liar, I would have told lies. Heraclius then said to his translator, 'Ask him: What is his (i.e. the Prophet's) family status amongst you? I said, 'He belongs to a noble family amongst us." Heraclius said, 'Was any of his ancestors a king?' I said, 'No.' He said, 'Did you ever accuse him of telling lies before his saying what he

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has said?' I said, 'No.' He said, 'Do the nobles follow him or the poor people?' I said, 'It is the poor who followed him.' He said, 'Is the number of his follower increasing or decreasing?' I said, 'The are increasing.' He said, 'Does anyone renounce his religion (i.e. Islam) after embracing it, being displeased with it?' I said, 'No.' He said, 'Did you fight with him?' I replied, 'Yes.' He said, 'How was your fighting with him?' I said, 'The fighting between us was undecided and victory was shared by him and us by turns. He inflicts casualties upon us and we inflict casualties upon him.' He said, 'Did he ever betray?' I said, 'No, but now we are away from him in this truce and we do not know what he will do in it" Abu Sufyan added, "By Allah, I was not able to insert in my speech a word (against him) except that. Heraclius said, 'Did anybody else (amongst you) ever claimed the same (i.e. Islam) before him? I said, 'No.' Then Heraclius told his translator to tell me (i.e. Abu Sufyan), 'I asked you about his family status amongst you, and you told me that he comes from a noble family amongst you Verily, all Apostles come from the noblest family among their people. Then I asked you whether any of his ancestors was a king, and you denied that. Thereupon I thought that had one of his fore-fathers been a king, I would have said that he (i.e. Mohammed) was seeking to rule the kingdom of his fore-fathers. Then I asked you regarding his followers, whether they were the noble or the poor among the people, and you said that they were only the poor (who follow him). In fact, such are the followers of the Apostles. Then I asked you whether you have ever accused him of telling lies before saying what he said, and your reply was in the negative. Therefore, I took for granted that a man who did not tell a lie about others, could ever tell a lie about Allah. Then I asked you whether anyone of his followers had renounced his religion (i.e. Islam) after embracing it, being displeased with it, and you denied that. And such is Faith when it mixes with the cheerfulness of the hearts. Then I asked you whether his followers were increasing or decreasing. You claimed that they were increasing. That is the way of true faith till it is complete. Then I asked you whether you had ever fought with him, and you claimed that you had fought with him and the battle between you and him was undecided and the victory was shared by you and him in turns; he inflicted casual ties upon you and you inflicted casualties upon them. Such is the case with the Apostles; they are out to test and the final victory is for them. Then I asked you whether he had ever betrayed; you claimed that he had never betrayed. I need, Apostles never betray. Then I asked you whether anyone had said this statement before him; and you denied that. Thereupon I thought if somebody had said that statement before him, then I would have said that he was but a man copying some sayings said before him." Abu Safyan said, "Heraclius then asked me, 'What does he order you to do?' I said, 'He orders us (to offer) prayers and (to pay) Zakat and to keep good relationship with the Kith and kin and to be chaste.' Then Heraclius said, 'If whatever you have said, is true, he is really a prophet, and I knew that he (i.e. the Prophet) was going to appear, but I never thought that he would be from amongst you. If I were certain that I can reach him, I would like to meet him and if I were with him, I would wash his feet; and his kingdom will expand (surely to what is under my feet.' Then Heraclius asked for the letter of Allah's Messenger and read it wherein was written: "In the Name of Allah, the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful. This letter is) from Mohammed, Apostle of Allah, to Heraclius, the sovereign of Byzantine..... Peace be upon him who follows the Right Path. Now then, I call you to embrace Islam. Embrace Islam and you will be saved (from Allah's Punishment); embrace Islam, and Allah will give you a double reward, but if you reject this, you will be responsible for the sins of all the people of your kingdom (Allah's Statement):--"O the people of the Scripture (Jews and Christians)! Come to a word common to you and us that we worship None but Allah....bear witness that we are Muslims.' (3.64) When he finished reading the letter, voices grew louder near him and there was a great hue and cry, and we were ordered to go out." Abu Sufyan added, "While coming out, I said to my companions, 'The situation of Ibn Abu Kabsha (i.e. Mohammed) has become strong; even the king of Banu Al14 Asfar is afraid of him.' So I continued to believe that Allah's Messenger would be victorious, till Allah made me embrace Islam." Az-Zuhri said, "Heraclius then invited all the chiefs of the Byzantines and had them assembled in his house and said, 'O group of Byzantines! Do you wish to have a permanent success and guidance and that your kingdom should remain with you?' (Immediately after hearing that), they rushed towards the gate like onagers, but they found them closed. Heraclius then said, 'Bring them back to me.' So he called them and said, 'I just wanted to test the strength of your adherence to your religion. Now I have observed of you that which I like.' Then the people fell in prostration before him and became pleased with him." (See Hadith No. 6,Vol 1)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 76:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:

Out of all the Ansar, living in Medina, Abu Talha had the largest number of (date palm trees) gardens, and the most beloved of his property to him was Bairuha garden which was standing opposite the Mosque (of the Prophet). Allah's Messenger used to enter it and drink of its good water. When the Verse:--"By no means shall you attain righteousness unless you spend (in charity) of that which you love." (3.92) Abu Talha got up and said, "O Allah's Messenger, Allah says:--"By no means shall you attain righteousness unless you spend (in charity) of that which you love." (3.92) and the most beloved of my property to me is the Bairuha garden, so I give it (as a charitable gift) in Allah's Cause and hope to receive good out of it, and to have it stored for me with Allah. So, O Allah's Messenger! Dispose it of (i.e. utilize it) in the way Allah orders you (to dispose it of)." Allah's Messenger said, "Bravo! That is a fruitful property! That is a fruitful property! I have heard what you have said and I think that you should distribute that (garden) amongst your relatives." The Abu Talha distributed that garden amongst his relatives and his cousins.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 77:
Narrated Yahya bin Yahya:
I learnt from Malik, "..a fruitful property."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 78:
Narrated Anas:
Abu Talha distributed the garden between Hassan and Ubai, but he did not give me anything thereof although I was a nearer relative to him.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 79:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
The Jews brought to the Prophet a man and a woman from among them who had committed illegal sexual intercourse. The Prophet said to them, "How do you usually punish the one amongst you who has committed illegal sexual intercourse?" They replied, "We blacken their faces with coal and beat them," He said, "Don't you find the order of Ar-Rajm (i.e. stoning to death) in the Torah?" They replied, "We do not find anything in it." Abdullah bin Salam (after hearing this conversation) said to them. "You have told a lie! Bring here the Torah and recite it if you are truthful." (So the Jews brought the Torah). And the religious teacher who was teaching it to them, put his hand over the Verse of Ar- Rajm and started reading what was written above and below the place hidden with his hand, but he did not read the Verse of Ar-Rajm. Abdullah bin Salam removed his (i.e. the teacher's) hand from the Verse of Ar-Rajm and said, "What is this?" So when the Jews saw that Verse, they said, "This is the Verse of Ar-Rajm." So the Prophet ordered the two adulterers to be stoned to death, and they were stoned to death near the place where biers used to be placed near the Mosque. I saw her companion (i.e. the adulterer) bowing over her so as to protect her from the stones.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 80:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Verse:--"You (true Muslims) are the best of peoples ever raised up for mankind." means, the best of peoples for the people, as you bring them with chains on their necks till they embrace Islam.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 81:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Verse:--"When two parties from among you were about to lose heart, but Allah was their Protector," (3.122) was revealed concerning us, and we were the two parties, i.e. Banu Haritha and Banu Salama, and we do not wish (that it had not been revealed) or I would not have been pleased (if it had not been revealed), for Allah says:--"...Allah was their Protector."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 82:
Narrated Salim's father:
That he heard Allah's Messenger on raising his head from the bowing in the last raka in the Fajr prayer, saying, "O Allah, curse such-and-such person and such-and-such person, and such-and-such person," after saying, "Allah hears him who sends his praises to Him, O our Lord, all praise is for you." So Allah revealed:--"Not for you (O Mohammed) (but for Allah) is the decision, verily they are indeed wrongdoers." (3.128)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 83:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Whenever Allah's Messenger intended to invoke evil upon somebody or invoke good upon somebody, he used to invoke (Allah after bowing (in the prayer). Sometimes after saying, "Allah hears him who sends his praises to Him, all praise is for You, O our Lord," he would say, "O Allah. Save Al-Walid bin Al-Walid and Salama bin Hisham, and Aiyash bin Abu Rabia. O Allah! Inflict Your Severe Torture on Mudar (tribe) and strike them with (famine) years like the years of Joseph." The Prophet used to say in a loud voice, and he also used to say in some of his Fajr prayers, "O Allah! Curse soand- so and so-and-so." naming some of the Arab tribes till Allah revealed:--"Not for you (O Mohammed) (but for Allah) is the decision." (3.128)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 84:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
The Prophet appointed Abdullah bin Jubair as the commander of the infantry during the battle of Uhud. They returned defeated, and that is what is meant by:-- "And the Apostle was calling them back in the rear. None remained with the Prophet then, but twelve men."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 85:
Narrated Abu Talha:
Slumber overtook us during the battle of Uhud while we were in the front files. My sword would fall from my hand and I would pick it up, and again it would fall down and I would pick it up again.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 86:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
"Allah is Sufficient for us and He Is the Best Disposer of affairs," was said by Abraham when he was thrown into the fire; and it was said by Mohammed when they (i.e. hypocrites) said, "A great army is gathering against you, therefore, fear them," but it only increased their faith and they said: "Allah is Sufficient for us, and He is the Best Disposer (of affairs, for us)." (3.173)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 87:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The last statement of Abraham when he was thrown into the fire was:--"Allah is Sufficient for us and He is the Best Disposer (of affairs for us)." (3.173)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 88:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Messenger said, "Anyone whom Allah has given wealth but he does not pay its Zakat, then, on the Day of Resurrection, his wealth will be presented to him in the shape of a bald-headed poisonous male snake with two poisonous glands in its mouth and it will encircle itself round his neck and bite him over his cheeks and say, "I am your wealth; I am your treasure." Then the Prophet recited this Divine Verse:--"And let not those who covetously withhold of that which Allah has bestowed upon them of His Bounty." (3.180)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 89:
Narrated Usama bin Zaid:
Allah's Messenger rode a donkey, equipped with a thick cloth-covering made in Fadak and was riding behind him. He was going to pay visit to Sad bin Ubada in Banu Al-Harith bin Al-Khazraj; and this incident happened before the battle of Badr. The Prophet passed by a gathering in which Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul was present, and that was before Abdullah bin Ubai embraced Islam. Behold in that gathering there were people of different religions: there were Muslims, pagans, idol-worshippers and Jews, and in that gathering Abdullah bin Rawaha was also present. When a cloud of dust raised by the donkey reached that gathering, Abdullah bin Ubai covered his nose with his garment and then said, "Do not cover us with dust." Then Allah's Messenger greeted them and stopped and dismounted and invited them to Allah (i.e. to embrace Islam) and recited to them the Holy Koran. On that, Abdullah bin Ubai bin Saluil said, "O man ! There is nothing better than that what you say. If it is the truth, then do not trouble us with it in our gatherings. Return to your mount (or residence) and if somebody comes to you, relate (your tales) to him." On that Abdullah bin Rawaha said, "Yes, O Allah's Apostle! Bring it (i.e. what you want to say) to us in our gathering, for we love that." So the Muslims, the pagans and the Jews started abusing one another till they were on the point of fighting with one another. The Prophet kept on quietening them till they became quiet, whereupon the Prophet rode his animal (mount) and proceeded till he entered upon Sad bin Ubada. The Prophet said to Sad, "Did you not hear what Abu Hub-b said?" He meant Abdullah bin Ubai. "He said so-andso." On that Sad bin Ubada said, "O Allah's Messenger! Excuse and forgive him, for by Him Who revealed the Book to you, Allah brought the Truth which was sent to you at the time when the people of this town (i.e. Medina) had decided unanimously to crown him and tie a turban on his head (electing him as chief). But when Allah opposed that (decision) through the Truth which Allah gave to you, he (i.e. Abdullah bin Ubai) was grieved with jealously. and that caused him to do what you have seen." So Allah's Messenger excused him, for the Prophet and his companions used to forgive the pagans and the people of Scripture as Allah had ordered them, and they used to put up with their mischief with patience. Allah said: "And you shall certainly hear much that will grieve you from those who received the Scripture before you and from the pagans.....'(3.186) And

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Allah also said:--"Many of the people of the Scripture wish if they could turn you away as disbelievers after you have believed, from selfish envy.." (2.109) So the Prophet used to stick to the principle of forgiveness for them as long as Allah ordered him to do so till Allah permitted fighting them. So when Allah's Messenger fought the battle of Badr and Allah killed the nobles of Quraish infidels through him, Ibn Ubai bin Salul and the pagans and idolaters who were with him, said, "This matter (i.e. Islam) has appeared (i.e. became victorious)." So they gave the pledge of allegiance (for embracing Islam) to Allah's Messenger and became Muslims.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 90:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
During the lifetime of Allah's Messenger, some men among the hypocrites used to remain behind him (i.e. did not accompany him) when he went out for a Ghazwa and they would be pleased to stay at home behind Allah's Messenger When Allah's Messenger returned (from the battle) they would put forward (false) excuses and take oaths, wishing to be praised for what they had not done. So there was revealed:-- "Think not that those who rejoice in what they have done, and love to be praised for what they have not done.." (3.188)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 91:
Narrated Alqama bin Waqqas:
Marwan said to his gatekeeper, "Go to Ibn Abbas, O Rafi, and say, 'If everybody who rejoices in what he has done, and likes to be praised for what he has not done, will be punished, then all of us will be punished." Ibn Abbas said, "What connection have you with this case? It was only that the Prophet called the Jews and asked them about something, and they hid the truth and told him something else, and showed him that they deserved praise for the favor of telling him the answer to his question, and they became happy with what they had concealed. Then Ibn Abbas recited:-- "(And remember) when Allah took a Covenant from those who were given the Scripture..and those who rejoice in what they have done and love to be praised for what they have not done.' " (3.187-188)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 92:
Humaid bin Abdur-Rahman bin Auf narrated that Marwan had told him (the above narration).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 93:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
I stayed overnight in the house of my aunt Maimuna. Allah's Messenger talked with his wife for a while and then went to bed. When it was the last third of the night, he got up and looked towards the sky and said: "Verily! In the creation of the Heavens and the Earth and in the alteration of night and day, there are indeed signs for men of understanding." (3.190) Then he stood up, performed ablution, brushed his teeth with a Siwak, and then prayed eleven rakat. Then Bilal pronounced the Adhan (i.e. call for the Fajr prayer). The Prophet then offered two rakat (Sunna) prayer and went out (to the Mosque) and offered the (compulsory congregational) Fajr prayer.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 94:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
(One night) I stayed overnight in the house of my aunt Maimuna, and said to myself, "I will watch the prayer of Allah's Messenger " My aunt placed a cushion for Allah's Messenger and he slept on it in its length-wise direction and (woke-up) rubbing the traces of sleep off his face and then he recited the last ten Verses of Surat-al-Imran till he finished it. Then he went to a hanging water skin and took it, performed the ablution and then stood up to offer the prayer. I got up and did the same as he had done, and stood beside him. He put his hand on my head and held me by the ear and twisted it. He offered two rakat, then two rakat, then two rakat, then two rakat, then two rakat, then two rakat, and finally the witr (i.e. one raka) prayer.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 95:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
That once he stayed overnight (in the house) of his aunt Maimuna. the wife of the Prophet. He added: I lay on the cushion transversely and Allah's Messenger lay along with his wife in the lengthwise direction of the pillow. Allah's Messenger slept till the middle of the night, either a bit before or a bit after it, and then woke up rubbing the traces of sleep off his face with his hands and then he recited the last ten Verses of Surat-al-Imran, got up and went to a hanging water skin. He then performed the ablution from it, and it was perfect ablution, and then stood up to offer the prayer. I too did the same as he had done, and then went to stand beside him. Allah's Messenger put his right hand on my head and held and twisted my right ear. He then offered two rakat, then two rakat, then two rakat, then two rakat, then two rakat. then two rakat, and finally one raka, the witr. Then he lay down again till the Muadhdhin (i.e. the call-maker) came to him, whereupon he got up and offered a light two-rakat prayer, and went out (to the Mosque) and offered the (compulsory congregational) Fajr prayer.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 96:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
That once he stayed overnight in the house of his aunt, the wife of the Prophet. He added: I lay on the cushion transversely while Allah's Messenger lay along with his wife in the lengthwise direction of cushion. Allah's Messenger slept till the middle of the night, either a bit before or a bit after it, and then woke up rubbing the traces of sleep off his face with his hands, and then recited the last ten Verses of Suratal-Imran. Then he got up and went to a hanging water skin, performed ablution from it ---- and performed it perfectly. Then he stood up to perform the prayer. I also did the same as he had done and then went to stand beside him. Allah's Messenger put his right hand on my head and held and twisted my right ear. He then offered two rakat, then two rakat then two rakat, then two then two rakat, then two rakat, and finally, one raka witr. Then lay down again till the Muadhdhin (i.e. the call-maker) came to him, whereupon he got up and offered a light two rakat prayer and went out (to the Mosque) and offered the (compulsory congregational) Fajr prayer.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 97:
Narrated Aisha:
There was an orphan (girl) under the care of a man. He married her and she owned a date palm (garden). He married her just because of that and not because he loved her. So the Divine Verse came regarding his case: "If you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly with the orphan girls..." (4.3) The sub-narrator added: I think he (i.e. another sub-narrator) said, "That orphan girl was his partner in that datepalm (garden) and in his property."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 98:
Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair:
That he asked Aisha regarding the Statement of Allah: "If you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly with the orphan girls..." (4.3) She said, "O son of my sister! An Orphan girl used to be under the care of a guardian with whom she shared property. Her guardian, being attracted by her wealth and beauty, would intend to marry her without giving her a just Mahr, i.e. the same Mahr as any other person might give her (in case he married her). So such guardians were forbidden to do that unless they did justice to their female wards and gave them the highest Mahr their peers might get. They were ordered (by Allah, to marry women of their choice other than those orphan girls." Aisha added," The people asked Allah's Messenger his instructions after the revelation of this Divine Verse whereupon Allah revealed: "They ask your instruction regarding women " (4.127) Aisha further said, "And the Statement of Allah: "And yet whom you desire to marry." (4.127) as anyone of you refrains from marrying an orphan girl (under his guardianship) when she is lacking in property and beauty." Aisha added, "So they were forbidden to marry those orphan girls for whose wealth and beauty they had a desire unless with justice, and that was because they would refrain from marrying them if they were lacking in property and beauty."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 99:
Narrated Aisha:
regarding the Statement of Allah: "And whoever amongst the guardian is rich, he should take no wages, but if he is poor, let him have for himself what is just and reasonable (according to his work). This Verse was revealed regarding the orphan's property. If the guardian is poor, he can take from the property of the orphan, what is just and reasonable according to his work and the time he spends on managing it.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 100:
Narrated Ikrama:
Ibn Abbas said (regarding the verse), "And when the relatives and the orphans and the poor are present at the time of division, "this verse and its order is valid and not abrogated."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 101:
Narrated Jabir:
The Prophet and Abu Bakr came on foot to pay me a visit (during my illness) at Banu Salama's (dwellings). The Prophet found me unconscious, so he asked for water and performed the ablution from it and sprinkled some water over it. I came to my senses and said, "O Allah's Messenger! What do you order me to do as regards my wealth?" So there was revealed:-- "Allah commands you as regards your children's (inheritance):" (4.11)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 102:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
(In the Pre-Islamic Period) the children used to inherit all the property but the parents used to inherit only through a will. So Allah cancelled that which He liked to cancel and put decreed that the share of a son was to be twice the share of a daughter, and for the parents one-sixth for each one of them, or one third, and for the wife one-eighth or one-fourth, and for the husband one-half, or one-fourth.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 103:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
regarding the Divine Verse: "O you who believe! You are forbidden to inherit women against their will, and you should not treat them with harshness that you may take back part of the (Mahr) dower you have given them." (4.19) (Before this revelation) if a man died, his relatives used to have the right to inherit his wife, and one of them could marry her if he would, or they would give her in marriage if they wished, or, if they wished, they would not give her in marriage at all, and they would be more entitled to dispose her, than her own relatives. So the above Verse was revealed in this connection.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 104:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Regarding the Verse: "To everyone, We have appointed heirs." (4.33) 'Mawali' means heirs. And regarding:-- "And those to whom your right hands have pledged." When the Emigrants came to Medina, an Emigrant used to be the heir of an Ansari with the exclusion of the latter's relatives, and that was because of the bond of brotherhood which the Prophet had established between them (i.e. the Emigrants and the Ansar). So when the Verses:-- "To everyone We have appointed heirs." was revealed, (the inheritance through bond of brotherhood) was cancelled. Ibn Abbas then said: "And those to whom your right hands have pledged." is concerned with the covenant of helping and advising each other. So allies are no longer to be the heir of each other, but they can bequeath each other some of their property by means of a will.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 105:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
During the lifetime of the Prophet some people said, : O Allah's Messenger! Shall we see our Lord on the Day of Resurrection?" The Prophet said, "Yes; do you have any difficulty in seeing the sun at midday when it is bright and there is no cloud in the sky?" They replied, "No." He said, "Do you have any difficulty in seeing the moon on a full moon night when it is bright and there is no cloud in the sky?" They replied, "No." The Prophet said, "(Similarly) you will have no difficulty in seeing Allah on the Day of Resurrection as you have no difficulty in seeing either of them. On the Day of Resurrection, a call-maker will announce, "Let every nation follow that which they used to worship." Then none of those who used to worship anything other than Allah like idols and other deities but will fall in Hell (Fire), till there will remain none but those who used to worship Allah, both those who were obedient (i.e. good) and those who were disobedient (i.e. bad) and the remaining party of the people of the Scripture. Then the Jews will be called upon and it will be said to them, 'Who do you use to worship?' They will say, 'We used to worship Ezra, the son of Allah.' It will be said to them, 'You are liars, for Allah has never taken anyone as a wife or a son. What do you want now?' They will say, 'O our Lord! We are thirsty, so give us something to drink.' They will be directed and addressed thus, 'Will you drink,' whereupon they will be gathered unto Hell (Fire) which will look like a mirage whose different sides will be destroying each other. Then they will fall into the Fire. Afterwards the Christians will be called upon and it will be said to them, 'Who do you use to worship?' They will say, 'We used to worship Jesus, the son of Allah.' It will be said to them, 'You are liars, for Allah has never taken anyone as a wife or a son,' Then it will be said to them, 'What do you want?' They will say what the former people have said. Then, when there remain (in the gathering) none but those who used to worship Allah (Alone, the real Lord of the Worlds) whether they were obedient or disobedient. Then (Allah) the Lord of the worlds will come to them in a shape nearest to the picture they had in their minds about Him. It will be said, 'What are you waiting for?' Every nation have followed what they used to worship.' They will reply, 'We left the people in the world when we were in great need of them and we did not take them as friends. Now we are waiting for our Lord Whom we used to worship.' Allah will say, 'I am your Lord.' They will say twice or thrice, 'We do not worship any besides Allah.' "

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 106:
Narrated Abdullah bin Masud:
Allah's Messenger said to me, "Recite (of the Koran) for me," I said, "Shall I recite it to you although it had been revealed to you?" He said, "I like to hear (the Koran) from others." So I recited Surat-an- Nisa' till I reached: "How (will it be) then when We bring from each nation a witness, and We bring you (O Mohammed) as a witness against these people?" (4.41) Then he said, "Stop!" And behold, his eyes were overflowing with tears."

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Volume 6, Book 60, Number 107:
Narrated Aisha:
The necklace of Asma was lost, so the Prophet sent some men to look for it. The time for the prayer became due and they had not performed ablution and could not find water, so they offered the prayer without ablution. Then Allah revealed (the Verse of Tayammum).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 108:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Verse: "Obey Allah and Obey the Apostle and those of you (Muslims) who are in authority." (4.59) was revealed in connection with Abdullah bin Hudhafa bin Qais bin Adi' when the Prophet appointed him as the commander of a Sariyya (army detachment).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 109:
Narrated Urwa:
Az-Zubair quarrelled with a man from the Ansar because of a natural mountainous stream at Al-Harra. The Prophet said "O Zubair! Irrigate (your lands and the let the water flow to your neighbour The Ansar said, "O Allah's Messenger (This is because) he (Zubair) is your cousin?" At that, the Prophet's face became red (with anger) and he said "O Zubair! Irrigate (your land) and then withhold the water till it fills the land up to the walls and then let it flow to your neighbour." So the Prophet enabled Az- Zubair to take his full right after the Ansari provoked his anger. The Prophet had previously given a order that was in favor of both of them Az-Zubair said, "I don't think but the Verse was revealed in this connection: "But no, by your Lord, they can have no faith, until they make you judge in all disputes between them." (4.65)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 110:
Narrated Aisha:
I heard Allah's Messenger saying, "No prophet gets sick but he is given the choice to select either this world or the Hereafter." Aisha added: During his fatal illness, his voice became very husky and I heard him saying: "In the company of those whom is the Grace of Allah, of the prophets, the Siddiqin (those followers of the prophets who were first and foremost to believe in them), the martyrs and the pious.' (4.69) And from this I came to know that he has been given the option.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 111:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
My mother and I were among the weak and oppressed (Muslims at Mecca).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 112:
Narrated Ibn Abi Mulaika:
Ibn Abbas recited:-- "Except the weak ones among men women and children," (4.98) and said, "My mother and I were among those whom Allah had excused."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 113:
Narrated Zaid bin Thabit:
Regarding the Verse:-- "Then what is the matter with you that you are divided into two parties about the hypocrites?" (4.88) Some of the companions of the Prophet returned from the battle of Uhud (i.e. refused to fight) whereupon the Muslims got divided into two parties; one of them was in favor of their execution and the other was not in favour of it. So there ware revealed: "Then what is the matter with you that you are divided into two parties about the hypocrites?" (4.88). Then the Prophet said "It (i.e. Medina) is aTayyaboh (good), it expels impurities as the fire expels the impurities of silver."
Volume 6, Book 60, Number 114:
Narrated Said bin Jubair:
The people of Kufa disagreed (disputed) about the above Verse. So I went to Ibn Abbas and asked him about it. He said, "This Verse:-- "And whoever kills a believer intentionally, his recompense is Hell." was revealed last of all (concerning premeditated murder) and nothing abrogated it."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 115:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Regarding the Verse: "And say not to anyone who offers you peace (by accepting Islam), You are not a believer." There was a man amidst his sheep. The Muslims pursued him, and he said (to them) "Peace be on you." But they killed him and took over his sheep. Thereupon Allah revealed in that concern, the above Verse up to:-- "...seeking the perishable good of this life." (4.94) i.e. those sheep.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 116:
Narrated Zaid bin Thabit:
That the Prophet dictated to him: "Not equal are those of the believers who sit (at home) and those who strive and fight in the Cause of Allah." Zaid added: Ibn Um Maktum came while the Prophet was dictating to me and said, "O Allah's Apostle! By Allah, if I had the power to fight (in Allah's Cause), I would," and he was a blind man. So Allah revealed to his Apostle while his thigh was on my thigh, and his thigh became so heavy that I was afraid it might fracture my thigh. Then that state of the Prophet passed and Allah revealed:-- "Except those who are disabled (by injury or are blind or lame etc).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 117:
Narrated Al-Bara:
When the Verse:-- "Not equal are those of the believers who sit (at home)" (4.95) was revealed, Allah Apostle called for Zaid who wrote it. In the meantime Ibn Um Maktum came and complained of his blindness, so Allah revealed: "Except those who are disabled (by injury or are blind or lame..." etc.) (4.95)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 118:
Narrated Al-Bara:
When the Verse:--"Not equal are those of the believers who sit (at home)," (4.95) was revealed, the Prophet said, "Call so-and-so." That person came to him with an ink-pot and a wooden board or a shoulder scapula bone. The Prophet said (to him), "Write: 'Not equal are those believers who sit (at home) and those who strive and fight in the Cause of Allah." Ibn Um Maktum who was sitting behind the Prophet then said, "O Allah's Messenger! I am a blind man." So there was revealed in the place of that Verse, the Verse:--"Not equal are those of the believers who sit (at home) except those who are disabled (by injury, or are blind or lame etc.) and those who strive and fight in the Cause of Allah." (4.95)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 119:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Not equal are those believers who sat (at home) and did not join the Badr battle and those who joined the Badr battle.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 120:
Narrated Mohammed bin Abdur-Rahman Abu Al-Aswad:
The people of Medina were forced to prepare an army (to fight against the people of Sham during the caliphate of Abdullah bin Az-Zubair at Mecca), and I was enlisted in it; Then I met Ikrima, the freed slave of Ibn Abbas, and informed him (about it), and he forbade me strongly to do so (i.e. to enlist in that army), and then said, "Ibn Abbas informed me that some Muslim people were with the pagans, increasing the number of the pagans against Allah's Messenger. An arrow used to be shot which would hit one of them (the Muslims in the company of the pagans) and kill him, or he would be struck and killed (with a sword)." Then Allah revealed:-- "Verily! as for those whom the angels take (in death) while they are wronging themselves (by staying among the disbelievers)" (4.97) Abu Aswad added, "Except the weak ones among men, women,..." (4.98)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 121:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
'"Except the weak ones" (4.98) and added: My mother was one of those whom Allah excused.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 122:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
While the Prophet was offering the Isha' prayer, he said, "Allah hears him who sends his praises to Him," and then said before falling in prostration, "O Allah, save Aiyash bin Rabia. O Allah, save Salama bin Hisham. O Allah, save Al-Walid bin Al-Wahd. O Allah, save the weak ones among the believers. O Allah, let Your punishment be severe on the tribe of Mudar. O Allah, inflict upon them years (of famine) like the years of Joseph."
Volume 6, Book 60, Number 123:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Regarding the Verse: "Because of the inconvenience of rain or because you are ill." (4.102) (It was revealed in connection with) Abdur-Rahman bin Auf who was wounded.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 124:
Narrated Aisha:
Regarding the Verse:--"They ask your instruction concerning the women. Say: Allah instructs you about them and yet whom you desire to marry." (4.127) (has been revealed regarding the case of) a man who has an orphan girl, and he is her guardian and her heir. The girl shares with him all his property, even a date-palm (garden), but he dislikes to marry her and dislikes to give her in marriage to somebody else who would share with him the property she is sharing with him, and for this reason that guardian prevents that orphan girl from marrying. So, this Verse was revealed: (And Allah's statement:) "If a woman fears cruelty or desertion on her husband's part." (4.128)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 125:
Narrated Aisha:
Regarding the Verse:--"If a woman fears cruelty or desertion on her husband's part." (4.128) It is about a man who has a woman (wife) and he does not like her and wants to divorce her but she says to him, "I make you free as regards myself." So this Verse was revealed in this connection.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 126:
Narrated Al-Aswad:
While we were sitting in a circle in Abdullah's gathering, Hudhaifa came and stopped before us, and greeted us and then said, "People better than you became hypocrites." Al-Aswad said: I testify the uniqueness of Allah! Allah says: "Verily! The hypocrites will be in the lowest depths of the Fire." (4.145) On that Abdullah smiled and Hudhaifa sat somewhere in the Mosque. Abdullah then got up and his companions (sitting around him) dispersed. Hudhaifa then threw a pebble at me (to attract my attention). I went to him and he said, "I was surprised at Abdullah's smile though he understood what I said. Verily, people better than you became hypocrite and then repented and Allah forgave them."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 127:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "None has the right to say that I am better than Jonah bin Matta."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 128:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Whoever says that I am better than Jonah bin Matta, is a liar."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 129:
Narrated Al-Bara:
The last Sura that was revealed was Bara'a, and the last Verse that was revealed was: "They ask you for a legal verdict, Say: Allah's directs (thus) about those who leave no descendants or ascendants as heirs." (4.176)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 130:
Narrated Tariq bin Shihab:
The Jews said to Umar, "You (i.e. Muslims) recite a Verse, and had it been revealed to us, we would have taken the day of its revelation as a day of celebration." Umar said, "I know very well when and where it was revealed, and where Allah's Messenger was when it was revealed. (It was revealed on) the day of Arafat (Hajj Day), and by Allah, I was at Arafat" Sufyan, a sub-narrator said: I am in doubt whether the Verse:-- "This day I have perfected your religion for you." was revealed on a Friday or not.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 131:
Narrated Aisha:
The wife of the Prophet : We set out with Allah's Messenger on one of his journeys, and when we were at Baida' or at Dhat-al-Jaish, a necklace of mine was broken (and lost). Allah's Messenger stayed there to look for it, and so did the people along with him. Neither were they at a place of water, nor did they have any water with them. So the people went to Abu Bakr As-Siddiq and said, "Don't you see what Aisha has done? She has made Allah's Messenger and the people, stay where there is no water and they have no water with them." Abu Bakr came while Allah's Messenger was sleeping with his head on my thigh. He said (to me), "You have detained Allah's Messenger and the people where there is no water, and they have no water with them." So he admonished me and said what Allah wished him to say, and he hit me on my flanks with his hand. Nothing prevented me from moving (because of pain! but the position of Allah's Messenger on my thigh. So Allah's Messenger got up when dawn broke and there was no water, so Allah revealed the Verse of Tayammum. Usaid bin Hudair said, "It is not the first blessing of yours, O the family of Abu Bakr." Then we made the camel on which I was riding, got up, and found the necklace under it.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 132:
Narrated Aisha:
A necklace of mine was lost at Al-Baida and we were on our way to Medina. The Prophet made his camel kneel down and dismounted and laid his head on my lap and slept. Abu Bakr came to me and hit me violently on the chest and said, "You have detained the people because of a necklace." I kept as motionless as a dead person because of the position of Allah's Messenger ; (on my lap) although Abu Bakr had hurt me (with the slap). Then the Prophet woke up and it was the time for the morning (prayer). Water was sought, but in vain; so the following Verse was revealed:-- "O you who believe! When you intend to offer prayer.." (5.6) Usaid bin Hudair said, "Allah has blessed the people for your sake, O the family of Abu Bakr. You are but a blessing for them."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 133:
Narrated Abdullah (bin Masud):
On the day of Badr, Al-Miqdad said, "O Allah's Messenger! We do not say to you as the children of Israel said to Moses, 'Go you and your Lord and fight you two; we are sitting here,

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(5.24) but (we say). "Proceed, and we are with you." That seemed to delight Allah's Messenger greatly.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 134:
Narrated Abu Qilaba:
That he was sitting behind Umar bin Abdul Aziz and the people mentioned and mentioned (about at-Qasama) and they said (various things), and said that the Caliphs had permitted it. Umar bin Abdul Aziz turned towards Abu Qilaba who was behind him and said. "What do you say, O Abdullah bin Zaid?" or said, "What do you say, O Abu Qilaba?" Abu Qilaba said, "I do not know that killing a person is lawful in Islam except in three cases: a married person committing illegal sexual intercourse, one who has murdered somebody unlawfully, or one who wages war against Allah and His Apostle." 'Anbasa said, "Anas narrated to us such-and-such." Abu Qilaba said, "Anas narrated to me in this concern, saying, some people came to the Prophet and they spoke to him saying, 'The climate of this land does not suit us.' The Prophet said, 'These are camels belonging to us, and they are to be taken out to the pasture. So take them out and drink of their milk and urine.' So they took them and set out and drank of their urine and milk, and having recovered, they attacked the shepherd, killed him and drove away the camels.' Why should there be any delay in punishing them as they murdered (a person) and waged war against Allah and His Apostle and frightened Allah's Messenger ?" Anbasa said, "I testify the uniqueness of Allah!" Abu Qilaba said, "Do you suspect me?" 'Anbasa said, "No, Anas narrated that (Hadith) to us." Then 'Anbasa added, "O the people of such-and-such (country), you will remain in good state as long as Allah keeps this (man) and the like of this (man) amongst you."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 135:
Narrated Anas (bin Malik):
Ar-Rubai (the paternal aunt of Anas bin Malik) broke the incisor tooth of young Ansari girl. Her family demanded the Qisas and they came to the Prophet who passed the judgement of Qisas. Anas bin An-Nadr (the paternal uncle of Anas bin Malik) said, "O Allah's Messenger! By Allah, her tooth will not be broken." The Prophet said, "O Anas! (The law prescribed in) Allah's Book is Qisas." But the people (i.e. the relatives of the girl) gave up their claim and accepted a compensation. On that Allah's Apostle said, "Some of Allah's worshippers are such that if they take an oath, Allah will fulfill it for them."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 136:
Narrated Aisha:
Whoever tells that Mohammed concealed part of what was revealed to him, is a liar, for Allah says:-- "O Apostle (Mohammed)! Proclaim (the Message) which has been sent down to you from your Lord." (5.67)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 137:
Narrated Aisha:
This Verse: "Allah will not punish you for what is unintentional in your oaths." (5.89) was revealed about a man's state men (during his talk), "No, by Allah," and "Yes, by Allah."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 138:
Narrated Aisha:
That her father (Abu Bakr) never broke his oath till Allah revealed the order of the legal expiation for oath. Abu Bakr said, "If I ever take an oath (to do something) and later find that to do something else is better, then I accept Allah's permission and do that which is better, (and do the legal expiation for my oath) ".

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 139:
Narrated Abdullah:
We used to participate in the holy wars carried on by the Prophet and we had no women (wives) with us. So we said (to the Prophet). "Shall we castrate ourselves?" But the Prophet forbade us to do that and thenceforth he allowed us to marry a woman (temporarily) by giving her even a garment, and then he recited: "O you who believe! Do not make unlawful the good things which Allah has made lawful for you."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 140:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
(The Verse of) prohibiting alcoholic drinks was revealed when there were in Medina five kinds of (alcoholic) drinks none of which was produced from grapes.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 141:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
We had no alcoholic drink except that which was produced from dates and which you call Fadikh. While I was standing offering drinks to Abu Talh and so-and-so and so-and-so, a man cam and said, "Has the news reached you? They said, "What is that?" He said. "Alcoholic drinks have been prohibited. They said, "Spill (the contents of these pots, O Anas! "Then they neither asked about it (alcoholic drinks) nor returned it after the news from that man.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 142:
Narrated Jabir:
Some people drank alcoholic beverages in the morning (of the day) of the Uhud battle and on the same day they were killed as martyrs, and that was before wine was prohibited.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 143:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
I heard Umar while he was on the pulpit of the Prophet saying, "Now then O people! The revelation about the prohibition of alcoholic drinks was revealed; and alcoholic drinks are extracted from five things: Grapes, dates, honey, wheat and barley. And the alcoholic drink is that which confuses and stupefies the mind."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 144:
Narrated Anas:
The alcoholic drink which was spilled was Al-Fadikh. I used to offer alcoholic drinks to the people at the residence of Abu Talha. Then the order of prohibiting Alcoholic drinks was revealed, and the Prophet ordered somebody to announce that: Abu Talha said to me, "Go out and see what this voice (this announcement) is." I went out and (on coming back) said, "This is somebody announcing that alcoholic beverages have been prohibited." Abu Talha said to me, "Go and spill it (i.e. the wine)," Then it (alcoholic drinks) was seen flowing through the streets of Medina. At that time the wine was Al-Fadikh. The people said, "Some people (Muslims) were killed (during the battle of Uhud) while wine was in their stomachs." So Allah revealed: "On those who believe and do good deeds there is no blame for what they ate (in the past)." (5.93)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 145:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet delivered a sermon the like of which I had never heard before. He said, "If you but knew what I know then you would have laughed little and wept much." On hearing that, the companions of the Prophet covered their faces and the sound of their weeping was heard. A man said, "Who is my father?" The Prophet said, "So-and-so." So this Verse was revealed: "Ask not about things which, if made plain to you, may cause you trouble." (5.101)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 146:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Some people were asking Allah's Messenger questions mockingly. A man would say, "Who is my father?" Another man whose she-camel had gone astray would say, "Where is my she-camel? "So Allah revealed this Verse in this connection: "O you who believe! Ask not about things which, if made plain to you, may cause you trouble." (5.101)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 147:
Narrated Said bin Al-Musaiyab:
Bahira is a she-camel whose milk is kept for the idols and nobody is allowed to milk it; Sa'iba was the she-camel which they used to set free for their gods and nothing was allowed to be carried on it. Abu Huraira said: Allah's Messenger said, "I saw Amr bin Amir Al-Khuzai (in a dream) dragging his intestines in the Fire, and he was the first person to establish the tradition of setting free the animals (for the sake of their deities)," Wasila is the she-camel which gives birth to a she-camel as its first delivery, and then gives birth to another she-camel as its second delivery. People (in the Pre-lslamic periods of ignorance) used to let that she camel loose for their idols if it gave birth to two she-camels successively without giving birth to a male camel in between. 'Ham' was the male camel which was used for copulation. When it had finished the number of copulations assigned for it, they would let it loose for their idols and excuse it from burdens so that nothing would be carried on it, and they called it the 'Hami.' Abu Huraira said, "I heard the Prophet saying so."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 148:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Messenger said, "I saw Hell and its different portions were consuming each other and saw Amr dragging his intestines (in it), and he was the first person to establish the tradition of letting animals loose (for the idols).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 149:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Messenger delivered a sermon and said, "O people! You will be gathered before Allah barefooted, naked and not circumcised." Then (quoting Koran) he said:-- "As We began the first creation, We shall repeat it. A promise We have undertaken: Truly we shall do it.." (21.104) The Prophet then said, "The first of the human beings to be dressed on the Day of Resurrection, will be Abraham. Lo! Some men from my followers will be brought and then (the angels) will drive them to the left side (Hell-Fire). I will say. 'O my Lord! (They are) my companions!' Then a reply will come (from Almighty), 'You do not know what they did after you.' I will say as the pious slave (the Prophet Jesus) said: And I was a witness over them while I dwelt amongst them. When You took me up. You were the Watcher over them and You are a Witness to all things.' (5.117) Then it will be said, "These people have continued to be apostates since you left them."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 150:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "You will be gathered (on the Day of Resurrection) and some people will be driven (by the angels) to the left side (and taken to Hell) whereupon I will say as the pious slave (Jesus) said:- - "And I was a witness over them while I dwelt amongst them...the ALMIGHTY, the All Wise." (5.117-118)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 151
Narrated Abdullah:
Allah's Messenger said, "The key of the Unseen are five: Verily with Allah (Alone) is the knowledge of the Hour He sends down the rain and knows what is in the wombs. No soul knows what it will earn tomorrow, and no soul knows in what land it will die. Verily, Allah is All-Knower, All-Aware." (31.34)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 152
Narrated Jabir:
When this Verse was revealed: "Say: He has power to send torment on you from above." (6.65) Allah's Messenger said, "O Allah! I seek refuge with Your Face (from this punishment)." And when the verse: "or send torment from below your feet," (was revealed), Allah's Messenger said, "(O Allah!) I seek refuge with Your Face (from this punishment)." (But when there was revealed): "Or confuse you in party strife and make you to taste the violence of one another." (6.65) Allah's Messenger said, "This is lighter (or, this is easier).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 153
Narrated Abdullah:
When:"...and confuse not their belief with wrong." (6.82) was revealed, the Prophet's companions said, "Which of us has not done wrong?" Then there was revealed:-- "Verily joining others in worship with Allah is a tremendous wrong indeed." (31.13)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 154
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "Nobody has the rights to say that I am better than Jonah bin Matta."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 155
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Nobody has the right to say that I am better than Jonah bin Matta."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 156:
Narrated Mujahid:
That he asked Ibn Abbas, "Is there a prostration Surat-al-Sad?" (38.24) Ibn Abbas said, "Yes," and then recited: "We gave...So follow their guidance." (6.85,90) Then he said, "He (David) is one them (i.e. those prophets)." Mujahid narrated: I asked Ibn Abbas (regarding the above Verse). He said, "Your Prophet (Mohammed) was one of those who were ordered to follow them."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 157:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "May Allah curse the Jews! When Allah forbade them to eat the fat of animals, they melted it and sold it, and utilized its price! "

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 158:
Narrated Abu Wail:
Abdullah (bin Masud) said, "None has more sense of ghaira than Allah therefore - He prohibits shameful sins (illegal sexual intercourse, etc.) whether committed openly or secretly. And none loves to be praised more than Allah does, and for this reason He praises Himself." I asked Abu Wali, "Did you hear it from Abdullah?" He said, "Yes," I said, "Did Abdullah ascribe it to Allah's Messenger?" He said, "Yes."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 159:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Messenger said, "The Hour will not be established until the sun rises from the West: and when the people see it, then whoever will be living on the surface of the earth will have faith, and that is (the time) when no good will it do to a soul to believe then, if it believed not before." (6.158)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 160:
Narrated Abu Huraira:

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Allah's Messenger said, "The hour will not be established till the sun rises from the West; and when it rises (from the West) and the people see it, they all will believe. And that is (the time) when no good will it do to a soul to believe then." Then he recited the whole Verse (6.158)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 161
Narrated Abdullah bin Masud:
Allah's Messenger said, "None has more sense of ghaira than Allah, and for this He has forbidden shameful sins whether committed openly or secretly, and none loves to be praised more than Allah does, and this is why He Praises Himself."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 162:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
A man from the Jews, having been slapped on his face, came to the Prophet and said, "O Mohammed! A man from your companions from the Ansar has slapped me on my face!" The Prophet said, "Call him." When they called him, the Prophet said, "Why did you slap him?" He said, "O Allah's Messenger! While I was passing by the Jews, I heard him saying, 'By Him Who selected Moses above the human beings,' I said, 'Even above Mohammed?' I became furious and slapped him on the face." The Prophet said, "Do not give me superiority over the other prophets, for on the Day of Resurrection the people will become unconscious and I will be the first to regain consciousness. Then I will see Moses holding one of the legs of the Throne. I will not know whether he has come to his senses before me or that the shock he had received at the Mountain, (during his worldly life) was sufficient for him."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 163:
Narrated Said Ibn Zaid:
The Prophet said, "Al-Kam'a is like the Mann (sweet resin or gum) (in that it grows naturally without human care) and its water is a cure for the eye diseases."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 164:
Narrated Abu Ad-Darda:
There was a dispute between Abu Bakr and Umar, and Abu Bakr made Umar angry. So Umar left angrily. Abu Bakr followed him, requesting him to ask forgiveness (of Allah) for him, but Umar refused to do so and closed his door in Abu Bakr's face. So Abu Bakr went to Allah's Messenger while we were with him. Allah's Messenger said, "This friend of yours must have quarrelled (with somebody)." In the meantime Umar repented and felt sorry for what he had done, so he came, greeted (those who were present) and sat with the Prophet and related the story to him. Allah's Messenger became angry and Abu Bakr started saying, "O Allah's Messenger! By Allah, I was more at fault (than Umar)." Allah's Apostle said, "Are you (people) leaving for me my companion? (Abu Bakr), Are you (people) leaving for me my companion? When I said, 'O people I am sent to you all as the Messenger of Allah,' you said, 'You tell a lie.' while Abu Bakr said, 'You have spoken the truth ."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 165:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Messenger said, "It was said to the children of Israel, 'Enter the gate in prostration and say Hitatun. (7.161) We shall forgive you, your faults.' But they changed (Allah's Order) and entered, dragging themselves on their buttocks and said, 'Habatun (a grain) in a Sha'ratin (hair).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 166:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
'Uyaina bin Hisn bin Hudhaifa came and stayed with his nephew Al-Hurr bin Qais who was one of those whom Umar used to keep near him, as the Qurra' (learned men knowing Koran by heart) were the people of Umar's meetings and his advisors whether they were old or young. 'Uyaina said to his nephew, "O son of my brother! You have an approach to this chief, so get for me the permission to see him." Al-Hurr said, "I will get the permission for you to see him." So Al-Hurr asked the permission for 'Uyaina and Umar admitted him. When 'Uyaina entered upon him, he said, "Beware! O the son of Al-Khattab! By Allah, you neither give us sufficient provision nor judge among us with justice." Thereupon Umar became so furious that he intended to harm him, but Al-Hurr said, "O chief of the Believers! Allah said to His Prophet: "Hold to forgiveness; command what is right; and leave (don't punish) the foolish." (7.199) and this (i.e. 'Uyaina) is one of the foolish." By Allah, Umar did not overlook that Verse when Al-Hurr recited it before him; he observed (the orders of) Allah's Book strictly.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 167:
Narrated Abdullah bin AzZubair:
(The Verse) "Hold to forgiveness; command what is right..." was revealed by Allah except in connection with the character of the people.
Abdullah bin Az-Zubair said:
Allah ordered His Prophet to forgive the people their misbehaviour (towards him).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 168:
Narrated Said bin Jubair:
I asked Ibn Abbas regarding Surat-al-Anfal. He said, "It was revealed in connexion with the Battle of Badr."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 169:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Regarding the Verse: "Verily! The worst of beasts in the Sight of Allah are the deaf and the dumb---- those who understand not." (8.22) (The people referred to here) were some persons from the tribe of Bani Abd-Addar.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 170:
Narrated Abu Said bin Al-Mu'alla:
While I was praying, Allah's Messenger passed me and called me, but I did not go to him until I had finished the prayer. Then I went to him, and he said, "What prevented you from coming to me? Didn't Allah say:-- "O you who believe! Answer the call of Allah (by obeying Him) and His Apostle when He calls you?" He then said, "I will inform you of the greatest Sura in the Koran before I leave (the mosque)." When Allah's Messenger got ready to leave (the mosque), I reminded him. He said, "It is: 'Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds.' (i.e. Surat-al-Fatiha) As-sab'a Al-Mathani (the seven repeatedly recited Verses).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 171:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Abu Jahl said, "O Allah! If this (Koran) is indeed the Truth from You, then rain down on us a shower of stones from the sky or bring on us a painful torment." So Allah revealed:-- "But Allah would not punish them while you were amongst them, nor He will punish them while they seek (Allah's) forgiveness..." (8.33) And why Allah should not punish them while they turn away (men) from Al- Masjid-al-Haram (the Sacred Mosque of Mecca)..." (8.33-34)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 172:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Abu Jahl said, "O Allah! If this (Koran) is indeed the Truth from You), then rain down on us a shower of stones from the sky or bring on us a painful punishment." So there was revealed:-- 'But Allah would not punish them while you (Mohammed) were amongst them, nor will He punish them while they seek (Allah's) Forgiveness. And why Allah should not punish them while they stop (men) from Al-Masjid-al-Haram ..' (8.33-34)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 173:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
That a man came to him (while two groups of Muslims were fighting) and said, "O Abu Abdur Rahman! Don't you hear what Allah has mentioned in His Book: 'And if two groups of believers fight against each other...' (49.9) So what prevents you from fighting as Allah has mentioned in His Book?" Ibn Umar said, "O son of my brother! I would rather be blamed for not fighting because of this Verse than to be blamed because of another Verse where Allah says: 'And whoever kills a believer intentionally..." (4.93) Then that man said, "Allah says:-- 'And fight them until there is no more afflictions (worshipping other besides Allah) and the religion (i.e. worship) will be all for Allah (Alone)" (8.39) Ibn Umar said, "We did this during the lifetime of Allah's Messenger when the number of Muslims was small, and a man was put to trial because of his religion, the pagans would either kill or chain him; but when the Muslims increased (and Islam spread), there was no persecution." When that man saw that Ibn Umar did not agree to his proposal, he said, "What is your opinion regarding Ali and Uthman?" Ibn Umar said, "What is my opinion regarding Ali and Uthman? As for Uthman, Allah forgave him and you disliked to forgive him, and Ali is the cousin and son-in-law of Allah's Messenger ." Then he pointed out with his hand and said, "And that is his daughter's (house) which you can see."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 174:
Narrated Said bin Jubair:
Ibn Umar came to us and a man said (to him), "What do you think about 'Qit-alal-Fitnah' (fighting caused by afflictions)." Ibn Umar said (to him), "And do you understand what an affliction is? Mohammed used to fight against the pagans, and his fighting with them was an affliction, (and his fighting was) not like your fighting which is carried on for the sake of ruling."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 175:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
When the Verse:-- "If there are twenty steadfast amongst you, they will overcome two hundred." (8.65) was revealed, then it became obligatory for the Muslims that one (Muslim) should not flee from ten (non-Muslims). Sufyan (the sub-narrator) once said, "Twenty (Muslims) should not flee before two hundred (non Muslims)." Then there was revealed: 'But now Allah has lightened your (task)..' (8.66) So it became obligatory that one-hundred (Muslims) should not flee before two hundred (nonmuslims). (Once Sufyan said extra, "The Verse: 'Urge the believers to the fight. If there are twenty steadfast amongst you (Muslims) ..' was revealed.) Sufyan said, "Ibn Shabrama said, "I see that this order is applicable to the obligation of enjoining good and forbidding evil."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 176:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
When the Verse:--'If there are twenty steadfast amongst you (Muslims), they will overcome twohundred (non-Muslims).' was revealed, it became hard on the Muslims when it became compulsory that one Muslim ought not to flee (in war) before ten (non-Muslims). So (Allah) lightened the order by revealing: '(But) now Allah has lightened your (task) for He knows that there is weakness in you. So if there are of you one-hundred steadfast, they will overcome (two-hundred (non-Muslims).' (8.66) So when Allah reduced the number of enemies which Muslims should withstand, their patience and perseverance against the enemy decreased as much as their task was lightened for them.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 177:
Narrated Al-Bara:
The last Verse that was revealed was: 'They ask you for a legal verdict: Say: Allah directs (thus) about Al-Kalalah (those who leave no descendants or ascendants as heirs).' And the last Sura which was revealed was Baraatun (9) .

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 178:
Narrated Humaid bin Abdur-Rahman:
Abu Huraira said, "During that Hajj (in which Abu Bakr was the chief of the pilgrims) Abu Bakr sent me along with announcers on the Day of Nahr (10th of Dhul-Hijja) in Mina to announce: "No pagans shall perform, Hajj after this year, and none shall perform the Tawaf around the Kaba in a naked state." Humaid bin Abdur Rahman added: Then Allah's Messenger sent Ali bin Abi Talib (after Abu Bakr) and ordered him to recite aloud in public Surat Bara'a. Abu Huraira added, "So Ali, along with us, recited Bara'a (loudly) before the people at Mina on the Day of Nahr and announced; "No pagan shall perform Hajj after this year and none shall perform the Tawaf around the Kaba in a naked state."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 179:
Narrated Humaid bin Abdur Rahman:
Abu Huraira said, "Abu Bakr sent me in that Hajj in which he was the chief of the pilgrims along with the announcers whom he sent on the Day of Nahr to announce at Mina: "No pagan shall perform Hajj after this year, and none shall perform the Tawaf around the Kaba in a naked state." Humaid added: That the Prophet sent Ali bin Abi Talib (after Abu Bakr) and ordered him to recite aloud in public Surat-Baraa. Abu Huraira added, "So Ali, along with us, recited Bara'a (loudly) before the people at Mina on the Day of Nahr and announced "No pagan shall perform Hajj after this year and none shall perform the Tawaf around the Kaba in a naked state."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 180:
Narrated Humaid bin Abdur-Rahman:
Abu Huraira said that Abu Bakr sent him during the Hajj in which Abu Bakr was made the chief of the pilgrims by Allah's Messenger before (the year of) Hajjat al-Wada in a group (of announcers) to announce before the people; 'No pagan shall perform the Hajj after this year, and none shall perform the Tawaf around the Kaba in a naked state. Humaid used to say The Day of Nahr is the day of Al- Hajj Al-Akbar (the Greatest Day) because of the narration of Abu Huraira.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 181:
Narrated Zaid bin Wahb:
We were with Hudhaifa and he said, "None remains of the people described by this Verse (9.12), "Except three, and of the hypocrites except four." A bedouin said, "You the companions of Mohammed! Tell us (things) and we do not know that about those who break open our houses and steal our precious things? ' He (Hudhaifa) replied, "Those are Al Fussaq (rebellious wrongdoers) (not disbelievers or hypocrites). Really, none remains of them (hypocrite) but four, one of whom is a very old man who, if he drinks water, does not feel its coldness."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 182:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Messenger said, "The Kanz (money, the Zakat of which is not paid) of anyone of you will appear in the form of bald-headed poisonous male snake on the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 183:

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Narrated Zaid bin Wahb:
I passed by (visited) Abu Dhar at Ar-Rabadha and said to him, "What has brought you to this land?" He said, "We were at Sham and I recited the Verse: "They who hoard up gold and silver and spend them not in the way of Allah; announce to them a painful torment, " (9.34) where upon Muawiya said, 'This Verse is not for us, but for the people of the Scripture.' Then I said, 'But it is both for us (Muslim) and for them.' "

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 184:
Narrated Abu Bakr:
The Prophet said, "Time has come back to its original state which it had when Allah created the Heavens and the Earth; the year is twelve months, four of which are sacred. Three of them are in succession; Dhul-Qa'da, Dhul-Hijja and Al-Muharram, and (the fourth being) Rajab Mudar (named after the tribe of Mudar as they used to respect this month) which stands between Jumad (ath-thani) and Sha'ban."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 185:
Narrated Abu Bakr:
I was in the company of the Prophet in the cave, and on seeing the traces of the pagans, I said, "O Allah's Messenger If one of them (pagans) should lift up his foot, he will see us." He said, "What do you think of two, the third of whom is Allah?"

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 186:
Narrated Ibn Abi Mulaika:
When there happened the disagreement between Ibn Az-Zubair and Ibn Abbas, I said (to the latter), "(Why don't you take the oath of allegiance to him as) his father is Az-Zubair, and his mother is Asma,' and his aunt is Aisha, and his maternal grandfather is Abu Bakr, and his grandmother is Safiya?"

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 187:
Narrated Ibn Abi Mulaika:
There was a disagreement between them (i.e. Ibn Abbas and Ibn Az-Zubair) so I went to Ibn Abbas in the morning and said (to him), "Do you want to fight against Ibn Zubair and thus make lawful what Allah has made unlawful (i.e. fighting in Meccas?" Ibn Abbas said, "Allah forbid! Allah ordained that Ibn Zubair and Bani Umaiya would permit (fighting in Mecca), but by Allah, I will never regard it as permissible." Ibn Abbas added. "The people asked me to take the oath of allegiance to Ibn AzZubair. I said, 'He is really entitled to assume authority for his father, Az-Zubair was the helper of the Prophet, his (maternal) grandfather, Abu Bakr was (the Prophet's) companion in the cave, his mother, Asma was 'Dhatun-Nitaq', his aunt, Aisha was the mother of the Believers, his paternal aunt, Khadija was the wife of the Prophet , and the paternal aunt of the Prophet was his grandmother. He himself is pious and chaste in Islam, well versed in the Knowledge of the Koran. By Allah! (Really, I left my relatives, Bani Umaiya for his sake though) they are my close relatives, and if they should be my rulers, they are equally apt to be so and are descended from a noble family.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 188:
Narrated Ibn Abi Mulaika:
We entered upon Ibn Abbas and he said "Are you not astonished at Ibn Az-Zubair's assuming the caliphate?" I said (to myself), "I will support him and speak of his good traits as I did not do even for Abu Bakr and Umar though they were more entitled to receive al I good than he was." I said "He (i.e Ibn Az-Zubair) is the son of the aunt of the Prophet and the son of AzZubair, and the grandson of Abu Bakr and the son of Khadija's brother, and the son of Aisha's sister." Nevertheless, he considers himself to be superior to me and does not want me to be one of his friends. So I said, "I never expected that he would refuse my offer to support him, and I don't think he intends to do me any good, therefore, if my cousins should inevitably be my rulers, it will be better for me to be ruled by them than by some others."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 189:
Narrated Abu Said
. . . . [Text missing.] . . . .

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 190:
Narrated Abu Musud:
When we were ordered to give alms, we began to work as porters (to earn something we could give in charity). Abu Uqail came with one half of a Sa (special measure for food grains) and another person brought more than he did. So the hypocrites said, "Allah is not in need of the alms of this (i.e. Uqail); and this other person did not give alms but for showing off." Then Allah revealed:--'Those who criticise such of the Believers who give charity voluntarily and those who could not find to give in charity except what is available to them.' (9.79)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 191:
Narrated Shaqiq:
Abu Masud Al-Ansari said, "Allah's Apostle, used to order us to give alms. So one of us would exert himself to earn one Mud (special measure of wheat or dates, etc.,) to give in charity; while today one of us may have one hundred thousand." Shaqiq said: As if Abu Masud referred to himself.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 192:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
When Abdullah bin Ubai died, his son Abdullah bin Abdullah came to Allah's Messenger and asked him to give him his shirt in order to shroud his father in it. He gave it to him and then Abdullah asked the Prophet to offer the funeral prayer for him (his father). Allah's Messenger got up to offer the funeral prayer for him, but Umar got up too and got hold of the garment of Allah's Messenger and said, "O Allah's Messenger Will you offer the funeral prayer for him though your Lord has forbidden you to offer the prayer for him" Allah's Messenger said, "But Allah has given me the choice by saying: '(Whether you) ask forgiveness for them, or do not ask forgiveness for them; even if you ask forgiveness for them seventy times..' (9.80) so I will ask more than seventy times." Umar said, "But he (Abdullah bin Ubai) is a hypocrite!" However, Allah's Messenger did offer the funeral prayer for him whereupon Allah revealed: 'And never (O Mohammed) pray for anyone of them that dies, nor stand at his grave.' (9.84)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 193:
Narrated Umar bin Al-Khattab:
When Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul died, Allah's Messenger was called in order to offer the funeral prayer for him. When Allah's Messenger got up (to offer the prayer) I jumped towards him and said, "O Allah's Messenger! Do you offer the prayer for Ibn Ubai although he said so-and-so on such-and-such-a day?" I went on mentioning his sayings. Allah's Messenger smiled and said, "Keep away from me, O Umar!" But when I spoke too much to him, he said, "I have been given the choice, and I have chosen (this) ; and if I knew that if I asked forgiveness for him more than seventy times, he would be for given, I would ask it for more times than that." So Allah's Messenger offered the funeral prayer for him and then left, but he did not stay long before the two Verses of Surat-Bara'a were revealed, i.e.:-- 'And never (O Mohammed) pray for anyone of them that dies.... and died in a state of rebellion.' (9.84) Later I was astonished at my daring to speak like that to Allah's Messenger and Allah and His Apostle know best.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 194:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
When Abdullah bin Ubai died, his son Abdullah bin Abdullah came to Allah's Messenger who gave his shirt to him and ordered him to shroud his father in it. Then he stood up to offer the funeral prayer for the deceased, but Umar bin Al-Khattab took hold of his garment and said, "Do you offer the funeral prayer for him though he was a hypocrite and Allah has forbidden you to ask forgiveness for hypocrites?" The Prophet said, "Allah has given me the choice (or Allah has informed me) saying: "Whether you, O Mohammed, ask forgiveness for them, or do not ask forgiveness for them, even if you ask forgiveness for them seventy times, Allah will not forgive them," (9.80) The he added, "I will (appeal to Allah for his sake) more than seventy times." So Allah's Messenger offered the funeral prayer for him and we too, offered the prayer along with him. Then Allah revealed: "And never, O Mohammed, pray (funeral prayer) for anyone of them that dies, nor stand at his grave. Certainly they disbelieved in Allah and His Apostle and died in a state of rebellion." (9.84)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 195:
Narrated Abdullah bin Kab:
I heard Kab bin Malik at the time he remained behind and did not join (the battle of) Tabuk, saying, "By Allah, no blessing has Allah bestowed upon me, besides my guidance to Islam, better than that of helping me speak the truth to Allah's Messenger otherwise I would have told the Prophet a lie and would have been ruined like those who had told a lie when the Divine Inspiration was revealed:-- "They will swear by Allah to you (Muslims) when you return to them.. the rebellious people." (9.95-96)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 196:
Narrated Samura bin Jundab:
Allah's Messenger said, "Tonight two (visitors) came to me (in my dream) and took me to a town built with gold bricks and silver bricks. There we met men who, half of their bodies, look like the mosthandsome human beings you have ever seen, and the other half, the ugliest human beings you have ever seen. Those two visitors said to those men, 'Go and dip yourselves in that river. So they dipped themselves therein and then came to us, their ugliness having disappeared and they were in the mosthandsome shape. The visitors said, 'The first is the Garden of Eden and that is your dwelling place.' Then they added, 'As for those people who were half ugly and half handsome, they were those who mixed good deeds and bad deeds, but Allah forgave them."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 197:
Narrated Al-Musaiyab:
When Abu Talib's death approached, the Prophet went to him while Abu Jahl and Abdullah bin Abi Umaiya were present with him. The Prophet said, "O uncle, say: None has the right to be worshipped except Allah, so that I may argue for your case with it before Allah." On that, Abu Jahl and Abdullah bin Abu Umaiya said, "O Abu Talib! Do you want to renounce Abdul Muttalib's religion?" Then the Prophet said, "I will keep on asking (Allah for) forgiveness for you unless I am forbidden to do so." Then there was revealed:-- 'It is not fitting for the Prophet and those who believe that they should invoke (Allah) for forgiveness for pagans even though they be of kin, after it has become clear to them that they are companions of the Fire.' (9.113)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 198:
Narrated Abdullah bin Kab:
I heard Kab bin Malik talking about the Verse:-- 'And to the three (He also forgave) who remained behind.' (9.118) saying in the last portion of his talk, "(I said), 'As a part (sign) of my repentance, I would like to give up all my property in the cause of Allah and His Apostle,' The Prophet said to me, 'Keep some of your wealth as it is good for you." (To the three (He also forgave) who remained behind till for them the earth, vast as it is, was straitened..." (9.118)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 199:
Narrated Abdullah bin Kab:
I heard Kab bin Malik who was one of the three who were forgiven, saying that he had never remained behind Allah's Messenger in any Ghazwa which he had fought except two Ghazwat Ghazwat- Al-Usra (Tabuk) and Ghazwat-Badr. He added. "I decided to tell the truth to Allah's Messenger in the forenoon, and scarcely did he return from a journey he made, except in the forenoon, he would go first to the mosque and offer a two-rakat prayer. The Prophet forbade others to speak to me or to my two companions, but he did not prohibit speaking to any of those who had remained behind excepting us. So the people avoided speaking to us, and I stayed in that state till I could no longer bear it, and the only thing that worried me was that I might die and the Prophet would not offer the funeral prayer for me, or Allah's Messenger might die and I would be left in that social status among the people that nobody would speak to me or offer the funeral prayer for me. But Allah revealed His Forgiveness for us to the Prophet in the last third of the night while Allah's Messenger was with Um Salama. Um Salama sympathized with me and helped me in my disaster. Allah's Messenger said, 'O Um Salama! Kab has been forgiven!' She said, 'Shall I send someone to him to give him the good tidings?' He said, 'If you did so, the people would not let you sleep the rest of the night.' So when the Prophet had offered the Fajr prayer, he announced Allah's Forgiveness for us. His face used to look as bright as a piece of the (full) moon whenever he was pleased. When Allah revealed His Forgiveness for us, we were the three whose case had been deferred while the excuse presented by those who had apologized had been accepted. But when there were mentioned those who had told the Prophet lies and remained behind (the battle of Tabuk) and had given false excuses, they were described with the worse description one may be described with. Allah said: 'They will present their excuses to you (Muslims) when you return to them. Say: Present no excuses; we shall not believe you. Allah has already informed us of the true state of matters concerning you. Allah and His Apostle will observe your actions." (9.94)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 200:
Narrated Abdullah bin Kab:
I heard Kab bin Malik talking about the story of the battle of Tabuk when he remained behind, "By Allah, I do not know anyone whom Allah has helped for telling the truth more than me since I mentioned that truth to Allah's Messenger till today, I have never intended to tell a lie. And Allah revealed to His Apostle: "Verily! Allah has forgiven the Prophet, the Muhajirin . . . . . and be with those who are true (in words and deeds)." (9.117-119) (See Hadith No. 702 Vol 5).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 201:
Narrated Zaid bin Thabit Al-Ansari:
who was one of those who used to write the Divine Revelation: Abu Bakr sent for me after the (heavy) casualties among the warriors (of the battle) of Yamama (where a great number of Qurra' were killed). Umar was present with Abu Bakr who said, Umar has come to me and said, The people have suffered heavy casualties on the day of (the battle of) Yamama, and I am afraid that there will be more casualties among the Qurra' (those who know the Koran by heart) at other battle-fields, whereby a large part of the Koran may be lost, unless you collect it. And I am of the opinion that you

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should collect the Koran." Abu Bakr added, "I said to Umar, 'How can I do something which Allah's Apostle has not done?' Umar said (to me), 'By Allah, it is (really) a good thing.' So Umar kept on pressing, trying to persuade me to accept his proposal, till Allah opened my bosom for it and I had the same opinion as Umar." (Zaid bin Thabit added:) Umar was sitting with him (Abu Bakr) and was not speaking. me). "You are a wise young man and we do not suspect you (of telling lies or of forgetfulness): and you used to write the Divine Inspiration for Allah's Messenger. Therefore, look for the Koran and collect it (in one manuscript). " By Allah, if he (Abu Bakr) had ordered me to shift one of the mountains (from its place) it would not have been harder for me than what he had ordered me concerning the collection of the Koran. I said to both of them, "How dare you do a thing which the Prophet has not done?" Abu Bakr said, "By Allah, it is (really) a good thing. So I kept on arguing with him about it till Allah opened my bosom for that which He had opened the bosoms of Abu Bakr and Umar. So I started locating Koranic material and collecting it from parchments, scapula, leaf-stalks of date palms and from the memories of men (who knew it by heart). I found with Khuzaima two Verses of Surat-at-Tauba which I had not found with anybody else, (and they were):-- "Verily there has come to you an Apostle (Mohammed) from amongst yourselves. It grieves him that you should receive any injury or difficulty He (Mohammed) is ardently anxious over you (to be rightly guided)" (9.128) The manuscript on which the Koran was collected, remained with Abu Bakr till Allah took him unto Him, and then with Umar till Allah took him unto Him, and finally it remained with Hafsa, Umar's daughter.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 202:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
When the Prophet arrived at Medina, the Jews were observing the fast on 'Ashura' (10th of Muharram) and they said, "This is the day when Moses became victorious over Pharaoh," On that, the Prophet said to his companions, "You (Muslims) have more right to celebrate Moses' victory than they have, so observe the fast on this day."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 203:
Narrated Mohammed bin Abbas bin Jafar:
That he heard Ibn Abbas reciting: "No doubt! They fold up their breasts." (11.5) and asked him about its explanation. He said, "Some people used to hide themselves while answering the call of nature in an open space lest they be exposed to the sky, and also when they had sexual relation with their wives in an open space lest they be exposed to the sky, so the above revelation was sent down regarding them."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 204:
Narrated Mohammed bin Abbas bin Jafar:
Ibn Abbas recited. "No doubt! They fold up their breasts." I said, "O Abu Abbas! What is meant by "They fold up their breasts?" He said, "A man used to feel shy on having sexual relation with his wife or on answering the call of nature (in an open space) so this Verse was revealed:-- "No doubt! They fold up their breasts."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 205:
Narrated Amr:
Ibn Abbas recited:-- "No doubt! They fold up their breasts in order to hide from Him. Surely! Even when they cover themselves with their garments.." (11.5)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 206:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Messenger said, "Allah said, 'Spend (O man), and I shall spend on you." He also said, "Allah's Hand is full, and (its fullness) is not affected by the continuous spending night and day." He also said, "Do you see what He has spent since He created the Heavens and the Earth? Nevertheless, what is in His Hand is not decreased, and His Throne was over the water; and in His Hand there is the balance (of justice) whereby He raises and lowers (people).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 207:
Narrated Safwan bin Muhriz:
While Ibn Umar was performing the Tawaf (around the Kaba), a man came up to him and said, "O Abu AbdurRahman!" or said, "O Ibn Umar! Did you hear anything from the Prophet about An35 Najwa?" Ibn Umar said, "I heard the Prophet saying, 'The Believer will be brought near his Lord." (Hisham, a sub-narrator said, reporting the Prophet's words), "The believer will come near (his Lord) till his Lord covers him with His screen and makes him confess his sins. (Allah will ask him), 'Do you know (that you did) 'such-and-such sin?" He will say twice, 'Yes, I do.' Then Allah will say, 'I concealed it in the world and I forgive it for you today.' Then the record of his good deeds will be folded up. As for the others, or the disbelievers, it will be announced publicly before the witnesses: 'These are ones who lied against their Lord."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 208:
Narrated Abu Musa:
Allah's Messenger said, "Allah gives respite to the oppressor, but when He takes him over, He never releases him." Then he recited:-- "Such is the seizure of your Lord when He seizes (population of) towns in the midst of their wrong: Painful indeed, and severe is His seizure.' (11.102)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 209:
Narrated Ibn Masud:
A man kissed a woman and then came to Allah's Messenger and told him of that, so this Divine Inspiration was revealed to the Prophet 'And offer Prayers perfectly at the two ends of the day, and in some hours of the night; (i.e. (five) compulsory prayers). Verily, the good deeds remove the evil deeds (small sins) That is a reminder for the mindful.' (11.114) The man said, Is this instruction for me only?' The Prophet said, "It is for all those of my followers who encounter a similar situation."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 210:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
The Prophet said, "The honorable, the son of the honorable the son of the honorable, i.e. Joseph, the son of Jacob, the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 211:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Messenger was asked, "Who are the most honorable of the people?" The Prophet said, "The most honorable of them in Allah's Sight are those who keep their duty to Allah and fear Him. They said, "We do not ask you about that." He said, "Then the most honorable of the people is Joseph, Allah's prophet, the son of Allah's prophet, the son of Allah's prophet, the son of Allah's Khalil i.e. Abraham) They said, "We do not ask you about that." The Prophet said, Do you ask about (the virtues of the ancestry of the Arabs?" They said, "Yes," He said, "Those who were the best amongst you in the Prelslamic Period are the best amongst you in Islam if they comprehend (the Islamic religion).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 212:
Narrated Az-Zuhri:
Urwa bin Az-Zubair, Said bin Al-Musaiyab, 'Al-Qama bin Waqqas and Ubaidullah bin Abdullah related the narration of Aisha, the wife the Prophet, when the slanderers had said about her what they had said and Allah later declared her innocence. Each of them related a part of the narration (wherein) the Prophet said (to Aisha). "If you are innocent, then Allah will declare your innocence: but if you have committed a sin, then ask for Allah's Forgiveness and repent to him." Aisha said, "By Allah, I find no example for my case except that of Joseph's father (when he said), 'So (for me) patience is most fitting.' " Then Allah revealed the ten Verses:-- "Verily those who spread the slander are a gang amongst you.." (24.11)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 213:
Narrated Um Ruman:
Who was Aisha's mother: While I was with Aisha, Aisha got fever, whereupon the Prophet said, "Probably her fever is caused by the story related by the people (about her)." I said, "Yes." Then Aisha sat up and said, "My example and your example is similar to that of Jacob and his sons:--'Nay, but your minds have made up a tale. So (for me) patience is most fitting. It is Allah (alone) Whose help can be sought against that which you assert.' (12.18)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 214:
Narrated Abu Wail:
Abdullah bin Masud recited "Haita laka (Come you)," and added, "We recite it as we were taught it."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 215:
Narrated Abdullah (bin Masud):
When the Prophet realized that the Quraish had delayed in embracing Islam, he said, "O Allah! Protect me against their evil by afflicting them with seven (years of famine) like the seven years of (Prophet) Joseph." So they were struck with a year of famine that destroyed everything till they had to eat bones, and till a man would look towards the sky and see something like smoke between him and it. Allah said:-- "Then watch you (O Mohammed) for the day when the sky will produce a kind of smoke plainly visible." (44.10) And Allah further said:-- "Verily! We shall withdraw the punishment a little, Verily you will return (to disbelief)." (44.15) (Will Allah relieve them from torture on the Day of Resurrection?) (The punishment of) the smoke had passed and Al-Baltsha (the destruction of the pagans in the Badr battle) had passed too.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 216:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Messenger said, "May Allah bestow His Mercy on (Prophet) Lot. (When his nation troubled him) he wished if he could betake himself to some powerful support; and if I were to remain in prison for the period Joseph had remained, I would surely respond to the call; and we shall have more right (to be in doubt) than Abraham: When Allah said to him, "Don't you believe?' Abraham said, 'Yes, (I do believe) but to be stronger in faith; (2.260)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 217:
Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair:
That when he asked Aisha about the statement of Allah "Until when the Apostles gave up hope (of their people)." (12.110) she told him (its meaning), Urwa added, "I said, 'Did they (Apostles) suspect that they were betrayed (by Allah) or that they were treated as liars by (their people)?' Aisha said, '(They suspected) that they were treated as liars by (their people),' I said, 'But they were sure that their people treated them as liars and it was not a matter of suspicion.' She said, 'Yes, upon my life they were sure about it.' I said to her. 'So they (Apostles) suspected that they were betrayed (by Allah).' She said, "Allah forbid! The Apostles never suspected their Lord of such a thing.' I said, 'What about this Verse then?' She said, 'It is about the Apostles' followers who believed in their Lord and trusted their Apostles, but the period of trials was prolonged and victory was delayed till the Apostles gave up all hope of converting those of the people who disbelieved them and the Apostles thought that their followers treated them as liars; thereupon Allah's help came to them.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 218:
Narrated Urwa:
"I told her (Aisha): (Regarding the above narration), they (Apostles) were betrayed (by Allah)." She said: Allah forbid or said similarly.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 219:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Messenger said, "The keys of Unseen are five which none knows but Allah: None knows what will happen tomorrow but Allah; none knows what is in the wombs (a male child or a female) but Allah; none knows when it will rain but Allah; none knows at what place one will die; none knows when the Hour will be established but Allah." (See The Koran 31:34.")

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 220:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
While we were with Allah's Messenger he said, "Tell me of a tree which resembles a Muslim man. Its leaves do not fall and it does not, and does not, and does not, and it gives its fruits every now and then." It came to my mind that such a tree must be the date palm, but seeing Abu Bakr and Umar saying nothing, I disliked to speak. So when they did not say anything, Allah's Messenger said, "It is the date-palm tree." When we got up (from that place), I said to Umar, "O my father! By Allah, it came to my mind that it must be the date palm tree." Umar said, "What prevented you from speaking" I replied, "I did not see you speaking, so I misliked to speak or say anything." Umar then said, "If you had said it, it would have been dearer to me than so-and-so."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 221:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
Allah's Messenger said, "When a Muslim is questioned in his grave, he will testify that none has the right to be worshipped but Allah and that Mohammed is Allah's Messenger (ﷺ), and that is what is meant by Allah's Statement:-- "Allah will keep firm those who believe with a Word that stands firm in this world and in the Hereafter." (14.27)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 222:
Narrated Ata:
When Ibn Abbas heard:-- "Have you not seen those who have changed the favor of Allah into disbelief?" (14.28) he said, "Those were the disbelieving pagans of Mecca."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 223:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "When Allah has ordained some affair in the Heaven, the angels beat with their wings in obedience to His statement, which sounds like a chain dragged over a rock." (Ali and other sub-narrators said, "The sound reaches them.") "Until when fear is banished from their (angels) hearts, they (angels) say, 'What was it that your Lord said? They say, 'The truth; And He is the Most High, the Most Great.' (34.23) Then those who gain a hearing by stealing (i.e. devils) will hear Allah's Statement:-- 'Those who gain a hearing by stealing, (stand one over the other like this). (Sufyan, to illustrate this, spread the fingers of his right hand and placed them one over the other horizontally.) A flame may overtake and burn the eavesdropper before conveying the

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news to the one below him; or it may not overtake him till he has conveyed it to the one below him, who in his turn, conveys it to the one below him, and so on till they convey the news to the earth. (Or probably Sufyan said, "Till the news reaches the earth.") Then the news is inspired to a sorcerer who would add a hundred lies to it. His prophecy will prove true (as far as the heavenly news is concerned). The people will say. 'Didn't he tell us that on such-and-such a day, such-and-such a thing will happen? We have found that is true because of the true news heard from heaven."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 224:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
(The same Hadith above, starting: 'When Allah has ordained some affair. . . .) In this narration the word foreteller is added to the word wizard.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 225:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
(While we were going for the Battle of Tabuk and when we reached the places of the dwellers of Al- Hijr), Allah's Messenger said about the dwellers of Al-Hijr (to us). "Do not enter (the dwelling places) of these people unless you enter weeping, but if you weep not, then do not enter upon them, lest you be afflicted with what they were afflicted with."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 226:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Mualla:
While I was praying, the Prophet passed by and called me, but I did not go to him till I had finished my prayer. When I went to him, he said, "What prevented you from coming?" I said, "I was praying." He said, "Didn't Allah say" "O you who believes Give your response to Allah (by obeying Him) and to His Apostle." (8.24) Then he added, "Shall I tell you the most superior Sura in the Koran before I go out of the mosque?" When the Prophet intended to go out (of the Mosque), I reminded him and he said, "That is: "Al hamdu-li l-lahi Rabbil-alamin (Surat-al-fatiha)' which is the seven oft repeated verses (Al-Mathani) and the Grand Koran which has been given to me."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 227:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Messenger said, "The Um (substance) of the Koran is the seven oft-repeated verses (Al- Mathaini) and is the Great Koran (i.e. Surat-al-Fatiha).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 228:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Those who have made their Scripture into parts are the people of the Scripture who divided it into portions and believed in a part of it and disbelieved the other.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 229:
Narrated Ibn Abbas concerning:
"As We have sent down (the Scripture) on those who are divided (Jews and Christians)." (15.90) They believed in part of it and disbelieved in the other, (and they) are the Jews and the Christians.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 230:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Messenger used to invoke thus: "O Allah! I seek refuge with You from miserliness, laziness; from old geriatric age the punishment in the grave; from the affliction of Ad-Dajjal; and from the afflictions of life and death.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 231:
Narrated Ibn Masud:
Surat Bani Israel and Al-Kahf and Mary are among my first old property.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 232:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Messenger was presented with two cups one containing wine and the other milk on the night of his night journey at Jerusalem. He looked at it and took the milk. Gabriel said, "Thanks to Allah Who guided you to the Fitra (i.e. Islam); if you had taken the wine, your followers would have gone astray.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 233:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "When the Quraish disbelieved me (concerning my night journey), I stood up in Al- Hijr (the unroofed portion of the Kaba) and Allah displayed Bait-ul-Maqdis before me, and I started to inform them (Quraish) about its signs while looking at it."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 234:
Narrated Abdullah:
During the Pre-Islamic period of ignorance if any tribe became great in number, we used to say, "Amira the children of so-and-so."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 235:
Narrated Al-Humaidi: Sufyan narrated to us something and used the word Amira'.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 236:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Some (cooked) meat was brought to Allah Apostle and the meat of a forearm was presented to him as he used to like it. He ate a morsel of it and said, "I will be the chief of all the people on the Day of Resurrection. Do you know the reason for it? Allah will gather all the human being of early generations as well as late generation on one plain so that the announcer will be able to make them all-hear his voice and the watcher will be able to see all of them. The sun will come so close to the people that they will suffer such distress and trouble as they will not be able to bear or stand. Then the people will say, 'Don't you see to what state you have reached? Won't you look for someone who can intercede for you with your Lord' Some people will say to some others, 'Go to Adam.' So they will go to Adam and say to him. 'You are the father of mankind; Allah created you with His Own Hand, and breathed into you of His Spirit (meaning the spirit which he created for you); and ordered the angels to prostrate before you; so (please) intercede for us with your Lord. Don't you see in what state we are? Don't you see what condition we have reached?' Adam will say, 'Today my Lord has become angry as He has never become before, nor will ever become thereafter. He forbade me (to eat of the fruit of) the tree, but I disobeyed Him . Myself! Myself! Myself! (I am preoccuied with my own problems). Go to someone else; go to Noah.' So they will go to Noah and say (to him), 'O Noah! You are the first (of Allah's Messengers) to the people of the earth, and Allah has named you a thankful slave; please intercede for us with your Lord. Don't you see in what state we are?' He will say.' Today my Lord has become angry as He has never become nor will ever become thereafter. I had (in the world) the right to make one definitely accepted invocation, and I made it against my nation. Myself! Myself! Myself! Go to someone else; go to Abraham.' They will go to Abraham and say, 'O Abraham! You are Allah's Messenger and His Khalil from among the people of the earth; so please intercede for us with your Lord. Don't you see in what state we are?' He will say to them, 'My Lord has today become angry as He has never become before, nor will ever become thereafter. I had told three lies (Abu Haiyan (the sub-narrator) mentioned them in the Hadith) Myself! Myself! Myself! Go to someone else; go to Moses.' The people will then go to Moses and say, 'O Moses! You art Allah's Messenger and Allah gave you superiority above the others with this message and with His direct Talk to you; (please) intercede for us with your Lord Don't you see in what state we are?' Moses will say, 'My Lord has today become angry as He has never become before, nor will become thereafter, I killed a person whom I had not been ordered to kill. Myself! Myself! Myself! Go to someone else; go to Jesus.' So they will go to Jesus and say, 'O Jesus! You are Allah's Messenger and His Word which He sent to Mary, and a superior soul created by Him, and you talked to the people while still young in the cradle. Please intercede for us with your Lord. Don't you see in what state we are?' Jesus will say. 'My Lord has today become angry as He has never become before nor will ever become thereafter. Jesus will not mention any sin, but will say, 'Myself! Myself! Myself! Go to someone else; go to Mohammed.' So they will come to me and say, 'O Mohammed ! You are Allah's Messenger and the last of the prophets, and Allah forgave your early and late sins. (Please) intercede for us with your Lord. Don't you see in what state we are?" The Prophet added, "Then I will go beneath Allah's Throne and fall in prostration before my Lord. And then Allah will guide me to such praises and glorification to Him as He has never guided anybody else before me. Then it will be said, 'O Mohammed Raise your head. Ask, and it will be granted. Intercede and It (your intercession) will be accepted.' So I will raise my head and Say, 'My followers, O my Lord! My followers, O my Lord'. It will be said, 'O Mohammed! Let those of your followers who have no accounts, enter through such a gate of the gates of Paradise as lies on the right; and they will share the other gates with the people." The Prophet further said, "By Him in Whose Hand my soul is, the distance between every two gate-posts of Paradise is like the distance between Mecca and Busra (in Sham).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 237:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The recitation of Psalms (David's Koran) was made light and easy for David that he used to have his ridding animal be saddled while he would finish the recitation before the servant had saddled it."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 238:
Narrated Abdullah:
Regarding the explanation of the Verse: 'Those whom they call upon (worship) (like Jesus the Son of Mary, angels etc.) desire (for themselves) means of access to their Lord (Allah) as to which of them should be the nearer and they hope for His Mercy and fear His torment.' (17.57) They themselves (e.g. Angels, saints, Apostles, Jesus, etc.,) worshipped Allah, Those Jinns who were worshipped by some Arabs became Muslims (embraced Islam), but those human beings stuck to their (old) religion. Al- Amash said extra: 'Say, (O Mohammed): Call unto those besides Him whom you assume (to be gods).' (17.56)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 239:
Narrated Abdullah:
Regarding the Verse: 'Those whom they call upon (worship) (like Jesus the Son of Mary or angels etc.) desire (for themselves) means of access, to their Lord....' (17.57) (It was revealed regarding) some Jinns who used to be worshipped (by human beings). They later embraced Islam (while those people kept on worshipping them).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 240:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Regarding: 'And We granted the vision (Ascension to the Heaven "Miraj") which We showed you (O Mohammed as an actual eye witness) but as a trial for mankind.' (17.60) It was an actual eyewitness which was shown to Allah's Messenger during the night he was taken on a journey (through the heavens). And the cursed tree is the tree of Az-Zaqqum (a bitter pungent tree which grows at the bottom of Hell).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 241:
Narrated Ibn Al-Musaiyab:
Abu Huraira said, "The Prophet said, 'A prayer performed in congregation is twenty-five times more superior in reward to a prayer performed by a single person. The angels of the night and the angels of the day are assembled at the time of the Fajr (Morning) prayer." Abu Huraira added, "If you wish, you can recite:-- 'Verily! The recitation of the Koran in the early dawn (Morning prayer) is ever witnessed (attended by the angels of the day and the night).' (17.78)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 242:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
On the Day of Resurrection the people will fall on their knees and every nation will follow their prophet and they will say, "O so-and-so! Intercede (for us with Allah), "till (the right) intercession is given to the Prophet (Mohammed) and that will be the day when Allah will raise him into a station of praise and glory (i.e. Al-Maqam -al-Mahmud).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 243:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
Allah's Messenger said, "Whoever, after listening to the Adhan (for the prayer) says, 'O Allah, the Lord of this complete call and of this prayer, which is going to be established! Give Mohammed Al-Wasila and Al-Fadila and raise him to Al-Maqam-al-Mahmud which You have promised him,' will be granted my intercession for him on the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 244:
Narrated Abdullah bin Masud:
Allah's Messenger entered Mecca (in the year of the Conquest) and there were three-hundred and sixty idols around the Kaba. He then started hitting them with a stick in his hand and say: 'Truth (i.e. Islam) has come and falsehood (disbelief) vanished. Truly falsehood (disbelief) is ever bound to vanish.' (17.81) 'Truth has come and falsehood (Iblis) can not create anything.' (34.49)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 245:
Narrated Abdullah:
While I was in the company of the Prophet on a farm and he was reclining on a palm leave stalk, some Jews passed by. Some of them said to the others. "Ask him (the Prophet about the spirit." Some of them said, "What urges you to ask him about it" Others said, "(Don't) lest he should give you a reply which you dislike." But they said, "Ask him." So they asked him about the Spirit. The Prophet kept quiet and did not give them any answer. I knew that he was being divinely inspired so I stayed at my place. When the divine inspiration had been revealed, the Prophet said. "They ask you (O, Mohammed) concerning the Spirit, Say: "The spirit," its knowledge is with my Lord; and of knowledge you (mankind) have been given only a Little." (17.85)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 246:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
(regarding): 'Neither say your, prayer aloud, nor say it in a low tone.' (17.110) This Verse was revealed while Allah's Messenger was hiding himself in Mecca. When he prayed with his companions, he used to raise his voice with the recitation of Koran, and if the pagans happened to hear him, they would

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abuse the Koran, the One who revealed it and the one who brought it. Therefore Allah said to His Prophet : 'Neither say your prayer aloud.' (17.110) i.e. do not recite aloud lest the pagans should hear you, but follow a way between.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 247:
Narrated Aisha:
The (above) verse was revealed in connection with the invocations.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 248:
Narrated Ali:
That one night Allah's Messenger came to him and Fatima and said, "Don't you (both offer the (Tahajjud) prayer?" Ali said, 'When Allah wishes us to get up, we get up." The Prophet then recited: 'But man is more quarrelsome than anything.' (18.54) (See Hadith No. 227,Vol. 2)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 249:
Narrated Said bin Jubair:
I said to Ibn Abbas, "Nauf Al-Bikali claims that Moses, the companion of Al-Khadir was not the Moses of the children of Israel" Ibn Abbas said, "The enemy of Allah (Nauf) told a lie." Narrated Ubai bin Kab that he heard Allah's Messenger saying, "Moses got up to deliver a speech before the children of Israel and he was asked, Who is the most learned person among the people?' Moses replied, 'I (am the most learned).' Allah admonished him for he did not ascribe knowledge to Allah alone. So Allah revealed to him: 'At the junction of the two seas there is a slave of Ours who is more learned than you.' Moses asked, 'O my Lord, how can I meet him?' Allah said, 'Take a fish and put it in a basket (and set out), and where you, will lose the fish, you will find him.' So Moses (took a fish and put it in a basket and) set out, along with his boy-servant Yusha bin Noon, till they reached a rock (on which) they both lay their heads and slept. The fish moved vigorously in the basket and got out of it and fell into the sea and there it took its way through the sea (straight) as in a tunnel). (18.61) Allah stopped the current of water on both sides of the way created by the fish, and so that way was like a tunnel. When Moses got up, his companion forgot to tell him about the fish, and so they carried on their journey during the rest of the day and the whole night. The next morning Moses asked his boy-servant 'Bring us our early meal; no doubt, we have suffered much fatigue in this journey of ours.' (18.62) Moses did not get tired till he had passed the place which Allah had ordered him to seek after. His boy-servant then said to him,' 'Do you remember when we be-took ourselves to the rock I indeed forgot the fish, none but Satan made me forget to remember it. It took its course into the sea in a marvelous way.' (18.63) There was a tunnel for the fish and for Moses and his boy-servant there was astonishment. Moses said, 'That is what we have been seeking'. So they went back retracing their footsteps. (18.64) They both returned, retracing their steps till they reached the rock. Behold ! There they found a man covered with a garment. Moses greeted him. Al-Khadir said astonishingly. 'Is there such a greeting in your land?' Moses said, 'I am Moses.' He said, 'Are you the Moses of the children of Israel?' Moses said, 'I have come to you so that you may teach me of what you have been taught. Al-Khadir said, 'You will not be able to have patience with me. (18.66) O Moses! I have some of Allah's knowledge which He has bestowed upon me but you do not know it; and you too, have some of Allah's knowledge which He has bestowed upon you, but I do not know it." Moses said, "Allah willing, you will find me patient, and I will not disobey you in anything.' (18.6) Al-Khadir said to him. 'If you then follow me, do not ask me about anything until I myself speak to you concerning it.' (18.70), After that both of them proceeded along the sea coast, till a boat passed by and they requested the crew to let them go on board. The crew recognized Al-Khadir and allowed them to get on board free of charge. When they got on board suddenly Moses saw that Al-Khadir had pulled out one of the planks of the boat with an adze. Moses said to him.' These people gave us a free lift, yet you have scuttled their boat so as to drown its people! Truly, you have done a dreadful thing.' (18.71) Al-Khadir said, 'Didn't I say that you can have no patience with me ?' (18.72) Moses said, 'Call me not to account for what I forgot and be not hard upon me for my affair (with you.)" (18.73) Allah's Messenger said, "The first excuse given by Moses, was that he had forgotten. Then a sparrow came and sat over the edge of the boat and dipped its beak once in the sea. Al-Khadir said to Moses, 'My knowledge and your knowledge, compared to Allah's knowledge is like what this sparrow has taken out of the sea.' Then they both got out of the boat, and while they were walking on the sea shore, Al-Khadir saw a boy playing with other boys. Al-Khadir got hold of the head of that boy and pulled it out with his hands and killed him. Moses said, 'Have you killed an innocent soul who has killed nobody! Truly, you have done an illegal thing.' (18.74) He said, "Didn't I tell you that you can have no patience with me?' (18.75) (The sub narrator said, the second blame was stronger than the first one.) Moses said, 'If I ask you about anything after this, keep me not in your company, you have received an excuse from me.' (18.76) Then they both proceeded until they came to the inhabitants of a town. They asked them food but they refused to entertain them. (In that town) they found there a wall on the point of falling down. (18.77) Al-Khadir set it up straight with his own hands. Moses said, 'These are people to whom we came, but they neither fed us nor received us as guests. If you had wished, you could surely have exacted some recompense for it. Al-Khadir said, 'This is the parting between me and you ..that is the interpretation of (those things) over which you were unable to hold patience.' (18.78-82) Allah's Messenger said, "We wished that Moses could have been more patient so that Allah might have described to us more about their story."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 250:
Narrated Ibn Juraij:
Yala bin Muslim and Amr bin Dinar and some others narrated the narration of Said bin Jubair. Narrated Said: While we were at the house of Ibn Abbas, Ibn Abbas said, "Ask me (any question)" I said, "O Abu Abbas! May Allah let me be sacrificed for you ! There is a man at Kufa who is a storyteller called Nauf; who claims that he (Al-Khadir's companion) is not Moses of Bani Israel." As for Amr, he said to me, "Ibn Abbas said, "(Nauf) the enemy of Allah told a lie." But Yala said to me, "Ibn Abbas said, Ubai bin Kab said, Allah's Messenger said, 'Once Moses, Allah's Messenger, preached to the people till their eyes shed tears and their hearts became tender, whereupon he finished his sermon. Then a man came to Moses and asked, 'O Allah's Messenger! Is there anyone on the earth who is more learned than you?' Moses replied, 'No.' So Allah admonished him (Moses), for he did not ascribe all knowledge to Allah. It was said, (on behalf of Allah), 'Yes, (there is a slave of ours who knows more than you).' Moses said, 'O my Lord! Where is he?' Allah said, 'At the junction of the two seas.' Moses said, 'O my Lord ! Tell I me of a sign whereby I will recognize the place.' " Amr said to me, Allah said, "That place will be where the fish will leave you." Yala said to me, "Allah said (to Moses), 'Take a dead fish (and your goal will be) the place where it will become alive.' " So Moses took a fish and put it in a basket and said to his boy-servant "I don't want to trouble you, except that you should inform me as soon as this fish leaves you." He said (to Moses)." You have not demanded too much." And that is as mentioned by Allah: 'And (remember) when Moses said to his attendant .... ' (18.60) Yusha bin Noon. (Said did not state that). The Prophet said, "While the attendant was in the shade of the rock at a wet place, the fish slipped out (alive) while Moses was sleeping. His attend an said (to himself), "I will not wake him, but when he woke up, he forgot to tell him The fish slipped out and entered the sea. Allah stopped the flow of the sea. where the fish was, so that its trace looked as if it was made on a rock. Amr forming a hole with his two thumbs an index fingers, said to me, "Like this, as in its trace was made on a rock." Moses said "We have suffered much fatigue on this journey of ours." (This was not narrated by Said). Then they returned back and found Al-Khadir. Uthman bin Abi Sulaiman said to me, (they found him) on a green carpet in the middle of the sea. Al-Khadir was covered with his garment with one end under his feet and the other end under his head. When Moses greeted, he uncovered his face and said astonishingly, 'Is there such a greeting in my land? Who are you?' Moses said, 'I am Moses.' Al- Khadir said, 'Are you the Moses of Bani Israel?' Moses said, 'Yes.' Al-Khadir said, "What do you want?' Moses said, ' I came to you so that you may teach me of the truth which you were taught.' Al- Khadir said, 'Is it not sufficient for you that the Torah is in your hands and the Divine Inspiration comes to you, O Moses? Verily, I have a knowledge that you ought not learn, and you have a knowledge which I ought not learn.' At that time a bird took with its beak (some water) from the sea: Al-Khadir then said, 'By Allah, my knowledge and your knowledge besides Allah's Knowledge is like what this bird has taken with its beak from the sea.' Until, when they went on board the boat (18.71). They found a small boat which used to carry the people from this sea-side to the other sea-side. The crew recognized Al-Khadir and said, 'The pious slave of Allah.' (We said to Said "Was that Khadir?" He said, "Yes.") The boat men said, 'We will not get him on board with fare.' Al-Khadir scuttled the boat and then plugged the hole with a piece of wood. Moses said, 'Have you scuttled it in order to drown these people surely, you have done a dreadful thing. (18.71) (Mujahid said. "Moses said so protestingly.") Al-Khadir said, didn't I say that you can have no patience with me?' (18.72) The first inquiry of Moses was done because of forgetfulness, the second caused him to be bound with a stipulation, and the third was done intentionally. Moses said, 'Call me not to account for what I forgot and be not hard upon me for my affair (with you).' (18.73) (Then) they found a boy and Al-Khadir killed him. Yala- said: Said said 'They found boys playing and Al-Khadir got hold of a handsome infidel boy laid him down and then slew him with knife. Moses said, 'Have you killed a innocent soul who has killed nobody' (18.74) Then they proceeded and found a wall which was on the point of falling down, and Al-Khadir set it up straight. Said moved his hand thus and said 'Al-Khadir raised his hand and the wall became straight. Yala said, 'I think Said said, 'Al-Khadir touched the wall with his hand and it became straight (Moses said to Al-Khadir), 'If you had wished, you could have taken wages for it.' Said said, 'Wages that we might had eaten.' And there was a king in furor (ahead) of them" (18.79) And there was in front of them. Ibn Abbas recited: 'In front of them (was) a king.' It is said on the authority of somebody other than Said that the king was Hudad bin Budad. They say that the boy was called Haisur. 'A king who seized every ship by force. (18.79) So I wished that if that boat passed by him, he would leave it because of its defect and when they have passed they would repair it and get benefit from it. Some people said that they closed that hole with a bottle, and some said with tar. 'His parents were believers, and he (the boy) was a non-believer and we (Khadir) feared lest he would oppress them by obstinate rebellion and disbelief.' (18.80) (i.e. that their love for him would urge them to follow him in his religion, 'so we (Khadir) desired that their Lord should change him for them for one better in righteousness and near to mercy' (18:81). This was in reply to Moses' saying: Have you killed an innocent soul.'? (18.74). 'Near to mercy" means they will be more merciful to him than they were to the former whom Khadir had killed. Other than Said, said that they were compensated with a girl. Dawud bin Abi Asim said on the authority of more than one that this next child was a girl.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 251:
Narrated Said bin Jubair:
I said to Ibn Abbas, "Nauf-al-Bakali " claims that Moses of Bani Israel was not Moses, the companion of Al-Khadir." Ibn Abbas said, "Allah's enemy tells a lie! Ubai bin Kab narrated to us that Allah's Messenger said, 'Moses got up to deliver a sermon before Bani Israel and he was asked, 'Who is the most learned person among the people?' Moses replied, 'I (am the most learned).' Allah then admonished Moses for he did not ascribe all knowledge to Allah only (Then) came the Divine Inspiration:-- 'Yes, one of Our slaves at the junction of the two seas is more learned than you.' Moses said, 'O my Lord ! How can meet him?' Allah said, 'Take a fish in a basket and wherever the fish is lost, follow it (you will find him at that place). So Moses set out along with his attendant Yusha bin Noon, and they carried with them a fish till they reached a rock and rested there. Moses put his head down and slept. (Sufyan, a sub-narrator said that somebody other than Amr said) 'At the rock there was a water spring called 'Al-Hayat' and none came in touch with its water but became alive. So some of the water of that spring fell over that fish, so it moved and slipped out of the basket and entered the sea. When Moses woke up, he asked his attendant, 'Bring our early meal' (18.62). The narrator added: Moses did not suffer from fatigue except after he had passed the place he had been ordered to observe. His attendant Yusha bin Noon said to him, 'Do you remember (what happened) when we betook ourselves to the rock? I did indeed forget (about) the fish ...' (18.63) The narrator added: So they came back, retracing their steps and then they found in the sea, the way of the fish looking like a tunnel. So there was an astonishing event for his attendant, and there was tunnel for the fish. When they reached the rock, they found a man covered with a garment. Moses greeted him. The man said astonishingly, 'Is there any such greeting in your land?' Moses said, 'I am Moses.' The man said, 'Moses of Bani Israel?' Moses said, 'Yes,' and added, 'may I follow you so that you teach me something of the Knowledge which you have been taught?' (18.66). Al-Khadir said to him, 'O Moses! You have something of Allah's knowledge which Allah has taught you and which I do not know; and I have something of Allah's knowledge which Allah has taught me and which you do not know.' Moses said, 'But I will follow you.' Al-Khadir said, 'Then if you follow me, ask me no question about anything until I myself speak to you concerning it.' (18.70). After that both of them proceeded along the seashore. There passed by them a boat whose crew recognized Al-Khadir and received them on board free of charge. So they both got on board. A sparrow came and sat on the edge of the boat and dipped its beak unto the sea. Al-Khadir said to Moses. 'My knowledge and your knowledge and all the creation's knowledge compared to Allah's knowledge is not more than the water taken by this sparrow's beak.' Then Moses was startled by Al-Khadir's action of taking an adze and scuttling the boat with it. Moses said to him, 'These people gave us a free lift, but you intentionally scuttled their boat so as to drown them. Surely you have...' (18.71) Then they both proceeded and found a boy playing with other boys. Al-Khadir took hold of him by the head and cut it off. Moses said to him, 'Have you killed an innocent soul who has killed nobody? Surely you have done an illegal thing! ' (18.74) He said, "Didn't I tell you that you will not be able to have patient with me up to ..but they refused to entertain them as their guests. There they found a wall therein at the point of collapsing.' (18.75-77) Al-Khadir moved his hand thus and set it upright (repaired it). Moses said to him, 'When we entered this town, they neither gave us hospitality nor fed

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us; if you had wished, you could have taken wages for it,' Al-Khadir said, 'This is the parting between you and me I will tell you the interpretation of (those things) about which you were unable to hold patience.'...(18.78) Allah's Messenger said, 'We wished that Moses could have been more patient so that He (Allah) could have described to us more about their story.' Ibn Abbas used to recite:-- 'And in front (ahead) of them there was a king who used to seize every (serviceable) boat by force. (18.79) ...and as for the boy he was a disbeliever. "

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 252:
Narrated Musab:
I asked my father, "Was the Verse:-- 'Say: (O Mohammed) Shall We tell you the greatest losers in respect of their deeds?'(18.103) revealed regarding Al-Haruriyya?" He said, "No, but regarding the Jews and the Christians, for the Jews disbelieved Mohammed and the Christians disbelieved in Paradise and say that there are neither meals nor drinks therein. Al- Hururiyya are those people who break their pledge to Allah after they have confirmed that they will fulfill it, and Sad used to call them 'Al-Fasiqin (evildoers who forsake Allah's obedience).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 253:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Messenger said, "On the Day of Resurrection, a huge fat man will come who will not weigh, the weight of the wing of a mosquito in Allah's Sight." and then the Prophet added, 'We shall not give them any weight on the Day of Resurrection ' (18.105)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 254:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
Allah's Messenger said, "On the Day of Resurrection Death will be brought forward in the shape of a black and white ram. Then a call maker will call, 'O people of Paradise!' Thereupon they will stretch their necks and look carefully. The caller will say, 'Do you know this?' They will say, 'Yes, this is Death.' By then all of them will have seen it. Then it will be announced again, 'O people of Hell !' They will stretch their necks and look carefully. The caller will say, 'Do you know this?' They will say, 'Yes, this is Death.' And by then all of them will have seen it. Then it (that ram) will be slaughtered and the caller will say, 'O people of Paradise! Eternity for you and no death O people of Hell! Eternity for you and no death."' Then the Prophet, recited:-- 'And warn them of the Day of distress when the case has been decided, while (now) they are in a state of carelessness (i.e. the people of the world) and they do not believe.' (19.39)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 255:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said to Gabriel, "What prevents you from visiting us more often than you visit us now?" So there was revealed:-- 'And we (angels) descend not but by the command of your Lord. To Him belongs what is before us and what is behind us...'(19.64)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 256:
Narrated Khabbab:
I came to Al-Asi bin Wail As-Sahmi and demanded something which he owed me. He said, "I will not give you (your money) till you disbelieve in Mohammed." I said, "No, I shall not disbelieve in Mohammed till you die and then be resurrected." He said, "Will I die and then be resurrected?" I said, 'Yes'. He said', "Then I will have wealth and children there, and I will pay you (there)." So this Verse was revealed:-- 'Have you then seen him who disbelieved in Our Signs and (yet) says: I shall certainly be given wealth and children? (19.77)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 257:
Narrated Khabbab:
I was a blacksmith in Mecca Once I made a sword for Al-Asi bin Wail As-Sahmi. When I went to demand its price, he said, "I will not give it to you till you disbelieve in Mohammed." I said, "I shall not disbelieve in Mohammed till Allah make you die and then bring you to life again." He said, "If Allah should make me die and then resurrect me and I would have wealth and children." So Allah revealed:-- 'Have you seen him who disbelieved in Our Signs, and (yet) says I shall certainly be given wealth and children? Has he known the unseen or has he taken a covenant from (Allah) the Beneficent?' (19.77- 78)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 258:
Narrated Masruq:
Khabbab said, "During the pre-lslamic period, I was a blacksmith and Al-Asi bin Wail owed me a debt." So Khabbab went to him to demand the debt. He said, "I will not give you (your due) till you disbelieve in Mohammed." Khabbab said, "By Allah, I shall not disbelieve in Mohammed till Allah makes you die and then resurrects you." Al-Asi said, "So leave me till I die and then be resurrected, for I will be given wealth and children whereupon I will pay you your debt." So this Verse was revealed:-- 'Have you seen him who disbelieved in Our Signs and, (yet) says: I shall certainly be given wealth and children.' (19.77)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 259:
Narrated Khabbab:
I was a blacksmith and Al-Asi Bin Wail owed me a debt, so I went to him to demand it. He said to me. "I will not pay you your debt till you disbelieve in Mohammed." I said, "I will not disbelieve in Mohammed till you die and then be resurrected." He said, "Will I be resurrected after my death? If so, I shall pay you (there) if I should find wealth and children." So there was revealed:-- 'Have you seen him who disbelieved in Our Signs, and yet says: I shall certainly be given wealth and children? Has he, known to the unseen or has he taken a covenant from (Allah) the Beneficent? Nay ! We shall record what he says, and we shall add and add to his punishment. And We shall inherit from him all that he talks of, and he shall appear before Us alone.' (19.77-80)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 260:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Messenger said, "Adam and Moses met, and Moses said to Adam "You are the one who made people miserable and turned them out of Paradise." Adam said to him, "You are the one whom Allah selected for His message and whom He selected for Himself and upon whom He revealed the Torah." Moses said, 'Yes.' Adam said, "Did you find that written in my fate before my creation?' Moses said, 'Yes.' So Adam overcame Moses with this argument."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 261:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
When Allah's Messenger arrived at Medina, he found the Jews observing the fast on the day of 'Ashura' (10th of Muharram). The Prophet asked them (about it) and they replied, "This is the day when Moses became victorious over Pharaoh." The Prophet said (to the Muslims), "We are nearer to Moses than they, so fast on this day."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 262:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Moses argued with Adam and said to him (Adam), 'You are the one who got the people out of Paradise by your sin, and thus made them miserable." Adam replied, 'O Moses! You are the one whom Allah selected for His Message and for His direct talk. Yet you blame me for a thing which Allah had ordained for me before He created me?." Allah's Messenger further said, "So Adam overcame Moses by this Argument."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 263:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Suras of Bani Israel, Al-Kahf, Mariyam, Taha and Al-Anbiya are from the very old Suras which I learnt by heart, and they are my first property.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 264:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet delivered a sermon and said, "You (people) will be gathered before Allah (on the Day of Resurrection) bare-footed, naked and uncircumcised." (The Prophet then recited):-- 'As We began the first creation We shall repeat it. (It is) a promise We have undertaken and truly We shall do it.' and added, "The first man who will be dressed on the Day of Resurrection, will be Abraham. Lo! Some men from my followers will be brought and taken towards the left side, whereupon I will say, 'O Lord, (these are) my companions!' It will be said, 'You do not know what new things they introduced (into the religion) after you.' I will then say as the righteous pious slave, Jesus, said, 'I was a witness over them while I dwelt among them...(to His Statement)..and You are the Witness to all things.' (5.117) Then it will be said, '(O Mohammed) These people never stopped to apostate since you left them."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 265:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
The Prophet said, "On the day of Resurrection Allah will say, 'O Adam!' Adam will reply, 'Labbaik our Lord, and Sadaik ' Then there will be a loud call (saying), Allah orders you to take from among your offspring a mission for the (Hell) Fire.' Adam will say, 'O Lord! Who are the mission for the (Hell) Fire?' Allah will say, 'Out of each thousand, take out 999.' At that time every pregnant female shall drop her load (have a miscarriage) and a child will have grey hair. And you shall see mankind as in a drunken state, yet not drunk, but severe will be the torment of Allah." (22.2) (When the Prophet mentioned this), the people were so distressed (and afraid) that their faces got changed (in color) whereupon the Prophet said, "From Gog and Magog nine-hundred ninety-nine will be taken out and one from you. You Muslims (compared to the large number of other people) will be like a black hair on the side of a white ox, or a white hair on the side of a black ox, and I hope that you will be onefourth of the people of Paradise." On that, we said, "Allahu-Akbar!" Then he said, "I hope that you will be) one-third of the people of Paradise." We again said, "Allahu-Akbar!" Then he said, "(I hope that you will be) one-half of the people of Paradise." So we said, Allahu Akbar."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 266:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Regarding the Verse: "And among men is he who worships Allah's as it were on the very edge." (22.11). A man used to come to Medina as if his wife brought a son and his mares produces offspring. He would say, "This religion (Islam) is good," but if his wife did not give birth to a child and his mares produced no offspring, he would say, "This religion is bad."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 267:
Narrated Qais bin Ubad:
Abu Dharr used to take an oath confirming that the Verse: 'These two opponents (believers, and disbelievers) dispute with each other about their Lord.' (22.19) was Revealed in connection with Hamza and his two companions and Utbah and his two companions on the day when they ease out of the battle of Badr.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 268:
Narrated Qais bin Ubad:
Ali said, "I will be the first to kneel before the Beneficent on the Day of Resurrection because of the dispute." Qais said; This Verse: 'These two opponents (believers and disbelievers dispute with each other about their Lord,' (22.19) was revealed in connection with those who came out for the Battle of Badr, i.e. Ali, Hamza, Ubaida, Shaiba bin Rabia, Utba bin Rabia and Al-Walid bin Utba.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 269:
Narrated Sahl bin Saud:
'Uwaimir came to Asim bin Adi who was the chief of Bani Ajlan and said, "What do you say about a man who has found another man with his wife? Should he kill him whereupon you would kill him (i.e. the husband), or what should he do? Please ask Allah's Messenger about this matter on my behalf." Asim then went to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Messenger! (And asked him that question) but Allah's Messenger disliked the question," When 'Uwaimir asked Asim (about the Prophet's answer) Asim replied that Allah's Messenger disliked such questions and considered it shameful. "Uwaimir then said, "By Allah, I will not give up asking unless I ask Allah's Messenger about it." Uwaimir came (to the Prophet) and said, "O Allah's Messenger! A man has found another man with his wife! Should he kill him whereupon you would kill him (the husband, in Qisas) or what should he do?" Allah's Messenger said, "Allah has revealed regarding you and your wife's case in the Koran "So Allah's Messenger ordered them to perform the measures of Mula'ana according to what Allah had mentioned in His Book. So 'Uwaimir did Mula'ana with her and said, "O Allah's Messenger! If I kept her I would oppress her." So 'Uwaimir divorced her and so divorce became a tradition after them for those who happened to be involved in a case of Mula'ana. Allah's Messenger then said, "Look! If she (Uwaimir's wife) delivers a black child with deep black large eyes, big hips and fat legs, then I will be of the opinion that 'Uwaimir has spoken the truth; but if she delivers a red child looking like a Wahra then we will consider that 'Uwaimir has told a lie against her." Later on she delivered a child carrying the qualities which Allah's Messenger had mentioned as a proof for 'Uwaimir's claim; therefore the child was ascribed to its mother henceforth.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 270:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
A man came to Allah's Messenger and said, "O Allah's Messenger! Suppose a man saw another man with his wife, should he kill him whereupon you might kill him (i.e. the killer) (in Qisas) or what should he do?" So Allah revealed concerning their case what is mentioned of the order of Mula'ana. Allah's Apostle said to the man, "The matter between you and your wife has been decided." So they did Mula'ana in the presence of Allah's Messenger and I was present there, and then the man divorced his wife. So it became a tradition to dissolve the marriage of those spouses who were involved in a case of Mula'ana. The woman was pregnant and the husband denied that he was the cause of her pregnancy, so the son was (later) ascribed to her. Then it became a tradition that such a son would be the heir of his mother, and she would inherit of him what Allah prescribed for her.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 271:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Hilal bin Umaiya accused his wife of committing illegal sexual intercourse with Sharik bin Sahma' and filed the case

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before the Prophet. The Prophet said (to Hilal), "Either you bring forth a proof (four witnesses) or you will receive the legal punishment (lashes) on your back." Hilal said, "O Allah's Apostle! If anyone of us saw a man over his wife, would he go to seek after witnesses?" The Prophet kept on saying, "Either you bring forth the witnesses or you will receive the legal punishment (lashes) on your back." Hilal then said, "By Him Who sent you with the Truth, I am telling the truth and Allah will reveal to you what will save my back from legal punishment." Then Gabriel came down and revealed to him:-- 'As for those who accuse their wives...' (24.6-9) The Prophet recited it till he reached: '... (her accuser) is telling the truth.' Then the Prophet left and sent for the woman, and Hilal went (and brought) her and then took the oaths (confirming the claim). The Prophet was saying, "Allah knows that one of you is a liar, so will any of you repent?" Then the woman got up and took the oaths and when she was going to take the fifth one, the people stopped her and said, "It (the fifth oath) will definitely bring Allah's curse on you (if you are guilty)." So she hesitated and recoiled (from taking the oath) so much that we thought that she would withdraw her denial. But then she said, "I will not dishonor my family all through these days," and carried on (the process of taking oaths). The Prophet then said, "Watch her; if she delivers a black-eyed child with big hips and fat shins then it is Sharik bin Sahma's child." Later she delivered a child of that description. So the Prophet said, "If the case was not settled by Allah's Law, I would punish her severely."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 272:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
A man accused his wife of illegal sexual intercourse and denied his paternity to her (conceived) child during the lifetime of Allah's Messenger. Allah's Messenger ordered them both to do Mula'ana as Allah decreed and then gave his decision that the child would be for the mother, and a divorce decree was issued for the couple involved in a case of Mula'ana.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 273:
Narrated Aisha:
And as for him among them who had the greater share..' (24.11) was Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 274:
Narrated Aisha:
(The wife of the Prophet) Whenever Allah's Messenger intended to go on a journey, he used to draw lots among his wives and would take with him the one on whom the lot had fallen. Once he drew lots when he wanted to carry out a Ghazwa, and the lot came upon me. So I proceeded with Allah's Apostle after Allah's order of veiling (the women) had been revealed and thus I was carried in my howdah (on a camel) and dismounted while still in it. We carried on our journey, and when Allah's Apostle had finished his Ghazwa and returned and we approached Medina, Allah's Messenger ordered to proceed at night. When the army was ordered to resume the homeward journey, I got up and walked on till I left the army (camp) behind. When I had answered the call of nature, I went towards my howdah, but behold ! A necklace of mine made of Jaz Azfar (a kind of black bead) was broken and I looked for it and my search for it detained me. The group of people who used to carry me, came and carried my howdah on to the back of my camel on which I was riding, considering that I was therein. At that time women were light in weight and were not fleshy for they used to eat little (food), so those people did not feel the lightness of the howdah while raising it up, and I was still a young lady. They drove away the camel and proceeded. Then I found my necklace after the army had gone. I came to their camp but found nobody therein so I went to the place where I used to stay, thinking that they would miss me and come back in my search. While I was sitting at my place, I felt sleepy and slept. Safwan bin Al-Mu'attil As-Sulami Adh- Dhakw-ani was behind the army. He had started in the last part of the night and reached my stationing place in the morning and saw the figure of a sleeping person. He came to me and recognized me on seeing me for he used to see me before veiling. I got up because of his saying: "Inna Li l-lahi wa inna ilaihi rajiun," which he uttered on recognizing me. I covered my face with my garment, and by Allah, he did not say to me a single word except, "Inna Li l-lahi wa inna ilaihi rajiun," till he made his shecamel kneel down whereupon he trod on its forelegs and I mounted it. Then Safwan set out, leading the she-camel that was carrying me, till we met the army while they were resting during the hot midday. Then whoever was meant for destruction, fell in destruction, and the leader of the Ifk (forged statement) was Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul. After this we arrived at Medina and I became ill for one month while the people were spreading the forged statements of the people of the Ifk, and I was not aware of anything thereof. But what aroused my doubt while I was sick, was that I was no longer receiving from Allah's Messenger the same kindness as I used to receive when I fell sick. Allah's Messenger would enter upon me, say a greeting and add, "How is that (lady)?" and then depart. That aroused my suspicion but I was not aware of the propagated evil till I recovered from my ailment. I went out with Um Mistah to answer the call of nature towards Al-Manasi, the place where we used to relieve ourselves, and used not to go out for this purpose except from night to night, and that was before we had lavatories close to our houses. And this habit of ours was similar to the habit of the old 'Arabs (in the deserts or in the tents) concerning the evacuation of the bowels, for we considered it troublesome and harmful to take lavatories in the houses. So I went out with Um Mistah who was the daughter of Abi Ruhm bin Abd Manaf, and her mother was daughter of Sakhr bin Amir who was the aunt of Abi Bakr As-Siddiq, and her son was Mistah bin Uthatha. When we had finished our affair, Um Mistah and I came back towards my house. Um Mistah stumbled over her robe whereupon she said, "Let Mistah be ruined ! " I said to her, "What a bad word you have said! Do you abuse a man who has taken part in the Battle of Badr?' She said, "O you there! Didn't you hear what he has said?" I said, "And what did he say?" She then told me the statement of the people of the Ifk (forged statement) which added to my ailment. When I returned home, Allah's Messenger came to me, and after greeting, he said, "How is that (lady)?" I said, "Will you allow me to go to my parents?" At that time I intended to be sure of the news through them. Allah's Messenger allowed me and I went to my parents and asked my mother, "O my mother! What are the people talking about?" My mother said, "O my daughter! Take it easy, for by Allah, there is no charming lady who is loved by her husband who has other wives as well, but that those wives would find fault with her." I said, "Subhan Allah! Did the people really talk about that?" That night I kept on weeping the whole night till the morning. My tears never stopped, nor did I sleep, and morning broke while I was still weeping, Allah's Messenger called Ali bin Abi Talib and Usama bin Zaid when the Divine Inspiration delayed, in order to consult them as to the idea of divorcing his wife. Usama bin Zaid told Allah's Messenger of what he knew about the innocence of his wife and of his affection he kept for her. He said, "O Allah's Messenger! She is your wife, and we do not know anything about her except good." But Ali bin Abi Talib said, "O Allah's Messenger! Allah does not impose restrictions on you; and there are plenty of women other than her. If you however, ask (her) slave girl, she will tell you the truth." Aisha added: So Allah's Messenger called for Barira and said, "O Barira! Did you ever see anything which might have aroused your suspicion? (as regards Aisha). Barira said, "By Allah Who has sent you with the truth, I have never seen anything regarding Aisha which I would blame her for except that she is a girl of immature age who sometimes sleeps and leaves the dough of her family unprotected so that the domestic goats come and eat it." So Allah's Messenger got up (and addressed) the people an asked for somebody who would take revenge on Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul then. Allah's Messenger, while on the pulpit, said, "O Muslims! Who will help me against a man who has hurt me by slandering my family? By Allah, I know nothing except good about my family, and people have blamed a man of whom I know nothing except good, and he never used to visit my family except with me," Sad bin Muadh Al-Ansari got up and said, "O Allah's Messenger! By Allah, I will relieve you from him. If he be from the tribe of (Bani) Al-Aus, then I will chop his head off; and if he be from our brethren, the Khazraj, then you give us your order and we will obey it." On that, Sad bin Ubada got up, and he was the chief of the Khazraj, and before this incident he had been a pious man but he was incited by his zeal for his tribe. He said to Sad (bin Muadh), "By Allah the Eternal, you have told a lie! You shall not kill him and you will never be able to kill him!" On that, Usaid bin Hudair, the cousin of Sad (bin Muadh) got up and said to Sad bin 'Ubada, "You are a liar! By Allah the Eternal, we will surely kill him; and you are a hypocrite defending the hypocrites!" So the two tribes of Al-Aus and Al-Khazraj got excited till they were on the point of fighting with each other while Allah's Messenger was standing on the pulpit. Allah's Messenger continued quietening them till they became silent whereupon he became silent too. On that day I kept on weeping so much that neither did my tears stop, nor could I sleep. In the morning my parents were with me, and I had wept for two nights and a day without sleeping and with incessant tears till they thought that my liver would burst with weeping. While they were with me and I was weeping, an Ansari woman asked permission to see me. I admitted her and she sat and started weeping with me. While I was in that state, Allah's Apostle came to us, greeted, and sat down,. He had never sat with me since the day what was said, was said. He had stayed a month without receiving any Divine Inspiration concerning my case. Allah's Messenger recited the Tashahhud after he had sat down, and then said, "Thereafter, O Aisha! I have been informed such and-such a thing about you; and if you are innocent, Allah will reveal your innocence, and if you have committed a sin, then ask for Allah's forgiveness and repent to Him, for when a slave confesses his sin and then repents to Allah, Allah accepts his repentance." When Allah's Apostle had finished his speech, my tears ceased completely so that I no longer felt even a drop thereof. Then I said to my father, "Reply to Allah's Messenger on my behalf as to what he said." He said, "By Allah, I do not know what to say to Allah's Messenger." Then I said to my mother, "Reply to Allah's Apostle." She said, "I do not know what to say to Allah's Messenger." Still a young girl as I was and though I had little knowledge of Koran, I said, "By Allah, I know that you heard this story (of the Ifk) so much so that it has been planted in your minds and you have believed it. So now, if I tell you that I am innocent, and Allah knows that I am innocent, you will not believe me; and if I confess something, and Allah knows that I am innocent of it, you will believe me. By Allah, I cannot find of you an example except that of Joseph's father: "So (for me) patience is most fitting against that which you assert and it is Allah (Alone) Whose help can be sought. Then I turned away and lay on my bed, and at that time I knew that I was innocent and that Allah would reveal my innocence. But by Allah, I never thought that Allah would sent down about my affair, Divine Inspiration that would be recited (forever), as I considered myself too unworthy to be talked of by Allah with something that was to be recited: but I hoped that Allah's Messenger might have a vision in which Allah would prove my innocence. By Allah, Allah's Messenger had not left his seat and nobody had left the house when the Divine Inspiration came to Allah's Messenger . So there overtook him the same hard condition which used to overtake him (when he was Divinely Inspired) so that the drops of his sweat were running down, like pearls, though it was a (cold) winter day, and that was because of the heaviness of the Statement which was revealed to him. When that state of Allah's Messenger was over, and he was smiling when he was relieved, the first word he said was, "Aisha, Allah has declared your innocence." My mother said to me, "Get up and go to him." I said, "By Allah, I will not go to him and I will not thank anybody but Allah." So Allah revealed: "Verily! They who spread the Slander are a gang among you. Think it not...." (24.11-20). When Allah revealed this to confirm my innocence, Abu Bakr As-Siddiq who used to provide for Mistah bin Uthatha because of the latter's kinship to him and his poverty, said, "By Allah, I will never provide for Mistah anything after what he has said about Aisha". So Allah revealed: (continued...) (continuing... 1): -6.274:... ... "Let not those among you who are good and are wealthy swear not to give (help) to their kinsmen, those in need, and those who have left their homes for Allah's Cause. Let them Pardon and forgive (i.e. do not punish them). Do you not love that should forgive you? Verily Allah is Oft-forgiving. Most Merciful." (24.22) Abu Bakr said, "Yes, by Allah, I wish that Allah should forgive me." So he resumed giving Mistah the aid he used to give him before and said, "By Allah, I will never withold it from him at all." Aisha further said: Allah's Messenger also asked Zainab bint Jahsh about my case. He said, "O Zainab! What have you seen?" She replied, "O Allah's Messenger! I protect my hearing and my sight (by refraining from telling lies). I know nothing but good (about Aisha)." Of all the wives of Allah's Messenger, it was Zainab who aspired to receive from him the same favor as I used to receive, yet, Allah saved her (from telling lies) because of her piety. But her sister, Hamna, kept on fighting on her behalf so she was destroyed as were those who invented and spread the slander.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 275:
Narrated Um Ruman:
Aisha's mother, When Aisha was accused, she fell down Unconscious.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 276:
Narrated Ibn Abi Mulaika:
I heard Aisha reciting: "When you invented a lie (and carry it) on your tongues." (24.15)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 277:
Narrated Ibn Abu Mulaika:
Ibn Abbas asked permission to visit Aisha before her death, and at that time she was in a state of agony. She then said. "I am afraid that he will praise me too much." And then it was said to her, "He is the cousin of Allah's Messenger and one of the prominent Muslims." Then she said, "Allow him to enter." (When he entered) he said, "How are you?" She replied, "I am Alright if I fear (Allah)." Ibn Abbas said, "Allah willing, you are Alright as you are the wife of Allah's Messenger and he did not marry any virgin except you and proof of your innocence was revealed from the Heaven." Later on Ibn Az-Zubair entered after him and Aisha said to him, "Ibn Abbas came to me and praised me greatly, but I wish that I was a thing forgotten and out of sight."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 278:
Narrated Al-Qasim:
Ibn Abbas asked Aisha's permission to enter. Al-Qasim then narrated the whole Hadith (as in 277) but did not mention: "Would that I had been forgotten and out of sight."

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Volume 6, Book 60, Number 279:
Narrated Masruq:
Aisha said that Hassan bin Thabit came and asked permission to visit her. I said, "How do you permit such a person?" She said, "Hasn't he received a severely penalty?" (Sufyan, the subnarrator, said: She meant the loss of his sight.) Thereupon Hassan said the following poetic verse: "A chaste pious woman who arouses no suspicion. She never talks about chaste heedless women behind their backs.' On that she said, "But you are not so."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 280:
Narrated Masruq:
Hassan came to Aisha and said the following poetic Verse: 'A chaste pious woman who arouses no suspicion. She never talks against chaste heedless women behind their backs.' Aisha said, "But you are not," I said (to Aisha), "Why do you allow such a person to enter upon you after Allah has revealed: "...and as for him among them who had the greater share therein'?" (24.11) She said, "What punishment is worse than blindness?" She added, "And he used to defend Allah's Apostle against the pagans (in his poetry).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 281:
Narrated Aisha:
When there was said about me what was said which I myself was unaware of, Allah's Messenger got up and addressed the people. He recited Tashah-hud, and after glorifying and praising Allah as He deserved, he said, "To proceed: O people Give me your opinion regarding those people who made a forged story against my wife. By Allah, I do not know anything bad about her. By Allah, they accused her of being with a man about whom I have never known anything bad, and he never entered my house unless I was present there, and whenever I went on a journey, he went with me." Sad bin Muadh got up and said, "O Allah's Messenger Allow me to chop their heads off". Then a man from the Al-Khazraj (Sad bin 'Ubada) to whom the mother of (the poet) Hassan bin Thabit was a relative, got up and said (to Sad bin Muadh), "You have told a lie! By Allah, if those persons were from the Aus Tribe, you would not like to chop their heads off." It was probable that some evil would take place between the Aus and the Khazraj in the mosque, and I was unaware of all that. In the evening of that day, I went out for some of my needs (i.e. to relieve myself), and Um Mistah was accompanying me. On our return, Um Mistah stumbled and said, "Let Mistah. be ruined" I said to her, "O mother Why do you abuse your Son" On that Um Mistah became silent for a while, and stumbling again, she said, "Let Mistah be ruined" I said to her, "Why do you abuse your son?" She stumbled for the third time and said, "Let Mistah be ruined" whereupon I rebuked her for that. She said, "By Allah, I do not abuse him except because of you." I asked her, "Concerning what of my affairs?" So she disclosed the whole story to me. I said, "Has this really happened?" She replied, "Yes, by Allah." I returned to my house, astonished (and distressed) that I did not know for what purpose I had gone out. Then I became sick (fever) and said to Allah's Messenger "Send me to my father's house." So he sent a slave with me, and when I entered the house, I found Um Rum-an (my mother) downstairs while (my father) Abu Bakr was reciting something upstairs. My mother asked, "What has brought you, O (my) daughter?" I informed her and mentioned to her the whole story, but she did not feel it as I did. She said, "O my daughter! Take it easy, for there is never a charming lady loved by her husband who has other wives but that they feel jealous of her and speak badly of her." But she did not feel the news as I did. I asked (her), "Does my father know about it?" She said, "yes" I asked, Does Allah's Messenger know about it too?" She said, "Yes, Allah's Messenger does too." So the tears filled my eyes and I wept. Abu Bakr, who was reading upstairs heard my voice and came down and asked my mother, "What is the matter with her? " She said, "She has heard what has been said about her (as regards the story of Al-lfk)." On that Abu- Bakr wept and said, "I beseech you by Allah, O my daughter, to go back to your home". I went back to my home and Allah's Messenger had come to my house and asked my maid-servant about me (my character). The maid-servant said, "By Allah, I do not know of any defect in her character except that she sleeps and let the sheep enter (her house) and eat her dough." On that, some of the Prophet's companions spoke harshly to her and said, "Tell the truth to Allah's Messenger." Finally they told her of the affair (of the slander). She said, "Subhan Allah! By Allah, I know nothing against her except what goldsmith knows about a piece of pure gold." Then this news reached the man who was accused, and he said, "Subhan Allah! By Allah, I have never uncovered the private parts of any woman." Later that man was martyred in Allah's Cause. Next morning my parents came to pay me a visit and they stayed with me till Allah's Messenger came to me after he had offered the Asr prayer. He came to me while my parents were sitting around me on my right and my left. He praised and glorified Allah and said, "Now then O Aisha! If you have committed a bad deed or you have wronged (yourself), then repent to Allah as Allah accepts the repentance from his slaves." An Al-Ansari woman had come and was sitting near the gate. I said (to the Prophet). "Isn't it improper that you speak in such a way in the presence of this lady? Allah's Apostle then gave a piece of advice and I turned to my father and requested him to answer him (on my behalf). My father said, "What should I say?" Then I turned to my mother and asked her to answer him. She said, "What should I say?" When my parents did not give a reply to the Prophet, I said, "I testify that none has the right to be worshipped except Allah, and that Mohammed is His Apostle!" And after praising and glorifying Allah as He deserves, I said, "Now then, by Allah, if I were to tell you that I have not done (this evil action) and Allah is a witness that I am telling the truth, that would not be of any use to me on your part because you (people) have spoken about it and your hearts have absorbed it; and if I were to tell you that I have done this sin and Allah knows that I have not done it, then you will say, 'She has confessed herself guilty." By Allah, 'I do not see a suitable example for me and you but the example of (I tried to remember Jacob's name but couldn't) Joseph's father when he said; So (for me) "Patience is most fitting against that which you assert. It is Allah (alone) whose help can be sought.' At that very hour the Divine Inspiration came to Allah's Messenger and we remained silent. Then the Inspiration was over and I noticed the signs of happiness on his face while he was removing (the sweat) from his forehead and saying, "Have the good tidings O ' "Aisha! Allah has revealed your innocence." At that time I was extremely angry. My parents said to me. "Get up and go to him." I said, "By Allah, I will not do it and will not thank him nor thank either of you, but I will thank Allah Who has revealed my innocence. You have heard this story but neither did not deny it nor change it (to defend me)," (Aisha used to say:) "But as regards Zainab bint Jahsh, (the Prophet's wife), Allah protected her because of her piety, so she did not say anything except good (about me), but her sister, Hamna, was ruined among those who were ruined. Those who used to speak evil about me were Mistah, Hassan bin Thabit, and the hypocrite, Abdullah bin Ubai, who used to spread that news and tempt others to speak of it, and it was he and Hamna who had the greater share therein. Abu Bakr took an oath that he would never do any favor to Mistah at all. Then Allah revealed the Divine Verse: "Let not those among you who are good and wealthy (i.e. Abu Bakr) swear not to give (any sort of help) to their kinsmen, and those in need, (i.e. Mistah) ...Do you not love that Allah should forgive you? And Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful." (24.22) On that, Abu Bakr said, "Yes, by Allah, O our Lord! We wish that You should forgive us." So Abu Bakr again started giving to Mistah the expenditure which he used to give him before.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 282:
Narrated Safiya bint Shaiba:
Aisha used to say: "When (the Verse): "They should draw their veils over their necks and bosoms," was revealed, (the ladies) cut their waist sheets at the edges and covered their heads and faces with those cut pieces of cloth."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 283:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
A man said, "O Allah's Prophet! Will Allah gather the non-believers on their faces on the Day of Resurrection?" He said, "Will not the One Who made him walk on his feet in this world, be able to make him walk on his face on the Day of Resurrection?" (Qatada, a subnarrator, said: Yes, By the Power of Our Lord!)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 284:
Narrated Abdullah:
I or somebody, asked Allah's Messenger "Which is the biggest sin in the Sight of Allah?" He said, "That you set up a rival (in worship) to Allah though He Alone created you." I asked, "What is next?" He said, "Then, that you kill your son, being afraid that he may share your meals with you." I asked, "What is next?" He said, "That you commit illegal sexual intercourse with the wife of your neighbour." Then the following Verse was revealed to confirm the statement of Allah's Messenger: "Those who invoke not with Allah, any other god, nor kill life as Allah has forbidden except for just cause, nor commit illegal sexual intercourse." (25.68)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 285:
Narrated Al-Qasim bin Abi Bazza:
That he asked Said bin Jubair, "Is there any repentance of the one who has murdered a believer intentionally?" Then I recited to him:-- "Nor kill such life as Allah has forbidden except for a just cause." Said said, "I recited this very Verse before Ibn Abbas as you have recited it before me. Ibn Abbas said, 'This Verse was revealed in Mecca and it has been abrogated by a Verse in Surat-An-Nisa which was later revealed in Medina."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 286:
Narrated Said bin Jubair:
The people of Kufa differed as regards the killing of a believer so I entered upon Ibn Abbas (and asked him) about that. Ibn Abbas said, "The Verse (in Surat-An-Nisa', 4:93) was the last thing revealed in this respect and nothing cancelled its validity."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 287:
Narrated Said bin Jubair:
I asked Ibn Abbas about Allah's saying:-- '.. this reward is Hell Fire.' (4.93) He said, "No repentance is accepted from him (i.e. the murderer of a believer)." I asked him regarding the saying of Allah: 'Those who invoke not with Allah any other god.' ...(25.68) He said, "This Verse was revealed concerning the pagans of the pre-lslamic period."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 288:
Narrated Said bin Jubair:
Ibn Abza said to me, "Ask Ibn Abbas regarding the Statement of Allah: 'And whoever murders a believer intentionally, his recompense is Hell.' (4.69) And also His Statement: '...nor kill such life as Allah has forbidden, except for a just cause .....except those who repent, believe, and do good deeds.' " (25.68-70) So I asked Ibn Abbas and he said, "When this (25.68-69) was revealed, the people of Mecca said, "We have invoked other gods with Allah, and we have murdered such lives which Allah has made sacred, and we have committed illegal sexual intercourse. So Allah revealed: 'Except those who repent, believe, and do good deeds and Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful.' (25.70)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 289:
Narrated Said bin Jubair:
Abdur-Rahman bin Abza ordered me to ask Ibn Abbas regarding the two Verses (the first of which was): "And whosoever murders a believer intentionally." (4.93) So I asked him, and he said, "Nothing has abrogated this Verse." About (the other Verse): 'And those who invoke not with Allah any other god.' he said, "It was revealed concerning the pagans."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 290:
Narrated Abdullah:
Five (great events) have passed: the Smoke, the Moon, the Romans, the Mighty grasp and the constant Punishment which occurs in 'So the torment will be yours forever.' (25.77)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 291:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "On the Day of Resurrection Abraham will see his father covered with Qatara and Ghabara. (i.e. having a dark face).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 292:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, Abraham will meet his father (on the Day of Resurrection) and will say, 'O my Lords You promised me that You would not let me in disgrace on the Day when people will be resurrected.' Allah will say, 'I have forbidden Paradise to the non-believers."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 293:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
When the Verse:--'And warn your tribe of near-kindred, was revealed, the Prophet ascended the Safa (mountain) and started calling, "O Bani Fihr! O Bani Adi!" addressing various tribes of Quraish till they were assembled. Those who could not come themselves, sent their messengers to see what was there. Abu Lahab and other people from Quraish came and the Prophet then said, "Suppose I told you that there is an (enemy) cavalry in the valley intending to attack you, would you believe me?" They said, "Yes, for we have not found you telling anything other than the truth." He then said, "I am a warner to you in face of a terrific punishment." Abu Lahab said (to the Prophet) "May your hands perish all this day. Is it for this purpose you have gathered us?" Then it was revealed: "Perish the hands of Abu Lahab (one of the Prophet's uncles), and perish he! His wealth and his children will not profit him...." (111.1-5)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 294
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Messenger got up when the Verse:--'And warn your tribe of near kindred...." (26.214) was revealed and said, "O Quraish people! (or he said a similar word) Buy yourselves! I cannot save you from Allah (if you disobey Him) O Bani Abu Manaf! I cannot save you from Allah (if you disobey Him). O Abbas! The son of Abdul Muttalib! I cannot save you from Allah (if you disobey Him) O Safiya, (the aunt of Allah's Messenger) I cannot save you from Allah (if you disobey Him). O Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed ! Ask what you wish from my property, but I cannot save you from Allah (if you disobey Him).

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Volume 6, Book 60, Number 395:
Narrated Al-Musaiyab:
When Abu Talib was on his death bed, Allah's Messenger came to him and found with him, Abu Jahl and Abdullah bin Abi Umaiya bin Al-Mughira. Allah's Messenger said, "O uncle! Say: None has the right to be worshipped except Allah, a sentence with which I will defend you before Allah." On that Abu Jahl and Abdullah bin Abi Umaiya said to Abu Talib, "Will you now leave the religion of Abdul Muttalib?" Allah's Messenger kept on inviting him to say that sentence while the other two kept on repeating their sentence before him till Abu Talib said as the last thing he said to them, "I am on the religion of Abdul Muttalib," and refused to say: None has the right to be worshipped except Allah. On that Allah's Messenger said, "By Allah, I will keep on asking Allah's forgiveness for you unless I am forbidden (by Allah) to do so." So Allah revealed:-- 'It is not fitting for the Prophet and those who believe that they should invoke (Allah) for forgiveness for pagans.' (9.113) And then Allah revealed especially about Abu Talib:--'Verily! You (O, Mohammed) guide not whom you like, but Allah guides whom He will.' (28.56)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 296:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Koran 28.85'...will bring you home' means to Mecca.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 297:
Narrated Masruq:
While a man was delivering a speech in the tribe of Kinda, he said, "Smoke will prevail on the Day of Resurrection and will deprive the hypocrites their faculties of hearing and seeing. The believers will be afflicted with something like cold only thereof." That news scared us, so I went to (Abdullah) Ibn Masud while he was reclining (and told him the story) whereupon he became angry, sat up and said, "He who knows a thing can say, it, but if he does not know, he should say, 'Allah knows best,' for it is an aspect of knowledge to say, 'I do not know,' if you do not know a certain thing. Allah said to His prophet. 'Say (O Mohammed): No wage do I ask of you for this (Koran), nor I am one of the pretenders (a person who pretends things which do not exist.)' (38.86) The Qur'aish delayed in embracing Islam for a period, so the Prophet invoked evil on them, saying, 'O Allah! Help me against them by sending seven years of (famine) like those of Joseph.' So they were afflicted with such a severe year of famine that they were destroyed therein and ate dead animals and bones. They started seeing something like smoke between the sky and the earth (because of severe hunger). Abu Sufyan then came (to the Prophet) and said, "O Mohammed! You came to order us for to keep good relations with Kith and kin, and your kinsmen have now perished, so please invoke Allah (to relieve them).' Then Ibn Masud recited:-- 'Then watch you for the day that the sky will bring forth a kind of smoke plainly visible....but truly you will return! (to disbelief) (44.10-15) Ibn Masud added, Then the punishment was stopped, but truly, they reverted to heathenism (their old way). So Allah (threatened them thus): 'On the day when we shall seize you with a mighty grasp.' (44.16) And that was the day of the Battle of Badr. Allah's saying- "Lizama" (the punishment) refers to the day of Badr Allah's Statement: Alif-Lam-Mim, the Romans have been defeated, and they, after their defeat, will be victorious,' (30.1- 3) (This verse): Indicates that the defeat of Byzantine has already passed.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 298:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Messenger said, "No child is born except on Al-Fitra (Islam) and then his parents make him Jewish, Christian or Magian, as an animal produces a perfect young animal: do you see any part of its body amputated?" Then he rec 'The religion of pure Islamic Faith (Hanifa),(i.e. to worship none but Allah), The pure Allah's Islamic nature with which He (Allah) has created mankind. Let There be no change in Allah's religion (i.e. to join none in Allah's worship). That is the straight religion; but most of men know not..." (30.30)
Volume 6, Book 60, Number 299:
Narrated Abdullah:
When there was revealed: 'It is those who believe and confuse not their beliefs with wrong.' (6.82) It was very hard for the companions of Allah's Messenger, so they said, "Which of us has not confused his belief with wrong?" Allah's Messenger said, "The Verse does not mean this. Don't you hear Luqman's statement to his son: 'Verily! Joining others in worship, with Allah is a great wrong indeed.' (31.13)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 300:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
One day while Allah's Messenger was sitting with the people, a man came to him walking and said, "O Allah's Messenger. What is Belief?" The Prophet said, "Belief is to believe in Allah, His Angels, His Books, His Apostles, and the meeting with Him, and to believe in the Resurrection." The man asked, "O Allah's Messenger What is Islam?" The Prophet replied, "Islam is to worship Allah and not worship anything besides Him, to offer prayers perfectly, to pay the (compulsory) charity i.e. Zakat and to fast the month of Ramadan." The man again asked, "O Allah's Messenger What is Ihsan (i.e. perfection or Benevolence)?" The Prophet said, "Ihsan is to worship Allah as if you see Him, and if you do not achieve this state of devotion, then (take it for granted that) Allah sees you." The man further asked, "O Allah's Messenger When will the Hour be established?" The Prophet replied, "The one who is asked about it does not know more than the questioner does, but I will describe to you its portents. When the lady slave gives birth to her mistress, that will be of its portents; when the bare-footed naked people become the chiefs of the people, that will be of its portents. The Hour is one of five things which nobody knows except Allah. Verily, the knowledge of the Hour is with Allah (alone). He sends down the rain, and knows that which is in the wombs." (31.34) Then the man left. The Prophet said, "Call him back to me." They went to call him back but could not see him. The Prophet said, "That was Gabriel who came to teach the people their religion." (See Hadith No. 47 Vol 1)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 301:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
The Prophet said, "The keys of the Unseen are five." And then he recited: 'Verily, the knowledge of the Hour is with Allah (alone).' (31.34)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 302:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Messenger said, "Allah said, 'I have prepared for my pious worshipers such things as no eye has ever seen, no ear has ever heard of, and nobody has ever thought of." Abu Huraira added: If you wish you can read:-- 'No soul knows what is kept hidden (in reserve) for them of joy as reward for what they used to do.' 32.17.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 303:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet, said, "Allah said, 'I have prepared for My pious worshipers such things as no eye has ever seen, no ear has ever heard of, and nobody has ever thought of. All that is reserved, besides which, all that you have seen, is nothing." Then he recited:-- 'No soul knows what is kept hidden (in reserve) for them of joy as a reward for what they used to do.' (32.17)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 304:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "There is no believer but I, of all the people, I am the closest to him both in this world and in the Hereafter. Recite if you wish: 'The Prophet is closer to the believers than their own selves.' (33.6) so if a believer (dies) leaves some property then his relatives will inherit that property; but if he is in debt or he leaves poor children, let those (creditors and children) come to me (that I may pay the debt and provide for the children), for them I am his sponsor (surely).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 305:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
We used not to call Zaid bin Haritha the freed slave of Allah's Messenger except Zaid bin Mohammed till the Qu'anic Verse was revealed: "Call them (adopted sons) by (the names of) their fathers. That is more than just in the Sight of Allah." (33.5)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 306:
Narrated Anas:
We think that the Verse: 'Among the Believers are men who have been true to their covenant with Allah.' was revealed in favor of Anas bin An-Nadir.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 307:
Narrated Zaid bin Thabit:
When we collected the fragramentary manuscripts of the Koran into copies, I missed one of the Verses of Surat al-Ahzab which I used to hear Allah's Messenger reading. Finally I did not find it with anybody except Khuzaima Al-Ansari, whose witness was considered by Allah's Messenger equal to the witness of two men. (And that Verse was:) 'Among the believers are men who have been true to their covenant with Allah.'

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 308:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) Allah's Messenger came to me when Allah ordered him to give option to his wives. So Allah's Messenger started with me, saying, "I am going to mention to you something but you should not hasten (to give your reply) unless you consult your parents.' He knew that my parents would not order me to leave him. Then he said, "Allah says:-- "O Prophet! Say to your wives..." (33.28-29) On that I said to him, "Then why should I consult my parents? Verily, I seek Allah, His Apostle and the Home of the Hereafter."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 309:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) when Allah's Messenger was ordered to give option to his wives, he started with me, saying, "I am going to mention to you something, but you shall not hasten (to give your reply) unless you consult your parents." The Prophet knew that my parents would not order me to leave him. Then he said, "Allah says: 'O Prophet (Mohammed)! Say to your wives: If you desire the life of this world and its glitter.....a great reward." (33.28-29) I said, "Then why I consult my parents? Verily, I seek Allah, His Apostle and the Home of the Hereafter." Then all the other wives of the Prophet did the same as I did.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 310:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Verse: 'But you did hide in your mind that which Allah was about to make manifest.' (33.37) was revealed concerning Zainab bint Jahsh and Zaid bin Haritha.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 311:
Narrated Aisha:
I used to look down upon those ladies who had given themselves to Allah's Messenger and I used to say, "Can a lady give herself (to a man)?" But when Allah revealed: "You (O Mohammed) can postpone (the turn of) whom you will of them (your wives), and you may receive any of them whom you will; and there is no blame on you if you invite one whose turn you have set aside (temporarily).' (33.51) I said (to the Prophet), "I feel that your Lord hastens in fulfilling your wishes and desires."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 312:
Narrated Muadha:
Aisha said, "Allah's Messenger used to take the permission of that wife with whom he was supposed to stay overnight if he wanted to go to one other than her, after this Verse was revealed:-- "You (O Mohammed) can postpone (the turn of) whom you will of them (your wives) and you may receive any (of them) whom you will; and there is no blame on you if you invite one whose turn you have set aside (temporarily). (33.51) I asked Aisha, "What did you use to say (in this case)?" She said, "I used to say to him, "If I could deny you the permission (to go to your other wives) I would not allow your favor to be bestowed on any other person."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 313:
Narrated Umar:
I said, "O Allah's Messenger! Good and bad persons enter upon you, so I suggest that you order the mothers of the Believers (i.e. your wives) to observe veils." Then Allah revealed the Verses of Al- Hijab.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 314:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
When Allah's Messenger married Zainab bint Jahsh, he invited the people to a meal. They took the meal and remained sitting and talking. Then the Prophet (showed them) as if he is ready to get up, yet they did not get up. When he noticed that (there was no response to his movement), he got up, and the others too, got up except three persons who kept on sitting. The Prophet came back in order to enter his house, but he went away again. Then they left, whereupon I set out and went to the Prophet to tell him that they had departed, so he came and entered his house. I wanted to enter along with him, but he put a screen between me and him. Then Allah revealed: 'O you who believe! Do not enter the houses of the Prophet...' (33.53)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 315:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
I of all the people know best this verse of Al-Hijab. When Allah's Messenger married Zainab bint Jahsh she was with him in the house and he prepared a meal and invited the people (to it). They sat down (after finishing their meal) and started chatting. So the Prophet went out and then returned several times while they were still sitting and talking. So Allah revealed the Verse: 'O you who believe! Enter not the Prophet's houses until leave is given to you for a meal, (and then) not (so early as) to wait for its preparation .....ask them from behind a screen.' (33.53) So the screen was set up and the people went away.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 316:
Narrated Anas:
A banquet of bread and meat was held on the occasion of the marriage of the Prophet to Zainab bint Jahsh. I was sent to invite the people (to the banquet), and so the people started coming (in groups); They would eat and then leave. Another batch would come, eat and leave. So I kept on inviting the people till I found nobody to invite. Then I said, "O Allah's

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Prophet! I do not find anybody to invite." He said, "Carry away the remaining food." Then a batch of three persons stayed in the house chatting. The Prophet left and went towards the dwelling place of Aisha and said, "Peace and Allah's Mercy be on you, O the people of the house!" She replied, "Peace and the mercy of Allah be on you too. How did you find your wife? May Allah bless you. Then he went to the dwelling places of all his other wives and said to them the same as he said to Aisha and they said to him the same as Aisha had said to him. Then the Prophet returned and found a group of three persons still in the house chatting. The Prophet was a very shy person, so he went out (for the second time) and went towards the dwelling place of Aisha. I do not remember whether I informed him that the people have gone away. So he returned and as soon as he entered the gate, he drew the curtain between me and him, and then the Verse of Al-Hijab was revealed.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 317:
Narrated Anas:
When Allah's Messenger married Zainab bint Jahsh, he made the people eat meat and bread to their fill (by giving a Walima banquet). Then he went out to the dwelling places of the mothers of the believers (his wives), as he used to do in the morning of his marriage. He would greet them and invoke good on them, and they (too) would return his greeting and invoke good on him. When he returned to his house, he found two men talking to each other; and when he saw them, he went out of his house again. When those two men saw Allah's Messenger: going out of his house, they quickly got up (and departed). I do not remember whether I informed him of their departure, or he was informed (by somebody else). So he returned, and when he entered the house, he lowered the curtain between me and him. Then the Verse of Al-Hijab was revealed.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 318:
Narrated Aisha:
Sauda (the wife of the Prophet) went out to answer the call of nature after it was made obligatory (for all the Muslims ladies) to observe the veil. She was a fat huge lady, and everybody who knew her before could recognize her. So Umar bin Al-Khattab saw her and said, "O Sauda! By Allah, you cannot hide yourself from us, so think of a way by which you should not be recognized on going out. Sauda returned while Allah's Messenger was in my house taking his supper and a bone covered with meat was in his hand. She entered and said, "O Allah's Messenger! I went out to answer the call of nature and Umar said to me so-and-so." Then Allah inspired him (the Prophet) and when the state of inspiration was over and the bone was still in his hand as he had not put in down, he said (to Sauda), "You (women) have been allowed to go out for your needs."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 319:
Narrated Aisha:
Aflah, the brother of Abi Al-Quais, asked permission to visit me after the order of Al-Hijab was revealed. I said, "I will not permit him unless I take permission of the Prophet about him for it was not the brother of Abi Al-Quais but the wife of Abi Al-Quais that nursed me." The Prophet entered upon me, and I said to him, "O Allah's Messenger! Aflah, the brother of Abi Al-Quais asked permission to visit me but I refused to permit him unless I took your permission." The Prophet said, "What stopped you from permitting him? He is your uncle." I said, "O Allah's Messenger! The man was not the person who had nursed me, but the woman, the wife of Abi Al-Quais had nursed me." He said, "Admit him, for he is your uncle. Taribat Yaminuki (may your right hand be saved)" Urwa, the sub-narrator added: For that Aisha used to say, "Consider those things which are illegal because of blood relations as illegal because of the corresponding foster relations."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 320:
Narrated Kab bin Ujra:
It was said, "O Allah's Messenger! We know how to greet you, but how to invoke Allah for you?" The Prophet said, "Say: Allahumma salli ala Mohammedin wa'ala Ali Mohammeddin, kama sallaita 'ala all Ibrahim, innaka Hamidun Majid."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 321:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
We said, "O Allah's Messenger! (We know) this greeting (to you) but how shall we invoke Allah for you?" He said, "Say! Allahumma salli ala Mohammedin Abdika wa rasulika kama-sallaita 'ala all Ibrahim wa barik ala Mohammedin wa'ala all Mohammedin kama barakta 'ala all Ibrahim.' Al-Laith said: 'Ala Mohammedin wa 'ala all Mohammedin kama barakta ala all Ibrahim.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 322:
Narrated Ibn Abi Hazim and Ad-Darawardi:
Yazid said, "Kama sallaita ala Ibrahima wa barik 'ala Mohammed in wa all Mohammedin kama barakta 'ala Abrahima wa all Ibrahim."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 323:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Messenger said, "Moses was a shy man, and that is what the Statement of Allah means: 'O you who believe Be not like those who annoyed Moses, but Allah proved his innocence of that which they alleged and he was honorable in Allah's Sight.' (33.69)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 324:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Prophet said, "When Allah decrees some order in the heaven, the angels flutter their wings indicating complete surrender to His saying which sounds like chains being dragged on rock. And when the state of fear disappears, they ask each other, "What has your Lord ordered? They say that He has said that which is true and just, and He is the Most High, the Most Great." (34.23). Then the stealthy listeners (devils) hear this order, and these stealthy listeners are like this, one over the other." (Sufyan, a sub-narrator demonstrated that by holding his hand upright and separating the fingers.) A stealthy listener hears a word which he will convey to that which is below him and the second will convey it to that which is below him till the last of them will convey it to the wizard or foreteller. Sometimes a flame (fire) may strike the devil before he can convey it, and sometimes he may convey it before the flame (fire) strikes him, whereupon the wizard adds to that word a hundred lies. The people will then say, 'Didn't he (i.e. magician) tell such-and-such a thing on such-and-such date?' So that magician is said to have told the truth because of the Statement which has been heard from the heavens."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 325:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
One day the Prophet ascended Safa mountain and said, "Oh Sabah! " All the Quraish gathered round him and said, "What is the matter?" He said, Look, if I told you that an enemy is going to attack you in the morning or in the evening, would you not believe me?" They said, "Yes, we will believe you." He said, "I am a warner to you in face of a terrible punishment." On that Abu Lahab said, "May you perish ! Is it for this thing that you have gathered us?" So Allah revealed: 'Perish the hands of Abu Lahab!...' (111.1)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 326:
Narrated Abu Dharr:
Once I was with the Prophet in the mosque at the time of sunset. The Prophet said, "O Abu Dharr! Do you know where the sun sets?" I replied, "Allah and His Apostle know best." He said, "It goes and prostrates underneath (Allah's) Throne; and that is Allah's Statement:-- 'And the sun runs on its fixed course for a term (decreed). And that is the decree of All-Mighty, the All-Knowing....' (36.38)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 327:
Narrated Abu Dharr:
I asked the Prophet about the Statement of Allah:-- 'And the sun runs on fixed course for a term (decreed), ' (36.38) He said, "Its course is underneath "Allah's Throne." (Prostration of Sun trees, stars. mentioned in Koran and Hadith does not mean like our prostration but it means that these objects are obedient to their Creator (Allah) and they obey for what they have been created for).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 328:
Narrated Abdullah:
Allah's Messenger said, "Nobody has the right to be better than (Jonah) bin Matta."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 329:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "He who says that I am better than Jonah bin Matta, tells a lie.'

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 330:
Narrated Al-Awwam:
I asked Muhajid regarding the prostration in Surat Sad. He said, "Ibn Abbas was asked the same question and he said, 'Those are they (the prophets) whom Allah had Guided. So follow their guidance." (6.90) Ibn Abbas used to perform a prostration (on reading this Sura).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 331:
Narrated Al-Awwam:
I asked Mujahid regarding the prostration in Surat Sad. He said, "I asked Ibn Abbas, 'What evidence makes you prostrate?' He said, "Don't you recite:--'And among his progeny, David and Solomon..(6.84). Those are they whom Allah had guided. So follow their guidance.' (6.90) So David was the one of those prophets whom Prophet (Mohammed) was ordered to follow. David prostrated, so Allah's Messenger (Mohammed) performed this prostration too.'

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 332:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Last night a demon from the Jinns came to me (or the Prophet said, a similar sentence) to disturb my prayer, but Allah gave me the power to overcome him. I intended to tie him to one of the pillars of the mosque till the morning so that all of you could see him, but then I remembered the Statement of my brother Solomon:--'My Lord! Forgive me and bestow on me a kingdom such as shall not belong to any other after me.' (38.35) The narrator added: Then he (the Prophet) dismissed him, rejected. 'Nor am I one of the pretenders (a person who pretends things which do not exist).' (38.86)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 333:
Narrated Masruq:
We came upon Abdullah bin Masud and he said "O people! If somebody knows something, he can say it, but if he does not know it, he should say, "Allah knows better,' for it is a sign of having knowledge to say about something which one does not know, 'Allah knows better.' Allah said to His Prophet: 'Say (O Mohammed !) No wage do I ask of You for this (Koran) nor am I one of the pretenders (a person who pretends things which do not exist).' (38.86) Now I will tell you about Ad-Dukhan (the smoke), Allah's Messenger invited the Quraish to embrace Islam, but they delayed their response. So he said, "O Allah! Help me against them by sending on them seven years of famine similar to the seven years of famine of Joseph." So the famine year overtook them and everything was destroyed till they ate dead animals and skins. People started imagining to see smoke between them and the sky because of severe hunger. Allah said: 'Then watch you for the Day that the sky will bring forth a kind of smoke plainly visible, covering the people. . . This is painful torment.' (44.10-11) (So they invoked Allah) "Our Lord! Remove the punishment from us really we are believers." How can there be an (effectual) reminder for them when an Apostle, explaining things clearly, has already come to them? Then they had turned away from him and said: 'One taught (by a human being), a madman?' 'We shall indeed remove punishment for a while, but truly, you will revert (to disbelief).' (44.12-15) Will the punishment be removed on the Day of Resurrection?" Abdullah added, "The punishment was removed from them for a while but they reverted to disbelief, so Allah destroyed them on the Day of Badr. Allah said: 'The day We shall seize you with a mighty grasp. We will indeed (then) exact retribution." (44.16)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 334:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Some pagans who committed murders in great number and committed illegal sexual intercourse excessively, came to Mohammed and said, "O Mohammed! Whatever you say and invite people to, is good: but we wish if you could inform us whether we can make an expiration for our (past evil) deeds." So the Divine Verses came: 'Those who invoke not with Allah any other god, not kill such life as Allah has forbidden except for just cause, nor commit illegal sexual intercourse.' (25.68) And there was also revealed:-- 'Say: O My slaves who have transgressed against their souls! Despair not of the Mercy of Allah.' (39.53)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 335:
Narrated Abdullah:
A (Jewish) Rabbi came to Allah's Messenger and he said, "O Mohammed! We learn that Allah will put all the heavens on one finger, and the earths on one finger, and the trees on one finger, and the water and the dust on one finger, and all the other created beings on one finger. Then He will say, 'I am the King.' Thereupon the Prophet smiled so that his pre-molar teeth became visible, and that was the confirmation of the Rabbi. Then Allah's Messenger recited: 'No just estimate have they made of Allah such as due to Him.' (39.67)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 336:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard Allah's Messenger saying, "Allah will hold the whole earth, and roll all the heavens up in His Right Hand, and then He will say, 'I am the King; where are the kings of the earth?'"

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 337:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "I will be the first to raise my head after the second blowing of the trumpet and will see Moses hanging the Throne, and I will not know whether he had been in that state all the time or after the blowing of the trumpet."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 338:
Narrated Abu Huraira:

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The Prophet said, "Between the two blowing of the trumpet there will be forty." The people said, "O Abu Huraira! Forty days?" I refused to reply. They said, "Forty years?" I refused to reply and added: Everything of the human body will decay except the coccyx bone (of the tail) and from that bone Allah will reconstruct the whole body.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 339:
Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair:
I asked Abdullah bin Amr bin Al-As to inform me of the worst thing the pagans had done to Allah's Apostle. He said: "While Allah's Messenger was praying in the courtyard of the Kaba, Uqba bin Abi Mu'ait came and seized Allah's Messenger by the shoulder and twisted his garment round his neck and throttled him severely. Abu Bakr came and seized Uqba's shoulder and threw him away from Allah's Apostle and said, "Would you kill a man because he says: 'My Lord is Allah,' and has come to you with clear Signs from your Lord?" (40.28)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 340:
Narrated Ibn Masud:
(regarding) the Verse: 'And you have not been screening against yourself lest your ears, and your eyes and your skins should testify against you..' (41.22) While two persons from Quraish and their brotherin- law from Thaqif (or two persons from Thaqif and their brother-in-law from Quraish) were in a house, they said to each other, "Do you think that Allah hears our talks?" Some said, "He hears a portion thereof" Others said, "If He can hear a portion of it, He can hear all of it." Then the following Verse was revealed: 'And you have not been screening against yourself lest your ears, and your eyes and your skins should testify against you...' (41.22)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 341:
Narrated Abdullah:
There gathered near the House (i.e. the Kaba) two Quraishi persons and a person from Thaqif (or two persons from Thaqif and one from Quraish), and all of them with very fat bellies but very little intelligence. One of them said, "Do you think that Allah hears what we say?" Another said, "He hears us when we talk in a loud voice, but He doesn't hear us when we talk in a low tone." The third said, "If He can hear when we talk in a loud tone, then He can also hear when we speak in a low tone." Then Allah, the Honorable, the Majestic revealed: 'And you have not been screening against yourself lest your ears, and eyes and your skins should testify against you....' (41.22-23)
This hadith has been narrated through another chain as well.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 342:
Narrated Abdullah bin Masud:
(As above, Hadith No. 341).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 343:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
That he was asked (regarding): "Except to be kind to me for my Kinship with you.' (42.23) Said bin Zubair (who was present then) said, "It means here (to show what is due for) the relatives of Mohammed." On that Ibn Abbas said: you have hurried in giving the answer! There was no branch of the tribe of Quraish but the Prophet had relatives therein. The Prophet said, "I do not want anything from (you) except to be Kind to me for my Kinship with you."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 344:
Narrated Yala:
I heard the Prophet reciting when on the pulpit: 'They will cry, "O Malik (Keeper of Hell) Let your Lord make an end of us.' (43.77)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 345:
Narrated Abdullah:
Five things have passed, i.e. the smoke, the defeat of the Romans, the splitting of the moon, Al-Batsha (the defeat of the infidels in the battle of Badr) and Al-Lizam (the punishment)'.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 346:
Narrated Abdullah:
It (i.e., the imagined smoke) was because, when the Quraish refused to obey the Prophet, he asked Allah to afflict them with years of famine similar to those of (Prophet) Joseph. So they were stricken with famine and fatigue, so much so that they ate even bones. A man would look towards the sky and imagine seeing something like smoke between him and the sky because of extreme fatigue. So Allah revealed:-- 'Then watch you for the Day that the sky will bring forth a kind of smoke plainly visible, covering the people; this is a painfull of torment.' (44.10-11) Then someone (Abu Sufyan) came to Allah's Messenger and said, "O Allah's Messenger! Invoke Allah to send rain for the tribes of Mudar for they are on the verge of destruction." On that the Prophet said (astonishingly) "Shall I invoke Allah) for the tribes of Mudar? Verily, you are a brave man!" But the Prophet prayed for rain and it rained for them. Then the Verse was revealed. 'But truly you will return (to disbelief).' (44.15) (When the famine was over and) they restored prosperity and welfare, they reverted to their ways (of heathenism) whereupon Allah revealed: 'On the Day when We shall seize you with a Mighty Grasp. We will indeed (then) exact retribution.' (44.16) The narrator said, "That was the day of the Battle of Badr."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 347:
Narrated Abdullah:
It is a sign of having knowledge that, when you do not know something, you say: 'Allah knows better.' Allah said to his Prophet: 'Say: No wage do I ask of you for this (Koran), nor am I one of the pretenders (a person who pretends things which do not exist)' (38.86) When the Quraish troubled and stood against the Prophet he said, "O Allah! Help me against them by afflicting them with seven years of famine like the seven years of Joseph." So they were stricken with a year of famine during which they ate bones and dead animals because of too much suffering, and one of them would see something like smoke between him and the sky because of hunger. Then they said: Our Lord! Remove the torment from us, really we are believers. (44.12) And then it was said to the Prophet (by Allah), "If we remove it from them. they will revert to their ways (of heathenism)." So the Prophet invoked his Lord, who removed the punishment from them, but later they reverted (to heathenism), whereupon Allah punished them on the day of the Battle of Badr, and that is what Allah's Statement indicates: 'Then watch for the day that the sky will bring forth a kind of smoke plainly visible...we will indeed (then) exact retribution.' (44.10).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 348:
Narrated Masruq:
I came upon Abdullah and he said, "When Allah's Messenger invited Quraish (to Islam), they disbelieved him and stood against him. So he (the Prophet) said, "O Allah! Help me against them by afflicting them with seven years of famine similar to the seven years of Joseph.' So they were stricken with a year of drought that destroyed everything, and they started eating dead animals, and if one of them got up he would see something like smoke between him and the sky from the severe fatigue and hunger." Abdullah then recited:-- 'Then watch you for the Day that the sky will bring forth a kind of smoke plainly visible, covering the people. This is a painful torment... (till he reached) ..... We shall indeed remove the punishment for a while, but truly you will revert (to heathenism): (44.10-15) Abdullah added: "Will the punishment be removed from them on the Day of Resurrection?" He added," The severe grasp" was the Day of the Battle of Badr."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 349:
Narrated Abdullah:
Allah sent (the Prophet) Mohammed and said:-- 'Say, No wage do I ask of you for this (Koran) nor am I one of the pretenders (i.e. a person who pretends things which do not exist). (38.68) When Allah's Messenger saw Quraish standing against him, he said, "O Allah! Help me against them by afflicting them with seven years of famine similar to the seven years (of famine) of Joseph. So they were afflicted with a year of drought that destroyed everything, and they ate bones and hides. (One of them said), "And they ate hides and dead animals, and (it seemed to them that) something like smoke was coming out of the earth. So Abu Sufyan came to the Prophet and said, "O Mohammed! Your people are on the verge of destruction! Please invoke Allah to relieve them." So the Prophet invoked Allah for them (and the famine disappeared). He said to them. "You will revert (to heathenism) after that." Abdullah then recited: 'Then watch you for the Day that the sky will bring forth a kind of smoke plainly visible.....but truly you will revert (to disbelief).' He added, "Will the punishment be removed from them in the Hereafter? The smoke and the grasp and the Al-Lizam have all passed." One of the sub-narrater said, "The splitting of the moon." And another said, "The defeat of the Romans (has passed).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 350:
Narrated Abdullah:
Five things have passed: Al-Lizam, the defeat of the Romans, the mighty grasp, the splitting of the moon, and the smoke.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 351:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Messenger said, "Allah said, 'The son of Adam hurts me for he abuses Time though I am Time: in My Hands are all things, and I cause the revolution of day and night.'

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 352:
Narrated Yusuf bin Mahak:
Marwan had been appointed as the governor of Hijaz by Muawiya. He delivered a sermon and mentioned Yazid bin Muawiya so that the people might take the oath of allegiance to him as the successor of his father (Muawiya). Then Abdur Rahman bin Abu Bakr told him something whereupon Marwan ordered that he be arrested. But Abdur-Rahman entered Aisha's house and they could not arrest him. Marwan said, "It is he (AbdurRahman) about whom Allah revealed this Verse:-- 'And the one who says to his parents: 'Fie on you! Do you hold out the promise to me..?'" On that, Aisha said from behind a screen, "Allah did not reveal anything from the Koran about us except what was connected with the declaration of my innocence (of the slander).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 353:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet), I never saw Allah's Messenger laughing loudly enough to enable me to see his uvula, but he used to smile only. And whenever he saw clouds or winds, signs of deep concern would appear on his face. I said, "O Allah's Messenger! When people see clouds they usually feel happy, hoping that it would rain, while I see that when you see clouds, one could notice signs of dissatisfaction on your face." He said, "O Aisha! What is the guarantee for me that there will be no punishment in it, since some people were punished with a wind? Verily, some people saw (received) the punishment, but (while seeing the cloud) they said, 'This cloud will give us rain.' "

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 354:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Allah created His creation, and when He had finished it, the womb, got up and caught hold of Allah whereupon Allah said, "What is the matter?' On that, it said, 'I seek refuge with you from those who sever the ties of Kith and kin.' On that Allah said, 'Will you be satisfied if I bestow My favors on him who keeps your ties, and withhold My favors from him who severs your ties?' On that it said, 'Yes, O my Lord!' Then Allah said, 'That is for you.' " Abu Huraira added: If you wish, you can recite: "Would you then if you were given the authority. do mischief in the land and sever your ties of kinship. (47. 22)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 355:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
(As above, No. 354, but added) Then Allah's Messenger said, "Recite if you wish: "Would you then." ..(47.22)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 356:
Narrated Muawiya bin Abi Al-Muzarrad:
Allah's Messenger, said, "Recite if you wish: Would you then if you were given the authority." (47.22)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 357:
Narrated Aslam:
While Allah's Messenger was proceeding at night during one of his journeys and Umar bin Al-Khattab was traveling beside him, Umar asked him about something but Allah's Messenger did not reply. He asked again, but he did not reply, and then he asked (for the third time) but he did not reply. On that, Umar bin Al-Khattab said to himself, "Thakilat Ummu Umar (May Umar's mother lose her son)! I asked Allah's Messenger three times but he did not reply." Umar then said, "I made my camel run faster and went ahead of the people, and I was afraid that some Koranic Verses might be revealed about me. But before getting involved in any other matter. I heard somebody calling me. I said to myself, 'I fear that some Koranic Verses have been revealed about me,' and so I went to Allah's Messenger and greeted him. He (Allah's Messenger) said, 'Tonight a Sura has been revealed to me, and it is dearer to me than that on which the sun rises (i.e. the world)' Then he recited: "Verily, We have given you a manifest victory." (48.1)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 358:
Narrated Anas:
"Verily, We have given you (O Mohammed) a manifest victory.' refers to Al-Hudaibiya Peace treaty).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 359:
Narrated Abdullah bin Mughaffal:
On the Day of the Conquest of Mecca, the Prophet recited Surat Al-Fath in a vibrating and pleasant voice. (Muawaiya, the subnarrator said, "If I could imitate the recitation of the Prophet I would do so.")

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 360:
Narrated Al-Mughira:
The Prophet used to offer night prayers till his feet became swollen. Somebody said, to him," "Allah has forgiven you, your faults of the past and those to follow." On that, he said, "Shouldn't I be a thankful slave of Allah)?"

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Volume 6, Book 60, Number 361:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet used to offer prayer at night (for such a long time) that his feet used to crack. I said, "O Allah's Messenger! Why do you do it since Allah has forgiven you your faults of the past and those to follow?" He said, "Shouldn't I love to be a thankful slave (of Allah)?' When he became old, he prayed while sitting, but if he wanted to perform a bowing, he would get up, recite (some other verses) and then perform the bowing.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 362:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr bin Al-As:
This Verse: 'Verily We have sent you (O Mohammed) as a witness, as a bringer of glad tidings and as a warner.' (48.8) which is in the Koran, appears in the Torah thus: 'Verily We have sent you (O Mohammed) as a witness, as a bringer of glad tidings and as a warner, and as a protector for the illiterates (i.e., the Arabs.) You are my slave and My Apostle, and I have named you Al-Mutawakkil (one who depends upon Allah). You are neither hard-hearted nor of fierce character, nor one who shouts in the markets. You do not return evil for evil, but excuse and forgive. Allah will not take you unto Him till He guides through you a crocked (curved) nation on the right path by causing them to say: "None has the right to be worshipped but Allah." With such a statement He will cause to open blind eyes, deaf ears and hardened hearts.'

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 363:
Narrated Al-Bara:
While a man from the companions of the Prophet was reciting (Koran) and his horse was tied in the house, the horse got startled and started jumping. The man came out, looked around but could not find anything, yet the horse went on jumping. The next morning he mentioned that to the Prophet. The Prophet said, "That was the tranquility (calmness) which descended because of the recitation of the Koran."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 364:
Narrated Jabir:
We were one thousand and four hundred on the Day of Al-Hudaibiya.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 365:
Narrated Uqba bin Sahban:
Abdullah bin Mughaffal Al-Muzani who was one of those who witnessed (the event of) the tree, said, "The Prophet forbade the throwing of small stones (with two fingers)."
Abdullah bin Al-Mughaffal Al-Muzani also said:
"The Prophet also forbade urinating at the place where one takes a bath."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 366:
Narrated Thabit bin Ad-Dahhak:
who was one of the companions of the tree (those who swore allegiance to the Prophet beneath the tree at Al-Hudaibiya):

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 367:
Narrated Habib bin Abi Thabit:
I went to Abu Wail to ask him (about those who had rebelled against Ali). On that Abu Wail said, "We were at Siffin (a city on the bank of the Euphrates, the place where me battle took place between Ali and Muawiya) A man said, "Will you be on the side of those who are called to consult Allah's Book (to settle the dispute)?" Ali said, 'Yes (I agree that we should settle the matter in the light of the Koran)." ' Some people objected to Ali's agreement and wanted to fight. On that Sahl bin Hunaif said, 'Blame yourselves! I remember how, on the day of Al-Hudaibiya (i.e. the peace treaty between the Prophet and the Quraish pagans), if we had been allowed to choose fighting, we would have fought (the pagans). At that time Umar came (to the Prophet) and said, "Aren't we on the right (path) and they (pagans) in the wrong? Won't our killed persons go to Paradise, and theirs in the Fire?" The Prophet replied, "Yes." Umar further said, "Then why should we let our religion be degraded and return before Allah has settled the matter between us?" The Prophet said, "O the son of Al-Khattab! No doubt, I am Allah's Messenger and Allah will never neglect me." So Umar left the place angrily and he was so impatient that he went to Abu Bakr and said, "O Abu Bakr! Aren't we on the right (path) and they (pagans) on the wrong?" Abu Bakr said, "O the son of Al-Khattab! He is Allah's Messenger, and Allah will never neglect him." Then Sura Al-Fath (The Victory) was revealed."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 368:
Narrated Ibn Abi Mulaika:
The two righteous persons were about to be ruined. They were Abu Bakr and Umar who raised their voices in the presence of the Prophet when a mission from Bani Tamim came to him. One of the two recommended Al-Aqra' bin Habeas, the brother of Bani Mujashi (to be their governor) while the other recommended somebody else. (Nafi, the sub-narrator said, I do not remember his name). Abu Bakr said to Umar, "You wanted nothing but to oppose me!" Umar said, "I did not intend to oppose you." Their voices grew loud in that argument, so Allah revealed: 'O you who believe! Raise not your voices above the voice of the Prophet.' (49.2) Ibn Az-Zubair said, "Since the revelation of this Verse, Umar used to speak in such a low tone that the Prophet had to ask him to repeat his statements." But Ibn Az-Zubair did not mention the same about his (maternal) grandfather (i.e. Abu Bakr).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 369:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet missed Thabit bin Qais for a period (So he inquired about him). A man said. "O Allah's Apostle! I will bring you his news." So he went to Thabit and found him sitting in his house and bowing his head. The man said to Thabit, " 'What is the matter with you?" Thabit replied that it was an evil affair, for he used to raise his voice above the voice of the Prophet and so all his good deeds had been annulled, and he considered himself as one of the people of the Fire. Then the man returned to the Prophet and told him that Thabit had said, so-and-so. (Musa bin Anas) said: The man returned to Thabit with great glad tidings. The Prophet said to the man. "Go back to him and say to him: "You are not from the people of the Hell Fire, but from the people of Paradise."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 370:
Narrated Abdullah bin Az-Zubair:
A group of Bani Tamim came to the Prophet (and requested him to appoint a governor for them). Abu Bakr said, "Appoint Al-Qaqa bin Mabad." Umar said, "Appoint Al-Aqra' bin Habeas." On that Abu Bakr said (to Umar). "You did not want but to oppose me!" Umar replied "I did not intend to oppose you!" So both of them argued till their voices grew loud. So the following Verse was revealed: 'O you who believe! Be not for ward. . . . . .' (49.1)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 371:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "The people will be thrown into the (Hell) Fire and it will say: "Are there any more (to come)?' (50.30) till Allah puts His Foot over it and it will say, 'Qati! Qati! (Enough Enough!)'"

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 372:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
(that the Prophet said) "It will be said to the Hell, 'Are you filled?' It will say, 'Are there any more (to come)?' On that Allah will put His Foot on it, and it will say 'Qati! Qati! (Enough! Enough!).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 373:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Paradise and the Fire (Hell) argued, and the Fire (Hell) said, "I have been given the privilege of receiving the arrogant and the tyrants.' Paradise said, 'What is the matter with me? Why do only the weak and the humble among the people enter me?' On that, Allah said to Paradise. 'You are My Mercy which I bestow on whoever I wish of my servants.' Then Allah said to the (Hell) Fire, 'You are my (means of) punishment by which I punish whoever I wish of my slaves. And each of you will have its fill.' As for the Fire (Hell), it will not be filled till Allah puts His Foot over it whereupon it will say, 'Qati! Qati!' At that time it will be filled, and its different parts will come closer to each other; and Allah will not wrong any of His created beings. As regards Paradise, Allah will create a new creation to fill it with."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 374:
Narrated Jarir bin Abdullah:
We were in the company of the Prophet on a fourteenth night (of the lunar month), and he looked at the (full) moon and said, "You will see your Lord as you see this moon, and you will have no trouble in looking at Him. So, whoever can, should not miss the offering of prayers before sunrise (Fajr prayer) and before sunset (Asr prayer)." Then the Prophet recited: 'And celebrate the praises of your Lord before the rising of the sun and before (its) setting.' (50.39)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 375:
Narrated Mujahid:
Ibn Abbas said, "Allah ordered His Prophet to celebrate Allah's praises after all prayers." He refers to His Statement: 'After the prayers.' (50.40)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 376:
Narrated Um Salama:
I complained to Allah's Messenger that I was sick, so he said, "Perform the Tawaf (of Kaba at Mecca) while riding behind the people (who are performing the Tawaf on foot)." So I performed the Tawaf while Allah's Messenger was offering the prayer by the side of the Kaba and was reciting: 'By the Mount (Saini) and by a Decree Inscribed.'

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 377:
Narrated Jubair bin Mutim:
I heard the Prophet reciting Surat at-Tur in the Maghrib prayer, and when he reached the Verse: 'Were they created by nothing, Or were they themselves the creators, Or did they create the Heavens and the Earth? Nay, but they have no firm belief Or do they own the treasures of Your Lord? Or have they been given the authority to do as they like...' (52.35-37) my heart was about to fly (when I realized this firm argument).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 378:
Narrated Masruq:
I said to Aisha, "O Mother! Did Prophet Mohammed see his Lord?" Aisha said, "What you have said makes my hair stand on end ! Know that if somebody tells you one of the following three things, he is a liar: Whoever tells you that Mohammed saw his Lord, is a liar." Then Aisha recited the Verse: 'No vision can grasp Him, but His grasp is over all vision. He is the Most Courteous Well-Acquainted with all things.' (6.103) 'It is not fitting for a human being that Allah should speak to him except by inspiration or from behind a veil.' (42.51) Aisha further said, "And whoever tells you that the Prophet knows what is going to happen tomorrow, is a liar." She then recited: 'No soul can know what it will earn tomorrow.' (31.34) She added: "And whoever tell you that he concealed (some of Allah's orders), is a liar." Then she recited: 'O Apostle! Proclaim (the Message) which has been sent down to you from your Lord..' (5.67) Aisha added. "But the Prophet saw Gabriel in his true form twice."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 379:
Narrated Abdullah:
Regarding the Verses: 'And was at a distance of but two bow-lengths or (even) nearer; So did (Allah) convey the Inspiration to His slave (Gabriel) and then he Gabriel) conveyed (that to Mohammed...' (53.9-10) Ibn Masud narrated to us that the Prophet had seen Gabriel with six hundred wings.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 380:
Narrated Ash-Shaibani:
I asked Zirr about the Statement of Allah: 'And was at a distance of but two bow-lengths or (even) nearer. So did Allah convey the Inspiration to His slave (Gabriel) and then he (Gabriel) conveyed that to Mohammed.' (53.10) He said, "Abdullah (bin Masud) informed us that Mohammed had seen Gabriel with six hundred wings."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 381:
Narrated Abdullah:
(regarding the revelation) Truly he (Mohammed) did see of the signs of his Lord; the Greatest!' (53.18) The Prophet saw a green screen covering the horizon.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 382:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
(regarding His Statement about the Lat and the Uzza: Lat was originally a man who used to mix Sawiq for the pilgrim.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 383:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Messenger said, "Whomever takes an oath in which he mentions Lat and Uzza (forgetfully), should say: None has the right to be worshipped but Allah, and whoever says to his companion. 'Come along, let us gamble must give alms (as an expiation).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 384:
Narrated Urwa:
I asked Aisha (regarding the Sai between As Safa and Al-Marwa). She said, "Out of reverence to the idol Manat which was placed in Al-Mushailal, those who used to assume Ihram in its name, used not to perform Sai between As-Safa and Al-Marwa, so Allah revealed: 'Verily! The As-Safa and Al-Marwa (two mountains at Mecca) are among the symbols of Allah.' (2.158). Thereupon, Allah's Messenger and the Muslims used to perform Sai (between them)." Sufyan said: The (idol) Manat was at Al-Mushailal in Qudaid. Aisha added, "The Verse was revealed in connection with the Ansar. They and (the tribe of) Ghassan used to assume Ihram in the name of Manat before they embraced Islam." Aisha added, "There were men from the Ansar who used to assume Ihram in the name of Manat which was an idol between Mecca and Medina. They said, "O Allah's Messenger! We used not to perform the Tawaf (Sai) between As-Safa and Al-Marwa out of reverence to Manat."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 385:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:

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The Prophet performed a prostration when he finished reciting Surat-an-Najm, and all the Muslims and pagans and Jinns and human beings prostrated along with him.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 386:
Narrated Abdullah:
The first Sura in which a prostration was mentioned, was Sura An-Najm (The Star). Allah's Messenger prostrated (while reciting it), and everybody behind him prostrated except a man whom I saw taking a hand-full of dust in his hand and prostrated on it. Later I saw that man killed as an infidel, and he was Umaiya bin Khalaf.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 387:
Narrated Ibn Masud:
During the lifetime of Allah's Messenger the moon was split into two parts; one part remained over the mountain, and the other part went beyond the mountain. On that, Allah's Messenger said, "Witness this miracle."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 388:
Narrated Abdullah:
The moon was cleft asunder while we were in the company of the Prophet, and it became two parts. The Prophet said, Witness, witness (this miracle).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 389:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The moon was cleft asunder during the lifetime of the Prophet.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 390:
Narrated Anas:
The people of Mecca asked the Prophet to show them a sign (miracle). So he showed them (the miracle) of the cleaving of the moon.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 391:
Narrated Anas:
The moon was cleft asunder into two parts.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 392:
Narrated Abdullah bin Masud:
The Prophet used to recite: "Fahal-min-Maddakir (then is there any that will receive admonition?")

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 393:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet used to recite: 'Is there any that remember? And a furious wind (plucking out men) as if they were uprooted stems of palm trees, then how terrible was My punishment and My warnings!' (54.20-21)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 394:
Narrated Abu 'Is-haq:
A man asked Al-Aswad, 'is it 'Fahal min-Muddakir' or'..Mudhdhakir?" Al Aswad replied, 'I have heard Abdullah bin Masud reciting it, 'Fahal-min Muddakir'; I too, heard the Prophet reciting it 'Fahal-min-Muddakir' with 'd'.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 395:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet recited: 'Fahal-min-Muddakir' "And Verily an abiding torment seized them early in the morning So, taste you My torment and My warnings' (54.38-39)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 396:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet recited: 'Fahal-min Muddakir': 'And verily, We have destroyed nations like unto you; then is there any that will receive admonition?' (54.51)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 397:
Narrated Abdullah:
I recited before the Prophet 'Fahal-min-Mudhdhakir'. The Prophet said, "It is Fahal-min Muddakir."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 398:
Narrated Abbas:
Allah's Messenger while in a tent on the day of the Battle of Badr, said, "O Allah! I request you (to fulfill) Your promise and contract! O Allah! If You wish that you will not be worshipped henceforth.." On that Abu Bakr held the Prophet by the hand and said, "That is enough, O Allah's Messenger You have appealed to your Lord too pressingly," while the Prophet was putting on his armor. So Allah's Messenger went out, reciting Their multitude will be put to flight, and they will show their backs.' (54.45)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 399:
Narrated Yusuf bin Mahik:
I was in the house of Aisha, the mother of the Believers. She said, "This revelation: "Nay, but the Hour is their appointed time (for their full recompense); and the Hour will be more previous and most bitter." (54.46) was revealed to Mohammed at Mecca while I was a playfull little girl."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 400:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
While in his tent on the day the Battle of Badr, the Prophet said, "O Allah! I request You (to fulfill) Your promise and contract. O Allah! It You wish that the Believers be destroyed). You will never be worshipped henceforth." On that, Abu Bakr held the Prophet by the hand and said, "That is enough, O Allah's Messenger! You have appealed to your Lord too pressingly" The Prophet was wearing his armor and then went out reciting: 'Their multitude will be put to flight and they will show their backs. Nay, but the Hour is their appointed time (for their full recompense), and the Hour will be more previous and most bitter.' (54.45-46)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 401:
Narrated Abdullah bin Qais:
Allah's Messenger said, "Two gardens, the utensils and the contents of which are of silver, and two other gardens, the utensils and contents of which are of gold. And nothing will prevent the people who will be in the Garden of Eden from seeing their Lord except the curtain of Majesty over His Face."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 402:
Narrated Abdullah bin Qais:
Allah's Messenger said, "In Paradise there is a pavilion made of a single hollow pearl sixty miles wide, in each corner of which there are wives who will not see those in the other corners; and the believers will visit and enjoy them. And there are two gardens, the utensils and contents of which are made of silver; and two other gardens, the utensils and contents of which are made of so-and-so (i.e. gold) and nothing will prevent the people staying in the Garden of Eden from seeing their Lord except the curtain of Majesty over His Face."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 403:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "In Paradise there is a tree which is so big that a rider can travel in its shade for one hundred years without passing it; and if you wish, you can recite: 'In shade long extended.' 56.30.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 404:
Narrated Said bin Jubair:
I asked Ibn Abbas about Surat Al-Tauba, and he said, "Surat Al-Tauba? It is exposure (of all the evils of the infidels and the hypocrites). And it continued revealing (that the oft-repeated expression): '...and of them ...and of them.' till they started thinking that none would be left unmentioned therein." I said, "What about) Surat Al-Anfal?" He replied, "Surat Al-Anfal was revealed in connection with the Badr Battle." I said, "(What about) Surat Al-Hashr?" He replied, "It was revealed in connection with Bani an-Nadir."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 405:
Narrated Said:
I asked Ibn Abbas about Surat Al-Hashr. He replied, "Say Surat An-Nadir."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 406:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
'Allah's Messenger burnt and cut down the palm trees of Bani An-Nadir which were at Al-Buwair (a place near Medina). There upon Allah revealed: 'What you (O Muslims) cut down of the palm trees (of the enemy) or you left them standing on their stems, it was by the leave of Allah, so that He might cover with shame the rebellious.' (59.5)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 407:
Narrated Umar:
The properties of Bam An-Nadir were among the booty that Allah gave to His Apostle such Booty were not obtained by any expedition on the part of Muslims, neither with cavalry, nor with camelry. So those properties were for Allah's Messenger only, and he used to provide thereof the yearly expenditure for his wives, and dedicate the rest of its revenues for purchasing arms and horses as war material to be used in Allah's Cause.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 408:
Narrated Alqama:
Abdullah (bin Masud) said. "Allah curses those ladies who practice tattooing and those who get themselves tattooed, and those ladies who remove the hair from their faces and those who make artificial spaces between their teeth in order to look more beautiful whereby they change Allah's creation." His saying reached a lady from Bani Asd called Um Yaqub who came (to Abdullah) and said, "I have come to know that you have cursed such-and-such (ladies)?" He replied, "Why should I not curse these whom Allah's Messenger has cursed and who are (cursed) in Allah's Book!" Um Yaqub said, "I have read the whole Koran, but I did not find in it what you say." He said, "Verily, if you have read it (i.e. the Koran), you have found it. Did you not read: 'And whatsoever the Apostle gives you take it and whatsoever he forbids you, you abstain (from it). (59.7) She replied, "Yes, I did," He said, "Verily, Allah's Messenger forbade such things." "She said, "But I see your wife doing these things?" He said, "Go and watch her." She went and watched her but could not see anything in support of her statement. On that he said, "If my wife was as you thought, I would not keep her in my company."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 409:
Narrated Abdullah (bin Mus'ud):
Allah's Messenger has cursed the lady who uses false hair.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 410:
Narrated Umar:
I recommend that my successor should take care of and secure the rights of the early emigrants; and I also advise my successor to be kind to the Ansar who had homes (in Medina) and had adopted the Faith, before the Prophet migrated to them, and to accept the good from their good ones and excuse their wrong doers.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 411:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A man came to Allah's Messenger and said, "O Allah's Messenger! I am suffering from fatigue and hunger." The Prophet sent (somebody) to his wives (to get something), but the messenger found nothing with them. Then Allah's Messenger said (to his companions). "Isn't there anybody who can entertain this man tonight so that Allah may be merciful to him?" An Ansari man got up and said, "I (will, entertain him), O Allah's Messenger!" So he went to his wife and said to her, "This is the guest of Allah's Messenger, so do not keep anything away from him." She said. "By Allah, I have nothing but the children's food." He said, "When the children ask for their dinner, put them to bed and put out the light; we shall not take our meals tonight," She did so. In the morning the Ansari man went to Allah's Messenger who said, "Allah was pleased with (or He bestowed His Mercy) on so-and-so and his wife (because of their good deed)." Then Allah revealed: 'But give them preference over themselves even though they were in need of that.' (59.9)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 412:
Narrated Ali:
Allah's Messenger sent me along with AzZubair and Al-Miqdad and said, "Proceed till you reach a place called Raudat-Khakh where there is a lady travelling in a howda on a camel. She has a letter. Take the letter from her." So we set out, and our horses ran at full pace till we reached Raudat Khakh, and behold, we saw the lady and said (to her), "Take out the letter!" She said, "I have no letter with me." We said, "Either you take out the letter or we will strip you of your clothes." So she took the letter out of her hair braid. We brought the letter to the Prophet and behold, it was addressed by Hatib bin Abi Balta'a to some pagans at Mecca, informing them of some of the affairs of the Prophet. The Prophet said, "What is this, O Hatib?" Hatib replied, "Do not be hasty with me, O Allah's Messenger! I am an Ansari man and do not belong to them (Quraish infidels) while the emigrants who were with you had their relatives who used to protect their families and properties at Mecca. So, to compensate for not having blood relation with them.' I intended to do them some favor so that they might protect my relatives (at Mecca), and I did not do this out of disbelief or an inclination to desert my religion." The Prophet then said (to his companions), "He (Hatib) has told you the truth." Umar said, "O Allah's Apostle! Allow me to chop his head off?" The Apostle said, "He is one of those who witnessed (fought in) the Battle of Badr, and what do you know, perhaps Allah looked upon the people of Badr (Badr warriors) and said, 'Do what you want as I have forgiven you.' " (Amr, a sub-narrator, said,: This Verse was revealed about him (Hatib): 'O you who believe! Take not My enemies and your enemies as friends or protectors.' (60.1)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 413:
Narrated Ali:
Sufyan was asked whether (the Verse): 'Take not My enemies and your enemies...' was revealed in connection with Hatib. Sufyan replied, "This occurs only in the narration of the people. I memorized the Hadith from Amr, not overlooking even a single letter thereof, and I do not know of anybody who remembered it by heart other than myself."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 414:
Narrated Urwa:
Aisha the wife of the Prophet, said, "Allah's Messenger used to examine the believing women who migrated to him in accordance with this Verse: 'O Prophet! When believing women come to you to take the oath of allegiance to you...

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Verily! Allah is Oft-Forgiving Most Merciful.' (60.12) Aisha said, "And if any of the believing women accepted the condition (assigned in the above-mentioned Verse), Allah's Messenger would say to her. "I have accepted your pledge of allegiance." "He would only say that, for, by Allah, his hand never touched, any lady during that pledge of allegiance. He did not receive their pledge except by saying, "I have accepted your pledge of allegiance for that."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 415:
Narrated Um Atiya:
We took the oath of allegiance to Allah's Messenger and he recited to us: 'They will not associate anything in worship with Allah,' and forbade us to bewail the dead. Thereupon a lady withdrew her hand (refrained from taking the oath of allegiance), and said, "But such-and-such lady lamented over one of my relatives, so I must reward (do the same over the dead relatives of) hers." The Prophet did not object to that, so she went (there) and returned to the Prophet so he accepted her pledge of allegiance.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 416:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Regarding the saying of Allah: 'And they will not disobey you in any just matter.' (60.12) That was one of the conditions which Allah imposed on The believing) women (who came to take the oath of allegiance to the Prophet).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 417:
Narrated 'Ubada bin As-Samit:
While we were with the Prophet, he said, "Will you swear to me the pledge of allegiance that you will not worship any thing besides Allah, will not commit illegal sexual intercourse, and will not steal?" Then he recited the Verse concerning the women. (Sufyan, the subnarrator, often said that the Prophet: added, "Whoever among you fulfills his pledge, will receive his reward from Allah, and whoever commits any of those sins and receives the legal punishment (in this life), his punishment will be an expiation for that sin; and whoever commits any of those sins and Allah screens him, then it is up to Allah to punish or forgive them."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 418:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
I witnessed the Id-al-Fitr prayer with Allah's Messenger , Abu Bakr, Umar and Uthman; and all of them offered it before delivering the sermon... and then delivered the sermon. Once the Prophet (after completing the prayer and the sermon) came down, as if I am now looking at him waving at the men with his hand to sit down, and walked through them till he, along with Bilal, reached (the rows of) the women. Then he recited: 'O Prophet! When believing women come to you to take the oath of allegiance that they will not worship anything other than Allah, will not steal, will not commit illegal sexual intercourse, will not kill their children, and will not utter slander, intentionally forging falsehood (by making illegal children belonging to their husbands)'....(60.12) Having finished, he said, 'Do you agree to that?" One lady, other than whom none replied the Prophet said, "Yes, O Allah's Messenger!" (The, sub-narrator, Al-Hasan did not know who the lady was.) Then the Prophet said to them: "Will you give alms?" Thereupon Bilal spread out his garment and the women started throwing big rings and small rings into Bilal's garment. (See Hadith No. 95 vol.2)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 419:
Narrated Jubair bin Mutim:
I heard Allah's Messenger saying, 'I have several names: I am Mohammed and I am Ahmad, and I am Al- Mahi with whom Allah obliterates Kufr (disbelief), and I am Al-Hashir (gatherer) at whose feet (i.e. behind whom) the people will be gathered (on the Day of Resurrection), and I am Al-Aqib (i.e. who succeeds the other prophets in bringing about good).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 420
Narrated Abu Huraira:
While we were sitting with the Prophet Surat Al-Jumu'a was revealed to him, and when the Verse, "And He (Allah) has sent him (Mohammed) also to other (Muslims).....' (62.3) was recited by the Prophet, I said, "Who are they, O Allah's Messenger?" The Prophet did not reply till I repeated my question thrice. At that time, Salman Al-Farisi was with us. So Allah's Messenger put his hand on Salman, saying, "If Faith were at (the place of) Ath-Thuraiya (pleiades, the highest star), even then (some men or man from these people (i.e. Salman's folk) would attain it."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 421:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said. Then some men from these people would attain it."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 422:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
A caravan of merchandise arrived at Medina on a Friday while we were with the Prophet All the people left (the Prophet and headed for the caravan) except twelve persons. Then Allah revealed:-- 'But when they see some bargain or some amusement they disperse headlong to it.' ..(62.11)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 423:
Narrated Zaid bin Arqam:
While I was taking part in a Ghazwa. I heard Abdullah bin Ubai (bin Abi Salul) saying. "Don't spend on those who are with Allah's Messenger, that they may disperse and go away from him. If we return (to Medina), surely, the more honorable will expel the meaner amongst them." I reported that (saying) to my uncle or to Umar who, in his turn, informed the Prophet of it. The Prophet called me and I narrated to him the whole story. Then Allah's Messenger sent for Abdullah bin Ubai and his companions, and they took an oath that they did not say that. So Allah's Messenger disbelieved my saying and believed his. I was distressed as I never was before. I stayed at home and my uncle said to me. "You just wanted Allah's Messenger to disbelieve your statement and hate you." So Allah revealed (the Sura beginning with) 'When the hypocrites come to you.' (63.1) The Prophet then sent for me and recited it and said, "O Zaid! Allah confirmed your statement."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 424:
Narrated Zaid bin Arqam:
I was with my uncle and I heard Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul, saying, "Don't spend on those who are with Allah's Messenger that they may disperse and go away from him." He also said, "If we return to Medina, surely, the more honorable will expel the meaner." So I informed my uncle of that and then my uncle informed Allah's Messenger thereof. Allah's Messenger sent for Abdullah bin Ubai and his companions. They swore that they did not say anything of that sort Allah's Messenger deemed their statement true and rejected mine. Thereof I became as distressed as I have never been before, and stayed at home. Then Allah revealed (Surat Al-Munafiqin): 'When the hypocrites come to you.....(63.1) They are the ones who say: Spend nothing on those who are with Allah's Messenger ..(63.7) Verily the more honorable will expel therefrom the meaner..' (63.7-8) Allah's Messenger sent for me and recited that Sura for me and said, "Allah has confirmed your statement." 'That is because they believed, then disbelieved, so a seal was set on their hearts, therefore they understand not.' (63.3)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 425:
Narrated Zaid bin Arqam:
When Abdullah bin Ubai said, "Do not spend on those who are with Allah's Messenger," and also said, "If we return to Medina," I informed the Prophet of his saying. The Ansar blamed me for that, and Abdullah bin Ubai swore that he did not say. I returned to my house and slept. Allah's Messenger then called me and I went to him. He said, "Allah has confirmed your statement." The Verse: "They are the one who say: Spend nothing.....(63.7) was revealed.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 426:
Narrated Zaid bin Arqam:
We went out with the Prophet : on a journey and the people suffered from lack of provisions. So Abdullah bin Ubai said to his companions, "Don't spend on those who are with Allah's Messenger, that they may disperse and go away from him." He also said, "If we return to Medina, surely, the more honorable will expel therefrom the meaner. So I went to the Prophet and informed him of that. He sent for Abdullah bin Ubai and asked him, but Abdullah bin Ubai swore that he did not say so. The people said, "Zaid told a lie to 'Allah's Messenger." What they said distressed me very much. Later Allah revealed the confirmation of my statement in his saying:-- '(When the hypocrites come to you.' (63.1) So the Prophet called them that they might ask Allah to forgive them, but they turned their heads aside. (Concerning Allah's saying: 'Pieces of wood propped up,' Zaid said; They were the most handsome men.)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 427:
Narrated Zaid bin Arqam:
While I was with my uncle, I heard Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul saying, "Do not spend on those who are with Allah's Messenger, that they may disperse and go away (from him). And if we return to Medina, surely, the more honorable will expel therefrom the meaner. "I mentioned that to my uncle who, in turn, mentioned it to the Prophet. The Prophet called me and I told him about that. Then he sent for Abdullah bin Ubai and his companions, and they swore that they did not say so. The Prophet disbelieved my statement and believed theirs. I was distressed as I have never been before, and I remained in my house. My uncle said to me, "You just wanted the Prophet to consider you a liar and hate you." Then Allah revealed:-- 'When the hypocrites come to you, they say: 'We bear witness that you are indeed the Apostle of Allah." (63.1) So the Prophet sent for me and recited it and said, "Allah has confirmed your statement."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 428:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
We were in a Ghazwa (Sufyan once said, in an army) and a man from the emigrants kicked an Ansari man (on the buttocks with his foot). The Ansari man said, "O the Ansar! (Help!)" and the emigrant said. "O the emigrants! (Help!) Allah's Messenger heard that and said, "What is this call for, which is characteristic of the period of ignorance?" They said, "O Allah's Messenger! A man from the emigrants kicked one of the Ansar (on the buttocks with his foot)." Allah's Messenger said, "Leave it (that call) as is a detestable thing." Abdullah bin Ubai heard that and said, 'Have the (the emigrants) done so? By Allah, if we return Medina, surely, the more honorable will expel therefrom the meaner." When this statement reached the Prophet. Umar got up an, said, "O Allah's Messenger! Let me chop off the head of this hypocrite (Abdullah bin Ubai)!" The Prophet said "Leave him, lest the people say that Mohammed kills his companions." The Ansar were then more in number than the emigrants when the latter came to Medina, but later on the emigrant increased.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 429:
Narrated Musa bin Uqba:
Abdullah bin Al-Fadl told me that Anas bin Malik said, "I was much grieve over those who had been killed in the Battle of Al-Harra. When Zaid bin Arqarr heard of my intense grief (over the killed Ansar), he wrote a letter to me saying that he heard Allah's Messenger saying, O Allah! Forgive the Ansar and the Ansar children. The subnarrator, Ibn Al-Fadl, is not sure whether the Prophet also said, And their grand-children." Some of those who were present, asked Anas (about Zaid). He said, "He (Zaid) is the one about whom Allah's Messenger said, 'He is the one whose sound hearing Allah testified.'

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 430:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
We were in a Ghazwa and a man from the emigrants kicked an Ansari (on the buttocks with his foot). The Ansari man said, "O the Ansari! (Help!)" The emigrant said, "O the emigrants! (Help)." When Allah's Messenger heard that, he said, "What is that?" They said, "A man from the emigrants kicked a man from the Ansar (on the buttocks his foot). On that the Ansar said, 'O the Ansar!" and the emigrant said, 'O the emigrants!" The Prophet said' "Leave it (that call) for it Is a detestable thing." The number of Ansar was larger (than that of the emigrants) at the time when the Prophet came to Medina, but later the number of emigrants increased. Abdullah bin Ubai said, "Have they, (the emigrants) done so? By Allah, if we return to Medina, surely, the more honorable will expel therefrom the meaner," Umar bin Al-Khattab said, "O Allah's Messenger! Let me chop off the head of this hypocrite!" The Prophet said, "Leave him, lest the people say Mohammed kills his companions:"

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 431:
Narrated Salim:
That Abdullah bin Umar told him that he had divorced his wife while she was in her menses so Umar informed Allah's Messenger of that. Allah's Messenger became very angry at that and said, "(Ibn Umar must return her to his house and keep her as his wife till she becomes clean and then menstruates and becomes clean again, whereupon, if he wishes to divorce her, he may do so while she is still clean and before having any sexual relations with her, for that is the legally prescribed period for divorce as Allah has ordered."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 432:
Narrated Abu Salama:
A man came to Ibn Abbas while Abu Huraira was sitting with him and said, "Give me your verdict regarding a lady who delivered a baby forty days after the death of her husband." Ibn Abbas said, "This indicates the end of one of the two prescribed periods." I said "For those who are pregnant, their prescribed period is until they deliver their burdens." Abu Huraira said, I agree with my cousin (Abu Salama)." Then Ibn Abbas sent his slave, Kuraib to Um Salama to ask her (regarding this matter). She replied. "The husband of Subai'a al Aslamiya was killed while she was pregnant, and she delivered a baby forty days after his death. Then her hand was asked in marriage and Allah's Messenger married her (to somebody). Abu As-Sanabil was one of those who asked for her hand in marriage".

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 433:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
If someone says to his wife, "You are unlawful to me." he must make an expiation (for his oath). Ibn Abbas added: There is for you in Allah's Messenger, an excellent example to follow.

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Volume 6, Book 60, Number 434:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Messenger used to drink honey in the house of Zainab, the daughter of Jahsh, and would stay there with her. So Hafsa and I agreed secretly that, if he come to either of us, she would say to him. "It seems you have eaten Maghafir (a kind of bad-smelling resin), for I smell in you the smell of Maghafir," (We did so) and he replied. "No, but I was drinking honey in the house of Zainab, the daughter of Jahsh, and I shall never take it again. I have taken an oath as to that, and you should not tell anybody about it."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 435:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
For the whole year I had the desire to ask Umar bin Al-Khattab regarding the explanation of a Verse (in Surat Al-Tahrim) but I could not ask him because I respected him very much. When he went to perform the Hajj, I too went along with him. On our return, while we were still on the way home. Umar went aside to answer the call of nature by the Arak trees. I waited till he finished and then I proceeded with him and asked him. "O chief of the Believers! Who were the two wives of the Prophet who aided one another against him?" He said, "They were Hafsa and Aisha." Then I said to him, "By Allah, I wanted to ask you about this a year ago, but I could not do so owing to my respect for you." Umar said, "Do not refrain from asking me. If you think that I have knowledge (about a certain matter), ask me; and if I know (something about it), I will tell you." Then Umar added, "By Allah, in the Pre-lslamic Period of Ignorance we did not pay attention to women until Allah revealed regarding them what He revealed regarding them and assigned for them what He has assigned. Once while I was thinking over a certain matter, my wife said, "I recommend that you do so-and-so." I said to her, "What have you got to do with the is matter? Why do you poke your nose in a matter which I want to see fulfilled.?" She said, How strange you are, O son of Al-Khattab! You don't want to be argued with whereas your daughter, Hafsa surely, argues with Allah's Messenger so much that he remains angry for a full day!" Umar then reported; how he at once put on his outer garment and went to Hafsa and said to her, "O my daughter! Do you argue with Allah's Messenger so that he remains angry the whole day?" H. afsa said, "By Allah, we argue with him." Umar said, "Know that I warn you of Allah's punishment and the anger of Allah's Messenger . . . O my daughter! Don't be betrayed by the one who is proud of her beauty because of the love of Allah's Messenger for her (i.e. Aisha)." Umar addled, "Then I went out to Um Salama's house who was one of my relatives, and I talked to her. She said, O son of Al-Khattab! It is rather astonishing that you interfere in everything; you even want to interfere between Allah's Apostle and his wives!' By Allah, by her talk she influenced me so much that I lost some of my anger. I left her (and went home). At that time I had a friend from the Ansar who used to bring news (from the Prophet) in case of my absence, and I used to bring him the news if he was absent. In those days we were afraid of one of the kings of Ghassan tribe. We heard that he intended to move and attack us, so fear filled our hearts because of that. (One day) my Ansari friend unexpectedly knocked at my door, and said, "Open Open!' I said, 'Has the king of Ghassan come?' He said, 'No, but something worse; Allah's Messenger has isolated himself from his wives.' I said, 'Let the nose of Aisha and Hafsa be stuck to dust (i.e. humiliated)!' Then I put on my clothes and went to Allah's Messenger's residence, and behold, he was staying in an upper room of his to which he ascended by a ladder, and a black slave of Allah's Messenger was (sitting) on the first step. I said to him, 'Say (to the Prophet) Umar bin Al-Khattab is here.' Then the Prophet admitted me and I narrated the story to Allah's Messenger. When I reached the story of Um Salama, Allah's Messenger smiled while he was lying on a mat made of palm tree leaves with nothing between him and the mat. Underneath his head there was a leather pillow stuffed with palm fibres, and leaves of a saut tree were piled at his feet, and above his head hung a few water skins. On seeing the marks of the mat imprinted on his side, I wept. He said.' 'Why are you weeping?' I replied, "O Allah's Messenger! Caesar and Khosrau are leading the life (i.e. Luxurious life) while you, Allah's Messenger though you are, is living in destitute". The Prophet then replied. 'Won't you be satisfied that they enjoy this world and we the Hereafter?' "

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 436:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
I intended to ask Umar so I said, "Who were those two ladies who tried to back each other against the Prophet?" I hardly finished my speech when he said, They were Aisha and Hafsa."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 437:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
I intended to ask Umar about those two ladies who back each other against 'Allah's Messenger . For one year I was seeking the opportunity to ask this question, but in vain, until once when I accompanied him for Hajj. While we were in Zahran, Umar went to answer the call of nature and told me to follow him with some water for ablution. So I followed him with a container of water and started pouring water for him. I found it a good opportunity to ask him, so I said, "O chief of the Believers! Who were those two ladies who had backed each other (against the Prophet)?" Before I could complete my question, he replied, "They were Aisha and Hafsa."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 438:
Narrated Umar:
The wives of the Prophet out of their jealousy, backed each other against the Prophet, so I said to them, "It may be, if he divorced you all, that Allah will give him, instead of you wives better than you." So this Verse was revealed. (66.5)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 439:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
(regarding the Verse):-- 'Cruel after all that, base-born (of illegitimate birth).' (68.13) It was revealed in connection with a man from Quraish who had a notable sign (Zanamah) similar to the notable sign which usually-hung on the neck of a sheep (to recognize it).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 440:
Narrated Haritha bin Wahb Al-Khuzai:
I heard the Prophet saying. "May I tell you of the people of Paradise? Every weak and poor obscure person whom the people look down upon but his oath is fulfilled by Allah when he takes an oath to do something. And may I inform you of the people of the Hell-Fire? They are all those violent, arrogant and stubborn people."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 441:
Narrated Abu Said:
I heard the Prophet saying, "Allah will bring forth the severest Hour, and then all the Believers, men and women, will prostrate themselves before Him, but there will remain those who used to prostrate in the world for showing off and for gaining good reputation. Such people will try to prostrate (on the Day of Judgement) but their back swill be as stiff as if it is one bone (a single vertebra).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 442:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
All the idols which were worshiped by the people of Noah were worshiped by the Arabs later on. As for the idol Wadd, it was worshiped by the tribe of Kalb at Daumat-al-Jandal; Suwa was the idol of (the tribe of) Hudhail; Yaghouth was worshiped by (the tribe of) Murad and then by Bani Ghutaif at Al-Jurf near Saba; Yauq was the idol of Hamdan, and Nasr was the idol of Himyar, the branch of Dhi-al-Kala. The names (of the idols) formerly belonged to some pious men of the people of Noah, and when they died Satan inspired their people to (prepare and place idols at the places where they used to sit, and to call those idols by their names. The people did so, but the idols were not worshiped till those people (who initiated them) had died and the origin of the idols had become obscure, whereupon people began worshiping them.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 443:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Messenger went out along with a group of his companions towards Ukaz Market. At that time something intervened between the devils and the news of the Heaven, and flames were sent down upon them, so the devils returned. Their fellow-devils said, "What is wrong with you? " They said, "Something has intervened between us and the news of the Heaven, and fires (flames) have been shot at us." Their fellow-devils said, "Nothing has intervened between you and the news of the Heaven, but an important event has happened. Therefore, travel all over the world, east and west, and try to find out what has happened." And so they set out and travelled all over the world, east and west, looking for that thing which intervened between them and the news of the Heaven. Those of the devils who had set out towards Tihama, went to Allah's Messenger at Nakhla (a place between Mecca and Taif) while he was on his way to Ukaz Market. (They met him) while he was offering the Fajr prayer with his companions. When they heard the Holy Koran being recited (by Allah's Messenger), they listened to it and said (to each other). This is the thing which has intervened between you and the news of the Heavens." Then they returned to their people and said, "O our people! We have really heard a wonderful recital (Koran). It gives guidance to the right, and we have believed therein. We shall not join in worship, anybody with our Lord." (See 72.1-2) Then Allah revealed to His Prophet (Surat al- Jinn): 'Say: It has been revealed to me that a group (3 to 9) of Jinns listened (to the Koran).' (72.1) The statement of the Jinns was revealed to him .

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 444:
Narrated Yahya bin Abi Kathir:
I asked Aba Salama bin Abdur-Rahman about the first Sura revealed of the Koran. He replied "O you, wrapped-up (i.e. Al Muddaththir)." I said, "They say it was, 'Read, in the Name of your Lord Who created,' (i.e. Surat Al-Alaq (the Clot)." On that, Abu Salama said, "I asked Jabir bin Abdullah about that, saying the same as you have said, whereupon he said, 'I will not tell you except what Allah's Messenger had told us. Allah's Messenger said, "I was in seclusion in the cave of Hiram', and after I completed the limited period of my seclusion. I came down (from the cave) and heard a voice calling me. I looked to my right, but saw nothing. Then I looked up and saw something. So I went to Khadija (the Prophet's wife) and told her to wrap me up and pour cold water on me. So they wrapped me up and poured cold water on me." Then, 'O you, (Mohammed) wrapped up! Arise and warn,' (Surat Al Muddaththir) was revealed." (74.1)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 445:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "I was in a seclusion in the cave of Hira....."(similar to the narration related by Ali bin Al-Mubarak, 444 above).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 446:
Narrated Yahya:
I asked Aba Salama, "Which Sura of the Koran was revealed first?" He replied, "O you, wrapped-up' (Al-Muddaththir)." I said, "I have been informed that it was, 'Read, in the Name of your Lord who created..... (i.e. Surat Al-Alaq).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 447:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
I heard the Prophet describing the period of pause of the Divine Inspiration. He said in his talk, "While I was walking, I heard voices from the sky. I looked up, and behold ! I saw the same Angel who came to me in the cave of Hira' sitting on a chair between the sky and the earth. I was too much afraid of him (so I returned to my house) and said, 'Fold me up in garments!' They wrapped me up. Then Allah revealed: 'O you wrapped...and desert the idols before the prayer became compulsory.' Rujz means idols.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 448:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
That he heard Allah's Messenger describing the period of pause of the Divine Inspiration, and in his description he said, "While I was walking I heard a voice from the sky. I looked up towards the sky, and behold! I saw the same Angel who came to me in the Cave of Hira', sitting on a chair between the sky and the earth. I was so terrified by him that I fell down on the ground. Then I went to my wife and said, 'Wrap me in garments! Wrap me in garments!' They wrapped me, and then Allah revealed: "O you, (Mohammed) wrapped-up! Arise and warn...and desert the idols." (74.1-5) Abu Salama said....Rujz means idols." After that, the Divine Inspiration started coming more frequently and regularly.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 449:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet used to move his tongue when the divine Inspiration was being revealed to him. (Sufyan, a subnarrator, demonstrated (how the Prophet used to move his lips) and added. "In order to memorize it." So Allah revealed: "Move not your tongue concerning (the Koran) to make haste therewith." (75.16)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 450:
Narrated Musa bin Abi Aisha:
That he asked Said bin Jubair regarding (the statement of Allah). 'Move not your tongue concerning (the Koran) to make haste therewith.' He said, "Ibn Abbas said that the Prophet used to move his lips when the Divine Inspiration was being revealed to him. So the Prophet was ordered not to move his tongue, which he used to do, lest some words should escape his memory. 'It is for Us to collect it' means, We will collect it in your chest;' and its recitation' means, We will make you recite it. 'But when We recite it (i.e. when it is revealed to you), follow its recital; it is for Us to explain it and make it clear,' (i.e. We will explain it through your tongue).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 451:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
(as regards) Allah's Statement: "Move not your tongue concerning (the Koran) to make haste therewith." (75.16) When Gabriel revealed the Divine Inspiration in Allah's Messenger , he (Allah's Messenger) moved his tongue and lips, and that state used to be very hard for him, and that movement indicated that revelation was taking place. So Allah revealed in Surat Al-Qiyama which begins: 'I do swear by the Day of Resurrection...' (75) the Verses:-- 'Move not your tongue concerning (the Koran) to make haste therewith. It is for Us to collect it (Koran) in your mind, and give you

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the ability to recite it by heart. (75.16-17) Ibn Abbas added: It is for Us to collect it (Koran) (in your mind), and give you the ability to recite it by heart means, "When We reveal it, listen. Then it is for Us to explain it," means, 'It is for us to explain it through your tongue.' So whenever Gabriel came to Allah's Messenger ' he would keep quiet (and listen), and when the Angel left, the Prophet would recite that revelation as Allah promised him.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 452:
Narrated Abdullah:
We were with the Prophet when Surat Wal-Mursalat was revealed to him. While we were receiving it from his mouth, a snake suddenly came and we ran to kill it, but it outstripped us and entered its hole quickly. Allah's le said, "It has escaped your evil, and you too, have escaped its evil."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 453:
Narrated Abdullah:
(Similarly--as no. 452 above.)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 454:
Narrated Abdullah:
While we were with Allah's Messenger in a cave, Surat "Wal Mursalat" was revealed to him and we received it directly from his mouth as soon as he had received the revelation. Suddenly a snake came out and Allah's Messenger said, "Get at it and kill it!" We ran to kill it but it outstripped us. Allah's Apostle said, "It has escaped your evil, as you too, have escaped its."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 455:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
(as regards the explanation of Hadith 454). 'Indeed, it (Hell) throws about sparks (huge) as Forts.' We used to collect wood in the form of logs, three cubits long or shorter. for heating purposes in winter., and we used to call such wood, the Qasr.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 456:
Narrated Abdullah:
While we were with the Prophet in a cave, Surat wal-Mursalat was revealed to him and he recited it, and I heard it directly from his mouth as soon as he recited its revelation. Suddenly a snake sprang at us, and the Prophet said, "Kill it!" We ran to kill it but it escaped quickly. The Prophet said. "It has escaped your evil, and you too have escaped its evil."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 457:
Narrated Al--Amash:
Abu Huraira said, "Allah's Messenger said, 'Between the two sounds of the trumpet, there will be forty." Somebody asked Abu Huraira, "Forty days?" But he refused to reply. Then he asked, "Forty months?" He refused to reply. Then he asked, "Forty years?" Again, he refused to reply. Abu Huraira added. "Then (after this period) Allah will send water from the sky and then the dead bodies will grow like vegetation grows, There is nothing of the human body that does not decay except one bone; that is the little bone at the end of the coccyx of which the human body will be recreated on the Day of Resurrection." (See Hadith No. 338)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 458:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
I saw Allah's Messenger pointing with his index and middle fingers, saying. "The time of my Advent and the Hour are like these two fingers." The Great Catastrophe will overwhelm everything.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 459:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said, "Such a person as recites the Koran and masters it by heart, will be with the noble righteous scribes (in Heaven). And such a person exerts himself to learn the Koran by heart, and recites it with great difficulty, will have a double reward."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 460:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
The Prophet said, "On the Day when all mankind will stand before the Lord of the Worlds, some of them will be enveloped in their sweat up to the middle of their ears."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 461:
Narrated Aisha:
I heard the Prophet saying . . .

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 462:
Narrated Aisha:
I heard the Prophet saying . . .

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 463:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Messenger said," (On the Day of Resurrection) any one whose account will be taken will be ruined (i.e. go to Hell)." I said, "O Allah's Messenger! May Allah make me be sacrificed for you. Doesn't Allah say: "Then as for him who will be given his record in his right hand, he surely will receive an easy reckoning.?" (84.7-8) He replied, "That is only the presentation of the accounts; but he whose record is questioned, will be ruined."
(This hadith is also narrated through two other chains)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 464:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
(as regards the Verse):--'You shall surely travel from stage to stage (in this life and in the Hereafter).' (It means) from one state to another. That concerns your Prophet.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 465:
Narrated Al-Bara:
The first of the companions of the Prophet who came to us (in Medina), were Musab bin Umar and Ibn Um Maktum, and they started teaching us the Koran. Then came Ammar, Bilal and Sad. Afterwards Umar bin Al-Kkattab came along with a batch of twenty (men): and after that the Prophet came. I never saw the people of Medina so pleased with anything as they were with his arrival, so that even the little boys and girls were saying, "This is Allah's Messenger who has come." He (the Prophet) did not come (to Medina) till I had learnt Surat Al-Ala and also other similar Suras.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 466:
Narrated Abdullah bin Zama:
That he heard the Prophet delivering a sermon, and he mentioned the shecamel and the one who hamstrung it. Allah's Messenger recited:-- 'When, the most wicked man among them went forth (to hamstrung the she-camel).' (91.12.) Then he said, "A tough man whose equal was rare and who enjoyed the protection of his people, like Abi Zama went forth to (hamstrung) it." The Prophet then mentioned about the women (in his sermon). "It is not wise for anyone of you to lash his wife like a slave, for he might sleep with her the same evening." Then he advised them not to laugh when somebody breaks wind and said, "Why should anybody laugh at what he himself does?"

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 467:
Narrated Alqama:
I went to Sham with a group of the companions of Abdullah (bin Masud). Abu Ad-Darda' heard of our arrival so he came to us and said, "Is there anybody among you who can recite (Koran)" We replied in the affirmative. Then he asked, "Who is the best reciter?" They pointed at me. Then he told me to recite, so I recited the verse:-- 'By the night as it envelops 'By the day as it appears in brightness; By (Him Who created) male and the female.' (92.1-3) Abu Ad-Darda' then said to me, "Did you hear it (like this) from the mouth of your friend (Abdullah bin Masud)?" I said, "Yes." He said, "I too, heard it (like this) from the mouth of the Prophet, but these people do not consider this recitation as the correct one."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 468:
Narrated Ibrahim:
The companions of Abdullah (bin Masud) came to Abu Darda', (and before they arrived at his home), he looked for them and found them. Then he asked them,: 'Who among you can recite (Koran) as Abdullah recites it?" They replied, "All of us." He asked, "Who among you knows it by heart?" They pointed at 'Alqama. Then he asked Alqama. "How did you hear Abdullah bin Masud reciting Surat Al-Lail (The Night)?" Alqama recited: 'By the male and the female.' Abu Ad-Darda said, "I testify that I heard me Prophet reciting it likewise, but these people want me to recite it:-- 'And by Him Who created male and female.' but by Allah, I will not follow them."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 469:
Narrated Ali:
We were in the company of the Prophet in a funeral procession at Baqi Al-Gharqad. He said, "There is none of you but has his place written for him in Paradise or in the Hell- Fire." They said, "O Allah's Apostle! Shall we depend (on this fact and give up work)?" He said, "Carry on doing (good deeds), for every body will find it easy to do (what will lead him to his destined place)." Then he recited: 'As for him who gives (in charity) and keeps his duty to Allah, and believes in the Best reward from Allah (i.e. Allah will compensate him for what he will spend in Allah's way). So, We will make smooth for him the path of ease. But he who is a greedy miser....for him, the path for evil.' (92.5-10)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 470:
Narrated Abu Abdur-Rahman:
Ali said, "We were sitting with the Prophet," (He then mentioned the Hadith above (469).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 471:
Narrated Ali:
While the Prophet was in a funeral procession, he took a small stick and started scraping the earth with it and said, "There is none among you but has his place written for him, either in the Hell Fire or in Paradise." They (the people) said, "Allah's Messenger! Shall we depend on this (and leave work)?" He replied. "Carry on doing (good deeds), for everybody will find easy (to do) such deeds as will lead him to his destined place." The Prophet then recited:-- 'As for him who gives (in charity) and keeps his duty to Allah, and believes in the Best Reward.'.....(92.5-10)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 472:
Narrated Ali:
We were in the company of the Prophet and he said, "There is none among you but has his place written for him, either in Paradise or in the Hell-Fire." We said, "O Allah's Messenger! Shall we depend (on this fact and give up work)?" He replied, "No! Carry on doing good deeds, for everybody will find easy (to do) such deeds as will lead him to his destined place." Then the Prophet recited: 'As for him who gives (in charity) and keeps his duty to Allah, and believes in the Best reward. We will make smooth for him the path of ease....the path for evil.' (92.5-10)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 473:
Narrated Ali:
While we were in a funeral procession in Baqi Al-Gharqad, Allah's Messenger came and sat down, and we sat around him. He had a small stick in his hand and he bent his head and started scraping the ground with it. He then said, "There is none among you, and no created soul but has his place written for him either in Paradise or in the Hell-Fire, and also has his happy or miserable fate (in the Hereafter) written for him." A man said, "O Allah's Messenger! Shall we depend upon what is written for us and give up doing (good) deeds? For whoever among us is destined to be fortunate (in the Hereafter), will join the fortunate peoples and whoever among us is destined to be miserable will do such deeds as are characteristic of the people who are destined to misery." The Prophet said, "Those who are destined to be happy (in the Hereafter) will find it easy and pleasant to do the deeds characteristic of those destined to happiness, while those who are to be among the miserable (in the Hereafter), will find it easy to do the deeds characteristic of those destined to misery." Then he recited: 'As for him who gives (in charity) and keeps his duty to Allah and believes in the Best reward from Allah, We will make smooth for him the path of ease. But he who is a greedy miser and thinks himself self sufficient, and gives the lie to the Best reward from Allah we will make smooth for him the path for evil.' (92.5-10)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 474:
Narrated Ali:
While the Prophet was in a funeral procession. he picked up something and started scraping the ground with it, and said, "There is none among you but has his place written for him either in the Hell Fire or in Paradise." They said, "O Allah's Messenger! Shall we not depend upon what has been written for us and give up deeds? He said, "Carry on doing (good) deeds, for everybody will find easy to do such deeds as will lead him to his destined place for which he has been created. So he who is destined to be among the happy (in the Hereafter), will find it easy to do the deeds characteristic of such people, while he who is destined to be among the miserable ones, will find it easy to do the deeds characteristic of such people." Then he recited: 'As for him who gives (in charity) and fears Allah, and believes in the best....' (92.5-10)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 475:
Narrated Jundub bin Sufyan:
Once Allah's Messenger became sick and could not offer his night prayer (Tahajjud) for two or three nights. Then a lady (the wife of Abu Lahab) came and said, "O Mohammed! I think that your Satan has forsaken you, for I have not seen him with you for two or three nights!" On that Allah revealed: 'By the fore-noon, and by the night when it darkens, your Lord (O Mohammed) has neither forsaken you, nor hated you.' (93.1-3)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 476:
Narrated Jundub Al-Bajali:
A lady said, "O Allah's Messenger! I see that your friend has delayed. (in conveying Koran) to you." So there was revealed: 'Your Lord (O Mohammed) has neither forsaken you, not hated you.' (93.1-3)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 477:
Narrated Al-Bara:
While the Prophet was on a journey, he recited Surat at-Tini waz-Zaituni (95) in one of the first two rakat of the Isha prayer.

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Volume 6, Book 60, Number 478:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) The commencement (of the Divine Inspiration) to Allah's Messenger was in the form of true dreams in his sleep, for he never had a dream but it turned out to be true and clear as the bright daylight. Then he began to like seclusions, so he used to go in seclusion in the cave of Hira where he used to worship Allah continuously for many nights before going back to his family to take the necessary provision (of food) for the stay. He come back to (his wife) Khadija again to take his provision (of food) likewise, till one day he received the Guidance while he was in the cave of Hira. An Angel came to him and asked him to read. Allah's Messenger replied, "I do not know how to read." The Prophet added, "Then the Angel held me (forcibly) and pressed me so hard that I felt distressed. Then he released me and again asked me to read, and I replied, 'I do not know how to read.' Thereupon he held me again and pressed me for the second time till I felt distressed. He then released me and asked me to read, but again I replied. 'I do not know how to read.' Thereupon he held me for the third time and pressed me till I got distressed, and then he released me and said, 'Read, in the Name of your Lord Who has created (all that exists), has created man out of a clot, Read! And your Lord is the Most Generous. Who has taught (the writing) by the pen, has taught man that which he knew not." (96.1-5). Then Allah's Messenger returned with that experience; and the muscles between his neck and shoulders were trembling till he came upon Khadija (his wife) and said, "Cover me!" They covered him, and when the state of fear was over, he said to Khadija, "O Khadija! What is wrong with me? I was afraid that something bad might happen to me." Then he told her the story. Khadija said, "Nay! But receive the good tidings! By Allah, Allah will never disgrace you, for by Allah, you keep good relations with your Kith and kin, speak the truth, help the poor and the destitute, entertain your guests generously and assist those who are stricken with calamities." Khadija then took him to Waraqa bin Naufil, the son of Khadija's paternal uncle. Waraqa had been converted to Christianity in the Pre-lslamic Period and used to write Arabic and write of the Gospel in Arabic as much as Allah wished him to write. He was an old man and had lost his eyesight. Khadija said (to Waraqa), "O my cousin! Listen to what your nephew is going to say." Waraqa said, "O my nephew! What have you seen?" The Prophet then described whatever he had seen. Waraqa said, "This is the same Angel (Gabriel) who was sent to Moses. I wish I were young." He added some other statement. Allah's Messenger asked, "Will these people drive me out?" Waraqa said, "Yes, for nobody brought the like of what you have brought, but was treated with hostility. If I were to remain alive till your day (when you start preaching). then I would support you strongly." But a short while later Waraqa died and the Divine Inspiration was paused (stopped) for a while so that Allah's Messenger was very much grieved.
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah: While Allah's Messenger was talking about the period of pause in revelation. he said in his narration. "Once while I was walking, all of a sudden I heard a voice from the sky. I looked up and saw to my surprise, the same Angel as had visited me in the cave of Hira.' He was sitting on a chair between the sky and the earth. I got afraid of him and came back home and said, Wrap me! Wrap me!" So they covered him and then Allah revealed: 'O you, wrapped up! Arise and warn and your Lord magnify, and your garments purify and dessert the idols.' (74.1-5) Abu Salama said, "(Rijz) are the idols which the people of the Pre-lslamic period used to worship." After this the revelation started coming frequently and regularly.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 479:
Narrated Aisha:
The commencement of the Divine Inspiration to Allah's Messenger was in the form of true dreams. The Angel came to him and said, "Read, in the Name of your Lord Who has created (all that exists), has created man a clot. Read! And your Lord is Most Generous" ..(96.1,2,3)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 480:
Narrated Aisha:
The commencement of (the Divine Inspirations to) Allah's Messenger was in the form of true dreams. The Angel came to him and said, "Read! In the Name of your Lord Who has created all exists), has created man from a clot. Read! And your Lord is Most Generous, Who has taught (the writing) by the pen. (96.1-4)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 481:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet returned to Khadija and said, "Wrap me! Wrap me!" (Then the sub-narrator narrated the rest of the narration.)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 482:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Abu Jahl said, "If I see Mohammed praying at the Kaba, I will tread on his neck." When the Prophet heard of that, he said, "If he does so, the Angels will snatch him away."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 483:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said to Ubai (bin Kab). "Allah has ordered me to recite to you:--'Those who disbelieve among the people of the Scripture and among the idolators are not going to stop (from their disbelief.') (Sura 98) Ubai said, "Did Allah mention me by name?" The Prophet said, "Yes." On that, Ubai wept.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 484:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said to Ubai, "Allah has ordered me recite Koran to you." Ubai asked, "Did Allah mention me by name to you?" The Prophet said, "Allah has mentioned your name to me." On that Ubai started weeping. (The sub-narrator) Qatada added: I have been informed that the Prophet recited: 'Those who disbelieve among the people of the Scripture," ...to Ubai.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 485:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Prophet said to Ubai bin Kab, "Allah has ordered me to recite Koran to you." Ubai said, "Did Allah mention me by name to you?" The Prophet said, "Yes." Ubai said, "Have I been mentioned by the Lord of the Worlds?" The Prophet said, "Yes." Then Ubai burst into tears.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 486:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Messenger said, " Horses are kept for one of three purposes: A man may keep them (for Allah's Cause) to receive a reward in the Hereafter; another may keep them as a means of protection; and a third may keep them to be a burden for him. As for the man for whom the horse is a source of reward, he is the one who ties it for Allah's Cause, and he ties it with a long rope in a pasture or a garden, then, whatever it eats or drinks in that pasture or garden will be added to his good deeds. And if it breaks its rope and jumps over one or two hills, then, for all its footsteps and its manure, good deeds will be written for him. And if it passes by a river and drinks of its water though its owner had no intention to water it from that river, even then he will have good deeds written for him. So that horse will be (a source of) reward for such a man. If a man ties a horse for earning his livelihood and abstaining from asking others for help and he does not forget Allah's right, i.e. pays its Zakat and gives it to be used in Allah's Cause, then that horse will be a means of protection for him. But if a man ties it out of pride and to show off and to excite others, then that horse will be a burden (of sins) for him." Then Allah's Messenger was asked regarding donkeys. He replied, "Nothing has been revealed to me except this comprehensive Verse which includes everything: 'So whoever does good equal to the weight of an atom (or a smallest ant) shall see it; and whoever does evil equal to the weight of an atom (or a smallest ant) shall see it.' (99.7-8)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 487:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet was asked about donkeys and he replied, "Nothing has been revealed to me regarding donkeys except this comprehensive Verse which includes everything: "So whoever does good equal to the weight of an atom (or a smallest ant) shall see it; And whoever, does evil equal to the weight of an atom or a smallest ant) shall see it.' (99.7-8)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 488:
Narrated Anas:
When the Prophet was made to ascend to the Heavens, he said (after his return), "I came upon a river the banks of which were made of tents of hollow pearls. I asked Gabriel. What is this (river?' He replied, 'This is the Kauthar.'

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 489:
Narrated Abu Ubaida:
I asked Aisha 'regarding the verse:--'Verily we have granted you the Kauthar.' She replied, "The Kauthar is a river which has been given to your Prophet on the banks of which there are (tents of) hollow pearls and its utensils are as numberless as the stars."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 490:
Narrated Abu Bishr:
Said bin Jubair said that Ibn Abbas said about Al-Kauthar. "That is the good which Allah has bestowed upon His Apostle." I said to Said bin Jubair. "But the people claim that it is a river in Paradise." Said said, "The river in Paradise is part of the good which Allah has bestowed on His Apostle."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 491:
Narrated Aisha:
"When the "Surat-An-Nasr", 'When comes the Help of Allah and the conquest,' had been revealed to the Prophet he did not offer any prayer except that he said therein, "Subhanka Rabbana wa bihamdika; Allahumma ighfirli (I testify the Uniqueness of our Lord, and all the praises are for Him: O Allah, forgive me!")

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 492:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Messenger used to say very often in bowing and prostration (during his prayers), Subhanka Allahumma Rabbana wa bihamdika; Allahumma ighfirli," according to the order of the Koran.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 493:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Umar asked the people regarding Allah's Statement: 'When comes the Help of Allah (to you O Mohammed against your enemies) and the conquest of Mecca.' (110.1) They replied, "It indicates the future conquest of towns and palaces (by Muslims)." Umar said, "What do you say about it, O Ibn Abbas?" I replied, "(This Surat) indicates the termination of the life of Mohammed. Through it he was informed of the nearness of his death."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 494:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Umar used to make me sit with the elderly men who had fought in the Battle of Badr. Some of them felt it (did not like that) and said to Umar "Why do you bring in this boy to sit with us while we have sons like him?" Umar replied, "Because of what you know of his position (i.e. his religious knowledge.)" One day Umar called me and made me sit in the gathering of those people; and I think that he called me just to show them. (my religious knowledge). Umar then asked them (in my presence). "What do you say about the interpretation of the Statement of Allah: 'When comes Help of Allah (to you O, Mohammed against your enemies) and the conquest (of Mecca).' (110.1) Some of them said, "We are ordered to praise Allah and ask for His forgiveness when Allah's Help and the conquest (of Mecca) comes to us." Some others kept quiet and did not say anything. On that, Umar asked me, "Do you say the same, O Ibn Abbas?" I replied, "No." He said, 'What do you say then?" I replied, "That is the sign of the death of Allah's Messenger which Allah informed him of. Allah said:--'(O Mohammed) When comes the Help of Allah (to you against your enemies) and the conquest (of Mecca) (which is the sign of your death). You should celebrate the praises of your Lord and ask for His Forgiveness, and He is the One Who accepts the repentance and forgives.' (110.3) On that Umar said, "I do not know anything about it other than what you have said."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 495:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
When the Verse:-- 'And warn your tribe of near kindred.' (26.214) was revealed. Allah's Messenger went out, and when he had ascended As-Safa mountain, he shouted, "O Sabahah!" The people said, "Who is that?" "Then they gathered around him, whereupon he said, "Do you see? If I inform you that cavalrymen are proceeding up the side of this mountain, will you believe me?" They said, "We have never heard you telling a lie." Then he said, "I am a plain warner to you of a coming severe punishment." Abu Lahab said, "May you perish! You gathered us only for this reason? " Then Abu Lahab went away. So the "Surat:--ul--LAHAB" 'Perish the hands of Abu Lahab!' (111.1) was revealed.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 496:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet went out towards Al-Batha' and ascended the mountain and shouted, "O Sabahah!" So the Quraish people gathered around him. He said, "Do you see? If I tell you that an enemy is going to attack you in the morning or in the evening, will you believe me?" They replied, "Yes." He said, "Then I am a plain warner to you of a coming severe punishment." Abu Lahab said, "Is it for this reason that you have gathered us? May you perish ! " Then Allah revealed: 'Perish the hands of Abu Lahab!'

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 497:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Abu Lahab said, "May you perish! Is it' for this that you have gathered us?" So there was revealed:-- 'Parish the hands of Abu Lahab'.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 498:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Allah said: 'The son of Adam tells a lie against Me,, though he hasn't the right to do so. He abuses me though he hasn't the right to do so. As for his telling a lie against Me, it is his saying that I will not recreate him as I created him for the first time. In fact, the first creation was

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not easier for Me than new creation. As for his abusing Me, it is his saying that Allah has begotten children, while I am the One, the Self-Sufficient Master Whom all creatures need, I beget not, nor was I begotten, and there is none like unto Me."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 499:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Messenger said, "Allah said:-- 'The son of Adam tells a lie against Me and he hasn't the right to do so; and he abuses me and he hasn't the right to do so. His telling a lie against Me is his saying that I will not recreate him as I created him for the first time; and his abusing Me is his saying that Allah has begotten children, while I am the self-sufficient Master, Whom all creatures need, Who begets not nor was He begotten, and there is none like unto Me."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 500:
Narrated Zirr bin Hubaish:
I asked Ubai bin Kab regarding the two Muwwidhat (Surats of taking refuge with Allah). He said, "I asked the Prophet about them, He said, 'These two Surats have been recited to me and I have recited them (and are present in the Koran).' So, we say as Allah's Messenger said (i.e., they are part of the Koran."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 501:
Narrated Zirr bin Hubaish:
I asked Ubai bin Kab, "O Abu AlMundhir! Your brother, Ibn Masud said so-and-so (i.e., the two Mu'awwidh-at do not belong to the Koran)." Ubai said, "I asked Allah's Messenger about them, and he said, 'They have been revealed to me, and I have recited them (as a part of the Koran)," So Ubai added, "So we say as Allah's Messenger has said."

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 61
Virtues Of The Koran

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 502:
Narrated Aisha and Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet remained in Mecca for ten years, during which the Koran used to be revealed to him; and he stayed in Medina for ten years.

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 503:
Narrated Abu Uthman:
I was informed that Gabriel came to the Prophet while Um Salama was with him. Gabriel started talking (to the Prophet). Then the Prophet asked Um Salama, "Who is this?" She replied, "He is Dihya (al-Kalbi)." When Gabriel had left, Um Salama said, "By Allah, I did not take him for anybody other than him (i.e. Dihya) till I heard the sermon of the Prophet wherein he informed about the news of Gabriel." The subnarrator asked Abu Uthman: From whom have you heard that? Abu Uthman said: From Usama bin Zaid.

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 504:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Every Prophet was given miracles because of which people believed, but what I have been given, is Divine Inspiration which Allah has revealed to me. So I hope that my followers will outnumber the followers of the other Prophets on the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 505:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah sent down His Divine Inspiration to His Apostle continuously and abundantly during the period preceding his death till He took him unto Him. That was the period of the greatest part of revelation; and Allah's Apostle died after that.

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 506:
Narrated Jundub:
Once the Prophet fell ill and did not offer the night prayer (Tahajjud prayer) for a night or two. A woman (the wife of Abu Lahab) came to him and said, "O Mohammed ! I do not see but that your Satan has left you." Then Allah revealed (Surat-Ad-Duha):
'By the fore-noon, and by the night when it darkens (or is still); Your Lord has not forsaken you, nor hated you.' (93)
Volume 6, Book 61, Number 507:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
(The Caliph Uthman ordered Zaid bin Thabit, Said bin Al-As, Abdullah bin Az-Zubair and Abdur-Rahman bin Al-Harith bin Hisham to write the Koran in the form of a book (Mushafs) and said to them. "In case you disagree with Zaid bin Thabit (Al-Ansari) regarding any dialectic Arabic utterance of the Koran, then write it in the dialect of Quraish, for the Koran was revealed in this dialect." So they did it.

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 508:
Narrated Safwan bin Ya'la bin Umaiya:
Ya'la used to say, "I wish I could see Allah's Apostle at the time he is being inspired Divinely." When the Prophet was at Al-Ja'rana and was shaded by a garment hanging over him and some of his companions were with him, a man perfumed with scent came and said, "O Allah's Apostle! What is your opinion regarding a man who assumes Ihram and puts on a cloak after perfuming his body with scent?" The Prophet waited for a while, and then the Divine Inspiration descended upon him. Umar pointed out to Ya'la, telling him to come. Ya'la came and pushed his head (underneath the screen which was covering the Prophet) and behold! The Prophet's face was red and he kept on breathing heavily for a while and then he was relieved. Thereupon he said, "Where is the questioner who asked me about Umra a while ago?" The man was sought and then was brought before the Prophet who said (to him), "As regards the scent which you perfumed your body with, you must wash it off thrice, and as for your cloak, you must take it off; and then perform in your Umra all those things which you perform in Hajj."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 509:
Narrated Zaid bin Thabit:
Abu Bakr As-Siddiq sent for me when the people! of Yamama had been killed (i.e., a number of the Prophet's Companions who fought against Musailama). (I went to him) and found Umar bin Al-Khattab sitting with him. Abu Bakr then said (to me), "Umar has come to me and said: "Casualties were heavy among the Qurra' of the! Koran (i.e. those who knew the Koran by heart) on the day of the Battle of Yalmama, and I am afraid that more heavy casualties may take place among the Qurra' on other battlefields, whereby a large part of the Koran may be lost. Therefore I suggest, you (Abu Bakr) order that the Koran be collected." I said to Umar, "How can you do something which Allah's Apostle did not do?" Umar said, "By Allah, that is a good project. "Umar kept on urging me to accept his proposal till Allah opened my chest for it and I began to realize the good in the idea which Umar had realized." Then Abu Bakr said (to me). 'You are a wise young man and we do not have any suspicion about you, and you used to write the Divine Inspiration for Allah's Apostle. So you should search for (the fragmentary scripts of) the Koran and collect it in one book)." By Allah If they had ordered me to shift one of the mountains, it would not have been heavier for me than this ordering me to collect the Koran. Then I said to Abu Bakr, "How will you do something which Allah's Apostle did not do?" Abu Bakr replied, "By Allah, it is a good project." Abu Bakr kept on urging me to accept his idea until Allah opened my chest for what He had opened the chests of Abu Bakr and Umar. So I started looking for the Koran and collecting it from (what was written on) palmed stalks, thin white stones and also from the men who knew it by heart, till I found the last Verse of Surat At-Tauba (Repentance) with Abi Khuzaima Al-Ansari, and I did not find it with anybody other than him. The Verse is:
'Verily there has come unto you an Apostle (Mohammed) from amongst yourselves. It grieves him that you should receive any injury or difficulty..(till the end of Surat-Baraa' (At-Tauba) (9.128-129) Then the complete manuscripts (copy) of the Koran remained with Abu Bakr till he died, then with Umar till the end of his life, and then with Hafsa, the daughter of Umar.

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 510:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Hudhaifa bin Al-Yaman came to Uthman at the time when the people of Sham and the people of Iraq were Waging war to conquer Arminya and Adharbijan. Hudhaifa was afraid of their (the people of Sham and Iraq) differences in the recitation of the Koran, so he said to Uthman, "O chief of the Believers! Save this nation before they differ about the Book (Koran) as Jews and the Christians did before." So Uthman sent a message to Hafsa saying, "Send us the manuscripts of the Koran so that we may compile the Koranic materials in perfect copies and return the manuscripts to you." Hafsa sent it to Uthman. Uthman then ordered Zaid bin Thabit, Abdullah bin AzZubair, Said bin Al-As and AbdurRahman bin Harith bin Hisham to rewrite the manuscripts in perfect copies. Uthman said to the three Quraishi men, "In case you disagree with Zaid bin Thabit on any point in the Koran, then write it in the dialect of Quraish, the Koran was revealed in their tongue." They did so, and when they had written many copies, Uthman returned the original manuscripts to Hafsa. Uthman sent to every Muslim province one copy of what they had copied, and ordered that all the other Koranic materials, whether written in fragmentary manuscripts or whole copies, be burnt. Said bin Thabit added, "A Verse from Surat Ahzab was missed by me when we copied the Koran and I used to hear Allah's Apostle reciting it. So we searched for it and found it with Khuzaima bin Thabit Al-Ansari. (That Verse was): 'Among the Believers are men who have been true in their covenant with Allah.' (33.23)

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 511:
Narrated Zaid bin Thabit:
Abu Bakr sent for me and said, "You used to write the Divine Revelations for Allah's Apostle : So you should search for (the Koran and collect) it." I started searching for the Koran till I found the last two Verses of Surat At-Tauba with Abi Khuzaima Al-Ansari and I could not find these Verses with anybody other than him. (They were):
'Verily there has come unto you an Apostle (Mohammed) from amongst yourselves. It grieves him that you should receive any injury or difficulty ...' (9.128-129)

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 512:
Narrated Al-Bara:
There was revealed: 'Not equal are those believers who sit (at home) and those who strive and fight in the Cause of Allah.' (4.95)
The Prophet said, "Call Zaid for me and let him bring the board, the inkpot and the scapula bone (or the scapula bone and the ink pot)."' Then he said, "Write: 'Not equal are those Believers who sit..", and at that time Amr bin Um Maktum, the blind man was sitting behind the Prophet . He said, "O Allah's Apostle! What is your order For me (as regards the above Verse) as I am a blind man?" So, instead of the above Verse, the following Verse was revealed:
'Not equal are those believers who sit (at home) except those who are disabled (by injury or are blind or lame etc.) and those who strive and fight in the cause of Allah.' (4.95)

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 513:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
Allah's Apostle said, "Gabriel recited the Koran to me in one way. Then I requested him (to read it in another way), and continued asking him to recite it in other ways, and he recited it in several ways till he ultimately recited it in seven different ways."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 514:
Narrated Umar bin Al-Khattab:
I heard Hisham bin Hakim reciting Surat Al-Furqan during the lifetime of Allah's Apostle and I listened to his recitation and noticed that he recited in several different ways which Allah's Apostle had not taught me. I was about to jump over him during his prayer, but I controlled my temper, and when he had completed his prayer, I put his upper garment around his neck and seized him by it and said, "Who taught you this Sura which I heard you reciting?" He replied, "Allah's Apostle taught it to me." I said, "You have told a lie, for Allah's Apostle has taught it to me in a different way from yours." So I dragged him to Allah's Apostle and said (to Allah's Apostle),
"I heard this person reciting Surat Al-Furqan in a way which you haven't taught me!" On that Allah's Apostle said, "Release him, (O Umar!) Recite, O Hisham!" Then he recited in the same way as I heard him reciting. Then Allah's Apostle said, "It was revealed in this way," and added, "Recite, O Umar!" I recited it as he had taught me. Allah's Apostle then said, "It was revealed in this way. This Koran has been revealed to be recited in seven different ways, so recite of it whichever (way) is easier for you (or read as much of it as may be easy for you)."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 515:
Narrated Yusuf bin Mahk:
While I was with Aisha, the mother of the Believers, a person from Iraq came and asked, "What type of shroud is the best?" Aisha said, "May Allah be merciful to you! What does it matter?" He said, "O mother of the Believers! Show me (the copy of) your Koran," She said, "Why?" He said, "In order to compile and arrange the Koran according to it, for people recite it with its Suras not in proper order." Aisha said, "What does it matter which part of it you read first? (Be informed) that the first thing that was revealed thereof was a Sura from Al-Mufassal, and in it was mentioned Paradise and the Fire. When the people embraced Islam, the Verses regarding legal and illegal things were revealed. If the first thing to be revealed was: 'Do not drink alcoholic drinks.' people would have said, 'We will never leave alcoholic drinks,' and if there had been revealed, 'Do not commit illegal sexual intercourse, 'they would have said, 'We will never give up illegal sexual intercourse.' While I was a young girl of playing age, the following Verse was revealed in Mecca to Mohammed: 'Nay! But the Hour is their appointed time (for their full recompense), and the Hour will be more grievous and more bitter.' (54.46) Sura Al-Baqara (The Cow) and Surat An-Nisa (The Women) were revealed while I was with him." Then Aisha took out the copy of the Koran for the man and dictated to him the Verses of the Suras (in their proper order) .

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 516:
Narrated Abdullah bin Mas'ud:
Surat Bani-Israel, Al-Kahf (The Cave), Maryam, Taha, Al-Anbiya' (The prophets) are amongst my first earnings and my old property, and (in fact) they are my old property.

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Volume 6, Book 61, Number 517:
Narrated Al-Bara:
I learnt, 'Glorify the Name of your Lord the Most High' (Surat al-A'la) No 87, before the Prophet came (to Medina) .

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 518:
Narrated Shaqiq:
Abdullah said, "I learnt An-Naza'ir which the Prophet used to recite in pairs in each Rak'a." Then Abdullah got up and Alqama accompanied him to his house, and when Alqama came out, we asked him (about those Suras). He said, "They are twenty Suras that start from the beginning of Al-Mufassal, according to the arrangement done be Ibn Mas'ud, and end with the Suras starting with Ha Mim, e.g. Ha Mim (the Smoke). and "About what they question one another?" (78.1)

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 519:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet was the most generous person, and he used to become more so (generous) particularly in the month of Ramadan because Gabriel used to meet him every night of the month of Ramadan till it elapsed. Allah's Apostle used to recite the Koran for him. When Gabriel met him, he used to become more generous than the fast wind in doing good.

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 520:
Narrated Abu-Huraira: Gabriel used to repeat the recitation of the Koran with the Prophet once a year, but he repeated it twice with him in the year he died. The Prophet used to stay in I'tikaf for ten days every year (in the month of Ramadan), but

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 521:
Narrated Masriq:
Abdullah bin Amr mentioned Abdullah bin Masud and said, "I shall ever love that man, for I heard the Prophet saying, 'Take (learn) the Koran from four: Abdullah bin Masud, Salim, Mu'adh and Ubai bin Ka'b.' "

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 522:
Narrated Shaqiq bin Salama:
Once Abdullah bin Mas'ud delivered a sermon before us and said, "By Allah, I learnt over seventy Suras direct from Allah's Apostle . By Allah, the companions of the Prophet came to know that I am one of those who know Allah's Book best of all of them, yet I am not the best of them." Shaqiq added: I sat in his religious gathering and I did not hear anybody opposing him (in his speech).

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 523:
Narrated 'Alqama:
While we were in the city of Hims (in Syria), Ibn Mas'ud recited Surat Yusuf. A man said to him), "It was not revealed in this way." Then Ibn Mas'ud said, "I recited it in this way before Allah's Apostle and he confirmed my recitation by saying, 'Well done!' " Ibn Mas'ud detected the smell of wine from the man's mouth, so he said to him, "Aren't you ashamed of telling a lie about Allah's Book and (along with this) you drink alcoholic liquors too?" Then he lashed him according to the law.

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 524:
Narrated Abdullah (bin Mas'ud) : By Allah other than Whom none has the right to be worshipped! There is no Sura revealed in Allah's Book but I know at what place it was revealed; and there is no Verse revealed in Allah's Book but I know about whom

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 525:
Narrated Qatada:
I asked Anas bin Malik: "Who collected the Koran at the time of the Prophet ?" He replied, "Four, all of whom were from the Ansar: Ubai bin Ka'b, Mu'adh bin Jabal, Zaid bin Thabit and Abu Zaid."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 526:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
When the Prophet died, none had collected the Koran but four persons;: Abu Ad-Darda'. Mu'adh bin Jabal, Zaid bin Thabit and Abu Zaid. We were the inheritor (of Abu Zaid) as he had no offspring .

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 527:
Narrated Ibn Abbas: Umar said, Ubai was the best of us in the recitation (of the Koran) yet we leave some of what he recites.' Ubai says, 'PI have taken it from the mouth of Allah's Apostle and will not leave for anything whatever." But Allah said

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 528:
Narrated Abu Sa'id Al-Mu'alla:
While I was praying, the Prophet called me but I did not respond to his call. Later I said, "O Allah's Apostle! I was praying." He said, "Didn't Allah say: 'O you who believe! Give your response to Allah (by obeying Him) and to His Apostle when he calls you'?" (8.24)
He then said, "Shall I not teach you the most superior Surah in the Koran?" He said, '(It is),
'Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds. ' (i.e., Surat Al-Fatiha) which consists of seven repeatedly recited Verses and the Magnificent Koran which was given to me."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 529:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
While we were on one of our journeys, we dismounted at a place where a slave girl came and said, "The chief of this tribe has been stung by a scorpion and our men are not present; is there anybody among you who can treat him (by reciting something)?" Then one of our men went along with her though we did not think that he knew any such treatment. But he treated the chief by reciting something, and the sick man recovered whereupon he gave him thirty sheep and gave us milk to drink (as a reward). When he returned, we asked our friend, "Did you know how to treat with the recitation of something?" He said, "No, but I treated him only with the recitation of the Mother of the Book (i.e., Al-Fatiha)." We said, "Do not say anything (about it) till we reach or ask the Prophet so when we reached Medina, we mentioned that to the Prophet (in order to know whether the sheep which we had taken were lawful to take or not). The Prophet said, "How did he come to know that it (Al-Fatiha) could be used for treatment? Distribute your reward and assign for me one share thereof as well."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 530:
Narrated Abu Mas'ud:
The Prophet said, "If somebody recited the last two Verses of Surat Al-Baqara at night, that will be sufficient for him."
Narrated Abu Huraira: Allah 's Apostle ordered me to guard the Zakat revenue of Ramadan. Then somebody came to me and started stealing of the foodstuff. I caught him and said, "I will take you to Allah's Apostle!" Then Abu Huraira described the whole narration and said:) That person said (to me), "(Please don't take me to Allah's Apostle and I will tell you a few words by which Allah will benefit you.) When you go to your bed, recite Ayat-al-Kursi, (2.255) for then there will be a guard from Allah who will protect you all night long, and Satan will not be able to come near you till dawn." (When the Prophet heard the story) he said (to me), "He (who came to you at night) told you the truth although he is a liar; and it was Satan."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 531:
Narrated Al-Bara:
A man was reciting Surat Al-Kahf and his horse was tied with two ropes beside him. A cloud came down and spread over that man, and it kept on coming closer and closer to him till his horse started jumping (as if afraid of something). When it was morning, the man came to the Prophet, and told him of that experience. The Prophet said, "That was As-Sakina (tranquility) which descended because of (the recitation of) the Koran."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 532:
Narrated Aslam:
Allah's Apostle was traveling on one of his journeys, and Umar bin Al-Khattab was traveling along with him at night. Umar asked him about something, but Allah's Apostle I did not answer him. He asked again, but he did not answer. He asked for the third time!, but he did not answer. On that, Umar said to himself, "May your mother lose you! You have asked Allah's Apostle three times, but he did not answer at all!" Umar said, "So I made my camel go fast till I was ahead of the people, and I was afraid that something might be! revealed about me. After a little while I heard a call maker calling me, I said, 'I was afraid that some Koranic Verse might be revealed about me.' So I went to Allah's Apostle and greeted him. He said, 'Tonight there has been revealed to me a Surah which is dearer to me than that on which the sun shines (i.e. the world).' Then he recited: 'Verily! We have given you (O Mohammed I, a manifest victory.' " (Surat al-Fath) No. (48.1).

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 533:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
A man heard another man reciting (Surat-Al-Ikhlas) 'Say He is Allah, (the) One.' (112. 1) repeatedly. The next morning he came to Allah's Apostle and informed him about it as if he thought that it was not enough to recite. On that Allah's Apostle said, "By Him in Whose Hand my life is, this Surah is equal to one-third of the Koran!"
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri: My brother, Qatada bin An-Nau'man said, "A man performed the night prayer late at night in the lifetime of the Prophet and he read: 'Say: He is Allah, (the) One,' (112.1) and read nothing besides that. The next morning a man went to the Prophet ,~ and told him about that . (The Prophet replied the same as (in Hadith 532) above.)

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 534:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
The Prophet said to his companions, "Is it difficult for any of you to recite one third of the Koran in one night?" This suggestion was difficult for them so they said, "Who among us has the power to do so, O Allah's Apostle?" Allah Apostle replied: " Allah (the) One, the Self-Sufficient Master Whom all creatures need.' (Surat Al-Ikhlas 112.1--to the End) is equal to one third of the Koran."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 535:
Narrated Aisha:
Whenever Allah's Apostle became sick, he would recite Mu'awwidhat (Surat Al-Falaq and Surat An-Nas) and then blow his breath over his body. When he became seriously ill, I used to recite (these two Suras) and rub his hands over his body hoping for its blessings.

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 536:
Narrated Aisha:
Whenever thy Prophet go went to bed every night, he used to cup his hands together and blow over it after reciting Surat Al-Ikhlas, Surat Al-Falaq and Surat An-Nas, and then rub his hands over whatever parts of his body he was able to rub, starting with his head, face and front of his body. He used to do that three times.

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 536t:
Narrated Usaid bin Hudair:
That while he was reciting Surat Al-Baqara (The Cow) at night, and his horse was tied beside him, the horse was suddenly startled and troubled. When he stopped reciting, the horse became quiet, and when he started again, the horse was startled again. Then he stopped reciting and the horse became quiet too. He started reciting again and the horse was startled and troubled once again. Then he stopped reciting and his son, Yahya was beside the horse. He was afraid that the horse might trample on him. When he took the boy away and looked towards the sky, he could not see it. The next morning he informed the Prophet who said, "Recite, O Ibn Hudair! Recite, O Ibn Hudair!" Ibn Hudair replied, "O Allah's Apostle! My son, Yahya was near the horse and I was afraid that it might trample on him, so I looked towards the sky, and went to him. When I looked at the sky, I saw something like a cloud containing what looked like lamps, so I went out in order not to see it." The Prophet said, "Do you know what that was?" Ibn Hudair replied, "No." The Prophet said, "Those were Angels who came near to you for your voice and if you had kept on reciting till dawn, it would have remained there till morning when people would have seen it as it would not have disappear

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 537:
Narrated Abdul Aziz bin Rufai':
Shaddad bin Ma'qil and I entered upon Ibn Abbas. Shaddad bin Ma'qil asked him, "Did the Prophet leave anything (besides the Koran)?" He replied. "He did not leave anything except what is Between the two bindings (of the Koran)." Then we visited Mohammed bin Al-Hanafiyya and asked him (the same question). He replied, "The Prophet did not leave except what is between the bindings (of the Koran)."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 538:
Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari:
The Prophet said, "The example of him (a believer) who recites the Koran is like that of a citron which tastes good and smells good. And he (a believer) who does not recite the Koran is like a date which is good in taste but has no smell. And the example of a dissolute wicked person who recites the Koran is like the Raihana (sweet basil) which smells good but tastes bitter. And the example of a dissolute wicked person who does not recite the Koran is like the colocynth which tastes bitter and has no smell.

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 539:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "Your life in comparison to the lifetime of the past nations is like the period between the time of Asr prayer and sunset. Your example and the example of the Jews and Christians is that of person who employed laborers and said to them, "Who will work for me till the middle of the day for one Qirat (a special weight)?' The Jews did. He then said, "Who will work for me from the middle of the day till the Asr prayer for one Qirat each?" The Christians worked accordingly. Then you (Muslims) are working from the bar prayer till the Maghrib prayer for two Qirats each. They (the Jews and the Christians) said, 'We did more labor but took less wages.' He (Allah) said, 'Have I wronged you in your rights?' They replied, 'No.' Then He said, 'This is My Blessing which I give to whom I wish."

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Volume 6, Book 61, Number 540:
Narrated Talha:
I asked Abdullah bin Abi 'Aufa, "Did the Prophet make a will (to appoint his successor or bequeath wealth)?" He replied, "No." I said, "How is it prescribed then for the people to make wills, and they are ordered to do so while the Prophet did not make any will?" He said, "He made a will wherein he recommended Allah's Book."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 541:
Narrated Abu Huraira: Allah's Apostle said, "Allah does not listen to a prophet as He listens to a prophet who recites the Koran in a pleasant tone." The companion of the sub-narrator (Abu Salama) said, "It means, reciting it aloud."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 542:
Narrated Abu Huraira: The Prophet I said, "Allah does not listen to a prophet as He listens to a prophet who recites the Koran in a loud and pleasant tone." Sufyan said, "This saying means: a prophet who regards the Koran as something that makes hi

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 543:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "Not to wish to be the like except of two men. A man whom Allah has given the knowledge of the Book and he recites it during the hours of the night, and a man whom Allah has given wealth, and he spends it in charity during the night and the hours of the day."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 544:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle I said, "Not to wish to be the like of except two men: A man whom Allah has taught the Koran and he recites it during the hours of the night and during the hours of the day, and his neighbour listens to him and says, 'I wish I had been given what has been given to so-and-so, so that I might do what he does; and a man whom Allah has given wealth and he spends it on what is just and right, whereupon an other man May say, 'I wish I had been given what so-and-so has been given, for then I would do what he does."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 545:
Narrated Uthman:
The Prophet said, "The best among you (Muslims) are those who learn the Koran and teach it."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 546:
Narrated Uthman bin Affan:
The Prophet said, "The most superior among you (Muslims) are those who learn the Koran and teach it."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 547:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
A lady came to the Prophet and declared that she had decided to offer herself to Allah and His Apostle. The Prophet said, "I am not in need of women." A man said (to the Prophet) "Please marry her to me." The Prophet said (to him), "Give her a garment." The man said, "I cannot afford it." The Prophet said, "Give her anything, even if it were an iron ring." The man apologized again. The Prophet then asked him, "What do you know by heart of the Koran?" He replied, "I know such-and-such portion of the Koran (by heart)." The Prophet said, "Then I marry her to you for that much of the Koran which you know by heart."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 548:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
A lady came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have come to you to offer myself to you." He raised his eyes and looked at her and then lowered his head. When the lady saw that he did not make any decision, she sat down. On that, a man from his companions got up and said. "O Allah's Apostle! If you are not in need of this woman, then marry her to me." Allah's Apostle said, "Do you have anything to offer her?" He replied. "No, by Allah, O Allah's Apostle!" The Prophet said to him, "Go to your family and see if you can find something.' The man went and returned, saying, "No, by Allah, O Allah's Apostle! I have not found anything." The Prophet said, "Try to find something, even if it is an iron ring." He went again and returned, saying, "No, by Allah, O Allah's Apostle, not even an iron ring, but I have this waist sheet of mine." The man had no upper garment, so he intended to give her, half his waist sheet. So Allah's Apostle said, "What would she do with your waist sheet? If you wear it, she will have nothing of it over her body, and if she wears it, you will have nothing over your body." So that man sat for a long period and then got up, and Allah's Apostle saw him going away, so he ordered somebody to call him. When he came, the Prophet asked him, " How much of the Koran do you know?" He replied, "I know such Surat and such Surat and such Surat," and went on counting it, The Prophet asked him, "Can you recite it by heart?" he replied, "Yes." The Prophet said, "Go, I have married this lady to you for the amount of the Koran you know by heart."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 549:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "The example of the person who knows the Koran by heart is like the owner of tied camels. If he keeps them tied, he will control them, but if he releases them, they will run away."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 550:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "It is a bad thing that some of you say, 'I have forgotten such-and-such verse of the Koran,' for indeed, he has been caused (by Allah) to forget it. So you must keep on reciting the Koran because it escapes from the hearts of men faster than camel do."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 551:
Narrated Abdullah:
I heard the Prophet saying... (as above, no. 550).

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 552:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet said, "Keep on reciting the Koran, for, by Him in Whose Hand my life is, Koran runs away (is forgotten) faster than camels that are released from their tying ropes."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 553:
Narrated Abdullah bin Mughaffal:
I saw Allah's Apostle reciting Surat-al-Fath on his she-camel on the day of the Conquest of Mecca.

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 554:
Narrated Said bid Jubair:
Those Suras which you people call the Mufassal, are the Muhkam. And Ibn Abbas said, "Allah's Apostle died when I was a boy of ten years, and I had learnt the Muhkam (of the Koran).

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 555:
Narrated Said bin Jubair:
Ibn Abbas said, "I have learnt all the Muhkam Suras during the life time of Allah's Apostle." I said to him, 'What is meant by the Muhkam?" He replied, "The Mufassal."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 556:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet heard a man reciting the Koran in the mosque and said, "May Allah bestow His Mercy on him, as he has reminded me of such-and-such Verses of such a Surah."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 557:
Narrated Hisham:
(The same Hadith, adding): which I missed (modifying the Verses).

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 558:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle heard a man reciting the Koran at night, and said, "May Allah bestow His Mercy on him, as he has reminded me of such-and-such Verses of such-and-such Suras, which I was caused to forget."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 559:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "Why does anyone of the people say, 'I have forgotten such-and-such Verses (of the Koran)?' He, in fact, is caused (by Allah) to forget."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 560:
Narrated Abu Mas'ud Al-Ansari:
The Prophet said, "If one recites the last two Verses of Surat-al-Baqara at night, it is sufficient for him (for that night)."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 561:
Narrated Umar bin Khattab:
I heard Hisham bin Hakim bin Hizam reciting Surat-al-Furqan during the lifetime of Allah's Apostle, and I listened to his recitation and noticed that he recited it in several ways which Allah's Apostle had not taught me. So I was on the point of attacking him in the prayer, but I waited till he finished his prayer, and then I seized him by the collar and said, "Who taught you this Surah which I have heard you reciting?" He replied, "Allah's Apostle taught it to me." I said, "You are telling a lie; By Allah! Allah's Apostle taught me (in a different way) this very Surah which I have heard you reciting." So I took him, leading him to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I heard this person reciting Surat-al-Furqan in a way that you did not teach me, and you have taught me Surat-al-Furqan." The Prophet said, "O Hisham, recite!" So he recited in the same way as I heard him recite it before. On that Allah's Apostle said, "It was revealed to be recited in this way." Then Allah's Apostle said, "Recite, O Umar!" So I recited it as he had taught me. Allah's Apostle then said, "It was revealed to be recited in this way." Allah" Apostle added, "The Koran has been revealed to be recited in several different ways, so recite of it that which is easier for you."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 562:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet heard a reciter reciting, the Koran in the mosque at night. The Prophet said, "May Allah bestow His Mercy on him, as he has remind ed me of such-and-such Verses of such and-such Suras, which I missed!"

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 563:
Narrated Abu Wail:
We went to Abdullah in the morning and a man said, "Yesterday I recited all the Mufassal Suras." On that Abdullah said, "That is very quick, and we have the (Prophet's) recitation, and I remember very well the recitation of those Suras which the Prophet used to recite, and they were eighteen Suras from the Mufassal, and two Suras from the Suras that start with Ha Mim.

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 564:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Regarding His (Allah's) Statement:-- 'Move not your tongue concerning (the Koran) to make haste therewith.' (75.16) And whenever Gabriel descended to Allah's Apostle with the Divine Inspiration, Allah's Apostle used to move his tongue and lips, and that used to be hard for him, and one could easily recognize that he was being inspired Divinely. So Allah revealed the Verse which occurs in the Surah starting with "I do swear by the Day of Resurrection.' (75.1) i.e. 'Move not your tongue concerning (the Koran) to make haste then with. It is for Us to collect it (in your mind) (O Mohammed) an give you the ability to recite it 'by heart.' (75.16-17) which means: It is for us to collect it (in your mind) and give you the ability to recite it by heart. And when We have recited it to you (O Mohammed) through Gabriel then follow you its recital. (75.18) means: 'When We reveal it (the Koran) to you, Listen to it.' for then: It is for Us to explain it and make it clear to you' (75.19) i.e. It is up to Us to explain it through your tongue. So, when Gabriel came to him, Allah's Apostle would listen to him attentively, and as soon as Gabriel left, he would recite the Revelations, as Allah had promised him.

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 565:
Narrated Qatada:
I asked Anas bin Malik about the recitation of the Prophet. He said, "He used to pray long (certain sounds) very much.

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 566:
Narrated Qatada:
Anas was asked, "How was the recitation (of the Koran) of the Prophet?' He replied, "It was characterized by the prolongation of certain sounds." He then recited: In the Name of Allah, the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful prolonging the pronunciation of 'In the Name of Allah, 'the most Beneficent,' and 'the Most Merciful.

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 567:
Narrated Abdullah bin Mughaffal:
I saw the Prophet reciting (Koran) while he was riding on his she camel or camel which was moving, carrying him. He was reciting Surat Fath or part of Surat Fath very softly and in an Attractive vibrating tone.

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 568:
Narrated Abu Musa:
That the Prophet said to him' "O Abu Musa! You have been given one of the musical wind-instruments of the family of David .'

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 569:
Narrated Abdullah:
That the Prophet said to him, "Recite the Koran to me." Abdullah said, "Shall I recite (the Koran) to you while it has been revealed to you?" He said, "I like to hear it from others."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 570:
Narrated Abdullah bin Mas'ud:
The Prophet said to me, "Recite (the Koran) to me." I said, "O Allah's Apostle Shall I recite (the Koran) to you while it has been revealed to you?" He said, "Yes." So I recited Surat-An-Nisa' (The Women), but when I recited the Verse: 'How (will it be) then when We bring from each nation a witness and We bring you (O Mohammed) as a witness against these people.' (4.41) He said, "Enough for the present," I looked at him and behold! His eyes were overflowing with tears

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 571:
Narrated Sufyan:

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Ibn Shubruma said, "I wanted to see how much of the Koran can be enough (to recite in prayer) and I could not find a Surah containing less than three Verses, therefore I said to myself), "One ought not to recite less than three (Koranic) Verses (in prayer)."

Narrated Abu Mas'ud: The Prophet said, "If somebody recites the last two Verses of Surat al-Baqara at night, it will be sufficient for him.

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 572:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr bin Al-As:
My father got me married to a lady of a noble family, and often used to ask my wife about me, and she used to reply, "What a wonderful man he is! He never comes to my bed, nor has he approached me since he married me." When this state continued for a long period, my father told the story to the Prophet who said to my father, "Let me meet him." Then I met him and he asked me, "How do you fast?" I replied, "I fast daily," He asked, "How long does it take you to finish the recitation of the whole Koran?" I replied, "I finish it every night." On that he said, "Fast for three days every month and recite the Koran (and finish it) in one month." I said, "But I have power to do more than that." He said, "Then fast for three days per week." I said, "i have the power to do more than that." He said, "Therefore, fast the most superior type of fasting, (that is, the fasting of (prophet) David who used to fast every alternate day; and finish the recitation of the whole Koran In seven days." I wish I had accepted the permission of Allah's Apostle as I have become a weak old man. It is said that Abdullah used to recite one-seventh of the Koran during the day-time to some of his family members, for he used to check his memorization of what he would recite at night during the daytime so that it would be easier for him to read at night. And whenever he wanted to gain some strength, he used to give up fasting for some days and count those days to fast for a similar period, for he disliked to leave those things which he used to do during the lifetime of the Prophet.

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 573:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
The Prophet asked me, "How long does it take you to finish the recitation of the whole Koran?"

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 574:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
Allah's Apostle said to me, "Recite the whole Koran in one month's time." I said, "But I have power (to do more than that)." Allah's Apostle said, "Then finish the recitation of the Koran in seven days, and do not finish it in less than this period."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 575:
Narrated Abdullah (bin Mas'ud):
Allah's Apostle said (to me), "Recite the Koran to me." I said, "Shall I recite (it) to you while it has been revealed to you?" He said, "I like to hear it from another person." So I recited Surat An-Nisa (The Women) till I reached the Verse: 'How (will it be) then when We bring from each nation a witness, and We bring you (O Mohammed) as a witness against these people.' (4.41) Then he said to me, "Stop!" Thereupon I saw his eyes overflowing with tears.

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 576:
Narrated Abdullah bin Masud:
The Prophet said to me, "Recite Koran to me." I said to him. "Shall I recite (it) to you while it has been revealed to you?" He said, "I like to hear it from another person."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 577:
Narrated Ali:
I heard the Prophet saying, "In the last days (of the world) there will appear young people with foolish thoughts and ideas. They will give good talks, but they will go out of Islam as an arrow goes out of its game, their faith will not exceed their throats. So, wherever you find them, kill them, for there will be a reward for their killers on the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 578:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "There will appear some people among you whose prayer will make you look down upon yours, and whose fasting will make you look down upon yours, but they will recite the Koran which will not exceed their throats (they will not act on it) and they will go out of Islam as an arrow goes out through the game whereupon the archer would examine the arrowhead but see nothing, and look at the unfeathered arrow but see nothing, and look at the arrow feathers but see nothing, and finally he suspects to find something in the lower part of the arrow."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 579:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet said, "The example of a believer who recites the Koran and acts on it, like a citron which tastes nice and smells nice. And the example of a believer who does not recite the Koran but acts on it, is like a date which tastes good but has no smell. And the example of a hypocrite who recites the Koran is like a Raihana (sweet basil) which smells good but tastes bitter And the example of a hypocrite who does not recite the Koran is like a colocynth which tastes bitter and has a bad smell."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 580:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "Recite (and study) the Koran as long as you agree about its interpretation, but if you have any difference of opinion (as regards to its interpretation and meaning) then you should stop reciting it (for the time being)."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 581:
Narrated Jundub:
The Prophet said, "Recite (and study) the Koran as long as you agree about its interpretation, but when you have any difference of opinion (as regards its interpretation and meaning) then you should stop reciting it (for the time being)'

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 582:
Narrated Abdullah:
That he heard a man reciting a Koranic Verse which he had heard the Prophet reciting in a different way. So he took that man to the Prophet (and told him the story). The Prophet said, "Both of you are reciting in a correct way, so carry on reciting." The Prophet further added, "The nations which were before you were destroyed (by Allah) because they differed."

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, VOLUME 7

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 62:
Wedlock, Marriage (Nikaah, that is marriage contract)

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 1:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
A group of three men came to the houses of the wives of the Prophet asking how the Prophet worshipped (Allah), and when they were informed about that, they considered their worship insufficient and said, "Where are we from the Prophet as his past and future sins have been forgiven." Then one of them said, "I will offer the prayer throughout the night forever." The other said, "I will fast throughout the year and will not break my fast." The third said, "I will keep away from the women and will not marry forever." Allah's Apostle came to them and said, "Are you the same people who said so-and-so? By Allah, I am more submissive to Allah and more afraid of Him than you; yet I fast and break my fast, I do sleep and I also marry women. So he who does not follow my tradition in religion, is not from me (not one of my followers)."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 2:
Narrated Ursa:
that he asked Aisha about the Statement of Allah: 'If you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly with the orphan girls, then marry (other) women of your choice, two or three or four; but if you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly (with them), then only one, or (the captives) that your right hands possess. That will be nearer to prevent you from doing injustice.' (4.3) Aisha said, "O my nephew! (This Verse has been revealed in connection with) an orphan girl under the guardianship of her guardian who is attracted by her wealth and beauty and intends to marry her with a Mahr less than what other women of her standard deserve. So they (such guardians) have been forbidden to marry them unless they do justice to them and give them their full Mahr, and they are ordered to marry other women instead of them."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 3:
Narrated Alqama:
While I was with Abdullah, Uthman met him at Mina and said, "O Abu Abdur-Rahman ! I have something to say to you." So both of them went aside and Uthman said, "O Abu Abdur-Rah. man! Shall we marry you to a virgin who will make you remember your past days?" When Abdullah felt that he was not in need of that, he beckoned me (to join him) saying, "O 'Alqama!" Then I heard him saying (in reply to Uthman), "As you have said that, (I tell you that) the Prophet once said to us, 'O young people! Whoever among you is able to marry, should marry, and whoever is not able to marry, is recommended to fast, as fasting diminishes his sexual power.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 4:
Narrated Abdullah:
We were with the Prophet while we were young and had no wealth whatever. So Allah's Apostle said, "O young people! Whoever among you can marry, should marry, because it helps him lower his gaze and guard his modesty (i.e. his private parts from committing illegal sexual intercourse etc.), and whoever is not able to marry, should fast, as fasting diminishes his sexual power."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 5:
Narrated Ata:
We presented ourselves along with Ibn Abbas at the funeral procession of Maimuna at a place called Sarif. Ibn Abbas said, "This is the wife of the Prophet so when you lift her bier, do not Jerk it or shake it much, but walk smoothly because the Prophet had nine wives and he used to observe the night turns with eight of them, and for one of them there was no night turn."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 6:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet I used to go round (have sexual relations with) all his wives in one night, and he had nine wives.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 7:
Narrated Said bin Jubair:
Ibn Abbas asked me, "Are you married?" I replied, "No." He said, "Marry, for the best person of this (Muslim) nation (i.e., Mohammed) of all other Muslims, had the largest number of wives."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 8:
Narrated Umar bin Al-Khattab:
The Prophet said, "The rewards (of deeds) are according to the intention, and everybody will get the reward for what he has intended. So whoever emigrated for Allah's and His Apostle's sake, his emigration was for Allah and His Apostle; and whoever emigrated for worldly benefits, or to marry a woman, then his emigration was for the thing for what he emigrated for." (1)

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 9:
Narrated Ibn Masud:
We used to fight in the holy battles in the company of the Prophet and we had no wives with us. So we said, "O Allah's Apostle! Shall we get castrated?" The Prophet forbade us to do so.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 10:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Abdur-Rahman bin 'Auf came (from Mecca to Medina) and the Prophet made a bond of brotherhood between him and Sad bin Ar-Rabi Al-Ansari. Al-Ansari had two wives, so he suggested that Abdur-Rahman take half, his wives and property. Abdur-Rahman replied, "May Allah bless you with your wives and property. Kindly show me the market." So Abdur-Rahman went to the market and gained (in bargains) some dried yoghurt and some butter. After a few days the Prophet saw Abdur-Rahman with some yellow stains on his clothes and asked him, "What is that, O Abdur-Rahman?" He replied, "I had married an Ansari woman." The Prophet asked, "How much Mahr did you give her?" He replied, "The weight of one (date) stone of gold." The Prophet said, "Offer a banquet, even with one sheep."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 11:
Narrated Sad bin Abi Waqqas:
Allah's Apostle forbade Uthman bin Maz'un to abstain from marrying (and other pleasures) and if he had allowed him, we would have gotten ourselves castrated.(1)

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 12:
Narrated Sad bin Abi Waqqas:
The Prophet prevented Uthman bin Mazun from that (not marrying), and had he allowed him, we would have got ourselves castrated.(1)

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 13o:
Narrated Abdullah:
We used to participate in the holy battles led by Allah's Apostle and we had nothing (no wives) with us. So we said, "Shall we get ourselves castrated?" He forbade us that and then allowed us to marry women with a temporary contract (2) and recited to us: -- 'O you who believe ! Make not unlawful the good things which Allah has made lawful for you, but commit no transgression.' (5.87)

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 13h:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I said, "O Allah's Apostle! I am a young man and I am afraid that I may commit illegal sexual intercourse and I cannot afford to marry." He kept silent, and then repeated my question once again, but he kept silent. I said the same (for the third time) and he remained silent. Then repeated my question (for the fourth time), and only then the Prophet said, "O Abu Huraira! The pen has dried after writing what you are going to confront. So (it does not matter whether you) get yourself castrated or not."

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Volume 7, Book 62, Number 14:
Narrated Aisha :
I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Suppose you landed in a valley where there is a tree of which something has been eaten and then you found trees of which nothing has been eaten, of which tree would you let your camel graze?" He said, "(I will let my camel graze) of the one of which nothing has been eaten before." (The sub-narrator added: Aisha meant that Allah's Apostle had not married a virgin besides herself .)

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 15:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle said (to me), "You have been shown to me twice in (my) dreams. A man was carrying you in a silken cloth and said to me, 'This is your wife.' I uncovered it; and behold, it was you. I said to myself, 'If this dream is from Allah, He will cause it to come true.' "

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 16:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
While we were returning from a Ghazwa (Holy Battle) with the Prophet, I started driving my camel fast, as it was a lazy camel A rider came behind me and pricked my camel with a spear he had with him, and then my camel started running as fast as the best camel you may see. Behold! The rider was the Prophet himself. He said, 'What makes you in such a hurry?" I replied, I am newly married " He said, "Did you marry a virgin or a matron? I replied, "A matron." He said, "Why didn't you marry a young girl so that you may play with her and she with you?" When we were about to enter (Medina), the Prophet said, "Wait so that you may enter (Medina) at night so that the lady of unkempt hair may comb her hair and the one whose husband has been absent may shave her pubic region.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 17:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
When I got married, Allah's Apostle said to me, "What type of lady have you married?" I replied, "I have married a matron' He said, "Why, don't you have a liking for the virgins and for fondling them?" Jabir also said: Allah's Apostle said, "Why didn't you marry a young girl so that you might play with her and she with you?'

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 18:
Narrated Ursa:
The Prophet asked Abu Bakr for Aisha's hand in marriage. Abu Bakr said "But I am your brother." The Prophet said, "You are my brother in Allah's religion and His Book, but she (Aisha) is lawful for me to marry."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 19:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The best women are the riders of the camels and the righteous among the women of Quraish. They are the kindest women to their children in their childhood and the more careful women of the property of their husbands."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 20:
Narrated Abu Burda's father:
Allah's Apostle said, any man who has a slave girl whom he educates properly, teaches good manners, manumits and marries her, will get a double reward And if any man of the people of the Scriptures believes in his own prophet and then believes in me too, he will (also) get a double reward And any slave who fulfills his duty to his master and to his Lord, will (also) get a double reward."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 21:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said: Abraham did not tell lies except three. (One of them was) when Abraham passed by a tyrant and (his wife) Sara was accompanying him (Abu Huraira then mentioned the whole narration and said:) (The tyrant) gave her Hajar. Sara said, "Allah saved me from the hands of the Kafir (i.e. infidel) and gave me Hajar to serve me." (Abu Huraira added:) That (Hajar) is your mother, O Banu Ma'-As-Sama' (i.e., the Arabs).

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 22:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet stayed for three days between Khaibar and Medina, and there he consummated his marriage to Safiyya bint Huyai. I invited the Muslims to the wedding banquet in which neither meat nor bread was offered. He ordered for leather dining-sheets to be spread, and dates, dried yoghurt and butter were laid on it, and that was the Prophet's wedding banquet. The Muslims wondered, "Is she (Saffiyya) considered as his wife or his slave girl?" Then they said, "If he orders her to veil herself, she will be one of the mothers of the Believers; but if he does not order her to veil herself, she will be a slave girl. So when the Prophet proceeded from there, he spared her a space behind him (on his she-camel) and put a screening veil between her and the people.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 23:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle manumitted Safiyya and regarded her manumission as her Mahr.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 24:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad As-Sa'idi:
A woman came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have come to give you myself in marriage (without Mahr)." Allah's Apostle looked at her. He looked at her carefully and fixed his glance on her and then lowered his head. When the lady saw that he did not say anything, she sat down. A man from his companions got up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! If you are not in need of her, then marry her to me." The Prophet said, "Have you got anything to offer?" The man said, "No, by Allah, O Allah's Apostle!" The Prophet said (to him), "Go to your family and see if you have something." The man went and returned, saying, "No, by Allah, I have not found anything." Allah's Apostle said, "(Go again) and look for something, even if it is an iron ring." He went again and returned, saying, "No, by Allah, O Allah's Apostle! I could not find even an iron ring, but this is my Izar (waist sheet)." He had no rida. He added, "I give half of it to her." Allah's Apostle said, "What will she do with your Izar? If you wear it, she will be naked, and if she wears it, you will be naked." So that man sat down for a long while and then got up (to depart). When Allah's Apostle saw him going, he ordered that he be called back. When he came, the Prophet said, "How much of the Koran do you know?" He said, "I know such Sura and such Sura," counting them. The Prophet said, "Do you know them by heart?" He replied, "Yes." The Prophet said, "Go, I marry her to you for that much of the Koran which you have."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 25:
Narrated Aisha:
Abu Hudhaifa bin Utba bin Rabi'a bin Abdi Shams who had witnessed the battle of Badr along with the Prophet adopted Salim as his son, to whom he married his niece, Hind bint Al-Walid bin Utba bin Rabi'a; and Salim was the freed slave of an Ansar woman, just as the Prophet had adopted Zaid as his son. It was the custom in the Pre-Islamic Period that if somebody adopted a boy, the people would call him the son of the adoptive father and he would be the latter's heir. But when Allah revealed the Divine Verses: 'Call them by (the names of) their fathers . . . your freed-slaves,' (33.5) the adopted persons were called by their fathers' names. The one whose father was not known, would be regarded as a Maula and your brother in religion. Later on Sahla bint Suhail bin Amr Al-Quraishi Al-Amiri--and she was the wife of Abu-Hudhaifa bin Utba--came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! We used to consider Salim as our (adopted) son, and now Allah has revealed what you know (regarding adopted sons)." The sub-narrator then mentioned the rest of the narration.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 26:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle entered upon Dubaa bint Az-Zubair and said to her, "Do you have a desire to perform the Hajj?" She replied, "By Allah, I feel sick." He said to her, "Intend to perform Hajj and stipulate something by saying, 'O Allah, I will finish my Ihram at any place where You stop me (i.e. I am unable to go further)." She was the wife of Al-Miqdad bin Al-Aswad.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 27:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "A woman is married for four things, i.e., her wealth, her family status, her beauty and her religion. So you should marry the religious woman (otherwise) you will be a losers.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 28:
Narrated Sahl:
A man passed by Allah's Apostle and Allah s Apostle asked (his companions) "What do you say about this (man)?" They replied "If he asks for a lady's hand, he ought to be given her in marriage; and if he intercedes (for someone) his intercessor should be accepted; and if he speaks, he should be listened to." Allah's Apostle kept silent, and then a man from among the poor Muslims passed by, an Allah's Apostle asked (them) "What do you say about this man?" They replied, "If he asks for a lady's hand in marriage he does not deserve to be married, and he intercedes (for someone), his intercession should not be accepted; And if he speaks, he should not be listened to.' Allah's Apostle said, "This poor man is better than so many of the first as filling the earth.'

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 29:
Narrated Ursa:
that he asked Aisha regarding the Verse: 'If you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly with the orphans (4.3) She said, "O my nephew! This Verse refers to the orphan girl who is under the guardianship of her guardian who likes her beauty and wealth and wishes to (marry her and) curtails her Mahr. Such guardians have been forbidden to marry them unless they do justice by giving them their full Mahr, and they have been ordered to marry other than them. The people asked for the verdict of Allah's Apostle after that, so Allah revealed: 'They ask your instruction concerning the women . . . whom you desire to marry.' (4.127) So Allah revealed to them that if the orphan girl had beauty and wealth, they desired to marry her and for her family status. They can only marry them if they give them their full Mahr. And if they had no desire to marry them because of their lack of wealth and beauty, they would leave them and marry other women. So, as they used to leave them, when they had no interest, in them, they were forbidden to marry them when they had such interest, unless they treated them justly and gave them their full Mahr Apostle said, 'If at all there is evil omen, it is in the horse, the woman and the house." a lady is to be warded off. And the Statement of Allah: 'Truly, among your wives and your children, there are enemies for you (i.e may stop you from the obedience of Allah)' (64.14)

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 30:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "Evil omen is in the women, the house and the horse.'

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 31:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Evil omen was mentioned before the Prophet: The Prophet said, "If there is evil omen in anything, it is in the house, the woman and the horse."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 32:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
Allah's Apostle said, "If at all there is bad omen, it is in the horse, the woman, and the house."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 33:
Narrated Usama bin Zaid:
The Prophet said, "After me I have not left any affliction more harmful to men than women."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 34:
Narrated Aisha :
Three principles were established because of Barira: (i) When Banra was manumitted she was given the option (to remain with her slave husband or not). (ii) Allah's Apostle said "The Wala of the slave) is for the one who manumits (the slave). (iii) When Allah's Apostle entered (the house), he saw a cooking pot on the fire but he was given bread and meat soup from the soup of the home. The Prophet said, "Didn't I see the cooking pot (on the fire)?" It was said, "That is the meat given in charity to Barira, and you do not eat the (things given in) charity." The Prophet said, "It is an object of charity for Barira, and it is a present for us."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 35:
Narrated Aisha"
(regarding) the Verse: 'And if you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly with the orphans...' (4.3) It is about the orphan girl who is in the custody of a man who is her guardian, and he intends to marry her because of her wealth, but he treats her badly and does not manage her property fairly and honestly. Such a man should marry women of his liking other than her, two or three or four. 'Prohibited to you (for marriage) are: ...your foster-mothers (who suckled you).' (4.23) Marriage is prohibited between persons having a foster suckling relationship corresponding to a blood relationship which renders marriage unlawful.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 36:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) that while Allah's Apostle was with her, she heard a voice of a man asking permission to enter the house of Hafsa. Aisha added: I said, "O Allah's Apostle! This man is asking permission to enter your house." The Prophet said, "I think he is so-and-so," naming the foster-uncle of Hafsa. Aisha said, "If so-and-so," naming her foster uncle, "were living, could he enter upon me?" The Prophet said, "Yes, for foster suckling relations make all those things unlawful which are unlawful through corresponding birth (blood) relations."

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Volume 7, Book 62, Number 37:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
It was said to the Prophet, "Won't you marry the daughter of Hamza?" He said, "She is my foster niece (brother's daughter). "

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 38:
Narrated Um Habiba:
(daughter of Abu Sufyan) I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Marry my sister. the daughter of Abu Sufyan." The Prophet said, "Do you like that?" I replied, "Yes, for even now I am not your only wife and I like that my sister should share the good with me." The Prophet said, "But that is not lawful for me." I said, We have heard that you want to marry the daughter of Abu Salama." He said, "(You mean) the daughter of Um Salama?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Even if she were not my step-daughter, she would be unlawful for me to marry as she is my foster niece. I and Abu Salama were suckled by Thuwaiba. So you should not present to me your daughters or your sisters (in marriage)." Narrated 'Ursa; Thuwaiba was the freed slave girl of Abu Lahb whom he had manumitted, and then she suckled the Prophet. When Abu Lahb died, one of his relatives saw him in a dream in a very bad state and asked him, "What have you encountered?" Abu Lahb said, "I have not found any rest since I left you, except that I have been given water to drink in this (the space between his thumb and other fingers) and that is because of my manumitting Thuwaiba."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 39:
Narrated Aisha:
that the Prophet entered upon her while a man was sitting with her. Signs of anger seemed to appear on his face as if he disliked that. She said, "Here is my (foster) brother." He said, "Be sure as to who is your foster brother, for foster suckling relationship is established only when milk is the only food of the child."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 40:
Narrated Aisha:
that Aflah the brother of Abu Al-Qu'ais, her foster uncle, came, asking permission to enter upon her after the Verse of Al-Hijab (the use of veils by women) was revealed. Aisha added: I did not allow him to enter, but when Allah's Apostle came, I told him what I had done, and he ordered me to give him permission.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 41:
Narrated Uqba bin Al-Harith:
I married a woman and then a black lady came to us and said, "I have suckled you both (you and your wife)." So I came to the Prophet and said, "I married so-and-so and then a black lady came to us and said to me, 'I have suckled both of you.' But I think she is a liar." The Prophet turned his face away from me and I moved to face his face, and said, "She is a liar." The Prophet said, "How (can you keep her as your wife) when that lady has said that she has suckled both of you? So abandon (i.e., divorce) her (your wife)."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 42:
Narrated Um Habiba:
I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Do you like to have (my sister) the daughter of Abu Sufyan?" The Prophet said, "What shall I do (with her)?" I said, "Marry her." He said, "Do you like that?" I said, "(Yes), for even now I am not your only wife, so I like that my sister should share you with me." He said, "She is not lawful for me (to marry)." I said, "We have heard that you want to marry." He said, "The daughter of Um Salama?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Even if she were not my stepdaughter, she should be unlawful for me to marry, for Thuwaiba suckled me and her father (Abu Salama). So you should neither present your daughters, nor your sisters, to me."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 43:
Narrated Um Habiba:
I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Marry my sister, the daughter of Abu Sufyan." He said, "Do you like that?" I said, "Yes, for even now I am not your only wife; and the most beloved person to share the good with me is my sister." The Prophet said, "But that is not lawful for me (i.e., to be married to two sisters at a time.)" I said, "O Allah's Apostle! By Allah, we have heard that you want to marry Durra, the daughter of Abu Salama." He said, "You mean the daughter of Um Salama?" I said, "Yes." He said, "By Allah ! Even if she were not my stepdaughter, she would not be lawful for me to marry, for she is my foster niece, for Thuwaiba has suckled me and Abu Salama; so you should neither present your daughters, nor your sisters to me."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 44:
Narrated Jabir:
Allah's Apostle forbade that a woman should be married to man along with her paternal or maternal aunt.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 45:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "A woman and her paternal aunt should not be married to the same man; and similarly, a woman and her maternal aunt should not be married to the same man."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 46:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet forbade that a woman should be married to a man along with her paternal aunt or with her maternal aunt (at the same time). Az-Zuhri (the sub-narrator) said: There is a similar order for the paternal aunt of the father of one's wife, for 'Ursa told me that Aisha said, "What is unlawful because of blood relations, is also unlawful because of the corresponding foster suckling relations."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 47:
Narrated Ibn Umar :
Allah's Apostle forbade Ash-Shighar, which means that somebody marries his daughter to somebody else, and the latter marries his daughter to the former without paying Mahr.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 48:
Narrated Hisham's father:
Khaula bint Hakim was one of those ladies who presented themselves to the Prophet for marriage. Aisha said, "Doesn't a lady feel ashamed for presenting herself to a man?" But when the Verse: "(O Mohammed) You may postpone (the turn of) any of them (your wives) that you please,' (33.51) was revealed, " Aisha said, 'O Allah's Apostle! I do not see, but, that your Lord hurries in pleasing you.' "

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 49:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet got married while he was in the state of Ihram.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 50:
Narrated Ali:
I said to Ibn Abbas, "During the battle of Khaibar the Prophet forbade (Nikah) Al-Mut'a and the eating of donkey's meat."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 51:
Narrated Abu Jamra:
I heard Ibn Abbas (giving a verdict) when he was asked about the Mut'a with the women, and he permitted it (Nikah-al-Mut'a). On that a freed slave of his said to him, "That is only when it is very badly needed and women are scarce." On that, Ibn Abbas said, "Yes."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 52:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah and Salama bin Al-Akwa':
While we were in an army, Allah's Apostle came to us and said, "You have been allowed to do the Mut'a (marriage), so do it." Salama bin Al-Akwa' said: Allah's Apostle's said, "If a man and a woman agree (to marry temporarily), their marriage should last for three nights, and if they like to continue, they can do so; and if they want to separate, they can do so." I do not know whether that was only for us or for all the people in general. Abu Abdullah (Al-Bukhari) said: Ali made it clear that the Prophet said, "The Mut'a marriage has been cancelled (made unlawful)."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 53:
Narrated Thabit Al-Banani:
I was with Anas while his daughter was present with him. Anas said, "A woman came to Allah's Apostle and presented herself to him, saying, 'O Allah's Apostle, have you any need for me (i.e. would you like to marry me)?' "Thereupon Anas's daughter said, "What a shameless lady she was ! Shame! Shame!" Anas said, "She was better than you; she had a liking for the Prophet so she presented herself for marriage to him."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 54:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
A woman presented herself to the Prophet (for marriage). A man said to him, "O Allah's Apostle! (If you are not in need of her) marry her to me." The Prophet said, "What have you got?" The man said, "I have nothing." The Prophet said (to him), "Go and search for something) even if it were an iron ring." The man went and returned saying, "No, I have not found anything, not even an iron ring; but this is my (Izar) waist sheet, and half of it is for her." He had no Rida' (upper garment). The Prophet said, "What will she do with your waist sheet? If you wear it, she will have nothing over her; and if she wears it, you will have nothing over you." So the man sat down and when he had sat a long time, he got up (to leave). When the Prophet saw him (leaving), he called him back, or the man was called (for him), and he said to the man, "How much of the Koran do you know (by heart)?" The man replied I know such Sura and such Sura (by heart)," naming the Suras The Prophet said, "I have married her to you for what you know of the Koran "

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 55:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar :
Umar bin Al-Khattab said, "When Hafsa bint Umar became a widow after the death of (her husband) Khunais bin Hudhafa As-Sahmi who had been one of the companions of the Prophet, and he died at Medina. I went to Uthman bin 'Affan and presented Hafsa (for marriage) to him. He said, "I will think it over.' I waited for a few days, then he met me and said, 'It seems that it is not possible for me to marry at present.' " Umar further said, "I met Abu Bakr As-Siddique and said to him, 'If you wish, I will marry my daughter Hafsa to you." Abu Bakr kept quiet and did not say anything to me in reply. I became more angry with him than with Uthman. I waited for a few days and then Allah's Apostle asked for her hand, and I gave her in marriage to him. Afterwards I met Abu Bakr who said, 'Perhaps you became angry with me when you presented Hafsa to me and I did not give you a reply?' I said, 'Yes.' Abu Bakr said, 'Nothing stopped me to respond to your offer except that I knew that Allah's Apostle had mentioned her, and I never wanted to let out the secret of Allah's Apostle. And if Allah's Apostle had refused her, I would have accepted her.' "

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 56:
Narrated Zainab bint Salama:
Um Habiba said to Allah's Apostle "We have heard that you want to marry Durra bint Abu-Salama." Allah's Apostle said, "Can she be married along with Um Salama (her mother)? Even if I have not married Um Salama, she would not be lawful for me to marry, for her father is my foster brother." 'And there is no blame on you if you make hint of betrothal or conceal it in your hearts. Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Forbearing.' (2.235) Ibn Abbas said, "Hint your intention of marrying' is made by saying (to the widow) for example: "I want to marry, and I wish that Allah will make a righteous lady available for me.' " Al-Qasim said: One may say to the widow: 'I hold all respect for you, and I am interested in you; Allah will bring you much good, or something similar 'Ata said: One should hint his intention, and should not declare it openly. One may say: 'I have some need. Have good tidings. Praise be to Allah; you are fit to remarry.' She (the widow) may say in reply: I am listening to what you say,' but she should not make a promise. Her guardian should not make a promise (to somebody to get her married to him) without her knowledge. But if, while still in the Iddat period, she makes a promise to marry somebody, and he ultimately marries her, they are not to be separated by divorce (i.e., the marriage is valid).

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 57:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle said (to me), "You were shown to me in a dream. An angel brought you to me, wrapped in a piece of silken cloth, and said to me, 'This is your wife.' I removed the piece of cloth from your face, and there you were. I said to myself. 'If it is from Allah, then it will surely be.' "

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 58:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
A woman came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have come to you to present myself to you (for marriage)." Allah's Apostle glanced at her. He looked at her carefully and fixed his glance on her and then lowered his head. When the lady saw that he did not say anything, she sat down. A man from his companions got up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! If you are not in need of her, then marry her to me." The Prophet said, "Have you got anything to offer." The man said, 'No, by Allah, O Allah's Apostle!" The Prophet said (to him), "Go to your family and try to find something." So the man went and returned, saying, "No, by Allah, O Allah's Apostle! I have not found anything." The Prophet said, "Go again and look for something, even if it were an iron ring." He went and returned, saying, "No, by Allah, O Allah's Apostle! I could not find even an iron ring, but this is my Izar (waist sheet).' He had no Rida (upper garment). He added, "I give half of it to her." Allah's Apostle said "What will she do with your Izar? If you wear it, she will have nothing over herself thereof (will be naked); and if she wears it, then you will have nothing over yourself thereof ' So the man sat for a long period and then got up (to leave). When Allah's Apostle saw him leaving, he ordered that he e called back. When he came, the Prophet asked (him), "How much of the Koran do you know (by heart)?" The man replied, I know such Sura and such Sura and such Sura," naming the suras. The Prophet said, "Can you recite it by heart?" He said, 'Yes." The Prophet said, "Go I let you marry her for what you know of the Koran (as her Mahr).

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Volume 7, Book 62, Number 59:
Narrated Aisha:
(as regards the Verse): 'And about what is recited unto you in the Book, concerning orphan girls to whom you give not the prescribed portions and yet, whom you desire to marry.' (4.127) This Verse is about the female orphan who is under the guardianship of a man with whom she shares her property and he has more right over her (than anybody else) but does not like to marry her, so he prevents her, from marrying somebody else, lest he should share the property with him.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 60:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
When Hafsa, Umar's daughter became a widow because of the death of her (husband) Ibn Hudhafa As-Sahmi who was one of the companion of the Prophet and the one of the Badr warriors and died at Medina, Umar said, "I met Uthman bin 'Affan and gave him an offer, saying, 'If you wish, I will marry Hafsa to you.' He said. 'I will think it over' I waited for a few days, then he met me and said, 'I have made up my mind not to marry at present' "Umar added, "Then I met Abu Bakr and said to him, 'If you wish, I will marry Hafsa to you.' "

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 61:
Narrated Al-Hasan:
concerning the Verse: 'Do not prevent them' (2.232) Ma'qil bin Yasar told me that it was revealed in his connection. He said, "I married my sister to a man and he divorced her, and when her days of 'Idda (three menstrual periods) were over, the man came again and asked for her hand, but I said to him, 'I married her to you and made her your bed (your wife) and favored you with her, but you divorced her. Now you come to ask for her hand again? No, by Allah, she will never go back to you (again)!' That man was not a bad man and his wife wanted to go back to him. So Allah revealed this Verse: 'Do not prevent them.' (2.232) So I said, 'Now I will do it (let her go back to him), O Allah's Apostle."So he married her to him again.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 62:
Narrated Aisha:
(regarding His Statement): 'They ask your instruction concerning the women. Say: Allah instructs you about them ...' (4.127) It is about the female orphan who is under the guardianship of a man with whom she shares her property and he does not want to marry her and dislikes that someone else should marry her, lest he should share the property with him, so he prevents her from marrying. So Allah forbade such a guardian to do so (i.e. to prevent her from marrying).

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 63:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
While we were sitting in the company of the Prophet a woman came to him and presented herself (for marriage) to him. The Prophet looked at her, lowering his eyes and raising them, but did not give a reply. One of his companions said, "Marry her to me O Allah's Apostle!" The Prophet asked (him), "Have you got anything?" He said, "I have got nothing." The Prophet said, "Not even an iron ring?" He Sad, "Not even an iron ring, but I will tear my garment into two halves and give her one half and keep the other half." The Prophet; said, "No. Do you know some of the Koran (by heart)?" He said, "Yes." The Prophet said, "Go, I have agreed to marry her to you with what you know of the Koran (as her Mahr)." 'And for those who have no courses (i.e. they are still immature). (65.4) And the 'Iddat for the girl before puberty is three months (in the above Verse).

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 64:
Narrated Aisha:
that the Prophet married her when she was six years old and he consummated his marriage when she was nine years old, and then she remained with him for nine years (i.e., till his death).

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 65:
Narrated Aisha:
that the Prophet married her when she was six years old and he consummated his marriage when she was nine years old. Hisham said: I have been informed that Aisha remained with the Prophet for nine years (i.e. till his death)." what you know of the Koran (by heart)'

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 66:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
A woman came to Allah's Apostle and said, "I present myself (to you) (for marriage). She stayed for a long while, then a man said, "If you are not in need of her then marry her to me." The Prophet said, "Have you got anything m order to pay her Mahr?" He said, "I have nothing with me except my Izar (waist sheet)." The Prophet said, "If you give her your Izar, you will have no Izar to wear, (so go) and search for something. He said, "I could not find anything." The Prophet said, "Try (to find something), even if it were an iron ring But he was not able to find (even that) The Prophet said (to him). "Do you memorize something of the Koran?" "Yes. ' he said, "such Sura and such Sura," naming those Suras The Prophet said, "We have married her to you for what you know of the Koran (by heart)."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 67:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "A matron should not be given in marriage except after consulting her; and a virgin should not be given in marriage except after her permission." The people asked, "O Allah's Apostle! How can we know her permission?" He said, "Her silence (indicates her permission)."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 68:
Narrated Aisha:
I said, "O Allah's Apostle! A virgin feels shy." He said, "Her consent is (expressed by) her silence."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 69:
Narrated Khansa bint Khidam Al-Ansariya:
that her father gave her in marriage when she was a matron and she disliked that marriage. So she went to Allah's Apostle and he declared that marriage invalid.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 70:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Yazid and Majammi bin Yazid.
the same ,Hadith above: A man called Khidam married a daughter of his (to somebody) against her consent. 'If you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly with the orphan girls then marry (other) women of your choice.' (4.3) And if somebody says to the guardian (of a woman), "Marry me to so-and-so," and the guardian remained silent or said to him, "What have you got?" And the other said, "I have so much and so much (Mahr)," or kept quiet, and then the guardian said, "I have married her to you," then the marriage is valid (legal). This narration was told by Sahl on the authority of the Prophet

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 71:
Narrated 'Ursa bin Az-Zubair:
that he asked Aisha, saying to her, "O Mother! (In what connection was this Verse revealed):
'If you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly with orphan girls (to the end of the verse) that your right hands possess?" (4.3) Aisha said, "O my nephew! It was about the female orphan under the protection of her guardian who was interested in her beauty and wealth and wanted to marry her with a little or reduced Mahr. So such guardians were forbidden to marry female orphans unless they deal with them justly and give their full Mahr; and they were ordered to marry women other than them."Aisha added, "(Later) the people asked Allah's Apostle, for instructions, and then Allah revealed: 'They ask your instruction concerning the women . . . And yet whom you desire to marry.' (4.127) So Allah revealed to them in this Verse that-if a female orphan had wealth and beauty, they desired to marry her and were interested in her noble descent and the reduction of her Mahr; but if she was not desired by them because of her lack in fortune and beauty they left her and married some other woman. So, as they used to leave her when they had no interest in her, they had no right to marry her if they had the desire to do so, unless they deal justly with her and gave her a full amount of Mahr."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 72:
Narrated Sahl:
A woman came to the Prophet,, and presented herself to him (for marriage). He said, "I am not in need of women these days." Then a man said, "O Allah's Apostle! Marry her to me." The Prophet asked him, "What have you got?" He said, "I have got nothing." The Prophet said, "Give her something, even an iron ring." He said, "I have got nothing." The Prophet asked (him), "How much of the Koran do you know (by heart)?" He said, "So much and so much." The Prophet said, "I have married her to you for what you know of the Koran."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 73:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet decreed that one should not try to cancel a bargain already agreed upon between some other persons (by offering a bigger price). And a man should not ask for the hand of a girl who is already engaged to his Muslim brother, unless the first suitor gives her up, or allows him to ask for her hand.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 74:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Beware of suspicion (about others), as suspicion is the falsest talk, and do not spy upon each other, and do not listen to the evil talk of the people about others' affairs, and do not have enmity with one another, but be brothers. And none should ask for the hand of a girl who is already engaged to his (Muslim) brother, but one should wait till the first suitor marries her or leaves her."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 75:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
"When Hafsa became a widow," Umar said, "I met Abu Bakr and said to him, 'If you wish I will marry Hafsa bint Umar to you.' I waited for a few days then Allah's Apostle asked for her hand. Later Abu Bakr met me and said, 'Nothing stopped me from returning to you concerning your offer except that I knew that Allah's Apostle had mentioned (his wish to marry) her, and I could never let out the secret of Allah's Apostle . If he had left her, I would have accepted her.' "

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 76:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Two men came from the east and delivered speeches, and the Prophet said, "Some eloquent speech has the in fluency of magic (e.g., some people refuse to do something and then a good eloquent speaker addresses them and then they agree to do that very thing after his speech). "

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 77:
Narrated Ar-Rabi:
(the daughter of Muawwidh bin Afra) After the consummation of my marriage, the Prophet came and sat on my bed as far from me as you are sitting now, and our little girls started beating the tambourines and reciting elegiac verses mourning my father who had been killed in the battle of Badr. One of them said, "Among us is a Prophet who knows what will happen tomorrow." On that the Prophet said, "Leave this (saying) and keep on saying the verses which you had been saying before."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 78:
Narrated Anas:
Abdur Rahman bin 'Auf married a woman and gave her gold equal to the weight of a date stone (as Mahr). When the Prophet noticed the signs of cheerfulness of the marriage (on his face) and asked him about it, he said, "I have married a woman and gave (her) gold equal to a date stone in weight (as Mahr)."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 79:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad As-Sa'idi:
While I was (sitting) among the people in the company of Allah's Apostle a woman stood up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! She has given herself in marriage to you; please give your opinion of her." The Prophet did not give her any reply. She again stood up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! She has given herself (in marriage) to you; so please give your opinion of her. The Prophet did not give her any reply. She again stood up for the third time and said, "She has given herself in marriage to you: so give your opinion of her." So a man stood up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Marry her to me." The Prophet asked him, "Have you got anything?" He said, "No." The Prophet said, "Go and search for something, even if it were an iron ring." The man went and searched and then returned saying, "I could not find anything, not even an iron ring." Then the Prophet said, "Do you know something of the Koran (by heart)?" He replied, "I know (by heart) such Sura and such Sura." The Prophet said, "Go! I have married her to you for what you know of the Koran (by heart)."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 80:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
The Prophet said to a man, "Marry, even with (a Mahr equal to) an iron ring."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 81:
Narrated Uqba:
The Prophet said: "The stipulations most entitled to be abided by are those with which you are given the right to enjoy the (women's) private parts (i.e. the stipulations of the marriage contract)."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 82:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "It is not lawful for a woman (at the time of wedding) to ask for the divorce of her sister (i.e. the other wife of her would-be husband) in order to have everything for herself, for she will take only what has been written for her."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 83:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Abdur-Rahman bin 'Auf came to Allah's Apostle and he had marks of Sufra (yellow perfume). Allah's Apostle asked him (about those marks). AbdurRahman bin Auf told him that he had married a woman from the Ansar. The Prophet asked, "How much Mahr did you pay her?" He said, "I paid gold equal to the weight of a date stone." Allah's Apostle said to him, "Give a wedding banquet, even if with one sheep."

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Volume 7, Book 62, Number 84:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet offered a wedding banquet on the occasion of his marriage to Zainab, and provided a good meal for the Muslims. Then he went out as was his custom on marrying, he came to the dwelling places of the mothers of the Believers (i.e. his wives) invoking good (on them), and they were invoking good (on him). Then he departed (and came back) and saw two men (still sitting there). So he left again. I do not remember whether I informed him or he was informed (by somebody else) of their departure)."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 85:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet saw the traces of Sufra (yellow perfume) on Abdur-Rahman bin 'Auf and said, "What is this?" Abdur-Rahman, said, "I have married a woman and have paid gold equal to the weight of a datestone (as her Mahr). The Prophet said to him, "May Allah bless you: Offer a wedding banquet even with one sheep."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 86:
Narrated Aisha:
When the Prophet married me, my mother came to me and made me enter the house where I saw some women from the Ansar who said, "May you prosper and have blessings and have good omen."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 87:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "A prophet among the prophets went for a military expedition and said to his people: "A man who has married a lady and wants to consummate his marriage with her and he has not done so yet, should not accompany me.' "

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 88:
Narrated 'Ursa:
The Prophet wrote the (marriage contract) with Aisha while she was six years old and consummated his marriage with her while she was nine years old and she remained with him for nine years (i.e. till his death).

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 89:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet stayed for three days at a place between Khaibar and Medina, and there he consummated his marriage with Safiyya bint Huyay. I invited the Muslims to a banquet which included neither meat nor bread. The Prophet ordered for the leather dining sheets to be spread, and then dates, dried yogurt and butter were provided over it, and that was the Walima (banquet) of the Prophet. The Muslims asked whether Safiyya would be considered as his wife or as a slave girl of what his right hands possessed. Then they said, "If the Prophet screens her from the people, then she Is the Prophet's wife but if he does not screen her, then she is a slave girl." So when the Prophet proceeded, he made a place for her (on the camel) behind him and screened her from people.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 90:
Narrated Aisha:
When the Prophet married me, my mother came to me and made me enter the house (of the Prophet) and nothing surprised me but the coming of Allah's Apostle to me in the forenoon.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 91:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle said, "Did you get Anmat?" I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! From where can we have Anmat?" The Prophet said, "Soon you will have them Anmat)

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 92p:
Narrated Aisha:
that she prepared a lady for a man from the Ansar as his bride and the Prophet said, "O Aisha! Haven't you got any amusement (during the marriage ceremony) as the Ansar like amusement?"

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 92m:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
"Whenever the Prophet passed by (my mother Um-Sulaim) he used to enter her and greet her. Anas further said: Once the Prophet way a bridegroom during his marriage with Zainab, Um Sulaim said to me, "Let us give a gift to Allah's Apostle ." I said to her, "Do it." So she prepared Haisa (a sweet dish) made from dates, butter and dried yoghurt and she sent it with me to him. I took it to him and he said, "Put it down," and ordered me to call some men whom he named, and to invite whomever I would meet. I did what he ordered me to do, and when I returned, I found the house crowded with people and saw the Prophet keeping his hand over the Haisa and saying over it whatever Allah wished (him to say). Then he called the men in batches of ten to eat of it, and he said to them, "Mention the Name of Allah, and each man should eat of the dish the nearest to him." When all of them had finished their meals, some of them left and a few remained there talking, over which I felt unhappy. Then the Prophet went out towards the dwelling places (of his wives) and I too, went out after him and told him that those people had left. Then he returned and entered his dwelling place and let the curtains fall while I was in (his) dwelling place, and he was reciting the Verses:-- 'O you who believe! Enter not the Prophet's house until leave is given you for a meal, (and then) not (as early as) to what for its preparation. But when you are invited, enter, and when you have taken your meals, disperse without sitting for a talk. Verily such (behavior) annoys the Prophet; and he would be shy of (asking) you (to go), but Allah is not shy of (telling you) the Truth.' (33-53) Abu Uthman said: Anas said, "I served the Prophet for ten years."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 93:
Narrated Aisha:
that she borrowed a necklace from Asma and then it got lost. So Allah's Apostle
sent some people from his companions in search of it. In the meantime the stated time for the prayer became due and they offered their prayer without ablution. When they came to the Prophet, they complained about it to him, so the Verse regarding Tayammum was revealed .
Usaid bin Hudair said, "(O Aisha!) may Allah bless you with a good reward, for by Allah, never did a difficulty happen in connection with you, but Allah made an escape from it for you, and brought Allah's Blessings for the Muslims."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 94:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "If anyone of you, when having sexual intercourse with his wife, says: Bismillah, Allahumma jannibni-Sh-Shaitan wa jannib-ish-Shaitan ma razaqtana, and if it is destined that they should have a child, then Satan will never be able to harm him."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 95:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
I was ten years old when Allah's Apostle arrived at Medina. My mother and aunts used to urge me to serve the Prophet regularly, and I served him for ten years. When the Prophet died I was twenty years old, and I knew about the order of Al-Hijab (veiling of ladies) more than any other person when it was revealed. It was revealed for the first time when Allah's Apostle had consummated his marriage with Zainab bint Jahsh. When the day dawned, the Prophet was a bridegroom and he invited the people to a banquet, so they came, ate, and then all left except a few who remained with the Prophet for a long time. The Prophet got up and went out, and I too went out with him so that those people might leave too. The Prophet proceeded and so did I, till he came to the threshold of Aisha's dwelling place. Then thinking that these people have left by then, he returned and so did I along with him till he entered upon Zainab and behold, they were still sitting and had not gone. So the Prophet again went away and I went away along with him. When we reached the threshold of Aisha's dwelling place, he thought that they had left, and so he returned and I too, returned along with him and found those people had left. Then the Prophet drew a curtain between me and him, and the Verses of Al-Hijab were revealed.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 96:
Narrated Anas:
When Abdur-Rahman bin 'Auf married an Ansari woman, the Prophet asked him, "How much Mahr did you give her?" Abdur-Rahman said, "Gold equal to the weight of a date stone." Anas added: When they (i.e. the Prophet and his companions) arrived at Medina, the emigrants stayed at the Ansar's houses. Abdur-Rahman bin 'Auf stayed at Sad bin Ar-Rabis house. Sad said to Abdur-Rahman, "I will divide and share my property with you and will give one of my two wives to you." Abdur-Rahman said, "May Allah bless you, your wives and property (I am not in need of that; but kindly show me the way to the market)." So Abdur-Rahman went to the market and traded there gaining a profit of some dried yoghurt and butter, and married (an Ansari woman). The Prophet said to him, "Give a banquet, even if with one sheep."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 97:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet did not give a better wedding banquet on the occasion of marrying any of his wives than the one he gave on marrying Zainab, and that banquet was with (consisted of) one sheep.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 98:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle manumitted Safiyya and then married her, and her Mahr was her manumission, and he gave a wedding banquet with Hais (a sort of sweet dish made from butter, cheese and dates).

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 99:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet consummated his marriage with a woman (Zainab), so he sent me to invite men to the meals.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 100:
Narrated Thabit:
The marriage of Zainab bint Jahash was mentioned in the presence of Anas and he said, "I did not see the Prophet giving a better banquet on marrying any of his wives than the one he gave on marrying Zainab. He then gave a banquet with one sheep."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 101:
Narrated Safiyya bint Shaiba:
The Prophet gave a banquet with two Mudds of barley on marrying some of his wives. (1 Mudd= 1 3/4 of a kilogram) .

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 102:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "If anyone of you is invites to a wedding banquet, he must go for it (accept the invitation) ."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 103:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet said, "Set the captives free, accept the invitation (to a wedding banquet), and visit the patients."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 104:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
The Prophet ordered us to do seven (things) and forbade us from seven. He ordered us to visit the patients, to follow the funeral procession, to reply to the sneezer (i.e., say to him, 'Yarhamuka-l-lah (May Allah bestow His Mercy upon you), if he says 'Al-hamdulillah' (Praise be to Allah), to help others to fulfill their oaths, to help the oppressed, to greet (whomever one should meet), and to accept the invitation (to a wedding banquet). He forbade us to wear golden rings, to use silver utensils, to use Mayathir (cushions of silk stuffed with cotton and placed under the rider on the saddle), the Qasiyya (linen clothes containing silk brought from an Egyptian town), the Istibraq (thick silk) and the Dibaj (another kind of silk). (See Hadith No. 539 and 753).

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 105:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
Abu Usaid As-Sa'di invited Allah's Apostle to his wedding party and his wife who was the bride, served them on that day. Do you know what drink she gave Allah's Apostle? She had soaked some dates for him (in water) overnight, and when he had finished his meal she gave him that drink (of soaked dates).

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 106:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The worst food is that of a wedding banquet to which only the rich are invited while the poor are not invited. And he who refuses an invitation (to a banquet) disobeys Allah and His Apostle .

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 107:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "If I am invited to a meal of trotters I will accept it; and if I am given a trotter as a present I will accept it."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 108:
Narrated Nafi:
Abdullah bin Umar said, "Allah's Apostle said, 'Accept the marriage invitation if you are invited to it.' " Ibn Umar used to accept the invitation whether to a wedding banquet or to any other party, even when he was fasting.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 109:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Once the Prophet saw some women and children coming from a wedding party. He got up energetically and happily and said, "By Allah! You (i.e., the Ansar) are the most beloved of all people to me."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 110:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) I bought a cushion having on it pictures (of animals). When Allah's Apostle saw it, he stood at the door and did not enter. I noticed the sign of disapproval on his face and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I repent to Allah and His Apostle. What sin have I committed?' Allah's Apostle said. "What is this cushion?" I said, "I have bought it for you so that you may sit on it and recline on it." Allah's Apostle said, "The makers of these pictures will be punished on the Day of Resurrection, and it will be said to them, 'Give life to what you have created (i.e., these pictures).' " The Prophet added,

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"The Angels of (Mercy) do not enter a house in which there are pictures (of animals)."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 111:
Narrated Sahl:
When Abu Usaid As-Sa'idi got married, he invited the Prophet and his companions. None prepared the food for them and brought it to them but his wife. She soaked some dates in water in a stone pot overnight, and when the Prophet had finished his food, she provided him with that drink (of soaked dates).

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 112:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
Abu Usaid As-Sa'idi invited the Prophet to his wedding party and his wife served him on that day, and she was the bride. She said (or Sahl said), "Do you know what she soaked for Allah's Apostle? She soaked some dates for him (in water) in a drinking bowl overnight."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 113:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The woman is like a rib; if you try to straighten her, she will break. So if you want to get benefit from her, do so while she still has some crookedness."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 114:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day should not hurt (trouble) his neighbour. And I advise you to take care of the women, for they are created from a rib and the most crooked portion of the rib is its upper part; if you try to straighten it, it will break, and if you leave it, it will remain crooked, so I urge you to take care of the women."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 115:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
During the lifetime of the Prophet we used to avoid chatting leisurely and freely with our wives lest some Divine inspiration might be revealed concerning us. But when the Prophet had died, we started chatting leisurely and freely (with them).

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 116:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
The Prophet said, "Everyone of you is a guardian and everyone of you is responsible (for his wards). A ruler is a guardian and is responsible(for his subjects); a man is a guardian of his family and responsible (for them); a wife is a guardian of her husband's house and she is responsible (for it), a slave is a guardian of his master's property and is responsible (for that). Beware! All of you are guardians and are responsible (for your wards)."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 117:
Narrated Aisha:
Eleven women sat (at a place) and promised and contracted that they would not conceal anything of the news of their husbands. The first one said, "My husband is like the meat of a lean weak camel which is kept on the top of a mountain which is neither easy to climb, nor is the meat fat, so that one might put up with the trouble of fetching it." The second one said, "I shall not relate my husband's news, for I fear that I may not be able to finish his story, for if I describe him, I will mention all his defects and bad traits." The third one said, "My husband is a tall man; if I describe him (and he hears of that) he will divorce me, and if I keep quiet, he will neither divorce me nor treat me as a wife." The fourth one said, "My husband is a moderate person like the night of Tihama which is neither hot nor cold. I am neither afraid of him, nor am I discontented with him." The fifth one said, "My husband, when entering (the house) is a leopard, and when going out, is a lion. He does not ask about whatever is in the house." The sixth one said, "If my husband eats. he eats too much (leaving the dishes empty), and if he drinks he leaves nothing, and if he sleeps he sleeps alone (away from me) covered in garments and does not stretch his hands here and there so as to know how I fare (get along)." The seventh one said, "My husband is a wrong-doer or weak and foolish. All the defects are present in him. He may injure your head or your body or may do both." The eighth one said, "My husband is soft to touch like a rabbit and smells like a Zarnab (a kind of good smelling grass)." The ninth one said, "My husband is a tall generous man wearing a long strap for carrying his sword. His ashes are abundant and his house is near to the people who would easily consult him." The tenth one said, "My husband is Malik, and what is Malik? Malik is greater than whatever I say about him. (He is beyond and above all praises which can come to my mind). Most of his camels are kept at home (ready to be slaughtered for the guests) and only a few are taken to the pastures. When the camels hear the sound of the lute (or the tambourine) they realize that they are going to be slaughtered for the guests." The eleventh one said, "My husband is Abu Zar and what is Abu Zar (i.e., what should I say about him)? He has given me many ornaments and my ears are heavily loaded with them and my arms have become fat (i.e., I have become fat). And he has pleased me, and I have become so happy that I feel proud of myself. He found me with my family who were mere owners of sheep and living in poverty, and brought me to a respected family having horses and camels and threshing and purifying grain . Whatever I say, he does not rebuke or insult me. When I sleep, I sleep till late in the morning, and when I drink water (or milk), I drink my fill. The mother of Abu Zar and what may one say in praise of the mother of Abu Zar? Her saddle bags were always full of provision and her house was spacious. As for the son of Abu Zar, what may one say of the son of Abu Zar? His bed is as narrow as an unsheathed sword and an arm of a kid (of four months) satisfies his hunger. As for the daughter of Abu Zar, she is obedient to her father and to her mother. She has a fat well-built body and that arouses the jealousy of her husband's other wife. As for the (maid) slave girl of Abu Zar, what may one say of the (maid) slavegirl of Abu Zar? She does not uncover our secrets but keeps them, and does not waste our provisions and does not leave the rubbish scattered everywhere in our house." The eleventh lady added, "One day it so happened that Abu Zar went out at the time when the milk was being milked from the animals, and he saw a woman who had two sons like two leopards playing with her two breasts. (On seeing her) he divorced me and married her. Thereafter I married a noble man who used to ride a fast tireless horse and keep a spear in his hand. He gave me many things, and also a pair of every kind of livestock and said, 'Eat (of this), O Um Zar, and give provision to your relatives." She added, "Yet, all those things which my second husband gave me could not fill the smallest utensil of Abu Zar's." Aisha then said: Allah's Apostle said to me, "I am to you as Abu Zar was to his wife Um Zar."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 118:
Narrated 'Ursa:
Aisha said, "While the Ethiopians were playing with their small spears, Allah's Apostle screened me behind him and I watched (that display) and kept on watching till I left on my own." So you may estimate of what age a little girl may listen to amusement.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 119:
Narrated Ibn Abbas :
I had been eager to ask Umar bin Al-Khattab about the two ladies from among the wives of the Prophet regarding whom Allah said 'If you two (wives of the Prophet namely Aisha and Hafsa) turn in repentance to Allah, your hearts are indeed so inclined (to oppose what the Prophet likes). (66.4) till Umar performed the Hajj and I too, performed the Hajj along with him. (On the way) Umar went aside to answer the call of nature, and I also went aside along with him carrying a tumbler full of water, and when Umar had finished answering the call of nature, I poured water over his hands and he performed the ablution. Then I said to him, "O chief of the Believers! Who were the two ladies from among the wives of the Prophet regarding whom Allah said: 'If you two (wives of the Prophet) turn in repentance to Allah your hearts are indeed so inclined (to oppose what the Prophet likes)?" (66.4) He said, "I am astonished at your question, O Ibn Abbas. They were Aisha and Hafsa." Then Umar went on narrating the Hadith and said, "I and an Ansari neighbour of mine from Bani Umaiyya bin Zaid who used to live in Awali-al-Medina, used to visit the Prophet in turn. He used to go one day and I another day. When I went, I would bring him the news of what had happened that day regarding the Divine Inspiration and other things, and when he went, he used to do the same for me. We, the people of Quraish used to have the upper hand over our wives, but when we came to the Ansar, we found that their women had the upper hand over their men, so our women also started learning the ways of the Ansari women. I shouted at my wife and she retorted against me and I disliked that she should answer me back. She said to me, 'Why are you so surprised at my answering you back? By Allah, the wives of the Prophet answer him back and some of them may leave (does not speak to) him throughout the day till the night.' The (talk) scared me and I said to her, 'Whoever has done so will be ruined!' Then I proceeded after dressing myself, and entered upon Hafsa and said to her, 'Does anyone of you keep the Prophet angry till night?' She said, 'Yes.' I said, 'You are a ruined losing person! Don't you fear that Allah may get angry for the anger of Allah's Apostle and thus you will be ruined? So do not ask more from the Prophet and do not answer him back and do not give up talking to him. Ask me whatever you need and do not be tempted to imitate your neighbour (i.e., Aisha) in her manners for she is more charming than you and more beloved to the Prophet ." Umar added,"At that time a talk was circulating among us that (the tribe of) Ghassan were preparing their horses to invade us. My Ansari companion, on the day of his turn, went (to the town) and returned to us at night and knocked at my door violently and asked if I was there. I became horrified and came out to him. He said, 'Today a great thing has happened.' I asked, 'What is it? Have (the people of) Ghassan come?' He said, 'No, but (What has happened) is greater and more horrifying than that: Allah's Apostle; has divorced his wives. Umar added, "The Prophet kept away from his wives and I said "Hafsa is a ruined loser.' I had already thought that most probably this (divorce) would happen in the near future. So I dressed myself and offered the morning prayer with the Prophet and then the Prophet; entered an upper room and stayed there in seclusion. I entered upon Hafsa and saw her weeping. I asked, 'What makes you weep? Did I not warn you about that? Did the Prophet divorce you all?' She said, 'I do not know. There he is retired alone in the upper room.' I came out and sat near the pulpit and saw a group of people sitting around it and some of them were weeping. I sat with them for a while but could not endure the situation, so I went to the upper room where the Prophet; was and said to a black slave of his, 'Will you get the permission (of the Prophet) for Umar (to enter)?' The slave went in, talked to the Prophet about it and then returned saying, 'I have spoken to the Prophet and mentioned you but he kept quiet.' Then I returned and sat with the group of people sitting near the pulpit. but I could not bear the situation and once again I said to the slave, 'Will you get the permission for Umar?' He went in and returned saying, 'I mentioned you to him but he kept quiet.' So I returned again and sat with the group of people sitting near the pulpit, but I could not bear the situation, and so I went to the slave and said, 'Will you get the permission for Umar?' He went in and returned to me saying, 'I mentioned you to him but he kept quiet.' When I was leaving, behold! The slave called me, saying, 'The Prophet has given you permission.' Then I entered upon Allah's Apostle and saw him Lying on a bed made of stalks of date palm leaves and there was no bedding between it and him. The stalks left marks on his side and he was leaning on a leather pillow stuffed with date-palm fires. I greeted him and while still standing I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Have you divorced your wives?' He looked at me and said, 'No.' I said, 'Allah Akbar!' And then, while still standing, I said chatting, 'Will you heed what I say, O Allah's Apostle? We, the people of Quraish used to have power over our women, but when we arrived at Medina we found that the men (here) were overpowered by their women.' The Prophet smiled and then I said to him, 'Will you heed what I say, O Allah's Apostle? I entered upon Hafsa and said to her, "Do not be tempted to imitate your companion (Aisha), for she is more charming than you and more beloved to the Prophet.' " The Prophet smiled for a second time. When I saw him smiling, I sat down. Then I looked around his house, and by Allah, I could not see anything of importance in his house except three hides, so I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Invoke Allah to make your followers rich, for the Persians and the Romans have been made prosperous and they have been given (the pleasures of the world), although they do not worship Allah.' Thereupon the Prophet sat up as he was reclining. and said, 'Are you of such an opinion, O the son of Al-Khattab? These are the people who have received the rewards for their good deeds in this world.' I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Ask Allah to forgive me.' Then the Prophet kept away from his wives for twenty-nine days because of the story which Hafsa had disclosed to Aisha. The Prophet had said, 'I will not enter upon them (my wives) for one month,' because of his anger towards them, when Allah had admonished him. So, when twenty nine days had passed, the Prophet first entered upon Aisha. Aisha said to him, 'O Allah's Apostle! You had sworn that you would not enter upon us for one month, but now only twenty-nine days have passed, for I have been counting them one by one.' The Prophet said, 'The (present) month is of twenty nine days.' Aisha added, 'Then Allah revealed the Verses of the option. (2) And out of all his-wives he asked me first, and I chose him.' Then he gave option to his other wives and they said what Aisha had said . " (1) The Prophet, ' had decided to abstain from eating a certain kind of food because of a certain event, so Allah blamed him for doing so. Some of his wives were the cause of him taking that decision, therefore he deserted them for one month. See Koran: (66.4)

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 120:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "A woman should not fast (optional fasts) except with her husband's permission if he is at home (staying with her)."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 121:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "If a man Invites his wife to sleep with him and she refuses to come to him, then the angels send their curses on her till morning."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 122:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "If a woman spends the night deserting her husband's bed (does not sleep with him), then the angels send their curses on her till she comes back (to her husband)."

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Volume 7, Book 62, Number 123:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "It is not lawful for a lady to fast (Nawafil) without the permission of her husband when he is at home; and she should not allow anyone to enter his house except with his permission; and if she spends of his wealth (on charitable purposes) without being ordered by him, he will get half of the reward."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 124:
Narrated Usama:
The Prophet said, "I stood at the gate of Paradise and saw that the majority of the people who entered it were the poor, while the wealthy were stopped at the gate (for the accounts). But the companions of the Fire were ordered to be taken to the Fire. Then I stood at the gate of the Fire and saw that the majority of those who entered it were women."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 125:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
During the lifetime of Allah's Apostle, the sun eclipsed. Allah's Apostle offered the prayer of (the) eclipse) and so did the people along with him. He performed a long Qiyam (standing posture) during which Surat-al-Baqara could have been recited; then he performed a pro-longed bowing, then raised his head and stood for a long time which was slightly less than that of the first Qiyam (and recited Koran). Then he performed a prolonged bowing again but the period was shorter than the period of the first bowing, then he stood up and then prostrated. Again he stood up, but this time the period of standing was less than the first standing. Then he performed a prolonged bowing but of a lesser duration than the first, then he stood up again for a long time but for a lesser duration than the first. Then he performed a prolonged bowing but of lesser duration than the first, and then he again stood up, and then prostrated and then finished his prayer. By then the sun eclipse had cleared. The Prophet then said, "The sun and the moon are two signs among the signs of Allah, and they do not eclipse because of the death or birth of someone, so when you observe the eclipse, remember Allah (offer the eclipse prayer)." They (the people) said, "O Allah's Apostle! We saw you stretching your hand to take something at this place of yours, then we saw you stepping backward." He said, "I saw Paradise (or Paradise was shown to me), and I stretched my hand to pluck a bunch (of grapes), and had I plucked it, you would have eaten of it as long as this world exists. Then I saw the (Hell) Fire, and I have never before, seen such a horrible sight as that, and I saw that the majority of its dwellers were women." The people asked, "O Allah's Apostle! What is the reason for that?" He replied, "Because of their ungratefulness." It was said. "Do they disbelieve in Allah (are they ungrateful to Allah)?" He replied, "They are not thankful to their husbands and are ungrateful for the favors done to them. Even if you do good to one of them all your life, when she seems some harshness from you, she will say, "I have never seen any good from you.' "

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 126:
Narrated Imran:
The Prophet said, "I looked at Paradise and saw that the majority of its residents were the poor; and I looked at the (Hell) Fire and saw that the majority of its residents were women."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 127:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr bin Al-'As:
Allah's Apostle said, "O Abdullah! Have I not been formed that you fast all the day and stand in prayer all night?" I said, "Yes, O Allah's Apostle!" He said, "Do not do that! Observe the fast sometimes and also leave them (the fast) at other times; stand up for the prayer at night and also sleep at night. Your body has a right over you, your eyes have a right over you and your wife has a right over you."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 128:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "All of you are guardians and are responsible for your wards. The ruler is a guardian and the man is a guardian of his family; the lady is a guardian and is responsible for her husband's house and his offspring; and so all of you are guardians and are responsible for your wards."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 129:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle took an oath that he would not visit his wives for one month, and he sat in an upper room belonging to him. Then, on the twenty ninth day he came down. It was said, "O Allah's Apostle! You had taken an oath not to visit your wives for one month." He said, "The (present) month is of twenty-nine days."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 130:
Narrated Um Salama:
The Prophet took an oath that he would not enter upon some of his wives for one month. But when twenty nine days had elapsed, he went to them in the morning or evening. It was said to him, "O Allah's Prophet! You had taken an oath that you would not enter upon them for one month." He replied, "The month can be of twenty nine days."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 131:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
One morning we saw the wives of the Prophet weeping, and everyone of them had her family with her, I went to the mosque and found that it was crowded with people. Then Umar bin Al-Khattab came and went up to the Prophet who was in his upper room. He greeted him but nobody answered. He greeted again, but nobody answered. Then the gatekeeper called him and he entered upon the Prophet, and asked, "Have you divorced your wives?" The Prophet, said, "No, but I have taken an oath not to go to them for one month." So the Prophet stayed away (from his wives) for twenty nine days and then entered upon them.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 132:
Narrated Abdullah bin Zam'a:
The Prophet said, "None of you should flog his wife as he flogs a slave and then have sexual intercourse with her in the last part of the day."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 133:
Narrated Aisha:
An Ansari woman gave her daughter in marriage and the hair of the latter started falling out. The Ansari women came to the Prophet and mentioned that to him and said, "Her (my daughter's) husband suggested that I should let her wear false hair." The Prophet said, "No, (don't do that) for Allah sends His curses upon such ladies who lengthen their hair artificially."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 134:
Narrated Aisha:
regarding the Verse: 'If a wife fears cruelty or desertion on her husband's part ...') (4.128) It concerns the woman whose husband does not want to keep her with him any longer, but wants to divorce her and marry some other lady, so she says to him: 'Keep me and do not divorce me, and then marry another woman, and you may neither spend on me, nor sleep with me.' This is indicated by the Statement of Allah: 'There is no blame on them if they arrange an amicable settlement between them both, and (such) settlement is better." (4.128)

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 135:
Narrated Jabir:
We used to practice coitus interrupt us during the lifetime of Allah's Apostle .

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 136:
Narrated Jabir:
We used to practice coitus interrupt us while the Koran was being revealed. Jabir added: We used to practice coitus interrupt us during the lifetime of Allah's Apostle while the Koran was being Revealed.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 137:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
We got female captives in the war booty and we used to do coitus interruptus with them. So we asked Allah's Apostle about it and he said, "Do you really do that?" repeating the question thrice, "There is no soul that is destined to exist but will come into existence, till the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 138:
Narrated al-Qasim:
Aisha said that whenever the Prophet intended to go on a journey, he drew lots among his wives (so as to take one of them along with him). During one of his journeys the lot fell on Aisha and Hafsa. When night fell the Prophet would ride beside Aisha and talk with her. One night Hafsa said to Aisha, "Won't you ride my camel tonight and I ride yours, so that you may see (me) and I see (you) (in new situation)?" Aisha said, "Yes, (I agree.)" So Aisha rode, and then the Prophet came towards Aisha's camel on which Hafsa was riding. He greeted Hafsa and then proceeded (beside her) till they dismounted (on the way). Aisha missed him, and so, when they dismounted, she put her legs in the Idhkhir and said, "O Lord (Allah)! Send a scorpion or a snake to bite me for I am not to blame him (the Prophet).

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 139:
Narrated Aisha:
Sada bint Zam'a gave up her turn to me (Aisha), and so the Prophet used to give me (Aisha) both my day and the day of Sad;

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 140:
Narrated Anas:
The tradition, (of the Prophet) is that if someone marries a virgin and he has already a matron wife (with him), then he should stay with the virgin for seven days; and if someone marries a matron (and he has already a virgin wife with him) then he should stay with her for three days.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 141:
Narrated Anas:
It is the Prophet's tradition that if someone marries a virgin and he has already a matron wife then he should stay for seven days with her (the virgin) and then by turns; and if someone marries a matron and he has already a virgin wife then he should stay with her (the matron) for three days, and then by turns.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 142:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet used to pass by (have sexual relation with) all his wives in one night, and at that time he had nine wives.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 143:
Narrated Aisha:
Whenever Allah's Apostle finished his Asr prayer, he would enter upon his wives and stay with one of them. One day he went to Hafsa and stayed with her longer than usual.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 144:
Narrated Aisha:
that during his fatal ailment, Allah's Apostle, used to ask his wives, "Where shall I stay tomorrow? Where shall I stay tomorrow?" He was looking forward to Aisha's turn. So all his wives allowed him to stay where he wished, and he stayed at Aisha's house till he died there. Aisha added: He died on the day of my usual turn at my house. Allah took him unto Him while his head was between my chest and my neck and his saliva was mixed with my saliva.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 145:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
that Umar entered upon Hafsa and said, "O my daughter! Do not be misled by the manners of her who is proud of her beauty because of the love of Allah's Apostle for her." By 'her' he meant Aisha. Umar added, "Then I told that to Allah's Apostle and he smiled (on hearing that)."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 146:
Narrated Asma:
Some lady said, "O Allah's Apostle! My husband has another wife, so it is sinful of me to claim that he has given me what he has not given me (in order to tease her)?" Allah's Apostle said, The one who pretends that he has been given what he has not been given, is just like the (false) one who wears two garments of falsehood."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 147:
Narrated Abdullah bin Masud:
The Prophet, said, "There is none having a greater sense of Ghira than Allah. And for that He has forbidden the doing of evil actions (illegal sexual intercourse etc.) There is none who likes to be praised more than Allah does."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 148:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle said, "O followers of Mohammed! There is none, who has a greater sense of Ghira (self-respect) than Allah, so He has forbidden that His slave commits illegal sexual intercourse or His slave girl commits illegal sexual intercourse. O followers of Mohammed! If you but knew what I know, you would laugh less and weep more!"

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 149:
Narrated Asma':
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "There is nothing (none) having a greater sense of Ghira (self-respect) than Allah." And narrated Abu Huraira that he heard the Prophet (saying the same).

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 150:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet; said, "Allah has a sense of Ghira, and Allah's sense of Ghira is provoked when a believer does something which Allah has prohibited."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 151:
Narrated Asma bint Abu Bakr:
When Az-Zubair married me, he had no real property or any slave or anything else except a camel which drew water from the well, and his horse. I used to feed his horse with fodder and drew water and sew the bucket for drawing it, and prepare the dough, but I did not know how to bake bread. So our Ansari neighbours used to bake bread for me, and they were honorable ladies. I used to carry the date stones on my head from Zubair's land given to him by Allah's Apostle and this land was two third Farsakh (about two miles) from my

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house. One day, while I was coming with the date stones on my head, I met Allah's Apostle along with some Ansari people. He called me and then, (directing his camel to kneel down) said, "Ikh! Ikh!" so as to make me ride behind him (on his camel). I felt shy to travel with the men and remembered Az-Zubair and his sense of Ghira, as he was one of those people who had the greatest sense of Ghira. Allah's Apostle noticed that I felt shy, so he proceeded. I came to Az-Zubair and said, "I met Allah's Apostle while I was carrying a load of date stones on my head, and he had some companions with him. He made his camel kneel down so that I might ride, but I felt shy in his presence and remembered your sense of Ghira. On that Az-Zubair said, "By Allah, your carrying the date stones (and you being seen by the Prophet in such a state) is more shameful to me than your riding with him." (I continued serving in this way) till Abu Bakr sent me a servant to look after the horse, whereupon I felt as if he had set me free.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 152:
Narrated Anas:
While the Prophet was in the house of one of his wives, one of the mothers of the believers sent a meal in a dish. The wife at whose house the Prophet was, struck the hand of the servant, causing the dish to fall and break. The Prophet gathered the broken pieces of the dish and then started collecting on them the food which had been in the dish and said, "Your mother (my wife) felt jealous." Then he detained the servant till a (sound) dish was brought from the wife at whose house he was. He gave the sound dish to the wife whose dish had been broken and kept the broken one at the house where it had been broken.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 153:
Narrated Jabir:
The Prophet, said, "I entered Paradise and saw a palace and asked whose palace is this? They (the Angels) said, "This palace belongs to Umar bin Al-Khattab.' I intended to enter it, and nothing stopped me except my knowledge about your sense of Ghira (self-respect (O Umar)." Umar said, "O Allah's Apostle! Let my father and mother be sacrificed for you! O Allah's Prophet! How dare I think of my Ghira (self-respect) being offended by you?"

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 154:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
While we were sitting with Allah's Apostle, (he) Allah's Apostle said, "While I was sleeping, I saw a woman performing ablution beside a palace. I asked, "Whose palace is this?' It was said, 'This palace belongs to Umar.' Then I remembered his sense of Ghira and returned." On that Umar started weeping in that gathering and said, "O Allah's Apostle! How dare I think of my self-respect being offended by you?"

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 155:
Narrated Aisha:
That Allah's Apostle said to her, "I you are pleased with me or angry with me." I said, "Whence do you know that?" He said, "When you are pleased with me, you say, 'No, by the Lord of Mohammed,' but when you are angry with me, then you say, 'No, by the Lord of Abraham.' " Thereupon I said, "Yes (you are right), but by Allah, O Allah's Apostle, I leave nothing but your name."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 156:
Narrated Aisha:
I never felt so jealous of any wife of Allah's Apostle as I did of Khadija because Allah's Apostle used to remember and praise her too often and because it was revealed to Allah's Apostle that he should give her (Khadija) the glad tidings of her having a palace of Qasab in Paradise .

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 157:
Narrated Al-Miswar bin Makhrama:
I heard Allah's Apostle who was on the pulpit, saying, "Banu Hisham bin Al-Mughira have requested me to allow them to marry their daughter to Ali bin Abu Talib, but I don't give permission, and will not give permission unless Ali bin Abi Talib divorces my daughter in order to marry their daughter, because Fatima is a part of my body, and I hate what she hates to see, and what hurts her, hurts me."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 158:
Narrated Anas:
I will narrate to you a Habith I heard from Allah's Apostle and none other than I will tell you of it. I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "From among the portents of the Hour are the following: Religious knowledge will be taken away; General ignorance (in religious matters) will increase; illegal Sexual intercourse will prevail: Drinking of alcoholic drinks will prevail. Men will decrease in number, and women will increase in number, so much so that fifty women will be looked after by one man."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 159:
Narrated Uqba bin Amir:
Allah's Apostle said, "Beware of entering upon the ladies." A man from the Ansar said, "Allah's Apostle! What about Al-Hamu the in-laws of the wife (the brothers of her husband or his nephews etc.)?" The Prophet replied: The in-laws of the wife are death itself.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 160:
Narrated Ibn Abbas :
The Prophet said, "No man should stay with a lady in seclusion except in the presence of a Dhu-Muhram." A man stood up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! My wife has gone out intending to perform the Hajj and I have been enrolled (in the army) for such-and-such campaign." The Prophet said, "Return and perform the Hajj with your wife."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 161:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
An Ansari woman came to the Prophet and he took her aside and said (to her). "By Allah, you (Ansar) are the most beloved people to me."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 162:
Narrated Um Salama:
that while the Prophet was with her, there was an effeminate man in the house. The effeminate man said to Um Salama's brother, Abdullah bin Abi Umaiyya, "If Allah should make you conquer Ta'if tomorrow, I recommend that you take the daughter of Ghailan (in marriage) for (she is so fat) that she shows four folds of flesh when facing you and eight when she turns her back." Thereupon the Prophet said (to us), "This (effeminate man) should not enter upon you (anymore)."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 163:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet was screening me with his Rida' (garment covering the upper part of the body) while I was looking at the Ethiopians who were playing in the courtyard of the mosque. (I continued watching) till I was satisfied. So you may deduce from this event how a little girl (who has not reached the age of puberty) who is eager to enjoy amusement should be treated in this respect.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 164:
Narrated Aisha:
Once Sada bint Zam'a went out at night for some need, and Umar saw her, and recognizing her, he said (to her), "By Allah, O Sada! You cannot hide yourself from us." So she returned to the Prophet and mentioned that to him while he was sitting in my dwelling taking his supper and holding a bone covered with meat in his hand. Then the Divine Inspiration was revealed to him and when that state was over, he (the Prophet was saying: "O women! You have been allowed by Allah to go out for your needs."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 165:
Narrated Salim's father:
The Prophet said, "If the wife of anyone of you asks permission to go to the mosque, he should not forbid her."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 166:
Narrated Aisha:
My foster uncle came and asked permission (to enter) but I refused to admit him till I asked Allah's Apostle about that. He said, "He is your uncle, so allow him to come in." I said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have been suckled by a woman and not by a man." Allah's Apostle said, "He is your uncle, so let him enter upon you." And that happened after the order of Al-Hijab (compulsory veiling) was revealed. All things which become unlawful because of blood relations are unlawful because of the corresponding foster suckling relations.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 167:
Narrated Abdullah bin Mas'ud:
The Prophet said, "A woman should not look at or touch another woman to describe her to her
husband in such a way as if he was actually looking at her."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 168:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "A woman should not look at or touch another woman to describe her to her husband in such a way as if he was actually looking at her."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 169:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
(The Prophet) Solomon son of (the Prophet) David said, "Tonight I will go round (i.e. have sexual relations with) one hundred women (my wives) everyone of whom will deliver a male child who will fight in Allah's Cause." On that an Angel said to him, "Say: 'If Allah will.' " But Solomon did not say it and forgot to say it. Then he had sexual relations with them but none of them delivered any child except one who delivered a half person. The Prophet said, "If Solomon had said: 'If Allah will,' Allah would have fulfilled his (above) desire and that saying would have made him more hopeful."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 170:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet disliked that one should go to one's family at night (on returning from a journey).

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 171:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle said, "When anyone of you is away from his house for a long time, he should not return to his family at night."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 172:
Narrated Jabir:
I was with Allah's Apostle in a Ghazwa, and when we returned, I wanted to hurry, while riding a slow camel. A rider came behind me. I looked back and saw that the rider was Allah's Apostle . He said (to me), "What makes you in such a hurry?" I replied, "I am newly married." He said, "Did you marry a virgin or a matron?" I replied, "(Not a virgin but) a matron." He said, "Why didn't you marry a young girl with whom you could play and who could play with you?" Then when we approached (Medina) and were going to enter (it), the Prophet said, "Wait till you enter (your homes) at night (in the first part of the night) so that the ladies with unkempt hair may comb their hair, and those whose husbands have been absent (for a long time) may shave their pubic hair." (The sub-narrator, Hashim said: A reliable narrator told me that the Prophet added in this Hadith: "(Seek to beget) children! Children, O Jabir!")

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 173:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "If you enter (your town) at night (after coming from a journey), do not enter upon your family till the woman whose husband was absent (from the house) shaves her pubic hair and the woman with unkempt hair, combs her hair" Allah's Apostle further said, "(O Jabir!) Seek to have offspring, seek to have offspring!"

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 174:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
We were with the Prophet in Ghazwa, and when we returned and approached Medina, I wanted to hurry while riding a slow camel. A rider overtook me and pricked my camel with a spear which he had, whereupon my camel started running as fast as any other fast camel you may see. I looked back, and behold, the rider was Allah's Apostle . I said, "O Allah's Apostle! I am newly married " He asked, "Have you got married?" I replied, "Yes." He said, "A virgin or a matron?" I replied, "(Not a virgin) but a matron" He said, "Why didn't you marry a young girl so that you could play with her and she with you?" When we reached (near Medina) and were going to enter it, the Prophet said, "Wait till you enter your home early in the night so that the lady whose hair is unkempt may comb her hair and that the lady whose husband has been away may shave her pubic hair."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 175:
Narrated Abu Hazim:
The people differed about the type of treatment which had been given to Allah's Apostle on the day (of the battle) of Uhud. So they asked Sahl bin Sad As-Sa'id who was the only surviving Companion (of the Prophet) at Medina. He replied, "Nobody Is left at Medina who knows it better than I. Fatima was washing the blood off his face and Ali was bringing water in his shield, and then a mat of date-palm leaves was burnt and (the ash) was inserted into the wound."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 176:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin 'Abis:
I heard Ibn Abbas answering a man who asked him, "Did you attend the prayer of 'Id al Adha or 'Id-al-Fitr with Allah's Apostle?" Ibn Abbas replied, "Yes, and had it not been for my close relationship with him, I could not have offered it." (That was because of his young age). Ibn Abbas further said, Allah's Apostle went out and offered the Id prayer and then delivered the sermon." Ibn Abbas did not mention anything about the Adhan (the call for prayer) or the Iqama. He added, "Then the Prophet went to the women and instructed them and gave them religious advice and ordered them to give alms and I saw them reaching out (their hands to) their ears and necks (to take off the earrings and necklaces, etc.) and throwing (it) towards Bilal. Then the Prophet returned with Bilal to his house . "

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 177:
Narrated Aisha:
Abu Bakr admonished me and poked me with his hands in the flank, and nothing stopped me from moving at that time

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except the position of Allah's Apostle whose head was on my thigh.

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK 63:
Divorce

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 178:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
that he had divorced his wife while she was menstruating during the lifetime of Allah's Apostle . Umar bin Al-Khattab asked Allah's Apostle about that. Allah's Apostle said, "Order him (your son) to take her back and keep her till she is clean and then to wait till she gets her next period and becomes clean again, whereupon, if he wishes to keep her, he can do so, and if he wishes to divorce her he can divorce her before having sexual intercourse with her; and that is the prescribed period which Allah has fixed for the women meant to be divorced."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 179:
Narrated Anas bin Sirin:
Ibn Umar said: "I divorced my wife while she was menstruating. Umar mentioned that to the Prophet . The Prophet said, (to my father), "Let your son take her back." I asked (Ibn Umar), "Is such a divorce counted (i.e. as one legal divorce)?" Ibn Umar said, "Of course." Narrated Yunus bin Jubair: Ibn Umar said, "The Prophet said to Umar, 'Order him (Ibn Umar) to take her back.' " I asked, "Is such a divorce counted (as one legal divorce)?" Ibn Umar said, "What do you think if someone becomes helpless and foolish?"

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 180:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
(Divorcing my wife during her menses) was counted as one legal divorce.

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 181:
Narrated Al-Awza:
I asked Az-Zuhri, "Which of the wives of the Prophet sought refuge with Allah from him?" He said "I was told by 'Ursa that Aisha said, 'When the daughter of Al-Jaun was brought to Allah's Apostle (as his bride) and he went near her, she said, "I seek refuge with Allah from you." He said, "You have sought refuge with The Great; return to your family."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 182:
Narrated Abu Usaid:
We went out with the Prophet to a garden called Ash-Shaut till we reached two walls between which we sat down. The Prophet said, "Sit here," and went in (the garden). The Jauniyya (a lady from Bani Jaun) had been brought and lodged in a house in a date-palm garden in the home of Umaima bint An-Nu'man bin Sharahil, and her wet nurse was with her. When the Prophet entered upon her, he said to her, "Give me yourself (in marriage) as a gift." She said, "Can a princess give herself in marriage to an ordinary man?" The Prophet raised his hand to pat her so that she might become tranquil. She said, "I seek refuge with Allah from you." He said, "You have sought refuge with One Who gives refuge. Then the Prophet came out to us and said, "O Abu Usaid! Give her two white linen dresses to wear and let her go back to her family." Narrated Sahl and Abu Usaid: The Prophet married Umaima bint Sharahil, and when she was brought to him, he stretched his hand towards her. It seemed that she disliked that, whereupon the Prophet ordered Abu Usaid to prepare her and to provide her with two white linen dresses. (See Hadith No. 541).

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 183:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
similarly as above (182).

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 184:
Narrated Abi Ghallab Yunus bin Jubair:
I asked Ibn Umar,"(What is said regarding) a man divorces his wife during her period?" He said, "Do you know Ibn Umar? Ibn Umar divorced his wife while she was menstruating. Umar then went to the Prophet and mentioned that to him. The Prophet ordered him to take her back and when she became clean, he could divorce her if he wanted." I asked (Ibn Umar), "Was that divorce counted as one legal divorce?" He said, "If one becomes helpless and foolish (will he be excused? Of course not). "

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 185:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad As-Sa'idi:
Uwaimir Al-'Ajlani came to 'Asim bin Adi Al-Ansari and asked, "O 'Asim! Tell me, if a man sees his wife with another man, should he kill him, whereupon you would kill him in Qisas, or what should he do? O 'Asim! Please ask Allah's Apostle about that." 'Asim asked Allah's Apostle about that. Allah's Apostle disliked that question and considered it disgraceful. What 'Asim heard from Allah's Apostle was hard on him. When he returned to his family, Uwaimir came to him and said "O 'Asim! What did Allah's Apostle say to you?" 'Asim said, "You never bring me any good. Allah's Apostle disliked to hear the problem which I asked him about." 'Uwaimir said, "By Allah, I will not leave the matter till I ask him about it." So Uwaimir proceeded till he came to Allah's Apostle who was in the midst of the people and said, "O Allah's Apostle! If a man finds with his wife another man, should he kill him, whereupon you would kill him (in Qisas): or otherwise, what should he do?" Allah's Apostle said, "Allah has revealed something concerning the question of you and your wife. Go and bring her here." So they both carried out the judgement of Lian, while I was present among the people (as a witness). When both of them had finished, 'Uwaimir said, "O Allah's Apostle! If I should now keep my wife with me, then I have told a lie". Then he pronounced his decision to divorce her thrice before Allah's Apostle ordered him to do so. (Ibn Shihab said, "That was the tradition for all those who are involved in a case of Lian."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 186:
Narrated Aisha:
The wife of Rifa'a Al-Qurazi came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Rifa'a divorced me irrevocably. After him I married Abdur-Rahman bin Az-Zubair Al-Qurazi who proved to be impotent." Allah's Apostle said to her, "Perhaps you want to return to Rifa'a? Nay (you cannot return to Rifa'a) until you and Abdur-Rahman consummate your marriage."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 187:
Narrated Aisha:
A man divorced his wife thrice (by expressing his decision to divorce her thrice), then she married another man who also divorced her. The Prophet was asked if she could legally marry the first husband (or not). The Prophet replied, "No, she cannot marry the first husband unless the second husband consummates his marriage with her, just as the first husband had done."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 188:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle gave us the option (to remain with him or to be divorced) and we selected Allah and His Apostle . So, giving us that option was not regarded as divorce.

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 189:
Narrated Musruq:
I asked Aisha about the option: She said, "The Prophet gave us the option. Do you think that option was considered as a divorce?" I said, "It matters little to me if I give my wife the option once or a hundred times after she has chosen me."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 190:
Narrated Aisha:
A man divorced his wife and she married another man who proved to be impotent and divorced her. She could not get her satisfaction from him, and after a while he divorced her. Then she came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! My first husband divorced me and then I married another man who entered upon me to consummate his marriage but he proved to be impotent and did not approach me except once during which he benefited nothing from me. Can I remarry my first husband in this case?" Allah's Apostle said, "It is unlawful to marry your first husband till the other husband consummates his marriage with you."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 191:
Narrated Said bin Jubair:
that he heard Ibn Abbas saying, "If a man makes his wife unlawful for him, it does not mean that she is divorced." He added, "Indeed in the Apostle of Allah , you have a good example to follow."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 192:
Narrated Ubaid bin Umar:
I heard Aisha saying, "The Prophet used to stay for a long while with Zanab bint Jahsh and drink honey at her house. So Hafsa and I decided that if the Prophet came to anyone of us, she should say him, "I detect the smell of Maghafir (a nasty smelling gum) in you. Have you eaten Maghafir?' " So the Prophet visited one of them and she said to him similarly. The Prophet said, "Never mind, I have taken some honey at the house of Zainab bint Jahsh, but I shall never drink of it anymore." So there was revealed: 'O Prophet ! Why do you ban (for you) that which Allah has made lawful for you . . . If you two (wives of Prophet) turn in repentance to Allah,' (66.1-4) addressing Aisha and Hafsa. 'When the Prophet disclosed a matter in confidence to some of his wives.' (66.3) namely his saying: But I have taken some honey."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 193:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle was fond of honey and sweet edible things and (it was his habit) that after finishing the Asr prayer he would visit his wives and stay with one of them at that time. Once he went to Hafsa, the daughter of Umar and stayed with her more than usual. I got jealous and asked the reason for that. I was told that a lady of her folk had given her a skin filled with honey as a present, and that she made a syrup from it and gave it to the Prophet to drink (and that was the reason for the delay). I said, "By Allah we will play a trick on him (to prevent him from doing so)." So I said to Sada bint Zam'a "The Prophet will approach you, and when he comes near you, say: 'Have you taken Maghafir (a bad-smelling gum)?' He will say, 'No.' Then say to him: 'Then what is this bad smell which i smell from you?' He will say to you, 'Hafsa made me drink honey syrup.' Then say: Perhaps the bees of that honey had sucked the juice of the tree of Al-'Urfut.' I shall also say the same. O you, Safiyya, say the same." Later Sada said, "By Allah, as soon as he (the Prophet) stood at the door, I was about to say to him what you had ordered me to say because I was afraid of you." So when the Prophet came near Sada, she said to him, "O Allah's Apostle! Have you taken Maghafir?" He said, "No." She said. "Then what is this bad smell which I detect on you?" He said, "Hafsa made me drink honey syrup." She said, "Perhaps its bees had sucked the juice of Al-'Urfut tree." When he came to me, I also said the same, and when he went to Safiyya, she also said the same. And when the Prophet again went to Hafsa, she said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Shall I give you more of that drink?" He said, "I am not in need of it." Sada said, "By Allah, we deprived him (of it)." I said to her, "Keep quiet." '

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 194:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Allah has forgiven my followers the evil thoughts that occur to their minds, as long as such thoughts are not put into action or uttered." And Qatada said, "If someone divorces his wife just in his mind, such an unuttered divorce has no effect.:

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 195:
Narrated Jabir:
A man from the tribe of Bani Aslam came to the Prophet while he was in the mosque and said, "I have committed illegal sexual intercourse." The Prophet turned his face to the other side. The man turned towards the side towards which the Prophet had turned his face, and gave four witnesses against himself. On that the Prophet called him and said, "Are you insane?" (He added), "Are you married?" The man said, 'Yes." On that the Prophet ordered him to be stoned to the death in the Musalla (a praying place). When the stones hit him with their sharp edges and he fled, but he was caught at Al-Harra and then killed

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 196:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A man from Bani Aslam came to Allah's Apostle while he was in the mosque and called (the Prophet) saying, "O Allah's Apostle! I have committed illegal sexual intercourse." On that the Prophet turned his face from him to the other side, whereupon the man moved to the side towards which the Prophet had turned his face, and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have committed illegal sexual intercourse." The Prophet turned his face (from him) to the other side whereupon the man moved to the side towards which the Prophet had turned his face, and repeated his statement. The Prophet turned his face (from him) to the other side again. The man moved again (and repeated his statement) for the fourth time. So when the man had given witness four times against himself, the Prophet called him and said, "Are you insane?" He replied, "No." The Prophet then said (to his companions), "Go and stone him to death." The man was a married one. Jabir bin Abdullah Al-Ansari said: I was one of those who stoned him. We stoned him at the Musalla ('Id praying place) in Medina. When the stones hit him with their sharp edges, he fled, but we caught him at Al-Harra and stoned him till he died.

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 197:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The wife of Thabit bin Qais came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I do not blame Thabit for defects in his character or his religion, but I, being a Muslim, dislike to behave in un-Islamic manner (if I remain with him)." On that Allah's Apostle said (to her), "Will you give back the garden which your husband has given you (as Mahr)?" She said, "Yes." Then the Prophet said to Thabit, "O Thabit! Accept your garden, and divorce her once."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 198:
Narrated 'Ikrima:
The sister of Abdullah bin Ubai narrated (the above narration, 197) with the addition that the Prophet said to Thabit's wife, "Will you return his garden?" She said, "Yes," and returned it, and (then) the Prophet ordered Thabit to divorce her. Narrated Ibn Abbas: The wife of Thabit bin Qais

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came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I do not blame Thabit for any defects in his character or his religion, but I cannot endure to live with him." On that Allah's Apostle said, "Will you return his garden to him?" She said, "Yes."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 199:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The wife of Thabit bin Qais bin Shammas came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I do not blame Thabit for any defects in his character or his religion, but I am afraid that I (being a Muslim) may become unthankful for Allah's Blessings." On that, Allah's Apostle said (to her), 'Will you return his garden to him?" She said, "Yes." So she returned his garden to him and the Prophet told him to divorce her.

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 200:
Narrated 'Ikrima:
that Jamila... Then he related the whole ,Hadith, (i.e. 199).

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 201:
Narrated Al-Miswar bin Makhrama Az-Zuhri:
I heard the Prophet saying, "Banu Al-Mughira have asked my leave to let Ali marry their daughter, but I give no leave to this effect."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 202:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) Three traditions were established concerning situations in which Barra was involved: When she was manumitted, she was given the option to keep her husband or leave him; Allah's Apostle said, "The wala is for the one who manumits, Once Allah's Apostle entered the house while some meat was being cooked in a pot, but only bread and some soup of the house were placed before, him. He said, "Don't I see the pot containing meat?" They said, "Yes, but that meat was given to Barira in charity (by someone), and you do not eat what it given in charity."The Prophet said "That meat is alms for her, but for us it is a present."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 203:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
I saw him as a slave, (namely, Barira's husband).

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 204:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
That was Mughith, the slave of Bani so-and-so, i.e., Barira's husband as if I am now looking at him following her (Barira) along the streets of Medina.

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 205:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Barira's husband was a black slave called Mughith, the slave of Bani so-and-so-- as if I am seeing him now, walking behind her along the streets of Medina.

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 206:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Barira's husband was a slave called Mughith, as if I am seeing him now, going behind Barira and weeping with his tears flowing down his beard. The Prophet said to Abbas, "O Abbas ! are you not astonished at the love of Mughith for Barira and the hatred of Barira for Mughith?" The Prophet then said to Barira, "Why don't you return to him?" She said, "O Allah's Apostle! Do you order me to do so?" He said, "No, I only intercede for him." She said, "I am not in need of him."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 207:
Narrated Al-Aswad:
Aisha intended to buy Barira, but her masters stipulated that her wala wound be for them. Aisha mentioned that to the Prophet who said (to Aisha), "Buy and manumit her, for the wala is for the one who manumits." Once some me; was brought to the Prophet and was said, "This meat was given in charity to Barira. " The Prophet said, "It an object of charity for Barira and present for us."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 208:
Narrated Adam:
Shu'ba relate the same Hadith and added: Barira was given the option regarding her husband

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 209:
Narrated Nafi:
Whenever Ibn Umar was asked about marrying a Christian lady or a Jewess, he would say: "Allah has made it unlawful for the believers to marry ladies who ascribe partners in worship to Allah, and I do not know of a greater thing, as regards to ascribing partners in worship, etc. to Allah, than that a lady should say that Jesus is her Lord although he is just one of Allah's slaves."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 210:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The pagans were of two kinds as regards their relationship to the Prophet and the Believers. Some of them were those with whom the Prophet was at war and used to fight against, and they used to fight him; the others were those with whom the Prophet made a treaty, and neither did the Prophet fight them, nor did they fight him. If a lady from the first group of pagans emigrated towards the Muslims, her hand would not be asked in marriage unless she got the menses and then became clean. When she became clean, it would be lawful for her to get married, and if her husband emigrated too before she got married, then she would be returned to him. If any slave or female slave emigrated from them to the Muslims, then they would be considered free persons (not slaves) and they would have the same rights as given to other emigrants. The narrator then mentioned about the pagans involved with the Muslims in a treaty, the same as occurs in Mujahid's narration. If a male slave or a female slave emigrated from such pagans as had made a treaty with the Muslims, they would not be returned, but their prices would be paid (to the pagans). Narrated Ibn Abbas: Qariba, the daughter of Abi Umaiyya, was the wife of Umar bin Al-Khattab. Umar divorced her and then Mu'awiyya bin Abi Sufyan married her. Similarly, Um Al-Hakam, the daughter of Abi Sufyan was the wife of 'Iyad bin Ghanm Al-Fihri. He divorced her and then Abdullah bin Uthman Al-Thaqafi married her.

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 211:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) When believing women came to the Prophet as emigrants, he used to test them in accordance with the order of Allah. 'O you who believe! When believing women come to you as emigrants, examine them . . .' (60.10) So if anyone of those believing women accepted the above mentioned conditions, she accepted the conditions of faith. When they agreed on those conditions and confessed that with their tongues, Allah's Apostle would say to them, "Go, I have accepted your oath of allegiance (for Islam). By Allah, and hand of Allah's Apostle never touched the hand of any woman, but he only used to take their pledge of allegiance orally. By Allah, Allah's Apostle did not take the pledge of allegiance of the women except in accordance with what Allah had ordered him. When he accepted their pledge of allegiance he would say to them, "I have accepted your oath of allegiance."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 212:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle took an oath that he would abstain from his wives, and at that time his leg had been sprained (dislocated). So he stayed in the Mashruba (an attic room) of his for 29 days. Then he came down, and they (the people) said, "O Allah's Apostle! You took an oath to abstain from your wives for one month." He said, "The month is of twenty nine days."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 213:
Narrated Nafi:
Ibn Umar used to say about the Ila (which Allah defined (in the Holy Book), "If the period of Ila expires, then the husband has either to retain his wife in a handsome manner or to divorce her as Allah has ordered." Ibn Umar added, "When the period of four months has expired, the husband should be put in prison so that he should divorce his wife, but the divorce does not occur unless the husband himself declares it. This has been mentioned by Uthman, Ali, Abu Ad-Darda, Aisha and twelve other companions of the Prophet ."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 214:
Narrated Yazid:
(the Maula of Munba'ith) The Prophet was asked regarding the case of a lost sheep. He said, "You should take it, because it is for you, or for your brother, or for the wolf." Then he was asked about a lost camel. He got angry and his face became red and he said (to the questioner), "You have nothing to do with it; it has its feet and its water container with it; it can go on drinking water and eating trees till its owner meets it." And then the Prophet was asked about a Luqata (money found by somebody). He said, "Remember and recognize its tying material and its container, and make public announcement about it for one year. If somebody comes and identifies it (then give it to him), otherwise add it to your property."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 215:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle performed the Tawaf (around the Kaaba while riding his camel, and every time he reached the corner (of the Black Stone) he pointed at it with his hand and said, "Allahu Akbar." (Zainab said: The Prophet said, "An opening has been made in the wall of Gog and Magog like this and this," forming the number 90 (with his thumb and index finger).

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 216:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Abul Qasim (the Prophet) said, "There is an hour (or a moment) of particular significance on Friday. If it happens that a Muslim is offering a prayer and invoking Allah for some good at that very moment, Allah will grant him his request." (The sub-narrator placed the top of his finger on the palm of the other hand between the middle finger and the little one.)

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 216h:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
During the lifetime of Allah's Apostle a Jew attacked a girl and took some silver ornaments she was wearing and crushed her head. Her relative brought her to the Prophet while she was in her last breaths, and she was unable to speak. Allah's Apostle asked her, "Who has hit you? So-and so?", mentioning somebody other than her murderer. She moved her head, indicating denial. The Prophet mentioned another person other than the murderer, and she again moved her head indicating denial. Then he asked, "Was it so-and-so?", mentioning the name of her killer. She nodded, agreeing. Then Allah's Apostle; ordered that the head of that Jew be crushed between two stones.

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 217:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
I heard the Prophet saying, "Afflictions will emerge from here," pointing towards the East.

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 218:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abi A'ufa:
We were with Allah's Apostle on a journey, and when the sun set, he said to a man, "Get down and prepare a drink of Sawiq for me." The man said, "O Allah's Apostle! Will you wait till it is evening?" Allah's Apostle again said, "Get down and prepare a drink of Sawiq." The man said, "O Allah's Apostle! Will you wait till it is evening, for it is still daytime. " The Prophet again said, "Get down and prepare a drink of Sawiq." So the third time the man got down and prepared a drink of sawiq for him. Allah's Apostle drank thereof and pointed with his hand towards the East, saying, "When you see the night falling from this side, then a fasting person should break his fast."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 219a:
Narrated Abdullah bin Mas'ud:
The Prophet said, "The call (or the Adhan) of Bila should not stop you from taking the Suhur-meals for Bilal calls (or pronounces the Adhan) so that the one who is offering the night prayer should take a rest, and he does not indicate the daybreak or dawn." The narrator, Yazid, described (how dawn breaks) by stretching out his hands and then separating them wide apart.

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 219i:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, The example of a miser and a generous person is like that of two persons wearing iron cloaks from the breast upto the neck When the generous person spends, the iron cloak enlarges and spread over his skin so much so that it covers his fingertips and obliterates his tracks. As for the miser, as soon as he thinks of spending every ring of the iron cloak sticks to its place (against his body) and he tries to expand it, but it does not expand. The Prophet pointed with his hand towards his throat.

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 220:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle said, "Shall I tell you of the best families among the Ansar?" They (the people) said, "Yes, O Allah's Apostle!" The Prophet said, "The best are Banu- An-Najjar, and after them are Banu 'Abdil Ash-hal, and after them are Banu Al-Harith bin Al-Khazraj, and after them are Banu Sa'ida." The Prophet then moved his hand by closing his fingers and then opening them like one throwing something, and then said, "Anyhow, there is good in all the families of the Ansar. "

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 221:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad As-Sa'idi:
(a companion of Allah's Apostle) Allah's Apostle, holding out his middle and index fingers, said, "My advent and the Hour's are like this (or like these)," namely, the period between his era and the Hour is like the distance between those two fingers, i.e., very short.

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 222:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet (holding out his ten fingers thrice), said, "The month is thus and thus and thus," namely thirty days. Then (holding out his ten fingers twice and then nine fingers), he said, "It may be thus and thus and thus," namely twenty nine days. He meant once thirty days and once twenty nine days.

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Volume 7, Book 63, Number 223:
Narrated Abu Masud:
The Prophet pointed with his hand towards Yemen and said twice, "Faith is there," and then pointed towards the East, and said, "Verily, sternness and mercilessness are the qualities of those who are busy with their camels and pay no attention to their religion, where the two sides of the head of Satan will appear," namely, the tribes of Rabl'a and Muqar.

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 224:
Narrated Sahl:
Allah's Apostle said, "I and the one who looks after an orphan will be like this in Paradise," showing his middle and index fingers and separating them.

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 225:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A man came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! A black child has been born for me." The Prophet asked him, "Have you got camels?" The man said, "Yes." The Prophet asked him, "What color are they?" The man replied, "Red." The Prophet said, "Is there a grey one among them?' The man replied, "Yes." The Prophet said, "Whence comes that?" He said, "May be it is because of heredity." The Prophet said, "May be your latest son has this color because of heredity."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 226:
Narrated Abdullah:
An Ansari man accused his wife (of committing illegal sexual intercourse). The Prophet made both of them takes the oath of Lian, and separated them from each other (by divorce).

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 227:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Hilal bin Umaiyya accused his wife of illegal sexual intercourse and came to the Prophet to bear witness (against her), (taking the oath of Lian). The Prophet was saying, "Allah knows that either of you is a liar. Will anyone of you repent (to Allah)?" Then the lady got up and gave her witness.

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 228:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad As-Sa'idi:
'Uwaimir Al-Ajlani came to 'Asim bin Ad Al-Ansari and said to him, "O 'Asim! Suppose a man saw another man with his wife, would he kill him whereupon you would kill him; or what should he do? Please, O 'Asim, ask about this on my behalf." 'Asim asked Allah's Apostle about it. Allah's Apostle, disliked that question and considered it disgraceful. What 'Asim heard from Allah's Apostle was hard on him. When 'Asim returned to his family, 'Uwaimir came to him and said, "O 'Asim! What did Allah's Apostle. say to you?" 'Asim said to 'Uwaimir, "You never bring me any good. Allah's Apostle disliked the problem which I asked him about." 'Uwaimir said, "By Allah, I will not give up this matter until I ask the Prophet about it." So 'Uwaimir proceeded till he came to Allah's Apostle in the midst of people, and said, "O Allah's Apostle! If a man sees another man with his wife, would he kill him, whereupon you would kill him, or what should he do?" Allah's Apostle said, "Allah has revealed some decree as regards you and your wives case. Go and bring her." So they carried out the process of Lian while I was present among the people with Allah's Apostle. When they had finished their Lian, 'Uwaimir said, "O Allah's Apostle! If I should now keep her with me as a wife, then I have told a lie." So he divorced her thrice before Allah's Apostle ordered him. (Ibn Shihab said: So divorce was the tradition for all those who were involved in a case of Lian.)

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 229:
Narrated Ibn Juraij:
Ibn Shihab informed me of Lian and the tradition related to it, referring to the narration of Sahl bin Sad, the brother of Bani Sa'idi He said, "An Ansari man came to Allah's Apostle and said, 'O Allah's Apostle! If a man saw another man with his wife, should he kill him, or what should he do?' So Allah revealed concerning his affair what is mentioned in the Holy Koran about the affair of those involved in a case of Lian. The Prophet said, 'Allah has given His verdict regarding you and your wife.' So they carried out Lian in the mosque while I was present there. When they had finished, the man said, "O Allah's Apostle! If I should now keep her with me as a wife then I have told a lie about her. Then he divorced her thrice before Allah's Apostle ordered him, when they had finished the Lian process. So he divorced her in front of the Prophet ." Ibn Shihab added, "After their case, it became a tradition that a couple involved in a case of Lian should be separated by divorce. That lady was pregnant then, and later on her son was called by his mother's name. The tradition concerning their inheritance was that she would be his heir and he would inherit of her property the share Allah had prescribed for him." Ibn Shihab said that Sahl bin Sad As'Saidi said that the Prophet said (in the above narration), "If that lady delivers a small red child like a lizard, then the lady has spoken the truth and the man was a liar, but if she delivers a child with black eyes and huge lips, then her husband has spoken the truth." Then she delivered it in the shape one would dislike (as it proved her guilty).

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 230:
Narrated Al-Qasim bin Mohammed:
Ibn Abbas; said, "Once Lian was mentioned before the Prophet whereupon 'Asim bin Adi said something and went away. Then a man from his tribe came to him, complaining that he had found a man width his wife. 'Asim said, 'I have not been put to task except for my statement (about Lian).' 'Asim took the man to the Prophet and the man told him of the state in which he had found his wife. The man was pale, thin, and of lank hair, while the other man whom he claimed he had seen with his wife, was brown, fat and had much flesh on his calves. The Prophet invoked, saying, 'O Allah! Reveal the truth.' So that lady delivered a child resembling the man whom her husband had mentioned he had found her with. The Prophet then made them carry out Lian." Then a man from that gathering asked Ibn Abbas, "Was she the same lady regarding which the Prophet had said, 'If I were to stone to death someone without witness, I would have stoned this lady'?" Ibn Abbas said, "No, that was another lady who, though being a Muslim, used to arouse suspicion by her outright misbehavior. "

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 231:
Narrated Said bin Jubair:
I asked Ibn Umar, "(What is the verdict if) a man accuses his wife of illegal sexual intercourse?" Ibn Umar said, "The Prophet separated (by divorce) the couple of Bani Al-Ajlan, and said, (to them), 'Allah knows that one of you two is a liar; so will one of you repent?' But both of them refused. He again said, 'Allah knows that one of you two is a liar; so will one of you repent?' But both of them refused. So he separated them by divorce." (Aiyub, a sub-narrator said: Amr bin Dinar said to me, "There is something else in this Hadith which you have not mentioned. It goes thus: The man said, 'What about my money (i.e. the Mahr that I have given to my wife)?' It was said, 'You have no right to restore any money, for if you have spoken the truth (as regards the accusation), you have also consummated your marriage with her; and if you have told a lie, you are less rightful to have your money back.' ")

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 232:
Narrated Said bin Jubair:
I asked Ibn Umar about those who were involved in a case of Lien. He said, "The Prophet said to those who were involved in a case of Lien, 'Your accounts are with Allah. One of you two is a liar, and you (the husband) have no right over her (she is divorced)." The man said, 'What about my property (Mahr) ?' The Prophet said, 'You have no right to get back your property. If you have told the truth about her then your property was for the consummation of your marriage with her; and if you told a lie about her, then you are less rightful to get your property back.' " Sufyan, a sub-narrator said: I learned the Hadith from Amr. Narrated Aiyub: I heard Sa'id bin Jubair saying, "I asked Ibn Umar, 'If a man (accuses his wife for an illegal sexual intercourse and) carries out the process of Lian (what will happen)?' Ibn Umar set two of his fingers apart. (Sufyan set his index finger and middle finger apart.) Ibn Umar said, 'The Prophet separated the couple of Bani Al-Ajlan by divorce and said thrice, "Allah knows that one of you two is a liar; so will one of you repent (to Allah)?' "

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 233:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle separated (divorced) the wife from her husband who accused her for an illegal sexual intercourse, and made them take the oath of Lian .

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 234:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet made an Ansari man and his wife carry out Lian, and then separated them by divorce.

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 235:
Narrated Ibn Umar: The Prophet made a man and his wife carry out Lian, and the husband repudiated her child. So the Prophet got them separated (by divorce) and decided that the child belonged to the mother only.

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 236:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Those involved in a case of Lian were mentioned before Allah's Apostle Asim bin Adi said something about that and then left. Later on a man from his tribe came to him and told him that he had found another man with his wife. On that 'Asim said, "I have not been put to task except for what I have said (about Lian)." 'Asim took the man to Allah's Apostle and he told him of the state in which he found his wife. The man was pale, thin and lank-haired, while the other man whom he had found with his wife was brown, fat with thick calves and curly hair. Allah's Apostle said, "O Allah! Reveal the truth." Then the lady delivered a child resembling the man whom her husband had mentioned he had found with her. So Allah's Apostle ordered them to carry out Lien. A man from that gathering said to Ibn Abbas, "Was she the same lady regarding whom Allah's Apostle said, 'If I were to stone to death someone without witnesses, I would have stoned this lady'?" Ibn Abbas said, "No, that was another lady who, though being a Muslim, used to arouse suspicion because of her outright misbehavior."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 237:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said . . . (as in 240).

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 238:
Narrated Aisha:
Rifa'a Al-Qurazi married a lady and then divorced her whereupon she married another man. She came to the Prophet and said that her new husband did not approach her, and that he was completely impotent. The Prophet said (to her), "No (you cannot remarry your first husband) till you taste the second husband and he tastes you (i.e. till he consummates his marriage with you)."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 239:
Narrated Um Salama:
(the wife of the Prophet) A lady from Bani Aslam, called Subai'a, become a widow while she was pregnant. Abu As-Sanabil bin Ba'kak demanded her hand in marriage, but she refused to marry him and said, "By Allah, I cannot marry him unless I have completed one of the two prescribed periods." About ten days later (after having delivered her child), she went to the Prophet and he said (to her), "You can marry now."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 240:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abdullah:
that his father had written to Ibn Al-Arqam a letter asking him to ask Subai'a Al-Aslamiya how the Prophet had given her the verdict. She said, "The Prophet, gave me his verdict that after I gave birth, I could marry."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 241:
Narrated Al-Miswer bin Makhrama:
Subai'a Al-Aslamiya gave birth to a child a few days after the death of her husband. She came to the Prophet and asked permission to remarry, and the Prophet gave her permission, and she got married.

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 242:
Narrated Qasim bin Mohammed and Sulaiman bin Yasar:
that Yahya bin Said bin Al-'As divorced the daughter of Abdur-Rahman bin Al-Hakarn. Abdur-Rahman took her to his house. On that Aisha sent a message to Marwan bin Al-Hakam who was the ruler of Medina, saying, "Fear Allah, and urge your brother) to return her to her house." Marwan (in Sulaiman's version) said, "Abdur-Rahman bin Al-Hakam did not obey me (or had a convincing argument)." (In Al-Qasim's versions Marwan said, "Have you not heard of the case of Fatima bint Qais?" Aisha said, "The case of Fatima bint Qais is not in your favor.' Marwan bin Al-Hakam said to Aisha, "The reason that made Fatima bint Qais go to her father's house is just applicable to the daughter of Abdur-Rahman."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 243:
Narrated Al-Qasim:
Aisha said, "What is wrong with Fatima? Why doesn't she fear Allah?" by saying that a divorced lady is not entitled to be provided with residence and sustenance (by her husband)

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 244:
Narrated Qasim:
Ursa said to Aisha, "Do you know so-and-so, the daughter of Al-Hakam? Her husband divorced her irrevocably and she left (her husband's house)." Aisha said, "What a bad thing she has done!" 'Ursa said (to Aisha), "Haven't you heard the statement of Fatima?" Aisha replied, "It is not in her favor to mention." 'Ursa added, Aisha reproached (Fatima) severely and said, "Fatima was in a lonely place, and she was proned to danger, so the Prophet
allowed her (to go out of her husband's house)."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 245:
Narrated 'Ursa:
Aisha disapproved of what Fatima used to say.'

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 246:
Narrated Aisha:
When Allah's Apostle decided to leave Mecca after the Hajj, he saw Safiyya, sad and standing at the entrance of her tent. He said to her, "Aqr (or) Halq! You will detain us. Did you

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perform Tawaf-al-Ifada on the day of Nahr? She said, "Yes." He said, "Then you can depart."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 247:
Narrated Al-Hasan:
Ma'qil gave his sister in marriage and later her husband divorced her once.

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 248:
Narrated Al-Hasan:
The sister of Ma'qil bin Yasar was married to a man and then that man divorced her and remained away from her till her period of the 'Iddah expired. Then he demanded for her hand in marriage, but Ma'qil got angry out of pride and haughtiness and said, "He kept away from her when he could still retain her, and now he demands her hand again?" So Ma'qil disagreed to remarry her to him. Then Allah revealed: 'When you have divorced women and they have fulfilled the term of their prescribed period, do not prevent them from marrying their (former) husbands.' (2.232) So the Prophet sent for Ma'qil and recited to him (Allah's order) and consequently Ma'qil gave up his pride and haughtiness and yielded to Allah's order.

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 249:
Narrated Nafi:
Ibn Umar bin Al-Khattab divorced his wife during her menses. Allah's Apostle ordered him to take her back till she became clean, and when she got another period while she was with him, she should wait till she became clean again and only then, if he wanted to divorce her, he could do so before having sexual relations with her. And that is the period Allah has fixed for divorcing women. Whenever Abdullah (bin Umar) was asked about that, he would say to the questioner, "If you divorced her thrice, she is no longer lawful for you unless she marries another man (and the other man divorces her in his turn).' Ibn Umar further said, 'Would that you (people) only give one or two divorces, because the Prophet has ordered me so."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 250:
Narrated Yunus Ibn Jubair:
Ibn Umar divorced his wife while she was having her menses. Umar asked the Prophet who said, "Order him (your son) to take her back, and then divorced her before her period of the 'Iddah has elapsed." I asked Ibn Umar, "Will that divorce (during the menses) be counted?" He replied, "If somebody behaves foolishly (will his foolishness be an excuse for his misbehavior)?"

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 251:
Narrated Humaid bin Nafi:
Zainab bint Abu Salama told me these three narrations: Zainab said: I went to Um Habiba, the wife of the Prophet when her father, Abu- Sufyan bin Herb had died. Um ,Habiba asked for a perfume which contained yellow scent (Khaluq) or some other scent, and she first perfumed one of the girls with it and then rubbed her cheeks with it and said, "By Allah, I am not in need of perfume, but I have heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'It is not lawful for a lady who believes in Allah and the Last Day to mourn for a dead person for more than three days unless he is her husband for whom she should mourn for four months and ten days.' " Zainab further said: I want to Zainab bint Jahsh when her brother died. She asked for perfume and used some of it and said, "By Allah, I am not in need of perfume, but I have heard Allah's Apostle saying on the pulpit, 'It is not lawful for a lady who believes in Allah and the last day to mourn for more than three days except for her husband for whom she should mourn for four months and ten days.' " Zainab further said, "I heard my mother, Um Salama saying that a woman came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! The husband of my daughter has died and she is suffering from an eye disease, can she apply kohl to her eye?" Allah's Apostle replied, "No," twice or thrice. (Every time she repeated her question) he said, "No." Then Allah's Apostle added, "It is just a matter of four months and ten days. In the Pre-Islamic Period of ignorance a widow among you should throw a globe of dung when one year has elapsed." I said to Zainab, "What does 'throwing a globe of dung when one year had elapsed' mean?" Zainab said, "When a lady was bereaved of her husband, she would live in a wretched small room and put on the worst clothes she had and would not touch any scent till one year had elapsed. Then she would bring an animal, e.g. a donkey, a sheep or a bird and rub her body against it. The animal against which she would rub her body would scarcely survive. Only then she would come out of her room, whereupon she would be given a globe of dung which she would throw away and then she would use the scent she liked or the like."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 252:
Narrated Um Salama:
A woman was bereaved of her husband and her relatives worried about her eyes (which were diseased). They came to Allah's Apostle, and asked him to allow them to treat her eyes with kohl, but he said, "She should not apply kohl to her eyes. (In the Pre-Islamic period of Ignorance) a widowed woman among you would stay in the worst of her clothes (or the worst part of her house) and when a year had elapsed, if a dog passed by her, she would throw a globe of dung, Nay, (she cannot use kohl) till four months and ten days have elapsed."
Narrated Um Habiba: The Prophet said, "It is not lawful for a Muslim woman who believes in Allah and the Last Day to mourn for more than three days, except for her husband, for whom she should mourn for four months and ten days."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 253:
Narrated Um 'Atiyya:
We were forbidden to mourn for more than three days except for a husband.

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 254:
Narrated Um 'Atiyya:
We were forbidden to mourn for more than three days for a dead person, except for a husband, for whom a wife should mourn for four months and ten days (while in the mourning period) we were not allowed to put kohl in our eyes, nor perfume our-selves, nor wear dyed clothes, except a garment of 'Asb (special clothes made in Yemen). But it was permissible for us that when one of us became clean from her menses and took a bath, she could use a piece of a certain kind of incense. And it was forbidden for us to follow funeral processions.

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 255:
Narrated Um 'Atiyya:
The Prophet said, "It is not lawful for a lady who believes in Allah and the Last Day, to mourn for more than three days for a dead person, except for her husband, in which case she should neither put kohl in her eyes, nor perfume herself, nor wear dyed clothes, except a garment of 'Asb" Um 'Atiyya added: The Prophet said, "She should not use perfume except when she becomes clean from her menses whereupon she can use Qust, and Azfar (two kinds of incense).

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 256:
Narrated Mujahid:
(regarding the Verse): 'If any of you dies and leaves wives behind,' That was the period of the 'Iddah which the widow was obliged to spend in the house of the late husband. Then Allah revealed: And those of you who die and leave wives should bequeath for their wives a year's maintenance and residence without turning them out, but if they leave, there is no blame on you for what they do of themselves, provided it is honorable (i.e. lawful marriage) (2.240) Mujahid said: Allah has ordered that a widow has the right to stay for seven months and twenty days with her husband's relatives through her husband's will and testament so that she will complete the period of one year (of 'Iddah). But the widow has the right to stay that extra period or go out of her husband's house as is indicated by the statement of Allah: 'But if they leave there is no blame on you,... ' (2.240) Ibn Abbas said: The above Verse has cancelled the order of spending the period of the 'Iddah at her late husband's house, and so she could spend her period of the 'Iddah wherever she likes. And Allah says: 'Without turning them out.' 'Ata said: If she would, she could spend her period of the 'Iddah at her husband's house, and live there according to her (husband's) will and testament, and if she would, she could go out (of her husband's house) as Allah says: 'There is no blame on you for what they do of themselves.' (2.240) 'Ata added: Then the Verses of inheritance were revealed and the order of residence (for the widow) was cancelled, and she could spend her period of the 'Iddah wherever she would like, and she was no longer entitled to be accommodated by her husband's family.

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 257:
Narrated Zainab bint Um Salama:
When Um Habiba bint Abi Sufyan was informed of her father's death, she asked for perfume and rubbed it over her arms and said, "I am not in need of perfume, but I have heard the Prophet saying, "It is not lawful for a lady who believes in Allah and the Last Day to mourn for more than three days except for her husband for whom the (mourning) period is four months and ten days."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 258:
Narrated Abu Mas'ud:
The Prophet prohibited taking the price of a dog, the earnings of a soothsayer and the money earned by prostitution.

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 259:
Narrated Abu Juhaifa:
The Prophet cursed the lady who practices tattooing and the one who gets herself tattooed, and one who eats (takes) Riba' (usury) and the one who gives it. And he prohibited taking the price of a dog, and the money earned by prostitution, and cursed the makers of pictures.

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 260:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet forbade taking the earnings of a slave girl by prostitution.

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 261:
Narrated Said bin Jubair:
I said to Ibn Umar, "If a man accuses his wife of illegal sexual intercourse (what is the judgement)?" He said, "Allah's Prophet separated the couple of Bani 'Ajlan (when the husband accused his wife for an illegal sexual intercourse). The Prophet said, 'Allah knows that one of you two IS a liar; so will one of you repent?' But they refused. He then again said, 'Allah knows that one of you two is a liar; so will one of you repent?' But they refused, whereupon he separated them by divorce." Aiyub (a sub-narrator) said: Amr bin Dinar said to me, "In the narration there is something which I do not see you mentioning, i.e. the husband said, "What about my money (Mahr)?' The Prophet said, "You are not entitled to take back money, for if you told the truth you have already entered upon her (and consummated your marriage with her) and if you are a liar then you are less entitled to take it back.

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 262:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said to those who were involved in a case of Lian, "Your accounts are with Allah. One of you two is a liar. You (husband) have right on her (wife)." The husband said, "My money, O Allah's Apostle!" The Prophet
said, "You are not entitled to take back any money. If you have told the truth, the Mahr that you paid, was for having sexual relations with her lawfully; and if you are a liar, then you are less entitled to get it back."
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Translation of Sahih Bukhari, Book 64:
Supporting the Family

Volume 7, Book 64, Number 263:
Narrated Abu Mas'ud Al-Ansari:
The Prophet said, "When a Muslim spends something on his family intending to receive Allah's reward it is regarded as Sadaqa for him."

Volume 7, Book 64, Number 264:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Allah said, 'O son of Adam! Spend, and I shall spend on you."

Volume 7, Book 64, Number 265:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The one who looks after a widow or a poor person is like a Mujahid (warrior) who fights for Allah's Cause, or like him who performs prayers all the night and fasts all the day."

Volume 7, Book 64, Number 266:
Narrated Sad:
The Prophet visited me at Mecca while I was ill. I said (to him), "I have property; May I bequeath all my property in Allah's Cause?" He said, "No." I said, "Half of it?" He said, "No." I said, "One third of it?" He said, "One-third (is alright), yet it is still too much, for you'd better leave your inheritors wealthy than leave them poor, begging of others. Whatever you spend will be considered a Sadaqa for you, even the mouthful of food you put in the mouth of your wife. Anyhow Allah may let you recover, so that some people may benefit by you and others be harmed by you."

Volume 7, Book 64, Number 267:
Narrated Al-'Amash:

Volume 7, Book 64, Number 268:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
"The Prophet said, 'The best alms is that which is given when one is rich, and a giving hand is better than a taking one, and you should start first to support your dependents.' A wife says, 'You should either provide me with food or divorce me.' A slave says, 'Give me food and enjoy my service." A son says, "Give me food; to whom do you leave me?" The people said, "O Abu Huraira! Did you hear that from Allah's Apostle ?" He said, "No, it is from my own self."

Volume 7, Book 64, Number 269:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The best alms is that which you give when you are rich, and you should start first to support your dependants."

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Volume 7, Book 64, Number 270:
Narrated Umar:
The Prophet used to sell the dates of the garden of Bani An-Nadir and store for his family so much food as would cover their needs for a whole year.

Volume 7, Book 64, Number 271:
Narrated Malik bin Aus bin Al-Hadathan:
Once I set out to visit Umar (bin Al-Khattab). (While I was sitting there with him his gate-keeper, Yarfa, came and said, "Uthman AbdurRahman (bin 'Auf), Az-Zubair and Sad (bin Abi Waqqas) are seeking permission (to meet you)." Umar said, "Yes. So he admitted them and they entered, greeted, and sat down. After a short while Yarfa came again and said to Umar 'Shall I admit Ali and Abbas?" Umar said, "Yes." He admitted them and when they entered, they greeted and sat down. Abbas said, "O Chief of the Believers! Judge between me and this (Ali)." The group, Uthman and his companions Sad, 'O Chief of the Believers! Judge between them and relieve one from the other." Umar said. Wait! I beseech you by Allah, by Whose permission both the Heaven and the Earth stand fast ! Do you know that Allah's Apostle said. 'We (Apostles) do not bequeath anything to our heirs, but whatever we leave is to be given in charity.' And by that Allah's Apostles meant himself?" The group said, "He did say so." Umar then turned towards 'All and Abbas and said. "I beseech you both by Allah, do you know that Allah's Apostle said that?" They said, 'Yes " Umar said, "Now, let me talk to you about this matter. Allah favored His Apostle with something of this property (war booty) which He did not give to anybody else. And Allah said:-- 'And what Allah has bestowed on His Apostle (as Fai Booty) from them for which you made no expedition with either cavalry or camelry . . . Allah is Able to do all things.' (59.6) So this property was especially granted to Allah's Apostle. But by Allah he neither withheld it from you, nor did he keep it for himself and deprive you of it, but he gave it all to you and distributed it among you till only this remained out of it. And out of this property Allah's Apostle used to provide his family with their yearly needs, and whatever remained, he would spend where Allah's Property (the revenues of Zakat) used to be spent. Allah's Apostle kept on acting like this throughout his lifetime. Now I beseech you by Allah, do you know that?" They said, "Yes." Then Umar said to Ali and Abbas, "I beseech you by Allah, do you both know that?" They said, "Yes." Umar added, "When Allah had taken His Apostle unto Him, Abu Bakr said, 'I am the successor of Allah's Apostle. So he took charge of that property and did with it the same what Allah's Apostle used to do, and both of you knew all about it then." Then Umar turned towards Ali and Abbas and said, "You both claim that Abu- Bakr was so-and-so! But Allah knows that he was honest, sincere, pious and right (in that matter). Then Allah caused Abu Bakr to die, and i said, 'I am the successor of Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr.' So I kept this property in my possession for the first two years of my rule, and I used to do the same with it as Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr used to do. Later both of you (Ali and Abbas) came to me with the same claim and the same problem. (O Abbas!) You came to me demanding your share from (the inheritance of) the son of your brother, and he (Ali) came to me demanding his wives share from (the inheritance of) her father. So I said to you, 'If you wish I will hand over this property to you, on condition that you both promise me before Allah that you will manage it in the same way as Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr did, and as I have done since the beginning of my rule; otherwise you should not speak to me about it.' So you both said, 'Hand over this property to us on this condition.' And on this condition I handed it over to you. I beseech you by Allah, did I hand it over to them on that condition?" The group said, "Yes." Umar then faced Ali and Abbas and said, "I beseech you both by Allah, did I hand it over to you both on that condition?" They both said, "Yes." Umar added, "Do you want me now to give a decision other than that? By Him with Whose permission (order) both the Heaven and the Earth stand fast, I will never give any decision other than that till the Hour is established! But if you are unable to manage it (that property), then return it to me and I will be sufficient for it on your behalf . "

Volume 7, Book 64, Number 272:
Narrated Aisha:
Hind bint Utba came and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Abu Sufyan is a miser so is it sinful of me to feed our children from his property?" Allah's Apostle said, "No except if you take for your needs what is just and reasonable. "

Volume 7, Book 64, Number 273:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "If the wife gives of her husband's property (something in charity) without his permission, he will get half the reward."

Volume 7, Book 64, Number 274:
Narrated Ali:
Fatima went to the Prophet complaining about the bad effect of the stone hand-mill on her hand. She heard that the Prophet had received a few slave girls. But (when she came there) she did not find him, so she mentioned her problem to Aisha. When the Prophet came, Aisha informed him about that. Ali added, "So the Prophet came to us when we had gone to bed. We wanted to get up (on his arrival) but he said, 'Stay where you are." Then he came and sat between me and her and I felt the coldness of his feet on my abdomen. He said, "Shall I direct you to something better than what you have requested? When you go to bed say 'Subhan Allah' thirty-three times, 'Alhamdulillah' thirty three times, and Allahu Akbar' thirty four times, for that is better for you than a servant."

Volume 7, Book 64, Number 275:
Narrated Ali bin Abi Talib:
Fatima came to the Prophet asking for a servant. He said, "May I inform you of something better than that? When you go to bed, recite "Subhan Allah' thirty three times, 'Alhamdulillah' thirty three times, and 'Allahu Akbar' thirty four times. 'All added, 'I have never failed to recite it ever since." Somebody asked, "Even on the night of the battle of Siffin?" He said, "No, even on the night of the battle of Siffin."

Volume 7, Book 64, Number 276:
Narrated Al-Aswad bin Yazid:
I asked Aisha "What did the Prophet use to do at home?" She said, "He used to work for his family, and when he heard the Adhan (call for the prayer), he would go out."

Volume 7, Book 64, Number 277:
Narrated Aisha:
Hind bint Utba said, "O Allah's Apostle! Abu Sufyan is a miser and he does not give me what is sufficient for me and my children. Can I take of his property without his knowledge?" The Prophet said, "Take what is sufficient for you and your children, and the amount should be just and reasonable.

Volume 7, Book 64, Number 278:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The best women among the camel riders, are the women of Quraish." (Another narrator said) The Prophet said, "The righteous among the women of Quraish are those who are kind to their young ones and who look after their husband's property . "

Volume 7, Book 64, Number 279:
Narrated Ali:
The Prophet gave me a silk suit and I wore it, but when I noticed anger on his face, I cut it and distributed it among my women-folk.

Volume 7, Book 64, Number 280:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
My father died and left seven or nine girls and I married a matron. Allah's Apostle said to me, "O Jabir! Have you married?" I said, "Yes." He said, "A virgin or a matron?" I replied, "A matron." he said, "Why not a virgin, so that you might play with her and she with you, and you might amuse her and she amuse you." I said, " Abdullah (my father) died and left girls, and I dislike to marry a girl like them, so I married a lady (matron) so that she may look after them." On that he said, "May Allah bless you," or "That is good."

Volume 7, Book 64, Number 281:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A man came to the Prophet and said, "I am ruined!" The Prophet said, "Why?" He said, "I had sexual intercourse with my wife while fasting (in the month of Ramadan)." The Prophet said to him, "Manumit a slave (as expiation)." He replied, "I cannot afford that." The Prophet said, "Then fast for two successive months." He said, "I cannot." The Prophet said, "Then feed sixty poor persons." He said, "I have nothing to do that." In the meantime a basket full of dates was brought to the Prophet . He said, "Where is the questioner." The man said, "I am here." The Prophet said (to him), "Give this (basket of dates) in charity (as expiation)." He said, "O Allah's Apostle! Shall I give it to poorer people than us? By Him Who sent you with the Truth, there is no family between Medina's two mountains poorer than us." The Prophet smiled till his pre-molar teeth became visible. He then said, "Then take it."

Volume 7, Book 64, Number 282:
Narrated Um Salama:
I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Shall I get a reward (in the Hereafter) if I spend on the children of Abu Salama and do not leave them like this and like this (i.e., poor) but treat them like my children?" The Prophet said, "Yes, you will be rewarded for that which you will spend on them."

Volume 7, Book 64, Number 283:
Narrated Aisha :
Hind (bint Utba) said, "O Allah's Apostle! Abu Sufyan is a miser. Is there any harm if I take of his property what will cover me and my children's needs?" The Prophet said, "Take (according to your needs) in a reasonable manner."

Volume 7, Book 64, Number 284:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A dead man in debt used to be brought to Allah's Apostle who would ask, "Has he left anything to re pay his debts?" If he was informed that he had left something to cover his debts the Prophet would offer the funeral prayer for him; otherwise he would say to the Muslims present there), "Offer the funeral prayer for your friend:"but when Allah helped the Prophet to gain victory (on his expeditions), he said, "I am closer to the Believers than themselves, so. if one of the Believers dies in debt, I will repay it, but if he leaves wealth, it will be for his heirs.

Volume 7, Book 64, Number 285:
Narrated Um Habiba:
(the wife of the Prophet) I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Will you marry my sister, the daughter of Abu Sufyan." The Prophet said, "Do you like that?" I said, "Yes, for I am not your only wife, and the person I like most to share the good with me, is my sister." He said, "That is not lawful for me." I said, "O Allah's Apostle! We have heard that you want to marry Durra, the daughter of Abu Salama." He said, "You mean the daughter of Um Salama?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Even if she were not my step-daughter, she is unlawful for me, for she is my foster niece. Thuwaiba suckled me and Abu Salama. So you should not present to me your daughters and sisters."
Narrated 'Ursa: Thuwaiba had been a slave girl whom Abu Lahab had emancipated.

SAHIH BUKHARI, BOOK 65:
Food, Meals

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 286:
Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari:
The Prophet said, "Give food to the hungry, pay a visit to the sick and release (set free) the one in captivity (by paying his ransom)."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 287:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The family of Mohammed did not eat their fill for three successive days till he died.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 287i:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Once while I was in a state of fatigue (because of severe hunger), I met Umar bin Al-Khattab, so I asked him to recite a verse from Allah's Book to me. He entered his house and interpreted it to me. (Then I went out and) after walking for a short distance, I fell on my face because of fatigue and severe hunger. Suddenly I saw Allah's Apostle standing by my head. He said, "O Abu Huraira!" I replied, "Labbaik, O Allah's Apostle, and Sadaik!" Then he held me by the hand, and made me get up. Then he came to know what I was suffering from. He took me to his house, and ordered a big bowl of milk for me. I drank thereof and he said, "Drink more, O Abu Hirr!" So I drank again, whereupon he again said, "Drink more." So I drank more till my belly became full and looked like a bowl. Afterwards I met Umar and mentioned to him what had happened to me, and said to him, "Somebody, who had more right than you, O Umar, took over the case. By Allah, I asked you to recite a Verse to me while I knew it better than you." On that Umar said to me, "By Allah, if I admitted and entertained you, it would have been dearer to me than having nice red camels.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 288:
Narrated Umar bin Abi Salama:
I was a boy under the care of Allah's Apostle and my hand used to go around the dish while I was eating. So Allah's Apostle said to me, 'O boy! Mention the Name of Allah and eat with your right hand, and eat of the dish what is nearer to you." Since then I have applied those instructions when eating.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 289:
Narrated Umar bin Al Salama:
Who was the son of Um Salama, the wife of the Prophet:
Once I ate a meal with Allah's Apostle and I was eating from all sides of the dish. So Allah's Apostle said to me, "Eat of the dish what is nearer to you."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 290:
Narrated Wahb bin Kaisan Abi Nu'aim:
A meal was brought to Allah's Apostle while his step-son, Umar bin Abi Salama was with him. Allah's Apostle said to

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him, "Mention the Name of Allah and eat of the dish what is nearer to you."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 291:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
A tailor invited Allah's Apostle to a meal which he had prepared. I went along with Allah's Apostle and saw him seeking to eat the pieces of gourd from the various sides of the dish. Since that day I have liked to eat gourd. Umar bin Abi Salama said: The Prophet, said to me, "Eat with your right hand."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 292:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet used to love to start doing things from the right side whenever possible, in performing ablution, putting on his shoes, and combing his hair. (Al-Ash'ath said: The Prophet used to do so in all his affairs.)

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 293:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Abu Talha said to Um Sulaim, "I have heard the voice of Allah's Apostle which was feeble, and I think that he is hungry. Have you got something (to eat)?" She took out some loaves of barley bread, then took her face-covering sheet and wrapped the bread in part of it, and pushed it under my garment and turned the rest of it around my body and sent me to Allah's Apostle . I went with that, and found Allah's Apostle in the mosque with some people. I stood up near them, and Allah's Apostle asked me, "Have you been sent by Abu Talha?" I said, "Yes." He asked, "With some food (for us)?" I said, "Yes." Then Allah's Apostle said to all those who were with him, "Get up!" He set out (and all the people accompanied him) and I proceeded ahead of them till I came to Abu Talha. Abu Talha then said, "O Um Sulaim! Allah's Apostle has arrived along with the people, and we do not have food enough to feed them all." She said, "Allah and His Apostle know better." So Abu Talha went out till he met Allah's Apostle. Then Abu Talha and Allah's Apostle came and entered the house. Allah's Apostle said, "Um Sulaim ! Bring whatever you have." She brought that very bread. The Prophet ordered that it be crushed into small pieces, and Um Sulaim pressed a skin of butter on it. Then Allah's Apostle said whatever Allah wished him to say (to bless the food) and then added, "Admit ten (men)." So they were admitted, ate their fill and went out. The Prophet then said, "Admit ten (more)." They were admitted, ate their full, and went out. He then again said, "Admit ten more!" They were admitted, ate their fill, and went out. He admitted ten more, and so all those people ate their fill, and they were eighty men.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 294:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Abu Bakr:
We were one hundred and thirty men sitting with the Prophet. The Prophet said, "Have anyone of you any food with him?" It happened that one man had one Sa of wheat flour (or so) which was turned into dough then. After a while a tall lanky pagan came, driving some sheep. The Prophet asked, 'Will you sell us (a sheep), or give (it to) us as a gift?" The pagan said, "No, but I will sell it " So the Prophet bought from him a sheep which was slaughtered, and then the Prophet ordered that the liver, the kidneys, lungs and heart, etc., of that sheep be roasted. By Allah, none of those one hundred and thirty men but had his share of those things. The Prophet gave to those who were present, and also kept a share for those who were absent He then served that cooked sheep in two big trays and we all ate together our fill; yet there remained a part of it in those two trays which I carried on the camel.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 295:
Narrated Aisha :
The Prophet died when we had satisfied our hunger with the two black things, i.e. dates and water.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 296:
Narrated Suwaid bin An-Nu'man:
We went out with Allah's Apostle to Khaibar, and when we were at As-Sahba', (Yahya, a sub-narrator said, "As-Sahba' is a place at a distance of one day's journey to Khaibar)." Allah's Apostle asked the people to bring their food, but there was nothing with the people except Sawiq. So we all chewed and ate of it. Then the Prophet asked for some water and he rinsed his mouth, and we too, rinsed our mouths. Then he led us in the Maghrib prayer without performing ablution (again).

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 297:
Narrated Qatada:
We were in the company of Anas whose baker was with him. Anas said, The Prophet did not eat thin bread, or a roasted sheep till he met Allah (died).

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 298:
Narrated Anas:
To the best of my knowledge, the Prophet did not take his meals in a big tray at all, nor did he ever eat well-baked thin bread, nor did he ever eat at a dining table.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 299:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet halted to consummate his marriage with Safiyya. I invited the Muslims to his wedding banquet. He ordered that leather dining sheets be spread. Then dates, dried yoghurt and butter were put on those sheets. Anas added: The Prophet consummated his marriage with Safiyya (during a journey) whereupon Hais (sweet dish) was served on a leather dining sheet.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 300:
Narrated Wahb bin Kaisan:
The People of Sham taunted Abdullah bin Az-Zubair by calling him "The son of Dhatin-Nataqain" (the woman who has two waist-belts). (His mother) (Asma, said to him, "O my son! They taunt you with "Nataqain". Do you know what the Nataqain were? That was my waist-belt which I divided in two parts. I tied the water skin of Allah's Apostle with one part, and with the other part I tied his food container."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 301:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
that his aunt, Um Hufaid bint Al-Harith bin Hazn, presented to the Prophet butter, dried yoghurt and mastigures. The Prophet invited the people to those mastigures and they were eaten on his dining sheet, but the Prophet did not eat of it, as if he disliked it. Nevertheless. if it was unlawful to eat that, the people would not have eaten it on the dining sheet of the Prophet nor would he have ordered that they be eaten.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 302:
Narrated Suwaid bin An-Nu'man:
that while they were with the Prophet at As-Sahba' which was at a distance of one day's journey from Khaibar the prayer became due, and the Prophet asked the people for food but there was nothing with the people except Sawiq. He ate of it and we ate along with him, and then he asked for water and rinsed his mouth (with it), and then offered the (Maghrib) prayer and we too offered the prayer but the Prophet did not perform ablution (again after eating the Sawiq.).

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 303:
Narrated Khalid bin Al-Walid:
That he went with Allah's Apostle to the house of Maimuna, who was his and Ibn Abbas' aunt. He found with her a roasted mastigure which her sister Hufaida bint Al-Harith had brought from Najd. Maimuna presented the mastigure before Allah's Apostle who rarely started eating any (unfamiliar) food before it was described and named for him. (But that time) Allah's Apostle stretched his hand towards the (meat of the) mastigure whereupon a lady from among those who were present, said, "You should inform Allah's Apostle of what you have presented to him. O Allah's Apostle! It is the meat of a mastigure." (On learning that) Allah's Apostle withdrew his hand from the meat of the mastigure. Khalid bin Al-Walid said, "O Allah's Apostle! Is this unlawful to eat?" Allah's Apostle replied, "No, but it is not found in the land of my people, so I do not like it." Khalid said, "Then I pulled the mastigure (meat) towards me and ate it while Allah's Apostle was looking at me.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 304:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The food for two persons is sufficient for three, and the food of three persons is sufficient for four persons."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 305:
Narrated Nafi:
Ibn Umar never used to take his meal unless a poor man was called to eat with him. One day I brought a poor man to eat with him, the man ate too much, whereupon Ibn Umar said, "O Nafi! Don't let this man enter my house, for I heard the Prophet saying, "A believer eats in one intestine (is satisfied with a little food), and a kafir (unbeliever) eats in seven intestines (eats much food)."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 306:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "A believer eats in one intestine (is satisfied with a little food), and a kafir (unbeliever) or a hypocrite eats in seven intestines (eats too much)."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 307:
Narrated Amr:
Abu Nahik was avaricious eater. Ibn Umar said to him, "Allah's Apostle said, "A Kafir (unbeliever) eats in seven intestines (eats much)." On that Abu Nahik said, "But I believe in Allah and His Apostle ."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 308:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "A Muslim eats in one intestine (i.e. he is satisfied with a little food) while a Kafir (unbeliever) eats in seven intestines (eats much)."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 309:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A man used to eat much, but when he embraced Islam, he started eating less. That was mentioned to the Prophet who then said, "A believer eats in one intestine (is satisfied with a little food) and a Kafir eats in seven intestines (eats much). "

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 310:
Narrated Abu Juhaifa:
Allah's Apostle said, "I do not take my meals while leaning (against something).

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 311:
Narrated Abu Juhaifa:
While I was with the Prophet he said to a man who was with him, "I do not take my meals while leaning."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 312:
Narrated Khalid bin Al-Walid:
"A roasted mastigure was brought to the Prophet who stretched his hand towards it to eat it. But it was said to him, "It is a mastigure." So he withdrew his hand. Khalid asked, "Is it unlawful to eat?" the Prophet said, "No, but it is not found in the land of my people and that is why I do not like eating it." So Khalid started eating (it) while Allah's Apostle was looking at him. An-Nadr said: 'Al-Khazira' (is prepared) from bran while 'Al-Harira' is prepared from milk.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 313:
Narrated 'Urban bin Malik:
who attended the Badr battle and was from the Ansar, that he came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have lost my eyesight and I lead my people in the prayer (as an Imam). When it rains, the valley which is between me and my people, flows with water, and then I cannot go to their mosque to lead them in the prayer. O Allah's Apostle! I wish that you could come and pray in my house so that I may take it as a praying place. The Prophet said, "Allah willing, I will do that." The next morning, soon after the sun had risen, Allah's Apostle came with Abu Bakr. The Prophet asked for the permission to enter and I admitted him. The Prophet had not sat till he had entered the house and said to me, "Where do you like me to pray in your house?" I pointed at a place in my house whereupon he stood and said, "Allahu Akbar." We lined behind him and he prayed two Rakat and finished it with Taslim. We then requested him to stay for a special meal of Khazira which we had prepared. A large number of men from the adjoining area gathered in the house. One of them said, "Where is Malik bin Ad-Dukhshun?" Another man said, "He is a hypocrite and does not love Allah and His Apostle." The Prophet said, "Do not say so. Do you not think that he has said: "None has the right to be worshipped but Allah," seeking Allah's pleasure? The man said, "Allah and His Apostle know better, but we have always seen him mixing with hypocrites and giving them advice." The Prophet said, "Allah has forbidden the (Hell) Fire for those who testify that none has the right to be worshipped but Allah, seeking Allah's pleasure. "

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 314:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
My aunt presented (roasted) mastigures, Iqt and milk to the Prophet . The mastigures were put on his dining sheet, and if it was unlawful to eat, it would not have been put there. The Prophet drank the milk and ate the Iqt only.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 315:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
We used to be happy on Fridays, for there was an old lady who used to pull out the roots of Silq and put it in a cooking pot with some barley. When we had finished the prayer, we would visit her and she would present that dish before us. So we used to be happy on Fridays because of that, and we never used to take our meals or have a mid-day nap except after the Friday prayer. By Allah, that meal contained no fat.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 316:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet ate of the meat of a shoulder (by cutting the meat with his teeth), and then got up and offered the prayer without performing the ablution anew. Narrated Ibn Abbas: The Prophet took out a bone with meat on it from a cooking pot and ate of it, and then offered the prayer without performing ablution anew.

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Volume 7, Book 65, Number 317:
Narrated Abu Qatada:
We went out towards Mecca with the Prophet.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 318:
Narrated Abu Qatada:
Once, while I was sitting with the companions of the Prophet at a station on the road to Mecca and Allah's Apostle was stationing ahead of us and all the people were assuming Ihram while I was not. My companion, saw an onager while I was busy Mending my shoes. They did not Inform me of the onager but they wished that I would see it Suddenly I looked and saw the onager Then I headed towards my horse, saddled it and rode, but I forgot to take the lash and the spear. So I said to them my companions), "Give me the lash and the spear." But they said, "No, by Allah we will not help you in any way to hunt it ' I got angry, dismounted, took it the spear and the lash), rode (the horse chased the onager and wounded it Then I brought it when it had dyed. My companions started eating of its (cooked) meat, but they suspected that it might be unlawful to eat of its meat while they were in a state of Ihram Then I proceeded further and I kept one of its forelegs with me. When we met Allah's Apostle we asked him about that. He said, "Have you some of its meat with you?" I gave him that foreleg and he ate the meat till he stripped the bone of its flesh although he was in a state of Ihram.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 319:
Narrated Amr bin Umaiyya
that he saw the Prophet holding a shoulder piece of mutton in his hand and cutting part of it with a knife. Then he was called for the prayer whereupon he put down the shoulder piece and the knife with which he was cutting it, and then stood for prayer without performing ablution again.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 320:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet never criticized any food (he was invited to) but he used to eat if he liked the food, and leave it if he disliked

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 321:
Narrated Abu Hazim:
that he asked Sahl, "Did you use white flour during the lifetime of the Prophet ?" Sahl replied, "No. Hazim asked, "Did you use to sift barley flour?" He said, "No, but we used to blow off the husk (of the barley)."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 322:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Once the Prophet distributed dates among his companions and gave each one seven dates. He gave me seven dates too, one of which was dry and hard, but none of the other dates was more liked by me than that one, for it prolonged my chewing it.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 323:
Narrated Sad:
I was one of (the first) seven (who had embraced Islam) with Allah's Apostle and we had nothing to eat then, except the leaves of the Habala or Hubula tree, so that our stool used to be similar to that of sheep. Now the tribe of Bani Asad wants to teach me Islam; I would be a loser and all my efforts would be in vain (if I learn Islam anew from them).

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 324:
Narrated Abu Hazim:
I asked Sahl bin Sad, "Did Allah's Apostle ever eat white flour?" Sahl said, "Allah's Apostle never saw white flour since Allah sent him as an Apostle till He took him unto Him." I asked, "Did the people have (use) sieves during the lifetime of Allah's Apostle?" Sahl said, "Allah's Apostle never saw (used) a sieve since Allah sent him as an Apostle until He took him unto Him," I said, "How could you eat barley unsifted?" he said, "We used to grind it and then blow off its husk, and after the husk flew away, we used to prepare the dough (bake) and eat it."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 325:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
that he passed by a group of people in front of whom there was a roasted sheep. They invited him but he refused to eat and said, "Allah's Apostle left this world without satisfying his hunger even with barley bread."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 326:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet never took his meals at a dining table, nor in small plates, and he never ate thin well-baked bread. (The sub-narrator asked Qatada, "Over what did they use to take their meals?" Qatada said, "On leather dining sheets."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 327:
Narrated Aisha:
The family of Mohammed had not eaten wheat bread to their satisfaction for three consecutive days since his arrival at Medina till he died.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 328:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) that whenever one of her relatives died, the women assembled and then dispersed (returned to their houses) except her relatives and close friends. She would order that a pot of Talbina be cooked. Then Tharid (a dish prepared from meat and bread) would be prepared and the Talbina would be poured on it. Aisha would say (to the women),"Eat of it, for I heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'The Talbina soothes the heart of the patient and relieves him from some of his sadness.' "

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 329:
Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari:
The Prophet said, "Many men reached perfection but none among the women reached perfection except Mary, the daughter of ' Imran, and Asia, Pharoah's wife. And the superiority of Aisha to other women is like the superiority of Tharid to other kinds of food.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 330:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "The superiority of Aisha to other women is like the superiority of Tharid to other kinds of food . "

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 331:
Narrated Anas:
I went along with the Prophet to the house of a young tailor of his. The tailor presented a dish of Tharid to the Prophet and resumed his work. The Prophet started picking the pieces of gourd and I too, started picking them and putting it before him. Since then I have always loved (to eat) gourd.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 332:
Narrated Qatada:
We used to visit Anas bin Malik while his baker was standing (and baking). Anas would say, "Eat! I do not know that the Prophet had ever seen well-baked bread till he met Allah, nor had he ever seen a roasted sheep with his own eyes."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 333:
Narrated Amr bin Umaiyay Ad-Damri:
I saw Allah's Apostle cutting part of the shoulder of mutton with a knife. He ate of it and then was called for prayer whereupon he got up and put down the knife and offered the prayer without performing new ablution.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 334:
Narrated 'Abis:
I asked Aisha "Did the Prophet forbid eating the meat of sacrifices offered on 'Id-ul-Adha for more than three days" She said, "The Prophet did not do this except in the year when the people were hungry, so he wanted the rich to feed the poor. But later we used to store even a trotter of a sheep to eat it fifteen days later." She was asked, "What compelled you to do so?" She smiled and said, "The family of Mohammed did not eat to their satisfaction white bread with meat soup for three successive days till he met Allah."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 335:
Narrated Jabir:
We used to carry the meat of the Hadis (sacrificed animals) to Medina during the life-time of the Prophet .

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 336:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle said to Abu Talha, "Seek one of your boys to serve me." Abu Talha mounted me behind him (on his riding animal) and took me (to the Prophet). So I used to serve Allah's Apostle whenever he dismounted (to stay somewhere). I used to hear him saying very often, "O Allah! I seek refuge with You from, having worries sadness, helplessness, laziness, miserliness, cowardice, from being heavily in debt and from being overpowered by other persons unjustly." I kept on serving till we -returned from the battle of Khaibar. The Prophet then brought Safiyya bint Huyai whom he had won from the war booty. I saw him folding up a gown or a garment for her to sit on behind him (on his she-camel). When he reached As-Sahba', he prepared Hais and placed it on a dining sheet. Then he sent me to invite men, who (came and) ate; and that was his and Safiyya's wedding banquet. Then the Prophet proceeded, and when he saw (noticed) the mountain of Uhud, he said, "This mountain loves us, and we love it." When we approached Medina, he said, "O Allah! I make the area between its two mountains a sanctuary as Abraham has made Mecca a sanctuary. O Allah! Bless their Mudd and Sa (special kinds of measure)."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 337:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Abi Laila:
We were sitting in the company of Hudhaifa who asked for water and a Magian brought him water. But when he placed the cup in his hand, he threw it at him and said, "Had I not forbidden him to do so more than once or twice?" He wanted to say, "I would not have done so," adding, "but I heard the Prophet saying, "Do not wear silk or Dibaja, and do not drink in silver or golden vessels, and do not eat in plates of such metals, for such things are for the unbelievers in this worldly life and for us in the Hereafter."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 338:
Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari:
Allah's Apostle said, "The example of a Believer who recites the Koran, is that of a citron which smells good and tastes good; And the example of a Believer who does not recite the Koran, is that of a date which has no smell but tastes sweet; and the example of a hypocrite who recites the Koran, is that of an aromatic plant which smells good but tastes bitter; and the example of a hypocrite who does not recite the Koran, is that of a colocynth plant which has no smell and is bitter in taste."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 339:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "The superiority of Aisha to other ladies is like the superiority of Tharid to other kinds of food."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 340:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Traveling is a kind of torture, as it prevents one from sleeping and eating! So when one has finished his job, he should return quickly to his family."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 341:
Narrated Qasim bin Mohammed:
Three traditions have been established because of Barira: Aisha intended to buy her and set her free, but Barira's masters said, "Her Wala will be for us." Aisha mentioned that to Allah's Apostle who said, "You could accept their condition if you wished, for the wala is for the one who manumits the slave." Barira was manumitted, then she was given the choice either to stay with her husband or leave him; One day Allah's Apostle entered Aisha's house while there was a cooking pot of food boiling on the fire. The Prophet asked for lunch, and he was presented with bread and some extra food from the home-made Udm (e.g. soup). He asked, "Don't I see meat (being cooked)?" They said, "Yes, O Allah's Apostle! But it is the meat that has been given to Barira in charity and she has given it to us as a present." He said, "For Barira it is alms, but for us it is a present."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 342:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle used to love sweet edible things and honey.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 343:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I used to accompany Allah's Apostle to fill my stomach; and that was when I did not eat baked bread, nor wear silk. Neither a male nor a female slave used to serve me, and I used to bind stones over my belly and ask somebody to recite a Koranic Verse for me though I knew it, so that he might take me to his house and feed me. Jafar bin Abi Talib was very kind to the poor, and he used to take us and feed us with what ever was available in his house, (and if nothing was available), he used to give us the empty (honey or butter) skin which we would tear and lick whatever was in it.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 344:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle went to (the house of) his slave tailor, and he was offered (a dish of) gourd of which he started eating. I have loved to eat gourd since I saw Allah's Apostle eating it.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 345:
Narrated Abu Mas'ud Al-Ansari:
There was a man called Abu Shu'aib, and he had a slave who was a butcher. He said (to his slave), "Prepare a meal to which I may invite Allah's Apostle along with four other men." So he invited Allah's Apostle and four other men, but another man followed them whereupon the Prophet said, "You have invited me as one of five guests, but now another man has followed us. If you wish you can admit him, and if you wish you can refuse him." On that the host said, "But I admit him." Narrated Mohammed bin Isma'il: If guests are sitting at a dining table, they do not have the right to carry food from other tables to theirs, but they can pass on food from their own table to each other; otherwise they should leave it.

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Volume 7, Book 65, Number 346:
Narrated Anas:
I was a young boy when I once was walking with Allah's Apostle . Allah's Apostle entered the house of his slave tailor and the latter brought a dish filled with food covered with pieces of gourd. Allah's Apostle started picking and eating the gourd. When I saw that, I started collecting and placing the gourd before him. Then the slave returned to his work. Anas added: I have kept on loving gourd since I saw Allah's Apostle doing what he was doing.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 347:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
A tailor invited the Prophet to a meal which he had prepared, and I went along with the Prophet . The tailor presented barley bread and soup containing gourd and cured meat. I saw the Prophet picking the pieces of gourd from around the dish, and since then I have kept on liking gourd.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 348:
Narrated Anas:
I saw the Prophet being served with soup and containing gourd and cured meat, and I saw him picking and eating the pieces of gourd.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 349:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet did not do that (i.e., forbade the storage of the meat of sacrifices for three days) except (he did so) so that the rich would feed the poor. But later we used to keep even trotters to cook, fifteen days later. The family of Mohammed did not eat wheat bread with meat or soup to their satisfaction for three successive days.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 350:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
A tailor invited Allah's Apostle to a meal which he had prepared. I went with Allah's Apostle to that meal, and the tailor served the Prophet with barley bread and soup of gourd and cured meat. I saw Allah's Apostle picking the pieces of gourd from around the dish, and since then I have kept on liking gourd.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 351:
Narrated Abdullah bin Jafar bin Abi Talib:
I saw Allah's Apostle eating fresh dates with snake cucumber.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 352:
Narrated Abu Uthman:
I was a guest of Abu Huraira for seven days. Abu Huraira, his wife and his slave used to get up and remain awake for one-third of the night by turns. Each would offer the night prayer and then awaken the other. I heard Abu Huraira saying, "Allah's Apostle distributed dates among his companions and my share was seven dates, one of which was a Hashafa (a date which dried on the tree before it was fully ripe).

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 353:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet distributed dates among us, and my share was five dates, four of which were good, and one was a ,Hashafa, and I found the Hashafa the hardest for my teeth.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 354:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
There was a Jew in Medina who used to lend me money up to the season of plucking dates. (Jabir had a piece of land which was on the way to Ruma). That year the land was not promising, so the payment of the debt was delayed one year. The Jew came to me at the time of plucking, but gathered nothing from my land. I asked him to give me one year respite, but he refused. This news reached the Prophet whereupon he said to his companions, "Let us go and ask the Jew for respite for Jabir." All of them came to me in my garden, and the Prophet started speaking to the Jew, but he Jew said, "O Abu Qasim! I will not grant him respite." When the Prophet saw the Jew's attitude, he stood up and walked all around the garden and came again and talked to the Jew, but the Jew refused his request. I got up and brought some ripe fresh dates and put it in front of the Prophet. He ate and then said to me, "Where is your hut, O Jabir?" I informed him, and he said, "Spread out a bed for me in it." I spread out a bed, and he entered and slept. When he woke up, I brought some dates to him again and he ate of it and then got up and talked to the Jew again, but the Jew again refused his request. Then the Prophet got up for the second time amidst the palm trees loaded with fresh dates, and said, "O Jabir! Pluck dates to repay your debt." The Jew remained with me while I was plucking the dates, till I paid him all his right, yet there remained extra quantity of dates. So I went out and proceeded till I reached the Prophet and informed him of the good news, whereupon he said, "I testify that I am Allah's Apostle."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 355:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
While we were sitting with the Prophet a spadix of palm tree was brought to him. The Prophet said, "There is a tree among the trees which is as blessed as a Muslim" I thought that it was the date palm tree and intended to say, "It is the date-palm tree, O Allah's Apostle!" but I looked behind to see that I was the tenth and youngest of ten men present there, so I kept quiet' Then the Prophet said, "It is the datepalm tree."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 356:
Narrated Sad:
Allah's Apostle said, "He who eats seven 'Ajwa dates every morning, will not be affected by poison or magic on the day he eats them."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 357:
Narrated Jabala bin Suhaim.
At the time of Ibn Az-Zubair, we were struck with famine, and he provided us with dates for our food. Abdullah bin Umar used to pass by us while we were eating, and say, "Do not eat two dates together at a time, for the Prophet forbade the taking of two dates together at a time (in a gathering)." Ibn Umar used to add, "Unless one takes the permission of one's companions."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 358:
Narrated Abdullah bin Jafar:
I saw the Prophet eating fresh dates with snake cucumbers.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 359:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "There is a tree among the trees which is similar to a Muslim (in goodness), and that is the date palm tree."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 360:
Narrated Abdullah bin Jafar:
I saw Allah's Apostle eating fresh dates with snake cucumbers.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 361:
Narrated Anas:
My mother, Um Sulaim, took a Mudd of barley grain, ground it and made porridge from it, and pressed (over it), a butter skin she had with her. Then she sent me to the Prophet, and I reached him while he was sitting with his companions. I invited him, whereupon he said, "And those who are with me?' I returned and said, "He says, 'And those who are with me?" Abu Talha went out to him and said, "O Allah's Apostle! It is just a meal prepared by Um Sulaim." The Prophet entered and the food was brought to him. He said, "Let ten persons enter upon me." Those ten entered and ate their fill. Again he said, 'Let ten (more) enter upon me." Those ten entered and ate their fill. Then he said, "Let ten (more) enter upon me." He called forty persons in all Then Allah's Apostle ate and got up. I started looking (at the food) to see if it decreased or not.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 362:
Narrated Abdul Aziz:
It was said to Anas "What did you hear the Prophet saying about garlic?" Anas replied, "Whoever has eaten (garlic) should not approach our mosque."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 363:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "Whoever has eaten garlic or onion should keep away from us (or should keep away from our mosque).'

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 364:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
We were with Allah's Apostle collecting Al-Kabath at Mar-Az-Zahran. The Prophet said, "Collect the black ones, for they are better." Somebody said, (O Allah's Apostle!) Have you ever shepherded sheep?" He said, "There has been no prophet but has shepherded them. "

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 365:
Narrated Suwaid bin An Nu'man:
We went out with Allah's Apostle to Khaibar, and when we reached As-Sahba', the Prophet asked for food, and he was offered nothing but Sawiq. We ate, and then Allah's Apostle stood up for the prayer. He rinsed his mouth with water, and we too, rinsed our mouths. Narrated Suwaid; We went out with Allah's Apostle to Khaibar. and when we reached As-Sahba', which (Yahya says) is one day' journey from Khaibar, the Prophet asked for food, and he was offered nothing but Sawiq which we chewed and ate. Then the Prophet asked for water and rinsed his mouth, and we too, rinsed our mouths along with him. He then led us in the Maghrib prayer without performing ablution again

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 366:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, 'When you eat, do not wipe your hands till you have licked it, or had it licked by somebody else."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 367:
Narrated Said bin Al-Harith:
that he asked Jabir bin Abdullah about performing ablution after taking a cooked meal. He replied, "It is not essential," and added, "We never used to get such kind of food during the lifetime of the Prophet except rarely; and if at all we got such a dish, we did not have any handkerchiefs to wipe our hands with except the palms of our hands, our forearms and our feet. We would perform the prayer thereafter without performing new ablution."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 368:
Narrated Abu Umama:
Whenever the dining sheet of the Prophet was taken away (i.e., whenever he finished his meal), he used to say: "Al-hamdu lillah kathiran taiyiban mubarakan fihi ghaira makfiy wala muwada' wala mustaghna'anhu Rabbuna."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 369:
Narrated Abu Umama:
Whenever the Prophet finished his meals (or when his dining sheet was taken away), he used to say. "Praise be to Allah Who has satisfied our needs and quenched our thirst. Your favor cannot by compensated or denied." Once he said, upraise be to You, O our Lord! Your favor cannot be compensated, nor can be left, nor can be dispensed with, O our Lord!"

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 370:
Narrated .Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "When your servant brings your food to you, if you do not ask him to join you, then at least ask him to take one or two handfuls, for he has suffered from its heat (while cooking it) and has taken pains to cook it nicely."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 371:
Narrated Abu Mas'ud Al-Ansari:
There was an Ansari man nicknamed, Abu Shu'aib, who had a slave who was a butcher. He came to the Prophet while he was sitting with his companions and noticed the signs of hunger on the face of the Prophet . So he went to his butcher slave and said, "Prepare for me a meal sufficient for five persons so that I may invite the Prophet along with four other men." He had the meal prepared for him and invited him. A (sixth) man followed them. The Prophet said, "O Abu Shu'aib! Another man has followed us. If you wish, you may invite him; and if you wish, you may refuse him." Abu Shu'aib said, "No, I will admit him."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 372:
Narrated Amr bin Umaiyya:
that he saw Allah's Apostle cutting a piece of mutton from its shoulder part he was carrying in his hand. When he was called for prayer, he put it down and the knife with which he was cutting it. Then he stood up and offered the prayer without performing new ablution

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 373r:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, If supper is served and the Iqama for (Isha) prayer is proclaimed, start with you supper first."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 373i:
Narrated Nafi:
Once Ibn Umar was taking his supper while he was listening to the recitation of (Koran by) the Imam (in the Isha prayer).

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 374:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said, "If the Iqama for ('Isha') prayer is proclaimed and supper is served, take your supper first "

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 375:
Narrated Anas:
I know (about) the Hijab (the order of veiling of women) more than anybody else. Ubai bin Ka'b used to ask me about it. Allah's Apostle became the bridegroom of Zainab bint Jahsh whom he married at Medina. After the sun had risen high in the sky, the Prophet invited the people to a meal. Allah's Apostle remained sitting and some people remained sitting with him after the other guests had left. Then Allah's Apostle got up and went away, and I too, followed him till he reached the door of Aisha's room. Then he thought that the people must have left the place by then, so he returned and I also returned with him. Behold, the people were still sitting at their places. So he went back again for the second time, and I

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went along with him too. When we reached the door of Aisha's room, he returned and I also returned with him to see that the people had left. Thereupon the Prophet hung a curtain between me and him and the Verse regarding the order for (veiling of women) Hijab was revealed.

SAHIH BUKHARI, BOOK 66:
Sacrifice on Occasion of Birth (Aqiqa)

Volume 7, Book 66, Number 376:
Narrated Abu Musa:
A son was born to me and I took him to the Prophet who named him Ibrahim, did Tahnik for him with a date, invoked Allah to bless him and returned him to me. (The narrator added: That was Abu Musa's eldest son.)

Volume 7, Book 66, Number 377:
Narrated Aisha:
A boy was brought to the Prophet to do Tahnik for him, but the boy urinated on him, whereupon the Prophet had water poured on the place of urine.

Volume 7, Book 66, Number 378:
Narrated Asma bint Abu Bakr:
I conceived Abdullah bin AzZubair at Mecca and went out (of Mecca) while I was about to give birth. I came to Medina and encamped at Quba', and gave birth at Quba'. Then I brought the child to Allah's Apostle and placed it (on his lap). He asked for a date, chewed it, and put his saliva in the mouth of the child. So the first thing to enter its stomach was the saliva of Allah's Apostle. Then he did its Tahnik with a date, and invoked Allah to bless him. It was the first child born in the Islamic era, therefore they (Muslims) were very happy with its birth, for it had been said to them that the Jews had bewitched them, and so they would not produce any offspring.

Volume 7, Book 66, Number 379p:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Abu Talha had a child who was sick. Once, while Abu Talha was out, the child died. When Abu Talha returned home, he asked, "How does my son fare?" Um Salaim (his wife) replied, "He is quieter than he has ever been." Then she brought supper for him and he took his supper and slept with her. When he had finished, she said (to him), "Bury the child (as he's dead)." Next morning Abu Talha came to Allah's Apostle and told him about that. The Prophet said (to him), "Did you sleep with your wife last night?" Abu Talha said, "Yes". The Prophet said, "O Allah! Bestow your blessing on them as regards that night of theirs." Um Sulaim gave birth to a boy. Abu Talha told me to take care of the child till it was taken to the Prophet. Then Abu Talha took the child to the Prophet and Um Sulaim sent some dates along with the child. The Prophet took the child (on his lap) and asked if there was something with him. The people replied, "Yes, a few dates." The Prophet took a date, chewed it, took some of it out of his mouth, put it into the child's mouth and did Tahnik for him with that, and named him Abdullah.

Volume 7, Book 66, Number 379i:
Narrated Anas:
As above.

Volume 7, Book 66, Number 380:
Narrated Salman bin Amir Ad-Dabbi:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "'Aqiqa is to be offered for a (newly born) boy, so slaughter (an animal) for him, and relieve him of his suffering." (Note: It has been quoted in Fateh-AL-Bari that the majority of the Religious Scholars agrees to the Hadith narrated in Sahih At-TIRMIZY that the Prophet was asked about Aqiqa and he ordered 2 sheep for a boy and one sheep for a girl and that is his tradition "SUNNA".)

Volume 7, Book 66, Number 381:
Narrated Habib bin Ash-Shahid:
Ibn Sirin told me to ask Al-Hassan from whom he had heard the narration of 'Aqiqa. I asked him and he said, "From Samura bin Jundab."

Volume 7, Book 66, Number 382:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Neither Fara' nor 'Atira (is permissible):" Al-Fara' nor 'Atira (is permissible):" Al-Fara' was the first offspring (of camels or sheep) which the pagans used to offer (as a sacrifice) to their idols. And Al-'Atira was (a sheep which was to be slaughtered) during the month of Rajab.

Volume 7, Book 66, Number 383:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Neither Fara' nor 'Atira) is permissible)." Al-Fara' was the first offspring (they got of camels or sheep) which they (pagans) used to offer (as a sacrifice) to their idols. 'Atira was (a sheep which used to be slaughtered) during the month of Rajab.

SAHIH BUKHARI, BOOK 67:
Hunting, Slaughtering

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 384:
Narrated Adi bin Hatim:
I asked the Prophet about the game killed by a Mi'rad (i.e. a sharp-edged piece of wood or a piece of wood provided with a sharp piece of iron used for hunting). He said, "If the game is killed with its sharp edge, eat of it, but if it is killed with its shaft, with a hit by its broad side then the game is (unlawful to eat) for it has been beaten to death." I asked him about the game killed by a trained hound. He said, "If the hound catches the game for you, eat of it, for killing the game by the hound, is like its slaughtering. But if you see with your hound or hounds another dog, and you are afraid that it might have shared in hunting the game with your hound and killed it, then you should not eat of it, because you have mentioned Allah's name on (sending) your hound only, but you have not mentioned it on some other hound

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 385:
Narrated Adi bin Hatim:
I asked Allah's Apostle about the Mi'rad. He said, "If you hit the game with its sharp edge, eat it, but if the Mi'rad hits the game with its shaft with a hit by its broad side do not eat it, for it has been beaten to death with a piece of wood. (i.e. unlawful)." I asked, "If I let loose my trained hound after a game?" He said, "If you let loose your trained hound after game, and mention the name of Allah, then you can eat." I said, "If the hound eats of the game?" He said "Then you should not eat of it, for the hound has hunted the game for itself and not for you." I said, "Some times I send my hound and then I find some other hound with it?" He said "Don't eat the game, as you have mentioned the Name of Allah on your dog only and not on the other."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 386:
Narrated Adi bin Hatim:
I said, "O Allah's Apostle! We let loose our trained hounds after a game?" He said, "Eat what they hunt for you." I said, "Even if they killed (the game)?" He replied, 'Even if they killed (the game)." I said, 'We also hit (the game) with the Mi'rad?" He said, "Eat of the animal which the Mi'rad kills by piercing its body, but do not eat of the animal which is killed by the broad side of the Mi'rad."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 387:
Narrated Abu Tha'laba Al-Khushani:
I said, "O Allah's Prophet! We are living in a land ruled by the people of the Scripture; Can we take our meals in their utensils? In that land there is plenty of game and I hunt the game with my bow and with my hound that is not trained and with my trained hound. Then what is lawful for me to eat?" He said, "As for what you have mentioned about the people of the Scripture, if you can get utensils other than theirs, do not eat out of theirs, but if you cannot get other than theirs, wash their utensils and eat out of it. If you hunt an animal with your bow after mentioning Allah's Name, eat of it. and if you hunt something with your trained hound after mentioning Allah's Name, eat of it, and if you hunt something with your untrained hound (and get it before it dies) and slaughter it, eat of it."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 388:
Narrated Abdullah bin Maghaffal:
that he saw a man throwing stones with two fingers (at something) and said to him, "Do not throw stones, for Allah's Apostle has forbidden throwing stones, or e used to dislike it." Abdullah added: Throwing stones will neither hunt the game, nor kill (or hurt) an enemy, but it may break a tooth or gouge out an eye." Afterwards Abdullah once again saw the man throwing stones. He said to him, "I tell you that Allah's Apostle has forbidden or disliked the throwing the stones (in such a way), yet you are throwing stones! I shall not talk to you for such-and-such a period."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 389:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "Whoever keeps a (pet) dog which is neither a watch dog nor a hunting dog, will get a daily deduction of two Qirat from his good deeds."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 390:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
I heard the Prophet saying, "If someone keeps a dog neither for hunting, nor for guarding livestock, the reward (for his good deeds) will be reduced by two Qirats per day."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 391:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "If someone keeps a dog neither for guarding livestock, nor for hunting, his good deeds will decrease (in reward) by two Qirats a day.'

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 392:
Narrated Adi bin Hatim:
I asked Allah's Apostle. "We hunt with the help of these hounds." He said, "If you let loose your trained hounds after a game, and mention the name of Allah, then you can eat what the hounds catch for you, even if they killed the game. But you should not eat of it if the hound has eaten of it, for then it is likely that the hound has caught the game for itself. And if other hounds join your hound in hunting the game, then do not eat of it."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 393:
Narrated Adi bin Hatim:
The Prophet said, "If you let loose your hound after a game and mention Allah's Name on sending it, and the hound catches the game and kills it, then you can eat of it. But if the hound eats of it, then you should not eat thereof, for the hound has caught it for itself. And if along with your hound, join other hounds, and Allah's Name was not mentioned at the time of their sending, and they catch an animal and kill it, you should not ea: of it, for you will not know which of them has killed it. And if you have thrown an arrow at the game and then find it (dead) two or three days later and, it bears no mark other than the wound inflicted by your arrow, then you can eat of it. But if the game is found (dead) in water, then do not eat of it." And it has also been narrated by Adi bin Hatim that he asked the Prophet "If a hunter throws an arrow at the game and after tracing it for two or three days he finds it dead but still bearing his arrow, (can he eat of it)?" The Prophet replied, "He can eat if he wishes."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 394:
Narrated Adi bin Hatim:
I said, "O Allah's Apostle! I let loose my hound after a game and mention Allah's Name on sending it." The Prophet said, "If you let loose your hound after a game and you mention Allah's Name on sending it and the hound catches and kills the game and eats of it, then you should not eat of it, for it has killed it for itself." I said, "Sometimes when I send my hound after a game, I find another hound along with it and I do not know which of them has caught the game." He said, "You must not eat of it because you have not mentioned, the Name of Allah except on sending your own hound, and you did not mention it on the other hound." Then I asked him about the game hunted with a Mi'rad (i.e. a sharp edged piece of wood or a piece of wood provided with a sharp piece of iron used for hunting). He said, "If the game is killed with its sharp edge, you can eat of it, but if it is killed by its broad side (shaft), you cannot eat of it, for then it is like an animal beaten to death with a pie

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 395:
Narrated Adi Bin Hatim:
I asked Allah's Apostle, "We hunt with these hounds." He said, "If you send your trained hounds after a game and mention Allah's Name on sending, you can eat of what they catch for you. But if the hound eats of the game, then you must not eat of it, for I am afraid that the hound caught it for itself, and if another hound joins your hounds (during the hunt), you should not eat of the game."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 396:
Narrated Abu Tha'laba Al-Khushani:
I came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! We are living in the land of the people of the Scripture and we take our meals in their utensils, and in the land there is game and I hunt with my bow and trained or untrained hounds; please tell me what is lawful for us of that." He said, "As for your saying that you are living in the land of the people of the Scripture and that you eat in their utensils, if you can get utensils other than theirs, do not eat in their utensils, but if you do not find (other than theirs), then wash their utensils and eat in them. As for your saying that you are in the land of game, if you hung something with your bow, and have mentioned Allah's Name while hunting, then you can eat (the game). And if you hunt something with your trained hound, and have mentioned Allah's Name on sending it for hunting then you can eat (the game). But if you hunt something with your untrained hound and you were able to slaughter it before its death, you can eat of it."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 397:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
We provoked a rabbit at Marr Az-Zahran till it started jumping. My companions chased it till they got tired. But I alone ran after it and caught it and brought it to Abu Talha. He sent both its legs to the Prophet who accepted them.

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Volume 7, Book 67, Number 398:
Narrated Abu Qatada:
that once he was with Allah's Apostle (on the way to Mecca). When he had covered some of the way to Mecca, he and some companions of his, who were in the state of Ihram. remained behind the Prophet while Abu Qatada himself was not in the state of Ihram. Abu Qatada, seeing an onager rode his horse and asked his companions to hand him a whip, but they refused. He then asked them to hand him his spear, but they refused. Then he took it himself and attacked the onager and killed it. Some of the Companions of Allah's Apostle ate of it, but some others refused to eat. When they met Allah's Apostle they asked him about that. He said, "It was meal given to you by Allah."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 399:
Narrated Abu Qatada:
(the same Hadith above, but he added); The Prophet asked, "Is there any of its meat left with you?"

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 400:
Narrated Abu Qatada:
I was with the Prophet (on a journey) between Mecca and Medina, and all of them, (i.e. the Prophet and his companions) were in the state of Ihram, while I was not in that state. I was riding my horse and I used to be fond of ascending mountains. So while I was doing so I noticed that the people were looking at something. I went to see what it was, and behold it was an onager. I asked my companions, "What is that?" They said, "We do not know." I said, "It is an onager.' They said, "It is what you have seen." I had left my whip, so I said to them, "Hand to me my whip." They said, "We will not help you in that (in hunting the onager)." I got down, took my whip and chased the animal (on my horse) and did not stop till I killed it. I went to them and said, "Come on, carry it!" But they said, "We will not even touch it." At last I alone carried it and brought it to them. Some of them ate of it and some refused to eat of it. I said (to them), "I will ask the Prophet about it (on your behalf)." When I met the Prophet, I told him the whole story. He said to me, "Has anything of it been left with you?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Eat, for it is a meal Allah has offered to you."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 401:
Narrated Jabir:
We went out in a campaign and the army was called The Army of the Khabt, and Abu Ubaida was our commander. We were struck with severe hunger. Then the sea threw a huge dead fish called Al-'Anbar, the like of which had never been seen. We ate of it for half a month, and then Abu Ubaida took one of its bones (and made an arch of it) so that a rider could easily pass under it.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 402:
Narrated Jabir:
The Prophet sent us as an army unit of three hundred warriors under the command of Abu Ubaida to ambush a caravan of the Quraish. But we were struck with such severe hunger that we ate the Khabt (desert bushes), so our army was called the Army of the Khabt. Then the sea threw a huge fish called Al-'Anbar and we ate of it for half a month and rubbed our bodies with its fat till our bodies became healthy. Then Abu Ubaida took one of its ribs and fixed it over the ground and a rider passed underneath it. There was a man amongst us who slaughtered three camels when hunger became severe, and he slaughtered three more, but after that Abu Ubaida forbade him to do so.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 403:
Narrated Ibn Abi Aufa:
We participated with the Prophet in six or seven Ghazawat, and we used to eat locusts with him.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 404:
Narrated Abu Tha'laba Al-Khushani:
I came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! We are living in the land of the people of the Scripture, and we take our meals in their utensils, and there is game in that land and I hunt with my bow and with my trained hound and with my untrained hound." The Prophet said, "As for your saying that you are in the land of people of the Scripture, you should not eat in their utensils unless you find no alternative, in which case you must wash the utensils and then eat in them As for your saying that you are in the land of game, if you hunt something with your bow, mention Allah's Name (while hunting the game) and eat; and if you hunt something with your trained hound, mention Allah's Name on sending and eat; and if you hunt something with your untrained hound and get it alive, slaughter it and you can eat of it"

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 405:
Narrated Salama bin Al-Aqwa':
In the evening of the day of the conquest of Khaibar, the army made fires (for cooking). The Prophet said, "For what have you made these fires?" They said, "For cooking the meat of domestic donkeys." He said, "Throw away what is in the cooking pots and break the pots." A man from the people got up and said, "Shall we throw the contents of the cooking pots and then wash the pots (instead of breaking them)?" The Prophet said, "Yes, you can do either'

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 406:
Narrated Rafi bin Khadij:
We were with the Prophet in Dhul-Hulaifa and there the people were struck with severe hunger. Then we got camels and sheep as war booty (and slaughtered them). The Prophet was behind all the people. The people hurried and fixed the cooking pots (for cooking) but the Prophet came there and ordered that the cooking pots be turned upside down. Then he distributed the animals, regarding ten sheep as equal to one camel. One of the camels ran away and there were a few horses with the people. They chased the camel but they got tired, whereupon a man shot it with an arrow whereby Allah stopped it. The Prophet said, "Among these animals some are as wild as wild beasts, so if one of them runs away from you, treat it in this way." I said. "We hope, or we are afraid that tomorrow we will meet the enemy and we have no knives, shall we slaughter (our animals) with canes?" The Prophet said, "If the killing tool causes blood to gush out and if Allah's Name is mentioned, eat (of the slaughterer animal). But do not slaughter with a tooth or a nail. I am telling you why: A tooth is a bone, and the nail is the knife of Ethiopians."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 407:
Narrated Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle said that he met Zaid bin Amr Nufail at a place near Baldah and this had happened before Allah's Apostle received the Divine Inspiration. Allah's Apostle presented a dish of meat (that had been offered to him by the pagans) to Zaid bin Amr, but Zaid refused to eat of it and then said (to the pagans), "I do not eat of what you slaughter on your stonealtars (Ansabs) nor do I eat except that on which Allah's Name has been mentioned on slaughtering."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 408:
Narrated Jundub bin Sufyan Al-Bajali:
Once during the lifetime of Allah's Apostle we offered some animals as sacrifices. Some people slaughtered their sacrifices before the (Id) prayer, so when the Prophet finished his prayer, he saw that they had slaughtered their sacrifices before the prayer. He said, "Whoever has slaughtered (his sacrifice) before the prayer, should slaughter (another sacrifice) in lieu of it; and whoever has not yet slaughtered it till we have prayed; should slaughter (it) by mentioning Allah's Name."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 409:
Narrated Ka'b:
that a slave girl of theirs used to shepherd some sheep at Si'a (a mountain near Medina). On seeing one of her sheep dying, she broke a stone and slaughtered it. Ka'b said to his family, "Do not eat (of it) till I go to the Prophet and ask him, or, till I send someone to ask him." So he went to the Prophet or sent someone to him The Prophet permitted (them) to eat it.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 410:
Narrated Abdullah
that Ka'b had a slave girl who used to graze his sheep on a small mountain, called "Sl'a", situated near the market. Once a sheep was dying, so she broke a stone and slaughtered it with it. When they mentioned that to the Prophet, he, permitted them to eat it.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 411:
Narrated Rafi bin Khadij:
that he said, "O Allah's Apostle! We have no knife." The Prophet said, "if the killing tool causes blood to gush out, and if Allah's Name is mentioned, eat (of the slaughtered animal). But do not slaughter with a nail or a tooth, for the nail is the knife of Ethiopians and a tooth is a bone." Suddenly a camel ran away and it was stopped (with an arrow). The Prophet then said, "Of these camels there are some which are as wild as wild beasts; so if one of them runs away from you and you cannot catch it, treat it in this manner (i.e. shoot it with an arrow)."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 412:
Narrated Ka'b bin Malik:
A lady slaughtered a sheep with a stone and then the Prophet was asked about it and he permitted it to be eaten.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 413:
Narrated Mu'adh bin Sad or Sad bin Mu'adh:
A slave girl belonging to Ka'b used to graze some sheep at Sl'a (mountain). Once one of her sheep was dying. She reached it (before it died) and slaughtered it with a stone. The Prophet was asked, and he said, "Eat it."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 414:
Narrated Rafi bin Khadij:
The Prophet said, "Eat what is slaughtered (with any instrument) that makes blood flow out, except what is slaughtered with a tooth or a nail.'

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 415:
Narrated Aisha:
A group of people said to the Prophet, "Some people bring us meat and we do not know whether they have mentioned Allah's Name or not on slaughtering the animal." He said, "Mention Allah's Name on it and eat." Those people had embraced Islam recently.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 416:
Narrates Abdullah bin Mughaffal:
While we were besieging the castle of Khaibar, Somebody threw a skin full of fat and I went ahead to take it, but on looking behind, I saw the Prophet and I felt shy in his presence (and did not take it).

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 417:
Narrated Rafi bin Khadij:
I said, "O Allah's Apostle! We are going to face the enemy tomorrow and we do not have knives." He said, "Hurry up (in killing the animal). If the killing tool causes blood to flow out, and if Allah's Name is mentioned, eat (of the slaughtered animal). But do not slaughter with a tooth or a nail. I will tell you why: As for the tooth, it is a bone; and as for the nail, it is the knife of Ethiopians." Then we got some camels and sheep as war booty, and one of those camels ran away, whereupon a man shot it with an arrow and stopped it. Allah's Apostle said, "Of these camels there are some which are as wild as wild beasts, so if one of them (runs away and) makes you tired, treat it in this manner."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 418:
Narrated Asma bint Abu Bakr:
We slaughtered a horse (by Nahr) during the lifetime of the Prophet and ate it.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 419:
Narrated Asma':
We slaughtered a horse (by Dhabh) during the lifetime of Allah's Apostle while we were at Medina, and we ate it.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 420:
Narrated Asma bint Abu Bakr:
We slaughtered a horse (by Nahr) during the lifetime of Allah's Apostle and ate it.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 421:
Narrated Hisham bin Zaid:
Anas and I went to Al-Hakam bin Aiyub. Anas saw some boys shooting at a tied hen. Anas said, "The Prophet has forbidden the shooting of tied or confined animals."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 422:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
that he entered upon Yahya bin Said while one of Yahya's sons was aiming at a hen after tying it. Ibn Umar walked to it and untied it. Then he brought it and the boy and said. "Prevent your boys from tying the birds for the sake of killing them, as I have heard the Prophet forbidding the killing of an animal or other living thing after tying them."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 423:
Narrated Said bin Jubair:
While I was with Ibn Umar, we passed by a group of young men who had tied a hen and started shooting at it. When they saw Ibn Umar, they dispersed, leaving it. On that Ibn Umar said, "Who has done this? The Prophet cursed the one who did so."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 424:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet cursed the one who did Muthla to an animal (i e., cut its limbs or some other part of its body while it is still alive).

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 425:
Narrated Abdullah bin Yazid:
The Prophet forbade An-Nuhba and Al-Muthla.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 426:
Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari:
I saw the Prophet eating chicken.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 427:
Narrated Zahdam:
We were in the company of Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari and there were friendly relations between us and this tribe of Jarm. Abu Musa was presented with a dish containing chicken. Among the people there was sitting a red-faced man who did not come

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near the food. Abu Musa said (to him), "Come on (and eat), for I have seen Allah's Apostle eating of it (i.e. chicken)." He said, "I have seen it eating something (dirty) and since then I have disliked it, and have taken an oath that I shall not eat it ' Abu Musa said, "Come on, I will tell you (or narrate to you). Once I went to Allah s Apostle with a group of Al-Ash'ariyin, and met him while he was angry, distributing some camels of Rakat. We asked for mounts but he took an oath that he would not give us any mounts, and added, 'I have nothing to mount you on' In the meantime some camels of booty were brought to Allah's Apostle and he asked twice, 'Where are Al-Ash'ariyin?" So he gave us five white camels with big humps. We stayed for a short while (after we had covered a little distance), and then I said to my companions, "Allah's Apostle has forgotten his oath. By Allah, if we do not remind Allah's Apostle of his oath, we will never be successful." So we returned to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! We asked you for mounts, but you took an oath that you would not give us any mounts; we think that you have forgotten your oath.' He said, 'It is Allah Who has given you mounts. By Allah, and Allah willing, if I take an oath and later find something else better than that. then I do what is better and expiate my oath.' "

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 428:
Narrated Asma':
We slaughtered a horse during the lifetime of Allah's Apostle and ate it.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 429:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
On the Day of the battle of Khaibar, Allah's Apostle made donkey's meat unlawful and allowed the eating of horse flesh.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 430:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet made the meat of donkeys unlawful on the day of the battle of Khaibar.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 431:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet prohibited the eating of donkey's meat.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 432:
Narrated Ali:
Allah's Apostle prohibited Al-Mut'a marriage and the eating of donkey's meat in the year of the Khaibar battle

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 433:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet prohibited the eating of donkey's meat on the day of the battle of Khaibar, and allowed the eating of horse flesh.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 434:
Narrated Al-Bara and Ibn Abi 'Aufa:
The Prophet prohibited the eating of donkey's meat.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 435:
Narrated Abu Tha'alba:
Allah's Apostle prohibited the eating of donkey's meat.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 435o:
Narrated Az-Zuhri:
The Prophet prohibited the eating of beasts having fangs.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 436:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Someone came to Allah's Apostle and said, "The donkeys have been (slaughtered and) eaten. Another man came and said, "The donkeys have been destroyed." On that the Prophet ordered a caller to announce to the people: Allah and His Apostle forbid you to eat the meat of donkeys, for it is impure.' Thus the pots were turned upside down while the (donkeys') meat was boiling in them.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 437:
Narrated Amr:
I said to Jabir bin Zaid, "The people claim that Allah's Apostle forbade the eating of donkey's meat." He said, "Al-Hakam bin Amr Al-Ghifari used to say so when he was with us, but Ibn Abbas, the great religious learned man, refused to give a final verdict and recited:-- 'Say: I find not in that which has been inspired to me anything forbidden to be eaten by one who wishes to eat it, unless it be carrion, blood poured forth or the flesh of swine...' (6.145)

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 438:
Narrated Abu Tha'laba:
Allah's Apostle forbade the eating of the meat of beasts having fangs.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 439:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
Once Allah's Apostle passed by a dead sheep and said (to the people), "Why don't you use its hide?" They said, "But it is dead," He said, "Only eating it, is prohibited."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 440:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet passed by a dead goat and said, "There is no harm if its owners benefit from its skin."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 441:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "None is wounded in Allah's Cause but will come on the Day of Resurrection with his wound bleeding. The thing that will come out of his wound will be the color of blood, but its smell will be the smell of musk."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 442:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet said, 'The example of a good pious companion and an evil one is that of a person carrying musk and another blowing a pair of bellows. The one who is carrying musk will either give you some perfume as a present, or you will buy some from him, or you will get a good smell from him, but the one who is blowing a pair of bellows will either burn your clothes or you will get a bad smell from him."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 443:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Once we provoked a rabbit at Marr-az-Zahran. The people chased it till they got tired. Then I caught It and brought it to Abu Talha, who slaughtered it and then sent both its pelvic pieces (or legs) to the Prophet, and the Prophet accepted the present.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 444:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "I do not eat mastigure, but I do not prohibit its eating."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 445:
Narrated Khalid bin Al-Walid:
Allah's Apostle and I entered the house of Maimuna. A roasted mastigure was served. Allah's Apostle stretched his hand out (to eat of it) but some woman said, "Inform Allah's Apostle of what he is about to eat." So they said, "It is mastigure, O Allah's Apostle!" He withdrew his hand, whereupon I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Is it unlawful?" He said, "No, but this is not found in the land of my people, so I dislike it." So I pulled the mastigure towards me and ate it while Allah's Apostle was looking at me.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 446:
Narrated Maimuna:
A mouse fell into the butter-fat and died. The Prophet was asked about that. He said, "Throw away the mouse and the butter-fat that surrounded it, and eat the rest of the butter-fat (As-Samn).

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 447:
Narrated Az-Zhuri:
regarding an animal, e.g., a mouse or some other animal that had fallen into solid or liquid oil or butter-fat: I had been informed that a mouse had died in butter-fat whereupon Allah's Apostle ordered that the butter-fat near it be thrown away and the rest of the butter-fat can be eaten.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 448:
Narrated Maimuna:
The Prophet was asked about a mouse that had fallen into butter-fat (and died). He said, "Throw away the mouse and the portion of butter-fat around it, and eat the rest."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 449:
Narrated Salim:
that Ibn Umar disliked the branding of animals on the face. Ibn Umar said, "The Prophet forbade beating (animals) on the face."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 450:
Narrated Anas:
I brought a brother of mine to the Prophet to do Tahnik for him while the Prophet was in a sheep fold of his, and I saw him branding a sheep. (The sub-narrator said: I think Anas said, branding it on the ear.)

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 451:
Narrated Rait' bin Khadij:
I said to the Prophet, "We will be facing the enemy tomorrow and we have no knives (for slaughtering)' He said, "If you slaughter the animal with anything that causes its blood to flow out, and if Allah's Name is mentioned on slaughtering it, eat of it, unless the killing instrument is a tooth or nail. I will tell you why: As for the tooth, it is a bone; and as for the nail, it is the knife of Ethiopians." The quick ones among the people got the war booty while the Prophet was behind the people. So they placed the cooking pots on the fire, but the Prophet ordered the cooking pots to be turned upside down. Then he distributed (the war booty) among them, considering one camel as equal to ten sheep. Then a camel belonging to the first party of people ran away and they had no horses with them, so a man shot it with an arrow whereby Allah stopped it. The Prophet said, "Of these animals there are some which are as wild as wild beasts. So, if anyone of them runs away like this, do like this (shoot it with an arrow)."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 452:
Narrated Rafi bin Khadij:
While we were with the Prophet. on a journey, one of the camels ran away. A man shot it with an arrow and stopped it. The Prophet said, "Of these camels some are as wild as wild beasts, so if one of them runs away and you cannot catch it, then do like this (shoot it with an arrow)." I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Sometimes when we are in battles or on a journey we want to slaughter (animals) but we have no knives." He said, "Listen! If you slaughter the animal with anything that causes its blood to flow out, and if Allah's Name is mentioned on slaughtering it, eat of it, provided that the slaughtering instrument is not a tooth or a nail, as the tooth is a bone and the nail is the knife of Ethiopians."

SAHIH BUKHARI, BOOK 68:
Al-Adha Festival Sacrifice (Adaahi)

Volume 7, Book 68, Number 453:
Narrated Al-Bara:
The Prophet said (on the day of Idal-Adha), "The first thing we will do on this day of ours, is to offer the ('Id) prayer and then return to slaughter the sacrifice. Whoever does so, he acted according to our Sunna (tradition), and whoever slaughtered (the sacrifice) before the prayer, what he offered was just meat he presented to his family, and that will not be considered as Nusak (sacrifice)." (On hearing that) Abu Burda bin Niyar got up, for he had slaughtered the sacrifice before the prayer, and said, "I have got a six month old ram." The Prophet said, 'Slaughter it (as a sacrifice) but it will not be sufficient for any-one else (as a sacrifice after you). Al-Bara added: The Prophet said, "Whoever slaughtered (the sacrifice) after the prayer, he slaughtered it at the right time and followed the tradition of the Muslims."

Volume 7, Book 68, Number 454:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "Whoever slaughtered the sacrifice before the prayer, he just slaughtered it for himself, and whoever slaughtered it after the prayer, he slaughtered it at the right time and followed the tradition of the Muslims."

Volume 7, Book 68, Number 455:
Narrated Uqba bin Amir Al-Juhani:
that the Prophet distributed among his companions some animals for sacrifice (to be slaughtered on 'Id-al-Adha). Uqba's share was a Jadha'a (a six month old goat). Uqba said, "O Allah's Apostle! I get in my share of Jadha'a (a six month old ram)." The Prophet said, "Slaughter it as a sacrifice."

Volume 7, Book 68, Number 456:
Narrated Aisha:
that the Prophet entered upon her when she had her menses at Sarif before entering Mecca, and she was weeping (because she was afraid that she would not be able to perform the Hajj). The Prophet said, "What is wrong with you? Have you got your period?" She said, "Yes." He said, "This is a matter Allah has decreed for all the daughters of Adam, so perform all the ceremonies of Hajj like the others, but do not perform the Tawaf around the Kaaba." Aisha added: When we were at Mina, beef was brought to me and I asked, "What is this?" They (the people) said, "Allah's Apostle has slaughtered some cows as sacrifices on behalf of his wives."

Volume 7, Book 68, Number 457:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said on the day of Nahr, "Whoever has slaughtered his sacrifice before the prayer, should repeat it (slaughter another sacrifice)." A man got up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! This is a day on which meat is desired." He then mentioned his neighbours saying, "I have a six month old ram which is to me better than the meat of two sheep." The Prophet allowed him to slaughter it as a sacrifice, but I do not know whether this permission was valid for other than that man or not. The Prophet then went towards two rams and slaughtered them, and then the people went towards some sheep and distributed them among themselves.

Volume 7, Book 68, Number 458:
Narrated Abu Bakra:

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The Prophet said, "Time has come back to its original state which it had on the day Allah created the Heavens and the Earth. The year is twelve months, four of which are sacred, three of them are in succession, namely Dhul-Qa'da, Dhul Hijja and Muharram, (the fourth being) Rajab Mudar which is between Juma'da (ath-thamj and Sha'ban. The Prophet then asked, "Which month is this?" We said, "Allah and his Apostle know better." He kept silent so long that we thought that he would call it by a name other than its real name. He said, "Isn't it the month of Dhul-Hijja?" We said, "Yes." He said, "Which town is this?" We said, "Allah and His Apostle know better." He kept silent so long that we thought that he would call it t,y a name other than its real name. He said, "isn't it the town (of Mecca)?" We replied, "Yes." He said, "What day is today?" We replied, "Allah and His Apostle know better." He kept silent so long that we thought that he would call it by a name other than its real name. He said, "Isn't it the day of Nahr?" We replied, "Yes." He then said, "Your blood, properties and honor are as sacred to one another as this day of yours in this town of yours in this month of yours. You will meet your Lord, and He will ask you about your deeds. Beware! Do not go astray after me by cutting the necks of each other. It is incumbent upon those who are present to convey this message to those who are absent, for some of those to whom it is conveyed may comprehend it better than some of those who have heard it directly." (Mohammed, the sub-narrator, on mentioning this used to say: The Prophet then said, "No doubt! Haven't I delivered (Allah's) Message (to you)? Haven't I delivered Allah's message (to you)?"

Volume 7, Book 68, Number 459:
Narrated Nafi:
Abdullah (bin Umar) used to slaughter his sacrifice at the slaughtering place (i.e the slaughtering place of the Prophet) . Ibn Umar said, "Allah's Apostle used to slaughter (camels and sheep, etc.,) as sacrifices at the Musalla."

Volume 7, Book 68, Number 460:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet used to offer two rams as sacrifices, and I also used to offer two rams.

Volume 7, Book 68, Number 461:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle came towards two horned rams having black and white colors and slaughtered them with his own hands.

Volume 7, Book 68, Number 462:
Narrated Uqba bin Amir:
that the Prophet gave him some sheep to distribute among his companions to slaughter as sacrifices ('Id--al--Adha). A kid was left and he told the Prophet of that whereupon he said to him, "Slaughter it as a sacrifice (on your behalf)."

Volume 7, Book 68, Number 463:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
An uncle of mine called Abu Burda, slaughtered his sacrifice before the 'Id prayer. So Allah's Apostle said to him, "Your (slaughtered) sheep was just mutton (not a sacrifice)." Abu Burda said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have got a domestic kid." The Prophet said, "Slaughter it (as a sacrifice) but it will not be permissible for anybody other than you" The Prophet added, "Whoever slaughtered his sacrifice before the ('Id) prayer, he only slaughtered for himself, and whoever slaughtered it after the prayer, he offered his sacrifice properly and followed the tradition of the Muslims."

Volume 7, Book 68, Number 464:
Narrated Al-Bara:
Abu Burda slaughtered (the sacrifice) before the ('Id) prayer whereupon the Prophet said to him, "Slaughter another sacrifice instead of that." Abu Burda said, "I have nothing except a Jadha'a." (Shu'ba said: Perhaps Abu Burda also said that Jadha'a was better than an old sheep in his opinion.) The Prophet said, "(Never mind), slaughter it to make up for the other one, but it will not be sufficient for anyone else after you."

Volume 7, Book 68, Number 465:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet slaughtered two rams, black and white in color (as sacrifices), and I saw him putting his foot on their sides and mentioning Allah's Name and Takbir (Allahu Akbar). Then he slaughtered them with his own hands.

Volume 7, Book 68, Number 466:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle entered upon me at Sarif while I was weeping (because I was afraid that I would not be able to perform the ,Hajj). He said, "What is wrong with you? Have you got your period?" I replied, "Yes." He said, "This is a matter Allah has decreed for all the daughters of Adam, so perform the ceremonies of the Hajj as the pilgrims do, but do not perform the Tawaf around the Kaaba." Allah's Apostle slaughtered some cows as sacrifices on behalf of his wives.

Volume 7, Book 68, Number 467:
Narrated Al-Bara:
I heard the Prophet delivering a sermon, and he said (on the Day of 'Id-Allah. a), "The first thing we will do on this day of ours is that we will offer the 'Id prayer, then we will return and slaughter our sacrifices; and whoever does so, then indeed he has followed our tradition, and whoever slaughtered his sacrifice (before the prayer), what he offered was just meat that he presented to his family, and that was not a sacrifice." Abu Burda got up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I slaughtered the sacrifice before the prayer and I have got a Jadha'a which is better than an old sheep." The Prophet said, "Slaughter it to make up for that, but it will not be sufficient for anybody else after you."

Volume 7, Book 68, Number 468:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "Whoever slaughtered the sacrifice before the 'Id prayer, should repeat it (slaughter another one)." A man said "This is the day on which meat is desired." Then he mentioned the need of his neighbours (for meat) and the Prophet seemed to accept his excuse. The man said, "I have a Jadha'a which is to me better than two sheep." The Prophet allowed him (to slaughter it as a sacrifice). But I do not know whether this permission was general for all Muslims or not. The Prophet then went towards two rams and slaughtered them, and the people went towards their sheep and slaughtered them.

Volume 7, Book 68, Number 469:
Narrated Jundab bin Sufyan Al-Bajali:
I witnessed the Prophet on the Day of Nahr. He said, "Whoever slaughtered the sacrifice before offering the 'Id prayer, should slaughter another sacrifice in its place; and whoever has not slaughtered their sacrifice yet, should slaughter now."

Volume 7, Book 68, Number 470:
Narrated Al-Bara:
One day Allah's Apostle offered the 'Id prayer and said, "Whoever offers our prayer and faces our Qibla should not slaughter the sacrifice till he finishes the 'Id prayer." Abu Burda bin Niyar got up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have already done it. The Prophet said, "That is something you have done before its due time." Abu Burda said, "I have a Jadha'a which is better than two old sheep; shall I slaughter it?" The Prophet said, "Yes, but it will not be sufficient for anyone after you."

Volume 7, Book 68, Number 471:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet used to offer as sacrifices, two horned rams, black and white in color, and used to put his foot on their sides and slaughter them with his own hands.

Volume 7, Book 68, Number 472:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet offered as sacrifices, two horned rams, black and white in color. He slaughtered them with his own hands and mentioned Allah's Name over them and said Takbir and put his foot on their sides.

Volume 7, Book 68, Number 473:
Narrated Masruq:
that he came to Aisha and said to her, "O Mother of the Believers! There is a man who sends a Hadi to Kaaba and stays in his city and requests that his Hadi camel be garlanded while he remains in a state of Ihram from that day till the people finish their Ihram (after completing all the ceremonies of Hajj)" (What do you say about it?) Masruq added, I heard the clapping of her hands behind the curtain. She said, "I used to twist the garlands for the Hadi of Allah's Apostle and he used to send his Hadi to Kaaba but he never used to regard as unlawful what was lawful for men to do with their wives till the people returned (from the Hajj)."

Volume 7, Book 68, Number 474:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
During the lifetime of the Prophet we used to take with us the meat of the sacrifices (of Id al Adha) to Medina. (The narrator often said. The meat of the Hadi).

Volume 7, Book 68, Number 475:
Narrated Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri:
that once he was not present (at the time of 'Id-al-Adha) and when he came. some meat was presented to him. and the people said (to him), 'This is the meat of our sacrifices" He said. 'Take it away; I shall not taste it. (In his narration) Abu Sa'id added: I got up and went to my brother, Abu Qatada (who was his maternal brother and was one of the warriors of the battle of Badr) and mentioned that to him He Sad. 'A new verdict was given in your absence (i.e., meat of sacrifices was allowed to be stored and eaten later on)."

Volume 7, Book 68, Number 476:
Narrated Salama bin Al-Aqua':
The Prophet said, "Whoever has slaughtered a sacrifice should not keep anything of Its meat after three days." When it was the next year the people said, "O Allah's Apostle! Shall we do as we did last year?" He said, ' Eat of it and feed of it to others and store of it for in that year the people were having a hard time and I wanted you to help (the needy)."

Volume 7, Book 68, Number 477:
Narrated Aisha:
We used to salt some of the meat of sacrifice and present it to the Prophet at Medina. Once he said, "Do not eat (of that meat) for more than three days." That was not a final order, but (that year) he wanted us to feed of it to others, Allah knows better.

Volume 7, Book 68, Number 478:
Narrated Abu Ubaid:
the freed slave of Ibn Azhar that he witnessed the Day of 'Id-al-Adha with Umar bin Al-Khattab. Umar offered the 'Id prayer before the sermon and then delivered the sermon before the people, saying, "O people! Allah's Apostle has forbidden you to fast (on the first day of) each of these two 'Ida, for one of them is the Day of breaking your fast, and the other is the one, on which you eat the meat of your sacrifices."

Volume 7, Book 68, Number 479:
Narrated Abu Ubaid:
(in continuation of 478). Then I witnessed the 'Id with Uthman bin 'Affan, and that was on a Friday. He offered the prayer before the sermon, saying, "O people! Today you have two 'Its (festivals) together, so whoever of those who live at Al-'Awali (suburbs) would like to wait for the Jumua prayer, he may wait, and whoever would like to return (home) Is granted my permission to do so." Then I witnessed (the 'Its) with Ali bin Abi Talib, and he too offered the 'Id prayer before the sermon and then delivered the sermon before the people and said, "Allah's Apostle has forbidden you to eat the meat of your sacrifices for more than three days."

Volume 7, Book 68, Number 480:
Narrated Salim:
Abdullah bin Umar said, "Allah's Apostle said, "Eat of the meat of sacrifices (of 'Id al Adha) for three days." When Abdullah departed from Mina, he used to eat (bread with) oil, lest he should eat of the meat of Hadi (which is regarded as unlawful after the three days of the 'Id).

SAHIH BUKHARI, BOOK 69:
Drinks

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 481:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever drinks alcoholic drinks in the world and does not repent (before dying), will be deprived of it in the Hereafter."

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 482:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
On the night Allah's Apostle was taken on a night journey (Miraj) two cups, one containing wine and the other milk, were presented to him at Jerusalem. He looked at it and took the cup of milk. Gabriel said, "Praise be to Allah Who guided you to Al-Fitra (the right path); if you had taken (the cup of) wine, your nation would have gone astray."

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 483:
Narrated Anas:
I heard from Allah's Apostle a narration which none other than I will narrate to you. The Prophet, said, "From among the portents of the Hour are the following: General ignorance (in religious affairs) will prevail, (religious) knowledge will decrease, illegal sexual intercourse will prevail, alcoholic drinks will be drunk (in abundance), men will decrease and women will increase so much so that for every fifty women there will be one man to look after them."

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 484:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "An adulterer, at the time he is committing illegal sexual intercourse is not a believer; and a person, at the time of drinking an alcoholic drink is not a believer; and a thief, at the time of stealing, is not a believer." Ibn Shihab said: Abdul Malik bin Abi Bakr bin Abdur-Rahman bin Al- Harith bin Hisham told me that Abu Bakr used to narrate that narration to him on the authority of Abu Huraira. He used to add that Abu Bakr used to mention, besides the above cases, "And he who robs (takes illegally

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something by force) while the people are looking at him, is not a believer at the time he is robbing (taking)

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 485:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
"Alcoholic drinks were prohibited (by Allah) when there was nothing of it (special kind of wine) in Medina.

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 486:
Narrated Anas:
"Alcoholic drinks were prohibited at the time we could rarely find wine made from grapes in Medina, for most of our liquors were made from unripe and ripe dates.

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 487:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Umar stood up on the pulpit and said, "Now then, prohibition of alcoholic drinks have been revealed, and these drinks are prepared from five things, i.e.. grapes, dates, honey, wheat or barley And an alcoholic drink is that, that disturbs the mind.

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 488:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
I was serving Abu Ubaida, Abu Talha and Ubai bin Ka'b with a drink prepared from ripe and unripe dates. Then somebody came to them and said, "Alcoholic drinks have been prohibited." (On hearing that) Abu Talha said, "Get up. O Anas, and pour (throw) it out! So I poured (threw) it out.

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 489:
Narrated Anas:
While I was waiting on my uncles and serving them with (wine prepared from) dates----and I was the youngest of them----it was said, "Alcoholic drinks have been prohibited." So they said (to me), "Throw it away." So I threw it away.

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 490:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Alcoholic drinks were prohibited. At that time these drinks used to be prepared from unripe and ripe dates.

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 491:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle was asked about Al-Bit. He said, "All drinks that intoxicate are unlawful (to drink.)

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 492a:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle was asked about Al-Bit a liquor prepared from honey which the Yemenites used to drink. Allah's Apostle said, "All drinks that intoxicate are unlawful (to drink)."

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 492b:
Anas bin Malik said:
Allah's Apostle said, "Do not make drinks in Ad-Dubba' nor in Al-Muzaffat. Abu Huraira used to add to them Al-Hantam and An-Naqir.

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 493:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Umar delivered a sermon on the pulpit of Allah's Apostle, saying, "Alcoholic drinks were prohibited by Divine Order, and these drinks used to be prepared from five things, i.e., grapes, dates, wheat, barley and honey. Alcoholic drink is that, that disturbs the mind." Umar added, "I wish Allah's Apostle had not left us before he had given us definite verdicts concerning three matters, i.e., how much a grandfather may inherit (of his grandson), the inheritance of Al-Kalala (the deceased person among whose heirs there is no father or son), and various types of Riba(1) (usury) ."

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 494s:
Narrated Umar:
"Alcoholic drinks are prepared from five things, i.e., raisins, dates. wheat, barley and honey."

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 494v:
Narrated Abu Amir or Abu Malik Al-Ash'ari:
that he heard the Prophet saying, "From among my followers there will be some people who will consider illegal sexual intercourse, the wearing of silk, the drinking of alcoholic drinks and the use of musical instruments, as lawful. And there will be some people who will stay near the side of a mountain and in the evening their shepherd will come to them with their sheep and ask them for something, but they will say to him, 'Return to us tomorrow.' Allah will destroy them during the night and will let the mountain fall on them, and He will transform the rest of them into monkeys and pigs and they will remain so till the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 495:
Narrated Sahl:
Abu Usaid As-Sa'idi came and invited Allah's Apostle on the occasion of his wedding. His wife who was the bride, was serving them. Do you know what drink she prepared for Allah's Apostle ? She had soaked some dates in water in a Tur overnight.

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 496:
Narrated Jabir:
Allah's Apostle forbade the use of (certain) containers, but the Ansar said, "We cannot dispense with them." The Prophet then said, "If so, then use them."

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 497:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
When the Prophet forbade the use of certain containers (that were used for preparing alcoholic drinks), somebody said to the Prophet . "But not all the people can find skins." So he allowed them to use clay jars not covered with pitch.

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 498:
Narrated Ali:
the Prophet forbade the use of Ad-Dubba' and Al Muzaffat.

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 499:
Narrated Al-A'mash:
(As above, 494).

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 500:
Narrated Ibrahim:
I asked Al-Aswad, "Did you ask Aisha, Mother of the Believers, about the containers in which it is disliked to prepare (non-alcoholic) drinks?" He said, "Yes, I said to her, 'O Mother of the Believers! What containers did the Prophet forbid to use for preparing (non-alcoholic) drinks?" She said, 'The Prophet forbade us, (his family), to prepare (nonalcoholic) drinks in Ad-Dubba and Al-Muzaffat.' I asked, 'Didn't you mention Al Jar and Al Hantam?' She said, 'I tell what I have heard; shall I tell you what I have not heard?' "

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 501:
Narrated Ash-Shaibani:
I heard Abdullah bin Abi Aufa saying, "The Prophet forbade the use of green jars." I said, "Shall we drink out of white jars?" He said, "No."

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 502:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad
Abu Usaid As Sa'idi invited the Prophet to his wedding banquet. At that time his wife was serving them and she was the bride. She said, "Do you know what (kind of syrup) I soaked (made) for Allah's Apostle? I soaked some dates in water in a Tur (bowl) overnight. '

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 503:
Narrated Abu Al-Juwairiyya:
I asked Ibn Abbas about Al-Badhaq. He said, "Mohammed prohibited alcoholic drinks before It was called Al-Badhaq (by saying), 'Any drink that intoxicates is unlawful.' I said, 'What about good lawful drinks?' He said,'Apart from what is lawful and good, all other things are unlawful and not good (unclean Al-Khabith).

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 504:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet used to like sweet edible things and honey.

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 505:
Narrated Anas:
While I was serving Abu Talha. Abu Dujana and Abu Suhail bin Al-Baida with a drink made from a mixture of unripe and ripe dates, alcoholic drinks, were made unlawful, whereupon I threw it away, and I was their butler and the youngest of them, and we used to consider that drink as an alcoholic drink in those days

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 506:
Narrated Jabir:
The Prophet forbade the drinking of alcoholic drinks prepared from raisins, dates, unripe dates and fresh ripe dates.

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 507:
Narrated Abu Qatada:
The Prophet forbade the mixing of ripe and unripe dates and also the mixing of dates and raisins (for preparing a syrup) but the syrup of each kind of fruit should be prepared separately. (One may have such drinks as long as it is fresh)

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 508:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle was presented a bowl of milk and a bowl of wine on the night he was taken on a journey (Al-Mi'raj).

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 509:
Narrated Um Al-Fadl:
The people doubted whether Allah's Apostle was fasting or the Day of 'Arafat or not. So I sent a cup containing milk to him and he drank it.

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 510:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
Abu Humaid brought a cup of mix from a place called Al-Naqi. Allah's Apostle said to him, "Will you not cover it, even by placing a stick across its"

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 511:
Narrated Jabir:
Abu Humaid, an Ansari man, came from AnNaqi carrying a cup of milk to the Prophet. The Prophet said, "Will you not cover it even by placing a stick across it?"

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 512:
Narrated Al-Bara:
The Prophet came from Mecca with Abu Bakr. Abu Bakr said "We passed by a shepherd and at that time Allah's Apostle was thirsty. I milked a little milk in a bowl and Allah's Apostle drank till I was pleased. Suraqa bin Ju'shum came to us riding a horse (chasing us). The Prophet invoked evil upon him, whereupon Suraqa requested him not to invoke evil upon him, in which case he would go back. The Prophet agreed.

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 513:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The best object of charity is a she-camel which has (newly) given birth and gives plenty of milk, or a she-goat which gives plenty of milk; and is given to somebody to utilize its milk by milking one bowl in the morning and one in the evening."

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 514:
Narrated Ibn Abbas: Allah's Apostle drank milk and then rinsed his mouth and said, "It contains fat. The Prophet added: I was raised to the Lote Tree and saw four rivers, two of which were coming out and two going in. Those which were coming out were the Nile and the Euphrates, and those which were going in were two rivers in paradise. Then I was given three bowls, one containing milk, and another containing honey, and a third containing wine. I took the bowl containing milk and drank it. It was said to me, "You and your followers will be on the right path (of Islam)."

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 515:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Abu Talha had the largest number of datepalms from amongst the Ansars of Medina. The dearest of his property to him was Bairuha garden which was facing the (Prophet's) Mosque. Allah's Apostle used to enter it and drink of its good fresh water. When the Holy Verse:-- 'By no means shall you attain righteousness unless you spend (in charity) of that which you love.' (3.92) was revealed, Abu Talha got up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Allah says: By no means shall you attain righteousness unless you spend of that which you love,' and the dearest of my property to me is the Bairuha garden and I want to give it in charity in Allah's Cause, seeking to be rewarded by Allah for that. So you can spend it, O Allah's Apostle, where-ever Allah instructs you. ' Allah s Apostle said, "Good! That is a perishable (or profitable) wealth" (Abdullah is in doubt as to which word was used.) He said, "I have heard what you have said but in my opinion you'd better give it to your kith and kin." On that Abu Talha said, "I will do so, O Allah's Apostle!" Abu Talha distributed that garden among his kith and kin and cousins.

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 516:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
I saw Allah's Apostle drinking milk. He came to my house and I milked a sheep and then mixed the milk with water from the well for Allah's Apostle. He took the bowl and drank while on his left there was sitting Abu Bakr, and on his right there was a bedouin. He then gave the remaining milk to the bedouin and said, "The right! The right (first)."

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 517:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle and one of his companions entered upon an Ansari man and the Prophet said to him, "If you have water kept overnight in a water skin, (give us), otherwise we will drink water by putting our mouth in it." The man was watering his garden then. He said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have water kept overnight; let us go to the shade." So he took them both there and poured water into a bowl and milked a domestic goat of his in it. Allah's Apostle drank, and then the man who had come along with him, drank.

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 518:
Narrated Aisha:

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The Prophet used to like sweet edible things (syrup, etc.) and honey.

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 519:
Narrated An-Nazzal:
All came to the gate of the courtyard (of the Mosque) and drank (water) while he was standing and said, "Some people dislike to drink while standing, but I saw the Prophet doing (drinking water) as you have seen me doing now."

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 520:
Narrated An-Nazzal bin Sabra:
Ali offered the Zuhr prayer and then sat down in the wide courtyard (of the Mosque) of Kufa in order to deal with the affairs of the people till the Asr prayer became due. Then water was brought to him and he drank of it, washed his face, hands, head and feet. Then he stood up and drank the remaining water while he was standing. and said, "Some people dislike to drink water while standing thought the Prophet did as I have just done."

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 521:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet drank Zam-Zam (water) while standing.

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 522:
Narrated Um Al-Fadl:
(daughter of Al-Harith) that she sent a bowl of milk to the Prophet while he was standing (at 'Arafat) in the afternoon of the Day of 'Arafat. He took it in his hands and drank it. Narrated Abu Nadr: The Prophet was on the back of his camel.

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 523:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Milk mixed with water was brought to Allah's Apostle while a bedouin was on his right and Abu Bakr was on his left. He drank (of it) and then gave (it) to the bedouin and said, 'The right" "The right (first)."

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 524:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
Allah's Apostle was offered something to drink. He drank of it while on his right was a boy and on his left were some elderly people. He said to the boy, "May I give these (elderly) people first?" The boy said, "By Allah, O Allah's Apostle! I will not give up my share from you to somebody else." On that Allah's Apostle placed the cup in the hand of that boy.

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 525:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet and one of his companions entered upon an Ansari man. The Prophet and his companion greeted (the man) and he replied, "O Allah's Apostle! Let my father and mother be sacrificed for you! It is hot," while he was watering his garden. The Prophet asked him, "If you have water kept overnight in a water skin, (give us), or else we will drink by putting our mouths in the basin." The man was watering the garden The man said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have water kept overnight in a water-skin. He went to the shade and poured some water into a bowl and milked some milk from a domestic goat in it. The Prophet drank and then gave the bowl to the man who had come along with him to drink.

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 526:
Narrated Anas:
I was waiting on my uncles, serving them with an alcoholic drink prepared from dates, and I was the youngest of them. (Suddenly) it was said that alcoholic drinks had been prohibited. So they said (to me), 'Throw it away." And I threw it away The sub-narrator said: I asked Anas what their drink was (made from), He replied, "(From) ripe dates and unripe dates."

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 527:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle said, "When night falls (or when it is evening), stop your children from going out, for the devils spread out at that time. But when an hour of the night has passed, release them and close the doors and mention Allah's Name, for Satan does not open a closed door. Tie the mouth of your water-skin and mention Allah's Name; cover your containers and utensils and mention Allah's Name. Cover them even by placing something across it, and extinguish your lamps. "

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 528:
Narrated Jabir:
Allah's Apostle said, "Extinguish the lamps when you go to bed; close your doors; tie the mouths of your water skins, and cover the food and drinks." I think he added, ". . . even with a stick you place across the container."

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 529:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
Allah's Apostle forbade the bending of the mouths of water skins for the sake of drinking from them

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 530:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
I heard Allah's Apostle forbidding the drinking of water by bending the mouths of water skins, i.e., drinking from the mouths directly.

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 531:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle forbade drinking directly from the mouth of a water skin or other leather containers. and forbade preventing one's neighbour from fixing a peg in (the wall of) one's house.

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 532:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet forbade the drinking of water directly from the mouth of a water skin .

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 533:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet forbade the drinking of water direct from the mouth of a water-skin.

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 534:
Narrated Abu Qatada:
Allah's Apostle said, "When you drink (water), do not breath in the vessel; and when you urinate, do not touch your penis with your right hand. And when you cleanse yourself after defecation, do not use your right hand."

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 535:
Narrated Thumama bin Abdullah:
Anas used to breathe twice or thrice in the vessel (while drinking) and used to say that the Prophet; used to take three breaths while drinking.

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 536:
Narrated Ibn Abi Laila:
While Hudhaita was at Mada'in, he asked for water. The chief of the village brought him a silver vessel. Hudhaifa threw it away and said, "I have thrown it away because I told him not to use it, but he has not stopped using it. The Prophet forbade us to wear clothes of silk or Dibaj, and to drink in gold or silver utensils, and said, 'These things are for them (unbelievers) in this world and for you (Muslims) in the Hereafter.' "

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 537:
Narrated Hudhaifa:
The Prophet said, "Do not drink in gold or silver utensils, and do not wear clothes of silk or Dibaj, for these things are for them (unbelievers) in this world and for you in the Hereafter."

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 538:
Narrated Um Salama:
(the wife of the Prophet) Allah's Apostle said, "He who drinks in silver utensils is only filling his abdomen with Hell Fire."

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 539:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
Allah's Apostle ordered us to do seven things and forbade us from seven. He ordered us to visit the sick, to follow funeral processions, (to say) to a sneezer, (May Allah bestow His Mercy on you, if he says, Praise be to Allah), to accept invitations, to greet (everybody), to help the oppressed and to help others to fulfill their oaths. He forbade us to wear gold rings, to drink in silver (utensils), to use Mayathir (silken carpets placed on saddles), to wear Al-Qissi (a kind of silken cloth), to wear silk, Dibaj or Istabraq (two kinds of silk).

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 540:
Narrated Um Al-Fadl:
that the people were in doubt whether the Prophet was fasting on the Day of 'Arafat or not, so a (wooden) drinking vessel full of milk was sent to him, and he drank it.

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 541:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
An Arab lady was mentioned to the Prophet so he asked Abu Usaid As-Sa'idi to send for her, and he sent for her and she came and stayed in the castle of Bani Sa'ida. The Prophet came out and went to her and entered upon her. Behold, it was a lady sitting with a drooping head. When the Prophet spoke to her, she said, "I seek refuge with Allah from you." He said, "I grant you refuge from me." They said to her, "Do you know who this is?" She said, "No." They said, "This is Allah's Apostle who has come to command your hand in marriage." She said, "I am very unlucky to lose this chance." Then the Prophet and his companions went towards the shed of Bani Sa'ida and sat there. Then he said, "Give us water, O Sahl!" So I took out this drinking bowl and gave them water in it. The sub-narrator added: Sahl took out for us that very drinking bowl and we all drank from it. Later on Umar bin Abdul Aziz requested Sahl to give it to him as a present, and he gave it to him as a present.

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 542:
Narrated 'Asim al-Ahwal:
I saw the drinking bowl of the Prophet with Anas bin Malik, and it had been broken, and he had mended it with silver plates. That drinking bowl was quite wide and made of Nadar wood, Anas said, "I gave water to the Prophet in that bowl more than so-and-so (for a long period)." Ibn Sirin said: Around that bowl there was an iron ring, and Anas wanted to replace it with a silver or gold ring, but Abu Talha said to him, "Do not change a thing that Allah's Apostle has made." So Anas left it as it was.

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 543:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
I was with the Prophet and the time for the Asr prayer became due. We had no water with us except a little which was put in a vessel and was brought to the Prophet . He put his hand into it and spread out his fingers and then said, "Come along! Hurry up! All those who want to perform ablution. The blessing is from Allah." I saw the water gushing out from his fingers. So the people performed the ablution and drank, and I tried to drink more of that water (beyond my thirst and capacity), for I knew that it was a blessing. The sub-narrator said: I asked Jabir, "How many persons were you then?" He replied, "We were one-thousand four hundred men." Salim said: Jabir said, 1500.

SAHIH BUKHARI, BOOK 70:
Patients

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 544:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) Allah's Apostle said, "No calamity befalls a Muslim but that Allah expiates some of his sins because of it, even though it were the prick he receives from a thorn."

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 545:
Narrated Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri and Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "No fatigue, nor disease, nor sorrow, nor sadness, nor hurt, nor distress befalls a Muslim, even if it were the prick he receives from a thorn, but that Allah expiates some of his sins for that."

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 546:
Narrated Kab:
The Prophet said, "The example of a believer is that of a fresh tender plant, which the wind bends lt sometimes and some other time it makes it straight. And the example of a hypocrite is that of a pine tree which keeps straight till once it is uprooted suddenly.

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 547:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The example of a believer is that of a fresh tender plant; from whatever direction the wind comes, it bends it, but when the wind becomes quiet, it becomes straight again. Similarly, a believer is afflicted with calamities (but he remains patient till Allah removes his difficulties.) And an impious wicked person is like a pine tree which keeps hard and straight till Allah cuts (breaks) it down when He wishes." (See Hadith No. 558, Vol. 9.)

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 548:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "If Allah wants to do good to somebody, He afflicts him with trials."

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 549:
Narrated Aisha:
I never saw anybody suffering so much from sickness as Allah's Apostle

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 550:
Narrated Abdullah:
I visited the Prophet during his ailments and he was suffering from a high fever. I said, "You have a high fever. Is it because you will have a double reward for it?" He said, "Yes, for no Muslim is afflicted with any harm but that Allah will remove his sins as the leaves of a tree fall down."

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 551:
Narrated Abdullah:
I visited Allah's Apostle while he was suffering from a high fever. I said, "O Allah's Apostle! You have a high fever." He

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said, "Yes, I have as much fever as two men of you." I said, "Is it because you will have a double reward?" He said, "Yes, it is so. No Muslim is afflicted with any harm, even if it were the prick of a thorn, but that Allah expiates his sins because of that, as a tree sheds its leaves."

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 552:
Narrated Abu Muisa Al-Ash'ari:
The Prophet said, "Feed the hungry, visit the sick, and set free the captives."

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 553:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
Allah's Apostle ordered us to do seven things and forbade us to do seven other things. He forbade us to wear gold rings, silk, Dibaj, Istabriq, Qissy, and Maithara; and ordered us to accompany funeral processions, visit the sick and greet everybody. (See Hadith No. 104)

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 554:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
Once I fell ill. The Prophet and Abu Bakr came walking to pay me a visit and found me unconscious. The Prophet performed ablution and then poured the remaining water on me, and I came to my senses to see the Prophet. I said, "O Allah's Apostle! What shall I do with my property? How shall I dispose of (distribute) my property?" He did not reply till the Verse of inheritance was revealed.

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 555:
Narrated 'Ata bin Abi Rabah:
Ibn Abbas said to me, "Shall I show you a woman of the people of Paradise?" I said, "Yes." He said, "This black lady came to the Prophet and said, 'I get attacks of epilepsy and my body becomes uncovered; please invoke Allah for me.' The Prophet said (to her), 'If you wish, be patient and you will have (enter) Paradise; and if you wish, I will invoke Allah to cure you.' She said, 'I will remain patient,' and added, 'but I become uncovered, so please invoke Allah for me that I may not become uncovered.' So he invoked Allah for her."

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 556:
Narrated 'Ata:
That he had seen Um Zafar, the tall black lady, at (holding) the curtain of the Kaaba.

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 557:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "Allah said, 'If I deprive my slave of his two beloved things (i.e., his eyes) and he remains patient, I will let him enter Paradise in compensation for them.'"

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 558:
Narrated Aisha:
When Allah's Apostle emigrated to Medina, Abu Bakr and Bilal got a fever. I entered upon them and asked, "O my father! How are you? O Bilal! How are you?" Whenever fever attacked Abu Bakr, he would recite the following poetic verses: 'Everybody is staying alive among his people, yet death is nearer to him than his shoe laces." And whenever the fever deserted Bilal, he would recite (two poetic lines): 'Would that I could stay overnight in a valley wherein I would be surrounded by Idhkhir and Jalil (two kinds of good smelling grass). Would that one day I would drink of the water of Majinna and would that Shama and Tafil (two mountains at Mecca) would appear to me.' Then I came and informed Allah's Apostle about that, whereupon he said, "O Allah! Make us love Medina as much or more than we love Mecca. O Allah! Make it healthy and bless its Mudd and Sa for us, and take away its fever and put it in Al'Juhfa."

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 559:
Narrated Abu Uthman:
Usama bin Zaid said that while he. Sad and Ubai bin Ka'b were with the Prophet a daughter of the Prophet sent a message to him, saying. 'My daughter is dying; please come to us." The Prophet sent her his greetings and added "It is for Allah what He takes, and what He gives; and everything before His sight has a limited period. So she should hope for Allah's reward and remain patient." She again sent a message, beseeching him by Allah, to come. So the Prophet got up. and so did we (and went there). The child was placed on his lap while his breath was irregular. Tears flowed from the eyes of the Prophet. Sad said to him, "What is this, O Allah's Apostle?" He said. "This Is Mercy which Allah has embedded in the hearts of whomever He wished of His slaves. And Allah does not bestow His Mercy, except on the merciful among His slaves. (See Hadith No. 373 Vol. 2)

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 560:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet went to visit a sick bedouin. Whenever the Prophet went to a patient, he used to say to him, "Don't worry, if Allah will, it will be expiation (for your sins):" The bedouin said, "You say expiation? No, it is but a fever that is boiling or harassing an old man and will lead him to his grave without his will." The Prophet said, "Then, yes, it is so."

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 561:
Narrated Anas:
A Jewish boy used to serve the Prophet and became ill. The Prophet went to pay him a visit and said to him, "Embrace Islam," and he did embrace Islam. Al-Musaiyab said: When Abu Talib was on his deathbed, the Prophet visited him.

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 562:
Narrated Aisha:
During the ailment of the Prophet some people came to visits him. He led them in prayer while sitting. but they prayed standing, so he waved to them to sit down. When he had finished the prayer, he said, "An Imam is to be followed, so when he bows, you should bow. and when he raises his head, you should raise yours, and if he prays sitting. you should pray sitting." Abu Abdullah said Al-Humaidi said, (The order of) "This narration has been abrogated by the last action of the Prophet as he led the prayer sitting, while the people prayed standing behind him'

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 563:
Narrated Sad:
I became seriously ill at Mecca and the Prophet came to visit me. I said, "O Allah's Apostle! I shall leave behind me a good fortune, but my heir is my only daughter; shall I bequeath two third of my property to be spent in charity and leave one third (for my heir)?" He said, "No." I said, "Shall I bequeath half and leave half?" He said, "No." I said, "Shall I bequeath one third and leave two thirds?" He said, "One third is alright, though even one third is too much." Then he placed his hand on his forehead and passed it over my face and abdomen and said, "O Allah! Cure Sad and complete his emigration." I feel as if I have been feeling the coldness of his hand on my liver ever since.

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 564:
Narrated Abdullah bin Mas'ud:
I visited Allah's Apostle while he was suffering from a high fever. I touched him with my hand and said, "O Allah's Apostle! You have a high fever." Allah's Apostle said, "Yes, I have as much fever as two men of you have." I said, "Is it because you will get a double reward?" Allah's Apostle said, "Yes, no Muslim is afflicted with harm because of sickness or some other inconvenience, but that Allah will remove his sins for him as a tree sheds its leaves."

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 565:
Narrated Abdullah:
I visited the Prophet during his illness and touched him while he was having a fever. I said to him, "You have a high fever; is it because you will get a double reward?" He said, "Yes. No Muslim is afflicted with any harm, but that his sins will be annulled as the leave of a tree fall down."

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 566:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle entered upon sick man to pay him a visit, and said to him, "Don't worry, Allah willing, (your sickness will be) an expiation for your sins." The man said, "No, it is but a fever that is boiling within an old man and will send him to his grave." On that, the Prophet said, "Then yes, it is so."

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 567:
Narrated Usama bin Zaid:
The Prophet rode a donkey having a saddle with a Fadakiyya velvet covering. He mounted me behind him and went to visit Sad bin 'Ubada, and that had been before the battle of Badr. The Prophet proceeded till he passed by a gathering in which Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul was present, and that had been before Abdullah embraced Islam. The gathering comprised of Muslims, polytheists, i.e., isolators and Jews. Abdullah bin Rawaha was also present in that gathering. When dust raised by the donkey covered the gathering, Abdullah bin Ubai covered his nose with his upper garment and said, "Do not trouble us with dust." The Prophet greeted them, stopped and dismounted. Then he invited them to Allah (i.e., to embrace Islam) and recited to them some verses of the Holy Koran. On that, Abdullah bin Ubai said, "O man ! There is nothing better than what you say if it is true. Do not trouble us with it in our gathering, but return to your house, and if somebody comes to you, teach him there." On that Abdullah bin Rawaha said, Yes, O Allah's Apostle! Bring your teachings to our gathering, for we love that." So the Muslims, the pagans and the Jews started abusing each other till they were about to fight. The Prophet kept on quietening them till they became calm. Thereupon the Prophet mounted his animal and proceeded till he entered upon Sad bin Ubada. He said to him "O Sad! Have you not heard what Abu Hubab (i.e., Abdullah bin Ubai) said?" Sad said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Excuse and forgive him, for Allah has given you what He has given you. The people of this town (Medina decided unanimously to crown him and make him their chief by placing a turban on his head, but when that was prevented by the Truth which Allah had given you he (Abdullah bin Ubai) was grieved out of jealously, and that was the reason which caused him to behave in the way you have seen."

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 568:
Narrated Jabir:
The Prophet came to visit me (while I was sick) and he was riding neither a mule, nor a horse.

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 569:
Narrated Ka'b bin 'Ujara:
The Prophet passed by me while I was kindling a fire under a (cooking) pot. He said, "Do the lice of your head trouble you?" I said, "Yes." So he called a barber to shave my head and ordered me to make expiation for that."

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 570:
Narrated Al-Qasim bin Mohammed:
Aisha, (complaining of headache) said, "Oh, my head"! Allah's Apostle said, "I wish that had happened while I was still living, for then I would ask Allah's Forgiveness for you and invoke Allah for you." Aisha said, "Wa thuklayah! By Allah, I think you want me to die; and If this should happen, you would spend the last part of the day sleeping with one of your wives!" The Prophet said, "Nay, I should say, 'Oh my head!' I felt like sending for Abu Bakr and his son, and appoint him as my successor lest some people claimed something or some others wished something, but then I said (to myself), 'Allah would not allow it to be otherwise, and the Muslims would prevent it to be otherwise".

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 571:
Narrated Ibn Mas'ud:
I visited the Prophet while he was having a high fever. I touched him an said, "You have a very high fever" He said, "Yes, as much fever as two me of you may have." I said. "you will have a double reward?" He said, "Yes No Muslim is afflicted with hurt caused by disease or some other inconvenience, but that Allah will remove his sins as a tree sheds its leaves."

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 572:
Narrated Sad:
Allah's Apostle came to visit me during my ailment which had been aggravated during Hajjat-al-Wada'. I said to him, "You see how sick I am. I have much property but have no heir except my only daughter May I give two thirds of my property in charity?"! He said, "No." I said, "Half of it?" He said, "No." I said "One third?" He said, "One third is too much, for to leave your heirs rich is better than to leave them poor, begging of others. Nothing you spend seeking Allah's pleasure but you shall get a reward for it, even for what you put in the mouth of your wife."

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 573:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
When Allah's Apostle was on his death-bed and in the house there were some people among whom was Umar bin Al-Khattab, the Prophet said, "Come, let me write for you a statement after which you will not go astray." Umar said, "The Prophet is seriously ill and you have the Koran; so the Book of Allah is enough for us." The people present in the house differed and quarrelled. Some said "Go near so that the Prophet may write for you a statement after which you will not go astray," while the others said as Umar said. When they caused a hue and cry before the Prophet, Allah's Apostle said, "Go away!" Narrated Ubaidullah: Ibn Abbas used to say, "It was very unfortunate that Allah's Apostle was prevented from writing that statement for them because of their disagreement and noise."

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 574:
Narrated As-Sa'ib:
My aunt took me to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! My nephew is- ill." The Prophet touched my head with his hand and invoked Allah to bless me. He then performed ablution and I drank of the remaining water of his ablution and then stood behind his back and saw "Khatam An-Nubuwwa" (The Seal of Prophethood) between his shoulders like a button of a tent.

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 575:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "None of you should wish for death because of a calamity befalling him; but if he has to wish for death, he should say: "O Allah! Keep me alive as long as life is better for me, and let me die if death is better for me.' "

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Narrated Qais bin Abi Hazim:
We went to pay a visit to Khabbab (who was sick) and he had been branded (cauterized) at seven places in his body. He said, "Our companions who died (during the lifetime of the Prophet) left (this world) without having their rewards reduced through enjoying the pleasures of this life, but we have got (so much) wealth that we find no way to spend It except on the construction of buildings Had the Prophet not forbidden us to wish for death, I would have wished for it.' We visited him for the second time while he was building a wall. He said, A Muslim is rewarded (in the Hereafter) for whatever he spends except for something that he spends on building."

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 577:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "The good deeds of any person will not make him enter Paradise." (i.e., None can enter Paradise through his good deeds.) They (the Prophet's companions) said, 'Not even you, O Allah's Apostle?' He said, "Not even myself, unless Allah bestows His favor and mercy on me." So be moderate in your religious deeds and do the deeds that are within your ability: and none of you should wish for death, for if he is a good doer, he may increase his good deeds, and if he is an evil doer, he may repent to Allah."

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 578:
Narrated Aisha:
I heard the Prophet , who was resting against me, saying, "O Allah! Excuse me and bestow Your Mercy on me and let me join with the highest companions (in Paradise)." See Koran (4.69)

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 579:
Narrated Aisha:
Whenever Allah's Apostle paid a visit to a patient, or a patient was brought to him, he used to invoke Allah, saying, "Take away the disease, O the Lord of the people! Cure him as You are the One Who cures. There is no cure but Yours, a cure that leaves no disease."

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 580:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet came to me while I was ill. He performed ablution and threw the remaining water on me (or said, "Pour it on him) " When I came to my senses I said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have no son or father to be my heir, so how will be my inheritance?" Then the Verse of inheritance was revealed.

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 581:
Narrated Aisha:
When Allah's Apostle emigrated to Medina, Abu Bakr and Bilal had a fever. I entered upon them and said, "O my father! How are you? O Bilal! How are you?" Whenever Abu Bakr got the fever he used to say, "Everybody is staying alive with his people, yet death is nearer to him than his shoe laces." And when fever deserted Bilal, he would recite (two poetic verses): "Would that I could stay overnight in a valley wherein I would be surrounded by Idhkhir and Jalil (two kinds of good smelling grass). Would that one day I could drink of the water of Majinna, and would that Shama and Tafil (two mountains at Mecca) would appear to me!" I went to Allah's Apostle and informed him about that. He said, "O Allah! Make us love Medina as much or more than we love Mecca, and make it healthy, and bless its Sa and its Mudd, and take away its fever and put it in Al-Juhfa." (See Hadith No 558) .

SAHIH BUKHARI, BOOK 71:
Medicine

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 582:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "There is no disease that Allah has created, except that He also has created its treatment."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 583:
Narrated Rubai bint Mu'adh bin Afra:
We used to go for Military expeditions along with Allah's Apostle and provide the people with water, serve them and bring the dead and the wounded back to Medina.

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 584:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
(The Prophet said), "Healing is in three things: A gulp of honey, cupping, and branding with fire (cauterizing)." But I forbid my followers to use (cauterization) branding with fire."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 585:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "Healing is in three things: cupping, a gulp of honey or cauterization, (branding with fire) but I forbid my followers to use cauterization (branding with fire)."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 586:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet used to like sweet edible things and honey.

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 587:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
I heard the Prophet saying, "If there is any healing in your medicines, then it is in cupping, a gulp of honey or branding with fire (cauterization) that suits the ailment, but I don't like to be (cauterized) branded with fire."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 588:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
A man came to the Prophet and said, "My brother has some abdominal trouble." The Prophet said to him "Let him drink honey." The man came for the second time and the Prophet said to him, 'Let him drink honey." He came for the third time and the Prophet said, "Let him drink honey." He returned again and said, "I have done that ' The Prophet then said, "Allah has said the truth, but your brother's abdomen has told a lie. Let him drink honey." So he made him drink honey and he was cured.

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 589:
Narrated Anas:
Some people were sick and they said, "O Allah's Apostle! Give us shelter and food. So when they became healthy they said, "The weather of Medina is not suitable for us." So he sent them to Al-Harra with some she-camels of his and said, "Drink of their milk." But when they became healthy, they killed the shepherd of the Prophet and drove away his camels. The Prophet sent some people in their pursuit. Then he got their hands and feet cut and their eyes were branded with heated pieces of iron. I saw one of them licking the earth with his tongue till he died.

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 590:
Narrated Anas:
The climate of Medina did not suit some people, so the Prophet ordered them to follow his shepherd, i.e. his camels, and drink their milk and urine (as a medicine). So they followed the shepherd that is the camels and drank their milk and urine till their bodies became healthy. Then they killed the shepherd and drove away the camels. When the news reached the Prophet he sent some people in their pursuit. When they were brought, he cut their hands and feet and their eyes were branded with heated pieces of iron.

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 591:
Narrated Khalid bin Sad:
We went out and Ghalib bin Abjar was accompanying us. He fell ill on the way and when we arrived at Medina he was still sick. Ibn Abi 'Atiq came to visit him and said to us, "Treat him with black cumin. Take five or seven seeds and crush them (mix the powder with oil) and drop the resulting mixture into both nostrils, for Aisha has narrated to me that she heard the Prophet saying, 'This black cumin is healing for all diseases except As-Sam.' Aisha said, 'What is As-Sam?' He said, 'Death."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 592:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "There is healing in black cumin for all diseases except death."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 593:
Narrated 'Ursa:
Aisha used to recommend At-Talbina for the sick and for such a person as grieved over a dead person. She used to say, "I heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'At-Talbina gives rest to the heart of the patient and makes it active and relieves some of his sorrow and grief.' "

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 594:
Narrated Hisham's father:
Aisha used to recommend At-Talbina and used to say, "It is disliked (by the patient) although it is beneficial."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 595:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet was cupped and he paid the wages to the one who had cupped him and then took Su'ut (Medicine sniffed by nose).

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 596:
Narrated Um Qais bint Mihsan:
I heard the Prophet saying, "Treat with the Indian incense, for it has healing for seven diseases; it is to be sniffed by one having throat trouble, and to be put into one side of the mouth of one suffering from pleurisy." Once I went to Allah's Apostle with a son of mine who would not eat any food, and the boy passed urine on him whereupon he asked for some water and sprinkled it over the place of urine.

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 597:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet was cupped while he was fasting.

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 598:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet was cupped while he was in a state of Ihram.

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 599:
Narrated Anas:
that he was asked about the wages of the one who cups others. He said, 'Allah's Apostle was cupped by Abd Taiba, to whom he gave two Sa of food and interceded for him with his masters who consequently reduced what they used to charge him daily. Then the Prophet s said, "The best medicines you may treat yourselves with are cupping and sea incense.' He added, "You should not torture your children by treating tonsillitis by pressing the tonsils or the palate with the finger, but use incense."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 600:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
that he paid Al-Muqanna a visit during his illness and said, "I will not leave till he gets cupped, for I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "There is healing in cupping."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 601:
Narrated Abdullah bin Buhaina:
Allah's Apostle was cupped on the middle of his head at Lahl Jamal on his way to Mecca while he was in a state of Ihram. Narrated Ibn Abbas: Allah's Apostle was cupped on his head.

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 602:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet was cupped on his head for an ailment he was suffering from while he was in a state of Ihram. at a water place called Lahl Jamal. Ibn Abbas further said: Allah s Apostle was cupped on his head for unilateral headache while he was in a state of Ihram .

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 603:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
I heard the Prophet saying, "If there is any good in your medicines, then it is in a gulp of honey, a cupping operation, or branding (cauterization), but I do not like to be (cauterized) branded.

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 604:
Narrated Ka'b bin Ujrah:
The Prophet came to me during the period of Al-Hudaibiya, while I was lighting fire underneath a cooking pot and lice were falling down my head. He said, "Do your lice hurt your?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Shave your head and fast for three days or feed six poor persons or slaughter a sheep as a sacrifice:"

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 605:
Narrated Jabir:
The Prophet said, "If there is any healing in your medicines then it is a cupping operation, or branding (cauterization), but I do not like to be (cauterized) branded."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 606:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle said, 'Nations were displayed before me; one or two prophets would pass by along with a few followers. A prophet would pass by accompanied by nobody. Then a big crowd of people passed in front of me and I asked, Who are they Are they my followers?" It was said, 'No. It is Moses and his followers It was said to me, 'Look at the horizon." Behold! There was a multitude of people filling the horizon. Then it was said to me, 'Look there and there about the stretching sky! Behold! There was a multitude filling the horizon,' It was said to me, 'This is your nation out of whom seventy thousand shall enter Paradise without reckoning.' "Then the Prophet entered his house without telling his companions who they (the 70,000) were. So the people started talking about the issue and said, "It is we who have believed in Allah and followed His Apostle; therefore those people are either ourselves or our children who are born m the Islamic era, for we were born in the Pre-Islamic Period of Ignorance." When the Prophet heard of that, he came out and said. "Those people are those who do not treat themselves with Ruqya, nor do they believe in bad or good omen (from birds etc.) nor do they get themselves branded (Cauterized). but they put their trust (only) in their Lord " On that 'Ukasha bin Muhsin said. "Am I one of them, O Allah's Apostle?' The Prophet said, "Yes." Then another person got up and said, "Am I one of them?" The Prophet said, 'Ukasha has anticipated you."

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Volume 7, Book 71, Number 607:
Narrated Um Salama:
The husband of a lady died and her eyes became sore and the people mentioned her story to the Prophet They asked him whether it was permissible for her to use kohl as her eyes were exposed to danger. He said, "Previously, when one of you was bereaved by a husband she would stay in her dirty clothes in a bad unhealthy house (for one year), and when a dog passed by, she would throw a globe of dung. No, (she should observe the prescribed period Idda) for four months and ten days.'

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 608:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, '(There is) no 'Adwa (no contagious disease is conveyed without Allah's permission). nor is there any bad omen (from birds), nor is there any Hamah, nor is there any bad omen in the month of Safar, and one should run away from the leper as one runs away from a lion "

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 609:
Narrated Said bin Zaid:
I heard the Prophet saying, "Truffles are like Manna (i.e. they grow naturally without man's care) and their water heals eye diseases."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 610:
Narrated Ibn Abbas and Aisha:
Abu Bakr kissed (the forehead of) the Prophet when he was dead. Aisha added: We put medicine in one side of his mouth but he started waving us not to insert the medicine into his mouth. We said, "He dislikes the medicine as a patient usually does." But when he came to his senses he said, "Did I not forbid you to put medicine (by force) in the side of my mouth?" We said, "We thought it was just because a patient usually dislikes medicine." He said, "None of those who are in the house but will be forced to take medicine in the side of his mouth while I am watching, except Al-Abbas, for he had not witnessed your deed."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 611:
Narrated Um Qais:
I went to Allah's Apostle along with a a son of mine whose palate and tonsils I had pressed with my finger as a treatment for a (throat and tonsil) disease. The Prophet said, "Why do you pain your children by pressing their throats! Use Ud Al-Hindi (certain Indian incense) for it cures seven diseases, one of which is pleurisy. It is used as a snuff for treating throat and tonsil disease and it is inserted into one side of the mouth of one suffering from pleurisy."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 612:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet)
When the health of Allah's Apostle deteriorated and his condition became serious, he asked the permission of all his wives to allow him to be treated In my house, and they allowed him. He came out, supported by two men and his legs were dragging on the ground between Abbas and another man. (The sub-narrator told Ibn Abbas who said: Do you know who was the other man whom Aisha did not mention? The sub-narrator said: No. Ibn Abbas said: It was Ali.) Aisha added: When the Prophet entered my house and his disease became aggravated, he said, "Pour on me seven water skins full of water (the tying ribbons of which had not been untied) so that I may give some advice to the people." So we made him sit in a tub belonging to Hafsa, the wife of the Prophet and started pouring water on him from those water skins till he waved us to stop. Then he went out to the people and led them in prayer and delivered a speech before them.

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 613:
Narrated Um Qais :
that she took to Allah's Apostle one of her sons whose palate and tonsils she had pressed because he had throat trouble. The Prophet said, "Why do you pain your children by getting the palate pressed like that? Use the Ud Al-Hindi (certain Indian incense) for it cures seven diseases one of which is pleurisy."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 614:
Narrated Abu Said:
A man came to the prophet and said, 'My brother has got loose motions. The Prophet said, Let him drink honey." The man again (came) and said, 'I made him drink (honey) but that made him worse.' The Prophet said, 'Allah has said the Truth, and the abdomen of your brother has told a lie." (See Hadith No. 88)

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 615:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, 'There is no 'Adha (no disease is conveyed from the sick to the healthy without Allah's permission), nor Safar, nor Hama." A bedouin stood up and said, "Then what about my camels? They are like deer on the sand, but when a mangy camel comes and mixes with them, they all get infected with mangy." The Prophet said, "Then who conveyed the (mange) disease to the first one?"

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 616:
Narrated Um Oais:
that she took to Allah's Apostle one of her sons whose palate and tonsils she had pressed to treat a throat trouble. The Prophet said, "Be afraid of Allah! Why do you pain your children by having their tonsils pressed like that? Use the Ud Al-Hindi (a certain Indian incense) for it cures seven diseases, one of which is pleurisy."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 617:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle allowed one of the Ansar families to treat persons who have taken poison and also who are suffering from ear ailment with Ruqya. Anas added: I got myself branded cauterized) for pleurisy, when Allah's Apostle was still alive. Abu Talha, Anas bin An-Nadr and Zaid bin Thabit witnessed that, and it was Abu Talha who branded (cauterized) me.

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 618:
Narrated Sahl bin Saud As-Sa'idi:
When the helmet broke on the head of the Prophet and his face became covered with blood and his incisor tooth broke (i.e. during the battle of Uhud), Ali used to bring water in his shield while Fatima was washing the blood off his face. When Fatima saw that the bleeding increased because of the water, she took a mat (of palm leaves), burnt it, and stuck it (the burnt ashes) on the wound of Allah's Apostle, whereupon the bleeding stopped.

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 619:
Narrated Nazi':
Abdullah bin Umar said, "The Prophet said, 'Fever is from the heat of Hell, so put it out (cool it) with water.' " Nafi added: Abdullah used to say, "O Allah! Relieve us from the punishment," (when he suffered from fever).

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 620:
Narrated Fatima bint Al-Mundhir:
Whenever a lady suffering from fever was brought to Asma bint Abu Bakr, she used to invoke Allah for her and then sprinkle some water on her body, at the chest and say, "Allah's Apostle used to order us to abate fever with water."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 621:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said, "Fever is from the heat of Hell, so abate fever with water."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 622:
Narrated Rafi bin Khadij:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "Fever is from the heat of Hell, so abate fever with water."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 623:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Some people from the tribes of Ukl and Uraina came to Allah's Apostle and embraced Islam and said, "O Allah's Apostle! We are owners of livestock and have never been farmers," and they found the climate of Medina unsuitable for them. So Allah's Apostle ordered that they be given some camels and a shepherd, and ordered them to go out with those camels and drink their milk and urine. So they set out, but when they reached a place called Al-Harra, they reverted to disbelief after their conversion to Islam, killed the shepherd and drove away the camels. When this news reached the Prophet he sent in their pursuit (and they were caught and brought). The Prophet ordered that their eyes be branded with heated iron bars and their hands be cut off, and they were left at Al-Harra till they died in that state.

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 624:
Narrated Saud:
The Prophet said, "If you hear of an outbreak of plague in a land, do not enter it; but if the plague breaks out in a place while you are in it, do not leave that place."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 625:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
Umar bin Al-Khattab departed for Sham and when he reached Sargh, the commanders of the (Muslim) army, Abu Ubaida bin Al-Jarrah and his companions met him and told him that an epidemic had broken out in Sham. Umar said, "Call for me the early emigrants." So Umar called them, consulted them and informed them that an epidemic had broken out in Sham. Those people differed in their opinions. Some of them said, "We have come out for a purpose and we do not think that it is proper to give it up," while others said (to Umar), "You have along with you. other people and the companions of Allah's Apostle so do not advise that we take them to this epidemic." Umar said to them, "Leave me now." Then he said, "Call the Ansar for me." I called them and he consulted them and they followed the way of the emigrants and differed as they did. He then said to them, Leave me now," and added, "Call for me the old people of Quraish who emigrated in the year of the Conquest of Mecca." I called them and they gave a unanimous opinion saying, "We advise that you should return with the people and do not take them to that (place) of epidemic." So Umar made an announcement, "I will ride back to Medina in the morning, so you should do the same." Abu Ubaida bin Al-Jarrah said (to Umar), "Are you running away from what Allah had ordained?" Umar said, "Would that someone else had said such a thing, O Abu Ubaida! Yes, we are running from what Allah had ordained to what Allah has ordained. Don't you agree that if you had camels that went down a valley having two places, one green and the other dry, you would graze them on the green one only if Allah had ordained that, and you would graze them on the dry one only if Allah had ordained that?" At that time Abdur-Rahman bin 'Auf, who had been absent because of some job, came and said, "I have some knowledge about this. I have heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'If you hear about it (an outbreak of plague) in a land, do not go to it; but if plague breaks out in a country where you are staying, do not run away from it.' " Umar thanked Allah and returned to Medina.

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 626:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amir
Umar went to Sham and when h ached Sargh, he got the news that an epidemic (of plague) had broken out in Sham. Abdur-Rahman bin 'Auf told him that Allah's Apostle said, "If you hear that it (plague) has broken out in a land, do not go to it; but if it breaks out in a land where you are present, do not go out escaping from it."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 627:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Neither Messiah (Ad-Dajjal) nor plague will enter Medina."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 628:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle said, "(Death from) plague is martyrdom for every Muslim."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 629:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "He (a Muslim) who dies of an abdominal disease is a a martyr, and he who dies of plague is a martyr."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 630:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) that she asked Allah's Apostle about plague, and Allah's Apostle informed her saying, "Plague was a punishment which Allah used to send on whom He wished, but Allah made it a blessing for the believers. None (among the believers) remains patient in a land in which plague has broken out and considers that nothing will befall him except what Allah has ordained for him, but that Allah will grant him a reward similar to that of a martyr."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 631:
Narrated Aisha:
During the Prophet's fatal illness, he used to recite the Mu'auwidhat (Surat An-Nas and Surat Al-Falaq) and then blow his breath over his body. When his illness was aggravated, I used to recite those two Suras and blow my breath over him and make him rub his body with his own hand for its blessings." (Ma'mar asked Az-Zuhri: How did the Prophet use to blow? Az-Zuhri said: He used to blow on his hands and then passed them over his face.)

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 632:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
Some of the companions of the Prophet came across a tribe amongst the tribes of the Arabs, and that tribe did not entertain them. While they were in that state, the chief of that tribe was bitten by a snake (or stung by a scorpion). They said, (to the companions of the Prophet), "Have you got any medicine with you or anybody who can treat with Ruqya?" The Prophet's companions said, "You refuse to entertain us, so we will not treat (your chief) unless you pay us for it." So they agreed to pay them a flock of sheep. One of them (the Prophet's companions) started reciting Surat-al-Fatiha and gathering his saliva and spitting it (at the snake-bite). The patient got cured and his people presented the sheep to them, but they said, "We will not take it unless we ask the Prophet (whether it is lawful)." When they asked him, he smiled and said, "How do you know that Surat-al-Fatiha is a Ruqya? Take it (flock of sheep) and assign a share for me."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 633:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:

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Some of the companions of the Prophet passed by some people staying at a place where there was water, and one of those people had been stung by a scorpion. A man from those staying near the water, came and said to the companions of the Prophet, "Is there anyone among you who can do Ruqya as near the water there is a person who has been stung by a scorpion." So one of the Prophet's companions went to him and recited Surat-al-Fatiha for a sheep as his fees. The patient got cured and the man brought the sheep to his companions who disliked that and said, "You have taken wages for reciting Allah's Book." When they arrived at Medina, they said, ' O Allah's Apostle! (This person) has taken wages for reciting Allah's Book" On that Allah's Apostle said, "You are most entitled to take wages for doing a Ruqya with Allah's Book."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 634:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet ordered me or somebody else to do Ruqya (if there was danger) from an evil eye.

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 635:
Narrated Um Salama:
that the Prophet saw in her house a girl whose face had a black spot. He said. "She is under the effect of an evil eye; so treat her with a Ruqya."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 636:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The effect of an evil eye is a fact." And he prohibited tattooing

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 637:
Narrated Al-Aswad:
I asked Aisha about treating poisonous stings (a snake-bite or a scorpion sting) with a Ruqya. She said, "The Prophet allowed the treatment of poisonous sting with Ruqya."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 638:
Narrated Abdul Aziz:
Thabit and I went to Anas bin Malik. Thabit said, "O Abu Hamza! I am sick." On that Anas said, "Shall I treat you with the Ruqya of Allah's Apostle?" Thabit said, "Yes," Anas recited, "O Allah! The Lord of the people, the Remover of trouble! (Please) cure (Heal) (this patient), for You are the Healer. None brings about healing but You; a healing that will leave behind no ailment."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 639:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet used to treat some of his wives by passing his right hand over the place of ailment and used to say, "O Allah, the Lord of the people! Remove the trouble and heal the patient, for You are the Healer. No healing is of any avail but Yours; healing that will leave behind no ailment."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 640:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle used to treat with a Ruqya saying, "O the Lord of the people! Remove the trouble The cure is in Your Hands, and there is none except You who can remove it (the disease) . "

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 641:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet used to say to the patient, "In the Name of Allah The earth of our land and the saliva of some of us cure our patient."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 642:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle used to read in his Ruqya, "In the Name of Allah" The earth of our land and the saliva of some of us cure our patient with the permission of our Lord." with a slight shower of saliva) while treating with a Ruqya.

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 643:
Narrated Abu Qatada:
I heard the Prophet saying, "A good dream is from Allah, and a bad dream is from Satan. So if anyone of you sees (in a dream) something he dislikes, when he gets up he should blow thrice (on his left side) and seek refuge with Allah from its evil for then it will not harm him."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 644:
Narrated Aisha:
Whenever Allah's Apostle went to bed, he used to recite Surat-al-Ikhlas, Surat-al-Falaq and Surat-an-Nas and then blow on his palms and pass them over his face and those parts of his body that his hands could reach. And when he fell ill, he used to order me to do like that for him.

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 645:
Narrated Abu Said:
A group of the companions of Allah's Apostle proceeded on a journey till they dismounted near one of the Arab tribes and requested them to entertain them as their guests, but they (the tribe people) refused to entertain them. Then the chief of that tribe was bitten by a snake (or stung by a scorpion) and he was given all sorts of treatment, but all in vain. Some of them said, "Will you go to the group (those travelers) who have dismounted near you and see if one of them has something useful?" They came to them and said, "O the group! Our leader has been bitten by a snake (or stung by a scorpion) and we have treated him with everything but nothing benefited him Has anyone of you anything useful?" One of them replied, "Yes, by Allah, I know how to treat with a Ruqya. But. by Allah, we wanted you to receive us as your guests but you refused. I will not treat your patient with a Ruqya till you fix for us something as wages." Consequently they agreed to give those travellers a flock of sheep. The man went with them (the people of the tribe) and started spitting (on the bite) and reciting Surat-al-Fatiha till the patient was healed and started walking as if he had not been sick. When the tribe people paid them their wages they had agreed upon, some of them (the Prophet's companions) said, "Distribute (the sheep)." But the one who treated with the Ruqya said, "Do not do that till we go to Allah's Apostle and mention to him what has happened, and see what he will order us." So they came to Allah's Apostle and mentioned the story to him and he said, "How do you know that Surat-al-Fatiha is a Ruqya? You have done the right thing. Divide (what you have got) and assign for me a share with you."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 646:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet used to treat some of his wives by passing his right hand over the place of ailment and used to say, "O Lord of the people! Remove the difficulty and bring about healing as You are the Healer. There is no healing but Your Healing, a healing that will leave no ailment."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 647:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet, during his fatal ailment used to blow (on his hands and pass them) over his body while reciting the Mu'auwidhat (Surat-an-Nas and Surat-al-Falaq). When his disease got aggravated, I used to recite them for him and blow (on his hands) and let him pass his hands over his body because of its blessing. (Ma'mar asked Ibn Shihab: How did he use to do Nafth? He said: He used to blow on his hands and then pass them over his face.)

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 648:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet once came out to us and said, "Some nations were displayed before me. A prophet would pass in front of me with one man, and another with two men, and another with a group of people. and another with nobody with him. Then I saw a great crowd covering the horizon and I wished that they were my followers, but it was said to me, 'This is Moses and his followers.' Then it was said to me, 'Look" I looked and saw a big gathering with a large number of people covering the horizon. It was said, "Look this way and that way.' So I saw a big crowd covering the horizon. Then it was said to me, "These are your followers, and among them there are 70,000 who will enter Paradise without (being asked about their) accounts. " Then the people dispersed and the Prophet did not tell who those 70,000 were. So the companions of the Prophet started talking about that and some of them said, "As regards us, we were born in the era of heathenism, but then we believed in Allah and His Apostle . We think however, that these (70,000) are our offspring." That talk reached the Prophet who said, "These (70,000) are the people who do not draw an evil omen from (birds) and do not get treated by branding themselves and do not treat with Ruqya, but put their trust (only) in their Lord." then 'Ukasha bin Muhsin got up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Am I one of those (70,000)?" The Prophet said, "Yes." Then another person got up and said, "Am I one of them?" The Prophet said, " 'Ukasha has anticipated you."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 649:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "There is neither 'Adha (no contagious disease is conveyed to others without Allah's permission) nor Tiyara, but an evil omen may be in three a woman, a house or an animal."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 650:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "There is no Tiyara, and the best omen is the Fal." They asked, "What is the Fal?" He said, "A good word that one of you hears (and takes as a good omen)."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 651:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "There is no Tiyara and the best omen is the Fal," Somebody said, "What is the Fal, O Allah's Apostle?" He said, "A good word that one of you hears (and takes as a good omen)."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 652:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "No 'Adha (no contagious disease is conveyed to others without Allah's permission), nor Tiyara, but I like the good Fal, i.e., the good word."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 653:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "There is no 'Adha, nor Tiyara, nor Hama, nor Safar."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 654:
Narrated Abu Huraira :
Allah's Apostle gave his verdict about two ladies of the Hudhail tribe who had fought each other and one of them had hit the other with a stone. The stone hit her abdomen and as she was pregnant, the blow killed the child in her womb. They both filed their case with the Prophet and he judged that the blood money for what was in her womb. was a slave or a female slave. The guardian of the lady who was fined said, "O Allah's Apostle! Shall I be fined for a creature that has neither drunk nor eaten, neither spoke nor cried? A case like that should be nullified." On that the Prophet said, "This is one of the brothers of soothsayers.

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 655:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Two ladies (had a fight) and one of them hit the other with a stone on the abdomen and caused her to abort. The Prophet judged that the victim be given either a slave or a female slave (as blood-money). Narrated Ibn Shihab: Said bin Al-Musayyab said, "Allah's Apostle judged that in case of child killed in the womb of its mother, the offender should give the mother a slave or a female slave in recompense The offender said, How can I be fined for killing one who neither ate nor drank, neither spoke nor cried: a case like that should be denied ' On that Allah's Apostle said 'He is one of the brothers of the foretellers

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 656:
Narrated Abu Mas'ud:
The Prophet forbade the utilization of the price of a dog, the earnings of prostitute and the earnings of a foreteller

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 657:
Narrated Aisha:
Some people asked Allah's Apostle about the fore-tellers He said. ' They are nothing" They said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Sometimes they tell us of a thing which turns out to be true." Allah's Apostle said, "A Jinn snatches that true word and pours it Into the ear of his friend (the fore-teller) (as one puts something into a bottle) The foreteller then mixes with that word one hundred lies."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 658:
Narrated Aisha:
A man called Labid bin al-A'sam from the tribe of Bani Zaraiq worked magic on Allah's Apostle till Allah's Apostle started imagining that he had done a thing that he had not really done. One day or one night he was with us, he invoked Allah and invoked for a long period, and then said, "O Aisha! Do you know that Allah has instructed me concerning the matter I have asked him about? Two men came to me and one of them sat near my head and the other near my feet. One of them said to his companion, "What is the disease of this man?" The other replied, "He is under the effect of magic.' The first one asked, 'Who has worked the magic on him?' The other replied, "Labid bin Al-A'sam.' The first one asked, 'What material did he use?' The other replied, 'A comb and the hairs stuck to it and the skin of pollen of a male date palm.' The first one asked, 'Where is that?' The other replied, '(That is) in the well of Dharwan;' " So Allah's Apostle along with some of his companions went there and came back saying, "O Aisha, the color of its water is like the infusion of Henna leaves. The tops of the date-palm trees near it are like the heads of the devils." I asked. "O Allah's Apostle? Why did you not show it (to the people)?" He said, "Since Allah cured me, I disliked to let evil spread among the people." Then he ordered that the well be filled up with earth.

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 659:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Avoid the Mubiqat, i.e., shirk and witchcraft."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 660:
Narrated Aisha:
Magic was worked on Allah's Apostle so that he used to think that he had sexual relations with his wives while he

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actually had not (Sufyan said: That is the hardest kind of magic as it has such an effect). Then one day he said, "O Aisha do you know that Allah has instructed me concerning the matter I asked Him about? Two men came to me and one of them sat near my head and the other sat near my feet. The one near my head asked the other. What is wrong with this man?' The latter replied the is under the effect of magic The first one asked, Who has worked magic on him?' The other replied Labid bin Al-A'sam, a man from Bani Zuraiq who was an ally of the Jews and was a hypocrite.' The first one asked, What material did he use)?' The other replied, 'A comb and the hair stuck to it.' The first one asked, 'Where (is that)?' The other replied. 'In a skin of pollen of a male date palm tree kept under a stone in the well of Dharwan' " So the Prophet went to that well and took out those things and said "That was the well which was shown to me (in a dream) Its water looked like the infusion of Henna leaves and its date-palm trees looked like the heads of devils." The Prophet added, "Then that thing was taken out' I said (to the Prophet) "Why do you not treat yourself with Nashra?" He said, "Allah has cured me; I dislike to let evil spread among my people."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 661:
Narrated Aisha:
Magic was worked on Allah's Apostle so that he began to imagine that he had done something although he had not. One day while he was with me, he invoked Allah and invoked for a long period and then said, "O Aisha! Do you know that Allah has instructed me regarding the matter I asked Him about?" I asked, "What is that, O Allah's Apostle?" He said, "Two men came to me; one of them sat near my head and the other sat near my feet. One of them asked his companion, 'What is the disease of this man?' The other replied, 'He is under the effect of magic.' The first one asked, 'Who has worked magic on him?" The other replied, 'Labid bin A'sam, a Jew from the tribe of Bani Zuraiq.' The (first one asked), 'With what has it been done?' The other replied, 'With a a comb and the hair stuck to it and a skin of the pollen of a male datepalm tree.' The first one asked, 'Where is it?' The other replied, 'In the well of Dharwan.' Then the Prophet went along with some of his companions to that well and looked at that and there were date palms near to it. Then he returned to me and said, 'By Allah the water of that well was (red) like the infusion of Henna leaves and its date-palms were like the heads of devils" I said, O Allah's Apostle! Did you take those materials out of the pollen skin?" He said, 'No! As for me Allah has healed me and cured me and I was afraid that (by Showing that to the people) I would spread evil among them when he ordered that the well be filled up with earth, and it was filled up with earth "

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 662:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Two men came from the East and addressed the people who wondered at their eloquent speeches On that Allah's Apostle said. Some eloquent speech is as effective as magic.'

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 663:
Narrated Saud:
The Prophet said, "If somebody takes some 'Ajwa dates every morning, he will not be effected by poison or magic on that day till night." (Another narrator said seven dates).

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 664:
Narrated Saud:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "If Somebody takes seven 'Ajwa dates in the morning, neither magic nor poison will hurt him that day."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 665o:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, 'No 'Adha (i.e. no contagious disease is conveyed to others without Allah's permission); nor (any evil omen m the month of) Safar; nor Hama" A bedouin said, "O Allah's Apostle! What about the camels which, when on the sand (desert) look like deers, but when a mangy camel mixes with them they all get infected with mange?" On that Allah s Apostle said, "Then who conveyed the (mange) disease to the first (mangy)
camel?"

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 665e:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said: The cattle (sheep, cows, camels, etc.) suffering from a disease should not be mixed up with healthy cattle, (or said: "Do not put a patient with a healthy person). " (as a precaution).

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 666:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "there is neither 'Adha nor Tiyara, and an evil omen is only in three: a horse, a woman and a house." (See the foot-note of Hadith No. 649)

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 667:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "No 'Adha." Abu Huraira also said: The Prophet said, "The cattle suffering from a disease should not be mixed up with healthy cattle (or said "Do not put a patient with a healthy person as a precaution.") Abu Huraira also said: Allah's Apostle said, "No 'Adha." A bedouin got up and said, "Don't you see how camels on the sand look like deer but when a mangy camel mixes with them, they all get infected with mange?" On that the Prophet said, "Then who conveyed the (mange) disease to the first camel?"

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 668:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "No 'Adha nor Tiyara; but I like Fal." They said, "What is the Fal?" He said, "A good word."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 669:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
When Khaibar was conquered, Allah's Apostle was presented with a poisoned (roasted) sheep. Allah's Apostle said, "Collect for me all the Jews present in this area." (When they were gathered) Allah's Apostle said to them, "I am going to ask you about something; will you tell me the truth?" They replied, "Yes, O Abal-Qasim!" Allah's Apostle said to them, "Who is your father?" They said, "Our father is so-and-so." Allah's Apostle said, "You have told a lie. for your father is so-and-so," They said, "No doubt, you have said the truth and done the correct thing." He again said to them, "If I ask you about something; will you tell me the truth?" They replied, "Yes, O Abal-Qasim! And if we should tell a lie you will know it as you have known it regarding our father," Allah's Apostle then asked, "Who are the people of the (Hell) Fire?" They replied, "We will remain in the (Hell) Fire for a while and then you (Muslims) will replace us in it" Allah's Apostle said to them. "You will abide in it with ignominy. By Allah, we shall never replace you in it at all." Then he asked them again, "If I ask you something, will you tell me the truth?" They replied, "Yes." He asked. "Have you put the poison in this roasted sheep?" They replied, "Yes," He asked, "What made you do that?" They replied, "We intended to learn if you were a liar in which case we would be relieved from you, and if you were a prophet then it would not harm you."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 670:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Whoever purposely throws himself from a mountain and kills himself, will be in the (Hell) Fire falling down into it and abiding therein perpetually forever; and whoever drinks poison and kills himself with it, he will be carrying his poison in his hand and drinking it in the (Hell) Fire wherein he will abide eternally forever; and whoever kills himself with an iron weapon, will be carrying that weapon in his hand and stabbing his abdomen with it in the (Hell) Fire wherein he will abide eternally forever."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 671:
Narrated Sad:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "Whoever takes seven 'Ajwa dates in the morning will not be effected by magic or poison on that day."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 672:
Narrated Abu Tha'laba Al-Khushani:
The Prophet forbade the eating of wild animals having fangs. (Az-Zuhri said: I did not hear this narration except when I went to Sham.) Al-Laith said: Narrated Yunus: I asked Ibn Shihab, "May we perform the ablution with the milk of she-asses or drink it, or drink the bile of wild animals or urine of camels?" He replied, "The Muslims used to treat themselves with that and did not see any harm in it. As for the milk of she-asses, we have learnt that Allah's Apostle forbade the eating of their meat, but we have not received any information whether drinking of their milk is allowed or forbidden." As for the bile of wild animals, Ibn Shihab said, "Abu Idris Al-Khaulani told me that Allah's Apostle forbade the eating of the flesh of every wild beast having fangs . "

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 673:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "If a fly falls in the vessel of any of you, let him dip all of it (into the vessel) and then throw it away, for in one of its wings there is a disease and in the other there is healing (antidote for it) i e. the treatment for that disease."

SAHIH BUKHARI, BOOK 72:
Dress

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 674:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, 'Allah will not look at the person who drags his garment (behind him) out of conceit."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 675:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
The Prophet said Allah will not look, on the Day of Resurrection at the person who drags his garment (behind him) out of conceit. On that Abu Bakr said, "O Allah's Apostle! One side of my Izar hangs low if I do not take care of it." The Prophet said, 'You are not one of those who do that out of conceit."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 676:
Narrated Abu Bakra:
The solar eclipse occurred while we were sitting with the Prophet He got up dragging his garment (on the ground) hurriedly till he reached the mosque The people turned (to the mosque) and he offered a two-Rak'at prayer whereupon the eclipse was over and he traced us and said, "The sun and the moon are two signs among the signs of Allah, so if you see a thing like this (eclipse) then offer the prayer and invoke Allah till He remove that state,"

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 677:
Narrated Abu Juhaifa:
I saw Bilal bringing an Anza (a small spear) and fixing it in the ground, and then he proclaimed the Iqarna of the prayer, and I saw Allah's Apostle coming out, wearing a cloak with its sleeves rolled up. He then offered a two-Rak'at prayer while facing the 'Anza, and I saw the people and animals passing in front of him beyond the 'Anza.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 678:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The part of an Izar which hangs below the ankles is in the Fire."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 679:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle, "Allah will not look, on the Day of Resurrection, at a person who drags his Izar (behind him) out of pride and arrogance

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 680:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet (or Abul Qasim) said, "While a man was walking, clad in a two-piece garment and proud of himself with his hair well-combed, suddenly Allah made him sink into the earth and he will go on sinking into it till the Day of Resurrection.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 681:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "While a man was dragging his Izar on the ground (behind him), suddenly Allah made him sink into the earth and he will go on sinking into it till the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 682:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
that he heard the Prophet (narrating as above No. 680).

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 683:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever drags his clothes (on the ground) out of pride and arrogance, Allah will not look at him on the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 684:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet)
The wife of Rifa'a Al-Qurazi came to Allah's Apostle while I was sitting, and Abu Bakr was also there. She said, 'O Allah s Apostle! I was the wife of Rifa'a and he divorced me irrevocably. Then I married AbdurRahman bin Az-Zubair who, by Allah, O Allah's Apostle, has only something like a fringe of a garment, Showing the fringe of her veil. Khalid bin Sa'id, who was standing at the door, for he had not been admitted, heard her statement and said, "O Abu Bakr! Why do you not stop this lady from saying such things openly before Allah's Apostle?" No, by Allah, Allah's Apostle did nothing but smiled. Then he said to the lady, "Perhaps you want to return to Rifa'a? That is impossible unless Abdur-Rahman consummates his marriage with you." That became the tradition after him.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 685:
Narrated Ali:
The Prophet asked for his Rida, put it on and set out walking. Zaid bin Haritha and I followed him till he reached the house where Harnza (bin Abdul Muttalib) was present and asked for permission to enter, and they gave us permission.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 686:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
A man asked, "O Allah s Apostle What kind of clothes should a Muhrim wear?" The Prophet, said, "A Muhrim

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should not wear a shirt, trousers a hooded cloak, or Khuffs (leather socks covering the ankles) unless he cannot get sandals, in which case he should cut the part (of the Khuff) that covers the ankles."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 687:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet came to visit Abdullah bin Ubai (bin Salul) after he had been put in his grave. The Prophet ordered that Abdullah be taken out. He was taken out and was placed on the knees on the knees of the Prophet, who blew his (blessed) breath on him and dressed the body with his own shirt. And Allah knows better.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 688:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
When Abdullah bin Ubdi (bin Salul) died, his son came to Allah's Apostle and said ' O Allah's Apostle, give me your shirt so that I may shroud my fathers body in it. And please offer a funeral prayer for him and invoke Allah for his forgiveness." The Prophet gave him his shirt and said to him 'Inform us when you finish (and the funeral procession is ready) call us. When he had finished he told the Prophet and the Prophet proceeded to order his funeral prayers but Umar stopped him and said, "Didn't Allah forbid you to offer the funeral prayer for the hypocrites when He said: "Whether you (O Mohammed) ask forgiveness for them or ask not forgiveness for them: (and even) if you ask forgiveness for them seventy times. Allah will not forgive them." (9.80) Then there was revealed: "And never (O Mohammed) pray for any of them that dies, nor stand at his grave." (9.34) Thenceforth the Prophet did not offer funeral prayers for the hypocrites.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 689:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle has set forth an example for a miser and a charitable person by comparing them to two men wearing two iron cloaks and their hands are raised to their breasts and necks. Whenever the charitable man tries to give a charitable gift, his iron cloak expands till it becomes so wide that it will cover his fingertips and obliterate his tracks And, whenever the miser wants to give a charitable gift, his cloak becomes very tight over him and every ring gets stuck to its place Abu Huraira added; I saw Allah's Apostle putting his finger in the (chest) pocket of his shirt like that If you but saw him trying to widen (the opening of his shirt) but it did not widen

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 690:
Narrated Al-Mughira bin Shu'ba:
The Prophet went to answer the call of nature, and when he returned, I met him with water and he performed the ablution while he was wearing a Sham, cloak. He rinsed his mouth, put the water in his nose and blew it out, washed his face and tried to take his hands out of his sleeves, but they were too narrow, so he took out his hands from under his chest and washed them and then passed his wet hands over his head and Khuffs (leather socks) .

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 691:
Narrated Al-Mughira:
One night I was with the Prophet on a journey. He asked (me), "Have you got water with you?" I replied, "Yes" So he got down from his she-camel and went away till he disappeared in the darkness of the night. Then he came back and I poured water for him from the pot (for the ablution). He washed his face and hands while he was wearing a woollen cloak (the sleeves of which were narrow), so he could not take his arms out of it. So he took them out from underneath the cloak. Then he washed his forearms and passed his wet hands over his head. Then I tried to take off his Khuffs, but he said, "Leave them, for I have performed ablution before putting them on." And so he passed his wet hands over them

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 692:
Narrated Al-Miswar bin Makhrama:
Allah's Apostle distributed some Qaba's but he did not give anything to Makhrama. Makhrama said (to me), "O my son! Let us go to Allah's Apostle." So I proceeded with him and he said, "Go in and call him 'or me." So I called the Prophet for him The Prophet came out to him, wearing one of those Qaba's and said, (to Makhrama), "I have kept this for you " Makhrama looked at it and said, "Makhrama is satisfied now"

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 693:
Narrated Uqba bin Amir:
A silken Farruj was presented to Allah's Apostle and he put it on and offered the prayer in it. When he finished the prayer, he took it off violently as if he disliked it and said, "This (garment) does not befit those who fear Allah!"

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 694:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
A man said, "O Allah's Apostle. What type of clothes should a Muhrim wear Allah's Apostle replied, 'Do not wear shirts, turbans trousers hooded cloaks or Khuffs; but if someone cannot get sandals, then he can wear Khuffs after cutting them short below the ankles. Do not wear clothes touched by saffon or wars (two kinds of perfumes) "

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 695:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "Whoever cannot get an Izar, can wear trousers, and whoever cannot wear sandals can wear Khuffs."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 696:
Narrated Abdullah:
A man got up and said, O Allah's Apostle! What do you order us to wear when we assume the state of Ihram?" The Prophet replied, "Do not wear shirts, trousers, turbans, hooded cloaks or Khuffs, but if a man has no sandals, he can wear Khuffs after cutting them short below the ankles; and do not wear clothes touched with (perfumes) of saffron or wars."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 697:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
The Prophet said, "A Muhrim should not wear a shirt, a turban, trousers, hooded cloaks, a garment touched with (perfumes) of saffron or wars, or Khuffs except if one has no sandals in which case he should cut short the Khuffs below the ankles."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 698:
Narrated Aisha:
Some Muslim men emigrated to Ethiopia whereupon Abu Bakr also prepared himself for the emigration, but the Prophet said (to him), "Wait, for I hope that Allah will allow me also to emigrate." Abu Bakr said, "Let my father and mother be sacrificed for you. Do you hope that (emigration)?" The Prophet said, 'Yes." So Abu Bakr waited to accompany the Prophet and fed two she-camels he had on the leaves of As-Samur tree regularly for four months One day while we were sitting in our house at midday, someone said to Abu Bakr, "Here is Allah's Apostle, coming with his head and a part of his face covered with a cloth-covering at an hour he never used to come to us." Abu Bakr said, "Let my father and mother be sacrificed for you, (O Prophet)! An urgent matter must have brought you here at this hour." The Prophet came and asked the permission to enter, and he was allowed. The Prophet entered and said to Abu Bakr, "Let those who are with you, go out." Abu Bakr replied, "(There is no stranger); they are your family. Let my father be sacrificed for you, O Allah's Apostle!" The Prophet said, "I have been allowed to leave (Mecca)." Abu Bakr said, " I shall accompany you, O Allah's Apostles, Let my father be sacrificed for you!" The Prophet said, "Yes," Abu Bakr said, 'O Allah's Apostles! Let my father be sacrificed for you. Take one of these two she-camels of mine" The Prophet said. I will take it only after paying its price." So we prepared their baggage and put their journey food In a leather bag. And Asma bint Abu Bakr cut a piece of her girdle and tied the mouth of the leather bag with it. That is why she was called Dhat-an-Nitaqaln. Then the Prophet and Abu Bakr went to a cave in a mountain called Thour and remained there for three nights. Abdullah bin Abu Bakr. who was a young intelligent man. used to stay with them at night and leave before dawn so that in the morning, he would he with the Quraish at Mecca as if he had spent the night among them. If he heard of any plot contrived by the Quraish against the Prophet and Abu Bakr, he would understand it and (return to) inform them of it when it became dark. Amir bin Fuhaira, the freed slave of Abu Bakr used to graze a flock of milch sheep for them and he used to take those sheep to them when an hour had passed after the 'Isha prayer. They would sleep soundly till Amir bin Fuhaira awakened them when it was still dark. He used to do that in each of those three nights.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 699:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
In the year of the conquest of Mecca the Prophet entered Mecca, wearing a helmet on his head.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 700:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Once I was walking with Allah's Apostle and he was wearing a Najram Burd with thick margin. A bedouin followed him and pulled his Burd so violently that I noticed the side of the shoulder of Allah's Apostle affected by the margin of the Burd because of that violent pull. The Bedouin said, "O Mohammed! Give me some of Allah's wealth which is with you." Allah's Apostle turned and looked at him, and smiling, 'he ordered that he be given something.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 701:
Narrated Abu Hazim:
Shahl bin Sad said, "A lady came with a Burda. Sahl then asked (the people), "Do you know what Burda is?" Somebody said, "Yes. it is a Shamla with a woven border." Sahl added, "The lady said, 'O Allah's Apostle! I have knitted this (Burda) with my own hands for you to wear it." Allah's Apostle took it and he was in need of it. Allah's Apostle came out to us and he was wearing it as an Izar. A man from the people felt it and said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Give it to me to wear.' The Prophet s said, 'Yes.' Then he sat there for some time (and when he went to his house), he folded it and sent it to him. The people said to that man, 'You have not done a right thing. You asked him for it, though you know that he does not put down anybody's request.' The man said, 'By Allah! I have only asked him so that it may be my shroud when I die." Sahl added, "Late it was his shroud."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 702:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying "From among my followers, a group (o 70,000) will enter Paradise without being asked for their accounts, Their faces will be shining like the moon." 'Ukasha bin Muhsin Al-Asadi got up, lifting his covering sheet and said, "O Allah's Apostle Invoke Allah for me that He may include me with them." The Prophet said! "O Allah! Make him from them." Then another man from Al-Ansar got up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Invoke Allah for me that He may include me with them." On that Allah's Apostle said, "'Ukasha has anticipated you."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 703:
Narrated Qatada:
I asked Anas, "What kind of clothes was most beloved to the Prophet?" He replied, "The Hibra (a kind of Yemenese cloth)."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 704:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The most beloved garment to the Prophet to wear was the Hibra (a kind of Yemenese cloth).

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 705:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) When Allah's Apostle died, he was covered with a Hibra Burd (green square decorated garment).

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 706:
Narrated Aisha and Abdullah bin Abbas:
When the disease of Allah's Apostle got aggravated, he covered his face with a Khamisa, but when he became short of breath, he would remove it from his face and say, "It is like that! May Allah curse the Jews Christians because they took the graves of their prophets as places of worship." By that he warned his follower of imitating them, by doing that which they did.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 707:
Narrated Abu Burda:
Aisha brought out to us a Kisa and an Izar and said, "The Prophet died while wearing these two." (Kisa, a square black piece of woolen cloth. Izar, a sheet cloth garment covering the lower half of the body).

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 708:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle offered prayer while he was wearing a Khamisa of his that had printed marks. He looked at its marks and when he finished prayer, he said, "Take this Khamisa of mine to Abu Jahm, for it has just now diverted my attention from my prayer, and bring to me the Anbijania (a plain thick sheet) of Abu Jahm bin Hudhaifa bin Ghanim who belonged to Bani Adi bin Ka'b."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 709:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet had forbidden: (A) the Mulamasa and Munabadha (bargains), (B) the offering of two prayers, one after the morning compulsory prayer till the sun rises, and the others, after the Asr prayer till the sun sets (C) He also forbade that one should sit wearing one garment, nothing of which covers his private parts (D) and prevent them from exposure to the sky; (E) he also forbade Ishtimal-as-Samma'.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 710:
Narrated Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri
Allah's Apostle forbade two ways of wearing clothes and two kinds of dealings. (A) He forbade the dealings of the Mulamasa and the Munabadha. In the Mulamasa transaction the buyer just touches the garment he wants to buy at night or by daytime, and that touch would oblige him to buy it. In the Munabadha, one man throws his garment at another and the latter throws his at the former and the barter is complete and valid without examining the two objects or being satisfied with them (B) The two ways of wearing clothes were Ishtimal-as-Samma, i e., to cover one's shoulder with one's garment and leave the other bare: and the other way was to wrap oneself with a garment while one was sitting In such a way that nothing of that garment would cover one's private part

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Volume 7, Book 72, Number 711:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle forbade two types of dresses: (A) To sit in an Ihtiba' posture in one garment nothing of which covers his private parts. (B) to cover one side of his body with one garment and leave the other side bare The Prophet also forbade the Mulamasa and Munabadha.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 712:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
The Prophet forbade Ishtimal-as-Samma' and that a man should sit in an Ihtiba' posture in one garment, nothing of which covers his private parts.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 713:
Narrated Um Khalid bint Khalid:
The Prophet was given some clothes including a black Khamisa. The Prophet said, "To whom shall we give this to wear?" The people kept silent whereupon the Prophet said, "Fetch Um Khalid for me." I (Um Khalid) was brought carried (as I was small girl at that time). The Prophet took the Khamisa in his hands and made me wear it and said, "May you live so long that your dress will wear out and you will mend it many times." On the Khamisa there were some green or pale designs (The Prophet saw these designs) and said, "O Um Khalid! This is Sanah." (Sanah in a Ethiopian word meaning beautiful).

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 714:
Narrated Anas:
When Um Sulaim gave birth to a child. she said to me, "O Anas! Watch this boy carefully and do not give him anything to eat or drink until you have taken him to the Prophet tomorrow morning for the Tahnik." So the next morning I took the child to the Prophet who was sitting in a garden and was wearing a Huraithiya Khamisa and was branding the she-camel on which he had come during the Conquest of Mecca.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 715:
Narrated 'Ikrima:
Rifa'a divorced his wife whereupon AbdurRahman bin Az-Zubair Al-Qurazi married her. Aisha said that the lady (came), wearing a green veil (and complained to her (Aisha) of her husband and showed her a green spot on her skin caused by beating). It was the habit of ladies to support each other, so when Allah's Apostle came, Aisha said, "I have not seen any woman suffering as much as the believing women. Look! Her skin is greener than her clothes!" When AbdurRahman heard that his wife had gone to the Prophet, he came with his two sons from another wife. She said, "By Allah! I have done no wrong to him but he is impotent and is as useless to me as this," holding and showing the fringe of her garment, Abdur-Rahman said, "By Allah, O Allah's Apostle! She has told a lie! I am very strong and can satisfy her but she is disobedient and wants to go back to Rifa'a." Allah's Apostle said, to her, "If that is your intention, then know that it is unlawful for you to remarry Rifa'a unless Abdur-Rahman has had sexual intercourse with you." Then the Prophet saw two boys with Abdur-Rahman and asked (him), "Are these your sons?" On that AbdurRahman said, "Yes." The Prophet said, "You claim what you claim (i.e.. that he is impotent)? But by Allah, these boys resemble him as a crow resembles a crow,"

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 716:
Narrated Sad:
On the day of the battle of Uhud, on the right and on the left of the Prophet were two men wearing white clothes, and I had neither seen them before, nor did I see them afterwards.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 717:
Narrated Abu Dharr:
I came to the Prophet while he was wearing white clothes and sleeping. Then I went back to him again after he had got up from his sleep. He said, "Nobody says: 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah' and then later on he dies while believing in that, except that he will enter Paradise.' I said, "Even It he had committed illegal sexual intercourse and theft." I said. "Even if he had committed illegal sexual intercourse and theft? He said. 'Even If he had committed illegal sexual intercourse and theft," I said, 'Even it he had committed illegal sexual intercourse and thefts.' He said, "Even If he had committed Illegal sexual intercourse and theft, inspite of the Abu Dharrs dislikeness. Abu Abdullah said, "This is at the time of death or before it if one repents and regrets and says "None has the right to be worshipped but Allah. He will be forgiven his sins."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 718:
Narrated Aba Uthman An-Nahdi:
While we were with Utba bin Farqad at Adharbijan, there came Umar's letter indicating that Allah's Apostle had forbidden the use of silk except this much, then he pointed with his index and middle fingers. To our knowledge, by that he meant embroidery.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 719:
Narrated Abu Uthman:
While we were at Adharbijan, Umar wrote to us: 'Allah's Apostle forbade wearing silk except this much. Then the Prophet approximated his two fingers (index and middle fingers) (to illustrate that) to us.' Zuhair (the sub-narrator) raised up his middle and index fingers.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 720:
Narrated Abu Uthman:
While we were with Utba. Umar wrote to us: The Prophet said, "There is none who wears silk in this world except that he will wear nothing of it in the Hereafter." ' Abu Uthman pointed out with his middle and index fingers.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 721:
Narrated Abu Uthman:
(as above, 719)

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 722:
Narrated Ibn Abi Laila:
While Hudhaifa was at Al-Madain, he asked for water whereupon the chief of the village brought him water in a silver cup. Hudhaifa threw it at him and said, "I have thrown it only because I have forbidden him to use it, but he does not stop using it. Allah's Apostle said, 'Gold, silver, silk and Dibaj (a kind of silk) are for them (unbelievers) in this world and for you (Muslims) in the hereafter.'

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 723:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, Whoever wears silk in this world shall not wear it in the Hereafter."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 724:
Narrated Thabit:
I heard Ibn Az-Zubair delivering a sermon, saying, "Mohammed said, 'Whoever wears silk in this world, shall not wear it in the Hereafter."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 725:
Narrated Ibn Az-Zubair:
I heard Umar saying, "The Prophet said, 'Whoever wears silk in this world, shall not wear it in the Hereafter."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 726:
Narrated Umar bin Al-Khattab:
Allah's Apostle said, "None wears silk in this world, but he who will have no share in the Hereafter."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 727:
Narrated Al-Bara:
The Prophet was given a silk garment as a gift and we started touching it with our hands and admiring it. On that the Prophet said, "Do you wonder at this?" We said, "Yes." He said, "The handkerchiefs of Sad bin Mu'adh in Paradise are better than this "

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 728:
Narrated Hudhaifa:
The Prophet forbade us to drink out of gold and silver vessels, or eat in it, Ann also forbade the wearing of silk and Dibaj or sitting on it.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 729:
Narrated Ibn Azib:
The Prophet forbade us to use the red Mayathir and to use Al-Qassiy

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 730:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet allowed Az-Zubair and Abdur-Rahman to wear silk because they were suffering from an itch

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 731:
Narrated Ali bin Abi Talib:
The Prophet gave me a silk suit. I went out wearing it, but seeing the signs of anger on his face, I tore it and distributed it among my wives.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 732:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Umar saw a silk suit being sold, so he said, "O Allah's Apostle! Why don't you buy it so that you may wear it when delegates come to you, and also on Fridays?" The Prophet said, "This is worn only by him who has no share in the Hereafter." Afterwards the Prophet sent to Umar a silk suit suitable for wearing. Umar said to the Prophet, "You have given it to me to wear, yet I have heard you saying about it what you said?" The Prophet said, "I sent it to you so that you might either sell it or give it to somebody else to wear."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 733:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
that he had seen Um Kulthum, the daughter of Allah's Apostle , wearing a red silk garment.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 734:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
For one year I wanted to ask Umar about the two women who helped each other against the Prophet but I was afraid of him. One day he dismounted his riding animal and went among the trees of Arak to answer the call of nature, and when he returned, I asked him and he said, "(They were) Aisha and Hafsa." Then he added, "We never used to give significance to ladies in the days of the Pre-Islamic period of ignorance, but when Islam came and Allah mentioned their rights, we used to give them their rights but did not allow them to interfere in our affairs. Once there was some dispute between me and my wife and she answered me back in a loud voice. I said to her, 'Strange! You can retort in this way?' She said, 'Yes. Do you say this to me while your daughter troubles Allah's Apostle?' So I went to Hafsa and said to her, 'I warn you not to disobey Allah and His Apostle.' I first went to Hafsa and then to Um Salama and told her the same. She said to me, 'O Umar! It surprises me that you interfere in our affairs so much that you would poke your nose even into the affairs of Allah's Apostle and his wives.' So she rejected my advice. There was an Ansari man; whenever he was absent from Allah's Apostle and I was present there, I used to convey to him what had happened (on that day), and when I was absent and he was present there, he used to convey to me what had happened as regards news from Allah's Apostle . During that time all the rulers of the nearby lands had surrendered to Allah's Apostle except the king of Ghassan in Sham, and we were afraid that he might attack us. All of a sudden the Ansari came and said, 'A great event has happened!' I asked him, 'What is it? Has the Ghassani (king) come?' He said, 'Greater than that! Allah's Apostle has divorced his wives! I went to them and found all of them weeping in their dwellings, and the Prophet had ascended to an upper room of his. At the door of the room there was a slave to whom I went and said, "Ask the permission for me to enter." He admitted me and I entered to see the Prophet lying on a mat that had left its imprint on his side. Under his head there was a leather pillow stuffed with palm fires. Behold! There were some hides hanging there and some grass for tanning. Then I mentioned what I had said to Hafsa and Um Salama and what reply Um Salama had given me. Allah's Apostle smiled and stayed there for twenty nine days and then came down." (See Hadith No. 648, Vol. 3 for details)

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 735:
Narrated Um Salama:
One night the Prophet woke up, saying, "None has the right to be worshipped but Allah! How many afflictions have been sent down tonight, and how many treasures have been sent down (disclosed)! Who will go and wake up (for prayers) the lady dwellers of these rooms? Many well dressed soul (people) in this world, will be naked on the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 736:
Narrated Um Khalid bint Khalid:
Some clothes were presented to Allah's Apostle as a gift and there was a black Khamisa with it. The Prophet asked (his companions), "To whom do you suggest we give this Khamisa?" The people kept quiet. Then he said, "Bring me Um Khalid," So I was brought to him and he dressed me with it with his own hands and said twice, "May you live so long that you will wear out many garments." He then started looking at the embroidery of that Khamisa and said, "O Um Khalid! This is Sana!" (Sana in Ethiopian language means beautiful.) Ishaq, a sub-narrator, said: A woman of my family had told me that she had seen the Khamisa worn by Um Khalid.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 737:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet forbade men to use saffron.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 738:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet forbade Muhrims to wear clothes dyed with Wars or saffron.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 739:
Narrated Al-Bara:
The Prophet was of a modest height. I saw him wearing a red suit, and I did not see anything better than him.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 740:
Narrated Al-Bara:
The Prophet ordered us to observe seven things: To visit the sick; follow funeral processions; say 'May Allah bestow His Mercy on you', to the sneezer if he says, 'Praise be to Allah!; He forbade us to wear silk, Dibaj, Qassiy and Istibarq

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(various kinds of silken clothes); or to use red Mayathir (silk-cushions). (See Hadith No. 253 A, Vol. 8).

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 741:
Narrated Said Abu Maslama:
I asked Anas (bin Malik), "Did the Prophet use to offer the prayers with his shoes on?" He said, "Yes."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 742:
Narrated Said Al-Maqburi:
Ubai bin Juraij said to Abdullah Ben Umar, "I see you doing four things which are not done by your friends." Ibn Umar said, "What are they, O Ibn Juraij?" He said, "I see that you do not touch except the two Yemenite corners of the Kaaba (while performing the Tawaf): and I see you wearing the Sabtiyya shoes; and I see you dyeing (your hair) with Sufra; and I see that when you are in Mecca, the people assume the state of Ihram on seeing the crescent (on the first day of Dhul-Hijja) while you do not assume the state of Ihram till the Day of Tarwiya (8th Dhul Hijja)." Abdullah bin Umar said to him, "As for the corners of the Kaaba, I have not seen Allah's Apostle touching except the two Yemenite corners, As for the Sabtiyya shoes, I saw Allah's Apostle wearing leather shoes that had no hair, and he used to perform the ablution while wearing them. Therefore, I like to wear such shoes. As regards dyeing with Sufra, I saw Allah's Apostle dyeing his hair with it, so I like to dye (my hair) with it. As regards the crescent (of Dhul-Hijja), I have not seen Allah's Apostle assuming the state of Ihram till his she-camel set out (on the 8th of Dhul-Hijja)."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 743:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle forbade that a Muhrim should wear clothes dyed with Saffron or Wars, and said, "Whoever has no shoes can put on Khuffs after cutting it below the ankles."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 744:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "Whoever has no Izar (waist sheet), can wear trousers; and whoever has no sandals, can wear Khuffs." (but cut them short below the ankles),

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 745:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet used to like starting from the right in performing ablution, combing his hair and putting on his shoes.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 746:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "None of you should walk, wearing one shoe only; he should either put on both shoes or put on no shoes whatsoever."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 747:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "If you want to put on your shoes, put on the right shoe first; and if you want to take them off, take the left one first. Let the right shoe be the first to be put on and the last to be taken off."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 748:
Narrated Anas:
The sandal of the Prophet had two straps.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 749:
Narrated Isaa bin Tahman:
Anas bin Malik brought out for us, two sandals having two straps. Thabit Al-Banani said, "These were the sandals of the Prophet ."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 750:
Narrated Abu Juhaifa:
I came to the Prophet while he was inside a red leather tent, and I saw Bilal taking the remaining water of the ablution of the Prophet, and the people were taking of that water and rubbing it on their faces; and whoever could not get anything of it, would share the moisture of the hand of his companion (and then rub it on his face).

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 751:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet called for the Ansar and gathered them in a leather tent.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 752:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet used to construct a loom with a Hasir at night m order to pray therein, and during the day he used to spread it out and sit on it. The people started coming to the Prophet at night to offer the prayer behind him When their number increased, the Prophet faced them and said. O people! Do only those good deeds which you can do, for Allah does not get tired (of giving reward) till you get tired, and the best deeds to Allah are the incessant ones though they were few

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 753:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
The Prophet forbade us to use seven things: He forbade using gold rings, silk, Istabraq, Dibaj, red Mayathir, Al-Qassiy, and silver utensils. He ordered us to do seven other things. To pay a visit to the sick; to follow funeral processions; to say, "May Allah be merciful to you" to a sneezer if he says "Praise be to Allah"; to return greetings, to accept invitations; to help others to fulfil their oaths and to help the oppressed ones.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 754:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet forbade the wearing of a gold ring.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 755:
Narrated Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle wore a gold or silver .. ring and placed its stone towards the palm of his hand. The people also started wearing gold rings like it, but when the Prophet saw them wearing such rings, he threw away that golden ring and then wore a silver ring.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 756:
Narrated Ibn. Umar:
Allah's Apostle wore a gold ring or a silver ring and placed its stone towards the palm of his hand and had the name 'Mohammed, the Apostle of Allah' engraved on it. The people also started wearing gold rings like it, but when the Prophet saw them wearing such rings, he threw away his own ring and said. "I will never wear it," and then wore a silver ring, whereupon the people too started wearing silver rings. Ibn Umar added: After the Prophet Abu Bakr wore the ring, and then Umar and then Uthman wore it till it fell in the Aris well from Uthman. bin Umar : Allah's Apostle wore a gold ring, then he threw it and said, "I will never wear it." The people also threw their (gold) rings.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 757:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
that he saw a silver ring on the hand of Allah's Apostle for one day only. Then the people had silver rings made for themselves and wore it. On that, Allah's Apostle threw away their rings as well. (For the details of this Hadith, see Fateh-Al-Bari, Vol. 12, page 438).

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 758:
Narrated Humaid:
Anas was asked, "Did the Prophet wear a ring?" Anas said, "Once he delayed the: 'Isha' prayer till midnight. Then he came, facing us ..... as if l am now Looking at the glitter of his ring ..... and said, "The people have offered their prayers and slept but you have been in prayer as you have been waiting for it."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 759:
Narrated Anas:
The ring of the Prophet was of silver, and its stone was of silver too.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 760:
Narrated Sahl:
A woman came to the Prophet and said, "I have come to present myself to you (for marriage)." She kept standing for a long period during which period the Prophet looked at her carefully. When she stayed for a Long period, a man said to the Prophet "If you are not in need of her, then marry her to me." The Prophet said, "Have you got anything to give her (as Mahr)?" The man said, "No." The Prophet said, "Go (to your house) and search for something." The man went and came back to say, "By Allah, I could not find anything." The Prophet said, "Go again and search for something, even if it be an iron ring." He went again and came back saying, "No, by Allah, I could not get even an iron ring." The man had only an Izar and had no Rida' (upper garment). He said, "I will give her my Izar as Mahr." On that the Prophet said, "Your Izar? If she wears it, nothing of it will remain on you, and if you wear it nothing of it will be on her" The man went aside and sat down When the Prophet saw him leaving (after a while), he called back and asked. "How much Koran do you know (by heart)? He said, 'I know such and such Suras," naming some Suras. The Prophet said, "I marry her to you for the amount of Koran you know (by heart)."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 761:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle wanted to write a letter to a group of people or some non-Arabs. It was said to him, "They do not accept any letter unless it is stamped." So the Prophet had a silver ring made for himself, and on it was engraved: 'Mohammed, the Apostle of Allah'. .. as if I am now looking at the glitter of the ring on the finger (or in the palm) of the Prophet .

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 762:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle had a silver ring made for himself and it was worn by him on his hand. Afterwards it was worn by Abu Bakr, and then by Umar, and then by Uthman till it fell in the Aris well. (On that ring) was engraved: 'Mohammed, the Apostle of Allah."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 763:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet got a ring made for himself and said, "I have got a ring made (for myself) and engraved a certain engraving on it so none of you should get such an engraving on his ring." I saw the glitter of the ring on his little finger.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 764:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
When the Prophet intended to write to the Byzantines, it was said to him, "Those people do not read your letter unless it is stamped." So the Prophet took a silver ring and got 'Mohammed, the Apostle of Allah' engraved on it .... as if I am now looking at its glitter in his hand.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 765:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet had a golden ring made for himself, and when he wore it. he used to turn its stone toward the palm of his! hand. So the people too had gold made for themselves. The Prophet then ascended the pulpit, and after glorifying and praising Allah, he said, "I had it made for me, but now I will never wear it again." He threw it away, and then the people threw away their rings too. (Juwairiya, a sub-narrator, said: I think Anas said that the Prophet was wearing the ring in his right hand.)

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 766:
Narrated Anas bin Malik :
Allah's Apostle took a silver ring and had 'Mohammed, the Apostle' of Allah' engraved on it. The Prophet then said (to us), 'I have a silver ring with 'Mohammed, the Apostle of Allah engraved on it, so none of you should have the same engraving on his ring."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 767:
Narrated Anas:
that when Abu Bakr became the Caliph, he wrote a letter to him (and stamped it with the Prophet's ring) and the engraving of the ring was in three lines: Mohammed in one line, 'Apostle' in another line, and 'Allah' in a third line. Anas added: 'the ring of the Prophet was in his hand, and after him, in Abu Bakr's hand, and then in Umar's hand after Abu Bakr. When Uthman was the Caliph, once he was sitting at the well of Aris. He removed the ring from his hand and while he was trifling with it, dropped into the well. We kept on going to the well with Uthman for three days looking for the ring, and finally the well was drained, but the ring was not found.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 768:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
I offered the 'Id prayer with the Prophet and he offered prayer before the Khutba (sermon). ibn Abbas added: After the prayer the Prophet came towards (the rows of) the women and ordered them to give alms, and the women started putting their big and small rings in the garment of Bilal.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 769:
Narrated ibn Abbas:
The Prophet came out on the day of 'Id and offered a two-Rak'at prayer, and he did not pray any Rak'a before it, nor after it. Then he went towards the women and ordered them to give alms. The women started donating their earring and necklaces.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 770:
Narrated Aisha:
A necklace belonging to Asma was lost, and the Prophet sent men in its search. The time for the prayer became due and they were without ablution and they could not find water; therefore they prayed without ablution, They mentioned that to the Prophet . Then Allah revealed the Verse of Tayammum. (Aisha added: that she had borrowed (the necklace) from Asma').

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 771:
Narrated Ibn Abbas
"The Prophet offered a two-Rak'at prayer on 'Id day and he did not offer any (Nawafil prayer) before or after it. He then went towards the women, and Bilal was accompanying him, and ordered them to give alms. And so the women started giving their earrings (etc .)."

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Volume 7, Book 72, Number 772:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I was with Allah's Apostle in one of the Markets of Medina. He left (the market) and so did I. Then he asked thrice, "Where is the small (child)?" Then he said, "Call Al-Hasan bin Ali." So Al-Hasan bin Ali got up and started walking with a necklace (of beads) around his neck. The Prophet stretched his hand out like this, and Al-Hasan did the same. The Prophet embraced him and said, "0 Allah! l love him, so please love him and love those who love him." Since Allah's Apostle said that. nothing has been dearer to me than Al-Hasan.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 773:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle cursed those men who are in the similitude (assume the manners) of women and those women who are in the similitude (assume the manners) of men.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 774:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet cursed effeminate men (those men who are in the similitude (assume the manners of women) and those women who assume the manners of men, and he said, "Turn them out of your houses ." The Prophet turned out such-and-such man, and Umar turned out such-and-such woman.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 775:
Narrated Um Salama:
that once the Prophet was in her house, and an effeminate man was there too. The effeminate man said to Abdullah, (Um Salama's brother) "0 Abdullah! If Ta'if should be conquered tomorrow, I recommend you the daughter of Ghailan, for she is so fat that she has four curves in the front (of her belly) and eight at the back." So the Prophet said (to his wives) "These effeminate (men) should not enter upon you (your houses).

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 776:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "To get the moustaches cut 'short is characteristic of the Fitra."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 777:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Five practices are characteristics of the Fitra: circumcision, shaving the pubic region, clipping the nails and cutting the moustaches short."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 778:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "To shave the pubic hair. to clip the nails and to cut the moustaches short, are characteristics of the Fitra."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 779:
Narrated Abu Huraira :
I heard the Prophet saying. "Five practices are characteristics of the Fitra: circumcision, shaving the pubic hair, cutting the moustaches short, clipping the nails, and depilating the hair of the armpits."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 780:
Narrated Nafi:
Ibn Umar said, The Prophet said, 'Do the opposite of what the pagans do. Keep the beards and cut the moustaches short.' Whenever Ibn Umar performed the Hajj or Umra, he used to hold his beard with his hand and cut whatever moustaches. Ibn Umar used to cut his moustache so short that the whiteness of his skin (above the upper lip) was visible, and he used to cut (the hair) between his moustaches and his beard.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 781:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "Cut the moustaches short and leave the beard (as it is)."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 782:
Narrated Mohammed bin Sirin:
I asked Anas, "Did the Prophet dye his hair?" Anas replied, "The Prophet did not have except a few grey hairs."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 783:
Narrated Thabit:
Anas was asked whether the Prophet used a a hair dye or not. Anas replied, "The Prophet had not enough grey hair to dye. I could even count the white grey hairs oil his beard ill would."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 784:
Narrated IsraiI:
Uthman bin Abdullah bin Mauhab said, "My people sent me with a bowl of water to Um Salama." Isra'il approximated three fingers ('indicating the small size of the container in which there was some hair of the Prophet. Uthman added, "If any person suffered from evil eye or some other disease, he would send a vessel (containing water) to Um Salama. I looked into the container (that held the hair of the Prophet) and saw a few red hairs in it,"

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 785:
Narrated Uthman bin Abdullah bin Mauhab:
I went to Um Salama and she brought out for us some of the dyed hair of the Prophet . ibn Mauhab also said that Um Salama had shown him the red hair of the

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 786:
Narrated Abu Huraira :
The Prophet said, "Jews and Christians do not dye their hair so you should do the opposite of what they do.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 787:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet was neither conspicuously tall, nor short; neither, very white, nor tawny. His hair was neither much curled, nor very straight. Allah sent him (as an Apostle) at the age of forty (and after that) he stayed for ten years in Mecca, and for ten more years in Medina. Allah took him unto Him at the age of sixty, and he scarcely had ten white hairs on his head and in his beard.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 788:
Narrated Al-Bara:
I did not see anybody in a red cloak looking more handsome than the Prophet Narrated Malik: The hair of the Prophet used to hang near his shoulders. Narrated Shu'ba: The hair of the Prophet used to hang down to the earlobes.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 789:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "Today I saw myself in a dream near the Kaaba. I saw a whitish brown man, the handsomest of all brown men you might ever see. He had the most beautiful Limma (hair hanging down to the earlobes) you might ever see. He had combed it and it was dripping water; and he was performing the Tawaf around the Kaba leaning on two men or on the shoulders of two men. l asked, "Who is this?" It was said. "Messiah, the son of Mary." Suddenly I saw a curly-haired man, blind in the right eye which looked like a protruding out grape. I asked, "Who is this?" It was said, "He is Masiah Ad-Dajjal."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 790a:
Narrated Anas :
The hair of the Prophet used to hang down up to his shoulders.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 790b:
Narrated Anas:
The head-hair of the Prophet used to hang down to his shoulders.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 791:
Narrated Qatada:
l asked Anas bin Malik about the hair of Allah's Apostle. He said, "The hair of Allah's Apostle was neither much straight, nor much curly, and it used to hang down till between his shoulders and his earlobes.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 792:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet had big hands, and I have never seen anybody like him after him. The hair of the Prophet was wavy, neither curly nor straight.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 793:
Narrated Anas :
The Prophet had big hands and feet, and I have not seen anybody like him, neither before nor after him, and his palms were soft.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 794:
Narrated Abu Huraira :
The Prophet had big feet and a good-looking face and l have not seen anybody like him after him. Narrated Anas: The Prophet had big feet and hands. Narrated Anas or Jabir bin Abdullah The Prophet had big hands and feet and I have not seen anybody like him after him.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 795:
Narrated Mujahid:
We were with Ibn Abbas and the people mentioned Ad-Dajjal. Someone said, "The word 'Kafir' (unbeliever) is written in between his (Ad-Dajjal's) eyes." Ibn Abbas said, "I have not heard the Prophet saying this, but he said, 'As regards Abraham, he looks like your companion (i.e. the Prophet, Mohammed), and as regards Moses, he is a brown curly haired man riding a camel and reigned with a strong jute rope, as if lam now looking at him getting down in the valley and saying, "Labbaik".'"

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 796:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar :
I heard Umar saying, "Whoever braids his hair should shave it (on finishing Ihram). You'd better not do, something like Talbid." Ibn Umar used to say: "I saw Allah's Apostle with his hair stuck together with gum."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 797:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
I heard Allah's Apostle, while he was in the state of Ihram and his hair was stuck together with gum, saying, "Labbaik, Allahumma Labbaik, Labbaik La Shanka laka Labbaik. Inn-al-Hamda Wan-Ni'mata Laka wal-Mulk, La Shanka Lak." He did not add anything to those words. (See Hadith No. 621, Vol. 2)

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 798:
Narrated Hafsa:
(the wife of the Prophet) I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Why have the people finished their Ihram after performing the Umra while you have not finished your Ihram after your Umra?" He said, "I have done Talbid (of my hair) and have decorated my Hadis with garlands, so I shall not finish my Ihram till l have slaughtered my Hadi (animal for sacrifice)."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 799:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet used to copy the people of the Scriptures in matters in which there was no order from Allah. The people of the Scripture used to let their hair hang down while the pagans used to part their hair. So the Prophet let his hair hang down first, but later on he parted it.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 800:
Narrated Aisha :
As if I am now looking at the shine of the hair parting of the Prophet while he was in the state of Ihram.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 801:
Narrated Ibn Abbas :
Once I stayed overnight in the house of my aunt Maimuna bint Al-Harith and Allah's Apostle was with her as it was her turn. Allah's Apostle got up to offer the night prayer. I stood on his left but he took hold of my two locks of hair and made me stand on his right.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 802:
Narrated Abu Bishr
(the above Hadith) but he quoted: Ibn Abbas said, (took hold of) my two braids on my head."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 803:
Narrated Ubaidullah bin Hafs:
that Umar bin Nafi told him that Nafi, Maula Abdullah had heard Umar saying, "I heard Allah's Apostle forbidding Al-Qaza'." Ubaidullah added: I said, "What is Al-Qaza'?" Ubaidullah pointed (towards his head) to show us and added, "Nafi said, 'It is when a boy has his head shaved leaving a tuft of hair here and a tuft of hair there." Ubaidullah pointed towards his forehead and the sides of his head. Ubaidullah was asked, "Does this apply to both girls and boys?" He said, "I don't know, but Nafi said, 'The boy.'" Ubaidullah added, "I asked Nafi again, and he said, 'As for leaving hair on the temples and the back part of the boy's head, there is no harm, but Al-Qaza' is to leave a tuft of hair on his forehead unshaved while there is no hair on the rest of his head, and also to leave hair on either side of his head.'"

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 804:
Narrated (Abdullah) bin Umar :
Allah's Apostle forbade Al-Qaza' (leaving a tuft of hair here and there after shaving one's head.)

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 805:
Narrated Aisha :
I applied perfume to the Prophet with my own hands when he wanted to assume the state of Ihram, and I also perfumed him at Mina before he departed from there (to perform Tawaf-al-Ifada).

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 806:
Narrated Aisha :
I used to perfume Allah's Apostle with the best scent available till I saw the shine of the scent on his head and shine beard.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 807:
Narrated Sa'd:
A man peeped into the house of the Prophet through a hole while the Prophet was scratching his head with a Midrai (a certain kind of comb). On that the Prophet said (to him), "If I

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had known you had been looking, then I would have pierced your eye with that instrument, because the asking of permission has been ordained so that one would not see things unlawfully."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 808:
Narrated Aisha :
I used to comb the hair of Allah's Apostle during my periods.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 809:
Narrated Aisha
(As above, (808).

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 810:
'Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet used to like to start from the right side as far as possible in combing and in performing ablution.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 811:
Narrated Abu Huraira :
The Prophet said, "(Allah said), 'Every good deed of Adam's son is for him except fasting; it is for Me. and I shall reward (the fasting person) for it.' Verily, the smell of the mouth of a fasting person is better to Allah than the smell of musk."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 812:
Narrated Aisha :
used to perfume the Prophet before his assuming the state of with the best scent available.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 813:
Narrated Thumama bin Abdullah;
Anas never used to refuse (a gift of) scent and used to say that the Prophet never used to refuse (a gift of) scent.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 814:
Narrated Aisha :
During Hajjat-al-Wada', I perfumed Allah's Apostle with Dharira with my own hands, both on his assuming Ihram and on finishing it.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 815:
Narrated Abdullah:
Allah has cursed those women who practise tattooing and those who get themselves tattooed, and those who remove their face hairs, and those who create a space between their teeth artificially to look beautiful, and such women as change the features created by Allah. Why then should I not curse those whom the Prophet has cursed? And that is in Allah's Book. i.e. His Saying: 'And what the Apostle gives you take it and what he forbids you abstain (from it).' (59.7)

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 816:
Narrated Humaid bin Abdur-Rahman bin 'Auf
that in the year he performed Hajj. he heard Mu'awiya bin Abi Sufyan, who was on the pulpit and was taking a tuft of hair from one of his guards, saying, "Where are your religious learned men? I heard Allah's Apostle forbidding this (false hair) and saying, 'The children of Israel were destroyed when their women started using this.'" Narrated Abu Huraira: The Prophet said, "Allah has cursed the lady who artificially lengthens (her or someone else's) hair and the one who gets her hair lengthened and the One who tattoos (herself or someone else) and the one who gets herself tattooed"

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 817:
Narrated Aisha :
An Ansari girl was married and she became sick and all her hair fell out intending to provide her with false hair. They asked the Prophet who said, "Allah has cursed the lady who artificially lengthens (her or someone else's) hair and also the one who gets her hair lengthened."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 818:
Narrated Asma:
(the daughter of Abu' Bakr) A woman came to Allah's Apostle and said, "I married my daughter to someone, but she became sick and all her hair fell out, and (because of that) her husband does not like her. May I let her use false hair?" On that the Prophet cursed such a lady as artificially lengthening (her or someone else's) hair or got her hair lengthened artificially.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 819:
Narrated Asma
(the daughter of Abu Bakr) Allah's Apostle has cursed such a lady as artificially lengthening (her or someone else's) hair or gets her hair lengthened.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 820:
Narrated Ibn Umar
Allah's Apostle said, "Allah has cursed such a lady as lengthens (her or someone else's) hair artificially or gets it lengthened, and also a lady who tattoos (herself or someone else) or gets herself tattooed.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 821:
Narrated Sa'id bin Al-Musaiyab:
Mu'awiya came to Medina for the last time and delivered a sermon. He took out a tuft of hair and said, "I thought that none used to do this (i.e. use false hair) except Jews. The Prophet labelled such practice, (i.e. the use of false hair), as cheating.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 822:
Narrated 'Alqama:
Abdullah cursed those women who practiced tattooing and those who removed hair from their faces and those who created spaces between their teeth artificially to look beautiful, such ladies as changed what Allah has created. Um Ya'qub said, "What is that?" Abdullah said, "Why should I not curse those who were cursed by Allah's Apostle and are referred to in Allah's Book?" She said to him "By Allah, I have read the whole Koran but I have not found such a thing. Abdullah said, "By Allah, if you had read it (carefully) you would have found it. (Allah says:) 'And what the Apostle gives you take it and what he forbids you abstain (from it).' (59.7)

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 823:
Narrated Ibn Umar :
The Prophet has cursed the lady who lengthens her hair artificially and the one who gets her hair lengthened, and also the lady who tattoos (herself or others) and the one who gets herself tattooed.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 824:
Narrated Asma':
A woman asked the Prophet saying, "0 Allah's Apostle! My daughter got measles and her hair fell out. Now that I got her married, may I let her use false hair?" He said (to her), "Allah has cursed the lady who lengthens hair artificially and the one who gets her hair lengthened artificially."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 825:
Narrated Ibn Umar :
I heard the Prophet saying, (or the Prophet said), "Allah has cursed the lady who practices tattooing and that who gets it done for herself, and also the lady who lengthens hair artificially and that who gets her hair lengthened artificially." The Prophet has cursed such ladies.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 826:
Narrated Ibn Mas'ud:
Allah has cursed those women who practise tattooing or get it done for themselves, and those who remove hair from their faces, and those who create spaces between their teeth artificially to look beautiful, such ladies as change the features created by Allah. Why then shall I not curse those whom Allah's Apostle has cursed and who are cursed in Allah's Book too?

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 827:
Narrated Abu Huraira :
Allah's Apostle said, "The evil eye is a fact," and he forbade tattooing.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 828:
Narrated Abdullah:
(As above 827).

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 829:
Narrated Abu Juhaifa:
The Prophet forbade the use of the price of blood and the price of a dog, the one who takes (eats) usury the one who gives usury, the woman who practises tattooing and the woman who gets herself tattooed.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 830:
Narrated Abu Huraira :
A woman who used to practise tattooing was brought to Umar. Umar got up and said, "I beseech you by Allah, which of you heard the Prophet saying something about tattooing?" l got up and said, "0 chief of the Believers! l heard something." He said, "What did you hear?" I said, "I heard the Prophet (addressing the ladies), saying, 'Do not practise tattooing and do not get yourselves tattooed.'"

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 831:
Narrated Ibn Umar :
The Prophet has cursed the lady who lengthens hair artificially and that who gets her hair lengthened in such away, and the lady who practises tattooing and that who gets it done for herself.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 832:
Narrated Abdullah :
Allah has cursed those women who practise tattooing and those who get it done for themselves, and those who remove hair from their faces, and those who artificially create spaces between their teeth to look beautiful, such women as alter the features created by Allah. Why should I not then curse those whom Allah's Apostle has cursed and that is in Allah's Book?

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 833:
Narrated Abu Talha :
The Prophet said, "Angels do not enter a house in which there is a dog or there are pictures."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 834:
Narrated Muslim:
We were with Masruq at the house of Yasar bin Numair. Masruq saw pictures on his terrace and said, "I heard Abdullah saying that he heard the Prophet saying, "The people who will receive the severest punishment from Allah will be the picture makers.'"

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 835:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar :
Allah's Apostle said, "Those who make these pictures will be punished on the Day of Resurrection, and it will be said to them. 'Make alive what you have created.'"

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 836:
Narrated Aisha:
I never used to leave in the Prophet house anything carrying images or crosses but he obliterated it.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 837:
Narrated Abu Zur'a:
l entered a house in Medina with Abu Huraira, and he saw a man making pictures at the top of the house. Abu Huraira said, "I heard Allah's Apostle saying that Allah said, 'Who would be more unjust than the one who tries to create the like of My creatures? Let them create a grain: let them create a gnat.' "Abu Huraira then asked for a water container and washed his arms up to his armpits. I said, "0 Abu i Huraira! Is this something you have heard I from Allah's Apostle?" He said, "The limit for ablution is up to the place where the ornaments will reach on the Day of Resurrection.'

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 838:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle returned from a journey when I had placed a curtain of mine having pictures over (the door of) a chamber of mine. When Allah's Apostle saw it, he tore it and said, "The people who will receive the severest punishment on the Day of Resurrection will be those who try to make the like of Allah's creations." So we turned it (i.e., the curtain) into one or two cushions.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 839:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet returned from a journey when I had hung a thick curtain having pictures (in front of a door). He ordered me to remove it and I removed it. Aisha added: The Prophet and I used to take a bath from one container (of water).

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 840:
Narrated Aisha :
I purchased a cushion with pictures on it. The Prophet (came and) stood at the door but did not enter. I said (to him), "I repent to Allah for what (the guilt) I have done." He said, "What is this cushion?" I said, "It is for you to sit on and recline on." He said, "The makers of these pictures will be punished on the Day of Resurrection and it will be said to them, 'Make alive what you have created.' Moreover, the angels do not enter a house where there are pictures.'"

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 841:
Narrated Abu Talha:
Allah's Apostle said, "Angels (of mercy) do not enter a house where there are pictures.'" The sub-narrator Busr added: "Then Zaid fell ill and we paid him a visit. Behold! There was, hanging at his door, a curtain decorated with a picture. I said to Ubaidullah Al-Khaulani, the step son of Maimuna, the wife of the Prophet , "Didn't Zaid tell us about the picture the day before yesterday?" Ubaidullah said, "Didn't you hear him saying: 'except a design in a garment'?"

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 842:
Narrated Anas:
Aisha had a thick curtain (having pictures on it) and she screened the side of her i house with it. The Prophet said to her, "Remove it from my sight, for its pictures are still coming to my mind in my prayers."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 843:
Narrated Salim's father:

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Once Gabriel promised to visit the Prophet but he delayed and the Prophet got worried about that. At last he came out and found Gabriel and complained to him of his grief (for his delay). Gabriel said to him, "We do not enter a place in which there is a picture or a dog."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 844:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet)
I bought a cushion having pictures on it. When Allah's Apostle saw it, he stopped at the gate and did not enter. I noticed the signs of hatred (for that) on his face! I said, "O Allah's Apostle! I turn to Allah and His Apostle in repentance! What sin have I committed?" He said, "What about this cushion?" I said, 'I bought it for you to sit on and recline on." Allah's Apostle said, "The makers of these pictures will be punished (severely) on the Day of Resurrection and it will be said to them, 'Make alive what you have created.'" He added, "Angels do not enter a house in which there are pictures."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 845:
Narrated Abu Juhaifa:
that he had bought a slave whose profession was cupping. The Prophet forbade taking the price of blood and the price of a dog and the earnings of a prostitute, and cursed the one who took or gave (Riba') usury, and the lady who tattooed others or got herself tattooed, and the picture-maker.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 846:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
I heard Mohammed saying, "Whoever makes a picture in this world will be asked to put life into it on the Day of Resurrection, but he will not be able to do so."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 847:
Narrated Usama bin Zaid:
Allah's Apostle rode a donkey saddled with a saddle covered with a Fadakiyya velvet sheet, and he made me ride behind him.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 848:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
When the Prophet arrived at Mecca, the children of Bani Abdul Muttalib received him. He then mounted one of them in front of him and the other behind him.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 849:
Narrated Aiyub:
The worst of three (persons riding one, animal) was mentioned in 'Ikrima's presence 'Ikrima said, "Ibn Abbas said, '(In the year of the conquest of Mecca) the Prophet came and mounted Qutham in front of him and Al-Fadl behind him, or Qutham behind him and Al-Fadl in front of him.' Now which of them was the worst off and which was the best?"

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 850:
Narrated Mu'adh bin Jabal
While I was riding behind the Prophet and between me and him and between me and him there was only the back of the saddle, he said, "0 Mu'adh!" I replied, "Labbaik, 0 Allah's Apostle, and Sa'daik!" he said, "Do you know what is Allah's right upon his slave?" I said, "Allah and His Apostle know best" He said "Allah's right upon his slaves is that they should worship Him alone and not worship anything else besides Him." Then he proceeded for a while and then said, "O Muadh bin Jabal!" I replied, "Labbaik, O Allah's Apostle:, Sa'daik!' He said, "Do you know what is the right of the slaves upon Allah if they do that?" I replied, "Allah and His Apostle know best." He said, "The right of the slaves upon Allah is that He will not punish them (if they do that)."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 851:
Narrated Anas bin Malik :
We were coming from Khaibar along with Allah's Apostle while l was riding behind Abu Talha and he was proceeding. While one of the wives of Allah's Apostle was riding behind Allah's Apostle, suddenly the foot of the camel Slipped and I said, "The woman!" and alighted (hurriedly). Allah's Apostle said, "She is your mother." Sol resaddled the she-camel and Allah's Apostle mounted it. When he approached or saw Medina, he said, "Ayibun, ta'ibun, 'abidun, li-Rabbina hamidun."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 852:
Narrated 'Abbad bin Tamim's uncle:
I saw the Prophet lying-down in the mosque and placing one leg on the other.

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, VOLUME 8

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, BOOK73:
Good Manners and Form (Al-Adab)

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 1:
Narrated Al-Walid bin 'Aizar:
I heard Abi Amr 'Ash-Shaibani saying, "The owner of this house." he pointed to Abdullah's house, "said, 'I asked the Prophet 'Which deed is loved most by Allah?" He replied, 'To offer prayers at their early (very first) stated times.' " Abdullah asked, "What is the next (in goodness)?" The Prophet said, "To be good and dutiful to one's parents," Abdullah asked, "What is the next (in goodness)?" The Prophet said, To participate in Jihad for Allah's Cause." Abdullah added, "The Prophet narrated to me these three things, and if I had asked more, he would have told me more."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 2:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A man came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Who is more entitled to be treated with the best companionship by me?" The Prophet said, "Your mother." The man said. "Who is next?" The Prophet said, "Your mother." The man further said, "Who is next?" The Prophet said, "Your mother." The man asked for the fourth time, "Who is next?" The Prophet said, "Your father. "

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 3:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
A man said to the Prophet, "Shall I participate in Jihad?" The Prophet said, "Are your parents living?" The man said, "Yes." the Prophet said, "Do Jihad for their benefit."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 4:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
Allah's Apostle said. "It is one of the greatest sins that a man should curse his parents." It was asked (by the people), "O Allah's Apostle! How does a man curse his parents?" The Prophet said, "'The man abuses the father of another man and the latter abuses the father of the former and abuses his mother."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 5:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "While three persons were traveling, they were overtaken by rain and they took shelter in a cave in a mountain. A big rock fell from the mountain over the mouth of the cave and blocked it. They said to each other. 'Think of such good (righteous) deeds which, you did for Allah's sake only, and invoke Allah by giving reference to those deeds so that Allah may relieve you from your difficulty. one of them said, 'O Allah! I had my parents who were very old and I had small children for whose sake I used to work as a shepherd. When I returned to them at night and milked (the sheep), I used to start giving the milk to my parents first before giving to my children. And one day I went far away in search of a grazing place (for my sheep), and didn't return home till late at night and found that my parents had slept. I milked (my livestock) as usual and brought the milk vessel and stood at their heads, and I disliked to wake them up from their sleep, and I also disliked to give the milk to my children before my parents though my children were crying (from hunger) at my feet.
So this state of mine and theirs continued till the day dawned. (O Allah!) If you considered that I had done that only for seeking Your pleasure, then please let there be an opening through which we can see the sky.' So Allah made for them an opening through which they could see the sky. Then the second person said, 'O Allah! I had a she-cousin whom I loved as much as a passionate man love a woman. I tried to seduce her but she refused till I paid her one-hundred Dinars So I worked hard till I collected one hundred Dinars and went to her with that But when I sat in between her legs (to have sexual intercourse with her), she said, 'O Allah's slave! Be afraid of Allah ! Do not deflower me except legally (by marriage contract). So I left her O Allah! If you considered that I had done that only for seeking Your pleasure then please let the rock move a little to have a (wider) opening.'
So Allah shifted that rock to make the opening wider for them. And the last (third) person said 'O Allah ! I employed a laborer for wages equal to a Faraq (a certain measure: of rice, and when he had finished his job he demanded his wages, but when I presented his due to him, he gave it up and refused to take it. Then I kept on sowing that rice for him (several times) till managed to buy with the price of the yield, some cows and their shepherd Later on the laborer came to me an said. '(O Allah's slave!) Be afraid o Allah, and do not be unjust to me an give me my due.' I said (to him). 'Go and take those cows and their shepherd. So he took them and went away. (So, O Allah!) If You considered that I had done that for seeking Your pleasure, then please remove the remaining part of the rock.' And so Allah released them (from their difficulty)."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 6:
Narrated Al-Mughira:
The Prophet said, "Allah has forbidden you (1) to be undutiful to your mothers (2) to withhold (what you should give) or (3) demand (what you do not deserve), and (4) to bury your daughters alive. And Allah has disliked that (A) you talk too much about others (B), ask too many questions (in religion), or (C) waste your property."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 7:
Narrated Abu Bakra:
Allah's Apostle said thrice, "Shall I not inform you of the biggest of the great sins?" We said, "Yes, O Allah's Apostle" He said, "To join partners in worship with Allah: to be undutiful to one's parents." The Prophet sat up after he had been reclining and added, "And I warn you against giving forged statement and a false witness; I warn you against giving a forged statement and a false witness." The Prophet kept on saying that warning till we thought that he would not stop.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 8:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle mentioned the greatest sins or he was asked about the greatest sins. He said, "To join partners in worship with Allah; to kill a soul which Allah has forbidden to kill; and to be undutiful or unkind to one's parents." The Prophet added, "Shall I inform you of the biggest of the great sins? That is the forged statement or the false witness." Shu'ba (the sub-narrator) states that most probably the Prophet said, "the false witness."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 9:
Narrated Asma bint Abu Bakr:
My mother came to me, hoping (for my favor) during the lifetime of the Prophet asked the Prophet, "May I treat her kindly?" He replied, "Yes." Ibn 'Uyaina said, "Then Allah revealed: 'Allah forbids you not with regards to those who fought not against you because of religion, and drove you not out from your homes, that you should show them kindness and deal justly with them.'.....(60.8)

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 10:
Narrated Abu Sufyan:
That Heraclius sent for him and said, "What did he, i.e. the Prophet order you?" I replied, "He orders us to offer prayers; to give alms; to be chaste; and to keep good relations with our relatives.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 11:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
My father, seeing a silken cloak being sold, said, "O Allah's Apostle! Buy this and wear it on Fridays and when the foreign delegates pay a visit to you." He said, "This is worn only by that person who will have no share in the Hereafter." Later a few silken cloaks were given to the Prophet as a gift, and he sent one of those cloaks to Umar. Umar said (to the Prophet), "How can I wear it while you have said about it what you said?" The Prophet said, "I did not give it to you to wear but to sell or to give to someone else to wear." So Umar sent it to his (pagan) brother who was from the inhabitants of Mecca before he (Umar's brother) embraced Islam.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 12:
Narrated Abu Aiyub Al-Ansari:
A man said, "O Allah's Apostle! Inform me of a deed which will make me enter Paradise." The people said, "What is the matter with him? What is the matter with him?" Allah's Apostle said, "He has something to ask (what he needs greatly)." The Prophet said (to him), (In order to enter Paradise) you should worship Allah and join none in worship with Him: You should offer prayers perfectly, give obligatory charity (Zakat), and keep good relations with your Kith and kin." He then said, "Leave it!" (The sub-narrator said, "It seems that the Prophet was riding his she camel."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 13:
Narrated Jubair bin Mut'im:
That he heard the Prophet saying, "The person who severs the bond of kinship will not enter Paradise."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 14:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "Who ever is pleased that he be granted more wealth and that his lease of life be pro longed, then he should keep good relations with his Kith and kin."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 15:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah 's Apostle said, "Whoever loves that he be granted more wealth and that his lease of life be prolonged then he should keep good relations with his Kith and kin."

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Volume 8, Book 73, Number 16:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Allah created the creations, and when He finished from His creations, Ar-Rahm i.e., womb said, "(O Allah) at this place I seek refuge with You from all those who sever me (i.e. sever the ties of Kith and kin). Allah said, 'Yes, won't you be pleased that I will keep good relations with the one who will keep good relations with you, and I will sever the relation with the one who will sever the relations with you.' It said, 'Yes, O my Lord.' Allah said, 'Then that is for you ' " Allah's Apostle added. "Read (in the Koran) if you wish, the Statement of Allah: 'Would you then, if you were given the authority, do mischief in the land and sever your ties of kinship?' (47.22)

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 17:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The word 'Ar-Rahm (womb) derives its name from Ar-Rahman (i.e., one of the names of Allah) and Allah said: 'I will keep good relation with the one who will keep good relation with you, (womb i.e. Kith and Kin) and sever the relation with him who will sever the relation with you, (womb, i.e. Kith and Kin).

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 18:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) The Prophet said, "The word 'Ar-Rahm' (womb) derives its name from 'Ar-Rahman' (i.e. Allah). So whosoever keeps good relations with it (womb i.e. Kith and kin), Allah will keep good relations with him, and whosoever will sever it (i.e. severs his bonds of Kith and kin) Allah too will sever His relations with him.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 19:
Narrated Amr bin Al-'As:
I heard the Prophet saying openly not secretly, "The family of Abu so-and-so (i.e. Talib) are not among my protectors." Amr said that there was a blank space (1) in the Book of Mohammed bin Jafar. He added, "My Protector is Allah and the righteous believing people." Amr bin Al-'As added: I heard the Prophet saying, 'But they (that family) have kinship (Rahm) with me and I will be good and dutiful to them. "

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 20:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
The Prophet said, "Al-Wasil is not the one who recompenses the good done to him by his relatives, but Al-Wasil is the one who keeps good relations with those relatives who had severed the bond of kinship with him."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 21:
Narrated Hakim bin Hizam:
That he said, "O Allah's Apostle! What do you think about my good deeds which I used to do during the period of ignorance (before embracing Islam) like keeping good relations with my Kith and kin, manumitting of slaves and giving alms etc; Shall I receive the reward for that?" Allah's Apostle said, "You have embraced Islam with all those good deeds which you did.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 22:
Narrated Sa'id:
Um Khalid bint Khalid bin Said said, "I came to Allah's Apostle along with my father and I was wearing a yellow shirt. Allah's Apostle said, "Sanah Sanah!" (Abdullah, the sub-narrator said, "It means, 'Nice, nice!' in the Ethiopian language.") Um Khalid added, "Then I started playing with the seal of Prophethood. My father admonished me. But Allah's Apostle said (to my father), "Leave her," Allah's Apostle (then addressing me) said, "May you live so long that your dress gets worn out, and you will mend it many times, and then wear another till it gets worn out (i.e. May Allah prolong your life)." (The sub-narrator, Abdullah aid, "That garment (which she was wearing remained usable for a long

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 23:
Narrated Ibn Abi Na'm:
-smelling flowers in this world."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 24:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) A lady along with her two daughters came to me asking me (for some alms), but she found nothing with me except one date which I gave to her and she divided it between her two daughters, and then she got up and went away. Then the Prophet came in and I informed him about this story. He said, "Whoever is in charge of (put to test by) these daughters and treats them generously, then they will act as a shield for him from the (Hell) Fire."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 25:
Narrated Abu Qatada:
The Prophet came out towards us, while carrying Umamah, the daughter of Abi Al-As (his grand-daughter) over his shoulder. He prayed, and when he wanted to bow, he put her down, and when he stood up, he lifted her up.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 26:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle kissed Al-Hasan bin Ali while Al-Aqra' bin Habis At-Tamim was sitting beside him. Al-Aqra said, "I have ten children and I have never kissed anyone of them," Allah's Apostle cast a look at him and said, "Whoever is not merciful to others will not be treated mercifully."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 27:
Narrated Aisha:
A bedouin came to the Prophet and said, "You (people) kiss the boys! We don't kiss them." The Prophet said, "I cannot put mercy in your heart after Allah has taken it away from it."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 28:
Narrated Umar bin Al-Khattab:
Some Sabi (i.e. war prisoners, children and woman only) were brought before the Prophet and behold, a woman amongst them was milking her breasts to feed and whenever she found a child amongst the captives, she took it over her chest and nursed it (she had lost her child but later she found him) the Prophet said to us, "Do you think that this lady can throw her son in the fire?" We replied, "No, if she has the power not to throw it (in the fire)." The Prophet then said, "Allah is more merciful to His slaves than this lady to her son."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 29:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, Allah divided Mercy into one-hundred parts and He kept its ninety-nine parts with Him and sent down its one part on the earth, and because of that, its one single part, His creations are Merciful to each other, so that even the mare lifts up its hoofs away from its baby animal, lest it should trample on it."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 30:
Narrated Abdullah:
I said 'O Allah's Apostle! Which sin is the greatest?" He said, "To set up a rival unto Allah, though He Alone created you." I said, "What next?" He said, "To kill your son lest he should share your food with you." I further asked, "What next?" He said, "To commit illegal sexual intercourse with the wife of your neighbour." And then Allah revealed as proof of the statement of the Prophet: 'Those who invoke not with Allah any other god). . . . . (to end of verse)...' (25.68)

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 31:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet took a child in his lap for Tahnik (i.e. he chewed a date in his mouth and put its juice in the mouth of the child). The child urinated on him, so he asked for water and poured it over the place of the urine.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 32:
Narrated Usama bin Zaid:
Allah's Apostle used to put me on (one of) his thighs and put Al-Hasan bin Ali on his other thigh, and then embrace us and say, "O Allah! Please be Merciful to them, as I am merciful to them. "

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 33:
Narrated Aisha:
I never felt so jealous of any woman as I did of Khadija, though she had died three years before the Prophet married me, and that was because I heard him mentioning her too often, and because his Lord had ordered him to give her the glad tidings that she would have a palace in Paradise, made of Qasab and because he used to slaughter a sheep and distribute its meat among her friends.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 34:
Narrated Sahl bin Sa'd:
The Prophet said, "I and the person who looks after an orphan and provides for him, will be in Paradise like this," putting his index and middle fingers together.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 35:
Narrated Safwan bin Salim:
The Prophet said "The one who looks after and works for a widow and for a poor person, is like a warrior fighting for Allah's Cause or like a person who fasts during the day and prays all the night." Narrated Abu Huraira that the Prophet said as above.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 36:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The one who looks after and works for a widow and for a poor person is like a warrior fighting for Allah's Cause." (The narrator Al-Qa'nabi is not sure whether he also said "Like the one who prays all the night without slackness and fasts continuously and never breaks his fast.")

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 37:
Narrated Abu Sulaiman and Malik bin Huwairith:
We came to the Prophet and we were (a few) young men of approximately equal age and stayed with him for twenty nights. Then he thought that we were anxious for our families, and he asked us whom we had left behind to look after our families, and we told him. He was kindhearted and merciful, so he said, "Return to your families and teach them (religious knowledge) and order them (to do good deeds) and offer your prayers in the way you saw me offering my prayers, and when the stated time for the prayer becomes due, then one of you should pronounce its call (i.e. the Adhan), and the eldest of you should lead you in prayer.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 38:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "While a man was walking on a road. he became very thirsty. Then he came across a well, got down into it, drank (of its water) and then came out. Meanwhile he saw a dog panting and licking mud because of excessive thirst. The man said to himself "This dog is suffering from the same state of thirst as I did." So he went down the well (again) and filled his shoe (with water) and held it in his mouth and watered the dog. Allah thanked him for that deed and forgave him." The people asked, "O Allah's Apostle! Is there a reward for us in serving the animals?" He said, "(Yes) There is a reward for serving any animate (living being) ."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 39:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle stood up for the prayer and we too stood up along with him. Then a bedouin shouted while offering prayer. "O Allah! Bestow Your Mercy on me and Mohammed only and do not bestow it on anybody else along with us." When the Prophet had finished his prayer with Taslim, he said to the Bedouin, "You have limited (narrowed) a very vast (thing)," meaning Allah's Mercy.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 40:
Narrated An-Nu'man bin Bashir:
Allah's Apostle said, "You see the believers as regards their being merciful among themselves and showing love among themselves and being kind, resembling one body, so that, if any part of the body is not well then the whole body shares the sleeplessness (insomnia) and fever with it."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 41:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "If any Muslim plants any plant and a human being or an animal eats of it, he will be rewarded as if he had given that much in charity."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 42:
Narrated Jarir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "He who is not merciful to others, will not be treated mercifully.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 43:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said "Gabriel continued to recommend me about treating the neighbours Kindly and politely so much so that I thought he would order me to make them as my heirs.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 44:
Narrates Ibn Umar:
Allah' Apostle said, Gabriel kept on recommending me about treating the neighbours in a kind and polite manner, so much so that I thought that he would order (me) to make them (my) heirs."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 45:
Narrated Abu Shuraih:
The Prophet said, "By Allah, he does not believe! By Allah, he does not believe! By Allah, he does not believe!" It was said, "Who is that, O Allah's Apostle?" He said, "That person whose neighbour does not feel safe from his evil."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 46:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet used to say, "O Muslim ladies! A neighbouress should not look down upon the present of her neighbouress even it were the hooves of a sheep."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 47:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Anybody who believes in Allah and the Last Day should not harm his neighbour, and anybody who believes in Allah and the Last Day should entertain his guest generously and anybody who believes in Allah and the

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Last Day should talk what is good or keep quiet. (i.e. abstain from all kinds of evil and dirty talk).

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 48:
Narrated Abu Shuraih Al-Adawi:
My ears heard and my eyes saw the Prophet when he spoke, "Anybody who believes in Allah and the Last Day, should serve his neighbour generously, and anybody who believes in Allah and the Last Day should serve his guest generously by giving him his reward." It was asked. "What is his reward, O Allah's Apostle?" He said, "(To be entertained generously) for a day and a night with high quality of food and the guest has the right to be entertained for three days (with ordinary food) and if he stays longer, what he will be provided with will be regarded as Sadaqa (a charitable gift). And anybody who believes in Allah and the Last Day should talk what is good or keep quite (i.e. abstain from all kinds of dirty and evil talks)."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 49:
Narrated Aisha:
I said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have two neighbours! To whom shall I send my gifts?" He said, "To the one whose gate in nearer to you."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 50:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet said, Enjoining, all that is good is a Sadaqa."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 51:
Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari:
The Prophet said, "On every Muslim there is enjoined (a compulsory) Sadaqa (alms)." They (the people) said, "If one has nothing?' He said, "He should work with his hands so that he may benefit himself and give in charity." They said, "If he cannot work or does not work?" He said, "Then he should help the oppressed unhappy person (by word or action or both)." They said, "If he does not do it?" He said, "Then he should enjoin what is good (or said what is reasonable).' They said, "If he does not do that"' He said, "Then he should refrain from doing evil, for that will be considered for Him as a Sadaqa (charity) . "

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 52:
Narrated Adi bin Hatim:
The Prophet mentioned the (Hell) Fire and sought refuge (with Allah) from it, and turned his face to the other side. He mentioned the (Hell) Fire again and took refuge (with Allah) from it and turned his face to the other side. (Shu'ba, the sub-narrator, said, "I have no doubt that the Prophet repeated it twice.") The Prophet then said, "(O people!) Save yourselves from the (Hell) Fire even if with one half of a date fruit (given in charity), and if this is not available, then (save yourselves) by saying a good pleasant friendly word."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 53:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) A group of Jews entered upon the Prophet and said, "As-Samu-Alaikum." (i.e. death be upon you). I understood it and said, "Wa-Alaikum As-Samu wal-a'n. (death and the curse of Allah be Upon you)." Allah's Apostle said "Be calm, O Aisha! Allah loves that on, should be kind and lenient in all matters." I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Haven't you heard what they (the Jews) have said?" Allah's Apostle said "I have (already) said (to them) "And upon you!"

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 54:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
A bedouin urinated in the mosque and the people ran to (beat) him. Allah's Apostle said, "Do not interrupt his urination (i.e. let him finish)." Then the Prophet asked for a tumbler of water and poured the water over the place of urine.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 55:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet said, "A believer to another believer is like a building whose different parts enforce each other." The Prophet then clasped his hands with the fingers interlaced. (At that time) the Prophet was sitting and a man came and begged or asked for something. The Prophet faced us and said, "Help and recommend him and you will receive the reward for it, and Allah will bring about what He will through His Prophet's tongue."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 56-A:
Narrated Abu Musa:
Whenever a beggar or a person in need came to the Prophet, the Prophet would say "Help and recommend him and you will receive the reward for it, and Allah will bring about what he will through His Prophet's tongue

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 56-B:
Narrated Masruq:
Abdullah bin Amr mentioned Allah's Apostle saying that he was neither a Fahish nor a Mutafahish. Abdullah bin Amr added, Allah's Apostle said, 'The best among you are those who have the best manners and character.'

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 57:
Narrated Abdullah bin Mulaika:
Aisha said that the Jews came to the Prophet and said, "As-Samu 'Alaikum" (death be on you). Aisha said (to them), "(Death) be on you, and may Allah curse you and shower His wrath upon you!" The Prophet said, "Be calm, O Aisha ! You should be kind and lenient, and beware of harshness and Fuhsh (i.e. bad words)." She said (to the Prophet), "Haven't you heard what they (Jews) have said?" He said, "Haven't you heard what I have said (to them)? I said the same to them, and my invocation against them will be accepted while theirs against me will be rejected (by Allah). "

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 58:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet was not one who would abuse (others) or say obscene words, or curse (others), and if he wanted to admonish anyone of us, he used to say: "What is wrong with him, his forehead be dusted!"

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 59-A:
Narrated Aisha:
A man asked permission to enter upon the Prophet. When the Prophet saw him, he said, "What an evil brother of his tribe! And what an evil son of his tribe!" When that man sat down, the Prophet behaved with him in a nice and polite manner and was completely at ease with him. When that person had left, Aisha said (to the Prophet). "O Allah's Apostle! When you saw that man, you said so-and-so about him, then you showed him a kind and polite behavior, and you enjoyed his company?" Allah's Apostle said, "O Aisha! Have you ever seen me speaking a bad and dirty language? (Remember that) the worst people in Allah's sight on the Day of Resurrection will be those whom the people leave (undisturbed) to be away from their evil (deeds)."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 59-B:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet was the best among the people (both in shape and character) and was the most generous of them, and was the bravest of them. Once, during the night, the people of Medina got afraid (of a sound). So the people went towards that sound, but the Prophet having gone to that sound before them, met them while he was saying, "Don't be afraid, don't be afraid." (At that time) he was riding a horse belonging to Abu Talha and it was naked without a saddle, and he was carrying a sword slung at his neck. The Prophet said, "I found it (the horse) like a sea, or, it is the sea indeed."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 60:
Narrated Jabir:
Never was the Prophet asked for a thing to be given for which his answer was 'no'.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 61:
Narrated Masruq:
We were sitting with Abdullah bin Amr who was narrating to us (Hadith): He said, "Allah's Apostle was neither a Fahish nor a Mutafahhish, and he used to say, 'The best among you are the best in character (having good manners).'"

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 62:
Narrated Abu Hazim:
Sahl bin Sa'd said that a woman brought a Burda (sheet) to the Prophet. Sahl asked the people, "Do you know what is a Burda?" The people replied, "It is a 'Shamla', a sheet with a fringe." That woman said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have brought it so that you may wear it." So the Prophet took it because he was in need of it and wore it. A man among his companions, seeing him wearing it, said, "O Allah's Apostle! Please give it to me to wear." The Prophet said, "Yes." (and gave him that sheet). When the Prophet left, the man was blamed by his companions who said, "It was not nice on your part to ask the Prophet for it while you know that he took it because he was in need of it, and you also know that he (the Prophet) never turns down anybody's request that he might be asked for." That man said, "I just wanted to have its blessings as the Prophet had put it on, so l hoped that I might be shrouded in it."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 63:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Time will pass rapidly, good deeds will decrease, and miserliness will be thrown (in the hearts of the people), and the Harj (will increase)." They asked, "What is the Harj?" He replied, "(It is) killing (murdering), (it is) murdering (killing).

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 64:
Narrated Anas:
I served the Prophet for ten years, and he never said to me, "Uf" (a minor harsh word denoting impatience) and never blamed me by saying, "Why did you do so or why didn't you do so?"

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 65:
Narrated Al-Aswad:
I asked Aisha what did the Prophet use to do at home. She replied. "He used to keep himself busy serving his family and when it was time for the prayer, he would get up for prayer."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 66:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "If Allah loves a person, He calls Gabriel saying: 'Allah loves so and so; O Gabriel, love him.' Gabriel would love him, and then Gabriel would make an announcement among the residents of the Heaven, 'Allah loves so-and-so, therefore, you should love him also.' So, all the residents of the Heavens would love him and then he is granted the pleasure of the people of the earth."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 67:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "None will have the sweetness (delight) of Faith (a) till he loves a person and loves him only for Allah's sake, (b) and till it becomes dearer to him to be thrown in the fire than to revert to disbelief (Heathenism) after Allah has brought him out of it, (c) and till Allah and His Apostle become dearer to him than anything else."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 68:
Narrated Abdullah bin Zam'a:
The Prophet forbade laughing at a person who passes wind, and said, "How does anyone of you beat his wife as he beats the stallion camel and then he may embrace (sleep with) her?" And Hisham said, "As he beats his slave"

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 69:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said at Mina, "Do you know what day is today?" They (the people) replied, "Allah and His Apostle know better," He said "Today is 10th of Dhul-Hijja, the sacred (forbidden) day. Do you know what town is this town?" They (the people) replied, "Allah and His Apostle know better." He said, "This is the (forbidden) Sacred town (Mecca a sanctuary)." And do you know which month is this month?" They (the People) replied, "Allah and His Apostle know better." He said, "This is the Sacred (forbidden) month ." He added, "Allah has made your blood, your properties and your honor Sacred to one another (i.e. Muslims) like the sanctity of this day of yours in this month of yours, in this town of yours." (See Hadith No. 797, Vol. 2.)

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 70:
Narrated Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle said, "Abusing a Muslim is Fusuq (i.e., an evil-doing), and killing him is Kufr (disbelief)."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 71:
Narrated Abu Dhar:
That he heard the Prophet saying, "If somebody accuses another of Fusuq (by calling him 'Fasiq' i.e. a wicked person) or accuses him of Kufr, such an accusation will revert to him (i.e. the accuser) if his companion (the accused) is innocent."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 72:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle was neither a Fahish (one who had a bad tongue) nor a Sabbaba (one who abuses others) and he used to say while admonishing somebody, "What is wrong with him? May dust be on his forehead!"

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 73:
Narrated Thabit bin Ad-Dahhak:
(who was one of the companions who gave the pledge of allegiance to the Prophet underneath the tree (Al-Hudaibiya)) Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever swears by a religion other than Islam (i.e. if somebody swears by saying that he is a non-Muslim e.g., a Jew or a Christian, etc.) in case he is telling a lie, he is really so if his oath is false, and a person is not bound to fulfill a vow about a thing which he does not possess. And if somebody commits suicide with anything in this world, he will be tortured with that very thing on the Day of Resurrection; And if somebody curses a believer, then his sin will be as if he murdered him; And whoever accuses a believer of Kufr (disbelief), then it is as if he killed him."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 74:
Narrated Sulaiman bin Surad:
A man from the companions of the Prophet said, "Two men abused each other in front of the Prophet and one of them became angry and his anger became so intense that his face became swollen and changed. The Prophet said, "I know a word the saying of which will cause him to relax if he does say

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it." Then a man went to him and informed him of the statement of the Prophet and said, "Seek refuge with Allah from Satan." On that, angry man said, 'Do you find anything wrong with me? Am I insane? Go away!"

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 75:
Narrated 'Ubada bin As-Samit:
Allah's Apostle went out to inform the people about the (date of the Night of decree (Al-Qadr). There happened a quarrel between two Muslim men. The Prophet said, "I came out to inform you about the Night of Al-Qadr, but as so-and-so and so-and-so quarrelled, so the news about it had been taken away; and may be it was better for you. So look for it in the ninth, the seventh, or the fifth (of the last ten days of Ramadan)."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 76:
Narrated Ma'rur:
I saw Abu Dhar wearing a Burd (garment) and his slave too was wearing a Burd, so I said (to Abu Dhar), "If you take this (Burda of your slave) and wear it (along with yours), you will have a nice suit (costume) and you may give him another garment." Abu Dhar said, "There was a quarrel between me and another man whose mother was a non-Arab and I called her bad names. The man mentioned (complained about) me to the Prophet. The Prophet said, "Did you abuse so-and-so?" I said, "Yes" He said, "Did you call his mother bad names?" I said, "Yes". He said, "You still have the traits of (the Pre-lslamic period of) ignorance." I said. "(Do I still have ignorance) even now in my old age?" He said, "Yes, they (slaves or servants) are your brothers, and Allah has put them under your command. So the one under whose hand Allah has put his brother, should feed him of what he eats, and give him dresses of what he wears, and should not ask him to do a thing beyond his capacity. And if at all he asks him to do a hard task, he should help him therein."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 77:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet led us in the Zuhr prayer, offering only two Rakat and then (finished it) with Taslim, and went to a piece of wood in front of the mosque and put his hand over it. Abu Bakr and Umar were also present among the people on that day but dared not talk to him (about his unfinished prayer). And the hasty people went away, wondering. "Has the prayer been shortened" Among the people there was a man whom the Prophet used to call Dhul-Yadain (the longarmed). He said, "O Allah's Prophet! Have you forgotten or has the prayer been shortened?" The Prophet said, "Neither have I forgotten, nor has it been shortened." They (the people) said, "Surely, you have forgotten, O Allah's Apostle!" The Prophet said, Dhul-Yadain has told the truth." So the Prophet got up and offered other two Rakat and finished his prayer with Taslim. Then he said Takbir, performed a prostration of ordinary duration or longer, then he raised his head and said Takbir and performed another prostration of ordinary duration or longer and then raised his head and said Takbir (i.e. he performed the two prostrations of Sahu, i.e., forgetfulness)."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 78:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle passed by two graves and said, "Both of them (persons in the grave) are being tortured, and they are not being tortured for a major sin. This one used not to save himself from being soiled with his urine, and the other used to go about with calumnies (among the people to rouse hostilities, e.g., one goes to a person and tells him that so-and-so says about him such-and-such evil things). The Prophet then asked for a green leaf of a date-palm tree, split it into two pieces and planted one on each grave and said, "It is hoped that their punishment may be abated till those two pieces of the leaf get dried." (See Hadith No 215, Vol 1).

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 79:
Narrated Abu Usaid As-Sa'idi:
The Prophet said, "The best family among the Ansar is the Banu An-Najjar. "

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 80:
Narrated Aisha:
A man asked permission to enter upon Allah's Apostle. The Prophet said, "Admit him. What an evil brother of his people or a son of his people." But when the man entered, the Prophet spoke to him in a very polite manner. (And when that person left) I said, "O Allah's Apostle! You had said what you had said, yet you spoke to him in a very polite manner?" The Prophet said, "O Aisha! The worst people are those whom the people desert or leave in order to save themselves from their dirty language or from their transgression."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 81:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Once the Prophet went through the grave-yards of Medina and heard the voices of two humans who were being tortured in their graves. The Prophet said, "They are being punished, but they are not being punished because of a major sin, yet their sins are great. One of them used not to save himself from (being soiled with) the urine, and the other used to go about with calumnies (Namima)." Then the Prophet asked for a green palm tree leaf and split it into two pieces and placed one piece on each grave, saying, "I hope that their punishment may be abated as long as these pieces of the leaf are not dried."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 82:
Narrated Hudhaifa:
I heard the Prophet saying, "A Qattat will not enter Paradise."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 83:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Whoever does not give up false statements (i.e. telling lies), and evil deeds, and speaking bad words to others, Allah is not in need of his (fasting) leaving his food and drink."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 84:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The worst people in the Sight of Allah on the Day of Resurrection will be the double faced people who appear to some people with one face and to other people with another face."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 85:
Narrated Ibn Mas'ud:
Once Allah's Apostle divided and distributed (the war booty). An Ansar man said, "By Allah ! Mohammed, by this distribution, did not intend to please Allah." So I came to Allah's Apostle and informed him about it whereupon his face became changed with anger and he said, "May Allah bestow His Mercy on Moses for he was hurt with more than this, yet he remained patient."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 86:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet heard a man praising another man and he was exaggerating in his praise. The Prophet said (to him). "You have destroyed (or cut) the back of the man."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 87:
Narrated Abu Bakra:
A man was mentioned before the Prophet and another man praised him greatly The Prophet said, "May Allah's Mercy be on you ! You have cut the neck of your friend." The Prophet repeated this sentence many times and said, "If it is indispensable for anyone of you to praise someone, then he should say, 'I think that he is so-and-so," if he really thinks that he is such. Allah is the One Who will take his accounts (as He knows his reality) and no-one can sanctify anybody before Allah." (Khalid said, "Woe to you," instead of "Allah's Mercy be on you.")

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 88:
Narrated Salim:
that his father said; "When Allah's Apostle mentioned wh at he mentioned about (the hanging of) the Izar (waist sheet), Abu Bakr said, "O Allah's Apostle! My Izar slackens on one side (without my intention)." The Prophet said, "You are not among those (who, out of pride) drag their Izars behind them."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 89:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet continued for such-and-such period imagining that he has slept (had sexual relations) with his wives, and in fact he did not. One day he said, to me, "O Aisha! Allah has instructed me regarding a matter about which I had asked Him. There came to me two men, one of them sat near my feet and the other near my head. The one near my feet, asked the one near my head (pointing at me), 'What is wrong with this man? The latter replied, 'He is under the effect of magic.' The first one asked, 'Who had worked magic on him?' The other replied, 'Lubaid bin Asam.' The first one asked, 'What material (did he use)?' The other replied, 'The skin of the pollen of a male date tree with a comb and the hair stuck to it, kept under a stone in the well of Dharwan."' Then the Prophet went to that well and said, "This is the same well which was shown to me in the dream. The tops of its date-palm trees look like the heads of the devils, and its water looks like the Henna infusion." Then the Prophet ordered that those things be taken out. I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Won't you disclose (the magic object)?" The Prophet said, "Allah has cured me and I hate to circulate the evil among the people." Aisha added, "(The magician) Lubaid bin Asam was a man from Bani Zuraiq, an ally of the Jews."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 90:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Beware of suspicion, for suspicion is the worst of false tales; and do not look for the others' faults and do not spy, and do not be jealous of one another, and do not desert (cut your relation with) one another, and do not hate one another; and O Allah's worshipers! Be brothers (as Allah has ordered you!")

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 91:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle said, "Do not hate one another, and do not be jealous of one another, and do not desert each other, and O, Allah's worshipers! Be brothers. Lo! It is not permissible for any Muslim to desert (not talk to) his brother (Muslim) for more than three days."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 92:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Beware of suspicion, for suspicion is the worst of false tales. and do not look for the others' faults, and do not do spying on one another, and do not practice Najsh, and do not be jealous of one another and do not hate one another, and do not desert (stop talking to) one another. And O, Allah's worshipers! Be brothers!"

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 93:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said, "I do not think that so-and-so and so-and-so know anything of our religion." (And Al-Laith said, "These two persons were among the hypocrites.")

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 94:
Narrated Al-Laith:
Aisha said "The Prophet entered upon me one day and said, 'O Aisha! I do not think that so-and-so and so-and-so know anything of our religion which we follow."'

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 95:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying. "All the sins of my followers will be forgiven except those of the Mujahirin (those who commit a sin openly or disclose their sins to the people). An example of such disclosure is that a person commits a sin at night and though Allah screens it from the public, then he comes in the morning, and says, 'O so-and-so, I did such-and-such (evil) deed yesterday,' though he spent his night screened by his Lord (none knowing about his sin) and in the morning he removes Allah's screen from himself."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 96:
Narrated Safwan bin Muhriz:
A man asked Ibn Umar, "What did you hear Allah's Apostle saying regarding An-Najwa (secret talk between Allah and His believing worshipper on the Day of Judgement)?" He said, "(The Prophet said), "One of you will come close to his Lord till He will shelter him in His screen and say: Did you commit such-and-such sin? He will say, 'Yes.' Then Allah will say: Did you commit such and such sin? He will say, 'Yes.' So Allah will make him confess (all his sins) and He will say, 'I screened them (your sins) for you in the world, and today I forgive them for you."'

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 97:
Narrated Haritha bin Wahb:
Al-Khuzai: The Prophet said, "Shall I inform you about the people of Paradise? They comprise every obscure unimportant humble person, and if he takes Allah's Oath that he will do that thing, Allah will fulfill his oath (by doing that). Shall I inform you about the people of the Fire? They comprise every cruel, violent, proud and conceited person." Anas bin Malik said, "Any of the female slaves of Medina could take hold of the hand of Allah's Apostle and take him wherever she wished."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 98:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) that she was told that Abdullah bin Az-Zubair (on hearing that she was selling or giving something as a gift) said, "By Allah, if Aisha does not give up this, I will declare her incompetent to dispose of her wealth." I said, "Did he (Abdullah bin Az-Zubair) say so?" They (people) said, "Yes." Aisha said, "I vow to Allah that I will never speak to Ibn Az-Zubair." When this desertion lasted long, Abdullah bin Az-Zubair sought intercession with her, but she said, "By Allah, I will not accept the intercession of anyone for him, and will not commit a sin by breaking my vow." When this state of affairs was prolonged on Ibn Az-Zubair (he felt it hard on him), he said to Al-Miswar bin Makhrama and Abdur-Rahman bin Al-Aswad bin Abu Yaghuth, who were from the tribe of Bani Zahra, "I beseech you, by Allah, to let me enter upon Aisha, for it is unlawful for her to vow to cut the relation with me." So Al-Miswar and Abdur-Rahman, wrapping their sheets around themselves, asked Aisha's permission saying, "Peace and Allah's Mercy and Blessings be upon you! Shall we come in?" Aisha said, "Come in." They

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said, "All of us?" She said, "Yes, come in all of you," not knowing that Ibn Az-Zubair was also with them. So when they entered, Ibn Az-Zubair entered the screened place and got hold of Aisha and started requesting her to excuse him, and wept. Al-Miswar and Abdur Rahman also started requesting her to speak to him and to accept his repentance. They said (to her), "The Prophet forbade what you know of deserting (not speaking to your Muslim Brethren), for it is unlawful for any Muslim not to talk to his brother for more than three nights (days)." So when they increased their reminding her (of the superiority of having good relation with Kith and kin, and of excusing others' sins), and brought her down to a critical situation, she started reminding them, and wept, saying, "I have made a vow, and (the question of) vow is a difficult one." They (Al-Miswar and Abdur-Rahman) persisted in their appeal till she spoke with Abdullah bin Az-Zubair and she manumitted forty slaves as an expiation for her vow. Later on, whenever she remembered her vow, she used to weep so much that her veil used to become wet with her tears.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 99:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle said, "Do not hate one another, nor be jealous of one another; and do not desert one another, but O Allah's worshipers! Be Brothers! And it is unlawful for a Muslim to desert his brother Muslim (and not to talk to him) for more than three nights."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 100:
Narrated Abu Aiyub Al-Ansari:
Allah's Apostle said, "It is not lawful for a man to desert his brother Muslim for more than three nights. (It is unlawful for them that) when they meet, one of them turns his face away from the other, and the other turns his face from the former, and the better of the two will be the one who greets the other first."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 101:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle said, " I know whether you are angry or pleased." I said, "How do you know that, Allah's Apostle?" He said, "When you are pleased, you say, "Yes, by the Lord of Mohammed,' but when you are angry, you say, 'No, by the Lord of Abraham!' " I said, "Yes, I do not leave, except your name."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 102:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) "I do not remember my parents believing in any religion other than the Religion (of Islam), and our being visited by Allah's Apostle in the morning and in the evening. One day, while we were sitting in the house of Abu Bakr (my father) at noon, someone said, 'This is Allah's Apostle coming at an hour at which he never used to visit us.' Abu Bakr said, 'There must be something very urgent that has brought him at this hour.' The Prophet said, 'I have been allowed to go out (of Mecca) to migrate.' "

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 103:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle visited a household among the Ansars, and he took a meal with them. When he intended to leave, he asked for a place in that house for him, to pray so a mat sprinkled with water was put and he offered prayer over it, and invoked for Allah's Blessing upon them (his hosts).

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 104:
Narrated Abdullah:
Umar saw a silken cloak over a man (for sale) so he took it to the Prophet and said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Buy this and wear it when the delegate come to you.' He said, 'The silk is worn by one who will have no share (in the Here-after).' Some time passed after this event, and then the Prophet sent a (similar) cloak to him. Umar brought that cloak back to the Prophet and said, 'You have sent this to me, and you said about a similar one what you said?' The Prophet said, 'I have sent it to you so that you may get money by selling it.' Because of this, Ibn Umar used to hate the silken markings on the garments.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 105:
Narrated Anas:
When Abdur-Rahman came to us, the Prophet established a bond of brotherhood between him and Sa'd bin Ar-Rabi. Once the Prophet said, "As you (O Abdur-Rahman) have married, give a wedding banquet even if with one sheep."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 106:
Narrated 'Asim:
I said to Anas bin Malik, "Did it reach you that the Prophet said, "There is no treaty of brotherhood in Islam"?" Anas said, "The Prophet made a treaty (of brotherhood) between the Ansar and the Quraish in my home."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 107:
Narrated Aisha:
Rifa'a Al-Qurazi divorced his wife irrevocably (i.e. that divorce was the final). Later on Abdur-Rahman bin Az-Zubair married her after him. She came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I was Rifa'a's wife and he divorced me thrice, and then I was married to Abdur-Rahman bin AzZubair, who, by Allah has nothing with him except something like this fringe, O Allah's Apostle," showing a fringe she had taken from her covering sheet. Abu Bakr was sitting with the Prophet while Khalid Ibn Said bin Al-As was sitting at the gate of the room waiting for admission. Khalid started calling Abu Bakr, "O Abu Bakr! Why don't you reprove this lady from what she is openly saying before Allah's Apostle?" Allah's Apostle did nothing except smiling, and then said (to the lady), "Perhaps you want to go back to Rifa'a? No, (it is not possible), unless and until you enjoy the sexual relation with him (Abdur Rahman), and he enjoys the sexual relation with you."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 108:
Narrated Sa'd:
Umar bin Al-Khattab asked permission of Allah's Apostle to see him while some Quraishi women were sitting with him and they were asking him to give them more financial support while raising their voices over the voice of the Prophet. When Umar asked permission to enter, all of them hurried to screen themselves the Prophet admitted Umar and he entered, while the Prophet was smiling. Umar said, "May Allah always keep you smiling, O Allah's Apostle! Let my father and mother be sacrificed for you !" The Prophet said, "I am astonished at these women who were with me. As soon as they heard your voice, they hastened to screen themselves." Umar said, "You have more right, that they should be afraid of you, O Allah's Apostle!" And then he (Umar) turned towards them and said, "O enemies of your souls! You are afraid of me and not of Allah's Apostle?" The women replied, "Yes, for you are sterner and harsher than Allah's Apostle." Allah's Apostle said, "O Ibn Al-Khattab! By Him in Whose Hands my life is, whenever Satan sees you taking a way, he follows a way other than yours!"

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 109:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
When Allah Apostle was in Ta'if (trying to conquer it), he said to his companions, "Tomorrow we will return (to Medina), if Allah wills." Some of the companions of Allah's Apostle said, "We will not leave till we conquer it." The Prophet said, "Therefore, be ready to fight tomorrow." On the following day, they (Muslims) fought fiercely (with the people of Ta'if) and suffered many wounds. Then Allah's Apostle said, "Tomorrow we will return (to Medina), if Allah wills." His companions kept quiet this time. Allah's Apostle then smiled.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 110:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A man came to the Prophet and said, "I have been ruined for I have had sexual relation with my wife in Ramadan (while I was fasting)" The Prophet said (to him), "Manumit a slave." The man said, " I cannot afford that." The Prophet said, "(Then) fast for two successive months continuously". The man said, "I cannot do that." The Prophet said, "(Then) feed sixty poor persons." The man said, "I have nothing (to feed them with)." Then a big basket full of dates was brought to the Prophet. The Prophet said, "Where is the questioner? Go and give this in charity." The man said, "(Shall I give this in charity) to a poorer person than I? By Allah, there is no family in between these two mountains (of Medina) who are poorer than we." The Prophet then smiled till his premolar teeth became visible, and said, "Then (feed) your (family with it).

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 111:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
While I was going along with Allah's Apostle who was wearing a Najrani Burd (sheet) with a thick border, a bedouin overtook the Prophet and pulled his Rida' (sheet) forcibly. I looked at the side of the shoulder of the Prophet and noticed that the edge of the Rida' had left a mark on it because of the violence of his pull. The bedouin said, "O Mohammed! Order for me some of Allah's property which you have." The Prophet turned towards him, (smiled) and ordered that he be given something.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 112:
Narrated Jarir:
The Prophet did not screen himself from me (had never prevented me from entering upon him) since I embraced Islam, and whenever he saw me, he would receive me with a smile. Once I told him that I could not sit firm on horses. He stroked me on the chest with his hand, and said, "O Allah! Make him firm and make him a guiding and a rightly guided man.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 113:
Narrated Zainab bint Um Salama:
Um Sulaim said, "O Allah's Apostle! Verily Allah is not shy of (telling you) the truth. Is it essential for a woman to take a bath after she had a wet dream (nocturnal sexual discharge)?" He said, "Yes, if she notices discharge. On that Um Salama laughed and said, "Does a woman get a (nocturnal sexual) discharge?" He said, "How then does (her) son resemble her (his mother)?"

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 114:
Narrated Aisha:
I never saw the Prophet laughing to an extent that one could see his palate, but he always used to smile only.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 115:
Narrated Anas:
A man came to the Prophet on a Friday while he (the Prophet) was delivering a sermon at Medina, and said, "There is lack of rain, so please invoke your Lord to bless us with the rain." The Prophet looked at the sky when no cloud could be detected. Then he invoked Allah for rain. Clouds started gathering together and it rained till the Medina valleys started flowing with water. It continued raining till the next Friday. Then that man (or some other man) stood up while the Prophet was delivering the Friday sermon, and said, "We are drowned; Please invoke your Lord to withhold it (rain) from us" The Prophet smiled and said twice or thrice, "O Allah! Please let it rain round about us and not upon us." The clouds started dispersing over Medina to the right and to the left, and it rained round about Medina and not upon Medina. Allah showed them (the people) the miracle of His Prophet and His response to his invocation.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 116:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "Truthfulness leads to righteousness, and righteousness leads to Paradise. And a man keeps on telling the truth until he becomes a truthful person. Falsehood leads to Al-Fajur (i.e. wickedness, evil-doing), and Al-Fajur (wickedness) leads to the (Hell) Fire, and a man may keep on telling lies till he is written before Allah, a liar."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 117:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The signs of a hypocrite are three: Whenever he speaks, he tells a lie; and whenever he promises, he breaks his promise; and whenever he is entrusted, he betrays (proves to be dishonest)".

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 118:
Narrated Samura bin Jundub:
The Prophet said, "I saw (in a dream), two men came to me." Then the Prophet narrated the story (saying), "They said, 'The person, the one whose cheek you saw being torn away (from the mouth to the ear) was a liar and used to tell lies and the people would report those lies on his authority till they spread all over the world. So he will be punished like that till the Day of Resurrection."'

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 119:
Narrated Hudhaifa:
From among the people, Ibn Um 'Abd greatly resembled Allah's Apostles in solemn gate and good appearance of piety and in calmness and sobriety from the time he goes out of his house till he returns to it. But we do not know how he behaves with his family when he is alone with them.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 120:
Narrated Tariq:
Abdullah said, "The best talk is Allah's Book (Koran), and the best guidance is the guidance of Mohammed."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 121:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet said: None is more patient than Allah against the harmful saying. He hears from the people they ascribe children to Him, yet He gives them health and (supplies them with) provision."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 122:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet divided and distributed something as he used to do for some of his distributions. A man from the Ansar said, "By Allah, in this division the pleasure of Allah has not been intended." I said, "I will definitely tell this to the Prophet ." So I went to him while he was sitting with his companions and told him of it secretly. That was hard upon the Prophet and the color of his face changed, and he became so angry that I wished I had not told him. The Prophet then said, "Moses was harmed with more than this, yet he remained patient."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 123:
Narrated Aisha:

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The Prophet did something and allowed his people to do it, but some people refrained from doing it. When the Prophet learned of that, he delivered a sermon, and after having sent Praises to Allah, he said, "What is wrong with such people as refrain from doing a thing that I do? By Allah, I know Allah better than they, and I am more afraid of Him than they."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 124:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
The Prophet was more shy than a virgin in her separate room. And if he saw a thing which he disliked, we would recognize that (feeling) in his face.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 125d:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "If a man says to his brother, O Kafir (disbeliever)!' Then surely one of them is such (i.e., a Kifir). "

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 125m:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, 'If anyone says to his brother, 'O misbeliever! Then surely, one of them such."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 126:
Narrated Thabit bin Ad-Dahhak:
The Prophet said, "Whoever swears by a religion other than Islam (i.e. if he swears by saying that he is a non-Muslim in case he is telling a lie), then he is as he says if his oath is false and whoever commits suicide with something, will be punished with the same thing in the (Hell) fire, and cursing a believer is like murdering him, and whoever accuses a believer of disbelief, then it is as if he had killed him."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 127:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
Mu'adh bin Jabal used to pray with the Prophet and then go to lead his people in prayer. Once he led the people in prayer and recited Surat-al-Baqara. A man left (the row of the praying people) and offered (light) prayer (separately) and went away. When Mu'adh came to know about it, he said. "He (that man) is a hypocrite." Later that man heard what Mu'adh said about him, so he came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! We are people who work with our own hands and irrigate (our farms) with our camels. Last night Mu'adh led us in the (night) prayer and he recited Sura-al-Baqara, so I offered my prayer separately, and because of that, he accused me of being a hypocrite." The Prophet called Mu'adh and said thrice, "O Mu'adh! You are putting the people to trials? Recite 'Wash-shamsi wad-uhaha' (91) or'Sabbih isma Rabbi ka-l-A'la' (87) or the like."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 128:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said: "Whoever amongst you swears, (saying by error) in his oath 'By Al-Lat and Al-Uzza', then he should say, 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah.' And whoever says to his companions, 'Come let me gamble' with you, then he must give something in charity (as an expiation for such a sin)." (See Hadith No. 645)

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 129:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
that he found Umar bin Al-Khattab in a group of people and he was swearing by his father. So Allah's Apostle called them, saying, "Verily! Allah forbids you to swear by your fathers. If one has to take an oath, he should swear by Allah or otherwise keep quiet."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 130:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet entered upon me while there was a curtain having pictures (of animals) in the house. His face got red with anger, and then he got hold of the curtain and tore it into pieces. The Prophet said, "Such people as paint these pictures will receive the severest punishment on the Day of Resurrection ."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 131:
Narrated Abu Mas'ud:
A man came to the Prophet and said "I keep away from the morning prayer only because such and such person prolongs the prayer when he leads us in it. The narrator added: I had never seen Allah's Apostle more furious in giving advice than he was on that day. He said, "O people! There are some among you who make others dislike good deeds) cause the others to have aversion (to congregational prayers). Beware! Whoever among you leads the people in prayer should not prolong it, because among them there are the sick, the old, and the needy." (See Hadith No. 670, Vol 1)

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 132:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
While the Prophet was praying, he saw sputum (on the wall) of the mosque, in the direction of the Qibla, and so he scraped it off with his hand, and the sign of disgust (was apparent from his face) and then said, "Whenever anyone of you is in prayer, he should not spit in front of him (in prayer) because Allah is in front of him."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 133:
Narrated Zaid bin Khalid Al-Juhani:
A man asked Allah's Apostle about "Al-Luqata" (a lost fallen purse or a thing picked up by somebody). The Prophet said, "You should announce it publicly for one year, and then remember and recognize the tying material of its container, and then you can spend it. If its owner came to you, then you should pay him its equivalent." The man said, "O Allah's Apostle! What about a lost sheep?" The Prophet said, "Take it because it is for you, for your brother, or for the wolf." The man again said, "O Allah's Apostle! What about a lost camel?" Allah's Apostle became very angry and furious and his cheeks became red (or his face became red), and he said, "You have nothing to do with it (the camel) for it has its food and its water container with it till it meets its owner."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 134:
Narrated Zaid bin Thabit:
Allah's Apostle made a small room (with a palm leaf mat). Allah's Apostle came out (of his house) and prayed in it. Some men came and joined him in his prayer. Then again the next night they came for the prayer, but Allah's Apostle delayed and did not come out to them. So they raised their voices and knocked the door with small stones (to draw his attention). He came out to them in a state of anger, saying, "You are still insisting (on your deed, i.e. Tarawih prayer in the mosque) that I thought that this prayer (Tarawih) might become obligatory on you. So you people, offer this prayer at your homes, for the best prayer of a person is the one which he offers at home, except the compulsory (congregational) prayer."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 135:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The strong is not the one who overcomes the people by his strength, but the strong is the one who controls himself while in anger."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 136:
Narrated Sulaiman bin Sarad:
Two men abused each other in front of the Prophet while we were sitting with him. One of the two abused his companion furiously and his face became red. The Prophet said, "I know a word (sentence) the saying of which will cause him to relax if this man says it. Only if he said, "I seek refuge with Allah from Satan, the outcast.' " So they said to that (furious) man, 'Don't you hear what the Prophet is saying?" He said, "I am not mad."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 137:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A man said to the Prophet , "Advise me! "The Prophet said, "Do not become angry and furious." The man asked (the same) again and again, and the Prophet said in each case, "Do not become angry and furious."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 138:
Narrated Abu As-Sawar Al-Adawi:
Imran bin Husain said, "The Prophet said, 'Haya' does not bring anything except good." Thereupon Bashir bin Ka'b said, 'It is written in the wisdom paper: Haya leads to solemnity; Haya leads to tranquility (peace of mind)." Imran said to him, "I am narrating to you the saying of Allah's Apostle and you are speaking about your paper (wisdom book)?"

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 139:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
The Prophet passed by a man who was admonishing his brother regarding Haya and was saying, "You are very shy, and I am afraid that might harm you." On that, Allah's Apostle said, "Leave him, for Haya is (a part) of Faith."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 140:
Narrated Abu Said:
The Prophet was shier than a veiled virgin girl. (See Hadith No. 762, Vol. 4)

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 141:
Narrated Abu Mas'ud:
The Prophet said, 'One of the sayings of the early Prophets which the people have got is: If you don't feel ashamed do whatever you like." (See Hadith No 690, 691, Vol 4)

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 142:
Narrated Um Salama:
Um Sulaim came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Verily, Allah does not feel shy to tell the truth. If a woman gets a nocturnal sexual discharge (has a wet dream), is it essential for her to take a bath? He replied, "Yes if she notices a discharge."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 143:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "The example of a believer is like a green tree, the leaves of which do not fall." The people said. "It is such-and-such tree: It is such-and-such tree." I intended to say that it was the datepalm tree, but I was a young boy and felt shy (to answer). The Prophet said, "It is the date-palm tree." Ibn Umar added, " I told that to Umar who said, 'Had you said it, I would have preferred it to such-and such a thing."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 144:
Narrated Thabit:
that he heard Anas saying, "A woman came to the Prophet offering herself to him in marriage, saying, "Have you got any interest in me (i.e. would you like to marry me?)" Anas's daughter said, "How shameless that woman was!" On that Anas said, "She is better than you for, she presented herself to Allah's Apostle (for marriage)."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 145:
Narrated Abu Musa:
that when Allah's Apostle sent him and Mu'adh bin Jabal to Yemen, he said to them, "Facilitate things for the people (treat the people in the most agreeable way), and do not make things difficult for them, and give them glad tidings, and let them not have aversion (i.e. to make the people hate good deeds) and you should both work in cooperation and mutual understanding, obey each other." Abu Musa said, "O Allah's Apostle! We are in a land in which a drink named Al Bit' is prepared from honey, and another drink named Al-Mizr is prepared from barley." On that, Allah's Apostle said, "All intoxicants (i.e. all alcoholic drinks) are prohibited."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 146:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "Make things easy for the people, and do not make it difficult for them, and make them calm (with glad tidings) and do not repulse (them)."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 147:
Narrated Aisha:
Whenever Allah's Apostle was given the choice of one of two matters he would choose the easier of the two as long as it was not sinful to do so, but if it was sinful, he would not approach it. Allah's Apostle never took revenge over anybody for his own sake but (he did) only when Allah's legal bindings were outraged, in which case he would take revenge for Allah's sake." (See Hadith No. 760. Vol. 4)

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 148:
Narrated Al-Azraq bin Qais:
We were in the city of Al-Ahwaz on the bank of a river which had dried up. Then Abu Barza Al-Aslami came riding a horse and he started praying and let his horse loose. The horse ran away, so Abu Barza interrupted his prayer and went after the horse till he caught it and brought it, and then he offered his prayer. There was a man amongst us who was (from the Khawari) having a different opinion. He came saying. "Look at this old man! He left his prayer because of a horse." On that Abu Barza came to us and said, "Since the time I left Allah's Apostle, nobody has admonished me; My house is very far from this place, and if I had carried on praying and left my horse, I could not have reached my house till night." Then Abu Barza mentioned that he had been in the company of the Prophet, and that he had seen his leniency.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 149:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A bedouin urinated in the mosque, and the people rushed to beat him. Allah's Apostle ordered them to leave him and pour a bucket or a tumbler (full) of water over the place where he has passed urine. The Prophet then said, " You have been sent to make things easy (for the people) and you have not been sent to make things difficult for them."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 150:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet used to mix with us to the extent that he would say to a younger brother of mine, 'O father of Umar! What did the Nughair (a kind of bird) do?"

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 151:
Narrated Aisha:
I used to play with the dolls in the presence of the Prophet, and my girl friends also used to play with me. When Allah's Apostle used to enter (my dwelling place) they used to hide themselves, but the Prophet would call them to join and play with me. (The playing with the dolls and similar images is forbidden, but it was allowed for Aisha at that time, as she was a little girl, not yet reached the age of puberty.) (Fateh-al-Bari page 143, Vol.13)

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Volume 8, Book 73, Number 152:
Narrated Aisha:
A man asked permission to see the Prophet. He said, "Let Him come in; What an evil man of the tribe he is! (Or, What an evil brother of the tribe he is)."
But when he entered, the Prophet spoke to him gently in a polite manner. I said to him, "O Allah's Apostle! You have said what you have said, then you spoke to him in a very gentle and polite manner? The Prophet said, "The worse people, in the sight of Allah are those whom the people leave (undisturbed) to save themselves from their dirty language."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 153:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abu Mulaika:
The Prophet was given a gift of a few silken cloaks with gold buttons. He distributed them amongst some of his companions and put aside one of them for Makhrama. When Makhrama came, the Prophet said, "I kept this for you." (Aiyub, the sub-narrator held his garment to show how the Prophet showed the cloak to Makhrama who had something unfavorable about his temper.)

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 154:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "A believer is not stung twice (by something) out of one and the same hole."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 155:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
Allah's Apostle entered upon me and said, "Have I not been informed that you offer prayer all the night and fast the whole day?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Do not do so; Offer prayer at night and also sleep; Fast for a few days and give up fasting for a few days because your body has a right on you, and your eye has a right on you, and your guest has a right on you, and your wife has a right on you. I hope that you will have a long life, and it is sufficient for you to fast for three days a month as the reward of a good deed, is multiplied ten times, that means, as if you fasted the whole year." I insisted (on fasting more) so I was given a hard instruction. I said, "I can do more than that (fasting)" The Prophet said, "Fast three days every week." But as I insisted (on fasting more) so I was burdened. I said, "I can fast more than that." The Prophet said, "Fast as Allah's prophet David used to fast." I said, "How was the fasting of the prophet David?" The Prophet said, "One half of a year (i.e. he used to fast on alternate days). '

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 156:
Narrated Abu Shuraih Al-Ka'bi:
Allah's Apostle said, Whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day, should serve his guest generously. The guest's reward is: To provide him with a superior type of food for a night and a day and a guest is to be entertained with food for three days, and whatever is offered beyond that, is regarded as something given in charity. And it is not lawful for a guest to stay with his host for such a long period so as to put him in a critical position."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 157:
Narrated Malik:
Similarly as above (156) adding, "Who believes in Allah and the Last Day should talk what is good or keep quiet." (i.e. abstain from dirty and evil talk, and should think before uttering).

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 158:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day, should not hurt his neighbour and whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day, should serve his guest generously and whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day, should talk what is good or keep quiet."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 159:
Narrated Uqba bin Amir:
We said, "O Allah's Apostle! You send us out and it happens that we have to stay with such people as do not entertain us. What do you think about it?" Allah's Apostle said to us, "If you stay with some people and they entertain you as they should for a guest, accept is; but if they do not do then you should take from them the right of the guest, which they ought to give."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 160:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day, should serve his guest generously; and whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day, should unite the bond of kinship (i.e. keep good relation with his Kith and kin); and whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day, should talk what is good or keep quit. "

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 161:
Narrated Abu Juhaifa:
The Prophet established a bond of brotherhood between Salman and Abu Darda'. Salman paid a visit to Abu ad-Darda and found Um Ad-Darda' dressed in shabby clothes and asked her why she was in that state.?" She replied, "Your brother, Abu Ad-Darda is not interested in the luxuries of this world." In the meantime Abu Ad-Darda came and prepared a meal for him (Salman), and said to him, "(Please) eat for I am fasting." Salman said, "I am not going to eat, unless you eat." So Abu Ad-Darda' ate. When it was night, Abu Ad-Darda' got up (for the night prayer). Salman said (to him), "Sleep," and he slept. Again Abu-Ad-Darda' got up (for the prayer), and Salman said (to him), "Sleep." When it was the last part of the night, Salman said to him, "Get up now (for the prayer)." So both of them offered their prayers and Salman said to Abu Ad-Darda',"Your Lord has a right on you; and your soul has a right on you; and your family has a right on you; so you should give the rights of all those who have a right on you). Later on Abu Ad-Darda' visited the Prophet and mentioned that to him. The Prophet, said, "Salman has spoken the truth."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 162:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Abu Bakr:
Abu Bakr invited a group of people and told me, "Look after your guests." Abu Bakr added, I am going to visit the Prophet and you should finish serving them before I return." Abdur-Rahman said, So I went at once and served them with what was available at that time in the house and requested them to eat." They said, "Where is the owner of the house (i.e., Abu Bakr)?" Abdur-Rahman said, "Take your meal." They said, "We will not eat till the owner of the house comes." Abdur-Rahman said, "Accept your meal from us, for if my father comes and finds you not having taken your meal yet, we will be blamed severely by him, but they refused to take their meals . So I was sure that my father would be angry with me. When he came, I went away (to hide myself) from him. He asked, "What have you done (about the guests)?" They informed him the whole story. Abu Bakr called, "O Abdur Rahman!" I kept quiet. He then called again. "O Abdur-Rahman!" I kept quiet and he called again, "O ignorant (boy)! I beseech you by Allah, if you hear my voice, then come out!" I came out and said, "Please ask your guests (and do not be angry with me)." They said, "He has told the truth; he brought the meal to us." He said, "As you have been waiting for me, by Allah, I will not eat of it tonight." They said, "By Allah, we will not eat of it till you eat of it." He said, I have never seen a night like this night in evil. What is wrong with you? Why don't you accept your meals of hospitality from us?" (He said to me), "Bring your meal." I brought it to him, and he put his hand in it, saying, "In the name of Allah. The first (state of fury) was because of Satan." So Abu Bakr ate and so did his guests.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 163:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Abu Bakr:
Abu Bakr came with a guest or some guests, but he stayed late at night with the Prophet and when he came, my mother said (to him), "Have you been detained from your guest or guests tonight?" He said, "Haven't you served the supper to them?" She replied, "We presented the meal to him (or to them), but he (or they) refused to eat." Abu Bakr became angry, rebuked me and invoked Allah to cause (my) ears to be cut and swore not to eat of it!" I hid myself, and he called me, "O ignorant (boy)!" Abu Bakr's wife swore that she would not eat of it and so the guests or the guest swore that they would not eat of it till he ate of it. Abu Bakr said, "All that happened was from Satan." So he asked for the meals and ate of it, and so did they. Whenever they took a handful of the meal, the meal grew (increased) from underneath more than that mouthful. He said (to his wife), "O, sister of Bani Firas! What is this?" She said, "O, pleasure of my eyes! The meal is now more than it had been before we started eating" So they ate of it and sent the rest of that meal to the Prophet. It is said that the Prophet also ate of it.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 164:
Narrated Rafi bin Khadij and Sahl bin Abu Hathma:
Abdullah bin Sahl and Muhaiyisa bin Mas'ud went to Khaibar and they dispersed in the gardens of the date-palm trees. Abdullah bin Sahl was murdered. Then Abdur-Rahman bin Sahl, Huwaiyisa and Muhaiyisa, the two sons of Mas'ud, came to the Prophet and spoke about the case of their (murdered) friend. Abdur-Rahman who was the youngest of them all, started talking. The Prophet said, "Let the older (among you) speak first." So they spoke about the case of their (murdered) friend. The Prophet said, "Will fifty of you take an oath whereby you will have the right to receive the blood money of your murdered man," (or said, "..your companion"). They said, "O Allah's Apostle! The murder was a thing we did not witness." The Prophet said, "Then the Jews will release you from the oath, if fifty of them (the Jews) should take an oath to contradict your claim." They said, "O Allah's Apostle! They are disbelievers (and they will take a false oath)." Then Allah's Apostle himself paid the blood money to them.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 165:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "Inform me of a tree which resembles a Muslim, giving its fruits at every season by the permission of its Lord, and the leaves of which do not fall." I thought of the date-palm tree, but I disliked to speak because Abu Bakr and Umar were present there. When nobody spoke, the Prophet said, "It is the date-palm tree" When I came out with my father, I said, "O father! It came to my mind that it was the date-palm tree." He said, "What prevented you from saying it?" Had you said it, it would have been more dearer to me than such-and-such a thing (fortune)." I said, "Nothing prevented me but the fact that neither you nor Abu Bakr spoke, so I disliked to speak (in your presence)."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 166:
Narrated Ubai bin Ka'b:
Allah's Apostle said, "Some poetry contains wisdom."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 167:
Narrated Jundub:
While the Prophet was walking, a stone hit his foot and stumbled and his toe was injured. He then (quoting a poetic verse) said, "You are not more than a toe which

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 168:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The most true words said by a poet were the words of Labid. He said, i.e. 'Verily, everything except Allah is perishable and Umaiya bin Abi As-Salt was about to embrace Islam '

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 169:
Narrated Salama bin Al-Aqwa:
We went out with Allah's Apostle to Khaibar and we travelled during the night. A man amongst the people said to Amir bin Al-Aqwa', "Won't you let us hear your poetry?" Amir was a poet, and so he got down and started (chanting Huda) reciting for the people, poetry that keep pace with the camel's foot steps, saying, "O Allah! Without You we would not have been guided on the right path, neither would we have given in charity, nor would we have prayed. So please forgive us what we have committed. Let all of us be sacrificed for Your cause and when we meet our enemy, make our feet firm and bestow peace and calmness on us and if they (our enemy) will call us towards an unjust thing we will refuse.
The infidels have made a hue and cry to ask others help against us. Allah's Apostle said, "Who is that driver (of the camels)?" They said, "He is Amir bin Al-Aqwa."' He said, "May Allah bestow His mercy on him." A man among the people said, Has Martyrdom been granted to him, O Allah's Prophet! Would that you let us enjoy his company longer." We reached (the people of) Khaibar and besieged them till we were stricken with severe hunger but Allah helped the Muslims conquer Khaibar. In the evening of its conquest the people made many fires. Allah's Apostle asked, "What are those fires? For what are you making fires?" They said, "For cooking meat." He asked, "What kind of meat?" They said, "Donkeys' meat." Allah's Apostle said, "Throw away the meat and break the cooking pots." A man said, O Allah's Apostle! Shall we throw away the meat and wash the cooking pots?" He said, "You can do that too." When the army files aligned in rows (for the battle), Amir's sword was a short one, and while attacking a Jew with it in order to hit him, the sharp edge of the sword turned back and hit Amir's knee and caused him to die.
When the Muslims returned (from the battle), Salama said, Allah's Apostle saw me pale and said, 'What is wrong with you?"' I said, "Let my parents be sacrificed for you! The people claim that all the deeds of Amir have been annulled." The Prophet asked, "Who said so?" I replied, "So-and-so and so-and-so and Usaid bin Al-Hudair Al-Ansari said, 'Whoever says so is telling a lie. Verily, Amir will have double reward."' (While speaking) the Prophet put two of his fingers together to indicate that, and added, "He was really a hard-working man and a Mujahid (devout fighter in Allah's Cause) and rarely have there lived in it (i.e., Medina or the battle-field) an "Arab like him."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 170:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet came to some of his wives among whom there was Um Sulaim, and said, "May Allah be merciful to you, O Anjasha! Drive the camels slowly, as they are carrying glass vessels!" Abu Qalaba said, "The Prophet said a sentence (i.e. the above metaphor) which, had anyone of you said it, you would have admonished him for it".

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 171:
Narrated Aisha:

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Hassan bin Thabit asked the permission of Allah's Apostle to lampoon the pagans (in verse). Allah's Apostle said, "What about my fore-fathers (ancestry)?" Hassan said (to the Prophet) "I will take you out of them as a hair is taken out of dough."

Narrated Hisham bin Urwa that his father said, "I called Hassan with bad names in front of Aisha." She said, "Don't call him with bad names because he used to defend Allah's Apostle (against the pagans)."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 172:
Narrated Al-Haitham bin Abu Sinan:
that he heard Abu Huraira in his narration, mentioning that the Prophet said, "A Muslim brother of yours who does not say dirty words." and by that he meant Ibn Rawaha, "said (in verse): 'We have Allah's Apostle with us who recites the Holy Koran in the early morning time. He gave us guidance and light while we were blind and astray, so our hearts are sure that whatever he says, will certainly happen. He does not touch his bed at night, being busy in worshipping Allah while the pagans are sound asleep in their beds.' "

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 173:
Narrated Abu Salama bin Abdur-Rahman bin 'Auf:
that he heard Hassan bin Thabit Al-Ansari asking the witness of Abu Huraira, saying, "O Abu- Huraira! I beseech you by Allah (to tell me). Did you hear Allah's Apostle saying' 'O Hassan ! Reply on behalf of Allah's Apostle. O Allah ! Support him (Hassan) with the Holy Spirit (Gabriel).'?" Abu Huraira said, "Yes."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 174:
Narrated Al-Bara:
The Prophet said to Hassan, "Lampoon them (the pagans) in verse, and Gabriel is with you."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 175:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "It is better for a man to fill the inside of his body with pus than to fill it with poetry."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 176:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle; said, "It is better for anyone of you that the inside of his body be filled with pus which may consume his body, than it be filled with poetry."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 177:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah, the brother of Abu Al-Qu'ais asked my permission to enter after the verses of Al-Hijab (veiling the ladies) was revealed, and I said, "By Allah, I will not admit him unless I take permission of Allah's Apostle for it was not the brother of Al-Qu'ais who had suckled me, but it was the wife of Al-Qu'ais, who had suckled me." Then Allah's Apostle entered upon me, and I said, "O Allah's Apostle! The man has not nursed me but his wife has nursed me." He said, "Admit him because he is your uncle (not from blood relation, but because you have been nursed by his wife), Taribat Yaminuki." Urwa said, "Because of this reason, ' Aisha used to say: Foster suckling relations render all those things (marriages etc.) illegal which are illegal because of the corresponding blood relations." (See Hadith No. 36, Vol. 7)

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 178:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet intended to return home after the performance of the Hajj, and he saw Safiya standing at the entrance of her tent, depressed and sad because she got her menses. The Prophet said, "Aqra Halqa! --An expression used in the Quraish dialect--"You will detain us." The Prophet then asked (her), "Did you perform the Tawaf Al-Ifada on the Day of Sacrifice (10th of Dhul-Hijja)?" She said, "Yes." The Prophet said, "Then you can leave (with us)."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 179:
Narrated Um Hani:
(the daughter of Abu Talib) I visited Allah's Apostle in the year of the Conquest of Mecca and found him taking a bath, and his daughter, Fatima was screening him. When I greeted him, he said, "Who is it?" I replied, "I am Um Hani, the daughter of Abu Talib." He said, "Welcome, O Um Hani ! " When the Prophet had finished his bath, he stood up and offered eight Rakat of prayer while he was wrapped in a single garment. When he had finished his prayer, I said, "O Allah's Apostle! My maternal brother assumes (or claims) that he will murder some man whom I have given shelter, i.e., so-and-so bin Hubaira." Allah's Apostle said, "O Um Hani! We shelter him whom you have sheltered." Um Hani added, "That happened in the forenoon."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 180:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet saw a man driving a Badana (a camel for sacrifice) and said (to him). "Ride it." The man said, "It is a Bandana." The Prophet said, "Ride on it." The man said, "It is a Bandana." The Prophet said, Ride on it, woe to you!"

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 181:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle saw a man driving a Badana (a camel for sacrifice) and said to him, "Ride on it." The man said, "O Allah's Apostle! It is a Bandana." The Prophet said, "Ride on it, woe to you!" on the second or third time.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 182:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle was on a journey and he had a black slave called Anjasha, and he was driving the camels (very fast, and there were women riding on those camels). Allah's Apostle said, "Waihaka (May Allah be merciful to you), O Anjasha! Drive slowly (the camels) with the glass vessels (women)!"

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 183:
Narrated Abu Bakra:
A man praised another man in front of the Prophet. The Prophet said thrice, "Wailaka (Woe on you) ! You have cut the neck of your brother!" The Prophet added, "If it is indispensable for anyone of you to praise a person, then he should say, "I think that such-and-such person (is so-and-so), and Allah is the one who will take his accounts (as he knows his reality) and none can sanctify anybody before Allah (and that only if he knows well about that person.)".

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 184:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
While the Prophet was distributing (war booty etc.) one day, Dhul Khawaisira, a man from the tribe of Bani Tamim, said, "O Allah's Apostle! Act justly." The Prophets said, "Woe to you! Who else would act justly if I did not act justly?" Umar said (to the Prophet), "Allow me to chop his neck off." The Prophet said, "No, for he has companions (who are apparently so pious that) if anyone of (you compares his prayer with) their prayer, he will consider his prayer inferior to theirs, and similarly his fasting inferior to theirs, but they will desert Islam (go out of religion) as an arrow goes through the victim's body (games etc.) in which case if its Nasl is examined nothing will be seen thereon, and if its Nady is examined, nothing will be seen thereon, and if its Qudhadh is examined, nothing will be seen thereon, for the arrow has gone out too fast even for the excretions and blood to smear over it. Such people will come out at the time of difference among the (Muslim) people and the sign by which they will be recognized, will be a man whose one of the two hands will look like the breast of a woman or a lump of flesh moving loosely." Abu Said added, "I testify that I heard that from the Prophet and also testify that I was with Ali when Ali fought against those people. The man described by the Prophet was searched for among the killed, and was found, and he was exactly as the Prophet had described him." (See Hadith No. 807, Vol. 4)

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 185:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A man came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I am ruined!" The Prophet said, "Waihaka (May Allah be merciful to you) !" The man said, "I have done sexual intercourse with my wife while fasting in Ramadan." The Prophet said, "Manumit a slave." The man said, " I cannot afford that. " The Prophet said; "Then fast for two successive months." The man said, " I have no power to do so." The Prophet said, "Then feed sixty poor persons." The man said, "I have nothing (to feed sixty persons). Later a basket full of dates were brought to the Prophet and he said (to the man), "Take it and give it in charity." The man said, "O Allah's Apostle! Shall I give it to people other than my family? By Him in Whose Hand my life is, there is nobody poorer than me in the whole city of Medina." The Prophet smiled till his premolar teeth became visible, and said, "Take it." Az-Zuhri said (that the Prophet said). "Wailaka."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 186:
Narrated Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri:
A bedouin said, "O Allah's Apostle! Inform me about the emigration." The Prophet said, "Waihaka (May Allah be merciful to you)! The question of emigration is a difficult one. Have you got some camels?" The bedouin said, "Yes." The Prophet said, "Do you pay their Zakat?" He said, "Yes." The Prophet said, "Go on doing like this from beyond the seas, for Allah will not let your deeds go in vain."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 187:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "Wailakum" (woe to you) or "waihakum" (May Allah be merciful to you)." Shu'ba is not sure as to which was the right word. "Do not become disbelievers after me by cutting the necks of one another."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 188:
Narrated Anas:
A bedouin came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! When will The Hour be established?" The Prophet said, "Wailaka (Woe to you), What have you prepared for it?" The bedouin said, "I have not prepared anything for it, except that I love Allah and H is Apostle." The Prophet said, "You will be with those whom you love." We (the companions of the Prophet) said, "And will we too be so? The Prophet said, "Yes." So we became very glad on that day. In the meantime, a slave of Al-Mughira passed by, and he was of the same age as I was. The Prophet said. "If this (slave) should live long, he will not reach the geriatric old age, but the Hour will be established."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 189:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "Everyone will be with those whom he loves."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 190:
Narrated Abdullah bin Mas'ud:
A man came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! What do you say about a man who loves some people but cannot catch up with their good deeds?" Allah's Apostle said, "Everyone will be with those whom he loves."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 191:
Narrated Abu Musa:
It was said to the Prophet; , "A man may love some people but he cannot catch up with their good deeds?" The Prophet said, "Everyone will be with those whom he loves."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 192:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
A man asked the Prophet "When will the Hour be established O Allah's Apostle?" The Prophet . said, "What have you prepared for it?" The man said, " I haven't prepared for it much of prayers or fast or alms, but I love Allah and His Apostle." The Prophet said, "You will be with those whom you love."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 193:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle said to Ibn Saiyad "I have hidden something for you in my mind; What is it?" He said, "Ad-Dukh." The Prophet said, "Ikhsa."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 194:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Umar bin Al-Khattab set out with Allah's Apostle, and a group of his companions to Ibn Saiyad. They found him playing with the boys in the fort or near the Hillocks of Bani Maghala. Ibn Saiyad was nearing his puberty at that time, and he did not notice the arrival of the Prophet till Allah's Apostle stroked him on the back with his hand and said, "Do you testify that I am Allah's Apostle?" Ibn Saiyad looked at him and said, "I testify that you are the Apostle of the unlettered ones (illiterates)". Then Ibn Saiyad said to the Prophets . "Do you testify that I am Allah's Apostle?" The Prophet denied that, saying, "I believe in Allah and all His Apostles," and then said to Ibn Saiyad, "What do you see?" Ibn Saiyad said, "True people and liars visit me." The Prophet said, "You have been confused as to this matter." Allah's Apostle added, "I have kept something for you (in my mind)." Ibn Saiyad said, "Ad-Dukh." The Prophet said, "Ikhsa (you should be ashamed) for you can not cross your limits." Umar said, "O Allah's Apostle! Allow me to chop off h is neck." Allah's Apostle said (to Umar). "Should this person be him (i.e. Ad-Dajjal) then you cannot over-power him; and should he be someone else, then it will be no use your killing him." Abdullah bin Umar added: Later on Allah's Apostle and Ubai bin Ka'b Al-Ansari (once again) went to the garden in which Ibn Saiyad was present.

When Allah's Apostle entered the garden, he started hiding behind the trunks of the date-palms intending to hear something from Ibn Saiyad before the latter could see him. Ibn Saiyad was Lying on his bed, covered with a velvet sheet from where his mumur were heard. Ibn Saiyad's mother saw the Prophet and said, "O Saf (the nickname of Ibn Saiyad)! Here is Mohammed!" Ibn Saiyad stopped his murmuring. The Prophet said, "If his mother had kept quiet, then I would have learnt more about him." Abdullah added: Allah's Apostle stood up before the people (delivering a sermon), and after praising and glorifying Allah as He deserved, he mentioned the Ad-Dajjal saying, "I warn you against him, and there has been no prophet but warned his followers against him. Noah warned his followers against him but I am telling you about him, something which no prophet has told his people of, and that is: Know that he is blind in one eye where as Allah is not so."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 195:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:

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When the delegation of Abdul Qais came to the Prophet, he said, "Welcome, O the delegation who have come! Neither you will have disgrace, nor you will regret." They said, "O Allah's Apostle! We are a group from the tribe of Ar-Rabia, and between you and us there is the tribe of Mudar and we cannot come to you except in the sacred months. So please order us to do something good (religious deeds) so that we may enter Paradise by doing that, and also that we may order our people who are behind us (whom we have left behind at home) to follow it." He said, "Four and four:" offer prayers perfectly , pay the Zakat, (obligatory charity), fast the month of Ramadan, and give one-fifth of the war booty (in Allah's cause), and do not drink in (containers called) Ad-Duba,' Al-Hantam, An-Naqir and Al-Muzaffat."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 196:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "For every betrayer (perfidious person), a flag will be raised on the Day of Resurrection, and it will be announced (publicly) 'This is the betrayal (perfidy) of so-and-so, the son of so-and-so.' "

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 197:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "A flag will be fixed on the Day of Resurrection for every betrayer, and it will be announced (publicly in front of everybody), 'This is the betrayal (perfidy) so-and-so, the son of so-and-so."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 198:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said, "None of you should say Khabuthat Nafsi, but he is recommended to say 'Laqisat Nafsi."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 199:
Narrated Sal:
The Prophet said, "None of you should say Khabuthat Nafsi but he is recommended to say 'Laqisat Nafsi (See Hadith No. 202)

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 200:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Allah said, "The offspring of Adam abuse the Dahr (Time), and I am the Dahr; in My Hands are the night and the day." !

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 201:
Narrated Abu Huraira: The Prophet said, "Don't call the grapes Al-Karm, and don't say 'Khai

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 202:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "They say Al-Karm (the generous), and in fact Al-Karm is the heart of a believer."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 203:
Narrated Ali:
I never heard Allah's Apostle saying, "Let my father and mother be sacrificed for you," except for Sa'd (bin Abi Waqqas). I heard him saying, "Throw! (arrows), Let my father and mother be sacrificed for you !" (The sub-narrator added, "I think that was in the battle of Uhud.")

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 204:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
That he and Abu Talha were coming in the company of the Prophet towards Medina), while Safiya (the Prophet's wife) was riding behind him on his she-camel. After they had covered a portion of the way suddenly the foot of the she-camel slipped and both the Prophet and the woman (i.e., his wife, Safiya) fell down. Abu Talha jumped quickly off his camel and came to the Prophet (saying.) "O Allah's Apostle! Let Allah sacrifice me for you! Have you received any injury?" The Prophet said, "No, but take care of the woman (my wife)." Abu Talha covered his face with his garment and went towards her and threw his garment over her. Then the woman got up and Abu Talha prepared their she camel (by tightening its saddle, etc.) and both of them (the Prophet and Safiya) mounted it. Then all of them proceeded and when they approached near Medina, or saw Medina, the Prophet said, "Ayibun,' abidun, taibun, liRabbina hamidun (We are coming back (to Medina) with repentance, worshipping (our Lord) and celebrating His (our Lord's) praises". The Prophet continued repeating these words till he entered the city of Medina.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 205:
Narrated Jabir:
A boy was born for a man among us, and the man named him Al-Qasim. We said to him, "We will not call you Abu-l-Qasim, nor will we respect you for that." The Prophet was informed about that, and he said, "Name your son Abdur-Rahman."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 206:
Narrated Jabi:
A man among us begot a boy whom he named Al-Qasim. The people said, "We will not call him (i.e., the father) by that Kuniya (Abu-l-Qasim) till we ask the Prophet about it. The Prophet said. "Name yourselves by my name, but do not call (yourselves) by my Kuniya."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 207:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Abu-l-Qasim (The Prophet) said, "Name yourselves by my name, but do not call yourselves by my Kuniya."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 208:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
A man among us begot a boy whom he named Al-Qasim. The people said (to him), "We will not call you Abul-l-Qasim, nor will we please you by calling you so." The man came to the Prophet and mentioned that to him. The Prophet said to him, "Name your son Abdur-Rahman."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 209:
Narrated Al-Musaiyab:
That his father (Hazn bin Wahb) went to the Prophet and the Prophet asked (him), "What is your name?" He replied, "My name is Hazn." The Prophet said, "You are Sahl." Hazn said, "I will not change the name with which my father has named me." Ibn Al-Musaiyab added: We have had roughness (in character) ever since.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 210:
Narrated Al-Musaiyab:
on the authority of his father similarly as above (i.e., 209).

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 211:
Narrated Sahl:
When Al-Mundhir bin Abu Usaid was born, he was brought to the Prophet who placed him on his thigh. While Abu Usaid was sitting there, the Prophet was busy with something in his hands so Abu Usaid told someone to take his son from the thigh of the Prophet . When the Prophet finished his job (with which he was busy), he said, "Where is the boy?" Abu Usaid replied, "We have sent him home." The Prophet said, "What is his name?" Abu Usaid said, "(His name is) so-and-so. " The Prophet said, "No, his name is Al-Mundhir." So he called him Al-Mundhir from that day.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 212:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Zainab's original name was "Barrah," but it was said' "By that she is giving herself the prestige of piety." So the Prophet changed her name to Zainab.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 213:
Narrated Said bin Al-Musaiyab:
That when his grandfather, Hazn visited the Prophet the Prophet said (to him), "What is your name?" He said, "My name is Hazn." The Prophet said, " But you are Sahl." He said, "I will not change my name with which my father named me." Ibn Al-Musaiyab added: So we have had roughness (in character) ever since.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 214:
Narrated Isma'il:
I asked Abi Aufa, "Did you see Ibrahim, the son of the Prophet ?" He said, "Yes, but he died in his early childhood. Had there been a Prophet after Mohammed then his son would have lived, but there is no Prophet after him."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 215:
Narrated Al-Bara:
When Ibrahim (the son of the Prophet) died, Allah's Apostle said, "There is a wet nurse for him in Paradise."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 216:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah Al-Ansari:
Allah's Apostle said, "Name yourselves after me (by my name) but do not call (yourselves) by my Kuniya (1), for I am Al-Qasim (distributor), and I distribute among you Allah's blessings." This narration has also come on the authority of Anas that the ! Prophet said so."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 217:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Name yourselves after me (by my name), but do not call yourselves by my Kuniya, and whoever sees me in a dream, he surely sees me, for Satan cannot impersonate me (appear in my figure). And whoever intentionally ascribes something to me falsely, he will surely take his place in the (Hell) Fire.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 218:
Narrated Abu Musa:
I got a son and I took him to the Prophet who named him Ibrahim, and put in his mouth the juice of a date fruit (which be himself had chewed?, and invoked for Allah's blessing upon him, and then gave him back to me. He was the eldest son of Abii Musa.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 219:
Narrated Al-Mughira bin Shuba:
Solar eclipse occurred on the day of Ibrahim's death (the Prophet's son).

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 220:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife the Prophet) Allah's Apostle said, "O Aisha! This is Gabriel sending his greetings to you." I said, "Peace, and Allah's Mercy be on him." Aisha added: The Prophet used to see things which we used not to see.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 221:
Narrated Anas:
Once Um Sulaim was (with the women who were) in charge of the luggage on a journey, and Anjashah, the slave of the Prophet, was driving their camels (very fast). The Prophet said, "O Anjash! Drive slowly (the camels) with the glass vessels (i.e., ladies)."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 222:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet was the best of all the people in character. I had a brother called Abu Umar, who, I think, had been newly weaned. Whenever he (that child) was brought to the Prophet the Prophet used to say, "O Abu Umar! What did Al-Nughair (nightingale) (do)?" It was a nightingale with which he used to play. Sometimes the time of the Prayer became due while he (the Prophet) was in our house. He would order that the carpet underneath him be swept and sprayed with water, and then he would stand up (for the prayer) and we would line up behind him, and he would lead us in prayer.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 223:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
The most beloved names to Ali was Abu Turab, and he used to be pleased when we called him by it, for none named him Abu Turab (for the first time), but the Prophet. Once Ali got angry with (his wife) Fatima, and went out (of his house) and slept near a wall in the mosque. The Prophet came searching for him, and someone said, "He is there, Lying near the wall." The Prophet came to him while his (Ali's) back was covered with dust. The Prophet started removing the dust from his back, saying, "Get up, O Abu Turab!"

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 224:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The most awful name in Allah's sight on the Day of Resurrection, will be (that of) a man calling himself Malik Al-Amlak (the king of kings)."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 225:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The most awful (meanest) name in Allah's sight." Sufyan said more than once, "The most awful (meanest) name in Allah's sight is (that of) a man calling himself king of kings." Sufyan said, "Somebody else (i.e. other than Abu Az-Zinad, a sub-narrator) says: What is meant by 'The king of kings' is 'Shahan Shah.,"

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 226:
Narrated Usama bin Zaid:
That Allah's Apostle rode over a donkey covered with a Fadakiya (velvet sheet) and Usama was riding behind him. He was visiting Sa'd bin 'Ubada (who was sick) in the dwelling place of Bani Al-Harith bin Al-Khazraj and this incident happened before the battle of Badr. They proceeded till they passed by a gathering in which Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul was present., and that was before Abdullah bin Ubat embraced Islam. In that gathering there were Muslims, pagan idolators and Jews, and among the Muslims there was Abdullah bin Rawaha.
When a cloud of dust raised by (the movement of) the animal covered that gathering, Abdullah bin Ubai covered his nose with his garment and said, "Do not cover us with dust." Allah's Apostle greeted them, stopped, dismounted and invited them to Allah (i.e. to embrace Islam) and recited to them the Holy Koran. On that Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul said to him, "O man! There is nothing better than what you say, if it is the truth. So do not trouble us with it in our gatherings, but if somebody comes to you, you can preach to him." On that Abdullah bin Rawaha said "Yes, O Allah's Apostle! Call on us in our gathering, for we love that." So the Muslims, the pagans and the Jews started abusing one another till they were about to fight with one another. Allah's Apostle kept on quietening them till all of them became quiet, and then Allah's Apostle rode his animal and proceeded till he entered upon Sa'd bin 'Ubada. Allah's Apostle said, "O Sa'd!

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Didn't you hear what Abu Habab said?" (meaning Abdullah bin Unbar). "He said so-and-so." Sa'd bin Ubada said, "O Allah's Apostle! Let my father be sacrificed for you ! Excuse and forgive him for, by Him Who revealed to you the Book, Allah sent the Truth which was revealed to you at the time when the people of this town had decided to crown him (Abdullah bin Ubai) as their ruler.

So when Allah had prevented that with the Truth He had given you, he was choked by that, and that caused him to behave in such an impolite manner which you had noticed." So Allah's Apostle excused him. (It was the custom of) Allah's Apostle and his companions to excuse the pagans and the people of the scripture (Christians and Jews) as Allah ordered them, and they used to be patient when annoyed (by them). Allah said: 'You shall certainly hear much that will grieve you from those who received the Scripture before you.....and from the pagans (3.186)

He also said: 'Many of the people of the scripture wish that if they could turn you away as disbelievers after you have believed. .... (2.109) So Allah's Apostle used to apply what Allah had ordered him by excusing them till he was allowed to fight against them. When Allah's Apostle had fought the battle of Badr and Allah killed whomever He killed among the chiefs of the infidels and the nobles of Quraish, and Allah's Apostle and his companions had returned with victory and booty, bringing with them some of the chiefs of the infidels and the nobles of the Quraish as captives. Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul and the pagan idolators who were with him, said, "This matter (Islam) has now brought out its face (triumphed), so give Allah's Apostle the pledge of allegiance (for embracing Islam.)". Then they became Muslims.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 227:
Narrated Abdullah bin Al-Harith bin Naufal:
Abbas bin Abdul Muttalib said, "O Allah's Apostle! Did you benefit Abu Talib with anything as he used to protect and take care of you, and used to become angry for you?" The Prophet said, "Yes, he is in a shallow place of Fire. But for me he would have been in the lowest part of the Fire."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 228:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Once the Prophet was on one of his journeys, and the driver of the camels started chanting (to let the camels go fast). The Prophet said to him. "(Take care) Drive slowly with the glass vessels, O Anjasha! Waihaka (May Allah be Merciful to you)."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 229:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet was on a journey and a slave named Anjasha was chanting (singing) for the camels to let them go fast (while driving). The Prophet said, "O Anjasha, drive slowly (the camels) with the glass vessels!" Abu Qilaba said, "By the glass vessels' he meant the women (riding the camels)."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 230:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet had a Had (a camel driver) called Anjasha, and he had a nice voice. The Prophet said to him, "(Drive) slowly, O Anjasha! Do not break the glass vessels!" And Qatada said, "(By vessels') he meant the weak women."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 231:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
There was a state of fear in Medina. Allah's Apostle rode a horse belonging to Abu Talha (in order to see the matter). The Prophet said, "We could not see anything, and we found that horse like a sea (fast in speed)."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 232:
Narrated Aisha:
Some people asked Allah's Apostle about the fore-tellers. Allah's Apostle said to them, "They are nothing (i.e., liars)." The people said, 'O Allah's Apostle ! Sometimes they tell something which comes out to be true." Allah's Apostle said, "That word which comes to be true is what a jinx snatches away by stealing and then pours it in the ear of his fore-teller with a sound similar to the cackle of a hen, and then they add to it one-hundred lies."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 233:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
That he heard Allah's Apostle saying. "Then there was a pause in the revelation of the Divine Inspiration to me. Then while I was walking all of a sudden I heard a voice from the sky, and I raised my sight towards the sky and saw the same angel who had visited me in the cave of Hira,' sitting on a chair between the sky and the earth."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 234:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Once I stayed overnight at the house of Maimuna and the Prophet was there with her. When it was the last third of the night, or some part of the night, the Prophet got up looking towards the sky and recited: 'Verily! In the creation of the heavens and the earth, and in the alternation of Night and Day, there are indeed signs for men of u understanding.' (3.190)

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 235:
Narrated Abu Musa:
That he was in the company of the Prophet in one of the gardens of Medina and in the hand of the Prophet there was a stick, and he was striking (slowly) the water and the mud with it. A man came (at the gate of the garden) and asked permission to enter. The Prophet said, "Open the gate for him and give him the glad tidings of entering Paradise. "I went, and behold! It was Abu Bakr. So I opened the gate for him and informed him of the glad tidings of entering Paradise. Then another man came and asked permission to enter. The Prophet said, "Open the gate for him and give him the glad tidings of entering Paradise." Behold! It was Umar. So I opened the gate for him and gave him the glad tidings of entering Paradise. Then another man came and asked permission to enter.

The Prophet was sitting in a leaning posture, so he sat up and said, "Open the gate for him and give him the glad tidings of entering Paradise with a calamity which will befall him or which will take place." I went, and behold ! It was Uthman. So I opened the gate for him and gave him the glad tidings of entering Paradise and also informed him of what the Prophet had said (about a calamity). Uthman said, "Allah Alone Whose Help I seek (against that calamity).

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 236:
Narrated Ali:
We were with the Prophet in a funeral procession, and he started scraping the ground with a small stick and said, "There is none amongst you but has been assigned a place (either) in Paradise and (or) in the Hell-Fire." The people said (to him), "Should we not depend upon it?" He said: carry on doing (good) deeds, for everybody will find easy such deeds as will lead him to his destined place. He then recited: "As for him who gives (in charity) and keeps his duty to Allah.." (92.5)

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 237:
Narrated Um Salama:
(One night) the Prophet woke up and said, "Subhan Allah ! How many treasures have been (disclosed) sent down! And how many afflictions have been descended! Who will go and wake the sleeping lady-occupants up of these dwellings (for praying)?" (He meant by this his wives.) The Prophet added, "A well-dressed soul (person) in this world may be naked in the "Hereafter." Umar said, "I asked the Prophet, 'Have you divorced your wives?' He said, 'No.' I said, 'Allahu Akbar.' "

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 238:
Narrated Safiya bint Huyai:
The wife of the Prophet that she went to Allah's Apostle while he was in Itikaf (staying in the mosque) during the last ten nights of the month of Ramadan. She spoke to him for an hour (a while) at night and then she got up to return home. The Prophet got up to accompany her, and when they reached the gate of the mosque opposite the dwelling place of Um Salama, the wife of the Prophet, two Ansari men passed by, and greeting Allah's Apostle , they quickly went ahead. Allah's Apostle said to them, "Do not be in a hurry She is Safiya, the daughter of Huyai." They said, "Subhan Allah! O Allah's Apostle (how dare we suspect you)." That was a great thing for both of them. The Prophet then said, "Satan runs in the body of Adam's son (i.e. man) as his blood circulates in it, and I was afraid that he (Satan) might insert an evil thought in your hearts."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 239:
Narrated Abdullah bin Mughaffal Al-Muzani:
The Prophet forbade the throwing of stones (with the thumb and the index or middle finger), and said "It neither hunts a game nor kills (or hurts) an enemy, but it gouges out an eye or breaks a tooth."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 240:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Two men sneezed before the Prophet. The Prophet said to one of them, "May Allah bestow His Mercy on you," but he did not say that to the other. On being asked (why), the Prophet said, "That one praised Allah (at the time of sneezing), while the other did not praise Allah."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 241:
Narrated Al-Bara:
The Prophet ordered us to do seven (things) and forbade us from seven (other things): He ordered us to pay a visit to the sick, to follow funeral possessions, to say: May Allah be merciful to you to a sneezer, - if he says: Praise be to Allah, to accept invitation (invitation to a wedding banquet), to return greetings, to help the oppressed, and to help others to fulfill their oaths (provided it was not sinful). And he forbade us from seven (things): to wear golden rings or golden bangles, to wear silk (cloth), Dibaj, Sundus and Mayathir.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 242:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Allah likes sneezing and dislikes yawning, so if someone sneezes and then praises Allah, then it is obligatory on every Muslim who heard him, to say: May Allah be merciful to you (Yar-hamuka-l-lah). But as regards yawning, it is from Satan, so one must try one's best to stop it, if one says 'Ha' when yawning, Satan will laugh at him."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 243:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, " If anyone of you sneezes, he should say 'Al-Hamdulillah' (Praise be to Allah), and his (Muslim) brother or companion should say to him, 'Yar-hamuka-l-lah' (May Allah bestow his Mercy on you). When the latter says 'Yar-hamuka-llah", the former should say, 'Yahdikumul-lah wa Yuslih balakum' (May Allah give you guidance and improve your condition)."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 244:
Narrated Anas:
Two men sneezed before the Prophet and he said Tashmit to one of them, while he did not say Tashmit to the other. So that man said, "O Allah's Apostle! You said Tashmit to that fellow but you did not say Tashmit to me. "The Prophet said, "That man praised Allah, but you did not praise Allah."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 245:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Allah loves sneezing but dislikes yawning; so if anyone of you sneezes and then praises Allah, every Muslim who hears him (praising Allah) has to say Tashmit to him. But as regards yawning, it is from Satan, so if one of you yawns, he should try his best to stop it, for when anyone of you yawns, Satan laughs at him."

SAHIH BUKHARI, BOOK 74:
Asking Permission

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 246:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Allah created Adam in his complete shape and form (directly), sixty cubits (about 30 meters) in height. When He created him, He said (to him), "Go and greet that group of angels sitting there, and listen what they will say in reply to you, for that will be your greeting and the greeting of your offspring." Adam (went and) said, 'As-Salamu alaikum (Peace be upon you).' They replied, 'AsSalamu-'Alaika wa Rahmatullah (Peace and Allah's Mercy be on you) So they increased 'Wa Rahmatullah' The Prophet added 'So whoever will enter Paradise, will be of the shape and form of Adam. Since then the creation of Adam's (offspring) (i.e. stature of human beings is being diminished continuously) to the present time."

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 247:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
Al-Fadl bin Abbas rode behind the Prophet as his companion rider on the back portion of his she camel on the Day of Nahr (slaughtering of sacrifice, 10th Dhul-Hijja) and Al-Fadl was a handsome man. The Prophet stopped to give the people verdicts. In the meantime, a beautiful woman From the tribe of Khath'am came, asking the verdict of Allah's Apostle. Al-Fadl started looking at her as her beauty attracted him. The Prophet looked behind while Al-Fadl was looking at her; so the Prophet held out his hand backwards and caught the chin of Al-Fadl and turned his face (to the owner sides in order that he should not gaze at her. She said, "O Allah's Apostle! The obligation of Performing Hajj enjoined by Allah on His worshipers, has become due (compulsory) on my father who is an old man and who cannot sit firmly on the riding animal. Will it be sufficient that I perform Hajj on his behalf?" He said, "Yes."

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 248:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
The Prophet said, 'Beware! Avoid sitting on the roads." They (the people) said, "O Allah s Apostle! We can't help sitting (on the roads) as these are (our places) here we have talks." The Prophet said, ' l f you refuse but to sit, then pay the road its right ' They said, "What is the right of the road, O Allah's Apostle?" He said, 'Lowering your gaze, refraining from harming others, returning greeting, and enjoining what is good, and forbidding what is evil."

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 249:
Narrated Abdullah:
When we prayed with the Prophet we used to say: As-Salam be on Allah from His worshipers, As-Salam be on Gabriel, As-

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Salam be on Michael, As-Salam be on so-and-so. When the Prophet finished his prayer, he faced us and said, "Allah Himself is As-Salam (Peace), so when one sits in the prayer, one should say, 'At-Tahiyatu-lillahi Was-Salawatu, Wat-Taiyibatu, As-Salamu 'Alaika aiyuhan-Nabiyyu wa Rah-matul-lahi wa Barakatuhu, As-Salamu 'Alaina wa 'ala 'Ibadillahi assalihin, for if he says so, then it will be for all the pious slave of Allah in the Heavens and the Earth. (Then he should say), 'Ash-hadu an la ilaha illalllahu wa ash-hadu anna Mohammedan 'Abduhu wa rasulu-hu,' and then he can choose whatever speech (i.e. invocation) he wishes " (See Hadith No. 797, Vol. 1)

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 250:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The young should greet the old, the passer by should greet the sitting one, and the small group of persons should greet the large group of persons. "

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 251:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The riding one should greet the walking one, and the walking one should greet the sitting one, and the small number of persons should greet the large number of persons."

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 252:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The riding person should greet the walking one, and the walking one should greet the sitting one, and the small number of persons should greet the large number of persons."

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 252e:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The younger person should greet the older one, and the walking person should greet the sitting one, and the small number of persons should greet the large number of persons."

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 253g:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
Allah's Apostle ordered us to do seven (things): to visit the sick, to follow the funeral processions, to say Tashmit to a sneezer, to help the weak, to help the oppressed ones, to propagate As-Salam (greeting), and to help others to fulfill their oaths (if it is not sinful). He forbade us to drink from silver utensils, to wear gold rings, to ride on silken saddles, to wear silk clothes, Dibaj (thick silk cloth), Qassiy and Istabraq (two kinds of silk). (See Hadith No. 539, Vol. 7)

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 253k:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
A man asked the Prophet, "What Islamic traits are the best?" The Prophet said, "Feed the people, and greet those whom you know and those whom you do not know."

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 254:
Narrated Abu Aiyub:
The Prophet said, "It is not lawful for a Muslim to desert (not to speak to) his brother Muslim for more than three days while meeting, one turns his face to one side and the other turns his face to the other side. Lo! The better of the two is the one who starts greeting the other."

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 255:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
that he was a boy of ten at the time when the Prophet emigrated to Medina. He added: I served Allah's Apostle for ten years (the last part of his life time) and I know more than the people about the occasion whereupon the order of Al-Hijab was revealed (to the Prophet). Ubai b n Ka'b used to ask me about it. It was revealed (for the first time) during the marriage of Allah's Apostle with Zainab bint Jahsh. In the morning, the Prophet was a bride-groom of her and he Invited the people, who took their meals and went away, but a group of them remained with Allah's Apostle and they prolonged their stay. Allah's Apostle got up and went out, and I too, went out along with him till he came to the lintel of Aisha's dwelling place. Allah's Apostle thought that those people had left by then, so he returned, and I too, returned with him till he entered upon Zainab and found that they were still sitting there and had not yet gone. The Prophet went out again, and so did I with him till he reached the lintel of Aisha's dwelling place, and then he thought that those people must have left by then, so he returned, and so did I with him, and found those people had gone. At that time the Divine Verse of Al-Hijab was revealed, and the Prophet set a screen between me and him (his family).

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 256:
Narrated Anas:
When the Prophet married Zainab, the people came and were offered a meal, and then they sat down (after finishing their meals) and started chatting. The Prophet showed as if he wanted to get up, but they did not get up. When he noticed that, he got up, and some of the people also got up and went away, while some others kept on sitting. When the Prophet returned to enter, he found the people still sitting, but then they got up and left. So I told the Prophet of their departure and he came and went in. I intended to go in but the Prophet put a screen between me and him, for Allah revealed:-- 'O you who believe! Enter not the Prophet's houses..' (33.53)

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 257:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) Umar bin Al-Khattab used to say to Allah's Apostle "Let your wives be veiled" But he did not do so. The wives of the Prophet used to go out to answer the call of nature at night only at Al-Manasi.' Once Sauda, the daughter of Zam'a went out and she was a tall woman. Umar bin Al-Khattab saw her while he was in a gathering, and said, "I have recognized you, O Sauda!" He (Umar) said so as he was anxious for some Divine orders regarding the veil (the veiling of women.) So Allah revealed the Verse of veiling. (Al-Hijab; a complete body cover excluding the eyes). (See Hadith No. 148, Vol. 1)

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 258:
Narrated Sahl bin Sa'd:
A man peeped through a round hole into the dwelling place of the Prophet, while the Prophet had a Midray (an iron comb) with which he was scratching his head. the Prophet said, " Had known you were looking (through the hole), I would have pierced your eye with it (i.e., the comb)." Verily! The order of taking permission to enter has been enjoined because of that sight, (that one should not look unlawfully at the state of others). (See Hadith No. 807, Vol. 7)

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 259:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
A man peeped into a room of the Prophet. The Prophet stood up, holding an arrow head. It is as if I am just looking at him, trying to stab the man.

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 260:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
I have not seen a thing resembling 'lamam' (minor sins) than what Abu Huraira 'narrated from the Prophet who said "Allah has written for Adam's son his share of adultery which he commits inevitably. The adultery of the eyes is the sight (to gaze at a forbidden thing), the adultery of the tongue is the talk, and the inner self wishes and desires and the private parts testify all this or deny it."

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 261:
Narrated Anas:
Whenever Allah's Apostle greeted somebody, he used to greet him three times, and if he spoke a sentence, he used to repeat it thrice.

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 262:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
While I was present in one of the gatherings of the Ansar, Abu Musa came as if he was scared, and said, "I asked permission to enter upon Umar three times, but I was not given the permission, so I returned." (When Umar came to know about it) he said to Abu Musa, "Why did you not enter?'. Abu Musa replied, "I asked permission three times, and I was not given it, so I returned, for Allah's Apostle said, "If anyone of you asks the permission to enter thrice, and the permission is not given, then he should return.' " Umar said, "By Allah! We will ask Abu Musa to bring witnesses for it." (Abu Musa went to a gathering of the Ansar and said). "Did anyone of you hear this from the Prophet ?" Ubai bin Ka'b said, "By Allah, none will go with you but the youngest of the people (as a witness)." (Abu Said) was the youngest of them, so I went with Abu Musa and informed Umar that the Prophet had said so. (See Hadith No. 277, Vol. 3)

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 263:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I entered (the house) along with Allah's Apostle . There he found milk in a basin. He said, "O Abu Hirr! Go and call the people of Suffa to me." I went to them and invited them. They came and asked permission to enter, and when it was given, they entered. (See Hadith No. 459 for details)

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 264:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
that he passed by a group of boys and greeted them and said, "The Prophet used to do so."

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 265:
Narrated Abu Hazim:
Sahl said, "We used to feel happy on Fridays." I asked Sahl, "Why?" He said, "There was an old woman of our acquaintance who used to send somebody to Buda'a (Ibn Maslama said, "Buda'a was a garden of date-palms at Medina). She used to pull out the silq (a kind of vegetable) from its roots and put it in a cooking pot, adding some powdered barley over it (and cook it). After finishing the Jumua (Friday) prayer we used to (pass by her and) greet her, whereupon she would present us with that meal, so we used to feel happy because of that. We used to have neither a midday nap, nor meals, except after the Friday prayer." (See Hadith No. 60, Vol.2)

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 266:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle said, "O Aisha! This is Gabriel sending his greetings to you." I said, "Peace, and Allah's Mercy be on him (Gabriel). You see what we do not see." (She was addressing Allah's Apostle).

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 267:
Narrated Jabir:
I came to the Prophet in order to consult him regarding my father's debt. When I knocked on the door, he asked, "Who is that?" I replied, "I" He said, "I, I?" He repeated it as if he disliked it.

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 268:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A man entered the mosque while Allah's Apostle was sitting in one side of the mosque. The man prayed, came, and greeted the Prophet. Allah's Apostle said to him, "Wa 'Alaikas Salam (returned his greeting). Go back and pray as you have not prayed (properly)." The man returned, repeated his prayer, came back and greeted the Prophet. The Prophet said, "Wa alaika-s-Salam (returned his greeting). Go back and pray again as you have not prayed (properly)." The man said at the second or third time, "O Allah's Apostle! Kindly teach me how to pray". The Prophet said, "When you stand for prayer, perform ablution properly and then face the Qibla and say Takbir (Allahu-Akbar), and then recite what you know from the Koran, and then bow with calmness till you feel at ease then rise from bowing, till you stand straight, and then prostrate calmly (and remain in prostration) till you feel at ease, and then raise (your head) and sit with calmness till you feel at ease and then prostrate with calmness (and remain in prostration) till you feel at ease, and then raise (your head) and sit with calmness till you feel at ease in the sitting position, and do likewise in whole of your prayer." And Abu Usama added, "Till you stand straight." (See Hadith No. 759, Vol.1)

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 269:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said (in the above narration No. 268), "And then raise your head till you feel at ease while sitting. "

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 270:
Narrated Aisha: that the Prophet said to her, "Gabriel sends Salam (greetings) to you." She replied, "Wa 'alaihi-s-Salam Wa Rahmatu-l-lah." (Peace and Allah's Mercy be on him).

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 271:
Narrated Urwa-bin Az-Zubair:
Usama bin Zaid said, "The Prophet rode over a donkey with a saddle underneath which there was a thick soft Fadakiya velvet sheet. Usama bin Zaid was his companion rider, and he was going to pay a visit to Sa'd bin Ubada (who was sick) at the dwelling place of Bani Al-Harith bin Al-Khazraj, and this incident happened before the battle of Badr. The Prophet passed by a gathering in which there were Muslims and pagan idolators and Jews, and among them there was Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul, and there was Abdullah bin Rawaha too. When a cloud of dust raised by the animal covered that gathering, Abdullah bin Ubai covered his nose with his Rida (sheet) and said (to the Prophet), "Don't cover us with dust." The Prophet greeted them and then stopped, dismounted and invited them to Allah (i.e., to embrace Islam) and also recited to them the Holy Koran. Abdullah bin Ubai' bin Salul said, "O man! There is nothing better than what you say, if what you say is the truth. So do not trouble us in our gatherings. Go back to your mount (or house,) and if anyone of us comes to you, tell (your tales) to him." On that Abdullah bin Rawaha said, "(O Allah's Apostle!) Come to us and bring it(what you want to say) in our gatherings, for we love that." So the Muslims, the pagans and the Jews started quarreling till they were about to fight and clash with one another. The Prophet kept on quietening them (till they all became quiet). He then rode his animal, and proceeded till he entered upon Sa'd bin 'Ubada, he said, "O Sa'd, didn't you hear what Abu Habbab said? (He meant Abdullah bin Ubai). He said so-and-so." Sa'd bin 'Ubada said, "O Allah's Apostle! Excuse and forgive him, for by Allah, Allah has given you what He has given you. The people of this town decided to crown him (as their chief) and make him their king. But when Allah prevented that with the Truth which He had given you, it

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choked him, and that was what made him behave in the way you saw him behaving." So the Prophet excused him.

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 272:
Narrated Abdullah bin Ka'b:
I heard Ka'b bin Malik narrating (when he did not join the battle of Tabuk): Allah's Apostle forbade all the Muslims to speak to us. I would come to Allah's Apostle and greet him, and I would wonder whether the Prophet did move his lips to return to my greetings or not till fifty nights passed away. The Prophet then announced (to the people) Allah's forgiveness for us (acceptance of our repentance) at the time when he had offered the Fajr (morning) prayer.

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 273:
Narrated Aisha:
A group of Jews came to Allah's Apostle and said, "As-samu 'Alaika " (Death be on you), and I understood it and said to them, "Alaikum AsSamu wa-l-la'na (Death and curse be on you)." Allah's Apostle said, "Be calm! O Aisha, for Allah loves that one should be kind and lenient in all matters." I said. "O Allah's Apostle! Haven't you heard what they have said?" Allah's Apostle said, "I have (already) said (to them), 'Alaikum (upon you).' "

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 274:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "When the Jews greet you, they usually say, 'As-Samu 'alaikum (Death be on you),' so you should say (in reply to them), 'Wa'alaikum (And on you)."

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 275:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
the Prophet said, "If the people of the Scripture greet you, then you should say (in reply), 'Wa'alaikum (And on you).' "

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 276:
Narrated Ali:
Allah's Apostle sent me, Az-Zubair bin Al-Awwam and Abu Marthad Al-Ghanawi, and all of us were horsemen, and he said, "Proceed till you reach Rawdat Khakh, where there is a woman from the pagans carrying a letter sent by Hatib bin Abi Balta'a to the pagans (of Mecca)." So we overtook her while she was proceeding on her camel at the same place as Allah's Apostle told us. We said (to her) "Where is the letter which is with you?" She said, "I have no letter with me." So we made her camel kneel down and searched her mount (baggage etc) but could not find anything. My two companions said, "We do not see any letter." I said, "I know that Allah's Apostle did not tell a lie. By Allah, if you (the lady) do not bring out the letter, I will strip you of your clothes' When she noticed that I was serious, she put her hand into the knot of her waist sheet, for she was tying a sheet round herself, and brought out the letter. So we proceeded to Allah's Apostle with the letter. The Prophet said (to Habib), "What made you o what you have done, O Hatib?" Hatib replied, "I have done nothing except that I believe in Allah and His Apostle, and I have not changed or altered (my religion). But I wanted to do the favor to the people (pagans of Mecca) through which Allah might protect my family and my property, as there is none among your companions but has someone in Mecca through whom Allah protects his property (against harm). The Prophet said, "Habib has told you the truth, so do not say to him (anything) but good." Umar bin Al-Khattab said, "Verily he has betrayed Allah, His Apostle, and the believers! Allow me to chop his neck off!" The Prophet said, "O Umar! What do you know; perhaps Allah looked upon the Badr warriors and said, 'Do whatever you like, for I have ordained that you will be in Paradise.'" On that Umar wept and said, "Allah and His Apostle know best."

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 277:
Narrated Abu Sufyan bin Harb:
that Heraclius had sent for him to come along with a group of the Quraish who were trading in Sha'm, and they came to him. Then Abu Sufyan mentioned the whole narration and said, "Heraclius asked for the letter of Allah's Apostle . When the letter was read, its contents were as follows: 'In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. From Mohammed, Allah's slave and His Apostle to Heraclius, the Chief of Byzantines: Peace be upon him who follows the right path (guidance)! Amma ba'du (to proceed)...' (See Hadith No 6, Vol 1 for details)

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 278:
Narrated Abu Said:
The people of (the tribe of) Quraiza agreed upon to accept the verdict of Sa'd. The Prophet sent for him (Sa'd) and he came. The Prophet said (to those people), "Get up for your chief or the best among you!" Sa'd sat beside the Prophet and the Prophet said (to him), "These people have agreed to accept your verdict." Sa'd said, "So I give my judgement that their warriors should be killed and their women and children should be taken as captives." The Prophet said, "You have judged according to the King's (Allah's) judgement." (See Hadith No. 447, Vol. 5)

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 279:
Narrated Qatada:
I asked Anas, "Was it a custom of the companions of the Prophet to shake hands with one another?" He said, "Yes."

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 280:
Narrated Abdullah bin Hisham:
We were in the company of the Prophet and he was holding the hand of Umar bin Al-Khattab.

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 281:
Narrated Ibn Mas'ud:
Allah's Apostle taught me the Tashah-hud as he taught me a Sura from the Koran, while my hand was between his hands. (Tashah-hud was) all the best compliments and the prayers and the good things are for Allah. Peace and Allah's Mercy and Blessings be on you, O Prophet! Peace be on us and on the pious slaves of Allah, I testify that none has the right to be worshipped but Allah, and I also testify that Mohammed is Allah's slave and His Apostle. (We used to recite this in the prayer) during the lifetime of the Prophet , but when he had died, we used to say, "Peace be on the Prophet."

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 282:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
Ali bin Abu Talib came out of the house of the Prophet during his fatal ailment. The people asked (Ali), "O Abu Hasan! How is the health of Allah's Apostle this morning?" Ali said, "This morning he is better, with the grace of Allah." Al-Abbas held Ali by the hand and said, "Don't you see him (about to die)? By Allah, within three days you will be the slave of the stick (i.e., under the command of another ruler). By Allah, I think that Allah's Apostle will die from his present ailment, for I know the signs of death on the faces of the offspring of Abdul Muttalib. So let us go to Allah's Apostle to ask him who will take over the Caliphate. If the authority is given to us, we will know it, and if it is given to somebody else we will request him to recommend us to him. " Ali said, "By Allah! If we ask Allah's Apostle for the rulership and he refuses, then the people will never give it to us. Besides, I will never ask Allah's Apostle for it." (See Hadith No 728, Vol 5)

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 283:
Narrated Muadh:
While I was a companion rider with the Prophet he said, "O Mu'adh!" I replied, "Labbaik wa Sa'daik." He repeated this call three times and then said, "Do you know what Allah's Right on His slaves is?" I replied, "No." He said, Allah's Right on His slaves is that they should worship Him (Alone) and should not join partners in worship with Him." He said, "O Mu'adh!" I replied, "Labbaik wa Sa'daik." He said, "Do you know what the right of (Allah's) salves on Allah is, if they do that (worship Him Alone and join none in His worship)? It is that He will not punish them."

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 284:
Narrated Mu'adh:
as above, No. 283.

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 285:
Narrated Abu Dhar:
While I was walking with the Prophet at the Hurra of Medina in the evening, the mountain of Uhud appeared before us. The Prophet said, "O Abu Dhar! I would not like to have gold equal to Uhud (mountain) for me, unless nothing of it, not even a single Dinar remains of it with me, for more than one day or three days, except that single Dinar which I will keep for repaying debts. I will spend all of it (the whole amount) among Allah's slaves like this and like this and like this." The Prophet pointed out with his hand to illustrate it and then said, "O Abu Dhar!" I replied, "Labbaik wa Sa'daik, O Allah's Apostle!" He said, "Those who have much wealth (in this world) will be the least rewarded (in the Hereafter) except those who do like this and like this (i.e., spend their money in charity)." Then he ordered me, "Remain at your place and do not leave it, O Abu Dhar, till I come back." He went away till he disappeared from me. Then I heard a voice and feared that something might have happened to Allah's Apostle, and I intended to go (to find out) but I remembered the statement of Allah's Apostle that I should not leave, my place, so I kept on waiting (and after a while the Prophet came), and I said to him, "O Allah's Apostle, I heard a voice and I was afraid that something might have happened to you, but then I remembered your statement and stayed (there). The Prophet said, "That was Gabriel who came to me and informed me that whoever among my followers died without joining others in worship with Allah, would enter Paradise." I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Even if he had committed illegal sexual intercourse and theft?" He said, "Even if he had committed illegal sexual intercourse and theft '

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 286:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "A man should not make another man get up from his (the latter's) seat (in a gathering) in order to sit there.

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 287:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet forbade that a man should be made to get up from his seat so that another might sit on it, but one should make room and spread out. Ibn Umar disliked that a man should get up from his seat and then somebody else sit at his place.

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 288:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
When Allah's Apostle married Zainab bint Jahsh, he invited the people who took their meals and then remained sitting and talking. The Prophet pretended to be ready to get up, but the people did not get up. When he noticed that, he got up, and when he had got up, some of those people got up along with him and there remained three (who kept on sitting). Then the Prophet came back and found those people still sitting. Later on those people got up and went away. So I went to the Prophet and informed him that they had left.
The Prophet came, and entered (his house). I wanted to enter(along with him) but he dropped a curtain between me and him. Allah then revealed: 'O you who believe! Do not enter the Prophet's Houses until leave is given... (to His statement)... Verily! That shall be an enormity, in Allah's sight.' (33.53)

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 289:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
I saw Allah's Apostle in the courtyard of the Kaaba in the Ihtiba.' posture putting his hand round his legs like this.

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 290:
Narrated Abu Bakra:
Allah's Apostle said, "Shall I inform you of the biggest of the great sins?" They said, "Yes, O Allah's Apostle!" He said, "To join partners in worship with Allah, and to be undutiful to one's parents. "

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 291:
Narrated Bishr:
as above (No. 290) adding: The Prophet was reclining (leaning) and then he sat up saying, "And I warn you against giving a false statement." And he kept on saying that warning so much so that we said, "Would that he had stopped."

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 292:
Narrated Uqba bin Al-Harith:
Once the Prophet offered the Asr prayer and then he walked quickly and entered his house.

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 293:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle used to offer his prayer (while standing) in the midst of the bed, and I used to lie in front of him between him and the Qibla It I had any necessity for getting up and I used to dislike to get up and face him (while he was in prayer), but I would gradually slip away from the bed.

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 294:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
The news of my fasting was mentioned to the Prophet . So he entered upon me and I put for him a leather cushion stuffed with palm-fibres. The Prophet sat on the floor and the cushion was between me and him. He said to me, "Isn't it sufficient for you (that you fast) three days a month?" I said, "O Allah's Apostle! (I can fast more than this)." He said, "You may fast) five days a month." I said, "O Allah's Apostle! (I can fast more than this)." He said, "(You may fast) seven days." I said, "O Allah's Apostle!" He said, "Nine." I said, "O Allah's Apostle!" He said, "Eleven." I said, "O Allah's Apostle!" He said, "No fasting is superior to the fasting of (the Prophet David) which was one half of a year, and he used, to fast on alternate days. (See Hadith No. 300, Vol 3)

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 295:
Narrated Ibrahim:
'Alaqama went to Sham and came to the mosque and offered a two-Rak'at prayer, and invoked Allah: "O Allah! Bless me with a (pious) good companion." So he sat beside Abu Ad-Darda' who asked, "From where are you?" He said, "From the people of Kufa." Abu Darda' said, "Wasn't there among you the person who keeps the secrets (of the Prophet) which nobody knew except him (i.e., Hudhaifa (bin Al-Yaman)). And isn't there among you the person whom Allah gave refuge from Satan through the request (tongue) of Allah's Apostle? (i.e., Ammar). Isn't there among you the one who used to carry the Siwak and the cushion (or pillows (of the Prophets)? (i.e., Ibn Mas'ud). How did Ibn Mas'ud use to recite 'By the

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night as it conceals (the light)?" (Sura 92). 'Alqama said, "Wadhdhakari Wal Untha' (And by male and female.") Abu Ad-Darda added. 'These people continued to argue with me regarding it till they were about to cause me to have doubts although I heard it from Allah's Apostle "

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 296:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
We used to have a midday nap and take our meals after the Jumua (prayer).

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 297:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad:
There was no name dearer to Ali than his nickname Abu Turab (the father of dust). He used to feel happy whenever he was called by this name. Once Allah's Apostle came to the house of Fatima but did not find Ali in the house. So he asked "Where is your cousin?" She replied, "There was something (a quarrel) between me and him whereupon he got angry with me and went out without having a midday nap in my house." Allah's Apostle asked a person to look for him. That person came, and said, "O Allah's Apostle! He (Ali) is sleeping in the mosque." So Allah's Apostle went there and found him lying. His upper body cover had fallen off to one side of his body, and so he was covered with dust. Allah's Apostle started cleaning the dust from him, saying, "Get up, O Abu Turab! Get up, Abu Turab!" (See Hadith No. 432, Vol 1)

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 298:
Narrated Thumama:
Anas said, "Um Sulaim used to spread a leather sheet for the Prophet and he used to take a midday nap on that leather sheet at her home." Anas added, "When the Prophet had slept, she would take some of his sweat and hair and collect it (the sweat) in a bottle and then mix it with Suk (a kind of perfume) while he was still sleeping. "When the death of Anas bin Malik approached, he advised that some of that Suk be mixed with his Hanut (perfume for embalming the dead body), and it was mixed with his Hanut.

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 299:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Whenever Allah's Apostle went to Quba, he used to visit Um Haram bint Milhan who would offer him meals; and she was the wife of 'Ubada bin As-samit. One day he went to her house and she offered him a meal, and after that he slept, and then woke up smiling. She (Um Haram) said, "I asked him, 'What makes you laugh, O Allah's Apostle?' He said, 'Some people of my followers were displayed before me as warriors fighting for Allah's Cause and sailing over this sea, kings on thrones,' or said, 'like kings on thrones.' (The narrator, Ishaq is in doubt about it.) I (Um Haram) said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Invoke Allah that He may make me one of them.' He invoked (Allah) for her and then lay his head and slept again and then woke up smiling. I asked, 'What makes you laugh, O Allah's Apostle?' He said, 'Some people of my followers were displayed before me as warriors fighting for Allah's Cause and sailing over this sea, kings on the thrones,' or said, 'like kings on the thrones.' I (Um Haram) said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Invoke Allah that He may make me one of them.' He said, You will be amongst the first ones." It is said that Um Haram sailed over the sea at the time of Muawiya, and on coming out of the sea, she fell down from her riding animal and died.

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 300:
Narrated Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri:
The Prophet forbade two kinds of dresses and two kinds of bargains; Ishtimal As-Samma and Al-Ihtiba in one garment with no part of it covering one's private parts. (The two kinds of bargains were:) Al-Mulamasa and Al-Munabadha.

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 301:
Narrated Aisha:
He added, 'But this year he reviewed it with me twice, and therefore I think that my time of death has approached. So, be afraid of Allah, and be patient, for I am the best predecessor for you (in the Hereafter).' " Fatima added, "So I wept as you (Aisha) witnessed. And when the Prophet saw me in this sorrowful state, he confided the second secret to me saying, 'O Fatima! Will you not be pleased that you will be chief of all the believing women (or chief of the women of this nation i.e. my followers?")

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 302:
Narrated the uncle of Abbas bin Tamim:
I saw Allah's Apostle lying on his back in the mosque and putting one of his legs over the other.

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 303:
Narrated Abdullah:
the Prophet said "When three persons are together, then no two of them should hold secret counsel excluding the third person."

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 304:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet confided to me a secret which I did not disclose to anybody after him. And Um Sulaim asked me (about that secret) but I did not tell her.

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 305:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "When you are three persons sitting together, then no two of you should hold secret counsel excluding the third person until you are with some other people too, for that would grieve him."

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 306:
Narrated Abdullah:
One day the Prophet divided and distributed something amongst the people whereupon an Ansari man said, "In this division Allah's Countenance has not been sought." I said, "By Allah! I will go (and inform) the Prophet." So I went to him while he was with a group of people, and I secretly informed him of that, whereupon he became so angry that his face became red, and he then said, "May Allah bestow His Mercy on Moses (for) he was hurt more than that, yet he remained patient."

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 307:
Narrated Anas:
The Iqama for the prayer was announced while a man was talking to Allah's Apostle privately. He continued talking in that way till the Prophet's companions slept, and afterwards the Prophet got up and offered the prayer with them.

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 308:
Narrated Salim's father:
The Prophet said, "Do not keep the fire burning in your houses when you go to bed."

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 309:
Narrated Abu Musa:
One night a house in Medina was burnt with its occupants. The Prophet spoke about them, saying, "This fire is indeed your enemy, so whenever you go to bed, put it out to protect yourselves."

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 310:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle said, "(At bedtime) cover the utensils, close the doors, and put out the lights, lest the evil creature (the rat) should pull away the wick and thus burn the people of the house."

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 311:
Narrated Jabir:
Allah s Apostle said, "When you intend going to bed at night, put out the lights, close the doors, tie the mouths of the water skins, and cover your food and drinks." Hamrnam said, "I think he (the other narrator) added, 'even with piece of wood across the utensil.'

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 312:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said "Five things are in accordance with Al Fitra (i.e. the tradition of prophets): to be circumcised, to shave the pelvic region, to pull out the hair of the armpits, to cut short the moustaches, and to clip the nails.'

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 313:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said "The Prophet) Abraham circumcised himself after he had passed the age of eighty years and he circumcised himself with an adze."
Narrated Said bin Jubair: Ibn Abbas was asked, "How old were you when the Prophet died?" He replied. "At that time I had been circumcised." At that time, people did not circumcise the boys till they attained the age of puberty. Sa'id bin Jubair said, "Ibn Abbas said, 'When the Prophet died, I had already been circumcised. "

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 314:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever among you takes an oath wherein he says, 'By Al-Lat and Al-'Uzza,' names of two Idols worshipped by the Pagans, he should say, 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah; And whoever says to his friend, 'Come, let me gamble with you ! He should give something in charity. " (See Hadith No. 645)

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 315:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
During the life-time of the Prophet I built a house with my own hands so that it might protect me from the rain and shade me from the sun; and none of Allah's creatures assisted me in building it.

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 316:
Narrated, Amr:
Ibn Umar said, "By Allah, I have not put a brick over a brick (i.e. constructed a building) or planted any date-palm tree since the death of the Prophet." Sufyan (the sub narrator) said, "I told this narration (of Ibn Umar) to one of his (Ibn Umar's) relatives, and he said, 'By Allah, he did build (something.' "Sufyan added, "I said, 'He must have said (the above narration) before he built."

SAHIH BUKHARI, BOOK 75:
Invocations

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 317e:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "For every prophet there is one (special invocation (that will not be rejected) with which he appeals (to Allah), and I want to keep such an invocation for interceding for my followers in the Hereafter."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 317o:
Narrated Anas:
that the Prophet said, "For every prophet there is an invocation that surely will be responded by Allah," (or said), "For every prophet there was an invocation with which he appealed to Allah, and his invocation was accepted (in his lifetime), but I kept my (this special) invocation to intercede for my followers on the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 318:
Narrated Shaddad bin Aus:
The Prophet said "The most superior way of asking for forgiveness from Allah is: 'Allahumma anta Rabbi la ilaha illa anta, Anta Khalaqtani wa ana abduka, wa ana 'ala ahdika wa wa'dika mastata'tu, A'udhu bika min Sharri ma sana'tu, abu'u Laka bini'matika 'alaiya, wa Abu Laka bidhanbi faghfirli innahu la yaghfiru adhdhunuba illa anta." The Prophet added. "If somebody recites it during the day with firm faith in it, and dies on the same day before the evening, he will be from the people of Paradise; and if somebody recites it at night with firm faith in it, and dies before the morning, he will be from the people of Paradise."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 319:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying." By Allah! I ask for forgiveness from Allah and turn to Him in repentance more than seventy times a day."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 320:
Narrated Al-Harith bin Suwaid:
Abdullah bin Mas'ud related to us two narrations: One from the Prophet and the other from himself, saying: A believer sees his sins as if he were sitting under a mountain which, he is afraid, may fall on him; whereas the wicked person considers his sins as flies passing over his nose and he just drives them away like this." Abu Shihab (the sub-narrator) moved his hand over his nose in illustration. (Ibn Mas'ud added): Allah's Apostle said, "Allah is more pleased with the repentance of His slave than a man who encamps at a place where his life is jeopardized, but he has his riding beast carrying his food and water. He then rests his head and sleeps for a short while and wakes to find his riding beast gone. (He starts looking for it) and suffers from severe heat and thirst or what Allah wished (him to suffer from). He then says, 'I will go back to my place.' He returns and sleeps again, and then (getting up), he raises his head to find his riding beast standing beside him."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 321:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle said, "Allah is more pleased with the repentance of His slave than anyone of you is pleased with finding his camel which he had lost in the desert. "

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 322:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet used to pray eleven Rakat in the late part of the night, and when dawn appeared, he would offer two Rakat and then lie on his right side till the Muadhdhin came to inform him (that the morning prayer was due).

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 323:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
Allah's Apostle said to me, "When you want to go to bed, perform ablution as you do for prayer, then lie down on your right side and say: 'Allahumma aslamtu wajhi ilaika, wa fauwadtu Amri ilaika wa aljatu zahri ilaika, raghbatan wa rahbatan ilaika, lamalja'a wa la manja mink a ill a ilaika. Amantu bikitabi kalladhi anzalta wa bi nabiyyikal-ladhi arsalta'. If you should die then (after reciting this) you will die on the religion of Islam (i.e., as a Muslim); so let these words be the last you say (before going to bed)" While I was

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memorizing it, I said, "Wa birasiulikal-ladhi arsalta (in Your Apostle whom You have sent).' The Prophet said, "No, but say: Wa binabiyyi-kalladhi arsalta (in Your Prophet whom You have sent)."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 324:
Narrated Hudhaifa:
When the Prophet went to bed, he would say: "Bismika amutu wa ahya." and when he got up he would say:" Al-hamdu lillahil-ladhi ahyana ba'da ma amatana wa ilaihin-nushur."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 325:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
e then (after reciting this before going to bed) you will die on the r

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 326:
Narrated Hudhaifa:
When the Prophet went to bed at night, he would put his hand under his cheek and then say, "Allahumma bismika amutu wa ahya," and when he got up, he would say, "Al-Hamdu lil-lahi al-ladhi ahyana ba'da ma amatana, wa ilaihi an-nushur."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 327:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
When Allah's Apostle went to bed, he used to sleep on his right side and then say, "All-ahumma aslamtu nafsi ilaika, wa wajjahtu wajhi ilaika, wa fauwadtu Amri ilaika, wa alja'tu zahri ilaika, raghbatan wa rahbatan ilaika. La Malja'a wa la manja minka illa ilaika. Amantu bikitabika al-ladhi anzalta wa nabiyyika al-ladhi arsalta! Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever recites these words (before going to bed) and dies the same night, he will die on the Islamic religion (as a Muslim)."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 328:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
One night I slept at the house of Maimuna. The Prophet woke up, answered the call of nature, washed his face and hands, and then slept. He got up (late at night), went to a water skin, opened the mouth thereof and performed ablution not using much water, yet he washed all the parts properly and then offered the prayer. I got up and straightened my back in order that the Prophet might not feel that I was watching him, and then I performed the ablution, and when he got up to offer the prayer, stood on his left. He caught hold of my ear and brought me over to his right side. He offered thirteen Rak'at in all and then lay down and slept till he started blowing out his breath as he used to do when he slept. In the meantime Bilal informed the Prophet of the approaching time for the (Fajr) prayer, and the Prophet offered the Fajr (Morning) prayer without performing new ablution. He used to say in his invocation, Allaihumma ij'al fi qalbi nuran wa fi basari nuran, wa fi sam'i nuran, wa'an yamini nuran, wa'an yasari nuran, wa fawqi nuran, wa tahti nuran, wa amami nuran, wa khalfi nuran, waj'al li nuran." Kuraib (a sub narrator) said, "I have forgotten seven other words, (which the Prophet mentioned in this invocation). I met a man from the offspring of Al-Abbas and he narrated those seven things to me, mentioning, '(Let there be light in) my nerves, my flesh, my blood, my hair and my body,' and he also mentioned two other things."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 329:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
When the Prophet got up at night to offer the night prayer, he used to say: "Allahumma laka-l-hamdu; Anta nuras-samawati wal ardi wa man fihinna. Wa laka-l-hamdu; Anta qaiyim as-samawati wal ardi wa man fihinna. Wa laka-l-hamdu; Anta-l-,haqqun, wa wa'daka haqqun, wa qauluka haqqun, wa liqauka haqqun, wal-jannatu haqqun, wannaru haqqun, was-sa atu haqqun, wan-nabiyyuna huqqun, Mahammadun haqqun, Allahumma laka aslamtu, wa Alaika tawakkaltu, wa bika amantu, wa ilaika anabtu, wa bika Khasamtu, wa ilaika hakamtu, faghfirli ma qaddamtu wa ma akh-khartu, wa ma asrartu, wa ma a'lantu. Anta al-muqaddimu, wa anta al-mu-'akhkhiru. La ilaha il-la anta (or La ilaha ghairuka)"

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 330:
Narrated Ali:
Fatima complained about the blisters on her hand because of using a mill-stone. She went to ask the Prophet for servant, but she did not find him (at home) and had to inform Aisha of her need. When he came, Aisha informed him about it. Ali added: The Prophet came to us when we had gone to our beds. When I was going to get up, he said, "'Stay in your places," and sat between us, till I felt the coolness of the feet on my chest. The Prophet then said, "Shall I not tell you of a thing which is better for you than a servant? When you (both) go to your beds, say 'Allahu Akbar' thirty-four times, and 'Subhan Allah' thirty-three times, 'Alhamdu 'illah' thirty-three times, for that is better for you than a servant." Ibn Sirin said, "Subhan Allah' (is to be said for) thirty-four times."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 331:
Narrated Aisha:
Whenever Allah's Apostle went to bed, he used to blow on his hands while reciting the Mu'auwidhat (i.e. Suratal-Falaq and Surat-an-Nas, 113 and 114) and then pass his hands over his body,

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 332:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "When anyone of you go to bed, he should shake out his bed with the inside of his waist sheet, for he does not know what has come on to it after him, and then he should say: 'Bismika Rabbi wada'tu Janbi wa bika arfa'uhu, In amsakta nafsi farhamha wa in arsaltaha fahfazha bima tahfazu bihi ibadakas-salihin."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 333:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "When it is the last third of the night, our Lord, the Blessed, the Superior, descends every night to the heaven of the world and says, 'Is there anyone who invokes Me (demand anything from Me), that I may respond to his invocation; Is there anyone who asks Me for something that I may give (it to) him; Is there anyone who asks My forgiveness that I may forgive him?' "

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 334:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Whenever the Prophet went to the lavatory, he used to say: "Allahumma Inni a'udhu bika mina-lkhubthi Wal khaba'ith."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 335:
Narrated Shaddad bin 'Aus:
The Prophet said, "The most superior way of asking for forgiveness from Allah is: 'Allahumma anta Rabbi la ilaha illa anta. Khalaqtani wa ana 'abduka, wa ana 'ala 'ahdika wa Wa'dika mastata'tu abu'u Laka bi ni 'matika wa abu'u Laka bidhanbi; faghfirli fa'innahu la yaghfiru-dh-dhunuba ill a ant a. A'uidhu bika min sharri ma sana'tu.' If somebody recites this invocation during the night, and if he should die then, he will go to Paradise (or he will be from the people of Paradise). And if he recites it in the morning, and if he should die on the same day, he will have the same fate."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 336:
Narrated Hudhaifa:
Whenever the Prophet intended to go to bed, he would recite: "Bismika Allahumma amutu wa ahya (With Your name, O Allah, I die and I live)." And when he woke up from his sleep, he would say: "Al-hamdu lil-lahil-ladhi ahyana ba'da ma amatana; wa ilaihi an-nushur (All the Praises are for Allah Who has made us alive after He made us die (sleep) and unto Him is the Resurrection). "

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 337:
Narrated Abu Dhar:
Whenever the Prophet lay on his bed, he used to say: "Allahumma bismika amutu wa ahya," and when he woke up he would say: "Al-hamdu lil-lahilladhi ahyana ba'da ma an atana, wa ilaihi an-nushur."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 338:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
Abu Bakr As-Siddiq said to the Prophet, "Teach me an invocation with which I may invoke (Allah) in my prayer." The Prophet said, "Say: Allahumma inni zalamtu nafsi zulman kathiran wala yaghfirudh-dhunuba illa anta, Faghfirli maghfiratan min indika war-hamni, innaka antalGhafur-Rahim."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 339:
Narrated Aisha:
The Verse: 'Neither say your prayer aloud, nor say it in a low tone.' (17.110) was revealed as regards invocation.

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 340:
Narrated Abdullah:
We used to say in the prayer: 'AsSalam be on Allah, As-Salam be on so-and so.' So one day the Prophet said to us, "Allah Himself is As-Salam; when anyone of you sits during his prayer, he should say: 'At-tah, iyyatu-lillahi,' up to 'As-Salihin,' (All the compliments are for Allah ...righteous people) for when he recites this, then he says his Salam to all the righteous people present in the heavens and on the earth. Then he should say, 'I testify that none has the right to be worshipped except Allah, and that Mohammed is His slave and His Apostle,' and then he can select whatever he likes to celebrate (Allah's) Praises."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 341:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The people said, "O Allah's Apostle! The rich people have got the highest degrees of prestige and the permanent pleasures (in this life and the life to come in the Hereafter)." He said, "How is that?" They said, "The rich pray as we pray, and strive in Allah's Cause as we do, and spend from their surplus wealth in charity, while we have no wealth (to spend likewise)." He said, "Shall I not tell you a thing, by doing which, you will catch up with those who are ahead of you and supersede those who will come after you; and nobody will be able to do such a good deed as you do except the one who does the same (deed as you do). That deed is to recite 'Subhan Allah ten times, and 'Al-Hamdulillah ten times, and 'AllahuAkbar' ten times after every prayer."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 342:
Narrated Warrad:
(the freed slave of Al-Mughira bin Shu'ba) Al-Mughira wrote to Muawiya bin Abu Sufyan that Allah's Apostle used to say at the end of every prayer after the Taslim, "La ilaha illa-l-lahu wahdahu la sharika lahu; lahu-l-mulk wa lahu-l-hamd, wahuwa 'ala kulli shai'n qadir. Allahumma la mani'a Lima a taita, wa la mu'ta Lima mana'ta, wa la yanfa'u dhal-jaddu minkal-jadd.

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 343:
Narrated Salama bin Al-Akwa':
We went out with the Prophet to Khaibar. A man among the people said, "O Amir! Will you please recite to us some of your poetic verses?" So Amir got down and started chanting among them, saying, "By Allah! Had it not been for Allah, we would not have been guided." Amir also said other poetic verses which I do not remember. Allah's Apostle said, "Who is this (camel) driver?" The people said, "He is Amir bin Al-Akwa'," He said, "May Allah bestow His Mercy on him." A man from the People said, "O Allah's Apostle! Would that you let us enjoy his company longer." When the people (Muslims) lined up, the battle started, and Amir was struck with his own sword (by chance) by himself and died. In the evening, the people made a large number of fires (for cooking meals). Allah's Apostle said, "What is this fire? What are you making the fire for?" They said, "For cooking the meat of donkeys." He said, "Throw away what is in the pots and break the pots!" A man said, "O Allah's Prophet! May we throw away what is in them and wash them?" He said, "Never mind, you may do so." (See Hadith No. 509, Vol. 5).

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 344:
Narrated Ibn Abi Aufa:
Whenever a man brought his alms to the Prophet, the Prophet would say, "O Allah! Bestow Your Blessing upon the family of so-and-so." When my father came to him (with his alms), he said, "O Allah! Bestow Your Blessings upon the family of Abi Aufa."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 345:
Narrated Jarir:
Allah's Apostle said to me. "Will you relieve me from Dhi-al-Khalasa? " Dhi-al-Khalasa was an idol which the people used to worship and it was called Al-Kaaba al Yamaniyya. I said, "O Allah's Apostle I am a man who can't sit firm on horses." So he stroked my chest (with his hand) and said, "O Allah! Make him firm and make him a guiding and well-guided man." So I went out with fifty (men) from my tribe of Ahrnas. (The sub-narrator, Sufyan, quoting Jarir, perhaps said, "I went out with a group of men from my nation.") and came to Dhi-al-Khalasa and burnt it, and then came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have not come to you till I left it like a camel with a skin disease." The Prophet then invoked good upon Ahmas and their cavalry (fighters).

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 346:
Narrated Anas:
Um Sulaim said to the Prophet "Anas is your servant." The Prophet said, "O Allah! increase his wealth and offspring, and bless (for him) what ever you give him."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 347:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet heard a man reciting (the Koran) in the mosque. He said," May Allah bestow His Mercy on him, as he made me remember such and-such Verse which I had missed in such-and-such Sura."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 348:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet divided something (among the Muslims) and distributed the shares (of the booty). A man said, "This division has not been made to please Allah." When I informed the Prophet about it, he became so furious that I noticed the signs of anger on his face and he then said, "May Allah bestow His Mercy on Moses, for he was hurt with more than this, yet he remained patient."

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Volume 8, Book 75, Number 349:
Narrated 'Ikrima:
Ibn Abbas said, "Preach to the people once a week, and if you won't, then preach them twice, but if you want to preach more, then let it be three times (a week only), and do not make the people fed-up with this Koran. If you come to some people who are engaged in a talk, don't start interrupting their talk by preaching, lest you should cause them to be bored. You should rather keep quiet, and if they ask you, then preach to them at the time when they are eager to hear what you say. And avoid the use of rhymed prose in invocation for I noticed that Allah's Apostle and his companions always avoided it."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 350:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle said, "When anyone of you appeal to Allah for something, he should ask with determination and should not say, 'O Allah, if You wish, give me.', for nobody can force Allah to do something against His Will.

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 351:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "None of you should say: 'O Allah, forgive me if You wish; O Allah, be merciful to me if You wish,' but he should always appeal to Allah with determination, for nobody can force Allah to do something against His Will."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 352:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The invocation of anyone of you is granted (by Allah) if he does not show impatience (by saying, "I invoked Allah but my request has not been granted.")

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 353:
Narrated Anas:
While the Prophet was delivering a sermon on a Friday, a man stood up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Invoke Allah to bless us with rain." (The Prophet invoked Allah for rain.) So, the sky became overcast and it started raining till one could hardly reach one's home. It kept on raining till the next Friday when the same man or another man got up and said (to the Prophet), "Invoke Allah to withhold the rain from us, for we have been drowned (with heavy rain)." The Prophet said, "O Allah! Let it rain around us and not on us." Then the clouds started dispersing around Medina and rain ceased to fall on the people of Medina.

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 354:
Narrated Abdullah bin Zaid:
Allah's Apostle went out to this Musalla (praying place) to offer the prayer of Istisqa.' He invoked Allah for rain and then faced the Qibla and turned his Rida' (upper garment) inside out.

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 355:
Narrated Anas:
My mother said, "O Allah's Apostle! Please invoke Allah on behalf of your servant." He said, "O Allah! Increase his wealth and children, and bestow Your Blessing on whatever You give him." a time of distress.

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 356:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet used to invoke Allah at the time of distress, saying, "La ilaha illal-lahu al-Azim, al-Halim, La ilaha illal-lahu Rabbu-s-samawati wal-ard wa Rabbu-l-arsh il-azim,"

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 357:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle used to say at a time of distress, "La ilaha illal-lahu Rabbul-l-'arsh il-Azim, La ilaha illallahu Rabbu-s-samawati wa Rabbu-l-ard, Rabbu-l-'arsh-il-Karim."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 358:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle used to seek refuge with Allah from the difficult moment of a calamity and from being overtaken by destruction and from being destined to an evil end, and from the malicious joy of enemies. Sufyan said, "This narration contained three items only, but I added one. I do not know which one that was."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 359:
Narrated Aisha:
When Allah's Apostle was healthy, he used to say, "No prophet dies till he is shown his place in Paradise, and then he is given the option (to live or die)." So when death approached him(during his illness), and while his head was on my thigh, he became unconscious for a while, and when he recovered, he fixed his eyes on the ceiling and said, "O Allah! (Let me join) the Highest Companions (see Koran 4:69)," I said, "So, he does not choose us." Then I realized that it was the application of the statement he used to relate to us when he was healthy. So that was his last utterance (before he died), i.e. "O Allah! (Let me join) the Highest Companions."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 360:
Narrated Qais:
I came to Khabbab who had been branded with seven brands(1) and he said, "Had Allah's Apostle not forbidden us to invoke (Allah) for death, I would have invoked (Allah) for it."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 361:
Narrated Qais:
I came to Khabbab who had been branded with seven brands over his abdomen, and I heard him saying, "If the Prophet: had not forbidden us to invoke (Allah) for death, I would have invoked Allah for it."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 362:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle said," None of you should long for death because of a calamity that had befallen him, and if he cannot, but long for death, then he should say, 'O Allah! Let me live as long as life is better for me, and take my life if death is better for me.' "

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 363:
Narrated As-Sa'ib bin Yazid:
My aunt took me to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! My sister's son is sick." So he passed his hand over my head and invoked for Allah's blessing upon me and then performed the ablution. I drank from the water of his ablution and I stood behind him and looked at his Khatam (the seal of Prophethood) between his shoulders (and its size was) like the button of a tent.

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 364:
Narrated Abu 'Aqil:
that his grandfather. Abdullah bin Hisham used to take him from the market or to the market (the narrator is in doubt) and used to buy grain and when Ibn Az-Zubair and Ibn Umar met him, they would say to him, "Let us be your partners (in trading) as the Prophet invoked for Allah's blessing upon you." He would then take them as partners and he would Sometimes gain a whole load carried by an animal which he would send home.

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 365:
Narrated Mahmud bin Ar-Rabi:
On whose face Allah's Apostle had thrown water from his mouth, the water having been taken from their well while he was still a young boy (who has not yet attained the age of puberty).

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 366:
Narrated Aisha:
The boys used to be brought to the Prophet and he used to invoke for Allah's blessing upon them. Once an infant was brought to him and it urinated on his clothes. He asked for water and poured it over the place of the urine and did not wash his clothes.

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 367:
Narrated Abdullah bin Tha'laba bin Su'air:
whose eye Allah's Apostle had touched, that he had seen Sa'd bin Abi Waqqas offering one Rak'a only for the Witr prayer.

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 368:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Abi Laila:
Ka'b bin 'Ujra met me and said, "Shall I give you a present? Once the Prophet came to us and we said, 'O Allah's Apostle ! We know how to greet you; but how to send 'Salat' upon you? He said, 'Say: Allahumma Salli ala Mohammedin wa 'ala Ali Mohammedin, kama sal-laita 'ala all Ibrahima innaka Hamidun Majid. Allahumma barik 'ala Mohammedin wa 'ala all Mohammedin, kama barakta 'ala all Ibrahima, innaka Hamidun Majid."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 369:
Narrated Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri:
We said, "O Allah's Apostle This is (i.e. we know) the greeting to you; will you tell us how to send Salat on you?" He said, "Say: 'Allahumma Salli 'ala Mohammedin 'abdika wa rasulika kama sal-laita 'ala Ibrahima wa barik 'ala Mohammedin wa all Mohammedin kama barakta 'ala Ibrahima wa Ali Ibrahim."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 370:
Narrated Ibn Abi Aufa:
Whenever somebody brought alms to the Prophet the used to say, "Allahumma Salli 'Alaihi (O Allah! Send Your Salat (Grace and Honor) on him)." Once when my father brought his alms to him, he said, "O Allah! Send Your Salat (Grace and Honor) on the family of Abi Aufa."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 371:
Narrated Abu Humaid As-Saidi:
The people said, "O Allah's Apostle ! How may we send Salat on you?" He said, "Say: Allahumma Salli 'ala-Mohammedin wa azwajihi wa dhurriyyatihi kama sal-laita 'ala ali Ibrahim; wa barik 'ala Mohammedin wa azwajihi wa dhurriyyatihi kamabarakta 'ala ali Ibrahim innaka hamidun majid."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 372:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
that he heard the Prophet saying, "O Allah! If I should ever abuse a believer, please let that be a means of bringing him near to You on the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 373:
Narrated Anas:
Once the people started asking Allah's Apostle questions, and they asked so many questions that he became angry and ascended the pulpit and said, "I will answer whatever questions you may ask me today." I looked right and left and saw everyone covering his face with his garment and weeping. Behold ! There was a man who, on quarreling with the people, used to be called as a son of a person other than his father. He said, "O Allah's Apostle! Who is my father?" The Prophet replied, "Your father is Hudhaifa." And then Umar got up and said, "We accept Allah as our Lord, and Islam as (our) religion, and Mohammed as (our) Apostle; and we seek refuge with Allah from the afflictions." Allah's Apostle said, " I have never seen a day like today in its good and its evil for Paradise and the Hell Fire were displayed in front of me, till I saw them just beyond this wall." Qatada, when relating this Hadith, used to mention the following Verse:--
'O you who believe! Ask not questions about things which, If made plain to you, May cause you trouble. (5.101)

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 374:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said to Abu Talha, "Choose one of your boys to serve me." So Abu Talha took me (to serve the Prophet) by giving me a ride behind him (on his camel). So I used to serve Allah's Apostle whenever he stayed somewhere. I used to hear him saying, "O Allah! I seek refuge with you (Allah) from (worries) care and grief, from incapacity and laziness, from miserliness and cowardice, from being heavily in debt and from being overpowered by other men." I kept on serving him till he returned from (the battle of) Khaibar. He then brought Safiya, the daughter of Huyay whom he had got (from the booty). I saw him making a kind of cushion with a cloak or a garment for her. He then let her ride behind him. When we reached a place called As-Sahba', he prepared (a special meal called) Hais, and asked me to invite the men who (came and) ate, and that was the marriage banquet given on the consummation of his marriage to her. Then he proceeded till the mountain of Uhud appeared, whereupon he said, "This mountain loves us and we love it." When he approached Medina, he said, "O Allah! I make the land between its (i.e., Medina's) two mountains a sanctuary, as the prophet Abraham made Mecca a sanctuary. O Allah! Bless them (the people of Medina) in their Mudd and the Sa' (units of measuring)."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 375:
Narrated Um Khalid bint Khalid:
I heard the Prophet seeking refuge with Allah from the punishment of the grave.

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 376:
Narrated Mus'ab:
Sa'd used to recommend five (statements) and mentioned that the Prophet I used to recommend it. (It was) "O Allah! I seek refuge with You from miserliness; and seek refuge with You from cowardice; and seek refuge with You from being sent back to geriatric old age; and I seek refuge with You from the affliction of this world (i.e., the affliction of Ad-Dajjal etc.); and seek refuge with You from the punishment of the grave."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 377:
Narrated Aisha:
Two old ladies from among the Jewish ladies entered upon me and said' "The dead are punished in their graves," but I thought they were telling a lie and did not believe them in the beginning. When they went away and the Prophet entered upon me, I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Two old ladies.." and told him the whole story. He said, "They told the truth; the dead are really punished, to the extent that all the animals hear (the sound resulting from) their punishment." Since then I always saw him seeking refuge with Allah from the punishment of the grave in his prayers.

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Volume 8, Book 75, Number 378:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Prophet used to say, "O Allah! I seek refuge with You from incapacity and laziness, from cowardice and geriatric old age, and seek refuge with You from the punishment of the grave, and I seek refuge with You from the afflictions of life and death."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 379:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet used to say, "O Allah! I seek refuge with You from laziness and geriatric old age, from all kinds of sins and from being in debt; from the affliction of the Fire and from the punishment of the Fire and from the evil of the affliction of wealth; and I seek refuge with You from the affliction of poverty, and I seek refuge with You from the affliction of Al-Mesiah Ad-Dajjal. O Allah! Wash away my sins with the water of snow and hail, and cleanse my heart from all the sins as a white garment is cleansed from the filth, and let there be a long distance between me and my sins, as You made East and West far from each other."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 380:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet used to say, "O Allah! I seek refuge with You from worry and grief, from incapacity and laziness, from cowardice and miserliness, from being heavily in debt and from being overpowered by (other) men." (See Hadith No. 374)

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 381:
Narrated Mus'ab bin Sa'd:
Sa'd bin Abi Waqqas used to recommend these five (statements) and say that the Prophet said so (and they are): "O Allah! I seek refuge with You from miserliness, and seek refuge with You from cowardice, and seek refuge with You from being brought back to geriatric old age, and seek refuge with You from the afflictions of the world, and seek refuge with You from the punishment of the grave."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 382:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle used to seek refuge with Allah saying, "O Allah! I seek refuge with You from laziness, and seek refuge with You from cowardice, and seek refuge with You from geriatric old age, and seek refuge with You from miserliness."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 383:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said, "O Allah! Make us love Medina as You made us love Mecca, or more, and transfer the fever that is in it, to Al-Juhfa. O Allah! Bless our Mudd and our Sam' (kinds of measures)."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 384:
Narrated Amir bin Sa'd:
that his father said, "In the year of Hajjatal-Wada', the Prophet paid me a visit while I was suffering from an ailment that had brought me to the verge of death. I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! My sickness has reduced me to the (bad) state as you see, and I am a rich man, but have no heirs except one daughter. Shall I give 2/3 of my property in charity?' He said, 'No.' I said, 'Then 1/2 of it?' He said, 'Even 1/3 is too much, for, to leave your inheritors wealthy is better than to leave them in poverty, begging from people. And (know that) whatever you spend in Allah's Cause, you will get reward for it, even for the morsel of food which you put in your wife's mouth.' I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Will I be left behind my companions (in Mecca)?' He said, 'If you remain behind, whatever good deed you will do for Allah's Sake, will raise and upgrade you to a higher position (in Allah's Sight). May be you will live longer so that some people may benefit by you, and some e others (pagans) may get harmed by you. O Allah! Complete the migration of my companions and do not turn them on their heels; But (we pity) the poor Sa'd bin Khaula (not the above mentioned Sa'd) (died in Mecca)" Allah's Apostle lamented (or pitied) for him as he died in Mecca. (See Hadith No. 693, Vol. 5)

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 385:
Narrated Sa'd:
Seek refuge with Allah by saying the words which the Prophet used to say while seeking refuge with Allah, "0 Allah! I seek refuge with You from cowardice, and seek refuge with You from miserliness, and seek refuge with You from reaching a degraded geriatric old age, and seek refuge with You from the afflictions of the world and from the punishment in the grave."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 386:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet used to say, "O Allah! I seek refuge with You from laziness from geriatric old age, from being in debt, and from committing sins. O Allah! I seek refuge with You from the punishment of the Fire, the afflictions of the grave, the punishment in the grave, and the evil of the affliction of poverty and from the evil of the affliction caused by Al-Masih Ad-Dajjal. O Allah! Wash away my sins with the water of snow and hail, and cleanse my heart from the sins as a white garment is cleansed of filth, and let there be a far away distance between me and my sins as You have set far away the East and the West from each other."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 387:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet used to seek refuge with Allah (by saying), "O Allah! I seek refuge with You from the affliction of the Fire and from the punishment in the Fire, and seek refuge with You from the affliction of the grave, and I seek refuge with You from the affliction of wealth, and I seek refuge with You from the affliction of poverty, and seek refuge with You from the affliction of Al-Masih Ad-Dajjal."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 388:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet used to say, 'O Allah! I seek refuge with You from the affliction of the Fire, the punishment of the Fire, the affliction of the grave, the punishment of the grave, and the evil of the affliction of poverty. O Allah! I seek refuge with You from the evil of the affliction of Al-Masih Ad-Dajjal, O Allah! Cleanse my heart with the water of snow and hail, and cleanse my heart from all sins as a white garment is cleansed from filth, and let there be a far away distance between me and my sins as You made the East and West far away from each other. O Allah! I seek refuge with You from laziness, sins, and from being in debt."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 389:
Narrated Um Sulaim:
that she said, "O Allah's Apostle! Anas is your servant, so please invoke for Allah's blessing for him." The Prophet said, "O Allah! Increase his wealth and offspring and bless (for him) whatever You give him."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 390:
Narrated Anas:
Um Sulaim said (to the Prophet), "Anas is your servant; so please invoke for Allah's blessings for him." He said "O Allah! Increase his wealth and offspring, and Bless (for him) whatever You give him."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 391:
Narrated Jabir:
The Prophet used to teach us the Istikhara for each and every matter as he used to teach us the Suras from the Holy Koran. (He used to say), "If anyone of you intends to do something, he should offer a two-Rak'at prayer other than the obligatory prayer, and then say: 'Allahumma inni astakhiruka bi'ilmika, wa astaqdiruka biqudratika, wa as'aluka min fadlika-l-Azim, fa innaka taqdiru wala aqdiru, wa ta'lamu wala a'lamu, wa anta'allamu-l-ghuyub. Allahumma in kunta ta'lamu anna hadha-lamra khairun li fi dini wa ma'ashi wa 'aqibati amri (or said, fi 'ajili amri wa ajilihi) fa-qdurhu li, Wa in junta ta'lamu anna ha-dha-l-amra sharrun li fi dini wa ma'ashi wa 'aqibati amri (or said, fi ajili amri wa ajilihi) fasrifhu 'anni was-rifni 'anhu wa aqdur li alkhaira haithu kana, thumma Raddani bihi," Then he should mention his matter (need).

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 392:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet asked for some water and performed the ablution, and then raised his hands (towards the sky) and said, "O Allah! Forgive Ubaid Abi Amir." I saw the whiteness of his armpits (while he was raising his hands) and he added, "O Allah! Upgrade him over many of Your human creatures on the Day of Resurrection "

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 393:
Narrated Abu Musa:
We were in the company of the Prophet on a journey, and whenever we ascended a high place, we used to say Takbir (in a loud voice). The Prophet said, "O people! Be kind to yourselves, for you are not calling upon a deaf or an absent one, but You are calling an All-Hearer, and an All-Seer." Then he came to me as I was reciting silently, "La haul a wala quwwata illa bil-lah." He said, "O Abdullah bin Qais! Say: La haul a walaquwata illa bil-lah, for it is one of the treasures of Paradise." Or he said, "Shall I tell you a word which is one of the treasures of Paradise? It is: La haul a wala quwwata illa bil-lah."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 394:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Whenever Allah's Apostle returned from a Ghazwa or Hajj or Umra, he used to say, "Allahu Akbar," three times; whenever he went up a high place, he used to say, "La ilaha illal-lahu wahdahu la sharika lahu, lahu-l-mulk wa lahu-l-hamd, wa huwa'ala kulli Shai 'in qadir. Ayibuna ta'ibuna 'abiduna lirabbina hamidun. Sadaqa-l-lahu wa'dahu, wa nasara'abdahu wa hazama-l-ahzaba wahdahu."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 395:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet seeing a yellow mark (of perfume) on the clothes of Abdur-Rahman bin 'Auf, said, "What about you?" Abdur-Rahman replied, "I have married a woman with a Mahr of gold equal to a date-stone." The Prophet said, "May Allah bestow His Blessing on you (in your marriage). Give a wedding banquet, (Walima) even with one sheep."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 396:
Narrated Jabir:
My father died and left behind seven or nine daughters, and I married a woman. The Prophet said, "Did you get married, O Jabir?" I replied, "Yes." He asked, "Is she a virgin or a matron?" I replied, "She is a matron." He said, "Why didn't you marry a virgin girl so that you might play with her and she with you (or, you might make her laugh and she make you laugh)?" I said, "My father died, leaving seven or nine girls (orphans) and I did not like to bring a young girl like them, so I married a woman who can look after them." He said, "May Allah bestow His Blessing on you."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 397:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "If anyone of you, when intending to have a sexual intercourse with his wife, says: 'Bismillah, Allahumma jannibna-sh-shaitan, wa jannibi-sh-shaitan ma razaqtana,' and if the couple are destined to have a child (out of that very sexual relation), then Satan will never be able to harm that child."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 398:
Narrated Anas:
The most frequent invocation of The Prophet was: "O Allah! Give to us in the world that which is good and in the Hereafter that which is good, and save us from the torment of the Fire." (2.201)

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 399:
Narrated Sa'd bin Abi Waqqas:
The Prophet used to teach us these words as he used to teach us the Book (Koran): "O Allah! seek refuge with You from miserliness, and seek refuge with You from cowardice, and seek refuge with You from being brought back to (senile) geriatric old age, and seek refuge with You from the affliction of the world and from the punishment in the Hereafter."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 400:
Narrated Aisha:
that Allah's Apostle was affected by magic, so much that he used to think that he had done something which in fact, he did not do, and he invoked his Lord (for a remedy). Then (one day) he said, "O Aisha!) Do you know that Allah has advised me as to the problem I consulted Him about?" Aisha said, "O Allah's Apostle! What's that?" He said, "Two men came to me and one of them sat at my head and the other at my feet, and one of them asked his companion, 'What is wrong with this man?' The latter replied, 'He is under the effect of magic.' The former asked, 'Who has worked magic on him?' The latter replied, 'Labid bin Al-A'sam.' The former asked, 'With what did he work the magic?' The latter replied, 'With a comb and the hair, which are stuck to the comb, and the skin of pollen of a date-palm tree.' The former asked, 'Where is that?' The latter replied, 'It is in Dharwan.' Dharwan was a well in the dwelling place of the (tribe of) Bani Zuraiq. Allah's Apostle went to that well and returned to Aisha, saying, 'By Allah, the water (of the well) was as red as the infusion of Hinna, (1) and the date-palm trees look like the heads of devils.' Aisha added, Allah's Apostle came to me and informed me about the well. I asked the Prophet, 'O Allah's Apostle, why didn't you take out the skin of pollen?' He said, 'As for me, Allah has cured me and I hated to draw the attention of the people to such evil (which they might learn and harm others with).' "
Narrated Hisham's father: Aisha said, "Allah's Apostle was bewitched, so he invoked Allah repeatedly requesting Him to cure him from that magic)." Hisham then narrated the above narration. (See Hadith No. 658, Vol. 7)

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 401:
Narrated Ibn Abi Aufa:
Allah's Apostle asked for Allah's wrath upon the Ahzab (confederates), saying, "O Allah, the Revealer of the Holy Book, and the One swift at reckoning! Defeat the confederates; Defeat them and shake them."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 402:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
When the Prophet said, "Sami' al-lahu Liman hamidah (Allah heard him who sent his praises to Him)" in the last Rak'a of the 'Isha' prayer, he used to invoke Allah, saying, "O

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Allah! Save 'Aiyash bin Abi Rabi'a; O Allah! Save Al-Walid bin Al-Walid; O Allah! Save the weak people among the believers; O Allah! Be hard on the Tribe of Mudar; O Allah! Inflict years of drought upon them like the years (of drought) of the Prophet Joseph."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 403:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet sent a Sariya (an army detachment) consisting of men called Al-Qurra', and all of them were martyred. I had never seen the Prophet so sad over anything as he was over them. So he said Qunut (invocation in the prayer) for one month in the Fajr prayer, invoking for Allah's wrath upon the tribe of 'Usaiya, and he used to say, "The people of 'Usaiya have disobeyed Allah and His Apostle."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 404:
Narrated Aisha:
The Jews used to greet the Prophet by saying, "As-Samu 'Alaika (i.e., death be upon you), so I understood what they said, and I said to them, "As-Samu 'alaikum wal-la'na (i.e. Death and Allah's Curse be upon you)." The Prophet said, "Be gentle and calm, O Aisha, as Allah likes gentleness in all affairs." I said, "O Allah's Prophet! Didn't you hear what they said?" He said, "Didn't you hear me answering them back by saying, 'Alaikum (i.e., the same be upon you)?"

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 405:
Narrated Ali bin Abi Talib:
We were in the company of the Prophet on the day (of the battle) of Al-Khandaq (the Trench). The Prophet said, "May Allah fill their (the infidels') graves and houses with fire, as they have kept us so busy that we could not offer the middle prayer till the sun had set; and that prayer was the Asr prayer."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 406:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
At-Tufail bin Amr came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! The tribe of Daus has disobeyed (Allah and His Apostle) and refused (to embrace Islam), therefore, invoke Allah's wrath for them." The people thought that the Prophet would invoke Allah's wrath for them, but he said, "O Allah! Guide the tribe Of Daus and let them come to us,"

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 407:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet used to invoke Allah with the following invocation: 'Rabbi-ghfir-li Khati 'ati wa jahli wa israfi fi amri kullihi, wa ma anta a'lamu bihi minni. Allahumma ighfirli khatayaya wa 'amdi, wa jahli wa jiddi, wa kullu dhalika'indi. Allahumma ighrifli ma qaddamtu wa ma akhartu wa ma asrartu wa ma a'lantu. Anta-l-muqaddimu wa anta-l-mu'akh-khiru, wa anta 'ala kulli shai'in qadir.'

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 408:
Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari:
The Prophet used to invoke Allah, saying, "Allahumma ighfirli khati'ati wa jahli wa israfi fi amri, wa ma anta a-'lamu bihi minni. Allahumma ighfirli hazali wa jiddi wa khata'i wa amdi, wa kullu dhalika 'indi"

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 409:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Abu-l-Qasim (the Prophet) said, "On Friday there is a particular time. If a Muslim happens to be praying and invoking Allah for something good during that time, Allah will surely fulfill his request." The Prophet pointed out with his hand. We thought that he wanted to illustrate how short that time was.

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 410:
Narrated Ibn Abi Mulaika:
Aisha said, "The Jews came to the Prophet and said to him, "As-Samu 'Alaika (i.e., Death be upon you)." He replied, 'The same on you.' " Aisha said to them, "Death be upon you, and may Allah curse you and shower His wrath upon you!" Allah's Apostle I said, "Be gentle and calm, O Aisha! Be gentle and beware of being harsh and of saying evil things." She said, "Didn't you hear what they said?" He said, "Didn't you hear what I replied (to them)? have returned their statement to them, and my invocation against them will be accepted but theirs against me will not be accepted."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 411:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "When the Imam says 'Amin', then you should all say 'Amin', for the angels say 'Amin' at that time, and he whose 'Amin' coincides with the 'Amin' of the angels, all his past sins will be forgiven."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 412:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said," Whoever says: "La ilaha illal-lah wahdahu la sharika lahu, lahu-l-mulk wa lahu-l-hamd wa huwa 'ala kulli shai'in qadir," one hundred times will get the same reward as given for manumitting ten slaves; and one hundred good deeds will be written in his accounts, and one hundred sins will be deducted from his accounts, and it (his saying) will be a shield for him from Satan on that day till night, and nobody will be able to do a better deed except the one who does more than he."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 413:
Narrated Amr bin Maimun:
Whoever recites it (i.e., the invocation in the above Hadith (412) ten times will be as if he manumitted one of Ishmael's descendants. Abu Aiyub narrated the same Hadith from the Prophet saying, "(Whoever recites it ten times) will be as if he had manumitted one of Ishmael's descendants."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 414:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever says, 'Subhan Allah wa bihamdihi,' one hundred times a day, will be forgiven all his sins even if they were as much as the foam of the sea.

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 415:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "There are two expressions which are very easy for the tongue to say, but they are very heavy in the balance and are very dear to The Beneficent (Allah), and they are, 'Subhan Allah Al-Azim and 'Subhan Allah wa bihamdihi.'"

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 416:
Narrated Abu Musa: The Prophet said, "The example of the one who celebrates the Praises of his Lord (Allah) in comparison to the one who does not celebrate the Praises of his Lord, is that of a living creature compared to a dead one."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 417:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah 's Apostle said, "Allah has some angels who look for those who celebrate the Praises of Allah on the roads and paths. And when they find some people celebrating the Praises of Allah, they call each other, saying, "Come to the object of your pursuit.' " He added, "Then the angels encircle them with their wings up to the sky of the world." He added. "(after those people celebrated the Praises of Allah, and the angels go back), their Lord, asks them (those angels)----though He knows better than them----'What do My slaves say?' The angels reply, 'They say: Subhan Allah, Allahu Akbar, and Alham-du-lillah, Allah then says 'Did they see Me?' The angels reply, 'No! By Allah, they didn't see You.'
Allah says, How it would have been if they saw Me?' The angels reply, 'If they saw You, they would worship You more devoutly and celebrate Your Glory more deeply, and declare Your freedom from any resemblance to anything more often.' Allah says (to the angels), 'What do they ask Me for?' The angels reply, 'They ask You for Paradise.' Allah says (to the angels), 'Did they see it?' The angels say, 'No! By Allah, O Lord! They did not see it.' Allah says, How it would have been if they saw it?' The angels say, 'If they saw it, they would have greater covetousness for it and would seek It with greater zeal and would have greater desire for it.' Allah says, 'From what do they seek refuge?' The angels reply, 'They seek refuge from the (Hell) Fire.' Allah says, 'Did they see it?' The angels say, 'No By Allah, O Lord! They did not see it.' Allah says, How it would have been if they saw it?' The angels say, 'If they saw it they would flee from it with the extreme fleeing and would have extreme fear from it.' Then Allah says, 'I make you witnesses that I have forgiven them."' Allah's Apostle added, "One of the angels would say, 'There was so-and-so amongst them, and he was not one of them, but he had just come for some need.' Allah would say, 'These are those people whose companions will not be reduced to misery.' "

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 418:
Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari:
The Prophet started ascending a high place or hill. A man (amongst his companions) ascended it and shouted in a loud voice, "La ilaha illal-lahu wallahu Akbar." (At that time) Allah's Apostle was riding his mule. Allah's Apostle said, "You are not calling upon a deaf or an absent one." and added, "O Abu Musa (or, O Abdullah)! Shall I tell you a sentence from the treasure of Paradise?" I said, "Yes." He said, "La haul a wala quwwata illa billah,"

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 419:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah has ninety-nine Names, i.e., one hundred minus one, and whoever believes in their meanings and acts accordingly, will enter Paradise; and Allah is Witr (one) and loves 'the Witr' (i.e., odd numbers).

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 420:
Narrated Shaqiq:
While we were waiting for Abdullah (bin Mas'ud). Yazid bin Muawiya came. I said (to him), "Will you sit down?" He said, "No, but I will go into the house (of Ibn Mas'ud) and let your companion (Ibn Mas'ud) come out to you; and if he should not (come out), I will come out and sit (with you)." Then Abdullah came out, holding the hand of Yazid, addressed us, saying, "I know that you are assembled here, but the reason that prevents me from coming out to you, is that Allah's Apostle used to preach to us at intervals during the days, lest we should become bored."

SAHIH BUKHARI, BOOK 76:
To make the Heart Tender (Ar-Riqaq)

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 421:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "There are two blessings which many people lose: (They are) Health and free time for doing good."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 422:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "O Allah! There is no life worth living except the life of the Hereafter, so (please) make righteous the Ansar and the Emigrants."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 423:
Narrated Sahl bin Sa'd As-Sa'idi:
We were in the company of Allah's Apostle in (the battle of) Al-Khandaq, and he was digging the trench while we were carrying the earth away. He looked at us and said, "O Allah! There is no life worth living except the life of the Hereafter, so (please) forgive the Ansar and the Emigrants."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 424:
Narrated Sahl:
I heard the Prophet saying, "A (small) place equal to an area occupied by a whip in Paradise is better than the (whole) world and whatever is in it; and an undertaking (journey) in the forenoon or in the afternoon for Allah's Cause, is better than the whole world and whatever is in it."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 425:
Narrated Mujahid:
Abdullah bin Umar said, "Allah's Apostle took hold of my shoulder and said, 'Be in this world as if you were a stranger or a traveler." The sub-narrator added: Ibn Umar used to say, "If you survive till the evening, do not expect to be alive in the morning, and if you survive till the morning, do not expect to be alive in the evening, and take from your health for your sickness, and (take) from your life for your death."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 426:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet drew a square and then drew a line in the middle of it and let it extend outside the square and then drew several small lines attached to that central line, and said, "This is the human being, and this, (the square) in his lease of life, encircles him from all sides (or has encircled him), and this (line), which is outside (the square), is his hope, and these small lines are the calamities and troubles (which may befall him), and if one misses him, an-other will snap (i.e. overtake) him, and if the other misses him, a third will snap (i.e. overtake) him."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 427:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet drew a few lines and said, "This is (man's) hope, and this is the instant of his death, and while he is in this state (of hope), the nearer line (death) comes to Him."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 428:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Allah will not accept the excuse of any person whose instant of death is delayed till he is sixty years of age."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 429:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "The heart of an old man remains young in two respects, i.e., his love for the world (its wealth, amusements and luxuries) and his incessant hope."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 430:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle said, "The son of Adam (i.e. man) grows old and so also two (desires) grow old with him, i.e., love for wealth and (a wish for) a long life."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 431:
Narrated Utban bin Malik Al-Ansari:

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who was one of the men of the tribe of Bani Salim: Allah's Apostle came to me and said, "If anybody comes on the Day of Resurrection who has said: La ilaha illal-lah, sincerely, with the intention to win Allah's Pleasure, Allah will make the Hell-Fire forbidden for him."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 432:
Narrated Abu Huraira: Allah's Apostle said, "Allah says, 'I have nothing to give but Paradise as a reward to my believer slave, who, if I cause his dear friend (or relative) to die, remains patient (and hopes for Allah's Reward)."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 433:
Narrated Amr bin 'Auf:
(an ally of the tribe of Bani Amir bin Lu'ai and one of those who had witnessed the battle of Badr with Allah's Apostle) Allah's Apostle sent Abu Ubaida bin AlJarrah to Bahrain to collect the Jizya tax. Allah's Apostle had concluded a peace treaty with the people of Bahrain and appointed Al 'Ala bin Al-Hadrami as their chief; Abu Ubaida arrived from Bahrain with the money. The Ansar heard of Abu Ubaida's arrival which coincided with the Fajr (morning) prayer led by Allah's Apostle. When the Prophet finished the prayer, they came to him. Allah's Apostle smiled when he saw them and said, "I think you have heard of the arrival of Abu Ubaida and that he has brought something." They replied, "Yes, O Allah's Apostle! " He said, "Have the good news, and hope for what will please you. By Allah, I am not afraid that you will become poor, but I am afraid that worldly wealth will be given to you in abundance as it was given to those (nations) before you, and you will start competing each other for it as the previous nations competed for it, and then it will divert you (from good) as it diverted them." '

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 434:
Narrated Uqba bin Amir:
The Prophet went out and offered the funeral prayer for the martyrs of the (battle of) Uhud and then ascended the pulpit and said, "I am your predecessor and I am a witness against you. By Allah, I am now looking at my Tank-lake (Al-Kauthar) and I have been given the keys of the treasures of the earth (or the keys of the earth). By Allah! I am not afraid that after me you will worship others besides Allah, but I am afraid that you will start competing for (the pleasures of) this world."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 435:
Narrated Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri:
Allah's Apostle said, "The thing I am afraid of most for your sake, is the worldly blessings which Allah will bring forth to you." It was said, "What are the blessings of this world?" The Prophet said, "The pleasures of the world." A man said, "Can the good bring forth evil?" The Prophet kept quiet for a while till we thought that he was being inspired divinely. Then he started removing the sweat from his forehead and said," Where is the questioner?" That man said, "I (am present)." Abu Sa'id added: We thanked the man when the result (of his question) was such. The Prophet said, "Good never brings forth but good. This wealth (of the world) is (like) green and sweet (fruit), and all the vegetation which grows on the bank of a stream either kills or nearly kills the animal that eats too much of it, except the animal that eats the Khadira (a kind of vegetation). Such an animal eats till its stomach is full and then it faces the sun and starts ruminating and then it passes out dung and urine and goes to eat again. This worldly wealth is (like) sweet (fruit), and if a person earns it (the wealth) in a legal way and spends it properly, then it is an excellent helper, and whoever earns it in an illegal way, he will be like the one who eats but is never satisfied."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 436:
Narrated Zahdam bin Mudarrib:
Imran bin Husain said: The Prophet said, "The best people are my contemporaries (i.e., the present (my) generation) and then those who come after them (i.e., the next generation)." Imran added: I am not sure whether the Prophet repeated the statement twice after his first saying. The Prophet added, "And after them there will come people who will bear witness, though they will not be asked to give their witness; and they will be treacherous and nobody will trust them, and they will make vows, but will not fulfill them, and fatness will appear among them."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 437:
Narrated Abdullah :
The Prophet said, "The best people are those of my generation, and then those who will come after them (the next generation), and then those who will come after them (i.e. the next generation), and then after them, there will come people whose witness will precede their oaths, and whose oaths will precede their witness."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 438:
Narrated Qais:
I heard Khabbab, who had branded his abdomen with seven brands, saying, "Had Allah's Apostle not forbidden us to invoke Allah for death, I would have invoked Allah for death. The companions of Mohammed have left this world without taking anything of their reward in it (i.e., they will have perfect reward in the Hereafter), but we have collected of the worldly wealth what we cannot spend but on earth (i.e. on building houses)."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 439:
Narrated Qais:
I came to Khabbab while he was building a wall, and he (Khabbab) said, "Our companions who have left this world, did not enjoy anything of their reward therein, while we have collected after them, much wealth that we cannot spend but on earth (i.e., on building)."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 440:
Narrated Khabbab:
We migrated with the Prophet..(This narration is related in the chapter of migration).

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 441:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
I brought water to Uthman bin 'Affan to perform the ablution while he was sitting on his seat. He performed the ablution in a perfect way and said, "I saw the Prophet performing the ablution in this place and he performed it in a perfect way and said, "Whoever performs the ablution as I have done this time and then proceeds to the mosque and offers a two-Rak'at prayer and then sits there (waiting for the compulsory congregational prayers), then all his past sins will be forgiven." The Prophet further added, "Do not be conceited (thinking that your sins will be forgiven because of your prayer)."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 442:
Narrated Mirdas Al-Aslami:
The Prophet said, "The righteous (pious people will depart (die) in succession one after the other, and there will remain (on the earth) useless people like the useless husk of barley seeds or bad dates, and Allah will not

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 443:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Perish the slave of Dinar, Dirham, Qatifa (thick soft cloth), and Khamisa (a garment), for if he is given, he is pleased; otherwise he is dissatisfied."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 444:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
I heard the Prophet saying, "If the son of Adam (the human being) had two valley of money, he would wish for a third, for nothing can fill the belly of Adam's son except dust, and Allah forgives him who repents to Him."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 445:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "If the son of Adam had money equal to a valley, then he will wish for another similar to it, for nothing can satisfy the eye of Adam's son except dust. And Allah forgives him who repents to Him." Ibn Abbas said: I do not know whether this saying was quoted from the Koran or not. 'Ata' said, "I heard Ibn AzZubair saying this narration while he was on the pulpit."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 446:
Narrated Sahl bin Sa'd:
I heard Ibn Az-Zubair who was on the pulpit at Mecca, delivering a sermon, saying, "O men! The Prophet used to say, "If the son of Adam were given a valley full of gold, he would love to have a second one; and if he were given the second one, he would love to have a third, for nothing fills the belly of Adam's son except dust. And Allah forgives he who repents to Him." Ubai said, "We considered this as a saying from the Koran till the Sura (beginning with) 'The mutual rivalry for piling up of worldly things diverts you..' (102.1) was revealed."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 447:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle said, "If Adam's son had a valley full of gold, he would like to have two valleys, for nothing fills his mouth except dust. And Allah forgives him who repents to Him."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 448:
Narrated Hakim bin Hizam:
I asked the Prophet (for some money) and he gave me, and then again I asked him and he gave me, and then again I asked him and he gave me and he then said, "This wealth is (like) green and sweet (fruit), and whoever takes it without greed, Allah will bless it for him, but whoever takes it with greed, Allah will not bless it for him, and he will be like the one who eats but is never satisfied. And the upper (giving) hand is better than the lower (taking) hand."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 449:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "Who among you considers the wealth of his heirs dearer to him than his own wealth?" They replied, "O Allah's Apostle! There is none among us but loves his own wealth more." The Prophet said, "So his wealth is whatever he spends (in Allah's Cause) during his life (on good deeds) while the wealth of his heirs is whatever he leaves after his death."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 450:
Narrated Abu Dhar:
Once I went out at night and found Allah's Apostle walking all alone accompanied by nobody, and I thought that perhaps he disliked that someone should accompany him. So I walked in the shade, away from the moonlight, but the Prophet looked behind and saw me and said, "Who is that?" I replied, "Abu Dhar, let Allah get me sacrificed for you!" He said, "O Abu Dhar, come here!" So I accompanied him for a while and then he said, "The rich are in fact the poor (little rewarded) on the Day of Resurrection except him whom Allah gives wealth which he gives (in charity) to his right, left, front and back, and does good deeds with it. I walked with him a little longer. Then he said to me, "Sit down here." So he made me sit in an open space surrounded by rocks, and said to me, "Sit here till I come back to you." He went towards Al-Harra till I could not see him, and he stayed away for a long period, and then I heard him saying, while he was coming, "Even if he had committed theft, and even if he had committed illegal sexual intercourse?" When he came, I could not remain patient and asked him, "O Allah's Prophet! Let Allah get me sacrificed for you! Whom were you speaking to by the side of Al-Harra? I did not hear anybody responding to your talk." He said, "It was Gabriel who appeared to me beside Al-Harra and said, 'Give the good news to your followers that whoever dies without having worshipped anything besides Allah, will enter Paradise.' I said, 'O Gabriel! Even if he had committed theft or committed illegal sexual intercourse?' He said, 'Yes.' I said, 'Even if he has committed theft or committed illegal sexual intercourse?' He said, 'Yes.' I said, 'Even if he has committed theft or committed illegal sexual intercourse?' He said, 'Yes.' "

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 451:
Narrated Abu Dhar:
While I was walking with the Prophet in the Harra of Medina, Uhud came in sight. The Prophet said, "O Abu Dhar!" I said, "Labbaik, O Allah's Apostle!" He said, "I would not like to have gold equal to this mountain of Uhud, unless nothing of it, not even a single Dinar of it remains with me for more than three days, except something which I will keep for repaying debts. I would have spent all of it (distributed it) amongst Allah's Slaves like this, and like this, and like this." The Prophet pointed out with his hand towards his right, his left and his back (while illustrating it). He proceeded with his walk and said, "The rich are in fact the poor (little rewarded) on the Day of Resurrection except those who spend their wealth like this, and like this, and like this, to their right, left and back, but such people are few in number." Then he said to me, "Stay at your place and do not leave it till I come back." Then he proceeded in the darkness of the night till he went out of sight, and then I heard a loud voice, and was afraid that something might have happened to the Prophet .1 intended to go to him, but I remembered what he had said to me, i.e. 'Don't leave your place till I come back to you,' so I remained at my place till he came back to me. I said, "O Allah's Apostle! I heard a voice and I was afraid." So I mentioned the whole story to him. He said, "Did you hear it?" I replied, "Yes." He said, "It was Gabriel who came to me and said, 'Whoever died without joining others in worship with Allah, will enter Paradise.' I asked (Gabriel), 'Even if he had committed theft or committed illegal sexual intercourse? Gabriel said, 'Yes, even if he had committed theft or committed illegal sexual intercourse."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 452:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah Apostle said, "If I had gold equal to the mountain of Uhud, it would not please me that anything of it should remain with me after three nights (i.e., I would spend all of it in Allah's Cause) except what I would keep for repaying debts."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 453:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Riches does not mean, having a great amount of property, but riches is self-contentment."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 454:
Narrated Sahl bin Sa'd As-Sa'id:
A man passed by Allah's Apostle and the Prophet asked a man sitting beside him, "What is your opinion about this

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(passer-by)?" He replied, "This (passer-by) is from the noble class of people. By Allah, if he should ask for a lady's hand in marriage, he ought to be given her in marriage, and if he intercedes for somebody, his intercession will be accepted. Allah's Apostle kept quiet, and then another man passed by and Allah's Apostle asked the same man (his companion) again, "What is your opinion about this (second) one?" He said, "O Allah's Apostle! This person is one of the poor Muslims. If he should ask a lady's hand in marriage, no-one will accept him, and if he intercedes for somebody, no one will accept his intercession, and if he talks, no-one will listen to his talk." Then Allah's Apostle said, "This (poor man) is better than such a large number of the first type (i.e. rich men) as to fill the earth."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 455:
Narrated Abu Wail:
We paid a visit to Khabbab who was sick, and he said, "We migrated with the Prophet for Allah's Sake and our wages became due on Allah. Some of us died without having received anything of the wages, and one of them was Mus'ab bin Umar, who was martyred on the day of the battle of Uhud, leaving only one sheet (to shroud him in). If we covered his head with it, his feet became uncovered, and if we covered his feet with it, his head became uncovered. So the Prophet ordered us to cover his head with it and put some Idhkhir (a kind of grass) over his feet. On the other hand, some of us have had the fruits (of our good deed) and are plucking them (in this world)."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 456:
Narrated Imran bin Husain:
The Prophet said, "I looked into Paradise and found that the majority of its dwellers were the poor people, and I looked into the (Hell) Fire and found that the majority of its dwellers were women."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 457:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet did not eat at a table till he died, and he did not eat a thin nicely baked wheat bread till he died.

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 458:
Narrated Aisha:
When the Prophet died, nothing which can be eaten by a living creature was left on my shelf except some barley grain. I ate of it for a period and when I measured it, it finished.

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 459:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
By Allah except Whom none has the right to- be worshipped, (sometimes) I used to lay (sleep) on the ground on my liver (abdomen) because of hunger, and (sometimes) I used to bind a stone over my belly because of hunger. One day I sat by the way from where they (the Prophet and h is companions) used to come out. When Abu Bakr passed by, I asked him about a Verse from Allah's Book and I asked him only that he might satisfy my hunger, but he passed by and did not do so. Then Umar passed by me and I asked him about a Verse from Allah's Book, and I asked him only that he might satisfy my hunger, but he passed by without doing so. Finally Abu-l-Qasim (the Prophet) passed by me and he smiled when he saw me, for he knew what was in my heart and on my face. He said, "O Aba Hirr (Abu Huraira)!" I replied, "Labbaik, O Allah's Apostle!" He said to me, "Follow me." He left and I followed him.
Then he entered the house and I asked permission to enter and was admitted. He found milk in a bowl and said, "From where is this milk?" They said, "It has been presented to you by such-and-such man (or by such and such woman)." He said, "O Aba Hirr!" I said, "Labbaik, O Allah's Apostle!" He said, "Go and call the people of Suffa to me." These people of Suffa were the guests of Islam who had no families, nor money, nor anybody to depend upon, and whenever an object of charity was brought to the Prophet , he would send it to them and would not take anything from it, and whenever any present was given to him, he used to send some for them and take some of it for himself. The order off the Prophet upset me, and I said to myself, "How will this little milk be enough for the people of As-Suffa?" thought I was more entitled to drink from that milk in order to strengthen myself, but behold! The Prophet came to order me to give that milk to them. I wondered what will remain of that milk for me, but anyway, I could not but obey Allah and His Apostle so I went to the people of As-Suffa and called them, and they came and asked the Prophet's permission to enter. They were admitted and took their seats in the house.
The Prophet said, "O Aba-Hirr!" I said, "Labbaik, O Allah's Apostle!" He said, "Take it and give it to them." So I took the bowl (of Milk) and started giving it to one man who would drink his fill and return it to me, whereupon I would give it to another man who, in his turn, would drink his fill and return it to me, and I would then offer it to another man who would drink his fill and return it to me. Finally, after the whole group had drunk their fill, I reached the Prophet who took the bowl and put it on his hand, looked at me and smiled and said. "O Aba Hirr!" I replied, "Labbaik, O Allah's Apostle!" He said, "There remain you and I." I said, "You have said the truth, O Allah's Apostle!" He said, "Sit down and drink." I sat down and drank. He said, "Drink," and I drank. He kept on telling me repeatedly to drink, till I said, "No. by Allah Who sent you with the Truth, I have no space for it (in my stomach)." He said, "Hand it over to me." When I gave him the bowl, he praised Allah and pronounced Allah's Name on it and drank the remaining milk.

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 460:
Narrated Sa'd:
I was the first man among the Arabs to throw an arrow for Allah's Cause. We used to fight in Allah's Cause while we had nothing to eat except the leaves of the Hubla and the Sumur trees (desert trees) so that we discharged excrement like that of sheep (i.e. unmixed droppings). Today the (people of the) tribe of Bani Asad teach me the laws of Islam. If so, then I am lost, and all my efforts of that hard time had gone in vain.

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 461:
Narrated Aisha:
The family of Mohammed had never eaten their fill of wheat bread for three successive days since they had migrated to Medina till the death of the Prophet.

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 462:
Narrated Aisha:
The family of Mohammed did not eat two meals on one day, but one of the two was of dates.

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 463:
Narrated Aisha:
The bed mattress of the Prophet was made of a leather case stuffed with palm fibres.

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 464:
Narrated Qatada:
We used to go to Anas bin Malik and see his baker standing (preparing the bread). Anas said, "Eat. I have not known that the Prophet ever saw a thin well-baked loaf of bread till he died, and he never saw a roasted sheep with his eyes."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 465:
Narrated Aisha:
A complete month would pass by during which we would not make a fire (for cooking), and our food used to be only dates and water unless we were given a present of some meat.

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 466:
Narrated Aisha:
that she said to Urwa, "O, the son of my sister! We used to see three crescents in two months, and no fire used to be made in the houses of Allah's Apostle (i.e. nothing used to be cooked)." Urwa said, "What used to sustain you?" Aisha said, "The two black things i.e. dates and water, except that Allah's Apostle had neighbours from the Ansar who had some milch she-camels, and they used to give the Prophet some milk from their house, and he used to make us drink it."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 467:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "O Allah! Give food to the family of Mohammed."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 468:
Narrated Masruq:
I asked Aisha "What deed was the most beloved to the Prophet?" She said, "The regular constant one." I said, "At what time did he use to get up at night (for the Tahajjud night prayer)?' She said, "He used to get up on hearing (the crowing of) the cock (the last third of the night)."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 469:
Narrated Aisha:
The most beloved action to Allah's Apostle was that whose doer did it continuously and regularly.

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 470:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The deeds of anyone of you will not save you (from the (Hell) Fire)." They said, "Even you (will not be saved by your deeds), O Allah's Apostle?" He said, "No, even I (will not be saved) unless and until Allah bestows His Mercy on me. Therefore, do good deeds properly, sincerely and moderately, and worship Allah in the forenoon and in the afternoon and during a part of the night, and always adopt a middle, moderate, regular course whereby you will reach your target (Paradise)."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 471:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle said, "Do good deeds properly, sincerely and moderately and know that your deeds will not make you enter Paradise, and that the most beloved deed to Allah's is the most regular and constant even though it were little."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 472:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet was asked, "What deeds are loved most by Allah?" He said, "The most regular constant deeds even though they may be few." He added, 'Don't take upon yourselves, except the deeds which are within your ability."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 473:
Narrated 'Alqama:
I asked Aisha, mother of the believers, "O mother of the believers! How were the deeds of the Prophet? Did he use to do extra deeds of worship on special days?" She said, "No, but his deeds were regular and constant, and who among you is able to do what the Prophet was able to do (i.e. in worshipping Allah)?"

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 474:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said, "Do good deeds properly, sincerely and moderately, and receive good news because one's good deeds will not make him enter Paradise." They asked, "Even you, O Allah's Apostle?" He said, "Even I, unless and until Allah bestows His pardon and Mercy on me."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 475:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Once Allah's Apostle led us in prayer and then (after finishing it) ascended the pulpit and pointed with his hand towards the Qibla of the mosque and said, "While I was leading you in prayer, both Paradise and Hell were displayed in front of me in the direction of this wall. I had never seen a better thing (than Paradise) and a worse thing (than Hell) as I have seen today, I had never seen a better thing and a worse thing as I have seen today."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 476:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, Verily Allah created Mercy. The day He created it, He made it into one hundred parts. He withheld with Him ninety-nine parts, and sent its one part to all His creatures. Had the non-believer known of all the Mercy which is in the Hands of Allah, he would not lose hope of entering Paradise, and had the believer known of all the punishment which is present with Allah, he would not consider himself safe from the Hell-Fire."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 477:
Narrated Abu Said:
Some people from the Ansar asked Allah's Apostle (to give them something) and he gave to everyone of them, who asked him, until all that he had was finished. When everything was finished and he had spent all that was in his hand, he said to them, '"(Know) that if I have any wealth, I will not withhold it from you (to keep for somebody else); And (know) that he who refrains from begging others (or doing prohibited deeds), Allah will make him contented and not in need of others; and he who remains patient, Allah will bestow patience upon him, and he who is satisfied with what he has, Allah will make him self-sufficient. And there is no gift better and vast (you may be given) than patience."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 478:
Narrated Al-Mughira bin Shu'ba:
The Prophet used to pray so much that his feet used to become edematous or swollen, and when he was asked as to why he prays so much, he would say, "Shall I not be a thankful slave (to Allah)?"

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 479:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle said, "Seventy thousand people of my followers will enter Paradise without accounts, and they are those who do not practice Ar-Ruqya and do not see an evil omen in things, and put their trust in their Lord.

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 480:
Narrated Warrad:
(the clerk of Al-Mughira bin Shu'ba) Muawiya wrote to Al-Mughira: "Write to me a narration you have heard from Allah's Apostle." So Al-Mughira wrote to him, "I heard him saying the following after each prayer: 'La ilaha illal-lahu wahdahu la sharika lahu, lahu-l-mulk wa lahul-hamd, wa huwa 'ala kulli Shai-in qadir.' He also used to forbid idle talk, asking too many questions (in religion), wasting money, preventing what should be given, and asking others for something (except in great need), being undutiful to mothers, and burying one's little daughters (alive)."

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Volume 8, Book 76, Number 481:
Narrated Sahl bin Sa'd:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever can guarantee (the chastity of) what is between his two jaw-bones and what is between his two legs (i.e. his tongue and his private parts), I guarantee Paradise for him."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 482:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day should talk what is good or keep quiet, and whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day should not hurt (or insult) his neighbour; and whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day, should entertain his guest generously."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 483:
Narrated Abu Shuraih Al-Khuza'i:
My ears heard and my heart grasped (the statement which) the Prophet said, "The period for keeping one's guest is three days (and don't forget) his reward." It was asked, "What is his reward?" He said, "In the first night and the day he should be given a high class quality of meals; and whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day, should entertain his guest generously; and whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day should talk what is good (sense) or keep quiet."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 484:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
That he heard Allah's Apostle saying, "A slave of Allah may utter a word without thinking whether it is right or wrong, he may slip down in the Fire as far away a distance equal to that between the east."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 485:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet; said, "A slave (of Allah) may utter a word which pleases Allah without giving it much importance, and because of that Allah will raise him to degrees (of reward): a slave (of Allah) may utter a word (carelessly) which displeases Allah without thinking of its gravity and because of that he will be thrown into the Hell-Fire."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 486:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said Allah will give shade to seven (types of people) under His Shade (on the Day of Resurrection). (one of them will be) a person who remembers Allah and his eyes are then flooded with tears.

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 487:
Narrated Hudhaifa:
The Prophet said, "There was a man amongst the people who had suspicion as to the righteousness of his deeds. Therefore he said to his family, 'If I die, take me and burn my corpse and throw my ashes into the sea on a hot (or windy) day.' They did so, but Allah, collected his particles and asked (him), What made you do what you did?' He replied, 'The only thing that made me do it, was that I was afraid of You.' So Allah forgave him."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 488:
Narrated Abu Said :
The Prophet mentioned a man from the previous generation or from the people preceding your age whom Allah had given both wealth and children. The Prophet said, "When the time of his death approached, he asked his children, 'What type of father have I been to you?' They replied: You have been a good father. He said, 'But he (i.e. your father) has not stored any good deeds with Allah (for the Hereafter): if he should face Allah, Allah will punish him. So listen, (O my children), when I die, burn my body till I become mere coal and then grind it into powder, and when there is a stormy wind, throw me (my ashes) in it.' So he took a firm promise from his children (to follow his instructions). And by Allah they (his sons) did accordingly(fulfilled their promise.) Then Allah said, "Be"' and behold! That man was standing there! Allah then said. "O my slave! What made you do what you did?" That man said, "Fear of You." So Allah forgave him.

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 489:
Narrated Abu Musa:
Allah's Apostle said. "My example and the example of the message with which Allah has sent me is like that of a man who came to some people and said, "I have seen with my own eyes the enemy forces, and I am a naked warner (to you) so save yourself, save yourself! A group of them obeyed him and went out at night, slowly and stealthily and were safe, while another group did not believe him and thus the army took them in the morning and destroyed them."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 490:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "My example and the example of the people is that of a man who made a fire, and when it lighted what was around it, Moths and other insects started falling into the fire. The man tried (his best) to prevent them, (from falling in the fire) but they overpowered him and rushed into the fire. The Prophet added: Now, similarly, I take hold of the knots at your waist (belts) to prevent you from falling into the Fire, but you insist on falling into it."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 491:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
The Prophet said, "A Muslim is the one who avoids harming Muslims with his tongue or his hands. And a Muhajir (an emigrant) is the one who gives up (abandons) all what Allah has forbidden."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 492:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "If you knew that which I know you would laugh little and weep much."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 493:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "If you knew that which I know, you would laugh little and weep much."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 494:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The (Hell) Fire is surrounded by all kinds of desires and passions, while Paradise is surrounded by all kinds of disliked undesirable things."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 495:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "Paradise is nearer to any of you than the Shirak (leather strap) of his shoe, and so is the (Hell) Fire.

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 496:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The truest poetic verse ever said by a poet, is: Indeed! Everything except Allah, is perishable."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 497:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "If anyone of you looked at a person who was made superior to him in property and (in good) appearance, then he should also look at the one who is inferior to him, and to whom he has been made superior."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 498:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet narrating about his Lord I'm and said, "Allah ordered (the appointed angels over you) that the good and the bad deeds be written, and He then showed (the way) how (to write). If somebody intends to do a good deed and he does not do it, then Allah will write for him a full good deed (in his account with Him); and if he intends to do a good deed and actually did it, then Allah will write for him (in his account) with Him (its reward equal) from ten to seven hundred times to many more times: and if somebody intended to do a bad deed and he does not do it, then Allah will write a full good deed (in his account) with Him, and if he intended to do it (a bad deed) and actually did it, then Allah will write one bad deed (in his account) ."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 499:
Narrated Ghailan:
Anas said "You people do (bad) deeds (commit sins) which seem in your eyes as tiny (minute) than hair while we used to consider those (very deeds) during the life-time of the Prophet as destructive sins."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 500:
Narrated Sa'd bin Sahl As-Sa'idi:
The Prophet looked at a man fighting against the pagans and he was one of the most competent persons fighting on behalf of the Muslims. The Prophet said, "Let him who wants to look at a man from the dwellers of the (Hell) Fire, look at this (man)." Another man followed him and kept on following him till he (the fighter) was injured and, seeking to die quickly, he placed the blade tip of his sword between his breasts and leaned over it till it passed through his shoulders (i.e., committed suicide)." The Prophet added, "A person may do deeds that seem to the people as the deeds of the people of Paradise while in fact, he is from the dwellers of the (Hell) Fire: and similarly a person may do deeds that seem to the people as the deeds of the people of the (Hell) Fire while in fact, he is from the dwellers of Paradise. Verily, the (results of) deeds done, depend upon the last actions."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 501:
Narrated Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri:
A bedouin came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Who is the best of mankind!" The Prophet said, "A man who strives for Allah's Cause with his life and property, and also a man who lives (all alone) in a mountain path among the mountain paths to worship his Lord and save the people from his evil."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 502:
Narrated Abu Said:

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 503:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "When honesty is lost, then wait for the Hour." It was asked, "How will honesty be lost, O Allah's Apostle?" He said, "When authority is given to those who do not deserve it, then wait for the Hour."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 504:
Narrated Hudhaifa:
Allah's Apostle narrated to us two narrations, one of which I have seen (happening) and I am waiting for the other. He narrated that honesty was preserved in the roots of the hearts of men (in the beginning) and then they learnt it (honesty) from the Koran, and then they learnt it from the (Prophet's) Sunna (tradition). He also told us about its disappearance, saying, "A man will go to sleep whereupon honesty will be taken away from his heart, and only its trace will remain, resembling the traces of fire. He then will sleep whereupon the remainder of the honesty will also be taken away (from his heart) and its trace will resemble a blister which is raised over the surface of skin, when an ember touches one's foot; and in fact, this blister does not contain anything. So there will come a day when people will deal in business with each other but there will hardly be any trustworthy persons among them. Then it will be said that in such-and-such a tribe there is such-and-such person who is honest, and a man will be admired for his intelligence, good manners and strength, though indeed he will not have belief equal to a mustard seed in his heart." The narrator added: There came upon me a time when I did not mind dealing with anyone of you, for if he was a Muslim, his religion would prevent him from cheating; and if he was a Christian, his Muslim ruler would prevent him from cheating; but today I cannot deal except with so-and-so and so-and-so. (See Hadith No. 208, Vol. 9)

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 505:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "People are just like camels, out of one hundred, one can hardly find a single camel suitable to ride."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 506:
Narrated Jundub:
The Prophet said, "He who lets the people hear of his good deeds intentionally, to win their praise, Allah will let the people know his real intention (on the Day of Resurrection), and he who does good things in public to show off and win the praise of the people, Allah will disclose his real intention (and humiliate him).

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 507:
Narrated Mu'adh bin Jabal:
While I was riding behind the Prophet as a companion rider and there was nothing between me and him except the back of the saddle, he said, "O Mu'adh!" I replied, "Labbaik O Allah's Apostle! And Sa'diak!" He proceeded for a while and then said, "O Mu'adh!" I said, "Labbaik and Sa'daik, O Allah's Apostle!" He then proceeded for another while and said, "O Mu'adh bin Jabal!" I replied, "Labbaik, O Allah's Apostle, and Sa'daik!" He said, "Do you know what is Allah's right on His slaves?" I replied, "Allah and His Apostle know better." He said, "Allah's right on his slaves is that they should worship Him and not worship anything besides Him." He then proceeded for a while, and again said, "O Mu'adh bin Jabal!" I replied. "Labbaik, O Allah's Apostle, and Sa'daik." He said, "Do you know what is (Allah's) slaves' (people's) right on Allah if they did that?" I replied, "Allah and His Apostle know better." He said, "The right of (Allah's) slaves on Allah is that He should not punish them (if they did that)."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 508:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet had a she-camel called Al'Adba' and it was too fast to surpass in speed. There came a bedouin riding a camel of his, and that camel outstripped it (i.e. Al-Aqba'). That result was hard on the Muslims who said sorrowfully, "Al-Adba has been outstripped." Allah's Apostle said, "It is due from Allah that nothing would be raised high in this world except that He lowers or puts it down."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 509:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Allah said, 'I will declare war against him who shows hostility to a pious worshipper of Mine. And the most beloved things with which My slave comes nearer to Me, is what I have enjoined upon him; and My slave keeps on coming closer to Me through performing Nawafil (praying or

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doing extra deeds besides what is obligatory) till I love him, so I become his sense of hearing with which he hears, and his sense of sight with which he sees, and his hand with which he grips, and his leg with which he walks; and if he asks Me, I will give him, and if he asks My protection (Refuge), I will protect him; (i.e. give him My Refuge) and I do not hesitate to do anything as I hesitate to take the soul of the believer, for he hates death, and I hate to disappoint him."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 510:
Narrated Sahl:
Allah's Apostle said, "I have been sent and the Hour (is at hand) as these two," showing his two fingers and sticking (separating) them out.

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 511:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle said, "I have been sent and the Hour (is at hand) as these two (fingers)."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 512:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "I have been sent and the Hour (is at hand) as these two (fingers)."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 513:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The Hour will not be established till the sun rises from the west, and when it rises (from the west) and the people see it, then all of them will believe (in Allah). But that will be the time when 'No good it will do to a soul to believe then. If it believed not before..'" (6.158)
The Hour will be established (so suddenly) that two persons spreading a garment between them will not be able to finish their bargain, nor will they be able to fold it up. The Hour will be established while a man is carrying the milk of his she-camel, but cannot drink it; and the Hour will be established when someone is not able to prepare the tank to water his livestock from it; and the Hour will be established when some of you has raised his food to his mouth but cannot eat it."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 514:
Narrated 'Ubada bin As-Samit:
The Prophet said, "Who-ever loves to meet Allah, Allah (too) loves to meet him and who-ever hates to meet Allah, Allah (too) hates to meet him". Aisha, or some of the wives of the Prophet said, "But we dislike death." He said: It is not like this, but it is meant that when the time of the death of a believer approaches, he receives the good news of Allah's pleasure with him and His blessings upon him, and so at that time nothing is dearer to him than what is in front of him. He therefore loves the meeting with Allah, and Allah (too) loves the meeting with him. But when the time of the death of a disbeliever approaches, he receives the evil news of Allah's torment and His Requital, whereupon nothing is more hateful to him than what is before him. Therefore, he hates the meeting with Allah, and Allah too, hates the meeting with him."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 515:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet said, "Whoever loves the meeting with Allah, Allah too, loves the meeting with him; and whoever hates the meeting with Allah, Allah too, hates the meeting with him."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 516:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) When Allah's Apostle was in good health, he used to say, "No prophet's soul is ever captured unless he is shown his place in Paradise and given the option (to die or survive)." So when the death of the Prophet approached and his head was on my thigh, he became unconscious for a while and then he came to his senses and fixed his eyes on the ceiling and said, "O Allah (with) the highest companions." (See Koran 4:69). I said' "Hence he is not going to choose us." And I came to know that it was the application of the narration which he (the Prophet) used to narrate to us. And that was the last statement of the Prophet (before his death) i.e., "O Allah! With the highest companions." (See Koran 4:69)

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 517:
Narrated Aisha:
There was a leather or wood container full of water in front of Allah's Apostle (at the time of his death). He would put his hand into the water and rub his face with it, saying, "None has the right to be worshipped but Allah! No doubt, death has its stupors." Then he raised his hand and started saying, "(O Allah!) with the highest companions." (See Koran 4:69) (and kept on saying it) till he expired and his hand dropped."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 518:
Narrated Aisha:
Some rough bedouins used to visit the Prophet and ask him, "When will the Hour be?" He would look at the youngest of all of them and say, "If this should live till he is very old, your Hour (the death of the people addressed) will take place." Hisham said that he meant (by the Hour), their death.

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 519:
Narrated Abu Qatada bin Rib'i Al-Ansari:
A funeral procession passed by Allah's Apostle who said, "Relieved or relieving?" The people asked, "O Allah's Apostle! What is relieved and relieving?" He said, "A believer is relieved (by death) from the troubles and hardships of the world and leaves for the Mercy of Allah, while (the death of) a wicked person relieves the people, the land, the trees, (and) the animals from him."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 520:
Narrated Abu Qatada:
The Prophet said, "Relieved or relieving. And a believer is relieved (by death)."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 521:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle said, "When carried to his grave, a dead person is followed by three, two of which return (after his burial) and one remains with him: his relative, his property, and his deeds follow him; relatives and his property go back while his deeds remain with him."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 522:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "When anyone of you dies, his destination is displayed before him in the forenoon and in the afternoon, either in the (Hell) Fire or in Paradise, and it is said to him, "That is your place till you are resurrected and sent to it."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 523:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said, "Do not abuse the dead, for they have reached the result of what they have done."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 524:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Two men, a Muslim and a Jew, abused each other. The Muslim said, "By Him Who gave superiority to Mohammed over all the people." On that, the Jew said, "By Him Who gave superiority to Moses over all the people." The Muslim became furious at that and slapped the Jew in the face. The Jew went to Allah's Apostle and informed him of what had happened between him and the Muslim. Allah's Apostle said, "Don't give me superiority over Moses, for the people will fall unconscious on the Day of Resurrection and I will be the first to gain consciousness, and behold ! Moses will be there holding the side of Allah's Throne. I will not know whether Moses has been among those people who have become unconscious and then has regained consciousness before me, or has been among those exempted by Allah from falling unconscious."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 525:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The people will fall down unconscious at the time when they should fall down (i.e., on the Day of Resurrection), and then I will be the first man to get up, and behold, Moses will be there holding (Allah's) Throne. I will not know whether he has been amongst those who have fallen unconscious."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 526:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Allah will take the whole earth (in His Hand) and will roll up the Heaven in His right Hand, and then He will say, "I am King! Where are the kings of the earth ? "

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 527:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
The Prophet said, "The (planet of) earth will be a bread on the Day of Resurrection, and The resistible (Allah) will topple turn it with His Hand like anyone of you topple turns a bread with his hands while (preparing the bread) for a journey, and that bread will be the entertainment for the people of Paradise." A man from the Jews came (to the Prophet) and said, "May The Beneficent (Allah) bless you, O Abul Qasim! Shall I tell you of the entertainment of the people of Paradise on the Day of Resurrection?" The Prophet said, "Yes." The Jew said, "The earth will be a bread," as the Prophet had said. Thereupon the Prophet looked at us and smiled till his premolar tooth became visible. Then the Jew further said, "Shall I tell you of the udm (additional food taken with bread) they will have with the bread?" He added, "That will be Balam and Nun." The people asked, "What is that?" He said, "It is an ox and a fish, and seventy thousand people will eat of the caudate lobe (i.e. extra lobe) of their livers."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 528:
Narrated Sahl bin Sa'd:
I heard the Prophet saying, "The people will be gathered on the Day of Resurrection on reddish white land like a pure loaf of bread (made of pure fine flour)." Sahl added: That land will have no landmarks for anybody (to make use of).

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 529:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The people will be gathered in three ways: (The first way will be of) those who will wish or have a hope (for Paradise) and will have a fear (of punishment), (The second batch will be those who will gather) riding two on a camel or three on a camel or ten on a camel. (The third batch) the rest of the people will be urged to gather by the Fire which will accompany them at the time of their afternoon nap and stay with them where they will spend the night, and will be with them in the morning wherever they may be then, and will be with them in the afternoon wherever they may be then."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 530:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
A man said, "O Allah's Prophet! Will a Kafir (disbeliever) be gathered (driven prone) on his face?" The Prophet said, "Is not He Who made him walk with his legs in this world, able to make him walk on his face on the Day of Resurrection?" (Qatada, a sub-narrator said: Yes, (He can), by the Power of Our Lord!")

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 531:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "You will meet Allah barefooted, naked, walking on feet, and uncircumcised."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 532:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
I heard Allah's Apostle while he was delivering a sermon on a pulpit, saying, "You will meet Allah barefooted, naked, and uncircumcised."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 533:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet stood up among us and addressed (saying) "You will be gathered, barefooted, naked, and uncircumcised (as Allah says): 'As We began the first creation, We shall repeat it..' (21.104) And the first human being to be dressed on the Day of Resurrection will be (the Prophet) Abraham Al-Khalil. Then will be brought some men of my followers who will be taken towards the left (i.e., to the Fire), and I will say: 'O Lord! My companions whereupon Allah will say: You do not know what they did after you left them. I will then say as the pious slave, Jesus said, And I was witness over them while I dwelt amongst them.....(up to) ...the All-Wise.' (5.117-118). The narrator added: Then it will be said that those people (relegated from Islam, that is) kept on turning on their heels (deserted Islam).

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 534:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle said, "The people will be gathered barefooted, naked, and uncircumcised." I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Will the men and the women look at each other?" He said, "The situation will be too hard for them to pay attention to that."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 535:
Narrated Abdullah:
While we were in the company of the Prophet in a tent he said, "Would it please you to be one fourth of the people of Paradise?" We said, "Yes." He said, "Would It please you to be one-third of the people of Paradise?" We said, "Yes." He said, "Would it please you to be half of the people of Paradise?" We said, "Yes." Thereupon he said, "I hope that you will be one half of the people of Paradise, for none will enter Paradise but a Muslim soul, and you people, in comparison to the people who associate others in worship with Allah, are like a white hair on the skin of a black ox, or a black hair on the skin of a red ox."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 536:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The first man to be called on the Day of Resurrection will be Adam who will be shown his offspring, and it will be said to them, 'This is your father, Adam.' Adam will say (responding to the call), 'Labbaik and Sa'daik' Then Allah will say (to Adam), 'Take out of your offspring, the people of Hell.' Adam will say, 'O Lord, how many should I take out?' Allah will say, 'Take out ninety-nine out of every hundred." They (the Prophet's companions) said, "O Allah's Apostle! If ninety-nine out of every one hundred of us are

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taken away, what will remain out of us?" He said, "My followers in comparison to the other nations are like a white hair on a black ox."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 537:
Narrated Abu Said:
The Prophet said, "Allah will say, 'O Adam!. Adam will reply, 'Labbaik and Sa'daik (I respond to Your Calls, I am obedient to Your orders), wal Khair fi Yadaik (and all the good is in Your Hands)!' Then Allah will say (to Adam), Bring out the people of the Fire.' Adam will say, 'What (how many) are the people of the Fire?' Allah will say, 'Out of every thousand (take out) nine-hundred and ninety-nine (persons).' At that time children will become hoary-headed and every pregnant female will drop her load (have an abortion) and you will see the people as if they were drunk, yet not drunk; But Allah's punishment will be very severe."
That news distressed the companions of the Prophet too much, and they said, "O Allah's Apostle! Who amongst us will be that man (the lucky one out of one-thousand who will be saved from the Fire)?" He said, "Have the good news that one-thousand will be from Gog and Magog, and the one (to be saved will be) from you." The Prophet added, "By Him in Whose Hand my soul is, I Hope that you (Muslims) will be one third of the people of Paradise." On that, we glorified and praised Allah and said, "Allahu Akbar." The Prophet then said, "By Him in Whose Hand my soul is, I hope that you will be one half of the people of Paradise, as your (Muslims) example in comparison to the other people (non-Muslims), is like that of a white hair on the skin of a black ox, or a round hairless spot on the foreleg of a donkey."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 538:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said (regarding the Verse), "A Day when all mankind will stand before the Lord of the Worlds,' (that day) they will stand, drowned in their sweat up to the middle of their ears."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 539:
Narrated Abu Huraira :
Allah's Apostle said, "The people will sweat so profusely on the Day of Resurrection that their sweat will sink seventy cubits deep into the earth, and it will rise up till it reaches the people's mouths and ears."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 540:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "The cases which will be decided first (on the Day of Resurrection) will be the cases of blood-shedding. "

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 541:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever has wronged his brother, should ask for his pardon (before his death), as (in the Hereafter) there will be neither a Dinar nor a Dirham. (He should secure pardon in this life) before some of his good deeds are taken and paid to his brother, or, if he has done no good deeds, some of the bad deeds of his brother are taken to be loaded on him (in the Hereafter)."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 542:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
Allah's Apostle said, "The believers, after being saved from the (Hell) Fire, will be stopped at a bridge between Paradise and Hell and mutual retaliation will be established among them regarding wrongs they have committed in the world against one another. After they are cleansed and purified (through the retaliation), they will be admitted into Paradise; and by Him in Whose Hand Mohammed's soul is, everyone of them will know his dwelling in Paradise better than he knew his dwelling in this world."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 543:
Narrated Ibn Abi Mulaika:
Aisha said, "The Prophet said, 'Anybody whose account (record) is questioned will surely be punished.' I said, 'Doesn't Allah say: 'He surely will receive an easy reckoning?' (84.8) The Prophet replied. 'This means only the presentation of the account.'"

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 544:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said (as above, 543).

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 545:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle, said, "None will be called to account on the Day of Resurrection, but will be ruined." I said "O Allah's Apostle! Hasn't Allah said: 'Then as for him who will be given his record in his right hand, he surely will receive an easy reckoning? (84.7-8) -- Allah's Apostle said, "That (Verse) means only the presentation of the accounts, but anybody whose account (record) is questioned on the Day of Resurrection, will surely be punished."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 546:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Prophet used to say, "A disbeliever will be brought on the Day of Resurrection and will be asked. "Suppose you had as much gold as to fill the earth, would you offer it to ransom yourself?" He will reply, "Yes." Then it will be said to him, "You were asked for something easier than that (to join none in worship with Allah (i.e. to accept Islam, but you refused)."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 547:
Narrated Adi bin Hatim:
The Prophet said, "There will be none among you but will be talked to by Allah on the Day of Resurrection, without there being an interpreter between him and Him (Allah) . He will look and see nothing ahead of him, and then he will look (again for the second time) in front of him, and the (Hell) Fire will confront him. So, whoever among you can save himself from the Fire, should do so even with one half of a date (to give in charity)."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 548:
Narrated Adi bin Hatim:
The Prophet said, "Protect yourself from the Fire." He then turned his face aside (as if he were looking at it) and said again, "Protect yourself from the Fire," and then turned his face aside (as if he were looking at it), and he said so for the third time till we thought he was looking at it. He then said, "Protect yourselves from the Fire, even if with one half of a date and he who hasn't got even this, (should do so) by (saying) a good, pleasant word.'

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 549:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "The people were displayed in front of me and I saw one prophet passing by with a large group of his followers, and another prophet passing by with only a small group of people, and another prophet passing by with only ten (persons), and another prophet passing by with only five (persons), and another prophet passed by alone. And then I looked and saw a large multitude of people, so I asked Gabriel, "Are these people my followers?' He said, 'No, but look towards the horizon.' I looked and saw a very large multitude of people. Gabriel said. 'Those are your followers, and those are seventy thousand (persons) in front of them who will neither have any reckoning of their accounts nor will receive any punishment.' I asked, 'Why?' He said, 'For they used not to treat themselves with branding (cauterization) nor with Ruqya (get oneself treated by the recitation of some Verses of the Koran) and not to see evil omen in things, and they used to put their trust (only) in their Lord." On hearing that, 'Ukasha bin Mihsan got up and said (to the Prophet), "Invoke Allah to make me one of them." The Prophet said, "O Allah, make him one of them." Then another man got up and said (to the Prophet), "Invoke Allah to make me one of them." The Prophet said, 'Ukasha has preceded you."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 550:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "From my followers there will enter Paradise a crowd, seventy thousand in number whose faces will glitter as the moon does when it is full." On hearing that, 'Ukasha bin Mihsan Al-Asdi got up, lifting his covering sheet, and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Invoke Allah that He may make me one of them." The Prophet said, "O Allah, make him one of them." Another man from the Ansar got up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Invoke Allah to make me one of them. "The Prophet said (to him), "'Ukasha has preceded you."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 551:
Narrated Sahl bin Sa'd:
The Prophet said, "Seventy-thousand or seven-hundred thousand of my followers (the narrator is in doubt as to the correct number) will enter Paradise holding each other till the first and the last of them enter Paradise at the same time, and their faces will have a glitter like that of the moon at night when it is full."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 552:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet; said, "The people of Paradise will enter Paradise, and the people of the (Hell) Fire will enter the (Hell) Fire: then a call-maker will get up (and make an announcement) among them, 'O the people of the (Hell) Fire! No death anymore ! And O people of Paradise! No death (anymore) but Eternity."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 553:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, " It will be said to the people of Paradise, 'O people of Paradise! Eternity (for you) and no death,' and to the people of the Fire, 'O people of the Fire, eternity (for you) and no death!"

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 554:
Narrated Imran:
The Prophet said, "I looked into paradise and saw that the majority of its people were the poor, and I looked into the Fire and found that the majority of its people were women."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 555:
Narrated Usama:
The Prophet said, "I stood at the gate of Paradise and saw that the majority of the people who had entered it were poor people, while the rich were forbidden (to enter along with the poor, because they were waiting the reckoning of their accounts), but the people of the Fire had been ordered to be driven to the Fire. And I stood at the gate of the Fire and found that the majority of the people entering it were women."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 556:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "When the people of Paradise have entered Paradise and the people of the Fire have entered the Fire, death will be brought and will be placed between the Fire and Paradise, and then it will be slaughtered, and a call will be made (that), 'O people of Paradise, no more death ! O people of the Fire, no more death ! ' So the people of Paradise will have happiness added to their previous happiness, and the people of the Fire will have sorrow added to their previous sorrow."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 557:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
Allah's Apostle said, "Allah will say to the people of Paradise, 'O the people of Paradise!' They will say, 'Labbaik, O our Lord, and Sa'daik!' Allah will say, 'Are you pleased?" They will say, 'Why should we not be pleased since You have given us what You have not given to anyone of Your creation?' Allah will say, 'I will give you something better than that.' They will reply, 'O our Lord! And what is better than that?' Allah will say, 'I will bestow My pleasure and contentment upon you so that I will never be angry with you after for-ever.' "

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 558:
Narrated Anas:
Haritha was martyred on the day (of the battle) of Badr while he was young. His mother came to the Prophet saying, "O Allah's Apostle! You know the relation of Haritha to me (how fond of him I was); so, if he is in Paradise, I will remain patient and wish for Allah's reward, but if he is not there, then you will see what I will do." The Prophet replied, "May Allah be merciful upon you! Have you gone mad? (Do you think) it is one Paradise? There are many Paradises and he is in the (most superior) Paradise of Al-Firdaus."
8.559.:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The width between the two shoulders of a Kafir (disbeliever) will be equal to the distance covered by a fast rider in three days."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 559t:
Narrated Sahl bin Sa'd:
Allah's Apostle said, "In Paradise there is a tree so big that in its shade a rider may travel for one hundred years without being able to cross it."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 559e:
Narrated Abu Sa'id:
The Prophet said: There is a tree in Paradise (so huge) that a fast (or a trained) rider may travel: for one hundred years without being able to cross it.

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 560:
Narrated Sahl bin Sa'd:
Allah's Apostle said, "Seventy thousand or seven hundred thousand of my followers will enter Paradise. (Abu Hazim, the sub-narrator, is not sure as to which of the two numbers is correct.) And they will be holding on to one another, and the first of them will not enter till the last of them has entered, and their faces will be like the moon on a full moon night."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 561:
Narrated Sahl:
The Prophet said, "The people of Paradise will see the Ghuraf (special abodes) in Paradise as you see a star in the sky." Abu Said added: "As you see a glittering star remaining in the eastern horizon and the western horizon."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 562:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:

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The Prophet said, "Allah will say to the person who will have the minimum punishment in the Fire on the Day of Resurrection, 'If you had things equal to whatever is on the earth, would you ransom yourself (from the punishment) with it?' He will reply, Yes. Allah will say, 'I asked you a much easier thing than this while you were in the backbone of Adam, that is, not to worship others besides Me, but you refused and insisted to worship others besides Me.'"

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 563:
Narrated Hammad from Amr from Jabir:
The Prophet said, "Some people will come out of the Fire through intercession looking like The Thaarir." I asked Amr, "What is the Thaarir?" He said, Ad Daghabis, and at that time he was toothless. Hammad added: I said to Amr bin Dinar, "O Abu Mohammed! Did you hear Jabir bin Abdullah saying, 'I heard the Prophet saying: 'Some people will come out of the Fire through intercession?" He said, "Yes. "

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 564:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "Some people will come out of the Fire after they have received a touch of the Fire, changing their color, and they will enter Paradise, and the people of Paradise will name them 'Al-Jahannamiyin' the (Hell) Fire people."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 565:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
Allah's Apostle said, "When the people of Paradise have entered Paradise, and the people of the Fire have entered the Fire, Allah will say. 'Take out (of the Fire) whoever has got faith equal to a mustard seed in his heart.' They will come out, and by that time they would have burnt and became like coal, and then they will be thrown into the river of Al-Hayyat (life) and they will spring up just as a seed grows on the bank of a rainwater stream." The Prophet said, "Don't you see that the germinating seed comes out yellow and twisted?"

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 566:
Narrated An-Nu'man:
I heard the Prophet saying, "The person who will have the least punishment from amongst the Hell Fire people on the Day of Resurrection, will be a man under whose arch of the feet a smoldering ember will be placed so that his brain will boil because of it."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 567:
Narrated An-Nu'man bin Bashir:
I heard the Prophet saying, "The least punished person of the (Hell) Fire people on the Day of Resurrection will be a man under whose arch of the feet two smoldering embers will be placed, because of which his brain will boil just like Al-Mirjal (copper vessel) or a Qum-qum (narrow-necked vessel) is boiling with water."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 568:
Narrated Adi bin Hatim:
The Prophet mentioned the Fire and turned his face aside and asked for Allah's protection from it, and then again he mentioned the Fire and turned his face aside and asked for Allah's protection from it and said, "Protect yourselves from the Hell-Fire, even if with one half of a date, and he who cannot afford that, then (let him do so) by (saying) a good, pleasant word."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 569:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
I heard Allah's Apostles when his uncle, Abu Talib had been mentioned in his presence, saying, "May be my intercession will help him (Abu Talib) on the Day of Resurrection so that he may be put in a shallow place in the Fire, with fire reaching his ankles and causing his brain to boil."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 570:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle said, "Allah will gather all the people on the Day of Resurrection and they will say, 'Let us request someone to intercede for us with our Lord so that He may relieve us from this place of ours.' Then they will go to Adam and say, 'You are the one whom Allah created with His Own Hands, and breathed in you of His soul, and ordered the angels to prostrate to you; so please intercede for us with our Lord.' Adam will reply, 'I am not fit for this undertaking, and will remember his sin, and will say, 'Go to Noah, the first Apostle sent by Allah' They will go to him and he will say, 'I am not fit for this undertaking', and will remember his sin and say, 'Go to Abraham whom Allah took as a Khalil. They will go to him (and request similarly). He will reply, 'I am not fit for this undertaking,' and will remember his sin and say, 'Go to Moses to whom Allah spoke directly.' They will go to Moses and he will say, 'I am not fit for this undertaking,' and will remember his sin and say, 'Go to Jesus.' They will go to him, and he will say, 'I am not fit for this undertaking, go to Mohammed as Allah has forgiven his past and future sins.' They will come to me and I will ask my Lord's permission, and when I see Him, I will fall down in prostration to Him, and He will leave me in that state as long as (He) Allah will, and then I will be addressed. 'Raise up your head (O Mohammed)! Ask, and your request will be granted, and say, and your saying will be listened to; intercede, and your intercession will be accepted.' Then I will raise my head, and I will glorify and praise my Lord with a saying(i.e. invocation) He will teach me, and then I will intercede, Allah will fix a limit for me (i.e., certain type of people for whom I may intercede), and I will take them out of the (Hell) Fire and let them enter Paradise. Then I will come back (to Allah) and fall in prostration, and will do the same for the third and fourth times till no-one remains in the (Hell) Fire except those whom the Koran has imprisoned therein." (The sub-narrator, Qatada used to say at that point, "...those upon whom eternity (in Hell) has been imposed.") (See Hadith No. 3, Vol 6).

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 571:
Narrated Imran bin Husain:
The Prophet said, "Some people will be taken out of the Fire through the intercession of Mohammed they will enter Paradise and will be called Al-Jahannamiyin (the Hell Fire people)."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 572:
Narrated Anas:
Um (the mother of) Haritha came to Allah's Apostle after Haritha had been martyred on the Day (of the battle) of Badr by an arrow thrown by an unknown person. She said, "O Allah's Apostle! You know the position of Haritha in my heart (i.e. how dear to me he was), so if he is in Paradise, I will not weep for him, or otherwise, you will see what I will do." The Prophet said, "Are you mad? Is there only one Paradise? There are many Paradises, and he is in the highest Paradise of Firdaus." The Prophet added, "A forenoon journey or an after noon journey in Allah's Cause is better than the whole world and whatever is in it; and a place equal to an arrow bow of anyone of you, or a place equal to a foot in Paradise is better than the whole world and whatever is in it; and if one of the women of Paradise looked at the earth, she would fill the whole space between them (the earth and the heaven) with light, and would fill whatever is in between them, with perfume, and the veil of her face is better than the whole world and whatever is in it."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 573:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "None will enter Paradise but will be shown the place he would have occupied in the (Hell) Fire if he had rejected faith, so that he may be more thankful; and none will enter the (Hell) Fire but will be shown the place he would have occupied in Paradise if he had faith, so that may be a cause of sorrow for him."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 574:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Who will be the luckiest person who will gain your intercession on the Day of Resurrection?" The Prophet said, "O Abu Huraira! I have thought that none will ask me about this Hadith before you, as I know your longing for the (learning of) Hadiths. The luckiest person who will have my intercession on the Day of Resurrection will be the one who said, 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah,' sincerely from the bottom of his heart."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 575:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "I know the person who will be the last to come out of the (Hell) Fire, and the last to enter Paradise. He will be a man who will come out of the (Hell) Fire crawling, and Allah will say to him, 'Go and enter Paradise.' He will go to it, but he will imagine that it had been filled, and then he will return and say, 'O Lord, I have found it full.' Allah will say, 'Go and enter Paradise, and you will have what equals the world and ten times as much (or, you will have as much as ten times the like of the world).' On that, the man will say, 'Do you mock at me (or laugh at me) though You are the King?" I saw Allah's Apostle (while saying that) smiling that his premolar teeth became visible. It is said that will be the lowest in degree amongst the people of Paradise.

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 576:
Narrated Abbas:
that he said to the Prophet "Did you benefit Abu Talib with anything?"

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 577:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Some people said, "O Allah's Apostle! Shall we see our Lord on the Day of Resurrection?" He said, "Do you crowd and squeeze each other on looking at the sun when it is not hidden by clouds?" They replied, "No, Allah's Apostle." He said, "Do you crowd and squeeze each other on looking at the moon when it is full and not hidden by clouds?" They replied, No, O Allah's Apostle!" He said, "So you will see Him (your Lord) on the Day of Resurrection similarly Allah will gather all the people and say, 'Whoever used to worship anything should follow that thing. 'So, he who used to worship the sun, will follow it, and he who used to worship the moon will follow it, and he who used to worship false deities will follow them; and then only this nation (i.e., Muslims) will remain, including their hypocrites. Allah will come to them in a shape other than they know and will say, 'I am your Lord.' They will say, 'We seek refuge with Allah from you. This is our place; (we will not follow you) till our Lord comes to us, and when our Lord comes to us, we will recognize Him.

Then Allah will come to then in a shape they know and will say, "I am your Lord.' They will say, '(No doubt) You are our Lord,' and they will follow Him. Then a bridge will be laid over the (Hell) Fire." Allah's Apostle added, "I will be the first to cross it. And the invocation of the Apostles on that Day, will be 'Allahukka Sallim, Sallim (O Allah, save us, save us!),' and over that bridge there will be hooks Similar to the thorns of As Sa'dan (a thorny tree). Didn't you see the thorns of As-Sa'dan?" The companions said, "Yes, O Allah's Apostle." He added, "So the hooks over that bridge will be like the thorns of As-Sa-dan except that their greatness in size is only known to Allah. These hooks will snatch the people according to their deeds. Some people will be ruined because of their evil deeds, and some will be cut into pieces and fall down in Hell, but will be saved afterwards, when Allah has finished the judgements among His slaves, and intends to take out of the Fire whoever He wishes to take out from among those who used to testify that none had the right to be worshipped but Allah.

We will order the angels to take them out and the angels will know them by the mark of the traces of prostration (on their foreheads) for Allah banned the f ire to consume the traces of prostration on the body of Adam's son. So they will take them out, and by then they would have burnt (as coal), and then water, called Maul Hayat (water of life) will be poured on them, and they will spring out like a seed springs out on the bank of a rainwater stream, and there will remain one man who will be facing the (Hell) Fire and will say, 'O Lord! It's (Hell's) vapor has Poisoned and smoked me and its flame has burnt me; please turn my face away from the Fire.' He will keep on invoking Allah till Allah says, 'Perhaps, if I give you what you want), you will ask for another thing?' The man will say, 'No, by Your Power, I will not ask You for anything else.'

Then Allah will turn his face away from the Fire. The man will say after that, 'O Lord, bring me near the gate of Paradise.' Allah will say (to him), 'Didn't you promise not to ask for anything else? Woe to you, O son of Adam ! How treacherous you are!' The man will keep on invoking Allah till Allah will say, 'But if I give you that, you may ask me for something else.' The man will say, 'No, by Your Power. I will not ask for anything else.' He will give Allah his covenant and promise not to ask for anything else after that. So Allah will bring him near to the gate of Paradise, and when he sees what is in it, he will remain silent as long as Allah will, and then he will say, 'O Lord! Let me enter Paradise.' Allah will say, 'Didn't you promise that you would not ask Me for anything other than that? Woe to you, O son of Adam ! How treacherous you are!' On that, the man will say, 'O Lord! Do not make me the most wretched of Your creation,' and will keep on invoking Allah till Allah will smile and when Allah will smile because of him, then He will allow him to enter Paradise, and when he will enter Paradise, he will be addressed, 'Wish from so-and-so.' He will wish till all his wishes will be fulfilled, then Allah will say, All this (i.e. what you have wished for) and as much again therewith are for you.' "

Abu Huraira added: That man will be the last of the people of Paradise to enter (Paradise).

Narrated 'Ata (while Abu Huraira was narrating): Abu Said was sitting in the company of Abu Huraira and he did not deny anything of his narration till he reached his saying: "All this and as much again therewith are for you." Then Abu Sa'id said, "I heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'This is for you and ten times as much.' " Abu Huraira said, "In my memory it is 'as much again therewith.' "

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 578:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "I am your predecessor at the Lake-Fount." Abdullah added: The Prophet said, "I am your predecessor at the Lake-Fount, and some of you will be brought in front of me till I will see them and then they will be taken away from me and I will say, 'O Lord, my companions!' It will be said, 'You do not know what they did after you had left.'

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 579:
Narrated Ibn Umar:

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The Prophet said, "There will be a tank (Lake-Fount) in front of you as large as the distance between Jarba and Adhruh (two towns in Sham)."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 580:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The word 'Al-Kauthar' means the abundant good which Allah gave to him (the Prophet Mohammed). Abu Bishr said: I said to Said, "Some people claim that it (Al-Kauthar) is a river in Paradise." Said replied, "The river which is in Paradise is one item of that good which Allah has bestowed upon him (Mohammed)."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 581:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
The Prophet said, "My Lake-Fount is (so large that it takes) a month's journey to cross it. Its water is whiter than milk, and its smell is nicer than musk (a kind of Perfume), and its drinking cups are (as numerous) as the (number of) stars of the sky; and whoever drinks from it, will never be thirsty."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 582:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle said, "The width of my Lake-Fount is equal to the distance between Aila (a town in Sham) and Sana' (the capital of Yemen) and it has as many (numerous) jugs as the number of stars of the sky."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 583:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said: "While I was walking in Paradise (on the night of Mi'raj), I saw a river, on the two banks of which there were tents made of hollow pearls. I asked, "What is this, O Gabriel?" He said, 'That is the Kauthar which Your Lord has given to you.' Behold! Its scent or its mud was sharp smelling musk!" (The sub-narrator, Hudba is in doubt as to the correct expression.)

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 584:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "Some of my companions will come to me at my Lake Fount, and after I recognize them, they will then be taken away from me, whereupon I will say, 'My companions!' Then it will be said, 'You do not know what they innovated (new things) in the religion after you."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 585:
Narrated Abu Hazim from Sahl bin Sa'd:
The Prophet said, "I am your predecessor (forerunner) at the Lake-Fount, and whoever will pass by there, he will drink from it and whoever will drink from it, he will never be thirsty. There will come to me some people whom I will recognize, and they will recognize me, but a barrier will be placed between me and them." Abu Hazim added: An-Nu'man bin Abi 'Aiyash, on hearing me, said. "Did you hear this from Sahl?" I said, "Yes." He said, " I bear witness that I heard Abu Said Al-Khudri saying the same, adding that the Prophet said: 'I will say: They are of me (i.e. my followers). It will be said, 'You do not know what they innovated (new things) in the religion after you left'. I will say, 'Far removed, far removed (from mercy), those who changed (their religion) after me." Abu Huraira narrated that the Prophet said, "On the Day of Resurrection a group of companions will come to me, but will be driven away from the Lake-Fount, and I will say, 'O Lord (those are) my companions!' It will be said, 'You have no knowledge as to what they innovated after you left; they turned apostate as renegades (reverted from Islam)."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 586:
Narrated Ibn Al-Musaiyab:
The companions of the Prophet said, "Some men from my companions will come to my Lake-Fount and they will be driven away from it, and I will say, 'O Lord, my companions!' It will be said, 'You have no knowledge of what they innovated after you left: they turned apostate as renegades (reverted from Islam).

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 587:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "While I was sleeping, a group (of my followers were brought close to me), and when I recognized them, a man (an angel) came out from amongst (us) me and them, he said (to them), 'Come along.' I asked, 'Where?' He said, 'To the (Hell) Fire, by Allah' I asked, 'what is wrong with them' He said, 'They turned apostate as renegades after you left.' Then behold! (Another) group (of my followers) were brought close to me, and when I recognized them, a man (an angel) came out from (me and them) he said (to them); Come along.' I asked, "Where?' He said, 'To the (Hell) Fire, by Allah.' I asked, What is wrong with them?' He said, 'They turned apostate as renegades after you left. So I did not see anyone of them escaping except a few who were like camels without a shepherd."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 588:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Between my house and my pulpit there is a garden from amongst the gardens of Paradise, and my pulpit is over my Lake-Fount."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 589:
Narrated Jundab:
I heard the Prophet, saying, "I am your predecessor at the Lake-Fount. (Al-Kauthar) .

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 590:
Narrated Uqba bin Amir:
Once the Prophet went out and offered the funeral prayers for the martyrs of Uhud, and then went to the pulpit and said, "I am a predecessor for you and I am a witness for you: and by Allah, I am looking at my Fount just now, and the keys of the treasures of the earth (or the keys of the earth) have been given to me: and by Allah, I am not afraid that you will worship others besides Allah after me, but I am afraid that you will strive and struggle against each other over these treasures of the world."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 591:
Narrated Haritha bin Wahb:
I heard the Prophet mentioning the Lake-Fount (Al-Kauthar), saying, "(The width of the Lake-Fount) is equal to the distance between Medina and Sana' (capital of Yemen)." Haritha said that he heard the Prophet saying that his Lake-Fount would be as large as the distance between Sana' and Medina. Al-Mustaurid said to Haritha, "Didn't you hear him talking about the vessels?" He said, "No." Al-Mustaurid said, "The vessels are seen in it as (numberless as) the stars."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 592:
Narrated Asma bint Abu Bakr:
The Prophet said, "I will be standing at the Lake-Fount so that I will see whom among you will come to me; and some people will be taken away from me, and I will say, 'O Lord, (they are) from me and from my followers.' Then it will be said, 'Did you notice what they did after you? By Allah, they kept on turning on their heels (turned as renegades).' " The sub-narrator, Ibn Abi Mulaika said, "O Allah, we seek refuge with You from turning on our heels, or being put to trial in our religion."

SAHIH BUKHARI, BOOK 77:
Divine Will (Al-Qadar)

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 593:
Narrated Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle, the truthful and truly-inspired, said, "Each one of you collected in the womb of his mother for forty days, and then turns into a clot for an equal period (of forty days) and turns into a piece of flesh for a similar period (of forty days) and then Allah sends an angel and orders him to write four things, i.e., his provision, his age, and whether he will be of the wretched or the blessed (in the Hereafter). Then the soul is breathed into him. And by Allah, a person among you (or a man) may do deeds of the people of the Fire till there is only a cubit or an arm-breadth distance between him and the Fire, but then that writing (which Allah has ordered the angel to write) precedes, and he does the deeds of the people of Paradise and enters it; and a man may do the deeds of the people of Paradise till there is only a cubit or two between him and Paradise, and then that writing precedes and he does the deeds of the people of the Fire and enters it."

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 594:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "Allah puts an angel in charge of the uterus and the angel says, 'O Lord, (it is) semen! O Lord, (it is now) a clot! O Lord, (it is now) a piece of flesh.' And then, if Allah wishes to complete its creation, the angel asks, 'O Lord, (will it be) a male or a female? A wretched (an evil doer) or a blessed (doer of good)? How much will his provisions be? What will his age be?' So all that is written while the creature is still in the mother's womb."

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 595:
Narrated Imran bin Husain:
A man said, "O Allah's Apostle! Can the people of Paradise be known (differentiated) from the people of the Fire; The Prophet replied, "Yes." The man said, "Why do people (try to) do (good) deeds?" The Prophet said, "Everyone will do the deeds for which he has been created to do or he will do those deeds which will be made easy for him to do." (i.e. everybody will find easy to do such deeds as will lead him to his destined place for which he has been created).

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 596:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet ; was asked about the offspring of the pagans. He said, "Allah knows what they would have done (were they to live)."

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 597:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle was asked about the offspring of the pagans. He said, "Allah knows what they would have done (were they to live)."
Narrated Abu Huraira: Allah's Apostle said, "No child is born but has the Islamic Faith, but its parents turn it into a Jew or a Christian. It is as you help the animals give birth. Do you find among their offspring a mutilated one before you mutilate them yourself?" The people said, "O Allah's Apostle! What do you think about those (of them) who die young?" The Prophet said, "Allah knows what they would have done (were they to live)."

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 598:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "No woman should ask for the divorce of her sister (Muslim) so as to take her place, but she should marry the man (without compelling him to divorce his other wife), for she will have nothing but what Allah has written for her."

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 599:
Narrated Usama:
Once while I was with the Prophet and Sa'd, Ubai bin Ka'b and Mu'adh were also sitting with him, there came to him a messenger from one of his daughters, telling him that her child was on the verge of death. The Prophet told the messenger to tell her, "It is for Allah what He takes, and it is for Allah what He gives, and everything has its fixed time (limit). So (she should) be patient and look for Allah's reward."

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 600:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
That while he was sitting with the Prophet a man from the Ansar came and said, "O Allah's Apostle! We get slave girls from the war captives and we love property; what do you think about coitus interruptus?" Allah's Apostle said, "Do you do that? It is better for you not to do it, for there is no soul which Allah has ordained to come into existence but will be created."

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 601:
Narrated Hudhaifa:
The Prophet once delivered a speech in front of us wherein he left nothing but mentioned (about) everything that would happen till the Hour. Some of us stored that our minds and some forgot it. (After that speech) I used to see events taking place (which had been referred to in that speech) but I had forgotten them (before their occurrence). Then I would recognize such events as a man recognizes another man who has been absent and then sees and recognizes him.

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 602:
Narrated Ali:
While we were sitting with the Prophet who had a stick with which he was scraping the earth, he lowered his head and said, "There is none of you but has his place assigned either in the Fire or in Paradise." Thereupon a man from the people said, "Shall we not depend upon this, O Allah's Apostle?" The Prophet said, "No, but carry on and do your deeds, for everybody finds it easy to do such deeds (as will lead him to his place)." The Prophet then recited the Verse: 'As for him who gives (in charity) and keeps his duty to Allah..' (92.5)

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 603:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
We witnessed along with Allah's Apostle the Khaibar (campaign). Allah's Apostle told his companions about a man who claimed to be a Muslim, "This man is from the people of the Fire." When the battle started, the man fought very bravely and received a great number of wounds and got crippled. On that, a man from among the companions of the Prophet came and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Do you know what the man you described as of the people of the Fire has done? He has fought very bravely for Allah's Cause and he has received many wounds." The Prophet said, "But he is indeed one of the people of the Fire." Some of the Muslims were about to have some doubt about that statement. So while the man was in that state, the pain caused by the wounds troubled him so much that he put his hand into his quiver and took out an arrow and committed suicide with it. Off went some men from among the Muslims to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Allah has made your statement true. So-and-so has committed suicide." Allah's Apostle said, "O Bilal! Get up and announce in public: None will enter Paradise but a believer, and Allah may support this religion (Islam) with a wicked man."

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Volume 8, Book 77, Number 604:
Narrated Sahl bin Sa'd:
There was a man who fought most bravely of all the Muslims on behalf of the Muslims in a battle (Ghazwa) in the company of the Prophet. The Prophet looked at him and said. "If anyone would like to see a man from the people of the Fire, let him look at this (brave man)." On that, a man from the People (Muslims) followed him, and he was in that state i.e., fighting fiercely against the pagans till he was wounded, and then he hastened to end his life by placing his sword between his breasts (and pressed it with great force) till it came out between his shoulders. Then the man (who was watching that person) went quickly to the Prophet and said, "I testify that you are Allah's Apostle!" The Prophet asked him, "Why do you say that?" He said, "You said about so-and-so, 'If anyone would like to see a man from the people of the Fire, he should look at him.' He fought most bravely of all of us on behalf of the Muslims and I knew that he would not die as a Muslim (Martyr). So when he got wounded, he hastened to die and committed suicide." There-upon the Prophet said, "A man may do the deeds of the people of the Fire while in fact he is one of the people of Paradise, and he may do the deeds of the people of Paradise while in fact he belongs to the people of Fire, and verily, (the rewards of) the deeds are decided by the last actions (deeds)".

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 605:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet forbade vowing and said, "In fact, vowing does not prevent anything, but it makes a miser to spend his property."

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 606:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said (that Allah said), "Vowing does not bring to the son of Adam anything I have not already written in his fate, but vowing is imposed on him by way of fore ordainment. Through vowing I make a miser spend of his wealth."

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 607:
Narrated Abu Musa:
While we were with Allah's Apostle in a holy battle, we never went up a hill or reached its peak or went down a valley but raised our voices with Takbir. Allah's Apostle came close to us and said, "O people! Don't exert yourselves, for you do not call a deaf or an absent one, but you call the All-Listener, the All-Seer." The Prophet then said, "O Abdullah bin Qais! Shall I teach you a sentence which is from the treasures of Paradise? (It is): 'La haula wala quwata illa billah. (There is neither might nor power except with Allah)."

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 608:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
That the Prophet said, "No Caliph is appointed but has two groups of advisors: One group advises him to do good and urges him to adopt it, and the other group advises him to do bad and urges him to adopt it; and the protected is the one whom Allah protects."

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 609:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
I did not see anything so resembling minor sins as what Abu Huraira said from the Prophet, who said, "Allah has written for the son of Adam his inevitable share of adultery whether he is aware of it or not: The adultery of the eye is the looking (at something which is sinful to look at), and the adultery of the tongue is to utter (what it is unlawful to utter), and the innerself wishes and longs for (adultery) and the private parts turn that into reality or refrain from submitting to the temptation."

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 610:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
(regarding the Verse) "And We granted the vision (Ascension to the heavens "Miraj") which We showed you (O Mohammed as an actual eye witness) but as a trial for mankind.' (17.60): Allah's Apostle actually saw with his own eyes the vision (all the things which were shown to him) on the night of his Night Journey to Jerusalem (and then to the heavens). The cursed tree which is mentioned in the Koran is the tree of Az-Zaqqum.

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 611:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Adam and Moses argued with each other. Moses said to Adam. 'O Adam! You are our father who disappointed us and turned us out of Paradise.' Then Adam said to him, 'O Moses! Allah favored you with His talk (talked to you directly) and He wrote (the Torah) for you with His Own Hand. Do you blame me for action which Allah had written in my fate forty years before my creation?' So Adam confuted Moses, Adam confuted Moses," the Prophet added, repeating the Statement three times.

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 612:
Narrated Warrad:
(the freed slave of Al-Mughira bin Shu'ba) Muawiya wrote to Mughira. 'Write to me what you heard the Prophet saying after his prayer.' So Al-Mughira dictated to me and said, "I heard the Prophet saying after the prayer, 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah Alone Who has no partner. O Allah! No-one can withhold what You give, and none can give what You withhold, and the fortune of a man of means is useless before You (i.e., only good deeds are of value)."

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 613:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Take refuge with Allah from the difficulties of severe calamities, from having an evil end and a bad fate and from the malicious joy of your enemies."

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 614:
Narrated Abdullah:
When taking an oath, the Prophet very often used to say, "No, by Him Who turns the hearts."

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 615:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said to Ibn Saiyad, "I have kept for you a secret." Ibn Saiyad said, "Ad-Dukh." The Prophet said, "Keep quiet, for you cannot go beyond your limits (or you cannot exceed what has been foreordained for you)." On that, Umar said (to the Prophet), "Allow me to chop off his neck!" The Prophet said, "Leave him, for if he is he (i.e., Ad-Dajjal), then you will not be able to overcome him, and if he is not, then you gain no good by killing him."

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 616:
Narrated Aisha:
I asked Allah's Apostle about the plague. He said, "That was a means of torture which Allah used to send upon whom-so-ever He wished, but He made it a source of mercy for the believers, for anyone who is residing in a town in which this disease is present, and remains there and does not leave that town, but has patience and hopes for Allah's reward, and knows that nothing will befall him except what Allah has written for him, then he will get such reward as that of a martyr."

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 617:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
I saw the Prophet on the Day of (the battle of) Al-Khandaq, carrying earth with us and saying, "By Allah, without Allah we would not have been guided, neither would we have fasted, nor would we have prayed. O Allah! Send down Sakina (calmness) upon us and make our feet firm when we meet (the enemy). The pagans have rebelled against us, but if they want to put us in affliction (i.e., fight us) we refuse (to flee)." (See Hadith No. 430, Vol. 5).

SAHIH BUKHARI, BOOK 78:
Oaths and Vows

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 618:
Narrated Aisha:
Abu Bakr As-Siddiq had never broken his oaths till Allah revealed the expiation for the oaths. Then he said, "If I take an oath to do something and later on I find something else better than the first one, then I do what is better and make expiation for my oath."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 619:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Samura:
The Prophet said, "O Abdur-Rahman bin Samura! Do not seek to be a ruler, because if you are given authority for it, then you will be held responsible for it, but if you are given it without asking for it, then you will be helped in it (by Allah): and whenever you take an oath to do something and later you find that something else is better than the first, then do the better one and make expiation for your oath."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 620:
Narrated Abu Musa:
I went to the Prophet along with a group of Al-Ash'ariyin in order to request him to provide us with mounts. He said, "By Allah, I will not provide you with mounts and I haven't got anything to mount you on." Then we stayed there as long as Allah wished us to stay, and then three very nice looking she-camels were brought to him and he made us ride them. When we left, we, or some of us, said, "By Allah, we will not be blessed, as we came to the Prophet asking him for mounts, and he swore that he would not give us any mounts but then he did give us. So let us go back to the Prophet and remind him (of his oath)." When we returned to him (and reminded him of the fact), he said, "I did not give you mounts, but it is Allah Who gave you. By Allah, Allah willing, if I ever take an oath to do something and then I find something else than the first, I will make expiation for my oath and do the thing which is better (or do something which is better and give the expiation for my oath)."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 621:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "We (Muslims) are the last in the world, but will be foremost on the Day of Resurrection." Allah's Apostle also said, "By Allah, if anyone of you insists on fulfilling an oath by which he may harm his family, he commits a greater sin in Allah's sight than that of dissolving his oath and making expiation for it."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 622:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Anyone who takes an oath through which his family may be harmed, and insists on keeping it, he surely commits a sin greater (than that of dissolving his oath). He should rather compensate for that oath by making expiation."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 623:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle sent an army detachment and made Usama bin Zaid its commander. Some people criticized (spoke badly of) Usama's leadership. So Allah's Apostle got up saying, "If you people are criticizing Usama's leadership, you have already criticized the leadership of his father before. But Wa-aimullah (i.e., By Allah), he (i.e. Zaid) deserved the leadership, and he was one of the most beloved persons to me; and now this (his son Usama) is one of the dearest persons to me after him." (See Hadith No. 745, Vol. 5)

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 624:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The oath of the Prophet used to be: "No, by Him who turns the hearts."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 625:
Narrated Jabir bin Samura:
The Prophet said, "If Caesar is ruined, there will be no Caesar after him; and if Khosrau is ruined, there will be no Khosrau, after him; and, by Him in Whose Hand my soul is, surely you will spend their treasures in Allah's Cause."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 626:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "If Khosrau is ruined, there will be no Khosrau after him; and if Caesar is ruined, there will be no Caesar after him. By Him in Whose Hand Mohammed's soul is, surely you will spend their treasures in Allah's Cause."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 627:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said, "O followers of Mohammed! By Allah, if you knew what I know, you would weep much and laugh little."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 628:
Narrated Abdullah bin Hisham:
We were with the Prophet and he was holding the hand of Umar bin Al-Khattab. Umar said to Him, "O Allah's Apostle! You are dearer to me than everything except my own self." The Prophet said, "No, by Him in Whose Hand my soul is, (you will not have complete faith) till I am dearer to you than your own self." Then Umar said to him, "However, now, by Allah, you are dearer to me than my own self." The Prophet said, "Now, O Umar, (now you are a believer)."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 629:
Narrated Abu Huraira and Zaid bin Khalid:
Two men had a dispute in the presence of Allah's Apostle. One of them said, "O Allah's Apostle! Judge between us according to Allah's Laws." The other who was wiser, said, "Yes, O Allah's Apostle! Judge between us according to Allah's Laws and allow me to speak. The Prophet said, "Speak." He said, "My son was a laborer serving this (person) and he committed illegal sexual intercourse with his wife, The people said that my son is to be stoned to death, but I ransomed him with one-hundred sheep and a slave girl. Then I asked the learned people, who informed me that my son should receive one hundred lashes and will be exiled for one year, and stoning will be the lot for the man's wife." Allah's Apostle said, "Indeed, by Him in Whose Hand my soul is, I will judge between you according to Allah's Laws: As for your sheep and slave girl, they are to be returned to you." Then he scourged his son one hundred lashes and exiled him for one year. Then Unais Al-Aslami was ordered to go to the wife of the second man, and if she confessed (the crime), then stone her to death. She did confess, so he stoned her to death.

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 630:
Narrated Abu Bakra:

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The Prophet said, "Do you think if the tribes of Aslam, Ghifar, Muzaina and Juhaina are better than the tribes of Tamim, Amir bin Sa'sa'a, Ghatfan and Asad, they (the second group) are despairing and losing?" They (the Prophet's companions) said, "Yes, (they are)." He said, "By Him in Whose Hand my soul is, they (the first group) are better than them (the second group)."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 631:
Narrated Abu Humaid As-Sa'idi:
Allah's Apostle employed an employee (to collect Zakat). The employee returned after completing his job and said, "O Allah's Apostle! This (amount of Zakat) is for you, and this (other amount) was given to me as a present." The Prophet said to him, "Why didn't you stay at your father's or mother's house and see if you would be given presents or not?" Then Allah's Apostle got up in the evening after the prayer, and having testified that none has the right to be worshipped but Allah and praised and glorified Allah as He deserved, he said, "Now then ! What about an employee whom we employ and then he comes and says, 'This amount (of Zakat) is for you, and this (amount) was given to me as a present'? Why didn't he stay at the house of his father and mother to see if he would be given presents or not? By Him in Whose Hand Mohammed's soul is, none of you will steal anything of it (i.e. Zakat) but will bring it by carrying it over his neck on the Day of Resurrection. If it has been a camel, he will bring it (over his neck) while it will be grunting, and if it has been a cow, he will bring it (over his neck), while it will be mooing; and if it has been a sheep, he will bring it (over his neck) while it will be bleeding." The Prophet added, "I have preached you (Allah's Message)." Abu Humaid said, "Then Allah's Apostle raised his hands so high that we saw the whiteness of his armpits."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 632:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Abu-l-Qasim (the Prophet) said, "By Him in Whose Hand Mohammed's soul is, if you know that which I know, you would weep much and laugh little."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 633:
Narrated Abu Dhar:
I reached him (the Prophet) while in the shade of the Kaaba; he was saying, "They are the losers, by the Lord of the Kaaba! They are the losers, by the Lord of the Kaaba!" I said (to myself), "What is wrong with me? Is anything improper detected in me? What is wrong with me? Then I sat beside him and he kept on saying his statement. I could not remain quiet, and Allah knows in what sorrowful state I was at that time. So I said, ' Who are they (the losers)? Let My father and mother be sacrificed for you, O Allah's Apostle!" He said, "They are the wealthy people, except the one who does like this and like this and like this (i.e., spends of his wealth in Allah's Cause)."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 634:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "(The Prophet) Solomon once said, 'Tonight I will sleep with ninety women, each of whom will bring forth a (would-be) cavalier who will fight in Allah's Cause." On this, his companion said to him, "Say: Allah willing!" But he did not say Allah willing. Solomon then slept with all the women, but none of them became pregnant but one woman who later delivered a half-man. By Him in Whose Hand Mohammed's soul is, if he (Solomon) had said, 'Allah willing' (all his wives would have brought forth boys) and they would have fought in Allah's Cause as cavaliers. "

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 635:
Narrated Al-Bara 'bin Azib:
A piece of silken cloth was given to the Prophet as a present and the people handed it over amongst themselves and were astonished at its beauty and softness. Allah's Apostle said, "Are you astonished at it?" They said, "Yes, O Allah's Apostle!" He said, "By Him in Whose Hand my soul is, the handkerchiefs of Sa'd in Paradise are better than it."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 636:
Narrated Aisha:
Hind bint Utba bin Rabi 'a said, "O Allah 's Apostle! (Before I embraced Islam), there was no family on the surface of the earth, I wish to have degraded more than I did your family. But today there is no family whom I wish to have honored more than I did yours." Allah's Apostle said, "I thought similarly, by Him in Whose Hand Mohammed's soul is!" Hind said, "O Allah's Apostle! (My husband) Abu Sufyan is a miser. Is it sinful of me to feed my children from his property?" The Prophet said, "No, unless you take it for your needs what is just and reasonable."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 637:
Narrated Abdullah bin Masud:
While Allah's Apostle was sitting, reclining his back against a Yemenite leather tent he said to his companions, "Will you be pleased to be one-fourth of the people of Paradise?" They said, 'Yes.' He said "Won't you be pleased to be one-third of the people of Paradise" They said, "Yes." He said, "By Him in Whose Hand Mohammed's soul is, I hope that you will be one-half of the people of Paradise."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 638:
Narrated Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri:
A man heard another man reciting: Surat-ul-Ikhlas (The Unity) 'Say: He is Allah, the One (112) and he was repeating it. The next morning he came to Allah's Apostle and mentioned the whole story to him as if he regarded the recitation of that Sura as insufficient On that, Allah's Apostle said, "By Him in Whose Hand my soul is! That (Sura No. 112) equals one-third of the Koran."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 639:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
I heard the Prophet saying, "Perform the bowing and the prostration properly (with peace of mind), for, by Him in Whose Hand my soul is, I see you from behind my back when you bow and when you prostrate."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 640:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
An Ansari woman came to the Prophet in the company of her children, and the Prophet said to her, "By Him in Whose Hand my soul is, you are the most beloved people to me!" And he repeated the statement thrice.

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 641:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle met Umar bin Al-Khattab while the latter was going with a group of camel-riders, and he was swearing by his father. The Prophet said, "Lo! Allah forbids you to swear by your fathers, so whoever has to take an oath, he should swear by Allah or keep quiet."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 642:
Narrated Ibn Umar:

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 643:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "Do not swear by your fathers."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 644:
Narrated Zahdam:
There was a relation of love and brotherhood between this tribe of Jarm and Al-Ash'ariyin. Once we were with Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari, and then a meal containing chicken was brought to Abu Musa, and there was present, a man from the tribe of Taimillah who was of red complexion as if he were from non-Arab freed slaves. Abu Musa invited him to the meal. He said, "I have seen chickens eating dirty things, so I deemed it filthy and took an oath that I would never eat chicken." On that, Abu Musa said, "Get up, I will narrate to you about that. Once a group of the Ash'ariyin and I went to Allah's Apostle and asked him to provide us with mounts; he said, 'By Allah, I will never give you any mounts nor do I have anything to mount you on.' Then a few camels of war booty were brought to Allah's Apostle , and he asked about us, saying, 'Where are the Ash-'ariyin?' He then ordered five nice camels to be given to us, and when we had departed, we said, 'What have we done? Allah's Apostle had taken the oath not to give us any mounts, and that he had nothing to mount us on, and later he gave us that we might ride? Did we take advantage of the fact that Allah's Apostle had forgotten his oath? By Allah, we will never succeed.' So we went back to him and said to him, 'We came to you to give us mounts, and you took an oath that you would not give us any mounts and that you had nothing to mount us on.' On that he said, 'I did not provide you with mounts, but Allah did. By Allah, if I take an oath to do something, and then find something else better than it, I do that which is better and make expiation for the dissolution of the oath.' "

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 645:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Whoever swears saying in his oath. 'By Al-Lat and Al'Uzza,' should say, 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah; and whoever says to his friend, 'Come, let me gamble with you,' should give something in charity."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 646:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle had a gold ring made for himself, and he used to wear it with the stone towards the inner part of his hand. Consequently, the people had similar rings made for themselves. Afterwards the Prophet; sat on the pulpit and took it off, saying, "I used to wear this ring and keep its stone towards the palm of my hand." He then threw it away and said, "By Allah, I will never wear it." Therefore all the people threw away their rings as well.

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 647:
Narrated Thabit bin Ad-Dahhak:
The Prophet said, "Whoever swears by a religion other than Islam, is, as he says; and whoever commits suicide with something, will be punished with the same thing in the (Hell) Fire; and cursing a believer is like murdering him; and whoever accuses a believer of disbelief, then it is as if he had killed him."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 648:
Narrated Al-Bara:
The Prophet ordered us to help others to fulfill the oaths.

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 649:
Narrated Usama:
Once a daughter of Allah's Apostle sent a message to Allah's Apostle while Usama, Sa'd, and my father or Ubai were (sitting there) with him. She said, (in the message); My child is going to die; please come to us." Allah's Apostle returned the messenger and told him to convey his greetings to her, and say, "Whatever Allah takes, is for Him and whatever He gives is for Him, and everything with Him has a limited fixed term (in this world): so she should be patient and hope for Allah's reward." Then she again sent for him swearing that he should come; so The Prophet got up, and so did we. When he sat there (at the house of his daughter), the child was brought to him, and he took him into his lap while the child's breath was disturbed in his chest. The eyes of Allah's Apostle started shedding tears. Sa'd said, "What is this, O Allah's Apostle?" The Prophet said, "This is the mercy which Allah has lodged in the hearts of whoever He wants of His slaves, and verily Allah is merciful only to those of His slaves who are merciful (to others).'

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 650:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Any Muslim who has lost three of his children will not be touched by the Fire except that which will render Allah's oath fulfilled."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 651:
Narrated Haritha bin Wahb:
I heard the Prophet saying, "Shall I tell you of the people of Paradise? They comprise every poor humble person, and if he swears by Allah to do something, Allah will fulfill it; while the people of the fire comprise every violent, cruel arrogant person."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 652:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet was asked, "Who are the best people?" He replied: The people of my generation, and then those who will follow (come after) them, and then those who will come after the later; after that there will come some people whose witness will precede their oaths and their oaths will go ahead of their witness." Ibrahim (a sub-narrator) said, "When we were young, our elder friends used to prohibit us from taking oaths by saying, 'I bear witness swearing by Allah, or by Allah's Covenant.'"

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 653:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "Whoever swears falsely in order to grab the property of a Muslim (or of his brother), Allah will be angry with him when he meets Him." Allah then revealed in confirmation of the above statement:--'Verily those who purchase a small gain at the cost of Allah's Covenant and their own oaths.' (3.77) Al-Ash'ath said, "This Verse was revealed regarding me and a companion of mine when we had a dispute about a well."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 654:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "The Hell Fire will keep on saying: 'Are there anymore (people to come)?' Till the Lord of Power and Honor will put His Foot over it and then it will say, 'Qat! Qat! (sufficient! sufficient!) by Your Power and Honor. And its various sides will come close to each other (i.e., it will contract). "

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 655:
Narrated Az-Zuhri:
I heard Urwa bin Az-Zubair, Said bin Al-Musaiyab, 'Alqama bin Waqqas and Ubaidullah bin Abdullah narrating from Aisha, the wife of the Prophet, the story about the liars who said what they said about her and how Allah revealed her innocence afterwards. Each one of the above four narrators narrated to me a portion of her narration. (It was said in it), "The Prophet stood up, saying, 'Is there anyone who can relieve me from Abdullah bin Ubai?' On that, Usaid bin

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Hudair got up and said to Sa'd bin 'Ubada, LaAmrullahi (By the Eternity of Allah), we will kill him!' "

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 656:
Narrated Aisha:
regarding: 'Allah will not call you to account for that which is unintentional in your oaths...' (2.225) This Verse was revealed concerning such oath formulas as: 'No, by Allah!' and 'Yes, by Allah!' something against his oath due to forgetfulness should he make expiation?). And the Statement of Allah: 'And there is no blame on you if you make a mistake therein.' (33.5) And Allah said:-- '(Moses said to Khadir): Call me not to account for what I forgot.' (18.73)

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 657:
Narrated Abu Huraira: The Prophet said, "Allah forgives my followers those (evil deeds) the

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 658:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr bin Al-As:
While the Prophet was delivering a sermon on the Day of Nahr (i.e., 10th Dhul-Hijja-Day of slaughtering the sacrifice), a man got up saying, "I thought, O Allah's Apostle, such-and-such a thing was to be done before such-and-such a thing." Another man got up, saying, "O Allah's Apostle! As regards these three (acts of Hajj), thought so-and-so." The Prophet said, "Do, and there is no harm," concerning all those matters on that day. And so, on that day, whatever question he was asked, he said, "Do it, do it, and there is no harm therein."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 659:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
A man said to the Prophet (while he was delivering a sermon on the Day of Nahr), "I have performed the Tawaf round the Kaaba before the Rami (throwing pebbles) at the Jamra." The Prophet said, "There is no harm (therein)." Another man said, "I had my head shaved before slaughtering (the sacrifice)." The Prophet said, "There is no harm." A third said, "I have slaughtered (the sacrifice) before the Rami (throwing pebbles) at the Jamra." The Prophet said, "There is no harm."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 660:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A man entered the mosque and started praying while Allah's Apostle was sitting somewhere in the mosque. Then (after finishing the prayer) the man came to the Prophet and greeted him. The Prophet said to him, "Go back and pray, for you have not prayed. The man went back, and having prayed, he came and greeted the Prophet. The Prophet after returning his greetings said, "Go back and pray, for you did not pray." On the third time the man said, "(O Allah's Apostle!) teach me (how to pray)." The Prophet said, "When you get up for the prayer, perform the ablution properly and then face the Qibla and say Takbir (Allahu Akbar), and then recite of what you know of the Koran, and then bow, and remain in this state till you feel at rest in bowing, and then raise your head and stand straight; and then prostrate till you feel at rest in prostration, and then sit up till you feel at rest while sitting; and then prostrate again till you feel at rest in prostration; and then get up and stand straight, and do all this in all your prayers."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 661:
Narrated Aisha:
When the pagans were defeated during the (first stage) of the battle of Uhud, Satan shouted, "O Allah's slaves! Beware of what is behind you!" So the front files of the Muslims attacked their own back files. Hudhaifa bin Al-Yaman looked and on seeing his father he shouted: "My father! My father!" By Allah! The people did not stop till they killed his father. Hudhaifa then said, "May Allah forgive you." Urwa (the sub-narrator) added, "Hudhaifa continued asking Allah forgiveness for the killers of his father till he met Allah (till he died)."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 662:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "If somebody eats something forgetfully while he is fasting, then he should complete his fast, for Allah has made him eat and drink."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 663:
Narrated Abdullah bin Buhaina:
Once Allah's Apostle led us in prayer, and after finishing the first two Rakat, got up (instead of sitting for At-Tahiyyat) and then carried on with the prayer. When he had finished his prayer, the people were waiting for him to say Taslim, but before saying Tasiim, he said Takbir and prostrated; then he raised his head, and saying Takbir, he prostrated (SAHU) and then raised his head and finished his prayer with Taslim.

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 664:
Narrated Ibn Mas'ud:
that Allah's Prophet led them in the Zuhr prayer and he offered either more or less Rakat, and it was said to him, "O Allah's Apostle ! Has the prayer been reduced, or have you forgotten?" He asked, "What is that?" They said, "You have prayed so many Rak'at." So he performed with them two more prostrations and said, "These two prostrations are to be performed by the person who does not know whether he has prayed more or less (Rakat) in which case he should seek to follow what is right. And then complete the rest (of the prayer) and perform two extra prostrations."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 665:
Narrated Ubai bin Ka'b:
that he heard Allah's Apostle saying, "(Moses) said, 'Call me not to account for what I forget and be not hard upon me for my affair (with you)' (18.73) the first excuse of Moses was his forgetfulness."
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib that once he had a guest, so he told his family (on the Day of Id-ul-Adha) that they should slaughter the animal for sacrifice before he returned from the ('Id) prayer in order that their guest could take his meal. So his family slaughtered (the animal) before the prayer. Then they mentioned that event to the Prophet who ordered Al-Bara to slaughter another sacrifice. Al-Bara said to the Prophet , "I have a young milch she-goat which is better than two sheep for slaughtering." (The sub-narrator, Ibn 'Aun used to say, "I don't know whether the permission (to slaughter a she-goat as a sacrifice) was especially given to Al-Bara or if it was in general for all the Muslims.") (See Hadith No. 99, Vol. 2.)

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 666:
Narrated Jundub:
I witnessed the Prophet offering the 'Id prayer (and after finishing it) he delivered a sermon and said, "Whoever has slaughtered his sacrifice (before the prayer) should make up for it (i.e. slaughter another animal) and whoever has not slaughtered his sacrifice yet, should slaughter it by mentioning Allah's Name over it."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 667:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
The Prophet said, "The biggest sins are: To join others in worship with Allah; to be undutiful to one's parents; to kill somebody unlawfully; and to take an oath Al-Ghamus.

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 668:
Narrated Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle said, "If somebody is ordered (by the ruler or the judge) to take an oath, and he takes a false oath in order to grab the property of a Muslim, then he will incur Allah's Wrath when he will meet Him." And Allah revealed in its confirmation: 'Verily! Those who purchase a small gain at the cost of Allah's covenants and their own oaths.' (3.77) (The sub-narrator added:) Al-Ash'ath bin Qais entered, saying, "What did Abu Abdur-Rahman narrate to you?" They said, "So-and-so," Al-Ash'ath said, "This verse was revealed in my connection. I had a well on the land of my cousin (and we had a dispute about it). I reported him to Allah 's Apostle who said (to me). "You should give evidence (i.e. witness) otherwise the oath of your opponent will render your claim invalid." I said, "Then he (my opponent) will take the oath, O Allah's Apostle." Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever is ordered (by the ruler or the judge) to give an oath, and he takes a false oath in order to grab the property of a Muslim, then he will incur Allah's Wrath when he meets Him on the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 669:
Narrated Abu Musa:
My companions sent me to the Prophet to ask him for some mounts. He said, "By Allah! I will not mount you on anything!" When I met him, he was in an angry mood, but when I met him (again), he said, "Tell your companions that Allah or Allah's Apostle will provide you with mounts."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 670:
Narrated Az-Zuhri:
I heard Urwa bin Az-Zubair, Said bin Al-Musaiyab, 'Alqama bin Waqqas and Ubaidullah bin Abdullah bin Uqba relating from Aisha, the wife of the Prophet the narration of the people (i.e. the liars) who spread the slander against her and they said what they said, and how Allah revealed her innocence. Each of them related to me a portion of that narration. (They said that Aisha said), "Then Allah revealed the ten Verses starting with:--'Verily! Those who spread the slander..' (24.11-21)
All these verses were in proof of my innocence. Abu Bakr As-Siddiq who used to provide for Mistah some financial aid because of his relation to him, said, "By Allah, I will never give anything (in charity) to Mistah, after what he has said about Aisha" Then Allah revealed:-- 'And let not those among you who are good and are wealthy swear not to give (any sort of help) to their kins men....' (24.22) On that, Abu Bakr said, "Yes, by Allah, I like that Allah should forgive me." and then resumed giving Mistah the aid he used to give him and said, "By Allah! I will never withhold it from him."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 671:
Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari:
I went along with some men from the Ash-ariyin to Allah's Apostle and it happened that I met him while he was in an angry mood. We asked him to provide us with mounts, but he swore that he would not give us any. Later on he said, "By Allah, Allah willing, if ever I take an oath (to do something) and later on I find something else better than the first, then I do the better one and give expiation for the dissolution of my oath."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 672:
Narrated Al-Musaiyab:
When the death of Abu Talib approached, Allah's Apostle came to him and said, "Say: La ilaha illallah, a word with which I will be able to defend you before Allah."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 673:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "(Following are) two words (sentences or utterances that are very easy for the tongue to say, and very heavy in the balance (of reward,) and the must beloved to the Gracious Almighty (And they are): Subhan Allah wa bi-hamdihi; Subhan Allahi-l-Azim,"

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 674:
Narrated Abdullah: Allah's Apostle said a sentence and I said another. He said, "Whoever dies while he is setting up rivals along with Allah (i.e. worshipping others along with Allah) shall be admitted into the (Hell) Fire." And I said the other: "W

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 675:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle took an oath for abstention from h is wives (for one month), and during those days he had a sprain in his foot. He stayed in a Mashrubah (an upper room) for twenty-nine nights and then came down. Then the people said, "O Allah's Apostle! You took an oath for abstention (from your wives) for one month." On that he said, A month can be of twenty-nine days '

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 676:
Narrated Abu Hazim:
Sahl bin Sa'd said, "Abu Usaid, the companion of the Prophet, got married, so he invited the Prophet to his wedding party, and the bride herself served them. Sahl said to the People, 'Do you know what drink she served him with? She infused some dates in a pot at night and the next morning she served him with the infusion."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 677:
Narrated Sauda:
(the wife of the Prophet) One of our sheep died and we tanned its skin and kept on infusing dates in it till it was a worn out water skin.

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 678:
Narrated Aisha:
The family of (the Prophet) Mohammed never ate wheat-bread with meat for three consecutive days to their fill, till he met Allah.

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 679:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Abu Talha said to Um Sulaim, "I heard the voice of Allah's Apostle rather weak, and I knew that it was because of hunger. Have you anything (to present to the Prophet)?" She said, "Yes." Then she took out a few loaves of barley bread and took a veil of hers and wrapped the bread with a part of it and sent me to Allah's Apostle. I went and found Allah's Apostle sitting in the mosque with some people. I stood up before him. Allah's Apostle said to me, "Has Abu Talha sent you?" I said, ' Yes. Then Allah's Apostle said to those who were with him. "Get up and proceed." I went ahead of them (as their forerunner) and came to Abu Talha and informed him about it. Abu Talha said, "O Um Sulaim! Allah's Apostle has come and we have no food to feed them." Um Sulaim said, "Allah and His Apostle know best." So Abu Talha went out (to receive them) till he met Allah's Apostle.
Allah's Apostle came in company with Abu Talha and they entered the house. Allah's Apostle said, "O Um Sulaim! Bring whatever you have." So she brought that (barley) bread and Allah's Apostle ordered that bread to be broken into small pieces, and then Um Sulaim poured over it some butter from a leather butter container, and then Allah's Apostle said what Allah wanted him to say, (i.e. blessing the food). Allah's Apostle then said, "Admit ten men." Abu Talha admitted them and they ate to their fill and went out. He again said,

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"Admit ten men." He admitted them, and in this way all the people ate to their fill, and they were seventy or eighty men."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 680:
Narrated Umar bin Al-Khattab:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "The (reward of) deeds, depend upon the intentions and every person will get the reward according to what he has intended. So whoever emigrated for the sake of Allah and His Apostle, then his emigration will be considered to be for Allah and His Apostle, and whoever emigrated for the sake of worldly gain or for a woman to marry, then his emigration will be considered to be for what he emigrated for."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 681:
Narrated Ka'b bin Malik:
In the last part of his narration about the three who remained behind (from the battle of Tabuk). (I said) "As a proof of my true repentance (for not joining the Holy battle of Tabuk), I shall give up all my property for the sake of Allah and His Apostle (as an expiation for that sin)." The Prophet said (to me), "Keep some of your wealth, for that is better for you."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 682:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet used to stay (for a period) in the house of Zainab bint Jahsh (one of the wives of the Prophet) and he used to drink honey in her house. Hafsa and I decided that when the Prophet entered upon either of us, she would say, "I smell in you the bad smell of Maghafir (a bad smelling raisin). Have you eaten Maghafir?" When he entered upon one of us, she said that to him. He replied (to her), "No, but I have drunk honey in the house of Zainab bint Jahsh, and I will never drink it again." Then the following verse was revealed: 'O Prophet ! Why do you ban (for you) that which Allah has made lawful for you?. ..(up to) If you two (wives of the Prophet turn in repentance to Allah.' (66.1-4) The two were Aisha and Hafsa And also the Statement of Allah: 'And (Remember) when the Prophet disclosed a matter in confidence to one of his wives!' (66.3) i.e., his saying, "But I have drunk honey." Hisham said: It also meant his saying, "I will not drink anymore, and I have taken an oath, so do not inform anybody of that '

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 683:
Narrated Sa'id bin Al-Harith:
that he heard Ibn Umar saying, "Weren't people forbidden to make vows?" The Prophet said, 'A vow neither hastens nor delays anything, but by the making of vows, some of the wealth of a miser is taken out."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 684:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
The Prophet forbade the making of vows and said, "It (a vow) does not prevent anything (that has to take place), but the property of a miser is spent (taken out) with it."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 685:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Allah says, 'The vow, does not bring about for the son of Adam anything I have not decreed for him, but his vow may coincide with what has been decided for him, and by this way I cause a miser to spend of his wealth. So he gives Me (spends in charity) for the fulfillment of what has been decreed for him what he would not give Me before but for his vow."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 686:
Narrated Zahdam bin Mudarrab:
Imran bin Hussain said, "The Prophet said, 'The best of you (people) are my generation, and the second best will be those who will follow them, and then those who will follow the second generation." Imran added, "I do not remember whether he mentioned two or three (generations) after his generation. He added, 'Then will come some people who will make vows but will not fulfill them; and they will be dishonest and will not be trustworthy, and they will give their witness without being asked to give their witness, and fatness will appear among them.' "

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 687:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said, "Whoever vows that he will be obedient to Allah, should remain obedient to Him; and whoever made a vow that he will disobey Allah, should not disobey Him."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 688:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Umar said "O Allah's Apostle! I vowed to perform I'tikaf for one night in Al-Masjid-al-Haram, during the Pre-Islamic Period of ignorance (before embracing Islam). "The Prophet said, "Fulfill your vow." Ibn Umar said to the lady, "Pray on her behalf." Ibn Abbas said the same.

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 689:
Narrated Sa'id bin 'Ubada Al-Ansari:
that he consulted the Prophet about a vow that had been made by his mother who died without fulfilling it. The Prophet gave his verdict that he should fulfill it on her behalf. The verdict became Sunna (i.e. the Prophet's tradition).

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 690:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
A man came to the Prophet and said to him, "My sister vowed to perform the Hajj, but she died (before fulfilling it)." The Prophet said, "Would you not have paid her debts if she had any?" The man said, "Yes." The Prophet said, "So pay Allah's Rights, as He is more entitled to receive His rights."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 691:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said, "Whoever vowed to be obedient to Allah, must be obedient to Him; and whoever vowed to be disobedient to Allah, should not be disobedient to Him."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 692:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "Allah is not in need of this man) torturing himself," when he saw the man walking between his two sons (who were supporting him).

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 693:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet saw a man performing Tawaf around the Kaaba, tied with a rope or something else (while another person was holding him). The Prophet cut that rope off.

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 694:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
While performing the Tawaf around the Kaaba, the Prophet passed by a person leading another person by a hair-rope nose-ring in his nose. The Prophet cut the hair-rope nose-ring off with his hand and ordered the man to lead him by the hand.

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 695:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
While the Prophet was delivering a sermon, he saw a man standing, so he asked about that man. They (the people) said, "It is Abu Israil who has vowed that he will stand and never sit down, and he will never come in the shade, nor speak to anybody, and will fast." The Prophet said, "Order him to speak and let him come in the shade, and make him sit down, but let him complete his fast."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 696:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
that he was asked about a man who had vowed that he would fast all the days of his life then the day of 'Id al Adha or 'Id-al-Fitr came. Abdullah bin Umar said: You have indeed a good example in Allah's Apostle. He did not fast on the day of 'Id al Adha or the day of 'Id-al-Fitr, and we do not intend fasting on these two days.

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 697:
Narrated Ziyad bin Jubair:
I was with Ibn Umar when a man asked him, "I have vowed to fast every Tuesday or Wednesday throughout my life and if the day of my fasting coincided with the day of Nahr (the first day of 'Id-al-Adha), (What shall I do?)" Ibn Umar said, "Allah has ordered the vows to be fulfilled, and we are forbidden to fast on the day of Nahr." The man repeated his question and Ibn Umar repeated his former answer, adding nothing more.

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 698:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
We went out in the company of Allah's Apostle on the day of (the battle of) Khaibar, and we did not get any gold or silver as war booty, but we got property in the form of things and clothes. Then a man called Rifa'a bin Zaid, from the tribe of Bani Ad-Dubaib, presented a slave named Mid'am to Allah's Apostle. Allah's Apostle headed towards the valley of Al-Qura, and when he was in the valley of Al-Qura an arrow was thrown by an unidentified person, struck and killed Mid'am who was making a she-camel of Allah's Apostle kneel down. The people said, "Congratulations to him (the slave) for gaining Paradise." Allah's Apostle said, "No! By Him in Whose Hand my soul is, for the sheet which he stole from the war booty before its distribution on the day of Khaibar, is now burning over him." When the people heard that, a man brought one or two Shiraks (leather straps of shoes) to the Prophet. The Prophet said, "A Shirak of fire, or two Shiraks of fire."

Translation of Sahih Bukhari, Book 79:
Expiation for Unfulfilled Oaths
Volume 8, Book 79, Number 699:
Narrated Ka'b bin 'Ujra:
I came to the Prophet and he said to me, "Come near." So I went near to him and he said, "Are your lice troubling you?" I replied, "Yes." He said, "(Shave your head and) make expiation in the form of fasting, Sadaqa (giving in charity), or offering a sacrifice." (The sub-narrator) Aiyub said, "Fasting should be for three days, and the Nusuk (sacrifice) is to be a sheep, and the Sadaqa is to be given to six poor persons."

Volume 8, Book 79, Number 700:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A man came to the Prophet and said, "I am ruined!" The Prophet said, "What is the matter with you?" He said, "I had sexual relation with my wife (while I was fasting) in Ramadan." The Prophet said, "Have you got enough to manumit a slave?" He said, "No." The Prophet said, "Can you fast for two successive months?" The man said, "No." The Prophet said, "Can you feed sixty poor persons?" The man said, "No." Then the Prophet said to him, "Sit down," and he sat down. Afterwards an 'Irq, i.e., a big basket containing dates was brought to the Prophet and the Prophet said to him, "Take this and give it in charity." The man said, "To poorer people than we?" On that, the Prophet smiled till his premolar teeth became visible, and then told him, "Feed your family with it." (See Hadith No. 157, Vol 3)

Volume 8, Book 79, Number 701:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A man came to Allah's Apostle and said, "I am ruined!" The Prophet said to him, "What is the matter?" He said, "I have done a sexual relation with my wife (while fasting) in Ramadan." The Prophet said to him?" "Can you afford to manumit a slave?" He said, "No." The Prophet said, "Can you fast for two successive months?" He said, "No." The Prophet said, "Can you feed sixty poor persons?" He said, "No." Then an Ansari man came with an Irq (a big basket full of dates). The Prophet said (to the man), "Take this (basket) and give it in charity." That man said, "To poorer people than we, O Allah's Apostle? By Him Who has sent you with the Truth! There is no house in between the two mountains (of the city of Medina) poorer than we." So the Prophet said (to him), "Go and feed it to your family."

Volume 8, Book 79, Number 702:
Narrated Abu Huraira :
A man came to the Prophets and said, "I am ruined!" The Prophet said, "What is the matter with you?" He said, "I have done a sexual relation with my wife (while fasting) in Ramadan" The Prophet said to him, "Can you afford to manumit a slave?" He said, "No." The Prophet said, "Can you fast for two successive months?" He said, "No." The Prophet said, "Can you feed sixty poor persons?" He said, "I have nothing." Later on an Irq (big basket) containing dates was given to the Prophet, and the Prophet said (to him), "Take this basket and give it in charity." The man said, "To poorer people than we? Indeed, there is nobody between its (i.e., Medina's) two mountains who is poorer than we." The Prophet then said, "Take it and feed your family with it."

Volume 8, Book 79, Number 703:
Narrated Al-Ju'aid bin Abdur-Rahman:
As-Sa'ib bin Yazid said, "The Sa' at the time of the Prophet was equal to one Mudd plus one-third of a Mudd of your time, and then it was increased in the time of Caliph Umar bin Abdul Aziz."

Volume 8, Book 79, Number 704:
Narrated Nafi:
Ibn Umar used to give the Zakat of Ramadan (Zakat-al-Fitr) according to the Mudd of the Prophet, the first Mudd, and he also used to give things for expiation for oaths according to the Mudd of the Prophet. Abu Qutaiba said, "Malik said to us, 'Our Mudd (i.e., of Medina) is better than yours and we do not see any superiority except in the Mudd of the Prophet!' Malik further said, to me, 'If a ruler came to you and fixed a Mudd smaller than the one of the Prophet, by what Mudd would you measure what you give (for expiation or Zakat-al-Fitr?' I replied, 'We would give it according to the Mudd of the Prophet' On that, Malik said, 'Then, don't you see that we have to revert to the Mudd of the Prophet ultimately?'"

Volume 8, Book 79, Number 705:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle said, "O Allah! Bestow Your Blessings on their measures, Sa' and Mudd (i.e., of the people of Medina) "

Volume 8, Book 79, Number 706:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "If somebody manumits a Muslim slave, Allah will save from the Fire every part of his body for freeing the corresponding parts of the slave's body, even his private

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parts will be saved from the Fire) because of freeing the slave's private parts."

Volume 8, Book 79, Number 707:
Narrated Amr:
Jabir said: An Ansari man made his slave a Mudabbar and he had no other property than him. When the Prophet heard of that, he said (to his companions), "Who wants to buy him (i.e., the slave) for me?" Nu'aim bin An-Nahham bought him for eight hundred Dirhams. I heard Jabir saying, "That was a coptic slave who died in the same year."

Volume 8, Book 79, Number 708:
Narrated Aisha:
that she intended to buy Barira (a slave girl) and her masters stipulated that they would have her Wala'. When Aisha mentioned that to the Prophet ; he said, "Buy her, for the Wala is for the one who manumits."

Volume 8, Book 79, Number 709:
Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari:
I went to Allah's Apostle along with a group of people from (the tribe of) Al-Ash'ari, asking for mounts. The Prophet said, "By Allah, I will not give you anything to ride, and I have nothing to mount you on." We stayed there as long as Allah wished, and after that, some camels were brought to the Prophet and he ordered that we be given three camels. When we set out, some of us said to others, "Allah will not bless us, as we all went to Allah's Apostle asking him for mounts, and although he had sworn that he would not give us mounts, he did give us." So we returned to the Prophet; and mentioned that to him. He said, "I have not provided you with mounts, but Allah has. By Allah, Allah willing, if I ever take an oath, and then see that another is better than the first, I make expiration for my (dissolved) oath, and do what is better and make expiration."

Volume 8, Book 79, Number 710:
Narrated Hammad:
the same narration above (i.e. 709), "I make expiation for my dissolved oath, and I do what is better, or do what is better and make expiation."

Volume 8, Book 79, Number 711:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
(The Prophet) Solomon said, "Tonight I will sleep with (my) ninety wives, each of whom will get a male child who will fight for Allah's Cause." On that, his companion (Sufyan said that his companion was an angel) said to him, "Say, "If Allah will (Allah willing)." But Solomon forgot (to say it). He slept with all his wives, but none of the women gave birth to a child, except one who gave birth to a halfboy. Abu Huraira added: The Prophet said, "If Solomon had said, "If Allah will" (Allah willing), he would not have been unsuccessful in his action, and would have attained what he had desired." Once Abu Huraira added: Allah apostle said, "If he had accepted."

Volume 8, Book 79, Number 712:
Narrated Zahdam al-Jarmi:
We were sitting with Abu Musa Al-Ash'sari, and as there were ties of friendship and mutual favors between us and his tribe. His meal was presented before him and there was chicken meat in it. Among those who were present there was a man from Bani Taimillah having a red complexion as a non-Arab freed slave, and that man did not approach the meal. Abu Musa said to him, "Come along! I have seen Allah's Apostle eating of that (i.e., chicken)." The man said, "I have seen it (chickens) eating something I regarded as dirty, and so I have taken an oath that I shall not eat (its meat) chicken." Abu Musa said, "Come along! I will inform you about it (i.e., your oath).
Once we went to Allah's Apostle in company with a group of Ash'airiyin, asking him for mounts while he was distributing some camels from the camels of Zakat. (Aiyub said, "I think he said that the Prophet was in an angry mood at the time.") The Prophet said, 'By Allah! I will not give you mounts, and I have nothing to mount you on.' After we had left, some camels of booty were brought to Allah's Apostle and he said, "Where are those Ash'ariyin? Where are those Ash'ariyin?" So we went (to him) and he gave us five very fat good-looking camels. We mounted them and went away, and then I said to my companions, 'We went to Allah's Apostle to give us mounts, but he took an oath that he would not give us mounts, and then later on he sent for us and gave us mounts, perhaps Allah's Apostle forgot his oath. By Allah, we will never be successful, for we have taken advantage of the fact that Allah's Apostle forgot to fulfill his oath. So let us return to Allah's Apostle to remind him of his oath.' We returned and said, 'O Allah's Apostle! We came to you and asked you for mounts, but you took an oath that you would not give us mounts) but later on you gave us mounts, and we thought or considered that you have forgotten your oath.' The Prophet said, 'Depart, for Allah has given you Mounts. By Allah, Allah willing, if I take an oath and then later find another thing better than that, I do what is better, and make expiation for the oath.' "

Volume 8, Book 79, Number 713:
Narrated Zahdam:
the same narration as above (i.e. No. 712).

Volume 8, Book 79, Number 714:
Narrated Zahdam:
the same narration as above (i.e. No. 712).

Volume 8, Book 79, Number 715:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Samura:
Allah's Apostle said, "(O Abdur-Rahman!) Do not seek to be a ruler, for, if you are given the authority of ruling without your asking for it, then Allah will help you; but if you are given it by your asking, then you will be held responsible for it (i.e. Allah will not help you) . And if you take an oath to do something and later on find another thing, better than that, then do what is better and make expiation for (the dissolution of) your oath."

SAHIH BUKHARI, BOOK 80:
Laws of Inheritance (Al-Faraa'id)

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 716:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
I became sick so Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr came on foot to pay me a visit. When they came, I was unconscious. Allah's Apostle performed ablution and he poured over me the water (of his ablution) and I came to my senses and said, "O Allah's Apostle! What shall I do regarding my property? How shall I distribute it?" The Prophet did not reply till the Divine Verses of inheritance were revealed .

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 717:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, 'Beware of suspicion, for it is the worst of false tales and don't look for the other's faults and don't spy and don't hate each other, and don't desert (cut your relations with) one another O Allah's slaves, be brothers!" (See Hadith No. 90)

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 718:
Narrated Aisha:
Fatima and Al Abbas came to Abu Bakr, seeking their share from the property of Allah's Apostle and at that time, they were asking for their land at Fadak and their share from Khaibar. Abu Bakr said to them, " I have heard from Allah's Apostle saying, 'Our property cannot be inherited, and whatever we leave is to be spent in charity, but the family of Mohammed may take their provisions from this property." Abu Bakr added, "By Allah, I will not leave the procedure I saw Allah's Apostle following during his lifetime concerning this property." Therefore Fatima left Abu Bakr and did not speak to him till she died.

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 719:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said, "Our (Apostles') property should not be inherited, and whatever we leave, is to be spent in charity."

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 720:
Narrated Malik bin Aus:
'I went and entered upon Umar, his doorman, Yarfa came saying Uthman, Abdur-Rahman, Az-Zubair and Sa'd are asking your permission (to see you). May I admit them? Umar said, 'Yes.' So he admitted them Then he came again and said, 'May I admit Ali and Abbas?" He said, 'Yes.' Abbas said, 'O, chief of the believers! Judge between me and this man (Ali). Umar said, 'I beseech you by Allah by Whose permission both the heaven and the earth exist, do you know that Allah's Apostle said, 'Our (the Apostles') property will not be inherited, and whatever we leave (after our death) is to be spent in charity?' And by that Allah's Apostle meant himself.' The group said, '(No doubt), he said so.' Umar then faced Ali and Abbas and said, 'Do you both know that Allah's Apostle said that?' They replied, '(No doubt), he said so.' Umar said, 'So let me talk to you about this matter. Allah favored His Apostle with something of this Fai' (i.e. booty won by the Muslims at war without fighting) which He did not give to anybody else;
Allah said:-- 'And what Allah gave to His Apostle (Fai' Booty) .....to do all things....(59.6) And so that property was only for Allah's Apostle . Yet, by Allah, he neither gathered that property for himself nor withheld it from you, but he gave its income to you, and distributed it among you till there remained the present property out of which the Prophet used to spend the yearly maintenance for his family, and whatever used to remain, he used to spend it where Allah's property is spent (i.e. in charity etc.). Allah's Apostle followed that throughout his life.

Now I beseech you by Allah, do you know all that?' They said, 'Yes.' Umar then said to Ali and Abbas, 'I beseech you by Allah, do you know that?' Both of them said, 'Yes.' Umar added, 'And when the Prophet died, Abu Bakr said, ' I am the successor of Allah's Apostle, and took charge of that property and managed it in the same way as Allah's Apostle did.
Then I took charge of this property for two years during which I managed it as Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr did. Then you both (Ali and Abbas) came to talk to me, bearing the same claim and presenting the same case. (O Abbas!) You came to me asking for your share from the property of your nephew, and this man (Ali) came to me, asking for the share of h is wife from the property of her father. I said, 'If you both wish, I will give that to you on that condition (i.e. that you would follow the way of the Prophet and Abu Bakr and as I (Umar) have done in man aging it).' Now both of you seek of me a verdict other than that? Lo! By Allah, by Whose permission both the heaven and the earth exist, I will not give any verdict other than that till the Hour is established. If you are unable to manage it, then return it to me, and I will be sufficient to manage it on your behalf.' "

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 721:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Not even a single Dinar of my property should be distributed (after my deaths to my inheritors, but whatever I leave excluding the provision for my wives and my servants, should be spent in charity."

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 722:
Narrated Urwa:
Aisha said, "When Allah's Apostle died, his wives intended to send Uthman to Abu Bakr asking him for their share of the inheritance." Then Aisha said to them, "Didn't Allah's Apostle say, 'Our (Apostles') property is not to be inherited, and whatever we leave is to be spent in charity?'"

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 723:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "I am more closer to the believers than their own selves, so whoever (of them) dies while being in debt and leaves nothing for its repayment, then we are to pay his debts on his behalf and whoever (among the believers) dies leaving some property, then that property is for his heirs."

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 724:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "Give the Fara'id (the shares of the inheritance that are prescribed in the Koran) to those who are entitled to receive it. Then whatever remains, should be given to the closest male relative of the deceased ."

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 725:
Narrated Sa'd bin Abi Waqqas:
I was stricken by an ailment that led me to the verge of death. The Prophet came to pay me a visit. I said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have much property and no heir except my single daughter. Shall I give two-thirds of my property in charity?" He said, "No." I said, "Half of it?" He said, "No." I said, "One-third of it?" He said, "You may do so) though one-third is also to a much, for it is better for you to leave your off-spring wealthy than to leave them poor, asking others for help. And whatever you spend (for Allah's sake) you will be rewarded for it, even for a morsel of food which you may put in the mouth of your wife." I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Will I remain behind and fail to complete my emigration?" The Prophet said, "If you are left behind after me, whatever good deeds you will do for Allah's sake, that will upgrade you and raise you high. May be you will have long life so that some people may benefit by you and others (the enemies) be harmed by you." But Allah's Apostle felt sorry for Sa'd bin Khaula as he died in Mecca. (Sufyan, a sub-narrator said that Sa'd bin Khaula was a man from the tribe of Bani Amir bin Lu'ai.)

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 726:
Narrated Al-Aswad bin Yazid:
Mu'adh bin Jabal came to us in Yemen as a tutor and a ruler, and we (the people of Yemen) asked him about (the distribution of the property of) a man who had died leaving a daughter and a sister. Mu'adh gave the daughter one-half of the property and gave the sister the other half.

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 727:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle said, "Give the Fara'id (shares prescribed in the Koran) to those who are entitled to receive it; and whatever remains, should be given to the closest male relative of the deceased.'

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 728:
Narrated Huzail bin Shirahbil:
Abu Musa was asked regarding (the inheritance of) a daughter, a son's daughter, and a sister. He said, "The daughter will take one-half and the sister will take one-half. If

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you go to Ibn Mas'ud, he will tell you the same." Ibn Mas'ud was asked and was told of Abu Musa's verdict. Ibn Mas'ud then said, "If I give the same verdict, I would stray and would not be of the rightly-guided. The verdict I will give in this case, will be the same as the Prophet did, i.e. one-half is for daughter, and one-sixth for the son's daughter, i.e. both shares make two-thirds of the total property; and the rest is for the sister." Afterwards we cams to Abu Musa and informed him of Ibn Mas'ud's verdict, whereupon he said, "So, do not ask me for verdicts, as long as this learned man is among you."

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 729:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "Give the Fara'id, (the shares prescribed in the Koran) to those who are entitled to receive it, and then whatever remains, should be given to the closest male relative of the deceased."

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 730:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The person about whom Allah's Apostle said, "If I were to take a Khalil from this nation (my followers), then I would have taken him (i.e., Abu Bakr), but the Islamic Brotherhood is better (or said: good)," regarded a grandfather as the father himself (in inheritance).

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 731:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
(During the early days of Islam), the inheritance used to be given to one's offspring and legacy used to be bequeathed to the parents, then Allah cancelled what He wished from that order and decreed that the male should be given the equivalent of the portion of two females, and for the parents one-sixth for each of them, and for one's wife one-eighth (if the deceased has children) and one-fourth (if he has no children), for one's husband one-half (if the deceased has no children) and one-fourth (if she has children)."

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 732:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle gave the judgement that a male or female slave should be given in Qisas for an abortion case of a woman from the tribe of Bani Lihyan (as blood money for the fetus) but the lady on whom the penalty had been imposed died, so the Prophets ordered that her property be inherited by her offspring and her husband and that the penalty be paid by her Asaba.

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 733:
Narrated Al-Aswad:
Mu'adh bin Jabal gave this verdict for us in the lifetime of Allah's Apostle. One-half of the inheritance is to be given to the daughter and the other half to the sister. Sulaiman said: Mu'adh gave a verdict for us, but he did not mention that it was so in the lifetime of Allah's Apostle.

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 734:
Narrated Huzail:
Abdullah said, "The judgement I will give in this matter will be like the judgement of the Prophet, i.e. one-half is for the daughter and one-sixth for the son's daughter and the rest of the inheritance for the sister."

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 735:
Narrated Jabir:
While I was sick, the Prophet entered upon me and asked for some water to perform ablution, and after he had finished his ablution, he sprinkled some water of his ablution over me, whereupon I became conscious and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have sisters." Then the Divine Verses regarding the laws of inheritance were revealed.

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 736:
Narrated Al-Bara:
The last Koranic Verse that was revealed (to the Prophet) was the final Verse of Surat-an-Nisa, i.e., 'They ask you for a legal verdict Say: Allah directs (thus) About those who leave No descendants or ascendants as heirs....' (4.176)

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 737:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "I am more closer to the believers than their ownselves, so whoever (among them) dies leaving some inheritance, his inheritance will be given to his 'Asaba, and whoever dies leaving a debt or dependants or destitute children, then I am their supporter."

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 738:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "Give the Fara'id (the shares of the inheritance that are prescribed in the Koran) to those who are entitled to receive it; and whatever is left should be given to the closest male relative of the deceased."

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 739:
Narrated Ibn Abbas: regarding the Holy Verse:--'And to everyone, We have appointed heirs.
When the emigrants came to Medina, the Ansar used to be the heir of the emigrants (and vice versa) instead of their own kindred by blood (Dhawl-l-arham), and that was because of the bond of brotherhood which the Prophet had established between them, i.e. the Ansar and the emigrants. But when the Divine Verse:--
'And to everyone We have appointed heirs,' (4.33) was revealed, it cancelled the other, order i.e. 'To those also, to whom Your right hands have pledged.'

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 740:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
A man and his wife had a case of Lian (or Mula'ana) during the lifetime of the Prophet and the man denied the paternity of her child. The Prophet gave his verdict for their separation (divorce) and then the child was regarded as belonging to the wife only.

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 741:
Narrated Aisha:
Utba (bin Abi Waqqas) said to his brother Sa'd, "The son of the slave girl of Zam'a is my son, so be his custodian." So when it was the year of the Conquest of Mecca, Sa'd took that child and said, "He is my nephew, and my brother told me to be his custodian." On that, Abu bin Zam'a got up and said, 'but the child is my brother, and the son of my father's slave girl as he was born on his bed." So they both went to the Prophet. Sa'd said, "O Allah's Apostle! (This is) the son of my brother and he told me to be his custodian." Then Abu bin Zam'a said, "(But he is) my brother and the son of the slave girl of my father, born on his bed." The Prophet said, "This child is for you. O Abu bin Zam'a, as the child is for the owner of the bed, and the adulterer receives the stones." He then ordered (his wife) Sauda bint Zam'a to cover herself before that boy as he noticed the boy's resemblance to Utba. Since then the boy had never seen Sauda till he died.

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 742:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The boy is for the owner of the bed."

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 743:
Narrated Aisha:
I bought Barira (a female slave). The Prophet said (to me), "Buy her as the Wala is for the manumitted." Once she was given a sheep (in charity). The Prophet said, "It (the sheep) is a charitable gift for her (Barira) and a gift for us." Al-Hakam said, "Barira's husband was a free man." Ibn Abbas said, 'When I saw him, he was a slave."

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 744:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "The Wala is for the manumitted (of the slave)."

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 745:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Muslims did not free slaves as Sa'iba, but the People of the Pre-lslamic Period of Ignorance used to do so.

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 746:
Narrated Al-Aswad:
Aisha bought Barira in order to manumit her, but her masters stipulated that her Wala (after her death) would be for them. Aisha said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have bought Barira in order to manumit her, but her masters stipulated that her Wala will be for them." The Prophet said, "Manumit her as the Wala is for the one who manumits (the slave)," or said, "The one who pays her price." Then Aisha bought and manumitted her. After that, Barira was given the choice (by the Prophet) (to stay with her husband or leave him). She said, "If he gave me so much and so much (money) I would not stay with him." (Al-Aswad added: Her husband was a free man.) The sub-narrator added: The series of the narrators of Al-Aswad's statement is incomplete. The statement of Ibn Abbas, i.e., when I saw him he was a slave, is more authentic.

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 747:
Narrated Ali:
We have no Book to recite except the Book of Allah (Koran) and this paper. Then Ali took out the paper, and behold ! There was written in it, legal verdicts about the retaliation for wounds, the ages of the camels (to be paid as Zakat or as blood money). In it was also written: 'Medina is a sanctuary from Air (mountain) to Thaur (mountain). So whoever innovates in it an heresy (something new in religion) or commits a crime in it or gives shelter to such an innovator, will incur the curse of Allah, the angels and all the people, and none of his compulsory or optional good deeds will be accepted on the Day of Resurrection. And whoever (a freed slave) takes as his master (i.e. be-friends) some people other than hi real masters without the permission of his real masters, will incur the curse of Allah, the angels and all the people, and none of his compulsory, or optional good deeds will be accepted on the Day of Resurrection. And the asylum granted by any Muslim is to be secured by all the Muslims, even if it is granted by one of the lowest social status among them; and whoever betrays a Muslim, in this respect will incur the curse of Allah, the angels, and all the people, and none of his Compulsory or optional good deeds will be accepted on the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 748:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet forbade the selling of the Wala (of slaves) or giving it as a present.

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 749:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
That Aisha, the mother of the Believers, intended to buy a slave girl in order to manumit her. The slave girl's master said, "We are ready to sell her to you on the condition that her Wala should be for us." Aisha mentioned that to Allah's Apostle who said, "This (condition) should not prevent you from buying her, for the Wala is for the one who manumits (the slave)."

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 750:
Narrated Al-Aswad:
Aisha said, "I bought Barira and her masters stipulated that the Wala would be for them." Aisha mentioned that to the Prophet and he said, "Manumit her, as the Wala is for the one who gives the silver (i.e. pays the price for freeing the slave)." Aisha added, "So I manumitted her. After that, the Prophet caller her (Barira) and gave her the choice to go back to her husband or not. She said, "If he gave me so much and so much (money) I would not stay with him." So she selected her ownself (i.e. refused to go back to her husband)."

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 751:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
When Aisha intended to buy Barira, she said to the Prophet, "Barira's masters stipulated that they will have the Wala." The Prophet said (to Aisha), "Buy her, as the Wala is for the one who manumits."

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 752:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle said, "The wala is for the one who gives the silver (pays the price) and does the favor (of manumission after paying the price)."

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 753:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "The freed slave belongs to the people who have freed him," or said something similar.

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 754:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "The son of the sister of some people is from them or from their own selves."

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 755:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, " If somebody dies (among the Muslims) leaving some property, the property will go to his heirs; and if he leaves a debt or dependants, we will take care of them."

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 756:
Narrated Usama bin Zaid:
the Prophet said, "A Muslim cannot be the heir of a disbeliever, nor can a disbeliever be the heir of a Muslim."

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 757:
Narrated Aisha:
Sa'd bin Abi Waqqas and Abu bin Zam'a had a dispute over a boy. Sa'd said, "O Allah's Apostle! This (boy) is the son of my brother, Utba bin Abi Waqqas who told me to be his custodian as he was his son. Please notice to whom he bears affinity." And Abu bin Zam'a said, "This is my brother, O Allah's Apostle! He was born on my father's bed by his slave girl." Then the Prophet looked at the boy and noticed evident resemblance between him and Utba, so he said, "He (the toy) is for you, O Abu bin Zam'a, for the boy is for the owner of the bed, and the stone is for the adulterer. Screen yourself before the boy, O Sauda bint Zam'a." Aisha added: Since then he had never seen Sauda.

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 758:
Narrated Sa'd:
I heard the Prophet saying, "Whoever claims to be the son of a person other than his father, and he knows that person is not his father, then Paradise will be forbidden for him." I mentioned that to Abu Bakra, and he said, "My ears heard that and my heart memorized it from Allah's Apostle

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Volume 8, Book 80, Number 759:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Do not deny your fathers (i.e. claim to be the sons of persons other than your fathers), and whoever denies his father, is charged with disbelief."

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 760:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "There were two women with whom there were their two sons. A wolf came and took away the son of one of them. That lady said to her companion, 'The wolf has taken your son.' The other said, 'But it has taken your son.' So both of them sought the judgement of (the Prophet) David who judged that the boy should be given to the older lady. Then both of them went to (the Prophet) Solomon, son of David and informed him of the case. Solomon said, 'Give me a knife so that I may cut the child into two portions and give one half to each of you.' The younger lady said, 'Do not do so; may Allah bless you ! He is her child.' On that, he gave the child to the younger lady." Abu Huraira added: By Allah! I had never heard the word 'Sakkin' as meaning knife, except on that day, for we used to call it 'Mudya"

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 761:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle once entered upon me in a very happy mood, with his features glittering with joy, and said, "O Aisha! won't you see that Mujazziz (a Qa'if) looked just now at Zaid bin Haritha and Usama bin Zaid and said, 'These feet (of Usama and his father) belong to each other." (See Hadith No. 755, Vol. 4)

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 762:
Narrated Aisha:
Once Allah's Apostle entered upon me and he was in a very happy mood and said, "O Aisha: Don't you know that Mujazziz Al-Mudliji entered and saw Usama and Zaid with a velvet covering on them and their heads were covered while their feet were uncovered. He said, 'These feet belong to each other.'

SAHIH BUKHARI, BOOK 81:
Limits and Punishments set by Allah (Hudood)

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 763:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "When an adulterer commits illegal sexual intercourse, then he is not a believer at the time he is doing it; and when somebody drinks an alcoholic drink, then he is not believer at the time of drinking, and when a thief steals, he is not a believer at the time when he is stealing; and when a robber robs and the people look at him, then he is not a believer at the time of doing it." Abu Huraira in another narration, narrated the same from the Prophet with the exclusion of robbery.

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 764:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet beat a drunk with palm-leaf stalks and shoes. And Abu Bakr gave (such a sinner) forty lashes.

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 765:
Narrated Uqba bin Al-Harith:
An-Nu'man or the son of An-Nu'man was brought to the Prophet on a charge of drunkenness. So the Prophet ordered all the men present in the house, to beat him. So all of them beat him, and I was also one of them who beat him with shoes.

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 766:
Narrated' Uqba bin Al-Harith:
An-Nu'man or the son of An-Nu'man was brought to the Prophet in a state of intoxication. The Prophet felt it hard (was angry) and ordered all those who were present in the house, to beat him. And they beat him, using palm-leaf stalks and shoes, and I was among those who beat him.

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 767:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet lashed a drunk with dateleaf stalks and shoes. And Abu Bakr gave a drunk forty lashes.

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 768:
Narrated Abu Salama:
Abu Huraira said, "A man who drank wine was brought to the Prophet. The Prophet said, 'Beat him!" Abu Huraira added, "So some of us beat him with our hands, and some with their shoes, and some with their garments (by twisting it) like a lash, and then when we finished, someone said to him, 'May Allah disgrace you!' On that the Prophet said, 'Do not say so, for you are helping Satan to overpower him.' "

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 769:
Narrated Ali bin Abi Talib:
I would not feel sorry for one who dies because of receiving a legal punishment, except the drunk, for if he should die (when being punished), I would give blood money to his family because no fixed punishment has been ordered by Allah's Apostle for the drunk.

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 770:
Narrated As-Sa'ib bin Yazid:
We used to strike the drunks with our hands, shoes, clothes (by twisting it into the shape of lashes) during the lifetime of the Prophet, Abu Bakr and the early part of Umar's caliphate. But during the last period of Umar's caliphate, he used to give the drunk forty lashes; and when drunks became mischievous and disobedient, he used to scourge them eighty lashes.

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 771:
Narrated Umar bin Al-Khattab:
During the lifetime of the Prophet there was a man called Abdullah whose nickname was Donkey, and he used to make Allah's Apostle laugh. The Prophet lashed him because of drinking (alcohol). And one-day he was brought to the Prophet on the same charge and was lashed. On that, a man among the people said, "O Allah, curse him ! How frequently he has been brought (to the Prophet on such a charge)!" The Prophet said, "Do not curse him, for by Allah, I know for he loves Allah and His Apostle."

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 772:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A drunk was brought to the Prophet and he ordered him to be beaten (lashed). Some of us beat him with our hands, and some with their shoes, and some with their garments (twisted in the form of a lash). When that drunk had left, a man said, "What is wrong with him? May Allah disgrace him!" Allah's Apostle said, "Do not help Satan against your (Muslim) brother."

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 773:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "When (a person) an adulterer commits illegal sexual intercourse then he is not a believer at the time he is doing it; and when somebody steals, then he is not a believer at the time he is stealing."

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 774:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Allah curses a man who steals an egg and gets his hand cut off, or steals a rope and gets his hands cut off." Al-A'mash said, "People used to interpret the Baida as an iron helmet, and they used to think that the rope may cost a few dirhams."

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 775:
Narrated 'Ubada bin As-Samit:
We were with the Prophet in a gathering and he said, 'Swear allegiance to me that you will not worship anything besides Allah, Will not steal, and will not commit illegal sexual intercourse." And then (the Prophet) recited the whole Verse (i.e. 60:12). The Prophet added, 'And whoever among you fulfills his pledge, his reward is with Allah; and whoever commits something of such sins and receives the legal punishment for it, that will be considered as the expiation for that sin, and whoever commits something of such sins and Allah screens him, it is up to Allah whether to excuse or punish him."

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 776:
Narrated Abdullah:
Allah Apostle said in Hajjat-al-Wada, "Which month (of the year) do you think is most sacred?" The people said, "This current month of ours (the month of Dhull-Hijja)." He said, "Which town (country) do you think is the most sacred?" They said, "This city of ours (Mecca)." He said, "Which day do you think is the most sacred?" The people said, "This day of ours." He then said, "Allah, the Blessed, the Supreme, has made your blood, your property and your honor as sacred as this day of yours in this town of yours, in this month of yours (and such protection cannot be slighted) except rightfully." He then said thrice, "Have I conveyed Allah's Message (to you)?" The people answered him each time saying, 'Yes." The Prophet added, 'May Allah be merciful to you (or, woe on you)! Do not revert to disbelief after me by cutting the necks of each other.'

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 777:
Narrated Aisha:
Whenever the Prophet was given an option between two things, he used to select the easier of the tow as long as it was not sinful; but if it was sinful, he would remain far from it. By Allah, he never took revenge for himself concerning any matter that was presented to him, but when Allah's Limits were transgressed, he would take revenge for Allah's Sake.

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 778:
Narrated Aisha:
Usama approached the Prophet on behalf of a woman (who had committed theft). The Prophet said, "The people before you were destroyed because they used to inflict the legal punishments on the poor and forgive the rich. By Him in Whose Hand my soul is! If Fatima (the daughter of the Prophet) did that (i.e. stole), I would cut off her hand."

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 779:
Narrated Aisha:
The Quraish people became very worried about the Makhzumiya lady who had committed theft. They said, "Nobody can speak (in favor of the lady) to Allah's Apostle and nobody dares do that except Usama who is the favorite of Allah's Apostle. " When Usama spoke to Allah's Apostle about that matter, Allah's Apostle said, "Do you intercede (with me) to violate one of the legal punishment of Allah?" Then he got up and addressed the people, saying, "O people! The nations before you went astray because if a noble person committed theft, they used to leave him, but if a weak person among them committed theft, they used to inflict the legal punishment on him. By Allah, if Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed committed theft, Mohammed will cut off her hand.!"

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 780:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said, "The hand should be cut off for stealing something that is worth a quarter of a Dinar or more."

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 781:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said, "The hand of a thief should be cut off for stealing a quarter of a Dinar."

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 782:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said, "The hand should be cut off for stealing a quarter of a Dinar."

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 783:
Narrated Aisha:
The hand of a thief was not cut off during the lifetime of the Prophet except for stealing something equal to a shield in value.

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 784:
Narrated Aisha:
as above (783).

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 785:
Narrated Aisha:
A thief's hand was not cut off for stealing something cheaper than a Hajafa or a Turs (two kinds of shields), each of which was worth a (respectable) price.

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 786:
Narrated Aisha:
A thief's hand was not cut off for stealing something worth less than the price of a shield, whether a Turs or Hajafa (two kinds of shields), each of which was worth a (respectable) price.

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 787:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle cut off the hand of a thief for stealing a shield that was worth three Dirhams.

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 788:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet cut off the hand of a thief for stealing a shield that was worth three Dirhams.

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 789:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
The Prophet cut off the hand of a thief for stealing a shield that was worth three Dirhams.

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 790:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
The Prophet cutoff the hand of a thief for stealing a shield that was worth three Dirhams.

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 791:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah 's Apostle said, "Allah curses the thief who steals an egg (or a helmet) for which his hand is to be cut off, or steals a rope, for which his hand is to be cut off."

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 792:
Narrated Aisha:

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The Prophet cut off the hand of a lady, and that lady used to come to me, and I used to convey her message to the Prophet and she repented, and her repentance was sincere.

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 793:
Narrated Ubada bin As-Samit:
I gave the pledge of allegiance to the Prophet with a group of people, and he said, "I take your pledge that you will not worship anything besides Allah, will not steal, will not commit infanticide, will not slander others by forging false statements and spreading it, and will not disobey me in anything good. And whoever among you fulfill all these (obligations of the pledge), his reward is with Allah. And whoever commits any of the above crimes and receives his legal punishment in this world, that will be his expiation and purification. But if Allah screens his sin, it will be up to Allah, Who will either punish or forgive him according to His wish." Abu Abdullah said: "If a thief repents after his hand has been cut off, the his witness well be accepted. Similarly, if any person upon whom any legal punishment has been inflicted, repents, his witness will be accepted."

SAHIH BUKHARI, BOOK 82:
Punishment of Disbelievers at War with Allah and His Apostle

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 794:
Narrated Anas:
Some people from the tribe of Ukl came to the Prophet and embraced Islam. The climate of Medina did not suit them, so the Prophet ordered them to go to the (herd of milch) camels of charity and to drink, their milk and urine (as a medicine). They did so, and after they had recovered from their ailment (became healthy) they turned renegades (reverted from Islam) and killed the shepherd of the camels and took the camels away. The Prophet sent (some people) in their pursuit and so they were (caught and) brought, and the Prophets ordered that their hands and legs should be cut off and that their eyes should be branded with heated pieces of iron, and that their cut hands and legs should not be cauterized, till they die.

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 795:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet cut off the hands and feet of the men belonging to the tribe of Uraina and did not cauterise (their bleeding limbs) till they died.

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 796:
Narrated Anas:
A group of people from Ukl (tribe) came to the Prophet and they were living with the people of As-Suffa, but they became ill as the climate of Medina did not suit them, so they said, "O Allah's Apostle! Provide us with milk." The Prophet said, I see no other way for you than to use the camels of Allah's Apostle." So they went and drank the milk and urine of the camels, (as medicine) and became healthy and fat. Then they killed the shepherd and took the camels away. When a help-seeker came to Allah's Apostle, he sent some men in their pursuit, and they were captured and brought before mid day. The Prophet ordered for some iron pieces to be made red hot, and their eyes were branded with them and their hands and feet were cut off and were not cauterized. Then they were put at a place called Al-Harra, and when they asked for water to drink they were not given till they died. (Abu Qilaba said, "Those people committed theft and murder and fought against Allah and His Apostle.")

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 797:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
A group of people from Ukl (or Uraina) tribe ----but I think he said that they were from Ukl came to Medina and (they became ill, so) the Prophet ordered them to go to the herd of (Milch) she-camels and told them to go out and drink the camels' urine and milk (as a medicine). So they went and drank it, and when they became healthy, they killed the shepherd and drove away the camels. This news reached the Prophet early in the morning, so he sent (some) men in their pursuit and they were captured and brought to the Prophet before midday. He ordered to cut off their hands and legs and their eyes to be branded with heated iron pieces and they were thrown at Al-Harra, and when they asked for water to drink, they were not given water. (Abu Qilaba said, "Those were the people who committed theft and murder and reverted to disbelief after being believers (Muslims), and fought against Allah and His Apostle").

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 798:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Seven (people) will be shaded by Allah by His Shade on the Day of Resurrection when there will be no shade except His Shade. (They will be), a just ruler, a young man who has been brought up in the worship of Allah, a man who remembers Allah in seclusion and his eyes are then flooded with tears, a man whose heart is attached to mosques (offers his compulsory congregational prayers in the mosque), two men who love each other for Allah's Sake, a man who is called by a charming lady of noble birth to commit illegal sexual intercourse with her, and he says, 'I am afraid of Allah,' and (finally), a man who gives in charity so secretly that his left hand does not know what his right hand has given."

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 799:
Narrated Sahl bin Sa'd:
The Prophet said, "Whoever guarantees me (the chastity of) what is between his legs (i.e. his private parts), and what is between his jaws (i.e., his tongue), I guarantee him Paradise."

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 800i:
Narrated Anas:
I will narrate to you a narration which nobody will narrate to you after me. I heard that form the Prophet. I heard the Prophet saying, "The Hour sill not be established" or said: "From among the portents of the Hour is that the religious knowledge will betaken away (by the death of religious Scholars) and general ignorance (of religion) will appear; and the drinking of alcoholic drinks will be very common, and (open) illegal sexual intercourse will prevail, and men will decrease in number while women will increase so much so that, for fifty women there will only be one man to look after them."

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 800e:
Narrated 'Ikrima from Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostles said, "When a slave (of Allah) commits illegal sexual intercourse, he is not a believer at the time of committing it; and if he steals, he is not a believer at the time of stealing; and if he drinks an alcoholic drink, when he is not a believer at the time of drinking it; and he is not a believer when he commits a murder," 'Ikrima said: I asked Ibn Abbas, "How is faith taken away from him?" He said, Like this," by clasping his hands and then separating them, and added, "But if he repents, faith returns to him like this, by clasping his hands again.

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 801:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The one who commits an illegal sexual intercourse is not a believer at the time of committing illegal sexual intercourse and a thief is not a believer at the time of committing theft and a drinker of alcoholic drink is not a believer at the time of drinking. Yet, (the gate of) repentance is open thereafter."

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 802:
Narrated Abdullah bin Mas'ud:
I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Which is the biggest sin?" He said, "To set up rivals to Allah by worshipping others though He alone has created you." I asked, "What is next?" He said, "To kill your child lest it should share your food." I asked, "What is next?" He said, "To commit illegal sexual intercourse with the wife of your neighbour."

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 803:
Narrated Ash-Sha'bi:
from Ali when the latter stoned a lady to death on a Friday. Ali said, "I have stoned her according to the tradition of Allah's Apostle."

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 804:
Narrated Ash Shaibani:
I asked Abdullah bin Abi Aufa, 'Did Allah's Apostle carry out the Rajam penalty (i.e., stoning to death)?' He said, "Yes." I said, "Before the revelation of Surat-ar-Nur or after it?" He replied, "I don't Know."

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 805:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah Al-Ansari:
A man from the tribe of Bani Aslam came to Allah's Apostle and Informed him that he had committed illegal sexual intercourse and bore witness four times against himself. Allah's Apostle ordered him to be stoned to death as he was a married Person.

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 806:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A man came to Allah's Apostle while he was in the mosque, and he called him, saying, "O Allah's Apostle! I have committed illegal sexual intercourse.'" The Prophet turned his face to the other side, but that man repeated his statement four times, and after he bore witness against himself four times, the Prophet called him, saying, "Are you mad?" The man said, "No." The Prophet said, "Are you married?" The man said, "Yes." Then the Prophet said, 'Take him away and stone him to death." Jabir bin Abdullah said: I was among the ones who participated in stoning him and we stoned him at the Musalla. When the stones troubled him, he fled, but we over took him at Al-Harra and stoned him to death.

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 807:
Narrated Aisha:
Sa'd bin Abi Waqqas and 'Abd bin Zam'a quarrelled with each other (regarding a child). The Prophet said, "The boy is for you, O 'Abd bin Zam'a, for the boy is for (the owner) of the bed. O Sauda ! Screen yourself from the boy." The sub-narrator, Al-Laith added (that the Prophet also said), "And the stone is for the person who commits an illegal sexual intercourse."

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 808:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The boy is for (the owner of) the bed and the stone is for the person who commits illegal sexual intercourse.'

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 809:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
A Jew and a Jewess were brought to Allah's Apostle on a charge of committing an illegal sexual intercourse. The Prophet asked them. "What is the legal punishment (for this sin) in your Book (Torah)?" They replied, "Our priests have innovated the punishment of blackening the faces with charcoal and Tajbiya." Abdullah bin Salam said, "O Allah's Apostle, tell them to bring the Torah." The Torah was brought, and then one of the Jews put his hand over the Divine Verse of the Rajam (stoning to death) and started reading what preceded and what followed it. On that, Ibn Salam said to the Jew, "Lift up your hand." Behold! The Divine Verse of the Rajam was under his hand. So Allah's Apostle ordered that the two (sinners) be stoned to death, and so they were stoned. Ibn Umar added: So both of them were stoned at the Balat and I saw the Jew sheltering the Jewess.

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 810:
Narrated Jabir:
A man from the tribe of Aslam came to the Prophet and confessed that he had committed an illegal sexual intercourse. The Prophet turned his face away from him till the man bore witness against himself four times. The Prophet said to him, "Are you mad?" He said "No." He said, "Are you married?" He said, "Yes." Then the Prophet ordered that he be stoned to death, and he was stoned to death at the Musalla. When the stones troubled him, he fled, but he was caught and was stoned till he died. The Prophet spoke well of him and offered his funeral prayer.

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 811d:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A person had sexual relation with his wife in the month of Ramadan (while he was fasting), and he came to Allah's Apostle seeking his verdict concerning that action. The Prophet said (to him), "Can you afford to manumit a slave?" The man said, "No." The Prophet said, "Can you fast for two successive months?" He said, "No." The Prophet said, "Then feed sixty poor persons."

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 811e:
Narrated Aisha:
A man came to the Prophet in the mosque and said, "I am burnt (ruined)!" The Prophet asked him, "With what (what have you done)?" He said, "I have had sexual relation with my wife in the month of Ramadan (while fasting)." The Prophet said to him, "Give in charity." He said, "I have nothing." The man sat down, and in the meantime there came a person driving a donkey carrying food to the Prophet ..... (The sub-narrator, Abdur Rahman added: I do not know what kind of food it was). On that the Prophet said, "Where is the burnt person?" The man said, "Here I am." The Prophet said to him, "Take this (food) and give it in charity (to someone)." The man said, "To a poorer person than l? My family has nothing to eat." Then the Prophet said to him, "Then eat it yourselves."

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 812:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
While I was with the Prophet a man came and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have committed a legally punishable sin; please inflict the legal punishment on me'.' The Prophet did not ask him what he had done. Then the time for the prayer became due and the man offered prayer along with the Prophet , and when the Prophet had finished his prayer, the man again got up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have committed a legally punishable sin; please inflict the punishment on me according to Allah's Laws." The Prophet said, "Haven't you prayed with us?" He said, "Yes." The Prophet said, "Allah has forgiven your sin." or said, "....your legally punishable sin."

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 813:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
When Ma'iz bin Malik came to the Prophet (in order to confess), the Prophet said to him, "Probably you have only kissed (the lady), or winked, or looked at her?" He said, "No,

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O Allah's Apostle!" The Prophet said, using no euphemism, "Did you have sexual intercourse with her?" The narrator added: At that, (i.e. after his confession) the Prophet ordered that he be stoned (to death).

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 814:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A man from among the people, came to Allah's Apostle while Allah's Apostle was sitting in the mosque, and addressed him, saying, "O Allah's Apostle! I have committed an illegal sexual intercourse." The Prophet turned his face away from him. The man came to that side to which the Prophet had turned his face, and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have committed an illegal intercourse." The Prophet turned his face to the other side, and the man came to that side, and when he confessed four times, the Prophet called him and said, "Are you mad?" He said, "No, O Allah's Apostle!" The Prophet said, "Are you married?" He said, "Yes, O Allah's Apostle." The Prophet said (to the people), "Take him away and stone him to death." Ibn Shihab added, "I was told by one who heard Jabir, that Jabir said, 'I was among those who stoned the man, and we stoned him at the Musalla ('Id praying Place), and when the stones troubled him, he jumped quickly and ran away, but we overtook him at Al-Harra and stoned him to death (there).' "

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 815:
Narrated Abu Huraira and Zaid bin Khalid:
While we were with the Prophet , a man stood up and said (to the Prophet), "I beseech you by Allah, that you should judge us according to Allah's Laws." Then the man's opponent who was wiser than him, got up saying (to Allah's Apostle) "Judge us according to Allah's Law and kindly allow me (to speak)." The Prophet said, "'Speak." He said, "My son was a laborer working for this man and he committed an illegal sexual intercourse with his wife, and I gave one-hundred sheep and a slave as a ransom for my son's sin. Then I asked a learned man about this case and he informed me that my son should receive one hundred lashes and be exiled for one year, and the man's wife should be stoned to death." The Prophet said, "By Him in Whose Hand my soul is, I will judge you according to the Laws of Allah. Your one-hundred sheep and the slave are to be returned to you, and your son has to receive one-hundred lashes and be exiled for one year. O Unais! Go to the wife of this man, and if she confesses, then stone her to death." Unais went to her and she confessed. He then stoned her to death.

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 816:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Umar said, "I am afraid that after a long time has passed, people may say, "We do not find the Verses of the Rajam (stoning to death) in the Holy Book," and consequently they may go astray by leaving an obligation that Allah has revealed. Lo! I confirm that the penalty of Rajam be inflicted on him who commits illegal sexual intercourse, if he is already married and the crime is proved by witnesses or pregnancy or confession." Sufyan added, "I have memorized this narration in this way." Umar added, "Surely Allah's Apostle carried out the penalty of Rajam, and so did we after him."

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 817:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
I used to teach (the Koran to) some people of the Muhajirln (emigrants), among whom there was Abdur Rahman bin 'Auf. While I was in his house at Mina, and he was with Umar bin Al-Khattab during Umar's last Hajj, Abdur-Rahman came to me and said, "Would that you had seen the man who came today to the Chief of the Believers (Umar), saying, 'O Chief of the Believers! What do you think about so-and-so who says, 'If Umar should die, I will give the pledge of allegiance to such-and-such person, as by Allah, the pledge of allegiance to Abu Bakr was nothing but a prompt sudden action which got established afterwards.' Umar became angry and then said, 'Allah willing, I will stand before the people tonight and warn them against those people who want to deprive the others of their rights (the question of rulership)."
Abdur-Rahman said, "I said, 'O Chief of the believers! Do not do that, for the season of Hajj gathers the riff-raff and the rubble, and it will be they who will gather around you when you stand to address the people. And I am afraid that you will get up and say something, and some people will spread your statement and may not say what you have actually said and may not understand its meaning, and may interpret it incorrectly, so you should wait till you reach Medina, as it is the place of emigration and the place of Prophet's Traditions, and there you can come in touch with the learned and noble people, and tell them your ideas with confidence; and the learned people will understand your statement and put it in its proper place.' On that, Umar said, 'By Allah! Allah willing, I will do this in the first speech I will deliver before the people in Medina."
Ibn Abbas added: We reached Medina by the end of the month of Dhul-Hijja, and when it was Friday, we went quickly (to the mosque) as soon as the sun had declined, and I saw Sa'id bin Zaid bin Amr bin Nufail sitting at the corner of the pulpit, and I too sat close to him so that my knee was touching his knee, and after a short while Umar bin Al-Khattab came out, and when I saw him coming towards us, I said to Said bin Zaid bin Amr bin Nufail "Today Umar will say such a thing as he has never said since he was chosen as Caliph." Said denied my statement with astonishment and said, "What thing do you expect Umar to say the like of which he has never said before?"
In the meantime, Umar sat on the pulpit and when the callmakers for the prayer had finished their call, Umar stood up, and having glorified and praised Allah as He deserved, he said, "Now then, I am going to tell you something which (Allah) has written for me to say. I do not know; perhaps it portends my death, so whoever understands and remembers it, must narrate it to the others wherever his mount takes him, but if somebody is afraid that he does not understand it, then it is unlawful for him to tell lies about me. Allah sent Mohammed with the Truth and revealed the Holy Book to him, and among what Allah revealed, was the Verse of the Rajam (the stoning of married person (male & female) who commits illegal sexual intercourse, and we did recite this Verse and understood and memorized it. Allah's Apostle did carry out the punishment of stoning and so did we after him.
I am afraid that after a long time has passed, somebody will say, 'By Allah, we do not find the Verse of the Rajam in Allah's Book,' and thus they will go astray by leaving an obligation which Allah has revealed. And the punishment of the Rajam is to be inflicted to any married person (male & female), who commits illegal sexual intercourse, if the required evidence is available or there is conception or confession. And then we used to recite among the Verses in Allah's Book: 'O people! Do not claim to be the offspring of other than your fathers, as it is disbelief (unthankfulness) on your part that you claim to be the offspring of other than your real father.' Then Allah's Apostle said, 'Do not praise me excessively as Jesus, son of Marry was praised, but call me Allah's Slave and His Apostles.' (O people!) I have been informed that a speaker amongst you says, 'By Allah, if Umar should die, I will give the pledge of allegiance to such-and-such person.' One should not deceive oneself by saying that the pledge of allegiance given to Abu Bakr was given suddenly and it was successful. No doubt, it was like that, but Allah saved (the people) from its evil, and there is none among you who has the qualities of Abu Bakr. Remember that whoever gives the pledge of allegiance to anybody among you without consulting the other Muslims, neither that person, nor the person to whom the pledge of allegiance was given, are to be supported, lest they both should be killed.
And no doubt after the death of the Prophet we were informed that the Ansar disagreed with us and gathered in the shed of Bani Sa'da. Ali and Zubair and whoever was with them, opposed us, while the emigrants gathered with Abu Bakr. I said to Abu Bakr, 'Let's go to these Ansari brothers of ours.' So we set out seeking them, and when we approached them, two pious men of theirs met us and informed us of the final decision of the Ansar, and said, 'O group of Muhajirin (emigrants) ! Where are you going?' We replied, 'We are going to these Ansari brothers of ours.' They said to us, 'You shouldn't go near them. Carry out whatever we have already decided.' I said, 'By Allah, we will go to them.' And so we proceeded until we reached them at the shed of Bani Sa'da. Behold! There was a man sitting amongst them and wrapped in something. I asked, 'Who is that man?' They said, 'He is Sa'd bin 'Ubada.' I asked, 'What is wrong with him?' They said, 'He is sick.' After we sat for a while, the Ansar's speaker said, 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah,' and praising Allah as He deserved, he added, 'To proceed, we are Allah's Ansar (helpers) and the majority of the Muslim army, while you, the emigrants, are a small group and some people among you came with the intention of preventing us from practicing this matter (of caliphate) and depriving us of it.'
When the speaker had finished, I intended to speak as I had prepared a speech which I liked and which I wanted to deliver in the presence of Abu Bakr, and I used to avoid provoking him. So, when I wanted to speak, Abu Bakr said, 'Wait a while.' I disliked to make him angry. So Abu Bakr himself gave a speech, and he was wiser and more patient than I. By Allah, he never missed a sentence that I liked in my own prepared speech, but he said the like of it or better than it spontaneously. After a pause he said, 'O Ansar! You deserve all (the qualities that you have attributed to yourselves, but this question (of Caliphate) is only for the Quraish as they are the best of the Arabs as regards descent and home, and I am pleased to suggest that you choose either of these two men, so take the oath of allegiance to either of them as you wish. And then Abu Bakr held my hand and Abu Ubada bin Abdullah's hand who was sitting amongst us. I hated nothing of what he had said except that proposal, for by Allah, I would rather have my neck chopped off as expiator for a sin than become the ruler of a nation, one of whose members is Abu Bakr, unless at the time of my death my own-self suggests something I don't feel at present.'
And then one of the Ansar said, 'I am the pillar on which the camel with a skin disease (eczema) rubs itself to satisfy the itching (i.e., I am a noble), and I am as a high class palm tree! O Quraish. There should be one ruler from us and one from you.'
Then there was a hue and cry among the gathering and their voices rose so that I was afraid there might be great disagreement, so I said, 'O Abu Bakr! Hold your hand out.' He held his hand out and I pledged allegiance to him, and then all the emigrants gave the Pledge of allegiance and so did the Ansar afterwards. And so we became victorious over Sa'd bin Ubada (whom Al-Ansar wanted to make a ruler). One of the Ansar said, 'You have killed Sa'd bin Ubada.' I replied, 'Allah has killed Sa'd bin Ubada.' Umar added, "By Allah, apart from the great tragedy that had happened to us (i.e. the death of the Prophet), there was no greater problem than the allegiance pledged to Abu Bakr because we were afraid that if we left the people, they might give the Pledge of allegiance after us to one of their men, in which case we would have given them our consent for something against our real wish, or would have opposed them and caused great trouble. So if any person gives the Pledge of allegiance to somebody (to become a Caliph) without consulting the other Muslims, then the one he has selected should not be granted allegiance, lest both of them should be killed."

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 818:
Narrated Zaid bin Khalid Al-Jihani:
I heard the Prophet ordering that an unmarried person guilty of illegal sexual intercourse be flogged one-hundred stripes and be exiled for one year. Umar bin Al-Khattab also exiled such a person, and this tradition is still valid.

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 819:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle judged that the unmarried person who was guilty of illegal sexual intercourse be exiled for one year and receive the legal punishment (i.e., be flogged with one-hundred stripes) .

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 820:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet cursed the effeminate men and those women who assume the similitude (manners) of men. He also said, "Turn them out of your houses." He turned such-and-such person out, and Umar also turned out such-and-such person.

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 821:
Narrated Abu Huraira and Zaid bin Khalid:
A bedouin came to the Prophet while he (the Prophet) was sitting, and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Give your verdict according to Allah's Laws (in our case)." Then his opponent got up and said, "He has told the truth, O Allah's Apostle! Decide his case according to Allah's Laws. My son was a laborer working for this person, and he committed illegal sexual intercourse with his wife, and the people told me that my son should be stoned to death, but I offered one-hundred sheep and a slave girl as a ransom for him. Then I asked the religious learned people, and they told me that my son should be flogged with one-hundred stripes and be exiled for one year." The Prophet said, "By Him in Whose Hand my soul is, I will judge you according to Allah's Laws. The sheep and the slave girl will be returned to you and your son will be flogged one-hundred stripes and be exiled for one year. And you, O Unais! Go to the wife of this man (and if she confesses), stone her to death." So Unais went in the morning and stoned her to death (after she had confessed).

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 822:
Narrated Abu Huraira and Said bin Khalid:
The verdict of Allah's Apostle was sought about an unmarried slave girl guilty of illegal intercourse. He replied, "If she commits illegal sexual intercourse, then flog her (fifty stripes), and if she commits illegal sexual intercourse (after that for the second time), then flog her (fifty stripes), and if she commits illegal sexual intercourse (for the third time), then flog her (fifty stripes) and sell her for even a hair rope." Ibn Shihab said, "I am not sure whether the Prophet ordered that she be sold after the third or fourth time of committing illegal intercourse."

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 823:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "If a lady slave commits illegal sexual intercourse and she is proved guilty of illegal sexual intercourse, then she should be flogged (fifty stripes) but she should not be admonished; and if she commits illegal sexual intercourse again, then she should be flogged again but should not be admonished; and if she commits illegal sexual intercourse for the third time, then she should be sold even for a hair rope."

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 824:
Narrated Ash-Shaibani:

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I asked Abdullah bin Abi 'Aufa about the Rajam (stoning somebody to death for committing illegal sexual intercourse). He replied, "The Prophet carried out the penalty of Rajam," I asked, "Was that before or after the revelation of Surat-an-Nur?" He replied, "I do not know."

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 825:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
The jews came to Allah's Apostle and mentioned to him that a man and a lady among them had committed illegal sexual intercourse. Allah's Apostle said to them, "What do you find in the Torah regarding the Rajam?" They replied, "We only disgrace and flog them with stripes." Abdullah bin Salam said to them, 'You have told a lie the penalty of Rajam is in the Torah.' They brought the Torah and opened it. One of them put his hand over the verse of the Rajam and read what was before and after it. Abdullah bin Salam said to him, "Lift up your hand." Where he lifted it there appeared the verse of the Rajam. So they said, "O Mohammed! He has said the truth, the verse of the Rajam is in it (Torah)." Then Allah's Apostle ordered that the two persons (guilty of illegal sexual intercourse) be stoned to death, and so they were stoned, and I saw the man bending over the woman so as to protect her from the stones.

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 826:
Narrated Abu Huraira and Zaid bin Khalid:
Two men had a dispute in the presence of Allah's Apostle. One of them said, "Judge us according to Allah's Laws." The other who was more wise said, "Yes, Allah's Apostle, judge us according to Allah's Laws and allow me to speak (first)" The Prophet said to him, 'Speak " He said, "My son was a laborer for this man, and he committed illegal sexual intercourse with his wife, and the people told me that my son should be stoned to death, but I have given one-hundred sheep and a slave girl as a ransom (expiation) for my son's sin. Then I asked the religious learned people (about It), and they told me that my son should he flogged one-hundred stripes and should be exiled for one year, and only the wife of this man should be stoned to death " Allah's Apostle said, "By Him in Whose Hand my soul is, I will judge you according to Allah's Laws: O man, as for your sheep and slave girl, they are to be returned to you." Then the Prophet had the man's son flogged one hundred stripes and exiled for one year, and ordered Unais Al-Aslami to go to the wife of the other man, and if she confessed, stone her to death. She confessed and was stoned to death.

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 827:
Narrated Aisha:
Abu Bakr came to me while Allah's Apostle was sleeping with his head on my thigh. Abu Bakr said (to me), "You have detained Allah's Apostle and the people, and there is no water in this place." So he admonished me and struck my flanks with his hand, and nothing could stop me from moving except the reclining of Allah's Apostle (on my thigh), and then Allah revealed the Divine Verse of Tayammum.

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 828:
Narrated Aisha:
Abu Bakr came to towards me and struck me violently with his fist and said, "You have detained the people because of your necklace." But I remained motionless as if I was dead lest I should awake Allah's Apostle although that hit was very painful.

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 829:
Narrated Al-Mughira:
Sa'd bin Ubada said, "If I found a man with my wife, I would kill him with the sharp side of my sword." When the Prophet heard that he said, "Do you wonder at Sa'd's sense of ghira (self-respect)? Verily, I have more sense of ghira than Sa'd, and Allah has more sense of ghira than I."

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 830:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A bedouin came to Allah's Apostle and said, "My wife has delivered a black child." The Prophet said to him, "Have you camels?" He replied, "Yes." The Prophet said, "What color are they?" He replied, "They are red." The Prophet further asked, "Are any of them gray in color?" He replied, "Yes." The Prophet asked him, "Whence did that grayness come?" He said, "I thing it descended from the camel's ancestors." Then the Prophet said (to him), "Therefore, this child of yours has most probably inherited the color from his ancestors."

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 831:
Narrated Abu Burda:
The Prophet used to say, "Nobody should be flogged more than ten stripes except if he is guilty of a crime, the legal punishment of which is assigned by Allah."

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 832:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Jabir:
On the authority of others, that the Prophet said, "No Punishment exceeds the flogging of the ten stripes, except if one is guilty of a crime necessitating a legal punishment prescribed by Allah."

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 833:
Narrated Abu Burda Al-Ansari:
I heard the Prophet saying, "Do not flog anyone more than ten stripes except if he is involved in a crime necessitating Allah's legal Punishment."

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 834:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle forbade Al-Wisal (fasting continuously for more than one day without taking any meals). A man from the Muslims said, "But you do Al-Wisal, O Allah's Apostle!" Allah's Apostle I said, "Who among you is similar to me? I sleep and my Lord makes me eat and drink." When the people refused to give up Al-Wisal, the Prophet fasted along with them for one day, and did not break his fast but continued his fast for another day, and when they saw the crescent, the Prophet said, "If the crescent had not appeared, I would have made you continue your fast (for a third day)," as if he wanted to punish them for they had refused to give up Al-Wisal.

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 835:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Those people who used to buy foodstuff at random (without weighing or measuring it) were beaten in the lifetime of Allah's Apostle if they sold it at the very place where they had bought it, till they carried it to their dwelling places.

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 836:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle never took revenge for his own self in any matter presented to him till Allah's limits were exceeded, in which case he would take revenge for Allah's sake.

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 837:
Narrated Sahl bin Sa'd:
I witnessed the case of Lian (the case of a man who charged his wife for committing illegal sexual intercourse when I was fifteen years old. The Prophet ordered that they be divorced, and the husband said, "If I kept her, I would be a liar." I remember that Az-Zubair also said, "(It was said) that if that woman brought forth the child with such-and-such description, her husband would prove truthful, but if she brought it with such-and-such description looking like a Wahra (a red insect), he would prove untruthful." I heard Az-Zubair also saying, "Finally she gave birth to a child of description which her husband disliked .

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 838:
Narrated Al-Qasim bin Mohammed:
Ibn Abbas mentioned the couple who had taken the oath of Lian. Abdullah bin Shaddad said (to him), "Was this woman about whom Allah's Apostle said, 'If I were ever to stone to death any woman without witnesses. (I would have stoned that woman to death)?' Ibn Abbas replied," No, that lady exposed herself (by her suspicious behavior)."

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 839:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Lian was mentioned in the presence of the Prophet, Asim bin Adi said a statement about it, and when he left, a man from his tribe came to him complaining that he had seen a man with his wife. Asim said, "I have been put to trial only because of my statement." So he took the man to the Prophet and the man told him about the incident. The man (husband) was of yellow complexion, thin, and of lank hair, while the man whom he had accused of having been with his wife, was reddish brown with fat thick legs and fat body. The Prophet said, "O Allah! Reveal the truth." Later on the lady delivered a child resembling the man whom the husband had accused of having been with her. So the Prophet made them take the oath of Lian. A man said to Ibn Abbas in the gathering, "Was that the same lady about whom the Prophet said, "If I were to stone any lady (for committing illegal sexual intercourse) to death without witnesses, I would have stoned that lade to death?" Ibn Abbas said, "No, that was another lady who used to behave in such a suspicious way among the Muslims that one might accuse her of committing illegal sexual intercourse."

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 840:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Avoid the seven great destructive sins." They (the people!) asked, "O Allah's Apostle! What are they?" He said, "To join partners in worship with Allah; to practice sorcery; to kill the life which Allah has forbidden except for a just cause (according to Islamic law); to eat up usury (Riba), to eat up the property of an orphan; to give one's back to the enemy and freeing from the battle-field at the time of fighting and to accuse chaste women who never even think of anything touching chastity and are good believers."

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 841:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard Abu-l-Qasim (the Prophet) saying, "If somebody slanders his slave and the slave is free from what he says, he will be flogged on the Day of Resurrection unless the slave is really as he has described him."

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 842:
Narrated Abu Huraira and Zaid bin Khalid Al-Juhani:
A man came to the Prophet and said, "I beseech you to judge us according to Allah's Laws." Then his opponent who was wiser than he, got up and said, "He has spoken the truth. So judge us according to Allah's Laws and please allow me (to speak), O Allah's Apostle." The Prophet said, "Speak." He said, "My son was a laborer for the family of this man and he committed illegal sexual intercourse with his wife, and I gave one-hundred sheep and a slave as a ransom (for my son), but I asked the religious learned people (regarding this case), and they informed me that my son should be flogged one-hundred stripes, and be exiled for one year, and the wife of this man should be stoned (to death)."The Prophet said, "By Him in Whose Hand my soul is, I will Judge you (in this case) according to Allah's Laws. The one-hundred (sheep) and the slave shall be returned to you and your son shall be flogged one-hundred stripes and be exiled for one year. And O Unais! Go in the morning to the wife of this man and ask her, and if she confesses, stone her to death." She confessed and he stoned her to death.

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI, VOLUME 9

SAHIH BUKHARI, BOOK 83:
Blood Money (Ad-Diyat)

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 1:
Narrated Abdullah:
A man said, "O Allah's Apostle! Which sin is the greatest in Allah's Sight?" The Prophet said, "To set up a rival unto Allah though He Alone created you . " The man said, "What is next?" The Prophet said, "To kill your son lest he should share your food with you." The man said, "What is next?" The Prophet said, "To commit illegal sexual intercourse with the wife of your neighbour." So Allah revealed in confirmation of this narration:--
'And those who invoke not with Allah, any other god. Nor kill, such life as Allah has forbidden except for just cause nor commit illegal sexual intercourse. And whoever does this shall receive the punishment.' (25.68)

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 2:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "A faithful believer remains at liberty regarding his religion unless he kills somebody unlawfully."

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 3:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
One of the evil deeds with bad consequence from which there is no escape for the one who is involved in it is to kill someone unlawfully.

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 4:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "The first cases to be decided among the people (on the Day of Resurrection) will be those of blood-shed."

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 5:
Narrated Al-Miqdad bin Amr Al-Kindi:
An ally of Bani Zuhra who took part in the battle of Badr with the Prophet, that he said, "O Allah's Apostle! If I meet an unbeliever and we have a fight, and he strikes my hand with the sword and cuts it off, and then takes refuge from me under a tree, and says, 'I have surrendered to Allah (i.e. embraced Islam),' may I kill him after he has said so?" Allah's Apostle said, "Do not kill him." Al-Miqdad said, "But O Allah's Apostle! He had chopped off one of my hands and he said that after he had cut it off. May I kill him?" The Prophet said. "Do not kill him for if you kill him, he would be in the position in which you had been before you kill him, and you would be in the position in which he was before he said the sentence." The Prophet also said to Al-Miqdad, "If a faithful believer conceals his faith (Islam) from the disbelievers, and then when he declares his Islam, you kill him, (you will be sinful). Remember that you were also concealing your faith (Islam) at Mecca before."

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 6:
Narrated Abdullah:

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The Prophet said, "No human being is killed unjustly, but a part of responsibility for the crime is laid on the first son of Adam who invented the tradition of killing (murdering) on the earth. (It is said that he was Qabil).

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 7:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
The Prophet said, "After me (i.e. after my death), do not become disbelievers, by striking (cutting) the necks of one another.

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 8:
Narrated Abu Zur'a bin Amr bin Jarir:
The Prophet said during Hajjat-al-Wada', "Let the people be quiet and listen to me. After me, do not become disbelievers, by striking (cutting) the necks of one another."

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 9:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
The Prophet said, "Al-Kaba'ir (the biggest sins) are: To join others (as partners) in worship with Allah, to be undutiful to one's parents," or said, "to take a false oath." (The sub-narrator, Shu'ba is not sure) Mu'adh said: Shu'ba said, "Al-kaba'ir (the biggest sins) are: (1) Joining others as partners in worship with Allah, (2) to take a false oath (3) and to be undutiful to one's parents," or said, "to murder (someone unlawfully).

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 10:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "The biggest of Al-Kaba'ir (the great sins) are (1) to join others as partners in worship with Allah, (2) to murder a human being, (3) to be undutiful to one's parents (4) and to make a false statement," or said, "to give a false witness."

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 11:
Narrated Usama bin Zaid bin Haritha:
Allah's Apostle sent us (to fight) against Al-Huraqa (one of the sub-tribes) of Juhaina. We reached those people in the morning and defeated them. A man from the Ansar and I chased one of their men and when we attacked him, he said, "None has the right to be worshipped but Allah." The Ansari refrained from killing him but I stabbed him with my spear till I killed him. When we reached (Medina), this news reached the Prophet. He said to me, "O Usama! You killed him after he had said, 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah?'" I said, "O Allah's Apostle! He said so in order to save himself." The Prophet said, "You killed him after he had said, 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah." The Prophet kept on repeating that statement till I wished I had not been a Muslim before that day.

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 12:
Narrated 'Ubada bin As-Samat:
I was among those Naqibs (selected leaders) who gave the Pledge of allegiance to Allah's Apostle. We gave the oath of allegiance, that we would not join partners in worship besides Allah, would not steal, would not commit illegal sexual intercourse, would not kill a life which Allah has forbidden, would not commit robbery, would not disobey (Allah and His Apostle), and if we fulfilled this pledge we would have Paradise, but if we committed any one of these (sins), then our case will be decided by Allah.

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 13:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "Whoever carries arms against us, is not from us."

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 14:
Narrated Al-Ahnaf bin Qais:
I went to help that man (i.e., Ali), and on the way I met Abu Bakra who asked me, "Where are you going?" I replied, "I am going to help that man." He said, "Go back, for I heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'If two Muslims meet each other with their swords then (both) the killer and the killed one are in the (Hell) Fire.' I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! It is alright for the killer, but what about the killed one?' He said, 'The killed one was eager to kill his opponent."

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 15:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
A Jew crushed the head of a girl between two stones, and the girl was asked, "Who has done that to you, so-and-so or so and so?" (Some names were mentioned for her) till the name of that Jew was mentioned (whereupon she agreed). The Jew was brought to the Prophet and the Prophet kept on questioning him till he confessed, whereupon his head was crushed with stones.

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 16:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
A girl wearing ornaments, went out at Medina. Somebody struck her with a stone. She was brought to the Prophet while she was still alive. Allah's Apostle asked her, "Did such-and-such a person strike you?" She raised her head, denying that. He asked her a second time, saying, "Did so-and-so strike you?" She raised her head, denying that. He said for the third time, "Did so-and-so strike you?" She lowered her head, agreeing. Allah's Apostle then sent for the killer and killed him between two stones.

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 17:
Narrated Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle said, "The blood of a Muslim who confesses that none has the right to be worshipped but Allah and that I am His Apostle, cannot be shed except in three cases: In Qisas for murder, a married person who commits illegal sexual intercourse and the one who reverts from Islam (apostate) and leaves the Muslims."

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 18:
Narrated Anas:
A Jew killed a girl so that he may steal her ornaments. He struck her with a stone, and she was brought to the Prophet while she was still alive. The Prophet asked her, "Did such-and-such person strike you?" She gestured with her head, expressing denial. He asked her for the second time, and she again gestured with her head, expressing denial. When he asked her for the third time, she beckoned, "Yes." So the Prophet killed him (the Jew) with two stones.

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 19:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
In the year of the Conquest of Mecca, the tribe of Khuza'a killed a man from the tribe of Bam Laith in revenge for a killed person belonging to them in the Pre-lslamic Period of Ignorance. So Allah's Apostle got up saying, "Allah held back the (army having) elephants from Mecca, but He let His Apostle and the believers overpower the infidels (of Mecca). Beware! (Mecca is a sanctuary)! Verily! Fighting in Mecca was not permitted for anybody before me, nor will it be permitted for anybody after me; It was permitted for me only for a while (an hour or so) of that day. No doubt! It is at this moment a sanctuary; its thorny shrubs should not be uprooted; its trees should not be cut down; and its Luqata (fallen things) should not be picked up except by the one who would look for its owner. And if somebody is killed, his closest relative has the right to choose one of two things, i.e., either the Blood money or retaliation by having the killer killed." Then a man from Yemen, called Abu Shah, stood up and said, "Write that) for me, O Allah's Apostle!" Allah's Apostle said (to his companions), "Write that for Abu Shah." Then another man from Quraish got up, saying, "O Allah's Apostle! Except Al-Idhkhir (a special kind of grass) as we use it in our houses and for graves." Allah's Apostle said, "Except Al-idhkkir."

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 20:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
For the children of Israel the punishment for crime was Al-Qisas only (i.e., the law of equality in punishment) and the payment of Blood money was not permitted as an alternate. But Allah said to this nation (Muslims): 'O you who believe! Qisas is prescribed for you in case of murder, ...(up to) ...end of the Verse. (2.178)
Ibn Abbas added: Remission (forgiveness) in this Verse, means to accept the Blood-money in an intentional murder. Ibn Abbas added: The Verse: 'Then the relatives should demand Blood-money in a reasonable manner.' (2.178) means that the demand should be reasonable and it is to be compensated with handsome gratitude.

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 21:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "The most hated persons to Allah are three: (1) A person who deviates from the right conduct, i.e., an evil doer, in the Haram (sanctuaries of Mecca and Medina); (2) a person who seeks that the traditions of the Pre-lslamic Period of Ignorance, should remain in Islam (3) and a person who seeks to shed somebody's blood without any right."

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 22:
Narrated Aisha:
The pagans were defeated on the day (of the battle) of Uhud. Satan shouted among the people on the day of Uhud, "O Allah's worshippers! Beware of what is behind you!" So the front file of the army attacked the back files (mistaking them for the enemy) till they killed Al-Yaman. Hudhaifa (bin Al-Yaman) shouted, "My father!" My father! But they killed him. Hudhaifa said, "May Allah forgive you." (The narrator added: Some of the defeated pagans fled till they reached Taif.)

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 23:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
A Jew crushed the head of a girl between two stones. It was said to her. "Who has done this to you, such-and-such person, such-and-such person?" When the name of the Jew was mentioned, she nodded with her head, agreeing. So the Jew was brought and he confessed. The Prophet ordered that his head be crushed with the stones. (Hammam said, "with two stones.")

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 24:
Narrated Anas bin Malik: The Prophet killed a Jew for killing a girl in order to take her orna

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 25:
Narrated Aisha:
We poured medicine into the mouth of the Prophet during his ailment. He said, "Don't pour medicine into my mouth." (We thought he said that) out of the aversion a patient usually has for medicines. When he improved and felt better he said, "There is none of you but will be forced to drink medicine, except Al-Abbas, for he did not witness your deed."

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 26:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
That he heard Allah's Apostle saying, "We (Muslims) are the last (to come) but (will be) the foremost (on the Day of Resurrection)." And added, "If someone is peeping (looking secretly) into your house without your permission, and you throw a stone at him and destroy his eyes, there will be no blame on you."

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 27:
Narrated Yahya:
Humaid said, "A man peeped into the house of the Prophet and the Prophet aimed an arrow head at him to hit him." I asked, "Who told you that?" He said, "Anas bin Malik" (See Hadith No. 258 and 259, Vol. 8)

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 28:
Narrated Aisha:
"When it was the day of (the battle of) Uhud, the pagans were defeated. Then Satan shouted, "O Allah's worshipers! Beware of what is behind you!" So the front files attacked the back files of the army. Hudhaifa looked, and behold, there was his father, Al-Yaman (being attacked) ! He shouted (to his companions), "O Allah's worshipers, my father, my father!" But by Allah, they did not stop till they killed him (i.e., Hudhaifa's father). Hudhaifa said, "May Allah forgive you." (Urwa said, Hudhaifa continued asking Allah's Forgiveness for the killer of his father till he died.

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 29:
Narrated Salama:
We went out with the Prophet to Khaibar. A man (from the companions) said, "O Amir! Let us hear some of your Huda (camel-driving songs.)" So he sang some of them (i.e. a lyric in harmony with the camels walk). The Prophet said, "Who is the driver (of these camels)?" They said, "Amir." The Prophet said, "May Allah bestow His Mercy on him !" The people said, "O Allah's Apostle! Would that you let us enjoy his company longer!" Then Amir was killed the following morning. The people said, "The good deeds of Amir are lost as he has killed himself." I returned at the time while they were talking about that. I went to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Prophet! Let my father be sacrificed for you! The people claim that Amir's good deeds are lost." The Prophet said, "Whoever says so is a liar, for Amir will have a double reward as he exerted himself to obey Allah and fought in Allah's Cause. No other way of killing would have granted him greater reward."

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 30:
Narrated Imran bin Husain:
A man bit another man's hand and the latter pulled his hand out of his mouth by force, causing two of his incisors (teeth) to fall out. They submitted their case to the Prophet, who said, "One of you bit his brother as a male camel bites. (Go away), there is no Diya (Blood-money) for you."

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 31:
Narrated Ya'la:
I went out in one of the Ghazwa and a man bit another man and as a result, an incisor tooth of the former was pulled out. The Prophet cancelled the case.

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 32:
Narrated Anas:
The daughter of An-Nadr slapped a girl and broke her incisor tooth. They (the relatives of that girl), came to the Prophet and he gave the order of Qisas (equality in punishment).

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 33:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "This and this are the same." He meant the little finger and the thumb.

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Volume 9, Book 83, Number 34:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
I heard the Prophet (saying the same as above Hadith 34).

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 35:
Narrated Aisha:
We poured medicine into the mouth of Allah's Apostle during his illness, and he pointed out to us intending to say, "Don't pour medicine into my mouth." We thought that his refusal was out of the aversion a patient usually has for medicine. When he improved and felt a bit better he said (to us.) "Didn't I forbid you to pour medicine into my mouth?" We said, "We thought (you did so) because of the aversion, one usually have for medicine." Allah's Apostle said, "There is none of you but will be forced to drink medicine, and I will watch you, except Al-Abbas, for he did not witness this act of yours."

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 36:
Narrated Sahl bin Abi Hathma:
(a man from the Ansar) that a number of people from his tribe went to Khaibar and dispersed, and then they found one of them murdered. They said to the people with whom the corpse had been found, "You have killed our companion!" Those people said, "Neither have we killed him, nor do we know his killer." The bereaved group went to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! We went to Khaibar and found one of us murdered." The Prophet said, "Let the older among you come forward and speak." Then the Prophet said, to them, "Bring your proof against the killer." They said "We have no proof." The Prophet said, "Then they (the defendants) will take an oath." They said, "We do not accept the oaths of the Jews." Allah's Apostle did not like that the Blood-money of the killed one be lost without compensation, so he paid one-hundred camels out of the camels of Zakat (to the relatives of the deceased) as Diya (Blood-money).

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 37:
Narrated Abu Qilaba:
Once Umar bin Abdul Aziz sat on his throne in the courtyard of his house so that the people might gather before him. Then he admitted them and (when they came in), he said, "What do you think of Al-Qasama?" They said, "We say that it is lawful to depend on Al-Qasama in Qisas, as the previous Muslim Caliphs carried out Qisas depending on it." Then he said to me, "O Abu Qilaba! What do you say about it?" He let me appear before the people and I said, "O Chief of the Believers! You have the chiefs of the army staff and the nobles of the Arabs. If fifty of them testified that a married man had committed illegal sexual intercourse in Damascus but they had not seen him (doing so), would you stone him?" He said, "No." I said, "If fifty of them testified that a man had committed theft in Hums, would you cut off his hand though they did not see him?" He replied, "No." I said, "By Allah, Allah's Apostle never killed anyone except in one of the following three situations: (1) A person who killed somebody unjustly, was killed (in Qisas,) (2) a married person who committed illegal sexual intercourse and (3) a man who fought against Allah and His Apostle and deserted Islam and became an apostate."
Then the people said, "Didn't Anas bin Malik narrate that Allah's Apostle cut off the hands of the thieves, branded their eyes and then, threw them in the sun?" I said, "I shall tell you the narration of Anas. Anas said: "Eight persons from the tribe of Ukl came to Allah's Apostle and gave the Pledge of allegiance for Islam (became Muslim). The climate of the place (Medina) did not suit them, so they became sick and complained about that to Allah's Apostle. He said (to them), "Won't you go out with the shepherd of our camels and drink of the camels' milk and urine (as medicine)?" They said, "Yes." So they went out and drank the camels' milk and urine, and after they became healthy, they killed the shepherd of Allah's Apostle and took away all the camels. This news reached Allah's Apostle , so he sent (men) to follow their traces and they were captured and brought (to the Prophet). He then ordered to cut their hands and feet, and their eyes were branded with heated pieces of iron, and then he threw them in the sun till they died." I said, "What can be worse than what those people did? They deserted Islam, committed murder and theft."
Then 'Anbasa bin Said said, "By Allah, I never heard a narration like this of today." I said, "O 'Anbasa! You deny my narration?" 'Anbasa said, "No, but you have related the narration in the way it should be related. By Allah, these people are in welfare as long as this Sheikh (Abu Qilaba) is among them." I added, "Indeed in this event there has been a tradition set by Allah's Apostle. The narrator added: Some Ansari people came to the Prophet and discussed some matters with him, a man from amongst them went out and was murdered. Those people went out after him, and behold, their companion was swimming in blood. They returned to Allah's Apostle and said to him, "O Allah's Apostle, we have found our companion who had talked with us and gone out before us, swimming in blood (killed)." Allah's Apostle went out and asked them, "Whom do you suspect or whom do you think has killed him?" They said, "We think that the Jews have killed him." The Prophet sent for the Jews and asked them, "Did you kill this (person)?" They replied, "No." He asked the Al-Ansars, "Do you agree that I let fifty Jews take an oath that they have not killed him?" They said, "It matters little for the Jews to kill us all and then take false oaths." He said, "Then would you like to receive the Diya after fifty of you have taken an oath (that the Jews have killed your man)?" They said, "We will not take the oath." Then the Prophet himself paid them the Diya (Blood-money)." The narrator added, "The tribe of Hudhail repudiated one of their men (for his evil conduct) in the Pre-lslamic period of Ignorance.
Then, at a place called Al-Batha' (near Mecca), the man attacked a Yemenite family at night to steal from them, but a. man from the family noticed him and struck him with his sword and killed him. The tribe of Hudhail came and captured the Yemenite and brought him to Umar during the Hajj season and said, "He has killed our companion." The Yemenite said, "But these people had repudiated him (i.e., their companion)." Umar said, "Let fifty persons of Hudhail swear that they had not repudiated him." So forty-nine of them took the oath and then a person belonging to them, came from Sham and they requested him to swear similarly, but he paid one-thousand Dirhams instead of taking the oath. They called another man instead of him and the new man shook hands with the brother of the deceased. Some people said, "We and those fifty men who had taken false oaths (Al-Qasama) set out, and when they reached a place called Nakhlah, it started raining so they entered a cave in the mountain, and the cave collapsed on those fifty men who took the false oath, and all of them died except the two persons who had shaken hands with each other. They escaped death but a stone fell on the leg of the brother of the deceased and broke it, whereupon he survived for one year and then died." I further said, "Abdul Malik bin Marwan sentenced a man to death in Qisas (equality in punishment) for murder, basing his judgement on Al-Qasama, but later on he regretted that judgement and ordered that the names of the fifty persons who had taken the oath (Al-Qasama), be erased from the register, and he exiled them in Sham."

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 38a:
Narrated Anas:
A man peeped into one of the dwelling places of the Prophet. The Prophet got up and aimed a sharp-edged arrow head (or wooden stick) at him to poke him stealthily.

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 38:
Narrated Sahl bin Sa'd As-Sa'idi:
A man peeped through a hole in the door of Allah's Apostle's house, and at that time, Allah's Apostle had a Midri (an iron comb or bar) with which he was rubbing his head. So when Allah's Apostle saw him, he said (to him), "If I had been sure that you were looking at me (through the door), I would have poked your eye with this (sharp iron bar)." Allah's Apostle added, "The asking for permission to enter has been enjoined so that one may not look unlawfully (at what there is in the house without the permission of its people)."

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 39:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Abul Qasim said, "If any person peeps at you without your permission and you poke him with a stick and injure his eye, you will not be blamed."

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 40:
Narrated Ash-Sha'bi:
liever." (See Hadith No. 283,Vol. 4)

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 41:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Two women from the tribe of Hudhail (fought with each other) and one of them threw (a stone at) the other, causing her to have a miscarriage and Allah's Apostle gave his verdict that the killer (of the fetus) should give a male or female slave (as a Diya).

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 42e:
Narrated Hisham's father from Al-Mughira bin Shu'ba:
Umar consulted the companions about the case of a woman's abortion (caused by somebody else). Al-Mughlra said: The Prophet gave the verdict that a male or female slave should be given (as a Diya). Then Mohammed bin Maslama testified that he had witnessed the Prophet giving such a verdict.

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 42:
Narrated Hisham's father:
Umar asked the people, "Who heard the Prophet giving his verdict regarding abortions?" Al-Mughira said, "I heard him judging that a male or female slave should be given (as a Diya)." Umar said, "Present a witness to testify your statement." Mohammed bin Maslama said, "I testify that the Prophet gave such a judgement."

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 43:
Narrated Urwa:
I heard Al-Maghira bin Shu'ba narrating that Umar had consulted them about the case of abortion (similarly as narrated in No. 42).

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 44:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle gave a verdict regarding an aborted fetus of a woman from Bani Lihyan that the killer (of the fetus) should give a male or female slave (as a Diya) but the woman who was required to give the slave, died, so Allah's Apostle gave the verdict that her inheritance be given to her children and her husband and the Diya be paid by her 'Asaba.

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 45:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Two women from Hudhail fought with each other and one of them hit the other with a stone that killed her and what was in her womb. The relatives of the killer and the relatives of the victim submitted their case to the Prophet who judged that the Diya for the fetus was a male or female slave, and the Diya for the killed woman was to be paid by the 'Asaba (near relatives) of the killer.

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 46:
Narrated Abdul-Aziz:
Anas said, "When Allah's Apostle arrived at Medina, Abu Talha took hold of my hand and brought me to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Anas is an intelligent boy, so let him serve you." Anas added, "So I served the Prophet L at home and on journeys; by Allah, he never said to me for anything which I did: Why have you done this like this or, for anything which I did not do: 'Why have you not done this like this?"

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 47:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "There is no Diya for persons killed by animals or for the one who has been killed accidentally by falling into a well or for the one killed in a mine. And one-fifth of Rikaz (treasures buried before the Islamic era) is to be given to the state."

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 48:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "There is no Diya for a person injured or killed by an animal (going about without somebody to control it) and similarly, there is no Diya for the one who falls and dies in a well, and also the one who dies in a mine. As regards the Ar-Rikaz (buried wealth), one-fifth thereof is for the state."

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 49:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
The Prophet said, "Whoever killed a Mu'ahid (a person who is granted the pledge of protection by the Muslims) shall not smell the fragrance of Paradise though its fragrance can be smelt at a distance of forty years (of traveling)."

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 50:
Narrated Abu Juhaifa:
I asked Ali "Do you have anything Divine literature besides what is in the Koran?" Or, as Uyaina once said, "Apart from what the people have?" Ali said, "By Him Who made the grain split (germinate) and created the soul, we have nothing except what is in the Koran and the ability (gift) of understanding Allah's Book which He may endow a man, with and what is written in this sheet of paper." I asked, "What is on this paper?" He replied, "The legal regulations of Diya (Blood-money) and the (ransom for) releasing of the captives, and the judgement that no Muslim should be killed in Qisas (equality in punishment) for killing a Kafir (disbeliever)."

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 51:
Narrated Abu Said:
The Prophet said, "Do not prefer some prophets to others."

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 52:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
A Jew whose face had been slapped (by someone), came to the Prophet and said, "O Mohammed! A man from your Ansari companions slapped me. " The Prophet said, "Call him". They called him and the Prophet asked him, "Why did you slap his face?" He said, "O Allah's Apostle! While I was passing by the Jews, I heard him saying, 'By Him Who chose Moses above all the human beings.' I said (protestingly), 'Even above Mohammed?' So I became furious and slapped him." The Prophet said, "Do not give me preference to other prophets, for the people will become unconscious on the Day of Resurrection and I will be the first to gain conscious, and

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behold, I will Find Moses holding one of the pillars of the Throne (of Allah). Then I will not know whether he has become conscious before me or he has been exempted because of his unconsciousness at the mountain (during his worldly life) which he received."

SAHIH BUKHARI, BOOK 84:
Dealing with Apostates

Volume 9, Book 84, Number 53:
Narrated Abdullah:
When the Verse: 'It is those who believe and confuse not their belief with wrong (i.e., worshipping others besides Allah): (6.82) was revealed, it became very hard on the companions of the Prophet and they said, "Who among us has not confused his belief with wrong (oppression)?" On that, Allah's Apostle said, "This is not meant (by the Verse). Don't you listen to Luqman's statement: 'Verily! Joining others in worship with Allah is a great wrong indeed.' (31.13)

Volume 9, Book 84, Number 54:
Narrated Abu Bakra:
The Prophet. said, "The biggest of the great sins are: To join others in worship with Allah, to be undutiful to one's parents, and to give a false witness." He repeated it thrice, or said, "....a false statement," and kept on repeating that warning till we wished he would stop saying it. (See Hadith No.7, Vol. 8)

Volume 9, Book 84, Number 55:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
A bedouin came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! What are the biggest sins?: The Prophet said, "To join others in worship with Allah." The bedouin said, "What is next?" The Prophet said, "To be undutiful to one's parents." The bedouin said "What is next?" The Prophet said "To take an oath 'Al-Ghamus." The bedouin said, "What is an oath 'Al-Ghamus'?" The Prophet said, "The false oath through which one deprives a Muslim of his property (unjustly)."

Volume 9, Book 84, Number 56:
Narrated Ibn Mas'ud:
A man said, "O Allah's Apostle! Shall we be punished for what we did in the Prelslamic Period of ignorance?" The Prophet said, "Whoever does good in Islam will not be punished for what he did in the Pre-lslamic Period of ignorance and whoever does evil in Islam will be punished for his former and later (bad deeds)."

Volume 9, Book 84, Number 57:
Narrated 'Ikrima:
Some Zanadiqa (atheists) were brought to Ali and he burnt them. The news of this event, reached Ibn Abbas who said, "If I had been in his place, I would not have burnt them, as Allah's Apostle forbade it, saying, 'Do not punish anybody with Allah's punishment (fire).' I would have killed them according to the statement of Allah's Apostle, 'Whoever changed his Islamic religion, then kill him.'"

Volume 9, Book 84, Number 58:
Narrated Abu Burda:
Abu Musa said, "I came to the Prophet along with two men (from the tribe) of Ash'ariyin, one on my right and the other on my left, while Allah's Apostle was brushing his teeth (with a Siwak), and both men asked him for some employment. The Prophet said, 'O Abu Musa (O Abdullah bin Qais!).' I said, 'By Him Who sent you with the Truth, these two men did not tell me what was in their hearts and I did not feel (realize) that they were seeking employment.' As if I were looking now at his Siwak being drawn to a corner under his lips, and he said, 'We never (or, we do not) appoint for our affairs anyone who seeks to be employed. But O Abu Musa! (or Abdullah bin Qais!) Go to Yemen.'" The Prophet then sent Mu'adh bin Jabal after him and when Mu'adh reached him, he spread out a cushion for him and requested him to get down (and sit on the cushion). Behold: There was a fettered man beside Abu Muisa. Mu'adh asked, "Who is this (man)?" Abu Muisa said, "He was a Jew and became a Muslim and then reverted back to Judaism." Then Abu Muisa requested Mu'adh to sit down but Mu'adh said, "I will not sit down till he has been killed. This is the judgement of Allah and His Apostle (for such cases) and repeated it thrice. Then Abu Musa ordered that the man be killed, and he was killed. Abu Musa added, "Then we discussed the night prayers and one of us said, 'I pray and sleep, and I hope that Allah will reward me for my sleep as well as for my prayers.'"

Volume 9, Book 84, Number 59:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
When the Prophet died and Abu Bakr became his successor and some of the Arabs reverted to disbelief, Umar said, "O Abu Bakr! How can you fight these people although Allah's Apostle said, 'I have been ordered to fight the people till they say: 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah, 'and whoever said, 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah', Allah will save his property and his life from me, unless (he does something for which he receives legal punishment) justly, and his account will be with Allah?' "Abu Bakr said, "By Allah! I will fight whoever differentiates between prayers and Zakat as Zakat is the right to be taken from property (according to Allah's Orders). By Allah! If they refused to pay me even a kid they used to pay to Allah's Apostle, I would fight with them for withholding it." Umar said, "By Allah: It was nothing, but I noticed that Allah opened Abu Bakr's chest towards the decision to fight, therefore I realized that his decision was right."

Volume 9, Book 84, Number 60:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
A Jew passed by Allah's Apostle and said, "As-Samu 'Alaika." Allah's Apostle said in reply, "We 'Alaika." Allah's Apostle then said to his companions, "Do you know what he (the Jew) has said? He said, 'As-Samu 'Alaika.'" They said, "O Allah's Apostle! Shall we kill him?" The Prophet, said, "No. When the people of the Book greet you, say: 'Wa 'Alaikum.'"

Volume 9, Book 84, Number 61:
Narrated Aisha:
A group of Jews asked permission to visit the Prophet (and when they were admitted) they said, "As-Samu 'Alaika (Death be upon you)." I said (to them), "But death and the curse of Allah be upon you!" The Prophet said, "O Aisha! Allah is kind and lenient and likes that one should be kind and lenient in all matters." I said, "Haven't you heard what they said?" He said, "I said (to them), 'Wa 'Alaikum (and upon you).

Volume 9, Book 84, Number 62:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "When the Jews greet anyone of you they say: 'Sam'Alaika (death be upon you); so you should say; 'Wa 'Alaika (and upon you).'"

Volume 9, Book 84, Number 63:
Narrated Abdullah:
As if I am looking at the Prophet while he was speaking about one of the prophets whose people have beaten and wounded him, and he was wiping the blood off his face and saying, "O Lord! Forgive my, people as they do not know."

Volume 9, Book 84, Number 64:
Narrated Ali:
Whenever I tell you a narration from Allah's Apostle, by Allah, I would rather fall down from the sky than ascribe a false statement to him, but if I tell you something between me and you (not a Hadith) then it was indeed a trick (i.e., I may say things just to cheat my enemy). No doubt I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "During the last days there will appear some young foolish people who will say the best words but their faith will not go beyond their throats (i.e. they will have no faith) and will go out from (leave) their religion as an arrow goes out of the game. So, where-ever you find them, kill them, for who-ever kills them shall have reward on the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 9, Book 84, Number 65:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr bin Yasar:
That they visited Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri and asked him about Al-Harauriyya, a special unorthodox religious sect, "Did you hear the Prophet saying anything about them?" Abu Sa'id said, "I do not know what Al-Harauriyya is, but I heard the Prophet saying, "There will appear in this nation---- he did not say: From this nation ---- a group of people so pious apparently that you will consider your prayers inferior to their prayers, but they will recite the Koran, the teachings of which will not go beyond their throats and will go out of their religion as an arrow darts through the game, whereupon the archer may look at his arrow, its Nasl at its Risaf and its Fuqa to see whether it is blood-stained or not (i.e. they will have not even a trace of Islam in them)."

Volume 9, Book 84, Number 66:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Regarding Al-Harauriyya: The Prophet said, "They will go out of Islam as an arrow darts out of the game's body.'

Volume 9, Book 84, Number 67:
Narrated Abu Sa'id:
While the Prophet was distributing (something, Abdullah bin Dhil Khawaisira At-Tamimi came and said, "Be just, O Allah's Apostle!" The Prophet said, "Woe to you ! Who would be just if I were not?" Umar bin Al-Khattab said, "Allow me to cut off his neck ! " The Prophet said, " Leave him, for he has companions, and if you compare your prayers with their prayers and your fasting with theirs, you will look down upon your prayers and fasting, in comparison to theirs. Yet they will go out of the religion as an arrow darts through the game's body in which case, if the Qudhadh of the arrow is examined, nothing will be found on it, and when its Nasl is examined, nothing will be found on it; and then its Nadiyi is examined, nothing will be found on it. The arrow has been too fast to be smeared by dung and blood. The sign by which these people will be recognized will be a man whose one hand (or breast) will be like the breast of a woman (or like a moving piece of flesh). These people will appear when there will be differences among the people (Muslims)." Abu Sa'id added: I testify that I heard this from the Prophet and also testify that Ali killed those people while I was with him. The man with the description given by the Prophet was brought to Ali. The following Verses were revealed in connection with that very person (i.e., Abdullah bin Dhil-Khawaisira At-Tarnimi): 'And among them are men who accuse you (O Mohammed) in the matter of (the distribution of) the alms.' (9.58)

Volume 9, Book 84, Number 68:
Narrated Yusair bin Amr:
I asked Sahl bin Hunaif, "Did you hear the Prophet saying anything about Al-Khawarij?" He said, "I heard him saying while pointing his hand towards Iraq. "There will appear in it (i.e, Iraq) some people who will recite the Koran but it will not go beyond their throats, and they will go out from (leave) Islam as an arrow darts through the game's body.' "

Volume 9, Book 84, Number 69:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The Hour will not be established till two (huge) groups fight against each other, their claim being one and the same."

Volume 9, Book 84, Number 70:
Narrated Abdullah:
When the Verse:--'Those who believe and did not confuse their belief with wrong (worshipping others besides Allah).' (6.82) was revealed, it was hard on the companions of the Prophet and they said, "Who among us has not wronged (oppressed) himself?" Allah's Apostle said, "The meaning of the Verse is not as you think, but it is as Luqman said to his son, 'O my son! Join not in worship others with Allah, Verily! Joining others in worship with Allah is a great wrong indeed.'" (31.13)

Volume 9, Book 84, Number 71:
Narrated 'Itban bin Malik:
Once Allah's Apostle came to me in the morning, and a man among us said, "Where is Malik bin Ad-Dukhshun?" Another man from us replied, "He is a hypocrite who does not love Allah and His Apostle." The Prophet said, "Don't you think that he says: None has the right to be worshipped but Allah, only for Allah's sake?" They replied, "Yes" The Prophet said, "Nobody will meet Allah with that saying on the Day of Resurrection, but Allah will save him from the Fire."

Volume 9, Book 84, Number 72:
Narrated:
Abu Abdur-Rahman and Hibban bin 'Atiyya had a dispute. Abu Abdur-Rahman said to Hibban, "You know what made your companions (i.e. Ali) dare to shed blood." Hibban said, "Come on! What is that?" Abdur-Rahman said, "Something I heard him saying." The other said, "What was it?" AbdurRahman said, "Ali said, Allah's Apostle sent for me, Az-Zubair and Abu Marthad, and all of us were cavalry men, and said, 'Proceed to Raudat-Hajj (Abu Salama said that Abu 'Awana called it like this, i.e., Hajj where there is a woman carrying a letter from Hatib bin Abi Balta'a to the pagans (of Mecca). So bring that letter to me.' So we proceeded riding on our horses till we overtook her at the same place of which Allah's Apostle had told us. She was traveling on her camel. In that letter Hatib had written to the Meccans about the proposed attached of Allah's Apostle against them. We asked her, "Where is the letter which is with you?' She replied, 'I haven't got any letter.' So we made her camel kneel down and searched her luggage, but we did not find anything. My two companions said, 'We do not think that she has got a letter.' I said, 'We know that Allah's Apostle has not told a lie.'"

Then Ali took an oath saying, "By Him by Whom one should swear! You shall either bring out the letter or we shall strip off your clothes." She then stretched out her hand for her girdle (round her waist) and brought out the paper (letter). They took the letter to Allah's Apostle. Umar said, "O Allah's Apostle! (Hatib) has betrayed Allah, His Apostle and the believers; let me chop off his neck!" Allah's Apostle said, "O Hatib! What obliged you to do what you have done?" Hatib replied, "O Allah's Apostle! Why (for what reason) should I not believe in Allah and His Apostle? But I intended to do the (Mecca) people a favor by virtue of which my family and property may be protected as there is none of your companions but has some of his people (relatives) whom Allah urges to protect his family and property." The Prophet said, "He has said the truth; therefore, do not say anything to him except good." Umar again said, "O Allah's Apostle! He has betrayed Allah, His Apostle and the believers; let me chop his

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neck off!" The Prophet said, "Isn't he from those who fought the battle of Badr? And what do you know, Allah might have looked at them (Badr warriors) and said (to them), 'Do what you like, for I have granted you Paradise?" " On that, Umar's eyes became flooded with tears and he said, "Allah and His Apostle know best."

SAHIH BUKHARI, BOOK 85:
Saying Something under Compulsion (Ikraah)

Volume 9, Book 85, Number 73:
Narrated Abi Huraira:
The Prophet used to invoke Allah in his prayer, "O Allah! Save 'Aiyash bin Abi Rabi'a and Salama bin Hisham and Al-Walid bin Al-Walid; O Allah! Save the weak among the believers; O Allah! Be hard upon the tribe of Mudar and inflict years (of famine) upon them like the (famine) years of Joseph."

Volume 9, Book 85, Number 74:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever possesses the (following) three qualities will have the sweetness of faith (1): The one to whom Allah and His Apostle becomes dearer than anything else; (2) Who loves a person and he loves him only for Allah's Sake; (3) who hates to revert to atheism (disbelief) as he hates to be thrown into the Fire."

Volume 9, Book 85, Number 75:
Narrated Qais:
I heard Sa'id bin Zaid saying, "I have seen myself tied and forced by Umar to leave Islam (Before Umar himself embraced Islam). And if the mountain of Uhud were to collapse for the evil which you people had done to Uthman, then Uhud would have the right to do so." (See Hadith No. 202, Vol. 5)

Volume 9, Book 85, Number 76:
Narrated Khabbab bin Al-Art:
We complained to Allah's Apostle (about our state) while he was leaning against his sheet cloak in the shade of the Kaaba. We said, "Will you ask Allah to help us? Will you invoke Allah for us?" He said, "Among those who were before you a (believer) used to be seized and, a pit used to be dug for him and then he used to be placed in it. Then a saw used to be brought and put on his head which would be split into two halves. His flesh might be combed with iron combs and removed from his bones, yet, all that did not cause him to revert from his religion. By Allah! This religion (Islam) will be completed (and triumph) till a rider (traveler) goes from San'a' (the capital of Yemen) to Hadramout fearing nobody except Allah and the wolf lest it should trouble his sheep, but you are impatient." (See Hadith No. 191, Vol. 5)

Volume 9, Book 85, Number 77:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
While we were in the mosque, Allah's Apostle came out to us and said, "Let us proceed to the Jews." So we went along with him till we reached Bait-al-Midras (a place where the Torah used to be recited and all the Jews of the town used to gather). The Prophet stood up and addressed them, "O Assembly of Jews! Embrace Islam and you will be safe!" The Jews replied, "O Aba-l-Qasim! You have conveyed Allah's message to us." The Prophet said, "That is what I want (from you)." He repeated his first statement for the second time, and they said, "You have conveyed Allah's message, O Aba-l-Qasim." Then he said it for the third time and added, "You should Know that the earth belongs to Allah and His Apostle, and I want to exile you fro,,, this land, so whoever among you owns some property, can sell it, otherwise you should know that the Earth belongs to Allah and His Apostle." (See Hadith No. 392, Vol. 4)

Volume 9, Book 85, Number 78:
Narrated Khansa' bint Khidam Al-Ansariya:
That her father gave her in marriage when she was a matron and she disliked that marriage. So she came and (complained) to the Prophets and he declared that marriage invalid. (See Hadith No. 69, Vol. 7)

Volume 9, Book 85, Number 79:
Narrated Aisha:
I asked the Prophet, "O Allah's Apostle! Should the women be asked for their consent to their marriage?" He said, "Yes." I said, "A virgin, if asked, feels shy and keeps quiet." He said, "Her silence means her consent."

Volume 9, Book 85, Number 80:
Narrated Jabir:
A man from the Ansar made his slave, a Mudabbar. And apart from that slave he did not have any other property. This news reached Allah's Apostle and he said, "Who will buy that slave from me?" So Nu'aim bin An-Nahham bought him for 800 Dirham. Jabir added: It was a coptic (Egyptian) slave who died that year.

Volume 9, Book 85, Number 81:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
wished, for they had more right to dispose of her than her own relativ

Volume 9, Book 85, Number 82:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "(The Prophet) Abraham migrated with his wife Sarah till he reached a town where there was a king or a tyrant who sent a message, to Abraham, ordering him to send Sarah to him. So when Abraham had sent Sarah, the tyrant got up, intending to do evil with her, but she got up and performed ablution and prayed and said, 'O Allah ! If I have believed in You and in Your Apostle, then do not empower this oppressor over me.' So he (the king) had an epileptic fit and started moving his legs violently. "

Volume 9, Book 85, Number 83:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "A Muslim is a brother of another Muslim. So he should neither oppress him nor hand him over to an oppressor. And whoever fulfilled the needs of his brother, Allah will fulfill his needs."

Volume 9, Book 85, Number 84:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle said, "Help your brother whether he is an oppressor or an oppressed," A man said, "O Allah's Apostle! I will help him if he is oppressed, but if he is an oppressor, how shall I help him?" The Prophet said, "By preventing him from oppressing (others), for that is how to help him."

SAHIH BUKHARI, BOOK 86:
Tricks

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 85:
Narrated Umar bin Al-Khattab:
The Prophet said, 'O people! The reward of deeds depends upon the intentions, and every person will get the reward according to what he has intended. So, whoever emigrated for Allah and His Apostle, then his emigration was for Allah and His Apostle, and whoever emigrated to take worldly benefit or for a woman to marry, then his emigration was for what he emigrated for."

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 86:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Allah does not accept prayer of anyone of you if he does Hadath (passes wind) till he performs the ablution (anew)."

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 87:
Narrated Anas:
That Abu Bakr wrote for him, Zakat regulations which Allah's Apostle had made compulsory, and wrote that one should neither collect various portions (of the property) nor divide the property into various portions in order to avoid paying Zakat.

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 88:
Narrated Talha bin Ubaidullah:
A bedouin with unkempt hair came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Tell me what Allah has enjoined on me as regards prayers." The Prophet said, "You have to offer perfectly the five (compulsory) prayers in a day and a night (24 hrs.), except if you want to perform some extra optional prayers." The bedouin said, "Tell me what Allah has enjoined on me as regards fasting." The Prophet said, "You have to observe fast during the month of Ramadan except if you fast some extra optional fast." The bedouin said, "Tell me what Allah has enjoined on me as regard Zakat." The Prophet then told him the Islamic laws and regulations whereupon the bedouin said, "By Him Who has honored you, I will not perform any optional deeds of worship and I will not leave anything of what Allah has enjoined on me." Allah's Apostle said, "He will be successful if he has told the truth (or he will enter Paradise if he said the truth)." And some people said, "The Zakat for one-hundred and twenty camels is two Hiqqas, and if the Zakat payer slaughters the camels intentionally or gives them as a present or plays some other trick in order to avoid the Zakat, then there is no harm (in it) for him.

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 89:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "On the Day of Resurrection the Kanz (Treasure or wealth of which, Zakat has not been paid) of anyone of you will appear in the shape of a huge bald headed poisonous male snake and its owner will run away from it, but it will follow him and say, 'I am your Kanz.'" The Prophet added, "By Allah, that snake will keep on following him until he stretches out his hand and let the snake swallow it." Allah's Apostle added, "If the owner of camels does not pay their Zakat, then, on the Day of Resurrection those camels will come to him and will strike his face with their hooves." Some people said: Concerning a man who has camels, and is afraid that Zakat will be due so he sells those camels for similar camels or for sheep or cows or money one day before Zakat becomes due in order to avoid payment of their Zakat cunningly! "He has not to pay anything." The same scholar said, "If one pays Zakat of his camels one day or one year prior to the end of the year (by the end of which Zakat becomes due), his Zakat will be valid."

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 90t:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Sa'd bin 'Ubada Al-Ansari sought the verdict of Allah's Apostle regarding a vow made by his mother who had died before fulfilling it. Allah's Apostle said, "Fulfill it on her behalf." Some people said, "If the number of camels reaches twenty, then their owner has to pay four sheep as Zakat; and if their owner gives them as a gift or sells them in order to escape the payment of Zakat cunningly before the completion of a year, then he is not to pay anything, and if he slaughters them and then dies, then no Zakat is to be taken from his property."

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 90:
Narrated Abdullah:
Nafi narrated to me that Abdullah said that Allah's Apostle forbade the Shighar. I asked Nafi, "What is the Shighar?" He said, "It is to marry the daughter of a man and marry one's daughter to that man (at the same time) without Mahr (in both cases); or to marry the sister of a man and marry one's own sister to that man without Mahr." Some people said, "If one, by a trick, marries on the basis of Shighar, the marriage is valid but its condition is illegal." The same scholar said regarding Al-Mut'a, "The marriage is invalid and its condition is illegal." Some others said, "The Mut'a and the Shighar are permissible but the condition is illegal."

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 91:
Narrated Mohammed bin Ali:
Ali was told that Ibn Abbas did not see any harm in the Mut'a marriage. Ali said, "Allah's Apostle forbade the Mut'a marriage on the Day of the battle of Khaibar and he forbade the eating of donkey's meat." Some people said, "If one, by a tricky way, marries temporarily, his marriage is illegal." Others said, "The marriage is valid but its condition is illegal."

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 92:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "One should not prevent others from watering their animals with the surplus of his water in order to prevent them from benefiting by the surplus of grass."

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 93:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle forbade the practice of An-Najsh.

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 94:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
A man mentioned to the Prophet that he had always been cheated in bargains. The Prophet said, "Whenever you do bargain, say, 'No cheating.'"

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 95:
Narrated Urwa:
That he asked Aisha regarding the Verse: 'If you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly with the orphan girls, marry (other) women of your choice.' (4.3) Aisha said, "It is about an orphan girl under the custody of her guardian who being attracted by her wealth and beauty wants to marry her with Mahr less than other women of her status. So such guardians were forbidden to marry them unless they treat them justly by giving them their full Mahr. Then the people sought the verdict of Allah's Apostle for such cases, whereupon Allah revealed: 'They ask your instruction concerning women..' (4.127) (The sub-narrator then mentioned the Hadith.)

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 96:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
The Prophet said, "For every betrayer there will be a flag by which he will be recognized on the Day of Resurrection. "

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 97:
Narrated Um Salama:
The Prophet said, "I am only a human being, and you people have disputes. May be some one amongst you can present his case in a more eloquent and convincing manner than the other, and I give my judgement in his favor according to what I hear. Beware! If ever I give (by error) somebody something of his brother's right then he should not

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take it as I have only, given him a piece of Fire." (See Hadith No. 638. Vol. 3)

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 98:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "A virgin should not be married till she is asked for her consent; and the matron should not be married till she is asked whether she agrees to marry or not." It was asked, "O Allah's Apostle! How will she(the virgin) express her consent?" He said, "By keeping silent." Some people said, "If a virgin is not asked for her consent and she is not married, and then a man, by playing a trick presents two false witnesses that he has married her with her consent and the judge confirms his marriage as a true one, and the husband knows that the witnesses were false ones, then there is no harm for him to consummate his marriage with her and the marriage is regarded as valid."

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 99:
Narrated Al-Qasim:
A woman from the offspring of Jafar was afraid lest her guardian marry her (to somebody) against her will. So she sent for two elderly men from the Ansar, AbdurRahman and Mujammi', the two sons of Jariya, and they said to her, "Don't be afraid, for Khansa' bint Khidam was given by her father in marriage against her will, then the Prophet cancelled that marriage." (See Hadith No. 78)

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 100:
Narrated Abu Haraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "A lady slave should not be given in marriage until she is consulted, and a virgin should not be given in marriage until her permission is granted." The people said, "How will she express her permission?" The Prophet said, "By keeping silent (when asked her consent)." Some people said, "If a man, by playing a trick, presents two false witnesses before the judge to testify that he has married a matron with her consent and the judge confirms his marriage, and the husband is sure that he has never married her (before), then such a marriage will be considered as a legal one and he may live with her as husband."

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 101:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle said, "It is essential to have the consent of a virgin (for the marriage). I said, "A virgin feels shy." The Prophet; said, "Her silence means her consent." Some people said, "If a man falls in love with an orphan slave girl or a virgin and she refuses (him) and then he makes a trick by bringing two false witnesses to testify that he has married her, and then she attains the age of puberty and agrees to marry him and the judge accepts the false witness and the husband knows that the witnesses were false ones, he may consummate his marriage."

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 102:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle used to like sweets and also used to like honey, and whenever he finished the Asr prayer, he used to visit his wives and stay with them. Once he visited Hafsa and remained with her longer than the period he used to stay, so I enquired about it. It was said to me, "A woman from her tribe gave her a leather skin containing honey as a present, and she gave some of it to Allah's Apostle to drink." I said, "By Allah, we will play a trick on him." So I mentioned the story to Sauda (the wife of the Prophet) and said to her, "When he enters upon you, he will come near to you whereupon you should say to him, 'O Allah's Apostle! Have you eaten Maghafir?' He will say, 'No.' Then you say to him, 'What is this bad smell? ' And it would be very hard on Allah's Apostle that a bad smell should be found on his body. He will say, 'Hafsa has given me a drink of honey.' Then you should say to him, 'Its bees must have sucked from the Al-'Urfut (a foul smelling flower).' I too, will tell him the same. And you, O Saifya, say the same."
So when the Prophet entered upon Sauda (the following happened). Sauda said, "By Him except Whom none has the right to be worshipped, I was about to say to him what you had told me to say while he was still at the gate because of fear from you. But when Allah 's Apostle came near to me, I said to him, 'O Allah's Apostle! Have you eaten Maghafir?' He replied, 'No.' I said, 'What about this smell?' He said, 'Hafsa has given me a drink of honey.' I said, 'Its bees must have sucked Al-'Urfut.' " When he entered upon me, I told him the same as that, and when he entered upon Safiya, she too told him the same. So when he visited Hafsa again, she said to him, "O Allah's Apostle! Shall I give you a drink of it (honey)?" He said, "I have no desire for it." Sauda said, Subhan Allah! We have deprived him of it (honey)." I said to her, "Be quiet!"

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 103:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amir bin Rabi'a:
Umar bin Al-Khattab left for Sham, and when he reached a placed called Sargh, he came to know that there was an outbreak of an epidemic (of plague) in Sham. Then AbdurRahman bin 'Auf told him that Allah's Apostle said, "If you hear the news of an outbreak of an epidemic (plague) in a certain place, do not enter that place: and if the epidemic falls in a place while you are present in it, do not leave that place to escape from the epidemic." So Umar returned from Sargh.

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 104:
Narrated Amir bin Sa'd bin Abi Waqqas:
That he heard Usama bin Zaid speaking to Sa'd, saying, "Allah's Apostle mentioned the plague and said, 'It is a means of punishment with which some nations were punished and some of it has remained, and it appears now and then. So whoever hears that there is an outbreak of plague in some land, he should not go to that land, and if the plague breaks out in the land where one is already present, one should not run away from that land, escaping from the plague."

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 105:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "The one who takes back his gift is like a dog swallowing its own vomit, and we (believers) should not act according to this bad example."

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 106:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet has decreed that preemption is valid in all cases where the real estate concerned has not been divided, but if the boundaries are established and the ways are made, then there is no preemption. A man said, "Preemption is only for the neighbour," and then he makes invalid what he has confirmed. He said, "If someone wants to buy a house and being afraid that the neighbour (of the house) may buy it through preemption, he buys one share out of one hundred shares of the house and then buys the rest of the house, then the neighbour can only have the right of preemption for the first share but not for the rest of the house; and the buyer may play such a trick in this case."

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 107:
Narrated Amr bin Ash-Sharid:
Al-Miswar bin Makhrama came and put his hand on my shoulder and I accompanied him to Sa'd. Abu Rafi' said to Al-Miswar, "Won't you order this (i.e. Sa'd) to buy my house which is in my yard?" Sa'd said, "I will not offer more than four hundred in installments over a fixed period." Abu Rafi said, "I was offered five hundred cash but I refused. Had I not heard the Prophet saying, 'A neighbour is more entitled to receive the care of his neighbour,' I would not have sold it to you." The narrator said, to Sufyan: Ma'mar did not say so. Sufyan said, "But he did say so to me." Some people said, "If someone wants to sell a house and deprived somebody of the right of preemption, he has the right to play a trick to render the preemption invalid. And that is by giving the house to the buyer as a present and marking its boundaries and giving it to him. The buyer then gives the seller one-thousand Dirham as compensation in which case the preemptor loses his right of preemption."
Narrated Amr bin Ash-Sharid: Abu Rafi' said that Sa'd offered him four hundred Mithqal of gold for a house. Abu Rafi ' said, "If I had not heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'A neighbour has more right to be taken care of by his neighbour,' then I would not have given it to you." Some people said, "If one has bought a portion of a house and wants to cancel the right of preemption, he may give it as a present to his little son and he will not be obliged to take an oath."

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 108:
Narrated Abu Humaid As-Sa'idi:
Allah's Apostle appointed a man called Ibn Al-Lutabiyya to collect the Zakat from Bani Sulaim's tribe. When he returned, the Prophet called him to account. He said (to the Prophet, 'This is your money, and this has been given to me as a gift." On that, Allah's Apostle said, "Why didn't you stay in your father's and mother's house to see whether you will be given gifts or not if you are telling the truth?" Then the Prophet addressed us, and after praising and glorifying Allah, he said: "Amma Ba'du", I employ a man from among you to manage some affair of what Allah has put under my custody, and then he comes to me and says, 'This is your money and this has been given to me as a gift. Why didn't he stay in his father's and mother's home to see whether he will be given gifts or not? By Allah, not anyone of you takes a thing unlawfully but he will meet Allah on the Day of Resurrection, carrying that thing. I do not want to see any of you carrying a grunting camel or a mooing cow or a bleating sheep on meeting Allah." Then the Prophet raised both his hands till the whiteness of his armpits became visible, and he said, "O Allah! Haven't I have conveyed (Your Message)?" The narrator added: My eyes witnessed and my ears heard (that Hadith).

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 109:
Narrated Abu Rafi':
The Prophet said, "The neighbour has more right to be taken care of by his neighbour (than anyone else)." Some men said, "If one wants to buy a house for 20,000 Dirhams then there is no harm to play a trick to deprive somebody of preemption by buying it (just on paper) with 20,000 Dirhams but paying to the seller only 9,999 Dirhams in cash and then agree with the seller to pay only one Dinar in cash for the rest of the price (i.e. 10,001 Dirhams). If the preemptor offers 20,000 Dirhams for the house, he can buy it otherwise he has no right to buy it (by this trick he got out of preemption). If the house proves to belong to somebody else other than the seller, the buyer should take back from the seller what he has paid, i.e., 9,999 Dirhams and one Dinar, because if the house proves to belong to somebody else, so the whole bargain (deal) is unlawful. If the buyer finds a defect in the house and it does not belong to somebody other than the seller, the buyer may return it and receive 20,000 Dirhams (instead of 9999 Dirham plus one Dinar) which he actually paid.' Abu Abdullah said, "So that man allows (some people) the playing of tricks amongst the Muslims (although) the Prophet said, 'In dealing with Muslims one should not sell them sick (animals) or bad things or stolen things."

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 110:
Narrated Amr bin Ash-Sharid:
Abu Rafi' sold a house to Sa'd bin Malik for four-hundred Mithqal of gold, and said, "If I had not heard the Prophet saying, 'The neighbour has more right to be taken care of by his neighbour (than anyone else),' then I would not have sold it to you."

INTERPRETATION OF DREAMS
Volume 9, Book 87, Number 111 :
Narrated by Aisha
The commencement of the Divine Inspiration to Allah's Apostle was in the form of good righteous (true) dreams in his sleep. He never had a dream but that it came true like bright day light. He used to go in seclusion (the cave of) Hira where he used to worship(Allah Alone) continuously for many (days) nights. He used to take with him the journey food for that (stay) and then come back to (his wife) Khadija to take his food like-wise again for another period to stay, till suddenly the Truth descended upon him while he was in the cave of Hira. The angel came to him in it and asked him to read. The Prophet replied, "I do not know how to read." (The Prophet added), "The angel caught me (forcefully) and pressed me so hard that I could not bear it anymore. He then released me and again asked me to read, and I replied, "I do not know how to read," whereupon he caught me again and pressed me a second time till I could not bear it anymore. He then released me and asked me again to read, but again I replied, "I do not know how to read (or, what shall I read?)." Thereupon he caught me for the third time and pressed me and then released me and said, "Read: In the Name of your Lord, Who has created (all that exists). Has created man from a clot. Read and Your Lord is Most Generous... up to... that which he knew not." (96.15) Then Allah's Apostle returned with the Inspiration, his neck muscles twitching with terror till he entered upon Khadija and said, "Cover me! Cover me!" They covered him till his fear was over and then he said, "O Khadija, what is wrong with me?" Then he told her everything that had happened and said, 'I fear that something may happen to me." Khadija said, 'Never! But have the glad tidings, for by Allah, Allah will never disgrace you as you keep good reactions with your Kith and kin, speak the truth, help the poor and the destitute, serve your guest generously and assist the deserving, calamity-afflicted ones." Khadija then accompanied him to (her cousin) Waraqa bin Naufal bin Asad bin Abdul 'Uzza bin Qusai. Waraqa was the son of her paternal uncle, i.e., her father's brother, who during the Pre-Islamic Period became a Christian and used to write the Arabic writing and used to write of the Gospels in Arabic as much as Allah wished him to write. He was an old man and had lost his eyesight. Khadija said to him, "O my cousin! Listen to the story of your nephew." Waraqa asked, "O my nephew! What have you seen?" The Prophet described whatever he had seen. Waraqa said, "This is the same Namus (i.e., Gabriel, the Angel who keeps the secrets) whom Allah had sent to Moses. I wish I were young and could live up to the time when your people would turn you out." Allah's Apostle asked, "Will they turn me out?" Waraqa replied in the affirmative and said: "Never did a man come with something similar to what you have brought but was treated with hostility. If I should remain alive till the day when you will be turned out then I would support you strongly." But after a few days Waraqa died and the Divine Inspiration was also paused for a while and the Prophet became so sad as we have heard that he intended several times to throw himself from the tops of high mountains and every time he went up the top of a mountain in order to throw himself down, Gabriel would appear before him and say, "O Mohammed! You are indeed Allah's Apostle in truth" whereupon his heart would become quiet and he would calm down and would

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return home. And whenever the period of the coming of the inspiration used to become long, he would do as before, but when he used to reach the top of a mountain, Gabriel would appear before him and say to him what he had said before. (Ibn Abbas said regarding the meaning of: 'He it is that Cleaves the daybreak (from the darkness)' (6.96) that Al-Asbah. means the light of the sun during the day and the light of the moon at night).

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 112 :
Narrated by Anas bin Malik
Allah's Apostle said, "A good dream (that comes true) of a righteous man is one of forty-six parts of prophetism."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 113 :
Narrated by Abu Qatada
The Prophet said, "A true good dream is from Allah, and a bad dream is from Satan."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 114 :
Narrated by Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri
The Prophet said, "If anyone of you sees a dream that he likes, then it is from Allah, and he should thank Allah for it and narrate it to others; but if he sees something else, i.e., a dream that he dislikes, then it is from Satan, and he should seek refuge with Allah from its evil, and he should not mention it to anybody, for it will not harm him."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 115 :
Narrated by Abu Qatada
The Prophet said, "A good dream that comes true is from Allah, and a bad dream is from Satan, so if anyone of you sees a bad dream, he should seek refuge with Allah from Satan and should spit on the left, for the bad dream will not harm him."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 116 :
Narrated by 'Ubada bin As-Samit
The Prophet said, "The (good) dreams of a faithful believer is a part of the forty-six parts of prophetism.'

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 117 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle said, "The (good) dream of a faithful believer is a part of the forty-six parts of prophetism."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 118 :
Narrated by Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "A good dream is a part of the forty six parts of prophetism."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 119 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "Nothing is left of the prophetism except Al-Mubashshirat." They asked, "What are Al-Mubashshirat?" He replied, "The true good dreams (that conveys glad tidings)."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 120 :
Narrated by Ibn Umar
Some people were shown the Night of Qadr as being in the last seven days (of the month of Ramadan). The Prophet said, "Seek it in the last seven days (of Ramadan)."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 121 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle said, "If I stayed in prison as long as Joseph stayed and then the messenger came, I would respond to his call (to go out of the prison)."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 122 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
I heard the Prophet saying, "Whoever sees me in a dream will see me in his wakefulness, and Satan cannot imitate me in shape." Abu Abdullah said, "Ibn Sirin said, 'Only if he sees the Prophet in his (real) shape.'"

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 123 :
Narrated by Anas
The Prophet said, "Whoever has seen me in a dream, then no doubt, he has seen me, for Satan cannot imitate my shape.

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 124 :
Narrated by Abu Qatada
The Prophet said, "A good dream is from Allah, and a bad dream is from Satan. So whoever has seen (in a dream) something he dislike, then he should spit without saliva, thrice on his left and seek refuge with Allah from Satan, for it will not harm him, and Satan cannot appear in my shape."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 125 :
Narrated by Abu Qatada
The Prophet said, "Whoever sees me (in a dream) then he indeed has seen the truth."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 126 :
Narrated by Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri
The Prophet said, "Who ever sees me (in a dream) then he indeed has seen the truth, as Satan cannot appear in my shape."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 127 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
The Prophet said, "I have been given the keys of eloquent speech and given victory with awe (cast into the hearts of the enemy), and while I was sleeping last night, the keys of the treasures of the earth were brought to me till they were put in my hand." Abu Huraira added: Allah's Apostle left (this world) and now you people are carrying those treasures from place to place.

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 128 :
Narrated by Abdullah bin Umar
Allah's Apostle said, "I saw myself (in a dream) near the Kaaba last night, and I saw a man with whitish red complexion, the best you may see amongst men of that complexion having long hair reaching his earlobes which was the best hair of its sort, and he had combed his hair and water was dropping from it, and he was performing the Tawaf around the Kaaba while he was leaning on two men or on the shoulders of two men. I asked, 'Who is this man?' Somebody replied, '(He is) Messiah, son of Mary.' Then I saw another man with very curly hair, blind in the right eye which looked like a protruding out grape. I asked, 'Who is this?' Somebody replied, '(He is) Messiah, Ad-Dajjal.'"

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 129 :
Narrated by Ibn Abbas
About a man who came to Allah's Apostle and said, "I was shown in a dream last night..." Then Ibn Abbas mentioned the narration.

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 130 :
Narrated by Anas bin Malik
Allah's Apostle used to visit Um Haram bint Milhan she was the wife of 'Ubada bin As-Samit. One day the Prophet visited her and she provided him with food and started looking for lice in his head. Then Allah's Apostle slept and afterwards woke up smiling. Um Haram asked, "What makes you smile, O Allah's Apostle?" He said, "Some of my followers were presented before me in my dream as fighters in Allah's Cause, sailing in the middle of the seas like kings on the thrones or like kings sitting on their thrones." (The narrator Ishaq is not sure as to which expression was correct). Um Haram added, 'I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Invoke Allah, to make me one of them;" So Allah's Apostle invoked Allah for her and then laid his head down (and slept). Then he woke up smiling (again). (Um Haram added): I said, "What makes you smile, O Allah's Apostle?" He said, "Some people of my followers were presented before me (in a dream) as fighters in Allah's Cause." He said the same as he had said before. I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Invoke Allah to make me from them." He said, "You are among the first ones." Then Um Haram sailed over the sea during the Caliphate of Muawiya bin Abu Sufyan, and she fell down from her riding animal after coming ashore, and died.

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 131 :
Narrated by Kharija bin Zaid bin Thabit
Um Al-'Ala an Ansari woman who had given a pledge of allegiance to Allah's Apostle told me:, "The Muhajirln (emigrants) were distributed amongst us by drawing lots, and we got Uthman bin Maz'un in our share. We made him stay with us in our house. Then he suffered from a disease which proved fatal. When he died and was given a bath and was shrouded in his clothes. Allah's Apostle came, I said, (addressing the dead body), 'O Aba As-Sa'ib! May Allah be Merciful to you! I testify that Allah has honored you.' Allah's Apostle said, 'How do you know that Allah has honored him?" I replied, 'Let my father be sacrificed for you, O Allah's Apostle! On whom else shall Allah bestow. His honor?' Allah's Apostle said, 'As for him, by Allah, death has come to him. By Allah, I wish him all good (from Allah). By Allah, in spite of the fact that I am Allah's Apostle, I do not know what Allah will do to me.", Um Al-'Ala added, "By Allah, I will never attest the righteousness of anybody after that."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 132 :
Narrated by Az-Zuhri
Regarding the above narration, The Prophet said, "I do not know what Allah will do to him (Uthman bin Maz'un)." Um Al-'Ala said, "I felt very sorry for that, and then I slept and saw in a dream a flowing spring for Uthman bin Maz'un, and told Allah's Apostle of that, and he said, "That flowing spring symbolizes his good deeds."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 133 :
Narrated by Abu Qatada Al-Ansari
(a companion of the Prophet and one of his cavalry men) "I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "A good dream is from Allah, and a bad dream is from Satan; so, if anyone of you had a bad dream which he disliked, then he should spit on his left and seek refuge with Allah from it, for it will not harm him."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 134 :
Narrated by Ibn Umar
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "While I was sleeping, I was given a bowl full of milk (in a dream), and I drank of it to my fill until I noticed its wetness coming out of my nails, and then I gave the rest of it to Umar." They (the people) asked, "What have you interpreted (about the dream)? O Allah's Apostle?" He said, "(It is Religious) knowledge."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 135 :
Narrated by Abdullah bin Umar
Allah's Apostle said, "While I was sleeping, I was given a bowl full of milk (in the dream) and I drank from it (to my fill) till I noticed its wetness coming out of my limbs. Then I gave the rest of it to Umar bin Al-Khattab." The persons sitting around him, asked, "What have you interpreted (about the dream) O Allah's Apostle?" He said, "(It is religious) knowledge."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 136 :
Narrated by Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri
Allah's Apostle said, "While I was sleeping, some people were displayed before me (in a dream). They were wearing shirts, some of which were merely covering their breasts, and some a bit longer. Then there passed before me, Umar bin Al-Khattab wearing a shirt he was dragging it (on the ground behind him.)" They (the people) asked, "What have you interpreted (about the dream) O Allah's Apostle?" He said, "The Religion."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 137 :
Narrated by Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "While I was sleeping, I saw (in a dream) the people being displayed before me, wearing shirts, some of which (were so short that it) reached as far as their breasts and some reached below that. Then Umar bin Al-Khattab was shown to me and he was wearing a shirt which he was dragging (behind him)." They asked. What have you interpreted (about the dream)? O Allah's Apostle?" He said, "The religion."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 138 :
Narrated by Qais bin 'Ubada
I was sitting in a gathering in which there was Sa'd bin Malik and Ibn Umar. Abdullah bin Salam passed in front of them and they said, "This man is from the people of Paradise." I said to Abdullah bin Salam, "They said so-and-so." He replied, "Subhan Allah! They ought not to have said things of which they have no knowledge, but I saw (in a dream) that a post was fixed in a green garden. At the top of the post there was a handhold and below it there was a servant. I was asked to climb (the post). So I climbed it till I got hold of the handhold." Then I narrated this dream to Allah's Apostle. Allah's Apostle said, "Abdullah will die while still holding the firm reliable handhold (i.e., Islam)."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 139 :
Narrated by Aisha
Allah's Apostle said (to me), "You were shown to me twice in (my) dream. Behold, a man was carrying you in a silken piece of cloth and said to me, "She is your wife, so uncover her,' and behold, it was you. I would then say (to myself), 'If this is from Allah, then it must happen.'"

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 140 :
Narrated by Aisha
Allah's Apostle said to me, "You were shown to me twice (in my dream) before I married you. I saw an angel carrying you in a silken piece of cloth, and I said to him, 'Uncover (her),' and behold, it was you. I said (to myself), 'If this is from Allah, then it must happen.' Then you were shown to me, the angel carrying you in a silken piece of cloth, and I said (to him), 'Uncover (her), and behold, it was you. I said (to myself), 'If this is from Allah, then it must happen.'"

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 141 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "I have been sent with Jawami al-Kalim (i.e., the shortest expression carrying the widest meanings), and I was made victorious with awe (caste into the hearts of the enemy), and while I was sleeping, the keys of the treasures of the earth were brought to me and were put in my hand." Mohammed said, Jawami'-al-Kalim means that Allah expresses in one or two statements or thereabouts the numerous matters that used to be written in the books revealed before (the coming of) the Prophet.

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 142 :
Narrated by Abdullah bin Salam

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(In a dream) I saw myself in a garden, and there was a pillar in the middle of the garden, and there was a handhold at the top of the pillar. I was asked to climb it. I said, "I cannot." Then a servant came and lifted up my clothes and I climbed (the pillar), and then got hold of the handhold, and I woke up while still holding it. I narrated that to the Prophet who said, "The garden symbolizes the garden of Islam, and the handhold is the firm Islamic handhold which indicates that you will be adhering firmly to Islam until you die."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 143 :
Narrated by Ibn Umar
I saw in a dream a piece of silken cloth in my hand, and in whatever direction in Paradise I waved it, it flew, carrying me there. I narrated this (dream) to (my sister) Hafsa and she told it to the Prophet who said, (to Hafsa), "Indeed, your brother is a righteous man," or, "Indeed, Abdullah is a righteous man."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 144 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle said, "When the Day of Resurrection approaches, the dreams of a believer will hardly fail to come true, and a dream of a believer is one of forty-six parts of prophetism, and whatever belongs to prothetism can never be false." Mohammed bin Sirin said, "But I say this." He said, "It used to be said, 'There are three types of dreams: The reflection of one's thoughts and experiences one has during wakefulness, what is suggested by Satan to frighten the dreamer, or glad tidings from Allah. So, if someone has a dream which he dislikes, he should not tell it to others, but get up and offer a prayer." He added, "He (Abu Huraira) hated to see a Ghul (i.e., iron collar around his neck in a dream) and people liked to see fetters (on their feet in a dream). The fetters on the feet symbolizes one's constant and firm adherence to religion." And Abu Abdullah said, "Ghuls (iron collars) are used only for necks."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 145 :
Narrated by Kharija bin Zaid bin Thabit
Um Al-'Ala an Ansari woman who had given the Pledge of allegiance to Allah's Apostle said, "Uthman bin Maz'un came in our share when the Ansars drew lots to distribute the emigrants (to dwell) among themselves, He became sick and we looked after (nursed) him till he died. Then we shrouded him in his clothes. Allah's Apostle came to us, I (addressing the dead body) said, "May Allah's Mercy be on you, O Aba As-Sa'ib! I testify that Allah has honored you." The Prophet said, 'How do you know that?' I replied, 'I do not know, by Allah.' He said, 'As for him, death has come to him and I wish him all good from Allah. By Allah, though I am Allah's Apostle, I neither know what will happen to me, nor to you.'" Um Al-'Ala said, "By Allah, I will never attest the righteousness of anybody after that." She added, "Later I saw in a dream, a flowing spring for Uthman. So I went to Allah's Apostle and mentioned that to him. He said, 'That is (the symbol of) his good deeds (the reward for) which is going on for him.'"

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 146 :
Narrated by Ibn Umar
Allah's Apostle said, "(I saw in a dream that) while I was standing at a well and drawing water therefrom, suddenly Abu Bakr and Umar came to me. Abu Bakr took the bucket and drew one or two buckets (full of water), but there was weakness in his pulling, but Allah forgave him. Then Ibn Al-Khattab took the bucket from Abu Bakr's hand and the bucket turned into a very large one in his hand. I have never seen any strong man among the people doing such a hard job as Umar did, till (the people drank to their satisfaction) and water their camels to their fill and they sat near the water."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 147 :
Narrated by Salim's father
about the Prophet's dream in which he has seen Abu Bakr and Umar: The Prophet said, "I saw (in a dream) that the people had gathered. Then Abu Bakr stood up and pulled out one or two buckets full of water (from a well) and there was weakness in his pulling... may Allah forgive him. Then Ibn Al-Khattab stood up, and the bucket turned into a very large one and I have never seen any strong man among the people doing such a hard job. He pulled out so much water that the people (drank to their satisfaction) and watered their camels to their fill, (and then after quenching their thirst) they sat beside the water."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 148 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle said, "While I was sleeping, I saw myself standing at a well over which there was a bucket. I pulled out from it as many buckets of water as Allah wished, and then Ibn Abi Quhafa (Abu Bakr) took the bucket from me and pulled out one or two full buckets, and there was weakness in his pull... may Allah forgive him. Then the bucket turned into a very large one and Umar bin Al-Khattab took it. I have never seen any strong man among the people, drawing water with such strength as Umar did, till the people (drank to their satisfaction and) watered their camels to their fill; whereupon the camels sat beside the water."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 149 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle said, "While I was sleeping, I saw myself standing over a tank (well) giving water to the people to drink. Then Abu Bakr came to me and took the bucket from me in order to relieve me and he pulled out one or two full buckets, and there was weakness in his pulling... may Allah forgive him. Then Ibn Al-Khattab took it from him and went on drawing water till the people left (after being satisfied) while the tank was over flowing with water."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 150 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
We were sitting with Allah's Apostle, he said, "While I was sleeping, I saw myself in Paradise. Suddenly I saw a woman performing ablution beside a palace. I asked, "For whom is this palace?" They (the angels) replied, "It is for Umar bin Al-Khattab." Then I remembered Umar's ghira and went back hurriedly." On hearing that, Umar started weeping and said, " Let my father and mother be sacrificed for you. O Allah's Apostle! How dare I think of my Ghira being offended by you?

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 151 :
Narrated by Jabir bin Abdullah
Allah's Apostle said: (I saw in a dream that) I entered Paradise, and behold, there was a palace built of gold! I asked, 'For whom is this palace?' They (the angels) replied, 'For a man from the Quraish.' " The Prophet added, "O Ibn Al-Khattab! Nothing stopped me from entering it except your Ghira." Umar said, "How dare I think of my Ghira being offended by you, O Allah's Apostle?"

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 152 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
We were sitting with Allah's Apostle he said, "While I was sleeping, I saw myself in Paradise, and behold, a woman was performing ablution by the side of a palace. I asked, 'For whom is this palace?' They replied, 'For Umar' Then I remembered the Ghira of Umar and returned immediately." Umar wept (on hearing that) and said, " Let my father and mother be sacrificed for you, O Allah's Apostle! How dare I think of my Ghira being offended by you.'

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 153 :
Narrated by Abdullah bin Umar
Allah's Apostle said, "While I was sleeping, I saw myself performing the Tawaf of the Kaaba. Behold, there I saw a whitish-red lank-haired man (holding himself) between two men with water dropping from his hair. I asked, 'Who is this?' The people replied, 'He is the son of Mary.' Then I turned my face to see another man with red complexion, big body, curly hair, and blind in the right eye which looked like a protruding out grape. I asked, 'Who is he?' They replied, 'He is Ad-Dajjal.' Ibn Qatan resembles him more than anybody else among the people and Ibn Qatan was a man from Bani Al-Mustaliq from Khuza'a."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 154 :
Narrated by Abdullah bin Umar
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "While I was sleeping, I saw a bowl full of milk was brought to me and I drank of it (to my fill) till I noticed its wetness flowing (in my body). Then I gave the remaining of it to Umar." They asked, "O Allah's Apostle! What have you interpreted (about the dream)? He said, "(It is Religious) knowledge." (See Hadith No. 134)

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 155 :
Narrated by Ibn Umar
Men from the companions of Allah's Apostle used to see dreams during the lifetime of Allah's Apostle and they used to narrate those dreams to Allah's Apostle. Allah's Apostle would interpret them as Allah wished. I was a young man and used to stay in the mosque before my wedlock. I said to myself, "If there were any good in myself, I too would see what these people see." So when I went to bed one night, I said, "O Allah! If you see any good in me, show me a good dream." So while I was in that state, there came to me (in a dream) two angels. In the hand of each of them, there was a mace of iron, and both of them were taking me to Hell, and I was between them, invoking Allah, "O Allah! I seek refuge with You from Hell." Then I saw myself being confronted by another angel holding a mace of iron in his hand. He said to me, "Do not be afraid, you will be an excellent man if you only pray more often." So they took me till they stopped me at the edge of Hell, and behold, it was built inside like a well and it had side posts like those of a well, and beside each post there was an angel carrying an iron mace. I saw therein many people hanging upside down with iron chains, and I recognized therein some men from the Quraish. Then (the angels) took me to the right side. I narrated this dream to (my sister) Hafsa and she told it to Allah's Apostle. Allah's Apostle said, "No doubt, Abdullah is a good man." (Nafi said, "Since then Abdullah bin Umar used to pray much.)

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 156 :
Narrated by Ibn Umar
I was a young unmarried man during the lifetime of the Prophet. I used to sleep in the mosque. Anyone who had a dream, would narrate it to the Prophet. I said, "O Allah! If there is any good for me with You, then show me a dream so that Allah's Apostle may interpret it for me." So I slept and saw (in a dream) two angels came to me and took me along with them, and they met another angel who said to me, "Don't be afraid, you are a good man." They took me towards the Fire, and behold, it was built inside like a well, and therein I saw people some of whom I recognized, and then the angels took me to the right side. In the morning, I mentioned that dream to Hafsa. Hafsa told me that she had mentioned it to the Prophet and he said, "Abdullah is a righteous man if he only prays more at night." (Az-Zuhri said, "After that, Abdullah used to pray more at night.")

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 157 :
Narrated by Abdullah bin Umar
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "While I was sleeping, I saw that a cup full of milk was brought to me and I drank of it and gave the remaining of it to Umar bin Al-Khattab." They asked. What have you interpreted (about the dream)? O Allah's Apostle?" The Prophet said. "(It is Religious) knowledge."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 158 :
Narrated by Abdullah bin Abbas
Allah's Apostle said, "While I was sleeping, two golden bangles were put in my two hands, so I got scared (frightened) and disliked it, but I was given permission to blow them off, and they flew away. I interpret it as a symbol of two liars who will appear." Ubaidullah said, "One of them was Al-'Ansi who was killed by Fairuz at Yemen and the other was Musailama (at Najd).

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 159 :
Narrated by Abu Musa
The Prophet said, "I saw in a dream that I was migrating from Mecca to a land where there were date palm trees. I thought that it might be the land of Al-Yamama or Hajar, but behold, it turned out to be Yathrib (i.e. Medina). And I saw cows (being slaughtered) there, but the reward given by Allah is better (than worldly benefits). Behold, those cows proved to symbolize the believers (who were killed) on the Day (of the battle) of Uhud, and the good (which I saw in the dream) was the good and the reward and the truth which Allah bestowed upon us after the Badr battle. (or the Battle of Uhud) and that was the victory bestowed by Allah in the Battle of Khaibar and the conquest of Mecca).

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 160 :
Narrated by Abu Huraira
Allah's Apostle said, "We (Muslims) are the last (to come) but (will be) the foremost (on the Day of Resurrection)." Allah's Apostle further said, "While sleeping, I was given the treasures of the world and two golden bangles were put in my hands, but I felt much annoyed, and those two bangles distressed me very much, but I was inspired that I should blow them off, so I blew them and they flew away. Then I interpreted that those two bangles were the liars between whom I was (i.e., the one of San'a' and the one of Yamama)."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 161 :
Narrated by Abdullah
The Prophet said, "I saw (in a dream) a black woman with unkempt hair going out of Medina and settling at Mahai'a, i.e., Al-Juhfa. I interpreted that as a symbol of epidemic of Medina being transferred to that place (Al-Juhfa)."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 162 :
Narrated by Abdullah bin Umar
Concerning the dream of the Prophet in Medina: The Prophet said, "I saw (in a dream) a black woman with unkempt hair going out of Medina and settling at Mahai'a. I interpreted that as (a symbol of) the epidemic of Medina being transferred to Mahai'a, namely, Al-Juhfa."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 163 :
Narrated by Salim's father
The Prophet said, "I saw (in a dream) a black woman with unkempt hair going out of Medina and settling in Mahai'a. I interpreted that as (a symbol of) epidemic of Medina being transferred to Mahai'a, namely, Al-Juhfa."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 164 :
Narrated by Abu Musa

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The Prophet said, "I saw in a dream that I waved a sword and it broke in the middle, and behold, that symbolized the casualties the believers suffered on the Day (of the battle) of Uhud. Then I waved the sword again, and it became better than it had ever been before, and behold, that symbolized the Conquest (of Mecca) which Allah brought about and the gathering of the believers."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 165 :
Narrated by Ibn Abbas
The Prophet said, "Whoever claims to have seen a dream which he did not see, will be ordered to make a knot between two barley grains which he will not be able to do; and if somebody listens to the talk of some people who do not like him (to listen) or they run away from him, then molten lead will be poured into his ears on the Day of Resurrection; and whoever makes a picture, will be punished on the Day of Resurrection and will be ordered to put a soul in that picture, which he will not be able to do."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 166 :
Narrated by Ibn Abbas
As above, 165.

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 167 :
Narrated by Ibn Umar
Allah's Apostle said, "The worst lie is that a person claims to have seen a dream which he has not seen."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 168 :
Narrated by Abu Salama
I used to see a dream which would make me sick till I heard Abu Qatada saying, "I too, used to see a dream which would make me sick till I heard the Prophet saying, "A good dream is from Allah, so if anyone of you saw a dream which he liked, he should not tell it to anybody except to the one whom he loves, and if he saw a dream which he disliked, then he should seek refuge with Allah from its evil and from the evil of Satan, and spit three times (on his left) and should not tell it to anybody, for it will not harm him."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 169 :
Narrated by Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "If anyone of you saw a dream which he liked, then that was from Allah, and he should thank Allah for it and tell it to others; but if he saw something else, i.e, a dream which he did not like, then that is from Satan and he should seek refuge with Allah from it and should not tell it to anybody for it will not harm him."

SAHIH BUKHARI, BOOK 88:
Afflictions and the End of the World

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 172:
Narrated Asma':
The Prophet said, "I will be at my Lake-Fount (Kauthar) waiting for whoever will come to me. Then some people will be taken away from me whereupon I will say, 'My followers!' It will be said, 'You do not know they turned Apostates as renegades (deserted their religion).'" (Ibn Abi Mulaika said, "Allah, we seek refuge with You from turning on our heels from the (Islamic) religion and from being put to trial").

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 173:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "I am your predecessor at the Lake-Fount (Kauthar) and some men amongst you will be brought to me, and when I will try to hand them some water, they will be pulled away from me by force whereupon I will say, 'O Lord, my companions!' Then the Almighty will say, 'You do not know what they did after you left, they introduced new things into the religion after you.'"

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 174:
Narrated Sahl bin Sa'd:
I heard the Prophet saying, "I am your predecessor at the Lake-Fount (Kauthar), and whoever will come to it, will drink from it, and whoever will drink from it, will never become thirsty after that. There will come to me some people whom I know and they know me, and then a barrier will be set up between me and them." Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri added that the Prophet further said: "I will say those people are from me. It will be said, 'You do not know what changes and new things they did after you.' Then I will say, 'Far removed (from mercy), far removed (from mercy), those who changed (the religion) after me! "

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 175:
Narrated Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle said to us, "You will see after me, selfishness (on the part of other people) and other matters that you will disapprove of." They asked, "What do you order us to do, O Allah's Apostle? (under such circumstances)?" He said, "Pay their rights to them (to the rulers) and ask your right from Allah."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 176:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "Whoever disapproves of something done by his ruler then he should be patient, for whoever disobeys the ruler even a little (little = a span) will die as those who died in the Pre-lslamic Period of Ignorance. (i.e. as rebellious Sinners).

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 177:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "Whoever notices something which he dislikes done by his ruler, then he should be patient, for whoever becomes separate from the company of the Muslims even for a span and then dies, he will die as those who died in the Pre-lslamic period of Ignorance (as rebellious sinners). (Fateh-Al-Bari page 112, Vol. 16)

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 178:
Narrated Junada bin Abi Umaiya:
We entered upon 'Ubada bin As-Samit while he was sick. We said, "May Allah make you healthy. Will you tell us a Hadith you heard from the Prophet and by which Allah may make you benefit?" He said, "The Prophet called us and we gave him the Pledge of allegiance for Islam, and among the conditions on which he took the Pledge from us, was that we were to listen and obey (the orders) both at the time when we were active and at the time when we were tired, and at our difficult time and at our ease and to be obedient to the ruler and give him his right even if he did not give us our right, and not to fight against him unless we noticed him having open Kufr (disbelief) for which we would have a proof with us from Allah."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 179:
Narrated Usaid bin Hudair:
A man came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! You appointed such-and-such person and you did not appoint me?" The Prophet said, "After me you will see rulers not giving you your right (but you should give them their right) and be patient till you meet me."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 180:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard the truthful and trusted by Allah (i.e., the Prophet) saying, "The destruction of my followers will be through the hands of young men from Quraish."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 181:
Narrated Zainab bint Jahsh:
The Prophet got up from his sleep with a flushed red face and said, "None has the right to be worshipped but Allah. Woe to the Arabs, from the Great evil that is nearly approaching them. Today a gap has been made in the wall of Gog and Magog like this." (Sufyan illustrated by this forming the number 90 or 100 with his fingers.) It was asked, "Shall we be destroyed though there are righteous people among us?" The Prophet said, "Yes, if evil increased."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 182:
Narrated Usama bin Zaid:
Once the Prophet stood over one of the high buildings of Medina and then said (to the people), "Do you see what I see?" They said, "No." He said, "I see afflictions falling among your houses as rain drops fall."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 183:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Time will pass rapidly, good deeds will decrease, miserliness will be thrown (in the hearts of the people) afflictions will appear and there will be much 'Al-Harj." They said, "O Allah's Apostle! What is "Al-Harj?" He said, "Killing! Killing!" (See Hadith No. 63, Vol. 8)

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 184:
Narrated Abdullah and Abu Musa:
The Prophet said, "Near the establishment of the Hour there will be days during which Religious ignorance will spread, knowledge will be taken away (vanish) and there will be much Al-Harj, and Al-Harj means killing."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 185:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet said, "Near the establishment of the Hour there will be days during which (religious) knowledge will be taken away (vanish) and general ignorance will spread, and there will be Al-Harj in abundance, and Al-Harj means killing."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 186:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet said...(as above, 185). And Harj, in the Ethiopian language, means killing.

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 187:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "Near the establishment of the Hour, there will be the days of Al-Harj, and the religious knowledge will be taken away (vanish i.e. by the death of Religious scholars) and general ignorance will spread." Abu Musa said, "Al-Harj, in the Ethiopian language, means killing," Ibn Mas'ud added: I heard Allah's Apostle saying; (It will be) from among the most wicked people who will be living at the time when the Hour will be established."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 188:
Narrated Az-Zubair bin 'Adi:
We went to Anas bin Malik and complained about the wrong we were suffering at the hand of Al-Hajjaj. Anas bin Malik said, "Be patient till you meet your Lord, for no time will come upon you but the time following it will be worse than it. I heard that from the Prophet."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 189:
Narrated Um Salama:
(the wife of the Prophet) Allah's Apostle woke up one night in a state of terror and said, "Subhan Allah, How many treasures Allah has sent down! And how many afflictions have been sent down! Who will go and wake the lady dwellers (wives of the Prophet) up of these rooms (for prayers)?" He meant his wives, so that they might pray. He added, "A well-dressed (soul) in this world may be naked in the Hereafter."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 190:
Narrated:
The statement of the Prophet: Whoever takes up arms against us, is not from us."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 191:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever takes up arms against us, is not from us."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 192:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet said, "Whoever takes up arms against us, is not from us."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 193:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "None of you should point out towards his Muslim brother with a weapon, for he does not know, Satan may tempt him to hit him and thus he would fall into a pit of fire (Hell)"

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 194:
Narrated Sufyan:
I said to Amr, "O Abu Mohammed! Did you hear Jabir bin Abdullah saying, 'A man carrying arrows passed through the mosque and Allah's Apostle said to him, 'Hold the arrows by their heads! "Amr replied, "Yes."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 195:
Narrated Jabir:
A man passed through the mosque and he was carrying arrows, the heads of which were exposed (protruding). The man was ordered (by the Prophet) to hold the iron heads so that it might not scratch (injure) any Muslim.

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 196:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet said, "If anyone of you passed through our mosque or through our market while carrying arrows, he should hold the iron heads," or said, "..... he should hold (their heads) firmly with his hand lest he should injure one of the Muslims with it."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 197:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet, said, "Abusing a Muslim is Fusuq (evil doing) and killing him is Kufr (disbelief)."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 198:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
I heard the Prophet saying, "Do not revert to disbelief after me by striking (cutting) the necks of one another."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 199:
Narrated Abu Bakra:
Allah's Apostle addressed the people saying, "Don't you know what is the day today?" They replied, "Allah and His Apostle know better." We thought that he might give that day another name. The Prophet said, "Is it not the day of An-Nahr?" We replied, "Yes. O Allah's Apostle." He then said, "What town is this? Is it not the forbidden (Sacred) Town

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(Mecca)?" We replied, "Yes, O Allah's Apostle." He then said, "Your blood, your properties, your honors and your skins (i.e., bodies) are as sacred to one another like the sanctity of this day of yours in this month of yours in this town of yours. (Listen) Haven't I conveyed Allah's message to you?" We replied, "Yes" He said, "O Allah! Be witness (for it). So it is incumbent upon those who are present to convey it (this message of mine) to those who are absent because the informed one might comprehend what I have said better than the present audience who will convey it to him.)" The narrator added: In fact, it was like that. The Prophet added, "Beware! Do not renegade as disbelievers after me by striking (cutting) the necks of one another."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 200:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "Beware! Do not renegade as (disbelievers) after me by striking (cutting) the necks of one another."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 201:
Narrated Jarir:
The Prophet said to me during Hajjat-al-Wada', "Let the people keep quiet and listen." Then he said (addressing the people), "Beware! Do not renegade as disbelievers after me by striking (cutting) the necks of one another."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 202:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "There will be afflictions (in the near future) during which a sitting person will be better than a standing one, and the standing one will be better than the walking one, and the walking one will be better than the running one, and whoever will expose himself to these afflictions, they will destroy him. So whoever can find a place of protection or refuge from them, should take shelter in it."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 203:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "There will be afflictions (in the near future) during which a sitting person will be better than a standing one, and the standing one will be better than a walking one, and the walking one will be better than a running one, and whoever will expose himself to these afflictions, they will destroy him. So whoever can find a place of protection or refuge from them, should take shelter in it."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 204:
Narrated Al-Hasan:
(Al-Ahnaf said:) I went out carrying my arms during the nights of the affliction (i.e. the war between Ali and Aisha) and Abu Bakra met me and asked, "Where are you going?" I replied, "I intend to help the cousin of Allah's Apostle (i.e.,Ali)." Abu Bakra said, "Allah's Apostle said, 'If two Muslims take out their swords to fight each other, then both of them will be from amongst the people of the Hell-Fire.' It was said to the Prophet, 'It is alright for the killer but what about the killed one?' He replied, 'The killed one had the intention to kill his opponent.'" (See Hadith No. 30, Vol. 1)

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 205:
Narrated Al-Ahnaf:
Abu Bakra said: The Prophet said (as above, 204).

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 206:
Narrated Hudhaifa bin Al-Yaman:
The people used to ask Allah's Apostle about the good but I used to ask him about the evil lest I should be overtaken by them. So I said, "O Allah's Apostle! We were living in ignorance and in an (extremely) worst atmosphere, then Allah brought to us this good (i.e., Islam); will there be any evil after this good?" He said, "Yes." I said, 'Will there be any good after that evil?" He replied, "Yes, but it will be tainted (not pure.)" I asked, "What will be its taint?" He replied, "(There will be) some people who will guide others not according to my tradition? You will approve of some of their deeds and disapprove of some others." I asked, "Will there be any evil after that good?" He replied, "Yes, (there will be) some people calling at the gates of the (Hell) Fire, and whoever will respond to their call, will be thrown by them into the (Hell) Fire." I said, "O Allah s Apostle! Will you describe them to us?" He said, "They will be from our own people and will speak our language." I said, "What do you order me to do if such a state should take place in my life?" He said, "Stick to the group of Muslims and their Imam (ruler)." I said, "If there is neither a group of Muslims nor an Imam (ruler)?" He said, "Then turn away from all those sects even if you were to bite (eat) the roots of a tree till death overtakes you while you are in that state."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 207:
Narrated Abu Al-Aswad:
An army unit was being recruited from the people of Medina and my name was written among them. Then I met 'Ikrima, and when I informed him about it, he discouraged me very strongly and said, "Ibn Abbas told me that there were some Muslims who were with the pagans to increase their number against Allah's Apostle (and the Muslim army) so arrows (from the Muslim army) would hit one of them and kill him or a Muslim would strike him (with his sword) and kill him. So Allah revealed:--

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

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 208:
Narrated Hudhaifa:
Allah's Apostle related to us, two prophetic narrations one of which I have seen fulfilled and I am waiting for the fulfillment of the other. The Prophet told us that the virtue of honesty descended in the roots of men's hearts (from Allah) and then they learned it from the Koran and then they learned it from the Sunna (the Prophet's traditions). The Prophet further told us how that honesty will be taken away: He said: "Man will go to sleep during which honesty will be taken away from his heart and only its trace will remain in his heart like the trace of a dark spot; then man will go to sleep, during which honesty will decrease further still, so that its trace will resemble the trace of blister as when an ember is dropped on one's foot which would make it swell, and one would see it swollen but there would be nothing inside. People would be carrying out their trade but hardly will there be a trustworthy person. It will be said, 'in such-and-such tribe there is an honest man,' and later it will be said about some man, 'What a wise, polite and strong man he is!' Though he will not have faith equal even to a mustard seed in his heart." No doubt, there came upon me a time when I did not mind dealing (bargaining) with anyone of you, for if he was a Muslim his Islam would compel him to pay me what is due to me, and if he was a Christian, the Muslim official would compel him to pay me what is due to me, but today I do not deal except with such-and-such person.

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 209:
Narrated Salama bin Al-Akwa:
That he visited Al-Hajjaj (bin Yusuf). Al-Hajjaj said, "O son of Al-Akwa! You have turned on your heels (i.e., deserted Islam) by staying (in the desert) with the bedouins." Salama replied, "No, but Allah's Apostle allowed me to stay with the bedouin in the desert." Narrated Yazid bin Abi Ubaid: When Uthman bin Affan was killed (martyred), Salama bin Al-Akwa' went out to a place called Ar-Rabadha and married there and begot children, and he stayed there till a few nights before his death when he came to Medina.

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 210:
Narrated Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri:
Allah's Apostle said, "There will come a time when the best property of a Muslim will be sheep which he will take to the tops of mountains and the places of rainfall so as to flee with his religion from the afflictions.

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 211:
Narrated Anas:
The people started asking the Prophet too many questions importunately. So one day he ascended the pulpit and said, "You will not ask me any question but I will explain it to you." I looked right and left, and behold, every man was covering his head with his garment and weeping. Then got up a man who, whenever quarreling with somebody, used to be accused of not being the son of his father. He said, "O Allah's Apostle! Who is my father?" The Prophet replied, "Your father is Hudhaifa." Then Umar got up and said, "We accept Allah as our Lord, Islam as our religion and Mohammed as our Apostle and we seek refuge with Allah from the evil of afflictions." The Prophet said, " I have never seen the good and bad like on this day. No doubt, Paradise and Hell was displayed in front of me till I saw them in front of that wall," Qatada said: This Hadith used to be mentioned as an explanation of this Verse:-- 'O you who believe! Ask not questions about things which, if made plain to you, may cause you trouble.' (5.101)

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 212:
Narrated Salim's father:
The Prophet stood up beside the pulpit (and pointed with his finger towards the East) and said, "Afflictions are there! Afflictions are there, from where the side of the head of Satan comes out," or said, "..the side of the sun.."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 213:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
I heard Allah's Apostle while he was facing the East, saying, "Verily! Afflictions are there, from where the side of the head of Satan comes out."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 214:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "O Allah! Bestow Your blessings on our Sham! O Allah! Bestow Your blessings on our Yemen." The People said, "And also on our Najd." He said, "O Allah! Bestow Your blessings on our Sham (north)! O Allah! Bestow Your blessings on our Yemen." The people said, "O Allah's Apostle! And also on our Najd." I think the third time the Prophet said, "There (in Najd) is the place of earthquakes and afflictions and from there comes out the side of the head of Satan."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 215:
Narrated Sa'id bin Jubair:
Abdullah bin Umar came to us and we hoped that he would narrate to us a good Hadith. But before we asked him, a man got up and said to him, "O Abu Abdur-Rahman! Narrate to us about the battles during the time of the afflictions, as Allah says:--

'And fight them until there is no more afflictions (i.e. no more worshipping of others besides Allah).'" (2.193) Ibn Umar said (to the man), "Do you know what is meant by afflictions? Let your mother bereave you! Mohammed used to fight against the pagans, for a Muslim was put to trial in his religion (The pagans will either kill him or chain him as a captive). His fighting was not like your fighting which is carried on for the sake of ruling."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 216:
Narrated Shaqiq:
I heard Hudhaifa saying, "While we were sitting with Umar, he said, 'Who among you remembers the statement of the Prophet about the afflictions?' Hudhaifa said, "The affliction of a man in his family, his property, his children and his neighbours are expiated by his prayers, Zakat (and alms) and enjoining good and forbidding evil." Umar said, "I do not ask you about these afflictions, but about those afflictions which will move like the waves of the sea." Hudhaifa said, "Don't worry about it, O chief of the believers, for there is a closed door between you and them." Umar said, "Will that door be broken or opened?" I said, "No. it will be broken." Umar said, "Then it will never be closed," I said, "Yes." We asked Hudhaifa, "Did Umar know what that door meant?" He replied, "Yes, as I know that there will be night before tomorrow morning, that is because I narrated to him a true narration free from errors." We dared not ask Hudhaifa as to whom the door represented so we ordered Masruq to ask him what does the door stand for? He replied, "Umar."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 217:
Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari:
The Prophet went out to one of the gardens of Medina for some business and I went out to follow him. When he entered the garden, I sat at its gate and said to myself, "To day I will be the gatekeeper of the Prophet though he has not ordered me." The Prophet went and finished his need and went to sit on the constructed edge of the well and uncovered his legs and hung them in the well. In the meantime Abu Bakr came and asked permission to enter. I said (to him), "Wait till I get you permission." Abu Bakr waited outside and I went to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Prophet! Abu Bakr asks your permission to enter." He said, "Admit him, and give him the glad tidings of entering Paradise." So Abu Bakr entered and sat on the right side of the Prophet and uncovered his legs and hung them in the well. Then Umar came and I said (to him), "Wait till I get you permission." The Prophet said, "Admit him and give him the glad tidings of entering Paradise." So Umar entered and sat on the left side of the Prophet and uncovered his legs and hung them in the well so that one side of the well became fully occupied and there remained no place for any-one to sit. Then Uthman came and I said (to him), "Wait till I get permission for you." The Prophet said, "Admit him and give him the glad tidings of entering Paradise with a calamity which will befall him." When he entered, he could not find any place to sit with them so he went to the other edge of the well opposite them and uncovered his legs and hung them in the well. I wished that a brother of mine would come, so I invoked Allah for his coming. (Ibn Al-Musaiyab said, "I interpreted that (narration) as indicating their graves. The first three are together and the grave of Uthman is separate from theirs.")

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 218:
Narrated Abu Wail:
Someone said to Usama, "Will you not talk to this (Uthman)?" Usama said, "I talked to him (secretly) without being the first man to open an evil door. I will never tell a ruler who rules over two men or more that he is good after I heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'A man will be brought and put in Hell (Fire) and he will circumambulate (go around and round) in Hell (Fire) like a donkey of a (flour) grinding mill, and all the people of Hell (Fire) will gather around him and will say to him, O so-and-so! Didn't you use to order others for good and forbid them from evil?' That man will say, 'I used to order others to do good but I myself never used to do

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it, and I used to forbid others from evil while I myself used to do evil.' "

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 219:
Narrated Abu Bakra:
During the battle of Al-Jamal, Allah benefited me with a Word (I heard from the Prophet). When the Prophet heard the news that the people of the Persia had made the daughter of Khosrau their Queen (ruler), he said, "Never will succeed such a nation as makes a woman their ruler."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 220:
Narrated Abu Maryam Abdullah bin Ziyad Al-Aasadi:
When Talha, AzZubair and Aisha moved to Basra, Ali sent Ammar bin Yasir and Hasan bin Ali who came to us at Kufa and ascended the pulpit. Al-Hasan bin Ali was at the top of the pulpit and Ammar was below Al-Hasan. We all gathered before him. I heard Ammar saying, "Aisha has moved to Al-Busra. By Allah! She is the wife of your Prophet in this world and in the Hereafter. But Allah has put you to test whether you obey Him (Allah) or her (Aisha)."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 221:
Narrated Abu Wail:
Ammar stood on the pulpit at Kufa and mentioned Aisha and her coming (to Busra) and said, "She is the wife of your Prophet in this world and in the Hereafter, but you people are being put to test in this issue."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 222:
Narrated Abu Wail:
Abu Musa and Abii Mas'ud went to Ammar when Ali had sent him to Kufa to exhort them to fight (on Ali's side). They said to him, "Since you have become a Muslim, we have never seen you doing a deed more criticizable to us than your haste in this matter." Ammar said, "Since you (both) became Muslims, I have never seen you doing a deed more criticizable to me than your keeping away from this matter." Then Abu Mas'ud provided Ammar and Abu Musa with two-piece outfits to wear, and one of them went to the mosque (of Kufa).

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 223:
Narrated Shaqiq bin Salama:
I was sitting with Abu Mas'ud and Abu Musa and Ammar. Abu Mas'ud said (to Ammar), "There is none of your companions but, if I wish, I could find fault with him except with you. Since you joined the company of the Prophet I have never seen anything done by you more criticizable by me than your haste in this issue." Ammar said, O Abu Mas'ud ! I have never seen anything done by you or by this companion of yours (i.e., Abu Musa) more criticizable by me than your keeping away from this issue since the time you both joined the company of the Prophet."
Then Abu Mas'ud who was a rich man, said (to his servant), "O boy! Bring two suits." Then he gave one to Abu Musa and the other to Ammar and said (to them), "Put on these suits before going for the Friday prayer. "

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 224:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "If Allah sends punishment upon a nation then it befalls upon the whole population indiscriminately and then they will be resurrected (and judged) according to their deeds. "

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 225:
Narrated Al-Hasan Al-Basri:
When Al-Hasan bin Ali moved with army units against Muawiya, Amr bin AL-As said to Muawiya, "I see an army that will not retreat unless and until the opposing army retreats." Muawiya said, "(If the Muslims are killed) who will look after their children?" Amr bin Al-As said: I (will look after them). On that, Abdullah bin Amir and Abdur-Rahman bin Samura said, "Let us meet Muawaiya and suggest peace." Al-Hasan Al-Basri added: No doubt, I heard that Abu Bakra said, "Once while the Prophet was addressing (the people), Al-Hasan (bin Ali) came and the Prophet said, 'This son of mine is a chief, and Allah may make peace between two groups of Muslims through him."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 226:
Narrated Harmala:
(Usama's Maula) Usama (bin Zaid) sent me to Ali (at Kufa) and said, "Ali will ask you, 'What has prevented your companion from joining me?' You then should say to him, 'If you (Ali) were in the mouth of a lion, I would like to be with you, but in this matter I won't take any part.' " Harmala added: "Ali didn't give me anything (when I conveyed the message to him) so I went to Hasan, Hussain and Ibn Jafar and they loaded my camels with much (wealth)."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 227:
Narrated Nafi:
When the people of Medina dethroned Yazid bin Muawiya, Ibn Umar gathered his special friends and children and said, "I heard the Prophet saying, 'A flag will be fixed for every betrayer on the Day of Resurrection,' and we have given the oath of allegiance to this person (Yazid) in accordance with the conditions enjoined by Allah and His Apostle and I do not know of anything more faithless than fighting a person who has been given the oath of allegiance in accordance with the conditions enjoined by Allah and His Apostle , and if ever I learn that any person among you has agreed to dethrone Yazid, by giving the oath of allegiance (to somebody else) then there will be separation between him and me."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 228:
Narrated Abu Al-Minhal:
When Ibn Ziyad and Marwan were in Sham and Ibn Az-Zubair took over the authority in Mecca and Qurra' (the Kharijites) revolted in Basra, I went out with my father to Abu Barza Al-Aslami till we entered upon him in his house while he was sitting in the shade of a room built of cane. So we sat with him and my father started talking to him saying, "O Abu Barza! Don't you see in what dilemma the people has fallen?" The first thing heard him saying "I seek reward from Allah for myself because of being angry and scornful at the Quraish tribe. O you Arabs! You know very well that you were in misery and were few in number and misguided, and that Allah has brought you out of all that with Islam and with Mohammed till He brought you to this state (of prosperity and happiness) which you see now; and it is this worldly wealth and pleasures which has caused mischief to appear among you. The one who is in Sham (i.e., Marwan), by Allah, is not fighting except for the sake of worldly gain: and those who are among you, by Allah, are not fighting except for the sake of worldly gain; and that one who is in Mecca (i.e., Ibn Az-Zubair) by Allah, is not fighting except for the sake of worldly gain."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 229:
Narrated Abi Waih:
Hudhaifa bin Al-Yaman said, 'The hypocrites of today are worse than those of the lifetime of the Prophet, because in those days they used to do evil deeds secretly but today they do such deeds openly.'

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 230:
Narrated Abi Asha'sha:
Hudhaifa said, 'In fact, it was hypocrisy that existed in the lifetime of the Prophet but today it is Kufr (disbelief) after belief.'

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 231:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The Hour will not be established till a man passes by a grave of somebody and says, 'Would that I were in his place.' "

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 232:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The Hour will not be established till the buttocks of the women of the tribe of Daus move while going round Dhi-al-Khalasa." Dhi-al-Khalasa was the idol of the Daus tribe which they used to worship in the Pre Islamic Period of ignorance.

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 233:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The Hour will not be established till a man from Qahtan appears, driving the people with his stick."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 234:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The Hour will not be established till a fire will come out of the land of Hijaz, and it will throw light on the necks of the camels at Busra."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 235:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Soon the river "Euphrates" will disclose the treasure (the mountain) of gold, so whoever will be present at that time should not take anything of it." Al-A'raj narrated from Abii Huraira that the Prophet said the same but he said, "It (Euphrates) will uncover a mountain of gold (under it)."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 236:
Narrated Haritha bin Wahb:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "Give in charity because there will come a time on the people when a person will go out with his alms from place to place but will not find anybody to accept it."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 237:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The Hour will not be established (1) till two big groups fight each other whereupon there will be a great number of casualties on both sides and they will be following one and the same religious doctrine, (2) till about thirty Dajjals (liars) appear, and each one of them will claim that he is Allah's Apostle, (3) till the religious knowledge is taken away (by the death of Religious scholars) (4) earthquakes will increase in number (5) time will pass quickly, (6) afflictions will appear, (7) Al-Harj, (i.e., killing) will increase, (8) till wealth will be in abundance ---- so abundant that a wealthy person will worry lest nobody should accept his Zakat, and whenever he will present it to someone, that person (to whom it will be offered) will say, 'I am not in need of it, (9) till the people compete with one another in constructing high buildings, (10) till a man when passing by a grave of someone will say, 'Would that I were in his place (11) and till the sun rises from the West. So when the sun will rise and the people will see it (rising from the West) they will all believe (embrace Islam) but that will be the time when: (As Allah said,) 'No good will it do to a soul to believe then, if it believed not before, nor earned good (by deeds of righteousness) through its Faith.' (6.158) And the Hour will be established while two men spreading a garment in front of them but they will not be able to sell it, nor fold it up; and the Hour will be established when a man has milked his she-camel and has taken away the milk but he will not be able to drink it; and the Hour will be established before a man repairing a tank (for his livestock) is able to water (his animals) in it; and the Hour will be established when a person has raised a morsel (of food) to his mouth but will not be able to eat it."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 238:
Narrated Al-Mughira bin Shu'ba:
Nobody asked the Prophet as many questions as I asked regarding Ad-Dajjal. The Prophet said to me, "What worries you about him?" I said, "Because the people say that he will have a mountain of bread and a river of water with him (i.e. he will have abundance of food and water)" The Prophet said, "Nay, he is too mean to be allowed such a thing by Allah"' (but it is only to test mankind whether they believe in Allah or in Ad-Dajjal.)

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 239:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "Ad-Dajjal will come and encamp at a place close to Medina and then Medina will shake thrice whereupon every Kafir (disbeliever) and hypocrite will go out (of Medina) towards him."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 240:
Narrated Abu Bakra:
The Prophet said, "The terror caused by Al-Masih Ad-Dajjal will not enter Medina and at that time Medina will have seven gates and there will be two angels at each gate (guarding them).

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 241:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle stood up amongst the people and then praised and glorified Allah as He deserved and then he mentioned Ad-Dajjal, saying, "I warn you of him, and there was no prophet but warned his followers of him; but I will tell you something about him which no prophet has told his followers: Ad-Dajjal is one-eyed whereas Allah is not."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 242:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said. "While I was sleeping, I saw myself (in a dream) performing Tawaf around the Kaaba. Behold, I saw a reddish-white man with lank hair, and water was dropping from his head. I asked, "Who is this?' They replied, 'The son of Mary.' Then I turned my face to see another man with a huge body, red complexion and curly hair and blind in one eye. His eye looked like a protruding out grape. They said (to me), He is Ad-Dajjal." The Prophet added, "The man he resembled most is Ibn Qatan, a man from the tribe of Khuza'a. "

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 243:
Narrated Aisha:
I heard Allah's Apostle in his prayer, seeking refuge with Allah from the afflictions of Ad-Dajjal.

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 244:
Narrated Hudhaifa:
The Prophet said about Ad-Dajjal that he would have water and fire with him: (what would seem to be) fire, would be cold water and (what would seem to be) water, would be fire.

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 245:
Narrated Anas:

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The Prophet said, "No prophet was sent but that he warned his followers against the one-eyed liar (Ad-Dajjal). Beware! He is blind in one eye, and your Lord is not so, and there will be written between his (Ad-Dajjal's) eyes (the word) Kafir (i.e., disbeliever)." (This Hadith is also quoted by Abu Huraira and Ibn Abbas).

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 246:
Narrated Abu Sa'id:
One day Allah's Apostle narrated to us a long narration about Ad-Dajjal and among the things he narrated to us, was: "Ad-Dajjal will come, and he will be forbidden to enter the mountain passes of Medina. He will encamp in one of the salt areas neighbouring Medina and there will appear to him a man who will be the best or one of the best of the people. He will say 'I testify that you are Ad-Dajjal whose story Allah's Apostle has told us.' Ad-Dajjal will say (to his audience), 'Look, if I kill this man and then give him life, will you have any doubt about my claim?' They will reply, 'No,' Then Ad-Dajjal will kill that man and then will make him alive. The man will say, 'By Allah, now I recognize you more than ever!' Ad-Dajjal will then try to kill him (again) but he will not be given the power to do so."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 247:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "There are angels at the mountain passes of Medina (so that) neither plague nor Ad-Dajjal can enter it.'

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 248:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet said, "Ad-Dajjal will come to Medina and find the angels guarding it. So Allah willing, neither Ad-Dajjal, nor plague will be able to come near it."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 249:
Narrated Zainab bint Jahsh:
That one day Allah's Apostle entered upon her in a state of fear and said, "None has the right to be worshipped but Allah! Woe to the Arabs from the Great evil that has approached (them). Today a hole has been opened in the dam of Gog and Magog like this." The Prophet made a circle with his index finger and thumb. Zainab bint Jahsh added: I said, "O Alllah's Apostle! Shall we be destroyed though there will be righteous people among us?" The Prophet said, "Yes, if the (number) of evil (persons) increased."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 250:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "A hole has been opened in the dam of Gog and Magog." Wuhaib (the sub-narrator) made the number 90 (with his index finger and thumb).

SAHIH BUKHARI, BOOK 89:
Judgements (Ahkaam)

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 251:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever obeys me, obeys Allah, and whoever disobeys me, disobeys Allah, and whoever obeys the ruler I appoint, obeys me, and whoever disobeys him, disobeys me."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 252:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "Surely! Everyone of you is a guardian and is responsible for his charges: The Imam (ruler) of the people is a guardian and is responsible for his subjects; a man is the guardian of his family (household) and is responsible for his subjects; a woman is the guardian of her husband's home and of his children and is responsible for them; and the slave of a man is a guardian of his master's property and is responsible for it. Surely, everyone of you is a guardian and responsible for his charges."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 253:
Narrated Mohammed bin Jubair bin Mut'im:
That while he was included in a delegation of Quraish staying with Muawiya, Muawiya heard that Abdullah bin Amr had said that there would be a king from Qahtan tribe, whereupon he became very angry. He stood up, and after glorifying and praising Allah as He deserved, said, "To proceed, I have come to know that some of you men are narrating things which are neither in Allah's Book, nor has been mentioned by Allah's Apostle . Such people are the ignorant among you. Beware of such vain desires that mislead those who have them. I have heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'This matter (of the caliphate) will remain with the Quraish, and none will rebel against them, but Allah will throw him down on his face as long as they stick to the rules and regulations of the religion (Islam).'"

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 254:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "This matter (caliphate) will remain with the Quraish even if only two of them were still existing."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 255:
Narrated Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle said, "Do not wish to be like anyone, except in two cases: (1) A man whom Allah has given wealth and he spends it righteously. (2) A man whom Allah has given wisdom (knowledge of the Koran and the Hadith) and he acts according to it and teaches it to others."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 256:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle said, "You should listen to and obey, your ruler even if he was an Ethiopian (black) slave whose head looks like a raisin."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 257:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "If somebody sees his Muslim ruler doing something he disapproves of, he should be patient, for whoever becomes separate from the Muslim group even for a span and then dies, he will die as those who died in the Pre-lslamic period of ignorance (as rebellious sinners). (See Hadith No. 176 and 177)

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 258:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "A Muslim has to listen to and obey (the order of his ruler) whether he likes it or not, as long as his orders involve not one in disobedience (to Allah), but if an act of disobedience (to Allah) is imposed one should not listen to it or obey it. (See Hadith No. 203, Vol. 4)

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 259:
Narrated Ali:
The Prophet sent an army unit (for some campaign) and appointed a man from the Ansar as its commander and ordered them (the soldiers) to obey him. (During the campaign) he became angry with them and said, "Didn't the Prophet order you to obey me?" They said, "Yes." He said, "I order you to collect wood and make a fire and then throw yourselves into it." So they collected wood and made a fire, but when they were about to throw themselves into, it they started looking at each other, and some of them said, "We followed the Prophet to escape from the fire. How should we enter it now?" So while they were in that state, the fire extinguished and their commander's anger abated. The event was mentioned to the Prophet and he said, "If they had entered it (the fire) they would never have come out of it, for obedience is required only in what is good." (See Hadith No. 629. Vol. 5)

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 260:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Samura:
The Prophet said, "O Abdur-Rahman! Do not seek to be a ruler, for if you are given authority on your demand then you will be held responsible for it, but if you are given it without asking (for it), then you will be helped (by Allah) in it. If you ever take an oath to do something and later on you find that something else is better, then you should expiate your oath and do what is better."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 261:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Samura:
Allah's Apostle said, "O Abdur-Rahman bin Samura! Do not seek to be a ruler, for if you are given authority on your demand, you will be held responsible for it, but if you are given it without asking for it, then you will be helped (by Allah) in it. If you ever take an oath to do something and later on you find that something else is better, then do what is better and make expiation for your oath."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 262:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "You people will be keen to have the authority of ruling which will be a thing of regret for you on the Day of Resurrection. What an excellent wet nurse it is, yet what a bad weaning one it is!"

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 263:
Narrated Abu Musa:
Two men from my tribe and I entered upon the Prophet. One of the two men said to the Prophet, "O Allah's Apostle! Appoint me as a governor," and so did the second. The Prophet said, "We do not assign the authority of ruling to those who ask for it, nor to those who are keen to have it."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 264:
Narrated Ma'qil:
I heard the Prophet saying, "Any man whom Allah has given the authority of ruling some people and he does not look after them in an honest manner, will never feel even the smell of Paradise."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 265:
Narrated Ma'qil:
Allah's Apostle said, "If any ruler having the authority to rule Muslim subjects dies while he is deceiving them, Allah will forbid Paradise for him."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 266:
Narrated Tarif Abi Tamima:
I saw Safwan and Jundab and Safwan's companions when Jundab was advising. They said, "Did you hear something from Allah's Apostle?" Jundab said, "I heard him saying, 'Whoever does a good deed in order to show off, Allah will expose his intentions on the Day of Resurrection (before the people), and whoever puts the people into difficulties, Allah will put him into difficulties on the Day of Resurrection.'" The people said (to Jundab), "Advise us." He said, "The first thing of the human body to purify is the abdomen, so he who can eat nothing but good food (Halal and earned lawfully) should do so, and he who does as much as he can that nothing intervene between him and Paradise by not shedding even a handful of blood, (i.e. murdering) should do so."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 267:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Apostle." The Prophet said, "You will be with the one whom you love."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 268:
Narrated Thabit Al-Bunani:
Anas bin Malik said to a woman of his family, "Do you know such-and-such a woman?" She replied, "Yes." He said, "The Prophet passed by her while she was weeping over a grave, and he said to her, 'Be afraid of Allah and be patient.' The woman said (to the Prophet). 'Go away from me, for you do not know my calamity.'" Anas added, "The Prophet left her and proceeded. A man passed by her and asked her, 'What has Allah's Apostle said to you?' She replied, 'I did not recognize him.' The man said, 'He was Allah's Apostle.'" Anas added, "So that woman came to the gate of the Prophet and she did not find a gate-keeper there, and she said, 'O Allah's Apostle! By Allah. I did not recognize you!' The Prophet said, 'No doubt, patience is at the first stroke of a calamity.'"

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 269:
Narrated Anas:
Qais bin Sa'd was to the Prophet like a chief police officer to an Amir (chief).

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 270:
Narrated Abu Musa:
that the Prophet sent him and sent Mu'adh after him (as rulers to Yemen).

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 271:
Narrated Abu Musa:
A man embraced Islam and then reverted back to Judaism. Mu'adh bin Jabal came and saw the man with Abu Musa. Mu'adh asked, "What is wrong with this (man)?" Abu Musa replied, "He embraced Islam and then reverted back to Judaism." Mu'adh said, "I will not sit down unless you kill him (as it is) the verdict of Allah and His Apostle

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 272:
Narrated Abdur Rahman bin Abi Bakra:
Abu Bakra wrote to his son who was in Sijistan: 'Do not judge between two persons when you are angry, for I heard the Prophet saying, "A judge should not judge between two persons while he is in an angry mood."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 273:
Narrated Abu Mas'ud Al-Ansari:
A man came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! By Allah, I fail to attend the morning congregational prayer because so-and-so (i.e., Muadh bin Jabal) prolongs the prayer when he leads us for it." I had never seen the Prophet more furious in giving advice than he was on that day. He then said, "O people! some of you make others dislike (good deeds, i.e. prayers etc). So whoever among you leads the people in prayer, he should shorten it because among them there are the old, the weak and the busy (needy having some jobs to do). (See Hadith No. 90, Vol. 1)

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 274:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
That he had divorced his wife during her menses. Umar mentioned that to the Prophet. Allah's Apostle became angry and said, "He must take her back (his wife) and keep her with him till she becomes clean from her menses and then to wait till she gets her next period and becomes clean again from it and only then, if he wants to divorce her, he may do so."

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Volume 9, Book 89, Number 275:
Narrated Aisha:
Hind bint Utba bin Rabia came and said. "O Allah's Apostle! By Allah, there was no family on the surface of the earth, I like to see in degradation more than I did your family, but today there is no family on the surface of the earth whom I like to see honored more than yours." Hind added, "Abu Sufyan is a miser. Is it sinful of me to feed our children from his property?" The Prophet said, "There is no blame on you if you feed them (thereof) in a just and reasonable manner.

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 276:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
When the Prophet intended to write to the Byzantines, the people said, "They do not read a letter unless it is sealed (stamped)." Therefore the Prophet took a silver ring----as if I am looking at its glitter now----and its engraving was: 'Mohammed, Apostle of Allah'

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 277:
Narrated Abdullah bin As-Sa'di:
That when he went to Umar during his Caliphate. Umar said to him, "Haven't I been told that you do certain jobs for the people but when you are given payment you refuse to take it?" Abdullah added: I said, "Yes." Umar said, "Why do you do so?" I said, "I have horses and slaves and I am living in prosperity and I wish that my payment should be kept as a charitable gift for the Muslims." Umar said, "Do not do so, for I intended to do the same as you do. Allah's Apostles used to give me gifts and I used to say to him, 'Give it to a more needy one than me.' Once he gave me some money and I said, 'Give it to a more needy person than me,' whereupon the Prophet said, 'Take it and keep it in your possession and then give it in charity. Take what ever comes to you of this money if you are not keen to have it and not asking for it; otherwise (i.e., if it does not come to you) do not seek to have it yourself.' "
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar: I have heard Umar saying, "The Prophet used to give me some money (grant) and I would say (to him), 'Give it to a more needy one than me.' Once he gave me some money and I said, 'Give it to a more needy one than me.' The Prophet said (to me), 'Take it and keep it in your possession and then give it in charity. Take whatever comes to you of this money while you are not keen to have it and not asking for it; take it, but you should not seek to have what you are not given. ' "

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 278:
Narrated Sahl bin Sa'd:
I witnessed a husband and a wife who were involved in a case of Lian. Then (the judgement of) divorce was passed. I was fifteen years of age, at that time.

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 279:
Narrated Sahl:
(the brother of Bani Sa'ida) A man from the Ansar came to the Prophet and said, "If a man finds another man sleeping with his wife, should he kill him?" That man and his wife then did Lian in the mosque while I was present.

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 280:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A man came to Allah's Apostle while he was in the mosque, and called him, saying, "O Allah's Apostle! I have committed illegal sexual intercourse." The Prophet turned his face to the other side, but when the man gave four witnesses against himself, the Prophet said to him, "Are you mad?" The man said, "No." So the Prophet said (to his companions), "Take him away and stone him to death. "

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 281:
Narrated Um Salama:
Allah's Apostle said, "I am only a human being, and you people (opponents) come to me with your cases; and it may be that one of you can present his case eloquently in a more convincing way than the other, and I give my verdict according to what I hear. So if ever I judge (by error) and give the right of a brother to his other (brother) then he (the latter) should not take it, for I am giving him only a piece of Fire." (See Hadith No. 638, Vol. 3).

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 282:
Narrated Abu Qatada:
Allah's Apostle said on the Day of (the battle of) Hunain, "Whoever has killed an infidel and has a proof or a witness for it, then the salb (arms and belongings of that deceased) will be for him." I stood up to seek a witness to testify that I had killed an infidel but I could not find any witness and then sat down. Then I thought that I should mention the case to Allah's Apostle I (and when I did so) a man from those who were sitting with him said, "The arms of the killed person he has mentioned, are with me, so please satisfy him on my behalf." Abu Bakr said, "No, he will not give the arms to a bird of Quraish and deprive one of Allah's lions of it who fights for the cause of Allah and His Apostle." Allah's Apostle I stood up and gave it to me, and I bought a garden with its price, and that was my first property which I owned through the war booty.
The people of Hijaz said, "A judge should not pass a judgement according to his knowledge, whether he was a witness at the time he was the judge or before that" And if a litigant gives a confession in favor of his opponent in the court, in the opinion of some scholars, the judge should not pass a judgement against him till the latter calls two witnesses to witness his confession. And some people of Iraq said, "A judge can pass a judgement according to what he hears or witnesses (the litigant's confession) in the court itself, but if the confession takes place outside the court, he should not pass the judgement unless two witnesses witness the confession." Some of them said, "A judge can pass a judgement depending on his knowledge of the case as he is trust-worthy, and that a witness is Required just to reveal the truth. The judge's knowledge is more than the witness." Some said, "A judge can judge according to his knowledge only in cases involving property, but in other cases he cannot." Al-Qasim said, "A judge ought not to pass a judgement depending on his knowledge if other people do not know what he knows, although his knowledge is more than the witness of somebody else because he might expose himself to suspicion by the Muslims and cause the Muslims to have unreasonable doubt. "

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 283:
Narrated Ali bin Husain:
Safiya bint (daughter of) Huyai came to the Prophet (in the mosque), and when she returned (home), the Prophet accompanied her. It happened that two men from the Ansar passed by them and the Prophet called them saying, "She is Safiya!" those two men said, "Subhan Allah!" The Prophet said, "Satan circulates in the human body as blood does."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 284:
Narrated Abu Burda:
The Prophet sent my father and Mu'adh bin Jabal to Yemen and said (to them), "Make things easy for the people and do not put hurdles in their way, and give them glad tiding, and don't let them have aversion (i.e. to make people to hate good deeds) and you both should work in cooperation and mutual understanding" Abu Musa said to Allah's Apostle, "In our country a special alcoholic drink called Al-Bit', is prepared (for drinking)." The Prophet said, "Every intoxicant is prohibited. "

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 285:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet said, "Set free the captives and accept invitations."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 286:
Narrated Abu Humaid Al-Sa'idi:
The Prophet appointed a man from the tribe of Bani Asad, called Ibn Al-Utabiyya to collect the Zakat. When he returned (with the money) he said (to the Prophet), "This is for you and this has been given to me as a gift." The Prophet stood up on the pulpit (Sufyan said he ascended the pulpit), and after glorifying and praising Allah, he said, "What is wrong with the employee whom we send (to collect Zakat from the public) that he returns to say, 'This is for you and that is for me?' Why didn't he stay at his father's and mother's house to see whether he will be given gifts or not? By Him in Whose Hand my life is, whoever takes anything illegally will bring it on the Day of Resurrection by carrying it over his neck: if it is a camel, it will be grunting: if it is a cow, it will be mooing: and if it is a sheep it will be bleating!" The Prophet then raised both his hands till we saw the whiteness of his armpits (and he said), "No doubt! Haven't I conveyed Allah's Message?" And he repeated it three times.

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 287:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Salim, the freed salve of Abu Hudhaifa used to lead in prayer the early Muhajirin (emigrants) and the companions of the Prophet in the Quba mosque. Among those (who used to pray behind him) were Abu Bakr, Umar, Abu Salama, and Amir bin Rabi'a.

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 288:
Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair:
Marwan bin Al-Hakam and Al-Miswar bin Makhrama told him that when the Muslims were permitted to set free the captives of Hawazin, Allah's Apostle said, "I do not know who amongst you has agreed (to it) and who has not. Go back so that your 'Urafa' may submit your decision to us." So the people returned and their 'Urafa' talked to them and then came back to Allah's Apostle and told him that the people had given their consent happily and permitted (their captives to be freed).

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 289:
Narrated Mohammed bin Zaid bin Abdullah bin Umar:
Some people said to Ibn Umar, "When we enter upon our ruler(s) we say in their praise what is contrary to what we say when we leave them." Ibn Umar said, "We used to consider this as hypocrisy."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 290:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostles said, "The worst of all mankind is the double-faced one, who comes to some people with one countenance and to others, with another countenance."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 291:
Narrated Aisha:
Hind (bint Utba) said to the Prophet "Abu Sufyan is a miserly man and I need to take some money of his wealth." The Prophet said, "Take reasonably what is sufficient for you and your children "

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 292:
Narrated Um Salama:
(the wife of the Prophet) Allah's Apostle heard some people quarreling at the door of his dwelling, so he went out to them and said, "I am only a human being, and litigants with cases of dispute come to me, and someone of you may happen to be more eloquent (in presenting his case) than the other, whereby I may consider that he is truthful and pass a judgement in his favor. If ever I pass a judgement in favor of somebody whereby he takes a Muslim's right unjustly, then whatever he takes is nothing but a piece of Fire, and it is up to him to take or leave."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 293:
Narrated Aisha:
(the wife of the Prophet) Utba bin Abi Waqqas said to his brother Sa'd bin Abi Waqqas, "The son of the slave girl of Zam'a is from me, so take him into your custody." So in the year of Conquest of Mecca, Sa'd took him and said. (This is) my brother's son whom my brother has asked me to take into my custody." 'Abd bin Zam'a got up before him and said, (He is) my brother and the son of the slave girl of my father, and was born on my father's bed." So they both submitted their case before Allah's Apostle. Sa'd said, "O Allah's Apostle! This boy is the son of my brother and he entrusted him to me." 'Abd bin Zam'a said, "This boy is my brother and the son of the slave girl of my father, and was born on the bed of my father." Allah's Apostle said, "The boy is for you, O 'Abd bin Zam'a!" Then Allah's Apostle further said, "The child is for the owner of the bed, and the stone is for the adulterer," He then said to Sauda bint Zam'a, "Veil (screen) yourself before him," when he saw the child's resemblance to Utba. The boy did not see her again till he met Allah.

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 294:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "If somebody on the demand of a judge takes an oath to grab (a Muslim's) property and he is liar in it, he will meet Allah Who will be angry with him". So Allah revealed,:--
'Verily! those who purchase a small gain at the cost of Allah's Covenant and their oaths..' (3.77) 'Al-Ashath came while Abdullah was narrating (this) to the people. Al-Ashath said, "This verse was revealed regarding me and another man with whom I had a quarrel about a well. The Prophet said (to me), "Do you have any evidence?' I replied, 'No.' He said, 'Let your opponent take an oath.' I said: I am sure he would take a (false) oath." Thereupon it was revealed: 'Verily! those who purchase a small gain at the cost of Allah's Covenant....' (3.77) (See Hadith No. 72, Vol 6).

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 295:
Narrated Um Salama:
The Prophet heard the voices of some people quarreling near his gate, so he went to them and said, "I am only a human being and litigants with cases of disputes come to me, and maybe one of them presents his case eloquently in a more convincing and impressive way than the other, and I give my verdict in his favor thinking he is truthful. So if I give a Muslim's right to another (by mistake), then that (property) is a piece of Fire, which is up to him to take it or leave it." (See Hadith No. 281)

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 296:
Narrated Jabir:
The Prophet came to know that one of his companions had given the promise of freeing his slave after his death, but as he had no other property than that slave, the Prophet sold that slave for 800 dirhams and sent the price to him.

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 297:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle sent an army unit headed by Usama bin Zaid and the people criticized his leadership. The Prophet said (to

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the people), "If you are criticizing his leadership now, then you used to criticize his father's leadership before. By Allah, he (Usama's father) deserved the leadership and used to be one of the most beloved persons to me, and now his son (Usama) is one of the most beloved persons to me after him. " (See Hadith No. 745, Vol. 5)

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 298:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle said, "The most hated person in the sight of Allah, is the most quarrelsome person."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 299:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet sent (an army unit under the command of) Khalid bin Al-Walid to fight against the tribe of Bani Jadhima and those people could not express themselves by saying, "Aslamna," but they said, "Saba'na! Saba'na! " Khalid kept on killing some of them and taking some others as captives, and he gave a captive to everyone of us and ordered everyone of us to kill his captive. I said, "By Allah, I shall not kill my captive and none of my companions shall kill his captive!" Then we mentioned that to the Prophet and he said, "O Allah! I am free from what Khalid bin Al-Walid has done," and repeated it twice.

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 300:
Narrated Sahl bin Sa'd As-Saidi:
There was some quarrel (sighting) among Bani Amr, and when this news reached the Prophet, he offered the Zuhr prayer and went to establish peace among them. In the meantime the time of Asr prayer was due, Bilal pronounced the Adhan and then the Iqama for the prayer and requested Abu Bakr (to lead the prayer) and Abu Bakr went forward. The Prophet arrived while Abu Bakr was still praying. He entered the rows of praying people till he stood behind Abu Bakr in the (first) row. The people started clapping, and it was the habit of Abu Bakr that whenever he stood for prayer, he never glanced side-ways till he had finished it, but when Abu Bakr observed that the clapping was not coming to an end, he looked and saw the Prophet standing behind him.
The Prophet beckoned him to carry on by waving his hand. Abu Bakr stood there for a while, thanking Allah for the saying of the Prophet and then he retreated, taking his steps backwards. When the Prophet saw that, he went ahead and led the people in prayer. When he finished the prayer, he said, "O Abu Bakr! What prevented you from carrying on with the prayer after I beckoned you to do so?" Abu Bakr replied, "It does not befit the son of Abi Quhafa to lead the Prophet in prayer." Then the Prophet said to the people, "If some problem arises during prayers, then the men should say, Subhan Allah!; and the women should clap." (See Hadith No. 652, Vol. 1)

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 301:
Narrated Zaid bin Thabit:
Abu Bakr sent for me owing to the large number of casualties in the battle of Al-Yamama, while Umar was sitting with him. Abu Bakr said (to me), Umar has come to my and said, 'A great number of Qaris of the Holy Koran were killed on the day of the battle of Al-Yamama, and I am afraid that the casualties among the Qaris of the Koran may increase on other battle-fields whereby a large part of the Koran may be lost. Therefore I consider it advisable that you (Abu Bakr) should have the Koran collected.' I said, 'How dare I do something which Allah's Apostle did not do?' Umar said, By Allah, it is something beneficial.' Umar kept on pressing me for that till Allah opened my chest for that for which He had opened the chest of Umar and I had in that matter, the same opinion as Umar had." Abu Bakr then said to me (Zaid), "You are a wise young man and we do not have any suspicion about you, and you used to write the Divine Inspiration for Allah's Apostle. So you should search for the fragmentary scripts of the Koran and collect it (in one Book)." Zaid further said: By Allah, if Abu Bakr had ordered me to shift a mountain among the mountains from one place to another it would not have been heavier for me than this ordering me to collect the Koran. Then I said (to Umar and Abu Bakr), "How can you do something which Allah's Apostle did not do?" Abu Bakr said, "By Allah, it is something beneficial." Zaid added: So he (Abu Bakr) kept on pressing me for that until Allah opened my chest for that for which He had opened the chests of Abu Bakr and Umar, and I had in that matter, the same opinion as theirs.
So I started compiling the Koran by collecting it from the leafless stalks of the date-palm tree and from the pieces of leather and hides and from the stones, and from the chests of men (who had memorized the Koran). I found the last verses of Sirat-at-Tauba: ("Verily there has come unto you an Apostle (Mohammed) from amongst yourselves--' (9.128-129)) from Khuzaima or Abi Khuzaima and I added to it the rest of the Sura. The manuscripts of the Koran remained with Abu Bakr till Allah took him unto Him. Then it remained with Umar till Allah took him unto Him, and then with Hafsa bint Umar.

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 302:
Narrated Abu Laila bin Abdullah bin Abdur-Rahman bin Sahl:
Sahl bin Abi Hathma and some great men of his tribe said, Abdullah bin 'Sahl and Muhaiyisa went out to Khaibar as they were struck with poverty and difficult living conditions. Then Muhaiyisa was informed that Abdullah had been killed and thrown in a pit or a spring. Muhaiyisa went to the Jews and said, "By Allah, you have killed my companion." The Jews said, "By Allah, we have not killed him." Muhaiyisa then came back to his people and told them the story. He, his elder brother Huwaiyisa and Abdur-Rahman bin Sahl came (to the Prophet) and he who had been at Khaibar, proceeded to speak, but the Prophet said to Muhaiyisa, "The eldest! The eldest!" meaning, "Let the eldest of you speak." So Huwaiyisa spoke first and then Muhaiyisa. Allah's Apostle said, "The Jews should either pay the blood money of your (deceased) companion or be ready for war." After that Allah's Apostle wrote a letter to the Jews in that respect, and they wrote that they had not killed him. Then Allah's Apostle said to Huwaiyisa, Muhaiyisa and Abdur-Rahman, "Can you take an oath by which you will be entitled to take the blood money?" They said, "No." He said (to them), "Shall we ask the Jews to take an oath before you?" They replied, "But the Jews are not Muslims." So Allah's Apostle gave them one-hundred she-camels as blood money from himself. Sahl added: When those she-camels were made to enter the house, one of them kicked me with its leg.

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 303:
Narrated Abu Huraira and Zaid bin Khalid Al-Juhani:
A bedouin came and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Judge between us according to Allah's Book (Laws)." His opponent stood up and said, "He has said the truth, so judge between us according to Allah's Laws." The bedouin said, "My son was a laborer for this man and committed illegal sexual intercourse with his wife. The people said to me, 'Your son is to be stoned to death,' so I ransomed my son for one hundred sheep and a slave girl. Then I asked the religious learned men and they said to me, 'Your son has to receive one hundred lashes plus one year of exile.' " The Prophet said, "I shall judge between you according to Allah's Book (Laws)! As for the slave girl and the sheep, it shall be returned to you, and your son shall receive one-hundred lashes and be exiled for one year. O you, Unais!" The Prophet addressed some man, "Go in the morning to the wife of this man and stone her to death." So Unais went to her the next morning and stoned her to death.

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 304:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
That Abu Sufyan bin Harb told him that Heraclius had called him along with the members of a Quraish caravan and then said to his interpreter, "Tell them that I want to ask this (Abu Sufyan) a question, and if he tries to tell me a lie, they should contradict him." Then Abu Sufyan mentioned the whole narration and said that Heraclius said to the inter Peter, "Say to him (Abu Sufyan), 'If what you say is true, then he (the Prophet) will take over the place underneath my two feet.' "

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 305:
Narrated Abu Humaid As-Sa'idi:
The Prophet employed Ibn Al-Utbiyya to collect Zakat from Bani Sulaim, and when he returned (with the money) to Allah's Apostle the Prophet called him to account, and he said, "This (amount) is for you, and this was given to me as a present." Allah's Apostle said, "Why don't you stay at your father's house or your mother's house to see whether you will be given gifts or not, if you are telling the truth?" Then Allah's Apostle stood up and addressed the people, and after glorifying and praising Allah, he said: Amma Ba'du (then after) I employ some men from among you for some job which Allah has placed in my charge, and then one of you comes to me and says, 'This (amount) is for you and this is a gift given to me.' Why doesn't he stay at the house of his father or the house of his mother and see whether he will be given gifts or not if he was telling the truth by Allah, none of you takes anything of it (i.e., Zakat) for himself (Hisham added: unlawfully) but he will meet Allah on the Day of Resurrection carrying it on his neck! I do not want to see any of you carrying a grunting camel or a mooing cow or a bleating sheep on meeting Allah." Then the Prophet raised both his hands till I saw the whiteness of his armpits, and said, "(No doubt)! Haven't I conveyed Allah's Message!"

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 306:
Narrated Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri:
The Prophet said, "Allah never sends a prophet or gives the Caliphate to a Caliph but that he (the prophet or the Caliph) has two groups of advisors: A group advising him to do good and exhorts him to do it, and the other group advising him to do evil and exhorts him to do it. But the protected person (against such evil advisors) is the one protected by Allah.' "

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 307:
Narrated 'Ubada bin As-Samit:
We gave the oath of allegiance to Allah's Apostle that we would listen to and obey him both at the time when we were active and at the time when we were tired and that we would not fight against the ruler or disobey him, and would stand firm for the truth or say the truth wherever we might be, and in the Way of Allah we would not be afraid of the blame of the blamers. (See Hadith No. 178 and 320)

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 308:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet went out on a cold morning while the Muhajirin (emigrants) and the Ansar were digging the trench. The Prophet then said, "O Allah! The real goodness is the goodness of the Here after, so please forgive the Ansar and the Muhajirin." They replied, "We are those who have given the Pledge of allegiance to Mohammed for to observe Jihad as long as we remain alive."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 309:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Whenever we gave the Pledge of allegiance to Allah's Apostle for to listen to and obey, he used to say to us, for as much as you can"

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 310:
Narrated Abdullah bin Dinar:
I witnessed Ibn Umar when the people gathered around Abdul Malik. Ibn Umar wrote: I gave the Pledge of allegiance that I will listen to and obey Allah's Slave, Abdul Malik, Chief of the believers according to Allah's Laws and the Traditions of His Apostle as much as I can; and my sons too, give the same pledge.'

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 311:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
I gave the Pledge of allegiance to the Prophet that I would listen and obey, and he told me to add: 'As much as I can, and will give good advice to every Muslim.'

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 312:
Narrated Abdullah bin Dinar:
When the people took the oath of allegiance to Abdul Malik, Abdullah bin Umar wrote to him: "To Allah's Slave, Abdul Malik, Chief of the believers, I give the Pledge of allegiance that I will listen to and obey Allah's Slave, Abdul Malik, Chief of the believers, according to Allah's Laws and the Traditions of His Apostle in whatever is within my ability; and my sons too, give the same pledge."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 313:
Narrated Yazid:
I said to Salama, "For what did you give the Pledge of allegiance to the Prophet on the Day of Hudaibiya?" He replied, "For death."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 314:
Narrated Al-Miswar bin Makhrama:
The group of people whom Umar had selected as candidates for the Caliphate gathered and consulted each other. Abdur-Rahman said to them, "I am not going to compete with you in this matter, but if you wish, I would select for you a caliph from among you." So all of them agreed to let Abdur-Rahman decide the case. So when the candidates placed the case in the hands of Abdur-Rahman, the people went towards him and nobody followed the rest of the group nor obeyed any after him. So the people followed Abdur-Rahman and consulted him all those nights till there came the night we gave the oath of allegiance to Uthman. Al-Miswar (bin Makhrama) added: Abdur-Rahman called on me after a portion of the night had passed and knocked on my door till I got up, and he said to me, "I see you have been sleeping! By Allah, during the last three nights I have not slept enough. Go and call Az-Zubair and Sa'd.' So I called them for him and he consulted them and then called me saying, 'Call Ali for me." I called Ali and he held a private talk with him till very late at night, and then 'Al, got up to leave having had much hope (to be chosen as a Caliph) but Abdur-Rahman was afraid of something concerning Ali. Abdur-Rahman then said to me, "Call Uthman for me." I called him and he kept on speaking to him privately till the Mu'adhdhin put an end to their talk by announcing the Adhan for the Fajr prayer. When the people finished their morning prayer and that (six men) group gathered near the pulpit, Abdur-Rahman sent for all the Muhajirin (emigrants) and the Ansar present there and sent for the army chief who had performed the Hajj with Umar that year. When all of them had gathered, Abdur-Rahman said, "None has the right to be worshipped but Allah," and added, "Now then, O Ali, I have looked at the people's tendencies and noticed that they do not consider anybody

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equal to Uthman, so you should not incur blame (by disagreeing)." Then Abdur-Rahman said (to Uthman), "I gave the oath of allegiance to you on condition that you will follow Allah's Laws and the traditions of Allah's Apostle and the traditions of the two Caliphs after him." So Abdur-Rahman gave the oath of allegiance to him, and so did the people including the Muhajirin (emigrants) and the Ansar and the chiefs of the army staff and all the Muslims.

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 315:
Narrated Salama:
We gave the oath of allegiance to the Prophet under the tree. He said to me, "O Salama! Will you not give the oath of allegiance?" I replied, "O Allah's Apostle! I have already given the oath of allegiance for the first time." He said, (Give it again) for the second time.

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 316:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
A bedouin gave the Pledge of allegiance to Allah's Apostle for Islam and the bedouin got a fever where upon he said to the Prophet "Cancel my Pledge." But the Prophet refused. He came to him (again) saying, "Cancel my Pledge.' But the Prophet refused. Then (the bedouin) left (Medina). Allah's Apostle said: "Medina is like a pair of bellows (furnace): It expels its impurities and brightens and clears its good."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 317:
Narrated Abdullah bin Hisham:
who was born during the lifetime of the Prophet that his mother, Zainab bint Humaid had taken him to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Take his Pledge of allegiance (for Islam)." The Prophet said, "He (Abdullah bin Hisham) is a little child," and passed his hand over his head and invoked Allah for him. Abdullah bin Hisham used to slaughter one sheep as a sacrifice on behalf of all of his family.

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 318:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
A bedouin gave the Pledge of allegiance to Allah's Apostle for Islam. Then the bedouin got fever at Medina, came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Cancel my Pledge," But Allah's Apostle refused. Then he came to him (again) and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Cancel my Pledge." But the Prophet refused Then he came to him (again) and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Cancel my Pledge." But the Prophet refused. The bedouin finally went out (of Medina) whereupon Allah's Apostle said, "Medina is like a pair of bellows (furnace): It expels its impurities and brightens and clears its good.

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 319:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "There will be three types of people whom Allah will neither speak to them on the Day of Resurrection nor will purify them from sins, and they will have a painful punishment: They are, (1) a man possessed superfluous water (more than he needs) on a way and he withholds it from the travelers. (2) a man who gives a pledge of allegiance to an Imam (ruler) and gives it only for worldly benefits, if the Imam gives him what he wants, he abides by his pledge, otherwise he does not fulfill his pledge; (3) and a man who sells something to another man after the Asr prayer and swears by Allah (a false oath) that he has been offered so much for it whereupon the buyer believes him and buys it although in fact, the seller has not been offered such a price." (See Hadith No. 838, Vol. 3)

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 320:
Narrated 'Ubada bin As-Samit:
Allah's Apostle said to us while we were in a gathering, "Give me the oath (Pledge of allegiance for: (1) Not to join anything in worship along with Allah, (2) Not to steal, (3) Not to commit illegal sexual intercourse, (4) Not to kill your children, (5) Not to accuse an innocent person (to spread such an accusation among people), (6) Not to be disobedient (when ordered) to do good deeds. The Prophet added: Whoever amongst you fulfill his pledge, his reward will be with Allah, and whoever commits any of those sins and receives the legal punishment in this world for that sin, then that punishment will be an expiation for that sin, and whoever commits any of those sins and Allah does not expose him, then it is up to Allah if He wishes He will punish him or if He wishes, He will forgive him." So we gave the Pledge for that. (See Hadith No. 17, Vol. 1)

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 321:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet used to take the Pledge of allegiance from the women by words only after reciting this Holy Verse:--(60.12) "..that they will not associate anything in worship with Allah." (60.12) And the hand of Allah's Apostle did not touch any woman's hand except the hand of that woman his right hand possessed. (i.e. his captives or his lady slaves).

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 322:
Narrated Um Atiyya:
We gave the Pledge of allegiance to the Prophet and he recited to me the verse (60.12). That they will not associate anything in worship with Allah (60.12). And he also prevented us from wailing and lamenting over the dead. A woman from us held her hand out and said, "Such-and-such a woman cried over a dead person belonging to my family and I want to compensate her for that crying" The Prophet did not say anything in reply and she left and returned. None of those women abided by her pledge except Um Sulaim, Um Al-'Ala', and the daughter of Abi Sabra, the wife of Al-Muadh or the daughter of Abi Sabra, and the wife of Mu'adh.

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 323:
Narrated Jabir:
A bedouin came to the Prophet and said, "Please take my Pledge of allegiance for Islam." So the Prophet took from him the Pledge of allegiance for Islam. He came the next day with a fever and said to the Prophet "Cancel my pledge." But the Prophet refused and when the bedouin went away, the Prophet said, "Medina is like a pair of bellows (furnace): It expels its impurities and brightens and clears its good."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 324:
Narrated Al-Qasim bin Mohammed:
Aisha said, "O my head!" Allah's Apostle said, "If that (i.e., your death) should happen while I am still alive, I would ask Allah to forgive you and would invoke Allah for you." Aisha said, "O my life which is going to be lost! By Allah, I think that you wish for my death, and if that should happen then you would be busy enjoying the company of one of your wives in the last part of that day." The Prophet said, "But I should say, 'O my head!' I feel like calling Abu Bakr and his son and appoint (the former as my successors lest people should say something or wish for something. Allah will insist (on Abu Bakr becoming a Caliph) and the believers will prevent (anyone else from claiming the Caliphate)," or "..Allah will prevent (anyone else from claiming the Caliphate) and the believers will insist (on Abu Bakr becoming the Caliph)."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 325:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
It was said to Umar, "Will you appoint your successor?" Umar said, "If I appoint a Caliph (as my successor) it is true that somebody who was better than I (i.e., Abu Bakr) did so, and if I leave the matter undecided, it is true that somebody who was better than I (i.e., Allah's Apostle) did so." On this, the people praised him. Umar said, "People are of two kinds: Either one who is keen to take over the Caliphate or one who is afraid of assuming such a responsibility. I wish I could be free from its responsibility in that I would receive neither reward nor retribution I won't bear the burden of the caliphate in my death as I do in my life."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 326:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
That he heard Umar's second speech he delivered when he sat on the pulpit on the day following the death of the Prophet Umar recited the Tashahhud while Abu Bakr was silent. Umar said, "I wish that Allah's Apostle had outlived all of us, i.e., had been the last (to die). But if Mohammed is dead, Allah nevertheless has kept the light amongst you from which you can receive the same guidance as Allah guided Mohammed with that. And Abu Bakr is the companion of Allah's Apostle He is the second of the two in the cave. He is the most entitled person among the Muslims to manage your affairs. Therefore get up and swear allegiance to him." Some people had already taken the oath of allegiance to him in the shed of Bani Sa'ida but the oath of allegiance taken by the public was taken at the pulpit. I heard Umar saying to Abu Bakr on that day. "Please ascend the pulpit," and kept on urging him till he ascended the pulpit whereupon, all the people swore allegiance to him.

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 327:
Narrated Jubair bin Mut'im:
A woman came to the Prophet and spoke to him about something and he told her to return to him. She said, "O Allah's Apostle! If I come and do not find you?" (As if she meant, "...if you die?") The Prophet said, "If you should not find me, then go to Abu Bakr."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 328:
Narrated Tariq bin Shihab:
Abu Bakr said to the delegate of Buzakha. "Follow the tails of the camels till Allah shows the Caliph (successor) of His Prophet and Al-Muhajirin (emigrants) something because of which you may excuse yourselves "

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 329:
Narrated Jabir bin Samura:
I heard the Prophet saying, "There will be twelve Muslim rulers (who will rule all the Islamic world)." He then said a sentence which I did not hear. My father said, "All of them (those rulers) will be from Quraish."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 330:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "By Him in Whose Hands my life is, I was about to order for collecting fire wood and then order someone to pronounce the Adhan for the prayer and then order someone to lead the people in prayer and then I would go from behind and burn the houses of men who did not present themselves for the (compulsory congregational) prayer. By Him in Whose Hands my life is, if anyone of you had known that he would receive a bone covered with meat or two (small) pieces of meat present in between two ribs, he would come for 'Isha' prayer." (See Hadith No. 617, Vol. 1)

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 331:
Narrated Abdullah bin Ka'b bin Malik:
Who was Ka'b's guide from among his sons when Ka'b became blind: I heard Ka'b bin Malik saying, "When some people remained behind and did not join Allah's Apostle in the battle of Tabuk.." and then he described the whole narration and said, "Allah's Apostle forbade the Muslims to speak to us, and so we (I and my companions) stayed fifty nights in that state, and then Allah's Apostle announced Allah's acceptance of our repentance."

SAHIH BUKHARI, BOOK 90:
Wishes

Volume 9, Book 90, Number 332:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "By Him in Whose Hands my life is! Were it not for some men who dislike to be left behind and for whom I do not have means of conveyance, I would not stay away (from any Holy Battle). I would love to be martyred in Allah's Cause and come to life and then get, martyred and then come to life and then get martyred and then get resurrected and then get martyred.

Volume 9, Book 90, Number 333:
Narrated Al-A'rai:
Abu Huraira said, Allah's Apostle said, "By Him in Whose Hand my life is, I would love to fight in Allah's Cause and then get martyred and then resurrected (come to life) and then get martyred and then resurrected (come to life) and then get martyred, and then resurrected (come to life) and then get martyred and then resurrected (come to life)." Abu Huraira used to repeat those words three times and I testify to it with Allah's Oath.

Volume 9, Book 90, Number 334:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "If I had gold equal to the mountain of Uhud, I would love that, before three days had passed, not a single Dinar thereof remained with me if I found somebody to accept it excluding some amount that I would keep for the payment of my debts."

Volume 9, Book 90, Number 335:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle said, "If I had formerly known hat I came to know lately, I would not have driven the Hadi with me and would have finished the state of Ihram along with the people when they finished it

Volume 9, Book 90, Number 336:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
We were in the company of Allah's Apostle and we assumed the state of Ihram of Hajj and arrived at Mecca on the fourth of Dhul-Hijja. The Prophet ordered us to perform the Tawaf around the Kaaba and (Sa'i) between As-Safa and Al-Marwa and use our Ihram just for Umra, and finish the state of Ihram unless we had our Hadi with us. None of us had the Hadi with him except the Prophet and Talha. 1AIj came from Yemen and brought the Hadi with him. Ali said, 'I had assumed the state of Ihram with the same intention as that with which Allah's Apostle had assumed it. The people said, "How can we proceed to Mina and our male organs are dribbling?" Allah's Apostle said, "If I had formerly known what I came to know latterly, I would not have brought the Hadi, and had there been no Hadi with me, I would have finished my Ihram." Suraqa (bin Malik) met the Prophet while he was throwing pebbles at the Jamrat-al-'Aqaba, and asked, "O Allah's Apostle! Is this (permitted) for us only?" The Prophet replied. "No, it is forever" Aisha had arrived at Mecca while she was menstruating, therefore the Prophet ordered her to perform all the ceremonies of Hajj except the Tawaf around the Kaaba, and not to perform her prayers unless and until she became clean . When they encamped at Al-Batha, Aisha said, "O Allah's Apostle! You are proceeding after performing both Hajj and Umra while I am proceeding with Hajj only?" So the Prophet ordered Abdur-Rahman bin Abu Bakr As-Siddiq to

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go with her to At-Tan'im, and so she performed the Umra in Dhul-Hijja after the days of the Hajj.

Volume 9, Book 90, Number 337:
Narrated Aisha:
One night the Prophet was unable to sleep and said, "Would that a righteous man from my companions guarded me tonight." Suddenly we heard the clatter of arms, whereupon the Prophet said, "Who is it?" It was said, "I am Sa'd, O Allah's Apostle! I have come to guard you." The Prophet then slept so soundly that we heard him snoring. Abu Abdullah said: Aisha said: Bilal said, "Would that I but stayed overnight in a valley with Idhkhir and Jalil (two kinds of grass) around me (i.e., in Mecca)." Then I told that to the Prophet .

Volume 9, Book 90, Number 338:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Not to wish to be the like except of two men. A man whom Allah has given the (knowledge of the) Koran and he recites it during the hours of night and day and the one who wishes says: If I were given the same as this (man) has been given, I would do what he does, and a man whom Allah has given wealth and he spends it in the just and right way, in which case the one who wishes says, 'If I were given the same as he has been given, I would do what he does.' " (See Hadith No. 543 and 544, Vol 6)

Volume 9, Book 90, Number 339:
Narrated Anas:
If I had not heard the Prophet saying, "You should not long for death," I would have longed (for it).

Volume 9, Book 90, Number 340:
Narrated Qais:
We went to pay a visit to Khabbab bin Al-Art and he had got himself branded at seven spots over his body. He said, "If Allah's Apostle had not forbidden us to invoke Allah for death, I would have invoked for it."

Volume 9, Book 90, Number 341:
Narrated Sa'd bin Ubaid:
(the Maula of Abdur-Rahman bin Azhar) Allah's Apostle said, "None of you should long for death, for if he is a good man, he may increase his good deeds, and if he is an evil-doer, he may stop the evil deeds and repent."

Volume 9, Book 90, Number 342:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
The Prophet was carrying earth with us on the day of the battle of Al-Ahzab (confederates) and I saw that the dust was covering the whiteness of his abdomen, and he (the Prophet) was saying, "(O Allah) ! Without You, we would not have been guided, nor would we have given in charity, nor would we have prayed. So (O Allah!) please send tranquility (Sakina) upon us as they, (the chiefs of the enemy tribes) have rebelled against us. And if they intend affliction (i.e. want to frighten us and fight against us) then we would not (flee but withstand them). And the Prophet used to raise his voice with it. (See Hadith No. 430 and 432, Vol. 5)

Volume 9, Book 90, Number 343:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abi Aufa:
Allah's Apostle said, "Do not long for meeting your enemy, and ask Allah for safety (from all sorts of evil)." (See Hadith No. 266, Vol. 4)

Volume 9, Book 90, Number 344:
Narrated Al-Qasim bin Mohammed:
Ibn Abbas mentioned the case of a couple on whom the judgement of Lian has been passed. Abdullah bin Shaddad said, "Was that the lady in whose case the Prophet said, "If I were to stone a lady to death without a proof (against her)?' "Ibn Abbas said, "No! That was concerned with a woman who though being a Muslim used to arouse suspicion by her outright misbehavior." (See Hadith No. 230, Vol.7)

Volume 9, Book 90, Number 345:
Narrated 'Ata:
One night the Prophet delayed the Isha' prayer whereupon Umar went to him and said, "The prayer, O Allah's Apostle! The women and children had slept." The Prophet came out with water dropping from his head, and said, "Were I not afraid that it would be hard for my followers (or for the people), I would order them to pray Isha prayer at this time." (Various versions of this Hadith are given by the narrators with slight differences in expression but not in content).

Volume 9, Book 90, Number 346:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Were I not afraid that it would be hard on my followers, I would order them to use the siwak (as obligatory, for cleaning the teeth)

Volume 9, Book 90, Number 347:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet fasted Al-Wisal on the last days of the month. Some people did the same, and when the news reached the Prophet he said, "If the month had been prolonged for me, then I would have fasted Wisal for such a long time that the most exaggerating ones among you would have given up their exaggeration. I am not like you; my Lord always makes me eat and drink."

Volume 9, Book 90, Number 348:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle forbade Al-Wisal. The people said (to him), "But you fast Al-'Wisal," He said, "Who among you is like me? When I sleep (at night), my Lord makes me eat and drink. But when the people refused to give up Al-Wisal, he fasted Al-Wisal along with them for two days and then they saw the crescent whereupon the Prophet said, "If the crescent had not appeared I would have fasted for a longer period," as if he intended to punish them herewith.

Volume 9, Book 90, Number 349:
Narrated Aisha:
I asked the Prophet about the wall (outside the Kaaba). "Is it regarded as part of the Kaaba?" He replied, "Yes." I said, "Then why didn't the people include it in the Kaaba?" He said, "(Because) your people ran short of money." I asked, "Then why is its gate so high?" He replied, "Your people did so in order to admit to it whom they would and forbid whom they would. Were your people not still close to the period of ignorance, and were I not afraid that their hearts might deny my action, then surely I would include the wall in the Kaaba and make its gate touch the ground."

Volume 9, Book 90, Number 350:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "But for the emigration, I would have been one of the Ansar: and if the people took their way in a valley (or a mountain pass), I would take the Ansar's valley or the mountain pass."

Volume 9, Book 90, Number 351:
Narrated Abdullah bin Zaid:
The Prophet said, "But for the emigration, I would have been one of the Ansar; and if the people took their way in a valley (or a mountain pass), I would take Ansar's valley or their mountain pass."

SAHIH BUKHARI, BOOK 91:
Accepting Information Given by a Truthful Person

Volume 9, Book 91, Number 352:
Narrated Malik:
We came to the Prophet and we were young men nearly of equal ages and we stayed with him for twenty nights. Allah's Apostle was a very kind man and when he realized our longing for our families, he asked us about those whom we had left behind. When we informed him, he said, "Go back to your families and stay with them and teach them (religion) and order them (to do good deeds). The Prophet mentioned things some of which I remembered and some I did not. Then he said, "Pray as you have seen me praying, and when it is the time of prayer, one of you should pronounce the call (Adhan) for the prayer and the eldest of you should lead the prayer. "

Volume 9, Book 91, Number 353:
Narrated Ibn Mas'ud:
Allah's Apostle said, "The (call for prayer) Adhan of Bilal should not stop anyone of you from taking his Suhur for he pronounces the Adhan in order that whoever among you is praying the night prayer, may return (to eat his Suhur) and whoever among you is sleeping, may get up, for it is not yet dawn (when it is like this)." (Yahya, the sub-narrator stretched his two index fingers side ways).

Volume 9, Book 91, Number 354:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
The Prophet said, "Bilal pronounces the Adhan at night so that you may eat and drink till Ibn Um Maktum pronounces the Adhan (for the Fajr prayer)."

Volume 9, Book 91, Number 355:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet led us in Zuhr prayer and prayer five Rakat. Somebody asked him whether the prayer had been increased." He (the Prophet) said, "And what is that?" They (the people) replied, "You have prayed five Rakat." Then the Prophet offered two prostrations (of Sahu) after he had finished his prayer with the Taslim.

Volume 9, Book 91, Number 356:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle finished his prayer after offerings two Rakat only. Dhul-Yaddain asked him whether the prayer had been reduced, or you had forgotten?" The Prophet said, "Is Dhul-Yaddain speaking the truth?" The people said, "Yes." Then Allah's Apostle stood up and performed another two Rakat and then finished prayer with Taslim, and then said the Takbir and performed a prostration similar to or longer than his ordinary prostrations; then he raised his head, said Takbir and prostrated and then raised his head (Sahu prostrations).

Volume 9, Book 91, Number 357:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
While the people were at Quba offering the morning prayer, suddenly a person came to them saying, "Tonight Divine Inspiration has been revealed to Allah's Apostle and he has been ordered to face the Kaaba (in prayers): therefore you people should face it." There faces were towards Sham, so they turned their faces towards the Kaaba (at Mecca).

Volume 9, Book 91, Number 358:
Narrated Al-Bara:
When Allah's Apostle arrived at Medina, he prayed facing Jerusalem for sixteen or seventeen months but he wished that he would be ordered to face the Kaaba. So Allah revealed: --
'Verily! We have seen the turning of your face towards the heaven; surely we shall turn you to a prayer direction (Qibla) that shall please you.' (2.144) Thus he was directed towards the Kaaba. A man prayed the Asr prayer with the Prophet and then went out, and passing by some people from the Ansar, he said, "I testify. that I have prayed with the Prophet and he (the Prophet) has prayed facing the Kaaba." Thereupon they, who were bowing in the Asr prayer, turned towards the Kaaba.

Volume 9, Book 91, Number 359:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
I used to offer drinks prepared from infused dates to Abu Talha Al-Ansari, Abu 'Ubada bin Al Jarrah and Ubai bin Ka'b. Then a person came to them and said, "All alcoholic drinks have been prohibited." Abii Talha then said, "O Anas! Get up and break all these jars." So I got up and took a mortar belonging to us, and hit the jars with its lower part till they broke.

Volume 9, Book 91, Number 360:
Narrated Hudhaifa:
The Prophet said to the people of Najran, "I will send to you an honest person who is really trustworthy." The Companion, of the Prophet each desired to be that person, but the Prophet sent Abu Ubaida.

Volume 9, Book 91, Number 361:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "For every nation there is an Amin (honest, trustworthy person) and the Amin of this nation is Abu Ubaida."

Volume 9, Book 91, Number 362:
Narrated Umar:
There was a man from the Ansar (who was a friend of mine). If he was not present in the company of Allah's Apostle I used to be present with Allah's Apostle, I would tell him what I used to hear from Allah's Apostle, and when I was absent from Allah's Apostle he used to be present with him, and he would tell me what he used to hear from Allah's Apostle .

Volume 9, Book 91, Number 363:
Narrated Ali:
The Prophet , sent an army and appointed some man their commander The man made a fire and then said (to the soldiers), "Enter it." Some of them intended to enter it while some others said, 'We have run away from it (i.e., embraced Islam to save ourselves from the 'fire')." They mentioned that to the Prophet, and he said about people who had intended to enter the fire. "If they had entered it, they would have remained In it till the Day of Resurrection." Then he said to others, "No obedience for evil deeds, obedience is required only in what is good ."

Volume 9, Book 91, Number 364:
Narrated Abu Huraira and Zaid bin Khalid:
Two men sued each other before the Prophet.

Volume 9, Book 91, Number 365:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
While we were with Allah's Apostle a bedouin got up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Settle my case according to Allah's Book (Laws)." Then his opponent got up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! He has said the truth! Settle his case according to Allah's Book (Laws.) and allow me to speak," He said, "My son was a laborer for this man and he committed illegal sexual intercourse with his wife. The people told me that my son should be stoned to death but I ransomed him with one-hundred sheep and a slave girl. Then I asked the religious

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learned people and they told me that his wife should be stoned to death and my son should receive one-hundred lashes and be sentenced to one year of exile.' The Prophet said, "By Him in Whose Hands my life is, I will judge between you according to Allah's Book (Laws): As for the slave girl and the sheep, they are to be returned; and as for your son, he shall receive one-hundred lashes and will be exiled for one year. You, O Unais!" addressing a man from Bani Aslam, "Go tomorrow morning to the wife of this (man) and if she confesses, then stone her to death." The next morning Unais went to the wife and she confessed, and he stoned her to death.

Volume 9, Book 91, Number 366:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
On the day of (the battle of) the Trench, the Prophet called the people (to bring news about the enemy). Az-Zubair responded to his call. He called them again and Az-Zubair responded to his call again; then he called them for the third time and again Az-Zubair responded to his call whereupon the Prophet said, "Every prophet has his Hawairi (helper), and Az-Zubair is my Hawari."

Volume 9, Book 91, Number 367:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet entered a garden and told me to guard its gate. Then a man came and asked permission to enter. The Prophet, said, "Permit him and give him the good news that he will enter Paradise." Behold! It was Abu Bakr. Then Umar came, and the Prophet said, "Admit him and give him the good news that he will enter Paradise." Then Uthman came and the Prophet said, "Admit him and give him the good news that he will enter Paradise. "

Volume 9, Book 91, Number 368:
Narrated Umar:
I came and behold, Allah's Apostle was staying on a Mashroba (attic room) and a black slave of Allah's Apostle was at the top if its stairs. I said to him, "(Tell the Prophet) that here is Umar bin Al-Khattab (asking for permission to enter)." Then he admitted me.

Volume 9, Book 91, Number 369:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
Allah's Apostle sent a letter to Khosrau and told his messenger to give it first to the ruler of Bahrain, and tell him to deliver it to Khosrau. When Khosrau had read it, he tore it into pieces. (Az-Zuhri said: I think Ibn Al-Musaiyab said, "Allah's Apostle invoked Allah to tear them (Khosrau and his followers) into pieces."

Volume 9, Book 91, Number 370:
Narrated Salama bin Al-Akwa':
Allah's Apostle said to a man from the tribe of Al-Aslam, "Proclaim among your people (or the people) on the day of 'Ashura' (tenth of Muharram), 'Whosoever has eaten anything should fast for the rest of the day; and whoever has not eaten anything, should complete his fast.' "

Volume 9, Book 91, Number 371:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
When the delegate of 'Abd Al-Qais came to Allah's Apostle, he said, "Who are the delegate?" They said, "The delegate are from the tribe of Rabi'a." The Prophet said, "Welcome, O the delegate, and welcome! O people! Neither you will have any disgrace nor will you regret." They said, "O Allah's Apostle! Between you and us there are the infidels of the tribe of Mudar, so please order us to do something good (religious deeds) that by acting on them we may enter Paradise, and that we may inform (our people) whom we have left behind, about it." They also asked (the Prophet) about drinks. He forbade them from four things and ordered them to do four things. He ordered them to believe in Allah, and asked them, "Do you know what is meant by belief in Allah?" They said, "Allah and His Apostle know best." He said, "To testify that none has the right to be worshipped except Allah, the One, Who has no partners with Him, and that Mohammed is Allah's Apostle; and to offer prayers perfectly and to pay Zakat." (the narrator thinks that fasting in Ramadan is included), "and to give one-fifth of the war booty (to the state)." Then he forbade four (drinking utensils): Ad-Duba', Al-Hantam, Al-Mazaffat and An-Naqir, or probably, Al-Muqaiyar. And then the Prophet said, "Remember all these things by heart and preach it to those whom you have left behind."

Volume 9, Book 91, Number 372:
Narrated Tauba Al-'Anbari:
Ash-'Sha'bi asked me, "Did you notice how Al-Hasan used to narrate Hadiths from the Prophets? I stayed with Ibn Umar for about two or one-and-half years and I did not hear him narrating any thing from the Prophet except his (Hadith): He (Ibn Umar) said, "Some of the companions of the Prophet including Sa'd, were going to eat meat, but one of the wives of the Prophet called them, saying, 'It is the neat of a Mastigure.' The people then stopped eating it. On that Allah's Apostle said, 'Carry on eating, for it is lawful.' Or said, 'There is no harm in eating it, but it is not from my meals."

SAHIH BUKHARI, BOOK 92:
Holding Fast to the Koran and Sunnah

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 373:
Narrated Tariq bin Shihab:
A Jew said to Umar, "O Chief of the Believers, if this verse: 'This day I have perfected your religion for you, completed My favors upon you, and have chosen for you, Islam as your religion.' (5.3) had been revealed upon us, we would have taken that day as an 'Id (festival) day." Umar said, "I know definitely on what day this Verse was revealed; it was revealed on the day of 'Arafat, on a Friday."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 374:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
That he heard Umar speaking while standing on the pulpit of the Prophet in the morning (following the death of the Prophet), when the people had sworn allegiance to Abu Bakr. He said the Tashah-hud before Abu Bakr, and said, "Amma Ba'du (then after) Allah has chosen for his Apostle what is with Him (Paradise) rather than what is with you (the world). This is that Book (Koran) with which Allah guided your Apostle, so stick to it, for then you will be guided on the right path as Allah guided His Apostle with it."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 375:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet embraced me and said, "O Allah! Teach him (the knowledge of) the Book (Koran)."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 376:
Narrated Abal Minhal:
Abu Barza said, "(O people!) Allah makes you self-sufficient or has raised you high with Islam and with Mohammed

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 377:
Narrated Abdullah bin Dinar:
Abdullah Bin Umar wrote to Abdul Malik bin Marwan, swearing allegiance to him: 'I swear allegiance to you in that I will listen and obey what is in accordance with the Laws of Allah and the Tradition of His Apostle as much as I can.'

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 378:
Narrated Said bin Al-Musaiyab:
Abu Huraira said that Allah's Apostle said, "I have been sent with 'Jawami-al-Kalim ' (the shortest expression with the widest meaning) and have been made victorious with awe (cast in my enemy's hearts), and while I was sleeping, I saw that the keys of the treasures of the world were placed in my hand." Abu Huraira added: Allah's Apostle has gone, and you people are utilizing those treasures, or digging those treasures out." or said a similar sentence.

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 379:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "There was no prophet among the prophets but was given miracles because of which people had security or had belief, but what I was given was the Divine Inspiration which Allah revealed to me. So I hope that my followers will be more than those of any other prophet on the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 380:
Narrated Abu Wail:
I sat with Shaiba in this Mosque (Al-Masjid-Al-Haram), and he said, "Umar once sat beside me here as you are now sitting, and said, 'I feel like distributing all the gold and silver that are in it (i.e., the Kaaba) among the Muslims'. I said, 'You cannot do that.' Umar said, 'Why?' I said, 'Your two (previous) companions (the Prophet and Abu Bakr) did not do it. Umar said, 'They are the two persons whom one must follow.'" (See Hadith No. 664, Vol. 2)

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 381:
Narrated Hudhaifa:
Allah's Apostle said to us, "Honesty descended from the Heavens and settled in the roots of the hearts of men (faithful believers), and then the Koran was revealed and the people read the Koran, (and learnt it from it) and also learnt it from the Sunna." Both Koran and Sunna strengthened their (the faithful believers') honesty. (See Hadith No. 208)

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 382:
Narrated Abdullah:
The best talk (speech) is Allah's Book 'Koran), and the best way is the way of Mohammed, and the worst matters are the heresies (those new things which are introduced into the religion); and whatever you have been promised will surely come to pass, and you cannot escape (it).

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 383:
Narrated Abu Huraira and Zaid bin Khalid:
We were with the Prophet when he said (to two men), "I shall judge between you according to Allah's Book (Laws)."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 384:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "All my followers will enter Paradise except those who refuse." They said, "O Allah's Apostle! Who will refuse?" He said, "Whoever obeys me will enter Paradise, and whoever disobeys me is the one who refuses (to enter it)."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 385:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
Some angels came to the Prophet while he was sleeping. Some of them said, "He is sleeping." Others said, "His eyes are sleeping but his heart is awake." Then they said, "There is an example for this companion of yours." One of them said, "Then set forth an example for him." Some of them said, "He is sleeping." The others said, "His eyes are sleeping but his heart is awake." Then they said, "His example is that of a man who has built a house and then offered therein a banquet and sent an inviter (messenger) to invite the people. So whoever accepted the invitation of the inviter, entered the house and ate of the banquet, and whoever did not accept the invitation of the inviter, did not enter the house, nor did he eat of the banquet." Then the angels said, "Interpret this example to him so that he may understand it." Some of them said, "He is sleeping." The others said, "His eyes are sleeping but his heart is awake." And then they said, "The houses stands for Paradise and the call maker is Mohammed; and whoever obeys Mohammed, obeys Allah; and whoever disobeys Mohammed, disobeys Allah. Mohammed separated the people (i.e., through his message, the good is distinguished from the bad, and the believers from the disbelievers)."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 386:
Narrated Hammam:
Hudhaifa said, "O the Group of Al-Qurra! Follow the straight path, for then you have taken a great lead (and will be the leaders), but if you divert right or left, then you will go astray far away."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 387:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet said, "My example and the example of what I have been sent with is that of a man who came to some people and said, 'O people! I have seen the enemy's army with my own eyes, and I am the naked warner; so protect yourselves!' Then a group of his people obeyed him and fled at night proceeding stealthily till they were safe, while another group of them disbelieved him and stayed at their places till morning when the army came upon them, and killed and ruined them completely So this is the example of that person who obeys me and follows what I have brought (the Koran and the Sunna), and the example of the one who disobeys me and disbelieves the truth I have brought."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 388:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
When Allah's Apostle died and Abu Bakr was elected as a Caliph after him, some of the Arabs reverted to disbelief, Umar said to Abu Bakr, "How dare you fight the people while Allah's Apostle said, I have been ordered to fight the people till they say 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah' And whoever says: None has the right to be worshipped but Allah.' waves his wealth and his life from me unless he deserves a legal punishment lusty, and his account will be with Allah! Abu Bakr said, "By Allah, I will fight him who discriminates between Zakat and prayers, for Zakat is the Compulsory right to be taken from the wealth By Allah, if they refuse to give me even a tying rope which they use to give to Allah's Apostle, I would fight them for withholding it." Umar said, 'By Allah, It was nothing, except I saw that Allah had opened the chest of Abu Bakr to the fight, and I came to know for certain that was the truth."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 389:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:
Uyaina bin Hisn bin Hudhaifa bin Badr came and stayed (at Medina) with his nephew Al-Hurr bin Qais bin Hisn who has one of those whom Umar used to keep near him, as the Qurra' (learned men knowing Koran by heart) were the people of Umar's meetings and his advisors whether they were old or young. 'Uyaina said to his nephew, "O my nephew! Have you an approach to this chief so as to get for me the permission to see him?" His nephew said, "I will get the permission for you to see him." (Ibn Abbas added:) So he took the permission for 'Uyaina, and when the latter entered, he said, "O the son of Al-Khattab! By Allah, you neither give us sufficient provision nor judge among us with justice." On that Umar became so furious that he intended to harm him. Al-Hurr, said, "O Chief of the Believers!" Allah said to His Apostle 'Hold to forgiveness, command what is good (right), and leave the

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foolish (i.e. do not punish them).' (7.199) and this person is among the foolish." By Allah, Umar did not overlook that Verse when Al-Hurr recited it before him, and Umar said to observe (the orders of) Allah's Book strictly." (See Hadith No. 166, Vol. 6)

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 390:
Narrated Asma bint Abu Bakr:
I came to Aisha during the solar eclipse. The people were standing (offering prayer) and she too, was standing and offering prayer. I asked, "What is wrong with the people?" She pointed towards the sky with her hand and said, Subhan Allah!" I asked her, "Is there a sign?" She nodded with her head meaning, yes. When Allah's Apostle finished (the prayer), he glorified and praised Allah and said, "There is not anything that I have not seen before but I have seen now at this place of mine, even Paradise and Hell. It has been revealed to me that you people will be put to trial nearly like the trial of Ad-Dajjal, in your graves. As for the true believer or a Muslim (the sub-narrator is not sure as to which of the two (words Asma had said) he will say, 'Mohammed came with clear signs from Allah, and we responded to him (accepted his teachings) and believed (what he said)' It will be said (to him) 'Sleep in peace; we have known that you were a true believer who believed with certainty.' As for a hypocrite or a doubtful person, (the sub-narrator is not sure as to which word Asma said) he will say, 'I do not know, but I heard the people saying something and so I said the same.' "

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 391:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Leave me as I leave you) for the people who were before you were ruined because of their questions and their differences over their prophets. So, if I forbid you to do something, then keep away from it. And if I order you to do something, then do of it as much as you can."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 392:
Narrated Sa'd bin Abi Waqqas:
The Prophet said, "The most sinful person among the Muslims is the one who asked about something which had not been prohibited, but was prohibited because of his asking."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 393:
Narrated Zaid bin Thabit:
The Prophet took a room made of date palm leaves mats in the mosque. Allah's Apostle prayed in it for a few nights till the people gathered (to pray the night prayer (Tarawih) (behind him.) Then on the 4th night the people did not hear his voice and they thought he had slept, so some of them started humming in order that he might come out. The Prophet then said, "You continued doing what I saw you doing till I was afraid that this (Tarawih prayer) might be enjoined on you, and if it were enjoined on you, you would not continue performing it. Therefore, O people! Perform your prayers at your homes, for the best prayer of a person is what is performed at his home except the compulsory congregational) prayer." (See Hadith No. 229,Vol. 3) (See Hadith No. 134, Vol. 8)

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 394:
Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari:
Allah's Apostle was asked about things which he disliked, and when the people asked too many questions, he became angry and said, "Ask me (any question)." A man got up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Who is my father?" The Prophet replied, "Your father is Hudhaifa." Then another man got up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Who is my father?" The Prophet said, "Your father is Salim, Maula Shaiba." When Umar saw the signs of anger on the face of Allah's Apostle, he said, "We repent to Allah."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 395:
Narrated Warrad:
(The clerk of Al-Mughira) Muawiya wrote to Al-Mughira 'Write to me what you have heard from Allah's Apostle.' So he (Al-Mughira) wrote to him: Allah's Prophet used to say at the end of each prayer: "La ilaha illalla-h wahdahu la sharika lahu, lahul Mulku, wa lahul Hamdu wa hula ala kulli shai'in qadir. 'Allahumma la mani' a lima a'taita, wala mu'tiya lima mana'ta, wala yanfa'u dhuljadd minkal-jadd." He also wrote to him that the Prophet used to forbid (1) Qil and Qal (idle useless talk or that you talk too much about others), (2) Asking too many questions (in disputed Religious matters); (3) And wasting one's wealth by extravagance; (4) and to be undutiful to one's mother (5) and to bury the daughters alive (6) and to prevent your favors (benevolence to others (i.e. not to pay the rights of others (7) And asking others for something (except when it is unavoidable).

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 396:
Narrated Anas:
We were with Umar and he said, "We have been forbidden to undertake a difficult task beyond our capability (i.e. to exceed the religious limits e.g., to clean the inside of the eyes while doing ablution)."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 397:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Prophet came out after the sun had declined and offered the Zuhr prayer (in congregation). After finishing it with Taslim, he stood on the pulpit and mentioned the Hour and mentioned there would happen great events before it. Then he said, "Whoever wants to ask me any question, may do so, for by Allah, you will not ask me about anything but I will inform you of its answer as long as I am at this place of mine." On this, the Ansar wept violently, and Allah's Apostle kept on saying, "Ask Me! " Then a man got up and asked, "Where will my entrance be, O Allah's Apostle?" The Prophet said, "(You will go to) the Fire." Then Abdullah bin Hudhaifa got up and asked, "Who is my father, O Allah's Apostle?" The Prophet replied, "Your father is Hudhaifa." The Prophet then kept on saying (angrily), "Ask me! Ask me!" Umar then knelt on his knees and said, "We have accepted Allah as our Lord and Islam as our religion and Mohammed as an Apostle." Allah's Apostle became quiet when Umar said that. Then Allah's Apostle said, "By Him in Whose Hand my life is, Paradise and Hell were displayed before me across this wall while I was praying, and I never saw such good and evil as I have seen today."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 398:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
A man said, "O Allah's Prophet! Who is my father?" The Prophet said, "Your father is so-and-so." And then the Divine Verse:-- 'O you who believe! Ask not questions about things..(5.101)

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 399:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle said, "People will not stop asking questions till they say, 'This is Allah, the Creator of everything, then who created Allah?' "

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 400:
Narrated Ibn Masud:
I was with the Prophet at one of the farms of Medina while he was leaning on a date palm leaf-stalk. He passed by a group of Jews and some of them said to the other, Ask him (the Prophet) about the spirit. Some others said, "Do not ask him, lest he should tell you what you dislike" But they went up to him and said, "O Abal Qasim! Inform us bout the spirit." The Prophet stood up for a while, waiting. I realized that he was being Divinely Inspired, so I kept away from him till the inspiration was over. Then the Prophet said, "(O Mohammed) they ask you regarding the spirit, Say: The spirit its knowledge is with my Lord (i.e., nobody has its knowledge except Allah)" (17.85) (This is a miracle of the Koran that all the scientists up till now do not know about the spirit, i.e, how life comes to a body and how it goes away at its death) (See Hadith No. 245, Vol. 6)

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 401:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet wore a gold ring and then the people followed him and wore gold rings too. Then the Prophet said, "I had this golden ring made for myself. He then threw it away and said, "I shall never put it on." Thereupon the people also threw their rings away.

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 402:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said (to his companions), "Do not fast Al-Wisal." They said, "But you fast Al-Wisail." He said, "I am not like you, for at night my Lord feeds me and makes me drink." But the people did not give up Al-Wisal, so the Prophet fasted Al-Wisal with them for two days or two nights, and then they saw the crescent whereupon the Prophet said, "If the crescent had delayed, I would have continued fasting (because of you)," as if he wanted to vanquish them completely (because they had refused to give up Al Wisal).

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 403:
Narrated Ibrahim At Tamii's father:
Ali addressed us while he was standing on a brick pulpit and carrying a sword from which was hanging a scroll He said "By Allah, we have no book to read except Allah's Book and whatever is on this scroll," And then he unrolled it, and behold, in it was written what sort of camels were to be given as blood money, and there was also written in it: 'Medina is a sanctuary form 'Air (mountain) to such and such place so whoever innovates in it an heresy or commits a sin therein, he will incur the curse of Allah, the angles, and all the people and Allah will not accept his compulsory or optional good deeds.' There was also written in it: 'The asylum (pledge of protection) granted by any Muslims is one and the same, (even a Muslim of the lowest status is to be secured and respected by all the other Muslims, and whoever betrays a Muslim in this respect (by violating the pledge) will incur the curse of Allah, the angels, and all the people, and Allah will not accept his compulsory or optional good deeds.' There was also written in it: 'Whoever (freed slave) befriends (takes as masters) other than his real masters (manumitters) without their permission will incur the curse of Allah, the angels, and all the people, and Allah will not accept his compulsory or optional good deeds. ' (See Hadith No. 94, Vol. 3)

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 404:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet did something as it was allowed from the religious point of view but some people refrained from it. When the Prophet heard of that, he, after glorifying and praising Allah, said, "Why do some people refrain from doing something which I do? By Allah, I know Allah more than they."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 405:
Narrated Ibn Abi Mulaika:
Once the two righteous men, i.e., Abu Bakr and Umar were on the verge of destruction (and that was because): When the delegate of Bani Tamim came to the Prophet, one of them (either Abu Bakr or Umar) recommended Al-Aqra' bin Habis At-Tamimi Al-Hanzali, the brother of Bani Majashi (to be appointed as their chief), while the other recommended somebody else. Abu Bakr said to Umar, "You intended only to oppose me." Umar said, "I did not intend to oppose you!" Then their voices grew louder in front of the Prophet whereupon there was revealed: 'O you who believe! Do not raise your voices above the voice of the Prophet..a great reward.' (49.2-3) Ibn Az-Zubair said, 'Thence forward when Umar talked to the Prophet, he would talk like one who whispered a secret and would even fail to make the Prophet hear him, in which case the Prophet would ask him (to repeat his words)."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 406:
Narrated Aisha:
(the mother of believers) Allah's Apostle during his fatal ailment said, "Order Abu Bakr to lead the people in prayer." I said, "If Abu Bakr stood at your place (in prayers, the people will not be able to hear him because of his weeping, so order Umar to lead the people in prayer." He again said, "Order Abu Bakr to lead the people in prayer " Then I said to Hafsa, "Will you say (to the Prophet), 'If Abu Bakr stood at your place, the people will not be able to hear him be cause of his weeping, so order Umar to lead the people in prayer?" Hafsa did so, whereupon Allah's Apostle said, "You are like the companions of Joseph (See Koran, 12:30-32). Order Abu Bakr to lead the people in prayer." Hafsa then said to me, "I have never received any good from you!"

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 407:
Narrated Sahl bin Sa'd As-Sa'idi:
'Uwaimir Al-'Ajlani came to 'Asim bin Adi and said, "If a man found another man with his wife and killed him, would you sentence the husband to death (in Qisas,) i.e., equality in punishment)? O 'Asim! Please ask Allah's Apostle about this matter on my behalf." 'Asim asked the Prophet but the Prophet disliked the question and disapproved of it. 'Asim returned and informed 'Uwaimir that the Prophet disliked that type of question. 'Uwaimir said, "By Allah, I will go (personally) to the Prophet." 'Uwaimir came to the Prophet when Allah had already revealed Koranic Verses (in that respect), after 'Asim had left (the Prophet). So the Prophet said to 'Uwaimir, "Allah has revealed Koranic Verses regarding you and your wife." The Prophet then called for them, and they came and carried out the order of Lian.
Then 'Uwaimir said, "O Allah's Apostle! Now if I kept her with me, I would be accused of telling a lie." So 'Uwaimir divorced her although the Prophet did not order him to do so. Later on this practice of divorcing became the tradition of couples involved in a case of Li'an. The Prophet said (to the people). "Wait for her! If she delivers a red short (small) child like a Wahra (a short red animal). then I will be of the opinion that he ('Uwaimir) has told a lie but if she delivered a black big-eyed one with big buttocks, then I will be of the opinion that he has told the truth about her." 'Ultimately she gave birth to a child that proved the accusation. (See Hadith No. 269, Vol. 6)

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 408:
Narrated Malik bin Aus An-Nasri:
I proceeded till I entered upon Umar (and while I was sitting there), his gate-keeper Yarfa came to him and said, " Uthman, Abdur-Rahman, Az-Zubair and Sa'd ask your permission to come in." Umar allowed them. So they entered, greeted, and sat down. (After a while the gatekeeper came) and said, "Shall I admit Ali and Abbas?" Umar allowed them to enter. Al-Abbas said "O Chief of the believers! Judge between me and the oppressor (Ali)." Then there was a dispute (regarding the property of Bani Nadir) between them (Abbas and Ali). Uthman and his companions said, "O Chief

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of the Believers! Judge between them and relieve one from the other." Umar said, "Be patient! beseech you by Allah, with Whose permission the Heaven and the Earth Exist! Do you know that Allah's Apostle said, 'Our property is not to be inherited, and whatever we leave is to be given in charity,' and by this Allah's Apostle meant himself?" On that the group said, "He verily said so." Umar then faced Ali and Abbas and said, "I beseech you both by Allah, do you both know that Allah's Apostle said so?" They both replied, "Yes". Umar then said, "Now I am talking to you about this matter (in detail) . Allah favored Allah's Apostle with some of this wealth which He did not give to anybody else, as Allah said: 'What Allah bestowed as Fai (Booty on His Apostle for which you made no expedition... ' (59.6)

So that property was totally meant for Allah's Apostle, yet he did not collect it and ignore you, nor did he withhold it with your exclusion, but he gave it to you and distributed it among you till this much of it was left behind, and the Prophet, used to spend of this as the yearly expenditures of his family and then take what remained of it and spent it as he did with (other) Allah's wealth. The Prophet did so during all his lifetime, and I beseech you by Allah, do you know that?" They replied, "Yes." Umar then addressed Ali and Abbas, saying, "I beseech you both by Allah, do you know that?" Both of them replied, "Yes." Umar added, "Then Allah took His Apostle unto Him. Abu Bakr then said 'I am the successor of Allah's Apostle' and took over all the Prophet's property and disposed of it in the same way as Allah's Apostle used to do, and you were present then." Then he turned to Ali and Abbas and said, "You both claim that Abu Bakr did so-and-so in managing the property, but Allah knows that Abu Bakr was honest, righteous, intelligent, and a follower of what is right in managing it.

Then Allah took Abu Bakr unto Him, 'I said: I am the successor of Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr.' So I took over the property for two years and managed it in the same way as Allah's Apostle, and Abu Bakr used to do. Then you both (Ali and Abbas) came to me and asked for the same thing! (O Abbas! You came to me to ask me for your share from nephew's property; and this (Ali) came to me asking for his wives share from her father's property, and I said to you both, 'If you wish, I will place it in your custody on condition that you both will manage it in the same way as Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr did and as I have been doing since I took charge of managing it; otherwise, do not speak to me anymore about it.'

Then you both said, 'Give it to us on that (condition).' So I gave it to you on that condition. Now I beseech you by Allah, did I not give it to them on that condition?" The group (whom he had been addressing) replied, "Yes." Umar then addressed Abbas and Ali saying, "I beseech you both by Allah, didn't I give you all that property on that condition?" They said, "Yes." Umar then said, "Are you now seeking a verdict from me other than that? By Him with Whose Permission the Heaven and the Earth exists I will not give any verdict other than that till the Hour is established; and if you both are unable to manage this property, then you can hand it back to me, and I will be sufficient for it on your behalf." (See, Hadith No. 326, Vol. 4)

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 409:
Narrated 'Asim:
I said to Anas, "Did Allah's Apostle make Medina a sanctuary?" He replied, "Yes, (Medina is a sanctuary from such-and-such place to such-and-such place. It is forbidden to cut its trees, and whoever innovates an heresy in it or commits a sin therein, will incur the curse of Allah, the angels, and all the people." Then Musa bin Anas told me that Anas added, ". . . . . or gives refuge to such an heretic or a sinner..."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 410:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
I heard the Prophet saying, "Allah will not deprive you of knowledge after he has given it to you, but it will be taken away through the death of the religious learned men with their knowledge. Then there will remain ignorant people who, when consulted, will give verdicts according to their opinions whereby they will mislead others and go astray."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 411:
Narrated Al-A'mash:
I asked Abu Wail, "Did you witness the battle of Siffin between Ali and Muawiya?" He said, "Yes," and added, "Then I heard Sahl bin Hunaif saying, 'O people! Blame your personal opinions in your religion. No doubt, I remember myself on the day of Abi Jandal; if I had the power to refuse the order of Allah's Apostle, I would have refused it.

We have never put our swords on our shoulders to get involved in a situation that might have been horrible for us, but those swords brought us to victory and peace, except this present situation.' " Abu Wail said, "I witnessed the battle of Siffin, and how nasty Siffin was!"

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 412:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
I fell ill, Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr came to visit me on foot. The Prophet came to me while I was unconscious. Allah's Apostle performed ablution and poured the Remaining water of his ablution over me whereupon I became conscious and said, 'O Allah's Apostle! How should I spend my wealth? Or how should I deal with my wealth?" But the Prophet did not give me any reply till the Verse of the laws of inheritance was revealed.

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 413:
Narrated Abu Said:
A woman came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Men (only) benefit by your teachings, so please devote to us from (some of) your time, a day on which we may come to you so that you may teach us of what Allah has taught you." Allah's Apostle said, "Gather on such-and-such a day at such-and-such a place." They gathered and Allah's Apostle came to them and taught them of what Allah had taught him. He then said, "No woman among you who has lost her three children (died) but that they will screen her from the Fire." A woman among them said, "O Allah's Apostle! If she lost two children?" She repeated her question twice, whereupon the Prophet said, "Even two, even two, even two!" (See Hadith No. 341, Vol. 2)

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 414:
Narrated Al-Mughira bin Shu'ba:
The Prophet said, "A group of my follower swill remain predominant (victorious) till Allah's Order (the Hour) comes upon them while they are still predominant (victorious)."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 415:
Narrated Humaid:
I heard Muawiya bin Abi Sufyan delivering a sermon. He said, "I heard the Prophet saying, "If Allah wants to do a favor to somebody, He bestows on him, the gift of understanding the Koran and Sunna. I am but a distributor, and Allah is the Giver. The state of this nation will remain good till the Hour is established, or till Allah's Order comes."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 416:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
When the (following) Verse was revealed to Allah's Apostle: 'Say: He has power to send torment on you from above,'..(6.65) he said, "O Allah! I seek refuge with Your Face (from that punishment)." And when this was revealed: '..or from beneath your feet.' (6.65) he said, "O Allah! I seek refuge with Your Face (from that)." And when this Verse was revealed: '..or to cover you with confusion in party-strife, and make you to taste the violence of one another,'...(6.65) he said: "These two warnings are easier (than the previous ones)."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 417:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
A bedouin came to Allah's Apostle and said, "My wife has delivered a black boy, and I suspect that he is not my child." Allah's Apostle said to him, "Have you got camels?" The bedouin said, "Yes." The Prophet said, "What color are they?" The bedouin said, "They are red." The Prophet said, "Are any of them Grey?" He said, "There are Grey ones among them." The Prophet said, "Whence do you think this color came to them?" The bedouin said, "O Allah's Apostle! It resulted from hereditary disposition." The Prophet said, "And this (i.e., your child) has inherited his color from his ancestors." The Prophet did not allow him to deny his paternity of the child.

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 418:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
A woman came to the Prophet and said, "My mother vowed to perform the Hajj but she died before performing it. Should I perform the Hajj on her behalf?" He said, "Yes! Perform the Hajj on her behalf. See, if your mother had been in debt, would you have paid her debt?" She said, "Yes." He said, "So you should pay what is for Him as Allah has more right that one should fulfill one's obligations to Him. "

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 419:
Narrated Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle said, "Do not wish to be like anybody except in two cases: The case of a man whom Allah has given wealth and he spends it in the right way, and that of a man whom Allah has given religious wisdom (i.e., Koran and Sunna) and he gives his verdicts according to it and teaches it." (to others i.e., religious knowledge of Koran and Sunna (Prophet's Traditions)). "

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 420:
Narrated Al-Mughira bin Shu'ba:
Umar bin Al-Khattab asked (the people) about the Imlas of a woman, i.e., a woman who has an abortion because of having been beaten on her abdomen, saying, "Who among you has heard anything about it from the Prophet?" I said, "I did." He said, "What is that?" I said, "I heard the Prophet saying, "Its Diya (blood money) is either a male or a female slave.' " Umar said, "Do not leave till you present witness in support of your statement." So I went out, and found Mohammed bin Maslama. I brought him, and he bore witness with me that he had heard the Prophet saying, "Its Diya (blood money) is either a male slave or a female slave."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 421:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The Hour will not be established till my followers copy the deeds of the previous nations and follow them very closely, span by span, and cubit by cubit (i.e., inch by inch)." It was said, "O Allah's Apostle! Do you mean by those (nations) the Persians and the Byzantines?" The Prophet said, "Who can it be other than they?"

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 422:
Narrated Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri:
The Prophet said, "You will follow the ways of those nations who were before you, span by span and cubit by cubit (i.e., inch by inch) so much so that even if they entered a hole of a mastigure, you would follow them." We said, "O Allah's Apostle! (Do you mean) the Jews and the Christians?" He said, "Whom else?"

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 423:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "None is killed unjustly, but the first son of Adam will have a part of its burden." Sufyan said, "..a part of its blood because he was the first to establish the tradition of murdering"

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 424t:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah As-Salami:
A bedouin gave the Pledge of allegiance for embracing Islam to Allah's Apostle, and then he got an attack of fever in Medina and came to Allah's Apostle: and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Cancel my pledge." Allah's Apostle refused to do so. The bedouin came to him again and said, "Cancel my pledge," but he refused again, and then again, the bedouin came to him and said, "Cancel my pledge," and Allah's Apostle refused. The bedouin finally went away, and Allah's Apostle said, "Medina is like a pair of bellows (furnace), it expels its impurities while it brightens and clears its good.'

9.424.:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
I used to teach Koran to Abdur-Rahman bin Auf. When Umar performed his last Hajj, Abdur-Rahman said (to me) at Mina, "Would that you had seen Chief of the believers today! A man came to him and said, "So-and-so has said, "If Chief of the Believers died, we will give the oath of allegiance to such-and-such person,' Umar said, 'I will get up tonight and warn those who want to usurp the people's rights.' I said, 'Do not do so, for the season (of Hajj) gathers the riffraff mob who will form the majority of your audience, and I am afraid that they will not understand (the meaning of) your saying properly and may spread (an incorrect statement) everywhere. You should wait till we reach Medina, the place of migration and the place of the Sunna (the Prophet's Traditions). There you will meet the companions of Allah's Apostle from the Muhajirin and the Ansar who will understand your statement and place it in its proper position' Umar said, 'By Allah, I shall do so the first time I stand (to address the people) in Medina.' When we reached Medina, Umar (in a Friday Khutba-sermon) said, "No doubt, Allah sent Mohammed with the Truth and revealed to him the Book (Koran), and among what was revealed, was the Verse of Ar-Rajm (stoning adulterers to death).'" (See Hadith No. 817,Vol. 8)

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 425:
Narrated Mohammed:
We were with Abu Huraira while he was wearing two linen garments dyed with red clay. He cleaned his nose with his garment, saying, "Bravo! Bravo! Abu Huraira is cleaning his nose with linen! There came a time when I would fall senseless between the pulpit of Allah's Apostle and Aisha's dwelling whereupon a passerby would come and put his foot on my neck, considering me a mad man, but in fact, I had no madness, I suffered nothing but hunger."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 426:
Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin 'Abis:
Ibn Abbas was asked, "Did you offer the Id prayer with the Prophet?" He said, "Yes, had it not been for my close relation to the Prophet, I would not have performed it (with him) because of my being too young The Prophet came to the mark which is near the home of Kathir bin As-Salt and offered the Id prayer and then delivered the sermon. I do not remember if any Adhan or Iqama were pronounced for the prayer. Then the Prophet ordered (the women) to give alms, and they started stretching out their hands towards their ears and throats (giving their ornaments in charity), and the Prophet

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ordered Bilal to go to them (to collect the alms), and then Bilal returned to the Prophet

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 427:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet used to go to the Quba' mosque, sometimes walking, sometimes riding.

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 428:
Narrated Hisham's father:
Aisha said to Abdullah bin Az-Zubair, "Bury me with my female companions (i.e. the wives of the Prophet) and do not bury me with the Prophet in the house, for I do not like to be regarded as sanctified (just for being buried there)."
Narrated Hisham's father: Umar sent a message to Aisha, saying, "Will you allow me to be buried with my two companions (the Prophet and Abu Bakr) ?" She said, "Yes, by Allah." though it was her habit that if a man from among the companions (of the Prophet) sent her a message asking her to allow him to be buried there, she would say, "No, by Allah, I will never give permission to anyone to be buried with them."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 429:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle used to perform the Asr prayer and then one could reach the 'Awali (a place in the outskirts of Medina) while the sun was still quite high.
Narrated Yunus: The distance of the 'Awali (from Medina) was four or three miles.

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 430:
Narrated As-Sa'ib bin Yazid:
The Sa' (a kind of measure) during the lifetime of the Prophet used to be equal to the one Mudd (another kind of measure) and one third of a Mudd which we use today, but the Sa' of today has become large.

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 431:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle said, "O Allah! Bestow Your Blessings on their measures, and bestow Your Blessings on their Sa' and Mudd." He meant those of the people of Medina.

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 432:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Jews brought a man and a woman who had committed illegal sexual intercourse, to the Prophet and the Prophet ordered them to be stoned to death, and they were stoned to death near the mosque where the biers used to be placed.

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 433:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Mountain of Uhud came in sight of Allah's Apostle who then said, "This is a mountain that loves us and is loved by us. O Allah! Abraham made Mecca a sanctuary and I make the area between its (Medina's) two mountains a sanctuary."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 434:
Narrated Sahl:
The distance between the pulpit and the wall of the mosque on the side of the Qibla was just sufficient for a sheep to pass through.

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 435:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Between my house and my pulpit there is a garden from one of the gardens of Paradise, and my pulpit is over my Lake-Tank. (Kauthar);

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 436:
Narrated Nafi:
Abdullah said, "The Prophet arranged for a horse race, and the prepared horses were given less food for a few days before the race to win the race, and were allowed to run from Al-Hafya to Thaniyat-al-Wada', and the unprepared horses were allowed to run between Thaniyat-al-Wada' and the mosque of Bani Zuraiq," Abdullah was one of those who participated in the race.

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 437:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
I heard Umar (delivering a sermon) on the pulpit of the Prophet.

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 438:
Narrated As-Sa'ib bin Yazid:
That he heard Uthman bin 'Affan delivering a sermon on the pulpit of the Prophet

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 439:
Narrated Aisha:
This big copper vessel used to be put for me and Allah's Apostle and we would take water from it together (on taking a bath) .

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 440:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet brought the Ansar and the Quarish people into alliance in my house at Medina, and he invoked Allah for one month against the tribe of Bani Sulaim in (the last Rak'a of each compulsory) prayer.

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 441:
Narrated Abu Burda:
When I arrived at Medina, Abdullah bin Salam met me and said to me, "Accompany me to my house so that I may make you drink from a bowl from which Allah's Apostle used to drink, and that you may offer prayer in the mosque in which the Prophet used to pray." I accompanied him, and he made me drink Sawiq and gave me dates to eat, and then I prayed in his mosque.

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 442:
Narrated Umar:
The Prophet said to me, "Someone came to me tonight from my Lord while I was in the 'Aqiq (valley), and said to me, "Offer prayer in this blessed valley and say: 'Labbaik' for the (performance of) Umra and Hajj."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 443:
Narrated Abdullah bin Dinar:
Ibn Umar said, "The Prophet fixed Qarn as the Miqat (for assuming the Ihram) for the people of Najd, and Al-Juhfa for the people of Sham, and Dhul-Hulaifa for the people of Medina." Ibn Umar added, "I heard this from the Prophet, and I have been informed that the Prophet said, 'The Miqat for the Yemenites is Yalamlam.' "When Iraq was mentioned, he said, "At that time it was not a Muslim country."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 444:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
The Prophet had a dream in the last portion of the night when he was sleeping at Dhul-Hulaifa. (I n the dream) it was said to him, "You are in a blessed Batha' (i.e., valley)."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 445:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
That he heard the Prophet, after raising his head from the bowing in morning prayer, saying, "O Allah, our Lord! All the praises are for you." And in the last (Rak'a) he said, "O Allah! Curse so-and-so and so--and-so." And then Allah revealed:-- 'Not for you (O Mohammed) is the decision, (but for Allah), whether He turns in mercy to them or punish them, for they are indeed wrongdoers.' (3.128)

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 446:
Narrated Ali bin Abi Talib:
That Allah's Apostle came to him and Fatima the daughter of Allah's Apostle at their house at night and said, "Won't you pray?" Ali replied, "O Allah's Apostle! Our souls are in the Hands of Allah and when he wants us to get up, He makes us get up." When Ali said that to him, Allah's Apostle left without saying anything to him. While the Prophet was leaving, Ali heard him striking his thigh (with his hand) and saying, "But man is quarrelsome more than anything else." (18.54)

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 447:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
While we were in the mosque, Allah's Apostle came out and said, "Let us proceed to the Jews." So we went out with him till we came to Bait-al-Midras. The Prophet stood up there and called them, saying, "O assembly of Jews! Surrender to Allah (embrace Islam) and you will be safe!" They said, "You have conveyed Allah's message, O Aba-al-Qasim" Allah's Apostle then said to them, "That is what I want; embrace Islam and you will be safe." They said, "You have conveyed the message, O Aba-al-Qasim." Allah's Apostle then said to them, "That is what I want," and repeated his words for the third time and added, "Know that the earth is for Allah and I want to exile you from this land, so whoever among you has property he should sell it, otherwise, know that the land is for Allah and His Apostle."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 448:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
Allah's Apostle said, "Noah will be brought (before Allah) on the Day of Resurrection, and will be asked, 'Did you convey the message of Allah?" He will reply, 'Yes, O Lord.' And then Noah's nation will be asked, 'Did he (Noah) convey Allah's message to you?' They will reply, 'No warner came to us.' Then Noah will be asked, 'Who are your witnesses?" He will reply. '(My witnesses are) Mohammed and his followers.' Thereupon you (Muslims) will be brought and you will bear witness." Then the Prophet recited: 'And thus We have made of you (Muslims) a just and the best nation, that you might be witness over the nations, and the Apostle a witness over you.' (2.143)

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 449:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri and Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle sent the brother of the tribe of Bani Adi Al-Ansari as governor of Khaibar. Then the man returned, bringing Janib (a good kind of date). Allah's Apostle asked him, "Are all the dates of Khaibar like that?" He replied, "No, by Allah, O Allah's Apostle! We take one Sa' of these (good) dates for two Sas of mixed dates." Allah's Apostle then said, "Do not do so. You should either take one Sa of this (kind) for one Sa' of the other; or sell one kind and then buy with its price the other kind (of dates), and you should do the same in weighing."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 450:
Narrated Amr bin Al-'As:
That he heard Allah's Apostle saying, "If a judge gives a verdict according to the best of his knowledge and his verdict is correct (i.e. agrees with Allah and His Apostle's verdict) he will receive a double reward, and if he gives a verdict according to the best of his knowledge and his verdict is wrong, (i.e. against that of Allah and His Apostle) even then he will get a reward ."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 451:
Narrated Ubai bin Umar:
Abu Musa asked permission to enter upon Umar, but seeing that he was busy, he went away. Umar then said, "Didn't I hear the voice of Abdullah bin Qais? Allow him to come in." He was called in and Umar said to him, "What made you do what you did." He replied, "We have been instructed thus by the Prophet" Umar said, "Bring proof (witness) for this, other wise I will do so-and-so to you." Then Abdullah bin Qais went to a gathering of the Ansar who then said, "None but the youngest of us will give the witness for it." So Abu Said Al-Khudri got up and said, "We used to be instructed thus (by the Prophet)." Umar said, "This tradition of the Prophet remained hidden from me. Business in the market kept me busy."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 452:
Narrated Al-A'raj:
Abu Huraira said, "You people claim that Abu Huraira narrates many narrations of Allah's Apostle. (Anyhow) with Allah will be our appointment. I was a poor man, and used to stick to Allah's Apostle contented with what will fill my stomach, and the Muhajirin (emigrants) used to be busy trading in the markets, and the Ansar used to be busy looking after their properties. One-day I heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'Who will spread his Rida' (a garment covering the upper part of the body) till I finished my speech and then fold it, (i.e. wrap it over your body), in which case he will never forget anything he had heard from me." So I spread my garment which I was wearing; and by Him Who sent Mohammed with the Truth, ever since, I have never forgotten whatever I heard from him (the Prophet)" (See, Hadith No. 119, Vol. 1)

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 453:
Narrated Mohammed bin Al-Munkadir:
I saw Jabir bin Abdullah swearing by Allah that Ibn Sayyad was the Dajjal. I said to Jabir, "How can you swear by Allah?" Jabir said, "I have heard Umar swearing by Allah regarding this matter in the presence of the Prophet and the Prophet did not disapprove of it."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 454:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Horses may be used for three purposes: For a man they may be a source of reward (in the Hereafter); for another, a means of protection; and for another, a source of sin. The man for whom they are a source of reward, is the one who keeps them for Allah's Cause and ties them with long ropes and lets them graze in a pasture or garden. Whatever those long ropes allow them to eat of that pasture or garden, will be written as good deeds for him and if they break their ropes and run one or two rounds, then all their footsteps and dung will be written as good deeds for him, and if they pass a river and drink from it though he has had no intention of watering them, even then, that will be written as good deeds for him. So such horses are a source of reward for that man. For the man who keeps horses for his livelihood in order not to ask others for help or beg his bread, and at the same time he does not forget Allah's right of what he earns through them and of their backs (that he presents it to be used in Allah's Cause), such horses are a shelter for him (from poverty). For the man who keeps them just out of pride and for showing off, they are a source of sin." Then Allah's Apostle was asked about donkeys. He said, "Allah has not revealed anything to me regarding them except this comprehensive Verse:
"Then anyone who has done good, equal to the weight of an atom (or a small ant) shall see it, and any one who has done evil, equal to the weight of an atom (or a small ant) shall see it." (99.7-8)

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Volume 9, Book 92, Number 455:
Narrated Aisha:
A woman asked the Prophet (Hadith 456).

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 456:
Narrated Aisha:
A woman asked the Prophet about the periods: How to take a bath after the periods. He said, "Take a perfumed piece of cloth and clean yourself with it." She said,' "How shall I clean myself with it, O Allah's Apostle?" The Prophet said, "Clean yourself" She said again, "How shall I clean myself, O Allah's Apostle?" The Prophet said, "Clean yourself with it." Then I knew what Allah's Apostle meant. So I pulled her aside and explained it to her.

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 457:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Um Hufaid bint Al-Harith bin Hazn presented the Prophet with some butter, dried yoghurt (curd milk) and mastigures as a gift. The Prophet then asked for a meal (mastigures etc. to be put) and it was eaten over his table cloth, but the Prophet did not eat of it, as he had aversion to it. But if it had been illegal to eat, it would not have been eaten over his table cloth nor would he have ordered that (mastigures meat) to be eaten

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 458:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "Whoever has eaten garlic or onion, should keep away from us, or should keep away from our mosque and should stay at home." Ibn Wahb said, "Once a plate full of cooked vegetables was brought to the Prophet at Badr. Detecting a bad smell from it, he asked about the dish and was informed of the kinds of vegetables in contained. He then said, "Bring it near," and so it was brought near to one of his companions who was with him. When the Prophet saw it, he disliked eating it and said (to his companion), "Eat, for I talk in secret to ones whom you do not talk to."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 459:
Narrated Jubair bin Mutim:
A lady came to Allah's Apostle and she talked to him about something, and he gave her some order. She said, "O Allah's Apostle! If I should not find you?" He said, "If you should not find me, then go to Abu Bakr." Ibrahim bin Sa'd said, "As if she meant the death (of the Prophet)."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 460:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The people of the Book used to read the Torah in Hebrew and then explain it in Arabic to the Muslims. Allah's Apostle said (to the Muslims). "Do not believe the people of the Book, nor disbelieve them, but say, 'We believe in Allah and whatever is revealed to us, and whatever is revealed to you.' "

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 461:
Narrated Ubaidullah:
Ibn Abbas said, "Why do you ask the people of the scripture about anything while your Book (Koran) which has been revealed to Allah's Apostle is newer and the latest? You read it pure, undistorted and unchanged, and Allah has told you that the people of the scripture (Jews and Christians) changed their scripture and distorted it, and wrote the scripture with their own hands and said, 'It is from Allah,' to sell it for a little gain. Does not the knowledge which has come to you prevent you from asking them about anything? No, by Allah, we have never seen any man from them asking you regarding what has been revealed to you!"

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 462:
Narrated Aisha:
After the slanderers had given a forged statement against her, Allah's Apostle called Ali bin Abi Talib and Usama bin Zaid when the Divine Inspiration was delayed. He wanted to ask them and consult them about the question of divorcing me. Usama gave his evidence that was based on what he knew about my innocence, but Ali said, "Allah has not put restrictions on you and there are many women other than her. Furthermore you may ask the slave girl who will tell you the truth." So the Prophet asked Barira (my salve girl), "Have you seen anything that may arouse your suspicion?" She replied, "I have not seen anything more than that she is a little girl who sleeps, leaving the dough of her family (unguarded) that the domestic goats come and eat it." Then the Prophet stood on the pulpit and said, "O Muslims! Who will help me against the man who has harmed me by slandering my wife? By Allah, I know nothing about my family except good." The narrator added: Then the Prophet mentioned the innocence of Aisha. (See Hadith No. 274, Vol. 6)

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 463:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle addressed the people, and after praising and glorifying Allah, he said, "What do you suggest me regarding those people who are abusing my wife? I have never known anything bad about her." The sub-narrator, Urwa, said: When Aisha was told of the slander, she said, "O Allah's Apostle! Will you allow me to go to my parents' home?" He allowed her and sent a slave along with her. An Ansari man said, "Subhanaka! It is not right for us to speak about this. Subhanaka! This is a great lie!"

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 464:
Narrated Ata:
I heard Jabir bin Abdullah in a gathering saying, "We, the companions of Allah's Apostle assumed the state of Ihram to perform only Hajj without Umra." Jabir added, "The Prophet arrived (at Mecca) on the fourth of Dhul-Hijja. And when we arrived (in Mecca) the Prophet ordered us to finish the state of Ihram, saying, "Finish your Ihram and go to your wives (for sexual relation)." Jabir added, "The Prophet did not oblige us (to go to our wives) but he only made that legal for us. Then he heard that we were saying, "When there remains only five days between us and the Day of Arafat he orders us to finish our Ihram by sleeping with our wives in which case we will proceed to 'Arafat with our male organs dribbling with semen?' (Jabir pointed out with his hand illustrating what he was saying). Allah's Apostle stood up and said, 'You (People) know that I am the most Allah-fearing, the most truthful and the best doer of good deeds (pious) from among you. If I had not brought the Hadi with me, I would have finished my Ihram as you will do, so finish your Ihram. If I had formerly known what I came to know lately, I would not have brought the Hadi with me.' So we finished our Ihram and listened to the Prophet and obeyed him." (See Hadith No. 713, Vol. 2)

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 465:
Narrated Abdullah Al Muzam:
The Prophet said, "Perform (an optional) prayer before Maghrib prayer." (He repeated it thrice) and the third time he said, "Whoever wants to offer it can do so," lest the people should take it as a Sunna (tradition). (See Hadith No. 277, Vol. 2)

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 466:
Narrated Jundab bin Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle said, "Recite (and study) the Koran as long as you are in agreement as to its interpretation and meanings, but when you have differences regarding its interpretation and meanings, then you should stop reciting it (for the time being.) (See Hadith No 581, Vol. 6)

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 467:
Narrated Jundab bin Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle said, "Recite (and study) the Koran as long as your hearts are in agreement as to its meanings, but if you have differences as regards its meaning, stop reading it then."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 468:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
When the time of the death of the Prophet approached while there were some men in the house, and among them was Umar bin Al-Khatttab, the Prophet said, "Come near let me write for you a writing after which you will never go astray." Umar said, "The Prophet is seriously ill, and you have the Koran, so Allah's Book is sufficient for us." The people in the house differed and disputed. Some of them said, "Come near so that Allah's Apostle may write for you a writing after which you will not go astray," while some of them said what Umar said. When they made much noise and differed greatly before the Prophet, he said to them, "Go away and leave me." Ibn Abbas used to say, "It was a great disaster that their difference and noise prevented Allah's Apostle from writing that writing for them.

SAHIH BUKHARI, BOOK 93:
ONENESS, UNIQUENESS OF ALLAH (TAWHEED)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 469:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
When the Prophet sent Muadh to Yemen, he said to him, "You are going to a nation from the people of the Scripture, so let the first thing to which you will invite them, be the Tauhid of Allah. If they learn that, tell them that Allah has enjoined on them, five prayers to be offered in one day and one night. And if they pray, tell them that Allah has enjoined on them Zakat of their properties and it is to be taken from the rich among them and given to the poor. And if they agree to that, then take from them Zakat but avoid the best property of the people."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 470:
Narrated Mu'adh bin Jabal:
The Prophet said, "O Mu'adh! Do you know what Allah's Right upon His slaves is?" I said, "Allah and His Apostle know best." The Prophet said, "To worship Him (Allah) Alone and to join none in worship with Him (Allah). Do you know what their right upon Him is?" I replied, "Allah and His Apostle know best." The Prophet said, "Not to punish them (if they do so)."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 471:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
A man heard another man reciting (in the prayers): 'Say (O Mohammed): "He is Allah, the One." (112.1) And he recited it repeatedly. When it was morning, he went to the Prophet and informed him about that as if he considered that the recitation of that Sura by itself was not enough. Allah's Apostle said, "By Him in Whose Hand my life is, it is equal to one-third of the Koran."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 472:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet sent (an army unit) under the command of a man who used to lead his companions in the prayers and would finish his recitation with (the Sura 112): 'Say (O Mohammed): "He is Allah, the One." ' (112.1) When they returned (from the battle), they mentioned that to the Prophet. He said (to them), "Ask him why he does so." They asked him and he said, "I do so because it mentions the qualities of the Beneficent and I love to recite it (in my prayer)." The Prophet; said (to them), "Tell him that Allah loves him"

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 473:
Narrated Jarir bin Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle said, "Allah will not be merciful to those who are not merciful to mankind."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 474:
Narrated Usama bin Zaid:
We were with the Prophet when suddenly there came to him a messenger from one of his daughters who was asking him to come and see her son who was dying. The Prophet said (to the messenger), "Go back and tell her that whatever Allah takes is His, and whatever He gives is His, and everything with Him has a limited fixed term (in this world). So order her to be patient and hope for Allah's reward." But she sent the messenger to the Prophet again, swearing that he should come to her. So the Prophets got up, and so did Sa'd bin 'Ubada and Mu'adh bin Jabal (and went to her). When the child was brought to the Prophet his breath was disturbed in his chest as if it were in a water skin. On that the eyes of the Prophet . became flooded with tears, whereupon Sa'd said to him, "O Allah's Apostle! What is this?" The Prophet said, "This is mercy which Allah has put in the heart of His slaves, and Allah bestows His mercy only on those of His slaves who are merciful (to others)." (See Hadith No. 373, Vol. 2)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 475:
Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ashari:
The Prophet said, "None is more patient than Allah against the harmful and annoying words He hears (from the people): They ascribe children to Him, yet He bestows upon them health and provision .

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 476:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "The keys of the unseen are five and none knows them but Allah: (1) None knows what is in the womb, but Allah: (2) None knows what will happen tomorrow, but Allah; (3) None knows when it will rain, but Allah; (4) None knows where he will die, but Allah (knows that); (5) and none knows when the Hour will be established, but Allah."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 477:
Narrated Masruq:
Aisha said, "If anyone tells you that Mohammed has seen his Lord, he is a liar, for Allah says: 'No vision can grasp Him.' (6.103) And if anyone tells you that Mohammed has seen the Unseen, he is a liar, for Allah says: "None has the knowledge of the Unseen but Allah."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 478:
Narrated Abdullah:
We used to pray behind the Prophet and used to say: "As-Salamu 'Al-Allah. The Prophet said, "Allah himself is As-Salam (Name of Allah), so you should say: 'At-Tahiyatu lil-laihi was- sala-watu wat-taiyibatu, as-sallamu 'Alayka aiyuha-n-nabiyyu wa rahrmatu-l-lahi wa barak-atuhu, As-salamu 'alaina wa 'ala 'ibaldi-l-lahi as-salihin. Ashhadu an la ilaha il-lallah, wa ash-hadu anna Mohammedan 'abduhu wa rasuluhu."'

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 479:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "On the Day of Resurrection Allah will hold the whole earth and fold the heaven with His right hand and say, 'I am the King: where are the kings of the earth?" '

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Volume 9, Book 93, Number 480:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet used to say, "I seek refuge (with YOU) by Your 'Izzat, None has the right to be worshipped but You Who does not die while the Jinns and the human beings die."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 481:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "(The people will be thrown into Hell (Fire) and it will keep on saying, 'Is there any more?' till the Lord of the worlds puts His Foot over it, whereupon its different sides will come close to each other, and it will say, 'Qad! Qad! (enough! enough!) By Your 'Izzat (Honor and Power) and YOUR KARAM (Generosity)!' Paradise will remain spacious enough to accommodate more people until Allah will create some more people and let them dwell in the superfluous space of Paradise. "

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 482:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet used to invoke Allah at night, saying, "O Allah: All the Praises are for You: You are the Lord of the Heavens and the Earth. All the Praises are for You; You are the Maintainer of the Heaven and the Earth and whatever is in them. All the Praises are for You; You are the Light of the Heavens and the Earth. Your Word is the Truth, and Your Promise is the Truth, and the Meeting with You is the Truth, and Paradise is the Truth, and the (Hell) Fire is the Truth, and the Hour is the Truth. O Allah! I surrender myself to You, and I believe in You and I depend upon You, and I repent to You and with You (Your evidences) I stand against my opponents, and to you I leave the judgement (for those who refuse my message). O Allah! Forgive me my sins that I did in the past or will do in the future, and also the sins I did in secret or in public. You are my only God (Whom I worship) and there is no other God for me (i.e. I worship none but You)."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 483:
Narrated Sufyan:
(regarding the above narration) that the Prophet added, "You are the Truth, and Your Word is the Truth."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 484:
Narrated Abu Musa:
We were with the Prophet on a journey, and whenever we ascended a high place, we used to say, "Allahu Akbar." The Prophet said, "Don't trouble yourselves too much! You are not calling a deaf or an absent person, but you are calling One Who Hears, Sees, and is very near." Then he came to me while I was saying in my heart, "La hawla wala quwwatta illa billah (There is neither might nor power but with Allah)." He said, to me, "O Abdullah bin Qais! Say, 'La hawla wala quwwata illa billah (There is neither might nor power but with Allah), for it is one of the treasures of Paradise." Or said, "Shall I tell you of it?"

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 485:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
Abu Bakr As-Siddiq said to the Prophet "O Allah's Apostle! Teach me an invocation with which I may invoke Allah in my prayers." The Prophet said, "Say: O Allah! I have wronged my soul very much (oppressed myself), and none forgives the sins but You; so please bestow Your Forgiveness upon me. No doubt, You are the Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 486:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet said, "Gabriel called me and said, 'Allah has heard the statement of your people and what they replied to you.'"

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 487:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
As-Salami: Allah's Apostle used to teach his companions to perform the prayer of Istikhara for each and every matter just as he used to teach them the Suras from the Koran He used to say, "If anyone of you intends to do some thing, he should offer a two rakat prayer other than the compulsory prayers, and after finishing it, he should say: O Allah! I consult You, for You have all knowledge, and appeal to You to support me with Your Power and ask for Your Bounty, for You are able to do things while I am not, and You know while I do not; and You are the Knower of the Unseen.
O Allah If You know It this matter (name your matter) is good for me both at present and in the future, (or in my religion), in my this life and in the Hereafter, then fulfill it for me and make it easy for me, and then bestow Your Blessings on me in that matter. O Allah! If You know that this matter is not good for me in my religion, in my this life and in my coming Hereafter (or at present or in the future), then divert me from it and choose for me what is good wherever it may be, and make me be pleased with it." (See Hadith No. 391, Vol. 8)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 488:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet frequently used to swear, "No, by the One Who turns the hearts."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 489:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Allah has ninety-nine Names, one-hundred less one; and he who memorized them all by heart will enter Paradise." To count something means to know it by heart.

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 490:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "When anyone of you goes to bed, he should dust it off thrice with the edge of his garment, and say: Bismika Rabbi wada'tu janbi, wa bika arfa'hu. In amsakta nafsi faghfir laha, wa in arsaltaha fahfazha bima tahfaz bihi 'ibadaka-s-salihin."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 491:
Narrated Juhaifa:
When the Prophet went to bed, he used to say, "Allhumma bismika ahya wa amut." And when he got Up in the mornings he used to say, "Alhamdu lillahi al-ladhi ahyana ba'da ma amatana wa ilaihi-n-nushur."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 492:
Narrated Abu Dharr:
When the Prophet went to bed at night, he used to say: "Bismika namutu wa nahya." And when he got up in the morning, he used to say, "Alhamdu lillahi al-ladhi ahyana ba'da ma amatana, wa ilaihi-n-nushur."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 493:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle said, "If anyone of you, when intending to have a sexual relation (sleep) with his wife, says: Bismillah, Allahumma jannibna ashShaitan, wa Jannib ash-Shaitana ma razaqtana, Satan would never harm that child, should it be ordained that they will have one. (Because of that sleep)."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 494:
Narrated Adi bin Hatim:
I asked the Prophet, "I send off (for a game) my trained hunting dogs; (what is your verdict concerning the game they hunt?" He said, "If you send off your trained hunting dogs and mention the Name of Allah, then, if they catch some game, eat (thereof). And if you hit the game with a mi'rad (a hunting tool) and it wounds it, you can eat (it)."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 495:
Narrated Aisha:
The people said to the Prophet , "O Allah's Apostle! Here are people who have recently embraced Islam and they bring meat, and we do not know whether they had mentioned Allah's Name while slaughtering the animals or not." The Prophet said, "You should mention Allah's Name and eat."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 496:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet slaughtered two rams as sacrifice and mentioned Allah's Name and said, "Allahu-Akbar" while slaughtering).

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 497:
Narrated Jundab:
That he witnessed the Prophet on the Day of Nahr. The Prophet offered prayer and then delivered a sermon saying, "Whoever slaughtered his sacrifice before offering prayer, should slaughter another animal in place of the first; and whoever has not yet slaughtered any, should slaughter a sacrifice and mention Allah's Name while doing so."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 498:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "Do not swear by your fathers; and whoever wants to swear should swear by Allah."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 499:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle sent ten persons to bring the enemy's secrets and Khubaib Al-Ansari was one of them. Ubaidullah bin 'Iyad told me that the daughter of Al-Harith told him that when they gathered (to kill Khubaib Al Ansari) he asked for a razor to clean his pubic region, and when they had taken him outside the sanctuary of Mecca in order to kill him, he said in verse, "I don't care if I am killed as a Muslim, on any side (of my body) I may be killed in Allah's Cause; for that is for the sake of Allah's very Self; and if He will, He will bestow His Blessings upon the torn pieces of my body." Then Ibn Al-Harith killed him, and the Prophet informed his companions of the death of those (ten men) on the very day they were killed.

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 500:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "There is none having a greater sense of Ghira than Allah, and for that reason He has forbidden shameful deeds and sins (illegal sexual intercourse etc.) And there is none who likes to be praised more than Allah does." (See Hadith No. 147, Vol. 7)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 501:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "When Allah created the Creation, He wrote in His Book--and He wrote (that) about Himself, and it is placed with Him on the Throne--'Verily My Mercy overcomes My Anger.'"

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 502:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Allah says: 'I am just as My slave thinks I am, (i.e. I am able to do for him what he thinks I can do for him) and I am with him if He remembers Me. If he remembers Me in himself, I too, remember him in Myself; and if he remembers Me in a group of people, I remember him in a group that is better than they; and if he comes one span nearer to Me, I go one cubit nearer to him; and if he comes one cubit nearer to Me, I go a distance of two outstretched arms nearer to him; and if he comes to Me walking, I go to him running.' "

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 503:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
when this Verse:--'Say (O Mohammed!): He has Power to send torments on you from above,' (6.65) was revealed; The Prophet said, "I take refuge with Your Face." Allah revealed:-- '..or from underneath your feet.' (6.65) The Prophet then said, "I seek refuge with Your Face!" Then Allah revealed:--'...or confuse you in party-strife.' (6.65) Oh that, the Prophet said, "This is easier."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 504:
Narrated Abdullah:
Ad-Dajjal was mentioned in the presence of the Prophet. The Prophet said, "Allah is not hidden from you; He is not one-eyed," and pointed with his hand towards his eye, adding, "While Al-Masih Ad-Dajjal is blind in the right eye and his eye looks like a protruding grape."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 505:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "Allah did not send any prophet but that he warned his nation of the one-eyed liar (Ad-Dajjal). He is one-eyed while your Lord is not one-eyed, The word 'Kafir' (unbeliever) is written between his two eyes."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 506:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
That during the battle with Bani Al-Mustaliq they (Muslims) captured some females and intended to have sexual relation with them without impregnating them. So they asked the Prophet about coitus interrupt us. The Prophet said, "It is better that you should not do it, for Allah has written whom He is going to create till the Day of Resurrection." Qaza'a said, "I heard Abu Sa'id saying that the Prophet said, 'No soul is ordained to be created but Allah will create it."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 507:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "Allah will gather the believers on the Day of Resurrection in the same way (as they are gathered in this life), and they will say, 'Let us ask someone to intercede for us with our Lord that He may relieve us from this place of ours.' Then they will go to Adam and say, 'O Adam! Don't you see the people (people's condition)? Allah created you with His Own Hands and ordered His angels to prostrate before you, and taught you the names of all the things. Please intercede for us with our Lord so that He may relieve us from this place of ours.' Adam will say, 'I am not fit for this undertaking' and mention to them the mistakes he had committed, and add, "But you d better go to Noah as he was the first Apostle sent by Allah to the people of the Earth.' They will go to Noah who will reply, 'I am not fit for this undertaking,' and mention the mistake which he made, and add, 'But you'd better go to Abraham, Khalil Ar-Rahman.'
They will go to Abraham who will reply, 'I am not fit for this undertaking,' and mention to them the mistakes he made, and add, 'But you should better go to Moses, a slave whom Allah gave the Torah and to whom He spoke directly' They will go to Moses who will reply, 'I am not fit for this undertaking,' and mention to them the mistakes he made, and add, 'You'd better go to Jesus, Allah's slave and His Apostle and His Word (Be: And it was) and a soul created by Him.' They will go to Jesus who will say, 'I am not fit for this undertaking, but you'd better go to Mohammed whose sins of the past and the future had been forgiven (by Allah).' So they will come to me and I will ask the permission of my Lord, and I will be permitted (to present myself) before Him. When I see

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my Lord, I will fall down in (prostration) before Him and He will leave me (in prostration) as long as He wishes, and then it will be said to me, 'O Mohammed! Raise your head and speak, for you will be listened to; and ask, for you will be granted (your request); and intercede, for your intercession will be accepted.' I will then raise my head and praise my Lord with certain praises which He has taught me, and then I will intercede. Allah will allow me to intercede (for a certain kind of people) and will fix a limit whom I will admit into Paradise.

I will come back again, and when I see my Lord (again), I will fall down in prostration before Him, and He will leave me (in prostration) as long as He wishes, and then He will say, 'O Mohammed! Raise your head and speak, for you will be listened to; and ask, for you will be granted (your request); and intercede, for your intercession will be accepted.' I will then praise my Lord with certain praises which He has taught me, and then I will intercede. Allah will allow me to intercede (for a certain kind of people) and will fix a limit to whom I will admit into Paradise, I will return again, and when I see my Lord, I will fall down (in prostration) and He will leave me (in prostration) as long as He wishes, and then He will say, 'O Mohammed! Raise your head and speak, for you will be listened to, and ask, for you will be granted (your request); and intercede, for your intercession will be accepted.' I will then praise my Lord with certain praises which He has taught me, and then I will intercede. Allah will allow me to intercede (for a certain kind of people) and will fix a limit to whom I will admit into Paradise. I will come back and say, 'O my Lord! None remains in Hell (Fire) but those whom Koran has imprisoned therein and for whom eternity in Hell (Fire) has become inevitable.' "

The Prophet added, "There will come out of Hell (Fire) everyone who says: 'La ilaha illal-lah,' and has in his heart good equal to the weight of a barley grain. Then there will come out of Hell (Fire) everyone who says: ' La ilaha illal-lah,' and has in his heart good equal to the weight of a wheat grain. Then there will come out of Hell (Fire) everyone who says: 'La ilaha illal-lah,' and has in his heart good equal to the weight of an atom (or a smallest ant)."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 508:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Allah's Hand is full, and (its fullness) is not affected by the continuous spending, day and night." He also said, "Do you see what He has spent since He created the Heavens and the Earth? Yet all that has not decreased what is in His Hand." He also said, "His Throne is over the water and in His other Hand is the balance (of Justice) and He raises and lowers (whomever He will)." (See Hadith No. 206, Vol. 6)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 509:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "On the Day of Resurrection, Allah will grasp the whole Earth by His Hand, and all the Heavens in His right, and then He will say, 'I am the King." Abu Huraira said, "Allah's Apostle said," Allah will grasp the Earth...' "

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 510:
Narrated Abdullah:
A Jew came to the Prophet and said, "O Mohammed! Allah will hold the heavens on a Finger, and the mountains on a Finger, and the trees on a Finger, and all the creation on a Finger, and then He will say, 'I am the King.' " On that Allah's Apostle smiled till his premolar teeth became visible, and then recited:-- 'No just estimate have they made of Allah such as due to him....(39.67) Abdullah added: Allah's Apostle smiled (at the Jew's statement) expressing his wonder and believe in what was said.

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 511:
Narrated Abdullah:
A man from the people of the scripture came to the Prophet and said, "O Abal-Qasim! Allah will hold the Heavens upon a Finger, and the Earth on a Finger and the land on a Finger, and all the creation on a Finger, and will say, 'I am the King! I am the King!' " I saw the Prophet (after hearing that), smiling till his premolar teeth became visible, and he then recited: -- 'No just estimate have they made of Allah such as due to him... (39.67)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 512:
Narrated Al-Mughira:
Sa'd bin 'Ubada said, "If I saw a man with my wife, I would strike him (behead him) with the blade of my sword." This news reached Allah's Apostle who then said, "You people are astonished at Sa'd's Ghira. By Allah, I have more Ghira than he, and Allah has more Ghira than I, and because of Allah's Ghira, He has made unlawful Shameful deeds and sins (illegal sexual intercourse etc.) done in open and in secret. And there is none who likes that the people should repent to Him and beg His pardon than Allah, and for this reason He sent the warners and the givers of good news. And there is none who likes to be praised more than Allah does, and for this reason, Allah promised to grant Paradise (to the doers of good)." Abdul Malik said, "No person has more Ghira than Allah."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 513:
Narrated Sahl bin Sa'd:
The Prophet said to a man, "Have you got anything of the Koran?" The man said, "Yes, such-and-such Sura, and such-and-such Sura," naming the Suras.

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 514:
Narrated Imran bin Hussain:
While I was with the Prophet , some people from Bani Tamim came to him. The Prophet said, "O Bani Tamim! Accept the good news!" They said, "You have given us the good news; now give us (something)." (After a while) some Yemenites entered, and he said to them, "O the people of Yemen! Accept the good news, as Bani Tamim have refused it. " They said, "We accept it, for we have come to you to learn the Religion. So we ask you what the beginning of this universe was." The Prophet said "There was Allah and nothing else before Him and His Throne was over the water, and He then created the Heavens and the Earth and wrote everything in the Book." Then a man came to me and said, 'O Imran! Follow your she-camel for it has run away!" So I set out seeking it, and behold, it was beyond the mirage! By Allah, I wished that it (my she-camel) had gone but that I had not left (the gathering). "

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 515:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "The Right (Hand) of Allah Is full, and (Its fullness) is not affected by the continuous spending night and day. Do you see what He has spent since He created the Heavens and the Earth? Yet all that has not decreased what is in His Right Hand. His Throne is over the water and in His other Hand is the Bounty or the Power to bring about death, and He raises some people and brings others down." (See Hadith No. 508)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 516:
Narrated Anas:
Zaid bin Haritha came to the Prophet complaining about his wife. The Prophet kept on saying (to him), "Be afraid of Allah and keep your wife." Aisha said, "If Allah's Apostle were to conceal anything (of the Koran he would have concealed this Verse." Zainab used to boast before the wives of the Prophet and used to say, "You were given in marriage by your families, while I was married (to the Prophet) by Allah from over seven Heavens." And Thabit recited, "The Verse:-- 'But (O Mohammed) you did hide in your heart that which Allah was about to make manifest, you did fear the people,' (33.37) was revealed in connection with Zainab and Zaid bin Haritha."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 517:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The Verse of Al-Hijab (veiling of women) was revealed in connection with Zainab bint Jahsh. (On the day of her marriage with him) the Prophet gave a wedding banquet with bread and meat; and she used to boast before other wives of the Prophet and used to say, "Allah married me (to the Prophet in the Heavens."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 518:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "When Allah had finished His creation, He wrote over his Throne: 'My Mercy preceded My Anger.'

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 519:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Whoever believes in Allah and His Apostle offers prayers perfectly and fasts (the month of) Ramadan then it is incumbent upon Allah to admit him into Paradise, whether he emigrates for Allah's cause or stays in the land where he was born." They (the companions of the Prophet) said, "O Allah's Apostle! Should we not inform the people of that?" He said, "There are one-hundred degrees in Paradise which Allah has prepared for those who carry on Jihad in His Cause. The distance between every two degrees is like the distance between the sky and the Earth, so if you ask Allah for anything, ask Him for the Firdaus, for it is the last part of Paradise and the highest part of Paradise, and at its top there is the Throne of Beneficent, and from it gush forth the rivers of Paradise."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 520:
Narrated Abu Dharr:
I entered the mosque while Allah's Apostle was sitting there. When the sun had set, the Prophet said, "O Abu Dharr! Do you know where this (sun) goes?" I said, "Allah and His Apostle know best." He said, "It goes and asks permission to prostrate, and it is allowed, and (one day) it, as if being ordered to return whence it came, then it will rise from the west." Then the Prophet recited, "That: "And the sun runs on its fixed course (for a term decreed)," (36.38) as it is recited by Abdullah.

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 521:
Narrated Zaid bin Thabit:
Abu Bakr sent for me, so I collected the Koran till I found the last part of Surat-at-Tauba with Abi Khuzaima Al-Ansari and did not find it with anybody else. (The Verses are): -- 'Verily, there has come to you an Apostle (Mohammed) from amongst yourselves..(till the end of Surat Bara'a) (i.e., At-Tauba).' (9.128-129)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 522:
Narrated Yunus:
(As 521).

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 523:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet used to say at the time of difficulty, 'La ilaha il-lallah Al-Alimul-Halim. La-ilaha il-lallah Rabul- Arsh-al-Azim, La ilaha-il-lallah Rabus-Samawati Rab-ul-Ard; wa Rab-ul-Arsh Al-Karim.' (See Hadith No. 356 and 357, Vol. 8)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 524:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
The Prophet said, "The people will fall unconscious on the Day of Resurrection, then suddenly I will see Moses holding one of the pillars of the Throne." Abu Huraira said: The Prophet said, "I will be the first person to be resurrected and will see Moses holding the Throne."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 525:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "(A group of) angels stay with you at night and (another group of) angels by daytime, and both groups gather at the time of the Asr and Fajr prayers. Then those angels who have stayed with you overnight, ascend (to Heaven) and Allah asks them (about you) ---- and He knows everything about you. "In what state did you leave My slaves?' The angels reply, 'When we left them, they were praying, and when we reached them they were praying.' "

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 525y:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "If somebody gives in charity something equal to a date from his honestly earned money ---- for nothing ascends to Allah except good---- then Allah will take it in His Right (Hand) and bring it up for its owner as anyone of you brings up a baby horse, till it becomes like a mountain." Abu Huraira said: The Prophet. said, "Nothing ascends to Allah except good."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 526:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle used to say at the time of difficulty, "None has the right to be worshipped but Allah, the Majestic, the Most Forbearing. None has the right to be worshipped but Allah, the Lord of the Tremendous Throne. None has the right to be worshipped but Allah, the Lord of the Heavens and the Lord of the Honourable Throne. (See Hadith No. 357, Vol. 8)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 527:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
When Ali was in Yemen, he sent some gold in its ore to the Prophet. The Prophet distributed it among Al-Aqra' bin Habis Al-Hanzali who belonged to Bani Mujashi, 'Uyaina bin Badr Al-Fazari, 'Alqama bin 'Ulatha Al-Amiri, who belonged to the Bani Kilab tribe and Zaid Al-Khail At-Ta'i who belonged to Bani Nabhan. So the Quraish and the Ansar became angry and said, "He gives to the chiefs of Najd and leaves us!" The Prophet said, "I just wanted to attract and unite their hearts (make them firm in Islam)." Then there came a man with sunken eyes, bulging forehead, thick beard, fat raised cheeks, and clean-shaven head, and said, "O Mohammed! Be afraid of Allah! " The Prophet said, "Who would obey Allah if I disobeyed Him? (Allah). He trusts me over the people of the earth, but you do not trust me?" A man from the people (present then), who, I think, was Khalid bin Al-Walid, asked for permission to kill him, but the Prophet prevented him. When the man went away, the Prophet said, "Out of the offspring of this man, there will be people who will recite the Koran but it will not go beyond their throats, and they will go out of Islam as an arrow goes out through the game, and they will kill the Muslims and leave the idolators. Should I live till they appear, I would kill them as the Killing of the nation of 'Ad."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 528:
Narrated Abu Dharr:
I asked the Prophet regarding the Verse:--'And the sun runs on its fixed course for a term decreed for it.' (36.28) He said, "Its fixed course is underneath Allah's Throne."

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Volume 9, Book 93, Number 529:
Narrated Jarir:
We were sitting with the Prophet and he looked at the moon on the night of the full-moon and said, "You people will see your Lord as you see this full moon, and you will have no trouble in seeing Him, so if you can avoid missing (through sleep or business, etc.) a prayer before sunrise (Fajr) and a prayer before sunset (Asr) you must do so." (See Hadith No. 529, Vol. 1)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 530:
Narrated Jarir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "You will definitely see your Lord with your own eyes."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 531:
Narrated Jarir:
Allah's Apostle came out to us on the night of the full moon and said, "You will see your Lord on the Day of Resurrection as you see this (full moon) and you will have no difficulty in seeing Him."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 532c:
Narrated 'Ata' bin Yazid Al-Laithi:
On the authority of Abu Huraira: The people said, "O Allah's Apostle! Shall we see our Lord on the Day of Resurrection?" The Prophet said, "Do you have any difficulty in seeing the moon on a full moon night?" They said, "No, O Allah's Apostle." He said, "Do you have any difficulty in seeing the sun when there are no clouds?" They said, "No, O Allah's Apostle." He said, "So you will see Him, like that. Allah will gather all the people on the Day of Resurrection, and say, 'Whoever worshipped something (in the world) should follow (that thing),' so, whoever worshipped the sun will follow the sun, and whoever worshiped the moon will follow the moon, and whoever used to worship certain (other false) deities, he will follow those deities. And there will remain only this nation with its good people (or its hypocrites). (The sub-narrator, Ibrahim is in doubt.) Allah will come to them and say, 'I am your Lord.' They will (deny Him and) say, 'We will stay here till our Lord comes, for when our Lord comes, we will recognize Him.' So Allah will come to them in His appearance which they know, and will say, 'I am your Lord.' They will say, 'You are our Lord,' so they will follow Him.

Then a bridge will be laid across Hell (Fire)' I and my followers will be the first ones to go across it and none will speak on that Day except the Apostles. And the invocation of the Apostles on that Day will be, 'O Allah, save! Save!' In Hell (or over The Bridge) there will be hooks like the thorns of As-Sa'dan (thorny plant). Have you seen As-Sa'dan? " They replied, "Yes, O Allah's Apostle!" He said, "So those hooks look like the thorns of As-Sa'dan, but none knows how big they are except Allah. Those hooks will snap the people away according to their deeds. Some of the people will stay in Hell (be destroyed) because of their (evil) deeds, and some will be cut or torn by the hooks (and fall into Hell) and some will be punished and then relieved. When Allah has finished His Judgements among the people, He will take whomever He will out of Hell through His Mercy. He will then order the angels to take out of the Fire all those who used to worship none but Allah from among those whom Allah wanted to be merciful to and those who testified (in the world) that none has the right to be worshipped but Allah. The angels will recognize them in the Fire by the marks of prostration (on their foreheads), for the Fire will eat up all the human body except the mark caused by prostration as Allah has forbidden the Fire to eat the mark of prostration. They will come out of the (Hell) Fire, completely burnt and then the water of life will be poured over them and they will grow under it as does a seed that comes in the mud of the torrent.

Then Allah will finish the judgements among the people, and there will remain one man facing the (Hell) Fire and he will be the last person among the people of Hell to enter Paradise. He will say, 'O my Lord! Please turn my face away from the fire because its air has hurt me and its severe heat has burnt me.' So he will invoke Allah in the way Allah will wish him to invoke, and then Allah will say to him, 'If I grant you that, will you then ask for anything else?' He will reply, 'No, by Your Power, (Honor) I will not ask You for anything else.' He will give his Lord whatever promises and covenants Allah will demand.

So Allah will turn his face away from Hell (Fire). When he will face Paradise and will see it, he will remain quiet for as long as Allah will wish him to remain quiet, then he will say, 'O my Lord! Bring me near to the gate of Paradise.' Allah will say to him, 'Didn't you give your promises and covenants that you would never ask for anything more than what you had been given? Woe on you, O Adam's son! How treacherous you are!' He will say, 'O my lord,' and will keep on invoking Allah till He says to him, 'If I give what you are asking, will you then ask for anything else?' He will reply, 'No, by Your (Honor) Power, I will not ask for anything else.'

Then he will give covenants and promises to Allah and then Allah will bring him near to the gate of Paradise. When he stands at the gate of Paradise, Paradise will be opened and spread before him, and he will see its splendor and pleasures whereupon he will remain quiet as long as Allah will wish him to remain quiet, and then he will say, O my Lord! Admit me into Paradise.' Allah will say, 'Didn't you give your covenants and promises that you would not ask for anything more than what you had been given?' Allah will say, 'Woe on you, O Adam's son! How treacherous you are! '

The man will say, 'O my Lord! Do not make me the most miserable of Your creation,' and he will keep on invoking Allah till Allah will laugh because of his sayings, and when Allah will laugh because of him, He will say to him, 'Enter Paradise,' and when he will enter it, Allah will say to him, 'Wish for anything.' So he will ask his Lord, and he will wish for a great number of things, for Allah Himself will remind him to wish for certain things by saying, '(Wish for) so-and-so.' When there is nothing more to wish for, Allah will say, 'This is for you, and its equal (is for you) as well."

'Ata' bin Yazid added: Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri who was present with Abu Huraira, did not deny whatever the latter said, but when Abu Huraira said that Allah had said, "That is for you and its equal as well," Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri said, "And ten times as much, O Abu Huraira!" Abu Huraira said, "I do not remember, except his saying, 'That is for you and its equal as well.'" Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri then said, "I testify that I remember the Prophet saying, 'That is for you, and ten times as much.' ' Abu Huraira then added, "That man will be the last person of the people of Paradise to enter Paradise."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 532s:
Narrated Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri:
We said, "O Allah's Apostle! Shall we see our Lord on the Day of Resurrection?" He said, "Do you have any difficulty in seeing the sun and the moon when the sky is clear?" We said, "No." He said, "So you will have no difficulty in seeing your Lord on that Day as you have no difficulty in seeing the sun and the moon (in a clear sky)." The Prophet then said, "Somebody will then announce, 'Let every nation follow what they used to worship.' So the companions of the cross will go with their cross, and the idolators (will go) with their idols, and the companions of every god (false deities) (will go) with their god, till there remain those who used to worship Allah, both the obedient ones and the mischievous ones, and some of the people of the Scripture. Then Hell will be presented to them as if it were a mirage. Then it will be said to the Jews, "What did you use to worship?' They will reply, 'We used to worship Ezra, the son of Allah.' It will be said to them, 'You are liars, for Allah has neither a wife nor a son. What do you want (now)?' They will reply, 'We want You to provide us with water.' Then it will be said to them 'Drink,' and they will fall down in Hell (instead). Then it will be said to the Christians, 'What did you use to worship?'

They will reply, 'We used to worship Messiah, the son of Allah.' It will be said, 'You are liars, for Allah has neither a wife nor a son. What: do you want (now)?' They will say, 'We want You to provide us with water.' It will be said to them, 'Drink,' and they will fall down in Hell (instead). When there remain only those who used to worship Allah (Alone), both the obedient ones and the mischievous ones, it will be said to them, 'What keeps you here when all the people have gone?' They will say, 'We parted with them (in the world) when we were in greater need of them than we are today, we heard the call of one proclaiming, 'Let every nation follow what they used to worship,' and now we are waiting for our Lord.' Then the Almighty will come to them in a shape other than the one which they saw the first time, and He will say, 'I am your Lord,' and they will say, 'You are not our Lord.' And none will speak: to Him then but the Prophets, and then it will be said to them, 'Do you know any sign by which you can recognize Him?' They will say. 'The Shin,' and so Allah will then uncover His Shin whereupon every believer will prostrate before Him and there will remain those who used to prostrate before Him just for showing off and for gaining good reputation. These people will try to prostrate but their backs will be rigid like one piece of a wood (and they will not be able to prostrate). Then the bridge will be laid across Hell." We, the companions of the Prophet said, "O Allah's Apostle! What is the bridge?'

He said, "It is a slippery (bridge) on which there are clamps and (Hooks like) a thorny seed that is wide at one side and narrow at the other and has thorns with bent ends. Such a thorny seed is found in Najd and is called As-Sa'dan. Some of the believers will cross the bridge as quickly as the wink of an eye, some others as quick as lightning, a strong wind, fast horses or she-camels. So some will be safe without any harm; some will be safe after receiving some scratches, and some will fall down into Hell (Fire). The last person will cross by being dragged (over the bridge)." The Prophet said, "You (Muslims) cannot be more pressing in claiming from me a right that has been clearly proved to be yours than the believers in interceding with Almighty for their (Muslim) brothers on that Day, when they see themselves safe.

They will say, 'O Allah! (Save) our brothers (for they) used to pray with us, fast with us and also do good deeds with us.' Allah will say, 'Go and take out (of Hell) anyone in whose heart you find faith equal to the weight of one (gold) Dinar.' Allah will forbid the Fire to burn the faces of those sinners. They will go to them and find some of them in Hell (Fire) up to their feet, and some up to the middle of their legs. So they will take out those whom they will recognize and then they will return, and Allah will say (to them), 'Go and take out (of Hell) anyone in whose heart you find faith equal to the weight of one half Dinar.' They will take out whomever they will recognize and return, and then Allah will say, 'Go and take out (of Hell) anyone in whose heart you find faith equal to the weight of an atom (or a smallest ant), and so they will take out all those whom they will recognize." Abu Sa'id said: If you do not believe me then read the Holy Verse:--

'Surely! Allah wrongs not even of the weight of an atom (or a smallest ant) but if there is any good (done) He doubles it.' (4.40) The Prophet added, "Then the prophets and Angels and the believers will intercede, and (last of all) the Almighty (Allah) will say, 'Now remains My Intercession. He will then hold a handful of the Fire from which He will take out some people whose bodies have been burnt, and they will be thrown into a river at the entrance of Paradise, called the water of life.

They will grow on its banks, as a seed carried by the torrent grows. You have noticed how it grows beside a rock or beside a tree, and how the side facing the sun is usually green while the side facing the shade is white. Those people will come out (of the River of Life) like pearls, and they will have (golden) necklaces, and then they will enter Paradise whereupon the people of Paradise will say, 'These are the people emancipated by the Beneficent. He has admitted them into Paradise without them having done any good deeds and without sending forth any good (for themselves).' Then it will be said to them, 'For you is what you have seen and its equivalent as well.'"

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 532v:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "The believers will be kept (waiting) on the Day of Resurrection so long that they will become worried and say, "Let us ask somebody to intercede far us with our Lord so that He may relieve us from our place.

Then they will go to Adam and say, 'You are Adam, the father of the people. Allah created you with His Own Hand and made you reside in His Paradise and ordered His angels to prostrate before you, and taught you the names of all things will you intercede for us with your Lord so that He may relieve us from this place of ours? Adam will say, 'I am not fit for this undertaking.' He will mention his mistakes he had committed, i.e., his eating off the tree though he had been forbidden to do so. He will add, 'Go to Noah, the first prophet sent by Allah to the people of the Earth.' The people will go to Noah who will say, 'I am not fit for this undertaking' He will mention his mistake which he had done, i.e., his asking his Lord without knowledge.' He will say (to them), 'Go to Abraham, Khalil Ar-Rahman.' They will go to Abraham who will say, 'I am not fit for this undertaking. He would mention three words by which he told a lie, and say (to them). 'Go to Moses, a slave whom Allah gave the Torah and spoke to, directly and brought near Him, for conversation.'

They will go to Moses who will say, 'I am not fit for this undertaking. He will mention his mistake he made, i.e., killing a person, and will say (to them), 'Go to Jesus, Allah's slave and His Apostle, and a soul created by Him and His Word.' (Be: And it was.) They will go to Jesus who will say, 'I am not fit for this undertaking but you'd better go to Mohammed the slave whose past and future sins have been forgiven by Allah.' So they will come to me, and I will ask my Lord's permission to enter His House and then I will be permitted. When I see Him I will fall down in prostration before Him, and He will leave me (in prostration) as long as He will, and then He will say, 'O Mohammed, lift up your head and speak, for you will be listened to, and intercede, for your intercession will be accepted, and ask (for anything) for it will be granted:' Then I will raise my head and glorify my Lord with certain praises which He has taught me. Allah will put a limit for me (to intercede for a certain type of people) I will take them out and make them enter Paradise." (Qatada said: I heard Anas saying that), the Prophet said, "I will go out and take them out of Hell (Fire) and let them enter Paradise, and then I will return and ask my Lord for permission to enter His House and I will be permitted.

When I will see Him I will fall down in prostration before Him and He will leave me in prostration as long as He will let me (in that state), and then He will say, 'O Mohammed, raise your head and speak, for you will be listened to, and intercede, for your intercession will be accepted, and ask, your request will be granted.' " The Prophet added, "So I will raise my head and glorify and praise Him as He has taught me. Then I will intercede and He will put a limit for me (to intercede for a certain type of people). I will take them out and let them enter Paradise." (Qatada added: I heard Anas saying that) the Prophet said, 'I will go out and take them out of Hell (Fire)

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and let them enter Paradise, and I will return for the third time and will ask my Lord for permission to enter His house, and I will be allowed to enter.

When I see Him, I will fall down in prostration before Him, and will remain in prostration as long as He will, and then He will say, 'Raise your head, O Mohammed, and speak, for you will be listened to, and intercede, for your intercession will be accepted, and ask, for your request will be granted.' So I will raise my head and praise Allah as He has taught me and then I will intercede and He will put a limit for me (to intercede for a certain type of people). I will take them out and let them enter Paradise." (Qatada said: I heard Anas saying that) the Prophet said, "So I will go out and take them out of Hell (Fire) and let them enter Paradise, till none will remain in the Fire except those whom Koran will imprison (i.e., those who are destined for eternal life in the fire)." The narrator then recited the Verse:-- "It may be that your Lord will raise you to a Station of Praise and Glory.' (17.79) The narrator added: This is the Station of Praise and Glory which Allah has promised to your Prophet.

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 533:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle sent for the Ansar and gathered them in a tent and said to them, "Be patient till you meet Allah and His Apostle, and I will be on the lake-Tank (Al-Kauthar)."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 534:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Whenever the Prophet offered his Tahajjud prayer, he would say, "O Allah, our Lord! All the praises are for You; You are the Keeper (Establisher or the One Who looks after) of the Heavens and the Earth. All the Praises are for You; You are the Light of the Heavens and the Earth and whatever is therein. You are the Truth, and Your saying is the Truth, and Your promise is the Truth, and the meeting with You is the Truth, and Paradise is the Truth, and the (Hell) Fire is the Truth. O Allah! I surrender myself to You, and believe in You, and I put my trust in You (solely depend upon). And to You I complain of my opponents and with Your Evidence I argue. So please forgive the sins which I have done in the past or I will do in the future, and also those (sins) which I did in secret or in public, and that which You know better than I. None has the right to be worshipped but You."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 535:
Narrated Adi bin Hatim:
Allah's Apostle said, "There will be none among you but his Lord will speak to him, and there will be no interpreter between them nor a screen to screen Him."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 536:
Narrated Abdullah bin Qais:
The Prophet said, "(There will be) two Paradises of silver and all the utensils and whatever is therein (will be of silver); and two Paradises of gold, and its utensils and whatever therein (will be of gold), and there will be nothing to prevent the people from seeing their Lord except the Cover of Majesty over His Face in the Paradise of Eden (eternal bliss)."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 537:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "Whoever takes the property of a Muslim by taking a false oath, will meet Allah Who will be angry with him." Then the Prophet recited the Verse:-- 'Verily those who purchase a small gain at the cost of Allah's Covenant and their oaths, they shall have no portion in the Hereafter, neither will Allah speak to them, nor look at them.' (3.77)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 538:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "(There are) three (types of persons to whom) Allah will neither speak to them on the Day of Resurrections, nor look at them (They are):--(1) a man who takes a false oath that he has been offered for a commodity a price greater than what he has actually been offered; (2) and a man who takes a false oath after the Asr (prayer) in order to grab the property of a Muslim through it; (3) and a man who forbids others to use the remaining superfluous water. To such a man Allah will say on the Day of Resurrection, 'Today I withhold My Blessings from you as you withheld the superfluous part of that (water) which your hands did not create.' "

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 539:
Narrated Abu Bakra:
The Prophet said, "Time has come back to its original state which it had when Allah created the Heavens and the Earth, the year is twelve months, of which four are sacred; (and out of these four) three are in succession, namely, Dhul-Qa'da, Dhul-Hijja and Muharram, and (the fourth one) Rajab Mudar which is between Jumad (Ath-Tham) and Sha'ban." The Prophet then asked us, "Which month is this?" We said, "Allah and His Apostle know (it) better." He kept quiet so long that we thought he might call it by another name. Then he said, "Isn't it Dhul-Hijja?" We said, "Yes." He asked "What town is this?" We said, "Allah and His Apostle know (it) better.' Then he kept quiet so long that we thought he might call it by another name. He then said, "Isn't it the (forbidden) town (Mecca)?" We said, "Yes." He asked, "What is the day today?" We said, "Allah and His Apostle know (it) better. Then he kept quiet so long that we thought that he might call it by another name. Then he said, "Isn't it the Day of An-Nahr (slaughtering of sacrifices)?" We said, "Yes." Then he said, "Your blood (lives), your properties," (the sub narrator Mohammed, said: I think he also said): "..and your honor) are as sacred to one another like the sanctity of this Day of yours, in this town of yours, in this month of yours.

You shall meet your Lord and He will ask you about your deeds. Beware! Don't go astray after me by striking the necks of one another. Lo! It is incumbent upon those who are present to inform it to those who are absent for perhaps the informed one might comprehend it (understand it) better than some of the present audience." Whenever the sub-narrator Mohammed mentioned that statement, he would say, "The Prophet said the truth.") And then the Prophet added, "No doubt! Haven't I conveyed Allah's Message to you! No doubt! Haven't I conveyed Allah's Message to you?"

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 540:
Narrated Usama:
A son of one of the daughters of the Prophet was dying, so she sent a person to call the Prophet. He sent (her a message), "What ever Allah takes is for Him, and whatever He gives is for Him, and everything has a limited fixed term (in this world) so she should be patient and hope for Allah's reward." She then sent for him again, swearing that he should come. Allah's Apostle got up, and so did Mu'adh bin Jabal, Ubai bin Ka'b and 'Ubada bin As-Samit. When he entered (the house), they gave the child to Allah's Apostle while its breath was disturbed in his chest. (The sub-narrator said: I think he said, "...as if it was a water skin.") Allah's Apostle started weeping whereupon Sa'd bin 'Ubada said, "Do you weep?" The Prophet said, "Allah is merciful only to those of His slaves who are merciful (to others)."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 541:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Paradise and Hell (Fire) quarrelled in the presence of their Lord. Paradise said, 'O Lord! What is wrong with me that only the poor and humble people enter me ?' Hell (Fire) said, I have been favored with the arrogant people.' So Allah said to Paradise, 'You are My Mercy,' and said to Hell, 'You are My Punishment which I inflict upon whom I wish, and I shall fill both of you.'" The Prophet added, "As for Paradise, (it will be filled with good people) because Allah does not wrong any of His created things, and He creates for Hell (Fire) whomever He will, and they will be thrown into it, and it will say thrice, 'Is there any more, till Allah (will put) His Foot over it and it will become full and its sides will come close to each other and it will say, 'Qat! Qat! Qat! (Enough! Enough! Enough!) .

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 542:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "Some people who will be scorched by Hell (Fire) as a punishment for sins they have committed, and then Allah will admit them into Paradise by the grant of His Mercy. These people will be called, 'Al-JahannamiyyLin' (the people of Hell)."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 543:
Narrated Abdullah:
A Jewish Rabbi came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Mohammed! Allah will put the Heavens on one finger and the earth on one finger, and the trees and the rivers on one finger, and the rest of the creation on one finger, and then will say, pointing out with His Hand, 'I am the King.' "On that Allah's Apostle smiled and said, "No just estimate have they made of Allah such as due to Him. (39.67)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 544:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Once I stayed overnight at the house of (my aunt) Maimuna while the Prophet was with her, to see how was the night prayer of Allah s Apostle Allah's Apostle talked to his wife for a while and then slept. When it was the last third of the night (or part of it), the Prophet got up and looked towards the sky and recited the Verse:-- 'Verily! In the creation of the Heavens and the Earth....there are indeed signs for the men of understanding.' (3.190)

Then He got up and performed the ablution, brushed his teeth and offered eleven Rakat. Then Bilal pronounced the Adhan whereupon the Prophet offered a two-Rak'at (Sunna) prayer and went out to lead the people in Fajr (morning compulsory congregational prayer.

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 545:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "When Allah created the creations, He wrote with Him on His Throne: 'My Mercy has preceded My Anger."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 546:
Narrated Abdullah bin Mas'ud:
Allah's Apostle the true and truly inspired, narrated to us, "The creation of everyone of you starts with the process of collecting the material for his body within forty days and forty nights in the womb of his mother. Then he becomes a clot of thick blood for a similar period (40 days) and then he becomes like a piece of flesh for a similar period. Then an angel is sent to him (by Allah) and the angel is allowed (ordered) to write four things; his livelihood, his (date of) death, his deeds, and whether he will be a wretched one or a blessed one (in the Hereafter) and then the soul is breathed into him. So one of you may do (good) deeds characteristic of the people of Paradise so much that there is nothing except a cubit between him and Paradise but then what has been written for him decides his behavior and he starts doing (evil) deeds characteristic of the people of Hell (Fire) and (ultimately) enters Hell (Fire); and one of you may do (evil) deeds characteristic of the people of Hell (Fire) so much so that there is nothing except a cubit between him and Hell (Fire), then what has been written for him decides his behavior and he starts doing (good) deeds characteristic of the people of Paradise and ultimately) enters Paradise." (See Hadith No. 430, Vol. 4)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 547:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, "O Gabriel, what prevents you. from visiting us more often than you do?" Then this Verse was revealed:--'And we angels descend not but by Command of your Lord. To Him belongs what is before us and what is behind us..' (19.64) So this was the answer to Mohammed.

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 548:
Narrated Abdullah:
While I was walking with Allah's Apostle in one of the fields of Medina and he was walking leaning on a stick, he passed a group of Jews. Some of them said to the others, "Ask him (the Prophet) about the spirit." Others said, "Do not ask him." But they asked him and he stood leaning on the stick and I was standing behind him and I thought that he was being divinely inspired. Then he said, "They ask you concerning the spirit say: The spirit, its knowledge is with My Lord. And of knowledge you (O men!) have been given only a little." ...(17.85) On that some of the Jews said to the others, "Didn't we tell you not to ask?"

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 549:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Allah guarantees to the person who carries out Jihad for His Cause and nothing compelled him to go out but the Jihad in His Cause, and belief in His Words, that He will either admit him into Paradise or return him with his reward or the booty he has earned to his residence from where he went out." (See Hadith No. 555).

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 550:
Narrated Abu Musa:
A man came to the Prophet and said, "A man fights for pride and haughtiness another fights for bravery, and another fights for showing off; which of these (cases) is in Allah's Cause?" The Prophet said, "The one who fights that Allah's Word (Islam) should be superior, fights in Allah's Cause." (See Hadith No. 65, Vol. 4)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 551:
Narrated Al-Mughira bin Shu'ba:
I heard the Prophet saying, "Some people from my followers will continue to be victorious over others till Allah's Order (The Hour) is established." (See Hadith No. 414)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 552:
Narrated Muawiya:
I heard the Prophet saying, "A group of my followers will keep on following Allah's Laws strictly and they will not be harmed by those who will disbelieve them or stand against them till Allah's Order (The Hour) will come while they will be in that state."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 553:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet stood before Musailama (the liar) who was sitting with his companions then, and said to him, "If you ask me for this piece (of palm-leaf stalk), even then I would not give it to you. You cannot avoid what Allah has ordained for you, and if you turn away from Islam, Allah will surely ruin you! "

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Volume 9, Book 93, Number 554:
Narrated Ibn Mas'ud:
While I was walking in company with the Prophet in one of the fields of Medina, the Prophet was reclining on a palm leave stalk which he carried with him. We passed by a group of Jews. Some of them said to the others, "Ask him about the spirit." The others said, "Do not ask him, lest he would say something that you hate." Some of them said, "We will ask him." So a man from among them stood up and said, 'O Abal-Qasim! What is the spirit?" The Prophet kept quiet and I knew that he was being divinely inspired. Then he said: "They ask you concerning the Spirit, Say: The Spirit; its knowledge is with my Lord. And of knowledge you (mankind) have been given only a little." (17.85)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 555:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Allah guarantees (the person who carries out Jihad in His Cause and nothing compelled him to go out but Jihad in His Cause and the belief in His Word) that He will either admit him into Paradise (Martyrdom) or return him with reward or booty he has earned to his residence from where he went out."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 556:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle said, "Whenever anyone of you invoke Allah for something, he should be firm in his asking, and he should not say: 'If You wish, give me...' for none can compel Allah to do something against His Will."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 557:
Narrated Ali bin Abi Talib:
That one night Allah's Apostle visited him and Fatima, the daughter of Allah's Apostle and said to them, "Won 't you offer (night) prayer?.. Ali added: I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Our souls are in the Hand of Allah and when He Wishes to bring us to life, He does." Then Allah's Apostle went away when I said so and he did not give any reply. Then I heard him on leaving while he was striking his thighs, saying, 'But man is, more quarrelsome than anything.' (18.54)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 558:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The example of a believer is that of a fresh green plant the leaves of which move in whatever direction the wind forces them to move and when the wind becomes still, it stand straight. Such is the similitude of the believer: He is disturbed by calamities (but is like the fresh plant he regains his normal state soon). And the example of a disbeliever is that of a pine tree (which remains) hard and straight till Allah cuts it down when He will." (See Hadith No. 546 and 547, Vol. 7).

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 559:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
I heard Allah's Apostle while he was standing on the pulpit, saying, "The remaining period of your stay (on the earth) in comparison to the nations before you, is like the period between the Asr prayer and sunset. The people of the Torah were given the Torah and they acted upon it till midday, and then they were worn out and were given for their labor, one Qirat each. Then the people of the Gospel were given the Gospel and they acted upon it till the time of the Asr prayer, and then they were worn out and were given (for their labor), one Qirat each. Then you people were given the Koran and you acted upon it till sunset and so you were given two Qirats each (double the reward of the previous nations)." Then the people of the Torah said, 'O our Lord! These people have done a little labor (much less than we) but have taken a greater reward.' Allah said, 'Have I withheld anything from your reward?' They said, 'No.' Then Allah said, 'That is My Favor which I bestow on whom I wish.' "

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 560:
Narrated 'Ubada bin As-Samit:
I, along with a group of people, gave the pledge of allegiance to Allah's Apostle. He said, "I take your Pledge on the condition that you (1) will not join partners in worship with Allah, (2) will not steal, (3) will not commit illegal sexual intercourse, (4) will not kill your offspring, (5) will not slander, (6) and will not disobey me when I order you to do good. Whoever among you will abide by his pledge, his reward will be with Allah, and whoever commits any of those sins and receives the punishment in this world, that punishment will be an expiation for his sins and purification; but if Allah screens him, then it will be up to Allah to punish him if He will or excuse Him, if He will."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 561:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Prophet Solomon who had sixty wives, once said, "Tonight I will have sexual relation (sleep) with all my wives so that each of them will become pregnant and bring forth (a boy who will grow into) a cavalier and will fight in Allah's Cause." So he slept with his wives and none of them (conceived and) delivered (a child) except one who brought a half (body) boy (deformed). Allah's Prophet said, "If Solomon had said; 'If Allah Will,' then each of those women would have delivered a (would-be) cavalier to fight in Allah's Cause." (See Hadith No. 74 A, Vol. 4).

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 562:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle entered upon a sick bedouin in whom he went to visit and said to him, "Don't worry, Tahur (i.e., your illness will be a means of cleansing of your sins), if Allah Will." The bedouin said, "Tahur! No, but it is a fever that is burning in the body of an old man and it will make him visit his grave." The Prophet said, "Then it is so."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 563:
Narrated Abu Qatada:
When the people slept till so late that they did not offer the (morning) prayer, the Prophet said, "Allah captured your souls (made you sleep) when He willed, and returned them (to your bodies) when He willed." So the people got up and went to answer the call of nature, performed ablution, till the sun had risen and it had become white, then the Prophet got up and offered the prayer.

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 564:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
"A man from the Muslims and a man from the Jews quarrelled, and the Muslim said, "By Him Who gave superiority to Mohammed over all the people!" The Jew said, "By Him Who gave superiority to Moses over all the people!" On that the Muslim lifted his hand and slapped the Jew. The Jew went to Allah's Apostle and informed him of all that had happened between him and the Muslim. The Prophet said, "Do not give me superiority over Moses, for the people will fall unconscious on the Day of Resurrection, I will be the first to regain consciousness and behold, Moses will be standing there, holding the side of the Throne. I will not know whether he has been one of those who have fallen unconscious and then regained consciousness before me, or if he has been one of those exempted by Allah (from falling unconscious)." (See Hadith No. 524, Vol. 8)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 565:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Allah's Apostle said, "Ad-Dajjal will come to Medina and find the angels guarding it. If Allah will, neither Ad-Dajjal nor plague will be able to come near it."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 566:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "For every Prophet there is one invocation which is definitely fulfilled by Allah, and I wish, if Allah will, to keep my that (special) invocation as to be the intercession for my followers on the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 567:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "While I was sleeping, I saw myself (in a dream) standing by a well. I drew from it as much water as Allah wished me to draw, and then Ibn Quhafa (Abu Bakr) took the bucket from me and drew one or two buckets, and there was weakness in his drawing----may Allah forgive him! Then Umar took the bucket which turned into something like a big drum. I had never seen a powerful man among the people working as perfectly and vigorously as he did. (He drew so much water that) the people drank to their satisfaction and watered their camels that knelt down there. (See Hadith No. 16, Vol. 5)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 568:
Narrated Abu Musa:
Whenever a beggar or a person in need of something came to the Prophet , he used to say (to his companions), "Intercede (for him) and you will be rewarded for that, and Allah will fulfill what He will through His Apostle's tongue."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 569:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "None of you should say: 'O Allah! Forgive me if You wish,' or 'Bestow Your Mercy on me if You wish,' or 'Provide me with means of subsistence if You wish,' but he should be firm in his request, for Allah does what He will and nobody can force Him (to do anything)."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 570:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
That he differed with Al-Hurr bin Qais bin Hisn Al-Fazari about the companion of Moses, (i.e., whether he was Kha,dir or not). Ubai bin Ka'b Al-Ansari passed by them and Ibn Abbas called him saying, 'My friend (Hur) and I have differed about Moses' Companion whom Moses asked the way to meet. Did you hear Allah's Apostle mentioning anything about him?" Ubai said, "Yes, I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "While Moses was sitting in the company of some Israelites a man came to him and asked, 'Do you know Someone who is more learned than you (Moses)?' Moses said, 'No.' So Allah sent the Divine inspiration to Moses:--
'Yes, Our Slave Khadir is more learned than you' Moses asked Allah how to meet him (Khadir) So Allah made the fish as a sign for him and it was said to him, 'When you lose the fish, go back (to the place where you lose it) and you will meet him.' So Moses went on looking for the sign of the fish in the sea. The boy servant of Moses (who was accompanying him) said to him, 'Do you remember (what happened) when we betook ourselves to the rock? I did indeed forget to tell you (about) the fish. None but Satan made me forget to tell you about it' (18.63) Moses said:
'That is what we have been seeking." Sa they went back retracing their footsteps. (18.64). So they both found Kadir (there) and then happened what Allah mentioned about them (in the Koran)!' (See 18.60-82)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 571:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "If Allah will, tomorrow we will encamp in Khaif Bani Kinana, the place where the pagans took the oath of Kufr (disbelief) against the Prophet. He meant Al-Muhassab. (See Hadith No. 659, Vol. 2)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 572:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
The Prophet besieged the people of Ta'if, but he did not conquer it. He said, "Tomorrow, if Allah will, we will return home. On this the Muslims said, "Then we return without conquering it?" He said, 'Then carry on fighting tomorrow." The next day many of them were injured. The Prophet said, "If Allah will, we will return home tomorrow." It seemed that statement pleased them whereupon Allah's Apostle smiled.

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 573:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "When Allah ordains something on the Heaven the angels beat with their wings in obedience to His Statement which sounds like that of a chain dragged over a rock. His Statement: "Until when the fear is banished from their hearts, the Angels say, 'What was it that your Lord said?' 'They reply, '(He has said) the Truth. And He is the Most High, The Great. " (34.23)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 574:
Narrated Abu Huraira :
Allah's Apostle said, "Allah never listens to anything as He listens to the Prophet reciting Koran in a pleasant sweet sounding voice." A companion of Abu Huraira said, "He means, reciting the Koran aloud."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 575:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:
The Prophet said, "Allah will say (on the Day of Resurrection), 'O Adam!' Adam will reply, 'Labbaik wa Sa'daik! ' Then a loud Voice will be heard (Saying) 'Allah Commands you to take out the mission of the Hell Fire from your offspring.' "

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 576:
Narrated Aisha:
I never felt so jealous of any woman as I felt of Khadija, for Allah ordered him (the Prophet) to give Khadija the glad tidings of a palace in Paradise (for her).

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 577:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "If Allah loves a person, He calls Gabriel, saying, 'Allah loves so and so, O Gabriel love him' So Gabriel would love him and then would make an announcement in the Heavens: 'Allah has loved so and-so therefore you should love him also.' So all the dwellers of the Heavens would love him, and then he is granted the pleasure of the people on the earth." (See Hadith No. 66, Vol. 8)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 578:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "There are angels coming to you in succession at night, and others during the day, and they all gather at the time of Asr and Fajr prayers. Then the angels who have stayed with you overnight ascend (to the heaven) and He (Allah) asks them though He perfectly knows their affairs. 'In what state have you left my slaves?' They say, 'When we left them, they were praying and when we came to them they were praying.' "

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 579:
Narrated Abu Dharr:
The Prophet said, Gabriel came to me and gave me the glad tidings that anyone who died without worshipping anything

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besides Allah, would enter Paradise. I asked (Gabriel), 'Even if he committed theft, and even if he committed illegal sexual intercourse?' He said, '(Yes), even if he committed theft, and even if he Committed illegal sexual intercourse."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 580:
Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:
Allah's Apostle said, "O so-and-so, whenever you go to your bed (for sleeping) say, 'O Allah! I have surrendered myself over to you and have turned my face towards You, and leave all my affairs to You and depend on You and put my trust in You expecting Your reward and fearing Your punishment. There is neither fleeing from You nor refuge but with You. I believe in the Book (Koran) which You have revealed and in Your Prophet (Mohammed) whom You have sent.' If you then die on that night, then you will die as a Muslim, and if you wake alive in the morning then you will receive the reward." (See Hadith No. 323, Vol. 8)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 581:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abi Aufa:
Allah's Apostle said on the Day of (the battle of) the Clans, "O Allah! The Revealer of the Holy Book, The Quick Taker of Accounts! Defeat the clans and shake them."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 582:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
(regarding the Verse):-- 'Neither say your prayer aloud, nor say it in a low tone.' (17.110) This Verse was revealed while Allah's Apostle was hiding himself in Mecca, and when he raised his voice while reciting the Koran, the pagans would hear him and abuse the Koran and its Revealer and to the one who brought it. So Allah said:-- 'Neither say your prayer aloud, nor say it in a low tone.' (17.110) That is, 'Do not say your prayer so loudly that the pagans can hear you, nor say it in such a low tone that your companions do not hear you.' But seek a middle course between those (extremes), i.e., let your companions hear, but do not relate the Koran loudly, so that they may learn it from you.

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 583:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Allah said: "The son of Adam hurts Me by abusing Time, for I am Time; in My Hands are all things and I cause the revolution of night and day.' " (See Hadith No. 351, Vol. 6)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 584:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Allah said: The Fast is for Me and I will give the reward for it, as he (the one who observes the fast) leaves his sexual desire, food and drink for My Sake. Fasting is a screen (from Hell) and there are two pleasures for a fasting person, one at the time of breaking his fast, and the other at the time when he will meet his Lord. And the smell of the mouth of a fasting person is better in Allah's Sight than the smell of musk." (See Hadith No. 128, Vol. 3).

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 585:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Once while Job (Aiyub) was taking a bath in a naked state. Suddenly a great number of gold locusts started falling upon him and he started collecting them in his clothes. His Lord called him, 'O Job! Didn't I make you rich enough to dispense with what you see now?' Job said, 'Yes, O Lord! But I cannot dispense with Your Blessings

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 586:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Every night when it is the last third of the night, our Lord, the Superior, the Blessed, descends to the nearest heaven and says: Is there anyone to invoke Me that I may respond to his invocation? Is there anyone to ask Me so that I may grant him his request? Is there anyone asking My forgiveness so that I may forgive him?. " (See Hadith No. 246,Vol. 2)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 587:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "We (Muslims) are the last (to come) but will be the foremost on the Day of Resurrection." The narrators of this Hadith said: Allah said (to man), 'Spend (in charity), for then I will compensate you (generously).' "

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 588:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said that Gabriel said, "Here is Khadija coming to you with a dish of food or a tumbler containing something to drink. Convey to her a greeting from her Lord (Allah) and give her the glad tidings that she will have a palace in Paradise built of Qasab wherein there will be neither any noise nor any fatigue (trouble)." (See Hadith No. 168, Vol. 5)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 589:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
the Prophet said, "Allah said, "I have prepared for My righteous slaves (such excellent things) as no eye has ever seen, nor an ear has ever heard nor a human heart can ever think of.' "

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 590:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Whenever the Prophet offered the night (Tahajjud) prayer, he used to say, "O Allah! All the Praises are for You; You are the Light of the Heavens and the Earth. And all the Praises are for You; You are the Keeper of the Heavens and the Earth. All the Praises are for You; You are the Lord of the Heavens and the Earth and whatever is therein. You are the Truth, and Your Promise is the Truth, and Your Speech is the Truth, and meeting You is the Truth, and Paradise is the Truth and Hell (Fire) is the Truth and all the prophets are the Truth and the Hour is the Truth. O Allah! I surrender to You, and believe in You, and depend upon You, and repent to You, and in Your cause I fight and with Your orders I rule. So please forgive my past and future sins and those sins which I did in secret or in public. It is You Whom I worship, None has the right to be worshipped except You ." (See Hadith No. 329,Vol. 8)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 591:
Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair:
Sa'id bin Al-Musaiyab, 'Alqama bin Waqqas and Ubaidullah bin Abdullah regarding the narrating of the forged statement against Aisha, the wife of the Prophet, when the slanderers said what they said and Allah revealed her innocence. Aisha said, "But by Allah, I did not think that Allah, (to confirm my innocence), would reveal Divine Inspiration which would be recited, for I consider myself too unimportant to be talked about by Allah through Divine Inspiration revealed for recitation, but I hoped that Allah's Apostle might have a dream in which Allah would reveal my innocence. So Allah revealed:-- 'Verily! Those who spread the slander are a gang among you...' (The ten Verses in Surat-an-Nur) (24.11-20)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 592:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Allah says, "If My slave intends to do a bad deed then (O Angels) do not write it unless he does it; if he does it, then write it as it is, but if he refrains from doing it for My Sake, then write it as a good deed (in his account). (On the other hand) if he intends to go a good deed, but does not do it, then write a good deed (in his account), and if he does it, then write it for him (in his account) as ten good deeds up to seven-hundred times.' "

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 593:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Allah created the creation, and when He finished from His creation the Rahm (womb) got up, and Allah said (to it). "Stop! What do you want? It said; "At this place I seek refuge with You from all those who sever me (i.e. sever the ties of Kinship.)" Allah said: "Would you be pleased that I will keep good relation with the one who will keep good relation with you, and I will sever the relation with the one who will sever the relation with you. It said: 'Yes, 'O my Lord.' Allah said (to it), 'That is for you." And then Abu Huraira recited the Verse:-- "Would you then if you were given the authority, do mischief in the land, and sever your ties of kinship." (47.22)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 594:
Narrated Zaid bin Khalid:
It rained (because of the Prophet's invocation for rain) and the Prophet said, "Allah said, 'Some of My slaves have become disbelievers in Me, and some others, believers in Me.'"

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 595:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Allah said, 'If My slaves loves the meeting with Me, I too love the meeting with him; and if he dislikes the meeting with Me, I too dislike the meeting with him.' " (See Hadith No. 514, Vol. 8)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 596:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Allah said, 'I am to my slave as he thinks of Me, (i.e. I am able to do for him what he thinks I can do for him). (See Hadith No. 502)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 597:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "A man who never did any good deed, said that if he died, his family should burn him and throw half the ashes of his burnt body in the earth and the other half in the sea, for by Allah, if Allah should get hold of him, He would inflict such punishment on him as He would not inflict on anybody among the people. But Allah ordered the sea to collect what was in it (of his ashes) and similarly ordered the earth to collect what was in it (of his ashes). Then Allah said (to the recreated man), 'Why did you do so?' The man replied, 'For being afraid of You, and You know it (very well).' So Allah forgave him."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 598:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard the Prophet saying, "If somebody commits a sin and then says, 'O my Lord! I have sinned, please forgive me!' and his Lord says, 'My slave has known that he has a Lord who forgives sins and punishes for it, I therefore have forgiven my slave (his sins).' Then he remains without committing any sin for a while and then again commits another sin and says, 'O my Lord, I have committed another sin, please forgive me,' and Allah says, 'My slave has known that he has a Lord who forgives sins and punishes for it, I therefore have forgiven my slave (his sin). Then he remains without Committing any another sin for a while and then commits another sin (for the third time) and says, 'O my Lord, I have committed another sin, please forgive me,' and Allah says, 'My slave has known that he has a Lord Who forgives sins and punishes for it I therefore have forgiven My slave (his sin), he can do whatever he likes."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 599:
Narrated Abu Said:
The Prophet mentioned a man from the people of the past or those who preceded you. The Prophet said a sentence meaning: Allah had given him wealth and children. When his death approached, he said to his sons, "What kind of father have I been to you?" They replied, "You have been a good father." He told them that he had not presented any good deed before Allah, and if Allah should get hold of him He would punish him.' "So look!" he added, "When I die, burn me, and when I turn into coal, crush me, and when there comes a windy day, scatter my ashes in the wind." The Prophet added, "Then by Allah, he took a firm promise from his children to do so, and they did so. (They burnt him after his death) and threw his ashes on a windy day. Then Allah commanded to his ashes. "Be," and behold! He became a man standing! Allah said, "O My slave! What made you do what you did?" He replied, "For fear of You." Nothing saved him then but Allah's Mercy (So Allah forgave him).

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 600:
Narrated Anas:
I heard the Prophet saying, "On the Day of Resurrection I will intercede and say, "O my Lord! Admit into Paradise (even) those who have faith equal to a mustard seed in their hearts." Such people will enter Paradise, and then I will say, 'O (Allah) admit into Paradise (even) those who have the least amount of faith in their hearts." Anas then said: As if I were just now looking at the fingers of Allah's Apostle.

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 601:
Narrated Ma'bad bin Hilal Al'Anzi:
We, i.e., some people from Basra gathered and went to Anas bin Malik, and we went in company with Thabit Al-Bunnani so that he might ask him about the Hadith of Intercession on our behalf. Behold, Anas was in his palace, and our arrival coincided with his Duha prayer. We asked permission to enter and he admitted us while he was sitting on his bed. We said to Thabit, "Do not ask him about anything else first but the Hadith of Intercession." He said, "O Abu Hamza! There are your brethren from Basra coming to ask you about the Hadith of Intercession." Anas then said, "Mohammed talked to us saying, 'On the Day of Resurrection the people will surge with each other like waves, and then they will come to Adam and say, 'Please intercede for us with your Lord.' He will say, 'I am not fit for that but you'd better go to Abraham as he is the Khalil of the Beneficent.' They will go to Abraham and he will say, 'I am not fit for that, but you'd better go to Moses as he is the one to whom Allah spoke directly.' So they will go to Moses and he will say, 'I am not fit for that, but you'd better go to Jesus as he is a soul created by Allah and His Word.' (Be: And it was) they will go to Jesus and he will say, 'I am not fit for that, but you'd better go to Mohammed.'
They would come to me and I would say, 'I am for that.' Then I will ask for my Lord's permission, and it will be given, and then He will inspire me to praise Him with such praises as I do not know now. So I will praise Him with those praises and will fall down, prostrate before Him. Then it will be said, 'O Mohammed, raise your head and speak, for you will be listened to; and ask, for your will be granted (your request); and intercede, for your intercession will be accepted.' I will say, 'O Lord, my followers! My followers!' And then it will be said, 'Go and take out of Hell (Fire) all those who have faith in their hearts, equal to the weight of a barley grain.' I will go and do so and return to praise Him with the same praises, and fall down (prostrate) before Him. Then it will be said, 'O Mohammed, raise your head and speak, for you will be listened to, and ask, for you will be granted (your request); and intercede, for your intercession will be accepted.' I will

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say, 'O Lord, my followers! My followers!' It will be said, 'Go and take out of it all those who have faith in their hearts equal to the weight of a small ant or a mustard seed.' I will go and do so and return to praise Him with the same praises, and fall down in prostration before Him. It will be said, 'O, Mohammed, raise your head and speak, for you will be listened to, and ask, for you will be granted (your request); and intercede, for your intercession will be accepted.' I will say, 'O Lord, my followers!' Then He will say, 'Go and take out (all those) in whose hearts there is faith even to the lightest, lightest mustard seed. (Take them) out of the Fire.' I will go and do so.'"

When we left Anas, I said to some of my companions, "Let's pass by Al-Hasan who is hiding himself in the house of Abi Khalifa and request him to tell us what Anas bin Malik has told us." So we went to him and we greeted him and he admitted us. We said to him, "O Abu Said! We came to you from your brother Anas Bin Malik and he related to us a Hadith about the intercession the like of which I have never heard." He said, "What is that?" Then we told him of the Hadith and said, "He stopped at this point (of the Hadith)." He said, "What then?" We said, "He did not add anything to that." He said, Anas related the Hadith to me twenty years ago when he was a young fellow. I don't know whether he forgot or if he did not like to let you depend on what he might have said." We said, "O Abu Said ! Let us know that." He smiled and said, "Man was created hasty. I did not mention that, but that I wanted to inform you of it.

Anas told me the same as he told you and said that the Prophet added, 'I then return for a fourth time and praise Him similarly and prostrate before Him me the same as he 'O Mohammed, raise your head and speak, for you will be listened to; and ask, for you will be granted (your request): and intercede, for your intercession will be accepted .' I will say, 'O Lord, allow me to intercede for whoever said, 'None has the right to be worshiped except Allah.' Then Allah will say, 'By my Power, and my Majesty, and by My Supremacy, and by My Greatness, I will take out of Hell (Fire) whoever said: 'None has the right to be worshipped except Allah.' "

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 602:
Narrated Abdullah:
Allah's Apostle said, "The person who will be the last one to enter Paradise and the last to come out of Hell (Fire) will be a man who will come out crawling, and his Lord will say to him, 'Enter Paradise.' He will reply, 'O Lord, Paradise is full.' Allah will give him the same order thrice, and each time the man will give Him the same reply, i.e., 'Paradise is full.' Thereupon Allah will say (to him), 'Ten times of the world is for you.' "

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 603:
Narrated Adi bin Hatim:
Allah's Apostle said, "There will be none among you but his Lord will talk to him, and there will be no interpreter between him and Allah. He will look to his right and see nothing but his deeds which he has sent forward, and will look to his left and see nothing but his deeds which he has sent forward, and will look in front of him and see nothing but the (Hell) Fire facing him. So save yourself from the (Hell) Fire even with half a date (given in charity)." Al-A'mash said: Amr bin Murra said, Khaithama narrated the same and added, '..even with a good word.' "

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 604:
Narrated Abdullah:
A priest from the Jews came (to the Prophet) and said, "On the Day of Resurrection, Allah will place all the heavens on one finger, and the Earth on one finger, and the waters and the land on one finger, and all the creation on one finger, and then He will shake them and say. 'I am the King! I am the King!'" I saw the Prophet smiling till his premolar teeth became visible expressing his amazement and his belief in what he had said. Then the Prophet recited: 'No just estimate have they made of Allah such as due to Him (up to)...; High is He above the partners they attribute to Him.' (39.67)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 605:
Narrated Safwan bin Muhriz:
A man asked Ibn Umar, "What have you heard from Allah's Apostle regarding An-Najwa?" He said, "Everyone of you will come close to His Lord Who will screen him from the people and say to him, 'Did you do so-and-so?' He will reply, 'Yes.' Then Allah will say, 'Did you do so-and-so?' He will reply, 'Yes.' So Allah will question him and make him confess, and then Allah will say, 'I screened your sins in the world and forgive them for you today.' "

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 606:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "Adam and Moses debated with each other and Moses said, 'You are Adam who turned out your offspring from Paradise.' Adam said, "You are Moses whom Allah chose for His Message and for His direct talk, yet you blame me for a matter which had been ordained for me even before my creation?' Thus Adam overcame Moses."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 607:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle said, "The believers will be assembled on the Day of Resurrection and they will say, 'Let us look for someone to intercede for us with our Lord so that He may relieve us from this place of ours.' So they will go to Adam and say, 'You are Adam, the father of mankind, and Allah created you with His Own Hands and ordered the Angels to prostrate before you, and He taught you the names of all things; so please intercede for us with our Lord so that He may relieve us.' Adam will say, to them, 'I am not fit for that,' and then he will mention to them his mistake which he has committed.' "

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 608:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
The night Allah's Apostle was taken for a journey from the sacred mosque (of Mecca) Al-Kaaba: Three persons came to him (in a dreamy while he was sleeping in the Sacred Mosque before the Divine Inspiration was revealed to Him. One of them said, "Which of them is he?" The middle (second) angel said, "He is the best of them." The last (third) angle said, "Take the best of them." Only that much happened on that night and he did not see them till they came on another night, i.e. after The Divine Inspiration was revealed to him. (Fateh-Al-Bari Page 258, Vol. 17) and he saw them, his eyes were asleep but his heart was not----and so is the case with the prophets: their eyes sleep while their hearts do not sleep. So those angels did not talk to him till they carried him and placed him beside the well of Zam-Zam. From among them Gabriel took charge of him. Gabriel cut open (the part of his body) between his throat and the middle of his chest (heart) and took all the material out of his chest and abdomen and then washed it with Zam-Zam water with his own hands till he cleansed the inside of his body, and then a gold tray containing a gold bowl full of belief and wisdom was brought and then Gabriel stuffed his chest and throat blood vessels with it and then closed it (the chest). He then ascended with him to the heaven of the world and knocked on one of its doors.

The dwellers of the Heaven asked, 'Who is it?' He said, "Gabriel." They said, "Who is accompanying you?" He said, "Mohammed." They said, "Has he been called?" He said, "Yes" They said, "He is welcomed." So the dwellers of the Heaven became pleased with his arrival, and they did not know what Allah would do to the Prophet on earth unless Allah informed them. The Prophet met Adam over the nearest Heaven. Gabriel said to the Prophet, "He is your father; greet him." The Prophet greeted him and Adam returned his greeting and said, "Welcome, O my Son! O what a good son you are!" Behold, he saw two flowing rivers, while he was in the nearest sky. He asked, "What are these two rivers, O Gabriel?" Gabriel said, "These are the sources of the Nile and the Euphrates."

Then Gabriel took him around that Heaven and behold, he saw another river at the bank of which there was a palace built of pearls and emerald. He put his hand into the river and found its mud like musk Adhfar. He asked, "What is this, O Gabriel?" Gabriel said, "This is the Kauthar which your Lord has kept for you." Then Gabriel ascended (with him) to the second Heaven and the angels asked the same questions as those on the first Heaven, i.e., "Who is it?" Gabriel replied, "Gabriel". They asked, "Who is accompanying you?" He said, "Mohammed." They asked, "Has he been sent for?" He said, "Yes." Then they said, "He is welcomed." Then he (Gabriel) ascended with the Prophet to the third Heaven, and the angels said the same as the angels of the first and the second Heavens had said.

Then he ascended with him to the fourth Heaven and they said the same; and then he ascended with him to the fifth Heaven and they said the same; and then he ascended with him to the sixth Heaven and they said the same; then he ascended with him to the seventh Heaven and they said the same. On each Heaven there were prophets whose names he had mentioned and of whom I remember Idris on the second Heaven, Aaron on the fourth Heavens another prophet whose name I don't remember, on the fifth Heaven, Abraham on the sixth Heaven, and Moses on the seventh Heaven because of his privilege of talking to Allah directly. Moses said (to Allah), "O Lord! I thought that none would be raised up above me."

But Gabriel ascended with him (the Prophet) for a distance above that, the distance of which only Allah knows, till he reached the Lote Tree (beyond which none may pass) and then the Irresistible, the Lord of Honor and Majesty approached and came closer till he (Gabriel) was about two bow lengths or (even) nearer. (It is said that it was Gabriel who approached and came closer to the Prophet. (Fate Al-Bari Page 263, 264, Vol. 17). Among the things which Allah revealed to him then, was: "Fifty prayers were enjoined on his followers in a day and a night."

Then the Prophet descended till he met Moses, and then Moses stopped him and asked, "O Mohammed ! What did your Lord en join upon you?" The Prophet replied," He enjoined upon me to perform fifty prayers in a day and a night." Moses said, "Your followers cannot do that; Go back so that your Lord may reduce it for you and for them." So the Prophet turned to Gabriel as if he wanted to consult him about that issue. Gabriel told him of his opinion, saying, "Yes, if you wish." So Gabriel ascended with him to the Irresistible and said while he was in his place, "O Lord, please lighten our burden as my followers cannot do that." So Allah deducted for him ten prayers where upon he returned to Moses who stopped him again and kept on sending him back to his Lord till the enjoined prayers were reduced to only five prayers.

Then Moses stopped him when the prayers had been reduced to five and said, "O Mohammed! By Allah, I tried to persuade my nation, Bani Israel to do less than this, but they could not do it and gave it up. However, your followers are weaker in body, heart, sight and hearing, so return to your Lord so that He may lighten your burden."

The Prophet turned towards Gabriel for advice and Gabriel did not disapprove of that. So he ascended with him for the fifth time. The Prophet said, "O Lord, my followers are weak in their bodies, hearts, hearing and constitution, so lighten our burden." On that the Irresistible said, "O Mohammed!" the Prophet replied, "Labbaik and Sa'daik." Allah said, "The Word that comes from Me does not change, so it will be as I enjoined on you in the Mother of the Book." Allah added, "Every good deed will be rewarded as ten times so it is fifty (prayers) in the Mother of the Book (in reward) but you are to perform only five (in practice)."

The Prophet returned to Moses who asked, "What have you done?" He said, "He has lightened our burden: He has given us for every good deed a tenfold reward." Moses said, "By Allah! I tried to make Bani Israel observe less than that, but they gave it up. So go back to your Lord that He may lighten your burden further." Allah's Apostle said, "O Moses! By Allah, I feel shy of returning too many times to my Lord." On that Gabriel said, "Descend in Allah's Name." The Prophet then woke while he was in the Sacred Mosque (at Mecca).

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 609:
Narrated Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri:
The Prophet said, "Allah will say to the people of Paradise, "O the people of Paradise!" They will say, 'Labbaik, O our Lord, and Sa'daik, and all the good is in Your Hands!' Allah will say, "Are you satisfied?' They will say, 'Why shouldn't we be satisfied, O our Lord as You have given us what You have not given to any of Your created beings?' He will say, 'Shall I not give you something better than that?' They will say, 'O our Lord! What else could be better than that?' He will say, 'I bestow My Pleasure on you and will never be angry with you after that.' "

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 610:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Once the Prophet was preaching while a bedouin was sitting there. The Prophet said, "A man from among the people of Paradise will request Allah to allow him to cultivate the land Allah will say to him, 'Haven't you got whatever you desire?' He will reply, 'yes, but I like to cultivate the land (Allah will permit him and) he will sow the seeds, and within seconds the plants will grow and ripen and (the yield) will be harvested and piled in heaps like mountains. On that Allah will say (to him), "Take, here you are, O son of Adam, for nothing satisfies you.' "On that the bedouin said, "O Allah's Apostle! Such man must be either from Quraish or from Ansar, for they are farmers while we are not." On that Allah's Apostle smiled .

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 611:
Narrated Abdullah:
I asked Allah's Apostle "What is the biggest sin in the sight of Allah?" He said, "To set up rivals unto Allah though He alone created you." I said, "In fact, that is a tremendous sin," and added, "What next?" He said, "To kill your son being afraid that he may share your food with you." I further asked, "What next?" He said, "To commit illegal sexual intercourse with the wife of your neighbour."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 612:
Narrated Abdullah:
Two person of Bani Thaqif and one from Quarish (or two persons from Quraish and one from Bani Thaqif) who had fat bellies but little wisdom, met near the Kaaba. One of them said, "Did you see that Allah hears what we say? " The other said, "He hears us if we speak aloud, but He does not hear if we speak in stealthy quietness (softly)." The third fellow said, "If He hears when we speak aloud, then He surely hears us if we speak in stealthy quietness (softly)." So Allah revealed the Verse:-- 'And you have not been screening against yourselves, lest your ears, and your eyes and your skins should testify against you..." (41.22)

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Volume 9, Book 93, Number 613:
Narrated 'Ikrima:
Ibn Abbas said, "How can you ask the people of the Scriptures about their Books while you have Allah's Book (the Koran) which is the most recent of the Books revealed by Allah, and you read it in its pure undistorted form?"

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 614:
Narrated Ubaidullah bin Abdullah:
Abdullah bin Abbas said, "O the group of Muslims! How can you ask the people of the Scriptures about anything while your Book which Allah has revealed to your Prophet contains the most recent news from Allah and is pure and not distorted? Allah has told you that the people of the Scriptures have changed some of Allah's Books and distorted it and wrote something with their own hands and said, 'This is from Allah, so as to have a minor gain for it. Won't the knowledge that has come to you stop you from asking them? No, by Allah, we have never seen a man from them asking you about that (the Book Al-Koran) which has been revealed to you.

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 615:
Narrated Musa bin Abi Aisha:
Sa'id bin Jubair reported from Ibn Abbas (regarding the explanation of the Verse: 'Do not move your tongue concerning (the Koran) to make haste therewith) . He said, "The Prophet used to undergo great difficulty in receiving the Divine Inspiration and used to move his lips.' Ibn Abbas said (to Sa'id), "I move them (my lips) as Allah's Apostle used to move his lips." And Said said (to me), "I move my lips as I saw Ibn Abbas moving his lips," and then he moved his lips. So Allah revealed:--
'(O Mohammed!) Do not move your tongue concerning (the Koran) to make haste therewith. It is for Us to collect it and give you (O Mohammed) the ability to recite it. (i.e., to collect it in your chest and then you recite it).' (75.16-17) But when We have recited it, to you (O Mohammed through Gabriel) then follow you its recital.' (75.18) This means, "You should listen to it and keep quiet and then it is upon Us to make you recite it."
The narrator added, "So Allah's Apostle used to listen whenever Gabriel came to him, and when Gabriel left, the Prophet would recite the Koran as Gabriel had recited it to him."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 616:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
regarding the explanation of the Verse:-- '(O Mohammed!) Neither say your prayer aloud, nor say it in a low tone.' (17.110) This Verse was revealed while Allah's Apostle was hiding himself at Mecca. At that time, when he led his companions in prayer, he used to raise his voice while reciting the Koran; and if the pagans heard him, they would abuse the Koran, its Revealer, and the one who brought it. So Allah said to His Prophet: "Neither say your prayer aloud. i.e., your recitation (of Koran) lest the pagans should hear (it) and abuse the Koran" nor say it in a low tone, "lest your voice should fail to reach your companions, "but follow a way between." (17.110)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 617:
Narrated Aisha:
The Verse:-- '(O Mohammed!) Neither say your prayer aloud nor say it in a low tone.' (17.110) was revealed in connection with the invocations.

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 618:
Narrated Abu Salama:
Abu Huraira said, "Allah's Apostle said, 'Whoever does not recite Koran in a nice voice is not from us,' and others said extra," (that means) to recite it aloud."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 619:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Not to wish to be the like of except the like of two men: a man whom Allah has given the Koran and he recites it during the hours of the night and the hours of the day, in which case one may say, "If I were given the same as this man has been given, I would do the same as he is doing.' The other is a man whom Allah has given wealth and he spends it in the right way, in which case one may say, 'If I were given the same as he has been given, I would do the same as he is doing."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 620:
Narrated Salim's father:
The Prophet said, "Not to wish to be the like of except the like of two (persons): a man whom Allah has given the knowledge of the Koran and he recites it during the hours of the night and the hours of the day; and a man whom Allah has given wealth and he spends it (in Allah's Cause) during the hours of the night and during the hours of the day."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 621:
Narrated Al-Mughira:
Our Prophet has informed us our Lord's Message that whoever of us is martyred, will go to Paradise.

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 622:
Narrated Aisha:
Whoever tells you that the Prophet concealed something of the Divine Inspiration, do not believe him, for Allah said: 'O Apostle Mohammed! Proclaim (the Message) which has been sent down to you from your Lord, and if you do it not, then you have not conveyed His Message.' (5.67)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 623:
Narrated Abdullah:
A man said, "O Allah's Apostle! Which sin is the biggest in Allah's Sight?" The Prophet said, "To set up rivals unto Allah though He Alone created you." That man said, "What is next?" The Prophet said, "To kill your son lest he should share your food with you." The man said, "What is next?" The Prophet said, "To commit illegal sexual intercourse with the wife of your neighbour." Then Allah revealed in confirmation of that: "And those who invoke not with Allah any other god, nor kill such life as Allah has made sacred except for just cause, nor commit illegal sexual intercourse and whoever does this shall receive the punishment..... (25.68)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 624:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "Your stay (in this world) in comparison to the stay of the nations preceding you, is like the period between Asr prayer and the sun set (in comparison to a whole day). The people of the Torah were given the Torah and they acted on it till midday and then they were unable to carry on. And they were given (a reward equal to) one Qirat each. Then the people of the Gospel were given the Gospel and they acted on it till Asr Prayer and then they were unable to carry on, so they were given la reward equal to) one Qirat each. Then you were given the Koran and you acted on it till sunset, therefore you were given (a reward equal to) two Qirats each. On that, the people of the Scriptures said, 'These people (Muslims) did less work than we but they took a bigger reward.' Allah said (to them). 'Have I done any oppression to you as regards your rights?' They said, "No." Then Allah said, 'That is My Blessing which I grant to whomsoever I will.' "

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 625:
Narrated Ibn Mas'ud:
A man asked the Prophet "What deeds are the best?" The Prophet said: (1) To perform the (daily compulsory) prayers at their (early) stated fixed times, (2) To be good and dutiful to one's own parents. (3) and to participate in Jihad in Allah's Cause."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 626:
Narrated Al-Hasan:
Amr bin Taghlib said, "Some property was given to the Prophet and he gave it to some people and withheld it from some others. Then he came to know that they (the latter) were dissatisfied. So the Prophet said, 'I give to one man and leave (do not give) another, and the one to whom I do not give is dearer to me than the one to whom I give. I give to some people because of the impatience and discontent present in their hearts, and leave other people because of the content and goodness Allah has bestowed on them, and one of them is Amr bin Taghlib." Amr bin Taghlib said, "The sentence which Allah's Apostle said in my favor is dearer to me than the possession of nice red camels."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 627:
Narrated Anas:
The Prophet said, "My Lord says, 'If My slave comes nearer to me for a span, I go nearer to him for a cubit; and if he comes nearer to Me for a cubit, I go nearer to him for the span of outstretched arms; and if he comes to Me walking, I go to him running.' "

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 628:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Perhaps the Prophet mentioned the following (as Allah's Saying): "If My slave comes nearer to Me for a span, I go nearer to him for a cubit; and if he comes nearer to Me for a cubit; I go nearer to him for the span of outstretched arms. (See Hadith No. 502)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 629:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said that your Lord said, "Every (sinful) deed can be expiated; and the fast is for Me, so I will give the reward for it; and the smell which comes out of the mouth of a fasting person, is better in Allah's Sight than the smell of musk." (See Hadith No. 584)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 630:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said that his Lord said: "It does not befit a slave that he should say that he is better than Jonah (Yunus) bin Matta.

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 631:
Narrated Shu'ba:
Mu'awiya bin Qurra reported that Abdullah bin Al-Maghaffal Al-Muzani said, "I saw Allah's Apostle on the day of the Conquest of Mecca, riding his she-camel and reciting Surat-al-Fath (48) or part of Surat-al-Fath. He recited it in a vibrating and pleasant voice. Then Mu'awiya recited as Abdullah bin Mughaffal had done and said, "Were I not afraid that the people would crowd around me, I would surely recite in a vibrating pleasant voice as Ibn Mughaffal did, imitating the Prophet." I asked Muawiya, "How did he recite in that tone?" He said thrice, "A, A , A."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 632:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The people of the Scripture used to read the Torah in Hebrew and explain it to the Muslims in Arabic. Then Allah's Apostle said, "Do not believe the people of the Scripture, and do not disbelieve them, but say, 'We believe in Allah and whatever has been revealed...' (3.84)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 633:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
A Jew and Jewess were brought to the Prophet on a charge of committing an illegal sexual intercourse. The Prophet asked the Jews, "What do you (usually) do with them?" They said, "We blacken their faces and disgrace them." He said, "Bring here the Torah and recite it, if you are truthful." They (fetched it and) came and asked a one-eyed man to recite. He went on reciting till he reached a portion on which he put his hand. The Prophet said, "Lift up your hand!" He lifted his hand up and behold, there appeared the verse of Ar-Rajm (stoning of the adulterers to death). Then he said, "O Mohammed! They should be stoned to death but we conceal this Divine Law among ourselves." Then the Prophet ordered that the two sinners be stoned to death and, and they were stoned to death, and I saw the man protecting the woman from the stones. (See Hadith No. 809, Vol. 8)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 634:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
that he heard the Prophet saying, "Allah does not listen to anything as He listens to the recitation of the Koran by a Prophet who recites it in attractive audible sweet sounding voice."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 635:
Narrated Aisha:
(when the slanderers said what they said about her): I went to my bed knowing at that time that I was innocent and that Allah would reveal my innocence, but by Allah, I never thought that Allah would reveal in my favor a revelation which would be recited, for I considered myself too unimportant to be talked about by Allah in the Divine Revelation that was to be recited. So Allah revealed the ten Verses (of Surat-an-Nur). 'Those who brought a false charge.....' (24.11-20)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 636:
Narrated Al-Bara:
I heard the Prophet reciting Surat at-Tin waz Zaitun (By the Fig and the Olive) in the 'Isha' prayer and I have never heard anybody with a better voice or recitation than his.

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 637:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet was hiding himself in Mecca and used to recite the (Koran) in a loud voice. When the pagans heard him they would abuse the Koran and the one who brought it, so Allah said to His Prophet: 'Neither say your prayer aloud, nor say it in a low tone.' (17.110)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 638:
Narrated Abdullah bin Abdur-Rahman:
that Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri said to him, "I see that you like sheep and the desert, so when you are looking after your sheep or when you are in the desert and want to pronounce the Adhan, raise your voice, for no Jinn, human being or any other things hear the Mu'adh-dhin's voice but will be a witness for him on the Day of Resurrection." Abu Sa'id added, "I heard this from Allah's Apostle."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 639:
Narrated Aisha:
The Prophet used to recite the Koran with his head in my lap while I used to be in my periods (having menses).

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Volume 9, Book 93, Number 640:
Narrated Umar bin Al-Khattab:
I heard Hisham bin Hakim reciting Surat-al-Furqan during the lifetime of Allah's Apostle, I listened to his recitation and noticed that he was reciting in a way that Allah's Apostle had not taught me. I was about to jump over him while He was still in prayer, but I waited patiently and when he finished his prayer, I put my sheet round his neck (and pulled him) and said, "Who has taught you this Sura which I have heard you reciting?" Hisham said, "Allah's Apostle taught it to me." I said, "You are telling a lie, for he taught it to me in a way different from the way you have recited it!" Then I started leading (dragged) him to Allah's Apostle and said (to the Prophet), " I have heard this man reciting Surat-al-Furqan in a way that you have not taught me." The Prophet said: "(O Umar) release him! Recite, O Hisham." Hisham recited in the way I heard him reciting. Allah's Apostle said, "It was revealed like this." Then Allah's Apostle said, "Recite, O Umar!" I recited in the way he had taught me, whereupon he said, "It was revealed like this," and added, "The Koran has been revealed to be recited in seven different ways, so recite of it whichever is easy for you ." (See Hadith No. 514, Vol. 6)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 641:
Narrated Imran:
I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Why should a doer (people) try to do good deeds?' The Prophet said, "Everybody will find easy to do such deeds as will lead him to his destined place for which he has been created.'

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 642:
Narrated Ali:
While the Prophet was in a funeral procession, he took a stick and started scraping the earth with it and said, "There is none of you but has his place assigned either in Hell or in Paradise." They (the people) said, "Shall we not depend upon that (and give up doing any deeds)?' He said, " Carry on doing (good deeds) for everybody will find it easy to do such deeds as will lead him to his destined place for which he has been created ." (And then the Prophet recited the Verse):-- 'As for him who gives (in charity) and keeps his duty to Allah...' (92.5)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 643:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "Before Allah created the creations, He wrote a Book (wherein He has written): My Mercy has preceded my Anger." and that (Book) is written with Him over the Throne."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 644:
Narrated Zahdam:
There were good relations and brotherhood between this tribe of Jurm and the Ash'ariyyin. Once, while we were sitting with Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari, there was brought to him a meal which contained chicken meat, and there was sitting beside him, a man from the tribe of Bani Taimul-lah who looked like one of the Mawali. Abu Musa invited the man to eat but the man said, "I have seen chicken eating some dirty things, and I have taken an oath not to eat chicken." Abu Musa said to him, "Come along, let me tell you something in this regard. Once I went to the Prophet with a few men from Ash'ariyyin and we asked him for mounts. The Prophet said, By Allah, I will not mount you on anything; besides I do not have anything to mount you on.' Then a few camels from the war booty were brought to the Prophet, and he asked about us, saying, 'Where are the group of Ash'ariyyin?' So he ordered for five fat camels to be given to us and then we set out. We said, 'What have we done? Allah's Apostle took an oath that he would not give us anything to ride and that he had nothing for us to ride, yet he provided us with mounts. We made Allah's Apostle forget his oath! By Allah, we will never be successful.' So we returned to him and reminded him of his oath. He said, 'I have not provided you with the mount, but Allah has done so. By Allah, I may take an oath to do something, but on finding something else which is better, I do that which is better and make the expiation for my oath.' "

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 645:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The delegates of Abdul Qais came to Allah's Apostle and said, "The pagans of the tribe of Mudar intervene between you and us therefore we cannot come to you except in the Holy months. So please order us to do something good (Religious deeds) by which we may enter Paradise (by acting on them) and we may inform our people whom we have left behind to observe it." The Prophet said, "I order you to do four things and forbid you from four things: I order you to believe in Allah. Do you know what is meant by belief in Allah? It is to testify that none has the right to be worshipped except Allah, to offer prayers perfectly, to give Zakat, and to give Al-Khumus (one-fifth of the war booty) (in Allah's Cause). And I forbid you four things, (i.e., Do not drink alcoholic drinks) Ad-Dubba, An-Naqir, (pitched water skins), Az-Zuruf, Al-Muzaffat and Al--Hantam (names of utensils used for the preparation of alcoholic drinks)." (See Hadith No. 50, Vol. 1)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 646:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle said, "The painter of these pictures will be punished on the Day of Resurrection, and it will be said to them, Make alive what you have created.' "

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 647:
Narrated Ibn Umar:
The Prophet said, "The painters of these pictures will be punished on the Day of Resurrection, and it will be said to them, 'Make alive what you have created."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 648:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard the Prophet saying, "Allah said, 'Who are most unjust than those who try to create something like My creation? I challenge them to create even a smallest ant, a wheat grain or a barley grain.' "

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 649:
Narrated Abu Musa:
The Prophet said, 'The example of a believer who recites the Koran is that of a citron (a citrus fruit) which is good in taste and good in smell. And the believer who does not recite the Koran is like a date which has a good taste but no smell. And the example of an impious person who recites the Koran is that of Ar-Rihana (an aromatic plant) which smells good but is bitter in taste. And the example of an impious person who does not recite the Koran is that of a colocynth which is bitter in taste and has no smell."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 650:
Narrated Aisha:
Some people asked the Prophet regarding the soothsayers. He said, "They are nothing." They said, "O Allah's Apostle! Some of their talks come true." The Prophet said, "That word which happens to be true is what a Jinn snatches away by stealth (from the Heaven) and pours it in the ears of his friend (the foreteller) with a sound like the cackling of a hen. The soothsayers then mix with that word, one hundred lies."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 651:
Narrated Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri:
The Prophet said, "There will emerge from the East some people who will recite the Koran but it will not exceed their throats and who will go out of (renounce) the religion (Islam) as an arrow passes through the game, and they will never come back to it unless the arrow, comes back to the middle of the bow (by itself) (i.e., impossible). The people asked, "What will their signs be?" He said, "Their sign will be the habit of shaving (of their beards). (Fateh Al-Bari, Page 322, Vol. 17th)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 652:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "(There are) two words which are dear to the Beneficent (Allah) and very light (easy) for the tongue (to say), but very heavy in weight in the balance. They are: 'Subhan Allah wa-bi hamdihi' and 'Subhan Allah Al-Azim." (See Hadith No. 673, Vol. 8).
The End

NAWAWI'S FORTY HADITH

(Nawawi's Forty Hadith (actually, it is 42 Hadith) is a compilation of Hadiths by Imam al-Nawawi, most of which are from Sahih Muslim and Sahih al-Bukhari. This collection of Hadith has been particularly valued over the centuries because it is a distillation, by one of the most eminent and revered authorities in Islamic jurisprudence, of the foundations of Islamic sacred law or Shariʿah. In putting together this collection, it was the author's explicit aim that "each Hadith is a great fundament (qaʿida ʿazima) of the religion, described by the religious scholars as being 'the axis of Islam' or 'the half of Islam' or 'the third of it' or the like, and to make it a rule that these forty Hadith be classified as sound (sahih)." This work is the most representative of the arbaʿiniyyat genre of Hadith.

Abu Zakaria Yahya Ibn Sharaf al-Nawawi (Arabic: 1233–1277), popularly known as al-Nawawi or Imam Nawawi, was an influential Sunni Shafi'ite jurist and Hadith scholar. He authored numerous and lengthy works ranging from Hadith, to theology, biography, and jurisprudence. Al-Nawawi never married. He was born at Nawa near Damascus, Syria. As with many Arabic and Semitic names, the last part of his name refers to his hometown. From a young age he showed signs of great intelligence, and so his father paid for a good education.

Nawawi provoked the wrath of Mamluk Sultan Rukn al-Din Baybars (the military commander who first delivered a substantial defeat to the invading Mongol army), when he petitioned on behalf of residents of Damascus who sought relief from heavy tax burdens during a drought that lasted many years. This prompted Baybars threatened to expel him from Damascus. To this, he responded: "As for myself, threats do not harm me or mean anything to me. They will not keep me from advising the ruler, for I believe that this is obligatory upon me and others." His courage earned him authority among the Koran scholars and for his selfless actions, he is still remembered as a hero.)

Hadith 1
Intention
Umar ibn Al-Khattab reported: I heard the Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, say: Verily, deeds are only with intentions. Indeed, every person will get rewarded only for what they intended. Therefore, whoever emigrated for worldly reasons or for a woman, then his emigration is for what he has emigrated to. (Sahih Bukhari, Book 1, Number 1)

Hadith 2
Foundation of the Sunnah
Umar ibn Al-Khattab reported: One day while we were sitting with the Messenger of Allah there appeared before us a man whose clothes were exceedingly white and whose hair was exceedingly black; no signs of journeying were to be seen on him and none of us knew him. He walked up and sat down by the prophet. Resting his knees against his and placing the palms of his hands on his thighs, he said, “O Mohammed, tell me about Islam.” The Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, said: Islam is to worship Allah alone without associating anything with Him, to establish the prescribed prayer, to give obligatory charity, and to fast the month of Ramadan.

The man said: “You have spoken rightly,” and we were amazed at him asking him and saying that he had spoken rightly. Then he said: “Tell me about faith.” The Prophet, peace be upon him, said: Faith is to believe in Allah, His angels, His books, His meeting (on the Day of Judgement), His messengers, and to believe in the resurrection in the Hereafter. The man said, “You have spoken rightly. Then tell me about excellence.” The Prophet, peace be upon him, said: Excellence is to worship Allah as if you see Him, for verily, He sees you. The man said, “Then tell me about the Hour.” The Prophet, peace be upon him, said: The one who is asked does not know more than the one asking. The man said, “Then tell me about its signs.” The Prophet, peace be upon him, said: When the slave-girl gives birth to her master is among its signs; when the naked and barefooted will become chiefs of the people is among its signs; when the shepherds of black camels will exult themselves in constructing building is among its signs. Then he left and I stayed for a time. Then the Prophet, peace be upon him, said: O Umar, do you know who the questioner was?

I said, “Allah and His messenger know best.” He said: He was Gabriel, who came to teach the people their religion. (Sahih Muslim, Book 1, Number 1)

Hadith 3
Pillars of Islam
Ibn Umar, the son of Umar ibn Al-Khattab, reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, said: Islam is built upon five: worshiping Allah alone and disbelieving in what is worshiped besides him, establishing prayer, paying charity, performing the pilgrimage, and fasting the month of Ramadan. (Sahih Bukhari, Book 2, Number 8)

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Hadith 4
Divine Providence
Abdullah ibn Masud reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, and he is the truthful, the trusted, said to us: Verily, the creation of each one of you is brought together in his mother's womb for forty days in the form of seed, then he is a clot of blood for another period, then a morsel of flesh for another period, then there is sent to him the angel who blows the breath of life into him and who is commanded regarding four matters: to write down his means of livelihood, his life span, his actions, and whether he is happy or unhappy. By Allah other than whom there is no god, verily, one of you behaves like the people of Paradise until he is but an arm's length from it, but that which has been written overtakes him, so he behaves like the people of Hellfire and thus he enters it; and one of you behaves like the people of Hellfire until he is but an arm's length from it, and that which has been written overtakes him, so he behaves like the people of Paradise and thus he enters it. (Sahih Muslim, Book 33, Number 6390)

Hadith 5
Innovation and Heresy
Aisha reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, said: Whoever innovates something into this affair of ours which does not belong to it will have it rejected. (Sahih Bukhari, Book 49, Number 861) In another narration, the Prophet said: Whoever performs a deed that is not in accordance with our matter will have it rejected. (Sahih Muslim, Book 18, Number 4266)

Hadith 6
Lawful and Unlawful are Clear
Numan ibn Bashir reported: I heard the Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, say:
That which is lawful is plain and that which is unlawful is plain and between the two of them are doubtful matters about which not many people know. Thus he who avoids doubtful matters clears himself in regard to his religion and his honour, but he who falls into doubtful matters falls into that which is unlawful, like the shepherd who pastures around a sanctuary, all but grazing therein. Truly every king has a sanctuary, and truly Allah's sanctuary is His prohibitions. Truly in the body there is a morsel of flesh which, if it be whole, all the body is whole and which, if it be diseased, all of it is diseased. Truly it is the heart. (Sahih Bukhari, Book 2, Number 50)

Hadith 7
Religion is Sincerity
Tamim Al-Dari reported: The Prophet, peace be upon him, said three times: Verily, the religion is sincerity. We said, "To whom?" He said: To Allah and His Book, and His messenger, and to the leaders of the Muslims and their common folk. (Sahih Muslim, Book 1, Number 98)

Hadith 8
Fighting in Defense of Islam
Abdullah ibn Umar reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, said: I have been ordered to Jihad (hard work or fight against the devil) against people until they testify that there is no god but Allah and that Mohammed is the messenger of Allah and until they perform the prayers and pay Jakat (Purification of the wealth by giving the poor people their rightful share), and if they do so they will have gained protection from me for their lives and property, unless (they do acts that are punishable) in accordance with Islam, and their reckoning will be with Allah the Almighty. (Sahih Muslim, Book 1, Number 33) In another narration, the Prophet said:
I have been commanded to fight the idolaters… (Sunan An-Nasa'i, Book of Unlawfulness of Bloodshed, Number 3966, Sahih) Ibn Taymiyah comments on this Hadith: It refers to fighting those who are waging war, whom Allah has permitted us to fight. It does not refer to those who have a covenant with us, whom Allah commands us to fulfill our covenant. (Majmu Al-Fatawa 19/20)

Hadith 9
Avoid Excessive Questioning
Abu Huraira reported: I heard the Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, say: Avoid what I have forbidden for you, and do what I have commanded you as much as you are able. Verily, the people before you were destroyed only because of their excessive questioning and contradicting their prophets. (Sahih Muslim, Book 30, Number 5818) In another narration, the Prophet said: Leave me with what I have left you. When I narrate a saying to you, then take it from me. Indeed, the people before you were destroyed only because of their excessive questioning and disagreeing with their prophets. (Sunan At-Tirmidhi, Book of Knowledge, Number 2679, Sahih)

Hadith 10
Allah is Pure and Accepts Only Pure
Abu Huraira reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, said: O people, verily, Allah is pure and He accepts only what is pure. Verily, Allah has commanded the believers with that which He commanded His Messengers. He said: O Messengers, eat from good things and work righteousness, for indeed I am knowing of what you do(23:51); and He said: O you who believe, eat from good things with which We have provided you (2:172)."
Then he mentioned the case of a man who, having traveled very far, becomes disheveled and dusty and he raises his hands to the sky, saying, "O Lord! O Lord!" while his food is unlawful, his drink is unlawful, his clothing is unlawful, and he is nourished with the unlawful, so how can he be answered?
(Sahih Muslim, Book 5, Number 2214)

Hadith 11
Leave Doubts
Al-Hasan ibn Ali, the grandson of the Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, reported: I memorised from the Messenger of Allah his saying: Leave what makes you doubt to what does not make you doubt; verily, truth brings tranquility but falsehood brings doubts. (Sunan At-Tirmidhi, Book of Resurrection, Number 2518, Sahih)

Hadith 12
Minding Our Own Business
Abu Huraira reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, said: It is part of a person's excellence in Islam that he leaves what does not concern him. (Sunan At-Tirmidhi, Book of Asceticism, Number 2317, Hasan)

Hadith 13
Love Good for All Creation
Anas ibn Malik reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, said: None of you believes until he loves for his brother what he loves for himself. (Sahih Bukhari, Book 2, Number 15) In another narration, the Prophet said: By Him in whose Hand is my soul, a servant does not believe until he loves for his brother what he loves for himself of goodness." (Musnad Ahmad, Number 12734, Sahih)

In another narration, the Prophet said:
None of you has faith until he loves for the people what he loves for himself, and until he loves a person only for the sake of Allah the Exalted. (Musnad Ahmad, Number 13463, Hasan)

In another narration, the Prophet said:
Love for people what you would love for yourself, and hate for people what you would hate for yourself. (Musnad Ahmad, Number 15453, Hasan)

In another narration, the Prophet said:
Whoever would love to be delivered from the Fire and entered into Paradise, then let him die with faith in Allah and the Last Day, and let him treat the people the way he would love to be treated. (Sahih Muslim, Book 20, Number 4546)

An-Nawawi comments on this Hadith:
It is better to interpret this as brotherhood in general, such that it includes the disbeliever and the Muslim. So he should love for his brother, the disbeliever, what he loves for himself which is his entering Islam, just as he should love for his brother Muslim that he remains in Islam. For this reason, it is recommended to supplicate for the disbeliever to be guided. The meaning of love here is an intention for good and benefit, and this meaning is religious love, not human love. (Sharh Arba'een An-Nawawi, Hadith Number 13)

Ibn Rajab comments on this Hadith:
Some of the righteous predecessors said: The people who love Allah look by the light of Allah, and they are compassionate with those who disobey Allah. They hate their actions but show mercy to them so that through their admonitions they might leave their actions. They are afraid that the Hellfire will consume their bodies. The believer will not truly be a believer until he is pleased for people to have what he is pleased for himself. If he sees in someone else some merit by which they excel him, then he wishes the like of it for himself. If that merit is related to the religion then it is good.
(Ibn Rajab, Jami' Ulum wal-Hikam)

Hadith 14
Legal Punishment
Abdullah ibn Mas'ud reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, said: It is unlawful to shed the blood of a Muslim person who testifies that there is no God but Allah and that I am the Messenger of Allah except in one of three cases: the married person who commits adultery, legal retaliation for murder, and a person who leaves their religion and divides the community. (Sahih Muslim, Book 16, Number 4152)
In another narration, the apostate is described as: A man who goes out for war against Allah and His Messenger. (Sunan Abu Dawud, Book of Legal Punishment, Number 4353, Sahih)

Hadith 15
Good Manners with Neighbours and Guests
Abu Huraira reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, said: Whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day, let him speak goodness or be silent; and whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day, let him honour his neighbour; and whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day, let him honour his guest. (Sahih Muslim, Book 1, Number 78)

Hadith 16
Do Not Become Angry
Abu Huraira reported: A man said to the Prophet, "Counsel me." The Prophet, peace be upon him, said: Do not become angry. The man repeated his request several times, and he kept saying: Do not become angry. (Sahih Bukhari, Book 73, Number 137)

Hadith 17
Excellence in All Things
Shaddad ibn Aws reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, said: Verily Allah has prescribed excellence in all things. Thus, if you kill, kill well; and if you slaughter, slaughter well. Let each one of you sharpen his blade and let him spare suffering to the animal he slaughters. (Sahih Muslim, Book 21, Number 4810)

Hadith 18
Fear Allah Wherever You Are
Abu Dharr reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, said: Fear Allah wherever you are, and follow up a bad deed with a good one and it will wipe it out, and behave well towards people. (Sunan At-Tirmidhi, Book 25, Number 1987, Sahih)

Hadith 19
Be Mindful of Allah
Abdullah ibn Abbas reported: One day I was behind the Prophet, peace be upon him, and he said to me: O boy! I will teach you some words. Be mindful of Allah and He will protect you. Be mindful of Allah and you will find Him before you. When you ask, ask from Allah; and when you seek help, seek help from Allah. Know that if the entire creation were to gather together to benefit you, then would not benefit you except if Allah willed. And if the entire creation gathered together to harm you, they would not harm you except if Allah willed. The pens have been raised and the pages dried. (Sunan At-Tirmidhi, Book 35, Number 2516, Sahih)

Hadith 20
Shame
Abu Mas'ud Uqbah reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, said: Verily, among the words people obtained from the first prophecy are: if you feel no shame, then do as you wish. (Sahih Bukhari, Book 56, Number 690)

Hadith 21
Uprightness
Sufyan b. Abdulla al-Thaqafi reported: I asked the Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, to tell me something about Islam which I would not need to ask anybody afterwards. He said: Say, "I believe in Allah," and thereafter remain steadfast. (Sahih Muslim, Book 1, Number 62)

Hadith 22
Essentials of Salvation
Jabir ibn Abdullah reported: A man asked the Messenger of Allah, "Do you think that if I perform the obligatory prayers, fast in Ramadan, treat as lawful that which is lawful and treat as forbidden that which is forbidden, and do nothing further, I shall enter Paradise?" The Prophet, peace be upon him, said: Yes. (Sahih Muslim, Book 1, Number 9) In another narration, the Prophet said: He who is pleased to see a man from the people of Paradise should look to him. (Sahih Muslim, Book 1, Number 14)

Hadith 23
Purification is Half of Faith
Abu Malik Al-Ashari reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, said:
Purity is half of faith and the praise of Allah fills the scale, glorification and praise fill up what is between the heavens and the earth, and prayer is a light, and charity is proof (of sincere faith), and patience is illumination, and the Koran is a proof for you or against you. All people go out early in the morning and sell themselves, either setting themselves free or destroying themselves. (Sahih Muslim, Book 2, Number 432)

Hadith 24
Allah Has Forbidden Oppression
Abu Dharr Al-Ghafari reported: Among the sayings the Prophet, peace be upon him, relates from his Lord is that

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Allah Almighty said: O My servants, I have forbidden oppression for Myself and have made it forbidden amongst you, so do not oppress one another. O My servants, all of you are astray except for those I have guided, so seek guidance of Me and I shall guide you. O My servants, all of you are hungry except for those I have fed, so seek food of Me and I shall feed you. O My servants, all of you are naked except for those I have clothed, so seek clothing of Me and I shall clothe you. O My servants, you sin by night and by day, and I forgive all sins, so seek forgiveness of Me and I shall forgive you. O My servants, you will not attain harming Me so as to harm Me, and you will not attain benefiting Me so as to benefit Me. O my servants, were the first of you and the last of you, the human of you and the jinn of you to become as pious as the most pious heart of any one man of you, that would not increase My kingdom in anything. O My servants, were the first of you and the last of you, the human of you and the jinn of you to be as wicked as the most wicked heart of any one man of you, that would not decrease My kingdom in anything. O My servants, were the first of you and the last of you, the human of you and the jinn of you to rise up in one place and make a request of Me, and were I to give everyone what he requested, that would not decrease what I have, any more than a needle decreases the sea if put into it. O My servants, it is but your deeds that I reckon up for you and then recompense you for, so let him who finds good praise Allah, and let him who finds other than that blame no one but himself. (Sahih Muslim, Book 32, Number 6246)

Hadith 25
Many Ways to Give Charity
Abu Dharr reported: Some people from the companions of the Prophet, peace be upon him, came to the Prophet and said, “O Messenger of Allah, the rich have taken the rewards. They perform prayer as we pray, they fast as we fast, and they give charity from their extra wealth.” He said: Has not Allah made for you ways to give charity? In every glorification of Allah there is charity; and in every declaration of His greatness there is charity; and in praise of Him is charity; and in every declaration of His oneness there is charity; and enjoining good is charity and forbidding evil is charity; and in a man’s intimate relations with his wife is charity. They said, “O Messenger of Allah, is there a reward for one who satisfies his passions?” He said:
You see if he were to devote himself to something forbidden it would be a sin; likewise, if he were to devote himself to something lawful, he will have a reward.
(Sahih Muslim, Book 5, Number 2198)

Hadith 26
Charity Due Upon Every Joint
Abu Huraira reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, said: There is charity due upon every joint of the human body; every day on which the sun rises there is a reward of charity for the one who establishes justice among people. (Sahih Bukhari, Book 49, Number 870)

Hadith 27
Righteousness is Good Character
Al-Nawwas ibn Samaan reported: The Prophet, peace be upon him, said: Righteousness is to have good character and sin is what festers in your heart and you hate for people to know about it. (Sahih Muslim, Book 32, Number 6195) In another narration, the Prophet said: Consult your soul, consult your heart, O Wabisa. Righteousness is what is satisfying to your soul and your heart. Sin is what wavers in your soul and causes hesitancy in your chest, even if the people give you a judgement, and again give you a judgement.” (Sunan Ad-Darimi, Book of Trade, Number 2533, Hasan)

Hadith 28
Upholding the Sunnah
Al-‘Irbad ibn Sariyah reported: One day after prayer the Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, admonished us such that the eyes wept and hearts shuddered. A man said, “Indeed, this is a farewell speech, so what do you order us, O Messenger of Allah?” He said: I enjoin you to fear Allah, and to listen and obey your leaders even if he is a slave from Ethiopia. Indeed, whoever lives among you will see many differences. Beware of newly invented matters, for indeed they are misguidance. So whoever sees that must uphold my precedent (sunnah) and the precedent of the upright successors who are guided; bite onto it with you molar teeth. (Sunan At-Tirmidhi, Book, Number 2676, Sahih)

Hadith 29
Virtuous Deeds
Mu’adh ibn Jabal reported: I was with the Prophet, peace be upon him, and we woke up one day and I said, “O Messenger of Allah, tell me about a deed that will enter me into Paradise and keep me away from the Fire.” He said: You have asked about an enormous matter, yet it is easy for whom Allah makes it easy. Worship Allah and do not associate anything with Him; establish the prayer; give the charity; fast the month of Ramadan; and perform pilgrimage to the House. Then he said: Shall I not tell you about the gates of goodness? Fasting is a shield ; charity extinguishes sins just as water extinguishes fire; and the prayer of a man in the late night. Then he recited: They arise from their beds; they supplicate their Lord in fear and hope, and they spend from what We have provided them, and no soul knows what has been hidden for them of comfort for eyes as reward for what they used to do. (Surah As-Sajda 32:16-17)

Then he said:
Shall I not tell you about the head of the matter and its peak? I said, “Of course, O Messenger of Allah.” He said: The head of the matter is Islam; its pillar is the prayer; and struggle (jihad) is its peak. Then he said: Shall I not tell you how to achieve all of this? I said, “Yes, O Messenger of Allah,” and he took hold of his tongue and said:
Restrain this. I said, “O Prophet of Allah, will what we say be held against us?” He said: May your mother be bereaved of you, O Mu’adh! Is there anything that topples people onto their faces in the Hellfire except the harvest of their tongues? (Sunan At-Tirmidhi, Book of Faith, Number 2616, Sahih)

Hadith 30
Duties, Limits, and Allah’s Merciful Silence
Abu Tha’laba Al-Khushani reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, said: Verily, Allah has made duties obligatory, so do not neglect them; and He has set limits, so do not transgress them; and He has remained silent concerning things as mercy for you, not out of forgetfulness, so do not search them out. (Sunan Al-Daraqutani, Number 4316, Hasan)

Hadith 31
Renounce the World and Allah Will Love You
Sahl ibn Sa’ad Al-Sa’di reported: A man came to the Prophet and said, “O Messenger of Allah, tell me about a deed I can do which will make Allah and the people love me.” The Prophet, peace be upon him, said: Renounce the world and Allah will love you, and renounce what people possess and the people will love you. (Sunan Ibn Majah, Book of Asceticism, Number 4102, Hasan)

Hadith 32
No Being Harmed or Harming Others
Sa’d bin Malik Al-Khudari reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, made a decree: Do not be harmed or harm others. (Sunan ibn Majah, Book 13, Number 2340, Da'eef)

Hadith 33
Burden of Proof is Upon the Claimant
Ibn Abbas reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, said: If people were given in accordance with their claims, then men would claim the wealth and lives of other people; rather, the burden of proof is on the claimant, and the taking of an oath is an obligation upon him who denies the claim. (Al-Bayhaqi, Sunan Al-Kubra, Number 20604, Hasan)

Hadith 34
Enjoining Good and Forbidding Evil
Abu Sa’id Al-Khudri reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, said: Whoever among you sees something wrong should change it with his hands. If he is unable to do so, then with his tongue. If he is unable to do so, then at least hate it in his heart, and that is the weakest of faith. (Sahih Muslim, Book 1, Number 79) Al-Barbahari comments on this Hadith: Enjoining good and forbidding evil is with the hand, the tongue, and the heart, not with the sword. (Sharh As-Sunnah 129)

Ibn Rajab comments on this Hadith:
Changing something with one’s hand does not necessarily entail fighting, and Ahmad also stated that in a version narrated from him by Salih. He said, “Changing things with one’s hand is not done with swords or weapons…” Ahmad said, “Do not oppose the ruler, because his sword is unsheathed.” (Ibn Rajb, Jami' Ulum wal-Hikam)

Hadith 35
Manners of Brotherhood
Abu Huraira reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, said: Do not envy, and do not outbid each other, and do not hate, and do not turn away, and do not outsell each other, and be servants of Allah as brothers. The Muslim is the brother of another Muslim. He does not wrong him or humiliate him or look down upon him. Righteousness is here, and he pointed to his chest three times. It is sufficient evil for a person to look down upon his brother Muslim. All of the Muslim is sacred to another Muslim: his life, his wealth, and his honour.” (Sahih Muslim, Book 32, Number 6219)

Hadith 36
Allah Helps Him Who Helps His Brother
Abu Huraira reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, said:
He who relieves the hardship of a believer in this world, Allah will relieve his hardship on the Day of Judgement. He who makes easy what is difficult, Allah will make it easy for him in the world and the Hereafter. He who conceals the faults of a Muslim, Allah will conceal his faults in the world and the Hereafter. Allah helps the servant so long as he helps his brother. He who travels a path in search of knowledge, Allah will make easy a path to Paradise. A people do not gather together in the houses of Allah, reciting the Book of Allah and studying together, except that tranquility will descend upon them, mercy will cover them, angels will surround them, and Allah will mention them to those with Him. And he who is slow to good deeds will not be hastened by his lineage (Sahih Muslim, Book 35, Number 6518)

Hadith 37
Recording of Good and Bad Deeds
Ibn Abbas reported: Among the sayings of the Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, that he relates from his Lord is: Verily, Allah has recorded good and bad deeds and He made them clear. Whoever intends to perform a good deed but does not do it, then Allah will record it as a complete good deed, but if he intends to do it and does so, then Allah the Exalted will record it as ten good deeds up to seven hundred times as much or even more; if he intends to do a bad deed and does not do it, then Allah will record for him one complete good deed, but if he does it then Allah will record for him a single bad deed.” (Sahih Muslim, Book 1, Number 237)

Hadith 38
Loyal Friends of Allah
Abu Huraira reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, said: Verily, Allah Almighty said: Whoever shows hostility to a friend of mine, then I have declared war upon him. My servant does not grow closer to me with anything more beloved to Me than the duties I have imposed upon him. My servant continues to draw near me with extra works until I love him. When I love him, I am his hearing with which he hears, his seeing with which he sees, his hands with which he strikes, and his foot with which he walks. Were he to ask something from me, I would surely give it to him; and if he were to ask me for refuge, I would surely grant it to him.
(Sahih Bukhari, Book 76, Number 509)

Hadith 39
Pardon for Honest Mistakes
Abu Dharr Al-Ghifari reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, said:
Verily, Allah has pardoned my nation for their mistakes, their forgetfulness, and what they are coerced into doing. (Sunan Ibn Majah, Book of Divorce, Number 2043, Sahih)

Hadith 40
Be in the World as a Stranger
Abdullah ibn Umar reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, took hold of my shoulder and said: Be in the world as though you were a stranger or a wayfarer.
(Sahih Bukhari, Book 76, Number 425) Ibn Umar used to say: At evening do not expect to live till morning, and at morning do not expect to live till evening. Take from your health for your illness and from your life for your death.

Hadith 41
Desire and Islam
Abdullah ibn Amr reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, said: A believer will never perfect his faith until his desires follow what I have brought to you.
(Al-Bayhaqi, Al-Madkhal As-Sunnah Al-Kubra, Number 150, Hasan)

Hadith 42
Door of Repentance is Always Open
Anas reported: I heard the Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, say: Allah, Blessed and Exalted, says: O son of Adam, however much you call upon Me and place your hopes in Me, I will forgive you without any reservation. O son of Adam, if you have sins piling up to the clouds and then ask My forgiveness, I will forgive you without any reservation. O son of Adam, if you come to me with enough mistakes to fill the Earth, and meet Me without associating anything as a partner with Me, I will come to you with enough forgiveness to fill the earth. (Sunan At-Tirmidhi, Book 45, Number 3540, Hasan)

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STATISTICS ON ISLAMIC SCRIPTURE

Original Title: Statistical Islam
With 6 Supplements on Kafirs, Jihad, Jews, Women
Author: Bill Warner
Estimated Range of Dating: 2009

(The three main scriptures of Islam, the Koran, the Sira, and the Hadith, can be analysed. The statistics mafe by Dr Bill Warner PhD, an American mathematician and physicist, reveal astonishing facts in structure and in numbers.

Six supplements confirm this analysis; they are: 1. The Kafir in the Koran; 2. Jew Hatred, Koran; 3. Jew Hatred, Sahih Bukhari; 4. Jihad, Sahih Bukhari; 5. Low Status of Women, Koran; 6. Low Status of Women, Sahih Bukhari.)

One of the great questions of the 21st century is: What is the true nature of Islam? There are two distinct answers to this question from the media and leaders. The popular message is that Islam is one of the great world religions, a peaceful religion, a foundation of world civilisation, its Golden Age was the highpoint of history, and it preserved Western thought while we were in the Dark Ages. The alternative message is that Islam is a brutal, backward, woman abusing, violent, intellectually narrow ideology that is out to annihilate civilisation.

Which side is right? How do we resolve this issue? Can it even be resolved? If we turn to the "experts" of any of the opinions, they will tell you that their view is correct. What then is the ultimate authority that will give us a firm foundation for reasoning and judgment about Islam? Is it possible to use critical thought or must we just accept the authority of experts?

There is way to achieve consensus about ideas that goes beyond expert opinion. The use of facts along with logic is the basis of critical thought. The ultimate form of critical thought uses measurements and numbers to resolve questions. This paper will use the foundational texts of Islam and measure the importance of ideas by how many words are given to concepts. The assumption is that the more content that is devoted to a subject, the greater the importance of the subject is. As an example: the Koran devotes 64% of its text to the subject of the unbeliever. This is assumed to imply that the unbeliever is important in Islamic doctrine.

The use of critical thought may seem counter-intuitive since many people view Islam as a religion that does not have a rational basis. Actually, Islam is not only rational; it is hyper-rational, but it uses another form of logic than the one we take for granted.

If we are to use critical thought, we must have a firm foundation. All Muslims agree that: ***"There is no god, but Allah and Mohammed is His messenger."***

When this is repeated as a public testimony, you become a Muslim. [A person declares itself a Muslim by publically saying the complete Islamic Creed in Arabic, called Shahada: Ash hadu an: "La ilaha ill Allah". Wa ash hadu an: "Mohammedun rasul Allah;" that is in English: I testify, that: "There is no god but Allah". And I testify, that: "Mohammed is the messenger of Allah".] However, this statement is not only the beginning of Islam, it is also the foundation and totality of Islam. It is not enough to worship Allah; you must worship as Mohammed worshipped.

Who is Allah and where do we learn about Him? This question points directly to the Koran.

Then the Koran, in turn, points directly to Mohammed. It says 91 times that Mohammed is the perfect Muslim. He is the divine human prototype, the only pattern acceptable to Allah. The actions and words of Mohammed are so important that they have a special name—Sunna. We find the Sunna in two texts. The Sira is the biography of Mohammed and the Hadith is the collection of hadiths (small stories, traditions) about Mohammed.

Islam is based on Koran and Sunna. Since the Sunna is found in the Sira and the Hadith, this means that three books contain all the doctrine of Islam—the Trilogy. If it is in the Trilogy (Koran, Sira, Hadith), then it is Islam. If something is not in the Trilogy, then it is not Islam. All of the Islamic doctrine is found in the Trilogy. Now, we have the complete information with no missing pieces.

We have established our first criteria of knowledge. All authoritative statements about Islam must include a reference to the Trilogy to be authenticated. It does not matter what a scholar, imam, media guru, or anyone else says, if what they say cannot be supported by the doctrine in the Trilogy, then it is not Islam. If it is supported by the Trilogy, then it is Islam.

We have been taught that the Koran is the source of Islamic doctrine. However, the Koran is only 13% of the total sacred texts. Actually, the Sira and the Hadith are 87% of the total textual doctrine [For this paper, Hadith will mean Sahih Bukhari as per the University of Southern California], Islam is 14% Allah and 86% Mohammed. This is very good news. The Koran is obscure, but anyone can understand the life and sayings of Mohammed. These statistics point to the easy way to know Islam—know Mohammed. Anyone, absolutely anyone, can understand Mohammed and hence, Islam.

FIGURE 1:
THE RELATIVE SIZES OF THE TRILOGY TEXTS

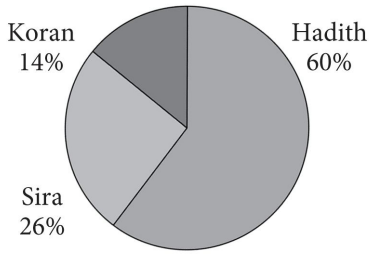

Only 14% of the entire Islamic scripture is represented by the Koran. It is in effect a notebook [Size: just c. 66% of the New Testament]. This is the main reason why the Koran is difficult to understand. Without the Sunna [Sira, Hadith], a Muslim could not practise Islam: Even the "5 Pillars" are not in the Koran.

The nature of these texts must be made clear. A Muslim believes that the Koran is perfect, complete, universal and eternal. It does not contain the slightest error and it is the exact words of the only god of the universe. Mohammed is the perfect example of how to live the sacred life. This idea of complete, final, universal, and perfect textual truth is very hard for non-Muslims to comprehend.

Most people read the Koran with the attitude of: "Oh, they don't really believe this." When Muslims read the Koran, their attitude is: "These are the perfect words of Allah." Muslims call themselves the "believers" and by that they mean that they believe the Koran is perfect and Mohammed is the perfect human.

ISLAM IS A TEXT-BASED DOCTRINE.

Remember, we started with the question: Can we evaluate what the media commentators, politicians, imams and other "experts" say about the true nature of Islam? Yes, we can know the true nature of Islam—it is found in the Trilogy. If what the expert has to say can be supported by the doctrine found in the Trilogy, then it is valid. The Trilogy is the final arbiter of all opinions and statements about Islam. Critical thought provides a powerful first step. Now, let us measure the doctrine of Islam.

THE KORAN OF MOHAMMED

Mohammed can be clearly understood, but the Koran must be the most famous book that has

been read so little and understood even less. Contrast this with Mohammed's day. In the Sira (the biography of Mohammed), we find accounts of illiterate Muslims debating the meaning of the Koran. The Muslims of Mohammed's day understood the Koran for a simple reason. The Koran of 632 AD (Mohammed's death) is not the one of today. Every verse had the immediate context of Mohammed's life. A new verse had the context of what he needed at that time. To all those near Mohammed, each new verse made sense; it had a context and therefore meaning. The voice of Allah resolved Mohammed's problems. It is Mohammed's life that gives the Koran its context and meaning.

The Koran of the bookstore is not the historical Koran of Mohammed, because Uthman, a caliph (supreme ruler) had it arranged starting with the longest chapter and ending at the shortest chapter. After he created the Koran we know today, he burned the originals. The time and story have been annihilated by the rearrangement. From a statistical point of view, the text was randomized and, hence, very difficult to understand.

It is an easy task to reconstruct the Koran of Mohammed's day, the historical Koran. Take the Koran and rearrange the pages of the chapters in the proper chronological order in a line on a table, since the time order of the chapters is well known. Then take the pages of the Sira (Mohammed's biography) and lay them out in a line beneath the Koran. It will be seen that the Sira and the Koran fit together like a key in a lock. The Koran is the warp and the Sira is the woof that forms a single fabric, the historical Koran. If these two are integrated into one text, the historical Koran is reconstructed.

When this reconstruction is done, the Koran becomes the epic story of the rise and triumph of Islam over all of the native Arab culture. The historical Koran is straightforward and not confusing at all. Just as in Mohammed's day, anyone can understand it.

The historical Koran reveals the primary division of the text. The early Koran written in Mecca is very different from the later Koran written in Medina. The early Koran is more religious and poetic. The later Koran is more historical and political. There is a radical change in its tone, subject and language in the two texts. The difference is even clear to a first-time reader. There is a Meccan Koran and a Medinan Koran. The relative sizes of the two Korans are: Meccan Koran is about 64% of the total Koran; the Medinan Koran is 36% of the total.

FIGURE 2: THE DIVISION OF THE KORAN

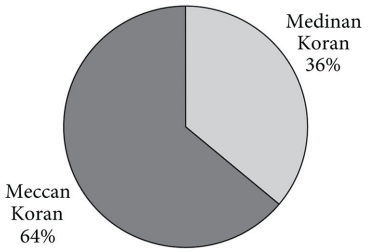

The Meccan Koran refers to Mohammed as peaceful preacher in Mecca; the verses in the Medinan Koran reflect Mohammed's activities as Jihadist, politician, and lawmaker. The violent verses of the Medinan Koran can supercede any peaceful verse from Mecca; this is called "abrogation;" See Koran 2:106, 16:101, 22:52.

THE KAFIR

There is a second division that overwhelms the reader of the historical Koran. A majority of the text concerns the kafir (unbeliever). It is not about being a Muslim, but about the Kafir. A note: most Koran translations use the word "unbeliever" instead of Kafir, but Kafir is the actual Arabic word. This term is so important and so unknown that the meaning of Kafir must be defined. The original meaning of the word is one who covers or conceals the known truth. A Kafir knows that the Koran is true, but denies it. The Koran says that the Kafir may be deceived, plotted against, hated, enslaved, mocked, tortured and worse. The word is usually translated as "unbeliever" but this translation is wrong. The word "unbeliever" is logically and emotionally neutral, whereas, Kafir is the most abusive, prejudiced and hateful word in any language.

There are many religious names for Kafirs: polytheists, idolaters, People of the Book (Christians and Jews), atheists, agnostics, and pagans. Kafir covers them all, because no matter what the religious name is, they can all be treated the same. What Mohammed said and did to polytheists can be done to any other category of Kafir.

Islam devotes a great amount of energy to the Kafir. Not only is the majority (64%) of the Koran devoted to the Kafir, but also nearly all of the Sira (81%) deals with Mohammed's struggle with them. The Hadith (Traditions) devotes 32% of the text to Kafirs.

FIGURE 3: AMOUNT OF TEXT DEVOTED TO KAFIR

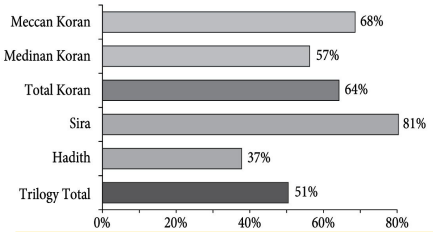

64% of the Koran and 51% of the entire Trilogy deal with the Kafir [the indifel], that means: with YOU if you are a non-Muslim! What does that tell you? Think of that!

POLITICAL ISLAM

Religious Islam is defined as doctrine concerned with going to Paradise and avoiding Hell by

following the Koran and the Sunna. The part of Islam that deals with the "outsider", the Kafir, is defined as political Islam. Since so much of the Trilogy is about the Kafir, the statistical conclusion is that Islam is primarily a political system, not a religious system.

Mohammed's success depended on politics, not religion. The Sira, Mohammed's biography, gives a highly detailed accounting of his rise to power. He preached the religion of Islam for 13 years in Mecca and garnered 150 followers. He was forced to move to Medina and became a politician and warrior. During the last 9 years of his life, he was involved in an event of violence every 6 weeks.

When he died every Arab was a Muslim. Mohammed succeeded through politics, not religion. An estimate can be made that there were 100,000 Muslims* when Mohammed died. Using this information allows a graph to be drawn [*2 The History of al-Tabari, volume XI, SUNY, Albany, NY, page 9. Khalid, the sword of Allah, went into battle in 633 AD, with 10,000 Muslim Arab troops at the Battle of Chains. A nation at full conflict can field an army of about 10% of its population. If 10% is 10,000, then the total population is 100,000.] :

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FIGURE 4: GROWTH OF ISLAM

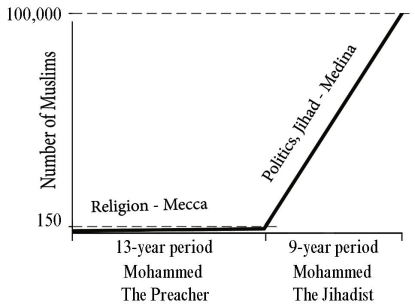

Mohammed had two distinct Islamic careers. This is the reason why there are two distinct Korans, two distinct humanities [the Muslims, and the non-Moslims], and two distinct sets of ethics from which a Muslim can choose whatever suits him best. Due to his troublesome behaviour, Mohammed was thrown out of Mecca. His carreer as migrant and Jihadist was so successful that migration became an important Islamic doctrine and the Islamic calendar starts with his migration in the beginning of the 9-year period. It is this doctrine, together with al-Taqiyya [the 'sacred lie'], Dawa [propaganda], and the doctrine of non-assimilation, that brings Western countries to fall.

There are two distinct growth processes—religion and politics [Fig. 4]. Teaching and religion grew at a rate of about 12 new Muslims per year. Politics and jihad grew at a rate of 10,000 new Muslims per year, an enormous increase. This is a process yield improvement of over 800%. Politics was almost a thousand times more effective than religion.

If Mohammed had continued with preaching religion we can extrapolate that there would have only been 265 Muslims when he died, instead of the 100,000 that resulted from his politics and jihad.

This gives us an estimate of 265 conversions due to religion and 99,735 [100000 – 265 = 99,735] conversions to due the political jihad process. We can calculate the relative contributions of religion and politics in growth. Islam's success was 0.3% religion and 99.7% politics* at the time of Mohammed's death, 632 AD. [* 265 / 99,735 * 100 = 0.3%]

This political importance is reflected in the text of the Sira. There are many more pages devoted to a year of jihad than there are devoted to preaching Islam. It is instructive to see the amount of the Sira text devoted to these stages of development.

FIGURE 5: AMOUNT OF SIRA DEVOTED TO TOPIC

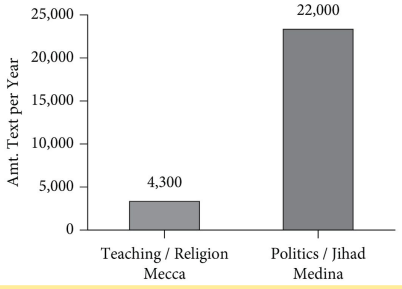

Islam is for its greatest part a political ideology basically targetted towards and against non-Muslims [the Kafir].

The Sira devotes about 5 times as many words to politics than religion on a yearly basis. It gives politics 5 times the coverage because it is that much more important.

Islam's political nature is also found in the Hadith that devotes 37% of its text to the Kafir.

There would be no Islam today, if it were only a religion. Statistics show that Islamic politics is what brought Islam success, not religion. To say that Islam is the religion of peace misses the point, since the religion is not the core of Islam's power. It is politics that count, not religion.

The statistical conclusion: Islam is primarily a political ideology.

ABROGATION AND DUALISM

Not only are there two Korans, Meccan and Medinan, that are different in tone and subject matter, but also the Koran has many verses that contradict each other.

Koran 2:219 says that Muslims should be tolerant and forgiving to People of the Book.

Koran 9:29 says to attack the People of the Book until they pay the jizyah, the dhimmi tax,

submit to Sharia law and be humbled.

Which verse shows the true nature of Islam?

The Koran recognizes its contradictions and even gives a rule to resolve the contradictions. The later verse abrogates (supercedes) the earlier verse. This does not mean, however, that the earlier verse is wrong or in error. This would be impossible since the fundamental hypothesis is that Allah created the Koran and, hence, the earlier verse must be true or Allah would be wrong.

Abrogation has an impact on the arguments about the true nature of Islam. At endless interfaith dialogs, the early tolerant verse is quoted to show the nature of Islam as being peaceful. When both verses are quoted and then abrogation is applied, we see that the later verse trumps the earlier tolerant one. Jihad abrogates tolerance. In general, the Medinan Koran abrogates the Meccan Koran. In the two verses above, tolerance is abrogated by jihad against the Christians.

The earlier verse is true and still used. Abrogation does not negate the early verse. Indeed, the earlier "peaceful" verse that is abrogated is the one most apt to be used in public discourse.

This creates a logical problem, since if two things contradict each other, one of them must be

wrong. This is a fundamental element of Western unitary logic. In Koranic logic, two statements can contradict each other and both be true. This is dualistic logic.

An alternative explanation is that the early verse is first stage in a process, like a seed, and the later verse is a second stage, like a plant. There is truth to this, but the process model does not take into account the fact that both truths are available at the same time. To go back to the analogy, you don't have the seed and the plant at the same time. The verses contradict each other and are both true at the same time. This is dualistic logic.

Another dualistic aspect of Islam is its ethics. One of the chief features of Islam is the doctrine of the Kafir. It treats them dreadfully and horribly. No one would ever want to be treated as a Kafir is treated in the Trilogy. This leads us to the Golden Rule. There is no Golden Rule in Islam because of the division of humanity into believer and Kafir. The Golden Rule is to treat ALL people as you would be treated. Since no one wants be treated like a Kafir, and the Kafir is so central to Islamic doctrine, it shows that Islam has no Golden Rule. Islam has one set of rules for Muslims and another set of rules for Kafirs. This is dualistic ethics.

An example of the dual ethics is the subject of friends. The Koran has 13 verses that say that a Muslim is not to be a friend of Kafirs.

JEWS

One of the biggest examples of ethical dualism in Islam is the Jews. The Meccan Koran is filled with stories about Moses, Noah, Adam, and other Jewish figures. The early Koran is very Jewish. [As a matter of fact, there hardly can be found any Arabic events, persons,characters, habits, cultural features, etc.] The perception of the Jews completely changes in Medina. Every verse, story, and hadith is negative and anti-Jew. The Trilogy devotes a great deal of material to the Jews.

FIGURE 6: JEW HATRED IN THE TRILOGY

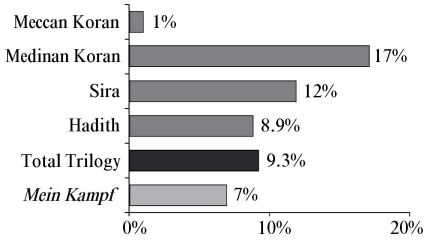

The Trilogy of Medina is even more negative about the Jews than Hitler's Mein Kampf. What marks the biggest difference between Mein Kampf and the Trilogy is that Hitler did not write a first section in Mein Kampf detailing how much he admired the Jews. There is a contradiction about how the Koran treats Jews in Mecca and how they are treated in Medina. Due to dualistic reasoning, both attitudes about the Jews are true, at the same time.

THE GOOD IN THE KORAN

In the face of these negative statistics, everyone knows of good verses in the Koran. Exactly how much material in the Koran is positive for Kafirs? There are 245 verses, 4,018 words, in the Koran that say something positive about Kafirs. This is about 2.6% of the total Koranic text. However, in every case, the verse is followed by another verse that contradicts the "good" verses. Also, except for 7 verses (58 words), the "good" verse is abrogated later in the same chapter. The other 7 verses are contradicted in later Suras.

The media emphasizes Islam's positive verses about the People of the Book, the Jews and Christians. Even this turns out to be illusive. Christians and Jews receive the goodness of Islam only if they agree that their sacred texts are corrupt, the Koran is true, and that Mohammed is a prophet of the Christian and Jewish religion.

In the end there is no unmitigated good for Kafirs in the Koran. What good can be found in the 2.6% of the text is denied later.

JIHAD

Jihad must be one of the most famous Islamic concepts. It takes up a large portion of the Trilogy.

Material for jihad is 24% of the Medinan Koran and 9% of the total of the entire Koran. Jihad takes up 21% of the Bukhari material and the Sira devotes 67% of its text to jihad.

FIGURE 7:
AMOUNT OF TRILOGY TEXT DEVOTED TO JIHAD

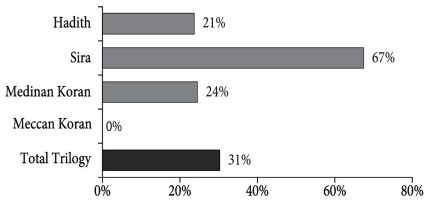

Jihad is an important doctrine in Islam, no Muslim can escape it due to Muslim peer pressure. Dawa [the propaganda of the pen, the mouth, and the money] belongs to it. Muslims who smartly try to introduce Islam to you always talk about religion, the Meccan Koran - never about the violent Medinan Koran. Muslims always know to which Koran part a verse belongs as it is marked in their Arabic Korans as "revealed in Mecca" or "revealed in Medina."

Statistics gives us a measure of the claim that the real jihad is inner struggle, the so-called "greater jihad", whereas the jihad of the sword is the "lesser jihad". The term "greater jihad" is not found in any of the canonical texts and Reuven Firestone* claims that it does not exist. However, we do find in the Hadith that some hadiths refer to some religious acts that are equal to jihad of the sword. [* Jihad, Reuven Firestone, Oxford University Press, 1952, pg. 139,140. "The source is not given and is in fact nowhere to be found..."]

These quasi-greater jihad hadiths total 2% of the Bukhari hadiths that relate to jihad. Of course, the other 98% of the hadiths devoted to jihad claim that jihad of the sword is the supreme act. The statistical answer to the true nature of jihad is that the "greater jihad" of inner struggle is 2% and the "lesser jihad" of the sword is 98%. In other words, jihad is overwhelmingly violent and a little inner struggle.

Statistics also give us a measure of the importance of the jihad of pen and mouth. The Sira devotes 23% of its text to war poetry that is propaganda. This poetry, which is not the only example of how Mohammed used propaganda for his jihad, furnishes us with an insight into its importance. The Sira devotes roughly a quarter of its jihad text to the jihad of the pen and mouth, and three quarters of the text to jihad of the sword. The Sira makes no mention of the "greater jihad", the inner struggle.

WOMEN

Islam demonstrates duality in its treatment of women. There are separate sets of rules for women that come from the Koran and the Sunna.

The Islamic Trilogy has a large amount of material that forms the doctrine about women. Each verse can be judged on the position of the female in society. There are a number of verses that praise the mother above all men. There are many verses that say that women and men will be judged equally as to their actions on Judgment Day. In many cases there is no power relationship at all; it is a neutral reference.

The process for generating the tables below selects all of the text that contains a reference to the female. Then the female data is sorted into four categories: High status, equal status, low status and neutral. Obviously, there are judgments to be made, but in general, if women are selected for special rules and treatment by men, then those rules make the woman subject to male power.

FIGURE 8: WOMEN'S STATUS IN THE KORAN

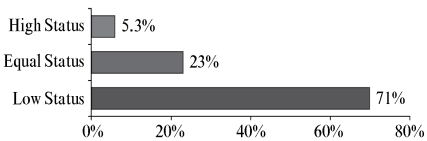

FIGURE 9: WOMEN'S STATUS IN THE HADITH

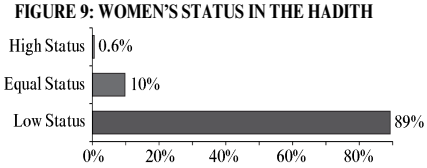

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Notice the broad trend here. In both the Koran and the Hadith the profiles are similar. There is very little high status and a small amount of equality. The great majority of the Koran and Hadith text places the woman in an inferior or low status to men. This is not unexpected. The Koran and the Sunna are the warp and woof, a single fabric, of Islam.

THE IMPORTANCE OF NUMBERS

We have always had an interest in numbers as they relate to life. There are two numbers that come up repeatedly in Islam. The number "1" comes up with the constant proclamation of there is only one god. What is noticeable is how often the number "2" arises. There are two Korans, the division of humanity into two groups, believer and Kafir, two manifestations of Mohammed, the preacher and the politician. Even the Shahada [the testimony to become a Muslim] is made of two parts, one is about god and the other is about Mohammed. The ultimate statement is both divine and human, dualism. Islam's ethics are dualistic and based on the division of humanity into two classes, believer and Kafir. The Koran advances a dualistic logic. Islam uses the practice of political duality to try to attain the goal of spiritual unity.

STATISTICS

Statistics give us a very different vision of any text, but in the case of Islamic texts, it is a revelation. Statistics show us an entirely different view of Islam. The statistical vision is holistic and includes the entire text as a reference. It is a common criticism that any negative comment about Islam is taken out of context. Statistics gives us a complete context.

A question was posed at the beginning of this article: How do we decide which is the true view of Islam? Based upon unitary logic, we expect that one side or the other is true, but in a dualistic truth system both sides of the question can be valid. Therefore, the proper answer is that both sides are true.

In fact, the question is poorly posed. You can never resolve the question by looking for the one true answer. It does not exist in a dualistic system. Instead statistics must be used to measure the answer. We saw, in the case of the lesser jihad/greater jihad that jihad is 2% inner struggle and 98% lethal force. Only statistical answers can be used in a dualistic system. The well-posed question is how much doctrine is on one side of the question and how much doctrine is on the other side?

Statistical models give us a systemic look at Islamic doctrine and show broad trends. The usual verse-quoting method not only ignores Mohammed, but also examines a single point, a verse. Statistics gives us a macro-view, not a micro-view. We can see the entire pattern and can identify the general principles at work.

SUMMARY

Critical thought brings new insights to the study of Islam. Islam is not a matter of opinion, but has a solid rational basis in its foundational texts. Simple statistics reveal the systemic nature of Islamic doctrine.

Here are principles that a simple statistical analysis shows:

- Islamic doctrine is found in the Koran, the Sira and the Hadith—the Trilogy. Any explanation of Islam that does not include the doctrine found in the Trilogy is wrong or incomplete.
- The Koran is a small part of Islamic doctrine. The Sunna of Mohammed is textually more important than the Koran.
- The Koran can be understood by reconstructing the Koran of Mohammed, the historical Koran.
- The Kafir is the major doctrinal focus of Islam. The Kafir has the lowest status of all animal

life. The doctrine of the Kafir is defined as political Islam.

- Islam's success was not based on the religion alone, but also on politics and jihad.
- The Sira devotes most of its attention to jihad and politics, not religion.
- Islamic doctrine is dualistic in its reasoning and ethics.
- Jew hatred is an integral part of the Trilogy.
- There is no unmitigated good in the Koran for Kafirs.
- Jihad was integral to Islam's success and forms a large part of the Trilogy.
- The Islamic doctrine subjugates women.

THE FOUNDATIONALIST SCHOOL

It is clear by now that there is an intellectual underpinning to this paper. All actions and words of Islam have their foundation in the doctrine of Islam found in the Koran and the Sunna, the Trilogy.

This doctrine must be analyzed and understood on a rational basis and on its own merits. Know the foundational doctrine and apply it to every action by Muslims, but first know the doctrine. If an opinion or comment about Islam does not have a reference, or a possible reference, to the foundation of the Trilogy, then the opinion has no merit.

The 6 Supplements: 1 The Kafir, Koran; 2 Jew Hatred, Koran; 3 Jew Hatred, Bukhari; 4 Jihad, Bukhari; 5 Low Status Of Women, Koran; 6 Low Status Of Women, Bukhari:

SUPPLEMENT 1: ALL VERSES ON:
THE KAFIR [Non-Muslim] IN THE KORAN

Total words in Koran 152,006
Total about Kafirs: 97,583
Percentage: 64.0%
Kafir, Mecca = 66,285 Koran Mecca = 97,184 68.2%
Kafir, Medina = 31,287 Koran Medina = 54,822 57.0%
Analysis: Dr Bill Warner PhD

Textual Units

There is a technical problem in measuring the Koranic text. The usual unit in the Koran is the verse. There is a distinct problem with only using verses to quantify the Koran. A verse is usually a sentence. We would never attempt to discuss any other ideology by picking a sentence. We need to study ideas and concepts, not disconnected sentences.

Since the longer Koran chapters (Suras) are a collection of topics, most Korans divide the chapter into logical idea/topic units or subjects. The most obvious idea unit is the story. However, there is a unique idea unit in the Koran.

Any reading of the Koran shows that its major topic is the unbeliever, the kafir. There is a pattern to these kafir references. There are usually five elements: the exact identification of the kafir, why they are wrong, the kafir's punishment, why Mohammed is right and Allah weighs in to praise Mohammed. These five elements are defined as the Koranic Argument and are a major idea or concept unit. Indeed, most all of the stories are Koranic Arguments. (See appendix for further details.)

Some categories are obvious, such as retold tales from the Jews. But, the less obvious category is Koranic persuasion. The Koran is filled with violent threats against those who do not believe Mohammed and who did not believe the prophets of Allah in the past. If you highlight the violent references to the unbelievers, you will find that there are five elements that accompany the violence:

- A description of the threat or violence
- Who is threatened
- What they did to deserve the violence
- How they are wrong
- Words from Allah to support his messenger, Mohammed

This entire structure is called "Koranic persuasion" and is repeated again and again. The repetition is part of the persuasion, just as repetition is necessary to all persuasion campaigns, e.g. ads and political campaigns.

The Koran of Mecca is an exact record of what took place in the intellectual and political sphere. Koranic persuasion is a recording of actual events of debate and persuasion. In many cases, there are actual quotes of Mohammed's opponents. The Koran contains an intimate and exact view of Arabian history.

The sura (chapter) and Koranic persuasion are two of the natural organizational elements of the Koran. The element of the verse is useful but it does not allow analysis of ideas and thought. Koranic persuasion allows easy textual analysis of thought, ideas and theme. As a measure of the importance of Koranic persuasion, consider:

	Private Tea-ching1	Public Tea-ching	Meccan Argu-ment	Medina
1.*	40	65	70	36
2.**	70.5%	63.7%	67.2%	12.8%

* Number of times Koranic persuasion is used
** Percentage of text devoted to the Koranic persuasion category

This data mirrors the history of Mohammed's life. In the Meccan religious phase, the violence took the form of threats of punishment that were to occur after death in Hell. Or the mentioned violence was in ancient history, i.e. the Pharaoh being destroyed because he would not listen to Allah's prophet, Moses. In Mecca the Koranic violence referred to the far future or the distant past. However, in Medina, there is less talk about Hell, and much more physical violence against political enemies. The action of jihad replaces the rhetoric of the threat.

Approximately two thirds of the Koran of Mecca is devoted to the Koranic persuasion of "listen to Mohammed, the prophet of the only god, Allah, or you will suffer eternal torture in Hell." When Mohammed achieved political power, the religious threats became political reality. The Koranic persuasion of religion in Mecca became the political practice in Medina.

So there are three major idea/concept units used in this study: the verse, the story and the Koranic Argument. If the story is about how Allah destroyed the city because the city would not accept the prophet of Allah, then for measurement purposes, the entire story (idea unit) is counted as being about the kafir.

MECCA KORAN:

1:1 In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

1:2 Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds. The Compassionate, the Merciful. King of the Judgment Day.

1:5 Only You do we worship, and to You alone do we ask for help. Keep us on the straight and narrow path. The path of those that You favor; not the path of those who anger You [the Jews] nor the path of those who go astray [the Christians].

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

51:24 Have you heard the story of Abraham's honoured guests? They went to him and said, "Peace!" And he replied, "Peace, strangers." And he went among his household and brought out a fatted calf, and he set it before them and said, "Do you want to eat?" They did not, and he became afraid of them. They said to him, "Do not be afraid," and gave him the news that he was going to father a wise son. Abraham's wife came forward with a cry, striking her face, and said, "But I am old and barren!"

51:30 They said, "Your Lord says it is true, and he is wise and knowing."

51:31 Abraham said, "What errand are you on, messengers?" They replied, "We are sent to a wicked people, to shower them with stones of clay, sent by your Lord for their excesses."

51:35 We went to evacuate the believers in the city, but We only found one Muslim family, and We left signs warning those who fear the painful punishment. Moses was another sign. We sent him to Pharaoh with manifest authority. But Pharaoh was confident of his might and turned his back and said, "You are a magician, or insane." So We seized him and his army and cast them into the sea, and he had only himself to blame.

79: 15 Have you heard the story of Moses? How his Lord called to him in the sacred valley of Tuwa, saying, "Go to Pharaoh. He has rebelled, and say, 'Do you want to be purified?' Then I will guide you to your Lord so that you may fear Him."

79:20 And Moses showed Pharaoh a great miracle. But Pharaoh denied it and disobeyed. Furthermore, he turned his back and rebelled against Allah. He gathered an army and made a proclamation, saying, "I am your lord, the most high." So Allah punished him and made an example of him in this life and the hereafter. Surely this is a lesson for those who fear Allah.

80:11 No, this [the Koran] is a warning! Let him who is willing, keep this in mind. It is written on honoured pages, exalted and purified, by the hands of scribes, honourable and righteous.

80:16 Cursed be man! What has made him reject Allah? From what thing did Allah create him? He created him and molded him from a drop of sperm; then He made an easy path for him from the womb then caused him to die and put him in his grave. Then when He pleases, He will resurrect him. But man has not yet fulfilled Allah's commands.

80:24 Let man consider his food. First, We poured down the rain in abundance; then split the earth apart and caused the grain to grow along with grapes and healing herbs, the olive and the palm; and enclosed gardens dense with trees, and fruits and vegetables for man's use and for his cattle.

80:33 But when the trumpet blast sounds, a man will flee from his brother and his mother and his father and his wife and his children. That day, every man will be focused on his own concerns. There will be radiant faces that day, laughing and joyous, but other faces that day will have dust upon them and blackness will cover them. These are the unbelievers, the wicked.

88:1 Have you heard the news of the overwhelming event?

88:2 Some faces will be downcast that day, troubled and weary, burnt at the scorching Fire, forced to drink from a fiercely boiling fountain, with only bitter thorns for food, which neither nourishes nor satisfies hunger.

88:8 Other faces that day will be joyous, and in a lofty Garden, very pleased with their past efforts. No vain talk will be heard there. There will be gushing fountains. There will be raised couches, and goblets placed nearby, and cushions arranged, and carpets spread out.

88:17 Will they consider the camels and how they were made? Or consider how the sky was upraised, and how the mountains are rooted, and how the earth is spread?

88:21 Warn them, because you [Mohammed] are merely a warner. You have no authority over them, but whoever turns back and disbelieves, Allah will punish them terribly.

88:25 Truly they will return to Us. Then it will be time for Us to settle their accounts.

52:7 Truly, a punishment from your Lord is coming, and no one can stop it. That day heaven will heave from side to

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side, and the mountains will shake to pieces. Woe on that day to those who called the messengers liars, who wasted their time in vain disputes.

52:13 On that day they will be thrown into the Fire of Hell. This is the Fire that you treated like a lie. What! Do you think that this is magic? Or, do you not see it? Burn there! Bear it patiently, or impatiently. It will all be the same to you, because you will certainly get what you deserve.

77:8 Until what day will that time be deferred when the stars lose their light, and when the heaven is split in two, and when the mountains are reduced to dust and scattered, and when the messengers are gathered at their appointed time? To the Day of Judgment! And who will teach you what the Day of Judgment is? Woe on that day to those who reject the truth! Did We not destroy the former generations? We will make the later generations follow them. This is how We deal with evil doers. Woe on that day to those who reject the truth!

77:20 Did We not create you from a cloudy fluid that We kept in a safe place [the womb] until an appointed time? This is Our power! Our power is unmatched! Woe on that day to those who reject the truth!

77:25 Did We not design the world to contain the living and the dead and place on it tall strong mountains and sweet water to drink? Woe on that day to those who reject the truth!

77:29 They will be told, "Go to that Hell that you deny. Go to the shadows of smoke that rise in three columns, where there is no relief or shelter from the flame." The sparks flying out are like towers, yellow like tawny camels. Woe on that day to those who reject the truth!

77:35 They cannot speak that day, and they will not be allowed any excuses. Woe on that day to those who reject the truth!

77:38 This is the day of sorting, when We will collect you and your ancestors. If you have any tricks, try to trick Me. Woe on that day to those who reject the truth!

77:41 Because of your efforts, the righteous will be in a cool, shaded place, with anything they desire to eat and drink contentedly. This is how We reward the good. Woe on that day to those who reject the truth!

77:46 Eat and drink a little while. Surely you are sinners. Woe on that day to those who reject the truth!

77:48 When they are told to bow down, they do not bow down. Woe on that day to those who reject the truth! After this what revelation will they believe in?

56:41 The people of the left-hand—Oh, how wretched the people of the left-hand will be amid scorching winds and scalding water, and in the shade of black smoke, neither cool nor refreshing. Formerly they were blessed with worldly pleasures, yet they persisted in terrible sin and used to say, "What will be resurrected after we have died and crumbled to bone and dust? What about our fathers, the men of old?"

56:49 Say: Yes, the former and the latter. They will all be gathered at the appointed hour.

56:51 Then those who denied [Mohammed was a prophet] and erred will certainly eat from the Ez-zakkoum tree [a tree of Hell], and they will gorge themselves with it. Then they will drink scalding water and will drink like a thirsty camel. This will be their feast on the Judgment Day!

68:42 On the day when men's legs will be laid bare, and they are called upon to bow in adoration, they will not be able. Their eyes will be downcast. Shame will overwhelm them, because when they were protected, they were called to bow down in worship, but they refused.

68:44 Leave Me alone to deal with those who reject this revelation. We will lead them by degrees to their ruin by ways they will be unaware of. I will bear with them a long time, because My plan is firm.

68:46 Do you [Mohammed] demand payment from them so that they are burdened with debt? Do they have knowledge of secret things? Have they written them down?

68:48 Wait patiently for your Lord's Judgment, and do not be like him [Jonah] who was swallowed by the whale, when he cried out in distress to Allah. If his Lord's favor had not reached him, he would have been cast forth on the naked shore, overwhelmed with shame. But his Lord chose him and placed him among the just.

68:51 The unbelievers will practically kill you with their eyes when they hear the warnings [of the Koran], and they will say, "He is certainly insane."

68:52 But it is a warning to all creation.

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

53:23 These are mere names. You and your fathers gave them these names. Allah has not acknowledged them. They follow only their own conceits and desires, even though their Lord has already given them guidance.

53:24 Will man have everything he desires? The future and the present are in Allah's hands. No matter how many angels are in the heavens, their intercession will do no good, until Allah has permitted entry to whom He pleases and whom He will accept.

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

53:29 Stay away from those who turn their backs on Our warnings and desire only the present life. This is all that they know. Truly, your Lord knows everything about those who stray from his path, and He knows everything about those who have accepted his guidance. Whatever is in the heavens and on the earth belongs to Allah. He may reward evildoers according to their own deeds and those who do good will be rewarded with good things.

53:32 Surely, your Lord is filled with forgiveness for those who avoid great sins and shameful acts and only commit minor sins. He knew you well when He brought you out of the earth and when you were in your mother's womb. Do not try to justify yourself. He knows the Allah-fearing people the best.

52:29 Therefore, continue to warn men. By the grace of your Lord, you are neither insane, nor a soothsayer.

52:30 Will people say, "He is a poet! Let us wait until his fortunes turn." Say: "Wait," because truthfully, I will wait with you.

52:32 Is it their dreams that cause them to do this? Or is it because they are a perverse people? Will they say, "He has written it [the Koran] himself?" No! It is because they did not believe. If that is true, let them write a book like it.

52:35 Were they created from nothing? Did they create themselves? Did they create the heavens and the earth? No! It is because they have no faith. Do they possess your Lord's treasures? Do they have absolute power? Can they communicate with the angels? If so, let them bring proof.

52:39 Does Allah have daughters while you have sons? Do you ask them for a payment so that they are weighed down with debt? Do they have secret knowledge that they can write down? Do they try to set traps for you? The unbelievers are the ones that are ensnared. Do they have any gods besides Allah? Glory be to Allah above the false gods they join with Him. If they saw a piece of the sky falling, they would say, "It is only a dense cloud."

52:45 Ignore them until they meet the day when they will swoon with terror—a day when their tricks will avail them nothing and no help will come their way. Truly, there is another punishment for the evildoers, but most of them do not know it.

52:48 Wait patiently for your Lord's Judgment, because you are in Our eye. Sing Allah's praises when you rise up, and give Him praise at night and when the stars are setting.

84:1 When the sky is split in half and obeys its Lord, as it must; when the earth is flattened, and has cast out everything it contains and is empty [the graves deliver the dead], and obeys its Lord, as it must; then certainly those who want to meet their Lord will meet Him.

84:7 He who receives his book [of life's deeds] in his right hand [saved in Paradise], his account will be taken by a quick and easy reckoning and he will return joyously to his people. But those who receive their book behind their backs [damned to Hell] will invite destruction. They will burn in the Fire. They lived joyously among their people because they did not believe that they would return to Allah, but their Lord is always watching them.

84:16 So I do not need to swear by the glow of sunset, and by the night and everything it conceals, and by the moon at its fullest. You will certainly travel from stage to stage.

84:20 What is wrong with those who do not believe? When the Koran is read to them, why do they refuse to bow down? The unbelievers call it a lie.

84:23 But Allah knows their secrets, so announce to them a painful punishment. Those who believe and do good deeds, they will have a reward that never ends.

78:1 What do they ask one another? About the great news [the Koran], the source of their disputes? No, but they will learn the truth! No! No, but they will learn the truth!

78:6 Did We not make the earth a great tent and the mountains its tent-pegs? We created you with two sexes, and created sleep so that you may rest. We created the night as a covering, and created the day to seek a livelihood, and built above you seven substantial heavens, and placed on it a burning lamp. We send down from the clouds abundant rainwater to produce fruits and vegetables and thickly wooded gardens.

78:17 Surely, the day of decision is fixed, when a trumpet will sound and you will come in droves, and heaven will be opened with countless gates, and the mountains will vibrate and vanish into thin air. Hell lies in wait, the home of transgressors, where they will live for ages. They will taste nothing cool and drink nothing except boiling and freezing water. A just reward!

78:27 They did not think about their account, and they did not believe Our revelations, but We paid attention and wrote everything down, so taste the fruit of your actions. You will get nothing else except torment.

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

78:37 Lord of the heavens and of the earth, and of all that lies between, the merciful Allah! None will be able to speak with him. On the day that the spirit and the angels will stand in ranks, none will speak unless Allah permits, and then only those who speak rightly. This is the sure day. Whoever will, let him take the path back to his Lord.

78:40 Surely, We warn you that punishment is near. The day is near when men will see the deeds that their hands have done and when the unbeliever will say, "Oh, I wish I were dust!"

70:36 But what has happened to the unbelievers that causes them to rush madly around you, on the right and left-hand, in droves? Does every one of them hope to enter the Garden of Delight? Certainly not! We have created them, and they know from what.

70:40 It does not matter that I swear by the Lord of the East and the West that We have the power to replace them with others better than themselves, and We will not be stopped.

70:42 So let them gossip and play until they come face to face with the day they are promised, the day when they hastily rise from their graves like men rushing toward a goal with their eyes downcast and disgrace covering them. That is the day they are promised.

73:10 Listen to what they [unbelievers] say with patience, and leave them with dignity. Let me deal with the wealthy and those who deny the truth. Bear with them for a while, because We have strong shackles and a raging Fire and food that chokes and a painful punishment. The day will come when the earth and the mountains will be shaken, and the mountains will become dust.

73:15 Certainly We have sent an apostle to bear witness against you [the world], just as We sent an apostle to Pharaoh, but Pharaoh rejected the apostle, and We punished him severely. If you refuse to believe, how will you protect yourself from the day that will turn your children's hair gray? The heavens will be torn apart. His promise will be fulfilled. This is a warning. Let those who will, find a path to his Lord.

79:1 I swear by those angels who snatch out the souls of the wicked, and by those who gently draw out the souls of the blessed, by those who glide along, by those who race forward; and by those who govern the universe!

79:6 On the day when the first trumpet sounds and a second blast follows, men's hearts will pound, and their eyes will be downcast. The unbelievers will ask, "Will we be brought back to life even after we have become dust and bones?" They will say, "What is the good in that?" But there will be only one shout, and they will be awakened.

79:27 Which is harder to create, you, or the heaven that He built? He has raised it high and given it order. He gave darkness to the night and brought out its light. Afterwards He spread the earth and produced from it the water and the pastures and set the mountains firmly for you and your cattle to enjoy.

79:34 But when the great disaster comes, the day when men will reflect upon their efforts and Hell is in full view of everyone, then for those who rebelled and preferred the life of this world, surely, Hell will be their home.

79:40 But those who fear to stand before their Lord and have restrained their souls from lust, surely, Paradise will be their home. They will ask you about the Hour and when it will come. But what knowledge do you have of it?

79:44 Its arrival is known only to your Lord, and you are only responsible for warning those who fear it. On the day when they see it, it will seem to them that they had been waiting only an evening, or maybe until the following morning.

83:1 Woe to the cheaters who always demand full measure from others, but skimp when they measure out or weigh to others. What! Do they believe that they will not be resurrected on the great day when all men will stand before the Lord of the worlds? Yes! The register [a record of actions] of the wicked is in Sidjin [a place in Hell where the sinners' records are kept]. And who will make you understand what Sidjin is? It is a complete record.

83:10 Woe on that day to those who deny Our signs, who regard the Judgment Day as a lie! No one regards it as a lie except the transgressor or the criminal, who, when Our signs are recited to him, says, "Old wives tales!" No! Their habits have become like rust on their hearts. Yes, they will be veiled from their Lord's light that day. Then they will be burned in Hell. They will be told, "This is what you called a lie."

83:18 No! But the register of the righteous is in Illiyoun [a place in Paradise where the actions of the righteous are recorded]. And who will make you understand what Illiyoun is? It is a complete record, attested to by the angels nearest Allah.

83:22 Surely, the righteous will live among delights! Seated on bridal couches they will gaze around. You will see the delight in their faces. Fine wines, sealed with musk, will be given them to drink. For those who have aspirations, aspire

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for wine mixed with the waters of Tasnim, a fountain where those close to Allah drink.

83:29 Sinners used to jeer at the believers and wink at one another when one passed by, and they jested as they returned to their own people. When they see believers, they say, "Those people have gone astray." And yet they were not sent to be the guardians of those people.

83:34 On that day the faithful will mock the unbelievers, while they sit on bridal couches and watch them. Should not the unbelievers be paid back for what they did?

51:5 Truly, that which threatens you [the Meccans] is real. The Judgment will certainly happen. I swear by the star-tracked heaven!

51:8 You [Mohammed] are confused as what to say, but those who turn from the truth are turned aside by divine decree.

51:10 Cursed are the liars, who stumble along in the depths of ignorance! They ask, "When is the Judgment Day?" They will be tormented by the flames that day. "Have a taste of your torment, whose imminent arrival you denied."

51:15 But the Allah-fearing will live in Paradise amid gardens and fountains, enjoying what their Lord has given them, because they lived a good life. They slept little at night, and at dawn they prayed for forgiveness, and they gave a proper share of their wealth to the poor and outcast.

51:20 There are signs on earth for men of strong belief, and also in ourselves. Will you not see them? In heaven there is sustenance for you and a warning. By the Lord of the heaven and the earth, I swear that this is the truth, as surely as you speak.

91:11 The tribe of Thamud [Thamud was a trade town in ruins north of Mecca] proudly rejected the message of the Lord. When the greatest sinner among them rushed forward, the apostle of the Lord said to them, "It is the she-camel of Allah! Let her drink." But they called him a liar and hamstrung her, so their Lord destroyed them for their crime, one and all, and He did not fear the consequences.

69:1 The Inevitable! Who will make you understand what the Inevitable is?

69:3 The people of Thamud and Ad [Ad lay on an old trade route north of Mecca. It was abandoned in Mohammed's day] regarded the Judgment Day as a lie. The people of Thamud were destroyed by crashing thunderbolts. The people of Ad were destroyed by a roaring blast of wind. The wind did Allah's bidding against them for a full week. During that time you could have seen the people laid low, as if they had been the trunks of hollow palms. Could you have seen any of them surviving?

69:9 Pharaoh, too, and those who thrived before him, and the overthrown cities, all committed sin, and disobeyed the messenger sent by their Lord. That is why He punished them with an accumulated punishment.

69:11 When the flood rose high, We carried you in the ark so We could use that event to warn you and so the hearing ear might hear it. But when one blast is sounded on the trumpet, and the earth and the mountains are shaken, and both are simultaneously crushed into powder, on that day the woe that must come suddenly will come, and the sky will be split in two, because it will be fragile that day. The angels will align on the edges of the sky and over them. Eight will carry up the throne of your Lord.

69:18 On that day you will be brought before Him and none of your secrets will remain secret. Those who receive their book in their right hand will say to their friends, "Take my book and read it. I always knew that I would come to my reckoning." And he will have a life of bliss, in a lofty Garden, with clusters of fruit nearby. Eat and drink with satisfaction. This is the reward for the good acts that you performed in the past.

69:25 But those who receive their book with their left hand will say, "Oh, I wish that I were never given my book and that I had never heard of my reckoning! I wish that death had been the end of me! My wealth has done me no good! My power has fled from me!"

69:30 Take him, and chain him, and cast him into Hell. Then fasten him to a seventy-yard chain, because he did not believe in Allah, the Greatest, and did not help to feed the poor. He will have no friends here that day, no food, only the pus that runs from sores, which only the sinners eat.

69:38 I do not need to swear by what you see and by that which you do not see—that this is surely the word of an honoured messenger! It is not the word of a poet—you have so little faith! It is also not the word of a soothsayer—you heed little of Our warning! It is a message from the Lord of the worlds.

69:44 If he [Mohammed] had invented any of Our revelations, We would have grabbed him by the right hand, and cut his throat, and We would not have protected him from any of you.

69:48 But, surely, the Koran is a warning for the Allah-fearing. We know many think it is a lie. But it will cause grief for the unbelievers, because it is the absolute truth.

69:52 Praise the name of your Lord, the Greatest.

51:41 When We sent a desolating blast against Ad, it left nothing in its wake, but turned everything to dust. And in Thamud, they were told, "Enjoy yourself while you still have time." But they rebelled against their Lord's command, and so the tempest overtook them as they stood by and watched. They were powerless and unable to stand. Before them, We had destroyed the people of Noah because they were wicked.

51:47 We have built the heaven with Our might and raised it up high and made it vast. We have built the earth and stretched it out like a great carpet. How smooth We have spread it out! We created everything in pairs—you should remind yourselves of that.

51:50 Run to Allah. I am sent by Him to warn you. Do not worship other gods beside Allah. I am sent by Him to warn you.

51:52 Every apostle that came before was denied and called, "Sorcerer," or "insane." Have these people made a tradition of their mockery? Yes, they are rebellious people. Turn away from them, and you will not be blamed. Instead warn them, because, truthfully a warning will help the believers.

89:6 Have you thought about how your Lord dealt with the people of Ad, at Irem with the many unique pillars? Or with the people of Thamud who hewed out the rocks in the valley? [Ad, Thamud and Irem were destroyed because they did not listen to their prophets] Or with Pharaoh who impaled his victims on a stake? All of them committed excesses in the lands and increased wickedness there. This is the reason your Lord poured on them the scourge of chastisement. Your Lord is always watchful.

89:15 As for man, when his Lord tries him and honours him and is generous to him, he says, "My Lord honours me." But when He tries him and limits his gifts to him, he says, "My Lord despises me." No, but you do not honour the orphan, and you do not urge others to feed the poor, and you devour inheritances with insatiable greed, and you love riches with inordinate love.

89:21 No, on that day when the earth is crushed to powder, and Your Lord comes, and the angels are arranged by rank, and Hell is brought near, men will remember, but will that memory help them? He will say, "Oh, I wish that I had spent my life preparing for this!" On that day none will punish like Allah will punish, and none can bind like Allah will bind.

89:27 Oh, soul that rests, return to your Lord, pleased, and pleasing Him. You may enter among My servants and enter into My Paradise.

85:4 The makers of the pit of the fuel-fed Fire are cursed because they sat by it witnessing what they inflicted on the believers! These witnesses tormented the believers only because of their faith in Allah, the mighty. The heavens and the earth are his kingdom; Allah is the witness of all things.

85:10 Certainly, those who persecuted the believers, men and women, and did not repent, await the torments of Hell, and the torments of burning. But those who believe and do good things shall have the Gardens [Paradise] where underground rivers flow. This is the great triumph.

85:12 Surely, your Lord's punishment is terrible! It is He who produces all things and causes them to be reproduced. He is the indulgent, the loving, the possessor of the glorious throne, the builder of all He wills.

85:17 Have you not heard the story of the armies of Pharaoh and Thamud? No! The unbelievers live in denial, but Allah surrounds them all. It is a glorious Koran written on an eternal tablet.

68:1 NUN*. By the pen and by what the angels write, by the grace of your Lord, you [Mohammed] are not possessed! Certainly, a limitless reward awaits you, because you have a noble nature, but you will see and they will see, which of you is insane. [* eel, snake; danger. Several chapters begin with Arabic letters such as NUN. As for their often ambiguous meaning, see Grand Bible p. 81.]

68:7 Your Lord knows the man who strays from His path, and He knows who has been guided. Do not listen to those who treat you like a liar. They want you to compromise with them so that they may compromise with you.

68:10 Do not listen to the despicable person, who readily swears oaths, a defamer, going about with slander, enemy of the good, a transgressor, a criminal. He is cruel and impure from birth, though wealthy and blessed with sons. When Our wonderful verses are recited to him, he says "Fables of the ancients." We will brand him on the nose.

96:6 No, man is certainly stubborn. He sees himself as wealthy. Certainly, all things return to your Lord.

96:9 What do you think of a man [Abu Jahl] who holds back a servant of Allah [Mohammed] when he prays? Do you think that he is on the right path, or practices piety? Do you think that he treats the truth as a lie and turns his back? Does he not know that Allah sees everything?

96:15 No! Certainly if he does not stop, We will grab him by the forelock [cutting off or holding by the forelock was a shame in Arabic culture], the lying, sinful forelock! Let him call his comrades [the other Meccans]. We will call the guards of Hell. No, do not obey him, rather, adore and get closer to Allah.

74:11 Let Me deal with My creations, whom I have given great riches and sons to sit by their side, and whose lives I have made smooth and comfortable. And still he [Al Walid] wants me to give him more. No, I say. He is an enemy of Our revelations. I will impose a dreadful punishment on him because he plotted and planned.

74:19 Damn him! How he planned. Again, Damn him! How he planned.

74:21 Then he looked around and frowned and scowled and turned his back with vain pride and said, "This is nothing but old magic; it is the work of a mere mortal."

74:26 We will certainly throw him into Hell.

74:27 What will make you realise what Hell is? It leaves nothing, and it spares nothing. It chars the skin.

74:30 Nineteen angels oversee it. The angels are the only guardians of Hell, and We have set their number to confuse the unbelievers and to give the believers certain knowledge of the truth of the Koran so the believers will increase their faith. So the believers and the others who have received the Scriptures have no doubts. The weak of heart and the unbelievers will ask, "What does Allah mean by this parable?" This is how Allah confuses whom He will and how He guides whom He chooses: no one knows the armies of your Lord except Allah himself. This is nothing but a warning to men.

74:35 No, by the moon and by the night as it retreats and by the dawn as it breaks, Hell is one of the most dreadful woes filled with warning to men, to any who choose to go forward [believers] or to any who choose to stay behind [unbelievers].

74:38 Every soul is pledged for its own deeds except those that stand on Allah's right hand. In their gardens they will ask the wicked: "What has brought you to Hell?"

74:43 They will say, "We did not pray, we did not feed the hungry, we argued with the small-minded, and we denied the Judgment Day until our dying day."

74:48 No mediation or intercession will help them. What is wrong with them that they reject Our warning like a frightened donkey fleeing a lion? Each of them wants to have everything spelled out, but that cannot be. They do not fear the hereafter.

74:54 No! The Koran is warning enough. Anyone who chooses shall be warned. Only if Allah pleases will the people be warned. He is to be feared and often forgiving.

90:1 No, I swear by this city [Mecca], this city in which you [Mohammed] dwell, and by the father and the child!

90:4 Certainly, We have created man to be tried by afflictions. Does he think that no one has power over him? He says, "I have wasted great wealth." Does he think that no one sees him? Have we not given him eyes, and tongue, and lips, and guided him to the two highways?

90:11 But he did not attempt the steep road. Who will teach you what the steep road is? It is to free a slave, or to give food during famine to the orphan of a relative, or to the pauper who lies in the dust. It is also, to be a believer and to urge perseverance and compassion upon one another. These are the people of the right hand.

90:18 But those who reject Our signs, they are the people of the left-hand. Hellfire will close around them.

53:33 Have you considered him who turns his back on the faith? Who is stingy and covets? Does he have secret knowledge, or vision? Has he not been told what is in the book of Moses, and about Abraham and his faithful pledge? Namely, that no bearer of burdens can bear the burden of another.

53:39 Man can have nothing except what he works for. Nothing will be credited to a man which he did not earn. His effort will be noted. Then he will be rewarded, totally, justly, and completely. That is the goal of your Lord. He causes laughter and crying, and He causes death and life, and He created the male and female sexes from the fertilized sperm. He has promised a resurrection, and He gives wealth and satisfaction. He is the lord of Sirius [the Dog star]. He destroyed the tribe of Ad, and the people of Thamud, and before them, the wicked and perverse people of Noah, and left no survivors. He destroyed the two overthrown cities of Sodom and Gomorrah so that they were ruins.

53:55 Which of your Lord's blessings would you doubt?

53:57 The one who warns you, also warned the people of old. The inevitable day is drawing near and only Allah can reveal the time. Do you marvel at these announcements? And that you laugh and do not cry while you amuse yourself with vanities?

53:62 Bow down before Allah and worship.

105:1 Did you not see how your Lord dealt with the army of the elephant? [In 570 AD, an army with an elephant attacked Mecca. The army caught smallpox and retreated.] Did He not cause their plans to fail? He sent flocks of birds against them, which pelted them with stones of baked clay, and He made them like the stubble in a field that had been devoured.

109:1 Say: Oh you unbelievers!

109:2 I do not worship what you worship, and you do not worship what I worship. I will never worship what you worship, and you will never worship what I worship. You to your religion, me to my religion.

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104:1 Woe to every slanderer and backbiter who gathers wealth and hordes it for the future. He certainly thinks he will keep his wealth forever. No! He certainly will be flung into Hell, and who will teach you what Hell is?

104:6 It is the Fire kindled by Allah that will rise above the hearts of the damned and close over them in towering columns.

70:1 A skeptic asked about the punishment soon to befall the unbelievers. No one can prevent Allah from inflicting it. Allah is the Lord of the ladders that the angels and the spirit ascend in a day that lasts fifty thousand years.

70:5 So be patient with admirable patience. They think that day is far away, but We see that it is near. The day when the heavens will become like molten brass, and the mountains will become like tufts of wool, and friends do not care about friends, though they are in plain sight of one another. To save himself from the punishment of that day, the wicked would give his children and his wife and his brother and all of his relatives who loved him and everyone on earth, if that could save him.

70:15 But no. Because the Fire, dragging him by the scalp, will claim him who turned his back and fled from the truth and amassed and hoarded wealth. Man is truly an impatient creation. He is impatient when evil touches him and miserly when good reaches him.

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

108:1 Certainly We have given an abundance to you [Mohammed]. Therefore pray to the Lord, and slay the sacrificial victims [ritual killing of animals].

108:3 Surely those who hate you will be childless.

36:77 Does man not see that We created him from a drop of sperm? But still, he is a sworn enemy. And he makes substitutes for Us and forgets the facts of his creation saying, "Who will resurrect these bones when they are rotten?" Say: He gave them life in the beginning, and He will return it to them because He has knowledge of all creation. He makes fire from the green tree for you and allows you to kindle flame. Is the creator of the heavens and the earth not able to create the likes of them? Certainly He is the supreme creator, the knower. If He intends something, His command is, "Be," and it is! So glory to Him in whose hands is the kingdom of all things! All things will return to Him.

25:32 Those who disbelieve say, "Why was the Koran not revealed to him all at once?" It was revealed one part at a time so that We might strengthen your heart with it and so that We might rehearse it with you gradually, in slow, well-arranged stages.

25:33 They will not come to you with any difficult questions for which We have not provided you the true and best answers. Those who will be gathered together face down in Hell will have the worst place and will be the farthest away from the right path.

18:54 In this Koran We have given to man every kind of example, but man is, in most respects, contentious. Nothing prevents men from believing when guidance comes to them nor from asking their Lord's forgiveness, unless it is that they wish that the same fate which befell the ancients should also befall them—that they come face to face with doom.

18:56 We do not send messengers except as bearers of glad tidings and to give warnings. Yet the unbelievers make false contentions so that they may refute the truth. They mock Our signs just like they do Our warnings. Who is more unjust than he who is reminded of His Lord's signs but turns away from them and forgets what His hands have done? Truly We have placed veils over their hearts so that they do not understand, and deafness over their ears. Even if you give them guidance, they will not follow.

18:58 Your Lord is most forgiving, the Lord of mercy. If He were to give them what they deserve, He would certainly have hastened their punishment, but they have an appointed time which they cannot escape. The same could be said for the cities. We destroyed them when they behaved wickedly, and We appointed a set time for their destruction.

37:11 Ask the Meccans whether they or the angels are the stronger creation? We created men from clay.

37:12 Truly you [Mohammed] are amazed when they mock. When they [the Meccans] are warned, they pay no attention. When they see a sign, they begin to mock and say, "This is obviously magic. What? Will we be resurrected after we are nothing but dust and bones? And what about our ancestors?"

37:18 Tell them, "Yes! And you will be disgraced." There will be a single cry, and they will look around and say, "Oh, woe to us!" This is the day of reckoning. This is the Judgment Day that you said was a lie.

37:22 Gather together the unjust, their consorts [the demons], and the false gods they worshiped besides Allah and point them down the road to Hell. Stop them because they must be questioned. "What is wrong with you that you do not help each other?"

37:26 But on this day, they will submit to Allah and blame one another. They will say, "You [the demons] used to come to us from the right-hand side [the side of a good omen]." But they [the demons] will answer, "No, it was you who did not believe. We had no power over you. No, you were a wicked people. Our Lord's sentence has been passed upon us, and we will surely taste our punishment. We misled you because we were lost." Therefore, they will be partners in punishment that day.

37:34 Truly, that is how We deal with the guilty, because when they were told that there is no god but Allah, they swelled with pride and said, "Should we abandon our gods for a crazy poet?"

37:37 No! He [Mohammed] comes truthfully and confirms the prophets of old. You will surely taste the painful punishment, and you will be punished for what you have done, all except the sincere servants of Allah! They will have a fixed banquet of fruits; and they will be honoured in the Garden of delight, facing one another on couches. A cup filled from a gushing spring will be passed among them, crystal clear and delicious to those who drink. It causes neither pain nor intoxication. And with them are companions [houris] with large eyes and modest glances, fair like a sheltered egg. They will ask one another questions. One of them will say, "I had a close friend who said, 'Are you one of those who accept the truth? What? When we have died, and become dust and bones, will we really be judged?'"

37:54 He will say to those around him, "Will you look?" Looking down, he saw his friend in the depths of Hell. And he will say to him, "By Allah, you almost destroyed me. Except for my Lord's favor, I surely would have been one of those who came with you into torment."

37:58 "Is it not true that we will not die," say the blessed, "except for our first death and that we have escaped the torment?" Certainly this is the supreme achievement! For something like this, a striver should strive!

37:62 Is this a better feast than the Zaqqum tree [the tree of Hell]? We have certainly made the tree to torment the wicked. It grows at the bottom of Hell. Its fruit is like the heads of vipers. The damned will certainly eat it until their bellies fill. Then they will drink a mixture of boiling water. Then they will return to the Fire.

37:69 The damned knew that the religion of their fathers was wrong, but they still followed the old religion. Even before them, most of the ancients erred, though We had sent messengers to warn them. See what happened to these warned ones except for Allah's true servants?

19:66 Man says, "What? When I am dead, will I then be resurrected?" Does man not remember that We created him before out of nothing?

19:68 I swear by your Lord, We will certainly gather them together with the devils; then We will force them to their knees around Hell; then We will take from each group those who were most stubbornly rebellious against beneficent Allah.

19:70 Certainly, We know better than any who is most deserving of being burned there. There is none among you who will avoid it; this is an inevitable decree of your Lord. We will rescue those who guard against evil and leave the wicked upon their knees. When Our clear signs are recited to them, the unbelievers will say to those who believe, "Which of our two sides is in the better position? Which has the stronger assembly? "How many generations have We destroyed before them that were more wealthy and more splendid looking? "

19:75 Say: As for those who are in error, Allah will prolong their days—until they see what they were threatened with, whether it is worldly punishment, or the Hour of Judgment—then they will realise who is in the weaker position and who has the weaker force. Allah increases the guidance of those already guided. Lasting good works are better in your Lord's eyes for reward and give a better return.

19:77 Have you seen someone who rejects Our signs and says, "I will certainly be given wealth and children?" Does he have knowledge of the unseen, or has he made peace with Allah? No! We will certainly record what he says and prolong his period of punishment. We will inherit the things he speaks of, and he will come before Us, poor and alone.

19:81 They have taken other gods besides Allah to give themselves power and glory. Instead, they [the false gods] will soon reject their [the unbelievers] worship and will become their enemies. Do you not see that We send the devils against the unbelievers to urge them into sin? Do not rush hastily against them, because We allot them only a limited number of days.

19:85 One day We will gather the righteous and bring them before Allah to receive honours, and We will drive the guilty into Hell like a thirsty herd of cattle driven to water; none will have the power to intercede except those who have received Allah's permission.

19:88 They [the Christians] say, "Allah has fathered a son." Certainly you have said a monstrous thing! It might almost tear the heavens apart, and split the earth in two, and cause the mountains to crumble to pieces, that they ascribe a son to Allah. It is not consistent with Allah's majesty that He should father a son!

19:93 There is no one in the heavens or earth that does not approach Allah as a servant. He has taken note of them and numbered them exactly. Each of them will come alone to Him on Judgment Day. But Allah will certainly show love to those who believe and do good deeds.

19:97 So We have made this Koran easy in your language [Arabic] so that you may use it to give glad tidings to the righteous and warnings to the contentious. How many generations have We destroyed before them? Can you find a single one of them now, or hear as much as a whisper from them?

21:92 Truly, this religion of yours is the only religion, and I am your Lord, so worship Me. But they have broken their religion [Christianity] into sects, and yet they will all return to Us. Whoever does good things and believes will not have his efforts denied. We will record everything.

21:95 There is a ban on those cities We have destroyed. They will not return until Gog and Magog [barbarians who figure in the Final Days] are let loose and they hurry from every hillside and the true promise draws near. Then the unbelievers will stare in horror and say, "Oh no! We lived in ignorance. No, we were unjust."

21:98 Surely you and those you worship besides Allah are nothing but fuel for Hell. You will be sent there. If these were gods, they would not be sent down into it, but all of them will live there forever. There they will do nothing but weep, and that will be the only thing that they hear.

21:101 But those for whom We have ordained, good things will be far away. They will not hear the slightest sound from Hell as they live according to their soul's desire. The great Terror [Judgment Day] will cause them no grief. Instead, the angels will greet them every day by saying, "This is your day, the day that you were promised, the day when We roll the heavens up like a scroll. Just as We made the first creation, so We will reproduce it. This is a promise We are bound to. Truly it is something We will fulfill. After the message was given to Our servants We wrote in the Psalms, My righteous servants will inherit the earth." Surely there is a message here for those who worship Allah.

25:56 And We have sent you only to bring good news and to warn. Say: I do not ask any reward from you except that those who will, may follow the straight path to his Lord. Put your trust in Him who lives and never dies. Celebrate His praise. He fully knows the faults of His servants. He, who created the heavens and the earth and everything in between in just six days is firmly established on the throne of authority. Allah, most gracious! Ask any wise person about Him. But when it is said to them, "Bow down before the merciful Allah," they say, "Who is merciful Allah? Should we bow down to what you tell us to?" It adds to their aversion.

25:61 Blessed is He who placed the constellations in the heavens and placed there the sun and moon. It is He who made the night and the day to follow each other for the benefit of those who desire to consider Allah, or who desire to be grateful.

25:63 The servants of Allah are those who walk humbly on the earth, and when the ignorant speak to them, they say, "Peace!" The servants of Allah are those who spend the night worshiping their Lord, bowing down and standing. They say, "Lord, turn away from us the wrath of Hell because its torment is endless. It is certainly an evil abode and a terrible resting place." They are neither extravagant nor miserly in their spending, but instead keep a just balance between the two. They do not call upon other gods along with Allah and do not kill those whom Allah has forbidden to be killed [other Muslims] except for just cause. They do not fornicate. The unbelievers not only pay the penalty, but their punishment on the Day of Reckoning will be doubled, and they will remain disgraced in Hell forever, unless they repent, believe, and do good works.

25:70 Allah is forgiving and merciful, and whoever repents and does good has truly turned to Allah with an acceptable and true conversion. The believers do not bear false witness and pass by frivolity with dignity. They, when reminded of their Lord's revelations, do not act like they are deaf and blind. They say, "Lord, make our wives and children the apples of our eyes, and make us examples for those who fear you." The believers will be rewarded with the highest places in Paradise because of their steadfast patience. They will be greeted there with greetings and salutations, and they will live there forever. What a happy abode and resting place!

25:77 Say to the unbelievers: My Lord does not care for you or your prayers. You have rejected the truth, so sooner or later, a punishment will come.

17:40 What? Has your Lord honoured you by giving you sons while He has taken for Himself daughters from among the angels [the Meccans said that angels were the daughters of Allah]? Truly, you say a dreadful thing.

17:41 In this Koran, We have explained things in several ways so that they [the Meccans] may take heed, but it only increases their aversion. Say: If, as they say, there were other gods besides Allah, then they would have tried to find a way to the Lord of the throne. Glory to Him! He is exalted far above what they say. The seven heavens, the earth, and everyone in them celebrates His glory. There is not a single creature that does not celebrate His glory. But you do not

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understand their celebrations of glory. He is kind and forgiving.

18:47 One day we will remove the mountains, and you will see the earth as a level plain. We will gather mankind together, and We will omit no one. They will be brought before Allah, in ranks and it will be said to them, "You have been brought before Us naked like We created you in the beginning. You thought that We would not keep the appointment We promised you."

18:49 And the book of life's deeds will be placed before each, and you will see the wicked become alarmed at what it contains. They will say, "Woe to us! What kind of book is this? It omits nothing, either small or large, but instead records everything." They will discover all of their actions there to confront them, and your Lord will not deal unjustly with anyone.

18:50 Recall when We said to the angels, "Bow down to Adam." They all bowed down except Iblis [Satan]. He was a jinn, and he rebelled against his Lord's command. Will you choose him and his offspring as your protector instead of Me when they are your sworn enemies? This is an evil exchange for the wicked!

18:51 I did not make them to witness the creation of the heavens and the earth or their own creation. Nor do I choose seducers to be My helpers. One day I will say, "Call to those whom you thought were My partners." They will call to their false gods, but they will get no response, and We will place a deadly barrier between them. The wicked will see the Fire, and they will realise that they are about to fall into it, and they will not find any escape.

38:55 But the evil have a terrible place waiting for them—Hell—where they will be burned. What a wretched bed to lie on! Let them taste boiling water and icy fluid and other vile things. Their leaders will be told, "This group will be thrown head first into the fire with you. There is no welcome for them. They will burn in the fire!"

38:60 They will say to those who misled them, "No! There is no welcome for you. You brought this wretched place upon us!" They will say, "Lord, double the punishment for those who brought this upon us." They will say, "Why do we not see the people who we thought were wicked, whom we mocked? Were we mistaken, or have our eyes missed them?" Truly, that is fitting and just—the mutual accusations of the people of the fire.

38:65 Say: I am here to warn you. There is no god but Allah, the One, the Almighty! Lord of the heavens and the earth, and everything in between, the mighty, the most forgiving! Say: This is an important message that you turn away from! I had no knowledge of the dispute between those on high. Nothing has been revealed to me except that I am here to warn you.

21:16 We did not create the heavens and the earth and everything in between for entertainment. If We had wanted a diversion, We could have found amusement in Our presence, as if We would ever do such a thing! No, We throw the truth at falsehood, and it crushes its head. There you have it: falsehood is destroyed! Woe to you for the lies you say about Us!

21:19 Every creature in the heavens and on earth belongs to Him. Those in His presence are not too proud to serve Him, nor do they get tired of the service. They praise Him day and night. They never stop.

21:21 Have they found earthly gods that can raise the dead? If there had been other gods besides Allah, then there would be utter confusion in the heavens and on the earth. Glory to Allah, the Lord of the throne, far beyond their lies! He cannot be questioned about His actions, but they shall be made to answer for theirs.

21:24 Have they taken other gods besides Allah? Say: Bring your proof. This is my Message and the Message that was brought by the prophets before me. But most of them do not know the truth and turn away. Even before you, We have never sent a messenger to whom We did not reveal that there is no god but Me; therefore, worship and serve Me.

21:26 Men look to the angels and say, "Merciful Allah has children." Glory to Him! But no, the angels are honoured servants. They speak only when spoken to, and they follow only His command. He knows their future and their past. They can not intercede for anyone without His approval, and they tremble in fear of Him. If an angel should say, "I am a god like Him," We would punish it with Hell. That is how We repay the wicked.

21:30 Do not the unbelievers realise that the heavens and the earth were a single mass before We cut them apart? We made every living creature from water. Why will they not believe? We placed the mountains firmly on the earth to prevent them from shaking, and We made broad gaps between them to act as paths for the people to be guided. We have made the sky like a secure canopy and still they turn away from the signs. It is He Who created the night and the day and the sun and the moon. Each floats along in its celestial orbit.

21:34 We have never given immortality to a human. If you [Mohammed] have to die, should they [the Meccans] live forever? Every soul shall taste death, and to judge you, We will test you with good and evil. You must return to Us.

25:45 Have you considered how your Lord makes the shadow grow? If He wished, He could make it stationary. But We have made the sun its guide; then We bring it to Ourselves, a gradual retreat. It is He who makes the night like a covering for you and sleep a repose and makes the day a resurrection.

25:48 He sends the winds bearing good news before His mercy, and We send down pure water from heaven so that We may give life to a dead planet and quench the thirst of Our creations, animals and great numbers of people. We distribute it among them so that they celebrate Our praises, but most men refuse to be anything except ungrateful. If We had wished, We could have sent a messenger to every city. So do not listen to the unbelievers, but instead strive against them with all your might.

25:53 He let loose the two seas, one sweet and refreshing, the other salty and bitter. Between the two He has set a barrier, an impassible obstruction. He has created man from water and made blood and marriage relationships for him because your Lord is all powerful. And still they worship others besides Allah who can neither help nor hurt them. The unbeliever is Satan's ally against his Lord.

26:1 TA. SIN. MIN. These are the verses of the Book that make things clear.

26:3 You may torment yourself [Mohammed] if they do not believe. If We wanted, We could send them a sign from the sky that would force them to humbly bow their heads, but every new warning they receive from Allah is ignored. They have rejected the message, but they will learn the truth of what they mocked! Do they not see the earth and how much of so many noble things We have made there? Truly, there is a sign there, but most do not believe. And surely, your Lord, He is the mighty, the merciful.

36: 45 When they are told, "Beware of what is in front of you and what is behind you so that you might receive mercy," they pay no attention. All of the many signs sent by their Lord were met with rejection. When they are told, "Give alms from the bounty you receive from Allah," the unbelievers say to the believers, "Should we feed those whom Allah could feed if he wished? You are clearly mistaken."

36:48 And they say, "If you are telling the truth, when will this promise be fulfilled?" They wait for a single blast, which will surprise them as they argue amongst themselves. They will have no chance to settle affairs or to return to their families. When the trumpet is blown, they will pour from the graves and hasten to their Lord.

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

36:59 But you sinners will be set apart this day! Did I not order you, the sons of Adam [humanity], that you must not worship Satan because he was your sworn enemy and that you should worship Me because that was the right path? But he led a great many of you astray. Did you not, then, understand? This is the Hell you were promised. Embrace the Fire this day, because you did not believe.

36:65 We will seal up their mouths that day. Their hands will speak to us, and their feet will testify to everything they did. If We had wished, We could have certainly blinded them; then they would grope to find the way. How could they see? If We had wished, We certainly could have fixed them in place, unable to move or retreat.

36:68 If We grant long life, We demand a return to the earlier, weaker condition. Do they not understand? We have not taught the prophet poetry; it is not good enough for him. This is nothing but a warning and a clear Koran, to warn the living and to justly indict the unbelievers.

36:71 Do they not see that Our hands created cattle to be under their mastery and that We have subjected them for man's use so that some are used for transport and others for eating? Man enjoys many beneficial uses and nourishment from them. Why will he not be thankful?

36:74 And they take other gods to worship beside Allah hoping that they might help. The false gods do not have the power to help them but will instead be gathered together and brought to judgment. Do not let their words cause you grief. We know what they do secretly and what they do openly.

67:6 The torment of Hell waits for those who do not believe in their Lord, and the journey there is terrible! When they are thrown in, they will hear the Fire roaring as it boils. It will almost burst with fury. Every time another group is thrown in, its keepers will ask them, "Did someone not warn you?"

67:9 They will say. Yes. Someone came to warn us, but we rejected him and said, 'Allah has revealed nothing to us. You are deluded."'

67:10 They will say, "If we had listened or understood, we would not have been among the prisoners of the Fire." They will acknowledge their sins, but mercy is far away from the prisoners of the Fire.

67:12 However, forgiveness and a great reward waits for those who secretly fear their Lord. Whether you speak openly or secretly, He knows everything in your heart. Should He not know His creations? He is the subtle, the aware. He smoothed the earth for you, so walk its paths and eat the food He provides. Everything will return to Him after death.

67:16 Are you confident that Allah in heaven will not open the earth and swallow you in an earthquake? Are you sure that Allah in heaven will not send a hurricane against you? You will understand My warning then! It is true that your ancestors rejected their prophets. Was not My wrath terrible?

67:19 Do they not see the birds above, spreading and folding their wings? Only merciful Allah could keep them aloft. He watches over everything.

67:20 Who could help you like an army except merciful Allah? The unbelievers are totally deluded. Who would provide for you if He withheld His provisions? Still, they continue to be proud and reject Him. Is the person groveling along on his face better than those who walk upright on a straight path?

67:23 Say: He created you and gave you the gifts of sight, hearing, and feeling. Still, few are grateful. Say: He has sown you in the ground, and He will gather you. And they say, "If you are telling the truth, when will this promise be fulfilled?"

67:26 Say: Only Allah has knowledge of the time. I am only sent to publicly warn. But when they see it approach, the faces of the unbelievers will grieve. It will be said, "This is what you have been predicting." Say: What do you think? Whether Allah destroys me and my followers, or grants us mercy, who will protect the unbelievers from a terrible punishment? Say: He is the merciful. We believe in Him and trust Him, and you will learn later who is clearly in error. Say: What do you think? If all water sank into the earth, who would bring you clear running water?

23:62 We do not place upon any soul a burden that is beyond its ability, and We possess a record which speaks the truth. They will never be wronged.

23:63 But their hearts are ignorant and confused about the Koran, and there are actions in which they will persist until the time Our punishment overtakes them when they will cry for help. It will be said to them, "Do not cry for help today, because We will certainly not help you. My signs were recited to you, but you turned your back on them in arrogance, talking nonsense about the Koran, like someone telling fables at bedtime."

23:68 Do they not consider the Word of Allah, or has nothing new come to them since the time of their ancestors? Is it that they do not recognize their messenger and so reject him? Or do they say, "He is possessed."? No, he has brought the truth to them, but most of them hate the truth. If the truth did not contradict their desires, then the heavens and the earth and everything contained in them would have been corrupted and ruined. No! We have brought them their warning, but they turn away.

23:72 Is it because you ask them for some reward? Your Lord's reward is best. Of all who reward, He is best. Certainly, you call them to the straight and narrow way. Those who deny the afterlife are straying from that way. If We were to show them mercy and relieve them of their troubles, they would still persist in their wickedness, blindly wandering on. We have already punished them, but still they do not submit to their Lord, and they do not humble themselves. When We open the gate leading to their severe punishment, they will despair at the thought.

23:78 He created and gave you the senses of sight, hearing, feeling, and reason. Little thanks do you give Him. He has caused you to multiply across the earth, and you will be gathered and returned to Him. It is He who gives life and death, and He changes the night into the day. Do you not understand?

23:81 On the contrary. They [the Meccans] say the things that their ancestors said. They say, "When we are dead and have become dust and bones, will we really be resurrected? We and our fathers before us have been promised such a thing. This is nothing except an ancient fable."

23:84 Say: If you know, to whom does the earth and everything on it belong?

23:85 They will say, "Allah." Say: Will you not, then, reflect?

23:86 Say: Who is the Lord of the seven heavens and the Lord of the glorious throne?

23:87 They will say, "They belong to Allah." Say: Will you not, then, refrain from evil?

23:88 Say: In Whose hands is the kingdom of all things, He Who protects everything but is not protected by any? Tell me if you know.

23:89 They will say, "Allah's." Say: Then why are you deceived? We have brought the truth to them, but they are liars.

23:91 Allah has never begotten a son, nor is there another god besides Him. If there were, then each god would have made its own kingdom, and some would have certainly

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overpowered others. Glory to Allah! He is far above the powers attributed to Him. He knows what is seen and unseen. He is exalted high above those whom some call his equal.

27:59 Say: Praise be to Allah and peace be on His servants whom He has chosen for His message. Who is better, Allah or the false gods they associate with Him? Is He not the best, Who created the heavens and the earth, and Who sends rain down from heaven for you, which We then cause to grow luxurious gardens? You do not have the power to cause trees to grow. How could there be another god besides Allah? Still, they try to say that there are equals to Him! Is He not the best Who set the earth firmly in place and placed rivers and immovable mountains there and placed a barrier between the two seas [fresh water and salt water]? How could there be another god besides Allah? Still, they try to say that there are equals to Him! Is He not the best Who answers the cries of distressed souls when they call to Him and relieves their suffering and makes you the inheritors of the earth? How could there be another god besides Allah? How few keep this in mind! Is He not the best Who guides you through the darkness of the land and the sea and sends the winds as heralds of His mercy? How could there be another god besides Allah? Allah is far above what they associate with Him.

27:64 Is He not the best Who created life and then repeats it, and Who provides for you from the heavens and the earth? How could there be another god besides Allah? Say: If you are telling the truth, then bring your proof. Say: No one in heaven or earth, no one except Allah, knows the unseen. They do not know when they will be raised from the dead. They know even less about the hereafter. No, they have great doubts about it. No, they are blind to it.

27:67 The unbelievers say, "What? Will we really be raised from the dead when we have become dust like our fathers? It is true that we were promised this, ourselves and our fathers, too. This is nothing but ancient fables."

27:69 Say: Travel through the land and see what becomes of the wicked. Do not grieve over them and do not be distressed because of their plots against you. They say, "If you are telling the truth, when will this promise come to pass?"

27:72 Say: Perhaps some of what you seek to hurry towards is near. Your Lord is filled with goodness toward men, but most are not thankful. Your Lord knows full well what is hidden in their hearts, as well as everything they reveal. There is nothing hidden in the heavens or earth that is not recorded in a clear book.

86:15 They plot and scheme against you [Mohammed], and I plot and scheme against them. Therefore, deal calmly with the unbelievers and leave them alone for a while.

36:37 The night is a sign for them. We withdraw it from the day and plunge them into darkness, and the sun runs its mandated course. That is the decree of Allah, the Powerful, The All-Knowing. Consider the moon; it follows the regulated course We set until it returns again to the beginning, like the rebirth of an old withered palm-stalk. The sun may not outreach the moon, and the night may not pass the day—each floats along in its own orbit.

36:41 Bearing their race away through the flood in a heavily-laden ark [Noah] is a sign for them. We have created other, similar vessels [ships] which they voyage. If We wished, we could drown them with none to hear their cries. They cannot be saved except through Our mercy, and so they may enjoy themselves for a little longer.

26:192 This Book has come down from the Lord of the worlds. The faithful spirit [Gabriel] has come down with it upon your [Mohammed's] heart so that you may warn others in the clear Arabic language. Truly, it is foretold in the ancient scriptures. Is it not a sign that the learned men of the Israelites recognized? If We had revealed it to any of the non-Arabs and he had recited it to them, they would not have believed in it.

26:200 This is how We influenced the hearts of the wicked. They will not believe in it until they see the painful punishment. And it will come upon them suddenly when they do not expect it. They will say, "Can we have a reprieve?"

54:1 The Hour of Judgment is near, and the moon is split in two. If they [unbelievers] see a miracle, they just turn away and say, "This is just an illusion." They reject the warning and follow their own cravings, but everything is settled in its own time. They have received warnings—profound wisdom—that should deter them, but warnings do no good.

54:6 [Mohammed] Turn your back on them. On Judgment Day, when the summoner calls them to a terrible thing, they will come out of their graves with downcast eyes like wandering locusts scurrying to the summoner. The unbelievers will say, "This is the dreaded day!

76:4 We have prepared chains, fetters, and a blazing fire for the unbelievers.

76:5 The righteous, however, will drink cups filled from a camphor fountain—the fountain Allah's servants drink from—as it flows from place to place rewarding those who perform their vows and fear a day whose evil will spread far and wide. Even when they were hungry they gave their food to the poor, the orphan, and the prisoner. "We feed you for Allah's sake. We are not looking for reward or thanks from you. We are afraid of suffering and punishment from Allah."

76:11 But Allah saved them from the evil of that day and brought them happiness and joy. He rewarded their patience with Paradise and silk robes. Reclining on couches, none will suffer from extreme heat or cold. Trees will shade them, and fruit will dangle near by. Silver cups and crystal goblets will pass among them: silver cups, transparent as glass, their size reflecting the measure of one's deeds. They will be given ginger-flavored wine from the fountain called Salsabil. They will be waited on by eternally young boys. When you look at them you would think they were scattered pearls. When you see it, you will see a vast kingdom of delights. They will wear richly brocaded green silk robes with silver bracelets on their arms, and they will quench their thirst with a pure drink given them by their Lord. This will be your reward. Your efforts will not go unnoticed.

76:23 We have sent the Koran to you in stages to be a revelation. Wait patiently for Allah's command, and do not obey the wicked and the unbelieving. Celebrate your Lord's name in the morning, in the evening, and at night. Adore him and praise him all night long.

76:27 But men love the fleeting present and ignore the dreadful day ahead. We have created them, and We built them strong. When We want to, We will make others to replace them. This is certainly a warning. Whoever chooses, will take a straight path to his Lord. But unless Allah wills it, because he is knowing and wise, you will not succeed. You will receive his mercy if he chooses to give it, but he has prepared a terrible punishment for the wicked.

50:1 KAF. By the glorious Koran: They [the Meccans] wonder that one of their own people should come to warn them. "This," say the unbelievers, "is a strange thing. What? When we are dead and turned to dust will we be resurrected? That is not possible."

50:4 We know how many have been consumed by the earth; we have a record of accounts. They are confused, because they have denied the truth. Why do they not look at the sky and notice how We raised it and decorated it and made it without any cracks?

50:7 And the earth, We have spread it out and built the mountains and grew every kind of beautiful plant to be a vision and a reminder for every servant who turns to Allah. We sent down the rain with its blessings from heaven to irrigate the gardens and grow the harvest, and the tall palm trees, thick with date-bearing branches, for man's sustenance. This is how We give life to a dead country. The resurrection will happen the same way.

50:12 Other men before these rejected their prophets: the people of Noah and the men of Ar-Rass [unknown city] and the tribe of Thamud [the people of a ruined Nabatean city near Medina] and Ad [an ancient people of southern Arabia] and Pharaoh and the brethren of Lot and the people of the forest and the people of Tubba [the people of Himyar in Arabia]. All rejected their prophets; therefore, they were justly punished.

50:15 Were We so fatigued by the first creation that they doubted that We could make another? We created man, and We know what his soul says to him because We are closer to him than his jugular vein.

50:17 When the two angels [one angel will drive the person, and the other angel recorded the deeds of life] receive him for his accounting, one will sit on the right hand, the other on the left. He will not say a word that escapes a nearby watcher, and the stupor of certain death will bring him to a realisation: "This is what you were trying to escape."

50:20 And a trumpet will sound. This is the threatened day! Every soul will come, each accompanied by an angel to drive [like cattle] and another to bear witness. (It will be said) "You paid no attention to your warnings, but your vision will be sharp today because We have removed the veil from your eyes." And his witnessing angel will say, "His record is here with me." And Allah will say, "Throw into Hell every ungrateful, rebellious, hinderer of the good, and every transgressor and doubter who worshiped other gods besides Allah. Throw them into the terrible torment."

50:27 His companion [the devil chained to the unbeliever] will say, "Allah, I did not lead him astray, but he was already in great error." Allah will say, "Do not argue in front of Me. I had warned you before. My sentence cannot be changed, and I am not unjust to man."

50:30 We will cry out to Hell that day, "Are you full?" And it will respond, "Are there more?" And Paradise will be brought close to the righteous. "For those who have repented and kept Allah's laws, this is what you have been promised. Those who secretly feared Allah, the merciful, and came contritely to him enter it in peace. This is the day of eternal life." There they will have everything they desire, and We can add still more.

20:127 This is how We will reward those who transgressed and did not believe in the sign of his Lord. Surely the punishment of the next world will be more terrible and more enduring. Are not they who walk over the ancient dead cities aware of how many generations We have destroyed before them? Surely there are signs here for reasonable men. If a respite had not already been granted by your Lord and a time fixed, their punishment would have already begun.

20:130 So be patient with what they say, and constantly celebrate your Lord's praise before the sun rises and before it sets, and for part of the night and at both ends of the day so that you may please Him. Do not strain your eye longing for the things We have given to others—the pleasures of the material world—so that We may test them. Your Lord's provision is better and more enduring.

20:132 Urge your people to pray, and urge them continually. We do not ask you to provide sustenance—We will provide for you, and the pious will be rewarded in the Hereafter. But they say, "If only he had come to us with a sign from his Lord!" But did clear proof not come to them from earlier scriptures?

20:134 If We had destroyed them with our punishments before it was time, they would have surely said, "Lord! How could we believe if you did not send an apostle to guide us before we were humbled and disgraced." Say: All of us are waiting, so wait. You will learn who has followed the straight and even path and who has received guidance.

38:27 We did not create the heavens and earth and everything in between for nothing. That is what the unbelievers think, but woe to the unbelievers because the fire of Hell awaits! Should We treat those who believe and do the right thing the same as those who spread evil over the world? Should We treat the Allah-fearing like the wicked?

38:29 We have sent a holy Book to you so that men may ponder its verses and that men of understanding may reflect. And We gave David a son, Solomon. He was an excellent servant because he constantly turned toward Us in repentance.

72:22 Say: Surely, no one but Allah can protect me. Nor can I find any refuge except Him. My only task is to convey Allah's truth and His message. Those who rebel against Allah and His apostle have the fire of Hell, and they will remain there forever! They will doubt until they see with their own eyes what they are promised. Then they will know who is weaker in allies and fewer in number.

72:25 Say: I do not know whether the scourge you are promised is near, or whether Allah has assigned it to a distant day. He knows the secret. He does not share His secret with anyone except His messenger. He makes a guard march before and behind him [the messenger]. He will know if His apostles have delivered their Lord's messages. He knows everything about them and pays close attention to everything that concerns them.

23:93 Say: Oh my Lord! If it is your will that I witness what you have promised, then, Oh my Lord, do not place me with the unjust. Certainly, We are able to show you with what We have threatened them. Repel evil with what is the best. We are well aware of what they say about you.

23:97 And say: Oh my Lord! I seek refuge with You from the suggestions of the evil ones. And I seek refuge with you, my Lord, from their presence.

23:99 When death overtakes one of the wicked, he says, "Lord, send me back again so that I may do the good things that I have left undone." But, no, they are nothing but empty words. There is a barrier around the wicked that will remain until the Judgment Day. When the trumpet is blown, there will be no ties of kinship connecting them, nor will they ask about one another.

23:102 Those whose balance is heavy will attain salvation, but those whose balance is light will have lost their souls, and they will abide in Hell. The Fire will burn their faces, and their lips will twitch in pain. It will be said, "Were My signs not recited to you? Did you not reject them?"

23:106 They will say, "Lord, misfortune defeated us, and we were led astray. Lord, take us from here. If we return to evil, then surely we are unjust.

23:108 Allah will say, "Do not speak to Me, but instead be gone into the flames. Some of My servants would say, 'Lord, we believe. Forgive us and have mercy on us, because you are the most merciful.' But you ridiculed them so much that you forgot My warning while you were mocking them. I have rewarded them for their patience and constancy. They are the blissful."

23:112 Allah will ask, "How many years did you stay on earth?"

23:113 They will say, "We stayed a day or part of a day. Ask those who keep count."

23:114 Allah will say, "You stayed only a little while; if you had only known. Did you think that We had created you in vain and that you would not be brought back to us for judgment?"

23:116 Let Allah be exalted, the true king! There is no god but Him, the Lord of the throne of grace. If anyone invokes another god besides Allah, he does so without proof. His reckoning is with Allah, alone. Surely the unbelievers will not succeed.

23:118 Say: Oh my Lord! Forgive and have mercy on us, because you are the most merciful.

21:36 When the unbelievers see you, they do nothing but mock you. They say, "Is this the man who talks so much about

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your gods?" But they reject any mention of the beneficent Allah. 30

21:37 Man is an impatient creature. Soon, when I show you My signs, you will not be in such a hurry. They say, "If you are telling the truth, when will this promise be fulfilled?" If only the unbelievers knew the time when they will be unable to keep the flames from their faces and backs when they cannot be saved. No. It will come upon them suddenly and will confound them. They will be unable to prevent it or to stop it. Other prophets have been mocked before you. Their mockers were destroyed by the same doom that they laughingly denied.

21:42 Say: Who will protect you from the wrath of gracious Allah? And still they turn away from the mention of their Lord. Do they have gods besides Us who can protect them? They have no power to help themselves, and they can not be defended from Us. No, We have given the good things to these men and their fathers for the term of their lives. Do they not see that We come to their land like conquerors and reduce the land under their control? Will they be the winners? Say: I only warn you of what has been revealed to me. But the deaf will not hear the call, even when they are warned!

21:46 If only a breath of your Lord's wrath should touch them, they would surely say, "Oh no! We have certainly been wicked." We will set up scales of justice on Judgment Day so that no soul is treated unjustly. If there is an act as small as a mustard seed, We will consider it, and We are capable of judging.

18:99 On that day We shall let them surge against one another like waves. The trumpet will be blown, and We will gather them all together. On that day We shall present Hell for all the unbelievers to see—unbelievers whose eyes were veiled from My signs and who could not even hear. What? Do the unbelievers think that they can take My servants to be guardians besides me? We have prepared Hell to entertain the unbelievers.

18:103 Say: Shall We tell you whose actions will make them the biggest losers? Those whose efforts are lost in this world's life even while they thought that they were doing good deeds. These are the people who disbelieve in their Lord's revelations and who do not believe they will meet Him in the afterlife. Their deeds will have been done in vain, and on the Judgment Day, We will not give them any weight. Their reward is Hell, because they disbelieved and mocked Our revelations and Our messengers. As for those who believe and do good deeds, they have the Gardens of Paradise for their entertainment where they will dwell forever, never wishing to leave.

17:8 Perhaps your Lord will have mercy upon you but if you revert to wickedness, then We will repeat Our punishment, and We have made Hell a prison for those who disbelieve.

17:9 This Koran leads to that which is most righteous and gives guidance to the believers who do good deeds that they will have a great reward. It says that We have prepared a terrible punishment for the unbelievers. Man prays for evil like he ought to pray for good because man is hasty.

17:12 We have made the night and the day two signs. We have obscured the sign of the night, but we have made the sign of the day shine brightly so that you may seek bounty from your Lord and so that you may calculate the years and days. We have explained everything clearly.

17:13 We have tied every man's fate about his neck. On the Judgment Day We will bring out an open book [the book of life's deeds kept by an angel] for him. It will be said to him, "Read your book. Your own soul is sufficient testimony against yourself." Whoever acts righteously does so for his own soul. Whoever goes astray harms only himself. No soul may bear the burden of another, and We never punish until We have sent a messenger with a warning.

17:16 When We decide to destroy a city, We first send Our commands to their affluent leaders but when they act wickedly, justifying its doom, then we destroy them completely. How many generations have We destroyed since Noah? Your Lord is able to know and see the sins of His servants.

17:18 Whoever desires this present life, We will quickly grant what We please for whomever We please. Later, We will assign him to Hell where he will burn, disgraced and rejected.

17:19 Any believer who desires the afterlife and strives for it as he should, will find his efforts are acceptable to Allah. We freely give the bounties of your Lord to everyone. The bounties of your Lord are not denied to anyone. Notice how we have given more to some than to others. The afterlife is greater in degrees and greater in excellence.

17:22 Do not equate Allah with any other god, or you will sit down despised and helpless. Your Lord has ordered that you must not worship any besides Him and that you be kind to your parents. If either or both reach old age, do not speak to them with contempt or reject them, but instead speak to them with respect. With tenderness, submit humbly to them and say, "Lord, have mercy on them because they raised me when I was a child."

18:27 Recite and teach what has been revealed to you about your Lord's Book. No one can alter His words, and you will not find any refuge besides Him. Be patient with those who call upon their Lord morning and night seeking His good will. Do not take your eyes from them looking for the pomp and distraction of this life. Do not obey someone whose heart We have allowed to forget Us and who chases his own desires and whose soul cannot be saved.

18:29 Say: The truth is from your Lord. Let those who will, believe. Let those who will, be unbelievers. We have prepared a Fire for the unbelievers that is like the walls and roof of a tent. It will enclose them. If they cry for relief, they will be showered with water that is like molten brass which scalds their faces. What a dreadful drink and resting place!

18:30 As for those who believe and who have done what is right, We will certainly not waste the reward of anyone who does even a single good deed. There will be eternal gardens for the righteous. Rivers will flow beneath them. They will be decorated with gold bracelets and will wear fine green silk garments with heavy brocade. They will lie on elevated couches. Wonderful is the reward! Beautiful is the couch!

20:99 This is why We tell you stories of what happened before; We have sent you Our personal message. Whoever turns away from it will surely carry a burden on Judgment Day. They will remain under it, and the burden will be grievous for them to bear on Judgment Day. There will be a blast from a trumpet that day, and We will gather the wicked together, and their eyes will be blue with terror [the enemies of the Arabs were the Greeks, many of whom had blue eyes]. They will say to one another in muted voices, "You stayed only ten days on earth." We know best what they will say when the best among them say, "You did not stay longer than a day." They will ask you about the mountains that day. Tell them, "My Lord will scatter them like dust and leave them smooth like a level plain where you will see nothing crooked or uneven."

20:108 On that day they will follow their summoner who never deceives. Voices will be low before merciful Allah. Only slight whispers will be heard. No intercession will help that day except him that Allah allows to intercede and whose words are approved. He knows their future and their past, but they have no idea.

20:111 Their faces will be humble before Him—the living, the self-subsisting and eternal. Whoever is burdened by iniquity is certainly a failure. This is why We sent to you an Arabic Koran and explained in detail Our warnings so that they may fear Allah and heed them. Exalted above all is Allah, the King, the Truth! Do not hurry through its recital before its revelation is made complete to you. Instead say, "Lord, increase my knowledge."

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

43:74 The guilty, however, will dwell forever in the torment of Hell. The punishment will not be lightened for them, and they will be overwhelmed with despair. We were not unjust toward them. It was they who were unjust. They will cry, "Malik [an angel who is a keeper of Hell], let your Lord put us out of our misery." He will respond, "No! You will remain here." Surely, We have brought the truth to you, but most of you hate the truth.

43:79 Do they make plots against you? We also make plots. Do they think that We do not hear their secrets and their private conversations? We do, and Our messengers are there to record them.

38:1 SAD. I swear by the Koran, full of warning! Truly, the unbelievers must be filled with arrogant pride to oppose you. How many earlier generations did We destroy? In the end, they cried for mercy when there was no time to escape!

38:4 They are skeptical that a messenger would come to them from their own people, and the unbelievers say, "This man is a sorcerer and a liar! Has he combined all the gods into one Allah? That is an amazing thing!" And their chiefs [the leaders of the opposition to Mohammed in Mecca] went about and said, "Walk away. Remain faithful to your gods. This is a plot. We have never heard of such a thing in the earlier religion. This is nothing but an invented tale!"

38:8 They say, "Why, of all people, has the message been sent to him [Mohammed]?" Yes! They doubt My warnings because they have not tasted My vengeance. Do they possess the blessings of the mighty, your Lord's mercy? Is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth and everything in between in their hands? If so, let them climb up to the heavens if they can! Any allies [Mohammed's opponents] remaining here will be defeated.

38:12 Before them the people of Noah and Ad and Pharaoh, the impaler, rejected their prophets. The people of Thamud [the people of a ruined Nabatean city near Medina] and Lot and the people who lived in the forest also rejected their prophets. They all called My messengers liars; therefore, their punishment was justified.

38:15 The unbelievers of Mecca today are only waiting for a single trumpet blast [announcing the Final Day] to happen soon. They will say, "Oh, our Lord, hurry our fate to us. Do not make us wait until the Judgment Day."

25:7 They say, "What kind of messenger is this? He eats food and walks the streets! Why has an angel not been sent down with him to assist in warning the people? Why has he not been given a great treasure or a rich garden to supply his needs?" The unjust say, "You are merely following a madman." See what kind of comparisons they make to you. They have gone astray and cannot find their way.

25:10 Blessed is He who, if He pleases, can give you things even better than that of which they speak. He can give you gardens with flowing rivers and palaces to live in.

25:11 But no, they deny the Hour of Judgment. Well, We have prepared a raging Fire for those who deny the coming Hour. When it sees them from a distance, they will hear its raging fury. When they are thrown, and bound together into a cramped cell, they will beg for immediate destruction. "Do not pray for a single destruction that day, but instead pray for many destructions.

25:15 Say: Which is better, this or the eternal Garden that is promised to the righteous as a reward and a final destination? They will live there forever and have everything they desire! It is fitting to pray to your Lord for such a thing.

25:17 And on the day when He assembles them and their false gods, He will say, "Did you [the false gods] lead My servants astray, or did they become lost on their own?"

25:18 The false ones [false gods] will say, "Glory be to You! It was not fitting that we worshiped other gods besides You, but You allowed them and their fathers to enjoy the good things until they forgot the message and became a lost people."

25:19 Allah will say to the idolaters, "They have proven that you are liars, so you cannot avert your doom, nor be helped." We will force the wicked to taste a terrible punishment.

25:20 All of the messengers whom We sent before you were also men who ate food and walked the streets. We have made some of you a test for others. Will you be steadfast? Your Lord is watching everything.

25:21 Those who do not look forward to Our meeting say, "Why have angels not been sent down to us and why may we not see our Lord?" Obviously, they think too highly of themselves. Their impiety is insolent and scornful!

25:22 There will be no joy for the guilty on the day they see the angels. The angels will say, "Here is a barrier that you may not pass." Then We will examine their actions and leave them like so much scattered and floating dust.

25:24 The inhabitants of the Garden will be happier that day. They will dwell in their home, the best resting place.

25:25 On the day the heavens will be split, the angels will be sent down in ranks. The kingdom will belong completely to merciful Allah. It will be a terrible day for the unbelievers. On the day when the wicked bite their nails, they will say, "Oh, if only I had followed the same path as the messenger! Oh no! I wish that I had never taken such people as my friend! He led me astray from Allah's message after it had come to me. Satan is a traitor to man!"

25:30 Then the messenger will say, "My Lord, truly my people have treated the Koran as a joke." Even so, We have given every prophet an enemy from among the sinners; but Allah is a sufficient guide and helper.

15:1 ALIF. LAM. RA. These are the verses of the Scripture, a recital that makes things clear.

15:2 The unbelievers will often wish they were Muslims. Let them enjoy themselves, and let false hope beguile them. They will eventually learn the truth.

15:4 We never destroy a city whose term was not preordained. No nation can delay or change its destiny. They say: "You [Mohammed] to whom the message was revealed, you are surely insane. If you were telling the truth, why did you not bring angels to us?"

15:8 We do not send the angels without good reason. If We did, the unbelievers would still not understand. Surely, We have sent down the message, and surely, We will guard it. Before your time, We sent apostles to the sects of the ancient peoples, but they mocked every messenger. Similarly, We allow doubt to enter the hearts of the sinners. They do not believe it, even though the example of the ancients has preceded them. Even if We opened a gate into heaven for them the entire time they ascended, they would say, "Our eyes are playing tricks on us. No, we are bewitched."

26:204 What! Do they seek to hasten Our punishment? What do you think? If after giving them their fill for years and their punishment finally comes upon them, how will their pleasures help them? We have never destroyed a city that We did not warn first with a reminder. We did not treat them unjustly.

26:210 The devils were not sent down with the Koran. It does not suit them, and they do not have the power because they are banned from hearing it. Do not call upon any god but Allah, or you will be doomed. Rather, warn your close relatives,

26:215 And be kind to the believers who follow you. If they disobey you, say, "I will not be responsible for your actions."

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Put your trust in Him who is mighty and merciful, Who sees you when you stand in prayer, and your demeanor among the worshippers, because He hears and knows everything.

26:221 Shall I tell you who Satan will descend upon? He will descend upon every lying, wicked person. They speak of what they hear, but most of them are liars. It is the poets that the erring follow. Do you see how they wander distractedly around every valley, and that they do not practice what they preach? But not so for the believers, who believe, do good works, and remember Allah often, and who defend themselves when unjustly treated. But those who treat them unjustly will find out what a terrible fate awaits them.

15:87 We have given you seven of the often-repeated verses [Sura 1] and the great Koran. Do not strain your eyes coveting the good things that We have given to some of the unbelievers, and do not grieve for them, but instead take the believers tenderly under your wing. Say: " I am the one who gives plain warning."

15:90 We will punish those who foster division and break up the Koran into parts. By your Lord, We will certainly call them to account for all their deeds, so openly proclaim what you are commanded, and turn away from the polytheists.

15:95 Surely, We will defend you against those who scoff, who set up other gods with Allah. But they will come to know. We know that your heart is troubled at their words, but celebrate the praises of your Lord, and be one of those who bow down in adoration. And serve your Lord until death overtakes you.

25:41 When they see you, they mock you, saying, "Is this the man whom Allah sends as a messenger? He would have led us far from our gods if we had not been so loyal to them!" When they see the punishment that is waiting, they will soon realise who was more misled. What do you think of someone who worships his own passion like a god? Would you be a guardian for such a person? Or do you think that most of them even hear or understand? They are just like cattle. No, they stray even further from the path.

17:75 In that case, We should have given you a double taste of punishment in this life and in the hereafter. You would have found no one to help you against Us. Their intent was to scare you off of the land [the Jews told Mohammed that Syria was the land of prophets and that he should go there] in order to expel you. In that case, they would not have stayed but a bit longer than you.

17:77 This was Our method with the prophets that We sent before you. You will find no change in Our methods. Establish regular prayers—at sunset until the dark of night and the prayer and recitation at dawn because the morning prayer and recitation is watched. And pray during some part of the night. This would be beyond what is required, but perhaps your Lord will raise you to a higher station.

54:9 Before them, Noah's people rejected the truth. They rejected Our servant and called him insane and drove him away. So he cried out to his Lord, "I am defeated. Help me!"

54:11 We opened heaven's gates and water gushed out, and We caused springs to erupt all over the earth and their waters [waters of heaven and springs of earth] met by preordained plan. We carried Noah away on a boat made with planks and nails. It floated away under Our watchful eye. A reward for someone who was rejected—We left it [the ark] as a sign, but will anyone pay attention? My vengeance and warning was terrible!

54:17 We have made the Koran easy to remember, but will any one pay attention?

54:18 The people of Ad [an ancient people of southern Arabia] rejected the truth, but My vengeance and warning was terrible because We sent a roaring wind against them on a day of constant disaster sweeping men away like the stumps of uprooted palms. My vengeance and warning was terrible!

54:22 We have made the Koran easy to remember, but will any one pay attention?

54:23 The people of Thamud [Thamud was a trade town in ruins north of Mecca] rejected the warning, and they said, "Should we follow one man just like ourselves? That would be wrong and insane. Is he the only one of us to be trusted with such a warning? No! He is an arrogant liar." Tomorrow they will learn who the foolish liar is.

54:27 We will send them a she-camel as a test. Watch them and be patient. Tell them that their water must be divided between themselves and the she-camel, and they must take equal, alternating turns. Instead, they called their companion, who killed her. My vengeance and warning was terrible! We sent a single blast against them and they became like dried sticks.

54:32 We have made the Koran easy to remember, but will any one pay attention?

54:33 Lot's people rejected his warning, but We sent a shower of stones against them, except for Lot and his family, whom We saved at dawn as a favor. This is how We reward those who give thanks. He certainly warned them of Our punishment, but they doubted the warning. They even tried to get him to turn out his guests, but We blinded their eyes and said, "Taste My vengeance and My warning!" In the morning a relentless punishment struck them.

54:40 We have made the Koran easy to remember, but will any one pay attention?

54:41 Warnings also came to the people of Pharaoh. They rejected all of Our signs, but We grasped them with the grasp of the mighty and the powerful.

54:43 Are your unbelievers better men than these? Is there an exception for you [the Meccans] in the scriptures? Or do they say, "We can defend ourselves if we stand together?" They will be routed and will turn their backs and run. No! The Hour of Judgment is their promised time, and that hour will be terrible and bitter.

54:47 Surely, the wicked are wrong and crazy. They will be dragged on their faces into the fire that day. "Feel the fury of Hell." We have created everything according to a preordained plan. Our command is a single word, as quick as the wink of an eye. We have destroyed men like you [the Meccans] in the past, but is any one warned?

54:52 Everything they do is written down in the books [records kept by recording angels]—every act, both small and great, is recorded. Surely, the righteous will live among the Gardens with rivers, in the seat of honour, in the presence of a mighty king.

44:9 They [the Meccans] fool around in doubt, but watch them the day the sky emits a visible smoke that will cover mankind. This will be a terrible punishment. They will cry, "Lord, take away our punishment. We are believers." But how did warning them help when Our messenger went to them, and they rejected him and said, "He learned it from others, he is insane!"? If We were to give you any respite, you would surely revert to wickedness. On the day when We seize you with a terrible onslaught, We will certainly inflict punishment!

44:17 Long ago, before their time, We tried with the people of Pharaoh when We presented a noble apostle [Moses] to them. "Return the servants of Allah to me because I am an apostle worthy of all trust. Do not exalt yourself against Allah because I come to you with clear authority. I rely on the protection of my Lord and your Lord that you will not stone me. And if you do not believe me, then leave me alone." Finally he cried to his Lord, "These are wicked people."

44:23 Allah said, "Take my servants away during the night because you will be pursued. Leave the sea split behind you. Their army will be drowned." They left many gardens and fountains behind them and many cornfields and noble buildings and many good things that they enjoyed. We gave those things as an inheritance to another people. Neither the heaven nor the earth cried for them, and they received no reprieve, but We did rescue the Children of Israel from a shameful punishment by Pharaoh, who was haughty and excessive.

44:32 We chose them, in Our wisdom, above all other peoples, and We gave them miracles that contained a clear choice. And still, these unbelievers say, "There is nothing after our death, and we will not be resurrected. If you are telling the truth, then bring back our fathers." Are they better than the people of Tubba [possibly Yemen], and those that came before them whom We destroyed because of their wickedness?

44:38 We did not create the heavens and the earth and everything in between as a game. We created them for a just end, but most of them do not understand. Surely they will have a time set aside on Judgment Day, a day when the master will not be helped by his servant, and the servant will not be helped by the master—except for those who have Allah's mercy. He is the mighty, the merciful.

44:43 Surely the Zaqqum tree [the tree of Hell] will be food for the sinners. Like molten brass, it will boil in their bellies like the boiling of scalding water. (It will be said) "Seize him and drag him down to the middle of Hell. Torment him by pouring boiling water on his head. (Say) Taste this: You thought that you were powerful and honourable! This is the thing that you doubted."

44:51 The righteous, however, will live in a protected place among gardens and fountains, facing one another and dressed in richly brocaded fine silk. This is how it will be. We will marry them to beautiful virgins with big dark eyes [houris]. There they can call for any kind of fruit in comfort and safety. They have only the first death there, and Allah will save them from the pains of Hell. It is the gracious gift of your Lord! This is the supreme achievement.

44:58 We have made this Koran in Arabic so it will be easy to understand and so that you will take warning. So watch and wait, because they are also waiting.

36:1 YA. SIN. I swear by the wise Koran that you are surely one of the messengers on a straight path, a revelation of the mighty, the merciful, sent to warn a people whose fathers were not warned, and consequently remain heedless.

36:7 Our sentence against them is just because they do not believe. We have bound their necks with chains that reach the chin, forcing their heads up. We have placed barriers in front, behind, and over them, so they can not see. It does not matter whether you warn them or not, because they will not believe. You can only warn those who follow the message and fear merciful Allah in private. Give them glad tidings of forgiveness and a generous reward. It is true We will give life to the dead and that We record what they will do and what they have done. We have recorded everything in Our perfect ledger.

36:13 Use a parable to tell them the story of the people of the city [Antioch] when the messengers visited. When We first sent two messengers to them, the people rejected them, but We sent a third to strengthen their numbers. They said, "We are messengers sent to you by Allah."

36:15 The people said, "You are merely men just like us. Allah has sent no revelation. You only tell lies."

36:16 The messengers replied, "Our Lord knows that we have been sent to you. Our only duty is to proclaim the clear message."

36:18 They said, "We predict evil from you. If you do not stop, we will certainly stone you and inflict a terrible punishment."

36:19 The messengers said, "Your prediction of evil comes from within. Is it because you are warned? No! You are a people in error."

36:20 A man [Habib, the carpenter] came running from the outskirts of the city and said, "My people, listen to the messengers! Obey those who do not ask any reward and who follow the right path. It would be unreasonable of me not to serve Him who created me, and to Whom we will all return. Should I worship other gods besides Him? If Allah wished to afflict me their intercession could not help me at all, nor could they save me. If I did worship other gods, I would be in clear error. I believe in your Lord, so listen to me." It was said to him, "Enter the Garden of Paradise." The man replied, "Oh, if only my people knew how gracious Allah has been to me and that He has made me one of the honoured ones!"

36:28 After the man [Habib] from the outskirts died, We sent no army down from heaven against his people. We did not need to do so. It was nothing more than a single cry, and they were extinct. Oh! The misery that falls upon My servants! Every messenger sent to them has been mocked. Do they not see how many earlier generations We have destroyed? Everyone of them will be brought before Us for judgment.

36:33 The dead earth is a sign for them. We give it life which produces grain for them to eat. And We have placed gardens of palms and grapes there with springs gushing water so they might enjoy the fruit of Our artistry. Their hands did not make this. Why will they not be grateful? Glory to Allah who created all things in mated pairs: everything produced by the earth, mankind, and things which they can never imagine.

50:36 How many generations did We destroy before them who were mightier than they are in strength so they filled the land? Was there any place for them to hide? Certainly, there is a reminder here for those who have hearts or who listen and give witness to the truth. We created the heavens and the earth and everything in between in six days, and We did not get tired.

50:39 Therefore, be patient with what they say, and sing the praises of your Lord before sunrise and before sunset. Praise him at night and after the prayers. Listen for the day when the crier calls from near by. The day men hear that shout will be the Judgment Day.

50:43 Surely, We give life and cause death. Everything will return to Us. The day that the earth quickly splits open as the dead emerge from their graves will be an easy gathering for Us to make. We know exactly what the unbelievers say, and you should not compel them. Use the Koran to warn those who fear my threat.

26:141 The people of Thamud rejected the messengers. Their brother Salih said to them, "Will you not fear Allah? I am a faithful messenger worthy of all trust. Fear Allah and obey me. I ask for no reward. My reward comes only from the Lord of the worlds. Will you be left safely to enjoy all you have among gardens and fountains and grain-fields and palm-trees, heavy with fruit, and—insolent as you are—your homes carved from the mountain stone? Fear Allah and obey me. Do not obey the bidding of the extravagant who make mischief in the land, and do not reform."

26:153 They said, "You are certainly one of the bewitched. You are only a man like us. Give us a sign if you are telling the truth."

26:155 He said, "Here is a she-camel. She has a right to drink from the well, and you have a right to drink from the well, each at a scheduled time. But do not harm her, or the punishment of a terrible day will overtake you."

26:157 But they hamstrung her, and then regretted it, so the punishment overtook them. Surely, there is a sign here, but most of them do not believe.

27:45 Long ago We sent to the Thamud their brother Salih saying, "Worship Allah." But they became two quarrelling factions. He said, "My people, why do you embrace evil, rather than good? Why do you not ask Allah's forgiveness so that you may receive mercy?"

27:47 They said, "We predict that you and your followers will bring us evil." He said, "The evil that you sense will befall you, will come from Allah. You are a people on trial."

27:48 In the city there were nine men from one family who made mischief in the land and would not reform. They said, "Swear to one another by Allah that we will attack Salih and

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his family at night, and we will tell his vengeance-seeking heirs that we did not see the murder of his family, and we will be telling the truth." They plotted and planned, but We also plotted, even though they did not realise. See how their plotting turned out. We destroyed them and their entire people. You may still see their ruined homes which were destroyed because they were wicked. Surely this is a sign for those who understand. We saved those who believed and acted righteously.

26:123 The people of Ad rejected the messengers. Their brother Hud said to them, "Will you not fear Allah? I am a faithful messenger worthy of all trust. Fear Allah and obey me. I ask for no reward. My reward comes only from the Lord of the worlds. What? Do you build monuments on every high place to amuse yourselves? Do you acquire fine buildings in the hope that you will live there forever? When you exert your power, do you do so like a tyrant? Fear Allah and obey me. Fear Him who has generously given you everything you know. Fear Him who has generously given you cattle, and children, and gardens, and fountains. Truly, I fear that you will have the punishment of a terrible day."

26:136 They said, "It does not matter to us if you warn us or not. This is just an ancient myth. We are not the ones who will be punished."

26:139 So they rejected him, and We destroyed them. Surely, there is a sign here, but most of them do not believe. Truly, your Lord, He is the mighty, the merciful!

26:176 The people who lived in the forest of Madian rejected the messengers. Their brother Shuaid said to them, "Will you not fear Allah? I am a faithful messenger worthy of all trust. Fear Allah and obey me. I ask for no reward. My reward comes only from the Lord of the worlds. Give just measure, and do not be one of those who give less than is due. Weigh with an exact balance. Do not cheat men of their goods, and do not do evil on the earth by making mischief. Fear Him who created you and your ancestors."

26:185 They said, "You are certainly one of the bewitched. You are only a man like us, and we think you are a liar. If you are telling the truth, make part of the sky fall down upon us."

26:188 He said, "My Lord knows everything you do."

26:189 When they rejected him, they were overtaken by the punishment of overshadowing gloom. This was surely the punishment of a terrible day! There is a sign here, but most of them do not believe. Truly, your Lord, He is the mighty, the merciful!

25:38 And Ad and Thamud, and the people of Rass [an unknown reference], and many generations between them: to each of them We sent parables and warnings, and We utterly destroyed each of them. Certainly the unbelievers must have passed by the city that We destroyed with a deadly rain. Have they not seen it with their own eyes? They do not hope to be resurrected.

15:78 The people who lived in the forest [perhaps Midian] were also sinners, so We took vengeance upon them, and they both were on an open road, and plain to see.

15:80 The people who lived in the rocky place [the people of Thamud] also rejected Allah's messengers. We sent Our signs to them, but they turned away from them. They cut their homes into the rock, feeling secure, but the cry overtook them in the morning, and all their efforts did nothing to help them.

71:1 We sent Noah to his people and said to him, "Warn your people before a terrible punishment befalls them." He said, "My people, I come to you as a plain-speaking warner. Serve and fear Allah and obey me. He will forgive you your sins and give you respite until the appointed time, because when Allah's appointed time has come, it can not be delayed. If only you knew this!"

71:5 He said, "Lord, I have cried to my people day and night; and my cries only increase their aversion. Whenever I cry to them so that you may forgive them, they cover their ears and cover themselves in their cloaks, and persist stubbornly in their error. Then I called loudly to them. Then I spoke plainly, and I spoke to them privately and I said, 'Beg your Lord for forgiveness because he is ready to forgive. He will open the sky and send down rain in abundance. He will increase your wealth and children and will give you gardens and rivers. What is the matter with you that you refuse to seek goodness from Allah's hand when it was Him who made you in diverse stages?'"

71:15 "Do you not see how Allah created the seven heavens and set them one above another? He placed the moon there and made it a light, and made the sun a lamp and placed it there, and Allah caused you to spring out of the earth like a plant. Later he will turn you back into the earth and bring you out again. Allah has spread the earth for you like a carpet so that you may walk there along spacious paths." Noah said, "Lord, they rebel against me and follow those whose wealth and children add only to their troubles."

71:22 And they devised a great plot. They said, "Do not forsake your gods; do not forsake Wadd, or Sowah, or Yaghuth nor Yahuk or Nesr [names of Semitic gods]." They have led many astray and have added only error to the ways of the wicked. Because of their sins, they were drowned and forced into the fire, and they discovered that Allah was their only shelter.

71:26 And Noah said, "Lord, do not leave one family of unbelievers alive on earth. Because if you do, then they will trick your servants and will only breed more sinners and unbelievers. Lord, forgive me and my parents and every believer that enters my house and all the male and female believers. Give nothing but destruction to the wicked."

37:75 Noah called upon Us long ago, and We promptly listened, and We saved him and his family from the great flood, and We made his offspring the survivors. We left for him honour through posterity, "Peace be on Noah throughout the worlds!"

37:80 This is how We reward the good, because he was one of Our believing servants, and We drowned the rest.

26:105 The people of Noah rejected the messengers when their brother Noah said to them, "Will you not fear Allah? I am a faithful messenger worthy of all trust. Fear Allah and obey me. I ask no reward from you for this because my reward comes only from the Lord of the worlds. Fear Allah and obey me."

26:111 They said, "Should we believe you when only the lowest people follow you?"

26:112 He answered, "I have no knowledge of their actions. Their account is only with my Lord if you could only understand this. I will not turn away those who believe, because I am only sent to publicly warn."

26:116 They said, "Noah, if you do not stop, you will certainly be stoned to death."

26:117 He said, "Lord, my people reject me. Judge between us, and save me and those believers with me."

26:119 So We saved him and those who went with him in the laden ark, and later We drowned the rest. Surely, there is a sign here, but most of them do not believe. Truly, your Lord, He is the mighty, the merciful!

23:23 It can not be disputed that We sent Noah to his people, and he said, "Oh, My people! Serve Allah. You have no other god but Him. Will you not fear Him?" But the chiefs of the unbelievers said, "He is a mere mortal, just like yourselves, who wishes to make himself superior to you. If Allah wished to send a message, then He would have sent angels. We 43

have never heard of such a thing from our ancestors." Others said, "He is only a madman; be patient with him for a while."

23:26 Noah said, "My Lord, help me. They accuse me of lying." So We inspired him with Our revelation: "Make an ark under Our eye and guidance. When We command and when the oceans overflow, load onto the ark pairs of every creature and your followers except those who have already been damned. Do not plead with Me on behalf of the wicked because they will be drowned.

23:28 When you and your followers are on the ark, say, "Praise be to Allah, who has rescued us from the wicked." And say, "Oh, my Lord! Allow me to disembark at a blessed landing-place because you are best able to bring us to safety." In this there are signs for men to recognize. We are always testing man.

23:31 After them, We created another generation. And We sent to them a messenger from their own people saying, "Worship Allah! You have no other god but Him. Will you not fear Him?" And the chiefs of his people were unbelievers who called the afterlife a lie. We had given them the pleasures of this life, and they said, "He is a man, just like yourselves; he eats what you eat, and he drinks what you drink. If you obey a mortal like yourselves, then you will certainly be doomed. Does he promise that you will be resurrected after you have died and become dust and bones? That which you are threatened with is very, very far from reality. There is nothing beyond our life in this world. We live and we die, and we will not be raised up again. He is merely a man who has invented a lie about Allah. We will not believe him."

23:39 He said, "My Lord, help me. They accuse me of lying."

23:40 Allah said, "In a short time they will quickly repent." Then the justice of the awful blast overtook them, and We turned them into so much rubbish swept away by a flood. So away with the wicked.

23:42 After them, We created other generations. No people may either hasten or delay their appointed time. Then We sent Our messengers one after another. Every time a messenger went forth to a nation, its people accused him of lying, so We caused them to follow one another into disaster, and We made them examples. So, away with the unbelievers.

23:45 Then We sent Moses and his brother Aaron with Our signs and a clear mandate to Pharaoh and his chiefs, who scorned them. They were an arrogant people. They said, "Shall we believe two mere mortals like ourselves whose people are our slaves?" So they denied them, and we made them another destroyed people. So away with the Pharaoh.

25:35 Long ago, We gave Moses the Book, and appointed his brother Aaron as his aide. We commanded them, "Both of you go to the people who have rejected Our signs." We absolutely destroyed those people. And the people of Noah, when they rejected the messengers, We drowned them and made them a sign for all men. We have prepared a terrible penalty for all the wicked.

21:76 Remember Noah when, long ago, he cried to us. We heard his prayer and saved him and his family from disaster. We saved him from the people who rejected Our signs. They were an evil people, and we drowned all of them.

21:78 Remember David and Solomon when they judged a dispute over strayed sheep and a pasture? We witnessed their judgment. We gave Solomon understanding of the dispute, and We gave each of them wisdom and knowledge. We made the mountains and the birds join with David in Our praise. We did all these things. We taught David the art of making coats of battle armor to protect you from one another's violence. Why will you not be thankful?

21:81 We made the wind subject to Solomon. At his bidding it flowed to the land We had blessed, because We know all things. We subdued the devils forcing them to dive for pearls for Solomon and do other work besides, and We kept close guard over them.

21:83 Remember Job when he cried to his Lord, "I am seized by evil, but You are the most merciful of the merciful." We heard his prayer, removed his distress, and returned his family to him doubled in size. This was a mercy from Us and a memorial for those who serve Us.

21:85 Remember Ishmael, Idris, and Zul-kifl [prophets of old, the identity of Zul-kifl is uncertain], all steadfast and patient men. We admitted them into Our mercy because they were righteous.

37:83 Truly, Abraham shared this faith when he brought a perfect heart to his Lord and he said to his father and to his people, "What are you worshiping? A lie! Do you want gods besides Allah? And what do you think about the Lord of the worlds?"

37:88 Then he looked up and gazed at the stars and said, "Truly, I am ill." [Abraham's peoples' worship involved the stars] And they turned their backs on him and left. He turned to the images of their gods and said, "Do you not eat? What is wrong with you? Why do you not speak?" He began to attack them, striking them with his right hand.

37:94 As his tribesmen came running back to him, he said, "Do you worship what you have carved when Allah has created you and what you make?" They said, "Build a pyre for him, and throw him into the blazing fire." They tried to plot against him, but We spoiled their plans. And Abraham said, "Truly, I will go to my Lord, and he will guide me. Oh Lord, give me a righteous son." We gave him the good news of a gentle son.

37:102 When the son [Ishmael] grew tall enough to work, his father said to him, "Son, a dream tells me that I should sacrifice you. What do you think?" He said, "Father, do what you are commanded. If Allah wills, you will find me patient."

37:103 After they had surrendered themselves to the will of Allah, he laid his son [Ishmael] face down. We cried out to him, "Abraham! You have satisfied the vision." See how We reward the righteous. This was obviously a clear test. And We ransomed his son with an impressive victim [a ram], and We left this for him to be honoured through posterity.

37:109 "Peace be on Abraham!" This is how We reward the good, because he was one of Our believing servants.

37:112 And We gave him the good news of the birth of Isaac—a righteous prophet—We bestowed Our blessing on him and Isaac. Among their descendents [the Jews] are some that do good and others that do harm to their souls.

19:41 And mention Abraham in the Scripture because he was a man of truth and a prophet. When he said to his father, "Father, why worship something that does not see, hear, or help you in the least? Father, knowledge has come to me that has not come to you. Follow me and I will lead you onto a straight and even path. Father, do not worship Satan because Satan is a rebel against Allah, the merciful. Father, I am afraid that a punishment from Allah, the merciful, will fall upon you and that you will become Satan's slave."

19:46 Abraham's father replied, "Do you reject my gods, Abraham? If you do not stop, I will certainly stone you. Go away from me for a long time."

19:47 Abraham said, "Peace be with you. I will pray to Allah for your forgiveness because He is always gracious to me. But I will turn away from you and the gods you pray to besides Allah. I will call upon my Lord. Perhaps my prayers will not go unanswered."

19:49 When he had separated himself from them and that which they worshiped besides Allah, We gave him Isaac and Jacob and made both of them prophets. In Our mercy, We gave gifts to them and gave them an exalted and true lasting reputation.

19:51 And mention Moses in the Scripture because he was a pure man. More than that, he was an apostle and a prophet. We called to him from the right side of the mountain and caused him to come close to Us for a secret conversation. In Our mercy, We gave to him his brother Aaron, a prophet.

19:54 And mention Ishmael in the Scripture because he was true to his promise and an apostle and a prophet. He urged his people to pray and give alms and was pleasing to his Lord.

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And mention Idris [an uncertain reference] in the Scripture. He was a man of truth and a prophet. We raised him to a lofty station.

37:139 Jonah was also one of those sent to warn. When he ran away to a laden ship, he agreed to cast lots with them and was condemned, and the fish swallowed him because he had committed wrong. But if he had not been one of those who glorify Allah, he would surely have stayed in its belly until Judgment Day. And We cast him sickly on the naked shore, and We caused a gourd-vine to grow above him, and We sent him to a hundred thousand people or more [in Ninevah, in Syria]. Because they believed, We allowed them to enjoy their lives for a while.

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

37:156 Will you listen to this warning, or do you have a clear authority? Produce your scripture if you are telling the truth. And they imagine him to be kin with the jinn, but the jinn have long known that they will appear before Allah.

37:159 Glory to Allah. He is free from what they falsely attribute to him. His faithful servants are sincere and devoted. Surely, you [the Meccans] and what you worship can not stir up anyone against Allah, except those who will burn in Hell. Everyone of us [the believers] has an appointed place, and we range ourselves in ranks and declare Allah's glory.

37:167 And if those unbelievers say, "If we had a revelation sent to us from the men of old, we would surely have been one of Allah's faithful servants." They do not believe the Koran, but they will learn its truth eventually. Our word went out long ago to Our servants the messengers, so they would be helped and so Our armies would be victorious.

37:174 So turn away from them [the Meccans] for a while and watch them, because they will soon see their doom. Would they hasten Our vengeance? When it comes home to them, those who have been warned will have an evil morning. So turn away from them for a while, and watch them, because they too will see their doom.

37:180 The glory of Allah, the Lord of all greatness, is far above what they ascribe to him. Peace be on His apostles! Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds.

21:87 Remember Zun-nun [Jonah], when he went away in anger and thought that We had no power over him. In the darkness, he cried, "There is no god but Allah. Glory to You. I was certainly wrong!" We heard his prayer, and we rescued him from his distress. This is how we save the faithful.

20:1 TA-HA. We did not send the Koran to you to cause you sadness, but as a warning for those who fear Allah. It is a message from Him who made the earth and the heavens above, Allah, the merciful, who sits on His throne. Whatever is in the heavens and the earth, everything in between, and under the ground is His! You do not need to speak loudly, because He knows the most secret whisper and what is even more hidden. Allah! There is no god but Him! He is known by the most beautiful names!

20:9 Have you heard the story of Moses? He saw a fire and said to his family, "Wait here. I see a fire. Maybe I can bring an ember from it, or find a guide there."

20:11 When he came to it, a voice called out, "Moses! I am your Lord. Take off your shoes. You are in the sacred Tuwa valley. I have chosen you. Listen to what I say. I am Allah. There is no god but Me. Worship Me and observe prayer to celebrate My praise. The Hour [Judgment Day] is certainly coming. I plan to keep it a secret so that all souls may be rewarded for their actions. Therefore do not let those who disbelieve and follow their lusts turn you away from the truth and cause your destruction.

20:17 What is that in your right hand, Moses?" He said, "It is my staff. I lean on it and beat the leaves down with it for my sheep, among other things." Allah said, "Throw it down, Moses!" He threw it down, and it turned into a slithering serpent. Allah said, "Grab it and do not be afraid. We will change it back to its former state. Now put your hand under your arm. It will come out white [with leprosy], but unhurt. Another sign so that We may show you Our greatest signs. Go to Pharaoh, because he has exceeded all limits."

20:25 Moses said, "My Lord, relieve my mind and make my task easy. Untie my tongue so they can understand what I say. Give me an assistant from my family—Aaron, my brother—add his strength to mine, and make him share my task. We will glorify you without pause, because you are always watching." He said, "Moses, your request is granted. We have shown you favor before. Our message to your mother inspired her saying: 'Put him into a chest and throw it in the river; the river will leave him on the bank where he will be found by an enemy to Me and to him.' But I cast my love down upon you so that you might be raised under my eye."

20:40 "Your sister went and said, 'May I bring you someone to nurse him?' Then We returned you to your mother so that her tears would be dried, and so she would not grieve. When you killed a man, We saved you from trouble, and tried you severely. You stayed with the Median [a city on the Red Sea] people for many years, and then you came here by My decree. I have chosen you for Myself. You and your brother go with My signs and do not fail to remember Me. Go to Pharaoh, because he has exceeded all limits, but speak gently to him; hopefully, he will listen or be afraid."

20:45 They said, "Lord, we are afraid that he will be arrogant toward us, or try to harm us."

20:46 He said, "Do not be afraid, because I am with the both of you. I will listen and watch over you. Go to him and say, 'Surely we have been sent by your Lord. Let the Children of Israel go with us and do not torment them. We bring you a sign from your Lord, and peace to him who follows His guidance. It has been revealed to us that those who reject him and turn away will be punished."'

20:49 And Pharaoh said, "Who is your Lord, Moses?"

20:50 Moses said, "Our Lord is the One who created everything and gave it all purpose."

20:51 Pharaoh replied, "What is the state of the previous generations?"

20:52 Moses said, "That knowledge is with My Lord, recorded in His book. My Lord never errs and He never forgets. He has spread the earth for you like a carpet and made paths for you to follow. He has sent down the rain from heaven, and from that we produce the various herbs: (Saying) 'Eat and feed your cattle. Surely, there are signs here for a thinking man. We created you from it, we will return you to it, and from it we will raise you a second time.'"

20:56 We showed him all of Our signs, but he rejected and refused them. He said, "Moses, have you come to drive us from our land with your magic? We will surely produce magic to match your own. Let us schedule a contest—which neither of us should miss—in a neutral location."

20:59 Moses said, "Let us meet on the day of the feast. Gather the people together at mid-day."

20:60 So Pharaoh and his magicians made their plans and came to the meeting.

20:61 Moses said to them, "Woe to you! Do not invent a lie against Allah, or He will destroy you with His punishment. A liar is always destroyed."

20:62 The magicians discussed their plans in secret. They said, "These two are expert magicians who plan to drive you from your land with their magic and to destroy your way of life. Make your plans and come and form ranks. Whoever wins today will gain the upper hand." They said, "Moses, will you throw down your rod first, or shall we?" He said, "You cast first." Then, through their magic, their ropes and rods appeared to run, and Moses became afraid.

20:68 We said, "Do not be afraid, you will have the upper hand. Cast down what is in your right hand. It will swallow up what they have made because it is nothing but a magicians trick, and a magician, no matter how good, will not be successful."

20:70 The magicians threw themselves down and worshipped. They said, "We believe in the Lord of Moses and Aaron." Pharaoh said, "Will you believe in him before I give my permission? This must be the master who taught you your magic. I will cut off your hands and feet on opposite sides and crucify you on the trunks of palm trees, and you will surely learn then which of us gives the more terrible and long-lasting punishment."

20:72 They said, "We will never have more regard for you than we do for the clear signs that have been revealed to us, or than we have for our creator. So decree whatever you will decree. Your decrees are only good in this life. We believe in our Lord that He may forgive our sins and magic which you forced upon us. Allah is better and more lasting than you. Hell surely waits for the guilty who come before their Lord. There they will neither live nor die, but lofty positions wait for the believers who come righteously before their Lord! They will dwell in eternal gardens with underground rivers. This is the reward of the pure."

20:77 We revealed to Moses, "Take away My servants and travel by night. Cleave a dry path through the sea for them. Do not be afraid of being overtaken and have no fear." Pharaoh and his army followed, but the sea overwhelmed them, because he misled his people by not guiding them.

20:80 Children of Israel! We saved you from your enemies, and We made a pact with you on the sacred side of the mountain and sent down to you manna and quails. We said, "Eat the good things that We have given you, but not to excess, or My wrath may fall on you, and whoever My wrath falls upon will surely perish. I will surely forgive him who turns to Allah and believes and does good deeds, and listens to guidance."

20:83 (Allah said) "Moses, why have you hurried ahead of your people?"

20:84 Moses said, "Lord, they are right behind me, but I have hurried to be with you to please you."

20:85 He said, "We have tested your people while you were gone, and Samiri [The identity of Samiri is not known] has led them astray."

20:86 Moses returned to his people angry and sad. He said, "My People, did your Lord not promise you a good promise? Was I gone from you too long, or did you break your promise with me because you wanted to anger your Lord?"

20:87 "We did not want to break our promise with you, but we had to carry the people's ornaments, so Samiri suggested we throw them in the fire." Then he brought out of the fire the image of a lowing calf. They cried, "This is your god and the god of Moses, but he has forgotten."

20:89 What! Did they not see that it could not reply to them and could not help or hurt them?

20:90 Aaron had already told them, "People, You are being tested. Surely your Lord is the god of Mercy: Follow and obey me."

20:91 They said, "We will not stop worshiping it until Moses returns."

20:92 Moses said, "Aaron, when you saw that they had gone astray, why did you not come and get me? Did you disobey my order?"

20:94 He said, "Son of my mother! Do not grab me by the beard or the head. I was afraid that you would say that I caused a division among the Children of Israel, and did not wait for your word."

20:95 Moses said, "Samiri, what was your motive?" He replied, "I saw what they did not. My soul prompted me, so I took a handful of dust from the footprint of Allah's messenger and flung it into the calf."

20:97 Moses said, "Go away. Surely your punishment in this life will be to say, 'Do not touch me.' And there is a sentence against you that you cannot avoid. Now look at the god that you are so devoted to. We will certainly burn it to ashes and scatter them on the sea. Your god is Allah. There is no god, but Allah. He knows all things."

Go to the Wicked People

26:10 Remember when your Lord said to Moses, "Go to the wicked people, the people of Pharaoh. Will they not fear me?" He said, "My Lord, truthfully, I am afraid they will reject me, and I will be embarrassed, and I may not speak clearly. Send for Aaron to help me. They have charged me with a crime [Moses had killed an Egyptian], and I'm afraid that they will kill me." Allah said, "Certainly not. Both of you go with Our signs. We will be with you, listening. Go to Pharaoh and say, 'Truly, we are the messengers of the Lord of the worlds. Let the Children of Israel go with us."

26:18 Pharaoh said, "Did we not raise you among us when you were a child? Did you not spend many years of your life among us? And still you have done what you have done! You are one of the ungrateful."

26:20 Moses said, "I did it then when I was in error. I fled from you, because I was afraid, but My Lord has given me wisdom and has made me one of His apostles. And what is this favor you remind me of—that you have enslaved the Children of Israel?"

26:23 Pharaoh said, "Who is the Lord of the worlds?"

26:24 Moses replied, "The Lord of the heavens and of the earth and everything in between if you only believed."

26:25 Pharaoh said to those near him, "Do you hear this?"

26:26 "Your Lord," said Moses, "and the Lord of your ancestors."

26:27 "Truly, the apostle that has been sent," said Pharaoh, "is insane."

26:28 Moses said, "He is the Lord of the east, and the west, and everything between, if only you understood."

26:29 Pharaoh said, "If you worship any god beside me, I will certainly imprison you."

26:30 Moses replied, "Even if I give you proof of my mission?"

26:31 Pharaoh said, "Show your proof if you are telling the truth." He then threw down his staff, and it clearly became a snake. He drew his hand out from under his cloak and it was white [with leprosy] for all to see. Pharaoh said to his nobles surrounding him, "This is truly a skillful sorcerer. His plan is to drive you from your land with his magic. What do you suggest?" They said, "Put him and his brother off for awhile, and send messengers to all the cities, to bring you every skilled magician."

26:38 So the magicians were all gathered together at a set time on an appointed day. And it was said to the people: "Is everyone here?" "Yes, and we will follow the magicians if they win."

26:41 "When the magicians arrived, they said to Pharaoh, "Will we be rewarded if we win?" He said, "Yes, certainly. If you do, you will be among those who are near my person."

26:43 Moses said to them, "Throw what you have to throw." So they threw down their ropes and staffs and said, "By the might of Pharaoh, we will certainly win." Then Moses threw down his staff, and it swallowed up the false illusions. The magicians threw themselves down in awe. They said, "We believe in the Lord of the worlds, the Lord of Moses and Aaron."

26:49 Pharaoh said, "So, you believe in him before I give you permission? Certainly, then, he is your master and the one who taught you your magic. But you will soon know my power. I will cut off your hands and feet on opposite sides and

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then crucify all of you." They said, "It cannot harm us, we will return to our Lord. We hope that our Lord will forgive our sins since we are the first of the believers."

26:52 We then revealed to Moses, "Take away My servants, and leave at night because you will be pursued." And Pharaoh sent messengers throughout the cities: "These Israelites are only a small band. They may rage against us, but we are a vigilant, great army."

26:57 So we expelled them from gardens, and fountains, and treasures, and fine buildings. So it happened, and we gave their things to the children of Israel as an inheritance. At sunrise the Egyptians followed them. When the two groups saw each other, the people of Moses said, "We are sure to be caught." He said, "Certainly not. My Lord is with me. He will guide me." We then revealed to Moses, "Strike the sea with your staff." It split in two, each part like a huge mountain. We made the others follow them to that place. We saved Moses and all of his followers, but We drowned the others. Surely this is a sign, but most of them did not believe.

26:68 But truly, your Lord, He is mighty and merciful!

26:69 Recite to them the story of Abraham. When he said to his father and his people, "What do you worship?"

26:71 They said, "We worship idols and give them constant devotion."

26:72 He said, "Do they hear you when you call to them? Do they help you, or do you harm?"

26:74 They said, "No, but it is what our fathers did."

26:75 He said, "Do you see what you have been worshiping? You and your ancestors are my enemies, but not the Lord of the worlds. He created me and guides me, and He gives me food and drink. When I am sick, He heals me, He causes me to die and then gives me rebirth, and, I hope, He will forgive me my sins on the Judgment Day."

26:83 "My Lord, give me wisdom and unite me with the righteous, give me a good name in posterity, and make me an heir of the Garden of Delight. Forgive my father because he was one of those who have gone astray. Do not let me be disgraced when men are raised up, on the day when neither riches or children will help, except for those who come to Allah with a sound heart. Paradise will be brought close to the righteous and Hell opened for those who have gone astray. It will be said to them, 'Where are the gods whom you worshipped besides Allah? Can they harm you or help themselves?'"

26:94 "And they will be cast into the fire—the seducers and the seduced and all the hosts of Iblis [Satan]. They will say, as they quarrel among themselves, 'Allah, we were plainly in error when we made our deities equal with the Lord of the worlds. It was the wicked who misled us, and we have no one to plead for us and no friend who cares for us. If we could only return, we would be believers.'"

26:103 Surely, there is a sign here, but most of them do not believe. Truly, your Lord, He is mighty and merciful!

43:46 Earlier We sent Moses with Our signs to Pharaoh and his chiefs, and he said, "I am a messenger of the Lord of the worlds." But when he came to them with Our signs, they laughed at them. We showed them many signs, each greater than the last, and We punished them so that they might turn to Us. And they said, " Oh, sorcerer, for our sake call upon your Lord. You have a covenant with Him. We will certainly follow the right guidance." But when We removed the punishment, they broke their word.

43:51 And Pharaoh made a proclamation to his people saying, "My people, doesn't the kingdom of Egypt belong to me, as well as the rivers that flow at my feet? Do you not see? I am certainly better than this man, who is a contemptible wretch and who can barely make himself understood. Why hasn't he been given gold bracelets, and why have angels not accompanied him on his mission?" This is how he incited his people to mock Moses, and they obeyed him. They were truly an evil people. Then, when they angered Us, We punished them by drowning them all. We made them a people of the past and an example for the future.

17:101 We gave Moses nine clear signs. Ask the children of Israel how it was when he came to them and Pharaoh said to him, "I think that you are a madman." Moses said, "Truly you know that no one but the Lord of the heavens and the earth has sent these signs as clear proof, and truly I think that you are a lost soul." So Pharaoh wished to wipe them from the face of the earth, but We destroyed him and all of his followers. After his death, We said to the Children of Israel, "Dwell safely here in the land of promise, but when the promise of the hereafter comes to pass, We will assemble you and the other nations together in judgment.

27:7 Recall when Moses said to his family, "I see a distant fire. I will go there and bring news or, if nothing else, a burning ember so that you may warm yourselves. When he came upon the fire, a voice said to him, "Blessed are those in the fire and those near by. Glory to Allah, the Lord of the worlds! Moses, throw down your staff!" But when he saw it writhing like a snake, he turned to run away. A voice called out, "Moses, do not be afraid. Truly, a prophet has nothing to fear in My presence, even he who has done wrong but afterwards does good instead of evil, because I am the forgiving, the merciful. Place your hand inside the bosom of your cloak. It will come out white [like a leper] but uninjured. This will be one of nine signs that you will take to Pharaoh and his people; they are certainly a wicked people."

27:13 But when Our signs were brought to them, they said, "This is obviously witchcraft!" And they unjustly and arrogantly rejected those signs, even though their souls were convinced of their truth. Consider the consequences for the wicked.

25:35 Long ago, We gave Moses the Book, and appointed his brother Aaron as his aide. We commanded them, "Both of you go to the people who have rejected Our signs." We absolutely destroyed those people. And the people of Noah, when they rejected the messengers, We drowned them and made them a sign for all men. We have prepared a terrible penalty for all the wicked.

17:88 Say: If men and jinn were assembled to produce something like this Koran, they could not produce its equal, even though they assisted each other. And certainly in this Koran We have explained to man every kind of argument, and yet most men refuse everything except disbelief. They [the Meccans] say, "We will not believe in you until you cause a spring to gush forth from the earth for us; or until you have a garden of date trees and grape vines, and cause rivers to gush abundantly in their midst; or when you cause the sky to fall down in pieces, as you claim will happen; or when you bring us face-to-face with Allah and the angels; or when you have a house of gold; or when you ascend into heaven; and even then we will not believe in your ascension until you bring down a book for us which we may read." Say: Glory be to my Lord! Am I nothing except a man, a messenger?

17:94 What keeps men from believing when guidance has come to them but that they say, "Has Allah sent a man like us to be His messenger?" Say: If angels walked the earth, We would have sent down from heaven an angel as Our messenger. Say: Allah is a sufficient witness between you and me. He is well acquainted with His servants and He sees everything.

17:97 Whoever Allah guides, he is a follower of the right way, and whoever He causes to err, they shall not find any to assist them but Him. We will gather them together on the Resurrection Day, face down, blind, deaf, and dumb. Hell will be their home. Every time its flames die down, We will add fuel to the Fire. This is their reward because they did not believe Our signs and said, "When we are reduced to bones and dust, will we really be raised up as a new creation?"

17:99 Do they not realise that Allah, Who created the heavens and the earth, is able to create the likes of them? He has appointed a duration for them that can not be denied, but the wicked deny everything except disbelief. Say: If you controlled the treasures of the mercy of my Lord, you would be afraid to spend them because man is miserly.

25:3 Still they have worshiped other gods, besides Him, who have created nothing and were themselves created. They are powerless to work good or evil for themselves, nor can they control life or death or resurrection. But the unbelievers say, "This [the Koran] is nothing but a lie which he [Mohammed] has created with the assistance of others producing slander and injustice."

25:5 They say, " These are ancient fables that he has written down. They are dictated to him morning and night."

25:6 Say: The Koran was revealed by Him who knows the secrets of the heavens and the earth. He is truly forgiving and merciful.

43:21 Are they clinging to a scripture that We had given them earlier? No! They say, "Our fathers followed a certain religion, and we are guided by their footsteps." And so, whenever We sent a messenger before you to an erring people, their wealthy said, "Our fathers followed a certain religion, and we are guided by their footsteps." The messenger said, "What! Even if I bring you better guidance than your fathers had?" They replied, "We do not believe what you say." So We punished them. Now see what comes to those who reject truth!

27:76 Surely this Koran explains to the Children of Israel most of the issues upon which they disagree. Certainly it is a guide and a mercy for those who believe. Surely your Lord will use His wisdom to judge between them. He is the mighty and the all-knowing. So put your trust in Allah. Surely, you are on the path to the plain truth.

27:80 You can not make the dead listen or the deaf to hear, when they have turned to flee, nor can you guide the blind from their errors. You can not make any listen except those who believe our revelations and who have submitted to Islam. When the Word against them is fulfilled, We will send a monster created from the earth to speak to them because mankind did not believe Our signs. One day We will gather together, from all peoples, a group of those who rejected Our signs and organize them into ranks until, when they come before their Lord, He will say, "Did you reject My signs because you could not understand them? What was it that you were doing?" And the Word will be fulfilled against them, because of their wickedness. They will be unable to speak in their own defense.

17:2 We gave the Book [the Torah] to Moses and made it a guide for the Children of Israel, commanding, "Do not take another guardian besides me." You descendents of the people We carried to safety with Noah! He was a grateful servant. In the Book We gave clear warning to the Children of Israel that they would twice commit wickedness on the earth and be filled with arrogance. Upon the first warning we sent Our mighty and war-like servants against you [the Syrians conquered the Jews]. They went from house to house, and Our warning was completely fulfilled. Later, in turn, We made you masters over them and increased your resources and children and made your armies much larger. We said, "If you do well, you will do well for yourselves; if you do evil, you will do it against yourselves." So, when the second warning came, We sent another people to bring grief to you [the Romans conquered the Jews], and to enter the temple as they did before and to utterly destroy all that came under their control.

17:45 When you recite the Koran, We place an invisible barrier between you and the unbelievers. We place veils over their hearts and deafness in their ears so that they do not understand it, and when you mention only your Lord, Allah, in the Koran, they turn their backs and flee from the truth. We know absolutely what they listen to when they listen to you, and when they speak privately, the wicked say, "You follow a mad man!" See what they compare you to. But they have gone astray and cannot find the way.

17:49 They say, "When we are nothing but bones and dust, will we really be raised up from the dead to be a new creation?" Say: Yes, whether you be stones, or iron, or any other thing which you conceive to be harder to resurrect." When they say, "Who will bring us back to life?" Say: He who created you the first time. They will shake their heads at you and say, "When will this happen?" Say to them, "Perhaps it will be soon—a day when He will call you, and you will answer by praising Him, and you will think that you have waited only a little while!"

17:53 Tell my servants to speak kindly. Satan will try to sow dissension among them because he is the sworn enemy of man.

17:54 Your Lord knows you best. If He pleases, He will have mercy upon you, or if He wishes, He will punish you. We have not sent you [Mohammed] to watch over them [the Meccans]. Your Lord has absolute knowledge of everything in the heavens and the earth. We have made some prophets excel others, and We gave the Psalms to David.

43:5 Should We take the message away from you [the Meccans] because you are sinners? How many prophets did We send among the ancient peoples? They mocked every prophet that came to them. We destroyed nations mightier than these today, and the example of the older generations has passed away.

43:9 If you were to ask them [the Meccans] who created the heavens and the earth, they would say, "The mighty, the knowing One has created them." He made the earth a resting place for you and laid out paths for you to find your way. He sends down measured amounts of rain from the sky, which We use to resurrect a dead land just as you will be resurrected. He created all the mated pairs and made ships and animals to carry you along so that you may sit squarely and firmly on their backs. When you are firmly mounted, remember to celebrate your Lord's blessing. Say: Glory to Him that has subjugated these animals for our use when we were incapable of doing so. Surely, we will all return to Our Lord.

43:15 And yet, they say some of His servants are really His children [Jesus]! Certainly man is clearly ungrateful. What? Has Allah adopted daughters from among His creations [the Meccans said that angels were the daughters of Allah] and chosen sons for you? Allah's face darkens and He becomes filled with anger when He hears that one of His servants is set up as His likeness.

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

43:29 I have allowed these men and their fathers to enjoy the pleasurable things of this life until the truth comes to them and a messenger makes things clear.

43:30 But when the truth came to them, they said: "This is trickery, and we reject it." And they say, "Why was this Koran not revealed to a great man of one of the two cities [Mecca and Taif]?"

43:32 Will they distribute Allah's mercy? We distribute among them their worldly success, and We exalt some of them above the others in ranks, subjecting some to others. Your Lord's mercy is greater than the wealth they amass. And if it were not probable that all humanity might become a single nation of unbelievers, We would have given silver roofs and staircases to everyone, and silver doors for their homes, and silver couches on which to recline, and ornaments of gold, but these are merely luxuries of this world's life. The afterlife with your Lord is for the righteous.

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43:36 We assign a devil as a companion for those who turn their backs and neglect to remember Allah. Satan will certainly turn man from the way of Allah, even though he believes he is being guided correctly. On the day when man comes before Us, he will say, "Satan, I wish that the distance between east and west separated us." Satan is a wretched companion. But that realisation will not help you that day, because you were unjust, and you will share the punishment. Can you make the deaf listen or guide the blind and those clearly in error?

43:41 Even if We took you [Mohammed] away, We would surely take vengeance upon them; even though We showed you what We have promised them, We would still have total control over them. So keep a firm hold on the revelation sent to you; surely you are on the right path. The Koran is indeed the message for you and your people, and you shall all be soon brought to account.

43:45 And ask Our messengers that We sent before you [Mohammed]: have We ever appointed gods to be worshipped along with the merciful Allah?

21:1 Man's final reckoning draws ever closer to him, and yet he heedlessly continues to turn away. Every new warning that comes to him from his Lord is ridiculed. The wicked confer secretly and say, "Is he a man like you, or something more? Will you succumb to witchcraft with your eyes wide open?"

21:4 Say: My Lord knows what is spoken in the heavens and on earth. He is the hearer and the knower of all things.

21:5 They say, "No, This is nothing but jumbled dreams. He made it up. He is just a crazy poet! We want him to bring us a sign similar to those given to the prophets of the past!" Up to their time, despite Our warnings, not a single city that We destroyed believed. Will these people believe?

21:7 Before you, Our messengers were also men to whom We sent a revelation. If you do not know this, you should ask someone who has received the Message. We did not give them bodies that did not need food, and they would not live forever. In the end, We kept Our promise, and We saved whom We pleased and destroyed the sinners. Now We have given you a book [the Koran] that contains the message for you. Now will you understand?

21:11 How many wicked cities have We destroyed and replaced with another people? And still, when they sensed Our punishment, they began to run. It was said to them, "Do not run. Return to your homes and easy lives so that you may be called to account for your actions." They said, "Oh no! We were certainly wicked!" This cry of theirs did not stop until We mowed them down and left them like reaped grain.

29:12 The unbelievers say to the faithful, "Follow our way, and we will bear your sins." They cannot bear anyone's sins—they are liars. They will bear their own burdens, and they will bear burdens beside their own. On Judgment Day they will be called into account for their inventions.

29:14 We sent Noah to his people, and he was with them a thousand years save fifty, and the flood overtook them for they were wrongdoers. We rescued him and those who were in the ark, and We made it a sign to all men. And remember Abraham when he said to his people, "Worship Allah and fear Him. This will be best for you if you understand."

29:17 You only worship idols besides Allah and are the authors of a lie. Those you worship besides Allah can give you no sustenance. Seek sustenance from Allah and serve Him and give Him thanks. You will return to Him. If you reject the truth, there were nations before you who treated Allah's messenger as a liar. The only duty of the messenger is to convey the message clearly. Do they not see how Allah conceives the creation and can recreate it? This truly is easy for Allah.

43:57 When Jesus, the son of Mary, is held up as an example, your people laugh out loud and say, "Are our gods better, or is he?" They raise the question merely to provoke you [Mohammed]. They are a contentious people. He was nothing but a servant upon whom We granted favor and of whom We made an example for the children of Israel. If it were Our Wish, We could make angels from among you to be your successors on the earth. Jesus will be a sign for the Hour of Judgment. Therefore have no doubts about it, but instead follow Me. This is the right path. Do not let Satan deter you. Surely he is your sworn enemy.

43:64 When Jesus came with clear proof of Allah's sovereignty, he said, "I come to you with wisdom and to clear up some things which you dispute. Therefore fear Allah and obey me. Allah is my Lord and yours. Worship Him. This is the right path."

43:65 But the factions among them [Christians] fell into disagreement, so woe to wrong-doers from the punishment of a terrible day. Do they wait only for the Hour of Judgment that it should come upon them suddenly when they least expect it? On that day, friends will become enemies to one another, except those who kept faith with Allah.

18:1 Praise be to Allah Who has revealed the Book to His servant and Who has not placed into it any deceit.

18:2 He has made it very clear in order to warn of a terrible punishment from Him and to give good news to the righteous believers of a substantial reward of Paradise, where they will remain for ever after.

18:4 Warn those [Christians] who say, "Allah has fathered a son." They do not have any proof about that and neither did their fathers. It is a terrible thing that comes from their mouths. They say nothing but lies. You may worry yourself to death fretting because they do not believe this message.

18:7 The things which are on the earth are mere decorations so We may test mankind and determine who has acted best. But We will soon reduce everything on it to dust.

17:56 Say: Call on those whom you claim to be gods besides Allah. They have neither the power to remove your troubles, nor to change them.

17:57 Those whom they call upon themselves seek access to their Lord and strive to be closest to Him. They, too, hope for His mercy and fear His punishment. Certainly, your Lord's punishment is something to be afraid of. There is not a single city that We will not destroy or punish before the Resurrection Day. This is written in the Book. We have refrained from sending Our signs because the men of earlier generations have rejected them as lies. We gave the she-camel to Thamud [the people of a ruined Nabatean city near Medina] as a sign, but they mistreated her. We send signs only to make men fear.

17:60 Remember when We said to you, "Your Lord encompasses mankind." We created the vision which We showed you and also the cursed tree [the tree of Hell] in the Koran to be a trial for men. We terrorize and warn them, but it only increases their great wickedness.

17:61 Recall what We said to the angels, "Bow down before Adam." All except Iblis [Satan] bowed down. He said, "Why should I bow down to someone whom You created from clay? Do You see this creature whom You have honoured above me? If you will give me respite until the Resurrection Day, I will destroy all except a few of his descendents."

17:63 Allah said, "Go! If any of them follow you, then Hell will be a fitting payment for all of you. Beguile any of them that you can with your voice, urge your infantry and cavalry against them, be their partner in wealth and children, and promise them anything. But Satan promises only to deceive. As for My servants, you will have no authority over them." Your Lord is sufficient to be their protector.

17:66 It is your Lord who speeds the ship across the sea for you so that you might seek His bounty. He is most merciful to you. When distress comes upon you at sea, those whom you call upon [false gods] cannot be found. Only Allah is there. When He delivers you safely to land, you turn away from Him. Man is ungrateful. Are you confidant that He will not cause you to be swallowed by the earth or that He will not send a deadly storm against you? You will have no protector if He does. Or do you feel secure that He will not send you to sea a second time and cause a fierce gale to drown you because of your ingratitude? You will have no one to help you against Us, if He does.

17:70 We have honoured the children of Adam. We carry them over the land and sea and have provided them with the good things, and We have given them special favors far beyond what We have given most of Our other creations.

17:71 One day We will summon all men and their leaders. Those who receive their record [the book of life's deeds recorded by an angel] in their right hand will read it and will not be harmed in the least. But those who were blind in this world will be blind in the next and even further from the path. Their [the Meccans'] purpose was to turn you away from Our revelation and to substitute an invention [soften the condemnation of the ancient Arabic religion and customs] the in Our name. If this had occurred, then they would certainly have accepted your friendship. If We had not given you strength, then you would have been apt to be a little sympathetic towards them.

38:71 When your Lord said to the angels, "I am about to create man from clay, and when I have shaped him and breathed My spirit into him, then fall down and worship him." And all of the angels prostrated themselves except Iblis. He was proud and became an unbeliever.

38:75 Allah said, "Iblis, what prevents you from prostrating yourself to him whom I have created with My hands? Are you too proud, or are you one of the exalted ones?"

38:76 He replied, "I am better than he is. You created me from fire, and you made him from clay."

38:77 Allah said, "Then get out of here because you are cursed, and My curse is on you until the Judgment Day."

38:79 He said, "Lord, give me respite until the Judgment Day."

38:80 Allah said, "Then you will be reprieved until the Judgment Day."

38:82 He said, "I swear by your power. I will seduce all of them to evil, except your sincere servants."

38:84 Allah said, "Then it is true, just, and fitting, and I speak the truth when I say that I will certainly fill Hell with you and every one of your followers."

38:86 Say: I do not ask any reward for this, and I am no pretender. This is nothing but a reminder to all men. And after a while, you will come to realise the truth.

7:204 And when the Koran is read, listen to it with attention and hold your peace that mercy may be shown to you. Remember the Lord humbly within yourself in a low voice in the mornings and the evenings [prayer]. Do not be one of the neglectful ones. Those who are with the Lord are not too proud to serve Him. They celebrate His praises and prostrate themselves before Him. 60

16:104 Allah will not guide those who do not believe, and they will have a painful punishment. Those who do not believe in Allah's revelations forge lies. They are the liars.

16:106 Those who disbelieve in Allah after having believed [became apostates], who open their hearts to disbelief, will feel the wrath of Allah and will have a terrible punishment. (But there is no punishment for anyone who is compelled by force to deny Allah in words, but whose heart is faithful) This is because they love the life in this world more than the afterlife and because Allah does not guide unbelievers. Allah has sealed the hearts, ears, and eyes of those people, and so they are heedless. Undoubtedly, they will be the losers in the afterlife.

34:39 Say: My Lord will be liberal or sparing in supplies with whom He pleases of his servants, and whatever you spend for good, He will replace it; He is the best provider. One day He will gather His angels all together, and He will say, "Did these men worship you?" They will say, "Glory to you. You are our guardian, not them. No, they worshipped the jinn. Most of them believed in them." So on this day they will not have power over one another for profit or harm, and We will say to the evildoers, "Taste the torment of the Fire, which you called a lie."

34:43 For when Our clear signs are recited to them, they say, "This is merely a man who would turn you away from your father's religion." They say, "This (Koran) is only a lie." And when they hear the truth, the unbelievers say, "This is nothing but clear sorcery." Yet We did not give them any books to study deeply, nor have We sent them a messenger with warnings. Those before them rejected the truth, but they have not given Us a tenth of what We have given to them. When they rejected My messengers, My vengeance was terrible.

34:46 Say: I advise you in one thing: that you stand up before Allah and reflect. There is no madness in your fellow citizen [Mohammed]. He is only your warner before a severe punishment.

34:47 Say: I do not ask any reward from you. Keep it for yourselves. My reward is from Allah alone. He is witness to all things. Say: Truly my Lord sends the truth. He knows the unseen. Say: The truth has come, and falsehood will vanish and not return. Say: If I am wrong, it will cost my own soul. If I am guided, it is because of what my Lord reveals to me for He Hears all things and is near.

34:51 If you could see them when they are seized with terror. There will be no escape, and they will be taken from their graves. And they will say, "We believe in the truth," but how can they reach faith in this life? They rejected faith before, and they aimed slanders at the mysteries. A barrier will be placed between them and their desires as was done with those who doubted.

6:66 But your people call it [the Koran] a lie, though it is the truth. Say: I am not in charge of you. For every prophecy there is a set time, and you will soon know it. And when you see men ridiculing with Our revelations, turn away from them until they turn to other talk. And if Satan makes you forget, as soon as you remember, leave the scoffers.

6:69 Those who fear Allah are not to pass judgment upon the unjust, but their duty is to remind them so that they may fear Him and guard themselves from evil. Avoid those who make their religion a pastime and a mockery and are deceived by life in this world, but warn them that every soul is damned by its own actions. They will have no protector beside Allah, and if they offered the fullest ransom, it would not be accepted. They will perish by their own acts. The unbelievers will drink only boiling water and suffer grievous torment.

6:71 Say: Should we call on gods besides Allah—those who can neither help nor hurt us—a and turn on our heels after Allah has guided us? Do not be some bewildered man whom the devils have made into a fool, blundering over the earth, while his friends call him to the right path saying, "Come to us?" Say: Allah's guidance is the true guidance. We submit to the Lord of the worlds.

6:72 Establish regular prayers, and be dutiful to Allah for it is to Him that we shall be gathered. It is He who created the heavens and the earth, in truth. The day He says "Be," it is. His word is the truth. His is the kingdom on the day when the trumpet will blow. He knows the visible and the invisible, alike. He is wise and knowing.

11:50 We sent their brother Hud to the Ad people. He said, "Oh, my people, worship Allah. You have no god beside Him. You only invent your other gods. Oh, my people, I ask you for no payment for this message. My reward is only with Him who made me. Will you not understand? Oh, my people, ask pardon of your Lord. Turn to Him and repent. He will send

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clouds with ample rain and will give you additional strength. Do not turn back with deeds of evil."

11:53 They said, "Oh, Hud, you have not brought us clear proofs of your mission. We will not abandon our gods at your word because we do not believe you."

11:54 They said, "We can only say that some of our gods may have seized you with evil."

11:55 Hud said, "With Allah as my witness and you as witnesses also, I am innocent of your joining other gods to Allah. So conspire against me all of you, and do not grant me a delay. I trust in Allah, my Lord and yours. There is not a single beast that He does not hold by the hairs on its head. My Lord is truly on the right path. If you turn back, at least I have already delivered my message to you. My Lord will put another people in your place. You cannot hurt Him. My Lord is guardian over all things." When We inflicted Our doom, We rescued Hud and those who believed with Him by Our special mercy. We rescued them from a severe penalty.

11:59 The men of Ad [an ancient people of southern Arabia] rejected signs of their Lord, rebelled against His messengers, and followed the bidding of every proud, defiant person. They were cursed in this world, and on Resurrection Day it will be said to them, "Did Ad not reject their Lord?" The people of Ad were cast far away.

46:21 Keep in mind the brother of Ad; he warned his people in the sand dunes. There have been others who have warned people saying, "Worship none but Allah. I fear a great day of punishment for you."

46:22 They said, "Have you come to turn us away from our gods? Then bring on the scourge if you're telling the truth."

46:23 "Only Allah knows that," he said, "I merely deliver the message, but I see that you are ignorant."

46:24 Then they saw a cloud coming into their valley. They said, "The cloud is bringing us rain." No, it is the scourge you sought, a wind that carries agonizing retribution. Everything was destroyed by the command of the Lord. Morning rose on empty houses—the reward of the guilty.

46:26 We had empowered them while We have not empowered you. We had given them ears, eyes, and hearts, but their ears, eyes, and hearts did nothing to aid them while they spurned the signs of Allah. The punishment they had mocked encompassed them on all sides. We decimated the cities around you then renewed our message so that they might return to Us. But why did not their other gods besides Allah help them? No, those gods withdrew from them. That was their delusion and scheme.

29:38 Remember that We destroyed the Ad [an ancient people of southern Arabia] and the Thamud [Thamud was a trade town in ruins north of Mecca]. This is apparent to you in the ruins of their dwellings. For Satan made their deeds seem fair to them and drew them from the right path, even though they could see clearly.

29:39 Remember too, Korah, and Pharaoh, and Haman. Moses came to them with clear proof of his mission, and they were arrogant, but they were powerless. We seized every one of them for his sin. Against some We sent a stone-charged wind. Some of them were surprised by the terrible cry of Gabriel. For some of them We opened up the earth, and some of them We drowned. It was not Allah who dealt wrongly with them, they wronged themselves.

11:84 We sent their brother Shuaib to Midian. He said, "Oh, my people, worship Allah. You have no other god than He. Do not give short weight and measure. I see you are prosperous, but I fear you will receive the punishment of the all-encompassing day. "Oh, my people, give to others their due in full weight and measure; do not withhold from people what is rightly theirs, and do not commit injustice on the earth causing corruption. "That which Allah leaves with you is better for you if you are believers. But I am not your keeper."

11:87 They said to him, "Oh, Shuaib, does your religion of prayer command that we leave the gods our fathers worshipped or that we should not do what we please with our property? You are the patient one, the right-minded."

11:88 He said, "Oh, my people, see if I have a clear revelation from my Lord and if He supplies me in abundance. I do not desire to do what I forbid you to do; I seek only your betterment. My sole help is Allah. In Him I trust, and to Him I turn. "Oh, my people, do not let your opposition to me cause you to sin so you suffer a similar fate to that of the people of Noah, or the people of Hud, or the people of Salih, and the people of Lot are not too distant from you. Ask forgiveness of your Lord and turn to Him. Surely, my Lord is merciful and loving."

11:91 They said, "Oh, Shuaib, we do not understand much of what you say, and we clearly see that you are powerless among us. If it were not for your family, we surely would have stoned you, and you could not have prevailed against us."

11:92 He said, "Oh, my people, do you think more highly of my family than Allah? Do you put Him behind you, neglected? My Lord surrounds you. And, Oh, my people, do whatever you have the power to do. I will do my part, too, and soon you will know who will receive the penalty that will disgrace him and who is the liar. Watch, and I, too am watching with you."

29:36 To the Midian people, We sent their brother Shuaib. He said, "Oh, my people, worship Allah and fear the last day. Do not commit deeds of harmful excess." But they rejected him, and an earthquake assailed them. At morning, they were found dead on the floor of their homes.

7:85 Then We sent their brother Shuaib to Midian. He said, "Oh, my people, worship Allah. You have no other god than Him. Now you have a clear sign from your Lord. Give full measure and weight, do not take from man his due, and do not commit corruption on the earth after it has been reformed. It is better for you if you are believers. Do not lie in wait by every road to threaten or mislead those who believe in Allah or seek to make the way crooked. Remember that there were few of you and He multiplied you, and remember what became of those who did mischief. And if some of you believe in the messages I bring and some of you do not believe, then have patience until Allah judges between us for He is the best judge."

7:88 The chiefs of his people were full of pride and said, " Oh, Shuaib, we will surely drive you and those who believe with you out from our cities unless you return to our faith." He said, "What? Even though we detest it? It would be a lie against Allah if we return to your religion after Allah has rescued us from it, and we will not go back to it unless Allah wills it. Our Lord comprehends all things in his knowledge. We put our trust in Allah. Oh, our Lord, decide between us and our people, with truth, for You are the best One to decide."

7:90 And the leaders said, "If you follow Shuaib, you will surely be ruined."

7:91 Then an earthquake surprised them, and they were found in the morning dead on their faces in their homes. The men who had rejected Shuaib became as though they had never lived in their homes. Those who rejected Shuaib were ruined. So Shuaib left them saying, "Oh, my people, I delivered my Lord's messages to you, and I gave you good advice. How can I be sorry for a people who would not believe?"

7:65 And to the tribe of Ad, We sent their brother Hud. He said, "Oh, my people, worship Allah, you have no other god than Him. Will you not fear Him?"

7:66 The leaders among his people who were unbelievers said, "We see you involved in foolishness, and we think that you are a liar."

7:67 He said, "Oh, my people! There is no foolishness in me, but I am a messenger from the Lord of the worlds. "I convey the messages of my Lord to you, and I am your faithful advisor. Do you not marvel that a message has come to you from your Lord through one of yourselves that He may warn you? Remember how He made you the successors of the Noah's people and gave you stature? Remember then the bounty of Allah that you may be successful."

7:70 They said, "Have you come to us so that we may worship Allah exclusively and give up what our fathers worshipped? Then bring to us that which you threaten if you are a man of truth."

7:71 He said, "Punishment and wrath have already lighted on you from your Lord. Do you dispute with me about names that you and your fathers have given your idols without authority from Allah? Wait then, and I too will wait with you." And We saved him and those who were with him by Our mercy, and We annihilated the unbelievers who had treated Our signs as lies.

11:61 We sent their brother Salih to the Thamud. He said, "Oh, my people, worship Allah. You have no other god than Him. He raised you up out of the earth and settled you there, so ask pardon of Him then, and humbly turn to Him for your Lord is near, ready to answer."

11:62 They said, "Oh, Salih, you have been among us, and we placed our hopes in you. Are you asking us not to worship the gods that our fathers worshipped? Truly, we are in doubt about what you are asking us."

11:63 He said, "Oh, my people, what do you think? If I have a clear revelation from my Lord that supports me, and if He has shown His mercy on me, who could protect me from Allah if I were to rebel against Him? You would only cause me an increase of ruin."

11:64 "Oh, my people, this she-camel of Allah is a sign to you. Let her feed on Allah's earth, and do not harm her, for a speedy punishment will overtake you." Yet they killed her, and he said, "Enjoy yourselves in your dwellings for three more days. There is a promise Allah must keep."

11:66 When Our sentence came to pass, We rescued Salih and those who believed with him from humiliation on that day by Our mercy. Your Lord is strong and mighty. A blast overtook the wicked, and they were found motionless in their homes in the morning, as though they had never lived in there. The Thamud disbelieved their Lord, and the Thamud were utterly cast off.

7:73 And to Thamud's people [Thamud lay on an old trade route, north of Mecca. It was abandoned in Mohammed's day] We sent their brother Salih. He said, "Oh, my people! Worship Allah. You have no other god than Him, and clear proof has come to you from the Lord. This she-camel of Allah is a sign to you, so let her graze on Allah's earth and do not harm her, or you will be seized with a grievous punishment.

7:74 "Remember how He made you inheritors to the Adites and settled you in the land so that you build castles on the plains and build houses into the hills? So remember the benefits of Allah, and refrain from evil and corruption on the earth."

7:75 The chiefs of his people, who were scornful, said to those whom they thought were weak, even to those of them who believed, "Do you know for certain that Salih is sent by his Lord?" They said, "We do believe in the signs that have been sent through him."

7:76 Those who were scornful said, "We reject the signs in which you believe."

7:77 So they killed the she-camel and revolted against their Lord's command and said, "Oh, Salih, bring about your threats if you are a messenger sent by Allah." Then the earthquake seized them, and in the morning they were found dead on their faces in their homes.

7:79 So he turned away from them and said, "Oh, my people! I delivered my Lord's message to you, and I gave you good advice, but you do not love good advice."

11:94 When our decree came to pass, We saved Shuaib and his companions in faith by Our mercy, and the mighty blast overtook the wicked. In the morning they were found motionless in their houses, as if they had never lived in them. Midian [a city on the Red Sea] was swept off even as Thamud [the people of a ruined Nabatean city near Medina] had been swept off.

11:96 We sent Moses with Our signs and Authority to Pharaoh and his nobles, who followed the commands of Pharaoh, and Pharaoh was not a good guide. He will go to his people on Judgment Day and lead them into the Fire like cattle to water. It is a wretched place to which they will descend. They were followed by a curse in this life, and on the Day of the Resurrection a woeful gift will be given to them.

11:100 These are the stories of some of the cities that We relate to you. Some of them are standing; others have been ruined. We were not unfair to them, but they were unjust to themselves and their gods. The ones they called besides Allah did not avail them at all when your Lord's command came to pass. They only added to their ruin. Such is the

Lord's reach when He seizes the cities that have been wicked. His seizing is painful, terrible.

14:5 We sent Moses with Our signs saying to him, "Bring your people out from the darkness into the light, and remind them of the days of Allah's favors." There are signs here for every patient and grateful person.

14:6 Remind them that Moses said to his people, "Remember Allah's kindness to you when He freed you from the tyranny of the family of Pharaoh. They afflicted you with severe torments and slaughtered your male children while they spared your females." This was a great trial from your Lord. Remember. Your Lord made it known: "If you give thanks, then I will surely give you more and more, but if you are thankless, my chastisement is terrible." And Moses said, "If you and all who are on the earth are thankless, still Allah is self-sufficient and worthy of all praise."

14:9 Has the story not reached you of those who came before you, the people of Noah, and Ad [an ancient people of southern Arabia], and Thamud [Thamud was a trade town in ruins north of Mecca], and of those who lived after them? No one knows them but Allah. Their messengers came to them with clear proofs of their mission, but they put their hands on their mouths and said, "We do not believe in your mission, and we are suspicious about you say."

14:10 Their messengers said, "Is there any doubt about Allah, maker of the heavens and of the earth? It is He who invites you so that He may pardon your sins and give you a reprieve until an appointed time." They said, "You are just men like us. If you desire to turn us away from our fathers' worship, then bring us some clear proof."

14:11 Their messengers said to them, "Yes, we are only men like you, but Allah gives His favors to whom He pleases. It is not in our power to bring you any special proof except by the permission of Allah. Let the believers put their trust in Allah. What reason do we have for not putting our trust in Allah since He has already guided us in our ways? We will certainly bear with patience the harm you would do to us. Let the trusting put their trust in Allah."

14:13 And those who did not believe said to their messengers, "We will surely drive you from our land unless you return to the religion of our ancestors." Then their Lord revealed to them, "We will certainly destroy the unjust. We will certainly cause you to dwell in the land after them. This for him who dreads the time he will stand at My judgment-seat and who dreads My threats!" They sought a decision that moment, and every rebellious unbeliever perished.

14:16 Hell is before him, and for drink he will have boiling, stinking water. He will drink it in gulps, but he will not swallow it because he detests it. Death will come at him from

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every side, but he cannot die. Before him will be an unrelenting doom.

41:33 Who speaks better than he who prays to Allah while doing good deeds, and says, "I am among those who bow in submission."

41:34 Goodness and evil are not equal. Repel evil with what is best; then your enemy will seem like your friend. No one will be granted such goodness except those who are patient and practice self-restraint. Only the most favored are given this. When Satan tempts you, seek refuge in Allah because He hears and knows.

41:37 The night and the day and the sun and the moon are among His signs. But if you worship Allah, then do not bow down to the sun and the moon. But if the unbelievers are too proud, it does not matter because those who are with your Lord praise Him night and day. Also among His signs is His sending down the rain to renew the parched earth. Surely He who gives the earth life will give life to the dead because His power extends over everything.

41:40 Those who distort our revelations are not hidden from Us. Who is in the better position: the person who will be thrown into the Fire, or the person who is safely delivered on the Judgment Day? Do what you wish; surely He sees everything that you do. Certainly the person who rejects the message will be punished. This is a mighty Book. Lies cannot come near it from any direction. It is a revelation from the wise and the praiseworthy.

41:43 Nothing has been said to you that was not said to the messengers who came before you. Truly, forgiveness is with your Lord and also with Him is a terrible punishment. If We had sent a Koran in a language other than Arabic, they would have said, "Why are its verses not easy to understand? Why is the message in a strange language and the messenger an Arab?" Say: For those who believe, it is a guide and a healing. Those who do not believe are deaf and blind. It is as if they are called from a great distance.

11:18 Who does more wrong than he who invents a lie concerning Allah? They will be brought back before their Lord, and the witnesses will say, "These are the ones who lied against their Lord. Surely the curse of Allah is on the unjust and whoever lures others from the way of Allah and seeks to make it crooked. They do not believe in a life to come." They will not weaken Allah's power on earth, and they have no protector beside Allah. Their torment will be doubled because they could not bear to hear, and they were not able to see. These are the ones who have lost their own souls, and the gods they had invented have left them. In the hereafter, they will be the lost ones.

11:23 Believers who do the right things and humble themselves before their Lord are the rightful owners of the Garden. They will abide there forever.

11:24 These two kinds of people can be compared to a blind and deaf man in contrast to a seeing and hearing man. Can you call these two alike? Will you not understand?

40:1 HA. MIM. The revelation of this Book is from Allah the almighty, the all-knowing, who forgives sins, accepts penitence, is strict in punishment, and has a long reach. There is no god but Allah. All things return to him.

40:4 Only the unbelievers dispute the signs of Allah. Do not let their worldly prosperity deceive you.

40:5 The people of Noah, and the factions after them, denied their messengers before these, and every nation schemed against their messenger to destroy him. They argued falsely to refute the truth. Then I seized them, and how great was my punishment. So the word of the Lord proved true against the unbelievers. They truly are companions to the Fire.

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

40:9 "And keep them from evil deeds for the one You keep from evil on that day, You have shown great mercy, and this will be the supreme triumph for them. A voice will cry out to the unbelievers: "Surely the hatred of Allah is more grievous to you than your hatred of yourselves when you were called to the faith and refused it."

40:11 They shall say, "Oh, our Lord, twice You gave us death, and twice You gave us life. Now we recognize our sins. Is there any escape?"

40:12 This has befallen you because when only Allah was proclaimed to you, you did not believe, but when false gods were joined with him, you believed. The judgment belongs to Allah, the high, the great. He shows you signs and sends down supplies to you from heaven, but none will receive warning except he who turns to Allah. Call on Allah, then, offering Him sincere devotion, though the unbelievers detest it.

39:17 There is good news for those who reject false gods and turn to Allah, so give good tidings to My servants who listen to My word and follow the best of it. These are the ones Allah has guided, and these are men of insight. If one has justly been sentenced to punishment and doom, can he be helped or rescued?

39:20 Those who fear their Lord will have storied pavilions, and rivers will flow beneath them. It is the promise of Allah. Allah will not fail in his promise.

39:21 Can you not see that Allah sends down water from heaven and guides it along to form springs in the earth? Then He brings forth food of varied sorts. Then He causes it to wither, become yellow, and crumble away. This is a remembrance for men of insight.

39:22 Is he whose heart Allah has opened to Islam and who has light from his Lord, the same as one who disbelieves? Woe to those whose hearts are hardened against the remembrance of Allah. They plainly err.

39:23 Allah has revealed the best of messages in a Book, in a uniform style, and teaches by repetition. For those who fear their Lord, the words make them tremble. Their skins and hearts soften at the remembrance of their Lord. This is Allah's guidance. He guides whom He pleases, and sends astray whom He pleases, and then no guide will there be for him.

39:24 Is he who will have only his face to shelter him against punishment on Judgment Day the same as he who does right? It will be said to the evil doers, "Taste what you have earned." Those before them denied the revelation, but a punishment came to them when they were not looking for it. So Allah made them taste humiliation in this present life, but the punishment in the life to come will surely be greater. If only they knew.

35:3 Oh, men, call to mind Allah's grace toward you. Is there a creator other than Allah who provides for you from heaven and earth? There is no god but Allah. How are you turned away from Him? If they reject you [Mohammed], then messengers have been rejected before you, but to Allah all things will return.

35:5 Oh, men, surely the promise of Allah is true. Do not let the life of the world deceive you or the chief deceiver [Satan] deceive you about Allah. Yes, Satan is your enemy, so treat him as an enemy. He invites his followers to him so they may become companions of the Flame.

35:7 There is a terrible penalty for those who reject Allah, but for those who believe and do good works, there is forgiveness and a great reward. Is he who works the devil's deeds, while being convinced that he is good, to be treated as if he is right? Allah misleads whom He will and guides whom He will. Do not grieve after them. Allah knows all their doings.

35:33 They will enter the Gardens wearing bracelets of gold and pearl, and their garments will be made of silk. They will say, "Praise be to Allah who has removed sorrow from us. Our Lord is forgiving and bountiful. Allah has placed us in the eternal mansions. No toil or weariness will reach us."

35:36 Unbelievers will have the Fire of Hell, but it will not let them die nor will the torment be lightened for them. So We punish the ungrateful. They will cry for help from there saying, "Take us out, our Lord. We will do good deeds and not the deeds we used to do." Did We not grant you a life long enough to thoughtfully reflect, and the warner was there among you? So taste the fruit of your deeds. The wrongdoers have no help.

35:38 Allah truly knows the hidden things of heaven and earth for He knows what is in men's hearts. He made you inherit the earth. If any reject Allah, the rejection works against themselves. In the sight of their Lord, this rejection acts to increase His hatred, and their unbelief multiplies the loss for the unbelievers.

6:37 They say, "Why has a sign not been sent down to him from his Lord?" Say: Allah certainly has power to send down a sign, but most of them will not know it." There is not a beast on earth nor fowl that flies on two wings but they are a community like yourselves. We have neglected nothing in the Book, and they will all be gathered to their Lord in the end. They who reject Our signs are deaf, dumb, and blind. Allah will mislead whomever He pleases, and He will put on the straight path whomever He pleases.

6:40 Say: Tell me, if the punishment of Allah came upon you or the Hour were to come upon you, would you call any others besides Allah? Answer that, if you are truthful. No. You would only call Him, and He will answer your prayer if He wills it, and you would forget the false gods you joined with Him.

6:42 We have already sent messengers to many nations before you [the Meccans], and We seized them with terror and suffering that they might humble themselves. If only they had been humbled when Our disaster came on them. On the contrary, their hearts were hardened, and Satan made their sinful acts seem good to them. And when they had forgotten the warning they had received, We opened the gates of all good things to them until, as they were rejoicing in Our gifts, We seized them, and they were plunged into despair. So the unbelievers were annihilated. All praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds!

6:46 Say: Have you imagined if Allah should take away your hearing and your sight and set a seal upon your hearts? What god besides Allah could restore them to you? See how We repeat the signs, yet you still turn away from them?

6:47 Say: Have you considered when the punishment of Allah comes on you suddenly or is preceded by a sign, will any perish besides the wrongdoers? We send the messengers to bring good news and to warn so those who believe and mend their ways will have neither fear nor grief. But those who deny Our revelations will be punished for their errors.

6:90 These are the men to whom We gave the Scripture and wisdom and prophecy, but if their descendants reject them, We will entrust their charge to a new people who will not disbelieve them. These are the men whom Allah guided, so follow their guidance. Say: I ask for no payment. It is only a reminder to all men."

6:91 They do not know Allah when they say, "Allah has not revealed anything to man." Say: Who sent down the Book [the Torah] which Moses brought, a light and guidance to man? But you have put it down in scattered writings for show while you conceal much of it. Has it not taught you what neither you nor your fathers knew? Say: Allah sent it down. Then leave them in their chatter. And this is a blessed Scripture which We have sent down confirming that which was before it so you might warn the mother of towns [Mecca] and those around her. Those who believe in the next life will believe in it [the Koran] and attend to their prayers constantly.

6:93 Who is more wicked than he who devises a lie against Allah or says, "I have been inspired [at this time in Arabia there were others who said they were prophets]," when he has not, or who says, "I can reveal the like of that which Allah revealed"? If you could see how the ungodly fare in the flood of confusion at death, and the angels reach forth their hands saying, "Yield up your souls. This day you will receive your reward of humiliating punishment because you told lies against Allah and proudly rejected His signs! And now you have come back to Us bare and alone, as We created you at first, and you leave behind all the good things that We had given you. We do not see your false gods. Now the bonds between you have been severed, and those whom you regarded as partners with Allah have deserted you."

46:13 Whoever says, "Our Lord is Allah," and firmly follows His guidance will not be tested by fear or grief. They will live in Paradise forever—rewarded for their good deeds.

46:15 We command man to show kindness to his parents. His mother bore and gave birth to him in pain. From birth to weaning is thirty months; when he reaches full strength at forty years of age, he says, "My Lord, open my heart so that I may be grateful for the favor You have given me and my parents and so that I will do the good works that please You. Be gracious to me in my offspring; I have turned to you and do surrender to Islam." From these We will accept their best work and pass over their evil deeds. They shall dwell in Paradise, a promise of truth that was made to them in life.

46:17 But he who rebukes his parents, "Are you promising that I will be resurrected when generations have passed before me?" And they cry to Allah for help telling their son, "Woe to you! Believe! The promise of Allah is true!" But he says, "This is nothing but old men's fables." These are the ones who prove the sentence passed on all nations, jinn and men, who have passed away before them. They are the losers. They will be rewarded according to their works so that Allah may pay them back fully, and they will be dealt with fairly.

46:20 And the unbelievers will be set before the Fire. "You gathered your precious wealth during your life on earth and enjoyed it. Today you will be rewarded with the penalty of shame because you were proud and unjust on earth without cause and you transgressed.

40:45 So Allah preserved him from the evils they plotted while a dreadful punishment over took the Pharaoh's people. They will be brought in front of the Fire morning and evening, and on Judgment Day, when the hour comes to pass, it will be said, "Cast Pharaoh's people into the severest punishment."

40:47 When they will argue with each other in the Fire, the weak ones will say to those who were so arrogant, "We were only following you. Will you take a larger share of the Fire?"

40:48 And the arrogant ones will say, "We are all in this Fire; for now, Allah has judged between his servants."

40:49 Those in the Fire will say to the keepers of Hell, "Entreat your Lord to relieve us of one day of this torment."

40:50 They shall say, "Did your messengers not bring you clear signs?" "Yes," they will reply. They shall say, "Then pray for help," but the prayers of the unbelievers will be in vain.

40:51 Assuredly, We will help Our messengers and the believers in this present life, and on the day when the witnesses arise, the day on which their excuses will not profit them, they will only have a curse and the woe of a home in Hell.

40:53 We did, of old, give Moses the guidance—a guidance and warning to men of understanding—and We made the Children of Israel the inheritors of the Book. Then patiently persevere for the promise of Allah is true. Seek pardon for your faults, and celebrate the praises of your Lord at evening and at morning.

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40:56 As to those who dispute the signs of Allah without authority having reached them, there is nothing in their hearts but a desire to become great, which they will never attain. So take refuge in Allah for He is the hearer, the beholder.

40:57 Greater surely than the creation of man is the creation of the heavens and of the earth, but most men do not know it. The blind man and the seer are not alike, and neither is the evildoer equal with the believer who does things that are right. How few think of this. The Hour will surely come. There is no doubt of it, but most men do not believe it.

40:60 And your Lord says, "Call on me, and I will answer your prayer, but those who are too arrogant to serve Me will enter Hell with shame."

10:1 ELIF. LAM. RA. These are the signs of the wise Book.

10:2 Is it a matter of wonderment to the men of Mecca that We have inspired a man among them saying, "Warn the people, and give good tidings to those who believe so that they will stand firm with their Lord." The unbelievers say, "This is a manifest sorcerer."

10:3 Your Lord is Allah who created the heavens and the earth in six days and is firmly established on the throne governing all things. No one can intercede with him without his permission. This is Allah your Lord, so serve him. Will you obey? You will all return to Him. The promise of Allah is true. He produces a creature then reproduces it that He may reward those who believe and do the good things, but those who disbelieve will drink boiling water and suffer a terrible torment because they have not believed.

10:5 He made the radiant sun and the moon a light. They measure periods so that you may know the number of years and the count of time. Allah created this only for the truth. He explained His signs clearly for those who understand. In the alternations of night and of day, and in all that Allah created in the heavens and in the earth, there are signs for those who fear Him.

10:7 They who hope they do not meet Us and who find their satisfaction in this world's life and rest on it, and who neglect Our signs—their home will be the Fire because of what they earned. For those who believe and do good things, their Lord will direct them aright because of their faith. Rivers shall flow at their feet in Gardens of Bliss. Their cry will be, "Glory be to thee, Allah." "Peace" will be their greeting, and the close of their cry will be, "Praise be to Allah, Lord, of all creatures."

10:11 If Allah were to hasten evil to men for the ill they have earned, as they wish Him to hasten their good, their doom would be known. So We leave those who do not hope for Our meeting blindly wandering on. When trouble touches man, he cries to Us to be on his side sitting or standing. When We remove his troubles, he goes on his way as though he had not cried to Us because of his troubles. That is how their deeds are made to seem fair to them.

10:13 We have destroyed generations before you when they acted wickedly. Messengers came to them with clear signs from Allah, but they would not believe. This is how We reward the wicked. Then We caused you to succeed them on the earth to see how you would act. But when Our clear signs are recited to them, those who do not want to meet Us say, "Bring a different Koran than this, or make some change in it." Say: I [Mohammed] do not have the authority to change it as I see fit. I follow what is inspired in me. If I disobey my Lord, I fear the punishment of a great day. Say: If Allah desired, I would not have recited it to you, nor would He have taught it to you. I have dwelt among you a lifetime before it came to me. Do you not understand? And who is more unjust than he who invents a lie against Allah, or rejects His signs as lies? But the guilty will never prosper.

10:18 They worship gods besides Allah who will neither hurt nor help them and say, "These are our intercessors with Allah." Say: Would you inform Allah of something in the heavens and in the earth that He does not know? Glory be to Him. He is exalted above the deities they associate with Him.

10:19 Men were of one nation, but they fell into differences, and if a decree had not gone out from the Lord, their differences would have surely been decided between them.

10:20 They say, "Why is there not a sign sent down from his Lord?" Say: The unseen is with Allah, so wait. I, too, will be with you among those who wait. When We grant men a mercy after an adversity has afflicted them and We cause this people to taste of mercy, they start plotting against Our signs. Say: Allah is swifter to plot. Our messengers record all the plots you make.

35:40 Say: Have you ever seen the idols whom you call on beside Allah? Show me the part of earth they have created, or did they help create the heavens? Have We given them a Book so they can act on clear proof? No, the wrongdoers promise one another only delusions. It is Allah who upholds heaven and earth or they would cease to function. If they were failing, no one could hold them up but He for He is patient and forgiving.

35:42 They [Jews and Christians] swore their strongest oaths by Allah that if a warner came to them, they would follow his guidance more than any people had, but when the messenger came to them, it only increased their flight from good deeds. Their arrogance on earth and their plans for evil will only entrap the arrogant men who created the plans. Do they remember the way Allah dealt with the peoples of old? You will not find any change in the course of Allah. Have they not traveled through the land and seen what was the end of those before them, though they were stronger than these? Nothing in the heavens or on earth escapes Allah for He is knowing and almighty.

35:45 If Allah should punish men according to what they deserve, He would not leave a single living creature on the earth, but He waits until the appointed term. When their term expires, then Allah will have His sight on His servants.

40:61 Allah made the night so you could rest and the day to give you light for seeing. Allah is rich in bounties to men, but most men do not give thanks. Such is Allah your Lord, creator of all things. There is no god but Allah. Why then are you turned from the truth? Those who deny the signs of Allah are turned aside.

40:64 Allah made the earth for you as a resting place and built up the heavens over it. He formed you and made your forms beautiful, and provided you with good things. This is Allah your Lord. Blessed be Allah, Lord of the worlds. He is the living one. There is no god but Allah. Call on Him with sincere devotion. Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds.

40:66 Say: I am forbidden to worship any beside Allah after the clear signs that have come to me from my Lord, and I am commanded to submit to the Lord of the worlds.

40:67 It is He who created you from dust, then from a drop of sperm, then a clot. That you may understand, He brought you forth as a child, let you reach your full strength, let you become an old man (but some die first), and then you reach the appointed term. It is He who gives life and death, and when He decrees a thing, He only says of it, "Be," and it is.

40:69 Do you not see those who dispute the signs of Allah and how are they turned aside?

40:70 Those who reject the Book and the revelations with which We have sent our messengers will soon know the truth. When the yokes and the chains are on their necks, they will be dragged into the boiling waters then they will be thrust into the Fire and burned. Then it will be said to them, "Where are the ones whom you made partners with Allah?" They will say, "They have gone away from us. Before, we did not call on anyone." This is how Allah leads the unbelievers astray. This is because you rejoiced in other things than the truth on the earth. Enter the gates of Hell to live there forever. Evil is the abode of the arrogant ones.

40:77 Have patience, for the promise of Allah is true. Whether We let you [Mohammed] see part of the woes We promise them, or We cause you to die first, they will all return to Us. We have already sent messengers before you. We have told you the stories of some of them, and of others We have told you nothing. But no messenger had the power to work a miracle unless by the permission of Allah. When the command of Allah comes, judgment is given with truth. Those who treat it as a lie perish.

40:79 It is Allah who gave you the cattle. On some of them you may ride, and of some you may eat. There are other advantages in them. You may carry burdens. And on ships and on cattle you are carried. He shows you His signs. Which of the signs of Allah will you deny?

40:82 Have they not traveled in this land and seen what was the end of those who came before them? They were more numerous than these and mightier in power and in the fortifications they left on the land, yet all they accomplished was no profit to them. When their messengers came to them with clear signs, they exulted in the knowledge they possessed, but the very wrath that they mocked encompassed them. And when they saw Our vengeance they said, "We believe in Allah alone, and we reject the partners we once associated with Him."

40:85 But their professions of faith, when they had seen our vengeance, did not profit them. Such has been the procedure of Allah with regard to his servants. Then the unbelievers perished.

6:54 And when those who believe in Our signs come to you, Say: Peace be on you. The Lord hath prescribed for himself a law of mercy so that if any one of you does evil through ignorance and repents afterwards and does right, He will be forgiving and merciful. This is why We clearly explain the signs so that the sinners might be made known.

6:56 Say: I am forbidden to worship any gods you call on besides Allah. Say: I will not follow your wishes for then I will go astray and will not be one of the guided. Say: I act on clear proof from my Lord while you reject Him. It is not in my power to hasten the punishment you desire; that decision is with Allah only. He declares the truth, and He is the best of judges.

6:58 Say: If I had the power to hasten what you desire, the matter between me and you would be settled, but Allah knows best those who do wrong. With Him are the keys of all secrets, treasures no one knows but He. He knows whatever is on the earth and in the sea. Not a leaf falls without His knowledge. There is not a grain in the darkness of the earth nor anything green or dry but it is clearly in His records. It is He who takes your souls at night and knows what you have done by day. Then He wakes you up again by day so that your appointed term can be fulfilled. In the end, you will return to Him, and then He will show you the truth of what you were doing. He is Supreme over his servants, and He sends guardians [angels] to watch over you until, when death comes and Our unfailing messengers [angels] receive him, then are they returned to Allah, their protector, the true One. He judges and He is swift in judging.

6:63 Say: Who delivers you from the darkness of the land and of the sea when you humbly call on Him both openly and secretly saying "If You rescue us from this, we will surely be thankful?" Say: Allah rescues you from this and from every distress, yet afterwards you worship false gods! Say: He has the power to send disasters on you from above and below, or He can throw you into confusion causing dissension among you. See how We explain the signs so they might understand.

6:95 It is Allah who causes the seed-grain and the date stone to sprout. He brings the living from the dead and the dead from the living. This is Allah! Why, then, are you turned away from Him? He causes the dawn to appear and has made the night for rest and the sun and the moon for counting time. This is the arrangement of the mighty, the wise! And it is He who made the stars for you that they might guide yourselves in the darkness of the land and of the sea. We have made our signs clear to men who know. It is He who has produced you from a single soul, and here is an abode and a place of rest. We have made our signs to men of insight. And it is He who sends down rain from the skies, and We use it to grow plants of every kind. We grow the green foliage and the grain, and from the date palms grow clusters of dates. And We grow gardens of grapes, olives, and pomegranates, each alike and unlike. Look on their fruit and the ripening. In these things are signs for those who believe.

6:100 They make the jinn equal to Allah, though He created them, and they falsely attribute to Him, in ignorance, sons and daughters. Praise and glory be to Him, for He is above their imaginations. Originator of the heavens and of the earth. How can He have a son when He has no mate? He himself created everything, and He knows everything. This is Allah your Lord. There is no god but He, the creator of all things. Worship Him; He has charge of all things. No vision can grasp Him, but his grasps reaches all vision. He is above all comprehension and knows all things. Clear proofs have come to you from your Lord. Whoever will see, it is for the good of his soul. Whoever is blind to them, it will be to his harm. I am not your keeper. That is why We explain Our signs by various means so that they can say, "You [Mohammed] have studied deeply," and so We can make it clear to people of understanding.

6:106 Follow that which is inspired in you by the Lord. There is no god but Allah, and turn from those who join other gods with Him. If it had been Allah's plan, they would not have taken false gods. But We have not made you a keeper over them, neither are you responsible for them.

6:108 Do not revile those whom they call on other than Allah in case they, out of spite, revile Allah in their ignorance. Thus for all people We have We made their actions seem fair. Then they will return to their Lord, and He will tell them the truth of what they did. They have sworn by Allah with their most solemn oath that if a sign comes to them, they will certainly believe it. Say: Signs are in the power of Allah alone. What will make you realise that even if the signs come, they still will not believe? We will confuse their hearts and their eyes because they refused to believe the first instance, and We will let them wander blindly in their rebellion.

6:111 Even if We had sent down the angels to them, the dead had spoken to them, and We had gathered all things before their eyes, they would not believe unless Allah had willed it, but most of them are ignorant. Thus have We given every messenger evil ones among men and jinns inspiring each other with flowery talk to deceive, and had your Lord planned it, they would not have done it. So leave them and their vain imaginings alone. Let the hearts of those who do not believe incline to such deceit, and let them find their content in it, and let them earn what they may.

6:114 Say: Shall I [Mohammed] seek for a judge other than Allah when it is He who sent down the Book fully explained? Those to whom We have given the Book know that it is sent down from your Lord with truth. So do not be a doubter. The words of the Lord are perfect in truth and in justice. No one can change His word. He hears and knows.

45:1 HA. MIM. This revelation is sent down from Allah, the mighty, the wise. Surely in the heavens and the earth are signs for those who believe. Your own creation and that of the animals, which are scattered over the earth, are signs for those with strong faith.

45:5 The succession of night and day, and the rain which Allah sends down from the heavens that revives the barren earth, and the changing of the winds are signs for wise people. These are among the signs of Allah, which We truthfully recite to you. What teachings will they believe in if they reject Allah and his signs?

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45:7 Woe to every sinful liar who hears the signs of Allah and still persists in vanity and pride as if he had never heard them. Tell him of a terrible punishment. When he becomes aware of Our signs he takes them for a joke. There will be a shameful penalty for people such as this. Hell is waiting for them. Neither their possessions nor the false gods can protect them in the least. They shall have a grievous punishment. Those who reject the signs and guidance of their Lord will receive a punishment of painful torment.

41:47 He alone has knowledge of the Hour. No fruit grows, nor does any female conceive or deliver without His knowledge. On the day when He calls men to return to Him saying, "Where are the other gods?" they will say, "We confess that none of us can testify for them." The gods they used to worship will fail them, and they will realise that there is no escape for them.

41:49 Man never tires of praying for good, but if evil touches him, he becomes despondent and hopeless. If We show mercy after some affliction touches him, he will surely say, "This is due to my own virtues. I do not believe that the Hour of Judgment will ever occur, but if I am returned to my Lord, I will certainly receive my highest good." But We will show the unbelievers everything that they have done, and We will give them a taste of a terrible punishment. When We show favor to man, he turns away and withdraws from Allah, but when evil touches him, he becomes full of long prayers.

41:52 What do you think? If this Book is really from Allah and you deny it, who will have done a greater wrong than he who openly rejects Allah? We will show them Our signs all over the earth and in their own souls, until it becomes clear to them that it is the truth. Is it not enough that your Lord is a witness to all things? Do they doubt that they will meet their Lord? Does He not encompass all things?

16:53 Any favor that is given you comes from Allah. You call to him when any misfortune befalls you. After He removes your troubles, some of you worship other gods besides Him so that they are ungrateful for what We have given them. Enjoy yourselves because you will soon know your mistake. They give credit to false gods for some of the things that We have given. By Allah, you will be asked about the things that you invent.

16:57 Glory be to Him! They wish for sons, and they say that Allah has daughters [the Meccans considered the angels to be the daughters of Allah]. If they receive news that they have a daughter, their face darkens and they are filled with anguish. They hide themselves from their people in shame. Should they keep the child in shame or simply bury it? What an evil choice they make for themselves.

16:60 It is an evil characteristic to not believe in the afterlife. Allah is sublime. He is mighty and wise. If Allah punished men for their wickedness, He would not leave a single living creature on the earth, but he gives them reprieve until an appointed time. When their doom comes, they will not be able to postpone it even an hour just as they can not cause it to come sooner. They give to Allah the things that they hate, and their tongues tell the lie that they will have the good. They will undoubtedly be sent to Hell and abandoned.

16:63 By Allah, We have sent messengers to nations before you, but Satan made their actions seem good to them, so today he is their guardian, and they will have a terrible punishment. We have revealed the Scripture to you so that you might explain to them those things that they question and as a guide and a mercy for people who believe.

16:82 However, if they [the Meccans] turn away, your only duty is to preach the clear message. They recognize the favors of Allah and then deny it. Most of them are ungrateful.

16:84 One day We will raise up a witness from every nation; then no excuses will be accepted from unbelievers, and they will not be allowed to make amends. When the wicked see the penalty waiting for them, it will not be made lighter for them nor will they be reprieved.

16:86 When those who ascribe partners to Allah see their false gods, they will say, "Lord, these are the equals to whom we used to pray rather than You." But their gods will reply, "You are liars!" They will openly submit to Allah that day, and all of their inventions will desert them. Because they have spoken against Allah, We will add punishment to their punishment for all those who rejected Allah and kept men from the way of Allah.

16:89 One day We will raise up from every people a witness who will testify against his own people. We will bring you [Mohammed] to testify against your people. We have revealed the Scripture to you as a way of explaining everything, and as a guide, a mercy, and good news for those who submit to Allah

40:15 Possessor of the highest rank, Lord of the Throne, He sends the spirit of inspiration to any servant He pleases so He may warn of the day of meeting.

40:16 On that day every soul will be rewarded for what it has earned. There will be no injustice on that day. Allah will be swift to reckon. Warn them, then, of the approaching day when men's hearts will rise up to their throats, choking them. There will be no friend or intercessor who will prevail for the wrongdoers. Allah knows the deceitful eye and what men's hearts conceal. Allah will judge with justice and truth while those gods they call on beside Him will not judge at all. Allah hears and knows all.

40:21 Have they not traveled this land to see what has been the end of those who disbelieved before them? They were even mightier than these in strength and in their traces left in the land; yet Allah destroyed them for their sins, and they had no protector against Allah. That was because messengers came to them with clear proofs, but they rejected them, so Allah took them in hand for He is mighty and vehement in punishing.

28:55 And when they hear idle talk, they withdraw from it and say, "Our deeds are for us and your deeds are for you. Peace be on you. We do not seek fools."

28:56 You [Mohammed] truly cannot guide everyone whom you desire, but Allah guides whom He will. He knows best who follows His guidance. But they say, "If we follow your guidance, we will be driven from our land." Have We not settled them in a sacred, secure territory where fruits of every kind are gathered together—Our gift for their support? But most of them do not understand. And how many communities have We destroyed that were thankless for the livelihoods We provided? These dwellings have not been inhabited since their time save by a few, and We are their inheritors. Your Lord did not destroy the cities until He had sent a messenger to their city to recite Our signs to its people. We never destroy cities unless its people are unjust.

28:60 The material things you have been given are merely for enjoyment of this present life, but that which is with Allah is better and more lasting. Will you not be wise? Is the man to whom We have made a good promise, which he will fulfill, the same as the man to whom We have given the enjoyments of this present life, and who on Judgment Day will be brought up for punishment? On that day Allah will cry to them and say, "Where are those gods you associated with me?"

28:63 The doomed will say, "Oh, our Lord, these are the ones we led astray, even as we had been led astray ourselves. We are blameless before You. They did not worship us." And it will be said, "Call your false gods now." They will call them, but they will have no answer. They will see the punishment and wish that they had been guided aright. On that day Allah will call to them and say, "How did you answer the messengers?" On that day they will be too blinded with confusion to give an account, nor will they question one another.

28:67 As to him who will turn to Allah, believe, and do the right thing, it may come to pass that he will be among those who achieve salvation. Your Lord creates and chooses what He will, but the false gods have no power to choose. Glory be to Allah. He is above all whom they associate with Him.

39:32 Who does more wrong than one who lies against Allah and rejects the truth when it comes to him as a lie? Is there not a home in Hell for the blasphemers? The dutiful bring the truth and believe it to be the truth. They will have whatever they desire from their Lord. This is the reward of the good. Allah will disregard the worst of what they did and reward them for the best they did.

39:36 Is Allah not sufficient for His servant? They try to scare you with other gods besides Him, but there is no guide for him whom Allah sends astray. Whomever Allah guides, no one can lead astray. Is not Allah, all-mighty, able to enforce His will?

39:38 If you ask them who created the heavens and the earth, they will surely answer, Allah. Say: Do you think that those you call besides Allah could remove His affliction? If Allah chose to afflict me, or if He showed me mercy, could they withhold His mercy? Say: Allah is sufficient for me; the trusting put their trust in Him. Say: Oh, my people, do whatever you can. I too will do my part, and in the end you will know who will receive the penalty that will shame him, and who will receive a lasting punishment.

39:41 We have revealed the Book to you for mankind and for the ends of truth. Whoever receives the guidance, will benefit his own soul, and whoever rejects it, will injure his own soul, but you are not entrusted as a custodian over them.

39:42 Allah takes men's souls at the time of their deaths, and those who do not die, He takes during their sleep. He keeps those on whom he has passed a decree of death but sends the others back until the appointed time. These are signs for those who reflect.

39:43 Do they take others for intercessors besides Allah? Say: Even though they have no power over anything, do they understand? Say: Intercession is wholly with Allah. His is the kingdom of the heavens and of the earth. You will be brought back to Him in the end. When Allah alone is named, the hearts of those who do not believe in the life to come shrivel up, but when gods other than Allah are named, they are filled with joy.

39:46 Say: Oh, Allah, creator of heaven and earth, who knows the visible and invisible, You will judge between your servants in matters of their disputes. Even if the wicked possessed all that is in the earth and then again as much, they would offer it as ransom for themselves from the pain of the punishment on Judgment Day, and things they had never reckoned on will appear to them from Allah. They will clearly see the evil of their own ill deeds, and the Fire they mocked will encircle them on every side.

10:24 This present life is like the water that We send down from heaven, and the produce of the earth, of which men and cattle eat, grows abundantly until the earth is draped in its golden ornaments, and people think they have power over it. We command it by night or by day, and We lay it to waste, as if it had not flourished just yesterday. This is how We make Our signs clear for those who reflect.

10:25 Allah calls to the abode of peace [Paradise], and He guides whom He pleases to the right path. Those who do good find the best reward. No darkness or shame will cover their faces. These are the rightful owners of the Garden. They will abide there forever.

10:27 Those who have made evil will have a reward of like evil, and humility will cover their faces. No one will protect them from Allah, as though their faces were covered with the cloak of darkness of the night. They are companions of the Fire. They will abide there forever. On that day We will gather them all together. Then We will say to those who revered other gods besides Allah, "To your place—you and those other gods of yours." We will separate them both [men from their gods] one from the other, and We will say, "You did not worship Us. Allah is a sufficient witness between us and you: We cared nothing for your worship." There every soul will become acquainted with what it did before, and they will be brought back to Allah, their true Lord, and the deities of their own devising will vanish from them.

10:31 Say: Who provides for you from the heaven and the earth? Who has power over hearing and sight? And who brings forth the living from the dead and the dead from the living? And who rules all things? They will surely say, Allah. Then say: Will you not keep your duty to Him? This is Allah, your true Lord, and when the truth is gone, what remains but error? How is it that you are turned away? So is the word of the Lord proved true against those who do wrong, and they will not believe. Say: Are there any of the gods you revere besides Allah who can originate creation then repeat it? Say: Allah produces a creature then causes it to return to Him. How are you misled?

10:35 Say: Do any of the gods you prefer to Allah guide you to the truth? Say: Allah gives guidance to the truth. Who is more worthy to be followed? He who guides to the truth, or he who himself must be guided to find the truth? What is the matter with you? How are you judging things? Most of them follow nothing but guesses, but a guess cannot replace the truth. Allah is aware of all that they do.

10:37 The Koran could not have been created by any but Allah, but it confirms what was revealed before it and is a fuller explanation of the Scriptures [Old and New Testaments]. There is no doubt in it of the Lord of all creatures.

10:38 Do they say, "He has invented it himself"? Say: Then bring a sura [chapter of the Koran] like it, and call anyone for help you can besides Allah if you are truthful. But that which they cannot understand, they have called inventions, though the explanation of it has not yet been given them. Those before them rejected the truth, but see what was the end of the unjust! And there are some of them who believe in it and some who do not, but the Lord knows the mischief makers.

10:41 If they call you a liar, say, "My work is for me, and your work is for you. You are innocent of what I do, and I am innocent of what you do." Some of them will listen to you, but can you make the deaf hear even though they do not understand? Some of them look toward you, but can you guide the blind even though they cannot see?

10:44 Allah does not do injustice to men, but men will wrong themselves.

6:132 There will be ranks for all according to their deeds. Your Lord is aware of all that they do. And your Lord is self-sufficient and merciful. If it were His will, He could destroy you and choose your successors as He raised you up from the offspring of other people. That which is promised you will surely come to pass. You cannot escape it.

6:135 Say: Oh, my people! Act according to your ability. I verily will act my part. Soon you will come to know who will be happy in the hereafter. The unjust will not prosper.

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

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

6:141 It is He who produces the gardens of the vine, the date-palm, and crops of all kinds, and olives, and pomegranates, like and unlike. Eat of their fruit, and pay the due at harvest time. Do not waste by means of excess for Allah does not love the wasters. There are cattle for burdens and for food. Eat what Allah has given you, and do not follow in the steps of Satan for he is your avowed enemy.

6:143 Take eight sorts of cattle in four pairs: two pairs of sheep, and two pairs of goats. Say: Has He forbidden the two males or the two females or that which the wombs of the two females enclose? Tell me with knowledge if you speak the truth. Of camels a pair, and of oxen a pair. Say: Has He forbidden the two males or the two females or what is in the wombs of the two females? Were you present when Allah ordered such a thing? Who does more wrong than one who creates a lie against Allah to mislead men? Allah truly does not guide the wicked.

6:145 Say: In what has been revealed to me I do not find any forbidden food except that which died itself; or blood that poured forth; or swine's flesh for that is an abomination, being slain in the name of other than Allah. But whoever is forced to eat by necessity, not desiring or exceeding the limit, the Lord is forgiving and merciful.

6:146 To the Jews We forbade every beast with an undivided hoof and the fat of both oxen and sheep, save what might be on their backs, or their entrails, or the fat attached to the bone. With this have We rewarded them for their rebellion for We are true in our laws. If they give the lie to you, then say, "Your Lord is of all-embracing mercy, but His severity will not be withdrawn from the guilty."

6:148 Those who are polytheists will say, "If Allah had pleased, neither we nor our fathers would have revered others nor should we have had any taboos." Even their ancestors before them argued falsely until they had tasted Our punishment. Say: Do you have any knowledge that you can produce for us? You follow nothing but opinion and tell nothing but lies. Say: Allah's is the final argument. If He had pleased, He would have guided you all.

6:150 Say: Bring your witnesses forward who can prove that Allah has forbidden these animals, but if they bear witness, do not bear witness with them nor follow the whims of those who deny Our revelations, and do not believe in the hereafter for they make others equal to Our Lord.

6:151 Say: Come, I will recite what Allah has prohibited to you. Remember that you will not place false gods alongside Him, that you will be good to your parents, and that you will not slay your children because of poverty. We provide for you and for them. Do not commit indecencies openly or concealed, and do not take a life, which Allah has made sacred, except by way of justice and law. This He commands of you that you will learn wisdom.

6:21 And who is more unjust than he who conceives a lie concerning Allah or who rejects Our signs? The wrongdoers will not prosper.

6:22 On the Day We will gather them all together, We will say to those who praised other gods than Allah, "Where are those make-believe gods of yours?" Then they will have no other excuse but to say, "By Allah, our Lord, we were not unbelievers." See how they lie against themselves, and the gods they invented failed them!

6:25 Some among them listen to you [Mohammed], but We have cast veils over their hearts and a heaviness to their ears so that they cannot understand our signs [the Koran]. If they see every sign, they will not have faith in them, but when they come to you, they will dispute with you, and the unbelievers will say, "This is only the fables of the old ones."

6:26 And they prohibit others from it [the Koran] and depart from it themselves, but they only destroy their own souls, while they do not perceive it. If you could see when they will be set over the Fire. They will say, "Oh, if we could return we would not deny the signs of the Lord, and we would be one of the believers." Yes, they will clearly see what they had concealed from themselves, but if they returned, they would return to forbidden things, for surely they are liars.

6:29 And they say, "There is only our life in this world, and we will not be raised up again." If you could see them when they will stand before their Lord. He will say to them, "Is this not the truth [the Resurrection and Judgment]?" They will say, "Yes, by our Lord!" He will say, "Taste then the punishment because you rejected faith."

6:31 They are lost who deny that they will meet with Allah until, suddenly, the Hour comes upon them, and they cry "Oh, woe to us that we neglected it." They shall bear their evil burdens on their backs. Life in this world is but a pastime and amusement, but best is the mansion in Paradise for those who do their duty! Do you not understand?

9:23 Oh, Believers, do not make friends of your fathers or your brothers if they love unbelief above Islam. He who makes them his friends does wrong. Say: If your fathers, and your sons, and your brothers, and your wives, and your kin-folks, and the wealth which you have gained, and the merchandise that you fear you will not sell, and the dwellings in which you delight—if all are dearer to you than Allah and His Messenger and efforts on His Path, then wait until Allah's command comes to pass. Allah does not guide the impious.

3:28 Believers should not take unbelievers as friends in preference to other believers. Those who do this will have none of Allah's protection and will only have themselves as guards. Allah warns you to fear Him for all will return to Him.

3:117 Believers! Do not become friends with anyone except your own people. The unbelievers will not rest until they have corrupted you. They wish nothing but your ruin. Their hatred of you is made clear by their words, but even greater hatred is hidden within their hearts. We have made Our signs clear to you. Therefore, do your best to comprehend them.

4:89 They would have you become unbelievers like them so you will all be the same. Therefore, do not take any of them as friends until they have abandoned their homes to fight for Allah's cause. But if they turn back, find them and kill them wherever they are. Do not take any of them as a friend or a helper except those who seek asylum among your allies and those who come to you because their hearts have forbidden them from fighting against you or their own people. If it had been Allah's will, He would have given them power over you so they would have certainly fought you. Therefore, if they leave you and do not wage war against you and seek peace with you, Allah commands you not to injure them.

4:138 Warn the hypocrites that torturous punishment awaits them. The hypocrites take unbelievers as friends rather than believers. Do they look for honour at their hands? Truly all honour belongs to Allah.

4:144 Believers! Do not take unbelievers as friends over fellow believers. Would you give Allah a clear reason to punish you?

60:1 Oh, you who believe, do not take My enemy and yours for friends by showing them kindness. They reject the truth that has come to you. They drive out the messengers and yourselves because you believe in Allah, your Lord. If you continue to fight for Allah's cause [jihad] and from a desire to please Me, would you show them kindness in private? I know best what you conceal and what you reveal. Whoever does this among you has already strayed from the right path.

60:13 Oh, Believers, do not enter into friendship with those against whom Allah is angered. They have despaired of the hereafter, even as the unbelievers despair of those who are in graves.

5:57 Oh, you who believe, do not take those who have received the Scriptures [Jews and Christians] before you, who have scoffed and jested at your religion, or who are unbelievers for your friends. Fear Allah if you are true believers. When you call to prayer, they make it a mockery and a joke. This is because they are a people who do not understand.

30:58 In this Koran We have used every kind of parable, but if you bring any sign to them, the unbelievers will say, "You are only saying lies." This is how Allah seals up the hearts of those who have no knowledge. So be patient. Surely Allah's promise is true. Do not let those who have no firm beliefs unsettle you.

46:1 HA-MIM. This Scripture is revealed by Allah, the powerful, the wise. We have created the heavens and the earth and everything between them in truth and for a fixed term, but the unbelievers ignore the warnings.

28:85 He who sanctioned the Koran for you [Mohammed] will certainly bring you home [to Mecca] again. Say: My Lord best knows who brings guidance and who is in error.

28:86 You never expected that the Book would be given to you except as a mercy from your Lord. So do not lend support to the unbelievers. Do not let them divert you from the signs of Allah after they have been sent down to you, but invite men to your Lord, and do not be in the company of unbelievers. Do not call on any other god with Allah. There is no god but Allah. Everything perishes except Him. Judgment is His, and you will return to Him .

31:6 There are men who engage in idle tales [A Persian story-teller in Mecca said that his stories were better than Mohammed's] without knowing, and they mislead others from the way of Allah and turn it to scorn. There will be a shameful punishment for them. When Our signs are revealed to him, he turns away in arrogance as if he had not heard them, as though there were deafness in his ears. Give him tidings of a terrible punishment. Those who will believe and do good works, will enjoy the Gardens of Bliss, where they will abide forever. It is Allah's true promise, and He is mighty and wise.

31:10 He created the heavens without pillars that can be seen and put mountains firmly on the earth so that they would not move. He scattered over it animals of every sort. He sent down rain from the heavens and caused every kind of noble plant to grow. This is the creation of Allah. Now show me what others beside Him have created. The wrongdoers are in obvious error.

7:59 We sent Noah to his people, and he said, "Oh, my people, worship Allah. You have no other god but Him. I fear for you the punishment of a dreadful day."

7:60 The chiefs of his people said, "We clearly see that you are in error."

7:61 He said, "There is no error in me, my people, I am a messenger from the Lord of the worlds. I bring to you the messages of my Lord and offer you good advice for I know from Allah what you do not know. Do you wonder why a warning comes to you from your Lord through a man among you? It is so you will guard against evil and receive His mercy."

7:64 But they rejected him, so We saved him and those who were with him in the ark, and We drowned those who rejected Our signs for they were a blind people.

7:103 After them We sent Moses with Our signs to Pharaoh and his nobles, but they rejected them. See what was the end of those who made mischief! And Moses said, "Oh, Pharaoh, I am a messenger from the Lord of the worlds. I have no right to speak anything but the truth about Allah. Now I come to you with clear proof of my mission from your Lord, so let the Children of Israel leave with me."

7:106 Pharaoh said, "If you have come with a sign, let me see it if you are telling the truth."

7:107 So Moses threw down his rod, and it was clearly a serpent. Then he drew his hand from his bosom, and it was clearly white [with leprosy] to the onlookers.

7:109 The nobles of Pharaoh's people said, "This is a knowing sorcerer. He plans to expel you from your land. What do you advise be done?"

7:111 They said, "Put him and his brother off awhile, and send the collectors to your cities so they can bring every skilled sorcerer to you."

7:113 And the sorcerers came to Pharaoh. They said, "We will surely be rewarded if we win."

7:114 He said, "Yes, and you will certainly be brought nearest to me."

7:115 They said, "Oh, Moses! Will you throw down your rod first, or will we throw down ours?"

7:116 Moses said, "Throw yours down." And when they had thrown them down, they bewitched the people's eyes, and frightened them with a great feat of magic. Then We spoke to Moses, "Throw down your rod," and it devoured the lies they told. So the truth was

established, and all that they had done proved in vain. They were vanquished on the spot and were made to look small.

7:120 And the magicians fell down prostrate in adoration saying, "We believe in the Lord of the worlds, the Lord of Moses and Aaron."

7:123 Pharaoh said, "Do you believe in him before I give you permission? This is surely a trick you have devised in my city in order to drive out its people, but you will soon see what will happen.

7:124 I will cut off your hands and feet on opposite sides then will crucify you altogether."

7:125 They said, "We return to our Lord, and you [the Pharaoh] will take revenge on us because we believed the signs of our Lord when they came to us. Lord, give us your constancy and patience that we may die as Muslims."

7:127 The elders of Pharaoh's people said, "Will you leave Moses and his people to spread corruption in our land and forsake you and your gods?" He said, "We will slay their male children and spare their females. Then they will submit."

7:128 Moses said to his people, "Ask for help from Allah, and patiently wait for the earth is Allah's, and He will give it as an inheritance to whomever He pleases. And the righteous will inherit Paradise."

7:129 They said, "We were persecuted before you came to us and since you have been with us." Moses said, "It may be that your Lord will destroy your enemy and make you rulers in the land so He will see how you act."

7:130 We have already punished Pharaoh's people with years of droughts and scarcity of food that they might learn. When good fell to them they said, "This is due to us, " but if evil came to them, they said it was due to the evil omens of Moses and his people. In truth, their evil omens were from Allah, but most of them do not know.

7:132 They said to Moses, "Whatever sign you bring to bewitch us, we will not believe in you." So We sent them the flood, the locusts, the lice, the frogs, and the blood. All were clear signs, but they were an arrogant and sinful people. Each time any plague fell on them, they said, "Oh, Moses, pray for us to your Lord because you have a promise from Him. If you remove the plague, we will truly believe you, and we will let the Children of Israel leave with you."

7:135 But every time We removed a plague from them, they broke their promise when the time Allah granted them was over. Therefore, We took vengeance on them. We drowned them in the sea because they rejected Our signs and did not take warning from them. And We gave to the people who were considered weak the lands in the east and the west with

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Our blessings. The promise of the Lord was fulfilled for the Children of Israel because of their patience and constancy, and We destroyed the great works and the buildings of Pharaoh and his people.

7:138 And We took the Children of Israel across the sea, and they discovered people who worshipped idols. They said, "Oh, Moses, make us a god like the gods they have." He said, "You are an ignorant people. As for these people, their practices will be destroyed. What they are doing is in vain. Should I seek a god other than Allah for you when it was Allah who favored you above all other nations?"

7:141 And remember when We rescued you from Pharaoh's people, who punished you with dreadful suffering, slaughtering your male children and sparing your daughters? That was a great trial from your Lord. We appointed a term with Moses of thirty nights of solitude, which We completed with ten other nights so that his whole time with his Lord amounted to forty nights. And Moses said to his brother Aaron before he went up, "Take my place among my people, do right, and do not follow the way of sinners."

7:143 When Moses came at Our set time and his Lord spoke with him, he said, "Oh, Lord, show yourself to me so I may look upon you." Allah said, "You cannot bear to see me, but look up on the mountain, and if it remains firm in its place, then you will see Me." And when Allah manifested Himself to the mountain it turned it to dust, and Moses fell down senseless. And when he recovered he said, "Glory be to You! I turn to you to repent, and I am the first of the believers."

7:144 Allah said, "Oh, Moses, I have chosen you above all men. Take My words and make them known. Be one of the grateful." And We wrote on the tablets for him about laws concerning all matters, both commanding and explaining all things. We said, "Take a firm hold of these, and command your people to take the right path, which is written here. Soon I will show you the homes of the wicked. I will turn away from the arrogant. If they see every sign, they will not believe them. If they see the true path, they will not take it, but if they see the path of error, they will take it. They rejected Our signs and failed to take the warning. Those who reject Our signs and the coming of Judgment Day will be rewarded for what they have done."

7:148 During his absence, the people of Moses chose for worship a calf made of their gold ornaments and believed they heard it make a comforting sound. They did not see that it could not speak to them nor lead them. They worshiped it and became wrongdoers. They repented when they saw their error and said, "If Our Lord does not show mercy and forgive us, we will perish."

7:150 When Moses returned to his people, angry and grieved, he said, "You have done evil in my place during my absence. Do you wish to hasten the judgment of Allah? He threw down the tablets and seized his brother by the head dragging him to him. Moses said, "Son of my mother, the people judged me weak and almost killed me. Do not make my enemies rejoice over me or place me among the wrong doers." Moses said, "Oh, Lord, forgive me and my brother, let us enter into Your mercy for You are the most merciful of the merciful."

7:152 Those who took the calf as a god will receive the wrath of the Lord and humiliation in this present life. This is how We repay those who deceive Allah. But for those who have done evil, then afterwards repent and believe, the Lord will be forgiving and merciful.

7:154 And when the anger of Moses was calmed, he took up the tablets. In their writing was guidance and mercy for those who fear their Lord. And Moses chose seventy of his men for Our meeting. When the earth trembled, he said, "Oh, my Lord, if it had been your will, You could have destroyed them and me before this time. Will You destroy us for the deeds of the foolish ones among us? It is Your trial alone. With it, You will mislead whom You wish and guide whom You wish to the right path. You are our protector. Forgive us and have mercy on us because You are the best of those who forgive.

7:156 Ordain for us what is good in this world and in the world to come because we have turned to You." Allah said, "I punish those I desire, but My mercy embraces all things, and ordain mercy for those who do right, and pay the poor tax, and believe in Our signs.

28:1 TA. SIN. MIM. These are the signs that make the Book clear. We will tell you portions of the story of Moses and Pharaoh in truth for the teaching of the believers.

28:4 Now Pharaoh lifted himself in the land and divided his people into classes. He persecuted the lowest class by slaying their male children, but He let their females live. He was an evil tyrant.

28:5 We desired to show favor to those who were oppressed in the land, to make them spiritual leaders, to make them heirs, and to give them the land. We desired to punish Pharaoh and Haman and their warriors with a scourge that they feared.

28:7 We inspired the mother of Moses saying, "Suckle your child, and if you fear for him, launch him into the river, and do not fear, nor grieve, for We will bring him to you and make him one of the messengers."

28:8 Then the Pharaoh's family took him up from the river though, he was to be an enemy and a sorrow to them, for Pharaoh, Haman, and their hosts. Pharaoh's wife said, "He is a joy to me and you. Do not kill him. He will be useful to us, or we may adopt him as a son." But they did not know what they were doing.

28:10 The heart of Moses's mother became empty, and she nearly claimed him back as her son, but We strengthened her heart so that she might be a believer. She said to his sister, "Follow him," and she watched him from afar so they did not know it.

28:12 And We caused him [the baby Moses] to refuse the nurses' breasts, until his sister came and said, "Should I show you a family of a house that will rear him for you and will be careful of him?" So We restored him to his mother, so she would be comforted and might not grieve and might know that the promise of Allah was true. But most men do not know. And when he had reached maturity and had become a man, We bestowed wisdom and knowledge on him. In this way We reward the righteous.

28:15 He entered the city unnoticed, and he found two men fighting. One was of his own race, the other was of his enemies' race. The Jew asked Moses for his help against their enemy, and Moses struck the Egyptian with his fist and killed him. He [Moses] said, "This is a work of Satan, for he is an enemy, a manifest misleader."

28:16 He said, "Oh, my Lord, I have wronged my soul; forgive me." So Allah forgave him, for He is forgiving and merciful.

28:17 He said, "Lord, because you showed me this grace, I will never again help the wicked."

28:18 Moses was in the city at noon, fearful and vigilant. When the man he had helped the day before cried out to him again for help, Moses said to him, "You are plainly a quarrelsome man." And when Moses decided to lay hands on the man who was an enemy to the Jews, the man said to him, "Oh, Moses, will you kill me as you killed that man yesterday? You desire only to become a tyrant in this land and not to become a peacemaker."

28:20 But a man came running up from the farthest end of the city. He said, "Oh, Moses, the chiefs consult together to slay you, so leave. I counsel you as a friend."

28:21 So he left in fear and vigilance. He prayed, "Oh, Lord, deliver me from the unjust people." When he turned towards Midian, he said, "Maybe my Lord will guide me in an even path."

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

28:24 So Moses watered their flocks for them then retired to the shade and said, "Oh, my Lord, I am in need of any good [a wife] you will send me."

28:25 One of the two women came back to him, walking bashfully. She said, "My father calls you so he may reward you for watering our flocks for us." When Moses came to him and had told him his story, the old man said, "Do not fear. You have escaped from an unjust people."

28:26 One of the two women said, "Oh, my father, hire him for the best man you can hire is strong and trustworthy."

28:27 He said to Moses, "I intend to marry you to one of my two daughters if you will be my hired servant for eight years, and if you fulfill ten, it will be of your own free will for I do not wish to make it hard for you. You will find me, if Allah wills, one of the righteous."

28:28 Moses said, "This will be an agreement between me and you. Whichever of the two terms I fulfill, there will be no injustice to me. Allah is witness of what we say."

28:29 So when Moses had fulfilled the term and was traveling with his family, he saw a fire on the mountain side. He said to his family, "Wait here for I see a fire. I may bring you tidings from it or a brand from the fire to warm you."

28:30 When he came up to the fire, a voice cried to him from the right side of the valley from a tree in the sacred hollow: "Oh, Moses, I am Allah, the Lord of the worlds. Throw down now your staff." When he saw it move as though it were a serpent, Moses retreated and fled and did not return. "Oh, Moses, draw near and do not fear, for you are in safety," cried the voice.

28:32 Put your hand into the bosom of your robe, and it will come out white [like a leper's], but unharmed, and draw your hand close to your side to guard against fear. These will be two signs from your Lord to Pharaoh and his nobles for they are a sinful people."

28:33 Moses said, "Oh, my Lord, I have killed one of them, and I fear that they will kill me, and my brother Aaron is more eloquent in speech than I am. Send him with me as a helper and to make good my cause for I fear they will accuse me of falsehoods."

28:35 He said, "We will strengthen your arm with your brother, and We will give you both authority, and they will not equal you in Our signs. You two and those who follow you will win the day."

28:36 When Moses came to them with Our clear signs they said, "This is nothing but a magical device. We never heard the like among our fathers of old." And Moses said, "My Lord knows best who brings guidance from Him and who will be repaid in Paradise. It is certain that the wicked will not prosper."

28:38 Pharaoh said, "Oh, nobles, you have no other god that I know of but me, so Haman, kindle a fire for me to bake bricks of clay, and build me a tower that I may climb up to the god of Moses for I think he is a liar."

28:39 He and his hosts were unjustly arrogant in the land. They thought that they would not have to return to Us. So We seized him and his hosts and cast them into the sea. See what was the end of the wrongful doers? And We made them leaders who call to the Fire of Hell, and on Judgment Day, they will not be helped. We made a curse to follow them in this world, and on Judgment Day they will be among the despised.

28:43 We gave the book of the Law to Moses for man's enlightening, guidance, and mercy after We destroyed the former generations so they would be mindful.

28:44 And you were not on the western slope of Sinai when We revealed the commandments to Moses, nor were you one of the witnesses. But We raised up generations after Moses and lengthened their days. Nor did you dwell among the Midians [a city on the Red Sea] reciting Our signs, but We kept sending messengers to them. And you were not on the slope of Sinai when We called to Moses, but it is of the mercy of your Lord that you warn people who have never had a warner come to them, so they may be mindful. If We had not sent you and had a disaster happened as a result of their own deeds, they might say, "Oh, our Lord, why have you not sent a messenger to us? Then we would have followed your signs and have been of the believers."

40:23 We had sent Moses of old with Our signs and with clear authority to Pharaoh, and Haman, and Karun, and they said, "Sorcerer, impostor."

40:25 When he brought the truth to them from Us, they said, "Slay the sons of those who believe as he does, and spare their females," but the plots of the unbelievers only end in failure.

40:26 Pharaoh said, "Leave me alone to kill Moses, and let him call on his Lord. I fear that he will change your religion or cause mischief in the land."

40:27 Moses said, "I take refuge with my Lord and your Lord from every arrogant one who does not believe in the Day of Reckoning."

40:28 And a believer from the Pharaoh's family, who had hidden his faith said, "Will you kill a man because he says, 'My Lord is god,' when he has already come to you with clear signs from your Lord? If he is a liar, the burden of the lie is on him, but if he is a man of truth, part of what he warns will fall upon you. Allah does not guide wrongdoers and liars. Oh, my people, today the kingdom is yours; you are the eminent of the earth, but who shall defend us from the vengeance of Allah if it should come to us?" Pharaoh said, "I only show you what I think, and I will only guide you in a right way."

40:30 Then the man who believed said, "Oh, my people, I truly fear for you the like of the day of disaster of the people of old. A plight like that of the people of Noah and Ad [an ancient people of southern Arabia] and Thamud [the people of a ruined Nabatean city near Medina] and of those after them. Yet Allah never wants injustice for his servants. And, Oh, my people, I indeed fear for you the day of summoning, the day when you will turn your back and flee. You will not have a protector in Allah. Whomever Allah leads astray, there will be no guide for him."

40:34 Joseph came to you with clear signs, and you continued to doubt the message which he gave to you until when he died, you said, "Allah will not send a messenger after him." This is how Allah misleads the doubters and wrong doers. They who dispute the signs of Allah without authority having reached them are greatly hated by Allah and the believers. So Allah seals up every arrogant, disdainful heart.

40:36 And Pharaoh said, "Oh, Haman, build a tower for me so I can reach the roads—the roads of the heavens—and may mount to the god of Moses, for I think he is a liar." So the Pharaoh made his evil deed to seem fair to himself, and he turned away from the path of truth, but the plot of Pharaoh ended only in his ruin.

40:38 The believer said, "Oh, my people, follow me; I will lead you to the right course. Oh, my people, this present life is only a passing joy, but the life to come is the life that will last. Whoever has committed evil will be paid back in like, while he who does things that are right, whether male or female, and is a believer will enter the Garden. They will be given abundance without measure. And, Oh, my people, how strange that I call you to salvation, while you call me to the Fire. You invite me to deny Allah and to join with Him gods of whom I know nothing, but I invite you to the mighty, the forgiving. No doubt you call me to one who has no claim in this world or the Hereafter and that we will return to Allah. The wrongdoers will be the companions of the Fire. Soon you will

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remember what I say to you. I entrust my affair to Allah, who watches over His servants."

10:71 Tell them the history of Noah when he said to his people, "Oh, my people, if my stay and my reminding you of the signs of Allah are grievous to you, I still trust Allah. So choose a course of action—you and your false gods. Do not let your plans be uncertain to you. Then come to some decision about me, and do not delay. If you turn your backs on me, I ask no reward from you. My reward is with Allah alone, and I am commanded to submit to Allah's will." But they treated him as a liar, and We rescued him and those with him in the ark, and We made them to inherit the earth while We drowned those who rejected Our signs. See what was the end of those who were warned?

10:74 Then after him, We sent messengers to their peoples, and they brought them clear signs, but they would not believe in what they had denied earlier. So We seal up the hearts of the transgressors. After them We sent Moses and Aaron with Our signs to Pharaoh and his nobles, but they were arrogant and a guilty people. When the truth came to them from Us, they said, "This is clear sorcery."

10:77 Moses said, "What do you say of the truth when it has come to you, 'Is this sorcery?' but sorcerers will not prosper."

10:78 They said, "Have you come to us to turn us away from the faith of our fathers so that you and your brother will have greatness in this land? We are not going to believe in you."

10:79 Pharaoh said, "Fetch me every skilled magician." When the magicians arrived, Moses said to them, "Cast down what you have to cast."

10:81 And when they had cast them down, Moses said, "What you have brought is sorcery, and Allah will render them vain. Allah does not uphold the work of mischief-makers. Allah will verify the truth by his words, though the guilty may be averse to it." And none believed in Moses except some of the children of his people because they feared that Pharaoh and his nobles would persecute them. Pharaoh was a tyrant in the land and one who committed excesses.

10:84 And Moses said, "Oh, my people, if you believe in Allah, put your trust in Him and submit."

10:85 They said, "In Allah we put our trust. Oh, our Lord, do not make us subject to the persecution of unjust people, and deliver us by Your mercy from the unbelieving people."

10:87 Then We revealed to Moses and to his brother this message: "Provide houses for your people in Egypt, and in your houses, places of worship and proclaim good tidings to the believers."

10:88 And Moses said, "Oh, our Lord, You have given the Pharaoh and his nobles splendor and riches in this present life. Oh, our Lord, they do lead people astray from Your way. Oh, our Lord, destroy their riches, and harden their hearts so they do not believe until they have see the painful doom."

10:89 Allah said, "Your prayer is heard, Moses and Aaron. Keep to the straight path, and do not follow the path of those who have no knowledge."

10:90 We led the Children of Israel through the sea, and, due to spite and tyranny, Pharaoh and his hosts followed them until they drowned. Pharaoh said, "I believe there is no god but He in whom the Children of Israel believe, and I submit to Him."

10:91 "Yes now, but just a little while before you were rebellious and one of the wrongdoers. But this day We will rescue you and your body so that you may be a sign to those who will come after you, but truly, most men disregard Our signs."

10:93 We settled the Children of Israel in a beautiful home and provided them with good things, but they fell into disagreements when the knowledge (the Law) came to them. The Lord will decide between them on Resurrection Day concerning their differences.

11:25 We sent Noah to his people, and he said, "I come to you a with a clear warning that you worship no one but Allah. I fear you will receive the punishment of a grievous day." Then the chiefs of the unbelievers among Noah's people said, "You are only a mortal like ourselves, and we see that your only followers are the dullest among us who are quick to judge. We do not see in you anything that excels above our own abilities. No, we think you are a liar."

11:28 Noah said: "Oh, my people, see if I have a clear revelation from my Lord and whether He has sent mercy to me, which has been made unclear to you. Can we force you to accept it if you are against it? Oh, my people, I do not ask for riches: my reward is of Allah alone, and I will not drive away those who believe because they will meet their Lord, but I see that you are an ignorant people. Oh, my people, who would help me against Allah if I were to drive them away? Will you not consider? I do not tell you that I have the treasures of Allah, nor do I say, 'I know the things unseen,' nor do I say, 'I am an angel,' nor do I say of those you hold with scorn, 'Allah will not bestow good things on them.' Allah knows best what is in their minds for then I would be one of the unjust."

11:32 They said: "Oh, Noah, you have already disputed with us and lengthened the disputes. Bring what you threaten to us if you are telling the truth."

11:33 He said, "Only Allah will bring it to you at His sole pleasure, and you will not escape. No, my advice will be of no profit to you if Allah desires to mislead you. He is your Lord, and to Him you will return."

11:35 Do they say, "This Koran is his own invention?" Say: If I have invented it, my guilt will be on me, but I am clear of that guilt.

11:36 It was revealed to Noah: "None of your people will believe, except the ones who already believed, so do not be grieved at their doings. Build the Ark under Our eyes and after Our revelation, and do not plead with Me for those who are unjust, for they are to be drowned."

11:38 So he built the Ark, and whenever the chiefs of his people passed by, they laughed at him. He said, "If you laugh at us, we truly will laugh at you, even as you laugh at us." In the end you will know who will receive a punishment that will shame him, and who will receive a lasting doom.

11:40 Then our sentence came to pass, and the earth's surface gushed water. We said, "Carry two of every kind into it—male and female, and your family, except those who are doomed, and the true believers." But only a few believed with him.

11:41 He said, "Embark on the Ark. In the name of Allah, be its sailing and its anchoring. For my Lord is right-forgiving and merciful." The Ark moved on with them amid waves like mountains, and Noah called to his son—for he had stayed behind—"Leave with us, Oh, my child, and do not be with the unbelievers." He said, "I will go to a mountain that will secure me from the water." Noah said, "No one will be secure from the decree of Allah this day except him on whom He will have mercy." And the waves passed between them, and he was drowned.

11:44 And it was said, "Oh, earth, swallow your water. Oh, clouds, stop the rain." and the water subsided, and the decree was fulfilled. The Ark rested upon Al-Djoudi, and a voice said, "Away with the tribe of the wicked."

11:45 Noah called on his Lord and said, "Oh, Lord, surely my son is of my family, and your promise is true, and you are the most just of judges."

11:46 Allah said, "Oh, Noah, he is not of your family because he was a wrongdoer. Do not ask of Me that which you do not know. I warn you so that you will not become one of the ignorant.

11:47 He said, "Oh, my Lord, I do seek refuge in You for fear that I will ask a question of which I have no knowledge. Unless You forgive me and have mercy on me, I will be one of the lost."

11:48 It was said to him, "Oh, Noah, descend with peace from Us and with blessings on you and on the people who will be born from those with you. As for other people, We will let them enjoy the things in this world, but afterwards, We will send them a grievous punishment."

11:49 This is one of the secret stories that We reveal to you. No one knew the story before this. Be patient, for the end is for those who fear Allah.

28:48 Yet when the truth came to them [the Meccans] from Us they said, "Why is he not given what was given to Moses?" Did they not reject what was given to Moses? They said, "Two works of sorcery [the Torah and the Koran] that helped each other, and we disbelieve them both."

28:49 Say: Then bring a Book from Allah that will be a better guide than this so I may follow it if you speak the truth. If they do not answer you, then know that they are following their own lusts. Who is more widely astray than he who follows his own desires without guidance from Allah? Allah does not guide the wicked. And now We have caused our word to reach them so they may be warned. Those [some of the Jews] to whom We gave the Scriptures before do believe in it [the Koran]. When it is recited to them they say, "We believe in it for it is the truth from Our Lord. We were Muslims before it came."

28:54 They will receive their reward twice because they suffered with patience, repelled evil with good, and gave to charity out of that which We provided them.

7:159 And among the people of Moses there is a certain number who guide others with truth and establish justice. And We divided them into twelve tribes, or nations, and We inspired Moses when the people asked for drink, saying, "Strike the rock with thy staff," and from there gushed twelve springs, and each tribe knew its own place for water. We gave them clouds to shade them, and sent manna [food from heaven] and the quails to them. "Eat the good things We have provided you." They did no harm to Us, but they did injure themselves [when they stored the manna instead of trusting that more would be furnished the next day].

7:161 When it was said to them, "Live in this town and eat wherever you wish and speak with humility and enter the gate in humility. We will forgive you wrongs, and We will give more to those who do good." But those who did wrong among them changed that word [the Jews made a pun and changed hittat, absolution, to habbat, grain] into another that had been told to them, so We sent them a plague for their wrong doings.

7:163 Ask them about the town that stood by the sea, how the Jews broke the Sabbath. Their fish came to them on their Sabbath day appearing on the surface of the water. But during the work week there were no fish to catch. So We made a trial of them for they were evildoers. And when some of them said, "Why do you preach to those whom Allah is about to destroy or chastise with awful doom?" They said, "To do our duty for the Lord so that they may be able to ward off evil."

7:165 When they disregarded the warnings that had been given to them [not to work on the Sabbath], We rescued those who had forbidden wrongdoing, and We punished the wrongdoers for their transgressions. But when they persisted in what they had been forbidden, We said to them, "Be as apes, despised and loathed." [The Jews were changed into apes.]

7:167 Then the Lord declared that until Resurrection Day, He would use others to punish the Jews, for the Lord is quick to punish, and most surely is He forgiving and merciful. And We sent them out on the land as separate nations. Some of them were righteous and some were not. We have tried them with prosperity and adversity in order that they might return to Us.

7:169 After them came an evil generation. They inherited the Scriptures [the Torah], but they chose the pleasures of this world saying, "Everything will be forgiven us." If similar vanities came to them again, they would seize them again. But did they not accept a promise through the Scripture that they would not speak anything of Allah but the truth? And they have studied what is in the Book [Koran], but the home in the hereafter is for those who fear Allah. Do you not understand? And for those who keep the Scriptures and keep regular prayer, We will not waste the reward of the righteous. When We shook the mountain over them, as if it were a covering, and they thought it was going to fall on them, We said "Hold fast to what We have given you, and remember what is in it so you may guard against evil."

46:4 What are you thinking when you worship other gods? Show me which part of earth or heaven they created. Bring me their revelations if you are telling the truth. And who is more mistaken than he who calls on gods who will have no answers until the Resurrection? And on Judgment Day he will become enemies with them [his false gods] and deny that he worshipped them.

46:7 And when We clearly reveal the truth to the unbelievers, they say it is surely magic and sorcery. Or they say "He has invented it." Say: If I have invented it, then you will obtain not one blessing for me from Allah. He knows what is between me and you, and He is forgiving and merciful.

46:9 I am not Allah's first messenger, nor do I know what He will do with me and you. I follow what is revealed to me through inspiration, and my charge is to warn you [the Meccans]. What do you think? This Scripture is from Allah, and you reject it, and a witness [a Jew, Bin Salama] from the Children of Israel testifies that he has seen earlier scripture like it and believes it, while you proudly show scorn. Surely, Allah does not guide the unjust.

46:11 But the unbelievers say, "If the believers' scriptures were true, we would have had them first." And they refuse the scriptures; they say they are a legend, a lie.

46:12 Before this Book [the Koran] was the book of Moses, a rule and a mercy. This book confirms in Arabic the warning to the unjust and the good tidings to the just.

6:124 So We have placed wicked ringleaders in every city to scheme there, but they only plot against themselves, and they do not realise it. And when a sign comes to them they say, "We will not believe until we receive one like those that Allah's messengers received." Allah knows best where to place His message. The unbelievers will be disgraced when they receive their punishment for their scheming.

6:125 For those whom Allah intends to guide, He will open their hearts to Islam. But for those whom He intends to mislead, He will make their hearts closed and hard, as though they had to climb up to the heavens. Thus does Allah penalize the unbelievers. And this is the right way of your Lord. We have detailed Our signs for those who will listen and see. They shall have an abode of peace with their Lord. He will be their protecting friend because of their works.

6:128 One day He will gather them all together and say, "Oh, jinns, you took away a great part of mankind." And their friends among men will say, "Oh, Lord, some of us profited by others, but we have arrived at our appointed term, which You had set for us." He will say, "The Fire is your home where you will abide forever, as long as Allah wills." The Lord is wise and knowing. So We let the wrongdoers turn to each other because of their works.

6:130 Oh, race of jinn and mankind, were there not messengers among you giving you my warning of the meeting of this your day? They shall say, "We testify against ourselves." This world's life deceived them, and they will testify against themselves that they were unbelievers.

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6:131 The messengers were sent because the Lord would not destroy the unbelievers' cities until they were warned of their negligence.

You Fear Any besides Allah?

16:45 Are the people who plan evil actions sure that Allah will not cause the earth to swallow them or that punishment might not catch up to them from an unknown source? Or will Allah seize them while they are on a journey leaving them with no escape. Or might He cause them to waste away? Your Lord is Compassionate and Merciful.

16:48 Do they not consider that Allah has created their very shadows that move to the right and the left, bowing to Allah in the most humble manner? All creatures in the heavens and the earth bow down only to Allah. The angels bow too because none are arrogant before their Lord. They all fear Allah, high above them, and they do everything they are commanded.

16:51 Allah has said, "Do not worship two gods. There is only one Allah. Fear Me, and Me only. You should be afraid. Everything in the heavens and the earth belong to Him, and to Him constant obedience is due. Will you fear any besides Allah?

11:103 Here is a true sign for him who fears the punishment of the hereafter. That is a day on which mankind will be gathered together; that will be a day that is witnessed by all creatures. We only delay it until an appointed time. When that day comes, no one will speak a word but by permission of Allah. Of those gathered, some will be miserable and others blessed. The wretched ones will be in the Fire, and there will be sighing and moaning for them. They will abide there as long as the heavens and earth will last unless your Lord pleases otherwise. Your Lord does what He chooses.

11:108 As for the blessed ones—their place will be in the Garden. They will abide there as long as the heavens and the earth will last, a gift that will never end. Do not have doubts, therefore, concerning what these men worship. They worship only as their fathers worshipped before them. We will surely pay them back their portion with nothing lacking.

11:110 We gave Moses the Torah, but differences arose there. If your Lord had not decreed a delay in judgment, it would have been judged between them [Jews] then, but your people also have grave doubts about the Koran.

14:42 Do not think that Allah is unaware of the deeds of the wicked. He only gives them relief until the day when all eyes will stare up with terror. They will run forward in fear with their heads raised, their gaze riveted, and their hearts vacant. Warn men of the day when the punishment will overtake them and when the evildoers will say, "Oh, our Lord, give us relief for just a while longer. Then we will answer Your call and follow Your messengers." Did you [the unbelievers] not once swear that there would be no end for you?

14:45 Yet you dwell in the homes of those who wronged their own souls [the ruined cities of Ad, Thamud and others], and We made it clear to you how We dealt with them, and We held them up to you as examples. They plotted mighty plots, but Allah knew their plots, though their plots were powerful enough to move the mountains.

14:47 Do not think that Allah will fail his promise to his messengers. Allah is mighty and vengeful. On the day when the earth will be changed into another earth, and so will the heavens, men will come to Allah, the one, the victorious. You will see the wicked on that day linked together in chains, their garments of tar pitch, and faces covered with Fire that Allah may reward every soul as it deserves. Allah is prompt to reckon.

14:52 This is a message for mankind so that they may be warned and know that He is the only god, and men of understanding should take heed.

34:22 Say: Call upon your gods, beside Allah. They do not possess the weight of an atom in the heavens or earth nor do they have any share in either, nor is any of them a helper to Allah. No one can intercede for Allah unless He permits it. Until the time when fear is removed from their hearts, they will say, "What does your Lord say?" They will say, "The truth, and He is the high, the great."

34:24 Say: Who gives you sustenance from the heavens and the earth? Say: Allah. And either we or you have guidance, or we are in grave error. Say: You will not be asked what our faults are nor will we be questioned about your actions. Say: Our Lord will bring us together. He will judge between us in justice for He is the judge and the knowing.

34:27 Say: Show me those you have idolized besides Him. You cannot. He is Allah, the exalted in power and the wise. We have sent you [Mohammed] to mankind to bring good tidings and to warn them, but most men do not understand. And they say, "When will this promise come to pass if you are telling the truth?" Say: Yours is the promise of a day, which you cannot retard for an hour, nor hasten.

34:31 The unbelievers say, "We will not believe in this Koran nor in the Books which came before it." If you could see when the wrongdoers will stand before their Lord, blaming each other. Those who were despised will say to those who were proud, "If it were not for you, we would have been believers." Then the proud ones will say to the weak, "Was it we who kept you away from the guidance once it reached you? No, but you are guilty."

34:33 And the weak will say to the proud ones, "No, but it was a plot of yours by night and by day. You ordered us to disbelieve in Allah and praise others besides Him." And they will proclaim their repentance after they have seen the punishment. We will put yokes on the necks of the unbelievers. They will be rewarded for what they have done. We have never sent a warner to any city without the wealthy ones saying, "We do not believe the message you have sent." They said, "We are more abundant in riches and in children; we cannot be among the punished."

34:36 Say: My Lord can be liberal or sparing in his giving, but most men will not acknowledge it. It is not your riches nor your children that will bring you near to Us. Only those who believe and do good will have a double reward for what they have done, and they will dwell securely in the mansions of Paradise. Those who strive to invalidate Our signs, will be brought to doom.

7:189 It is Allah Who created you from a single person [Adam] and Who brought forth his wife that he might dwell with her. When they are united, she carries a light burden, which goes unnoticed until it becomes heavy. Then they cry to Allah saying, "If You give us a goodly child we vow we will be forever grateful."

7:190 Yet when Allah gives them a goodly child, they praise idols for what Allah has given to them. Allah is exalted above the idols they prefer to Him. Do they truly venerate others who create nothing, while they themselves were created by Him? These others can give no aid nor can they help themselves. If you call them to guidance, they will not obey. It is the same whether you call them or keep silent.

7:194 Those you call on besides Allah are His servants like you are. Call on them then, and let them answer you if you are truthful. Do they have feet to walk with? Do they have hands to hold with? Do they have eyes to see with? Do they have ears to hear with? Say: Call on these god-partners of yours. Then plot against me. Do not delay. My Lord is Allah who revealed the Scripture. He befriends the good. Whoever you call on besides Allah is not able to help you nor can they help themselves. If you call them to guidance, they will not hear you. You see them look towards you, but they do not see. Keep to forgiveness, command what is right, and turn away from the ignorant. And if a suggestion from Satan afflicts you, seek refuge with Allah. He hears and knows all things. Those who guard against evil when thoughts from Satan assault them remember Allah's guidance, and they see clearly. Their brethren plunge them deeper in error and do not cease in their efforts.

7:203 If you do not bring a revelation, they [the Meccans] say, "Why do you not have one?" Say: I only follow that which is inspired by my Lord These are clear proofs from your Lord and guidance and mercy for those who have faith. And when the Koran is read, listen to it with attention and hold your peace that mercy may be shown to you. Remember the Lord humbly within yourself in a low voice in the mornings and the evenings [prayer]. Do not be one of the neglectful ones. Those who are with the Lord are not too proud to serve Him. They celebrate His praises and prostrate themselves before Him.

28:69 Your Lord knows what their hearts conceal and what they reveal. He is Allah. There is no god but Allah. All praise is due to Him in this life and the hereafter. He is the supreme power, and to Him you will be brought back.

28:71 Say: What would you think if Allah should enshroud you with a long night until the day of resurrection? Who besides Allah could bring you light? Do you not hear? Say: Have you thought if Allah should make a perpetual day for you until the day of resurrection? Who besides Allah could bring you the night in which to take your rest? Do you not see? Out of His mercy He has made for you the night so you can rest, and the day so you can see what you need of His bounteous supplies and so you may be grateful.

28:74 One day Allah will call to them and say, "Where are the gods you invented?" We will bring up a witness from every nation and say, "Bring your proofs." Then they will know that the truth is with Allah alone, and the gods of their own devising will desert them.

32:4 It is Allah Who created the heavens and the earth and everything in between in six days before ascending His throne. You have no one besides Allah to protect you. Will you not think about this? He governs all things in the heavens and on earth. At the end of this world, all things will return to Him on a day that will seem to last a thousand years.

32:6 This is He Who knows all things—seen and unseen. He is mighty and merciful and has created all good things. He began creating man from clay then made his seed from a worthless fluid. He shaped him and breathed his Spirit into him and gave him the senses of sight, sound, and understanding. Small thanks do you give.

32:10 And they say, "What? When we have been buried in the ground, shall we really be resurrected?" Yes, but they deny that they will meet their Lord. Say: The angel of death has been put in charge of you and will take your lives. You will be returned to your Lord. If you could only see when the wicked shall hang their heads before their Lord, and say, "Lord, We have seen and heard. Return us to life. We will act righteously because now we are convinced."

32:13 If We had wished, We could have given guidance to every soul. My word will come true: "I will fill Hell with jinns and men together. So taste the evil of your deeds. You forgot that you would have a meeting on Judgment Day. We will forget you. Taste the eternal punishment because of your actions.

32:15 Only they believe in Our signs, who, when they are recited to them, fall down in adoration and celebrate the praises of their Lord, and they are not scornful. They shun their beds to pray to their Lord in fear and hope, and spend charitably from what We have given them.

32:17 No soul knows the hidden delights that are reserved for the righteous. There is a reward for their good deeds. Is the man who believes no better than the man who does not believe? They are not the same. As a reward for their behavior there are Gardens of repose waiting for those who believe and do good works.

32:20 The wicked will live in the Fire. Whenever they try to leave, they shall be forced back, and it will be said to them, "Taste the torment of the Fire, that you used to deny." Certainly, We will cause them to taste the lesser penalty in this life before tasting the supreme penalty so that they may repent and return. And who is more wrong than he who is reminded of the signs of his Lord and who then turns away from them? We will certainly punish the guilty.

45:18 We have now put you on the right path, so follow it, and do not follow the base desires of those who do not know. They cannot help you against Allah. Truly, the wicked are patrons to each other, but Allah is the patron of the righteous. These are obvious proofs for mankind and a guidance and a mercy to those whose faith is strong.

45:21 Do the wicked believe that We will treat them as We do those who believe and do good deeds so that their lives and deaths are equal? They have poor judgment. Allah created the heavens and the earth with truth so that every soul may be repaid for what it has earned and so none of them are wronged.

45:23 What do you think of a person who has made a god of his passions? Allah has purposely allowed him to go astray and has sealed his ears and his heart and has placed a veil over his eyes. Who will guide him after Allah has rejected him? Will you not accept this warning?

45:24 And they say, "There is only this present life. We live and we die, and nothing but time can destroy us. They have no knowledge of this, only speculation. When Our clear signs are recited to them, their only argument is to say, "If you are telling the truth, then resurrect our fathers." Say: Allah gives you life and then causes you to die. He will reassemble you on the Day of Resurrection, there is no doubt about this. However, most men do not know this.

45:27 The kingdom of the heavens and the earth belong to Allah. The liars will perish in the Hour of Judgment, and you will see every nation kneeling, each nation called to its record. It will be said to them, "Today you will be repaid for what you have done; our record speaks only the truth about you. We have written down everything that you have done." For those who have believed and have acted righteously, their Lord will admit into His mercy. This is the ultimate victory.

45:31 But it will be said to those who have rejected Allah, "Were Our revelations never recited to you? But you arrogantly scorned them and so became a guilty people." When it was said, "The promise of Allah is true, and there is no doubt that the Hour is coming," you said, "We do not know what the hour is. We think it is only speculation, and we are not convinced." And the evil consequences of their actions will appear to them, and they will be surrounded by that which they used to mock. And it will be said to them, "Today We will forget you like you forgot your meeting with us, and your home will be the Fire, and no one will be there to help you. This is because you treated Allah's signs as a joke, and the life of this world deceived you." Therefore, on that day there will be no escape from it; and they will not be able to make amends.

45:36 Praise be to Allah, Lord of the heavens and the earth, the Lord of the worlds! To Him belongs the greatness in the heavens and the earth because He is mighty and wise.

13:27 The unbelievers say: Why does his Lord not send a sign down to him? Say: Allah will truly mislead whom he chooses and will guide to Himself those who turn to Him. They believe and their hearts find rest in remembering Allah. Without a doubt all hearts find rest in the remembrance of Allah. Those who believe and do what is right will be blessed and find joy in the end.

13:30 Therefore, We have sent you to a nation before which other nations have passed away so that you may recite Our revelations to them. Nevertheless they deny the merciful Allah. Say: He is my Lord; there is no god but Him. I put my trust in Him, and to Him I will return.

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13:31 If there were a Koran that could move mountains, tear the earth apart, or make the dead speak, this would be it! Allah is in command of all things! Do the believers not know that if it had been Allah's will, He could have guided all the people? Disaster will never cease to afflict the unbelievers for their wrongful deeds or to come into their homes until Allah's will is fulfilled. Allah will not fail to keep His promise.

13:32 Many messengers who came before you were mocked. For a long time We allowed the unbelievers to go unpunished, but finally We punished them. Then how terrible was Our punishment!

13:33 Who is it that watches over every soul and knows all its actions? And yet they worship gods other than Allah. Say: Then name them! Would you inform Him of something on the earth that is unknown to Him? Or are these merely meaningless words? Certainly, their lies seem to make sense to the unbelievers because they are kept from the right path. No one can help those whom Allah has sent astray. They will receive punishment in this life, but what is worse is their punishment in the life to come, and they will have no protector against Allah.

13:35 Paradise is promised to those who fear Allah. It is a land watered by flowing rivers where food is plentiful and shade is perpetual. This is the reward for those who fear Allah. But the end of the unbelievers is the Fire. And those to whom We have given the Scriptures [Jews] rejoice in what has been revealed to you, although some groups among you deny a part of it. Say: I am commanded to worship Allah alone and not to regard any as His equal. I call on Him, and to Him I will return. Therefore, We have revealed this judgment of authority in Arabic. If you were to follow their desires after having received this knowledge, then you would find neither a guardian nor a defender in Allah.

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

13:40 Whether We allow you to see the fulfillment of part of our threats or We cause you to die before it takes place, your part is only to spread the message while it is Our part to give out the punishment. Do they not recognize that We take control of their lands and invade its diminishing borders? When Allah makes a decree, nothing can be done to change it, and He is quick at His reckoning. Those who lived before them devised plots as well, but Allah is the master of all plotting. He knows every soul. The unbelievers will come to know for whom the heavenly home is destined. The unbelievers will say, "You are not a messenger of Allah." Say: Allah and whoever has knowledge of the Scriptures is a sufficient witness between you and me.

16:19 Allah knows what you hide and what you admit doing. The false gods you pray to besides Allah have created nothing and were themselves created. They are dead, lifeless, and they do not know when they will be resurrected. Your Allah is the only god. The arrogant do not believe in the afterlife; their hearts refuse to know. Truly Allah knows what they hide and what they admit. He does not love the arrogant.

16:24 When it is said to them, "What has your Lord revealed?" They say, "Ancient myths."

16:25 Let them bear their full burdens on Judgment Day along with some of the burdens of the ignorant whom they have led astray.

16:26 Those that came before them also plotted, but Allah destroyed the foundations of their buildings so that their roofs fell upon them, and they had no idea where their punishment came from.

16:27 On Judgment Day Allah will disgrace them and say, "Where are my equals for whose sake you opposed my guidance?" The knowledgeable will say, "Today the unbelievers are covered in shame and misery. The angels caused them to die while they are doing wrong." The wicked will then try to submit saying, "We did not knowingly do evil." The angels will say, however, "Allah knows what you have done, so enter the gates of Hell to dwell there forever. Evil is the home of the arrogant."

16:30 And it will be said to the righteous, "What has your Lord revealed?" They will reply, "All that is good." There is a good reward in this life for those who do good, and the home of the afterlife is even better. The home of the righteous is indeed excellent: they will enter eternal Gardens with underground rivers, where they will have everything they wish for. This is how Allah rewards the righteous, those whom the angels cause to die when they are doing good. The angels will say, "Peace be to you. Enter the Garden because of what you used to do [doing good]."

16:33 Are the wicked waiting until the angels come, or the Judgment Day? Earlier generations did the same. Allah was not unjust to them; they were unjust to themselves. The evil consequences of their actions caught up to them, and the thing that they mocked surrounded them.

16:35 The idolaters say, "If Allah wished it, we would not have worshipped any except Him, neither ourselves nor our fathers. We would not have forbidden anything without His order." The earlier generations said the same thing. Do Allah's messengers have any duty other than to deliver his Word? It is true that We have sent a messenger to every nation saying, "Serve Allah and shun false gods. Some were guided by Allah, but He will not guide those he confuses. So travel through the land and see what became of the unbelievers."

16:37 If you are worried about their guidance, Allah does not guide those who lead others astray, and they do not have anyone to help them. They swear by Allah that He will not resurrect them after they die. It is a binding promise for Him. Allah will clarify their confusion. Those who do not believe are liars. If We intend something, all We have to do is say, "Be," and it is.

16:41 Those who are oppressed because of their faith and have to flee from their homes [Mecca], We will certainly give them a fine home in this world. Their reward in the afterlife will be even greater. These are the people who are patient and who put their trust in Allah.

11:7 He made the heavens and the earth in six days, and His throne extends over the waters so that He might judge which of you excels in your actions. If you say, "You will be raised again after death," the unbelievers will certainly exclaim, "This is nothing but pure sorcery."

11:8 If We defer their penalties to some definite time, they will ask, "Why hold it back?" On the day it comes to them, there will be no one to turn it away from them, and the penalty they scoffed at will enclose them in on every side.

11:9 If We cause man to taste Our mercy and then deprive him of it, he becomes despairing, and ungrateful. If We grant him grace after some misfortune befalls him, he will say, "The evils are passed away from me," and he becomes joyous and boastful, but not those who endure with patience and do the things that are right. They will have forgiveness and a great reward.

29:44 Allah created the heavens and the earth in truth. This is a sign to those who believe.

29:47 So it is that We have sent down the Book [Koran] to you [Mohammed]. Those [the Jews] to whom We have given the Book of the law believe in it, and some other Arabians there believe in it. None, save the unbelievers, reject our signs.

29:48 You [Mohammed] were not a reader of the Scripture before this book came, nor did you write one with your right hand. Then the critics could have treated it as a vain thing and doubted it. But it is a clear sign in the hearts of those whom knowledge has reached. None but the unjust reject Our signs. They say, "Why are the signs not sent down to him from his Lord?" Say: The signs are in the power of Allah alone. I am only a plain warner. Is it not enough for them that We have revealed to you the Book to be recited to them? This is a mercy and a warning to those who believe. Say: Allah is witness enough between me and you. He knows all that is in the heavens and the earth. Those who believe in the falsehood and reject Allah—these will be the lost ones.

29:53 They will challenge you to hasten the punishment. If there had not been a season fixed for it, the punishment would have already come upon them. It will come on them suddenly when they are not looking for it. They will ask you to hasten the punishment, but Hell will encompass the unbelievers. One day the punishment shall wrap around them, both from above them and from below them, and Allah will say, "Taste your own doings."

29:56 Oh, My servants who believe, My earth is vast; therefore, serve Me. Every soul will have a taste of death. Then to Us you will return. Those who believe and serve righteousness, We will house in Gardens with palaces, beneath which the rivers flow. They will abide there forever. How good the reward of the workers, those who patiently endure and put their trust in their Lord.

42:13 He has prescribed the same faith to you as that which He commanded to Noah, which We have revealed to you, and which We commanded unto Abraham and Moses and Jesus saying, "Observe this faith, and do not let yourselves be divided." The way is hard for those who worship gods other than Allah. Allah chooses for Himself whoever He wills and guides to Himself those who turn to Him.

42:14 When the knowledge came to them, then they became divided out of jealousy among themselves, and if a decree from the Lord had not gone out about an appointed term, a judgment would have already been made between them. Those who have inherited the Book [Christians] after them are in doubt about it.

42:15 For this reason, call them [Christians] to the faith and stand steadfast as you have been commanded and do not follow their desires. Say: I believe in the Book that Allah has sent down. I am commanded to decide justly between you. Allah is your Lord and our Lord. We have our works and you have your works. There will be no strife between us. Allah will make us all one, and to Him shall we return.

42:16 Their Lord will condemn the disputes of those who argue about Allah after they have acknowledged Him, and they will receive a terrible wrath and severe punishment. It is Allah who has sent down the Book [the Koran] with truth and the law. What will convince you that the Hour may be at hand? Those who do not believe in it wish to speed its coming, but those who do believe in it are afraid because they know it to be the truth. Those who dispute the coming of the Hour are in great error.

42:19 Allah is gracious to His servants. He gives sustenance to those He chooses. He is strong and mighty.

42:20 Whoever desires the harvest of the hereafter, We will give him an increase in his harvest. Whoever chooses the harvest of this world, We will also give him an increase, but he will not have a portion in the life to come. Do they have false gods besides Allah who have established a religion that is not sanctioned by Allah? Had it not been for a decreed respite until the Judgment Day, the matter would have been decided between them. The wrongdoers will have a painful torment. On that day, you will see the wrongdoers in fear because of their own works and the burden that will fall on them, but those who believe and do good things will dwell in the meadows of Paradise, and they will have what they desire from their Lord. This is the greatest grace. This is the bounty Allah gives to His servants who believe and do the right things. Say: For this I ask no wage of you, save the love of my kin [other Muslims]. And whoever earns the merit of a good deed, We will have his good increased for Allah is forgiving and grateful.

42:24 Will they say he [Mohammed] has forged a lie against Allah? If Allah pleased, He could seal up your heart, but Allah will wipe out the lie and will confirm the truth by His words for He knows the secrets of all men. He is the One Who accepts repentance from his servants and forgives sins and knows what you do. He listens to those who believe and do the things that are right and increases His bounties to them. As for the unbelievers, they will have a terrible punishment.

10:45 One day, He will gather them all together. It will seem as if they had waited but an hour of the day. They shall recognize one another. Those who denied the meeting with Allah and were not guided aright will perish! Whether We show you some of what We promised or take your soul, all return to Us. Then shall Allah bear witness to what they have done.

10:47 Every people was sent a messenger, and when their messenger comes on Judgment Day, a rightful decision will take place between them, and they will not be wronged. Yet they say, "When will this promise be fulfilled, if you tell us the truth?" Say: I have no power over any harm or profit to myself except as Allah desires. Every people has a term. When their term is reached, they can not delay or advance it an hour.

10:50 Say: Tell me. If Allah's punishment comes to you by night or by day, what portion of it would the sinner desire to hasten? When it comes to pass, will you believe it? Yes, you will believe it then. Yet did you wish to hurry its coming? Then it will be said to the unjust, "Taste the punishment of eternity. You receive what you have earned." They ask you, "Is this true?" Say: Yes, this is the truth, and you will not escape it. If every soul that has sinned possessed all that is on earth, it would surely offer it as ransom. They will feel regret when they have seen the punishment, and there will be a rightful decision between them, and they will not be dealt with unjustly. So it is that all that is in the heavens and the earth is Allah's. Is not then the promise of Allah true? Yet most of them do not know. He gives life and causes death, and to Him you will return.

7:179 We have created many of the jinn and men for Hell. They have hearts with which they cannot understand, eyes with which they cannot see, and ears with which they cannot hear. They are like cattle—no, even worse, for they are neglectful.

7:180 The most beautiful names belong to Allah. So call Him by them, and avoid those who use His name profanely for they will suffer for what they do.

7:181 Among those whom We have created are a people who guide others with truth and do justice. As for those who reject Our signs as lies, We draw them to destruction in ways they will not see. They have been granted a delay, but My scheme is certain. Have they not considered that their companion [Mohammed] is not mad? He is only a plain warner. Have they not considered the kingdoms of heaven and of the earth and all the things that Allah created? Do they not see that their own term may be drawing near? What message will they believe after this? If you are rejected from the guidance of Allah, you will have no other guide. He leaves them to wander blindly in distraction.

7:187 They will ask you [Mohammed] about the fixed time of the final Hour. Say: That knowledge is only with my Lord. He alone will reveal it at its proper time. It weighs heavily on jinns and men. It will suddenly come to you. Say: The knowledge of it is only with Allah. Most men do not know.

7:188 Say: I have no power over any good or harm to myself except as Allah wills. If I had knowledge of his secrets, I would multiply the good, and evil would not touch me. I am only a warner, a bearer of glad tidings to those who believe.

6:1 Praise be to Allah, Who created heaven and earth, as well as darkness and light. Yet the unbelievers have other gods.

6:2 He created you from clay and decreed the term of your life, and He has a set time for the Resurrection, and still you

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have doubts. And He is Allah in the heavens and on the earth. He knows your secrets and what you reveal, and He knows what you have earned through deeds.

6:4 And never did Allah reveal a single sign to them, but they [the Meccans] turned away from it. And now they reject the truth when they hear it, but soon they will learn about the truth that they once mocked. Do they not see how many generations We have destroyed before them? We had made them more powerful than you [the Meccans]. We sent rains in abundance and gave fertile rivers to flow beneath their feet, yet We destroyed them because of their sins and raised another generation. And if We had sent a Message down to you [Mohammed] on parchment so they could have touched it with their hands, the unbelievers would have said, "This is only magic."

6:8 They say, "Why has an angel not been sent down to him?" If We had sent down an angel, their judgment would have condemned the unbelievers suddenly, and no time would have been granted to them to repent. If We had made him an angel, We would have sent him as a man, and We would have caused confusion in a matter in which they are already confused. Messengers before you were mocked, but the scoffers were destroyed by the thing they mocked.

6:11 Say: Travel through the land and see the consequences of those who rejected the truth. Say: Who possesses the heavens and the earth? Say: Allah. He had prescribed mercy for Himself as a law. Without a doubt He will gather you together on Resurrection Day. Those who have lost their souls will not believe this. To Him belongs whatever dwells in the night or in the day. He hears and knows.

6:14 Say: Should I choose other than Allah for my protector, creator of the heavens and of the earth, He who feeds, but is never fed? Say: I am commanded to be the first who submits himself to Allah. You should not be of the unbelievers. Say: I fear if I should I rebel against my Lord the terror of a dreadful day. On that day, if anyone avoids punishment, it will be due to the mercy of Allah, and this will be a triumph. If Allah touches you with trouble, none can remove it but He, and if He touches you with good fortune, no one can ruin it because He has power over all things. He is supreme above his servants, and He is wise and knows.

7:35 Oh, children of Adam, if messengers come to you from among yourselves relating My signs to you, then those who refrain from evil and mend their ways will have no fear or grieving. But they who reject Our signs and scorn them will be companions of the Fire and will abide there forever.

7:37 Who does greater wrong than one who invents a lie against Allah or rejects His signs? To them shall a portion here below be assigned in accordance with the Book of our decrees until the time when our messengers arrive to take their souls and say, "Where are they whom you used to call beside Allah?" They will say, "They are gone from us." And they will testify against themselves that they were unbelievers.

7:38 He shall say, "Enter into the company of those who passed before you into the Fire, the generations of jinn and men. Every time a fresh generation enters, it will curse its sister peoples until all have followed each other into the Fire, and the last comers will say to the former, 'Oh, our Lord, these are the ones who led us astray. Give them a double torment of Fire.'" He will say, "You all will have double," but you do not understand this.

7:39 And the former of them will say to the latter, "You have no advantage over us, so taste the punishment that you earned." There will be no openings at the gates of heaven for those who have rejected Our signs and scorned them nor will they enter Paradise until the camel passes through the eye of the needle. This is Our reward to the guilty. They will make their bed in Hell, and sheets of Fire will cover them. This is how we will reward the evildoers.

7:42 But as for those who believe and do good works, no burden do We place on any soul but that which it can bear. They are the rightful owners of the Garden and will dwell there forever. And We will remove whatever ill feeling is in their bosoms. Rivers will roll beneath them, and they will say, "Praise to Allah who guided us here. We would never have been guided if it had not been for Allah. The messengers of the Lord truly brought us the truth." And they will hear the cry, "This is Paradise. You inherit it for your righteous deeds." And the dwellers of Paradise shall cry to the dwellers of the Fire, "We have found the promise of our Lord to be true. Have you also found what your Lord promised you to be true?" They shall answer, "Yes," and a herald shall proclaim between them, "The curse of Allah is on the evil doers."

7:45 Whoever would turn men from the path of Allah and seek to make it crooked, they were those who did not believe in the life to come. Between them is a veil, and on the Heights are men [men whose good and bad deeds balance each other] who know all by their markings [the men of Hell will have blackened faces and those of Paradise will have white shining faces], and they shall cry to the inmates of Paradise, "Peace be to you," but they will not enter, though they will hope. And when their eyes are turned towards the inmates of the Fire, they shall say, "Oh, our Lord, do not send us to the place of the wrongdoers." And the men on the Heights will cry to those whom they will know by their markings [darkened faces], "How did you profit from your wealth and your pride?" [Turning to the blessed, the men on the Heights say:] "Are not these the men to whom you swore Allah would show no mercy? Enter Paradise. You will have no fear, nor grief."

7:50 The dwellers of the Fire will cry to the dwellers of Paradise, "Pour some of the water on us or anything that Allah gives you." They shall say, "Allah forbids these things to unbelievers." For those who made their religion a sport and pastime and who were deceived by the life of the world, this will be the day We forget them as they forgot the meeting of this day and as they did deny Our signs. We have brought them the Book, which We explained in detail as a guide and a mercy to all who believe.

7:53 Are they waiting for its fulfillment [the Koran's promises of rewards and punishments]? On this day those who disregarded it will say, "The Messengers of our Lord did bring the truth. Do we have any intercessor to intercede for us, or could we return to life on earth? Then we could act differently than we have acted." But they have lost their souls, and the gods of their own devising have fled from them.

41:26 The unbelievers say, "Do not listen to this Koran. Instead speak during its reading so that you might gain the upper hand." But We will certainly give the unbelievers a taste of a terrible punishment, and We will repay them for their evil deeds. The reward of Allah's enemies is the Fire. The Fire will be their immortal home, a fitting reward for rejecting Our signs. And the unbelievers will say, "Lord, show us those jinn and men who misled us. We will crush them under our feet so that they become the lowest of all."

41:30 And for those who say, "Our Lord is Allah," and who continue down the right path, the angels will descend upon them saying, "Do not be afraid, or grieve, but instead receive the good news of the Garden of Bliss, which you are promised. We are your guardians in this life and in the hereafter. There you will have everything your souls desire, and there you will have everything you pray for. A gift from the forgiving and the merciful!"

34:3 The unbelievers say, "The Hour will never come on us." Say: By my Lord, it will surely come on you. He knows the unseen, and not the smallest atom in heaven or earth escapes him nor anything smaller or larger, but it is clearly in the book [of deeds]."

34:4 Allah will reward those who believe and do good things with a pardon and rich reward for them. For those who strive against Our signs, there will be a penalty, a painful doom of wrath. And those to whom knowledge has been given will see that what has been sent from the Lord is the truth, and that it leads to the path of the mighty, the praised.

34:7 The unbelievers say, "Should we show you a man who will tell you that when you are scattered in dust with the most complete disintegration, you will be created anew? He has invented a lie about Allah, or is a jinn [a creature made of fire who can help or hurt humans] in him?" No, those who do not believe in the next life are doomed by their mistakes. Do they not consider what is before them and behind them in heaven and earth? If We desired, We could cause the earth to swallow them up or cause the sky to fall on them. There is a Sign in this for every servant who returns to Allah.

39:53 Say: Oh, My servants who have transgressed against your own soul [become apostates] do not despair of Allah's mercy for Allah forgives all sins. He is forgiving and merciful. Return to your Lord, and submit yourself to Him before the punishment comes to you. After that you will not be helped. Follow the most excellent guidance that has been sent down to you from your Lord before the punishment comes to you suddenly, while you are not even looking for it, unless a soul should say, "Oh misery, I failed in my duty towards Allah and was among those who mocked."

32:23 It is true that long ago We gave the Torah to Moses. Do not doubt Our meeting with him. We made it a guide for the Children of Israel. And We appointed leaders from among them to guide by our command after they proved to be steadfast and kept faith in Our signs. Your Lord will certainly judge between them on Judgment Day regarding their disagreements.

32:26 Does it not serve as a lesson to remember how many generations We have destroyed before them? They can walk among the ruined homes of the unbelievers. Do they not see that We send the rain to parched land and bring forth crops for them and their cattle? Can they not see it? They say, "If you are telling the truth, when will this judgment take place?"

32:29 Say: On the Day of Decision, the faith of those who disbelieve will not help them, and they will not get a reprieve. So turn away from them and wait. They are waiting too. [Wait for their punishment just as they wait for your downfall.]

41:1 HA. MIM. A revelation from the most gracious, Most merciful Allah, a Book whose verses are explained in detail, a recital in Arabic for people of understanding.

41:4 The Book brings good news and a warning. Still, most of them will turn away and not hear. They say, "Our hearts are concealed under veils from your teachings. We are deaf and there is a barrier between us and you. Do what you wish. We will do as We wish."

41:6 Say: I am only a man like you. It has been revealed to me that your Allah is the only god. Go straight to Him and ask His forgiveness. Woe to those who join gods with Allah, those who do not pay the poor tax, and those who do not believe in the afterlife. As for those who believe and do the right things, they will have a never ending reward.

41:9 Say: Do you really deny Him Who created the world in two days, and do you believe He has equals with Him? He is the Lord of all the worlds. In four days He placed the towering, strong mountains upon the earth. He blessed it and placed food throughout to meet the needs of everyone. He then turned His attention to heaven which was a vapor, and said to it and the earth, "Both of you come, either willingly or unwillingly." They both said, "We will come willingly." So in two days He created the seven heavens, and He assigned to each heaven its mandate. He adorned the lower heaven with stars and left it guarded. That was the decree of the mighty, the all-knowing.

41:13 But if they turn away, say to them, "I have warned you of a disaster like the scourge that punished Ad [Ad lay on an old trade route north of Mecca. It was abandoned in Mohammed's day] and Thamud [the people of a ruined Nabatean city near Medina]."

41:14 When their messengers came from all directions saying, "Serve only Allah," they answered, "If our Lord had wished, He would have sent angels down to us, so we do not believe the message you carry."

41:15 As for the people of Ad, they were unjustly arrogant throughout the land, and they said, "Who has more power than us?" Could they not see that Allah, Who created them, was more powerful than themselves? Still, they continued to reject Our signs! So we sent a furious wind against them during days of disaster so that We might make them taste the penalty of disgrace in this life. The penalty of the afterlife will be even more disgraceful. They will not be helped.

41:17 We showed the people of Thamud [the people of a ruined Nabatean city near Medina] the right way, but they preferred blindness to guidance. So the scourge of humiliation overtook them because that was what they earned. However, We saved those who believed and acted righteously. On the day when the enemies of Allah are gathered to face the Fire, they will be marched together in groups. When they reach the Fire, their ears, eyes, and skin will bear witness against them for what they have done.

41:21 They will say to their skins, "Why do you testify against us?" And their reply will be, "Allah, Who has given speech to all things, has made us speak. He created you originally, and you will be returned to Him. You did not try to hide yourselves so that your ears, eyes, and skins could testify against you. You thought that Allah was unaware of most of the things that you did. But this evil thought of yours [that there are other gods] has brought you to destruction, and now you are one of the lost."

41:24 And though they are resigned, the Fire will still be their home. If they ask for goodwill, they will not receive it. We have given them companions in this world who made their present and past seem good to them. They deserve the fate of the past generations of jinns and men. They are certainly losers.

30:9 Have they not traveled through the land and seen what became of those who came before them? They were stronger than those today. They worked the land and were more numerous. Their messengers came to them with clear proof of Allah's sovereignty. It was not Allah who wronged them; they wronged themselves. Evil was the consequence of those who did evil. They treated our signs as lies, and made a mockery of them.

30:11 Allah began creation, then reproduced it, and to Him you shall be returned.

30:12 On the day when the hour arrives, the guilty will be speechless with despair; the false gods they joined with Allah will not help them. They will deny those whom they believed to be Allah's equal. On the day when the hour arrives, men will be sorted from one another; those who believed and did good deeds will enjoy themselves in a Garden of Delight, but those who called Our signs and the resurrection lies will be brought forth for punishment.

30:40 Allah created you, fed you, will cause you to die, and then will resurrect you. Are there any of your false gods who can do any of these things? Praise be to Allah! He is exalted far above those whom you join with Him. Trouble has appeared on land and sea as a result of evil that men's hands have done so that it might make them taste the fruit of their labors, in the hope that they might turn to Allah. Say: Travel the land and see what came of those who came before you. Most of them worshiped others besides Allah.

30:43 Set your face toward the right religion before the day comes which no one can stop. On that day, men will be sorted into two groups. Unbelievers will be responsible for their disbelief. The righteous will prepare their couches of repose in Paradise. He will reward from his bounty those who believe and do good deeds. He does not love the unbeliever.

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12:105 How many signs in the heavens and on the earth do they pass by, yet they turn aside from them? And most of them do not believe in Allah, without also joining other gods with Him. Do they feel secure that the overwhelming wrath of Allah will not come upon them or that the Hour will not come upon them suddenly, while they are unaware? Say: This is my way. I call on Allah resting on a clear proof—I, and whoever follows me. Glory to Allah. I am not one of the unbelievers.

12:109 We have never sent any messengers but men, whom We did inspire, chosen out of the people of the cities. Have they not traveled through the land to see what has been the end of those who were before them? But the mansions of the next life shall be better for those who fear Allah. Do they not comprehend?

12:110 Respite will be granted until the last messengers have lost all hope and deemed that they were reckoned as liars. Our aid reached them, and We delivered whom We willed. Our vengeance was not averted from the wicked. Certainly in their histories is an example for men of understanding. It is not an invented tale, but a confirmation of previous scriptures, an explanation of all things, and guidance and mercy for people who believe.

7:3 Follow what has been revealed to you by the Lord, and do not follow any protectors beside Him. How little you remember. How many cities have We destroyed? We destroyed them as We raided them at night or while they slept in the afternoon. When Our wrath reached them, they could only reply, "Yes, we were wrongdoers."

7:6 Yes, We will call those to account to whom Our message has been sent. We will also question the messengers. And We will tell them their story with knowledge, as We have not been absent from them.

7:94 Whenever We sent a prophet to any city, We afflicted its people with adversity and trouble so they would learn humility. Then We gave them good in the place of evil until they grew wealthy and said, "Our fathers, too, knew troubles and affluence." Then We called them into account when they were unaware.

7:96 If the people of these cities had believed in Us and feared Allah, We would have given them all sorts of blessings from heaven and earth. But they rejected the truth, and We took vengeance on them for their deeds. Did the people of those towns feel secure that Our wrath would not come to them at night, while they slumbered? Did the people of those towns feel secure that Our wrath would not come to them in broad day, while they were amusing themselves? Did they feel safe from Allah's strategy? No one can feel secure against the strategy of Allah except those who perish. Is it not clear to those who inherit this land from its ancient people that if We please, We can punish them for their sins and seal the hearts of the unbelievers?

7:101 We tell you stories of some of these towns. A messenger came to them with clear signs of his mission, but they would not believe what they had already rejected as a lie. This is how Allah seals up the hearts of the unbelievers

46:29 We sent a company of jinn so that they might hear the Koran. When the reading was finished, they returned to their people with warnings. They said, "Oh, people! We have heard a scripture sent down since the days of Moses verifying previous scriptures, a guide to the truth and the straight path. Oh, people! Hear the Messenger of Allah and believe Him that He will forgive your faults and protect you from tormenting punishment."

46:32 Those who do not respond to Allah's messenger cannot defeat His plan on earth, and he will have no protectors beside Him. Such men are in flagrant error. Have they not seen that Allah, who created the heavens and the earth and was not wearied by their creation, can give life to the dead? Yes, He has power over all things.

46:34 On the day the unbelievers are set before the Fire and are asked, "Is this not the truth?" they will say, "Yes, by Our Lord!" He will say, "Then taste the punishment because you did not believe." Then be patient, as the messengers had patience and firmness, and do not try to hasten their doom. When they see what has been promised them, it will be as if they had waited but one hour. Will any perish except those who have transgressed?

7:8 The weighing on that day will be just [a balance will be used to weigh the good and bad deeds of life], and those who weigh heavy in good deeds will be happy. And those who weigh light, their souls will suffer because they rejected Our signs.

7:10 And We have given mankind authority on earth and given you the means for a livelihood. How little are the thanks you give. We created you, then fashioned you, then said to the angels, "Fall prostrate to Adam, and they obeyed in worship, save Iblis. He refused to fall prostrate."

7:12 Allah said, "What prevented you from prostrating in worship when I asked?" Ilbis said, "I am nobler than Adam and You created me from fire, while You created him from clay."

7:13 Allah said, "Then go down from here. Paradise is no place for pride. Get out! You are of the degraded ones."

7:14 He said, "Give me a reprieve until the day when mankind will be raised from the dead."

7:15 Allah said, "You will be of the reprieved."

7:16 He [Satan] said, "Because you have thrown me out, I will lie in wait for them in your straight path. Then I will assault them from before and from behind, and from their right hand and from their left, and You will not find most of them to be thankful."

7:18 Allah said, "Get out of here, disgraced and banished! If any of them follow you, I will fill Hell with you all."

7:19 "Oh, Adam! You and your wife will dwell in Paradise and eat where you will, but do not come to this tree, or you will become one of the wrongdoers."

7:20 Then Satan whispered to them, telling them of their hidden and evil inclinations. He said, "Your Lord has forbidden you from this tree fearing that you might become angels or one of the immortals." And he swore to both of them, "I am a friend to you." So he used deceit to cause their fall, and when they had tasted of the tree, they knew their shame and began to hide themselves sewing together leaves of the garden for clothing. And their Lord called to them, "Did I not forbid you this tree, and did I not say to you, 'Satan is your open enemy'?"

7:23 They said, "Oh, our Lord! We have wronged ourselves; if you will not forgive us and have mercy on us, we will surely be lost."

7:24 Allah said, "Get out. Your descendents will be enemies of each other. Earth will be home and your livelihood for a time. There you will live, there you will die, and from there you will be raised."

30:46 Among His signs is that He sends the winds as heralds of glad tidings giving tastes of His mercy, and that ships may sail by His command, and that you may seek his favor, and that you may be grateful. Before you, We sent messengers to their own peoples, and they went to them with clear signs. Then, We punished those who were wicked, while it was Our pleasure to help the believers.

30:48 It is Allah Who sends the winds and raises the clouds and, as he wishes spreads them across the sky, or breaks them up, until you see the rain pouring down from their midst. When He lets it rain on those servants of his whom he pleases, they are filled with joy, even though before the rain came they had lost all hope. Look at the signs of Allah's mercy, how He gives life to the earth after it was parched. In the same way He will raise the dead to life. He has power over all things. However, if We were to send a wind that destroyed their crops, they would become ungrateful and would disbelieve.

30:52 You cannot make the dead to listen, or the deaf to hear the call when they turn their backs. Neither can you lead the blind from their errors. You cannot make any hear except those who believe in Our signs and submit to Allah. You were weak when Allah created you; then afterwards He gave you strength. After strength, with age comes weakness and gray hair. He creates what he pleases. He is the wise, the powerful.

30:55 On the day when the Hour arrives, the wicked will believe that they have waited only an hour. They were always easily deceived. But those with knowledge and faith will say, "The truth is you have waited by Allah's decree until the Judgment Day. This is the Judgment Day, but you did not know." On that day their excuses will not help the wicked, and they will not be asked again to make amends.

7:172 Remember when the Lord brought forth the children of Adam from their seed, their descendants, and made them testify against their own souls saying, "Am I not your Lord who cherishes you?" They said, "Yes, we so testify." Just in case you say on the day of Resurrection, "We were unaware of this." Or in case you say, "Our fathers before us may have taken false gods, but we are their seed after them. Will You destroy us for what wrongdoers did?"

7:174 In this way We explain Our signs in detail that they might return to Allah. Tell them [the Jews] the story of the man to whom We gave Our signs but he passed them by, and Satan overtook him, and he went astray [A Jew converted to Islam and then renounced it.]. If it had been Our will, We could have elevated him, but he clung to the earth and followed his own desires. His likeness is that of a dog, which if you attack him hangs out his tongue, and if you leave him alone, hangs out his tongue. This is the parable of those who reject Our signs. Tell them this story so they may reflect on it. Evil is the story of those who reject Our signs and wrong their own souls.

7:178 Whoever Allah guides is on the right path, and whoever He rejects are the losers.

29:60 How many animals are there that do not provide their own sustenance? Allah sustains them and you. He hears and knows all things. If you ask them who created the heavens and the earth and subjugated the sun and the moon, they would certainly say, "Allah." Then how are they turned away? Allah makes wide provisions to whichever of His servants He pleases, and He grants by strict measure to whomever He pleases. Allah knows all things.

29:63 If you ask them who sends rain from heavens and revives the earth after its death, they will certainly answer, "Allah." Say: Praise be to Allah. Yet most of them do not understand. This present life is no other than a pastime and a game, but truly the hereafter is life indeed. If they only realised this.

29:65 When they embark on ships, they call upon Allah, vowing sincere devotion to Him. When He brings them safely to land, they give a share of their worship to others. They become ungrateful for what We have given them, so that they may enjoy worldly things, but they will soon know their error.

29:67 Do they not see that We have made a secure sanctuary [Mecca] while men are being ravaged all around them? Will they then believe in false gods and reject the bounty of Allah? Who does more wrong than he who invents a lie against Allah or denies the truth when it comes to him? Is there not a home in Hell for the unbelievers?

29:69 As for those who make efforts for Us, We will surely guide them in Our ways for Allah is with those who do right.

14:18 A parable of those who do not believe in their Lord is that their works are like ashes, which the wind blows hard and scatters on a stormy day. They will have no gain from what they earn. This is the great error. Do you not see that Allah created the heavens and the earth with truth? If He wished, He could remove you and cause a new creation to arise. This is not difficult for Allah.

14:21 They will all come before Allah together, and the weak will say to those who were arrogant, "We were your followers. Can you save us from any part of Allah's wrath?" They will say, "If Allah had guided us, we surely would have guided you. It is all the same now, whether we rage or bear these torments with patience. We have no place to hide."

14:22 When the decision has been judged, Satan will say, "Allah gave you a promise of truth. I, too, made you a promise, but I deceived you. I had no power over you, but I called and you answered me, so blame yourselves not me. I cannot help you nor can you help me, though you joined me with Allah, I never believed that I was His equal. The evildoers will have a grievous torment."

14:23 But those who have believed and done good works will be brought into the Gardens, underneath which the rivers flow. They will abide there forever with the permission of their Lord. Their greeting there will be: Peace.

14:24 Do you not see how Allah gives you a parable of a good word being like a good tree that has roots firmly fixed and branches that reach into heaven? It yields its fruit in every season by the will of its Lord. Allah gives these parables to men so they may reflect. And the parable of an evil word is that of a bad tree. It is torn from the earth by the root. It has no stability.

14:27 Allah will give strength to those who believe in His word, which stands firm in this life and in the hereafter, but the wicked will He cause to err. Allah does what He pleases.

14:28 Have you not seen those who repay the goodness of Allah with ungratefulness and lead their people into the abode of Hell? They will be burned there in the Flame. They set up equals with Allah to mislead man from His way. Say: Enjoy yourself now because you are surely headed into the Fire.

14:32 It is Allah who created the heavens and the earth and sends down water from the clouds, which bring forth fruits to feed you. He has made the ships your subjects so they may sail through the sea by His command, and He has put the rivers to your service. He has subjected the sun and the moon to you in their constant courses, and He has subjected the day and the night to you. Everything that you ask of Him, He gives to you. If you would add up the favors of Allah, you would not be able to count them. Surely man is unjust and ungrateful.

31:26 To Allah belongs all things in the heavens and the earth for Allah is the absolute and praiseworthy. If all the trees that are upon the earth were to become pens, and the sea, with seven more seas to increase it, were ink, His words would not be exhausted for Allah is mighty and wise. Your creation and your resurrection are only those of a single soul. Allah hears and sees all things. Do you not see that Allah causes the night to enter into the day and he merges the day into the night and that He has subjected the sun and the moon to His laws, each running its course to an appointed term? Allah is aware of all that you do. This is because Allah is the truth, and whatever you call upon besides Him is false. Allah is the most high and the most great.

31:31 Do you not see how the ships speed on in the sea through the grace of Allah that He may show you of His wonders? Surely there are signs in this for the patient, grateful ones. When the waves cover them like dark shadows, they call upon Allah with sincere devotion, but when He delivers them safely to land, some of them falter between belief and unbelief. Yet, the deceitful and ungrateful ones reject Our signs. Oh, mankind, do your duty to your Lord, and fear the day when a father will not be able to help his son, nor will a son be able to help his father. The promise of Allah is the very truth. Do not let this present life deceive you nor let the deceiver deceive you concerning Allah.

31:34 The knowledge of the Hour is with Allah. He sends down the rain, and He knows what is in the wombs, but no one knows what he will earn tomorrow, nor does he know in what land he will die, but Allah is the knower and the aware.

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42:1 HA. MIM. AIN. SIN. KAF. Allah sends inspiration to you as He did to those before you. He is mighty and wise. All that is in the heavens and all that is in the earth is His. He is the High, the Great.

42:5 The heavens are almost split apart while the angels celebrate praise of their Lord and ask forgiveness for those on earth. Allah is indulgent and merciful. But those who take protectors besides Him—Allah watches them, but you have no charge over them.

42:7 So We have revealed to you an Arabic Koran so that you may warn the mother-city [Mecca] and all around it, and warn them of that day of the gathering, of which there is no doubt, when some will be in Paradise and some in the Flame.

42:8 If Allah had desired, He could have made them one people and of one creed, but He brings whom He will into His mercy. As for the evildoers, they will have no friend or helper. Have they taken other patrons than Him? Allah is the protecting friend. He gives life to the dead, and He is mighty over all things.

42:10 Whatever your differences may be, the decision rests with Allah. This is Allah, my Lord. I trust in Him and turn to Him. He is the Creator of the heavens and of the earth, and He gave you mates from among yourselves and mates for cattle, too. This is how He multiplies you. There is nothing else like Him. He is the hearer and the seer. He holds the keys of the heavens and of the earth. He gives open-handedly or He gives sparingly to whomever He desires. He knows all things.

42:27 If Allah were to enlarge His provision to His servants, they would surely exceed their bounds on the earth, but He sends down what He pleases in due measure for He is well-acquainted with His servants. He is the One who sends down the rain after men have despaired and spreads His mercy far and wide. He is the protector, worthy of all praise.

42:29 Among His signs is the creation of the heavens and of the earth and the living creatures He has scattered through them. He has the power to gather them all together when He wills. Whatever misfortune befalls you, it is because of what you have done, and yet He forgives many things.

42:31 There is nowhere on earth where you can escape Allah. You have no guardian or helper beside Allah. Among His signs are the ships in the sea like mountains. If He wishes, He can still the wind so they lie motionless on the back of the waves. These are the signs for those who are patient and grateful. Or, He can cause them to perish for the evil the sailors have earned, but He forgives much.

42:35 Those who argue about Our signs should know that there will be no escape for them. Whatever you receive is but a passing comfort for this life. What is better with Allah and more enduring for those who believe and put their trust in their Lord is to avoid greater crimes and shameful deeds, and when they are angered, forgive.

42:38 Those who listen to their Lord and observe regular prayer are those whose affairs are guided by mutual counsel, who spend from what We have given them, and who, when a wrong is done them, defend themselves. Let the punishment for evil be equal to the evil, but he who forgives and is reconciled will be rewarded by Allah himself for He does not love those who act unjustly.

42:41 Whoever defends himself after being wronged will bear no blame against him. The blame is only against those who unjustly wrong others and rebel on earth disregarding justice. These will have a grievous punishment. Whoever bears wrongs and is patient and forgiving shows courage in their acts.

42:44 Whomever Allah sends astray will no longer have a protector. And you will see the wrongdoers when they see the doom saying, "Is there any way to return?" And you will see them brought before the Fire made humble by disgrace, and looking with stealthy glances. The believers will say, "Truly, they are losers who have lost themselves and their families on Resurrection Day. Now the wrongdoers will be in lasting torment." They have no protectors other than Allah, and there is no road for him whom Allah causes to err.

42:47 Listen to your Lord before the day comes when you cannot turn back. You will have no refuge on that day, nor will you be able to deny your sins.

42:48 If they turn aside from your [Mohammed's] message, We have not sent you to guard over them. Your duty is only to deliver the message. When we cause man to taste Our gifts of mercy, he will rejoice in it, but if evil afflicts him for deeds he has done, then man is ungrateful.

42:49 To Allah belongs the kingdom of the heavens and of the earth. He creates what He will, and He gives daughters and sons to whom He will, or He gives them children of both sexes, and He makes barren whom He will for He is wise and powerful.

13:16 Say: Who is the Lord of the heavens and of the earth? Say: It is Allah. Say: Then why do you take gods other than Him who have no power to harm or do good to themselves? Say: Are the blind equal to those who can see, or is dark equal to light? Have their gods made a creation such as His so that the two creations seem the same to them? Say: Allah is the creator of all things and the conqueror of all. He sends down rain from the skies that fills the rivers to overflowing so that the flood carries swelling foam, like that which is made from ore when it is smelt to make jewelry and tools. It is in this way that Allah portrays that which is true and that which is false. The scum is washed away, and that which is useful remains. Allah, therefore, speaks in parables.

39:49 When trouble befalls a man he cries to Us. Afterwards, when We have given him a favor, he says, "Allah gave this to me because of certain knowledge I have." No, it is a test, but most of them did not know. Generations before them said the same, but their deeds did not profit them. The evils they earned overtook them. And whoever will do wrong among this generation, their own misdeeds will overtake them, as well. They will not escape Allah. Do they know that Allah gives generously to those He will and that He is sparing to whom He will? These are signs to those who believe.

39:8 When trouble touches a man, he cries to his Lord and repents, yet no sooner does He grant a favor than he forgets what he cried for and praises other gods than Allah and misleads others from Allah's path. Say: Enjoy your ungratefulness for a little while for surely you will be a companion to the Fire.

39:9 Is he equal to a believer who worships devoutly in the hours of the night, prostrate or standing in devotion, mindful of the life to come, and hoping for the mercy of his Lord? Say: Are those who know equal with those who do not know? Only men of understanding will take the warning.

39:10 Say: Oh, My servants who believe, fear your Lord. For those who do good in this world, good awaits. Allah's earth is spacious. Those who are patient will be rewarded in full measure.

39:11 Say: I am commanded that I serve Allah with sincere devotion. I am commanded to be the first of those who submit. Say: If I should disobey my Lord, I fear the penalty of a grievous day. Say: I serve Allah being sincere in my obedience.

39:15 Worship what you will besides Him. Say: The losers will be those who will lose their own souls and their families on the day of resurrection. Surely, this is a clear loss. They will be covered by Fire from above and below. With this Allah stirs fear in His servants, so fear Me, My servants.

MEDINA KORAN:

8:30 Remember the unbelievers who plotted against you and sought to have you taken prisoner or to have you killed or banished. They made plans, as did Allah, but Allah is the best plotter of all.

8:31 When Our revelations are told to them they say, "We have heard them before, and if we wanted to, we could say the same kinds of things. They are nothing but the fables of old." And then they said, "Allah! If this is indeed the truth sent down from You, then send down a shower of stones upon our heads or some other terrible punishment." But Allah would not punish them while you were there with them. He would not punish them if they asked to be forgiven. Nevertheless, Allah would be justified in punishing them because they have prevented the believers from entering the Sacred Mosque, even though they have no right to guard it. The Allah-fearing are its only guardians although most of them do not realise it. Their prayers at the Sacred House are nothing more significant than whistling or clapping hands to Allah. "Taste your punishment for your disbelief."

8:36 The unbelievers spend their wealth with the intent to turn others away from Allah's path. In this way they drain their wealth, but they will regret it, and they will be conquered in the end. The unbelievers will be driven into Hell. Allah will divide the bad from the good. He will take the wicked, pile them on top of one another, and cast them into Hell; truly they are the losers.

2:8 And some of the people [the Jews] say, "We believe in Allah and the Day," although they do not really believe. They wish to deceive Allah and His believers, but they fool no one but themselves although they do not know it. Their hearts are diseased, and Allah has increased their suffering. They will suffer an excruciating doom because of their lies.

2:11 And when they are told, "Do not make evil in the earth," they say, "We are only trying to make peace." But they truly are the evil-doers even though they do not realise it. When it is said to them, "Believe as others have believed," they say, "Should we believe as the fools believe?" They are the fools, if only they knew it! And when they meet with the faithful they say, "We believe too." But when they are alone with their fellow devils [Jews and Christians] they say, "Really, we are with you. We were only mocking them." Allah will throw their mockery back on them and leave them to wander alone in their blindness.

9:74 They swear by Allah that they said nothing wrong, yet they spoke blasphemy, and some Muslims became unbelievers. They planned what they could not carry out [a plan against Mohammed], and only disapproved of it because Allah and His Messenger had enriched them by His bounty [the resistance to Mohammed decreased when the money from the spoils of war came into the Medinan economy]. If they repent, it will be better for them, but if they fall back into their sin, Allah will afflict them with a painful doom in this world and the next. On earth, they will have neither friend nor protector.

3:85 How will Allah guide the people who fall into disbelief after having been believers and having acknowledged the messenger as true and after having received clear signs? Allah does not guide those that do evil. As for these, they will receive Allah's curse, as well as the curse of His angels and of all mankind, and they will live under it forever. Their punishment will not be lightened nor will they be forgiven except for those who repent and change their ways. Allah is forgiving and merciful.

9:61 There are some of them who injure the Messenger and say, "He is only a hearer." Say: He is a hearer of good for you. He believes in Allah and believes in the faithful. He is a mercy to those of you who believe, but those who injure the Messenger of Allah will suffer a painful doom. They swear to you by Allah to please you, but Allah and His Messenger are worthier, so they should please Him if they are believers.

9:63 Do they not know that whoever opposes Allah and His Messenger will abide in the Fire of Hell, where they will remain forever? This is the great shame.

9:64 The hypocrites are afraid that a sura [chapter] would be sent down about them telling plainly what is in their hearts. Say: Go on mocking, but Allah will bring to light all that you fear.

9:65 If you ask them, they will surely say, "We were only talking idly and jesting." Say: Do you mock Allah, His signs, and His Messenger? Make no excuse. You have rejected faith after you accepted it. If we forgive some of you, we will punish others because they are evildoers. Hypocritical men and women have an understanding with one another. They command what is evil, forbid what is just, and do not pay the poor tax. They have forgotten Allah, and He has forgotten them. The hypocrites are the rebellious wrongdoers. Allah promises the hypocritical men and women and the unbelievers the Fire of Hell, and they will abide there; it is enough for them. Allah has cursed them, and an eternal torment will be theirs.

2:16 It is these who have bought error at the price of guidance. Their purchase is profitless, and they have lost the right direction. They are like the ones who lit a fire, and when it shed its light all around them, Allah took it away and left them in total darkness where they were unable to see. Deaf, dumb and blind, they will never turn back to the right path.

2:19 Or like the ones who, standing beneath a storm cloud dark with thunder and lightning, put their fingers in their ears to keep out the sound, fearing death. Allah surrounds the unbelievers. The lightning nearly takes their sight away. Each time the lightning flashes on them, they walk around, but when the darkness comes, they stand still. If Allah willed it, He could destroy their hearing and sight because Allah has power over everything.

57:12 The day will come when you will see true believers, men and women, with their light stretching out before them and on their right hands, and they will hear it said to them, "Good news comes to you today of Gardens watering by flowing rivers where you will live forever." This is the ultimate victory!

57:13 On that day the hypocritical men and women will say to the believers, "Wait for us so that we kindle our lights from yours," but they will say to them, "Go back and find your own light!" A wall with a gate will be in between them, and those receiving mercy will be on the inside, and those on the outside in front of it will receive the torment of Hell. They will cry out to them and say, "Were we not with you?" and they will reply, "Yes, but you allowed yourselves to be led into temptation, you hesitated, and you doubted. Your lowly desires deceived you until Allah's punishment arrived. The deceiver tricked you about Allah. No ransom will be accepted from you today or from the faithless. The Fire will be your home for that is the proper place for you, and a wretched doom it is!

4:150 Those who deny Allah and His Messenger and those who seek to separate Allah from His messengers saying, "We believe in some, but reject others," therefore seeking a middle ground, these are truly unbelievers. And for the unbelievers We have prepared a disgraceful punishment. But those who believe in Allah and His messengers and make no distinction between them, they will be rewarded by Him. Allah is forgiving and merciful!

33:60 If the hypocrites, the men with diseased hearts and the troublemakers in Medina, do not desist, We will raise you up against them and they will not remain in the city much longer. They will be cursed, and wherever they are found, they will be seized and murdered. It was Allah's same practice with those who came before them, and you will find no change in Allah's ways.

33:63 When the people ask you about the Hour of Doom, say: Knowledge of it is Allah's alone. And who can tell whether the Hour is not nearly upon us? Truly, Allah has cursed the unbelievers and has prepared the Fire for them, where they will live forever with no friend or helper to be found! On the day their faces are rolling in the Fire they will cry out, "If only we had obeyed Allah and His Messenger!" And they will say, "Our Lord! Truly we obeyed our chiefs and great men, but they led us astray from Your path. Our Lord!

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Give them a double punishment, and curse them with a heavy curse."

33:69 Believers! Do not be like those who disrespected Moses. Allah cleared him of the insults they spoke of him [There were complaints about Mohammed's distribution of the spoils of war], and he was highly exalted in Allah's sight. Believers! Fear Allah and speak only the truth so that He may guide your works and forgive your sins. And whoever obeys Allah and His Messenger will be greatly blessed.

33:72 We gave Our trust to the heavens, the earth, and the mountains, but they refused the responsibility and were afraid to take it. And although man has undertaken it, he has proven unjust, foolish! Therefore, Allah will punish the hypocritical men and women. But as for the believing men and women, Allah will show them mercy, for Allah is forgiving and merciful!

63:1 When the hypocrites come to you, they say, "We testify that you are truly Allah's Messenger." Allah knows that you are indeed the one He sent. Allah testifies that the hypocrites are surely lying. They use their faith to conceal their true intention: to lead others away from Allah's path. What they do is evil. This is because they believed and then denied the faith. Therefore, their hearts have been hardened and they lack understanding.

63:4 When you see them, their appearances are pleasing to you. When they speak, you listen to their words. They are like pieces of wood leaning against a wall! Every shout they hear they think is against them. They are your enemies; beware of them. Allah will destroy them! How wicked they are!

63:5 And when they are told, "Come, Allah's Messenger will plead for your forgiveness," they turn their faces away and leave with arrogance. It will be the same for them whether you ask for their forgiveness or not; Allah will never forgive them for Allah does not give guidance to the wicked.

63:7 They are the ones who say, "Do not give anything to those who follow Allah's Messenger, and they will be forced to leave him." The treasures of the heavens and earth are Allah's, but the hypocrites do not understand. They say, "If we return to Medina, the strong will surely drive the weak from it." Strength is with Allah and His Messenger and the believers, but the hypocrites do not understand it.

63:9 Believers! Do not let your wealth or your children cause you to forget about Allah. Those who forget will suffer great loss. Give to Allah's cause [jihad] from that which We have given you before death comes to you and you say, "My Lord! Will you not grant me more time so that I may give to charity and do good works?"

63:11 But Allah will grant no soul more time when its appointed time has arrived! And Allah knows all that you do.

9:75 There are some of them who made this agreement with Allah, "If He gives us of His bounties, we will surely give regular charity and surely be of the righteous." Yet when He gave them out of His bounty, they hoarded it and turned their backs on their promise and withdrew. So He caused hypocrisy to take its turn in their hearts until the day when they will meet Him, because they broke their promise to Allah, and they lied again and again. Do they not know that Allah knows their secret thoughts and private talks, and that Allah knows all things unseen?

9:79 They who slander such of the faithful as give charity freely, and those who find nothing to give but the fruits of their labor, and scoff at them, Allah will scoff at them, and there is a grievous torment in store for them. Whether you ask forgiveness for them, Mohammed, or do not ask for it, it will be the same. If you ask forgiveness for them seventy times, Allah will by no means forgive them. This is because they have rejected Allah and His Messenger. Allah does not guide ungodly people.

4:97 When the angels take the souls of the unbelievers back [Muslims in Mecca who did not immigrate with Mohammed and reverted to their native religions. These unbelievers fought against Mohammed at Badr], they will ask, "What have you been doing?" The unbelievers will reply, "We were weak and oppressed in the earth." The angels will say, "Was Allah's earth not big enough for you to flee and seek asylum in?" It will be these who will have Hell as their home and a terrible journey to it.

4:98 As for the men, women, and children who were too weak to escape and were not shown the way, Allah will forgive them, for Allah is forgiving and gracious.

2:205 When they turn their backs to you, they hurry to do evil throughout the land, laying waste to crops and cattle, but Allah does not love evil. And when it is said to them, "Fear Allah," arrogance leads them to sin. Hell will be enough for them, an evil dwelling-place.

47:20 The believers say, "Why is a sura not sent down for us?" But when an authoritative sura [chapter of the Koran] is sent to them and it mentions war, you see those with diseased hearts look at you as if they are on the verge of death! It would be better for them to be obedient and to speak proper words. And if they are indeed called to war and they remain true to Allah, it will be best for them. But if you were not ready, and rejected the faith, you would be sure to cause evil in the land and cut off your ties with your family! These are the ones whom Allah has cursed, making them deaf and blinding their eyes! Will they not then earnestly seek to contemplate the Koran, or have they locked up their hearts? Those who go back to being unbelievers after they have clearly received Allah's guidance are deceived by Satan and given false hope. This is because those who hate what Allah has revealed say, "We will obey part of what you have commanded," but Allah knows what they say in secret. What will they do when the angels come to take away their souls when they die, slashing their faces and backs? This is because they follow what angers Allah and hate anything that pleases Him; therefore, He will make their efforts useless.

47:29 Do those with diseased hearts think that Allah will not bring their malice to light? If We willed it, We could have shown them to you so that you would have surely recognized them by their appearance, but you will certainly recognize them by the tone of their words. Allah knows everything that you do.

47:31 And We will certainly put you to the test until We recognize the brave and perseverant among you, and We will try your purported record.

47:32 The unbelievers who turn others away from Allah's path and do not obey the messenger after they have clearly received his guidance will in no manner bring injury to Allah. He will bring all their actions to nothing.

3:89 But the ones who repent after having been believers and increase in their disbelief, their repentance will never be accepted. These are the ones who have gone too far astray.

3:90 As for those unbelievers who die rejecting the faith, were all the gold in the world offered as their ransom, it would not be accepted. A terrible punishment awaits them, and they will have no one to help them.

3:92 You will not be truly righteous until you have given what you truly love to charity; for whatever you give, it is known to Allah.

4:105 Truly, We have sent the Scriptures down to you with the truth so that you might judge between people according to what Allah has taught you. Do not side with the traitors, and ask Allah's forgiveness. Allah is always forgiving and merciful. Neither should you take the side of those who deceive their own souls. Allah does not love the deceitful and sinful.

4:108 They try to hide themselves from people, but they cannot hide themselves from Allah. He is with them at night when their words displease Him, and Allah knows all that they do. Yes, you may plead in their favor in this world, but who will plead in their favor with Allah on the Day of Resurrection, or who will defend them?

4:110 Those who do evil or those who have betrayed their own souls and then ask Allah's forgiveness will find Allah forgiving and merciful. Anyone who commits a sin, sins against his own soul. Allah is all-knowing and wise!

4:112 Anyone who commits an offense or a crime and blames an innocent person, will bear the guilt of defamation and blatant sin.

4:113 If it had not been for Allah's grace and mercy, a group of them [hypocrites] would have certainly plotted to mislead you. They have only succeeded in leading themselves astray, and they cannot harm you. Allah has sent His Scripture and wisdom to you and has taught you things you did not know before. Allah's grace toward you has been great. There is nothing good in most of their secret conversations except that which commands charity, goodness, and peace among the people. Whoever does this to please Allah, We will give them a rich reward.

4:115 Anyone who opposes the Messenger after having received Our guidance and follows a path other than that of the true believer will be left to their own devices. We will lead them into Hell, an evil home.

4:140 He has already sent down to you in the Book that when you hear Allah's revelations rejected and mocked by unbelievers you should not sit and listen to them until they talk about something else, for if you stayed you would become like them. Truly Allah will gather all the hypocrites and unbelievers together in Hell. These are the ones who watch you closely, and if you are successful they say, "Did not we stand with you?" And if the unbelievers are successful they say, "Did we not gain power over you, and did we not defend you from the believers?" Allah will judge between the two of you on the Day of Resurrection, and Allah will not allow the unbelievers to be victorious over the believers.

4:142 The hypocrites wish to deceive Allah, but He will deceive them. When they stand for prayer, they rise slowly so as to be seen by others, and they hardly remember Allah. They go back and forth being neither a part of one group or the other. You will not be able to guide anyone Allah leads astray.

4:145 The hypocrites will be thrown into the lowest abyss of the Fire, and there will be no one to help them. Except for those who ask for forgiveness and change their ways, who hold tightly to Allah and are sincere in their dedication to Allah, they will be counted with the believers, and Allah will give the believers a great reward. Why should Allah inflict punishment on you if you are grateful and believe? Allah will reward you for your works, for He knows all things.

4:148 Allah does not love harsh words to be spoken in public, unless by someone who has been wronged. Allah is all-hearing and all-knowing. Whether you do good in public or in private, whether you pardon a wrong, truly Allah is forgiving and all-powerful!

59:11 Have you not noticed the hypocrites? They say to fellow unbelievers among the People of the Book [Jews] "If you are driven out, we will surely go with you. And we will never follow the orders of anyone who is against you. If you are attacked, we will certainly come to your aid." But Allah witnesses that they are truly liars. No! If the People of the Book were driven out, the hypocrites would not go with them. If they [Jews] were attacked, they would not come to their aid, or if they did come, they would surely flee and they would not be helped. They are so devoid of understanding that they fear you more than they fear Allah!

59:14 They will not fight you in a group unless they are fortified in their cities and behind walls. The disputes among them are many. You think of them as a unified group, but their hearts are divided. They are a people devoid of understanding. They act like those who preceded them, who also tasted the consequences of their own actions. A painful punishment awaits them.

59:16 The hypocrites are like Satan when he says to someone, "Be an unbeliever." And when he has become an unbeliever he says, "I do not share in your guilt. Truly, I fear Allah, the Lord of the worlds." Therefore, the end of both will be in the Fire, where they will live forever. That is the reward for the evil-doers.

59:18 Believers! Fear Allah, and let every soul be careful of what it sends on to tomorrow. Fear Allah, for Allah knows all that you do. Do not be like those who have forgotten Allah, and Allah has caused them to forget their own souls. Such people are evil-doers. The prisoners of the Fire and the heirs of the Garden are not equals; the heirs of the Garden will be alone in their victory.

58:8 Have you not noticed those who, although they have been forbidden to talk in secret, talk privately together, plotting wickedness, hostility, and insubordination towards the Messenger? And when they see you, they greet you not as Allah greets you [Instead of "Peace be upon you" the unbelievers said, "A plague be upon you." This is a pun, since the two phrases sound almost identical in Arabic], and they say among themselves, "Why should Allah punish us for what we say?" Hell is sufficient punishment for them. They will be burned in its Fire, a wretched home.

58:9 Believers, when you speak privately together, do not speak with wickedness, hostility, and insubordination towards the Messenger, but rather with goodness and fear of Allah. Yes, fear Allah to whom you will all be gathered. This secret talk is only the work of Satan so that he causes the believers anguish. But he can only harm them with Allah's permission. Let the faithful put their trust in Allah.

9:101 Of the Arabs of the desert round about you, some are hypocrites, and of the people of Medina, some are stubborn in hypocrisy. You do not know them, Mohammed. We know them, and We will punish them twice. Then they will be given a great doom.

9:102 Others have acknowledged their faults; they mixed a right action with one that is wrong. Allah may turn to them in mercy, for Allah is forgiving and merciful. Take charity from their wealth [some of the Muslims who did not go on the Tabuk campaign were taxed a third of their wealth.] so that you may cleanse and purify them. Pray for them for your prayers will be a relief to them, for Allah hears and knows. Do they not know that Allah accepts repentance from His servants, that He accepts offerings, and that Allah is constant and merciful?

9:105 Say: Work so Allah can behold your work and so will His Messenger and the faithful. You will be brought before Him who knows the seen and the unseen. He will tell you the truth of all your works. Others await the decision of Allah, whether He will punish them, or whether He will forgive them, but Allah is knowing, wise.

9:124 Whenever a sura [chapter] is sent down, there are some of them who say, "Whose faith has it increased?" It will increase the faith of those who believe, and they will rejoice.

9:125 But as for those in whose hearts is a disease, it will add doubt to their doubt, and they shall die unbelievers. Do they not see that they are tested once or twice every year? Yet they do not turn in repentance nor are they warned. Whenever a sura is revealed, they look at one another and say, "Does anyone see you?" Then they turn aside. Allah will turn their hearts away because they are a people who do not understand.

9:128 Now a Messenger has come to you from among yourselves. He is full of concern for you that you will fall into distress. He is compassionate and merciful to the faithful. If they turn away say, "Allah is sufficient for me. There is no god but Allah, and in Him I put my trust. He is the Lord of the glorious throne."

2:40 Children of Israel! Remember the favor I have given you, and keep your covenant with Me. I will keep My covenant with you. Fear My power. Believe in what I reveal [the Koran], which confirms your Scriptures, and do not be

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the first to disbelieve it. Do not part with My revelations for a petty price. Fear Me alone. Do not mix up the truth with lies or knowingly hide the truth [Mohammed said the Jews hid their scriptures that foretold Mohammed would be the final prophet]. Be committed to your prayers, give to charity regularly, and bow down with those who bow down. Would you instruct others to be righteous and forget to attend to your own duties? You read the Scriptures! Do you not have sense? Seek guidance with patience and prayer; this is indeed a hard duty, but not for the humble who remember that they will have to meet their Lord and will return to Him.

2:75 Can you believers then hope that the Jews will believe you even though they heard the Word of Allah and purposefully altered it [Mohammed said the Jews hid their scriptures that foretold Mohammed would be the final prophet] after they understood its meaning? And when they are among the believers they say, "We believe too," but when they are alone with one another they say, "Will you tell them what Allah has revealed to you so that they can argue with you about it in the presence of your Lord?" Do you not have any sense? Do they not realise that Allah knows what they hide as well as what they reveal?

2:78 There are illiterate people among them who do not know the Scriptures but only lies and unclear conjectures. Wretchedness will come to those who write their own scriptures and then claim, "This is from Allah," so that they can sell it for a pitiful price. They will have a mournful fate because of what they have written and for what they have earned by their actions.

2:80 And they say, "The Fire will not touch us except for a few days." Say: Did you receive such a promise from Allah because Allah will not break his promise, or do you merely speak of Allah what you do not know? Surely those who do evil and become surrounded by sin will be prisoners of the Fire where they will live forever. Those who believe and do good deeds are the rightful owners of the Garden where they will live forever.

2:63 And remember, Children of Israel, when We made a covenant with you and raised Mount Sinai before you saying, "Hold tightly to what We have revealed to you and keep it in mind so that you may guard against evil." But then you turned away, and if it had not been for Allah's grace and mercy, you surely would have been among the lost. And you know those among you who sinned on the Sabbath. We said to them, "You will be transformed into despised apes." So we used them as a warning to their people and to the following generations, as well as a lesson for the Allah-fearing.

2:87 We gave Moses the Scriptures and sent other messengers after him. We gave Jesus, the son of Mary, clear signs and fortified him with the Holy Spirit [the angel Gabriel, not the Spirit of the Trinity]. So whenever a messenger is sent that does not conform to your desires, will you become insolent and either deny him or kill him?

2:88 They say, "Our hearts are hardened." But Allah has cursed them for their unbelief. Their faith is weak. And when the Scriptures came from Allah, confirming what they already had, they refused to believe in it, although they had long prayed for victory over the unbelievers. Therefore, Allah's curse is on those without faith! They have sold themselves for a vile price by not believing what Allah has sent down, begrudging Him the right to send it to whichever messenger He pleases. They have brought relentless wrath upon themselves. Disgraceful punishment awaits the unbelievers.

2:91 When they are told, "Believe in what Allah has sent down," they say, "We believe in what was sent down to us." They reject what has since been sent down even though it is true and confirms their own scriptures. Say: Then why did you kill the messengers of Allah in the past if you are truly believers?

5:59 Say: Oh, people of the Book [Jews and Christians], do you not reject us only because we believe in Allah, in what He has sent down to us, in what He has sent before us, and because most of you are wrongdoers? Say: Can I tell you of retribution worse than this that awaits them with Allah? It is for those who incurred the curse of Allah and His anger; those whom He changed into apes [Jews] and swine [Christians]; those who worship evil are in a worse place, and have gone far astray from the right path.

5:61 When they presented themselves to you, they said, "We believe," but they came as unbelievers to you, and as unbelievers they left. Allah well knew what they concealed. You will see many of them striving with one another to hurry sin, to exceed limits, and to eat unlawful things. What they do is evil. Why do their doctors and rabbis not forbid them from the habit of uttering wickedness and eating unlawful food? Certainly, their works are evil.

5:64 The Jews say, "The hand of Allah is chained up." Their own hands will be chained up [on the Last Day, the Jews will have their right hand chained to their necks], and they will be cursed for what they say. No, both His hands are outstretched. He bestows His gifts at His own pleasure. That which has been sent down to you from your Lord will surely increase the rebellion and unbelief of many of them. We have put animosity and hatred between them that will last until Resurrection Day. Every time they kindle a fire for war, Allah will extinguish it. Their aim will be to assist mischief on the earth, but Allah does not love those who assist mischief.

5:65 If only the people of the Scriptures [Jews and Christians] will believe and guard against evil, we will surely take their sins away from them and will bring them into Gardens of delight. If they will observe the Law and the Gospel and what was sent down to them from their Lord, they will surely be nourished from above them and from beneath their feet. Some of them are on the right course, but many of them do evil.

5:67 Oh, Messenger, deliver what has been sent down to you from your Lord. If you do not, you will not have delivered His message. Allah will protect you from evil men, for Allah does not guide unbelievers. Say: Oh, people of the Book [Jews and Christians], you have no ground to stand on until you observe the Law and the Gospel and that which was sent down to you from your Lord. The Book [the Koran] that was sent down from your Lord will certainly increase the rebellion and unbelief of many of them, but do not be grieved for the unbelievers.

5:69 Those who believe and those who are Jews, Sabians [unknown, but perhaps a sect of Christians in Iraq], and Christians–whoever believes in Allah and in the last day–does what is right. They will have no fear, nor will they be put to grief.

5:70 We made the covenant of old with the Children of Israel, and We sent messengers to them. Whenever there was a messenger with news that they did not desire, they became rebellious, and some of them they treated as liars, and some they killed. They thought no harm would come of it, so they became blind and deaf. Then Allah turned to them in mercy. Then again many of them became blind and deaf, but Allah sees what they do.

5:77 Say: Oh, people of the Book, do not step out of the bounds of truth in your religion, and do not follow the desires of those who have gone wrong and led many astray. They have themselves gone astray from the even way.

5:78 Those among the Children of Israel who disbelieved were cursed by the tongue of David and of Jesus, Son of Mary, because they were rebellious and persisted in excesses. They did not restrain one another from the iniquity they committed. Their actions were detestable. You will see many of them make friends with the unbelievers. They have sent their evil works on before them. Allah is angry with them, and they will abide in torment forever. If they had believed in Allah, the Messenger, and the Koran that was revealed to him, they would not choose them for their friends, but most of them are rebellious wrongdoers.

5:82 You will find the Jews and the polytheists to be the most passionately hostile to those who believe. You will find the Christians to be the nearest in affection to those who believe. This is because they are devoted men of learning, and they are not arrogant. When they hear what has been revealed to the Messenger, you will see their eyes overflow with tears because they recognize the truth saying, "Oh, our Lord, we believe. Write us down with the witnesses. Why should we not believe in Allah and in the truth that has come down to us? Why should we not hope that our Lord will bring us into Paradise with the just?"

5:85 Therefore, Allah has rewarded them for their words with Gardens with rivers flowing beneath; they will abide there forever. This is the reward of the good, but they who do not believe and treat Our signs as lies will be the companions of Hellfire.

2:174 Those [the Jews] who conceal any part of the Scriptures which Allah has revealed in order to gain a small profit shall ingest nothing but Fire in their stomachs. Allah will not speak to them on the Day of Resurrection, and they will pay a painful penalty. They are the ones who buy error at the price of guidance and torture at the price of forgiveness; how intently they seek the Fire!

2:176 It is because Allah has revealed the Scriptures in truth that those who dispute them are in severe opposition.

2:135 They say, "Become a Christian or a Jew, and you will be rightly guided to salvation." Say: No! We follow the religion of Abraham, the upright, and he was no idol worshipper. Say: We believe in Allah and in that which has been revealed to us, and to Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob, and the tribes, and in that given to Moses and Jesus and all other messengers by our Lord. We make no distinction between any of them, and we bow down to Allah.

2:137 If they believe as you do, they will be on the right path, but if they turn against it, they are only cutting themselves off from you, and Allah will be a more than adequate defender against them. He is all-hearing and all-knowing. We take on Allah's own dye. And who has a better dye than Allah? It is Him we worship.

2:139 Say: Will you [the Jews] argue with us about Allah, knowing that He is both your Lord and ours? We are responsible for our actions as you are for yours, and we are devoted to Him alone. Will you say, "Truly Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob, and the tribes, were all either Jews or Christians"? Say: Do you know best, or does Allah? Who is more evil than one who receives a testimony from Allah and hides it? Allah is never unaware of what you do. Those are a people who have passed away. They have received what they deserved and you will receive what you deserve. You will not be asked to answer for what they did.

3:66 Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian, but a righteous man, a Muslim, not an idol worshipper. Doubtless the ones who follow Abraham are the closest to him, along with this messenger and the believers. Allah is protector of the faithful. Some of the People of the Book try to lead you astray, but they only mislead themselves, although they may not realise it.

3:70 People of the Book [Jews and Christians]! Why do you reject Allah's revelations when you have witnessed their truth? People of the Book! Why do you cover up the truth with lies when you know that you hide the truth?

2:142 The foolish ones will say, "What makes them turn from the kiblah [the direction they faced during Islamic prayer]?" Say: Both the east and the west belong to Allah. He will guide whom He likes to the right path. We have made you [Muslims] the best of nations so that you can be witnesses over the world and so that the messenger may be a witness for you. We appointed the former kiblah towards Jerusalem and now Mecca so that We could identify the messenger's true followers and those who would turn their backs on him. It was truly a hard test, but not for those whom Allah guided. It was not Allah's purpose that your 134

faith should be in vain, for Allah is full of pity and merciful toward mankind. We have seen you [Mohammed] turn your face to every part of Heaven for guidance, and now We will have you turn to a kiblah that pleases you. So turn your face towards the direction of the sacred Mosque, and wherever the believers are, they will turn their faces toward it. The People of the Book know that this is the truth from their Lord, and Allah is not unaware of what they do. Even if you were to give the People of the Book [Jews] every sign, they would not accept your kiblah, nor would you accept theirs. None of them will accept the kiblah of the others. If you should follow their way after receiving the knowledge you possess, then you will certainly be a part of the unrighteous.

2:146 Those to whom we gave the Scriptures know Our messenger as they do their own sons [Jews who were secretly convinced of the truth of Mohammed], although some of them knowingly conceal the truth. This is the truth from your Lord; therefore, do not doubt it at all.

2:177 Righteousness is not determined by whether you face the east or the west. The one who is righteous believes in Allah, the Last Day, the angels, the Scripture, and the messengers; he gives his wealth for love of Allah to his family, to orphans, to the needy, to the wayfaring traveler, to the beggar, and for the ransom of slaves. The righteous one observes his prayers and pays the poor tax. The righteous one keeps his promises and stands firm in the face of suffering and hardship and war. These are the true believers, the Allah-fearing.

2:168 All people! Eat that which is lawful and wholesome in the earth and do not follow Satan's footsteps for he is your declared enemy. He commands you to commit evil and shameful acts and urges you say words about Allah when you know nothing. When it is said to them, "Follow what Allah has revealed," they say, "No, we follow the practices of our ancestors." What? Even though their ancestors were ignorant and without guidance? The unbelievers can be compared to animals who only respond to a shout or a cry. They are deaf, dumb, and blind, understanding nothing.

2:159 Those who conceal the clear signs and guidance [Mohammed said that the Jews corrupted the Scriptures that predicted his prophecy] that We have sent down after We have made them clear in the Scriptures for mankind, will receive Allah's curse and the curse of those who damn them. But for those who repent, change their ways, and proclaim the truth, I will relent. I am relenting and merciful. Those who reject Me and die unbelievers will receive the curse of Allah and of the angels and of mankind. They will remain under the curse forever with no lightening of their punishment and no reprieve. Your Allah is the one god. There is no god but Him. He is compassionate and merciful.

2:67 When Moses said to his people, "Allah has commanded that you sacrifice a cow," they said, "Are you mocking us?" Moses then said, "Allah forbid that I should become like these ignorant fools!"

2:68 They said, "Call on your Lord to instruct us on what kind of cow we should use." He said, "Your Lord says the cow should not be too young or too old, but in between. Do as you are commanded."

2:69 They said, "Call on your Lord to tell us what color she should be." He replied, "Your Lord says it should be a fawn-colored cow with a pure and rich tone that gives pleasure to those who see it."

2:70 They said, "Call on your Lord to tell the exact kind of cow it should be, because they all look alike to us. We wish for guidance if it is Allah's will."

2:71 Moses answered, "Your Lord says it should be a cow not used to plough the earth or water the field, healthy and

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without imperfections." They said, "Now you have told us the truth." So they sacrificed the cow, although they did not care to do it.

2:72 Remember when you killed a man and then fought among yourselves about it, and Allah brought to light what you tried to hide. We said, "Strike the corpse with a part of the sacrificed cow." It is in this manner that Allah shows you His signs so that you will understand. Then your hearts were hardened like rocks, or even worse, for there are some rocks from which rivers gush forth; some are split in two and water comes out of them, and others fall down from fear of Allah. Allah is not at all unaware of your actions.

2:83 And remember when We made a covenant with the Children of Israel saying, "Worship Allah alone. Be good to your parents, your families, to orphans, and to those in need. Encourage others to be righteous, pray regularly, and give to charity." But then you all turned your backs on the promise, except a few, and paid no attention.

2:84 And when We made a covenant with you We said, "You shall not shed the blood of your people or turn them out of your cities." You agreed to this and were yourselves witnesses. Then after this you began killing your people and driving them out from your homes, backing one another up against them with sin and hatred. If they had come to you as captives, you would have liberated them, even though their banishment was illegal. [Two Jewish tribes of Medina went to war against a third Jewish tribe] Do you believe in one part of the Scriptures and deny the rest? What is the reward for those of you who act in this way except disgrace in this life and cruel torment of the Day of Resurrection? For Allah is never unaware of what you do. These are the people who purchase the life of this world at the price of the life to come; their torment will not be alleviated nor will they be helped.

2:92 Moses came to you with clear signs, but when he was away you [the Jews] worshipped the calf and were wicked. And remember when We made a covenant with you and raised the towering height of Mount Sinai above you saying, "Hold tightly to what We have given you and obey Our commandments." You replied, "We hear but we rebel." And because of your unbelief [kufr], the worship of the calf was made to sink into your hearts. Say: Your faith bids you to do evil if you are in fact believers. Say: If Allah's Paradise is only for you and no others, then wish for death if you are telling the truth!

2:95 But they will never wish themselves dead because they know what they have done; Allah knows the sinners. In fact, you will see they love this life more than others, more than the idol worshippers. Each would love to see a thousand years, but even if this were so, they would never be able to escape their doom; Allah sees all they do.

2:97 Say: Whoever is an enemy of Gabriel—he who revealed Allah's revelation to you [Mohammed] confirming previous scriptures as guidance and good news for believers—whoever is Allah's enemy and the enemy of His angels and messengers, of Gabriel or Michael, will find Allah is the enemy of the unbelievers.

2:99 We have sent clear signs down to you, and only the perverse will deny them. What! Is not it true that every time they make a covenant some of them break it? The majority of them are unbelievers. And when Allah sent a messenger to them, confirming the scriptures they already had, many of them flung the Scripture of Allah behind their backs as if they knew nothing!

2:104 Listen, believers! Do not say to the messenger, "Raina," ['Listen to us'] but say: "Unsurna," ['Regard us respectfully']. [This was a pun used by the Jews of Medina. 'Raina' conveys a sense of 'Our Evil One'] Take notice; painful punishment awaits the unbelievers. Those who disbelieve among the People of the Book [Jews and Christians] and the pagans wish that no good should be sent down to you from your Lord; but Allah will choose whom He pleases to receive His mercy. Allah is boundless in His grace.

62:5 Those to whom the Torah [the first five books of the Old Testament] was given and do not follow it can be compared to a donkey who is made to carry a load of books but is unable to understand them. Those who reject Allah's revelations are a sorry example. Allah does not guide those who do wrong.

62:6 Say: You Jews! If you believe that you are Allah's favorite people, set apart, then wish that you will die if you are telling the truth! But they will never wish to die because of their previous actions that have been sent on before them. Allah knows the evil-doers.

62:8 Say: The death from which you flee will certainly find you, and then you will return to the knower of things done in secret and in the open, and He will tell you everything you have ever done.

3:92 All food was permissible for the Children of Israel, except that which Israel itself forbade, before the Law was sent down. Say: Bring the Law and read it if what you say is true. Those who invent lies about Allah after this are surely evil-doers. Say: Allah speaks the truth. Therefore, follow the religion of Abraham, the righteous. He was not one of the idolaters.

3:95 The first house of worship ever built for mankind was at Mecca, a sacred site, a guiding light for all the nations. In it are clear signs and the place where Abraham prayed; whoever enters there is safe. Pilgrimage to the House is a duty to Allah for everyone who is able to make the trip. And as for the unbelievers, certainly Allah has no need for them.

3:97 Say: People of the Book! Why do you reject Allah's revelations? Allah sees all that you do. Say: People of the Book! Why do you deter believers from Allah's path seeking to make it crooked when you yourselves were witnesses to Allah's covenant? Allah is never unaware of what you do.

3:99 Believers! If you were to listen to some of the People of the Book, they would make you unbelievers after you have already believed! But how could you deny the faith when Allah's clear signs are given to you and the messenger is there among you? Those who hold firmly to Allah will be shown the right path.

3:180 Allah has heard those who have said, "Truly Allah is poor and we are rich." [The Jews of Medina said this when asked for money by Mohammed.] We will certainly record their words as well as their unjust murders of the messengers. We will say to them, "Now taste the torment of the Fire. This is what you get for the wrong that you have done. Allah will never treat His servant unjustly."

3:182 To those [the Jews] who say, "Truly, Allah has commanded that we are not to believe a messenger until he presents a sacrifice and it is consumed by Fire from heaven," say: messengers came before me with clear signs and even performed the very miracle you describe. Why then did you [the Jews] kill them if what you say is true? If they treat you like a liar, then surely messengers before you have been treated as such even though they came with clear signs, with Psalms, and with the illuminating Scriptures.

3:184 Every soul will taste death, and you will only receive your rewards on the Day of Resurrection. Whoever escapes the Fire and is led into Paradise will have attained the ultimate goal for the life of this world is but a vain comfort.

3:185 You will undoubtedly be tested concerning your wealth and your soul, and you will certainly hear things that will try you from those who received the Scriptures before you and from the idolaters. But if you stand firm and fear Allah, this is all that is necessary for your life's affairs.

3:186 When Allah entered into a covenant with those to whom the Scripture had been given He said, "Make these Scriptures known to mankind and do not hide them," but they threw them behind their backs and sold them for a meager price! [Mohammed said that the original Torah predicted his coming. The Jews corrupted their scriptures to conceal his prophecy.] Their exchange was evil. Do not think that those who exult in their sins and love to be praised for what they have not done will escape their punishment. A painful punishment is waiting for them.

4:44 Have you not thought about those [Jews] to whom a part of the Scripture was given? They buy error for themselves and wish to see you go astray from the right path. But Allah knows your enemies best. Allah is sufficient as your protector, and Allah is sufficient as your helper. Some among the Jews take words out of the context of the Scriptures and say, "We have heard, and we disobey. We hear as one who does not hear. Look at us!" in this way twisting the phrase and defiling the faith. But if they said, "We hear and obey. Hear us and look at us!" it would be better for them and more righteous. But Allah has cursed them for their disbelief; only a few of them have faith!

4:47 To those of you [Jews and Christians] to whom the Scriptures were given: Believe in what We have sent down confirming the Scriptures you already possess before We destroy your faces and twist your heads around backwards, or curse you as We did those [the Jews] who broke the Sabbath for Allah's commandments will be carried out.

4:153 The People of the Book [Jews] demand that you cause a book to be sent down to them from heaven, but they demanded a harder thing from Moses. They said to him, "Show Allah to us plainly." And they were killed by a bolt of lightening for their wicked presumption. They worshipped the calf after they had received clear signs, but We forgave them of that and gave Moses indisputable authority.

4:154 And We lifted Mount Sinai over them when We made the covenant with them and said, "Enter the gates in humility, and do not break the Sabbath," and We received their solemn vow. But they broke the covenant, rejected Allah's signs, and unjustly killed the messengers, and they said, "Our hearts are hardened." It is Allah who has hardened their hearts because of their disbelief, so only a few are believers.

4:156 They rejected the faith and have spoken slanderously of Mary. They said, "We killed the Messiah, Jesus the son of Mary, Allah's messenger." But they did not kill him or crucify him, although it appeared so to them [the person crucified was not Jesus, but someone else]. And those who argued about it were in doubt concerning him. They had no clear knowledge about him and only went with opinion. They did not really kill him, but Allah lifted him up to Himself. Allah is mighty and wise!

4:160 Because of the wickedness of certain Jews, and because they turn many away from Allah's path, We have made certain wholesome foods unlawful for them because time and again they have hindered people from Allah's path. They have taken usury, even though they were forbidden to do so, and they consumed other's wealth by cheating. We have prepared painful torment for the unbelievers. But the learned among them, and those who deeply believe in what has been sent down to you and in what was sent down before you, and those who attend their prayers, and pay the poor tax, and believe in Allah and the Last Day, these will be given a great reward.

4:163 We have sent Our signs to you as We did to Noah and the messengers who came after him, and as We sent signs to Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob and the tribes, and to Jesus, 139

Job, Jonah, Aaron, and Solomon, and to David, to whom We gave the Psalms. Some of the messengers We have told you about before, but there are also some about whom We have not yet spoken, and Allah spoke directly to Moses. We sent messengers who brought good news as well as warnings so that after the coming of these messengers, mankind would have no excuse against Allah. Allah is mighty and wise! And Allah is His own witness that what He has sent down to you is His own knowledge, as are the angels. But Allah is a sufficient witness!

4:167 Those who do not believe and who lead others away from Allah's path have certainly strayed very far from the path themselves. Allah will not forgive the unbelievers and those who do wrong, nor will He forgive them or guide them to any path except the path to Hell, where they will live forever. And that is easy for Allah. People! The Messenger has come to you with truth from your Lord. If you believe, it will be better for you. But if you do not believe, know that all that is in the heavens and earth belongs to Allah. Allah is all-knowing and wise!

58:14 Have you not taken notice of those who befriend the people with whom Allah is angry? They are neither a part of your group or theirs, and they knowingly swear a lie. Allah has prepared a dreadful punishment for them, for their actions are evil. A humiliating punishment awaits those [Jews who pretend to be Muslims] who use their faith as a disguise and turn others away from Allah's path. Neither their wealth or their children will protect them from Allah. They will be prisoners of the Fire, where they will live forever.

58:18 On the day Allah will raise them all to life, they will swear to Him as they swear to you now, thinking that their words will help them. Are they not the liars? Satan has possessed them and caused them to forget their praise of Allah. They are of Satan's company. Truly, will it not be Satan's company who will be the losers? Those who oppose Allah and His Messenger will be laid low. Allah has declared, "Surely I will be victorious, along with My messengers." Truly Allah is strong and mighty.

58:22 You will find no one who is a believer in Allah and the Last Day loving those who oppose Allah and His Messenger, even if it is their fathers, sons, brothers, or closest relations. Allah has engraved the faith on their hearts and with His own spirit He has strengthened them. He will lead them into the Gardens beneath which rivers flow, to live forever. Allah is very pleased with them, as they are with Him. This is Allah's company. And truly, will it not be Allah's company who will be victorious?

3:20 If they argue with you, then say: I have surrendered myself entirely to Allah, as have my followers. Say to the People of the Book and to the ignorant: "Do you surrender to Allah?" If they become Muslims, then they will be guided to the right path, but if they reject it, then your job is only to warn them. Allah watches over all His servants.

3:21 Warn those who do not believe in Allah's revelations, and who unjustly kill the messengers and those who teach justice, of the excruciating punishment they will receive. Their works will be meaningless in this world and in the world to come, and they will have no one to help them!

3:23 Consider those who have received part of the Scriptures. When they are called to accept the Book of Allah, some of them turn away and are opposed to it. This is because they say, "We will only have to endure the Fire for a few days." They have created their own lies regarding their religion. How will they react when We gather them together on the assured day, and every soul will receive what it has earned, and they will not be dealt with unjustly?

3:26 Say: Allah! Lord of heaven and earth, you give power to whom you choose and take it away from whom you chose. You lift up whom you choose, and You bring down whom you choose. All that is good lies within your hand. You have power to do all things. You cause the night to turn into day, and the day to turn into night. You bring the living out of the dead, and the dead out of the living, and You give generously to whom you please.

5:109 One day Allah will assemble the messengers and say, "What response did you receive from mankind?" They will say, "We have no knowledge. You are the knower of secrets." Then Allah will say, "Oh Jesus, Son of Mary, remember my

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favor to you and your mother when I strengthened you with the Holy Spirit [Gabriel] so that you would speak to men alike in childhood and when grown. I taught you the Scripture, wisdom, the Torah, and the Gospel, and you created the figure of a bird with clay, by my permission, and breathed into it. With My permission it became a bird. You also healed the blind and the leper, with My permission. With My permission you raised the dead. I restrained the Children of Israel from harming you when you went to them with clear signs, and the unbelievers said, "This is nothing but plain sorcery."

5:111 When I revealed to the disciples, "Believe in Me and the One I sent," they said, "We believe and bear witness to You that we are Muslims."

3:43 This is one of the secret revelations revealed to you, Mohammed. You were not there when they cast their lots to see who would have guardianship of Mary, nor were you there when they argued about her. And remember when the angels said to Mary, "Allah brings you good news of His Word. His name will be Messiah, Jesus, Son of Mary, worthy of honour in this world and the world to come, one who is near to Allah. He will speak to the people when in the cradle and as a man. He will live a righteous life." She said, "My Lord! How can I have a son when no man has ever touched me?" He said, "It will be so. Allah creates what He will, and when He decrees a plan, all He must do is say, 'Be' and it is!" Allah will teach him the Scriptures and Wisdom, the Law, and the Gospel. He will be sent out as a messenger to the Children of Israel saying, "I have come to you with a sign from your Lord. I will make a figure of a bird out of clay and then, by Allah's will, I will breathe life into it. By Allah's permission I cause the blind to see, heal the lepers, and bring the dead back to life. I will tell you what you should eat and what you should store up in your houses. This will be a sign for those who truly believe. I have come to fulfill the Law which came before me and to give you permission to do certain things which were once unlawful. I come to you with a sign from your Lord, so fear Allah and obey me. Allah is my Lord and yours, so worship Him. That is the right path."

3:52 When Jesus saw that they did not believe, he said, "Who will be my helpers for Allah?" The disciples replied, "We will be Allah's helpers! We believe in Allah and witness our submission to Him. Lord! We believe in what you have revealed and we follow Your messenger; therefore, record us as Your witnesses."

3:53 So the Jews plotted and Allah plotted, but Allah is the best of plotters. And Allah said, "Jesus! I am going to end your life on earth and lift you up to Me. [Jesus did not die on the cross. He was taken to Allah. He will return to kill the anti-Christ and then die a natural death.] I will send the unbelievers away from you and lift up those who believe above all others until the Day of Resurrection. Then all will return to Me and I will judge their disputes. As for the unbelievers, they will be punished with excruciating agony in this world and the world to come. They will have no one to help them. As for the believers who do good works, He will fully reward them. Allah does not love those who do wrong. These signs and this wise warning We bring to you."

3:58 Truly, Jesus is like Adam [neither had a father] in Allah's sight. He created him from the dust and said to him, "Be!" and he was.

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

4:171 People of the Book [Christians]! Do not overstep the boundaries of your religion and speak only what is true about Allah. The Messiah, Jesus, the son of Mary, is only Allah's messenger and his Word which he sent into Mary was a spirit from Him. Therefore, believe in Allah and His messengers and do not say, "Trinity." Hold back and it will be better for you. Allah is only one god. Far be it from Allah to have a son! All in the heavens and earth are His. Allah is the sufficient as a protector. The Messiah does not condescend to be Allah's servant, nor do His favored angels. Those who disdain service to Him, and are filled with arrogance, Allah will gather them all together before Him.

61:6 And remember when Jesus, son of Mary, said, "Children of Israel! I am Allah's messenger sent to confirm the Law which was already revealed to you and to bring good news of a messenger who will come after me whose name will be Ahmad." [Ahmad was one of Mohammed's names. This quote of Jesus is not found in any Christian scriptures.] Yet when he [Mohammed] came to them with clear signs, they said, "This is merely sorcery!" And who is more evil than the one who, when called to submit to Islam, makes up a lie about Allah? Allah does not guide the evil-doers! They wish to put out Allah's light with their mouths, but as much as the unbelievers hate it, Allah will perfect His light.

61:9 It is He who has sent forth His messenger with guidance and the true religion so that, though the idolaters hate it, He will make His religion victorious over all the others.

57:26 And We sent Noah and Abraham and placed messengers among their descendents and gave them the Scriptures. Some of them followed the right path, but many were evil-doers. After them we sent other messengers, and after them came Jesus, son of Mary. To him We gave the revelations found in the Gospels and placed compassion and mercy in his followers' hearts. But as for the monastic lifestyle, that was their idea. The only command We gave them was to please Allah, but they failed in this. We only gave the true believers their reward for many of them were corrupt.

57:28 Believers! Fear Allah and trust in His messenger. He will give you a double portion of His mercy and will give you a light in which to walk. He will forgive you, for Allah is forgiving and merciful

57:29 The People of the Book [Jews and Christians] must realise that they have no say in Allah's grace [as to who is a prophet]. The gift of grace lies in His hands alone, and He gives it to whom He pleases, for Allah is full of boundless grace.

5:46 We caused Jesus, the son of Mary, to follow in the footsteps of the messengers, confirming what was revealed in the Torah. We gave him the Gospel, with its guidance and light, confirming what was revealed in the Torah, a guidance and warning to those who fear Allah.

5:47 Let the people of the Gospel judge according to what Allah has sent down to them, and whoever will not judge by what Allah has sent down, they are evildoers. We sent down the Book of the Koran with truth confirming the previous Scriptures and guarding it in safety. Judge between them by what Allah has sent down, and do not follow their desires away from the truth which has come to you. For every one of you, We appointed a law and a way. If Allah had pleased, He would have made you a single nation, but His plan is to test you by what He has given to each. So strive, as if in a race, to do good deeds. To Allah you will all return, and He will let you know the subjects of your disputes.

5:112 Remember when the disciples said, "Oh Jesus, Son of Mary, is your Lord able to send down a table to us spread with food from heaven?" He said, "Fear Allah if you are believers." They said, "We desire to eat from it, to satisfy hearts, to know that you have spoken the truth to us, and to be witnesses to the miracle." Jesus, Son of Mary, said, "Oh Allah, our Lord, send down a table spread with food from heaven that it will become a recurring festival from the first of us and to the last of us, and a sign from You, and do nourish us, for You are the best provider." Allah said, "I will send it down to you, but whoever among you disbelieves after that, I will surely inflict a punishment on him unlike any I have inflicted on any other creature."

5:116 And when Allah says, "Oh Jesus, Son of Mary, did you say to mankind, 'Take me and my mother as two gods, beside Allah?"' He will say, "Glory be unto You. It is not for me to say what I had no right to say. If I had said that, You would have known it. You know what is in my heart. I do not know what is in Your heart. You know all that is hidden." "I only said what You commanded me to say, 'Worship Allah, my Lord and your Lord,' and I was a witness of their actions while I was among them. When You caused me to die, You watched them, and You are witness of all things. If You punish them, they are Your servants, and if You forgive them, You are mighty and wise."

5:119 Allah will say, "This day the truth will profit the truthful. They will have Gardens beneath which the rivers flow, and they will remain there forever." Allah is well-pleased with them and they with Him. This shall be the great bliss. Allah's is the sovereignty of the heavens and of the earth and of all that they contain. He is able to do all things.

2:109 Many of the People of the Book wish to turn you back into unbelievers because of their jealousy, even after they have clearly seen the truth. Forgive them and endure them until Allah shows His will to you. Truly Allah has power over all things. Attend to your prayers and pay the zakat [the poor tax]. You will be rewarded by Allah for whatever good you do. Allah sees all you do.

2:111 And they say, "Only Jews and Christians will enter Paradise." Those are their vain wishes. Say: Show your proof if you are telling the truth. But those who submit to Allah and do good deeds will be rewarded by their Lord. They will have nothing to dread or regret. The Jews say the Christians are wrong, and the Christians say the Jews are wrong, although they both read the Scriptures. The ignorant say they are both wrong. On the Day of Resurrection Allah will judge their disagreements.

2:114 Who is more evil than the people who wish to destroy Allah's mosques and forbid that His name be spoken in them [the Meccans prohibited the Muslim entry into the Kabah]? They should instead be entering into them with fear. They will meet with shame in this world and an awful torment in the world to come. The east and the west belong to Allah; therefore, wherever you go Allah is there. He is omniscient and all-knowing.

2:116 They say, "Allah has produced a son." All glory is to Him! All in the heavens and earth belong to Him, and will obey Him, the one and only creator of the heavens and earth. When He makes a decree, He only has to say to it, "Be!" and it is. And the ignorant ask, "Why does Allah not speak to us or give us some sign?" The same question was asked by those who came before them, and their hearts are the same. Certainly we have made the signs clear for those who have unshakable faith.

2:119 We have sent you to bring the truth and to warn the people. You will not have to answer for the prisoners of Hell. The Jews and Christians will never be satisfied with you unless you follow their religion. Say: Allah's guidance is the only true guidance. If you were to follow their wishes, despite your knowledge, there would be no one to help you or shield you from Allah's wrath. Those to whom we have given these Scriptures, and read them as they should be read, truly believe in what they say. Those who do not believe what they say will certainly meet with eternal damnation.

2:122 Children of Israel! Remember the favor that I have done for you and that I lifted you up above all other nations. Dread the day when no soul will stand for another, ransom will be taken from no soul, no intervention will be of any use to it, and the soul will be given no help.

2:252 These are Allah's signs, which we tell you in truth, as you are one of the messengers. Of these messengers We have raised some up above others. To some Allah has spoken directly, and others he has raised to a high status. To Jesus, son of Mary, We gave clear signs and the strength of the Holy Spirit [the angel Gabriel]. If it was Allah's will, those who came after him would not have fought with each other after receiving clear signs, but they chose to argue. So some believed and some disbelieved, and if Allah had willed it they would not have fought with each other, but Allah is doing what He intended.

5:18 The Jews and Christians say, "We are sons of Allah and his beloved." Say: Then why does He punish you for your sins? No, you are only a part of the men He has created. He forgives whom He pleases and chastises whom He pleases, and with Allah is the sovereignty of the heavens and of the earth and of all that is between them. All things return to Him.

5:19 Oh, people of the Scriptures [Jews and Christians], Our Messenger has been sent to you again to clear up the reason for the break in His messengers [The reason there have been no prophets since Jesus, six hundred years] for fear you will say, "We have had no bearer of good tidings, nor any warner." So now a bearer of good tidings and a warner has reached you. Allah is almighty.

4:53 Should those who would fail to give even a penny to their fellow man have a share in the kingdom? Do they envy the people for what they have received from Allah's bounty? We gave the Scriptures and wisdom to the children of Abraham, and a grand kingdom. Some of them believe in His Messenger while others turn away from him. The flames of Hell are sufficient punishment for them! Those who reject Our revelations We will cast into the Fire. As soon as their skins are burnt away, We will give them new skins so that they will truly experience the torment. Truly Allah is mighty and wise!

4:57 But as for those who believe and do good works, We will lead them into the Gardens, watered by flowing rivers, where they will live forever; there they will be married to pure spouses, and We will lead them into the cool shade.

3:63 Say: People of the Book [Christians and Jews]! Let us settle upon an agreement: We will worship no one except Allah, we will set up no one as His equal, and none of us will take one from among us as a lord besides Allah. If they reject your proposal say, "Bear witness then that we are Muslims."

3:64 People of the Book! Why do you argue about Abraham [whether Abraham was a Jew or Christian] when the Law and the Gospel were not sent down until after him? Do you not understand? Listen, you are the ones who have argued about things of which you have some knowledge [arguments about Moses and Jesus], so then why do you argue about things of which you have no knowledge? Allah has knowledge, but you do not.

3:71 Some of the People of the Book say to each other, "Believe in what has been sent down to the believers in the morning. Then at the end of the day, deny it so they themselves might turn away from their religion." Believe in no one unless he is a follower of your religion. Say: Allah's guidance is the only true guidance! Do not believe that anyone will receive a revelation like that which was sent to you or think that they will ever argue with you in the presence of your Lord. Say: Surely grace is given by the hand of Allah. He gives it to whom He pleases. Allah is generous and wise. Allah specially selects to bestow His mercy on whom He chooses. Allah is the Lord of boundless grace.

3:74 Among the People of the Book [Jews and Christians] are some whom you can trust with a pile of gold, and they will pay it all back, but there are others among them who cannot be trusted with a single silver coin, for they will not pay it back unless you firmly demand it. This is because they say,

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"We are not bound to keep our word to the ignorant pagans," and they knowingly tells lies about Allah. But those who are true to the faith and guard against evil, surely Allah loves those who fear Him.

3:76 Those who sell their covenant with Allah and their oaths for a meager price will have no part in the world to come. Allah will not deign to speak to them or even glance in their direction on the Day of Resurrection, nor will He forgive them. They will have a painful end. And there are some of them who distort their words when quoting Scripture so you will think what they say is truly from the Scriptures, but what they say is not found in the Scriptures at all. They claim, "This is from Allah," when it is not from Him, and they consciously speak lies against Allah.

3:78 It is not possible that any human to whom Allah has given the Scriptures and wisdom and a position as His messenger should say, "Worship me rather than Allah." Instead he should say, "Be faithful servants of Allah for you have educated others in the Scriptures and have studied them intensely." Allah would not command you to worship the angels and messengers as your gods. Why would He encourage you to become unbelievers after you have already become Muslims? When Allah made a covenant with the messengers He said, "I give you the Scriptures and wisdom, and later a messenger will come to you who will confirm what you have been given. Believe in him and help him. Do you agree and accept the terms of My covenant with you?" They said, "We agree." And He said, "Then all of you be witnesses to this, as will I." If anyone turns back after promising this, they are perverse sinners. Do they look for a religion other than that of Allah when every creature in the heavens and in the earth have shown submission to Him, either by choice or by force? And all will return to Him.

2:21 People! Serve your Lord, who has made you and those who came before you, so that you can defend yourselves against evil. Your Lord has made the earth your resting-place and the sky your covering and has sent down rain to nourish the fruits that you eat. Therefore, do not deliberately worship gods other than Allah.

2:23 If you doubt what We have revealed to Our slave [Mohammed], then write a sura comparable to it and call your gods other than Allah to help you if what you say is true. But if you fail, and you certainly will, then fear the fire prepared for the unbelievers, which is fueled by people and stones [ritual objects of the old Arabian religions].

2:25 Give the good news to those who believe and do good works. They will live in gardens with flowing rivers [Paradise], and when fed fruits from there, they will say, "This is what we ate before," and they will be given fruit just like it. They will live there forever, married to chaste spouses.

2:26 Allah is not ashamed to compare a gnat with a larger creature. Those who believe know it is the truth from their Lord, but the unbelievers ask, "What does Allah mean by making such a comparison?" By this He causes many to stray while He also guides many by it, but he only causes the evil-doers to go astray. The losers break Allah's covenant after accepting it and tear apart what He has put together and bring about corruption on the earth.

2:28 How can you not believe in Allah when you were dead and He gave you life? He can cause you to die and then bring you back to life, and again you will return to Him. It is He who created all that is on the earth for you, and then he turned to the heaven and made them seven heavens. He is all-knowing.

2:164 Surely in the creation of the heavens and the earth; in the changing from day to night; in the ships that navigate the waters with useful cargo; in the rain which Allah sends down from the skies and revives the dead earth, spreading life to all its creatures; and in the changing of the winds and clouds driven between the heaven and earth there are clear signs here for those who understand them.

2:165 And yet there are some who worship idols giving them the love that is due Allah. But those who believe have a stronger love for Allah. If only the evil-doers had known that they will see their doom, that all power belongs to Allah, and that He is severe in His punishment. On the day when the leaders [those opposing Mohammed] renounce their followers and face their punishment, all their bonds will be broken.

2:167 The followers will say, "If we only had one last chance, we would renounce them as they have renounced us." In that way Allah will show them their regrettable actions, and they will never come out of the Fire.

5:36 As to the unbelievers, if they had twice the riches of the earth to be their ransom from torment on the Resurrection Day, it would not be accepted from them. Theirs would be a grievous penalty. Their wish would be to get out of the Fire, but they will never get out. A lasting doom will be theirs.

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

4:120 Satan makes promises and stirs up vain desires within them, but he makes promises only to trick them. These will make their home in Hell, and they will not be able to escape it.

4:122 But those who believe and do good works, We will lead them into the Gardens beneath which rivers flow, where they will live forever. This is Allah's promise, and whose words hold more truth than His? This will not be according to your desires, nor to the desires of the People of the Book [Jews and Christians]. Those who do evil will be paid back with evil and will find no one but Allah to protect or help them. As for the believers who do good works, whether man or woman, they will enter Paradise, and they will not be treated unjustly in the least.

4:125 And whose religion is better than those who submit themselves to Allah, do good, and follow the faith of Abraham, the righteous? For Allah Himself took Abraham as a friend. All that is in the heavens and earth belongs to Allah; Allah surrounds all things.

98:1 The unbelievers among the People of the Book [Jews and Christians] and the idolaters did not turn away from their unbelief until the proof came to them in a messenger from Allah reading holy pages containing true scriptures. The People of the Book did not become divided until after the clear proof had come to them.

98:5 And they were commanded nothing more than to serve Allah, worshipping none other than Him, being pure in their faith, being steadfast in their prayers, and paying the zakat [the poor tax]. For this is the true religion.

98:6 The unbelievers among the People of the Book and the idolaters will burn for eternity in the Fire of Hell. Of all the created beings, they are the most despicable. As for those who believe and do good works, they are the most noble of all created beings.

98:8 Their reward is with their Lord, in the Gardens of Paradise, beneath which are flowing rivers. They will live forever. Allah takes pleasure in them, and they take pleasure in Him. In this way those who fear Allah will be rewarded.

8:52 They are like Pharaoh's people and the ones before them who treated their Lord's revelations as lies. Therefore, Allah will punish them for their sins. Allah is strong and severe in His vengeance. Allah will never change the blessings He has given a people until they change what is in their own hearts. Allah is all-hearing, all-knowing.

8:54 In the same way as the Pharaoh's people and those before them, they denied their Lord's revelations. Therefore, We destroyed them for their sins, and We drowned Pharaoh's people for they were all evil-doers. The lowest of creatures in Allah's sight are those who deny Him, those who repetitively break their treaties and do not fear Allah. If you capture them in war, separate the leaders from the followers so that the followers may be warned. If you fear treachery from anyone, then throw away your treaty with them. Allah does not love treacherous people.

3:83 Say: We believe in Allah and in what has been sent down to us; and in what has been sent down to Abraham, and Ishmael, to Isaac and Jacob and the tribes; and in the Scriptures given to Moses, Jesus, and the messengers from their Lord. We make no distinction among them, and to Him we submit as Muslims. Those who follow a religion other than Islam, their religion will never be accepted from them, and in the world to come they will undoubtedly be among the lost.

65:8 How many cities have turned away from the command of their Lord and His messengers! Therefore, We judged them severely and punished them with a harsh punishment. They tasted the evil consequences of their own behavior, and the consequences of their behavior were ruinous.

65:10 Allah has prepared a severe punishment for them. Those who are wise fear Allah for He has sent down a reminder: a Messenger who gives you clear signs from Allah so that he may bring those who believe and do good works out of the darkness and into the light. Those who believe in Allah and do good works, Allah will lead into the Gardens beneath which rivers flow, where they will live forever. Allah has given them rich provisions.

65:12 It is Allah who created seven heavens and as many earths. The divine command is sent down through all of them so that you will know that Allah has power over all things and that Allah comprehends all things with His knowledge.

33:56 Truly, Allah and His angels bless the Messenger! Believers, bless him and greet him with all the respect he is due.

33:57 Truly, those who speak evil of Allah and His Messenger will have Allah's curse upon them in this world and the world to come. He has prepared a torturous punishment for them. And those who speak evil of believing men and women, when they have done nothing to deserve it, will carry the guilt and a clear sin.

58:5 Those who oppose Allah and His Messenger will be laid low, just as those who came before them. And now that We have sent down clear signs, the unbelievers will receive a humiliating punishment. On the day Allah raises all of them to life, He will tell them of what they did. Allah has recorded it even though they do not remember it, and Allah witnesses all things.

58:7 Do you not realise that Allah knows all that is in the heavens and the earth? If three people are speaking in secret together, He is the fourth; if there are five, He is the sixth. Whether there are fewer or more, He is with them wherever they may be. Then, on Resurrection Day, He will tell them everything they have done, for Allah knows all things.

22:1 People, fear your Lord, for the earthquake of the Hour of will truly be a dreadful thing.

22:2 On that day, every nursing mother will abandon her infant, every woman who is pregnant will abort her burden, and you will see people staggering around as if they are drunk, even though they are not. Allah's wrath will be powerful upon them.

22:3 Among the people there are those who [Abu Jahl], in ignorance, argue about Allah and follow every rebellious devil. It is decreed that whoever takes him as a friend will be led astray, and they will be led to the torment of the Fire.

22:5 You people, if you are in doubt about the resurrection, remember how We created you from the dust, then from sperm, then from clots of blood, and then from pieces of flesh, both shaped and shapeless so that We may prove Our power to you. We cause you to remain in the womb for an appointed period; then We bring you forth as infants so that you may grow to maturity. There are some of you who die young, and others who live to be so old that they forget all they ever knew. And you have seen the earth parched and lifeless, but as soon as We send down rain, life begins to stir and swell bringing forth every kind of luxuriant herb. Allah gives life to the dead and has total power over all things.

22:7 And undoubtedly the hour will come when Allah will raise all of those who are in the grave to life. And among the people there are some who argue about Allah without knowledge, guidance, or the illuminating scriptures. They turn away in contempt and lead others away from Allah's path. They will be disgraced in this world, and on the resurrection day they will be made to taste the torment of the Fire. And We will say to them, "This is what your misdeeds have earned you, for Allah is not unfair to His servants."

22:11 And there are some who say they serve Allah, yet they stand on the periphery of faith. If they are blessed with good fortune, they are satisfied with it, but when trials come upon them, they turn away in infidelity giving up this world and the world to come. That is a clear loss. They call upon gods that can neither harm them nor help them. This is a grievous sin. They call upon him who would rather harm them than help them. Truly evil is both the master and the friend.

22:14 But Allah will lead those who believe and do good works into Gardens watered by flowing rivers. Allah completes all that He plans.

22:15 If anyone thinks that Allah will not make His Messenger victorious in this world and the world to come, let them tie a rope to the ceiling of his house and hang himself with it. Then let him see if that course of action remedies his anger. We have sent down the Koran containing clear signs. Allah guides whom He pleases.

22:18 Do you not see how all that is in the heavens and earth adore Allah, the sun, moon, and stars, the mountains, trees, and beasts, along with many of the people? But a great number of them are deserving of punishment. And those whom Allah disgraces will have no one to honour them. Allah does all that He pleases.

22:19 These two, the believers and the unbelievers, argue with each other about their Lord, but for the unbelievers, clothing of Fire has been made for them. Boiling water will be poured on their heads. It will scald their insides and their skin as well. They will be beaten with iron rods. Every time they, in their torment, attempt to escape from the Fire, they will be dragged back into it, and they will be told, "Taste the torture of the burning."

22:23 But Allah will lead those who believe and do good works into the Gardens, beneath which are flowing rivers. They will be adorned with gold bracelets and pearls and clothed in silk garments. They were guided by the righteous words. They were guided to the glorious path.

22:25 But the unbelievers who lead others away from Allah's path and keep them from entering the Holy Mosque [the Kabah], which We have given to all mankind—both natives and visitors, and those who sinfully seek to profane it—We will make them taste a painful punishment.

22:70 Do you not realise that Allah knows all that is contained within the heavens and earth? Truly all is recorded in the Book; this is easy for Allah. Nevertheless, they worship others besides Allah who have not been warranted, and about whom they know nothing. Those who commit this sin will have no one to help them.

22:72 When Our clear signs are recited to them, you will plainly see the denial on the unbelievers' faces. They can barely prevent themselves from attacking those who recite the signs [verses] to them. Say to them, "Shall I tell you of

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something much worse than these signs? It is the Fire of Hell, which Allah has promised for the unbelievers. What a wretched home it is."

22:73 People, here is a parable, listen to it: Those on whom you call besides Allah are unable even to create a fly, even though they combine their power to try. And if the fly were to carry a speck of dust away from them, they would be unable to bring it back. Weak are both the called-upon and the caller. They do not give Allah the praise He is due, for Allah is strong, mighty.

22:75 Allah selects His messengers from among angels and men. Truly, Allah is all-hearing and all-seeing. He knows what is in front of them and what is behind them, and all things will return to Allah. Believers, bow down and prostrate yourselves, and worship your Lord. Do good works so that you will prosper.

64:1 All that is in the heavens and in the earth give praise to Allah. The entire kingdom and the all glory are His. He has power over all things.

64:2 It was He who created you, and although some of you are unbelievers and others believers, He sees everything you do. He created the heavens and the earth to reveal the truth. He created you and gave you your beautiful shape. All will return to Him.

64:4 He knows everything that is in the heavens and earth. He knows all that you hide and all that you make known. Allah knows all your deepest secrets.

64:5 Have you not heard of what happened to the unbelievers who came before you? They experienced the evil consequences of their actions, and a terrible punishment still awaits them. This is because when messengers came to them with clear signs they said, "Will simple humans be our guides?" So they rejected the message and turned away. Allah does not need them. Allah is self-sufficient and worthy of praise.

64:7 The unbelievers think that they will not be raised to life on the Day of Judgment. Say: Yes, you will be raised by my Lord, and you will be informed of everything you have ever done! That is easy for Allah. Therefore, believe in Allah and His messenger and in the light which we have sent down to you. Allah knows all your actions.

64:9 That day when He will gather you all together for a Day of Assembly, that will be a day of cheating. The believers will cheat the unbelievers out of their place in Paradise. Those who believe in Allah and do what is right, He will take away all their sins and lead them into the Gardens watered by flowing rivers, where they will live forever. This is the ultimate reward. But the unbelievers, those who reject Our revelations, will be prisoners of the Fire, where they will live forever. A torturous end!

47:10 Have they not traveled through the land and seen the final consequences of those who came before them? Allah brought utter destruction to them, and a similar end waits for the unbelievers. This is because Allah protects those who believe. The unbelievers have no protector.

47:12 Truly, Allah will lead those who believe and do good works to the Garden beneath which rivers flow, while the unbelievers enjoy the pleasures of this world and eat their fill like the beasts of the field. And the Fire will be their final destination! And how many cities, which were stronger than your own city which drove you out, have We decimated, and they had no one to help them. Are those who follow the clear path sent down by their Lord equals to those who think their evil deeds are acceptable and those who follow their own cravings?

47:15 A description of the Paradise which Allah promised to those who fear Him: in it are flowing rivers of pure water and rivers of milk that never turn sour; rivers of wine, delectable to those who drink it and rivers of clear honey. In it there are all kinds of fruit, with forgiveness from their Lord. Are these to be measured against the ones who will live in the Fire for eternity, and who are made to drink boiling water that will tear their insides?

47:16 Among them are some who will in fact listen to you, but when they leave you they go to those with knowledge and ask, "What is it that he said just now?" These are the ones whose hearts have been hardened by Allah and who follow their own desires. Those who follow the right path, however, will receive His increased guidance and He will teach them what to fear.

47:18 Do the unbelievers wait for the Hour of Doom to suddenly come and take them unaware? Its signs have already come, and when it is actually upon them, how then will they be warned? Therefore, know that there is no god except Allah, and ask forgiveness for your sins and for the sins of the men and women who believe. Allah knows the places you go as well as your place of rest.

22:42 And if they reject you, remember that so did the people of Noah, and of Ad and Thamud [ancient Arabic cities], and the people of Abraham and Lot, and those who lived in Midian [a city on the Red Sea] have also denied their messengers. Moses, too, was rejected. I endured the unbelievers for a long while; then I seized them, and how terrible was My rejection of them.

22:45 How many cities, which were full of sin, have we destroyed? Many wells lie neglected and castles abandoned. Have they not traveled through the land, or do they not have hearts with which to understand or ears to hear? It is not that their eyes are blind, but their hearts within their breasts are blind. They ask you to bring the punishment quickly. Allah will not fail to keep His promise. Truly, one day in Allah's sight is like a thousand years in your eyes. And how many nations have I endured, while they were full of wickedness? In the end I punished them, and to Me all will return.

22:49 Say: People, I have only been sent to give you a clear warning. Those who believe and do good works will be forgiven and will be richly provided for; but those try to refute Our signs will be the prisoners of the Fire.

3:7 It is He who has revealed the Scriptures to you. Some of its verses are clear and basic in their meaning. These are the foundation of the Book, and others are metaphorical. Those whose hearts have a tendency to err follow the metaphorical verses seeking to cause arguments when they attempt to interpret them. Only Allah knows their meaning. And those who are firmly grounded in knowledge say, "We believe in it. All of it comes from our Lord," but only those who possess understanding will listen. Our Lord! Do not let our hearts go astray after You have guided us to what is right, and grant us Your mercy for You are the most generous giver. Lord! Surely You will gather all of mankind together on the assured day. Allah will not fail to keep His promise. As for the unbelievers, neither their wealth or their children keep Allah's wrath from them, and they will be fuel for the Fire like Pharaoh's people and those who came before them who rejected Our revelations. Allah destroyed them for their sins. Allah is cruel in his retribution.

60:8 Allah does not forbid you to deal with kindness and fairness towards those who have not made war upon you on account of your religion, or who have driven you forth from your homes. Allah loves those who act with fairness. Allah only forbids you to make friends of those who, on account of your religion, have warred against you, have driven you out of your homes, and have helped those who drove you out. Whoever makes friends of them are unjust.

2:263 Kind words and forgiveness are better than charity coupled with an insult. Allah is self-sufficient and gracious.

2:264 Believers! Do not taint your charity by reminding others of your generosity or by taunting them, like those who spend their wealth to show off and do not believe in Allah or the Last Day. Such people are like rocks barely covered with soil: when the rain falls they are left bare. No good will come of their deeds. Allah does not guide those who disbelieve. Those who give away their wealth with the aim to please Allah are like a garden on a hillside where the rain is plentiful and the yield is doubled, and if there is no rain, then the dew is sufficient. Allah sees all you do.

2:266 Would any of you like to have his garden of palms and vines, watered by flowing rivers, to be destroyed by a fiery wind when he is in his old age with dependant children? It is in this way that Allah makes His revelations known to you so that you will reflect.

2:267 Believers! To charity give of your wealth [pay the poor tax], which you have earned lawfully, and from that which We have given you from the earth. Do not give worthless things that you yourself would not even want. Know that Allah is self-sufficient, and worthy of praise.

2:268 Satan threatens to take away all that you have earned and commands you to perform vulgar acts, but Allah promises you His forgiveness and riches. Allah is generous and all-knowing. He gives wisdom to whom He pleases, and one who receives the gift of wisdom is truly rich; nevertheless, only those who understand keep this in mind. Whatever you give to charity or whatever oath you make, it is known to Allah. The evil-doers have no one to help them. It is good to do charitable works publicly, but it is better to give to charity in private, and it will do away with some of your sins. Allah knows what you do.

2:272 It is not your job to set them on the right path, but Allah will guide whom He pleases. Whatever good you do will come back to you, given that you only give to please Allah. All the good you do will come back to you in full; you will not be wronged.

2:274 Those who give to charity both day and night, and in secret and in public, will be rewarded by their Lord. They will not have anything to fear or regret.

2:275 Those who live on lending others money at a high rate of interest will rise before Allah like one whom Satan has touched and made mad because they claim that their practices are no different from trading. Allah allows trading, but has forbidden usury [excessive interest on a loan]. One who is admonished by his Lord and changes his ways can keep what he has earned. His case is for Allah to judge. But those who go back to their old ways will be prisoners of the Fire, where they will live forever.

8:22 The vilest creatures in Allah's sight are the ones who are deaf, dumb, and without sense. If Allah had recognized any potential in them, He would have given them the ability to hear. Even if He makes them hear, they would still turn their backs and deny the faith. Believers! Answer the call of Allah and His messenger which gives you life. Know that Allah comes between a person and his own heart and that you all will be gathered to Him. Protect yourselves from sinning because it will not only be the unbelievers who will face temptation. Allah is severe in His punishment.

8:27 Believers! Do not betray the trust of Allah and His messenger or knowingly betray His secrets. And know that your children and your wealth are merely temptations and that Allah's reward is immense. Believers! If you fear Allah, He will give you wisdom to discern right from wrong, He will cleanse you of evil and forgive your sins. Allah is the Lord of boundless grace.

60:2 If they have the upper hand of you, they will prove your enemies. They will stretch out their hands and tongues to hurt you and will desire that you reject the truth. Neither your kindred nor your children will be of profit to you on the Last Day. He will sever the connections between you. Allah sees your actions.

60:4 There is a good example in Abraham of those who followed him when they said to their people, "We are clear of you and of what you worship besides Allah. We renounce you, and between us a hatred and hostility has sprung up forever until you believe in Allah alone." Do not imitate the language of Abraham to his father, "I will pray for your forgiveness, but I will obtain nothing for you from Allah." Oh, our Lord, in You we trust, to You we repent, and to You we will return at last.

60:5 Oh, our Lord, do not make us a trial for those who disbelieve, but forgive us, Lord, for you are the mighty and wise. There is in them a good example for all who hope in Allah and in the Last Day. If any turn away, Allah is truly rich and praiseworthy. Allah will, perhaps, establish good will between yourselves and those whom you take to be your enemies. Allah is powerful, gracious, and merciful.

9:69 You act like those who lived before you who were mightier than you in strength and more abundant in wealth and children. They enjoyed their portion, so you enjoy your portion as they who were before you enjoyed theirs, and you talk like they talk. Their works are fruitless in this world and in the hereafter. These are the lost ones.

9:70 Has the story not reached them of those before them—of the people of Noah, and of Ad, and of Thamud [cities of the Arabs], and of the people of Abraham, and of the inhabitants of Midian [a town on the Red Sea], and of the overthrown cities? [All of these were destroyed by Allah because they did not listen to their messengers.] Their messengers came to them with clear proofs of their mission. Allah did not wrong them, but they wronged themselves.

9:71 The faithful of both sexes are mutual friends. They command what is just and forbid what is evil. They observe regular prayer, contribute regularly to charity, and they obey Allah and His Messenger. Allah will show His mercy to these. Allah is mighty and wise. Allah promised the faithful, both men and women, Gardens beneath which the rivers flow in which they shall abide, and blessed mansions in the Gardens. The best, though, will be Allah's good pleasure in them. This is the supreme triumph.

5:55 Your protectors are Allah and His Messenger and those who believe, who observe regular prayer and regular charity, and who bow in worship. And whoever takes Allah, His Messenger, and those who believe for friends, they truly are the people of Allah and must be triumphant. Oh, you who believe, do not take those who have received the Scriptures [Jews and Christians] before you, who have scoffed and jested at your religion, or who are unbelievers for your friends. Fear Allah if you are true believers. When you call to prayer, they make it a mockery and a joke. This is because they are a people who do not understand.

3:1 ELIF. LAM. MIM. There is no god except Him, the living, the eternal. He has sent down to you the Scriptures with the truth, which confirm the scriptures which came before it. And He has already sent down the Law of Moses and the Gospel of Jesus to guide mankind and to show them the difference between good and evil.

3:4 Those who reject Allah's revelations will receive severe punishment. Allah is mighty, Lord of revenge. Nothing in the earth or in heaven is hidden to Him. It is He who forms you in your mothers' wombs according to His pleasure. There is no god except Him, the mighty, the wise!

4:48 Allah will not forgive those who worship other gods besides Him, but for other sins, He will forgive whom He pleases. Those who serve gods other than Allah have committed a terrible sin.

4:87 Allah! There is no god except Him. He will undoubtedly gather you all together on the Day of Resurrection. And whose words have more truth than Allah's?

24:34 We have sent clear signs down to you and shown you the people who came before you as an example and a warning for those who fear Allah.

24:35 Allah is the light of the heavens and the earth. His light is like an alcove in which there is a lamp encased in glass, and this glass glistens like a star. The lamp is lit from the oil of a blessed tree, which is neither an olive of the east nor the

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west. Its oil would give light even if it was not touched by fire. It is light upon light. Allah will guide whom He pleases to His light, and Allah sends down such parables for mankind, for Allah knows all things. His light is found in the mosques which Allah has permitted to be built so that His name will be remembered inside them, where He is praised in the morning and in the evening. To those who cannot be diverted by business from remembering Allah, who regularly attend their prayers and pay the poor tax, who fear the day when hearts will pound and eyes will roll, and who pray that Allah will reward them for their good works and give to them of His bounty, Allah gives generously.

24:39 But as for the unbelievers, their works are like a mirage of water in the desert to a thirsty traveler. When they finally reach it, they find it to be nothing; all they find is Allah who will pay them back all they are due. Allah is quick to settle His accounts. Or they are like the depths of a deep, dark ocean, covered by waves riding upon waves, above which there are clouds, darkness upon darkness. When someone reaches his hand out in front of himself, it can barely be seen. Truly those to whom Allah does not give light will find no light at all.

2:216 You are commanded to fight although you dislike it. You may hate something that is good for you, and love something that is bad for you. Allah knows and you do not. When they ask you about fighting in the holy month, say: Fighting at this time is a serious offense, but it is worse in Allah's eyes to deny others the path to Him, to disbelieve in Him, and to drive His worshippers out of the Sacred Mosque. Idolatry is a greater sin than murder. They will not stop fighting you until you turn away from your religion. But any of you who renounce your faith and die an unbeliever, will have your works count for nothing in this world and the world to come. These people will be prisoners of the Fire, where they will live forever.

8:1 When they ask you about the spoils of war say: The spoils belong to Allah and His messenger. [This sura was written after the Battle of Badr.] Therefore, fear Allah and settle your arguments. Obey Allah and His messenger if you are truly believers.

8:38 Tell the unbelievers that if they change their ways, then they would be forgiven for their past. If, however, they continue to sin, let them remember the fate of those who came before them. Fight against them until they stop persecuting you, and Allah's religion reigns sovereign over all others. If they cease, Allah knows all they do, but if they turn their backs, know that Allah is your protector—an excellent helper.

8:45 Believers! When you confront their army stand fast and pray to Allah without ceasing so that you will be victorious. Obey Allah and His messenger, and do not argue with one another for fear that you will lose courage and strength. Be patient for Allah is with the patient. Do not be like the Meccans who left home bragging and full of vainglory. They prevent others from following Allah's path, but Allah knows all that they do.

8:48 Satan made their sinful acts seem acceptable to them, and he said, "No one will defeat you this day, and I will be there to help you." When the two armies came within sight of one another, however, he quickly fled saying, "I am finished with you for I can see things which you cannot [the angels were helping to kill the unbelievers]. I fear Allah for Allah's punishment is severe."

8:49 The hypocrites [Muslims who were weak in their faith] and those with diseased hearts said, "Their religion has misled the Muslims." But those who have faith in Allah will discover that Allah is mighty and wise. If only you could witness the angels carrying off the unbelievers' souls! They slash their faces and backs saying, "Taste the torment of the Fire!" This is what you will receive for the actions that your hands have done for Allah is not unfair to His servants.

8:65 Messenger! Call the faithful to fight. If there are among you twenty who will stand fast, they will overcome two hundred; and if there are a hundred of you, they will overcome a thousand unbelievers for they lack understanding. Allah has now lessened your burden because He knows that there is weakness in you. If there are among you a hundred men who will stand fast, they will overcome two hundred; and if there are a thousand among you, they will, by the permission of Allah, overcome two thousand. Allah is with the steadfast.

8:67 A prophet should not take prisoners of war until he has fought and slaughtered in the land. You desire the bounty of the world, but Allah desires the bounty for you of the world to come. Allah is mighty and wise. If there had not been a prior command from Allah, you would have been punished severely for what you had taken. But now enjoy the spoils you have taken, which are lawful and good, but fear Allah. Allah is forgiving and merciful.

2:190 And fight for Allah's cause [jihad] against those who fight you, but do not be the first to attack. Allah does not love the aggressors.

2:191 Kill them wherever you find them, and drive them out of whatever place from which they have driven you out for persecution [the Meccans made Mohammed leave] is worse than murder. But do not fight them inside the Holy Mosque unless they attack you there; if they do, then kill them. That is the reward for the unbelievers, but if they give up their ways, Allah is forgiving and merciful.

2:193 Fight them until you are no longer persecuted and the religion of Allah reigns absolute, but if they give up, then only fight the evil-doers. The defilement of a sacred month and sacred things are subject to the laws of retaliation. If anyone attacks you, attack him in the same way. Fear Allah and know that He is with those who believe.

2:195 Spend your wealth generously for Allah's cause [jihad] and do not use your own hands to contribute to your destruction. Do good, for surely Allah loves those that do good.

2:244 Fight for Allah's cause [jihad] and remember that He hears and knows everything.

2:245 Who will lend Allah a generous loan, which He will pay back multiple times? Allah gives generously and takes away, and you will return to Him.

2:246 Have you not considered what the leaders of the Children of Israel said to one of their messengers when Moses died? They said, "Appoint a king for us, and we will fight for the cause of Allah." He said, "What if you decline to fight when ordered to do so?" They said, "Why would we not fight for Allah when we and our children have been driven out of our homes?" But in the end, when they were ordered to fight all but a few refused. Allah knows the evil-doers.

2:261 Those who give their wealth for Allah's cause are like the grain of grain that grows seven ears with each ear having one hundred kernels. Allah will multiply the wealth of those He pleases. Allah is caring and all-knowing. Those who give their wealth for Allah's cause [jihad] and do not follow their gifts with guilt-inducing comments or insults will be rewarded by their Lord. They will have nothing about which to fear or grieve.

2:273 Charity is for those who have fought for Allah's cause and are now unable to work the land or travel to trade. The ignorant will think that they are wealthy because they are so modest, but you can tell them by their appearance. They do not beg people unrelentingly. Whatever charity you give will be known to Allah. Allah has placed His curse on usury and His blessing on charitable giving. Allah has no love for the ungrateful and sinful.

2:286 Allah does not give a soul more than it can withstand. It shall be rewarded for whatever good or evil it has done. Lord, do not punish us if we forget or make a mistake. Lord, do not give us a burden such as that which was given to those who came before us. Lord, do not give us more than we are able to withstand. Forgive us and forget our sins, and show us mercy. Only You are our protector, and give us victory over the unbelievers.

8:26 Remember when there were only a few of you and you were despised throughout the nation, always afraid that your enemies would destroy you; it was then He sheltered you. He strengthened you with His help and gave you good things to eat so that you would be thankful.

8:59 Do not let the unbelievers think that they will escape Us. They have no power to escape. Gather against them all of your armed forces and cavalry so that you may strike terror into the hearts of the enemies of Allah and your enemy, and others besides them whom you do not know but whom Allah knows. All that you give for Allah's cause [jihad] will be repaid. You will be treated with fairness.

8:61 And if they are of a mind to make peace, then make peace too, and put your trust in Allah for He is all-hearing and all-knowing. But if they plan to betray you, surely Allah is sufficient for you. It is He who has strengthened you with His help and with the believers, giving them affection for one another. If you had given them all the earth's wealth, you could not have bound them together, but Allah has bound them, for He is mighty and wise. Oh messenger! Allah's strength is sufficient for you and your followers.

8:70 Messenger! Tell the captives who are under your control, "If Allah finds good in your hearts [if the prisoners convert to Islam], He will give you something better than that which has been taken away from you, and He will show you forgiveness. Truly, Allah is forgiving and merciful." If, however, they plot to betray you, know that they have already betrayed Allah. He has therefore given you power over them. Allah is all-knowing and wise.

8:72 Truly, those who believe and have left their homes and have given of their wealth and lives for Allah's cause, and those who have taken them in and helped them, will be as close as family to each other. But those who believed but did not leave their homes, you are not beholden to them until they also go into exile. But if they seek your help on account of the faith, it is your duty to help them except those against whom you have a treaty. Allah knows all that you do.

8:73 The unbelievers give comfort and protection to each other, therefore, if you do not do the same for one another, there will be oppression in the land and widespread corruption.

8:74 Those who have believed and have left their homes and fought for Allah's cause [jihad], and those who have taken them in and given them help, they are the true believers. They will receive mercy and generous provisions. Those who have believed and left their homes to fight with you since then, they are also a part of your family. According to Allah those who are related to you by blood are the closest to you. Allah knows all things.

47:1 Those who deny Allah and prevent others from following Allah's path, He will make their plans fail. Those who believe and do good works, however, and believe in what Mohammed has revealed, as it is the truth sent down from their Lord, He will cleanse them of their sins and improve their circumstances.

47:3 This is because the unbelievers follow lies while the believers follow the truth sent down from their Lord. It is in this manner that Allah sets forth the rules of conduct for mankind.

47:4 When you encounter the unbelievers on the battlefield, cut off their heads until you have thoroughly defeated them and then take the prisoners and tie them up firmly. Afterward, either allow them to go free or let them pay you their ransom until the war is over. This you are commanded. If it had been Allah's will he would have taken out His vengeance upon them, but He has commanded this so that He may test you by using these others. As for those who are killed for Allah's cause [jihad], He will not let their sacrifice be in vain. He will lead them into Paradise, of which He has told them.

47:7 Believers! If you help Allah's cause [jihad], Allah will help you and make you stand firm. But as for those who deny Allah, they will be destroyed. He will make their plans fail because they have rejected His revelations. He will thwart their tactics.

47:33 Believers! Obey Allah and the messenger, and do not let your effort be in vain. Those who do not believe and who prevent others from following Allah's path and then die as unbelievers will not receive Allah's forgiveness. Therefore, do not be weak and offer the unbelievers peace when you have the upper hand, for Allah is with you and will not begrudge you the reward of your deeds.

47:34 Those who do not believe and who prevent others from following Allah's path and then die as unbelievers will not receive Allah's forgiveness. Therefore, do not be weak and offer the unbelievers peace when you have the upper hand for Allah is with you and will not begrudge you the reward of your deeds.

47:36 Truly this present life is only for play and amusement, but if you believe and fear Him, He will give you your reward and will not ask you to give up your worldly wealth. But if He were to ask you for all of it and strongly urge you, you would become greedy, and this would reveal your hatred.

47:38 You are called upon to give to Allah's cause [jihad], but some of you are greedy. Whoever of you acts miserly does so only at the expense of his own soul. Truly, Allah has no use for you, but you have need for Him. If you turn your backs on Him, He will simply replace you with others who will not act like you!

61:1 All that is in the heavens and earth gives praise to Allah for He is mighty and wise.

61:2 Believers! Why do you say you do things that you never actually do? [At the battle of Uhud, some who had pledged courage fled and failed to fight.] It is most hateful in Allah's sight when you say one thing and yet do another.

61:4 Truly Allah loves those who fight for His cause and stand together in battle array like a solid wall.

61:5 Remember when Moses said to his people, "My People, why do you try to persecute me when you know that Allah has sent me to you?" So when they went astray, Allah allowed their hearts to wander for Allah will not guide evil-doers.

61:10 Believers! Should I show you a profitable exchange that will keep you from severe torment? Believe in Allah and His messenger and fight valiantly for Allah's cause [jihad] with both your wealth and your lives. It would be better for you, if you only knew it!

61:12 He will forgive you of your sins and lead you into Gardens beneath which rivers flow. He will keep you in beautiful mansions in the Gardens of Eden. That is the ultimate triumph. And He will give you other blessings for which you long: help from Allah and a swift victory. Give the good news to the believers.

61:14 Believers! Be Allah's helpers just as Jesus, son of Mary, said to his disciples, "Who will help me to do the work of Allah?" and they replied, "We are Allah's helpers." Some among the Children of Israel believed in him and others did not. But for those who believed, We gave them victory over their enemies.

57:10 And for what reason should you not give to Allah's cause [jihad], when the heavens and earth are Allah's inheritance alone? Those of you who gave to the cause before the victory and fought will receive a greater reward than those who gave and fought after it. But Allah has promised a good reward to all of you. Allah knows all that you do. Who will loan generously to Allah? He will pay him back double what he is owed, and he will receive a noble reward.

4:88 Why are you divided into two groups concerning the hypocrites when Allah Himself has turned away from them

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because of their evil deeds? Do you wish to guide those whom Allah has led astray? You will not be able to guide those whom Allah leads astray.

4:91 You will also find others who seek to gain your confidence as well as that of their own people. Every time they are thrown back into temptation, they fall into it deeply. If they do not keep away from you or offer you peace or withdraw their hostilities, then seize them and kill them wherever they are. We give you complete authority over them.

4:94 Believers! When you travel abroad to fight for Allah's cause [jihad], be discerning, and do not say to everyone who greets you, "You are not a believer," only seeking the fleeting joys of this world [by killing the unbeliever and taking their property]. With Allah are abundant joys. You too were like them before Allah granted His grace to you. Therefore, be perceptive; Allah knows all that you do.

4:95 Believers who stay at home in safety, other than those who are disabled, are not equal to those who fight with their wealth and their lives for Allah's cause [jihad]. Allah has ranked those who fight earnestly with their wealth and lives above those who stay at home. Allah has promised good things to all, but those who fight for Him will receive a far greater reward than those who have not. They will be conferred ranks especially from Him, along with forgiveness and mercy, for Allah is forgiving and merciful.

4:100 Those who leave their homes for Allah's cause [jihad] will find many places of refuge and provisions in the earth. Those who leave their homes flying to fight for Allah and His Messenger and die, their reward from Allah is assured. Allah is gracious and merciful!

4:101 When you go forth through the land for war, you will not be blamed if you cut your prayers short because you fear that the unbelievers are about to attack you for the unbelievers are your undoubted enemies.

4:102 And when you [Mohammed] are with the believers conducting prayer, let a group of them stand up with you, taking their weapons with them. After they have prostrated themselves, let them go back to the rear and allow another group to come up and pray with you, also allowing them to be armed. It would please the unbelievers if you failed to carry your weapons and luggage so that they could attack you all at once. You will not be blamed if you lay down your weapons when a heavy rain impedes you or when you are sick, but you must always be vigilant. Allah has prepared a disgraceful torment for the unbelievers.

4:103 And when you have finished your prayers, remember Allah when you are standing, sitting, and lying down. But when you are free from danger, attend to your prayers regularly for prayer at certain times is commanded for believers.

4:104 Do not relent in pursuing the enemy. If you are suffering, so are they, but you have hope from Allah while they have none. Allah is all-knowing and wise!

59:9 Those who remained in Medina in their homes and have embraced the faith take care of those who have fled seeking refuge. They are not jealous of what the refugees have received but give them preference above themselves, even though they are poor. Those who keep themselves from their own jealousies will be prosperous. And those who came after them in the faith say, "Lord! Forgive us as well as those who preceded us in the faith, and do not cause us to have ill-will toward the faithful. Our Lord! Truly you are kind and merciful."

22:39 Those who have been attacked are given permission to fight because they have been persecuted, and surely Allah is able to make them victorious. There are some who have been driven out of their homes unjustly just because they said, "Allah is our Lord." If Allah had not repelled some men by using others [war], the monasteries, churches, synagogues, and mosques, in which Allah's name is praised, would have been destroyed. But surely Allah will help those who help Him in His cause. Allah is strong and mighty. Allah will surely help those who, once we establish them as leaders in the land, pray regularly and pay the poor tax and command what is right and forbid what is wrong. And the final outcome of all things is in Allah's hands.

22:58 Those who fled their homes for Allah's cause [jihad] and were killed or died as a result, surely Allah will provide for them generously, for Allah is the best provider. Allah will certainly lead them in with a pleasing welcome. Allah is all-knowing and gracious. So it will be. Whoever retaliates with the same force with which he was wronged and continues to be oppressed, Allah will help him. Allah is merciful and forgiving.

22:78 Fight valiantly for Allah's cause [jihad] as it benefits you to do for Him. He has chosen you, and has not made hardships for you in the religion; it is the religion of your father Abraham. It was Allah who called you Muslims, both in previous scriptures and now, so that the Messenger may be a witness for you and that you may be his witness against mankind. Therefore, pray regularly, pay the poor tax, and hold firmly to Allah, for He is your protector. He is he best protector and the best helper.

9:7 How can unbelievers be allies with Allah and with His Messenger except those with whom you made an agreement at the Sacred Temple [the Kabah]? So long as they are true to you, be true to them, for Allah loves the righteous.

9:8 How can there be a treaty for the others, since if they prevailed against you, they would not respect your agreement? They will speak fair words from their mouths, but their hearts will be against you. Most of them are rebellious and wicked. They have made some gains with the signs of Allah, and they have hindered many from His way. Evil is what they do. They do not respect the ties of blood or faith regarding the believers. These are the wrongdoers. Yet if they turn to Allah, observe regular prayer, and practice regular charity, they are your brothers in religion. We explain Our signs in detail for those who understand.

9:12 If the unbelievers break their oaths and revile your religion after an alliance is made, then fight the leaders of unbelief, for their oaths are nothing to them, so they may be stopped. Will you not fight against those Meccans who have broken their oaths, plotted to expel your Messenger, and attacked you first? Do you fear them? Allah is more worthy of your fear, if you are believers. So make war on them. Allah will punish them by your hands. He will put them to shame and will give you victory over them. He will heal the hearts of the believers and will remove the wrath in their hearts. Allah gives mercy to whom He will. Allah is knowing and wise.

9:16 Do you think that you will be abandoned as if Allah did not yet know those among you who struggle and who have not taken anyone for friends beside Allah, His apostle, and the faithful? Allah is well aware of what you do.

9:19 Do you compare him who gives drink to the pilgrims and who visits the Sacred Temple to him who believes in Allah and the Last Day and strives hard in Allah's cause? They are not equal in the sight of Allah, and He does not guide the unrighteous.

9:20 They who have believed, have fled their homes, and have striven with all their might with their property and their souls in the cause of Allah will have the highest rank with Him. These are the ones who are triumphant. Their Lord sends them tidings of mercy from Himself and of His good pleasure and Gardens in which lasting pleasure will be theirs. They will abide there forever. Allah's presence is the greatest reward of all.

9:100 As for those who led the way: the first of the Emigrants [those who left Mecca with Mohammed], the Helpers [the Medinans who helped the Muslims from Mecca], and those who have followed their noble conduct, Allah is well pleased with them, and they with Him. He has made them Gardens under whose trees the rivers flow to abide therein forever. This will be the mighty achievement.

9:120 The people of Medina and the Arabs of the desert around them had no cause to abandon Allah's Messenger or to prefer their own lives to his because anything they did or suffered was seen as a deed of righteousness. Whether they suffer thirst, fatigue, or hunger in the name of Allah, or take any steps that anger the unbelievers, or receive any damage from the enemy, it is all written down for them as a good work. Allah does not allow the reward of the righteous [those who die in jihad] to perish.

9:121 They could not spend anything in Allah's cause [jihad], small or great, nor cross any valley but it is written down in their credit. Allah may reward them with better than they have wrought.

3:12 Say to the unbelievers, "Soon you will be defeated and thrown into Hell, a wretched home!" Truly, there has been a sign for you in the two armies which met in battle [at the battle of Badr, 300 Muslim defeated 1000 Meccans]. One army fought for Allah's cause, and the other army was a group of unbelievers, and the unbelievers saw with their own eyes that their enemy was twice its actual size. Allah gives help to whom He pleases. Certainly there is a lesson to be learned in this for those who recognize it.

5:51 Oh, believers, do not take the Jews or Christians as friends. They are but one another's friends. If any one of you take them for his friends, he surely is one of them. Allah will not guide the evildoers.

5:52 You will see those who have a diseased heart race towards them and say, "We fear in case a change of fortune befalls us." Perhaps Allah will bring about some victory or event of His own order. Then they will repent of the thoughts they secretly held in their hearts.

5:53 Then the faithful will say, "Are these the men who swore their most solemn oath by Allah that they were surely with you?" Their deeds will be in vain, and they will come to ruin. Oh, you who believe, if any of you desert His religion, Allah will then raise up a people whom He will love and who will be loved by Him. They will be humble towards the faithful and haughty towards the unbelievers. They will strive hard for Allah's cause [jihad], and not fear the blame of any blamer. This is the grace of Allah. He gives to whom He pleases. Allah is all-embracing and all-knowing.

3:120 Remember when you [Mohammed] left your home early in the morning to lead the believers to their battle stations [battle of Uhud]? Allah heard and knew all. When two of your brigades showed cowardice, Allah protected them both. Let the faithful put their trust in Allah. Allah made you victorious at Badr when you were the weaker army. Therefore, fear Allah and be grateful to Him. Then you said to the believers, "Is it not enough for you that your Lord helped you by sending down three thousand angels?" Yes! And if you stand firm and fear Allah and you are suddenly attacked by your enemies, Allah will send down five thousand angels to wreak havoc upon them.

3:125 Allah intended this to be good news for you so your hearts will know peace. Victory comes from Allah alone, He is mighty and wise so that He might destroy a portion of the unbelievers, humiliate them, and keep them from their purpose. It is none of your concern whether He forgives them or punishes them for, truly, they are evil-doers. All that is in the heaven and earth belongs to Allah. He will forgive whom He pleases and punish whom He pleases. Allah is forgiving and merciful.

3:139 If you have been wounded [Muslims lost the battle of Uhud], be certain that the same has already befallen your enemies. We bring misfortune to mankind in turns so that Allah can discern who are the true believers, and so that We may select martyrs from among you. Allah does not love those who do evil. It is also Allah's purpose to test the believers and to destroy the unbelievers.

3:141 Did you think that you would be permitted into Paradise before Allah tested you to see who would fight for His cause [jihad] and endure until the end? You used to wish for death before you saw it, but now that you have seen it with your own eyes, you turn and run from it. Mohammed is only a messenger, and many messengers have come before him. If he died or was killed, would you turn your backs on the faith? But those who do in fact turn their backs will not hurt Allah in the least. And Allah will surely reward those who serve Him with gratitude.

3:144 No soul will ever die unless it is Allah's will. The length of each life is predetermined according to the Scriptures. Those who wish to receive their reward in this world will receive it, and those who wish to receive their reward in the world to come will also receive it. And We will undoubtedly reward those who serve Us with gratitude.

3:146 Many of the messengers have fought for Allah's cause [jihad] alongside large armies. They were never frightened by what they encountered on Allah's path, nor did they weaken or cringe with fear. Allah loves those who stand firm. Their only cry was this, "Lord! Forgive us of our sins and the things we have done that were against our duty; help us stand firm and make us victorious over the unbelievers." Therefore, Allah gave them their reward in this world, as well as an excellent reward in the world to come. Allah loves those who do good.

3:148 Believers! If you follow the unbelievers, they will cause you to reject the faith and lead you to eternal damnation. But Allah is your protector and the best of helpers. We will strike terror into the hearts of the unbelievers because they worship others besides Allah, which He gave them no permission to do. Their home will be the Fire, a terrible resting place for the evil-doers.

3:151 Allah fulfilled His covenant with you [Mohammed] when He allowed you to destroy your enemies [at the battle of Badr]. And then later, when you [the Muslims at Uhud] lost your courage, arguments broke out among you [the Muslims disobeyed orders and broke ranks to run and get the exposed spoils of the Meccans] and you sinned after you had come so close to what you wanted [spoils of war]. Some of you wish for the desires of this world and some of you for the world to come. Therefore, He caused you to be defeated so that you might be tested. Now He has forgiven you for Allah shows grace to the believers.

3:152 Remember when you [at Uhud the Muslims broke and fled] ran up the hill in cowardice and paid no attention to anyone and the messenger was behind you calling you back to the battle? Allah rewarded you with trouble for the trouble you caused Him so that you would not grieve for the spoils you lost or for what happened to you. Allah knows all that you do.

3:134 Then, after the trouble Allah sent down upon you, He sent down calmness to wash over some of you. Some were overtaken by sleep, and others lay awake, stirred by their own passions, ignorantly thinking unjust thoughts about Allah. And they ask, "What do we gain by this affair?" Say: Truly the affair is entirely in Allah's hands. They hide in their hearts that which they do not want to tell you. They speak out saying, "If we had any say in this affair then none of us would have been killed here." Say: If you had stayed at home, those of you who were destined to be killed would have died regardless. This has taken place so that Allah might test your faith and see what is in your hearts. Allah knows the deepest secrets of every heart. Those of you who fled in cowardice on the day the two armies met in battle must have been tricked by Satan because of some evil you have done. But now Allah has forgiven you for Allah is forgiving and gracious.

3:155 Believers! Do not follow the unbelievers' example when they say about their brothers who have been killed in a

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foreign country or in battle, "If only they had stayed at home they would not have died or have been killed!" Allah will make them regret what they have said. Allah is the giver of both life and death; Allah knows all that you do.

3:156 The forgiveness and mercy they, who die or are killed for Allah's cause, will receive from Allah will be far better than anything they could have gained. If you die or are killed, then surely you will all be gathered before Allah.

3:164 And when disaster [battle of Uhud] befell you, although it brought destruction twice as great to the unbelievers, you said, "Why is this happening to us?" Say to them, "You have brought this upon yourselves for Allah controls all things. The destruction which befell you the day the two armies met in battle was Allah's will so He would recognize who were the true believers and who were the hypocrites." And when they were told, "Come and fight for Allah's cause [jihad] and drive your enemies back," they replied, "If we knew how to fight, then we would have followed you." Some of them were closer to unbelief than faith that day. What they said with their mouths was not what was in their hearts, but Allah knew what they were hiding in their hearts.

3:167 It was these who said, while sitting at home, of their brothers, "If only they had listened to us, then they would not have been killed." Say: Try to avert your death if what you say is true!

3:168 Never believe that those who have been killed for Allah's cause [jihad] are dead. No, they are alive with their Lord and receive rich provisions. They rejoice in the bounty Allah gives them and are joyful for those left behind who have yet to join them that they will have nothing fear or regret. They are filled with joy for Allah's grace and blessings. Allah will not fail to reward the faithful.

3:171 As for those who answered the call of Allah and His messenger after they were defeated [battle of Uhud], those of them who do good works and fear Allah will be richly rewarded. They are the ones who when it was said to them, "Your enemies are gathering vast armies against you, so fear them," it only increased their faith and they said, "Allah's help is enough for us. He is the most excellent protector." It was in this manner that they earned Allah's grace and blessings, and no harm came to them. And they worked to please Allah for Allah is full of boundless grace.

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3:174 It is only Satan who causes you to fear his followers [the leaders of the Meccans]. Do not fear them; fear Me if you are truly believers. Do not be distressed for those who turn away from the faith for Allah is not hurt by them. Allah will refuse them any part of the world to come. Severe torment awaits them. Those who trade their faith for unbelief will do no harm to Allah, and they will receive a painful punishment.

3:177 Do not let the unbelievers think that we lengthen their days for their own good. We give them time only hoping that they will commit more serious sins. They will receive a shameful punishment.

2:207 There are those as well who give their lives to earn Allah's approval; Allah shows compassion to His servants.

2:208 Believers, enter into submission to Islam with all your heart and do not follow the path of Satan. He is your avowed enemy. If you backslide after receiving these clear signs, then recognize that Allah is mighty and wise.

2:210 Are they going to wait until Allah comes down to them in the shadows of the clouds with His angels? By that time they will have already been judged for all decisions go back to Allah. Ask the Children of Israel how many clear signs We have sent down to them. But anyone who alters Allah's gift [the Koran] after they have received it will see that He is severe in His punishment.

2:212 The life of this world is full of temptations for the unbelievers, and they ridicule the faithful. But those who fear Allah will be above them on the Day of Resurrection. Allah gives generously to whom He pleases.

2:213 All the people of the world were once only one nation. Then Allah sent messengers to bring them good news and to warn them with the Scriptures and the truth so it would be the deciding factor in people's disputes. Only the People of the Book argued about the Scriptures after having received clear signs because of their hatred for one another. Allah guided the believers to the truth concerning their disputes. Allah will guide whom He pleases to the right path.

2:214 Did you think that you would enter Paradise without having to experience the same trials as those who came before you? Suffering and affliction came to them, and they were so upset that each messenger and his followers called out, "When will Allah help us?" Allah's help is always near.

2:215 They will ask you about what to give to charity. Say: Whatever you spend for good must go to parents, relatives, orphans, the poor, and to the needy traveler. Allah knows all the good things you do.

3:194 And their Lord heard them and said, "I will not keep any man or woman from receiving the reward of their work. You are created from one another." For those who fled their homes and were expelled from their country and those who were persecuted because of Me and have fought and died, I will wash away their sins and lead them into the Garden watered by flowing rivers. A reward from Allah and with Allah is the best of rewards." Do not be fooled by the unbelievers' good fortune [winning at the battle of Uhud].

3:196 It is only a fleeting comfort! [The victory of the Meccans at Uhud will be avenged.] Hell will be their home, a wretched bed. As for those who fear their Lord, they will live forever in the Garden watered by flowing rivers, and they will receive Allah's welcome reception. Allah's reward is surely better for those who are righteous.

3:198 There are some among the People of the Book [Christians and Jews] who believe in Allah and in what has been sent down to you and in what was sent down to them. They bow in humility to Allah and do not trade Allah's revelations for a meager price. These will be rewarded by their Lord. Allah is quick in His accounting.

3:199 Believers! Be patient and outlast all others in your endurance. Stand firm and fear Allah so that you may be victorious.

59:2 It was He who caused the People of the Book [the Jews] to leave their homes and go into the first exile. They did not think they would leave, and they thought that their fortresses could protect them from Allah. But Allah's wrath reached them from where they did not expect it and cast terror into their hearts, so that they destroyed their homes with their own hands, as well as by the hands of the believers. Take warning from this example, you who have the eyes to see it!

59:3 And if Allah had not decreed their exile, surely He would have punished them in this world. And in the world to come they will receive the punishment of the Fire because they had disobeyed Allah and His Messenger. Whoever disobeys Allah, knows that Allah is truly severe in His punishment.

59:5 Allah gave you permission to cut down some palm trees and leave others intact so as to shame the wicked [the Jews]. After Allah gave the spoils to His Messenger, you made no move with horses or camels to capture them [the Jews], but Allah gives His messengers power over what He chooses. Allah is all-powerful.

59:7 The spoils of war taken from the people in the cities and given by Allah to His Messenger belong to Allah, to His Messenger and to his family, to the orphans, to the poor, and to the wayfaring traveler so that it will not stay among those of you who are wealthy. Take what the Messenger has offered you, and refuse what he has forbidden you. And fear Allah, for Allah is severe in His punishment.

59:8 A part of the spoils of war also belong to the poor refugees: the Immigrants driven from their homes and possessions who seek Allah's grace and help Allah and His Messenger. These are the sincere believers.

4:49 Have you not seen those who praise themselves for their purity? But Allah purifies whom He pleases, and they will not be treated unjustly in the slightest degree. See how they make up lies about Allah! That in itself is a terrible sin. Have you not seen those [Jews allied with the Meccans] to whom part of the Scriptures were given? They believe in idols and sorcery, and they say of the unbelievers, "These are guided on a better path than the believers." It is on these whom Allah has laid His curse. Those who are cursed by Allah will have no one to help them.

33:9 Believers! Remember Allah's grace when your enemies attacked you [the Battle of the Ditch], and We set a mighty wind against them [the Meccans and their allies, the confederates, put Medina under siege], and warriors they could not see, but Allah sees clearly all that you do. [The confederates' poor planning, poor leadership, and bad weather caused them to fail]

33:10 When they attacked you from above and from below, your eyes went wild, your hearts leapt up into your throats, and you doubted Allah's strength. There were the believers tried, and they were severely shaken. The hypocrites and the diseased of heart said, "Allah and His Messenger promised us only to deceive us." A group of them said, "People of Medina! It is not safe for you here. Therefore, go back to your city." Then another group said, "Our homes have been left defenseless," although they were not, and they really only wanted to run away.

33:14 If the enemy had infiltrated the entire city, the disaffected would have been incited to rebel, and they surely would have done so, but they would have maintained control for only a short while. Before they had pledged to Allah that they would never turn their backs and flee. A pledge to Allah must be answered for. Say: Fleeing will not help you. If you are running away from death or slaughter, even if you do escape, you will only be left to enjoy this world for a short time. Say: Who will keep you from Allah if it is His will to punish you or to show you mercy? Only Allah is your guardian and a helper.

33:18 Allah truly knows those among you who hinder others and say to their friends, "Come to our side," and who only fight a little and help you only begrudgingly. When they are overtaken with fear, then they look to you, rolling their eyes as if they were on the verge of death. But as soon as they are safe again, they attack you with their harsh words, greedily demanding the best of the spoils of war. These are not believers. Therefore, Allah will make their actions useless; that is easy for Allah.

33:20 They thought that the confederate tribes would never depart, and if the confederates should attack again, they would rather be in the desert among the Bedouin tribes asking for news about you! But if they were there with you, they would hardly take part in the battle.

33:21 You have an excellent example in Allah's Messenger for those of you who put your hope in Allah and the Last Day and who praise Allah continually. And when the believers saw the confederates they said, "This is what Allah and His Messenger promised us, and Allah and His Messenger spoke the truth," and this served to increase their faith and devotion.

33:23 Some among the believers have been faithful in their covenant with Allah. Some of them have fulfilled their covenant with their deaths, and some are waiting for death, and they have not wavered in their determination. Allah will reward the faithful for the faithfulness and will punish the hypocrites if He pleases or show them mercy if He pleases. Allah is forgiving and merciful.

33:25 And Allah drove back the unbelievers in their wrath, and they gained nothing by it. Allah aided the believers in the war, for Allah is strong and mighty. He brought down some of the People of the Book [the Jews] out of their fortresses to aid the confederates and to strike terror into their hearts. Some you killed, and others you took captive. He made you heirs of their land, their homes, and their possessions, and even gave you another land on which you had never before set foot. Allah has power over everything. [800 male Jews were executed, their property taken, and women and children enslaved.]

3:104 Do not be like those people who are divided among themselves and argue with one another after they have received clear signs. They will receive a dreadful punishment on the Day when some faces will shine with light and other faces will be darkened with despair. Then those whose faces are darkened will be asked, "Why did you reject the faith after having been believers? Taste now the retribution for your unbelief!" But those whose faces are light will receive Allah's mercy and enjoy it forever. These are Allah's revelations, which We tell you in truth. Allah does not will injustice on mankind. All that is in the heavens and the earth belongs to Allah, and to Him all things will return.

3:109 You are the best of people ever brought together for mankind commanding what is right and prohibiting what is evil. You believe in Allah. If the People of the Book [Jews] had believed, it certainly would have been better for them. While some of them are believers, most of them are evil-doers. If they attempt to harm you, it will only result in minor injuries. If they go to war with you, they will turn and run away, and they will have no one to help them. They will be covered with shame wherever they go unless they make a covenant with Allah or with men. They have brought Allah's wrath upon themselves, and they have been humiliated because of their disbelief and because they have unjustly killed His messengers. This is because they have rebelled and become sinners.

3:112 Yet not all of them are the same. There are some among the People of the Book who are righteous and who recite Allah's revelations throughout the night and worship Him. They believe in Allah and the Last Day, and command what is right and forbid what is wrong and urge each other on to do good works. These are the righteous people. They will not be denied their reward for whatever good they do for Allah knows those who do good.

3:115 As for the unbelievers, neither their wealth nor their children will keep them from the wrath of Allah. They will be prisoners of the Fire where they will live forever. What they spend in this world is like an icy wind that blows over the fields and destroys the crops of a people who are also evil-doers. It is not Allah who does them wrong, but it is they who wrong themselves.

5:12 Allah did, of old, make a covenant with the children of Israel, and We appointed twelve leaders among them, and Allah said, "I will be with you if you observe regular prayer, practice regular charity, believe in My messengers and help them, and offer Allah goodly gifts. I will surely wipe away your sins, and I will bring you into Gardens beneath which the rivers flow. Whoever of you does not believe this has gone astray from the even path."

5:13 Because they [the Jews] broke their covenant, We have cursed them and have hardened their hearts. They changed the words of Scripture [Islam claims that the Jews removed the references to Mohammed's coming from their Scripture.] from their places and have forgotten part of what they were taught. You will always discover them in deceits, except for a few of them, but forgive them and overlook their misdeeds. Allah loves those who act generously.

5:41 Oh, Messenger, do not let those who hurry to disbelief grieve you. Whether it is those who say the words, "We believe," while their hearts do not believe, or, it is the Jews, who will listen to any lie but do not come to you. They change words from their contexts and say, "If you are given this, take it, if you are not given this, then beware of it." For whomever Allah would mislead, you will be no help for him against

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Allah. Those whose hearts Allah does not desire to cleanse will suffer disgrace in this world and a grievous punishment in the next.

5:42 They [the Jews] are fond of listening to lies or devouring anything forbidden. If they do come to you [Mohammed], judge between them, or refuse to interfere. If you withdraw from them, they cannot harm you in any way, but if you judge, then judge between them with equity. Allah loves those who deal equitably. Why would they make you their judge since they possess their own law, the Torah, which holds the commands of Allah, yet they have not obeyed it? These are not believers.

5:44 We have sent down the Torah, which was a guidance and light. The messengers who professed Islam used the Torah to judge the Jews, the rabbis, and the doctors because they were required to be the keepers and the witnesses of the Book. Therefore, Oh Jews, do not fear men but fear Me, and do not sell my signs for a miserable price. Whoever will not judge by what Allah revealed are the unbelievers.

5:45 We ordained in the Book, "Life for life, and eye for eye, and nose for nose, and ear for ear, and tooth for tooth, and for wounds retaliation." Whoever will give up retaliation, it is an act of atonement for his sins. Whoever does not use the laws of Allah to judge is unjust.

4:60 Have you not noticed those who act like they believe in that which has been revealed to you and that which was revealed before you? They wish to seek the judgment of Satan, although they have been commanded to deny him, and Satan wishes to lead them astray into grievous sin. And when it is said to them, "Come and be judged by what Allah has revealed and by His Messenger," you see them turn their heads in disgust. But how would they act if some disaster came upon them because of what they have done with their own hands? They would come to you, swearing by Allah, "We wish nothing but goodwill and reconciliation." But Allah knows the secrets of their hearts. Therefore, turn away from them and warn them, speaking words that will pierce their souls.

4:64 We have sent messengers only so that people will obey them by Allah's permission. If the people hurt themselves by their own error, and they came to you to ask Allah's forgiveness, and you asked Allah's forgiveness on their behalf, they would certainly have found Allah forgiving and merciful. But no, I swear by your Lord, they will not believe until they make you judge in all their disputes. Then they will have no doubt in the fairness of your judgment and will entirely submit to you.

4:66 If We had commanded them, "Lay down your lives," or "Abandon your homes," only a few of them would have obeyed. But if they had done as they were commanded, it would have been better for them and it would have strengthened their faith. We would have given them of Ourselves a great reward and guided them to the right path.

4:69 Those who obey Allah and His Messenger will live with the messengers and the faithful and the martyrs and the righteous. What wonderful company! This is the bounty of Allah, and Allah's infinite knowledge is sufficient. Believers! Be cautious, and either march forward in groups or advance all together. There are some among you who are sure to hang back, and if a disaster came upon you, would say, "Allah has dealt with us graciously because we were not in the battle." If, however, you were met with victory, they, as if there were no friendship between you, would say, "If only I had been with them! Surely I would have been greatly successful!"

4:74 Let those who would sell the life of this world for the world to come fight for Allah's cause [jihad]. Whoever fights for Allah's cause, whether he is killed or is victorious, We will grant him a great reward. How could you not fight for Allah's cause? For the weak men, women, and children who plead, "Lord! Rescue us from this city of oppressors [Mecca]. Send us a protector from Your presence; send a defender from Your presence."

4:76 The believers fight for Allah's cause [jihad] and the unbelievers fight for Satan. Therefore, fight against the friends of Satan. Truly Satan's strategy is weak.

4:77 Look at those who were told, "Lay down your arms of war for a time, attend to your prayers, and pay the poor tax." When they were told to resume fighting, some of them feared their fellow man more than they should have feared Allah, and said, "Lord! Why have you commanded us to fight? Why could you not have given us a longer respite?" Say: The joys of this world are fleeting. The world to come will be better for those of you who fear Allah, and you will never be treated unfairly in the least. Wherever you are, death will find you, even if you lock yourselves in high towers! If something good happens to them they say, "This is from Allah," but if something evil happens to them they say, "It was the Messenger's fault." Say: Everything is from Allah! But what is wrong with these people that they fail to understand what is told to them?

4:79 Whatever good comes to you is from Allah, but whatever evil happens to you is from yourself. We have sent you to mankind as a Messenger, and Allah is sufficient as your witness. Those who obey the Messenger obey Allah. As for those who turn away from you, We have not sent you to watch over them.

4:81 They promise obedience to you, but when they leave you, they gather together at night and plan to do other than what you say. Allah writes down all they say. Therefore, leave them alone and put your trust in Allah. Allah is sufficient as your protector. Will they not study the Koran? Were it not from Allah, they surely would have found many contradictions in it. And when they hear any news, whether it is good or bad, they announce it to everyone. On the other hand, if they had told the Messenger or those in authority, the wise among them would have learned it from them. If it were not for Allah's grace and mercy, all but a few of you would have followed Satan!

4:84 Therefore, fight for Allah's cause [jihad]. Do not lay the burden on anyone but yourself, and stir up the faithful. It may be that Allah will restrain the unbelievers' fury. Allah is mightier and stronger in His punishment.

4:85 Those who mediate between people for a good cause will gain from it, but those who mediate for an evil cause will bear the consequences. Allah has power over all things.

4:86 When a considerate greeting is offered to you, return it with a more considerate greeting, or at least one equally as considerate. Surely, Allah takes note of all things.

66:6 Oh, believers, save yourselves and your families from the Fire whose fuel is men and stones [ritual objects made from stone], over which are set fierce and mighty angels. They do not resist Allah's commands, but do precisely what they are commanded. Oh, unbelievers, do not make excuses for yourselves this day. You are only being rewarded for your deeds.

66:8 Oh, believers, turn to Allah in true penitence. Maybe your Lord will cancel your evil deeds and will bring you into the Gardens beneath which the rivers flow on the day when Allah will not humiliate the Messenger or those who have shared his faith. Their light will run before them and on their right hands. They will say, "Lord perfect our light, and pardon us. You have power over all things."

66:9 Oh, Messenger, make war on the unbelievers and hypocrites, and be hard on them. Hell will be their home, and wretched is the passage to it.

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

66:11 Allah also holds forth to those who believe the example of the wife of Pharaoh. She said, "Lord, build me a house with you in Paradise and deliver me from Pharaoh and his doings and deliver me from the wicked."

66:12 Mary, the daughter of Imran who guarded her chastity and into whose womb We breathed of Our spirit, accepted the words of her Lord and of His revelations. She was one of the obedient.

49:13 Oh, men, We have created you of a male and a female, and We have divided you into nations and tribes that you might have knowledge one of another. Truly, the most honourable of you in the sight of Allah is he who is the most careful of his duty. Allah is knowing and wise.

49:14 The Arabs of the desert say, "We believe." [A tribe of desert Arabs came to Medina during a famine. They converted to Islam and received charity.] Say: You do not believe, but you only say, 'We profess Islam,' for the faith has not yet found its way into your hearts. If you obey Allah and His Messenger, He will not withhold any of the rewards of your actions. Allah is indulgent and merciful. The true believers are only those who believe in Allah and His Messenger without doubts and who strive with their lives and their wealth on Allah's cause [jihad]. These are the sincere.

49:16 Say: Will you teach Allah about your religion when He knows all that is in the heavens and on the earth? Yes, Allah has knowledge of all things.

49:17 They think they did you [Mohammed] a favor when they [the desert Arabs] submitted to Islam. Say: Do not talk to me about having embraced Islam. Allah does a favor for you when He guides you to the faith if you are truthful. Allah knows the secrets of the heavens and of the earth, and Allah sees what you do.

48:17 It will be no crime on the part of the blind, the lame, or the sick if they do not go to the fight [participate in jihad], but whoever obeys Allah and His Messenger, He will bring him into the Gardens beneath which the rivers flow, but whoever turns back, He will punish him with a sore punishment.

48:18 Allah was well pleased when the believers swore loyalty to you under the tree. He knew what was in their hearts, and He sent down tranquility on them and rewarded them with a speedy victory and with the rich spoils of war they took, for Allah is mighty and wise.

48:20 Allah promised that you will capture rich spoils of war [this refers to the destruction of the Jews of Khaybar, who were made dhimmis who paid special taxes, jizya, and lacked civil liberties], and He withheld men's hands from you that it may be a sign to the faithful and that He might guide you along the right way. There are other spoils of war, over which you have not yet had power, but Allah has encompassed them for you, for Allah is potent over all things.

48:22 If the unbelievers fight against you, they will surely turn their backs. They will find neither protector nor helper. Such has been Allah's method before. You will not find a change in Allah's course. It was He who held their hands from you and your hands from them in the valley of Mecca [Mohammed signed the treaty of Hudaybiya with the Meccans that recognized him as a powerful, political leader]. After that He gave you the victory over them, for Allah saw what you did.

48:25 These [the Meccans] are the ones who disbelieved and kept you away from the Sacred Mosque [the Kabah] and prevented the offering from reaching the place of sacrifice [the Meccans would not let Mohammed enter Mecca and make ritual sacrifices]. The believers might have been injured by accident [Mohammed could not attack the Meccans since there were both unbelievers and believers among them]. Allah will give mercy to whom he pleases or an attack would have been ordered. Had the believers not been among with the unbelievers, We would have surely punished the unbelievers with a sore punishment.

48:26 When the unbelievers had fostered rage in their hearts—the rage of ignorance—Allah sent down His peace on His Messenger and on the faithful. He made them stay close to the command of self-restraint [not to kill the unbelievers] for they were most worthy and deserving of it, and Allah knows all things.

48:27 Allah truly fulfilled the vision for His Messenger when He said, "You will surely enter the Sacred Mosque [the Kabah], if Allah pleases, in full security having your faces shaved and your hair cut. You will not fear for He knows what you do not know, and He has granted, beside this, a speedy victory." He has sent His Messenger with guidance and the religion of truth that He may proclaim it over every religion. Allah's testimony is enough for you.

48:28 Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah, and his comrades are strong against the unbelievers, but compassionate among themselves. You will see them bowing down, prostrating themselves, and imploring favors from Allah and His acceptance. The marks are on their faces from the traces of their prostrations [dust would be on the foreheads from bowing down to the earth]. This is their picture in the Torah and their picture in the Gospel. They are like the seed that puts forth its stalk. It strengthens, grows stout, and rises upon its stem rejoicing the husbandman. The unbelievers become enraged at them. To those who believe and do good work, Allah has promised forgiveness and a great reward.

9:122 The faithful should not all go out together to fight. If a part of every troop remained behind, they could instruct themselves in their religion and warn their people when they return to them that they should guard against evil.

9:123 Believers, fight the unbelievers who are near you, and let them find you to be tough and hard. Know that Allah is with those who guard against evil.

9:17 It is not for the unbelievers to visit or maintain the mosques of Allah while they witness against their own souls to disbelief. Their work bears no fruit; they will abide in the Fire forever. Only he who believes in Allah and the Last Day should visit the temples of Allah, observe regular prayer, and practice regular charity, and fear only Allah. These will be among the rightly guided.

9:28 Oh, believers, only the unbelievers are unclean. Do not let them come near the Sacred Temple after this year of theirs. If you fear poverty from the loss of their business [breaking commercial ties with the Meccans], Allah will enrich you from His abundance if He pleases. Allah is knowing and wise.

9:38 Oh, believers, what possessed you that when it was said, "March forth in Allah's cause [jihad]," you cling heavily to the earth? Do you prefer the life of this world to the next? Little is the comfort of this life compared to the one that is to come. Unless you march forth, He will punish you with a grievous penalty, and He will put another in your place. You will not harm Him at all, for Allah has power over everything.

9:40 If you do not assist your Messenger, it is no matter for Allah assisted him when the unbelievers drove him out, he [Mohammed] being only one of two men. When the two [Mohammed and Abu Bakr] were in the cave, the Messenger said to his companion, "Do not be distressed, for Allah is with us." Allah sent His tranquility upon him, and strengthened him with hosts you did not see. He humbled the word of those who disbelieved and exalted the word of Allah, for Allah is mighty and wise. March forth both the lightly and heavily armed, and strive hard in Allah's cause [jihad] with your substance and your persons. This is better for you if you know it.

9:42 Had there been a near advantage and a short journey [Mohammed marched to Tabuk against the Greeks. It was a long, hot campaign], they would certainly have followed you, but the journey was too long for them. Yet they will swear by Allah saying, "If we only could have, we would surely have

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gone forth with you." They would destroy their own souls. Allah knows that they are surely lying.

9:43 Allah forgive you, Mohammed. Why did you give them permission to stay behind before you knew those who told the truth from those who lied? Those who believe in Allah and in the Last Day do not ask for exemption from fighting with their wealth and their lives. Allah knows those who fear Him.

9:73 Oh, Prophet, strive hard against the unbelievers and the hypocrites, and be firm with them. Hell will be their dwelling place: A wretched journey.

9:84 Never pray over nor stand over the grave of anyone of them who dies because they did not believe in Allah and His Messenger and died in their wickedness.

9:29 Make war on those who have received the Scriptures [Jews and Christians] but do not believe in Allah or in the Last Day. They do not forbid what Allah and His Messenger have forbidden. The Christians and Jews do not follow the religion of truth until they submit and pay the poll tax [jizya], and they are humiliated.

9:30 The Jews say, "Ezra is the son of Allah," [this tradition is unknown in the Old Testament] and the Christians say, "The Messiah is a son of Allah." Such are the sayings in their mouths, but they resemble the saying of the unbelievers of old. Allah destroy them. How they are deluded from the truth.

9:31 They take their rabbis and their monks and the Messiah, son of Mary, for Lords besides Allah [Both Jews and Christians of that area used the term "rabbi" for their religious leaders. Islam only applied rabbi to Allah], though they were bidden to worship one Allah only. There is no god but Allah. He is far from having the partners they associate with Him.

9:32 They desire to put out Allah's light with their mouths, but Allah only desires to perfect His light, though the unbelievers detest it. He sent His Messenger with the guidance and a religion of the truth that He may make it victorious over every other religion, though the unbelievers will detest it.

9:34 Oh, Believers of truth, many of the rabbis and monks devour the substance of man and hinder them from the way of Allah. To those who store up gold and silver and do not spend it on Allah's cause [jihad], give tidings of grievous torment. On that day their treasures will be heated in Hellfire and their foreheads, their sides, and their backs will be branded with them, "This is the treasure you have buried for yourselves. Now, taste your riches."

5:14 We made a covenant with those who say, "We are Christians," but they, too, have forgotten a part of what they were taught [Islam claims that the Christians suppressed the prophecies of Jesus that Mohammed would be the final prophet] so We have stirred up animosity and hatred among them that will last until Resurrection Day. In the end, Allah will tell them what they have done.

5:15 Oh, people of the Scriptures, Our Messenger has come to you to clear up what you have hidden of those Scriptures and to pass over many things that are now unnecessary. Now you have a new light and a clear Book from Allah. He will use it to guide whoever seeks to follow His good pleasure to paths of peace. He will bring them out of the darkness to the light, and, by his decree, will guide them to the straight path.

5:17 Surely they are unbelievers who say, "Allah is the Messiah, son of Mary." Say: Who has any power against Allah if He chose to destroy the Messiah, son of Mary, his mother, and all who are on the earth together? Allah's is the sovereignty of the heavens and of the earth and of all that is between them. He creates what He will, and Allah has power over all things.

5:72 The unbelievers say, "Jesus is the Messiah, Son of Mary," for the Messiah said, "Oh, Children of Israel, worship Allah, my Lord and your Lord." Whoever will join other gods with Allah, He will forbid him in the Garden, and his abode will be the Fire. The wicked will have no helpers. They surely blaspheme who say, "Allah is the third of three [the Trinity]," for there is no god except one Allah, and if they do not refrain from what they say, a grievous penalty will fall on those who disbelieve. Will they not turn to Allah and ask His forgiveness? For Allah is forgiving and merciful.

5:75 The Messiah, Son of Mary, is but a messenger. Other messengers have passed away before him, and his mother was a saintly woman; they both ate food. See how Allah makes His signs clear to them; then see how they turn from the truth. Say: Will you worship, beside Allah, that which can neither hurt nor help you? Allah hears and knows all things.

SUPPLEMENT 2: ALL VERSES ON:
JEW HATRED IN THE KORAN
Entire Koran: 152,006 words
Number of verses: 123 with
10242 words of Jew hatred = 6.7%

MECCA KORAN:
Meccan Koran: 97184 words
Number of verses: 9 with
960 words of Jew hatred = 1%

27:76 Surely this Koran explains to the Children of Israel most of the issues upon which they disagree. Certainly it is a guide and a mercy for those who believe. Surely your Lord will use His wisdom to judge between them. He is the mighty and the all-knowing. So put your trust in Allah. Surely, you are on the path to the plain truth.

27:80 You can not make the dead listen or the deaf to hear, when they have turned to flee, nor can you guide the blind from their errors. You can not make any listen except those who believe our revelations and who have submitted to Islam. When the Word against them is fulfilled, We will send a monster created from the earth to speak to them because mankind did not believe Our signs. One day We will gather together, from all peoples, a group of those who rejected Our signs and organize them into ranks until, when they come before their Lord, He will say, "Did you reject My signs because you could not understand them? What was it that you were doing?" And the Word will be fulfilled against them, because of their wickedness. They will be unable to speak in their own defense.

17:2 We gave the Book [the Torah] to Moses and made it a guide for the Children of Israel, commanding, "Do not take another guardian besides me." You descendents of the people We carried to safety with Noah! He was a grateful servant. In the Book We gave clear warning to the Children of Israel that they would twice commit wickedness on the earth and be filled with arrogance. Upon the first warning we sent Our mighty and war-like servants against you [the Syrians conquered the Jews]. They went from house to house, and Our warning was completely fulfilled. Later, in turn, We made you masters over them and increased your resources and children and made your armies much larger. We said, "If you do well, you will do well for yourselves; if you do evil, you will do it against yourselves." So, when the second warning came, We sent another people to bring grief to you [the Romans conquered the Jews], and to enter the temple as they did before and to utterly destroy all that came under their control.

7:159 And among the people of Moses there is a certain number who guide others with truth and establish justice. And We divided them into twelve tribes, or nations, and We inspired Moses when the people asked for drink, saying, "Strike the rock with thy staff," and from there gushed twelve springs, and each tribe knew its own place for water. We gave them clouds to shade them, and sent manna [food from heaven] and the quails to them. "Eat the good things We have provided you." They did no harm to Us, but they did injure themselves [when they stored the manna instead of trusting that more would be furnished the next day].

7:161 When it was said to them, "Live in this town and eat wherever you wish and speak with humility and enter the gate in humility. We will forgive you wrongs, and We will give more to those who do good." But those who did wrong among them changed that word [the Jews made a pun and changed hittat, absolution, to habbat, grain] into another that had been told to them, so We sent them a plague for their wrong doings.

7:163 Ask them about the town that stood by the sea, how the Jews broke the Sabbath. Their fish came to them on their Sabbath day appearing on the surface of the water. But during the work week there were no fish to catch. So We made a trial of them for they were evildoers. And when some of them said, "Why do you preach to those whom Allah is about to destroy or chastise with awful doom?" They said, "To do our duty for the Lord so that they may be able to ward off evil."

7:165 When they disregarded the warnings that had been given to them [not to work on the Sabbath], We rescued those who had forbidden wrongdoing, and We punished the wrongdoers for their transgressions. But when they persisted in what they had been forbidden, We said to them, "Be as apes, despised and loathed." [The Jews were changed into apes.]

7:167 Then the Lord declared that until Resurrection Day, He would use others to punish the Jews, for the Lord is quick to punish, and most surely is He forgiving and merciful. And We sent them out on the land as separate nations. Some of them were righteous and some were not. We have tried them with prosperity and adversity in order that they might return to Us.

7:169 After them came an evil generation. They inherited the Scriptures [the Torah], but they chose the pleasures of this world saying, "Everything will be forgiven us." If similar vanities came to them again, they would seize them again. But did they not accept a promise through the Scripture that they would not speak anything of Allah but the truth? And they have studied what is in the Book [Koran], but the home in the hereafter is for those who fear Allah. Do you not understand? And for those who keep the Scriptures and keep regular prayer, We will not waste the reward of the righteous. When We shook the mountain over them, as if it were a covering, and they thought it was going to fall on them, We said "Hold fast to what We have given you, and remember what is in it so you may guard against evil."

MEDINA KORAN
Medinan Koran: 54,822 words
Number of verses: 114 with
9,282 words of Jew hatred = 16.9%

2:8 And some of the people [the Jews] say, "We believe in Allah and the Day," although they do not really believe. They wish to deceive Allah and His believers, but they fool no one but themselves although they do not know it. Their hearts are diseased, and Allah has increased their suffering. They will suffer an excruciating doom because of their lies.

2:11 And when they are told, "Do not make evil in the earth," they say, "We are only trying to make peace." But they truly are the evil-doers even though they do not realise it. When it is said to them, "Believe as others have believed," they say, "Should we believe as the fools believe?" They are the fools, if only they knew it! And when they meet with the faithful they say, "We believe too." But when they are alone with their fellow devils [Jews and Christians] they say, "Really, we are with you. We were only mocking them." Allah will throw their mockery back on them and leave them to wander alone in their blindness.

2:40 Children of Israel! Remember the favor I have given you, and keep your covenant with Me. I will keep My covenant with you. Fear My power. Believe in what I reveal [the Koran], which confirms your Scriptures, and do not be the first to disbelieve it. Do not part with My revelations for a petty price. Fear Me alone. Do not mix up the truth with lies or knowingly hide the truth [Mohammed said the Jews hid their scriptures that foretold Mohammed would be the final prophet]. Be committed to your prayers, give to charity regularly, and bow down with those who bow down. Would you instruct others to be righteous and forget to attend to your own duties? You read the Scriptures! Do you not have sense? Seek guidance with patience and prayer; this is indeed a hard duty, but not for the humble who remember that they will have to meet their Lord and will return to Him.

2:75 Can you believers then hope that the Jews will believe you even though they heard the Word of Allah and purposefully altered it [Mohammed said the Jews hid their scriptures that foretold Mohammed would be the final prophet] after they understood its meaning? And when they are among the believers they say, "We believe too," but when they are alone with one another they say, "Will you tell them what Allah has revealed to you so that they can argue with you about it in the presence of your Lord?" Do you not have any sense? Do they not realise that Allah knows what they hide as well as what they reveal?

2:78 There are illiterate people among them who do not know the Scriptures but only lies and unclear conjectures. Wretchedness will come to those who write their own scriptures and then claim, "This is from Allah," so that they can sell it for a pitiful price. They will have a mournful fate because of what they have written and for what they have earned by their actions.

2:80 And they say, "The Fire will not touch us except for a few days." Say: Did you receive such a promise from Allah because Allah will not break his promise, or do you merely speak of Allah what you do not know? Surely those who do evil and become surrounded by sin will be prisoners of the Fire where they will live forever. Those who believe and do good deeds are the rightful owners of the Garden where they will live forever.

2:63 And remember, Children of Israel, when We made a covenant with you and raised Mount Sinai before you saying, "Hold tightly to what We have revealed to you and keep it in mind so that you may guard against evil." But then you turned away, and if it had not been for Allah's grace and mercy, you surely would have been among the lost. And you know those among you who sinned on the Sabbath. We said to them, "You will be transformed into despised apes." So we used them as a warning to their people and to the following generations, as well as a lesson for the Allah-fearing.

2:87 We gave Moses the Scriptures and sent other messengers after him. We gave Jesus, the son of Mary, clear signs and fortified him with the Holy Spirit [the angel Gabriel, not the Spirit of the Trinity]. So whenever a messenger is sent that does not conform to your desires, will you become insolent and either deny him or kill him?

2:88 They say, "Our hearts are hardened." But Allah has cursed them for their unbelief. Their faith is weak. And when the Scriptures came from Allah, confirming what they already had, they refused to believe in it, although they had long prayed for victory over the unbelievers. Therefore, Allah's curse is on those without faith! They have sold themselves for a vile price by not believing what Allah has sent down, begrudging Him the right to send it to whichever messenger He pleases. They have brought relentless wrath upon themselves. Disgraceful punishment awaits the unbelievers.

2:91 When they are told, "Believe in what Allah has sent down," they say, "We believe in what was sent down to us." They reject what has since been sent down even though it is true and confirms their own scriptures. Say: Then why did

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you kill the messengers of Allah in the past if you are truly believers?

5:59 Say: Oh, people of the Book [Jews and Christians], do you not reject us only because we believe in Allah, in what He has sent down to us, in what He has sent before us, and because most of you are wrongdoers? Say: Can I tell you of retribution worse than this that awaits them with Allah? It is for those who incurred the curse of Allah and His anger; those whom He changed into apes [Jews] and swine [Christians]; those who worship evil are in a worse place, and have gone far astray from the right path.

5:61 When they presented themselves to you, they said, "We believe," but they came as unbelievers to you, and as unbelievers they left. Allah well knew what they concealed. You will see many of them striving with one another to hurry sin, to exceed limits, and to eat unlawful things. What they do is evil. Why do their doctors and rabbis not forbid them from the habit of uttering wickedness and eating unlawful food? Certainly, their works are evil.

5:64 The Jews say, "The hand of Allah is chained up." Their own hands will be chained up [on the Last Day, the Jews will have their right hand chained to their necks], and they will be cursed for what they say. No, both His hands are outstretched. He bestows His gifts at His own pleasure. That which has been sent down to you from your Lord will surely increase the rebellion and unbelief of many of them. We have put animosity and hatred between them that will last until Resurrection Day. Every time they kindle a fire for war, Allah will extinguish it. Their aim will be to assist mischief on the earth, but Allah does not love those who assist mischief.

5:65 If only the people of the Scriptures [Jews and Christians] will believe and guard against evil, we will surely take their sins away from them and will bring them into Gardens of delight. If they will observe the Law and the Gospel and what was sent down to them from their Lord, they will surely be nourished from above them and from beneath their feet. Some of them are on the right course, but many of them do evil.

5:67 Oh, Messenger, deliver what has been sent down to you from your Lord. If you do not, you will not have delivered His message. Allah will protect you from evil men, for Allah does not guide unbelievers. Say: Oh, people of the Book [Jews and Christians], you have no ground to stand on until you observe the Law and the Gospel and that which was sent down to you from your Lord. The Book [the Koran] that was sent down from your Lord will certainly increase the rebellion and unbelief of many of them, but do not be grieved for the unbelievers.

5:69 Those who believe and those who are Jews, Sabians [unknown, but perhaps a sect of Christians in Iraq], and Christians–whoever believes in Allah and in the last day–does what is right. They will have no fear, nor will they be put to grief.

5:70 We made the covenant of old with the Children of Israel, and We sent messengers to them. Whenever there was a messenger with news that they did not desire, they became rebellious, and some of them they treated as liars, and some they killed. They thought no harm would come of it, so they became blind and deaf. Then Allah turned to them in mercy. Then again many of them became blind and deaf, but Allah sees what they do.

5:77 Say: Oh, people of the Book, do not step out of the bounds of truth in your religion, and do not follow the desires of those who have gone wrong and led many astray. They have themselves gone astray from the even way.

5:78 Those among the Children of Israel who disbelieved were cursed by the tongue of David and of Jesus, Son of Mary, because they were rebellious and persisted in excesses. They did not restrain one another from the iniquity they committed. Their actions were detestable. You will see many of them make friends with the unbelievers. They have sent their evil works on before them. Allah is angry with them, and they will abide in torment forever. If they had believed in Allah, the Messenger, and the Koran that was revealed to him, they would not choose them for their friends, but most of them are rebellious wrongdoers.

5:82 You will find the Jews and the polytheists to be the most passionately hostile to those who believe. You will find the Christians to be the nearest in affection to those who believe. This is because they are devoted men of learning, and they are not arrogant. When they hear what has been revealed to the Messenger, you will see their eyes overflow with tears because they recognize the truth saying, "Oh, our Lord, we believe. Write us down with the witnesses. Why should we not believe in Allah and in the truth that has come down to us? Why should we not hope that our Lord will bring us into Paradise with the just?"

5:85 Therefore, Allah has rewarded them for their words with Gardens with rivers flowing beneath; they will abide there forever. This is the reward of the good, but they who do not believe and treat Our signs as lies will be the companions of Hellfire.

2:174 Those [the Jews] who conceal any part of the Scriptures which Allah has revealed in order to gain a small profit shall ingest nothing but Fire in their stomachs. Allah will not speak to them on the Day of Resurrection, and they will pay a painful penalty. They are the ones who buy error at the price of guidance and torture at the price of forgiveness; how intently they seek the Fire!

2:176 It is because Allah has revealed the Scriptures in truth that those who dispute them are in severe opposition.

3:66 Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian, but a righteous man, a Muslim, not an idol worshipper. Doubtless the ones who follow Abraham are the closest to him, along with this messenger and the believers. Allah is protector of the faithful. Some of the People of the Book try to lead you astray, but they only mislead themselves, although they may not realise it.

3:70 People of the Book [Jews and Christians]! Why do you reject Allah's revelations when you have witnessed their truth? People of the Book! Why do you cover up the truth with lies when you know that you hide the truth?

2:142 The foolish ones will say, "What makes them turn from the kiblah [the direction they faced during Islamic prayer]?" Say: Both the east and the west belong to Allah. He will guide whom He likes to the right path. We have made you [Muslims] the best of nations so that you can be witnesses over the world and so that the messenger may be a witness for you. We appointed the former kiblah towards Jerusalem and now Mecca so that We could identify the messenger's true followers and those who would turn their backs on him. It was truly a hard test, but not for those whom Allah guided. It was not Allah's purpose that your faith should be in vain, for Allah is full of pity and merciful toward mankind. We have seen you [Mohammed] turn your face to every part of Heaven for guidance, and now We will have you turn to a kiblah that pleases you. So turn your face towards the direction of the sacred Mosque, and wherever the believers are, they will turn their faces toward it. The People of the Book know that this is the truth from their Lord, and Allah is not unaware of what they do. Even if you were to give the People of the Book [Jews] every sign, they would not accept your kiblah, nor would you accept theirs. None of them will accept the kiblah of the others. If you should follow their way after receiving the knowledge you possess, then you will certainly be a part of the unrighteous.

2:146 Those to whom we gave the Scriptures know Our messenger as they do their own sons [Jews who were secretly convinced of the truth of Mohammed], although some of them knowingly conceal the truth. This is the truth from your Lord; therefore, do not doubt it at all.

2:177 Righteousness is not determined by whether you face the east or the west. The one who is righteous believes in Allah, the Last Day, the angels, the Scripture, and the messengers; he gives his wealth for love of Allah to his family, to orphans, to the needy, to the wayfaring traveler, to the beggar, and for the ransom of slaves. The righteous one observes his prayers and pays the poor tax. The righteous one keeps his promises and stands firm in the face of suffering and hardship and war. These are the true believers, the Allah-fearing.

2:159 Those who conceal the clear signs and guidance [Mohammed said that the Jews corrupted the Scriptures that predicted his prophecy] that We have sent down after We have made them clear in the Scriptures for mankind, will receive Allah's curse and the curse of those who damn them. But for those who repent, change their ways, and proclaim the truth, I will relent. I am relenting and merciful. Those who reject Me and die unbelievers will receive the curse of Allah and of the angels and of mankind. They will remain under the curse forever with no lightening of their punishment and no reprieve. Your Allah is the one god. There is no god but Him. He is compassionate and merciful.

2:47 Children of Israel! Remember My favor that I gave you, lifting you up above all other nations. And fear the day when no soul will stand up for another, nor will any intervention be accepted from them nor will any ransom be taken; nor will they be helped.

2:49 And remember when We rescued you from Pharaoh's people? They subjected you to severe torment, killing your sons and only letting your daughters live. That was a great trial from your Lord. We parted the sea for you, saving you and drowned Pharaoh's people in front of your very eyes. And when We made a treaty with Moses for forty nights, in his absence you worshipped the calf and committed a terrible sin. Nevertheless, We forgave you so that you might be grateful.

2:54 And remember We gave Moses the Scripture and the ability to know right from wrong so that you would be guided to the right path. Then Moses said, "My people! You have wronged yourselves by worshipping the calf. Therefore, turn to your Creator and kill the wrong-doers among you. That will please your Creator and He will show you mercy. Surely He is relenting and merciful."

2:55 And when you said, "Moses! We will not believe in you until we see Allah manifest before us," a lightning bolt struck you while you looked on. We then brought you back to life so that you could have the chance to be grateful. We sent a cloud to give you shade and sent down manna and quails to you saying, "Eat of the good things We have provided for you." The Jews did Us no harm [the Jews stored up the manna and quails]; they only harmed themselves. And when We said, "Enter this city and eat from its plenty whatever you wish. Enter its gates humbly, asking forgiveness, and We will forgive your sins and reward the righteous." But the evil-doers changed the words We told them into something else, so We sent down Our wrath upon them for their sin.

2:60 And remember when Moses asked for water for his people We said, "Strike the rock with your staff." Then twelve fountains gushed out so that each tribe knew its drinking place. We said, "Eat and drink what Allah has provided, and do not act corrupt or cause evil on the earth." When you said, "Moses! We are tired of eating only one kind of food [manna and quails]. Ask your Lord to give us the many kinds of produce grown in the soil like herbs, cucumbers, grain, lentils, and onions." He said, "What! Would you give up that which is superior for what is inferior? Return to the city, and you will find what you want there." They were filled with shame and wretchedness. The wrath of Allah came down upon them because they rejected Allah's signs and killed his messengers without cause. That occurred because of their disobedience and sin.

2:62 Truly, those who believe in the Koran, along with Christians, Jews, and Sabians [perhaps the Christians of Iraq], and whoever believes in Allah and the Day and is righteous will be rewarded by their Lord. They should have no fears or regrets.

Then Your Hearts Were Hardened like Rocks

2:67 When Moses said to his people, "Allah has commanded that you sacrifice a cow," they said, "Are you mocking us?" Moses then said, "Allah forbid that I should become like these ignorant fools!"

2:68 They said, "Call on your Lord to instruct us on what kind of cow we should use." He said, "Your Lord says the cow should not be too young or too old, but in between. Do as you are commanded."

2:69 They said, "Call on your Lord to tell us what color she should be." He replied, "Your Lord says it should be a fawn-colored cow with a pure and rich tone that gives pleasure to those who see it."

2:70 They said, "Call on your Lord to tell the exact kind of cow it should be, because they all look alike to us. We wish for guidance if it is Allah's will."

2:71 Moses answered, "Your Lord says it should be a cow not used to plough the earth or water the field, healthy and without imperfections." They said, "Now you have told us the truth." So they sacrificed the cow, although they did not care to do it.

2:72 Remember when you killed a man and then fought among yourselves about it, and Allah brought to light what you tried to hide. We said, "Strike the corpse with a part of the sacrificed cow." It is in this manner that Allah shows you His signs so that you will understand. Then your hearts were hardened like rocks, or even worse, for there are some rocks from which rivers gush forth; some are split in two and water comes out of them, and others fall down from fear of Allah. Allah is not at all unaware of your actions.

2:83 And remember when We made a covenant with the Children of Israel saying, "Worship Allah alone. Be good to your parents, your families, to orphans, and to those in need. Encourage others to be righteous, pray regularly, and give to charity." But then you all turned your backs on the promise, except a few, and paid no attention.

2:84 And when We made a covenant with you We said, "You shall not shed the blood of your people or turn them out of your cities." You agreed to this and were yourselves witnesses. Then after this you began killing your people and driving them out from your homes, backing one another up against them with sin and hatred. If they had come to you as captives, you would have liberated them, even though their banishment was illegal. [Two Jewish tribes of Medina went to war against a third Jewish tribe] Do you believe in one part of the Scriptures and deny the rest? What is the reward for those of you who act in this way except disgrace in this life and cruel torment of the Day of Resurrection? For Allah is never unaware of what you do. These are the people who purchase the life of this world at the price of the life to come; their torment will not be alleviated nor will they be helped.

Allah Is the Enemy of the Unbelievers

2:92 Moses came to you with clear signs, but when he was away you [the Jews] worshipped the calf and were wicked. And remember when We made a covenant with you and raised the towering height of Mount Sinai above you saying, "Hold tightly to what We have given you and obey Our commandments." You replied, "We hear but we rebel." And because of your unbelief, the worship of the calf was made to sink into your hearts. Say: Your faith bids you to do evil if you are in fact believers. Say: If Allah's Paradise is only for you and no others, then wish for death if you are telling the truth!

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2:95 But they will never wish themselves dead because they know what they have done; Allah knows the sinners. In fact, you will see they love this life more than others, more than the idol worshippers. Each would love to see a thousand years, but even if this were so, they would never be able to escape their doom; Allah sees all they do.

2:97 Say: Whoever is an enemy of Gabriel—he who revealed Allah's revelation to you [Mohammed] confirming previous scriptures as guidance and good news for believers—whoever is Allah's enemy and the enemy of His angels and messengers, of Gabriel or Michael, will find Allah is the enemy of the unbelievers.

2:99 We have sent clear signs down to you, and only the perverse will deny them. What! Is not it true that every time they make a covenant some of them break it? The majority of them are unbelievers. And when Allah sent a messenger to them, confirming the scriptures they already had, many of them flung the Scripture of Allah behind their backs as if they knew nothing!

2:104 Listen, believers! Do not say to the messenger, "Raina," ['Listen to us'] but say: "Unsurna," ['Regard us respectfully']. [This was a pun used by the Jews of Medina. 'Raina' conveys a sense of 'Our Evil One'] Take notice; painful punishment awaits the unbelievers. Those who disbelieve among the People of the Book [Jews and Christians] and the pagans wish that no good should be sent down to you from your Lord; but Allah will choose whom He pleases to receive His mercy. Allah is boundless in His grace.

A Donkey Who Is Made to Carry a Load of Books

62:5 Those to whom the Torah [the first five books of the Old Testament] was given and do not follow it can be compared to a donkey who is made to carry a load of books but is unable to understand them. Those who reject Allah's revelations are a sorry example. Allah does not guide those who do wrong.

62:6 Say: You Jews! If you believe that you are Allah's favorite people, set apart, then wish that you will die if you are telling the truth! But they will never wish to die because of their previous actions that have been sent on before them. Allah knows the evil-doers.

62:8 Say: The death from which you flee will certainly find you, and then you will return to the knower of things done in secret and in the open, and He will tell you everything you have ever done.

Those Who Invent Lies about Allah after This Are Surely Evil-Doers

3:92 All food was permissible for the Children of Israel, except that which Israel itself forbade, before the Law was sent down. Say: Bring the Law and read it if what you say is true. Those who invent lies about Allah after this are surely evil-doers. Say: Allah speaks the truth. Therefore, follow the religion of Abraham, the righteous. He was not one of the idolaters.

3:95 The first house of worship ever built for mankind was at Mecca, a sacred site, a guiding light for all the nations. In it are clear signs and the place where Abraham prayed; whoever enters there is safe. Pilgrimage to the House is a duty to Allah for everyone who is able to make the trip. And as for the unbelievers, certainly Allah has no need for them.

3:97 Say: People of the Book! Why do you reject Allah's revelations? Allah sees all that you do. Say: People of the Book! Why do you deter believers from Allah's path seeking to make it crooked when you yourselves were witnesses to Allah's covenant? Allah is never unaware of what you do.

3:99 Believers! If you were to listen to some of the People of the Book, they would make you unbelievers after you have already believed! But how could you deny the faith when Allah's clear signs are given to you and the messenger is there among you? Those who hold firmly to Allah will be shown the right path. They Threw Them behind Their Backs and Sold Them for a Meager Price

3:180 Allah has heard those who have said, "Truly Allah is poor and we are rich." [The Jews of Medina said this when asked for money by Mohammed.] We will certainly record their words as well as their unjust murders of the messengers. We will say to them, "Now taste the torment of the Fire. This is what you get for the wrong that you have done. Allah will never treat His servant unjustly."

3:182 To those [the Jews] who say, "Truly, Allah has commanded that we are not to believe a messenger until he presents a sacrifice and it is consumed by Fire from heaven," say: messengers came before me with clear signs and even performed the very miracle you describe. Why then did you [the Jews] kill them if what you say is true? If they treat you like a liar, then surely messengers before you have been treated as such even though they came with clear signs, with Psalms, and with the illuminating Scriptures.

3:184 Every soul will taste death, and you will only receive your rewards on the Day of Resurrection. Whoever escapes the Fire and is led into Paradise will have attained the ultimate goal for the life of this world is but a vain comfort.

3:185 You will undoubtedly be tested concerning your wealth and your soul, and you will certainly hear things that will try you from those who received the Scriptures before you and from the idolaters. But if you stand firm and fear Allah, this is all that is necessary for your life's affairs.

3:186 When Allah entered into a covenant with those to whom the Scripture had been given He said, "Make these Scriptures known to mankind and do not hide them," but they threw them behind their backs and sold them for a meager price! [Mohammed said that the original Torah predicted his coming. The Jews corrupted their scriptures to conceal his prophecy.] Their exchange was evil. Do not think that those who exult in their sins and love to be praised for what they have not done will escape their punishment. A painful punishment is waiting for them. We Destroy Your Faces and Twist Your Heads around Backwards

4:44 Have you not thought about those [Jews] to whom a part of the Scripture was given? They buy error for themselves and wish to see you go astray from the right path. But Allah knows your enemies best. Allah is sufficient as your protector, and Allah is sufficient as your helper. Some among the Jews take words out of the context of the Scriptures and say, "We have heard, and we disobey. We hear as one who does not hear. Look at us!" in this way twisting the phrase and defiling the faith. But if they said, "We hear and obey. Hear us and look at us!" it would be better for them and more righteous. But Allah has cursed them for their disbelief; only a few of them have faith!

4:47 To those of you [Jews and Christians] to whom the Scriptures were given: Believe in what We have sent down confirming the Scriptures you already possess before We destroy your faces and twist your heads around backwards, or curse you as We did those [the Jews] who broke the Sabbath for Allah's commandments will be carried out. They Consumed Other's Wealth by Cheating

4:153 The People of the Book [Jews] demand that you cause a book to be sent down to them from heaven, but they demanded a harder thing from Moses. They said to him, "Show Allah to us plainly." And they were killed by a bolt of lightening for their wicked presumption. They worshipped the calf after they had received clear signs, but We forgave them of that and gave Moses indisputable authority.

4:154 And We lifted Mount Sinai over them when We made the covenant with them and said, "Enter the gates in humility, and do not break the Sabbath," and We received their solemn vow. But they broke the covenant, rejected Allah's signs, and unjustly killed the messengers, and they said, "Our hearts are hardened." It is Allah who has hardened their hearts because of their disbelief, so only a few are believers.

4:156 They rejected the faith and have spoken slanderously of Mary. They said, "We killed the Messiah, Jesus the son of Mary, Allah's messenger." But they did not kill him or crucify him, although it appeared so to them [the person crucified was not Jesus, but someone else]. And those who argued about it were in doubt concerning him. They had no clear knowledge about him and only went with opinion. They did not really kill him, but Allah lifted him up to Himself. Allah is mighty and wise!

4:160 Because of the wickedness of certain Jews, and because they turn many away from Allah's path, We have made certain wholesome foods unlawful for them because time and again they have hindered people from Allah's path. They have taken usury, even though they were forbidden to do so, and they consumed other's wealth by cheating. We have prepared painful torment for the unbelievers. But the learned among them, and those who deeply believe in what has been sent down to you and in what was sent down before you, and those who attend their prayers, and pay the poor tax, and believe in Allah and the Last Day, these will be given a great reward.

4:163 We have sent Our signs to you as We did to Noah and the messengers who came after him, and as We sent signs to Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob and the tribes, and to Jesus, Job, Jonah, Aaron, and Solomon, and to David, to whom We gave the Psalms. Some of the messengers We have told you about before, but there are also some about whom We have not yet spoken, and Allah spoke directly to Moses. We sent messengers who brought good news as well as warnings so that after the coming of these messengers, mankind would have no excuse against Allah. Allah is mighty and wise! And Allah is His own witness that what He has sent down to you is His own knowledge, as are the angels. But Allah is a sufficient witness!

4:167 Those who do not believe and who lead others away from Allah's path have certainly strayed very far from the path themselves. Allah will not forgive the unbelievers and those who do wrong, nor will He forgive them or guide them to any path except the path to Hell, where they will live forever. And that is easy for Allah. People! The Messenger has come to you with truth from your Lord. If you believe, it will be better for you. But if you do not believe, know that all that is in the heavens and earth belongs to Allah. Allah is all-knowing and wise! With Whom Allah Is Angry

58:14 Have you not taken notice of those who befriend the people with whom Allah is angry? They are neither a part of your group or theirs, and they knowingly swear a lie. Allah has prepared a dreadful punishment for them, for their actions are evil. A humiliating punishment awaits those [Jews who pretend to be Muslims] who use their faith as a disguise and turn others away from Allah's path. Neither their wealth or their children will protect them from Allah. They will be prisoners of the Fire, where they will live forever.

58:18 On the day Allah will raise them all to life, they will swear to Him as they swear to you now, thinking that their words will help them. Are they not the liars? Satan has possessed them and caused them to forget their praise of Allah. They are of Satan's company. Truly, will it not be Satan's company who will be the losers? Those who oppose Allah and His Messenger will be laid low. Allah has declared, "Surely I will be victorious, along with My messengers." Truly Allah is strong and mighty.

58:22 You will find no one who is a believer in Allah and the Last Day loving those who oppose Allah and His Messenger, even if it is their fathers, sons, brothers, or closest relations. Allah has engraved the faith on their hearts and with His own spirit He has strengthened them. He will lead them into the Gardens beneath which rivers flow, to live forever. Allah is very pleased with them, as they are with Him. This is Allah's company. And truly, will it not be Allah's company who will be victorious?

3:53 So the Jews plotted and Allah plotted, but Allah is the best of plotters. And Allah said, "Jesus! I am going to end your life on earth and lift you up to Me. [Jesus did not die on the cross. He was taken to Allah. He will return to kill the anti-Christ and then die a natural death.] I will send the unbelievers away from you and lift up those who believe above all others until the Day of Resurrection. Then all will return to Me and I will judge their disputes. As for the unbelievers, they will be punished with excruciating agony in this world and the world to come. They will have no one to help them. As for the believers who do good works, He will fully reward them. Allah does not love those who do wrong. These signs and this wise warning We bring to you."

3:58 Truly, Jesus is like Adam [neither had a father] in Allah's sight. He created him from the dust and said to him, "Be!" and he was.

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

2:109 Many of the People of the Book wish to turn you back into unbelievers because of their jealousy, even after they have clearly seen the truth. Forgive them and endure them until Allah shows His will to you. Truly Allah has power over all things. Attend to your prayers and pay the zakat [the poor tax]. You will be rewarded by Allah for whatever good you do. Allah sees all you do.

2:111 And they say, "Only Jews and Christians will enter Paradise." Those are their vain wishes. Say: Show your proof if you are telling the truth. But those who submit to Allah and do good deeds will be rewarded by their Lord. They will have nothing to dread or regret. The Jews say the Christians are wrong, and the Christians say the Jews are wrong, although they both read the Scriptures. The ignorant say they are both wrong. On the Day of Resurrection Allah will judge their disagreements.

2:114 Who is more evil than the people who wish to destroy Allah's mosques and forbid that His name be spoken in them [the Meccans prohibited the Muslim entry into the Kabah]? They should instead be entering into them with fear. They will meet with shame in this world and an awful torment in the world to come. The east and the west belong to Allah; therefore, wherever you go Allah is there. He is omniscient and all-knowing.

2:116 They say, "Allah has produced a son." All glory is to Him! All in the heavens and earth belong to Him, and will obey Him, the one and only creator of the heavens and earth. When He makes a decree, He only has to say to it, "Be!" and it is. And the ignorant ask, "Why does Allah not speak to us or give us some sign?" The same question was asked by those who came before them, and their hearts are the same. Certainly we have made the signs clear for those who have unshakable faith.

2:119 We have sent you to bring the truth and to warn the people. You will not have to answer for the prisoners of Hell. The Jews and Christians will never be satisfied with you unless you follow their religion. Say: Allah's guidance is the only true guidance. If you were to follow their wishes, despite your knowledge, there would be no one to help you or shield you from Allah's wrath. Those to whom we have given these Scriptures, and read them as they should be read, truly believe in what they say. Those who do not believe what they say will certainly meet with eternal damnation.

2:122 Children of Israel! Remember the favor that I have done for you and that I lifted you up above all other nations.

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Dread the day when no soul will stand for another, ransom will be taken from no soul, no intervention will be of any use to it, and the soul will be given no help.

4:53 Should those who would fail to give even a penny to their fellow man have a share in the kingdom? Do they envy the people for what they have received from Allah's bounty? We gave the Scriptures and wisdom to the children of Abraham, and a grand kingdom. Some of them believe in His Messenger while others turn away from him. The flames of Hell are sufficient punishment for them! Those who reject Our revelations We will cast into the Fire. As soon as their skins are burnt away, We will give them new skins so that they will truly experience the torment. Truly Allah is mighty and wise!

4:57 But as for those who believe and do good works, We will lead them into the Gardens, watered by flowing rivers, where they will live forever; there they will be married to pure spouses, and We will lead them into the cool shade.

3:63 Say: People of the Book [Christians and Jews]! Let us settle upon an agreement: We will worship no one except Allah, we will set up no one as His equal, and none of us will take one from among us as a lord besides Allah. If they reject your proposal say, "Bear witness then that we are Muslims."

3:64 People of the Book! Why do you argue about Abraham [whether Abraham was a Jew or Christian] when the Law and the Gospel were not sent down until after him? Do you not understand? Listen, you are the ones who have argued about things of which you have some knowledge [arguments about Moses and Jesus], so then why do you argue about things of which you have no knowledge? Allah has knowledge, but you do not.

3:71 Some of the People of the Book say to each other, "Believe in what has been sent down to the believers in the morning. Then at the end of the day, deny it so they themselves might turn away from their religion." Believe in no one unless he is a follower of your religion. Say: Allah's guidance is the only true guidance! Do not believe that anyone will receive a revelation like that which was sent to you or think that they will ever argue with you in the presence of your Lord. Say: Surely grace is given by the hand of Allah. He gives it to whom He pleases. Allah is generous and wise. Allah specially selects to bestow His mercy on whom He chooses. Allah is the Lord of boundless grace.

3:74 Among the People of the Book [Jews and Christians] are some whom you can trust with a pile of gold, and they will pay it all back, but there are others among them who cannot be trusted with a single silver coin, for they will not pay it back unless you firmly demand it. This is because they say, "We are not bound to keep our word to the ignorant pagans," and they knowingly tells lies about Allah. But those who are true to the faith and guard against evil, surely Allah loves those who fear Him.

3:76 Those who sell their covenant with Allah and their oaths for a meager price will have no part in the world to come. Allah will not deign to speak to them or even glance in their direction on the Day of Resurrection, nor will He forgive them. They will have a painful end. And there are some of them who distort their words when quoting Scripture so you will think what they say is truly from the Scriptures, but what they say is not found in the Scriptures at all. They claim, "This is from Allah," when it is not from Him, and they consciously speak lies against Allah.

3:78 It is not possible that any human to whom Allah has given the Scriptures and wisdom and a position as His messenger should say, "Worship me rather than Allah." Instead he should say, "Be faithful servants of Allah for you have educated others in the Scriptures and have studied them intensely." Allah would not command you to worship the angels and messengers as your gods. Why would He encourage you to become unbelievers after you have already become Muslims? When Allah made a covenant with the messengers He said, "I give you the Scriptures and wisdom, and later a messenger will come to you who will confirm what you have been given. Believe in him and help him. Do you agree and accept the terms of My covenant with you?" They said, "We agree." And He said, "Then all of you be witnesses to this, as will I." If anyone turns back after promising this, they are perverse sinners. Do they look for a religion other than that of Allah when every creature in the heavens and in the earth have shown submission to Him, either by choice or by force? And all will return to Him.

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

4:120 Satan makes promises and stirs up vain desires within them, but he makes promises only to trick them. These will make their home in Hell, and they will not be able to escape it.

4:122 But those who believe and do good works, We will lead them into the Gardens beneath which rivers flow, where they will live forever. This is Allah's promise, and whose words hold more truth than His? This will not be according to your desires, nor to the desires of the People of the Book [Jews and Christians]. Those who do evil will be paid back with evil and will find no one but Allah to protect or help them. As for the believers who do good works, whether man or woman, they will enter Paradise, and they will not be treated unjustly in the least.

4:125 And whose religion is better than those who submit themselves to Allah, do good, and follow the faith of Abraham, the righteous? For Allah Himself took Abraham as a friend. All that is in the heavens and earth belongs to Allah; Allah surrounds all things.

98:1 The unbelievers among the People of the Book [Jews and Christians] and the idolaters did not turn away from their unbelief until the proof came to them in a messenger from Allah reading holy pages containing true scriptures. The People of the Book did not become divided until after the clear proof had come to them.

98:5 And they were commanded nothing more than to serve Allah, worshipping none other than Him, being pure in their faith, being steadfast in their prayers, and paying the zakat [the poor tax]. For this is the true religion.

98:6 The unbelievers among the People of the Book and the idolaters will burn for eternity in the Fire of Hell. Of all the created beings, they are the most despicable. As for those who believe and do good works, they are the most noble of all created beings.

98:8 Their reward is with their Lord, in the Gardens of Paradise, beneath which are flowing rivers. They will live forever. Allah takes pleasure in them, and they take pleasure in Him. In this way those who fear Allah will be rewarded.

5:51 Oh, believers, do not take the Jews or Christians as friends. They are but one another's friends. If any one of you take them for his friends, he surely is one of them. Allah will not guide the evildoers.

5:52 You will see those who have a diseased heart race towards them and say, "We fear in case a change of fortune befalls us." Perhaps Allah will bring about some victory or event of His own order. Then they will repent of the thoughts they secretly held in their hearts.

5:53 Then the faithful will say, "Are these the men who swore their most solemn oath by Allah that they were surely with you?" Their deeds will be in vain, and they will come to ruin. Oh, you who believe, if any of you desert His religion, Allah will then raise up a people whom He will love and who will be loved by Him. They will be humble towards the faithful and haughty towards the unbelievers. They will strive hard for Allah's cause [jihad], and not fear the blame of any blamer. This is the grace of Allah. He gives to whom He pleases. Allah is all-embracing and all-knowing.

59:2 It was He who caused the People of the Book [the Jews] to leave their homes and go into the first exile. They did not think they would leave, and they thought that their fortresses could protect them from Allah. But Allah's wrath reached them from where they did not expect it and cast terror into their hearts, so that they destroyed their homes with their own hands, as well as by the hands of the believers. Take warning from this example, you who have the eyes to see it!

59:3 And if Allah had not decreed their exile, surely He would have punished them in this world. And in the world to come they will receive the punishment of the Fire because they had disobeyed Allah and His Messenger. Whoever disobeys Allah, knows that Allah is truly severe in His punishment.

59:5 Allah gave you permission to cut down some palm trees and leave others intact so as to shame the wicked [the Jews]. After Allah gave the spoils to His Messenger, you made no move with horses or camels to capture them [the Jews], but Allah gives His messengers power over what He chooses. Allah is all-powerful.

33:25 And Allah drove back the unbelievers in their wrath, and they gained nothing by it. Allah aided the believers in the war, for Allah is strong and mighty. He brought down some of the People of the Book [the Jews] out of their fortresses to aid the confederates and to strike terror into their hearts. Some you killed, and others you took captive. He made you heirs of their land, their homes, and their possessions, and even gave you another land on which you had never before set foot. Allah has power over everything. [800 male Jews were executed, their property taken, and women and children enslaved.]

3:104 Do not be like those people who are divided among themselves and argue with one another after they have received clear signs. They will receive a dreadful punishment on the Day when some faces will shine with light and other faces will be darkened with despair. Then those whose faces are darkened will be asked, "Why did you reject the faith after having been believers? Taste now the retribution for your unbelief!" But those whose faces are light will receive Allah's mercy and enjoy it forever. These are Allah's revelations, which We tell you in truth. Allah does not will injustice on mankind. All that is in the heavens and the earth belongs to Allah, and to Him all things will return.

3:109 You are the best of people ever brought together for mankind commanding what is right and prohibiting what is evil. You believe in Allah. If the People of the Book [Jews] had believed, it certainly would have been better for them. While some of them are believers, most of them are evil-doers. If they attempt to harm you, it will only result in minor injuries. If they go to war with you, they will turn and run away, and they will have no one to help them. They will be covered with shame wherever they go unless they make a covenant with Allah or with men. They have brought Allah's wrath upon themselves, and they have been humiliated because of their disbelief and because they have unjustly killed His messengers. This is because they have rebelled and become sinners.

3:112 Yet not all of them are the same. There are some among the People of the Book who are righteous and who recite Allah's revelations throughout the night and worship Him. They believe in Allah and the Last Day, and command what is right and forbid what is wrong and urge each other on to do good works. These are the righteous people. They will not be denied their reward for whatever good they do for Allah knows those who do good.

3:115 As for the unbelievers, neither their wealth nor their children will keep them from the wrath of Allah. They will be prisoners of the Fire where they will live forever. What they spend in this world is like an icy wind that blows over the fields and destroys the crops of a people who are also evil-doers. It is not Allah who does them wrong, but it is they who wrong themselves.

9:29 Make war on those who have received the Scriptures [Jews and Christians] but do not believe in Allah or in the Last Day. They do not forbid what Allah and His Messenger have forbidden. The Christians and Jews do not follow the religion of truth until they submit and pay the poll tax [jizya], and they are humiliated.

9:30 The Jews say, "Ezra is the son of Allah," [this tradition is unknown in the Old Testament] and the Christians say, "The Messiah is a son of Allah." Such are the sayings in their mouths, but they resemble the saying of the unbelievers of old. Allah destroy them. How they are deluded from the truth.

9:31 They take their rabbis and their monks and the Messiah, son of Mary, for Lords besides Allah [Both Jews and Christians of that area used the term "rabbi" for their religious leaders. Islam only applied rabbi to Allah], though they were bidden to worship one Allah only. There is no god but Allah. He is far from having the partners they associate with Him.

9:32 They desire to put out Allah's light with their mouths, but Allah only desires to perfect His light, though the unbelievers detest it. He sent His Messenger with the guidance and a religion of the truth that He may make it victorious over every other religion, though the unbelievers will detest it.

9:34 Oh, Believers of truth, many of the rabbis and monks devour the substance of man and hinder them from the way of Allah. To those who store up gold and silver and do not spend it on Allah's cause [jihad], give tidings of grievous torment. On that day their treasures will be heated in Hellfire and their foreheads, their sides, and their backs will be branded with them, "This is the treasure you have buried for yourselves. Now, taste your riches."

SUPPLEMENT 3: ALL HADITHS ON:
JEW HATRED IN THE SAHIH AL-BUKHARI
Jews
Number of words: 57,563
Number words in Bukhari: 645,745
8.9%
Volume 1, Book 1, Number 6:

Abu Sufyan bin Harb informed me that Heraclius had sent a messenger to him while he had been accompanying a caravan from Quraish. They were merchants doing business in Sham (Syria, Palestine, Lebanon and Jordan), at the time when Allah's Apostle had truce with Abu Sufyan and Quraish infidels. So Abu Sufyan and his companions went to Heraclius at Ilya (Jerusalem). Heraclius called them in the court and he had all the senior Roman dignitaries around him. He called for his translator who, translating Heraclius's question said to them, "Who amongst you is closely related to that man who claims to be a Prophet?" Abu Sufyan replied, "I am the nearest relative to him (amongst the group)."

Heraclius said, "Bring him (Abu Sufyan) close to me and make his companions stand behind him." Abu Sufyan added, Heraclius told his translator to tell my companions that he wanted to put some questions to me regarding that man (The Prophet) and that if I told a lie they (my companions) should contradict me." Abu Sufyan added, "By Allah! Had I not been afraid of my companions labeling me a liar, I would not have spoken the truth about the Prophet. The first question he asked me about him was:

'What is his family status amongst you?'

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I replied, 'He belongs to a good (noble) family amongst us.'

Heraclius further asked, 'Has anybody amongst you ever claimed the same (i.e. to be a Prophet) before him?'

I replied, 'No.'

He said, 'Was anybody amongst his ancestors a king?'

I replied, 'No.'

Heraclius asked, 'Do the nobles or the poor follow him?'

I replied, 'It is the poor who follow him.'

He said, 'Are his followers increasing decreasing (day by day)?'

I replied, 'They are increasing.'

He then asked, 'Does anybody amongst those who embrace his religion become displeased and renounce the religion afterwards?'

I replied, 'No.'

Heraclius said, 'Have you ever accused him of telling lies before his claim (to be a Prophet)?'

I replied, 'No. '

Heraclius said, 'Does he break his promises?'

I replied, 'No. We are at truce with him but we do not know what he will do in it.' I could not find opportunity to say anything against him except that.

Heraclius asked, 'Have you ever had a war with him?'

I replied, 'Yes.'

Then he said, 'What was the outcome of the battles?'

I replied, 'Sometimes he was victorious and sometimes we.'

Heraclius said, 'What does he order you to do?'

I said, 'He tells us to worship Allah and Allah alone and not to worship anything along with Him, and to renounce all that our ancestors had said. He orders us to pray, to speak the truth, to be chaste and to keep good relations with our Kith and kin.'

Heraclius asked the translator to convey to me the following, I asked you about his family and your reply was that he belonged to a very noble family. In fact all the Apostles come from noble families amongst their respective peoples. I questioned you whether anybody else amongst you claimed such a thing, your reply was in the negative. If the answer had been in the affirmative, I would have thought that this man was following the previous man's statement. Then I asked you whether anyone of his ancestors was a king. Your reply was in the negative, and if it had been in the affirmative, I would have thought that this man wanted to take back his ancestral kingdom.

I further asked whether he was ever accused of telling lies before he said what he said, and your reply was in the negative. So I wondered how a person who does not tell a lie about others could ever tell a lie about Allah. I, then asked you whether the rich people followed him or the poor. You replied that it was the poor who followed him. And in fact all the Apostle have been followed by this very class of people. Then I asked you whether his followers were increasing or decreasing. You replied that they were increasing, and in fact this is the way of true faith, till it is complete in all respects. I further asked you whether there was anybody, who, after embracing his religion, became displeased and discarded his religion. Your reply was in the negative, and in fact this is (the sign of) true faith, when its delight enters the hearts and mixes with them completely. I asked you whether he had ever betrayed. You replied in the negative and likewise the Apostles never betray. Then I asked you what he ordered you to do. You replied that he ordered you to worship Allah and Allah alone and not to worship any thing along with Him and forbade you to worship idols and ordered you to pray, to speak the truth and to be chaste. If what you have said is true, he will very soon occupy this place underneath my feet and I knew it (from the scriptures) that he was going to appear but I did not know that he would be from you, and if I could reach him definitely, I would go immediately to meet him and if I were with him, I would certainly wash his feet.' Heraclius then asked for the letter addressed by Allah's Apostle

which was delivered by Dihya to the Governor of Busra, who forwarded it to Heraclius to read. The contents of the letter were as follows: "In the name of Allah the Beneficent, the Merciful (This letter is) from Muhammad the slave of Allah and His Apostle to Heraclius the ruler of Byzantine. Peace be upon him, who follows the right path. Furthermore I invite you to Islam, and if you become a Muslim you will be safe, and Allah will double your reward, and if you reject this invitation of Islam you will be committing a sin by misguiding your Arisiyin (peasants). (And I recite to you Allah's Statement:)

'O people of the scripture! Come to a word common to you and us that we worship none but Allah and that we associate nothing in worship with Him, and that none of us shall take others as Lords beside Allah. Then, if they turn away, say: Bear witness that we are Muslims (those who have surrendered to Allah).' (3:64).

Abu Sufyan then added, "When Heraclius had finished his speech and had read the letter, there was a great hue and cry in the Royal Court. So we were turned out of the court. I told my companions that the question of Ibn-Abi-Kabsha) (the Prophet Muhammad) has become so prominent that even the King of Bani Al-Asfar (Byzantine) is afraid of him. Then I started to become sure that he (the Prophet) would be the conqueror in the near future till I embraced Islam (i.e. Allah guided me to it)."

The sub narrator adds, "Ibn An-Natur was the Governor of llya' (Jerusalem) and Heraclius was the head of the Christians of Sham. Ibn An-Natur narrates that once while Heraclius was visiting ilya' (Jerusalem), he got up in the morning with a sad mood. Some of his priests asked him why he was in that mood? Heraclius was a foreteller and an astrologer. He replied, 'At night when I looked at the stars, I saw that the leader of those who practice circumcision had appeared (become the conqueror). Who are they who practice circumcision?' The people replied, 'Except the Jews nobody practices circumcision, so you should not be afraid of them (Jews).

'Just Issue orders to kill every Jew present in the country.'

While they were discussing it, a messenger sent by the king of Ghassan to convey the news of Allah's Apostle to Heraclius was brought in. Having heard the news, he (Heraclius) ordered the people to go and see whether the messenger of Ghassan was circumcised. The people, after seeing him, told Heraclius that he was circumcised. Heraclius then asked him about the Arabs. The messenger replied, 'Arabs also practice circumcision.'

(After hearing that) Heraclius remarked that sovereignty of the 'Arabs had appeared. Heraclius then wrote a letter to his friend in Rome who was as good as Heraclius in knowledge. Heraclius then left for Homs. (a town in Syrian and stayed there till he received the reply of his letter from his friend who agreed with him in his opinion about the emergence of the Prophet and the fact that he was a Prophet. On that Heraclius invited all the heads of the Byzantines to assemble in his palace at Homs. When they assembled, he ordered that all the doors of his palace be closed. Then he came out and said, 'O Byzantines! If success is your desire and if you seek right guidance and want your empire to remain then give a pledge of allegiance to this Prophet (i.e. embrace Islam).'

(On hearing the views of Heraclius) the people ran towards the gates of the palace like onagers but found the doors closed. Heraclius realized their hatred towards Islam and when he lost the hope of their embracing Islam, he ordered that they should be brought back in audience.

(When they returned) he said, 'What already said was just to test the strength of your conviction and I have seen it.' The people prostrated before him and became pleased with him, and this was the end of Heraclius's story (in connection with his faith).

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 39:

When the Prophet came to Medina, he stayed first with his grandfathers or maternal uncles from Ansar. He offered his prayers facing Baitul-Maqdis (Jerusalem) for sixteen or seventeen months, but he wished that he could pray facing the Ka'ba (at Mecca). The first prayer which he offered facing the Ka'ba was the 'Asr prayer in the company of some people. Then one of those who had offered that prayer with him came out and passed by some people in a mosque who were bowing during their prayers (facing Jerusalem). He said addressing them, "By Allah, I testify that I have prayed with Allah's Apostle facing Mecca (Ka'ba).' Hearing that, those people changed their direction towards the Ka'ba immediately. Jews and the people of the scriptures used to be pleased to see the Prophet facing Jerusalem in prayers but when he changed his direction towards the Ka'ba, during the prayers, they disapproved of it.

Al-Bara' added, "Before we changed our direction towards the Ka'ba (Mecca) in prayers, some Muslims had died or had been killed and we did not know what to say about them (regarding their prayers.) Allah then revealed: And Allah would never make your faith (prayers) to be lost (i.e. the prayers of those Muslims were valid).' " (2:143).

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 43:

Once a Jew said to me, "O the chief of believers! There is a verse in your Holy Book Which is read by all of you (Muslims), and had it been revealed to us, we would have taken that day (on which it was revealed as a day of celebration." 'Umar bin Al-Khattab asked, "Which is that verse?" The Jew replied, "This day I have perfected your religion For you, completed My favor upon you, And have chosen for you Islam as your religion." (5:3) 'Umar replied,"No doubt, we know when and where this verse was revealed to the Prophet. It was Friday and the Prophet was standing at 'Arafat (i.e. the Day of Hajj)"

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 127:

While I was going with the Prophet through the ruins of Medina and he was reclining on a date-palm leaf stalk, some Jews passed by. Some of them said to the others: Ask him (the Prophet) about the spirit. Some of them said that they should not ask him that question as he might give a reply which would displease them. But some of them insisted on asking, and so one of them stood up and asked, "O Aba-l-Qasim ! What is the spirit?" The Prophet remained quiet. I thought he was being inspired Divinely. So I stayed till that state of the Prophet (while being inspired) was over. The Prophet then said, "And they ask you (O Muhammad) concerning the spirit --Say: The spirit -- its knowledge is with my Lord. And of knowledge you (mankind) have been given only a little)." (17.85)

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 392:

Narrated Bara' bin 'Azib: Allah's Apostle prayed facing Baitul-Maqdis for sixteen or seventeen months but he loved to face the Ka'ba (at Mecca) so Allah revealed: "Verily, We have seen the turning of your face to the heaven!" (2:144) So the Prophet faced the Ka'ba and the fools amongst the people namely "the Jews" said, "What has turned them from their Qibla (Bait-ul-Maqdis) which they formerly observed"" (Allah revealed): "Say: 'To Allah belongs the East and the West. He guides whom he will to a straight path'." (2:142) A man prayed with the Prophet (facing the Ka'ba) and went out. He saw some of the Ansar praying the 'Asr prayer with their faces towards Bait-ul-Maqdis, he said, "I bear witness that I prayed with Allah's Apostle facing the Ka'ba." So all the people turned their faces towards the Ka'ba.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 427:

Narrated 'Aisha and 'Abdullah bin 'Abbas: When the last moment of the life of Allah's Apostle came he started putting his 'Khamisa' on his face and when he felt hot and short of breath he took it off his face and said, "May Allah curse the Jews and Christians for they built the places of worship at the graves of their Prophets." The Prophet was warning (Muslims) of what those had done. 3

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 533:

Narrated Abu Musa: The Prophet said, "The example of Muslims, Jews and Christians is like the example of a man who employed laborers to work for him from morning till night. They worked till mid-day and they said, 'We are not in need of your reward.' SO the man employed another batch and said to them, 'Complete the rest of the day and yours will be the wages I had fixed (for the first batch). They worked Up till the time of the 'Asr prayer and said, 'Whatever we have done is for you.' He employed another batch. They worked for the rest of the day till sunset, and they received the wages of the two former batches."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 578:

Narrated Ibn 'Umar: When the Muslims arrived at Medina, they used to assemble for the prayer, and used to guess the time for it. During those days, the practice of Adhan for the prayers had not been introduced yet. Once they discussed this problem regarding the call for prayer. Some people suggested the use of a bell like the Christians, others proposed a trumpet like the horn used by the Jews, but 'Umar was the first to suggest that a man should call (the people) for the prayer; so Allah's Apostle ordered Bilal to get up and pronounce the Adhan for prayers.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 749:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "Say Amen' when the Imam says "Ghair-il-maghdubi 'alaihim wala-ddal-lin; not the path of those who earn Your Anger (such as Jews) nor of those who go astray (such as Christians); all the past sins of the person whose saying (of Amin) coincides with that of the angels, will be forgiven.

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 1:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

I heard Allah's Apostle (p.b.u.h) saying, "We (Muslims) are the last (to come) but (will be) the foremost on the Day of Resurrection though the former nations were given the Holy Scriptures before us. And this was their day (Friday) the celebration of which was made compulsory for them but they differed about it. So Allah gave us the guidance for it (Friday) and all the other people are behind us in this respect: the Jews' (holy day is) tomorrow (i.e. Saturday) and the Christians' (is) the day after tomorrow (i.e. Sunday)."

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 21:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said "We are the last (to come amongst the nations) but (will be) the foremost on the Day of Resurrection. They were given the Holy Scripture before us and we were given the Quran after them. And this was the day (Friday) about which they differed and Allah gave us the guidance (for that). So tomorrow (i.e. Saturday) is the Jews' (day), and the day after tomorrow (i.e. Sunday) is the Christians'." The Prophet (p.b.u.h) remained silent (for a while) and then said, "It is obligatory for every Muslim that he should take a bath once in seven days, when he should wash his head and body."

Narrated Abu Huraira through different narrators that the Prophet said, "It is Allah's right on every Muslim that he should take a bath (at least) once in seven days."

Volume 2, Book 18, Number 159:

Narrated 'Amra bint 'AbdurRahman:

A Jewess came to ask 'Aisha (the wife of the Prophet) about something. She said to her, "May Allah give you refuge from the punishment of the grave." So 'Aisha ' asked Allah's Apostle "Would the people be punished in their graves?" Allah's Apostle after seeking refuge with Allah from the punishment of the grave (and thus replied in the affirmative). Then one day, Allah's Apostle rode to go to some place but the sun eclipsed. He returned in the forenoon and passed through the rear of the dwellings (of his wives) and stood for

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the (eclipse) prayer, and the people stood behind him. He stood up for a long period and then performed a prolonged bowing which was shorter than the first bowing. Then he raised his head and prostrated. Then he stood up (for the second Raka) for a long while but the standing was shorter than that of the first Raka. Then he performed a prolonged bowing which was shorter than the first one. Then he raised his head and prostrated. Then he stood up for a long time but shorter than the first. Then he performed a prolonged bowing but shorter than the first. Then he raised his head and prostrated and finished the prayer and (then delivered the sermon and) said as much as Allah wished. And then he ordered the people to seek refuge with Allah from the punishment of the grave.

Volume 2, Book 18, Number 164:

Narrated 'Amra bint 'Abdur Rahman:

A Jewess came to 'Aisha to ask her about something and then she said, "May Allah give you refuge from the punishment of the grave." So 'Aisha asked Allah's Apostle, "Would the people be punished in their graves?" Allah's Apostle asked Allah's refuge from the punishment of the grave (indicating an affirmative reply). Then one day Allah's Apostle rode (to leave for some place) but the sun eclipsed. He returned on the forenoon and passed through the rear of the dwellings (of his wives) and stood up and started offering the (eclipse) prayer and the people stood behind him. He stood for a long period and then performed a long bowing and then stood straight for a long period which was shorter than that of the first standing, then he performed a prolonged bowing which was shorter than the first bowing, then he raised his head and prostrated for a long time and then stood up (for the second Raka) for a long while, but the standing was shorter than the standing of the first Raka. Then he performed a prolonged bowing which was shorter than that of the first one. He then stood up for a long time but shorter than the first, then again performed a long bowing which was shorter than the first and then prostrated for a shorter while than that of the first prostration. Then he finished the prayer and delivered the sermon and) said what Allah wished; and ordered the people to seek refuge with Allah from the punishment of the grave.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 376:

Narrated 'Aisha:

(the wife of the Prophet) Once Allah's Apostle passed by (the grave of) a Jewess whose relatives were weeping over her. He said, "They are weeping over her and she is being tortured in her grave."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 398:

Narrated Jabir bin 'Abdullah :

A funeral procession passed in front of us and the Prophet stood up and we too stood up. We said, 'O Allah's Apostle! This is the funeral procession of a Jew." He said, "Whenever you see a funeral procession, you should stand up."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 399:

Narrated 'Abdur Rahman bin Abi Laila:

Sahl bin Hunaif and Qais bin Sad were sitting in the city of Al-Qadisiya. A funeral procession passed in front of them and they stood up. They were told that funeral procession was of one of the inhabitants of the land i.e. of a non-believer, under the protection of Muslims. They said, "A funeral procession passed in front of the Prophet and he stood up. When he was told that it was the coffin of a Jew, he said, "Is it not a living being (soul)?"

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 413:

Narrated 'Abdullah bin 'Umar :

The Jew brought to the Prophet a man and a woman from amongst them who have committed (adultery) illegal sexual intercourse. He ordered both of them to be stoned (to death), near the place of offering the funeral prayers beside the mosque."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 414:

Narrated 'Urwa:

Aisha said, "The Prophet in his fatal illness said, 'Allah cursed the Jews and the Christians because they took the graves of their Prophets as places for praying."' Aisha added, "Had it not been for that the grave of the Prophet (p.b.u.h)

would have been made prominent but I am afraid it might be taken (as a) place for praying.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 438:

Narrated Anas:

A young Jewish boy used to serve the Prophet and he became sick. So the Prophet went to visit him. He sat near his head and asked him to embrace Islam. The boy looked at his father, who was sitting there; the latter told him to obey Abu-l-Qasim and the boy embraced Islam. The Prophet came out saying: "Praises be to Allah Who saved the boy from the Hell-fire."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 445:

Narrated Thabit bin Ad-Dahhak:

The Prophet (p.b.u.h) said, "Whoever intentionally swears falsely by a religion other than Islam, then he is what he has said, (e.g. if he says, 'If such thing is not true then I am a Jew,' he is really a Jew). And whoever commits suicide with piece of iron will be punished with the same piece of iron in the Hell Fire." Narrated Jundab the Prophet said, "A man was inflicted with wounds and he committed suicide, and so Allah said: My slave has caused death on himself hurriedly, so I forbid Paradise for him."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 454:

Narrated Masruq:

'Aisha said that a Jewess came to her and mentioned the punishment in the grave, saying to her, "May Allah protect you from the punishment of the grave." 'Aisha then asked Allah's Apostle about the punishment of the grave. He said, "Yes, (there is) punishment in the grave." 'Aisha added, "After that I never saw Allah's Apostle but seeking refuge with Allah from the punishment in the grave in every prayer he prayed."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 457:

Narrated Abi Aiyub:

Once the Prophet went out after sunset and heard a dreadful voice, and said, "The Jews are being punished in their graves."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 472:

Narrated 'Aisha:

Allah's Apostle in his fatal illness said, "Allah cursed the Jews and the Christians, for they built the places of worship at the graves of their prophets." And if that had not been the case, then the Prophet's grave would have been made prominent before the people. So (the Prophet) was afraid, or the people were afraid that his grave might be taken as a place for worship.

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 222:

Narrated Ibn 'Abbas:

The Prophet came to Medina and saw the Jews fasting on the day of Ashura. He asked them about that. They replied, "This is a good day, the day on which Allah rescued Bani Israel from their enemy. So, Moses fasted this day." The Prophet said, "We have more claim over Moses than you." So, the Prophet fasted on that day and ordered (the Muslims) to fast (on that day). 6

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 223:

Narrated Abu Musa:

The day of 'Ashura' was considered as 'Id day by the Jews. So the Prophet ordered, "I recommend you (Muslims) to fast on this day."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 282:

Narrated 'Aisha:

The Prophet purchased food grains from a Jew on credit and mortgaged his iron armor to him.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 283:

Narrated Qatada:

Anas went to the Prophet with barley bread having some dissolved fat on it. The Prophet had mortgaged his armor to a Jew in Medina and took from him some barley for his family. Anas heard him saying, "The household of Muhammad did not possess even a single Sa of wheat or food grains for the evening meal, although he has nine wives to look after." (See Hadith No. 685)

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 309:

Narrated 'Aisha:

Allah's Apostle bought food grains from a Jew on credit and mortgaged his armor to him.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 404:

Narrated 'Aisha:

The Prophet bought some foodstuff from a Jew on credit and mortgaged his armor to him.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 426:

Narrated Ibn 'Abbas:

Once 'Umar was informed that a certain man sold alcohol. 'Umar said, "May Allah curse him! Doesn't he know that Allah's Apostle said, 'May Allah curse the Jews, for Allah had forbidden them to eat the fat of animals but they melted it and sold it."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 427:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "May Allah curse the Jews, because Allah made fat illegal for them but they sold it and ate its price. "

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 438:

Narrated Jabir bin 'Abdullah:

I heard Allah's Apostle, in the year of the Conquest of Mecca, saying, "Allah and His Apostle made illegal the trade of alcohol, dead animals, pigs and idols." The people asked, "O Allah's Apostle! What about the fat of dead animals, for it was used for greasing the boats and the hides; and people use it for lights?" He said, "No, it is illegal." Allah's Apostle further said, "May Allah curse the Jews, for Allah made the fat (of animals) illegal for them, yet they melted the fat and sold it and ate its price."

Volume 3, Book 35, Number 453:

Narrated 'Aisha:

Allah's Apostle bought some foodstuff (barley) from a Jew on credit and mortgaged his iron armor to him (the armor stands for a guarantor). 7

Volume 3, Book 35, Number 454:

Narrated Al-A'mash:

We argued at Ibrahim's dwelling place about mortgaging in Salam. He said, "Aisha said, 'The Prophet bought some foodstuff from a Jew on credit and the payment was to be made by a definite period, and he mortgaged his iron armor to him."

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 468:

Narrated Ibn 'Umar:

The Prophet said, "Your example and the example of the people of the two Scriptures (i.e. Jews and Christians) is like the example of a man who employed some laborers and asked them, 'Who will work for me from morning till midday for one Qirat?' The Jews accepted and carried out the work. He then asked, Who will work for me from midday up to the 'Asr prayer for one Qirat?' The Christians accepted and fulfilled the work. He then said, 'Who will work for me from the 'Asr till sunset for two Qirats?' You, Muslims have accepted the offer. The Jews and the Christians got angry and said, 'Why should we work more and get lesser wages?' (Allah) said, 'Have I with-held part of your right?' They replied in the negative. He said, 'It is My Blessing, I bestow upon whomever I wish .'

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 469:

Narrated 'Abdullah bin 'Umar bin Al-Khattab:

Allah's Apostle said, "Your example and the example of Jews and Christians is like the example of a man who employed some laborers to whom he said, 'Who will work for me up to midday for one Qirat each?' The Jews carried out the work for one Qirat each; and then the Christians carried out the work up to the 'Asr prayer for one Qirat each; and now you Muslims are working from the 'Asr prayer up to sunset for two Qirats each. The Jews and Christians got angry and said, 'We work more and are paid less.' The employer (Allah) asked them, 'Have I usurped some of your right?' They replied in the negative. He said, 'That is My Blessing, I bestow upon whomever I wish.' "

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 471:

Narrated Abu Musa:

The Prophet said, "The example of Muslims, Jews and Christians is like the example of a man who employed laborers to work for him from morning till night for specific wages. They worked till midday and then said, 'We do not need your money which you have fixed for us and let whatever we have done be annulled.' The man said to them, 'Don't quit the work, but complete the rest of it and take your full wages.' But they refused and went away. The man employed another batch after them and said to them, 'Complete the rest of the day and yours will be the wages I had fixed for the first batch.' So, they worked till the time of 'Asr prayer. Then they said, "Let what we have done be annulled and keep the wages you have promised us for yourself.' The man said to them, 'Complete the rest of the work, as only a little of the day remains,' but they refused. Thereafter he employed another batch to work for the rest of the day and they worked for the rest of the day till the sunset, and they received the wages of the two former batches. So, that was the example of those people (Muslims) and the example of this light (guidance) which they have accepted willingly.

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 485:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

"Allah's Apostle gave the land of Khaibar to the Jews to work on and cultivate and take half of its yield. Ibn 'Umar added, "The land used to be rented for a certain portion (of its yield)." Nafi mentioned the amount of the portion but I forgot it. Rafi' bin Khadij said, "The Prophet forbade renting farms." Narrated 'Ubaid-Ullah Nafi' said: Ibn 'Umar said: (The contract of Khaibar continued) till 'Umar evacuated the Jews (from Khaibar).

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Translation of Sahih Bukhari, Book 37:

Transferance of a Debt from One Person to Another (Al-Hawaala)

8

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 524:

Narrated Ibn 'Umar:

Allah's Apostle gave the land of Khaibar to the Jew's on the condition that they work on it and cultivate it, and be given half of its yield.

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 531:

Narrated Ibn 'Umar:

Umar expelled the Jews and the Christians from Hijaz. When Allah's Apostle had conquered Khaibar, he wanted to expel the Jews from it as its land became the property of Allah, His Apostle, and the Muslims. Allah's Apostle intended to expel the Jews but they requested him to let them stay there on the condition that they would do the labor and get half of the fruits. Allah's Apostle told them, "We will let you stay on thus condition, as long as we wish." So, they (i.e. Jews) kept on living there until 'Umar forced them to go towards Taima' and Ariha'.

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 571:

Narrated Al-Amash:

When we were with Ibrahim, we talked about mortgaging in deals of Salam. Ibrahim narrated from Aswad that 'Aisha

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had said, "The Prophet bought some foodstuff on credit from a Jew and mortgaged an iron armor to him."

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 581:

Narrated Jabir bin 'Abdullah:

When my father died he owed a Jew thirty Awsuq (of dates). I requested him to give me respite for repaying but he refused. I requested Allah's Apostle to intercede with the Jew. Allah's Apostle went to the Jew and asked him to accept the fruits of my trees in place of the debt but the Jew refused. Allah's Apostle entered the garden of the date-palms, wandering among the trees and ordered me (saying), "Pluck (the fruits) and give him his due." So, I plucked the fruits for him after the departure of Allah's Apostle and gave his thirty Awsuq, and still had seventeen Awsuq extra for myself. Jabir said: I went to Allah's Apostle to inform of what had happened, but found him praying the 'Asr prayer. After the prayer I told him about the extra fruits which remained. Allah's Apostle told me to inform (Umar) Ibn Al-Khatab about it. When I went to 'Umar and told him about it, 'Umar said, "When Allah's Apostle walked in your garden, I was sure that Allah would definitely bless it."

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 594:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Two persons, a Muslim and a Jew, quarrelled. The Muslim said, "By Him Who gave Muhammad superiority over all the people! The Jew said, "By Him Who gave Moses superiority over all the people!" At that the Muslim raised his hand and slapped the Jew on the face. The Jew went to the Prophet and informed him of what had happened between him and the Muslim. The Prophet sent for the Muslim and asked him about it. The Muslim informed him of the event. The Prophet said, "Do not give me superiority over Moses, for on the Day of Resurrection all the people will fall unconscious and I will be one of them, but I will. be the first to gain consciousness, and will see Moses standing and holding the side of the Throne (of Allah). I will not know whether (Moses) has also fallen unconscious and got up before me, or Allah has exempted him from that stroke."

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 595:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

While Allah's Apostle was sitting, a Jew came and said, "O Abul Qasim! One of your companions has slapped me on my face." The Prophet asked who that was. He replied that he was one of the Ansar. The Prophet sent for him, and on his arrival, he asked him whether he had beaten the Jew. He (replied in the affirmative and) said, "I heard him taking an oath in the market saying, 'By Him Who gave Moses superiority over all the human beings.' I said, 'O wicked man! (Has Allah given Moses superiority) even over Muhammad I became furious and slapped him over his face." The Prophet said, "Do not give a prophet superiority over another, for on the Day of Resurrection all the people will fall unconscious and I will be the first to emerge from the earth, and will see Moses standing and holding one of the legs of the Throne. I will not know whether Moses has fallen unconscious or the first unconsciousness was sufficient for him."

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 596:

Narrated Anas:

A Jew crushed the head of a girl between two stones. The girl was asked who had crushed her head, and some names were mentioned before her, and when the name of the Jew was mentioned, she nodded agreeing. The Jew was captured and when he confessed, the Prophet ordered that his head be crushed between two stones.

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 599:

Narrated 'Abdullah bin Mas'ud:

Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever takes a false oath so as to take the property of a Muslim (illegally) will meet Allah while He will be angry with him." Al-Ash'ath said: By Allah, that saying concerned me. I had common land with a Jew, and the Jew later on denied my ownership, so I took him to the Prophet who asked me whether I had a proof of my ownership. When I replied in the negative, the Prophet asked the Jew to take an oath. I said, "O Allah's Apostle! He will take an oath and deprive me of my property." So, Allah revealed the following verse: "Verily! Those who purchase a little gain at the cost of Allah's covenant and their oaths." (3.77)

Volume 3, Book 44, Number 678:

Narrated Abdullah:

Allah's Apostle rented the land of Khaibar to the Jews on the condition that they would work on it and cultivate it and take half of its yield.

Volume 3, Book 45, Number 690:

Narrated 'Aisha:

Allah's Apostle bought some foodstuff from a Jew and mortgaged his armor to him.

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 786:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

A Jewess brought a poisoned (cooked) sheep for the Prophet who ate from it. She was brought to the Prophet and he was asked, "Shall we kill her?" He said, "No." I continued to see the effect of the poison on the palate of the mouth of Allah's Apostle .

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 834:

Narrated Abdullah:

Allah's Apostle said, "If somebody takes a false oath in order to get the property of a Muslim (unjustly) by that oath, then Allah will be angry with him when he will meet Him." Al-Ash'ath informed me, "By Allah! This was said regarding me. There was a dispute about a piece of land between me and a man from the Jews who denied my right. I took him to the Prophet. Allah's Apostle asked me, 'Do you have an evidence?' I replied in the negative. He said to the Jew, 'Take an oath.' I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! He will surely take an oath and take my property unjustly." So, Allah revealed: "Verily! Those who purchase a little gain at the cost of Allah's covenant and their oaths . . . " (3.77) 10

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 849:

Narrated Said bin Jubair:

A Jew from Hira asked me which one of the two periods Musa (i.e. Prophet Moses) completed. I said, "I don't know, (but wait) till I see the most learned 'Arab and enquire him about it." So, I went to Ibn 'Abbas and asked him. He replied, "Moses completed the longer and better period." Ibn 'Abbas added, "No doubt, an apostle of Allah always does what he says."

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 881:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

Allah's Apostle gave the land of Khaibar to the Jews on the condition that they would work on it and cultivate it and they would get half of its yield.

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 890:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

When the people of Khaibar dislocated Abdullah bin Umar's hands and feet, Umar got up delivering a sermon saying, "No doubt, Allah's Apostle made a contract with the Jews concerning their properties, and said to them, 'We allow you (to stand in your land) as long as Allah allows you.' Now Abdullah bin Umar went to his land and was attacked at night, and his hands and feet were dislocated, and as we have no enemies there except those Jews, they are our enemies and the only people whom we suspect, I have made up my mind to exile them." When Umar decided to carry out his decision, a son of Abu Al-Haqiq's came and addressed 'Umar, "O chief of the believers, will you exile us although Muhammad allowed us to stay at our places, and made a contract with us about our properties, and accepted the condition of our residence in our land?" 'Umar said, "Do you think that I have forgotten the statement of Allah's Apostle, i.e.: What will your condition be when you are expelled from Khaibar and your camel will be carrying you night after night?" The Jew replied, "That was joke from Abu-l-Qasim." 'Umar said, "O the enemy of Allah! You are telling a lie." 'Umar then drove them out and paid them the price of their properties in the form of fruits, money, camel saddles and ropes, etc."

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 9:

Narrated Anas:

A Jew crushed the head of a girl between two stones. She was asked, "Who has done so to you, so-and-so? So-and-so?" Till the name of the Jew was mentioned, whereupon she nodded (in agreement). So the Jew was brought and was questioned till he confessed. The Prophet then ordered that his head be crushed with stones.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 165:

Narrated 'Aisha:

Allah's Apostle died while his (iron) armor was mortgaged to a Jew for thirty Sas of barley.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 176:

Narrated 'Abdullah bin 'Umar:

Allah's Apostle said, "You (i.e. Muslims) will fight wi the Jews till some of them will hide behind stones. The stones will (betray them) saying, 'O 'Abdullah (i.e. slave of Allah)! There is a Jew hiding behind me; so kill him.' "

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 177:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "The Hour will not be established until you fight with the Jews, and the stone behind which a Jew will be hiding will say. "O Muslim! There is a Jew hiding behind me, so kill him." 11

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 186:

Narrated 'Aisha:

Once the Jews came to the Prophet and said, "Death be upon you." So I cursed them. The Prophet said, "What is the matter?" I said, "Have you not heard what they said?" The Prophet said, "Have you not heard what I replied (to them)? (I said), ('The same is upon you.')"

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 195:

Narrated Anas:

The Prophet set out for Khaibar and reached it at night. He used not to attack if he reached the people at night, till the day broke. So, when the day dawned, the Jews came out with their bags and spades. When they saw the Prophet; they said, "Muhammad and his army!" The Prophet said, Allahu--Akbar! (Allah is Greater) and Khaibar is ruined, for whenever we approach a nation (i.e. enemy to fight) then it will be a miserable morning for those who have been warned."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 271:

Narrated Jabir:

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

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 380:

Narrated Ibn 'Umar:

Umar bin Al-Khattab expelled all the Jews and Christians from the land of Hijaz. Allah's Apostle after conquering Khaibar, thought of expelling the Jews from the land which, after he conquered it belonged to Allah, Allah's Apostle and the Muslims. But the Jews requested Allah's Apostle to leave them there on the condition that they would do the labor and get half of the fruits (the land would yield). Allah's Apostle said, "We shall keep you on these terms as long as we wish." Thus they stayed till the time of 'Umar's Caliphate when he expelled them to Taima and Ariha.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 392:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

While we were in the Mosque, the Prophet came out and said, "Let us go to the Jews" We went out till we reached Bait-ul-Midras. He said to them, "If you embrace Islam, you will be safe. You should know that the earth belongs to Allah and His Apostle, and I want to expel you from this land. So, if anyone amongst you owns some property, he is permitted to sell it, otherwise you should know that the Earth belongs to Allah and His Apostle."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 394:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

When Khaibar was conquered, a roasted poisoned sheep was presented to the Prophets as a gift (by the Jews). The Prophet ordered, "Let all the Jews who have been here, be assembled before me." The Jews were collected and the Prophet said (to them), "I am going to ask you a question. Will you tell the truth?" They said, "Yes.' The Prophet asked, "Who is your father?" They replied, "So-and-so." He said, "You have told a ie; your father is so-and-so." They said, "You are right." He siad, "Will you now tell me the truth, if I ask you about something?" They replied, "Yes, O AbuAl-Qasim; and if we should tell a lie, you can realize our lie as you have done regarding our father." On that he asked, "Who are the people of the (Hell) Fire?" They said, "We shall remain in the (Hell) Fire for a short period, and after that you will replace us." The Prophet said, "You may be cursed and humiliated in it! By Allah, we shall never replace you in it." Then he asked, "Will you now tell me the truth if I ask you a question?" They said, "Yes, O Ab Li-Al-Qasim." He asked, "Have you poisoned this sheep?" They said, "Yes." He asked, "What made you do so?" They said, "We wanted to know if you were a liar in which case we would get rid of you, and if you are a prophet then the poison would not harm you." 12

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 398:

Narrated Sahl bin Abi Hathma:

'Abdullah bin Sahl and Muhaiyisa bin Mas'ud bin Zaid set out to Khaibar, the inhabitants of which had a peace treaty with the Muslims at that time. They parted and later on Muhaiyisa came upon 'Abdullah bin Sah! and found him murdered agitating in his blood. He buried him and returned to Medina. 'Abdur Rahman bin Sahl, Muhaiyisa and Huwaiuisa, the sons of Mas'ud came to the Prophet and 'Abdur Rahman intended to talk, but the Prophet said (to him), "Let the eldest of you speak." as 'Abdur-Rahman was the youngest:. 'Abdur-Rahman kept silent and the other two spoke. The Prophet said, "If you swear as to who has committed the murder, you will have the right to take your right from the murderer." They said, "How should we swear if we did not witness the murder or see the murderer?" The Prophet said, "Then the Jews can clear themselves from the charge by taking Alaska (an oath taken by men that it was not they who committed the murder)." The!y said, "How should we believe in the oaths of infidels?" So, the Prophet himself paid the blood money (of 'Abdullah). (See Hadith No. 36 Vol. 9.)

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 546:

Narrated Anas:

When 'Abdullah bin Salam heard the arrival of the Prophet at Medina, he came to him and said, "I am going to ask you about three things which nobody knows except a prophet: What is the first portent of the Hour? What will be the first meal taken by the people of Paradise? Why does a child resemble its father, and why does it resemble its maternal uncle" Allah's Apostle said, "Gabriel has just now told me of their answers." 'Abdullah said, "He (i.e. Gabriel), from amongst all the angels, is the enemy of the Jews." Allah's Apostle said, "The first portent of the Hour will be a fire that will bring together the people from the east to the west; the first meal of the people of Paradise will be Extra-lobe (caudate lobe) of fish-liver. As for the resemblance of the child to its parents: If a man has sexual intercourse with his wife and gets discharge first, the child will resemble the father, and if the woman gets discharge first, the child will resemble her." On that 'Abdullah bin Salam said, "I testify that you are the Apostle of Allah." 'Abdullah bin Salam further said, "O Allah's Apostle! The Jews are liars, and if they should come to

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know about my conversion to Islam before you ask them (about me), they would tell a lie about me." The Jews came to Allah's Apostle and 'Abdullah went inside the house. Allah's Apostle asked (the Jews), "What kind of man is 'Abdullah bin Salam amongst you?" They replied, "He is the most learned person amongst us, and the best amongst us, and the son of the best amongst us." Allah's Apostle said, "What do you think if he embraces Islam (will you do as he does)?" The Jews said, "May Allah save him from it." Then 'Abdullah bin Salam came out in front of them saying, "I testify that None has the right to be worshipped but Allah and that Muhammad is the Apostle of Allah." Thereupon they said, "He is the evilest among us, and the son of the evilest amongst us," and continued talking badly of him.

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 609:

Narrated Ibn 'Abbas:

When the Prophet came to Medina, he found (the Jews) fasting on the day of 'Ashura' (i.e. 10th of Muharram). They used to say: "This is a great day on which Allah saved Moses and drowned the folk of Pharaoh. Moses observed the fast on this day, as a sign of gratitude to Allah." The Prophet said, "I am closer to Moses than they." So, he observed the fast (on that day) and ordered the Muslims to fast on it.

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 620:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

A Muslim and a Jew quarreled. The Muslim taking an oath, said, "By Him Who has preferred Muhammad over all people...!" The Jew said, "By Him Who has preferred Moses, over all people." The Muslim raised his hand and slapped the Jew who came to the Prophet to tell him what had happened between him and the Muslim. The Prophet said, "Don't give me superiority over Moses, for the people will become unconscious (on the Day of Resurrection) and I will be the first to gain consciousness to see Moses standing and holding a side of Allah's Throne. I will not know if he has been among those people who have become unconscious; and that he has gained consciousness before me, or he has been amongst those whom Allah has exempted." 13

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 626:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Once while a Jew was selling something, he was offered a price that he was not pleased with. So, he said, "No, by Him Who gave Moses superiority over all human beings!" Hearing him, an Ansari man got up and slapped him on the face and said, "You say: By Him Who Gave Moses superiority over all human beings although the Prophet (Muhammad) is present amongst us!" The Jew went to the Prophet and said, "O Abu-l-Qasim! I am under the assurance and contract of security, so what right does so-and-so have to slap me?" The Prophet asked the other, "Why have you slapped". He told him the whole story. The Prophet became angry, till anger appeared on his face, and said, "Don't give superiority to any prophet amongst Allah's Prophets, for when the trumpet will be blown, everyone on the earth and in the heavens will become unconscious except those whom Allah will exempt. The trumpet will be blown for the second time and I will be the first to be resurrected to see Moses holding Allah's Throne. I will not know whether the unconsciousness which Moses received on the Day of Tur has been sufficient for him, or has he got up before me. And I do not say that there is anybody who is better than Yunus bin Matta."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 657:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "By Him in Whose Hands my soul is, surely (Jesus,) the son of Mary will soon descend amongst you and will judge mankind justly (as a Just Ruler); he will break the Cross and kill the pigs and there will be no Jizya (i.e. taxation taken from non Muslims). Money will be in abundance so that nobody will accept it, and a single prostration to Allah (in prayer) will be better than the whole world and whatever is in it." Abu Huraira added "If you wish, you can recite (this verse of the Holy Book): -- 'And there is none Of the people of the Scriptures (Jews and Christians) But must believe in him (i.e Jesus as an Apostle of Allah and a human being) Before his death. And on the Day of Judgment He will be a witness Against them." (4.159) (See Fateh Al Bari, Page 302 Vol 7)

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 660:

Narrated 'Aisha and Ibn 'Abbas:

On his death-bed Allah's Apostle put a sheet over his-face and when he felt hot, he would remove it from his face. When in that state (of putting and removing the sheet) he said, "May Allah's Curse be on the Jews and the Christians for they build places of worship at the graves of their prophets." (By that) he intended to warn (the Muslim) from what they (i.e. Jews and Christians) had done.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 662:

Narrated Abu Said:

The Prophet said, "You will follow the wrong ways, of your predecessors so completely and literally that if they should go into the hole of a mastigure, you too will go there." We said, "O Allah's Apostle! Do you mean the Jews and the Christians?" He replied, "Whom else?" (Meaning, of course, the Jews and the Christians.)

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 663:

Narrated Anas:

The people mentioned the fire and the bell (as means proposed for announcing the time of prayer) and by such a suggestion they referred to the Jews and the Christians. But Bilal was ordered, "Pronounce the words of the Adhan (i.e. call for the prayer) twice and the Iqama once only."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 664:

Narrated 'Aisha:

That she used to hate that one should keep his hands on his flanks while praying. She said that the Jew used to do so.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 665:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

Allah's Apostle said, "Your period (i.e. the Muslims' period) in comparison to the periods of the previous nations, is like the period between the 'Asr prayer and sunset. And your example in comparison to the Jews and the Christians is like the example of a person who employed some laborers and asked them, 'Who will work for me till midday for one Qirat each?' The Jews worked for half a day for one Qirat each. The person asked, 'Who will do the work for me from midday to the time of the 'Asr (prayer) for one Qirat each?' The Christians worked from midday till the 'Asr prayer for one Qirat. Then the person asked, 'Who will do the work for me from the 'Asr till sunset for two Qirats each?' " The Prophet added, "It is you (i.e. Muslims) who are doing the work from the Asr till sunset, so you will have a double reward. The Jews and the Christians got angry and said, 'We have done more work but got less wages.' Allah said, 'Have I been unjust to you as regards your rights?' They said, 'No.' So Allah said, 'Then it is My Blessing which I bestow on whomever I like. "

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 666:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

I heard 'Umar saying, "May Allah Curse so-and-so! Doesn't he know that the Prophet said, 'May Allah curse the Jews for, though they were forbidden (to eat) fat, they liquefied it and sold it. "

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 668:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "The Jews and the Christians do not dye (their grey hair), so you shall do the opposite of what they do (i.e. dye your grey hair and beards)."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 693:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "We are the last (to come) but we will be the foremost on the Day of Resurrection, nations were given the Book (i.e. Scripture) before us, and we were given the Holy Book after them. This (i.e. Friday) is the day about which they differed. So the next day (i.e. Saturday) was prescribed for the Jews and the day after it (i.e. Sunday) for the Christians. It is incumbent on every Muslim to wash his head and body on a Day (i.e. Friday) (at least) in every seven days."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 694:

Narrated Said bin Al-Musaiyab:

When Muawiya bin Abu Sufyan came to Medina for the last time, he delivered a sermon before us. He took out a tuft of hair and said, "I never thought that someone other than the Jews would do such a thing (i.e. use false hair). The Prophet named such a practice, 'Az-Zur' (i.e. falsehood)," meaning the use of false hair.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 791:

Narrated 'Abdullah bin 'Umar:

I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "The Jews will fight with you, and you will be given victory over them so that a stone will say, 'O Muslim! There is a Jew behind me; kill him!' "

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 829:

Narrated 'Abdullah bin 'Umar:

The Jews came to Allah's Apostle and told him that a man and a woman from amongst them had committed illegal sexual intercourse. Allah's Apostle said to them, "What do you find in the Torah (old Testament) about the legal punishment of Ar-Rajm (stoning)?" They replied, (But) we announce their crime and lash them." Abdullah bin Salam said, "You are telling a lie; Torah contains the order of Rajm." They brought and opened the Torah and one of them solaced his hand on the Verse of Rajm and read the verses preceding and following it. Abdullah bin Salam said to him, "Lift your hand." When he lifted his hand, the Verse of Rajm was written there. They said, "Muhammad has told the truth; the Torah has the Verse of Rajm. The Prophet then gave the order that both of them should be stoned to death. ('Abdullah bin 'Umar said, "I saw the man leaning over the woman to shelter her from the stones."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 148:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

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

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 169:

Narrated 'Abdullah bin 'Umar:

The Prophet met Zaid bin 'Amr bin Nufail in the bottom of (the valley of) Baldah before any Divine Inspiration came to the Prophet. A meal was presented to the Prophet but he refused to eat from it. (Then it was presented to Zaid) who said, "I do not eat anything which you slaughter in the name of your stone idols. I eat none but those things on which Allah's Name has been mentioned at the time of slaughtering." Zaid bin 'Amr used to criticize the way Quraish used to slaughter their animals, and used to say, "Allah has created the sheep and He has sent the water for it from the sky, and He has grown the grass for it from the earth; yet you slaughter it in other than the Name of Allah. He used to say so, for he rejected that practice and considered it as something abominable.

Narrated Ibn 'Umar: Zaid bin 'Amr bin Nufail went to Sham, inquiring about a true religion to follow. He met a Jewish religious scholar and asked him about their religion. He said, "I intend to embrace your religion, so tell me some thing about it." The Jew said, "You will not embrace our religion unless you receive your share of Allah's Anger." Zaid said, "'I do not run except from Allah's Anger, and I will never bear a bit of it if I have the power to avoid it. Can you tell me of some other religion?" He said, "I do not know any other religion except the Hanif." Zaid enquired, "What is Hanif?" He said, "Hanif is the religion of (the prophet) Abraham who was neither a Jew nor a Christian, and he used to worship None but Allah (Alone)" Then Zaid went out and met a Christian religious scholar and told him the same as before. The Christian said, "You will not embrace our religion unless you get a share of Allah's Curse." Zaid replied, "I do not run except from Allah's Curse, and I will never bear any of Allah's Curse and His Anger if I have the power to avoid them. Will you tell me of some other religion?" He replied, "I do not know any other religion except Hanif." Zaid enquired, "What is Hanif?" He replied, Hanif is the religion of (the prophet) Abraham who was neither a Jew nor a Christian and he used to worship None but Allah (Alone)" When Zaid heard their Statement about (the religion of) Abraham, he left that place, and when he came out, he raised both his hands and said, "O Allah! I make You my Witness that I am on the religion of Abraham."

Narrated Asma bint Abi Bakr: I saw Zaid bin Amr bin Nufail standing with his back against the Ka'ba and saying, "O people of Quraish! By Allah, none amongst you is on the religion of Abraham except me." He used to preserve the lives of little girls: If somebody wanted to kill his daughter he would say to him, "Do not kill her for I will feed her on your behalf." So he would take her, and when she grew up nicely, he would say to her father, "Now if you want her, I will give her to you, and if you wish, I will feed her on your behalf."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 245:

Narrated 'Aisha:

(the wife of the Prophet) I never remembered my parents believing in any religion other than the true religion (i.e. Islam), and (I don't remember) a single day passing without our being visited by Allah's Apostle in the morning and in the evening. When the Muslims were put to test (i.e. troubled by the pagans), Abu Bakr set out migrating to the land of Ethiopia, and when he reached Bark-al-Ghimad, Ibn Ad-Daghina, the chief of the tribe of Qara, met him and said, "O Abu Bakr! Where are you going?" Abu Bakr replied, "My people have turned me out (of my country), so I want to wander on the earth and worship my Lord." Ibn Ad-Daghina said, "O Abu Bakr! A man like you should not leave his home-land, nor should he be driven out, because you help the destitute, earn their livings, and you keep good relations with your Kith and kin, help the weak and poor, entertain guests generously, and help the calamity-stricken persons. Therefore I am your protector. Go back and worship your Lord in your town." 16

So Abu Bakr returned and Ibn Ad-Daghina accompanied him. In the evening Ibn Ad-Daghina visited the nobles of Quraish and said to them. "A man like Abu Bakr should not leave his homeland, nor should he be driven out. Do you (i.e. Quraish) drive out a man who helps the destitute, earns their living, keeps good relations with his Kith and kin, helps the weak and poor, entertains guests generously and helps the calamity-stricken persons?" So the people of Quraish could not refuse Ibn Ad-Daghina's protection, and they said to Ibn Ad-Daghina, "Let Abu Bakr worship his Lord in his house. He can pray and recite there whatever he likes, but he should not hurt us with it, and should not do it publicly, because we are afraid that he may affect our women and children." Ibn Ad-Daghina told Abu Bakr of all that. Abu Bakr stayed in that state, worshipping his Lord in his house. He did not pray publicly, nor did he recite Quran outside his house.

Then a thought occurred to Abu Bakr to build a mosque in front of his house, and there he used to pray and recite the Quran. The women and children of the pagans began to gather around him in great number. They used to wonder at

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

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

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

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

The nephew of Suraqa bin Ju'sham said that his father informed him that he heard Suraqa bin Ju'sham saying, "The messengers of the heathens of Quraish came to us declaring that they had assigned for the persons why would kill or 17

arrest Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr, a reward equal to their bloodmoney. While I was sitting in one of the gatherings of my tribe. Bani Mudlij, a man from them came to us and stood up while we were sitting, and said, "O Suraqa! No doubt, I have just seen some people far away on the seashore, and I think they are Muhammad and his companions." Suraqa added, "I too realized that it must have been they. But I said 'No, it is not they, but you have seen so-and-so, and so-and-so whom we saw set out.' I stayed in the gathering for a while and then got up and left for my home. and ordered my slave-girl to get my horse which was behind a hillock, and keep it ready for me.

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

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

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

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

recited a complete poetic verse other than this one.") 18

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 250:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

Allah's Apostle arrived at Medina with Abu Bakr, riding behind him on the same camel. Abu Bakr was an elderly man known to the people, while Allah's Apostle was a youth that was unknown. Thus, if a man met Abu Bakr, he would day, "O Abu Bakr! Who is this man in front of you?" Abu Bakr would say, "This man shows me the Way," One would think that Abu Bakr meant the road, while in fact, Abu Bakr meant the way of virtue and good. Then Abu Bakr looked behind and saw a horse-rider persuing them. He said, "O Allah's Apostle! This is a horse-rider persuing us." The Prophet looked behind and said, "O Allah! Cause him to fall down." So the horse threw him down and got up neighing. After that the rider, Suraqa said, "O Allah's Prophet! Order me whatever you want." The Prophet said, "Stay where you are and do not allow anybody to reach us." So, in the first part of the day Suraqa was an enemy of Allah's Prophet and in the last part of it, he was a protector. Then Allah's Apostle alighted by the side of the Al-Harra and sent a message to the Ansar, and they came to Allah's Prophet and Abu Bakr, and having greeted them, they said, "Ride (your she-camels) safe and obeyed." Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr rode and the Ansar, carrying their arms, surrounded them. The news that Allah's Prophet had come circulated in Medina. The people came out and were eagerly looking and saying "Allah's Prophet has come! Allah's Prophet has come! So the Prophet went on till he alighted near the house of Abu Aiyub. While the Prophet was speaking with the family members of Abu Aiyub, 'Abdullah bin Salam heard the news of his arrival while he himself was picking the dates for his family from his family garden. He hurried to the Prophet carrying the dates which he had collected for his family from the garden. He listened to Allah's Prophet and then went home.

Then Allah's Prophet said, "Which is the nearest of the houses of our Kith and kin?" Abu Aiyub replied, "Mine, O Allah's Prophet! This is my house and this is my gate." The Prophet said, "Go and prepare a place for our midday rest." Abu Aiyub said, "Get up (both of you) with Allah's Blessings." So when Allah's Prophet went into the house, 'Abdullah bin Salaim came and said "I testify that you (i.e. Muhammad) are Apostle of Allah and that you have come with the Truth. The Jews know well that I am their chief and the son of their chief and the most learned amongst them and the son of the most learned amongst them. So send for them (i.e. Jews) and ask them about me before they know that I have embraced Islam, for if they know that they will say about me things which are not correct." So Allah's Apostle sent for them, and they came and entered. Allah's Apostle said to them, "O (the group of) Jews! Woe to you: be afraid of Allah. By Allah except Whom none has the right to be worshipped, you people know for certain, that I am Apostle of Allah and that I have come to you with the Truth, so embrace Islam." The Jews replied, "We do not know this." So they said this to the Prophet and he repeated it thrice. Then he said, "What sort of a man is 'Abdullah bin Salam amongst you?" They said, "He is our chief and the son of our chief and the most learned man, and the son of the most learned amongst us." He said, "What would you think if he should embrace Islam?" They said, "Allah forbid! He can not embrace Islam." He said, " What would you think if he should embrace Islam?" They said, "Allah forbid! He can not embrace Islam." He said, "What would you think if he should embrace Islam?" They said, "Allah forbid! He can not embrace Islam." He said, "O Ibn Salaim! Come out to them." He came out and said, "O (the group of) Jews! 8e afraid of Allah except Whom none has the right to be worshipped. You know for certain that he is Apostle of Allah and that he has brought a True Religion!' They said, "You tell a lie." On that Allah's Apostle turned them out.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 275:

Narrated Anas:

When the news of the arrival of the Prophet at Medina reached 'Abdullah bin Salam, he went to him to ask him about certain things, He said, "I am going to ask you about three things which only a Prophet can answer: What is the first sign of The Hour? What is the first food which the people of Paradise will eat? Why does a child attract the similarity to his father or to his mother?" The Prophet replied, "Gabriel has just now informed me of that." Ibn Salam said, "He (i.e. Gabriel) is the enemy of the Jews amongst the angels. The Prophet said, "As for the first sign of The Hour, it will be a fire that will collect the people from the East to the West. As for the first meal which the people of Paradise will eat, it will be the caudate (extra) lobe of the fish-liver. As for the child, if the man's discharge proceeds the woman's discharge, the child attracts the similarity to the man, and if the woman's discharge proceeds the man's, then the child attracts the similarity to the woman."

On this, 'Abdullah bin Salam said, "I testify that None has the right to be worshipped except Allah, and that you are the Apostle of Allah." and added, "O Allah's Apostle! Jews invent such lies as make one astonished, so please ask them about me before they know about my conversion to I slam . " The Jews came, and the Prophet said, "What kind of man is 'Abdullah bin Salam among you?" They replied, "The best of us and the son of the best of us and the most superior among us, and the son of the most superior among us. "The Prophet said, "What would you think if 19

'Abdullah bin Salam should embrace Islam?" They said, "May Allah protect him from that." The Prophet repeated his question and they gave the same answer. Then 'Abdullah came

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out to them and said, "I testify that None has the right to be worshipped except Allah and that Muhammad is the Apostle of Allah!" On this, the Jews said, "He is the most wicked among us and the son of the most wicked among us." So they degraded him. On this, he (i.e. 'Abdullah bin Salam) said, "It is this that I was afraid of, O Allah's Apostle.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 277:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "Had only ten Jews (amongst their chiefs) believe me, all the Jews would definitely have believed me."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 278:

Narrated Abu Musa:

When the Prophet arrived at Medina, he noticed that some people among the Jews used to respect Ashura' (i.e. 10th of Muharram) and fast on it. The Prophet then said, "We have more right to observe fast on this day." and ordered that fasting should be observed on it.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 279:

Narrated Ibn 'Abbas:

When the Prophet arrived at Medina he found that the Jews observed fast on the day of 'Ashura'. They were asked the reason for the fast. They replied, "This is the day when Allah caused Moses and the children of Israel to have victory over Pharaoh, so we fast on this day as a sign of glorifying it." Allah's Apostle said, "We are closer to Moses than you." Then he ordered that fasting on this day should be observed.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 362:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 371:

Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:

Allah's Apostle sent some men from the Ansar to ((kill) Abu Rafi, the Jew, and appointed 'Abdullah bin Atik as their leader. Abu Rafi used to hurt Allah's Apostle and help his enemies against him. He lived in his castle in the land of Hijaz. When those men approached (the castle) after the sun had set and the people had brought back their livestock to their homes. Abdullah (bin Atik) said to his companions, "Sit down at your places. I am going, and I will try to play a trick on the gate-keeper so that I may enter (the castle)." So 'Abdullah proceeded towards the castle, and when he approached the gate, he covered himself with his clothes, pretending to answer the call of nature. The people had gone in, and the gate-keeper (considered 'Abdullah as one of the castle's servants) addressing him saying, "O Allah's Servant! Enter if you wish, for I want to close the gate." 'Abdullah added in his story, "So I went in (the castle) and hid myself. When the people got inside, the gate-keeper closed the gate and hung the keys on a fixed wooden peg. I got up and took the keys and opened the gate. Some people were staying late at night with Abu Rafi for a pleasant night chat in a room of his. When his companions of nightly entertainment went away, I ascended to him, and whenever I opened a door, I closed it from inside. I said to myself, 'Should these people discover my presence, they will not be able to catch me till I have killed him.' So I reached him and found him sleeping in a dark house amidst his family, I could not recognize his location in the house. So I shouted, 'O Abu Rafi!' Abu Rafi said, 'Who is it?' I proceeded towards the source of the voice and hit him with the sword, and because of my perplexity, I could not kill him. He cried loudly, and I came out of the house and waited for a while, and then went to him again and said, 'What is this voice, O Abu Rafi?' He said, 'Woe to your mother! A man in my house has hit me with a sword! I again hit him severely but I did not kill him. Then I drove the point of the sword into his belly (and pressed it through) till it touched his back, and I realized that I have killed him. I then opened the doors one by one till I reached the staircase, and thinking that I had reached the ground, I stepped out and fell down and got my leg broken in a moonlit night. I tied my leg with a turban and proceeded on till I sat at the gate, and said, 'I will not go out tonight till I know that I have killed him.' So, when (early in the morning) the cock crowed, the announcer of the casualty stood on the wall saying, 'I announce the death of Abu Rafi, the merchant of Hijaz. Thereupon I went to my companions and said, 'Let us save ourselves, for Allah has killed Abu Rafi,' So I (along with my companions proceeded and) went to the Prophet and described the whole story to him. "He said, 'Stretch out your (broken) leg. I stretched it out and he rubbed it and it became All right as if I had never had any ailment whatsoever."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 509:

Narrated Salama bin Al-Akwa:

We went out to Khaibar in the company of the Prophet. While we were proceeding at night, a man from the group said to 'Amir, "O 'Amir! Won't you let us hear your poetry?" 'Amir was a poet, so he got down and started reciting for the people poetry that kept pace with the camels' footsteps, saying:-- "O Allah! Without You we Would not have been guided On the right path Neither would be have given In charity, nor would We have prayed. So please forgive us, what we have committed (i.e. our defects); let all of us Be sacrificed for Your Cause And send Sakina (i.e. calmness) Upon us to make our feet firm When we meet our enemy, and If they will call us towards An unjust thing, We will refuse. The infidels have made a hue and Cry to ask others' help Against us." The Prophet on that, asked, "Who is that (camel) driver (reciting poetry)?" The people said, "He is 'Amir bin Al-Akwa'."

Then the Prophet said, "May Allah bestow His Mercy on him." A man amongst the people said, "O Allah's Prophet! has (martyrdom) been granted to him. Would that you let us enjoy his company longer." Then we reached and besieged Khaibar till we were afflicted with severe hunger. Then Allah helped the Muslims conquer it (i.e. Khaibar). In the evening of the day of the conquest of the city, the Muslims made huge fires. The Prophet said, "What are these fires? For cooking what, are you making the fire?" The people replied, "(For cooking) meat." He asked, "What kind of meat?" They (i.e. people) said, "The meat of donkeys." The Prophet said, "Throw away the meat and break the pots!" Some man said, "O Allah's Apostle! Shall we throw away the meat and wash the pots instead?" He said, "(Yes, you can do) that too." So when the army files were arranged in rows (for the clash), 'Amir's sword was short and he aimed at the leg of a Jew to strike it, but the sharp blade of the sword returned to him and injured his own knee, and that caused him to die. When they returned from the battle, Allah's Apostle saw me (in a sad mood). He took my hand and said, "What is bothering you?" I replied, "Let my father and mother be sacrificed for you! The people say that the deeds of 'Amir are lost." The Prophet said, "Whoever says so, is mistaken, for 'Amir has got a double reward." The Prophet raised two fingers and added, "He (i.e. Amir) was a persevering struggler in the Cause of Allah and there are few 'Arabs who achieved the like of (good deeds) 'Amir had done."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 510:

Narrated Anas:

Allah's Apostle reached Khaibar at night and it was his habit that, whenever he reached the enemy at night, he will not attack them till it was morning. When it was morning, the Jews came out with their spades and baskets, and when they saw him(i.e. the Prophet), they said, "Muhammad! By Allah! Muhammad and his army!" The Prophet said, "Khaibar is destroyed, for whenever we approach a (hostile) nation (to fight), then evil will be the morning for those who have been warned."

Narrated Anas bin Malik: We reached Khaibar early in the morning and the inhabitants of Khaibar came out carrying their spades, and when they saw the Prophet they said, "Muhammad! By Allah! Muhammad and his army!" The Prophet said, "Allahu-Akbar! Khaibar is destroyed, for whenever we approach a (hostile) nation (to fight) then evil will be the morning for those who have been warned." We then got the meat of donkeys (and intended to eat it), but an announcement was made by the announcer of the Prophet, "Allah and His Apostle forbid you to eat the meat of donkeys as it is an impure thing." 21

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 519:

Narrated Abu Imran:

Anas looked at the people wearing Tailsans (i.e. a special kind of head covering worn by Jews in old days). On that Anas said, "At this moment they (i.e. those people) look like the Jews of Khaibar."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 550:

Narrated 'Abdullah:

The Prophet gave (the land of) Khaibar to the Jews (of Khaibar) on condition that they would work on it and cultivate it and they would have half of its yield.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 7:

Narrated Anas:

'Abdullah bin Salam heard the news of the arrival of Allah's Apostle (at Medina) while he was on a farm collecting its fruits. So he came to the Prophet and said, "I will ask you about three things which nobody knows unless he be a prophet. Firstly, what is the first portent of the Hour? What is the first meal of the people of Paradise? And what makes a baby look like its father or mother?'. The Prophet said, "Just now Gabriel has informed me about that." 'Abdullah said, "Gabriel?" The Prophet said, "Yes." 'Abdullah said, "He, among the angels is the enemy of the Jews." On that the Prophet recited this Holy Verse:--

"Whoever is an enemy to Gabriel (let him die in his fury!) for he has brought it (i.e. Qur'an) down to your heart by Allah's permission." (2.97) Then he added, "As for the first portent of the Hour, it will be a fire that will collect the people from the East to West. And as for the first meal of the people of Paradise, it will be the caudite (i.e. extra) lobe of the fish liver. And if a man's discharge proceeded that of the woman, then the child resembles the father, and if the woman's discharge proceeded that of the man, then the child resembles the mother." On hearing that, 'Abdullah said, "I testify that None has the right to be worshipped but Allah, and that you are the Apostle of Allah, O, Allah's Apostle; the Jews are liars, and if they should come to know that I have embraced Islam, they would accuse me of being a liar." In the meantime some Jews came (to the Prophet) and he asked them, "What is 'Abdullah's status amongst you?" They replied, "He is the best amongst us, and he is our chief and the son of our chief." The Prophet said, "What would you think if 'Abdullah bin Salam embraced Islam?" They replied, "May Allah protect him from this!" Then 'Abdullah came out and said, "I testify that None has the right to be worshipped but Allah and that Muhammad is the Apostle of Allah." The Jews then said, "Abdullah is the worst of us and the son of the worst of us," and disparaged him. On that 'Abdullah said, "O Allah's Apostle! This is what I was afraid of!"

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 12:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The people of the Scripture (Jews) used to recite the Torah in Hebrew and they used to explain it in Arabic to the Muslims. On that Allah's Apostle said, "Do not believe the people of the Scripture or disbelieve them, but say:-- "We believe in Allah and what is revealed to us." (2.136)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 51:

Narrated Jabir:

Jews used to say: "If one has sexual intercourse with his wife from the back, then she will deliver a squint-eyed child." So this Verse was revealed:--

"Your wives are a tilth unto you; so go to your tilth when or how you will." (2.223)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 75:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

Abu Sufyan narrated to me personally, saying, "I set out during the Truce that had been concluded between me and Allah's Apostle. While I was in Sham, a letter sent by the Prophet was brought to Heraclius. Dihya Al-Kalbi had brought and given it to the governor of Busra, and the latter forwarded it to Heraclius. Heraclius said, 'Is there anyone from the people of this man who claims to be a prophet?' The people replied, 'Yes.' So I along with some of

Quraishi men were called and we entered upon Heraclius, and we were seated in front of him. Then he said, 'Who amongst you is the nearest relative to the man who claims to be a prophet?' So they made me sit in front of him and made my companions sit behind me. Then he called upon his translator and said (to him). 'Tell them (i.e. Abu Sufyan's companions) that I am going to ask him (i.e. Abu Sufyan) regarding that man who claims to be a prophet. So, if he tell me a lie, they should contradict him (instantly).' By Allah, had I not been afraid that my companions would consider me a liar, I would have told lies. Heraclius then said to his translator, 'Ask him: What is his (i.e. the Prophet's) family status amongst you? I said, 'He belongs to a noble family amongst us." Heraclius said, 'Was any of his ancestors a king?' I said, 'No.' He said, 'Did you ever accuse him of telling lies before his saying what he has said?' I said, 'No.' He said, 'Do the nobles follow him or the poor people?' I said, 'It is the poor who followed him.' He said, 'Is the number of his follower increasing or decreasing?' I said, 'The are increasing.' He said, 'Does anyone renounce his religion (i.e. Islam) after embracing it, being displeased with it?' I said, 'No.' He said, 'Did you fight with him?' I replied, 'Yes.' He said, 'How was your fighting with him?' I said, 'The fighting between us was undecided and victory was shared by him and us by turns. He inflicts casualties upon us and we inflict casualties upon him.' He said, 'Did he ever betray?' I said, 'No, but now we are away from him in this truce and we do not know what he will do in it" Abu Sufyan added, "By Allah, I was not able to insert in my speech a word (against him) except that. Heraclius said, 'Did anybody else (amongst you) ever claimed the same (i.e. Islam) before him? I said, 'No.' Then Heraclius told his translator to tell me (i.e. Abu Sufyan), 'I asked you about his family status amongst you, and you told me that he comes from a noble family amongst you Verily, all Apostles come from the noblest family among their people. Then I asked you whether any of his ancestors was a king, and you denied that. Thereupon I thought that had one of his fore-fathers been a king, I would have said that he (i.e. Muhammad) was seeking to rule the kingdom of his fore-fathers. Then I asked you regarding his followers, whether they were the noble or the poor among the people, and you said that they were only the poor (who follow him). In fact, such are the followers of the Apostles. Then I asked you whether you have ever accused him of telling lies before saying what he said, and your reply was in the negative. Therefore, I took for granted that a man who did not tell a lie about others, could ever tell a lie about Allah. Then I asked you whether anyone of his followers had renounced his religion (i.e. Islam) after embracing it, being displeased with it, and you denied that. And such is Faith when it mixes with the cheerfulness of the hearts. Then I asked you whether his followers were increasing or decreasing You

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claimed that they were increasing. That is the way of true faith till it is complete. Then I asked you whether you had ever fought with him, and you claimed that you had fought with him and the battle between you and him was undecided and the victory was shared by you and him in turns; he inflicted casual ties upon you and you inflicted casualties upon them. Such is the case with the Apostles; they are out to test and the final victory is for them. Then I asked you whether he had ever betrayed; you claimed that he had never betrayed. I need, Apostles never betray. Then I asked you whether anyone had said this statement before him; and you denied that. Thereupon I thought if somebody had said that statement before him, then I would have said that he was but a man copying some sayings said before him." Abu Safyan said, "Heraclius then asked me, 'What does he order you to do?' I said, 'He orders us (to offer) prayers and (to pay) Zakat and to keep good relationship with the Kith and kin and to be chaste.' Then Heraclius said, 'If whatever you have said, is true, he is really a prophet, and I knew that he (i.e. the Prophet) was going to appear, but I never thought that he would be from amongst you. If I were certain that I can reach him, I would like to meet him and if I were with him, I would wash his feet; and his kingdom will expand (surely to what is under my feet.' Then Heraclius asked for the letter of Allah's Apostle and read it wherein was written:

"In the Name of Allah, the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful. This letter is) from Muhammad, Apostle of Allah, to Heraclius, the sovereign of Byzantine..... Peace be upon him who follows the Right Path. Now then, I call you to embrace Islam. Embrace Islam and you will be saved (from Allah's Punishment); embrace Islam, and Allah will give you a double reward, but if you reject this, you will be responsible for the sins of all the people of your kingdom (Allah's Statement):--"O the people of the Scripture (Jews and Christians)! Come to a word common to you and us that we worship None but Allah....bear witness that we are Muslims.' (3.64)

When he finished reading the letter, voices grew louder near him and there was a great hue and cry, and we were ordered to go out." Abu Sufyan added, "While coming out, I said to my companions, 'The situation of Ibn Abu Kabsha (i.e. Muhammad) has become strong; even the king of Banu Al-Asfar is afraid of him.' So I continued to believe that Allah's Apostle would be victorious, till Allah made me embrace Islam." Az-Zuhri said, "Heraclius then invited all the chiefs of the Byzantines and had them assembled in his house and said, 'O group of Byzantines! Do you wish to have a permanent success and guidance and that your kingdom should remain with you?' (Immediately after hearing that), they rushed towards the gate like onagers, but they found them closed. Heraclius then said, 'Bring them back to me.' So he called them and said, 'I just wanted to test the strength of your adherence to your religion. Now I have observed of you that which I like.' Then the people fell in prostration before him and became pleased with him." (See Hadith No. 6,Vol 1)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 79:

Narrated 'Abdullah bin Umar:

The Jews brought to the Prophet a man and a woman from among them who had committed illegal sexual intercourse. The Prophet said to them, "How do you usually punish the one amongst you who has committed illegal sexual intercourse?" They replied, "We blacken their faces with coal and beat them," He said, "Don't you find the order of Ar-Rajm (i.e. stoning to death) in the Torah?" They replied, "We do not find anything in it." 'Abdullah bin Salam (after hearing this conversation) said to them. "You have told a lie! Bring here the Torah and recite it if you are truthful." (So the Jews brought the Torah). And the religious teacher who was teaching it to them, put his hand over the Verse of Ar-Rajm and started reading what was written above and below the place hidden with his hand, but he did not read the Verse of Ar-Rajm. 'Abdullah bin Salam removed his (i.e. the teacher's) hand from the Verse of Ar-Rajm and said, "What is this?" So when the Jews saw that Verse, they said, "This is the Verse of Ar-Rajm." So the Prophet ordered the two adulterers to be stoned to death, and they were stoned to death near the place where biers used to be placed near the Mosque. I saw her companion (i.e. the adulterer) bowing over her so as to protect her from the stones.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 89:

Narrated Usama bin Zaid:

Allah's Apostle rode a donkey, equipped with a thick cloth-covering made in Fadak and was riding behind him. He was going to pay visit to Sad bin Ubada in Banu Al-Harith bin Al-Khazraj; and this incident happened before the battle of Badr. The Prophet passed by a gathering in which 'Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul was present, and that was before 'Abdullah bin Ubai embraced Islam. Behold in that gathering there were people of different religions: there were Muslims, pagans, idol-worshippers and Jews, and in that gathering 'Abdullah bin Rawaha was also present. When a cloud of dust raised by the donkey reached that gathering, 'Abdullah bin Ubai covered his nose with his garment and then said, "Do not cover us with dust." Then Allah's Apostle greeted them and stopped and dismounted and invited them to Allah (i.e. to embrace Islam) and recited to them the Holy Qur'an. On that, 'Abdullah bin Ubai bin Saluil said, "O man ! There is nothing better than that what you say. If it is the truth, then do not trouble us with it in our gatherings. Return to your mount (or residence) and if somebody comes to you, relate (your tales) to him." On that 'Abdullah bin Rawaha said, "Yes, O Allah's Apostle! Bring it (i.e. what you want to say) to us in our gathering, for we love that."

So the Muslims, the pagans and the Jews started abusing one another till they were on the point of fighting with one another. The Prophet kept on quietening them till they became quiet, whereupon the Prophet rode his animal (mount) and proceeded till he entered upon Sad bin Ubada. The Prophet said to Sad, "Did you not hear what 'Abu Hub-b said?" He meant 'Abdullah bin Ubai. "He said so-and-so." On that Sad bin Ubada said, "O Allah's Apostle! Excuse and forgive him, for by Him Who revealed the Book to you, Allah brought the Truth which was sent to you at the time when the people of this town (i.e. Medina) had decided unanimously to crown him and tie a turban on his head (electing him as chief). But when Allah opposed that (decision) through the Truth which Allah gave to you, he (i.e. 'Abdullah bin Ubai) was grieved with jealously. and that caused him to do what you have seen." So Allah's Apostle excused him, for the Prophet and his companions used to forgive the pagans and the people of Scripture as Allah had ordered them, and they used to put up with their mischief with patience. Allah said: "And you shall certainly hear much that will grieve you from those who received the Scripture before you and from the pagans.....'(3.186) And Allah also said:--"Many of the people of the Scripture wish if they could turn you away as disbelievers after you have believed, from selfish envy.." (2.109)

So the Prophet used to stick to the principle of forgiveness for them as long as Allah ordered him to do so till Allah permitted fighting them. So when Allah's Apostle fought the battle of Badr and Allah killed the nobles of Quraish infidels through him, Ibn Ubai bin Salul and the pagans and idolaters who were with him, said, "This matter (i.e. Islam) has appeared (i.e. became victorious)." So they gave the pledge of allegiance (for embracing Islam) to Allah's Apostle and became Muslims.

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Volume 6, Book 60, Number 91:

Narrated Alqama bin Waqqas:

Marwan said to his gatekeeper, "Go to Ibn 'Abbas, O Rafi, and say, 'If everybody who rejoices in what he has done, and likes to be praised for what he has not done, will be punished, then all of us will be punished." Ibn Abbas said, "What connection have you with this case? It was only that the Prophet called the Jews and asked them about something, and they hid the truth and told him something else, and showed him that they deserved praise for the favor of telling him the answer to his question, and they became happy with what they had concealed.

Then Ibn Abbas recited:--"(And remember) when Allah took a Covenant from those who were given the Scripture..and those who rejoice in what they have done and love to be praised for what they have not done.' " (3.187-188)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 105:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

During the lifetime of the Prophet some people said, : O Allah's Apostle! Shall we see our Lord on the Day of Resurrection?" The Prophet said, "Yes; do you have any difficulty in seeing the sun at midday when it is bright and there is no cloud in the sky?" They replied, "No." He said, "Do you have any difficulty in seeing the moon on a full moon night when it is bright and there is no cloud in the sky?" They replied, "No." The Prophet said, "(Similarly) you will have no difficulty in seeing Allah on the Day of Resurrection as you have no difficulty in seeing either of them. On the Day of Resurrection, a call-maker will announce, "Let every nation follow that which they used to worship." Then none of those who used to worship anything other than Allah like idols and other deities but will fall in Hell (Fire), till there will remain none but those who used to worship Allah, both those who were obedient (i.e. good) and those who were disobedient (i.e. bad) and the remaining party of the people of the Scripture. Then the Jews will be called upon and it will be said to them, 'Who do you use to worship?' They will say, 'We used to worship Ezra, the son of Allah.' It will be said to them, 'You are liars, for Allah has never taken anyone as a wife or a son. What do you want now?' They will say, 'O our Lord! We are thirsty, so give us something to drink.' They will be directed and addressed thus, 'Will you drink,' whereupon they will be gathered unto Hell (Fire) which will look like a mirage whose different sides will be destroying each other. Then they will fall into the Fire. Afterwards the Christians will be called upon and it will be said to them, 'Who do you use to worship?' They will say, 'We used to worship Jesus, the son of Allah.' It will be said to them, 'You are liars, for Allah has never taken anyone as a wife or a son,' Then it will be said to them, 'What do you want?' They will say what the former people have said. Then, when there remain (in the gathering) none but those who used to worship Allah (Alone, the real Lord of the Worlds) whether they were obedient or disobedient. Then (Allah) the Lord of the worlds will come to them in a shape nearest to the picture they had in their minds about Him. It will be said, 'What are you waiting for?' Every nation have followed what they used to worship.' They will reply, 'We left the people in the world when we were in great need of them and we did not take them as friends. Now we are waiting for our Lord Whom we used to worship.' Allah will say, 'I am your Lord.' They will say twice or thrice, 'We do not worship any besides Allah.' "

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 130:

Narrated Tariq bin Shihab:

The Jews said to 'Umar, "You (i.e. Muslims) recite a Verse, and had it been revealed to us, we would have taken the day of its revelation as a day of celebration." 'Umar said, "I know very well when and where it was revealed, and where Allah's Apostle was when it was revealed. (It was revealed on) the day of Arafat (Hajj Day), and by Allah, I was at Arafat" Sufyan, a sub-narrator said: I am in doubt whether the Verse:-- "This day I have perfected your religion for you." was revealed on a Friday or not.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 157:

Narrated Jabir bin 'Abdullah:

The Prophet said, "May Allah curse the Jews! When Allah forbade them to eat the fat of animals, they melted it and sold it, and utilized its price! "

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 162:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

A man from the Jews, having been slapped on his face, came to the Prophet and said, "O Muhammad! A man from your companions from the Ansar has slapped me on my face!" The Prophet said, "Call him." When they called him, the Prophet said, "Why did you slap him?" He said, "O Allah's Apostle! While I was passing by the Jews, I heard him saying, 'By Him Who selected Moses above the human beings,' I said, 'Even above Muhammad?' I became furious and slapped him on the face." The Prophet said, "Do not give me superiority over the other prophets, for on the Day of Resurrection the people will become unconscious and I will be the first to regain consciousness. Then I will see Moses holding one of the legs of the Throne. I will not know whether he has come to his senses before me or that the shock he had received at the Mountain, (during his worldly life) was sufficient for him."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 202:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

When the Prophet arrived at Medina, the Jews were observing the fast on 'Ashura' (10th of Muharram) and they said, "This is the day when Moses became victorious over Pharaoh," On that, the Prophet said to his companions, "You (Muslims) have more right to celebrate Moses' victory than they have, so observe the fast on this day."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 229:

Narrated Ibn Abbas: concerning:

"As We sent down (the Scripture) on those who are divided (Jews and Christians)." (15.90) They believed in part of it and disbelieved in the other, are the Jews and the Christians. the Christians.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 245:

Narrated Abdullah:

While I was in the company of the Prophet on a farm and he was reclining on a palm leave stalk, some Jews passed by. Some of them said to the others. "Ask him (the Prophet about the spirit." Some of them said, "What urges you to ask him about it" Others said, "(Don't) lest he should give you a reply which you dislike." But they said, "Ask him." So they asked him about the Spirit. The Prophet kept quiet and did not give them any answer. I knew that he was being divinely inspired so I stayed at my place. When the divine inspiration had been revealed, the Prophet said. "They ask you (O, Muhammad) concerning the Spirit, Say: "The spirit," its knowledge is with my Lord; and of knowledge you (mankind) have been given only a Little." (17.85)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 252:

Narrated Musab:

I asked my father, "Was the Verse:-- 'Say: (O Muhammad) Shall We tell you the greatest losers in respect of their deeds?'(18.103) revealed regarding Al-Haruriyya?" He said, "No, but regarding the Jews and the Christians, for the Jews disbelieved Muhammad and the Christians disbelieved in Paradise and say that there are neither meals nor drinks therein. Al- Hururiyya are those people who break their pledge to Allah after they have confirmed that they will fulfill it, and Sad used to call them 'Al-Fasiqin (evildoers who forsake Allah's obedience).

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 510:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

Hudhaifa bin Al-Yaman came to Uthman at the time when the people of Sham and the people of Iraq were Waging war to conquer Arminya and Adharbijan. Hudhaifa was afraid of their (the people of Sham and Iraq) differences in the recitation of the Qur'an, so he said to 'Uthman, "O chief of the Believers! Save this nation before they differ about the Book

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(Quran) as Jews and the Christians did before." So 'Uthman sent a message to Hafsa saying, "Send us the manuscripts of the Qur'an so that we may compile the Qur'anic materials in perfect copies and return the manuscripts to you." Hafsa sent it to 'Uthman. 'Uthman then ordered Zaid bin Thabit, 'Abdullah bin AzZubair, Said bin Al-As and 'AbdurRahman bin Harith bin Hisham to rewrite the manuscripts in perfect copies. 'Uthman said to the three Quraishi men, "In case you disagree with Zaid bin Thabit on any point in the Qur'an, then write it in the dialect of Quraish, the Qur'an was revealed in their tongue." They did so, and when they had written many copies, 'Uthman returned the original manuscripts to Hafsa. 'Uthman sent to every Muslim province one copy of what they had copied, and ordered that all the other Qur'anic materials, whether written in fragmentary manuscripts or whole copies, be burnt. Said bin Thabit added, "A Verse from Surat Ahzab was missed by me when we copied the Qur'an and I used to hear Allah's Apostle reciting it. So we searched for it and found it with Khuzaima bin Thabit Al-Ansari. (That Verse was): 'Among the Believers are men who have been true in their covenant with Allah.' (33.23)

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 539:

Narrated Ibn 'Umar:

The Prophet said, "Your life in comparison to the lifetime of the past nations is like the period between the time of 'Asr prayer and sunset. Your example and the example of the Jews and Christians is that of person who employed laborers and said to them, "Who will work for me till the middle of the day for one Qirat (a special weight)?' The Jews did. He then said, "Who will work for me from the middle of the day till the 'Asr prayer for one Qirat each?" The Christians worked accordingly. Then you (Muslims) are working from the bar prayer till the Maghrib prayer for two Qirats each. They (the Jews and the Christians) said, 'We did more labor but took less wages.' He (Allah) said, 'Have I wronged you in your rights?' They replied, 'No.' Then He said, 'This is My Blessing which I give to whom I wish."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 209:

Narrated Nafi':

Whenever Ibn 'Umar was asked about marrying a Christian lady or a Jewess, he would say: "Allah has made it unlawful for the believers to marry ladies who ascribe partners in worship to Allah, and I do not know of a greater thing, as regards to ascribing partners in worship, etc. to Allah, than that a lady should say that Jesus is her Lord although he is just one of Allah's slaves."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 216h:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

During the lifetime of Allah's Apostle a Jew attacked a girl and took some silver ornaments she was wearing and crushed her head. Her relative brought her to the Prophet while she was in her last breaths, and she was unable to speak. Allah's Apostle asked her, "Who has hit you? So-and so?", mentioning somebody other than her murderer. She moved her head, indicating denial. The Prophet mentioned another person other than the murderer, and she again moved her head indicating denial. Then he asked, "Was it so-and-so?", mentioning the name of her killer. She nodded, agreeing. Then Allah's Apostle; ordered that the head of that Jew be crushed between two stones.

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 354:

Narrated Jabir bin 'Abdullah:

There was a Jew in Medina who used to lend me money up to the season of plucking dates. (Jabir had a piece of land which was on the way to Ruma). That year the land was not promising, so the payment of the debt was delayed one year. The Jew came to me at the time of plucking, but gathered nothing from my land. I asked him to give me one year respite, but he refused. This news reached the Prophet whereupon he said to his companions, "Let us go and ask the Jew for respite for Jabir." All of them came to me in my garden, and the Prophet started speaking to the Jew, but he Jew said, "O Abu Qasim! I will not grant him respite." When the Prophet saw the Jew's attitude, he stood up and walked all around the garden and came again and talked to the Jew, but the Jew refused his request. I got up and brought some ripe fresh dates and put it in front of the Prophet. He ate and then said to me, "Where is your hut, O Jabir?" I informed him, and he said, "Spread out a bed for me in it." I spread out a bed, and he entered and slept. When he woke up, I brought some dates to him again and he ate of it and then got up and talked to the Jew again, but the Jew again refused his request. Then the Prophet got up for the second time amidst the palm trees loaded with fresh dates, and said, "O Jabir! Pluck dates to repay your debt." The Jew remained with me while I was plucking the dates, till I paid him all his right, yet there remained extra quantity of dates. So I went out and proceeded till I reached the Prophet and informed him of the good news, whereupon he said, "I testify that I am Allah's Apostle." 27

Volume 7, Book 66, Number 378:

Narrated Asma' bint Abu Bakr:

I conceived 'Abdullah bin AzZubair at Mecca and went out (of Mecca) while I was about to give birth. I came to Medina and encamped at Quba', and gave birth at Quba'. Then I brought the child to Allah's Apostle and placed it (on his lap). He asked for a date, chewed it, and put his saliva in the mouth of the child. So the first thing to enter its stomach was the saliva of Allah's Apostle. Then he did its Tahnik with a date, and invoked Allah to bless him. It was the first child born in the Islamic era, therefore they (Muslims) were very happy with its birth, for it had been said to them that the Jews had bewitched them, and so they would not produce any offspring.

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 561:

Narrated Anas:

A Jewish boy used to serve the Prophet and became ill. The Prophet went to pay him a visit and said to him, "Embrace Islam," and he did embrace Islam. Al-Musaiyab said: When Abu Talib was on his deathbed, the Prophet visited him.

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 567:

Narrated Usama bin Zaid:

The Prophet rode a donkey having a saddle with a Fadakiyya velvet covering. He mounted me behind him and went to visit Sad bin 'Ubada, and that had been before the battle of Badr. The Prophet proceeded till he passed by a gathering in which 'Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul was present, and that had been before 'Abdullah embraced Islam. The gathering comprised of Muslims, polytheists, i.e., isolators and Jews. 'Abdullah bin Rawaha was also present in that gathering. When dust raised by the donkey covered the gathering, 'Abdullah bin Ubai covered his nose with his upper garment and said, "Do not trouble us with dust." The Prophet greeted them, stopped and dismounted. Then he invited them to Allah (i.e., to embrace Islam) and recited to them some verses of the Holy Qur'an. On that, 'Abdullah bin Ubai said, "O man ! There is nothing better than what you say if it is true. Do not trouble us with it in our gathering, but return to your house, and if somebody comes to you, teach him there." On that 'Abdullah bin Rawaha said, Yes, O Allah's Apostle! Bring your teachings to our gathering, for we love that." So the Muslims, the pagans and the Jews started abusing each other till they were about to fight. The Prophet kept on quietening them till they became calm. Thereupon the Prophet mounted his animal and proceeded till he entered upon Sad bin Ubada. He said to him "O Sad! Have you not heard what Abu Hubab (i.e., 'Abdullah bin Ubai) said?" Sad said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Excuse and forgive him, for Allah has given you what He has given you. The people of this town (Medina decided unanimously to crown him and make him their chief by placing a turban on his head, but when that was prevented by the Truth which Allah had given you he ('Abdullah bin Ubai) was grieved out of jealously, and that was the reason which caused him to behave in the way you have seen."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 660:

Narrated Aisha:

Magic was worked on Allah's Apostle so that he used to think that he had sexual relations with his wives while he actually had not (Sufyan said: That is the hardest kind of magic as it has such an effect). Then one day he said, "O 'Aisha do you know that Allah has instructed me concerning the matter I asked Him about? Two men came to me and one of them sat near my head and the other sat near my feet. The one near my head asked the other. What is wrong with this man?' The latter replied the is under the effect of magic The first one asked, Who has worked magic on him?' The other replied Labid bin Al-A'sam, a man from Bani Zuraiq who was an ally of the Jews and was a hypocrite.' The first one asked, What material did he use)?' The other replied, 'A comb and the hair stuck to it.' The first one asked, 'Where (is that)?' The other replied. 'In a skin of pollen of a male date palm tree kept under a stone in the well of Dharwan' " So the Prophet went to that well and took out those things and said "That was the well which was shown to me (in a dream) Its water looked like the infusion of Henna leaves and its date-palm trees looked like the heads of devils." The Prophet added, "Then that thing was taken out' I said (to the Prophet) "Why do you not treat yourself with Nashra?" He said, "Allah has cured me; I dislike to let evil spread among my people." 28

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 661:

Narrated 'Aisha:

Magic was worked on Allah's Apostle so that he began to imagine that he had done something although he had not. One day while he was with me, he invoked Allah and invoked for a long period and then said, "O 'Aisha! Do you know that Allah has instructed me regarding the matter I asked Him about?" I asked, "What is that, O Allah's Apostle?" He said, "Two men came to me; one of them sat near my head and the other sat near my feet. One of them asked his companion, 'What is the disease of this man?' The other replied, 'He is under the effect of magic.' The first one asked, 'Who has worked magic on him?" The other replied, 'Labid bin A'sam, a Jew from the tribe of Bani Zuraiq.' The (first one asked), 'With what has it been done?' The other replied, 'With a a comb and the hair stuck to it and a skin of the pollen of a male datepalm tree.' The first one asked, 'Where is it?' The other replied, 'In the well of Dharwan.' Then the Prophet went along with some of his companions to that well and looked at that and there were date palms near to it. Then he returned to me and said, 'By Allah the water of that well was (red) like the infusion of Henna leaves and its date-palms were like the heads of devils" I said, O Allah's Apostle! Did you take those materials out of the pollen skin?" He said, 'No! As for me Allah has healed me and cured me and I was afraid that (by Showing that to the people) I would spread evil among them when he ordered that the well be filled up with earth, and it was filled up with earth "

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 669:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

When Khaibar was conquered, Allah's Apostle was presented with a poisoned (roasted) sheep. Allah's Apostle said, "Collect for me all the Jews present in this area." (When they were gathered) Allah's Apostle said to them, "I am going to ask you about something; will you tell me the truth?" They replied, "Yes, O Abal-Qasim!" Allah's Apostle said to them, "Who is your father?" They said, "Our father is so-and-so." Allah's Apostle said, "You have told a lie. for your father is so-and-so," They said, "No doubt, you have said the truth and done the correct thing." He again said to them, "If I ask you about something; will you tell me the truth?" They replied, "Yes, O Abal-Qasim! And if we should tell a lie you will know it as you have known it regarding our father," Allah's Apostle then asked, "Who are the people of the (Hell) Fire?" They replied, "We will remain in the (Hell) Fire for a while and then you (Muslims) will replace us in it" Allah's Apostle said to them. "You will abide in it with ignominy. By Allah, we shall never replace you in it at all." Then he asked them again, "If I ask you something, will you tell me the truth?" They replied, "Yes." He asked. "Have you put the poison in this roasted sheep?" They replied, "Yes," He asked, "What made you do that?" They replied, "We intended to learn if you were a liar in which case we would be relieved from you, and if you were a prophet then it would not harm you."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 706:

Narrated 'Aisha and 'Abdullah bin 'Abbas:

When the disease of Allah's Apostle got aggravated, he covered his face with a Khamisa, but when he became short of breath, he would remove it from his face and say, "It is like that! May Allah curse the Jews Christians because they took the graves of their prophets as places of worship." By that he warned his follower of imitating them, by doing that which they did.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 786:

Narrated Abu Huraira :

The Prophet said, "Jews and Christians do not dye their hair so you should do the opposite of what they do.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 821:

Narrated Sa'id bin Al-Musaiyab:

Mu'awiya came to Medina for the last time and delivered a sermon. He took out a tuft of hair and said, "I thought that none used to do this (i.e. use false hair) except Jews. The Prophet labelled such practice, (i.e. the use of false hair), as cheating. 29

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 53:

Narrated 'Aisha:

(the wife of the Prophet) A group of Jews entered upon the Prophet and said, "As-Samu-Alaikum." (i.e. death be upon you). I understood it and said, "Wa-Alaikum As-Samu wal-la'n. (death and the curse of Allah be Upon you)." Allah's Apostle said "Be calm, O 'Aisha! Allah loves that on, should be kind and lenient in all matters." I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Haven't you heard what they (the Jews) have said?" Allah's Apostle said "I have (already) said (to them) "And upon you!"

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 57:

Narrated 'Abdullah bin Mulaika:

'Aisha said that the Jews came to the Prophet and said, "As-Samu 'Alaikum" (death be on you). 'Aisha said (to them), "(Death) be on you, and may Allah curse you and shower His wrath upon you!" The Prophet said, "Be calm, O 'Aisha ! You should be kind and lenient, and beware of harshness and Fuhsh (i.e. bad words)." She said (to the Prophet), "Haven't you heard what they (Jews) have said?" He said, "Haven't you heard what I have said (to them)? I said the same to them, and my invocation against them will be accepted while theirs against me will be rejected (by Allah). "

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 73:

Narrated Thabit bin Ad-Dahhak:

(who was one of the companions who gave the pledge of allegiance to the Prophet underneath the tree (Al-Hudaibiya)) Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever swears by a religion other than Islam (i.e. if somebody swears by saying that he is a non-Muslim e.g., a Jew or a Christian, etc.) in case he is telling a lie, he is really so if his oath is false, and a person is not bound to fulfill a vow about a thing which he does not possess. And if somebody commits suicide with anything in this world, he will be tortured with that very thing on the Day of Resurrection; And if somebody curses a believer, then his sin will be as if he murdered him; And whoever accuses a believer of Kufr (disbelief), then it is as if he killed him."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 89:

Narrated 'Aisha:

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The Prophet continued for such-and-such period imagining that he has slept (had sexual relations) with his wives, and in fact he did not. One day he said, to me, "O 'Aisha! Allah has instructed me regarding a matter about which I had asked Him. There came to me two men, one of them sat near my feet and the other near my head. The one near my feet, asked the one near my head (pointing at me), 'What is wrong with this man? The latter replied, 'He is under the effect of magic.' The first one asked, 'Who had worked magic on him?' The other replied, 'Lubaid bin Asam.' The first one asked, 'What material (did he use)?' The other replied, 'The skin of the pollen of a male date tree with a comb and the hair stuck to it, kept under a stone in the well of Dharwan.'" Then the Prophet went to that well and said, "This is the same well which was shown to me in the dream. The tops of its date-palm trees look like the heads of the devils, and its water looks like the Henna infusion." Then the Prophet ordered that those things be taken out. I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Won't you disclose (the magic object)?" The Prophet said, "Allah has cured me and I hate to circulate the evil among the people." 'Aisha added, "(The magician) Lubaid bin Asam was a man from Bani Zuraiq, an ally of the Jews."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 164:

Narrated Rafi bin Khadij and Sahl bin Abu Hathma:

'Abdullah bin Sahl and Muhaiyisa bin Mas'ud went to Khaibar and they dispersed in the gardens of the date-palm trees. 'Abdullah bin Sahl was murdered. Then 'Abdur-Rahman bin Sahl, Huwaiyisa and Muhaiyisa, the two sons of Mas'ud, came to the Prophet and spoke about the case of their (murdered) friend. 'Abdur-Rahman who was the youngest of them all, started talking. The Prophet said, "Let the older (among you) speak first." So they spoke about the case of their (murdered) friend. The Prophet said, "Will fifty of you take an oath whereby you will have the right to receive the blood money of your murdered man," (or said, "..your companion"). They said, "O Allah's Apostle! The murder was a thing we did not witness." The Prophet said, "Then the Jews will release you from the oath, if fifty of them (the Jews) should take an oath to contradict your claim." They said, "O Allah's Apostle! They are disbelievers (and they will take a false oath)." Then Allah's Apostle himself paid the blood money to them.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 169:

Narrated Salama bin Al-Aqwa:

We went out with Allah's Apostle to Khaibar and we travelled during the night. A man amongst the people said to 'Amir bin Al-Aqwa', "Won't you let us hear your poetry?" 'Amir was a poet, and so he got down and started (chanting Huda) reciting for the people, poetry that keep pace with the camel's foot steps, saying, "O Allah! Without You we would not have been guided on the right path, neither would we have given in charity, nor would we have prayed. So please forgive us what we have committed. Let all of us be sacrificed for Your cause and when we meet our enemy, make our feet firm and bestow peace and calmness on us and if they (our enemy) will call us towards an unjust thing we will refuse.

The infidels have made a hue and cry to ask others help against us. Allah's Apostle said, "Who is that driver (of the camels)?" They said, "He is 'Amir bin Al-Aqwa."' He said, "May Allah bestow His mercy on him." A man among the people said, Has Martyrdom been granted to him, O Allah's Prophet! Would that you let us enjoy his company longer." We reached (the people of) Khaibar and besieged them till we were stricken with severe hunger but Allah helped the Muslims conquer Khaibar. In the evening of its conquest the people made many fires. Allah's Apostle asked, "What are those fires? For what are you making fires?" They said, "For cooking meat." He asked, "What kind of meat?" They said, "Donkeys' meat." Allah's Apostle said, "Throw away the meat and break the cooking pots." A man said, O Allah's Apostle! Shall we throw away the meat and wash the cooking pots?" He said, "You can do that too." When the army files aligned in rows (for the battle), 'Amir's sword was a short one, and while attacking a Jew with it in order to hit him, the sharp edge of the sword turned back and hit 'Amir's knee and caused him to die.

When the Muslims returned (from the battle), Salama said, Allah's Apostle saw me pale and said, 'What is wrong with you?"' I said, "Let my parents be sacrificed for you! The people claim that all the deeds of Amir have been annulled." The Prophet asked, "Who said so?" I replied, "So-and-so and so-and-so and Usaid bin Al-Hudair Al-Ansari said, 'Whoever says so is telling a lie. Verily, 'Amir will have double reward."' (While speaking) the Prophet put two of his fingers together to indicate that, and added, "He was really a hard-working man and a Mujahid (devout fighter in Allah's Cause) and rarely have there lived in it (i.e., Medina or the battle-field) an "Arab like him."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 226:

Narrated Usama bin Zaid:

That Allah's Apostle rode over a donkey covered with a Fadakiya (velvet sheet) and Usama was riding behind him. He was visiting Sa'd bin 'Ubada (who was sick) in the dwelling place of Bani Al-Harith bin Al-Khazraj and this incident happened before the battle of Badr. They proceeded till they passed by a gathering in which 'Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul was present., and that was before 'Abdullah bin Ubat embraced Islam. In that gathering there were Muslims, pagan idolators and Jews, and among the Muslims there was 'Abdullah bin Rawaha.

When a cloud of dust raised by (the movement of) the animal covered that gathering, 'Abdullah bin Ubai covered his nose with his garment and said, "Do not cover us with dust." Allah's Apostle greeted them, stopped, dismounted and invited them to Allah (i.e. to embrace Islam) and recited to them the Holy Qur'an. On that 'Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul said to him, "O man! There is nothing better than what you say, if it is the truth. So do not trouble us with it in our gatherings, but if somebody comes to you, you can preach to him." On that 'Abdullah bin Rawaha said "Yes, O Allah's Apostle! Call on us in our gathering, for we love that." So the Muslims, the pagans and the Jews started abusing one another till they were about to fight with one another. Allah's Apostle kept on quietening them till all of them became quiet, and then Allah's Apostle rode his animal and proceeded till he entered upon Sa'd bin 'Ubada. Allah's Apostle said, "O Sa'd! Didn't you hear what Abu Habab said?" (meaning 'Abdullah bin Unbar). "He said so-and-so." Sa'd bin Ubada said, "O Allah's Apostle! Let my father be sacrificed for you ! Excuse and forgive him for, by Him Who revealed to you the Book, Allah sent the Truth which was revealed to you at the time when the people of this town had decided to crown him ('Abdullah bin Ubai) as their ruler.

So when Allah had prevented that with the Truth He had given you, he was choked by that, and that caused him to behave in such an impolite manner which you had noticed." So Allah's Apostle excused him. (It was the custom of) Allah's Apostle and his companions to excuse the pagans and the people of the scripture (Christians and Jews) as Allah ordered them, and they used to be patient when annoyed (by them). Allah said: 'You shall certainly hear much that will grieve you from those who received the Scripture before you.....and from the pagans (3.186)

He also said: 'Many of the people of the scripture wish that if they could turn you away as disbelievers after you have believed. .... (2.109) So Allah's Apostle used to apply what Allah had ordered him by excusing them till he was allowed to fight against them. When Allah's Apostle had fought the battle of Badr and Allah killed whomever He killed among the chiefs of the infidels and the nobles of Quraish, and Allah's Apostle and his companions had returned with victory and booty, bringing with them some of the chiefs of the infidels and the nobles of the Quraish as captives. 'Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul and the pagan idolators who were with him, said, "This matter (Islam) has now brought out its face (triumphed), so give Allah's Apostle the pledge of allegiance (for embracing Islam.)". Then they became Muslims.

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 271:

Narrated 'Urwa-bin Az-Zubair:

Usama bin Zaid said, "The Prophet rode over a donkey with a saddle underneath which there was a thick soft Fadakiya velvet sheet. Usama bin Zaid was his companion rider, and he was going to pay a visit to Sa'd bin Ubada (who was sick) at the dwelling place of Bani Al-Harith bin Al-Khazraj, and this incident happened before the battle of Badr. The Prophet passed by a gathering in which there were Muslims and pagan idolators and Jews, and among them there was 'Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul, and there was 'Abdullah bin Rawaha too. When a cloud of dust raised by the animal covered that gathering, 'Abdullah bin Ubai covered his nose with his Rida (sheet) and said (to the Prophet), "Don't cover us with dust." The Prophet greeted them and then stopped, dismounted and invited them to Allah (i.e., to embrace Islam) and also recited to them the Holy Quran. 'Abdullah bin Ubai' bin Salul said, "O man! There is nothing better than what you say, if what you say is the truth. So do not trouble us in our gatherings. Go back to your mount (or house,) and if anyone of us comes to you, tell (your tales) to him." On that 'Abdullah bin Rawaha said, "(O Allah's Apostle!) Come to us and bring it(what you want to say) in our gatherings, for we love that." So the Muslims, the pagans and the Jews started quarreling till they were about to fight and clash with one another. The Prophet kept on quietening them (till they all became quiet). He then rode his animal, and proceeded till he entered upon Sa'd bin 'Ubada, he said, "O Sa'd, didn't you hear what Abu Habbab said? (He meant 'Abdullah bin Ubai). He said so-and-so." Sa'd bin 'Ubada said, "O Allah's Apostle! Excuse and forgive him, for by Allah, Allah has given you what He has given you. The people of this town decided to crown him (as their chief) and make him their king. But when Allah prevented that with the Truth which He had given you, it choked him, and that was what made him behave in the way you saw him behaving." So the Prophet excused him.

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 273:

Narrated 'Aisha:

A group of Jews came to Allah's Apostle and said, "As-samu 'Alaika " (Death be on you), and I understood it and said to them, "Alaikum AsSamu wa-l-la'na (Death and curse be on you)." Allah's Apostle said, "Be calm! O 'Aisha, for Allah loves that one should be kind and lenient in all matters." I said. "O Allah's Apostle! Haven't you heard what they have said?" Allah's Apostle said, "I have (already) said (to them), 'Alaikum (upon you).' "

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 274:

Narrated 'Abdullah bin 'Umar:

Allah's Apostle said, "When the Jews greet you, they usually say, 'As-Samu 'alaikum (Death be on you),' so you should say (in reply to them), 'Wa'alaikum (And on you)."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 377:

Narrated 'Aisha:

Two old ladies from among the Jewish ladies entered upon me and said' "The dead are punished in their graves," but I thought they were telling a lie and did not believe them in the beginning. When they went away and the Prophet entered upon me, I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Two old ladies.." and told him the whole story. He said, "They told the truth; the dead are really punished, to the extent that all the animals hear (the sound resulting from) their punishment." Since then I always saw him seeking refuge with Allah from the punishment of the grave in his prayers.

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 404:

Narrated 'Aisha:

The Jews used to greet the Prophet by saying, "As-Samu 'Alaika (i.e., death be upon you), so I understood what they said, and I said to them, "As-Samu 'alaikum wal-la'na (i.e. Death and Allah's Curse be upon you)." The Prophet said, "Be gentle and calm, O 'Aisha, as Allah likes gentleness in all affairs." I said, "O Allah's Prophet! Didn't you hear what they said?" He said, "Didn't you hear me answering them back by saying, 'Alaikum (i.e., the same be upon you)?"

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 410:

Narrated Ibn Abi Mulaika:

'Aisha said, "The Jews came to the Prophet and said to him, "As-Samu 'Alaika (i.e., Death be upon you)." He replied, 'The same on you.' " 'Aisha said to them, "Death be upon you, and may Allah curse you and shower His wrath upon you!" Allah's Apostle I said, "Be gentle and calm, O 'Aisha! Be gentle and beware of being harsh and of saying evil things." She said, "Didn't you hear what they said?" He said, "Didn't you hear what I replied (to them)? have returned their statement to them, and my invocation against them will be accepted but theirs against me will not be accepted."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 524:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Two men, a Muslim and a Jew, abused each other. The Muslim said, "By Him Who gave superiority to Muhammad over all the people." On that, the Jew said, "By Him Who gave superiority to Moses over all the people." The Muslim became furious at that and slapped the Jew in the face. The Jew went to Allah's Apostle and informed him of what had happened between him and the Muslim. Allah's Apostle said, "Don't give me superiority over Moses, for the people will fall unconscious on the Day of Resurrection and I will be the first to gain consciousness, and behold ! Moses will be there holding the side of Allah's Throne. I will not know whether Moses has been among those people who have become unconscious and then has regained consciousness before me, or has been among those exempted by Allah from falling unconscious."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 527:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

The Prophet said, "The (planet of) earth will be a bread on the Day of Resurrection, and The resistible (Allah) will topple turn it with His Hand like anyone of you topple turns a bread with his hands while (preparing the bread) for a journey, and that bread will be the entertainment for the people of Paradise." A man from the Jews came (to the Prophet) and said, "May The Beneficent (Allah) bless you, O Abul Qasim! Shall I tell you of the entertainment of the people of Paradise on the Day of Resurrection?" The Prophet said, "Yes." The Jew said, "The earth will be a bread," as the Prophet had said. Thereupon the Prophet looked at us and smiled till his premolar tooth became visible. Then the Jew further said, "Shall I tell you of the udm (additional food taken with bread) they will have with the bread?" He added, "That will be Balam and Nun." The people asked, "What is that?" He said, "It is an ox and a fish, and seventy thousand people will eat of the caudate lobe (i.e. extra lobe) of their livers."

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 597:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle was asked about the offspring of the pagans. He said, "Allah knows what they would have done (were they to live)."

Narrated Abu Huraira: Allah's Apostle said, "No child is born but has the Islamic Faith, but its parents turn it into a Jew or a Christian. It is as you help the animals give birth. Do you find among their offspring a mutilated one before you mutilate them yourself?" The people said, "O Allah's Apostle! What do you think about those (of them) who die young?" The Prophet said, "Allah knows what they would have done (were they to live)."

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 809:

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Narrated Ibn 'Umar:

A Jew and a Jewess were brought to Allah's Apostle on a charge of committing an illegal sexual intercourse. The Prophet asked them. "What is the legal punishment (for this sin) in your Book (Torah)?" They replied, "Our priests have innovated the punishment of blackening the faces with charcoal and Tajbiya." 'Abdullah bin Salam said, "O Allah's Apostle, tell them to bring the Torah." The Torah was brought, and then one of the Jews put his hand over the Divine Verse of the Rajam (stoning to death) and started reading what preceded and what followed it. On that, Ibn Salam said to the Jew, "Lift up your hand." Behold! The Divine Verse of the Rajam was under his hand. So Allah's Apostle ordered that the two (sinners) be stoned to death, and so they were stoned. Ibn 'Umar added: So both of them were stoned at the Balat and I saw the Jew sheltering the Jewess.

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 825:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

The jews came to Allah's Apostle and mentioned to him that a man and a lady among them had committed illegal sexual intercourse. Allah's Apostle said to them, "What do you find in the Torah regarding the Rajam?" They replied, "We only disgrace and flog them with stripes." 'Abdullah bin Salam said to them, 'You have told a lie the penalty of Rajam is in the Torah.' They brought the Torah and opened it. One of them put his hand over the verse of the Rajam and read what was before and after it. Abdullah bin Salam said to him, "Lift up your hand." Where he lifted it there appeared the verse of the Rajam. So they said, "O Muhammad! He has said the truth, the verse of the Rajam is in it (Torah)." Then Allah's Apostle ordered that the two persons (guilty of illegal sexual intercourse) be stoned to death, and so they were stoned, and I saw the man bending over the woman so as to protect her from the stones.

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 15:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

A Jew crushed the head of a girl between two stones, and the girl was asked, "Who has done that to you, so-and-so or so and so?" (Some names were mentioned for her) till the name of that Jew was mentioned (whereupon she agreed). The Jew was brought to the Prophet and the Prophet kept on questioning him till he confessed, whereupon his head was crushed with stones.

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 18:

Narrated Anas:

A Jew killed a girl so that he may steal her ornaments. He struck her with a stone, and she was brought to the Prophet while she was still alive. The Prophet asked her, "Did such-and-such person strike you?" She gestured with her head, expressing denial. He asked her for the second time, and she again gestured with her head, expressing denial. When he asked her for the third time, she beckoned, "Yes." So the Prophet killed him (the Jew) with two stones.

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 23:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

A Jew crushed the head of a girl between two stones. It was said to her. "Who has done this to you, such-and-such person, such-and-such person?" When the name of the Jew was mentioned, she nodded with her head, agreeing. So the Jew was brought and he confessed. The Prophet ordered that his head be crushed with the stones. (Hammam said, "with two stones.")

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 24:

Narrated Anas bin Malik: The Prophet killed a Jew for killing a girl in order to take her orna 34

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 36:

Narrated Sahl bin Abi Hathma:

(a man from the Ansar) that a number of people from his tribe went to Khaibar and dispersed, and then they found one of them murdered. They said to the people with whom the corpse had been found, "You have killed our companion!" Those people said, "Neither have we killed him, nor do we know his killer." The bereaved group went to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! We went to Khaibar and found one of us murdered." The Prophet said, "Let the older among you come forward and speak." Then the Prophet said, to them, "Bring your proof against the killer." They said "We have no proof." The Prophet said, "Then they (the defendants) will take an oath." They said, "We do not accept the oaths of the Jews." Allah's Apostle did not like that the Blood-money of the killed one be lost without compensation, so he paid one-hundred camels out of the camels of Zakat (to the relatives of the deceased) as Diya (Blood-money).

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 37:

Narrated Abu Qilaba:

Once 'Umar bin 'Abdul 'Aziz sat on his throne in the courtyard of his house so that the people might gather before him. Then he admitted them and (when they came in), he said, "What do you think of Al-Qasama?" They said, "We say that it is lawful to depend on Al-Qasama in Qisas, as the previous Muslim Caliphs carried out Qisas depending on it." Then he said to me, "O Abu Qilaba! What do you say about it?" He let me appear before the people and I said, "O Chief of the Believers! You have the chiefs of the army staff and the nobles of the Arabs. If fifty of them testified that a married man had committed illegal sexual intercourse in Damascus but they had not seen him (doing so), would you stone him?" He said, "No." I said, "If fifty of them testified that a man had committed theft in Hums, would you cut off his hand though they did not see him?" He replied, "No." I said, "By Allah, Allah's Apostle never killed anyone except in one of the following three situations: (1) A person who killed somebody unjustly, was killed (in Qisas,) (2) a married person who committed illegal sexual intercourse and (3) a man who fought against Allah and His Apostle and deserted Islam and became an apostate." Then the people said, "Didn't Anas bin Malik narrate that Allah's Apostle cut off the hands of the thieves, branded their eyes and then, threw them in the sun?" I said, "I shall tell you the narration of Anas. Anas said: "Eight persons from the tribe of 'Ukl came to Allah's Apostle and gave the Pledge of allegiance for Islam (became Muslim). The climate of the place (Medina) did not suit them, so they became sick and complained about that to Allah's Apostle. He said (to them), "Won't you go out with the shepherd of our camels and drink of the camels' milk and urine (as medicine)?" They said, "Yes." So they went out and drank the camels' milk and urine, and after they became healthy, they killed the shepherd of Allah's Apostle and took away all the camels. This news reached Allah's Apostle , so he sent (men) to follow their traces and they were captured and brought (to the Prophet). He then ordered to cut their hands and feet, and their eyes were branded with heated pieces of iron, and then he threw them in the sun till they died." I said, "What can be worse than what those people did? They deserted Islam, committed murder and theft."

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

Then, at a place called Al-Batha' (near Mecca), the man attacked a Yemenite family at night to steal from them, but a. man from the family noticed him and struck him with his sword and killed him. The tribe of Hudhail came and captured the Yemenite and brought him to 'Umar during the Hajj season and said, "He has killed our companion." The Yemenite said, "But these people had repudiated him (i.e., their companion)." 'Umar said, "Let fifty persons of Hudhail swear that they had not repudiated him." So forty-nine of them took the oath and then a person belonging to them, came from Sham and they requested him to swear similarly, but he paid one-thousand Dirhams instead of 35

taking the oath. They called another man instead of him and the new man shook hands with the brother of the deceased. Some people said, "We and those fifty men who had taken false oaths (Al-Qasama) set out, and when they reached a place called Nakhlah, it started raining so they entered a cave in the mountain, and the cave collapsed on those fifty men who took the false oath, and all of them died except the two persons who had shaken hands with each other. They escaped death but a stone fell on the leg of the brother of the deceased and broke it, whereupon he survived for one year and then died." I further said, "'Abdul Malik bin Marwan sentenced a man to death in Qisas (equality in punishment) for murder, basing his judgment on Al-Qasama, but later on he regretted that judgment and ordered that the names of the fifty persons who had taken the oath (Al-Qasama), be erased from the register, and he exiled them in Sham."

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 52:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

A Jew whose face had been slapped (by someone), came to the Prophet and said, "O Muhammad! A man from your Ansari companions slapped me. " The Prophet said, "Call him". They called him and the Prophet asked him, "Why did you slap his face?" He said, "O Allah's Apostle! While I was passing by the Jews, I heard him saying, 'By Him Who chose Moses above all the human beings.' I said (protestingly), 'Even above Muhammad?' So I became furious and slapped him." The Prophet said, "Do not give me preference to other prophets, for the people will become unconscious on the Day of Resurrection and I will be the first to gain conscious, and behold, I will Find Moses holding one of the pillars of the Throne (of Allah). Then I will not know whether he has become conscious before me or he has been exempted because of his unconsciousness at the mountain (during his worldly life) which he received."

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Translation of Sahih Bukhari, Book 84:

Dealing with Apostates

Volume 9, Book 84, Number 58:

Narrated Abu Burda:

Abu Musa said, "I came to the Prophet along with two men (from the tribe) of Ash'ariyin, one on my right and the other on my left, while Allah's Apostle was brushing his teeth (with a Siwak), and both men asked him for some employment. The Prophet said, 'O Abu Musa (O 'Abdullah bin Qais!).' I said, 'By Him Who sent you with the Truth, these two men did not tell me what was in their hearts and I did not feel (realize) that they were seeking employment.' As if I were looking now at his Siwak being drawn to a corner under his lips, and he said, 'We never (or, we do not) appoint for our affairs anyone who seeks to be employed. But O Abu Musa! (or 'Abdullah bin Qais!) Go to Yemen.'" The Prophet then sent Mu'adh bin Jabal after him and when Mu'adh reached him, he spread out a cushion for him and requested him to get down (and sit on the cushion). Behold: There was a fettered man beside Abu Muisa. Mu'adh asked, "Who is this (man)?" Abu Muisa said, "He was a Jew and became a Muslim and then reverted back to Judaism." Then Abu Muisa requested Mu'adh to sit down but Mu'adh said, "I will not sit down till he has been killed. This is the judgment of Allah and His Apostle (for such cases) and repeated it thrice. Then Abu Musa ordered that the man be killed, and he was killed. Abu Musa added, "Then we discussed the night prayers and one of us said, 'I pray and sleep, and I hope that Allah will reward me for my sleep as well as for my prayers.'"

Volume 9, Book 84, Number 60:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

A Jew passed by Allah's Apostle and said, "As-Samu 'Alaika." Allah's Apostle said in reply, "We 'Alaika." Allah's Apostle then said to his companions, "Do you know what he (the Jew) has said? He said, 'As-Samu 'Alaika.'" They said, "O Allah's Apostle! Shall we kill him?" The Prophet, said, "No. When the people of the Book greet you, say: 'Wa 'Alaikum.'" 36

Volume 9, Book 84, Number 61:

Narrated 'Aisha:

A group of Jews asked permission to visit the Prophet (and when they were admitted) they said, "As-Samu 'Alaika (Death be upon you)." I said (to them), "But death and the curse of Allah be upon you!" The Prophet said, "O 'Aisha! Allah is kind and lenient and likes that one should be kind and lenient in all matters." I said, "Haven't you heard what they said?" He said, "I said (to them), 'Wa 'Alaikum (and upon you).

Volume 9, Book 84, Number 62:

Narrated Ibn 'Umar:

Allah's Apostle said, "When the Jews greet anyone of you they say: 'Sam'Alaika (death be upon you); so you should say; 'Wa 'Alaika (and upon you).'"

Volume 9, Book 85, Number 77:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

While we were in the mosque, Allah's Apostle came out to us and said, "Let us proceed to the Jews." So we went along with him till we reached Bait-al-Midras (a place where the Torah used to be recited and all the Jews of the town used to gather). The Prophet stood up and addressed them, "O Assembly of Jews! Embrace Islam and you will be safe!" The Jews replied, "O Aba-l-Qasim! You have conveyed Allah's message to us." The Prophet said, "That is what I want (from you)." He repeated his first statement for the second time, and they said, "You have conveyed Allah's message, O Aba-l-Qasim." Then he said it for the third time and added, "You should Know that the earth belongs to Allah and His Apostle, and I want to exile you fro,,, this land, so whoever among you owns some property, can sell it, otherwise you should know that the Earth belongs to Allah and His Apostle." (See Hadith No. 392, Vol. 4)

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 302:

Narrated Abu Laila bin 'Abdullah bin Abdur-Rahman bin Sahl:

Sahl bin Abi Hathma and some great men of his tribe said, 'Abdullah bin 'Sahl and Muhaiyisa went out to Khaibar as they were struck with poverty and difficult living conditions. Then Muhaiyisa was informed that Abdullah had been killed and thrown in a pit or a spring. Muhaiyisa went to the Jews and said, "By Allah, you have killed my companion." The Jews said, "By Allah, we have not killed him." Muhaiyisa then came back to his people and told them the story. He, his elder brother Huwaiyisa and 'Abdur-Rahman bin Sahl came (to the

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Prophet) and he who had been at Khaibar, proceeded to speak, but the Prophet said to Muhaiyisa, "The eldest! The eldest!" meaning, "Let the eldest of you speak." So Huwaiyisa spoke first and then Muhaiyisa. Allah's Apostle said, "The Jews should either pay the blood money of your (deceased) companion or be ready for war." After that Allah's Apostle wrote a letter to the Jews in that respect, and they wrote that they had not killed him. Then Allah's Apostle said to Huwaiyisa, Muhaiyisa and 'Abdur-Rahman, "Can you take an oath by which you will be entitled to take the blood money?" They said, "No." He said (to them), "Shall we ask the Jews to take an oath before you?" They replied, "But the Jews are not Muslims." So Allah's Apostle gave them one-hundred she-camels as blood money from himself. Sahl added: When those she-camels were made to enter the house, one of them kicked me with its leg.

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 373:

Narrated Tariq bin Shihab:

A Jew said to 'Umar, "O Chief of the Believers, if this verse: 'This day I have perfected your religion for you, completed My favors upon you, and have chosen for you, Islam as your religion.' (5.3) had been revealed upon us, we would have taken that day as an 'Id (festival) day." 'Umar said, "I know definitely on what day this Verse was revealed; it was revealed on the day of 'Arafat, on a Friday."

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Volume 9, Book 92, Number 400:

Narrated Ibn Masud:

I was with the Prophet at one of the farms of Medina while he was leaning on a date palm leaf-stalk. He passed by a group of Jews and some of them said to the other, Ask him (the Prophet) about the spirit. Some others said, "Do not ask him, lest he should tell you what you dislike" But they went up to him and said, "O Abal Qasim! Inform us bout the spirit." The Prophet stood up for a while, waiting. I realized that he was being Divinely Inspired, so I kept away from him till the inspiration was over. Then the Prophet said, "(O Muhammad) they ask you regarding the spirit, Say: The spirit its knowledge is with my Lord (i.e., nobody has its knowledge except Allah)" (17.85) (This is a miracle of the Qur'an that all the scientists up till now do not know about the spirit, i.e, how life comes to a body and how it goes away at its death) (See Hadith No. 245, Vol. 6)

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 422:

Narrated Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri:

The Prophet said, "You will follow the ways of those nations who were before you, span by span and cubit by cubit (i.e., inch by inch) so much so that even if they entered a hole of a mastigure, you would follow them." We said, "O Allah's Apostle! (Do you mean) the Jews and the Christians?" He said, "Whom else?"

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 432:

Narrated Ibn 'Umar:

The Jews brought a man and a woman who had committed illegal sexual intercourse, to the Prophet and the Prophet ordered them to be stoned to death, and they were stoned to death near the mosque where the biers used to be placed.

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 447:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

While we were in the mosque, Allah's Apostle came out and said, "Let us proceed to the Jews." So we went out with him till we came to Bait-al-Midras. The Prophet stood up there and called them, saying, "O assembly of Jews! Surrender to Allah (embrace Islam) and you will be safe!" They said, "You have conveyed Allah's message, O Aba-al-Qasim" Allah's Apostle then said to them, "That is what I want; embrace Islam and you will be safe." They said, "You have conveyed the message, O Aba-al-Qasim." Allah's Apostle then said to them, "That is what I want," and repeated his words for the third time and added, "Know that the earth is for Allah and I want to exile you from this land, so whoever among you has property he should sell it, otherwise, know that the land is for Allah and His Apostle."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 461:

Narrated Ubaidullah:

Ibn 'Abbas said, "Why do you ask the people of the scripture about anything while your Book (Quran) which has been revealed to Allah's Apostle is newer and the latest? You read it pure, undistorted and unchanged, and Allah has told you that the people of the scripture (Jews and Christians) changed their scripture and distorted it, and wrote the scripture with their own hands and said, 'It is from Allah,' to sell it for a little gain. Does not the knowledge which has come to you prevent you from asking them about anything? No, by Allah, we have never seen any man from them asking you regarding what has been revealed to you!"

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 510:

Narrated 'Abdullah:

A Jew came to the Prophet and said, "O Muhammad! Allah will hold the heavens on a Finger, and the mountains on a Finger, and the trees on a Finger, and all the creation on a Finger, and then He will say, 'I am the King.' " On that Allah's Apostle smiled till his premolar teeth became visible, and then recited:--

'No just estimate have they made of Allah such as due to him....(39.67) 'Abdullah added: Allah's Apostle smiled (at the Jew's statement) expressing his wonder and believe in what was said.

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 532s:

Narrated Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri:

We said, "O Allah's Apostle! Shall we see our Lord on the Day of Resurrection?" He said, "Do you have any difficulty in seeing the sun and the moon when the sky is clear?" We said, "No." He said, "So you will have no difficulty in seeing your Lord on that Day as you have no difficulty in seeing the sun and the moon (in a clear sky)." The Prophet then said, "Somebody will then announce, 'Let every nation follow what they used to worship.' So the companions of the cross will go with their cross, and the idolators (will go) with their idols, and the companions of every god (false deities) (will go) with their god, till there remain those who used to worship Allah, both the obedient ones and the mischievous ones, and some of the people of the Scripture. Then Hell will be presented to them as if it were a mirage. Then it will be said to the Jews, "What did you use to worship?' They will reply, 'We used to worship Ezra, the son of Allah.' It will be said to them, 'You are liars, for Allah has neither a wife nor a son. What do you want (now)?' They will reply, 'We want You to provide us with water.' Then it will be said to them 'Drink,' and they will fall down in Hell (instead). Then it will be said to the Christians, 'What did you use to worship?'

They will reply, 'We used to worship Messiah, the son of Allah.' It will be said, 'You are liars, for Allah has neither a wife nor a son. What: do you want (now)?' They will say, 'We want You to provide us with water.' It will be said to them, 'Drink,' and they will fall down in Hell (instead). When there remain only those who used to worship Allah (Alone), both the obedient ones and the mischievous ones, it will be said to them, 'What keeps you here when all the people have gone?' They will say, 'We parted with them (in the world) when we were in greater need of them than we are today, we heard the call of one proclaiming, 'Let every nation follow what they used to worship,' and now we are waiting for our Lord.' Then the Almighty will come to them in a shape other than the one which they saw the first time, and He will say, 'I am your Lord,' and they will say, 'You are not our Lord.' And none will speak: to Him then but the Prophets, and then it will be said to them, 'Do you know any sign by which you can recognize Him?' They will say. 'The Shin,' and so Allah will then uncover His Shin whereupon every believer will prostrate before Him and there will remain those who used to prostrate before Him just for showing off and for gaining good reputation. These people will try to prostrate but their backs will be rigid like one piece of a wood (and they will not be able to prostrate). Then the bridge will be laid across Hell." We, the companions of the Prophet said, "O Allah's Apostle! What is the bridge?'

He said, "It is a slippery (bridge) on which there are clamps and (Hooks like) a thorny seed that is wide at one side and narrow at the other and has thorns with bent ends. Such a thorny seed is found in Najd and is called As-Sa'dan. Some of the believers will cross the bridge as quickly as the wink of an eye, some others as quick as lightning, a strong wind, fast horses or she-camels. So some will be safe without any harm; some will be safe after receiving some scratches, and some will fall down into Hell (Fire). The last person will cross by being dragged (over the bridge)." The Prophet said, "You (Muslims) cannot be more pressing in claiming from me a right that has been clearly proved to be yours than the believers in interceding with Almighty for their (Muslim) brothers on that Day, when they see themselves safe.

They will say, 'O Allah! (Save) our brothers (for they) used to pray with us, fast with us and also do good deeds with us.' Allah will say, 'Go and take out (of Hell) anyone in whose heart you find faith equal to the weight of one (gold) Dinar.' Allah will forbid the Fire to burn the faces of those sinners. They will go to them and find some of them in Hell (Fire) up to their feet, and some up to the middle of their legs. So they will take out those whom they will recognize and then they will return, and Allah will say (to them), 'Go and take out (of Hell) anyone in whose heart you find faith equal to the weight of one half Dinar.' They will take out whomever they will recognize and return, and then Allah will say, 'Go and take out (of Hell) anyone in whose heart you find faith equal to the weight of an atom (or a smallest ant), and so they will take out all those whom they will recognize." Abu Sa'id said: If you do not believe me then read the Holy Verse:--

'Surely! Allah wrongs not even of the weight of an atom (or a smallest ant) but if there is any good (done) He doubles it.' (4.40) The Prophet added, "Then the prophets and Angels and the believers will intercede, and (last of all) the Almighty (Allah) will say, 'Now remains My Intercession. He will then hold a handful of the Fire from which He will take out some people whose bodies have been burnt, and they will be thrown into a river at the entrance of Paradise, called the water of life.

They will grow on its banks, as a seed carried by the torrent grows. You have noticed how it grows beside a rock or beside a tree, and how the side facing the sun is usually green while the side facing the shade is white. Those people will come out (of the River of Life) like pearls, and they will have (golden) necklaces, and then they will enter Paradise whereupon the people of Paradise will say, 'These are the people emancipated by the Beneficent. He has admitted them into Paradise without them having done any good deeds and without sending forth any good (for themselves).' Then it will be said to them, 'For you is what you have seen and its equivalent as well.'"

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 543:

Narrated 'Abdullah:

A Jewish Rabbi came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Muhammad! Allah will put the Heavens on one finger and the earth on one finger, and the trees and the rivers on one finger, and the rest of the creation on one finger, and then will say, pointing out with His Hand, 'I am the King.' "On that Allah's Apostle smiled and said, "No just estimate have they made of Allah such as due to Him. (39.67)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 548:

Narrated 'Abdullah:

While I was walking with Allah's Apostle in one of the fields of Medina and he was walking leaning on a stick, he passed a group of Jews. Some of them said to the others, "Ask him (the Prophet) about the spirit." Others said, "Do not ask him." But they asked him and he stood leaning on the stick and I was standing behind him and I thought that he was being divinely inspired. Then he said, "They ask you concerning the spirit say: The spirit, its knowledge is with My Lord. And of knowledge you (O men!) have been given only a little." ...(17.85) On that some of the Jews said to the others, "Didn't we tell you not to ask?"

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 554:

Narrated Ibn Mas'ud:

While I was walking in company with the Prophet in one of the fields of Medina, the Prophet was reclining on a palm leave stalk which he carried with him. We passed by a group of Jews. Some of them said to the others, "Ask him about the spirit." The others said, "Do not ask him, lest he would say something that you hate." Some of them said, "We will ask him." So a man from among them stood up and said, 'O Abal-Qasim! What is the spirit?" The Prophet kept quiet and I knew that he was being divinely inspired. Then he said: "They ask you concerning the Spirit, Say: The Spirit; its knowledge is with my Lord. And of knowledge you (mankind) have been given only a little." (17.85)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 564:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

"A man from the Muslims and a man from the Jews quarrelled, and the Muslim said, "By Him Who gave superiority to Muhammad over all the people!" The Jew said, "By Him Who gave superiority to Moses over all the people!' On that the Muslim lifted his hand and slapped the Jew. The Jew went to Allah's Apostle and informed him of all that had happened between him and the Muslim. The Prophet said, "Do not give me superiority over Moses, for the people will fall unconscious on the Day of Resurrection, I will be the first to regain consciousness and behold, Moses will be standing there, holding the side of the Throne. I will not know whether he has been one of those who have fallen unconscious and then regained consciousness before me, or if he has been one of those exempted by Allah (from falling unconscious)." (See Hadith No. 524, Vol. 8)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 604:

Narrated 'Abdullah:

A priest from the Jews came (to the Prophet) and said, "On the Day of Resurrection, Allah will place all the heavens on one finger, and the Earth on one finger, and the waters and the land on one finger, and all the creation on one finger, and then He will shake them and say. 'I am the King! I am the King!"' I saw the Prophet smiling till his premolar teeth became visible expressing his amazement and his belief in what he had said. Then the Prophet recited: 'No just estimate have they made of Allah such as due to Him (up to)...; High is He above the partners they attribute to Him.' (39.67) 40

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 633:

Narrated Ibn 'Umar:

A Jew and Jewess were brought to the Prophet on a charge of committing an illegal sexual intercourse. The Prophet asked the Jews, "What do you (usually) do with them?" They said, "We blacken their faces and disgrace them." He said, "Bring here the Torah and recite it, if you are truthful." They (fetched it and) came and asked a one-eyed man to recite. He went on reciting till he reached a portion on which he put his hand. The Prophet said, "Lift up your hand!" He lifted his hand up and behold, there appeared the verse of Ar-Rajm (stoning of the adulterers to death). Then he said, "O Muhammad! They should be stoned to death but we conceal this Divine Law among ourselves." Then the Prophet ordered that the two sinners be stoned to death and, and they were stoned to death, and I saw the man protecting the woman from the stones. (See Hadith No. 809, Vol. 8)

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 74:

That he differed with Hur bin Qais bin Hisn Al-Fazari regarding the companion of (the Prophet) Moses. Ibn 'Abbas

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said that he was Khadir. Meanwhile, Ubai bin Ka'b passed by them and Ibn 'Abbas called him, saying "My friend (Hur) and I have differed regarding Moses' companion whom Moses, asked the way to meet. Have you heard the Prophet mentioning something about him? He said, "Yes. I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "While Moses was sitting in the company of some Israelites, a man came and asked him. "Do you know anyone who is more learned than you? Moses replied: "No." So Allah sent the Divine Inspiration to Moses: 'Yes, Our slave Khadir (is more learned than you.)' Moses asked (Allah) how to meet him (Khadir). So Allah made the fish as a sign for him and he was told that when the fish was lost, he should return (to the place where he had lost it) and there he would meet him (Al-Khadir). So Moses went on looking for the sign of the fish in the sea. The servant-boy of Moses said to him: Do you remember when we betook ourselves to the rock, I indeed forgot the fish, none but Satan made me forget to remember it. On that Moses said: 'That is what we have been seeking? (18.64) So they went back retracing their foot-steps, and found Khadir. (And) what happened further to them is narrated in the Holy Qur'an by Allah. (18.54 up to 18.82) …

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 78:

that he differed with Hur bin Qais bin Hisn Al-Fazari regarding the companion of the Prophet Moses. Meanwhile, Ubai bin Ka'b passed by them and Ibn 'Abbas called him saying, "My friend (Hur) and I have differed regarding Moses' companion whom Moses asked the way to meet. Have you heard Allah's Apostle mentioning something about him? Ubai bin Ka'b said: "Yes, I heard the Prophet mentioning something about him (saying) while Moses was sitting in the company of some Israelites, a man came and asked him: "Do you know anyone who is more learned than you? Moses replied: "No." So Allah sent the Divine Inspiration to Moses: '--Yes, Our slave Khadir is more learned than you. Moses asked Allah how to meet him (Al-Khadir). So Allah made the fish a sign for him and he was told when the fish was lost, he should return (to the place where he had lost it) and there he would meet him (Al-Khadir). So Moses went on looking for the sign of the fish in the sea. The servant-boy of Moses said: 'Do you remember when we betook ourselves to the rock, I indeed forgot the fish, none but Satan made me forget to remember it. On that Moses said, 'That is what we have been seeking.' So they went back retracing their footsteps, and found Kha,dir. (and) what happened further about them is narrated in the Holy Qur'an by Allah." (18.54 up to 18.82)

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 123:

I said to Ibn 'Abbas, "Nauf-Al-Bakali claims that Moses (the companion of Khadir) was not the Moses of Bani Israel but he was another Moses." Ibn 'Abbas remarked that the enemy of Allah (Nauf) was a liar.

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 124:

The Prophet said, "Once the Prophet Moses stood up and addressed Bani Israel. He was asked, "Who is the most learned man amongst the people. He said, "I am the most learned." Allah admonished Moses as he did not attribute absolute knowledge to Him (Allah). So Allah inspired to him "At the junction of the two seas there is a slave amongst my slaves who is more learned than you." Moses said, "O my Lord! How can I meet him?" Allah said: Take a fish in a large basket (and proceed) and you will find him at the place where you will lose the fish. So Moses set out along with his (servant) boy, Yusha' bin Nuin and carried a fish in a large basket till they reached a rock, where they laid their heads (i.e. lay down) and slept. The fish came out of the basket and it took its way into the sea as in a tunnel. So it was an amazing thing for both Moses and his (servant) boy. They proceeded for the rest of that night and the following day. When the day broke, Moses said to his (servant) boy: "Bring us our early meal. No doubt, we have suffered much fatigue in this journey." Moses did not get tired till he passed the place about which he was told. There the (servant) boy told Moses, "Do you remember when we betook ourselves to the rock, I indeed forgot the fish." Moses remarked, "That is what we have been seeking. So they went back retracing their foot-steps, till they reached the rock. There they saw a man covered with a garment (or covering himself with his own garment). Moses greeted him. Al-Khadir replied saying, "How do people greet each other in your land?" Moses said, "I am Moses." He asked, "The Moses of Bani Israel?" Moses replied in the affirmative and added, "May I follow you so that you teach me of that knowledge which you have been taught." Al-Khadir replied, "Verily! You will not be able to remain patient with me, O Moses! I have some of the knowledge of Allah which He has taught me and which you do not know, while you have some knowledge which Allah has taught you which I do not know." Moses said, "Allah willing, you will find me patient and I will not disobey you in aught. So both of them set out walking along the sea-shore, as they did not have a boat. In the meantime a boat passed by them and they requested the crew of the boat to take them on board. The crew recognized Al-Khadir and took them on board without fare. Then a sparrow came and stood on the edge of the boat and dipped its beak once or twice in the sea. Al-Khadir said: "O Moses! My knowledge and your knowledge have not decreased Allah's knowledge except as much as this sparrow has decreased the water of the sea with its beak." Al-Khadir went to one of the planks of the boat and plucked it out. Moses said, "These people gave us a free lift but you have broken their boat and scuttled it so as to drown its people." Al-Khadir replied, "Didn't I tell you that you will not be able to remain patient with me." Moses said, "Call me not to account for what I forgot." The first (excuse) of Moses was that he had forgotten. Then they proceeded further and found a boy playing with other boys. Al-Khadir took hold of the boy's head from the top and plucked it out with his hands (i.e. killed him). Moses said, "Have you killed an innocent soul who has killed none." Al-Kha,dir replied, "Did I not tell you that you cannot remain patient with me?" Then they both proceeded till when they came to the people of a town, they asked them for food, but they refused to entertain them. Then they found there a wall on the point of collapsing. Al-Khadir repaired it with his own hands. Moses said, "If you had wished, surely you could have taken wages for it." Al-Khadir replied, "This is the parting between you and me." The Prophet added, "May Allah be Merciful to Moses! Would that he could have been more patient to learn more about his story with Al-Khadir. "

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 226:

Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari used to lay great stress on the question of urination and he used to say, "If anyone from Bani Israel happened to soil his clothes with urine, he used to cut that portion away." Hearing that, Hudhaifa said to Abu Wail, "I wish he (Abu Musa) didn't (lay great stress on that matter)." Hudhaifa added, "Allah's Apostle went to the dumps of some people and urinated while standing."

Volume 1, Book 5, Number 277:

The Prophet said, 'The (people of) Bani Israel used to take bath naked (all together) looking at each other. The Prophet Moses used to take a bath alone. They said, 'By Allah! Nothing prevents Moses from taking a bath with us except that he has a scrotal hernia.' So once Moses went out to take a bath and put his clothes over a stone and then that stone ran away with his clothes. Moses followed that stone saying, "My clothes, O stone! My clothes, O stone! till the people of Bani Israel saw him and said, 'By Allah, Moses has got no defect in his body. Moses took his clothes and began to beat the stone." Abu Huraira added, "By Allah! There are still six or seven marks present on the stone from that excessive beating."

Narrated Abu Huraira: The Prophet said, "When the Prophet Job (Aiyub) was taking a bath naked, golden locusts began to fall on him. Job started collecting them in his clothes. His Lord addressed him, 'O Job! Haven't I given you enough so that you are not in need of them.' Job replied, 'Yes!' By Your Honor (power)! But I cannot dispense with Your Blessings.' "

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 828:

Narrated 'Aisha:

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

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 574f:

Narrated Abu Huraira

The Prophet said, "A man from Bani Israel asked someone from Bani Israel to give him a loan of one thousand Dinars and the later gave it to him. The debtor went on a voyage (when the time for the payment of the debt became due) but he did not find a boat, so he took a piece of wood and bored it and put 1000 diners in it and threw it into the sea. The creditor went out and took the piece of wood to his family to be used as fire-wood." (See Hadith No. 488 B, Vol. 3). And the Prophet narrated the narration (and said), "When he sawed the wood, he found his money."

Volume 3, Book 37, Number 488h:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "An Israeli man asked another Israeli to lend him one thousand Dinars. The second man required witnesses. The former replied, 'Allah is sufficient as a witness.' The second said, 'I want a surety.' The former replied, 'Allah is sufficient as a surety.' The second said, 'You are right,' and lent him the money for a certain period. The debtor went across the sea. When he finished his job, he searched for a conveyance so that he might reach in time for the repayment of the debt, but he could not find any. So, he took a piece of wood and made a hole in it, inserted in it one thousand Dinars and a letter to the lender and then closed (i.e. sealed) the hole tightly. He took the piece of wood to the sea and said. 'O Allah! You know well that I took a loan of one thousand Dinars from so-and-so. He demanded a surety from me but I told him that Allah's Guarantee was sufficient and he accepted Your guarantee. He then asked for a witness and I told him that Allah was sufficient as a Witness, and he accepted You as a Witness. No doubt, I tried hard to find a conveyance so that I could pay his money but could not find, so I hand over this money to You.' Saying that, he threw the piece of wood into the sea till it went out far into it, and then he went away. Meanwhile he started searching for a conveyance in order to reach the creditor's country.

One day the lender came out of his house to see whether a ship had arrived bringing his money, and all of a sudden he saw the piece of wood in which his money had been deposited. He took it home to use for fire. When he sawed it, he found his money and the letter inside it. Shortly after that, the debtor came bringing one thousand Dinars to him and said, 'By Allah, I had been trying hard to get a boat so that I could bring you your money, but failed to get one before the one I have come by.' The lender asked, 'Have you sent something to me?' The debtor replied, 'I have told you I could not get a boat other than the one I have come by.' The lender said, 'Allah has delivered on your behalf the money you sent in the piece of wood. So, you may keep your one thousand Dinars and depart guided on the right path.' "

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 662:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "There was an Israeli man called Juraij, while he was praying, his mother came and called him, but he did not respond to her call. He said (to himself) whether he should continue the prayer or reply to his mother. She came to him the second time and called him and said, "O Allah! Do not let him die until he sees the faces of prostitutes." Juraij used to live in a hermitage. A woman said that she would entice Juraij, so she went to him and presented herself (for an evil act) but he refused. She then went to a shepherd and allowed him to commit an illegal sexual intercourse with her and later she gave birth to a boy. She alleged that the baby was from Juraij. The people went to Juraij and broke down his hermitage, pulled him out of it and abused him. He performed ablution and offered the prayer, then he went to the male (baby) and asked him; "O boy! Who is your father?" The baby replied that his father was the shepherd. The people said that they would build for him a hermitage of gold but Juraij asked them to make it of mud only."

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 892:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle mentioned a person who asked an Israeli man to lend him one-thousand Dinars, and the Israeli lent him the sum for a certain fixed period.

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 429:

Narrated Malik bin Sasaa:

The Prophet said, "While I was at the House in a state midway between sleep and wakefulness, (an angel recognized me) as the man lying between two men. A golden tray full of wisdom and belief was brought to me and my body was cut open from the throat to the lower part of the abdomen and then my abdomen was washed with Zam-zam water and (my heart was) filled with wisdom and belief. Al-Buraq, a white animal, smaller than a mule and bigger than a donkey was brought to me and I set out with Gabriel. When I reached the nearest heaven. Gabriel said to the heaven gate-keeper, 'Open the gate.' The gatekeeper asked, 'Who is it?' He said, 'Gabriel.' The gate-keeper,' Who is accompanying you?' Gabriel said, 'Muhammad.' The gate-keeper said, 'Has he been called?' Gabriel said, 'Yes.' Then it was said, 'He is welcomed. What a wonderful visit his is!' Then I met Adam and greeted him and he said, 'You are welcomed O son and a Prophet.' Then we ascended to the second heaven. It was asked, 'Who is it?' Gabriel said, 'Gabriel.' It was said, 'Who is with you?' He said, 'Muhammad' It was asked, 'Has he been sent for?' He said, 'Yes.' It was said, 'He is welcomed. What a wonderful visit his is!" Then I met Jesus and Yahya (John) who said, 'You are welcomed, O brother and a Prophet.' Then we ascended to the third heaven. It was asked, 'Who is it?' Gabriel said, 'Gabriel.' It was asked, 'Who is with you? Gabriel said, 'Muhammad.' It was asked, 'Has he been sent for?' 'Yes,' said Gabriel. 'He is welcomed. What a wonderful visit his is!' (The Prophet added:). There I met Joseph and greeted him, and he replied, 'You are welcomed, O brother and a Prophet!' Then we ascended to the 4th heaven and again the same questions and answers were exchanged as in the previous heavens. There I met Idris and greeted him. He said, 'You are welcomed O brother and Prophet.' Then we ascended to the 5th heaven and again the same questions and answers were exchanged as in previous heavens. there I met and greeted Aaron who said, 'You are welcomed O brother and a Prophet". Then we ascended to the 6th heaven and again the same questions and answers were exchanged as in the previous heavens. There I met and greeted Moses who said, 'You are welcomed O brother and. a Prophet.' When I proceeded on, he started weeping and on being asked why he was weeping, he said, 'O Lord! Followers of this youth who was sent after me will enter Paradise in greater number than my followers.' Then we ascended to the seventh heaven and again the same questions and answers were exchanged as in the previous heavens. There I met and greeted Abraham who said, 'You are welcomed o son and a Prophet.' Then I was shown Al-Bait-al-Ma'mur (i.e. Allah's House). I asked Gabriel about it and he said, This is Al Bait-ul-Ma'mur where 70,000 angels perform prayers daily and when they leave they never return to it (but always a fresh batch comes into it daily).' Then I was shown Sidrat-ul-Muntaha (i.e. a tree in the seventh heaven) and I saw its Nabk

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fruits which resembled the clay jugs of Hajr (i.e. a town in Arabia), and its leaves were like the ears of elephants, and four rivers originated at its root, two of them were apparent and two were hidden. I asked Gabriel about those rivers and he said, 'The two hidden rivers are in Paradise, and the apparent ones are the Nile and the Euphrates.' Then fifty prayers were enjoined on me. I descended till I met Moses who asked me, 'What have you done?' I said, 'Fifty prayers have been enjoined on me.' He said, 'I know the people better than you, because I had the hardest experience to bring Bani Israel to obedience. Your followers cannot put up with such obligation. So, return to your Lord and request Him (to reduce the number of prayers.' I returned and requested Allah (for reduction) and He made it forty. I returned and (met Moses) and had a similar discussion, and then returned again to Allah for reduction and He made it thirty, then twenty, then ten, and then I came to Moses who repeated the same advice. Ultimately Allah reduced it to five. When I came to Moses again, he said, 'What have you done?' I said, 'Allah has made it five only.' He repeated the same advice but I said that I surrendered (to Allah's Final Order)'" Allah's Apostle was addressed by Allah, "I have decreed My Obligation and have reduced the burden on My slaves, and I shall reward a single good deed as if it were ten good deeds."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 524:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "A group of Israelites were lost. Nobody knows what they did. But I do not see them except that they were cursed and changed into rats, for if you put the milk of a she-camel in front of a rat, it will not drink it, but if the milk of a sheep is put in front of it, it will drink it." I told this to Ka'b who asked me, "Did you hear it from the Prophet ?" I said, "Yes." Ka'b asked me the same question several times.; I said to Ka'b. "Do I read the Torah? (i.e. I tell you this from the Prophet.)"

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 547:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "But for the Israelis, meat would not decay and but for Eve, wives would never betray their husbands."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 611:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 612:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

That he differed with Al-Hur bin Qais Al-Fazari regarding the companion of Moses. Ibn 'Abbas said that he was Al-Khadir. Meanwhile Ubai bin Ka'b passed by them and Ibn 'Abbas called him saying, "My friend and I have differed regarding Moses' companion whom Moses asked the way to meet. Have you heard Allah's Apostle mentioning something about him?" He said, "Yes, I heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'While Moses was sitting in the company of some Israelites, a man came and asked (him), 'Do you know anyone who is more learned than you?' Moses replied, 'No.' So, Allah sent the Divine Inspiration to Moses: 'Yes, Our slave, Khadir (is more learned than you).' Moses asked how to meet him (i.e. Khadir). So, the fish, was made, as a sign for him, and he was told that when the fish was lost, he should return and there he would meet him. So, Moses went on looking for the sign of the fish in the sea. The servant boy of Moses said to him, 'Do you know that when we were sitting by the side of the rock, I forgot the fish, and t was only Satan who made me forget to tell (you) about it.' Moses said, That was what we were seeking after,' and both of them returned, following their footmarks and found Khadir; and what happened further to them, is mentioned in Allah's Book."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 613:

Narrated Said bin Jubair:

I said to Ibn Abbas, "Nauf Al-Bukah claims that Moses, the companion of Al-Khadir was not Moses (the prophet) of the children of Israel, but some other Moses." Ibn 'Abbas said, "Allah's enemy (i.e. Nauf) has told a lie. Ubai bin Ka'b told us that the Prophet said, 'Once Moses stood up and addressed Bani Israel. He was asked who was the most learned man amongst the people. He said, 'I.' Allah admonished him as he did not attribute absolute knowledge to Him (Allah). So, Allah said to him, 'Yes, at the junction of the two seas there is a Slave of Mine who is more learned than you.' Moses said, 'O my Lord! How can I meet him?' Allah said, 'Take a fish and put it in a large basket and you will find him at the place where you will lose the fish.' Moses took a fish and put it in a basket and proceeded along with his (servant) boy, Yusha 'bin Nun, till they reached the rock where they laid their heads (i.e. lay down). Moses slept, and the fish, moving out of the basket, fell into the sea. It took its way into the sea (straight) as in a tunnel. Allah stopped the flow of water over the fish and it became like an arch (the Prophet pointed out this arch with his hands). They travelled the rest of the night, and the next day Moses said to his boy (servant), 'Give us our food, for indeed, we have suffered much fatigue in this journey of ours.' Moses did not feel tired till he crossed that place which Allah had ordered him to seek after. His boy (servant) said to him, 'Do you know that when we were sitting near that rock, I forgot the fish, and none but Satan caused me to forget to tell (you) about it, and it took its course into the sea in an amazing way?.' So there was a path for the fish and that astonished them. Moses said, 'That was what we were seeking after.' So, both of them retraced their footsteps till they reached the rock. There they saw a man Lying covered with a garment. Moses greeted him and he replied saying, 'How do people greet each other in your land?' Moses said, 'I am Moses.' The man asked, 'Moses of Bani Israel?' Moses said, 'Yes, I have come to you so that you may teach me from those things which Allah has taught you.' He said, 'O Moses! I have some of the Knowledge of Allah which Allah has taught me, and which you do not know, while you have some of the Knowledge of Allah which Allah has taught you and which I do not know.' Moses asked, 'May I follow you?' He 45

said, 'But you will not be able to remain patient with me for how can you be patient about things which you will not be able to understand?' (Moses said, 'You will find me, if Allah so will, truly patient, and I will not disobey you in aught.') So, both of them set out walking along the sea-shore, a boat passed by them and they asked the crew of the boat to take them on board. The crew recognized Al-Khadir and so they took them on board without fare. When they were on board the boat, a sparrow came and stood on the edge of the boat and dipped its beak once or twice into the sea. Al-Khadir said to Moses, 'O Moses! My knowledge and your knowledge have not decreased Allah's Knowledge except as much as this sparrow has decreased the water of the sea with its beak.' Then suddenly Al-Khadir took an adze and plucked a plank, and Moses did not notice it till he had plucked a plank with the adze. Moses said to him, 'What have you done? They took us on board charging us nothing; yet you I have intentionally made a hole in their boat so as to drown its passengers. Verily, you have done a dreadful thing.' Al-Khadir replied, 'Did I not tell you that you would not be able to remain patient with me?' Moses replied, 'Do not blame me for what I have forgotten, and do not be hard upon me for my fault.' So the first excuse of Moses was that he had forgotten. When they had left the sea, they passed by a boy playing with other boys.

Al-Khadir took hold of the boys head and plucked it with his hand like this. (Sufyan, the sub narrator pointed with his fingertips as if he was plucking some fruit.) Moses said to him, "Have you killed an innocent person who has not killed any person? You have really done a horrible thing." Al-Khadir said, "Did I not tell you that you could not remain patient with me?' Moses said "If I ask you about anything after this, don't accompany me. You have received an excuse from me.' Then both of them went on till they came to some people of a village, and they asked its inhabitant for wood but they refused to entertain them as guests. Then they saw therein a wall which was just going to collapse (and Al Khadir repaired it just by touching it with his hands). (Sufyan, the sub-narrator, pointed with his hands, illustrating how Al-Khadir passed his hands over the wall upwards.) Moses said, "These are the people whom we have called on, but they neither gave us food, nor entertained us as guests, yet you have repaired their wall. If you had wished, you could have taken wages for it." Al-Khadir said, "This is the parting between you and me, and I shall tell you the explanation of those things on which you could not remain patient." The Prophet added, "We wished that Moses could have remained patient by virtue of which Allah might have told us more about their story. (Sufyan the sub-narrator said that the Prophet said, "May Allah bestow His Mercy on Moses! If he had remained patient, we would have been told further about their case.")

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 615:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "It was said to Bani Israel, Enter the gate (of the town) with humility (prostrating yourselves) and saying: "Repentance", but they changed the word and entered the town crawling on their buttocks and saying: "A wheat grain in the hair."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 616:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "(The Prophet) Moses was a shy person and used to cover his body completely because of his extensive shyness. One of the children of Israel hurt him by saying, 'He covers his body in this way only because of some defect in his skin, either leprosy or scrotal hernia, or he has some other defect.' Allah wished to clear Moses of what they said about him, so one day while Moses was in seclusion, he took off his clothes and put them on a stone and started taking a bath. When he had finished the bath, he moved towards his clothes so as to take them, but the stone took his clothes and fled; Moses picked up his stick and ran after the stone saying, 'O stone! Give me my garment!' Till he reached a group of Bani Israel who saw him naked then, and found him the best of what Allah had created, and Allah cleared him of what they had accused him of. The stone stopped there and Moses took and put his garment on and started hitting the stone with his stick. By Allah, the stone still has some traces of the hitting, three, four or five marks. This was what Allah refers to in His Saying:-- "O you who believe! Be you not like those Who annoyed Moses, But Allah proved his innocence of that which they alleged, And he was honorable In Allah's Sight." (33.69)

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 645:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 659:

Narrated Rabi bin Hirash:

'Uqba bin 'Amr said to Hudhaifa, "Won't you relate to us of what you have heard from Allah's Apostle ?" He said, "I heard him saying, "When Al-Dajjal appears, he will have fire and water along with him. What the people will consider as cold water, will be fire that will burn (things). So, if anyone of you comes across this, he should fall in the thing which will appear to him as fire, for in reality, it will be fresh cold water." Hudhaifa added, "I also heard him saying, 'From among the people preceding your generation, there was a man whom the angel of death visited to capture his soul. (So his soul was captured) and he was asked if he had done any good deed.' He replied, 'I don't remember any good deed.' He was asked to think it over. He said, 'I do not remember, except that I used to trade with the people in the world and I used to give a respite to the rich and forgive the poor (among my debtors). So Allah made him enter Paradise." Hudhaifa further said, "I also heard him saying, 'Once there was a man on his death-bed, who, losing every hope of surviving said to his family: When I die, gather for me a large heap of wood and make a fire (to burn me). When the fire eats my meat and reaches my bones, and when the bones burn, take and crush them into powder and wait for a windy day to throw it (i.e. the powder) over the sea. They did so, but Allah collected his particles and asked him:

Why did you do so? He replied: For fear of You. So Allah forgave him." 'Uqba bin 'Amr said, "I heard him saying that the Israeli used to dig the grave of the dead (to steal their shrouds)."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 661:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "The Israelis used to be ruled and guided by prophets: Whenever a prophet died, another would take over his place. There will be no prophet after me, but there will be Caliphs who will increase in number." The people asked, "O Allah's Apostle! What do you order us (to do)?" He said, "Obey the one who will be given the pledge of allegiance first. Fulfil their (i.e. the Caliphs) rights, for Allah will ask them about (any shortcoming) in ruling those Allah has put under their guardianship."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 667:

Narrated 'Abdullah bin 'Amr:

The Prophet said, "Convey (my teachings) to the people even if it were a single sentence, and tell others the stories of Bani Israel (which have been taught to you), for it is not sinful to do so. And whoever tells a lie on me intentionally, will surely take his place in the (Hell) Fire." 47

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 670:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

that he heard Allah's Apostle saying, "Allah willed to test three Israelis who were a Leper, a blind man and a bald-headed man. So, he sent them an angel who came to the leper and said, 'What thing do you like most?' He replied, "Good color and good skin, for the people have a strong aversion to me.' The angel touched him and his illness was cured, and he was given a good color and beautiful skin. The angel asked

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him, 'What kind of property do you like best?' He replied, 'Camels (or cows).' (The narrator is in doubt, for either the leper or the bald-headed man demanded camels and the other demanded cows.) So he (i.e. the leper) was given a pregnant she-camei, and the angel said (to him), 'May Allah bless you in it.'

The angel then went to the bald-headed man and said, 'What thing do you like most?' He said, 'I like good hair and wish to be cured of this disease, for the people feel repulsion for me.' The angel touched him and his illness was cured, and he was given good hair. The angel asked (him), 'What kind of property do you like bests' He replied, 'Cows,' The angel gave him a pregnant cow and said, 'May Allah bless you in it.' The angel went to the blind man and asked, 'What thing do you like best?' He said, '(I like) that Allah may restore my eye-sight to me so that I may see the people.' The angel touched his eyes and Allah gave him back his eye-sight. The angel asked him, "What kind of property do you like best?' He replied, 'Sheep.' The angel gave him a pregnant sheep. Afterwards, all the three pregnant animals gave birth to young ones, and multiplied and brought forth so much that one of the (three) men had a herd of camels filling a valley, and one had a herd of cows filling a valley, and one had a flock of sheep filling a valley. Then the angel, disguised in the shape and appearance of a leper, went to the leper and said, I am a poor man, who has lost all means of livelihood while on a journey. So none will satisfy my need except Allah and then you. In the Name of Him Who has given you such nice color and beautiful skin, and so much property, I ask you to give me a camel so that I may reach my destination. The man replied, 'I have many obligations (so I cannot give you).' The angel said, 'I think I know you; were you not a leper to whom the people had a strong aversion? Weren't you a poor man, and then Allah gave you (all this property).' He replied, '(This is all wrong), I got this property through inheritance from my fore-fathers' The angel said, 'If you are telling a lie, then let Allah make you as you were before. '

Then the angel, disguised in the shape and appearance of a bald man, went to the bald man and said to him the same as he told the first one, and he too answered the same as the first one did. The angel said, 'If you are telling a lie, then let Allah make you as you were before.'

The angel, disguised in the shape of a blind man, went to the blind man and said, 'I am a poor man and a traveler, whose means of livelihood have been exhausted while on a journey. I have nobody to help me except Allah, and after Him, you yourself. I ask you in the Name of Him Who has given you back your eye-sight to give me a sheep, so that with its help, I may complete my journey' The man said, 'No doubt, I was blind and Allah gave me back my eye-sight; I was poor and Allah made me rich; so take anything you wish from my property. By Allah, I will not stop you for taking anything (you need) of my property which you may take for Allah's sake.' The angel replied, 'Keep your property with you. You (i.e 3 men) have been tested and Allah is pleased with you and is angry with your two companions."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 673:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "While a dog was going round a well and was about to die of thirst, an Israeli prostitute saw it and took off her shoe and watered it. So Allah forgave her because of that good deed."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 674:

Narrated Humaid bin 'Abdur-Rahman:

That he heard Muawiya bin Abi Sufyan (talking) on the pulpit in the year when he performed the Hajj. He took a tuft of hair that was in the hand of an orderly and said, "O people of Medina! Where are your learned men? I heard the Prophet forbidding such a thing as this (i.e. false hair) and he used to say, 'The Israelis were destroyed when their ladies practiced this habit (of using false hair to lengthen their locks)." 48

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 676:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

The Prophet said, "Amongst the men of Bani Israel there was a man who had murdered ninety-nine persons. Then he set out asking (whether his repentance could be accepted or not). He came upon a monk and asked him if his repentance could be accepted. The monk replied in the negative and so the man killed him. He kept on asking till a man advised to go to such and such village. (So he left for it) but death overtook him on the way. While dying, he turned his chest towards that village (where he had hoped his repentance would be accepted), and so the angels of mercy and the angels of punishment quarrelled amongst themselves regarding him. Allah ordered the village (towards which he was going) to come closer to him, and ordered the village (whence he had come), to go far away, and then He ordered the angels to measure the distances between his body and the two villages. So he was found to be one span closer to the village (he was going to). So he was forgiven."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 679:

Narrated Usama bin Zaid:

Allah's Apostle said, "Plague was a means of torture sent on a group of Israelis (or on some people before you). So if you hear of its spread in a land, don't approach it, and if a plague should appear in a land where you are present, then don't leave that land in order to run away from it (i.e. plague)."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 38:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "Among the nations before you there used to be people who were inspired (though they were not prophets). And if there is any of such a persons amongst my followers, it is 'Umar."

Narrated Abu Huraira: The Prophet said, "Among the nation of Bani Israel who lived before you, there were men who used to be inspired with guidance though they were not prophets, and if there is any of such persons amongst my followers, it is 'Umar."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 79:

Narrated 'Aisha:

The people of the Quraish tribe were worried about the Makhzumiya woman. They said. "Nobody dare speak to him (i.e. the Prophet) except Usama bin Zaid as he is the most beloved to Allah's Apostle." Aisha said, "A woman from Bani Makhzumiya committed a theft and the people said, 'Who can intercede with the Prophet for her?' So nobody dared speak to him (i.e. the Prophet) but Usama bin Zaid spoke to him. The Prophet said, 'If a reputable man amongst the children of Bani Israel committed a theft, they used to forgive him, but if a poor man committed a theft, they would cut his hand. But I would cut even the hand of Fatima (i.e. the daughter of the Prophet) if she committed a theft."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 157:

Narrated Sad bin Abi Waqqas:

I have never heard the Prophet saying about anybody walking on the earth that he is from the people of Paradise except 'Abdullah bin Salam. The following Verse was revealed concerning him: "And a witness from the children of Israel testifies that this Qur'an is true" (46.10)

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 227:

Narrated Abbas bin Malik:

Malik bin Sasaa said that Allah's Apostle described to them his Night Journey saying, "While I was lying in Al-Hatim or Al-Hijr, suddenly someone came to me and cut my body open from here to here." I asked Al-Jarud who was by my side, "What does he mean?" He said, "It means from his throat to his pubic area," or said, "From the top of the chest." The Prophet further said, "He then took out my heart. Then a gold tray of Belief was brought to me and my heart was washed and was filled (with Belief) and then returned to its original place. Then a white animal which was smaller than a mule and bigger than a donkey was brought to me." (On this Al-Jarud asked, "Was it the Buraq, O Abu Hamza?" I (i.e. Anas) replied in the affirmative). The Prophet said, "The animal's step (was so wide that it) reached the farthest point within the reach of the animal's sight. I was carried on it, and Gabriel set out with me till we reached the nearest heaven.

When he asked for the gate to be opened, it was asked, 'Who is it?' Gabriel answered, 'Gabriel.' It was asked, 'Who is accompanying you?' Gabriel replied, 'Muhammad.' It was asked, 'Has Muhammad been called?' Gabriel replied in the affirmative. Then it was said, 'He is welcomed. What an excellent visit his is!' The gate was opened, and when I went over the first heaven, I saw Adam there. Gabriel said (to me). 'This is your father, Adam; pay him your greetings.' So I greeted him and he returned the greeting to me and said, 'You are welcomed, O pious son and pious Prophet.' Then Gabriel ascended with me till we reached the second heaven. Gabriel asked for the gate to be opened. It was asked, 'Who is it?' Gabriel answered, 'Gabriel.' It was asked, 'Who is accompanying you?' Gabriel replied, 'Muhammad.' It was asked, 'Has he been called?' Gabriel answered in the affirmative. Then it was said, 'He is welcomed. What an excellent visit his is!' The gate was opened.

When I went over the second heaven, there I saw Yahya (i.e. John) and 'Isa (i.e. Jesus) who were cousins of each other. Gabriel said (to me), 'These are John and Jesus; pay them your greetings.' So I greeted them and both of them returned my greetings to me and said, 'You are welcomed, O pious brother and pious Prophet.' Then Gabriel ascended with me to the third heaven and asked for its gate to be opened. It was asked, 'Who is it?' Gabriel replied, 'Gabriel.' It was asked, 'Who is accompanying you?' Gabriel replied, 'Muhammad.' It was asked, 'Has he been called?' Gabriel replied in the affirmative. Then it was said, 'He is welcomed, what an excellent visit his is!' The gate was opened, and when I went over the third heaven there I saw Joseph. Gabriel said (to me), 'This is Joseph; pay him your greetings.' So I greeted him and he returned the greeting to me and said, 'You are welcomed, O pious brother and pious Prophet.' Then Gabriel ascended with me to the fourth heaven and asked for its gate to be opened. It was asked, 'Who is it?' Gabriel replied, 'Gabriel' It was asked, 'Who is accompanying you?' Gabriel replied, 'Muhammad.' It was asked, 'Has he been called?' Gabriel replied in the affirmative. Then it was said, 'He is welcomed, what an excel lent visit his is!'

The gate was opened, and when I went over the fourth heaven, there I saw Idris. Gabriel said (to me), 'This is Idris; pay him your greetings.' So I greeted him and he returned the greeting to me and said, 'You are welcomed, O pious brother and pious Prophet.' Then Gabriel ascended with me to the fifth heaven and asked for its gate to be opened. It was asked, 'Who is it?' Gabriel replied, 'Gabriel.' It was asked. 'Who is accompanying you?' Gabriel replied, 'Muhammad.' It was asked, 'Has he been called?' Gabriel replied in the affirmative. Then it was said He is welcomed, what an excellent visit his is! So when I went over the fifth heaven, there I saw Harun (i.e. Aaron), Gabriel said, (to me). This is Aaron; pay him your greetings.' I greeted him and he returned the greeting to me and said, 'You are welcomed, O pious brother and pious Prophet.' Then Gabriel ascended with me to the sixth heaven and asked for its gate to be opened. It was asked. 'Who is it?' Gabriel replied, 'Gabriel.' It was asked, 'Who is accompanying you?' Gabriel replied, 'Muhammad.' It was asked, 'Has he been called?' Gabriel replied in the affirmative. It was said, 'He is welcomed. What an excellent visit his is!'

When I went (over the sixth heaven), there I saw Moses. Gabriel said (to me),' This is Moses; pay him your greeting. So I greeted him and he returned the greetings to me and said, 'You are welcomed, O pious brother and pious Prophet.' When I left him (i.e. Moses) he wept. Someone asked him, 'What makes you weep?' Moses said, 'I weep because after me there has been sent (as Prophet) a young man whose followers will enter Paradise in greater numbers than my followers.' Then Gabriel ascended with me to the seventh heaven and asked for its gate to be opened. It was asked, 'Who is it?' Gabriel replied, 'Gabriel.' It was asked,' Who is accompanying you?' Gabriel replied, 'Muhammad.' It was asked, 'Has he been called?' Gabriel replied in the affirmative. Then it was said, 'He is welcomed. What an excellent visit his is!'

So when I went (over the seventh heaven), there I saw Abraham. Gabriel said (to me), 'This is your father; pay your greetings to him.' So I greeted him and he returned the greetings to me and said, 'You are welcomed, O pious son and pious Prophet.' Then I was made to ascend to Sidrat-ul-Muntaha (i.e. the Lote Tree of the utmost boundary) Behold! Its fruits were like the jars of Hajr (i.e. a place near Medina) and its leaves were as big as the ears of elephants. Gabriel said, 'This is the Lote Tree of the utmost boundary) . Behold ! There ran four rivers, two were hidden and two were visible, I asked, 'What are these two kinds of rivers, O Gabriel?' He replied,' As for the hidden rivers, they are two rivers in Paradise and the visible rivers are the Nile and the Euphrates.'

Then Al-Bait-ul-Ma'mur (i.e. the Sacred House) was shown to me and a container full of wine and another full of milk and a third full of honey were brought to me. I took the milk. Gabriel remarked, 'This is the Islamic religion which you and your followers are following.' Then the prayers were enjoined on me: They were fifty prayers a day. When I returned, I passed by Moses who asked (me), 'What have you been ordered to do?' I replied, 'I have been ordered to offer fifty prayers a day.' Moses said, 'Your followers cannot bear fifty prayers a day, and by Allah, I have tested people before you, and I have tried my level best with Bani Israel (in vain). Go back to your Lord and ask for reduction to lessen your followers' burden.' So I went back, and Allah reduced ten prayers for me. Then again I came to Moses, but he repeated the same as he had said before. Then again I went back to Allah and He reduced ten more prayers. When I came back to Moses he said the same, I went back to Allah and He ordered me to observe ten prayers a day. When I came back to Moses, he repeated the same advice, so I went back to Allah and was ordered to observe five prayers a day.

When I came back to Moses, he said, 'What have you been ordered?' I replied, 'I have been ordered to observe five prayers a day.' He said, 'Your followers cannot bear five prayers a day, and no doubt, I have got an experience of the people before you, and I have tried my level best with Bani Israel, so go back to your Lord and ask for reduction to lessen your follower's burden.' I said, 'I have requested so much of my Lord that I feel ashamed, but I am satisfied now and surrender to Allah's Order.' When I left, I heard a voice saying, 'I have passed My Order and have lessened the burden of My Worshipers."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 6:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "It was said to the children of Israel, 'Enter the gate (of the town), prostrate (in humility) and say: Hittatun (i.e. repentance) i.e. O Allah!

Forgive our sins.' But they entered by dragging themselves on their buttocks, so they did something different (from what they had been ordered to do) and said, 'Hittatun,' but added, "A grain in a hair."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 25:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

The law of Qisas (i.e. equality in punishment) was prescribed for the children of Israel, but the Diya (i.e. blood money was not ordained for them). So Allah said to this Nation (i.e. Muslims):

"O you who believe! The law of Al-Qisas (i.e. equality in punishment) is prescribed for you in cases of murder: The free

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for the free, the slave for the slave, and the female for the female. But if the relatives (or one of them) of the killed (person) forgive their brother (i.e. the killers something of Qisas (i.e. not to kill the killer by accepting blood money in the case of intentional murder)----then the relatives (of the killed person) should demand blood-money in a reasonable manner and the killer must pay with handsome gratitude. This is an allevitation and a Mercy from your Lord, (in comparison to what was prescribed for the nations before you).

So after this, whoever transgresses the limits (i.e. to kill the killer after taking the blood-money) shall have a painful torment." (2.178)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 133:

Narrated Abdullah (bin Masud):

On the day of Badr, Al-Miqdad said, "O Allah's Apostle! We do not say to you as the children of Israel said to Moses, 'Go you and your Lord and fight you two; we are sitting here, (5.24) but (we say). "Proceed, and we are with you." That seemed to delight Allah's Apostle greatly.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 165:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "It was said to the children of Israel, 'Enter the gate in prostration and say Hitatun. (7.161) We shall forgive you, your faults.' But they changed (Allah's Order) and entered, dragging themselves on their buttocks and said, 'Habatun (a grain) in a Sha'ratin (hair)."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 231:

Narrated Ibn Mas'ud:

Surat Bani Israel and Al-Kahf and Mary are among my first old property. 51

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 249:

Narrated Said bin Jubair:

I said to Ibn 'Abbas, "Nauf Al-Bikali claims that Moses, the companion of Al-Khadir was not the Moses of the children of Israel" Ibn 'Abbas said, "The enemy of Allah (Nauf) told a lie." Narrated Ubai bin Ka'b that he heard Allah's Apostle saying, "Moses got up to deliver a speech before the children of Israel and he was asked, Who is the most learned person among the people?' Moses replied, 'I (am the most learned).' Allah admonished him for he did not ascribe knowledge to Allah alone. So Allah revealed to him: 'At the junction of the two seas there is a slave of Ours who is more learned than you.' Moses asked, 'O my Lord, how can I meet him?' Allah said, 'Take a fish and put it in a basket (and set out), and where you, will lose the fish, you will find him.' So Moses (took a fish and put it in a basket and) set out, along with his boy-servant Yusha' bin Nun, till they reached a rock (on which) they both lay their heads and slept. The fish moved vigorously in the basket and got out of it and fell into the sea and there it took its way through the sea (straight) as in a tunnel). (18.61) Allah stopped the current of water on both sides of the way created by the fish, and so that way was like a tunnel. When Moses got up, his companion forgot to tell him about the fish, and so they carried on their journey during the rest of the day and the whole night.

The next morning Moses asked his boy-servant 'Bring us our early meal; no doubt, we have suffered much fatigue in this journey of ours.' (18.62) Moses did not get tired till he had passed the place which Allah had ordered him to seek after. His boy-servant then said to him,' 'Do you remember when we be-took ourselves to the rock I indeed forgot the fish, none but Satan made me forget to remember it. It took its course into the sea in a marvelous way.' (18.63)

There was a tunnel for the fish and for Moses and his boy-servant there was astonishment. Moses said, 'That is what we have been seeking'. So they went back retracing their footsteps. (18.64) They both returned, retracing their steps till they reached the rock. Behold ! There they found a man covered with a garment. Moses greeted him. Al-Khadir said astonishingly. 'Is there such a greeting in your land?' Moses said, 'I am Moses.' He said, 'Are you the Moses of the children of Israel?' Moses said, 'I have come to you so that you may teach me of what you have been taught.

Al-Khadir said, 'You will not be able to have patience with me. (18.66) O Moses! I have some of Allah's knowledge which He has bestowed upon me but you do not know it; and you too, have some of Allah's knowledge which He has bestowed upon you, but I do not know it." Moses said, "Allah willing, you will find me patient, and I will not disobey you in anything.' (18.6) Al-Khadir said to him. 'If you then follow me, do not ask me about anything until I myself speak to you concerning it.' (18.70), After that both of them proceeded along the sea coast, till a boat passed by and they requested the crew to let them go on board. The crew recognized Al-Khadir and allowed them to get on board free of charge. When they got on board suddenly Moses saw that Al-Khadir had pulled out one of the planks of the boat with an adze. Moses said to him.' These people gave us a free lift, yet you have scuttled their boat so as to drown its people! Truly, you have done a dreadful thing.' (18.71)

Al-Khadir said, 'Didn't I say that you can have no patience with me ?' (18.72) Moses said, 'Call me not to account for what I forgot and be not hard upon me for my affair (with you.)" (18.73)

Allah's Apostle said, "The first excuse given by Moses, was that he had forgotten. Then a sparrow came and sat over the edge of the boat and dipped its beak once in the sea. Al-Khadir said to Moses, 'My knowledge and your knowledge, compared to Allah's knowledge is like what this sparrow has taken out of the sea.' Then they both got out of the boat, and while they were walking on the sea shore, Al-Khadir saw a boy playing with other boys. Al-Khadir got hold of the head of that boy and pulled it out with his hands and killed him. Moses said, 'Have you killed an innocent soul who has killed nobody! Truly, you have done an illegal thing.' (18.74) He said, "Didn't I tell you that you can have no patience with me?' (18.75) (The sub narrator said, the second blame was stronger than the first one.) Moses said, 'If I ask you about anything after this, keep me not in your company, you have received an excuse from me.' (18.76)

Then they both proceeded until they came to the inhabitants of a town. They asked them food but they refused to entertain them. (In that town) they found there a wall on the point of falling down. (18.77) Al-Khadir set it up straight with his own hands. Moses said, 'These are people to whom we came, but they neither fed us nor received us as guests. If you had wished, you could surely have exacted some recompense for it. Al-Khadir said, 'This is the parting between me and you ..that is the interpretation of (those things) over which you were unable to hold patience.' (18.78-82)

Allah's Apostle said, "We wished that Moses could have been more patient so that Allah might have described to us more about their story." 52

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 250:

Narrated Ibn Juraij:

Ya'la bin Muslim and 'Amr bin Dinar and some others narrated the narration of Said bin Jubair.

Narrated Said: While we were at the house of Ibn 'Abbas, Ibn 'Abbas said, "Ask me (any question)" I said, "O Abu Abbas! May Allah let me be sacrificed for you ! There is a man at Kufa who is a story-teller called Nauf; who claims that he (Al-Khadir's companion) is not Moses of Bani Israel." As for 'Amr, he said to me, "Ibn 'Abbas said, "(Nauf) the enemy of Allah told a lie." But Ya'la said to me, "Ibn 'Abbas said, Ubai bin Ka'b said, Allah's Apostle said, 'Once Moses, Allah's Apostle, preached to the people till their eyes shed tears and their hearts became tender, whereupon he finished his sermon. Then a man came to Moses and asked, 'O Allah's Apostle! Is there anyone on the earth who is more learned than you?' Moses replied, 'No.' So Allah admonished him (Moses), for he did not ascribe all knowledge to Allah. It was said, (on behalf of Allah), 'Yes, (there is a slave of ours who knows more than you).' Moses said, 'O my Lord! Where is he?' Allah said, 'At the junction of the two seas.' Moses said, 'O my Lord ! Tell I me of a sign whereby I will recognize the place.' " 'Amr said to me, Allah said, "That place will be where the fish will leave you." Ya'la said to me, "Allah said (to Moses), 'Take a dead fish (and your goal will be) the place where it will become alive.' " So Moses took a fish and put it in a basket and said to his boy-servant "I don't want to trouble you, except that you should inform me as soon as this fish leaves you." He said (to Moses)." You have not demanded too much." And that is as mentioned by Allah:

'And (remember) when Moses said to his attendant .... ' (18.60) Yusha' bin Nun. (Said did not state that). The Prophet said, "While the attendant was in the shade of the rock at a wet place, the fish slipped out (alive) while Moses was sleeping. His attend an said (to himself), "I will not wake him, but when he woke up, he forgot to tell him The fish slipped out and entered the sea. Allah stopped the flow of the sea. where the fish was, so that its trace looked as if it was made on a rock. 'Amr forming a hole with his two thumbs an index fingers, said to me, "Like this, as in its trace was made on a rock." Moses said "We have suffered much fatigue on this journey of ours." (This was not narrate by Said). Then they returned back and found Al-Khadir. 'Uthman bin Abi Sulaiman said to me, (they found him) on a green carpet in the middle of the sea. Al-Khadir was covered with his garment with one end under his feet and the other end under his head. When Moses greeted, he uncovered his face and said astonishingly, 'Is there such a greeting in my land? Who are you?' Moses said, 'I am Moses.' Al-Khadir said, 'Are you the Moses of Bani Israel?' Moses said, 'Yes.' Al-Khadir said, "What do you want?' Moses said, ' I came to you so that you may teach me of the truth which you were taught.' Al-Khadir said, 'Is it not sufficient for you that the Torah is in your hands and the Divine Inspiration comes to you, O Moses? Verily, I have a knowledge that you ought not learn, and you have a knowledge which I ought not learn.' At that time a bird took with its beak (some water) from the sea: Al-Khadir then said, 'By Allah, my knowledge and your knowledge besides Allah's Knowledge is like what this bird has taken with its beak from the sea.' Until, when they went on board the boat (18.71). They found a small boat which used to carry the people from this sea-side to the other sea-side. The crew recognized Al-Khadir and said, 'The pious slave of Allah.' (We said to Said "Was that Khadir?" He said, "Yes.") The boat men said, 'We will not get him on board with fare.' Al-Khadir scuttled the boat and then plugged the hole with a piece o wood. Moses said, 'Have you scuttle it in order to drown these people surely, you have done a dreadful thing. (18.71) (Mujahid said. "Moses said so protestingly.") Al-Khadir said, didn't I say that you can have no patience with me?' (18.72) The first inquiry of Moses was done because of forget fullness, the second caused him to be bound with a stipulation, and the third was done he intentionally. Moses said, 'Call me not to account for what I forgot and be not hard upon me for my affair (with you).' (18.73)

(Then) they found a boy and Al-Khadir killed him. Ya'la-said: Said said 'They found boys playing and Al-Khadir got hold of a handsome infidel boy laid him down and then slew him with knife. Moses said, 'Have you killed a innocent soul who has killed nobody' (18.74) Then they proceeded and found a wall which was on the point of falling down, and Al-Khadir set it up straight Said moved his hand thus and said 'Al-Khadir raised his hand and the wall became straight. Ya'la said, 'I think Said said, 'Al-Khadir touched the wall with his hand and it became straight (Moses said to Al-Khadir), 'If you had wished, you could have taken wages for it. Said said, 'Wages that we might had eaten.' And there was a king in furor (ahead) of them" (18.79) And there was in front of them. Ibn 'Abbas recited: 'In front of them (was) a king.'

It is said on the authority of somebody other than Said that the king was Hudad bin Budad. They say that the boy was called Haisur. 'A king who seized every ship by force. (18.79) So I wished that if that boat passed by him, he would leave it because of its defect and when they have passed they would repair it and get benefit from it. Some people said that they closed that hole with a bottle, and some said with tar. 'His parents were believers, and he (the boy) was a non-believer and we(Khadir) feared lest he would oppress them by obstinate rebellion and disbelief.' (18.80) (i.e. that their love for him would urge them to follow him in his religion, 'so we (Khadir) desired that their Lord should change him for them for one better in righteousness and near to mercy' (18:81). This was in reply to 53

Moses' saying: Have you killed an innocent soul.'? (18.74). 'Near to mercy" means they will be more merciful to him than they were to the former whom Khadir had killed. Other than Sa'id, said that they were compensated with a girl. Dawud bin Abi 'Asim said on the authority of more than one that this next child was a girl.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 251:

Narrated Said bin Jubair:

I said to Ibn 'Abbas, "Nauf-al-Bakali " claims that Moses of Bani Israel was not Moses, the companion of Al-Khadir." Ibn 'Abbas said, "Allah's enemy tells a lie! Ubai bin Ka'b narrated to us that Allah's Apostle said, 'Moses got up to deliver a sermon before Bani Israel and he was asked, 'Who is the most learned person among the people?' Moses replied, 'I (am the most learned).' Allah then admonished Moses for he did not ascribe all knowledge to Allah only (Then) came the Divine Inspiration:-- 'Yes, one of Our slaves at the junction of the two seas is more learned than you.'

Moses said, 'O my Lord ! How can meet him?' Allah said, 'Take a fish in a basket and wherever the fish is lost, follow it (you will find him at that place). So Moses set out along with his attendant Yusha' bin Nun, and they carried with them a fish till they reached a rock and rested there. Moses put his head down and slept. (Sufyan, a sub-narrator said that somebody other than 'Amr said) 'At the rock there was a water spring called 'Al-Hayat' and none came in touch with its water but became alive. So some of the water of that spring fell over that fish, so it moved and slipped out of the basket and entered the sea. When Moses woke up, he asked his attendant, 'Bring our early meal' (18.62).

The narrator added: Moses did not suffer from fatigue except after he had passed the place he had been ordered to observe. His attendant Yusha bin Nun said to him, 'Do you remember (what happened) when we betook ourselves to the rock? I did indeed forget (about) the fish ...' (18.63) The narrator added: So they came back, retracing their steps and then they found in the sea, the way of the fish looking like a tunnel. So there was an astonishing event for his attendant, and there was tunnel for the fish. When they reached the rock, they found a man covered with a garment. Moses greeted him. The man said astonishingly, 'Is there any such greeting in your land?' Moses said, 'I am Moses.' The man said, 'Moses of Bani Israel?' Moses said, 'Yes,' and added, 'may I follow you so that you teach me something of the Knowledge which you have been taught?' (18.66). Al-Khadir said to him, 'O Moses! You have something of Allah's knowledge which Allah has taught you and which I do not know; and I have something of Allah's knowledge which Allah has taught me and which you do not know.' Moses said, 'But I will follow you.' Al-Khadir said, 'Then if you follow me, ask me no question about anything until I myself speak to you concerning it.' (18.70). After that both of them proceeded along the seashore. There passed by them a boat whose crew recognized Al-Khadir and received them on board free of charge. So they both got on

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board. A sparrow came and sat on the edge of the boat and dipped its beak unto the sea. Al-Khadir said to Moses. 'My knowledge and your knowledge and all the creation's knowledge compared to Allah's knowledge is not more than the water taken by this sparrow's beak.'

Then Moses was startled by Al-Khadir's action of taking an adze and scuttling the boat with it. Moses said to him, 'These people gave us a free lift, but you intentionally scuttled their boat so as to drown them. Surely you have...' (18.71) Then they both proceeded and found a boy playing with other boys. Al-Khadir took hold of him by the head and cut it off. Moses said to him, 'Have you killed an innocent soul who has killed nobody? Surely you have done an illegal thing! ' (18.74) He said, "Didn't I tell you that you will not be able to have patient with me up to ..but they refused to entertain them as their guests. There they found a wall therein at the point of collapsing.' (18.75-77) Al-Khadir moved his hand thus and set it upright (repaired it). Moses said to him, 'When we entered this town, they neither gave us hospitality nor fed us; if you had wished, you could have taken wages for it,' Al-Khadir said, 'This is the parting between you and me I will tell you the interpretation of (those things) about which you were unable to hold patience.'...(18.78)

Allah's Apostle said, 'We wished that Moses could have been more patient so that He (Allah) could have described to us more about their story.' Ibn 'Abbas used to recite:-- 'And in front (ahead) of them there was a king who used to seize every (serviceable) boat by force. (18.79) ...and as for the boy he was a disbeliever. "

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 784:

Narrated IsraiI:

Uthman bin 'Abdullah bin Mauhab said, "My people sent me with a bowl of water to Um Salama." Isra'il approximated three fingers ('indicating the small size of the container in which there was some hair of the Prophet. 'Uthman added, "If any person suffered from evil eye or some other disease, he would send a vessel (containing water) to Um Salama. I looked into the container (that held the hair of the Prophet) and saw a few red hairs in it," 54

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 816:

Narrated Humaid bin 'Abdur-Rahman bin 'Auf

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

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 407:

Narrated Abu Musa:

The Prophet used to invoke Allah with the following invocation: 'Rabbi-ghfir-li Khati 'ati wa jahli wa israfi fi amri kullihi, wa ma anta a'lamu bihi minni. Allahumma ighfirli khatayaya wa 'amdi, wa jahli wa jiddi, wa kullu dhalika'indi. Allahumma ighrifli ma qaddamtu wa ma akhartu wa ma asrartu wa ma a'lantu. Anta-l-muqaddimu wa anta-l-mu'akh-khiru, wa anta 'ala kulli shai'in qadir.'

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 408:

Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari:

The Prophet used to invoke Allah, saying, "Allahumma ighfirli khati'ati wa jahli wa israfi fi amri, wa ma anta a-'lamu bihi minni. Allahumma ighfirli hazali wa jiddi wa khata'i wa amdi, wa kullu dhalika 'indi"

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 695:

Narrated Ibn 'Abbas:

While the Prophet was delivering a sermon, he saw a man standing, so he asked about that man. They (the people) said, "It is Abu Israil who has vowed that he will stand and never sit down, and he will never come in the shade, nor speak to anybody, and will fast." The Prophet said, "Order him to speak and let him come in the shade, and make him sit down, but let him complete his fast."

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 20:

Narrated Ibn 'Abbas:

For the children of Israel the punishment for crime was Al-Qisas only (i.e., the law of equality in punishment) and the payment of Blood money was not permitted as an alternate. But Allah said to this nation (Muslims): 'O you who believe! Qisas is prescribed for you in case of murder, ...(up to) ...end of the Verse. (2.178)

Ibn 'Abbas added: Remission (forgiveness) in this Verse, means to accept the Blood-money in an intentional murder. Ibn 'Abbas added: The Verse: 'Then the relatives should demand Blood-money in a reasonable manner.' (2.178) means that the demand should be reasonable and it is to be compensated with handsome gratitude.

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 570:

Narrated Ibn 'Abbas:

That he differed with Al-Hurr bin Qais bin Hisn Al-Fazari about the companion of Moses, (i.e., whether he was Kha,dir or not). Ubai bin Ka'b Al-Ansari passed by them and Ibn 'Abbas called him saying, 'My friend (Hur) and I have differed about Moses' Companion whom Moses asked the way to meet. Did you hear Allah's Apostle mentioning anything about him?" Ubai said, "Yes, I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "While Moses was sitting in the company of some Israelites a man came to him and asked, 'Do you know Someone who is more learned than you (Moses)?' Moses said, 'No.' So Allah sent the Divine inspiration to Moses:--

'Yes, Our Slave Khadir is more learned than you' Moses asked Allah how to meet him (Khadir) So Allah made the fish as a sign for him and it was said to him, 'When you lose the fish, go back (to the place where you lose it) and you will meet him.' So Moses went on looking for the sign of the fish in the sea. The boy servant of Moses (who was accompanying him) said to him, 'Do you remember (what happened) when we betook ourselves to the rock? I did indeed forget to tell you (about) the fish. None but Satan made me forget to tell you about it' (18.63) Moses said:

'That is what we have been seeking." Sa they went back retracing their footsteps. (18.64). So they both found Kadir (there) and then happened what Allah mentioned about them (in the Quran)!' (See 18.60-82)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 608:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

The night Allah's Apostle was taken for a journey from the sacred mosque (of Mecca) Al-Ka'ba: Three persons came to him (in a dreamy while he was sleeping in the Sacred Mosque before the Divine Inspiration was revealed to Him. One of them said, "Which of them is he?" The middle (second) angel said, "He is the best of them." The last (third) angle said, "Take the best of them." Only that much happened on that night and he did not see them till they came on another night, i.e. after The Divine Inspiration was revealed to him. (Fateh-Al-Bari Page 258, Vol. 17) and he saw them, his eyes were asleep but his heart was not----and so is the case with the prophets: their eyes sleep while their hearts do not sleep. So those angels did not talk to him till they carried him and placed him beside the well of Zam-Zam. From among them Gabriel took charge of him. Gabriel cut open (the part of his body) between his throat and the middle of his chest (heart) and took all the material out of his chest and abdomen and then washed it with Zam-Zam water with his own hands till he cleansed the inside of his body, and then a gold tray containing a gold bowl full of belief and wisdom was brought and then Gabriel stuffed his chest and throat blood vessels with it and then closed it (the chest). He then ascended with him to the heaven of the world and knocked on one of its doors.

The dwellers of the Heaven asked, 'Who is it?' He said, "Gabriel." They said, "Who is accompanying you?" He said, "Muhammad." They said, "Has he been called?" He said, "Yes" They said, "He is welcomed." So the dwellers of the Heaven became pleased with his arrival, and they did not know what Allah would do to the Prophet on earth unless Allah informed them. The Prophet met Adam over the nearest Heaven. Gabriel said to the Prophet, "He is your father; greet him." The Prophet greeted him and Adam returned his greeting and said, "Welcome, O my Son! O what a good son you are!" Behold, he saw two flowing rivers, while he was in the nearest sky. He asked, "What are these two rivers, O Gabriel?" Gabriel said, "These are the sources of the Nile and the Euphrates."

Then Gabriel took him around that Heaven and behold, he saw another river at the bank of which there was a palace built of pearls and emerald. He put his hand into the river and found its mud like musk Adhfar. He asked, "What is this, O Gabriel?" Gabriel said, "This is the Kauthar which your Lord has kept for you." Then Gabriel ascended (with him) to the second Heaven and the angels asked the same questions as those on the first Heaven, i.e., "Who is it?" Gabriel replied, "Gabriel". They asked, "Who is accompanying you?" He said, "Muhammad." They asked, "Has he been sent for?" He said, "Yes." Then they said, "He is welcomed." Then he (Gabriel) ascended with the Prophet to the third Heaven, and the angels said the same as the angels of the first and the second Heavens had said.

Then he ascended with him to the fourth Heaven and they said the same; and then he ascended with him to the fifth Heaven and they said the same; and then he ascended with him to the sixth Heaven and they said the same; then he ascended with him to the seventh Heaven and they said the same. On each Heaven there were prophets whose names he had mentioned and of whom I remember Idris on the second Heaven, Aaron on the fourth Heavens another prophet whose name I don't remember, on the fifth Heaven, Abraham on the sixth Heaven, and Moses on the seventh Heaven because of his privilege of talking to Allah directly. Moses said (to Allah), "O Lord! I thought that none would be raised up above me."

But Gabriel ascended with him (the Prophet) for a distance above that, the distance of which only Allah knows, till he reached the Lote Tree (beyond which none may pass) and then the Irresistible, the Lord of Honor and Majesty approached and came closer till he (Gabriel) was about two bow lengths or (even) nearer. (It is said that it was Gabriel who approached and came closer to the Prophet. (Fate Al-Bari Page 263, 264, Vol. 17). Among the things which Allah revealed to him then, was: "Fifty prayers were enjoined on his followers in a day and a night."

Then the Prophet descended till he met Moses, and then Moses stopped him and asked, "O Muhammad ! What did your Lord en join upon you?" The Prophet replied," He enjoined upon me to perform fifty prayers in a day and a night." Moses said, "Your followers cannot do that; Go back so that your Lord may reduce it for you and for them." So the Prophet turned to Gabriel as if he wanted to consult him about that issue. Gabriel told him of his opinion, saying, "Yes, if you wish." So Gabriel ascended with him to the Irresistible and said while he was in his place, "O Lord, please lighten our burden as my followers cannot do that." So Allah deducted for him ten prayers where upon he returned to Moses who stopped him again and kept on sending him back to his Lord till the enjoined prayers were reduced to only five prayers. 56

Then Moses stopped him when the prayers had been reduced to five and said, "O Muhammad! By Allah, I tried to persuade my nation, Bani Israel to do less than this, but they could not do it and gave it up. However, your followers are weaker in body, heart, sight and hearing, so return to your Lord so that He may lighten your burden."

The Prophet turned towards Gabriel for advice and Gabriel did not disapprove of that. So he ascended with him for the fifth time. The Prophet said, "O Lord, my followers are weak in their bodies, hearts, hearing and constitution, so lighten our burden." On that the Irresistible said, "O Muhammad!" the Prophet replied, "Labbaik and Sa'daik." Allah said, "The Word that comes from Me does not change, so it will be as I enjoined on you in the Mother of the Book." Allah added, "Every good deed will be rewarded as ten times so it is fifty (prayers) in the Mother of the Book (in reward) but you are to perform only five (in practice)."

The Prophet returned to Moses who asked, "What have you done?" He said, "He has lightened our burden: He has given us for every good deed a tenfold reward." Moses said, "By Allah! I tried to make Bani Israel observe less than that, but they gave it up. So go back to your Lord that He may lighten your burden further." Allah's Apostle said, "O Moses! By Allah, I feel shy of returning too many times to my Lord." On that Gabriel said, "Descend in Allah's Name." The Prophet then woke while he was in the Sacred Mosque (at Mecca).

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 535:

Narrated Jabir bin 'Abdullah: The Prophet used to pray the Zuhr at mid-day, and the 'Asr at a time when the sun was still bright, the Maghrib after sunset (at its stated time) and the Isha at a variable time. Whenever he saw the people assembled (for Isha' prayer) he would pray earlier and if the people delayed, he would delay the prayer. And they or the Prophet used to offer the Fajr Prayers when it still dark.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 208:

In the year of the conquest of Khaibar I went with Allah's Apostle till we reached Sahba,' a place near Khaibar, where Allah's Apostle offered the 'Asr prayer and asked for food. Nothing but Sawrq was brought. He ordered it to be moistened with water. He and all of us ate it and the Prophet got up for the evening prayer (Maghrib prayer), rinsed his mouth with water and we did the same, and he then prayed without repeating the ablution.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 214:

In the year of the conquest of Khaibar I went with Allah's Apostle till we reached As-Sahba' where Allah's Apostle led the 'Asr prayer and asked for the food. Nothing but Sawiq was brought and we ate it and drank (water). The Prophet got up for the (Maghrib) Prayer, rinsed his mouth with water and then led the prayer without repeating the ablution.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 367:

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

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Thabit asked Anas, "O Abu Hamza! What did the Prophet pay her (as Mahr)?" He said, "Her self was her Mahr for he manumitted her and then married her." Anas added, "While on the way, Um Sulaim dressed her for marriage (ceremony) and at night she sent her as a bride to the Prophet . So the Prophet was a bridegroom and he said, 'Whoever has anything (food) should bring it.' He spread out a leather sheet (for the food) and some brought dates and others cooking butter. (I think he (Anas) mentioned As-SawTq). So they prepared a dish of Hais (a kind of meal). And that was Walrma (the marriage banquet) of Allah's Apostle ."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 584:

Narrated Humaid: Anas bin Malik said, "Whenever the Prophet went out with us to fight (in Allah's cause) against any nation, he never allowed us to attack till morning and he would wait and see: if he heard Adhan he would postpone the attack and if he did not hear Adhan he would attack them." Anas added, "We reached Khaibar at night and in the morning when he did not hear the Adhan for the prayer, he (the Prophet) rode and I rode behind Abi Talha and my foot was touching that of the Prophet.

The inhabitants of Khaibar came out with their baskets and spades and when they saw the Prophet they shouted 'Muhammad! By Allah, Muhammad and his army.' When Allah's Apostle saw them, he said, "Allahu-Akbar! Allahu-Akbar! Khaibar is ruined. Whenever we approach a (hostile) nation (to fight), then evil will be the morning of those who have been warned."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 812:

Narrated Ibn 'Umar:

During the holy battle of Khaibar the Prophet said, "Whoever ate from this plant (i.e. garlic) should not enter our mosque."

Volume 2, Book 14, Number 68:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

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

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 405:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri and Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle appointed somebody as a governor of Khaibar. That governor brought to him an excellent kind of dates (from Khaibar). The Prophet asked, "Are all the dates of Khaibar like this?" He replied, "By Allah, no, O Allah's Apostle! But we barter one Sa of this (type of dates) for two Sas of dates of ours and two Sas of it for three of ours." Allah's Apostle said, "Do not do so (as that is a kind of usury) but sell the mixed dates (of inferior quality) for money, and then buy good dates with that money."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 437:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

The Prophet came to Khaibar and when Allah made him victorious and he conquered the town by breaking the enemy's defense, the beauty of Safiya bint Huyai bin Akhtab was mentioned to him and her husband had been killed while she was a bride. Allah's Apostle selected her for himself and he set out in her company till he reached Sadd-ar-Rawha' where her menses were over and he married her. Then Hais (a kind of meal) was prepared and served on a small leather sheet (used for serving meals). Allah's Apostle then said to me, "Inform those who are around you (about the wedding banquet)." So that was the marriage banquet given by Allah's Apostle for (his marriage with) Safiya. After that we proceeded to Medina and I saw that Allah's Apostle was covering her with a cloak while she was behind him. Then he would sit beside his camel and let Safiya put her feet on his knees to ride (the camel).

Volume 3, Book 38, Number 499:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri and Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle employed someone as a governor at Khaibar. When the man came to Medina, he brought with him dates called Janib. The Prophet asked him, "Are all the dates of Khaibar of this kind?" The man replied, "(No), we exchange two Sa's of bad dates for one Sa of this kind of dates (i.e. Janib), or exchange three Sa's for two." On that, the Prophet said, "Don't do so, as it is a kind of usury (Riba) but sell the dates of inferior quality for money, and then buy Janib with the money". The Prophet said the same thing about dates sold by weight. (See Hadith No. 506).

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 521:

Narrated 'Abdullah bin 'Umar:

The Prophet concluded a contract with the people of Khaibar to utilize the land on the condition that half the products of fruits or vegetation would be their share. The Prophet used to give his wives one hundred Wasqs each, eighty Wasqs of dates and twenty Wasqs of barley. (When 'Umar became the Caliph) he gave the wives of the Prophet the option of either having the land and water as their shares, or carrying on the previous practice. Some of them chose the land and some chose the Wasqs, and 'Aisha chose the land.

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 522:

Narrated Ibn 'Umar:

The Prophet made a deal with the people of Khaibar that they would have half the fruits and vegetation of the land they cultivated.

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 527:

Narrated Zaid bin Aslam from his father:

Umar said, "But for the future Muslim generations, I would have distributed the land of the villages I conquer among the soldiers as the Prophet distributed the land of Khaibar."

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 657:

Narrated Salama bin Al-Akwa:

On the day of Khaibar the Prophet saw fires being lighted. He asked, "Why are these fires being lighted?" The people replied that they were cooking the meat of donkeys. He said, "Break the pots and throw away their contents." The people said, "Shall we throw away their contents and wash the pots (rather than break them)?" He said, "Wash them."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 799:

Narrated Ibn Shihab Az-Zuhri:

Anas bin Malik said, "When the emigrants came Medina, they had nothing whereas the Ansar had land and property. The Ansar gave them their land on condition that the emigrants would give them half the yearly yield and work on the land and provide the necessaries for cultivation." His (i.e. Anas's mother who was also the mother of 'Abdullah bin Abu Talha, gave some date-palms to Allah' Apostle who gave them to his freed slave-girl (Um Aiman) who was also the mother of Usama bin Zaid. When the Prophet finished from the fighting against the people of Khaibar and returned to Medina, the emigrants returned to the Ansar the fruit gifts which the Ansar had given them. The Prophet also returned to Anas's mother the date-pallms. Allah's Apostle gave Um Aiman other trees from his garden in lieu of the old gift.

Volume 3, Book 49, Number 865:

Narrated Sahl bin Abu Hathma:

Abdullah bin Sahl and Muhaiyisa bin Mas'ud bin Zaid went to Khaibar when it had a peace treaty (with the Muslims).

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 895:

Narrated Ibn 'Umar:

Umar bin Khattab got some land in Khaibar and he went to the Prophet to consult him about it saying, "O Allah' Apostle got some land in Khaibar better than which I have never had, what do you suggest that I do with it?" The Prophet said, "If you like you can give the land as endowment and give its fruits in charity." So Umar gave it in charity as an endowment on the condition that would not be sold nor given to anybody as a present and not to be inherited, but its yield would be given in charity to the poor people, to the Kith and kin, for freeing slaves, for Allah's Cause, to the travelers and guests; and that there would be no harm if the guardian of the endowment ate from it according to his need with good intention, and fed others without storing it for the future."

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 20:

Narrated Kab bin Malik:

I said, "O Allah's Apostle! For the acceptance of my repentance I wish to give all my property in charity for Allah's sake through His Apostle ." He said, "It is better for you to keep some of the property for yourself." I said, "Then I will keep my share in Khaibar."

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 33:

Narrated Ibn 'Umar:

When 'Umar got a piece of land in Khaibar, he came to the Prophet saying, "I have got a piece of land, better than which I have never got. So what do you advise me regarding it?" The Prophet said, "If you wish you can keep it as an endowment to be used for charitable purposes." So, 'Umar gave the land in charity (i.e. as an endowments on the condition that the land would neither be sold nor given as a present, nor bequeathed, (and its yield) would be used for the poor, the kinsmen, the emancipation of slaves, Jihad, and for guests and travelers; and its administrator could eat in a reasonable just manner, and he also could feed his friends without intending to be wealthy by its means."

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 34:

Narrated Ibn 'Umar:

Umar got some property in Khaibar and he came to the Prophet and informed him about it. The Prophet said to him, "If you wish you can give it in charity." So 'Umar gave it in charity (i.e. as an endowment) the yield of which was to be used for the good of the poor, the needy, the kinsmen and the guests.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 80n:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

I went to Allah's Apostle while he was at Khaibar after it had fallen in the Muslims' hands. I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Give me a share (from the land of Khaibar)."

One of the sons of Sa'id bin Al-'As said, "O Allah's Apostle! Do not give him a share." I said, "This is the murderer of Ibn Qauqal." The son of Said bin Al-As said, "Strange! A Wabr (i.e. guinea pig) who has come down to us from the mountain of Qaduim (i.e. grazing place of sheep) blames me for killing a Muslim who was given superiority by Allah because of me, and Allah did not disgrace me at his hands (i.e. was not killed as an infidel)." (The sub-narrator said "I do not know whether the Prophet gave him a share or not.")

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 139:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

I went along with the Prophet to Khaibar so as to serve him. (Later on) when the Prophet returned he, on seeing the Uhud mountain, said, "This is a mountain that loves us andis loved by us." Then he pointed to Medina with his hand saying, "O Allah! I make the area which is in between Medina's two mountains a sanctuary, as Abraham made Mecca a sanctuary. O Allah! Bless us in our Sa and Mudd (i.e. units of measuring)."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 143:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

The Prophet said to Abu Talha, "Choose one of your boy servants to serve me in my expedition to Khaibar." So, Abu Talha took me letting me ride behind him while I was a boy nearing the age of puberty. I used to serve Allah's Apostle when he stopped to rest. I heard him saying repeatedly, "O Allah! I seek refuge with You from distress and sorrow, from helplessness and laziness, from miserliness and cowardice, from being heavily in debt and from being overcome by men." Then we reached Khaibar; and when Allah enabled him to conquer the Fort (of Khaibar), the beauty of Safiya bint Huyai bin Akhtab was described to him. Her husband had been killed while she was a bride. So Allah's Apostle selected her for himself and took her along with him till we reached a place called Sad-AsSahba,' where her menses were over and he took her for his wife. Haris (a kind of dish) was served on a small leather sheet. Then Allah's Apostle told me to call those who were around me. So, that was the marriage banquet of Allah's Apostle and Safiya. Then we left for Medina. I saw Allah's Apostle folding a cloak round the hump of the camel so as to make a wide space for Safiya (to sit on behind him) He sat beside his camel letting his knees for Safiya to put her feet on so as to mount the camel. Then, we proceeded till we approached Medina; he looked at Uhud (mountain) and said, "This is a mountain which loves us and is loved by us." Then he looked at Medina and said, "O Allah! I make the area between its (i.e. Medina's) two mountains a sanctuary as Abraham made Mecca a sanctuary. O Allah! Bless them (i.e. the people of Medina) in their Mudd and Sa (i.e. measures)."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 160:

Narrated 'Amr bin Al-Harith:

The Prophet did not leave behind him after his death, anything except his arms, his white mule, and a piece of land at Khaibar which he left to be given in charity .

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 192:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad:

That he heard the Prophet on the day (of the battle) of Khaibar saying, "I will give the flag to a person at whose hands Allah will grant victory." So, the companions of the Prophet got up, wishing eagerly to see to whom the flag will be given, and everyone of them wished to be given the flag. But the Prophet asked for 'Ali. Someone informed him that he was suffering from eye-trouble. So, he ordered them to bring 'Ali in front of him. Then the Prophet spat in his eyes and his eyes were cured immediately as if he had never any eye-trouble. 'Ali said, "We will fight with them (i.e. infidels) till they become like us (i.e. Muslims)." The Prophet said, "Be patient, till you face them and invite them to Islam and inform them of what Allah has enjoined upon them. By Allah! If a single person embraces Islam at your hands (i.e. through you), that will be better for you than the red camels."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 193:

Narrated Anas:

Whenever Allah's Apostle attacked some people, he would never attack them till it was dawn. If he heard the Adhan (i.e. call for prayer) he would delay the fight, and if he did not hear the Adhan, he would attack them immediately after dawn. We reached Khaibar at night.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 219c:

Narrated Salama bin Al-Akwa:

Ali remained behind the Prophet during the battle of Khaibar as he way suffering from some eye trouble but then he said, "How should I stay behind Allah's Apostle?" So, he set out till he joined the Prophet. On the eve of the day of the conquest of Khaibar, Allah's Apostle said, "(No doubt) I will give the flag or, tomorrow, a man whom Allah and 61

His Apostle love or who loves Allah and His apostle will take the flag. Allah will bestow victory upon him." Suddenly 'Ali joined us though we were not expecting him. The people said, "Here is 'Ali. "So, Allah's Apostle gave the flag to him and Allah bestowed victory upon him.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 224:

Narrated Suwaid bin An-Nu'man:

That he went out in the company o; the Prophet during the year of Khaibar (campaign till they reached a place called As-Sahba', the lower part of Khaibar. They offered the 'Asr prayer (there) and the Prophet asked for the food. Nothing but Sawiq was brought to the Prophet. So, they chewed it and ate it and drank water. After that the Prophet got up, washed

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his mouth, and they too washed their mouths and then offered the prayer.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 234:

Narrated Anas:

The Prophet reached Khaibar in the morning, while the people were coming out carrying their spades over their shoulders. When they saw him they said, "This is Muhammad and his army! Muhammad and his army!" So, they took refuge in the fort. The Prophet raised both his hands and said, "Allahu Akbar, Khaibar is ruined, for when we approach a nation (i.e. enemy to fight) then miserable is the morning of the warned ones." Then we found some donkeys which we (killed and) cooked: The announcer of the Prophet announced: "Allah and His Apostle forbid you to eat donkey's meat." So, all the pots including their contents were turned upside down.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 253:

Narrated Sahl:

On the day (of the battle) of Khaibar the Prophet said, "Tomorrow I will give the flag to somebody who will be given victory (by Allah) and who loves Allah and His Apostle and is loved by Allah and His Apostle." So, the people wondered all that night as to who would receive the flag and in the morning everyone hoped that he would be that person. Allah's Apostle asked, "Where is 'Ali?" He was told that 'Ali was suffering from eye-trouble, so he applied saliva to his eyes and invoked Allah to cure him. He at once got cured as if he had no ailment. The Prophet gave him the flag. 'Ali said, "Should I fight them till they become like us (i.e. Muslim)?" The Prophet said, "Go to them patiently and calmly till you enter the land. Then, invite them to Islam, and inform them what is enjoined upon them, for, by Allah, if Allah gives guidance to somebody through you, it is better for you than possessing red camels."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 325:

Narrated 'Aisha:

(mother of the believers) After the death of Allah 's Apostle Fatima the daughter of Allah's Apostle asked Abu Bakr As-Siddiq to give her, her share of inheritance from what Allah's Apostle had left of the Fai (i.e. booty gained without fighting) which Allah had given him. Abu Bakr said to her, "Allah's Apostle said, 'Our property will not be inherited, whatever we (i.e. prophets) leave is Sadaqa (to be used for charity)." Fatima, the daughter of Allah's Apostle got angry and stopped speaking to Abu Bakr, and continued assuming that attitude till she died. Fatima remained alive for six months after the death of Allah's Apostle.

She used to ask Abu Bakr for her share from the property of Allah's Apostle which he left at Khaibar, and Fadak, and his property at Medina (devoted for charity). Abu Bakr refused to give her that property and said, "I will not leave anything Allah's Apostle used to do, because I am afraid that if I left something from the Prophet's tradition, then I would go astray." (Later on) Umar gave the Prophet's property (of Sadaqa) at Medina to 'Ali and 'Abbas, but he withheld the properties of Khaibar and Fadak in his custody and said, "These two properties are the Sadaqa which Allah's Apostle used to use for his expenditures and urgent needs. Now their management is to be entrusted to the ruler." (Az-Zuhrl said, "They have been managed in this way till today.")

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 354:

Narrated Aslam:

'Umar said, "Were it not for those Muslims who have not come to existence yet, I would have distributed (the land of) every town I conquer among the fighters as the Prophet distributed the land of Khaibar."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 364:

Narrated Abu Musa:

We got the news of the migration of the Prophet while we were in Yemen, so we set out migrating to him. We were, I and my two brothers, I being the youngest, and one of my brothers was Abu Burda and the other was Abu Ruhm. We were over fifty (or fifty-three or fifty two) men from our people. We got on board a ship which took us to An-Najashi in Ethiopia, and there we found Ja'far bin Abu Talib and his companions with An-Najaishi. Ja'far said (to us), "Allah's Apostle has sent us here and ordered us to stay here, so you too, stay with us." We stayed with him till we all left (Ethiopia) and met the Prophet at the time when he had conquered Khaibar. He gave us a share from its booty (or gave us from its booty). He gave only to those who had taken part in the Ghazwa with him. but he did not give any share to any person who had not participated in Khaibar's conquest except the people of our ship, besides Ja'far and his companions, whom he gave a share as he did them (i.e. the people of the ship).

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 381:

Narrated 'Abdullah bin Mughaffal:

While we were besieging the fort of Khaibar, a person threw a leather container containing fat, and I ran to take it, but when I turned I saw the Prophet (standing behind), so I felt embarrassed in front of him.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 383:

Narrated Ibn Abi Aufa:

We were afflicted with hunger during the besiege of Khaibar, and when it was the day of (the battle of) Khaibar, we slaughtered the donkeys and when the pots got boiling (with their meat). Allah's Apostle made an announcement that all the pots should be upset and that nobody should eat anything of the meat of the donkeys. We thought that the Prophet prohibited that because the Khumus had not been taken out of the booty (i.e. donkeys); other people said, "He prohibited eating them for ever." The sub-narrator added, "I asked Said bin Jubair who said, 'He has made the eating of donkeys' meat illegal for ever.")

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 840:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

Allah's Apostle reached Khaibar in the early morning and the people of Khaibar came out with their spades, and when they saw the Prophet they said, "Muhammad and his army!" and returned hurriedly to take refuge in the fort. The Prophet raised his hands and said, "Allah is Greater! Khaibar is ruined ! If we approach a nation, then miserable is the morning of those who are warned."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 52:

Narrated Salama:

Ali happened to stay behind the Prophet and (did not join him) during the battle of Khaibar for he was having eye trouble. Then he said, "How could I remain behind Allah's Apostle?" So 'Ali set out following the Prophet , When it was the eve of the day in the morning of which Allah helped (the Muslims) to conquer it, Allah's Apostle said, "I will give the flag (to a man), or tomorrow a man whom Allah and His Apostle love will take the flag," or said, "A man who loves Allah and His Apostle; and Allah will grant victory under his leadership." Suddenly came 'Ali whom we did not expect. The people said, "This is 'Ali." Allah's Apostle gave him the flag and Allah granted victory under his leadership.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 60:

Narrated 'Aisha:

Fatima sent somebody to Abu Bakr asking him to give her her inheritance from the Prophet from what Allah had given to His Apostle through Fai (i.e. booty gained without fighting). She asked for the Sadaqa (i.e. wealth assigned for charitable purposes) of the Prophet at Medina, and Fadak, and what remained of the Khumus (i.e., one-fifth) of 63

the Khaibar booty. Abu Bakr said, "Allah's Apostle said, 'We (Prophets), our property is not inherited, and whatever we leave is Sadaqa, but Muhammad's Family can eat from this property, i.e. Allah's property, but they have no right to take more than the food they need.' By Allah! I will not bring any change in dealing with the Sadaqa of the Prophet (and will keep them) as they used to be observed in his (i.e. the Prophet's) life-time, and I will dispose with it as Allah's Apostle used to do," Then 'Ali said, "I testify that None has the right to be worshipped but Allah, and that Muhammad is His Apostle," and added, "O Abu Bakr! We acknowledge your superiority." Then he (i.e. 'Ali) mentioned their own relationship to Allah's Apostle and their right. Abu Bakr then spoke saying, "By Allah in Whose Hands my life is. I love to do good to the relatives of Allah's Apostle rather than to my own relatives" Abu Bark added: Look at Muhammad through his family (i.e. if you are no good to his family you are not good to him).

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 216:

Narrated Abu Musa:

We received the news of the departure of the Prophet (to Medina) while we were in Yemen. So we went on board a ship but our ship took us away to An-Najashi (the Negus) in Ethiopia. There we met Ja'far bin Abi Talib and stayed with him till we came (to Medina) by the time when the Prophet had conquered Khaibar. The Prophet said, "O you people of the ship! You will have (the reward of) two migrations."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 368:

Narrated 'Aisha:

Fatima and Al'Abbas came to Abu Bakr, claiming their inheritance of the Prophet's land of Fadak and his share from Khaibar. Abu Bakr said, "I heard the Prophet saying, 'Our property is not inherited, and whatever we leave is to be given in charity. But the family of Muhammad can take their sustenance from this property.' By Allah, I would love to do good to the Kith and kin of Allah's Apostle rather than to my own Kith and kin."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 399:

Narrated Jafar bin 'Amr bin Umaiya:

I went out with 'Ubaidullah bin 'Adi Al-Khaiyar. When we reached Hims (i.e. a town in Syria), 'Ubaidullah bin 'Adi said (to me), "Would you like to see Wahshi so that we may ask him about the killing of Hamza?" I replied, "Yes." Wahshi used to live in Hims. We enquired about him and somebody said to us, "He is that in the shade of his palace, as if he were a full water skin." So we went up to him, and when we were at a short distance from him, we greeted him and he greeted us in return. 'Ubaidullah was wearing his turban and Wahshi could not see except his eyes and feet. 'Ubaidullah said, "O Wahshi! Do you know me?" Wahshi looked at him and then said, "No, by Allah! But I know that 'Adi bin Al-Khiyar married a woman called Um Qital, the daughter of Abu Al-Is, and she delivered a boy for him at Mecca, and I looked for a wet nurse for that child. (Once) I carried that child along with his mother and then I handed him over to her, and your feet resemble that child's feet." Then 'Ubaidullah uncovered his face and said (to Wahshi), "Will you tell us (the story of) the killing of Hamza?" Wahshi replied "Yes, Hamza killed Tuaima bin 'Adi bin Al-Khaiyar at Badr (battle) so my master, Jubair bin Mut'im said to me, 'If you kill Hamza in revenge for my uncle, then you will be set free." When the people set out (for the battle of Uhud) in the year of 'Ainain ..'Ainain is a mountain near the mountain of Uhud, and between it and Uhud there is a valley.. I went out with the people for the battle. When the army aligned for the fight, Siba' came out and said, 'Is there any (Muslim) to accept my challenge to a duel?' Hamza bin 'Abdul Muttalib came out and said, 'O Siba'. O Ibn Um Anmar, the one who circumcises other ladies! Do you challenge Allah and His Apostle?" Then Hamza attacked and killed him, causing him to be non-extant like the bygone yesterday. I hid myself under a rock, and when he (i.e. Hamza) came near me, I threw my spear at him, driving it into his umbilicus so that it came out through his buttocks, causing him to die. When all the people returned to Mecca, I too returned with them. I stayed in (Mecca) till Islam spread in it (i.e. Mecca). Then I left for Taif, and when the people (of Taif) sent their messengers to Allah's Apostle, I was told that the Prophet did not harm the messengers; So I too went out with them till I reached Allah's Apostle. When he saw me, he said, 'Are you Wahshi?' I said, 'Yes.' He said, 'Was it you who killed Hamza?' I replied, 'What happened is what you have been told of.' He said, 'Can you hide your face from me?' So I went out when Allah's Apostle died, and Musailamah Al-Kadhdhab appeared (claiming to be a prophet). I said, 'I will go out to Musailamah so that I may kill him, and make amends for killing Hamza. So I went out with the people (to fight Musailamah and his followers) and then famous events took place concerning that battle. Suddenly I saw a man (i.e. Musailamah) standing near a gap in a wall. He looked like an ash-colored camel and his hair was dishevelled. So I threw my spear at him, driving it into his chest in between his breasts till it passed out through his shoulders, and then an Ansari man attacked him 64

and struck him on the head with a sword. 'Abdullah bin 'Umar said, 'A slave girl on the roof of a house said: Alas! The chief of the believers (i.e. Musailamah) has been killed by a black slave."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 458:

Narrated Jabir bin 'Abdullah:

That he fought in a Ghazwa towards Najd along with Allah's Apostle and when Allah's Apostle returned, he too, returned along with him. The time of the afternoon nap overtook them when they were in a valley full of thorny trees. Allah's Apostle dismounted and the people dispersed amongst the thorny trees, seeking the shade of the trees. Allah's Apostle took shelter under a Samura tree and hung his sword on it. We slept for a while when Allah's Apostle suddenly called us, and we went to him, to find a bedouin sitting with him. Allah's Apostle said, "This (bedouin) took my sword out of its sheath while I was asleep. When I woke up, the naked sword was in his hand and he said to me, 'Who can save you from me?, I replied, 'Allah.' Now here he is sitting." Allah's Apostle did not punish him (for that).

Through another group of narrators, Jabir said, "We were in the company of the Prophet (during the battle of) Dhat-ur-Riqa', and we came across a shady tree and we left it for the Prophet (to take rest under its shade). A man from the pagans came while the Prophet's sword was hanging on the tree. He took it out of its sheath secretly and said (to the Prophet), 'Are you afraid of me?' The Prophet said, 'No.' He said, 'Who can save you from me?' The Prophet said, Allah.' The companions of the Prophet threatened him, then the Iqama for the prayer was announced and the Prophet offered a two Rakat Fear prayer with one of the two batches, and that batch went aside and he offered two Rak'a-t with the other batch. So the Prophet offered four Rakat but the people offered two Rakat only." (The sub-narrator) Abu Bishr added, "The man was Ghaurath bin Al-Harith and the battle was waged against Muharib Khasafa." Jabir added, "We were with the Prophet at Nakhl and he offered the Fear prayer." Abu Huraira said, "I offered the Fear prayer with the Prophet during the Ghazwa (i.e. the battle) of Najd." Abu Huraira came to the Prophet during the day of Khaibar.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 508:

Narrated Suwaid bin An-Numan:

I went out in the company of the Prophet in the year of Khaibar, and when we reached As Sahba' which is the lower part of Khaibar, the Prophet offered the Asr prayer and then asked the people to collect the journey food. Nothing was brought but Sawiq which the Prophet ordered to be moistened with water, and then he ate it and we also ate it. Then he got up to offer the Maghrib prayer. He washed his mouth, and we too washed our mouths, and then he offered the prayer without repeating his abulution.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 512:

Narrated Anas:

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 515:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

We witnessed (the battle of) Khaibar. Allah's Apostle said about one of those who were with him and who claimed to be a Muslim. "This (man) is from the dwellers of the Hell-Fire." When the battle started, that fellow fought so violently and bravely that he received plenty of wounds. Some of the people were about to doubt (the Prophet's statement), but the man, feeling the pain of his wounds, put his hand into his quiver and took out of it, some arrows with which he slaughtered himself (i.e. committed suicide). Then some men amongst the Muslims came hurriedly and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Allah has made your statement true so-and-so has committed suicide. "The Prophet said, "O so-and-so! Get up and make an announcement that none but a believer will enter Paradise and that Allah may support the religion with an unchaste (evil) wicked man. 65

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 516:

Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ashari:

When Allah's Apostle fought the battle of Khaibar, or when Allah's Apostle went towards it, (whenever) the people, (passed over a high place overlooking a valley, they raised their voices saying, "Allahu-Akbar! Allahu-Akbar! None has the right to be worshipped except Allah." On that Allah's Apostle said (to them), "Lower your voices, for you are not calling a deaf or an absent one, but you are calling a Hearer Who is near and is with you." I was behind the riding animal of Allah's Apostle and he heard me saying. "There Is neither might, nor power but with Allah," On that he said to me, "O Abdullah bin Qais!" I said, "Labbaik. O Allah's Apostle!" He said, "Shall I tell you a sentence which is one of the treasures of Paradise" I said, "Yes, O Allah's Apostle! Let my father and mother be sacrificed for your sake." He said, "It is: There is neither might nor power but with Allah."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 517:

Narrated Yazid bin Abi Ubaid:

I saw the trace of a wound in Salama's leg. I said to him, "O Abu Muslim! What is this wound?" He said, "This was inflicted on me on the day of Khaibar and the people said, 'Salama has been wounded.' Then I went to the Prophet and he puffed his saliva in it (i.e. the wound) thrice., and since then I have not had any pain in it till this hour."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 520:

Narrated Salama:

Ali remained behind the Prophet during the Ghazwa of Khaibar as he was suffering from eye trouble. He then said, "(How can) I remain behind the Prophet ," and followed him. So when he slept on the night of the conquest of Khaibar, the Prophet said, "I will give the flag tomorrow, or tomorrow the flag will be taken by a man who is loved by Allah and His Apostle , and (Khaibar) will be conquered through him, (with Allah's help)" While every one of us was hopeful to have the flag, it was said, "Here is 'Ali" and the Prophet gave him the flag and Khaibar was conquered through him (with Allah's Help).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 521:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad:

On the day of Khaibar, Allah's Apostle said, "Tomorrow I will give this flag to a man through whose hands Allah will give us victory. He loves Allah and His Apostle, and he is loved by Allah and His Apostle." The people remained that night, wondering as to who would be given it. In the morning the people went to Allah's Apostle and everyone of them was hopeful to receive it (i.e. the flag). The Prophet said, "Where is Ali bin Abi Talib?" It was said, "He is suffering from eye trouble O Allah's Apostle." He said, "Send for him." 'Ali was brought and Allah's Apostle spat in his eye and invoked good upon him. So 'Ali was cured as if he never had any trouble. Then the Prophet gave him the flag. 'Ali said "O Allah's Apostle! I will fight with them till they become like us." Allah's Apostle said, "Proceed and do not hurry. When you enter their territory, call them to embrace Islam and inform them of Allah's Rights which they should observe, for by Allah, even if a single man is led on the right path (of Islam) by Allah through you, then that will be better for you than the nice red camels.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 522:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

We arrived at Khaibar, and when Allah helped His Apostle to open the fort, the beauty of Safiya bint Huyai bin Akhtaq whose husband had been killed while she was a bride, was mentioned to Allah's Apostle. The Prophet selected her for himself, and set out with her, and when we reached a place called Sidd-as-Sahba,' Safiya became clean from her menses then Allah's Apostle married her. Hais (i.e. an 'Arabian dish) was prepared on a small leather mat. Then the Prophet said to me, "I invite the people around you." So that was the marriage banquet of the Prophet and Safiya. Then we proceeded towards Medina, and I saw the Prophet, making for her a kind of cushion with his cloak behind him (on his camel). He then sat beside his camel and put his knee for Safiya to put her foot on, in order to ride (on the camel).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 523:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

The Prophet stayed with Safiya bint Huyai for three days on the way of Khaibar where he consummated his marriage with her. Safiya was amongst those who were ordered to use a veil.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 524:

Narrated Anas:

The Prophet stayed for three rights between Khaibar and Medina and was married to Safiya. I invited the Muslim to h s marriage banquet and there wa neither meat nor bread in that banquet but the Prophet ordered Bilal to spread the leather mats on which dates, dried yogurt and butter were put. The Muslims said amongst themselves, "Will she (i.e. Safiya) be one of the mothers of the believers, (i.e. one of the wives of the Prophet) or just (a lady captive) of what his right-hand possesses" Some of them said, "If the Prophet makes her observe the veil, then she will be one of the mothers of the believers (i.e. one of the Prophet's wives), and if he does not make her observe the veil, then she will be his lady slave." So when he departed, he made a place for her behind him (on his and made her observe the veil.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 525:

Narrated 'Abdullah bin Mughaffal:

While we were besieging Khaibar, a person threw a leather container containing some fat and I ran to take it. Suddenly I looked behind, and behold! The Prophet was there. So I felt shy (to take it then).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 526:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

On the day of Khaiber, Allah's Apostle forbade the eating of garlic and the meat of donkeys.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 527:

Narrated 'Ali bin Abi Talib:

On the day of Khaibar, Allah's Apostle forbade the Mut'a (i.e. temporary marriage) and the eating of donkey-meat.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 528:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

On the day of Khaibar, Allah's Apostle forbade the eating of donkey meat.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 530:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

On the day of Khaibar, Allah's Apostle forbade the eating of donkey meat and allowed the eating of horse meat.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 531:

Narrated Ibn Abi Aufa:

We where afflicted with severe hunger on the day of Khaibar. While the cooking pots were boiling and some of the food was well-cooked, the announcer of the Prophet came to say, "Do not eat anything the donkey-meat and upset the cooking pots." We then thought that the Prophet had prohibited such food because the Khumus had not been taken out of it. Some others said, "He prohibited the meat of donkeys from the point of view of principle, because donkeys used to eat dirty things." 67

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 533:

Narrated Al-Bara' and Ibn Abi Aufa:

On the day of Khaibar when the cooking pots were put on the fire, the Prophet said, "Turn the cooking pots upside down."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 535:

Narrated Al-Bara Bin Azib:

During the Ghazwa of Khaibar, the Prophet ordered us to throw away the meat of the donkeys whether it was still raw or cooked. He did not allow us to eat it later on.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 536:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

I do not know whether the Prophet forbade the eating of donkey-meat (temporarily) because they were the beasts of burden for the people, and he disliked that their means of transportation should be lost, or he forbade it on the day of Khaibar permanently.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 537:

Narrated Ibn 'Umar:

On the day of Khaibar, Allah's Apostle divided (the war booty of Khaibar) with the ratio of two shares for the horse and one-share for the foot soldier. (The sub-narrator, Nafi' explained this, saying, "If a man had a horse, he was given three shares and if he had no horse, then he was given one share.")

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 538:

Narrated Jubair bin Mutim:

Uthman bin 'Affan and I went to the Prophet and said, "You had given Banu Al-Muttalib from the Khumus of Khaibar's booty and left us in spite of the fact that we and Banu Al-Muttalib are similarly related to you." The Prophet said, "Banu Hashim and Banu Al-Muttalib only are one and the same." So the Prophet did not give anything to Banu Abd Shams and Banu Nawfal.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 539:

Narrated Abu Musa:

The news of the migration of the Prophet (from Mecca to Medina) reached us while we were in Yemen. So we set out as emigrants towards him. We were (three) I and my two brothers. I was the youngest of them, and one of the two was Abu Burda, and the other, Abu Ruhm, and our total number was either 53 or 52 men from my people. We got on board a boat and our boat took us to Negus in Ethiopia. There we met Ja'far bin Abi Talib and stayed with him. Then we all came (to Medina) and met the Prophet at the time of the conquest of Khaibar. Some of the people used to say to us, namely the people of the ship, "We have migrated before you." Asma' bint 'Umais who was one of those who had come with us, came as a visitor to Hafsa, the wife the Prophet . She had migrated along with those other Muslims who migrated to Negus. 'Umar came to Hafsa while Asma' bint 'Umais was with her. 'Umar, on seeing Asma,' said, "Who is this?" She said, "Asma' bint 'Umais," 'Umar said, "Is she the Ethiopian? Is she the sea-faring lady?" Asma' replied, "Yes." 'Umar said, "We have migrated before you (people of the boat), so we have got more right than you over Allah's Apostle " On that Asma' became angry and said, "No, by Allah, while you were with Allah's Apostle who was feeding the hungry ones amongst you, and advised the ignorant ones amongst you, we were in the far-off hated land of Ethiopia, and all that was for the sake of Allah's Apostle . By Allah, I will neither eat any food nor drink anything till I inform Allah's Apostle of all that you have said. There we were harmed and frightened. I will mention this to the Prophet and will not tell a lie or curtail your saying or add something to it." So when the Prophet came, she said, "O Allah's Prophet 'Umar has said so-and-so." He said (to Asma'), "What did you say to him?" Asma's aid, "I told him so-and-so." The Prophet said, "He (i.e. 'Umar) has not got more right than you people over me, as he and his companions have (the reward of) only one migration, and you, the people of the boat, have (the reward of) two migrations." Asma' later on said, "I saw Abu Musa and the other people of the boat coming to me in successive groups, asking me about this narration,, and to them nothing in the world was more cheerful and greater than what the Prophet had said about them."

Narrated Abu Burda: Asma' said, "I saw Abu Musa requesting me to repeat this narration again and again."

Narrated Abu Burda: Abu Musa said, "The Prophet said, "I recognize the voice of the group of Al-Ashariyun, when they recite the Qur'an, when they enter their homes at night, and I recognize their houses by (listening) to their voices when they are reciting the Qur'an at night although I have not seen their houses when they came to them during the day time. Amongst them is Hakim who, on meeting the cavalry or the enemy, used to say to them (i.e. the enemy). My companions order you to wait for them.' "

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 540:

Narrated Abu Musa:

We came upon the Prophet after he had conquered Khaibar. He then gave us a share (from the booty), but apart from us he did not give to anybody else who did not attend the Conquest.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 541:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

When we conquered Khaibar, we gained neither gold nor silver as booty, but we gained cows, camels, goods and gardens. Then we departed with Allah's Apostle to the valley of Al-Qira, and at that time Allah's Apostle had a slave called Mid'am who had been presented to him by one of Banu Ad-Dibbab. While the slave was dismounting the saddle of Allah's Apostle an arrow the thrower of which was unknown, came and hit him. The people said, "Congratulations to him for the martyrdom." Allah's Apostle said, "No, by Him in Whose Hand my soul is, the sheet (of cloth) which he had taken (illegally) on the day of Khaibar from the booty before the distribution of the booty, has become a flame of Fire burning him." On hearing that, a man brought one or two leather straps of shoes to the Prophet and said, "These are things I took (illegally)." On that Allah's Apostle said, "This is a strap, or these are two straps of Fire."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 542:

Narrated 'Umar bin Al-Khattab:

By Him in Whose Hand my soul is, were I not afraid that the other Muslims might be left in poverty, I would divide (the land of) whatever village I may conquer (among the fighters), as the Prophet divided the land of Khaibar. But I prefer to leave it as a (source of) a common treasury for them to distribute it revenue amongst themselves.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 543:

Narrated 'Umar:

But for the other Muslims (i.e. coming generations) I would divide (the land of) whatever villages the Muslims might conquer (among the fighters), as the Prophet divided (the land of) Khaibar.

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Narrated 'Anbasa bin Said:

Abu Huraira came to the Prophet and asked him (for a share from the Khaibar booty). On that, one of the sons of Said bin Al-'As said to him, "O Allah's Apostle! Do not give him." Abu Huraira then said (to the Prophet) "This is the murderer of Ibn Qauqal." Sa'id's son said, "How strange! A guinea pig coming from Qadum Ad-Dan!"

Narrated Abu Huraira: Allah's Apostle sent Aban from Medina to Najd as the commander of a Sariya. Aban and his companions came to the Prophet at Khaibar after the Prophet had conquered it, and the reins of their horses were made of the fire of date palm trees. I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Do not give them a share of the booty." on, that, Aban said (to me), "Strange! You suggest such a thing though you are what you are, O guinea pig coming down from the top of Ad-Dal (a lotus tree)! "On that the Prophet said, "O Aban, sit down ! " and did not give them any share. 69

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 546:

Narrated 'Aisha:

Fatima the daughter of the Prophet sent someone to Abu Bakr (when he was a caliph), asking for her inheritance of what Allah's Apostle had left of the property bestowed on him by Allah from the Fai (i.e. booty gained without fighting) in Medina, and Fadak, and what remained of the Khumus of the Khaibar booty. On that, Abu Bakr said, "Allah's Apostle said, "Our property is not inherited. Whatever we leave, is Sadaqa, but the family of (the Prophet) Muhammad can eat of this property.' By Allah, I will not make any change in the state of the Sadaqa of Allah's Apostle and will leave it as it was during the lifetime of Allah's Apostle, and will dispose of it as Allah's Apostle used to do." So Abu Bakr refused to give anything of that to Fatima. So she became angry with Abu Bakr and kept away from him, and did not task to him till she died. She remained alive for six months after the death of the Prophet. When she died, her husband 'Ali, buried her at night without informing Abu Bakr and he said the funeral prayer by himself. When Fatima was alive, the people used to respect 'Ali much, but after her death, 'Ali noticed a change in the people's attitude towards him. So Ali sought reconciliation with Abu Bakr and gave him an oath of allegiance. 'Ali had not given the oath of allegiance during those months (i.e. the period between the Prophet's death and Fatima's death). 'Ali sent someone to Abu Bakr saying, "Come to us, but let nobody come with you," as he disliked that 'Umar should come, 'Umar said (to Abu Bakr), "No, by Allah, you shall not enter upon them alone " Abu Bakr said, "What do you think they will do to me? By Allah, I will go to them' So Abu Bakr entered upon them, and then 'Ali uttered Tashah-hud and said (to Abu Bakr), "We know well your superiority and what Allah has given you, and we are not jealous of the good what Allah has bestowed upon you, but you did not consult us in the question of the rule and we thought that we have got a right in it because of our near relationship to Allah's Apostle ."

Thereupon Abu Bakr's eyes flowed with tears. And when Abu Bakr spoke, he said, "By Him in Whose Hand my soul is to keep good relations with the relatives of Allah's Apostle is dearer to me than to keep good relations with my own relatives. But as for the trouble which arose between me and you about his property, I will do my best to spend it according to what is good, and will not leave any rule or regulation which I saw Allah's Apostle following, in disposing of it, but I will follow." On that 'Ali said to Abu Bakr, "I promise to give you the oath of allegiance in this after noon." So when Abu Bakr had offered the Zuhr prayer, he ascended the pulpit and uttered the Tashah-hud and then mentioned the story of 'Ali and his failure to give the oath of allegiance, and excused him, accepting what excuses he had offered; Then 'Ali (got up) and praying (to Allah) for forgiveness, he uttered Tashah-hud, praised Abu Bakr's right, and said, that he had not done what he had done because of jealousy of Abu Bakr or as a protest of that Allah had favored him with. 'Ali added, "But we used to consider that we too had some right in this affair (of rulership) and that he (i.e. Abu Bakr) did not consult us in this matter, and therefore caused us to feel sorry." On that all the Muslims became happy and said, "You have done the right thing." The Muslims then became friendly with 'Ali as he returned to what the people had done (i.e. giving the oath of allegiance to Abu Bakr).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 547:

Narrated 'Aisha:

When Khaibar was conquered, we said, "Now we will eat our fill of dates!"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 548:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

We did not eat our fill except after we had conquered Khaibar.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 549:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri and Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle appointed a man as the ruler of Khaibar who later brought some Janib (i.e. dates of good quality) to the Prophet. On that, Allah's Apostle said (to him). "Are all the dates of Khaibar like this?" He said, "No, by Allah, O Allah's Apostle! But we take one Sa of these (dates of good quality) for two or three Sa's of other dates (of inferior quality)." On that, Allah's Apostle said, "Do not do so, but first sell the inferior quality dates for money and then with that money, buy Janib." Abu Said and Abu Huraira said, "The Prophet made the brother of Bani Adi from the Ansar as the ruler of Khaibar. 70

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 551:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

When Khaibar was conquered, a (cooked) sheep containing poison, was given as a present to Allah's Apostle

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 22:

Narrated Anas:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 50:

Narrated 'Ali:

I said to Ibn 'Abbas, "During the battle of Khaibar the Prophet forbade (Nikah) Al-Mut'a and the eating of donkey's meat."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 89:

Narrated Anas:

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

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 296:

Narrated Suwaid bin An-Nu'man:

We went out with Allah's Apostle to Khaibar, and when we were at As-Sahba', (Yahya, a sub-narrator said, "As-Sahba' is a place at a distance of one day's journey to Khaibar)." Allah's Apostle asked the people to bring their food, but there was nothing with the people except Sawiq. So we all chewed and ate of it. Then the Prophet asked for some water and he rinsed his mouth, and we too, rinsed our mouths. Then he led us in the Maghrib prayer without performing ablution (again).

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 302:

Narrated Suwaid bin An-Nu'man:

that while they were with the Prophet at As-Sahba' which was at a distance of one day's journey from Khaibar the prayer became due, and the Prophet asked the people for food but there was nothing with the people except Sawiq. He ate of it and we ate along with him, and then he asked for water and rinsed his mouth (with it), and then offered the (Maghrib) prayer and we too offered the prayer but the Prophet did not perform ablution (again after eating the Sawiq.).

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 336:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

Allah's Apostle said to Abu Talha, "Seek one of your boys to serve me." Abu Talha mounted me behind him (on his riding animal) and took me (to the Prophet). So I used to serve Allah's Apostle whenever he dismounted (to stay 71

somewhere). I used to hear him saying very often, "O Allah! I seek refuge with You from, having worries sadness, helplessness, laziness, miserliness, cowardice, from being heavily in debt and from being overpowered by other persons unjustly." I kept on serving till we -returned from the battle of Khaibar. The Prophet then brought Safiyya bint Huyai whom he had won from the war booty. I saw him folding up a gown or a garment for her to sit on behind him (on his she-camel). When he reached As-Sahba', he prepared Hais and placed it on a dining sheet. Then he sent me to invite men, who (came and) ate; and that was his and Safiyya's wedding banquet. Then the Prophet proceeded, and when he saw (noticed) the mountain of Uhud, he said, "This mountain loves us, and we love it." When we approached Medina, he said, "O Allah! I make the area between its two mountains a sanctuary as Abraham has made Mecca a sanctuary. O Allah! Bless their Mudd and Sa (special kinds of measure)."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 365:

Narrated Suwaid bin An Nu'man:

We went out with Allah's Apostle to Khaibar, and when we reached As-Sahba', the Prophet asked for food, and he was offered nothing but Sawiq. We ate, and then Allah's Apostle stood up for the prayer. He rinsed his mouth with water, and we too, rinsed our mouths. Narrated Suwaid; We went out with Allah's Apostle to Khaibar. and when we reached As-Sahba', which (Yahya says) is one day' journey from Khaibar, the Prophet asked for food, and he was offered nothing but Sawiq which we chewed and ate. Then the Prophet asked for water and rinsed his mouth, and we too, rinsed our mouths along with him. He then led us in the Maghrib prayer without performing ablution again

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 405:

Narrated Salama bin Al-Aqwa':

In the evening of the day of the conquest of Khaibar, the army made fires (for cooking). The Prophet said, "For what have you made these fires?" They said, "For cooking the meat of domestic donkeys." He said, "Throw away what is in the cooking pots and break the pots." A man from the people got up and said, "Shall we throw the contents of the cooking pots and then wash the pots (instead of breaking them)?" The Prophet said, "Yes, you can do either'

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 416:

Narrates 'Abdullah bin Mughaffal:

While we were besieging the castle of Khaibar, Somebody threw a skin full of fat and I went ahead to take it, but on looking behind, I saw the Prophet and I felt shy in his presence (and did not take it).

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 429:

Narrated Jabir bin 'Abdullah:

On the Day of the battle of Khaibar, Allah's Apostle made donkey's meat unlawful and allowed the eating of horse flesh.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 430:

Narrated Ibn 'Umar:

The Prophet made the meat of donkeys unlawful on the day of the battle of Khaibar.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 432:

Narrated 'Ali:

Allah's Apostle prohibited Al-Mut'a marriage and the eating of donkey's meat in the year of the Khaibar battle

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 433:

Narrated Jabir bin 'Abdullah:

The Prophet prohibited the eating of donkey's meat on the day of the battle of Khaibar, and allowed the eating of horse flesh. 72

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 851:

Narrated Anas bin Malik :

We were coming from Khaibar along with Allah's Apostle while l was riding behind Abu Talha and he was proceeding. While one of the wives of Allah's Apostle was riding behind Allah's Apostle, suddenly the foot of the camel Slipped and I said, "The woman!" and alighted (hurriedly). Allah's Apostle said, "She is your mother." Sol resaddled the she-camel and Allah's Apostle mounted it. When he approached or saw Medina, he said, "Ayibun, ta'ibun, 'abidun, li-Rabbina hamidun."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 201:

Narrated Abu Huraira: The Prophet said, "Don't call the grapes Al-Karm, and don't say 'Khai

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 343:

Narrated Salama bin Al-Akwa':

We went out with the Prophet to Khaibar. A man among the people said, "O 'Amir! Will you please recite to us some of your poetic verses?" So 'Amir got down and started chanting among them, saying, "By Allah! Had it not been for Allah, we would not have been guided." 'Amir also said other poetic verses which I do not remember. Allah's Apostle said, "Who is this (camel) driver?" The people said, "He is 'Amir bin Al-Akwa'," He said, "May Allah bestow His Mercy on him." A man from the People said, "O Allah's Apostle! Would that you let us enjoy his company longer." When the people (Muslims) lined up, the battle started, and 'Amir was struck with his own sword (by chance) by himself and died. In the evening, the people made a large number of fires (for cooking meals). Allah's Apostle said, "What is this fire? What are you making the fire for?" They said, "For cooking the meat of donkeys." He said, "Throw away what is in the pots and break the pots!" A man said, "O Allah's Prophet! May we throw away what is in them and wash them?" He said, "Never mind, you may do so." (See Hadith No. 509, Vol. 5).

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 374:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

The Prophet said to Abu Talha, "Choose one of your boys to serve me." So Abu Talha took me (to serve the Prophet) by giving me a ride behind him (on his camel). So I used to serve Allah's Apostle whenever he stayed somewhere. I used to hear him saying, "O Allah! I seek refuge with you (Allah) from (worries) care and grief, from incapacity and laziness, from miserliness and cowardice, from being heavily in debt and from being overpowered by other men." I kept on serving him till he returned from (the battle of) Khaibar. He then brought Safiya, the daughter of Huyay whom he had got (from the booty). I saw him making a kind of cushion with a cloak or a garment for her. He then let her ride behind him. When we reached a place called As-Sahba', he prepared (a special meal called) Hais, and asked me to invite the men who (came and) ate, and that was the marriage banquet given on the consummation of his marriage to her. Then he proceeded till

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the mountain of Uhud appeared, whereupon he said, "This mountain loves us and we love it." When he approached Medina, he said, "O Allah! I make the land between its (i.e., Medina's) two mountains a sanctuary, as the prophet Abraham made Mecca a sanctuary. O Allah! Bless them (the people of Medina) in their Mudd and the Sa' (units of measuring)."

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 603:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

We witnessed along with Allah's Apostle the Khaibar (campaign). Allah's Apostle told his companions about a man who claimed to be a Muslim, "This man is from the people of the Fire." When the battle started, the man fought very bravely and received a great number of wounds and got crippled. On that, a man from among the companions of the Prophet came and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Do you know what the man you described as of the people of the Fire has done? He has fought very bravely for Allah's Cause and he has received many wounds." The Prophet said, "But he is indeed one of the people of the Fire." Some of the Muslims were about to have some doubt about that statement. So while the man was in that state, the pain caused by the wounds troubled him so much that he put his hand into his quiver and took out an arrow and committed suicide with it. Off went some men from among the

Muslims to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Allah has made your statement true. So-and-so has committed suicide." Allah's Apostle said, "O Bilal! Get up and announce in public: None will enter Paradise but a believer, and Allah may support this religion (Islam) with a wicked man."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 698:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

We went out in the company of Allah's Apostle on the day of (the battle of) Khaibar, and we did not get any gold or silver as war booty, but we got property in the form of things and clothes. Then a man called Rifa'a bin Zaid, from the tribe of Bani Ad-Dubaib, presented a slave named Mid'am to Allah's Apostle. Allah's Apostle headed towards the valley of Al-Qura, and when he was in the valley of Al-Qura an arrow was thrown by an unidentified person, struck and killed Mid'am who was making a she-camel of Allah's Apostle kneel down. The people said, "Congratulations to him (the slave) for gaining Paradise." Allah's Apostle said, "No! By Him in Whose Hand my soul is, for the sheet which he stole from the war booty before its distribution on the day of Khaibar, is now burning over him." When the people heard that, a man brought one or two Shiraks (leather straps of shoes) to the Prophet. The Prophet said, "A Shirak of fire, or two Shiraks of fire."

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 718:

Narrated 'Aisha:

Fatima and Al 'Abbas came to Abu Bakr, seeking their share from the property of Allah's Apostle and at that time, they were asking for their land at Fadak and their share from Khaibar. Abu Bakr said to them, " I have heard from Allah's Apostle saying, 'Our property cannot be inherited, and whatever we leave is to be spent in charity, but the family of Muhammad may take their provisions from this property." Abu Bakr added, "By Allah, I will not leave the procedure I saw Allah's Apostle following during his lifetime concerning this property." Therefore Fatima left Abu Bakr and did not speak to him till she died.

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 29:

Narrated Salama:

We went out with the Prophet to Khaibar. A man (from the companions) said, "O 'Amir! Let us hear some of your Huda (camel-driving songs.)" So he sang some of them (i.e. a lyric in harmony with the camels walk). The Prophet said, "Who is the driver (of these camels)?" They said, "Amir." The Prophet said, "May Allah bestow His Mercy on him !" The people said, "O Allah's Apostle! Would that you let us enjoy his company longer!" Then 'Amir was killed the following morning. The people said, "The good deeds of 'Amir are lost as he has killed himself." I returned at the time while they were talking about that. I went to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Prophet! Let my father be sacrificed for you! The people claim that 'Amir's good deeds are lost." The Prophet said, "Whoever says so is a liar, for 'Amir will have a double reward as he exerted himself to obey Allah and fought in Allah's Cause. No other way of killing would have granted him greater reward."

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 91:

Narrated Muhammad bin 'Ali:

'Ali was told that Ibn 'Abbas did not see any harm in the Mut'a marriage. 'Ali said, "Allah's Apostle forbade the Mut'a marriage on the Day of the battle of Khaibar and he forbade the eating of donkey's meat." Some people said, "If one, by a tricky way, marries temporarily, his marriage is illegal." Others said, "The marriage is valid but its condition is illegal." 74

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 159:

Narrated Abu Musa:

The Prophet said, "I saw in a dream that I was migrating from Mecca to a land where there were date palm trees. I thought that it might be the land of Al-Yamama or Hajar, but behold, it turned out to be Yathrib (i.e. Medina). And I saw cows (being slaughtered) there, but the reward given by Allah is better (than worldly benefits). Behold, those cows proved to symbolize the believers (who were killed) on the Day (of the battle) of Uhud, and the good (which I saw in the dream) was the good and the reward and the truth which Allah bestowed upon us after the Badr battle. (or the Battle of Uhud) and that was the victory bestowed by Allah in the Battle of Khaibar and the conquest of Mecca) .

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 449:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri and Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle sent the brother of the tribe of Bani Adi Al-Ansari as governor of Khaibar. Then the man returned, bringing Janib (a good kind of date). Allah's Apostle asked him, "Are all the dates of Khaibar like that?" He replied, "No, by Allah, O Allah's Apostle! We take one Sa' of these (good) dates for two Sas of mixed dates." Allah's Apostle then said, "Do not do so. You should either take one Sa of this (kind) for one Sa' of the other; or sell one kind and then buy with its price the other kind (of dates), and you should do the same in weighing."

SUPPLEMENT 4: ALL HADITHS ON: JIHAD IN THE SAHIH AL-BUKHARI

Word count: 132,315

Bukhari words: 645,745

20.6%

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 25:

Allah's Apostle was asked, "What is the best deed?" He replied, "To believe in Allah and His Apostle (Mohammed). The questioner then asked, "What is the next (in goodness)? He replied, "To participate in Jihad (religious fighting) in Allah's Cause." The questioner again asked, "What is the next (in goodness)?" He replied, "To perform Hajj (Pilgrim age to Mecca) 'Mubrur, (which is accepted by Allah and is performed with the intention of seeking Allah's pleasure only and not to show off and without committing a sin and in accordance with the traditions of the Prophet)."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 35:

The Prophet said, "The person who participates in (Holy battles) in Allah's cause and nothing compels him to do so except belief in Allah and His Apostles, will be recompensed by Allah either with a reward, or booty (if he survives) or will be admitted to Paradise (if he is killed in the battle as a martyr). Had I not found it difficult for my followers, then I would not remain behind any sariya going for Jihad and I would have loved to be martyred in Allah's cause and then made alive, and then martyred and then made alive, and then again martyred in His cause."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 505:

Narrated Abdullah:

I asked the Prophet "Which deed is the dearest to Allah?" He replied, "To offer the prayers at their early stated fixed times." I asked, "What is the next (in goodness)?" He replied, "To be good and dutiful to your parents" I again asked, "What is the next (in goodness)?" He replied, 'To participate in Jihad (religious fighting) in Allah's cause." Abdullah added, "I asked only that much and if I had asked more, the Prophet would have told me more."

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 86:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

The Prophet said, "No good deeds done on other days are superior to those done on these (first ten days of Dhul Hijja)." Then some companions of the Prophet said, "Not even Jihad?" He replied, "Not even Jihad, except that of a man who does it by putting himself and his property in danger (for Allah's sake) and does not return with any of those things."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 547:

Narrated Abu Huraira

Allah's Apostle ordered (a person) to collect Zakat, and that person returned and told him that Ibn Jamil, Khalid bin Al-Walid, and Abbas bin Abdul Muttalib had refused to give Zakat." The Prophet said, "What made Ibn Jamll refuse to give Zakat though he was a poor man, and was made wealthy by Allah and His Apostle ? But you are unfair in asking Zakat from Khalid as he is keeping his armor for Allah's Cause (for Jihad). As for Abbas bin Abdul Muttalib, he is the uncle of Allah's Apostle and Zakat is compulsory on him and he should pay it double."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 594:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet was asked, "Which is the best deed?" He said, "To believe in Allah and His Apostle." He was then asked, "Which is the next (in goodness)?" He said, "To participate in Jihad in Allah's Cause." He was then asked, "Which is the next?" He said, "To perform Hajj-Mabrur. "

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 595:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 84:

Narrated Aisha (mother of the faithful believers):

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

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 121:

'Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever gives two kinds (of things or property) in charity for Allah's Cause, will be called from the gates of Paradise and will be addressed, 'O slaves of Allah! Here is prosperity.' So, whoever was amongst the people who used to offer their prayers, will be called from the gate of the prayer; and whoever was amongst the people who used to participate in Jihad, will be called from the gate of Jihad; and whoever was amongst those who used to observe fasts, will be called from the gate of Ar-Raiyan; whoever was amongst those who used to give in charity, will be called from the gate of charity." Abu Bakr said, "Let my parents be sacrificed for you, O Allah's Apostle! No distress or need will befall him who will be called from those gates. Will there be any one who will be called from all these gates?" The Prophet replied, "Yes, and I hope you will be one of them."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 724:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "A pious slave gets a double reward." Abu Huraira added: By Him in Whose Hands my soul is but for Jihad (i.e. holy battles), Hajj, and my duty to serve my mother, I would have loved to die as a slave.

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 33:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

When Umar got a piece of land in Khaibar, he came to the Prophet saying, "I have got a piece of land, better than which I have never got. So what do you advise me regarding it?" The Prophet said, "If you wish you can keep it as an endowment to be used for charitable purposes." So, Umar gave the land in charity (i.e. as an endowments on the condition that the land would neither be sold nor given as a present, nor bequeathed, (and its yield) would be used for the poor, the kinsmen, the emancipation of slaves, Jihad, and for guests and travelers; and its administrator could eat in a reasonable just manner, and he also could feed his friends without intending to be wealthy by its means."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 41:

Narrated Abdullah bin Masud:

I asked Allah's Apostle, "O Allah's Apostle! What is the best deed?" He replied, "To offer the prayers at their early stated fixed times." I asked, "What is next in goodness?" He replied, "To be good and dutiful to your parents." I further asked, what is next in goodness?" He replied, "To participate in Jihad in Allah's Cause." I did not ask Allah's Apostle anymore and if I had asked him more, he would have told me more.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 42:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

Allah's Apostle said, "There is no Hijra (i.e. migration) (from Mecca to Medina) after the Conquest (of Mecca), but Jihad and good intention remain; and if you are called (by the Muslim ruler) for fighting, go forth immediately.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 43:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 44:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

A man came to Allah's Apostle and said, "Instruct me as to such a deed as equals Jihad (in reward)." He replied, "I do not find such a deed." Then he added, "Can you, while the Muslim fighter is in the battle-field, enter your mosque to perform prayers without cease and fast and never break your fast?" The man said, "But who can do that?" Abu- Huraira added, "The Mujahid (i.e. Muslim fighter) is rewarded even for the footsteps of his horse while it wanders bout (for grazing) tied in a long rope."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 56:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

Um Haram said, "Once the Prophet slept in my house near to me and got up smiling. I said, 'What makes you smile?' He replied, 'Some of my followers who (i.e. in a dream) were presented to me sailing on this green sea like kings on thrones.' I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Invoke Allah to make me one of them." So the Prophet invoked Allah for her and went to sleep again. He did the same (i.e. got up and told his dream) and Um Haran repeated her question and he gave the same reply. She said, "Invoke Allah to make me one of them." He said, "You are among the first batch." Later on it happened that she went out in the company of her husband Ubada bin As-Samit who went for Jihad and it was the first time the Muslims undertook a naval expedition led by Mu awiya. When the expedition came to an end and they were returning to Sham, a riding animal was presented to her to ride, but the animal let her fall and thus she died.

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Volume 4, Book 52, Number 79:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
On the day of the Conquest (of Mecca) the Prophet said, "There is no emigration after the Conquest but Jihad and intentions. When you are called (by the Muslim ruler) for fighting, go forth immediately." (See Hadith No. 42)
Volume 4, Book 52, Number 81:
Narrated Anas bin Malik
In the life-time of the Prophet, Abu Talha did not fast because of the Jihad, but after the Prophet died I never saw him without fasting except on Id-ul-Fitr and Id-ul-Aclha.
Volume 4, Book 52, Number 85:
Narrated Sahl bin Sad As-SaIdi:
I saw Marwan bin Al-Hakam sitting in the Mosque. So I came forward and sat by his side. He told us that Zaid bin Thabit had told him that Allah's Apostle had dictated to him the Divine Verse:
"Not equal are those believers who sit (at home) and those who strive hard and fight in the Cause of Allah with their wealth and lives.' (4.95)
Zaid said, "Ibn-Maktum came to the Prophet while he was dictating to me that very Verse. On that Ibn Um Maktum said, "O Allah's Apostle! If I had power, I would surely take part in Jihad." He was a blind man. So Allah sent down revelation to His Apostle while his thigh was on mine and it became so heavy for me that I feared that my thigh would be broken. Then that state of the Prophet was over after Allah revealed "...except those who are disabled (by injury or are blind or lame etc.) (4.95)
Volume 4, Book 52, Number 87:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle went towards the Khandaq (i.e. Trench) and saw the Emigrants and the Ansar digging in a very cold morning as they did not have slaves to do that for them. When he noticed their fatigue and hunger he said, "O Allah! The real life is that of the Here-after, (so please) forgive the Ansar and the Emigrants." In its reply the Emigrants and the Ansar said, "We are those who have given a pledge of allegiance to Mohammed that we will carry on Jihad as long as we live."
Volume 4, Book 52, Number 88:
Narrated Anas:
The Emigrants and the Ansar started digging the trench around Medina carrying the earth on their backs and saying, "We are those who have given a pledge of allegiance to Mohammed that we will I carry on Jihad as long as we live." The Prophet kept on replying, "O Allah, there is no good except the good of the Hereafter; so confer Your Blessings on the Ansar and the Emigrants."
Volume 4, Book 52, Number 104:
Narrated Urwa Al-Bariqi:
The Prophet said, "Good will remain (as a permanent quality) in the foreheads of horses (for Jihad) till the Day of Resurrection, for they bring about either a reward (in the Hereafter) or booty (in this world."
Volume 4, Book 52, Number 112:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, " Horses are kept for one of three purposes; for some people they are a source of reward, for some others they are a means of shelter and for some others they are a source of sins. The one for whom they are a source of reward, is he who keeps a horse for Allah's Cause (i.e. Jihad) tying it with a long tether on a meadow or in a garden with the result that whatever it eats from the area of the meadow or the garden where it is tied will be counted as good deeds for his benefit, and if it should break its rope and jump over one or two hillocks then all its dung and its foot marks will be written as good deeds for him; and if it passes by a river and drinks water from it even though he had no intention of watering it, even then he will get the reward for its drinking. As for the man for whom horses are a source of sins, he is the one who keeps a horse for the sake of pride and pretense and showing enmity for Muslims: such a horse will be a source of sins for him. When Allah's Apostle was asked about donkeys, he replied, "Nothing has been revealed to me about them except this unique, comprehensive Verse: "Then anyone who does an atom's (or a small ant's) weight of good shall see it; And anyone who does an atom's (or a small ant's) weight of evil, shall see it.' (101.7-8)
Volume 4, Book 52, Number 113:
Narrated Muslim from Abu Aqil from Abu Al-Mutawakkil An-Naji:
I called on Jabir bin Abdullah Al-Ansari and said to him, "Relate to me what you have heard from Allah's Apostle ." He said, "I accompanied him on one of the journeys." (Abu Aqil said, "I do not know whether that journey was for the purpose of Jihad or Umra.") "When we were returning," Jabir continued, "the Prophet said, 'Whoever wants to return earlier to his family, should hurry up.' We set off and I was on a black red tainted camel having no defect, and the people were behind me. While I was in that state the camel stopped suddenly (because of exhaustion). On that the Prophet said to me, 'O Jabir, wait!' Then he hit it once with his lash and it started moving on a fast pace. He then said, 'Will you sell the camel?' I replied in the affirmative when we reached Medina, and the Prophet went to the Mosque along with his companions. I, too, went to him after tying the camel on the pavement at the Mosque gate. Then I said to him, 'This is your camel.' He came out and started examining the camel and saying, 'The camel is ours.' Then the Prophet sent some Awaq (i.e. an amount) of gold saying, 'Give it to Jabir.' Then he asked, 'Have you taken the full price (of the camel)?' I replied in the affirmative. He said, 'Both the price and the camel are for you.' "
Volume 4, Book 52, Number 127:
Narrated Aisha:
the mother of the faithful believers, I requested the Prophet permit me to participate in Jihad, but he said, "Your Jihad is the performance of Hajj."
Volume 4, Book 52, Number 128:
Narrated Aisha:
the mother of the faithful believers: The Prophet was asked by his wives about the Jihad and he replied, "The best Jihad (for you) is (the performance of) Hajj."
Volume 4, Book 52, Number 129:
Narrated Anas:
Allah's Apostle went to the daughter of Milhan and reclined there (and slept) and then (woke up) smiling. She asked, "O Allah's Apostle! What makes you smile?" He replied, (I dreamt that) some people amongst my followers were sailing on the green sea in Allah's Cause, resembling kings on thrones." She said, "O Allah's Apostle! Invoke Allah to make me one of them." He said, "O Allah! Let her be one of them." Then he (slept again and woke up and) smiled. She asked him the same question and he gave the same reply. She said, "Invoke Allah to make me one of them." He replied, "You will be amongst the first group of them; you will not be amongst the last." Later on she married Ubada bin As-Samit and then she sailed on the sea with bint Qaraza, Mu'awiya's wife (for Jihad). On her return, she mounted her riding animal, which threw her down breaking her neck, and she died on falling down.
Volume 4, Book 52, Number 130:
Narrated Aisha:
Whenever the Prophet intended to proceed on a journey, he used to draw lots amongst his wives and would take the one upon whom the lot fell. Once, before setting out for Jihad, he drew lots amongst us and the lot came to me; so I went with the Prophet; and that happened after the revelation of the Verse Hijab (i.e. veiling).
Volume 4, Book 52, Number 144:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
Um Haram told me that the Prophet one day took a midday nap in her house. Then he woke up smiling. Um Haram asked, "O Allah's Apostle! What makes you smile?" He replied "I was astonished to see (in my dream) some people amongst my followers on a sea-voyage looking like kings on the thrones." She said, "O Allah's Apostle! Invoke Allah to make me one of them." He replied, "You are amongst them." He slept again and then woke up smiling and said the same as before twice or thrice. And she said, "O Allah's Apostle! Invoke Allah to make me one of them." And he said, "You are amongst the first batch." Ubada bin As-Samit married her (i.e. Um Haram) and then he took her for Jihad. When she returned, an animal was presented to her to ride, but she fell down and her neck was broken.
Volume 4, Book 52, Number 146:
Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri
The Prophet said, "A time will come when groups of people will go for Jihad and it will be asked, 'Is there anyone amongst you who has enjoyed the company of the Prophet?' The answer will be, 'Yes.' Then they will be given victory (by Allah) (because of him). Then a time will come when it will be asked. 'Is there anyone amongst you who has enjoyed the company of the companions of the Prophet?' It will be said, 'Yes,' and they will be given victory (by Allah). Then a time will come when it will be said. 'Is there anyone amongst you who has enjoyed the company of the companions of the companions of the Prophet?' It will be said, 'Yes,' and they will be given victory (by Allah)."
Volume 4, Book 52, Number 208:
Narrated Anas:
On the day (of the battle) of the Trench, the Ansar were saying, "We are those who have sworn allegiance to Mohammed for Jihaid (for ever) as long as we live." The Prophet replied to them, "O Allah! There is no life except the life of the Hereafter. So honour the Ansar and emigrants with Your Generosity."
And Narrated Mujashi: My brother and I came to the Prophet and I requested him to take the pledge of allegiance from us for migration. He said, "Migration has passed away with its people." I asked, "For what will you take the pledge of allegiance from us then?" He said, "I will take (the pledge) for Islam and Jihad."
Volume 4, Book 52, Number 217:
Narrated Yali:
I participated in the Ghazwa of Tabuk along with Allah's Apostle and I gave a young camel to be ridden in Jihad and that was, to me, one of my best deeds. Then I employed a laborer who quarrelled with another person. One of them bit the hand of the other and the latter drew his hand from the mouth of the former pulling out his front tooth. Then the former instituted a suit against the latter before the Prophet who rejected that suit saying, "Do you expect him to put out his hand for you to snap as a male camel snaps (vegetation)?"
Volume 4, Book 52, Number 248:
Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:
A man came to the Prophet asking his permission to take part in Jihad. The Prophet asked him, "Are your parents alive?" He replied in the affirmative. The Prophet said to him, "Then exert yourself in their service."
Volume 4, Book 52, Number 311:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
The Prophet said, on the day of the Conquest of Mecca, "There is no migration (after the Conquest), but Jihad and good intentions, and when you are called for Jihad, you should immediately respond to the call."
Volume 4, Book 52, Number 317:
Narrated Abdullah:
When the Prophet returned (from Jihad), he would say Takbir thrice and add, "We are returning, if Allah wishes, with repentance and worshipping and praising (our Lord) and prostrating ourselves before our Lord. Allah fulfilled His Promise and helped His Slave, and He Alone defeated the (infidel) clans."
Volume 4, Book 53, Number 352:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "Allah guarantees him who strives in His Cause and whose motivation for going out is nothing but Jihad in His Cause and belief in His Word, that He will admit him into Paradise (if martyred) or bring him back to his dwelling place, whence he has come out, with what he gains of reward and booty."
Volume 4, Book 53, Number 412:
Narrated Ibn Abbas:
Allah's Apostle said on the day of the conquest of Mecca, "There is no migration now, but there is Jihad (i.e.. holy battle) and good intentions. And when you are called for Jihad, you should come out at once" Allah's Apostle also said, on the day of the conquest of Mecca, "Allah has made this town a sanctuary since the day He created the Heavens and the Earth. So, it is a sanctuary by Allah's Decree till the Day of Resurrection. Fighting in it was not legal for anyone before me, and it was made legal for me only for an hour by daytime. So, it (i.e. Mecca) is a sanctuary by Allah's Decree till the Day of Resurrection. Its thorny bushes should not be cut, and its game should not be chased, its fallen property (i.e. Luqata) should not be picked up except by one who will announce it publicly; and its grass should not be uprooted," On that Al-Abbas said, "O Allah's Apostle! Except the Idhkhir, because it is used by the goldsmiths and by the people for their houses." On that the Prophet said, "Except the Idhkhir."
Volume 4, Book 56, Number 839:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "A horse may be kept for one of three purposes: for a man it may be a source of reward; for another it may be a means of living; and for a third it may be a burden (a source of committing sins). As for the one for whom it is a source of reward, he is the one who keeps his horse for the sake of Jihad in Allah's Cause; he ties it with a long rope on a pasture or in a garden. So whatever its rope allows it to eat, will be regarded as good rewardable deeds (for its owner). And if it breaks off its rope and jumps over one or two hillocks, even its dung will be considered amongst his good deeds. And if it passes by a river and drinks water from it, that will be considered as good deeds for his benefit) even if he has had no intention of watering it. A horse is a shelter for the one who keeps it so that he may earn his living honestly and takes it as a refuge to keep him from following illegal ways (of gaining money), and does not forget the rights of Allah (i.e. paying the Zakat and allowing others to use it for Allah's Sake). But a horse is a burden (and a source of committing sins for him who keeps it out of pride and pretense and with the intention of harming the Muslims."
The Prophet was asked about donkeys. He replied, "Nothing has been revealed to be concerning them except this comprehensive Verse (which covers everything) :--'Then whosoever has done good equal to the weight of an atom (or a small ant), Shall see it (its reward) And whosoever has done evil equal to the weight of an atom (or a small) ant), Shall see it (Its punishment)." (99.7-8)
Volume 5, Book 57, Number 18:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "Anybody who spends a pair of something in Allah's Cause will be called from all the gates of Paradise, "O Allah's slave! This is good.' He who is amongst those who pray will be called from the gate of the prayer (in Paradise) and he who is from the people of Jihad will be called from the gate of Jihad, and he who is from those' who give in charity (i.e. Zakat) will be called from the gate of charity, and he who is amongst those who observe fast will be called from the gate of fasting, the gate of Raiyan." Abu Bakr said, "He who is called from all those gates will need

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nothing," He added, "Will anyone be called from all those gates, O Allah's Apostle?" He said, "Yes, and I hope you will be among those, O Abu Bakr."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 140:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

On the day of the battle of the Trench (i.e. Ghazwat-ul-Khandaq) the Ansar used to say, "We are those who have given the pledge of allegiance to Mohammed for Jihad (i.e. holy fighting) as long as we live." The Prophet , replied to them, "O Allah! There is no life except the life of the Hereafter; so please honour the Ansar and the Emigrants."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 240:

Narrated 'Ata bin Abi Rabah:

Ubaid bin Umar Al-Laithi and I visited Aisha and asked her about the Hijra (i.e. migration), and she said, "Today there is no (Hijrah) emigration. A believer used to run away with his religion to Allah and His Apostle lest he should be put to trial because of his religion. Today Allah has made Islam triumphant, and today a believer can worship his Lord wherever he likes. But the deeds that are still rewardable (in place of emigration) are Jihad and good intentions." (See Hadith No. 42 Vol. 4).

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 254:

Narrated Abu Burda Bin Abi Musa Al-Ashari:

Abdullah bin Umar said to me, "Do you know what my father said to your father once?" I said, "No." He said, "My father said to your father, 'O Abu Musa, will it please you that we will be rewarded for our conversion to Islam with Allah's Apostle and our migration with him, and our Jihad with him and all our good deeds which we did, with him, and that all the deeds we did after his death will be disregarded whether good or bad?' Your father (i.e. Abu Musa) said, 'No, by Allah, we took part in Jihad after Allah's Apostle , prayed and did plenty of good deeds, and many people have embraced Islam at our hands, and no doubt, we expect rewards from Allah for these good deeds.' On that my father (i.e. Umar) said, As for myself, By Him in Whose Hand Umar's soul is, I wish that the deeds done by us at the time of the Prophet remain rewardable while whatsoever we did after the death of the Prophet be enough to save us from Punishment in that the good deeds compensate for the bad ones.' " On that I said (to Ibn Umar), "By Allah, your father was better than my father!"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 425:

Narrated Anas:

Allah's Apostle went out towards the Khandaq (i.e. Trench) and saw the Emigrants and the Ansar digging the trench in the cold morning. They had no slaves to do that (work) for them. When the Prophet saw their hardship and hunger, he said, 'O Allah! The real life is the life of the Hereafter, so please forgive Ansar and the Emigrants." They said in reply to him, "We are those who have given the Pledge of allegiances to Mohammed for to observe Jihad as long as we live."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 40:

Narrated Nafi':

During the affliction of Ibn Az-Zubair, two men came to Ibn Umar and said, "The people are lost, and you are the son of Umar, and the companion of the Prophet, so what forbids you from coming out?" He said, "What forbids me is that Allah has prohibited the shedding of my brother's blood." They both said, "Didn't Allah say, 'And fight then until there is no more affliction?" He said "We fought until there was no more affliction and the worship is for Allah (Alone while you want to fight until there is affliction and until the worship become for other than Allah."

Narrated Nafi (through another group of sub-narrators): A man came to Ibn Umar and said, "O Abu Abdur Rahman! What made you perform Hajj in one year and Umra in another year and leave the Jihad for Allah' Cause though you know how much Allah recommends it?" Ibn Umar replied, "O son of my brother! Islam is founded on five principles, i.e. believe in Allah and His Apostle, the five compulsory prayers, the fasting of the month of Ramadan, the payment of Zakat, and the Hajj to the House (of Allah)." The man said, "O Abu Abdur Rahman! Won't you listen to why Allah has mentioned in His Book: 'If two groups of believers fight each other, then make peace between them, but if one of then transgresses beyond bounds against the other, then you all fight against the one that transgresses. (49.9) and:--"And fight them till there is no more affliction (i.e. no more worshiping of others along with Allah)." Ibn Umar said, "We did it, during the lifetime of Allah's Apostle when Islam had only a few followers. A man would be put to trial because of his religion; he would either be killed or tortured. But when the Muslims increased, there was no more afflictions or oppressions." The man said, "What is your opinion about Uthman and Ali?" Ibn Umar said, "As for Uthman, it seems that Allah has forgiven him, but you people dislike that he should be forgiven. And as for Ali, he is the cousin of Allah's Apostle and his son-in-law." Then he pointed with his hand and said, "That is his house which you see."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 41:

Narrated Abu Wail:

Hudhaifa said, "The Verse:-- "And spend (of your wealth) in the Cause of Allah and do not throw yourselves in destruction," (2.195) was revealed concerning spending in Allah's Cause (i.e. Jihad)."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 1:

Narrated Al-Walid bin Aizar:

I heard Abi Amr Ash-Shaibani saying, "The owner of this house." he pointed to Abdullah's house, "said, 'I asked the Prophet 'Which deed is loved most by Allah?" He replied, 'To offer prayers at their early (very first) stated times.' " Abdullah asked, "What is the next (in goodness)?" The Prophet said, "To be good and dutiful to one's parents," Abdullah asked, "What is the next (in goodness)?" The Prophet said, To participate in Jihad for Allah's Cause." Abdullah added, "The Prophet narrated to me these three things, and if I had asked more, he would have told me more."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 3:

Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:

A man said to the Prophet, "Shall I participate in Jihad?" The Prophet said, "Are your parents living?" The man said, "Yes." the Prophet said, "Do Jihad for their benefit."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 308:

Narrated Anas:

The Prophet went out on a cold morning while the Muhajirin (emigrants) and the Ansar were digging the trench. The Prophet then said, "O Allah! The real goodness is the goodness of the Here after, so please forgive the Ansar and the Muhajirin." They replied, "We are those who have given the Pledge of allegiance to Mohammed for to observe Jihad as long as we remain alive."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 519:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "Whoever believes in Allah and His Apostle offers prayers perfectly and fasts (the month of) Ramadan then it is incumbent upon Allah to admit him into Paradise, whether he emigrates for Allah's cause or stays in the land where he was born." They (the companions of the Prophet) said, "O Allah's Apostle! Should we not inform the people of that?" He said, "There are one-hundred degrees in Paradise which Allah has prepared for those who carry on Jihad in His Cause. The distance between every two degrees is like the distance between the sky and the Earth, so if you ask Allah for anything, ask Him for the Firdaus, for it is the last part of Paradise and the highest part of Paradise, and at its top there is the Throne of Beneficent, and from it gush forth the rivers of Paradise."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 549:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "Allah guarantees to the person who carries out Jihad for His Cause and nothing compelled him to go out but the Jihad in His Cause, and belief in His Words, that He will either admit him into Paradise or return him with his reward or the booty he has earned to his residence from where he went out." (See Hadith No. 555).

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 555:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "Allah guarantees (the person who carries out Jihad in His Cause and nothing compelled him to go out but Jihad in His Cause and the belief in His Word) that He will either admit him into Paradise (Martyrdom) or return him with reward or booty he has earned to his residence from where he went out."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 625:

Narrated Ibn Musud:

A man asked the Prophet "What deeds are the best?" The Prophet said: (1) To perform the (daily compulsory) prayers at their (early) stated fixed times, (2) To be good and dutiful to one's own parents. (3) and to participate in Jihad in Allah's Cause."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 624:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

Allah's Apostle said, "Your stay (in this world) in comparison to the stay of the nations preceding you, is like the period between Asr prayer and the sun set (in comparison to a whole day). The people of the Torah were given the Torah and they acted on it till midday and then they were unable to carry on. And they were given (a reward equal to) one Qirat each. Then the people of the Gospel were given the Gospel and they acted on it till Asr Prayer and then they were unable to carry on, so they were given la reward equal to) one Qirat each. Then you were given the Koran and you acted on it till sunset, therefore you were given (a reward equal to) two Qirats each. On that, the people of the Scriptures said, 'These people (Muslims) did less work than we but they took a bigger reward.' Allah said (to them). 'Have I done any oppression to you as regards your rights?' They said, "No." Then Allah said, 'That is My Blessing which I grant to whomsoever I will.' "

Fighting in Allah's cause

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 355:

Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ashari:

A bedouin asked the Prophet, "A man may fight for the sake of booty, and another may fight so that he may be mentioned by the people, and a third may fight to show his position (i.e. bravery); which of these regarded as fighting in Allah's Cause?" The Prophet said, "He who fights so that Allah's Word (i.e. Islam) should be superior, fights for Allah's Cause."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 354:

Narrated Aslam:

Umar said, "Were it not for those Muslims who have not come to existence yet, I would have distributed (the land of) every town I conquer among the fighters as the Prophet distributed the land of Khaibar."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 353:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "A prophet amongst the prophets carried out a holy military expedition, so he said to his followers, 'Anyone who has married a woman and wants to consummate the marriage, and has not done so yet, should not accompany me; nor should a man who has built a house but has not completed its roof; nor a man who has sheep or shecamels and is waiting for the birth of their young ones.' So, the prophet carried out the expedition and when he reached that town at the time or nearly at the time of the Asr prayer, he said to the sun, 'O sun! You are under Allah's Order and I am under Allah's Order O Allah! Stop it (i.e. the sun) from setting.' It was stopped till Allah made him victorious.

Then he collected the booty and the fire came to burn it, but it did not burn it. He said (to his men), 'Some of you have stolen something from the booty. So one man from every tribe should give me a pledge of allegiance by shaking hands with me.' (They did so and) the hand of a man got stuck over the hand of their prophet. Then that prophet said (to the man), 'The theft has been committed by your people. So all the persons of your tribe should give me the pledge of allegiance by shaking hands with me.' The hands of two or three men got stuck over the hand of their prophet and he said, "You have committed the theft.' Then they brought a head of gold like the head of a cow and put it there, and the fire came and consumed the booty. The Prophet added: Then Allah saw our weakness and disability, so he made booty legal for us."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 635:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 121:

Narrated Aisha:

The day of Bu'ath (i.e. Day of fighting between the two tribes of the Ansar, the Aus and Khazraj) was brought about by Allah for the good of His Apostle so that when Allah's Apostle reached (Medina), the tribes of Medina had already divided and their chiefs had been killed and wounded. So Allah had brought about the battle for the good of H is Apostle in order that they (i.e. the Ansar) might embrace Islam.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 324:

Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Auf:

While I was fighting in the front file on the day (of the battle) of Badr, suddenly I looked behind and saw on my right and left two young boys and did not feel safe by standing between them. Then one of them asked me secretly so that his companion may not hear, "O Uncle! Show me Abu Jahl." I said, "O nephew! What will you do to him?" He said, "I have promised Allah that if I see him (i.e. Abu Jahl), I will either kill him or be killed before I kill him." Then the other said the same to me secretly so that his companion should not hear. I would not have been pleased to be in between two other men instead of them. Then I pointed him (i.e. Abu Jahl) out to them. Both of them attacked him like two hawks till they knocked him down. Those two boys were the sons of 'Afra' (i.e. an Ansari woman).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 384:

Narrated Sad bin Abi Waqqas:

I saw Allah's Apostle on the day of the battle of Uhud accompanied by two men fighting on his behalf. They were dressed in white and were fighting as bravely as possible. I had never seen them before, nor did I see them later on.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 394:

Narrated Aisha:

When it was the day of Uhud, the pagans were defeated. Then Satan, Allah's Curse be upon him, cried loudly, "O Allah's Worshippers, beware of what is behind!" On that, the front files of the (Muslim) forces turned their backs and started fighting with the back files. Hudhaifa looked, and on seeing his father Al-Yaman, he shouted, "O Allah's Worshippers, my father, my father!" But by Allah, they did not stop till they killed him. Hudhaifa said, "May Allah forgive you." (The sub-narrator, Urwa, said, "By Allah, Hudhaifa continued asking Allah's Forgiveness for the killers of his father till he departed to Allah (i.e. died).")

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 75:

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Narrated Ibn Abbas:

Abu Sufyan narrated to me personally, saying, "I set out during the Truce that had been concluded between me and Allah's Apostle. While I was in Sham, a letter sent by the Prophet was brought to [the Roman emperor] Heraclius. Dihya Al-Kalbi had brought and given it to the governor of Busra, and the latter forwarded it to Heraclius. Heraclius said, 'Is there anyone from the people of this man who claims to be a prophet?' The people replied, 'Yes.' So I along with some of Quraishi men were called and we entered upon Heraclius, and we were seated in front of him. Then he said, 'Who amongst you is the nearest relative to the man who claims to be a prophet?' So they made me sit in front of him and made my companions sit behind me. Then he called upon his translator and said (to him). 'Tell them (i.e. Abu Sufyan's companions) that I am going to ask him (i.e. Abu Sufyan) regarding that man who claims to be a prophet. So, if he tell me a lie, they should contradict him (instantly).' By Allah, had I not been afraid that my companions would consider me a liar, I would have told lies. Heraclius then said to his translator, Ask him: What is his (i.e. the Prophet's) family status amongst you? I said, 'He belongs to a noble family amongst us." Heraclius said, 'Was any of his ancestors a king?' I said, 'No.' He said, 'Did you ever accuse him of telling lies before his saying what he has said?' I said, 'No.' He said, 'Do the nobles follow him or the poor people?' I said, 'It is the poor who followed him.' He said, 'Is the number of his follower increasing or decreasing?' I said, 'The are increasing.' He said, 'Does anyone renounce his religion (i.e. Islam) after embracing it, being displeased with it?' I said, 'No.' He said, 'Did you fight with him?' I replied, 'Yes.' He said, 'How was your fighting with him?' I said, 'The fighting between us was undecided and victory was shared by him and us by turns. He inflicts casualties upon us and we inflict casualties upon him.' He said, 'Did he ever betray?' I said, 'No, but now we are away from him in this truce and we do not know what he will do in it" Abu Sufyan added, "By Allah, I was not able to insert in my speech a word (against him) except that. Heraclius said, 'Did anybody else (amongst you) ever claimed the same (i.e. Islam) before him? I said, 'No.' Then Heraclius told his translator to tell me (i.e. Abu Sufyan), 'I asked you about his family status amongst you, and you told me that he comes from a noble family amongst you Verily, all Apostles come from the noblest family among their people. Then I asked you whether any of his ancestors was a king, and you denied that. Thereupon I thought that had one of his fore-fathers been a king, I would have said that he (i.e. Mohammed) was seeking to rule the kingdom of his fore-fathers. Then I asked you regarding his followers, whether they were the noble or the poor among the people, and you said that they were only the poor (who follow him). In fact, such are the followers of the Apostles. Then I asked you whether you have ever accused him of telling lies before saying what he said, and your reply was in the negative. Therefore, I took for granted that a man who did not tell a lie about others, could ever tell a lie about Allah. Then I asked you whether anyone of his followers had renounced his religion (i.e. Islam) after embracing it, being displeased with it, and you denied that. And such is Faith when it mixes with the cheerfulness of the hearts. Then I asked you whether his followers were increasing or decreasing You claimed that they were increasing. That is the way of true faith till it is complete. Then I asked you whether you had ever fought with him, and you claimed that you had fought with him and the battle between you and him was undecided and the victory was shared by you and him in turns; he inflicted casual ties upon you and you inflicted casualties upon them. Such is the case with the Apostles; they are out to test and the final victory is for them. Then I asked you whether he had ever betrayed; you claimed that he had never betrayed. I need, Apostles never betray. Then I asked you whether anyone had said this statement before him; and you denied that. Thereupon I thought if somebody had said that statement before him, then I would have said that he was but a man copying some sayings said before him." Abu Safyan said, "Heraclius then asked me, 'What does he order you to do?' I said, 'He orders us (to offer) prayers and (to pay) Zakat and to keep good relationship with the Kith and kin and to be chaste.' Then Heraclius said, 'If whatever you have said, is true, he is really a prophet, and I knew that he (i.e. the Prophet) was going to appear, but I never thought that he would be from amongst you. If I were certain that I can reach him, I would like to meet him and if I were with him, I would wash his feet; and his kingdom will expand (surely to what is under my feet.' Then Heraclius asked for the letter of Allah's Apostle and read it wherein was written:

"In the Name of Allah, the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful. This letter is) from Mohammed, Apostle of Allah, to Heraclius, the sovereign of Byzantine..... Peace be upon him who follows the Right Path. Now then, I call you to embrace Islam. Embrace Islam and you will be saved (from Allah's Punishment); embrace Islam, and Allah will give you a double reward, but if you reject this, you will be responsible for the sins of all the people of your kingdom (Allah's Statement):-- "O the people of the Scripture (Jews and Christians)! Come to a word common to you and us that we worship None but Allah....bear witness that we are Muslims.' (3.64)

When he finished reading the letter, voices grew louder near him and there was a great hue and cry, and we were ordered to go out." Abu Sufyan added, "While coming out, I said to my companions, 'The situation of Ibn Abu Kabsha (i.e. Mohammed) has become strong; even the king of Banu Al-Asfar is afraid of him.' So I continued to believe that Allah's Apostle would be victorious, till Allah made me embrace Islam." Az-Zuhri said, "Heraclius then invited all the chiefs of the Byzantines and had them assembled in his house and said, 'O group of Byzantines! Do you wish to have a permanent success and guidance and that your kingdom should remain with you?' (Immediately after hearing that), they rushed towards the gate like onagers, but they found them closed. Heraclius then said, 'Bring them back to me.' So he called them and said, 'I just wanted to test the strength of your adherence to your religion. Now I have observed of you that which I like.' Then the people fell in prostration before him and became pleased with him." (See Hadith No. 6,Vol 1)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 89:

Narrated Usama bin Zaid:

Allah's Apostle rode a donkey, equipped with a thick cloth-covering made in Fadak and was riding behind him. He was going to pay visit to Sad bin Ubada in Banu Al-Harith bin Al-Khazraj; and this incident happened before the battle of Badr. The Prophet passed by a gathering in which Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul was present, and that was before Abdullah bin Ubai embraced Islam. Behold in that gathering there were people of different religions: there were Muslims, pagans, idol-worshippers and Jews, and in that gathering Abdullah bin Rawaha was also present. When a cloud of dust raised by the donkey reached that gathering, Abdullah bin Ubai covered his nose with his garment and then said, "Do not cover us with dust." Then Allah's Apostle greeted them and stopped and dismounted and invited them to Allah (i.e. to embrace Islam) and recited to them the Holy Koran. On that, Abdullah bin Ubai bin Saluil said, "O man ! There is nothing better than that what you say. If it is the truth, then do not trouble us with it in our gatherings. Return to your mount (or residence) and if somebody comes to you, relate (your tales) to him." On that Abdullah bin Rawaha said, "Yes, O Allah's Apostle! Bring it (i.e. what you want to say) to us in our gathering, for we love that."

So the Muslims, the pagans and the Jews started abusing one another till they were on the point of fighting with one another. The Prophet kept on quietening them till they became quiet, whereupon the Prophet rode his animal (mount) and proceeded till he entered upon Sad bin Ubada. The Prophet said to Sad, "Did you not hear what 'Abu Hub-b said?" He meant Abdullah bin Ubai. "He said so-and-so." On that Sad bin Ubada said, "O Allah's Apostle! Excuse and forgive him, for by Him Who revealed the Book to you, Allah brought the Truth which was sent to you at the time when the people of this town (i.e. Medina) had decided unanimously to crown him and tie a turban on his head (electing him as chief). But when Allah opposed that (decision) through the Truth which Allah gave to you, he (i.e. Abdullah bin Ubai) was grieved with jealously. and that caused him to do what you have seen." So Allah's Apostle excused him, for the Prophet and his companions used to forgive the pagans and the people of Scripture as Allah had ordered them, and they used to put up with their mischief with patience. Allah said: "And you shall certainly hear much that will grieve you from those who received the Scripture before you and from the pagans.....'(3.186) And Allah also said:--"Many of the people of the Scripture wish if they could turn you away as disbelievers after you have believed, from selfish envy.." (2.109)

So the Prophet used to stick to the principle of forgiveness for them as long as Allah ordered him to do so till Allah permitted fighting them. So when Allah's Apostle fought the battle of Badr and Allah killed the nobles of Quraish infidels through him, Ibn Ubai bin Salul and the pagans and idolaters who were with him, said, "This matter (i.e. Islam) has appeared (i.e. became victorious)." So they gave the pledge of allegiance (for embracing Islam) to Allah's Apostle and became Muslims.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 173:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

That a man came to him (while two groups of Muslims were fighting) and said, "O Abu Abdur Rahman! Don't you hear what Allah has mentioned in His Book:

'And if two groups of believers fight against each other...' (49.9)

So what prevents you from fighting as Allah has mentioned in His Book?"' Ibn Umar said, "O son of my brother! I would rather be blamed for not fighting because of this Verse than to be blamed because of another Verse where Allah says:

'And whoever kills a believer intentionally..." (4.93) Then that man said, "Allah says:-- 'And fight them until there is no more afflictions (worshipping other besides Allah) and the religion (i.e. worship) will be all for Allah (Alone)" (8.39) Ibn Umar said, "We did this during the lifetime of Allah's Apostle when the number of Muslims was small, and a man was put to trial because of his religion, the pagans would either kill or chain him; but when the Muslims increased (and Islam spread), there was no persecution." When that man saw that Ibn Umar did not agree to his proposal, he said, "What is your opinion regarding Ali and Uthman?" Ibn Umar said, "What is my opinion regarding Ali and Uthman? As for Uthman, Allah forgave him and you disliked to forgive him, and Ali is the cousin and son-in-law of Allah's Apostle ." Then he pointed out with his hand and said, "And that is his daughter's (house) which you can see."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 174:

Narrated Said bin Jubair:

Ibn Umar came to us and a man said (to him), "What do you think about 'Qit-alal-Fitnah' (fighting caused by afflictions)." Ibn Umar said (to him), "And do you understand what an affliction is? Mohammed used to fight against the pagans, and his fighting with them was an affliction, (and his fighting was) not like your fighting which is carried on for the sake of ruling."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 187:

Narrated Ibn Abi Mulaika:

There was a disagreement between them (i.e. Ibn Abbas and Ibn Az-Zubair) so I went to Ibn Abbas in the morning and said (to him), "Do you want to fight against Ibn Zubair and thus make lawful what Allah has made unlawful (i.e. fighting in Meccas?" Ibn Abbas said, "Allah forbid! Allah ordained that Ibn Zubair and Bani Umaiya would permit (fighting in Mecca), but by Allah, I will never regard it as permissible." Ibn Abbas added. "The people asked me to take the oath of allegiance to Ibn AzZubair. I said, 'He is really entitled to assume authority for his father, Az-Zubair was the helper of the Prophet, his (maternal) grandfather, Abu Bakr was (the Prophet's) companion in the cave, his mother, Asma' was 'Dhatun-Nitaq', his aunt, Aisha was the mother of the Believers, his paternal aunt, Khadija was the wife of the Prophet , and the paternal aunt of the Prophet was his grandmother. He himself is pious and chaste in Islam, well versed in the Knowledge of the Koran. By Allah! (Really, I left my relatives, Bani Umaiya for his sake though) they are my close relatives, and if they should be my rulers, they are equally apt to be so and are descended from a noble family.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 35:

Narrated Safwan bin Salim:

The Prophet said "The one who looks after and works for a widow and for a poor person, is like a warrior fighting for Allah's Cause or like a person who fasts during the day and prays all the night." Narrated Abu Huraira that the Prophet said as above.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 36:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "The one who looks after and works for a widow and for a poor person is like a warrior fighting for Allah's Cause." (The narrator Al-Qa'nabi is not sure whether he also said "Like the one who prays all the night without slackness and fasts continuously and never breaks his fast.")

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 299:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

Whenever Allah's Apostle went to Quba, he used to visit Um Haram bint Milhan who would offer him meals; and she was the wife of Ubada bin As-samit. One day he went to her house and she offered him a meal, and after that he slept, and then woke up smiling. She (Um Haram) said, "I asked him, 'What makes you laugh, O Allah's Apostle?' He said, 'Some people of my followers were displayed before me as warriors fighting for Allah's Cause and sailing over this sea, kings on thrones,' or said, 'like kings on thrones.' (The narrator, Ishaq is in doubt about it.) I (Um Haram) said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Invoke Allah that He may make me one of them.' He invoked (Allah) for her and then lay his head and slept again and then woke up smiling. I asked, 'What makes you laugh, O Allah's Apostle?' He said, 'Some people of my followers were displayed before me as warriors fighting for Allah's Cause and sailing over this sea, kings on the thrones,' or said, 'like kings on the thrones.' I (Um Haram) said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Invoke Allah that He may make me one of them.' He said, You will be amongst the first ones." It is said that Um Haram sailed over the sea at the time of Muawiya, and on coming out of the sea, she fell down from her riding animal and died.

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 500:

Narrated Sa'd bin Sahl As-SaIdi:

The Prophet looked at a man fighting against the pagans and he was one of the most competent persons fighting on behalf of the Muslims. The Prophet said, "Let him who wants to look at a man from the dwellers of the (Hell) Fire, look at this (man)." Another man followed him and kept on following him till he (the fighter) was injured and, seeking to die quickly, he placed the blade tip of his sword between his breasts and leaned over it till it passed through his shoulders (i.e., committed suicide)." The Prophet added, "A person may do deeds that seem to the people as the deeds of the people of Paradise while in fact, he is from the dwellers of the (Hell) Fire: and similarly a person may do deeds that seem to the

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people as the deeds of the people of the (Hell) Fire while in fact, he is from the dwellers of Paradise. Verily, the (results of) deeds done, depend upon the last actions."

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 604:

Narrated Sahl bin Sa'd:

There was a man who fought most bravely of all the Muslims on behalf of the Muslims in a battle (Ghazwa) in the company of the Prophet. The Prophet looked at him and said. "If anyone would like to see a man from the people of the Fire, let him look at this (brave man)." On that, a man from the People (Muslims) followed him, and he was in

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that state i.e., fighting fiercely against the pagans till he was wounded, and then he hastened to end his life by placing his sword between his breasts (and pressed it with great force) till it came out between his shoulders. Then the man (who was watching that person) went quickly to the Prophet and said, "I testify that you are Allah's Apostle!" The Prophet asked him, "Why do you say that?" He said, "You said about so-and-so, 'If anyone would like to see a man from the people of the Fire, he should look at him.' He fought most bravely of all of us on behalf of the Muslims and I knew that he would not die as a Muslim (Martyr). So when he got wounded, he hastened to die and committed suicide." There-upon the Prophet said, "A man may do the deeds of the people of the Fire while in fact he is one of the people of Paradise, and he may do the deeds of the people of Paradise while in fact he belongs to the people of Fire, and verily, (the rewards of) the deeds are decided by the last actions (deeds)".

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 840:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "Avoid the seven great destructive sins." They (the people!) asked, "O Allah's Apostle! What are they?" He said, "To join partners in worship with Allah; to practice sorcery; to kill the life which Allah has forbidden except for a just cause (according to Islamic law); to eat up usury (Riba), to eat up the property of an orphan; to give one's back to the enemy and freeing from the battle-field at the time of fighting and to accuse chaste women who never even think of anything touching chastity and are good believers."

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 19:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

In the year of the Conquest of Mecca, the tribe of Khuza'a killed a man from the tribe of Bam Laith in revenge for a killed person belonging to them in the Pre-Islamic Period of Ignorance. So Allah's Apostle got up saying, "Allah held back the (army having) elephants from Mecca, but He let His Apostle and the believers overpower the infidels (of Mecca). Beware! (Mecca is a sanctuary)! Verily! Fighting in Mecca was not permitted for anybody before me, nor will it be permitted for anybody after me; It was permitted for me only for a while (an hour or so) of that day. No doubt! It is at this moment a sanctuary; its thorny shrubs should not be uprooted; its trees should not be cut down; and its Luqata (fallen things) should not be picked up except by the one who would look for its owner. And if somebody is killed, his closest relative has the right to choose one of two things, i.e., either the Blood money or retaliation by having the killer killed." Then a man from Yemen, called Abu Shah, stood up and said, "Write that) for me, O Allah's Apostle!" Allah's Apostle said (to his companions), "Write that for Abu Shah." Then another man from Quraish got up, saying, "O Allah's Apostle! Except Al-Idhkhir (a special kind of grass) as we use it in our houses and for graves." Allah's Apostle said, "Except Al-idhkkir."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 215:

Narrated Sald bin Jubair:

Abdullah bin Umar came to us and we hoped that he would narrate to us a good Hadith. But before we asked him, a man got up and said to him, "O Abu Abdur-Rahman! Narrate to us about the battles during the time of the afflictions, as Allah says:--

'And fight them until there is no more afflictions (i.e. no more worshipping of others besides Allah).'" (2.193) Ibn Umar said (to the man), "Do you know what is meant by afflictions? Let your mother bereave you! Mohammed used to fight against the pagans, for a Muslim was put to trial in his religion (The pagans will either kill him or chain him as a captive). His fighting was not like your fighting which is carried on for the sake of ruling."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 227:

Narrated Nafi':

When the people of Medina dethroned Yazid bin Muawiya, Ibn Umar gathered his special friends and children and said, "I heard the Prophet saying, 'A flag will be fixed for every betrayer on the Day of Resurrection,' and we have given the oath of allegiance to this person (Yazid) in accordance with the conditions enjoined by Allah and His Apostle and I do not know of anything more faithless than fighting a person who has been given the oath of allegiance in accordance with the conditions enjoined by Allah and His Apostle , and if ever I learn that any person among you has agreed to dethrone Yazid, by giving the oath of allegiance (to somebody else) then there will be separation between him and me."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 228:

Narrated Abu Al-Minhal:

When Ibn Ziyad and Marwan were in Sham and Ibn Az-Zubair took over the authority in Mecca and Qurra' (the Kharijites) revolted in Basra, I went out with my father to Abu Barza Al-Aslami till we entered upon him in his house while he was sitting in the shade of a room built of cane. So we sat with him and my father started talking to him saying, "O Abu Barza! Don't you see in what dilemma the people has fallen?" The first thing heard him saying "I seek reward from Allah for myself because of being angry and scornful at the Quraish tribe. O you Arabs! You know very well that you were in misery and were few in number and misguided, and that Allah has brought you out of all that with Islam and with Mohammed till He brought you to this state (of prosperity and happiness) which you see now; and it is this worldly wealth and pleasures which has caused mischief to appear among you. The one who is in Sham (i.e., Marwan), by Allah, is not fighting except for the sake of worldly gain: and those who are among you, by Allah, are not fighting except for the sake of worldly gain; and that one who is in Mecca (i.e., Ibn Az-Zubair) by Allah, is not fighting except for the sake of worldly gain."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 572:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

The Prophet besieged the people of Ta'if, but he did not conquer it. He said, "Tomorrow, if Allah will, we will return home. On this the Muslims said, "Then we return without conquering it?" He said, 'Then carry on fighting tomorrow." The next day many of them were injured. The Prophet said, "If Allah will, we will return home tomorrow." It seemed that statement pleased them whereupon Allah's Apostle smiled.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 47:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

Allah's Apostle used to visit Um Haran bint Milhan, who would offer him reals. Um-Haram was the wife of Ubada bin As-Samit. Allah's Apostle, once visited her and she provided him with food and started looking for lice in his head. Then Allah's Apostle slept, and afterwards woke up smiling. Um Haran asked, "What causes you to smile, O Allah's Apostle?" He said. "Some of my followers who (in a dream) were presented before me as fighters in Allah's Cause (on board a ship) amidst this sea cause me to smile; they were as kings on the thrones (or like kings on the thrones)." (Ishaq, a sub-narrator is not sure as to which expression the Prophet used.) Um-Haram said, "O Allah's Apostle! Invoke Allah that he makes me one of them. Allah's Apostle invoked Allah for her and slept again and woke up smiling. Once again Um Haram asked, "What makes you smile, O Allah's Apostle?" He replied, "Some of my followers were presented to me as fighters in Allah's Cause," repeating the same dream. Um-Haram said, "O Allah's Apostle! Invoke Allah that He makes me one of them." He said, "You are amongst the first ones." It happened that she sailed on the sea during the Caliphate of Mu'awlya bin Abi Sufyan, and after she disembarked, she fell down from her riding animal and died.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 360:

Narrated Ibn Shihab:

These were the battles of Allah's Apostle (which he fought), and while mentioning (the Badr battle) he said, "While the corpses of the pagans were being thrown into the well, Allah's Apostle said (to them), 'Have you found what your Lord promised true?" Abdullah said, "Some of the Prophet's companions said, "O Allah's Apostle! You are addressing dead people.' Allah's Apostle replied, 'You do not hear what I am saying, better than they.' The total number of Muslim fighters from Quraish who fought in the battle of Badr and were given their share of the booty, were 81 men." Az-Zubair said, "When their shares were distributed, their number was 101 men. But Allah knows it better."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 542:

Narrated Umar bin Al-Khattab:

By Him in Whose Hand my soul is, were I not afraid that the other Muslims might be left in poverty, I would divide (the land of) whatever village I may conquer (among the fighters), as the Prophet divided the land of Khaibar. But I prefer to leave it as a (source of) a common treasury for them to distribute it revenue amongst themselves.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 543:

Narrated Umar:

But for the other Muslims (i.e. coming generations) I would divide (the land of) whatever villages the Muslims might conquer (among the fighters), as the Prophet divided (the land of) Khaibar.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 169:

Narrated Salama bin Al-Aqwa:

We went out with Allah's Apostle to Khaibar and we travelled during the night. A man amongst the people said to Amir bin Al-Aqwa', "Won't you let us hear your poetry?" Amir was a poet, and so he got down and started (chanting Huda) reciting for the people, poetry that keep pace with the camel's foot steps, saying, "O Allah! Without You we would not have been guided on the right path, neither would we have given in charity, nor would we have prayed. So please forgive us what we have committed. Let all of us be sacrificed for Your cause and when we meet our enemy, make our feet firm and bestow peace and calmness on us and if they (our enemy) will call us towards an unjust thing we will refuse.

The infidels have made a hue and cry to ask others help against us. Allah's Apostle said, "Who is that driver (of the camels)?" They said, "He is Amir bin Al-Aqwa."' He said, "May Allah bestow His mercy on him." A man among the people said, Has Martyrdom been granted to him, O Allah's Prophet! Would that you let us enjoy his company longer." We reached (the people of) Khaibar and besieged them till we were stricken with severe hunger but Allah helped the Muslims conquer Khaibar. In the evening of its conquest the people made many fires. Allah's Apostle asked, "What are those fires? For what are you making fires?" They said, "For cooking meat." He asked, "What kind of meat?" They said, "Donkeys' meat." Allah's Apostle said, "Throw away the meat and break the cooking pots." A man said, O Allah's Apostle! Shall we throw away the meat and wash the cooking pots?" He said, "You can do that too." When the army files aligned in rows (for the battle), Amir's sword was a short one, and while attacking a Jew with it in order to hit him, the sharp edge of the sword turned back and hit Amir's knee and caused him to die.

When the Muslims returned (from the battle), Salama said, Allah's Apostle saw me pale and said, 'What is wrong with you?"' I said, "Let my parents be sacrificed for you! The people claim that all the deeds of Amir have been annulled." The Prophet asked, "Who said so?" I replied, "So-and-so and so-and-so and Usaid bin Al-Hudair Al-Ansari said, 'Whoever says so is telling a lie. Verily, Amir will have double reward."' (While speaking) the Prophet put two of his fingers together to indicate that, and added, "He was really a hard-working man and a Mujahid (devout fighter in Allah's Cause) and rarely have there lived in it (i.e., Medina or the battle-field) an "Arab like him."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 345:

Narrated Jarir:

Allah's Apostle said to me. "Will you relieve me from Dhi-al-Khalasa? " Dhi-al-Khalasa was an idol which the people used to worship and it was called Al-Ka'ba al Yamaniyya. I said, "O Allah's Apostle I am a man who can't sit firm on horses." So he stroked my chest (with his hand) and said, "O Allah! Make him firm and make him a guiding and well-guided man." So I went out with fifty (men) from my tribe of Ahrnas. (The sub-narrator, Sufyan, quoting Jarir, perhaps said, "I went out with a group of men from my nation.") and came to Dhi-al-Khalasa and burnt it, and then came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have not come to you till I left it like a camel with a skin disease." The Prophet then invoked good upon Ahmas and their cavalry (fighters).

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 130:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

Allah's Apostle used to visit Um Haram bint Milhan she was the wife of Ubada bin As-Samit. One day the Prophet visited her and she provided him with food and started looking for lice in his head. Then Allah's Apostle slept and afterwards woke up smiling. Um Haram asked, "What makes you smile, O Allah's Apostle?" He said, "Some of my followers were presented before me in my dream as fighters in Allah's Cause, sailing in the middle of the seas like kings on the thrones or like kings sitting on their thrones." (The narrator Ishaq is not sure as to which expression was correct). Um Haram added, 'I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Invoke Allah, to make me one of them;" So Allah's Apostle invoked Allah for her and then laid his head down (and slept). Then he woke up smiling (again). (Um Haram added): I said, "What makes you smile, O Allah's Apostle?" He said, "Some people of my followers were presented before me (in a dream) as fighters in Allah's Cause." He said the same as he had said before. I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Invoke Allah to make me from them." He said, "You are among the first ones." Then Um Haram sailed over the sea during the Caliphate of Muawiya bin Abu Sufyan, and she fell down from her riding animal after coming ashore, and died.

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 129:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

About a man who came to Allah's Apostle and said, "I was shown in a dream last night..." Then Ibn Abbas mentioned the narration.

Volume 1, Book 1, Number 6:

Abu Sufyan bin Harb informed me that [the Roman emperor] Heraclius had sent a messenger to him while he had been accompanying a caravan from Quraish. They were merchants doing business in Sham (Syria, Palestine, Lebanon and Jordan), at the time when Allah's Apostle had truce with Abu Sufyan and Quraish infidels. So Abu Sufyan and his companions went to Heraclius at Ilya (Jerusalem). Heraclius called them in the court and he had all the senior Roman dignitaries around him. He called for his translator who, translating Heraclius's question said to them, "Who amongst you is closely related to that man who claims to be a Prophet?" Abu Sufyan replied, "I am the nearest relative to him (amongst the group)."

Heraclius said, "Bring him (Abu Sufyan) close to me and make his companions stand behind him." Abu Sufyan added,

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Heraclius told his translator to tell my companions that he wanted to put some questions to me regarding that man (The Prophet) and that if I told a lie they (my companions) should contradict me." Abu Sufyan added, "By Allah! Had I not been afraid of my companions labeling me a liar, I would not have spoken the truth about the Prophet. The first question he asked me about him was:

'What is his family status amongst you?'

I replied, 'He belongs to a good (noble) family amongst us.'

Heraclius further asked, 'Has anybody amongst you ever claimed the same (i.e. to be a Prophet) before him?'

I replied, 'No.'

He said, 'Was anybody amongst his ancestors a king?'

I replied, 'No.'

Heraclius asked, 'Do the nobles or the poor follow him?'

I replied, 'It is the poor who follow him.'

He said, 'Are his followers increasing decreasing (day by day)?'

I replied, 'They are increasing.'

He then asked, 'Does anybody amongst those who embrace his religion become displeased and renounce the religion afterwards?'

I replied, 'No.'

Heraclius said, 'Have you ever accused him of telling lies before his claim (to be a Prophet)?'

I replied, 'No. '

Heraclius said, 'Does he break his promises?'

I replied, 'No. We are at truce with him but we do not know what he will do in it.' I could not find opportunity to say anything against him except that.

Heraclius asked, 'Have you ever had a war with him?'

I replied, 'Yes.'

Then he said, 'What was the outcome of the battles?'

I replied, 'Sometimes he was victorious and sometimes we.'

Heraclius said, 'What does he order you to do?'

I said, 'He tells us to worship Allah and Allah alone and not to worship anything along with Him, and to renounce all that our ancestors had said. He orders us to pray, to speak the truth, to be chaste and to keep good relations with our Kith and kin.'

Heraclius asked the translator to convey to me the following, I asked you about his family and your reply was that he belonged to a very noble family. In fact all the Apostles come from noble families amongst their respective peoples. I questioned you whether anybody else amongst you claimed such a thing, your reply was in the negative. If the answer had been in the affirmative, I would have thought that this man was following the previous man's statement. Then I asked you whether anyone of his ancestors was a king. Your reply was in the negative, and if it had been in the affirmative, I would have thought that this man wanted to take back his ancestral kingdom.

I further asked whether he was ever accused of telling lies before he said what he said, and your reply was in the negative. So I wondered how a person who does not tell a lie about others could ever tell a lie about Allah. I, then asked you whether the rich people followed him or the poor. You replied that it was the poor who followed him. And in fact all the Apostle have been followed by this very class of people. Then I asked you whether his followers were increasing or decreasing. You replied that they were increasing, and in fact this is the way of true faith, till it is complete in all respects. I further asked you whether there was anybody, who, after embracing his religion, became displeased and discarded his religion. Your reply was in the negative, and in fact this is (the sign of) true faith, when its delight enters the hearts and mixes with them completely. I asked you whether he had ever betrayed. You replied in the negative and likewise the Apostles never betray. Then I asked you what he ordered you to do. You replied that he ordered you to worship Allah and Allah alone and not to worship any thing along with Him and forbade you to worship idols and ordered you to pray, to speak the truth and to be chaste. If what you have said is true, he will very soon occupy this place underneath my feet and I knew it (from the scriptures) that he was going to appear but I did not know that he would be from you, and if I could reach him definitely, I would go immediately to meet him and if I were with him, I would certainly wash his feet.' Heraclius then asked for the letter addressed by Allah's Apostle

which was delivered by Dihya to the Governor of Busra, who forwarded it to Heraclius to read. The contents of the letter were as follows: "In the name of Allah the Beneficent, the Merciful (This letter is) from Mohammed the slave of Allah and His Apostle to Heraclius the ruler of Byzantine. Peace be upon him, who follows the right path. Furthermore I invite you to Islam, and if you become a Muslim you will be safe, and Allah will double your reward, and if you reject this invitation of Islam you will be committing a sin by misguiding your Arisiyin (peasants). (And I recite to you Allah's Statement:)

'O people of the scripture! Come to a word common to you and us that we worship none but Allah and that we associate nothing in worship with Him, and that none of us shall take others as Lords beside Allah. Then, if they turn away, say: Bear witness that we are Muslims (those who have surrendered to Allah).' (3:64).

Abu Sufyan then added, "When Heraclius had finished his speech and had read the letter, there was a great hue and cry in the Royal Court. So we were turned out of the court. I told my companions that the question of Ibn-Abi-Kabsha) (the Prophet Mohammed) has become so prominent that even the King of Bani Al-Asfar (Byzantine) is afraid of him. Then I started to become sure that he (the Prophet) would be the conqueror in the near future till I embraced Islam (i.e. Allah guided me to it)."

The sub narrator adds, "Ibn An-Natur was the Governor of llya' (Jerusalem) and Heraclius was the head of the Christians of Sham. Ibn An-Natur narrates that once while Heraclius was visiting ilya' (Jerusalem), he got up in the morning with a sad mood. Some of his priests asked him why he was in that mood? Heraclius was a foreteller and an astrologer. He replied, 'At night when I looked at the stars, I saw that the leader of those who practice circumcision had appeared (become the conqueror). Who are they who practice circumcision?' The people replied, 'Except the Jews nobody practices circumcision, so you should not be afraid of them (Jews).

'Just Issue orders to kill every Jew present in the country.'

While they were discussing it, a messenger sent by the king of Ghassan to convey the news of Allah's Apostle to Heraclius was brought in. Having heard the news, he (Heraclius) ordered the people to go and see whether the messenger of Ghassan was circumcised. The people, after seeing him, told Heraclius that he was circumcised. Heraclius then asked him about the Arabs. The messenger replied, Arabs also practice circumcision.'

(After hearing that) Heraclius remarked that sovereignty of the Arabs had appeared. Heraclius then wrote a letter to his friend in Rome (Contantinople) who was as good as Heraclius in knowledge. Heraclius then left for Homs. (a town in Syrian and stayed there till he received the reply of his letter from his friend who agreed with him in his opinion about the emergence of the Prophet and the fact that he was a Prophet. On that Heraclius invited all the heads of the Byzantines to assemble in his palace at Homs. When they assembled, he ordered that all the doors of his palace be closed. Then he came out and said, 'O Byzantines! If success is your desire and if you seek right guidance and want your empire to remain then give a pledge of allegiance to this Prophet (i.e. embrace Islam).'

(On hearing the views of Heraclius) the people ran towards the gates of the palace like onagers but found the doors closed. Heraclius realised their hatred towards Islam and when he lost the hope of their embracing Islam, he ordered that they should be brought back in audience.

(When they returned) he said, 'What already said was just to test the strength of your conviction and I have seen it.' The people prostrated before him and became pleased with him, and this was the end of Heraclius's story (in connection with his faith).

Translation of Sahih Bukhari, Book 2:

Belief

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 112:

In the year of the Conquest of Mecca, the tribe of Khuza'a killed a man from the tribe of Bani Laith in revenge for a killed person, belonging to them. They informed the Prophet about it. So he rode his Rahila (she-camel for riding) and addressed the people saying, "Allah held back the killing from Mecca. (The sub-narrator is in doubt whether the Prophet said "elephant or killing," as the Arabic words standing for these words have great similarity in shape), but He (Allah) let His Apostle and the believers over power the infidels of Mecca. Beware! (Mecca is a sanctuary) Verily! Fighting in Mecca was not permitted for anyone before me nor will it be permitted for anyone after me. It (war) in it was made legal for me for few hours or so on that day. No doubt it is at this moment a sanctuary, it is not allowed to uproot its thorny shrubs or to uproot its trees or to pick up its Luqatt (fallen things) except by a person who will look for its owner (announce it publicly). And if somebody is killed, then his closest relative has the right to choose one of the two-- the blood money (Diyya) or retaliation having the killer killed. In the meantime a man from Yemen came and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Get that written for me." The Prophet ordered his companions to write that for him. Then a man from Quraish said, "Except Al-Iqhkhir (a type of grass that has good smell) O Allah's Apostle, as we use it in our houses and graves." The Prophet said, "Except Al-Idhkhiri.e. Al-Idhkhir is allowed to be plucked."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 722:

Narrated Jabir bin Samura:

The People of Kufa complained against Sa'd to Umar and the latter dismissed him and appointed 'Ammar as their chief . They lodged many complaints against Sa'd and even they alleged that he did not pray properly. Umar sent for him and said, "O Aba Ishaq! These people claim that you do not pray properly." Abu Ishaq said, "By Allah, I used to pray with them a prayer similar to that of Allah's Apostle and I never reduced anything of it. I used to prolong the first two Rakat of 'Isha prayer and shorten the last two Rakat." Umar said, "O Aba Ishaq, this was what I thought about you." And then he sent one or more persons with him to Kufa so as to ask the people about him. So they went there and did not leave any mosque without asking about him. All the people praised him till they came to the mosque of the tribe of Bani Abs; one of the men called Usama bin Qatada with a surname of Aba Sa'da stood up and said, "As you have put us under an oath; I am bound to tell you that Sa'd never went himself with the army and never distributed (the war booty) equally and never did justice in legal verdicts." (On hearing it) Sa'd said, "I pray to Allah for three things: O Allah! If this slave of yours is a liar and got up for showing off, give him a long life, increase his poverty and put him to trials." (And so it happened). Later on when that person was asked how he was, he used to reply that he was an old man in trial as the result of Sa'd's curse. Abdul Malik, the sub narrator, said that he had seen him afterwards and his eyebrows were over-hanging his eyes owing to old age and he used to tease and assault the small girls in the way.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 796:

Narrated Abu Bakr As-Siddiq:

I asked Allah's Apostle to teach me an invocation so that I may invoke Allah with it in my prayer. He told me to say, "Allahumma inni zalumtu nafsi zulman kathiran, Wala yaghfirudhdhunuba illa anta faghfirli maghfiratan min 'Indika, war-hamni innaka antal-ghafururrahim (O Allah! I have done great injustice to myself and none except You forgives sins, so please forgive me and be Merciful to me as You are the Forgiver, the Merciful)."

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 70:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 483:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

When Allah's Apostle died and Abu Bakr became the caliph some Arabs renegade (reverted to disbelief) (Abu Bakr decided to declare war against them), Umar, said to Abu Bakr, "How can you fight with these people although Allah's Apostle said, 'I have been ordered (by Allah) to fight the people till they say: "None has the right to be worshipped but Allah, and whoever said it then he will save his life and property from me except on trespassing the law (rights and conditions for which he will be punished justly), and his accounts will be with Allah.' " Abu Bakr said, "By Allah! I will fight those who differentiate between the prayer and the Zakat as Zakat is the compulsory right to be taken from the property (according to Allah's orders) By Allah! If they refuse to pay me even a she-kid which they used to pay at the time of Allah's Apostle . I would fight with them for withholding it" Then Umar said, "By Allah, it was nothing, but Allah opened Abu Bakr's chest towards the decision (to fight) and I came to know that his decision was right."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 551:

Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair and Said bin Al-Musaiyab:

Haklm bin Hizam said, "(Once) I asked Allah's Apostle (for something) and he gave it to me. Again I asked and he gave (it to me). Again I asked and he gave (it to me). And then he said, "O Hakim! This property is like a sweet fresh fruit; whoever takes it without greediness, he is blessed in it, and whoever takes it with greediness, he is not blessed in it, and he is like a person who eats but is never satisfied; and the upper (giving) hand is better than the lower (receiving) hand." Hakim added, "I said to Allah's Apostle , 'By Him (Allah) Who sent you with the Truth, I shall never accept anything from anybody after you, till I leave this world.' " Then Abu Bakr (during his caliphate) called Hakim to give him his share from the war booty (like the other companions of the Prophet), he refused to accept anything. Then Umar (during his caliphate) called him to give him his share but he refused. On that Umar said, "O Muslims! I would like you to witness that I offered Hakim his share from this booty and he refused to take it." So Hakim never took anything from anybody after the Prophet till he died.

"There is a danger of an impending war between them." Ibn Umar said, "Verily, in Allah's Apostle you have a good

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example. (And if it happened as you say) then I would do the same as Allah's Apostle had done. I make you witness that I have decided to perform Umra." Then he set out and when he reached Al-Baida', he said, "The ceremonies of both Hajj and Umra are similar. I make you witness that I have made Hajj compulsory for me along with Umra." He drove (to Mecca) a Hadi which he had bought from (a place called) Qudaid and did not do more than that. He did not slaughter the Hadi or finish his Ihram, or shave or cut short his hair till the day of slaughtering the sacrifices (10th Dhul-Hijja). Then he slaughtered his Hadi and shaved his head and considered the first Tawaf (of Safa and Marwa) as sufficient for Hajj and Umra. Ibn Umar said, "Allah's Apostle did the same."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 705:

Narrated Mohammed bin AbdurRahman bin Nawfal Al-Qurashi:

I asked Urwa bin Az-Zubair (regarding the Hajj of the Prophet). Urwa replied, "Aisha narrated, 'When the Prophet reached Mecca, the first thing he started with was the ablution, then he performed Tawaf of the Ka'ba and his intention was not Umra alone (but Hajj and Umra together).' " Later Abu Bakr I performed the Hajj and the first thing he started with was Tawaf of the Ka'ba and it was not Umra alone (but Hajj and Umra together). And then Umar did the same. Then Uthman performed the Hajj and the first thing he started with was Tawaf of the Ka'ba and it was not Umra alone. And then Muawiya and Abdullah bin Umar did the same. I performed Hajj with Ibn Az-Zubair and the first thing he started with was Tawaf of the Ka'ba and it was not Umra alone, (but Hajj and Umra together). Then I saw the Muhajirin (Emigrants) and Ansar doing the same and it was not Umra alone. And the last person I saw doing the same was Ibn Umar, and he did not do another Umra after finishing the first. Now here is Ibn Umar present amongst the people! They neither ask him nor anyone of the previous ones. And all these people, on entering Mecca, would not start with anything unless they had performed Tawaf of the Ka'ba, and would not finish their Ihram. And no doubt, I saw my mother and my aunt, on entering Mecca doing nothing before performing Tawaf of the Ka'ba, and they would not finish their Ihram. And my mother informed me that she, her sister, Az-Zubair and such and such persons had assumed Ihram for Umra and after passing their hands over the Corner (the Black Stone) (i.e. finishing their Umra) they finished their Ihram."

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 6:

Narrated Qatada:

I asked Anas how many times the Prophet had performed Umra. He replied, "Four times. 1. Umra of Hudaibiya in Dhi-l-Qa'da when the pagans hindered him; 2. Umra in the following year in Dhi-l-Qa'da after the peace treaty with them (the pagans); 3. Umra from Al-Jr'rana where he distributed the war booty." I think he meant the booty (of the battle) of Hunain. I asked, "How many times did he perform Hajj?" He (Anas) replied, "Once. "

Volume 3, Book 35, Number 456:

Narrated Mohammed bin Abi Al-Mujalid:

Abu Burda and Abdullah bin Shaddad sent me to Abdur Rahman bin Abza and Abdullah bin Abi Aufa to ask them about the Salaf (Salam). They said, "We used to get war booty while we were with Allah's Apostle and when the peasants of Sham came to us we used to pay them in advance for wheat, barley, and oil to be delivered within a fixed period." I asked them, "Did the peasants own standing crops or not?" They replied, "We never asked them about it."

Volume 3, Book 40, Number 563:

Narrated Husain bin Ali:

Ali bin Abi Talib said: "I got a she-camel as my share of the war booty on the day (of the battle) of Badr, and Allah's Apostle gave me another she-camel. I let both of them kneel at the door of one of the Ansar, intending to carry Idhkhir on them to sell it and use its price for my wedding banquet on marrying Fatima. A goldsmith from Bam Qainqa' was with me. Hamza bin Abdul-Muttalib was in that house drinking wine and a lady singer was reciting: "O Hamza! (Kill) the (two) fat old she camels (and serve them to your guests)."

So Hamza took his sword and went towards the two she-camels and cut off their humps and opened their flanks and took a part of their livers." (I said to Ibn Shihab, "Did he take part of the humps?" He replied, "He cut off their humps and carried them away.") Ali further said, "When I saw that dreadful sight, I went to the Prophet and told him the news. The Prophet came out in the company of Zaid bin Haritha who was with him then, and I too went with them. He went to Hamza and spoke harshly to him. Hamza looked up and said, 'Aren't you only the slaves of my forefathers?' The Prophet retreated and went out. This incident happened before the prohibition of drinking."

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 589:

Narrated Jabir:

When Abdullah (my father) died, he left behind children and debts. I asked the lenders to put down some of his debt, but they refused, so I went to the Prophet to intercede with them, yet they refused. The Prophet said (to me), "Classify your dates into their different kinds: 'Adhq bin Zaid, Lean and 'Ajwa, each kind alone and call all the creditors and wait till I come to you." I did so and the Prophet came and sat beside the dates and started measuring to each his due till he paid them fully, and the amount of dates remained as it was before, as if he had not touched them.

(On another occasion) I took part in one of Ghazawat among with the Prophet and I was riding one of our camels. The camel got tired and was lagging behind the others. The Prophet hit it on its back. He said, "Sell it to me, and you have the right to ride it till Medina." When we approached Medina, I took the permission from the Prophet to go to my house, saying, "O Allah's Apostle! I have newly married." The Prophet asked, "Have you married a virgin or a matron (a widow or divorcee)?" I said, "I have married a matron, as Abdullah (my father) died and left behind daughters small in their ages, so I married a matron who may teach them and bring them up with good manners." The Prophet then said (to me), "Go to your family." When I went there and told my maternal uncle about the selling of the camel, he admonished me for it. On that I told him about its slowness and exhaustion and about what the Prophet had done to the camel and his hitting it. When the Prophet arrived, I went to him with the camel in the morning and he gave me its price, the camel itself, and my share from the war booty as he gave the other people.

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 716:

Narrated Marwan and Al-Miswar bin Makhrama:

When the delegates of the tribe of Hawazin came to the Prophet and they requested him to return their properties and captives. The Prophet stood up and said to them, "I have other people with me in this matter (as you see) and the most beloved statement to me is the true one; you may choose either the properties or the prisoners as I have delayed their distribution." The Prophet had waited for them for more than ten days since his arrival from Ta'if. So, when it became evident to them that the Prophet was not going to return them except one of the two, they said, "We choose our prisoners." The Prophet got up amongst the people and glorified and praised Allah as He deserved and said, "Then after, these brethren of yours have come to us with repentance, and I see it logical to return them the captives. So, whoever amongst you likes to do that as a favor, then he can do it, and whoever of you likes to stick to his share till we recompense him from the very first war booty which Allah will give us, then he can do so (i.e. give up the present captives)." The people unanimously said, "We do that (return the captives) willingly." The Prophet said, "We do not know which of you has agreed to it and which have not, so go back and let your leaders forward us your decision." So, all the people then went back and discussed the matter with their leaders who returned and informed the Prophet that all the people had willingly given their consent to return the captives. This is what has reached us about the captives of Hawazin. Narrated Anas that Abbas said to the Prophet, "I paid for my ransom and Aqil's ransom."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 757:

Narrated Al-Miswar bin Makhrama and Marwan:

When the delegates of the tribe of Hawazin came to the Prophet he stood up amongst the people, Glorified and Praised Allah as He deserved, and said, "Then after: Your brethren have come to you with repentance and I see it logical to return to them their captives; so whoever amongst you likes to do that as a favor, then he can do it, and whoever of you like to stick to his share till we give him his right from the very first Fai (war booty) (1) which Allah will bestow on us, then (he can do so)." The people replied, "We do that (to return the captives) willingly as a favor for your sake."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 778:

Narrated Marwan bin Al-Hakam and Al-Miswar bin Makhrama:

When the delegates of the tribe of Hawazin came to the Prophet they requested him to return their property and their captives. He said to them, "This concerns also other people along with me as you see, and the best statement to me is the true one, so you may choose one of two alternatives; either the captives or the property and (I have not distributed the booty for) I have been waiting for you."

When the Prophet had returned from Ta'if, he waited for them for more than ten nights. When they came to know that the Prophet would not return except one of the two, they chose their captives. The Prophet then stood up amongst the Muslims, Glorified and Praised Allah as He deserved, and then said, "Then after: These brothers of yours have come to you with repentance and I see it proper to return their captives, so whoever amongst you likes to do that as a favor, then he can do it, and whoever of you wants to stick to his share till we pay him from the very first Fai (i.e. war booty) which Allah will give us, then he can do so." The people said, "We return (the captives) to them willingly as a favor, O Allah's Apostle!" The Prophet said, "I do not know who of you has given his consent and who has not; so go back and your leaders may present your decision to me." The people went away, and their leaders discussed the matter with them, and then came to the Prophet to tell him that all of them had given their consent (to return the captives) willingly. (Az-Zuhn, the sub-narrator said, "This is what we know about the captives, of Hawazin.")

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 891:

Narrated Al-Miswar bin Makhrama and Marwan:

(whose narrations attest each other) Allah's Apostle set out at the time of Al-Hudaibiya (treaty), and when they proceeded for a distance, he said, "Khalid bin Al-Walid leading the cavalry of Quraish constituting the front of the army, is at a place called Al-Ghamim, so take the way on the right." By Allah, Khalid did not perceive the arrival of the Muslims till the dust arising from the march of the Muslim army reached him, and then he turned back hurriedly to inform Quraish. The Prophet went on advancing till he reached the Thaniyya (i.e. a mountainous way) through which one would go to them (i.e. people of Quraish). The she-camel of the Prophet sat down. The people tried their best to cause the she-camel to get up but in vain, so they said, "Al-Qaswa' (i.e. the she-camel's name) has become stubborn! Al-Qaswa' has become stubborn!" The Prophet said, "Al-Qaswa' has not become stubborn, for stubbornness is not her habit, but she was stopped by Him Who stopped the elephant." Then he said, "By the Name of Him in Whose Hands my soul is, if they (i.e. the Quraish infidels) ask me anything which will respect the ordinances of Allah, I will grant it to them."

The Prophet then rebuked the she-camel and she got up. The Prophet changed his way till he dismounted at the farthest end of Al-Hudaibiya at a pit (i.e. well) containing a little water which the people used in small amounts, and in a short while the people used up all its water and complained to Allah's Apostle; of thirst. The Prophet took an arrow out of his arrow-case and ordered them to put the arrow in that pit. By Allah, the water started and continued sprouting out till all the people quenched their thirst and returned with satisfaction. While they were still in that state, Budail bin Warqa-al-Khuza'i came with some persons from his tribe Khuza'a and they were the advisers of Allah's Apostle who would keep no secret from him and were from the people of Tihama. Budail said, "I left Kab bin Luai and Amir bin Luai residing at the profuse water of Al-Hudaibiya and they had milch camels (or their women and children) with them, and will wage war against you, and will prevent you from visiting the Kaba." Allah's Apostle said, "We have not come to fight anyone, but to perform the Umra. No doubt, the war has weakened Quraish and they have suffered great losses, so if they wish, I will conclude a truce with them, during which they should refrain from interfering between me and the people (i.e. the Arab infidels other than Quraish), and if I have victory over those infidels, Quraish will have the option to embrace Islam as the other people do, if they wish; they will at least get strong enough to fight. But if they do not accept the truce, by Allah in Whose Hands my life is, I will fight with them defending my Cause till I get killed, but (I am sure) Allah will definitely make His Cause victorious." Budail said, "I will inform them of what you have said." So, he set off till he reached Quraish and said, "We have come from that man (i.e. Mohammed) whom we heard saying something which we will disclose to you if you should like." Some of the fools among Quraish shouted that they were not in need of this information, but the wiser among them said, "Relate what you heard him saying." Budail said, "I heard him saying so-and-so," relating what the Prophet had told him.

Urwa bin Musud got up and said, "O people! Aren't you the sons? They said, "Yes." He added, "Am I not the father?" They said, "Yes." He said, "Do you mistrust me?" They said, "No." He said, "Don't you know that I invited the people of 'Ukaz for your help, and when they refused I brought my relatives and children and those who obeyed me (to help you)?" They said, "Yes." He said, "Well, this man (i.e. the Prophet) has offered you a reasonable proposal, you'd better accept it and allow me to meet him." They said, "You may meet him." So, he went to the Prophet and started talking to him. The Prophet told him almost the same as he had told Budail. Then Urwa said, "O Mohammed! Won't you feel any scruple in extirpating your relations? Have you ever heard of anyone amongst the Arabs extirpating his relatives before you? On the other hand, if the reverse should happen, (nobody will aid you, for) by Allah, I do not see (with you) dignified people, but people from various tribes who would run away leaving you alone." Hearing that, Abu Bakr abused him and said, "Do you say we would run and leave the Prophet alone?"

Urwa said, "Who is that man?" They said, "He is Abu Bakr." Urwa said to Abu Bakr, "By Him in Whose Hands my life is, were it not for the favor which you did to me and which I did not compensate, I would retort on you." Urwa kept on talking to the Prophet and seizing the Prophet's beard as he was talking while Al-Mughira bin Shu'ba was standing near the head of the Prophet, holding a sword and wearing a helmet. Whenever Urwa stretched his hand towards the beard of the Prophet, Al-Mughira would hit his hand with the handle of the sword and say (to Urwa), "Remove your hand from the beard of Allah's Apostle." Urwa raised his head and asked, "Who is that?" The people said, "He is Al-Mughira bin

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Shu'ba." Urwa said, "O treacherous! Am I not doing my best to prevent evil consequences of your treachery?"

Before embracing Islam Al-Mughira was in the company of some people. He killed them and took their property and came (to Medina) to embrace Islam. The Prophet said (to him, "As regards your Islam, I accept it, but as for the property I do not take anything of it. (As it was taken through treason). Urwa then started looking at the Companions of the Prophet. By Allah, whenever Allah's Apostle spat, the spittle would fall in the hand of one of them (i.e. the Prophet's companions) who would rub it on his face and skin; if he ordered them they would carry his orders immediately; if he performed ablution, they would struggle to take the remaining water; and when they spoke to him, they would lower their voices and would not look at his face constantly out of respect. Urwa returned to his people and said, "O people! By Allah, I have been to the kings and to Caesar, Khosrau and An-Najashi, yet I have never seen any of them respected by his courtiers as much as Mohammed is respected by his companions. By Allah, if he spat, the spittle would fall in the hand of one of them (i.e. the Prophet's companions) who would rub it on his face and skin; if he ordered them, they would carry out his order immediately; if he performed ablution, they would struggle to take the remaining water; and when they spoke, they would lower their voices and would not look at his face constantly out of respect." Urwa added, "No doubt, he has presented to you a good reasonable offer, so please accept it." A man from the tribe of Bani Kinana said, "Allow me to go to him," and they allowed him, and when he approached the Prophet and his companions, Allah's Ap le I said, "He is so-and-so who belongs to the tribe that respects the Budn (i.e. camels of the sacrifice). So, bring the Budn in front of him." So, the Budn were brought before him and the people received him while they were reciting Talbiya. When he saw that scene, he said, "Glorified be Allah! It is not fair to prevent these people from visiting the Ka'ba." When he returned to his people, he said, 'I saw the Budn garlanded (with colored knotted ropes) and marked (with stabs on their backs). I do not think it is advisable to prevent them from visiting the Ka'ba." Another person called Mikraz bin Hafs got up and sought their permission to go to Mohammed, and they allowed him, too. When he approached the Muslims, the Prophet said, "Here is Mikraz and he is a vicious man." Mikraz started talking to the Prophet and as he was talking, Suhail bin Amr came.

When Suhail bin Amr came, the Prophet said, "Now the matter has become easy." Suhail said to the Prophet "Please conclude a peace treaty with us." So, the Prophet called the clerk and said to him, "Write: By the Name of Allah, the most Beneficent, the most Merciful." Suhail said, "As for 'Beneficent,' by Allah, I do not know what it means. So write: By Your Name O Allah, as you used to write previously." The Muslims said, "By Allah, we will not write except: By the Name of Allah, the most Beneficent, the most Merciful." The Prophet said, "Write: By Your Name O Allah." Then he dictated, "This is the peace treaty which Mohammed, Allah's Apostle has concluded." Suhail said, "By Allah, if we knew that you are Allah's Apostle we would not prevent you from visiting the Kaba, and would not fight with you. So, write: "Mohammed bin Abdullah." The Prophet said, "By Allah! I am Apostle of Allah even if you people do not believe me. Write: Mohammed bin Abdullah." (Az-Zuhri said, "The Prophet accepted all those things, as he had already said that he would accept everything they would demand if it respects the ordinance of Allah, (i.e. by letting him and his companions perform Umra.)" The Prophet said to Suhail, "On the condition that you allow us to visit the House (i.e. Ka'ba) so that we may perform Tawaf around it." Suhail said, "By Allah, we will not (allow you this year) so as not to give chance to the Arabs to say that we have yielded to you, but we will allow you next year." So, the Prophet got that written.

Then Suhail said, "We also stipulate that you should return to us whoever comes to you from us, even if he embraced your religion." The Muslims said, "Glorified be Allah! How will such a person be returned to the pagans after he has become a Muslim? While they were in this state Abu- Jandal bin Suhail bin Amr came from the valley of Mecca staggering with his fetters and fell down amongst the Muslims. Suhail said, "O Mohammed! This is the very first term with which we make peace with you, i.e. you shall return Abu Jandal to me." The Prophet said, "The peace treaty has not been written yet." Suhail said, "I will never allow you to keep him." The Prophet said, "Yes, do." He said, "I won't do.: Mikraz said, "We allow you (to keep him)." Abu Jandal said, "O Muslims! Will I be returned to the pagans though I have come as a Muslim? Don't you see how much I have suffered?"

Abu Jandal had been tortured severely for the Cause of Allah. Umar bin Al-Khattab said, "I went to the Prophet and said, 'Aren't you truly the Apostle of Allah?' The Prophet said, 'Yes, indeed.' I said, 'Isn't our Cause just and the cause of the enemy unjust?' He said, 'Yes.' I said, 'Then why should we be humble in our religion?' He said, 'I am Allah's Apostle and I do not disobey Him, and He will make me victorious.' I said, 'Didn't you tell us that we would go to the Ka'ba and perform Tawaf around it?' He said, 'Yes, but did I tell you that we would visit the Ka'ba this year?' I said, 'No.' He said, 'So you will visit it and perform Tawaf around it?' " Umar further said, "I went to Abu Bakr and said, 'O Abu Bakr! Isn't he truly Allah's Prophet?' He replied, 'Yes.' I said, 'Then why should we be humble in our religion?' He said, 'Indeed, he is Allah's Apostle and he does not disobey his Lord, and He will make him victorious. Adhere to him as, by Allah, he is on the right.' I said, 'Was he not telling us that we would go to the Kaba and perform Tawaf around it?' He said, 'Yes, but did he tell you that you would go to the Ka'ba this year?' I said, 'No.' He said, "You will go to Ka'ba and perform Tawaf around it." (Az-Zuhri said, " Umar said, 'I performed many good deeds as expiation for the improper questions I asked them.' ")

When the writing of the peace treaty was concluded, Allah's Apostle said to his companions, "Get up and' slaughter your sacrifices and get your head shaved." By Allah none of them got up, and the Prophet repeated his order thrice. When none of them got up, he left them and went to Um Salama and told her of the people's attitudes towards him. Um Salama said, "O the Prophet of Allah! Do you want your order to be carried out? Go out and don't say a word to anybody till you have slaughtered your sacrifice and call your barber to shave your head." So, the Prophet went out and did not talk to anyone of them till he did that, i.e. slaughtered the sacrifice and called his barber who shaved his head. Seeing that, the companions of the Prophet got up, slaughtered their sacrifices, and started shaving the heads of one another, and there was so much rush that there was a danger of killing each other. Then some believing women came (to the Prophet); and Allah revealed the following Divine Verses:--

"O you who believe, when the believing women come to you as emigrants examine them . . ." (60.10)

Umar then divorced two wives of his who were infidels. Later on Muawiya bin Abu Sufyan married one of them, and Safwan bin Umaya married the other. When the Prophet returned to Medina, Abu Basir, a new Muslim convert from Quraish came to him. The Infidels sent in his pursuit two men who said (to the Prophet), "Abide by the promise you gave us." So, the Prophet handed him over to them. They took him out (of the City) till they reached Dhul-Hulaifa where they dismounted to eat some dates they had with them. Abu Basir said to one of them, "By Allah, O so-and-so, I see you have a fine sword." The other drew it out (of the scabbard) and said, "By Allah, it is very fine and I have tried it many times." Abu Bair said, "Let me have a look at it."

When the other gave it to him, he hit him with it till he died, and his companion ran away till he came to Medina and entered the Mosque running. When Allah's Apostle saw him he said, "This man appears to have been frightened." When he reached the Prophet he said, "My companion has been murdered and I would have been murdered too." Abu Basir came and said, "O Allah's Apostle, by Allah, Allah has made you fulfill your obligations by your returning me to them (i.e. the Infidels), but Allah has saved me from them." The Prophet said, "Woe to his mother! what excellent war kindler he would be, should he only have supporters." When Abu Basir heard that he understood that the Prophet would return him to them again, so he set off till he reached the seashore. Abu Jandal bin Suhail got himself released from them (i.e. infidels) and joined Abu Basir. So, whenever a man from Quraish embraced Islam he would follow Abu Basir till they formed a strong group. By Allah, whenever they heard about a caravan of Quraish heading towards Sham, they stopped it and attacked and killed them (i.e. infidels) and took their properties. The people of Quraish sent a message to the Prophet requesting him for the Sake of Allah and Kith and kin to send for (i.e. Abu Basir and his companions) promising that whoever (amongst them) came to the Prophet would be secure. So the Prophet sent for them (i.e. Abu Basir's companions) and Allah I revealed the following Divine Verses:

"And it is He Who Has withheld their hands from you and your hands From them in the midst of Mecca, After He made you the victorious over them. . . . the unbelievers had pride and haughtiness, in their hearts . . . the pride and haughtiness of the time of ignorance." (48.24-26) And their pride and haughtiness was that they did not confess (write in the treaty) that he (i.e. Mohammed) was the Prophet of Allah and refused to write: "In the Name of Allah, the most Beneficent, the Most Merciful," and prevented the Mushriks from visiting the Ka'ba.

Narrated Az-Zuhri: Urwa said, "Aisha told me that Allah's Apostle used to examine the women emigrants. We have been told also that when Allah revealed the order that the Muslims should return to the pagans what they had spent on their wives who emigrated (after embracing Islam) and that the Mushriks should not. keep unbelieving women as their wives, Umar divorced two of his wives, Qariba, the daughter of Abu Urhaiya and the daughter of Jarwal Al-Khuza'i. Later on Mu'awlya married Qariba and Abu Jahm married the other."

When the pagans refused to pay what the Muslims had spent on their wives, Allah revealed: "And if any of your wives have gone from you to the unbelievers and you have an accession (By the coming over of a woman from the other side) (Then pay to those whose wives have gone) The equivalent of what they had spent (On their Mahr)." (60.11)

So, Allah ordered that the Muslim whose wife, has gone, should be given, as a compensation of the Mahr he had given to his wife, from the Mahr of the wives of the pagans who had emigrated deserting their husbands. We do not know any of the women emigrants who deserted Islam after embracing it. We have also been told that Abu Basir bin Asid Ath-Thaqafi came to the Prophet as a Muslim emigrant during the truce. Al-Akhnas bin Shariq wrote to the Prophet requesting him to return Abu Basir.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 46:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "The example of a Mujahid in Allah's Cause-- and Allah knows better who really strives in His Cause----is like a person who fasts and prays continuously. Allah guarantees that He will admit the Mujahid in His Cause into Paradise if he is killed, otherwise He will return him to his home safely with rewards and war booty."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 65:

Narrated Abu Musa:

A man came to the Prophet and asked, "A man fights for war booty; another fights for fame and a third fights for showing off; which of them fights in Allah's Cause?" The Prophet said, "He who fights that Allah's Word (i.e. Islam) should be superior, fights in Allah's Cause."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 115:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

Allah's Apostle fixed two shares for the horse and one share for its rider (from the war booty).

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 116:

Narrated Abu Ishaq:

Somebody asked Al-Bar-a bin 'Azib, "Did you flee deserting Allah's Apostle during the battle of Hunain?" Al-Bara replied, "But Allah's Apostle did not flee. The people of the Tribe of Hawazin were good archers. When we met them, we attacked them, and they fled. When the Muslims started collecting the war booty, the pagans faced us with arrows, but Allah's Apostle did not flee. No doubt, I saw him on his white mule and Abu Sufyan was holding its reins and the Prophet was saying, 'I am the Prophet in truth: I am the son of Abdul Muttalib.'"

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 155:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 191:

Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:

Allah's Apostle wrote to Caesar and invited him to Islam and sent him his letter with Dihya Al-Kalbi whom Allah's Apostle ordered to hand it over to the Governor of Busra who would forward it to Caesar. Caesar as a sign of gratitude to Allah, had walked from Hims to Ilya (i.e. Jerusalem) when Allah had granted Him victory over the Persian forces. So, when the letter of Allah's Apostle reached Caesar, he said after reading t, 'Seek for me any one of his people! (Arabs of Quraish tribe) if present here, in order to ask him about Allah's Apostle. At that time Abu Sufyan bin Harb was in Sham with some men frown Quraish who had come (to Sham) as merchants during the truce that had been concluded between Allah's Apostle; and the infidels of Quraish. Abu Sufyan said, Caesar's messenger found us somewhere in Sham so he took me and my companions to Ilya and we were admitted into Ceasar's court to find him sitting in his royal court wearing a crown and surrounded by the senior dignitaries of the Byzantine. He said to his translator. Ask them who amongst them is a close relation to the man who claims to be a prophet." Abu Sufyan added, "I replied, 'I am the nearest relative to him.' He asked, 'What degree of relationship do you have with him?' I replied, 'He is my cousin,' and there was none of Bani Abu Manaf in the caravan except myself. Caesar said, 'Let him come nearer.' He then ordered that my companions stand behind me near my shoulder and said to his translator, 'Tell his companions that I am going to ask this man about the man who claims to be a prophet. If he tells a lie, they should contradict him immediately." Abu Sufyan added, "By Allah ! Had it not been shameful that my companions label me a liar, I would not have spoken the truth about him when he asked me. But I

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considered it shameful to be called a liar by my companions. So I told the truth. He then said to his translator, Ask him what kind of family does he belong to.' I replied, 'He belongs to a noble family amongst us.' He said, 'Have anybody else amongst you ever claimed the same before him? 'I replied, 'No.' He said, 'Had you ever blamed him for telling lies before he claimed what he claimed? ' I replied, 'No.' He said, 'Was anybody amongst his ancestors a king?' I replied, 'No.' He said, "Do the noble or the poor follow him?' I replied, 'It is the poor who follow him.' He said, 'Are they increasing or decreasing (day by day)?' I replied,' They are increasing.' He said, 'Does anybody amongst those who embrace his (the Prophet's) Religion become displeased and then discard his Religion?'. I replied, 'No. ' He said, 'Does he break his promises? I replied, 'No, but we are now at truce with him and we are afraid that he may betray us." Abu Sufyan added, "Other than the last sentence, I could not say anything against him. Caesar then asked, 'Have you ever had a war with him?' I replied, 'Yes.' He said, 'What was the outcome of your battles with him?' I replied, 'The result was unstable; sometimes he was victorious and sometimes we.' He said, 'What does he order you to do?' I said, 'He tells us to worship Allah alone, and not to worship others along with Him, and to leave all that our fore-fathers used to worship. He orders us to pray, give in charity, be chaste, keep promises and return what is entrusted to us.' When I had said that, Caesar said to his translator, 'Say to him: I ask you about his lineage and your reply was that he belonged to a noble family. In fact, all the apostles came from the noblest lineage of their nations. Then I questioned you whether anybody else amongst you had claimed such a thing, and your reply was in the negative. If the answer had been in the affirmative, I would have thought that this man was following a claim that had been said before him. When I asked you whether he was ever blamed for telling lies, your reply was in the negative, so I took it for granted that a person who did not tell a lie about (others) the people could never tell a lie about Allah. Then I asked you whether any of his ancestors was a king. Your reply was in the negative, and if it had been in the affirmative, I would have thought that this man wanted to take back his ancestral kingdom. When I asked you whether the rich or the poor people followed him, you replied that it was the poor who followed him. In fact, such are the followers of the apostles. Then I asked you whether his followers were increasing or decreasing. You replied that they were increasing. In fact, this is the result of true faith till it is complete (in all respects). I asked you whether there was anybody who, after embracing his religion, became displeased and discarded his religion; your reply was in the negative. In fact, this is the sign of true faith, for when its cheerfulness enters and mixes in the hearts completely, nobody will be displeased with it. I asked you whether he had ever broken his promise. You replied in the negative. And such are the apostles; they never break their promises. When I asked you whether you fought with him and he fought with you, you replied that he did, and that sometimes he was victorious and sometimes you. Indeed, such are the apostles; they are put to trials and the final victory is always theirs. Then I asked you what he ordered you. You replied that he ordered you to worship Allah alone and not to worship others along with Him, to leave all that your fore-fathers used to worship, to offer prayers, to speak the truth, to be chaste, to keep promises, and to return what is entrusted to you. These are really the qualities of a prophet who, I knew (from the previous Scriptures) would appear, but I did not know that he would be from amongst you. If what you say should be true, he will very soon occupy the earth under my feet, and if I knew that I would reach him definitely, I would go immediately to meet Him; and were I with him, then I would certainly wash his feet.' " Abu Sufyan added, "Caesar then asked for the letter of Allah's Apostle and it was read. Its contents were:-- "In the name of Allah, the most Beneficent, the most Merciful (This letter is) from Mohammed, the slave of Allah, and His Apostle, to Heraculius, the Ruler of the Byzantine. Peace be upon the followers of guidance. Now then, I invite you to Islam (i.e. surrender to Allah), embrace Islam and you will be safe; embrace Islam and Allah will bestow on you a double reward. But if you reject this invitation of Islam, you shall be responsible for misguiding the peasants (i.e. your nation). O people of the Scriptures! Come to a word common to you and us and you, that we worship. None but Allah, and that we associate nothing in worship with Him; and that none of us shall take others as Lords besides Allah. Then if they turn away, say: Bear witness that we are (they who have surrendered (unto Him). (3.64)

Abu Sufyan added, "When Heraclius had finished his speech, there was a great hue and cry caused by the Byzantine Royalties surrounding him, and there was so much noise that I did not understand what they said. So, we were turned out of the court. When I went out with my companions and we were alone, I said to them, 'Verily, Ibn Abi Kabsha's (i.e. the Prophet's) affair has gained power. This is the King of Bani Al-Asfar fearing him." Abu Sufyan added, "By Allah, I remained low and was sure that his religion would be victorious till Allah converted me to Islam, though I disliked it "

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 252:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

When it was the day (of the battle) of Badr, prisoners of war were brought including Al-Abbas who was undressed. The Prophet looked for a shirt for him. It was found that the shirt of Abdullah bin Ubai would do, so the Prophet let him wear it. That was the reason why the Prophet took off and gave his own shirt to Abdullah. (The narrator adds, "He had done the Prophet some favor for which the Prophet liked to reward him.")

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 267:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "Khosrau will be ruined, and there will be no Khosrau after him, and Caesar will surely be ruined and there will be no Caesar after him, and you will spend their treasures in Allah's Cause." He called, "War is deceit'.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 268:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle called,: "War is deceit".

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 269:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

The Prophet said, "War is deceit."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 276:

Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:

The Prophet appointed Abdullah bin Jubair as the commander of the infantry men (archers) who were fifty on the day (of the battle) of Uhud. He instructed them, "Stick to your place, and don't leave it even if you see birds snatching us, till I send for you; and if you see that we have defeated the infidels and made them flee, even then you should not leave your place till I send for you." Then the infidels were defeated. By Allah, I saw the women fleeing lifting up their clothes revealing their leg-bangles and their legs. So, the companions of Abdullah bin Jubair said, "The booty! O people, the booty ! Your companions have become victorious, what are you waiting for now?" Abdullah bin Jubair said, "Have you forgotten what Allah's Apostle said to you?" They replied, "By Allah! We will go to the people (i.e. the enemy) and collect our share from the war booty." But when they went to them, they were forced to turn back defeated. At that time Allah's Apostle in their rear was calling them back. Only twelve men remained with the Prophet and the infidels martyred seventy men from us.

On the day (of the battle) of Badr, the Prophet and his companions had caused the 'Pagans to lose 140 men, seventy of whom were captured and seventy were killed. Then Abu Sufyan asked thrice, "Is Mohammed present amongst these people?" The Prophet ordered his companions not to answer him. Then he asked thrice, "Is the son of Abu Quhafa present amongst these people?" He asked again thrice, "Is the son of Al-Khattab present amongst these people?" He then returned to his companions and said, "As for these (men), they have been killed." Umar could not control himself and said (to Abu Sufyan), "You told a lie, by Allah! O enemy of Allah! All those you have mentioned are alive, and the thing which will make you unhappy is still there." Abu Sufyan said, "Our victory today is a counterbalance to yours in the battle of Badr, and in war (the victory) is always undecided and is shared in turns by the belligerents, and you will find some of your (killed) men mutilated, but I did not urge my men to do so, yet I do not feel sorry for their deed" After that he started reciting cheerfully, "O Hubal, be high! (1) On that the Prophet said (to his companions), "Why don't you answer him back?" They said, "O Allah's Apostle What shall we say?" He said, "Say, Allah is Higher and more Sublime." (Then) Abu Sufyan said, "We have the (idol) Al Uzza, and you have no Uzza." The Prophet said (to his companions), "Why don't you answer him back?" They asked, "O Allah's Apostle! What shall we say?" He said, "Says Allah is our Helper and you have no helper."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 286:

Narrated Salama bin Al-Akwa:

"An infidel spy came to the Prophet while he was on a journey. The spy sat with the companions of the Prophet and started talking and then went away. The Prophet said (to his companions), 'Chase and kill him.' So, I killed him." The Prophet then gave him the belongings of the killed spy (in addition to his share of the war booty).

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 301:

Narrated Anas:

The Prophet performed Umra, setting out from Al-Jarana where he distributed the war booty of Hunain.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 308:

Narrated Abdullah bin Amr:

There was a man who looked after the family and the belongings of the Prophet and he was called Karkara. The man died and Allah's Apostle said, "He is in the '(Hell) Fire." The people then went to look at him and found in his place, a cloak he had stolen from the war booty.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 324:

Narrated Ali:

I got a she-camel in my share of the war booty on the day (of the battle) of Badr, and the Prophet had given me a she-camel from the Khumus. When I intended to marry Fatima, the daughter of Allah's Apostle, I had an appointment with a goldsmith from the tribe of Bani Qainuqa' to go with me to bring Idhkhir (i.e. grass of pleasant smell) and sell it to the goldsmiths and spend its price on my wedding party. I was collecting for my she-camels equipment of saddles, sacks and ropes while my two she-camels were kneeling down beside the room of an Ansari man. I returned after collecting whatever I collected, to see the humps of my two she-camels cut off and their flanks cut open and some portion of their livers was taken out. When I saw that state of my two she-camels, I could not help weeping. I asked, "Who has done this?" The people replied, "Hamza bin Abdul Muttalib who is staying with some Ansari drunks in this house." I went away till I reached the Prophet and Zaid bin Haritha was with him. The Prophet noticed on my face the effect of what I had suffered, so the Prophet asked. "What is wrong with you." I replied, "O Allah's Apostle! I have never seen such a day as today. Hamza attacked my two she-camels, cut off their humps, and ripped open their flanks, and he is sitting there in a house in the company of some drunks." The Prophet then asked for his covering sheet, put it on, and set out walking followed by me and Zaid bin Haritha till he came to the house where Hamza was. He asked permission to enter, and they allowed him, and they were drunk. Allah's Apostle started rebuking Hamza for what he had done, but Hamza was drunk and his eyes were red. Hamza looked at Allah's Apostle and then he raised his eyes, looking at his knees, then he raised up his eyes looking at his umbilicus, and again he raised up his eyes look in at his face. Hamza then said, "Aren't you but the slaves of my father?" Allah's Apostle realised that he was drunk, so Allah's Apostle retreated, and we went out with him.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 327:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

The delegates of the tribe of Abdul-Qais came and said, "O Allah's Apostle! We are from the tribe of Rabi'a, and there is the infidels of the tribe of Mudar intervening between you and us, so we cannot come to you except in the Sacred Months. So please order us some instructions that we may apply it to ourselves and also invite our people whom we left behind us to observe as well." The Prophet said, "I order you (to do) four (things) and forbid you (to do) four: I order you to believe in Allah, that is, to testify that None has the right to be worshipped but Allah (the Prophet pointed with his hand); to offer prayers perfectly; to pay Zakat; to fast the month of Ramadan, and to pay the Khumus (i.e. one-fifth) of the war booty to Allah and I forbid you to use Ad-dubba', An-Naqir, Al-Hantam and Al-Muzaffat (i.e. utensils used for preparing alcoholic drinks)." (See Hadith No. 50, Vol. 1).

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 358:

Narrated Abdullah bin Az-Zubair:

When Az-Zubair got up during the battle of Al-Jamal, he called me and I stood up beside him, and he said to me, "O my son! Today one will be killed either as an oppressor or as an oppressed one. I see that I will be killed as an oppressed one. My biggest worry is my debts. Do you think, if we pay the debts, there will be something left for us from our money?" Az-Zubair added, "O my son! Sell our property and pay my debts." Az-Zubair then willed one-third of his property and willed one-third of that portion to his sons; namely, Abdullah's sons. He said, "One-third of the one third. If any property is left after the payment of the debts, one-third (of the one-third of what is left) is to be given to your sons." (Hisham, a sub-narrator added, "Some of the sons of Abdullah were equal in age to the sons of Az-Zubair e.g. Khubaib and Abbas. Abdullah had nine sons and nine daughters at that time." (The narrator Abdullah added:) My father (Az-Zubair) went on drawing my attention to his debts saying, "If you should fail to pay part of the debts, appeal to my Master to help you." By Allah! I could not understand what he meant till I asked, "O father! Who is your Master?" He replied, "Allah (is my Master)." By Allah, whenever I had any difficulty regarding his debts, I would say, "Master of Az-Zubair! Pay his debts on his behalf ." and Allah would (help me to) pay it. Az-Zubair was martyred leaving no Dinar or Dirham but two pieces of land, one of which was (called) Al-Ghaba, and eleven houses in Medina, two in Basra, one in Kufa and one in Egypt. In fact, the source of the debt which he owed was, that if somebody brought some money to deposit with him. Az Zubair would say, "No, (i won't keep it as a trust), but I take it as a debt, for I am afraid it might be lost." Az-Zubair was never appointed governor or collector of the tax of Kharaj or any other similar thing, but he collected his wealth (from the war booty he gained) during the holy battles he took part in, in the company of the Prophet, Abu Bakr, Umar, and Uthman. (Abdullah bin Az-Zubair added:) When I counted his debt, it turned to be two million and two hundred thousand. (The sub-narrator added:) Hakim bin Hizam met Abdullah bin Zubair and asked, "O my nephew! How much is the debt of my brother?" Abdullah kept it as a secret and said, "One hundred thousand," Hakim said, "By Allah! I don't think your property will cover it." On that

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Abdullah said to him, "What if it is two million and two hundred thousand?" Hakim said, "I don't think you can pay it; so if you are unable to pay all of it, I will help you." Az-Zubair had already bought Al-Ghaba for one hundred and seventy thousand. Abdullah sold it for one million and six hundred thousand. Then he called the people saying, "Any person who has any money claim on Az-Zubair should come to us in Al-Ghaba." There came to him Abdullah bin Ja'far whom Az-Zubair owed four hundred thousand. He said to Abdullah bin Az-Zubair, "If you wish I will forgive you the debt." Abdullah (bin Az-Zubair) said, "No." Then Ibn Ja'far said, "If you wish you can defer the payment if you should defer the payment of any debt." Ibn Az-Zubair said, "No." Abdullah bin Ja'far said, "Give me a piece of the land." Abdullah bin AzZubair said (to him), "Yours is the land extending from this place to this place." So, Abdullah bin Az-Zubair sold some of the property (including the houses) and paid his debt perfectly, retaining four and a half shares from the land (i.e. Al-Ghaba). He then went to Mu'awlya while Amr bin Uthman, Al-Mundhir bin Az-Zubair and Ibn Zam'a were sitting with him. Mu'awiya asked, "At what price have you appraised Al-Ghaba?" He said, "One hundred thousand for each share," Muawiya asked, "How many shares have been left?" Abdullah replied, "Four and a half shares." Al-Mundhir bin Az-Zubair said, "I would like to buy one share for one hundred thousand." Amr bin Uthman said, "I would like to buy one share for one hundred thousand." Ibn Zam'a said, "I would like to buy one share for one hundred thousand." Muawiya said, "How much is left now?" Abdullah replied, "One share and a half." Muawiya said, "I would like to buy it for one hundred and fifty thousand." Abdullah also sold his part to Muawiya six hundred thousand. When Ibn AzZubair had paid all the debts. Az-Zubair's sons said to him, "Distribute our inheritance among us." He said, "No, by Allah, I will not distribute it among you till I announce in four successive Hajj seasons, 'Would those who have money claims on Az-Zubair come so that we may pay them their debt." So, he started to announce that in public in every Hajj season, and when four years had elapsed, he distributed the inheritance among the inheritors. Az-Zubair had four wives, and after the one-third of his property was excluded (according to the will), each of his wives received one million and two hundred thousand. So the total amount of his property was fifty million and two hundred thousand.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 359:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

Uthman did not join the Badr battle because he was married to one of the daughters of Allah's Apostle and she was ill. So, the Prophet said to him. "You will get a reward and a share (from the war booty) similar to the reward and the share of one who has taken part in the Badr battle."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 360:

Narrated Marwan bin Al-Hakim and Miswar bin Makhrama:

When the Hawazin delegation came to Allah's Apostle after they had embraced Islam and requested him to return their properties and war prisoners to them, Allah's Apostle said, "To me the best talk is the truest, so you may choose either of two things; the war prisoners or the wealth, for I have delayed their distribution." Allah's Apostle had waited for them for over ten days when he returned from Ta'if. So, when those people came to know that Allah's Apostle was not going to return to them except one of the two things the said, "We choose our war Prisoners 'Allah's Apostle stood up amongst the Muslims, and after glorifying Allah as He deserved, he said, "Now then, these brothers of yours have come to us with repentance, and I see it logical that I should return their captives to them, so whoever of you likes to do that as a favor then he can do it, and whoever amongst you likes to stick to his share, let him give up his prisoners and we will compensate him from the very first Fai' (i.e. war booty received without fight) which Allah will give us." On that, all the people said. 'O Allah's Apostles We have agreed willingly to do so (return the captives)" Then Allah's Apostle said to them "I do not know who amongst you has agreed to this and who has not. You should return and let your leaders inform me of your agreement." The people returned and their leaders spoke to them, and then came to Allah's Apostle and said, "All the people have agreed willingly to do so and have given the permission to return the war prisoners (without Compensation)" (Az-Zuhri, the sub-narrator states) This is what has been related to us about the captives of Hawazin.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 361:

Narrated Zahdam:

Once we were in the house of Abu Musa who presented a meal containing cooked chicken. A man from the tribe of Bani Taim Allah with red complexion as if he were from the Byzantine war prisoners, was present. Abu Musa invited him to share the meal but he (apologised) saying. "I saw chickens eating dirty things and so I have had a strong aversion to eating them, and have taken an oath that I will not eat chickens." Abu Musa said, "Come along, I will tell you about this matter (i.e. how to cancel one's oat). I went to the Prophet in the company of a group of Al-Ashariyin, asked him to provide us with means of conveyance. He said, 'By Allah, I will not provide you with any means of conveyance and I have nothing to make you ride on.' Then some camels as booty were brought to Allah's Apostle and he asked for us saying. 'Where are the group of Al-Ash'ariyun?' Then he ordered that we should be given five camels with white humps. When we set out we said, 'What have we done? We will never be blessed (with what we have been given).' So, we returned to the Prophet and said, 'We asked you to provide us with means of conveyance, but you took an oath that you would not provide us with any means of conveyance. Did you forget (your oath when you gave us the camels)? He replied. 'I have not provided you with means of conveyance, but Allah has provided you with it, and by Allah, Allah willing, if ever I take an oath to do something, and later on I find that it is more beneficial to do something different, I will do the thing which is better, and give expiation for my oath."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 362:

Narrated Nafi from Ibn Umar:

Allah's Apostle sent a Sariya towards Najd, and Abdullah bin Umar was in the Sariya. They gained a great number of camels as war booty. The share of each one of them was twelve or eleven camels, and they were given an extra camel each.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 367:

Narrated Jubair bin Mutim:

The Prophet talked about war prisoners of Badr saying, "Had Al-Mutim bin Adi been alive and interceded with me for these mean people, I would have freed them for his sake."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 372:

Narrated Nafi:

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

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 373:

Narrated Amr bin Taghlib:

Allah's Apostle gave (gifts) to some people to the exclusion of some others. The latter seemed to be displeased by that. The Prophet said, "I give to some people, lest they should deviate from True Faith or lose patience, while I refer other people to the goodness and contentment which Allah has put in their hearts, and Amr bin Taghlib is amongst them." Amr bin Taghlib said, "The statement of Allah's Apostle is dearer to me than red camels."

Narrated Al-Hasan: Amr bin Taghlib told us that Allah's Apostle got some property or some war prisoners and he distributed them in the above way (i.e. giving to some people to the exclusion of others) .

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 379:

Narrated Asma bint Abu Bakr:

I used to carry the date stones on my head from the land of Az-Zubair which Allah's Apostle had given to him, and it was at a distance of 2/3 of a Farsakh from my house.

Narrated Hisham's father: The Prophet (gave Az-Zubair a piece of land from the property of Bani An-Nadir (gained as war booty).

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 382:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

In our holy battles, we used to get honey and grapes, as war booty which we would eat and would not store.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 713:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

The delegates of Abd-ul-Qais came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! We are from the tribe of Rabi'a and the infidels of Mudar tribe stand between us and you, so that we cannot come to you except in the Sacred Months. Therefore we would like you to give us some instructions which we may follow and convey to our people staying behind us." The Prophet said, "I order you to observe four things and forbid you (to do) four things: (I order you) to believe in Allah testifying that None has the right to be worshipped except Allah; to offer the prayer perfectly; to pay the Zakat; and to give one-fifth of the war booty to Allah. And I forbid you to use Ad-Dubba, Al-Hantam, An-Naqir and Al-Muzaffat." (These are names of utensils in which alcoholic drinks were served.)

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 792:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

The Prophet said, "A time will come when the people will wage holy war, and it will be asked, 'Is there any amongst you who has enjoyed the company of Allah's Apostle?' They will say: 'Yes.' And then victory will be bestowed upon them. They will wage holy war again, and it will be asked: 'Is there any among you who has enjoyed the company of the companions of Allah's Apostle ?' They will say: 'Yes.' And then victory will be bestowed on them."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 805:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "The Day of (Judgment) will not be established till there is a war between two groups whose claims (or religion) will be the same."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 806:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "The Hour will not be established till there is a war between two groups among whom there will be a great number of casualties, though the claims (or religion) of both of them will be one and the same. And the Hour will not be established till there appear about thirty liars, all of whom will be claiming to be the messengers of Allah. "

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 808:

Narrated Ali:

I relate the traditions of Allah's Apostle to you for I would rather fall from the sky than attribute something to him falsely. But when I tell you a thing which is between you and me, then no doubt, war is guile. I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "In the last days of this world there will appear some young foolish people who will use (in their claim) the best speech of all people (i.e. the Koran) and they will abandon Islam as an arrow going through the game. Their belief will not go beyond their throats (i.e. they will have practically no belief), so wherever you meet them, kill them, for he who kills them shall get a reward on the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 826:

Narrated Abdullah bin Musud:

Sa'd bin Mu'adh came to Mecca with the intention of performing Umra, and stayed at the house of Umaiya bin Khalaf Abi Safwan, for Umaiya himself used to stay at Sa'd's house when he passed by Medina on his way to Sham. Umaiya said to Sad, "Will you wait till midday when the people are (at their homes), then you may go and perform the Tawaf round the Ka'ba?" So, while Sad was going around the Ka'ba, Abu Jahl came and asked, "Who is that who is performing Tawaf?" Sad replied, "I am Sad." Abu Jahl said, "Are you circumambulating the Ka'ba safely although you have given refuge to Mohammed and his companions?" Sad said, "Yes," and they started quarreling. Umaiya said to Sad, "Don't shout at Abi-l-Hakam (i.e. Abu Jahl), for he is chief of the valley (of Mecca)." Sad then said (to Abu Jahl). 'By Allah, if you prevent me from performing the Tawaf of the Ka'ba, I will spoil your trade with Sham." Umaiya kept on saying to Sad, "Don't raise your voice." and kept on taking hold of him. Sad became furious and said, (to Umaiya), "Be away from me, for I have heard Mohammed saying that he will kill you." Umaiiya said, "Will he kill me?" Sad said, "Yes,." Umaiya said, "By Allah! When Mohammed says a thing, he never tells a lie." Umaiya went to his wife and said to her, "Do you know what my brother from Yathrib (i.e. Medina) has said to me?" She said, "What has he said?" He said, "He claims that he has heard Mohammed claiming that he will kill me."

She said, By Allah! Mohammed never tells a lie." So when the infidels started to proceed for Badr (Battle) and declared war (against the Muslims), his wife said to him, "Don't you remember what your brother from Yathrib told you?" Umaiya decided not to go but Abu Jahl said to him, "You are from the nobles of the valley of Mecca), so you should accompany us for a day or two." He went with them and thus Allah got him killed.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 1:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

"Allah's Apostle said, "A time will come upon the people, when a group of people will wage a holy war and it will be said, 'Is there amongst you anyone who has accompanied Allah's Apostle?' They will say, 'Yes.' And so victory will be bestowed on them. Then a time will come upon the people when a group of people will wage a holy war, and it will be said, "Is there amongst you a none who has accompanied the companions of Allah's Apostle?' They will say, 'Yes.' And so victory will be bestowed on them. Then a time will come upon the people when a group of people will wage a holy war, and it will be said, "Is there amongst you anyone who has been in the company of the companions of the companions of Allah's Apostle ?' They will say, 'Yes.' And victory will be bestowed on them."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 122:

Narrated Anas:

On the day of the Conquest of Mecca, when the Prophet had given (from the booty) the Quraish, the Ansar said, "By Allah, this is indeed very strange: While our swords are still dribbling with the blood of Quraish, our war booty are distributed amongst them." When this news reached the Prophet he called the Ansar and said, "What is this news that has reached me from you?" They used not to tell lies, so they replied, "What has reached you is true." He said, "Doesn't it please you that the people take the booty to their homes and you take Allah's Apostle to your homes? If the Ansar took their way through a valley or a mountain pass, I would take the Ansar's valley or a mountain pass."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 286:

Narrated Abdullah bin Musud:

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From Sad bin Mu'adh: Sad bin Mu'adh was an intimate friend of Umaiya bin Khalaf and whenever Umaiya passed through Medina, he used to stay with Sad, and whenever Sad went to Mecca, he used to stay with Umaiya. When Allah's Apostle arrived at Medina, Sa'd went to perform Umra and stayed at Umaiya's home in Mecca. He said to Umaiya, "Tell me of a time when (the Mosque) is empty so that I may be able to perform Tawaf around the Ka'ba." So Umaiya went with him about midday. Abu Jahl met them and said, "O Abu Safwan! Who is this man accompanying you?" He said, "He is Sad." Abu Jahl addressed Sad saying, "I see you wandering about safely in Mecca inspite of the fact that you have given shelter to the people who have changed their religion (i.e. became Muslims) and have claimed that you will help them and support them. By Allah, if you were not in the company of Abu Safwan, you would not be able to go your family safely." Sad, raising his voice, said to him, "By Allah, if you should stop me from doing this (i.e. performing Tawaf) I would certainly prevent you from something which is more valuable for you, that is, your passage through Medina." On this, Umaiya said to him, "O Sad do not raise your voice before Abu-l-Hakam, the chief of the people of the Valley (of Mecca)." Sad said, "O Umaiya, stop that! By Allah, I have heard Allah's Apostle predicting that the Muslim will kill you." Umaiya asked, "In Mecca?" Sad said, "I do not know." Umaiya was greatly scared by that news.

When Umaiya returned to his family, he said to his wife, "O Um Safwan! Don't you know what Sad told me? "She said, "What has he told you?" He replied, "He claims that Mohammed has informed them (i.e. companions that they will kill me. I asked him, 'In Mecca?' He replied, 'I do not know." Then Umaiya added, "By Allah, I will never go out of Mecca." But when the day of (the Ghazwa of) Badr came, Abu Jahl called the people to war, saying, "Go and protect your caravan." But Umaiya disliked to go out (of Mecca). Abu Jahl came to him and said, "O Abu Safwan! If the people see you staying behind though you are the chief of the people of the Valley, then they will remain behind with you." Abu Jahl kept on urging him to go until he (i.e. Umaiya) said, "As you have forced me to change my mind, by Allah, I will buy the best camel in Mecca. Then Umaiya said (to his wife). "O Um Safwan, prepare what I need (for the journey)." She said to him, "O Abu Safwan! Have you forgotten what your Yathribi brother told you?" He said, "No, but I do not want to go with them but for a short distance." So when Umaiya went out, he used to tie his camel wherever he camped. He kept on doing that till Allah caused him to be killed at Badr.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 322:

Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:

On the day of Uhud the Prophet appointed Abdullah bin Jubair as chief of the archers, and seventy among us were injured and martyred. On the day (of the battle) of Badr, the Prophet and his companions had inflicted 140 casualties on the pagans, 70 were taken prisoners, and 70 were killed. Abu Sufyan said, "This is a day of (revenge) for the day of Badr and the issue of war is undecided ."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 358:

Narrated Jubair bin Mut'im:

I heard the Prophet reciting Surat-at-Tur in Maghrib prayer, and that was at a time when belief was first planted in my heart. The Prophet while speaking about the war prisoners of Badr, said, "Were Al-Mutim bin Adi alive and interceded with me for these filthy people, I would definitely forgive them for his sake."

Narrated Said bin Al-Musaiyab: When the first civil strife (in Islam) took place because of the murder of Uthman, it left none of the Badr warriors alive. When the second civil strife, that is the battle of Al-Harra, took place, it left none of the Hudaibiya treaty companions alive. Then the third civil strife took place and it did not subside till it had exhausted all the strength of the people.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 361:

Narrated Az-Zubair:

On the day of Badr, (Quraishi) Emigrants received 100 shares of the war booty."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 373:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

On the day of Uhud. the Prophet said, "This is Gabriel holding the head of his horse and equipped with war material.'

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 448:

Narrated Aisha:

Sad was wounded on the day of Khandaq (i.e. Trench) when a man from Quraish, called Hibban bin Al-'Araqa hit him (with an arrow). The man was Hibban bin Qais from (the tribe of) Bani Mais bin Amir bin Lu'ai who shot an arrow at Sad's medial arm vein (or main artery of the arm). The Prophet pitched a tent (for Sad) in the Mosque so that he might be near to the Prophet to visit. When the Prophet returned from the (battle) of Al-Khandaq (i.e. Trench) and laid down his arms and took a bath Gabriel came to him while he (i.e. Gabriel) was shaking the dust off his head, and said, "You have laid down the arms?" By Allah, I have not laid them down. Go out to them (to attack them)." The Prophet said, "Where?" Gabriel pointed towards Bani Quraiza. So Allah's Apostle went to them (i.e. Banu Quraiza) (i.e. besieged them). They then surrendered to the Prophet's judgment but he directed them to Sad to give his verdict concerning them. Sad said, "I give my judgment that their warriors should be killed, their women and children should be taken as captives, and their properties distributed."

Narrated Hisham: My father informed me that Aisha said, "Sad said, "O Allah! You know that there is nothing more beloved to me than to fight in Your Cause against those who disbelieved Your Apostle and turned him out (of Mecca). O Allah! I think you have put to an end the fight between us and them (i.e. Quraish infidels). And if there still remains any fight with the Quraish (infidels), then keep me alive till I fight against them for Your Sake. But if you have brought the war to an end, then let this wound burst and cause my death thereby.' So blood gushed from the wound. There was a tent in the Mosque belonging to Banu Ghifar who were surprised by the blood flowing towards them . They said, 'O people of the tent! What is this thing which is coming to us from your side?' Behold! Blood was flowing profusely out of Sad's wound. Sad then died because of that."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 469:

Narrated Anas:

Allah's Apostle performed four Umras, all in the month of Dhul-Qa'da, except the one which he performed with his Hajj (i.e. in Dhul-Hijja). He performed one Umra from Al-Hudaibiya in Dhul-Qa'da, another Umra in the following year in Dhul Qa'da a third from Al-Jirana where he distributed the war booty of Hunain, in Dhul Qa'da, and the fourth Umra he performed was with his Hajj.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 479:

Narrated Aslam:

Once I went with Umar bin Al-Khattab to the market. A young woman followed Umar and said, "O chief of the believers! My husband has died, leaving little children. By Allah, they have not even a sheep's trotter to cook; they have no farms or animals. I am afraid that they may die because of hunger, and I am the daughter of Khufaf bin Ima Al-Ghafari, and my father witnessed the Pledge of allegiance) of Al-Hudaibiya with the Prophet.' Umar stopped and did not proceed, and said, "I welcome my near relative." Then he went towards a strong camel which was tied in the house, and carried on to it, two sacks he had loaded with food grains and put between them money and clothes and gave her its rope to hold and said, "Lead it, and this provision will not finish till Allah gives you a good supply." A man said, "O chief of the believers! You have given her too much." "Umar said disapprovingly. "May your mother be bereaved of you! By Allah, I have seen her father and brother besieging a fort for a long time and conquering it, and then we were discussing what their shares they would have from that war booty."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 537:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

On the day of Khaibar, Allah's Apostle divided (the war booty of Khaibar) with the ratio of two shares for the horse and one-share for the foot soldier. (The sub-narrator, Nafi' explained this, saying, "If a man had a horse, he was given three shares and if he had no horse, then he was given one share.")

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 134:

Narrated Abu Qilaba:

That he was sitting behind Umar bin Abdul Aziz and the people mentioned and mentioned (about At-Qasama) and they said (various things), and said that the Caliphs had permitted it. Umar bin Abdul Aziz turned towards Abu Qilaba who was behind him and said. "What do you say, O Abdullah bin Zaid?" or said, "What do you say, O Abu Qilaba?" Abu Qilaba said, "I do not know that killing a person is lawful in Islam except in three cases: a married person committing illegal sexual intercourse, one who has murdered somebody unlawfully, or one who wages war against Allah and His Apostle." 'Anbasa said, "Anas narrated to us such-and-such." Abu Qilaba said, "Anas narrated to me in this concern, saying, some people came to the Prophet and they spoke to him saying, 'The climate of this land does not suit us.' The Prophet said, 'These are camels belonging to us, and they are to be taken out to the pasture. So take them out and drink of their milk and urine.' So they took them and set out and drank of their urine and milk, and having recovered, they attacked the shepherd, killed him and drove away the camels.' Why should there be any delay in punishing them as they murdered (a person) and waged war against Allah and His Apostle and frightened Allah's Apostle ?" Anbasa said, "I testify the uniqueness of Allah!" Abu Qilaba said, "Do you suspect me?" 'Anbasa said, "No, Anas narrated that (Hadith) to us." Then 'Anbasa added, "O the people of such-and-such (country), you will remain in good state as long as Allah keeps this (man) and the like of this (man) amongst you."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 176:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

When the Verse:--'If there are twenty steadfast amongst you (Muslims), they will overcome two-hundred (non-Muslims).' was revealed, it became hard on the Muslims when it became compulsory that one Muslim ought not to flee (in war) before ten (non-Muslims). So (Allah) lightened the order by revealing:

'(But) now Allah has lightened your (task) for He knows that there is weakness in you. So if there are of you one-hundred steadfast, they will overcome (two-hundred (non-Muslims).' (8.66) So when Allah reduced the number of enemies which Muslims should withstand, their patience and perseverance against the enemy decreased as much as their task was lightened for them.

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 510:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

Hudhaifa bin Al-Yaman came to Uthman at the time when the people of Sham and the people of Iraq were Waging war to conquer Arminya and Adharbijan. Hudhaifa was afraid of their (the people of Sham and Iraq) differences in the recitation of the Koran, so he said to Uthman, "O chief of the Believers! Save this nation before they differ about the Book (Koran) as Jews and the Christians did before." So Uthman sent a message to Hafsa saying, "Send us the manuscripts of the Koran so that we may compile the Koranic materials in perfect copies and return the manuscripts to you." Hafsa sent it to Uthman. Uthman then ordered Zaid bin Thabit, Abdullah bin AzZubair, Said bin Al-As and AbdurRahman bin Harith bin Hisham to rewrite the manuscripts in perfect copies. Uthman said to the three Quraishi men, "In case you disagree with Zaid bin Thabit on any point in the Koran, then write it in the dialect of Quraish, the Koran was revealed in their tongue." They did so, and when they had written many copies, Uthman returned the original manuscripts to Hafsa. Uthman sent to every Muslim province one copy of what they had copied, and ordered that all the other Koranic materials, whether written in fragmentary manuscripts or whole copies, be burnt. Said bin Thabit added, "A Verse from Surat Ahzab was missed by me when we copied the Koran and I used to hear Allah's Apostle reciting it. So we searched for it and found it with Khuzaima bin Thabit Al-Ansari. (That Verse was): 'Among the Believers are men who have been true in their covenant with Allah.' (33.23)

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 137:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

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

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 210:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

The pagans were of two kinds as regards their relationship to the Prophet and the Believers. Some of them were those with whom the Prophet was at war and used to fight against, and they used to fight him; the others were those with whom the Prophet made a treaty, and neither did the Prophet fight them, nor did they fight him. If a lady from the first group of pagans emigrated towards the Muslims, her hand would not be asked in marriage unless she got the menses and then became clean. When she became clean, it would be lawful for her to get married, and if her husband emigrated too before she got married, then she would be returned to him. If any slave or female slave emigrated from them to the Muslims, then they would be considered free persons (not slaves) and they would have the same rights as given to other emigrants. The narrator then mentioned about the pagans involved with the Muslims in a treaty, the same as occurs in Mujahid's narration. If a male slave or a female slave emigrated from such pagans as had made a treaty with the Muslims, they would not be returned, but their prices would be paid (to the pagans). Narrated Ibn Abbas: Qariba, the daughter of Abi Umaiyya, was the wife of Umar bin Al-Khattab. Umar divorced her and then Mu'awiyya bin Abi Sufyan married her. Similarly, Um Al-Hakam, the daughter of Abi Sufyan was the wife of 'Iyad bin Ghanm Al-Fihri. He divorced her and then Abdullah bin Uthman Al-Thaqafi married her.

Volume 7, Book 64, Number 271:

Narrated Malik bin Aus bin Al-Hadathan:

Once I set out to visit Umar (bin Al-Khattab). (While I was sitting there with him his gate-keeper, Yarfa, came and said, "Uthman Abdur-Rahman (bin Auf), Az-Zubair and Sad (bin Abi Waqqas) are seeking permission (to meet you)." Umar said, "Yes. So he admitted them and they entered, greeted, and sat down. After a short while Yarfa came again and said to Umar 'Shall I admit Ali and Abbas?" Umar said, "Yes." He admitted them and when they entered, they greeted and sat down. Abbas said, "O Chief of the Believers! Judge between me and this (Ali)." The group, Uthman and his companions Sad, 'O Chief of the Believers! Judge between them and relieve one from the other." Umar said. Wait! I beseech you by Allah, by Whose permission both the Heaven and the Earth stand fast! Do you know that Allah's Apostle said. 'We (Apostles) do not bequeath anything to our heirs, but whatever we leave is to be given in charity.' And by that Allah's Apostles meant himself?" The group said, "He did say so." Umar then turned towards Ali and Abbas and said. "I beseech you both by Allah, do you know that Allah's Apostle said that?" They said, 'Yes "

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Umar said, "Now, let me talk to you about this matter. Allah favored His Apostle with something of this property (war booty) which He did not give to anybody else. And Allah said:-- 'And what Allah has bestowed on His Apostle (as Fai Booty) from them for which you made no expedition with either cavalry or camelry . . . Allah is Able to do all things.' (59.6) So this property was especially granted to Allah's Apostle. But by Allah he neither withheld it from you, nor did he keep it for himself and deprive you of it, but he gave it all to you and distributed it among you till only this remained out of it. And out of this property Allah's Apostle used to provide his family with their yearly needs, and whatever remained, he would spend where Allah's Property (the revenues of Zakat) used to be spent. Allah's Apostle kept on acting like this throughout his lifetime. Now I beseech you by Allah, do you know that?" They said, "Yes." Then Umar said to Ali and Abbas, "I beseech you by Allah, do you both know that?" They said, "Yes." Umar added, "When Allah had taken His Apostle unto Him, Abu Bakr said, 'I am the successor of Allah's Apostle. So he took charge of that property and did with it the same what Allah's Apostle used to do, and both of you knew all about it then." Then Umar turned towards Ali and Abbas and said, "You both claim that Abu- Bakr was so-and-so! But Allah knows that he was honest, sincere, pious and right (in that matter). Then Allah caused Abu Bakr to die, and i said, 'I am the successor of Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr.' So I kept this property in my possession for the first two years of my rule, and I used to do the same with it as Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr used to do. Later both of you (Ali and Abbas) came to me with the same claim and the same problem. (O Abbas!) You came to me demanding your share from (the inheritance of) the son of your brother, and he (Ali) came to me demanding his wives share from (the inheritance of) her father. So I said to you, 'If you wish I will hand over this property to you, on condition that you both promise me before Allah that you will manage it in the same way as Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr did, and as I have done since the beginning of my rule; otherwise you should not

speak to me about it.' So you both said, 'Hand over this property to us on this condition.' And on this condition I handed it over to you. I beseech you by Allah, did I hand it over to them on that condition?" The group said, "Yes." Umar then faced Ali and Abbas and said, "I beseech you both by Allah, did I hand it over to you both on that condition?" They both said, "Yes." Umar added, "Do you want me now to give a decision other than that? By Him with Whose permission (order) both the Heaven and the Earth stand fast, I will never give any decision other than that till the Hour is established! But if you are unable to manage it (that property), then return it to me and I will be sufficient for it on your behalf . "

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 336:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

Allah's Apostle said to Abu Talha, "Seek one of your boys to serve me." Abu Talha mounted me behind him (on his riding animal) and took me (to the Prophet). So I used to serve Allah's Apostle whenever he dismounted (to stay somewhere). I used to hear him saying very often, "O Allah! I seek refuge with You from, having worries sadness, helplessness, laziness, miserliness, cowardice, from being heavily in debt and from being overpowered by other persons unjustly." I kept on serving till we -returned from the battle of Khaibar. The Prophet then brought Safiyya bint Huyai whom he had won from the war booty. I saw him folding up a gown or a garment for her to sit on behind him (on his she-camel). When he reached As-Sahba', he prepared Hais and placed it on a dining sheet. Then he sent me to invite men, who (came and) ate; and that was his and Safiyya's wedding banquet. Then the Prophet proceeded, and when he saw (noticed) the mountain of Uhud, he said, "This mountain loves us, and we love it." When we approached Medina, he said, "O Allah! I make the area between its two mountains a sanctuary as Abraham has made Mecca a sanctuary. O Allah! Bless their Mudd and Sa (special kinds of measure)."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 406:

Narrated Rafi bin Khadij:

We were with the Prophet in Dhul-Hulaifa and there the people were struck with severe hunger. Then we got camels and sheep as war booty (and slaughtered them). The Prophet was behind all the people. The people hurried and fixed the cooking pots (for cooking) but the Prophet came there and ordered that the cooking pots be turned upside down. Then he distributed the animals, regarding ten sheep as equal to one camel. One of the camels ran away and there were a few horses with the people. They chased the camel but they got tired, whereupon a man shot it with an arrow whereby Allah stopped it. The Prophet said, "Among these animals some are as wild as wild beasts, so if one of them runs away from you, treat it in this way." I said. "We hope, or we are afraid that tomorrow we will meet the enemy and we have no knives, shall we slaughter (our animals) with canes?" The Prophet said, "If the killing tool causes blood to gush out and if Allah's Name is mentioned, eat (of the slaughterer animal). But do not slaughter with a tooth or a nail. I am telling you why: A tooth is a bone, and the nail is the knife of Ethiopians."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 417:

Narrated Rafi bin Khadij:

I said, "O Allah's Apostle! We are going to face the enemy tomorrow and we do not have knives." He said, "Hurry up (in killing the animal). If the killing tool causes blood to flow out, and if Allah's Name is mentioned, eat (of the slaughtered animal). But do not slaughter with a tooth or a nail. I will tell you why: As for the tooth, it is a bone; and as for the nail, it is the knife of Ethiopians." Then we got some camels and sheep as war booty, and one of those camels ran away, whereupon a man shot it with an arrow and stopped it. Allah's Apostle said, "Of these camels there are some which are as wild as wild beasts, so if one of them (runs away and) makes you tired, treat it in this manner."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 451:

Narrated Rait' bin Khadij:

I said to the Prophet, "We will be facing the enemy tomorrow and we have no knives (for slaughtering)' He said, "If you slaughter the animal with anything that causes its blood to flow out, and if Allah's Name is mentioned on slaughtering it, eat of it, unless the killing instrument is a tooth or nail. I will tell you why: As for the tooth, it is a bone; and as for the nail, it is the knife of Ethiopians." The quick ones among the people got the war booty while the Prophet was behind the people. So they placed the cooking pots on the fire, but the Prophet ordered the cooking pots to be turned upside down. Then he distributed (the war booty) among them, considering one camel as equal to ten sheep. Then a camel belonging to the first party of people ran away and they had no horses with them, so a man shot it with an arrow whereby Allah stopped it. The Prophet said, "Of these animals there are some which are as wild as wild beasts. So, if anyone of them runs away like this, do like this (shoot it with an arrow)."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 28:

Narrated Umar bin Al-Khattab:

Some Sabi (i.e. war prisoners, children and woman only) were brought before the Prophet and behold, a woman amongst them was milking her breasts to feed and whenever she found a child amongst the captives, she took it over her chest and nursed it (she had lost her child but later she found him) the Prophet said to us, "Do you think that this lady can throw her son in the fire?" We replied, "No, if she has the power not to throw it (in the fire)." The Prophet then said, "Allah is more merciful to His slaves than this lady to her son."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 85:

Narrated Ibn Musud:

Once Allah's Apostle divided and distributed (the war booty). An Ansar man said, "By Allah ! Mohammed, by this distribution, did not intend to please Allah." So I came to Allah's Apostle and informed him about it whereupon his face became changed with anger and he said, "May Allah bestow His Mercy on Moses for he was hurt with more than this, yet he remained patient."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 184:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

While the Prophet was distributing (war booty etc.) one day, Dhul Khawaisira, a man from the tribe of Bani Tamim, said, "O Allah's Apostle! Act justly." The Prophets said, "Woe to you! Who else would act justly if I did not act justly?" Umar said (to the Prophet), "Allow me to chop his neck off." The Prophet said, "No, for he has companions (who are apparently so pious that) if anyone of (you compares his prayer with) their prayer, he will consider his prayer inferior to theirs, and similarly his fasting inferior to theirs, but they will desert Islam (go out of religion) as an arrow goes through the victim's body (games etc.) in which case if its Nasl is examined nothing will be seen thereon, and if its Nady is examined, nothing will be seen thereon, and if its Qudhadh is examined, nothing will be seen thereon, for the arrow has gone out too fast even for the excretions and blood to smear over it. Such people will come out at the time of difference among the (Muslim) people and the sign by which they will be recognized, will be a man whose one of the two hands will look like the breast of a woman or a lump of flesh moving loosely." Abu Said added, "I testify that I heard that from the Prophet and also testify that I was with Ali when Ali fought against those people. The man described by the Prophet was searched for among the killed, and was found, and he was exactly as the Prophet had described him." (See Hadith No. 807, Vol. 4)

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 195:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

When the delegation of Abdul Qais came to the Prophet, he said, "Welcome, O the delegation who have come! Neither you will have disgrace, nor you will regret." They said, "O Allah's Apostle! We are a group from the tribe of Ar-Rabia, and between you and us there is the tribe of Mudar and we cannot come to you except in the sacred months. So please order us to do something good (religious deeds) so that we may enter Paradise by doing that, and also that we may order our people who are behind us (whom we have left behind at home) to follow it." He said, "Four and four:" offer prayers perfectly , pay the Zakat, (obligatory charity), fast the month of Ramadan, and give one-fifth of the war booty (in Allah's cause), and do not drink in (containers called) Ad-Duba,' Al-Hantam, An-Naqir and Al-Muzaffat."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 509:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "Allah said, 'I will declare war against him who shows hostility to a pious worshipper of Mine. And the most beloved things with which My slave comes nearer to Me, is what I have enjoined upon him; and My slave keeps on coming closer to Me through performing Nawafil (praying or doing extra deeds besides what is obligatory) till I love him, so I become his sense of hearing with which he hears, and his sense of sight with which he sees, and his hand with which he grips, and his leg with which he walks; and if he asks Me, I will give him, and if he asks My protection (Refuge), I will protect him; (i.e. give him My Refuge) and I do not hesitate to do anything as I hesitate to take the soul of the believer, for he hates death, and I hate to disappoint him."

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 600:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

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

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 644:

Narrated Zahdam:

There was a relation of love and brotherhood between this tribe of Jarm and Al-Ash'ariyin. Once we were with Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari, and then a meal containing chicken was brought to Abu Musa, and there was present, a man from the tribe of Taimillah who was of red complexion as if he were from non-Arab freed slaves. Abu Musa invited him to the meal. He said, "I have seen chickens eating dirty things, so I deemed it filthy and took an oath that I would never eat chicken." On that, Abu Musa said, "Get up, I will narrate to you about that. Once a group of the Ash'ariyin and I went to Allah's Apostle and asked him to provide us with mounts; he said, 'By Allah, I will never give you any mounts nor do I have anything to mount you on.' Then a few camels of war booty were brought to Allah's Apostle , and he asked about us, saying, 'Where are the Ash-'ariyin?' He then ordered five nice camels to be given to us, and when we had departed, we said, 'What have we done? Allah's Apostle had taken the oath not to give us any mounts, and that he had nothing to mount us on, and later he gave us that we might ride? Did we take advantage of the fact that Allah's Apostle had forgotten his oath? By Allah, we will never succeed.' So we went back to him and said to him, 'We came to you to give us mounts, and you took an oath that you would not give us any mounts and that you had nothing to mount us on.' On that he said, 'I did not provide you with mounts, but Allah did. By Allah, if I take an oath to do something, and then find something else better than it, I do that which is better and make expiation for the dissolution of the oath.'"

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 698:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

We went out in the company of Allah's Apostle on the day of (the battle of) Khaibar, and we did not get any gold or silver as war booty, but we got property in the form of things and clothes. Then a man called Rifa'a bin Zaid, from the tribe of Bani Ad-Dubaib, presented a slave named Mid'am to Allah's Apostle. Allah's Apostle headed towards the valley of Al-Qura, and when he was in the valley of Al-Qura an arrow was thrown by an unidentified person, struck and killed Mid'am who was making a she-camel of Allah's Apostle kneel down. The people said, "Congratulations to him (the slave) for gaining Paradise." Allah's Apostle said, "No! By Him in Whose Hand my soul is, for the sheet which he stole from the war booty before its distribution on the day of Khaibar, is now burning over him." When the people heard that, a man brought one or two Shiraks (leather straps of shoes) to the Prophet. The Prophet said, "A Shirak of fire, or two Shiraks of fire."

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 720:

Narrated Malik bin Aus:

'I went and entered upon Umar, his doorman, Yarfa came saying Uthman, Abdur-Rahman, Az-Zubair and Sa'd are asking your permission (to see you). May I admit them? Umar said, 'Yes.' So he admitted them Then he came again and said, 'May I admit Ali and Abbas?' He said, 'Yes.' Abbas said, 'O, chief of the believers! Judge between me and this man (Ali). Umar said, 'I beseech you by Allah by Whose permission both the heaven and the earth exist, do you know that Allah's Apostle said, 'Our (the Apostles') property will not be inherited, and whatever we leave (after our death) is to be spent in charity?' And by that Allah's Apostle meant himself.' The group said, '(No doubt), he said so.' Umar then faced Ali and Abbas and said, 'Do you both know that Allah's Apostle

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said that?' They replied, '(No doubt), he said so.' Umar said, 'So let me talk to you about this matter. Allah favored His Apostle with something of this Fai' (i.e. booty won by the Muslims at war without fighting) which He did not give to anybody else;

Allah said:-- 'And what Allah gave to His Apostle (Fai' Booty) .....to do all things....(59.6) And so that property was only for Allah's Apostle . Yet, by Allah, he neither gathered that property for himself nor withheld it from you, but he gave its income to you, and distributed it among you till there remained the present property out of which the Prophet used to spend the yearly maintenance for his family, and whatever used to remain, he used to spend it where Allah's property is spent (i.e. in charity etc.). Allah's Apostle followed that throughout his life.

Now I beseech you by Allah, do you know all that?' They said, 'Yes.' Umar then said to Ali and Abbas, 'I beseech you by Allah, do you know that?' Both of them said, 'Yes.' Umar added, 'And when the Prophet died, Abu Bakr said, ' I am the successor of Allah's Apostle, and took charge of that property and managed it in the same way as Allah's Apostle did.

Then I took charge of this property for two years during which I managed it as Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr did. Then you both (Ali and Abbas) came to talk to me, bearing the same claim and presenting the same case. (O Abbas!) You came to me asking for your share from the property of your nephew, and this man (Ali) came to me, asking for the share of h is wife from the property of her father. I said, 'If you both wish, I will give that to you on that condition (i.e. that you would follow the way of the Prophet and Abu Bakr and as I (Umar) have done in man aging it).' Now both of you seek of me a verdict other than that? Lo! By Allah, by Whose permission both the heaven and the earth exist, I will not give any verdict other than that till the Hour is established. If you are unable to manage it, then return it to me, and I will be sufficient to manage it on your behalf.' "

Volume 8, Book 81, Number 793:

Narrated Ubada bin As-Samit:

I gave the pledge of allegiance to the Prophet with a group of people, and he said, "I take your pledge that you will not worship anything besides Allah, will not steal, will not commit infanticide, will not slander others by forging false statements and spreading it, and will not disobey me in anything good. And whoever among you fulfill all these (obligations of the pledge), his reward is with Allah. And whoever commits any of the above crimes and receives his legal punishment in this world, that will be his expiation and purification. But if Allah screens his sin, it will be up to Allah, Who will either punish or forgive him according to His wish." Abu Abdullah said: "If a thief repents after his hand has been cut off, the his witness well be accepted. Similarly, if any person upon whom any legal punishment has been inflicted, repents, his witness will be accepted."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 204:

Narrated Al-Hasan:

(Al-Ahnaf said:) I went out carrying my arms during the nights of the affliction (i.e. the war between Ali and Aisha) and Abu Bakra met me and asked, "Where are you going?" I replied, "I intend to help the cousin of Allah's Apostle (i.e.,Ali)." Abu Bakra said, "Allah's Apostle said, 'If two Muslims take out their swords to fight each other, then both of them will be from amongst the people of the Hell-Fire.' It was said to the Prophet, 'It is alright for the killer but what about the killed one?' He replied, 'The killed one had the intention to kill his opponent.'" (See Hadith No. 30, Vol. 1)

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 282:

Narrated Abu Qatada:

Allah's Apostle said on the Day of (the battle of) Hunain, "Whoever has killed an infidel and has a proof or a witness for it, then the salb (arms and belongings of that deceased) will be for him." I stood up to seek a witness to testify that I had killed an infidel but I could not find any witness and then sat down. Then I thought that I should mention the case to Allah's Apostle I (and when I did so) a man from those who were sitting with him said, "The arms of the killed person he has mentioned, are with me, so please satisfy him on my behalf." Abu Bakr said, "No, he will not give the arms to a bird of Quraish and deprive one of Allah's lions of it who fights for the cause of Allah and His Apostle." Allah's Apostle I stood up and gave it to me, and I bought a garden with its price, and that was my first property which I owned through the war booty.

The people of Hijaz said, "A judge should not pass a judgment according to his knowledge, whether he was a witness at the time he was the judge or before that" And if a litigant gives a confession in favor of his opponent in the court, in the opinion of some scholars, the judge should not pass a judgment against him till the latter calls two witnesses to witness his confession. And some people of Iraq said, "A judge can pass a judgement according to what he hears or witnesses (the litigant's confession) in the court itself, but if the confession takes place outside the court, he should not pass the judgment unless two witnesses witness the confession." Some of them said, "A judge can pass a judgement depending on his knowledge of the case as he is trust-worthy, and that a witness is Required just to reveal the truth. The judge's knowledge is more than the witness." Some said, "A judge can judge according to his knowledge only in cases involving property, but in other cases he cannot." Al-Qasim said, "A judge ought not to pass a judgment depending on his knowledge if other people do not know what he knows, although his knowledge is more than the witness of somebody else because he might expose himself to suspicion by the Muslims and cause the Muslims to have unreasonable doubt. "

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 302:

Narrated Abu Laila bin Abdullah bin Abdur-Rahman bin Sahl:

Sahl bin Abi Hathma and some great men of his tribe said, Abdullah bin 'Sahl and Muhaiyisa went out to Khaibar as they were struck with poverty and difficult living conditions. Then Muhaiyisa was informed that Abdullah had been killed and thrown in a pit or a spring. Muhaiyisa went to the Jews and said, "By Allah, you have killed my companion." The Jews said, "By Allah, we have not killed him." Muhaiyisa then came back to his people and told them the story. He, his elder brother Huwaiyisa and Abdur-Rahman bin Sahl came (to the Prophet) and he who had been at Khaibar, proceeded to speak, but the Prophet said to Muhaiyisa, "The eldest! The eldest!" meaning, "Let the eldest of you speak." So Huwaiyisa spoke first and then Muhaiyisa. Allah's Apostle said, "The Jews should either pay the blood money of your (deceased) companion or be ready for war." After that Allah's Apostle wrote a letter to the Jews in that respect, and they wrote that they had not killed him. Then Allah's Apostle said to Huwaiyisa, Muhaiyisa and Abdur-Rahman, "Can you take an oath by which you will be entitled to take the blood money?" They said, "No." He said (to them), "Shall we ask the Jews to take an oath before you?" They replied, "But the Jews are not Muslims." So Allah's Apostle gave them one-hundred she-camels as blood money from himself. Sahl added: When those she-camels were made to enter the house, one of them kicked me with its leg.

Volume 9, Book 91, Number 371:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

When the delegate of Abd Al-Qais came to Allah's Apostle, he said, "Who are the delegate?" They said, "The delegate are from the tribe of Rabi'a." The Prophet said, "Welcome, O the delegate, and welcome! O people! Neither you will have any disgrace nor will you regret." They said, "O Allah's Apostle! Between you and us there are the infidels of the tribe of Mudar, so please order us to do something good (religious deeds) that by acting on them we may enter Paradise, and that we may inform (our people) whom we have left behind, about it." They also asked (the Prophet) about drinks. He forbade them from four things and ordered them to do four things. He ordered them to believe in Allah, and asked them, "Do you know what is meant by belief in Allah?" They said, "Allah and His Apostle know best." He said, "To testify that none has the right to be worshipped except Allah, the One, Who has no partners with Him, and that Mohammed is Allah's Apostle; and to offer prayers perfectly and to pay Zakat." (the narrator thinks that fasting in Ramadan is included), "and to give one-fifth of the war booty (to the state)." Then he forbade four (drinking utensils): Ad-Duba', Al-Hantam, Al-Mazaffat and An-Naqir, or probably, Al-Muqaiyar. And then the Prophet said, "Remember all these things by heart and preach it to those whom you have left behind."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 644:

Narrated Zahdam:

There were good relations and brotherhood between this tribe of Jurm and the Ash'ariyyin. Once, while we were sitting with Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari, there was brought to him a meal which contained chicken meat, and there was sitting beside him, a man from the tribe of Bani Taimul-lah who looked like one of the Mawali. Abu Musa invited the man to eat but the man said, "I have seen chicken eating some dirty things, and I have taken an oath not to eat chicken." Abu Musa said to him, "Come along, let me tell you something in this regard. Once I went to the Prophet with a few men from Ash'ariyyin and we asked him for mounts. The Prophet said, By Allah, I will not mount you on anything; besides I do not have anything to mount you on.' Then a few camels from the war booty were brought to the Prophet, and he asked about us, saying, 'Where are the group of Ash'ariyyin?' So he ordered for five fat camels to be given to us and then we set out. We said, 'What have we done? Allah's Apostle took an oath that he would not give us anything to ride and that he had nothing for us to ride, yet he provided us with mounts. We made Allah's Apostle forget his oath! By Allah, we will never be successful.' So we returned to him and reminded him of his oath. He said, 'I have not provided you with the mount, but Allah has done so. By Allah, I may take an oath to do something, but on finding something else which is better, I do that which is better and make the expiation for my oath.' "

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 645:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

The delegates of Abdul Qais came to Allah's Apostle and said, "The pagans of the tribe of Mudar intervene between you and us therefore we cannot come to you except in the Holy months. So please order us to do something good (Religious deeds) by which we may enter Paradise (by acting on them) and we may inform our people whom we have left behind to observe it." The Prophet said, "I order you to do four things and forbid you from four things: I order you to believe in Allah. Do you know what is meant by belief in Allah? It is to testify that none has the right to be worshipped except Allah, to offer prayers perfectly, to give Zakat, and to give Al-Khumus (one-fifth of the war booty) (in Allah's Cause). And I forbid you four things, (i.e., Do not drink alcoholic drinks) Ad-Dubba, An-Naqir, (pitched water skins), Az-Zuruf, Al-Muzaffat and Al--Hantam (names of utensils used for the preparation of alcoholic drinks)." (See Hadith No. 50, Vol. 1)

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 50:

I used to sit with Ibn Abbas and he made me sit on his sitting place. He requested me to stay with him in order that he might give me a share from his property. So I stayed with him for two months. Once he told (me) that when the delegation of the tribe of Abdul Qais came to the Prophet, the Prophet asked them, "Who are the people (i.e. you)? (Or) who are the delegate?" They replied, "We are from the tribe of Rabi'a." Then the Prophet said to them, "Welcome! O people (or O delegation of Abdul Qais)! Neither will you have disgrace nor will you regret." They said, "O Allah's Apostle! We cannot come to you except in the sacred month and there is the infidel tribe of Mudar intervening between you and us. So please order us to do something good (religious deeds) so that we may inform our people whom we have left behind (at home), and that we may enter Paradise (by acting on them)." Then they asked about drinks (what is legal and what is illegal). The Prophet ordered them to do four things and forbade them from four things. He ordered them to believe in Allah Alone and asked them, "Do you know what is meant by believing in Allah Alone?" They replied, "Allah and His Apostle know better." Thereupon the Prophet said, "It means:

1. To testify that none has the right to be worshipped but Allah and Mohammed is Allah's Apostle.
2. To offer prayers perfectly
3. To pay the Zakat (obligatory charity)
4. To observe fast during the month of Ramadan.
5. And to pay Al-Khumus (one fifth of the booty to be given in Allah's Cause).

Then he forbade them four things, namely, Hantam, Dubba,' Naqir Ann Muzaffat or Muqaiyar; (These were the names of pots in which Alcoholic drinks were prepared) (The Prophet mentioned the container of wine and he meant the wine itself). The Prophet further said (to them): "Memorize them (these instructions) and convey them to the people whom you have left behind."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 87:

I was an interpreter between the people and Ibn Abbas. Once Ibn Abbas said that a delegation of the tribe ofAbdul Qais came to the Prophet who asked them, "Who are the people (i.e. you)? (Or) who are the delegates?" They replied, "We are from the tribe of Rabi'a." Then the Prophet said to them, "Welcome, O people (or said, "O delegation (of Abdul Qais).") Neither will you have disgrace nor will you regret." They said, "We have come to you from a distant place and there is the tribe of the infidels of Mudar intervening between you and us and we cannot come to you except in the sacred month. So please order us to do something good (religious deeds) and that we may also inform our people whom we have left behind (at home) and that we may enter Paradise (by acting on them.)" The Prophet ordered them to do four things, and forbade them from four things. He ordered them to believe in Allah Alone, the Honourable the Majestic and said to them, "Do you know what is meant by believing in Allah Alone?" They replied, "Allah and His Apostle know better." Thereupon the Prophet said, "(That means to testify that none has the right to be worshipped but Allah and that Mohammed is His Apostle, to offer prayers perfectly, to pay Zakat, to observe fasts during the month of Ramadan, (and) to pay Al-Khumus (one fifth of the booty to be given in Allah's cause)." Then he forbade them four things, namely Ad-Dubba.' Hantam, Muzaffat (and) An-Naqir or Muqaiyar(These were the names of pots in which alcoholic drinks used to be prepared). The Prophet further said, "Memorize them (these instructions) and tell them to the people whom you have left behind."

Volume 1, Book 7, Number 331:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah: The Prophet said, "I have been given five things which were not given to any one else before me.

1. Allah made me victorious by awe, (by His frightening my enemies) for a distance of one month's journey.
2. The earth has been made for me (and for my followers) a place for praying and a thing to perform Tayammum, therefore anyone of my followers can pray wherever the time of a prayer is due.

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3. The booty has been made Halal (lawful) for me yet it was not lawful for anyone else before me.

4. I have been given the right of intercession (on the Day of Resurrection).

5. Every Prophet used to be sent to his nation only but I have been sent to all mankind.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 367:

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

Thabit asked Anas, "O Abu Hamza! What did the Prophet pay her (as Mahr)?" He said, "Her self was her Mahr for he manumitted her and then married her." Anas added, "While on the way, Um Sulaim dressed her for marriage (ceremony) and at night she sent her as a bride to the Prophet . So the Prophet was a bridegroom and he said, 'Whoever has anything (food) should bring it.' He spread out a leather sheet (for the food) and some brought dates and others cooking butter. (I think he (Anas) mentioned As-SawTq). So they prepared a dish of Hais (a kind of meal). And that was Walrma (the marriage banquet) of Allah's Apostle ."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 429:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah: Allah's Apostle said, "I have been given five things which were not given to any amongst the Prophets before me. These are:

1. Allah made me victorious by awe (by His frightening my enemies) for a distance of one month's journey.

2. The earth has been made for me (and for my followers) a place for praying and a thing to perform Tayammum. Therefore my followers can pray wherever the time of a prayer is due.

3. The booty has been made Halal (lawful) for me (and was not made so for anyone else).

4. Every Prophet used to be sent to his nation exclusively but I have been sent 1o all mankind.

5. I have been given the right of intercession (on the Day of Resurrection.)

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 482:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

A delegation of the tribe of Abdul Qais came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! We are from the tribe of Rabi'a, and the infidels of the tribe of Mudar stands between us and you; so we cannot come to you except during the Sacred Months. Please order us to do something (religious deeds) which we may carry out and also invite to it our people whom we have left behind." The Prophet said, "I order you to do four things and forbid you four others: (I order you) to have faith in Allah, and confess that none has the right to be worshipped but Allah, (and the Prophet gestured with his hand like this (i.e. one knot) and to offer prayers perfectly and to pay the Zakat, and to pay one-fifth of the booty in Allah's Cause. And I forbid you to use Dubba', Hantam, Naqir and Muzaffat (all these are the names of utensils used for preparing alcoholic drinks)."

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 8:

Narrated Hammam:

The Prophet performed four Umra (three) in Dhi-l-Qa'da except the (one) Umra which he performed with his Hajj: His Umra from Al-hudaibiya, and the one of the following year, and the one from Al-Jr'rana where he distributed the booty (of the battle) of Hunain, and another Umra with his Hajj.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 294:

Narrated Abu Said:

We used to be given mixed dates (from the booty) and used to sell (barter) two Sas of those dates) for one Sa (of good dates). The Prophet said (to us), "No (bartering of) two Sas for one Sa nor two Dirhams for one Dirham is permissible", (as that is a kind of usury). (See Hadith No. 405).

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 302:

Narrated Ali:

I got an old she-camel as my share from the booty, and the Prophet had given me another from Al-Khumus. And when I intended to marry Fatima (daughter of the Prophet), I arranged that a goldsmith from the tribe of Bani Qainuqa' would accompany me in order to bring Idhkhir and then sell it to the goldsmiths and use its price for my marriage banquet.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 432:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

that while he was sitting with Allah's Apostle he said, "O Allah's Apostle! We get female captives as our share of booty, and we are interested in their prices, what is your opinion about coitus interrupt us?" The Prophet said, "Do you really do that? It is better for you not to do it. No soul that which Allah has destined to exist, but will surely come into existence.

Volume 3, Book 38, Number 503:

Narrated Marwan bin Al-Hakam and Al-Miswar bin Makhrama:

When the delegates of the tribe of Hawazin after embracing Islam, came to Allah's Apostle, he got up. They appealed to him to return their properties and their captives. Allah's Apostle said to them, "The most beloved statement to me is the true one. So, you have the option of restoring your properties or your captives, for I have delayed distributing them." The narrator added, Allah's Apostle c had been waiting for them for more than ten days on his return from Taif. When they realised that Allah's Apostle would return to them only one of two things, they said, "We choose our captives." So, Allah's Apostle got up in the gathering of the Muslims, praised Allah as He deserved, and said, "Then after! These brethren of yours have come to you with repentance and I see it proper to return their captives to them. So, whoever amongst you likes to do that as a favor, then he can do it, and whoever of you wants to stick to his share till we pay him from the very first booty which Allah will give us then he can do so." The people replied, "We agree to give up our shares willingly as a favor for Allah's Apostle." Then Allah's Apostle said, "We don't know who amongst you has agreed and who hasn't. Go back and your chiefs may tell us your opinion." So, all of them returned and their chiefs discussed the matter with them and then they (i.e. their chiefs) came to Allah's Apostle to tell him that they (i.e. the people) had given up their shares gladly and willingly.

Volume 3, Book 44, Number 668:

Narrated 'Abaya bin Rafa'a bin Raft' bin Khadij:

My grandfather said, "We were in the company of the Prophet at Dhul-Hulaifa. The people felt hungry and captured some camels and sheep (as booty). The Prophet was behind the people. They hurried and slaughtered the animals and put their meat in pots and started cooking it. (When the Prophet came) he ordered the pots to be upset and then he distributed the animals (of the booty), regarding ten sheep as equal to one camel. One of the camels fled and the people ran after it till they were exhausted. At that time there were few horses. A man threw an arrow at the camel, and Allah stopped the camel with it. The Prophet said, "Some of these animals are like wild animals, so if you lose control over one of these animals, treat it in this way (i.e. shoot it with an arrow)." Before distributing them among the soldiers my grandfather said, "We may meet the enemies in the future and have no knives; can we slaughter the animals with reeds?" The Prophet said, "Use whatever causes blood to flow, and eat the animals if the name of Allah has been mentioned on slaughtering them. Do not slaughter with teeth or fingernails and I will tell you why: It is because teeth are bones (i.e. cannot cut properly) and fingernails are the tools used by the Ethiopians (whom we should not imitate for they are infidels)."

Volume 3, Book 44, Number 684:

Narrated Abaya bin Rifaa:

My grandfather, Rafi bin Khadij said, "We were in the valley of Dhul-Hulaifa of Tuhama in the company of the Prophet and had some camels and sheep (of the booty). The people hurried (in slaughtering the animals) and put their meat in the pots and started cooking. Allah's Apostle came and ordered them to upset the pots, and distributed the booty considering one camel as equal to ten sheep. One of the camels fled and the people had only a few horses, so they got worried. (The camel was chased and) a man slopped the camel by throwing an arrow at it. Allah's Apostle said, 'Some of these animals are untamed like wild animals, so if anyone of them went out of your control, then you should treat it as you have done now.' " My grandfather said, "O Allah's Apostle! We fear that we may meet our enemy tomorrow and we have no knives, could we slaughter the animals with reeds?" The Prophet said, "Yes, or you can use what would make blood flow (slaughter) and you can eat what is slaughtered and the Name of Allah is mentioned at the time of slaughtering. But don't use teeth or fingernails (in slaughtering). I will tell you why, as for teeth, they are bones, and fingernails are used by Ethiopians for slaughtering. (See Hadith 668)

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 13:

Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair: Hakim bin Hizam said, "I asked Allah's Apostle for something, and he gave me, and I asked him again and he gave me and said, 'O Hakim! This wealth is green and sweet (i.e. as tempting as fruits), and whoever takes it with, the upper (i.e. giving) hand is better than the lower (i.e. taking) hand." Hakim added, "I said, O Allah's Apostle! By Him Who has sent you with the Truth I will never demand anything from anybody after you till I die." Afterwards Abu Bakr used to call Hakim to give him something but he refused to accept anything from him. Then Umar called him to give him (something) but he refused. Then Umar said, "O Muslims! I offered to him (i.e. Hakim) his share which Allah has ordained for him from this booty and he refuses to take it." Thus Hakim did not ask anybody for anything after the Prophet, till he died--may Allah bestow His mercy upon him.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 153:

Narrated Umar:

The properties of Bani An-Nadir which Allah had transferred to His Apostle as Fai Booty were not gained by the Muslims with their horses and camels. The properties therefore, belonged especially to Allah's Apostle who used to give his family their yearly expenditure and spend what remained thereof on arms and horses to be used in Allah's Cause.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 309:

Narrated Abaya bin Rifaa:

My grandfather, Rafi said, "We were in the company of the Prophet at DhulHulaifa, and the people suffered from hunger. We got some camels and sheep (as booty) and the Prophet was still behind the people. They hurried and put the cooking pots on the fire. (When he came) he ordered that the cooking pots should be upset and then he distributed the booty (amongst the people) regarding ten sheep as equal to one camel then a camel fled and the people chased it till they got tired, as they had a few horses (for chasing it). So a man threw an arrow at it and caused it to stop (with Allah's Permission). On that the Prophet said, 'Some of these animals behave like wild beasts, so, if any animal flee from you, deal with it in the same way." My grandfather asked (the Prophet), "We hope (or are afraid) that we may meet the enemy tomorrow and we have no knives. Can we slaughter our animals with canes?" Allah's Apostle replied, "If the instrument used for killing causes the animal to bleed profusely and if Allah's Name is mentioned on killing it, then eat its meat (i.e. it is lawful) but won't use a tooth or a nail and I am telling you the reason: A tooth is a bone (and slaughtering with a bone is forbidden), and a nail is the slaughtering instrument of the Ethiopians."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 323:

Narrated Jabir:

Once I returned from a journey and the Prophet said (to me) "Offer two Rakat." (Sirar is a place near Medina).

Translation of Sahih Bukhari, Book 53:

One-fifth of Booty to the Cause of Allah (Khumus)

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 325:

Narrated Aisha:

(mother of the believers) After the death of Allah 's Apostle Fatima the daughter of Allah's Apostle asked Abu Bakr As-Siddiq to give her, her share of inheritance from what Allah's Apostle had left of the Fai (i.e. booty gained without fighting) which Allah had given him. Abu Bakr said to her, "Allah's Apostle said, 'Our property will not be inherited, whatever we (i.e. prophets) leave is Sadaqa (to be used for charity)." Fatima, the daughter of Allah's Apostle got angry and stopped speaking to Abu Bakr, and continued assuming that attitude till she died. Fatima remained alive for six months after the death of Allah's Apostle.

She used to ask Abu Bakr for her share from the property of Allah's Apostle which he left at Khaibar, and Fadak, and his property at Medina (devoted for charity). Abu Bakr refused to give her that property and said, "I will not leave anything Allah's Apostle used to do, because I am afraid that if I left something from the Prophet's tradition, then I would go astray." (Later on) Umar gave the Prophet's property (of Sadaqa) at Medina to Ali and Abbas, but he withheld the properties of Khaibar and Fadak in his custody and said, "These two properties are the Sadaqa which Allah's Apostle used to use for his expenditures and urgent needs. Now their management is to be entrusted to the ruler." (Az-Zuhrl said, "They have been managed in this way till today.")

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 326:

Narrated Malik bin Aus:

While I was at home, the sun rose high and it got hot. Suddenly the messenger of Umar bin Al-Khattab came to me and said, "The chief of the believers has sent for you." So, I went along with him till I entered the place where Umar was sitting on a bedstead made of date-palm leaves and covered with no mattress, and he was leaning over a leather pillow. I greeted him and sat down. He said, "O Malik! Some persons of your people who have families came to me and I have ordered that a gift should be given to them, so take it and distribute it among them." I said, "O chief of the believers! I wish that you order someone else to do it." He said, "O man! Take it." While I was sitting there with him, his doorman Yarfa' came saying, "Uthman, Abdur-Rahman bin Auf, Az-Zubair and Sad bin Abi Waqqas are asking your permission (to see you); may I admit them?" Umar said, "Yes", So they were admitted and they came in, greeted him, and sat down. After a while Yarfa' came again and said, "May I admit Ali

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and Abbas?" Umar said, "yes." So, they were admitted and they came in and greeted (him) and sat down. Then Abbas said, "O chief of the believers! Judge between me and this (i.e. Ali)." They had a dispute regarding the property of Bani An-Nadir which Allah had given to His Apostle as Fai. The group (i.e. Uthman and his companions) said, "O chief of the believers! Judge between them and relieve both of them front each other." Umar said, "Be patient! I beseech you by Allah by Whose Permission the Heaven and the Earth exist, do you know that Allah's Apostle said, 'Our (i.e. prophets') property will not be inherited, and whatever we leave, is Sadaqa (to be used for charity),' and Allah's Apostle meant himself (by saying "we")?" The group said, "He said so." Umar then turned to Ali and Abbas and said, "I beseech you by Allah, do you know that Allah's Apostle said so?" They replied, " He said so." Umar then said, "So, I will talk to you about this matter. Allah bestowed on His Apostle with a special favor of something of this Fai (booty) which he gave to nobody else." Umar then recited the Holy Verses: "What Allah bestowed as (Fai) Booty on his Apostle (Mohammed) from them --- for this you made no expedition with either cavalry or camelry: But Allah gives power to His Apostles over whomever He will 'And Allah is able to do all things." 9:6)

Umar added "So this property was especially given to Allah's Apostle, but, by Allah, neither did he take possession of it and leave your, nor did he favor himself with it to your exclusion, but he gave it to all of you and distributed it amongst you till this property remained out of it. Allah's Apostle used to spend the yearly expenses of his family out of this property and used to keep the rest of its revenue to be spent on Allah 's Cause. Allah 's Apostle kept on doing this during all his lifetime. I ask you by Allah do you know this?" They replies in the affirmative. Umar then said to Ali and Abbas. "I ask you by Allah, do you know this?" Umar added, "When Allah had taken His Prophet unto Him, 'Abu Bakr said, 'I am the successor of Allah's Apostle so, Abu Bakr took over that property and managed it in the same way as Allah's Apostle used to do, and Allah knows that he was true, pious and rightly-guided, and he was a follower of what was right. Then Allah took Abu Bakr unto Him and I became Abu Bakr's successor, and I kept that property in my possession for the first two years of my Caliphate, managing it in the same way as Allah's Apostle used to do and as Abu Bakr used to do, and Allah knows that I have been true, pious, rightly guided, and a follower of what is right. Now you both (i.e. 'Ah and Abbas) came to talk to me, bearing the same claim and presenting the same case; you, Abbas, came to me asking for your share from your nephew's property, and this man, i.e. Ali, came to me asking for his wife's share from her father's property. I told you both that Allah's Apostle said, 'Our (prophets') properties are not to be inherited, but what we leave is Sadaqa (to be used for charity).' When I thought it right that I should hand over this property to you, I said to you, 'I am ready to hand over this property to you if you wish, on the condition that you would take Allah's Pledge and Convention that you would manage it in the same way as Allah's Apostle used to, and as Abu Bakr used to do, and as I have done since I was in charge of it.' So, both of you said (to me), 'Hand it over to us,' and on that condition I handed it over to you. So, I ask you by Allah, did I hand it over to them on this condition?" The group aid, "Yes." Then Umar faced Ali and Abbas saying, "I ask you by Allah, did I hand it over to you on this condition?" They said, "Yes. " He said, " Do you want now to give a different decision? By Allah, by Whose Leave both the Heaven and the Earth exist, I will never give any decision other than that (I have already given). And if you are unable to manage it, then return it to me, and I will do the job on your behalf."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 344:

Narrated Ali:

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

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 348:

Narrated Urwa-al-Bariqi:

The Prophet said, "Horses are always the source of good, namely, rewards (in the Hereafter) and booty, till the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 351:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

Allah's Apostle said, "Booty has been made legal for me."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 364:

Narrated Abu Musa:

We got the news of the migration of the Prophet while we were in Yemen, so we set out migrating to him. We were, I and my two brothers, I being the youngest, and one of my brothers was Abu Burda and the other was Abu Ruhm. We were over fifty (or fifty-three or fifty two) men from our people. We got on board a ship which took us to An-Najashi in Ethiopia, and there we found Ja'far bin Abu Talib and his companions with An-Najaishi. Ja'far said (to us), "Allah's Apostle has sent us here and ordered us to stay here, so you too, stay with us." We stayed with him till we all left (Ethiopia) and met the Prophet at the time when he had conquered Khaibar. He gave us a share from its booty (or gave us from its booty). He gave only to those who had taken part in the Ghazwa with him. but he did not give any share to any person who had not participated in Khaibar's conquest except the people of our ship, besides Ja'far and his companions, whom he gave a share as he did them (i.e. the people of the ship).

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 366:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

While Allah's Apostle was distributing the booty at Al-Ja'rana, somebody said to him "Be just (in your distribution)." The Prophet replied, "Verily I would be miserable if I did not act justly."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 371:

Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair:

Hakim bin Hizam said, "I asked Allah's Apostle for something, and he gave me. I asked him again, and he gave me, and said to me. 'O Hakim! This wealth is like green sweet (i.e. fruit), and if one takes it without greed, then one is blessed in it, and if one takes it with greediness, then one is not blessed in it, and will be like the one who eats without satisfaction. And an upper (i.e. giving) hand is better than a lower (i.e. taking) hand,' I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! By Him Who has sent you with the Truth. I will not ask anyone for anything after you till I leave this world." So, when Abu Bakr during his Caliphate, called Hakim to give him (some money), Hakim refused to accept anything from him. Once Umar called him (during his Caliphate) in order to give him something, but Hakim refused to accept it, whereupon Umar said, "O Muslims! I give him (i.e. Haklm) his right which Allah has assigned to him) from this Fai '(booty), but he refuses to take it." So Haklm never took anything from anybody after the Prophet till he died.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 375:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

When Allah favored His Apostle with the properties of Hawazin tribe as Fai (booty), he started giving to some Quarries men even up to one-hundred camels each, whereupon some Ansari men said about Allah's Apostle, "May Allah forgive His Apostle! He is giving to (men of) Quraish and leaves us, in spite of the fact that our swords are still dropping blood (of the infidels)" When Allah's Apostle was informed of what they had said, he called the Ansar and gathered them in a leather tent and did not call anybody else along, with them. When they gathered, Allah's Apostle came to them and said, "What is the statement which, I have been informed, and that which you have said?" The learned ones among them replied," O Allah's Apostle! The wise ones amongst us did not say anything, but the youngsters amongst us said, 'May Allah forgive His Apostle; he gives the Quarish and leaves the Ansar, in spite of the fact that our swords are still dribbling (wet) with the blood of the infidels.' " Allah's Apostle replied, I give to such people as are still close to the period of Infidelity (i.e. they have recently embraced Islam and Faith is still weak in their hearts). Won't you be pleased to see people go with fortune, while you return with Allah's Apostle to your houses? By Allah, what you will return with, is better than what they are returning with." The Ansar replied, "Yes, O Allah's Apostle, we are satisfied' Then the Prophet said to them." You will find after me, others being preferred to you. Then be patient till you meet Allah and meet His Apostle at Al-Kauthar (i.e. a fount in Paradise)." (Anas added:) But we did not remain patient.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 378:

Narrated Abdullah:

On the day (of the battle) of Hunain, Allah's Apostle favored some people in the distribution of the booty (to the exclusion of others); he gave Al-Aqra' bin Habis one-hundred camels and he gave 'Uyaina the same amount, and also gave to some of the eminent Arabs, giving them preference in this regard. Then a person came and said, "By Allah, in this distribution justice has not been observed, nor has Allah's Pleasure been aimed at." I said (to him), "By Allah, I will inform the Prophet (of what you have said), "I went and informed him, and he said, "If Allah and His Apostle did not act justly, who else would act justly. May Allah be merciful to Moses, for he was harmed with more than this, yet he kept patient."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 383:

Narrated Ibn Abi Aufa:

We were afflicted with hunger during the besiege of Khaibar, and when it was the day of (the battle of) Khaibar, we slaughtered the donkeys and when the pots got boiling (with their meat). Allah's Apostle made an announcement that all the pots should be upset and that nobody should eat anything of the meat of the donkeys. We thought that the Prophet prohibited that because the Khumus had not been taken out of the booty (i.e. donkeys); other people said, "He prohibited eating them for ever." The sub-narrator added, "I asked Said bin Jubair who said, 'He has made the eating of donkeys' meat illegal for ever.")

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 48:

Narrated Uthman:

(the son of Muhib) An Egyptian who came and performed the Hajj to the Kaba saw some people sitting. He enquire, "Who are these people?" Somebody said, "They are the tribe of Quraish." He said, "Who is the old man sitting amongst them?" The people replied, "He is Abdullah bin Umar." He said, "O Ibn Umar! I want to ask you about something; please tell me about it. Do you know that Uthman fled away on the day (of the battle) of Uhud?" Ibn Umar said, "Yes." The (Egyptian) man said, "Do you know that Uthman was absent on the day (of the battle) of Badr and did not join it?" Ibn Umar said, "Yes." The man said, "Do you know that he failed to attend the Ar Ridwan pledge and did not witness it (i.e. Hudaibiya pledge of allegiance)?" Ibn Umar said, "Yes." The man said, "Allahu Akbar!" Ibn Umar said, "Let me explain to you (all these three things). As for his flight on the day of Uhud, I testify that Allah has excused him and forgiven him; and as for his absence from the battle of Badr, it was due to the fact that the daughter of Allah's Apostle was his wife and she was sick then. Allah's Apostle said to him, "You will receive the same reward and share (of the booty) as anyone of those who participated in the battle of Badr (if you stay with her).' As for his absence from the Ar-Ridwan pledge of allegiance, had there been any person in Mecca more respectable than Uthman (to be sent as a representative). Allah's Apostle would have sent him instead of him. No doubt, Allah's Apostle had sent him, and the incident of the Ar-Ridwan pledge of Allegiance happened after Uthman had gone to Mecca. Allah's Apostle held out his right hand saying, 'This is Uthman's hand.' He stroke his (other) hand with it saying, 'This (pledge of allegiance) is on the behalf of Uthman.' Then Ibn Umar said to the man, 'Bear (these) excuses in mind with you.'

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 60:

Narrated Aisha:

Fatima sent somebody to Abu Bakr asking him to give her her inheritance from the Prophet from what Allah had given to His Apostle through Fai (i.e. booty gained without fighting). She asked for the Sadaqa (i.e. wealth assigned for charitable purposes) of the Prophet at Medina, and Fadak, and what remained of the Khumus (i.e., one-fifth) of the Khaibar booty. Abu Bakr said, "Allah's Apostle said, 'We (Prophets), our property is not inherited, and whatever we leave is Sadaqa, but Mohammed's Family can eat from this property, i.e. Allah's property, but they have no right to take more than the food they need.' By Allah! I will not bring any change in dealing with the Sadaqa of the Prophet (and will keep them) as they used to be observed in his (i.e. the Prophet's) life-time, and I will dispose with it as Allah's Apostle used to do," Then Ali said, "I testify that None has the right to be worshipped but Allah, and that Mohammed is His Apostle," and added, "O Abu Bakr! We acknowledge your superiority." Then he (i.e. Ali) mentioned their own relationship to Allah's Apostle and their right. Abu Bakr then spoke saying, "By Allah in Whose Hands my life is. I love to do good to the relatives of Allah's Apostle rather than to my own relatives" Abu Bark added: Look at Mohammed through his family (i.e. if you are no good to his family you are not good to him).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 340:

Narrated Ali:

I had a she-camel which I got in my share from the booty of the battle of Badr, and the Prophet had given me another she camel from the Khumus which Allah had bestowed on him that day. And when I intended to celebrate my marriage to Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet, I made an arrangement with a goldsmith from Bani Qainuqa 'that he should go with me to bring Idhkhir (i.e. a kind of grass used by gold-smiths) which I intended to sell to gold-smiths in order to spend its price on the marriage banquet. While I was collecting ropes and sacks of pack saddles for my two she-camels which were kneeling down beside an Ansari's dwelling and after collecting what I needed, I suddenly found that the humps of the two she-camels had been cut off and their flanks had been cut open and portions of their livers had been taken out. On seeing that, I could not help weeping. I asked, "Who has done that?" They (i.e. the people) said, "Hamza bin Abdul Muttalib has done it. He is present in this house with some Ansari drinkers, a girl singer, and his friends. The singer said in her song, "O Hamza, get at the fat she-camels!" On hearing this, Hamza rushed to his sword and cut of the camels' humps and cut their flanks open and took out portions from their livers." Then I came to the Prophet, with whom Zaid bin Haritha was present. The Prophet noticed my state and asked, "What is the matter?" I

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said, "O Allah's Apostle, I have never experienced such a day as today! Hamza attacked my two she-camels, cut off their humps and cut their flanks open, and he is still present in a house along some drinkers." The Prophet asked for his cloak, put it on, and proceeded, followed by Zaid bin Haritha and myself, till he reached the house where Hamza was. He asked the permission to enter, and he was permitted. The Prophet started blaming Hamza for what he had done. Hamza was drunk and his eyes were red. He looked at the Prophet then raised his eyes to look at his knees and raised his eves more to look at his face and then said, "You are not but my father's slaves." When the Prophet understood that Hamza was drunk, he retreated, walking backwards went out and we left with him.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 367:

Narrated Malik bin Aus Al-Hadathan An-Nasri:

That once Umar bin Al-Khattab called him and while he was sitting with him, his gatekeeper, Yarfa came and said, "Will you admit Uthman, Abdur-Rahman bin Auf, AzZubair and Sad (bin Abi Waqqas) who are waiting for your permission?" Umar said, "Yes, let them come in." After a while, Yarfa- came again and said, "Will you admit Ali and Abbas who are asking your permission?" Umar said, "Yes." So, when the two entered, Abbas said, "O chief of the believers! Judge between me and this (i.e. Ali). "Both of them had a dispute regarding the property of Bani An-Nadir which Allah had given to His Apostle as Fai (i.e. booty gained without fighting), Ali and Abbas started reproaching each other. The (present) people (i.e. Uthman and his companions) said, "O chief of the believers! Give your verdict in their case and relieve each from) the other." Umar said, "Wait I beseech you, by Allah, by Whose Permission both the heaven and the earth stand fast! Do you know that Allah's Apostle said, 'We (Prophets) our properties are not to be inherited, and whatever we leave, is to be spent in charity,' and he said it about himself?" They (i.e. Uthman and his company) said, "He did say it. "Umar then turned towards Ali and Abbas and said, "I beseech you both, by Allah! Do you know that Allah's Apostle said this?" They replied in the affirmative. He said, "Now I am talking to you about this matter. Allah the Glorified favored His Apostle with something of this Fai (i.e. booty won without fighting) which He did not give to anybody else. Allah said:-- "And what Allah gave to His Apostle ("Fai"" Booty) from them--For which you made no expedition With either Calvary or camelry. But Allah gives power to His Apostles Over whomsoever He will And Allah is able to do all things." (59.6)

So this property was especially granted to Allah's Apostle . But by Allah, the Prophet neither took it all for himself only, nor deprived you of it, but he gave it to all of you and distributed it amongst you till only this remained out of it. And from this Allah's Apostle used to spend the yearly maintenance for his family, and whatever used to remain, he used to spend it where Allah's Property is spent (i.e. in charity), Allah's Apostle kept on acting like that during all his life, Then he died, and Abu Bakr said, 'I am the successor of Allah's Apostle.' So he (i.e. Abu Bakr) took charge of this property and disposed of it in the same manner as Allah's Apostle used to do, and all of you (at that time) knew all about it." Then Umar turned towards Ali and Abbas and said, "You both remember that Abu Bakr disposed of it in the way you have described and Allah knows that, in that matter, he was sincere, pious, rightly guided and the follower of the right. Then Allah caused Abu Bakr to die and I said, 'I am the successor of Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr.' So I kept this property in my possession for the first two years of my rule (i.e. Caliphate and I used to dispose of it in the same wa as Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr used to do; and Allah knows that I have been sincere, pious, rightly guided an the follower of the right (in this matte Later on both of you (i.e. Ali and Abbas) came to me, and the claim of you both was one and the same, O Abbas! You also came to me. So I told you both that Allah's Apostle said, "Our property is not inherited, but whatever we leave is to be given in charity.' Then when I thought that I should better hand over this property to you both or the condition that you will promise and pledge before Allah that you will dispose it off in the same way as Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr did and as I have done since the beginning of my caliphate or else you should not speak to me (about it).' So, both of you said to me, 'Hand it over to us on this condition.' And on this condition I handed it over to you. Do you want me now to give a decision other than that (decision)? By Allah, with Whose Permission both the sky and the earth stand fast, I will never give any decision other than that (decision) till the Last Hour is established. But if you are unable to manage it (i.e. that property), then return it to me, and I will manage on your behalf." The sub-narrator said, "I told Urwa bin Az-Zubair of this Hadith and he said, 'Malik bin Aus has told the truth" I heard Aisha, the wife of the Prophet saying, 'The wives of the Prophet sent Uthman to Abu Bakr demanding from him their 1/8 of the Fai which Allah had granted to his Apostle. But I used to oppose them and say to them: Will you not fear Allah? Don't you know that the Prophet used to say: Our property is not inherited, but whatever we leave is to be given in charity? The Prophet mentioned that regarding himself. He added: 'The family of Mohammed can take their sustenance from this property. So the wives of the Prophet stopped demanding it when I told them of that.' So, this property (of Sadaqa) was in the hands of Ali who withheld it from Abbas and overpowered him. Then it came in the hands of Hasan bin Ali, then in the hands of Husain bin Ali, and then in the hands of Ali bin Husain and Hasan bin Hasan, and each of the last two used to manage it in turn, then it came in the hands of Zaid bin Hasan, and it was truly the Sadaqa of Allah's Apostle ."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 375:

Narrated Al-Bara:

We faced the pagans on that day (of the battle of Uhud) and the Prophet placed a batch of archers (at a special place) and appointed Abdullah (bin Jubair) as their commander and said, "Do not leave this place; and if you should see us conquering the enemy, do not leave this place, and if you should see them conquering us, do not (come to) help us," So, when we faced the enemy, they took to their heel till I saw their women running towards the mountain, lifting up their clothes from their legs, revealing their leg-bangles. The Muslims started saying, "The booty, the booty!" Abdullah bin Jubair said, "The Prophet had taken a firm promise from me not to leave this place." But his companions refused (to stay). So when they refused (to stay there), (Allah) confused them so that they could not know where to go, and they suffered seventy casualties. Abu Sufyan ascended a high place and said, "Is Mohammed present amongst the people?" The Prophet said, "Do not answer him." Abu Sufyan said, "Is the son of Abu Quhafa present among the people?" The Prophet said, "Do not answer him." Abd Sufyan said, "Is the son of Al-Khattab amongst the people?" He then added, "All these people have been killed, for, were they alive, they would have replied." On that, Umar could not help saying, "You are a liar, O enemy of Allah! Allah has kept what will make you unhappy." Abu Safyan said, "Superior may be Hubal!" On that the Prophet said (to his companions), "Reply to him." They asked, "What may we say?" He said, "Say: Allah is More Elevated and More Majestic!" Abu Sufyan said, "We have (the idol) Al-'Uzza, whereas you have no 'Uzza!" The Prophet said (to his companions), "Reply to him." They said, "What may we say?" The Prophet said, "Say: Allah is our Helper and you have no helper." Abu Sufyan said, "(This) day compensates for our loss at Badr and (in) the battle (the victory) is always undecided and shared in turns by the belligerents. You will see some of your dead men mutilated, but neither did I urge this action, nor am I sorry for it." Narrated Jabir: Some people took wine in the morning of the day of Uhud and were then killed as martyrs.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 395:

Narrated Uthman bin Mauhab:

A man came to perform the Hajj to (Allah's) House. Seeing some people sitting, he said, "Who are these sitting people?" Somebody said, "They are the people of Quraish." He said, "Who is the old man?" They said, "Ibn Umar." He went to him and said, "I want to ask you about something; will you tell me about it? I ask you with the respect due to the sanctity of this (Sacred) House, do you know that Uthman bin Affan fled on the day of Uhud?" Ibn Umar said, "Yes." He said, "Do you know that he (i.e. Uthman) was absent from the Badr (battle) and did not join it?" Ibn Umar said, "Yes." He said, "Do you know that he failed to be present at the Ridwan Pledge of allegiance (i.e. Pledge of allegiance at Hudaibiya) and did not witness it?" Ibn Umar replied, "Yes," He then said, "Allahu-Akbar!" Ibn Umar said, "Come along; I will inform you and explain to you what you have asked. As for the flight (of Uthman) on the day of Uhud, I testify that Allah forgave him. As regards his absence from the Badr (battle), he was married to the daughter of Allah's Apostle and she was ill, so the Prophet said to him, 'You will have such reward as a man who has fought the Badr battle will get, and will also have the same share of the booty.' As for his absence from the Ridwan Pledge of allegiance if there had been anybody more respected by the Meccans than Uthman bin Affan, the Prophet would surely have sent that man instead of Uthman. So the Prophet sent him (i.e. Uthman to Mecca) and the Ridwan Pledge of allegiance took place after Uthman had gone to Mecca. The Prophet raised his right hand saying. 'This is the hand of Uthman,' and clapped it over his other hand and said, "This is for Uthman.'" Ibn Umar then said (to the man), "Go now, after taking this information."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 538:

Narrated Jubair bin Mutim:

Uthman bin Affan and I went to the Prophet and said, "You had given Banu Al-Muttalib from the Khumus of Khaibar's booty and left us in spite of the fact that we and Banu Al-Muttalib are similarly related to you." The Prophet said, "Banu Hashim and Banu Al-Muttalib only are one and the same." So the Prophet did not give anything to Banu Abd Shams and Banu Nawfal.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 540:

Narrated Abu Musa:

We came upon the Prophet after he had conquered Khaibar. He then gave us a share (from the booty), but apart from us he did not give to anybody else who did not attend the Conquest.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 541:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

When we conquered Khaibar, we gained neither gold nor silver as booty, but we gained cows, camels, goods and gardens. Then we departed with Allah's Apostle to the valley of Al-Qira, and at that time Allah's Apostle had a slave called Mid'am who had been presented to him by one of Banu Ad-Dibbab. While the slave was dismounting the saddle of Allah's Apostle an arrow the thrower of which was unknown, came and hit him. The people said, "Congratulations to him for the martyrdom." Allah's Apostle said, "No, by Him in Whose Hand my soul is, the sheet (of cloth) which he had taken (illegally) on the day of Khaibar from the booty before the distribution of the booty, has become a flame of Fire burning him." On hearing that, a man brought one or two leather straps of shoes to the Prophet and said, "These are things I took (illegally)." On that Allah's Apostle said, "This is a strap, or these are two straps of Fire."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 544:

Narrated 'Anbasa bin Said:

Abu Huraira came to the Prophet and asked him (for a share from the Khaibar booty). On that, one of the sons of Said bin Al-As said to him, "O Allah's Apostle! Do not give him." Abu Huraira then said (to the Prophet) "This is the murderer of Ibn Qauqal." Sald's son said, "How strange! A guinea pig coming from Qadum Ad-Dan!"

Narrated Abu Huraira: Allah's Apostle sent Aban from Medina to Najd as the commander of a Sariya. Aban and his companions came to the Prophet at Khaibar after the Prophet had conquered it, and the reins of their horses were made of the fire of date palm trees. I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Do not give them a share of the booty." on, that, Aban said (to me), "Strange! You suggest such a thing though you are what you are, O guinea pig coming down from the top of Ad-Dal (a lotus tree)! "On that the Prophet said, "O Aban, sit down ! " and did not give them any share.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 546:

Narrated Aisha:

Fatima the daughter of the Prophet sent someone to Abu Bakr (when he was a caliph), asking for her inheritance of what Allah's Apostle had left of the property bestowed on him by Allah from the Fai (i.e. booty gained without fighting) in Medina, and Fadak, and what remained of the Khumus of the Khaibar booty. On that, Abu Bakr said, "Allah's Apostle said, "Our property is not inherited. Whatever we leave, is Sadaqa, but the family of (the Prophet) Mohammed can eat of this property.' By Allah, I will not make any change in the state of the Sadaqa of Allah's Apostle and will leave it as it was during the lifetime of Allah's Apostle, and will dispose of it as Allah's Apostle used to do." So Abu Bakr refused to give anything of that to Fatima. So she became angry with Abu Bakr and kept away from him, and did not task to him till she died. She remained alive for six months after the death of the Prophet. When she died, her husband Ali, buried her at night without informing Abu Bakr and he said the funeral prayer by himself. When Fatima was alive, the people used to respect Ali much, but after her death, Ali noticed a change in the people's attitude towards him. So Ali sought reconciliation with Abu Bakr and gave him an oath of allegiance. Ali had not given the oath of allegiance during those months (i.e. the period between the Prophet's death and Fatima's death). Ali sent someone to Abu Bakr saying, "Come to us, but let nobody come with you," as he disliked that Umar should come, Umar said (to Abu Bakr), "No, by Allah, you shall not enter upon them alone " Abu Bakr said, "What do you think they will do to me? By Allah, I will go to them' So Abu Bakr entered upon them, and then Ali uttered Tashah-hud and said (to Abu Bakr), "We know well your superiority and what Allah has given you, and we are not jealous of the good what Allah has bestowed upon you, but you did not consult us in the question of the rule and we thought that we have got a right in it because of our near relationship to Allah's Apostle ."

Thereupon Abu Bakr's eyes flowed with tears. And when Abu Bakr spoke, he said, "By Him in Whose Hand my soul is to keep good relations with the relatives of Allah's Apostle is dearer to me than to keep good relations with my own relatives. But as for the trouble which arose between me and you about his property, I will do my best to spend it according to what is good, and will not leave any rule or regulation which I saw Allah's Apostle following, in disposing of it, but I will follow." On that Ali said to Abu Bakr, "I promise to give you the oath of allegiance in this after noon." So when Abu Bakr had offered the Zuhr prayer, he ascended the pulpit and uttered the Tashah-hud and then mentioned the story of Ali and his failure to give the oath of allegiance, and excused him, accepting what excuses he had offered; Then Ali (got up) and praying (to Allah) for forgiveness, he uttered Tashah-hud, praised Abu Bakr's right, and said, that he had not done what he had done because of jealousy of Abu Bakr or as a protest of that Allah had favored him with. Ali added, "But we used to consider that we too

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had some right in this affair (of rulership) and that he (i.e. Abu Bakr) did not consult us in this matter, and therefore caused us to feel sorry." On that all the Muslims became happy and said, "You have done the right thing." The Muslims then became friendly with Ali as he returned to what the people had done (i.e. giving the oath of allegiance to Abu Bakr).

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 427:

Narrated Zahdam:

We were in the company of Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari and there were friendly relations between us and this tribe of Jarm. Abu Musa was presented with a dish containing chicken. Among the people there was sitting a red-faced man who did not come near the food. Abu Musa said (to him), "Come on (and eat), for I have seen Allah's Apostle eating of it (i.e. chicken)." He said, "I have seen it eating something (dirty) and since then I have disliked it, and have taken an oath that I shall not eat it ' Abu Musa said, "Come on, I will tell you (or narrate to you). Once I went to Allah s Apostle with a group of Al-Ash'ariyin, and met him while he was angry, distributing some camels of Rakat. We asked for mounts but he took an oath that he would not give us any mounts, and added, 'I have nothing to mount you on' In the meantime some camels of booty were brought to Allah's Apostle and he asked twice, 'Where are Al-Ash'ariyin?" So he gave us five white camels with big humps. We stayed for a short while (after we had covered a little distance), and then I said to my companions, "Allah's Apostle has forgotten his oath. By Allah, if we do not remind Allah's Apostle of his oath, we will never be successful." So we returned to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! We asked you for mounts, but you took an oath that you would not give us any mounts; we think that you have forgotten your oath.' He said, 'It is Allah Who has given you mounts. By Allah, and Allah willing, if I take an oath and later find something else better than that. then I do what is better and expiate my oath.' "

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 226:

Narrated Usama bin Zaid:

That Allah's Apostle rode over a donkey covered with a Fadakiya (velvet sheet) and Usama was riding behind him. He was visiting Sa'd bin Ubada (who was sick) in the dwelling place of Bani Al-Harith bin Al-Khazraj and this incident happened before the battle of Badr. They proceeded till they passed by a gathering in which Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul was present., and that was before Abdullah bin Ubat embraced Islam. In that gathering there were Muslims, pagan idolators and Jews, and among the Muslims there was Abdullah bin Rawaha.

When a cloud of dust raised by (the movement of) the animal covered that gathering, Abdullah bin Ubai covered his nose with his garment and said, "Do not cover us with dust." Allah's Apostle greeted them, stopped, dismounted and invited them to Allah (i.e. to embrace Islam) and recited to them the Holy Koran. On that Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul said to him, "O man! There is nothing better than what you say, if it is the truth. So do not trouble us with it in our gatherings, but if somebody comes to you, you can preach to him." On that Abdullah bin Rawaha said "Yes, O Allah's Apostle! Call on us in our gathering, for we love that." So the Muslims, the pagans and the Jews started abusing one another till they were about to fight with one another. Allah's Apostle kept on quietening them till all of them became quiet, and then Allah's Apostle rode his animal and proceeded till he entered upon Sa'd bin Ubada. Allah's Apostle said, "O Sa'd! Didn't you hear what Abu Habab said?" (meaning Abdullah bin Unbar). "He said so-and-so." Sa'd bin Ubada said, "O Allah's Apostle! Let my father be sacrificed for you ! Excuse and forgive him for, by Him Who revealed to you the Book, Allah sent the Truth which was revealed to you at the time when the people of this town had decided to crown him (Abdullah bin Ubai) as their ruler.

So when Allah had prevented that with the Truth He had given you, he was choked by that, and that caused him to behave in such an impolite manner which you had noticed." So Allah's Apostle excused him. (It was the custom of) Allah's Apostle and his companions to excuse the pagans and the people of the scripture (Christians and Jews) as Allah ordered them, and they used to be patient when annoyed (by them). Allah said: 'You shall certainly hear much that will grieve you from those who received the Scripture before you.....and from the pagans (3.186)

He also said: 'Many of the people of the scripture wish that if they could turn you away as disbelievers after you have believed. .... (2.109) So Allah's Apostle used to apply what Allah had ordered him by excusing them till he was allowed to fight against them. When Allah's Apostle had fought the battle of Badr and Allah killed whomever He killed among the chiefs of the infidels and the nobles of Quraish, and Allah's Apostle and his companions had returned with victory and booty, bringing with them some of the chiefs of the infidels and the nobles of the Quraish as captives. Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul and the pagan idolators who were with him, said, "This matter (Islam) has now brought out its face (triumphed), so give Allah's Apostle the pledge of allegiance (for embracing Islam.)". Then they became Muslims.

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 348:

Narrated Abdullah:

The Prophet divided something (among the Muslims) and distributed the shares (of the booty). A man said, "This division has not been made to please Allah." When I informed the Prophet about it, he became so furious that I noticed the signs of anger on his face and he then said, "May Allah bestow His Mercy on Moses, for he was hurt with more than this, yet he remained patient."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 374:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

The Prophet said to Abu Talha, "Choose one of your boys to serve me." So Abu Talha took me (to serve the Prophet) by giving me a ride behind him (on his camel). So I used to serve Allah's Apostle whenever he stayed somewhere.

I used to hear him saying, "O Allah! I seek refuge with you (Allah) from (worries) care and grief, from incapacity and laziness, from miserliness and cowardice, from being heavily in debt and from being overpowered by other men." I kept on serving him till he returned from (the battle of) Khaibar. He then brought Safiya, the daughter of Huyay whom he had got (from the booty). I saw him making a kind of cushion with a cloak or a garment for her. He then let her ride behind him. When we reached a place called As-Sahba', he prepared (a special meal called) Hais, and asked me to invite the men who (came and) ate, and that was the marriage banquet given on the consummation of his marriage to her. Then he proceeded till the mountain of Uhud appeared, whereupon he said, "This mountain loves us and we love it." When he approached Medina, he said, "O Allah! I make the land between its (i.e., Medina's) two mountains a sanctuary, as the prophet Abraham made Mecca a sanctuary. O Allah! Bless them (the people of Medina) in their Mudd and the Sa' (units of measuring)."

Volume 8, Book 79, Number 712:

Narrated Zahdam al-Jarmi:

We were sitting with Abu Musa Al-Ash'sari, and as there were ties of friendship and mutual favors between us and his tribe. His meal was presented before him and there was chicken meat in it. Among those who were present there was a man from Bani Taimillah having a red complexion as a non-Arab freed slave, and that man did not approach the meal. Abu Musa said to him, "Come along! I have seen Allah's Apostle eating of that (i.e., chicken)." The man said, "I have seen it (chickens) eating something I regarded as dirty, and so I have taken an oath that I shall not eat (its meat) chicken." Abu Musa said, "Come along! I will inform you about it (i.e., your oath).

Once we went to Allah's Apostle in company with a group of Ash'airiyin, asking him for mounts while he was distributing some camels from the camels of Zakat. (Aiyub said, "I think he said that the Prophet was in an angry mood at the time.") The Prophet said, 'By Allah! I will not give you mounts, and I have nothing to mount you on.' After we had left, some camels of booty were brought to Allah's Apostle and he said, "Where are those Ash'ariyin? Where are those Ash'ariyin?" So we went (to him) and he gave us five very fat good-looking camels. We mounted them and went away, and then I said to my companions, 'We went to Allah's Apostle to give us mounts, but he took an oath that he would not give us mounts, and then later on he sent for us and gave us mounts, perhaps Allah's Apostle forgot his oath. By Allah, we will never be successful, for we have taken advantage of the fact that Allah's Apostle forgot to fulfill his oath. So let us return to Allah's Apostle to remind him of his oath.' We returned and said, 'O Allah's Apostle! We came to you and asked you for mounts, but you took an oath that you would not give us mounts) but later on you gave us mounts, and we thought or considered that you have forgotten your oath.' The Prophet said, 'Depart, for Allah has given you Mounts. By Allah, Allah willing, if I take an oath and then later find another thing better than that, I do what is better, and make expiation for the oath.' "

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 408:

Narrated Malik bin Aus An-Nasri:

I proceeded till I entered upon Umar (and while I was sitting there), his gate-keeper Yarfa came to him and said, " Uthman, Abdur-Rahman, Az-Zubair and Sa'd ask your permission to come in." Umar allowed them. So they entered, greeted, and sat down. (After a while the gatekeeper came) and said, "Shall I admit Ali and Abbas?" Umar allowed them to enter. Al-Abbas said "O Chief of the believers! Judge between me and the oppressor (Ali)." Then there was a dispute (regarding the property of Bani Nadir) between them (Abbas and Ali). Uthman and his companions said, "O Chief of the Believers! Judge between them and relieve one from the other." Umar said, "Be patient! beseech you by Allah, with Whose permission the Heaven and the Earth Exist! Do you know that Allah's Apostle said, 'Our property is not to be inherited, and whatever we leave is to be given in charity,' and by this Allah's Apostle meant himself?" On that the group said, "He verily said so." Umar then faced Ali and Abbas and said, "I beseech you both by Allah, do you both know that Allah's Apostle said so?" They both replied, "Yes". Umar then said, "Now I am talking to you about this matter (in detail) . Allah favored Allah's Apostle with some of this wealth which He did not give to anybody else, as Allah said: 'What Allah bestowed as Fai (Booty on His Apostle for which you made no expedition... ' (59.6)

So that property was totally meant for Allah's Apostle, yet he did not collect it and ignore you, nor did he withhold it with your exclusion, but he gave it to you and distributed it among you till this much of it was left behind, and the Prophet, used to spend of this as the yearly expenditures of his family and then take what remained of it and spent it as he did with (other) Allah's wealth. The Prophet did so during all his lifetime, and I beseech you by Allah, do you know that?" They replied, "Yes." Umar then addressed Ali and Abbas, saying, "I beseech you both by Allah, do you know that?" Both of them replied, "Yes." Umar added, "Then Allah took His Apostle unto Him. Abu Bakr then said 'I am the successor of Allah's Apostle' and took over all the Prophet's property and disposed of it in the same way as Allah's Apostle used to do, and you were present then." Then he turned to Ali and Abbas and said, "You both claim that Abu Bakr did so-and-so in managing the property, but Allah knows that Abu Bakr was honest, righteous, intelligent, and a follower of what is right in managing it.

Then Allah took Abu Bakr unto Him, 'I said: I am the successor of Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr.' So I took over the property for two years and managed it in the same way as Allah's Apostle, and Abu Bakr used to do. Then you both (Ali and Abbas) came to me and asked for the same thing! (O Abbas! You came to me to ask me for your share from nephew's property; and this (Ali) came to me asking for his wives share from her father's property, and I said to you both, 'If you wish, I will place it in your custody on condition that you both will manage it in the same way as Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr did and as I have been doing since I took charge of managing it; otherwise, do not speak to me anymore about it.'

Then you both said, 'Give it to us on that (condition).' So I gave it to you on that condition. Now I beseech you by Allah, did I not give it to them on that condition?" The group (whom he had been addressing) replied, "Yes." Umar then addressed Abbas and Ali saying, "I beseech you both by Allah, didn't I give you all that property on that condition?" They said, "Yes." Umar then said, "Are you now seeking a verdict from me other than that? By Him with Whose Permission the Heaven and the Earth exists I will not give any verdict other than that till the Hour is established; and if you both are unable to manage this property, then you can hand it back to me, and I will be sufficient for it on your behalf." (See, Hadith No. 326, Vol. 4)

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 17:

who took part in the battle of Badr and was a Naqib (a person heading a group of six persons), on the night of Al-Aqaba pledge: Allah's Apostle said while a group of his companions were around him, "Swear allegiance to me for:

1. Not to join anything in worship along with Allah.
2. Not to steal.
3. Not to commit illegal sexual intercourse.
4. Not to kill your children.
5. Not to accuse an innocent person (to spread such an accusation among people).
6. Not to be disobedient (when ordered) to do good deed."

The Prophet added: "Whoever among you fulfills his pledge will be rewarded by Allah. And whoever indulges in any one of them (except the ascription of partners to Allah) and gets the punishment in this world, that punishment will be an expiation for that sin. And if one indulges in any of them, and Allah conceals his sin, it is up to Him to forgive or punish him (in the Hereafter)." Ubada bin As-Samit added: "So we swore allegiance for these." (points to Allah's Apostle)

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 452:

Narrated Aisha: On the day of Al-Khandaq (battle of the Trench' the medial arm vein of Sa'd bin Mu'ad was injured and the Prophet pitched a tent in the mosque to look after him. There was another tent for Banu Ghaffar in the mosque and the blood started flowing from Sa'd's tent to the tent of Bani Ghaffar. They shouted, "O occupants of the tent! What is coming from you to us?" They found that Sa'd' wound was bleeding profusely and Sa'd died in his tent.

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 499:

Narrated Amr bin Maimuin: Abdullah bin Musud said, "While Allah's Apostle was praying beside the Ka'ba, there were some Quraish people sitting in a gathering. One of them said, 'Don't you see this (who does deeds just to show off)? Who amongst you can go and bring the dung, blood and the abdominal contents (intestines, etc). of the slaughtered camels of the family of so and so and then wait till he prostrates and put that in between his shoulders?' The most unfortunate amongst them (Uqba bin Abi Mu'ait) went (and brought them) and when Allah's Apostle prostrated, he put them between his shoulders. The Prophet remained in prostration and they laughed so much so that they fell on each other. A passerby went to Fatima, who was a young girl in those days. She came running and the Prophet was still in prostration.

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She removed them and cursed upon the Quraish on their faces. When Allah's Apostle completed his prayer, he said, 'O Allah! Take revenge on Quraish.' He said so thrice and added, 'O Allah! take revenge on Amr bin Hisham, Utba bin Rabia, Shaiba bin Rabi'a, Al-Walid binUtba, Umaiya bin Khalaf, Uqba bin Abi Mu'ait and Umar a bin Al-Walid." Abdullah added, "By Allah! I saw all of them dead in the battle field on the day of Badr and they were dragged and thrown in the Qalib (a well) at Badr: Allah's Apostle then said, 'Allah's curse has descended upon the people of the Qalib (well).

Translation of Sahih Bukhari, Book 10:

Times of the Prayers

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 528:

Narrated Abu Al-Mahh: We were with Buraida in a battle on a cloudy day and he said, "Offer the Asr prayer early as the Prophet said, "Whoever leaves the Asr prayer, all his (good) deeds will be annulled."

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 570:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah: On the day of Al-Khandaq (the battle of trench.) Umar bin Al-Khattab came cursing the disbelievers of Quraish after the sun had set and said, "O Allah's Apostle I could not offer the Asr prayer till the sun had set." The Prophet said, "By Allah! I, too, have not prayed." So we turned towards Buthan, and the Prophet performed ablution and we too performed ablution and offered the Asr prayer after the sun had set, and then he offered the Maghrib prayer.

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 572:

Narrated Jabir: Umar came cursing the disbelievers (of Quraish) on the day of Al-Khandaq (the battle of Trench) and said, "I could not offer the Asr prayer till the sun had set. Then we went to Buthan and he offered the (Asr) prayer after sunset and then he offered the Maghrib prayer.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 812:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

During the holy battle of Khaibar the Prophet said, "Whoever ate from this plant (i.e. garlic) should not enter our mosque."

Volume 2, Book 14, Number 64:

Narrated Shu'aib:

I asked Az-Zuhri, "Did the Prophet ever offer the Fear Prayer?" Az-Zuhri said, "I was told by Salim that Abdullah bin Umar I had said, 'I took part in a holy battle with Allah's Apostle I in Najd. We faced the enemy and arranged ourselves in rows. Then Allah's Apostle stood up to lead the prayer and one party stood to pray with him while the other faced the enemy. Allah's Apostle and the former party bowed and performed two prostrations. Then that party left and took the place of those who had not prayed. Allah's Apostle prayed one Raka (with the latter) and performed two prostrations and finished his prayer with Taslim. Then everyone of them bowed once and performed two prostrations individually.' "

Volume 2, Book 14, Number 65:

Narrated Nafi:

Ibn Umar said something similar to Mujahid's saying: Whenever (Muslims and non-Muslims) stand face to face in battle, the Muslims can pray while standing. Ibn Umar added, "The Prophet said, 'If the number of the enemy is greater than the Muslims, they can pray while standing or riding (individually).' "

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 96:

Narrated Aiyub:

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

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 121:

Narrated Masruq:

We were with Abdullah and he said, "When the Prophet saw the refusal of the people to accept Islam he said, "O Allah! Send (famine) years on them for (seven years) like the seven years (of famine during the time) of (Prophet) Joseph." So famine overtook them for one year and destroyed every kind of life to such an extent that the people started eating hides, carcasses and rotten dead animals. Whenever one of them looked towards the sky, he would (imagine himself to) see smoke because of hunger. So Abu Sufyan went to the Prophet and said, "O Mohammed! You order people to obey Allah and to keep good relations with kith and kin. No doubt the people of your tribe are dying, so please pray to Allah for them." So Allah revealed: "Then watch you For the day that The sky will bring forth a kind Of smoke Plainly visible ... Verily! You will return (to disbelief) On the day when We shall seize You with a mighty grasp. (44.10-16) Ibn Masud added, "Al-Batsha (i.e. grasp) happened in the battle of Badr and no doubt smoke, Al-Batsha, Al-Lizam, and the verse of Surat Ar-Rum have all passed .

Volume 2, Book 17, Number 133:

Narrated Masruq:

One day I went to Ibn Masud who said, "When Quraish delayed in embracing Islam, the Prophet I invoked Allah to curse them, so they were afflicted with a (famine) year because of which many of them died and they ate the carcasses and Abu Sufyan came to the Prophet and said, 'O Mohammed! You came to order people to keep good relation with kith and kin and your nation is being destroyed, so invoke Allah I ? So the Prophet I recited the Holy verses of Sirat-Ad-Dukhan: 'Then watch you For the day that The sky will Bring forth a kind Of smoke Plainly visible.' (44.10) When the famine was taken off, the people renegade once again as nonbelievers. The statement of Allah, (in Sura "Ad-Dukhan"-44) refers to that: 'On the day when We shall seize You with a mighty grasp.' (44.16) And that was what happened on the day of the battle of Badr." Asbath added on the authority of Mansur, "Allah's Apostle prayed for them and it rained heavily for seven days. So the people complained of the excessive rain. The Prophet said, 'O Allah! (Let it rain) around us and not on us.' So the clouds dispersed over his head and it rained over the surroundings."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 279:

Narrated Mahmud bin Ar-Rabi Al-Ansari,

that he remembered Allah's Apostle and he also remembered a mouthful of water which he had thrown on his face, after taking it from a well that was in their house. Mahmud said that he had heard Itban bin Malik, who was present with Allah's Apostle in the battle of Badr saying, "I used to lead my people at Bani Salim in the prayer and there was a valley between me and those people. Whenever it rained it used to be difficult for me to cross it to go to their mosque. So I went to Allah's Apostle and said, 'I have weak eye-sight and the valley between me and my people flows during the rainy season and it becomes difficult for me to cross it; I wish you would come to my house and pray at a place so that I could take that place as a praying place.' Allah's Apostle said, 'I will do so.' So Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr came to my house in the (next) morning after the sun had risen high. Allah's Apostle asked my permission to let him in and I admitted him. He did not sit before saying, 'Where do you want us to offer the prayer in your house?' I pointed to the place where I wanted him to pray. So Allah's Apostle stood up for the prayer and started the prayer with Takbir and we aligned in rows behind him; and he offered two Rakat, and finished them with Taslim, and we also performed Taslim with him. I detained him for a meal called "Khazir" which I had prepared for him.--("Khazir" is a special type of dish prepared from barley flour and meat soup)--

When the neighbors got the news that Allah's Apostle was in my house, they poured it till there were a great number of men in the house. One of them said, 'What is wrong with Malik, for I do not see him?' One of them replied, 'He is a hypocrite and does not love Allah and His Apostle.' On that Allah's Apostle said, 'Don't say this. Haven't you seen that he said, 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah for Allah's sake only.' The man replied, 'Allah and His Apostle know better; but by Allah, we never saw him but helping and talking with the hypocrites.' Allah's Apostle replied, 'No doubt, whoever says. None has the right to be worshipped but Allah, and by that he wants the pleasures of Allah, then Allah will save him from Hell." Mahmud added, "I told the above narration to some people, one of whom was Ab-u Aiyub, the companion of Allah's Apostle in the battle in which he (Ab-u Aiyub) died and Yazid bin Mu'aw7ya was their leader in Roman Territory. Abu Aiyub denounced the narration and said, 'I doubt that Allah's Apostle ever said what you have said.' I felt that too much, and I vowed to Allah that if I remained alive in that holy battle, I would (go to Medina and) ask Itban bin Malik if he was still living in the mosque of his people. So when he returned, I assumed Ihram for Hajj or Umra and then I proceeded on till I reached Medina. I went to Bani Salim and Itban bin Malik, who was by then an old blind man, was leading his people in the prayer. When he finished the prayer, I greeted him and introduced myself to him and then asked him about that narration. He told that narration again in the same manner as he had narrated it the first time."

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 281:

Narrated Quza'a:

I heard Abu Said saying four words. He said, "I heard the Prophet (saying the following narrative)." He had participated in twelve holy battles with the Prophet.

Narrated Abu Huraira: The Prophet said, "Do not set out on a journey except for three Mosques i.e. Al-Masjid-Al-Haram [the "forbidden Gathering place", i.e.: place where it is forbidden to fight], the Mosque of Allah's Apostle , and the Mosque of Al-Aqsa, (Mosque of Jerusalem)."

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 302:

Narrated Al-Azraq bin Qais:

We were at Al-Ahwaz fighting the AlHaruriya (tribe). While I was at the bank of a river a man was praying and the reins of his animal were in his hands and the animal was struggling and he was following the animal. (Shu'ba, a sub-narrator, said that man was Abu Barza al-Aslaml). A man from the Khawarij said, "O Allah! Be harsh to this sheik." And when the sheik (Abu Barza) finished his prayer, he said, "I heard your remark. No doubt, I participated with Allah's Apostle in six or seven or eight holy battles and saw his leniency, and no doubt, I would rather retain my animal than let it return to its stable, as it would cause me much trouble. "

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 366:

Narrated Khabbab:

We emigrated with the Prophet in Allah's cause, and so our reward was then surely incumbent on Allah. Some of us died and they did not take anything from their rewards in this world, and amongst them was Mustab bin Umar; and the others were those who got their rewards. Mustab bin Umar was martyred on the day of the Battle of Uhud and we could get nothing except his Burd to shroud him in. And when we covered his head his feet became bare and vice versa. So the Prophet ordered us to cover his head only and to put idhkhir (a kind of shrub) over his feet.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 381:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah :

On the day of the Battle of Uhud, my father was brought and he had been mayhemed and was placed in front of Allah's Apostle and a sheet was over him. I went intending to uncover my father but my people forbade me; again I wanted to uncover him but my people forbade me. Allah's Apostle gave his order and he was shifted away. At that time he heard the voice of a crying woman and asked, "Who is this?" They said, "It is the daughter or the sister of Amr." He said, "Why does she weep? (or let her stop weeping), for the angels had been shading him with their wings till he (i.e. the body of the martyr) was shifted away."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 430:

Narrated Jabir:

The Prophet said, "Bury them (i.e. martyrs) with their blood." (that was) On the day of the Battle of Uhud. He did not get them washed.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 434:

Narrated Jabir:

When the time of the Battle of Uhud approached, my father called me at night and said, "I think that I will be the first amongst the companions of the Prophet to be martyred. I do not leave anyone after me dearer to me than you, except Allah's Apostle's soul and I owe some debt and you should repay it and treat your sisters favorably (nicely and politely)." So in the morning he was the first to be martyred and was buried along with another (martyr). I did not like to leave him with the other (martyr) so I took him out of the grave after six months of his burial and he was in the same condition as he was on the day of burial, except a slight change near his ear.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 452:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

The Prophet looked at the people of the well (the well in which the bodies of the pagans killed in the Battle of Badr were thrown) and said, "Have you found true what your Lord promised you?" Somebody said to him, "You are addressing dead people." He replied, "You do not hear better than they but they cannot reply."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 559:

Narrated Abu Humaid As-SaIdi

We took part in the holy battle of Tabuk in the company of the Prophet and when we arrived at the Wadi-al-Qura, there was a woman in her garden. The Prophet asked his companions to estimate the amount of the fruits in the garden, and Allah's Apostle estimated it at ten Awsuq (One Wasaq = 60 Sa's) and 1 Sa'= 3 kg. approximately). The Prophet said to that lady, "Check what your garden will yield." When we reached Tabuk, the Prophet said, "There will be a strong wind to-night and so no one should stand and whoever has a camel, should fasten it." So we fastened our camels. A strong wind blew at night and a man stood up and he was blown away to a mountain called Taiy, The King of Aila sent a white mule and a sheet for wearing to the Prophet as a present, and wrote to the Prophet that his people would stay in their place (and will pay Jizya taxation.) (1) When the Prophet reached Wadi-al-Qura he asked that woman how much her garden had yielded. She said, "Ten Awsuq," and that was what Allah's Apostle had estimated. Then the Prophet said, "I want to reach Medina quickly, and whoever among you wants to

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accompany me, should hurry up." The sub-narrator Ibn Bakkar said something which meant: When the Prophet saw Medina he said, "This is Taba." And when he saw the mountain of Uhud, he said, "This mountain loves us and we love it. Shall I tell you of the best amongst the Ansar?" They replied in the affirmative. He said, "The family of Bani-n-Najjar, and then the family of Bani SaIda or Bani Al-Harith bin Al-Khazraj. (The above-mentioned are the best) but there is goodness in all the families of Ansar."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 703:

Narrated Nafi':

Abdullah bin Abdullah bin Umar and his riding animal entered the house of Ibn Umar. He (the son of Ibn Umar) said, "I fear that this year a battle might take place between the people and you might be prevented from going to the Ka'ba. I suggest that you should stay here." Ibn Umar said, "Once Allah's Apostle set out for the pilgrimage, and the pagans of Quraish intervened between him and the Ka'ba. So, if the people intervened between me and the Ka'ba, I would do the same as Allah's Apostle had done . . . "Verily, in Allah's Apostle you have a good example." Then he added, "I make you a witness that I have intended to perform Hajj along with Umra." After arriving at Mecca, Ibn Umar performed one Tawaf only (between Safa and Marwa).

Volume 3, Book 30, Number 108:

Narrated Zaid bin Thabit:

When the Prophet went out for (the battle of) Uhud, some of his companions (hypocrites) returned (home). A party of the believers remarked that they would kill those (hypocrites) who had returned, but another party said that they would not kill them. So, this Divine Inspiration was revealed: "Then what is the matter with you that you are divided into two parties concerning the hypocrites." (4.88) The Prophet said, "Medina expels the bad persons from it, as fire expels the impurities of iron."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 200:

Narrated Abdullah bin Amr bin Al-As:

The Prophet said to me, "You fast daily all the year and pray every night all the night?" I replied in the affirmative. The Prophet said, "If you keep on doing this, your eyes will become weak and your body will get tired. He who fasts all the year is as he who did not fast at all. The fasting of three days (a month) will be equal to the tasting of the whole year." I replied, "I have the power for more than this." The Prophet said, "Then fast like the fasting of David who used to fast on alternate days and would never flee from the battle field, on meeting the enemy.

Volume 3, Book 38, Number 498:

Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Auf:

I got an agreement written between me and Umaiya bin Khalaf that Umaiya would look after my property (or family) in Mecca and I would look after his in Medina. When I mentioned the word 'Ar-Rahman' in the documents, Umaiya said, "I do not know 'Ar-Rahman.' Write down to me your name, (with which you called yourself) in the Pre-lslamic Period of Ignorance." So, I wrote my name ' Abdu Amr'. On the day (of the battle) of Badr, when all the people went to sleep, I went up the hill to protect him. Bilal(1) saw him (i.e. Umaiya) and went to a gathering of Ansar and said, "(Here is) Umaiya bin Khalaf! Woe to me if he escapes!" So, a group of Ansar went out with Bilal to follow us (Abdur-Rahman and Umaiya). Being afraid that they would catch us, I left Umaiya's son for them to keep them busy but the Ansar killed the son and insisted on following us. Umaiya was a fat man, and when they approached us, I told him to kneel down, and he knelt, and I laid myself on him to protect him, but the Ansar killed him by passing their swords underneath me, and one of them injured my foot with his sword. (The sub narrator said, " Abdur-Rahman used to show us the trace of the wound on the back of his foot.")

Volume 3, Book 40, Number 559:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "Keeping horses may be a source of reward to some (man), a shelter to another (i.e. means of earning one's living), or a burden to a third. He to whom the horse will be a source of reward is the one who keeps it in Allah's Cause (prepare it for holy battles) and ties it by a long rope in a pasture (or a garden). He will get a reward equal to what its long rope allows it to eat in the pasture or the garden, and if that horse breaks its rope and crosses one or two hills, then all its foot-steps and its dung will be counted as good deeds for its owner; and if it passes by a river and drinks from it, then that will also be regarded as a good deed for its owner even if he has had no intention of watering it then. Horses are a shelter from poverty to the second person who keeps horses for earning his living so as not to ask others, and at the same time he gives Allah's right (i.e. Rakat) (from the wealth he earns through using them in trading etc.,) and does not overburden them. He who keeps horses just out of pride and for showing off and as a means of harming the Muslims, his horses will be a source of sins to him." When Allah's Apostle was asked about donkeys, he replied, "Nothing particular was revealed to me regarding

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 580:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

My father was martyred on the day (of the battle) of Uhud, and he was in debt. His creditors demanded their rights persistently. I went to the Prophet (and informed him about it). He told them to take the fruits of my garden and exempt my father from the debts but they refused to do so. So, the Prophet did not give them my garden and told me that he would come to me the next morning. He came to us early in the morning and wandered among the datepalms and invoked Allah to bless their fruits. I then plucked the dates and paid the creditors, and there remained some of the dates for us.

Volume 3, Book 42, Number 616:

Narrated Suwaid bin Ghafala:

While I as in the company of Salman bin Rabi'a and Suhan, in one of the holy battles, I found a whip. One of them told me to drop it but I refused to do so and said that I would give it to its owner if I found him, otherwise I would utilize it. On our return we performed Hajj and on passing by Medina, I asked Ubai bin Ka'b about it. He said, "I found a bag containing a hundred Dinars in the lifetime of the Prophet and took it to the Prophet who said to me, 'Make public announcement about it for one year.' So, I announced it for one year and went to the Prophet who said, 'Announce it publicly for another year.' So, I announced it for another year. I went to him again and he said, "Announce for an other year." So I announced for still another year. I went to the Prophet for the fourth time, and he said, 'Remember the amount of money, the description of its container and the string it is tied with, and if the owner comes, give it to him; otherwise, utilize it.' "

Volume 3, Book 44, Number 666:

Narrated Abu Musa:

The Prophet said, "When the people of Ash'ari tribe ran short of food during the holy battles, or the food of their families in Medina ran short, they would collect all their remaining food in one sheet and then distribute it among themselves equally by measuring it with a bowl. So, these people are from me, and I am from them."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 773:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

My father was martyred on the day (of the battle) of Uhud and his creditors demanded the debt back in a harsh manner. So I went to Allah's Apostle and informed him of that, he asked them to accept the fruits of my garden and excuse my father, but they refused. So, Allah's Apostle did not give them the fruits, nor did he cut them and distribute them among them, but said, "I will come to you tomorrow morning." So, he came to us the next morning and walked about in between the date-palms and invoked Allah to bless their fruits. I plucked the fruits and gave back all the rights of the creditors in full, and a lot of fruits were left for us. Then I went to Allah's Apostle, who was sitting, and informed him about what happened. Allah's Apostle told Umar, who was sitting there, to listen to the story. Umar said, "Don't we know that you are Allah's Apostle? By Allah! you are Allah's Apostle!"

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 829:

Narrated Aisha:

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

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

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

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

In the morning my parents were with me and I had wept for two nights and a day, till I thought my liver would burst from weeping. While they were sitting with me and I was weeping, an Ansari woman asked my permission to enter, and I allowed her to come in. She sat down and started weeping with me. While we were in this state, Allah's Apostle came and sat down and he had never sat with me since the day they forged the accusation. No revelation regarding my case came to him for a month. He recited Tashah-hud (i.e. None has the right to be worshipped but Allah and Mohammed is His Apostle) and then said, 'O Aisha! I have been informed such-and-such about you; if you are innocent, then Allah will soon reveal your innocence, and if you have committed a sin, then repent to Allah and ask Him to forgive you, for when a person confesses his sin and asks Allah for forgiveness, Allah accepts his repentance.' When Allah's Apostle finished his speech my tears ceased completely and there remained not even a single drop of it. I requested my father to reply to Allah's Apostle on my behalf. My father said, By Allah, I do not know what to say to Allah's Apostle.' I said to my mother, 'Talk to Allah's Apostle on my behalf.' She said, 'By Allah, I do not know what to say to Allah's Apostle.

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I was a young girl and did not have much knowledge of the Koran. I said. 'I know, by Allah, that you have listened to what people are saying and that has been planted in your minds and you have taken it as a truth. Now, if I told you that I am innocent and Allah knows that I am innocent, you would not believe me and if I confessed to you falsely that I am guilty, and Allah knows that I am innocent you would believe me. By Allah, I don't compare my situation with you except to the situation of Joseph's father (i.e. Jacob) who said, 'So (for me) patience is most fitting against that which you assert and it is Allah (Alone) whose help can be sought.' Then I turned to the other side of my bed hoping that Allah would prove my innocence. By Allah I never thought that Allah would reveal Divine Inspiration in my case, as I considered myself too inferior to be talked of in the Holy Koran. I had hoped that Allah's Apostle might have a dream in which Allah would prove my innocence. By Allah, Allah's Apostle had not got up and nobody had left the house before the Divine Inspiration came to Allah's Apostle. So, there overtook him the same state which used to overtake him, (when he used to have, on being inspired divinely). He was sweating so much so that the drops of the sweat were dropping like pearls though it was a (cold) wintry day. When that state of Allah's Apostle was over, he was smiling and the first word he said, Aisha! Thank Allah, for Allah has declared your innocence.' My mother told me to go to Allah's Apostle . I replied, 'By Allah I will not go to him and will not thank but Allah.' So Allah revealed: "Verily! They who spread the slander are a gang among you . . ." (24.11)

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

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

Allah's Apostle also asked Zainab bint Jahsh (i.e. the Prophet's wife about me saying, 'What do you know and what did you see?' She replied, 'O Allah's Apostle! I refrain to claim hearing or seeing what I have not heard or seen. By Allah, I know nothing except goodness about Aisha." Aisha further added "Zainab was competing with me (in her beauty and the Prophet's love), yet Allah protected her (from being malicious), for she had piety."

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 832:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

Allah's Apostle called me to present myself in front of him or the eve of the battle of Uhud, while I was fourteen years of age at that time, and he did not allow me to take part in that battle, but he called me in front of him on the eve of the battle of the Trench when I was fifteen years old, and he allowed me (to join the battle)." Nafi' said, "I went to Umar bin Abdul Aziz who was Caliph at that time and related the above narration to him, He said, "This age (fifteen) is the limit between childhood and manhood," and wrote to his governors to give salaries to those who reached the age of fifteen.

Volume 3, Book 49, Number 871:

Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair:

Az-Zubair told me that he quarrelled with an Ansari man who had participated in (the battle of) Badr in front of Allah's Apostle about a water stream which both of them used for irrigation. Allah's Apostle said to Az-Zubair, "O Zubair! Irrigate (your garden) first, and then let the water flow to your neighbor." The Ansari became angry and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Is it because he is your cousin?" On that the complexion of Allah's Apostle changed (because of anger) and said (to Az-Zubair), "I irrigate (your garden) and then withhold the water till it reaches the walls (surrounding the palms)." So, Allah's Apostle gave Az-Zubair his full right. Before that Allah's Apostle had given a generous judgment beneficial for Az-Zubair and the Ansari, but when the Ansan irritated Allah's Apostle he gave Az-Zubair his full right according to the evident law. Az-Zubair said, "By Allah ! I think the following Verse was revealed concerning that case: "But no by your Lord They can have No faith Until they make you judge In all disputes between them." (4.65)

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 28:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "Avoid the seven great destructive sins." The people enquire, "O Allah's Apostle! What are they? "He said, "To join others in worship along with Allah, to practice sorcery, to kill the life which Allah has forbidden except for a just cause, (according to Islamic law), to eat up Riba (usury), to eat up an orphan's wealth, to give back to the enemy and fleeing from the battlefield at the time of fighting, and to accuse, chaste women, who never even think of anything touching chastity and are good believers.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 58:

Narrated Jundab bin Sufyan:

In one of the holy Battles a finger of Allah's Apostle (got wounded and) bled. He said, "You are just a finger that bled, and what you got is in Allah's Cause."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 60:

Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:

That Abu Sufyan told him that Heraclius said to him, "I asked you about the outcome of your battles with him (i.e. the Prophet) and you told me that you fought each other with alternate success. So the Apostles are tested in this way but the ultimate victory is always theirs.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 61:

Narrated Anas:

My uncle Anas bin An-Nadr was absent from the Battle of Badr. He said, "O Allah's Apostle! I was absent from the first battle you fought against the pagans. (By Allah) if Allah gives me a chance to fight the pagans, no doubt. Allah will see how (bravely) I will fight." On the day of Uhud when the Muslims turned their backs and fled, he said, "O Allah! I apologize to You for what these (i.e. his companions) have done, and I denounce what these (i.e. the pagans) have done." Then he advanced and Sad bin Muadh met him. He said "O Sad bin Muadh ! By the Lord of An-Nadr, Paradise! I am smelling its aroma coming from before (the mountain of) Uhud," Later on Sad said, "O Allah's Apostle! I cannot achieve or do what he (i.e. Anas bin An-Nadr) did. We found more than eighty wounds by swords and arrows on his body. We found him dead and his body was mutilated so badly that none except his sister could recognize him by his fingers." We used to think that the following Verse was revealed concerning him and other men of his sort: "Among the believers are men who have been true to their covenant with Allah....." (33.23)

His sister Ar-Rubbaya' broke a front tooth of a woman and Allah's Apostle ordered for retaliation. On that Anas (bin An-Nadr) said, "O Allah's Apostle! By Him Who has sent you with the Truth, my sister's tooth shall not be broken." Then the opponents of Anas's sister accepted the compensation and gave up the claim of retaliation. So Allah's Apostle said, "There are some people amongst Allah's slaves whose oaths are fulfilled by Allah when they take them."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 68:

Narrated Aisha:

When Allah's Apostle returned on the day (of the battle) of Al-Khandaq (i.e. Trench), he put down his arms and took a bath. Then Gabriel whose head was covered with dust, came to him saying, "You have put down your arms! By Allah, I have not put down my arms yet." Allah's Apostle said, "Where (to go now)?" Gabriel said, "This way," pointing towards the tribe of Bani Quraiza. So Allah's Apostle went out towards them .

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 70:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

"Some people drank alcohol in the morning of the day (of the battle) of Uhud and were martyred (on the same day)." Sufyan was asked, "(Were they martyred) in the last part of the day?)" He replied, "Such information does not occur in the narration."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 78:

Narrated As-Sa'-ib bin Yazid:

I was in the company of Talha bin Ubaidullah, Sad, Al-Miqdad bin Al-Aswad and Abdur Rahman bin Auf and I heard none of them narrating anything from Allah's Apostle but Talha was talking about the day (of the battle) of Uhud.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 90:

Narrated Al-Bara:

On the day (of the battle) of Al-Ahzab (i.e. clans) I saw the Prophet carrying earth, and the earth was covering the whiteness of his abdomen. And he was saying, "Without You (O Allah!) we would have got no guidance, nor given in charity, nor prayed. So please bless us with tranquility and make firm our feet when we meet our enemies.

Indeed (these) people have rebelled against (oppressed) us but never shall we yield if they try to bring affliction upon us."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 98:

Narrated Ibn Aun:

Once Musa bin Anas while describing the battle of Yamama, said, "Anas bin Malik went to Thabit bin Qais, who had lifted his clothes from his thighs and was applying Hunut to his body. Anas asked, 'O Uncle! What is holding you back (from the battle)?' He replied, 'O my nephew! I am coming just now,' and went on perfuming himself with Hunut, then he came and sat (in the row). Anas then mentioned that the people fled from the battle-field. On that Thabit said, 'Clear the way for me to fight the enemy. We would never do so (i.e. flee) in the company of Allah's Apostle. How bad the habits you have acquired from your enemies!"

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 99:

Narrated Jabir:

The Prophet said, "Who will bring me the information about the enemy on the day (of the battle) of Al-Ahzab (i.e. Clans)?" Az-Zubair said, "I will." The Prophet said again, "Who will bring me the information about the enemy?" Az-Zubair said again, "I will." The Prophet said, "Every prophet had a disciple and my disciple is Az-Zubair. "

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 126:

Narrated Al-Bara:

that a man asked him. "O Abu Umara! Did you flee on the day (of the battle) of Hunain?" He replied, "No, by Allah, the Prophet did not flee but the hasty people fled and the people of the Tribe of Hawazin attacked them with arrows, while the Prophet was riding his white mule and Abu Sufyan bin Al-Harith was holding its reins, and the Prophet was saying, 'I am the Prophet in truth, I am the son of Abdul Muttalib.' "

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 131:

Narrated Anas:

On the day (of the battle) of Uhad when (some) people retreated and left the Prophet, I saw Aisha bint Abu Bakr and Um Sulaim, with their robes tucked up so that the bangles around their ankles were visible hurrying with their water skins (in another narration it is said, "carrying the water skins on their backs"). Then they would pour the water in the mouths of the people, and return to fill the water skins again and came back again to pour water in the mouths of the people.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 133:

Narrated Ar-Rubayyi 'bint Mu'auwidh:

We were in the company of the Prophet providing the wounded with water and treating them and bringing the killed to Medina (from the battle field) .

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 134:

Narrated Ar-Rabibint Mu'auwidh:

We used to take part in holy battles with the Prophet by providing the people with water and serving them and bringing the killed and the wounded back to Medina.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 149:

Narrated Abu Usaid:

On the day (of the battle) of Badr when we stood in rows against (the army of) Quraish and they stood in rows against us, the Prophet said, "When they do come near you, throw arrows at them."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 158:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

That he proceeded in the company of Allah's Apostle towards Najd to participate in a Ghazwa. (Holy-battle) When Allah's Apostle returned, he too returned with him. Midday came upon them while they were in a valley having many thorny trees. Allah's Apostle and the people dismounted and dispersed to rest in the shade of the trees. Allah's Apostle rested under a tree and hung his sword on it. We all took a nap and suddenly we heard Allah's Apostle calling us. (We woke up) to see a bedouin with him. The Prophet said, "This bedouin took out my sword while I was sleeping and when I woke up, I found the unsheathed sword in his hand and he challenged me saying, 'Who will save you from me?' I said thrice, 'Allah.' The Prophet did not punish him but sat down.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 159:

Narrated Sahl:

That he was asked about the wound of the Prophet on the day (of the battle) of Uhud. He said, "The face of the Prophet as wounded and one of his front teeth as broken and the helmet over his head was smashed. Fatima washed of the blood while Ali held water. When she saw that bleeding was increasing continuously, she burnt a mat (of date-palm leaves) till it turned into ashes which she put over the wound and thus the bleeding ceased."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 162:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

That he participated in a Ghazwa (Holy-Battle) in the company of Allah's Apostle. Midday came upon them while they were in a valley having many thorny trees. The people dispersed to rest in the shade of the trees. The Prophet rested under a tree, hung his sword on it, and then slept. Then he woke up to find near to him, a man whose presence he had not noticed before. The Prophet said, "This (man) took my sword (out of its scabbard) and said, 'Who will save you from me.' I replied, 'Allah.' So, he put the sword back into its scabbard, and you see him sitting here." Anyhow, the Prophet did not punish him. (See Hadith No. 158)

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 164:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

The Prophet , while in a tent (on the day of the battle of Badr) said, "O Allah! I ask you the fulfillment of Your Covenant and Promise. O Allah! If You wish (to destroy the believers) You will never be worshipped after today." Abu Bakr caught him by the hand and said, "This is sufficient, O Allah's Apostle! You have asked Allah pressingly." The Prophet was clad in his armor at that time. He went out, saying to me: "There multitude will be put to flight and they will show their backs. Nay, but the Hour is their appointed time (for their full recompense) and that Hour will be more grievous and more bitter (than their worldly failure)." (54.45-46) Khalid said that was on the day of the battle of Badr.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 170:

Narrated Anas:

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Abdur Rahman bin Auf and Az-Zubair complained to the Prophet, i.e. about the lice (that caused itching) so he allowed them to wear silken clothes. I saw them wearing such clothes in a holy battle.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 181:

Narrated Abu Ishaq:

A man asked Al-Bara', "O Abu Umara! Did you all flee on the day (of the battle) of Hunain?" He replied, "No, by Allah! Allah's Apostle did not flee, but his young unarmed companions passed by the archers of the tribe of Hawazin and Bani Nasr whose arrows hardly missed a target, and they threw arrows at them hardly missing a shot. So the Muslims retreated towards the Prophet while he was riding his white mule which was being led by his cousin Abu Sufyan bin Al-Harith bin Abdul Muttalib. The Prophet dismounted and invoked Allah for victory; then he said, 'I am the Prophet, without a lie; I am the son of Abdul Muttalib, and then he arranged his companions in rows."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 182:

Narrated Ali:

When it was the day of the battle of Al-Ahzab (i.e. the clans), Allah's Apostle said, "O Allah! Fill their (i.e. the infidels') houses and graves with fire as they busied us so much that we did not perform the prayer (i.e. Asr) till the sun set."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 184:

Narrated Abdullah bin Abi Aufa:

Allah's Apostle invoked evil upon the pagans on the ay (of the battle) of Al-Ahzab, saying, "O Allah! The Revealer of the Holy Book, the Swift-Taker of Accounts, O Allah, defeat Al-Ahzab (i.e. the clans), O Allah, defeat them and shake them."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 192:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad:

That he heard the Prophet on the day (of the battle) of Khaibar saying, "I will give the flag to a person at whose hands Allah will grant victory." So, the companions of the Prophet got up, wishing eagerly to see to whom the flag will be given, and everyone of them wished to be given the flag. But the Prophet asked for Ali. Someone informed him that he was suffering from eye-trouble. So, he ordered them to bring Ali in front of him. Then the Prophet spat in his eyes and his eyes were cured immediately as if he had never any eye-trouble. Ali said, "We will fight with them (i.e. infidels) till they become like us (i.e. Muslims)." The Prophet said, "Be patient, till you face them and invite them to Islam and inform them of what Allah has enjoined upon them. By Allah! If a single person embraces Islam at your hands (i.e. through you), that will be better for you than the red camels."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 206:

Narrated Abdullah bin Zaid:

that in the time (of the battle) of Al-Harra a person came to him and said, "Ibn Hanzala is taking the pledge of allegiance from the people for death." He said, "I will never give a pledge of allegiance for such a thing to anyone after Allah's Apostle."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 210:

Narrated Salim Abu An-Nadr:

The freed slave of Umar bin Ubaidullah who was Umar's clerk: Abdullah bin Abi Aufa wrote him (i.e. Umar) a letter that contained the following:--

"Once Allah's Apostle (during a holy battle), waited till the sun had declined and then he got up among the people and said, "O people! Do not wish to face the enemy (in a battle) and ask Allah to save you (from calamities) but if you should face the enemy, then be patient and let it be known to you that Paradise is under the shades of swords." He then said,, "O Allah! The Revealer of the (Holy) Book, the Mover of the clouds, and Defeater of Al-Ahzab (i.e. the clans of infidels), defeat them infidels and bestow victory upon us."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 219c:

Narrated Salama bin Al-Akwa:

Ali remained behind the Prophet during the battle of Khaibar as he way suffering from some eye trouble but then he said, "How should I stay behind Allah's Apostle?" So, he set out till he joined the Prophet. On the eve of the day of the conquest of Khaibar, Allah's Apostle said, "(No doubt) I will give the flag or, tomorrow, a man whom Allah and His Apostle love or who loves Allah and His apostle will take the flag. Allah will bestow victory upon him." Suddenly Ali joined us though we were not expecting him. The people said, "Here is Ali. "So, Allah's Apostle gave the flag to him and Allah bestowed victory upon him.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 240:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

On the day of the battle of the Trench, the Prophet wanted somebody from amongst the people to volunteer to be a reconnoitre. Az-Zubair volunteered. He demanded the same again and Az-Zubair volunteered again. Then he repeated the same demand (thrice) and AzZubair volunteered once more. The Prophet then said, " Every prophet has a disciple and my disciple is Az-Zubair."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 251:

Narrated Ubaidullah bin Abi Rafi:

I heard Ali saying, "Allah's Apostle sent me, Az-Zubair and Al-Miqdad somewhere saying, 'Proceed till you reach Rawdat Khakh. There you will find a lady with a letter. Take the letter from her.' " So, we set out and our horses ran at full pace till we got at Ar-Rawda where we found the lady and said (to her). "Take out the letter." She replied, "I have no letter with me." We said, "Either you take out the letter or else we will take off your clothes." So, she took it out of her braid. We brought the letter to Allah's Apostle and it contained a statement from Hatib bin Abi Balta a to some of the Meccan pagans informing them of some of the intentions of Allah's Apostle. Then Allah's Apostle said, "O Hatib! What is this?" Hatib replied, "O Allah's Apostle! Don't hasten to give your judgment about me. I was a man closely connected with the Quraish, but I did not belong to this tribe, while the other emigrants with you, had their relatives in Mecca who would protect their dependents and property . So, I wanted to recompense for my lacking blood relation to them by doing them a favor so that they might protect my dependents. I did this neither because of disbelief not apostasy nor out of preferring Kufr (disbelief) to Islam." Allah's Apostle, said, "Hatib has told you the truth." Umar said, O Allah's Apostle! Allow me to chop off the head of this hypocrite." Allah's Apostle said, "Hatib participated in the battle of Badr, and who knows, perhaps Allah has already looked at the Badr warriors and said, 'Do whatever you like, for I have forgiven you."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 253:

Narrated Sahl:

On the day (of the battle) of Khaibar the Prophet said, "Tomorrow I will give the flag to somebody who will be given victory (by Allah) and who loves Allah and His Apostle and is loved by Allah and His Apostle." So, the people wondered all that night as to who would receive the flag and in the morning everyone hoped that he would be that person. Allah's Apostle asked, "Where is Ali?" He was told that Ali was suffering from eye-trouble, so he applied saliva to his eyes and invoked Allah to cure him. He at once got cured as if he had no ailment. The Prophet gave him the flag. Ali said, "Should I fight them till they become like us (i.e. Muslim)?" The Prophet said, "Go to them patiently and calmly till you enter the land. Then, invite them to Islam, and inform them what is enjoined upon them, for, by Allah, if Allah gives guidance to somebody through you, it is better for you than possessing red camels."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 272:

Narrated Al-Bara:

I saw Allah's Apostle on the day (of the battle) of the Trench carrying earth till the hair of his chest were covered with dust and he was a hairy man. He was reciting the following verses of Abdullah (bin Rawaha): "O Allah, were it not for You, We would not have been guided, Nor would we have given in charity, nor prayed. So, bestow on us calmness, and when we meet the enemy. Then make our feet firm, for indeed, Yet if they want to put us in affliction, (i.e. want to fight against us) we would not (flee but withstand them)." The Prophet used to raise his voice while reciting these verses. (See Hadith No. 432, Vol. 5).

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 279:

Narrated Abu Ishaq:

A man asked Al-Bara "O Abu Umara! Did you flee on the day (of the battle) of Hunain?" Al-Bara replied while I was listening, "As for Allah's Apostle he did not flee on that day. Abu Sufyan bin Al-Harith was holding the reins of his mule and when the pagans attacked him, he dismounted and started saying, 'I am the Prophet, and there is no lie about it; I am the son of Abdul Muttalib.' On that day nobody was seen braver than the Prophet

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 281:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle sent a Sariya of ten men as spies under the leadership of Asim bin Thabit al-Ansari, the grandfather of Asim bin Umar Al-Khattab. They proceeded till they reached Hadaa, a place between 'Usfan, and Mecca, and their news reached a branch of the tribe of Hudhail called Bani Lihyan. About two-hundred men, who were all archers, hurried to follow their tracks till they found the place where they had eaten dates they had brought with them from Medina. They said, "These are the dates of Yathrib (i.e. Medina), "and continued following their tracks When Asim and his companions saw their pursuers, they went up a high place and the infidels circled them. The infidels said to them, "Come down and surrender, and we promise and guarantee you that we will not kill any one of you" Asim bin Thabit; the leader of the Sariya said, "By Allah! I will not come down to be under the protection of infidels. O Allah! Convey our news to Your Prophet. Then the infidels threw arrows at them till they martyred Asim along with six other men, and three men came down accepting their promise and convention, and they were Khubaib-al-Ansari and Ibn Dathina and another man So, when the infidels captured them, they undid the strings of their bows and tied them. Then the third (of the captives) said, "This is the first betrayal. By Allah! I will not go with you. No doubt these, namely the martyred, have set a good example to us." So, they dragged him and tried to compel him to accompany them, but as he refused, they killed him. They took Khubaid and Ibn Dathina with them and sold them (as slaves) in Mecca (and all that took place) after the battle of Badr. Khubaib was bought by the sons of Al-Harith bin Amir bin Naufal bin Abd Manaf. It was Khubaib who had killed Al-Harith bin Amir on the day (of the battle of) Badr. So, Khubaib remained a prisoner with those people.

Narrated Az-Zuhri: Ubaidullah bin 'Iyyad said that the daughter of Al-Harith had told him, "When those people gathered (to kill Khubaib) he borrowed a razor from me to shave his pubes and I gave it to him. Then he took a son of mine while I was unaware when he came upon him. I saw him placing my son on his thigh and the razor was in his hand. I got scared so much that Khubaib noticed the agitation on my face and said, 'Are you afraid that I will kill him? No, I will never do so.' By Allah, I never saw a prisoner better than Khubaib. By Allah, one day I saw him eating of a bunch of grapes in his hand while he was chained in irons, and there was no fruit at that time in Mecca." The daughter of Al-Harith used to say, "It was a boon Allah bestowed upon Khubaib." When they took him out of the Sanctuary (of Mecca) to kill him outside its boundaries, Khubaib requested them to let him offer two Rakat (prayer). They allowed him and he offered Two Rakat and then said, "Hadn't I been afraid that you would think that I was afraid (of being killed), I would have prolonged the prayer. O Allah, kill them all with no exception." (He then recited the poetic verse):-- "I being martyred as a Muslim, Do not mind how I am killed in Allah's Cause, For my killing is for Allah's Sake, And if Allah wishes, He will bless the amputated parts of a torn body" Then the son of Al Harith killed him. So, it was Khubaib who set the tradition for any Muslim sentenced to death in captivity, to offer a two-Rak'at prayer (before being killed). Allah fulfilled the invocation of Asim bin Thabit on that very day on which he was martyred. The Prophet informed his companions of their news and what had happened to them. Later on when some infidels from Quraish were informed that Asim had been killed, they sent some people to fetch a part of his body (i.e. his head) by which he would be recognized. (That was because) Asim had killed one of their chiefs on the day (of the battle) of Badr. So, a swarm of wasps, resembling a shady cloud, were sent to hover over Asim and protect him from their messenger and thus they could not cut off anything from his flesh.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 285:

Narrated Jubair:

(who was among the captives of the Battle of Badr) I heard the Prophet reciting 'Surat-at-Tur' in the Maghrib prayer.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 297:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

We were in the company of Allah's Apostle in a Ghazwa, and he remarked about a man who claimed to be a Muslim, saying, "This (man) is from the people of the (Hell) Fire." When the battle started, the man fought violently till he got wounded. Somebody said, "O Allah's Apostle! The man whom you described as being from the people of the (Hell) Fire fought violently today and died." The Prophet said, "He will go to the (Hell) Fire." Some people were on the point of doubting (the truth of what the Prophet had said) while they were in this state, suddenly someone said that he was still alive but severely wounded. When night fell, he lost patience and committed suicide. The Prophet was informed of that, and he said, "Allah is Greater! I testify that I am Allah's Slave and His Apostle." Then he ordered Bilal to announce amongst the people: 'None will enter Paradise but a Muslim, and Allah may support this religion (i.e. Islam) even with a disobedient man.'

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 369:

Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Auf:

While I was standing in the row on the day (of the battle) of Badr, I looked to my right and my left and saw two young Ansari boys, and I wished I had been stronger than they. One of them called my attention saying, "O Uncle! Do you know Abu Jahl?" I said, "Yes, What do you want from him, O my nephew?" He said, "I have been informed that he abuses Allah's Apostle. By Him in Whose Hands my life is, if I should see him, then my body will not leave his body till either of us meet his fate." I was astonished at that talk. Then the other boy called my attention saying the same as the other had said. After a while I saw Abu Jahl walking amongst the people. I said (to the boys), "Look! This is the man you asked me about." So, both of them attacked him with their swords and struck him to death and returned to Allah'S Apostle to inform him of that. Allah's Apostle asked, "Which of you has killed him?" Each of them said, "I Have killed him." Allah's Apostle asked, "Have you cleaned your swords?" They said, "No. " He then looked at their swords and said, "No doubt, you both have killed him and the spoils of the deceased will be given to Muadh bin Amr bin Al-Jamuh." The two boys were Muadh bin 'Afra and Muadh bin Amr bin Al-Jamuh.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 370:

Narrated Abu Qatada:

We set out in the company of Allah's Apostle on the day (of the battle) of Hunain. When we faced the enemy, the Muslims retreated and I saw a pagan throwing himself over a Muslim. I turned around and came upon him from behind and hit him

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on the shoulder with the sword He (i.e. the pagan) came towards me and seized me so violently that I felt as if it were death itself, but death overtook him and he released me. I followed Umar bin Al Khattab and asked (him), "What is wrong with the people (fleeing)?" He replied, "This is the Will of Allah," After the people returned, the Prophet sat and said, "Anyone who has killed an enemy and has a proof of that, will posses his spoils." I got up and said, "Who will be a witness for me?" and then sat down. The Prophet again said, "Anyone who has killed an enemy and has proof of that, will possess his spoils." I (again) got up and said, "Who will be a witness for me?" and sat down. Then the Prophet said the same for the third time. I again got up, and Allah's Apostle said, "O Abu Qatada! What is your story?" Then I narrated the whole story to him. A man (got up and) said, "O Allah's Apostle! He is speaking the truth, and the spoils of the killed man are with me. So please compensate him on my behalf." On that Abu Bakr As-Siddiq said, "No, by Allah, he (i.e. Allah's Apostle) will not agree to give you the spoils gained by one of Allah's Lions who fights on the behalf of Allah and His Apostle." The Prophet said, "Abu Bakr has spoken the truth." So, Allah's Apostle gave the spoils to me. I sold that armor (i.e. the spoils) and with its price I bought a garden at Bani Salima, and this was my first property which I gained after my conversion to Islam.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 386:

Narrated Jubair bin Haiya:

Umar sent the Muslims to the great countries to fight the pagans. When Al-Hurmuzan embraced Islam, Umar said to him. "I would like to consult you regarding these countries which I intend to invade." Al-Hurmuzan said, "Yes, the example of these countries and their inhabitants who are the enemies. of the Muslims, is like a bird with a head, two wings and two legs; If one of its wings got broken, it would get up over its two legs, with one wing and the head; and if the other wing got broken, it would get up with two legs and a head, but if its head got destroyed, then the two legs, two wings and the head would become useless. The head stands for Khosrau, and one wing stands for Caesar and the other wing stands for Faris. So, order the Muslims to go towards Khosrau." So, Umar sent us (to Khosrau) appointing An-Numan bin Muqrin as our commander. When we reached the land of the enemy, the representative of Khosrau came out with forty-thousand warriors, and an interpreter got up saying, "Let one of you talk to me!" Al-Mughira replied, "Ask whatever you wish." The other asked, "Who are you?" Al-Mughira replied, "We are some people from the Arabs; we led a hard, miserable, disastrous life: we used to suck the hides and the date stones from hunger; we used to wear clothes made up of fur of camels and hair of goats, and to worship trees and stones. While we were in this state, the Lord of the Heavens and the Earths, Elevated is His Remembrance and Majestic is His Highness, sent to us from among ourselves a Prophet whose father and mother are known to us. Our Prophet, the Messenger of our Lord, has ordered us to fight you till you worship Allah Alone or give Jizya (i.e. tribute); and our Prophet has informed us that our Lord says:-- "Whoever amongst us is killed (i.e. martyred), shall go to Paradise to lead such a luxurious life as he has never seen, and whoever amongst us remain alive, shall become your master." (Al-Mughira, then blamed An-Numan for delaying the attack and) An-Nu' man said to Al-Mughira, "If you had participated in a similar battle, in the company of Allah's Apostle he would not have blamed you for waiting, nor would he have disgraced you. But I accompanied Allah's Apostle in many battles and it was his custom that if he did not fight early by daytime, he would wait till the wind had started blowing and the time for the prayer was due (i.e. after midday)."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 405:

Narrated Al-Amash:

I asked Abu Wail, "Did you take part in the battle of Siffin?" He said, 'Yes, and I heard Sahl bin Hunaif (when he was blamed for lack of zeal for fighting) saying, "You'd better blame your wrong opinions. I wish you had seen me on the day of Abu Jandal. If I had the courage to disobey the Prophet's orders, I would have done so. We had kept out swords on our necks and shoulders, for a thing which frightened us. And we did so, we found it easier for us, except in the case of the above battle (of ours).' "

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 409:

Narrated Abdullah:

While the Prophet was in the state of prostration, surrounded by a group of people from Quraish pagans. Uqba bin Abi Mu'ait came and brought the intestines of a camel and threw them on the back of the Prophet . The Prophet did not raise his head from prostration till Fatima (i.e. his daughter) came and removed those intestines from his back, and invoked evil on whoever had done (the evil deed). The Prophet said, "O Allah! Destroy the chiefs of Quraish, O Allah! Destroy Abu Jahl bin Hisham, Utba bin Rabi'a, Shaiba bin Rabi'a. Uqba bin Abi Mu'ait Umaiya bin Khalaf (or Ubai bin Kalaf)." Later on I saw all of them killed during the battle of Badr and their bodies were thrown into a well except the body of Umaiya or Ubai, because he was a fat person, and when he was pulled, the parts of his body got separated before he was thrown into the well.

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 454:

Narrated Aisha:

That she asked the Prophet , 'Have you encountered a day harder than the day of the battle) of Uhud?" The Prophet replied, "Your tribes have troubled me a lot, and the worse trouble was the trouble on the day of Aqaba when I presented myself to Ibn Abd-Yalail bin Abd-Kulal and he did not respond to my demand. So I departed, overwhelmed with excessive sorrow, and proceeded on, and could not relax till I found myself at Qarnath-Tha-alib where I lifted my head towards the sky to see a cloud shading me unexpectedly. I looked up and saw Gabriel in it. He called me saying, 'Allah has heard your people's saying to you, and what they have replied back to you, Allah has sent the Angel of the Mountains to you so that you may order him to do whatever you wish to these people.' The Angel of the Mountains called and greeted me, and then said, "O Mohammed! Order what you wish. If you like, I will let Al-Akh-Shabain (i.e. two mountains) fall on them." The Prophet said, "No but I hope that Allah will let them beget children who will worship Allah Alone, and will worship None besides Him."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 510:

Narrated Aisha:

On the day (of the battle) of Uhud when the pagans were defeated, Satan shouted, "O slaves of Allah! Beware of the forces at your back," and on that the Muslims of the front files fought with the Muslims of the back files (thinking they were pagans). Hudhaifa looked back to see his father "Al-Yaman," (being attacked by the Muslims). He shouted, "O Allah's Slaves! My father! My father!" By Allah, they did not stop till they killed him. Hudhaifa said, "May Allah forgive you." Urwa said that Hudhaifa continued to do good (invoking Allah to forgive the killer of his father till he met Allah (i.e. died).

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 52:

Narrated Salama:

Ali happened to stay behind the Prophet and (did not join him) during the battle of Khaibar for he was having eye trouble. Then he said, "How could I remain behind Allah's Apostle?" So Ali set out following the Prophet , When it was the eve of the day in the morning of which Allah helped (the Muslims) to conquer it, Allah's Apostle said, "I will give the flag (to a man), or tomorrow a man whom Allah and His Apostle love will take the flag," or said, "A man who loves Allah and His Apostle; and Allah will grant victory under his leadership." Suddenly came Ali whom we did not expect. The people said, "This is Ali." Allah's Apostle gave him the flag and Allah granted victory under his leadership.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 66:

Narrated Abdullah bin Az-Zubair:

During the battle of Al-Ahzab, I and Umar bin Abi-Salama were kept behind with the women. Behold! I saw (my father) Az-Zubair riding his horse, going to and coming from Bani Quraiza twice or thrice. So when I came back I said, "O my father! I saw you going to and coming from Bani Quraiza?" He said, "Did you really see me, O my son?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Allah's Apostle said, 'Who will go to Bani Quraiza and bring me their news?' So I went, and when I came back, Allah's Apostle mentioned for me both his parents saying, "Let my father and mother be sacrificed for you.'"

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 67:

Narrated Urwa:

On the day of the battle of Al-Yarmuk, the companions of the Prophet said to Az-Zubair, "Will you attack the enemy vigorously so that we may attack them along with you?" So Az-Zubair attacked them, and they inflicted two wounds over his shoulder, and in between these two wounds there was an old scar he had received on the day of the battle of Badr When I was a child, I used to insert my fingers into those scars in play.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 71:

Narrated Sad: On the day of the battle of Uhud the Prophet mentioned for me both hi

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 156:

Narrated Anas:

On the day of the battle of Uhud, the people ran away, leaving the Prophet , but Abu- Talha was shielding the Prophet with his shield in front of him. Abu Talha was a strong, experienced archer who used to keep his arrow bow strong and well stretched. On that day he broke two or three arrow bows. If any man passed by carrying a quiver full of arrows, the Prophet would say to him, "Empty it in front of Abu Talha." When the Prophet stated looking at the enemy by raising his head, Abu Talha said, "O Allah's Prophet! Let my parents be sacrificed for your sake! Please don't raise your head and make it visible, lest an arrow of the enemy should hit you. Let my neck and chest be wounded instead of yours." (On that day) I saw Aisha, the daughter of Abu Bakr and Um Sulaim both lifting their dresses up so that I was able to see the ornaments of their legs, and they were carrying the water skins of their arms to pour the water into the mouths of the thirsty people and then go back and fill them and come to pour the water into the mouths of the people again. (On that day) Abu Talha's sword fell from his hand twice or thrice.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 161:

Narrated Aisha:

On the day of the battle of Uhud the pagans were defeated completely. Then Satan shouted loudly, "O Allah's slaves! Beware the ones behind you!" So the front files attacked the back ones. Then Hudhaifa looked and saw his father, and said loudly, "O Allah's slaves! My father! My father!" By Allah, they did not stop till they killed him (i.e. Hudaifa's father). Hudhaifa said, "May Allah forgive you!" The sub-narrator said, "By Allah, because of what Hudhaifa said, he remained in a good state till he met Allah (i.e. died)."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 193:

Narrated Abdullah:

While the Prophet was prostrating, surrounded by some of Quraish, Uqba bin Abi Mu'ait brought the intestines (i.e. abdominal contents) of a camel and put them over the back of the Prophet. The Prophet did not raise his head, (till) Fatima, came and took it off his back and cursed the one who had done the harm. The Prophet said, "O Allah! Destroy the chiefs of Quraish, Abu Jahl bin Hisham, Utba bin Rabi'al, Shaba bin Rabi'a, Umaiya bin Khalaf or Ubai bin Khalaf." (The sub-narrator Shu'ba, is not sure of the last name.) I saw these people killed on the day of Badr battle and thrown in the well except Umaiya or Ubai whose body parts were mutilated but he was not thrown in the well.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 221:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle, while going out for the battle of Hunain, said, "Tomorrow Allah willing, we will encamp at Khaif Bani Kinana where the pagans(of Quraish) took the oath of Kufr (against the Prophet i.e. to be loyal to heathenism, by boycotting Banu Hashim, the Prophet's folk, See Hadith No. 659 Vol. 2) .

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 229:

Narrated Abdullah bin Ka'b:

Who was Kab's guide when Ka'b turned blind: I heard Ka'b bin Malik narrating: When he remained behind (i.e. did not Join) the Prophet in the Ghazwa of Tabuk. Ibn Bukair, in his narration stated that Ka'b said, " I witnessed the Al-Aqaba pledge of allegiance at night with the Prophet when we jointly agreed to support Islam with all our efforts I would not like to have attended the Badr battle instead of that Aqaba pledge although Badr is more well-known than it, amongst the people."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 232:

Narrated Ubada bin As-Samit:

Who had taken part in the battle of Badr with Allah's Apostle and had been amongst his companions on the night of Al-Aqaba Pledge: Allah's Apostle, surrounded by a group of his companions said, "Come along and give me the pledge of allegiance that you will not worship anything besides Allah, will not steal, will not commit illegal sexual intercourse will not kill your children, will not utter; slander, invented by yourself, and will not disobey me if I order you to do something good. Whoever among you will respect and fulfill this pledge, will be rewarded by Allah. And if one of you commits any of these sins and is punished in this world then that will be his expiation for it, and if one of you commits any of these sins and Allah screens his sin, then his matter, will rest with Allah: If He will, He will punish him and if He will,. He will excuse him." So I gave the pledge of allegiance to him for these conditions.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 237:

Narrated Abu Wail:

We visited Khabbaba who said, "We migrated with the Prophet for Allah's Sake, so our reward became due and sure with Allah. Some of us passed away without taking anything of their rewards (in this world) and one of them was Mus'ab bin Umar who was martyred on the day (of the battle) of Uhud leaving a striped woolen cloak. When we covered his head with it, his feet became naked, and when covered his feet, his head became naked.

So Allah's Apostle ordered us to cover his head and put some Idhkhir (i.e. a special kind of grass) on his feet. (On the other hand) some of us have had their fruits ripened (in this world) and they are collecting them."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 253:

Narrated Khabbab:

We migrated with Allah's Apostle seeking Allah's Countenance, so our rewards became due and sure with Allah. Some of us passed away without eating anything of their rewards in this world. One of these was Mus'ab bin Umar who was martyred on the day of the battle of Uhud. We did not find anything to shroud his body with except a striped cloak. When we covered his head with it, his feet remained uncovered, and when we covered his feet with it, his head remained uncovered. So Allah's Apostle ordered us to cover his head with it and put some Idhkhir (i.e. a kind of grass) over his feet. And there are some amongst us whose fruits have ripened and they are collecting them (i.e. they have received their rewards in this world).

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 267:

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Narrated Aisha:

The day of Bu'ath was a day (i.e. battle) which Allah caused to take place just before the mission of His Apostle so that when Allah's Apostle came to Medina, they (the tribes) had divided (into hostile groups) and their nobles had been killed; and all that facilitated their conversion to Islam.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 289:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

On the day of the battle of Badr, the Prophet said, "O Allah! I appeal to You (to fulfill) Your Covenant and Promise. O Allah! If Your Will is that none should worship You (then give victory to the pagans)." Then Abu Bakr took hold of him by the hand and said, "This is sufficient for you." The Prophet came out saying, "Their multitude will be put to flight and they will show their backs." (54.45)

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 291:

Narrated Al-Bara:

I and Ibn Umar were considered too young to take part in the battle of Badr.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 292:

Narrated Al-Bara:

I and Ibn Umar were considered too young (to take part) in the battle of Badr, and the number of the Emigrant warriors were over sixty (men) and the Ansar were over 249.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 309:

Narrated Abu Ishaq:

A man asked Al-Bara' and I was listening, "Did Ali take part in (the battle of) Badr?" Al-Bara' said, "(Yes). he even met (his enemies) in a duel and was clad in two armors (one over the other),"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 313:

Narrated Urwa:

On the day of (the battle) of Al-Yarmuk, the companions of Allah's Apostle said to Az-Zubair, "Will you attack the enemy so that we shall attack them with you?" Az-Zubair replied, "If I attack them, you people would not support me." They said, "No, we will support you." So Az-Zubair attacked them (i.e. Byzantine) and pierced through their lines, and went beyond them and none of his companions was with him. Then he returned and the enemy got hold of the bridle of his (horse) and struck him two blows (with the sword) on his shoulder. Between these two wounds there was a scar caused by a blow, he had received on the day of Badr (battle). When I was a child I used to play with those scars by putting my fingers in them. On that day (my brother) "Abdullah bin Az-Zubair was also with him and he was ten years old. Az-Zubair had carried him on a horse and let him to the care of some men.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 314:

Narrated Abu Talha:

On the day of Badr, the Prophet ordered that the corpses of twenty four leaders of Quraish should be thrown into one of the dirty dry wells of Badr. (It was a habit of the Prophet that whenever he conquered some people, he used to stay at the battle-field for three nights. So, on the third day of the battle of Badr, he ordered that his she-camel be saddled, then he set out, and his companions followed him saying among themselves." "Definitely he (i.e. the Prophet) is proceeding for some great purpose." When he halted at the edge of the well, he addressed the corpses of the Quraish infidels by their names and their fathers' names, "O so-and-so, son of so-and-so and O so-and-so, son of so-and-so! Would it have pleased you if you had obeyed Allah and His Apostle? We have found true what our Lord promised us. Have you too found true what your Lord promised you? "Umar said, "O Allah's Apostle! You are speaking to bodies that have no souls!" Allah's Apostle said, "By Him in Whose Hand Mohammed's soul is, you do not hear, what I say better than they do." (Qatada said, "Allah brought them to life (again) to let them hear him, to reprimand them and slight them and take revenge over them and caused them to feel remorseful and regretful.")

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 318:

Narrated Anas:

Haritha was martyred on the day (of the battle) of Badr, and he was a young boy then. His mother came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! You know how dear Haritha is to me. If he is in Paradise, I shall remain patient, and hope for reward from Allah, but if it is not so, then you shall see what I do?" He said, "May Allah be merciful to you! Have you lost your senses? Do you think there is only one Paradise? There are many Paradises and your son is in the (most superior) Paradise of Al-Firdaus."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 321:

Narrated Abu Usaid:

On the day of (the battle of) Badr, Allah's Apostle said to us, "When your enemy comes near to you (i.e. overcome you by sheer number), shoot at them but use your arrows sparingly."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 323:

Narrated Abu Musa:

That the Prophet said, "The good is what Allah gave us later on (after Uhud), and the reward of truthfulness is what Allah gave us after the day (of the battle) of Badr."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 325:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle sent out ten spies under the command of Asim bin Thabit Al-Ansari, the grand-father of Asim bin Umar Al-Khattab. When they reached (a place called) Al-Hadah between 'Usfan and Mecca, their presence was made known to a sub-tribe of Hudhail called Banu Lihyan. So they sent about one hundred archers after them. The archers traced the footsteps (of the Muslims) till they found the traces of dates which they had eaten at one of their camping places. The archers said, "These dates are of Yathrib (i.e. Medina)," and went on tracing the Muslims' footsteps. When Asim and his companions became aware of them, they took refuge in a (high) place. But the enemy encircled them and said, "Come down and surrender. We give you a solemn promise and covenant that we will not kill anyone of you." Asim bin Thabit said, "O people! As for myself, I will never get down to be under the protection of an infidel. O Allah! Inform your Prophet about us." So the archers threw their arrows at them and martyred Asim. Three of them came down and surrendered to them, accepting their promise and covenant and they were Khubaib, Zaid bin Ad-Dathina and another man. When the archers got hold of them, they untied the strings of the arrow bows and tied their captives with them. The third man said, "This is the first proof of treachery! By Allah, I will not go with you for I follow the example of these." He meant the martyred companions. The archers dragged him and struggled with him (till they martyred him). Then Khubaib and Zaid bin Ad-Dathina were taken away by them and later on they sold them as slaves in Mecca after the event of the Badr battle.

The sons of Al-Harit bin Amr bin Naufal bought Khubaib for he was a person who had killed (their father) Al-Hari bin Amr on the day (of the battle) of Badr. Khubaib remained imprisoned by them till they decided unanimously to kill him. One day Khubaib borrowed from a daughter of Al-Harith, a razor for shaving his public hair, and she lent it to him. By chance, while she was inattentive, a little son of hers went to him (i.e. Khubaib) and she saw that Khubaib had seated him on his thigh while the razor was in his hand. She was so much terrified that Khubaib noticed her fear and said, "Are you afraid that I will kill him? Never would I do such a thing." Later on (while narrating the story) she said, "By Allah, I had never seen a better captive than Khubaib. By Allah, one day I saw him eating from a bunch of grapes in his hand while he was fettered with iron chains and (at that time) there was no fruit in Mecca." She used to say," It was food Allah had provided Khubaib with."

When they took him to Al-Hil out of Mecca sanctuary to martyr him, Khubaib requested them. "Allow me to offer a two-Rak'at prayer." They allowed him and he prayed two Rakat and then said, "By Allah! Had I not been afraid that you would think I was worried, I would have prayed more." Then he (invoked evil upon them) saying, "O Allah! Count them and kill them one by one, and do not leave anyone of them"' Then he recited: "As I am martyred as a Muslim, I do not care in what way I receive my death for Allah's Sake, for this is for the Cause of Allah. If He wishes, He will bless the cut limbs of my body." Then Abu Sarva, 'Ubqa bin Al-Harith went up to him and killed him. It was Khubaib who set the tradition of praying for any Muslim to be martyred in captivity (before he is executed). The Prophet told his companions of what had happened (to those ten spies) on the same day they were martyred. Some Quraish people, being informed of Asim bin Thabit's death, sent some messengers to bring a part of his body so that his death might be known for certain, for he had previously killed one of their leaders (in the battle of Badr). But Allah sent a swarm of wasps to protect the dead body of Asim, and they shielded him from the messengers who could not cut anything from his body.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 326:

Narrated Nafi:

Ibn Umar was once told that Said bin Zaid bin Amr bin Nufail, one of the Badr warriors, had fallen ill on a Friday. Ibn Umar rode to him late in the forenoon. The time of the Friday prayer approached and Ibn Umar did not take part in the Friday prayer.

Narrated Subaia bint Al-Harith: That she was married to Sad bin Khaula who was from the tribe of Bani Amr bin Luai, and was one of those who fought the Badr battle. He died while she wa pregnant during Hajjat-ul-Wada.' Soon after his death, she gave birth to a child. When she completed the term of deliver (i.e. became clean), she prepared herself for suitors. Abu As-Sanabil bin Bu'kak, a man from the tribe of Bani Abd-ud-Dal called on her and said to her, "What! I see you dressed up for the people to ask you in marriage. Do you want to marry By Allah, you are not allowed to marry unless four months and ten days have elapsed (after your husband's death)." Subai'a in her narration said, "When he (i.e. Abu As-Sanabil) said this to me. I put on my dress in the evening and went to Allah's Apostle and asked him about this problem. He gave the verdict that I was free to marry as I had already given birth to my child and ordered me to marry if I wished."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 327:

Narrated Rifaa:

(who was one of the Badr warriors) Gabriel came to the Prophet and said, "How do you look upon the warriors of Badr among yourselves?" The Prophet said, "As the best of the Muslims." or said a similar statement. On that, Gabriel said, "And so are the Angels who participated in the Badr (battle)."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 328:

Narrated Mu'adh bin Rifa'a bin Rafi:

Rifa'a was one of the warriors of Badr while (his father) Rafi' was one of the people of Al-Aqaba (i.e. those who gave the pledge of allegiance at Al-Aqaba). Rafi' used to say to his son, "I would not have been happier if I had taken part in the Badr battle instead of taking part in the Aqaba pledge."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 330:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

The Prophet said on the day (of the battle) of Badr, "This is Gabriel holding the head of his horse and equipped with arms for the battle.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 333:

Narrated Urwa:

Az-Zubair said, "I met Ubaida bin Said bin Al-As on the day (of the battle) of Badr and he was covered with armor; so much that only his eyes were visible. He was surnamed Abu Dhat-al-Karish. He said (proudly), 'I am Abu-al-Karish.' I attacked him with the spear and pierced his eye and he died. I put my foot over his body to pull (that spear) out, but even then I had to use a great force to take it out as its both ends were bent." Urwa said, "Later on Allah's Apostle asked Az-Zubair for the spear and he gave it to him. When Allah's Apostle died, Az-Zubair took it back. After that Abu Bakr demanded it and he gave it to him, and when Abu Bakr died, Az-Zubair took it back. Umar then demanded it from him and he gave it to him. When Umar died, Az-Zubair took it back, and then Uthman demanded it from him and he gave it to him. When Uthman was martyred, the spear remained with Ali's offspring. Then Abdullah bin Az-Zubair demanded it back, and it remained with him till he was martyred.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 335:

Narrated Aisha:

(the wife of the Prophet) Abu Hudhaifa, one of those who fought the battle of Badr, with Allah's Apostle adopted Salim as his son and married his niece Hind bint Al-Wahd bin Utba to him' and Salim was a freed slave of an Ansari woman. Allah's Apostle also adopted Zaid as his son. In the Pre-Islamic period of ignorance the custom was that, if one adopted a son, the people would call him by the name of the adopted-father whom he would inherit as well, till Allah revealed: "Call them (adopted sons) By (the names of) their fathers." (33.5)

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 336:

Narrated Ar-Rubai bint Muauwidh:

The Prophet came to me after consuming his marriage with me and sat down on my bed as you (the sub-narrator) are sitting now, and small girls were beating the tambourine and singing in lamentation of my father who had been killed on the day of the battle of Badr. Then one of the girls said, "There is a Prophet amongst us who knows what will happen tomorrow." The Prophet said (to her)," Do not say this, but go on saying what you have spoken before."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 342:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

Umar bin Al-Khattab said, "When (my daughter) Hafsa bint Umar lost her husband Khunais bin Hudhaifa As-Sahrni who was one of the companions of Allah's Apostle and had fought in the battle of Badr and had died in Medina, I met Uthman bin Affan and suggested that he should marry Hafsa saying, "If you wish, I will marry Hafsa bint Umar to you,' on that, he said, 'I will think it over.' I waited for a few days and then he said to me. 'I am of the opinion that I shall not marry at present.' Then I met Abu Bakr and said, 'if you wish, I will marry you, Hafsa bint Umar.' He kept quiet and did not give me any reply and I became more angry with him than I was with Uthman . Some days later, Allah's Apostle demanded her hand in marriage and I married her to him. Later on Abu Bakr met me and said, "Perhaps you were angry with me when you offered me Hafsa for marriage and I gave no reply to you?' I said, 'Yes.' Abu Bakr said, 'Nothing prevented me from accepting your offer except that I learnt that Allah's

Apostle had referred to the issue of Hafsa and I did not want to disclose the secret of Allah's Apostle , but had he (i.e. the Prophet) given her up I would surely have accepted her."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 348:

Narrated Abdullah bin Amr bin Rabi'a:

who was one of the leaders of Bani Adi and his father participated in the battle of Badr in the company of the Prophet. Umar appointed Qudama bin Maz'un as ruler of Bahrain, Qudama was one of the warriors of the battle of Badr and was the maternal uncle of Abdullah bin Umar and Hafsa.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 349:

Narrated Az-Zuhri:

Salim bin Abdullah told me that Rafi' bin Khadij told Abdullah bin Umar that his two paternal uncles who had fought in the battle of Badr informed him that Allah's Apostle

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forbade the renting of fields. I said to Salim, "Do you rent your land?" He said, "Yes, for Rafi' is mistaken."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 354:

Narrated Ubaidullah bin Adi bin Al-Khiyar:

That Al-Miqdad bin Amr Al-Kindi, who was an ally of Bani Zuhra and one of those who fought the battle of Badr together with Allah's Apostle told him that he said to Allah's Apostle, "Suppose I met one of the infidels and we fought, and he struck one of my hands with his sword and cut it off and then took refuge in a tree and said, "I surrender to Allah (i.e. I have become a Muslim),' could I kill him, O Allah's Apostle, after he had said this?" Allah's Apostle said, "You should not kill him." Al-Miqdad said, "O Allah's Apostle! But he had cut off one of my two hands, and then he had uttered those words?" Allah's Apostle replied, "You should not kill him, for if you kill him, he would be in your position where you had been before killing him, and you would be in his position where he had been before uttering those words."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 356:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

Umar said, "When the Prophet died I said to Abu Bakr, 'Let us go to our Ansari brethren.' We met two pious men from them, who had fought in the battle of Badr." When I mentioned this to Urwa bin Az-Zubair, he said, "Those two pious men were 'Uwaim bin Salda and Manbin Adi."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 359:

Narrated Yunus bin Yazid:

I heard Az-Zuhri saying, "I heard Urwa bin Az-Zubair. Said bin Al-Musaiyab, 'Alqama bin Waqqas and Ubaidullah bin Abdullah each narrating part of the narrative concerning Aisha the wife of the Prophet. Aisha said: When I and Um Mistah were returning, Um Mistah stumbled by treading on the end of her robe, and on that she said, 'May Mistah be ruined.' I said, 'You have said a bad thing, you curse a man who took part in the battle of Badr!." Az-Zuhri then narrated the narration of the Lie (forged against Aisha).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 377:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

On the day of the battle of Uhud, a man came to the Prophet and said, "Can you tell me where I will be if I should get martyred?" The Prophet replied, "In Paradise." The man threw away some dates he was carrying in his hand, and fought till he was martyred .

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 378:

Narrated Khabbab bin Al-Art:

We migrated in the company of Allah's Apostle, seeking Allah's Pleasure. So our reward became due and sure with Allah. Some of us have been dead without enjoying anything of their rewards (here), and one of them was Mus'ab bin Umar who was martyred on the day of the battle of Uhud, and did not leave anything except a Namira (i.e. a sheet in which he was shrouded). If we covered his head with it, his feet became naked, and if we covered his feet with it, his head became naked. So the Prophet said to us, "Cover his head with it and put some Idhkhir (i.e. a kind of grass) over his feet or throw Idhkhir over his feet." But some amongst us have got the fruits of their labor ripened, and they are collecting them.

Narrated Anas: His uncle (Anas bin An-Nadr) was absent from the battle of Badr and he said, "I was absent from the first battle of the Prophet (i.e. Badr battle), and if Allah should let me participate in (a battle) with the Prophet, Allah will see how strongly I will fight." So he encountered the day of Uhud battle. The Muslims fled and he said, "O Allah ! I appeal to You to excuse me for what these people (i.e. the Muslims) have done, and I am clear from what the pagans have done." Then he went forward with his sword and met Sad bin Mu'adh (fleeing), and asked him, "Where are you going, O Sad? I detect a smell of Paradise before Uhud." Then he proceeded on and was martyred. No-body was able to recognize him till his sister recognized him by a mole on his body or by the tips of his fingers. He had over 80 wounds caused by stabbing, striking or shooting with arrows.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 380:

Narrated Zaid bin Thabit:

When the Prophet set out for (the battle of) Uhud, some of those who had gone out with him, returned. The companions of the Prophet were divided into two groups. One group said, "We will fight them (i.e. the enemy)," and the other group said, "We will not fight them." So there came the Divine Revelation:-- '(O Muslims!) Then what is the matter within you that you are divided. Into two parties about the hypocrites? Allah has cast them back (to disbelief) Because of what they have earned.' (4.88) On that, the Prophet said, "That is Taiba (i.e. the city of Medina) which clears one from one's sins as the fire expels the impurities of silver."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 383:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

That his father was martyred on the day of the battle of Uhud and was in debt and left six (orphan) daughters. Jabir, added, "When the season of plucking the dates came, I went to Allah's Apostle and said, "You know that my father was martyred on the day of Uhud, and he was heavily in debt, and I would like that the creditors should see you." The Prophet said, "Go and pile every kind of dates apart." I did so and called him (i.e. the Prophet). When the creditors saw him, they started claiming their debts from me then in such a harsh manner (as they had never done before). So when he saw their attitude, he went round the biggest heap of dates thrice, and then sat over it and said, 'O Jabir), call your companions (i.e. the creditors).' Then he kept on measuring (and giving) to the creditors (their due) till Allah paid all the debt of my father. I would have been satisfied to retain nothing of those dates for my sisters after Allah had paid the debts of my father. But Allah saved all the heaps (of dates), so that when I looked at the heap where the Prophet had been sitting, it seemed as if a single date had not been taken away thereof."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 386:

Narrated Sad:

Allah's Apostle mentioned both his father and mother for me on the day of the battle of Uhud.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 387:

Narrated Ibn Al Musaiyab:

Sad bin Abi Waqqas said, "Allah's Apostle mentioned both his father and mother for me on the day of the battle of Uhud." He meant when the Prophet said (to Sad) while the latter was fighting. "Let my father and mother be sacrificed for you!"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 390:

Narrated Mu'tamir's father:

Uthman said that on the day of the battle of Uhud, none remained with the Prophet but Talha and Sad.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 391:

Narrated As-Saib bin Yazid:

I have been in the company of Abdur Rahman bin Auf, Talha bin Ubaidullah, Al-Miqdad and Sad, and I heard none of them narrating anything from the Prophet excepting the fact that I heard Talha narrating about the day of Uhud (battle) .

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 396:

Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:

The Prophet appointed Abdullah bin Jubair as the commander of the cavalry archers on the day of the battle of Uhud. Then they returned defeated, and that what is referred to by Allah's Statement:-- "And the Apostle (Mohammed) in your rear was calling you." (3.153)

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 398:

Narrated Tha'laba bin Abi Malik:

Umar bin Al-Khattab distributed woolen clothes amongst some women of Medina, and a nice woolen garment remained. Some of those who were sitting with him, said, "O chief of the believers! Give it to the daughter of Allah's Apostle who is with you," and by that, they meant Um Kulthum, the daughter of Ali. Umar said, "Um Salit has got more right than she." Um Saht was amongst those Ansari women who had given the pledge of allegiance to Allah's Apostle . Umar added, "She (i.e. Um Salit) used to carry the filled water skins for us on the day of the battle of Uhud."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 399:

Narrated Jafar bin Amr bin Umaiya:

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 404:

Narrated Aisha:

Regarding the Holy Verse: "Those who responded (To the call) of Allah And the Apostle (Mohammed), After being wounded, For those of them Who did good deeds And refrained from wrong, there is a great reward." (3.172)

She said to Urwa, "O my nephew! Your father, Az-Zubair and Abu Bakr were amongst them (i.e. those who responded to the call of Allah and the Apostle on the day (of the battle of Uhud). When Allah's Apostle, suffered what he suffered on the day of Uhud and the pagans left, the Prophet was afraid that they might return. So he said, 'Who will go on their (i.e. pagans') track?' He then selected seventy men from amongst them (for this purpose)." (The sub-narrator added, "Abu Bakr and Az-Zubair were amongst them.")

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 405:

Narrated Qatada:

We do not know of any tribe amongst the Arab tribes who lost more martyrs than Al-Ansar, and they will have superiority on the Day of Resurrection. Anas bin Malik told us that seventy from the Ansar were martyred on the day of Uhud, and seventy on the day (of the battle of) Bir Ma'una, and seventy on the day of Al-Yamama. Anas added, "The battle of Bir Ma'una took place during the lifetime of Allah's Apostle and the battle of Al-Yamama, during the caliphate of Abu Bakr, and it was the day when Musailamah Al-Kadhdhab was killed."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 423:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

That the Prophet inspected him on the day of Uhud while he was fourteen years old, and the Prophet did not allow him to take part in the battle. He was inspected again by the Prophet on the day of Al-Khandaq (i.e. battle of the Trench) while he was fifteen years old, and the Prophet allowed him to take Part in the battle.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 435:

Narrated Sulaiman bin Surd:

On the day of Al-Ahzab (i.e. clans) the Prophet said, (After this battle) we will go to attack them(i.e. the infidels) and they will not come to attack us."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 451:

Narrated Salih bin Khawwat:

Concerning those who witnessed the Fear Prayer that was performed in the battle of Dhat-ur-Riqa' in the company of Allah's Apostle; One batch lined up behind him while another batch (lined up) facing the enemy. The Prophet led the batch that was with him in one Rak'a, and he stayed in the standing posture while that batch completed their (two Rakat) prayer by themselves and went away, lining in the face of the enemy, while the other batch came and he (i.e. the Prophet) offered his remaining Rak'a with them, and then, kept on sitting till they completed their prayer by themselves, and he then finished his prayer with Taslim along with them.

Narrated Ibn Az-Zubair: Jabir said, "We were with the Prophet at Nakhl," and then he mentioned the Fear prayer.

Narrated Al-Qasim bin Mohammed: The Prophet offered the Fear prayer in the Ghazwa of Banu Anmar.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 458:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

That he fought in a Ghazwa towards Najd along with Allah's Apostle and when Allah's Apostle returned, he too, returned along with him. The time of the afternoon nap overtook them when they were in a valley full of thorny trees. Allah's Apostle dismounted and the people dispersed amongst the thorny trees, seeking the shade of the trees. Allah's Apostle took shelter under a Samura tree and hung his sword on it. We slept for a while when Allah's Apostle suddenly called us, and we went to him, to find a bedouin sitting with him. Allah's Apostle said, "This (bedouin) took my sword out of its sheath while I was asleep. When I woke up, the naked sword was in his hand and he said to me, 'Who can save you from me?, I replied, 'Allah.' Now here he is sitting." Allah's Apostle did not punish him (for that).

Through another group of narrators, Jabir said, "We were in the company of the Prophet (during the battle of) Dhat-ur-Riqa', and we came across a shady tree and we left it for the

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Prophet (to take rest under its shade). A man from the pagans came while the Prophet's sword was hanging on the tree. He took it out of its sheath secretly and said (to the Prophet), 'Are you afraid of me?' The Prophet said, 'No.' He said, 'Who can save you from me?' The Prophet said, Allah.' The companions of the Prophet threatened him, then the Iqama for the prayer was announced and the Prophet offered a two Rakat Fear prayer with one of the two batches, and that batch went aside and he offered two Rak'a-t with the other batch. So the Prophet offered four Rakat but the people offered two Rakat only." (The sub-narrator) Abu Bishr added, "The man was Ghaurath bin Al-Harith and the battle was waged against Muharib Khasafa." Jabir added, "We were with the Prophet at Nakhl and he offered the Fear prayer." Abu Huraira said, "I offered the Fear prayer with the Prophet during the Ghazwa (i.e. the battle) of Najd." Abu Huraira came to the Prophet during the day of Khaibar.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 462:

Narrated Aisha:

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

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

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

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

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

Then she told me the slander of the people of Ifk. So my ailment was aggravated, and when I reached my home, Allah's Apostle came to me, and after greeting me, said, 'How is that (lady)?' I said, 'Will you allow me to go to my parents?' as I wanted to be sure about the news through them. Allah's Apostle allowed me (and I went to my parents) and asked my mother, 'O mother! What are the people talking about?' She said, 'O my daughter! Don't worry, for scarcely is there a charming woman who is loved by her husband and whose husband has other wives besides herself that they (i.e. women) would find faults with her.' I said, 'Subhan-Allah! (I testify the uniqueness of Allah). Are the people really talking in this way?' I kept on weeping that night till dawn I could neither stop weeping nor sleep then in the morning again, I kept on weeping. When the Divine Inspiration was delayed.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 485:

Narrated Abbas bin Tamim:

When it was the day (of the battle) of Al-Harra the people were giving Pledge of allegiance to Abdullah bin Hanzala. Ibn Zaid said, "For what are the people giving Pledge of allegiance to Abdullah bin Hanzala?" It was said to him, "For death." Ibn Zaid said, "I will never give the Pledge of allegiance for that to anybody else after Allah's Apostle ." Ibn Zaid was one of those who had witnessed the day of Al-Hudaibiya with the Prophet.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 502:

Narrated Abu Wail:

When Sahl bin Hunaif returned from (the battle of) Siffin, we went to ask him (as to why he had come back). He replied, "(You should not consider me a coward) but blame your opinions. I saw myself on the day of Abu Jandal (inclined to fight), and if I had the power of refusing the order of Allah's Apostle then, I would have refused it (and fought the infidels bravely). Allah and His Apostle know (what is convenient) better. Whenever we put our swords on our shoulders for any matter that terrified us, our swords led us to an easy agreeable solution before the present situation (of disagreement and dispute between the Muslims). When we mend the breach in one side, it opened in another, and we do not know what to do about it."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 509:

Narrated Salama bin Al-Akwa:

We went out to Khaibar in the company of the Prophet. While we were proceeding at night, a man from the group said to Amir, "O Amir! Won't you let us hear your poetry?" Amir was a poet, so he got down and started reciting for the people poetry that kept pace with the camels' footsteps,

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saying:-- "O Allah! Without You we Would not have been guided On the right path Neither would be have given In charity, nor would We have prayed. So please forgive us, what we have committed (i.e. our defects); let all of us Be sacrificed for Your Cause And send Sakina (i.e. calmness) Upon us to make our feet firm When we meet our enemy, and If they will call us towards An unjust thing, We will refuse. The infidels have made a hue and Cry to ask others' help Against us." The Prophet on that, asked, "Who is that (camel) driver (reciting poetry)?" The people said, "He is Amir bin Al-Akwa."

Then the Prophet said, "May Allah bestow His Mercy on him." A man amongst the people said, "O Allah's Prophet! has (martyrdom) been granted to him. Would that you let us enjoy his company longer." Then we reached and besieged Khaibar till we were afflicted with severe hunger. Then Allah helped the Muslims conquer it (i.e. Khaibar). In the evening of the day of the conquest of the city, the Muslims made huge fires. The Prophet said, "What are these fires? For cooking what, are you making the fire?" The people replied, "(For cooking) meat." He asked, "What kind of meat?" They (i.e. people) said, "The meat of donkeys." The Prophet said, "Throw away the meat and break the pots!" Some man said, "O Allah's Apostle! Shall we throw away the meat and wash the pots instead?" He said, "(Yes, you can do) that too." So when the army files were arranged in rows (for the clash), Amir's sword was short and he aimed at the leg of a Jew to strike it, but the sharp blade of the sword returned to him and injured his own knee, and that caused him to die. When they returned from the battle, Allah's Apostle saw me (in a sad mood). He took my hand and said, "What is bothering you?" I replied, "Let my father and mother be sacrificed for you! The people say that the deeds of Amir are lost." The Prophet said, "Whoever says so, is mistaken, for Amir has got a double reward." The Prophet raised two fingers and added, "He (i.e. Amir) was a persevering struggler in the Cause of Allah and there are few Arabs who achieved the like of (good deeds) Amir had done."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 515:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

We witnessed (the battle of) Khaibar. Allah's Apostle said about one of those who were with him and who claimed to be a Muslim. "This (man) is from the dwellers of the Hell-Fire." When the battle started, that fellow fought so violently and bravely that he received plenty of wounds. Some of the people were about to doubt (the Prophet's statement), but the man, feeling the pain of his wounds, put his hand into his quiver and took out of it, some arrows with which he slaughtered himself (i.e. committed suicide). Then some men amongst the Muslims came hurriedly and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Allah has made your statement true so-and-so has committed suicide. "The Prophet said, "O so-and-so! Get up and make an announcement that none but a believer will enter Paradise and that Allah may support the religion with an unchaste (evil) wicked man.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 516:

Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ashari:

When Allah's Apostle fought the battle of Khaibar, or when Allah's Apostle went towards it, (whenever) the people, (passed over a high place overlooking a valley, they raised their voices saying, "Allahu-Akbar! Allahu-Akbar! None has the right to be worshipped except Allah." On that Allah's Apostle said (to them), "Lower your voices, for you are not calling a deaf or an absent one, but you are calling a Hearer Who is near and is with you." I was behind the riding animal of Allah's Apostle and he heard me saying. "There Is neither might, nor power but with Allah," On that he said to me, "O Abdullah bin Qais!" I said, "Labbaik. O Allah's Apostle!" He said, "Shall I tell you a sentence which is one of the treasures of Paradise" I said, "Yes, O Allah's Apostle! Let my father and mother be sacrificed for your sake." He said, "It is: There is neither might nor power but with Allah."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 57:

Narrated Ali: on the day of Al-Khandaq (the battle of the Trench). the Prophet said

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 84:

Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:

The Prophet appointed Abdullah bin Jubair as the commander of the infantry during the battle of Uhud. They returned defeated, and that is what is meant by:--

"And the Apostle was calling them back in the rear. None remained with the Prophet then, but twelve men."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 85:

Narrated Abu Talha:

Slumber overtook us during the battle of Uhud while we were in the front files. My sword would fall from my hand and I would pick it up, and again it would fall down and I would pick it up again.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 90:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

During the lifetime of Allah's Apostle, some men among the hypocrites used to remain behind him (i.e. did not accompany him) when he went out for a Ghazwa and they would be pleased to stay at home behind Allah's Apostle When Allah's Apostle returned (from the battle) they would put forward (false) excuses and take oaths, wishing to be praised for what they had not done. So there was revealed:--

"Think not that those who rejoice in what they have done, and love to be praised for what they have not done.." (3.188)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 113:

Narrated Zaid bin Thabit: Regarding the Verse:-- "Then what is the matter with you that you are divided into two parties about the hypocrites?" (4.88) Some of the companions of the Prophet returned from the battle of Uhud (i.e. refused to

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 142:

Narrated Jabir:

Some people drank alcoholic beverages in the morning (of the day) of the Uhud battle and on the same day they were killed as martyrs, and that was before wine was prohibited.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 144:

Narrated Anas:

The alcoholic drink which was spilled was Al-Fadikh. I used to offer alcoholic drinks to the people at the residence of Abu Talha. Then the order of prohibiting Alcoholic drinks was revealed, and the Prophet ordered somebody to announce that: Abu Talha said to me, "Go out and see what this voice (this announcement) is." I went out and (on coming back) said, "This is somebody announcing that alcoholic beverages have been prohibited." Abu Talha said to me, "Go and spill it (i.e. the wine)," Then it (alcoholic drinks) was seen flowing through the streets of Medina. At that time the wine was Al-Fadikh. The people said, "Some people (Muslims) were killed (during the battle of Uhud) while wine was in their stomachs." So Allah revealed: "On those who believe and do good deeds there is no blame for what they ate (in the past)." (5.93)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 168:

Narrated Said bin Jubair:

I asked Ibn Abbas regarding Surat-al-Anfal. He said, "It was revealed in connection with the Battle of Badr."

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 195:

Narrated Abdullah bin Ka'b:

I heard Ka'b bin Malik at the time he remained behind and did not join (the battle of) Tabuk, saying, "By Allah, no blessing has Allah bestowed upon me, besides my guidance to Islam, better than that of helping me speak the truth to Allah's Apostle otherwise I would have told the Prophet a lie and would have been ruined like those who had told a lie when the Divine Inspiration was revealed:-- "They will swear by Allah to you (Muslims) when you return to them.. the rebellious people." (9.95-96)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 199:

Narrated Abdullah bin Kab:

I heard Ka'b bin Malik who was one of the three who were forgiven, saying that he had never remained behind Allah's Apostle in any Ghazwa which he had fought except two Ghazwat Ghazwat-al-Usra (Tabuk) and Ghazwat-Badr. He added. "I decided to tell the truth to Allah's Apostle in the forenoon, and scarcely did he return from a journey he made, except in the forenoon, he would go first to the mosque and offer a two-Rak'at prayer. The Prophet forbade others to speak to me or to my two companions, but he did not prohibit speaking to any of those who had remained behind excepting us. So the people avoided speaking to us, and I stayed in that state till I could no longer bear it, and the only thing that worried me was that I might die and the Prophet would not offer the funeral prayer for me, or Allah's Apostle might die and I would be left in that social status among the people that nobody would speak to me or offer the funeral prayer for me. But Allah revealed His Forgiveness for us to the Prophet in the last third of the night while Allah's Apostle was with Um Salama. Um Salama sympathised with me and helped me in my disaster. Allah's Apostle said, 'O Um Salama! Ka'b has been forgiven!' She said, 'Shall I send someone to him to give him the good tidings?' He said, 'If you did so, the people would not let you sleep the rest of the night.' So when the Prophet had offered the Fajr prayer, he announced Allah's Forgiveness for us. His face used to look as bright as a piece of the (full) moon whenever he was pleased. When Allah revealed His Forgiveness for us, we were the three whose case had been deferred while the excuse presented by those who had apologized had been accepted. But when there were mentioned those who had told the Prophet lies and remained behind (the battle of Tabuk) and had given false excuses, they were described with the worse description one may be described with. Allah said: 'They will present their excuses to you (Muslims) when you return to them. Say: Present no excuses; we shall not believe you. Allah has already informed us of the true state of matters concerning you. Allah and His Apostle will observe your actions." (9.94)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 200:

Narrated Abdullah bin Kab:

I heard Ka'b bin Malik talking about the story of the battle of Tabuk when he remained behind, "By Allah, I do not know anyone whom Allah has helped for telling the truth more than me since I mentioned that truth to Allah's Apostle till today, I have never intended to tell a lie. And Allah revealed to His Apostle: "Verily! Allah has forgiven the Prophet, the Muhajirin . . . . . and be with those who are true (in words and deeds)." (9.117-119) (See Hadith No. 702 Vol 5).

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 201:

Narrated Zaid bin Thabit Al-Ansari:

who was one of those who used to write the Divine Revelation: Abu Bakr sent for me after the (heavy) casualties among the warriors (of the battle) of Yamama (where a great number of Qurra' were killed). Umar was present with Abu Bakr who said, Umar has come to me and said, The people have suffered heavy casualties on the day of (the battle of) Yamama, and I am afraid that there will be more casualties among the Qurra' (those who know the Koran by heart) at other battle-fields, whereby a large part of the Koran may be lost, unless you collect it. And I am of the opinion that you should collect the Koran." Abu Bakr added, "I said to Umar, 'How can I do something which Allah's Apostle has not done?' Umar said (to me), 'By Allah, it is (really) a good thing.' So Umar kept on pressing, trying to persuade me to accept his proposal, till Allah opened my bosom for it and I had the same opinion as Umar." (Zaid bin Thabit added:) Umar was sitting with him (Abu Bakr) and was not speaking. me). "You are a wise young man and we do not suspect you (of telling lies or of forgetfulness): and you used to write the Divine Inspiration for Allah's Apostle. Therefore, look for the Koran and collect it (in one manuscript). " By Allah, if he (Abu Bakr) had ordered me to shift one of the mountains (from its place) it would not have been harder for me than what he had ordered me concerning the collection of the Koran. I said to both of them, "How dare you do a thing which the Prophet has not done?" Abu Bakr said, "By Allah, it is (really) a good thing. So I kept on arguing with him about it till Allah opened my bosom for that which He had opened the bosoms of Abu Bakr and Umar. So I started locating Koranic material and collecting it from parchments, scapula, leaf-stalks of date palms and from the memories of men (who knew it by heart). I found with Khuzaima two Verses of Surat-at-Tauba which I had not found with anybody else, (and they were):--

"Verily there has come to you an Apostle (Mohammed) from amongst yourselves. It grieves him that you should receive any injury or difficulty He (Mohammed) is ardently anxious over you (to be rightly guided)" (9.128)

The manuscript on which the Koran was collected, remained with Abu Bakr till Allah took him unto Him, and then with Umar till Allah took him unto Him, and finally it remained with Hafsa, Umar's daughter.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 215:

Narrated Abdullah (bin Musud):

When the Prophet realised that the Quraish had delayed in embracing Islam, he said, "O Allah! Protect me against their evil by afflicting them with seven (years of famine) like the seven years of (Prophet) Joseph." So they were struck with a year of famine that destroyed everything till they had to eat bones, and till a man would look towards the sky and see something like smoke between him and it. Allah said:--

"Then watch you (O Mohammed) for the day when the sky will produce a kind of smoke plainly visible." (44.10) And Allah further said:-- "Verily! We shall withdraw the punishment a little, Verily you will return (to disbelief)." (44.15) (Will Allah relieve them from torture on the Day of Resurrection?) (The punishment of) the smoke had passed and Al-Baltsha (the destruction of the pagans in the Badr battle) had passed too.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 225:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

(While we were going for the Battle of Tabuk and when we reached the places of the dwellers of Al-Hijr), Allah's Apostle said about the dwellers of Al-Hijr (to us). "Do not enter (the dwelling places) of these people unless you enter weeping, but if you weep not, then do not enter upon them, lest you be afflicted with what they were afflicted with."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 509:

Narrated Zaid bin Thabit:

Abu Bakr As-Siddiq sent for me when the people! of Yamama had been killed (i.e., a number of the Prophet's Companions who fought against Musailama). (I went to him) and found Umar bin Al-Khattab sitting with him. Abu Bakr then said (to me), "Umar has come to me and said: "Casualties were heavy among the Qurra' of the! Koran (i.e. those who knew the Koran by heart) on the day of the Battle of Yalmama, and I am afraid that more heavy casualties may take place among the Qurra' on other battlefields, whereby a large part of the Koran may be lost. Therefore I suggest, you (Abu Bakr) order that the Koran be collected." I said to Umar, "How can you do something which Allah's Apostle did not do?" Umar said, "By Allah, that is a good project. "Umar kept on urging me to accept his proposal till Allah opened my chest for it and I began to realise the good in the idea which Umar had realised." Then Abu Bakr said (to me). 'You are a wise young man and we do not have any suspicion about you, and you used to write the Divine Inspiration for Allah's Apostle. So you should search for (the fragmentary scripts of) the Koran and collect it in one book)." By Allah If they had ordered me to shift one of the mountains, it would not have

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been heavier for me than this ordering me to collect the Koran. Then I said to Abu Bakr, "How will you do something which Allah's Apostle did not do?" Abu Bakr replied, "By Allah, it is a good project." Abu Bakr kept on urging me to accept his idea until Allah opened my chest for what He had opened the chests of Abu Bakr and Umar. So I started looking for the Koran and collecting it from (what was written on) palmed stalks, thin white stones and also from the men who knew it by heart, till I found the last Verse of Surat At-Tauba (Repentance) with Abi Khuzaima Al-Ansari, and I did not find it with anybody other than him. The Verse is:

'Verily there has come unto you an Apostle (Mohammed) from amongst yourselves. It grieves him that you should receive any injury or difficulty..(till the end of Surat-Baraa' (At-Tauba) (9.128-129) Then the complete manuscripts (copy) of the Koran remained with Abu Bakr till he died, then with Umar till the end of his life, and then with Hafsa, the daughter of Umar.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 9:

Narrated Ibn Masud:

We used to fight in the holy battles in the company of the Prophet and we had no wives with us. So we said, "O Allah's Apostle! Shall we get castrated?" The Prophet forbade us to do so.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 13o:

Narrated Abdullah:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 16:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

While we were returning from a Ghazwa (Holy Battle) with the Prophet, I started driving my camel fast, as it was a lazy camel A rider came behind me and pricked my camel with a spear he had with him, and then my camel started running as fast as the best camel you may see. Behold! The rider was the Prophet himself. He said, 'What makes you in such a hurry?" I replied, I am newly married " He said, "Did you marry a virgin or a matron? I replied, "A matron." He said, "Why didn't you marry a young girl so that you may play with her and she with you?" When we were about to enter (Medina), the Prophet said, "Wait so that you may enter (Medina) at night so that the lady of unkempt hair may comb her hair and the one whose husband has been absent may shave her pubic region.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 25:

Narrated Aisha:

Abu Hudhaifa bin Utba bin Rabi'a bin Abdi Shams who had witnessed the battle of Badr along with the Prophet adopted Salim as his son, to whom he married his niece, Hind bint Al-Walid bin Utba bin Rabi'a; and Salim was the freed slave of an Ansar woman, just as the Prophet had adopted Zaid as his son. It was the custom in the Pre-lslamic Period that if somebody adopted a boy, the people would call him the son of the adoptive father and he would be the latter's heir. But when Allah revealed the Divine Verses: 'Call them by (the names of) their fathers . . . your freed-slaves,' (33.5) the adopted persons were called by their fathers' names. The one whose father was not known, would be regarded as a Maula and your brother in religion. Later on Sahla bint Suhail bin Amr Al-Quraishi Al-Amiri--and she was the wife of Abu-Hudhaifa bin Utba--came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! We used to consider Salim as our (adopted) son, and now Allah has revealed what you know (regarding adopted sons)." The sub-narrator then mentioned the rest of the narration.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 50:

Narrated Ali:

I said to Ibn Abbas, "During the battle of Khaibar the Prophet forbade (Nikah) Al-Mut'a and the eating of donkey's meat."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 77:

Narrated Ar-Rabi:

(the daughter of Muawwidh bin Afra) After the consummation of my marriage, the Prophet came and sat on my bed as far from me as you are sitting now, and our little girls started beating the tambourines and reciting elegiac verses mourning my father who had been killed in the battle of Badr. One of them said, "Among us is a Prophet who knows what will happen tomorrow." On that the Prophet said, "Leave this (saying) and keep on saying the verses which you had been saying before."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 175:

Narrated Abu Hazim:

The people differed about the type of treatment which had been given to Allah's Apostle on the day (of the battle) of Uhud. So they asked Sahl bin Sad As-SaId who was the only surviving Companion (of the Prophet) at Medina. He replied, "Nobody Is left at Medina who knows it better than I. Fatima was washing the blood off his face and Ali was bringing water in his shield, and then a mat of date-palm leaves was burnt and (the ash) was inserted into the wound."

Volume 7, Book 64, Number 275:

Narrated Ali bin Abi Talib:

Fatima came to the Prophet asking for a servant. He said, "May I inform you of something better than that? When you go to bed, recite "Subhan Allah' thirty three times, Alhamdulillah' thirty three times, and 'Allahu Akbar' thirty four times. 'All added, 'I have never failed to recite it ever since." Somebody asked, "Even on the night of the battle of Siffin?" He said, "No, even on the night of the battle of Siffin."

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 313:

Narrated 'Urban bin Malik:

who attended the Badr battle and was from the Ansar, that he came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have lost my eyesight and I lead my people in the prayer (as an Imam). When it rains, the valley which is between me and my people, flows with water, and then I cannot go to their mosque to lead them in the prayer. O Allah's Apostle! I wish that you could come and pray in my house so that I may take it as a praying place. The Prophet said, "Allah willing, I will do that." The next morning, soon after the sun had risen, Allah's Apostle came with Abu Bakr. The Prophet asked for the permission to enter and I admitted him. The Prophet had not sat till he had entered the house and said to me, "Where do you like me to pray in your house?" I pointed at a place in my house whereupon he stood and said, "Allahu Akbar." We lined behind him and he prayed two Rakat and finished it with Taslim. We then requested him to stay for a special meal of Khazira which we had prepared. A large number of men from the adjoining area gathered in the house. One of them said, "Where is Malik bin Ad-Dukhshun?" Another man said, "He is a hypocrite and does not love Allah and His Apostle." The Prophet said, "Do not say so. Do you not think that he has said: "None has the right to be worshipped but Allah," seeking Allah's pleasure? The man said, "Allah and His Apostle know better, but we have always seen him mixing with hypocrites and giving them advice." The Prophet said, "Allah has forbidden the (Hell) Fire for those who testify that none has the right to be worshipped but Allah, seeking Allah's pleasure. "

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 429:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

On the Day of the battle of Khaibar, Allah's Apostle made donkey's meat unlawful and allowed the eating of horse flesh.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 430:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

The Prophet made the meat of donkeys unlawful on the day of the battle of Khaibar.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 432:

Narrated Ali:

Allah's Apostle prohibited Al-Mut'a marriage and the eating of donkey's meat in the year of the Khaibar battle

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 433:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

The Prophet prohibited the eating of donkey's meat on the day of the battle of Khaibar, and allowed the eating of horse flesh.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 452:

Narrated Rafi bin Khadij:

While we were with the Prophet. on a journey, one of the camels ran away. A man shot it with an arrow and stopped it. The Prophet said, "Of these camels some are as wild as wild beasts, so if one of them runs away and you cannot catch it, then do like this (shoot it with an arrow)." I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Sometimes when we are in battles or on a journey we want to slaughter (animals) but we have no knives." He said, "Listen! If you slaughter the animal with anything that causes its blood to flow out, and if Allah's Name is mentioned on slaughtering it, eat of it, provided that the slaughtering instrument is not a tooth or a nail, as the tooth is a bone and the nail is the knife of Ethiopians."

Volume 7, Book 68, Number 475:

Narrated Abu SaId Al-Khudri:

that once he was not present (at the time of Id-al-Adha) and when he came. some meat was presented to him. and the people said (to him), 'This is the meat of our sacrifices" He said. 'Take it away; I shall not taste it. (In his narration) Abu SaId added: I got up and went to my brother, Abu Qatada (who was his maternal brother and was one of the warriors of the battle of Badr) and mentioned that to him He Sad. 'A new verdict was given in your absence (i.e., meat of sacrifices was allowed to be stored and eaten later on)."

Volume 7, Book 70, Number 567:

Narrated Usama bin Zaid:

The Prophet rode a donkey having a saddle with a Fadakiyya velvet covering. He mounted me behind him and went to visit Sad bin Ubada, and that had been before the battle of Badr. The Prophet proceeded till he passed by a gathering in which Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul was present, and that had been before Abdullah embraced Islam. The gathering comprised of Muslims, polytheists, i.e., isolators and Jews. Abdullah bin Rawaha was also present in that gathering. When dust raised by the donkey covered the gathering, Abdullah bin Ubai covered his nose with his upper garment and said, "Do not trouble us with dust." The Prophet greeted them, stopped and dismounted. Then he invited them to Allah (i.e., to embrace Islam) and recited to them some verses of the Holy Koran. On that, Abdullah bin Ubai said, "O man ! There is nothing better than what you say if it is true. Do not trouble us with it in our gathering, but return to your house, and if somebody comes to you, teach him there." On that Abdullah bin Rawaha said, Yes, O Allah's Apostle! Bring your teachings to our gathering, for we love that." So the Muslims, the pagans and the Jews started abusing each other till they were about to fight. The Prophet kept on quietening them till they became calm. Thereupon the Prophet mounted his animal and proceeded till he entered upon Sad bin Ubada. He said to him "O Sad! Have you not heard what Abu Hubab (i.e., Abdullah bin Ubai) said?" Sad said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Excuse and forgive him, for Allah has given you what He has given you. The people of this town (Medina decided unanimously to crown him and make him their chief by placing a turban on his head, but when that was prevented by the Truth which Allah had given you he (Abdullah bin Ubai) was grieved out of jealously, and that was the reason which caused him to behave in the way you have seen."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 618:

Narrated Sahl bin Saud As-SaIdi:

When the helmet broke on the head of the Prophet and his face became covered with blood and his incisor tooth broke (i.e. during the battle of Uhud), Ali used to bring water in his shield while Fatima was washing the blood off his face. When Fatima saw that the bleeding increased because of the water, she took a mat (of palm leaves), burnt it, and stuck it (the burnt ashes) on the wound of Allah's Apostle, whereupon the bleeding stopped.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 716:

Narrated Sad:

On the day of the battle of Uhud, on the right and on the left of the Prophet were two men wearing white clothes, and I had neither seen them before, nor did I see them afterwards.

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 203:

Narrated Ali:

I never heard Allah's Apostle saying, "Let my father and mother be sacrificed for you," except for Sa'd (bin Abi Waqqas). I heard him saying, "Throw! (arrows), Let my father and mother be sacrificed for you !" (The sub-narrator added, "I think that was in the battle of Uhud.")

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 271:

Narrated Urwa-bin Az-Zubair:

Usama bin Zaid said, "The Prophet rode over a donkey with a saddle underneath which there was a thick soft Fadakiya velvet sheet. Usama bin Zaid was his companion rider, and he was going to pay a visit to Sa'd bin Ubada (who was sick) at the dwelling place of Bani Al-Harith bin Al-Khazraj, and this incident happened before the battle of Badr. The Prophet passed by a gathering in which there were Muslims and pagan idolators and Jews, and among them there was Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul, and there was Abdullah bin Rawaha too. When a cloud of dust raised by the animal covered that gathering, Abdullah bin Ubai covered his nose with his Rida (sheet) and said (to the Prophet), "Don't cover us with dust." The Prophet greeted them and then stopped, dismounted and invited them to Allah (i.e., to embrace Islam) and also recited to them the Holy Koran. Abdullah bin Ubai' bin Salul said, "O man! There is nothing better than what you say, if what you say is the truth. So do not trouble us in our gatherings. Go back to your mount (or house,) and if anyone of us comes to you, tell (your tales) to him." On that Abdullah bin Rawaha said, "(O Allah's Apostle!) Come to us and bring it(what you want to say) in our gatherings, for we love that." So the Muslims, the pagans and the Jews started quarreling till they were about to fight and clash with one another. The Prophet kept on quietening them (till they all became quiet). He then rode his animal, and proceeded till he entered upon Sa'd bin Ubada, he said, "O Sa'd, didn't you hear what Abu Habbab said? (He meant Abdullah bin Ubai). He said so-and-so." Sa'd bin Ubada said, "O Allah's Apostle! Excuse and forgive him, for by Allah, Allah has given you what He has given you. The people of this town decided to crown him (as their chief) and make him their king. But when Allah prevented that with the Truth which He had given you, it choked him, and that was what made him behave in the way you saw him behaving." So the Prophet excused him.

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 272:

Narrated Abdullah bin Ka'b:

I heard Ka'b bin Malik narrating (when he did not join the battle of Tabuk): Allah's Apostle forbade all the Muslims to speak to us. I would come to Allah's Apostle and greet him, and I would wonder whether the Prophet did move his lips to return to my greetings or not till fifty nights passed away. The Prophet then announced (to the people) Allah's forgiveness for us (acceptance of our repentance) at the time when he had offered the Fajr (morning) prayer.

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 343:

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Narrated Salama bin Al-Akwa:

We went out with the Prophet to Khaibar. A man among the people said, "O Amir! Will you please recite to us some of your poetic verses?" So Amir got down and started chanting among them, saying, "By Allah! Had it not been for Allah, we would not have been guided." Amir also said other poetic verses which I do not remember. Allah's Apostle said, "Who is this (camel) driver?" The people said, "He is Amir bin Al-Akwa," He said, "May Allah bestow His Mercy on him." A man from the People said, "O Allah's Apostle! Would that you let us enjoy his company longer." When the people (Muslims) lined up, the battle started, and Amir was struck with his own sword (by chance) by himself and died. In the evening, the people made a large number of fires (for cooking meals). Allah's Apostle said, "What is this fire? What are you making the fire for?" They said, "For cooking the meat of donkeys." He said, "Throw away what is in the pots and break the pots!" A man said, "O Allah's Prophet! May we throw away what is in them and wash them?" He said, "Never mind, you may do so." (See Hadith No. 509, Vol. 5).

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 405:

Narrated Ali bin Abi Talib:

We were in the company of the Prophet on the day (of the battle) of Al-Khandaq (the Trench). The Prophet said, "May Allah fill their (the infidels') graves and houses with fire, as they have kept us so busy that we could not offer the middle prayer till the sun had set; and that prayer was the Asr prayer."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 423:

Narrated Sahl bin Sa'd As-SaIdi:

We were in the company of Allah's Apostle in (the battle of) Al-Khandaq, and he was digging the trench while we were carrying the earth away. He looked at us and said, "O Allah! There is no life worth living except the life of the Hereafter, so (please) forgive the Ansar and the Emigrants."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 433:

Narrated Amr bin Auf:

(an ally of the tribe of Bani Amir bin Lu'ai and one of those who had witnessed the battle of Badr with Allah's Apostle) Allah's Apostle sent Abu Ubaida bin AlJarrah to Bahrain to collect the Jizya tax. Allah's Apostle had concluded a peace treaty with the people of Bahrain and appointed Al 'Ala bin Al-Hadrami as their chief; Abu Ubaida arrived from Bahrain with the money. The Ansar heard of Abu Ubaida's arrival which coincided with the Fajr (morning) prayer led by Allah's Apostle. When the Prophet finished the prayer, they came to him. Allah's Apostle smiled when he saw them and said, "I think you have heard of the arrival of Abu Ubaida and that he has brought something." They replied, "Yes, O Allah's Apostle! " He said, "Have the good news, and hope for what will please you. By Allah, I am not afraid that you will become poor, but I am afraid that worldly wealth will be given to you in abundance as it was given to those (nations) before you, and you will start competing each other for it as the previous nations competed for it, and then it will divert you (from good) as it diverted them." '

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 434:

Narrated Uqba bin Amir:

The Prophet went out and offered the funeral prayer for the martyrs of the (battle of) Uhud and then ascended the pulpit and said, "I am your predecessor and I am a witness against you. By Allah, I am now looking at my Tank-lake (Al-Kauthar) and I have been given the keys of the treasures of the earth (or the keys of the earth). By Allah! I am not afraid that after me you will worship others besides Allah, but I am afraid that you will start competing for (the pleasures of) this world."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 455:

Narrated Abu Wail:

We paid a visit to Khabbab who was sick, and he said, "We migrated with the Prophet for Allah's Sake and our wages became due on Allah. Some of us died without having received anything of the wages, and one of them was Mus'ab bin Umar, who was martyred on the day of the battle of Uhud, leaving only one sheet (to shroud him in). If we covered his head with it, his feet became uncovered, and if we covered his feet with it, his head became uncovered. So the Prophet ordered us to cover his head with it and put some Idhkhir (a kind of grass) over his feet. On the other hand, some of us have had the fruits (of our good deed) and are plucking them (in this world)."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 558:

Narrated Anas:

Haritha was martyred on the day (of the battle) of Badr while he was young. His mother came to the Prophet saying, "O Allah's Apostle! You know the relation of Haritha to me (how fond of him I was); so, if he is in Paradise, I will remain patient and wish for Allah's reward, but if he is not there, then you will see what I will do." The Prophet replied, "May Allah be merciful upon you! Have you gone mad? (Do you think) it is one Paradise? There are many Paradises and he is in the (most superior) Paradise of Al-Firdaus."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 559:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "The width between the two shoulders of a Kafir (disbeliever) will be equal to the distance covered by a fast rider in three days."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 572:

Narrated Anas:

Um (the mother of) Haritha came to Allah's Apostle after Haritha had been martyred on the Day (of the battle) of Badr by an arrow thrown by an unknown person. She said, "O Allah's Apostle! You know the position of Haritha in my heart (i.e. how dear to me he was), so if he is in Paradise, I will not weep for him, or otherwise, you will see what I will do." The Prophet said, "Are you mad? Is there only one Paradise? There are many Paradises, and he is in the highest Paradise of Firdaus." The Prophet added, "A forenoon journey or an after noon journey in Allah's Cause is better than the whole world and whatever is in it; and a place equal to an arrow bow of anyone of you, or a place equal to a foot in Paradise is better than the whole world and whatever is in it; and if one of the women of Paradise looked at the earth, she would fill the whole space between them (the earth and the heaven) with light, and would fill whatever is in between them, with perfume, and the veil of her face is better than the whole world and whatever is in it."

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 603:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

We witnessed along with Allah's Apostle the Khaibar (campaign). Allah's Apostle told his companions about a man who claimed to be a Muslim, "This man is from the people of the Fire." When the battle started, the man fought very bravely and received a great number of wounds and got crippled. On that, a man from among the companions of the Prophet came and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Do you know what the man you described as of the people of the Fire has done? He has fought very bravely for Allah's Cause and he has received many wounds." The Prophet said, "But he is indeed one of the people of the Fire." Some of the Muslims were about to have some doubt about that statement. So while the man was in that state, the pain caused by the wounds troubled him so much that he put his hand into his quiver and took out an arrow and committed suicide with it. Off went some men from among the Muslims to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Allah has made your statement true. So-and-so has committed suicide." Allah's Apostle said, "O Bilal! Get up and announce in public: None will enter Paradise but a believer, and Allah may support this religion (Islam) with a wicked man."

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 607:

Narrated Abu Musa:

While we were with Allah's Apostle in a holy battle, we never went up a hill or reached its peak or went down a valley but raised our voices with Takbir. Allah's Apostle came close to us and said, "O people! Don't exert yourselves, for you do not call a deaf or an absent one, but you call the All-Listener, the All-Seer." The Prophet then said, "O Abdullah bin Qais! Shall I teach you a sentence which is from the treasures of Paradise? (It is): 'La haula wala quwata illa billah. (There is neither might nor power except with Allah)."

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 617:

Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:

I saw the Prophet on the Day of (the battle of) Al-Khandaq, carrying earth with us and saying, "By Allah, without Allah we would not have been guided, neither would we have fasted, nor would we have prayed. O Allah! Send down Sakina (calmness) upon us and make our feet firm when we meet (the enemy). The pagans have rebelled against us, but if they want to put us in affliction (i.e., fight us) we refuse (to flee)." (See Hadith No. 430, Vol. 5).

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 661:

Narrated Aisha:

When the pagans were defeated during the (first stage) of the battle of Uhud, Satan shouted, "O Allah's slaves! Beware of what is behind you!" So the front files of the Muslims attacked their own back files. Hudhaifa bin Al-Yaman looked and on seeing his father he shouted: "My father! My father!" By Allah! The people did not stop till they killed his father. Hudhaifa then said, "May Allah forgive you." Urwa (the sub-narrator) added, "Hudhaifa continued asking Allah forgiveness for the killers of his father till he met Allah (till he died)."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 681:

Narrated Ka'b bin Malik:

In the last part of his narration about the three who remained behind (from the battle of Tabuk). (I said) "As a proof of my true repentance (for not joining the Holy battle of Tabuk), I shall give up all my property for the sake of Allah and His Apostle (as an expiation for that sin)." The Prophet said (to me), "Keep some of your wealth, for that is better for you."

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 5:

Narrated Al-Miqdad bin Amr Al-Kindi:

An ally of Bani Zuhra who took part in the battle of Badr with the Prophet, that he said, "O Allah's Apostle! If I meet an unbeliever and we have a fight, and he strikes my hand with the sword and cuts it off, and then takes refuge from me under a tree, and says, 'I have surrendered to Allah (i.e. embraced Islam),' may I kill him after he has said so?" Allah's Apostle said, "Do not kill him." Al-Miqdad said, "But O Allah's Apostle! He had chopped off one of my hands and he said that after he had cut it off. May I kill him?" The Prophet said. "Do not kill him for if you kill him, he would be in the position in which you had been before you kill him, and you would be in the position in which he was before he said the sentence." The Prophet also said to Al-Miqdad, "If a faithful believer conceals his faith (Islam) from the disbelievers, and then when he declares his Islam, you kill him, (you will be sinful). Remember that you were also concealing your faith (Islam) at Mecca before."

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 22:

Narrated Aisha:

The pagans were defeated on the day (of the battle) of Uhud. Satan shouted among the people on the day of Uhud, "O Allah's worshippers! Beware of what is behind you!" So the front file of the army attacked the back files (mistaking them for the enemy) till they killed Al-Yaman. Hudhaifa (bin Al-Yaman) shouted, "My father!" My father! But they killed him. Hudhaifa said, "May Allah forgive you." (The narrator added: Some of the defeated pagans fled till they reached Taif.)

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 28:

Narrated Aisha:

"When it was the day of (the battle of) Uhud, the pagans were defeated. Then Satan shouted, "O Allah's worshipers! Beware of what is behind you!" So the front files attacked the back files of the army. Hudhaifa looked, and behold, there was his father, Al-Yaman (being attacked) ! He shouted (to his companions), "O Allah's worshipers, my father, my father!" But by Allah, they did not stop till they killed him (i.e., Hudhaifa's father). Hudhaifa said, "May Allah forgive you." (Urwa said, Hudhaifa continued asking Allah's Forgiveness for the killer of his father till he died.

Volume 9, Book 84, Number 72:

Narrated:

Abu Abdur-Rahman and Hibban bin 'Atiyya had a dispute. Abu Abdur-Rahman said to Hibban, "You know what made your companions (i.e. Ali) dare to shed blood." Hibban said, "Come on! What is that?" Abdur-Rahman said, "Something I heard him saying." The other said, "What was it?" AbdurRahman said, "Ali said, Allah's Apostle sent for me, Az-Zubair and Abu Marthad, and all of us were cavalry men, and said, 'Proceed to Raudat-Hajj (Abu Salama said that Abu 'Awana called it like this, i.e., Hajj where there is a woman carrying a letter from Hatib bin Abi Balta'a to the pagans (of Mecca). So bring that letter to me.' So we proceeded riding on our horses till we overtook her at the same place of which Allah's Apostle had told us. She was traveling on her camel. In that letter Hatib had written to the Meccans about the proposed attached of Allah's Apostle against them. We asked her, "Where is the letter which is with you?' She replied, 'I haven't got any letter.' So we made her camel kneel down and searched her luggage, but we did not find anything. My two companions said, 'We do not think that she has got a letter.' I said, 'We know that Allah's Apostle has not told a lie.'"

Then Ali took an oath saying, "By Him by Whom one should swear! You shall either bring out the letter or we shall strip off your clothes." She then stretched out her hand for her girdle (round her waist) and brought out the paper (letter). They took the letter to Allah's Apostle. Umar said, "O Allah's Apostle! (Hatib) has betrayed Allah, His Apostle and the believers; let me chop off his neck!" Allah's Apostle said, "O Hatib! What obliged you to do what you have done?" Hatib replied, "O Allah's Apostle! Why (for what reason) should I not believe in Allah and His Apostle? But I intended to do the (Mecca) people a favor by virtue of which my family and property may be protected as there is none of your companions but has some of his people (relatives) whom Allah urges to protect his family and property." The Prophet said, "He has said the truth; therefore, do not say anything to him except good." Umar again said, "O Allah's Apostle! He has betrayed Allah, His Apostle and the believers; let me chop his neck off!" The Prophet said, "Isn't he from those who fought the battle of Badr? And what do you know, Allah might have looked at them (Badr warriors) and said (to them), 'Do what you like, for I have granted you Paradise?' " On that, Umar's eyes became flooded with tears and he said, "Allah and His Apostle know best."

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 91:

Narrated Mohammed bin Ali:

Ali was told that Ibn Abbas did not see any harm in the Mut'a marriage. Ali said, "Allah's Apostle forbade the Mut'a marriage on the Day of the battle of Khaibar and he forbade the eating of donkey's meat." Some people said, "If one, by a tricky way, marries temporarily, his marriage is illegal." Others said, "The marriage is valid but its condition is illegal."

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 159:

Narrated Abu Musa:

The Prophet said, "I saw in a dream that I was migrating from Mecca to a land where there were date palm trees. I thought that it might be the land of Al-Yamama or Hajar,

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but behold, it turned out to be Yathrib (i.e. Medina). And I saw cows (being slaughtered) there, but the reward given by Allah is better (than worldly benefits). Behold, those cows proved to symbolize the believers (who were killed) on the Day (of the battle) of Uhud, and the good (which I saw in the dream) was the good and the reward and the truth which Allah bestowed upon us after the Badr battle. (or the Battle of Uhud) and that was the victory bestowed by Allah in the Battle of Khaibar and the conquest of Mecca) .

Volume 9, Book 87, Number 164:

Narrated Abu Musa:

The Prophet said, "I saw in a dream that I waved a sword and it broke in the middle, and behold, that symbolized the casualties the believers suffered on the Day (of the battle) of Uhud. Then I waved the sword again, and it became better than it had ever been before, and behold, that symbolized the Conquest (of Mecca) which Allah brought about and the gathering of the believers. "

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 219:

Narrated Abu Bakra:

During the battle of Al-Jamal, Allah benefited me with a Word (I heard from the Prophet). When the Prophet heard the news that the people of the Persia had made the daughter of Khosrau their Queen (ruler), he said, "Never will succeed such a nation as makes a woman their ruler."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 301:

Narrated Zaid bin Thabit:

Abu Bakr sent for me owing to the large number of casualties in the battle of Al-Yamama, while Umar was sitting with him. Abu Bakr said (to me), Umar has come to my and said, 'A great number of Qaris of the Holy Koran were killed on the day of the battle of Al-Yamama, and I am afraid that the casualties among the Qaris of the Koran may increase on other battle-fields whereby a large part of the Koran may be lost. Therefore I consider it advisable that you (Abu Bakr) should have the Koran collected.' I said, 'How dare I do something which Allah's Apostle did not do?' Umar said, By Allah, it is something beneficial.' Umar kept on pressing me for that till Allah opened my chest for that for which He had opened the chest of Umar and I had in that matter, the same opinion as Umar had." Abu Bakr then said to me (Zaid), "You are a wise young man and we do not have any suspicion about you, and you used to write the Divine Inspiration for Allah's Apostle. So you should search for the fragmentary scripts of the Koran and collect it (in one Book)." Zaid further said: By Allah, if Abu Bakr had ordered me to shift a mountain among the mountains from one place to another it would not have been heavier for me than this ordering me to collect the Koran. Then I said (to Umar and Abu Bakr), "How can you do something which Allah's Apostle did not do?" Abu Bakr said, "By Allah, it is something beneficial." Zaid added: So he (Abu Bakr) kept on pressing me for that until Allah opened my chest for that for which He had opened the chests of Abu Bakr and Umar, and I had in that matter, the same opinion as theirs.

So I started compiling the Koran by collecting it from the leafless stalks of the date-palm tree and from the pieces of leather and hides and from the stones, and from the chests of men (who had memorized the Koran). I found the last verses of Sirat-at-Tauba: ("Verily there has come unto you an Apostle (Mohammed) from amongst yourselves--' (9.128-129)) from Khuzaima or Abi Khuzaima and I added to it the rest of the Sura. The manuscripts of the Koran remained with Abu Bakr till Allah took him unto Him. Then it remained with Umar till Allah took him unto Him, and then with Hafsa bint Umar.

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 331:

Narrated Abdullah bin Ka'b bin Malik:

Who was Ka'b's guide from among his sons when Ka'b became blind: I heard Ka'b bin Malik saying, "When some people remained behind and did not join Allah's Apostle in the battle of Tabuk.." and then he described the whole narration and said, "Allah's Apostle forbade the Muslims to speak to us, and so we (I and my companions) stayed fifty nights in that state, and then Allah's Apostle announced Allah's acceptance of our repentance."

Volume 9, Book 90, Number 332:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "By Him in Whose Hands my life is! Were it not for some men who dislike to be left behind and for whom I do not have means of conveyance, I would not stay away (from any Holy Battle). I would love to be martyred in Allah's Cause and come to life and then get, martyred and then come to life and then get martyred and then get resurrected and then get martyred.

Volume 9, Book 90, Number 342:

Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:

The Prophet was carrying earth with us on the day of the battle of Al-Ahzab (confederates) and I saw that the dust was covering the whiteness of his abdomen, and he (the Prophet) was saying, "(O Allah) ! Without You, we would not have been guided, nor would we have given in charity, nor would we have prayed. So (O Allah!) please send tranquility (Sakina) upon us as they, (the chiefs of the enemy tribes) have rebelled against us. And if they intend affliction (i.e. want to frighten us and fight against us) then we would not (flee but withstand them). And the Prophet used to raise his voice with it. (See Hadith No. 430 and 432, Vol. 5)

Volume 9, Book 91, Number 366:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

On the day of (the battle of) the Trench, the Prophet called the people (to bring news about the enemy). Az-Zubair responded to his call. He called them again and Az-Zubair responded to his call again; then he called them for the third time and again Az-Zubair responded to his call whereupon the Prophet said, "Every prophet has his Hawairi (helper), and Az-Zubair is my Hawari."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 411:

Narrated Al-A'mash:

I asked Abu Wail, "Did you witness the battle of Siffin between Ali and Muawiya?" He said, "Yes," and added, "Then I heard Sahl bin Hunaif saying, 'O people! Blame your personal opinions in your religion. No doubt, I remember myself on the day of Abi Jandal; if I had the power to refuse the order of Allah's Apostle, I would have refused it.

We have never put our swords on our shoulders to get involved in a situation that might have been horrible for us, but those swords brought us to victory and peace, except this present situation.' " Abu Wail said, "I witnessed the battle of Siffin, and how nasty Siffin was!"

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 472:

Narrated Aisha:

The Prophet sent (an army unit) under the command of a man who used to lead his companions in the prayers and would finish his recitation with (the Sura 112): 'Say (O Mohammed): "He is Allah, the One." ' (112.1) When they returned (from the battle), they mentioned that to the Prophet. He said (to them), "Ask him why he does so." They asked him and he said, "I do so because it mentions the qualities of the Beneficent and I love to recite it (in my prayer)." The Prophet; said (to them), "Tell him that Allah loves him"

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 506:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

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

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 581:

Narrated Abdullah bin Abi Aufa:

Allah's Apostle said on the Day of (the battle of) the Clans, "O Allah! The Revealer of the Holy Book, The Quick Taker of Accounts! Defeat the clans and shake them."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 125:

A man came to the Prophet and asked, "O Allah's Apostle! What kind of fighting is in Allah's cause? (I ask this), for some of us fight because of being enraged and angry and some for the sake of his pride and haughtiness." The Prophet raised his head (as the questioner was standing) and said, "He who fights so that Allah's Word (Islam) should be superior, then he fights in Allah's cause."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 238:

The Prophet said, "A wound which a Muslim receives in Allah's cause will appear on the Day of Resurrection as it was at the time of infliction; blood will be flowing from the wound and its color will be that of the blood but will smell like musk."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 584:

Narrated Humaid: Anas bin Malik said, "Whenever the Prophet went out with us to fight (in Allah's cause) against any nation, he never allowed us to attack till morning and he would wait and see: if he heard Adhan he would postpone the attack and if he did not hear Adhan he would attack them." Anas added, "We reached Khaibar at night and in the morning when he did not hear the Adhan for the prayer, he (the Prophet) rode and I rode behind Abi Talha and my foot was touching that of the Prophet.

The inhabitants of Khaibar came out with their baskets and spades and when they saw the Prophet they shouted 'Mohammed! By Allah, Mohammed and his army.' When Allah's Apostle saw them, he said, "Allahu-Akbar! Allahu-Akbar! Khaibar is ruined. Whenever we approach a (hostile) nation (to fight), then evil will be the morning of those who have been warned."

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 624:

Narrated Abu Huraira: Allah's Apostle said, "While a man was going on a way, he saw a thorny branch and removed it from the way and Allah became pleased by his action and forgave him for that." Then the Prophet said, "Five are martyrs: One who dies of plague, one who dies of an abdominal disease, one who dies of drowning, one who is buried alive (and) dies and one who is killed in Allah's cause." (The Prophet further said, "If the people knew the reward for pronouncing the Adhan and for standing in the first row (in the congregational prayer) and found no other way to get it except by drawing lots they would do so, and if they knew the reward of offering the Zuhr prayer early (in its stated time), they would race for it and they knew the reward for 'Isha' and Fajr prayers in congregation, they would attend them even if they were to crawl')

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 629:

Narrated Abu Huraira: The Prophet said, "Allah will give shade, to seven, on the Day when there will be no shade but His. (These seven persons are) a just ruler, a youth who has been brought up in the worship of Allah (i.e. worships Allah sincerely from childhood), a man whose heart is attached to the mosques (i.e. to pray the compulsory prayers in the mosque in congregation), two persons who love each other only for Allah's sake and they meet and part in Allah's cause only, a man who refuses the call of a charming woman of noble birth for illicit intercourse with her and says: I am afraid of Allah, a man who gives charitable gifts so secretly that his left hand does not know what his right hand has given (i.e. nobody knows how much he has given in charity), and a person who remembers Allah in seclusion and his eyes are then flooded with tears."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 804:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Some poor people came to the Prophet and said, "The wealthy people will get higher grades and will have permanent enjoyment and they pray like us and fast as we do. They have more money by which they perform the Hajj, and Umra; fight and struggle in Allah's Cause and give in charity." The Prophet said, "Shall I not tell you a thing upon which if you acted you would catch up with those who have surpassed you? Nobody would overtake you and you would be better than the people amongst whom you live except those who would do the same. Say "Sub-han-al-lah", "Alhamdu-lillah" and "Allahu Akbar" thirty three times each after every (compulsory) prayer." We differed and some of us said that we should say, "Subhan-al-lah" thirty three times and "Alhamdu lillah" thirty three times and "Allahu Akbar" thirty four times. I went to the Prophet who said, "Say, "Subhan-al-lah" and "Alhamdu lillah" and "Allahu Akbar" all together for thirty three times."

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 6:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "Any person who takes a bath on Friday like the bath of Janaba and then goes for the prayer (in the first hour i.e. early), it is as if he had sacrificed a camel (in Allah's cause); and whoever goes in the second hour it is as if he had sacrificed a cow; and whoever goes in the third hour, then it is as if he had sacrificed a horned ram; and if one goes in the fourth hour, then it is as if he had sacrificed a hen; and whoever goes in the fifth hour then it is as if he had offered an egg. When the Imam comes out (i.e. starts delivering the Khutba), the angels present themselves to listen to the Khutba."

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 30:

Narrated Abu Abs:

I heard the Prophet saying, "Anyone whose feet are covered with dust in Allah's cause, shall be saved by Allah from the Hell-Fire."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 489:

Narrated Al-Ahnaf bin Qais:

While I was sitting with some people from Quraish, a man with very rough hair, clothes, and appearance came and stood in front of us, greeted us and said, "Inform those who hoard wealth, that a stone will be heated in the Hell-fire and will be put on the nipples of their breasts till it comes out from the bones of their shoulders and then put on the bones of their shoulders till it comes through the nipples of their breasts the stone will be moving and hitting." After saying that, the person retreated and sat by the side of the pillar, I followed him and sat beside him, and I did not know who he was. I said to him, "I think the people disliked what you had said." He said, "These people do not understand anything, although my friend told me." I asked, "Who is your friend?" He said, "The Prophet said (to me), 'O Abu Dhar! Do you see the mountain of Uhud?' And on that I (Abu Dhar) started looking towards the sun to judge how much remained of the day as I thought that Allah's Apostle wanted to send me to do something for him and I said, 'Yes!' He said, 'I do not love to have gold equal to the mountain of Uhud unless I spend it all (in Allah's cause) except three Dinars (pounds). These people do not understand and collect worldly wealth. No, by Allah, Neither I ask them for worldly benefits nor am I in need of their religious advice till I meet Allah, The Honourable, The Majestic." '

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 502:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "A man said that he would give something in charity. He went out with his object of charity and unknowingly gave it to a thief. Next morning the people said that he had given his object of charity to a thief. (On hearing that) he said, "O Allah! All the praises are for you. I will give alms again." And so he again went out with his alms and (unknowingly) gave it to an adulteress. Next morning the people said that he had given his alms to an adulteress last

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night. The man said, "O Allah! All the praises are for you. (I gave my alms) to an adulteress. I will give alms again." So he went out with his alms again and (unknowingly) gave it to a rich person. (The people) next morning said that he had given his alms to a wealthy person. He said, "O Allah! All the praises are for you. (I had given alms) to a thief, to an adulteress and to a wealthy man." Then someone came and said to him, "The alms which you gave to the thief, might make him abstain from stealing, and that given to the adulteress might make her abstain from illegal sexual intercourse (adultery), and that given to the wealthy man might make him take a lesson from it and spend his wealth which Allah has given him, in Allah's cause."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 504:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "Seven people will be shaded by Allah under His shade on the day when there will be no shade except His. They are:

(1) a just ruler;

(2) a young man who has been brought up in the worship of Allah, (i.e. worship Allah (Alone) sincerely from his childhood),

(3) a man whose heart is attached to the mosque (who offers the five compulsory congregational prayers in the mosque);

(4) two persons who love each other only for Allah's sake and they meet and part in Allah's cause only;

(5) a man who refuses the call of a charming woman of noble birth for an illegal sexual intercourse with her and says: I am afraid of Allah;

(6) a person who practices charity so secretly that his left hand does not know what his right hand has given (i.e. nobody knows how much he has given in charity).

(7) a person who remembers Allah in seclusion and his eyes get flooded with tears."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 505:

Narrated Haritha bin Wahab Al-Khuza'i:

I heard the Prophet saying, "(O people!) Give in charity (for Allah's cause) because a time will come when a person will carry his object of charity from place to place (and he will not find any person to take it) and any person whom he shall request to take it, I will reply, 'If you had brought it yesterday I would have taken it, but today I am not

in need of it."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 515:

Narrated Asma' bint Abu Bakr:

that she had gone to the Prophet and he said, "Do not shut your money bag; otherwise Allah too will with-hold His blessings from you. Spend (in Allah's Cause) as much as you can afford. "

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 521:

Narrated Aisha:

The Prophet said, "When a woman gives in charity from her house meals in Allah's Cause without spoiling her husband's property, she will get a reward for it, and her husband will also get the reward for his earnings and the storekeeper will get a reward likewise."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 540:

Narrated Ishaq bin Abdullah bin Al Talha:

I heard Anas bin Malik saying, "Abu Talha had more property of date-palm trees gardens than any other amongst the Ansar in Medina and the most beloved of them to him was Bairuha garden, and it was in front of the Mosque of the Prophet . Allah's Apostle used to go there and used to drink its nice water." Anas added, "When these verses were revealed:--'By no means shall you Attain righteousness unless You spend (in charity) of that Which you love. ' (3.92) Abu Talha said to Allah's Apostle 'O Allah's Apostle! Allah, the Blessed, the Superior says: By no means shall you attain righteousness, unless you spend (in charity) of that which you love. And no doubt, Bairuha' garden is the most beloved of all my property to me. So I want to give it in charity in Allah's Cause. I expect its reward from Allah. O Allah's Apostle! Spend it where Allah makes you think it feasible.' On that Allah's Apostle said, 'Bravo! It is useful property. I have heard what you have said (O Abu Talha), and I think it would be proper if you gave it to your Kith and kin.' Abu Talha said, I will do so, O Allah's Apostle.' Then Abu Talha distributed that garden amongst his relatives and his cousins."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 566:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

Umar bin Al-Khattab gave a horse in charity in Allah's Cause and later he saw it being sold in the market and intended to purchase it. Then he went to the Prophet and asked his permission. The Prophet said, "Do not take back what you have given in charity." For this reason, Ibn Umar never purchased the things which he had given in charity, and in case he had purchased something (unknowingly) he would give it in charity again.

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 567:

Narrated Umar:

Once I gave a horse in Allah's Cause (in charity) but that person did not take care of it. I intended to buy it, as I thought he would sell it at a low price. So, I asked the Prophet about it. He said, "Neither buy, nor take back your alms which you have given, even if the seller were willing to sell it for one Dirham, for he who takes back his alms is like the one who swallows his own vomit."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 658:

Narrated 'Usama bin Zaid:

I asked, "O Allah's Apostle! Where will you stay in Mecca? Will you stay in your house in Mecca?" He replied, "Has 'Aqil left any property or house?" Aqil along with Talib had inherited the property of Abu Talib. Jafar and Ali did not inherit anything as they were Muslims and the other two were non-believers. Umar bin Al-Khattab used to say, "A believer cannot inherit (anything from an) infidel." Ibn Shihab, (a sub-narrator) said, "They (Umar and others) derived the above verdict from Allah's Statement: "Verily! those who believed and Emigrated and strove with their life And property in Allah's Cause, And those who helped (the emigrants) And gave them their places to live in, These are (all) allies to one another." (8.72)

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 573:

Narrated Abu Dhar:

Once, while I was in the company of the Prophet, he saw the mountain of Uhud and said, "I would not like to have this mountain turned into gold for me unless nothing of it, not even a single Dinar remains of it with me for more than three days (i.e. I will spend all of it in Allah's Cause), except that Dinar which I will keep for repaying debts." Then he said, "Those who are rich in this world would have little reward in the Hereafter except those who spend their money here and there (in Allah's Cause), and they are few in number." Then he ordered me to stay at my place and went not far away. I heard a voice and intended to go to him but I remembered his order, "Stay at your place till I return." On his return I said, "O Allah's Apostle! (What was) that noise which I heard?" He said, "Did you hear anything?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Gabriel came and said to me, 'Whoever amongst your followers dies, worshipping none along with Allah, will enter Paradise.' " I said, "Even if he did such-and-such things (i.e. even if he stole or committed illegal sexual intercourse)" He said, "Yes."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 709:

Narrated Qais:

When Abu Huraira accompanied by his slave came intending to embrace Islam, they lost each other on the way. (When the slave showed up) Abu Huraira said (to the Prophet), "I make you witness that the slave is free for Allah's Cause."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 792:

Narrated Umar bin Al-Khattab:

I gave a horse in Allah's Cause. The person to whom it was given, did not look after it. I intended to buy it from him, thinking that he would sell it cheap. When I asked the Prophet he said, "Don't buy it, even if he gives it to you for one Dirham, as the person who takes back what he has given in charity, is like a dog that swallows back its vomit."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 804:

Narrated Umar bin Al-Khatab:

Once I gave a horse (for riding) in Allah's Cause. Later I saw it being sold. I asked Allah's Apostle (whether I could buy it). He said, "Don't buy it, for you should not get back what you have given in charity."

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 895:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

Umar bin Khattab got some land in Khaibar and he went to the Prophet to consult him about it saying, "O Allah' Apostle got some land in Khaibar better than which I have never had, what do you suggest that I do with it?" The Prophet said, "If you like you can give the land as endowment and give its fruits in charity." So Umar gave it in charity as an endowment on the condition that would not be sold nor given to anybody as a present and not to be inherited, but its yield would be given in charity to the poor people, to the Kith and kin, for freeing slaves, for Allah's Cause, to the travelers and guests; and that there would be no harm if the guardian of the endowment ate from it according to his need with good intention, and fed others without storing it for the future."

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 26:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

In the lifetime of Allah's Apostle , Umar gave in charity some of his property, a garden of date-palms called Thamgh. Umar said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have some property which I prize highly and I want to give it in charity." The Prophet; said, "Give it in charity (i.e. as an endowment) with its land and trees on the condition that the land and trees will neither be sold nor given as a present, nor bequeathed, but the fruits are to be spent in charity." So Umar gave it in charity, and it was for Allah's Cause, the emancipation of slaves, for the poor, for guests, for travelers, and for kinsmen. The person acting as its administrator could eat from it reasonably and fairly, and could let a friend of his eat from it provided he had no intention of becoming wealthy by its means.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 45:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

Somebody asked, "O Allah's Apostle! Who is the best among the people?" Allah's Apostle replied "A believer who strives his utmost in Allah's Cause with his life and property." They asked, "Who is next?" He replied, "A believer who stays in one of the mountain paths worshipping Allah and leaving the people secure from his mischief."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 48:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "Whoever believes in Allah and His Apostle, offer prayer perfectly and fasts the month of Ramadan, will rightfully be granted Paradise by Allah, no matter whether he fights in Allah's Cause or remains in the land where he is born." The people said, "O Allah's Apostle ! Shall we acquaint the people with the is good news?" He said, "Paradise has one-hundred grades which Allah has reserved for the Mujahidin who fight in His Cause, and the distance between each of two grades is like the distance between the Heaven and the Earth. So, when you ask Allah (for something), ask for Al-firdaus which is the best and highest part of Paradise." (i.e. The sub-narrator added, "I think the Prophet also said, 'Above it (i.e. Al-Firdaus) is the Throne of Beneficent (i.e. Allah), and from it originate the rivers of Paradise.")

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 50:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

The Prophet said, "A single endeavor (of fighting) in Allah's Cause in the forenoon or in the afternoon is better than the world and whatever is in it."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 51:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "A place in Paradise as small as a bow is better than all that on which the sun rises and sets (i.e. all the world)." He also said, "A single endeavor in Allah's Cause in the afternoon or in the forenoon is better than all that on which the sun rises and sets."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 52:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad:

The Prophet said, "A single endeavor in Allah's Cause in the afternoon and in the forenoon is better than the world and whatever is in it."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 53:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

The Prophet said, "Nobody who dies and finds good from Allah (in the Hereafter) would wish to come back to this world even if he were given the whole world and whatever is in it, except the martyr who, on seeing the superiority of martyrdom, would like to come back to the world and get killed again (in Allah's Cause)."

Narrated Anas: The Prophet said, "A single endeavor (of fighting) in Allah's Cause in the afternoon or in the forenoon is better than all the world and whatever is in it. A place in Paradise as small as the bow or lash of one of you is better than all the world and whatever is in it. And if a houri from Paradise appeared to the people of the earth, she would fill the space between Heaven and the Earth with light and pleasant scent and her head cover is better than the world and whatever is in it."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 54:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "By Him in Whose Hands my life is! Were it not for some men amongst the believers who dislike to be left behind me and whom I cannot provide with means of conveyance, I would certainly never remain behind any Sariya' (army-unit) setting out in Allah's Cause. By Him in Whose Hands my life is! I would love to be martyred in Al1ah's Cause and then get resurrected and then get martyred, and then get resurrected again and then get martyred and then get resurrected again and then get martyred.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 59:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "By Him in Whose Hands my soul is! Whoever is wounded in Allah's Cause....and Allah knows well who gets wounded in His Cause....will come on the Day of Resurrection with his wound having the color of blood but the scent of musk."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 66:

Narrated Abu Abs:

(who is Abdur-Rahman bin Jabir) Allah's Apostle said," Anyone whose both feet get covered with dust in Allah's Cause will not be touched by the (Hell) fire."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 74i:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 80i:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "Allah welcomes two men with a smile; one of whom kills the other and both of them enter Paradise.

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One fights in Allah's Cause and gets killed. Later on Allah forgives the 'killer who also get martyred (In Allah's Cause)."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 82:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "Five are regarded as martyrs: They are those who die because of plague, abdominal disease, drowning or a falling building etc., and the martyrs in Allah's Cause."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 94:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "Whoever spends two things in Allah's Cause, will be called by all the gate-keepers of Paradise who will be saying, 'O so-and-so! Come here.' " Abu Bakr said, "O Allah's Apostle! Such persons will never be destroyed." The Prophet said, "I hope you will be one of them."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 95:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

Allah's Apostle ascended the pulpit and said, "Nothing worries me as to what will happen to you after me, except the temptation of worldly blessings which will be conferred on you." Then he mentioned the worldly pleasures. He started with the one (i.e. the blessings) and took up the other (i.e. the pleasures). A man got up saying, "O Allah's Apostle! Can the good bring about evil?" The Prophet remained silent and we thought that he was being inspired divinely, so all the people kept silent with awe. Then the Prophet wiped the sweat off his face and asked, "Where is the present questioner?" "Do you think wealth is good?" he repeated thrice, adding, "No doubt, good produces nothing but good. Indeed it is like what grows on the banks of a stream which either kills or nearly kills the grazing animals because of gluttony except the vegetation-eating animal which eats till both its flanks are full (i.e. till it gets satisfied) and then stands in the sun and defecates and urinates and again starts grazing. This worldly property is sweet vegetation. How excellent the wealth of the Muslim is, if it is collected through legal means and is spent in Allah's Cause and on orphans, poor people and travelers. But he who does not take it legally is like an eater who is never satisfied and his wealth will be a witness against him on the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 96:

Narrated Zaid bin Khalid:

Allah's Apostle said, " He who pre pares a Ghazi going in Allah's Cause is given a reward equal to that of) a Ghazi; and he who looks after properly the dependents of a Ghazi going in Allah's Cause is (given a reward equal to that of) Ghazi."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 105:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "If somebody keeps a horse in Allah's Cause motivated by his faith in Allah and his belief in His Promise, then he will be rewarded on the Day of Resurrection for what the horse has eaten or drunk and for its dung and urine."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 137:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "Let the slave of Dinar and Dirham of Quantify and Khamisa (i.e. money and luxurious clothes) perish for he is pleased if these things are given to him, and if not, he is displeased!"

Narrated Abu Huraira: The Prophet said, " Let the slave of Dinar and Dirham, of Quantify and Khamisa perish as he is pleased if these things are given to him, and if not, he is displeased. Let such a person perish and relapse, and if he is pierced with a thorn, let him not find anyone to take it out for him. Paradise is for him who holds the reins of his horse to strive in Allah's Cause, with his hair unkempt and feet covered with dust: if he is appointed in the vanguard, he is perfectly satisfied with his post of guarding, and if he is appointed in the rearward, he accepts his post with satisfaction; (he is so simple and unambiguous that) if he asks for permission he is not permitted, and if he intercedes, his intercession is not accepted."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 142:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad As-Sa'di :

Allah's Apostle said, "To guard Muslims from infidels in Allah's Cause for one day is better than the world and whatever is on its surface, and a place in Paradise as small as that occupied by the whip of one of you is better than the world and whatever is on its surface; and a morning's or an evening's journey which a slave (person) travels in Allah's Cause is better than the world and whatever is on its surface."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 214:

Narrated Umar bin Al-Khattab:

I gave a horse to be used in Allah's Cause, but later on I saw it being sold. I asked the Prophet whether I could buy it. He said, "Don't buy it and don't take back your gift of charity."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 215:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

Umar gave a horse to be used in Allah's Cause, but later on he found it being sold. So, he intended to buy it and asked Allah's Apostle who said, "Don't buy it and don't take back your gift of charity."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 216:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "Were it not for the fear that it would be difficult for my followers, I would not have remained behind any Sariya, (army-unit) but I don't have riding camels and have no other means of conveyance to carry them on, and it is hard for me that my companions should remain behind me. No doubt I wish I could fight in Allah's Cause and be martyred and come to life again to be martyred and come to life once more."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 246:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

Umar bin Al-Khattab gave a horse to be ridden in Allah's Cause and then he found it being sold. He intended to purchase it. So, he consulted Allah's Apostle who said, "Don't buy it and don't take back your gift of charity."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 247:

Narrated Aslam:

I heard Umar bin Al-Khattab saying, "I gave a horse to be ridden in Allah's Cause and the person who got it intended to sell it or neglected it. So, I wanted to buy it as I thought he would sell it cheap. I consulted the Prophet who said, "Do not buy it even if for one Dirham, because he who takes back his gift is like a dog swallowing its vomit."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 292:

Narrated Aslam:

Umar bin Al-Khattab appointed a freed slave of his, called Hunai, manager of the Hima (i.e. a pasture devoted for grazing the animals of the Zakat or other specified animals). He said to him, "O Hunai! Don't oppress the Muslims and ward off their curse (invocations against you) for the invocation of the oppressed is responded to (by Allah); and allow the shepherd having a few camels and those having a few sheep (to graze their animals), and take care not to allow the livestock of Abdur-Rahman bin Auf and the livestock of (Uthman) bin Affan, for if their livestock should perish, then they have their farms and gardens, while those who own a few camels and those who own a few sheep, if their livestock should perish, would bring their dependents to me and appeal for help saying, 'O chief of the believers! O chief of the believers!' Would I then neglect them? (No, of course). So, I find it easier to let them have water and grass rather than to give them gold and silver (from the Muslims' treasury). By Allah, these people think that I have been unjust to them. This is their land, and during the pre-lslamic period, they fought for it and they embraced Islam (willingly) while it was in their possession. By Him in Whose Hand my life is! Were it not for the animals (in my custody) which I give to be ridden for striving in Allah's Cause, I would not have turned even a span of their land into a Hima."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 349:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "When Khosrau is ruined, there will be no Khosrau after him; and when Caesar is ruined, there will be no Caesar after him. By Him in Whose Hands my life is, you will spend their treasures in Allah's Cause."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 350:

Narrated Jabir bin Samura:

Allah's Apostle said, "When Khosrau is ruined, there will be no Khosrau after him; and when Caesar is ruined, their will be no Caesar after him. By Him in Whose Hands my life is, you will spend their treasures in Allah's Cause."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 439:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

I heard the Prophet saying, "Who ever spends a couple (of objects) in Allah's cause, will be called by the Gatekeepers of Paradise who will say, "O so-and-so, come on!" Abu Bakr said, "Such a person will never perish or be miserable' The Prophet said, "I hope you will be among such person."

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 479:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad:

The Prophet said, "Paradise has eight gates, and one of them is called Ar-Raiyan through which none will enter but those who observe fasting." The Prophet also said, "If a person spends two different kinds of something (for Allah's Cause), he will be called from the gates of Paradise."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 815:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "When Khosrau perishes, there will be no (more) Khosrau after him, and when Caesar perishes, there will be no more Caesar [emperor] after him. By Him in Whose Hands Mohammed's life is, you will spend the treasures of both of them in Allah's Cause."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 816:

Narrated Jabir bin Samura:

The Prophet said, "When Khosrau perishes, there will be no more Khosrau a after him, and when Caesar perishes, there will be no more Caesar after him," The Prophet also said, "You will spend the treasures of both of them in Allah's Cause."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 22:

Narrated Abu Said:

The Prophet said, "Do not abuse my companions for if any one of you spent gold equal to Uhud (in Allah's Cause) it would not be equal to a Mud or even a half Mud spent by one of them."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 74:

Narrated Qais:

I heard Sad saying, "I was the first amongst the Arabs who shot an arrow for Allah's Cause. We used to fight along with the Prophets, while we had nothing to eat except the leaves of trees so that one's excrete would look like the excrete balls of camel or a sheep, containing nothing to mix them together. Today Banu Asad tribe blame me for not having understood Islam. I would be a loser if my deeds were in vain." Those people complained about Sad to Umar, claiming that he did not offer his prayers perfectly.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 379:

Narrated Zaid bin Thabit:

When we wrote the Holy Koran, I missed one of the Verses of Surat-al-Ahzab which I used to hear Allah's Apostle reciting. Then we searched for it and found it with Khuzaima bin Thabit Al-Ansari. The Verse was:-- 'Among the Believers are men Who have been true to Their Covenant with Allah, Of them, some have fulfilled Their obligations to Allah (i.e. they have been Killed in Allah's Cause), And some of them are (still) waiting" (33.23) So we wrote this in its place in the Koran.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 400:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle (pointing to his broken canine tooth) said, "Allah's Wrath has become severe on the people who harmed His Prophet. Allah's Wrath has become severe on the man who is killed by the Apostle of Allah in Allah's Cause."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 401:

Narrated Ibn Abbas

Allah's Wrath became severe on him whom the Prophet had killed in Allah's Cause. Allah's Wrath became severe on the people who caused the face of Allah's Prophet to bleed.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 408:

Narrated Khabbab:

We migrated with the Prophet for Allah's Cause, so our reward became due with Allah. Some of us passed away (i.e. died) without enjoying anything from their reward, and one of them was Mus'ab bin Umar who was killed (i.e. martyred) on the day of Uhud. He did not leave behind except a sheet of striped woolen cloth. If we covered his head with it, his feet became naked, and if we covered his feet with it, his head became naked. The Prophet said to us, "Cover his head with it and put Idhkhir (i.e. a kind of grass) over his feet," or said, "Put some Idhkhir over his feet." But some of us have got their fruits ripened, and they are collecting them.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 412:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet sent a Sariya of spies and appointed Asim bin Thabit, the grandfather of Asim bin Umar bin Al-Khattab, as their leader. So they set out, and when they reached (a place) between 'Usfan and Mecca, they were mentioned to one of the branch tribes of Bani Hudhail called Lihyan. So, about one-hundred archers followed their traces till they (i.e. the archers) came to a journey station where they (i.e. Asim and his companions) had encamped and found stones of dates they had brought as journey food from Medina.

The archers said, "These are the dates of Medina," and followed their traces till they took them over. When Asim and his companions were not able to go ahead, they went up a high place, and their pursuers encircled them and said, "You have a covenant and a promise that if you come down to us, we will not kill anyone of you." Asim said, "As for me, I will never come down on the security of an infidel. O Allah! Inform Your Prophet about us." So they fought with them till they killed Asim along with seven of his companions with arrows, and there remained Khubaib, Zaid and another man to whom they gave a promise and a covenant. So when the infidels gave them the covenant and promise, they came down. When they captured them, they opened the strings of their arrow bows and tied them with it. The third man who was with them said, "This is the first breach in the covenant," and refused to accompany them. They dragged him and tried to make him accompany them, but he refused, and they killed him. Then they proceeded on taking Khubaib and Zaid till they sold them in Mecca. The sons of Al-Harith bin Amr bin Naufal bought Khubaib. It was Khubaib who had killed Al-Harith bin Amr on the day of Badr. Khubaib stayed with them for a while as a captive till they decided unanimously to kill him. (At that time) Khubaib borrowed a razor from one of the daughters of Al-Harith to shave his pubic hair. She gave it to him. She said later on, "I was heedless of a little baby of mine, who moved towards Khubaib, and when it reached him, he put it on his thigh.

When I saw it, I got scared so much that Khubaib noticed my distress while he was carrying the razor in his hand. He said 'Are you afraid that I will kill it? Allah willing, I will never do that,' " Later on she used to say, "I have never seen a captive better than Khubaib Once I saw him eating from a bunch of grapes although at that time no fruits were available at Mecca, and he was fettered with iron chains, and in fact, it was nothing but food bestowed upon him by Allah." So they took him out of the Sanctuary (of Mecca) to kill him. He said, "Allow me to offer a two-Rak'at prayer." Then he went to them and said, "Had I not been afraid that you would think I

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was afraid of death, I would have prayed for a longer time." So it was Khubaib who first set the tradition of praying two Rakat before being executed. He then said, "O Allah! Count them one by one," and added, 'When I am being martyred as a Muslim, I do not care in what way I receive my death for Allah's Sake, because this death is in Allah's Cause. If He wishes, He will bless the cut limbs." Then Uqba bin Al-Harith got up and martyred him. The narrator added: The Quraish (infidels) sent some people to Asim in order to bring a part of his body so that his death might be known for certain, for Asim had killed one of their chiefs on the day of Badr. But Allah sent a cloud of wasps which protected his body from their messengers who could not harm his body consequently.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 76:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

Out of all the Ansar, living in Medina, Abu Talha had the largest number of (date palm trees) gardens, and the most beloved of his property to him was Bairuha garden which was standing opposite the Mosque (of the Prophet). Allah's Apostle used to enter it and drink of its good water. When the Verse:--"By no means shall you attain righteousness unless you spend (in charity) of that which you love." (3.92) Abu Talha got up and said, "O Allah's Apostle, Allah says:--"By no means shall you attain righteousness unless you spend (in charity) of that which you love." (3.92) and the most beloved of my property to me is the Bairuha garden, so I give it (as a charitable gift) in Allah's Cause and hope to receive good out of it, and to have it stored for me with Allah. So, O Allah's Apostle! Dispose it of (i.e. utilize it) in the way Allah orders you (to dispose it of)." Allah's Apostle said, "Bravo! That is a fruitful property! That is a fruitful property! I have heard what you have said and I think that you should distribute that (garden) amongst your relatives." The Abu Talha distributed that garden amongst his relatives and his cousins.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 116:

Narrated Zaid bin Thabit: That the Prophet dictated to him: "Not equal are those of the believers who sit (at home) and those who strive and fight in the Cause of Allah."

Zaid added: Ibn Um Maktum came while the Prophet was dictating to me and said, "O Allah's Apostle! By Allah, if I had the power to fight (in Allah's Cause), I would," and he was a blind man. So Allah revealed to his Apostle while his thigh was on my thigh, and his thigh became so heavy that I was afraid it might fracture my thigh. Then that state of the Prophet passed and Allah revealed:-- "Except those who are disabled (by injury or are blind or lame etc)."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 169:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

(The Prophet) Solomon son of (the Prophet) David said, "Tonight I will go round (i.e. have sexual relations with) one hundred women (my wives) everyone of whom will deliver a male child who will fight in Allah's Cause." On that an Angel said to him, "Say: 'If Allah will.' " But Solomon did not say it and forgot to say it. Then he had sexual relations with them but none of them delivered any child except one who delivered a half person. The Prophet said, "If Solomon had said: 'If Allah will,' Allah would have fulfilled his (above) desire and that saying would have made him more hopeful."

Volume 7, Book 64, Number 265:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "The one who looks after a widow or a poor person is like a Mujahid (warrior) who fights for Allah's Cause, or like him who performs prayers all the night and fasts all the day."

Volume 7, Book 64, Number 266:

Narrated Sad:

The Prophet visited me at Mecca while I was ill. I said (to him), "I have property; May I bequeath all my property in Allah's Cause?" He said, "No." I said, "Half of it?" He said, "No." I said, "One third of it?" He said, "One-third (is alright), yet it is still too much, for you'd better leave your inheritors wealthy than leave them poor, begging of others. Whatever you spend will be considered a Sadaqa for you, even the mouthful of food you put in the mouth of your wife. Anyhow Allah may let you recover, so that some people may benefit by you and others be harmed by you."

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 441:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "None is wounded in Allah's Cause but will come on the Day of Resurrection with his wound bleeding. The thing that will come out of his wound will be the color of blood, but its smell will be the smell of musk."

Volume 7, Book 69, Number 515:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

Abu Talha had the largest number of datepalms from amongst the Ansars of Medina. The dearest of his property to him was Bairuha garden which was facing the (Prophet's) Mosque. Allah's Apostle used to enter it and drink of its good fresh water. When the Holy Verse:-- 'By no means shall you attain righteousness unless you spend (in charity) of that which you love.' (3.92) was revealed, Abu Talha got up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Allah says: By no means shall you attain righteousness unless you spend of that which you love,' and the dearest of my property to me is the Bairuha garden and I want to give it in charity in Allah's Cause, seeking to be rewarded by Allah for that. So you can spend it, O Allah's Apostle, where-ever Allah instructs you. ' Allah s Apostle said, "Good! That is a perishable (or profitable) wealth" (Abdullah is in doubt as to which word was used.) He said, "I have heard what you have said but in my opinion you'd better give it to your kith and kin." On that Abu Talha said, "I will do so, O Allah's Apostle!" Abu Talha distributed that garden among his kith and kin and cousins.

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 341:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The people said, "O Allah's Apostle! The rich people have got the highest degrees of prestige and the permanent pleasures (in this life and the life to come in the Hereafter)." He said, "How is that?" They said, "The rich pray as we pray, and strive in Allah's Cause as we do, and spend from their surplus wealth in charity, while we have no wealth (to spend likewise)." He said, "Shall I not tell you a thing, by doing which, you will catch up with those who are ahead of you and supersede those who will come after you; and nobody will be able to do such a good deed as you do except the one who does the same (deed as you do). That deed is to recite 'Subhan Allah ten times, and Al-Hamdulillah ten times, and 'AllahuAkbar' ten times after every prayer."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 384:

Narrated Amir bin Sa'd:

that his father said, "In the year of Hajjatal-Wada', the Prophet paid me a visit while I was suffering from an ailment that had brought me to the verge of death. I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! My sickness has reduced me to the (bad) state as you see, and I am a rich man, but have no heirs except one daughter. Shall I give 2/3 of my property in charity?' He said, 'No.' I said, 'Then 1/2 of it?' He said, 'Even 1/3 is too much, for, to leave your inheritors wealthy is better than to leave them in poverty, begging from people. And (know that) whatever you spend in Allah's Cause, you will get reward for it, even for the morsel of food which you put in your wife's mouth.' I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Will I be left behind my companions (in Mecca)?' He said, 'If you remain behind, whatever good deed you will do for Allah's Sake, will raise and upgrade you to a higher position (in Allah's Sight). May be you will live longer so that some people may benefit by you, and some e others (pagans) may get harmed by you. O Allah! Complete the migration of my companions and do not turn them on their heels; But (we pity) the poor Sa'd bin Khaula (not the above mentioned Sa'd) (died in Mecca)" Allah's Apostle lamented (or pitied) for him as he died in Mecca. (See Hadith No. 693, Vol. 5)

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 424:

Narrated Sahl:

I heard the Prophet saying, "A (small) place equal to an area occupied by a whip in Paradise is better than the (whole) world and whatever is in it; and an undertaking (journey) in the forenoon or in the afternoon for Allah's Cause, is better than the whole world and whatever is in it."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 449:

Narrated Abdullah:

The Prophet said, "Who among you considers the wealth of his heirs dearer to him than his own wealth?" They replied, "O Allah's Apostle! There is none among us but loves his own wealth more." The Prophet said, "So his wealth is whatever he spends (in Allah's Cause) during his life (on good deeds) while the wealth of his heirs is whatever he leaves after his death."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 452:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah Apostle said, "If I had gold equal to the mountain of Uhud, it would not please me that anything of it should remain with me after three nights (i.e., I would spend all of it in Allah's Cause) except what I would keep for repaying debts."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 460:

Narrated Sa'd:

I was the first man among the Arabs to throw an arrow for Allah's Cause. We used to fight in Allah's Cause while we had nothing to eat except the leaves of the Hubla and the Sumur trees (desert trees) so that we discharged excrement like that of sheep (i.e. unmixed droppings). Today the (people of the) tribe of Bani Asad teach me the laws of Islam. If so, then I am lost, and all my efforts of that hard time had gone in vain.

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 501:

Narrated Abu SaId Al-Khudri:

A bedouin came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Who is the best of mankind!" The Prophet said, "A man who strives for Allah's Cause with his life and property, and also a man who lives (all alone) in a mountain path among the mountain paths to worship his Lord and save the people from his evil."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 625:

Narrated Jabir bin Samura:

The Prophet said, "If Caesar is ruined, there will be no Caesar after him; and if Khosrau is ruined, there will be no Khosrau, after him; and, by Him in Whose Hand my soul is, surely you will spend their treasures in Allah's Cause."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 626:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "If Khosrau is ruined, there will be no Khosrau after him; and if Caesar is ruined, there will be no Caesar after him. By Him in Whose Hand Mohammed's soul is, surely you will spend their treasures in Allah's Cause."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 633:

Narrated Abu Dhar:

I reached him (the Prophet) while in the shade of the Ka'ba; he was saying, "They are the losers, by the Lord of the Ka'ba! They are the losers, by the Lord of the Ka'ba!" I said (to myself), "What is wrong with me? Is anything improper detected in me? What is wrong with me? Then I sat beside him and he kept on saying his statement. I could not remain quiet, and Allah knows in what sorrowful state I was at that time. So I said, ' Who are they (the losers)? Let My father and mother be sacrificed for you, O Allah's Apostle!" He said, "They are the wealthy people, except the one who does like this and like this and like this (i.e., spends of his wealth in Allah's Cause)."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 634:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 8, Book 79, Number 711:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 29:

Narrated Salama:

We went out with the Prophet to Khaibar. A man (from the companions) said, "O Amir! Let us hear some of your Huda (camel-driving songs.)" So he sang some of them (i.e. a lyric in harmony with the camels walk). The Prophet said, "Who is the driver (of these camels)?" They said, "Amir." The Prophet said, "May Allah bestow His Mercy on him !" The people said, "O Allah's Apostle! Would that you let us enjoy his company longer!" Then Amir was killed the following morning. The people said, "The good deeds of Amir are lost as he has killed himself." I returned at the time while they were talking about that. I went to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Prophet! Let my father be sacrificed for you! The people claim that Amir's good deeds are lost." The Prophet said, "Whoever says so is a liar, for Amir will have a double reward as he exerted himself to obey Allah and fought in Allah's Cause. No other way of killing would have granted him greater reward."

Volume 9, Book 90, Number 333:

Narrated Al-Arai:

Abu Huraira said, Allah's Apostle said, "By Him in Whose Hand my life is, I would love to fight in Allah's Cause and then get martyred and then resurrected (come to life) and then get martyred and then resurrected (come to life) and then get martyred, and then resurrected (come to life) and then get martyred and then resurrected (come to life)." Abu Huraira used to repeat those words three times and I testify to it with Allah's Oath.

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 454:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "Horses may be used for three purposes: For a man they may be a source of reward (in the Hereafter); for another, a means of protection; and for another, a source of sin. The man for whom they are a source of reward, is the one who keeps them for Allah's Cause and ties them with long ropes and lets them graze in a pasture or garden. Whatever those long ropes allow them to eat of that pasture or garden, will be written as good deeds for him and if they break their ropes and run one or two rounds, then all their footsteps and dung will be written as good deeds for him, and if they pass a river and drink from it though he has had no intention of watering them, even then, that will be written as good deeds for him. So such horses are a source of reward for that man. For the man who keeps horses for his livelihood in order not to ask others for help or beg his bread, and at the same time he does not forget Allah's right of what he earns through them and of their backs (that he presents it to be used in Allah's Cause), such horses are a shelter for him (from poverty). For the man who keeps them just out of pride and

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for showing off, they are a source of sin." Then Allah's Apostle was asked about donkeys. He said, "Allah has not revealed anything to me regarding them except this comprehensive Verse:

"Then anyone who has done good, equal to the weight of an atom (or a small ant) shall see it, and any one who has done evil, equal to the weight of an atom (or a small ant) shall see it." (99.7-8)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 499:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle sent ten persons to bring the enemy's secrets and Khubaib Al-Ansari was one of them. Ubaidullah bin 'Iyad told me that the daughter of Al-Harith told him that when they gathered (to kill Khubaib Al Ansari) he asked for a razor to clean his pubic region, and when they had taken him outside the sanctuary of Mecca in order to kill him, he said in verse, "I don't care if I am killed as a Muslim, on any side (of my body) I may be killed in Allah's Cause; for that is for the sake of Allah's very Self; and if He will, He will bestow His Blessings upon the torn pieces of my body." Then Ibn Al-Harith killed him, and the Prophet informed his companions of the death of those (ten men) on the very day they were killed.

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 550:

Narrated Abu Musa:

A man came to the Prophet and said, "A man fights for pride and haughtiness another fights for bravery, and another fights for showing off; which of these (cases) is in Allah's Cause?" The Prophet said, "The one who fights that Allah's Word (Islam) should be superior, fights in Allah's Cause." (See Hadith No. 65, Vol. 4)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 561:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 620:

Narrated Salim's father:

The Prophet said, "Not to wish to be the like of except the like of two (persons): a man whom Allah has given the knowledge of the Koran and he recites it during the hours of the night and the hours of the day; and a man whom Allah has given wealth and he spends it (in Allah's Cause) during the hours of the night and during the hours of the day."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 208:

In the year of the conquest of Khaibar I went with Allah's Apostle till we reached Sahba,' a place near Khaibar, where Allah's Apostle offered the Asr prayer and asked for food. Nothing but Sawrq was brought. He ordered it to be moistened with water. He and all of us ate it and the Prophet got up for the evening prayer (Maghrib prayer), rinsed his mouth with water and we did the same, and he then prayed without repeating the ablution.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 214:

In the year of the conquest of Khaibar I went with Allah's Apostle till we reached As-Sahba' where Allah's Apostle led the Asr prayer and asked for the food. Nothing but Sawiq was brought and we ate it and drank (water). The Prophet got up for the (Maghrib) Prayer, rinsed his mouth with water and then led the prayer without repeating the ablution.

Volume 2, Book 14, Number 68:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

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

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 405:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri and Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle appointed somebody as a governor of Khaibar. That governor brought to him an excellent kind of dates (from Khaibar). The Prophet asked, "Are all the dates of Khaibar like this?" He replied, "By Allah, no, O Allah's Apostle! But we barter one Sa of this (type of dates) for two Sas of dates of ours and two Sas of it for three of ours." Allah's Apostle said, "Do not do so (as that is a kind of usury) but sell the mixed dates (of inferior quality) for money, and then buy good dates with that money."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 437:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

The Prophet came to Khaibar and when Allah made him victorious and he conquered the town by breaking the enemy's defense, the beauty of Safiya bint Huyai bin Akhtab was mentioned to him and her husband had been killed while she was a bride. Allah's Apostle selected her for himself and he set out in her company till he reached Sadd-ar-Rawha' where her menses were over and he married her. Then Hais (a kind of meal) was prepared and served on a small leather sheet (used for serving meals). Allah's Apostle then said to me, "Inform those who are around you (about the wedding banquet)." So that was the marriage banquet given by Allah's Apostle for (his marriage with) Safiya. After that we proceeded to Medina and I saw that Allah's Apostle was covering her with a cloak while she was behind him. Then he would sit beside his camel and let Safiya put her feet on his knees to ride (the camel).

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 485:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

"Allah's Apostle gave the land of Khaibar to the Jews to work on and cultivate and take half of its yield. Ibn Umar added, "The land used to be rented for a certain portion (of its yield)." Nafi mentioned the amount of the portion but I forgot it. Rafi' bin Khadij said, "The Prophet forbade renting farms." Narrated Ubaid-Ullah Nafi' said: Ibn Umar said: (The contract of Khaibar continued) till Umar evacuated the Jews (from Khaibar).

Translation of Sahih Bukhari, Book 37:

Transferance of a Debt from One Person to Another (Al-Hawaala)

Volume 3, Book 38, Number 499:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri and Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle employed someone as a governor at Khaibar. When the man came to Medina, he brought with him dates called Janib. The Prophet asked him, "Are all the dates of Khaibar of this kind?" The man replied, "(No), we exchange two Sa's of bad dates for one Sa of this kind of dates (i.e. Janib), or exchange three Sa's for two." On that, the Prophet said, "Don't do so, as it is a kind of usury (Riba) but sell the dates of inferior quality for money, and then buy Janib with the money". The Prophet said the same thing about dates sold by weight. (See Hadith No. 506).

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 521:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

The Prophet concluded a contract with the people of Khaibar to utilize the land on the condition that half the products of fruits or vegetation would be their share. The Prophet used to give his wives one hundred Wasqs each, eighty Wasqs of dates and twenty Wasqs of barley. (When Umar became the Caliph) he gave the wives of the Prophet the option of either having the land and water as their shares, or carrying on the previous practice. Some of them chose the land and some chose the Wasqs, and Aisha chose the land.

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 522:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

The Prophet made a deal with the people of Khaibar that they would have half the fruits and vegetation of the land they cultivated.

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 524:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

Allah's Apostle gave the land of Khaibar to the Jew's on the condition that they work on it and cultivate it, and be given half of its yield.

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 527:

Narrated Zaid bin Aslam from his father:

Umar said, "But for the future Muslim generations, I would have distributed the land of the villages I conquer among the soldiers as the Prophet distributed the land of Khaibar."

Volume 3, Book 39, Number 531:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

Umar expelled the Jews and the Christians from Hijaz. When Allah's Apostle had conquered Khaibar, he wanted to expel the Jews from it as its land became the property of Allah, His Apostle, and the Muslims. Allah's Apostle intended to expel the Jews but they requested him to let them stay there on the condition that they would do the labor and get half of the fruits. Allah's Apostle told them, "We will let you stay on thus condition, as long as we wish." So, they (i.e. Jews) kept on living there until Umar forced them to go towards Taima' and Ariha'.

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 657:

Narrated Salama bin Al-Akwa:

On the day of Khaibar the Prophet saw fires being lighted. He asked, "Why are these fires being lighted?" The people replied that they were cooking the meat of donkeys. He said, "Break the pots and throw away their contents." The people said, "Shall we throw away their contents and wash the pots (rather than break them)?" He said, "Wash them."

Volume 3, Book 44, Number 678:

Narrated Abdullah:

Allah's Apostle rented the land of Khaibar to the Jews on the condition that they would work on it and cultivate it and take half of its yield.

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 799:

Narrated Ibn Shihab Az-Zuhri:

Anas bin Malik said, "When the emigrants came Medina, they had nothing whereas the Ansar had land and property. The Ansar gave them their land on condition that the emigrants would give them half the yearly yield and work on the land and provide the necessaries for cultivation." His (i.e. Anas's mother who was also the mother of Abdullah bin Abu Talha, gave some date-palms to Allah' Apostle who gave them to his freed slave-girl (Um Aiman) who was also the mother of Usama bin Zaid. When the Prophet finished from the fighting against the people of Khaibar and returned to Medina, the emigrants returned to the Ansar the fruit gifts which the Ansar had given them. The Prophet also returned to Anas's mother the date-pallms. Allah's Apostle gave Um Aiman other trees from his garden in lieu of the old gift.

Volume 3, Book 49, Number 865:

Narrated Sahl bin Abu Hathma:

Abdullah bin Sahl and Muhaiyisa bin Musud bin Zaid went to Khaibar when it had a peace treaty (with the Muslims).

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 881:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

Allah's Apostle gave the land of Khaibar to the Jews on the condition that they would work on it and cultivate it and they would get half of its yield.

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 890:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

When the people of Khaibar dislocated Abdullah bin Umar's hands and feet, Umar got up delivering a sermon saying, "No doubt, Allah's Apostle made a contract with the Jews concerning their properties, and said to them, 'We allow you (to stand in your land) as long as Allah allows you.' Now Abdullah bin Umar went to his land and was attacked at night, and his hands and feet were dislocated, and as we have no enemies there except those Jews, they are our enemies and the only people whom we suspect, I have made up my mind to exile them." When Umar decided to carry out his decision, a son of Abu Al-Haqiq's came and addressed Umar, "O chief of the believers, will you exile us although Mohammed allowed us to stay at our places, and made a contract with us about our properties, and accepted the condition of our residence in our land?" Umar said, "Do you think that I have forgotten the statement of Allah's Apostle, i.e.: What will your condition be when you are expelled from Khaibar and your camel will be carrying you night after night?" The Jew replied, "That was joke from Abu-l-Qasim." Umar said, "O the enemy of Allah! You are telling a lie." Umar then drove them out and paid them the price of their properties in the form of fruits, money, camel saddles and ropes, etc."

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 20:

Narrated Kab bin Malik:

I said, "O Allah's Apostle! For the acceptance of my repentance I wish to give all my property in charity for Allah's sake through His Apostle ." He said, "It is better for you to keep some of the property for yourself." I said, "Then I will keep my share in Khaibar."

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 34:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

Umar got some property in Khaibar and he came to the Prophet and informed him about it. The Prophet said to him, "If you wish you can give it in charity." So Umar gave it in charity (i.e. as an endowment) the yield of which was to be used for the good of the poor, the needy, the kinsmen and the guests.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 80n:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

I went to Allah's Apostle while he was at Khaibar after it had fallen in the Muslims' hands. I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Give me a share (from the land of Khaibar)."

One of the sons of SaId bin Al-As said, "O Allah's Apostle! Do not give him a share." I said, "This is the murderer of Ibn Qauqal." The son of Said bin Al-As said, "Strange! A Wabr (i.e. guinea pig) who has come down to us from the mountain of Qaduim (i.e. grazing place of sheep) blames me for killing a Muslim who was given superiority by Allah because of me, and Allah did not disgrace me at his hands (i.e. was not killed as an infidel)." (The sub-narrator said "I do not know whether the Prophet gave him a share or not.")

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 139:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

I went along with the Prophet to Khaibar so as to serve him. (Later on) when the Prophet returned he, on seeing the Uhud mountain, said, "This is a mountain that loves us andis loved by us." Then he pointed to Medina with his hand saying, "O Allah! I make the area which is in between Medina's two mountains a sanctuary, as Abraham made Mecca a sanctuary. O Allah! Bless us in our Sa and Mudd (i.e. units of measuring)."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 143:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

The Prophet said to Abu Talha, "Choose one of your boy servants to serve me in my expedition to Khaibar." So, Abu Talha took me letting me ride behind him while I was a boy nearing the age of puberty. I used to serve Allah's Apostle when he stopped to rest. I heard him saying repeatedly, "O Allah! I seek refuge with You from distress and sorrow, from helplessness and laziness, from miserliness and cowardice, from being heavily in debt and from being overcome by men." Then we reached Khaibar; and when Allah enabled him to

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conquer the Fort (of Khaibar), the beauty of Safiya bint Huyai bin Akhtab was described to him. Her husband had been killed while she was a bride. So Allah's Apostle selected her for himself and took her along with him till we reached a place called Sad-AsSahba,' where her menses were over and he took her for his wife. Haris (a kind of dish) was served on a small leather sheet. Then Allah's Apostle told me to call those who were around me. So, that was the marriage banquet of Allah's Apostle and Safiya. Then we left for Medina. I saw Allah's Apostle folding a cloak round the hump of the camel so as to make a wide space for Safiya (to sit on behind him) He sat beside his camel letting his knees for Safiya to put her feet on so as to mount the camel. Then, we proceeded till we approached Medina; he looked at Uhud (mountain) and said, "This is a mountain which loves us and is loved by us." Then he looked at Medina and said, "O Allah! I make the area between its (i.e. Medina's) two mountains a sanctuary as Abraham made Mecca a sanctuary. O Allah! Bless them (i.e. the people of Medina) in their Mudd and Sa (i.e. measures)."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 160:

Narrated Amr bin Al-Harith:

The Prophet did not leave behind him after his death, anything except his arms, his white mule, and a piece of land at Khaibar which he left to be given in charity .

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 193:

Narrated Anas:

Whenever Allah's Apostle attacked some people, he would never attack them till it was dawn. If he heard the Adhan (i.e. call for prayer) he would delay the fight, and if he did not hear the Adhan, he would attack them immediately after dawn. We reached Khaibar at night.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 195:

Narrated Anas:

The Prophet set out for Khaibar and reached it at night. He used not to attack if he reached the people at night, till the day broke. So, when the day dawned, the Jews came out with their bags and spades. When they saw the Prophet; they said, "Mohammed and his army!" The Prophet said, Allahu--Akbar! (Allah is Greater) and Khaibar is ruined, for whenever we approach a nation (i.e. enemy to fight) then it will be a miserable morning for those who have been warned."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 224:

Narrated Suwaid bin An-Nu'man:

That he went out in the company o; the Prophet during the year of Khaibar (campaign till they reached a place called As-Sahba', the lower part of Khaibar. They offered the Asr prayer (there) and the Prophet asked for the food. Nothing but Sawiq was brought to the Prophet. So, they chewed it and ate it and drank water. After that the Prophet got up, washed his mouth, and they too washed their mouths and then offered the prayer.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 234:

Narrated Anas:

The Prophet reached Khaibar in the morning, while the people were coming out carrying their spades over their shoulders. When they saw him they said, "This is Mohammed and his army! Mohammed and his army!" So, they took refuge in the fort. The Prophet raised both his hands and said, "Allahu Akbar, Khaibar is ruined, for when we approach a nation (i.e. enemy to fight) then miserable is the morning of the warned ones." Then we found some donkeys which we (killed and) cooked: The announcer of the Prophet announced: "Allah and His Apostle forbid you to eat donkey's meat." So, all the pots including their contents were turned upside down.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 380:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

Umar bin Al-Khattab expelled all the Jews and Christians from the land of Hijaz. Allah's Apostle after conquering Khaibar, thought of expelling the Jews from the land which, after he conquered it belonged to Allah, Allah's Apostle and the Muslims. But the Jews requested Allah's Apostle to leave them there on the condition that they would do the labor and get half of the fruits (the land would yield). Allah's Apostle said, "We shall keep you on these terms as long as we wish." Thus they stayed till the time of Umar's Caliphate when he expelled them to Taima and Ariha.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 381:

Narrated Abdullah bin Mughaffal:

While we were besieging the fort of Khaibar, a person threw a leather container containing fat, and I ran to take it, but when I turned I saw the Prophet (standing behind), so I felt embarrassed in front of him.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 394:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

When Khaibar was conquered, a roasted poisoned sheep was presented to the Prophets as a gift (by the Jews). The Prophet ordered, "Let all the Jews who have been here, be assembled before me." The Jews were collected and the Prophet said (to them), "I am going to ask you a question. Will you tell the truth?" They said, "Yes.' The Prophet asked, "Who is your father?" They replied, "So-and-so." He said, "You have told a ie; your father is so-and-so." They said, "You are right." He siad, "Will you now tell me the truth, if I ask you about something?" They replied, "Yes, O AbuAl-Qasim; and if we should tell a lie, you can realise our lie as you have done regarding our father." On that he asked, "Who are the people of the (Hell) Fire?" They said, "We shall remain in the (Hell) Fire for a short period, and after that you will replace us." The Prophet said, "You may be cursed and humiliated in it! By Allah, we shall never replace you in it." Then he asked, "Will you now tell me the truth if I ask you a question?" They said, "Yes, O Ab Li-AI-Qasim." He asked, "Have you poisoned this sheep?" They said, "Yes." He asked, "What made you do so?" They said, "We wanted to know if you were a liar in which case we would get rid of you, and if you are a prophet then the poison would not harm you."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 398:

Narrated Sahl bin Abi Hathma:

Abdullah bin Sahl and Muhaiyisa bin Musud bin Zaid set out to Khaibar, the inhabitants of which had a peace treaty with the Muslims at that time. They parted and later on Muhaiyisa came upon Abdullah bin Sah! and found him murdered agitating in his blood. He buried him and returned to Medina. Abdur Rahman bin Sahl, Muhaiyisa and Huwaiuisa, the sons of Musud came to the Prophet and Abdur Rahman intended to talk, but the Prophet said (to him), "Let the eldest of you speak." as Abdur-Rahman was the youngest:. Abdur-Rahman kept silent and the other two spoke. The Prophet said, "If you swear as to who has committed the murder, you will have the right to take your right from the murderer." They said, "How should we swear if we did not witness the murder or see the murderer?" The Prophet said, "Then the Jews can clear themselves from the charge by taking Alaska (an oath taken by men that it was not they who committed the murder)." The!y said, "How should we believe in the oaths of infidels?" So, the Prophet himself paid the blood money (of Abdullah). (See Hadith No. 36 Vol. 9.)

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 840:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

Allah's Apostle reached Khaibar in the early morning and the people of Khaibar came out with their spades, and when they saw the Prophet they said, "Mohammed and his army!" and returned hurriedly to take refuge in the fort. The Prophet raised his hands and said, "Allah is Greater! Khaibar is ruined ! If we approach a nation, then miserable is the morning of those who are warned."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 216:

Narrated Abu Musa:

We received the news of the departure of the Prophet (to Medina) while we were in Yemen. So we went on board a ship but our ship took us away to An-Najashi (the Negus) in Ethiopia. There we met Ja'far bin Abi Talib and stayed with him till we came (to Medina) by the time when the Prophet had conquered Khaibar. The Prophet said, "O you people of the ship! You will have (the reward of) two migrations."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 245:

Narrated Aisha:

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

So Abu Bakr returned and Ibn Ad-Daghina accompanied him. In the evening Ibn Ad-Daghina visited the nobles of Quraish and said to them. "A man like Abu Bakr should not leave his homeland, nor should he be driven out. Do you (i.e. Quraish) drive out a man who helps the destitute, earns their living, keeps good relations with his Kith and kin, helps the weak and poor, entertains guests generously and helps the calamity-stricken persons?" So the people of Quraish could not refuse Ibn Ad-Daghina's protection, and they said to Ibn Ad-Daghina, "Let Abu Bakr worship his Lord in his house. He can pray and recite there whatever he likes, but he should not hurt us with it, and should not do it publicly, because we are afraid that he may affect our women and children." Ibn Ad-Daghina told Abu Bakr of all that. Abu Bakr stayed in that state, worshipping his Lord in his house. He did not pray publicly, nor did he recite Koran outside his house.

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

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

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

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

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

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girl to get my horse which was behind a hillock, and keep it ready for me.

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

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

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

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

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 368:

Narrated Aisha:

Fatima and AlAbbas came to Abu Bakr, claiming their inheritance of the Prophet's land of Fadak and his share from Khaibar. Abu Bakr said, "I heard the Prophet saying, 'Our property is not inherited, and whatever we leave is to be given in charity. But the family of Mohammed can take their sustenance from this property.' By Allah, I would love to do good to the Kith and kin of Allah's Apostle rather than to my own Kith and kin."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 508:

Narrated Suwaid bin An-Numan:

I went out in the company of the Prophet in the year of Khaibar, and when we reached As Sahba' which is the lower part of Khaibar, the Prophet offered the Asr prayer and then asked the people to collect the journey food. Nothing was brought but Sawiq which the Prophet ordered to be moistened with water, and then he ate it and we also ate it. Then he got up to offer the Maghrib prayer. He washed his mouth, and we too washed our mouths, and then he offered the prayer without repeating his abulution.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 510:

Narrated Anas:

Allah's Apostle reached Khaibar at night and it was his habit that, whenever he reached the enemy at night, he will not attack them till it was morning. When it was morning, the Jews came out with their spades and baskets, and when they saw him(i.e. the Prophet), they said, "Mohammed! By Allah! Mohammed and his army!" The Prophet said, "Khaibar is destroyed, for whenever we approach a (hostile) nation (to fight), then evil will be the morning for those who have been warned."

Narrated Anas bin Malik: We reached Khaibar early in the morning and the inhabitants of Khaibar came out carrying their spades, and when they saw the Prophet they said, "Mohammed! By Allah! Mohammed and his army!" The Prophet said, "Allahu-Akbar! Khaibar is destroyed, for whenever we approach a (hostile) nation (to fight) then evil will be the morning for those who have been warned." We then got the meat of donkeys (and intended to eat it), but an announcement was made by the announcer of the Prophet, "Allah and His Apostle forbid you to eat the meat of donkeys as it is an impure thing."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 512:

Narrated Anas:

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 517:

Narrated Yazid bin Abi Ubaid:

I saw the trace of a wound in Salama's leg. I said to him, "O Abu Muslim! What is this wound?" He said, "This was inflicted on me on the day of Khaibar and the people said, 'Salama has been wounded.' Then I went to the Prophet and he puffed his saliva in it (i.e. the wound) thrice., and since then I have not had any pain in it till this hour."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 519:

Narrated Abu Imran:

Anas looked at the people wearing Tailsans (i.e. a special kind of head covering worn by Jews in old days). On that Anas said, "At this moment they (i.e. those people) look like the Jews of Khaibar."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 520:

Narrated Salama:

Ali remained behind the Prophet during the Ghazwa of Khaibar as he was suffering from eye trouble. He then said, "(How can) I remain behind the Prophet ," and followed him. So when he slept on the night of the conquest of Khaibar, the Prophet said, "I will give the flag tomorrow, or tomorrow the flag will be taken by a man who is loved by Allah and His Apostle , and (Khaibar) will be conquered through him, (with Allah's help)" While every one of us was hopeful to have the flag, it was said, "Here is Ali" and the Prophet gave him the flag and Khaibar was conquered through him (with Allah's Help).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 521:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad:

On the day of Khaibar, Allah's Apostle said, "Tomorrow I will give this flag to a man through whose hands Allah will give us victory. He loves Allah and His Apostle, and he is loved by Allah and His Apostle." The people remained that night, wondering as to who would be given it. In the morning the people went to Allah's Apostle and everyone of them was hopeful to receive it (i.e. the flag). The Prophet said, "Where is Ali bin Abi Talib?" It was said, "He is suffering from eye trouble O Allah's Apostle." He said, "Send for him." Ali was brought and Allah's Apostle spat in his eye and invoked good upon him. So Ali was cured as if he never had any trouble. Then the Prophet gave him the flag. Ali said "O Allah's Apostle! I will fight with them till they become like us." Allah's Apostle said, "Proceed and do not hurry. When you enter their territory, call them to embrace Islam and inform them of Allah's Rights which they should observe, for by Allah, even if a single man is led on the right path (of Islam) by Allah through you, then that will be better for you than the nice red camels.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 522:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

We arrived at Khaibar, and when Allah helped His Apostle to open the fort, the beauty of Safiya bint Huyai bin Akhtaq whose husband had been killed while she was a bride, was mentioned to Allah's Apostle. The Prophet selected her for himself, and set out with her, and when we reached a place called Sidd-as-Sahba,' Safiya became clean from her menses then Allah's Apostle married her. Hais (i.e. an Arabian dish) was prepared on a small leather mat. Then the Prophet said to me, "I invite the people around you." So that was the marriage banquet of the Prophet and Safiya. Then we proceeded towards Medina, and I saw the Prophet, making for her a kind of cushion with his cloak behind him (on his camel). He then sat beside his camel and put his knee for Safiya to put her foot on, in order to ride (on the camel).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 523:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

The Prophet stayed with Safiya bint Huyai for three days on the way of Khaibar where he consummated his marriage with her. Safiya was amongst those who were ordered to use a veil.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 524:

Narrated Anas:

The Prophet stayed for three rights between Khaibar and Medina and was married to Safiya. I invited the Muslim to h s marriage banquet and there wa neither meat nor bread in that banquet but the Prophet ordered Bilal to spread the leather mats on which dates, dried yogurt and butter were put. The Muslims said amongst themselves, "Will she (i.e. Safiya) be one of the mothers of the believers, (i.e. one of the wives of the Prophet) or just (a lady captive) of what his right-hand possesses" Some of them said, "If the Prophet makes her observe the veil, then she will be one of the mothers of the believers (i.e. one of the Prophet's wives), and if he does not make her observe the veil, then she will be his lady slave." So when he departed, he made a place for her behind him (on his and made her observe the veil.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 525:

Narrated Abdullah bin Mughaffal:

While we were besieging Khaibar, a person threw a leather container containing some fat and I ran to take it. Suddenly I looked behind, and behold! The Prophet was there. So I felt shy (to take it then).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 527:

Narrated Ali bin Abi Talib:

On the day of Khaibar, Allah's Apostle forbade the Mut'a (i.e. temporary marriage) and the eating of donkey-meat.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 528:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

On the day of Khaibar, Allah's Apostle forbade the eating of donkey meat.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 530:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

On the day of Khaibar, Allah's Apostle forbade the eating of donkey meat and allowed the eating of horse meat.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 531:

Narrated Ibn Abi Aufa:

We where afflicted with severe hunger on the day of Khaibar. While the cooking pots were boiling and some of the food was well-cooked, the announcer of the Prophet came to say, "Do not eat anything the donkey-meat and upset the cooking pots." We then thought that the Prophet had prohibited such food because the Khumus had not been taken out of it. Some others said, "He prohibited the meat of donkeys from the point of view of principle, because donkeys used to eat dirty things."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 533:

Narrated Al-Bara' and Ibn Abi Aufa:

On the day of Khaibar when the cooking pots were put on the fire, the Prophet said, "Turn the cooking pots upside down."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 535:

Narrated Al-Bara Bin Azib:

During the Ghazwa of Khaibar, the Prophet ordered us to throw away the meat of the donkeys whether it was still raw or cooked. He did not allow us to eat it later on.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 536:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

I do not know whether the Prophet forbade the eating of donkey-meat (temporarily) because they were the beasts of burden for the people, and he disliked that their means of transportation should be lost, or he forbade it on the day of Khaibar permanently.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 539:

Narrated Abu Musa:

The news of the migration of the Prophet (from Mecca to Medina) reached us while we were in Yemen. So we set out as emigrants towards him. We were (three) I and my two brothers. I was the youngest of them, and one of the two was Abu Burda, and the other, Abu Ruhm, and our total number was either 53 or 52 men from my people. We got on board a boat and our boat took us to Negus in Ethiopia. There we met Ja'far bin Abi Talib and stayed with him. Then we all came (to Medina) and met the Prophet at the time of the

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conquest of Khaibar. Some of the people used to say to us, namely the people of the ship, "We have migrated before you." Asma' bint Umais who was one of those who had come with us, came as a visitor to Hafsa, the wife the Prophet . She had migrated along with those other Muslims who migrated to Negus. Umar came to Hafsa while Asma' bint Umais was with her. Umar, on seeing Asma,' said, "Who is this?" She said, "Asma' bint Umais," Umar said, "Is she the Ethiopian? Is she the sea-faring lady?" Asma' replied, "Yes." Umar said, "We have migrated before you (people of the boat), so we have got more right than you over Allah's Apostle " On that Asma' became angry and said, "No, by Allah, while you were with Allah's Apostle who was feeding the hungry ones amongst you, and advised the ignorant ones amongst you, we were in the far-off hated land of Ethiopia, and all that was for the sake of Allah's Apostle . By Allah, I will neither eat any food nor drink anything till I inform Allah's Apostle of all that you have said. There we were harmed and frightened. I will mention this to the Prophet and will not tell a lie or curtail your saying or add something to it." So when the Prophet came, she said, "O Allah's Prophet Umar has said so-and-so." He said (to Asma'), "What did you say to him?" Asma's aid, "I told him so-and-so." The Prophet said, "He (i.e. Umar) has not got more right than you people over me, as he and his companions have (the reward of) only one migration, and you, the people of the boat, have (the reward of) two migrations." Asma' later on said, "I saw Abu Musa and the other people of the boat coming to me in successive groups, asking me about this narration,, and to them nothing in the world was more cheerful and greater than what the Prophet had said about them."

Narrated Abu Burda: Asma' said, "I saw Abu Musa requesting me to repeat this narration again and again."

Narrated Abu Burda: Abu Musa said, "The Prophet said, "I recognize the voice of the group of Al-Ashariyun, when they recite the Koran, when they enter their homes at night, and I recognize their houses by (listening) to their voices when they are reciting the Koran at night although I have not seen their houses when they came to them during the day time. Amongst them is Hakim who, on meeting the cavalry or the enemy, used to say to them (i.e. the enemy). My companions order you to wait for them.' "

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 547:

Narrated Aisha:

When Khaibar was conquered, we said, "Now we will eat our fill of dates!"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 548:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

We did not eat our fill except after we had conquered Khaibar.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 549:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri and Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle appointed a man as the ruler of Khaibar who later brought some Janib (i.e. dates of good quality) to the Prophet. On that, Allah's Apostle said (to him). "Are all the dates of Khaibar like this?" He said, "No, by Allah, O Allah's Apostle! But we take one Sa of these (dates of good quality) for two or three Sa's of other dates (of inferior quality)." On that, Allah's Apostle said, "Do not do so, but first sell the inferior quality dates for money and then with that money, buy Janib." Abu Said and Abu Huraira said, "The Prophet made the brother of Bani Adi from the Ansar as the ruler of Khaibar.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 550:

Narrated Abdullah:

The Prophet gave (the land of) Khaibar to the Jews (of Khaibar) on condition that they would work on it and cultivate it and they would have half of its yield.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 551:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

When Khaibar was conquered, a (cooked) sheep containing poison, was given as a present to Allah's Apostle

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 22:

Narrated Anas:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 89:

Narrated Anas:

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

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 296:

Narrated Suwaid bin An-Nu'man:

We went out with Allah's Apostle to Khaibar, and when we were at As-Sahba', (Yahya, a sub-narrator said, "As-Sahba' is a place at a distance of one day's journey to Khaibar)." Allah's Apostle asked the people to bring their food, but there was nothing with the people except Sawiq. So we all chewed and ate of it. Then the Prophet asked for some water and he rinsed his mouth, and we too, rinsed our mouths. Then he led us in the Maghrib prayer without performing ablution (again).

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 302:

Narrated Suwaid bin An-Nu'man:

that while they were with the Prophet at As-Sahba' which was at a distance of one day's journey from Khaibar the prayer became due, and the Prophet asked the people for food but there was nothing with the people except Sawiq. He ate of it and we ate along with him, and then he asked for water and rinsed his mouth (with it), and then offered the (Maghrib) prayer and we too offered the prayer but the Prophet did not perform ablution (again after eating the Sawiq.).

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 365:

Narrated Suwaid bin An Nu'man:

We went out with Allah's Apostle to Khaibar, and when we reached As-Sahba', the Prophet asked for food, and he was offered nothing but Sawiq. We ate, and then Allah's Apostle stood up for the prayer. He rinsed his mouth with water, and we too, rinsed our mouths. Narrated Suwaid; We went out with Allah's Apostle to Khaibar. and when we reached As-Sahba', which (Yahya says) is one day' journey from Khaibar, the Prophet asked for food, and he was offered nothing but Sawiq which we chewed and ate. Then the Prophet asked for water and rinsed his mouth, and we too, rinsed our mouths along with him. He then led us in the Maghrib prayer without performing ablution again

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 405:

Narrated Salama bin Al-Aqwa':

In the evening of the day of the conquest of Khaibar, the army made fires (for cooking). The Prophet said, "For what have you made these fires?" They said, "For cooking the meat of domestic donkeys." He said, "Throw away what is in the cooking pots and break the pots." A man from the people got up and said, "Shall we throw the contents of the cooking pots and then wash the pots (instead of breaking them)?" The Prophet said, "Yes, you can do either'

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 416:

Narrates Abdullah bin Mughaffal:

While we were besieging the castle of Khaibar, Somebody threw a skin full of fat and I went ahead to take it, but on looking behind, I saw the Prophet and I felt shy in his presence (and did not take it).

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 669:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

When Khaibar was conquered, Allah's Apostle was presented with a poisoned (roasted) sheep. Allah's Apostle said, "Collect for me all the Jews present in this area." (When they were gathered) Allah's Apostle said to them, "I am going to ask you about something; will you tell me the truth?" They replied, "Yes, O Abal-Qasim!" Allah's Apostle said to them, "Who is your father?" They said, "Our father is so-and-so." Allah's Apostle said, "You have told a lie. for your father is so-and-so," They said, "No doubt, you have said the truth and done the correct thing." He again said to them, "If I ask you about something; will you tell me the truth?" They replied, "Yes, O Abal-Qasim! And if we should tell a lie you will know it as you have known it regarding our father," Allah's Apostle then asked, "Who are the people of the (Hell) Fire?" They replied, "We will remain in the (Hell) Fire for a while and then you (Muslims) will replace us in it" Allah's Apostle said to them. "You will abide in it with ignominy. By Allah, we shall never replace you in it at all." Then he asked them again, "If I ask you something, will you tell me the truth?" They replied, "Yes." He asked. "Have you put the poison in this roasted sheep?" They replied, "Yes," He asked, "What made you do that?" They replied, "We intended to learn if you were a liar in which case we would be relieved from you, and if you were a prophet then it would not harm you."

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 851:

Narrated Anas bin Malik :

We were coming from Khaibar along with Allah's Apostle while I was riding behind Abu Talha and he was proceeding. While one of the wives of Allah's Apostle was riding behind Allah's Apostle, suddenly the foot of the camel Slipped and I said, "The woman!" and alighted (hurriedly). Allah's Apostle said, "She is your mother." So I resaddled the she-camel and Allah's Apostle mounted it. When he approached or saw Medina, he said, "Ayibun, ta'ibun, abidun, li-Rabbina hamidun."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 164:

Narrated Rafi bin Khadij and Sahl bin Abu Hathma:

Abdullah bin Sahl and Muhaiyisa bin Musud went to Khaibar and they dispersed in the gardens of the date-palm trees. Abdullah bin Sahl was murdered. Then Abdur-Rahman bin Sahl, Huwaiyisa and Muhaiyisa, the two sons of Musud, came to the Prophet and spoke about the case of their (murdered) friend. Abdur-Rahman who was the youngest of them all, started talking. The Prophet said, "Let the older (among you) speak first." So they spoke about the case of their (murdered) friend. The Prophet said, "Will fifty of you take an oath whereby you will have the right to receive the blood money of your murdered man," (or said, "..your companion"). They said, "O Allah's Apostle! The murder was a thing we did not witness." The Prophet said, "Then the Jews will release you from the oath, if fifty of them (the Jews) should take an oath to contradict your claim." They said, "O Allah's Apostle! They are disbelievers (and they will take a false oath)." Then Allah's Apostle himself paid the blood money to them.

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 718:

Narrated Aisha:

Fatima and Al Abbas came to Abu Bakr, seeking their share from the property of Allah's Apostle and at that time, they were asking for their land at Fadak and their share from Khaibar. Abu Bakr said to them, " I have heard from Allah's Apostle saying, 'Our property cannot be inherited, and whatever we leave is to be spent in charity, but the family of Mohammed may take their provisions from this property." Abu Bakr added, "By Allah, I will not leave the procedure I saw Allah's Apostle following during his lifetime concerning this property." Therefore Fatima left Abu Bakr and did not speak to him till she died.

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 36:

Narrated Sahl bin Abi Hathma:

(a man from the Ansar) that a number of people from his tribe went to Khaibar and dispersed, and then they found one of them murdered. They said to the people with whom the corpse had been found, "You have killed our companion!" Those people said, "Neither have we killed him, nor do we know his killer." The bereaved group went to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! We went to Khaibar and found one of us murdered." The Prophet said, "Let the older among you come forward and speak." Then the Prophet said, to them, "Bring your proof against the killer." They said "We have no proof." The Prophet said, "Then they (the defendants) will take an oath." They said, "We do not accept the oaths of the Jews." Allah's Apostle did not like that the Blood-money of the killed one be lost without compensation, so he paid one-hundred camels out of the camels of Zakat (to the relatives of the deceased) as Diya (Blood-money).

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 449:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri and Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle sent the brother of the tribe of Bani Adi Al-Ansari as governor of Khaibar. Then the man returned, bringing Janib (a good kind of date). Allah's Apostle asked him, "Are all the dates of Khaibar like that?" He replied, "No, by Allah, O Allah's Apostle! We take one Sa' of these (good) dates for two Sas of mixed dates." Allah's Apostle then said, "Do not do so. You should either take one Sa of this (kind) for one Sa' of the other; or sell one kind and then buy with its price the other kind (of dates), and you should do the same in weighing."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 49:

Narrated Samura:

The Prophet said, "Last night two men came to me (in a dream) and made me ascend a tree and then admitted me into a better and superior house, better of which I have never seen. One of them said, 'This house is the house of martyrs."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 55:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

The Prophet delivered a sermon and said, "Zaid took the flag and was martyred, and then Ja'far took the flag and was martyred, and then Abdullah bin Rawaha took the flag and was martyred too, and then Khalid bin Al-Walid took the flag though he was not appointed as a commander and Allah made him victorious." The Prophet further added, "It would not please us to have them with us." Aiyub, a sub-narrator, added, "Or the Prophet, shedding tears, said, 'It would not p ease them to be with us."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 57:

Narrated Anas:

The Prophet sent seventy men from the tribe of Bani Salim to the tribe of Bani Amir. When they reached there, my maternal uncle said to them, "I will go ahead of you, and if they allow me to convey the message of Allah's Apostle (it will be all right); otherwise you will remain close to me." So he went ahead of them and the pagans granted him security But while he was reporting the message of the Prophet , they beckoned to one of their men who stabbed him to death. My maternal uncle said, "Allah is Greater! By the Lord of the Kaba, I am successful." After that they attached the rest of the

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party and killed them all except a lame man who went up to the top of the mountain. (Hammam, a sub-narrator said, "I think another man was saved along with him)." Gabriel informed the Prophet that they (i.e the martyrs) met their Lord, and He was pleased with them and made them pleased. We used to recite, "Inform our people that we have met our Lord, He is pleased with us and He has made us pleased " Later on this Koranic Verse was cancelled. The Prophet invoked Allah for forty days to curse the murderers from the tribe of Ral, Dhakwan, Bani Lihyan and Bam Usaiya who disobeyed Allah and his Apostle

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 63:

Narrated Al-Bara:

A man whose face was covered with an iron mask (i.e. clad in armor) came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Shall I fight or embrace Islam first? "The Prophet said, "Embrace Islam first and then fight." So he embraced Islam, and was martyred. Allah's Apostle said, A Little work, but a great reward. "(He did very little (after embracing Islam), but he will be rewarded in abundance)."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 64:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

Um Ar-Rubai'bint Al-Bara', the mother of Hartha bin Suraqa came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Prophet! Will you tell me about Hartha?" Hartha has been killed (i.e. martyred) on the day of Badr with an arrow thrown by an unidentified person. She added, "If he is in Paradise, I will be patient; otherwise, I will weep bitterly for him." He said, "O mother of Hartha! There are Gardens in Paradise and your son got the Firdausal-ala (i.e. the best place in Paradise)."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 72:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

The Prophet said, "Nobody who enters Paradise likes to go back to the world even if he got everything on the earth, except a Mujahid who wishes to return to the world so that he may be martyred ten times because of the dignity he receives (from Allah)."

Narrated Al-Mughira bin Shu'ba: Our Prophet told us about the message of our Lord that "Whoever amongst us is killed will go to Paradise." Umar asked the Prophet, "Is it not true that our men who are killed will go to Paradise and their's (i.e. those of the Pagan's) will go to the (Hell) fire?" The Prophet said, "Yes."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 83:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

The Prophet said, "Plauge is the cause of martyrdom of every Muslim (who dies because of it)."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 211:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

I participated in a Ghazwa along with Allah's Apostle The Prophet met me (on the way) while I was riding a camel of ours used for irrigation and it had got so tired that it could hardly walk. The Prophet asked me, "What is wrong with the camel?" I replied, "It has got tired." So. Allah's Apostle came from behind it and rebuked it and prayed for it so it started surpassing the other camels and going ahead of them. Then he asked me, "How do you find your camel (now)?" I replied, "I find it quite well, now as it has received your blessings." He said, "Will you sell it to me?" I felt shy (to refuse his offer) though it was the only camel for irrigation we had. So, I said, "Yes." He said, "Sell it to me then." I sold it to him on the condition that I should keep on riding it till I reached Medina. Then I said, "O Allah's Apostle! I am a bridegroom," and requested him to allow me to go home. He allowed me, and I set out for Medina before the people till I reached Medina, where I met my uncle, who asked me about the camel and I informed him all about it and he blamed me for that. When I took the permission of Allah's Apostle he asked me whether I had married a virgin or a matron and I replied that I had married a matron. He said, "Why hadn't you married a virgin who would have played with you, and you would have played with her?" I replied, "O Allah's Apostle! My father died (or was martyred) and I have some young sisters, so I felt it not proper that I should marry a young girl like them who would neither teach them manners nor serve them. So, I have married a matron so that she may serve them and teach them manners." When Allah's Apostle arrived in Medina, I took the camel to him the next morning and he gave me its price and gave me the camel itself as well.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 298:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

Allah's Apostle delivered a sermon and said, "Zaid received the flag and was martyred, then Ja'far took it and was martyred, then Abdullah bin Rawaha took it and was martyred, and then Khalid bin Al-Walid took it without being appointed, and Allah gave him victory." The Prophet added, "I am not pleased (or they will not be pleased) that they should remain (alive) with us," while his eyes were shedding tears.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 299:

Narrated Anas:

The people of the tribes of Ril, Dhakwan, 'Usiya and Bani Lihyan came to the Prophet and claimed that they had embraced Islam, and they requested him to support them with some men to fight their own people. The Prophet supported them with seventy men from the Ansar whom we used to call Al-Qurra'(i.e. Scholars) who (out of piety) used to cut wood during the day and pray all the night. So, those people took the (seventy) men till they reached a place called Bi'r-Ma'ana where they betrayed and martyred them. So, the Prophet invoked evil on the tribe of Ril, Dhakwan and Bani Lihyan for one month in the prayer.

Narrated Qatada: Anas told us that they (i.e. Muslims) used to recite a Koranic Verse concerning those martyrs which was:-- "O Allah! Let our people be informed on our behalf that we have met our Lord Who has got pleased with us and made us pleased." Then the Verse was cancelled.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 342:

Narrated Ali bin Al-Husain:

That when they reached Medina after returning from Yazid bin Mu'awaiya after the martyrdom of Husain bin Ali (may Allah bestow His Mercy upon him), Al-Miswar bin Makhrama met him and said to him, "Do you have any need you may order me to satisfy?" Ali said, "No." Al-Miswar said, Will you give me the sword of Allah's Apostle for I am afraid that people may take it from you by force? By Allah, if you give it to me, they will never be able to take it till I die." When Ali bin Abu Talib demanded the hand of the daughter of Abi Jahal to be his wife besides Fatima, I heard Allah's Apostle on his pulpit delivering a sermon in this connection before the people, and I had then attained my age of puberty. Allah's Apostle said, "Fatima is from me, and I am afraid she will be subjected to trials in her religion (because of jealousy)." The Prophet then mentioned one of his son-in-law who was from the tribe of Abu Shams, and he praised him as a good son-in-law, saying, "Whatever he said was the truth, and he promised me and fulfilled his promise. I do not make a legal thing illegal, nor do I make an illegal thing legal, but by Allah, the daughter of Allah's Apostle and the daughter of the enemy of Allah, (i.e. Abu Jahl) can never get together (as the wives of one man) (See Hadith No. 76, Vo. 5).

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 395:

Narrated Asim:

I asked Anas about the Qunut (i.e. invocation in the prayer). Anas said, "It should be recited before bowing." I said, "So-and-so claims that you say that it should be recited after bowing." He replied, "He is mistaken." Then Anas narrated to us that the Prophet invoked evil on the tribe of Bani-Sulaim for one month after bowing. ' Anas Further said, "The Prophet had sent 40 or 70 Qaris (i.e. men well versed in the knowledge of the Koran) to some pagans, but the latter struggled with them and martyred them, although there was a peace pact between them and the Prophet I had never seen the Prophet so sorry and worried about anybody as he was about them (i.e. the Qaris)."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 680:

Narrated Aisha:

(the wife of the Prophet) I asked Allah's Apostle about the plague. He told me that it was a Punishment sent by Allah on whom he wished, and Allah made it a source of mercy for the believers, for if one in the time of an epidemic plague stays in his country patiently hoping for Allah's Reward and believing that nothing will befall him except what Allah has written for him, he will get the reward of a martyr."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 795:

Narrated Uqba bin Amr:

The Prophet once came out and offered the funeral prayer for the martyrs of Uhud, and proceeded to the pulpit and said, "I shall be your predecessor and a witness on you, and I am really looking at my sacred Fount now, and no doubt, I have been given the keys of the treasures of the world. By Allah, I am not afraid that you will worship others along with Allah, but I am afraid that you will envy and fight one another for worldly fortunes."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 24:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

The Prophet once climbed the mountain of Uhud with Abu Bakr, Umar and Uthman. The mountain shook with them. The Prophet said (to the mountain), "Be firm, O Uhud! For on you there are no more than a Prophet, a Siddiq and two martyrs.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 35:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

The Prophet ascended the mountain of Uhud and he was accompanied by Abu Bakr, Umar and Uthman. The mountain shook beneath them. The Prophet hit it with his foot and said, "O Uhud ! Be firm, for on you there is none but a Prophet, a Siddiq and a martyr (i.e. and two martyrs).

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 46:

Narrated Anas:

Allah's Apostle ascended the (mountain) of Uhud with Abu Bakr and Uthman and it shook. Allah's Apostle said, "Be calm, O Uhud!" I think he stroked it with his foot and added, "There is none on you but a Prophet, a Siddiq and two martyrs." (The two martyrs were Umar and Uthman) (See Hadith No. 24)

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 49:

Narrated Anas:

The Prophet ascended the mountain of Uhud and Abu Bakr, Umar and Uthman were accompanying him. The mountain gave a shake (i.e. trembled underneath them) . The Prophet said, "O Uhud ! Be calm." I think that the Prophet hit it with his foot, adding, "For upon you there are none but a Prophet, a Siddiq and two martyrs."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 50:

Narrated Amr bin Maimun:

I saw Umar bin Al-Khattab a few days before he was stabbed in Medina. He was standing with Hudhaifa bin Al-Yaman and Uthman bin Hunaif to whom he said, "What have you done? Do you think that you have imposed more taxation on the land (of As-Swad i.e. 'Iraq) than it can bear?" They replied, "We have imposed on it what it can bear because of its great yield." Umar again said, "Check whether you have imposed on the land what it can not bear." They said, "No, (we haven't)." Umar added, "If Allah should keep me alive I will let the widows of Iraq need no men to support them after me." But only four days had elapsed when he was stabbed (to death). The day he was stabbed, I was standing and there was nobody between me and him (i.e. Umar) except Abdullah bin Abbas. Whenever Umar passed between the two rows, he would say, "Stand in straight lines."

When he saw no defect (in the rows), he would go forward and start the prayer with Takbir. He would recite Surat Yusuf or An-Nahl or the like in the first Rak'a so that the people may have the time to Join the prayer. As soon as he said Takbir, I heard him saying, "The dog has killed or eaten me," at the time he (i.e. the murderer) stabbed him. A non-Arab infidel proceeded on carrying a double-edged knife and stabbing all the persons he passed by on the right and left (till) he stabbed thirteen persons out of whom seven died. When one of the Muslims saw that, he threw a cloak on him. Realising that he had been captured, the non-Arab infidel killed himself, Umar held the hand of Abdur-Rahman bin Auf and let him lead the prayer.

Those who were standing by the side of Umar saw what I saw, but the people who were in the other parts of the Mosque did not see anything, but they lost the voice of Umar and they were saying, "Subhan Allah! Subhan Allah! (i.e. Glorified be Allah)." Abdur-Rahman bin Auf led the people a short prayer. When they finished the prayer, Umar said, "O Ibn Abbas! Find out who attacked me." Ibn Abbas kept on looking here and there for a short time and came to say. "The slave of Al Mughira." On that Umar said, "The craftsman?" Ibn Abbas said, "Yes." Umar said, "May Allah curse him. I did not treat him unjustly. All the Praises are for Allah Who has not caused me to die at the hand of a man who claims himself to be a Muslim. No doubt, you and your father (Abbas) used to love to have more non-Arab infidels in Medina." Al-Abbas had the greatest number of slaves. Ibn Abbas said to Umar. "If you wish, we will do." He meant, "If you wish we will kill them." Umar said, "You are mistaken (for you can't kill them) after they have spoken your language, prayed towards your Qibla, and performed Hajj like yours."

Then Umar was carried to his house, and we went along with him, and the people were as if they had never suffered a calamity before. Some said, "Do not worry (he will be Alright soon)." Some said, "We are afraid (that he will die)." Then an infusion of dates was brought to him and he drank it but it came out (of the wound) of his belly. Then milk was brought to him and he drank it, and it also came out of his belly. The people realised that he would die. We went to him, and the people came, praising him. A young man came saying, "O chief of the believers! Receive the glad tidings from Allah to you due to your company with Allah's Apostle and your superiority in Islam which you know. Then you became the ruler (i.e. Caliph) and you ruled with justice and finally you have been martyred." Umar said, "I wish that all these privileges will counterbalance (my shortcomings) so that I will neither lose nor gain anything."

When the young man turned back to leave, his clothes seemed to be touching the ground. Umar said, "Call the young man back to me." (When he came back) Umar said, "O son of my brother! Lift your clothes, for this will keep your clothes clean and save you from the Punishment of your Lord." Umar further said, "O Abdullah bin Umar! See how much I am in debt to others." When the debt was checked, it amounted to approximately eighty-six thousand. Umar said, "If the property of Umar's family covers the debt, then pay the debt thereof; otherwise request it from Bani Adi bin Ka'b, and if that too is not sufficient, ask for it from Quraish tribe, and do not ask for it from any one else, and pay this debt on my behalf."

Umar then said (to Abdullah), "Go to Aisha (the mother of the believers) and say: "Umar is paying his salutation to you. But don't say: 'The chief of the believers,' because today I am not the chief of the believers. And say: "Umar bin Al-Khattab asks the permission to be buried with his two companions (i.e. the Prophet, and Abu Bakr)." Abdullah greeted Aisha and asked for the permission for entering, and then entered to her and found her sitting and weeping. He said to her, "Umar bin Al-Khattab is paying his salutations to you, and asks the permission to be buried with his two companions." She said,

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"I had the idea of having this place for myself, but today I prefer Umar to myself."

When he returned it was said (to Umar), "Abdullah bin Umar has come." Umar said, "Make me sit up." Somebody supported him against his body and Umar asked (Abdullah), "What news do you have?" He said, "O chief of the believers! It is as you wish. She has given the permission." Umar said, "Praise be to Allah, there was nothing more important to me than this. So when I die, take me, and greet Aisha and say: "Umar bin Al-Khattab asks the permission (to be buried with the Prophet), and if she gives the permission, bury me there, and if she refuses, then take me to the grave-yard of the Muslims."

Then Hafsa (the mother of the believers) came with many other women walking with her. When we saw her, we went away. She went in (to Umar) and wept there for sometime. When the men asked for permission to enter, she went into another place, and we heard her weeping inside. The people said (to Umar), "O chief of the believers! Appoint a successor." Umar said, "I do not find anyone more suitable for the job than the following persons or group whom Allah's Apostle had been pleased with before he died." Then Umar mentioned Ali, Uthman, AzZubair, Talha, Sad and Abdur-Rahman (bin Auf) and said, "Abdullah bin Umar will be a witness to you, but he will have no share in the rule. His being a witness will compensate him for not sharing the right of ruling. If Sad becomes the ruler, it will be alright: otherwise, whoever becomes the ruler should seek his help, as I have not dismissed him because of disability or dishonesty." Umar added, "I recommend that my successor takes care of the early emigrants; to know their rights and protect their honour and sacred things.

I also recommend that he be kind to the Ansar who had lived in Medina before the emigrants and Belief had entered their hearts before them. I recommend that the (ruler) should accept the good of the righteous among them and excuse their wrong-doers, and I recommend that he should do good to all the people of the towns (Al-Ansar), as they are the protectors of Islam and the source of wealth and the source of annoyance to the enemy. I also recommend that nothing be taken from them except from their surplus with their consent. I also recommend that he do good to the Arab bedouin, as they are the origin of the Arabs and the material of Islam. He should take from what is inferior, amongst their properties and distribute that to the poor amongst them. I also recommend him concerning Allah's and His Apostle's protectees (i.e. Dhimmis) to fulfill their contracts and to fight for them and not to overburden them with what is beyond their ability." So when Umar expired, we carried him out and set out walking. Abdullah bin Umar greeted (Aisha) and said, "Umar bin Al-Khattab asks for the permission." Aisha said, "Bring him in." He was brought in and buried beside his two companions.

When he was buried, the group (recommended by Umar) held a meeting. Then Abdur-Rahman said, " Reduce the candidates for rulership to three of you." Az-Zubair said, "I give up my right to Ali." Talha said, "I give up my right to Uthman," Sad, 'I give up my right to Abdur-Rahman bin Auf." Abdur-Rahman then said (to Uthman and Ali), "Now which of you is willing to give up his right of candidacy to that he may choose the better of the (remaining) two, bearing in mind that Allah and Islam will be his witnesses." So both the sheiks (i.e. Uthman and Ali) kept silent. Abdur-Rahman said, "Will you both leave this matter to me, and I take Allah as my Witness that I will not choose but the better of you?" They said, "Yes." So Abdur-Rahman took the hand of one of them (i.e. Ali) and said, "You are related to Allah's Apostle and one of the earliest Muslims as you know well. So I ask you by Allah to promise that if I select you as a ruler you will do justice, and if I select Uthman as a ruler you will listen to him and obey him." Then he took the other (i.e. Uthman) aside and said the same to him. When Abdur-Rahman secured (their agreement to) this covenant, he said, "O Uthman! Raise your hand." So he (i.e. Abdur-Rahman) gave him (i.e. Uthman) the solemn pledge, and then Ali gave him the pledge of allegiance and then all the (Medina) people gave him the pledge of allegiance.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 102:

Narrated Anas:

The Prophet had informed the people about the death of Zaid, Ja'far and Ibn Rawaha before the news of their death reached them. He said with his eyes flowing with tears, "Zaid took the flag and was martyred; then Ja'far took the flag and was martyred, and then Ibn Rawaha took the flag and was martyred. Finally the flag was taken by one of Allah's Swords (i.e. Khalid bin Al-Walid) and Allah gave them (i.e. the Muslims) victory."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 374:

Narrated Uqba bin Amir:

Allah's Apostle offered the funeral prayers of the martyrs of Uhud eight years after (their death), as if bidding farewell to the living and the dead, then he ascended the pulpit and said, "I am your predecessor before you, and I am a witness on you, and your promised place to meet me will be Al-Haud (i.e. the Tank) (on the Day of Resurrection), and I am (now) looking at it from this place of mine. I am not afraid that you will worship others besides Allah, but I am afraid that worldly life will tempt you and cause you to compete with each other for it." That was the last look which I cast on Allah's Apostle.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 376:

Narrated Sad bin Ibrahim:

A meal was brought to Abdur-Rahman bin Auf while he was fasting. He said, "Musab bin Umar was martyred, and he was better than I, yet he was shrouded in a Burda (i.e. a sheet) so that, if his head was covered, his feet became naked, and if his feet were covered, his head became naked." Abdur-Rahman added, "Hamza was martyred and he was better than 1. Then worldly wealth was bestowed upon us and we were given thereof too much. We are afraid that the reward of our deeds have been given to us in this life." Abdur-Rahman then started weeping so much that he left the food.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 382:

Narrated Jabir:

"Allah's Apostle said to me, "Have you got married O Jabir?" I replied, "Yes." He asked "What, a virgin or a matron?" I replied, "Not a virgin but a matron." He said, "Why did you not marry a young girl who would have fondled with you?" I replied, "O Allah's Apostle! My father was martyred on the day of Uhud and left nine (orphan) daughters who are my nine sisters; so I disliked to have another young girl of their age, but (I sought) an (elderly) woman who could comb their hair and look after them." The Prophet said, "You have done the right thing."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 406:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah

Allah's Apostle used to shroud two martyrs of Uhud in one sheet and then say, "Which of them knew Koran more?" When one of the two was pointed out, he would put him first in the grave. Then he said, "I will be a witness for them on the Day of Resurrection." He ordered them to be buried with their blood (on their bodies). Neither was the funeral prayer offered for them, nor were they washed. Jabir added, "When my father was martyred, I started weeping and uncovering his face. The companions of the Prophet stopped me from doing so but the Prophet did not stop me. Then the Prophet said, '(O Jabir.) don't weep over him, for the angels kept on covering him with their wings till his body was carried away (for burial)."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 407:

Narrated Abu Musa:

The Prophet said, "I saw in a dream that I moved a sword and its blade got broken, and that symbolized the casualties which the believers suffered on the day of Uhud. Then I moved it again, and it became as perfect as it had been, and that symbolized the Conquest (of Mecca) which Allah helped us to achieve, and the union of all the believers. I (also) saw cows in the dream, and what Allah does is always beneficial. Those cows appeared to symbolize the faithful believers (who were martyred) on the day of Uhud."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 411:

Narrated Uqba:

One day the Prophet went out and offered the (funeral) prayer for the people (i.e. martyrs) of Uhud as he used to offer a funeral prayer for any dead person, and then (after returning) he ascended the pulpit and said, "I am your predecessor before you, and I am a witness upon you, and I am looking at my Tank just now, and I have been given the keys of the treasures of the world (or the keys of the world). By Allah, I am not afraid that you will worship others besides Allah after me, but I am afraid that you will compete with each other for (the pleasures of) this world."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 419:

Narrated Aisha:

Abu Bakr asked the Prophet to allow him to go out (of Mecca) when he was greatly annoyed (by the infidels). But the Prophet said to him, "Wait." Abu Bakr said, O Allah's Apostle! Do you hope that you will be allowed (to migrate)?" Allah's Apostle replied, "I hope so." So Abu Bakr waited for him till one day Allah's Apostle came at noon time and addressed him saying "Let whoever is present with you, now leave you." Abu Bakr said, "None is present but my two daughters." The Prophet said, "Have you noticed that I have been allowed to go out (to migrate)?" Abu Bakr said, "O Allah's Apostle, I would like to accompany you." The Prophet said, "You will accompany me." Abu Bakr said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have got two she-camels which I had prepared and kept ready for (our) going out." So he gave one of the two (she-camels) to the Prophet and it was Al-Jad'a . They both rode and proceeded till they reached the Cave at the mountain of Thaur where they hid themselves. Amir bin Fuhaira was the slave of Abdullah bin Al-Tufail bin Sakhbara Aisha's brother from her mother's side. Abu Bakr had a milch she-camel. Amir used to go with it (i.e. the milch she-camel) in the afternoon and come back to them before noon by setting out towards them in the early morning when it was still dark and then he would take it to the pasture so that none of the shepherds would be aware of his job. When the Prophet (and Abu Bakr) went away (from the Cave), he (i.e. Amir) too went along with them and they both used to make him ride at the back of their camels in turns till they reached Medina. Amir bin Fuhaira was martyred on the day of Bir Ma'una.

Narrated Urwa: When those (Muslims) at Bir Ma'una were martyred and Amr bin Umaiya Ad-Damri was taken prisoner, Amir bin At-Tufail, pointing at a killed person, asked Amr, "Who is this?" Amr bin Umaiya said to him, "He is Amir bin Fuhaira." Amir bin At-Tufail said, "I saw him lifted to the sky after he was killed till I saw the sky between him and the earth, and then he was brought down upon the earth. Then the news of the killed Muslims reached the Prophet and he announced the news of their death saying, "Your companions (of Bir Ma'una) have been killed, and they have asked their Lord saying, 'O our Lord! Inform our brothers about us as we are pleased with You and You are pleased with us." So Allah informed them (i.e. the Prophet and his companions) about them (i.e. martyrs of Bir Mauna).

On that day, Urwa bin Asma bin As-Salt who was one of them, was killed, and Urwa (bin Az-Zubair) was named after Urwa bin Asma and Mundhir (bin AzZubair) was named after Mundhir bin Amr (who had also been martyred on that day).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 422:

Narrated Asim Al-Ahwal:

I asked Anas bin Malik regarding Al-Qunut during the prayer. Anas replied, "Yes (Al-Qunut was said by the Prophet in the prayer)." I said, "Is it before Bowing or after Bowing?" Anas replied, "(It was said) before (Bowing)." I said, "So-and-so informed me that you told him that it was said after Bowing." Anas replied, "He was mistaken, for Allah's Apostle said Al-Qunut after Bowing for one month. The Prophet had sent some people called Al-Qurra who were seventy in number, to some pagan people who had concluded a peace treaty with Allah's Apostle . But those who had concluded the treaty with Allah's Apostle violated the treaty (and martyred all the seventy men). So Allah's Apostle said Al-Qunut after Bowing (in the prayer) for one month, invoking evil upon them.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 545:

Narrated Said:

Aban bin Said came to the Prophet and greeted him. Abu Huraira said, "O Allah's Apostle! This (Aban) is the murderer of the Ibn Qauqal." (On hearing that), Aban said to Abu Huraira, "How strange your saying is! You, a guinea pig, descending from Qadum Dan, blaming me for (killing) a person whom Allah favored (with martyrdom) with my hand, and whom He forbade to degrade me with his hand.'

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 110:

Narrated Aisha:

I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "No prophet gets sick but he is given the choice to select either this world or the Hereafter." Aisha added: During his fatal illness, his voice became very husky and I heard him saying: "In the company of those whom is the Grace of Allah, of the prophets, the Siddiqin (those followers of the prophets who were first and foremost to believe in them), the martyrs and the pious.' (4.69) And from this I came to know that he has been given the option.

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 628:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

Allah's Apostle said, "(Death from) plague is martyrdom for every Muslim."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 629:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "He (a Muslim) who dies of an abdominal disease is a a martyr, and he who dies of plague is a martyr."

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 630:

Narrated Aisha:

(the wife of the Prophet) that she asked Allah's Apostle about plague, and Allah's Apostle informed her saying, "Plague was a punishment which Allah used to send on whom He wished, but Allah made it a blessing for the believers. None (among the believers) remains patient in a land in which plague has broken out and considers that nothing will befall him except what Allah has ordained for him, but that Allah will grant him a reward similar to that of a martyr."

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 403:

Narrated Anas:

The Prophet sent a Sariya (an army detachment) consisting of men called Al-Qurra', and all of them were martyred. I had never seen the Prophet so sad over anything as he was over them. So he said Qunut (invocation in the prayer) for one month in the Fajr prayer, invoking for Allah's wrath upon the tribe of 'Usaiya, and he used to say, "The people of 'Usaiya have disobeyed Allah and His Apostle."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 590:

Narrated Uqba bin Amir:

Once the Prophet went out and offered the funeral prayers for the martyrs of Uhud, and then went to the pulpit and said, "I am a predecessor for you and I am a witness for you: and by Allah, I am looking at my Fount just now, and the keys of the treasures of the earth (or the keys of the earth) have been given to me: and by Allah, I am not afraid that you will worship others besides Allah after me, but I am afraid that

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you will strive and struggle against each other over these treasures of the world."

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 616:

Narrated Aisha:

I asked Allah's Apostle about the plague. He said, "That was a means of torture which Allah used to send upon whom-so-ever He wished, but He made it a source of mercy for the believers, for anyone who is residing in a town in which this disease is present, and remains there and does not leave that town, but has patience and hopes for Allah's reward, and knows that nothing will befall him except what Allah has written for him, then he will get such reward as that of a martyr."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 209:

Narrated Salama bin Al-Akwa:

That he visited Al-Hajjaj (bin Yusuf). Al-Hajjaj said, "O son of Al-Akwa! You have turned on your heels (i.e., deserted Islam) by staying (in the desert) with the bedouins." Salama replied, "No, but Allah's Apostle allowed me to stay with the bedouin in the desert." Narrated Yazid bin Abi Ubaid: When Uthman bin Affan was killed (martyred), Salama bin Al-Akwa went out to a place called Ar-Rabadha and married there and begot children, and he stayed there till a few nights before his death when he came to Medina.

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 621:

Narrated Al-Mughira:

Our Prophet has informed us our Lord's Message that whoever of us is martyred, will go to Paradise.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 336:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah :

When my father was martyred, I lifted the sheet from his face and wept and the people forbade me to do so but the Prophet did not forbid me. Then my aunt Fatima began weeping and the Prophet said, "It is all the same whether you weep or not. The angels were shading him continuously with their wings till you shifted him (from the field). "

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 338:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

The Prophet said, "Zaid took over the flag and was martyred. Then it was taken by Jafar who was martyred as well. Then Abdullah bin Rawaha took the flag but he too was martyred and at that time the eyes of Allah's Apostle were full of tears. Then Khalid bin Al-Walid took the flag without being nominated as a chief (before hand) and was blessed with victory."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 364:

Narrated Sad from his father:

Once the meal of Abdur-Rahman bin Auf was brought in front of him, and he said, "Mustab bin Umar was martyred and he was better than I, and he had nothing except his Burd (a black square narrow dress) to be shrouded in. Hamza or another person was martyred and he was also better than I and he had nothing to be shrouded in except his Burd. No doubt, I fear that the rewards of my deeds might have been given early in this world." Then he started weeping.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 365:

Narrated Ibrahim:

Once a meal was brought to Abdur-Rahman bin Auf and he was fasting. He said, "Mustab bin Umar was martyred and he was better than I and was shrouded in his Burd and when his head was covered with it, his legs became bare, and when his legs were covered his head got uncovered. Hamza was martyred and was better than I. Now the worldly wealth have been bestowed upon us (or said a similar thing). No doubt, I fear that the rewards of my deeds might have been given earlier in this world." Then he started weeping and left his food.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 387:

Narrated Anas:

When the reciters of Koran were martyred, Allah's Apostle recited Qunut for one month and I never saw him (i.e. Allah's Apostle) so sad as he was on that day.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 392:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 427:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

The Prophet collected every two martyrs of Uhud in one piece of cloth, then he would ask, "Which of them had (knew) more of the Koran?" When one of them was pointed out for him, he would put that one first in the grave and say, "I will be a witness on these on the Day of Resurrection." He ordered them to be buried with their blood on their bodies and they were neither washed nor was a funeral prayer offered for them.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 428:

Narrated Uqba bin Amir:

One day the Prophet went out and offered the funeral prayers of the martyrs of Uhud and then went up the pulpit and said, "I will pave the way for you as your predecessor and will be a witness on you. By Allah! I see my Fount (Kauthar) just now and I have been given the keys of all the treasures of the earth (or the keys of the earth). By Allah! I am not afraid that you will worship others along with Allah after my death, but I am afraid that you will fight with one another for the worldly things."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 429:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah :

The Prophet buried every two martyrs in of Uhud in one grave.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 431:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah :

Allah's Apostle shrouded every two martyrs of Uhud in one piece of cloth and then he would ask, "Which of them knew more Koran?" When one of them was pointed out he would put him first in the grave. He said, "I am a witness on these." Then he ordered them to be buried with blood on their bodies. Neither did he offer their funeral prayer nor did he get them washed. (Jabir bin Abdullah added): Allah's Apostle used to ask about the martyrs of Uhud as to which of them knew more of the Koran." And when one of them was pointed out as having more of it he would put him first in the grave and then his companions. (Jabir added): My father and my uncle were shrouded in one sheet.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 436:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

The Prophet collected every two martyrs of Uhud (in one grave) and then he would ask, "Which of them knew the Koran more?" And if one of them was pointed out for him as having more knowledge, he would put him first in the Lahd. The Prophet said, "I will be a witness on these on the Day of Resurrection." Then he ordered them to be buried with their blood on their bodies and he did not have them washed.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 468:

Narrated Samura bin Jundab:

Whenever the Prophet finished the (morning) prayer, he would face us and ask, "Who amongst you had a dream last night?" So if anyone had seen a dream he would narrate it. The Prophet would say: "Ma sha'a-llah" (An Arabic maxim meaning literally, 'What Allah wished,' and it indicates a good omen.) One day, he asked us whether anyone of us had seen a dream. We replied in the negative. The Prophet said, "But I had seen (a dream) last night that two men came to me, caught hold of my hands, and took me to the Sacred Land (Jerusalem). There, I saw a person sitting and another standing with an iron hook in his hand pushing it inside the mouth of the former till it reached the jaw-bone, and then tore off one side of his cheek, and then did the same with the other side; in the mean-time the first side of his cheek became normal again and then he repeated the same operation again. I said, 'What is this?' They told me to proceed on and we went on till we came to a man Lying flat on his back, and another man standing at his head carrying a stone or a piece of rock, and crushing the head of the Lying man, with that stone. Whenever he struck him, the stone rolled away.

The man went to pick it up and by the time he returned to him, the crushed head had returned to its normal state and the man came back and struck him again (and so on). I said, 'Who is this?' They told me to proceed on; so we proceeded on and passed by a hole like an oven; with a narrow top and wide bottom, and the fire was kindling underneath that hole. Whenever the fire-flame went up, the people were lifted up to such an extent that they about to get out of it, and whenever the fire got quieter, the people went down into it, and there were naked men and women in it. I said, 'Who is this?' They told me to proceed on. So we proceeded on till we reached a river of blood and a man was in it, and another man was standing at its bank with stones in front of him, facing the man standing in the river. Whenever the man in the river wanted to come out, the other one threw a stone in his mouth and caused him to retreat to his original position; and so whenever he wanted to come out the other would throw a stone in his mouth, and he would retreat to his original position. I asked, 'What is this?' They told me to proceed on and we did so till we reached a well-flourished green garden having a huge tree and near its root was sitting an old man with some children. (I saw) Another man near the tree with fire in front of him and he was kindling it up. Then they (i.e. my two companions) made me climb up the tree and made me enter a house, better than which I have ever seen. In it were some old men and young men, women and children.

Then they took me out of this house and made me climb up the tree and made me enter another house that was better and superior (to the first) containing old and young people. I said to them (i.e. my two companions), 'You have made me ramble all the night. Tell me all about that I have seen.' They said, 'Yes. As for the one whose cheek you saw being torn away, he was a liar and he used to tell lies, and the people would report those lies on his authority till they spread all over the world. So, he will be punished like that till the Day of Resurrection.

The one whose head you saw being crushed is the one whom Allah had given the knowledge of Koran (i.e. knowing it by heart) but he used to sleep at night (i.e. he did not recite it then) and did not use to act upon it (i.e. upon its orders etc.) by day; and so this punishment will go on till the Day of Resurrection. And those you saw in the hole (like oven) were adulterers (those men and women who commit illegal sexual intercourse). And those you saw in the river of blood were those dealing in Riba (usury). And the old man who was sitting at the base of the tree was Abraham and the little children around him were the offspring of the people. And the one who was kindling the fire was Malik, the gate-keeper of the Hell-fire. And the first house in which you have gone was the house of the common believers, and the second house was of the martyrs. I am Gabriel and this is Michael. Raise your head.' I raised my head and saw a thing like a cloud over me. They said, 'That is your place.' I said, 'Let me enter my place.' They said, 'You still have some life which you have not yet completed, and when you complete (that remaining portion of your life) you will then enter your place.' "

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 475:

Narrated Amr bin Maimun Al-Audi:

I saw Umar bin Al-Khattab (when he was stabbed) saying, "O Abdullah bin Umar! Go to the mother of the believers Aisha and say, Umar bin Al-Khattab sends his greetings to you,' and request her to allow me to be buried with my companions." (So, Ibn Umar conveyed the message to Aisha.) She said, "I had the idea of having this place for myself but today I prefer him (Umar) to myself (and allow him to be buried there)." When Abdullah bin Umar returned, Umar asked him, "What (news) do you have?" He replied, "O chief of the believers! She has allowed you (to be buried there)." On that Umar said, "Nothing was more important to me than to be buried in that (sacred) place. So, when I expire, carry me there and pay my greetings to her (Aisha) and say, Umar bin Al-Khattab asks permission; and if she gives permission, then bury me (there) and if she does not, then take me to the grave-yard of the Muslims. I do not think any person has more right for the caliphate than those with whom Allah's Apostle was always pleased till his death. And whoever is chosen by the people after me will be the caliph, and you people must listen to him and obey him," and then he mentioned the name of Uthman, Ali, Talha, Az-Zubair, Abdur-Rahman bin Auf and Sad bin Abi Waqqas.

By this time a young man from Ansar came and said, "O chief of the believers! Be happy with Allah's glad tidings. The grade which you have in Islam is known to you, then you became the caliph and you ruled with justice and then you have been awarded martyrdom after all this." Umar replied, "O son of my brother! Would that all that privileges will counterbalance (my short comings), so that I neither lose nor gain anything. I recommend my successor to be good to the early emigrants and realise their rights and to protect their honour and sacred things. And I also recommend him to be good to the Ansar who before them, had homes (in Medina) and had adopted the Faith. He should accept the good of the righteous among them and should excuse their wrongdoers. I recommend him to abide by the rules and regulations concerning the Dhimmis (protectees) of Allah and His Apostle, to fulfill their contracts completely and fight for them and not to tax (overburden) them beyond their capabilities."

Volume 3, Book 30, Number 114:

Narrated Zaid bin Aslam from his father:

Umar said, O Allah! Grant me martyrdom in Your cause, and let my death be in the city of Your Apostle."

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 660:

Narrated Abdullah bin Amr bin Al-As:

I heard the Prophet saying, "Whoever is killed while protecting his property then he is a martyr."

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 40:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah Al-Ansari:

My father was martyred on the day (of the Ghazwa) of Uhud and left six daughters and some debts to be paid. When the time of plucking the date-fruits came, I went to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! you know that my father was martyred on Uhud's day and owed much debt, and I wish that the creditors would see you." The Prophet said, "Go and collect the various kinds of dates and place them separately in heaps"' I did accordingly and called him. On seeing him, the creditors started claiming their rights pressingly at that time. When the Prophet saw how they behaved, he went round the biggest heap for three times and sat over it and said, "Call your companions (i.e. the creditors)." Then he kept on measuring and giving them, till Allah cleared all my father's debts. By Allah, it would have pleased me that Allah would clear the debts of my father even though I had not taken a single date to my sisters. But by Allah, all the heaps were complete, (as they were) and I looked

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at the heap where Allah's Apostle was sitting and noticed as if not a single date had been taken thereof.

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 104:

Abu Shuraih said, "When Amr bin Said was sending the troops to Mecca (to fight Abdullah bin Az-Zubair) I said to him, 'O chief! Allow me to tell you what the Prophet said on the day following the conquests of Mecca. My ears heard and my heart comprehended, and I saw him with my own eyes, when he said it. He glorified and praised Allah and then said, "Allah and not the people has made Mecca a sanctuary. So anybody who has belief in Allah and the Last Day (i.e. a Muslim) should neither shed blood in it nor cut down its trees. If anybody argues that fighting is allowed in Mecca as Allah's Apostle did fight (in Mecca), tell him that Allah gave permission to His Apostle, but He did not give it to you. The Prophet added: Allah allowed me only for a few hours on that day (of the conquest) and today (now) its sanctity is the same (valid) as it was before. So it is incumbent upon those who are present to convey it (this information) to those who are absent." Abu- Shuraih was asked, "What did Amr reply?" He said Amr said, "O Abu Shuraih! I know better than you (in this respect). Mecca does not give protection to one who disobeys (Allah) or runs after committing murder, or theft (and takes refuge in Mecca).

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 353:

Narrated Abu Murra: (the freed slave of Um Hani) Um Hani, the daughter of Abi Talib said, "I went to Allah's Apostle in the year of the conquest of Mecca and found him taking a bath and his daughter Fatima was screening him. I greeted him. He asked, 'Who is she?' I replied, 'I am Um Hani bint Abi Talib.' He said, 'Welcome! O Um Hani.' When he finished his bath he stood up and prayed eight Rak at while wearing a single garment wrapped round his body and when he finished I said, 'O Allah's Apostle ! My brother has told me that he will kill a person whom I gave shelter and that person is so and so the son of Hubaira.' The Prophet said, 'We shelter the person whom you have sheltered.' " Um Ham added, "And that was before noon (Duha)."

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 207:

Narrated Ibn Abu Laila:

Only Um Hani told us that she had seen the Prophet offering the Duha (forenoon prayer). She said, "On the day of the conquest of Mecca, the Prophet took a bath in my house and offered eight Rakat. I never saw him praying such a light prayer but he performed perfect prostration and bowing. Narrated Abdullah bin amir that his father had told him that he had seen the Prophet praying Nawafil at night on the back of his Mount on a journey, facing whatever direction it took.

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 272:

Narrated Abdur Rahman bin Abi Laila:

Only Um Hani narrated to me that she had seen the Prophet offering the Duha prayer. She said, "On the day of the conquest of Mecca, the Prophet entered my house, took a bath and offered eight Rakat (of Duha prayers. I had never seen the Prophet offering such a light prayer but he performed bowing and prostrations perfectly .

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 648:

Narrated Aisha':

In the year of the conquest of Mecca, the Prophet entered Mecca from Kada' and left Mecca from Kuda, from the higher part of Mecca.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 649:

Narrated Aisha:

In the year of the conquest of Mecca, the Prophet entered Mecca from Kada' at the higher place of Mecca. (Hisham, a sub-narrator said, " Urwa used to enter (Mecca) from both Kada' and Kuda and he often entered through Kada' which was nearer to his dwelling place.)"

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 650:

Narrated Hisham:

Urwa said, "The Prophet entered Mecca in the year of the conquest of Mecca from the side of Kada' which is at the higher part of Mecca." Urwa often entered from Kada' which was nearer of the two to his dwelling place.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 651:

Narrated Hisham from his father :

In the year of the conquest of Mecca, the Prophet entered Mecca from the side of Kada. Urwa used to enter through both places and he often entered through Kada' which was nearer of the two to his dwelling place.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 657:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

On the Day of the Conquest of Mecca, Allah's Apostle said, "Allah has made this town a sanctuary. Its thorny bushes should not be cut, its game should not be chased, and its fallen things should not be picked up except by one who would announce it publicly."

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 58:

Narrated Said bin Abu Said Al-Maqburi:

Abu Shuraih, Al-'Adawi said that he had said to Amr bin Sald when he was sending the troops to Mecca (to fight Abdullah bin Az-Zubair), "O Chief! Allow me to tell you what Allah's Apostle said on the day following the Conquest of Mecca. My ears heard that and my heart understood it thoroughly and I saw with my own eyes the Prophet when he, after Glorifying and Praising Allah, started saying, 'Allah, not the people, made Mecca a sanctuary, so anybody who has belief in Allah and the Last Day should neither shed blood in it, nor should he cut down its trees. If anybody tells (argues) that fighting in it is permissible on the basis that Allah's Apostle did fight in Mecca, say to him, 'Allah allowed His Apostle and did not allow you.' "Allah allowed me only for a few hours on that day (of the conquest) and today its sanctity is valid as it was before. So, those who are present should inform those who are absent (concerning this fact." Abu Shuraih was asked, "What did Amr reply?" He said, (Amr said) 'O Abu Shuraih! I know better than you in this respect Mecca does not give protection to a sinner, a murderer or a thief."

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 72:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

Allah's Apostle entered Mecca in the year of its Conquest wearing an Arabian helmet on his head and when the Prophet took it off, a person came and said, "Ibn Khatal is holding the covering of the Ka'ba (taking refuge in the Ka'ba)." The Prophet said, "Kill him."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 269:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 438:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

I heard Allah's Apostle, in the year of the Conquest of Mecca, saying, "Allah and His Apostle made illegal the trade of alcohol, dead animals, pigs and idols." The people asked, "O Allah's Apostle! What about the fat of dead animals, for it was used for greasing the boats and the hides; and people use it for lights?" He said, "No, it is illegal." Allah's Apostle further said, "May Allah curse the Jews, for Allah made the fat (of animals) illegal for them, yet they melted the fat and sold it and ate its price."

Volume 3, Book 37, Number 495:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Whenever a dead man in debt was brought to Allah's Apostle he would ask, "Has he left anything to repay his debt?" If he was informed that he had left something to repay his debts, he would offer his funeral prayer, otherwise he would tell the Muslims to offer their friend's funeral prayer. When Allah made the Prophet wealthy through conquests, he said, "I am more rightful than other believers to be the guardian of the believers, so if a Muslim dies while in debt, I am responsible for the repayment of his debt, and whoever leaves wealth (after his death) it will belong to his heirs. "

Translation of Sahih Bukhari, Book 38:

Representation, Authorization, Business by Proxy

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 710:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 816:

Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair:

A woman committed theft in the Ghazwa of the Conquest (of Mecca) and she was taken to the Prophet who ordered her hand to be cut off. Aisha said, "Her repentance was perfect and she was married (later) and used to come to me (after that) and I would present her needs to Allah's Apostle."

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 8:

Narrated Aisha:

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

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 231:

Narrated Nafi from Abdullah:

Allah's Apostle came to Mecca through its higher region on the day of the Conquest (of Mecca) riding his she-camel on which Usama was riding behind him. Bilal and Uthman bin Talha, one of the servants of the Ka'ba, were also accompanying him till he made his camel kneel in the mosque and ordered the latter to bring the key of the Ka'ba. He opened the door of the Ka'ba and Allah's Apostle entered in the company of Usama, Bilal and Uthman, and stayed in it for a long period. When he came out, the people rushed to it, and Abdullah bin Umar was the first to enter it and found Bilal standing behind the door. He asked Bilal, "Where did the Prophet offer his prayer?" He pointed to the place where he had offered his prayer. Abdullah said, "I forgot to ask him how many Rakat he had performed."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 312:

Narrated Abu Uthman An-Nahdi:

Mujashi (bin Musud) took his brother Mujalid bin Musud to the Prophet and said, "This is Mujalid and he will give a pledge of allegiance to you for migration." The Prophet said, "There is no migration after the Conquest of Mecca, but I will take his pledge of allegiance for Islam."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 396:

Narrated Um Hani:

the daughter of Abu Talib: I went to Allah's Apostle on the day of the conquest of Mecca and found him taking a bath, and his daughter Fatima was screening him. I greeted him and he asked, "Who is that?" I said, "I, Um Hani bint Abi Talib." He said, "Welcome, O Um Hani." When he had finished his bath, he stood up and offered eight Rakat while dressed in one garment. I said, "O Allah's Apostle! My brother Ali has declared that he will kill a man to whom I have granted asylum. The man is so and-so bin Hubaira." Allah's Apostle said, "O Um Hani! We will grant asylum to the one whom you have granted asylum." (Um Hani said, "That (visit) took place in the Duha (i.e. forenoon)).

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 401:

Narrated Auf bin Mali:

I went to the Prophet during the Ghazwa of Tabuk while he was sitting in a leather tent. He said, "Count six signs that indicate the approach of the Hour: my death, the conquest of Jerusalem, a plague that will afflict you (and kill you in great numbers) as the plague that afflicts sheep, the increase of wealth to such an extent that even if one is given one hundred Dinars, he will not be satisfied; then an affliction which no Arab house will escape, and then a truce between you and Bani Al-Asfar (i.e. the Byzantines) who will betray you and attack you under eighty flags. Under each flag will be twelve thousand soldiers.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 821:

Narrated Said bin Jubair:

About Ibn Abbas: Umar bin Al-Khattab used to treat Ibn Abbas very favorably Abdur Rahman bin Auf said to him. "We also have sons that are equal to him (but you are partial to him.)" Umar said, "It is because of his knowledge." Then Umar asked Ibn Abbas about the interpretation of the Verse:- 'When come the Help of Allah and the conquest (of Mecca) (110.1) Ibn Abbas said. "It portended the death of Allah's Apostle, which Allah had informed him of." Umar said, "I do not know from this Verse but what you know."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 239:

Narrated Mujahid bin Jabir Al-Makki:

Abdullah bin Umar used to say, "There is no more Hijrah (i.e. migration) after the Conquest of Mecca."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 471:

Narrated Al-Bara:

Do you (people) consider the conquest of Mecca, the Victory (referred to in the Koran 48:1). Was the conquest of Mecca a victory? We really consider that the actual Victory was the Ar-Ridwan Pledge of allegiance which we gave on the day of Al-Hudaibiya (to the Prophet) . On the day of Al-Hudaibiya we were fourteen hundred men along with the Prophet Al-Hudaibiya was a well, the water of which we used

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up leaving not a single drop of water in it. When the Prophet was informed of that, he came and sat on its edge. Then he asked for a utensil of water, performed ablution from it, rinsed (his mouth), invoked (Allah), and poured the remaining water into the well. We stayed there for a while and then the well brought forth what we required of water for ourselves and our riding animals.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 244:

Narrated Abdullah bin Masud:

Allah's Apostle entered Mecca (in the year of the Conquest) and there were three-hundred and sixty idols around the Ka'ba. He then started hitting them with a stick in his hand and say: 'Truth (i.e. Islam) has come and falsehood (disbelief) vanished. Truly falsehood (disbelief) is ever bound to vanish.' (17.81) 'Truth has come and falsehood (Iblis) can not create anything.' (34.49)

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 553:

Narrated Abdullah bin Mughaffal:

I saw Allah's Apostle reciting Surat-al-Fath on his she-camel on the day of the Conquest of Mecca.

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 625:

Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:

Umar bin Al-Khattab departed for Sham and when he reached Sargh, the commanders of the (Muslim) army, Abu Ubaida bin Al-Jarrah and his companions met him and told him that an epidemic had broken out in Sham. Umar said, "Call for me the early emigrants." So Umar called them, consulted them and informed them that an epidemic had broken out in Sham. Those people differed in their opinions. Some of them said, "We have come out for a purpose and we do not think that it is proper to give it up," while others said (to Umar), "You have along with you. other people and the companions of Allah's Apostle so do not advise that we take them to this epidemic." Umar said to them, "Leave me now." Then he said, "Call the Ansar for me." I called them and he consulted them and they followed the way of the emigrants and differed as they did. He then said to them, Leave me now," and added, "Call for me the old people of Quraish who emigrated in the year of the Conquest of Mecca." I called them and they gave a unanimous opinion saying, "We advise that you should return with the people and do not take them to that (place) of epidemic." So Umar made an announcement, "I will ride back to Medina in the morning, so you should do the same." Abu Ubaida bin Al-Jarrah said (to Umar), "Are you running away from what Allah had ordained?" Umar said, "Would that someone else had said such a thing, O Abu Ubaida! Yes, we are running from what Allah had ordained to what Allah has ordained. Don't you agree that if you had camels that went down a valley having two places, one green and the other dry, you would graze them on the green one only if Allah had ordained that, and you would graze them on the dry one only if Allah had ordained that?" At that time Abdur-Rahman bin Auf, who had been absent because of some job, came and said, "I have some knowledge about this. I have heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'If you hear about it (an outbreak of plague) in a land, do not go to it; but if plague breaks out in a country where you are staying, do not run away from it.' " Umar thanked Allah and returned to Medina.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 699:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

In the year of the conquest of Mecca the Prophet entered Mecca, wearing a helmet on his head.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 714:

Narrated Anas:

When Um Sulaim gave birth to a child. she said to me, "O Anas! Watch this boy carefully and do not give him anything to eat or drink until you have taken him to the Prophet tomorrow morning for the Tahnik." So the next morning I took the child to the Prophet who was sitting in a garden and was wearing a Huraithiya Khamisa and was branding the she-camel on which he had come during the Conquest of Mecca.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 849:

Narrated Aiyub:

The worst of three (persons riding one, animal) was mentioned in 'Ikrima's presence 'Ikrima said, "Ibn Abbas said, '(In the year of the conquest of Mecca) the Prophet came and mounted Qutham in front of him and Al-Fadl behind him, or Qutham behind him and Al-Fadl in front of him.' Now which of them was the worst off and which was the best?"

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 179:

Narrated Um Hani:

(the daughter of Abu Talib) I visited Allah's Apostle in the year of the Conquest of Mecca and found him taking a bath, and his daughter, Fatima was screening him. When I greeted him, he said, "Who is it?" I replied, "I am Um Hani, the daughter of Abu Talib." He said, "Welcome, O Um Hani ! " When the Prophet had finished his bath, he stood up and offered eight Rakat of prayer while he was wrapped in a single garment. When he had finished his prayer, I said, "O Allah's Apostle! My maternal brother assumes (or claims) that he will murder some man whom I have given shelter, i.e., so-and-so bin Hubaira." Allah's Apostle said, "O Um Hani! We shelter him whom you have sheltered." Um Hani added, "That happened in the forenoon."

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 741:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 293:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 631:

Narrated Shu'ba:

Mu'awiya bin Qurra reported that Abdullah bin Al-Maghaffal Al-Muzani said, "I saw Allah's Apostle on the day of the Conquest of Mecca, riding his she-camel and reciting Surat-al-Fath (48) or part of Surat-al-Fath. He recited it in a vibrating and pleasant voice. Then Mu'awiya recited as Abdullah bin Mughaffal had done and said, "Were I not afraid that the people would crowd around me, I would surely recite in a vibrating pleasant voice as Ibn Mughaffal did, imitating the Prophet." I asked Muawiya, "How did he recite in that tone?" He said thrice, "A, A , A."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 69:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

For thirty days Allah's Apostle invoked Allah to curse those who had killed the companions of Bir-Mauna; he invoked evil upon the tribes of Ral, Dhakwan, and Usaiya who disobeyed Allah and His Apostle. There was reveled about those who were killed at Bir-Mauna a Koranic Verse we used to recite, but it was cancelled later on. The Verse was:

"Inform our people that we have met our Lord. He is pleased with us and He has made us pleased"

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 73:

Narrated Abdullah bin Abi Aufa:

Allah's Apostle said, "Know that Paradise is under the shades of swords."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 147:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad As-SaIdi:

Allah's Apostle and the pagans faced each other and started fighting. When Allah's Apostle returned to his camp and when the pagans returned to their camp, somebody talked about a man amongst the companions of Allah's Apostle who would follow and kill with his sword any pagan going alone. He said, "Nobody did his job (i.e. fighting) so properly today as that man." Allah's Apostle said, "Indeed, he is amongst the people of the (Hell) Fire." A man amongst the people said, "I shall accompany him (to watch what he does)" Thus he accompanied him, and wherever he stood, he would stand with him, and wherever he ran, he would run with him.

Then the (brave) man got wounded seriously and he decided to bring about his death quickly. He planted the blade of the sword in the ground directing its sharp end towards his chest between his two breasts. Then he leaned on the sword and killed himself. The other man came to Allah's Apostle and said, "I testify that you are Allah's Apostle." The Prophet asked, "What has happened?" He replied, "(It is about) the man whom you had described as one of the people of the (Hell) Fire. The people were greatly surprised at what you said, and I said, 'I will find out his reality for you.' So, I came out seeking him. He got severely wounded, and hastened to die by slanting the blade of his sword in the ground directing its sharp end towards his chest between his two breasts. Then he eased on his sword and killed himself." when Allah's Apostle said, "A man may seem to the people as if he were practising the deeds of the people of Paradise while in fact he is from the people of the Hell) Fire, another may seem to the people as if he were practicing the deeds of the people of Hell (Fire), while in fact he is from the people of Paradise."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 175:

Narrated Khalid bin Madan:

That Umair bin Al-Aswad Al-Anasi told him that he went to Ubada bin As-Samit while he was staying in his house at the sea-shore of Hims with (his wife) Um Haram. Umair said. Um Haram informed us that she heard the Prophet saying, "Paradise is granted to the first batch of my followers who will undertake a naval expedition." Um Haram added, I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Will I be amongst them?' He replied, 'You are amongst them.' The Prophet then said, 'The first army amongst' my followers who will invade Caesar's City will be forgiven their sins.' I asked, 'Will I be one of them, O Allah's Apostle?' He replied in the negative."

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 24:

Allah's Apostle said: "I have been ordered (by Allah) to fight against the people until they testify that none has the right to be worshipped but Allah and that Mohammed is Allah's Apostle, and offer the prayers perfectly and give the obligatory charity, so if they perform a that, then they save their lives an property from me except for Islamic laws and then their reckoning (accounts) will be done by Allah."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 387:

Narrated Anas bin Malik: Allah's Apostle said, "I have been ordered to fight the people till they say: 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah.' And if they say so, pray like our prayers, face our Qibla and slaughter as we slaughter, then their blood and property will be sacred to us and we will not interfere with them except legally and their reckoning will be with Allah." Narrated Maimun ibn Siyah that he asked Anas bin Malik, "O Abu Hamza! What makes the life and property of a person sacred?" He replied, "Whoever says, 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah', faces our Qibla during the prayers, prays like us and eats our slaughtered animal, then he is a Muslim, and has got the same rights and obligations as other Muslims have."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 536:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Abu Bakr said, "By Allah! If they (pay me the Zakat and) with-hold even a she-kid which they used to pay during the life-time of Allah's Apostle, I will fight with them for it." Umar said, "It was nothing but Allah Who opened Abu Bakr's chest towards the decision to fight, and I came to know that his decision was right."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 694:

Narrated Abu Dhar:

I asked the Prophet, "What is the best deed?" He replied, "To believe in Allah and to fight for His Cause." I then asked, "What is the best kind of manumission (of slaves)?" He replied, "The manumission of the most expensive slave and the most beloved by his master." I said, "If I cannot afford to do that?" He said, "Help the weak or do good for a person who cannot work for himself." I said, "If I cannot do that?" He said, "Refrain from harming others for this will be regarded as a charitable deed for your own good."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 717:

Narrated Ibn Aun:

I wrote a letter to Nafi and Nafi wrote in reply to my letter that the Prophet had suddenly attacked Bani Mustaliq without warning while they were heedless and their cattle were being watered at the places of water. Their fighting men were killed and their women and children were taken as captives; the Prophet got Juwairiya on that day. Nafi said that Ibn Umar had told him the above narration and that Ibn Umar was in that army.

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 36:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

Once Umar gave a horse in charity to be used in holy fighting. It had been given to him by Allah's Apostle . Umar gave it to another man to ride. Then Umar was informed that the man put the horse for sale, so he asked Allah's Apostle whether he could buy it. Allah's Apostle replied, "You should not buy it, for you should not take back what you have given in charity."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 84:

Narrated Al-Bara:

When the Divine Inspiration: "Those of the believers who sit (at home), was revealed the Prophet sent for Zaid (bin Thabit) who came with a shoulder-blade and wrote on it. Ibn Um-Maktum complained about his blindness and on that the following revelation came: "Not equal are those believers who sit (at home) except those who are disabled (by injury, or are blind or lame etc.) and those who strive hard and fight in the Way of Allah with their wealth and lives)." (4.95)

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 176:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

Allah's Apostle said, "You (i.e. Muslims) will fight wi the Jews till some of them will hide behind stones. The stones will (betray them) saying, 'O Abdullah (i.e. slave of Allah)! There is a Jew hiding behind me; so kill him.' "

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 177:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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Allah's Apostle said, "The Hour will not be established until you fight with the Jews, and the stone behind which a Jew will be hiding will say. "O Muslim! There is a Jew hiding behind me, so kill him."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 178:

Narrated Amr bin Taghlib:

The Prophet said, "One of the portents of the Hour is that you will fight with people wearing shoes made of hair; and one of the portents of the Hour is that you will fight with broad-faced people whose faces will look like shields coated with leather."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 179:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "The Hour will not be established until you fight with the Turks; people with small eyes, red faces, and flat noses. Their faces will look like shields coated with leather. The Hour will not be established till you fight with people whose shoes are made of hair."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 180:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "The Hour will not be established till you fight with people wearing shoes made of hair. And the Hour will not be established till you fight with people whose faces look like shields coated with leather. " (Abu Huraira added, "They will be) small-eyed, flat nosed, and their faces will look like shields coated with leather.")

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 196:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah 's Apostle said, " I have been ordered to fight with the people till they say, 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah,' and whoever says, 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah,' his life and property will be saved by me except for Islamic law, and his accounts will be with Allah, (either to punish him or to forgive him.)"

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 204:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

That heard Allah's Apostle saying, "We are the last but will be the foremost to enter Paradise)." The Prophet added, "He who obeys me, obeys Allah, and he who disobeys me, disobeys Allah. He who obeys the chief, obeys me, and he who disobeys the chief, disobeys me. The Imam is like a shelter for whose safety the Muslims should fight and where they should seek protection. If the Imam orders people with righteousness and rules justly, then he will be rewarded for that, and if he does the opposite, he will be responsible for that."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 287:

Narrated Amr bin Maimun:

Umar (after he was stabbed), instructed (his would-be-successor) saying, "I urge him (i.e. the new Caliph) to take care of those non-Muslims who are under the protection of Allah and His Apostle in that he should observe the convention agreed upon with them, and fight on their behalf (to secure their safety) and he should not over-tax them beyond their capability."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 406:

Narrated Abu Wail:

We were in Siffin and Sahl bin Hunaif got up and said, "O people! Blame yourselves! We were with the Prophet on the day of Hudaibiya, and if we had been called to fight, we would have fought. But Umar bin Al Khatab came and said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Aren't we in the right and our opponents in the wrongs' Allah's Apostle said, 'Yes.' Umar said, 'Aren't our killed persons in Paradise and their's in Hell?' He said, 'Yes.' Umar said, 'Then why should we accept hard terms in matters concerning our religion? Shall we return before Allah judges between us and them?' Allah's Apostle said, 'O Ibn Al-Khattab! I am the Apostle of Allah and Allah will never degrade me. Then Umar went to Abu Bakr and told him the same as he had told the Prophet.

On that Abu Bakr said (to Umar). 'He is the Apostle of Allah and Allah will never degrade him.' Then Surat-al-Fath (i.e. Victory) was revealed and Allah's Apostle recited it to the end in front of Umar. On that Umar asked, 'O Allah's Apostle! Was it (i.e. the Hudaibiya Treaty) a victory?' Allah's Apostle said, "Yes"

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 787:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "The Hour will not be established till you fight a nation wearing hairy shoes, and till you fight the Turks, who will have small eyes, red faces and flat noses; and their faces will be like flat shields. And you will find that the best people are those who hate responsibility of ruling most of all till they are chosen to be the rulers. And the people are of different natures: The best in the pre-Islamic period are the best in Islam. A time will come when any of you will love to see me rather than to have his family and property doubled."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 788:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "The Hour will not be established till you fight with the Khudh and the Kirman from among the non-Arabs. They will be of red faces, flat noses and small eyes; their faces will look like flat shields, and their shoes will be of hair."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 789:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

I enjoyed the company of Allah's Apostle for three years, and during the other years of my life, never was I so anxious to understand the (Prophet's) traditions as I was during those three years. I heard him saying, beckoning with his hand in this way, "Before the Hour you will fight with people who will have hairy shoes and live in Al-Bariz." (Sufyan, the sub-narrator once said, "And they are the people of Al-Bazir.")

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 790:

Narrated Umar bin Taghlib:

I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "Near the Hour you will fight with people who will wear hairy shoes; and you will also fight people with flat faces like shields."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 791:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "The Jews will fight with you, and you will be given victory over them so that a stone will say, 'O Muslim! There is a Jew behind me; kill him!' "

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 51:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad:

Allah's Apostle said, "Tomorrow I will give the flag to a man with whose leadership Allah will grant (the Muslim) victory." So the people kept on thinking the whole night as to who would be given the flag. The next morning the people went to Allah's Apostle and every one of them hoped that he would be given the flag. The Prophet said, "Where is Ali bin Abi Talib?" The people replied, "He is suffering from eye trouble, O Allah's Apostle." He said, "Send for him and bring him to me." So when Ali came, the Prophet spat in his eyes and invoked good on him, and he became alright as if he had no ailment. The Prophet then gave him the flag. Ali said, "O Allah's Apostle! Shall I fight them (i.e. enemy) till they become like us?" The Prophet said, "Proceed to them steadily till you approach near to them and then invite them to Islam and inform them of their duties towards Allah which Islam prescribes for them, for by Allah, if one man is guided on the right path (i.e. converted to Islam) through you, it would be better for you than (a great number of) red camels."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 69:

Narrated Abu Uthman:

During one of the Ghazawat in which Allah's Apostle was fighting, none remained with the Prophet but Talha and Sad.

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 116:

Narrated Abu Wail:

When Ali sent 'Ammar and Al-Hasan to (the people of) Kufa to urge them to fight, 'Ammar addressed them saying, "I know that she (i.e. Aisha) is the wife of the Prophet in this world and in the Hereafter (world to come), but Allah has put you to test, whether you will follow Him (i.e. Allah) or her."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 241:

Narrated Aisha:

Sad said, "O Allah! You know that there is none against whom I am eager to fight more willingly for Your Cause than those people who disbelieved Your Apostle and drove him out (of his city). O Allah! I think that You have ended the fight between us and them."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 288:

Narrated Ibn Masud:

I witnessed Al-Miqdad bin Al-Aswad in a scene which would have been dearer to me than anything had I been the hero of that scene. He (i.e. Al-Miqdad) came to the Prophet while the Prophet was urging the Muslims to fight with the pagans. Al-Miqdad said, "We will not say as the People of Moses said: Go you and your Lord and fight you two. (5.27). But we shall fight on your right and on your left and in front of you and behind you." I saw the face of the Prophet getting bright with happiness, for that saying delighted him.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 430:

Narrated Al-Bara:

The Prophet was carrying earth on the day of Al-Khandaq till his abdomen was fully covered with dust, and he was saying, "By Allah, without Allah we would not have been guided, neither would we have given in charity, nor would we have prayed. So (O Allah), please send Sakina (i.e. calmness) upon us, and make our feet firm if we meet the enemy as the enemy have rebelled against us, and if they intended affliction, (i.e. want to frighten us and fight against us then we would not flee but withstand them)." The Prophet used to raise his voice saying, "Abaina! Abaina! (i.e. would not, we would not)."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 432:

Narrated Al-Bara:

When it was the day of Al-Ahzab (i.e. the clans) and Allah's Apostle dug the trench, I saw him carrying earth out of the trench till dust made the skin of his abdomen out of my sight and he was a hairy man. I heard him reciting the poetic verses composed by Ibn Rawaha while he was carrying the earth, "O Allah! Without You we would not have been guided, nor would we have given in charity, nor would we have prayed. So, (O Allah), please send Sakina (i.e. calmness) upon us and make our feet firm if we meet the enemy, as they have rebelled against us. And if they intend affliction (i.e. want to frighten us, and fight against us) then we would not (flee but withstand them)." The Prophet would then prolong his voice at the last words.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 495:

Narrated Al-Miswar bin Makhrama and Marwan bin Al-Hakam:

(one of them said more than his friend): The Prophet set out in the company of more than one-thousand of his companions in the year of Al-Hudaibiya, and when he reached Dhul-Hulaifa, he garlanded his Hadi (i.e. sacrificing animal), assumed the state of Ihram for Umra from that place and sent a spy of his from Khuzi'a (tribe). The Prophet proceeded on till he reached (a village called) Ghadir-al-Ashtat. There his spy came and said, "The Quraish (infidels) have collected a great number of people against you, and they have collected against you the Ethiopians, and they will fight with you, and will stop you from entering the Ka'ba and prevent you." The Prophet said, "O people! Give me your opinion. Do you recommend that I should destroy the families and offspring of those who want to stop us from the Ka'ba? If they should come to us (for peace) then Allah will destroy a spy from the pagans, or otherwise we will leave them in a miserable state." On that Abu Bakr said, "O Allah Apostle! You have come with the intention of visiting this House (i.e. Ka'ba) and you do not want to kill or fight anybody. So proceed to it, and whoever should stop us from it, we will fight him." On that the Prophet said, "Proceed on, in the Name of Allah !"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 500:

Narrated Nafi:

The people used to say that Ibn Umar had embraced Islam before Umar. This is not true. What happened is that Umar sent Abdullah to bring his horse from an Ansari man so as to fight on it. At that time the people were giving the Pledge of allegiance to Allah's Apostle near the Tree, and Umar was not aware of that. So Abdullah (bin Umar) gave the Pledge of Allegiance (to the Prophet) and went to take the horse and brought it to Umar. While Umar was putting on the armor to get ready for fighting, Abdullah informed him that the people were giving the Pledge of allegiance to Allah's Apostle beneath the Tree. So Umar set out and Abdullah accompanied him till he gave the Pledge of allegiance to Allah's Apostle, and it was this event that made people say that Ibn Umar had embraced Islam before Umar. "Abdullah bin Umar added, "The people were along with the Prophet on the day of Al-Hudaibiya spreading in the shade of the trees. Suddenly the people surrounded the Prophet and started looking at him." Umar said, "O Abdullah! Go and see why the people are encircling Allah's Apostle and looking at him." Abdullah bin Umar then saw the people giving the Pledge o allegiance to the Prophet. So he also gave the Pledge of allegiance and returned to Umar who went out in his turn and gave the Pledge of allegiance to the Prophet.'

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 118:

Narrated Al-Bara:

When the Verse:--"Not equal are those of the believers who sit (at home)," (4.95) was revealed, the Prophet said, "Call so-and-so." That person came to him with an ink-pot and a wooden board or a shoulder scapula bone. The Prophet said (to him), "Write: 'Not equal are those believers who sit (at home) and those who strive and fight in the Cause of Allah." Ibn Um Maktum who was sitting behind the Prophet then said, "O Allah's Apostle! I am a blind man." So there was revealed in the place of that Verse, the Verse:--"Not equal are those of the believers who sit (at home) except those who are disabled (by injury, or are blind or lame etc.) and those who strive and fight in the Cause of Allah." (4.95)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 120:

Narrated Mohammed bin Abdur-Rahman Abu Al-Aswad:

The people of Medina were forced to prepare an army (to fight against the people of Sham during the caliphate of Abdullah bin Az-Zubair at Mecca), and I was enlisted in it; Then I met 'Ikrima, the freed slave of Ibn Abbas, and informed him (about it), and he forbade me strongly to do so (i.e. to enlist in that army), and then said, "Ibn Abbas informed me that some Muslim people were with the pagans, increasing the number of the pagans against Allah's Apostle. An arrow used to be shot which would hit one of them (the Muslims in the company of the pagans) and kill him, or he would be struck and killed (with a sword)." Then Allah revealed:--

"Verily! as for those whom the angels take (in death) while they are wronging themselves (by staying among the disbelievers)" (4.97) Abu Aswad added, "Except the weak ones among men, women,..." (4.98)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 175:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

When the Verse:-- "If there are twenty steadfast amongst you, they will overcome two hundred." (8.65) was revealed, then it became obligatory for the Muslims that one (Muslim) should not flee from ten (non-Muslims). Sufyan (the sub-narrator) once said, "Twenty (Muslims) should not flee before two hundred (non Muslims)." Then there was revealed: 'But now Allah has lightened your (task)..' (8.66)

So it became obligatory that one-hundred (Muslims) should not flee before two hundred (non-muslims). (Once Sufyan said extra, "The Verse: 'Urge the believers to the fight. If there are

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twenty steadfast amongst you (Muslims) ..' was revealed.) Sufyan said, "Ibn Shabrama said, "I see that this order is applicable to the obligation of enjoining good and forbidding evil."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 512:

Narrated Al-Bara:

There was revealed: 'Not equal are those believers who sit (at home) and those who strive and fight in the Cause of Allah.' (4.95)

The Prophet said, "Call Zaid for me and let him bring the board, the inkpot and the scapula bone (or the scapula bone and the ink pot)."' Then he said, "Write: 'Not equal are those Believers who sit..", and at that time Amr bin Um Maktum, the blind man was sitting behind the Prophet . He said, "O Allah's Apostle! What is your order For me (as regards the above Verse) as I am a blind man?" So, instead of the above Verse, the following Verse was revealed:

'Not equal are those believers who sit (at home) except those who are disabled (by injury or are blind or lame etc.) and those who strive and fight in the cause of Allah.' (4.95)

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 109:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

When Allah Apostle was in Ta'if (trying to conquer it), he said to his companions, "Tomorrow we will return (to Medina), if Allah wills." Some of the companions of Allah's Apostle said, "We will not leave till we conquer it." The Prophet said, "Therefore, be ready to fight tomorrow." On the following day, they (Muslims) fought fiercely (with the people of Ta'if) and suffered many wounds. Then Allah's Apostle said, "Tomorrow we will return (to Medina), if Allah wills." His companions kept quiet this time. Allah's Apostle then smiled.

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 11:

Narrated Usama bin Zaid bin Haritha:

Allah's Apostle sent us (to fight) against Al-Huraqa (one of the sub-tribes) of Juhaina. We reached those people in the morning and defeated them. A man from the Ansar and I chased one of their men and when we attacked him, he said, "None has the right to be worshipped but Allah." The Ansari refrained from killing him but I stabbed him with my spear till I killed him. When we reached (Medina), this news reached the Prophet. He said to me, "O Usama! You killed him after he had said, 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah?"' I said, "O Allah's Apostle! He said so in order to save himself." The Prophet said, "You killed him after he had said, 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah." The Prophet kept on repeating that statement till I wished I had not been a Muslim before that day.

Volume 9, Book 84, Number 59:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

When the Prophet died and Abu Bakr became his successor and some of the Arabs reverted to disbelief, Umar said, "O Abu Bakr! How can you fight these people although Allah's Apostle said, 'I have been ordered to fight the people till they say: 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah, 'and whoever said, 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah', Allah will save his property and his life from me, unless (he does something for which he receives legal punishment) justly, and his account will be with Allah?' "Abu Bakr said, "By Allah! I will fight whoever differentiates between prayers and Zakat as Zakat is the right to be taken from property (according to Allah's Orders). By Allah! If they refused to pay me even a kid they used to pay to Allah's Apostle, I would fight with them for withholding it." Umar said, "By Allah: It was nothing, but I noticed that Allah opened Abu Bakr's chest towards the decision to fight, therefore I realised that his decision was right."

Volume 9, Book 84, Number 69:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "The Hour will not be established till two (huge) groups fight against each other, their claim being one and the same."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 178:

Narrated Junada bin Abi Umaiya:

We entered upon Ubada bin As-Samit while he was sick. We said, "May Allah make you healthy. Will you tell us a Hadith you heard from the Prophet and by which Allah may make you benefit?" He said, "The Prophet called us and we gave him the Pledge of allegiance for Islam, and among the conditions on which he took the Pledge from us, was that we were to listen and obey (the orders) both at the time when we were active and at the time when we were tired, and at our difficult time and at our ease and to be obedient to the ruler and give him his right even if he did not give us our right, and not to fight against him unless we noticed him having open Kufr (disbelief) for which we would have a proof with us from Allah."

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 222:

Narrated Abu Wail:

Abu Musa and Abii Musud went to 'Ammar when Ali had sent him to Kufa to exhort them to fight (on Ali's side). They said to him, "Since you have become a Muslim, we have never seen you doing a deed more criticizable to us than your haste in this matter." 'Ammar said, "Since you (both) became Muslims, I have never seen you doing a deed more criticizable to me than your keeping away from this matter." Then Abu Musud provided 'Ammar and Abu Musa with two-piece outfits to wear, and one of them went to the mosque (of Kufa).

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 237:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "The Hour will not be established (1) till two big groups fight each other whereupon there will be a great number of casualties on both sides and they will be following one and the same religious doctrine, (2) till about thirty Dajjals (liars) appear, and each one of them will claim that he is Allah's Apostle, (3) till the religious knowledge is taken away (by the death of Religious scholars) (4) earthquakes will increase in number (5) time will pass quickly, (6) afflictions will appear, (7) Al-Harj, (i.e., killing) will increase, (8) till wealth will be in abundance ---- so abundant that a wealthy person will worry lest nobody should accept his Zakat, and whenever he will present it to someone, that person (to whom it will be offered) will say, 'I am not in need of it, (9) till the people compete with one another in constructing high buildings, (10) till a man when passing by a grave of someone will say, 'Would that I were in his place (11) and till the sun rises from the West. So when the sun will rise and the people will see it (rising from the West) they will all believe (embrace Islam) but that will be the time when: (As Allah said,) 'No good will it do to a soul to believe then, if it believed not before, nor earned good (by deeds of righteousness) through its Faith.' (6.158) And the Hour will be established while two men spreading a garment in front of them but they will not be able to sell it, nor fold it up; and the Hour will be established when a man has milked his she-camel and has taken away the milk but he will not be able to drink it; and the Hour will be established before a man repairing a tank (for his livestock) is able to water (his animals) in it; and the Hour will be established when a person has raised a morsel (of food) to his mouth but will not be able to eat it."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 299:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

The Prophet sent (an army unit under the command of) Khalid bin Al-Walid to fight against the tribe of Bani Jadhima and those people could not express themselves by saying, "Aslamna," but they said, "Saba'na! Saba'na! " Khalid kept on killing some of them and taking some others as captives, and he gave a captive to everyone of us and ordered everyone of us to kill his captive. I said, "By Allah, I shall not kill my captive and none of my companions shall kill his captive!" Then we mentioned that to the Prophet and he said, "O Allah! I am free from what Khalid bin Al-Walid has done," and repeated it twice.

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 307:

Narrated Ubada bin As-Samit:

We gave the oath of allegiance to Allah's Apostle that we would listen to and obey him both at the time when we were active and at the time when we were tired and that we would not fight against the ruler or disobey him, and would stand firm for the truth or say the truth wherever we might be, and in the Way of Allah we would not be afraid of the blame of the blamers. (See Hadith No. 178 and 320)

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 388:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

When Allah's Apostle died and Abu Bakr was elected as a Caliph after him, some of the Arabs reverted to disbelief, Umar said to Abu Bakr, "How dare you fight the people while Allah's Apostle said, I have been ordered to fight the people till they say 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah' And whoever says: None has the right to be worshipped but Allah.' waves his wealth and his life from me unless he deserves a legal punishment lusty, and his account will be with Allah! Abu Bakr said, "By Allah, I will fight him who discriminates between Zakat and prayers, for Zakat is the Compulsory right to be taken from the wealth By Allah, if they refuse to give me even a tying rope which they use to give to Allah's Apostle, I would fight them for withholding it." Umar said, 'By Allah, It was nothing, except I saw that Allah had opened the chest of Abu Bakr to the fight, and I came to know for certain that was the truth."

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 590:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

Whenever the Prophet offered the night (Tahajjud) prayer, he used to say, "O Allah! All the Praises are for You; You are the Light of the Heavens and the Earth. And all the Praises are for You; You are the Keeper of the Heavens and the Earth. All the Praises are for You; You are the Lord of the Heavens and the Earth and whatever is therein. You are the Truth, and Your Promise is the Truth, and Your Speech is the Truth, and meeting You is the Truth, and Paradise is the Truth and Hell (Fire) is the Truth and all the prophets are the Truth and the Hour is the Truth. O Allah! I surrender to You, and believe in You, and depend upon You, and repent to You, and in Your cause I fight and with Your orders I rule. So please forgive my past and future sins and those sins which I did in secret or in public. It is You Whom I worship, None has the right to be worshipped except You ." (See Hadith No. 329,Vol. 8)

Volume 3, Book 49, Number 862:

Narrated Al-Bara bin 'Azib:

When Allah's Apostle concluded a peace treaty with the people of Hudaibiya, Ali bin Abu Talib wrote the document and he mentioned in it, "Mohammed, Allah's Apostle ." The pagans said, "Don't write: 'Mohammed, Allah's Apostle', for if you were an apostle we would not fight with you." Allah's Apostle asked Ali to rub it out, but Ali said, "I will not be the person to rub it out." Allah's Apostle rubbed it out and made peace with them on the condition that the Prophet and his companions would enter Mecca and stay there for three days, and that they would enter with their weapons in cases.

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 245:

My father said, "I came to the Prophet and saw him carrying a Siwak in his hand and cleansing his teeth, saying, 'U' U'," as if he was retching while the Siwak was in his mouth."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 161:

Narrated Jabir:

as above (Hadith No. 158).

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 265:

Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 263:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

The Prophet burnt the date-palms of Bani An-Nadir.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 264:

Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:

Allah's Apostle sent a group of Ansari men to kill Abu-Rafi. One of them set out and entered their (i.e. the enemies) fort. That man said, "I hid myself in a stable for their animals. They closed the fort gate. Later they lost a donkey of theirs, so they went out in its search. I, too, went out along with them, pretending to look for it. They found the donkey and entered their fort. And I, too, entered along with them. They closed the gate of the fort at night, and kept its keys in a small window where I could see them. When those people slept, I took the keys and opened the gate of the fort and came upon Abu Rafi and said, 'O Abu Rafi. When he replied me, I proceeded towards the voice and hit him. He shouted and I came out to come back, pretending to be a helper. I said, 'O Abu Rafi, changing the tone of my voice. He asked me, 'What do you want; woe to your mother?' I asked him, 'What has happened to you?' He said, 'I don't know who came to me and hit me.' Then I drove my sword into his belly and pushed it forcibly till it touched the bone. Then I came out, filled with puzzlement and went towards a ladder of theirs in order to get down but I fell down and sprained my foot. I came to my companions and said, 'I will not leave till I hear the wailing of the women.' So, I did not leave till I heard the women bewailing Abu Rafi, the merchant pf Hijaz. Then I got up, feeling no ailment, (and we proceeded) till we came upon the Prophet and informed him."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 265:

Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 266l:

Narrated Salim Abu An-Nadr:

(the freed slave of Umar bin Ubaidullah) I was Umar's clerk. Once Abdullah bin Abi Aufa wrote a letter to Umar when he proceeded to Al-Haruriya. I read in it that Allah's Apostle in one of his military expeditions against the enemy, waited till the sun declined and then he got up amongst the people saying, "O people! Do not wish to meet the enemy, and ask Allah for safety, but when you face the enemy, be patient, and remember that Paradise is under the shades of swords." Then he said, "O Allah, the Revealer of the Holy Book, and the Mover of the clouds and the Defeater of the clans, defeat them, and grant us victory over them."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 266c:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said: "Do not wish to meet the enemy, but when you meet face) the enemy, be patient."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 818:

Narrated Abu Musa:

The Prophet said, "In a dream I saw myself migrating from Mecca to a place having plenty of date trees. I thought that it was Al-Yamama or Hajar, but it came to be Medina i.e. Yathrib. In the same dream I saw myself moving a sword and its blade got broken. It came to symbolize the defeat which the Muslims suffered from, on the Day of Uhud. I moved the sword again, and it became normal as before, and that was the symbol of the victory Allah bestowed upon Muslims and their gathering together. I saw cows in my dream, and by Allah, that was a blessing, and they symbolized the believers on the Day of Uhud. And the blessing was the good Allah bestowed upon us and the reward of true belief which Allah gave us after the day of Badr.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 311:

Narrated Abdullah:

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The Prophet recited Surat-an-Najm and then prostrated himself, and all who were with him prostrated too. But an old man took a handful of dust and touched his forehead with it saying, "This is sufficient for me." Later on I saw him killed as an infidel.

Narrated Urwa (the son of Az- Zubair): Az-Zubair had three scars caused by the sword, one of which was over his shoulder and I used to insert my fingers in it. He received two of those wounds on the day of Badr and one on the day of Al-Yarmuk. When Abdullah bin Zubair was killed, Abdul-Malik bin Marwan said to me, "O Urwa, do you recognize the sword of Az-Zubair?" I said, "Yes." He said, "What marks does it have?" I replied, "It has a dent in its sharp edge which was caused in it on the day of Badr." Abdul- Malik said, "You are right! (i.e. their swords) have dents because of clashing with the regiments of the enemies Then Abdul-Malik returned that sword to me (i.e. Urwa). (Hisham, Urwa's son said, "We estimated the price of the sword as three-thousand (Dinars) and after that it was taken by one of us (i.e. the inheritors) and I wish I could have had it.")

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 312:

Narrated Hisham:

That his father said, "The sword of Az-Zubair was decorated with silver." Hisham added, "The sword of Urwa was (also) decorated with silver. "

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 371:

Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:

Allah's Apostle sent some men from the Ansar to ((kill) Abu Rafi, the Jew, and appointed Abdullah bin Atik as their leader. Abu Rafi used to hurt Allah's Apostle and help his enemies against him. He lived in his castle in the land of Hijaz. When those men approached (the castle) after the sun had set and the people had brought back their livestock to their homes. Abdullah (bin Atik) said to his companions, "Sit down at your places. I am going, and I will try to play a trick on the gate-keeper so that I may enter (the castle)." So Abdullah proceeded towards the castle, and when he approached the gate, he covered himself with his clothes, pretending to answer the call of nature. The people had gone in, and the gate-keeper (considered Abdullah as one of the castle's servants) addressing him saying, "O Allah's Servant! Enter if you wish, for I want to close the gate." Abdullah added in his story, "So I went in (the castle) and hid myself. When the people got inside, the gate-keeper closed the gate and hung the keys on a fixed wooden peg. I got up and took the keys and opened the gate. Some people were staying late at night with Abu Rafi for a pleasant night chat in a room of his. When his companions of nightly entertainment went away, I ascended to him, and whenever I opened a door, I closed it from inside. I said to myself, 'Should these people discover my presence, they will not be able to catch me till I have killed him.' So I reached him and found him sleeping in a dark house amidst his family, I could not recognize his location in the house. So I shouted, 'O Abu Rafi!' Abu Rafi said, 'Who is it?' I proceeded towards the source of the voice and hit him with the sword, and because of my perplexity, I could not kill him. He cried loudly, and I came out of the house and waited for a while, and then went to him again and said, 'What is this voice, O Abu Rafi?' He said, 'Woe to your mother! A man in my house has hit me with a sword! I again hit him severely but I did not kill him. Then I drove the point of the sword into his belly (and pressed it through) till it touched his back, and I realised that I have killed him. I then opened the doors one by one till I reached the staircase, and thinking that I had reached the ground, I stepped out and fell down and got my leg broken in a moonlit night. I tied my leg with a turban and proceeded on till I sat at the gate, and said, 'I will not go out tonight till I know that I have killed him.' So, when (early in the morning) the cock crowed, the announcer of the casualty stood on the wall saying, 'I announce the death of Abu Rafi, the merchant of Hijaz. Thereupon I went to my companions and said, 'Let us save ourselves, for Allah has killed Abu Rafi,' So I (along with my companions proceeded and) went to the Prophet and described the whole story to him. "He said, 'Stretch out your (broken) leg. I stretched it out and he rubbed it and it became All right as if I had never had any ailment whatsoever."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 372:

Narrated Al-Bara:

Allah's Apostle sent Abdullah bin 'Atik and Abdullah bin Utba with a group of men to Abu Rafi (to kill him). They proceeded till they approached his castle, whereupon Abdullah bin Atik said to them, "Wait (here), and in the meantime I will go and see." Abdullah said later on, "I played a trick in order to enter the castle. By chance, they lost a donkey of theirs and came out carrying a flaming light to search for it. I was afraid that they would recognize me, so I covered my head and legs and pretended to answer the call to nature. The gatekeeper called, 'Whoever wants to come in, should come in before I close the gate.' So I went in and hid myself in a stall of a donkey near the gate of the castle. They took their supper with Abu Rafi and had a chat till late at night. Then they went back to their homes. When the voices vanished and I no longer detected any movement, I came out. I had seen where the gate-keeper had kept the key of the castle in a hole in the wall. I took it and unlocked the gate of the castle, saying to myself, 'If these people should notice me, I will run away easily.' Then I locked all the doors of their houses from outside while they were inside, and ascended to Abu Rafi by a staircase. I saw the house in complete darkness with its light off, and I could not know where the man was. So I called, 'O Abu Rafi!' He replied, 'Who is it?' I proceeded towards the voice and hit him. He cried loudly but my blow was futile. Then I came to him, pretending to help him, saying with a different tone of my voice, ' What is wrong with you, O Abu Rafi?' He said, 'Are you not surprised? Woe on your mother! A man has come to me and hit me with a sword!' So again I aimed at him and hit him, but the blow proved futile again, and on that Abu Rafi cried loudly and his wife got up. I came again and changed my voice as if I were a helper, and found Abu Rafi lying straight on his back, so I drove the sword into his belly and bent on it till I heard the sound of a bone break. Then I came out, filled with astonishment and went to the staircase to descend, but I fell down from it and got my leg dislocated. I bandaged it and went to my companions limping. I said (to them), 'Go and tell Allah's Apostle of this good news, but I will not leave (this place) till I hear the news of his (i.e. Abu Rafi's) death.' When dawn broke, an announcer of death got over the wall and announced, 'I convey to you the news of Abu Rafi's death.' I got up and proceeded without feeling any pain till I caught up with my companions before they reached the Prophet to whom I conveyed the good news."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 393:

Narrated Anas:

When it was the day of Uhud, the people left the Prophet while Abu Talha was in front of the Prophet shielding him with his leather shield. Abu Talha was a skillful archer who used to shoot violently. He broke two or three arrow bows on that day. If a man carrying a quiver full of arrows passed by, the Prophet would say (to him), put (scatter) its contents for Abu Talha." The Prophet would raise his head to look at the enemy, whereupon Abu Talha would say, "Let my father and mother be sacrificed for you ! Do not raise your head, lest an arrow of the enemy should hit you. (Let) my neck (be struck) rather than your neck." I saw Aisha, the daughter of Abu Bakr, and Um Sulaim rolling up their dresses so that I saw their leg-bangles while they were carrying water skins on their backs and emptying them in the mouths of the (wounded) people. They would return to refill them and again empty them in the mouths of the (wounded) people. The sword fell from Abu Talha's hand twice or thrice (on that day).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 514:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad As Saidi:

Allah's Apostle (and his army) encountered the pagans and the two armies.,, fought and then Allah's Apostle returned to his army camps and the others (i.e. the enemy) returned to their army camps. Amongst the companions of the Prophet there was a man who could not help pursuing any single isolated pagan to strike him with his sword. Somebody said, "None has benefited the Muslims today more than so-and-so." On that Allah's Apostle said, "He is from the people of the Hell-Fire certainly." A man amongst the people (i.e. Muslims) said, "I will accompany him (to know the fact)." So he went along with him, and whenever he stopped he stopped with him, and whenever he hastened, he hastened with him. The (brave) man then got wounded severely, and seeking to die at once, he planted his sword into the ground and put its point against his chest in between his breasts, and then threw himself on it and committed suicide. On that the person (who was accompanying the deceased all the time) came to Allah's Apostle and said, "I testify that you are the Apostle of Allah." The Prophet said, "Why is that (what makes you say so)?" He said "It is concerning the man whom you have already mentioned as one of the dwellers of the Hell-Fire. The people were surprised by your statement, and I said to them, "I will try to find out the truth about him for you." So I went out after him and he was then inflicted with a severe wound and because of that, he hurried to bring death upon himself by planting the handle of his sword into the ground and directing its tip towards his chest between his breasts, and then he threw himself over it and committed suicide." Allah's Apostle then said, "A man may do what seem to the people as the deeds of the dwellers of Paradise but he is from the dwellers of the Hell-Fire and another may do what seem to the people as the deeds of the dwellers of the Hell-Fire, but he is from the dwellers of Paradise."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 518:

Narrated Sahl:

During one of his Ghazawat, the Prophet encountered the pagans, and the two armies fought, and then each of them returned to their army camps. Amongst the (army of the) Muslims there was a man who would follow every pagan separated from the army and strike him with his sword. It was said, "O Allah's Apostle! None has fought so satisfactorily as so-and-so (namely, that brave Muslim). "The Prophet said, "He is from the dwellers of the Hell-Fire." The people said, "Who amongst us will be of the dwellers of Paradise if this (man) is from the dwellers of the Hell-Fire?" Then a man from amongst the people said, "I will follow him and accompany him in his fast and slow movements." The (brave) man got wounded, and wanting to die at once, he put the handle of his sword on the ground and its tip in between his breasts, and then threw himself over it, committing suicide. Then the man (who had watched the deceased) returned to the Prophet and said, "I testify that you are Apostle of Allah." The Prophet said, "What is this?" The man told him the whole story. The Prophet said, "A man may do what may seem to the people as the deeds of the dwellers of Paradise, but he is of the dwellers of the Hell-Fire and a man may do what may seem to the people as the deeds of the dwellers of the Hell-Fire, but he is from the dwellers of Paradise."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 553:

Narrated Al-Bara:

When the Prophet went out for the Umra in the month of Dhal-Qa'da, the people of Mecca did not allow him to enter Mecca till he agreed to conclude a peace treaty with them by virtue of which he would stay in Mecca for three days only (in the following year). When the agreement was being written, the Muslims wrote: "This is the peace treaty, which Mohammed, Apostle of Allah has concluded."

The infidels said (to the Prophet), "We do not agree with you on this, for if we knew that you are Apostle of Allah we would not have prevented you for anything (i.e. entering Mecca, etc.), but you are Mohammed, the son of Abdullah." Then he said to Ali, "Erase (the name of) 'Apostle of Allah'." Ali said, "No, by Allah, I will never erase you (i.e. your name)." Then Allah's Apostle took the writing sheet...and he did not know a better writing..and he wrote or got it the following written! "This is the peace treaty which Mohammed, the son of Abdullah, has concluded: "Mohammed should not bring arms into Mecca except sheathed swords, and should not take with him any person of the people of Mecca even if such a person wanted to follow him, and if any of his companions wants to stay in Mecca, he should not forbid him."

(In the next year) when the Prophet entered Mecca and the allowed period of stay elapsed, the infidels came to Ali and said "Tell your companion (Mohammed) to go out, as the allowed period of his stay has finished." So the Prophet departed (from Mecca) and the daughter of Hamza followed him shouting "O Uncle, O Uncle!" Ali took her by the hand and said to Fatima, "Take the daughter of your uncle." So she made her ride (on her horse). (When they reached Medina) Ali, Zaid and Ja'far quarreled about her. Ali said, "I took her for she is the daughter of my uncle." Ja'far said, "She is the daughter of my uncle and her aunt is my wife." Zaid said, "She is the daughter of my brother." On that, the Prophet gave her to her aunt and said, "The aunt is of the same status as the mother." He then said to Ali, "You are from me, and I am from you," and said to Ja'far, "You resemble me in appearance and character," and said to Zaid, "You are our brother and our freed slave." Ali said to the Prophet 'Won't you marry the daughter of Hamza?" The Prophet said, "She is the daughter of my foster brother."

Translation of Sahih Bukhari, Book 60:

Prophetic Commentary on the Koran (Tafseer of the Prophet (pbuh))

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 37:

Narrated Abu Qilaba:

Once Umar bin Abdul Aziz sat on his throne in the courtyard of his house so that the people might gather before him. Then he admitted them and (when they came in), he said, "What do you think of Al-Qasama?" They said, "We say that it is lawful to depend on Al-Qasama in Qisas, as the previous Muslim Caliphs carried out Qisas depending on it." Then he said to me, "O Abu Qilaba! What do you say about it?" He let me appear before the people and I said, "O Chief of the Believers! You have the chiefs of the army staff and the nobles of the Arabs. If fifty of them testified that a married man had committed illegal sexual intercourse in Damascus but they had not seen him (doing so), would you stone him?" He said, "No." I said, "If fifty of them testified that a man had committed theft in Hums, would you cut off his hand though they did not see him?" He replied, "No." I said, "By Allah, Allah's Apostle never killed anyone except in one of the following three situations: (1) A person who killed somebody unjustly, was killed (in Qisas,) (2) a married person who committed illegal sexual intercourse and (3) a man who fought against Allah and His Apostle and deserted Islam and became an apostate." Then the people said, "Didn't Anas bin Malik narrate that Allah's Apostle cut off the hands of the thieves, branded their eyes and then, threw them in the sun?" I said, "I shall tell you the narration of Anas. Anas said: "Eight persons from the tribe of 'Ukl came to Allah's Apostle and gave the Pledge of allegiance for Islam (became Muslim). The climate of the place (Medina) did not suit them, so they became sick and complained about that to Allah's Apostle. He said (to them), "Won't you go out with the shepherd of our camels and drink of the camels' milk and urine (as medicine)?" They said, "Yes." So they went out and drank the camels' milk and urine, and after they became healthy, they killed the

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

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

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

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 207:

Narrated Abu Al-Aswad:

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

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 157:

Narrated Abu Umama:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 89:

Narrated Al-Bara:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 199:

Narrated Ka'b bin Malik:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 221:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

Abu Sufyan said, "Heraclius sent for me when I was in 'llya' (i.e. Jerusalem). Then he asked for the letter of Allah's Apostle and when he had finished its reading there was a great hue and cry around him and the voices grew louder and we were asked to quit the place. When we were turned out, I said to my companions, 'The cause of Ibn Abi Kabsha has become conspicuous as the King of Bani Al-Asfar is afraid of him.' "

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 278:

Narrated Salama:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 303:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

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

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 630:

Narrated Abdullah bin Amr bin Al-As:

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 287:

Narrated Kab bin Malik:

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 320:

Narrated Usaid:

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 365:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 416:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 452:

Narrated Sahl bin Abi Hathma:

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 455:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 456:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

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

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 59:

Narrated Nafi':

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

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 489:

Narrated Abu Musa:

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

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 378:

Narrated Said bin Al-Musaiyab:

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

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 387:

Narrated Abu Musa:

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

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 47:

Narrated Abdullah bin Abu Qatada:

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

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

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 48:

Narrated Abdullah bin Abu Qatada:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 86:

Narrated Salim Abu-An-Nadr:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 198:

Narrated Ka'b bin Malik:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 220:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 9, Book 90, Number 343:

Narrated Abdullah bin Abi Aufa:

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

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 23:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

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

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 310:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

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

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 466:

Narrated Ya'la bin Umaya:

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

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

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 718:

Narrated Ibn Muhairiz:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 91:

Narrated Anas:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 92:

Narrated Anas:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 197:

Narrated Ka'b bin Malik:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 238:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 250:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 295:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

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

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 385:

Narrated Amr bin Auf Al-Ansari:

(who was an ally of Bam Amr bin Lu'ai and one of those who had taken part in (the Ghazwa of) Badr): Allah's Apostle sent Abu Ubaida bin Al-Jarreh to Bahrain to collect the Jizya. Allah's Apostle had established peace with the people of Bahrain and appointed Al-'Ala' bin Al-Hadrami as their governor. When Abu Ubaida came from Bahrain with the money, the Ansar heard of Abu Ubaida's arrival which coincided with the time of the morning prayer with the Prophet. When Allah's Apostle led them in the morning prayer and finished, the Ansar approached him, and he looked at them and smiled on seeing them and said, "I feel that you have heard that Abu. Ubaida has brought something?" They said, "Yes, O Allah's Apostle' He said, "Rejoice and hope for what will please you! By Allah, I am not afraid of your poverty but I am afraid that you will lead a life of luxury as past nations did, whereupon you will compete with each other for it, as they competed for it, and it will destroy you as it destroyed them."

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 387:

Narrated Abu Humaid As-Saidi:

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

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 561:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

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

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 720:

Narrated Jabir:

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

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 756:

Narrated Abdullah bin Ka'b:

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 285:

Narrated Abu Ishaq:

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 290:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 433:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 442:

Narrated Abdullah:

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 450:

Narrated Abu Burda:

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 457:

Narrated Sinan and Abu Salama:

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 459:

Narrated Ibn Muhairiz:

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

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 460:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 461:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah Al-Ansari:

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 534:

Narrated Al-Bara:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 172:

Narrated Jabir:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 174:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

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

Volume 8, Book 75, Number 394:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

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

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 31:

Narrated Ya'la:

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

Volume 3, Book 30, Number 96:

Narrated Abu Humaid:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 135:

Narrated Abu Musa:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 151:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 154:

Narrated Ali:

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

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 70:

Narrated Qais bin Abi Hazim:

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 385:

Narrated Sad bin Abi Waqqas:

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 389:

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 507:

Narrated Salama bin Al-Akwa:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 258:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 270:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 271:

Narrated Jabir:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 280:

Narrated Abu SaId Al-Khudri:

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

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 725:

Narrated Abu Jamra:

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

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 160:

Narrated Jarir bin Abdullah:

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 310:

Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Auf:

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 316:

Narrated Hisham's father:

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 369:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

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

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 370:

Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 414:

Narrated Abdul Aziz:

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 417:

Narrated Anas:

That the Prophet sent his uncle, the brother of Um Sulaim at the head of seventy riders. The chief of the pagans, Amir bin At-Tufail proposed three suggestions (to the Prophet) saying, "Choose one of three alternatives: (1) that the bedouins will be under your command and the townspeople will be under my command; (2) or that I will be your successor, (3) or otherwise I will attack you with two thousand from Bani Ghatafan." But Amir was infected with plague in the House of Um so-and-so. He said, "Shall I stay in the house of a lady from the family of so-and-so after having a (swelled) gland like that she-camel? Get me my horse." So he died on the back of his horse. Then Haram, the brother of Um Sulaim and a lame man along with another man from so-and-so (tribe) went towards the pagans (i.e. the tribe of Amir). Haram said (to his companions), "Stay near to me, for I will go to them. If they (i.e. infidels) should give me protection, you will be near to me, and if they should kill me, then you should go back to your companions. Then Haram went to them and said, "Will you give me protection so as to convey the message of Allah's Apostle ?" So, he started talking to them' but they signalled to a man (to kill him) and he went behind him and stabbed him (with a spear). He (i.e. Haram) said, "Allahu Akbar! I have succeeded, by the Lord of the Ka'ba!" The companion of Haram was pursued by the infidels, and then they (i.e. Haram's companions) were all killed except the lame man who was at the top of a mountain. Then Allah revealed to us a verse that was among the cancelled ones later on. It was: 'We have met our Lord and He is pleased with us and has made us pleased.' (After this event) the Prophet invoked evil on the infidels every morning for 30 days. He invoked evil upon the (tribes of) Ril, Dhakwan, Bani Lihyan and Usaiya who disobeyed Allah and His Apostle

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 421:

Narrated Anas bin Malik :

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 447:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

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

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 278:

Narrated Abu Said:

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

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 714:

Narrated Hafsa:

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

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 87:

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

1. "No lady should travel without her husband or without a Dhu-Mahram for a two-days' journey.

2. No fasting is permissible on two days of Id-al-Fitr, and Id-al-Adha.

3. No prayer (may be offered) after two prayers: after the Asr prayer till the sun set and after the morning prayer till the sun rises.

4. Not to travel (for visiting) except for three mosques: Masjid-al-Haram (in Mecca), my Mosque (in Medina), and Masjid-al-Aqsa (in Jerusalem)."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 215:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

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

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

2. "No fasting is permissible on the two days of Id-ul-Fitr and Id-ul-Adha;

3. "No prayer (may be offered) after the morning compulsory prayer until the sun rises; and no prayer after the Asr prayer till the sun sets;

4. "One should travel only for visiting three Masajid (Mosques): Masjid-ul-Haram (Mecca), Masjid-ul-Aqsa (Jerusalem), and this (my) Mosque (at Medina)."

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 570:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 257:

Narrated Abdullah:

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

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 403:

Narrated Ibn Abi Aufa:

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

SUPPLEMENT 5: ALL VERSES ON:
LOW STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE KORAN
Koran: 152,419
This : 8592 words
5.6%
102 verses

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

25:70 Allah is forgiving and merciful, and whoever repents and does good has truly turned to Allah with an acceptable and true conversion. The believers do not bear false witness and pass by frivolity with dignity. They, when reminded of their Lord's revelations, do not act like they are deaf and blind. They say, "Lord, make our wives and children the apples of our eyes, and make us examples for those who fear you." The believers will be rewarded with the highest places in Paradise because of their steadfast patience. They will be greeted there with greetings and salutations, and they will live there forever. What a happy abode and resting place!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

12:50 The King said, "Bring him to me." And when the messenger returned, Joseph said, "Go back to your lord, and ask him what is the case of the women who cut their hands, for my lord well knows the snare they laid."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2:282 Believers! When you contract a loan for a certain period, write it down, or to be fair, let a scribe write it down. The scribe should not refuse to write as Allah has taught him; therefore, let the scribe record what the debtor dictates being mindful of his duty to Allah and not reducing the amount he owes. If the debtor is ignorant and unable to dictate, let his guardian do so with fairness. Call two men in to witness this, but if two men cannot be found, then call one man and two women whom you see fit to be witnesses. Therefore, if either woman makes an error, the other can correct her. Witnesses must not refuse to give testimony if they are called upon to do so; therefore, do not forget to record your debts in writing, whether they are little or much, along with the date on which they were paid. This is more fair in Allah's sight, as it ensures accuracy in proof and is the best way to avoid doubt. If, however, the transaction is one that occurs on the spot, you are not to blame if it is not recorded in writing. And have witnesses when you sell, and do not let harm come to the scribe or witnesses for it will be a sin for you if this occurs. And fear Allah and Allah will give you knowledge for He has knowledge of all things*. [*The longest verse in the Koran is about contract law.]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

72:1 Say: It has been revealed to me that a group of jinn listened [to Mohammed recite the Koran] and said, "Truly, we have heard a wonderful recital. It guides us to the truth. We believe in it, and we will never again worship another god. Exalted is the majesty of Our Lord! He has neither a wife nor a child. The foolish among us speak of a god that is unjust. We believed that no man or jinn would utter a lie against Allah."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SUPPLEMENT 6: ALL HADITHS ON:
LOW STATUS OF WOMEN, SAHIH AL-BUKHARI
296 hadiths
45,580 words

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 28:

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

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 101:

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

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 148:

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

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 301:

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

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 321:

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

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 368:

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

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 395:

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

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

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

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

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 474:

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

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 478:

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

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 486:

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

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 490:

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

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 552:

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

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 778:

Narrated Sahl bin Sa'd:

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

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 824:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

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

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 826:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 828:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 829:

Narrated Um Salama:

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

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 22:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

The Prophet said, "Allow women to go to the Mosques at night."

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 23:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

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

Volume 2, Book 14, Number 68:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

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

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 88:

Narrated Um Atiya:

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

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 91:

Narrated Mohammed:

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

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 96:

Narrated Aiyub:

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

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 97:

Narrated Um-Atiya:

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

Volume 2, Book 18, Number 161:

Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:

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

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 306:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad:

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

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 326:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad As-SaIdi :

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

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 341:

Narrated Abu SaId:

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

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 386:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 392:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 393:

Narrated Um 'Atiyya:

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

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 541:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri

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

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 595:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 714:

Narrated Hafsa:

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

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 739:

Narrated Abdullah:

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

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 810:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

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

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 814:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

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

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 84:

Narrated Aisha (mother of the faithful believers):

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

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 420:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 648:

Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:

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

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

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

In those days it was rumoured that Ghassan, (a tribe living in Sham) was getting prepared their horses to invade us. My companion went (to the Prophet on the day of his turn, went and returned to us at night and knocked at my door violently, asking whether I was sleeping. I was scared (by the hard knocking) and came out to him. He said that a great thing had happened. I asked him: What is it? Have Ghassan come? He replied that it was worse and more serious than that, and added that Allah's Apostle had divorced all his wives. I said, Hafsa is a ruined loser! I expected that would happen some day.' So I dressed myself and offered the Fajr prayer with the Prophet. Then the Prophet entered an upper room and stayed there alone. I went to Hafsa and found her weeping. I asked her, 'Why are you weeping? Didn't I warn you? Have Allah's Apostle divorced you all?' She replied, 'I don't know. He is there in the upper room.' I then went out and came to the pulpit and found a group of people around it and some of them were weeping. Then I sat with them for some time, but could not endure the situation. So I went to the upper room where the Prophet was and requested to a black slave of his: "Will you get the permission of (Allah's Apostle) for Umar (to enter)? The slave went in, talked to the Prophet about it and came out saying, 'I mentioned you to him but he did not reply.' So, I went and sat with the people who were sitting by the pulpit, but I could not bear the situation, so I went to the slave again and said: "Will you get he permission for Umar? He went in and brought the same reply as before. When I was leaving, behold, the slave called me saying, "Allah's Apostle has granted you permission." So, I entered upon the Prophet and saw him lying on a mat without wedding on it, and the mat had left its mark on the body of the Prophet, and he was leaning on a leather pillow stuffed with palm fires. I greeted him and while still standing, I said: "Have you divorced your wives?' He raised his eyes to me and replied in the negative. And then while still standing, I said chatting: "Will you heed what I say, 'O Allah's Apostle! We, the people of Quraish used to have the upper hand over our women (wives), and when we came to the people whose women had the upper hand over them..."

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

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

Volume 3, Book 44, Number 674:

Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair:

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

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

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

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 717:

Narrated Ibn Aun:

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

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

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 826:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

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

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 829:

Narrated Aisha:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Allah's Apostle also asked Zainab bint Jahsh (i.e. the Prophet's wife about me saying, 'What do you know and what did you see?' She replied, 'O Allah's Apostle! I refrain to claim hearing or seeing what I have not heard or seen. By Allah, I know nothing except goodness about Aisha." Aisha further added "Zainab was competing with me (in her beauty and the Prophet's love), yet Allah protected her (from being malicious), for she had piety."

Volume 3, Book 49, Number 855:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad:

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

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 874:

Narrated Marwan and al-Miswar bin Makhrama:

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

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

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

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 25:

Narrated Az-Zuhri:

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

"And if you fear that you will not deal fairly with the orphan girls then marry (other) women of your choice." (4.2-3)

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

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

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

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 43:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 74i:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 256:

Narrated As-Sab bin Jaththama:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 280:

Narrated Abu SaId Al-Khudri:

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

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 464:

Narrated 'Imran bin Husain:

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

Volume 4, Book 54, Number 465:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 548:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 623:

Narrated Abu Musa:

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

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 635:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 767:

Narrated Abu Juhaifa:

By chance I went to the Prophet at noon while he was at Al-Abtah (resting) in a tent. Bilal came out (of the tent) and pronounced the Adhan for the prayer, and entering again, he brought out the water which was left after Allah's Apostle had performed the ablution. The people rushed to take some of the water. Bilal again went in and brought out a spear-headed stick, and then Allah's Apostle came out. As if I were now looking at the whiteness of his leg. Bilal fixed the stick and the Prophet offered a two-Rakat Zuhr prayer and a two-Rak'at Asr prayer, while women and donkeys were passing in front of the Prophet (beyond the stick) .

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 113:

Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari:

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

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 114:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

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

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 148:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

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

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 164:

Narrated

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

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 166:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 234:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 362:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 459:

Narrated Ibn Muhairiz:

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

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 462:

Narrated Aisha:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 10:

Narrated Anas:

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

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

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 55:

Narrated Mohammed bin Sirin:

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

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 98:

Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair:

That he asked Aisha regarding the Statement of Allah:

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

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

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 139:

Narrated Abdullah:

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

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 547:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 13o:

Narrated Abdullah:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 30:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 33:

Narrated Usama bin Zaid:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 35:

Narrated Aisha"

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 29:

Narrated Ursa:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 40:

Narrated Aisha:

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

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 51:

Narrated Abu Jamra:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 70:

Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Yazid and Majammi bin Yazid.

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 71:

Narrated Ursa bin Az-Zubair:

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

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 72:

Narrated Sahl:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 81:

Narrated Uqba:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 86:

Narrated Aisha:

When the Prophet married me, my mother came to me and made me enter the house where I saw some women from the Ansar who said, "May you prosper and have blessings and have good omen."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 114:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 119:

Narrated Ibn Abbas :

I had been eager to ask Umar bin Al-Khattab about the two ladies from among the wives of the Prophet regarding whom Allah said 'If you two (wives of the Prophet namely Aisha and Hafsa) turn in repentance to Allah, your hearts are indeed so inclined (to oppose what the Prophet likes). (66.4) till Umar performed the Hajj and I too, performed the Hajj along with him. (On the way) Umar went aside to answer the call of nature, and I also went aside along with him carrying a tumbler full of water, and when Umar had finished answering the call of nature, I poured water over his hands and he performed the ablution. Then I said to him, "O chief of the Believers! Who were the two ladies from among the wives of the Prophet regarding whom Allah said: 'If you two (wives of the Prophet) turn in repentance to Allah your hearts are indeed so inclined (to oppose what the Prophet likes)?" (66.4) He said, "I am astonished at your question, O Ibn Abbas. They were Aisha and Hafsa." Then Umar went on narrating the Hadith and said, "I and an Ansari neighbor of mine from Bani Umaiyya bin Zaid who used to live in Awali-al-Medina, used to visit the Prophet in turn. He used to go one day and I another day. When I went, I would bring him the news of what had happened that day regarding the Divine Inspiration and other things, and when he went, he used to do the same for me. We, the people of Quraish used to have the upper hand over our wives, but when we came to the Ansar, we found that their women had the upper hand over their men, so our women also started learning the ways of the Ansari women. I shouted at my wife and she retorted against me and I disliked that she should answer me back. She said to me, 'Why are you so surprised at my answering you back? By Allah, the wives of the Prophet answer him back and some of them may leave (does not speak to) him throughout the day till the night.' The (talk) scared me and I said to her, 'Whoever has done so will be ruined!' Then I proceeded after dressing myself, and entered upon Hafsa and said to her, 'Does anyone of you keep the Prophet angry till night?' She said, 'Yes.' I said, 'You are a ruined losing person! Don't you fear that Allah may get angry for the anger of Allah's Apostle and thus you will be ruined? So do not ask more from the Prophet and do not answer him back and do not give up talking to him. Ask me whatever you need and do not be tempted to imitate your neighbor (i.e., Aisha) in her manners for she is more charming than you and more beloved to the Prophet ." Umar added,"At that time a talk was circulating among us that (the tribe of) Ghassan were preparing their horses to invade us. My Ansari companion, on the day of his turn, went (to the town) and returned to us at night and knocked at my door violently and asked if I was there. I became horrified and came out to him. He said, 'Today a great thing has happened.' I asked, 'What is it? Have (the people of) Ghassan come?' He said, 'No, but (What has happened) is greater and more horrifying than that: Allah's Apostle; has divorced his wives. Umar added, "The Prophet kept away from his wives and I said "Hafsa is a ruined loser.' I had already thought that most probably this (divorce) would happen in the near future. So I dressed myself and offered the morning prayer with the Prophet and then the Prophet; entered an upper room and stayed there in seclusion. I entered upon Hafsa and saw her weeping. I asked, 'What makes you weep? Did I not warn you about that? Did the Prophet divorce you all?' She said, 'I do not know. There he is retired alone in the upper room.' I came out and sat near the pulpit and saw a group of people sitting around it and some of them were weeping. I sat with them for a while but could not endure the situation, so I went to the upper room where the Prophet; was and said to a black slave of his, 'Will you get the permission (of the Prophet) for Umar (to enter)?' The slave went in, talked to the Prophet about it and then returned saying, 'I have spoken to the Prophet and mentioned you but he kept quiet.' Then I returned and sat with the group of people sitting near the pulpit. but I could not bear the situation and once again I said to the slave, 'Will you get the permission for Umar?' He went in and returned saying, 'I mentioned you to him but he kept quiet.' So I returned again and sat with the group of people sitting near the pulpit, but I could not bear the situation, and so I went to the slave and said, 'Will you get the permission for Umar?' He went in and returned to me saying, 'I mentioned you to him but he kept quiet.' When I was leaving, behold! The slave called me, saying, 'The Prophet has given you permission.' Then I entered upon Allah's Apostle and saw him Lying on a bed made of stalks of date palm leaves and there was no bedding between it and him. The stalks left marks on his side and he was leaning on a leather pillow stuffed with date-palm fires. I greeted him and while still standing I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Have you divorced your wives?' He looked at me and said, 'No.' I said, 'Allah Akbar!' And then, while still standing, I said chatting, 'Will you heed what I say, O Allah's Apostle? We, the people of Quraish used to have power over our women, but when we arrived at Medina we found that the men (here) were overpowered by their women.' The Prophet smiled and then I said to him, 'Will you heed what I say, O Allah's Apostle? I entered upon Hafsa and said to her, "Do not be tempted to imitate your companion (Aisha), for she is more charming than you and more beloved to the Prophet.' " The Prophet smiled for a second time. When I saw him smiling, I sat down. Then I looked around his house, and by Allah, I could not see anything of importance in his house except three hides, so I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Invoke Allah to make your followers rich, for the Persians and the Romans have been made prosperous and they have been given (the pleasures of the world), although they do not worship Allah.' Thereupon the Prophet sat up as he was reclining. and said, 'Are you of such an opinion, O the son of Al-Khattab? These are the people who have received the rewards for their good deeds in this world.' I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Ask Allah to forgive me.' Then the Prophet kept away from his wives for twenty-nine days because of the story which Hafsa had disclosed to Aisha. The Prophet had said, 'I will not enter upon them (my wives) for one month,' because of his anger towards them, when Allah had admonished him. So, when twenty nine days had passed, the Prophet first entered upon Aisha. Aisha said to him, 'O Allah's Apostle! You had sworn that you would not enter upon us for one month, but now only twenty-nine days have passed, for I have been counting them one by one.' The Prophet said, 'The (present) month is of twenty nine days.' Aisha added, 'Then Allah revealed the Verses of the option. (2) And out of all his-wives he asked me first, and I chose him.' Then he gave option to his other wives and they said what Aisha had said . " (1) The Prophet, ' had decided to abstain from eating a certain kind of food because of a certain event, so Allah blamed him for doing so. Some of his wives were the cause of him taking that decision, therefore he deserted them for one month. See Koran: (66.4)

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 124:

Narrated Usama:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 125:

Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 126:

Narrated Imran:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 133:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 164:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 169:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

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

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 178:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

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

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 248:

Narrated Al-Hasan:

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

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 249:

Narrated Nafi:

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

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 329:

Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari:

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

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 375:

Narrated Anas:

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

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 715:

Narrated 'Ikrima:

Rifa'a divorced his wife whereupon AbdurRahman bin Az-Zubair Al-Qurazi married her. Aisha said that the lady (came), wearing a green veil (and complained to her (Aisha) of her husband and showed her a green spot on her skin caused by beating). It was the habit of ladies to support each other, so when Allah's Apostle came, Aisha said, "I have not seen any woman suffering as much as the believing women. Look! Her skin is greener than her clothes!" When AbdurRahman heard that his wife had gone to the Prophet, he came with his two sons from another wife. She said, "By Allah! I have done no wrong to him but he is impotent and is as useless to me as this," holding and showing the fringe of her garment, Abdur-Rahman said, "By Allah, O Allah's Apostle! She has told a lie! I am very strong and can satisfy her but she is disobedient and wants to go back to Rifa'a." Allah's Apostle said, to her, "If that is your intention, then know that it is unlawful for you to remarry Rifa'a unless Abdur-Rahman has had sexual intercourse with you." Then the Prophet saw two boys with Abdur-Rahman and asked (him), "Are these your sons?" On that AbdurRahman said, "Yes." The Prophet said, "You claim what you claim (i.e.. that he is impotent)? But by Allah, these boys resemble him as a crow resembles a crow," Volume 7, Book 72, Number 734:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

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

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 815:

Narrated Abdullah:

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

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 816:

Narrated Humaid bin Abdur-Rahman bin Auf

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

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 822:

Narrated 'Alqama:

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

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 826:

Narrated Ibn Musud:

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

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 832:

Narrated Abdullah :

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

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 108:

Narrated Sa'd:

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

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 182:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

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

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 221:

Narrated Anas:

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

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 229:

Narrated Anas:

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

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 230:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

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

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 257:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 278:

Narrated Abu Said:

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

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 456:

Narrated 'Imran bin Husain:

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

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 554:

Narrated 'Imran:

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

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 555:

Narrated Usama:

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

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

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 634:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 8, Book 79, Number 711:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 9, Book 85, Number 79:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 321:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 462:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 517:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

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

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 561:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 88:

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

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 97:

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

1. A Person from the people of the scriptures who believed in his prophet (Jesus or Moses) and then believed in the Prophet Mohammed (i .e. has embraced Islam).

2. A slave who discharges his duties to Allah and his master.

3. A master of a woman-slave who teaches her good manners and educates her in the best possible way (the religion) and manumits her and then marries her."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 227:

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

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 295:

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

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 304:

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

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 311:

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

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 312:

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

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 318:

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

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 326:

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

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 18:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

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

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 192:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

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

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 193:

Narrated IbnUmar:

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

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 194:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 288:

Narrated Qaza'a Maula:

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

(1) "A woman should not go on a two day journey except with her husband or a Dhi-Mahram.

(2) No fasting is permissible on two days: Id-ul-Fitr and Id-ul-Adha.

(3) No prayer after two prayers, i.e. after the Fajr prayer till the sunrises and after the Asr prayer till the sun sets.

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

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 370:

Narrated Zainab bint Abi Salama:

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

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 371:

Narrated Zainab bint Abi Salama :

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

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 172:

Narrated Abu Said:

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

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 264:

Narrated Ibrahim bin Sad from his father from his grandfather:

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

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 280:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 3, Book 38, Number 505r:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad:

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

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 730:

Narrated Abdullah:

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

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 733:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

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

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 807:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 808:

Narrated Abdullah bin Abu Mulaika from Uqba bin Al-Harith:

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

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 828:

Narrated Uqba bin Al-Harith:

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

Volume 3, Book 49, Number 859:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 885:

Narrated Abu Huraira and Zaid bin Khalid Al-Juhani:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 110:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 111:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad Saidi:

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

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 611:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 119:

Narrated Hisham's father:

The people used to send presents to the Prophet on the day of Aisha's turn. Aisha said, "My companions (i.e. the other wives of the Prophet) gathered in the house of Um Salama and said, "0 Um Salama! By Allah, the people choose to send presents on the day of Aisha's turn and we too, love the good (i.e. presents etc.) as Aisha does. You should tell Allah's Apostle to tell the people to send their presents to him wherever he may be, or wherever his turn may be." Um Salama said that to the Prophet and he turned away from her, and when the Prophet returned to her (i.e. Um Salama), she repeated the same, and the Prophet again turned away, and when she told him the same for the third time, the Prophet said, "O Um Salama! Don't trouble me by harming Aisha, for by Allah, the Divine Inspiration never came to me while I was under the blanket of any woman amongst you except her."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 512:

Narrated Anas:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 27:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 31:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 32:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 41:

Narrated Uqba bin Al-Harith:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 44:

Narrated Jabir:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 45:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 46:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 52:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah and Salama bin Al-Akwa:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 54:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 58:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 63:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 66:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 79:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad As-SaIdi:

While I was (sitting) among the people in the company of Allah's Apostle a woman stood up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! She has given herself in marriage to you; please give your opinion of her." The Prophet did not give her any reply. She again stood up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! She has given herself (in marriage) to you; so please give your opinion of her. The Prophet did not give her any reply. She again stood up for the third time and said, "She has given herself in marriage to you: so give your opinion of her." So a man stood up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Marry her to me." The Prophet asked him, "Have you got anything?" He said, "No." The Prophet said, "Go and search for something, even if it were an iron ring." The man went and searched and then returned saying, "I could not find anything, not even an iron ring." Then the Prophet said, "Do you know something of the Koran (by heart)?" He replied, "I know (by heart) such Sura and such Sura." The Prophet said, "Go! I have married her to you for what you know of the Koran (by heart)."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 82:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

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Volume 7, Book 62, Number 113:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
Allah's Apostle said, "The woman is like a rib; if you try to straighten her, she will break. So if you want to get benefit from her, do so while she still has some crookedness."
Volume 7, Book 62, Number 120:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "A woman should not fast (optional fasts) except with her husband's permission if he is at home (staying with her)."
Volume 7, Book 62, Number 122:
Narrated Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "If a woman spends the night deserting her husband's bed (does not sleep with him), then the angels send their curses on her till she comes back (to her husband)."
Volume 7, Book 62, Number 134:
Narrated Aisha:
regarding the Verse: 'If a wife fears cruelty or desertion on her husband's part ...') (4.128) It concerns the woman whose husband does not want to keep her with him any longer, but wants to divorce her and marry some other lady, so she says to him: 'Keep me and do not divorce me, and then marry another woman, and you may neither spend on me, nor sleep with me.' This is indicated by the Statement of Allah: 'There is no blame on them if they arrange an amicable settlement between them both, and (such) settlement is better." (4.128)
Volume 7, Book 62, Number 166:
Narrated Aisha:
My foster uncle came and asked permission (to enter) but I refused to admit him till I asked Allah's Apostle about that. He said, "He is your uncle, so allow him to come in." I said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have been suckled by a woman and not by a man." Allah's Apostle said, "He is your uncle, so let him enter upon you." And that happened after the order of Al-Hijab (compulsory veiling) was revealed. All things which become unlawful because of blood relations are unlawful because of the corresponding foster suckling relations.
Volume 7, Book 62, Number 167:
Narrated Abdullah bin Musud:
The Prophet said, "A woman should not look at or touch another woman to describe her to her husband in such a way as if he was actually looking at her."
Volume 7, Book 62, Number 168:
Narrated Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "A woman should not look at or touch another woman to describe her to her husband in such a way as if he was actually looking at her."
Volume 7, Book 62, Number 173:
Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:
The Prophet said, "If you enter (your town) at night (after coming from a journey), do not enter upon your family till the woman whose husband was absent (from the house) shaves her pubic hair and the woman with unkempt hair, combs her hair" Allah's Apostle further said, "(O Jabir!) Seek to have offspring, seek to have offspring!" Volume 7, Book 63, Number 251:
Narrated Humaid bin Nafi':
Zainab bint Abu Salama told me these three narrations: Zainab said: I went to Um Habiba, the wife of the Prophet when her father, Abu- Sufyan bin Herb had died. Um ,Habiba asked for a perfume which contained yellow scent (Khaluq) or some other scent, and she first perfumed one of the girls with it and then rubbed her cheeks with it and said, "By Allah, I am not in need of perfume, but I have heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'It is not lawful for a lady who believes in Allah and the Last Day to mourn for a dead person for more than three days unless he is her husband for whom she should mourn for four months and ten days.' " Zainab further said: I want to Zainab bint Jahsh when her brother died. She asked for perfume and used some of it and said, "By Allah, I am not in need of perfume, but I have heard Allah's Apostle saying on the pulpit, 'It is not lawful for a lady who believes in Allah and the last day to mourn for more than three days except for her husband for whom she should mourn for four months and ten days.' " Zainab further said, "I heard my mother, Um Salama saying that a woman came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! The husband of my daughter has died and she is suffering from an eye disease, can she apply kohl to her eye?" Allah's Apostle replied, "No," twice or thrice. (Every time she repeated her question) he said, "No." Then Allah's Apostle added, "It is just a matter of four months and ten days. In the Pre-Islamic Period of ignorance a widow among you should throw a globe of dung when one year has elapsed." I said to Zainab, "What does 'throwing a globe of dung when one year had elapsed' mean?" Zainab said, "When a lady was bereaved of her husband, she would live in a wretched small room and put on the worst clothes she had and would not touch any scent till one year had elapsed. Then she would bring an animal, e.g. a donkey, a sheep or a bird and rub her body against it. The animal against which she would rub her body would scarcely survive. Only then she would come out of her room, whereupon she would be given a globe of dung which she would throw away and then she would use the scent she liked or the like."
Volume 7, Book 63, Number 252:
Narrated Um Salama:
A woman was bereaved of her husband and her relatives worried about her eyes (which were diseased). They came to Allah's Apostle, and asked him to allow them to treat her eyes with kohl, but he said, "She should not apply kohl to her eyes. (In the Pre-Islamic period of Ignorance) a widowed woman among you would stay in the worst of her clothes (or the worst part of her house) and when a year had elapsed, if a dog passed by her, she would throw a globe of dung, Nay, (she cannot use kohl) till four months and ten days have elapsed."
Narrated Um Habiba: The Prophet said, "It is not lawful for a Muslim woman who believes in Allah and the Last Day to mourn for more than three days, except for her husband, for whom she should mourn for four months and ten days."
Volume 7, Book 71, Number 649:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "There is neither 'Adha (no contagious disease is conveyed to others without Allah's permission) nor Tiyara, but an evil omen may be in three a woman, a house or an animal."
Volume 7, Book 71, Number 666:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "there is neither 'Adha nor Tiyara, and an evil omen is only in three: a horse, a woman and a house." (See the foot-note of Hadith No. 649)
Volume 7, Book 72, Number 818:
Narrated Asma:
(the daughter of Abu' Bakr) A woman came to Allah's Apostle and said, "I married my daughter to someone, but she became sick and all her hair fell out, and (because of that) her husband does not like her. May I let her use false hair?" On that the Prophet cursed such a lady as artificially lengthening (her or someone else's) hair or got her hair lengthened artificially.
Volume 7, Book 72, Number 824:
Narrated Asma':
A woman asked the Prophet saying, "0 Allah's Apostle! My daughter got measles and her hair fell out. Now that I got her married, may I let her use false hair?" He said (to her), "Allah has cursed the lady who lengthens hair artificially and the one who gets her hair lengthened artificially."
Volume 7, Book 72, Number 829:
Narrated Abu Juhaifa:
The Prophet forbade the use of the price of blood and the price of a dog, the one who takes (eats) usury the one who gives usury, the woman who practises tattooing and the woman who gets herself tattooed.
Volume 7, Book 72, Number 830:
Narrated Abu Huraira :
A woman who used to practise tattooing was brought to Umar. Umar got up and said, "I beseech you by Allah, which of you heard the Prophet saying something about tattooing?" l got up and said, "0 chief of the Believers! l heard something." He said, "What did you hear?" I said, "I heard the Prophet (addressing the ladies), saying, 'Do not practise tattooing and do not get yourselves tattooed.'"
Volume 8, Book 73, Number 204:
Narrated Anas bin Malik:
That he and Abu Talha were coming in the company of the Prophet towards Medina), while Safiya (the Prophet's wife) was riding behind him on his she-camel. After they had covered a portion of the way suddenly the foot of the she-camel slipped and both the Prophet and the woman (i.e., his wife, Safiya) fell down. Abu Talha jumped quickly off his camel and came to the Prophet (saying.) "O Allah's Apostle! Let Allah sacrifice me for you! Have you received any injury?" The Prophet said, "No, but take care of the woman (my wife)." Abu Talha covered his face with his garment and went towards her and threw his garment over her. Then the woman got up and Abu Talha prepared their she camel (by tightening its saddle, etc.) and both of them (the Prophet and Safiya) mounted it. Then all of them proceeded and when they approached near Medina, or saw Medina, the Prophet said, "Ayibun,' abidun, taibun, liRabbina hamidun (We are coming back (to Medina) with repentance, worshipping (our Lord) and celebrating His (our Lord's) praises". The Prophet continued repeating these words till he entered the city of Medina Volume 9, Book 86, Number 99:
Narrated Al-Qasim:
A woman from the offspring of Ja'far was afraid lest her guardian marry her (to somebody) against her will. So she sent for two elderly men from the Ansar, AbdurRahman and Mujammi', the two sons of Jariya, and they said to her, "Don't be afraid, for Khansa' bint Khidam was given by her father in marriage against her will, then the Prophet cancelled that marriage." (See Hadith No. 78)
Volume 9, Book 86, Number 102:
Narrated Aisha:
Allah's Apostle used to like sweets and also used to like honey, and whenever he finished the Asr prayer, he used to visit his wives and stay with them. Once he visited Hafsa and remained with her longer than the period he used to stay, so I enquired about it. It was said to me, "A woman from her tribe gave her a leather skin containing honey as a present, and she gave some of it to Allah's Apostle to drink." I said, "By Allah, we will play a trick on him." So I mentioned the story to Sauda (the wife of the Prophet) and said to her, "When he enters upon you, he will come near to you whereupon you should say to him, 'O Allah's Apostle! Have you eaten Maghafir?" He will say, 'No.' Then you say to him, 'What is this bad smell? ' And it would be very hard on Allah's Apostle that a bad smell should be found on his body. He will say, 'Hafsa has given me a drink of honey.' Then you should say to him, 'Its bees must have sucked from the Al-'Urfut (a foul smelling flower).' I too, will tell him the same. And you, O Saifya, say the same."
So when the Prophet entered upon Sauda (the following happened). Sauda said, "By Him except Whom none has the right to be worshipped, I was about to say to him what you had told me to say while he was still at the gate because of fear from you. But when Allah 's Apostle came near to me, I said to him, 'O Allah's Apostle! Have you eaten Maghafir?' He replied, 'No.' I said, 'What about this smell?' He said, 'Hafsa has given me a drink of honey.' I said, 'Its bees must have sucked Al-'Urfut.' " When he entered upon me, I told him the same as that, and when he entered upon Safiya, she too told him the same. So when he visited Hafsa again, she said to him, "O Allah's Apostle! Shall I give you a drink of it (honey)?" He said, "I have no desire for it." Sauda said, Subhan Allah! We have deprived him of it (honey)." I said to her, "Be quiet!"
Volume 9, Book 89, Number 252:
Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:
Allah's Apostle said, "Surely! Everyone of you is a guardian and is responsible for his charges: The Imam (ruler) of the people is a guardian and is responsible for his subjects; a man is the guardian of his family (household) and is responsible for his subjects; a woman is the guardian of her husband's home and of his children and is responsible for them; and the slave of a man is a guardian of his master's property and is responsible for it. Surely, everyone of you is a guardian and responsible for his charges." Volume 9, Book 92, Number 413:
Narrated Abu Said:
A woman came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Men (only) benefit by your teachings, so please devote to us from (some of) your time, a day on which we may come to you so that you may teach us of what Allah has taught you." Allah's Apostle said, "Gather on such-and-such a day at such-and-such a place." They gathered and Allah's Apostle came to them and taught them of what Allah had taught him. He then said, "No woman among you who has lost her three children (died) but that they will screen her from the Fire." A woman among them said, "O Allah's Apostle! If she lost two children?" She repeated her question twice, whereupon the Prophet said, "Even two, even two, even two!" (See Hadith No. 341, Vol. 2)
Volume 9, Book 92, Number 456:
Narrated Aisha:
A woman asked the Prophet about the periods: How to take a bath after the periods. He said, "Take a perfumed piece of cloth and clean yourself with it." She said,' "How shall I clean myself with it, O Allah's Apostle?" The Prophet said, "Clean yourself" She said again, "How shall I clean myself, O Allah's Apostle?" The Prophet said, "Clean yourself with it." Then I knew what Allah's Apostle meant. So I pulled her aside and explained it to her.
Volume 1, Book 8, Number 367:
Narrated Abdul Aziz: Anas said, 'When Allah's Apostle invaded Khaibar, we offered the Fajr prayer there yearly in the morning) when it was still dark. The Prophet rode and Abu Talha rode too and I was riding behind Abu Talha. The Prophet passed through the lane of Khaibar quickly and my knee was touching the thigh of the Prophet . He uncovered his thigh and I saw the whiteness of the thigh of the Prophet. When he entered the town, he said, 'Allahu Akbar! Khaibar is ruined. Whenever we approach near a (hostile) nation (to fight) then evil will be the morning of those who have been warned.' He repeated this thrice. The people came out for their jobs and some of them said, 'Mohammed (has come).' (Some of our companions added, "With his army.") We conquered Khaibar, took the captives, and the booty was collected. Dihya came and said, 'O Allah's Prophet! Give me a slave girl from the captives.' The Prophet said, 'Go and take any slave girl.' He took Safiya bint Huyai. A man came to the Prophet and said, 'O Allah's Apostles! You gave Safiya bint Huyai to Dihya and she is the chief mistress of the tribes of Quraiza and An-Nadir and she befits none but you.' So the Prophet said, 'Bring him along with her.' So Dihya came with her and when the Prophet saw her, he said to Dihya, 'Take any slave girl other than her from the captives.' Anas added: The Prophet then manumitted her and married her."
Thabit asked Anas, "O Abu Hamza! What did the Prophet pay her (as Mahr)?" He said, "Her self was her Mahr for he manumitted her and then married her." Anas added, "While on the way, Um Sulaim dressed her for marriage (ceremony) and at night she sent her as a bride to the Prophet . So the Prophet was a bridegroom and he said, 'Whoever has

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

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 362:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 363:

Narrated Abu Huraira and Zaid bin Khalid:

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

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 570:

Narrated Al-Aswad:

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

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 572:

Narrated Anas:

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

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 364:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 378:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

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

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 435:

Narrated Zaid bin Khalid and Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 436:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 440:

Narrated Aun bin Abu Juhaifa:

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

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 483:

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

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 603:

Narrated Aisha:

Abu bin Zam'a and Sad bin Abi Waqqas carried the case of their claim of the (ownership) of the son of a slave-qirl of Zam'a before the Prophet. Sad said, "O Allah's Apostle! My brother, before his death, told me that when I would return (to Mecca), I should search for the son of the slave-girl of Zam'a and take him into my custody as he was his son." 'Abu bin Zam'a said, 'the is my brother and the son of the slave-girl of my father, and was born or my father's bed." The Prophet noticed a resemblance between Utba and the boy but he said, "O 'Abu bin Zam'a! You will get this boy, as the son goes to the owner of the bed. You, Sauda, screen yourself from the boy."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 710:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 720:

Narrated Abu Musa:

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

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 723:

Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ashari:

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

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 728:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 731:

Narrated Abu Huraira and Zaid bin Khalid:

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

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 765:

Narrated Kurib:

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

Volume 3, Book 49, Number 860:

Narrated Abu Huraira and Zaid bin Khalid Al-Juhani:

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

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 8:

Narrated Aisha:

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

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 255:

Narrated Abu Burda's father:

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

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 372:

Narrated Nafi:

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

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 578:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 655:

Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari:

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

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 678:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 236:

Narrated Hisham's father:

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

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Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:

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

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 97:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 529:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 20:

Narrated Abu Burda's father:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 22:

Narrated Anas:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 59:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 163:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 260:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 817:

Narrated Aisha :

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

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 151:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 600:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

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

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 629:

Narrated Abu Huraira and Zaid bin Khalid:

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

Volume 8, Book 79, Number 708:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 741:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 749:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

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

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 821:

Narrated Abu Huraira and Zaid bin Khalid:

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

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 822:

Narrated Abu Huraira and Said bin Khalid:

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

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 826:

Narrated Abu Huraira and Zaid bin Khalid:

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

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 101:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 303:

Narrated Abu Huraira and Zaid bin Khalid Al-Juhani:

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

Volume 9, Book 91, Number 365:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 432:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

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

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do that? It is better for you not to do it. No soul that which Allah has destined to exist, but will surely come into existence.

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 10:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 137:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

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

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 97:

Narrated Haritha bin Wahb:

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

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 325:

Narrated Kuraib:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 117:

Narrated Aisha:

Eleven women sat (at a place) and promised and contracted that they would not conceal anything of the news of their husbands. The first one said, "My husband is like the meat of a lean weak camel which is kept on the top of a mountain which is neither easy to climb, nor is the meat fat, so that one might put up with the trouble of fetching it." The second one said, "I shall not relate my husband's news, for I fear that I may not be able to finish his story, for if I describe him, I will mention all his defects and bad traits." The third one said, "My husband is a tall man; if I describe him (and he hears of that) he will divorce me, and if I keep quiet, he will neither divorce me nor treat me as a wife." The fourth one said, "My husband is a moderate person like the night of Tihama which is neither hot nor cold. I am neither afraid of him, nor am I discontented with him." The fifth one said, "My husband, when entering (the house) is a leopard, and when going out, is a lion. He does not ask about whatever is in the house." The sixth one said, "If my husband eats. he eats too much (leaving the dishes empty), and if he drinks he leaves nothing, and if he sleeps he sleeps alone (away from me) covered in garments and does not stretch his hands here and there so as to know how I fare (get along)." The seventh one said, "My husband is a wrong-doer or weak and foolish. All the defects are present in him. He may injure your head or your body or may do both." The eighth one said, "My husband is soft to touch like a rabbit and smells like a Zarnab (a kind of good smelling grass)." The ninth one said, "My husband is a tall generous man wearing a long strap for carrying his sword. His ashes are abundant and his house is near to the people who would easily consult him." The tenth one said, "My husband is Malik, and what is Malik? Malik is greater than whatever I say about him. (He is beyond and above all praises which can come to my mind). Most of his camels are kept at home (ready to be slaughtered for the guests) and only a few are taken to the pastures. When the camels hear the sound of the lute (or the tambourine) they realise that they are going to be slaughtered for the guests." The eleventh one said, "My husband is Abu Zar and what is Abu Zar (i.e., what should I say about him)? He has given me many ornaments and my ears are heavily loaded with them and my arms have become fat (i.e., I have become fat). And he has pleased me, and I have become so happy that I feel proud of myself. He found me with my family who were mere owners of sheep and living in poverty, and brought me to a respected family having horses and camels and threshing and purifying grain . Whatever I say, he does not rebuke or insult me. When I sleep, I sleep till late in the morning, and when I drink water (or milk), I drink my fill. The mother of Abu Zar and what may one say in praise of the mother of Abu Zar? Her saddle bags were always full of provision and her house was spacious. As for the son of Abu Zar, what may one say of the son of Abu Zar? His bed is as narrow as an unsheathed sword and an arm of a kid (of four months) satisfies his hunger. As for the daughter of Abu Zar, she is obedient to her father and to her mother. She has a fat well-built body and that arouses the jealousy of her husband's other wife. As for the (maid) slave girl of Abu Zar, what may one say of the (maid) slavegirl of Abu Zar? She does not uncover our secrets but keeps them, and does not waste our provisions and does not leave the rubbish scattered everywhere in our house." The eleventh lady added, "One day it so happened that Abu Zar went out at the time when the milk was being milked from the animals, and he saw a woman who had two sons like two leopards playing with her two breasts. (On seeing her) he divorced me and married her. Thereafter I married a noble man who used to ride a fast tireless horse and keep a spear in his hand. He gave me many things, and also a pair of every kind of livestock and said, 'Eat (of this), O Um Zar, and give provision to your relatives." She added, "Yet, all those things which my second husband gave me could not fill the smallest utensil of Abu Zar's." Aisha then said: Allah's Apostle said to me, "I am to you as Abu Zar was to his wife Um Zar."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 399:

Narrated Jafar bin Amr bin Umaiya:

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

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 430:

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

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 344:

Narrated Ali:

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

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 645:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 38:

Narrated Um Habiba:

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

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 89:

Narrated Anas:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 148:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 7, Book 64, Number 274:

Narrated Ali:

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

Volume 7, Book 64, Number 285:

Narrated Um Habiba:

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

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

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 409:

Narrated Ka'b:

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

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 410:

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

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 413:

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

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

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 757:

Narrated Aisha:

Sa'd bin Abi Waqqas and 'Abu bin Zam'a had a dispute over a boy. Sa'd said, "O Allah's Apostle! This (boy) is the son of my brother, Utba bin Abi Waqqas who told me to be his custodian as he was his son. Please notice to whom he bears affinity." And 'Abu bin Zam'a said, "This is my brother, O Allah's Apostle! He was born on my father's bed by his slave girl." Then the Prophet looked at the boy and noticed evident resemblance between him and Utba, so he said, "He (the toy) is for you, O 'Abu bin Zam'a, for the boy is for the owner of the bed, and the stone is for the adulterer. Screen yourself before the boy, O Sauda bint Zam'a." Aisha added: Since then he had never seen Sauda.

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 293:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 743:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 731:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

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

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 506:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

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

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 694:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

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

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 830:

Narrated Anas:

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

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 755:

Narrated Urwa from Aisha:

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

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 827:

Narrated Uqba bin Al-Harith:

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

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 170:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

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

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 237:

Narrated Um Salama:

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

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 228:

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

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 303:

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

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 322:

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

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 358:

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

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 245:

Narrated Aisha:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 796:

Narrated Aiman:

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

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 569:

Narrated Ibn Abbas :

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

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 269:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 421:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 3, Book 38, Number 500:

Narrated Ibn Ka'b bin Malik from his father:

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

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 719:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 736:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

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

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

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

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 803:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

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

Narrated Sad bin Abi Waqqas:

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

Narrated Sad bin Abi Waqqas:

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

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

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 124:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 2:

Narrated Ursa:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 62:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 95:

Narrated Urwa:

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

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 85:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 250:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

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

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 125:

Narrated Anas:

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

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 548:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad:

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

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 24:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad As-SaIdi:

A woman came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have come to give you myself in marriage (without Mahr)." Allah's Apostle looked at her. He looked at her carefully and fixed his glance on her and then lowered his head. When the lady saw that he did not say anything, she sat down. A man from his companions got up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! If you are not in need of her, then marry her to me." The Prophet said, "Have you got anything to offer?" The man said, "No, by Allah, O Allah's Apostle!" The Prophet said (to him), "Go to your family and see if you have something." The man went and returned, saying, "No, by Allah, I have not found anything." Allah's Apostle said, "(Go again) and look for something, even if it is an iron ring." He went again and returned, saying, "No, by Allah, O Allah's Apostle! I could not find even an iron ring, but this is my Izar (waist sheet)." He had no rida. He added, "I give half of it to her." Allah's Apostle said, "What will she do with your Izar? If you wear it, she will be naked, and if she wears it, you will be naked." So that man sat down for a long while and then got up (to depart). When Allah's Apostle saw him going, he ordered that he be called back. When he came, the Prophet said, "How much of the Koran do you know?" He said, "I know such Sura and such Sura," counting them. The Prophet said, "Do you know them by heart?" He replied, "Yes." The Prophet said, "Go, I marry her to you for that much of the Koran which you have."

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 70:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 103:

Narrated Urwa on the authority of Aisha:

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

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 155:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 730:

Narrated Aisha:

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

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 754:

Narrated Aisha:

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

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

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IMMIGRATION IN ISLAMIC DOCTRINE AND HISTORY

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Estimated Range of Dating: 2010

Hijra is the Islamic doctrine of Jihad by migration.

Hijra is a political tactic Mohammed used to conquest a Kafir (non-Muslim) country.

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

Dualism

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

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

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

Hijra

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

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

Immigration to Islamic Countries

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

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

Jihad

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

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

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

Immigration to non-Islamic Countries

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mohammed as the Perfect Example

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

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

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

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

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

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

The House of Islam and the House of War

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

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

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

Tactics

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

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

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

Conclusion

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

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

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

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• One of the essential resources was the primary Islamic political doctrine that can be found in the Koran, Sira and Hadith (we used the Hadith of Sahih Bukhari and Sahih Muslim, which are regarded as the most reliable resources).

MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT ISLAM

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Islam ran the wholesale slave trade in Africa. Slavery after the conquest of the Americas in the 16th century has been a two-end business: Muslim and Western customers on one end, Muslim slave hunters and traders on the other end; those were the only ones familiar with the African environment. Thomas Sowell [in his book Race and Culture, Basic Books, 1994, p. 188] estimates that 11 million slaves were shipped across the Atlantic and 14 million were sent to the Islamic nations of North Africa and the Middle East. For every slave captured many others died. Estimates of this collateral damage vary. The renowned missionary David Livingstone estimated that for every slave who reached a plantation, five others were killed in the initial raid or died of illness and privation on the forced march. [Woman's Presbyterian Board of Missions, David Livingstone, p. 62, 1888] Those who were left behind were the very young, the weak, the sick and the old. These soon died since the main providers had been killed or enslaved. Even when we estimate only one family member killed for one single slave, it would double the number of victims. So, for 25 million slaves delivered to the markets on the West African coast, we have an estimated death toll of about 50 million to 120 million Africans.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Captivity and rape is condoned in the Koran and hadiths.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Let's not forget female slaves "whom your right hand possess" who suffer even more with legal and sanctioned rapes.

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

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

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

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

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

Racism towards non-believers and blacks is inbred in Islam due to the Arabs being Allah's chosen people.

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

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

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

From their testimony, a woman is worth half that of a man, to the inheritance of a woman is half that of a man, to the mandatory covering of women, to Mohammad's statement that he has seen hell and the majority of dwellers were women, the female gender is nothing more than the property of her father and then her husband. "Honour" killing is commonplace in most Muslim countries and rarely punished (if so, very lightly). Honour killing is justified in Sharia law. Watch "Honour Diaries". A man can sleep with and beat as many women as he can, he can be as corrupt and as murderous as he can be, but he can still be viewed as an honorable man since the honour of their men is between their women's legs. Fathers, brothers, and uncles can clean their tarnished names with a slit of their knives. Even if their women have been raped, in their societies, the shame of being raped is greater than the rape itself and sometimes the family forces the victim to marry her rapist. Then there is the extreme fascination with virginity since in heaven, they only speak of virgins in the plural and that they "grow a new growth" where the virginity is restored every time. Koran 056.034 "On couches or thrones raised high. Verily, We have created them (maidens) incomparable: We have formed their maidens as a special creation, and made them to grow a new growth. We made them virgins—pure and undefiled, lovers, matched in age."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sira Ishaq: 584 "Tell the men with you who have wives: never trust a woman."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The practice is rooted in the hadith version of the story of Sarah & Abraham. Since a woman is considered filthy during her period, Tafsir Tabari 1: 298 "The Black Stone (Ka'aba) which was originally whiter than snow… " Tafsir Tabari 1: 303 "Turned black because it was fingered by menstruating women.", Abraham instructed his slave and concubine, Hagar, not to touch the water from the well during her period. She retrieved the water, nonetheless, and as a punishment, Sarah cut her clitoris off. This is the root reason why many Muslim countries support FGM. It is also the reason that over 95% of tens of millions of victims of FGM are Muslim.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Koran 61:4 “Surely Allah loves those who fight in His Cause.”

Sira Ishaq:315 If you do not surrender to Islam, then you will live to regret it. You will be shamed in Hell, forced to wear a garment of molten pitch forever!”

8th surah “O Prophet, urge the faithful to fight. If there are twenty among you with determination they will vanquish two hundred; if there are a hundred then they will kill a thousand Infidels, for they are a people devoid of understanding.”

4th surah: “Those who barter their life in this world for the next should fight in the way of Allah; whether he is killed or victorious, a glorious reward awaits.” “Seize them and kill them wherever they are.” “Muslims who sit idle are not equal to those who fight in Allah’s Cause with their wealth and lives. Allah has exalted those who fight for Islam.”

Sira Ishaq: 587 “Our onslaught will not be a weak faltering affair. We shall fight as long as we live. We will fight until you turn to Islam, humbly seeking refuge. We will fight not caring whom we meet. We will fight whether we destroy ancient holdings or newly gotten gains. We have mutilated every opponent. We have driven them violently before us at the command of Allah and Islam. We will fight until our religion is established. And we will plunder them, for they must suffer disgrace.”

Tafsir Tabari 9: 69 “Arabs were the first to respond to the call of the Prophet. We are Allah’s helpers and the viziers of His Messenger. We fight people until they believe in Allah. He who believes in Allah and His Messenger has protected his life and possessions from us. As for one who disbelieves, we will fight him forever in the Cause of Allah. Killing him is a small matter to us.”

Bukhari: V4B52N220 “Allah’s Apostle said, ‘I have been made victorious with terror. The treasures of the world were brought to me and put in my hand.’”

Koran 47:4 “When you clash with the unbelieving Infidels in battle (fighting Jihad), smite their necks until you overpower them, killing and wounding many of them. At length, when you have thoroughly subdued them, bind them firmly, making (them) captives. Thereafter either generosity or ransom until the war lays down its burdens. Thus are you commanded by Allah to continue carrying out Jihad against the unbelieving infidels until they submit to Islam

Koran 9:5 “Fight and kill the disbelievers wherever you find them, take them captive, harass them, lie in wait and ambush them using every stratagem of war

Koran 8:12 "I will cast terror into the hearts of those who disbelieve. Therefore strike off their heads and strike off every fingertip of them"

Sira Ishaq: 369 “The Jews were in a state of fear on account of our attack upon them. The Prophet declared, ‘Kill every Jew who falls into your hands.’”

ISLAM RESPECTS OTHER RELIGIONS. A BLATENT LIE! - ALLAH COMMANDS TO SUBJUGATE THEM, THIS IS WHAT ISLAM MEANS: SUBMIT!

The most dangerous word in the world is "Kafir" (infidel). The weight of the word has been lost for 1000 years in other languages, but in Arabic, the weight of the word means that you are below an animal and a subhuman. So potent is the insult that Allah calls non-believers kafirs. It is the reason why Muslims can kill non-Muslims and sleep well at night. You will never see a Muslim with PTSD (Post Traumatic Stress Disorder). All soldiers are taught to dehumanize their enemies to make killing easier. But since a soldier usually starts at 18, the first part of his life is to respect human life. A Muslim, since they were children, are taught that kafirs are subhuman and so engrained with this thinking, that killing non-Muslims is a matter of pride. Muslims who are collateral damage will enjoy the fruits of heaven.

If you wondered how Muslims can target and kill innocent children such as the 300 children in Beslan, Russia or have such coldness in their eyes as they weed out the Christians in the mall massacre in Nairobi, or the up and close stabbings of 30 Chinese by Muslim Uighurs (who made it all the way to Mosul to kill Christians) in Kunming, or of the thousands of attacks on non-believers at New York, Boston, Madrid, London, and Paris, you now know that the hate starts when, all their lives, they hear their parents and family members speaking of the “dirty kafirs”.

Christians are treated as second class citizens, left to do only dirty jobs and forced to live in slums such as cleaning garbage in Egypt or cleaning sewers in Pakistan. If you are curious at how Christians, Hindus, or Buddhists are treated in Muslim countries, just type the minority and Muslim country in YouTube, such as “Christians” and “Pakistan”.

If you are a Christian or Jew, you have three options. Convert, die, or pay a “protection tax” called the Jizyah. The extortion fee is almost equal to 3.5 grams of silver for each child and adult, a cash cow to Muslims. Even so, tens of thousands of Christian children were kidnapped by neighbors or used by the Turks for their harems and as janissary soldiers.

If you are a Buddhist, Hindu, Zoroastrian, Yezidi, or other, you were limited to two choices. Death or conversion. If you look at a map of Muslim countries, they are devoid of these religions by completely wiping them out.

Koran 5:051 “Believers, take not Jews and Christians for your friends. They are friends to each other. He who befriends them becomes (one) of them. Lo! Allah guides not wrongdoing folk?”

Koran 2:221 Do not marry unbelieving women (idolaters), until they believe: A slave woman who believes is better than an unbelieving woman, even though she allures you. Nor marry (your girls) to unbelievers until they believe: A man slave who believes is better than an unbeliever, even though he allures you.

Koran 9:29 “Fight against those People of the Book [Jews and Christians] who do not follow what Allah and His Messenger (Muhammad) acknowledge as the true religion (Islam), nor accept Our law, until they pay the Jizya [tribute tax] in submission, and feel themselves subdued."

Sira Ishaq: 240 “The Jews are a treacherous, lying, and evil people

Tafsir Tabari 9:75 “He who holds fast to his religion, Judaism or Christianity, is not to be tempted from it.” This is because the Jizyah tax is much more profitable than the Zakat tax. “It is incumbent on them to pay the jizyah protection tax. For every adult, male or female, free or slave, one full denarius [about 3.5 grams of silver], or its value in alma’afir [fine cloth]. He who pays that to the Messenger has the protection of Allah and His Messenger, and he who holds back from it is the enemy of Allah and His Messenger.”

Koran 8:55 “Verily the worst of creatures, the vilest of beasts in the sight of Allah, are those who reject Him and will not believe.”

ALLAH IS THE SAME AS THE JEWISH GOD OR THE CHRISTIAN GOD. JEWS AND CHRISTIANS WOULD SAY NO!

The biggest lie that is perpetrated is that Allah is the same as the Christian god or the Jewish god. The war cry, Allahu Ukbar DOES NOT mean “God is great”. It means “Allah is greatest/greater”. God in Arabic is “Ilah”. The ISIS flag and the Saudi flag does not say “There is no god but god”. That doesn't even make sense. They say there is “no god but Allah”. Allah is the name of their god. The same as the Old Testament name, Yahweh or the Greek God, Zeus. If someone kills an innocent person and yells “Zeus is greatest”, it is a declaration that all other gods are inferior. There are hundreds of references that show the difference in the Koran like Koran 20:14 “Verily, I am Allah. No Ilah (god) may be worshiped but I.” A shudder of fear comes into any person of a minority religion after they hear these words, for there are no people of minority religions that haven’t been touched by Muslim violence. Also, the trinity is completely rejected by Muslims, so this statement is complete nonsense. Also the Christian god is based on love while the Muslim god is based on fear.

Two things are yelled during the murders of innocents to physiologically eliminate the guilt a human would feel with killing another human. One is “Allahu Akbar” because they would be doing the killing in their god’s cause. The other is “Kafir”. In Arabic, this means “infidel”. The weight of this word has been lost in English for a millennium. However, in Arabic, it is the worst possible word that you can be called or to call someone. It means that you are inhuman and deserve death. There are hundreds of surahs in the Koran that belittles unbelievers who are not worthy of life. Any non-Muslim is considered a kafir. Koran 005:072 “They are surely Infidels who say Christ, the Messiah is God.” “Kafir” is the world’s most dangerous word. It is the reason that Muslims are able to kill innocent people and then sleep well at night. The same as a butcher cuts (and commonly the same method) the throat of a sheep, Muslims view of kafirs is that they are just animals worthy of death. You will never see a Muslim with PTSD (Post Traumatic Stress Disorder). Koran 005.073 “They are surely disbelievers who blaspheme and say: ‘God is one of three in the Trinity for there is no ilah (god) except One, Allah. If they desist not from saying this, verily a grievous penalty will befall them.”

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The brainwashing of Muslims start before they can speak. It is a place of honor to whisper into a newborn child's ear that Mohammad is god's messenger. Also the brainwashing included their parents and family's insults of kafirs and Allah's superiority. Where if a Westerner soldier kills even a guilty Muslim or accidentally kills a bystander, that soldier is affected his whole life and suffers PTSD. A Muslim who targets innocent people is treated as a hero and worshiped. The family of those who are killed during the killing of innocent people are praised and the house is full of congratulations as if it was a wedding. The word Martyr in Islam is completely twisted than that in every other part of the world. Instead of dying for a cause (or witness), it means dying while killing for Islam.

Koran 2:10 "As for those who deny Islam…they shall be the faggots for the Fire of Hell." Islam's god is a spirit of an entirely different color.

Koran 005.072 "They are surely Infidels who say Christ, the Messiah is God."

Koran 005.072 "They are surely infidels who blaspheme and say: 'God is Christ, the Messiah.' But the Messiah only said: 'Children of Israel! Worship Allah.' Lo! Whoever joins other gods with Allah or says He has a partner, Allah has forbidden Paradise, and Hell will be his abode."

Koran 005.073 "They are surely disbelievers who blaspheme and say: 'God is one of three in the Trinity for there is no ilah (god) except One, Allah. If they desist not from saying this, verily a grievous penalty will befall them."

Koran 5:46 "beware of them [Christians] lest they beguile you, seducing you away from any of that which Allah has sent down to you. And if they turn you away [from Islam], be assured that for their crime it is Allah's purpose to smite them."

MUSLIMS BELIEVE IN JESUS. YES! - BUT IN THEIR OWN JESUS CALLED ISA, WHO WAS A PROPHET, NOT THE SON OF GOD!

In an effort to lead the kafirs to view Islam as similar to Christianity, they will tell you that Muslims believe in Jesus but won't mention that they believe Jesus was only a prophet in the same level as Noah. Also, they will not tell you that they don't believe he was crucified, was resurrected, or is part of the trinity.

Jesus' crucifixion was attested by over a hundred people including the Jewish historian, Josephus. Six centuries later, Mohammad claimed that another person died in his place and that the Christians and Muslims will unite to kill the Jews and at the end, Jesus will condemn the Christians. Even Jews believe he was crucified, but neither of them believes in his resurrection which makes Jews believe in Jesus more that Muslims. Also, Mohammad even claims to have met Jesus.

They also believe that the Christians and the Muslims will unite to kill the Jews and even the rocks will come to life telling the Muslim to come and kill the Jew hiding behind it. And that Jesus will judge the Christians with by the laws of the Koran and not the gospels. Bukhari:V4B52N177 "Allah's Apostle said, 'The Hour will not be established until you fight with the Jews, and the stone behind which a Jew will be hiding will say. "O Muslim! There is a Jew hiding behind me, so kill him."'"

Bukhari:V4B55N657 "Allah's Messenger said, 'Isa (Jesus), the son of Mariam, will shortly descend amongst you Muslims and will judge mankind by the law of the Koran. He will break the cross and kill the swine [Jews] and there will be no Jizyah tax taken from non-Muslims. Money will be so abundant no one will accept it. So you may recite this Holy Verse: "Isa (Jesus) was just a human being before his death. On the Day of Resurrection he (Jesus) will be a witness against the Christians."'"

Koran 004.157 "'We killed the Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary,' but they killed him not, nor crucified him. But it appeared so to them (as another man who was killed instead of Him). Nay, Allah raised him up unto Himself. Those who differ with this version are full of doubts. They have no knowledge and follow nothing but conjecture. For surely they killed him not."

Koran 004.171 "O people of the Book (Christians), do not be fanatical in your faith, and say nothing but the truth about Allah. The Messiah who is Isa (Jesus), son of Mariam, was only a messenger of Allah, nothing more. He bestowed His Word on Mariam and His Spirit. So believe in Allah and say not Trinity for Allah is one Ilah (God)…"

Koran 004.159 "And there is none of the People of the Book but will believe in him (Jesus as only a messenger of Allah and a human being) before his (Jesus') death. He will be a witness against them."

Bukhari:V4B55N658 "Allah's Apostle said 'How will you be when the son of Mary descends amongst you and he will judge people by the Law of the Koran and not by the law of Gospel.'"

Bukhari:V4B55N646 "The Prophet shared, 'I met Jesus.' The Prophet described him saying, 'He was one of moderate height and was red-faced as if he had just come out of a bathroom.'"

MUSLIMS ARE ALWAYS VICTIMISED BY ISLAMOPHOBIA. ISLAM IS THE CREATOR OF THE TERM ISLAMOPHBIA!

The crusades are portrayed as Christians invading Muslim lands and thus Muslims are victims but it is never mentioned how the lands became Islamic. The first crusade began in 1095 A.D. after 300 years of "crescades" that had conquered lands from India and China (Battle of Talas - 751) to North Africa to Spain. This, in addition to the fury over the complete destruction, to the foundation, of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1009 and other churches by the Muslims and the extreme suppression of the Christians and Jews, including being forced to wear distinguishable clothing and being forced to ride donkeys backwards (it was illegal for kafirs to own horses). By the time the crusades started, millions have been killed and forced into conversion and slavery. Europe's response was minuscule compared to the aggression of the Muslim armies. What Europe didn't know during the times of the crusades, that when the Turks took over the caliphate, the conquering would be much more vast and worse. The fall of Constantinople (accelerated by the 4th crusade) was a tragedy to human kind and that England and Germany chose to help maintain the Muslims rather than have the country return to the Orthodox owners.

They also attribute their victimization to the Palestinians while most of the violent history was already committed before Israel's creation in 1948. Wahhabism started in 18th century. The Muslim Brotherhood started in 1928. The Armenian genocide, Bulgarian genocide, Hindu genocide, Serbian genocide, Maronite genocide, Assyrian genocide, Coptic genocide, Jewish genocide, Greek genocide, and countless others were committed before the creation of Israel.

Even now, what Muslims do to the minorities of the East is rarely mentioned, and before 9/11, completely ignored. Minorities who are victims are silenced and called intolerant if they mention what Muslims have done, thereby double victimizing them. In the West a beheading while screaming Allahu Akbar is considered workplace violence and mass shooting of gays is considered a homophobic act and swept under the politically correct rug, Muslims even claim that more of their own people are killed, but that is a paltry amount compared to the amount of kafirs that have been killed in history. Wahhabi Sunnis are doing the killing if they are not the right kind of Muslim or are considered hypocrites, heretics, or follow non-Islamic behavior so they don't even believe they are killing Muslims. Shia, Sufis, Ahmadiyyas, Druze, and Alawites are not doing the killing.

The Turks, who conquered so much European land and enslaved countless Europeans and filled their harams with their captured women and emptied out vast stretches of land as in Romania and Hungary, now cry Islamophobia when they can't join the E.U. or have open borders.

Even pointing out the violent quotes of the Koran and the Hadiths and the violence in their prophet's actions and their current followers marks that person as intolerant and islamophobic and in Europe and Canada leads to fines and jail. At least groups like ISIS or the Muslim Brotherhood (or hundreds more) are honest and they tell and do like it truly is and point out their scriptures and prophet's history.

The only thing different from ISIS and Mohammad and his army is social media. But other groups will use taqiya to deceive Westerners and say that ISIS and Al Shabab do not represent Islam but in fact do and they are unapologetic about it. Which makes ISIS more honest than CAIR.

One glance at the map and you can see what the crusades faced and the reason for the response.

By the time the Turks took over the caliphate, almost a third of the known world was conquered by Islam.

WHAT DOES ISLAM SAY ABOUT HOMOSEXUALITY?

Generally speaking, Homosexuals seldom can be considered religious. This has a reason. Most religious teachings do not accept "wickedness and sexual misconduct" and practised homosexual activities definitely belong to sexual misconduct. It is deemed a mortal sin. The majority of religious books are very clear about it, so for examle the Torah in the Old Testament says:

Do not lie with a man as one lies with a woman; that is detestable. (Leviticus 18:22, New International Version)

Islam does not tolerate homosexuality at all, because there are teachings in the Koran which declare that it is unnatural and against the will of Allah:

"And as for the two of you men who are guilty of lewdness, punish them both. And if they repent and improve, then let them be. Lo! Allah is Merciful." [Koran 4:16]

Most schools of Sharia Law view homosexual practices as serious crime deserving the same punishment as adultery, meaning: it carries the death penalty.

What does this mean in practice?

Some Islamic states impose the death penalty on people caught taking part in homosexual acts. In the UK, there are Muslims who are openly homosexual. Although they are protected by European anti-discrimination laws, they sometimes face strong opposition from fellow Muslims and within their own families.

Some new laws, such as gay marriage and gender politics in general, are considered too liberal by almost all orthodox religious groups. Temsions between the two world views, the traditional wiews as well as the liberal views are mounting and one day might explode around all our ears.

SLAVERY IN ISLAM

Slavery is one of the must shameful and disgusting aspects of Islam and its scripture. Being aware of this fact, Muslims deliberately tell falsehoods and lies about slavery in Islamic doctrines which are based on the Koran, the Sira, and the Hadith. And if they do not tell Westerners blatent lies, then they at least keep silent about this topic like in the translation of the following book, the Umdat al Salik translated into English by the American Muslim Nuh Ha Mim Keller. He simply did not translate the slavery passages of the Islamic scripture in order not to further compromise the already bad reputation of Islam.

Supply of slaves has two distinct sources: (1st) Captured slaves in a war, and (2nd) slavery as punishment for a crime in which the convict has to repent by penal service. The war slaves were used as rowers of the galleys or in mines, the convicts were used in private households. Then the men were castrated. The women of either of those groups were used as sex-slaves either privately or in whore houses. Slaves had to be young and healthy. In other words: old, frail, or otherwise inable humans were invariably executed, often right on the spot of capture.

Slavery in Islam began in the 7th century with Mohammed already. We know that he had slaves, particular sex-slaves. His successors got their slaves from the conquered territories of the Roman Empire, Spain and the Balkans, the Persian Empire, from India, Central Asia, and from China. Islamic slave traders ventured to the European coasts and even into the North Sea raiding towns in the British Isles, in France, and the German Lowlands.

From the 9th to the 12th centuries, the Vikings were hunting for slaves in France, Germany, Russia. The Mongol invasions and conquests from the 12th to the 14th centuries also resulted in taking numerous captives into slavery from Persia, India, Russia, and China. Slave commerce during the Late Middle Ages was mainly in the hands of Venetian and Genoese merchants and cartels, who were involved in the slave trade with the Golden Horde from 1100 to 1500. Nobody kept their hands clean. That is why nobody today really wants to talk about it.

The Muslim slave business came to a sudden end in 1815 when the United States Navy smashed the fleets of the Islamic Barbary states [present-day Libya, Tunisia, and Algeria] in North Africa between the years 1801 and 1815. Thomas Jefferson created the US-Navy precisely for this purpose in the previous years. He had read the Koran due to the Muslim Barbary attacks on American trading ships and selling the captured crew into slavery. He now knew why they did it, and also why the young American nation had to pay Jizya tribute to the Barbary states.

Islam ran the wholesale slave trade in Africa. Slavery after the conquest of the Americas in the 16th century has been a two-end business: Muslim and Western customers on one end, Muslim slave hunters and traders on the other end; those were the only ones familiar with the African environment. Thomas

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Sowell [in his book Race and Culture, BasicBooks, 1994, p. 188] estimates that 11 million slaves were shipped across the Atlantic and 14 million were sent to the Islamic nations of North Africa and the Middle East. For every slave captured many others died. Estimates of this collateral damage vary. The renowned missionary David Livingstone estimated that for every slave who reached a plantation, five others were killed in the initial raid or died of illness and privation on the forced march.[Woman's Presbyterian Board of Missions, David Livingstone, p. 62, 1888] Those who were left behind were the very young, the weak, the sick and the old. These soon died since the main providers had been killed or enslaved. Even when we estimate only one family member was killed for one single slave, it would double the number of victims. So, for 25 million slaves delivered to the markets on the West African coast, we have an estimated death toll of about 50 million to 120 million Africans.

With the genocidal murders and enslavements committed by the Muslims of ISIS [also known as ISIL or Islamic State], slavery takes its modern twist. Slavery has been documented in recent years, despite its illegality, in Muslim-majority countries in Africa including Chad, Mauretania, Niger, Mali, and Sudan. In 2014, Islamic Jihadist groups in the Middle East (ISIS) and Northern Nigeria (Boko Haram) have not only justified the taking of slaves in war but actually enslaved women and girls.

According to media reports from late 2014, the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) was selling Yazidi and Christian women as slaves. According to Haleh Esfandiari of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, after ISIL militants have captured an area they "usually take the older women to a makeshift slave market and try to sell them." In mid-October 2014, the UN estimated that 5,000 to 7,000 Yazidi women and children were abducted by ISIL and sold into slavery. In the digital magazine Dabiq, ISIL claimed religious justification for enslaving Yazidi women whom they consider to be from a heretical sect. ISIL claimed that the Yazidi are idol worshipers and their enslavement is part of the old shariah practice of spoils of war. According to The Wall Street Journal, ISIL appeals to apocalyptic beliefs and claims "justification by a Hadith that they interpret as portraying the revival of slavery as a precursor to the end of the world".

ISIL announced the revival of slavery as an institution. In 2015 the official slave prices set by ISIL were following:

- Children aged 1 to 9 were sold for 200,000 dinars ($169).
- Women and children 10 to 20 years sold for 150,000 dinars ($127).
- Women 20 to 30 years old for 100,000 dinar ($85).
- Women 30 to 40 years old are 75,000 dinar ($63).
- Women 40 to 50 years old for 50,000 dinar ($42).

However some slaves have been sold for as little as a pack of cigarettes. Sex slaves were sold to Saudi Arabia, other Persian Gulf states and Turkey. See also Wikipedia articles: Ma malakat aymanukum [The most common term in the Koran to refer to slaves, in particular to sex-slaves, is the expression ma malakat aymanukum, meaning "those whom your right hands possess."]; History of slavery in the Muslim world; Sexual slavery in Islam; Slavery in 21st-century jihadism; Human rights in ISIL-controlled territory; ISIL slave trade; Islamic views on slavery; Slave trade, Genocide of Yazidis by ISIL; Sexual slavery, Sexual jihad, Sexual slavery, Middle East, Sexual violence in the Iraqi insurgency, and Slavery in 21st-century Islamism.

The largest community in the World that could resist, is the Roman Catholic Church. But again, after the disgraceful silence of the Church in World War I, the shameful absense in World War II, the Church members, and also the non-Christians on the Right and on the Left, in the Western World are wallowing in the ideological filth of Political Correctness and Woke instead of standing up for the righteousness taught by Jesus Christ. Christ and his righteousness is dead, and the Muslims sense it. How can these complacent Western people look into the mirror seeing their own ugly face of cowardess, while their brothers and sisters are raped, murdered, and enslaved by Islam?

And how about the so-called "peaceful" and "moderate" Muslims? How can they willingly support a civilisation of hatred, created in Medina, that kills hundreds of thousands of their very own Umma-fellowmen and -women? How can they follow the lies, distortions, and immoralities of a someone who promised them a sensual paradise after death, but inevitably lead to the death sentence of their own civilisation? How can such a person view themself in the mirror seeing endless suffering and the ugly face of death of their own brothers and sisters around them, while the teachers and disciples of that someone work for their own good, depriving their own people of any future? Do they not see the disgusting cowardness like their Western counterpart? Suppression, oppression, subjugation, submission, distortion, execution, murder, dictatorship, cruely, mercilessness - subjugating half of their bearing population - is that really all they know? Where and who is Allah the merciful and compassionate?

THE MANUAL TO SHARIA LAW
or Reliance of the Traveller (Migrant)
or Umdat al-Salik
by Ahmad ibn Naqib al-Misri (1302–1368 AD)
Translation: Nuh Ha Mim Keller, 1991

(Umdat al-Salik wa Uddat an-Nasik, in English: "Reliance of the Traveller and Tools of the Worshipper", better known by its shorter title "Reliance of the Traveller" is a classical manual of Islamic jurisprudence. The word "traveller" does not refer to its modern connotation, such as 'holiday maker' or 'vacation voyager'; it focusses more on the Islamic migrant as migration to non-Muslim societies [in order to Islamise them] is an Islamic doctrine coming directly from Mohammed. The author of the main text is 14th-century scholar Shihabuddin Abu al-Abbas Ahmad ibn an-Naqib al-Misri (1302–1368 AD / 702-769 AH). Al-Misri based his work on the previous Shafi'i works of Imam Nawawi and Imam Abu Ishaq as-Shirazi, following the order of Shirazi's al-Muhadhdhab (The Rarefaction) and the conclusions of Nawawi's Minhaj at-Talibin (The Seeker's Road).

Umdat al-Salik was translated into English by the American Muslim scholar Nuh Ha Mim Keller in 1991 and became the first translation of a standard Islamic legal reference in a European language to be certified by Al-Azhar. The translation comprises 26 sections titled according to the letters of the English alphabet, Book A, Book B, Book C, etc. Books A through C contain introductory material forming a guide to fiqh compiled by Keller. Books D through O correspond to the original work of al-Misri, commencing with an "Author's Introduction". Following are translations of eight shorter works - Books P through V - which address topics such as personal ethics, character, and traditional Islamic Sufism, and include famous classical texts such as Al-Ghazzali's Ihya'ulum al-din and Nawawi's Riyadh as-Saaliheen.

Attention: Certain sections of the book [such as slavery] were deliberately left untranslated although the original Arabic text is retained. It is said, Keller considered them "irrelevant to modern societies." In reality, it was a political decision, inspired by Keller's Islamic convictions, because these parts include doctrine on slavery, describing the rights and duties of slaves and their masters. Being an American, and looking back on slavery in the United States, Keller was well aware of the fact how repellent those sections must be to readers with any western background. This omitting does not mean that slavery has been abolished by Islam. On the contrary. Due to the fact that the "perfect man" Mohammed (THE role model for any true Mohammedan) possessed slaves, including sex slaves, slavery has neither been condemned nor officially abolished by Islam, nor will it ever be abolished because slavery is part of the Koran, the "perfect book" that cannot be changed, edited or reformed in any way. In most Islamic countries, slavery is currently not openly enforced and only has been suspended for the time being. Also not translated were some smaller sections such as, for example, a discussion on fixing utensils using gold. The 4 last books are not displayed here: Book W: Notes and Appendices, Book X: Biographical Notes, Book Y: Works Cited, Book Z: Indices.)

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BOOK A - SACRED KNOWLEDGE

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a1.0 THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOOD AND BAD

a1.1 (Abd al-Wahhab Khallaf:) There is no disagreement among the scholars of the Muslims that the source of legal rulings for all the acts of those who are morally responsible is Allah Most Glorious.

a1.2 The question arises. Is it possible for the mind alone, unaided by Allah's messengers and revealed scriptures, to know rulings, such that someone not reached by a prophet's invitation would be able through his own reason to know Allah's rule concerning his actions? Or is this impossible?

a1.3 The position of the Asharis, the followers of Abul Hasan Ash'ari, is that the mind is unable to know the rule of Allah about the acts of those morally responsible except by means of His messengers and inspired books. For minds are in obvious disagreement about acts. Some minds find certain acts good, others find them bad. Moreover, one person can be of two minds about one and the same action. Caprice often wins out over the intellect, and considering something good or bad comes to be based on mere whim. So it cannot be said that an act which the mind deems good is therefore good in the eyes of Allah, its performance called for and its doer rewarded by Allah; or that whatever the mind feels to be bad

is thus bad in the eyes of Allah, its nonperformance called for and its doer punished by Allah.

a1.4 The basic premise of this school of thought is that the good of the acts of those morally

responsible is what the Lawgiver (syn. Allah or His messenger (Allah bless him and give him peace) has indicated is good by permitting it or asking it be done. And the bad is what the Lawgiver has indicated is bad by asking it not be done. The good is not what reason considers good, nor the bad what reason considers bad. The measure of good and bad, according to this school of thought, is the sacred Law not reason (dis:W3).

a1.5 According to this school, a person is not morally obligated by Allah to do or refrain from anything unless the invitation of a prophet and what Allah has legislated have reached him (n:w4 discusses Islam's relation to previous prophets' laws). No one is rewarded for doing something or punished for refraining from or doing something until he knows by means of Allah's messengers. What he is obliged to do or obliged to refrain from. So whoever lives in such complete isolation that the summons of a prophet and his Sacred Law do not reach him is not morally responsible to Allah for anything and deserves neither reward nor punishment. And those who lived in one of the intervals after the death of a prophet and before a new one had been sent were not responsible for anything and deserve neither reward nor punishment. This view is confirmed by the word of Allah Most High. "We do not punish until we send a messenger" (Koran 17:15). (.Ilm usul al-fiqh (y71) 96-98)

a2.1 THE SUPERIORITY OF SACRED KNOWLEDGE OVER DEVOTIONS

a2.1 (Nawawi:) Allah most High says:

(1) "Say, Are those who know and those who do not know equal?'" (Koran 39:9).

(2) "Only the knowledgeable of His slaves fear Allah" (koran 35:28).

(3) "Allah raises those of you who believe and those who have been given knowledge whole degrees" (Koran 58:11).

a2.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace)said:

(1) "Whoever Allah wishes well, He gives knowledge of religion."

(2) "The superiority of the learned Muslim over the devotee is as my superiority over the least of you." Then the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "Allah and His angels, the inhabitants of the heavens and the earth, the very

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ant in its anthill and the fish bless those who teach people what is good."

(3) "When a human being dies his work comes to an end except for three things: ongoing charity, knowledge benefited from, or a pious son who prays for him."

(4) "A single learned Muslim is harder on the Devil than a thousand worshippers."

(5) "Whoever travels a path seeking knowledge Allah makes easy for him a path to paradise.

"Angels lower their wings for the seeker of knowledge out of pleasure in what he seeks.

"Those in the heavens and the earth, and the very fish in the water ask Allah to forgive the person endowed with Sacred Knowledge. "The superiority of the learned Muslim over the devotee is like the devotee is like the superiority of the moon over all the stars. "The learned are the heirs of the prophets. The prophets have not bequeathed dinar nor dirham, but have only left Sacred Knowledge, and whoever takes it has taken an enormous share."

(6) "He who calls others to guidance shall receive the like of the reward of those who follow him without this diminishing their own reward in the slightest. And he who calls others to misguidance shall bear the like of the sins of those who follow him without this diminishing their own sins."

(7) "He who goes forth to seek Sacred Knowledge is in the way of Allah [syn jihad def:09] until he returns."

(8) "This world and what is in it are accursed [dis: w5] except for the remembrance of Allah, that which Allah loves, someone with Sacred Knowledge or someone learning it."

a2.3 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (Allah be well pleased with him) said, "The religious scholar is greater in reward than the fighter in the way of Allah who fasts the day and prays the night."

a2.4 Abu Darda' (Allah be well pleased with him) said, "Teaching Sacred Knowledge for a brief time is better than spending a night in prayer."

a2.5 Yahya ibn Abi Kathir said, "Studying Sacred Knowledge is a prayer."

a2.6 Sufyan al-Thawri and Shafi'i said, "There is nothing after what is obligatory that is superior to seeking Sacred Knowledge."

a2.7 (Nawawi:) There are similar statements from whole groups of early Muslims I have not mentioned that are like those I have quoted, the upshot of which is that they concur that devoting one's time to Sacred Knowledge is better than devoting it to voluntary fasting or prayer, better than saying "Subhan Allah" (lit. "Exalted is Allah above any limitation"), or other supererogatory devotions. Among the proofs for this, besides the foregoing, is that:

(1) the benefit of Sacred Knowledge affects both its possessor and the Muslims, while the above mentioned supererogatory works are confined to oneself;

(2) Sacred Knowledge validates, so other acts of worship require it, though not vice versa;

(3) scholars are the heirs of the prophets, while devotees are not characterized as such;

(4) the devote follows the scholar, being led by and imitating him in worship and other acts, obeying him being obligatory and not the other way around;

(5) the benefit and effect of Sacred Knowledge remain after its possesser departs, while supererogatory works cease with the death of their doer;

(6) knowledge is an attribute of Allah Most High;

(7) Sacred Knowledge, meaning the knowledge we are discussing, is a communal obligation (def: c3.2), and it is thus better than the supererogatory. The Imam of the Two Sanctuaries (A: Juwayni) says in his book alGhiyathi that "the communal obligation is superior to the personal obligation in that the person performing it fulfills the need of the Islamic Nation (Umma) and lifts the obligation from it, while the obligation of the individual is restricted to himself." And success is through Allah (alMajmu' (y108), 1.18-22).

a3.0 THE BLAMEWORTHINESS OF SEEKING SACRED KNOWLEDGE FOR OTHER THAN ALLAH

a3.1 (Nawawi:) Know that what we have mentioned about the merit of seeking Sacred Knowledge only applies to the seeker who thereby intends Allah Himself, not some end concerned with this world. Whoever seeks it for a worldly aim such as money, leadership, rank, prestige, fame, people inclining towards him, defeating opponents in debate, or similar motive, is blameworthy. (A When the basic reason is Allah but other motives play a role, they diminish the merit in the proportion that they enter into it.)

a3.2 Allah Most High says:

(1) "Whoever wants to cultivate the afterlife We shall increase for him his village, while whoever wants to cultivate this world, we shall give him of it, but he will have no share in the next (Koran 42:20).

(2) "Whoever wants the present world We hasten for him therein whatever We will, for whomever We want, and then consign him to hell, roasting in it condemned and rejected". (Koran 17:18).

(3) "Verily, your Lord is ready at ambush" (Koran 89:14).

(4) "They were not ordered except to worship Allah, making their religion sincere unto Him as pure monotheists" (Koran 98:5).

a3.3 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "The first person judged on Resurrection Day will be a man martyred in battle. "He'll be brought forth, Allah will reacquaint him with His blessings upon him and the man will acknowledge them, where-upon Allah will say, 'What have you done with them?' to which the man will respond, 'I fought to the death for you.' "Allah will reply, You lie. You fought in order to be called a hero, and it has already been said.' Then he will be sentenced and dragged away on his face to be flung into the fire." "Then a man will be brought forward who learned Sacred Knowledge, taught it to others, and who recited the Koran. Allah will remind him of His gifts to him and the man will acknowledge them, and then Allah will say. What have you done with them?' The man will answer. I acquired Sacred Knowledge, taught it, and recited the Koran, for Your sake.'" "Allah will say, You lie. You learned so as to be called a scholar, and read the Koran so as to be called a reciter, and it has already been said. Then he will be sentenced and dragged away on his face to be flung into the fire."

(2) "Anyone who seeks Sacred Knowledge to argue with fools, vie with scholars, or draw people's attention to himself, will take a place in hell."

(3) "The most severely tortured on Resurrection Day shall be the scholar who did not benefit from his knowledge."

a3.4 Sufyan al-Thawri said. "No servant increased in knowledge and then in desire for the things of this world, save that he increased in distance from Allah." (Ibid.,1.23-24)

a4.0 PERSONALLY OBLIGATORY KNOWLEDGE

a4.1 (Nawawi:) There are three categories of Sacred Knowledge. The first is the personally obligatory (fard al-ayn, def:c2.1), which is a morally responsible individual's learning the knowledge that the obligatory acts he must perform cannot be accomplished without, such as how the ablution (wudu) and prayer are done and so forth. Its obligatory character is how groups of scholars have interpreted the hadith in the Musnad of Abu Ya'la al-Mawsuli, from Anas, who relates that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "Seeking knowledge is an obligation upon every Muslim." The meaning of this hadith, though the hadith itself is not well authenticated (A: being weak (dis:p9.5)), is true.

a4.2 As for the basic obligation of Islam, and what relates to tenets of faith, it is adequate for one to believe in everything brought by the Messenger of Allah (Allah bless him and give him peace) and to credit it with absolute conviction free of any doubt. Whoever does this is not obliged to learn the evidences of the scholastic . The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) did not require of anyone anything but what we have just mentioned, nor did the first four caliphs, the other prophetic Companions, nor others of the early Muslim community who came after them. Rather, what befits the common people and vast majority of those learning or possessing Sacred Knowledge is to retrain from discussing the subtleties of scholastic theology, lest corruption difficult to eliminate find its way into their basic religious convictions. Rather, it is fitter for them to confine themselves to contentment with the abovementioned absolute certainly.Our Imam Shafi'i (Allah Most High have mercy on him) went to the greatest possible lengths in asserting that engaging in scholastic theology is forbidden. (A: What he meant thereby was the heretical scholastic theology that proliferated in his time and put rationalistic theories ahead of the Koran and sunna, not the science of theology (ilm al-tawhid) by which Ash'ari and Maturidi scholars (dis: x47) have clarified and detailed the tenets of faith of Sunni Islam, which is an important part of the Islamic sciences.) He insistently emphasized its unlawfulness, the severity of the punishment awaiting those who engage in it, the disgrace of doing it, and the enormity of the sin therein by saying, "For a servant to meet Allah with any other sin than idolatry (shirk) is better than to meet Him guilty of anything of scholastic theology." His other statements expressing the same meaning are numerous and well known. But if someone has doubts (Allah be our refuge) about any of the tenets of faith in which belief is obligatory (def: books u and v), and his doubt cannot be eliminated except by learning one of the theologians' proofs, then it is obligatory for him to learn it in order to remove the doubt and acquire the belief in question.

a4.3 Scholars disagree about the Koranic verses and hadiths that deal with the attributes of Allah (n: such as His hand' (Koran 48:10), His eyes' (52:48) or His nearness' (50:16)) as to whether they should be discussed in terms of a particular figurative interpretation (ta'wil, def:w6) or not. Some say that they should be figuratively interpreted as befits them (n: interpreting His hand.' for example, as an allusion to His omnipotence). And this is the more well known of the two positions of the scholastic theologians. Others say that such verses should not be given a definitive interpretation, but rather their meaning should not be discussed, and the knowledge of them should be consigned to Allah Most High, while at the same time believing in the transcendence of Allah Most High, and that the characteristics of created things do not apply to Him. For example, it should be said we believe that "the All-merciful is 'established' [Ar. istawa, dis:v1.3] on the Throne" (Koran 20:5), but we do not know the reality of the meaning of that, nor what is intended thereby, though we believe of Allah Most High that; "there is nothing whatsoever like unto Him" (Koran 42:11), and that He is above indwelling in created things (hulul, dis:w7), or having the characteristics of temporal, contingent existence (huduth, dis:w8). And this is the path of the early Muslims, or the vast majority of them, and is the safest, for a person is not required to enter into discussions about this. When one believes in Allah's transcendence above created things, there is no need for debate on it, or for taking risks over what there is neither pressing necessity nor even any real call for. But if the need arises for definitive interpretations to refute someone making unlawful innovations and the like, then the learned may supply them, and this is how we should understand what has come down to us from scholars in this field. And Allah knows best. a4.4 A person is not obliged to learn how to perform ablution, the prayer, and so forth, until the act itself is obligatory for him. As for trade, marriage, and so forth, of things not in themselves obligatory, the Imam of the Two Sanctuaries (A: Juwayni), Ghazali, and others say that learning their means and conditions is personally obligatory for anyone who wants to do them. It has also been said that one should not call this knowledge "personally obligatory," but rather say, "It is unlawful to undertake them until one knows the conditions for their legal validity." And this expression is more accurate.

a4.5 It is obligatory for one to know what is permissible and what is unlawful of food, drink, clothing, and so forth, of things one is unlikely to be able to do without. And likewise for the rulings on treatment of women if one has a wife.

a4.6 Shafi'i and colleagues (Allah have mercy on them) say that fathers and mothers must teach their children what will be obligatory for them after puberty. The guardian must teach the child about purification, prayer, fasting, and so forth; and that fornication, sodomy, theft, drinking, lying, slander, and the like are unlawful; and that he acquires moral responsibility at puberty and what this entails. It has been said that this education is merely recommended, but in fact it is obligatory, as the plain content of its scriptural basis (n: mentioned below) shows. Just as it is mandatory for a guardian to wisely manage his charge's property, this is even more important. The merely recommended is what exceeds this, such as teaching him the Koran, Sacred Law, etiquette, and teaching him what he needs to earn a living. The evidence for the obligation of teaching a young child is the word of Allah Mighty and Majestic, "O you who believe, protect yourselves and families from a fire" (Koran 66:6). 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (Allah be well pleased with him), Mujahid, and Qatada say it means. "Teach them that with which they can save themselves from hell,"

a4.7 As for knowledge o the heart, meaning familiarity with the illness of the heart such as envy, pride, and the like (dis:book p.r. and s). Ghazali has said that knowledge of their definitions, causes, remedy, and treatment is personally obligatory. (A: And this is what Ghazali meant when he said that Sufism (Tasawwuf, dis:w9) is personally obligatory for every Muslim. He did not mean that taking a way (tariqa) and sheikh are obligatory, but rather the elimination of unlawful inner traits, which one could conceivably accomplish through the companionship of a single sincere brother.) Others hold that if the morally responsible individual is endowed with a heart free of all these unlawful diseases, it suffices him, and he is not obliged to learn what will cure them. But if not safe from them he must reflect: if he can purify his heart from them without instruction then he must purify it, just as he must shun fornication and the like without learning the evidence proving he must. But if he cannot rid himself of these unlawful traits except through learning the above mentioned knowledge, then he is personally obliged to. And Allah knows best (al-Majmu' (y 108), 1.24-26).

a5.0 COMMUNALLY OBLIGATORY KNOWLEDGE

a5.1 (Nawawi) The second category (in of Sacred Knowledge) is what is communally obligatory (fard al-kifaya, def:c3.2), namely the attainment of those Sacred Sciences which people cannot do without in practicing their religion, such as memorizing the Koran and hadith, their ancillary disciplines, methodological principles, Sacred Law, grammar, lexicology, declension, knowledge of hadith transmitters, and of scholarly consensus (ijma'. def:b7) and nonconsensus.

a5.2 As for learning which is not Sacred Knowledge but is required to sustain worldly existence, such as medicine and mathematics, it too is a communal obligation (ibid.,1.26).

a6.0 RECOMMENDED KNOWLEDGE

a6.1 (Nawawi:) The third category is the supererogatory (def: c4.2), such as in-depth research into the bases of evidences, and elaboration beyond the amount required by the communal obligation, or such as an ordinary Muslim learning the details of nonobligatory acts of worship for the purpose of

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performing them; though not the work of scholars in distinguishing the obligatory from the nonobligatory, which is a communal obligation in respect to them. And Allah knows best (ibid, 1.27).

a7.0 SUBJECTS THAT ARE NOT SACRED KNOWLEDGE

a7.1 (Nawawi:) Having mentioned the categories of Sacred Knowledge the subjects it excludes are those that are unlawful offensive, or impermissible.

a7.2 Unlawful knowledge includes:

(1) learning sorcery (dis: p3), since according to the most reliable position, it is unlawful, as the vast majority of scholars have decisively stated:

(2) philosophy (dis:w10);

(3) magic (Shabadha, meaning sleight of hand, etc.);

(4) astrology (dis:p41);

(5) the sciences of the materialists (dis:w11).

(6) and anything that is a means to create doubts (n: in eternal truths), Such things vary in their degree of unlawfulness.

a7.3 Offensive knowledge includes such things as post-classical poetry which contains romance and uselessness.

a7.4 Permissible knowledge includes post-classical poetry which does not contain stupidity or anything that is offensive, incites to evil, hinders from good; not yet that which urges one to do good or helps one to do it (n: as the later would be recommended) (ibid., 1.27).

BOOK B - THE VALIDITY OF FOLLOWING QUALIFIED SCHOLARSHIP

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b1.0 INTRODUCTION

b1.1 (Mohammed sa'id Buti:) What is the proof that it is legally valid and even obligatory to accept the authority of qualified scholarship (taq lid) when one is not capable of issuing expert legal opinion (ijtihad) on matters of Sacred Law? There are several aspects to it (n: discussed in the sections that follow) (al-Lammadhhabiyya akhtar bid a tuhaddidu al-sharia al-Islamiyya (y33), 70).

b1.2 (n:) For the key term qualified to issue expert legal opinion (Ar. mujtahid. this ability being ijtihad) please turn to book o and read o22.1(d) the qualifications of an Islamic judge (qadi). The difference between the qualifications for the Imam of a school and those for a judge or a mufti is that the former's competence in giving opinion is absolute ,extending to all subject matters in the Sacred Law, while the competence of the judge or mufti is limited respectively to judging court cases or to applying his Imam's ijtihad to particular questions. No age of history is totally lacking people who are competent in ijtihad on particular questions which are new, and this is an important aspect of Sacred Law to provide solutions to new ethical problems by means of sound Islamic legal methodology in applying the Koranic and hadith primary texts. But while in this specific sense the door of ijtihad is not and cannot be closed, Islamic scholarship has not accepted anyone's claims to absolute ijtihad since Imams Abu Hanifa Malik, Shafi'i, and Ahmad. If one studies the intellectual legacy of these men underscholars who have a working familiarity with it, it is not difficult to see why. As for those who decry "hidebound conservatism" and would open the gate of ijtihad for themselves while lacking or possibly not even knowing the necessary qualifications, if such people have not studied the rulings of a particular school and the relation between these rulings, the Koranic and hadith primary texts, and the school's methodological principles, they do not know how ijtihad works from an observer's standpoint,let alone how to employ it. To ask them for example which of two equally authenticated primary texts that conflict on a legal question should be given precedence, and why, is like asking an aspiring drafting student for the particulars of designing a suspension bridge. Answers may be forthcoming, but they will not be the same as those one could get from a qualified contractor. To urge that a mujtahid is not divinely protected from error (ma'sum) is as of little relevance to his work as the fact that a major physicist is not divinely protected from simple errors in calculus; the probability ofinding them in his published work is virtually negligible. Regarding other, long-dead schools, such as the Zahiriyya, the difference between their work and that of the four living schools is firstly one of quality, as their positions and evidence have not been re-examined and upgraded by succeeding generations of first-rank scholars like those of the four schools (dis:w12), and secondly the lack of verification of the actual positions of their Mujitahid's through reliable chains of transmitters, as described below at b7.6.

b2.0 THE KORANIC EVIDENCE FOR FOLLOWING SCHOLARS

b2.1 (Mohammed Sa'id Buti;) The first aspect of it is the word of Allah the Majestic. "Ask those who recall if you know not" (Koran 16:43).

By consensus of all scholars (ijma.def:b7), this verse is an imperative for someone who does not know a ruling in Sacred Law or the evidence for it to follow someone who does. Virtually all scholars of fundamentals of Islamic law have made this verse their principle evidence that it is obligatory for the ordinary person to follow the scholar who is a mujtahid.

b2.2 Similar to the above verse in being evidence for this is the word of Allah Most High: "Not all of the believers should go to fight. Of every section of them, why does not one part alone go forth, that the rest may gain knowledge of the religion to admonish their people when they return, that happily they may take warning" (Koran 9:122). Allah Most High prohibited the people to go out altogether in military expeditions and jihad and ordered a segment of them to engagse solely in becoming knowledgeable in the religion of Allah, so that when their brothers returned to them, they would find someone qualified to give them legal opinion on the lawful and unlawful and to explain the rule of Allah the Glorious and Exalted (ibid., 71).

b3.0 THE PRACTICE OF THE PROPHETIC COMPANIONS (SAHABA)

b3.1 (Mohammed Sa'id Buti:) A second aspect is the consensus of scholars that the Companions of the Prophet (Ar. Sahaba, anyone who personally met the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) and died while believing in Islam) were at various levels of knowledge in religion; not all of them were capable of giving formal legal opinion (fatwa), as Ibn Khaldun has noted, nor was the religion taken from all of them.

b3.2 Rather, there were those of them capable of legal opinion and ijtihad and these were a small minority in relation to the rest, and there were those of them who sought legal opinion and followed others therein, and these were the vast majority of them. (n: Suyuti, in Tadrib al-rawi, quotes Ibn Hazm's report that most of the Companions legal opinions came from only seven of them:'Umar, Ali, Ibn Mas'ud, Ibn Umar Ibn Abbas, Zayd ibn Thabit, and Aisha;

and this was from thousands of the Companions (Tadrib al-rawi fi sharh Taqrib al-Nawawi(y109),2,219).)

b3.3 Nor did the individual Companion giving a legal opinion necessarily mention the evidence for it to the person who had asked about it, Al-Amidi notes in his book al-Ihkam: "As for scholarly consensus [ijma dis: b7.2] it is that ordinary people in the times of the Companions and those who immediately followed them, before there were dissenters, used to seek the opinion of mujtahids and would follow them in rules of Sacred Law. "The learned among them would unhesitatingly answer their questions without alluding to mention of evidence. No one censured them for doing this; a fact that establishes scholarly consensus on the absolute permissibility of the ordinary person following one capable of ijtihad."

b3.4 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) used to dispatch the most knowledgeable of the Companions to places whose inhabitants knew nothing more of Islam than its five pillars. The latter would follow the person sent to them in everything he gave his judgement upon and had them do, of works, acts of worship, dealing with one another, and all matters of the lawful and unlawful. Sometimes such a person would come across a question on which he could find no evidence in the Koran or sunna, and he would use his own personal legal reasoning and furnish them an answer in light of it, and they would follow him therein.

b3.5 As for the era of those who came after them (Ar. tabi'in, those who had personally learned from one or more of the Companions but not the Prophet himself (Allah bless him and give him peace)), the scope f legal reasoning had expanded, and the Muslims of this time followed the same course as had the Companions of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), except that the legal efforts were represented by the two main schools of thought, that of juridical opinion (ra'y) and that of hadith (n: the former in iraq, the latter in Medina) because of the methodological factors we previously mentioned when we quoted Ibn Khaldun. There were sometimes discussions and sharp disputes between leading representatives of the two schools, but the ordinary people and learners not at the main figures' level of understanding were unconcerned with this disagreement, and followed whomever they wanted or whomever was near to them without anyone censuring them for this (al-Lamadhhabiyya akhtar bid'a tuhaddidu al-shari'a al-Islamiyya (y33), 71-73).

b4.0 THE RATIONAL EVIDENCE FOR FOLLOWING SPECIALISTS

b4.1 (Mohammed Sa'id Buti:) A third aspect is the obvious rational evidence, which we express in the words of Sheikh Abdullah Diraz, who says: "The logical proof is that, assuming that a person does not have the qualifications for ijtihad, when an instance of a particular religious ruling arises, he will either not worship by any means at all, which all concur is impermissible, or, if he worships by means of something, it will either be by examining the proof that verifies the ruling or by following a competent authority. "The former is inadmissible because it would lead, in respect to him and all others like him, to indepth examination of the evidences for all such instances, preoccupation with which would obviate the earning of livelihoods, disrupting trades and occupations, running the world by neglect of tillage and offspring, and preventing any one's following another's ijtihad, placing everyone under the most extreme hardship. The sole remaining alternative is to follow another, which is the means through which one must worship in such a case" (ibid.,73).

b5.0 THE OBLIGATORINESS OF FOLLOWING QUALIFIED SCHOLARSHIP

b5.1 (Mohammed sa'id Buti:) Because scholars accept the evidence from Koran, sunna, and reason as complete and intersubstantiative that the ordinary person or learned one not at the level of textual deduction and ijtihad is not entitled but to follow a qualified mujtahid who has a comprehensive grasp of the evidence -they say that a formal legal opinion (fatwa) from a mujtahid is in relation to the ordinary person just as a proof from the Koran and sunna is in relation to the Mujtahid for the Koran just as it obligates the scholar throughly versed in it to hold to its evidences and proofs, also obligates (n:in the verse quoted above at b2.1) the uninformed person to adhere to the formal legal opinion of the scholar and his ijtihad (ibid.,73).

b6.0 WHY QUALIFIED SCHOLARS DIFFER ON LEGAL QUESTIONS

b6.1 (Salih Mu'adhdhin:) Muslims of the Sunna and Community are in agreement that we have arrived at all the rulings of Sacred Law through evidence that is either of unquestionably established transmission (qat'i al-wurud) or probabilistically established transmission (zanni al-wurud). The suras of the Koran, all of its verses, and those hadiths which have reached us by so many channels of transmission that belief in them is obligatory (mutawatir, def:o22.1(d(II))) are all of unquestionably established transmission, since they have reached us by numerous means, by generation from generation, whole groups, from whole groups such that it is impossible that the various channels could all have conspired to fabricate them. As for the evidentiary character of these texts, regardless whether they are of unquestionably or probabilistically established transmission, they are of two types. The first type, unquestionable as evidence (qat'i al-dalala), is a plain text that does not admit of more than one meaning, which no mind can interpret beyond its one meaning, which no mind can interpret beyond its one meaning, and which there is no possibility to construe in terms of other than its apparent sense. This type includes Koranic verses that deal with fundamental tenets of faith in the oneness of Allah, the prayer, zakat, and fasting; in none of which is there any room for disagreement, nor have any differences concerning them been heard of or reported from the Imams of Sacred Law. Everything in this category is termed unquestionable as evidence. The second type, probabilistic as evidence (zanni al-dalala), is a text that can bear more than one meaning, whether because it contains a word that can lexically have two different meanings, or because it was made by way of figure of speech or metaphor, or because it can be interpreted in other than its apparent sense in the context without this contradicting what was intended by the Wise Lawgiver. It is here that we find scope for scholarly difference of opinion to a greater or lesser extent depending on the number of meanings a text can imply, how much interpretation it will bear, and so forth. All of the derivative rulings of Sacred Law are of this type, probabilistic as evidence, so we naturlly find differences among Islamic legal scholars as to their interpretation, each scholar interpreting them according to his comprehension and the

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broadness of his horizons, while not giving the text a reading it does not imply, and then corroborating his interpretation with evidence acceptable to scholars. Scholarly differences are thus something natural, even logically necessary, as a result of the factors we have just described.Allah Mighty and Majestic has willed that most texts of the Sacred Law be probabilistic as evidence because of a wisdom He demands, namely, to give people more choice and leave room for minds to use ijtihad in understanding His word and that of His messenger (Allah bless him and give him peace).

b6.2 We conclude this short summary with an example to clarify what we have said. Consider the word of Allah. "Divorced women shall wait by themselves for three periods" (Koran 2:228) as opposed to His saying, in the same sura, "Those who forswear their women have a wait of four months"(Koran 2:226). Allah's saying "three" in the former and "four" in the latter are texts that are decisive as evidence, in that neither admits of more than one interpretation, namely, the well-known numbers. But in contrast with this, when Allah says "periods" (Ar.quru') in the first, and "months"(ashhur) in the second, we find that the former word can have more than one sense in its Arabic lexical root meaning, while months cannot, the latter being decisive in meaning and incapable of bearing another interpretation. Concerning this question, Imam Qurtubi says in his Koranic exegesis: "Scholars differ about the word periods. Those of kufa hold that it means menstrual periods, and this is the position of 'Umar, 'Ali, and Ibn Mas'ud. But those of the Hijaz hold it means the intervals of purity between menstrual periods, and this is the view of A' isha, Ibn Umar, and Shafi'i." Considering this, is it not natural that there should be various opinions about understanding the verse "three periods" but only one about understanding Allah's saying "four months"? If Allah had wanted all opinions to coincide on this question. He might have said for example, "three menstrual periods" (hiyad) or "three intervals of purity between menstrual periods" (athar), just as He said "four months." And all the texts of Sacred Law that can bear more than one meaning are comparable to this example (Umdat alsalik (y90). 11-13).

b7.0 SCHOLARLY CONSENSUS (IJMA')

b7.1 ('Abdal-Wahhab Khallaf:) Scholarly consensus (ijma') is the agreement of all the mujtahids (def:o22.1(d)) of the Muslims existing at one particular period after the Prophet's death (Allah bless him and give him peace) about a particular ruling regarding a matter or event. It may be gathered from this that the integral elements of scholarly consensus are four, without which it is invalid:

(a) that a number of mujtahids exist at a particular time:

(b) that all mujtahids of the Muslims in the period of the thing or event agree on its ruling, regardless of their country, race, or group, though nonmujtahids are of no consequence;

(c) that each mujtahid present his opinion about the matter in an explicit manner, whether verbally, by giving a formal legal opinion on it, or practically, by giving a legal decision in a court case concerning it;

(d) and that all mujtahids agree on the ruling, for if a majority of them agree, consensus is not

effected, no matter how few those who contradict it, nor how many those who concur.

b7.2 When the four necessary integrals of consensus exist, the ruling agreed upon is an authoritative part of Sacred Law that is obligatory to obey and not lawful to disobey. Nor can mujtahids of a succeeding era make the thing an object of new ijtihadm because the ruling on it, verified by scholarly consensus, is an absolute legal ruling which does not admit of being contravened or annulled.

b7.3 The proof of the legal authority of scholarly consensus is that just as Allah Most Glorious has ordered the believers, in the Koran, to obey Him and His Messenger, so too He has ordered them to obey those of authority (ulu al-amr) among them, saying, "O you who believe, obey Allah and obey the Prophet and those of authority among you" (koran 4:59), such that when those of authority in legal expertise, the mujitahids, agree upon a ruling, it is obligatory in the very words of the Koran to follow them and carry out their judgement. And Allah threatens those who oppose the Messenger and follow other than the believers' way, saying, "Whoever contraverts the Messenger after guidance has become clear to him and follows other than the believers' way, We shall give him over to what he has turned to and roast him in hell, and how evil an outcome" (Koran 4:115).

b7.4 A second evidentiary aspect is that a ruling agreed upon by all the mujtahids in the Islamic Community (Umma) is in fact the ruling of the Community, represented by its mujtahids, and there are many hadiths that have come from the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), as well as quotes from the Companions, which indicate that the Community is divinely protected from error, including his saying (Allah bless him and give him peace):

(1) "My Community shall not agree on an error."

(2) "Allah is not wont to make my Community concur on misguidance."

(3) "That which the Muslims consider good, Allah considers good."(Ilm usul al-fiqh (y71), 45-47)

b7.5 (n: Another hadith that scholars quote in connection with the validity of scholarly consensus is the following, given with its commentary.) The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "Allah's hand is over the group, and whoever dissents from them departs to hell." Allah's hand is over the group (al-Azizi:) Munawi says, "Meaning His protection and preservation of them, signifying that the collectivity of the people of Islam are in Allah's fold, so be also in Allah's shelter, in the midst of them, and do not separate yourselves from them. "The rest of the hadith, accordng to the one who first recorded it (n: Tirmidhi), is, and whoever dissents from them departs to hell. Meaning that whoever diverges from the overwhelming majority concerning what is lawful or unlawful and on which the Community does not differ has slipped off the path of guidance and this will lead him to hell (al-Siraj al-munir sharh al-Jami' al-saghir (y18), 3.449).

b7.6 (n: In addition to its general interest as a formal legal opinion, the following serves in the present context to clarify why other than the four Sunni schools of jurisprudence do not necessarily play a role in scholarly consensus.) (Abd al-Rahman Ba'alawi:) Ibn Salah reports that there is scholarly consensus on its being unlawful to follow rulings from schools other than those of the four Imams, meaning in one's personal works, let alone give court verdicts or formal legal opinions to people from the, because of the untrustworthiness of the ascription of such rulings to the scholars who reportedly gave them, there being no channels of transmission which obviate the possibility of textual corruption and spurious substitutions.

The Zaydis, for example, who trace themselves to Zayd ibn 'Ali Husayn (n:son of 'Ali and Fatima), the beatitude of Allah be upon them, despite the fact that Zayd was one of Imams of the religion and a renowned figure well qualified to give guidance to those seeking it, his followers identify him with extreme permissiveness on many questions, ascriptions based on failure to check as to what his positions actually were (n: by naming the intermediate transmitters and establishing their reliability). It is quite otherwise with the four schools, whose Imams (Allah reward them) have spent themselves in checking the positions of their schools, explaining what could be rigorously authenticated as the position of the person it was attributed to, and what could not be. Their scholars have thus achieved safety from textual corruption and have been able to discern the genuine from the poorly authenticated (Bughya almustarshidin fi talkhis fatawa ba'd al-a'imma min al-muta'akhkhirin (y19),8).

BOOK C - THE NATURE OF LEGAL RULINGS

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c1.0 KINDS OF RULINGS

c1.1 ('Abd al-Wahhab Khallaf:) A legal ruling is a statement from the Lawgiver (syn. Allah or His messenger (Allah bless him and give him peace)) concerning the acts of those morally responsible which:

(1) requires something;

(2) allows a choice;

(3) or gives stipulations.

c1.2 An injunctive ruling is one that enjoins the morally responsible individual to either do or refrain from an act, or gives him an option to do or refrain from it. An example of enjoining one to do an act is Allah's saying, "People owe Allah to make pilgrimage to the House" (Koran 3:97). An example of enjoining one to refrain from an act is His saying, "Let no people mock another people" (Koran 49:11). And an example of giving an option to do or refrain from an act is His saying, "When the prayer is finished, go forth in the land" (Koran 62:10).

c1.3 As for stipulatory rulings, they entail that something is made a legal reason (sabab) for another thing, a condition (shart) for it, or a preventive (mani) of it. An example of being stipulated as reason for something is Allah's saying, "O believers, when you go to pray, wash your faces and wash your forearms to the elbows" (Koran 5:6), which stipulates wanting to pray as a reason for the obligation of performing ablution (wudu). An example of something being made a condition for another thing is His saying. "People owe Allah to make pilgrimage to the House, whoever is able to find a way" (Koran 3:97), which implies that the ability to get to the House (n: Kaaba) is a condition for the obligatoriness of one's pilgrimage. Another example is the Prophet's saying (Allah bless him and give him peace), "There is no marriage unless there are two witnesses," which means the presence of two witnesses is a condition for the validity of a marriage. An example of being made a preventive of something is the Prophet's saying (Allah bless him and give him peace), "The killer does not inherit," which entails that an heir's killing the deceased is preventive of his inheriting an estate division share from him ('Illm usul al-fiqh (y71), 100-102).

c2.0 TYPES OF HUMAN ACT

c2.1 (N:) The obligatory (fard) is that which the Lawgiver strictly requires be done, Someone who performs an obligatory act out of obedience to Allah is rewarded, while a person who refrains from it without excuse deserves to be punished. (A: In the Shafi'i school there is no difference between obligatory (fard) and requisite (wajib) except in the pilgrimage, where nonperformance of a requisite does not invalidate the pilgrimage, but necessitates an expiation by slaughtering. For any conditions necessary for its validity and all of its integrals (rukn, pl. arkan) are obligatory, since it is unlawful to intentionally perform an invalid act of worship.)

c2.2 The sunna (n: or recommended (mandub)) is that which the Lawgiver asks be done, but does not strictly require it. Someone who performs it out of obedience to Allah is rewarded, though someone who refrains from it is not punished.

c2.3 The permissible (mubah) is what the Lawgiver has neither requested nor prohibited, so the person who does it is not rewarded or punished. Rather, doing or not doing it are equal, though if a person does it to enable him to perform an act of obedience to Allah, or refrains from it for that reason, than he is rewarded for it. And if he does such an act to enable him to perform an act of disobedience, he is sinning.

c2.4 The offensive (makruh) is that which the Lawgiver has interdicted but not strictly forbidden. A person who refrains from such an act out of obedience to Allah is rewarded, while the person who commits it does not deserve to be punished.

c2.5 The unlawful (haram) is what the Lawgiver strictly forbids. Someone who commits an unlawful act deserves punishment, while one who refrains from it out of obedience to the command of Allah is rewarded. (n: Scholars distinguish between three levels of the unlawful:

(1) minor sins (saghira, pl. sagha'ir), which may be forgiven from prayer to prayer, from one Friday prayer (jumu'a) to another, and so forth, as in mentioned in hadith;

(2) enormities (kabira, pl. kaba'ir), those which appear by name in the Koran or hadith as the subject of an explicit threat, prescribed legal penalty, or curse, as listed below at book p;

(3) and unbelief (kufr), sins which put one beyond the pale of Islam (as discussed at o8.7) and necessitate stating the Testification of Faith (Shahada) to reenter it. Repentance is obligatory for all three (al-Zawajir 'an iqtiraf al-kaba'ir (y49), 1.5-9).)

c2.6 (Nawawi:) There is no doubt that the merit of an act varies. Fasting, for example, is unlawful on 'Eid Day, obligatory before it, and recommended after it. The prayer is highly desirable most of the time, but offensive at some times and situations, such as when restraining oneself from using the lavatory. Reciting the Koran is desirable, but offensive when bowing in the desirable, but offensive when bowing in the prayer or prostrating. Dressing one's best is good on the 'Eid or on Friday, but not during the drought prayer. And so

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forth. Abul Qasim al-Junayd (Allah have mercy on him)said, "A sincere person changes forty times a day, while the hypocritical show-off stays as he is forty years." The meaning of this is that the sincere person moves with what is right, wherever it may lead, such that when prayer is deemed better by the Sacred Law, then he prays, and when it is best to be sitting with the learned, or the righteous, or guests, or his children, or taking care of something a Muslim needs, or mending a broken heart, or whatever else it may be, then he does it, leaving aside what he usually does. And likewise for fasting, reciting the Koran, invoking Allah, eating or drinking, being serious or joking, enjoying the good life or engaging in self-sacrifice, and so on. Whenever he sees what is preferred by the Sacred Law under the circumstances, he does it, and is not bound by a particular habit or kind of devotion as the show-off is. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) did various things of prayer, fasting, sitting for Koran recital and invocation, eating and drinking, dressing, riding, lovemaking with his wives, seriousness and jest, happiness and wrath, scathing condemnation for blameworthy things, leniency in punishing those who deserved it and excusing them, and so ion, according to what was possible and preferable for the time and circumstances (al-Majmu' (y108),1.17-18).

c3.0 OBLIGATORY ACTS

c3.1 ('Abd al-Wahhab khallaf:) Obligatory acts are distinguished in four ways, according to various considerations. One distinction is whether current performance is time-restricted or non-time-restricted. A time-restricted obligatory act is one the Lawgiver demands be done at a particular time, such as the five obligatory prayers, for each of which the time for current performance is set, such that the particular prayer is not obligatory before it, and the individual is guilty of serious sin if he delays it past its time without excuse. A non-time-restricted obligatory act is one which the Lawgiver strictly demands, but does not specify a time for its current performance, such as the expiation obligatory for someone who swears and oath and breaks it (def: 020).

c3.2 A second distinction between obligatory acts is made on the basis of who is called upon to perform them, namely whether an act is personally obligatory or communally obligatory. A personally obligatory (fard al-'ayn) act is what the Lawgiver requires from each and every morally responsible person. It is insufficient for someone to perform such an act on another's behalf, such as the prayer, zakat (def: h1.0), pilgrimage, keeping agreements, and avoiding wine or gambling. A communally obligatory (fard al-kifaya) act is what the Lawgiver requires from the collectivity of those morally responsible, not from each one of them, such that if someone undertakes it, then the obligation has been fulfilled and the sin and responsibility (n: of nonperformance) is lifted from the rest, while if no one undertakes it, then all are guilty of serious sin for neglecting the obligation, Examples include commanding the right and forbidding the wrong (def: book q), praying over the dead, building hospitals, lifesaving, fire fighting, medicine, industries people require, the existence of Islamic courts and judges, issuing formal legal opinions, responding to someone who says "as-Salam 'alaykum," and testifying in court. The Lawgiver requires that these obligatory acts exist in the Islamic Community regardless of who does them. But He does not require they be done by each person, or some particular one, since the interests of the Community are realized by the existence of these things through the efforts of some of those morally responsible, and do not entail every particular person's performance of them. Someone able through himself or his property to perform the communally obligatory act is obliged to perform it, and someone unable to do it himself is obliged to urge and have the person do it who can. If the obligatory

act is done, all are cleared of the sin, and if neglected all the guilty of serious sin. The person capable of it is guilty because he neglected a communally obligatory act he could have done, and the rest are guilty because they neglected to urge him and have him perform the obligatory act he was capable of. When an individual is the only one available who can perform a communally obligatory act, it becomes personally obligatory for him.

c3.3 A third way Obligatory acts are distinguished is by the amount of them required, that is, whether the act is of a defined amount or an undefined amount. Obligatory acts of defined amount are those for which the Lawgiver has determined a particular quantity, such that the subject is not free of the obligation until he has done the amount stipulated by the Lawgiver, as with the five obligatory payers, or zakat. Obligatory acts of undefined amount are those which the Lawgiver has not stipulated the amount of, but rather demands them from the subject in an undetermined quantity, such as spending in the way of Allah, cooperating with one another in good works, feeding the hungry, helping those in distress, and so forth.

c3.4 A fourth distinction between obligatory acts is whether an act is a specific obligation, or an obligation to choose between certain alternatives. Specific obligations are those in which the Lawgiver demands the act itself, such as the prayer, fasting in Ramadan, paying for merchandise, rent from a tenant, or returning something wrongfully taken; such that the individual is not free of the obligation until he does that very act. An obligation to choose between certain alternatives is when the Lawgiver requires the performance of one of a given number of actions, such as one of the options in expiating a broken oath, where Allah Most High requires the person who has broken his oath to feed ten poor people, clothe them, or free a slave ('abd,def:w13), and the obligation consists of doing any of these three things ('Ilm usul al-fiqh (y71), 106, 108-11).

c4.0 RECOMMENDED ACTS

c4.1 (Abd al-Wahhab Khallaf:) Recommended acts are divided into three categories.

The first is recommended acts whose demand is confirmed. Someone who neglects such an act does not deserve punishment, but does deserve censure and blame. This includes the sunnas and recommended acts that are legally considered to complete obligatory acts, such as the call to prayer (adhan) or performing the obligatory prayers,in a group, as well as all religious matters that the Prophet Allah bless him and give him peace) diligently performed and did not omit except once or twice to show that they were not obligatory, like rinsing out the mouth when performing ablution, or reciting a sura or some verses of the Koran after the Fatiha during the prayer. This category is called the confirmed sunna (sunna mu akkada) or sunna of guidance.

c4.3 The second category is those acts whose performance is sanctioned by sacred Law such that the person who performs them is rewarded, though someone who omits them deserves neither punishment nor blame. This includes acts the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) did not diligently perform, but did one or more times and then discontinued. It also includes all voluntary acts, like spending on the poor, fasting on Thursday of each week, or praying rak'as (units) of prayer in addition to the obligatory and confirmed sunna prayers.This category is called the extra sunna or supererogatory (nafila).

c4.4 The third category consists of the superlatively recommended, meaning those acts considered part of an individual's perfections. It includes following the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) in ordinary matters that proceeded from him as a human being, as when a person eats, drinks, walks, sleeps, and dresses like the Prophet used to. Following the example of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) in these and similar matters is an excellence and considered among one's refinements, as it shows one's love for the Prophet and great attachment to him. But someone who does not follow the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) in matters like these is not considered a wrongdoer, because they are not part of his lawgiving (A: though such acts are rewarded when one thereby intends to follow the prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), and every desirable practice one performs

means a higher degree in paradise which the person who neglects it may not attain to). Acts of this category are called desirable (mustahabb), decorum (adab), or meritorious (ibid., 112).

c5.1 UNLAWFUL ACTS

c5.1 (Abd al-Wahhab Khallaf:) The unlawful is of two kinds. The first is the originally unlawful in itself, meaning the Sacred Law forbids it from the outset, such as adultery, theft, prayer without ritual purity, marrying a member of one's unmarriageable kin while knowing them to be such, selling unslaughtered dead animals, and so forth, of things that are intrinsically unlawful because they entail damage and harm, the prohibition applying from the outset to the very act. The second is the unlawful because of an extrinsic reason, meaning that the initial ruling of an act was that it was obligatory, recommended, or permissible, but an extrinsic circumstance became linked with it that made it unlawful, such as a prayer performed in a garment wrongly taken, or a sale in which there is fraud, or a marriage whose sole purpose is to allow the woman to remarry her previous husband who has pronounced a threefold divorce against her, or fasting day after day without breaking the fast at night, or an unlawfully innovated divorce (def: n2.3), and so forth, of things unlawful because of an external circumstance. The prohibition is not due to the act itself. But because of something extrinsic to the act; meaning the act is not damaging or harmful in itself, but something has happened to it and become conjoined with it that makes it entail damage or harm.

c5.2 One consequence of the above distinction is that an intrinsically unlawful act is uncountenanced by the Law to begin with, so it cannot be a legal cause or reason, or form the basis for further legal consequences, Rather, it is invalid, Because of this, prayer without ritual purity is invalid, marriage to a close unmarriageable relative when one knows them to be such is invalid, and the sale of an unslaughtered dead animal is invalid. And something legally invalid is without other legal efficacy. But an act that is unlawful because of an extrinsic circumstance is intrinsically lawful, and can thus be a legal reason and form the basis for further legal consequences, since its prohibition is accidental to it and not essential. Because of this a prayer while wearing a garment wrongfully taken is legally valid, though the person is guilty of serious sin for having taken it; a sale in which there is fraud is legally valid (N: though the buyer has the option to cancel the sale and return the merchandise for a full refund); and an unlawfully innovated divorce is legally effective. The reason for this is that the prohibition of an act because of an extrinsic event or circumstance does not vitiate either the basis of its being a legal cause or its identity, provided all its integrals and conditions exist. As for intrinsic unlawfulness, it negates the basis of an act's being a legal cause and vitiates its identity by the nonexistence of one of its integrals or conditions, so that it is no longer something that is of legal consideration (ibid., 113-14).

c6.0 DISPENSATION (RUKHSA) AND STRICTNESS (AZIMA)

c6.1 (Abd al-Wahhab khallaf:) Strictness is what Allah initially legislates, of general rulings not concerned with one circumstance rather than another, or one individual rather than another.

c6.2 Dispensation is when what is normally forbidden is made permissible because of neccessity or need. For example, if someone is forced to make a statement of unbelief (kufr) it is made permissible, to ease his hardship, for him to do so as long as faith remains firm in his heart. Likewise with someone who is forced to break his fast in Ramadan, or forced to destroy the property of another; the normally prohibited act which he is forced to do becomes permissible for him, to ease the hardship. And it is made permissible for someone forced by extreme hunger or severe thirst to eat from an unslaughtered dead animal or drink wine. (A: The latter is not permissible even under such conditions in the Shafi'i school) Dispensation also includes being permitted to omit an obligatory act when an excuse exists that makes its performance a hardship (dis: c7.2. second par.) upon the individual. Thus, someone who is ill or travelling in Ramadan is permitted not to fast. And someone who is travelling is permitted to shorten prayers of four rak'as to only two rak'as (ibid., 121-22).

c6.3 (n:) Since it is permissible for a Muslim to follow any of the four Imams in any of his acts of worship, comparison of their differences opens another context from discussing dispensation and strictness, a context in which classical scholars familiar with various schools often use the term "dispensation " to refer to the ruling of the school easiest on a particular legal question, and "strictness" to refer to the ruling of the school that is most rigorous. Which school this is varies from question to question. The following entry discusses how and when it is permissible for ordinary Muslims to use dispensation in the sense of following easier rulings from a different school, while entry c6.5 discusses the way of greater precaution (al-ahwat fi al-din) taken by those Muslims who purposely select the strictest school of thought on each legal question because of its being more precautionary and closer to godfearingness (taqwa).

c6.4 Scholars frequently acknowledge that the difference of the Imams is a mercy, and their unanimity is a decisive proof, Sheikh Umar Barakat, the commentator of 'Umdat al-salik, says: "It is permissible to follow each of the four Imams (Allah be well pleased with them), and permissible for anyone to follow one of them on a legal question, and follow a different one on another legal question. It is not obligatory to follow one particular Imam on all legal questions" (Fayd al-llah al-Malik (y27), 1.357). This does not, however, imply that it is lawful to indiscriminately choose dispensations from each school, or that there are no conditions for the above mentioned permissibility. Imam Nawawi was asked for a formal legal opinion on whether pursuing dispensations in such a manner was permissible; (Question:) "Is it permissible for someone of a particular school to follow a different school in matters that will be of benefit to him, and to seek out dispensations?" He answered (Allah be well pleased with him), "It is not permissible to seek out dispensations [A: meaning it is unlawful, and the person who does is corrupt (fasiq)], and Allah knows best" (Fatawa al-Imam al-Nawawi (y105),113). But when forced by necessity or hardship to take such a dispensation (A: even retroactively as when one has finished the action, and then makes the intention to have followed another Imam's school of thought on the question), then there is nothing objectionable in it, provided that one's act of worship together with its prerequisites is valid in at least one of the schools. One may not simply piece together (taliq) constituent parts from various schools in a single act of worship, if none of the schools would consider the act valid. An example is someone who performs an ablution that is minimally valid in the Shafi'i school by wetting only a few hairs of his head in the ablution sequence, something not permitted by Hanafis, and then prays behind an imam without himself reciting the Fatiha, something permitted by Hanafis but not shafiis. His ablution, the necessary condition for his

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prayer is inadequate in the Hanafi school and his performance of the prayer is inadequate school, with the result that neither considers his prayer valid, and in fact it is not, Whoever follows a ruling mentioned in this volume from another school must observe the conditions given at w14 and make sure his worship is valid in at least one school, which for prayer can best be achieved by performing all recommended measures in the present volume relating to purity, for example, e5,e11, and so on, as if obligatory.

c6.5 A second way to use differences between schools is to take the way of greater precaution by following whoever is most rigorous on a given question. For example, when performing the purificatory bath (ghusl), rinsing the mouth and nostrils with water is a nonobligatory, sunna measure according to the Shafi'i school, but obligatory and necessary for the purificatory bath's validity according to Hanafis. The way of greater precaution is for the Shafi'i to perform it as diligently as if it were obligatory, even though omitting it is permitted by his school. (Abd al-Wahhab Sha'rani:) My brother, when you first hear of the two levels of this scale (n: dispensation and strictness), beware of jumping to the conclusion that there is absolute free choice between them, such that an individual may without restriction choose either dispensation or strictness in any ruling he wishes. It does not befit a person able to perform the stricter ruling to stoop to taking a dispensation permissible to him. (A: The more rigorous is always preferable in the Shafi'i school even when the dispensation is permissible.) For as you know my brother, I do not say that the individual is free to choose between taking the dispensation or taking the stricter ruling when he is able to perform the stricter ruling obligatory for him. I take refuge in Allah from saying such a thing, which is like making a game of religion. Of an absolute certainty, dispensation are only ofr someone unable to perform the stricter ruling, for in such a case , the dispensation is the stricter ruling in relation to him. Moreover, I hold that mere sincerely and honesty demand of anyone who follows a particular school not to take a dispensation that the Imam of his school holds is permissible unless he is someone who needs to; and that he must follow the stricter ruling of a different Imam when able to, since rulings fundamentally refer back to the word of the Lawgiver, no one else; this being especially necessary when the other Imam's evidence is stronger, as opposed to what some followers do. We find among the dictums of the Sufis that one should not follows a position in Sacred Law for which the evidence is weaker except when religiously more precautionary than the stronger position. For example, the Shafi'i opinion that (n:a male's) ablution is nullified by touching a girl who is a child or touching the nails or hair of a woman: though this position is considered weaker by them (n: than the position given at e7.3),it is religiously more precautionary, so performing ablution for the above-mentioned things is better (al-Mizan al-kubra (y1230,:10-11). (A Because more rigorous rulings necessarily meet the requirements of less rigorous ones (though not vice versa), following more rigorous rulings from another school is unconditionally valied, unlike following its dispensations. And Allah knows best.)

c7.0 THINGS ONE MAY BE HELD LEGALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR

c7.1 ('Abd al-Wahhab Khallaf:) Three conditions must exist in any act that it is legally valid to make an individual responsible for. The first is that the act be well enough known to the individual that he can perform it in the way required of him. It should be noted that the individual's knowledge of what he is responsible for means the possibility of his knowing it, not his actual knowledge of it. Whenever a person reaches puberty, of sound mind and capable of knowing the rulings of Sacred Law by himself or by asking those familiar with them, then he is considered to know what he is responsible for, and rulings are carried out on him, their consequences exacted of him, and the excuse of being ignorant of them is not accepted from him. The second condition is that it is known that the ruling has been imposed by someone who possesses the authority to do so and whose rules the individual is obliged to observe, since it is through this knowledge that the individual's will can be directed to obey him. This is the reason that in any proof for a ruling of Sacred Law the first point discussed is why it is legally binding for individuals. The third condition is that the act the subject is responsible for be possible and within the capacity of the subject to do or to refrain from. This condition in turn implies two things: first, that it is legally invalid to impose something impossible, whether impossible in itself or impossible because of another thing; and second, that it is invalid to ask that a particular individual be responsible for someone else's performing an act or refraining from one, since someone else's action or inaction is not within the individual's own capacity. Hence, a person is not responsible for his father's paying zakat, his brother's performing the prayer, or his neighbour's refraining from theft. As regards others, all a person is obliged to do is to advise, to command the right and forbid the wrong, for these are acts he is capable of. Nor is it legally valid to make a person responsible for various innate human states which are the results of natural causes that are not of the person's acquisition or choice, such as emotional arousal when angry; turning red when embarassed; love, hate, grief, elation, or fear when reasons them exist; digestion; breathing; being short or tall, black or white; and other innate traits with which people are born and whose presence or absence is subject to natural laws, not to the individual's will and choice, and which are thus beyond his capacity and not among the things possible for him. And if some primary texts have reached us that apparently show that there is responsibility for some of the things that are not within a person's capacity, these are not as they seem. For example, the order of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), "Do not become angry," is outwardly an order to refrain from something natural and unacquired, namely, anger when motives for it exist. But the real meaning is "Control yourself when angry and restrain yourself from its bad consequences."

c7.2 From the condition that an act must be within the individual's capacity before he can be held accountable for it, one should not jump to the conclusion that this implies there will not be any hardship whatsoever for the individual in the act. There is no contradiction between an act's being within one's capacity and its being hard. Nothing a person is responsible for is completely free of hardship, since moral responsibility is being obliged to do that in which there is something to bear with, and some type of difficulty. Hardship, however, is of two types. The first is that which people are accustomed to bear, which is within the limits of their strength, and were they to continue bearing it, it would not cause them harm or damage to their persons, possessions, or other concerns. The second is that which is beyond what people are accustomed to bear and impossible for them to continually endure because they would be cut off, unable to go on, and damage and harm would affect their persons, possessions, or one of their other concerns. Examples include fasting day after day without breaking it at night, a monastic life, fasting while standing in the sun, or making the pilgrimage on foot. It is a sin for someone to refuse to take a dispensation and insist on the stricter ruling when this will probably entail harm (Ilm usul al-fiqh (y71), 128-33).

c8.0 WHO MAY BE HELD RESPONSIBLE

c8.1 (Abd al-Wahhab Khallaf:) Two conditions must exist in an individual for it to be legallly valid to hold him responsible. The first condition is that he is able to understand the evidence that he is responsible for something, such that it is within his capacity to understand legal texts from the Koran and sunna by which the ruling is imposed, whether by himself of through another (dis: b5.1). Since human reason is something hidden, unobservable by outward sense perception, the Lawgiver has conjoined responsibility for rulings with something manifest and perceptible to the senses from which reason may be inferred, namely, puberty. Whoever reaches puberty without showing signs of impaired intellectual faculties, his capacity for responsibility exists. And conversely, neither an insane person nor child are responsible, because of their lack of intellect, which is the means of understanding the evidence that something is a ruling. Nor are those responsible who are in a state of absentmindedness or sleeping, because while they are heedless or asleep it is not within their capacity to understand. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "The pen has been lifted from three: the sleeper until he awakens, the child until his first wet dream, and the insane person until he can reason." The second condition (n:for the legal validity of holding someone responsible) is that he be legally eligible for the ruling. Eligibility is of two types, eligibility for obligation, and eligibility for performance.

c8.2 Eligibility for obligation is the capacity of a human being to have rights and duties. This eligibility is established for every person by the mere fact of being human, whether male, female,fetus, child, of the age of discrimination, adolescent, intelligent, foolish, sane or insane, healthy or ill; because its basis is an innate attribute found in man. Every human being, whoever he or she may be, has eligibility for obligation and none lacks it because one's eligibility for obligation is one's humanness. There are only two human states in relation to eligibility for obligation, partial and full. One could have partial eligibility for obligation by being entitled to possess rights over others but not have obligations towards them, like a fetus in its mother's womb, which has rights, since it can be an heir, inherit a bequest, and the proceeds of an endowment (waqf) can accrue to it, but it does not have any

obligations to others. Full eligibility for obligation means a person has rights upon others and

obligations towards them. Every human being acquires it at birth.

c8.3 Eligibility for performance is the capacity of an individual for words and actions that are legally significant, such that if an agreement or act proceeds from him, it legally counts and entails the rulings applicable to it. If he prays, fasts, makes the pilgrimage, or does anything obligatory; it is legally acknowleged and discharges the obligation. And if he commits a crime against another's person, possessions, or honour, he is held accountable for his crime and is bodily or financially penalised. So eligibility for performance is responsibility, and its basis in man is intellectual discrimination. There are three states which a person may have in relation to eligibility for performance:

(1) A person could completely lack or lose eligibility for performance, like a young child during his childhood or an insane person during his insanity (regardless of his age), neither of whom has eligibility for performance because they lack human reason, and for neither of whom are there legal consequences entailed by their words or actions. Their agreements and legal dispositions are null and void, the limit of which is that if either of them commits a crime against another's person or possessions, he is responsible for paying the indemnity out of his own property, but not subject to retaliation in his own person. This is the meaning of the scholars' expression, "The intentional act of a child or insane person is an honest mistake."

(2) A person could have partial eligibility for performance, an example of which is the child who has reached the age of mental discrimination (def: f1.2) but not puberty (k13.8), or the retarded person, who is not disturbed in intellect nor totally bereft of it, but rather is weak-minded and lacking in intellect, so that the Sacred Law treats him as it does the child with discrimination. Because each of these two possesses the basis of eligibility for performance by the fact of having discrimination, those of their legal actions which are absolutely beneficial to them, such as accepting gifts or alms, are valid without their guardian's permission. As for those of their legal actions which are wholly harmful to them, such as giving donations or waiving their rights to something, these are not in any way valid, even with the guardian's permission. The gift, bequest, endowment, and divorce of such persons are not valid, and the guardian's permission is irrelevant to these actions. The legal actions of the child with discrimination or the retarded person which are between absolute benefit and absolute harm to him are valid, but only on condition that the guardian gives his permission for them. If the guardian gives permission for the agreement or disposition, it is implemented, and if he does not permit it, the action is invalid.

(3) Or a person could have full eligibility for performance by the fact of having reached puberty sound of mind. Events, however, may befall this eligibility. They include those that happen to a person without affecting his eligibility for performance by eliminating or diminishing it, but which alter some rulings concerning him because of considerations and interests that arise through these events, not because of loss or lessening of eligibility for performance. Examples include the foolhardy and the absentminded person. Both have reached puberty with normal intelligence and have full eligibility for performance, but to protect their own property from loss and prevent them from becoming a financial burden on others, they are declared legally incompetent in financial dealings such that neither their financial transactions nor donations are valid. This is not because of a lack or lessening of their eligibility for performance, but rather to protect their own property. A debtor has likewise reached puberty with normal intelligence and possessess full eligibility for performance, but to protect the rights of his creditors, he is declared legally incompetent to make transactions with his money that infringe on the rights of his creditors, such as charitable donations(Ilm usul al-fiqh (y71) 134-40).

BOOK D - INTRODUCTION (by al-Misri)

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d1.0 AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION

d1.1 In the name of Allah, Most Merciful and Compassionate. Praise be to Allah, Lord of the Worlds. Allah bless our liegelord Mohammed, his folk, and his Companions one and all.

d1.2 This is a summary of the school of Imam Shafi'i (the mercy and bliss of Allah Most High be upon him) in which I have confined myself to the most dependable positions (al-sahih) of the school according to Imam Rafi'i and Imam Nawawi, or according to just one of them. I may mention a difference of opinion herein, this being when their recensions contend (dis: w12), giving Nawawi's position first (0: as he is the foremost reference of the school), and then as opposed to it, that of Rafi'i (n:generally left untranslated because it is the weaker position where mentioned).

d1.3 I have named it The Reliance of the Traveller and Tools of the Worshipper. (0: Reliance means that which is depended upon, since the author meant that this text should be a reliable resource work for whoever goes by it, because it contains the most dependable positions of the school and omits the weak ones. Traveller (salik) derives from travel (suluk), meaning to proceed along, the allusion being to the

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spiritual journey, meaning one's seeking knowledge of the rules of religion with seriousness and effort, to thereby reach Allah Most High and be saved from perdition.Tools are physical instruments their owner depends on in his work, like those of a carpenter. The tools here are knowledge of the rules of Sacred Law found in this text which the validity of worship depends upon.) d1.4 I ask Allah to give benefit through it, and He is my sufficiency, and best to rely on.

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e1.0 WATER

e1.1 Water is of various types:

(1) purifying;

(2) pure;

(3) and impure.

e1.2 Purifying means it is pure in itself and it purifies other things. (O: Purification (Ar. tahara) in Sacred Law is lifting a state of ritual impurity (hadath, def:e7), removing filth (najasa, e14), or matters similar to these, such as purificatory baths (ghusl) that are merely sunna or renewing ablution (wudu) when there has been no intervening ritual impurity.)

e1.3 Pure means it is pure in itself but cannot purify other things (O: such as water that has already been used to lift a state of ritual impurity).

e1.4 Impure means it is neither purifying nor pure. (O: Namely:

(1) less than 216 litres of water (qullatayn) which is contaminated by filth (najasa), even when none of the water's characteristics (n: i.e. taste, color, or odor) have changed.

(2) or 216 liters or more of water when one of its characteristics of taste, color, or odor have changed (n:through the effect of the filth. As for the purity of water that has been used to wash away filth, it is discussed below at e14.14).)

e1.5 It is not permissible (O: or valid) to lift a state of ritual impurity or remove filth except with plain water (O: not used water (def:(2) below), or something other than water like vinegar or milk), meaning purifying water as it comes from nature, no matter what quality it may have (O: of taste. such as being fresh or saline (N: including seawater); of color, such as being white, black, or red; or of odor, such as having a pleasant smell).

e1.7 It is not permissible to purify (def: e1.2(O:)) with:

(1) water that has changed so much that it is no longer termed water through admixture with

something pure like flour or saffron which could have been avoided;

(2) less than 216 litres of water that has already been used for the obligation (dis:c2.1(A:), end) of lifting a state of ritual impurity, even if only that of a child;

(3) or less that 216 litres of water that has been used to remove filth, even if this resulted in no change in the water.

e1.8 It is permissible to purify with water:

(1) (non-(1) above) that has been only slightly changed by saffron or the like;

(2) that has been changed by proximity with something such as aloes or oil that are (O: i.e. even if) fragrant;

(3) that has been changed by something impossible to prevent, such as algae, tree leaves falling in it, dust, or the effects of standing too long;

(4) (non-(2) of the previous ruling) that has already been used for a nonobligatory use such as the sunnas of rinsing out the mouth, renewing ablution when there has been no intervening state of ritual impurity, or a sunna purificatory bath;

(5) or water that has already been used (n: to lift a state of ritual impurity) and has now been added together until it amounts to 216 litres or more.

e1.9 With less than 216 litres, if a person performing ablution (after washing his face once) or the purificatory bath (after making intention for it) makes the intention in his heart to use his hands to scoop up the water, then the introduction of his hands into this amount of water does not make the water used. But if not (O: if he does not make this intention at all, or does so after putting his hands in the water, which is less than 216 litres), then the rest of the water is considered as already used (n: and no longer purifying. But in the Maliki school (dis: c6.4 (end)), it is valid (though offensive) to lift a state of ritual impurity with water that has already been used for that purpose (al-Sharh al-saghir'ala Aqrab al-Malik ila madhhab al-Imam Malik (y35), 1.37)).

e1.10 As for 216 litres or more of water, even if two or more persons in a state of major ritual impurity (janaba, def; e10) are immersed in it, whether simultaneously or serially, their impurity is lifted and the water does not thereby become used (n: but remains purifying).

e1.11 Qullatayn (lit. "two great jars") roughly equal five hundred Baghdad ritls, and their volume is one and a quarter dhira in height, width, and length. (n: The definition of qullatayn as being 216 litres is based on estimating the dhira' at fortyeight centimetres. Metric equivalents of Islamic weights and measures are given at w15.)

e1.12 Two hundred and sixteen litres of water does not become impure by mere contact with filth, but only becomes so by changing (n: in taste, colour, or smell) because of it, even when (O: this change is) only slight.

e1.13 If such change (n: in 216 litres or more of water) disappears by itself (O: such as through standing at length) or by water is used or impure) then the water in again purifying.

e1.14 But the 216 litres of water does not become purifying if the change disappears by (O: putting) such things as musk (O: in it, or ambergris, or camphor, which mask the Scent ; or putting saffron and the like in which mask the colour) or vinegar (O: which masks the taste) or earth.

e1.15 Less than 216 litres becomes impure by mere contact with filth, whether the water changes or not, unless filth falls into it whose amount (N: before it falls in is so small that it) is indiscernible by eyesight (A eyesight, here and for all rulings, meaning an average look, not a negligent glance nor yet a minute inspection), or if something dead falls into it of creatures without flowing blood, such as flies and the like, in both cases it remains purifying. This is equally true of running or still water.

e1.16 When less than 216 litres of impure water is added to (O: even if with impure water) until is amounts to 216 litres or more and no change (def: below) remains in it, then it is (O: has become) purifying.

e1.17 Change, resulting from something pure or impure, means in colour, taste, or smell. (N: But the least change caused by filth makes water (n: even if more than 216 litres) impure, while change caused by something pure does not hurt as long as it can still be termed water. For example, when sugar and tea, it has become pure but not purifying. As for a slight discoloration by tea leaves, or a slight sweetness from sugar, this does not negate water's being purifying.)

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e2.0 CONTAINERS AND UTENSILS

e2.1 Purification is permissible with water from any pure container, except those of gold or silver, or those to which enough gold or silver has been applied that any of it could be collected from the vessel by heating it with fire (N: meaning that if the vessel were exposed to fire, the metallice coat would melt and seperate from the container, even if not drop by drop). Such containers or utensils are unlawful for men or women to use in purification, eating, drinking, or other use (O: of any type whatever). It is unlawful to acquire such a container or utensil even if one does not use it. Even a small eye-liner stick of silver is unlawful.

e2.2 Vessels soldered with gold are absolutely unlawful. It is unlawful to use a vessel to which much def:14.5) silver solder has been applied by way of decoration; permissible to use a vessel to which only a little silver solder has been applied by way of a needed repair; and offensive but not unlawful to use a vessel to which only a little silver has been applied for decoration, or much out of neccessity. Solder means that a part of the vessel has been broken and then silver is put there to hold it together.

e2.3 It is offensive to use the vessels of non-Muslims (N: before washing them) (O: to be certain of the purity of the vessels used, since non-Muslims are not as concerned about purity as Muslims are) or wear their clothers (O: for the same reason).

e2.4 It is permissible to use a vessel made of any precious gem, such as a ruby or emerald.

e3.0 USING A TOOTHSTICK (SIWAK)

(O: In Sacred Law it refers to the use of a twig or the like on the teeth and around them to remove an unpleasant change in the breath or similar, together with the intention (n: of performing the sunna).)

e3.1 Using a toothstick is recommended any time, except after noon for someone who is fasting, in which case it is offensive. (A: Using toothpaste is also offensive then, and if any reaches the stomach of someone fasting, it is unlawful (n: if the fast is obligatory, as this breaks a fast).)

e3.2 It is especially desirable to use the toothstick for every prayer, for reading (O: the Koran, hadith, or a lesson), ablution, yellowness of teeth, waking from sleep, entering one's house, and for any change of breath from eating something with a bad odor or from not eating. (A: When there exists a demand for an act, such as using the toothstick before reading the Koran, and an equal demand not to, as when it is after noon on a fast-day, then the proper course is not to do it.)

e3.3 Anything coarse is adequate (n: to fulfill the sunna) except rough fingers, though the best is a twig from the arak (n: a desert shrub) that is dried (N: meaning previously cut from the shrub long enough to have dried) and then moistened.

e3.4 It is best to clean the teeth laterally, beginning on the right and paying particular attention to the bases of the back teeth, and to intend the sunna thereby.

e4.0 THE BODY

e4.1 It is sunna:

(1) to trim the fingernails and toenails;

(2) to clip one's mustache (O: when it grows long. The most one should clip is enough to show the pink of the upper lip. Plucking it out or shaving it off is offensive.) (A: Shaving one's beard is unlawful according to all Imams except Shafi'i, who wrote two opinions about it, one that it is offensive, and the others that it is unlawful. A weak chain of narrators ascribes an opinion of offensiveness to Imam Malik. It is unbelief (kufr) to turn from the sunna in order to imitate non-Muslims when one believes their way to be superior to the sunna);

(3) for those used to it, to pluck away the hair of the underarms and nostrils, though if plucking the underarms is a hardship, then shaving them; and to shave the public hair;

(4) and to line the eyes with kohl (n: an antimonic compound that one should be careful to see contains no lead), each eye an odd number of times, preferably three.

e.4.2 It is offensive to shave part of the head and leave part unshaven (A: though merely cutting some of the hair shorter than another part is not objectionable). There is no harm in shaving it all off (O: but it is not recommended except for the rites of hajj and umra (n: the greater and lesser pilgrimages)).

e4.3 Circumcision is obligatory (O: for both men and women. For men it consists of removing the prepuce from the penis, and for women, removing the prepuce (Ar. bazr) of the clitoris (n: not the clitoris itself, as some mistakenly assert). (A: Hanbalis hold that circumcision of women is not obligatory but sunna, while Hanafis consider it a mere courtesy to the husband.)

e4.4 It is unlawful for men or women to dye their hair black, except when the intention is jihad (O: as a show of strength to unbelievers). Plucking out gray hair is offensive. It is sunna to dye the hair with yellow or red. (N: It is unlawful for a woman to cut her hair to disfigure herself (n:e.g. for mourning), though if done for the sake of beauty it is permissible.) It is sunna for a married woman to dye all of her hands and feet with henna (n: a red plant dye). but it is unlawful for men to do so unless it is needed (N: to protect from sunburn, for example).

e5.0 ABLUTION (WUDU) (by al-Misri)

(N: Meaning to wash certain parts of the body with water, with the intention of worship.) (O: The legal basis for ablution, prior to scholarly consensus, is the word of Allah Most High. "O believers, when you go to pray, wash your faces, and wash your forearms to the elbows, wipe your heads, and [wash] your feet to the two anklebones" (Koran 5.6) and the hadith related by Muslim. "A prayer is not accepted without purification.")

THE INTEGRALS OF ABLUTION

e5.1 Ablution has six obligatory integrals:

(a) to have the intention when one starts washing the face;

(b) to wash the face;

(c) to wash the arms up to and including the elbows;

(d) to wipe a little of the head with wet hands;

(e) to wash the feet up to and including the anklebones;

(f) and to do these things in the order mentioned.

The sunnas of ablution are all its actions besides the above. (N: The obligatory minimum is to perform (b), (c), (d), and (e) once, though the sunna is to perform them each three times.)

THE INTENTION

e5.2 The person performing ablution intends:

(1) to lift a state of lesser ritual impurity (hadath) (O: since the purpose of ablution is to eliminate that which prevents prayer and the like);

(2) to purify for the prayer;

(3) or to purify for something not permissible without purification, such as touching a Koran, or something else.(N: The simple intention to perform the obligation of ablution suffices in place of all the above.)

e5.3 The above intentions are not used by three types of people when performing ablution:

(1) a woman with chronic vaginal discharge (def:e13.6);

(2) a person unable to hold back intermittent drops of urine coming from him (n: or with some similar state of chronic annulment of ablution (e13.7));

(3) or a person intending to perform dry ablution (tayammum,def:e12).

Such people merely intend permission to perform the obligation of the prayer as they begin their ablution. (O: The intention to lift a state of minor ritual impurity is inadequate for these people because their state of impurity is not lifted.) (n: Rather the Sacred Law gives them a dispensation to perform the prayer and so forth without lifting it.)

e5.4 The necessary condition of ablution is that the intention for it exist in the heart and that it accompany one's washing the first part of the face. It is recommended to pronounce it aloud, and that it be present in the heart from the first of ablution (O: during the preliminary sunnas before washing the face, so as to earn their reward). It is obligatory that this intention persist in the heart until one washes the first part of the face (O: as that is the first part of the face (O: as that is the first integral). If one confines oneself to making the intention when washing the face, it suffices, but one is not rewarded for the previous sunnas of rinsing the mouth and nostrils and washing the hands (N: provided that one merely intended cleanliness or something else by them and the intention of worship did not come to one's mind).

HOW TO PERFORM ABLUTION

e5.5 It is recommended to begin ablution by mentioning (n: in Arabic, like the other invocations in this volume (def:wl)) the name of Allah Most High (O: by saying "In the name of Allah," which is the minimum. The optimum is to say, "In the name of Allah. Most Merciful and Compassionate," Before this, it is sunna to say, "I take refuge in Allah from the accursed Devil," and to add after the Basmala: "Praise to Allah for Islam and its blessings. Praise to Allah who made water purifying and Islam a light. My Lord, I take refuge in You from the whispering of devils and take refuge in You lest they come to me." It is sunna to say all the above to oneself.) If one internationally or absentmindedly omits saying the name of Allah (n: at the first of ablution), then one pronounces it during it (O: by saying, "In the name of Allah, first to last").

e5.6 It is recommended to wash the hands three times. (O: By saying "three times," the author indicates the sunna character of performing such acts thrice, and that it is an independent sunna (N: rewarded apart from the sunnas it is conjoined with).) If one has doubts as to whether or not one's hands are free of filth, it is offensive to dip them into less than 216 litres of water without first washing them three times. (O: When sure they are pure, it is not offensive to immerse them. When sure they are impure, it is unlawful to dip them into this amount of water (N: since it spoils it by making it impure).)

e5.7 One next uses the toothstick (def:e3), and then rinses the mouth and nose out three times, with three handfuls of water. One takes in a mouthful from a handful of water and snuffs up some of the rest of the handful into the nostrils (n: swishing the water around the mouth, and expelling the water of the mouth and the nose simultaneously), then again rinses the mouth and then the nostrils from a second handful of water, followed by rinsing the mouth and then the nostrils from the third handful of water. One lets the water reach as much of the mouth and nostrils as possible, unless fasting, when one goes lightly.

c5.8 Then one washes the face three times, face meaning from the point where the hairline usually begins to the chin in height, and from ear to ear in width.

e5.9 It is obligatory to wash all facial hair-inner, outer, and the skin beneath, whether the hair is thick or thin or thin-such as eyebrows, mustache, and so forth; except for the beard, since:

(1) if it is thin its inner and outer hair and the skin beneath must be washed;

(2) but if thick, then the outer hair is enough, though it is recommended to saturate it by combing it from beneath with wet fingers. It is obligatory to cause the water to flow over the outer(O: hair of the) part of the beard that hangs below the chin (O: though not its inner hair). It is obligatory to wash part of the head in every direction beyond the bounds of the face, to make sure everything has been completely covered. It is sunna to use new water to saturate one's beard (O: if it is thick) by combing it from beneath with the fingers.

c5.10 Then one washes the hands up to and including the elbows three times. (If the arm has been amputated between the hand and elbow, it is necessary to wash the remaining forearm and the elbow, If amputated at the elbow, then the end of the upper arm must be washed. If it has been amputated between the elbow and shoulder, then it is recommended to wash the rest of the upper arm.)

c5.11 Then one wipes the head with wet hands, beginning at the front of the head, sliding the paired hands back to the nape of the neck, and then returning them to where one began. (O: This is an explanation of the best way, for otherwise, fulfilling the obligation does not depend on starting at the front, but may be from any part of the head.) One does this three times. If one is bald, or one's hair never grew, or is long, or braided, then it is not recommended to slide the hands back to the front. Each of the following suffices as wiping the head:

(1) to place the hand on the head without moving it so that one wets any of what is referred to by "wiping the head," the minimum of which is part of a single hair, provided this part does not hang below the limits of the head;

(2) to drip water on the head without making it flow over it;\

(3) or to wash the head (If it is difficult to remove one's turban, then after wiping the minimum of the head required, one may finish by wiping the turban.)

c5.12 One then wipes the ears inside and out with new water, three times, and then the ear canals with one's little fingers with more new water, three times (O: though this second sunna is not separately mentioned in the more well known books, which speak of the two sunnas together, making "wiping the ears" include the ear canals).

c5.13 Then one washes the feet up to and including the anklebones three times.

c5.14 If one does not know whether one washed a particular limb or the head three times (N: as is sunna), then one assumes one has washed it the least number that one is sure of, and washes as many additional times as it takes to be certain one has reached three.

c5.15 One begins with the when washing arms and legs, but not the hands, cheeks, and ears, which are washed right and left simultaneously.

c5.16 One washes more than is obligatory of the face by adding part of the head and neck, and likewise with the arms and legs by washing above the elbows and ankles, the maximum of which is the whole upper arm or lower leg.

c5.17 One washes the parts of the body successively and without pausing between them (O:such that in normal weather the last part would not dry before one began the next), though if one pauses between them, even for a long time, one's ablution is still valid without renewing the intention.

c5.18 After finishing, one says: "I testify that there is no god but Allah, alone, without partner, and I testify that Mohammed is His slave and messenger. O Allah, make me one of the oftrepentant, one of the purified, one of Your goodly slaves. O Allah, I declare Your exaltedness above every imperfection and Your Praise. I testify ther is no god but you. I ask Your forgiveness and turn to You in repentance." There are supplications said for each limb washed, but these are not authenticated as being of the sunna.

OTHER RECOMMENDED MEASURES

e5.19 Other recommended measures (adab) include:

(1) facing the direction of prayer;

(2) not to talk during ablution for other than a necessity;

(3) and to begin with the top of the face and not slap water upon it.

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e5.20 If another person is pouring one's water (N: or if using a tap) one begins washing the arms from the elbows, and the feet from the anklebones. If pouring one's own water (N: from a jug, for example), one begins washing the arms from the fingers and the feet from the toes.

e5.21 One should take care that water reaches the inner corners of the eyes, and the heels (N: up to the level of the anklebones) and similar places it is feared one may neglect, especially during the winter.

e5.22 One moves one's ring when washing the hand to allow water to reach the skin beneath. (O: If the water cannot otherwise get under it, it is obligatory to move the ring.)

e5.23 One saturates between the toes using the little finger of the left hand. One begins with the little toe of the right foot, coming up through the toes from beneath, and finishes with the little toe of the left.

THINGS OFFENSIVE IN ABLUTION

e5.24 It is offensive:

(1) to have another person wash one's limbs, unless there is some excuse (O: such as old age or the like);

(2) to wash the left before the right;

(3) or to waste water.

e5.25 It is recommended:

(1) not to use less than 0.51 liers (mudd) of water for ablution;

(2) not to use less than 2.03 liters (sa') of water for the purificatory bath (ghusl);

(3) not to dry off the parts washed in ablution (N: unless there is an excuse such as illness or cold weather) or shake the water off one's hands;

(4) not to ask another to pour water for one's ablution;

(5) and not to wipe the neck.

OTHER PROVISIONS

e5.26 If dirt under the nails prevents the water (O: of ablution or the purificatory bath from reaching the skin beneath) then the ablution (O: or bath) is not valid. (N: The same is true of waterproof glue, paint, nail polish, and so forth on the nails or skin: if it prevents water from reaching any part of the nails or skin, no matter how small, one's ablution or purificatory bath is not valid.)

e5.27 If one has doubts during the course of the ablution that one has washed a particular limb or the head, then it is obligatory to wash it again and everything that follows it in the ablution sequence. But if these doubts arise after one has finished ablution, one need not repeat anything. (A: The same is true of the purificatory bath (ghusl).)

e5.28 It is recommended to renew the ablution (N: when there has been no intervening state of minor ritual impurity) when one has performed any prayer, obligatory or nonobligatory, will it.

e5.29 Ablution is recommended for someone in a state of major ritual impurity (janaba) who wishes to eat, drink, sleep or make love again. And Allah knows best.

e6.0 WIPING FOOTGEAR

(N: Wiping one's footgear (Ar. khuff) with wet hands is a dispensation that can take the place of the fifth ablution integral of washing the feet. The footgear Muslims generally use for this are ankle-high leather socks that zip up and are worn inside the shoes.)

e6.1 Wiping footgear is permissible for 72 hours (lit. "three days and nights") to a traveller on a lawful trip (N: one not undertaken for purposes of disobeying Allah) that fulfills the conditions permitting one to shorten prayers on journeys (def:f15.1-5). Wiping them is permissible to a nontraveller for 24 hours (lit. "a day and a night"). (n: At the end of these periods, one removes the footgear to perform ablution, or, if one has ablution at the time, to wash the feet, before putting them on again and starting a new period of permissibility, as at e6.7) The beginning of the period is reckoned from the time of the first minor ritual impurity (hadath) that occurs after having put them on while in a state of ablution. Wiping footgear is permissible for only 24 hours:

(1) when one has wiped one has wiped both of a pair of footgear for ablution or just one of the pair (n: leaving the other for later) when not on a trip, and then begun travelling;

(2) or (O: When one has wiped both of a pair of footgear or just one) when on the trip and then finished travelling;

(3) or when one is in doubt as to whether one first wiped one's footgear for ablution while travelling or whether it was while not travelling. Wiping footgear is permissible for 72 hours if one's ablution is nullified when not travelling and one then lifts that state of minor ritual impurity by wiping them for the ablution while travelling.

e6.2 When one doubts as to whether or not the permissible period for wiping them has expired, then one may not wipe them while the doubt exists. (A: Because dispensations cannot be taken unless one is certain (N: of their necessary conditions).) If one has doubts(n: when near the end of the permissible period for wiping them, for example, and uncertain exactly when it began) about whether one nullified one's ablution at the time of the noon prayer, or whether it was at the time of the midafternoon prayer, then one proceeds on the assumption that it was at the time of the noon prayer.

e6.3 If a state of major ritual impurity (janaba) occurs during the permissible period for wiping footgear, then one must take them off for the purificatory bath (ghusl).

e6.4 The conditions for the permissibility of wiping footgear are:

(a) that one have full ablution when one first puts them on;

(b) that they be free of filth;

(c) that they cover the whole foot up to and including the anklebones;

(d) that they prevent water (N: if dripped on them drop by drop from directly) reaching the foot (O:-if water reaches the foot through the holes of a seam's statues, it does not affect the validity of wiping them, though if water can reach the foot through any other place, it violates this condition); (e) and that they be durable enough to keep walking around upon a travellers do in attending to their needs (O: when encamping, departing, etc.); -no matter whether they are of leather, felt, layers of rags (N: including thick, heavy wool socks that prevent water from reaching the foot (A: not modern dress socks (n:due to non(d) and (e) above), which are not valid to wipe in any school, even if many are worn in layers)), wood, or other; nor whether they have a cleavage laced up with eyelets (O: provided none of the foot shows). One may not wipe footgear if wearing just one of a pair, washing the other foot. Nor if any of the foot shows through a hole in them.

e6.6 It is sunna to wipe the footgear on the top, bottom, and heel in lines (N: as if combing something with the fingers), without covering every part of them or wiping them more than once. One puts the left hand under the heel and the right hand on top of the foot at the toes, drawing the right hand back towards the shin while drawing the left along the bottom of the foot in the opposite direction towards the toes. It is sufficient as wiping the footgear to wipe any part of their upper surface (9n: with wet hands), from the top of the foot up to the level of the anklebones. It is not sufficient to only wipe some of the bottom, heel, side of the foot, or some of the footgear's inner surface that faces the skin.

e6.7 When on an ablution that was performed by wiping the footgear, and then some part of the foot shows because of taking them off, or through a hole, it's sufficient (N: to complete one's ablution) to merely wash the feet again (O: without repeating the ablution).

e7.0 THE FOUR CAUSES OF MINOR RITUAL IMPURITY (HADATH)

(N: Meaning the things that nullify one's ablution.)

ANYTHING THAT EXITS FROM THE PRIVATE PARTS

e7.1 The first is anything that exits from the front or rear private parts, whether a substance (O: such as urine or feces) (N: or the mucus that exits from the vagina with or without sexual stimulation, though not a woman's sexual fluid that appears through orgasm, discussed below) or wind, and whether something usual or something uncommon such as a worm or stones. But not a male's sperm or female's sexual fluid (Ar. maniyy, that which exits with orgasmic contractions, whether a man's or a woman's (def:e10.4)), which necessitates the purificatory bath (N: as it causes major ritual impurity) but does not necessarily nullify ablution, an example of this being someone firmly seated (dis: e7.2 second paragraph) who sleeps and has a wet dream, or someone who looks at something lustfully and sperm or sexual fluid come. Otherwise, if one makes love to one's spouse, or has an orgasm while lying asleep, ablution is nullified (n: respectively) by touching the spouse's skin (e7.3) or by sleep (below).

LOSS OF INTELLECT THROUGH SLEEP ETC.

e7.2 The second cause of minor ritual impurity is loss of intellect (O: meaning the loss of the ability to distinguish, whether through insanity, unconsciousness, sleep, or other. Loss of intellect excludes drowsing and daydreaming, which do not nullify ablution. Among the signs of drowsing is that one can hear the words of those present, even if uncomprehendingly). Sleep while firmly seated on the ground (A: or any other surface firm enough to prevent a person's breaking wind while seated on it asleep) does not nullify ablution, whether riding mounted, leaning on something which if removed would cause one to fall, or otherwise seated. If one sleeps when firmly seated and one's rear moves from its place before one awakens, this nullifies one's ablution. But not if:

(1) one's rear moved after or during awakening, or if one is uncertain about whether it happened before awakening or during;

(2) one's arm dropped to the ground while one was firmly seated;

(3) or when one drowses while not firmly seated, hearing but not comprehending, or if one is uncertain as to whether one drowsed or slept, or uncertain as to whether one slept while firmly seated or not firmly seated.

CONTACT OF MAN AND WOMAN'S SKIN

e7.3 The third cause of minor ritual impurity is when any, no matter how little, of the two skins of a man and woman touch (N: husband and wife, for example) when they are not each other's unmarriageable kin (Ar. mahram, def:m6), even if they touch without sexual desire, or unintentionally, and even if with tongue or a nonfunctional or surplus limb; though touching does not include contact with teeth, nails, hair, or a severed limb. Ablution is also nullified by touching AN AGED person or a corpse (N: of the opposite sex) but not by touching a member of one's unmarriageable kin, or a child who is younger than the age that usually evokes sexual interest. One's ablution is not nullified when one is uncertain about:

(1) whether one touched a male or female;

(2) whether one touched hair or skin;

(3) or whether the person one touched was one's unmarriageable kin or not.

TOUCHING HUMAN PRIVATE PARTS WITH HAND

e7.4 The fourth cause of minor impurity is touching human private parts with the palm or inner surface of the fingers only(N: i.e those parts which touch when the hands are put together palm to palm), whether one touches the private parts:

(1) absentmindedly;

(2) without sexual desire;

(3) in the front or rear;

(4) of a male or female;

(5) of oneself or another, even if deceased, or a child; -but not if one touches them with one's finger tips, the skin between the fingers, with the outer edge of the hand, or touches the corresponding parts of an animal.

e7.5 Ablution is not nullified by vomiting, letting blood, nosebleed, laughing during the prayer, eating camel meat, or other things (N: not discussed above).

e7.6 When certain that a minor ritual impurity has occurred, but uncertain whether one subsequently lifted it (N: with ablution), then one is in a state of minor ritual impurity (A: because in Sacred Law, a state whose existence one is certain about does not cease through a state whose existence one is uncertain about). When certain that one had ablution, but uncertain that it was subsequently nullified, then one still has ablution.

e8.0 ACTIONS UNLAWFUL DURING MINOR RITUAL IMPURITY

e8.1 The following are unlawful for someone in a state of minor ritual impurity:

(1) to perform the prayer;

(2) to prostrate when reciting the Koran at verses in which it is sunna to do so (def; f11.13);

(3) to prostrate out of thanks (f11.19);

(4) to circumambulate the Kaaba (j5);

(5) or to carry a Koran, even by a strap or in a box, or touch it, whether its writing, the spaces between its lines, its margins, binding, the carrying strap attached to it, or the bag or box it is in. (n: Other aspects of proper manners (adab) towards the Book of Allah are treated below at w16.) (A: The opinion expressed in Fiqh al-sunna that it is permissible to touch the Koran without ritual purity is a deviant view contrary to all four schools of jurisprudence and impermissible to teach (dis:r7.1(3), except to explain that it is oberrant)(n:Though in the Hanifi school. it is permissible for someone in a state of minor ritual impurity to touch or carry a Koran that is inside a cover not physically attached to it, such as a case or bag, as opposed to something joined to it, like a binding (al-Lubab fi sharh al-Kitab (y88), 1.43). And Allah knows best.)

e8.2 It is also unlawful (n: when without ablution) to touch or carry any of the Koran written for the purpose of study, even a single verse or part of one, as when written on a slate or the like. (O: But this is permissible for nonstudy purposes such as when the Koran is intended to be an amulet (def:w17). It is not prohibited to touch or carry such an amulet even if it contains whole suras, or even, as Sheikh (N:Shirbini) al-Khatib has said, if it contains the whole Koran.) It is permissible to carry a Koran in one's baggage and to carry money, rings, or clothes on which Koran is written. It is permissible to carry books of Sacred Law, hadith, or Koranic exegesis which contain Koran, provided that most of their text is not Koran (O:because the non-Koranic part is the purpose, though this is unlawful if half or more is Koran). Boys who have reached the age of discrimination (def:f1.2(O:)) may touch or carry the Koran while in a state of minor ritual impurity (O:because of the need to learn it and the hardship of their keeping ablution, and likewise for young girls, though this is for study alone, as opposed to nonstudy, when it is unlawful. As for children under this age, their guardian may not give a Koran to them) (A:as this is an insult to it. Also,teachers should remind children that it is unlawful to

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moisten one's fingers with saliva to turn its pages). Someone in a state of minor or major impurity may write Koran if he does not touch or carry what he has written.

e8.3 When one fears that a Koran may burn, get soaked, that a non-Muslim may touch it,or that it may come into contact with some filth, then one must pick it up if there is no safe place for it, even if one is in a state of minor or major ritual impurity, though performing the dry ablution (tayammum, def:e12) is obligatory if possible.

e8.4 It is unlawful to use a Koran or book of Islamic knowledge as a pillow (O:except for fear of theft, when it is permissible to do so). And Allah knows best.

e9.0 GOING TO LAVATORY

e9.1 It is recommended when one intends to use the lavatory:

(1) to put something on one's feet, unless there is an excuse (O:such as not having shoes);

(2) to cover the head (O: even if only with a handkerchief or other);

(3) to set aside anything on which there is the mention of Allah Most High. His messenger (Allah bless him and give him peace), or any revered name (O:like those of prophets or angels). If one enters with a ring (O:on which something worthy of respect is written), one closes one's hand around it;

(4) to ready stones (N: or other suitable material (def:e9.5)) (O:if one uses them) to clean oneself of filth (N:though water alone is sufficient);

(5) to say before entering: "In the name of Allah. O Allah, I take refuge in You from demons, male and female," and after leaving. "[O Lord,] Your forgiveness: Praise be to Allah who rid me of the hurt and gave me health";

(6) to enter with the left foot first and depart with the right foot first (and this, together with and above, are not only for indoors, but recommended outdoors as well);

(7) not to raise one's garment until one squats down to the ground (O: to keep one's nakedness covered as much as possible) and to lower it before one stand up;

(8) to put most of one's weight on the left foot while squatting;

(9) not to spend a long time;

(10) not to speak;

(11) when finished urinating, for men to squeeze the penis with the left hand from base to head (O: recommended because this is where the urethra is, and for women to squeeze their front between thumb and forefinger) (N: so urine does not exit later and nullify one's ablution) pulling lightly three times (O: this being recommended when one thinks the urine has stopped, though if one thinks it has not, this is obligatory);

(12) not to urinate while standing (O: which is offensive) unless there is an excuse (N: such as when standing is less likely to spatter urine on one's clothes than sitting, or when sitting is a hardship);

(13) not to clean oneself with water in the same place one relieved oneself, if it might spatter, though if in a lavatory one need not move to a different place;

(14) to distance oneself from others if outdoors and to screen oneself;

(15) not to urinate into holes, on hard places, where there is wind, in waterways, where people gather to talk, on paths, under fruit trees, near graves, in still water, or in less than 216 liters of running water;

(16) and not to relieve oneself with one's front or rear facing the sun, moon, or the Sacred Precinct in Jerusalem.

e9.2 It is unlawful to urinate on anything edible, bones, anything deserving respect, a grave or in a mosque, even if into a receptacle.

e9.3 It is unlawful to urinate or defecate with one's front or rear towards the direction of prayer when outdoors and there is no barrier to screen one, though this is permissible when one is indoors within a meter and a half of a barrier at least 32 cm. high, or in a hole that deep. When one is not this close to such a barrier at least 32 cm. high, or in a hole that deep. When one is not this close to such a barrier, it is not permissible except in a lavatory, where, if the walls are farther from one than the maximal distance or are shorter than the minimal height, relieving oneself with front or rear towards the direction of prayer is permissible, though offensive.

e9.4 It is obligatory to clean oneself of every impure substance coming from one's front or rear, though not from gas, dry worms or stones, or excrement without moisture.

e9.5 Stones suffice to clean oneself, though it is best to follow this by washing with water. Anything can take the place of stones that is a solid, pure, removes the filth, is not something that deserves respect or is worthy of veneration, nor something that is edible (O: these being five conditions for the validity of using stones (N: or something else) to clean oneself of filth without having to follow it by washing with water). But it is obligatory to wash oneself with water if:

(1) one has washed away the filth with a liquid other than water, or with something impure;

(2) one has become soiled with filth from a separate source;

(3) one's waste has moved from where it exited (n: reaching another part of one's person) or has dried;

(4) or if feces spread beyond the inner buttocks (N: meaning that which is enfolded when standing), or urine moved beyond the head of the penis, though if they do not pass beyond them, stones suffice. It is obligatory (N: when cleaning oneself with a dry substance alone) to both remove the filth, and to wipe three times, even when once is enough to clean it, doing this either with three pieces (lit. "stones") or three sides of one piece. If three times does not remove it, it is obligatory to (N: repeat it enough to) clean it away (O: as that is the point of cleaning oneself. Nawawi says in al-Majmu' that cleaning oneself (N: with a dry substance) means to remove the filth so that nothing remains but a trace that could not be removed unless one were to use water) (N: and when this has been done, any remaining effects of filth that could have been done, any remaining effects of filth that could have only been removed with water are excusable). An odd number of strokes is recommended. One should wipe from front to back on the right side with the first piece, similarly wipe the left with the second, and wipe both sides and the anus with the third. Each stroke must begin at a point on the skin that is free of impurity. It is offensive to use the right hand to the oneself of filth.

e9.6 It is best to clean oneself of filth before ablution, though if one waits until after it to clean, the ablution is nevertheless valid(N: provided that while cleaning, the inside surface of the hand (def: e7.4 does not touch the front or rear private parts). If one waits until after one's dry ablution (tayammum, def:e12) to clean away filth, the dry ablution is not valid (A: because lack of filth is a condition for it).

e10.0 MAJOR RITUAL IMPURITY (JANABA)

e10.1 The purification bath (ghusl, def:e11) is obligatory for a male when:

(1) sperm exists from him;

(2) or the head of his penis enters a vagina;

and is obligatory for a female when:

(1) sexual fluid (def: below) exits from her;

(2) the head of a penis enters her vagina;

(3) after her menstrual period;

(4) after her postnatal lochia stops or after a child is born in a dry birth.

(n: The Arabic term maniyy used in all these rulings refer to both male sperm and female sexual fluid, i.e that which comes from orgasm, and both sexes are intended by the phrase sperm or sexual fluid wherever it appears below.)

e10.3 When a woman who has been made love to performs the purificatory bath, and the male's sperm afterwards leaves her vagina, then she must repeat the ghusl if two conditions exist:

(a) that she is not a child. but rather old enough to have sexual gratification (A: as it might otherwise be solely her husband;s sperm);

(b) and that she was fulfilling her sexual urge with the lovemaking, not sleeping or forced.

e10.4 Male sperm and female sexual fluid are recognised by fact that they:

(a) come in spurts (n: by contractions);

(b) with sexual gratification;

(c) and when moist, smell like bread dough, and when dry, like egg-white.

When a substance from the genital orifice has any one of the above characteristics, then it is sperm or sexual fluid and makes the purificatory bath obligatory. When not even one of the above characteristics is present, it is sperm or sexual fluid. Being white or thick are not being yellow or thin are not necessary for it to be considered female sexual fluid.

e10.5 The purificatory bath is not obligatory:

(1) when there is an unlustful discharge of thin, sticky, white fluid (madhy) caused by amorous play or kissing;

(2) or when there is a discharge of the thick, cloudy white fluid (wady) that exits after urinating (O: or carrying something heavy).

e10.6 If one does not know whether one's discharge is sperm or whether it is madhy (def:(1) above), then one may either:

(1) consider it sperm, and perform the purificatory bath (O: in which case washing the portions of clothes and so forth affected with it is not obligatory, a it is legally considered a pure substance);

(2) or consider it madhy, and wash the affected portions of the body and clothes (N: which is

obligatory, as it is legally considered filth), and perform ablution, though not the purificatory bath. The best course in such cases of uncertainity is to do all of the above(O: of bathing, washing the affected portions, and ablution, so as to take due precaution in one's worship).

e10.7 All things unlawful for someone in minor ritual impurity (def: e8.1) are also unlawful for someone in a state of major ritual impurity (N: or menstruation). In addition, it is likewise unlawful for such a person:

(1) to remain in a mosque;

(2) or to recite any of the Koran, even part of a single verse, though it is permissible to use its

invocations (dhikr) when the intention is not koran recital (O: such as saying in disasters, "Surely we are Allah's, and unto Him we will return," and the like). If one intends Koran recital, it is disobedience, but if one intends it primarily as invocation (dhikr), or as nothing in particular, it is permissible. It is permissible to pass through a mosque (A: though not to enter and leave by the same door (Ar. taraddud), which is unlawful) when one is in a state of major ritual impurity, but this is offensive when there is no need.

e11.0 HOW TO PERFORM THE PURIFICATORY BATH (GHUSL)

e11.1 When performing the purificatory bath, one:

(1) begins by saying, "In the name of Allah, Most Merciful and Compassionate";

(2) removes any unclean matter on the body (O: pure or impure);

(3) performs ablution (wudu) as one does before the prayer;

(4) pours water over the head three times, intending the purificatory bath, or to lift a state of major ritual impurity (janaba) or menstruation, or to be permitted to perform the prayer, and running the fingers through one's hair to saturate it;

(5) and then pours water over the body's right side three times, then over the left side three times, ensuring that water reaches all joints and folds, and rubbing oneself.

(6) If bathing after menstruation, a woman uses some musk to eliminate the afterscent of blood (O: by applying it to a piece of cotton and inserting it, after bathing, into the vagina as far as is obligatory (def: (b) below) for her to wash). (N: What is meant thereby is a substance that removes the traces of filth, by any means, and it is fine to use soap.) Two things (N: alone) are obligatory for the validity of the purificatory bath:

(a) having the intention (4 above) when water is first applied to the parts that must be washed;

(b) and that water reaches all of the hair and skin (N: to the roots of the hair, under nails, and the outwardly visible portion of the ear canals, though unlike ablution the sequence of washing the parts is not obligatory), even under the foreskin of the uncircumcized man, and the private parts of the nonvirgin woman which are normally disclosed when she squats to relieve herself. (n: In the Hanafi school, rinsing out the mouth and nostrils (defL e5.7) is obligatory for the validity of the purificatory bath (al-Lubab fi sharh al-Kitab (y88) 1.14) It is religiously more precautionary for a Muslim never to omit it, and Allah knows best.)

e11.2 If one begins the purificatory bath while on ablution (wudu) but nullifies it (def:e7) before finishing, one simply completes the bath (N: though one needs a new ablution before praying).

e11.3 If there is filth (najasa) on the body, one washes it off by pouring water on it and then performs the purificatory bath, though washing oneself a single time suffices for both removing it and for the purificatory bath.

e11.4 When a woman who is obliged to both lift a state of major ritual impurity (janaba) and purify after menstruation performs the purificatory bath for either of these, it suffices for both.

Whoever performs the bath one time with the intention to (n: both) lift a state of major ritual

impurity and fulfill the sunna of the Friday prayer bath has performed both, though if he only intends one, his bath counts for that one but not the other.

e11.5 The purificatory bath is sunna:

(1) for those who want to attend the Friday prayer (def:f18) (O: the bath's time beginning at dawn);

(2) on the two 'eids (f19) (O: the time for it beginning from the middle of the night);

(3) on days when the sun or moon eclipse;

(4) before the drought prayer (f21);

(5) after washing the dead (O: and it is sunna to perform ablution (wudu) after touching a corpse);

(6) after recovering one's sanity or regaining consciousness after having lost it;

(7) (N: before) entering the state of pilgrim sanctity (ihram, def:j3), when entering Mecca, for

standing at 'Arafa (j8), for circummambulating the Kaaba (j5) and going between Safa and Marwa (j6), for entering Medina, at al-Mash'ar al-Haram (j9.2), and for each day of stoning at Mina (j10) on the three days following 'Eid al-Adha.

e12.0 DRY ABLUTION (TAYAMMUM)

(N: When unable to use water, dry ablution is a dispensation to perform the prayer or similar act

without lifting one's minor or major impurity, by the use of earth for one's ablution.)

e12.1 Three conditions must be met for the legal validity of performing dry ablution.

(a) The first is that it take place after the beginning of the prayer's time if it is for an obligatory or a nonobligatory one that has a particular time. The act of lifting earth to the face and arms (N: the first step of dry ablution) must take place during that time. If one performs dry ablution when unsure that the prayer's time has come, then one's dry ablution is

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invalid, even if it coincides with the correct time (dis e6.2(A:)). If one performs dry ablution in midmorning for the purpose of making up a missed obligatory prayer, but the time for noon prayer comes before one has made up the missed obligatory prayer, then one may pray it (N: the noon prayer) with that dry ablution (N: because one did not perform dry ablution for it before its time, but rather performed dry ablution for a different prayer in that prayer's time, which clarifies why this does not violate the conditions of praying with dry ablution), or one could pray a different missed prayer with it (O: as one is not required to specify which obligatory prayer the dry ablution is for).

(b) The second condition is that dry ablution must be performed with plain, purifying earth that contains dust, even the dust contained in sand; though not pure sand devoid of dust; nor earth mixed with the likes of flour; nor gypsum pottery shards (O: which are not termed earth), or earth that has been previously used, meaning that which is already on the limbs or has been dusted off them.

(c) The third condition is inability to use water. The person unable to use water performs dry ablution, which suffices in place of lifting all forms of ritual impurity permitting the person in a state of major ritual impurity (janaba) or woman after her menstrual period to do everything that the purificatory bath (ghusl) permits them to do. If either of them subsequently has a minor ritual impurity (hadath), then only the things prohibited on minor impurity are unlawful for them (def:e8.1) (N: not those prohibited on major impurity (e10.7), that is, until they can again obtain water to life their state of major impurity, when they must, for the dry ablution is only a dispensation to pray and so forth while in states of impurity and is nullified by finding water).

e12.2 Inability to use water has (O: three) causes (n: lack of water, fear of thirst, and illness).

LACK OF WATER

e12.3 The first is lack of water. When one is sure there is none, one performs dry ablution without searching for it. If one thinks there might be some, one must look through one's effects and inquire until one has asked all of one's party or (N: if too numerous) there is no time left except for the prayer. One does not have to ask each person individually, but may simply call out, "Who has water, even for a price?" Then one looks around,if on level ground. If not level, one checks on foot within the range at which one's group could be expected to respond to a cry for help, provided there is no threat to life or property. Or one may climb a nearby hill.The search for water must occur after the particular prayer's time has come. When one checks, does not find water, performs dry ablution, (N: prays an obligatory prayer with it,) and remains at the place, one need not search again before performing dry ablution for another obligatory prayer (N: when the next prayer's time comes), provided one made sure there was no water the first time, and nothing has happened to change one's mind. But if one did not make sure, or if something has happened to suggest that there might now be water, like the appearance of rain clouds or riders, one is obliged to check again for water.

e12.5 When sure that one can obtain water by waiting until the last of a prayer's time, then it is better to wait. But if one thinks otherwise, then it is better to perform dry ablution (n: and pray) at the first of the time.

e12.6 (N: This entry's rulings apply equally to obtaining water for purification and to obtaining clothing to fulfill the prayer's condition of covering one's nakedness (def:f5).) If a person gives or loans one water, or loans one a bucket (O: when it is the sole means of the water) then one must accept it;though not if the person loans or gives one the price of these things (O: because of the burden of accepting charity that it involves. If one finds water or a bucket for sale at the usual price for that locality and time, then one is obliged to buy it, provided one's money is in excess of one's debts, even if they are not due until a future date; and provided one's money exceeds the amount required for the journey's expenses, round trip.

When someone has water he does not need but will not sell, one may not simply take it from him by force, except when compelled by thirst (N: provided the water's owner is not also suffering from thirst, and provided one pays him the normal price for it in that locality and time, because one's need does not eliminate another's rights).

e12.7 If one finds some water, but not enough to complete purification, one must use it as far as it will go, and then perform dry ablution in place of the rest. For minor ritual impurity, one uses the water on the face, then the arms, and so forth, in the usual ablution sequence. For major ritual impurity (janaba), one begins wherever one wishes, though it is recommended to start at the top of the body.

FEAR OF THIRST

e12.8 The second cause of inability to use water is fear of one's own thirst, or that of worthy companions and animals with one, even if in the future (O: worthy meaning those whose killing is unlawful, such as a trained hunting dog or other useful animal, while unworthy includes non-Muslims at war with the Muslims, apostates from Islam (def:08), convicted married adulterers, pigs, and biting dogs). Ablution (N: as well as the purificatory bath (ghusl)) is unlawful in such a case. One should conserve one's water for oneself and others, and may perform dry ablution for prayer with no need to make up the prayer later (A: provided lack of water predominates in that place (dis:e12.19(N))).

ILLNESS

e12.9 The third cause is an ailment from which one fears (N: that performing a normal ablution or purificatory bath would cause):

(1) harm to life or limb;
(2) disability;
(3) becoming seriously ill;
(4) an increase in one's ailment;
(5) a delay in recovering from one's illness;
(6) considerable pain;
(7) or(n: a bad effect from the water such as) a radical change in one's skin color on a visible part of the body. One may depend on one's own knowledge (N: as to whether one of the above is to be apprehended) (O: if one is knowledgeable in medicine) (N: though it is not a condition that one be knowledgeable in medicine, for one's own previous experience may be sufficient to establish the probability that one of them will occur if a full ablution or bath (ghusl) is performed). Or one may depend on a physician whose information concerning it is acceptable (A: meaning one with skill in medicine whose word can be believed, even if he is not a Muslim).

e12.10 (n:Rulings e12, 11-13 below have been left in Arabic and deal with a person who has injuries that prevent a normal ablution or bath for one of the above reasons. Strictness on the question(azima) is to follow the Shafi'is, while dispensation (rukhsa) is to follow the Hanafi school ((2) below).

(1) The Shafi'i school is the hardest in this matter, insisting on a full ablution except for the injured part, where a full dry ablution must be performed at the proper point in the ablution sequence in place of washing the injured part, as at e12.11 below. If someone has a cast or dressing harmful to remove, as at e12.12, it must be first applied when one has ablution, and thereafter one must wipe it with water when one comes to it in the ablution sequence in addition to performing a complete dry ablution at that point. Finally, when someone with such a bandage on the members of dry ablution (the face or arms) recovers and has his cast or dressing removed, he is obliged to make up (repray) all the prayers he performed with such an ablution, as at e12.13(O:).

(2) The Hanafi school requires someone with an injury who wants to pray to make a complete ablution (N: or bath, if needed). But if this would entail harm, such as one of the things mentioned above at e12.9. then when he comes to the injury in the ablution sequence, he is merely required to wipe it with wet hands so as to cover more than half of the injury. If this would also entail harm, or if he has a bandage that cannot be removed without harm or he cannot reapply the dressing by himself and has no one to help him to do so, then he simply wipes more than half the bandage when he comes to it in his ablution. He may pray with such an ablution and need not repeat the prayer later (al-Hadiyya al-'Ala'iyya (y4) (43-44). It is not necessary that he be free of minor or even major impurity (janaba) at the time the dressing is applied (al-Lubab fi sharh al-Kitab (y88), 1.41).

(3) (N: There is strong evidence for performing dry ablution (tayammum) in place of washing such an injury. To add it at the proper point of the ablution sequence as a precautionary measure (dis: c6.5) would not interfere with the validity of following the Hanafi position just discussed.)

e12.14 If it is cold that one fears an illness or one of the things previously mentioned(12.9) from the use of water and one lacks means of heating the water or warming one's limbs up afterwards, then one performs the dry ablution (N: prays), and repeats the prayer later.

e12.15 When one lacks both water and earth, one is obliged to pray the obligatory prayer by itself, and later make up the prayer when one again finds water or finds earth, if in a place where dry ablution suffices as purification for a prayer that need not be made up later (N: such as in the desert (dis:e12.19(N:))).

THE INTEGRALS OF DRY ABLUTION

e12,16 Dry ablution has seven obligatory integrals:

(a) the intention, one intending permission to perform the obligation of the prayer, or that which requires dry ablution (N: such as carrying the Koran when there is no water for ablution). It is inadequate to intend to lift a state of minor ritual impurity (dis:e5.3 9O:)) or intend the obligation of dry ablution. If one is performing dry ablution for an obligatory prayer, one must intend its being obligatory, though need not specify whether, for example, it is for the noon prayer or the midafternoon prayer. If one were to intend it for the obligation of performing the noon prayer, one could (N: instead) pray the midafternoon prayer with it (N: though not both, as at e12.20). If one intends a dry ablution for both an obligatory prayer and a nonobligatory prayer, then both may be prayed with that same dry ablution. But if one's intention is merely for a nonobligatory prayer, a funeral prayer (janaza), or simply prayer, then one may not pray an obligatory prayer with that dry ablution. If one intends an obligatory prayer, one may pray nonobligatory prayers only, or pray them before and after an obligatory prayer during the obligatory prayer's time, or after the obligatory prayer's time has expired. The intention must occur when one conveys the earth (O:meaning when one first strikes the earth) and must continue until one wipes part of the face;

(b and c) that one's hands contact the earth and convey it (N: up to the face and arms, after having shaken the excess dust from one's hands);

(d and e) to wipe the face (N: not missing under the nose) and arms including the elbows;

(f) to do the above in the order mentioned;

(g) and that the dry ablution be performed by striking the earth twice, once for wiping the face, and a second time for wiping the arms. It is not obligatory to make the earth reach under the hair (N: of the arms and face).

THE SUNNAS OF DRY ABLUTION

e12.17 The sunnas of dry ablution are:

(1) to say, "In the name of Allah, Most Merciful and Compassionate";

(2) to wipe the upper face before the lower;

(3) to wipe the right arm before the left;

(4) and for wiping the arms, (N: holding the palms up,) to place the left hand crosswise under the right with left hand's fingers touching the backs of the fingers of the right hand, sliding the left hand up to the right wrist. Then, curling the fingers around the side of the right wrist, one slides the left hand to the right elbow, then turns the left palm so it rests on the top of the right forearm with its thumb pointed away from one before sliding it back down to the wrist, where one wipes the back of the right thumb with the inside of the left thumb. One then wipes the left arm in the same manner, followed by interlacing the fingers, rubbing the palms together, and then dusting the hands off lightly. (N: This method is not obligatory, but rather any way will suffice that wipes all of both arms.)

e12.18 One separates the fingers when striking the earth each of the two times,and must remove one's ring for the second (N: before wiping the arms).

THINGS WHICH NULLIFY DRY ABLUTION

e12.19 Dry ablution is nullified by both the things which nullify ablution (def: e7) and by the mere belief that one can now obtain water when this belief occurs before one begins praying, such as by seeing a mirage or a troop of riders. This belief also nullifies dry ablution when it occurs during one's prayer if the prayer is one which must be later made up, like that of someone at home who performs dry ablution for lack of water (N: because if one performs dry ablution in a place where water is generally available during the whole year, it is obligatory to make up one's prayer, in view of the fact that the dry ablution has been performed for a rare excuse. The rule is that whoever performs the prayer without full ritual purity because of a rare excuse is obliged to make up his prayer, as when the water of a city or village is cut off for a brief period of time during which those praying perform dry ablution, while if one has performed it in a place where water is seldom available during the year, it is not obligatory to make up one's prayer, as when one performs dry ablution in the desert). But if not of those prayers that must be made up later, such as that of a (N: desert) traveller who has performed dry ablution, then it(N: the belief that one can now obtain water,

when it occurs during prayer) does not (N: nullify one's dry ablution) and one finishes the prayer, which is adequate, though it is recommended to interrupt it in order to begin again after one has performed ablution.

e12.20 One may not perform more than one obligatory prayer with one dry ablution, whether one of the prescribed obligatory prayers or one vowed (def: j18), though one may pray any number of nonobligatory prayers or funeral prayers with it.

e13.0 THE MENSTRUAL PERIOD

e13.1 The minimal age for menstruation is about 9 full years. There is no maximal age for the end of it, as it is possible until death.The minimal mentrual period is a day and a night. It generally lasts 6 or 7 days. The maximal period is 15 days.The minimal interval of purity between two menstruations is 15 days. There is no maximal limit to the number of days between menstruations.

e13.2 Whenever a woman who is old enough notices her bleeding, even if pregnant, she must avoid what a woman in her period avoids (defL e13.4). If it ceases in less than 24 hours (lit. "the minimum"), then it is not considered menstruation and the woman must take up the prayers she has omitted during it. If it ceases at 24 hours, within 15 days, or

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between the two, then it is menstruation. If it exceeds 15 days, then she is a woman with chronic vaginal discharge (dis:e13.6).Yellow or dusky colored discharge is considered menstrual flow. If a woman has times of intermittent bleeding and cessation during an interval of 15 days or less, and the times of bleeding collectively amount to at least 24 hours, then the entire interval, bleeding and nonbleeding, is considered menstruation.

e13.3 Postnatal bleeding (nifas) lasts at least a moment, generally 40 days, and at most 60. If it exceeds this, the woman is considered to have chronic vaginal discharge (dis:e13.6)

e13.4 All things unlawful for someone in a state of major ritual impurity (janaba) (dis:e10.7) are unlawful for a woman during her menstruation and postnatal bleeding. It is also unlawful for her to fast then, and the (N: obligatory) fast-days she misses must be made up later, though not missed prayers. It is unlawful for her:

(1) to pass through a mosque when she thinks some of her blood might contaminate it (N: and it is unlawful for her to remain in the mosque under any circumstances (n: when menstruating or during postnatal bleeding)):

(2) to make love, or take sexual enjoyment from what is between her navel and knees;

(3) to be divorced;

(4) or to perform purification with the intention to raise a state of ritual impurity. When her bleeding ceases, then fasting, divorce, purification, and passing through the mosque are no longer unlawful for her, though the other things remain unlawful for her until she performs the purificatory bath (ghusl, def:e11).

e13.5 If a woman claims to be having her period, but her husband does not believe her, it is lawful for him to have sexual intercourse with her.

e13.6 A woman with chronic vaginal discharge (N: preparing to pray) should wash her private parts, apply something absorbent to them and a dressing, and then perform ablution (N: with the intention discussed above at e5.3). She may not delay (N: commencing her prayer) after this except for reasons of preparing to pray such as clothing her nakedness, awaiting the call to prayer (adhan), or for a group to gather for the prayer. If she delays for other reasons, she must repeat the purification. She is obliged to wash her private parts, apply a dressing, and perform ablution before each obligatory prayer (N: though she is entitled, like those mentioned below, to perform as many nonobligatory prayers as she wishes, carry and read the Koran, etc. until the next prayer's time comes (n: or until her ablution is broken for a different reason), when she must renew the above measures and her ablution).

e13.7 People unable to hold back intermittent drops of urine coming from them must take the same measures (def: above) that a woman with chronic vaginal discharge does. (N: And likewise for anyone in a state of chronic annulment of ablution, such as continually breaking wind, excrement, or madhy (def:e10.5) though washing and applying an absorbent dressing are only obligatory when filth exits.) (A: If a person knows that drops of urine will not stop until the time for the next prayer comes, then he takes the above measures and performs the prayer at the first of its time.)

e14.0 FILTH (NAJASA)

e14.1 Filth means:

(1) urine

(2) excrement;

(3) blood;

(4) pus;

(5) vomit;

(6) wine;

(7) any liquid intoxicant (n: including, for the Shafi'i school, anything containing alcohol such as Eau de Cologne and other cosmetics, though some major Hanafi scholars of this century, including Mohammed Bakhit al-Muti'i Egypt and Badr al-Din al-Hasani of Damascus, have given formal legal opinions that they are pure (tahir) because they are not produced or intended as intoxicants.(N: Other scholars hold they are not pure, but their use is excusable to the extent strictly demanded by necessity.) While it is religiously more precautionary to treat them as filth, the dispensation exists when there is need, such as for postoperative patients who are unable for some time after their surgery to wash away the alcohol used to sterilise sutures. And Allah knows best.) (N: As for solid intoxicants, they are not filth, though they are unlawful to take,eat, or drink);

(8) dogs and pigs, or their offspring;

(9) wady and madhy (def:e10.5);

(10) slaughtered animals that (N: even when slaughtered) may not be eaten by Muslims (def:16);

(11) unslaughtered dead animals other than aquatic life, locusts, or humans (A: which are all pure, even when dead, though amphibious life is not considered aquatic and filth when dead);

(12) the milk of animals (other than human) that may not be eaten:

(13) the hair of unslaughtered dead animals;

(14) and the hair of animals (other than human) that may not be eaten, when separated from them during their life (N: or after their death. As for before it is separated from them, the hair is the same as the particular animal, and all animals are pure during their life except dogs and swine). (n: In the Hanafi school, the hair of an unslaughtered dead animal (other than swine), its bones, nails (hoofs), horns, rennet and all parts unimbued with life while it was alive (A: including its ivory) are pure (tahir). That which is separated from a living animal is considered as if from the unslaughtered dead of that animal (Hashiya radd al-muhtar ala al-Durr al-mukhtar sharh Tanwir al-absar(y47, 1.206-7).)

14.2 Rennet (n: a solidifying substance used in cheese-making) is pure if taken from a slaughtered (def:j17) suckling lamb or kid that has eaten nothing except milk.

14.3 That which comes from the mouth of a sleeping person is impure if from the stomach, but pure if from the saliva ducts.

e14.5 The following are pure:

(1) seminal fluid that has reached the stages of gestation in the womb, becoming like a bloodclot and then becoming flesh;

(2) the moisture (N: mucus) of a woman's private parts (O: as long as it remains inside the area that need not be washed in the purificatory bath (def: e11.1(b). end) though if it exit, it is impure);

(3) the eggs of anything;

(4) the milk, fur, wool, or feathers of all animals that may be eaten, provided they are separated from

the animal while living or after properly slaughtered;

(5) human milk, male sperm, and female sexual fluid (def:e10.4).

e14.6 No form of filth can become pure, except:

(1) wine that becomes vinegar;

(2) the hide of an unslaughtered dead animal that is tanned;

(3) new animate life that comes from filth (O:such as worms that grow in carrion);

(4) (n: and for the Hanafis, filth which is transformed [molecularly changed] into a new substance, such as a pig becoming soap, etc. (al-Hadoyya al-Ala'iyya (y), 54)). Wine that becomes vinegar without anything having been introduced into it is pure, as are the sides of the container it touched when it splashed or boiled. But if anything was introduced into the wine before it became vinegar, then turning to vinegar does not purify it. (A: In the Hanafi school it is considered pure whether or not anything has been introduced into it.)Tanning means removing from a hide all excess blood, fat, hair and so forthby using an acrid substance, even if impure. Other measures such as using salt, earth, or sunlight, are insufficient. Water need not be used while tanning, though the resultant hide is considered like a garment affected with filth, in that it must be washed with purifying water before it is considered pure. Hides of dogs or swine cannot be purified by tanning. Any hair that remains after tanning has not been made pure, though a little is excusable.

e14.7 Something that becomes impure by contact.(def:below) with something from dogs or swine does not become pure except by being washed seven times, one of which (recommended not to be the last) must be with purifying earth (def: e12.1 (b)) mixed with purifying water, and it must reach all of the affected area. One may not substitute something else like soap or glasswort in place of earth. (n: The contact referred to is restricted, in the Shafi'i school, to contamination by traces of moisture from dogs or swine, whether saliva, urine, anything moist from them, or any of their dry parts that have become moist (Mughni al-muhtaj ila ma'rifa alfaz al- Minhaj (y73), 1.83). (A: If something dry such as the animal's breath or hair touches one's person, it need only be brushed away.) In the Maliki school, every living animal is physically pure, even dogs and swine (al-Fiqh 'ala al-madhahib al-arba'a (y66), 1.11) (A: and they consider the above sevenfold washing as merely a sunna). While more precautionary

to follow the Shafi'i school, the dispensation exists for those who have difficulty in preventing contamination from dogs, provided their prayer with its prerequisites is considered valid in the Maliki school (dis:c6.4(end) and w14.1(6)). And Allah knows best.)

e14.8 NO TRANSLATION !

e14.9 The urine of a baby boy who has fed on nothing but human milk can be purified from clothers by sprinkling enough water on the spot to wet most of it, though it need not flow over it. The urine of a baby girl must be washed away as an adult's is.

WASHING AWAY FILTH

e14.10 As for kinds of filth that are "without substance" (N: i.e. without discernible characteristic (najasa hukmiyya) such as a drop of dry urine on a garment that cannot be seen), it is sufficient (N: to purify it) that water flow over it.But if it is a substance (N: with discernible characteristic (najasa 'ayniyya)). it is obligatory to remove all taste of it, even if difficult, and to remove both color and odor if not difficult. If the odor alone is difficult to remove, or the color alone, then the fact that one of these two remains does not affect a spot's purity, though if both the odor and color of the filth remain in the spot, it is not considered pure.

e14.11 When using less than 216 litres of water to purify a spot affected by filth, it is obligatory that the water flow over it (N: and it may not be simply immersed in the water (dis: e1.15), though this would be permissible with more than 216 litres), but is not obligatory to wring it out. After one purifies it is recommended to wash it a second and third time.

e14.12 When the ground (A: or floor, or carpet) is affected with liquid filth (A: like wine or urine), it is enough to drench the place with water and is not necessary that the filth sink into the ground. If the effects of sun, fire, or wind remove the traces of the filth, the ground is still not pure until one drenches it with water.

e14.13 Liquids other than water, such as vinegar or milk, cannot be purified after they become affected with filth. But if a solid is affected, such as shortening, one discards the filth that fell into it and the shortening around it, and the remainder is pure.

e14.14 Water used to wash away filth is impure when:

(1) it changes (def: e1.17);

(2) its weight increases;

(3) (O: or if neither of the above have occurred, but some trace (N: i.e. an inexcusable amount (def: e14.10, second par)) of filth remains on the place to be purified);

-but if none of the above occurs, then it is not impure (O: i.e then the water is pure but not purifying to other things); though if it amounts to (N: or is added to until it amounts to) 216 or more liters (dis e1.16), then it is purifying. If less, it is considered the same as the spot it washed: if the spot is pure (N: i.e an inexcusable trace does not remain) then the water is pure, but if the spot is still impure, then the water is impure.

e14.15 (n: the Hanafi school, if a garment's damp spot of filth, whose quantity is too slight to wring out any drops, touches another dry, pure garment, the latter does not become impure (Maraqi al-falah sharh Nur al-idah(y126), 31).)

BOOK F - THE PRAYER (SALAT) (by al-Misri)

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F1.0 WHO MUST PRAY

(O: The legal basis for the prayer, prior to scholarly consensus, is Koranic verses such as the word of Allah Most High,"And perform the prayer" (Koran 2:43), and hadiths such as the word of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace): "On the night I was taken from Mecca to Jerusalem [dis: Koran 17:1], Allah imposed fifty obligatory prayers upon my community. So I kept petitioning Him in the matter, asking they be lightened, until He made them but five each day and night." a hadith related by Bukhari, Muslim, and others.)

f1.1 The prayer is only obligatory for Muslims who have reached puberty, are sane, and in purity (O: meaning not during menstruation or postnatal bleeding). Those who lose their reason through insanity or illness do not have to make up the prayers they miss while in this state, and nor do converts to Islam (N: make up prayers form before their Islam). An apostate from Islam (murtadd, def:o8) who then returns must make up every prayer missed. (n: w18 discusses why making up prayers missed without excuse is obligatory.)

f1.2 When a child with discrimination (O: meaning he can eat, drink, and clean himself after using the toilet unassisted) is seven years of age, he is ordered to perform the prayer, and when ten, is beaten for neglecting it (N: not severely, but so as to discipline the child, and not more than three blows).

f1.3 Someone raised among Muslims who denies the obligatoriness of the prayer, zakat, fasting Ramadan, the pilgrimage, or the unlawfulness of wine and adultery, or denies something else upon which there is scholarly consensus (ijma, def:b7) and which is necessarily known as being of the religion (N: necessarily known meaning things that any Muslim would know about if asked) thereby becomes an unbeliever (kafir0 and is executed for his unbelief (O: if he does not admit he is mistaken and acknowledge the Obligatoriness or unlawfulness of that which there is scholarly consensus upon. As for if he denies the obligatoriness of something there is not consensus upon, then he is not adjudged an unbeliever).

f1.4 A Muslim who holds the prayer to be obligatory but through lack of concern neglects to perform it until its proper time is over has not committed unbelief (dis: w18.2). Rather, he is executed, washed, prayed over, and buried in the Muslim's cemetery (O: as he is one of them. It is recommended, but not obligatory, that he be asked to repent (N: and if he does, he is not executed)).

f1.5 No one has an excuse to delay the prayer beyond its time except:

(1) someone asleep (N: when its time first came who remained so until the time ended);

(2) someone who forgot it;

(3) or someone who delayed it to combine two prayer during a journey (dis:f15.12).

f2.0 PRAYER TIMES AND MAKING UP MISSED PRAYERS PRAYER TIMES

f2.1 The prescribed prayers are five:

(1) The time for the noon prayer (zuhr) begins after the sun's zenith for that day, and ends when an object's shadow, minus the length of its shadow at the time of the sun's zenith, equals the object's height.

(2) The time for the midafternoon prayer (asr) begins at the end of the noon prayer's time, and ends at sunset, though when an object's shadow (N: minus the length of its shadow at the sun's zenith) is twice as long as the object's height, the preferred time is over and the merely permissible time remains.

(3) The time for the sunset prayer (maghrib) begins when the sun has completely set. It only;y lasts long enough to perform ablution (wudu), clothe one's nakedness, make the call to prayer (adhan) and call to commence (iqama) and to pray five moderate length rak'as (units) of prayer. It is a sin to delay commencing the sunset prayer beyond this, and if one does, one is making up a missed prayer (O: i.e., according to the position the author has adopted, which contradicts the more reliable opinion that one's prayer is not a makeup until after the red has disappeared from the sky), though if one begins it within the right time, one may continue until the red disappears from the sky.

(4) The time for the nightfall prayer (isha) begins when the red of sunset leaves the sky, and ends at true dawn (n:true dawn being when the sky around the horizon begins to grow light. Before this, a dim light sometimes appears overhead for some minutes followed by darkness, and is termed the deceptive dawn (al-kadhib) (Al-Iqna' fi hall alfaz Abi Shuja' (y7), 1.95). But after a third of the night has passed, the preferred time for nightfall prayer has ended and the merely permissible remains.

(5) And the time for the dawn prayer (subh) begins at true dawn and ends at sunrise, though the preferred time for it ends when it becomes light outside, after which the merely permissible remains. (n: Prayer times vary a little each day with the season and the year, and from one town to another through the effects of latitude and longitude. One can keep abreast of the changes by obtaining the whole year's times in a printed calendar from one's local Muslim association or mosque, or by using the pocket computer mentioned below at w19, which discusses how one fasts and prays at northerly latitudes (including much of North America and Europe during teh summer months) lacking the features that legally define the true prayer and fasting times, such as nightfall or true dawn.)

f2.2 it is best to pray every prayer at the first of its time, taking the necessary steps at its outset, such as purification, clothing one's nakedness, giving the call to prayer (adhan and call to commence (iqama), and then praying.

f2.3 If less than one rak'a of one's prayer occurs within the proper time (A: meaning that one does not life one's head from the second prostration of the rak'a before the time ends) and the remainder takes place after it, then the whole prayer is considered a make-up. If one rak'a or more takes place within the prayer's time and the remainder is after it, then the prayer is considered a current performance, though it is unlawful to intentionally delay the prayer until part of it occurs after the time is finished.

f2.5 It is permissible to relay (N: for knowledge that a prayer's time has come) on a knowledgeable, dependable muezzin (caller to prayer). If one lacks someone to inform one of the time, then one may reason on the basis of reciting a scheduled period of invocation or Koran recital (Ar.wird)(n:referring to those whose wirds normally take the whole time between two prescribed prayers such that when they finish, they know the time for the second prayer has come. The legal basis of wirds is discussed at w20), and the like (N:including modern clocks, and prayer time calendars issued by experts on the times in various localities.

MAKING UP MISSED PRAYERS

f2.6 When enough of a prayer's time has elapsed to have performed the prayer during it and someone who has not yet prayed loses their reason or their menstrual period begins they are obligated to make up that missed prayer (O: as soon as they are able).

f2.7 Whenever a prescribed prayer is missed for a valid reason (def:f1.5). it is recommended to make it up immediately. If missed without a valid reason, it is obligatory to make it up (dis: w18) immediately (A: meaning during all one's time that is not occupied by necessities, In the Shafi'i school, it is not even permissible for such a person to perform sunna prayers(N:before having finished making up the missed ones). The same applies to making up missed obligatory fasts (N: by fasting a day in place of each day missed), and it is unlawful to delay doing so until the following Ramadan(dis:i1.33).

f2.8 It is recommended that missed prayers be made up in the order they were missed. (n:The call to prayer (adhan) and call to commence (iqama) when making up missed prayers are discussed at f3.5, and whether to recite prayers aloud or to oneself at f8.25.)

f2.9 It is recommended to make up missed prescribed prayers before performing the current one, unless one fears its time will pass, in which case it is obligatory to pray the current one first. If one begins making up a missed prayer thinking that there will be time for both it and the current prescribed prayer, but finds that there is only enough time left for the latter, then one must discontinue the make-up in order to perform the current one.

f2.10 If one has a prayer to make up and finds the current prayer being performed by a group, it is recommended to perform the make-up by oneself before praying the current one.

f2.11 If one misses one or more of the five prayers but does not remember which of them it was, then one must pray all five, intending for each one making up the missed prayer.

f2.12 (n:If someone finds he has been consistently mistaken day after day in praying, for example, the dawn prayer(subh) before its time, or some similar timing error, then each prayer performed after the first day of the whole series of prayers thus mistakenly prayed is considered the make-up of the day before it, and when such a person discovers the error, he has only one prayer to make up, namely the one on the last day prior to learning of the mistake (Mughni al-muhtajila ma'rifa ma'ani alfaz al-Minhaj(y73), 1.127).)

f3.0 THE CALL TO PRAYER (ADHAN) AND CALL TO COMMENCE (IQAMA)

f3.1 The call to prayer(adhan) and call to commence(iqama) are two sunnas for the prescribed prayers, even when praying alone or in the second group to pray (N: in a mosque, for example), such that there is public congnizance (O: of both the call to prayer and to commence, whether in a large or small town).

f3.2 To give the call to prayer (adhan) is better than being the imam for a group prayer (O: though to be imam is superior to giving the call to commence(iqama)).

f3.3 When praying alone in a mosque where a group has already prayed, one does not raise one's voice in giving the call to prayer, though if no group has yet prayed, one raises it. The same applies to a second group to pray: they do not raise their voice.

f3.4 It is sunna for a group of women who are praying together to give the call to commence without giving the call to prayer.

f3.5 When making up one or more missed prescribed prayers, one gives the call to prayer only for the first (N: in the series), but gives the call to commence for each one.

f3.6 The words of the call to prayer and call to commence are well known.

(n: The words of the call to prayer mean: "Allah is greatest, Allah is greatest. Allah is greatest, Allah is greatest. I testify there is no god but Allah. I testify there is no god but Allah. I testify that Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah. I testify that Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah. Come to the prayer. Come to the prayer. Come to success. Come to success. [n: At this point, before the dawn prayer only, one adds: "Prayer is better than sleep. Prayer is better that sleep. "] Allah is greatest. Allah is greatest. There is no god but Allah." The words of the call to commence mean: "Allah is greatest, Allah is greatest. I testify there is no god but Allah. I testify that Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah. Come to the prayer. Come to success. The prayer is commencing. The prayer is commencing. Allah is greatest, Allah is greatest. There is no god but Allah.")

f3.7 Each word (N: of both of them) must be recited in the order mentioned above. If one remains silent for long or speaks at length between the words of the call to prayer (O: or call to commence), it is not valid and must be begun again, though a short remark or silence while calling it does not invalidate it. When giving the call to prayer or call to commence by oneself, the minimal auditbility permissible is that one can hear oneself. The minimum when calling them for a group is that all their contents can be heard at least one other person.

f3.8 It is not valid to give the call to prayer before a prayer's time has come, except for the dawn prayer, when it is permissible to give the call to prayer from the middle of the night onwards (N: as is done in Mecca and Medina).

f3.9 When giving the call to prayer and call to commence, it is recommended to have ablution (wudu), stand, face the direction of prayer, and to turn the head(not the chest or feet) to the right when saying, "Come to the prayer," and to the left when saying, "Come to success." It is offensive to give the call to prayer while in a state of minor ritual impurity (hadath), more offensive to do so in a state of major ritual impurity(janaba), and even worse to give the call to commence(iqama) while in either of these two states. It is recommended:

(1) to give the call to prayer from a high place near the mosque;

(2) to put one's fingertips in one's ears while calling it;

(3) to take one's time in giving the call to prayer (A: pausing for an interval after each sentence equal to the sentence's length) (O: except for repetitions of "Allah is Greatest," which are said in pairs);

(4) and to give the call to commence rapidly, without pause.

f3.10 It is obligatory for the muezzin (O: or person giving the call to commence):

(a) to be Muslim;

(b) to have reached the age of discrimination (def:f1.2);

(c) to be sane;

(d) and if calling for a men's group prayer, to be male. It is recommended that he be upright (def:o24.4) and have a strong, pleasant voice. It is offensive for a blind person to give the call to prayer unless a sighted person is with him (O: to tell him when the time has come).

f3.11 When one hears the call to prayer (N: or call to commence), it is recommended to repeat each phrase after the muezzin, even if in a state of major ritual impurity (janaba), during menstruation, or when reciting impurity (janaba), during menstruation, or when reciting the Koran (N: and a

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fortiori when reading or reciting something else). One does not repeat the phrases "Come to the prayer" or "Come to success," but rather says after them, "There is no power or strength except through Allah." And at the call to prayer at dawn, one does not repeat "Prayer is better than sleep,"but instead says, "You have spoken the truth, and piously."When the person giving the call to commence says, "The prayer is commencing," one replies,"May Allah establish it and make it endure as long as the heavens and earth, and make me one of the righteous of its folk." If one hears it while making love, going to the lavatory, or performing the prayer, one says the words when finished.

f3.12 It is recommended for the muezzin, after he finishes, and those hearing him to bless the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace). (A: It is unobjectionable in the Shafi'i school for the muezzin to do so as loudly as the call to prayer.) Then one adds, "O Allah, Lord of this comprehensive invitation and enduring prayer, grant our liegelord Mohammed a place near to You, an excellence and exalted degree, and bestow on him the praiseworthy station that You have promised him."

f4.0 PURITY OF BODY, CLOTHES, AND PLACE OF PRAYER

f4.1 It is a necessary condition (shart) for the validity of prayer that one have purity (N: absence of filth (najasa, def:e14.1)) in:

(a) body:

(b) clothing, whether or not it moves with the person (N:who is praying);

(c) anything that touches the body or clothing (O: though if one's chest overhangs something impure while prostrating without touching it, this does not hurt);

(d) and the place on which one is standing during the prayer.

f4.2 One's prayer is invalid if one is holding the end of a rope connected with something impure. One's prayer is valid if performed on the pure portion of a rug which is affected with some filth (N: on another part)or on a bed whose legs rest on something impure, even if the rug or bed moves when one's own portion moves. (N: The rule illustrated by these examples is that it is not permissible for the person praying to support or carry something affected by filth, but is persmissible for him to be supported by it, provided he is not in direct contract with the filth.)

f4.3 Impure substances (najasa) other than blood (dis:below) that are indiscernible by (A:average) vision are excusable, though if visually discernible, they are inexcusable. (A: That which is seen by a normal look is not excusable, while that which can only be seen by minute scrutiny is excusable.)

f4.4 As for blood or pus, if it is from another, (O: human or otherwise,) then only a little (def:below) is excusable, though if from the person praying, it is excusable whether much or little regardless if from a squeezed pimple, a boil, a sore, being bled, cupped, or something else.

f4.5 (N: In rulings of Sacred Law, the application of key descriptive terms like little, much , near, far, briefly, at length, and so forth, is governed by the concept of common acknowledgement ('urf). To know whether something is little or much, which could be stipulations in a particular ruling, we stop to reflect whether it is commonly acknowledged as such, namely, whether most people would describe it as such when speaking about it.Common acknowledgement also takes into consideration what is normal or expected under the circumstances. For example, a few drops of animal blood on the clothes of a butcher would be little, while the same amount on the clothes of student would be much.)

f4.7 If one prays with (N: an inexcusable amount of) something impure (N: on one's person, place, or clothes) that one did not know of or forgot, and notices it after finishing, one must repeat the prayer, It invalidates the prayer if noticed during it.

f4.8 If one gets some mud on oneself from the street and but is not certain it contains, filth, then it is is considered pure (N: the rule being that the initial presumption for all things is that they are pure, as long as their impurity has not been decisively established).

f4.9 Someone unable to remove filth from his person or who is being held in an impure place must pray and later make up the prayer when capable of purity. (N: When being held in an impure place,) one bows the head as close to the ground as possible without actually contacting the filth, which is unlawful to place the forehead upon.

f4.10 If one loses track of a spot of filth on a garment, then, all of it must be washed without trying to decide where the spot might be, though if someone reliable knows where it is and informs one, one may accept this.

f4.11 If a spot of filth is on one of two garments (N: one of which the person wants to pray in) and the person is not sure which then he may reason and choose the one he believes is pure (N: to pray in), regardless of whether another pure one is available or whether he can wash one to use.(N: But it is not obligatory to try to decide which is pure. Rather, he may wash one, or both, and pray in them, or pray in some other garment.)If one washes the garment believed to have filth on it, then one may pray wearing both garments, or pray in each garment alone, though if one makes no attempt to decide which garment is impure, but rather performs a prayer in each one separately, then neither prayer is valid.

f4.12 If one loses track of its location on a small plot of ground in open country, one may pray wherever one wishes. But if one loses track of the location of filth on the ground or in a room (bayt, lit. "house," meaning a one-room dwelling), then all the ground or floor must be washed (def:e14.12) before one may pray on any of it.

f4.14 It is offensive to pray:

(1) in a bathhouse or its outer room where clothes are removed;

(2) in the middle of a path;

(3) at a rubbish dump;

(4) at a slaughterhouse;

(5) in a church;

(6) in places where taxes (dis: p32) are gathered or taken;

(7) in places likely to be contaminated by wine;

(8) on top of the Kaaba;

(9) or towards a tomb(dis:w21).

f4.15 Prayer is unlawful in a garment or on land wrongfully taken, being legally valid (dis:c5.2), but without reward.

f5.0 CLOTHING ONE'S NAKEDNESS

f5.1 Clothing one's nakedness (O: from the eyes of men as well as jinn (def:w22) and angels, for these too see people in this world) is obligatory, by scholarly consensus (ijma,b7), even when alone, except when there is need to undress. (O: Zarkashi states (A: and it is the authoritative position for the school) that the nakedness it is obligatory to clothe when alone consists solely of the front and rear private parts for, men, and of that which is between the navel and the knees for women.)

f5.2 Clothing one's nakedness is a necessary condition for the validity of the prayer (O: when one is able). Seeing a hole in one's clothes after a prayer is like seeing a spot of filth (n; meaning the prayer must be repeated, as at f4.7, unless one covers the hole immediately, as below at f5.5).

f5.3 The nakedness of a man (O: man meaning the counterpart of the female, including young boys, even if not yet of the age of discrimination) consists of the area between the navel and knees. The nakedness of a woman (O: even if a young girl) consists of the whole body except the face and hands. (N: The nakedness of woman is that which invalidates the prayer if exposed (dis:w23). As for looking at women, it is not permissible to look at any part of a woman who is neither a member of one's unmarriageable kin (mahram, def:m6.1) nor one's wife, as is discussed below in the book of marriage (m2).)

f5.4 It is a necessary condition that one's clothing:

(a) prevent the colour of the skin form being perceptible (n:Nawawi notes, "A thin garment beneath which the blackness or whiteness of the skin may be seen is not sufficient, nor a garment of thick, gauze like fabric through which part of the nakedness appears" (al-Majmu'(y108),3.170));

(b) enclose the body as a garment, for a prayer, performed without clothes in a small tent would not be valid;

(c) and conceal the nakedness from view on all sides and above, though it need not do so from below.

f5.5 One's prayer is valid when there is a tear through which one,s nakedness shows that one covers with one's hand (A: immediately, i.e. one must do so before enough time passes to say "Subhan Allah") (O: that is, one must cover it with one's hand when not prostrating, at which point not covering it is excusable)

f5.6 It is recommended for a woman to wear a covering over her head (khimar), a full length shift, and a heavy slip under it that doesn't cling to the body. (O: She should not wrap it so tightly about herself that it hinders standing, sitting, and other postures connected with the actions of prayer. She is recommended to pray in three garments even though the headcover and shift lone are sufficient as a covering .)

f5.7 It is recommended for a man to pray in his best clothes, and to wear an ankle-length shirt and a turban (O: and a shawl over head and shoulders, a mantle, and a wraparound or loose drawers (N: under the ankle-length shirt)). If the does not wear all of these, it is desirable to wear two, namely the anklelength shirt with either the mantle, the wraparound, or the loose drawers.

f5.8 If only wearing enough to clothe one's nakedness, one's prayer is valid, though it is recommended to place something on one's shoulders even if only a piece of rope. If one does not have clothes but is able to conceal part of one's nakedness, one must cover the front and rear private parts. If only one of these two can be covered, it must be the front. If one has no clothes at all, then one performs the prayer without clothes and need not make it up later.

f6.0 FACING THE DIRECTION OF PRAYER (QIBLA)

f6.1 Facing the direction of prayer (QIBLA) is a necessary condition for the prayer's validity, with the sole exceptions of praying in extreme peril (dis:f16.5) and nonobligatory prayers performed while travelling.

f6.2 (N: The rulings below deal with nonobligatory prayers, not the five prescribed ones, which must be performed while facing the proper direction for prayer(qibla) whether one is riding in a vehicle or not (dis:w24).) A traveller may perform nonobligatory prayers riding or walking, even on short trips. When riding and able to face the direction of prayer, prostrate, and bow, as when on a ship, one is obligated to. If not able, the one is only required to face the direction of prayer, during the first Allahu Akbar of the prayer, provided this is not difficult, as when one's mount is stationary or when one can turn oneself or one's mount the proper direction. If it is difficult , as one's mount is not properly saddle broken, or if the reins are not in one's hands, as when riding in a pack train with each animal tied to the one ahead of it, then it is not obligatory to face the direction of prayer at any point of the prayer's performance, and one merely nods in the direction of travel instead of bowing and prostrating. One's nod for prostration must be deeper than the nod for bowing. One does not have to bow to the limit of one's capacity, nor bow the forehead until it touches the mount's back, though this is permissible if oneself, though this is permissible if one trouble oneself to do so.When praying while walking, one must stop to bow and prostrate on the ground (O: if easy, though if walking in mud, water, or snow, one may simply nod), and may walk during the rest of the prayer, though it is obligatory to face the direction of prayer during the first Allah Akbar and at each bowing and prostration. Such prayers (O: whether riding or walking) are only valid on condition.

(a) that one's journey continue for the prayer's duration;

(b) and that one not turn from the direction of travel towards anything but the direction of prayer. If one reaches home while thus praying, or the destination, or a town where one intends to stay, then one must face the direction of prayer, and bow and prostrate on the ground or on one's mount if stopped.

f6.3 When at the Kaaba, one must pray directly towards the Kaaba itself. One's prayer is invalid if one merely faces the semicircular wall (N:Hijr Isma'il) that is to one side of it, or directs any part of the body outside the outline of the Kaaba, unless one is standing at the end of a long row of people praying at the periphery of al Masjid al-Haram(n:the mosque of the Kaaba), a row which, if the people in it were to advance, some of them would be facing outside the Kaaba's outline. To pray in such a row is valid for everyone in it.

f6.5 For knowledge of the proper direction it is obligatory to rely to rely on the prayer niche (mihrab) of mosque in a city or village through which many people pass.At every place the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) faced to pray and established where he stood, it is obligatory to pray facing as he did, without reconsidering the direction of prayer or turning right or left, though in other places one may use personal reasoning as to whether to turn right or left.

f6.6 If one does not find an informant to tell one of the proper direction of prayer by having seen the Kaaba in that direction, then one employs personal reasoning, using other evidence. (n: To establish the direction of prayer in cities far from Mecca one may use a world globe and a piece of string, since in North America, Australia, and other regions, using a flat world map will yield the woring direction because of the curvature of the earth, and the error factor is often considerable. One puts the end of the string on the position of Mecca on the globe, the other end on one's own city, and pulls the string taut, observing the bearing of the string and drawing a line in the same direction on a local map, which can be oriented with a compass and used to indicate the proper direction to pray.) If one does not know how to use other evidence, (O: and it is a communal obligation (def:c3.2) for someone to know,) or one is blind, then one follows another (O:reliable sighted person acquainted with the evidence)

f6.7 If, after praying one becomes certain one was mistaken, then the prayer must be repeated.

(n:In the Hanafi, Maliki, and Hanbali schools, the criterion for facing the direction of prayer is merely that some portion of the person's face be directed towards the Kaaba (al-Fiqh 'ala al-madhahib alarba'a (y66), 1.195). (A: This takes in 180 degrees, from far left to far right, such that when the Kaaba's anywhere between, one is considered to be facing the direction of prayer .)

f7.0 PLACING A BARRIER IN FRONT OF ONE'S PRAYER PLACE

f7.1 It is recommended to put a barrier at least 32 cm, high in front of oneself when performing the prayer, or to spread out a mat, or if one cannot, to draw a line (N:on the ground, straight out, perpendicular to one's chest) about a metre and a half (O: or less) in front of one. It is then unlawful for a anyone to pass (O: between the person praying and such a barrier, even when there is no other way to pass (dis:p75.27)). If someone tries to pass between oneself and the barrier, it is recommended to gently him back. If he persists, one may push him back as hard as necessary, as one would an attacker (def:

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07.3). Where he to die as a result, one would not be subject to retaliation (03)or have to pay an indemnity (04) to his kin.

f7.2 If there is no barrier, or if the person praying is farther than a meter and a half from it, then passing in front of him is merely offensive, and the person praying is not entitled to push him.

f7.3 (A: Passing in front of a person without a barrier, in a mosque for example, is limited to the length of his prostration, and it is not Unlawful or offensive to pass in front of him when farther than that.)

f7.4 When one notices a gap in row of people performing a group prayer, one is entitled to pass in front of others to fill it.

f8.0 DESCRIPTION OF THE PRAYER

f8.1 (n:Special vocabulary:

Allahu Akbar: Allah is greatest. Ameen: a one-word supplication meaning "Answer our prayer." as-Salamu 'alaykum: Peace be upon you. Fatiha: the opening sura of the Koran. Follower: someone praying in group behind an imam. Integral (ruku): one of the legally essential elements found within an action that compose it. Imam: someone leading a group prayer. Rak'a: one complete cycle of the words and actions of the prayer. Sura: a chapter of the Koran. Ta'awwudh : to say in Arabic, "I take refuge in Allah from the accursed Devil.")

MEASURES RECOMMENDED BEFORE PRAYER

f8.2 It is recommended:

(1) to stand for the prayer after the end of the call to commence (iqama);

(2) to be in the first row;

(3) to make the rows straight, especially if one is the imam (O: when one should order the group to do so);

(4) and to fill up the first row first, then the second, and so on (O: meaning there should not be a second row when the first one is not full (A: as to pray in such a second row is the same as not praying with a group, and is rewarded as if one had prayed alone), nor gaps within one row, nor a distance in excess of a meter and a half between rows). It is superior to stand on the imam's right (A: though the sunna is for the imam to be in the middle) (N: and if one arrives at a group prayer in which the row extends to the right, one's rewards is greater for standing on the left, since one is performing the sunna).

THE INTENTION

f8.3 Then one makes the intention with one's heart.

If it for an obligatory prayer, one must intend performing the prayer, and that it is obligatory, and know which one it is, such as the noon. midafternoon, or Friday prayer. The intention must coincide with one's first Allahu Akbar, obligatory existing in the mind and recommended to be uttered with the tongue (N: before the first Allahu Akbar) as well. One intends it from the first of the phrase " Allahu akbar" to the last of it. It is not obligatory to specify the number of rak'as or that it is for Allah Most High, or whether it is a current performance or a makeup prayer, though specifying these is recommended. (A: some scholars hold that the mere determination to perform a particular prayer existing in the mind before hand is sufficient. Such an intention could be expressed, for example, by walking to the mosque after hearing the call to the noon prayer (dis: w25).) If the intention is for a nonobligatory prayer that has a particular time, one must intend which one it is, such as for 'Eid, the eclipse prayer, assuming the state of pilgrim sanctity (ihram), the sunna prayers before and after the noon prayer, and so forth. If it is for a nonobligatory prayer that is wholly supererogatory, unconnected with a particular time, one may simply intend to perform prayer.

f8.5 It immediately invalidates one's prayer:

(1) to cease to intend praying ;

(2) to decide that one will cease to;

(3) not to know whether one has ceased to or not (O: meaning one hestiates in one's heart, saying, "Shall I stop intending or continue?" The mere thought of how it would be if one were to hesitate during the prayer is of no consequence, but rather the occurrence of doubt that negates one's resolve and certainty);

(4) to intend during the first rak'a to stop when one reaches the second;

(5) or to decide to interrupt one's prayer if such and such a thing happens, regardless whether the event will definitely occur during the prayer or whether it merely may happen, such as, " I'll stop if Zayd comes in ."

f8.6 If one knowingly begins the noon prayer (N: for example) before its time has come, one's prayer is not legally considered to have begun. If one does so unknowingly, it is validly begun, but counts as a nonobligatory prayer.

THE OPENING ALLAHU AKBAR

f8.7 The Allahu Akbar (n: an integral) that begins the prayer can only be in Arabic and must be pronounced "Allah akbar" or "Allahu akbar." One's prayer is not legally considered to have begun if one omits any of its letters, pauses between the two words, adds the letter waw between them, or says "Allahu akbar" with a long a between the final b and r. If unable to pronounce it because of being a mute or similar, one must move the tongue and lips according to one's capacity.

f8.9 The minimal valid auditability for saying "Allah akbar," reciting the Koran, and all invocations (dhikr), is that one can hear them oneself, given normal hearing ands lack of extraneous noise. The imam speaks aloud (def: below) every time he says "Allahu akbar" in the prayer.

f8.10 (A: Throughout the rulings, aloud (jahran) means that someone beside or behind the speaker could distinguish his words, while to oneself (sirran) means that the speaker can distinguish his own words, but such a person could not.)

f8.11 It is obligatory that one be standing when one opens an obligatory prayer with "Allahu

akbar." If a single letter of it occurs while not standing, the prayer is not considered to have validly begun as an obligatory prayer, but is considered to have begun as a supererogatory prayer, provided one is ingnorant that it is unlawful, though not if one knows. (N: The latecomer to a group prayer should take careful note of this, and not bow or make other prayer movements until he has completed the opening Allah Akbar while standing.)

f8.12 It is recommended to lift the hands to shoulder level when one say's Allahu akbar" (O: meaning that one's fingertips are even with the tops of the ears, thumbs with the earrlobes, ands palms with one's shoulders), fingers slightly outspread. If one intentionally or absentmindedly does not lift one intentionally or absentmindedly does not lift the hands at the first of saying " Allahu Akbar," one may do so during it, though not afterwards. The palms face the direction of prayer(qibla) and the hands are uncovered. After the opening Allahu Akbar, one places the hands between the chest and navel, grasping the left wrist with the right hand, and fixing one's gaze on the place where one's forehead will prostrate. (O: One does this when not reciting the Testification of Faith (Tashahhud, def;f8.45), where one only looks at the place of prostration until one says "except Allah," and then looks at the index finger.) (A: It is offensive to close one's eyes while praying unless it is more conducive to awe and humility towards Allah.)

THE OPENING SUPPLICATION (ISTIFTAH)

f8.13 Then one recites (N: to oneself) the Opening Supplication (Istiftah), which means: "I turn may face to Him who created the heavens ands earth, a pure montheist, in submission , and an not of those who associate others with Him. My prayer, worship, life, and death are for Allah, Lord of the Worlds, who has no partner. Thus I have been commanded, and I am of those who submit." This is recommended for anyone performing an obligatory or supererogatory prayer, even if seated; no matter whether a child, woman, or traveller (O: alone or in a group, imam or follower), though not for a funeral prayer.

f8.14 If one intentionally or absentmindedly omits the Opening Supplication (Istifath) and begins saying "I take refuge, etc." (Ta'awwudh), one may not return to the Opening Supplication.

f8.15 When (N: joining a group that has already begun, and) the imam says "Ameen" just after one's opening Allahu Akbar, one says "Ameen" with him and then recites the Opening Supplication (Istiftah). If one says the opening Allahu Akbar and the imam finishes the prayer with Salams before one has sat down with the group, then one recites the Opening Supplication (Istiftah). But if one has already sat down when the imam finishes with Salams and one rises (N: to finish one's prayer), then one does not recite it (O: the Opening Supplication). If one joins the group while the imam is standing, and one knows it is possible (O: to recite the Opening Supplication) together with saying I take refuge," and so on (Ta'awwudh) and the Fatiha (N: all before the imam will finish his recital and bow), then one may recite the Opening Supplication, though if one has doubts (N: that there is enough time), one omits both the Opening Supplication and Ta'awwudh, and begins reciting the Fatiha. If the imam bows, before one finishes (O: the Fatiha), one bows with him, provided one has omitted the Opening Supplication and Ta'awwudh, though if one did not omit them, then one must recite as much (A: as many letters) of the Fatiha as one recited of them, since if one bows before having recited that much, it invalidates one's prayer. If one recites what we have just said is enough of the Fatiha to permit one to bow with the imam (n: when one is a latecomer, for otherwise it is obligatory to recite it all, as at f12.17(O:)), but one holds back from bowing with him without excuse, then if the imam straightens up from bowing before one has oneself bowed, one has missed that rak'as (N: and must rise after the group has finished to perform it).

SAYING "I TAKE REFUGE, ETC. " (TA'AWWUDH)

f8.16 After the Opening Supplication, it is recommended to recite the Ta'awwudh, saying, "I take refuge in Allah form the accursed Devil." It is said in every rak'a and especially recommended in the first, whether one is imam, follower, or praying by oneself, and whether the prayer is obligatory, supererogatory, or even a funeral prayer. It is said to oneself in both the prayers recited to oneself and those recited aloud.

THE FATIHA

f8.17 Then one recites the Fatiha (def:w1.16) in every rak'a(n: an integral), whether one is imam, follower, or praying alone. The Basmala (n: the words "In the name of Allah, Most Merciful and Compassionate") is one of its verses. (n: In the other three schools, it is recited to oneself even when the rest is recited aloud (Sharah al-sunna (y22), 3.54).) It is obligatory to recite the Fatiha's verses in order and without interruption. It is considered to be interrupted and must be begun again if one deliberately pauses, at length during it, or pauses briefly but thereby intends to cease reciting, or mizes with it some words of invocation (dhikr)or Koran that are not in the interests of the prayer. One's recital of the Fatiha is not considered to be interrupted if one speaks words during it that are in the interests of the prayer, such as saying "Ameen" in response to the imam's Ameen, or reminding him of the right words when he errors, or prostrating with him as a sunna for his Koran recital (def: f11.14). Nor is it interrupted if one forgetfully falls silent during it or absentmindedly adds some words of invocation (dhikr).

f8.18 If one omits one of the Fatiha's letters (Ar. harf, a consonant or long vowel (A: mistakes in a short vowel (haraka) do not harm as long as they do not alter the meaning)), fails to double a letter that should be doubles, or substitutes a wrong letter for the right one, it invalidates (O: one's recital of that particular word, and one must recite the word again (dis: s3.3). But it does not invalidate one's prayer unless it changes the meaning and was done deliberately).

SAYING "AMEEN"

f8.19 After reciting (n: the last words of the Fatiha)" nor of the lost, " one says "Ameen" to oneself in prayers spoken to oneself and aloud in those recited aloud. When following an imam, one says "Ameen" when he does, and then a second time (N: to oneself) when finished with one's own recital of the Fatiha.

RECITING A SURA

f8.20 If one is the imam or praying by oneself, it is recommended in the first and second rak'as only to recite one complete sura (O: even if short) the Fatiha. It is recommended to recite:

(1) the suras from al-Hujurat (Koran 49) to al-Naba'(Koran 78) for the dawn (subh) and noon (zuhr) prayers;

(2) the suras from al-Naba'(Koran 78) to al-Duha (Koran 93) for the midafternoon ('as) and nightfall ('isha) prayers; (provided that there are a restricted number of followers (O: meaning no others are praying behind the imam) who do not mind the length of these ((1) and (2) above) recitations, though if otherwise, the imam should be brief)

(3) the suras from al-Duha (Koran 93) to the end (Koran 114) for the sunset prayer (maghrib);

(4) al-Sajda (Koran 32) for the dawn prayer on Friday (n: in the first rak'a' when the group may prostrate during the recital, as at f11.14), and al-Insan (Koran 76) (n:in the second rak'a);

(5) and al-Kafirun (Koran 109) (n: in the first rak'a) and al-Ikhlas (Koran 112)(n: in the second)for the sunna prayers that accompany the sunset and dawn prayers (def:f10.2), for the two rak'as after circumambulating the Kaaba (j5), and for the guidance prayer (istikhara, f10.12).

f8.21 It is recommended to r recite the Koran in a distinct, pleasant way (tartil) (O: i.e. to recite it as revealed by Allah, observing the proper rules of Koranic recitation) and to reflect upon its lessons and meanings (dis:w26).

f8.22 It is offensive for a follower to recite a sura when praying behind an imam whose recital is audible to him, though it is recommended for the follower to recite the sura during prayers that are not recited aloud, or those recited aloud if he cannot hearing, or can hear it, but uncomprehendingly.

f8.23 One recites a longer sura in the first rak'as than in the second.

f8.24 If a latecomer to a group prayer misses the first two rak'as with the group and then performs them alone after the imam has finished the group prayer with Salams, he is recommended to recite the suras to himself during them.

f8.25 The imam (or person praying by himself) recites the Fatiha and suras aloud for the dawn prayer (subh), Friday prayer (jumu'a), prayer on the two 'Eids (def: f19), drought prayer (f21), lunar eclipse prayer (f20), the group prayer that is sunna on the nights of Ramadan (tarawih, f10.5), and for the first two rak'as of the sunset (maghrib) and nightfall ('isha) prayers. In other prayers, the Fatiha and suras are recited to oneself. When making up at night (lays, from sunset to true dawn) a prayer that one missed during the day or night, one recites aloud. When making up in the daytime (nahar, from dawn to sunset) a prayer that one missed during the day or

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night, one recites to oneself. At dawn, however (N: from true dawn to sunrise), all makeup prayers are recited aloud. (N: The upshot is that one recites aloud in all prayers that are made up at times when one normally recites aloud, and recites to oneself at the times one normally recites to oneself.)

STANDING

f8.27 Standing is an integral in all obligatory prayers (O: for anyone who can stand, whether by himself or assisted by another, though it is not an integral in nonobligatory prayers). Standing requires that the spine be upright. One is not standing if one inclines forward so that the backbone is no longer straight, or bends so that one is closer to bowing (def: f8.29) than to standing. If a person's back is bowed with age or the like so that this normal posture resembles someone bowing, then he stands as he is, but must bend a little further for bowing if able to. It is offensive in prayer to stand on one foot, for both feet to be held together (A: though this is sunna for women), or for one foot to be ahead of the other. To stand at length (A: reciting the Koran in prayer) is better than to prostrate or bow at length (A: therein).

f8.28 It is permissible to pray nonobligatory prayer seated (O: any way one wishes, though the iftirash (def: f8.37) style of sitting is best or lying down, even when able to stand (A: but the merit is less than to do so standing).

BOWING

f8.29 Then one bows from the waist (n: an integral). he minimum is to bow as far as an average size person needs to when he wants to put his hands on his knees. It is obligatory that one repose therein, minimally meaning to remain motionless for a moment after having moved. It is also obligatory that one intend nothing by the motion but bowing.

f8.30 The optimal way is to raise one's hands and say "Allahu akbar" so that one begins raising the hands as one starts saying it, and when the hands are at shoulder level, one bows. Whever one says "Allahu akbar" during a movement from one prayer posture to another, it is recommended to prolong the words until one reaches the next posture (A: so that one's prayer is not devoid of invocation (dhikr) at any point). Then one puts the hands on the knees, fingers apart, with back and neck extended, legs straight, and elbows out, though women keep them close.One then says, "My Lord Most Great is exalted above all limitation," three times, the least that is optimal. If praying alone, or the imam of a limited number of followers who do not mind the extra length, one may increase the number of times one says this to five,

seven, nine, or eleven. When finished, (O:however many times one has said it,) it is recommended to say, "O Allah, to You I bow, in You I believe, to You I submit. My hearing, sight, mind, bones nerves, and all that my feet bear up are humbled before You."

STRAIGHTENING UP

f8.31 Then one lifts one's head, the minimum of which is to return to standing as one was before bowing, and, then remain motionless for a moment. (n: Each is an integral.) It is obligatory to intend nothing by one's movement except straightening up.

f8.32 The optimal way is to raise the hands (A: lifting them from the knees as one starts straightening up, raising them to shoulder level) and the head together, saying,"Allah hears whoever praises Him," This is said whether one is imam, follower, or praying alone. When one is standing upright, one says. "Our Lord, all praise is Yours, heavenful, earthful, and whatever-else-You-will-full." (O: If following an imam or praying alone, one says this to oneself. If imam, one says"Allah hears whoever praises Him" aloud, but the rest to oneself.) Those we have previously mentioned who wish to add to the words of bowing may add here "O You who deserve praise and glory, the truest thing a slave can say (and all of us are Your slaves) is, 'None can withhold what You bestow, non can bestow what You withhold, and the fortune of the fortunate avails nothing against You."

PROSTRATION

f8.33 Then one prostrates (n: an integral). The conditions for its validity are:

(a) that an uncovered portion of the forehead touch a part of the place prayer (N: it is not obligatory that any of the other limbs of prostration be uncovered);

(b) that one remain motionless for a moment while prostating

(c) that the place of prostration bear the weight of the head;

(d) the one's higher than one's head;

(e) that one not prostrate on something joined to one's person that moves with one's motions,

such as a sleeve or turban;

(f) that nothing but prostration be intended by one's motion;

(g) and that part of each knee, the bottom of the toes of each foot, and the fingers of each hand be placed on the ground. (O: In our school, it is not Obligatory that the nose touch the ground in prostration, though it is desirable)

f8.34 If one cannot fully prostrate so that one's forehead touches the ground (N: a pregnant woman, for example), then it is not necessary to stack up pillows on the place of prostration to touch the forehead on them. One merely bows as low as one can. If one has put a bandage on the foreheads because of an injury that affects all of it, and there is hardship in removing it (O: severe enough to permit dry ablution (tayammum) (def: e12.9)), then one may prostrate upon it and need not make up the prayer.

f8.35 The optimal way to prostrate is to say "Allahu akbar" and:

(1) to put the knees down first, then the hands, and then the forehead andnose (O: the order is called for, and any other order is offensive);

(2) to prostrate with the hands directly under one's shoulders, fingers together, extended towards the direction of prayer (qibla), hands uncovered;

(3) for men to keep 1 span (n: about 23 cm) between the two knees and two feet (O: though a woman's are kept together);

(4) for men to keep the stomach apart from the thighs, though women keep them together;

(5) and to say three times, " My Lord Most High is exalted above all limitation." Those we have previously mentioned who wish to add to the words of bowing may increase the number of times this is said as previously described (O: namely, in odd numbers up to eleven) and add: "O Allah, I prostrate myself to You, believe in You, and surrender to You. My face prostrates to Him, and surrender to you. My face prostrates to Him who created it and gave it form, who opened its hearing and vision by His Power and strength. Allah is exalted in perfection, the Best of Creators." It is commendable to supplicate Allah while prostrating.

SITTING BETWEEN PROSTRATIONS

f8.36 Then one raises the head (N: and sits back before prostrating a second time. Sitting at this point is an integral). It is obligatory to sit motionlessly for at least a moment and to intend nothing but sitting by one's movement.

f8.37 The optimal way is:

(1) to say "Allahu akbar" (N:as one raises the head);

(2) to sit in ifirash, which is to place the left foot on its side and sit upon it while keeping the right foot resting on the bottom of its toes, heel up;

(3) to place one's two hands on the thighs near the knees, fingers extended and held together;

(4) and to say, "O Allah forgive me, have mercy on me, pardon me, set me right, guide me, and sustain me."

f8.38 There are two other ways of sitting back (iq'a') (O: between the two prostrations, or at the first and second Testifications of Faith (Tashahhud, def:f8:45)). One way is to sit back on the heels with the bottom of the toes and knees upon the ground. This is recommended between the two prostrations, though iftirash (def: f8.37) is better.The other way is to simply sit on the ground, palms down, and knees, drawn up. This is offensive in any prayer.'

f8.39 Then one prostrates again just as before. (O: The first rak'a is only completed when one has performed the second prostration,because each prostration is a separate integral, as is the moment of motionlessness in each.)

f8.40 After this one raises the head, saying "Allah akbar" (O: as one first raises it, drawing out the words until one is standing upright). It is sunna, here land in each rak'a that is not followed by the Testification of Faith (Tashahhud), to briefly rest in the iftirash style of sitting (f8.37) before rising. Then one (O: quickly) raises, helping oneself up with both hands (O: palms down), and prolonging the Allah Akbar until standing. If the imam omits this brief sitting, the follower performs it anyway. It is not done after a Koran recital prostration (def: f11.13).

f8.41 Then one performs the second rak'a of the prayer just like the first, except for the initial

intention, the opening Allah Akbar, and Opening Supplication (Istiftah).

f8.42 If one's prayer exceeds two rak'as one sits in iftirash (def:f8.37) after the first two rak'as and recites the Testification of Faith (Tashahhud, f8.45) and the Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), though not upon him family (N: which is done only in the final Testification of Faith at the end of the prayer). Then one rises, saying "Allah akbar" and leaning on one's hands (n: as before). When standing, one lifts the hands to shoulder level (A: which one does here, but not after rising from the first or third rak'a) and then goes on to perform the remainder of the prayer as one did the second rak'a, except that one recites the Fatiha to oneself and does not recite a sura after it.

TESTIFICATION OF FAITH (TASHAHHUD)

f8.43 One sits back (n: an integral) at a the last of one's prayer for the Testification of Faith in the tawarruk style of sitting, with one's (O: left) posterior on the ground and left foot on its side, emerging from under right, which is vertical.(O: The wisdom in the difference between the ways of sitting during the two Testifications of Faith, namely, iftirash (f8.37) in the first and tawarruk in the second, is that a latecomer to group prayer may know by observing the former that the prayer has not finished and by the latter that it nearly has. Imam Malik holds the sunna in both testifications to be the tawarruk style of sitting; while Abu Hanifa holds that the iftirash style is sunna for both. May Allah have mercy on them all for explaining the Deity's command without the slightest loss.) However one sits here (O: in the final Testification of Faith (Tashhud)) and in the foregoing (O: Testification of Faith, as well as between the two prostration) is permissible, though iftirash and tawarruk are sunna. A late comer to a group prayer sits in iftirash at the end of his imam's prayer and sits in tawarruk at the end of his own. Similarly, the person who must perform a forgetfulness prostration (def: f11) sits in iftirash for his last Testification of Faith, prostrates for forgetfulness, and then sits in tawarruk for his Salams.

f8.44 In the two Testifications of Faith, one's left hand rests on the left thigh near the knee, its fingers extended and held together. The right hand is similarly placed, but is held closed with its thumb touching the side of the index finger, which alone is left extended. One lifts the index finger and points with it when one says the words "except Allah" One does not move it while it is thus raised (O: following the sunna from a hadith related by Abu Dawud. It is offensive to move it here, though some hold that it is recommended, the evidence for which is also from the sunna, in a hadith related by Bayhaqi, who states that both hadiths are rigorously authenticated (sahih). Precedence is given to the former hadith, which negates moving the finger, over the latter hadith, which affirms it, because scholars hold that what is sought in prayer is lack of motion, and moving it diminishes one's humility. The Prophet's moving it (Allah bless him and give him peace) was merely to teach people that it was permissible (A: as it was the Prophet's duty (Allah bless him a nd give him peace) to distinguish for his Community the acts that were offensive from those that were unlawful, and he was given the reward of the obligatory for doing such offensive acts.) Moreover, Bayhaqi says that the meaning of moving it in the latter hadith is simply raising it. So there is no actual contradiction).

f8.45 The minimal Testification of Faith (Tashahhud) is to say: "Greetings to Allah. Peace be upon you, O Prophet, and the mercy of Allah and His blessings. Peace be upon us and upon Allah"s righteous slaves. I testify there is no god except Allah, and that Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah." The optimal way is to say: "Greetings, blessings, and the best of prayers to Allah. Peace be upon you O Prophet, and the mercy of Allah and His blessings. Peace be upon us and upon Allah's righteous slaves. I testify that there is no god except Allah, and that Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah." Its words (N:minimal or optimal) are obligatory (O: i.e when one can recite the Arabic, one may not use other words) and their order is a condition. If one cannot say it, one must learn. If one cannot learn (O: because there is no teacher, or there is, no teacher, or there is, but one is unable), then one may translate it (O: to any language one wishes)One then says the Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) (n: an integral after the final Testification of Faith, but merely sunna after the first one, as at

f9.15 below).The minimum is to say, "O Allah, bless Mohammed." (n: One confines oneself to this minimum at the first Testification of Faith, as mentioned above at f8.42.) The optimal way is to say: "O: Allah, bless Mohammed and the folk of Mohammed as You blessed Ibrahim and the folk of Ibrahim. O Allah, show grace to Mohammed and the folk of Mohammed as You did to Ibrahim and the folk of Ibrahim in the worlds, for You are truly the Most Praiseworthy and Noble." (A: It is desirable to add before each mention of the names Mohammed and Ibrahim the word sayyidina ("our liegelord"). The hadith " Do not liegelord me in the prayer" is a forgery containing corrupt Arabic)

f8.46 It is recommended afterwards (O: after the second Testification of Faith (Tashahhud) of the prayer, though not after the first) to supplicatae Allah for any permissible thing one wishes concerning one's religion or this world. One of the best supplications is: "O Allah, forgive me what I have done and what I may do, what I have hidden and what I have made known, my excesses and what You know better than I. Only You put one ahead or behind. There is no god but You." It is recommended (O: if one is imam) that such supplications be briefer than the Testification of Faith with its Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) (O: though if one is alone, one may supplicate as long as one wishes, if not afraid of forgetting (N: that one is still in the prayer)).

CLOSING THE PRAYER WITH SALAMS

f8.47 Then one says the final Salams (n: an integral). The minimum is to say "as-Salamu alaykum" (peace be upon you), and it must occur while one is sitting. (O: It is inadequate to say "Salam salaykum" without the first word being definite (n: i.e. as-Salamu), since this has not reached us through any hadith texts, and invalidates the prayer if done intentionally.)The optimal way is to say, "Peace be upon you, and the mercy of Allah" (O: though to add the words "and His grace" (was barakatuhu) is not sunna) and to turn the head to the right enough to show the right cheek. (N: to those

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behind). One thereby intends to finish the prayer and intends greetings of peace to the angels and Muslims (whether human or jinn (def:w22)) on the right. One then turns one's head to the left and repeats the Salam, intending to greet to those on the left. A follower intends one of the two Salams as a response to the imam's, depending on which side the imam is on, or if the follower is directly behind him, he may intend either Salam as a response to him.

f8.48 When one is a latecomer to a group prayer, it is recommended not to stand up to finish one's missed rakas until the imam has said both Salams. It is permissible to stand after he has said just one, but if one stands before he has said the first Salam it invalidates one's prayer, unless one purposely intended to cease participation in the group prayer before doing so.A latecomer, if making his first Testification of Faith while the group is making their last one, may sit at length (O: for dhikr or supplications) after the imam's Salams before he stands up to finish his own rakas, though it is offensive. If he does this when not at the point of his first Testification of Faith, it invalidates his prayer if intentional.

f8.49 Someone who is not a latecomer to a group prayer may sit as long as he wishes after the imam's Salams to supplicate, finishing with his own Salams whenever he wants (O:because the imam's leadership ends with the imam's first Salam, so there is no harm in the follower taking his time, as he is now praying alone, and someone praying alone may do so as long as he likes.

f8.50 It is recommended to invoke Allah Most High (dhikr)to oneself and to supplicate after the prayer. (O: Shafi'i says in al-Umm, "I prefer that the imam and follower invoke Allah (dhikr) after the Salams, and do so silently, unless the imam wants to be learned from, in which case he says the invocations aloud until he believes that he has been learned from, after which he says them to himself.") (n: The following invocations are listed in the commentary and have been written in full and vowelled by the translator in the facing column of Arabic. Their order is sunna, as the commentator notes below.

(1) Ayat al-Kursi (Koran 2:255) (said once);

(2) al-Ikhlas (Koran 112) (once);

(3) al-Falaq (Koran 113) (once);

(4) al-Nas (Koran 114) (once);

(5) "I ask Allah's forgiveness" (three times):

(6) "O Allah, You ar peace, from You is peace, You are exalted through Yourself above all else, O You of Majesty and Beneficence";

(7) "O Allah, none can withhold what You bestow, none can bestow what You withhold, and the fortune of the fortunate avails nothing against You";

(8) "Allah is exalted above any limitation or imperfection" (thirty-three times);

(9) "Praise be to Allah" (thirty-three times);

(10) "Allah is greatest" (thirty-three times (A: or thirty-four) times); (N: (8), (9), and (10) above are also recommended before going to sleep at night, in which case "Allah is greatest" is said thirty-four times)

(11) and "There is no god but Allah, alone, without partner. His is the dominion, His the praise, and He has power over all things." (O: It is recommended to begin the supplication with the Koran when called for, like Ayat al-Kursi and so forth, then, (5)through (10) above.) One should invoke the Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) at the beginning (O: and middle) and end of one's supplications.

f8.51 The imam turns for (N: postprayer) invocation and supplications so that his right side is towards the group and his left side towards the direction of prayer (qibla). He leaves his place as soon as he finishes, if there are no women (N: in which case he waits for them to leave first). It is recommended that the followers remain seated until the imam stands.(A: In the Shafi'i school, the invocations are recommended to precede the postprayer sunna rak'as)

f8.52 It is recommended for those who perform nonobligatory prayers after the prescribed prayer to first wait till after some conversation: it being better to pray them elsewere, and best to perform them in one's home. (O: However, it is better to perform certain nonobligatory prayers in the mosque, such as those before the Friday prayer, those after circumambulating the Kaaba, and those before entering the state of pilgrim sanctity (ihram) if there is a mosque at the site. (A: Others that are better in the mosque include.)

(1) the midmorning nonobligatory prayer (duha, def:f10.6);

(2) the guidance prayer (istikhara, f10.12);

(3) the two rak'as that are sunna before departing on a journey and when arriving from one;

(4) prayers performed during a period of spiritual retreat in a mosque (i'tikaf,i3);

(5) confirmed sunna prayers (sunna mu'akkada, f10.2) that one is afraid of missing if one does not pray them in the mosque;

(6) and the sunna rak'as before the sunset prayer.))

f8.33 While performing the dawn prayer (subh)it is sunna to lift one's hands supplicate after straightening up from bowing in the second rak'a. One says: " O Allah, guide me among those You guide, grant me health and pardon among those You grant health and pardon, look after me among those You lookafter, grant me grace in what You have given me, and protect me from the evil [A: here, one turns the palms down for a moment] of what You have ordained; for You decree and non decrees against You, and non is based whom You befriend. O our Lord, who are above all things sacred and exalted, all praise is Yours for what You decree. I ask Your forgiveness and turn to You in repentance." It is commendable to add "and none is exalted whom You are at enmity with" (A: after the above words "and non is based whom You befriend"). If one is imam, one pluralizes the singular pronominal suffix so that, for example, ihadina ("guide us") and so forth (dis:w1.27). The words of this supplication are not set and may be accomplished by pronoucing any supplication (O: and praise) or Koranic verse containing a supplication, such as the last verses of al-Baqara (Koran 2:285-86), though the above words are better. After this, one invokes the Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace). It is recommended to raise one's hands throughout the supplication (O: palms up when asking the good, palms down when asking Allah to avert affliction). One does not stroke the face or chest with one's hands after the supplication (O: as opposed to other supplications, for which it is recommended to wipe the face with the hands, as is mentioned in hadith). The imam says the supplications aloud. The follower says "Ameen" after each supplication that is audible to him and participates in the praises and so forth by responding with similar expressions. If the imam is inaudible, the follower himself the supplication. When praying alone one says it to oneself. When disasters (O: such as drought or an epidemic) befall the Muslims, they similarly supplicate in every prescribed prayer (O: after straightening up from bowing in the last rak'a).

f9.0 WHAT INVALIDATES, IS OFFENSIVE, OR OBLIGATORY IN PRAYER

EXTRANEOUS SPEECH

f9.1 The prayer is invalidated (if one has no excuse (def:below)) by uttering two or more letters or when two or more letters worth of sounds such as laughter, crying, groaning, clearing the throat, blowing, sighing, or similar are audible. It is also invalidated by much (O: i.e. more than six words worth of) sound, even when there is a valid excuse such as blurting out words unthingly, laughter or coughing overcoming one, absentmindedly speaking, or when one speaks because as a new Muslim one does not know it is unlawful during the prayer; though with such an excuse a slight amount of speech does not invalidate the prayer. One's prayer is invalid if one speaks knowing that it is unlawful but ignorant of the fact that it invalidates the prayer, and is also invalid if one says "Aah" during it out of fear of hell. When it is impossible to recite the Fatiha(N: to oneself) (A: or the final Testification of Faith (Tashahhud) or Salams) except by clearing one's throat, one may do so even when it approximates two letters, though if it is merely impossible to recite aloud, then one may not clear one's throat, but must instead recite to oneself. (A: Some things which are not commonly known to invalidate the prayer, such as clearing the throat, do not invalidate the prayer of ordinary people, whose ignorance of them is excusable, though a scholar has no such excuse.)

f9.2 If one notices (N: during the prayer) a blind person about to fall into a well, or the like, then one must speak up to alert him if there is not a nonverbal means of warning him of it.

f9.3 No form of invocation of Allah (dhikr) invalidates the prayer unless it is a direct address such as "Allah have mercy on you" or "And upon you be peace", though it does not invalidate the prayer if it refers to someone not present, such as "Allah have mercy on Zayd" (O: nor is it invalidated by addressing Allah or the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace)).

f9.4 When something happens to one during the prayer. (O: such as someone asking permission to enter, or having to remind the imam that he has forgotten something), then if one is male, one says "Subhan Allah" (O: intending only invocation (dhikr) thereby, as one may not merely intend to inform, nor lack any particular intention thereby,for these invalidate the prayer), or if female, one claps the right palm on the back of the left hand, not palm to palm. If one recites a Koranic expression such as "O Yahya, take the book" (Koran 19:12), intending only to inform (O: without intending invocation) or not intending anything in particular, this invalidates the prayer, though not if the intention is Koran recital or recital and informing together.

A SUBSTANCE REACHING THE BODY CAVITY

f9.5 The prayer is invalidated when any (even if a little) substance (A: other than saliva) reaches the body cavity intentionally. It also invalidates the prayer if it occurs absentmindedly or in ignorance of its prohibition, provided the amount of the substance is commonly acknowledge to be much (def:f4.5), though not if it is little.

EXTRANEOUS MOTION

f9.6 Adding surplus action that is an Integral, such as bowing, invalidates the prayer if done intentionally, but does not invalidate it if done because one has forgotten (O: that one has already performed it).The prayer is not invalidated by intentionally or absentmindedly adding a surplus spoken Integral such as repeating one's recital of the Fatiha or the Testification of Faith (Tashahhud) or reciting them in the wrong place.

f9.7 The prayer is invalidated by adding, even if absentmindedly, a motion that is not one of the actions of prayer, provided it is both (O: considered by common acknowledgement (def:f4.5) to be) much and uninterruptedly consecutive, such as three steps (O: or successively moving three separate body parts like the head and two hands, though an up-and-down motion is considered just one) or three or more consecutive motions. The prayer is not invalidated by action that is not much, such as two steps, or is much but is separated so that the subsequent motion is considered to be unconnected with the proceeding (O: slight) action is grossly improper, such as jumping, it invalidates the prayer.

f9.8 Slight actions such as scratching oneself, or turning a rosary (subha, dis: w27) do not affect the validity of the prayer, nor does remaining silent at length.

THINGS OFFENSIVE IN PRAYER

f9.9 It is offensive to perform the prayer while one is holding back from urinating or defecating, (O: If enough time remains to perform the prayer, the sunna is to relieve oneself first, even when one fears missing praying with a group, since it diminishes one's awe and humility in prayer.)

f9.10 It is offensive to pray in the presence of food or drink one would like to have, unless one fears that prayer's time will end. It is offensive during the prayer:

(1) to interlace the fingers;

(2) to turn (N: the head when there is no need. As for turning the chest from the directions of prayer (qibla), it invalidates the prayer except when there is an excuse such as in extreme peril, or when performing a nonobligatory prayer during a journey);

(3) to look to the sky;

(4) to look at something distracting;

(5) to gather one's clothes or hair with the hand, tuck one's haira under a turban, or wipe the

dust from one's forehead;

(6) to yawn, though if it overcome one, one should cover mouth with the hand;

(7) to exaggerate in lowering one's head while bowing;

(8) or to put one's hands on the hips.

f9.11 It is offensive during the prayer to spit to the front of one or to the right. Rather, one should expectorate to the left, in the left, in the hem of one's garment, or under the foot (N: when one is praying in a desert or similar). (O: It is unlawful to spit in a mosque except into the left hem of one's garment (N: or a handkerchief. The slight motions necessary to take out one's handkerchief and return it do not harm, as they are inconsiderable).)

THINGS OBLIGATORY IN PRAYER

f9.12 The prayer has conditions (def: f9.13), integrals (f9.14), main sunnas (f9.15), and ordinary sunnas.

THE CONDITIONS OF PRAYER

f9.13 The prayer's conditions are eight:

(a) purification from minor and major ritual impurity (hadath ands janaba) (A: through ablution (wudu, def: e5) and the purificatory bath (ghusl, e11) respectively, as well as from menstruation and postnatal bleeding by bathing after them);

(b) that one be free of filth (najasa, e14) (A: in body, clothes, and place of prayer (f4));

(c) that one's nakedness be clothed(f5);

(d) the one be facing the direction of prayer (qibla,f6);

(e) that one avoid the actions prohibited in prayer, i.e. extraneous speech, eating, and excessive motion (f9.1-7);

(f) knowing or believing that the prayer's time has come (f2);

(g) knowing that the prayer is obligatory;

(h) and knowing how it is performed.

Whenever one violates any of these conditions, one's prayer is invalidated, such as:

(1) (non-(a) above)) when a state of ritual impurity occurs during the prayer, even if

absentmindedly;

(2) (non-(b)) when some filth containing moisture affects a garment during the prayer, but one does not immediately shed the garment; or when some dry filth affects it, but one throws it off with the hand or sleeve (O: since in that case one is supporting it and in contact with it (dis: f4.2 (N:)));

(3) (non-(c)) when the wind discloses a art of one nakedness and its cover gets beyond reach;

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(4) or (non-(g)) when one believes that some elements of the prayer are obligatory and some are merely recommended, but does not know which are obligatory. One's prayer is not invalidated if one thinks that all the prayer's parts are obligatory, or (2) above) if one immediately sheds the garment affected by moist filth, brushes off dry filth, or((3) above) immediately re-coveres one's nakedness.

THE INTEGRALS OF PRAYER

f9.14 The prayer's integrals (ruku, pl, arkan) are seventeen:
(a) the intention (def: f8.3);
(b) the opening Allahu Akbar (f8.7);
(c) standing (f8.27);
(d) the Fatiha (f8.17);
(e) bowing (f8.29);
(f) remaining motionless a moment therein;
(g) straightening back up after bowing (f8.31);
(h) remaining motionless a moment therein;
(i) prostration (f8.33);
(j) remaining motionless a moment therein;
(k) sitting back (f8.36) between the two prostrations;
(l) remaining motionless a moment therein;
(m) the prayer's final Testification of Faith (Tashahhud) (f8.45);
(n) sitting therein (f8.43);
(o) the Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) after the prayer's final Testification of Faith (f8.45);
(p) saying "as-Salamu 'alaykum" the first of the two times it is said at the end of the prayer (f8.47);
(q) and the proper sequence of the above integrals.

THE MAIN SUNNAS OF PRAYER

f9.15 The prayer's main sunnas (A: meaning those which if omitted call for a forgetfulness
prostration (def:f11)) are six:
(a) the prayer's first Testification of Faith (Tashahhud) (N: in prayers that have two);
(b) sitting during it;
(c) the Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) after it (f8,45);
(d) the blessings on his family in the prayer's final Testification of Faith (Tashahhud);
(e) the supplication (f8.53) after bowing in the final rak'a of the dawn prayer (subh);
(f) and standing therein.

OTHER SUNNAS

f9.16 All other parts of the prayer are ordinary sunnas (O: and missing one is not compensated by a forgetfulness prostration).

10.0 SUPERERogATORY PRAYER

f10.1 The prayer is the best of the body's spiritual works (O: prayer referring to the prescribed prayer, and body excluding worship connected with the heart, such as faith in Allah, which is better than the works of the body), and supererogatory prayers are the best of voluntary spiritual works (O: though scholarly work in Islamic religious knowledge, meaning beyond what is obligatory to ensure the validity of one's worship, is superior to nonobligatory prayer because it fulfills a communal obligation (fard alkifaya, def:c3.2)). Supererogatory prayers that the Sacred Law stiplulates be prayed in groups, such as the prayer on the two 'Eids (f19), the prayer at solar and lunar eclipses, and the drought prayer, are better than those it does not stipulate be prayed in groups,namely, all others besides these. But the sunna rak'as before and after the prescribed prayers (O: whether confirmed sunna (sunna mu'akkada, def: below) or otherwise) are superior to the group prayer that is sunna on the nights of Ramadan (tarawih).

THE SUNNA PRAYERS BEFORE AND AFTER THE PRESCRIBED PRAYERS

f10.2 It is sunna to diligently perform the nonobligatory prayers that are offered before and after the prescribed ones. The optimal number of these is two rak'as before the dawn prayer (subh), four before and after the noon prayer (zuhr), four before the midafternoon prayer ('asr), two after the sunset prayer (maghrib), and two after the nightfall prayer ('isha). The confirmed sunnas (dis:c4.1) of these (O: confirmed (mu'akkada) meaning those which the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) did not omit whether travelling or at home) consist of ten rak'as:
(1) two before the dawn prayer (subh);
(2) two before and after the noon prayer (zuhr);
(3) two after the sunset prayer (maghrib);
(4) and two after the nightfall prayer('isha).
It is recommended to pray two rak'as before the sunset prayer.The sunnas of the Friday prayer (jumu'a) are the same as those of the noon prayer(zuhr) (dis:w28.1). The time for the nonobligatory rak'as that come before prescribed prayers is that of the prescribed prayers. It is proper (adab) to pray such a sunna before the prescribed prayer, though if prayed after it,it is still a current performance (A: not a makeup, and one must intend it, for example, as the sunna before noon prayer(zuhr)). The time for nonobligatory rak'as that come after the prescribed prayer begins when one has performed the prescribed prayer and ends with the end of the prayer's time.

WITR (THE FINAL PRAYER AT NIGHT)

f10.3 The minimal performance for witr (lit, "odd number") is one rak'a (O: even if one omit the sunnas after the nightfall prayer('isha)), (A: A witr of at least three rak'as is obligatory (wajib) in the Hanafi school, and one should never omit it.) The optimal way is to perform eleven rak'as and (O: if one perform more than three) one should finish with Salams (def: f8.47) after every pair. The least considered optimal is three rak'as (O: and one separates them by) finishing two times with Salams (N: i.e. by finishing two rak'as with Salams and then performing the final rak'as). One recites al-A'la (Koran 87) in the first rak'a al-Kafirun (Koran 109) in the second, and al-Ikhlas, al-Falaq, and al-Nas (Koran 112,113, and 114) in the third. It is permissible to (n: serially) join all the rak'as of any witr prayer that has from three to eleven rak'as by finishing them once with Salams (O: in the final rak'a, In that case and also when one's witr is only a single rak'a onw merely intends whereas in other witrs prayer in pairs (n: until one reaches the last one), one intends each pari as two rak'as of witr). When joining the rak'as of witr one may limit oneself to a single Testification of Faith (Tashahud) (A: in the final rak'a), or may recite two Testifications, one in the last rak'a and one in the next to last, and to thus recite two Testifications is superior (A: if one separates the final two rak'as from one another by finishing the next to the last rak'a with Salams (N: before praying the final rak'a by itself), for otherwise it is better to recite a single Testification, as making witr resemble the sunset prayer (maghrib) is offensive). More than two Testifications (A: in a joined witr) invalidates the whole prayer.

f10.4 The best time for witr is just after the sunna rak'as that follow the nightfall prayer ('isha), unless one intends to offer the night vigil prayer (tahajjud; to rise at night after having slept, to pray some nonobligatory rak'as), in which case it is best to pray witr after the night vigil prayer (A: provided that one usually manages to get up when one has made such an intention. If not, then it is better to perform witr after the sunnas of the nightfall prayer ('isha)). When one has already performed witr, but decides to pray the night vigil prayer (tahajjud), one performs the latter's rak'as two by two, and there is no need to repeat the witr, or " make it an even number" by performing one rak'as before the night vigil prayer. However, it is recommended not to intend performing prayer between witr and dawn.

TARAWIH

f10.5 It is recommended to perform tarawih, which is twenty rak'as of group prayer on each night of Ramadan. (O: As well as being sunna to pray tarawih alone, it is also sunna to pray it in a group.) One finishes each pair of rak'as with Salams. It is recommended to pray witr in a group after tarawih, unless one intends the night vigil prayer (tahajjud), in which case one should postpone witr until after it. During the second half or Ramadan, in the last rak'a (N: of witr), it is recommended to supplicate as one does in the dawn prayer (def: f8.53), and then one adds: "O Allah, we ask Your help, Your forgiveness, and Your guidance. In You we believe, on You we rely, You we praise with every good, we are grateful to You and not ungrateful, and disown and abandon him who commits outrages against You. O Allah, You alone do we worship, to You we pray and prostrate, You we strive for and hasten to obey, hoping for Your mercy and fearing Your punishment. Truly, Your earnest punishment shall overtake the unbelievers." The time for witr and tarawih is between the nightfall prayer ('isha) and dawn.

THE MIDMORNING PRAYER (DUHA)

f10.6 It is recommended to pray the midmorning prayer (duha), which minimally consists of two rak'as, is optimally eight rak'as, and maximally twelve. One finishes each pair of rak'as with Salams. Its time is after the sun is well up until hust before the noon prayer (zuhr). (O: The preferable time for its performance is after a quarter of the day has passed.)

f10.7 When one misses (O: even intentionally) any supererogatory prayer that has a specified time, such as the two 'Eids, duha, witr, or the Sunnas before and after the prescribed prayers, it is recommended to make it up at any time afterwards. If one misses a supererogatory prayer that is contingent upon some passing event, such as the eclipse prayer, drought prayer, greeting the mosque, or the prayer for guidance (istikhara. def: 10.12), one does not make it up.

THE NIGHT VIGIL PRAYER (TAHAJJUD)

f10.8 Supereogatory prayer at night is a confirmed sunna (def: f10.2 (O:)), even if one can only do a little. Wholly supererogatory prayers (O: meaning those unconnected with a particular time or reason) at night are better than during the day. If one divides the night into six parts, the fourth and fifth part are the best for prayer. If divided in half, the second half is best. If divided into thirds, the middle part is best. Praying the entire night, every night, is offensive. It is recommended to begin one's night vigil prayers (tahajjud) with two brief rak'as to have intended the night vigil prayer before going to sleep, and not to make a practice of more prayer than one can regularly perform without harm to oneself. (A: It is a sunna to recite the suras of the night vigil prayer sometimes aloud, sometimes to oneself.)

f10.9 One (O: who is performing wholly supererogatory prayers, whether in the night or day) finishes every two rak'as with Salams, though one may also:
(1) join three or more rak'as by finishing but once with Salams;
(2) pray a single supererogatory rak'a by itself;
(3) recite the Testification of Faith (Tashahhud) every two rak'as (O: without finishing them with Salams), or every three, or every four, even if the Testifications of Faith grow very numerous (A: before finishing the series of rak'as with Salams). (N: This is if not praying witr (dis: f10.3, end));
(4) or confine oneself to just one Testification of Faith (Tashahhud) in the final rak'a (O: in which case one recites a sura in each of the rak'as and finishes with Salams after the above mentioned final Testification of Faith), though it is not permissible to recite the Testification of Faith in every rak'a (O: without finishing with Salams). When one's intention (N: in a wholly supererogatory prayer) is to perform a specific number of rak'as (O: four or more), then one may change one's mind as to the number and pray fewer rak'as, or more, provided one changes the intention before (O: having added or substracted any). Thus it is permissible to intend four but finish after two, if one intends to subtract two, though it invalidates the prayer to purposely finish it after two without having made the intention to curtail the planned four rak'as. If one absentmindedly finishes with Salams, one goes on to complete the four and performs the forgetfulness prostration (def:f11) at the end.

GREETING THE MOSQUE

f10.10 It is recommended for whoever enters a mosque to greet the mosque by praying two rak'as each time he enters, even if many times within an hour. One is no longer entitled to pray if after sitting. It is accomplished anytime one enters a mosque and prays two rak'as, whether one intends merely performing two supererogatory rak'as fulfilling a vow, the sunna rak'as before or after a prescribed prayer, the prescribed prayer alone, or the prescribed prayerr together with the intention of greeting the mosque. (O: If one enters the mosque when one does not have ablution (wudu), it is sunna to say four times, "Allah is far exalted above any limitation, praise be to Allah, there is no god but Allah, Allah is greatest.")

f10.11 It is offensive to begin any nonobligatory prayer, whether greeting the mosque, the sunna rak'as before a prescribed prayer, or other, when the imam has begun the prescribed prayer or the muezzin has begun the call to commence (iqama).

THE GUIDANCE PRAYER (ISTIKHARA)

f10.12 (n: the translator has added the following text from Imam Nawawi's Riyad al-salihin:) Jabir (Allah be well pleased with him) relates that "the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) used to teach us the guidance prayer (istikhara) for all matters, as he would a sura of the Koran, saying : " 'When a matter concerns one of you, pray two nonobligatory rak'as [dis: f8.20(5)] and say; "O Allah, I ask You to show me what is best through Your knowledge, and bring it to pass through Your power, and I ask You of Your immense favor; for You are all-powerful and I am not, You know and I do not, and You are the Knower of the Unseen. O Allah, if You know this matter to be better for me in my religion, livelihood, and final outcome [or perhaps he said, " the short t and long term of my case"], then bring it about and facilitate it for me, and bless me with abundance therein. And if You know this matter to be worse for me in my religion, livelihood, and final outcome [or perhaps he said, "the short and long term of may case"], then keep it from me, and keep me from it , and bring about the good for me whatever it may be, and make me pleased with it," and then one should mention the matter at hand.'" (Riyad al-salihin (y107),325-26)

f10.13 A nonobligatory prayer at home is superior to one performed at the mosque (dis: f8.52).

f10.14 It is offensive for one to single out the night before Friday (lit, "night of Friday," i.e Thursday night, since in Arabic the night of a given date comes before its day) as a special night for prayer.

f10.15 It is an offensive, blameworthy innovation (bid'a def:w29) to perform any of the following spurious prayers:
(1) twelve rak'as between the sunset prayer (maghrib) and nightfall prayer ('isha) on the first Thursday night of the month of Rajab;
(2) one hundred rak'as in the middle of the month of Sha'ban;

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(3) (O: two rak'as after each of three times of reciting Ya Sin (Koran 36) on the night of mid-Sha'ban;
(4) or the so-called prayer of 'Ashura' on 10 Muharram.)

f11.0 PROSTRATIONS OF FORGETFULNESS, KORAN RECITAL, OR THANKS

THE FORGETFULNESS PROSTRATION

f11.1 The two reasons for the forgetfulness prostration are nonperfomance of something called for (O: such as a main sunna (f9.15)), or performance of something uncalled-for (O: such as absentmindedly adding a rak'a to one's prayer).

f11.2 (n: As for nonperfomance,) if one misses an integral of the prayer (def:f9.14) and does not remember it until doing what comes after it, then one must (A: it still in the same rak'a) go back to it, perform it and what comes after it, and (A: it is sunna to) prostrate for it at the end of one's prayer (O: provided one is not a follower. As for a follower who misses an integral, he continues following the imam until the imam finishes with Salams, and then the follower rises alone and performs a makeup rak'a. One is only obligated to reperform a missed integral (A: in the same rak'a i.e. when praying by oneself) if one's forgetfulness of it doesn't continue (A: until the next rak'a). If one's forgetfulness continues and one goes on to perform the integral (A: during the course of the subsequent rak'a) then the same integral (A: of the following rak'a) takes the missed integral's place (A: in which case the rak'a containing the omission does not count and one does not return to it, but performs the rest of the prayer and then adds a makeup rak'a at the end, after which one performs the forgetfulness prostration before one finishes with Salams)).

f11.3 (O: If there is a surplus action, such as when one absentmindedly goes from standing to prostration without having bowed, but then remembers, in such a case one stands up and bows, and performs the forgetfulness prostration (N: at the end of the prayer). This (N: having stood twice before bowing) is a surplus action. One does not prostrate for forgetfulness when there is no surplus action, as when one omits the final prostration of the prayer, but remembers it before one finishes with Salams and performs it, in which case one does not prostrate for it because there has not been an addition.)

f11.4 If one misses a main sunna (def: f9.15), even purposely, one perform a forgetfulness prostration. If one misses anything besides an integral or main sunna, then one does not prostrate for it.

f11.5 One does not prostrate for (A: either intentionally or absentmindedly) doing an uncalled for action of the type which when done intentionally does not invalidate the prayer (O: such as turning the head, or taking one or two steps), though reciting a part or all of the Fatiha or Testification of Faith (Tashahhud) at the wrong place in the prayer are exceptions to this in that, although intentionally reciting them at the wrong place does not invalidate the prayer, it does call for a forgetfulness prostration.

f11.6 One performs a forgetfulness prostration for unintentionally doing an uncalled-for action of the type which when done intentionally invalidates the prayer (O : Such as a small amount of extraneous speech), provided it is not the type of action whose unintentional performance also invalidates the prayer (O: such as much extraneous speech or action (def:f9)) (N: since doing it would in any case invalidate the prayer and obviate the need for a forgetfulness prostration). Straightening back up after bowing (f8.31), and sitting between prostration (f8.36) are two brief integrals. To intentionally make them lengthy invalidates one's prayer, though to do so absentmindedly merely calls for a forgetfulness prostration (A: An exception to this is standing at length after bowing in the final rak'a of any prayer, as this does not invalidate the prayer even when done intentionally, and even if one does not supplicate therein.)

f11.7 If one forgets the first Testification of Faith (Tashahhud) and stands up it is unlawful to return to it. If one intentionally returns to it, this invalidates one's prayer (O: because one has interrupted an obligatory act (A: the Integral of standing) for the sake of something nonobligatory (A: the main sunna of the first Testification of Faith (Tashahhud))). But if one returns to it absentmindedly or out of ignorance, one merely prostrates for it, though one must (O: interrupt the Testification of Faith that one has returned to , and) stand up as soon as one remembers. If one (A: has omitted the first Testification of Faith and started to rise, but) checks oneself before standing and sits down again, this does not call for a forgetfulness prostration (O: as it is not a full surplus action (def: f11.3)). But if one intentionally rises and then returns to sitting after having been closer to standing, one's prayer is invalid. If not (O: i.e. if one had not yet been that close, or had, but returned absentmindedly or in ignorance of its prohibition), it is not (O: invalid). The same applies to omitting the supplication of the dawn prayer (f8.53), where placing the forehead on the ground is as standing up is in the above ruling(N; that is , one may return to the omitted supplication as long as one has not yet completed one;s (A:first) prostration).

f11.8 When praying behind an imam who misses the first Testification of Faith (Tashuhhud) by standing, the follower may not remain seated to recite it by himself (O: as this is a gross contravention of his leadership and invalidates the prayer when done purposely and in awarness of its prohibition) unless he has made the intention to cease his participation in the group prayer and finish alone. But it the imam omits the first Testification of Faith (Tashahhud) and the follower stands up with in, and then the imam sits, down, it is unlawful for the follower to follow him therein, Rather, the follower should either cease his participation in the group prayer, or else remain standing and wait for the imam to rise before they continue the prayer together. If the follower intentionally sits back down when the imam does (O: knowing it is unlawful) when his prayer is invalid. If the imam is sitting for the Testification of Faith and the follower absentmindedly stands up, then he must sit again, in deference to his imam's leadership (O: because following him in what is correct takes priority over starting an obligatory integral, which is also why the late comer to group prayer may omit both standing and reciting the Fatiha (n: to bow when the imam bows, as above at f8.15)).

f11.9 One does not perform the forgetfulness prostration when one is uncertain (A: i.e. does not know or believe) that one did something that calls for a forgetfulness prostration, or that one added a surplus integral, or did something uncalled for. But if uncertain whether one omitted a main sunna (def: f9.15), or performed the forgetfulness prostration, or whether one prayed three rak'as or four (A: and this includes being uncertain (N: i.e not knowing or believing it probable) that one performed one or more of a rak'a integrals, since without all seventeen integrals (def: f9.14), the rak'a remains unperformed), then one proceeds on the assumption that one did not yet do it (O: returning to the original basis, which was that one had not done it) and one finishes with a forgetfulness prostration. When one's doubt (A: that one has performed an extra rak'a) is resolved before finishing the prayer with Salam, one also prostrates for forgetfulness because of the rak'a one prayed while uncertain, which was presumed to have possibly been extra (A: i.e the final rak'a, which one performed thinking it might be extra). But if performing it would have been obligatory in any case, as when one is uncertain during the third rak'a(A: of a four-rak'a prayer) as to whether it is the third or fourth rak'a (A: both of which would be obligatory for the prayer in any case), but one remembers during it that it is the third, then one does not prostrate for one's forgetfulness, though if one did not remember which it was until rising for the fourth rak'a (A: which one presumed might be the fifth), one prostrates for forgetfulness. (A: The same applies to prayers of less than four rak'as.)

f11.10 The forgetfulness prostration, even if there are numerous reasons for it in one prayer, is only two prostrations.

f11.11 If one comes late to a group prayer and the imam performs a forgetfulness prostration at the end of the group's prayer, one performs it with the group, and once again at the end of one's own prayer. A follower does not prostrate for forgetfulness when he makes an individual mistake (A: the imam did not make) while following (n: unless he omits an integral, as discussed above at f11.2(O:)), though he does prostrate if his mistake occured before joining the group or after the imam finished with Salams. If the imam makes a mistake, even if it was before one joined the group prayer, then one must prostrate for it with the group out of deference to the imam's leadership. one does not it invalidates one's prayer.If the imam neglects to perform a forgetfulness prostration, the follower does so anyway. If one comes late to group prayer, absentmindedly finishes with Salams with the imam, and then remembers (O: the rest of the prayer that one has to complete), one performs the remainder and prostrates for forgetfulness.

f11.12 The forgetfulness prostration is a sunna. It is performed before one's final Salams, whether the reason is a surplus action or an omitted one. One is no longer entitled to perform it if one deliberately finishes with Salams before it, or absentmindedly finishes with Salams and there is a lengthy interval before one recalls that one was supposed to have performed it; though if this interval is brief and one wishes, then one may prostrate, and one has thereby returned to the prayer and must again finish it with Salams.

THE KORAN RECITAL PROSTRATION

f11.13 To prostrate for recital of appropriate verses of the Koran is sunna for the person reciting, listening, or merely hearing.

f11.14 One prostrates for one's own recital if praying by oneself or if one is imam (O: but it invalidates one's prayer to intentionally and with knowledge of its prohibition recite a verse for the purpose of prostrating during the prayer (N: if one prostrates therein), except for al-Sajda (Koran 32) recited in the dawn prayer (subh) on Friday. (A: Though if such a verse merely occurs in the course of one's prayer, as when one is reciting a particular sura containing it, one may prostrate)). But if either of them prostrates upon hearing someone else's recital, it invalidates their prayer. A follower prostrates with his imam. The follower's prayer is invalid if he prostrates for his own recital, the recital of someone besides the imam, or does not prostrate when the imam does.

f11.15 There are fourteen prostration verses, two of them in al-Hajj (Koran 22). They do not include the prostration at Sad (Koran 38:24), which is a prostration of thinks, not of Koran recital, and is only performed outside of prayer. To purposely prostrate for it during the prayer invalidates the prayer.

f11.16 When one prostrates for reciting while in the prayer, it is recommended to say "Allahu akbar" before prostrating and again when rising. It is obligatory to stand again after it (O: or to sit up again if performing a nonobligatory prayer seated) and recommended to then recite more of the Koran before one bows. When one prostrates for reciting while outside of the prayer, it is obligatory to say an opening Allahu Akbar (O: and to finish with Salams, The four integrals of both the prostration of Koran recital (A; outside of prayer) and of the prostration of thanks are:
(a) the intention;
(b) the opening Allahu Akbar;
(c) the prostration;
(d) and the final Salams (A: which can only be performed in a sitting position). Whether in or out of prayer, the things that invalidate a normal prayer invalidate the prostrations of recital or thanks, and the conditions of the prayer,i.e. ablution (wudu), clothing nakedness, the entry of the proper time which is when the the last letter of a prostration verse has been recited - facing the direction of prayer (qibla), and so forth, are also conditions of these prostrations). It is recommended to say "Allahu akbar" when one prostrates and rises, though not to recite the Testification of Faith (Tashahhud) therein.

f11.17 If one delays the recital prostration past its time and the interval is brief (O: meaningless than the time of two brief, medium-length rak'as) then one is still entitled to prostrate. If longer than that, one does not make it up. When one repeats a prostration verse within one sitting or within one rak'a and one has missed the prostration at its first mention, then it is accomplished b a single prostration (O: though if one prostrates for the first, one still prostrates for the subsequent times, as the reason to do so has been renewed).

f11.18 When reciting the Koran, whether during the prayer or not, it is recommended to ask Allah for mercy at the verses mentioning mercy, and to seek refuge in Him (Ta'awwudh) at verse mentioning punishment.

THE PROSTRATION OF THANKS

f11.19 Whenever a manifest blessing appears in one's life (O: such as a child, wealth, or prestige), it is recommended to prostrate out of thanks to Allah, and likewise when an affliction is averted (O: such as being saved from drowning, regaining health, or the reappearance of someone lost or the death of a tyrant)), or when one sees someone Allah has afflicted with disobedience or illness, though in the latter case one should prostrate in private (O: so as not to sadden the person). The prostration of thanks is the same as the Koran recital prostration outside of the prayer (O: regarding its integrals and conditions (def: f11.16)). It invalidates one's prayer if performed during it.

f11.20 It is unlawful to prostrate without occasion merely to humble oneself to Allah to draw near to Him (O: because it is a reprehensible innovation (bid'a def: w29.3)).

f11.21 The recital prostration's requirements of facing the direction of prayer (qibla), purity, and clothing nakedness are the same those of nonobligatory prayers.

f12.0 GROUP PRAYER AND THE IMAM

GROUP PRAYER

f12.1 Group prayer is a communal obligation (def:c3.2) upon all male nontravellers for the five current prescribed prayers, such that the rite of the prayer be public. (O: In a small town, it is enough to merely gather somewhere and pray. In a city, the prayer must be held in public places such that the manifestations of obedience to Allah's command are evident. If held in houses where the rite of prayer is not public, the obligation remains unfulfilled (A: though a house with a sign on it is sufficient).)

f12.2 Group prayer is sunna for women, travellers, and for makeup prayers in which the imam and followers are performing the same type of prayer; though it is not sunna for a follower's makeup prayer to be performed behind an imam's current prescribed prayer, or for a makeup prayer to be performed behind a different type of makeup (O: such as a follower making up the noon prayer (zuhr) behind an imam who is making up the midafternoon prayer ('asr)).

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f12.3 It is personally obligatory to perform the Friday prayer (jumu'a) in a group (A: for every male Muslim who is not travelling).

f12.4 The group prayer for which the demand is the strongest is the dawn prayer (subh), then the nightfall prayer ('isha), and then the midafternoon prayer ('isha), and then the midafternoon prayer ('asr). The minimal number of people for a group prayer is an imam and a follower. It is best for men to perform group prayer at the mosque (O: as the act of going to the mosque makes the group prayer evident). The best mosque in which to pray is the one with the most people. If there is a nearby mosque attended by few people, then it is better to go to a distant one attended by more, unless the imam there commits reprehensible innovations (bid'a def:w29.3), is immoral, does not consider one of the integrals of the prayer to be an integral (n: though this does not matter if it is the result of the imam's following a different school of jurisprudence, as below at f12.29(N:)), or if one's going to the farther mosque will make group prayer impossible at the one nereby (A: as when one is one of the only two people who are likely to come), in all of which cases it is better to pray at the nearby mosque. It is better for women to pray at home than at the mosque (A; whether they are young or old). It is offensive for an attractive or young woman to come to the mosque to pray (O: or for her husband to permit her), though not offensive for women who are not young or attractive when this is unlikely to cause temptation. (N: The author's words here must be interpreted in the light of the following details: If a woman's going to group prayer or elsewhere will definitely lead to temptation between the sexes, it is unlawful for her to go. If such temptation can be definitely prevented, her going to attend group prayer remains sunna, as is attested to by the hadiths that have reached us on the subject. If temptation is feared but not certain to occur, her going becomes offensive. Whether such temptation is likely to occur is something that differs with different times, places, and people. An old woman is not like a young one, nor a righteous society like one in which temptation between the sexes is the rule; nor is a special prayer place set aside for women at a mosque like a prayer place which they share with men. This is why 'A'isha(Allah be well pleased with her) said. "Had the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) seen what women do now, he would have forbidden them the mosque as the women of Banu Isra'il were forbidden." a hadith reported Bukhari and Muslim. The temptation between the sexes whose occurrence is to be feared when they intermingle is of various degrees, the least of which is a person's appreciating and admiring the other , then being attracted to enamored with the other, and finally, those indecencies which are not hidden from anyone. Islam is eager to eliminate evil at its inception and extirpate temptation from its outset, and the word of Allah Most High. "Tell believers to lower their eyes and to guard their private parts"(Koran 24:30), explains both the starting point and final outcome of the temptation of men through women and the temptation of women through men.)

f12.5 There is no demand to go to group prayer (O: whether communally obligatory (dis: f12.1), personally obligatory (f12.3), or sunna (f12.2)), when there is a valid excuse not to, such as:

(1) hardship due to rain or snow that soaks clothing;

(2) hardship due to heavy mud (O: from getting soiled or slipping when walking through it);

(3) (O: severe) winds at night (O: or dawn);

(4) severe heat or cold (O: because of the hardship of moving in them, and likewise intense darkness at night, which is an excuse not to attend);

(5) being in the presence of food or drink that onewants to have (O: as they obviate the awe and humility befitting they prayer. One should eat enough to take the edge off one's hunger (A: and then go to join the group));

(6) holding back from going to the toilet or breaking wind (O; as one should relieve oneself first, even if one fears missing the group prayer);

(7) hazard to one's person;

(8) hazard to one's property (O: from theft or seizure, whether it belongs to oneself or to another whose property one is obliged to protect. It also includes bread one has put in the oven that would burn if one were to leave and attend the prayer);

(9) hardship from an ailment (O: even when one is able to attend, if it entails a hardship comparable to that of walking in the rain. If one is suffering from a slight indispostion such as a toothache or the like, it is not an excuse);

(10) taking care of a sick person (O: who would suffer harm if one left to pray, whether a relative, friend, or total stranger) or taking care of someone ill who is strongly attached to one's staying with him;

(11) the death of relative, friend, (O: or spouse);

(12) fear of missing the impending departure of the party one intends to travel with;

(13) having eaten something with a bad odor(O: such as raw onions or garlic, though not if cooked as this eliminates the smell);

(14) or fear of meeting someone who will try to collect a debt one owes him and one is unable to pay. (O: The demand for group prayer is not eliminated by other the above excuses.)

f12.6 It is a condition of a valid group prayer that the follower intend to follow the imam (O: whether at the opening Allahu Akbar or thereafter). If the follower neglects to do so, his prayer is as if he had performed it alone. It invalidates one;s prayer to purposely omit the intention to follow the imam while at the same time praying behind him and following his motions by awaiting them at length, though awaiting them shortly or performing one's own prayer simultaneously with his does not invalidate it. It invalidates one's prayer to take a follower as one's imam when the follower is concurrently praying behind an imam (O: though if his imam finishes with Salams and the follower is still praying, he may then be taken as one's imam.).

f12.7 The imam intends the prayer as imam. If he neglects this intention then his own prayer counts as if he had prayed alone (N: though his follower's prayer counts as a group prayer), the imam having lost the reward for praying in a group. In the Friday prayer (jumu'a), it is a necessary condition for the prayer's validity that the imam intend leading as imam.

f12.8 When going to a group prayer, it is recommended to walk with tranquillity. (O: It is sunna not to gambol about, speak of disapproved things, or engage in acts which are offensive in the prayer itself, such as looking right or left.) It is recommended to diligently seek the spiritual merit of being at the group prayer's opening Allahu Akbar, meaning that one says it just after the imam does.

f12.9 If one has begun a nonobligatory prayer when the call commence (iqama) is given, one should finish it before joining the group, as long as one does not fear the group will finish before one can join them. If afraid they will, then one interrupts the nonobligatory prayer to join them. If one has begun praying a prescribed prayer alone and the call to commence (iqama) is given for a group prayer, it is recommended to turn one's prayer into a supererogatory prayer of two raka's and pray the prescribed prayer with the group. Were one to merely change one's intention to that of following their imam, it would count as a valid group prayer for one, but it is offensive. In such a case if one reaches the end of one's prayer before the group, one may either wait for them to finish with one while sitting in the final Testification of Faith (Tashahhud), or else finish with Salams as soon as one reaches the end of one's prayer. (O: One may not follow the imam in what is in excess of one's own prayer.)

f12.10 It is permissible to start praying with a group, and then cease one's participation in praying with them (A: by a silent intention) and finish one's prayer alone, though this is offensive when there is no excuse, such as being ill, or unable to endure the imam's lengthy Koran recital because of weakness or having business to attend to (N: or a pressing emergency).)

f12.11 When one arrives late to a group prayer in which the imam is already bowing, it is obligatory for one to say the opening Allahu Akbar while standing upright, after which one says a second Allahu Akbar before one bows to join the group (O: though if one only says it once, intending the opening Allahu Akbar thereby, then omitting the second Allahu Akbar of bowing does no harm, as it is sunna). If any part of one's opening Allahu Akbar occurs when one is not standing upright (def: f8.27), one's prayer is invalid. A latecomer is considered to have performed the raka if he manages to say "Allahu akbar," bow, and remains motionless a moment therein before the imam straightens up beyond the definitional limit of bowing (f8.29). If one is uncertain as to whether the imam straightened up past the limits of bowing before one reached that position, or whether it was after, then one has not performed the raka (O: as one assumes, when uncertain, that one had not yet reached it). Nor does the raka count for such a follower when it does not count for the imam, such as when the imam nullifies his ablution (wudu), or has overlooked something impure on his person, or has mistakenly added a fifth raka to his prayer. If one does not join the group until the imam has straightened up from bowing, or thereafter, then one follows his motions, saying "Allah akbar" with him and repeating "Subhan Allah" and the Testification of Faith (Tashahhud) when he does, even when this does not correspond to the raka in which one's own Testification of Faith would be if one were praying alone. If one joins the group just as the imam is prostrating or sitting in the final Testification of Faith, then one prostrates or sits with him (N: after having recited one's opening Allahu Akbar while standing) without (A: a second) Allahu Akbar (O: though one does say "Subhan Allah" in prostration and recite the Testification of Faith with the imam, in deference to his leadership). If the final Testification of Faith of the imam coincides with one's own first Testification, then when the imam finishes with Salams, one stands up with an Allahu Akbar to finish one's prayer; though if the imam's final Testification does not coincide with one's first Testification, one rises to finish without an Allahu Akbar.

f12.12 Whenever one joins the group before the imam finishes with Salams, one has attained the merit of the group prayer. (N: But it is less than the merit of praying with the group from the beginning or joining them in the middle, though joining them at the end is better than praying alone.)

f12.13 That rakas one performs before the imam finishes with Salams are the first rakas of ones prayer, and those performed after the imam finishes are the last. Hence, if the imam performs the dawn prayer's supplication (def: f8.53) in the raka in which one joins the group, one repeats it in one's own second raka.

f12.14 It is obligatory for one to follow the imam's leadership in prayer actions, such that each of one's movements begins after the imam begins it and before he finishes (N: the following integral). (O: It is highly desirable that) one follows the imam's spoken integrals in the same way, with the sole exception of saying "Ameen" (def: f8.19), which should be simultaneous with his. It invalidates one's prayer to say one's opening Allahu Akbar simultaneously with the imam, or to be uncertain as to whether one did so or not. It is offensive to perform some other part of the prayer simultaneously with the imam, and one thereby loses the merit of group prayer.

f12.15 It is offensive to proceed to an integral ahead of the imam, as when one bows before he does, and one is recommended to return to following him. (N: An "integral" in rulings concerning the person who gets ahead of the imam or lags behind him refers to integrals that are physical actions, such as standing, bowing, straightening up, prostrating, or sitting up between prostrations. It does not refer to spoken integrals such as reciting the Fatiha, or to remaining motionless for a moment in the various positions.) It is unlawful, though it does not invalidate the prayer, to completely finish an integral before the imam comes to it, as when one bows, straightens up, and then waits for him to straighten up. It invalidates one's prayer to completely finish two integrals before the imam does, if one does so intentionally (O: and knowing it is unlawful). If one does so absentmindedly (O: or in ignorance of its prohibition), it does not invalidate the prayer, but the raka does not count (O: and one must add an additional raka after the imam finishes with Salams).

LAGGING BEHIND THE IMAM

f12.16 If there is no excuse (def: below), it is offensive to lag behind the imam until he completely finishes an integral (def: f12.15(N:)) ahead of one, and it invalidates one's prayer to lag behind the imam until he finishes to integrals. If the imam bows and straightens up while (N: without excuse) one has not yet bowed, it does not invalidate one's prayer until the imam actually begins going down towards prostration and one still has not bowed (O: since lagging means that the imam has finished two integrals before the follower has reached the first of them). This invalidates one's prayer even before the imam reaches prostration, as he has completed two integrals.

f12.17 When one lags behind the imam for a valid reason, such as one's slow recital (O: the imam being fast in his recital) due to one's inability (A: whether natural inability or being a non-Arabic-speaker), not merely to unfounded misgivings (waswasa, def: s3.3), and the imam bows, then it is obligatory for one to finish the Fatiha (O: one is not entitled in such a case to simply omit the rest of the Fatiha and bow with the imam, as a latecomer is entitled to do (dis: f8.15, third par.)), after which one rapidly performs the elements of the prayer to catch up with the imam, provided the imam is not more than three (O: long) integrals ahead of one. (O: Long excludes the integrals of straightening up after bowing and sitting between prostrations, which are short. Rather, the imam's being three integrals ahead of one means he has bowed, prostrated once, and begun the second prostration, while the follower still has not bowed.) If one is further behind than that (O: as when he has started to stand up while one is still standing for recital), then one follows from where one is (N: the number of rakas one has done) and performs the ones missed after the imam finishes with Salams.

f12.18 When the imam is bowing or in the final Testification of Faith (Tashahhud), and becomes aware of someone coming to join the group prayer, it is recommended that he wait for the latecomer (N: so the raka counts for him if they are bowing, or so the group prayer counts for him if they are in the final Testification of Faith), provided:

(a) that the person has entered the mosque or place of prayer;

(b) that the wait is not excessively long;

(c) and that the imam's intention is obedience to Allah, not to give distinction or honor to the latecomer, such as by waiting for the noble but not the lowly. Waiting for a latecomer is offensive in other than bowing and the final Testification of Faith.

f12.19 When a mosque has an imam assigned to it (O:by the person in charge of the mosque, or as a condition of an endowment (waqf, def:k30)),and the mosque is not in a busy location, it is offensive for another to commence the group

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prayer without the imam's permission (O: because the imamate is his, no one else's, and because of the alienation and hurty feelings it involves). It is not offensive for another to do so in a mosque at a busy location or one to which no imam has been assigned.

f12.20 When one has already performed one's prescribed prayer alone or in a group, and finds another group prayer being performed, it is recommended to repeat one's prayer with them, intending the obligatory prayer. (A: The first fulfills one's obligation of the prescribed prayer, but one intends repeating, e.g., the noon prayer (zuhr).) Its reward is that of a supererogatory prayer.

f12.21 The imam is recommended to keep his recital of sura brief (O: not necessarily the absolute minimum, but not the maximum desirable for someone praying alone). When leading a group composed solely of those who do not mind lengthy prayers, he is recommended to lengthen the recital. (O: The imam should not prolong the recital when he does not know how everyone feels, and of those present some generally prefer lengthy rakas and some do not, or when praying in a mosque at a busy location where people often join the prayer after the imam has begun.)

f12.22 When the imam stops reciting the Koran because of uncertainty, it is recommended for the follower to remind him of what comes next. (N: When he does not stop but merely hesitates, the follower does not remind him, so as not to fluster him.) If the imam forgets an invocation (dhikr), the follower says it so the imam can hear. If he forgets an action, the follower should remind him of it by saying "Subhan Allah" (n: with the intention of invocation, as at f9.4(O:)). If the imam remembers having missed the action, he performs it. But if he does not remember having missed it. It is not permissible for him to perform it just because the followers or others are reminding him, even if they are numerous. (A: The more reliable opinion is that if their number reaches four or more, he must act upon it.)

f12.23 If the imam omits an obligatory element of the prayer (O: and does not return to it and perform it), then it is obligatory for the follower to cease his participation (def: f12.10) in the group prayer. If the imam omits a sunna that the follower cannot add without considerably lagging behind, such as the first Testification of Faith (Tashahhud), then it is unlawful for the follower to perform the missing sunna (O:rather, he must follow the imam). If he performs it anyway (O: intentionally and knowing it is unlawful), it invalidates his prayer, though he is entitled to cease his participation in the group prayer to perform the sunna in the course of finishing his own prayer alone. IF the sunna omitted by the imam can be done without much of a lag, such is sitting briefly before rising for a new raka (def: f8.40), then the follower may add it without ceasing his participation in the group. (O: This also applies to when the imam omits the dawn prayer's supplication (f. 8.53), which the follower may perform it he can catch up with the imam before the imam lifts his head from the second prostration, though if the imam lifts his head before the follower has prostrated even once and the follower has not intended to cease his participation in the group prayer, then the follower's prayer is invalid.)

f12.24 Whenever the imam ceases his prayer because of his ablution (wudu) being nullified, or another reason, he may choose a successor to finish leading the prayer, provided the successor is eligible (def: f12.27) to lead the group. If the group performs a whole integral (f12.15(N:)) after the imam has stopped leading, then he may no longer choose a successor. Any follower may be picked as the successor (O: even if he came late to the group prayer). If a latecomer, he leads the group beginning at the same point in the prayer where the imam left off. When he finishes leading them in their prayer, he stands (O: to finish his own), and indicates to them to cease following his leadership, or better yet, indicates for them to remain waiting for him (A: in their final Testification of Faith (Tashahhud)) until he comes to it after finishing his own rakas. If he does not know which raka the imam was in, then he should observe (O: by looking left or right to see if the followers are sitting or) whether they are ready to rise. If they are, he rises, and if not, then he sits in a Testification of Faith. It is permissible for the successor to be someone who has not been praying with the group, provided he is picked in the first or third raka (if the prayer has four rakas), though he may not be picked in the second or fourth raka (A: because the order of the person's prayer will not correspond to theirs, for such a person is not committed to the imam's order).The followers need not intend to follow the successor. They may each simply break off and finish alone. If the imam chooses someone but they put forward someone else, their choice takes precedence.

THE IMAMATE

f12.25 The one with the right to be imam (N: in order of preference, when there is a disagreement) is:

(1) the most learned in Sacred Law (A: i.e. the rulings concerned with prayer) (O: even if he has not memorised any of the Koran except the Fatiha, since the need in prayer for knowledge of its rules is practically unlimited, while the only Koran recital required is the Faitha);

(2) he who has memorized the most Koran:

(3) the most godfearing (O: because leading the prayer is an embassage between the servant and Allah Most High, and best befits him most honoured by Allah);

(4) he who has been a Muslim longest;

(5) the noblest in lineage;

(6) he with the best life history or reputation;

(7) the cleanest in person and clothes;

(8) he with the best voice;

(9) and the most handsome.

When only one of the above is present, he is chosen. If all people present or some of them possess one or more of these characteristics, then someone from the first of the list takes priority over those listed after him. If two are equal and each insists on being the imam, they draw lots. (N: It is permissible for a less qualified person to lead, even when a better qualified one is present.) The imam assigned to a mosque or a person living in the house where the prayer takes place, even if only renting, takes precedence over everyone on the list, from the most learned on down, though he may select anyone else he wishes to lead the prayer. The sultan and those under him, of Islamic judges, regional governors, and so on, take precedence over even the imam of the mosque, the householder, and others. The following take precedence even when the latter is more learned in Sacred Law:

(1) a nontraveller over a traveller;

(2) an upright person (def: o24.4) over a corrupt one;

(3) and an adult over a child. A slighted and a blind person are equally eligible to lead the prayer.

f12.26 It is offensive for someone to lead a group at prayer when most of the group dislike him for a reason recognised by Sacred Law (O: such as wrongdoing, not taking precautions against filth (najasa), having a blameworthy income, keeping the company of oppressors or the immoral, and so forth. If a minority dislike him, it is not offensive, for nobody lacks someone who dislikes him).

f12.27 It is not permissible (O: or valid) to follow an imam who is non-Muslim, insane, in a state of ritual impurity (def: e7,e10), or who has filth (najasa) on his clothing or person, or is a woman leading men, or someone who omits or mispronounces (def: f8.18) a letter of the Fatiha leading someone who knows it, or a mute, or someone who slurs the words so the letters are indistinct from one another, or someone with a lisp. If after the prayer one finds out that the imam was one of the above, then one must make up the prayer, unless the imam had filth upon him that was concealed, or he was in a state of ritual impurity (N: in which cases one need not make it up).

f12.28 The group prayer is valid:

(1) When the imam is performing a supererogatory prayer and the follower is performing a

prescribed prayer, or vice versa;

(2) when the imam is performing the noon prayer (zuhr) and the follower is praying the dawn prayer (subh) (A: i.e. when the type of prayer differs), or vice versa;

(3) when the imam is praying while sitting and the follower is praying standing, or vice versa;

(4) and when the imam is performing a makeup prayer and the follower is performing a current one, or vice versa. (n: But a person shortening his prayer because of travelling may not pray behind an imam who is performing the full number, as at f15.8(f).)

f12.29 It is valid for a Shafii to follow the leadership of an imam who follows a different school of jurisprudence whenever the follower is not certain that the imam has omitted an obligatory element of the prayer, though if certain the imam has omitted one, it is not valid to follow him. The validity is based solely on the belief of the follower as to whether or not something obligatory has been omitted. (N: One should mention the position of the Malikis and Hanbalis here, which is that the criterion for the validity of following the imam is the imam's school of jurisprudence, such that if his prayer is valid in his own school, it is permissible to follow him as imam. How close this is to the spirit of the Law, which strives for Muslim unity.)

f12.30 It is offensive to take an immoral person (def: o24.3(A:)) as imam (O: because he might not be concerned about the things that are obligatory in the prayer), or someone who stutters over the letter f or the letter t, or who makes inconsequential mistakes in the Arabic vowelling (O: that do not change the meaning).

RULES AND CONDITIONS OF FOLLOWING

F12.31 When there are two or more male followers, it is sunna for them to stand behind the imam. A single male follower stands on the imam's right, and if a second follower arrives, the newcomer stands to the imam's left and says his opening Allahu Akbar, after which the two followers move back (O: little by little). If they cannot move back (O: for lack of room) then the imam moves forward.

f12.32 When there are men, boys, and women present, the men form the front row or rows, then the boys, and then the wome. (A: This is also the rule for husband and wife: the wife prays in a separate row behind the husband.) (O: If the men's back row is incomplete, it should be completed with boys (A: and a latecomer may not remove the boys to make a place for himself unless they are directly behind the imam). Those who form a new row behind a row that is incomplete do not attain the merit of group prayer.) A woman leading women in prayer stands in the middle of their first row.

f12.33 It is offensive for the imam's place to be higher or lower than the follower's unless the imam wishes to teach the followers the actions of prayer. If the imam and follower are not in a mosque, it is obligatory that part of the imam's body be level with part of the follower's when both are of average height.

f12.34 A latecomer to a group prayer who does not find a place in the last row should stand behind it, begin his prayer with the opening Allahu Akbar, and then indicate to someone in the row to stand with him, by drawing him back; and it is recommended that the person selected cooperate by stepping back (A: this is only if the latecomer does not expect anyone else to come).

f12.35 The follower's prayer is invalid if his heel is farther forward than the imam's. (O: He should be farther back than the imam's heel, even if only a little, but not more than 1.44 meters, for otherwise the merit of group prayer is lost (A:i.e. unrewarded, though not legally invalid).)

f12.36 Whenever an imam leads a follower in a mosque, the group prayer is valid no matter if they are at a distance from each other, and no matter whether they are in the same chamber or not, as when one of them is on the roof (even if the door is closed) and the other is in the mosque's well, provided that (O: both places open onto the mosque, and that) the follower can know when the imam is performing the motions of the prayer, whether by seeing the imam, or hearing his backup man (muballigh, the person who repeats the imam's Allahu Akbars and Salams in a loud voice so people can hear). Multiple interconnected mosques opening onto each other are considered as one mosque (O: and so are the mosque's outer courtyards, even when there is a walkway between the courtyard and mosque).

MAXIMAL DISTANCES BETWEEN THE IMAM AND FOLLOWERS

f12.37 When the imam and follower are not in a mosque, but are in an open expanse such as a desert or large house, their group prayer is valid as long as the distance between them does not exceed approximately 144 meters. If farther apart than this, their group prayer is not valid. If there are rows of people behind the imam, this distance is the maximum that is valid between each row and the one in front of it, even if there are miles between the imam and the last row, or a fire, river that would have to be swum to reach him, or busy street between them. If the imam is in one building and the follower in another, such as two houses, or if there is a house, inn, or school where the imam is in a courtyard and the follower is under a covered porch, or vice versa, then the maximum allowable distance is the same as for outdoors (def: above), provided that there is nothing between the imam and follower that obstructs passage to the imam, such as a latticework window (O: and provided that there is nothing that prevents the follower from seeing him, such as a closed door) The group prayer is valid when the imam is in a mosque and the follower is in an adjoining space, provided that there is 144 meters or less between the follower and the edge of the mosque, and that between the follower and the mosque there is not a barrier lacking a breach in it, breach meaning, for example, when the follower is standing before a wall's open gate. If such a person's group prayer with the imam is thus valid, then the prayer of those behind him or in the row with him is also valid, even when (O: these others are numerous, and) the group extends beyond the area fronting the gate. Such a person's group prayer is not valid if he turns from the gate, or if the wall of the mosque, a window, or a closed door (locked or not) lies between him and the imam.

f13.0 TIMES WHEN THE PRAYER IS FORBIDDEN

f13.1 (O: The rules below apply to prayers that are wholly supererogatory, i.e. which are not performed for any particular occasion or reason, and apply to prayers performed for a reason that will occur after the prayer, such as the two sunna rakas before entering the state of pilgrim sanctity (ihram).)

f13.2 The prayer is unlawful and invalid:

(1) from sunrise until the sun is a spear's length above the horizon (N: meaning when a distance

equal to the sun's diameter appears between the sun and the horizon);

(2) from the time the sun is at its highest point in the sky until it moves on;

(3) from when the sun yellows before sunset until after it has set;

(4) after praying the current dawn prayer (subh);

(5) and after praying the current midafter-noon prayer (asr).

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f13.3 It is permissible at the above times to offer nonobligatory prayers that are performed for a particular reason, such as the funeral prayer, greeting the mosque (def: f10.10), or the two rakas that are sunna after ablution (wudu); and is also permissible to make up missed prayers; though one may not perform the two rakas that are sunna before entering the state of pilgrim sanctity (ihram).

f13.4 It is not offensive to pray within the Meccan Sacred Precinct (Haram) at any time. Nor is it offensive to pray when the sun is at its zenith on Fridays (N: whether in the Sacred Precinct or elsewhere).

f14.0 THE PRAYER OF A SICK PERSON

f14.1 Someone unable to stand may pray the prescribed prayer seated (O: and need not make it up), unable meaning that standing involves manifest hardship, will cause illness or the worsening of a present illness, or cause vertigo, as when one is on a ship. Such a person may sit for the prayer any way he likes, though the iftirash style of sitting (def: f8.37) is recommended. It is offensive in prayer to simply sit on the ground, palms down and knees drawn up, or to sit with legs outstretched (A: when there is no excuse).

f14.2 When seated for the prayer, the minimal bowing is to incline until the forehead is farther forward than the knees. The optimal way is to incline until the forehead is as far forward as the place where the head rests in prostration. When unable to bow or prostrate, one comes as close to the ground with the forehead as one can. When unable to do this, one performs them by nodding.

f14.3 If an abscess or the like prevents one from sitting, then one "sits" standing (A: meaning ordinary standing, with the intention of sitting (N: so that one stands between prostrations and for the Testification of Faith (Tashahhud).

f14.4 If one is capable of standing but suffers from a painful swelling of the eyes or something similar (O: such as a wound that can be treated by having the patient remain lying down) and a reliable physician (O: in terms of knowledge and expertise in medicine, who can be believed) tells one that praying while on one's back will enable one to be treated, then it is permissible to pray while lying down O: without having to make up the prayer)

f14.5 If unable to stand and unable to sit, one lies on one's right side (O: the right is recommended) facing the direction of prayer (qibla) with the face and front of the one's body, though one must bow and prostrate if possible (O: meaning one stands up enough to bow, then bows, then prostrates; or else sits up and bows). If this is not possible, one bows and prostrates by merely nodding one's head (O: bringing one's forehead as near to the ground as possible), deeper for prostration than for bowing. If unable to even nod, one merely glances down with the eyes for bowing and prostration. If one cannot, one goes through the integrals of the prayer in one's mind. If unable to speak (O: to recite the Fatiha) one recites it in one's heart. The obligation of prayer exists as long as one is able to reason (dis: f1.1, second par.).

f14.6 If one is standing during the prayer and becomes unable to remain standing, one sits to finish the prayer. If this occurs during the Fatiha, one may not interrupt reciting it, but must continue to do so as one proceeds to sit. If one's condition improves enough (O: i.e. if seated during a prescribed prayer because of illness and a recovery of strength enables one to now stand), then one must stand to complete the prayer.

f15.0 SHORTENING OR JOINING PRAYERS FOR TRAVEL OR RAIN

(A: The two travel dispensations of shortening and joining prayers have no effect on each other; one may take both together, either, or none. It is superior in our school not to take dispensations that are permissible.)

SHORTENING PRAYERS WHILE TRAVELLING

f15.1 It is permissible to shorten the current prescribed prayers of noon (zuhr), midafternoon (asr), and nightfall (isha) to two rakas each, when one:

(a) is travelling for a reason that is not disobedience to Allah (O: as there is no dispensation to shorten prayers on such a trip);

(b) on a journey of at least 48 Hashemite miles (n: approximately 81 km./50 mi.) one way. One may also shorten the above prayers when one both misses them and makes them up on the trip, though one must pray the full number if one misses them while not travelling and makes them up on the trip, or misses them on the trip and makes them up while not travelling.

f15.2 This distance (n: 81 ka/50 mi. one way) holds for travel by water as well as by land. If such a distance is traversed in an instant (O: preternaturally, because of a miracle (karama, def: w30)), one may still shorten the prayer. (O: The brevity of the time taken to travel the distance is of no consequence.)

f15.3 When there are two routes to a destination and one of them is less than the distance that permits shortening prayers but one chooses the longer way for a legitimate purpose such as safety, convenience, or recreation (O: provided that recreation is merely the reason for taking that route, not the reason for the trip itself, which must have some other legitimate purpose such as trade, for an outing is not a legitimate purpose) then one may shorten prayers. But if the only reason for choosing the longer way is to take the dispensation, then doing so is not valid and one must pray the full number. (A: Purely recreational trips whose purpose is not disobedience are permissible, but there are no travel dispensations in them, though if undertaken in order to gain religious knowledge, to visit a fellow Muslim, or visit the grave of a righteous or learned Muslim (dis: g5.8), these and similar purposes are legitimate and permit the dispensations.)

f15.4 The journey's destination must be known. If a wife travelling with her husband or a soldier with his leader does not know the destination, they may not shorten their prayers (N: as long as they have not yet travelled the distance that permits shortening. When they have travelled it, then they may). If they know the destination and the journey meets the conditions (def: f15.1), then they may shorten their prayers (N: from the beginning of the journey).

f15.5 Someone whose journey constitutes an act of disobedience, such as a woman travelling against her husband's wishes, may not shorten their prayer but must pray the full number. (O: The same applies to someone who undertakes a legitimate trip and then changes the purpose of it to disobedience.) (N: Though shortening prayers is permissible for someone who commits an act of disobedience while on a legitimate trip, as when someone travels for trade, but then sins by drinking wine, for example.)

THE BEGINNING OF THE JOURNEY

f15.6 If one's city has walls, one may begin shortening prayers as soon as one has passed them, whether or not there are other buildings outside them. If there are no walls, one may shorten one's prayers after passing beyond the last buildings, excluding farms, orchards, and cemeteries. (N: When the buildings of a city extend to the next city, one's journey begins at the former's city limits, or at what people commonly acknowledge (def: f4.5) to be the edge of town.) A desert dweller may begin shortening prayers when he passes beyond his people's tents. (O: A person living in a valley begins shortening prayers when he has traversed the distance of the valley's width. Someone living on a hill begins when he comes down from it. A person living in a gorge begins when he climbs up out of it.)

THE END OF THE JOURNEY

f15.7 When the trip ends one must pray the full number of rakas for each prayer. A trip ends when one reaches one's hometown. It also ends:

(1) by the mere intention to stay in a place at least 4 full days, not counting the day one arrives or the day one departs;

(2) or by staying that long without the intention, so that after one has stayed 4 full days, not counting the days of arrival and departure, one prays the full number of rakas, unless one is staying in a place in order to fulfill a purpose that one expects to accomplish and intends to leave as soon as one does. As long as this is the case, one may shorten one's prayers for up to 18 days. If longer than this, one prays the full number. This holds for both jihad (def: o9) and other purposes. When one reaches one's destination and intends to stay there for a significant amount of time (O: 4 days), one must pray the full number of rakas, but if not (O: as when not intending to stay at all, or intending 3 days or less), then one may continue shortening prayers for either 4 days (O: if one learns that one cannot accomplish one's purpose during them), or 18, if one can expect one's purpose to be accomplished at any moment.

THE CONDITIONS FOR SHORTENING THE PRAYER

f15.8 The conditions for shortening the prayer while travelling are:

(a) (O: that the trip be legitimate (def: f15.5);

(b) that it be at least 81 km./50 mi. one way;

(c) that the destination be known (f15.4));

(d) that the prayer take place from start to finish while one the trip (A: if one's vehicle arrives before the prayer is finished, one prays the full number);

(e) that the intention to shorten the prayer coincide with the opening Allahu Akbar (O: it not being valid if made after this);

(f) that no portion of the prayer be performed while following an imam who is praying the full number of rak'as;

(g) (O: that one be aware of the permissibility of shortening prayers for travel;

(h) and that the intention be free of things which nullify it (A: such as vacillation or doubts (dis: below). One must pray the full number of rakas if:

(1) (non-(d) above) the intention to stay at the place for 4 days occurs during the prayer;

(2) (non-(h)) one is uncertain whether one's intention was to shorten, but one soon recalls that one did intend it;

(3) (non-(h)) one vacilates in the intention between shortening the prayer or not doing so;

(4) or (non-(f)) one does not know whether one's imam is shortening or not, though if one does not know the imam's intention, it is valid to intend that if the imam shortens the prayer, one will shorten, and if he prays the full number, one will pray the full number, and then to do this.

JOINING TWO PRAYERS DURING A JOURNEY

f15.9 It is permissible to join the noon prayer (zuhr) and midafternoon prayer (asr) during the time of either of them (N; or the Friday prayer (jumua) and midafternoon prayer in the time of the Friday prayer), and permissible to similarly join the sunset prayer (maghrib) and nightfall prayer (isha) during the time of either, provided one joins them during a journey in which prayer may be shortened (def: f15.8 (a,b,c,d). If one stops travelling (A: to rest, for example) during the time of the first of the two prayers, then this is the best time to join them, but if one is travelling steadily during the first time, the time of the second is better.

f15.10 The conditions for joining two prescribed prayers on a trip in the time of the first of them are:

(a) that the trip continue (A: until one finishes both prayers);

(b) that the first of the two be prayed first;

(c) that the intention to join the two prayers occur before finishing the first, either coinciding with the opening Allahu Akbar, or occuring during the prayer;

(d) and that one not separate the two prayers by waiting between them, though a short interval (A: meaning one that could contain two rakas of the briefest possible) is of no consequence, nor is a brief search for water (dis: e12.3) by someone who has performed dry ablution (tayammum). If one prays the second of the two prayers before the first (non-(b) above,), then that prayer is invalid (O: and must be repeated after the first, if one still wants to join them). One must wait to perform the second of the two prayers until its own time if:

(1) (non-(a) above) one finishes one's journey before performing the second prayer;

(2) (non-(c)) one neglects to intend joining them during the first prayer;

(3) or (non-(d)) one waits at length between them.

f15.11 If one has performed both prayers and the journey subsequently ends (A: whether in the time of the first prayer or the time of the second), they are and remain valid.

f15.12 The necessary condition for joining two prayers in the time of the second of them (A: in addition to f15.8 (a,b,c,d)) is that one make the intention to do so before the end of the first prayer's time (O: by an interval which could contain at least one raka). If one neglects this intention, one has sinned, and praying the first prayer during the second prayer's time is considered making it up.

f15.13 When joining two prayers in the time of the second, it is recommended (A: not obligatory):

(1) to pray the first one before the second;

(2) to not pause at length between them;

(3) and that the intention to join them be present during the prayer one performs first.

JOINING PRAYERS BECAUSE OF RAIN

f15.14 It is permissible for a nontraveller to pray the noon prayer (zuhr) and the midafternoon prayer (asr) at the time of the noon prayer (N: or the Friday prayer (jumua) and midafternoon prayer at the time of the Friday prayer), and to similarly pray the sunset prayer (maghrib) and nightfall prayer (isha) at the time of the sunset prayer if:

(a) it is raining hard enough to wet one's clothing (O: and like rain in this is melted snow or hail);

(b) one is praying with a group in a mosque (O: or other place of prayer);

(c) the mosque is far (O: from one's door, i.e. far by common acknowledgement (def: f4.5));

(d) it is raining when the first prayer begins, when it ends, and when the second prayer begins;

(e) and conditions f15.10 (b,c,d) exist.

f15.15 (A: If one arrives during the second of two prayers joined because of rain and does not finish one's own first prayer before the group finishes their second, then one is no longer entitled to join one's prayers for rain. It is a necessary condition that one pray at least part of the second prayer with them though one may hurry through one's own first prayer alone to catch up with and join them during their second.)

f15.16 If the rain stops after one finishes the two prayers or during the second one, both prayers are and remain valid.

f15.17 It is not permissible to join two prayers in the time of the second of them because of rain.

f15.18 (n: In the Shafii school, there are no valid reasons other than travel or rain for joining prayers, though others exist in the Hanbali school, as discussed in what follows.) (Abd al-Rahman Jaziri:) The hanbalis hold that the above mentioned joining between the noon prayer (zuhr) and midafternoon prayer (asr), or between the sunset prayer (maghrib) and nightfall prayer (isha) is permissible, whether in the time of the first prayer of each of these two pairs, or in

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the time of the second prayer of each of them, though it is superior not to join them. It is a necessary condition for the permissibility of joining them that the person praying be:

(1) a traveller on a trip in which shortening prayers is permissible;

(2) a sick person for whom not to join prayers would pose a hardship;

(3) a woman who is nursing an infant, or who has chronic vaginal discharge (dis: e13.6), since she is permitted to join prayers to obviate the hardship of purification for every single prayer;

(4) someone with an excuse similar to the woman with chronic discharge, such as a person unable to prevent intermittent drops of urine coming from him (e 13.7);

(5) or someone who fears for himself, his property, or his reputation, or who fears harm in earning his living if he does not join prayers; the latter giving leeway to workers for whom it is impossible to leave their work. (al-Fiqh ala al-madhahib al-arbaa (y66), 1.487)

PRAYING THE SUNNA RAKAS WHEN ONE JOINS PRAYERS

f15.19 (O: When one wants to join the midafternoon prayer (asr) and noon prayer (zuhr) in the time of the noon prayer, one first prays the sunnas that come before the noon prayer, followed by the noon prayer, the midafternoon prayer, the sunnas that come after the noon prayer, and then the sunnas that come before the midafternoon prayer. Similarly, when one joins the nightfall prayer (isha) with the sunset prayer (maghrib), one prays the sunnas that come before the sunset prayer, and postpones those that follow the sunset prayer until after one has prayed the nightfall prayer, after which one prays the sunnas that come before and after the nightfall prayer, and then witr. Their order is sunna.)

f16.0 THE PRAYER OF PERIL

f16.1 The prayer of peril may be performed when the Muslims are engaged in permissible fighting (O: whether obligatory, as when fighting non-Muslims or highwaymen whom the caliph (def: o25) is fighting, or permissible, as when fighting someone who is trying to take one's property or that of others).

f16.2 When the enemy is not in the direction of prayer (qibla), the imam divides the Muslim force into two groups. One group faces the enemy while the other prays a raka, the group makes the intention to cease following his leadership in the prayer and then finishes their second raka alone as individuals while the imam remains standing at the beginning of his second raka, reciting the Koran and awaiting the second group. Then this first group goes to relieve the others in facing the enemy, and the others come and begin their group prayer behind the imam, who is still standing and who remains so long enough for the second group to recite the Fatiha and a short sura. At the end of this raka when the imam sits in the Testification of Faith (Tashahhud), the group rises and performs their second raka without him (while he remains sitting at the end of his second raka waiting for them to reach the same point in their own prayer). When they catch up with him, he closes the prayer with Salams. If this prayer is the sunset prayer (maghrib), the first group prays two rakas following the imam's lead, and the second group follows him in the third raka. If it is a prayer with four rakas, then each group follows the imam for two rakas. The imam may also divide the Muslim force into four groups and have each group pray one raka behind him.

f16.3 When the enemy is visible in the direction of prayer (qibla) and the Muslims are numerous, the imam arranges them in two or more rows, opens the group prayer with "Allahu akbar," and (O: after reciting the Faitha with all of them) he bows and straightens up with everyone following his lead. Then he prostrates together with the row nearest him, while the other row remains standing. When the imam and his row stand after their second prostration, the other row performs its own prostrations and rises to catch up with the imam and his row, who have remained standing waiting for them. In the second raka all bow and straighten up together, but when the imam prostrates, the second row, who remained standing on guard before, prostrate with him while the row nearest him remain standing on guard. When those who have prostrated with the imam sit back (O: after their prostration, for the Testification of Faith (Tashahhud)) then the row nearest him (O: who have been standing on guard) prostrate (O: and catch up with the others in the Testification of Faith (Tashahhud).

f16.4 It is recommended to remain armed during the prayer of peril.

f16.5 When the peril is great, in actual combat, Muslims may pray walking or riding, facing the direction of prayer (qibla) or not, in a group or singly, and nodding in place of bowing and prostration when they are unable to perform them, nodding more deeply for prostration than for bowing. If forced to strike blow after blow during the prayer, this is permissible. Shouting is not.

f17.0 UNLAWFUL CLOTHING AND JEWELRY

f17.1 (A: It is offensive for men to wear tight clothing that discloses the size of the parts of their body which are nakedness (def: f5.3), and this is unlawful for women.)

f17.2 It is unlawful for men to wear silk or use it in any way, even to line clothing, though it is permissible to use it as padding in a cloak, pillow, or mattress.

f17.3 Women may wear and use silk, and it is permissible for a guardian to dress a child in it before puberty.

f17.4 It is permissible for men to use fabric composed partly of silk as long as the weight of the silk is half or less of the weight of the fabric; to embroider with silk thread where (O: the width of) the design does not exceed four fingers (O: though the length does not matter); to have a silk fringe on a garment; It is also permissible for men to use silk when there is need to in severe heat or cold, to clothe their nakedness with it for the prayer when there is nothing else, or to use it when suffering from itching or for protection from lice. (O: The upshot is that when there is real need for it, one may use it. Otherwise, it is an enormity (def: c2.5(2)). Imam Ghazali attributes its prohibition to its effeminacy and softness, which are unbecoming of men.)

f17.5 It is permissible to wear a garment affected by something impure (najasa, def: e14.1) when not in prayer (O: or other activities requiring purity, provided one is not in a mosque. As for wearing such a garment in a mosque, one may not, since it is not permissible to carry something impure into the mosque when there is not some need, such as having to take one's shoes inside). It is unlawful to wear leather taken from the carcass of an unslaughtered animal (n: before tanning, as at e 14.6) except when there is pressing need, such as in the event of a sudden outbreak of war (A: when there is nothing else) and the like.

f17.6 It is unlawful for men to wear gold jewelry, even the teeth of a ring's setting that holds its stone. (O: Unlike silk, there is no difference for the prohibition of gold between small and large amounts.) Nor may men wear objects painted or plated with gold, though if these tarnish so that the gold is no longer apparent, then they are permissible.

f17.7 It is permissible to repair teeth with gold.

f17.8 It is unlawful (A: for both sexes) to wear a silver ring (A: the sunna for men being to do so on the little finger, of either hand), and (A: for men) to decorate battle weapons with silver, but not ridding gear such as saddles and the like, nor an inkwell, writing utensil case, work knife, penknife, or lamp fixture-even if in a mosque- nor to have silver jewelry other than rings, such as a necklace, armband, bracelet (O: because these resemble the habits of women and it is unlawful for men to imitate women), or a crown. It is not permissible to use silver (A: or gold) to embellish the ceiling or walls of a house or mosque (O: even those of the Kaaba, because it is wasteful, and no one has reported that the early Muslims did so), though if the amount is so slight that none could be melted off by applying fire, then it may remain. If more that that, then not (O: i.e. it must be removed)

f17.9 (O: It is offensive to use cloth for interior decoration in houses (A: meaning that if curtains and the like are used merely for decoration, it is offensive, though there is nothing wrong with using them to screen a room from view), even for shrines at the tombs of the righteous and learned. It is unlawful to decorate walls with pictures (n: of animate life, as at p44).)

f17.10 It is permissible for both men and women to decorate copies of the Koran and to embellish writing with silver (O: out of reverence for it). It is permissible for women to have copies of the Koran decorated with gold, but this is unlawful for men.

17.11 All gold jewelry is permissible for women, even on shoes and woven into fabric, provided it is not wasteful. But if a woman is wasteful, such as when she has a 720-gram anklet of gold (O:meaning that it (N: i.e. the weight of a piece, though there is no limit to the number of average -weight pieces) exceeds the customary), then it is unlawful (O: since gold is only permitted to women for the sake of beauty, and when gold exceeds what is normal it is repulsive and devoid of beauty. (A: and zakat must be paid on such wasteful jewelry (n: as opposed to jewelry that is not wasteful, on which no zakat is due (dis: h4.4)))).

f18.0 THE FRIDAY PRAYER (JUMUA)

f18.1 (O: Attending the Friday prayer is personally obligatory. It is the finest of prayers, and its day, Friday, is the best day of the week. Its integrals and conditions are the same as other prayers (def: f9.13-14).)

f18.2 Anyone obliged to pray the noon prayer (zuhr) is obliged to pray the Friday prayer (jumua), except for women and for travellers on a trip that is not disobedience (def: f15.5), even if the trip is less that 81 km/50 mi. one way (n: though one's departure for the journey must have taken place before dawn on Friday, as at f18.6). Valid excuses for not attending group prayer (def: f12.5), such as illness or taking care of a sick person, excuse one from attending the Friday prayer (jumua).

f18.3 Eligible Muslims living in a village where there are not forty men (n: the minimum required for a valid Friday prayer, as at f18.7(e) must go to a larger town for the Friday prayer, when the two places are close enough that the call to prayer (adhan) from the larger town is audible to them under normal circumstances, given a calm wind and no interference. Audible means that the call of a man with a loud voice standing in the larger town on the side facing the village could be heard by a man with normal hearing standing on the side of the village facing the town. If such a a call would be inaudible, then the villagers are not obliged to go to pray the Friday prayer (A: but merely pray the noon prayer (zuhr).

f18.4 A Muslim present at the mosque who is not obliged to pray the Friday prayer may leave (A: instead participating in it, such as a traveller merely wanting to pray the noon prayer (zuhr) and go), except for the following, who must pray the Friday prayer:

(1) someone with an illness for whom waiting for the Friday prayer poses no hardship, provided that he has arrived after its time has begun (O: namely noon, for if he arrives before this, or if waiting is a hardship, then he may leave);

(2) someone who is blind;

(3) or someone whose excuse is muddy terrain (dis: f12.5(2)).

Those present at the mosque who are not obliged to pray the Friday prayer (A: other than the above mentioned) may choose between performing the Friday prayer and the noon prayer, (zuhr) (O: even when the fact that they are present eliminates their excuse). If they want to perform the noon prayer (zuhr) in a group(O;as is sunna) and their excuse from the friday prayer is not obvious to onlookers, then they should conceal their group prayer rather than that display it. (O: which would be offensive under the circumstances).If a person is not obliged to perform the Friday prayer, but believes the reason for his excuse may disappear, such as sick person (A: hoping to recover before the prayer ends), then he should postpone his noon prayer (zuhr) until he can no longer hope to attend the Friday prayer. But if one's excuse from the obligation of attending the Friday prayer is not expected to cease, such as being a woman, then it is recommended to pray the noon prayer (zuhr) at the first of its time.

f18.5 The noon prayer (zuhr) of someone obliged to perform the Friday prayer is not valid until he has missed the Friday prayer (A: by its having finished without his having attended).

(1) there is a place on his route where the Friday prayer will take place:

(2) or he is going to travel with a group (O: of people not obliged to pray the Friday prayer) who are departing, such that his staying behind would entail harm for him.

f18.7 In addition to the usual conditions for the prayer (def: f9.13), a valid Friday prayer (jumua) also requires:

(a) that it be a group prayer;

(b) that it take place during the time of noon prayer(zuhr);

(c) that it follow two sermons (khutba, def: f18.9);

(d) that its site be located among the dwellings of the community;

(e) that there be a minimum of forty participants who are male, have reached puberty, are sane, and are local residents, meaning they live there and do not leave except when they need to (n: though the minimum according to Abu Hanifa is three participants besides the imam (al-Lubab fi sharh al-Kitab (y88), 1.111));

(f) and that, in places where it is no hardship for everyone to pray at one location, there be no other Friday prayer prior to or simultaneous with it (O: i.e. in the opening Allahu Akbar of the prayer (dis: below)).The imam is counted as one of the forty ((e) above).

A group performing the Friday prayer must finish it as a noon prayer (zuhr) if:

(1) (non-(e) above) the number of participants diminishes during it to less than forty;

(2) or (non-(b)) if its time ends during the prayer (O: with the coming of the midafternoon prayer's time). If the group has doubts before starting the Friday prayer that they will be able to finish it within its time, then they must begin it as a noon prayer (zuhr).

f18.8 In places where having everyone assemble in one location is a hardship, as in Cairo or Baghdad, it is valid to hold as many Friday prayers as are needed. In places where it poses no hardship, such as Mecca or Medina, if two Friday prayers are held, the first of them (A: to open with "Allahu akbar") is the Friday prayer, and the second is invalid (A: and must be reprayed as a noon prayer). If two are held in such a place and it is not clear which was first, they should start over together as one Friday prayer.

THE SERMON (KHUTBA)

f18.9 The integrals of the sermon (khutba) are five (O: and their order is sunna) (n: (a), (b), and (c) below are required in each of the two sermons, while (d) may be in either, and (e) must occur in the second, as mentioned below):

(a) saying "al-Hamdu lillah" (praise be to Allah), this particular utterance being prescribed;

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(b) the Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), which is also a prescribed utterance;

(c) enjoining godfearingness (taqwa), for which a particular expression is not prescribed, it being sufficient to say "Obey Allah"; (the above (O: integrals (a), (b), and (c)) are obligatory in each of the two sermons)

(d) reciting one verse of the Koran (O: that conveys an intended meaning, such as a promise, threat, exhortation, or similar) in at least one of the two sermons;

(e) and to supplicate for believers (O: male and female) in the second of the two sermons (O: which must be for their hereafter, as supplications of this world alone do not fulfill the integral). (n: The following sermon, added her by the translator from the commentary at m2, has been related by two chains of transmission, one ascribing it to Ibn Masud, and the other through him to the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace): "Praise is truly Allah's. We praise Him, seek His help, and ask His forgiveness. We seek refuge in Allah from the evils of our selves and our bad actions. Whomever Allah guides none can lead astray, and whomever He leads astray has no one to guide him. I testify that there is no god but Allah alone, without any partner, and that Mohammed is His slave and messenger. Allah bless him and give him

peace, with his folk and Companions. O you who believe: fear Allah s He should be feared, and do not die other than as Muslims. "O people, fear your Lord who created you from one soul and created its mate from it, and spread forth from them may men and women. And be mindful of your duty to Allah, by whom you ask of one another, and to the wombs (that bore you), for verily, Allah is vigilant over you'" (Koran 4:1). (n: This sermon fulfills conditions (a), (b), (c), and (d) above (A: and the rest of the sermon may be in any language), and after sitting briefly, one rises and says, "al-Hamdu lillah," the Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), enjoins the people to fear Allah, and must add a supplication for the Muslims ((e) above), such as saying, "O Allah, forgive the believers" (Ar. Allahumma-ghfir lil-mu'minin wal-mu'minat).)

f18.10 The conditions of the two sermons are:

(a) that the speaker be in a state of purity (O: from minor (def: e7) and major (e10) ritual impurity and from filth (najasa, e14.1));

(b) that his nakedness be clothed;

(c) that the two sermons occur during the noon prayer's time (zuhr) before performing the two rakas of the Friday prayer;

(d) that the speaker be standing during them (O: if able);

(e) that he sit down between the two;

(f) and that his voice be loud enough for the forty required participants (def: f18.7(e)) to hear (O: the sermons' integrals).

f18.11 The sunnas of the sermon include:

(1) that the speaker stand on a pulpit (minbar) or high place (O: and that it be to the right of the prayer niche (mihrab) and that the speaker stand on the right side of the pulpit);

(2) that he say "as-Salamu alaykum" to those present when he enters the mosque and (O: again) when he ascends the pulpit (O: and reaches his seat there);

(3) that he sit until the muezzin has finished (A: the second (dis: w28.2) call to prayer (adhan));

(4) that when speaking, he lean on a sword, bow, or stick (O: which is in his left hand. It is

desirable for him to put his other hand on the pulpit. If he does not have a sword or the like, he keeps his hands still be placing the right upon the left, or dropping them to his sides. He does not move them or fidget with one, as the aim is stillness and humility);

(5) and that he face the group during both sermons (O: and not turn to the right or left during them, for it is a reprehensible innovation. It is desirable for the listeners to face the speaker).

DESCRIPTION OF THE FRIDAY PRAYER

f18.12 The Friday prayer (jumua) consists of two rakas. It is sunna for the imam to recite al-Jumua (Koran 62) in the first raka (A: meaning the entire sura, the sunna being to make the sermon brief and the rakas long, though wisdom must be used in deciding how much those present will accept) and al-Munafiqun (Koran 63) in the second raka (O: following the sunna from a hadith reported by Muslim, who also reported that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) sometimes recited al-Ala (Koran 87) in the first raka of the Friday prayer and al-Ghashiya (Koran 88) in the second).

f18.13 A latecomer who joins the group prayer in time to bow and remain motionless a moment therein while the imam is still bowing in the second raka is legally considered to have attended the Friday prayer (A: though such a person must rise after the imam has finished with Salams to pray the raka he missed). If the latecomer joins the group after this point, he has missed the Friday prayer, but (O: obligatorily) intends performing the Friday prayer anyway and follows the imam (O: in case the imam has omitted an integral and has to repeat a raka, in which event the latecomer will have attended the Friday prayer). (N: But if this does not happen, then) when the imam finishes with Salams, the latecomer rises and completes his prayer as a noon prayer (zuhr).

RECOMMENDED MEASURES FOR THOSE ATTENDING THE FRIDAY PRAYER

f18.14 It is recommended to perform a purificatory bath (ghusl) (O: and offensive not to) before going to the Friday prayer, though it may be performed anytime after dawn. If one is unable to bathe, one may perform the dry ablution (tayammum). It is also recommended to clean the teeth with a toothstick (siwak, def: e3), trim the nails, remove (O: bodily) hair, eliminate offensive odors, wear perfume and one's finest clothes (white being the best), and for the imam to dress better than anyone else. (A: Because of the time taken by these measures, it is offensive to visit others on Friday mornings.) It is offensive for women who attend the Friday prayer to wear perfume or fine clothes. It is recommended:

(1) to arrive early (O: which is recommended for everyone besides the imam, so as to take a seat and wait for the prayer), the best time being from dawn on;

(2) to come on foot in tranquility and dignity, and not to ride to the mosque unless there is an excuse (O:such as old age, weakness, or being so far from the mosque that the fatigue of walking would obviate one's humility and presence of mind in the prayer);

(3) to sit near to the imam;

(4) and to invoke Allah (dhikr) (O: both on the way and at the mosque before the sermon), and to recite the Koran and invoke Blessings (O: on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace)).

f18.15 It is offensive (O: for anyone but the imam, when there is no need) to step over people to reach a place among them, unless one sees a vacant spot that cannot be reached otherwise. It is unlawful to make someone sitting in the mosque rise and then sit in his place, though if someone voluntarily rises it is permissible (O: for another to sit there).

f18.16 It is offensive to give another person one's place in the front row, in closeness to the imam, or to put others ahead of oneself in performing any act of worship (O: as is proved by the rigorously authenticated (sahih)hadith, "People keep staying behind until Allah keeps them behind." As for Allah's saying, "...preferring others to themselves, though poverty be their lot" (Koran 59:9), it refers to things that relate to the physical self, such as feeding a hungry person when one needs the food, in which case preferring another to one self is desirable, without a doubt). It is permissible to send someone to the mosque to save a place for oneself there by spreading something out (O: such as a rug, for no one else may pray on it), though it is permissible for another to move it aside and sit down in its place.

f18.17 It is offensive, though not unlawful, for someone sitting in the mosque to speak or to rise and perform the prayer while the imam is giving the sermon (khutba). (O: The more reliable position is that prayer is unlawful during the sermon (N: for the person already sitting in the mosque, as opposed to someone who has just arrived, as next discussed).) A latecomer who arrives (O: when the imam is speaking or seated on the pulpit) should pray two brief rakas to greet the mosque (O: if the prayer is being held in a mosque. If held elsewhere, one should intend them as the two rakas that are sunna before the Friday prayer, though if one has already prayed these at home, one should simply sit down without praying. It is offensive for a latecomer to simply omit the two rakas of greeting the mosque, though if one enters the mosque at the end of the imam's sermon and believes that praying them will prevent one's participating in the opening Allahu Akbar with the group, then one should remain standing until they rise and incorporate one's greeting the mosque into the obligatory prayer (dis: f10.10)).

f18.18 It is recommended to recite al-Kahf (Koran 18) and invoke Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) on the night before Friday and during its day.

f18.19 It is recommended to supplicate Allah much on Fridays, seeking the moment when prayers are answered (O: in view of the hadith related by Bukhari and Muslim,

"There is a moment on Friday when the slave shall not ask Allah for anything save that He will give it to him"), which lies between the time the imam first sits on the pulpit and when the prayer finishes. (A: Others hold that the moment occurs after the midafternoon prayer (asr).)

f19.0 THE PRAYER ON THE TWO EIDS

(N: Meaning Eid al-Fitr at the end of Ramadan, and Eid al-Adha on 10 Dhul Hijja.)

f19.1 The prayer on the two Eids is a confirmed sunna (def: c4.1) and is recommended to be prayed in a group.Its time begins at sunrise, and it is recommended to take place after the sun is a spear's length (def: f13.2(1)) above the horizon (O: the time for its current performance continuing) until noon.

f19.2 It is best to perform it in the mosque if there is room, though if there is not, then it is better to hold it outdoors.

RECOMMENDED MEASURES FOR THE EID PRAYER

f19.3 It is recommended not to eat anything on Eid al-Adha until one performs the prayer, though one should eat an odd number of dates before the prayer on Eid al-Fitr.

f19.4 It is recommended to perform the purificatory bath (ghusl) after dawn, even if one does not attend the prayer, though it may be performed from midnight on. It is recommended to wear perfume, dress one's best, for young boys to come in their good clothes, and for women who do not attract men's attention to attend, though without wearing perfume or fine clothes. It is offensive for an attractive

woman to attend (dis: f12.4(N:)).

It is sunna:

(1) to come early after the dawn prayer (subh) on foot;

(2) to return home by a different route (N: than one came);

(3) for the imam to delay his arrival until the time of the prayer;

(4) and to call the people to prayer with the words "The prayer is gathering," as one also does for the eclipse prayer (def: f20) and the drought prayer (f21).

DESCRIPTION OF THE EID PRAYER

f19.5 The Eid prayer consists of two rakas. (A: In addition to the opening Allahu Akbar,) one says "Allahu akbar " seven times in the first raka after the Opening Supplication (Istiftah, def: f8.13) and before saying "I take refuge, etc." (Ta'awwudh, f8.16); and five times in the second raka, not counting the Allahu Akbar for rising from prostration, before saying the Taawwudh.One raises one's hands (f8.12) each time one says "Allahu akbar." One invokes Allah Most High (N: to oneself) between each Allahu Akbar (O: saying "Glory be to Allah, praise be to Allah, there is no god but Allah, Allah is greatest"), placing the right hand upon the left (A: each time one says this invocation). Missing or adding repetitions of "Allahu akbar" does not necessitate a forgetfulness prostration at the end of one's prayer. If one forgets them and proceeds directly to the Taawwudh, one does not return to them.

f19.6 It is recommended to recite Qaf (Koran 50) in the first raka and al-Qamar (Koran 54) in the second. Or if one wishes, one way recite al-Ala (Koran 87) in the first raka and al-Ghashiya (Koran 88) in the second. (A: Or one may recite al-Kafirun (Koran 109) in the first raka and al-Ikhlas (Koran 112) in the second.)

f19.7 After the two rakas, the imam gives two sermons (khutba) like those of the Friday prayer (O: in the integrals (def: f18.9), not conditions (n: which here exclude f18.10(c,d,e))). It is recommended to open the first sermon by saying "Allahu akbar" nine times and to open the second by saying it seven times.It is permissible for the imam to sit during the sermons.

f19.8 There are two types of Allahu Akbars (A: said for the Eids), unrestricted and restricted.

The unrestricted, meaning those not confined to a particular circumstance but rather recited in mosques, homes, and the street, are sunna to recite from sunset on the night before each Eid until the imam commences the Eid prayer with the opening Allahu Akbar.

The restricted, meaning those recited after prayers (O: whether the five prescribed prayers or the nonobligatory), are sunna for Eid al-Adha only, from the noon prayer (zuhr) on Eid day until the dawn prayer (Subh) on the last of the three days that follow it, which is the fourth day of the Eid. (N: The more reliable position is that the time for them begins from dawn of the Day of Arafa (n: 9 Dhul Hijja) and ends at the midafternoon prayer (asr) on the last of the three days that follow Eid al-Adha.) They are recited (O: by men, by women (who say them to themselves), by both nontravellers and travellers, and whether one is praying by oneself or in a group) after the current prescribed prayers or making up prescribed prayers missed during the Eid or before, and after prayers performed to fulfill a vow, funeral prayers (janaza), and supererogatory prayers. If one misses a prayer during the Eid but does not make it up until after the Eid, then one does not recite "Allahu Akbar" after it. One says, "Allahu akbar, Allahu akbar, Allahu akbar" (N: and then, "there is no god but Allah. Allahu akbar, Allahu akbar, praise be to Allah"). It is commendable to add, as people are accustomed to. "Allah is ever greatest, etc." (O: namely: "Much praise be to Allah. Glory to Him morning an evening. There is no god but Allah. Him alone we worship, making our religion sincerely His though the unbelivers be averse. There is no god but Allah alone. He fulfilled His promise, gave victory to His slave, strengthened His army, and vanquished Confederates alone. There is no god but Allah. Allah is ever greatest")

f19.9 It is recommended to say "Allahu akbar" on the first ten days of Dhul Hijja whenever one sees a head of livestock (O: out of reverence for its Creator).

f20.0 THE ECLIPSE PRAYER

(O: Eclipse refers to both that of the moon and sun.)

f20.1 The eclipse prayer is a confirmed sunna (def: c4.1) (O: and missing it is not permissible, but rather is offensive).

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f20.2 (O: Like the drought prayer, it has no call to prayer (adhan) (n: besides that mentioned at f19.4(4)).)

f20.3 It is recommended to be performed in a group at the mosque. It is recommended for women without attractive figures to attend (O: in their household clothes, that is, women advanced in years and the like. As for women who have attractive figures, it is desirable for them to perform it in their homes (dis: f12.4(N:))).

DESCRIPTION OF THE ECLIPSE PRAYER

f20.4 The eclipse prayer consists of two rak'as. The minimum is:

(a) to open with "Allahu akbar";

(b) to recite the Fatiha;

(c) to bow;

(d) to straighten up;

(e) to recite the Fatiha again;

(f) to bow again;

(g) to (O: straighten up and) remain motionless a moment;

(h) and to prostrate, then sit up, and then prostrate again.

This is one rak'a. comprising standing twice, reciting (O: the Fatiha) twice, and bowing twice.

One then prays the second rak'a like the first. It is not permissible to lengthen the amount of time one stands or bows merely because eclipse has not yet passed, or to shorten the rak'as to less (O: than the above way after having intended it) because the eclipse has passed.

f20.5 The optimal way is that after reciting the Opening Supplication (Isiftah, de: f8.13), the Ta'awwudh (f8.16), and the Fatiha, one:

(a) recite al-Baqara (Koran 2) for the first Koran recital;

(b) recite Al 'Imran (Koran 3) after the second time one recites the Fatiha (A: in the first rak'a); (A: then, in the second rak'a)

(c) recite al-Nisa (Koran 4) for the third recital;

(d) and recite al-Ma'ida (Koran 5) for the fourth recital.

Or one may recite comparable amounts of the Koran in place of the above suras. One bows and says "Subhana Rabbiya al-Adhim' ("How far above any limitation is my Lord Most Great") after the first of the four Koran recitals for a period equal to reciting one hundred verses of al-Baqara (N: about 20 minutes); after the second recital for the length of eighty of its verses;after the third for the length of seventy verses; and after the fourth for the length of fifty verses. The other parts of the eclipse prayer are the same as other prayers.

f20.6 After praying, it is recommended that the imam give two sermons like those of the Friday prayer (O: in integrals (def:f18.9) and conditions (f18.10), except that here the sermons follow the prayer, as opposed to those of the Friday prayer, which precede it).

f20.7 One may no longer perform the eclipse prayer if one has not yet begun it when the eclipse passes, when the sun sets while still eclipsed, or when the sun rises while the moon is still eclipsed. But if one has begun the prayer and the eclipse passes or the sun sets while still in eclipse, one nevertheless completes the prayer.

f21.0 THE DROUGHT PRAYER

f21.1 The drought prayer is a confirmed sunna (def: c4.1) (O: even for someone travelling, or praying alone), and is recommended to be prayed in a group.

f21.2 When the land is parched or the water supply is cut off or diminished, the imam (A: i.e. the caliph (def: o25) or his representative) warns people against wrongdoing and orders them to repent for their sins, give charity (O: because this influences the acceptance of prayers), settle their differences with enemies (O: if the enmity is not for Allah's sake. Otherwise, it is not objectionable, for servering ties with the corrupt is something that one should do), and fast for three days (O: which must be consecutive, for this is obligatory if the caliph orders it). Then, on the fourth day while still fasting, they come out to an empty expanse (lit. "desert") in their work clothes, accompanied by those of the women who do not have attractive figures (dis:f12.4(N:)). livestock, men and women advanced in years, infants and small children, the pious, and those related to the Messenger of Allah (Allah bless him and give him peace); and they ask Allah to give them rain because of those present (O: i.e. by virtue of their spiritual grace (baraka), interceding through them). Each mentions to himself the good works he has done and intercedes through them. Non-Muslim subjects of the Islamic state who attend are not hindered from doing so, but may not mix with us.

DESCRIPTION OF THE DROUGHT PRAYER

f21.3 The drought prayer consists of two rak'as like those of the 'Eid (def: f19.5). The imam then gives two sermons like those of the Eid, except that in place of each Allahu akbar (f19.7), the imam says, "I ask forgiveness of Allah Most Great, whom there is no god but He, the Living, the Ever Subsistent, and I turn to Him in repentance." During the sermons, the imam frequently asks Allah's forgiveness (istighfar), blesses the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), supplicates Allah, and recites the verses, "Ask forgiveness of your Lord - verily He is soft-forgiving - and He will loose the sky upon you in torrents, aid you with wealth and sons, and make gardens and rivers yours" (Koran 71:10-12). In the second sermon (O: about a third of the way through it) the imam turns toward the direction of prayer (qibla) and switches his cloak around (O: by putting the right side of it on his left and vice versa. It is also sunna to turn it upside down. Both sunnas can be effected by putting the lower left corner on the right shoulder and lower right corner on the left shoulder. The wisdom therein is the favorable portent of a change of state). The people do likewise. He should supplicate to his atmost, both to himself and aloud. (O: Those present raise their hands with the backs of the hands up. The sunna supplication is: "O Allah, send us rain, raining wholesomely, healthily, torrentially, widespread, pouringly, in sheets,drenchingly, continuously till Judgement Day. O Allah, give us rain and make us not of those who despair. Allah, servants and cities are in distress, hunger, and want, from which we can ask none but You for relief. O Allah, make the crops grow and the milk of the livestock flow, and send down the sky's blessings upon us and bring forth for us the blessings of the earth. Raise from us the affliction that none but You can lift.") If they pray but are not given any rain, they repeat the prayer (O: until given rain). If they prepare (O: and gather), but are given rain before the prayer, they pray in thanks and ask for more.

f21.4 It is recommended for those whose land is flourishing to supplicate after prayers for those whose land is parched. (O: This being the middle course. The minimum is to make a supplication, while the optimum is to take the above measures of performing two rak'as with the two sermons, the supplications, and asking for forgiveness.)

f21.5 At the first rainfall of the year, it is recommended to uncover part of the body for the rain to strike.

f21.6 It is recommended to glorify Allah when thunder is heard (O: saying, "Glory to Him the thunder and the angels glorify, in awe of Him,") and when lightening is seen (O: saying, "Glory to Him who shows you the lightening that you may have fear and hope").

f21.7 If it rains so much that harm is feared, it is recommended to supplicate as has come in the sunna: "O Allah, around us, not upon us. O Allah upon the hills and bluffs, the valley floors and copses of trees."

BOOK G - THE FUNERAL PRAYER (JANAZA) (by al-Misri)

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Preparing Food for Next of Kin g6.5

g1.0 VISITING THE SICK AND DYING

g1.1 It is recommended for everyone to frequently remember death, particularly if one is ill, and to prepare for it by repenting (def:p77) (O: because of the hadith. "Remember often the Ender of Pleasures," meaning death, a hadith related by Tirmidhi, Ibn Hibban, and Hakim, the latter two classifying it as rigorously authenticated (sahih). Nasa'i's version has the addition. "for truly, it is not remembered in a plentitude save it diminishes it, and not remembered in a dearth save it increases it," "plentitude" meaning of wives and this-worldly goods, and "dearth" meaning of spiritual works).

g1.2 It is recommended to visit the ill, even if the malady is only sore eyes, whether the person is a friend or enemy. If the sick person is a non-Muslim subject of the Islamic state (dhimmi, def;o11) then if he is a relative or neighbour, visiting him is recommended. If not, visiting him is merely permissible.

g1.3 It is offensive to sit lengthily with a sick person. It is recommended not to continuously visit (O: but only from time to time) unless one is a relative or similar person (O: of his friends) whom the sick person is fond of, or someone (O: of the righteous) from whose presence others derive spiritual blessing (baraka), for any of whom visiting the sick person is recommended at any time as long as there is no objection (O: by the sick person to long visits).

g1.4 If the visitor has hopes that the patient will survive, he supplicates for him (O: saying, "O Allah, Lord of Men, remove the harm and heal- for You are the Healer besides whom there is no other-with a cure that will not leave behind pain or sickness,') and then leaves. But if the visitor sees little hope of a recovery, he should encourage the sick person to repent and to make his bequests (def:L1-3) (O: by telling him, e.g. "You should repent of all your sins so that Allah Most High heals you, for repentance is reason for cures. And you should make some provision for bequests, as it prolongs one's life. A person should make bequests while alive and only die after having done so for there is no one who does not pass on").

INSTRUCTING THE DYING PERSON

g1.5 If the visitor sees the person is dying, he should make him desirous of Allah's mercy (O: since hope should predominate over fear in this state) and should turn him to face the direction of prayer (qibla) by laying him on his right side, or if impossible, on his left. If this too is impossible, he is laid on his back (O: with his face and feet towards the direction of prayer (qibla) by laying him on his right side, or if impossible, on his back (O: with his face and feet towards the direction of prayer (qibla) by proping up his head a little, feet meaning the bottoms of them). The visitor should then instruct the dying person to say" There is no god but Allah,"letting him hear it(N: so he can repeat it) but without irritating insistence, and without telling him "Say...." When he says it, then he is let be until he himself speaks of something else. It is recommended that the person instructing him to say it be neither his heir nor enemy.

IMMEDIATE MEASURES AFTER DEATH

g1.6 When he dies, it is recommended that the kindliest to him of his unmarriageable kin (mahram) close his eyes. It is recommended:

(1) to close his jaws (O: with a wide bandage tied above his head so his mouth is not left open);

(2) to make his joints flexible (O: by bending the forearm to the upper arm, calf to thigh, thigh to stomach, and then straightening them, and to similarly flex the fingers in order to facilitate washing and shrouding him. If the joints are flexed at this point, they remain flexible, but if not, it becomes impossible afterwards):

(3) to (O:gently) remove his clothes, and to cover him with a light cloth (O: tucking the edge under his head and feet so they do not become uncovered);

(4) and to place something heavy on his stomach (O: to prevent bloating).

g1.7 It is recommended to hasten in paying off the debts of the deceased (dis: L4.2-3) or having them waived (n: by creditors). It is recommended to hurry in implementing his bequests, and in readying him for burial (O: haste being recommended (N: in readying him and burying him) when it is unlikely that the body will rapidly change, but obligatory when this is likely).

g1.8 When someone dies suddenly (O: or is believed to have died), the body is left until it is certain he is dead (O: by a change in odor or the like).

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g1.9 Washing the dead person, shrouding him, praying over him, carrying him, and burying him are communal obligations (def:c3.2)

g2.0 WASHING THE BODY

g2.1 Then the body is washed (O: obligatorily).

WHO SHOULD WASH THE BODY

g2.2 when the deceased is male, the best suited to wash the body (A: anyone may wash it, but it is not permissible (N: being offensive) for a non-Muslim to wash the body of a Muslim, and non-Muslim relatives are as though nonexistent in the following priority list) is:

(1) the father of the deceased;
(2) the father's father;
(3) the son;
(4) the son's son;
(5) the brother;
(6) the father's brother;
(7) the son of the father's brother;
(8) those named in the sequence given at L10.6(12-14);
(9) men related to the deceased;
(10) men not related to him;
(11) his wife;
(12) and his unmarriageable female relatives (mahram, def:m6.1).

g2.3 If the deceased is female, the best suited to wash the body is:

(1) one of her female relatives (O: meaning the women of her immediate family, such as her daughter or mother);
(2) other women;
(3) her husband;
(4) and then a member of her unmarriageable male relatives (mahram, def:m6.2) (O: in the above (g2.2) order).

g2.4 If the deceased is a non-Muslim, then his non-Muslim relatives are better suited to wash him.

g2.5 It is recommended that the washer be trustworthy (O: so that he can be relied on to wash the deceased completely and so forth. If he notices something good, it is sunna to mention it, but if he notices something bad, it is unlawful to mention it, as this is slander(ghiba, def:r2.2)).

HOW TO WASH THE BODY

g2.6 It is obligatory for the washer to keep the nakedness (def:f5.3) of the deceased clothed (f5.4) while washing him. It is sunna that no one be present except the washer and his assistant. (O: It is preferable that the body be washed while clothed in an anklelength shirt into which the washer inserts his hand from the sleeve if ample enough, while pouring water over the garment and washing the body under it. If the sleeve is not wide enough for this, he tears open the seam from the side under the arm. It is obligatory that the body be covered from naval to knees.) Incense should be burned from the start of washing to the finish (O: as is sunna). It is best to wash the body under a roof, and best that cold water be used, except when necessary (O: to heat it, such as to clean away filth that could not otherwise be removed, or when the weather is cold, since the deceased suffers from it just as a living person would).

g2.7 It is unlawful to look at the nakedness of the deceased (def:f5.3) or touch it, except with a cloth (O:or similar, since direct contact without there being something in between is not permissible). It is recommended not to look at or directly touch the other parts of the body save with a cloth.

g2.8 It is recommended:

(1) to force out waste from the stomach;
(2) to clean the private parts of filth (O: which is recommended when one is not certain anything has exited from those parts, though if it has, cleaning is obligatory);
(3) to give the body ablution (wudu) (O: like the ablution of a living person, turning the head when rinsing the mouth and nostrils so that no water reaches the stomach);
(4) to make the intention of performing the purificatory bath (ghusl), and then to wash the head, beard, and body each three times with water infused (with sidr(n:i.e. lote tree(Rhamus spina christi) leaves), taking care each time to press the hand on the stomach (N: in a downward stroke) (O: leaning on it to force its contents out, but gently so as not to hurt the deceased. If the hair of the head or beard is matted, it should be gently combed with a wide-toothed comb so as not to pull any out. If hair comes out as a result, the washer should return it and place it in the shroud to be buried with the deceased).

g2.9 (O: It is sunna:)

(1) that the place of washing be on an incline so the head is highest and the water flows down away from it;
(2) that there be an incense burner present with incense in it;
(3) to put one's right hand on the shoulder of the deceased with the thumb on the nape of his neck so that the head does not loll, and brace his back up against one's right knee;
(4) to have the helper pour abundant water during the process to obviate offensive odors from waste leaving the body;
(5) to stroke the stomach firmly and effectively with one's left hand;
(6) and when finished, to lay the deceased down again on his back with his feet towards the direction of prayer (qibla).)

g2.10 If the body is not clean after three times, one washes it again, reaching an odd number of washings. (O: If clean after an even number of washings, it is sunna to add another. If clean after an odd number, one does not add any.) It is sunna to add a little camphor to the water, especially for the last washing. The obligatory minimum for this purificatory bath (ghusl) is that water reach all external parts of the body (O: and it is obligatory to remove any filth (najasa, def: el4.1), if present). The body should be dried with a cloth afterwards. If anything leaves the body after washing, only the affected area need be washed. (O: It is not necessary to repeat the ablution (wudu) of bath (ghusl, even if the excretion is from the front or rear private parts.)

g3.0 SHROUDING THE BODY

g3.1 Then the body is shrouded (O: obligatorily).

g3.2 If the deceased is male it is recommended that he be wrapped in three washed (O; not new) white shrouds, without an ankle-length shirt or turban, each shroud covering the whole body (O: unless the deceased was in a state of pilgrim sanctity (ihram), in which case the head of the male or face of the female must be left uncovered). It is permissible to add (O: beneath the shrouds) an ankle-length shirt and a turban. It is unlawful to use silk (N: to shroud a man).If the deceased is a woman it is recommended that she be dressed in a wraparound, headcover, and a shift, and that she be wrapped in two shrouds (O: like those used for men in being white and washed, each of which covers her (O: entire body). It is offensive for a woman's shroud to be made of silk, or fabric dyed with saffron or safflower. The obligatory minimum for shrouding a man or woman is to completely cover their nakedness. (O: For a man it is obligatory to cover the navel, the knees, and what lies between them, and for a woman, her entire body.)

g3.3 It is recommended:

(1) to send the shrouds with incense (O: from aloes and the like)
(2) to sprinkle them with hunut (O: an aromatic compound of camphor, reed perfume, and red and white sandalwood) and camphor;
(3) to place cotton and hunut on the apertures of the body (O: such as the eyes, mouth, nostrils, and ears) and on places that touch the ground in prostration (O: the forehead, nose, palms, bottoms of the feet, and the knees);
(4) and it is commendable to perfume the entire body.

g3.4 If a person dies while in a state of pilgrim sanctity (Ihram, def:j3), it is unlawful to scent the body, to dress it in a garment with any sewing in it (A: if male), and to cover the head of a male's body or the face of a female's.

g3.5 It is not recommended to prepare a shroud for oneself, unless to ensure that it comes from a lawful source or from the effects of a virtuous person (O: meaning those who worship much, or religious scholars who apply their knowledge in their lives. In such a case, one may procure it for the blessing therein (tabrruk, di:w31)).

g4.0 THE PRAYER OVER THE DEAD

g4.1 Then the deceased is prayed over (O: obligatorily). The obligation is fulfilled if a single Muslim male (O: who has reached the age of discrimination) prays over the deceased. It is not fulfilled by a prayer of women alone when there is a male available, though if there is no one besides women, they are obliged to pray and their prayer fulfills the obligation.

g4.2 It is recommended to perform the funeral prayer in a group. It is offensive to pray it at a

cemetery (O: though not in a mosque, which is preferable).

WHO SHOULD LEAD THE FUNERAL PRAYER

g4.3 The person best suited to lead the funeral prayer as imam is the one who is best suited to wash the deceased (dis:g2.2) except for women, who have no right to lead (dis:f12.27). The family member responsible for the deceased is given preference in leading the prayer even over the sultan (O: or imam of the mosque). The older of two persons (O: meaning more years in Islam, provided he is upright (def:o24.4)) takes precedence over the more learned in Sacred Law (O: when they are at the same level (n: of the g2.2 precedence order), such as two sons or two brothers, since the purpose is to pray for the deceased, and the supplication of an older person is more likely to be answered) and (n: the older) is given precedence over any others (A: at that level), though if they are of the same age, then one is chosen according to the order used for the imamate of other prayers (def:f12.25).The responsible family member is given precedence in leading the funeral prayer even when the deceased has stipulated some other nonfamily member to be the imam.

PLACING THE BODY FOR THE FUNERAL PRAYER

g4.4 It is recommended (N: in the funeral prayer itself, where the deceased, enshrouded, is on a bier in front of the imam and lying on his right side facing the direction of prayer (qibla)) that the imam stand by the head of the deceased, if male, and by the posterior, if female (O: because this better screens her from view).

g4.5 If there are several bodies, it is best to perform a separate funeral prayer for each individual, though it is permissible to pray for all of them in a single prayer by putting the biers directly in front of the imam (O: one after another (N: parallel with the rows of worshippers), each body facing the direction of prayer (qibla)). The closest body to the imam (O: if the dead differ in gender) should be an adult male, then a boy, then a woman (O: though if all are male, all female, or all boys), then the best Muslim, then the next best (O: in piety, abstinence from this world, godfearingness, and all praiseworthy traits), and so forth. If bodies are brought successively, the first one brought is placed closest to the imam, even if a prior arrival is less virtuous or is a boy, though not if a female, whose body should be placed further from the imam than that of a male brought subsequently.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FUNERAL PRAYER

g4.6 Then one intends to perform the prayer, One must keep in mind its obligatory character, though need not explicity intend it as a communal obligation (def: c3.2). (O: One may confine oneself to merely intending to pray four Allahu akbars over the particular deceased person as an obligatory act, without intending its being in fulfillment of a communal obligation. The intention must coincide with one's opening Allahu akbar.) It is valid for someone to perform a funeral prayer for a dead person who is absent (dis:g4.18) while following an imam who is praying over a dead person who is present.

g4.7 One says"Allahu akbar" four times in the funeral prayer, raising one's hands (O: to shoulder level) at each one, and it is recommended between each one to fold the right hand over the left. The funeral prayer is not invalidated by adding a fifth Allahu akbar, even intentionally, though if the imam adds one the follower does not do likewise, but simply waits to finish with him when he says his Salams.

g4.8 After the first Allahu akbar it is obligatory to recite the Fatiha. It is recommended to say "I take refuge, etc." (Ta'awwudh, def:f8.16) before it and "Ameen" after it, though not to recite the Opening Supplication (Istiftah, f8.13) or a sura therein. (A: It is obligatory that the Fatiha be recited in the funeral prayer and that the other spoken elements be uttered, but as for each occuring after its respective Allahu akbar, the only one which must obligatorily be in its place is the Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), which must come after the second Allahu akbar.)

g4.9 After the second Allahu akbar (N: and one, remains standing throughout the funeral prayer), it is obligatory to say the Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), after which it is sunna to supplicate for the believers.(O: It is also sunna to bless the folk of the Prophet after the blessings upon him (Allah bless him and give him peace) and to say "al-Hamdulillah" before it.)

g4.10 After the third Allahu akbar one supplicates for the deceased. The recommended supplication is: "O Allah, this is Your slave, and son of Your slave. He has left the zephyr of this world and its spaciousness, in which were the things and people he loved, for the darkness of the grave and that which he will meet. He testified that there is no god but You alone without a partner, and that Mohammed is Your slave and messenger. You know him better than we. O Allah, he has gone to remain with You, and You are the best to remain with. He is now in need of Your mercy, and You have no need to torment him. We come to You in desire for You, interceding for him. O Allah, if he did well, treat him the better, and if he did wrong, disregard it and through Your mercy show him Your good pleasure and protect him from the trial and torment of the grave. Make his grave spacious for him and distance the earth from his sides, and through Your mercy protect him from Your torment until You raise him and send him safely to Your paradise, O Most Merciful of the Merciful." (n: This is the optimal supplication, The minimum is mentioned below at g4.13(f).)

g4.11 It is commendable to say before the above: "O Allah, forgive those of us who are alive and those who are young head those present and those who are and those who are old, those who are male and those who are female. O Allah, let those of us You give life live by Islam, and let those of us You take back die in a state of faith." If it is the funeral of a child, one may add to this: "O Allah, send him ahead to smoothe the way for his parents, and make him a reason for reward, a treasure, admonition, reflection, and intercessor. Make the scales of their good deeds heavy through him, and fill their hearts with patience."

g4.12 After the fourth Allahu akbar, it is sunna to say, "O Allah, do not withhold from us his

recompense, nor try us after him, but forgive us and him." Then one says "as-Salamu 'alaykum" twice (O: the first one being obligatory and the second sunna).

g4.13 The integrals of the funeral prayer are seven:

(a) the intention;

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(b) standing;
(c) saying "Allahu akbar" four times;
(d) the Fatiha;
(e) the Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace);
(f) the supplication for the deceased, the minimum being "O Allah, forgive this deceased";
(g) and the first of the two times one says "as-Salamu 'alaykum" to finish the prayer.

g4.14 The conditions of the funeral prayer are the same as other prayers (def:f9.13), but in addition require:
(a) that the deceased's body has been washed before the prayer;
(b) and that the imam and those praying do not stand ahead of the body during the prayer (N: i.e closer to the direction of prayer (qibla)). It is offensive to perform the funeral prayer over a body before it has been shrouded. If someone dies under a pile of rubble, and it is impossible to take out the body and wash it (non-(a) above), then he is not prayed over.

g4.15 A latecomer to the funeral prayer whom the imam has preceded by having already said "Allahu akbar" a number of times recites (O: the Fatiha) after his own opening Allahu akbar, and then says "Allahu akbar" each time the imam does, though he performs the integrals in order from the point at which he began (O: reciting the Fatiha after his first Allahu akbar, the Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) after the second, and the supplication for the deceased after his third), and when the imam finishes with Salams, the latecomer goes on to complete his remaining number of times of saying "Allahu akbar" and the other spoken elements, and then finishes with his own Salams. It is recommended that the body not be lifted until the latecomer finishes his prayer. If the latecomer joins the group with his opening Allahu akbar, and the imam immediately says the (O: second) Allahu akbar (N: before the latecomer has had a chance to recite the Fatiha), then the latecomer (N: omits the Fatiha and) says "Allahu akbar" with the imam. Here the latecomer has performed the first two Allahu akbars (O: both the second one which he performed with them, and the first one which lacked the Fatiha), and he is no longer obliged to recite the Fatiha. If the imam's Allahu akbar occurs while such a latecomer is reciting the Fatiha, he discontinues it and says "Allahu akbar" with the imam. If the imam says " Allahu akbar" and the follower does not say it until the imam has said it a second time, it invalidates the follower's prayer.

REPEATING THE FUNERAL PRAYER

g4.16 When one has performed a funeral prayer over someone, it is recommended that one not repeat it.

g4.17 Someone who has missed praying (O: a funeral prayer until after the deceased has been buried) may pray it at the grave (O: and such a prayer is legally valid whether the deceased was buried before the funeral prayer had been performed over him, or whether after, though it is unlawful to bury a Muslim before his funeral prayer, and anyone who knows of it is guilty of a sin), but only on condition that the person praying at the grave had reached puberty and was sane on the day the deceased died (O: as he was thus one of those responsible for the communal obligation of praying over the deceased). Otherwise, he may not pray there.

PRAYING OVER THE DEAD WHO ARE NOT PRESENT

g4.18 It is permissible to perform the funeral prayer for an absent person whose body is out of town, even if not far (O: and even if the body is not in the direction of prayer (qibla) which the person praying faces (non-(g4.14(b))). But such a prayer does not lift the communal obligation from the people of the town where the deceased died).It is not permissible to perform the funeral prayer over someone, who is absent (O: from the place of prayer) when the body is in the same town (A: though this is permissible if it is at the edge of a large city and is a problem to reach).

g4.19 If part of the body of a person whose death has been verified is found, then it is obligatory to wash, shroud, and pray over it (O: even if the part is a fingernail or hair, as there is no difference between a little and a lot (A: provided that the part was separated from him after death (N: and provided the rest of him has not been prayed over, for if it has, then it is not obligatory to pray over the part))).

BURYING MARTYRS

g4.20 It is unlawful to wash the body of a martyr (O: even if in a state of major ritual impurity (janaba) or the like)or perform the funeral prayer over him. A martyr (shahid) means someone who died in battle with non-Muslims (O: from fighting them, as opposed to someone who died otherwise, such as a person killed out of oppression when not in battle, or who died from fighting non-polytheists, such as (N: Muslim) transgressors).It is recommended that war gear be removed from the body (O: such as a breastplate and the like), and it is best to bury the martyr in the rest of his bloodstained clothes (O: since it is the effect of worship), though the responsible family member may nevertheless remove the garments and shroud the body before burial.

BURYING THE STILLBORN

g4.21 A premature baby (A: meaning one born before six full months) that dies is treated as an adult if it gave a cry (O: sneeze, or cough when it left the mother) or showed movement (O: treated as an adult meaning it is obligatory to wash, shroud, pray over, and bury the baby, since its life and death have been verified). If it did not, then:
(1) if it had reached four months in the womb (O: which is the time at which the spirit is breathed into it) then it is washed before burial but not prayed over;
(2) but if it had not, it is only obligatory to bury it.

CARRYING THE DECEASED TO THE GRAVE

g4.22 The burial should take place immediately after the funeral prayer and not be delayed to wait for anyone besides the responsible family member, provided he is (O: reasonably) nearby, if it is not be feared that the condition of the body will change (O: though if this is feared, then the family member is not awaited).

f4.23 It is best that the bier be carried by its poles, sometimes by four (O: men) (N: one pole on the shoulder of each, the poles being parallel with the bier and supporting it, two ends forward and two ends fat) and sometimes by five, the fifth man between the two forward poles. It is recommended that the bearers walk faster than usual, though they should not trot.

g4.24 It is recommended for men to follow the bier to the place of burial close enough behind to be considered part of the funeral procession. It is offensive to follow it with fire or incense burners, which are likewise offensive at the burial.

g5.0 BURIAL

g5.1 Then the deceased is buried (O: obligatorily). It is best to bury him in the cemetery. It is unlawful to bury someone where another person has been buried unless the previous body is completed disintegrated (O: such that nothing of it remains, neither flesh nor bone).It is also unlawful to bury two people in the same grave unless absolutely necessary, as when there has been much killing or death, in which case a wall of arth is made between the two bodies as a barrier. If the bodies differ in gender, this is even more imperative, especially, when two people (O: of the same gender or not) are not related.If someone dies on a ship and it is impossible to bury him on land, the body is placed (O: tightly lashed) between two planks (O: to obviate bloating) and thrown into the sea (O: so that it reaches shore, even if the inhabitants are non-Muslims, since a Muslim might find the body and bury it facing the direction of prayer (qibla)).

DIGGING THE GRAVE

g5.2 The obligatory minimum for a grave is that it conceal the odor of the body and that it protect it from (O: being dug up and eaten by) animals. It is recommended to dig the grave wider than the obligatory minimum and that its depth equal the height of an average man with his arm fully extended upward. A lahd (O: i.e. a grave with a lateral hollow large enough for the body dug into the side of the bottom of the grave that is towards the direction of prayer (qibla)) is superior to a shaqq (O: meaning a simple trench dug down into the middle of the floor of the grave with low block walls raised along the trench's sides, in which

the deceased is placed before the walls are ceilinged with blocks (N: and the earth is shovelled back into the grave on top of the them)), unless the earth is soft, in which case the shaqq is preferable (O: so as not to cave in on the deceased). It is offensive to bury the deceased in a coffin (O: or to put in a pillow for him, because all of this wastes money without being of any benefit) unless the earth is soft (O: quick to for) or moist (O: in which cases it is not offensive. If otherwise, then even if a coffin was stipulated by the deceased in his will, it is not provided).

BURYING THE BODY

g5.3 Men should bury the dead, even if the deceased is female, in which case the best suited is the husband, if able, and then (n: for either sex) those listed in the funeral prayer preference order (g4.3), except that (A: when two are on the same level, such as two sons or brothers) the most learned in Sacred Law is preferred to the oldest, unlike the order for the prayer (O: the purpose thereof being knowledge of the rules of burial, which a learned person is likely to know better than others). It is recommended that the number of men (O: burying the deceased) be an odd number.

g5.4 It is preferable to conceal it (O: the grave) with a cloth while placing the body in it (N: a blanket is stretched over the grave about half a meter above the level of the ground, helpers holding each corner, while another person stands down in the grave at the foot end, ready to take the body from the bier). (O: This is especially necessary when burying a female, and is done because something might be disclosed of the deceased that is desirable to conceal.) The head of the deceased is placed near the foot of the grave (O: foot meaning the end which will accomodate the feet when the body is in place), and the body is slid from the bier head-first. It is recommended for the person burying the deceased (N: who is standing in the grave taking the body, and there may be more than one):
(1) to say (O: to the deceased), "In the name of Allah and according the religion of the Messenger of Allah (Allah bless him nd give him peace)";
(2) to supplicate Allah for (O: the forgiveness of) the deceased;
(3) to place a block as a pillow for him, and to pull back the shroud enough to lay his cheek directly on the surface of the block (O: as it is more expressive of lowliness);
(4) and to place the deceased upon his right side. It is obligatory that the body be placed facing the direction of prayer (qibla) (O: and this is absolutely necessary. If buried facing the other way, or lying on his back, he is disinterred and reburied facing the direction of prayer).

g5.5 The lateral hollow dug into the side of the grave (N: in the lahd (def: g5.2)) for the body is walled up with blocks (A: after the body has been placed in it, before filling in the grave. It is sunna to use nine blocks).

g5.6 The person at the graveside sprinkles three scoops of earth (O: using two hands) into the grave. (O: it is sunna to say with the first, "Of it We created you all." with the second , "To it We shall make you all return," and with the third, "And from it We shall bring you forth again" (Koran 20:55).) Then the grave is filled in, using shovels, after which one stays for a moment:
(1) to instruct the deceased (dis: w32) (N: the answers he will need to know when Munkar and Nakir (u3.3) question him in the grave as to his Lord, religion, and prophet);
(2) to supplicate for him (O: such as to say: "O Allah, make him steadfast. O Allah, teach him his pleas");
(3) and to ask forgiveness for him.

THE FINISHED GRAVE

g5.7 One should raise the grave's surface (O: up to) 1 span (n: about 23 cm.) above the ground (O: so that it can be known, visited, and respected), except in countries at war with the Muslims (O: where it is not raised but rather concealed, so as not to be meddled with), and to make its top flat is better (O: than mounding it). No earth should be added (O: when levelling it) to what was excavated from it. It is recommended to sprinkle water over the grave and to put pebbles on it. It is offensive:
(1) to whiten the grave with plasters
(2) to build (O; a cupola or house) over it;
(3) to put khaluq (O: a perfume) on the grave (O: as it is of no benefit and wastes money) or rose water;
(4) to place an inscription on it (O: whether it is the name of the deceased or something other, on a board at the head of the grave or on something else; unless the deceased is a friend of Allah (wali, def: w33) or religious scholar, in which case his name is written so that he may be visited and honored, it then not being offensive);
(5) or to put a pillow or mattress under the deceased.

VISITING GRAVES

g5.8 It is recommended for men to visit graves (dis: w34) (O: of Muslims, especially on Fridays. As for visiting graves of non-Muslims, it is merely permissible. The spirit of the dead person has a connection with his grave that is never severed, but is stronger from the midafternoon prayer (asr) on Thursday until sunrise on Saturday, which is why people often visit graves on Friday and on Thursday afternoon). There is no harm in wearing one's shoes when visiting (O: to walk between graves). The visitor walks up to the grave as close as he would if the deceased were alive, and says, "Peace be unto you, abode of a believing folk; Allah willing, we will be joining you." It is sunna to recite (O: as much of the Koran as is easy) and to supplicate Allah (O: to forgive the deceased, while facing the direction of prayer, as supplications benefit the dead and are more likely to be answered if made after reciting the Koran). (n: w35 discusses whether the spiritual reward for reciting the Koran may be donated to the deceased.)

g5.9 It is offensive for women to visit graves (O: because of their lack of fortitude and excessive grief, though this does not apply to visiting the prophet's tomb (Allah bless him and give him peace) which they should do. And like the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) in this is their visiting the graves of the prophets, righteous, and learned).

g6.0 CONSOLING NEXT OF KIN

g6.1 It is recommended to console all the relatives of the deceased, except young women who are not (O: the consoler's) unmarriageable kin (O: since only her unmarriageable relatives (mahram, def: m6.2) may console her, console meaning to enjoin steadfastness and encourage it by mentioning the reward in the hereafter, to warn against overburdening oneself with grief, and to pray for forgiveness

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for the deceased and the lightening of the burden of those bearing the misfortune) when there has been a death in the family, for approximately three days after the burial. It is offensive to sit for it (O: that is, for the extended family of the deceased to be seated and gather in one place for people to come and console them, because it is an innovation (muhdath, syn, bid'a. def.

w29.3) that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) did not do, nor those after him. It is offensive for either men or women). If one is absent (O: whether one is the consoler or person to be consoled) and then arrives after a period (O: of three days), one should console (N: the deceased's relatives) or be consoled (N: if one of them).

g6.2 It is recommended to say:

(1) to a Muslim who has lost a Muslim relative, "May Allah greaten your reward, perfect your consolation, and forgive your deceased";

(2) to a Muslim who has lost a non-Muslim relative. "May Allah greaten your reward and perfect your consolation";

(3) and to a non-Muslim who has lost a Muslim relative, "May Allah perfect your consolation and forgive your deceased."

g6.3 It is permissible to weep before someone dies, but better not to afterwards (O: since the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) wept for his son Ibrahim before his death. It is only considered better not to weep afterwards because it is sorrow for something that has already passed).

g6.4 It is unlawful to eulogize the dead, lament in a raised voice, slap one's cheeks (n: as a display of grief), rend one's garments, or dishevel one's hair.

g6.5 It is recommended for distant relatives and neighbours to prepare enough food for the deceased's close family relatives to suffice them for a day and night, and to urge them to eat.

g6.6 For the deceased's family to prepare food and gather people over it is an unpraiseworthy innovation (bid'a, def:w29.3).

BOOK H - ALMS (ZAKAT) (by al-Misri)

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h1.0 WHO MUST PAY ZAKAT

(Mohammed Shirbini Khatib:) Lexically zakat means growth, blessings an increase in good, purification, or praise. In Sacred Law it is the name for a particular amount of property that must be payed to certain kinds of recipients under the conditions mentioned below. It is called zakat because one's wealth grows through the blessings of giving it and the prayers of those who receive it, and because it purifies its giver of sin and extolls him by testifying to the genuineness of his faith (al-Iqna fi hall alfaz Abi Shuja (y7), 1.183).)

h1.1 Zakat is obligatory:

(a) for every free Muslim (O: male, female, adult, or child);

(b) who has possessed a zakat-payable amount (Ar.nisab, the minimum that necessitates zakat, def; for livestock h2.4-5; for grain and dried foodstuffs h3.4; for gold, silver, and other money h4.2; and for trade goods h5.1);

(c) for one lunar year.

h1.2 Non-Muslims are not obliged to pay zakat, nor apostates from Islam (murtadd, def:o8) unless they return to Islam, in which case they must pay for the time they spent out of Islam, though if they die as non-Muslims their property is not subject to zakat(N:because their property is considered to belong to the Muslim common fund (bayt al-mal) from the moment such people leave Islam).

h1.3 The guardian of a child or insane person is obliged to pay zakat from their property (N: if they owe any). It is a sin for the guardian not to pay the zakat due on their property, and when the child or insane person becomes legally responsible (O: upon reaching puberty or becoming sane), he is obliged to pay the amount that his guardian neglected to pay (O: of zakat in the past).

h1.4 Zakat is due from the owner of property that has been:

(1) wrongfully seized from him;

(2) stolen;

(3) lost;

(4) fallen into the sea;

(5) or loaned to someone who is tardy in repayment; -only if the owner regains possession of it, whereupon he must pay zakat on it for the whole time it was out of his hands (O: for the year or years that no zakat was paid in the absent property, since his having regained it establishes that it belonged to him the whole time, and his ownership of it not vitiated by the mere fact of its not having been in his possession during these years, provided that it has remained a zakat-payable amount (nisab) during them. If it has diminished through expenditure to less than the zakat-payable amount, then no zakat need be paid on it). If the owner cannot regain the property, there is no zakat on it.

h1.5 If a landlord rents someone a house for two years for 40 dinars, which he accepts in advance and retains possession of until the end of the two years, then at the end of the first of the two years he only pays zakat on 20 dinars, but at the end of the second year he pays one year's zakat on the 20 which he paid zakat on at the end of the first year (N: as the 20 has now been in his possession a second year) and pays two years' zakat on the 20 for which he did not previously pay zakat (N: as it has remained in his possession for two full years).

h1.6 Someone with only the zakat-payable amount (O: of gold or silver) must pay zakat on this amount even when he is in debt for an amount equal to it, for debts do not remove the obligation of zakat.

h1.7 Zakat is not due on anything besides:

(1) livestock (def: h2.1);

(2) (n: some) food crops (h3.2);

(3) gold and silver (A: or their monetary equivalents);

(4) trade goods;

(5) mined wealth (n: meaning gold or silver exclusively, as at h6.1):

(6) and wealth from treasure trovers (A: buried in pre-Islamic times).

h1.8 Zakat is paid from the property itself, though it is permissible to take it from another lot of property (N: on condition that the amount paid is from the same type of property (n: of the five types mentioned above) that the zakat is due on, such that one may not, for example, pay money for zakat due on wheat (n: but must pay wheat. An exception to this is trade goods, which are appraised, and zakat may be paid on them with money, as at h5.1(O:) below)).

THE ZAKAT YEAR

h1.9 By the mere fact that a full lunar year transpires (O: i.e. begins and ends while zakat-payable property is in the owner's possession), the poor now own the portion of it that the owner is obliged to pay as zakat. Thus, if someone has had 200 dirhams (n: the minimal zakat-payable amount of silver) in his possession for years without paying zakat, he is only obliged to pay zakat on it for the first year (O: because after that year, the amount owned by the poor (n: 5 dirhams) has diminished the money he possesses to less than the zakat-payable amount).

h1.10 If all one's property were destroyed after having been in one's possession a full year but before it was possible to pay zakat (O: to deserving recipients), then there is no obligation to pay zakat on it (O: because it was destroyed through no fault of the owner); but if only part of the property has been destroyed, such that this diminishes the rest to less than the zakat-payable amount, then one must take the percentage due on the original amount (n; 2.5 percent, for example) from the remaining property, and no zakat is paid on the amount destroyed. If all or part of one's property is destroyed after having been in one's possession a full year and after it was possible to have paid zakat on it (O: by there being both property and recipients), then one must pay the zakat due on both the remainder and the property destroyed.

h1.11 Zakat is not obligatory if a person's ownership of the property ceases during the year, even if only for a moment, and it then returns to his possession; or if it does not return; or if the person dies during the year.

h1.12 The zakat year beings on property purchased or inherited when the buyer or inheritor takes possession of it, though if a person relinquishes his ownership of property during the zakat year merely to avoid paying zakat on it, this is offensive (O: as the learned differ about its unlawfulness). The more reliable opinion is that it is unlawful, though the transaction would be legally valid (dis: c5.2). But if such a person sells the property after possessing it a full year and before paying zakat on it (O: as when he sells it all, or sells part and the rest is not enough to require zakat), then the sale of the proportion of the property that was owed as zakat is invalid (O: because it belonged to someone else (n: i.e. the recipients, as at h1.9), and it is not valid to sell another's property without his consent), although the sale of the proportion of the property that was not owed as zakat is valid.

h2.0 ZAKAT ON LIVESTOCK

h2.1 Zakat on livestock is restricted to camels, cattle, sheep, and goats.

h2.2 Zakat is obligatory when one has owned:

(a) a zakat-payable number of livestock;

(b) for one year;

(c) and has been grazing them (n: on unowned open range, as dicussed below) for the entire year. There is no zakat on work animals, for example, those trained to plow or bear loads (O: since the purpose in having them is utility, like clothes or household furnishings, and is not production). Grazing means they have been grazed on open range pasturage(O: open range excluding pasturage growing on land that a person owe (A: as it would then be considered fodder)). If the livestock have been given fodder for a period long enough that they would have been unable to survive had they not eaten during it, then there is no zakat on them, though if fed with it for less than such a period, then this does not affect the necessity of paying zakat on them. (A: There is no zakat on cattle that have been solely fed fodder or grain, even if they could have otherwise been grazed.) (n: It is religiously more precautionary (def: c6.5) and of greater benefit to the poor to follow Imam Malik on this question. Malik holds that zakat is obligatory whenever one has possessed a zakatpayable number of livestock for a year, whether or not they are work animals, and whether they have been grazed on open pasturage or fed with fodder for the

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entire year (al-Sharh al-saghir ala Aqrab almasalik ila madhhab al-Imam Malik(y35), 1.592).)

ZAKAT ON CATTLE

h2.4 For cattle,the minimum on which zakat is payable is 30 head, for which it is obligatory to pay a yearling, meaning a male calf in its second year (A: though a female may take its place, being worth more). The zakat due on 40 head is a two-year-old female that has entered its third year (A: a male will not suffice). The zakat on 60 head is 2 yearling males. Zakat on additional numbers is figured in the same way: on 30 head, a yearling male, and on 40 head, a two-year-old female (N: according to which of the two alternatives accommodates the last 10 head (dis:h2.6)).

ZAKAT ON SHEEP AND GOATS

h2.5 For sheep or goats (n: the Arabic ghanam meaning both), the minimum on which zakat is payable is 40, on which it is obligatory to pay a shah, meaning either a one-year-old sheep (O: in its second year) or a two-year-old goat (O: in its third year). The zakat on 121 sheep or goats is 2 shahs on 201 sheep or goats is 3,on 400 sheep or goats is 4 and for every additional 100 the zakat is 1 shah.

CALCULATING THE NUMBER OF ANIMALS

h2.6 Numbers (O: of camels, cattle or sheep) which are between zakat quantities (N: i.e. which number more than the last relevant zakat quantity but do not amount to the next highest one) are not counted, and no zakat is due on them.

h2.7 New offspring of a zakat-payable quantity of livestock that are born during the year are counted for the zakat of the year their mothers are currently in, no matter whether their mothers survive or die. Thus, if one owned 40 sheep or goats which gave birth to 40 young a month before the year's end, but then the 40 mothers died, one's zakat on the offspring would be 1 shah.

h2.9 If a group of livestock are all female, or are both male and female, then only a female animal may be paid as zakat, except as mentioned above (h2.4) for 30 cattle, where a yearling male is acceptable.

h2.10 If a group of livestockare all male, then a male animal may be paid as zakat.

h2.11 If all the livestock are below the minimum age that may be given as zakat (def: h2.4-5), then one of them is given anyway. But if the herd is mixed, with only some of them underage, then only an animal of the acceptable age may be paid.

h2.12 If the animals of the herd are defective, an animal is taken which is of the average defectiveness (O: of the group, defective meaning with defects that permit return for refund when sold as merchandise (def: k5.3)).

h2.13 If the herd is composite, such as sheep and goats, then either kind may be paid as zakat, though the value of the animal given must correspond to the average value of the members of the herd.

h2.14 The following are not taken as zakat unless the owner wishes to give them:

(1) a pregnant female (O: because of its superiority);

(2) one that has given birth (O: because of the high yield of milk);

(3) a stud (O: as it is for insemination, and the owner would suffer its loss);

(4) a superior quality animal;

(5) or one fattened for eating.

ZAKAT ON JOINTLY OWNED PROPERTY OR VENTURES WITH SHARED FACILITIES

h2.15 Two people pay zakat jointly as a single person if:

(1) they jointly own a zakat-payable amount of livestock or something else (O: such as fruit, grain, money, or trade goods), as when two people inherit it;

(2) or when the property is not jointly owned, as when each owner has, for example, 20 head of cattle (N: of a herd amounting to the zakat minimum of 40), but they share the same place to bed them down, to gather them before grazing, to pasture, water, or milk them, or share the same stud, employ the same shepherd, or similar, such as having the same watchman (O: for orchards and fields), the same drying or threshing floor (O: for fruit or grain), the same store, or the same warehouse.

h3.0 ZAKAT ON CROPS

h3.1 (N: The rulings of this section apply to the farmers who raise the crops. As for those who buy agricultural produce with the intention to sell it, their produce is no longer considered as crops are, but is rather a type of trade goods, and the zakat on it must be paid accordingly (def; h5).)

h3.2 There is no zakat on grains or legumes except the staple types that people cultivate, dry, and store, such as wheat, barley, millet, rice, lentils, chickpeas, broad beans, grass peas, and Sana'i wheat. There is no zakat on fruit except for raw dates and grapes (O: the zakat on grapes being taken in raisins, and on dates, in cured dates). There is no zakat on vegetables. Nor is there zakat on seasonings such as cumin or coriander (O:since the aim in using them is preparation of food, not nourishment).

h3.3 One is obliged to pay zakat as soon as one possesses the zakat-payable amount (def: below) of grain, or when the ripeness and wholeness of a zakat-payable amount of dates or grapes is apparent. Otherwise, one is not obliged.

THE ZAKAT-PAYABLE AMOUNT OF CROPS

h3.4 The minimal quantity on which zakat is payable for crops is 609.84 kilograms of net dried weight, free of husks or chaff, though for rice and Sana'i wheat, which are stored in the kernal, the zakat minimum, including husks, is 1219.68 kilograms of dried weight. Zakat is not taken from grain until it has been winnowed (O: made free of straw), nor from fruits until they are dried (n: made into raisins and dates). The produce for the entire year (N: i.e the agricultural year) is added together in calculating the zakat minimum (N: when, for example, the season's first crop alone is less than the zakat minimum). When one crop is harvested after another-due to varietal differences or the location of the two fields-in the same year, and of the same kind of crop (n: such as spring wheat and winter wheat), zakat is payed from them as if they were a single quantity. Different varieties of grain are also calculated additively when harvested at the same time, though the fruit or grain of a different year. Grapes are not calculated cumulatively with dates, nor wheat with barley (O: as they are different from one another).

h3.5 The zakat for crops that have been watered without effort, as by rain and the like, is 10 percent of the crop (N: i.e of the net dried storage weight of the grain, raisins, or dates). The zakat for crops that have been watered with effort such as on land irrigated by ditches (O: or a waterwheel) is 5 percent of the crop. If a crop has been raised without irrigation for part of the year and irrigated for part of it, then the zakat is adjusted (O: according to the period, meaning how much of the time the fruit or crops were growing). (N: It is more reliable to consult agricultural experts as to how much of the crop's water came from rain and how much came from irrigation. If 50 percent of the water came from each, for example, one would pay 7.5 percent of the crop as zakat, as this is the mean between the above two percentages.)

h3.6 After one has paid zakat once on a crop (N: if one is the farmer), there is nothing further due on it (O: as there is no repetition of zakat on one's crops when they are in storage, unlike the repetition of it on money), even if it remains in one's possession for years.

h3.7 It is unlawful for the grower to consume dates or grapes or otherwise dispose of them or sell them before they have been assessed (O: i.e estimated as to how much there is, and the owner made responsible for the portion to be paid as zakat), and if he does , he is responsible for the loss (O: since part of it belongs to the poor (dis:h1.9)).

h3.9 If an act of God destroys the fruit after assessment, there is no zakat on it.

H4.0 ZAKAT ON GOLD, SILVER, AND OTHER MONEY

h4.1 Zakat is obligatory for anyone who has possessed the zakat-payable amount of gold or silver for one year.

THE ZAKAT-PAYABLE AMOUNTS OF GOLD, SILVER, AND OTHER MONEY

h4.2 The zakat-payable minimum for gold is 84.7 grams, on which 2.1175 grams (2.5 percent) is due. The zakat-payable minimum for silver is 592-9 grams, on which 1408225 grams (2.5 percent) is due. There is no zakat on less that this. (N: One must pay zakat (n: 2.5 percent) on all money that has been saved for a year if it equals at least the market value of 592.9 grams of silver (n:that is current during the year). While there is a considerable difference between the value of the gold zakat minimum and the silver zakat minimum, the minimum for monetary currency should correspond to that of silver, since it is better for the poor.)

h4.3 Zakat is exacted proportionately (2.5 percent) on any amount over these minimums, whether the gold or silver is in coins,ingots, jewelry prepared for uses that are unlawful or offensive (dis:f17.6,8,11), or articles which are permanent acquisitions.

h4.4 There is no zakat on (n: gold or silver) jewelery that is for permissible use.

h5.0 ZAKAT ON TRADE GOODS

h5.1 A zakat of 2.5 percent (O: like that of gold and silver as merchandise is assessed according to its value in them) is obligatory for anyone who:

(a) has possessed trade goods for a year (N: whether the merchandise itself remains, or whether there is sale and replacement, as below at h5.4-5);

(b) whose value (n: at the zakat year's end, as at h5.3) equals or exceeds the zakat minimum (N: 592.9 grams of silver if bought with monetary currency or silver, and 84.7 grams of gold if bought with gold, these being reckoned according to the values of silver and gold existing during the year); provided:

(c) that the trade goods have been acquired through a transaction (O: such as a purchase, or acquired by a woman as her marriage payment (Mahr, def:m8), or received as a gift given in return for something else (dis:k31.4), or such as articles rented from someone in order to rent them out to others at a profit, or land rented from someone in order to rent it out to others at a profit);

(d) and that at the time of acquisition, the owner intended to use the goods for trade. There is no zakat on the trade goods if (non-(c) above) the owner acquired them by estate division (irth, def:L1) or received them as a gift, or if (non-(d)) he acquired them by purchase but at the time did not intend using them for trade.

THE BEGINNING OF THE ZAKAT YEAR FOR TRADE GOODS

h5.2 When the owner buys trade goods that cost (N: at least) the gold or silver zakat minimum, the year of the merchandise's possession is considered to have begun at the beginning of the gold or silver's zakat year (N: so that a merchant's zakat is figured yearly on his total business capital and goods). But the year of the merchandise's possession is considered to have begun at the moment of purchase if:

(1) the owner has bought the merchandise for less than the zakat minimum (O: provided the price of the merchandise plus his remaining money do not amount to the zakat minimum);

(2) or he has bought it(N: in exchange) for nonmonetary goods (N: provided these are not also trade goods, as at h5.4, for if they are, the zakat year continues from the zakat year of the previous goods).

ESTIMATING WHETHER THE VALUE OF ONE'S TRADE GOODS AMOUNTS TO THE ZAKAT

MINIMUM OR NOT

h5.3 Merchandise is appraised (A: at its current market value) at the end of the zakat year:

(1) in terms of the same type of money that it was purchased with, if bought with money (N: i.e if purchased with silver or monetary currency, we see if the merchandise's market value at the year's end has reached the silver zakat minimum (def:h5.1(b)); or if with gold, we see if its market value has reached the gold minimum) even if it had been purchased for less than the zakat minimum (N: at the beginning of the year) (O: so that if it has now reached the value of the zakat minimum, one pays zakat on it, and if not, then there is no zakat);

(2) or in terms of its value in local monetary currency, if the merchandise was acquired by other than paying money for it (O: such as in exchange for goods, or acquired by a woman as her marriage payment (mahr), or by a husband in exchange for releasing his wife from marriage (def:n5)). If its value equals the zakat minimum (h5.1(b)), then zakat is paid. But if not, then there is no zakat on it until the end of the next year, when it is reappraised and zakat is paid if its value amounts to the zakat minimum, and so on (N: in the following year). It is not a condition that the value of the trade goods amount to the zakat minimum except at the end of the year(O: not at the beginning, middle, or during the whole of the year).

h5.4 If trade goods are exchanged for other trade goods during the course of the year, this does not interrupt their possession (O: because zakat on merchandise is based on the value, and the value of the previous merchandise and the new merchandise is the same, so the year of its possession is not interrupted by merely transferring it from one set of goods to another), though the zakat year of the funds which a professional money changer exchange, for other funds is interrupted by each exchange (N: and he pays no zakat as long as he keeps changing his business capital).

h5.5 If merchandise is sold during the zakat year at a profit and its price is kept until the end of the year, then zakat on the merchandise's original value is paid at the end of that zakat year, but the zakat on the profit is not paid until the profit has been possessed for a full year. (n: A second position in the Shafi'i school is that the zakat on the profit is simply paid in the current zakat year of the merchandise, just as one pays zakat on the offspring of livestock (dis:h2.7) in the current year of their mothers (Mughni al-muhtaj ila ma'rifa ma'ani alfaz al-Minhaj (y73), 1.399).)

H.6.0 ZAKAT ON MINES AND TREASURE TROVES

h6.1 A zakat of 2.5 percent is immediately due on:

(a) the zakat minimum or more of gold or silver (def:h4.2) (O:gold or silver excluding anything else, such as iron, lead, crystal, turquoise, cornellian, emerald, antimony, or other, on which there is no zakat);

(b) extracted from a mine (O: i.e a site at which Allah has created gold or silver) located on land permissible for the miner to work or owned by him;

(c) and that this amount of ore has been gathered by working the site one time, or several times uninterrupted by abandoning or neglecting the project. The zakat is only paid

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after the ore is refined into metal. If the person stops working the site for a justifiable reason, such as to travel (O: not for recreation, but for something such as an illness) or to fix equipment, then he adds (O: the ore collected after the interruption to that collected before, in calculating the zakat minimum). Ore found on someone else's land belongs to the owner of the land.

ZAKAT ON TREASURE TROVES

h6.2 An immediate zakat of 20 percent is due when one finds a treasure trove that was buried in pre-Islamic times (N: or by non-Muslims, ancient or modern) if it amounts to the zakat minimum (def: h4.2) and the land is not owned. If such a treasure if found on owned land, it belongs to the owner of the land. If found in a mosque or street, or if it was buried in Islamic times, it is considered as a lot and found article (def: k27).

h7.0 THE ZAKAT OF EID AL-FITR

WHO MUST PAY IT

h7.1 The zakat of Eid al-Fitr is obligatory for every free Muslim, provided:

(a) that one has the necessary amount (O: 2.03 liters of food);

(b) and that on the night before the Eid and on the ~Eid itself, this is in excess of what one needs to feed oneself and those whom one is obliged to support (def:m12.1), what one needs to clothe them, and in excess of one's debts and housing expenses.If one's excess amounts to only part of the required zakat, one must pay as much of it as one has.

PAYING THE ZAKAT OF EID AL-FITR FOR ONE'S DEPENDENTS

h7.2 Someone obligated to pay the zakat of 'Eid al-Fitr must also pay it for every person he is obliged to support, such as his wife and family (O: e.g. his young son, grandson, father, or mother), if they are Muslim and if he has enough food (O: 2.03 liters per person above his own expenses and theirs), though he is not obliged to pay it for his father's wife when supporting his father because of the father's financial difficulties, even though he is obliged to support her (dis: m12.5).

h7.3 If one is obligated to pay the zakat of 'Eid al-Fitr but only has enough to pay part of it, then one begins by paying one's own, then that of one's wife, young child, father, mother, and then one's adult son (O: without an income, as when he is chronically ill or insane, for otherwise one is not obligated to support him).

h7.4 A wealthy woman married to a man too poor to pay her ~Eid al-Fitr zakat is not obliged to pay her own (A: though it is sunna for her to pay this and all forms of zakat to her husband, even if he spends it on her).

h7.5 The zakat of ~Eid al-Fitr becomes obligatory when the sun sets on the night before the Eid (n: meaning on the evening of the last day of Ramadan).

WHAT TYPE OF FOOD MUST BE GIVEN

h7.6 The zakat of Eid al-Fitr consists of 2.03 liters of the main staple of the area in which it is given, of the kinds of crops on which zakat is payable (def:h3.2). (A: If the main staple is bread, as in many countries, only wheat may be given, and is what is meant by the expression giving food here and in all texts below dealing with expiations (e.g. j3.22(2)).) (N: The Hanafi school permits paying the poor the heat's value in money, both here and for expiations.) It is permissible to give the best quality of the staple food of the area, but not to give less than the usual quality (O: such as by giving barley where wheat is the main staple).

h7.7 It is permissible to give the zakat of Eid al-Fitr (N: to deserving recipients (dis: h8.26)) anytime during Ramadan, though the best time is on the day of Eid al-Fitr before the prayer (def:f19.1). It is not permissible to delay giving it until after the day of the Eid (O: that is, one may give it until sunset), and is a sin to delay until after this, and one must make it up (N: by paying it late).

h8.0 GIVING ZAKAT TO DESERVING RECEIPIENTS

h8.1 It is unlawful to delay paying what is due from a zakat-payable amount of property when:

(a) it has been possessed for one year;

(b) one can find the)O: eight) categories (O: of eligible recipients, or some of them) so as to be able to pay it;

(c) and the property is present (O: within 81 km./50 mi.);

unless one is awaiting a poor person more deserving than those present, such as relative (O: of the person paying zakat whom he is not obliged to support), a neighbour, or a more righteous or needy person (O: than those present. Under these circumstances it is not unlawful to delay giving it because there is an excuse, unless withholding it involves considerable harm for those present).

PAYING ZAKAT IN ADVANCE

h8.2 Zakat, on all types of property that a year's possession of the zakat minimum makes giving obligatory, may be payed for the current year (A: alone) before the year's end whenever the property owner possesses the zakat minimum. This zakat in advance is considered valid only when the year ends and:

(a) the recipient it still among the types eligible for zakat (O: meaning, for example, that his state has not changed from poverty to wealth);

(b) the zakat giver is still obligated to pay it;

(c) and the property is still as it was (O: i.e. the zakat minimum still exists and has not been destroyed or sold). The zakat in advance is not valid if (N: before the end of the year):

(1) (non-(a) above) the poor person who accepted it dies, or becomes financially independent for some other reason than having accepted the zakat;

(2) (non-(b)) the giver dies;

(3) or (non-(c)) the property diminishes to less than the zakat minimum by more than the amount given in advance (O: such as when the giver takes out 5 dirhams as zakat in advance from 200 dirhams, but his holdings are subsequently reduced by 10 (N: to 190 dirhams, which is less than the zakat minimum)), even when this reduction is because of sale. When the zakat in advance is not valid, the giver may take it back if he has explained that the money has been given in advance (O: by merely having said, "This is my zakat in advance," or if the recipient knows it). If what was given as zakat still exists, the recipient gives it back together with any increment organically connected with it, such as additional weight gained by a head of livestock while in the recipient's possession. But the property owner is not entitled to take back an increment that is not organically connected to the zakat, such as its offspring (O: born from the animal while in the recipient's possession). If the zakat given in advance no longer exists, then the giver is entitled to take back a substitute (O: whether it be the substitute for a commodity that is fungible (mithli, def: k20.3 (1)), such as silver dirhams, or whether for a nonfungible (mutaqawwim) commodity such as sheep or goats, in which case its price is the market value at the time the zakat in advance was accepted, not the time it ceased to exist). After the return of the zakat in advance, the zakat giver pays the zakat from his wealth again if he is still obliged to. The zakat in advance that is paid from the zakat-payable amount (nisab) is considered as if still part of the giver's property (O: only in respect to calculating whether the giver's total property equals the zakat-payable amount. It is not actually considered as still belonging to the zakat giver, since the recipient is entitled to dispose of it by sale or otherwise while it is in his possession). Thus, if the zakat giver paid a sheep in advance as zakat on 120 head, and one of the sheep then gave birth to a new lamb, the giver would now be obliged to pay another sheep (O: it being as if he owns the (N: next highest) zakat-payable amount of 121 head (dis:h2.5)).

AUTHORISING ANOTHER TO DISTRIBUTE ONE'S ZAKAT

h8.3 It is permissible for the zakat giver to personally distribute his zakat to eligible recipients or to authorise an agent (wakil, def:k17) to do so. It is permissible for the zakat giver to pay his zakat to the imam (A: i.e. the caliph (o25) or his representative), and this is superior unless the imam is unjust, in which case it is better to distribute it oneself.

THE PRAYER OF THE RECIPIENT FOR THE ZAKAT GIVER

h8.4 It is recommended for the poor person (O: receiving zakat when the owner is distributing it) or the agent assigned to deliver the zakat to recipients (N: if the imam has gathered it by means of agents to distribute to the poor) to supplicate for the giver, saying, "May Allah reward you for what you have given, bless you in what you have retained, and purify it for you."

THE INTENTION OF ZAKAT

h8.5 Making the intention of zakat is a necessary condition for the validity of giving it. The intention is made when zakat is paid to the poor person or the one being authorized to distribute it, and one must intend giving it as the zakat of one's property. (O: It is permissible to make the intention before paying the money.) When the owner has made this intention, it is not necessary that the agent distributing it also make an intention before giving it(O: because the owner's intention is sufficient, whether the agent is an ordinary individual or is the ruler. It is also permissible for the owner to authorize an agent to both make the intention and distribute the zakat).

h8.6 It is recommended that the imam dispatch a zakat worker, (O: to collect zakat funds from those obliged to pay, to make this easier for them. Such an agent must be) an upright Muslim (def: o24.4) who knows the rulings of zakat, and who is not of the Hashimi or Muttalibi clans of Quraysh.

THE EIGHT CATEGORIES OF RECIPIENTS

h8.7 It is obligatory to distribute one's zakat among eight categories of recipients (O: meaning that zakat goes to none besides them), one-eighth of the zakat to each category. (n: In the Hanafi school, it is valid for the giver to distribute his zakat to all of the categories, some of them, or to confine himself to just one of them (al-Lubab fi sharh al-Kitab(y88), 1.155).)

THE POOR

h8.8 The first category is the poor, meaning someone who:

(a) doe not have enough to suffice himself (O: such as not having any wealth at all, or having some, but (N: he is unable to earn any, and) what he has is insufficient to sustain him to the end of his probable life expectancy if it were distributed over the probable amount of remaining time; insufficient meaning it is less than half of what he needs. If he requires ten dirhams a day,for example but the amount he has when divided by the time left in his probable life expectancy is four dirhams a day or less, not paying for his food, clothing, housing, and whatever he cannot do without, to a degree suitable (dis:f4.5) to someone of his standing without extravagance or penury, then he is poor - all of which applies as well to the needs of those he must support (def;m12.1).) (N: A mechanic's tools or scholar's books are not sold or considered part of his money, since he needs them to earn a living);

(b) and is either:

(1) unable to earn his living by work suitable to him (O: such as a noble profession befitting him (N: given his health and social position), as opposed to work unbefitting him, which is considered the same as not having any. If such an individual were an important personage unaccustomed to earning a living by physical labor, he would be considered "poor". This also includes being able to do work suitable to one, but not finding someone to employ one);

(2) or is able to earn his living, but to do so would keep him too busy to engage in attaining knowledge of Sacred Law. (n: Nawawi notes, "If able to earn a living at work befitting him except that he is engaged in attaining knowledge of some subject in Sacred Law such that turning to earning a living would prevent the acquisition of this knowledge (dis: w36), then it is permissible for him to take zakat because the attainment of knowledge is a communal obligation, though zakat is not lawful for someone able to earn a living who cannot acquire knowledge, even if he lives at a school. What we have just mentioned is the most correct and well known position. Darami mentions three positions concerning someone engaged in attaining religious knowledge: -that he deserves charity even when able to earn a living; -that he does not deserve it; and that if he is an outstanding student who can be expected to develop a good comprehension of the Sacred Law and benefit the Muslims thereby, then he deserves charity, but if not, then he does not. "Darami mentioned this in the chapter of "Voluntary Charity" (al-Majmu' (y108), 6, 190-91).) But if one's religious devotions are what keeps one too busy to earn a living one is not considered poor.

h8.9 Someone separated from his money by at least 81 km/50 mi is eligible for zakat. (N: This was in the past. In our day it is fitter to say that he must be far from his money in terms of common acknowledgement (def: f4.5).) (O: Such a person's absent property is as if nonexistent, and his "poverty" continues until the money is present. Likewise, someone owed money on a debt not yet due who does not have any other money is given zakat when it is distributed (N: to suffice him) until the debt becomes due.)

h8.10 People whose needs are met by the expenditures of those who are obliged to support them such as their husbands or families are not given zakat (N: for poverty) (O: though it is permissible for a third party to give zakat to such a dependent by virtue of the dependent's belonging to some category other than the poor or those short of money (def: below), as when the person belongs to a category such as travellers needing money (h8.18) or those whose hearts are to be reconciled (h8.14)).

THOSE SHORT OF MONEY

h8.11 The second category is people short of money, meaning someone who has something to spend for his needs but it is not enough, as when he needs five dirhams, but he only has three or four. The considerations applicable to the poor person also apply to someone short of money (O: namely, that he is given zakat if he cannot earn a living by work befitting him (def: h8.8(b)), or if he can earn a living but attainment of knowledge of Sacred Law prevents his doing so; though if he is able to earn a living but extra devotions prevent him from doing so, then he may not take zakat).

HOW MUCH THE POOR ARE GIVEN

h8.12 A person who is poor or short of money is given as much as needed of tools and materials (O: if he has a trade, such as the tools of a carpenter) with which he can earn a

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living, or property with which he can engage in trade (O: if a merchant), each according to the demands of his profession. This amount varies, depending on whether, for example, he is a jeweller, clothier, grocer, or other. If the recipient has no trade (O: i.e. is unable to do any work, whether for wages, by trading, or other), then he is given enough zakat to fulfill his needs from the present till the end of his probable life expectancy (O: based on (N: the average lifespan for someone like him in) that locality). Another position is that such a person is given enough for just one year. These measures are obligatory when abundant zakat funds are available ,whether the imam distributes them or a property owner. But if there is not much zakat available (O: meaning if the owner or imam distribtes funds that are too little to last the poor person for his probable life expectancy or for even one year), it is distributed as is, an eighth to each category.

ZAKAT WORKERS

h8.13 The third category consists of zakat workers, the above-mentioned agents (h8.6) dispatched by the imam. These include the person collecting it, the clerk (O: recording what the owners give), the person who matches the payees to recipients, and the one who distributes it to recipients. The zakat workers receive an eighth of the zakat funds. If this amount is more than it would cost to hire someone to do their job, then they return the excess for distribution to the other categories of recipients. But if less (N: than the cost of hiring someone), then enough is taken from the zakat funds to make up the difference. All of this applies only if the imam (A: caliph) is distributing the zakat (O: and has not alloted a fee to the zakat workers from the Muslim common fund (bayt al-mal)). If the property owner is distributing the zakat (O: or if the imam has alloted the workers a fee from the common fund) then the zakat funds are divided solely among the other categories of recipients.

THOSE WHOSE HEARTS ARE TO BE RECONCILED

h8.14 The fourth category is those whose hearts are to be reconciled. If they are non-Muslims, they are not given zakat, but if Muslims, then they may be given it (O: so that their certainly may increase, or if they are recent converts to Islam and are alienated from their kin). Those to be reconciled include:

(1) the chief personages of a people (O: with weak Islamic intentions) whose Islam may be expected to improve, or whose peers may be expected to enter Islam;

(2) or the heads of a people who collect zakat for us from Muslims living near them who refuse to pay it, or who fight an enemy for us at considerable expense and trouble to themselves.

THOSE PURCHASING THEIR FREEDOM

h8.15 The fifth category is slaves who are purchasing their freedom from their owners. They are given enough to do so if they do not have the means.

THOSE IN DEBT

h8.16 The sixth category is those who have debts (O: and they are of three types):

(1) A person who incurs debts in order to settle trouble (O: between two people, parties, or tribes) involving bloodshed (O: as when there has been a killing but it is not known who the killer is, and trouble has arisen between the two sides) or to settle trouble concerning property (O: such as bearing the expense when trouble occurs over it) is given zakat even if he is affluent.

(2) A person who incurs debts to support himself or his dependents is given zakat if he is poor, but not if affluent. If he incurs a debt (O: for something lawful) but spends it on something unlawful, and then repents (O: and is felt to be sincere in this, and the original reason is known to have been something lawful), then he is given zakat.

(3) (O: And a third type, not mentioned by the author, which (n: given persons P,Q, and R) is when R incurs a debt by guaranteeing (daman, def; k15) to P that Q will pay P (n: what Q owes him). If R finds that neither he nor Q can pay, then R is given zakat (n: because he has gone into debt in order to guarantee Q's debt), even if the reason R agreed to guarantee Q was not charity (N: but was rather that Q would pay him back).)

THOSE FIGHTING FOR ALLAH

h8.17 The seventh category is those fighting for Allah, meaning people engaged in Islamic military operations for whom no salary has been allotted in the army roster (O: but who are volunteers for jihad without remuneration). They are given enough to suffice them for the operation, even if affluent; of weapons, mounts, clothing, and expenses (O: for the duration of the journey, round trip, and the time they spend there, even if prolonged. Though nothing has been mentioned here of the expense involved in supporting such people's families during this period, it seems clear that they should also be given it).

TRAVELLERS NEEDING MONEY

h8.18 The eighth category is the traveller in need of money, meaning one who is passing among us (O: i.e. through a town in Muslim lands where zakat is collected), or whose journey was not undertaken for the purpose of disobeying Allah. If such a person is in need, he is given enough to cover his personal expenses and transportation, even if he possesses money back home.

PAYING ZAKAT TO RECIPIENTS

h8.19 A person who qualifies as a member of two or more of the above categories is only given zakat for one of them.

h8.20 When the (N: eight) categories of recipients exist in the town where zakat is collected, it is unlawful and invalid to give it to recipients elsewhere (O: as it must be paid to those present if the property owner is distributing his own zakat. The other schools of jurisprudence permit giving it elsewhere). But if the imam (A: caliph) is distributing the zakat, he may give it to recipients in a different place. If the zakat giver's property is in the desert, or none of the eight categories of eligible zakat recipients exist in his own town, then the zakat should be distributed in the nearest town.

h8.21 Each category of recipients must receive an equal share, one-eighth of the total (dis:h8.7(n:)) (A: though one may give various individuals within a particular category more or less), except for zakat workers, who receive only their due wage (def:h8.13). If one of the categories does not exist in one's town, their eighth is distributed over the other categories such that each of them gets oneseventh. If two categories of recipients do not exist in the town, then each of the remaining categories receive a sixth of the zakat, and so on (O: such that if there were only one category in town, all the zakat would be paid to it). It is obligatory to give zakat to every individual member of a category if the owner is distributing zakat and the individuals are of a limited, known number, or if the imam is distributing zakat and it is possible to give it out person by person and include them all because of the abundance of funds. If the owner is distributing zakat and the recipients in each category are not of a limited, known number, then the fewest permissible for him to give to in one category of zakat workers, in which a single person is enough.

h8.22 It is recommended to give one's zakat to relatives other than those one is obliged to support (def: m12.1).

h8.23 It is recommended to distribute zakat to recipients in proportion to their needs, giving someone who needs 100 dirhams, for example, half of what one gives to someone who needs 200. h8.24 It is not permissible to give zakat to a non-Muslim, or to someone whom one is obliged to support (def: m12.1), such as a wife or family member.

h8.25 It is not valid for one to give zakat to a poor person on condition that he return it to one to pay off a debt he owes, or to tell the recipient, "O hereby make the money you owe me zakat, so keep it for yourself." But it is permissible:

(1) for the giver to pay his zakat (O: to a poor person who owes him money) when the giver's intention is that the recipient should pay him back with it;

(2) for the zakat giver to tell the poor person,"Pay me the money you owe me so that I can give it to you as zakat";

(3) or for the poor person to tell his creditor, "Give me (O: zakat) so that I can pay it back to you (O: for the debt I owe you)";though it is not obligatory to fulfill these promises (O: meaning the outcomes alluded to in (2) and (3) above).

h8.26 All of the above rulings concerning zakat (h8.2-25) apply to the zakat of 'Eid al-Fitr (def; h7) (O: in details, in giving it to deserving recipients (N: the eight categories described in this section), and in giving it in advance). It is permissible for a group of people to pool their zakat of Eid al-Fitr,mix it, and collectively distribute it, or for one of them to distribute it with the others permission. (O: The author mentions this to inform people that anyone can distribute their zakat of Eid al-Fitr to all categories of recipients, no matter how little it is.)

h9.0 VOLUNTARY CHARITY

h9.1 Giving voluntary charity is recommended at all times; especially during Ramadan, before praying for something one needs, (O: when there is an eclipse, illness, or journey,) and at all noble times and places (O: e.g. times such as the first ten days of Dhul Hijja or the days of Eid and places such as Mecca or Medina).

h9.2 It is superior to give charity to righteous people (O: meaning those who give Allah and His slaves their due), to one's relatives (A: which is better than giving to the righteous), even those of them who are one's enemies (A: and this is better than giving to one's friends among them), and to give from the best of one's wealth (O: meaning that which is lawful, which is better than giving what is from a doubtful source, or giving what is of poor quality, either of which are offensive to give as charity. It is unlawful to give property that has been unlawfully obtained (N: if one knows its rightful owner. If not, one must give it as charity (A: or taxes (def: p32)) to remove it from one's possession)).

h9.3 It is unlawful to give as charity money needed to support one's dependents or needed to pay a debt that is currently due (O: because supporting one's dependents or paying a current debt are obligatory, and obligatory acts take precedence over recommended ones).

h9.4 It is recommended to give away in charity everything one owns that is in excess (O: of personal expenses and the expenses of those one is obliged to support), provided one can be patient with the resultant poverty. (O: But if one cannot be patient, it is offensive to give away what is in excess of one's needs.)

h9.5 It is offensive to ask for anything besides paradise with the words "For the sake [lit. "By the countenance (O: i.e. entity)"] of Allah," though if someone does, it is offensive not to give to him.

h9.6 It is unlawful to remind a recipient of charity that one has given him (mann, dis:p36), and it eliminates the reward.

h9.7 (O: It is permissible to give charity to a person not in need, or to a relative of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace). It is offensive for a person not in need to accept charity,and preferable that he avoid it. It is unlawful for such a person to accept it if he pretends to be needy, and is unlawful for him to ask for charity. It is permissible to give charity to a non-Muslim (n: but not zakat, as above at h8.24).)

BOOK I - FASTING (SIYAM) (by al-Misri)

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i1.0 FASTING RAMADAN

(O: The month of the fast is the best of months, and it is one of the distinctive features of this

Community (Umma); that is, as now practiced, a fact not contradicted by the word of Allah Most High, "Fasting is prescribed for you, as it was prescribed for those before you" (Koran2:183), the resemblance interpreted as referring to fasting without other qualification, not to its amount and time. Fasting Ramadan is one of the pillars of Islam (def: u2) by scholarly consensus (ijma'). Bukhari and Muslim relate that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "Islam is built upon five: testifying there is no god but Allah and that Mohammed is the messenger of Allah, performing the prayer, giving zakat, making the pilgrimage to the House [Kaaba], and fasting Ramadan.")

WHO MUST FAST RAMADAN

i1.1 Fasting Ramadan is obligatory for:

(a) every Muslim (O: male or female) who:

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(b) has reached puberty;
(c) is sane;
(d) is capable of bearing the fast;
(e) and if female, is not in the period of menstruation or postnatal bleeding (nifas).

THOSE NOT OBLIGED TO FAST RAMADAN

i1.2 The following are not required to fast:
(1) (non-(a) above) a non-Muslim (O: meaning that we do not ask him to, nor would it be valid if he did (N: though he is punished in the next life for not doing so));
(2) (non-(b)) a child;
(3) (non-(c)) someone insane;
(4) or (non-(d)) someone whom fasting exhausts because of advanced years or having an illness from which he is unlikely to recover. None of the above-mentioned is obliged to fast or to make up missed fast-days, though someone who misses a fast because of (4) above must give 0.51 liters of food (def: h7.6 (A)) for each fast-day he misses.

il.3 The following are not required to fast, though they are obliged to make up fast-days missed (A:making up, according to our school, meaning that one fasts a single day for each obligatory fast-day missed):
(1) those who are ill (N: the illness that permits not fasting being that which fasting would worsen, delay recovery from, or cause one considerable harm with; the same dispensation applying to someone who needs to take medicine during the day that breaks the fast and that he can not delay taking until night);
(2) those who are travelling (def:i1.7);
(3) a person who has left Islam (murtadd, def:o8);
(4) or a woman who is in her menses or period of postnatal bleeding.

If the ill person or traveller take it upon themselves to fast, it is valid, though a fast by someone who has left Islam, or a woman in menstruation or period of postnatal bleeding is not valid. When not fasting on a day of Ramadan, if a non-Muslim becomes a Muslim, an insane person regains his sanity, or a child reaches puberty, it is recommended but not obligatory that they fast the rest of that day and make up the fast later. A child who reaches puberty while fasting on a day of Ramadan is obliged to fast the rest of the day, and is recommended to make it up. A woman whose period ends during a day of Ramadan is recommended to fast the rest of the day is obliged to make up the fast (O: and the fast-days prior to it missed during her period or postnatal bleeding).

i1.4 If the testimony of a witness (O: that the new moon has been seen during the previous night) is made during a day (N: that was initially) uncertain as to whether it was the first of Ramadan, then it is obligatory (O: for people) to fast the rest of the day and to make it up later.

i1.5 A child of seven is ordered to fast, and at ten is beaten for not fasting (N: with the reservations mentioned at f1.2).

i1.6 Excessive hunger or thirst, meaning likely to cause death or illness, are legitimate excuses not to fast, even when they occur on a day one has already begun to fast, as soon as the fast becomes a hardship.

i1.7 It is permissible not to fast when travelling, even when the intention to fast has been made the night before, provided that the journey is at least 81 km / 50 mi one way, and that one leaves town (def:f15.6) before dawn. If one leaves after dawn, one is not entitled to omit the fast. It is preferable for travellers not to fast if fasting would harm them, though if not, then fasting is better.

i1.8 A woman who is breast-feeding a baby or is pregnant and apprehends harm to herself or her child may omit the fast and make it up later, though if she omits it because of fear (A: of harm) for the child alone (O: not for herself) then she must give 0.51 liters of food (def:h7.6(A:)) in charity for each day missed,as an expiation (A: in addition to making up each day).

SIGHTING THE NEW MOON

i1.9 Fasting Ramadan is only obligatory when the new moon of Ramadan is sighted (O: i.e in respect to the person who sees it, though for those who do not see it, it only becomes obligatory when the sighting is established by the testimony of an upright witness (def:o24.4)). If it is too overcast to be seen, then (n:the preceding lunar month of) Sha'ban is presumed to last for thirty days, after which people begin fasting Ramadan. If the new moon is sighted during the day (O: before noon on the last of the thirty days), it is considered as belonging to the following night (O: and the ruling for that day does not change). If the moon is seen in one city but not another, then if the two are close (O: i.e. in the same region), the ruling (n: that the new month has come) holds for both. But if the two are not close, then not (O: i.e. the people far from the place where it was seen are not obliged to fast), not close meaning in different regions, such as the Hijaz, Iraq, and Egypt.

i1.10 The testimony of a single witness (N: that the new moon has been seen) is sufficient to establish that the month of Ramadan has come, provided the witness is upright (Def o24.4), male, and responsible for the duties of Islam (O: which excludes boys who have reached the age of discernment but not puberty).

i1.11 If a person knows by calculations of lunar movements or the positions of the stars that the next day is Ramadan, fasting is nevertheless not obligatory (O: for him or the public), though it is permissible for him alone.

i1.12 If it is difficult to learn which month it is, for someone imprisoned or the like (O: such as someone being held in a dark place who cannot tell night from day, or someone who does not know when Ramadan has come because of being in a land without habitations or people who know when it is), then such a person is obliged to reckon Ramadan as best he can and to fast it. Such a fast is valid if it remains unknown as to whether the month fasted actually coincided with Ramadan, or if it did coincide withit, or if the month fasted occurred after it, though if the month fasted was before Ramadan, it is not valid.

THE CONDITIONS OF A VALID FAST

i1.13 The conditions of a valid fast are:
(a) the intention;
(b) and refraining from things which break the fast.

THE INTENTION

i1.14 One must make the intention to fast for each day one fasts. If the intended fast is obligatory, then the intention must:
(a) be specific (O: as to the fast being for Ramadan, a vow, an expiation, or whatever);
(b) and be made in the night prior to dawn. (n: For Hanafis, the intention for a day of Ramadan (but not a makeup) is valid if made before midway between true dawn and sunset of the day itself (al-Hadiyya al-Ala'iyya (y4), 171).) The optimal way is to intend (O: in one's heart) to fast the following day as a current performance of the obligation of Ramadan in the present year for Allah Most High (O: fast and of Ramadan being unanimously considered as integeral to the intention, though scholars differ concerning the obligatoriness of intending it as a current performance, an obligation, or for Allah Most High).

i1.15 One's intention is valid if on the night before a day of uncertainty (N: as to whether it will be the first day of Ramadan), someone one trusts but who does not have all the qualifications of an acceptable witness (def:i1.10) informs one of having seen the new moon, and relying on this information one intends to fast the next day to fulfill the obligation of Ramadan. and the next day turns out to be Ramadan. But one's fast is not valid if one makes the intention without anyone having informed one of sighting the new moon, no matter whether if one's intention is firm or whether undecided, as when one intends that if the following day is Ramadan, one will fast, but if not, one will not.

i1.16 One's fast is valid if on the night before 30 Ramadan, one intends that if the following day is of Ramadan, one will fast, but if not, one will not, and then the next day is of Ramadan (O: since it already is Ramadan and the initial presumption is that it will remain so (dis:e7.6(A:))).

i1.17 Nonobligatory fasts are valid by merely making the intention to fast before noon (O: without needing to specify the type of fast).

THINGS WHICH INVALIDATE THE FAST

i1.18 Each of the following things invalidates the day's fast when one knows they are unlawful (A: during an obligatory fast) and remembers one is fasting (A: but does them deliberately anyway); and they obligate one to both make up the fast-day later and fast the remainder of that day:
(1) eating;
(2) drinking (N: and smoking (A: though not if there is some smoke in the air that one unintentionally inhales));
(3) taking snuff (O: up the nose that reaches the sinuses, a ruling likewise applicable to oil or water preparation);
(4) suppositories(O: vaginal or anal);
(5) pouring (O: water, oil, or other) into the ears until it reaches the eardrum;
(6) inserting a finger or something else into the anus or vagina further than the area disclosed when one squats(O: to relieve oneself);
(7) anything that enters the body cavity, whether stabbed into it (O: such as a knife or spear thrust which penetrates it) or whether medicine (N: though intramuscular or intravenous injections of medicine do not break one's fast);
(8) vomiting (N: if it is deliberate and one is able to prevent it, though if nausea overcomes one, vomiting does not break one's fast.
(9) sexual intercourse (O: if deliberate, even if there is no orgasm), or orgasm from stroking a nongenital region or from masturbation (O: no matter whether such orgasm is produced by unlawful means, like one's own hand (dis:w37), or whether by lawful means, such as the hand of one's wife);
(10) using so much water to rinse out the nose and mouth that some reaches the stomach (O: i.e. if any reaches the body cavity because of using an abundance of water, it breaks the fast, though if some water slips down when an abundance has not been used, it does not break it. Nor does it harm to swallow one's saliva after rinsing the mouth out, even if able to expectorate it);
(11) swallowing saliva that has left the mouth, such as when threading a needle and one moistens the end of the thread, and then remoistens it, swallowing some of the saliva that the thread had been previously wetted with;
(12) swallowing saliva that has been qualitatively altered, such as when threading a needle and one wets the end, and some dye from the thread remains in the mouth and is swallowed (A: so people who use toothpaste should take care to eliminate it from the mouth before dawn on fastdays);
(13) swallowing saliva that has been made impure by contact with filth (najasa), such as when one's mouth is bloodied and one spits out the saliva until it is clear and colorless, but neglects to wash one's mouth out (O: before swallowing the saliva, which breaks the fast because the mouth is still affected by impurity (n: and water is necessary to purify it, as at e14.10));
(14) allowing phlegm or mucus at the back of the mouth to be swallowed when one could have spit them out (n: though in the Hanafi school this does not break the fast, even if intentional (al-Hadiyya al-Ala'yya (y4), 180));
(15) or to continue making love, even for a moment, after dawn has arrived.

THE CRITERION FOR THINGS WHICH INVALIDATE THE FAST

i1.19 The criterion as to whether something invalidates the fast is (N: whether it comes under any one of three headings):
(1) a substance, even if not much, that reaches the body cavity through an open passageway (O: substance excluding odors, and open excluding anything else, such as absorption through pores). (N: The deliberate introduction of anything besides air or saliva into the body cavity breaks the fast, though if the person fasting does so absentmindedly or under compulsion, it does not break it);
(2) sexual intercourse (O: meaning inserting the head of the penis into the vagina);
(3) or orgasm, whether as the result of touching (O: such as kissing, contact, lying between the thighs, or something else), or because of masturbation; -provided that one is aware that these acts are unlawful and that one remembers one is fasting (N: and provided they are done deliberately and voluntarily).

THE EXPIATION FOR VITIATING A FAST-DAY BY SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

i1.20 In addition to making up the fast, an expiation is obligatory for fast-days of Ramadan that are (A: deliberately) vitiated by sexual intercourse. (O: The legal occasion of the offense is the particular day of fasting, so that if it were committed on two separate days, two separate expiations would be necessary, though if it were committed twice in one day there would be only one expiation.) The expiation consists of freeing a sound Muslim slave (dis:k32), or if not possible, then to fast the days of two consecutive months. (A: In our school the expiation is only for sexual intercourse, though the Hanafis hold it is obligatory for vitiating the fast for other reasons as well.) If this is not possible, then the expiation is to feed sixty unfortunates (N:0.51 liters of food (def: h7.6 (A:)) to each unfortunate). If one is unable to do this, the expiation remains as an unperformed obligation upon the person concerned. The woman who is made love to is not obliged to expiate it.

THINGS THAT DO NOT BREAK THE FAST

i1.21 The fast remains valid if any of the things which break it are done absentmindedly (O: not remembering the fast), out of ignorance (O: that doing the things which break the fast are unlawful, whether this is due to being a new Muslim, or to being born and raised far from Islamic scholars), or under compulsion. Not is it broken by:
(1) involuntary vomiting;
(2) having a wet dream, or orgasm as a result of thinking or looking at something (A: unless the latter two usually cause orgasm, in which case one has broken one's fast by not avoiding them);
(3) some water reaching the body cavity as a result of rinsing out the mouth or nose, provided not much (def: f4.5) water was used;
(4) saliva carrying down some food particles from between one's teeth, provided this is after having cleaned between them (O: after eating, by using a toothpick or the like between them), if one is unable to spit them out;
(5) gathering saliva in the mouth and swallowing it, bringing saliva as far forward as the tongue (O: but not to the lips) and then swallowing it, or coughing up phlegm from the throat and spitting it out;
(6) the arrival of dawn when there is food in one's mouth which one spits out;
(7) the arrival of dawn when one is lovemaking and one immediately disengages;

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(8) or when sleeps all day or has lost consciousness, provided one regains consciousness for at least a moment of the day.

EATING OR DRINKING WHEN UNCERTAIN OF THE TIME OF DAWN OR SUNSET

i1.22 Making up the fast-day is obligatory if one eats, thinking it is night, but then finds that it is day; or eats, presuming (N: but uncertain) that the sun has set, and the question (O: as to whether one ate before sunset or after) continues and remains unresolved (dis:e7.6 (A:)).

It is not obligatory to make up a fast-day on which one ate on the presumption that dawn had not yet come, and the question (O: as to what the case was) remains unresolved (A: since the initial certainty was that it was night).

INVOLUNTARY ACTS WHICH INVALIDATE THE FAST

i1.23 A fast-day is invalidated by;

(1) insanity, even for a moment;

(2) being unconscious the entire day;

(3) or the appearance of menstrual or postnatal flow.

(N: The insane person is not obliged to make up such a day's fast, while the others are.)

RECOMMENDED MEASURES WHILE FASTING

i1.24 A predawn meal is recommended, even if it is slight or consists of water alone (O: and the time for it begins from the middle of the night onwards). It is best to delay it to just before dawn, as long as one does not apprehend dawn's arrival while still eating (O: though when one does not know when dawn is, it is not the sunna to thus delay it).

i1.25 It is best to hasten breaking the fast when one is certain that the sun has set. One should break it with an odd number of dates, though if one has none, water is best. It is recommended to say after doing so, "O Allah, for You I fasted, and upon Your bounty I have broken the fast."

i1.26 It is recommended in Ramadan:

(1) to be especially generous (O: in giving charity);

(2) to improve one's relations with family and relatives;

(3) to recite the Koran much;

(4) to spend periods of spiritual retreat (i'tikaf, def:13) in the mosque, especially during the last ten days of Ramadan;

(5) to break the fast of others after sunset, even if only with water (O: because of the hadith related by Tirmidhi that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "He who breaks another's fast earns the same reward as the one who fasted without diminishing the latter's reward in the slightest");

(6) and if in a state of major ritual impurity (janaba), to perform the purificatory bath (ghusl) before dawn.

i1.27 It is recommended to avoid:

(1) slander (def: r2.2), lying, and foul language (N: which are always unlawful, but even worse when fasting);

(2) the pleasure of the senses (O: i.e. those that do not break the fast, such as smelling fragrant plants or looking at them, because of the gratification therein which is incompatible with the wisdom of the fast, even though they are permissible when not fasting) (A: and while it is recommended not to use perfume during a fastday, it does not hurt to use it on the night before);

(3) and medicinal bloodletting (N: or blood donating) or cupping (O: as these, like the fast, weaken a person and could have a synergistic debiliating effect). If someone abuses one while fasting; one should say tohim,"I am fasting"

THINGS THAT ARE UNLAWFUL OR OFFENSIVE WHILE FASTING

i1.28 It is unlawful to kiss (O: or embrace, or pet with the hand) on fast-days for those it sexually arouses.

i1.29 It is unlawful not to eat or drink anything (wisal) between fast-days, though it is not unlawful if one has some water, even a mouthful, before dawn.

i1.30 It is offensive during the fast to taste food, or to use a toothstick (def: e3) after noon.

i1.31 It is offensive during the fast to line the eyes with kohl (def:e4.1(4)) or to bathe.

i1.32 It is offensive (dis:w38) for anyone (O: whether fasting or not) to keep silent all day until night (O: when there is no need to) (A: need including the necessity of restraining the tongue from useless talking (dis:r1.1)).

MAKING UP MISSED FAST-DAYS

i1.33 Someone obliged to make up some fastdays of Ramadan is recommended to do so consecutively and immediately. It is not permissible for a person with some unperformed fast-days of Ramadan to delay making them up until the next Ramadan unless there is an excuse (N: for delaying). If one delays until the next Ramadan, one must pay 0.51 liters of food (def: h7.6(A:)) (N: to the poor) for each fast-day missed, in addition to making it up If making up a fast-day is delayed until a second Ramadan comes, then one must pay double this amount for each day. And so forth; every year that passes upon an unfulfilled fast day adds 0.51 liters to be paid for that day. (O: But if one's excuse for not performing them persists, such as travel or illness, then it is permissible for one to delay making them up as long as the excuse is present, even it is lasts for years. One is not obliged to pay the penalty fee for this delay even if several Ramadans go by, but is merely obliged to make up the missed fastdays). If someone dies with unperformed fast-days which he could have fasted but did not, then each fastday is paid for (N: by the responsible family member) with 0.51 liters of food (N: or he can fast for him (A: in place of paying for each day)). (O: As for someone who dies after two Ramadans elapse upon his missed fast-days, each fast is paid for with 1.02 liters (n: double the above) of food (N: or the family member can both fast a day and pay 0.51 liters for each day (A:i.e the family member may fast in the deceased's stead for the initial nonperformance of the fast-day, though he cannot fast in place of paying the 0.51 liters of food for each year that making up a fast-day was delayed before the deceased's death, because this is the legal expiation for the delay). As for someone who died before his excuse (n: for not fasting) ceased to exist, nothing at all is obligatory for him).)

i2.0 VOLUNTARY FASTING

DAYS ON WHICH FASTING IS RECOMMENDED

i2.1 It is recommended to fast:

(1) on six days of the month of Shawwal, and that they be the six consecutive days immediately following Eid al-Fitr(O: their being consecutive and their immediately following the 'Eid are two separate sunnas), though it is permissible to fast them nonconsecutively;

(2) on 9 and 10 Muharram;

(3) on the full moon (lit. "white") days of every lunar month, which are the thirteenth and the two days that follow it;

(4) on Mondays and Thursdays;

(5) on the first nine days of Dhul Hijja;

(6) during the inviolable months, which are four: Dhul Qa'da, Dhul Hijja, Muharram, and Rajab;

(7) (n: and on every other day, a fast described by the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) as "the most beloved fast to Allah" (Riyad al-salihin (y107), 466)). The best fast-days, after Ramadan, are those of Muharram, then Rajab, then Sha'ban. (O: In general, the best month for fasting, after Ramadan and the inviolable months, is Sha'ban (A: there being no objection to fasting an entire month or just part of one). It is recommended to fast on the Day of Arafa (O: 9 Dhul Hijja), unless one is a pilgrim present at Arafa (def:j8), when it is better not to fast. It is not offensive for such a person to fast, though it is better for him not to.

FASTS THAT ARE OFFENSIVE OR UNLAWFUL

i2.2 It is offensive to fast every day of the year (O: besides the two Eids and the three days following Eid al-Adha (n: these being unlawful to fast (dis: below) rather than offensive)) if this harms one (O: in body or mind) or causes one not to do something one should do (O: for oneself or others, even if merely recommended). If not, then it is not offensive.

i2.3 It is unlawful and not valid to fast (O: whether voluntarily, as a vow, or as a makeup) on the two Eids or the three days following Eid al-Adha.

i2.4 It is also unlawful and invalid to fast on a day of uncertainty (N: as to whether it is the first day of Ramadan), meaning that on 30 Sha'ban, someone who does not have the necessary qualifications of a witness (def:i1.10) mentions having seen the new moon of Ramadan. Otherwise (O: when no one has mentioned seeing it, or when an acceptable witness has), then it is not considered a day of uncertainty. Fasting on a day of uncertainty is not valid as a day of Ramadan, though it can validly fulfill a vow or a makeup fast. Voluntary fasting on such a day is only valid when one would have fasted anyway because it falls on a day one habitually fasts, or when one has been fasting each day since before mid-Sha'ban. If neither of these is the case, then it is unlawful and invalid to fast on it. It is unlawful to fast during the days after mid Sha'ban unless one would have fasted anyway because they fall on days one habitually fasts, or unless one has been fasting each day since before mid-Sha'ban.

i2.5 (Nawawi: (n: with commentary by Mohammed Shirbini Khatib)) It is offensive to single out Fridays or Saturdays ((Shirbini:) or Sundays for fasting, i.e. to single out one of the above-mentioned days when they do not coincide with days one normally fasts. The fast of someone who usually fasts every other day and whose fast coincides with one of these days or with a day of uncertainty is not offensive, because of the hadith related by Muslim, "Do not single out Friday for fasting unless it happens to coincide with a fast one of you performs," similar days being analogous to Fridays in this respect) (Mughni al-muhtaj ila ma'rifa ma'ani alfaz al-Minhaj (y73), 1.447)). i2.6 Once begun, it is unlawful to interrupt either an obligatory fast-day or an obligatory prayer, whether it is current, a makeup, or vowed; though if it is nonobligatory (O: whether wholly supereogatory or linked with a particular event or time), then one may interrupt it (O: but it is offensive to do so if there is no excuse).

i3.0 SPIRITUAL RETREAT (I'TIKAF)

i3.1 It is sunna, at any time, to make spiritual retreat (i'tikaf) in the mosque.

LAYLAT AL-QADR

i3.2 Spiritual retreat (i'tikaf) is especially recommended in Ramadan, particularly in the last ten days of it, seeking Laylat al-Qadr (lit. "the Night of the Divine Decree") (O: which is, as Allah Most High says, "better than a thousand months" (Koran 97:3). meaning that spiritual works therein are better than works of a thousand months lacking Laylat al-Qadr. Indicating its excellence, the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace)said, "He who prays on Laylat al-Qadr in faith and expectation of its reward will be forgiven his previous sins"). Laylat al-Qadr could be on any night of Ramadan (n: or any other month of the year, according to some (dis:w39)). It probably occurs within the last ten nights, more likely on the odd numbered ones (N: remembering that the night of an Islamic date comes before the day of that date), the twenty first and twenty third of which are the likeliest(n:though most scholars hold it to be the twenty-seventh (Mughni al-Muhtaj ila ma'rifa ma'ani alfaz al-Minhaj (y730, 1.450)). On Laylat al-Qadr it is recommended to frequently repeat, "O Allah, You are oft-relenting and love to forgive, so forgive me."

HOW TO PERFORM SPIRITUAL RETREAT

i3.3 At minimum, spiritual retreat (i'tikaf) consists of:

(a) staying, with the intention of spiritual retreat, for more than the least amount of time that can be considered repose (A: i.e. a moment);

(b) while being Muslim, sane, conscious, and free of major ritual impurity (O: i.e. of menstruation, postnatal bleeding, and major impurity (janaba));

(c) in a mosque, even when this stay is no more than entering the periphery and then leaving by the same entrance (taraddud), though to merely pass through is insufficient. Optimally, the spiritual retreat (i'tikaf) should be accompanied by fasting, take place in the Friday congregational mosque (O: because of the size of the group prayer therein, and so as not to have to leave to attend the Friday prayer), and be no less than a day.

VOWING SPIRITUAL RETREAT IN PARTICULAR MOSQUES

i3.4 If one vows (def: j18) to make spiritual retreat (i'tikaf) in:

(1) al-Masjid al-Haram (n: in Mecca);

(2) al-Masjid al-Aqsa (n:in Jerusalem);

(3) or Masjid al-Medina; then the vow cannot be fulfilled elsewhere. Spiritual retreat (i'tikaf) in al-Masjid al-Haram fulfills a vow to make spiritual retreat in either of the other two (n: al-Aqsa or Medina), but not vice versa (N: they do not fulfill a vow to make a spiritual retreat in al-Masjid al-Haram). Spiritual retreat in Masjid al-Medina fulfills a vow to do so in al-Masjid al-Aqsa, but not vice versa. If one vows to make a spiritual retreat in any mosque besides these three, the vow can be fulfilled in any mosque whatever (O: since none besides these three is superior to any other).

i3.5 Spiritual retreat (i'tikaf) is invalidated by lovemaking and by orgasm as a result of touching.

VOWS TO SPEND A CERTAIN CONSECUTIVE PERIOD IN SPIRITUAL RETREAT

i3.6 If one vows to make spiritual retreat for a consecutive period, then one is obligated to do so. The consecutiveness of such a period is not nullified by leaving the mosque for something necessary such as eating (even when it is possible to do so in the mosque), drinking (provided it is not possible to do so in the mosque), using the lavatory, attending to an illness, the onset of a menstrual period, or similar things; though one's spiritual retreat is interrupted by leaving the mosque to visit a sick person, perform a funeral prayer (janaza), or attend the Friday prayer (jumu'a).

i3.8 Touching another with sexual desire is unlawful for someone in spiritual retreat (i'tikaf).

i3.9 It is not permissible for a wife to make spiritual retreat without her husband's permission.

BOOK J - PILGRIMAGE (HAJJ) (by al-Misri)

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j1.0 WHO MUST PERFORM HAJJ AND UMRA

(O: Hajj and umra are obligtory because of the word of Allah Most High: "People owe Allah to make pilgrimage to the House, whoever is able to find a way" (Koran 3:97), and, "Complete the hajj and 'umra for Allah" (Koran 2:196), meaning, "Perform both of them completely.")

j1.1 (n: This section uses the following special vocabulary in addition to some of the terms previously mentioned at f8.1: 'Arafa: (syn.'Arafat) the name of a plain about thirteen miles to the eastsoutheast of Mecca. Hajj: the pilgrimage to Mecca. Ihram: the state of consecration that pilgrims enter for hajj and 'Umra. Labbayk: a litany meaning, "Ever at Your service, O Allah, ever at Your service." al-Masjid al-Haram: the Holy Mosque in Mecca that encompasses the Kaaba. Safa and Marwa: two hillocks connected by a course adjoining al-Masjid al-Haram. Umra: the lesser pilgrimage or visit to Mecca that may be performed at any time of the year.)

j1.2 Both hajj and 'umra are obligatory, though neither is obligatory more than once in a person's lifetime unless one vows (def:j18) more than that.

j1.3 They are only obligatory for someone who:

(a) is Muslim;
(b) has reached puberty;
(c) is sane;
(d) and is able (def:j1.6-10) to make them.

j1.4 The hajj or umra of someone considered unable (non-(d) above) is valid (O: i.e. if he undertakes the hardship, travels, and stands at 'Arafa (def:j8), it fulfills the obligation), though not that of a non-Muslim, or a child below the age of discrimination (f1.2) who is unaccompanied by a guardian. It is valid for a child of the age of discrimination to enter the state of ihram with his guardian's permission (O: guardian meaning the person with lawful disposal over the child's property). It is also valid for the guardian to enter ihram on behalf of an insane person or a child below the age of discrimination, in which case the guardian has his charge do as much as he is able, by having him (O: telling him to) perform the purificatory bath (ghusl), remove clothing that has seams, and put on hajj garments; and forbidding him the things prohibited while in the state of ihram, such as perfumes and the like (def; j3.5), after which he takes him to the various places of the hajj rites (O: it being insufficient for the guardian togo alone), and performs the acts that the charge cannot do himself, such as entering into ihram (n: which the charge, lacking discrimination, is unable to make a legally valid intention for), the two rak'as after circumambulating the Kaaba, and stoning at Mina. (N: But the hajj of someone who has not reached puberty does not fulfill the obligation Islam imposes, since even though itis valid, it is supererogatory.)

WHO IS CONSIDERED ABLE TO PERFORM THE HAJJ

j1.5 Those able to perform the hajj are of two types: those able to perform the hajj in person, and those able to fulfill the hajj by sending someone in their stead.

THOSE ABLE TO PERFORM THE HAJJ IN PERSON

j1.6 The conditions for being considered able to perform the hajj in person are:

(a) to be healthy (O: enough to ride there without serious harm);

(b) to be able to obtain provisions for the trip;

(c) to have enough money to afford water at the going price at the places people travel through because of the water there;

(d) to have transportation suitable to someone like oneself (O: though if one cannot find any, or if it is more than the usual price (A: usual meaning that the fare to the hajj is no more than the fare to another destination of comparable distance). then one is not obliged to perform the hajj); (all of the above (O: (b), (c) and (d)) apply equally to the journey there and back)

(e) to be able to pay for (b), (c), and (d), round trip, with money one has that is in excess of the amount one requires to support the members of one's family and clothe them while one is travelling there and back, and obtain leadings for oneself; and that is in excess of any money one owes for debts, even those not yet due (O: scholars concur that a debtor is not obliged to perform the hajj even when his creditor does not mind postponing the debt until after the hajj, and that a person is not obliged to perform the hajj when someone is willing to loan him the money to do so (N: though such a person's hajj would be valid, as previously discussed (j1.4)));

(f) and that a route exist that is safe for one's person and property from predators and enemies,

whether the latter be non-Muslims or whether highwaymen wanting money, even when the amount is inconsiderable (A: including so called hajj fees, which are not countenanced by Sacred Law). If there is no route except by sea, then one must take it if it is usually safe, but if not, then it is not obligatory. (N: These are the conditions for the obligatoriness of the hajj orumra, meaning that if one of them is lacking, the hajj and umra are not obligatory for that year, though if one performs them anyway, one's performance validly fulfills the rites which Islam imposes, as mentioned above at j1.4)

j1.7 The above conditions apply equally to a woman, who in addition requires someone to accompany her to protect her, such as a husband, an unmarriageable male relative (mahram, def: m6.2), or some (O: two or more) reliable women, even if they are not accompanied by any of their unmarriageable male relatives.

j1.8 If the above conditions are met, but there is no longer time to reach Mecca, then the hajj is not obligatory. But if time remains, it is obligatory.

j1.9 It is recommended to perform hajj as soon as possible (N: i.e. to perform it the first year that one is able to, and likewise for umra). One is entitled to delay it, but if one dies without performing it after having been able to, one dies in disobedience, and it is obligatory to take out the cost for it from the deceased's estate (n: just as debts are, as at L4.3(1)) to pay for someone to make it up (A: in the deceased's place (dis:below)).

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THOSE ABLE TO PERFORM THE HAJJ BY SENDING SOMEONE IN THEIR STEAD

j1.10 The second type of being able to perform hajj is when one may fulfill it by sending another in one's place, the necessary conditions for which are:

(a) that one is unable to ride there (O: at all, or is able, but with great difficulty) because of chronic illness or old age;

(b) and that one either has the money (n: to hire someone to go in one's place) or (N: if lacking the money) has someone to obey one (O: by agreeing to perform the rites of hajj for one (N: at their own expense, as a charitable donation)), even if not a family member- in which case one is obliged to either hire someone (N: in the former instance) or give permission to someone (N: in the latter instance) to perform hajj in one's place. One may also have someone perform a nonobligatory hajj for one under such conditions.

THE PRIORITY OF THE OBLIGATORY HAJJ OVER ANY OTHER

j1.11 It is not permissible for someone who has not yet performed his own obligatory hajj:

(1) to perform the hajj for someone else;

(2) to perform a nonobligatory hajj;

(3) or to perform hajj in fulfillment of a vow or as a makeup. (N: If he does any of these, it counts instead as his own obligatory hajj).

j1.12 The order of performing hajj (O: or umra) must be:

(1) the obligatory hajj first;

(2) then a makeup hajj (def:j3.14:(c)) if any is due;

(3) then a hajj in fullfillment of a vow, if any has been made;

(4) and then a supererogatory hajj, or one in another person's place. If one tries to change this order, for example, by commencing a hajj with the intention for a supererogatory performance or a vow when one has not yet made the obligatory hajj, the intention is invalid, and the hajj counts instead as fulfilling the obligatory one. Te same is true for the other types (A:i.e if one extends any of the types in the order just mentioned when a prior type exists unperformed, then one's hajj counts as fulfilling the prior one, regardless of the intention).

WAYS OF PERFORMING THE HAJJ

j1.13 It is permissible to enter ihram with the intention for any of four ways of performing the hajj, which are, in order of superiority:

(1) hajj before umra (ifrad);

(2) umra first (tamattu');

(3) hajj and umra simultaneously (qiran);

(4) and the unconditional intention to perform hajj and umra (itlaq).

HAJJ BEFORE UMRA (IFRAD)

j1.14 Hajj before umra (ifrad) means to perform hajj (O: i.e enter ihram for hajj) first (O: before subsequently entering ihram for umra) at the ihram site for people from one's country (def: j2), then (O: after having completed one's hajj) to go outside the Sacred Precinct (Haram) and enter ihram for umra. (O: There is no special place for the second ihram: if one went to the closest place outside of the Sacred Precinct, it would suffice for this ihram of umra.) (N: People generally go to the Mosques of Aisha (Allah be well pleased with her) al-Tan'im because it is close.)

UMRA FIRST (TAMATTU')

j1.15 'Umra first (tamattu') (N: perhaps the easiest and most practical way to perform hajj in our times, since one does not have to remain in a state of ihram throughout the week or more that one is generally there between the initial umra and subsequent hajj) means to perform the umra first (O: before the hajj) by:

(a) entering ihram for it from the ihram site for people of one's own country;

(b) during the hajj months (def:j1.19);

(c) and then (O: after finishing the umra) performing hajj within the same year from Mecca (O: meaning to intend hajj from Mecca (n: by entering ihram there), if one wants to have to slaughter (n: in expiation, as at j12.6(I)), which relives one of the necessity to return to the ihram site of people of one's country, though if one returns to that site to enter ihram for hajj, then one is no longer obliged to slaughter and one's ihram is valid). It is recommended to enter ihram for hajj on 8 Dhul Hijja if one is performing umra first (tamattu) and has an animal to slaughter. But if one does not have an animal, (O: one eners ihram) on 6 Dhul Hijja (O: so that one's (N: three day expiatory) fast (N: in place of slaughtering (def: j12.6(I)) takes place before standing at Arafa (A: since in the Shafi'i school, being in ihram for hajj is obligatory during these three days of fasting though for the Hanafi school, these days may be fasted before entering ihram for hajj, after one's umra), thus fasting on the sixth, seventh, and eighth, and not on the Day of Arafa (N:the ninth) if one was able to fast on the sixth, though if not then fasting the day of Arafa is mandatory because of the previous inability. If one does not fast it, it is a sin and the delayed fast day is a makeup, as its obligatory time is before the Day of Arafa). One enters ihram for hajj in Mecca from the door of one's lodgings. Then one proceeds in a state of ihram to al-Masjid al-Haram as a Meccan would (O: to perform a farewell circumambulation (tawaf al-wada'. def: j11.2) of the Kaaba, which is desirable (mustahabb) for non-Mecans who are leaving Meca to go to Arafa. For Meccans, the farewell circumambulation is obligatory when leaving Mecca, even for a short distance).

HAJJ AND UMRA SIMULTANEOUSLY (QIRAN)

j1.16 Hajj and umra simultaneously (qiran) means to enter ihram intending both (O: hajj and 'umra) at the ihram site for people of one's country, and then perform only the rites of hajj (O: Such that one does not perform an additional circumambulation or a second going between Safa and Marwa (def:j6), but rather once is sufficient to fulfill the obligation of both hajj and umra, because the actions of the umra have been incorporated into the actions of the hajj. The author mentions a second way of performing hajj and umra simultaneously (qiran) by saying:) Or the person may enter ihram first for umra, and then before beginning his circumambulation (O: even if only by a single step), incorporate into his intention for umra the intention to perform hajj, this taking place in the months of hajj.

THE OBLIGATION TO SLAUGHTER OR FAST FOR THOSE PERFORMING THE UMRA

FIRST (TAMATTU') OR HAJJ AND UMRA SIMULTANEOUSLY (QIRAN)

i1.17 A Person performing umra first (tamattu') or performing hajj and 'umra simultaneously (qiran) is obliged to slaughter (N: a shah (def:h2.5) or to fast, as mentioned below), though if the person performing hajj and umra simultaneously (qiran) lives within the Sacred Precinct (Haram) or within 81 km / 50 ml. of it, or if the person performing umra first (tamattu') returns to the ihram site for people of his country(N:after his umra) to enter ihram for hajj, orlives within 81 km./50mi. of the Sacred Precinct - in any of these cases he is not obliged to slaughter.If one (O: performing umra first (tamattu') or hajj and umra simultaneously (qiran)) is obliged to slaughter but:

(1) lacks an animal there (O: i.e. in the Sacred Precinct (Haram), which is the place of the obligation to slaughter, lacks meaning absolutely, as when there is not an animal available that meets slaughter specifications (def:j14.2));

(2) or (O: there is an animal, but one lacks) its price (O: or has the price but needs the money for expenses and the like);

(3) or finds that it is being sold for more than the normal price for that locality and time; -then one must fast three days of the hajj (O: For our school it is insufficient to fast them before the hajj, as opposed to the school of Abu Hanifa, in which it is permissible to fast them before the hajj (A: i.e. when performing the umra first (tamattu'), fasting them after having finished the initial umra and before entering ihram for hajj).) It is recommended that these days be before the Day of 'Arafa (O: time permitting, as when one fasts from 1 Dhul Hijja after having entered ihram for hajj. It is unlawful to delay these fast-days till after the Day of Arafa), and one must fast seven additional days after returning home (n: making a total of ten fast-days). The time for current performance of the three fast-days ends after the Day of Arafa (O: and it is not permissible to fast any of them on Eid-al-Adha or on the three days following Eid), and if one thus delays them, it is obligatory to make them up before the other seven fast-days, by an interval between the three and seven fast-days equal to the interval that would have separated them had they been a current performance, namely the time taken by the trip (O: from Mecca to home) plus four days (O: equal to the Eid and the three days that follow it).

THE UNCONDITIONAL INTENTION TO PERFORM HAJJ AND UMRA (ITLAQ)

j1.18 The unconditional intention to perform hajj and umra (itlaq) means to merely intend entering into the performance of rites, without specifying at the time of ihram that it is for hajj, umra,or hajj and umra simultaneously (qiran). After this, one may use it (O: the ihram, made unconditional by the intention) as one wishes (O: meaning to perform hajj only, umra only, or hajj and umra simultaneously (qiran) (A:though one may not use the unconditional intention as a way to perform umra first (tamattu') without having to either return to the ihram site to enter ihram for hajj, or to slaughter or fast (def :1.17))).

THE TIME OF YEAR TO ENTER IHRAM FOR HAJJ OR UMRA

j1.19 It is not permissible to enter ihram for hajj other than during its months, namely, Shawwal, Dhul Qa'da, and the first ten nights of Dhul Hijja (A: with their days). If one enters ihram for hajj during non-hajj months, one's ihram counts for umra. Entering ihram for umra is valid at any time of the year except for a person on hajj encamped at Mina for stoning (def:j10).

j2.0 SITES FOR ENTERING IHRAM

J2.1 The sites for entering ihram for hajj or umra are as follows:

(1) (N: people going to hajj from the West by plane must enter ihram before boarding it, or during the flight before it passes the airspace that is even (def:j2.3) with the city of Rabigh, on the western coast of the Arabian Peninsula, this generally being announced on the plane);

(2) Medina residents (N: or those travelling through Medina to Mecca) enter ihram at Dhul Hulayfa;

(3) residents of the Syria-Palestine region, Egypt,and North Africa enter ihram at al-Juhfa;

(4) residents of al-Tihama in Yemen enter ihram at Yalamlam;

(5) residents of Najd of Yemen and the Najd of the Hijaz enter ihram at Qarn;

(6) and residents of Iraq and Khurasan enter ihram at Dhat Iraq, preferably at al-Aqiq.

j2.2 Someone at Mecca, even if merely passing through, enters ihram for hajj in Mecca, and for umra must go (N: at least) to the nearest place outside of the Sacred Precinct (Haram), of which the best is al-Ji'rana, then al-Tan'im, and then al-Hudaybiya. Someone residing closer to Mecca than the ihram site is to Mecca should enter ihram (O: for hajj or umra) at his residence.

j2.3 When coming by a route lacking an ihram site, one enters ihram when even with (O: on the left or right) the ihram site that is nearest.

j2.4 For someone residing farther from Mecca than the ihram site is,to enter ihram at the ihram site is superior (A: than for him to enter ihram at his own residence).

THE EXPIATION FOR NEGLECTING TO ENTER IHRAM AT THE PROPER SITE:

j2.5 Someone intending hajj, umra,or both, who passes the ihram site (O: intentionally, absentmindedly,or in ignorance of it) and enters ihram somewhere closer to Mecca,is obliged to slaughter (def:j12.6(I)),though if he returns to the proper site and enters ihram there before having performed a single rite, he is no longer obliged to slaughter.

j3.0 IHRAM (THE STATE OF PILGRIM SANCTITY) MEASURES RECOMMENDED PRIOR TO IHRAM

j3.1 When one wishes to enter ihram,it is recommended (even for a woman in menstruation) to perform the purificatory bath (ghusl), intending bathing for ihram. If there is not much water, one merely performs ablution (wudu).It is also recommended to shave pubic hair, pluck the underarms, clip the mustache. (O: trim the nails,) clean oneself of dirt, and wash the head.

OBLIGATORY MEASURES BEFORE IHRAM

j3.2 Then (O: if male) one:

(a) sheds any garments that have sewing in them (O: taking them off being obligatory for ihram, which is incomplete if one does not remove them before entering it);

(b) puts on a clean white mantle (Ar. rida', the rectangular piece of cloth worn over the shoulders that covers the upper body of a man in ihram) and wraparound (izar, the cloth worn around the lower body), and sandals (O: that do not enclose the foot, but rather reveal the toes and heels, as opposed to sandals that cover the toes, for wearing such sandals obliges one to slaughter (def: j12.6(II)));

(c) and it is recommended to perfume the body, though not one's clothes. The above measures (j3.1) apply equally to women, although women do not divest themselves of sewn garments (O: a woman being obliged to cover all of her body except the face and hands, which, in ihram as well as in prayer, are not considered nakedness). It is recommended that she dye her hands and face with henna (O: a measure that is desirable, and whose nonperformance is without consequence). (A: But women do not use perfume.) All of the foregoing are done before entering ihram.

ENTERING IHRAM

j3.3 One then prays two rak'as, provided it is not a time when the prayer is forbidden (def:f13), intending the sunna of ihram. (O: It is sunna to recite al-Kafirun (Koran 109) in the first rak'a and al-Ikhlas (Koran 112) in the second.)\Then one rises to start travelling to Mecca. As soon as one begins travelling to Mecca, one has entered ihram. Ihram (O: which is an integral of hajj and 'umra) is the intention to enter into the performance of the rites (O: of hajj, umra, or both (qiran)). One intends in one's heart to perform the hajj for Allah Most High, if one wants to perform hajj; or to perform umra if one wants to; or both together if one wants to perform them simultaneously (qiran). It is recommended that one also pronounce this intention with the tongue.

CHANTING "LABBAYK"

j3.4 Then one chants "Labbayk" (n: as described below), raising the voice (O:enough to (N: at least) hear oneself, the raising being relative. For the duration of the time one is in

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ihram one raises it enough for those nearby to hear), though a woman should lower her voice when saying it (O: as raising the voice is offensive for a woman) saying: "Ever at Your service, O Allah, ever at Your service. Every at our service, You have no partner, ever at Your service. Verily, all praise, blessings, and domination are Yours. You have no partner" (O: saying this three times). Then (O: after chanting the above) one recites the Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) in a softer voice, asking Allah Most High for paradise (O: saying, "O Allah, I ask You for paradise and its blessings," and asking for His good pleasure and acceptance (ridwan)) and seeking refuge in Him from hell (O: saying, "I take refuge in You from Your wrath, and hell," and asking Him for whatever one wishes of the good of this world and the next). It is desirable to chant "Labbayk" for the duration of one's ihram, whether standing, sitting, riding, walking, lying down, and even in a state of major ritual impurity (janaba), or for a woman in menstruation. It is particularly desirable when:

(1) changing from one state, time, or place to another, such as when going uphill or down, or getting on or off a vehicle;
(2) meeting groups of people;
(3) at the approach of dawn, night, or daytime;
(4) after prayer;
(5) and in all mosques.

One does not chant "Labbayk" while circumambulating the Kaabba or going between Safa and Marwa (O: as these have their own particular invocations). It is undesirable to stop chanting it in order to speak, though if someone greets one with "as-Salamu 'alaykum," it is recommended (O: but not obligatory) to return his greeting. When one sees something pleasing (O: or displeasing) during ihram, it is recommended to say, "Ever at Your service, truly, the real life is the life of the hereafter" (O: and if one sees the like while not in ihram, one says, "O Allah, truly, the real life is the life of the hereafter," without saying "Labbayk."

THINGS UNLAWFUL WHILE IN IHRAM

j3.5 Five things are unlawful (dis:j12.6) when one has entered ihram. (n: Namely:
(1) Sewn garments on men (dis: j3.6);
(2) using perfume (j3.7);
(3) removing hair or nails (j3.8);
(4) sexual intercourse or foreplay (j3.13);
(5) and hunting (j3.21).)

SEWN GARMENTS ON MEN

j3.6 The first thing unlawful in ihram is wearing sewn clothing such as shirts, trousers, moccasins (khuff, def: e6), anything else sewn (N: sewn meaning that which is for wearing, not just any sewaring, as a patched mantle or wraparound are permissible), and anything that encircles the body as sewn garments do, such as (N: those seamed) by being woven or felted together and the like. It is unlawful to cover the head with anything, sewn or unsewn, that is generally considered a headcover (O: such as a hat, cloth, bandage (N: or blanket while sleeping)). It is permissible while in ihram to carry a (N: sewn) bag or the like, or to tote a basket (O: on one's head, though it is unlawful if one intends it as a headcover). (A: It is permissible to carry an umberella held in the hand for protection against the sun.)It is not permissible of fasten one's mantle by tucking part of it through a hole, tying it together, passing a string though one end and then the other, or by tying a string to each of the two ends (N: though it is permissible to fasten it together with safety pins).It is permissible to tie one's wraparound (O: one end to the other) or tie a string over it (O: so that it holds it fast, like a drawstring, and one may likewise use a waistband) (N: the reason for the permissibility (n: of tying the wraparound but not the mantle) being that if the wraparound but not the mantle) being that if the wraparound were to fall it wound reveal one's nakedness, unlike the mentle). (n: Safety pins are permissible to fasten the wraparound, and are useful to make pleats at the waistline by safety-pinning two or three tucks of cloth there to gather the wraparound at the waist and leave more freedom of movement for the legs below.) (A: A belt may also be used to hold one's wraparound at the waist.)

PERFUME

j3.7 The second thing that is unlawful after enterinmg ihram is using perfume, such as musk, camphor, or saffron on one's clothing, body, or bedding. It is also unlawful to smell roses, or bedding. It is also unlwaful to smell roses, violets, lilies, or anything fragrant; to sprinkle rose water or flowr water about; or to use scented oils (N: or scented bar soap), whether to smell them or to apply them to any part of the body.It is also unlawful:

(1) to apply unscented oils like olive, sesame, and so on to the beard or scalp, unless one is bald (A: in which case it can be used on the skin of the head), though it is permissible to smell them or apply them to any of the body (O: except the hair of the head and face);

(2) to eat food in which the use of a cosmetic is manifest, whether in taste, color, or scent, such as the scent of rose water, the color of saffron or its taste, or the taste of ambergris in cooked grain and the like;

(3) or to use scented perspiration deodorant or eyeliner.

REMOVING HAIR OR NAILS

j3.8 The third thing that is unlawful while in ihram (O: for both men and women, but only if one does so deliberately, knowing that it is unlawful, voluntarily, and remembering that one is in ihram) is:

(1) cutting or plucking hair (O: i.e. removing it by any means whatever), even if only part of a single hair (by shorterning it), and whether from the head, underarms, pubes, mustache, or any other part of the body (A: the obligatory expiation for one hair is to give 0.51 litres of food to the poor in Mecca, and for two hairs, twice that amount. For three or more, a full expiation (def: j12.6(ii)) is obligatory);

(2) or clipping fingernails or toenails, even if only part of one (A: my above remark on expiations also applies to nails).

THE EXPIATION FOR VIOLATING THE CONDITIONS OF IHRAM

j3.9 It is necessary to slaughter a shah (def: h2.5) (n: or perform one of the other alternatives
mentioned below at j12.6(II)) when one is in ihram and one:
(1) uses perfume;
(2) wears a prohibited garment (def: j3.6):
(3) removes three or more hairs, fingernails, or toenails (def: j12.6(II(1-2)));
(4) touches another person with desire in a nongential area;
(5) or applies unscented oil to one's hair (dis:j3.7).

j3.10 A person obliged to perform such an expiation may fulfill it (A: any time thereafter) in any of the following ways:

(1) by slaughtering a shah (def: h2.5) (O: and distributing its meat to the poor and those short of money is the Sacred Precinct);

(2) by distributing 6.09 liters of food (def: h7.6) to the poor in charity, giving 1.015 liters to each person;

(3) or by fasting three days (O: even if unconsecutive).

ACCIDENTALLY REMOVING A HAIR

j3.11 It is unlawful during ihram to comb one's beard (N: or hair) or run one's fingers through it if one knows that hair will be pulled out. When one runs the fingers through one's beard or washes the face and then notices hair in one's hand, then if one knows one pulled it out while doing this, and expiation (def:j12.6(II)) must be paid, though if one knows that it came out by itself, or does not know whether it did or not, then one is not obliged to expiate.

j3.12 The following things necessitate the expiation (def: j12.6(II)), but when done out of need, are not unlawful:

(1) having to cut one's hair because of illness, heat, or lice;

(2) having to wear something sewn because of intense heat or cold;

(3) or having to cover one's head.

SEXUAL INTERCOURSE OR FOREPLAY

j3.13 The fourth thing unlawful while in ihram is sexual intercourse or touching a nongenital area with sexual desire, such as kissing, hugging, or touching lustfully.

j3.14 If one intentionally has sexual intercouse before finishing one's 'umra, or while on hajj before partial release from ihram (def: j9.13), then:

(a) this nullifies the hajj or umra;

(b) it is nonetheless obligatory to complete the hajj or 'umra from the point at which it was spoiled to the end;

(c) it is obligatory to make it up as soon as possible, even if the spoiled hajj or 'umra was merely supererogatory;

(d) and it is obligatory to pay the expiation (def:below) (O: for the male, not the female, who need not do any thing, though it is a sin if she participated willingly) (A: the more reliable position is that if the woman was unwilling, none of the above ((a), (b), (c), or (d)) apply to her, though if willing, (a), (b), and (c) apply to her but not (d)).

j3.15 The expiation for the above (j3.14) is to slaughter (A: and distribute to the poor of the Sacred Precinct, immediately):

(1) a camel (O: i.e. a male or female that meets slaughter specifications (def: j14.2)), but if this is not possible (N: within the days of that hajj), then one must slaughter:

(2) a cow, but if not possible, then:

(3) seven shahs (def: h2.5), but if not possible, then:

(4) one estimates the cost of a camel and how must food (def: h76) this would buy, and then gives that much food (N: to the poor in Mecca), but if not possible, then:

(5) one fasts one day for every 0.51 liters of food, that would have been given had (4) been done (N: One may fast anywhere, but it is not permissible to delay it without an excuse.)

j3.16 A person making up a hajj or 'umra nullified by sexual intercourse must enter ihram for the makeup hajj or 'umra at the same ihram site as the original (n: nullified) hajj or 'umra, though if one entered ihram for it at a location closer to Mecca (N: than the ihram site (dis: j2.5)), one must enter ihram for the makeup at the (O: prescribed) site (N: for those of one's country).

j3.17 When someone (O: in ihram who intends to make up a nullified hajj) is accompanied on the makeup hajj by the wife he made love to, he is recommended to separate himself from her while they are at the place where they had intercourse. (N: Such a makeup counts as the original hajj or 'umra would have counted: if it was obligatory, it counts as the obligatory one; if supererogatory, as supererogatory; and if vowed, as vowed.)

j3.18 If a man has sexual intercourse after partial release from ihram (def: j9.13), it does not nullify his hajj (n: i.e does not entail j3.14 (a,b,c,d)), though he must pay an expiation (O: of the type discussed at
j12.6(II)).

j3.19 If one has sexual intercourse absentmindedly (O: forgetting one is in ihram or out of ignorance of its prohibition or because of being forced), then one is not obliged to do anything (A: i.e. none of j3.14(a,b,c,d)).

THE PROHIBITION OF MARRYING WHILE IN IHRAM

j3.20 It is unlawful while in ihram to marry, or to marry someone to another (zawwaja, def: m3.2(a)) (O: whether one does so oneself or through an agent). If one does so, the marriage contract is invalid. It is offensive while in ihram to get engaged to marry, or to serve as a witness for a marriage contract.

HUNTING

j3.21 The fifth thing that is unlawful while in ihram is:
(1) to kill any wild game that may be eaten by Muslims;
(2) or to kill the offspring of matings between game animals that may be eaten by Muslims and game animals that may not be eaten by Muslims. Someone in ihram is obliged to pay the expiation (def:below) whenever such an animal dies at his hands, is destroyed by an act of his, or is injured, in which case one must expiate in proportion to the part damaged.

THE EXPIATION FOR HUNTING

j3.22 If the animal killed has a domestic counterpart, one may fulfill the expiation in any of the following ways:

(1) to slaughter a head of domestic livestock that is like the wild animal which was killed (O: like meaning an approximation, not actual resemblance. The criteration is the condition of the animal, not its value. One expiates a game animal that was, for example, large, small, healthy, diseased, fat, thin, or defective, with a head of livestock of the same descripation, heeding the correspondences. It is a necessary condition that the wild animal and the head of livestock share, if the animal was defective, the same type of defect, such as blindness (N: though it is permissible, indeed superior, to pay a healthy one for a defective one or a whole one for one that is lacking some part));

(2) to estimate the value of the like head of livestock, and distribute an equal value of food (def: h7.6) to the poor;

(3) or to fast one day for every 0.51 liters of food (N: that would have been bought had (2) been done).

j3.23 If the animal killed does not have a domestic counterpart, then one may fulfill the expiation in any of the following ways:

(1) to distribute funds to the poor which equal the value of the game animal, although if the animal was a pigeon, one is obliged to slaughter a shah (def: h2.5) (O: which is obligatory for killing even a single pigeon);

(2) to buy food equal to the animal's value and distribute it as charity;

(3) or to fast one day for each 0.51 liters of food (N: that would have been bought had (2) been done).

j3.24 The prohibition of all things unlawful while in ihram applies to both men and women, except for not wearing sewn clothing (def: j3.6) and not covering the head, which are restricted to men. A woman, however, may not veil her face in ihram (dis: (j12.6(II(3))). If she wants to conceal it from people, she may drape something in front provided it does not touch her face (N: such as a veil worn over a cap's visor), though if it touches it without her intention, it is of no consequence.

j3.25 It is permissible when in ihram to scratch one's head or body with one's fingernails as long as this does not remove any hair. It is also permissible in ihram to kill lice (N: or other insects harmful to humans), though if one kills a louse, it is recommended to expiate its death by giving charity, even if only a single bite of food.

j4.0 ENTERING MECCA

j4.1 It is recommended when one wants to enter Mecca:

(1) to perform the purificatory bath (ghusl) outside of the city with the intention of entering Mecca;

(2) to enter in the daytime, and from the Mu'alla gate of Thaniyyat Kada' (N: a pass from the
direction of Jedda);

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(3) to walk barefoot, provided one does not apprehend something unclean (najasa);
(4) not to annoy anyone by jostling;
(5) and after entering, to proceed to al-Masjid al-Haram.

WHEN ON FIRST SEES THE KAABA

j4.2 When one first sees the Kaaba, it is recommended to lift the hands and say: "O Allah, increase this house in nobility, honor, reverence, and dignity. Increase those going on hajj or 'umra who honor and reverence it in honor, reverence, and piety. O Allah, You are Peace, the Source of Peace: O Lord, raise us after death in peace." And then one asks Allah for whatever one wishes of religious matters or those of this world.

j5.0 CIRCUMAMBULATING THE KAABA (TAWAF)

j5.1 Then one enters al-Masjid al-Haram from the Bani Shayba door (O: even if it is out of one's way, as it is sunna) prior to getting one's luggage down or finding a place to stay and so forth (O: such as deciding to rest or to eat; all this should be put off until after circumambulating the Kaaba). Rather (n: by turns), some of one's party should stay with the luggage while others go to the mosque (O: to circumambulate), and after they finish, they return to watch the luggage so the rest can go. O: The arrival circumambulation (tawaf alqudum) is desirable for anyone who enters al-Masjid al-Haram, whether in ihram or not.)

HOW TO CIRCUMAMBULATE THE KAABA

j5.2 Prior to circumambulating the Kaaba one proceeds to the Black Stone (diagram: 1) (O: next to the Kaaba's door, on the east corner), drawing near to it, if one can do so without hurting others by justling. One faces the Black Stone, places the hand on it, and without a word, kisses the stone thrice and touches the forehead upon it thrice. (O: Touching, kissing, and placing the forehead on the stone are only sunna for women when the circumambulation area is vacant, whether in the night or day.)

j5.3 One cease to chant "Labbayk" at this point, not to resume until after having finished both

circumambulating the Kaaba and going between Safa and Marwa (def: j6). One puts the center (N: of the top edge) of one's mantle under the right arm and its two ends over the left shoulder so that the right shoulder is left bare (dis: j5.13, second par.). One begins circumambulating by first standing facing the Kaaba with the Black Stock on one's right and the Yamani corner (diagram: 8) on one's left, standing back from the stone a little towards the

Yamani corner (n: i.e. behind the black stripe in the marble pavement, extending out from the stone, that marks the beginning of one's circumambulation). One should intend performing the circumambulation for Allah Most High (O: though this intention is only necessary for a supererogatory or a departure circumambulation, not for an obligatory or an arrival circumambulation, since the intention to perform the rites of hajj or 'umra (def: j3.3) includes the intention for the latter two types of circumambulation). Then one:

(1) places the hand on the Black Stone, and then kisses it and places the forehead one it thrice, as mentioned above (A: i.e. it is done again here to begin the circumambulation, just as it was done before circumambulation (j5.2));
(2) says "Allahu akbar" three times;
(3) and adds, "O Allah, out of faith in You and to affirm Your book, fulfill Your covenant, and follow the sunna of your prophet Mohammed (allah bless and give him peace).

j5.4 Then one moves sideways (A: as is recommended) to the right, passing in front of all of the Black Stone with all of the body, while facing it. When past the stone, one turns (O: from facing it) so that the Kaaba is on one's left and then proceeds to circumambulate it. (O: If one did this (N: kept the Kaaba on one's let while passing the stone) from the beginning and neglected to face the stone, it would likewise be permissible.)

j5.5 At the Kaaba's door (diagram: 2) one says, "O Allah, verily this house is Your house, the sanctuary Your sanctuary, the safety Your safety, and this is the station of him who took refuge in You from fire" (N: i.e. the Station of Ibrahim (diagram: 3), though some hold the words mean "him who takes refuge," alluding to oneself).

j5.6 When one reaches the corner (diagram: 4) by the opening of the Hijr (n: a semicircular wall that stands apart from the Kaaba (diagram: 5)), one says, "O Allah, I take refuge in You from doubt, from ascribing partners to You, from discord, hypocrisy, evil traits, and from bad turns of fortune in money, spouse, and children."

j5.7 When even with the rainspout (N: called the Spout of Mercy (Mizab al-Rahma), at the top of the Kaaba (diagram: 6)), one says: "O Allah, shade me in Your shade on a day when there is no shade but Yours, Give me to drink from the cup of Your prophet Mohammed (Allah bless him and give him peace), a wholesome drink after which I will never thirst."

j5.8 Between the third corner (diagram:7) and the Yamani corner (diagram:8), one should say, "O Allah, make this a pious hajj, a rewarded effort, an accepted work, and a transaction that will never perish, O All-powerful and Oft forgiving one."

j5.9 When one reaches the Yamani corner, one does not kiss it, but touches it and then kisses one's hand.

j5.10 One does not kiss any of the Kaaba (O: meaning that it is not required, though if one kisses any of its parts, it is not offensive, but rather is good) except the Black Stone. Nor does one touch any of it except the Yamani corner, which is the one before the Black Stone.

j5.11 When one reaches the Black Stone, one has completed a single round (O: provided its conditions (def: j5.16) have been met).

j5.12 One goes around the Kaaba seven times (O: the seventh ending where one began, at the Black Stone. One's circumambulation is incomplete as long as even a span remains between oneself and the place even with the stone).

TROTTING FOR THE FIRST THREE ROUNDS

j5.13 It is sunna in the first three rounds of circumambulation to hasten one's gait (N: if one can do so without harming others) (O: taking close steps, without running) which is termed trotting (ramal) (O: and which is desirable for men only, not women). Both trotting and baring the right shoulder (def:j5.3) are only called for in circumambulations that are followed by going between Safa and Marwa (def:j6). If one wishes to go between Safa and Marwa after one's arrive circumambulation, then one does the two sunnas (O: both trotting and baring the shoulder at this point, but when one later performs one's going-forth circumambulation (tawaf al-ifada, def: j9.10), one does not do these two sunnas because that circumambulation is not followed by going between Safa and Marwa (N: if one has already gone between them before)). But if one wishes to go between Safa and Marwa after the going-forth circumambulation (O:which is superior), one postpones the two (O: sunnas of trotting and baring the shoulder) until then. While trotting, one says, "O Allah, make this a pious hajj, a rewarded effort, and forgive my sins." In the last four rounds of one's circumambulation, it is sunna to proceed at one's normal pace, while saying: "My Lord, forgive me, show me mercy, and pardon that which You know. Verily You are the All-powerful and the Most Generous. Our Lord, give us what is good in this world and the next, and keep us from the torment of hell." This supplication is particularly recommended in the odd-numbered rounds of the circumambulation (O: as they are superior. Reciting the Koran while circumambulating is better than making supplications that have not reached us through prophetic hadith, though supplications from hadith are superior to reciting the Koran during it).

j5.14 It is recommended to kiss the Black Stone in each round (O: and to place the forehead on it, each three times) and to touch the Yamani corner, particularly in the odd-numbered rounds. If it is not possible to kiss the Black Stone because of crowds or because one fears to hurt people (O: or be hurt) by jostling, one may touch it with one's hand and then kiss the hand. If this is not possible, one may touch it with a stick (O: or the like, such as a scarf) and kiss the stick. If this too is impossible, then one points to it (O: or the Yamani corner) with the hand (O: and it is sunna to kiss one's hand).

j5.15 A noteworthy detail here is that there is a buttress at the base of the Kaaba that resembles a ledge and slide. It is part of the Kaaba, and when one kisses the stone, one's head is in the space above the buttress. So one is obliged to keep one's feet motionless until one finishes kissing the stone and straightens up, after which one continues circumambulating. (N: One may not move one's feet as part of the circumambulation while one's head is within the space above the buttress, as it nullifices that particular round because of the condition (dis: j5.16(j)) that circumambulation be done around the Kaaba, and not within its confines.) If, when leaning over to kiss the stone, one's feet move even a finger's width towards the Kaaba's door, and after this, one continues circumambulating, then that particular round does not count (O: nor do the others that come after it, if one limits oneself to just those seven, considering the spoiled one as a valid round. But if one adds an extra round (N: to make up for the invalid one), then one's circumambulation is valid). It is more precautionary when one has straightened up from kissing the stone, to step back to the left towards the Yamani corner (j5.2 diagram: 8) enough to ensure that one is where one was before kissing the stone. (N: The same is true of touching the Yamani corner with one's hand.)

THE CONDITIONS OF A VALID CIRCUMAMBULATION

j5.16 The conditions of a valid circumambulation (O: of any kind, obligatory or nonobligatory) are:

(a) that one's nakedness (def: f5.3) be clothed, because the round is invalid whenever any of one's nakedness shows, even a single hair of a woman's head (O: meaning that the particular round in which it showed is invalid, provided it was done intentionally. If it happened inadvertently and the woman immediately covered it (A immediately meaning after no more than the time required to say "Subhan Allah"), then it does not invalidate that round, though if she does not cover it until after it is showing, the subsequent round takes the place of the above-mentioned invalid one);

(b) ritual purity (O: from minor (hadath) and major (janaba) impurity) (n: though for Hanafis,

touching a marriageable member of the opposite sex (N: despite being unlawful) does not nullify one's ablution (Maraqi al-falqh sharh Nural-idah (y126), 17), and considering the difficulty of avoiding it at a contemporary hajj, taking the dispensation seems a virtual necessity);

(c) to be free from impure substances (najasa) on one's person, clothing, and the place of walking while circumambulating;

(d) that it take place within al-Masjid al-Haram;

(e) that one's circumambulation comprise seven full rounds;

(f) that it begin from the Black Stone, as described above, and that one pass by all of the stone with all of one's body, for ifone begins from another part of the Kaaba, then the round does not count until one reaches the stone, from whence it begins;

(g) that one keep the Kaaba on one's left and move towards the door (j5.2 diagram: 1-2);

(h) that each round be outside of the Hijr (diagram: 5) such that one does not enter the opening between the Hijr and the Kaaba and then exit though the other opening;

(i) and that all of the body of the person circumambulating be exterior to all parts of the Kaaba, such that while walking around it, one does not put one's hand in the space above the buttress previously mentioned (j5.15), which violates the condition of being wholly outside all of the Kaaba while making one's rounds.

j5.17 Everything besides the above conditions is sunna (N: not obligatory), such as trotting in the first three rounds, the various supplications, and the other things previously mentioned.

TWO RAK'AS AFTER CIRCUMAMBULATION

j5.18 When one has finished circumambulating, and after putting one's mantle over both shoulders, it is recommended to pray two rak'as for the sunna of circumambulation (O: and it is best to perform them) behind the Station of Ibrahim (j5.2 diagram: 3), In the first rak'a, one recites al-Kafirun (Koran 109), and in the second, al-Ikhals (Koran 112). After this, one supplicates Allah from behind the station (O: if one prays there. Otherwise, one may perform the two rak'as (N: in order of superiority) in the Hijr (diagram: 5) , al-Masjid al-Haram, the Sacred Precint, or whenever and whereever one wishes to pray them, and they remain a current performance until the day one dies. It is sunna to recite the suras aloud in these two rak'as if performed at night, and to recite them to oneself if performed during the day. It is desirable to make the supplication related by Jabir, who said that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) prayed two rak'as behind the station (N: of Ibrahim) and then said: "O Allah, this is Your city, and al-Masjid al-Haram, and Your inviolable house, and I am Your slave, the son of Your slave and bondwoman. It have come to You with many sins, mistakes, and wicked acts, and this is the station of him who took refuge in You from the fire; so forgive me, verily You are the All-forgiving and Compassionate. O Allah, You have called Your servants to Your inviolable house, and I have come, asking for Your mercy and seeking what pleases You, and You are the Rewarder, so forgive me and have mercy on me, verily You have power over everything"). Then one returns to the Black Stone and touches it (O: kisses it, and bows one's head upon it).

j6.0 GOING BETWEEN SAFA AND MARWA (SA'Y)

j6.1 Then it is recommended to exit through the Safa door of al-Masjid al-Haram if one wishes to go between Safa and Marwa immediately. (O: It is necessary for the validity of going between Safa and Marwa (N: for hajj) prior to the Day of 'Arafa that one do so after one's arrival cicumambulation (tawaf al-qudum) (N: though one may not do so on an 'umra first (tamattu') hajj, for which the initial circumambulation and going between Safa and Marwa are part of one's 'umra (dis: j12.2(c))), nor do so after a supererogatory or farewell circumambulation.) One may postpone it until after the going-forth circumambulation (tawaf al-ifada, def: j9.10) (O: which is superior).

HOW TO GO BETWEEN SAFA AND MARWA

j6.2 One begins from Safa. It is recommended:

(1) for men (O: not women) to climb upon Safa the height of a person, so that one can see the

Kaaba through the mosque's door, and to face the Kaaba;

(2) to say: "La ilaha illa Llah, Allahu akbar," and "There is no god but Allah alone, without partner. His is the dominion, His the praise, He gives life and causes to die, all good is in His hand, and He has power over everything. There is no god but Allah alone, without partner. He kept His promise, give

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His slave the victory, and routed the Confederates alone. There is no god but Allah. We worship none but Him making our religion sincerely for Him, though unbelievers be averse";

(3) to supplicate for whatever one wishes (O: which is called for here because it is one of the places where prayers are answered. 'Umar (Allah be well pleased with him) used to supplicate lengthily here);

(4) and to repeat (2) and (3) a second and third time.

j6.3 Then one descends from Safa and walks (O: towards Marwa) at one's normal pace until within three meters of the first green marker suspended from the left wall. Here one runs (N: women walk) until midway to the second green marker, at which midpoint one resumes one's usual pace until one reaches Marwa. One claims Marwa and says the same invocation as was said at Safa. This is once. Then one descends from Marwa and returns, walking and running at the proper places, until one reaches Safa. This is twice. At Safa one says the same invocation and supplication, and then goes back to Marwa, which is three times. One repeats the process until one has completed seven times, finishing at Marwa.

THE OBLIGATORY ELEMENTS OF GOING BETWEEN SAFA AND MARWA

j6.4 The obligatory elements (O: i.e. conditions for the validity) of going between Safa and Marwa are four:

(a) to begin at Safa. If one begins at Marwa and walks to Safa, this does not count and one's going between them is not considered to have begun until one reaches Safa;

(b) to traverse the entire distance. It would be invalid if one neglected even a single span or less of the distance. One must begin by putting one's heel against the wall at Safa, and finish at Marwa by putting the toes against the wall there (N: the course has now been enlarged and paved so that one's going between them is complete without having to reach the walls that are currently there. Rather, between the two sides of the paved track (n: the lanes for going and coming) there is a smaller track for wheelchair patients, and the ends of this smaller track currently represent the minimal distance); (c) to complete seven times: from Safa to Marwa equals one, from Marwa to Safa is another one, and so on, as mentinoed above. If doubts arise while going between them as to how many times it has been-or while circumambulating the Kaaba, how many rounds have been done-then one assumes one has done the least number one is sure of and completes the rest (O: though if the doubts arise after finishing, one need not do anything);

(d) and that going bewteen Safa and Marwa take place after the going-forth circumambulation (tawaf al-ifada, def: j9.10) or else after one's arrival circumambulation, provided that standing at 'Arafa does not intervene between the arrival circumambulation and going between Safa and Marwa (dis: j6.1).

THE SUNNAS OF GOING BETWEEN SAFA AND MARWA

j6.5 The sunnas of going between Safa and Marwa are those previously mentioned (j6.2-3), to have ablution (wudu), that one's nakedness (def: f5.3) be clothed, and to say while between Safa and Marwa: "My Lord, forgive, show mercy, and overlook that which Your know. Virify Your are the Most Powerful and Generous. O Allah, our Lord, give us what is good in this world and the next, and protect us from the torment of hell." If one recites the Koran (A: while going between them) it is better (O: than anything besides the invocations that have reached us in hadith (A: i.e. the above), which are better here than reciting the Koran).

j6.6 It is not recommended to repeat going between Safa and Marwa.

j7.0 THE WAY TO 'ARFA

j7.1 On 7 Dhul Hijja it is recommended for the imam (A:i.e. the caliph or his representative) to give a sermon after the noon prayer (zuhr) in Mecca (O: at the Kaaba), instructing the pilgrims about the rites they will soon perform, and ordering them to go forth on the following day (O: the morning of the eighth) to Mina.

j7.2 The imam goes forth with them after the dawn prayer (subh) on 8 Dhul Hijja. He prays the noon, midafternoon, sunset, and nightfall prayers with them at Mina, and they spend the night and pray the following dawn prayer there. When the sun rises over the mountain at Mina that is called Thabir, they proceed to 'Arafa. Spending the night and staying at Mina during this time are a sunna (O: and not part of the hajj rites. If one does not spend the night at Mina at all, or go there , it does not entail any consequences) that many people no longer do, but come to 'Arafa at the end of the night with lighted candles. The lighting of candles is a disgraceful innovation (O: as is their coming there a day or two before of Dhul Hijja, a mistake that contravenes the sunna, and through which they miss many other sunnas).

j7.3 It is sunna on the way to 'Arafa to say: "O Allah, to You I betake myself, seeking Your noble countenance. Forgive me my sins, make my hajj a pious one, show me mercy, and do not disappoint me"; and to do much of chanting "Labbayk," invocation (dhikr), supplication, and Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace).

j7.4 When the pilgrims reach a place called Namira (N: the site of a large mosque) just before 'Arafa, they stop, and do not immediately enter 'Arafa. When the time for the noon prayer comes, it is sunna for the imam to give two sermons before the prayer, and then they pray, joining the noon and midafternoon prayers together. This too is a sunna that few follow.

j8.0 STANDING AT 'ARAFA

j8.1 Then they enter 'Arafa after the sunna bath (ghusl) for standing at 'Afra, chanting "LabbayK" in lowliness and humility.

THE SUNNAS OF STANDING TO 'ARAFA

j8.2 It is recommended to stand exposed to the sun (O: and not take shade beneath a tent, umberella, or other, unless there is an excuse such as harm from exposure) facing the direction of prayer (qibla) with one's heart fully attentive and not occupied with this-Worldly matters, and to do much of chanting "Labbayk," reciting the Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), asking Allah's forgiveness, supplicating, and weeping, for here tears are shed and mistakes annulled. The greater part of one's words would be: "There is no god but Allah alone, without partner. His is the dominion, His the praise, and He has power over everything." And one should pray for one's family, friends, and all Muslims.

j8.3 It is recommended to stand (O: if possible without hurting anyone) by the large round boulders that lie at base of the hill called Jabal al-Rahma (lit... "Mount of Mercy"). As for climbing Jabal al-Rahma, which lies in the middle of 'Arafa, there is no merit in doing so (O: above the merit of standing in other parts of 'Arafa). Standing is valid any where in the whole expansive plain, and this bluff is merely a part of it, the same as any other, though standing by the boulders below is better (A: as the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) did so). It is better to be mounted, and not fasting. It is best for women to sit at the edge of the crowd (O: not in the middle of if, because men should not randomly mix with women).

THE OBLIGATORY ELEMENTS OF STANDING AT 'ARAFA

j8.4 The obligatory elements of standing at 'Arafa are:

(a) to be present (O: while in ihram) in some portion of 'Arafa;

(b) while sane and in full possession of one's faculties;

(c) at some point between the noon prayer (zuhr) on 9 Dhul Hijja and dawn of the following day.

(O: It is sunna to remain at 'Arafa until sunset so as to include both night and day.) Anyone who is present and sane during any of this time, even if merely passing though for a moment, has accomplished the hajj (O: as the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "The pilgrimage is 'Arafa,"meaning that most of it is 'Arafa). Someone who misses standing at 'Arafa or who spends it unconscious has missed the hajj and he releases himself from ihram by performing the rites of 'umra; that is, by circumambulating , going between Safa and Marwa, and cutting his hair, and he is thus released from his ihram. Such a person is obliged to make up the hajj and to slaughter as do those who perform an'umra first (tamattu') hajj def: j12.6(I)).

j9.0 MUZDELIFA, MINA, AND THE GOING-FORTH CIRCUMAMBULATION

MUZDELIFA

j9.1 When the sun sets on 9 Dhul Hijja, those on hajj go forth to Muzdelifa, occupied with invocation (dhikr), chanting "Labbayk," proceeding with tranquility and dignity, not jostling or injuring others (though if the way is clear it is desirable to hurry), and they join the sunset and nightfall prayers in the time of the nightfall prayer ('isha) at Muzdelifa. (O: It is necessary to have made the intention to join the prayers while in the time of the sunset prayer.) When they reach Muzdelifa, they stop, pray, and spend the night their (O: which is best, and optimal. If one cannot spend the night, then the obligation to be present to Muzdelifa can be met by coming there, even for a brief moment, during the second half of the night, for spending the night merely means to be present there during the second half of the night, not actually staying overnight, as opposed to spending the night at Mina (dis: j10.4), which must be for the greater part of the night. If someone misses spending the night at Muzdelifa in the above-mentioned sense, does not return there before dawn, and has no excuse (N: of those given below), then he is obliged to slaughter as one does for an umra first (tamattu') hajja (def:L j12.6(I)). But if he misses spending the night there for one of the same reasons which justify not spending the night at Mina (def: j10.10), then he is not obliged to slaughter. Other valid excuses for not spending the night at Muzdelifa include:

(1) being occupied with standing at 'Arafa because of not having arrived there until after sunset, since it is more important than Muzdelifa;

(2) or going forth from 'Arafa after the middle of the night to Mecca in order to perform the (A: obligatory) going-forth circumambulation (tawaf al-ifada), missing Muzdelifa because of being occupied with it, since it too is more important than Muzdelifa. In either of these two cases, one does not have to slaughter (A: for having missed Muzdelifa)). In the morning, the pilgrims pray the dawn prayer at the first of its time. The also pick up seven pebbles not one stone broken into seven (O: which is offensive), to throw at the stoning site (Ar. jamra, the enclosed round space with a pillar in the middle of it) at Mina, and it is best that these be the size of a broadbean (N: i.e. about the size of a thumbprint).

STOPPING AT AL-MASH'AR AL-HARAM

j9.2 After the dawn prayer, it is sunna to stop by a hill at the last of Muzdelifa (O: in the direction of Mina) called al-Mash'ar al-Haram (lit. "the Sanctuary Landmark"), which it is recommended to climb if possible. (A: Others hold that al-Mash'ar al-Haram refers to all of Muzdelifa.) It is desirable to face the direction of prayer (qibla), to do much of chanting "Labbayk," supplication, and invocation (dhikr), and to say, "O Allah, as You have brought us to stand in it and shown us to it, so too, give us success in Your remembrance, as You have guided us. Forgive us, and show us the mercy You have promised us by saying (and Your word is the truth): "'And when you move on from 'Arafa, remember Allah at al-Mash'ar al-Haram. Remember Him, for He has guided you though you were astray. And then go forth from where the people go forth, and seek Allah's forgiveness. Truely Allah is Oft-relenting and Most Compassionate' (Koran 2:198-99). "Our Lord, give us what is good in this world and the next, and keep us from the torment of hell."

j9.3 When the day lightens considerably, the pilgrims proceed to Mina with gravity and tranquility before the sun rises.

RELEASE FROM IHRAM: THE INITIAL STONING AT MINA

j9.4 When the pilgrims, reach the valley of Muhassir near Mina, it is sunna to quicken their step for a distance of a stone's throw. Then they take the middle way which leads to (N: one of the three stoning sites called) Jamrat al-'Aqaba. They stone it as they are when they arrive (O: i.e. if mounted, they stone it mounted, and if on foot, they stone it on foot) with the seven stones picked up from Muzdelifa. These may be picked up from anywhere, not necessarily Muzdelifa, though it is offensive to take them from the stoning sites themselves, laterines (O: or other unclean places), or around mosques (O: which is not merely offensive but rather unlawful if they are taken from grounds included in the endowment (waqf, def: k30) for the mosque).

j9.5 When one begins to stone Jamrat al-'Aqaba, one ceases chanting "Labbayk," and does not resume it thereafter (O: as its time is over, which was the period, of ihram, and stoning Jamrat al-'Aqaba is the first step to release from ihram). The (O: optimal way to stone Jamrat al-'Aqaba is to stand in the middle of the valley after the sun is up so that 'Arafa lies to the right, Mecca to the left, and the stoning-site before one, and to throw the pebbles, one by one (O: as throwing them two at a time or all at once counts as having thrown one pebble) with the right hand, saying "Allahu akbar" with each pebble, lifting the arms high enough when throwing (O: if male, though not if female) that the underarm shows, and to actually throw the pebbles (O: meaning hard enough to be considered throwing), not merely flick them off the thumb with the forefinger. (n: The minimal conditions for the validity of stoning are given at j10.8)

j9.6 When finished stoning (N: Jamrat al-'Aqaba), one slaughters a voluntary sacrifice animal (hady) driven to hajj or one due by reason of hajj (dis: j12.6); or other sacrifice animal (udhiya, def: j12).

RELEASE FROM IHRAM: CUTTING THE HAIR

j9.7 Then men have their entire head shaved, which is optimal, though one may confine oneself to (O: removing (A: by any means)) three hairs thereof (O:i.e. from the head, not something else such as the beard or mustache), or many merely shorten it, for which the optimal is to clip a little less than two centimeters from all the hair. As for women, it is optimal for them to shorten their hair in the latter way (O: it being offensive for a woman to shave her head).

j9.8 While having one's hair cut it is best:

(1) to face the direction of prayer (qibla);

(2) to say "Allahu Akbar" (O: that is, "Allahu akbar, Allahu akbar, Allahu akbar, walillahil-hamd");

(3) for the person shaving to start from the right;

(4) and to bury the hair afterwards (O: a measure recommended for any parts separated from a living being).

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j9.9 Cutting the hair is an integral without which the hajj remains unfinished (O: and which may not be compensated for by merely slaughtering), and a person remains in ihram until it is done. Someone without hair can simply pass a razor over his head (O: which is recommended, not obligatory, because it is a rite whose condition is the existence of a particular site, as it also the case with washing a hand (n: for ablution) when the hand has been amputated (A:i.e. it need not be done if the site does not exist). After one's hair, has been cut, it is sunna to say, "O Allah, for each hair reckon for me a good deed, annul a bad one, and raise me a degree. Forgive me, those who shave their hair, those who shorten it, and all the Muslims").

RELEASE FROM IHRAM: THE GOING-FORTH CIRCUMAMBULATION (TAWAF AL-IFADA)

j9.10 On the same day (A: 10 Dhul Hijja) one enters Mecca and performs the going-forth circumambulation (tawaf al-ifada), which is an integral without which the hajj remains unfinished (O: the author's expression "without which the hajj remains unfinished" meaning that it may not be compensated for by merely slaughtering, though the time it may be performed is anytime thereafter, according to our school. The Hanafis hold it must be done by sunset on 12 Dhul Hijja, and if the sun sets and one has not performed it, this obliges one to slaughter), and one remains in ihram until one does it. Its obligatory features are as described above (dis: j5.16). After it, one prays two rak'as (O: intending the sunna of circumambulation (def: j5.18)).

j9.11 Then, if one has already gone between Safa and Marwa after the arrival circumambulation (dis: j6.1), one does not repeat it, though it he has not yet done it, one must do so, since going between Safa and Marwa is also an integral without which the hajj is unfinished, and one remains in ihram (O: legally, regarding one's relations with women (dis: j9.13)) until it is performed.

RELEASE FROM IHRAM: GENERAL PROVISIONS

j9.12 The best order in which to perform:

(1) stoning Jamrat al-'Aqaba;

(2) cutting the hair;

(3) and the going-forth circumambulation (tawaf al-ifada); is (1), (2) and (3) (O: and the sunna is to do all three on this day), though it is valid to do them in some other order. The time for these three begins at the middle of the night (A: between sunset of 9 Dhul Hijja and dawn of the tenth) on 'Eid al-Adha (O: though it is best for the stoning to take place after sunrise). The (O: preferred) time for stoning Jamrat al-'Aqaba ends at the end of the day of the 'Eid (O: at sunset. As for the permissible time, it lasts until the end of the three days after the 'Eid. The best time to stone on 'Eid al-Adha finishes at noon. Thus, the stoning has three times: the best, the preferred, and the merely permissible), while the time for cutting one's hair and the going-forth circumambulation lasts indefinately, even if years.

j9.13 The release from ihram in hajj is in two stages, partial (lit. "first") and full ("second").

Partial release from ihram occurs when any two of the three rites of stoning, cutting the hair, and the going-forth circumambulation are performed, whether cutting the hair and stoning, cutting the hair and circumambulation, or stoning and circumambulation. Doing any two of them accomplishes partial release from ihram, rendering permissible all the things that were made unlawful by ihram (def: j3.5) except those relating to women, such as sexual intercourse, getting married, or touching with desire. Full release from ihram occurs when all three rites have been performed, and it renders permissible everything made unlawful by ihram (O: though one still has to stone at the three stoning sites and stay overnight at Mina during the days following the 'Eid (Ayam al-Tashriq)).

j10.0 ENCAMPMENT AND STONING AT MINA ON THE DAYS AFTER 'EID

j10.1 When finished with the going-forth circumambulation (tawaf al-ifada) and going between Safa and Marwa (O:i.e. doing the latter if one had not previously performed it after the arrival circumambulation (dis: j6.1)), one is obliged to return to Mina (O: to stay overnight there and stone on the days following the 'Eid (Ayam al-Tashriq). It is desirable to arrive before noon to perform the noon prayer there as the Prophet did (Allah bless him and give him peace)), and one spends the night there. One picks up twenty-one pebbles from Mina on the days after the 'Eid (the first of which is the second day of the 'Eid), taking care to shun the three places mentioned above (dis:j9.4 (end)).

j10.2 After the time for the noon prayer has come (O: on 11 Dhul Hijja, the first day after the 'Eid) one stones with the pebbles before performing the noon prayer. (N: It is well to mention some ruling about stoning that enable one to avoid the crowding at Mina on a contemporary hajj. The time for stoning on each of the three days that follow the 'Eid (Ayam al-Tashriq) begins at noon of that day and all of one's stoning until the afternoon of the third day, having remained to Mina until then. But in such a case, the correct order is still Obligatory: one must begin by stoning with the intention of performing it for the first day, standing at the first the third (Jamrat al-Kubra). then the second site (Jamrat al-Wusta),and then the third (Jamrat al-Aqaba) Then one stones with the intention of performing it for the second day, the first stoning site first, then the second, then the third. And then one stones for the third day, observing the same order.)

THE PROPER SEQUENCE FOR STONING

j10.3 The first site one stones (O: called Jamrat al-Kubra) is the one closest to al-Khayf mosque. One (A: optimally) walks up to it, keeping it on one's left and facing the direction of prayer (qibla), stones it pebble by pebble as mentioned above (j9.5), and turns from the direction of prayer to avoid others' pebbles, after which one puts the stoning site behind one and again turns to the direction of prayer, to supplicate and invoke Allah humbly and imploringly for as much time as it takes to recite al-Baqara (Koran 2) (N: about an hour). One then proceeds to the second site (O: called Jamrat al-Wusta), repeats the stoning procedure, and when finished, supplicates (O: and invokes Allah Most High) for as long as it takes to recite al-Baqara. Then one goes to the third site, which is Jamrat al- Aqaba that was previously stoned with seven pebbles on Eid al-Adha, and stones it as one did at that time (dis: j9.5), facing it with the direction of prayer (qibla) to the left, though when finished, one does not stand there.

THE SECOND DAY AFTER THE EID

j10.4 One is obliged to spend the night at Mina (A: that evening, after sunset on 11 Dhul Hijja). The following day, the second day after the Eid (A: i.e. 12 Dhul Hijja), one picks up twenty-one pebbles, and after the noon prayer's time has come, one stones the three stoning sites as described above, seven pebbles at each site. It is not permissible to stone for each of the days after the Eid until after the noon prayer's time arrives. The correct sequence of stoning the sites is obligatory: the one closest to al-Khayf mosque first, the middle one second, and Jamrat al-Aqaba third.

j10.5 It is recommended to take a bath (ghusl) each day for stoning.

THE PERMISSIBILITY OF LEAVING MINA ON THE SECOND DAY

j10.6 After stoning on the second day after the Eid, it is recommended for the imam to give a sermon informing people about the permissibility of leaving early (A: on the second day rather than the third)

(O: which is permissible provided:

(a) that one's departure takes place after the noon prayer's time has come;

(b) after having stoned the three stoning sites;

(c) that one 's departure is from Mina itself,as it is not permissible to leave directly from Jamrat al-Aqaba, in view of the position that it is not part of Mina;

(d) that one intends leaving while within the boundaries of Mina;

(e) and that one leaves before sunset). Then the imam bids them farewell.

j10.7 One then has a choice between leaving early on the second day after the Eid, or waiting (A: until having stoned on the third day). If one wishes to leave early, one may do so, provided the departure from Mina occurs before sunset. If the sun sets and one is still at Mina, it is not permissible to leave early, and one is obliged to spend the night there and stone the sites the next day. If one does not wish to leave early, one stays overnight at Mina, picking up twenty-one pebbles and stoning the sites on the following day after the time of the noon prayer has begun, as previously mentioned.

CONDITIONS FOR THE VALIDITY OF STONING

j10.8 (O: Having mentioned the conditions for stoning in various rulings above, it is well enumerate all seven together:

(a) that seven pebbles be used;

(b) that they be thrown one by one;

(c) that one's action may be termed throwing, not merely putting the pebbles into the throwing place;

(d) that what is thrown be some form of stone;

(e) that it be done with the hand, as a bow or foot would be inadequate;

(f) that one aim at the throwing place;

(g) that one be certain that the pebble reaches it, even if it falls out again, for if one doubts that the stone reached it, then that stone does not count; (the above seven conditions hold for both Eid al-Adha (dis: j9.5) and for the days following the Eid, though the days following the Eid require two additional conditions:)

(h) that the stoning be done after the time for the noon prayer arrives;

(i) and that one stone the three sites in the proper sequence (dis: j10.3).)

j10.9 Then one (O: who has (n: remained at Mina and) stoned on the third day after the Eid) leaves (O: after stoning. None of the conditions for leaving early (def: j10.6) are necessary to leave at this point).

VALID EXCUSES FOR NOT SPENDING THE NIGHT AT MINA

j10.10 (O: If there is an acceptable excuse for not spending the night at Mina, then not doing so does not entail any consequences. Excuses include:

(1) having property one fears to lose were one to stay overnight;

(2) fearing for one's person or the funds with one;

(3) having a sick person with one who requires care;

(4) having an illness that makes spending the night a hardship;

(5) or a similar excuse.

People in such circumstances do not have to spend the night, and may leave on the second day after the Eid, even after sunset. These excuses, which permit one to not spend the night at Mina, likewise permit not spending the night at Muzdelifa, in connection with which some other excuses have been previously mentioned (dis: j9.1(1-2)).)

j10.11 It is recommended (N: after leaving Mina) to spend the night at al-Muhassab, which is by the mountain near the cemetery of Mecca, one's hajj now being finished.

j11.0 THE FAREWELL CIRCUMAMBULATION AND FINAL MEASURES

j11.1 If one wishes to perform the umra, one may do so (O: i.e. enter ihram for it) from any point outside of the Sacred Precinct (Haram), as mentioned below in the description of umra (def: j12).

THE FAREWELL CIRCUMBULATION

j11.2 When one wants to return home, one comes to Mecca and performs the farewell circumambulation (tawaf al-wada) (O: as is obligatory. It is disobedience to Allah to leave without the farewell circumambulation, and one must return to Mecca to perform it if still within 81 km./ 50mi. of it. If farther than this, one is not obliged to return, but must slaughter (def: j12.6(I) (N: i.e. if one goes by the position that the farewell circumambulation is obligatory,though slaughtering is sunna if one goes by the position (A: the weaker position in the Shafii school) that the farewell circumambulation is merely sunna). The integrals and conditions of the farewell circumambulation are the same as the obligatory circumambulation (def: j5.16). The farewell circumambulation is not only for those performing hajj or umra, but is required from (A: i.e. obligatory for) anyone leaving Mecca a considerable distance, no matter whether intending to return or not).

j11.3 After the farewell circumambulation, one prays two rakas (O: a sunna in our school) and stands at the place between the Black Stone and the door of the Kaaba, and supplicates: "O Allah, the house is Your house, the servant Your servant and son of Your two servants. You have carried me on a creature You have made submissive to me, bringing me to Your city and showing me Your grace that I might fulfill Your rites. If You are pleased with me then be the more so, and if not, then bless me now before my residence and the place where I am visited grow far from Your house. Now is the time I depart if You permit me, who seek none but You and no other than Your house, and am not averse to You or Your house. O Allah, give me good health in body and protect me in my religion. Make my affairs turn out well and give me the sustenance of obedience to You as long as You let me live. Give me the best of this world and the next, for truly, You have power over everything. "One blesses the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), and then walks away normally (O: turning one's back on the Kaaba) without backing away from it (O: while facing it, as many people do, which is offensive because it is a reprehensible innovation (bid'a, def: w29.3)).

j11.4 One then immediately prepares for departure. If one stops to stand (O: lengthily), or becomes involved in something unconnected with travel (O: like shopping, paying a debt, visiting a friend or sick person, and so forth), then one's farewell circumambulation is invalid (A: though such things do not nullify it in the Hanafi school) and it is obligatory to repeat it. But if one's activity concerns travelling, such as making one's baggage fast or buying travel provisions and the like (O: such as a rope with which to tie up one's baggage) then it is permissible.

j11.5 A woman in her monthly period may depart without a farewell circumambulation, and need not slaughter in expiation (O: though it is sunna for her to come to the door of the mosque and say the supplication mentioned above (j11.3)).

RECOMMENDED MEASURES FOR THOSE STAYING IN MECCA

j11.6 It is recommended to do much of:

(1) performing umra (O: the whole time one is in Mecca, especially in Ramadan);

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(2) looking at the Kaaba (O: as it is said that Allah Most High sends down one hundred and twenty mercies day and night upon the Noble House, sixty for those circumambulation, forty for those praying there, and twenty for those looking at it);

(3) drinking the water of the Well of Zamzam for whatever intention one wishes, religious or this-Worldly (O: as the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "The water of Zamzam is for whatever it is drunk for." It is sunna to face the Kaaba while drinking, to breathe three times, and say "al-Hamdu lillah" and "Bismillah" each time one drinks), drinking one's fill of it;

(4) and visiting the noble places of Mecca (O: which are many, such as the birthplace of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) and that of Ali (Allah be well pleased with him).

j11.7 It is unlawful to take the slightest bit of the earth of the Sacred Precinct or its stones, or take cups or jugs made from the clay of the Sacred Precinct of Medina.

j12.0 THE OBLIGATORY FEATURES OF HAJJ AND UMRA

A DESCRIPTION OF UMRA

J12.1 The umra consists of entering ihram as one does for hajj (def:j3) (o: resembling the hajj in the Obligatoriness of the intention when one enters ihram, in the sunna of bathing (ghusl) for it, and in the necessity of divesting oneself of sewn clothing before or after the intention). If one is a Meccan (N: or a temporary resident (dis: j2.2)), one must go to (n: enter ihram from at least as far as) the nearest place outside of the Sacred Precinct. If one is from outside (O: meaning a stranger travelling towards Mecca), then one enters ihram at the ihram site (O: which one passes, meaning the hajj ihram sites (def: j2.1)), as previously mentioned. All of the things unlawful while in ihram for hajj (def: j3.5) are unlawful while in haram for umra. Then one enters Mecca and performs the circumambulation (def: j5.16) of 'umra, though the arrival circumambulation (tawaf al-qudum) is not called for by Sacred Law (O: at all, since one is performing an Obligatory circumambulation). One then goes between Safa and Marwa (j6), and finally shaves the head or shortens the hair (def: j9.7) (O: the former being preferable for men and the latter for women). When this has been done, one is released from the ihram of 'umra.

THE INTEGRALS OF HAJJ AND 'UMRA

j12.2 The integrals of 'umra are:

(a) ihram (def: j3);

(b) circumambulation (def: j5.16);

(c) going between Safa and Marwa (def: j6.4);

(d) shaving or shortening the hair (def:j9.7);

(O: and performing them in the order given which is a fifth Integral).

j12.3 The integrals of hajj are these four (n: (a), (b), (c), and (d) above) plus standing at 'Arafa (def: j8.4). The hajj's other requisites (wajibat, dis: c2.1(A:)) are:

(a) that one enter ihram at the proper site (def: j2.1-2);

(b) stoning the stoning sites at Mina (def: j9.4,j10);

(c) staying the nightt at Muzdelifa (def:j9.1) (N:another position is that this is sunna and not obligatory);

(d) staying the nights following the 'Eid at Mina (def:j10.1,4,7);

(e) and the farewell circumambulation (def:j11.2). Everything besides the above is sunna.

THE NONPERFORMANCE OF AN OBLIGATORY FEATURE OF HAJJ OR 'UMRA

j12.4 Someone who does not perform an integral (N: of hajj or 'umra) remains in ihram until he performs it.Someone who does not perform some other obligatory feature of them must slaughter in expiation (def:j12.6(I)) (O:if he does not return and perform it before its time is finished, as in such cases as:

(1) returning to enter ihram at the proper site before one starts circumambulating (dis: j2.5), though if one returns after having begun circumambulating, it does not lift the obligation to slaughter;

(2) not spending the night at Muzdelifa (j9.1), which necessitates slaughtering if one does not return before sunrise, though to do so after sunrise does not lift the obligation to slaughter;

(3) or not spending most of the night at Mina, if one does not return to it before most of the time has passed, though if one does (n:return while most of it remains), then one need not slaugther. And similarly for the other requisites). Someone who does not perform a sunna is not obliged to do anything.

BEING PREVENTED BY OTHERS FROM COMPLETING THE INTEGRALS OF HAJJ OR UMRA AFTER HAVING ENTERED IHRAM

j12.5 Someone prevented by an enemy (O: nonMuslim or Muslim) from entering Mecca (O: and fulfilling the integrals (A: of hajj or 'umra, including being barred from performing the obligatory circumambulation (tawaf al-ifada) or going between Safa and Marwa) when there is no alternative route, releases himself from ihram by intending release from it, shaving his head, and slaughtering a sacrifice animal at the place he has been prevented, if an animal is available. If not (O: such as when unable to find an animal at all, or finding one for more than the going price of similar animals at that place and time), one gives the animal's value in food (A: wheat) (O: as charity to the poor and those short of money is the Sacred Precint (N: or place one is prevented)); or if unable (O: to give food), one fasts a single day for each 0.51 liters of food (A: wheat) that would have been given had the latter been done (O: fasting the days wherever one wishes. When fasting is the only option possible, one is immediately released from ihram after shaving one's head with the intention of releasing oneself). If such a hajj or 'umra was to have been supererogatory, one is not obliged to make it up.

A FULL SUMMARY OF THE EXPIATIONS CONNECTED WITH HAJJ AND 'UMRA

j12.6 (n: Mohammed 'Abdullah Jurdani distinguishes between four categories of expiations relating to hajj and 'umra. (I) The first category consists of alternatives in a fixed precedence order and predetermined amount (dam tartib wa taqdir), meaning that one must either slaughter a shah (def: h2.5) meeting sacrifice specifications (def: j14.2), distributiing its meat to the poor and those short of money (def: h8.11) in the Sacred Precinct; or if unable to slaughter (N: lack of money (def j1.17.2) while on the hajj, even if one has enough money back home), then one must fast three days during the hajj and seven more at home, making ten days. (N: If this expiation is for something that should have been performed after standing at 'Arafa (n: (4), (5), (6) or (9) below), the three days "during the hajj" may be fasted after one's release from ihram while still in Mecca, or if one fails to do so while three (A: as is obligatory), they become a makeup fast that must be performed before the other seven fasted at home (A: by an interval equal to the days of one's journey home).) There are nine things which necessitate this type of expiation:

(1) performing an 'umra first (tamattu') hajj (def: j1.15,17);

(2) performing hajj and 'umra simultaneously (qiran, def: j1.16,17);

(3) not standing at 'Arafa (def: j8.4);

(4) to miss stoning (def: j10.8) at the stoning sites of Mina on the three days after the 'Eid, the time for which ends at sunset on the third day (dis: j10.2 (N:)) if one does not leave early (def: j10.6);

(5) to miss all three nights at Mina after the 'Eid (def: j10.1,4,7), though if one only misses a single night, one distributes 0.51 liters of wheat to the poor of the Sacred Precinct, and if two nights, then double this amount;

(6) to miss spending the night at Muzdelifa (def: j9.1, second par.);

(7) not entering ihram at the proper site (dis: j2.5);

(8) breaking one's vow (def: j18.5);

(9) or not performing the farewell circumambulation (tawaf al-wada', def: j11.2). (II) The second category consists of expiations in which one is free to choose one of three predetermined alternatives (dam takhyir wa taqdir), namely: to slaughter and distribute a shah as described above (I); to fast three days, even if unconsecutive, wherever one wishes; or to give 1.015 litres of wheat to each of six of the poor or those short of money at the Sacred Precinct. There are eight things which necessitate this type of expiation:

(1) removal of three hairs (dis: j3.8) at one time and place, meaning that the interval between

removing each is not considered long (dis: f4.5), and one has remained at the same place, though if their removal does not occur at a single time and place, one must pay 0.51 liters of wheat to the poor or fast one day for each hair, even if their number exceeds three;

(2) trimming three nails at one time and place, with the same rules and restrictions as just mentioned;

(3) men wearing sewn garments or covering their head (dis: j3.6), or women covering their faces (dis: j3.24);

(4) using oil (def: j3.7(1));

(5) using scent (j3.7);

(6) sexual foreplay (n: other than intercourse) (dis: j3.13);

(7) having sexual intercourse a second time after having spoiled one's hajj (dis: j3.14) by an initial sexual intercourse;

(8) or having sexual intercourse between partial and full release (def: j9.13) from ihram. (III) The third category consists of expiations in a fixed precedence order of alternatives involving

estimate-based substitutes (dam tartib wa ta'dil). It is necessitated by two things.

(1) The first is being prevented by another from completing all the integrals of the hajj or 'umra (def: j12.5), in which case one must release oneself from ihram by slaughtering and distributing a shah as described above (I); or if unable to slaughter, one estimates its value, buys food for that amount, and distributes it to the poor of the Sacred Precinct (N: or place one is prevented); or if unable to give food, one fasts one day for each 0.51 liters of wheat that would have been given if one had been able to.

(2) The second is having spoiled one's hajj or 'umra by sexual intercourse (def: j3.14), in which case one must slaughter a camel, or if unable to, one must perform the alternative one is capable of, of those mentioned at j3.15. (IV) The fourth category involves choosing between alternatives consisting of estimate-based substitutes (dam takhyir wa ta'dil). It is necessitated by two things.

(1) The first is killing a game animal while in ihram, where if there is a domestic animal of similar value (lit. "like"), one has a choice between the alternatives mentioned at j3.22, though if there is not, then those mentioned at j3.23.

(2) The second is destroying a tree of the Sacred Precinct, where, if it is large in relation to other trees of its kind, one slaughters and distributes a cow, and if small, one slaughters a sheep. In either case,one has a choice between slaughtering it and distributing its meat to the poor of the Sacred Precinct, estimating its cost and buying wheat to distribute to the poor of the Sacred Precinct, or fasting a day for each 0.51 liters of wheat that would have been bought had the latter been done. (Mufid' awam al-Muslimin ma yajibu' alayhim min ahkam al-din (y67), 230-38)) (N: Throughout the above, whenever one is obliged to slaughter an animal, it is permissible to commission (wakala, def: k17) another person to do so by means of the written contracts readily available at a modern hajj, simply paying an amount of money and signing the agreement. They then slaughter for one is the early morning of the 'Eid and distribute the meat to deserving recipients. Secondly, giving food or wheat to the poor, whereever it is mentioned in connection with expiations, means giving them the type of food that is valid for the zakat of 'Eid al-Fitr (def: h7.6), and the remarks

made in that section about the Hanafi school permitting other than wheat apply equally here.) (n: In the Hanafi school, slaughtering must take place in the Sacred Precinct, though one may distribute both the meat and other expiations anywhere (al-Lubab fi sharh al-Kitab (y88), 1.212, 1.224).)

j13.0 VISITING THE TOMB OF THE PROPHET (ALLAH BLESS HIM AND GIVE HIM PEACE)

j13.1 It is recommended when one has finished the hajj to visit the tomb of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) (n: in Medina). (O: One should enter his mosque with the right foot first, as in any mosque, and say the well-known supplication: "It the name of Allah, praise be to Allah. O Allah, bless our liegelord Mohammed, his folk and his Companions, and give them peace. O Allah, open unto me the gates of Your mercy.")

HOW TO VISIT THE PROPHET'S TOMB

j13.2 It is recommended to pray two rak'as to greet his mosque, and then approach the noble and honuored tombe and stand at the head of it with one's back to the direction of prayer (qibla). One bows one's head and summons to mind reverent awe and humility, then greets the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) and blesses him in a normal voice (O: saying: "Peace be upon you, O Messenger of Allah. Peace be upon you, O Prophet of Allah. Peace be upon you, O Chosen One of Allah. Peace be upon you, O Best of Allah's Creation. Peace be upon you, O Beloved of Allah"), after which one supplicates Allah for whatever one wishes. The one steps half a meter to the right to greet Abu Bakr, and again to the right to greet' Umar (Allah be well pleased with them). Then it is recommended to return to one's original place and do much of supplicating Allah, turning to Allah through the Prophet (tawassul, def: w40) (O: concerning one's aims and goals, since he is the greatest intermediary, in intercession and other things), and invoking blessings upon him (Allah bless him and give him peace), after which one supplicates beside the pulpit (minbar) and in the Rawda (N: which is the space designated by the white pillars between the chamber containing the noble tomb and the pulpit).

j13.3 It is unlawful to circumambulate the tomb. It is offensive to nudge the wall around the tomb with one's back or front, to kiss it, or touch it (O: with one's hand. Proper conduct here is to stand back from it as one would if present during his life (Allah bless him and give him peace). This is what is right, and what scholars have said and are agreed upon. One should not be deceived by what some common people do in their ignorance of proper manners, for it is reprehensible innovation (bid'a, def: w29.3)). One of the most disgraceful innovations is the entering of dates in the Rawda.

j13.4 It is recommended to visit al-Baqi' (O: the cementery of Medina. It is desirable to go to it every day, for buried their are the wives of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), some of his children, his father's brother 'Abbas, ur liegelord 'Uthman ibn 'Affan the successor of the Messenger of Allah (Allah bless him and give him peace), a number of his Companions (Sahaba), and Imam Malik, founder of the Maliki school of jurisprudence, the bliss and benefaction of Allah be upon them all).

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j13.5 When one desires to travel, one bids farewell to the mosque by praying two rak'as, and to the noble tomb with a visit and supplication. And Allah knows best.

j14.0 SACRIFICES ON 'EID AL-ADHA

(O: Sacrifices are the livestock slaughtered in worship of Allah Most High between 'Eid al-Adha and the last of the three days that follow it. They are a general hospitality from Allah to believers (A: to whom the meat is distributed. It is unlawful to give any of it to non-Muslims).)

j14.1 'Eid al-Adha sacrifices are a confirmed sunna (def: c4.1) (N: which is considered Obligatory in the Hanafi school) (O: being sunna for those able to slaughter, though uncalled-for from the poor person who is unable). It is recommended for someone who intends to sacrifice not to cut his hair or trim his nails on 10 Dhul Hijja until he slaughters (O: these being offensive until he does). The times for slaughtering begins when it is long enough after sunrise to have performed the 'Eid prayer (def: f19) with its two sermons (A:i.e. about forty minutes) (O: even if one does not attend it) and it ends at (A: sunset on) the last of the three days following the Eid.

SACRIFICE ANIMAL SPECIFICATIONS

j14.2 Only camels, cattle, sheep, or goats may be slaughtered. At the youngest, camels must be over five full years, cattle and goats over two full years, and sheep over one full year. A single camel or cow fulfills the sunna for seven (A: men and their families), though a shah (def: h2.5) only fulfills it for one. It is superior to slaughter a single shah than to have a share in slaughtering a camel.The best animal to sacrifice is a camel, then a cow, then a sheep, and then a goat. The best kind of shah (h2.5) to slaughter is white, then tawnycolored, then black and white, and then a black one. It is a necessary condition that a sacrifice animal be free of defects that diminish (A: the quality of) its meat. It is invalid to slaughter:

(1) a lame animal (O: that has an obvious walking problem that hinders its going to pasture and thus weakness it);

(2) a blind or one-eyed animal (O: whose defect is manifest, as this diminishes its ability to graze);

(3) a sick animal (O: whose infirmity is plain); (though if these defects are slight, the animal will suffice. It is likewise invalid to sacrifice an animal that is:)

(4) deranged by malnutrition or insane:

(5) mangy or scabrous (O: even when it is not obvious);

(6) with an ear that has been cut off of a piece of its separated, even if not much (O: or one born without an ear);

(7) or missing a considerable part of the haunch or similar meat-bearing portion (O: though not if it is a slight amount).It is permissible to sacrifice an animal with a slit in its ear (O: a measure for identification that does not diminish the meat) or open with part or all of a horn broken off.

HAVING ANOTHER SLAUGHTER FOR ONE

j14.3 It is best to slaughter (def:j17.4) the animal oneself (O: if one can slaughter well. If not, then it is obligatory to have someone who can slaughter properly do it for one). If unable to slaughter well, it is recommended to be present when it is done.

THE INTENTION

j14.4 The intention to sacrifice must be made at the time of slaughtering. (O: It suffices the person who is having another slaughter for him to make the intention when he authorizes the other to do so.)

DISTRIBUTING THE MEAT

j14.5 It is recommended that a third of the animal sacrificed be eaten, a third be given away (O: even f to wealthy Muslims, and a third be given as charity (O: raw, not cooked). It is obligatory to give away some of the (O: raw) meat as charity, even if it is not much (O: it suffices to give it to one Muslim), and the hide is given in charity or used at home. It is not permissible to sell the hide or meat (O: all of the above applying to sunna or voluntary sacrifices). It is not permissible for a person who has vowed (def:j18) a sacrifice to eat any of the animal slaughtered.

j15.0 SACRIFICE FOR A NEWBORN ('AQIQA) AND NAME GIVING

(O: Lexically, 'aqiqa means the hair on a baby's head at birth. In Sacred Law, it means the animal sacrificed when the baby's hair is cut, which is a confirmed sunna (def: c4.1).)

SUNNAS AFTER BIRTH

j15.1 It is recommended for anyone to whom a child is born to shave its hair on the seventh day thereafter (O: meaning any newborn, whether male or female; a baby girl should also have her hair shaved) and give away in charity gold or silver equal to the weight of the hair. It is also recommended (N: when the baby is first born) to give the call to prayer (adhan, def: f3.6) in its right ear and the call to commence (iqama) in its left.

THE SACRIFICE

j15.2 If the baby is male, it is recommended to slaughter two shahs (def:h2.5) that meet 'Eid Sacrifice specifications (def:j14.2), while if the baby is female, it is recommended to slaughter one. (O: The person called-upon to slaughter for a newborn is the one obliged to support the child (dis: m12.1).) After slaughtering, the shah is cooked (O: as at any feast) in sweet sauce, but none of its bones are broken (A: it is cut at the joints), and it is recommended to distribute the meat to the poor.

NAME-GIVING

j15.3 It is sunna to give the child a good name such as Mohammed or 'Abd al-Rahman. (O: It is desirable to name a child even if it dies before being named.) (A: It is sunna for a new Muslim to take a good name like the above, or one of the names of the prophets (def:u3.5) (Allah bless them and give them peace).)

j16.0 FOODS

(O: This section is an explanation of what is lawful (halal) and unlawful (haram), the knowledge of which is among the most important concerns of the religion, since knowing it is personally obligatory for every Muslim.)

AVOIDING DOUBTFUL FOODS

j16.1 (n: The following hadith and its commentary have been added here by the translator.) Anas (Allah be well pleased with him) relates that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) found a date in his path, and said, "But for fear that it was charity, I would have eaten it."(Riyad al-salihin (Y107), 277) (Mohammed ibn 'Allah Bakri:) The hadith shows that when a person doubts that something is permissible, he should not do it. The question arises, Is refraining from it in such a case obligatory or recommended?- to which our Imams explicitly reply that it is the latter, because a thing is initially assumed to be permissible and fundamentally not blameworthy, as long as some prior reason for considering it unlawful is not known about it that one doubts has been removed. For example, when one doubts that one of the conditions for valid slaughtering (def: j17.2-4) has been met, conditions which make (N: a particular piece of meat) lawful, the assumption is that it remains unlawful (N: since initially the animal was alive, a state in which it is unlawful to eat, while it only becomes lawful by a specific procedure, i.e. Islamic slaughtering), so that the meat does not become lawful except through certainty (A: that it has been slaughtered. The case of meats is exceptional in this, since most other foods are initially permissible, and one assumes they remain so unless one is certain something has occurred which has made them unlawful). In cases of doubt, only likely possibilities are taken into consideration, since it appears probable (N: in the above hadith) that dates for charity were present at the time. As for remote possibilities, taking them into consideration only leads to a blameworthy extremism and departure from how the early Muslims were, for the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) was given some cheese and a cloak (A: by members of a non-Muslim Arab tribe) and he ate the one and wore the other without considering whether they might have mixed the former with pork, or whether the wool came from a slaughtered or unslaughtered animal. Were one to take such possibilities into consideration, one would not find anything lawful on the face of the earth. This is why our colleagues say, "Complete certainty that something is lawful is only conceivable about rainwater falling from the sky into one's hand: (Dalil alfalihin li turuq Riyad al-salihin (y25), 5.37-38).

ANIMALS LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL TO EAT

j16.2 It is permissible to eat the oryx, zebra, hyena, fox, rabbet, porcupine, daman (n: a Syrian rock badger), deer, ostrich, or horse.

j16.3 It is unlawful to eat:

(1) (N: any form of pork products);

(2) cats or disgusting small animals that creep or walk on the ground such as ants, flies, and the like (O: disgusting being used here to exclude inoffensive ones such as the jerboa, locust, and hedgehog, which are small creeping animals, but are recognized as wholesome, and are pure);

(3) predatory animals that prey with fangs or tusks, such as the lion, lynx, leopard, wolf, bear,

simians, and so forth (O: including the elephant and weasal);

(4) those which hunt with talons, such as the falcon, hawok, kite, or crow, except for the barnyard crow, which may be eaten;

(5) or the offspring of an animal permissible to eat and one not permissible to eat, such as a mule (O: which is a cross between one eaten, the horse, and one not eaten, the donkey).

j16.4 It is permissible to eat any aquatic game (sayd al-bahr) except frogs and crocodiles.

OTHER SUBSTANCES UNLAWFUL TO EAT

j16.5 It is unlawful to eat anything harmful, such as poison, glass, or earth. (A: If something has been proven harmful, it is unlawful to consume, while if suspected to be harmful, it is offensive to.) (n: w41 discusses cigarette smoking.)

j16.6 It is unlawful to eat anything impure (najasa, def: e14.1) (O: whether impure in itself, or because of being affected with something impure, as is the case with (N: befouled) milk, vinegar, or honey). It is also unlawful to eat substances which are pure, but generally considered repulsive, such as saliva or sperm.

j16.7 If forced to eat from a unslaughtered dead animal (O: out of fear of losing one's life or fear of an illness growing worse), then one may eat enough (O: the necessary minimum) to avert destruction (O: meaning enough to keep life from ending. One may not eat to repletion from a dead animal unless one believes that confining oneself to the survival minimum entails dangerous consequences, in which case it is obligatory to take the edge off one's hunger). If circumstances force one to choose between a dead animal and some permissible food belonging to someone else (O: who is not present), one is obliged to eat of the dead animal.

j17.0 HUNTING AND SLAUGHTERING

j17.1 It is not permissible to eat any animal (O: that Muslims are permitted to eat) until it has been properly slaughtered, the only exceptions to which are fish (def: j16.4) and locusts, which are permissible to eat even when they die unslaughtered.

j17.2 It is unlawful to eat meat slaughtered by a Zoroastrian, someone who has left Islam (murtadd, def:08), or an idol worshipper, (O: included with whom are those (zanadiqa) with corrupt convictions about tenets of faith that are well-known as essential parts of Islam (def: books u and v),) or a Christian of the desert Arab tribes (O: the upshort of which is that it is a necessary condition that the slaughterer be of a people whose women we are permitted to marry, whether Muslims, Jews, or Christians).

j17.3 It is permissible to slaughter with anything that has a cutting edge; but not a tooth, bone, or claw, whether human or otherwise, attached to the body or not.

j17.4 The necessary condition for slaughtering any animal which is within one's capacity to slaughter (O: domesticated or wild) is to cut both the windpipe and the gullet (O: windpipe meaning the channel of breath, and gullet meaning the channel of food and drink which lies beneath the windpipe. It is not necessary for the validity of slaughtering to cut the carotid arteries, which are two blood vessels on the sides of the neck encompassing the windpipe. If the slaughterer neglects to cut any part of either the windpipe or gullet and the animal dies, it is considered an unslaughtered dead animal, as is an animal with nothing but purely reflexive movement left when one finishes cutting a part of the windpipe or gullet previously missed. If the slaughterer cuts from the back of the neck until he severs the windpipe and gullet, it is a sin because of the excess pain caused (A: though it is valid as slaughtering. Chopping off heads of chickens with a hatchet is offensive, though the meat is lawful). The slaughterer should cut swiftly and not take his time such that he has to cut two or more times. If he does, ad there is no life remaining in the animal on the second swipe, then the animal (A: has died unslaughtered and) is impermissible to eat. The determining factor is whether life remains in the animal when the knife is applied at the beginning of the last stroke (A: the one which successfully severs both the windpipe and gullet), no matter whether this is the second or third).

j17.5 It is recommended when slaughtering:

(1) to turn the animal towards the direction of prayer (qibla);

(2) to sharpen the knife;

(3) to cut rapidly (O: even faster than is obligatory, such that it does not take two or more swipes, as mentioned above);

(4) to mention Allah's name (O: for the spiritual grace therein, saying "Bismillah," as is sunna) (A:this is obligatory in the Hanafi school);

(5) to bless the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace);

(6) and to cut the large blood vessels (O: on either side of the neck).

j17.6 It is recommended to slaughter camels by thrusting the knife (O: into the hollow at the base of the neck (A: between the two collarbones) above the chest so that one severs them (A: the windpipe and gullet) in this concavity, since it is easier than cutting the throat, for it seeds the exit of the spirit from the body by bypassing the length of the neck, being the preferable way to slaughter any animal with a long neck, such as a duck, goose, ostrich, or giraffe), with the camel left standing, one foreleg bound up.

j17.7 It is recommended to slaughter other than camels (O: such as cattle, sheep, goats, or horses (A: by drawing the knife) across the throat at the top of neck) after laying them on their left side. (O: Slaughtering them this way is only called for to easily enable the slaughterer to hold the knife in his right hand and the animal head with is left. It is also sunna for the animal's legs to be bound, except the right hind leg, so the animal will not jerk during slaughtering and cause the

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slaughterer to miss his mark. The right hind leg is left free in order to pacify the animal by giving it something to move).

j17.8 It is a necessary condition that the slaughterer not raise his knife-hand while slaughtering (O: while drawing it across the neck). It if lefts it before completely severing both the windpipe and gullect,t and then returns to cut them, the animal is not lawful to eat.

HUNTING

j17.9 As for hunting, a game animal is lawful to eat whenever on hits it with an arrow (A: or according to the Maliki school, shoots it with a rifle or shotgun) or brings it down with a trained hunting animal (A: such as a falcon or dog) (O: but only if trained), and it dies before one can slaughter it (O: that is, provided that one did not reach it when there was any life let in it besides reflexive motion. If one reaches it while it is alive or any life remains, then one must properly slaughter it), provided that the hunter is not blind, is of a people whose slaughtered food Muslims may eat (def: j17.2), and provided that the animal does not die from being struck by the mere weighting of the arrow , but rather dies by its edge weighting that it hits the animal point-first, wounding it). If the game was brought down by a trained hunting animal, it is a necessary condition that the animal ate nothing of the game. If the game animal dies from being struck by the weight of the trained hunting animal (A: as in falconing), then the game is lawful to eat.

j17.10 A game animal is not lawful to eat if:

(1) an arrow hits it and it then drips into water (O: because of the likelihood that it died from

drawing (N: if that is probable) rather than from being short);

(2) it is brought down on a peak which it then falls from (O: because of the likelihood that it died from the fall);

(3) or if it disappears after having been wounded and is found dead (O: because it might have died for some other reason than being wounded (N: though if it is obvious that it dies from the wound, it is lawful to eat)).

j17.11 A camel or other (O: domestic animal such as a cow, sheep, goat, or horse) that strays and cannot be retrieved, or that falls into a well and cannot be gotten out may be made lawful to eat by shooting it (O: because of the impossibility of slaughtering it), no matter where one hits its body (N: provided one mortally wounds it). And Allah knows best.

j18.0 VOWS (NADHAR)

(O: Lexically, the word vow means any promise. It is legally defined as making obligatory some act of worship that was not originally obligatory in Sacred Law, such as a supererogatary or fast, and like. There is a difference of opinion among scholars whether a vow in itself is an act of worship or whether it is offensive. The strongest position is that it is an act of worship when made to perform a pious act (A: since Allah Most High describes the pious as "fulfilling their vows" (Koran 76:7)), for it is an intimate discourse with Allah Most High; though it is offensive in the head of an argument.) (A: The advantage of a vow is that one may obtain the reward of an obligatory act by fulfilling it. Its drawback is that unlike broken oaths, which may be expiated (dis: o20), there is no way to lift the vowed action: it remains obligatory unless one is physically unable (N: in which case one performs an alternative (n:e.g. giving food in place of fasting if there is one in Sacred Law). For this reason. many pious and learned Muslims avoid making vows.)

THE CONDITIONS FOR THE LEGAL VALIDITY OF A VOW

j18.1 A vow (O: to perform some pious act) is only valid:

(a) if made by a Muslim who is legally responsible (mukallaf, def: c8.1);

(b) when it concerns some act of worship (A: meaning, for the Shafi'is, any recommended act,

though for the Hanafi school it can only be an act that is similar in kind to an obligatory form of worship

(n: such as prayer, fasting, or hajj));

(c) and is stated in words such as "I hereby owe Allah to perform such and such," or "I am hereby obliged to do such and such."

(O: A vow to do something that is merely permissible, such as standing, sitting, eating, or sleeping, is not legally valid because these are not acts of worship; the reason being the hadith related by Bukhari that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) passed a man standing in the sun without seeking shade, whom he inquired about and was told that it was Abu Isra'il, who had vowed to stand while fasting without sitting, taking shade, or speaking; to which he replied, "Pass by him and have him sit in the shade and speak, but let him finish fasting." By act of worship, our author means acts that are supererogatory and not obligatory, since an oath to undertake an obligatory act is invalid whether it involves performance of something, such as an obligatory prayer or fast, or nonperformance of something, such as vowing to abstain from wine or fornication and the like. Such vows are not valid to begin with, as Allah has made these obligatory and "obligating oneself to do them" is meaningless. The obligatory acts which are not valid to vow are restricted to the personally obligatory. As for the communally obligatory (def: c3.2), a vow to do such an act obliges one to fulfill it, because it is an act of worship not originally obligatory in the law, meaning not initially called for from any particular person.)

GENERAL PROVISIONS REGARDING VOWS

j18.2 A valid vow to do an act of worship makes the act obligatory.

j18.3 One must fulfill a vow that one has made conditional upon the occurrence of some event, such as by saying, "If Allah heals my sick friend, I am obliged to do such and such" (O: of fasting, praying, or charity), which becomes obligatory if the sick person regains his heath.

j18.4 If someone makes a vow by way of argument and in anger, saying, for example, "If I speak to Zayd, I am obliged to do such and such," then if he speaks to Zayd, he has a choice between doing what he has vowed, or else paying the expiation form a broken oath (def: 020).

j18.5 If one vows to perform the hajj riding but instead does so on foot, or vows to perform it on foot but then does so riding, this accomplishes the vow, though one is obliged to slaughter (O: as one does for an 'umra first (tamattu') hajj (def: j12.6(I)). (N: Because the vowed walking or riding has become one of the obligatory elements of one's hajj, the expiation for its nonperformance is as other unperformed obligatory acts of hajj, and if such a person lacks a shah (def: h2.5) or lacks the money for it, he may fast. As for a person who vows to do something unconnected with the hajj and finds he cannot fulfill it, he performs a valid alternative if one exists in Sacred Law (dis: j18.0 (A:)). If there is no valid alternative in Sacred Law, he remains responsible for performing the vowed act.) (O: If one does not fulfill a vow because of being unable to or because of forgetfulness, it is not a sin, but one must slaughter, an obligation that incapacity or forgetfulness does not lift. To summarise, the sin (A: of not fulfilling one's vow) only exists when one is capable of fulfilling it, not when one is incapable, though someone who does not fulfill a vow because of incapacity must slaughter a shah meeting sacrifice specifications (def: j14.2).)

j18.6 If one vows to go to the Kaaba, Masjid alMedina, or al-Masjid al-Aqsa (n: in Jerusalem), then one is obliged to. If one vows to go to the Kaaba, then one must perform hajj or 'umra (O: because hajj and 'umra are what is fundamentally intended in Sacred Law by going to the Sacred Precinct, and the vow is interpreted according to this convention of the Law as a vow to perform either hajj or 'umra). If one vows to go to Masjid al-Medina or al-Masjid al-Aqsa, then one must either perform the prayer or else spend a period of spiritual retreat (i'tikaf, def:i3) in the mosque (O: i.e. one is entitled to choose between prayer or spiritual retreat). If one vows to go to some other mosque, the vow does not oblige one to do so (dis: i3.4(end)) (O: since travelling to other mosques is not an act of worship (N: that is, if intended for itself, though if one intends it in order to perform the prayer or (for spritual retreat there in, it is an act of worship)).

j18.7 If one vows to fast for the whole of a particular year, one does not have to make up days not fasted on the two 'Eids or the three days following 'Eid al-Adha (dis:i2.3), or the days fasted during Ramadan, or the days a woman misses during her monthly period or postnatal bleeding.

j18.8 Someone who vows to perform the prayer (A: but does not specify how much) must pray two rak'as.

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k1.0 SALE

(O:The legal basis for sale, prior to scholarly consensus (ijma'), is such Koranic verses as the word of Allah Most High, "Allah has made sale lawful..." (Koran 2:275). The more reliable of the two positions reported from our Imam (Allah Most High be well pleased with him) is that this verse is general in meaning, excluded by other evidence. For the Prophet (referring to all sales except those specifically). (Allah bless him and give him peace) forbade various sales butdid not explain the permissible ones, his not doing so proving that the initial presumption for the validity of a sale is that it is lawful. This is also borne out by hadiths such as the one is which the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) was asked what type of earning was best, and he answered. "The work of a man's own hand, and every pious sale." Meaning sales free of cheating and deceit. Hakim related this hadith, which he classified as rigorously authenticated (sahih). Lexically, sale means to transact something for something else. In Sacred Law it means to exchange an article of property for other property in a particular way. Its integrals are six:

(a) the seller;

(b) the buyer;

(c) the price;

(d) the article purchased;

(e) the spoken offer;

(f) and the spoken acceptance.) (N: Sale (bay'), whereever it is used in the ruling below, refers to both exchanging goods for money and exchanging them for other goods (n: i.e. barter).)

THE SPOKEN OFFER AND ACCEPTANCE

k1.1 A sale is not valid unless there is a spoken offer (O: by the seller) and spoken acceptance (O: by the buyer(. Offer means the statement of the seller or his agent (wakil, def: k17) "I sell it to you" or "I make it yours." Acceptance means the statement of the buyer or his agent "I buy it" or "I take possession of it" or "I accept," (A: Regarding mujatah, which is giving the seller the price and taking the merchandise without speaking, as when buying something whose cost is well known, Bajuri notes, "Nawawi and a group of scholars have adopted the position that sales conducted by it (A: mu'atah) are valid for all transactions that people consider sales, since the determining factor therein is that acceptance of both parties, and there is no decisively authenticated primary text stipulating that it be spoken, so common acknowledgement ('urf, def: f4.5) is the final criterion (A: as to what legally constitutes acceptance)" (Hashiya al-Shaykh Ibrahim al-Bajuri (y5), 1.355).) (N: The category of mu'atah also includes sales conducted by means of vending machines (A: provided it is clear what one is buying before one puts the money in the machine).) It is permissible for the buyer's acceptance to precede the offer, such as his saying, "I buy it for so-and-so much," and for the seller to reply, "I sell it to you," It is also permissible to say, "Sell it to me for so-and-so much," and for the seller to reply, "I sell it to you." All of these are unequivocal expressions. Sales can likewise be effected, if the intention exists, by equivocal expressions such as "Take it for so-and-so much," or "I consider it yours for so-and-so much," thereby intending a transaction with the buyer,who then accepts. If one does not intend a transaction by such expressions, then the sale is nothing (O:but empty words, and the buys is obliged to return the merchandise to its owner if it still exists, or replace it if used up while in his possession). It is obligatory (O: for the validity or the sale agreement that other conditions be met, among them):

(a) that the interval between the offer and its acceptance not be longer than what is customary (O: the criterion being whether it gives the impression that one is averse to accepting, not merely a brief interval. Other conditions include:

(b) that conversation extraneous to the agreement by either of the two parties not intervene between the offer and acceptance, even if inconsiderable, since, it gives the impression of nonacceptance;

(c) that the offer and its acceptance correspond, for if the offered price is one thousand, and the buyer "accepts" for five hundred, the transaction is invalid;

(d) that neither the offer nor acceptance be made conditional (ta'liq) upon an event extraneous to the agreement, such as saying, "I sell it to you, should my father die";

(e) and that the sale not be subject to time stipulations (ta'qit) such as saying, "I sell it to you for a period of one month"; -because both (d) and (e) vitiate the necessary intention). A mute's gesture is as binding as a speaker's words.

THE BUYER AND SELLER

k1.2. The conditions that must exist in the buyer and seller are:

(a) having reached puberty (A: Imam Ahmad permits the buying and selling of minor items by children, even before they have reached the age of discrimination (def:f1.2) and without their guardian's permission);

(b) sanity:

(c) that one's disposal over one's property not be suspended (def:k13);

(d) and that one not be unjustly forced to make the sale. (O: The agreement of someone unjustly forced to sell his property is invalid because of lack of consent, though it is valid if he is justly forced, as when he is ordered to sell his property to repay a debt.)

(e) If a Koran is being purchased for someone, it is obligatory that the person be Muslim. (O: The same is true of books of hadith and books containing the words and deeds of the early Muslim, "Koran" in this context means any aork that contains some of the Koran, even a slight amount.) (A: This ruling holds for any religious books, even the Tabaqat of Sha'rani (n: a collection of biographical sketches of Muslims), though the Hanafi school permits non-Muslims to buy or be given the Koran and other Islamic books.)

(f) It is a condition that someone buying weapons be of a people who are not at war with Muslims.

THE OPTION TO CANCEL A SALE AT THE TIME OF THE AGREEMENT

k1.3 When a sale is effected, both buyer and seller have the option to cancel at the time of the

agreement (khiyar al-majlis), meaning the right to nullify the agreement at any time before they (O: physically) part company, or both waive the right to cancel, or until one of them cancels the sale. (O: The option to cancel at the time of the agreement exists at every sale, and for its duration, the ownership of the articles exchanged is suspended (def:k1.5)

STIPULATING AN OPTION TO CANCEL PERIOD

k1.4 Both the buyer and seller have the right to stipulate an option to cancel period, an interval during which either party may cancel the agreement, of up to three days (O: provided the days are consecutive. The option to cancel period is not period, is not valid if the two parties stipulate an indeterminate period or leave it open-ended by merely stipulating "an option to cancel" (A: though the buyer has the right to return the article because of defects (dis:k5) regardless of what they stipulate), or when the period is determinately known, but exceeds three days). The option to cancel may be given (A: depending on what the buyer and seller agree upon) to both parties, or just one of them (O: and not the other, or they may give the option to a third party, since the need for this might arise. In any case, both buyer and seller must agree t the conditions). But such a period may not be stipulated for transactions in which it is unlawful to part company before taking possession of the commodities

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exchanged (O: by one or both parties) as is the case in exchanging the kinds of foodstuffs and moneys in which usurious gain (riba, dis: k3.1-2) is present, or in buying in advance (salam, dis:k9.2(a)).

k1.5 If the option to cancel is given to the seller alone, then the merchandise is considered his property during this period (O: meaning that he owns the proceeds earned by the property, and its increments such as its milk, eggs, or fruit, and he is obliged to cover its maintenance and other expenses). If the option to cancel is given to the buyer alone, then the merchandise is considered his property during this period (O: and the above increments and expenses are his). If the option to cancel is gives to both buyer and seller, then the ownership of the merchandise during this period is suspended, meaning that if the transaction is finalized, it is established that it belonged to the buyer (O: from the time the agreement was first made, together with its increments and expenses), but if the transaction is cancelled, it is established that it belonged to the seller (O: meaning that it never left his ownership).

k2.0 THE THINGS EXCHANGED IN A TRANSACTION

(N: Things here refers to both the merchandise and its price.)

k2.1 Five conditions must exist in any article transacted. It must:

(a) be pure (O: in itself, or if affected with filth, it must be capable of being purified by washing);

(b) be useful;

(c) be deliverable (O: by the seller to the buyer, meaning that the buyer is able to take possession of it);

(d) be the property of the seller or the person whom the seller has been authorized to represent;

(e) and be determinately known (ma'lum) (O: to the buyer and seller, as to which particular thing it is, how much it is, and what kind it is, in order to protect against chance or risk (gharar), because of the hadith related by Muslim that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) forbade the transaction of whatever involves chance or risk) (n: w42 discusses buying and selling insurence policies.)

PURITY

k2.2 It is invalid to transact something that is impure in itself (najasa, def: e14.1) such as a dog, or something affected with filth that cannot be purified (O: by washing), like milk or shortening, though it it can be, like a garment, then it may be transacted.

USEFULNESS

k2.3 It is invalid to transact something which is not useful (O: whether the reason for invalidity is the article's baseness or the smallness of the amount being dealt with,) such as vermin, a single grain of wheat, or unlawful musical instruments (dis: r40) (O: such as the mandolin or flute, since there is no lawful benefit in them).

DELIVERABILITY

k2.4 It is invalid to transact something undeliverable, such as a bird on the wing or something that a third party has wrongfully taken from one, though if one sells the latter to a buyer who is able to take it back from the third party, the sale is valid; while if the buyer is unable to take it from him, then the buyer has the option to either declare the sale binding or cancel it. It is invalid to transact a particular half of a whole object such as a vessel, sword, or garment (O: since the buyer cannot take possession of that part without breaking or cutting the article, involving the lessening and loss of property), or part of anything whose value is diminished by cutting or breaking, though if it does not diminish its value, as with a bolt of heavy cloth, such portions may be sold.

LAWFUL DISPOSAL OVER THE PROPERTY

k2.5 It is not valid for the owner of an article that has been put up as collateral (def:k11) to sell it without the permission of the person to whom the collateral has been given. Nor is it valid to sell property belonging to another, unless the seller is the owner's guardian (def: k13.2) or authorized representative (def: k17).

BEING DETERMINATELY KNOWN

k2.6 It is not valid to sell property not determinately identified such as "one of these two garments" (O: since "one of them" is not an identification. Likewise with saying, "I sell you one of these sheep." It makes no difference whether all the objects are of equal or unequal value). It is not valid to transact a particular thing that is not in view (O: meaning that it has not been seen by both buyer and seller or by one of them) such as saying, "I sell you the Mervian robe I have up my sleeve," or "the black horse that is in my stable." But if the buyer has seen it before and the article is something that does not generally change within the time that has elapsed since it was last seen, then such sales are valid. It is permissible to sell something like a pile of wheat that is in plain view when its weight is unknown, or to sell something for a heap of silver that is visible when the silver's weight is unknown, for seeing is sufficient. The selling and buying of a blind person are not valid. He must commission another to buy and sell for him (A: though the Hanafi, Maliki, and Hanabali schools permit him to buy and sell for himself). It is valid for a blind person to buy in advance (def:k9) or for another to buy in advance from him, provided the payment is forwarded to and held by the person being bought from in advance.

k3.0 USURIOUS GAIN (RIBA)

(O: The word riba lexically means increment. In Sacred Law it is (N: of two types, the first being usurious gain (riba) in selling, which is) an agreement for a specific recompense whose equivalence to the merchandise is unknown (def: k3.1 (a)) according to the standards of the Law at the time of the transaction, or in which the exchange of the two properties transacted is delayed, or one of them is delayed. (N: The second type concerns loans, and consists of any loan by which the lender obtains some benefit (dis: k10.5).) The basis for its unlawfulness, prior to scholarly consensus (ijma', def:b7), is such Koranic verses as: "Allah permits trade but forbids usurious gain:" (Koran 2:275), and, "Fear Allah and relinquish what remains of usury, if you are believers" (Koran 2:278), and such hadiths as that related by Muslim, "The Messenger of Allah (Allah bless him and give him peace) cursed whoever eats of usurious gain (riba), feeds another with it, writes an agreement involving it, or acts as a witness to it." Another hadith, in al-Mustadrak (n:by Hakim), relates that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "Usurious gain is of seventy kinds, the least of which is as bad as a man marrying his mother.") (n:w43 discusses taking interest in enemy lands (dar al-harb).)

USURIOUS GAIN IN SALES OF FOODSTUFFS, GOLD, AND SILVER

k3.1 Gain is not unlawful except in certain exchanges involving (O:human) foodstuffs, gold, and silver (A: or other money) (N: which is the ruling for usurious gain in sales. As for usurious gain or interest from loans, it is unlawful for any type of property whatever). The determining factor in the prohibition of usurious gain in foodstuffs is their being edible, and in gold and silver, their being the value of things. When a foodstuff is sold for a foodstuff of the same kind, such as wheat exchanged for wheat (O: or the gold is traded for gold). three conditions are obligatory:

(a) exact equivalence in amount (def: k3.5) (O: which must be made certain of, this stipulation precluding exchanges of foodstuffs, gold, or silver in which the amounts are not known, for such sales are not valid even if the two quantities transacted subsequently turn out to be equal, because of the ignorance of their equivalence at the time of the transaction, since ignorance of it is the same as actual nonequivalence);

(b) that the properties transacted be in the respective possession of buyer and seller before they part company;

(c) and immediacy (N: such that the agreement does not mention any delay in the exchange, even if brief).

k3.2 When foodstuffs are sold for foodstuffs of a different kind, such as wheat for barely (O: or when gold is sold for silver), only two conditions are obligatory:

(a) that the exchange be immediate;

(b) and that the properties exchanged be in the respective possession of buyer and seller before they part company. If these two conditions are met, the two commodities exchanged may differ in amount.

TRANSACTING GOLD AND SILVER

k3.3 When gold is exchanged for gold, or silver for silver, conditions k3.1 (a,b,c) are obligatory. If gold is exchanged for silver, their amounts may differ, but conditions k3.2(a.b) are obligatory.

k3.4 When foodstuffs are sold for gold or silver, the transaction is unconditionally valid (O: meaning none of the above conditions are necessary).

k3.5 Equivalence in amount for commodities customarily sold by volume is reckoned according to volume (O: even if weights differ), and for articles customarily sold by weight according to weight. Thus, it is invalid to sell a pound of wheat for a pound of wheat when there is a difference between the two's volume, though it is valid to sell a bushel of wheat for a bushel of wheat even when their weights differ. Customarily transacted by weight or volume means according to the prevalent custom in the Hijaz during the time of the Messenger of Allah (Allah bless him and give him peace). If this is unknown, then according to the custom of the town where the transaction takes place. If the foodstuff is of a kind not customarily exchanged by either weight or volume, and it has no dried strong state, such as cucumbers, quinces, or citrons, then it may not be traded for its own sort. Equivalence in amount is not applicable to foodstuffs until they are completed, meaning, for fruits, in the dried storage state. It is invalid to trade fresh dates for fresh dates for dried dates, fresh grapes for fresh dates, fresh dates for dried or fresh grapes for raisins. Types of dates and grapes not sold as dried dates and raisins may not be exchanged for their own sort. it is also invalid A: because of ignorance of their equivalence) to exchange:

(1) flour for flour (O: when they are of the same type);

(2) flour for wheat;

(3) bread for bread (O: when of the same type);

(4) a pure foodstuff for a mixed one;

(5) cooked food for uncooked, or cooked food for other cooked food, unless the cooking is very slight, such as separating honey (O: from the comb) or milkfat (O: from milk). It is not permissible to exchange (N: for example) a measure of dates plus one dirham for two dirhams, or for two measures of dates, or for a measure of dates and a dirham. Nor is it permissible toexchange a measure of dates and a garment for two measures, nor a dirham and a garment for two dirhams. It is invalid to transact meat for a live animal (O: even when the two are not of the same kind of animal).

k4.0 SOME PROHIBITED KINDS OF TRANSACTIONS

(O: Prohibited transactions may be invalid, as is usually the case with the prohibited, for prohibition generally entails invalidity; or not, such that the transaction is valid despite being prohibited (dis:c5.2).)

SELLING THE OFFSPRING OF EXPECTED OFFSPRING

k4.1 It is invalid to sell the offspring of (A: expected) offspring, such as saying, "When my she-camel gives birth, and her offspring in turn gives birth to a camel, I hereby sell you that camel" (O: i.e. the offspring of the offspring. The reason for invalidity is that it is a transaction of an article that is not owned, known, or deliverable). Nor is it valid to sell something for a price whose payment is deferred to a time similar to the above (O: that is, till the time the offspring of an offspring is born, because the date of payment is not known).

EITHER-OR SALES

k4.2 It is invalid to make a transaction whose terms include two different possible deals (A: without specifying which has been agreed upon) such as saying, "I sell you this for either one thousand in case or two thousand in deferred payment" (O: which is invalid because the price is not known), or such as saying, "I sell you my robe for a thousand, provided you sell me your sword for five hundred" (O: which is invalid because of the invalid stipulation (dis: below)).

SALES WITH EXTRANEOUS STIPULATIONS

k4.3 It is not valid to make a transaction that includes an invalid stipulation (A: such as a condition that is extraneous to the original agreement which adds to its price) (O: because the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) forbade transactions with such conditions, like stipulating a loan or a second transaction), saying for example, "I hereby sell it to you (n: for a thousand) provided you loan me a hundred" (O: or "provided you sell me your house for such and such a price" (A: or "Provided you do not sell it to So-and-so"). It invalidity is due to considering both as the price. Stipulating this invalidates the transaction, and paying this "price" is void, it not being determinately known (def: k2.1(e))). (A: The invalidating factor is stipulating a second transaction, not the mere fact that it accompanies the first transaction, for it is permissible to join two transactions, as discussed at k4.12 below.)

SALES WITH VALID STIPULATIONS

k4.4 The following types of conditions do not invalidate transactions that stipulate them:

(1) a condition to postpone payment, though this requires that the date of payment be specified;

(2) a condition that collateral (def: k11) be put up as security (N: for payment of the price or for delivery of the merchandise);

(3) a condition that a particular individual will guarantee (def: k15) payment;

(4) or other conditions (O: from the seller, the buyer, or both) that the deal requires, such as an option to return the merchandise if defective, and so forth. It is valid for the seller to stipulate that he is free of responsibility for defects in the merchandise. By doing so, he is not held responsible for an animal's internal defects which he does not know of, though he remains responsible for all other kinds of defects. (O: The conditions for this ruling are that the defect be internal, be found in an animal, be unknown to the seller, and that it exist at the time of the agreement.)

PAYING NONREFUNDABLE DEPOSITS

k4.5 It is not valid to pay a nonrefundable deposit towards the price of an article, such as paying a dirham for piece of merchandise on the basis that if the buyer decides to keep it, the dirham is part of the price, but if he does not, then the seller keeps the dirham for free. (A: The school of Imam Ahmad permits non refundable deposits.)

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UNDERCUTTING ANOTHER'S DEAL

k4.7 It is unlawful to undercut a brother's deal (A: or a non-Muslim's, since there is no difference between Muslims and non-Muslims in rulings concerning commercial dealings) that he has made with a customer, after they have settled on the price excludes someone going around taking bids from those who are increasing them, as auctioneers do, which is not unlawful). It is also unlawful to undercut a brother's price (O: that is, during the option to cancel at the time of the agreement (def: k1.3), or during a stipulated option to cancel period (def: k1.4)) by telling the buyer, "Cancel the deal and I'll sell you one cheaper." (O: This also hols for other contracts, such as renting or lending the use of something.)

BIDDING UP MERCHANDISE

k4.8 It is unlawful to bid up the price of a piece of merchandise that one is not really interested in, to fool another bidder.

SELLING GRAPES TO A WINEMAKER

k4.9 It is unlawful to sell grapes to someone who will make wine from them. (O: Like grapes in this is the sale of dates, bread, wheat, or barley, whenever one knows that this (A: i.e. alcoholic drink) will result, or thinks it will. If there is doubt or if one merely imagines it, then the transaction is merely offensive. (N: Think (zann) means to believe it probable, doubt (shakk) means one is undecided, and imagine (wahm) means to merely consider it possible.) Selling in such cases is unlawful or offensive because it is a means to disobedience, whether certain or suspected (A: means meaning an instrumental cause, as opposed to something which is not instrumental, such as renting a house to a drunkard, which is not unlawful because it is not a cause, though it is unlawful to rent a building to someone who intends to open a bar, for example). Tirmidhi relates that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) cursed whoever drinks wine, gives it to others to drink, sells it, buys it, presses it for another, transports it, receives it, or eats its price.)

k4.10 If one makes any of the above unlawful transactions (k4.6-9), the agreement is valid (dis: c5.2)

A VALID SALE COMBINED WITH AN INVALID SALE

k4.11 If one combines something valid to sell with something invalid to sell in one transaction, such as selling one's own garment together with someone else's without his permission, or such as selling wine and vinegar, then the transaction is valid for the portion of the price that covers the valid sale (O: no matter whether the person knew what the case was, or whether he did not and believed the sale permissible, thinking at the time, e.g. that the wine was vinegar) and is invalid for the portion of the price that was not valid (A: and the portion must be refunded to the buyer). The buyer has the option to cancel the whole agreement if, at the time the deal was made, he did not know it included something impermissible.

JOINING TWO TYPES OF TRANSACTIONS IN ONE CONTRACT

k4.12 It is valid to join two contracts of different kinds (O: for example, a sale with a rent agreement) such as saying, "I sell you my horse and rent you my house for a year for such and such an amount" (O: though it is not necessary that they be different kinds, for the ruling also applies to two contracts of the same type, such as a partnership (def: k16) linked with financing a profitsharing venture (qirad, def: k22)), or such as saying, "I marry you my daughter and sell you her house (N: as her proxy, the proceeds being hers) for so-and-so much," and the price is considered as proportionately distributed over the two transactions.

k5.0 THE RETURN OF MERCHANDISE BECAUSE OF A DEFECT

(O: The criterion for defect is based on something that is expected to exist (n in merchandise),

whether this expectation results from:

(1) stipulations agreed upon (dis: k4.4(4));

(2) the customary level of quality (dis: f4.5) for merchandise of its type;

(3) or outright deception by the seller. The author does not mention (1) in this section, but confines himself to (2) and (3).)

INFORMING A PROSPECTIVE BUYER OF DEFECTS IN MERCHANDISE

k5.1 Whoever knows of a defect in the article (O: he is selling) is obliged to disclose it. If he does not, he has cheated (O: the buyer, which is prohibited by the Prophet's statement (Allah bless him and give him peace), "He who cheats us is not one of us"), though the transaction is valid (A: provided the buyer accepts it, as discussed below).

RETURNING DEFECTIVE MERCHANDISE

k5.2 When a buyer notices a defect in the merchandise that existed when the seller had it, he is entitled to return it (O: though if he is content to accept the defect, he does not have to return it. He may also return it when the defect occurred after the sale but before the merchandise was delivered, since the merchandise is the seller's responsibility during this period).

k5.3 The criterion (O: of defectiveness) is:

(a) any flaw that diminishes the article or its value to a degree that hinders a valid purpose;

(b) provided that such an imperfection does not usually exist in similar merchandise. (O: The former restriction excludes such things as amputation of a surplus digit or a minor nick from the animal's thigh or hock that is inconsequential and does not obviate its purpose, in which case there is not option to return it. The latter restriction excludes defects not generally absent in similar merchandise, such as missing teeth in older animals. There is no option to return such merchandise, even if the value is diminished.)

k5.4 If the buyer notices a defect in the merchandise after it has been destroyed (O: whether physically, such as an animal being killed, a garment worn out, or food eaten; or whether legally finished, by being no longer permissible to transfer from person to person, as when a site has been made an endowment (waqf, def: k30))- then a compensation (A: from the seller to the buyer) is obligatory. (O: The buyer is entitled to it because of the impossibility of returning the article due to its no longer exiting. Compensation means a part of the article's price whose relation to the whole price is the same as the relation of the value which the defect diminished to the full value of the article if it had been without defect. (N: The difference between price and value is that the value is how much money an article is worth in the marketplace, while the price is whatever the sale agreement specifies, whether this be more or less than the value.) The value in such a case is fixed at the lowest value (A: for articles of its type current in the marketplace) between the time the deal was made and the time the buyer took possession of it.) The buyer is no longer entitled to seek compensation for such a defect it (O: he notices the defect after) he no longer owns the article because of having sold it or otherwise disposed of it. But if such an article returns to the buyer's possesion after this (O: i.e. after having left his ownership, whether as a gift, or returned (A: from a subsequent buyer) because it was defective, or because of a cancelled deal, or he buys it back), then he is entitled to return it (A: to the person who originally sold it to him).

k5.5 If an additional defect occurs in an article (O: other than the above-mentioned defect (A: that existed before the buyer received the article)) while it is in the buyer's possession, then the buyer is only entitled to take a compensation (O: from the seller, to compensator for the original defect) and is not entitled to (A: insist that the seller accept) return (A: of the article for a full refund). But if the original seller is willing to accept it back with the (O: new) defect, (A: refunding the original price,) then the buyers is not entitled to (A: keep the article and) demand compensation (O: for the original defect. Rather, the buyer is told, "Either return it, or else be content with it as it is and you get nothing,"; for the harm to the original seller which is what prevents (A: it being obligatory for him to accept) its return no longer exists if the seller is content to take it back, and the merchandise is as if the additional defect never occurred. Their agreement is implemented if buyer and seller agree upon:

(1) the seller taking it back with (A: the seller refunding the original price, and the buyer giving him) compensation for the new additional defect;

(2) or the buyer keeping the merchandise, and the seller paying him compensation for the original defect; since either of these options might satisfy the interests of the two parties. If the buyer and seller disagree about which of these two options should be implemented, the decision goes to whichever of them requests option, whether this person is the buyer or the seller, since it confirms the original contract).

k5.6 If the new defect which occurs while the article is in the buyer's possession is the sole means of disclosing the old defect, such as breaking open a (A: spoiled) watermelon or eggs, and so forth, then the new defect does not prevent (A: the obligation of the seller to accept) its return. But if the new damage exceeds the extent that was necessary to reveal the original defect, then the seller is no longer compelled to accept it back.

k5.7 It is a necessary condition for (A: cases where the buyer seeks a refund for something he is) returning (O: because of a defect) that the buyer return it immediately upon noticing the defect (O: and his option to return it is cancelled if he delays without an excuse). On his way back to the seller, he should have two witnesses affirm that he is cancelling the agreement (A: so if the seller is unavailable at the time, the buyer is nevertheless able to prove that he went to return it immediately). If the defect is noticed while one is praying, eating, using the lavatory, or at night (A: if the night presents a problem in returning it), then one is entitled to delay returning it until the hindrance preventing one from doing so is no longer present, provided one stops using and benefiting from it. If the buyer delays returning it when capable of doing so, then the seller is no longer obliged to accept the article back for a refund, or no longer obliged (A: in cases like k5.5 above) to compensate the buyer for the original defect (O: because the delay gives the impression that the buyer is satisfied with the defect).

k5.9 (A: The term murabaha applies to sales where the seller states the price in terms of "the original price plus such and such an amount as profit," whether by original price he means the amount he originally paid for the whole lot, or whether he means the proportion of that price represented by the percentage of the lot which he is now selling.) The seller in murabaha (O: meaning an agreement where the price consists of the original price plus increment) is obliged to inform the buyer of any defect that occurred in the merchandise while in his possession, such as by saying, "I bought it for ten (O: or "bought it for one hundred and sell it to you at what I bought it for, plus one dirham's profit on every ten") but such and such a defect happened to it while I had it." (O: He is likewise obliged to say, for example, "Such and such a defect appeared in it that was from the previous owner, and I accepted this.") The seller in murabaha is also obliged to explain how much time he was given to pay the original price (A: since deferring payment generally raises the price, and merely stating such a raised price without mentioning that it was deferred would give the new buyer a false impression). (O: The author should have mentioned (A: that telling the prospective buyer the above information is also obligatory in sales of) discount (A: on a lot of goods or portion thereof), as when the seller tells someone, "I sell it to you for what I bought it for, minus one from every eleven." These relings likewise apply to agreements stated in terms of, "I sell you it at the same price the original deal was made for.")

k6.0 SELLING FRUIT AND CROPS

k6.1 It is not permissible (O: or valid) to sell the fruit alone from a tree (A: without the tree, while still on it) before it is ripe, unless the agreement stipulates immediate picking of the fruit. But such a sale is valid without restriction if made after the fruit is ripe, meaning, for fruits that do not change color, to become fit to eat; and for fruits whose color changes, to start to turn the color of ripeness. If both the tree and the fruit are sold together, the sale is permissible without stipulating that the fruit be picked.

k6.2 Grain, when green, is subject to the same rulings as fruit before it is ripe: it may not be sold (O: nor would the sale be valid) unless the agreement stipulates immediate harvest, though there are no restrictions on sales made after the grain is sold and firm.

k6.3 It is not permissible to sell grain when still in the husk, or to sell unripe nuts, almonds, or broadeans when these are in the shell. (A: When the latter three are dried, they may be sold in the shell.)

k7.0 MERCHANDISE BEFORE THE BUYER TAKES POSSESSION OF IT

k7.1 Merchandise is the responsibility of the seller before the buyer has taken possession (def: k7.3) of it. If such merchandise is destroyed (Ar. talifa, to be finished off or used up) by itself or through an act of the seller, then the agreement is cancelled and no payment is due for it. If the buyer destroyes such merchandise, he must pay it sprice, and his destroying it is considered as having taken possession of it. If a third party destroys such merchandise, the deal is not cancelled but rather the buyer is given a choice to either:

(1) cancel the agreement and make the value (def: k5.4(N:)) (O: of what the third party destroyed) a debt that the third party owes to the seller;

(2) or effect the deal, paying the seller the price (O: if he agrees to effect the deal) and making the third party liable to pay the value (O: to the buyer).

k7.2 When one buys something, it is not permissible (O: or valid) to sell it until one has taken

possession of it. (O: The invalidity of selling it likewise applies to all transactions disposing of it (A: such as renting it, giving it away, and so forth). It is also invalid for the seller to dispose of the price in any way before it has been received from the buyer, unless the new transaction is with the same buyer and involves the very same (A: article that is the) price.) But if the price is a financial obligation (N: that is, an amount of money, unspecified as to which particular pieces of money it is), the seller may ask for a different sort of payment, provided he has not already accepted the payment, as when he sells something for dirhams, but then accepts gold, a garment, or something else instead of them.

k7.3 Taking possession means:

(1) for transportable things such as wheat or barley, that they be transported (N: by the buyer or his representative) (O: that is, when he moves the merchandise to a place not belonging to the seller, such as the street or the buyer's house);

(2) for things dealt with by hand, such as a garment or book, that they be taken in hand;

(3) and for other things, such as a house or land, that they be given over (O: i.e. the seller give the buyer control over

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them, such as by handing the key to him or moving others' belongings off the property).

k8.0 DISPUTES OVER WHAT THE TERMS OF A TRANSACTION WERE

k8.1 When two parties agree on the validity of a transaction but disagree on its terms, and there is no proof, then they each swear an oath (dis: k8.2) affirming their side of the story. Such a disagreement could be:

(1) the seller saying that he sold it for immediate payment, while the buyer asserts that payment was to be deferred;

(2) the seller stating that he sold for ten, while the buyer maintains it was five;

(3) the seller saying he sold it to the buyer on condition that there be an option to cancel period (def:

k1.4), while the buyer asserts that no such option was stipulated: or similar disputes.

k8.2 (N: Swearing an oath (def:o18) is a means for urging one's case when there is no proof, meaning no witnesses. When rulings mention, for example, that "So-and-so's word is believed," or "So-and-so's word is accepted," it means that his word is accepted when he swears an oath in cases where there is no proof presented by either of the two pairs. If there is proof, whether from the plaintiff or defendant, it is given precedence over an oath.)

k8.3 In the oath for such cases, the seller swears first, saying, for example, "By Allah, I did not sell it to you for such and such an amount, but rather for such and such an amount." Then the buyer swears, "By Allah, I did not buy it for such and such, but rather bought it for such and such." It consists of one oath (A: from each party) which joins the denial of the other's claim with the affirmation of one's own claim, and in which the dential is recommended to precede the affirmation.

k8.4 When the buyer and seller have sworn, but subsequently reach a solution that both accept, the agreement is not cancelled. But if they cannot reach an accord, they cancel the agreement, or one of them cancels, it, or the Islamic magistrate does (O: to end the trouble between them. When the agreement is cancelled, each returns whatever he has accepted from the other).

k8.5 If either the buyer or seller testifies that a particular agreement is invalid, but the other party says it is valid, then the word of whichever of them asserts it is valid is accepted if he swears an oath (dis: k8.2).

It the buyer comes to the seller with a piece of merchandise, that he wants to return because of a defect, but the seller says that it is not the one he sold him, then the seller's word is accepted (O: when he swears). If the buyers and seller disagree about a defect in an article that could have occurred while it was in the buyer's possession, but each party asserts that the defect occurred while in the other's possession, then the seller's word is accepted (O: when he swears).

k9.0 BUYING IN ADVANCE (SALAM)

k9.1 Buying in advance means the sale of described merchandise which is under (A: the seller's) obligation (A: to deliver to the buyer at a certain time).

THE CONDITIONS FOR THE VALIDITY OF BUYING IN ADVANCE

k9.2 In addition to the conditions for valid sales (def: k1.1-2, k2.1), other conditions (O: seven of them) must be met for buying in advance to be valid:

(a) that the price of the merchandise be received when the agreement is first made. It is sufficient to merely see the price that is being accepted, even when its exact amount is unknown;

(b) that the merchandise bought in advance be a financial obligation (dayn) (O: owed by the seller (N: meaning that buying in advance is not valid for particular individual articles ('ayn) (A: i.e "this one" and no other)) which the seller will deliver when its time comes). Its delivery may be due from the present onwards, or may be due later through deferment (O: by clearly stating whether it is to be due immediately or deferred) to a specific date (O: which specificity is a necessary condition for the validity of differing payment). It is not permissible to say, "I advance you these dirhams for that particular horse" (O: which is invalid because of the condition that the merchandise bought in advance be a financial obligation (dayn), which the above-mentioned horse is not, but is rather a particular individual article ('ayn));

(c) that the location to which the merchandise is to be delivered be clearly stipulated (A: though this is only a condition) in cases in which the buyer pays for it at a place where it cannot be delivered, such as the wilderness; or to which the merchandise can be delivered, but transporting it there involves considerable difficulty;

(d) that the merchandise bought in advance be determinately known by volume, weight, quantity, or yardage in terms of a familiar measure. It is not valid for someone to say "the weight of this stone," or "the capacity of this basket," if the (O: stone's) weight or basket's capacity is not known;

(e) that the merchandise be within the seller's power to deliver (def: k2.4) when the time for delivery arrives;

(f) that the merchandise not be generally subject to unavailability. If it is something rare (O: such as a great quantity of the season's first fruits of a particular kind of produce) or something not typically safe from unavailability, such as "the fruit of this particular date palm," then its sale in advance is not permissible;

(g) that those characteristics of the merchandise over which the buyer and seller might be at crosspurposes be expressly delineated by clear specifications. It is not permissible (O: to buy things in advance which cannot be defined by clear criteria, such as) for jewels or composites like meat pastry (O: composed of wheat, meat, and water, all of which are expected but not delineable in terms of minimal or maximal amounts), ghaliya perfume (O: composed of musk, ambergris, aloes, and comphor), or slippers (O: composed of outer and inner layers and padding), nor articles whose top randomly differs from their bottom, like a lamp or pitcher (O: the top of which is sometimes wider than the bottom, or vice versa) (N: though the Hanafi school permits such agreements, calling them made to order (istisna'), which they hold includes whatever is customarily bought in this way. They affirm the buyer's option to cancel the agreement when he see the merchandise, and it is obligatory that the article be described very precisely), nor something substantially processed and altered by fire (A: meaning heart), such as bread or roast meat, since describing it (A: i.e how much cooking it takes) is impossible in a precise way.

k9.3 It is not permissible for the buyer to sell something he has bought in advance until he has received it.

k9.4 It is not permissible to take some other type of merchandise in place of the article bought in advance (A: that is, when the buyer demands the substitute before the delivery of the original is due, though they may agree on it after that). If the seller delivers the merchandise specified, or better (O: than what was specified), the buyer must accept it (O: since it is apparent that the seller could not find a way to fulfill his obligation save through this means. If the seller delivers merchandise that is inferior to what was specified, then the buyer may accept it, as this is voluntarily refraining from demanding his due, but he is not obliged to, because of the loss therein).

k10.0 PERSONAL LOANS (QARD)

(A: A Loan means repayable financial aid. It does not refer to lending a particular article ('ayn) for someone to use and then return after use, which is termed an 'ariyya (def: k19).)

k10.1 Loaning (O: meaning to give something to the borrower on the basis that he will return its equal) is recommended.

k10.2 A loan is effected through a spoken offer and acceptance (def:k1.1), such as saying, "I loan you this," or, "I advance you it."

k10.3 It is permissible to give as a personal loan any article that may be brought in advance (def: k9.2 (b,d,e,f,g)) and nothing else (A: though this restriction does not apply to lending for use ('ariyya, dis: k10.0 (A:))).

k10.4 It is not permissible for the lender to impose as a condition that the loan be repaid on a certain date (N: though for the Maliki school, to stipulate that repayment is obligatory on a certain date is valid and legally binding).

k10.5 It is not permissible for the lender to impose some condition that will enable him to benefit from the loan, such as a condition that the borrower must return superior to what was loaned, or such as saying, "on condition that you sell me your horse for such and such an amount," for these are usurious gain (riba). But it is permissible for the borrowers to return superior to what was loaned without this having been stipulated.

k10.6 It is permissible for the loan agreement to include the condition of collateral (O: meaning for the recipient to give the lender something as collateral (def: k11) for what he borrows) or the condition of a guarantor (O: such that the recipient brings someone to guarantee that the loan will be repaid (def: k15)).

k10.7 The recipient of a loan is obliged to repay the equal of what was lent, though it is permissible for the lender to accept something other than the (A: type of) thing loaned. If the lender gives the recipient a loan and later meets him in another town and asks for it back, the recipient must repay it if it was gold or silver and the like, though if the loaned commodity was something troublesome to carry, such as wheat or barley, then the recipient is not obliged to pay it back (A: in kind) but is merely obliged to pay back its value.

k11.0 PUTTING UP COLLATERAL (RAHN)

(O: In Sacred Law collateral is a piece of saleable property put up as security for a financial obligation to cover the amount if it should prove impossible to repay.)

CONDITIONS FOR THE VALIDITY OF PUTTING UP COLLATERAL

k11.1 Putting up collateral is only valid when done by someone with full disposal over his own property, as security for a financial obligation (dayn, dis: k9.2(b)) that is currently due, such as the price (O: due for merchandise after its delivery), or a personal loan, or for a financial obligation that is currently becoming due (N: such as something's price) during the option to cancel period (def: k1.4). (O: The collateral's being security for a financial obligation is one restriction on its validity, and for one that is currently due is another. It is not valid to put up collateral for a particular individual article ('ayn) or the use of an article, since (A: the obligation to deliver) a particular article is not a financial obligation (dayn), as the selfsame article cannot be obtained by selling the collateral.) Putting up collateral is not valid in cases in which the financial obligation is not yet due, such as collateral accepted (O: by a lender) as security for a loan that he will make (O: in the further). It is necessary (O: for the validity of putting up collateral) that there be a spoken offer (O: by the person putting up the collateral) and spoken acceptance (O: from the person accepting it, just as it is necessary for sales, the conditions mentioned in connection with sales (k1.1) applying equally here). The agreement is not legally binding until the collateral has been taken possession of with the permission of the person putting it up, who is entitled to cancel the agreement (A: at any point) before the collateral has been taken possession of (def: k7.3). When the agreement has been effected, if the two parties (A: the collateral's giver and receiver) agree that the collateral should be dept with either of them, or with a third party, this is done. If not (O: if they do not agree), the Islamic magistrate has it kept with an upright person (def: o24.4) (O: to end the disagreement. But the magistrate is not entitled to place it with either of the two parties without the other's permission).

GENERAL PROVISIONS CONCERNING COLLATERAL

k11.2 The collateral must be an article that is permissible to sell (def: k2.1). None of the collateral may be separated from the rest of it until the financial obligation has been entirely paid off. The person who put up the collateral is not entitled to dispose of it in any way which

infringes upon the right of the person who has received it as collateral (O: such as transferring its ownership to another) by selling it or giving it away (O: or putting it up as collateral for another person), or to dispose of it in any way that diminishes its value, such as wearing (O: a garment put up that would depreciate by being worn), though he may use it in ways that do not harm (O: the interests of the person who has received it) such as riding it, or living (O: in a house that has been put up as collateral).

k11.3 An article put up as collateral for a financial obligation may not (A: at the same time) be put up as collateral for a second financial obligation, even when the second obligation is with the same person who has accepted the article (A: for the first one).

k11.4 The expenses for maintaining an article put up as collateral (O: such as fodder for livestock, or the wages of a person watering trees) are the responsibility of the person who put it up, and he may be compelled to pay them to protect the rights of the person receiving it (O: lest it be destroyed). The person who put it up is entitled to the increments produced by it (O: that are separable from it) such as milk or fruit.

k11.5 If the article is destroyed while in the possession of the person who received it as collateral without negligence on his part (A: meaning he took the precautions normal for similar articles), then he is not obliged to pay anything for its loss. But if destroyed because of his negligence, then he is obliged to pay the article's value to the person who put it up though its destruction does not eliminate any of the original financial obligation for which the destroyed collateral was put up. (O: When the collateral has been destroyed and the two parties are at a disagreement,) the final word as to how much the article was worth (A: when there is no proof (dis; k8.2)) belongs to the person who received it as collateral (O: provided he swears an oath as to how uchit was). But the final word as to whether the collateral has been returned (A: to its owner after his financial obligation has been paid) belongs to the person who put it up (A: when there is no proof, and he swears).

k11.6 The benefit of collateral is that the article is sold (A: by the person who put it up) when there is need to pay the amount which is due. If the person who put it up refuses (O: to sell the article when the person who has received it as collateral asks him to), then the Islamic magistrate has him either pay the original obligation or else sell the article. (O: He is given a choice between the two alternatives.) If he continues to refuse (O: to sell), then the Islamic magistrate sells it for him. (O: If the person who put it up is absent, then

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this is established by proof to the magistrate, who sells it for him and gives the person who accepted the collateral his due. If there is no Islamic magistrate and no proof (A: that there is a financial obligation for which the collateral has been put up), then the person who accepted it as collateral is entitled to sell it himself.)

k12.0 BANKRUPTCY (TAFLIS)

(O: Bankruptcy occurs when the Islamic magistrate makes a debtor bankrupt by (N: declaring him so and) forbidding him to dispose of his property (N: such that if he disposes of is, his disposition is not effected).)

k12.1 When someone obliged to pay a current debt is being asked to pay it, and he claims that he is unable to (O: while his creditors deny this), then if it is known that he has saleable property, he is kept under arrest until he provides evidence that he cannot pay. If no (O: i.e if it is not known that he has saleable property), then he swears an oath (O: that there is no property), and (O: when it is established that he is unable to pay, whether through evidence, or though his oath) he is released (O: and given time) until his circumstances allow him to pay (O: and his creditors may not keep after him, because of Allah's word, "If there be someone in difficulties, let him have respote until things are easier" (Koran 2:280)).

k12.2 But if he has saleable property (O: such as real estate, home furnishings, or livestock) and refuses to pay his debt, then the Islamic magistrate sells it for him and pays his debt. If the proceeds of the sale are insufficeient to cover the debt, and he or his creditor asks the magistrate that he be suspended from dealing in his property, then this is done (O: obligatorily, if requested). When the person is suspended, his disposal over his own saleable property is not legally binding or effective, and the magistrate pays the person's expenses and those of his family (O: whom he is obliged to support (def: m12.1)) out of this (O: suspended) property if he is unable to earn enough to pay his expenses. Then (O: after the person has been suspended) the magistrate sells the property in the most profitable manner and divides the proceeds according to the percentage of the total debt which is owed to each creditor.

k12.3 If one of the creditors is owed money on a debt which is not yet due, he is not entitled to be paid from the proceeds. (N: Rather, if the bankrupt does not agree to pay the person immediately, the magistrate keeps this person's share until the debt is due (A: and then pays him).)

k12.4 If one of the creditors has accepted an article of the bankrupt's property as collateral from him for a debt, he is paid the amount owed to him from the sale of the collateral (O: and if there is money from its sale in excess of what was owed to him, it is distributed among the other creditors).

k12.5 If one of the creditors finds the very piece of merchandise he sold to the bankrupt person, he may choose between selling it and dividing the profits with the other creditors, or cancelling the deal and taking back the piece of merchandise, provided there is nothing to prevent taking it back such as it being subject to preemption by a part owner (shuf'a, def: k21), or the bankrupt person having made it collateral to another person, or the merchandise's being mixed with merchandise better than it, or some similar objection.

k12.6 The bankrupt person is permitted to keep a suitable set of clothes and enough food for himself and his dependents to suffice for the day on which his saleable property is divided up. (N: If the bankrupt is then earning enough to suffice himself and his dependents, he is left as is. If not, then he is supported by the Muslim common fund (bayt al-mal), like all poor people. If there is no common fund, he must be supported by all the Muslims.)

k13.0 THE SUSPENSION OF CHILDREN AND THE INSANE FROM DEALINGS

(O: Suspension is of two types:

(1) The first has been established in Sacred Law for the interests of others, such as the suspension of a bankrupt person in the interests of his creditors, or the suspension of the person putting up collateral from dealing in it, in the interests of the person who has accepted it.

(2) The second has been established in Sacred Law in the interests of the suspended person, which is the type of suspension our author refers to in the following.)

k13.1 It is not permissible for a child or insane person to dispose of their own property (N: and their doing so is considered legally invalid) (O: to protect them from loss. The fact that a person is a child, male or female, even if at the age of discrimination (def:f1.2), negates the legal efficacy of whatever he says, as well as his legal authority over others, both in respect to transactions such as sale, and in respect to religion, such as Islam. His Islam is not valid, since it requires full capacity for legal responsibility (taklif, dis: c8.1). And this state continues until he reaches puberty. Insanity similarly negates the legal efficacy of whatever the insane person says, as well as his legal authority over others. His Islam is not valid, nor his leaving Islam (def: o8), nor are his dealings, as previously mentioned). (A: Also suspended from commercial dealings is the foolhardy person (safih), meaning a spendthrfit who is chronically careless with his money. In the schools of Shafi'i and Ahmad, this class also includes those who are careless about their religious obligations, as they too are considered too foolish to deal in their own property.)

k13.2 A guardian conducts such a charge's affairs, the guardian being:

(1) the charge's father;

(2) the father's father, if the father is deceased; (O: it is a necessary condition that they be upright (def: o24.4), at least outwardly, though they need not be Muslim unless the child is Muslim)

(3) if neither of them is alive, then the person designated by the guardian's will (wasiyya, def: L3) to take custody of the charge;

(4) or if no one has been designated by the will. then the Islamic magistrate or his representative.

THE GUARDIAN'S DISPOSAL OF HIS CHARGE'S PROPERTY

k13.3 The guardian deals with the charge's property to the charge's best financial advantage (O: and is entitled to sell it for needs that arise, such as when he does not have enough to cover his charge's expenses and clothing).

k13.4 If the guardian claims to have spent his charge's property to cover the charge's expenses, or claims that the property has been destroyed (O: by an act of God (A: and not through his negligence)), then his word is accepted (O: about it without having to swear an oath). But if the guardian claims to have given the property to the charge (O: i.e. to the child who has reached maturity or the insane person who has regained his sanity), then his word is not accepted (O: because of the ease with which he could have legally established that he gave the property to his charge at the time of doing so. if he did not obtain witnesses to observe the property being handed over, he is guilty of remissness for neglecting to have it witnessed).

k13.5 Suspension from dealings ends (O: without a ruling from the judge) when a child reaches puberty and mental maturity, meaning that he:

(a) is physically mature;

(b) shows religious sincerity;

(c) and is competent to handle his own property. (O: For an insane person, suspension ends when he regains his sanity, shows religious sincerity, and displays competence in handling his property. Religious sincerity means that a person performs acts of obedience and avoids disobedience and the unlawful. Competence in handling one's property means that one does not waste it by losing it, for example, in buying something outrageously overpriced. Both of these traits ((b) and (c)) are the criteria for maturity according to Imam Shafi'i, as opposed at Abu Hanifa and Malik, who hold that competence in handling property is sufficient.)

k13.6 A charge is not give his property until his competence in handling it has been tested before puberty in a manner appropriate to him. (O: Thus a merchant's son is tried at striking a bargain in dealings, having been given money to do this, though not actually concluding the deal, which is done by the guardian. A farmer's son is tested at agriculture and managing the expenditures connected with it. An examination is also made of the charge's religion, by observing whether he performs acts of worship, avoids acts of disobedience, shuns the unlawful, and is wary of things that are doubtful (dis: j16.1). It is necessary that this testing be repeated one or more times.)

k13.7 It the suspended person reaches puberty or regains his sanity but is corrupt in his religion or incompetent in financial dealings, then his suspension continues and he is not permitted to deal in his property by selling or anything else, with or without his guardian's permission, though if the guardian permits him to marry, the marriage is valid. If the suspended person reaches puberty with religious sincerity and financial competence, but subsequently squanders his wealth, then he is resuspended by the Islamic magistrate not the guardian. But if the person becomes morally corrupt (A: after having reached puberty), he is not resuspended (N: provided his corruption does not involve spending money on what is unlawful, though if it does, he is suspended from dealing).

k13.8 Puberty applies to a person after the first wet dream, or upon becoming fifteen (O: lunar) years old, or when a girl has her first menstrual period or pregnancy.

k14.0 TRANSFERRING THE RIGHT TO COLLECT A DEBT (HAWALA)

(O: In Sacred Law, a transfer is an agreement that moves a debt from one person's responsibility to another's.) (n: Given three persons, X (al-muhtal), Y (al-Muhil), and Z (al-muhal alayhi) (A: where X loans Y a dirham, and Z already owes Y a dirham, so Y transfers the right to collect the old debt (that Z owes him) to X, instead of repaying X for the new debt. Such transfers have six integrals:

(a) Y;

(b) X;

(c) Z;

(d) Y's debt to X;

(e) Z's debt to Y;

(f) Y's spoken offer and X's spoken acceptance).)

k14.1 It is a necessary condition for the validity of transferring a debt that Y wishes to do so, and that X accepts. It is not necessary that Z wishes it. (O: The agreement also requires a form, which is the spoken offer and acceptance (def:k1.1), meaning Y's offer and X's acceptance.)

k14.2 Such a transfer is not valid unless z owes Y a debt and Y owes X a debt. A transfer is valid respecting a legally binding debt(O: owed to X) for another legally binding debt (O: Z owes to Y), provided:

(a) that X and Y know what is being transferred (A:gold, silver, or wheat, for example) for what;

(b) that X and Y know that the two debts are homogeneous in type (A: such as money for money, or wheat for wheat) and in amount (O: though if Y owes X five, and Z owes Y ten, and Y transfers (A: the right to collect) five of it to X, then this is valid);

(c) and that X and Y know whether the debts are currently due or payable in the future (A: the two debts may differ in this respect if both parties agree).

k14.3 (O: The validity of a transfer is not affected by the existence of collateral (def: k11) or of a guarantor (def;k15) as security for one of the debts, but the occurence of the transfer eliminates (A: either form of) security, the guarantor being relieved of any responsibility and the collateral no longer being collateral.)

k14.4 Through a valid transfer, Y no longer owes X a debt, Z no longer owes Y a debt, and the debt owed to X becomes the responsibility of Z. If X is unable to collect the debt from Z because Z is bankrupt or denies the existence of the debt or for some other reason (O: such as Z's death), then X is not entitled to go back to Y (A: to collect it) (N: but rather it is as though X has accepted for the debt a remuneration which was subsequently destroyed in his possession).

k15.0 GUARANTEEING PAYMENT (DAMAN)

(O: Guarantee lexically means ensuring implementation, and in Sacred Law means to ensure a financial obligation which is another's or ensure the appearance of a particular person whose presence is required.) (n: Given three persons, P (al-madmunlahu), Q (al-madmum 'anhu), and R (al-damin) (A: where P loans Q a dirham, and R guarantees to P that either Q will repay it or else he, R, will repay it. Such guarantees have five integrals:

(a) R;

(b) P;

(c) Q;

(d) the debt covered;

(e) and the form of the agreement).)

GUARANTEEING ANOTHER'S FINANCIAL OBLIGATION

k15.1 It is necessary condition for the validity of guaranteeing payment that R have full right to manage his own property. It is not valid from a child, someone insane, or a foolhardy person (def: k13.1(A:)), though it is valid from someone suspended for bankruptcy.

k15.2 It is a condition for the validity of a guarantee that R know P, though it is not necessary that P agree to it. It is not necessary that Q agree, or that R know Q.

k15.3 It is necessary that the guaranteed debt be a financial obligation (dayn, dis: k9.2(b)) that is existent (O: since it is not valid to guarantee a debt before it exists, such as "tomorrow's expenses") and is determinately known (O: in terms of amount, type, and description).

k15.4 It is necessary that R make the guarantee in words (O: or their written equivalent, with the intention) that imply he is effecting it, such as "I guarantee your debt [O: that So-and-so owes you], "I will cover it," or the like. (O: These are explicit expressions in that they mention the guaranteed financial obligation. When it is not mentioned, the expression is allusive, which is valid provided the financial obligation is what is intended, and the speaker knows how much it is Otherwise, allusive expressions are not valid.) It is not valid to base the implementation of a guarantee on a condition, such as saying, "When Ramadan comes, I hereby guarantee it." (O: Nor is it valid to make it subject to time stipulations, such as saying, "I guarantee what So-and-so owes for one month, after which I no longer guarantee it.")

k15.5 When a seller has accepted the price of something, it is valid (O: for someone) to guarantee the buyer his money back if the merchandise should prove to belong to another or to be defective. (O: It is likewise valid for someone to guarantee to the seller that the merchandise will be returned if the price paid for it should turn out to belong to someone other than the buyer.)

k15.6 P is entitled to collect the guaranteed debt from R and Q (O: by asking both of them or either for the full amount, or one of them for part of it and the other for the rest of it). If another guarantor guarantees the debt for R (O: by saying (A: to P), "I guarantee Q's debt [A: to you] for R"), then P is entitled to collect it from all (A: from Q,R, and the new guarantor).

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k15.7 If P asks for payment from R, then R is entitled to ask Q to pay the debt, provided that Q had given his permission to R before R guaranteed it.

k15.8 If P cancels the debt Q owes him, then R is also free of the obligation to pay P. But if P cancels R's obligation to cover Q's debt, then Q is not thereby free of the debt he owes P.

k15.9 If R pays Q's debt to P, then R can collect it from Q, provided that q had given his permission to R before R guaranteed it. But if Q had not (O: given his permission to R to guarantee), then R is not now entitled to collect it from Q, no matter whether R paid if off with Q's leave or without it.

k15.10 It is not valid to guarantee delivery of particular articles (ayn) (A: as they are not financial obligations (dis: k9.2(b)), such as something wrongfully taken, or articles loaned for use (O: i.e. "guaranteeing" they will be returned to their owner).

GUARANTEEING ANOTHER'S APPEARANCE

k15.11 It is permissible for R to guarantee that Q will appear in person (O: in court) provided:

(a) that Q owes someone something or is liable to punishment for a crime against another person, such as when the other is entitled to retaliate (def: O1-03) against Q, or when Q has charged someone with adultery without evidence (def:o13);

(b) and that Q gives R permission to guarantee his appearance. It is not valid to gurantee Q's appearance if (non-(a) above) Q's crime is against Allah Most High (O: such as drinking,adultery, or theft).

k15.12 If R guarantees Q's appearance but does not specify when, he is required to produce Q at once. But if R stipules a certain time, then he is required to do so at that time. If Q disappears and his where abouts is unknown, R is not required to produce Q until he knows where Q is. (A: When R knows where Q is, then) R is given time to travel to where Q is and return. If R does not bring Q, then R is under arrest, though he is not responsible for Q's (A:unfulfilled) financial obligations. If Q dies, the guarantee is nullified, though if R is asked to produce Q's body before burial to verify its identity, he is obliged to if able.

k16.0 PARTNERSHIPS (SHARIKA)

k16.1 Partnership is valid with anyone having full right to dispose of his own property.

COOPERATIVE PARTNERSHIP

k16.2 There are four kind of partnership (dis:k16.9) of which one alone, cooperative partnership, is valid. It consists of each of the two (A: or more) partners putting up capital, which must be either money or a fungible commodity typically transacted measure for measure (mithli, def:k20.3(1)) (O: as opposed to goods appraised and sold as particular pieces of merchandise (mutaqawwim), which cannot form the basis of a partnership because it is impossible to mix each partner's share with the other's (dis:below)).

k16.3 It is a condition for the validity of a cooperative partnership that the two shares of capital put up by the partners be inter mixed such that it is impossible to tell them apart.

k16.5 It is a necessary condition that each partner give the other his permission to handle the capital (O: that they have put in common). Each partner must deal in a a way that realizes their common capital's best advantage and maximal safety. Thus, neither partner may travel with it (O: i.e. the shared capital, because of the danger in travelling) or sell for postponed payment (N: unless the other partner gives him permission, in which case (A:either of) these are permissible).

k16.6 It is not necessary that the two shares of capital put up by the partners be equal in amount. Both profits and losses are divided between the two partners in proportion to the percentage of the shared capital each of them put up (O: even if there is a difference in the amount of work that each does). If they stipulate otherwise, the partner who put up one hundred, for example gets two-thirds, while the partner who put up two hundred gets one-third; or stipulating that each gets an equal share, despite having put up unequal amounts). (N: This is in the Shafi'i school. The Hanafis and Hanbalis hold that it is permissible for the distribution of profits to be disproportionate (A: to the amount of capital each invests0, corresponding to the disproportionate amount of work each puts into the venture (A: or any other division of the profits which they both agree upon).)

k16.7 If partner A forbids partner B handle the shared capital, then B is not entitled to handle it, though A is still entitled to (O: handle both shares, one of which is his by ownership, and the other by permission of his partner) until B forbids him to handle it.

k16.8 Each partner is entitled to cancel the partnership whenever he wants (O: and it is also cancelled by the death or instanity of either or both partners).

k16.9 The following types of partnerships are not valid:

(1) manual partnership (sharika al-abdan), such as the partnership of two porters or other workers agreeing to divide their earnings between them (N: though this type of partnership is valid in the Maliki, Hanbali schools);

(2) well-known partner partnership (sharika al-wujuh) (n: such as of two individuals who put up no capital, but have good reputations among people which create confidence and enable them to purchase trade goods for deferred payment, the profits from the sale of which they agree to divide between them (Mughni al-muhtaj ila ma'rifa ma'ani alfaz al-Minhaj (y73), 2.212)).

(3) and comprehensive partnership (sharika al-mufawada) (n: an agreement by which the partners share whatever they each earn from their respective (A: separate) funds and labor, mutually covering the financial liabilities incurred by either (ibid.,2.212)).

k17.0 COMMISSIONING ANOTHER TO DO SOMETHING (WAKALA)

(n: Given persons X (al-muwakkil) and Y (al-wakil) (A: where X and Y article to sell for him. This section deals with commissioning others to carry out such requests, which have four integrals:

(a) X;

(b) Y;

(c) the act that is being commissioned (al-muwakkal fihi);

(d) and the words by which X commissions Y to do it).)

k17.1 It is a necessary condition that both X and Y have full right to perform the act being commissioned, though it is permissible to commission a child to let people into one's house or take a gift to someone.

THINGS ONE MAY COMMISSION OTHERS TO DO

k17.2 X may commission Y:

(1) to conclude contracts on X's behalf (O: such as a sale, gift, putting up collateral, conducting a marriage contract, guaranteeing payment, or transferring a debt);

(2) to cancel contracts on X's behalf (O: such as cancelling a sale or returning defective merchandise);

(3) to conduct X's divorce;

(4) to make claims (A: by lawsuit against others, as lawyers do);

(5) to ensure fulfillment of established claims (O: from whoever owes them to X, after they have been established by proof);

(6) or to take possession of something that is free to take, such as wild game, pasturage, or water (O: by Y conveying it from land which X is permitted to take it from, since this is a way of gaining property just as sale is).

k17.3 It is not permissible for Y to undertake obligations of worship that X owes Allah Most High, except for:

(1) distributing zakat to deserving recipients (O: or giving food or alms as an expiation, or voluntary charity);

(2) performing hajj (O: or 'umra, which another may perform on the behalf of an invalid or a deceased person);

(3) and slaughtering sacrifices (dis: j12.6 (end), j14.3).

k17.4 It is permissible to commission Y to perform an obligation (O: to Allah) that consists of inflicting a prescribed legal penalty (hadd) (O: such as the penalties for the crimes of accusing another of adultery without proof (def:o13), adultery, or drinking), but is not permissible to commission Y to establish that such an obligation exists (O: such as by X telling Y, "I commission you to affirm [A: in court, by Y submitting X's testimony] that So-and-so has committed adultery," or "that So-and-so has drunk wine").

k17.5 It is a necessary condition for the validity of X's commissioning Y that there be:

(a) a spoken proposal (O: indicating X's wish for Y to handle some matter for him) that does not restrict the (A fact of there being a) commission by giving conditions under which the commission takes effect (O such as saying, "If So-and-so come, I hereby commission must be) such as saying, "I commission you, " or "Sell this garment for me";

(b) and an acceptance (O:by Y, whether this be) in word or deed, i.e. by Y simply doing what he has been asked to, it is not necessary that his acceptance take place immediately.

k17.6 When X validity commissions Y to do something, X may include stipulations about how it is to be carried out, such as saying, "I commission you, but don't sell it sell it till after a month." (A: The previous ruling prohibits stipulations restricting the fact of Y being commissioned Y and his stipulations merely govern how Y is to do it.) (O: A temporary commission, such as saying, "I commission you for one month," is also valid.)

k17.7 Y may not commission another to perform what X has commissioned Y to do unless X either gives Y permission to commission another, or Y cannot undertake the task (O: because he is unable to, or it doe not befit him) or it incapable of it because it is too much (A: for a single person to perform).

THE AGENTS DISCRETIONARY POWERS

k17.8 Y is not entitled to sell an article (A: he has been commissioned to sell) to himself or his underage son, nor (O: is it valid) to sell it:

(1) for less than the current price of similar articles;

(2) for deferred payment;

(3) or for other than the type of money used locally; though Y may do these (O: (1), (2), or (3) if X grants him permission to.

k17.9 Y's sale of the commissioned article is not valid when X specifies the type of funds he wants as its price, but Y sells it for a different type, such a when X says, "Sell it for a thousand dirhams," but Y sells it for a thousand dinars. But Y's selling it is valid if X specifies the amount he wants and Y sells it for more, provided the type of funds is the same, as when X says," Sell it for a thousand, "but Y sells it for two thousand-unless X has specifically prohibited this (O: in which case the sale would not be valid, as it contravenes X's commission).

k17.10 If X commissions Y to "buy such and such a thing for a hundred, "but Y buys one worth a hundred for less than a hundred, then the purchase is valid. But if Y buys one for two hundred that is worth two hundred (A: when X has commissioned him to buy one for a hundred), then the purchase is not valid. If X tells Y, "Buy a sheep with this dinar, "(O: and describes it in type and so forth, since without such a description, the commission would not be valid), but Y buys two sheep (A: with that dinar) of which each one is worth a dinar, then the purchase is valid and both sheep belong to X,though if the sheep are not each worth a dinar, then the purchase is not valid.

k17.11 When X commissions Y to sell something to a particular person, it is not permissible (O: or valid) for Y to sell it to another.

k17.12 When X tells Y, "Buy this [A: particular] garment,"and y buys it and X finds it is defective, then Y may return it for a refund (O: and so may X, since he is its owner). But when X merely tells Y to "buy a garment" (O: without further restriction), then it is not permissible for Y to buy a defective one (O: because the lack of further restrictions is understood to mean being free of defects, and if Y buys a defective one, the purchase is invalid).

k17.13 It is a necessary condition that the thing Y is being commissioned to do is determinately known (O: to X and Y) in some respects. Thus, if X says, "I commission you to sell my property and conduct the divorce of my wives," his commission is valid, though if he merely commission Y to "handle everything large or small," or " all of my affairs, " it is not valid.

k17.14 Y's responsibility in a commission is that of someone who has been given a trust (O: since he represents X, and his possession of the article is like X's). meaning that if (O: X's) property is destroyed without negligence while in Y's possession, Y does not have to pay for it. (O: But when Y is to blame and negligent, a when he uses the article himself or keeps it in a place lacking the normal precautions for safeguarding similar articles, then he must pay for its loss, as with any trust.)

k17.15 Y's word (dis: k8.2) is accepted over X's when there is a dispute:

(1) concerning the commissioned article's destruction;

(2) as to whether the article was or was not returned to X;

(3) or whether Y betrayed his trust.

k17.16 Either X and Y may cancel the commission at any time. If X relieves Y of his commission, but Y does not learn of this and performs it, then what he has done is not legally binding or effective (O: because he did not have the right to handle the matter).

k17.17 The commission is cancelled when X and Y dies, loses his sanity, or loses consciousness (Ar. ughmiya 'alayhi, i.e. through other than falling asleep).

k18.0 DEPOSITS FOR SAFEKEEPING (WADI'A)

(n: Given persons P (al-mudi') and Q (al-wadi') (A: where P deposits an article with Q for safekeeping until such time as P should want it back. Such deposits have four integrals:

(a) the article (al-wadi'a);

(b) the verbal agreement;

(c) P;

(d) and Q).) (O: The appropriateness of mentioning deposits for safekeeping after having discussed commissioning others is plain, namely that both the person commissioned and the person with whom something is deposited are bearers of a trust, and do not pay for the loss or destruction is the result of their wrongdoing (A: or remissness in taking normal precautions).)

k18.1 Deposits for safekeeping are only valid when both P and Q full right to handle their own property. Thus, if a child or a foolhardy person (def: k13.1 (A:)) deposits something for safekeeping with an adult, he should not accept it. If he does, then he is responsible for it (O: and must cover the cost if it destroyed) and is not free of the responsibility until he returns it to the child's guardian. He is not free of the responsibility if

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he merely returns it to the child. If an adult deposits something for safekeeping with a child (A: or other person without full disposal over their affairs), then the child is not responsible if the article is destroyed through negligence or otherwise (O: as when an act of God befalls it), though if the child destroys the article, he is financially responsible for it.

k18.2 It is unlawful for Q to accept a deposit for safekeeping when he is not able to protect it. It is offensive for him to accept it if he is able to protect it but cannot trust himself and fears he may betray the responsibility. But if he can trust himself, it is desirable and praiseworthy for him to accept it.

k18.3 If Q accepts a deposit for safekeeping, he is obliged to keep it in a place meeting the normal specifications for safeguarding similar articles (A: for his town and times) (O: which varies according to the nature of the article deposited, as each thing has precautions proper to safeguarding it (dis:o14.3)).

k18.4 If Q plans to travel or fears he may die, he must return the deposited article to P. If Q cannot find P or someone commissioned by P (A: to manage P's affairs), then he must deliver it to the Islamic magistrate (A: to keep for P). If there is none, Q leaves it with a trustworthy person (O: and he is not obliged to delay his trip), though if he deposits the article with a trustworthy person when there is an Islamic magistrate, he is still financially responsible for it. If Q fails to take the above measures (A: of returning it to the owner or next most appropriate person available) and he dies without having provided in his will for returning the article, or he travels with it, then he is financially responsible for it, unless he dies suddenly, or looting or fire breaks out in the city, and he travels with it because of being unable to give it to any of the above persons.

k18.5 Whenever P asks for the deposited article, Q is obliged to return it by allowing P to take it (O: i.e. by relinquishing possession of it, though this does not mean he has to transport it to P).

k18.6 Q is financially responsible for the deposited article if:

(1) without excuse, he delays allowing P to take it;

(2) he deposits the article or safekeeping with a third party, without having had to travel and when there was no need;

(3) he mixes the deposited property with his own property or with some of P's other property such that the deposited property is no longer distinguishable from what it has been mixed with (O: as opposed to when the deposited property can be easily distinguished and has not depreciated as a result of being mixed);

(4) he takes the article out of the place of safekeeping to use, even if he did not use it (O: because merely taking it out with such an intention is a betrayal of his trust);

(5) he does not keep it in a place meeting the normal specifications for safeguarding similar articles; or if P has told him, "Keep it in such and such a particular place for safeguarding, "but he instead puts it in a different place less protected (O: than the one P indicated), even when this second place meets the normal specifications for safeguarding similar articles (O: though if Q puts it in a different place with protection equal or superior to the place P has indicated, Q is not responsible for it).

k18.7 Either party may cancel the deposit for safekeeping agreement at any time. The agreement is also annulled when either party dies, loses his sanity, or loses consciousness (Ar. ughmiya alayhi, i.e. through other than falling asleep).

k18.8 Q's responsibility in accepting a deposit for safekeeping is that of someone who has been given a trust (O: meaning that his claims when he swears an oath (N: and neither side has proof (dis:k8.2)) are accepted, a he is a trustee). His word is accepted over P's when there are disputes about:

(1) whether the deposit for safekeeping was actually made (O: When P claims that it was);

(2) whether the article was returned to P;

(3) or whether and how the article was destroyed (O: when Q claims it was). Thus if Q says, "You did not deposit anything with me," or "I returned it to you," or :It was destroyed without negligence on my part," then his word is accepted when he swears.

k18.9 It is a necessary condition for the validity of a deposit for safekeeping that P states it in words such as "I entrust it to you to keep," or "I entrust it to you to protect." It is not necessary that Q give a spoken reply to this, but is sufficient for him to simply accept the article.

k19.0 LENDING SOMETHING FOR USE (ARIYYA)

(n: Given persons A (al-mu'ir) and B (al-musta'ir) (A: where A lends B an article to use and return after use. This section discusses such loans, which have four integrals:

(a) the article (al-ariyya);

(b) the verbal agreement;

(c) A;

(d) and B).)

k19.1 A's lending an article for B to use is valid if A possesses full disposal over his own property and has the lawful right to the article's use, even if he is only renting (n: though not if someone else has lent him the article without giving him permission to relend it, as at k19.8).

k19.2 It is permissible to lend anything that can be benefited from while the article itself still remains (O: such that B gets some use out the article, as is usually the case, or else he materially gains from it, as when he borrows a sheep for its milk or its expected offspring, or borrows a tree for its fruit. It is not valid to lend something of no lawful benefit such as a musical instrument (dis: r40), or such things as edibles, which do not themselves exist after use, since their use consists solely in their consumption). (A: The latter would be a loan (qard, def:k10) repayable in kind, and hence not included in lending for use.)

k19.3 It is necessary for the validity of lending something for use that either A or B state the agreement in words. (O: The loan is not valid except by either A or B stating it, such as by B telling A, "Loan me such and such." and then A giving it to him. The action alone, between A and B, is insufficient.)

k19.4 B may then use the article according to the permission given. He may:

(1) do what A has given him permission to;

(2) or do the equivalent (O: in respect to the wear and tear on the article involved) or something less, though not if A has forbidden B to do other than what he has specifically given him permission to do. If A tells B, "Plant wheat,"(A: on land lent), then it is permissible for B to plant barley, though not vice versa (O: since wheat is harder on the soil than barley), while if A merely permits B to plant, without further restriction, then B may plant whatever he wishes.

k19.5 When A permits B to plant an orchard or build buildings on property he lends B, but later wants the land back, then:

(1) if A had stipulated that B would have to remove the trees or buildings, then B removes them (O: obligatorily, performing what was stipulated, for if B will not, then A may remove them);

(2) but if A had not stipulated this, then if B whether, he may remove them, though if B does not (O: but rather chooses to keep them there), then A has a choice between leaving them on the land for rent (O: from B for the land), or else removing them (O: the trees or buildings) and being obliged to pay B a compensation for the loss of value (O: to the trees (A: or buildings)) caused by removal. A is entitled to take back the article lent at any time he wishes.

k19.6 B is financially liable for the article lent (N: even if it is destroyed by an act of God). If it is destroyed while B is using it for other than what A gave him permission to do with it, even if not through B's negligence, then B is responsible to A for the article's value (A: at the market price current for similar articles on) the day of its destruction (O: and he may either replace it or pay A for it). But if the loaned article wears out through being used in the way that A gave permission to use it; then B is not financially responsible for it (N: as when B borrows a garment to wear which becomes worn out through use alone).

k19.7 B is responsible for the measures entailed in returning the article to A.

k19.8 B may not loan (O: the article lent to him) to a third party (O: without permission).

k20.0 THE RETURN OF WRONGFULLY TAKEN PROPERTY (GHASB)

(O: Taking another's property is an enormaity (dis:p20), the scriptural basis for its prohibition being Koranic verses such as the word of Allah Most High, "Do not consume each other's property through falsehood"(KOran 2:188).) (n: Given persons X and Y (A: where X takes an article belonging to Y. This section presents the details of X's obligation (dis: p77.3) to restore Y his property).)

k20.1 Wrongfully taking (ghasb) means to appropriate what is another's right (O: even if this consists of the right to use something, such as forcing someone sitting in a mosque or marketplace to get up from his place) unjustly.

k20.2 When X wrongfully takes anything of value from Y, even if the value is inconsiderable, he is obliged to return it unless this involves destruction to life or lawful property, as when X takes a plant and nails it over a leak in the hull of a ship at sea that is bearing others' property or worthy people or animals (N: meaning those not obligatory to kill (def:e12.8(O:))).

k20.3 If the article taken is destroyed while in X's possession or X himself destroys it, then:

(1) if it was fungible (mithli, a homogeneous commodity transacted by weight or measure, an equal amount of which precisely supplies the place of another), then X is financially responsible for replacing it with an equal amount, fungible meaning that which is measured by volume or weight, and which can be validly sold in advance (def; k9.2 (b,d,f,g)) such as grain, gold or silver, and so forth, while nonfungible (mutaqawwim, commodities appraised and transacted as particular pieces of merchandise) means everything else, such as livestock and articles of heterogeneous composition, like meat pastry, and so forth;

(2) if the article was fungible (mithli) but it is no longer possible for X to obtain an equal amount to return to Y, then X owes Y its value, which is reckoned at its highest market value between the time X seized it and the time of its subsequent unavailability;

(3) but if the article was nonfungible (mutaqawwim), X owes Y its highest market value during the interval between X's taking it and the time of its destruction.

(N: The foregoing apply to when X has appropriated a physical article or commodity (ayn). As for when he has wrongfully appropriated the use of something, the obligation consists of repaying Y the cost of renting a similar article for a similar amount of time.)

k20.4 X's word (O: provided he swears an oath (N: and neither side has proof (dis:k8.2))) is accepted over Y's when there is a dispute about the destroyed article's value (O: when both agree that it has been destroyed) or about its destruction (A: as to when it occurred, for example). But Y's word is accepted over X's when there is a dispute about whether or not X returned the article to Y.

k20.5 If the property returned by X is materially diminished or has depreciated in value because of some new defect, or both, then X is obliged to pay Y compensation for the loss of value (O: while still being obliged to return the rest). But if the article has diminished in value solely because its market price is now less, then X is not required to pay anything.

k20.6 If the article possesses a utility (O: meaning a rentable utility, as a house does), then X owes Y its rent for the period that X had it, no matter whether he used it or not.

k20.7 Anyone who obtains the wrongfully appropriated article from X, or subsequently obtains it from the person who got it from X, and so forth, on down, is financially responsible (def: k20.2-6) to Y for it, no matter whether such a person knows of its having been wrongfully appropriated or not.

k20.8 (N: Given persons X,Y, and Z, where X has wrongfully taken something from Y, and then Z obtains it from X. This ruling describes the compensation due to Y when the article has been damaged or destroyed in Z's possession.) Y is entitled to demand restoration or payment for the loss or depreciation of the article from either X or Z. The obligation to cover this becomes Z's own financial liability-meaning that if Y asks Z for compensation, Z may not in turn demand it from X; though if Y asks X for it, X may it turn demand it from Z-in the following cases:

(1) when Z obtained it knowing that it had been wrongfully appropriated;

(2) when Z obtained it not knowing that it had been wrongfully appropriated, but the means by which Z obtained it would have made him financially responsible for its destruction anyway, as when Z himself wrongfully appropriated it or borrowed it for use (def: k19) from X. (O: Z is also financially liable if he bought it from X);

(3) or when Z obtained it not knowing it had been wrongfully taken, and the means by which he got it from X would not otherwise have made him responsible for its destruction except for the fact that he himself precipitated its destruction (A: as when X deposits it with Z for safekeeping and Z destroys it).

k21.0 PRE-EMPTING THE SALE OF A CO-OWNER'S SHARE TO ANOTHER (SHUF'A)

(n: Given P, Q, and R (A: where P and Q each own part of some dividable piece of real estate, and P sells his part to R, a third party. In such a case, Q can legally force R to sell the part to him by right of pre-emption (N: whose purpose is to prevent the harm to Q that would result if R were to subsequently go to the Islamic magistrate and demand that the property be divided to distinguish his property from Q's)).)

k21.1 Preemption is only legally binding:

(a) on a portion of real estate (A: that belonged to P and Q) which can be divided without loss of value;

(b) when P has sold his part (A: to R) for recompense.

In such a case, Q may preempt its being sold to R by buying R's share for the price that P and R agreed on. If there are several co-owners in place of Q, they each buy a part of the share proportionate to the percentage of the whole property they respectively own. (A: If there is disagreement between the parties as to how much P sold it to R for, and there is no proof, then) R is the one to say (A: when he swears(def:k8.2)) how much the price of the part was.

k21.2 It is a necessary condition for the pre-emptive sale that Q effect it with words such as "I hereby appropriate this property by preemption." It is also necessary that Q give R the price, that R agree to let Q pay it later, or that the Islamic magistrate rule that Q may buy the property by preemption; in any of which cases Q takes possession of it. If R paid P with something fungible (mithli, def: k20.3(1)), then Q must pay R an equal amount. If R paid with something nonfungible, then

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Q must pay its value (A: in the marketplace on) the day of the sale.

k21.3 There is no preemption if:

(1) the property is divided (N: already, by boundary markers or similar);

(2) the building and trees on the land are sold separately from it;

(3) the property cannot be divided without eliminating its usefulness (non-k21.1(a)), such as a cistern or a narrow walkway;

(4) R acquired it without paying a price for it, as when it has been given to him as a gift;

(5) or if R bought it with a price whose amount was not known(A: such as "for this pile of silver you see").

k21.4 It the building and trees have been sold with the land (A: for one price), then Q also takes them as part of the land he preempts.

k21.5 Preemption must occur immediately (A:upon Q's learning of P's having sold the property to R). When Q learns of it, he must preempt at once (def:f4.5). If he delays without excuse, he no longer has the right to preempt, unless R bought the property from P for postponed payment, in which case Q has a choice between buying it at once, or waiting until payment is due and then buying it. If Q learns of the sale while ill, or being denied, he must commission someone (def:k17) to preempt for him. If he does not, he loses the right to preempt, unless he was unable to commission someone, or the person who informed him of the sale was a child or someone unreliable, or he was informed of itwhile travelling and then started returning in order to preempt; in all of which cases he may still preempt.

k21.6 If R has built, or planted trees (A: before Q could preempt), then Q has a choice between paying R the value of the new buildings (A: or trees) and taking possession of them, or else removing them and paying R for the loss of value (A: to them as a result of being removed). If R has given away the part of the property (A: that he bought from P), made it a charitable endowment (waqf,def;k30), sold it, or returned it to P because of a defect, then Q may annul any of these transactions that R has effected. Q also has the right to take the property from the person who bought it from R, by paying this person who bought it from R, by paying this person the amount for which he bought it.

k21.7 If Q dies (A: before he is able to preempt), his heirs can preempt. If some of them decline to do so, the rest of the heirs may still preempt the entire portion, or may relinquish the right to preempt any of it.

k22.0 FINANCIAL A PROFIT SHARING VENTURE (QIRAD)

(n: Given persons X (al-malik) and y (al-amil) (A: where X and Y a sum of money for Y to do business with, on the basis that X will take a percentage of the profits. Such ventures have six integrals:

(a) X;

(b) Y;

(c) the work performed by Y;

(d) the profit (n: divided between them at a given percentage);

(e) the spoken form;

(f) and the venture's capital (n: which is put up by X)).)

k22.1 Financing a profit-sharing venture (qirad) means for X to give Y money with which to trade, the profits to be shared between them. (O: It is not valid to finance such a venture on the basis that a third party gets any of the profit.) It is only valid when both parties have full right to manage their own property. It also requires that there be:

(a) a spoken proposal (O: by X, such as "I finance you," or "I engage you, "or "Take these dirhams [N: as a trade loan]");

(b) an acceptance (O: by Y in words. It is insufficient for him to begin working without saying anything); and that the invested capital be:

(c) money (lit. "gold or silver" (A: money taking their place in these rulings));

(d) of known amount;

(e) physically existent (A: i.e. it can be seen and handled, not merely a debt or financial obligation to be collected);

(f) delivered to Y (O: it is not valid to finance a profit-sharing venture on condition that the funds be held by someone other than Y, such as X holding them and paying for what Y buys, since y might not find X he needs him);

(g) (A: and that Y be given the funds) in return for (A: X's receiving) a known fraction of the entire profit, such as a half or a third. Financing a profit-sharing venture is not valid when:

(1) (non-(c) above) the capital put up consists of commodities;

(2) (non-(f)) X holds the funds;

(3) (non-(g)) it is stipulated that either X or y be specifically entitled to the profits from a certain part of the business (O: such as saying, "You get the profits from the clothing, and I get the profits from the livestock");

(4) (non-(g)) either X or Y is guaranteed (N: for example) ten dirhams of the profit (O: since they might not

make more than ten, in which case the second partner would get nothing) (A: rather, they must specify the percentage that each will take);

(5) (non-(g)) it is stipulated that one of them be entitled to all of the profit;

(6) or (non-(f)) it is stipulated that X work with Y in the business.

k22.2 Y's role is to conduct business and related matters with consideration for their best financial advantage and with circumspection. Y may not sell at a loss, sell for deferred payment, or travel with the capital, and so forth, without X's permission.

k22.3 The agreement between X and Y is nullified whenever X stipulates (O: something that is not obligatory for Y in such ventures, such as) that Y buy wheat, mill it, and bake it; that Y buy yarn, weave it, and sell it; that Y not deal except in such and such a rare commmodity; or that Y deal exclusively with So-and-so.

k22.4 When such an agreement is invalid, the transactions Y has conducted are valid, and Y is paid the wages that are usual for such work, unless X had stipulated, "I get all the profits, "in which case he takes all of it and Y gets nothing (O: since he worked without expecting anything).

k22.5 When either X or Y cancels the agreement, loses his sanity, or loses consciousness (Ar. ughmiya alayhi, i.e. through other than falling asleep), then the agreement is annulled and Y is obliged to liquidate the holdings (A: by changing them back into funds).

k22.6 (A: When neither party has proof,) Y's word (O: if he swears (dis:k8.2)) is accepted over X's when there are disputes:

(1) concerning the amount of capital originally put up;

(2) as to whether or not the capital was restored to X;

(3) concerning the destruction of the holdings;

(4) or as to whether Y betrayed his trust.

k22.7 If X and Y dispute as to how much of the profit was stipulated half for me," and X replies, "To the contrary, it was onethird"), then each party swears an oath supporting his own claim (O: and when they have sworn, X gets all the profit, and Y receives the wages customary for the work he did).

k22.8 Y does not own his share of the profit until the venture's final division. (O: His possession of it is only finalised by dividing the profits when the holdings ae liquidated and the agreement is terminated.)

k23.0 WATERING GRAPES OR DATES FOR PART OF THE CROP

k24.0 SHARECROPPING (MUZARA'A)

(n: Sharecropping means to farm someone's land for a share of the harvest. In the Shafi'i school, it is not permissible or valid except on strips of land between date groves under certain conditions, such as:

(a) that the landowner provide the seed;

(b) that it be unfeasible to separate working the trees from working the ground;

(c) and that the sharecropper be currently working the trees also, under the above 9k23) arrangement. This section has been left in Arabic below, and rulings from the Hanafi school, which permits sharecropping, have been added by the translator.)

k24.2 (Ahmad Quduri:) Abu Hanifa (Allah have mercy on him) holds that sharecropping, for one-third or one-fourth of the harvest (or anything less or more), is invalid, though Abu Yusuf and Mohammed (A: the colleagues of Abu Hanifa) hold it to be valid. Sharecropping, in the view of the latter two, is of four types (A: three of them valid and one invalid). (n: Given persons X and Y, and the four agricultural variables: land, seed, labor, and oxen (i.e. the means of plowing):)

(1) X provides the land and seed, and y provides the labor and oxen; and seed; which is permissible;

(2) X provides the land, and Y provides the labor, oxen, and seed; which is permissible;

(3) X provides the land, oxen, and seed and Y provides the labor, which is permissible;

(4) or X provides the land and oxen, and Y provides the seed and labor; which is not valid. A sharecropping agreement is only valid if the period of the agreemtnt is determinately specified (lit. "known"), and it requires that the total produce be divided between the partners (A: not a specific number of bushels to one, for example, or on condition that the produce from ne part of the land belong to one of them and the produce from another part belong to the other) (al-Lubab fi sharh al-kitab (y88), 2.228-30).

k25.0 RENTING THINGS AND HIRING PEOPLE'S SERVICES (IJARA)

(n: Given persons P and Q, where Q rents a pack animal from P, or hires P as a guide. The title of this section, Ijara, has the dual significance of renting an article and hiring a person's services.) (O: Lexically,rent is a name for the rental fee. In Sacred Law it means to take possession of a utility or service for payment under certain conditions, It has four integrals:

(a) the spoken form;

(b) the fee;

(c) the utility or service;

(d) and the persons making the agreement.)

k25.1 A rental agreement is only valid between two persons entitled to conduct sales (def; k1.2) It requires both a spoken offer, such as "I rent this to you." or "the use of it"; and a spoken acceptance. (O: The agreement must also specify how much the rental fee is.)

k25.2 There are two types of rental agreements:

(1) renting anticipated utilities or services described in advance and under obligation to deliver (ijara dhimma);

(2) or renting the use or services of an identified thing or individual who is present (ijara 'ayn). Rental of something anticipated (ijara dhimma) consists of Q saying, for example, "I am renting from you a pack animal of such and such a description," or "I am hiring you to tailor a garment for me,"or "to provide me with transportation to Mecca." Rental of something identified and present (ijra'ayn) consists of Q saying, for example, "I rent this animal from you," or I hire you to sew this particular garment for me."

k25.3 It is a necessary condition for a valid rental of something anticipated (ijara dhimma) that P accepts the fee for it at the time the agreement is made.

k25.4 The necessary conditions for a valid rental of something identified and present (ijara 'ayn) are:

(a) that the article (or person whose services are) being rented be a particular individual (O: meaning visible to the eye, as in sales);

(b) that the article (or person's service) be within P's power to deliver such that Q can utilize it as intended (O: within one's power to deliver including both the actual ownership of an article and the possession of the right to use it, such that if Q is renting it from P, Q may in turn rent it out to a third party);

(c) that Q have the right to utilize the article (or services of the person hired) as soon as the deal is made;

(d) that the utility for which the article is being rented not entail the article's destruction;

(e) and that the agreement specify a rental period that the rented article will probably outlast, even if it be a hundred years, as in the case of land. Thus, rental of something identified and present (ijara'ayn) is invalid when it consists of:

(1) (non-(a) above) hiring the services of "one of these two servants";

(2) (non-(a)) hiring someone absent (A: from the place where the agreement is made);

(3) (non-(b)) renting land for agricultural use when the land is without water and the area's rainfall is insufficient for crops;

(4) (non-(c)) P renting out something (A: that he is already renting to Q) to a third party for the year following the current one, though Q may rent it for the following year (O: since his rental period is unexpired and the two periods are contiguous);

(5) (non-(d)) wax for fuel;

(6) (non-(e)) or renting out an article unlikely to last, for example, more than a year, for a period longer than that.

k25.5 (O: Additional) conditions for rental of something identified and present (ijara 'ayn) (O: relating to its use or service) are that its utility be:

(a) permissible in Sacred Law;

(b) of some value;

(c) determinately known (O: as to which one it is, its amount, and its utility, meaning that both P and Q know these things), such as saying, "I rent you this land to raise crops on," or "[A: I rent you this pack animal] to carry such and such a quantity of iron,"or" of cotton";

(d) for a period known (O: to both P and Q);

(e) and for a fee known 9o; to both P and Q, in type and amount), even when it is merely seen in bulk, or when it consists of the use of some other utility or service. Thus, rental of something identified and present (ijara'ayn) is not valid when the utility for which it is being hired or rented consists of:

(1) (non-(a) above) playing a flute;

(2) (non-(a)) transporting wine, other than to pour it out;

(3) (non-(b)) a hawker's cry that does not require any effort,even if it increases the demand for the merchandise;

(4) (non-(c)) carrying such and such a quantity (O: on a pack animal) when the nature of the load is unspecified;

(5) (non-(d)) being rented for "one dirham per month" when the total period (A: of occupancy, for example) is unspecified (A: though one may renew a valid rent agreement each month, and in such a case the landlord has the right to ask for it in advance);

(6) or (non-(e)) hiring someone for the "fee" of providing him with food and clothing.

k25.6 The particulars of the utility (N: such as its precise duration) might not become determinately known except through the passage of time, as when renting a house or

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hiring a wet nurse in such cases the time must be preestimated (A; when the agreement is made, as a condition for its validity). Similarly, the utility or service might not become determinately known except through the work itself, such as when hiring someone to perform hajj in one's place (dis: j1.10) or the like, in which case the amount of work involved must be preestimated. If the utility requires both time and work to become determinately known, as is the case with tailoring, building, or teaching someone the Koran, then the utilityis preestimated (A: i.e. stated in the rental agreement) with regard to one of these two variables alone. It is not valid to estimate the utility with regard to both, such as Q saying, "[O: I hire you to] tailor this garment for today's daylight hours" (O: since the work involved might take more or less time than that).

k25.7 The necessary things required by Q in order to utilize, such as the key (A: to a house), or the reins, girth, or saddle(A: of a mount), are P's responsibility to provide. Things that merely enhance or improve the utility for which Q has rented the article are Q's responsibility.

k25.8 Q is entitled to normal use of the article in obtaining the utility for which he has rented it of an equivalent utility (A: riding it in a different direction, for example, the same distance as the agreed upon and under the same conditions). If Q travels farther than the agreed upon destination, then he is obligated to pay the rental fee agreed upon, plus the amount customarily paid for a distance comparable to the excess.

k25.9 It is permissible (O: only when renting something identified and present (ijara 'ayn)) for Q to pay in advance or to defer payment to the future. If neither party states whether it is to be paid in advance or whether in the future, then it is payable in advance. When renting anticipated utilities or services (ijara dimma), it is permissible to let Q use the utility prior to the agreed upon period, or to delay use until after the period.

k25.10 (O: When renting something identified and present (ijara 'ayn)), if the article being rented is destroyed, the agreement is thereafter cancelled (O: with respect to the future, since the article to be utilised is no longer available then, as opposed to the period that has transpired after the article's delivery, for which Q must pay an appropriate proportion of the agreed upon fee, based on the current market value of similar utilities or services). (O: When renting an identified and present utility or service (ijara 'ayn),) if a defect occurs (O: in the article being rented, and the defect obviously entails a discrepancy in the rental fee), then Q has the option to cancel the agreement (O: unless P immediately undertakes to correct or repair the defect, for if he does, Q is not entitled to cancel it). But if the rental agreement concerns an anticipated utility or service (ijara dhimma0 (O: and the rented article has been destroyed after its delivery), then the agreement is not nullified and Q may not cancel it, but is only entitled to ask P to replace the article so that Q can obtain the utility anticipated.

k25.11 If the material Q has hired P to work on (A: e.g. when Q hires P to tailor a garment from material Q has given him) is destroyed in P's possession without his negligence, then P is not obliged to pay for its loss. If Q has rented an article from P and it is ruined in Q's possession without his negligence, then Q is not obliged to pay for its loss.

k25.12 If P and Q dies while the rental agreement is in effect, it is not cancelled. (O: Rather, if P has died, Q finishes using the article, while if Q has died, then Q's heirs finish utilizing it. Neither party has the right to cancel the agreement in such a case when the article itself still exists.) (A; The death of either party is considered by the Hanifi school to nullify the agreement.)

k25.13 When the rental period is over, Q must return the article rented and is responsible for the measures (A: and the expenses) entailed in returning it.

k25.14 When P or Q stipulates a particular rental period or a specific use for the article, then when P has delivered the article to Q and the period stipulated elapses, or a period elapses that is sufficient for the utility stipulated to have been obtained from the article (O: even if it has not in fact been obtained), then the rental fee is due (O: from Q, who rented the article under such stipulations), and the article must be returned. (O: This ruling holds for both renting something identified and present (ijara 'ayn) and renting something anticipated (ijara dhimma).)

k25.15 In an invalid agreement, Q owes P the amount typically paid for renting similar utilities, due whenever he would have owed P the fee agreed upon had the agreement been valid.

k26.0 JOB WAGES (JA'ALA)

(n: Given persons X and Y,where X offers Y a dirham to do a certain job.)

k26.1 When X says, "I owe whoever builds me a wall a dirham" (A: or makes a similar offer), this is termed job wages. It is permissible that (A: the particulars of) such a job be unknown, though not the amount of the wage. Whoever then builds the wall for X is entitled to the amount stated, even if they are a group of people.

k26.2 Whoever works when no wage has been stipulated does not deserve anything. If X and Y a garment to clean, saying "Wash it, "but does not mention a wage, and Y washes it, then Y deserves nothing (N: unless it is a well known customary usage that Y should receive a fee, as when Y is a barber or presses clothes and the like). If Y says, "You stipulated a wage for me, "but X denies it, then X's word is accepted (A: when there is no proof (dis:k8.2)) (O: if he swears an oath).

k26.3 Both X and y are entitled to cancel their agreement (O: before the job is finished), but if X cancels it after Y has begun work, then X is obliged to pay Y an appropriate portion of the wage agreed upon (O: such that if the job is half done, then X owes Y half the amount, and so forth). Otherwise (O: if X cancels it before Y has begun, or if Y cancels it himself after having begun), Y gets nothing.

k27.0 LOST AND FOUND (LUQTA)

(n: Given Z, who finds an article lying on the ground and picks it up.)

k27.1 When a responsible adult finds a lost and found article it is permissible for him to take (O: or leave)it.

k27.2 If he can trust himself to take the proper measures for such articles (dis:below), it is recommended that he pick it up, though if he cannot depend on himself not to betray the trust (A: by simply appropriating the article without telling anyone), then it is offensive for him to take it.

k27.3 It is recommended that the finder determine the type, description, and amount of the article he has found, its container, and the string with which it was tied (O: it being preferable that he record this in writing so as not to forget), and for him to have witnesses attest to his having found it.

k27.4 The following two kinds of articles are permissible to pick up for safekeeping (def:k27.5) but unlawful to pick up as lost and found (A: to be advertised and then appropriated (def:k27.6)). and should he do the latter, Z is financially responsible for the article:

(1) something lost and found within the Meccan Sacred Precinct (Haram);

(2) or an animal unmenaced by small predators, such as a camel or a horse lost and found on open range. In other than these two cases it is permissible for Z to pick up the article, either for safekeeping or to be advertised and then appropriated.

k27.5 If Z picks up the article for safekeeping, he is not obliged to advertise having found it, and it remains in his care as a trust (def:k17.14) which he is never entitled to dispose of in any way until he finds its owner, in which case he gives it to him. If Z wishes to deliver it to the Islamic magistrate, the latter must accept it. If Z picks up the article within the Meccan Sacred Precinct (Haram) for safekeeping, he is obliged to advertise his having found it (n: as below).

k27.6 If Z picks up an article intending to appropriate it if he cannot find the owner, then he is obliged to advertise its having been found for a (O: full) year on the doors of mosques, in the marketplaces, and the vicinity where he found it, in the manner customary for advertising such things. At the first of the period he should publicize it morning and evening, then subsequently once a day, then once a week, then once a month, such that the first advertisement is not forgotten and that it is realized that the subsequent notices are repetitions of it (O: and this is what is meant by the customary matter mentioned above). Z should mention some of the article's characteristics in the advertisement, but not all of them (A: so that a would-be claimant is able to prove ownership by describing it in detail)(O: for if Z divulges them all (A: and a pretender takes it), then Z is financially responsible for its loss (A: if the real owner should appear and the pretender cannot be found)). If the lost and found item is not something major, meaning something unlikely to cause much regret and which will probably be unsought after its loss, then it is not obligatory to advertise it for a whole year, though one must advertise it long enough that its owner will probably have ceased to be concerned about it (N: and this latter is the criterion for advertising most lost and found things, which need not be advertised for a whole year).

k27.7 When Z advertises a lost and found article for a year, it does not enter his possession until he chooses to appropriate it with a formal statement to that effect (O: and not by the mere intention. The statement consists of saying, "I take possession of it," or the like). Z takes possession of it when he chooses to do so (O: by uttering the above words). If it is destroyed before he chooses to appropriate it, Z is not financially responsible for its loss.

k27.8 If Z has appropriated the article (N: which thus enters his financial liability), and the owner one day appears, then the owners is entitled to take:

(1) the article itself, if it still exists;

(2) an equal quantity (O: if it was fungible (Mithli, def:k20.3(1)));

(3) its market value (O: if it was nonfungible (mutaqawwim), where market value refers to the going price for similar articles on the day Z formally appropriated it);

(4) or, if the article still exists but some defect has occurred in it, then the owner takes it back with an appropriate compensation (def:k5.4) (O: for the new defect that occurred while Z had it).

k27.9 It is offensive for a corrupt person (def: o24.3) to pick up a lost and found article. If he does, the article is taken from him and deposited with someone trustworthy, and a reliable person is dispatched to oversee the corrupt person's advertising (def:k27.6) of the find, after which the corrupt person may appropriate it.

k27.10 In cases where safekeeping the article is not practicable as when it is a watermelon or similar Z may choose to either eat it or sell it (A: in either case covering the cost if the owner subsequently appears), after which he advertises finding it for a year (O: if it something major, or less than a year (dis:k27.6 second par.) if minor). If it is possible to preserve the article, as when it consists of dates (A: which are conserved by drying), then if it is to the owner's advantage to sell it, Z sells it, while if it is to the owner's advantage to dry it, then Z dries it. (O: In such a case, if Z wants to simply donate the cost of drying it to the owner, he does so, Otherwise , he sells part of the lot to cover the cost of drying the rest, in the owner's interests. The difference between this and an animal found, of which all is sold, is that an animal's maintenance requires repeated expenditures that may add up to more than it is worth).

k28.0 A FOUNDLING CHILD (LAQIT)

(O: Meaning a child found abandoned without anyone to care for it. The scriptural basis for these rulings is Allah's word: "And do what is good" (Koran 22:77), and, "Cooperate with one another in [works of] piety and godfearingness" (Koran 5:2.)

k28.1 To pick up a foundling is a communal obligation (def: c3.2). A child that is found (N: in a Muslim town) is considered a Muslim, and likewise if found in a non-Muslim town if there is a single Muslim therein, even if he denies the child is his (N: because the religion of someone whose religion is unknown is considered to be that of the people of his own city, and in this case there are two religions, with Islam given precedence, as it always surpasses and is never surpassed. Moreover, considering the child a Muslim is a cause for his own happiness and salvation, as he will be raised in Islam).

k28.2 If money is found with the child or under his head, it belongs to him.

k28.3 If the finder is a resident, trustworthy, and Muslim, then the child remains with him, and he is obliged to have witnesses attest to his having found the child and whatever was found with him (O: such as clothing or money). The finder spends the money found with the child for its own expenses with the permission of the Islamic magistrate. If there is no Islamic magistrate, then the finder spends it anyway, but has witnesses attest to the amount of the expenditures. If no money was found with the child, then its expenses are paid for by the Muslim common fund. If there is no money in the Muslim common fund (N: or no Muslim common fund), then the finder may borrow money to cover its expenses as a financial obligation to be later repaid by the child. If the finder is a corrupt person (def: o24.3 (A:)) or a non-Muslim, then if the child is considered a Muslim (dis:k28.1), he is taken from the finder. If two people find the child and disagree about whom the child should remain with, then the one who is a resident and wealthy is given preference.

k28.4 (A: Adoption is unlawful in Islam when it means giving a child one's own name, a share of one's estate division (irth,def:L1.0), and so on. But when it merely means giving the child a home and other advantages provided by family life until it grows up, then it is a charitable act rewarded by Allah. And Allah knows best.)

k29.0 GAMES, CONTESTS, AND PRIZES

(O: The scriptural basis for competitions and races entailing prize money is the word of Allah Most High. "And make ready against them whatever force and lines of horses you can" (Koran 8:60). Muslim relates from 'Uqba ibn 'Amir that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "Force means marksmanship," repeating this three times.)

RACES FOR PRIZE MONEY

k29.1 Races with prize money for the winner are permissible between horses, mules, donkeys, camels, or elephants, provided that the animals competing are of the same species, though it is not, for example, permissible to have such a race between a camel and a horse. It is a necessary condition for such a race that the participants know which animals will be ridden, the amount of the prize, and the distance to be run.

k29.2 The prize money may be put up by both contestants, either one, or by a third party. If the prize money is put up by either contestant or by a third party, then the race is

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unconditionally permissible, and the winner takes all (N: regardless whether he was the one who put up the money or whether it was the other person). But if the prize money is put up by both contestants, then it is a necessary condition that a third rider enter the contest with a mount equal to theirs (A: in speed, stamina, and so forth.) who puts up no money (N: so that it may be distinguished from gambling. If all three put up the money, then it is necessary that there be a fourth contestant with them who does not pay, and so on). (A: Similarly, bets from one side alone, such as saying, "I will give you ten dinars if what you have said proves to be correct," are lawful when the other party bets nothing.) Here, the winner takes all. If two riders finish together, they divide the prize.

COMPETITIONS IN MARKSMANSHIP FOR PRIZE MONEY

k29.3 It is also permissible to compete for prize money in competitions of skill at archery, spear throwing, or other military weaponry, when the prize is put up by both contestants, either one, or a third party, though if put up by both, it is necessary that a third marksman enter the contest, as mentioned above (A: meaning one comparable to the others in marksmanship, who puts up nothing). It is a necessary condition for the validity of such a competition that the following details be specified before the contest:

(a) who will be shooting;

(b) the number of shots per bout, how many shots are needed to win, and the criterion for a hit (A: that is, in archery, whether the arrow must stick or whether it need merely leave a mark);

(c) the distance to the target;

(d) and which of the contestants is to begin.

k29.4 It is not permissible to conduct contests for prize money that involve birds, footracing, or wrestling (O: since they are not military weaponry or equipment).

RULING CONCERNING GAMES

k29.5 (N: As for games:

(1) every game played by two or more people that relies on luck, conjecture, and guessing is

unlawful, no matter whether money is stipulated or not;

(2) paying prize money in every game that encourages and assists fighting for Allah (jihad, def:o9) is permissible if the terms of the competition conform to the rulings discussed above in this section (k29.1-4);

(3) every game not of the preceding two types is permissible if no money is paid therein;

(4) and any of the above mentioned things which are permissible become unlawful if they prevent one from performing a religious or this worldly duty.)

30.0 ESTABLISHING AN ENDOWMENT (WAQF)

(O: Lexically, waqf means to be retained. In Sacred Law, it refers to the retention of any property that can be benefited from while the property itself still remains, by suspending disposal of it; with the financial proceeds of it going to some permissible expenditure. The scriptural basis for it is the hadith related by Muslim that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said. "When a human being dies, his work comes to an end, except for three things: ongoing charity, knowledge benefited from, or a pious son who prays for him," from which scholars understand ongoing charity as meaning an endowment (waqf).) (n: Given persons P (al-waqif) and Q (almawquf alayhi) (A:where P owns, for example, an apartment building that he makes an endowment (waqf), the rent of which will henceforth go to Q, and P stipulates that Q must supervise the upkeep of the building. This section deals with such endowments).)

k30.1 Establishing an endowment is an act of worship.

k30.2 Establishing an endowment is not valid unless the following conditions are met:

(a) that P have full right to manager his own property (O: full right to manage his own property including the non-Muslim, whose endowment is legally valid, even if it is for a mosque);

(b) that the endowment concern a particular identified article (ayn) (O: it being invalid to make the mere "right to use something" an endowment, because it is not a particular article);

(c) that the article have a (O: lawful) use;

(d) that it remain existent (O: for a period in which it would be feasible to rent or hire it out), such as real estate or an animal (O: or clothing, weapons, Korans, or books. It is not permissible to make an endowment of something that cannot be utilized except by using it up, such as food);

(e) that the beneficiary be some particular party (O:such as the poor, for example) besides P himself, whether the endowment is an act of worship, as when the beneficiary is mosques (O: or Islamic schools), one's relatives, or the general good; or whether it is merely permissible, such as an endowment that benefits the wealthy, or Jewish and Christian subjects of the Islamic state;

(f) and that the endowment be formally established by words that effect it such as "I make it an endowment," or "I restrict [O: such and such a thing to benefit So-and-so]," or "I give [A:such and such] as nonsaleable charity."

k30.3 When the endowment has been made, the ownership of the article belongs to Allah Most High (O: not P or Q) (N: meaning that even though everything is the property of Allah, the article is now dissevered from its metaphorical human ownership), while Q owns the proceeds from it and its utilities (O: and all the benefits that come from it after the endowment has been made, such as rent, the fruit of trees, or offspring, Q may dispose of these as an owner would, as this is the purpose of the endowment. He may utilize the endowment either personally, or through another by loaning it for use or renting it out).

k30.4 The interests of the endowment (O: i.e. its concerns, condition, upkeep (N: and supervision)) are looked after by whoever P stipulates, whether himself or Q or a third party. If P does not stipulate (O: that anyone in particular look after it), then the responsibility belongs to the Islamic authority (N: by himself, or though the person he appoints to do so).

k30.5 The proceeds of the endowment (O: such as the produce of an acreage endowment, or the rent of a property endowment, are disposed of as P stipulates, in terms of (A: for example):

(1) proportionality of shares (O: between recipients as to the amount each receives, such as having stipulated twice as much for males as females, or vice versa, or equal shares for each);

(2) precedence (O: in some receiving the proceeds before others when they are a group, through a condition that determines who deserves to receive it);

(3) inclusiveness (O: of (A:all) recipients, as by saying, "I make this an endowment for my children and their children,"where the word and implies that each person must be given a share);

(4) priority (O: such as saying, "I make this an endowment for the benefit of Islamic scholars, without restriction, and after that [A:if there are no more to be given a share] to the poor," or "I make this an endowment for the benefit of Zayd, and then Amr,"where if one dies, the next one receives his share);

(5) or other conditions (O: such as the proceeds going to those most closely related to P (N: of his offspring), and then the less closely related).

k30.6 (n: The following are examples of invalidity of establishing an endowment due to lack of one of the conditions mentioned at k30.2 above.) An endowment is not valid when it consists of:

(1) (non-k30.2(b)) a debt (N: that someone owes to P);

(2) (non-(b)) "One of these two houses";

(3) (non-(d)) food;

(4) (non-(d)) sweet basil (A: which used to be spread on floors as an air freshener) (O: since it quickly deteriorates) (N:i.e. if it is uprooted, though if it is growing, it is valid to make it an endowment);

(5) (non-(e)) when its beneficiary is unidentified by P, or unknown (O: since the endowment cannot be implemented. It is thus invalid if P stipulates "whoever Zayd says" as the beneficiary), or is P himself (O: including P stipulating that the proceeds of the endowment be used to pay off his debts, or when P eats of its produce, or utilizes the endowment for his own benefit, any of which invalidates the endowment);

(6) (non-(c)) when the proceeds are directed to an unlawful use, such as building a church (dis:o11.5(7)) (O: or purchasing lamps for a church, or building walls around it, since this assists disobedience to Allah. Rafi'i says, "The same is true of an endowment for printing the Torah or New Testament, which is invalid because the Jews and Christians have altered the texts and interpolated spurious material, it not being permissible to occupy oneself with printing their scriptures because doing so is to participate in their disobedience to Allah");

(7) (non-(f)) when the beginning or end of the endowment's being in effect are subject to conditions such as saying, "I make it an endowment starting from the first of next month, "or 'for one year, " or "provided that I am entitled to sell it" (O: or "condition that I may take it back whenever I wish");

(8) or (non-(e)) when (n: I stipulates, as a priority order of beneficiaries, "Q, then R, "and) Q is not an eligible recipient - such as P stipulating himself as the first beneficiary but R is an eligible recipient, as when P stipulates (A: after himself) "and then the poor."

k30.7 If P designates a particular recipient (O: or group of recipients), it is a necessary condition for the validly of the endowment that the recipient accept it. If he refuses it,this invalidates the endowment.

k30.8 If P designates a particular person (lit. "Zayd") as an endowment's beneficiary, but does not stipulate anyone after him, then the endowment is valid, and after the particular person is gone, its beneficiaries are the poor of P's relatives.

k31.0 GIFT GIVING (HIBA)

(n: As when X gives Y a gift.)

k31.1 Gift giving is recommended, It is superior to give gifts to one's relatives than to nonrelatives. When giving gifts to one's children, it is recommended to give each child the equal of what the others are given.

k31.2 Gift giving is only valid under the following conditions:

(a) that X have full right to manage his own property;

(b) that the gift be something permissible to sell (def:k2.1);

(c) that X give it with spoken words that effect it;

(d) and that Y accept it with a spoken reply.

k31.3 Y does not own the gift until he takes possession(def:k7.3) of it, before which X may take it back. It is not valid for Y to take possession of the gift without X's permission. In cases where X gives Y an article that is already being kept with Y (O: as when Y has it as a trust for safekeeping, or has borrowed it), or X has put up the article as collateral for Y, and now simply gives Y the article, then it is necessary that Y obtain X's permission to take possession of the gift, and that enough time elapse for Y to reach the gift, (O: if it is distant) and take possession of it. Once Y has taken possession of the gift, X is no longer entitled to take it back. An exception to this is when one gives a gift to one's child, or their descendant, in which case one may take the gift back, unless such a receiver has sold it in the meantime, and the article has subsequently returned to him (O: by sale or gift), in which case one may no longer take it back.

k31.4 If X and Y something and stipulates that Y give him something determinately known in return, this is valid, but is a sale (A: not a gift). If X stipulates that Y give him something in return that is not determinately known, then the gift is invalid. If X does not stipulate that anything be given him in return, then Y is under no obligation to him.

k32.0 MANUMISSION (ITQ)

(n: This section, which begins, "To free a slave is an act of worship, "deals with a system of

ownership that Islam did not invent but found fully established and not possible to instantly abolish, so it rather encouraged its elimination in steps, with incentives. It closed all avenues for obtaining new slaves except the capture of war prisoners, the soldiers of whom the caliph had the option to enslave or not; it encouraged the freeing of slaves by the tremendous reward from Allah Most High; and it materially helped slaves to purchase their freedom by providing them the money to do so from zakat funds (dis: h8.15). Like previous references to slaves, the following four sections have been left untranslated because the issue is no longer current, unlike the times of our author Ibn Naqib, whose rulers, the Mamelukes of Egypt, were themselves slaves who legally belonged to the Islamic state, a fact sufficient to show the fallacy of understanding slavery in the Islamic milieu in terms of the institution that existed in nineteenth-century America and elsewhere in the West (dis: w13).)

BOOK L - INHERITANCE (by al-Misri)

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L1.0 BEQUESTS (WASIYYA)

(n: Sections L1, L2, and L3 have been moved here from their original place at the end of last book. They deal with bequests, meaning testamentary disposition of one's property (wasiyya) such as to say,"I bequeath such and such to So-and-so", while sections L4 through L10 form the original content of book L, and deal with estate division (irth).) (A: The difference between bequests (wasiyya) and estate division (irth) is that a bequest is the act of a living person disposing of his own property, even if it is to be implemented after his death, while estate division occurs after his death according to the Koranic rules of inheritance. Because a bequest is the act of a living person with his own money, it is legally valid for a Muslim to bequeath up to a third of his property to a non-Muslim (dis:l3.13(1)) and similarly valid for a non-Muslim to bequeath his property to a Muslim, Nawawi says: "A bequest is legally valid from any legally responsible free person, even if non-Muslim (Mughni almuhtaj ila ma'rifa ma'ani alfaz al-Minhaj (y73),3.39). But it is invalid and unlawful for a non-Muslim to inherit property through estate division from a Muslim (dis: L5.2), or vice versa. The determining factor in the permissibiity of a Muslim and non-Muslim inheriting from each other is whether the property comes by way of a bequest (wasiyya) made by the deceased before his death, in which case it is permissible, or whether it comes by way of estate division (irth) made after the deceased's death according to the Koranic rules of inheritance, in which case the difference between their respective religions prevents it.) (O: Our author only mentions bequests at this point (n:at the end of book k, as mentioned above) before estate division because of the fact that a person first makes bequests, then dies, and then the estate is divided. The scriptural basis for the validity of bequests, prior to the consensus of scholars is the word of Allah Most High, "....after any bequest which has been made, and after any debts" (Koran 4:12).) (n: Given persons X (al-musi), Y (al-wasiyy), and Z (al-musa lahu) (A:where X has made provision in his will for Z to receive a bequest (wasiyya) of a sum of money, and X appoint Y as his executor to make sure this is done).)

L1.1 A bequest made by X is valid if he is legally responsible (mukallaf,def:c8.1), even if he is a spendthrift.

L1.2 The discussion is in two parts (n: namely, section L2, on X's appointing Y as the executor, and Section L3, on the bequest itself).

L2.0 THE BEQUESTS EXECUTOR

(O: Appointing an executor means for X to put Y in charge of his property and young children, bequests, paying his debts, or collecting his property from others. The verbal form is, "I appoint So-and-so to execute such and such a bequest.")

L2.1 The necessary conditions for the validity of X appointing Y as the executor of his bequest are that Y be:

(a) legally responsible (mukallaf, def:c8.1);

(b) upright (def: o24.4) (O: meaning the uprightness of Islam, as it is not valid under any circumstances for Y to be a non-Muslim if X us a Muslim);

(c) and that Y have the knowledge and capacity to properly undertake the bequest.

L2.2 The following examples of X appointing Y as the executor of his bequest are legally valid:

(1) when X appoints Y as his executor at a time when Y is not legally eligible to be it, but by the time of X's death, Y is eligible (O: by fulfilling all the above (L2.1)conditions);

(2) when X appoints a group of two or more people as his executors (O: and if he does so, then if he does not stipulate that each of them must manager their respective role, but rather says that they are to manage the legacy collectively, or does not say anything, then they must cooperate and not manager the work, maintenance, and dealings as separate individuals. Cooperate in such a case means that their acts proceed from the decision of the group, and does not mean, for example, that when they buy something they must all conduct the transaction together. Rather, if all agree to permit something, it is sufficient for one of them to take the matter in hand and carry it out);

(3) when X appoints (n: for example,) W, and then after him, Y(N: or vice versa) (O: saying, "I appoint W as executor until Y comes, but when Y arrives, he is the executor,"or "I make W executor for one year, and when it has passed, then Y is the executor"); (4) or when X appoints Y as executor, authorizing him to appoint in turn whomever he chooses as executor of the bequest (O: if the person fulfills the conditions (L2.1)).

L2.3 X's appointing Y as the executor of his bequest is not legally effective until Y accepts this responsibility after X's death, even if this acceptance is not immediately thereafter. Both X and Y are entitled to cancel the appointment of Y as executor of the bequest whenever they

wish (O: unless (A: after X's death) Y feels it almost certain that the property will be lost through a wrongdoer appropriating it, in which case Y may not withdraw as executor, meaning it is unlawful for him to do so. In such a case, if Y withdraws of his own choice, he is not thereby free of having to execute the bequest, though he is not obliged to continue therein without remuneration, but does so for a fee).

L2.4 It is not legally valid to appoint an executor unless the bequest consists of some good work or pious act such as paying off a debt, making up a hajj (dis:j1.9), looking after the welfare of one's children, and so forth (O: excluding actions that are not dispositions of property, such as marrying off the children) (A: and excluding acts of disobedience such as those mentioned above at k30.6(6)).

L2.5 When X's father is still alive and fit for guardianship (def:m13.2), X may not appoint y to look after the welfare of his children.

L3.0 THE BEQUEST

L3.1 X may devote one-third or less of his financial resources to bequests, but not more than this, onethird meaning a third of his property as it stands at the time of his death (O: not before or afterwards). (A: If there are no Muslim heirs, or if the existent Muslim heirs do not deserve the whole estate, such as when the sole eligible estate division heir is a husband or wife (dis:L6.3-4), then the Hanafi school permits disposing of more than a third of one's property in bequests (dis:w44), more than a third meaning everything in excess what one's eligible heirs deserve by estate division (irth).) (n: The ruling in the Shafi'i school is that such an excess may not be disposed of in bequests, but rather is given to the Muslim common fund (Bayt al-mal) if it exists, as mentioned below (L3.3(O:) and L9.1).)

L3.2 If X's heirs (def: L4.4 are not poor, it is recommended for X to devote a full one-third to bequests, but if not (O: i.e. if his heirs are not well off, as when they do not have any money at all, or have some, but not enough for their expenses, and the other two-thirds (A: of the estate that constitutes their obligatory shares) which they deserve is insufficient), then it is not recommended for X to devote a full one-third to bequests.

L3.3 If X wills more than one-third in bequests, then his dispositions are not valid regarding the portion in excess of one-third when he has no one (O: in particular) to lawfully inherit the rest (A: who, if they existed, could give permission for the excess, as discussed below). (O: In cases where there are no heirs, the Muslim people have better right to X's property, and no one may waive this right.) Nor are X's bequests in excess of one-third valid when he has an heir, but the heir refuses to authorise the excess,though if the heir (N: or group of heirs unanimously) permits it, such a bequest is valid. It is not valid for the heir to authorise the excess or refuse to do so until after X's death.

L3.4 Charitable expenditures made by X in his will (O: such as an endowment (waqf, def:k30), gift, and so forth) are considered as part of the bequeathable one-third.

L3.5 Bequests concerning obligatory expenditures are also considered from the bequeathable onethird, provided that X has stipulated that they come from it. (O: Though if the bequeathable third does not cover these (A: despite X having stipulated that they come from it), then the excess is paid from the remaining two-thirds. Obligatory expenditures include such things as paying debts making up the hajj(dis:j1.9), paying zakat (A: for any year that the deceased neglected to pay it), expiations, and the fulfillment of vows that would have been binding had X been well.) But if X did not stipulate (O: that these obligatory expenditures come from the bequeathable one-third), then they come directly from the other two-thirds.

L3.6 Current charitable dispositions of property made by X during his life, such as establishing an endowment (waqf, k30), giving a gift or others, are considered as personal expenditures of his own money (O: and he could spend it all without any objection) if made while he was in sound health. But if X makes such current dispositions under any of the following circumstances, when these are linked with his death,then the dispositions are considered as having come from the bequeathable one-third:

(1) in the final illness which brought about X's death:

(2) in military combat;

(3) while travelling on rough seas in a storm;

(4) as a final request before being killed;

(5) or (O: if female) X dies while giving birth, or afterwards before separation of the placenta.

If otherwise, (O: meaning if the current charitable disposition was not made under any of the above circumstances, or was, but the circumstance was not linked with X's death) then the disposition is not taken from the bequeathable one-third.

L3.7 (N: We distinguish between the above-mentioned current dispositions (n: such as gifts,

endowments, and donations), and between bequests by noting that current dispositions are effective before X's death, while bequests are effective after. Current dispositions are normally implemented even if X uses up all his money, while bequests-unless X's heirs unanimously agree to allow otherwise-are restricted to one-third of the estate. An exception to permitting current dispositions to amount to as much of X's property as he wishes is when they are effected during his death illness (n: or other L3.6 circumstance), in which case they are limited to one-third of the estate, just as bequests are.) If one-third of the estate does not cover the cost of the (N: current) dispositions which X made during his (N: final) illness, then (O: if these have been given in some order) they are implemented first thing first, then second, then third, and so on. (N: Thus, if during his death illness, X said to his three friends P, Q, and R, "I give P a gift of 100 dinars, Q 100 dinars, and R 100 dinars, "but it turns that X's total estate is only 600 dinars, then his gifts to P and Q are valid, but we take back his gift to R, which is not valid because it exceeds the 200 dinars that is a third of the 600 dinars constituting the whole estate. This is what is meant by implementing them in order.)

L3.8 The bequeathable one-third of the estate is divided (O: proportionally (N: if shares vary)) between all the recipients X designates when:

(1) (N: in cases of death illness current dispositions such as gifts) X did not state them in any particular order (N: such as by saying (n: in a situation like the above example) to P,Q, and R, "I give you each a hundred dinars," in which case the bequeathable one-third is divided between them):

(2) or (N: in cases where X has explicity made bequests) the bequeathable one-third will not cover all the bequests, whether they were made separately or not. (N: All of the above (L3.6-8) only holds if the heirs do not agree to permit more than one-third of the estate for bequests or current dispositions, since if they unanimously agree, it may exceed a third, even if it takes the whole estate.)

L3.9 Bequests made to nonspecific individuals such as the poor are effective when X dies. (O: They own the property without the fact of ownership depending on their accepting it.)

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L3.10 When X bequeaths something to Z, a particular individual, the ownership of the article
bequeathed is suspended, meaning that if Z accepts it after X's death, even if after some time has passed, then Z has owned it from the moment X died; but if Z declines to accept it, then X's heirs own it. If Z accepts it, but then refuses it before having taken possession of it (def:k7.3) this cancels his ownership of it, though if he refuses after having taken possession of it, it does not cancel his ownership (O: as his refusal is meaningless in such a case).

L3.11 It is permissible to make the implementation of a bequest subject to a condition, whether the condition is something occuring before X's death (O: such as his saying, "If Z enters So-and-so's house, I bequeath to him such and such of my property,") or after (O: such as his saying, "If Z enters So-andso's house after my death, I bequeath to him such and such of my property").

THINGS WHICH MAY BE BEQUEATHED

L3.12 It is permissible to bequeath any of the following:
(1) the right to utilize something (O: while not bequeathing the actual thing);
(2) particular things;
(3) something not yet existent, such as "what this tree will bear";
(4) something not determinately known (O: whether it be an unknown thing (A: such as "the
contents of this box"), or something unknown in amount);
(5) something undeliverable (non-k2.4);
(6) something not currently owned (O:at the time the bequest is made, but which X owns at the time of his death);
(7) or something impure (najasa, def:e14.1) that has a lawful use, such as a (O: trained hunting) dog, or oil contaminated with impurity; though not something impure that is without lawful use, such as wine or pigs.

THOSE TO WHOM BEQUESTS ARE VALID

L3.13 It is permissible for X to bequeath something to Z even if Z is:
(1) a non-Muslim at war with Muslims (A: and with still better right when Z is an ordinary non-Muslim);
(2) a Jewish or Christian subject of the Islamic state;
(3) an apostate from Islam;
(4) the person who kills X;
(5) X's heir (def: L4.4), provided X's other heirs permit him to receive it (O: though if they do not, then the bequest is not carried out);
(6) or to a person yet unborn, in which case the bequest is paid to the person (O: i.e. guardian) who knows of the unborn's existence at the time X makes the bequest, provided that the child is either born alive within six months of the time the bequest is made, or is born alive more than six months and less than four years after the bequest is made, during which time the mother has had no husband (O: from whom the pregnancy could have resulted).

CANCELLING ONE'S BEQUESTS

L3.14 If X makes some article a bequest but then changes his mind, his taking it back is valid, annulling his bequest. X's doing any of the following is also considered taking it back (A: and cancels the bequest):
(1) X's loss of ownership (O: of the bequeathed article) such as by sale or gift;
(2) X's subjecting the article to loss of ownership by putting it up as collateral, offering it for sale, or making another bequest that stipulates that it be sold;
(3) or when the name of the article changes, such as wheat being ground into flour, flour made into dough, yarn woven into fabric, or when X mixes a particular article with other goods.

L3.15 If Z dies before X, the X's bequest to him is invalid. If Z dies after X but before Z accepts the bequest, then Z's heirs may accept or reject it.

L4.0 ESTATE DIVISION (IRTH)

(O: Estate division refers to the share allotted to each heir by Sacred Law. The scriptural basis for estate division, prior to the consensus of scholars, consists of the Koranic verses on inheritance (Koran 4;11-2,4:176) and hadiths such as the one related by Bukhari and Muslim that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "Give the obligatory shares of the estate to those who deserve them, and the rest belongs to the closest male to the deceased." Encouragement to master the knowledge of estate division comes from such hadiths as the one from Ibn Mas'ud (Allah be well pleased with him) that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "Learn estate division and teach it to people, for I am someone who will be taken from you, and this knowledge will be taken from you and calamities will ensure, until two men will one day disagree about the obligatory apportionment and will not find anyone to judge between them.")

HOW TO WORK AN ESTATE DIVISION PROBLEM

L4.1 (n: To work an estate division problem, one should:
(a) determine the amount of the deceased's estate after deducting the L4.2-3 expenses;
(b) make a list showing which of the deceased's heirs mentioned at L4.4 exist;
(c) eliminate from the list any heirs with preventives L5.1-4;
(d) on a sheet of paper, copy the parenthesized introductory paragraph ("N: summary of - 's share,") for every heir that exists, such as the deceased's:
(1) husband (dis: L6.3);
(2) wife (L6.4);
(3) father (L6.5);
(4) mother (L6.6);
(5) daughter (L6.7); (as mentioned at L6.8, the shares of the above-named family members are not eliminated by anyone,though the shares of those named below may be eliminated by the existence of certain other heirs)
(6) son's daughter (L6.9);
(7) full sister (L6.10);
(8) half sister from the same father (L6.11);
(9) grandfather (father's father only) (L6.13);
(10) grandmother (L6.18)
(11) half brother or half sister from the same mother (L6.20);
(12) and then the others (sons and so forth) mentioned at L6.22;
(e) read section L7 and cross off the list of heirs those whose shares are eliminated by the other existent heirs;
(f) if any universal heirs (def: L10.5) exist, see which of them eliminates the shares of the other universal heirs, as at L10.6;
(g) make a table of the heirs remaining (after (e) and (f) above) like the tables shown at L6.6, where one writes the type of heir, the fraction each deserves (with the universal heir receiving the remainder, if any), and then at the top writes the total shares (this being the common denominator of the fractions), after which one calculates the shares that go to each;
(h) if the fractions (of those besides the universal heir) add up to more than one(i.e.the total estate), then one must adjust for this as shown at L8.2;
(i) but if the fractions add up to less than the total estate and there is no universal heir to inherit the rest, then one must redistribute the shares as described at L9.1-2. One may practice and test one's skill at estate division by reading through the present section and doing the problems depicted in the tables, though to do all the problems one must have (or memorize) a full worksheet that contains all the information mentioned in (d), (h), and (i), above, plus the rules concerning universal heirs discussed at L10.1-4. Finally, it is best to check one's answers with an Islamic scholar, preferably a teacher from whom to take instruction, since this is a subject that is easier to acquilre from its masters than from books.)

EXPENSES DEDUCTED FROM THE ESTATE PRIOR TO ESTATE DIVISION

L4.2 The first thing (O: obligatorily) taken from X's property is the expense of preparing his body (O: such as the cost of the water to wash him, the washer's fee, cost of the shroud and perfume placed therein, pallbearers' fees, and so forth) and of burying him. These expenses are deducted before X's debts are paid, his bequests fulfilled, or his estate divided, unless there is a financial obligation due on the property itself, such as:
(1) when there is zakat (A: due from any year X neglected to pay it before his death);
(2) when some of the property has been put up as collateral (dis: k11.2);
(3) or when X dies bankrupt with unpaid-for merchandise among his property (A: which must be returned to the seller before paying other expenses from X's property).

L4.3 After the above are paid, the following measures are taken (A: and the sequence given is obligatory):
(1) X's debts are paid (N: though if a government takes non-Islamic estate taxes, these are deducted from the main part of the estate (A: before debts or bequests, as any other loss would be));
(2) then X's bequests (def: L1-3) are carried out (O: from a third of what remains after debts);
(3) and then X's remaining property is divided between his estate division heirs.

HEIRS

L4.4 X's male heirs consist of:
(1) X's son;
(2) X's son's son, son's son, and on down;
(3) X's father;
(4) X's father's father (A: the term grandfather throughout the book of inheritance refers only to this paternal grandfather), father's father's father, and on up;
(5) X's full brother, or half brother from X's father or mother;
(6) the son of X's full brother, or son of X's half brother from the same father;
(7) X's father's full brother, or son of X's half brother from the same father;
(8) the son of X's father's full brother or father's half brother from the same father;
(9) and X's husband.
X's female heirs are:
(1) X's daughter;
(2) X's son's daughter, son's son's daughter, son's son's daughter, and on down;
(3) X's mother;
(4) X's grandmother (whether she is the mother of X's father or mother), great-grand-mother, and on up;
(5) X's full sister, or half sister from the same father or mother;
(6) and X's wife.

EXTENDED FAMILY MEMBERS WHO DO NOT NORMALLY INHERIT

L4.5 The following extended family members may no inherit from X's estate (except under the conditions discussed at L10.8):
(1) X's daughter's children (O: male or female);
(2) X's mother's brother's sons;
(3) X's sister's children, the sons or daughters of X's daughter's children, or the sons or daughters of X's sister's children;
(4) X's brother's (O: whether full brother's from the same father) daughters;
(5) X's father's brother's (O: whether full brother's or half brother's from the same father) daughters;
(6) X's father's half brother from the same mother;
(7) X's mother's father;
(8) X's mother's brother or sister;
(9) X's father's sister;
(10) or anyone related to X through one of the above.

L5.0 THE FOUR PREVENTIVES OF INHERITING AN ESTATE DIVISION SHARE

(O: Preventive means that if someone is an estate division heir (def:L4.4) but one of the following characteristics exists in him, then he may not inherit.) (A: In calculating the estate division, an heir who is made ineligible by a preventive is considered nonexistent. Such a person is nonheir, and as such is eligible for a bequest (def: L1.0) if X wills him one.)

L5.1 The first preventive is killing. Whoever kills X may not inherit from him, no matter whether the killing was:
(1) lawful, as in retaliation (def: o3) or imposing a criminal penalty;
(2) without lawful right;
(3) accidental;
(4) intentional;
(5) direct (O: such as Z shooting while hunting,and the shot hitting X);
(6) or when Z is a causal factor in X's death, such as testifying to an act of X's that calls for retaliation against X, or such as digging a well into which X falls. To summarise, whoever has a hand in X's death, no matter how, cannot inherit from him.

L5.2 The second preventive is being non-Muslim: a Muslim may not inherit from a non-Muslim, and a non-Muslim may not inherit from a Muslim (dis:L1.0).

L5.3 The third preventive is slavery.

L5.4 The fourth is uncertainty as to who died first,such as when X and Z both drown or both die in the collapse of a building, and it is not known who died before the other. In such a case neither may inherit from the other.

L6.0 THE ESTATE DIVISION SHARES

L6.1 The six obligatory shares mentioned in the Koran (Koran 4:11-12) are one-half, one-fourth, oneeighth, two-thirds, one-third and one-sixth.

L6.2 They go to ten categories:
(1) X's husband;
(2) X's wife;
(3) X's father;
(4) X's mother;
(5) X's daughters;
(6) X's son's daughters or the daughters of X's son's son, son's son, and on down;
(7) X's sister;
(8) X's father's father;
(9) X's mother's or father's mother;
(10) X's half brothers or half sisters from the same mother.

L6.3 (N: A summary of X's husband's share:
-1/2 if there is no inheriting descendant.
-1/4 if there is an inheriting descendant.
-The husband's share is not eliminated by anyone.) X's husband:
(1) receives one-half the estate when X has no child who may inherit (O: even if the child is from a different husband)

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(N: the word child (Ar. walad) including both males and females (A: of all ages)), and X's son has no child who may inherit;

(2) but receives one-fourth the estate when X has a child who may inherit (O: whether from X by this husband or a different husband,and whether male or female), or when X's son has a child who may inherit.

L6.4 (N:A summary of X's wife's share:

-1/4 if there is no inheriting descendant.

-1/8 if there is an inheriting descendant.

-The wife's share is not eliminated by anyone.)

X's wife:

(1) recieves one-fourth the estate when X has no child to inherit (O:even if by a different wife) and X's son has no child to inherit;

(2) but receives one-eighth the estate when X has a child to inherit, or X's son has a child to inherit (O: whether X's son is from her or from another wife). If there are two , three, or four wives, they jointly receive the one-fourth or one -eighth (O: meaning that the share apportioned to one wife is given to two or more (A: to divide up between them)). L6.5 (N:A summary of X's father's share:

-1/6 if there is an inheriting descendant. Universal heir (def: L10.5) if there is no male inheriting descendant.

-The father's share is not eliminated by anyone.) X's father:

(1) receives one-sixth of the estate when X has a son to inherit, or when X's son has a son to inherit (O:or when X has a daughter or X's son has a daughter , who may inherit (N:though in such a case, the father takes (A:the sixth plus) the remainderr of the estate as universal heir (n:as discussed next))

(2) but is universal heir (O: by himself,meaning he takes the whole estate if there are no others who have an obligatory share coming ; or if there are such others, he receives the remainder of the estate after tehy have received their shares) when X has no son to inherit and X's son has no son to inherit

L6.6 (N: A summary of X's mother's share:

-1/6 if there is an inheriting descendant, or if there are two or more of X's brothers or sisters.

-1/3 of the remainder after deducting the share of X's husband or wife in cases where the heirs include both X's father and the husband ir wife but no inheriting descendant.

-1/3 of the estate when none of the above mentioned heirs exists. The mother's share is not eliminated by anyone.) X's mother:

(1) receives one-third of the estate when all three of the following are the case:

(a) X has no child (male or female) who may inherit, nor does X's son;

(b) X does not have two or more brothers or sisters, whether full brothers or sisters or half brothers or sisters from either parent:

(c) and the heirs do not include X's husband and X's two parents, or X's wife and two parents (A: of which X's mother is one);

(2) she receives one-sixth of the estate when (non-(a)above) X has a child who may inherit, or when (non-(b)) X has two or more brothers or sisters;

(3) and she receives one-third of the remainder after deducting the share of X's husband or wife when:

-(non-(c) above) the heirs include X's husband and two parents, in which case she receives one-third of the remainder after X's husband receives his share of one-half, meaning she receives a sixth of the estate, as that is a third of the remainder, and X's father receives the rest:

Share 6
husband 1/2
mother 1/6
father universal heir

-or (non-(c) above) when the heirs include X's wife and two parents in which case the receives one-third of the remainder after X's wife receive her share of one-fourth, meaning that the mother receives onefourth of the estate, as that is a third of the remainder, and the father receives the rest:

Shares 4
wife 1/4 1
mother 1/4 1
father universal heir 2

L6.7 (N: A summary of X's daughter's share:

-1/2 if there are no other of X's sons or daughters (n: whether full or half brothers of sisters to her).

-2/3 for her to share equally (if there are no sons) with other daughters, if any.

-She is co-universal heir (def:L10.3) with X's sons(s) if existent, meaning that they jointly constitute the universal heir, dividing this share so that each male receives twice the amount of each female (A: since men are obliged to support women in Islam (dis:m11) and not vice versa).

-The daughter's share is not eliminated by anyone.)

(1) X's sole daughter (O: who is without a co-universal heir such as her brother, and without someone else on her own level, such as her sister) receives half of the estate.

(2) Two or more daughters jointly receive two-thirds.

L6.8 (N: It is important to remember for the persons named in the following rulings that the share of any of them who is related to X through an inheriting heir is eliminated by the existence of that heir (dis:L7.4-6), except for X's half brother from the same mother, whose share is not eliminated by the mother's existence.)

L6.9 (N: A summary of the share of X's son's daughter:

-Her share is eliminated if X's son exist (n: an example of the above rule).

-1/2 if X has no daughter son's son or any other daughter of a son.

-2/3 for her to share equally with the other daughters of X's son(s), if X has no daughter(s) or son's

son(s).

-1/6 when there is a sole daughter (def:L6.7(1)).

-She is co-universal heir (def:L10.3) with X's son's son(s) (A: in the absence of X's daughter, dividing this share of each male receives twice the share of each female).

-Her share is eliminated when X has two or more daughters.)

When X's sole daughter (def:L6.7(1)) exists, X's son's daughter(s) (A: if there are more than one, they share) receives one-sixth of the estate, which with the sole daughter's share of one-half, makes twothirds (N:which is the maximum that may go to the category of daughters).

L6.10 (N: A summary of the share of X's full sister:

-1/2 if there are no other full brothers or sisters.

-2/3 for her to share equally with other full sisters.

-She is co-universal heir (def:L10.3) with full brother(s) if any, each male receiving twice the share of each female.

-She is universal heir through X's daughter(s) (def: L0.4)

-Her share is eliminated if X's father or X's son exists.)

(1) X's sole full sister (N: meaning no other full brothers or sisters exist) receives one-half of the estate.

(2) Two or more such sisters (N: when there are no full brothers) jointly receive two-thirds.

(n: L6.12 discusses X's full sister(s) with X's daughters.)

L6.11 (N: A summary of the share of X's half sister from the same father:

-1/2 in the absence of X's full brother, full sister, other half sister from the same father, and half brother from the same father.

-2/3 for her to share equally with other half sister(s) from the same father, when there are no full brothers or sisters,and no half brothers from the same father.

-1/6 when there is X's sole full sister.

-She is universal heir through X's daughters or X's son's daughters (def:L10.4) provided there are no full brothers or sisters, or half brothers from the same father.

-She is co-universal heir (def:L10.3) with X's half brother(s) from the same father, the male receiving twice the share of each female.

-Her share is eliminated if X's father or son exists.)

(1) X's sole half sister from the same father receives one-half of the estate.

(2) Two or more such paternal half sisters jointly receive two-thirds.

(3) When such a half sister, or two or more, exists with X's sole full sister, then the half sister(s) (A: jointly, if more than one) receives one-sixth, which with the half that goes to the full sister, makes two-thirds. L6.12 X's full sister(s) is universal heir through X's daughter(s) (def:L10.4). If X has no full sisters, X's half sisters by the same father are the estate's universal heirs through X's daughter(s) (L10.4). An example of the former is when the heirs are X's daughter and full sister. The daughter receives one-half (dis:L6.7(1)), and the sister receives the rest (A: as universal heir):

shares: 2
daughter 1/2 1
full sister universal heir 1

Another example is when there are X's two daughters, a full sister, and a paternal half sister, in which case the two daughters jointly receive two-thirds (dis: L6.7(2)), and the full sister receives the rest (A: as universal heir), while the paternal half sister's share is eliminated (A: by the full sister's universal heirship):

shares 3
2 daughters 2/3 2
full sister universal heir 1
half sister eliminated 0

L6.13 (N: summary of X's grandfather's (father's father's)share:

-His share is eliminated if X's father exists.

-1/6 if X has an inheriting male descendant.

-He is universal heir in the absence of both X's father and any inheriting male descendant.

-If X's brother(s) or sister(s) exists, then

(1) when there is no other heir who has an obligatory share coming, then the grandfather receives whichever of the following two alternatives yields the maximum:

-1/3 of the estate; or dividing the estate with X's brother(s) or sister(s) as if he were one of them, the male receiving twice the share of the female. If only X's sister(s) exists, then she becomes co-universal heir (def:L10.3) with him;

(2) but when there are one or more other heirs who have no obligatory share coming besides the brother(s) or sister(s), then the grandfather receives whichever of the following three alternatives yields the maximum:

-1/6 of the estate;

-1/3 of the remainder after the (non-brother/sister)heir(s) receives their share; Or dividing the estate with

X's brother(s) or sister(s) as if he were one of them, the male receiving twice the share of the female. If only X's sister(s) exists, then she becomes co-universal heir (L10.3) with him.) As for the grandfather, sometimes X's brothers or sisters exist with him and sometimes they do not. When they do not, then the grandfather receives one-sixth of the estate of X's son or son's son (O: or X's daughters or son's daughters) exist (N: but in such a case he takes the sixth plus the rest as universal heir); while the grandfather is the universal heir (def: L10.5) in the absence of X's son or son's son (N: or daughter or son's daughter). When X's (full or paternal half) brothers or sisters exist, then sometimes there are other inheriting heirs (dis:L6.15) and sometimes not (L6.14).

L6.14 When (Besides X's brother(s) or sister(s)) the grandfather's consurvivors do not include other inheriting heirs, the grandfather divides the estate with the brothers (A: and sisters) as if he were one of them, and (if there are only sisters) is co-universal heir (def: L10.3) with the sisters.But such a division is only effected when it does not result in less than one-third of the estate going to the grandfather. If it would result in less than a third for him, then his obligatory share is one-third of the estate, and the brothers or sisters divide the rest between them, the males receiving the share of two females. This is illustrated by the following examples (A: in each of which the grandfather receives at least a third):

(1) X's grandfather and one sister:
shares: 3
grandfather 2
sister 1

(2) grandfather and two sisters:
shares: 4
grandfather 2
sister 1
sister 1

(3) grandfather and three sisters:
shares: 5
grandfather 2
sister 1
sister 1
sister 1

(4) grandfather and four sisters:
shares: 6
grandfather 2
sister 1
sister 1
sister 1
sister 1

(5) grandfather and one brother:
shares: 2
grandfather 1
brother 1

(6) grandfather and two brothers:
shares: 3
grandfather 1
brother 1
brother 1

(7) grandfather, brother, and sister:
shares: 5
grandfather 2
brother 2
sister 1

(8) grandfather, brother, and two sisters:
shares: 6
grandfather 2
brother 2
sister 1
sister 1

In each of the above examples, the grandfather divides the estate with them, the male receiving the share of two females.

L6.15 When (besides X's brothers or sisters) the grandfather's cosurvivors include another inheriting heir, then the heir is given his share, and the grandfather receives the maximal amount of three possibilities:

(a) division (A: meaning to divide it with the brothers or sisters as in the above examples);

(b) a third of the remainder (A: taking a third of what remains after the (non-brother/sister) heir has taken his share);

(c) or one-sixth of the estate (A: as the estate stands before the above-mentioned heir has received his share). This ruling may be illustrated by (n: the following four examples):

(1) X's husband, grandfather, and brother, where division is better for the grandfather. (n: To show why division ((a) above) is better, we may compare the three possibilities ((a),(b)and (c)) for this example:

(a) division:
shares : 4
husband 1/2 (dis: L6.3(1)) 2

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grandfather 1
brother division 1
(b) third of remainder (after the husband's share);
shares: 6
husband 1/2 3
grandfather 1/3 remainder 1
brother universal 2
(c) sixth of estate:
shares: 6
husband 1/2 3
grandfather 1/6 estate 1
brother universal 2

The comparison reveals that division, giving the grandfather 1/4, is better than the other alternatives, which only give him 1/6, and so division is the alternative that must be implemented.)

(2) X's two daughters, two brothers, and grandfather, where a sixth of the estate is better for him.

(n: Comparison:
(a) division:
shares: 9
daughter 3
daughter 2/3 (dis: L6.7(2)) 3
grandfather 1
brother division 1
brother 1
(b) third of remainder (after the daughters share):
shares: 9
daughter 3
daughter 2/3 3
grandfather 1/3 remainder 1
brother Universal 1
brother 1
(c) sixth of estate:
shares: 12
daughter 4
daughter 4
grandfather 1/6 estate 2
brother universal 1
brother 1

The comparison reveals that a sixth of the estate is better than the other alternatives,which only give him 1/9, and so the former is the alternative that must be implemented.)

(3) X's wife, three brothers, and grandfather, where a third of the remainder is better for him. (n: Comparison:
(a) division:
shares: 16
wife 1/4 (dis: L6.4(1)) 4
grandfather 3
brother 3
brother division 3
brother 3
(b) third of remainder (after the wife's share):
shares: 12
wife 1/4 3
grandfather 1/3 remainder 3
brother 2
brother 2
brother 2
(c) sixth of estate:
shares: 36
wife 1/4 9
grandfather 1/6 estate 6
brother 7
brother universal 7
brother 7

The comparison reveals that a third of the remainder, which gives the grandfather 1/4, is better for him than division with the brothers (which gives him 3/16), or a sixth of the estate, so he must receive a third of the remainder.)

(4) X's two daughters, mother, grandfather, and brothers, where a sixth of the estate is better for him. (n: Comparison:
(a) division:
shares: 6
daughter 2
daughter 2/3 (dis: L6.7(2)) 2
mother 1/6 (dis: L6.6(2)) 1
grandfather
brothers division 1
(b) third of remainder (after the shares of the daughters and mother):
shares: 18
daughter 6
daughter 2/3 (dis:L6.7(2)) 6
mother 1/6 (dis:L6.6(2)) 3
grandfather 1/3 remainder 1
brothers universal 2
(c) sixth of estate:
shares: 6
daughter 2
daughter 2/3 2
mother 1/6 1
grandfather 1/6 1

(In this case, there is no one who can eliminate the shares of the inheriting heirs above, who have used up the estate so that there is nothing left for the universal heir (the brothers) to inherit (dis: L10.5):)
brothers eliminated 0

The comparison shows that a sixth of the estate is better for the grandfather than a third of the
remainder, which would give him 1/16, or division with the brothers, which would give him 1/12 or less, and so he must receive a sixth of the estate.)

L6.16 If both X's brothers and half brothers from the same father exist with the grandfather, the brothers add the number of the half brothers shares with their own shares in calculating their own versus the grandfather's, but then the brothers receive both their own shares and the half brothers' shares. (A: The latter are eliminated (dis: L7.3) by the brothers, but are initially reckoned in as a dispensation for the brothers.)This may by illustrated by the following example, in which there is X's grandfather, brother, and half brother from the same father. (initial division)
shares: 3
grandfather 1
brother division 1
half brother 1

but then, because the brother eliminates the hal brother's share,
shares: 3
grandfather 1
brother 2
half brother eliminated 0

and this is the actual division. In a second, similar case, if there is a sister, half brother from the same father, and grandfather, then (A: the half brother's share is reckoned with the sister's share versus that of the grandfather, and) her portion of the estate is brought up to one-half (A: which is the maximum she may receive as at
L6.10(1)) from the (n:additive) amount, and the rest goes to the half brother (A:since the grandfather already has his share and she may receive more than her obligatory share of one-half). (n: To illustrate, first we make a plain division, the males receiving the share of two females:
shares: 5
grandfather 2
sister division 1
half brother 2

Then, as in the previous case, we give the half brother's share to the sister, since there is none to eliminate her full share of one-half (dis: L6.10(1)).
shares: 5
grandfather 2
sister 3
half brother 0

But since this gives the sister more than her maximal share of one-half, the surplus is returned to the half brother, and this is the final division. Here, for convenient redivision, we multiply the case's shares by two:
(2 x 5=) shares: 10
grandfather 4
sister 5
half brother 1
which is the actual division.)

L6.17 When there is a sister (O: full sister or half sister from the same father) and grandfather, the sister does not normally receive a particular obligatory share (O: since she is co-universal heir (def: L10.3) with the grandfather), except in the following case (Ar.al-akdariyya lit "the murkiest") in which there is X's husband, mother, grandfather, and sister.
shares: 6
husband 1/2 (dis: L6.3(1)) 3
mother 1/3 (dis: L6.6(1)) 2
grandfather 1/6 (dis: L6.15(c)) 1

But at this point, the estate has been used up, despite the fact that the sister deserves her share of onehalf, and no one can eliminate it: sister 1/2 (dis: L6.10(1)) 3 so we redivide the estate by adding the three shares that the sister deserves to the initial division's six shares, which become nine (A: this procedure being an adjustment (awl, def; L8.1) for not being able to give everyone full shares, one which proportionately distributes the deficit to all recipients).
(6 + 3 =) shares: 9
husband 3
mother 2
grandfather 1
sister 3

But this results in the grandfather receiving less than if he were to divide the remaining estate with the sister (n: which is impermissible because of ruling L6.15), and so the grandfather and sister add their shares to together (equalling four) and divide them, the male receiving the portion of two females (n: Here, for convenient redivision, we multiply the case's shares by three:
(3 x 9 =) shares : 27
husband 9
mother 6
grandfather 8
sister division 4
and this is the actual division.)

L6.18 (N: A summary of the share of X's grandmother (whether she is X's father's mother or mother's mother, or, if both exist, they share the portion):
-1/6 if X's mother does not exist.
-Her share is eliminated if X's mother exists.
-Her share is eliminated by the existence of X's
father if X is descended from her through the father.)

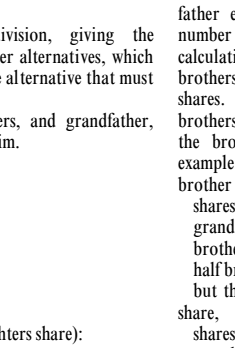

(1) X's grandmother (or great-grandmother) gets one-sixth of the estate when:
- she is A, E, and so on, up that line (n: on the chart above);
- she is C, G and so on, up that line;
- or when she is H, and so on, up that line.

(2) If there are two grandmothers/great-grandmothers on the same level (A: level II, for example), they jointly get one-sixth to share between them, such as when both C and A exist, or when both G and H exist.

(3) If one of two surviving grandmothers/great-grandmothers is closer (A: on a closer level) to X, then:(a) if the closer of the two is on X's mother's side (n: the left of the chart) then she eliminates the share of the farther of the two. For example, the existence of A eliminates G's share;

(b) but if the closer of the two is on the father's side (n: the right of the chart), she does not eliminate the share of the one on the mother's side who is farther from X. Rather, both jointly receive the sixth to divide between them. For example, C does not eliminate E.

L6.19 As for great-grandmother F, she does not inherit, as she is an extended family member who may not inherit (A: being related to X through B, who may not inherit (dis: L4.5(7, 10))).

L6.20 (N: A summary of the share of X's half brother or sister from the same mother:
-1/6 if there is just one of them, when none of X's inheriting male ancestors (A: father on up) exists, nor any inheriting descendants.
-1/3 if there are two or more of them, to share between them, but which is divided so that males and females receive equal shares.
- Their share is eliminated by the existence of any of X's inheriting male ancestors or inheriting descendants.)

(1) X's half brother or sister from the same mother receives one-sixth if alone.

(2) When there are two or more of them, they jointly receive one-third. This amount is divided with equal shares going to male and female alike.

L6.21 To summarise all of the foregoing:
(1) One-half of the estate is the obligatory share of five types of heir;
-X's husband, under certain circumstances (dis : L6:3(1))
-X's (sole) daughter (L6.7(1));
-X's son's daughter (L6.9 (N:));
-X's (sole) full sister (L6.10(1));
-and X's (sole) half sister from the same father (L6.11(1)).

(2) One-fourth of the estate is the obligatory share of two types of heir;
-X's husband, under certain circumstances (L6.3(2));
-and X's wife (L6.4(1)).

(3) One-eighth of the estate is the obligatory share of X's wife, under certain circumstances (L6.4(2)).

(4) Two-thirds of the estate is the obligatory share of four types of heir;
-two or more of X's daughters (L6.7(2));
-two or more of X's son's daughters (L6.9(N));
-two or more of X's full sisters (L6.10(2));
-and two or more or X's half sisters from the same father (L6.11(2)).

(5) One-third of the estate is the obligatory share of:
-X's mother, under certain circumstances (L6.6(1));
-two or more of X's half brothers or sisters from the same mother (L6.20(2));
-and it may be the share of the grandfather when X's brothers exist (L6.14, second par).

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(6) One-sixth of the estate is the obligatory share of seven types of heir;
- X's father (L6.5(1));
- X's grandfather (L6.13(N:) and L6.15(c));
- X's mother (L6.6(N:));
- X's grandmother (L6.18 (1));
- one or more daughters of X's son when X's daughter also exists (L6.9);
- one or more of X's half sisters from the same father when X's sole full sister also exists (L6.11(3));
- and X's sole half brother from the same mother (L6.20(1)).

L6.22 (N: A summary of the other heirs'shares:
(1) X's son is universal heir.
(2) X's son's son;
- is eliminated by X's son;
- and is universal heir in the absence of X's son.
(3) X's full brother;
- is eliminated by the existence of an inheriting male descendant;
- is eliminated by X's father;
and is universal heir in the absence of both an inheriting male descendant and father.
(4) X's half brother by the same father:
- is eliminated by any inheriting male descendant;
- is eliminated by X's father;
- is eliminated by X's full brother;
- and is universal heir in the absence of all these.
(5) The son of X's full brother is the same as X's full brother ((3) above), but eliminated by him.
(6) The son of X's half brother by the same father is the same as (5) above, but eliminated by him.
(7) The brother of X's father:
- is eliminated by any of the following: X's father, grandfather, brothers, and their sons;
and is universal heir in the absence of all of these.
(8) The son of the brother of X's father is the same as (7) above, but eliminated by him.)

L7.0 THOSE WHOSE SHARES ARE ELIMINATED BY OTHERS (HAJJ)

L7.1 The share of X's half brother from the same mother is eliminated by the existence of four types of heir;
- X's inheriting descendant (male or female);
- the descendant (male or female) of X's son;
- X's father;
or X's grandfather

L7.2 The share of X's full brother is eliminated by three:
- X's son;
- X's son's son;
- or X's father

L7.3 The share of X's half brother from the same father is eliminated by four:
- X's son;
- X's son's son;
- X's father;
- or X's full brother

L7.4 The share of the son of X's son is eliminated by X's son, and likewise the son of the son of X's son, and on down: each is eliminated by the existence of a son closer to X (A: meaning fewer generations from X, even if the one who is closer is from a different one of X's sons).

L7.5 X's grandmother or great-grandmother does not inherit if X's mother exists.

L7.6 Neither X's grandfather (A: i.e. father's father) not grandmother or great-grandmother on the father's side may inherit when X's father exists.

L7.7 When X's daughters receive a full two thirds of the estate (dis: L6.7(2)), then the daughters of X's son do not inherit,unless they are made co-universal heirs (def: L10.3) by the existence of a male who is at the same distance (A: number of generations) from X as they are or by one who is farther from X than they when they are co-universal heirs, the male receives the share of two females. For example, if there are two daughters and a daughter of X's son, the two daughters take two thirds and the son's daughter receives nothing. But if there also exists with her X's son's son, or son's son, then she (A: as co-universal heir 9def; L10.3) with him) gets the rest of the estate with him, the male receiving the share of two females (N: and such a male is nicknamed her blessed brother (akh mubarak)).

L7.8 Similarly, when X's full sisters receive two-thirds of the estate (dis:L6.10(2)), then X's half sisters from the same father do not inherit, unless they have a brother to make them co-universal heirs, the male receiving the share of two females.

L7.9 Someone who does not inherit to begin with (N: due to the existence of a preventive (def: L5)) cannot eliminate the share of anyone (A: such a person being as if nonexistent in figuring the estate division).

L7.10 Someone who may inherit, but whose share has been eliminated by another, cannot eliminate the share of anyone, although such a person's existence may diminish the share of someone, as when there exist X's half brothers from the same mother, and X's father and mother. In such a case, the half brothers do not inherit (dis: L6.20(N:)), but their existence diminishes the mother's share from a third to a sixth (dis:L6.6(2)).

L8.0 ADJUSTMENT WHEN THE SHARES EXCEED THE TOTAL ESTATE (AWL)

L8.1 (A: Adjustment (awl) is used in cases where the estate is not enough to give everyone their full shares, and proportionately distributes the deficit to all the heirs in an equitable way.)

L8.2 Whenever the shares deserved by heirs exceed the number of available shares, the number of shares is additively increased to the number needed. An example is the case (al-mubahala) in which there are X's husband, mother, and full sister:
shares: 6
husband 1/2 (dis: L6.3(1)) 3
sister 1/2 (dis: L6.10(1)) 3
but at this point, the estate has been used up despite the fact that the mother deserves her share of onethird, and no one can eliminate it: mother 1/3 (dis: L6.6(1)) 2 so we redivide the estate by adding the mother's portion (n: two shares) as an adjustment:
(6 + 2 =) shares: 8
husband 3
sister 3
mother 2 and this is the actual division. (n: L6.17 furnishes another example of adjustment.)

L9.0 REDISTRIBUTION WHEN THE SHARES ARE LESS THAN THE ESTATE (RADD)

(n: This section has been moved here from its original place after L10.7 below.)

L9.1 If X has no (A: universal heir) relatives (def; L10.5) then (A: the remainder of) his estate goes to the Muslim common fund (bayt al-mal) as an inheritance to the Muslims, provided the Islamic ruler is just. If the Islamic ruler is not just (A: or not existent), then it (A: the excess) is redistributed among the inheriting heirs in proportion to their relative shares, except for X's husband or wife, who may not receive any of the redistributed amount.

L9.2 (N: Three illustrations of redistribution follow:
(1) X's sister and grandmother:
shares: 6
sister 1/2 (dis: L6.10(1)) 3
grandmother 1/6 (dis: L6.18(1)) 1
But at this point, the obligatory shares are less than the estate,so we redistribute the excess estate in proportion to the heirs' respective shares by reducing the shares of the case to four,which is the number of the existing heirs' shares:
(3 + 1 =) shares: 4
sister 3
grandmother 1
and this is the solution, and is how we redistribute in cases that require it, when there is neither a husband nor wife among the heirs. As for when there is a husband or wife, the examples below furnish illustrations of the division.
(2) X's wife, half brother from the same mother, and grandmother:
shares: 12
wife 1/4 (dis: L6.4(1)) 3
half brother 1/6 (dis: L6.20(1)) 2
grandmother 1/6 (dis: L6.18(1)) 2
But here, the obligatory shares are still less than the estate, in which there are five remaining shares:
excess 5
So, excluding the wife as mentioned above (L9.1(end)), we divide the excess between the half brother and grandmother in proportion to their respective shares, namely two-to-two, which means a half-andhalf division of the excess five shares. For convenient division of these five shares, we first multiply the case's total
(12 x 2 =) shares: 24
wife 6
half brother 4
grandmother 4
excess 10
and then we divide the ten excess shares between the half brother and grandmother, while the wife gets only her original share (dis:l9.1 (end)):
shares: 24
wife 6
half brother (5 + 4 =) 9
grandmother (5 + 4 =) 9
and this is the solution.
(3) X's wife, mother, and half brother from the same mother;
shares: 12
wife 1/4 (dis: L6.4(1)) 3
mother 1/3 (dis: L6.6(1)) 4
half brother 1/6 (dis: L6.20(1)) 2
But the obligatory shares are still less than the estate, in which there are three remaining shares:
excess 3
So, excluding the wife, as before, we divide the excess between the mother and half brother in proportion to their respective shares, namely four-to-two, which means a two-to-one division of the three excess shares:
shares: 12
wife 3
mother (2 + 4 =) 6
half brother (1 + 2 =) 3
and this is the solution.)

L10.0 UNIVERSAL HEIR (ASABA)

L10.1 (A: A universal heir (asaba) is someone who takes the remaining estate, if any, after heirs deserving obligatory shares have taken them. When there are no such heirs, the universal heir takes all. There are three types of universal heir:
(1) universal heir by oneself (asaba bi nafsihi):
(2) co-universal heir (asaba bi ghayrithi);
(3) and universal heir through the existence of another (asaba ma'a ghayrithi).)
(n: The following three definitional entries have been added to this section by the translator.)

UNIVERSAL HEIR BY ONESELF

L10.2 (Hasanaya Mohammed Makhluf:) The universal heir by oneself is X's male relative who is not related to X through a female, whether this be because:
(1) there is no one between him and X, as is the case with X's father or son;
(2) or whether because there is someone between him and X, but not a female, such as X's grandfather (the father of X's father) X's son's son, X's full brother, or X's half brother from the same father.

CO-UNIVERSAL HEIR

L10.3 The co-universal heir is any female deserving an obligatory share who requires someone else in order to become a universal heir, and with whom she participates in this universal share. It is a class confined to four type of women, those whose share if alone is one-half, and if there are more than one is two thirds. They are;
(1) X's daughter;
(2) X's son's daughter;
(3) X's full sister;
(4) and X's half sister from the same father.
Whenever a male exists with one of these four who is universal heir by himself (def; L10.2) of the same generation as her and of the same strength (N:ie both we full or half siblings). she becomes co-universal heir with him and inherits by the universal share, not her obligatory share. They divide the universal share so the male receives the portion of two females.

UNIVERSAL HEIR THROUGH THE EXISTENCE OF ANOTHER

L10.4 The universal heir through the existence of another is any female deserving an obligatory share who requires someone else to become a universal heir, but with whom she does not share this universal share. These are only two people from among those who deserve obligatory shares:
(1) X's full sister;
(2) and X's half sister from the same father;
provided that X's brother who would form a co-universal heir (def: L10.3) with them (A: in which case they would not be a universal heir through another) does not exist, and provided that either of the above two females exists with X's daughter(s) or son's daughter(s), and on down (A: these being the someone else needed to make them a universal heir through another) (al-Mawarith fi al-shari'a al-Islamiyya (y80), 99, 102, 103).

L10.5 The universal heir is a person who takes the whole estate if there is no other heir, or takes any of it that is in excess of the obligatory portions which are given to heirs, when they also exist. If there is nothing in excess of the heirs' obligatory shares, then the universal heir does not receive anything.

L10.6 Their order (A: these being the universal heirs by themselves (def: L10.2)) in closeness to X (A: such that the existence of someone at the first of the list eliminates the universal heirship of anyone following him) is:
(1) X's son;
(2) X's son's son;
(3) X's son's son's son, and on down, no matter how many generations;
(4) X's father;
(5) X's father's father;
(6) X's father's father, and on up,no matter how many generations;
(7) X's full brother;
(8) X's half brother from the same father;
(9) the son of X's full brother;
(10) the son of X's half brother from the same father;
(11) the brother of X's father;

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(12) the son of the brother of X's father this son's son, and on down;
(13) the brother of X's father's father;
(14) and then (13)'s son, this son's son, and on down.

L10.8 When there is no universal heir, and no heir inheriting an obligatory portion that the excess estate could be redistributed to (dis: L9.1),then the estate is divided between the extended family members (def:L4.5) such that each of them takes the place of the person through whom they are related to X For example:

(1) X's daughter's child takes the share of X's daughter;
(2) X's sister's child takes the share of X's sister;
(3) X's brothers' daughters take the share of the brothers;
(4) the daughters of X's father's brother take the latter's share;
(5) X's mother's father takes her share;
(6) X's mother's brother or sister takes her share;
(7) and X's father's half brother or sister from the same mother takes the father's share.

L10.9 No universal heir may inherit (A: a universal share) when there is a universal heir who is closer to X than he is.

L10.10 No one constitutes a co-universal heir (def: L10.3) with his sister except:

(1) X's son (N: with X's daughter);
(2) X's son's son (N: with X's son's daughter);
(3) and X's brother (A: with X's sister)

Each of them constitutes a co-universal heir with his sister, the male receiving the portion of two females.

L10.11 (N: In addition to being co-universal heir with X's son's daughter ((2)above),) X's son's son (N:

or son's son's son, and on down) is (n: also) co-universal heir with the daughters of his father's brother who are of the same generation as he, and those of his father's sisters and the daughters of his father's father's brother(s) who are above him (N: of a closer generations to X) , provided they (A: those closer to X than he) have no obligatory shares coming. (N: Because if they do, then they take their share and are not co-universal heirs with him. This may be illustrated by the following example:

1) X's husband, daughter, son's daughter, son's daughter, son's son's daughter,and son's son's son:

Shares: 12
husband 1/4 (dis: L6.3(2)) 3
daughter 1/2 (dis:L6.7(1)) 6
son's daughter 1/6 (dis: L6.9) 2
son's son's daughter
son's son's son universal 1

But if there were two of X's daughters in the above case, we would have to divide the estate as follows:

shares: 12
husband 3
2 daughters 2/3 (dis: L6.7(2)) 8

Here, the son's daughter does not have an obligatory share coming, since the two daughters have taken the full two-thirds, and so the son's daughter (dis: text above) is co-universal heir with the son's son's daughter and son's son's son:

son's daughter
son's son's daughter universal 1
son's son's son

L10.12 A person who is a universal heir does not participate in the share of someone who has an obligatory share coming, except in the following case (al-musharraka): Given X's husband, mother (or grandmother, for the result is the same), two half brothers from the same mother, and a full brother:

shares: 6
husband 1/2 (dis: L6.3(1)) 3
mother 1/6 (dis: L6.6(2)) 1

2 half brothers 1/3 (dis: L6.20(2)) 2 in which case the estate has been used up and nothing remains for the brother: (N: But the full brother is closer to X than the half brothers, and should not be eliminated by their share, so an exception is made and the half brothers and full brother are made co-universal heirs:)

shares: 6
husband 3
mother 1
2 half brothers 0
full brother universal 2

(N: It is important to remember in such cases that the universal share is divided so the males and females receive equal shares (dis: L6.20(2)).)

L10.13 When a person both deserves an obligatory share and is a universal heir, then he inherits both of these. An example is when the son of X's father's brother (A: who is universal heir (dis: L6.22(8))) is also X's husband (A: deserving a husband's share (dis: L6.3)); or when the son of X's father's brother is also X's half brother from the same mother.

BOOK M - MARRIAGE (by al-Misri)

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m1.0 WHO SHOULD MARRY

(O: The legal basis for marriage,prior to scholarly consensus (ijma') is such Koranic verses as.

"Marry such women as seen good to you" (Koran 4:3), and hadiths such as,"Marry one another, that you may increase," which was related by Shafi'i.)

m1.1 A man who needs to marry (O: because of desire for sexual intercourse) and has enough money (O: for the bride's marriage payment (mahr def;m8), for clothing for the season of the year in which he marries, and the expenditures of one day) is recommended to do so (O: to protect his religion, no matter whether he is occupied with religious devotions or not). One who needs to marry but does not have enough to pay for these expenses is recommended not to marry. but rather to suppress his sexual desire by fasting (O: and if it is not suppressed by fasting, then he should marry, borrowing the money to pay the bride's marriage payment if she will not accept his owing it to her).

m1.2 It is offensive for someone who does not need marriage (O: being undesirous of it because of a physical defect or other reason) to marry when he does not have enough money to cover the expenses. Marriage is not offensive for a man who has enough money, even when there is something that might prevent him from doing so such as old age or a chronic illness, though it is superior for him to devote himself to worship instead (O: being occupied with enjoyments and not thinking of worship at all) then marriage is better (O: since someone whose lack of sexual desire is not due to a physical defect may later have such desire, as opposed to someone whose lack of desire is because of such a defect, to whom this will not happen).

m1.3 As for a woman, if she needs to marry, it is recommended for her to do so, though if she does not, (O: not feeling any sexual desire within herself, and she is engaged in worship,) then it is offensive for her to do so. (N: Though such a woman needs a husband or unmarriageable relative to travel and so forth (dis:m10.3).)

DESIRABLE CHARACTERISTICS IN A BRIDE

m1.4 It is recommended for a man to marry a virgin (O: unless there is a reason not to, such as sexual incapacity or needing someone to take care of his children) (A: though it is permissible to marry a nonvirgin even if she has not previously married (dis: p12.1(3(n:)))) who is fertile (O: which in a virgin is inferable from her relatives), attractive, intelligent, religious, of a good family, and not a close relative. (O: In Sharh al-Minhaj, Ibn Hajar notes that when one must choose between the above characteristics, the order of preference should be:

(1) religiousness, which takes precedence over anything else;
(2) intelligence;
(3) a good character and disposition;

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(4) fertility;
(5) a good family;
(6) virginity;
(7) beauty;
(8) and then that which fulfills some other relevant interest.)

m2.0 ENGAGEMENT AND LOOKING AT THE OPPOSITE SEX

SUNNAS OF ENGAGEMENT

m2.1 (O: It is recommended for a guardian to offer his marriageable female charges in marriage to righteous men. It is sunna:
(1) to intend by one's marriage to fulfill the sunna and protect one's religion, since one is only
rewarded for it if one intends some form of obedience to Allah, such as remaining chaste or having a pious son;
(2) for the marriage contract to be made in a mosque;
(3) and for it to take place on Friday, at the first of the day, and in the month of Shawwal.)

LOOKING AT ONES PROSPECTIVE BRIDE

m2.2 The sunna when one wants to marry a woman is to look at her face and hands (O: as the face indicates her beauty, and the hands her robustness of body. Tirmidhi reports from al-Mughira that when he got engaged to a woman, the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said. "Look at her, for it is likelier to last between you." meaning that love is likelier to last, and tenderness) before getting engaged to her, even if the woman does not give her permission to do so (O: since the Lawgiver's permission is sufficient). Such a person is entitled to repeat looking at her (A: as many times as he wishes) (O: when he needs to make sure of how she looks, so he does not come to have regrets after getting married. And she is entitled to do the same) but he may not look at other than her face and hands. (O: If unable to go see her, he should send a reliable woman to go see he for him, as such a woman would be likely to notice more than he, and she may describe her to him, this being an exception to the unlawfulness of describing a woman to a man who is not one of her unmarriageable kin.)

LOOKING AT MEMBERS OF THE OPPOSITE SEX

m2.3 It is unlawful for a man to look at a woman who is not his wife or one of his unmarriageable kin (def: m6.1) (O: there being no difference in this between the face and hands or some other part of a woman (N: if it is uncovered), though part excludes her voice, which is not unlawful to listen to as long as temptation is unlikely. Allah Most High says, "Tell believers to lower their gaze" (Koran 24:30). A majority of scholars (n: with the exception of some Hanafis, as at m2.8 below) have been recorded as holding that it is unlawful for women to leave the house with faces unveiled, whether or not there is likelihood of temptation. When there is likelihood of temptation, scholars unanimously concur that it is unlawful, temptation meaning anything that leads to sexual intercourse or its usual preliminaries. As for when there is real need (dis: m2.11), looking is not unlawful, provided temptation is unlikely). (A: Being alone with a woman who is not one's wife or unmarriageable kin is absolutely unlawful, though if there are two women and a man, the man and the woman are no longer considered alone.)

m2.4 A man may look at his wife (N: or vice versa) including her nakedness (def: f5.3), though it is offensive for either husband or wife to look at the other's genitals.

m2.5 A man may look at his unmarriageable female relatives (def: m6.1), and a woman look at her unmarriageable male relatives (m6.2), viewing any part of the body (n: that shows e.g. while they are working) except what is between the naval and knees.

m2.6 As for a woman looking at (O: a man) other than her husband or unmarriageable male relatives, it is unlawful, just as a man's looking at her is.

m2.7 It is unlawful for a woman to show any part of her body to an adolescent boy or a non-Muslim woman (n: unless the latter is her kinswoman (def: m6.1 (1-12)), in which case it is permissible (Mughni al-muhtaj ila marifa maani alfazal-Minhaj (y73), 3.132)).

m2.8 (n: The following rulings from the Hanafi school have been added here as a dispensation (dis: c6.3).)(Ahmad Quduri:)
(1) It is not permissible for a man to look at a woman who is not his wife or unmarriageable relative except for her face and hands ((Maydani:) because of the necessity of her need to deal with men in giving and taking and the like). If a man is not safe from lust, he may not look at her face except when it is demanded by necessity.
(2) A man may look at the whole body of another man except for what is between the navel and (A: including) the knees (A: as the knees are considered nakedness by Hanafis, though not by Shafiis).
(3) A woman may look at the parts of a man that another man is permitted to look at.
(4) A woman may look at the parts of another woman that a man is permitted to look at of another man.(al-Lubab fi sharh al-kitab (y88), 4.162-63)

m2.9 Whenever looking is unlawful, so is touching (O:whenever meaning the part; i.e. whatever is unlawful to look at is also unlawful to touch). (N: And any permissible looking that leads to temptation is unlawful.) (A: Ordinary people sometimes mistakenly assume that the Hanafi position that touching a woman does not nullify one's ablution (wudu) means they permit men shaking hands with women who are not wives or unmarriageable relatives, something which is unlawful, and which neither the Hanafi school nor any other holds to be permissible.)

DOCTORS TREATING PATIENTS OF THE OPPOSITE SEX

m2.10 Both (O: looking and touching) are permissible for medicinal bloodletting, cupping, and medical treatment (N: when there is real need. A Muslim woman needing medical attention must be treated by a Muslim woman doctor, or if there is none, then by a non-Muslim woman doctor. If there is none, then a male Muslim doctor may treat her, while if non of the above are available, then a male non-Muslim doctor. If the doctor is of the opposite sex, her husband or an unmarriageable male relative (def: m6.2) must be present. It is obligatory to observe this order in selecting a doctor). (A: The same rules apply to Muslim men with regard to having a doctor of the same sex and religion: the same sex takes precedence over the same religion.) (O:Necessary treatment of her face or hands permits looking at either. As for other parts of the body, the criterion for permissibility is the severity of the need for treatment, meaning that there must be an ailment as severe as those permitting dry ablution (def: e12.9), and if the part concerned is the genitals, the need must be even more acute (N: though it includes gynecological examinations for women with fertility problems, which are permissible).

PERMISSIBLE LOOKING AT A MARRIAGEABLE MEMBER OF THE OPPOSITE SEX

m2.11 Looking at a woman is permissible for testimony in court, for commercial dealings (O: with a marriageable man, or noncommercial dealings, as when he wishes to marry her), and so forth (O: such as obligatory or recommended learning (def: a4, a6)), in which cases looking is permissible to the degree required. (O: It is not permissible to exceed the degree required, as when looking at part of the face is sufficient, in which case looking at the rest of it is not permissible, as it exceeds the amount required.)

RULES FOR PROPOSING MARRIAGE OR ACCEPTING A PROPOSAL

m2.12 It is unlawful to propose marriage, openly or allusively, to another's wife when she is in the waiting period of an unfinalized (A: i.e. less than threefold (dis: n9.0 (N:))) divorce (O: because she is still considered as a wife is).

m.2.13 As for a woman who is in any of the following types of waiting period (def: n9), it is unlawful for a suitor to propose openly to her, though not for him to hint at it:
(1) the waiting period of a finalized (threefold) divorce;
(2) the waiting period after having had her husband release her for payment (def: n5);
(3) or the waiting period to remarry after her husband's death (def: n9.11). (O: Proposing allusively is only permissible in such cases because of the husband's lack of authority over her. To propose openly means to decisively indicate one's desire to wed, such as by saying, "I want to marry you," while to propose allusively means to employ words that could indicate a desire to marry or something else, such as "I am desirous of you," or "Your are beautiful," for these do not necessarily imply a desire for marriage.)

m2.14 (O: The rulings regarding the lawfulness or unlawfulness of a woman's accepting a marriage proposal are the same as those for proposing to her (def: m2.12-13).)

m2.15 It is unlawful to propose marriage to a woman to whom another has already done so, if the first proposal has been openly accepted, unless the first suitor gives his permission. (O: And like his permission in the legality of another proposing to her is when the first suitor has shown himself disinclined, such as by having given up, or when enough time has elapsed to give others the impression that he no longer wants to marry, or when the woman's guardian (def: m3.4) becomes averse to him.) But if the first suitor's proposal was not openly accepted, then a second suitor may propose to her. (O: It is also permissible for one to take the initiative and propose to a woman when one does not know whether or not she is engaged, or whether the first proposal was plainly accepted or not.)

m.2.16 Whoever is asked about what kind of person a prospective groom is should truthfully mention his failings (O: meaning his defects and mistakes. This is obligatory (N: but only to the degree necessary (A: to protect the person who is asking)), as Nawawi has stated in al-Adhkar (dis: r2120(2))).

m2.17 It is recommended to give a short address when (O: i.e. before) making a marriage proposal (O: address meaning words begun by praising Allah and concluded with a supplication and moral exhortation. If one wants to be brief, one may simply say, Praise be to Allah, and blessings and peace upon the Messenger of Allah (Allah bless him and give him peace). I enjoin you to fear Allah . I have come to you to engage your noblest [A: mentioning her name]." Then her guardian gives a similar address).

m2.17 It is also recommended to give another brief address when (O: i.e. just before) the marriage contract is made, saying (O: i.e. it is recommended for the guardian to say, before the contract is formally effect), I marry her to your according to the command of Allah Most High, to kindly retain or graciously release."

m3.0 THE INTEGRALS OF A MARRIAGE AGREEMENT

m3.1 Marriage has integrals (A: which are five in number:
(a) the spoken form;
(b) the witnesses;
(c) the bride's guardian;
(d) the groom;
(e) and the bride).

THE SPOKEN FORM

m3.2 The first integral is the explicitly stated spoken form (O: comprising a spoken offer by the guardian and its acceptance by the groom, like other, nonmarital transactions. Its necessary conditions are the same as those of valid sale (def: k1.1(a,b,c,d,e))), the form being valid in languages other than Arabic even when one is able to speak Arabic. The spoken form is not valid if allusive. Nor is it valid without:
(a) a statement (N: from the guardian) that effects it, namely I marry you" (n: i.e. to her, the Arabic zawwaja meaning to marry someone to another);
(b) and an immediate spoken acceptance (A: by the groom), namely I marry her," or I accept her marriage."
(N: The spoken form, when the other integrals exist, is what is meant by the term marriage contract, not an actual written document, though it is sunna to write it. Extraneous conditions added to the marriage contract, such as that the husband observe monogamy or the like, are not binding, being meaningless, though they do not invalidate the marriage agreement, which remains effective.)

THE WITNESSES

m3.3 The second integral is that the marriage have witnesses, it not being valid unless two witnesses are present who are:
(a) male (O: since a marriage witnessed by a man and two women would not be valid (A: though it would be valid in the Hanafi school));
(b) sound of hearing
(c) sound of eyesight
(d) familiar with the language of the two contracting parties;
(e) Muslims;
(f) and upright (def:o24.4) witnesses, even if their uprightness is merely apparent (O: since marriages
take place among average, common people, and if they were made responsible to know the inward uprightness of witnesses, it would cause delays and difficulties. Apparent uprightness means the person is outwardly known to be upright, even if he is inwardly unknown).

THE BRIDE'S GUARDIAN

m3.4 The third integral is the (A: bride's guardian (O: since a woman may not conduct her own marriage. Ibn Majah relates that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said. "Let no woman marry a woman to another or marry herself to another." Daraqutni related this hadith with a chain of transmission meeting the standards of Bukhari and Muslim). The marriage agreement is not valid without a guardian who is:
(a) male;
(b) legally responsible (mukallaf, def: c8.1);
(c) Muslim;
(d) upright (def: o24.4);
(e) and of sound judgement. The following may not be a bride's guardian:
(1) (non-(a) above) a woman;
(2) (non-(b)) a child or insane person;
(3) (non-(c)) a non-Muslim;
(4) (non-(d)) a corrupt person (def: o24.3) (O: though the opinion of most later scholars is that a corrupt person may be a guardian);
(5) or (non-(e)) someone whose judgement is unsound because of old age or weakmindedness (O: whether innate or acquired. Old age includes someone with severe pain or illnesses which distract him from realizing what is most advantageous for his charge and her interests, since such a person would be incapable of learning how suitors really are and whether they are an appropriate match (def: m4) for the bride). It is of no consequence if the guardian is blind. A non-

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Muslim responsible for a non-Muslim bride may be her guardian (O: provided he does not violate the rules of his own religion), though a Muslim may not.

m3.6 (n: If the bride has no Muslim guardian and there is no Islamic magistrate to act as one, she may authorise a male Muslim who has the qualifications of an Islamic judge (def: o22.1)-or if there is none, then a male Muslim who is legally upright (def: o24.4)-to act as her guardian in marrying her to the groom (Mughni al-muhtaj ila marifa maani alfaz al-Minhaj (y73), 3.147).)

THE ORDER OF LAWFUL GUARDIANSHIP AMONG THE BRIDE'S RELATIVES

m3.7 The male relatives of a free woman are the ones who may marry her to another, and the order (O: as to who has the right to be her guardian) is her:

(1) father;

(2) father's father (O: and on up);

(3) brother;

(4) brother's son;

(5) father's brother;

(6) her father's brother's son (O: and so on, in the same order as the universal heirs in estate division (def: 110.6(12-14));

(7) and then the Islamic magistrate (A: i.e. the judge (qadi)). None of the above may marry her to someone when a family member higher on the list exists. If there are two of equal standing (A: two brothers, for example) and one is related to her through two parents while the other is related to her through the father alone, then the one related to her through both parents is the guardian. If both are equal in this respect, precedence is given to the oldest, most learned in Sacred Law, and most god-fearing. But if the other (A: less deserving of two would-be guardians who are of equal affiliation to her) marries her to the groom, the marriage is valid. If both insist on being the one, they draw lots to see who will do it, though if the loser marries her to the groom, the marriage is also legally valid.

m3.8 If a guardian does not have the right to be a guardian because of the existence of one of the abovementioned preventives (dis: m3.4 (1-5)), the guardianship devolves to the next family member in the m3.7 order of lawful guardians.

THE BRIDE'S RIGHT TO MARRY A SUITABLE MATCH OF HER CHOICE

m3.9 Whenever a free woman asks to marry a suitor who is a suitable match (def m4) (O: by telling her guardian, Marry me to him"), the guardian must marry her to him (O: whether she is a virgin or nonvirgin, and whether prepubescent or not). The Islamic magistrate (A: i.e. judge marries her to such a groom if the guardian:

(1) in the presence of the magistrate refuses to marry her to the groom;

(2) is on a journey farther than 81 km./50 mi. from home;

(3) or is in a state of pilgrim sanctity (ihram) (O: for hajj, umra', or both) (dis: j3.20). In such cases, the guardianship does not devolve to the next most eligible in the m3.7 order of lawful guardians, If (non-(2) above) the guardian is on a journey of less than 81 km./50 mi, from home, the bride may not be married to someone without the guardian's leave.

COMMISSIONING ANOTHER TO EFFECT THE MARRIAGE AGREEMENT

m3.10 The guardian may commission another (def: k17.5-6) to marry his charge to someone, though it is not permissible to commission someone who himself lacks the requisite conditions (m3.4(a,b,c,d,e)) to be a guardian. The groom too may commission someone to accept the marriage agreement on his behalf, provided the person commissioned is someone who would be legally entitled to accept such a marriage for himself. (O: A child, for example, may not accept a marriage for himself, let alone someone else, nor may a woman be commissioned for this, nor someone in a state of pilgrim sanctity (ihram).) m3.11 Neither the guardian of the bride nor his agent may state the marriage offer (def: m3.2(a)) for the guardian's own marriage (A:to her). If her guardian wants to marry her, as when, for example, he is the son of her father's brother, then he lets a different son of the father's brother stand in as guardian. If there is no one in his own degree (A: of relation to her), then the Islamic judge stands in as guardian.

m3.12 No one may state both the proposal and its acceptance (def: m3.2(a,b)) for one marriage, except the bride's grandfather when marrying his son's daughter to his (A: other) son's son.

GUARDIANS WHO MAY MARRY A VIRGIN TO A MAN WITHOUT HER CONSENT

m3.13 Guardians are of two types, those who may compel their female charges to marry someone, and those who may not.

(1) The only guardians who may compel their charge to marry are a virgin bride's father or father's father, compel meaning to marry her to a suitable match (def: m4) without her consent.

(2) Those who may not compel her are not entitled to marry her to someone unless she accepts and gives her permission. Whenever the bride is a virgin, the father or father's father may marry her to someone without her permission, though it is recommended to ask her permission if she has reached puberty. A virgin's silence is considered as permission. As for the nonvirgin of sound mind, no one may marry her to another after she has reached puberty without her express permission, no matter whether the guardian is the father, father's father, or someone else.

m3.15 No guardian may marry a woman to someone who is not a suitable match (def: m4) without her acceptance and the acceptance of all who can be guardians (def: m3.7). If the Islamic magistrate is her guardian, he may not under any circumstances marry her to someone who is not a suitable match for her. If the bride selects a suitor who is not a suitable match for her, the guardian is not obliged to marry her to him. If she selects a suitable match but her guardian chooses a different suitor who is also a suitable match, then the man chosen by the guardian takes precedence if the guardian is one who may lawfully compel her to marry (def: m3.13(1)), while the one she selects takes precedence when the guardian may not lawfully compel her to marry (m3.13(2)).

m4.0 A SUITABLE MATCH (KAFA'A)

(N: The definition of a suitable match should not be misunderstood as a recommendation for whom to marry. It is merely a legal restriction to protect a woman's interests when the father or grandfather of a virgin marry her to someone without her consent (dis: m3.13, 15). As for when she wishes to marry someone who is not a suitable match, and her guardian has no objection, there is nothing wrong or offensive in her doing so.)

m4.1 Suitability concerns lineage, religiousness, profession, and being free of defects that permit annulling the marriage contract (def: m7). (N: As for color, it is of no consideration in suitability.)

m4.2 The following are not suitable matches for one another:

(1) a non-Arab man for an Arab woman (O: because of the hadith that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "Allah has chosen the Arabs above others");

(2) a corrupt man (def: o24.3) for a virtuous woman (O: though it is sufficient for the would-be husband to have given up his wrongdoing);

(3) a man of a lowly profession for the daughter of someone with a higher profession, such as a tailor wanting to marry a merchant's daughter (A: though an Islamic scholar is a suitable match for any level whatever);

(4) or someone with a defect that permits annulling the marriage (def: m7) for someone without such defects. Being wealthy has nothing to do with suitability (O: for money comes and goes, and those with selfrespect and intelligence do not take pride in it), nor does being elderly.

m4.3 The marriage agreement is invalid whenever a guardian marries his charge to someone who is not a suitable match for her, if done without both her acceptance and the acceptance of all who are eligible as guardians (def: m3.7) and are on the guardian's level of relation to her (A: such as his brothers). But if both these parties agree, then the bride's relatives further from her than the guardian may not object.

m4.4 When the father or father's father see that the best advantage is to be served by marrying a young boy (or girl) to someone, they may do so, though they are not entitled to marry the child to someone with a physical defect (dis: m7) that legally permits annulment of the marriage.

m4.5 If a person is foolhardy (safih, def: k13.1(A)) or continuously insane, but needs to marry, then his father, grandfather, or the Islamic magistrate may marry him to someone. If they grant permission to the foolhardy person to marry himself, his marriage is valid, though if he does so without their leave, it is invalid.

m5.0 CONJUGAL RIGHTS

THE WIFE'S MARITAL OBLIGATIONS

m5.1 It is obligatory for a woman to let her husband have sex with her immediately when:

(a) he asks her;

(b) at home (O: home meaning the place in which he is currently staying, even if being lent to him or rented);

(c) and she can physically endure it.

(d) (O: Another condition that should be added is that her marriage payment (mahr, def: m8) has been received or deferred to a term not yet expired. As for when sex with her is not possible, such that having it would entail manifest harm to her, then she is not obliged to comply.) If she asks him to wait, she is awaited, to a maximum of three days (O: She does not ask to wait because of not having finished her period or postnatal bleeding, for there is not physical harm entailed in her complying as she is, though if she fears that such foreplay with him will lead to actual copulation (A: which is unlawful under such circumstances), then she may refuse, as that is not obligatory). (n: w45 discusses wives' other duties to husbands.)

THE WIFE'S RIGHT TO INTERCOURSE

m5.2 (Imam Ghazali:) One should make love to one's wife every four nights, as is fairest, since the number of wives one may have is four, and one may wait this long to do so, though one should make love to her more or less than this, according to the amount she needs to remain chaste and free of want for it (N: if one is able), since it is obligatory for a husband to enable her to keep chaste (Ihya' ulum aldin (y39), 2.46).

THE WEDDING NIGHT

m5.3 The first time they sleep together, it is recommended for the husband to grasp his bride's forelock and supplicate Allah for an increase in blessings (baraka) (O: such as by saying, May Allah bless each of us in their partner").

THE HUSBAND'S RIGHTS

m5.4 A husband possesses full right to enjoy his wife's person (A: from the top of her head to the bottoms of her feet, though anal intercourse (dis:p75.20) is absolutely unlawful) in what does not physically harm her. He is entitled to take her with him when he travels.

CONTRACEPTION

m5.5 The husband is permitted to practice coitus interruptus (n: w46 discusses the relation of this to other methods of contraception) in lovemaking with his wife (O: meaning to make love to her until he feels an impending orgasm, when he withdraws to ejaculate outside the vagina) though it is better not to (O: it being considered offensive in our school (dis: w46.2) because it is a means to prevent reproduction).

m5.6 The husband is entitled to insist that his wife undertake both the measures necessary for having sex with her such as the purificatory bath (ghusl) after her monthly period, and those necessary to full enjoyment of her such as the purificatory bath after major ritual impurity (janaba), shaving her private parts, and removing filth.

m6.0 UNMARRIAGEABLE KIN (MAHRAM)

(N: It is unlawful for one to marry one's ancestors, descendants, parents' descendants, or the first generation of one's grandparent's offspring, meaning one's paternal or maternal aunts (n: or uncles, if one is female). One's unmarriageable kin (mahram) are those one is forbidden to marry forever.)

m6.1 It is unlawful (O: meaning both sinful and legally invalid) for a man to marry his:

(1) mother;

(2) grandmothers (O: from his mother's or father's side) and on up;

(3) daughters;

(4) daughters of his children, children's children, and on down;

(5) sisters;

(6) daughters of brothers or sisters, their children's daughters, and on down;

(7) mother's sisters, grandmother's sisters, and on up;

(8) father's sisters, father's father's sisters, and on up;

(9) wife's mother;

(10) wife's grandmother;

(11) the wives of his father, father's father, and on up;

(12) the wives of his children, children's children, and on down; (all of whom ((9) through (12)) are unlawful for him to marry by the mere fact of marriage. As for a man's wife's daughter (N: from a different husband), she is not unlawful for him to marry until he has had sexual intercourse with her mother. Were he to divorce the mother before intercourse, it would be permissible for him to marry the daughter)

(13) (n: and all those considered as unmarriageable kin to him through his having been breast-fed by a particular wet nurse in infancy, as at n12.2).

m6.2 (N: It is unlawful and invalid for a woman to marry her:

(1) father, grandfather, and on up;

(2) son, son's son, daughter's son, and on down;

(3) brother;

(4) father's brother, meaning the brother of any male ancestor;

(5) mother's brother, meaning the brother of any female ancestor;

(6) brother's son, sister's son, or any other descendants of brothers or sisters;

(7) the husband of her mother, grandmother, and on up;

(8) the husband of her daughter or other female descendant;

(9) her husband's father, grandfather, and on up, and husband's son and descendants;

(10) (n: and unmarriageable kin to her through her having been breast-fed by a particular wet nurse in infancy, as at n12.2).

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m6.3 It is unlawful for a man to marry both:
(1) a woman and her sister;
(2) a woman and her father's sister;
(3) or a woman and her mother's sister.
(N: but if a man is no longer married to one of the above and the waiting period (def: n9) has expired, then he may marry the other.)

m6.5 The same categories of relatives who are unlawful for one to marry because of one's kinship relation to them are also unlawful to one by foster relationship," through having been breast-fed by a particular wet nurse in infancy (dis: n12.2) (N: since someone nursed in infancy by a woman is prohibited to marry those whom her offspring and her husband's offspring are prohibited to marry).

m6.7 It is unlawful for a Muslim man to marry:
(1) a Zoroastrian woman;
(2) an idol worshipper;
(3) an apostate from Islam (murtadd, def: o8);
(4) or a woman with one parent who is Jewish or Christian, while the other is Zoroastrian.
(5) (N: It is not lawful or valid for a Muslim man to be married to any woman who is not either a Muslim, Christian, or Jew; nor is it lawful or valid for a Muslim woman to be married to anyone besides a Muslim.)

m6.8 It is unlawful for a man who has divorced his wife by public imprecation (def:n11) to remarry her (N: though she is not considered his unmarriageable kin (mahram), and he may not look at or be alone with her).

m6.9 It is unlawful to marry a woman who is in a state of pilgrim sanctity (ihram, def: j3) (N: for hajj or umra), or in her waiting period (def: n9) after marriage to another.

m6.10 It is unlawful for a free man to marry more than four women. It is fitter to confine oneself to just one.

m6.12 The following types of marriage are legally invalid:
(1) to marry by trading daughters [or sisters]" (A: such that the marriage of each by the guardian of the other supposedly takes the place of the woman's marriage payment (mahr));
(2) to have a temporary marriage" (muta), meaning to marry a woman for a stipulated period (O: whether specified, such as a month, or unknown, such as until So-and-so comes");
(3) or to marry a woman after her threefold divorce solely to cohabit and thus permit her (dis: n7.7) to remarry her previous husband (A: which is an enormity (dis: p29)), though if the marriage agreement is made for this reason but does not expressly stipulate it, then it is legally valid (dis: c5.2).

m7.0 DEFECTS IN THE SPOUSE PERMITTING ANNULMENT OF MARRIAGE

m7.1 In any of the following circumstances, the husband or wife has the option to annul the marriage agreement immediately, if this is done in the presence of the Islamic magistrate (O: or a third party chosen to judge between them (dis: o21.4), provided that he is a mujtahid (def: o22.1(d)) and there is no Islamic judge), even when the partner annulling the marriage has the same defect whose existence in the spouse has motivated him or her to annul it (O: as when, for example, both are insane):
(1) one finds that the spouse is not sane, or has elephantiasis or leprosy;
(2) the husband finds that the wife's vagina is closed or nearly so because of an abnormal growth of flesh or bone;
(3) or the wife finds that the husband is impotent, or that his penis has been dissevered.

The agreement may also be annulled when the defect occurs after making the marriage agreement, except when a husband's impotence occurs after he has had sexual intercourse with his wife, in which case annulment is no longer possible. When a husband (N: impotent from the beginning) acknowledges his impotence, the magistrate postpones action on the case for one year from the day it is first submitted to his consideration. If the husband has intercourse with her during the year, then she is not entitled to annul the marriage, though if he does not, then she may annul it. In cases of impotence, her abovementioned prerogative of annulling the marriage immediately" means after this period of one year.

m7.2 When a marriage is annulled before sexual intercourse, the woman does not receive her marriage payment (mahr) (N: no matter whether the defect is in her or in him (A: as opposed to divorce before sexual intercourse, as discussed at m8.7)). When a marriage is annulled after intercourse because of a defect that occurred after it, the full marriage payment stipulated by their agreement must be paid to her. When a marriage is annulled (N: after sexual intercourse) because of a defect that occurred before intercourse (O: whether simultaneously with the marriage agreement or after it but before intercourse), then the bride is only given the amount typically received as marriage payment by similar brides (def: m8.8).

m7.4 If any of the following occurs before intercourse has taken place, then the marriage is immediately annulled:
(1) one of a couple who are idolators becomes a Muslim;
(2) one of a Zoroastrian couple becomes Muslim;
(3) the wife of a Jew or Christian becomes a Muslim;
(4) both husband and wife leave Islam;
(5) or one of them does.

But when one of the above things happens after intercourse, then a waiting period (def: n9) must intervene before the marriage is annulled. If both husband and wife (A: are, or) become Muslim before the waiting period finishes, then their marriage continues. And if not, then the marriage is considered to have been over since the change of religion first took place.

m7.5 When a (A: non-Muslim) man who has more than four wives becomes Muslim, he is obliged to choose just four of them (A: and the others' marriages are annulled).

m8.0 THE BRIDE'S MARRIAGE PAYMENT (MAHR)

(O: The marriage payment is the money or property a husband must pay a woman to marry her.)

m8.1 It is sunna to name the amount of the marriage payment in the marriage agreement (O: to prevent discord). If it is not mentioned, it does not hurt (O: the validity of the marriage, though if unmentioned in the agreement, it is considered to be the amount typically received as marriage payment by similar brides (def: m8.8). There is complete scholarly consensus on the validity of a contract that does not mention it, though it is offensive not to).

m8.2 A guardian may not marry his prepubescent daughter to someone for less than the amount typically received as marriage payment by similar brides, nor marry his prepubescent son to a female who is given more than the amount typically received. If he does either of these, the amount stipulated is void and the amount typically received is paid instead (O: in both these cases, as a necessary condition for the validity of the marriage contract).

m8.3 Nor may a foolhardy man (def: k13.1(A:)) marry a woman for more than the amount typically received as marriage payment by similar brides.

m8.4 Anything that may be lawfully used as a price (def: k2) may be given as marriage payment. It may be paid immediately or deferred, and may be an individual article (ayn), a financial obligation (dayn), or the use or benefit of something.

m8.5 The bride possesses the marriage payment when it has been expressly stipulated (O: in the marriage agreement, whether validly stipulated or invalidly. If valid, she owns the amount stated, while if invalid, she owns the amount typically received as marriage payment by similar brides (def: m8.8). She may dispose of it when she accepts it, and her ownership of it is finalised when her husband has sexual intercourse with her (O: after which none of it is refundable), or when one of them dies before they have had intercourse.

m8.6 If payable immediately, the bride may refuse to have sexual intercourse until her husband gives her the marriage payment, though if she allows him to have intercourse with her before she accepts the amount, she may no longer refuse to have intercourse (N: but may demand the amount).

m8.7 If the couple is separated (A: by having annulled the marriage (dis: m7.4)), before intercourse because of an act on the bride's part, as when she becomes a Muslim (O: and the husband remains non-Muslim), or she leaves Islam (O: and the husband remains Muslim), then she is not entitled to any of the marriage payment. But if it is because of an act on the husband's part, as when he becomes Muslim, leaves Islam, or divorces her, then she receives only half of the marriage payment; or the husband may ask for half of it back (O: if she already accepted it), provided the article given as payment still exists. If it does not, he receives half of the lowest market value of similar articles between the time of the marriage agreement and when the article ceased to exist. If the article was diminished while in the bride's possession, the husband has a choice between taking it back in its defective condition, or accepting half of its value.

THE AMOUNT TYPICALLY RECEIVED AS MARRIAGE PAYMENT BY SIMILAR BRIDES

m8.8 The amount typically received as marriage payment by similar brides (mahr al-mithl) means that which would be desirable to a woman like her (O: a woman like the bride, under normal circumstances), like her meaning a woman of her relatives resembling her in such characteristics as age, intelligence, beauty, wealth, being virgin or nonvirgin, and in having the same hometown. (O: her relatives living therein are taken as the standard, and not those living elsewhere, since the amount typically received varies in different towns. Rafi'i holds that if all of them live in another town, they are nevertheless more suitable to be taken as the standard than nonfamily women from the same town.) If the bride is superior to them (O: respecting the above characteristics) or inferior, then this is taken into consideration (O: meaning she deserves a marriage payment that suits how she is). If she has no female relatives related to her through her father, then those like her refers to he maternal relatives (O: i.e. the mother's relatives, such as the bride's grandmother or mother's sister). If none of the above exist, then the standard for comparison is the marriage payment of those women of the same town who resemble the bride.

WHEN A HUSBAND IS UNABLE TO PAY THE MARRIAGE PAYMENT

m8.9 When a husband proves financially unable to give his wife the marriage payment (A: if it has not been deferred) before the first time they have sexual intercourse, then the bride may annul the marriage, though if he proves unable afterwards, she may not. If husband and wife disagree (A: in court, when neither side has proof]) as to whether he has given her (O: all, or part of) the marriage payment, then the wife's word is accepted over the husband's (dis: k8.2). But if they disagree as to whether they have had sexual intercourse, the husband's word is accepted over the wife's.

m8.10 A man is obliged to pay a woman the amount typically received as marriage payment by similar brides (def m8.8) when the marriage was (N: consummated, but) invalid, or when a man forces a woman to fornicate with him. When a woman voluntarily fornicates with a man, she does not receive any marriage payment.

AMENITY PAYMENT

m8.11 Whenever a woman is divorced (O: before having had intercourse) and the marriage payment is reduced to one-half (dis: m8.7), she does not receive an amenity payment (def: below). But she is entitled to one when the marriage payment is not reduced to one-half, such as when:
(1) she receives no marriage payment because of having allowed her guardian to choose a spouse for her and then having been divorced before intercourse and before any payment was stipulated;
(2) or when she receives the full marriage payment, as when she is divorced after intercourse.

An amenity payment is an amount (N: paid by the husband) determined by the Islamic judge through his own personal reasoning (O: it being obligatory that both the husband and wife agree to it, and sunna that it not be less than thirty dirhams (n: 88.94 grams of silver) or something worth that much, and that it amount to less than half the marriage payment), in view of the circumstances of both parties (O: such as how rich or poor the husband is, and the wife's lineage and other characteristics previously discussed).

m9.0 THE WEDDING FEAST

m9.1 The wedding feast is a sunna (A: whose time never expires, though it is recommended to be after intercourse). The sunna is for the meal to consist of a sheep or goat (shah, def: h2.5),though it is permissible to serve whatever food is readily available.

THE OBLIGATION TO ATTEND

m9.2 It is obligatory for whoever is invited to attend (O: and whoever does not respond to the
invitation has disobeyed Allah and His messenger (Allah bless him and give him peace)), whether fasting or not. If one attends, it is recommended to eat, though not obligatory. If one is performing a voluntary fast and attends, and it is not burdensome for the host, then it is best to complete one's fast, though if this would weigh on the host, it is better for one to eat. It is only obligatory to respond to such an invitation if the following conditions are met:
(a) that the host not have invited the rich to the exclusion of the poor;
(b) that the invitation be for the first day of the wedding feast, for if the host celebrates if for three days, it is not obligatory to respond if invited on the second day, and offensive to do so on the third;
(c) that the motive for attending not be fear of the host or desire for the prestige of having attended;
(d) that no one will be there who will hurt one, or whose company is unsuitable (O: because of their vileness, for example, such as people devoid of morals or character;
(e) and that there will be nothing blameworthy there such as flutes, wine, silk-covered sitting mats, or pictures of animate life (dis: p44) on the ceiling, walls, upright pillows (O: not those lying flat (dis: below)), or draperies; or clothing inscribed with something blameworthy, and so forth (O: since a person who attends in the presence of such things is as though accepting and acquiescing to what is condemnable). But if the blameworthy thing will be removed through one's attending, or if the abovementioned pictures are on the ground, a carpet, or pillows people lean upon (N: or other humiliated deployment, which is lawful), or if the living figures are decapitated, or there are pictures of (n: Vegetative life such as) trees, then one must attend.

m9.3 Strewing sweets and the like around at marriage agreements or picking them up is not offensive, but it is better not to.

m10.0 RELATIONS BETWEEN A HUSBAND AND WIVES

m10.1 It is obligatory for both husband and wife to treat each other well (O: since Allah Most High says, "Women

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deserve the like of what they are obliged to give, in kindness" (Koran 2:228)), and for each to give the other what they must (O: meaning that both spouses are required to, the husband giving her the expenditures he is obliged to (def: m11), and the wife giving herself to him and obeying him concerning his rights therein) without intentional delays or displaying resentment.

m10.2 It is unlawful for a man to house two wives in the same lodgings unless they both agree.

PERMITTING ONE'S WIFE TO LEAVE THE HOUSE

m10.3 (A: A husband may permit his wife to leave the house for a lesson in Sacred Law, for invocation of Allah (dhikr), to see her female friends, or to go to any place in the town. A woman may not leave the city without her husband or a member of her unmarriageable kin (def: m6.2) accompanying her, unless the journey is obligatory, like the hajj. It is unlawful for her to travel otherwise, and unlawful for her husband to allow her to.) (n: In the Hanafi school, it is not unlawful for her to travel beyond city limits without a husband or member of her unmarriageable kin unless the distance to her intended destination exceeds ca. 77 km./48mi. (al-Lubab fi sharh al-Kitab (y88), 1.105).)

m10.4 The husband may forbid his wife to leave the home (O: because of the hadith related by Bayhaqi that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said. "It is not permissible for a woman who believes in Allah and the Last Day to allow someone into her husband's house if he is opposed, or to go out if he is averse"). But if one of her relatives dies, it is preferable to let her leave to visit them.

TAKING TURNS WITH WIVES

m10.5 A husband with more than one wife is not obliged to spend his nights with them in turns but may keep away from them (A: all) without sin. But he may not begin spending the night with one of them unless he chooses her by drawing lots. Whenever he spends the night with one wife, he is obliged to spend nights with the others, giving equal time to each one. When a husband intends to begin staying with his wives (A: after an intermission or absence), the wife whose lot is drawn is the first with whom he spends the night. All are included in taking turns, whether a wife in her period or postnatal bleeding, one who is ill, or one who cannot have intercourse because of a vaginal birth defect. The minimal amount of time for one turn is a night and day, whether the day comes before or after the night; while the maximum is three days (A: and nights. The minimal turn for the Hanafi and Maliki schools is whatever all can agree upon). It may not be more than three days (A: except by their leave). The basic turn of someone who makes their living by day is the night, with the day being an adjunct, while for someone who makes their living at night, such as a watchman, the basic turn is the day. In staying the night, the husband is not obliged to have sexual intercourse with the wife, though it is recommended to have intercourse (and share all other marital enjoyments) with all one's wives on an equal basis.

m10.6 If the husband wants to take one of his wives on a journey with him, he may not do so unless he draws lots to see who it will be. If he draws lots (A: and takes the winner with him), then when he returns, he does not need to make up the turns which the other wives missed while he was on the journey. If he did not draw lots but just chose a wife to travel with him, this is a sin, and on his return he must give equal time to the other wives for the time they missed.

m10.7 It is permissible for one of the wives to give her turn to another wife, if the husband agrees. If one of them gives him her turn, then he may give it to whomever he wants. If the wife later chooses to take her turn back, she returns to her usual place in the order of taking turns as it stand on the day she takes it back.

m10.8 It is not permissible for a husband to enter the quarters of a wife during another wife's turn without business there, though if he stops in during the day because of something he needs, or during the night because of something absolutely necessary (A: such as bringing her supper), then he may enter. Otherwise he may not. If he prolongs such a visit, then he is obliged to make up the turn of the wife whose turn it originally was.

m10.9 If a man marries a new wife when he already has another, he interrupts the succession of turns to spend time with the new wife. If she is a virgin, then he stays with her seven days and need not make them up with the other wives. If she is a non-virgin, then he may choose to either spend seven days with her and make up (O: to the others the number in excess of three days), or spend three days with her and not make up the time with the others. In such cases it is recommended to let the new wife choose the alternative she prefers. If the husband stays with her for seven days at her request, he must make up all seven days with the others, though if he stays seven days without her having requested it, he need only make up four with the others.

m10.10 The husband is entitled to leave home during the day to fulfill his needs and obligations.

DEALING WITH A REBELLIOUS WIFE

m10.11 When a husband notices signs of rebelliousness in his wife (nushuz, dis: p42) (O: whether in words, as when she answers him coldly when she used to do so politely, or he asks her to come to bed and she refuses, contrary to her usual habit; or whether in acts, as when he finds her averse to him when she was previously kind and cheerful), he warns her in words (O: without keeping from her or hitting her, for it may be that she has an excuse. The warning could be to tell her, "Fear Allah concerning the rights you owe to me," or it could be to explain that rebelliousness nullifies his obligation to support her and give her a turn amongst other wives, or it could be to inform her, "Your obeying me [def: (3) below] is religiously obligatory"). If she commits rebelliousness, he keeps from sleeping (O: and having sex) with her without words, and may hit her, but not in a way that injures her, meaning he may not (A: bruise her,) break bones, wound her, or cause blood to flow. (O: It is unlawful to strike another's face). He may hit her wether she is rebellious only once or whether more than once, though a weaker opinion holds that he may not hit her unless there is repeated rebelliousness. (N: To clarify this paragraph, we mention the following rulings:

(1) Both man and wife are obliged to treat each other kindly and graciously.

(2) It is not lawful for a wife to leave the house except by the permission of her husband, though she may do so without permission when there is a pressing necessity. Nor may a wife permit anyone to enter her husband's home unless he agrees, even their unmarriageable kin. Nor may she be alone with a nonfamily-member male, under any circumstances.

(3) It is obligatory for a wife to obey her husband as is customary in allowing him full lawful sexual enjoyment of her person. It is obligatory for the husband to enable her to remain chaste and free of want for sex if he is able. It is not obligatory for the wife to serve her husband (dis: w45.1); if she does so, it is voluntary charity.

(4) If the wife does not fulfill one of the above-mentioned obligations, she is termed "rebellious" (nashiz), and the husband takes the following steps to correct matters:

(a) admonition and advice, by explaining the unlawfulness of rebellion, its harmful effect on married life, and by listening to her viewpoint on the matter;

(b) if admonition is ineffectual, he keeps from her by not sleeping in bed with her, by which both learn the degree to which they need each other;

(c) if keeping from her is ineffectual, it is permissible for him to hit her he believes that hitting her will bring her back to the right path, though if he does not think so, it is not permissible. His hitting her may not be in a way that injures her, and is his last recourse to save the family;

(d) if the disagreement does not end after all this, each partner chooses an arbitrator to solve the dispute by settlement, or divorce.)

m11.0 THE WIFE'S FINANCIAL SUPPORT

(O: Support means the financial rights of a wife.)

m11.1 (A: The rulings of this section are not recommendations for how much to spend, but rather define the minimum permissible, which a stingy husband may not lawfully spend less than. Extra spending on one's wife is charity.)

FOOD

m11.2 The husband is obliged to provide his wife's sustenance day by day. If affluent, he must daily furnish her with one liter of the grain that is the staple food of the town in which they live. (O: By the grain that is the staple food of the town, the author means if people eat it. If not, then whatever they eat, even if it is hardened, dried white cheese. If the wife asks for something other than the staple food of the town, the husband does not have to provide it for her, and if he gives her something besides the staple, she need not accept it. The staple food is what is obligatory.) If he is not affluent, then he is obliged to provide 0.51 liters of grain a day for his wife; while if between affluence and nonaffluence, he must provide 0.77 liters per day. He is also obliged to cover the expenses of grinding it into flour and baking it into bread (O: even when she is used to doing it herself, as there would otherwise be need for this expenditure), and to buy the foods that normally accompany bread to make it savory and agreeable, as much as is customary in the town of meat, oil, and so forth (O: such as dates, vinegar, and cheese. The obligatory measures differ with the seasons, it being necessary in each season to provide that which is proper to it. Fruits might predominate in one season, and thus be obligatory. As for the obligatory amount of meat, one sees how much is customarily consumed in town per week). If husband and wife agree that he give her compensation in place of the above-mentioned (O: grain and other things she is entitled to, the compensation being in money or clothing), this is permissible.

ARTICLES FOR PERSONAL HYGIENE

m11.3 The wife in entitled to what she needs of oil for her hair, shampoo (lit. sidr"), and a comb (O: to keep her hair clean, of the kind and amount that is customary in town, in order to prevent harm to herself. If oil scented with rose or violet is the custom of the town, it must be provided, though not things which are merely cosmetic and not for cleanliness, such as eyeliner or henna, which need not be provided, though the husband may provide them if he wishes. It is also obligatory for him to provide deodorant (lit. litharge") or the like to stop underarm odor if water and soap will not suffice), and the price of water for her purificatory bath (ghusl) when the reason for it is sexual intercourse or the end of postnatal bleeding, though not if the reason is the end of her monthly period or something else (dis:m11.1).

COSMETICS AND MEDICINE

m11.4 The husband is not obliged (N: but rather is recommended) to pay for his wife's cosmetics, doctor's fees, the purchase of medicine for her, and similar expenses (A: though he must pay for expenditures connected with childbirth).

CLOTHING

m11.5 A wife is entitled to the kind of clothing that is customary in town for dressing oneself (O: and not just anything termed clothing will suffice. What is obligatory is the amount necessary for the woman, which varies according to whether she is tall or short, thin or fat, and with the hot or cold climate of various towns. In the summertime, it is obligatory to provide her with a head covering, shift, underdrawers, shoes, and a shawl, because of her need to go out; and the same in the wintertime, plus a cloak quilted with cotton to protect her against the cold. If she needs tow cloaks because of the extreme cold, it is obligatory to provide them. If she needs fuel because of the severity of the winter, it is obligatory to buy the necessary wood and coal) and (O: he must also provide the amount customary in town of the) bedding, blankets, and pillows that are suitable for someone of his income. (O: She also

deserves cooking implements, and utensils for eating and drinking).

m11.6 It is obligatory for the husband to give his wife the expenditures for her support at the first of each day, and to provide her clothing at the first of each season (O: meaning the beginning of winter and summer).

m11.7 If he gives her clothing for a season, and it wears out before the end of the season, he is not obliged to furnish new clothing, though if it lasts beyond the season, he is nevertheless obliged to provided new clothing for each new season. The wife is entitled to dispose of the clothing as she wishes, whether by selling it or other (O: means of disposal, such as giving it away, the reason being that it is her own property).

HOUSING AND SERVANTS

m11.8 The wife is entitled to housing of the same quality as that of similar women. (O: The standard of housing depends on the wife herself, while the standard for her clothing and support takes the state of the husband into consideration. The difference is because the expenditures for her support and clothing become her own property and are not merely for her use, while housing is solely for use (N: meaning that while she can take compensation in place of food or clothing and buy some other kind, she cannot rent a different house). In any case, she is obliged to stay in the lodgings her husband arranges for her.) If she had servants in her father's house, the husband is obliged to provide servants for her.

THE CONDITIONS THAT ENTITLE A WIFE TO SUPPORT

m11.9 The husband is only obliged to support his wife when she gives herself to him or offers to, meaning she allows him full enjoyment of her person and does not refuse him sex at any time of the night or day. She is not entitled to support from her husband when:

(1) she is rebellious (nashiz, def: m10.12(N:)) (O: meaning when she does not obey him) even if for a moment;

(2) she travels without his permission, or with his permission but for one of her own needs;

(3) she assumes ihram for hajj of umra (def: j3);

(4) or when she performs a voluntary fast without her husband's permission (O: though if he allows her to fast and does not ask her to break it, he must provide her support)>

SUPPORT FOR A WOMAN IN HER POSTMARITAL WAITING PERIOD

m11.10 As for a woman in her postmarital waiting period (def: n9), she is entitled to housing during it no matter if it is because of her husband's death, a divorce in which the husband may take her back, or a threefold, finalized divorce. As for her support (A: in terms of food) and clothing:

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(1) it is not obligatory to provide her with it during the waiting period after (N: a threefold divorce, a release for payment (def: n5), or) her husband's death;;

(2) it must be provided in the waiting period of a (A: not yet threefold) divorce in which her husband may take her back;

(3) and if a woman in the waiting period of a threefold divorce is pregnant, she is given support each day (A: until the child is born, after which she is entitled to support and wages for taking care of it), but of not pregnant, she is not entitled to support.

m11.11 If the husband and wife disagree (A: in court, when neither has proof (dis: k8.2)) about whether she received her support from him, her word is accepted over his. If they disagree as to whether she allowed him full enjoyment of her person, then his word is accepted over hers unless he admits that she first made herself available to him, but claims she then refuses, in which case her word is accepted over his.

m11.2 Whenever the husband neglects to provide his wife's support for a period of time, the amount he should have paid remains a debt he owes to her.

m11.3 The wife is entitled to annul their marriage whenever the husband is unable to provide her with the support obligatory for a nonaffluent person to pay (def: m11.2) and provide clothing or housing for her. If she wishes, she may choose to bear with him (O: supporting herself with her own money), and it (O: the amount the husband is unable to pay) remains a financial obligation that he owes her (O: If she does not wish to tolerate his financial incapacity, she cannot annul the marriage by herself, but must establish her husband's inability to support her before the Islamic judge, who annuls the marriage or allows her to do so, since he is the one who judges the matter (A: and if there is no judge, she has two persons (Def: o21.4) decide)).)

m11.14 The wife is not entitled to annul the marriage when the husband is unable to provide foods besides the staple food, support her servant, or provide the support that must be provided by an affluent person or person between affluence and nonaffluence (def: m11.2).

m12.0 SUPPORT OF ONE'S PARENTS AND CHILDREN

m12.1 It is obligatory for one to support the persons listed below, whether one is male or female, when one has money in excess of one's own living expenses and (n: if male,) those of one's wife (O: meaning enough for a day and night, oneself taking priority over others, followed by one's wife, who takes precedence over other family members):

(1) one's father, father's father, and on up;

(2) one's mother , grandmothers (from either parent's side) and on up (O: it making no difference what their religion is (A: since the religion of the family members is of no consequence in any of the rulings of this section)):

(3) and one's children, male and female, their children, and on down. (O: Money in excess of one's own living expenses and those of one's wife means one is obliged to sell (A: if necessary to fulfill the obligation to support the above-mentioned persons) whatever must be sold when one has to pay debts, including real estate and other property.) But supporting the above-mentioned persons is only obligatory when:

(a) there is poverty (O: a restriction applicable to both support of one's ancestors and one's descendants, meaning that it is necessary in order for it to be obligatory to support one's ancestor that the ancestor be poor, since if he has enough money, one need not support him);

(b) an incapacity (O: to earn a living) due to chronic illness, being a child, or to mental illness. (O: This condition is only applicable to support of one's offspring, not of one's ancestors. If an (A: impoverished) ancestor (A: such as one's father) were able to earn a living from a job suitable to him, it would nevertheless be obligatory for one to support him, and he would not be called upon to gain livelihood, because of the extreme respect due to him, as opposed to one's descendant, whom one need not support if the descendant is able to earn his own living, but who rather is called upon to do so himself. The upshot is that the support of whoever has enough money for their own support is not obligatory upon another family member, no matter whether the former is mentally ill or sane, a child or adult, chronically ill or well; because he does not deserve charity in such a condition-while a descendant able to earn an adequate living does not deserve support from his ancestors.)

m12.2 A child is obliged to support his father's wife (A: if the father cannot).

m12.3 When a person has both ancestors and children (A: deserving support) but does not have enough for all, then (O: after himself and then his wife) he gives precedence (A: in order) to :

(1) his mother

(2) his father

(3) his young son (O: or daughter)

(4) and then to his adult children (A: if they are unable to earn).

m12.4 The amount of such support must be enough to suffice, though (N: if this much is not paid) it does not become a debt owed by the person who should have given it. (O: It is no longer obligatory after its time has passed (A: but if the deserving person borrows money to support himself during this period, the person who should have supported him is obliged to pay the debt), even though the person who was obliged to give it has committed a sin by thus allowing the time to pass.

m12.5 When a father who is poor needs to marry, then a son who is financially able must provide him with the means to keep chaste by finding him a wife (O: i.e by giving her the marriage payment (mahr, def: m8). It is not permissible to marry him to a deformed or aged women).

m12.6 Whoever owns an animal is obliged to pay for its maintenance. (O: The restoration and maintenance of property without a living spirit, such as a canal or house, is not obligatory for its owner. Mutawalli explains this by the fact that such maintenance is an augmentation to the property and as such is not mandatory, as opposed to livestock, whose owner must feed them, since to neglect to do so would entail harm for them. Other scholars explain the difference in terms of the sacredness of animate life, which the author of al-Istiqsa' (n: Uthman ibn Isa Marani) says is the reason that it is wrong for someone to prevent living things from drinking surplus water (dis: p69), while it is not a sin to neglect watering crops.)

m13.0 CHILD CARE AND CUSTODY

(O: The meaning of child care in Sacred Law is the protection of someone who does not possess discernment and cannot manage for himself, whether a child or a mentally ill adult, by seeing to his interests through such things as bathing him, washing his clothes, or grooming him; or securing an infant in the cradle, turning him over to sleep, and protecting him from death or harm. It entails a kind of authority and control and may be possessed by either men or women, though women have a better right to it, since they are tenderer towards children, more patient in carrying out the demands of the task, more discerning in raising children, and more steadfast in staying with them. The following discussion first centers on who best deserves the custody of a child, in order of precedence, and then treats the characteristics of the guardian and ward.)

m13.1 The person with best right to custody of a child (A: in order) (O: when there is a dispute concerning who should have it) is:

(1) the mother;

(2) the mother's mother, mother's mother's mother, and on up, such that the one of the generation closest to the child takes precedence;

(3) the father;

(4) the father's mother, father's mother's mother, and on up, where again, the one of the generation closest to the child takes precedence;

(5) the father's father;

(6) the father's father's mother, her mother, and on up, where the one of the generation that is closest takes precedence;

(7) full sister;

(8) full brother (O: though when the siblings are all male or all female and there is a disagreement over who should have custody, they draw lots to see who will get it. When both males and females exist, females take precedence);

(9) the child's half brothers or sisters from the same father;

(10) the half brothers or sisters from the same mother;

(11) the mother's sister;

(12) the daughters of the full brothers;

(13) the sons of the full brothers;

(14) the daughters of the half brothers from the same father;

(15) the sons of the half brothers from the same father;

(16) the daughters of the half brothers from the same mother;

(17) the sons of the half brothers from the same mother;

(18) the father's sister;

(19) the father's brother;

(20) the daughters of the mother's sister;

(21) the daughters of the father's brother:

(22) and then the son of the father's brother.

m13.2 The necessary conditions for a person to have custody of a child are:

(a) uprightness (def: o24.4) (O: a corrupt person may not be a guardian, because child care is a position of authority, and the corrupt are unqualified for it. Mawardi and Ruyani hold that outward uprightness (def: m3.3(f)) is sufficient unless there is open wrongdoing. If the corruptness of a child's mother consists of her not performing the prayer (salat), she has no right to custody of the child, who might grow up to be like her, ending up in the same vile condition of not praying, for keeping another's company has its effects);

(b) sanity (O: since a mother uninterruptedly insane has no right to custody, though if her insanity is slight, such as a single day per year, her right to custody is not vitiated by it);

(c) and if the child is Muslim, it is a necessary condition that the person with custody be a Muslim (O: because it is a position of authority, and a non-Muslim has no right to authority and hence no right to raise a Muslim. If a non-Muslim were given charge of the custody and upbringing of the child, the child might acquire the character traits of unbelief (kufr)).

m13.3 (A: It is offensive to send one's children to a day-care center run by non-Muslims. It is unlawful to send Muslim children to Christian schools, or those which are designedly atheist, though it is not unlawful to send them to public schools in which religion is not mentioned (N: in a way that threatens the students' belief is Islam).

m13.4 A woman has no right to custody (A: of her child from a previous marriage) when she remarries (O: because married life will occupy her with fulfilling the rights of her husband and prevent her from tending the child. It makes no difference in such cases if the (A: new) husband agrees or not (N: since the child's custody in such a case automatically devolves to the next most eligible on the list (dis: m13.1)), unless the person she marries is someone (A: on the list) who is entitled to the child's custody anyway (O: as opposed to someone unrelated to the child, since such a person, even if willing, does not deserve custody because he lacks the tenderness for the child that a relative would have).

m13.5 When a child reaches the age of discrimination (O: which generally occurs around seven or eight years of age) he is given a choice as to which of his parents he wants to stay with (O: since the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) gave a young boy the choice between his father and his mother. The child is only given such a choice when the necessary conditions for child custody (def: m13.2) exist in both parents. If one of them lacks a single condition, then the child is not given a choice, because someone lacking one of the conditions is as though nonexistent). If the child chooses one of the parents, he is given to the care of that lone, though if a son chooses his mother, he is left with his father during the day so the father can teach him and train him. (O: Other possible outcomes of such a choice are when the child chooses both parents, in which case they draw lots to see who receives custody of him; or when he chooses neither, in which case the mother takes precedence since the custody is hers, and the child has not chosen someone else.) If the child subsequently chooses the other parent, he is given to the care of them (O: for he might want to stay with one of them at one time and with the other at another, just as one desires food at one time but not another. Or the child's intention might be to maintain good relations with both sides. The author restricts the permissibility of such cases of transferring the child's custody from one to another by saying:) unless it is apparent that the child is merely enamored with going back and forth or is weakminded (O: indicating his lack of discernment. In such cases his choice is not followed, and he remains with whomever he was with before reaching the age of discernment).

BOOK N - DIVORCE (by al-Misri)

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n1.0 WHO MAY EFFECT A DIVORCE

(O: The legal basis for the permissibility of divorce is the Koran, sunna, and consensus of Muslims. As for the Koran, Allah Most High says, "Divorce is two times..." (Koran 2:229). And as for the sunna, there is the rigorously authenticated (sahih) hadith. "No permissible thing is more detested by Allah than divorce." Our sheikh, Bajuri, says the meaning of permissible in the hadith is offensive, since it is permissible, meaning lawful, though detested by Allah. Its integrals are five:

(a) the spoken form;

(b) the wife;

(c) the authority to effect it;

(d) the intention:

(e) and the person who effects it (A: i.e. the husband).)

n1.1 Divorce is valid from any:

(a) husband;

(b) who is sane;

(c) has reached puberty;

(d) and who voluntarily effects it.

A divorce is not valid from:

(1) (non-(c) above) a child;

(2) (non-(b)) someone insane;

(3) or (non-(d)) someone who is wrongfully coerced to do it, as when one is threatened with death, dismemberment, being severely beaten, or even mere verbal abuse or a slight beating if the person being coerced is someone whose public image is important and would thereby suffer. (O: Someone being forced should use words that give a misleading impression (def: r10.2) for his ostensible divorce.")

n1.2 A statement of divorce is legally effective when pronounced by a person whose mental faculties are lacking because of something inexcusable such as having become intoxicated or having needlessly taken some mind-altering drug (O: though someone who takes such a drug out of need for medical treatment is considered as an insane person, in that this statement of divorce is not legally effective).

n1.3 The person conducting the divorce may effect it himself or commission another (def: k17.5-6) to do so, even if the person commissioned is a woman.

The person commissioned may effect the divorce at any time (O: provided the one who commissions him does not cancel the commission before the divorce takes place (disk: k17.16)), though when a husband tells his wife, Divorce yourself," then if she immediately says, I divorce myself," she is divorced, but if she delays, she is not divorced unless the husband has said, Divorce yourself whenever you wish."

n2.0 GENERAL PROVISIONS CONCERNING DIVORCE

n2.1 A free man has three pronouncements of divorce (O: because of the word of Allah Most High, "Divorce is two times, then retain with kindness or graciously release" (Koran 2:229), and when the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) was asked about the third time, he said. "It is Allah's having said, or graciously release'").

n2.2 It is offensive to make a pronouncement of divorce when there is no need (O: need including when the wife has displeasing qualities of morals), to make three pronouncements (N: even if separate) being more offensive, and combining them in one interval of purity between menstruations even more offensive.

n2.3 There are various categories of divorce: sunna, unlawful innovation, and that which is neither sunna nor unlawful innovation. The sunna is to make a pronouncement of divorce in an interval between menstruations in which no sexual intercourse with the wife has taken place. Unlawful innovation consists of either making a pronouncement of divorce during the woman's menstrual period when this is not for payment (O: from the wife in exchange for the husband's releasing her from marriage (def: n5), though if the divorce is in exchange for a sum paid by the wife, it is not unlawful innovation because it implies that she accepts that the waiting period should be thus prolonged (dis: n9.7))-or else making the pronouncement during an interval between menstruations in which they have had sexual intercourse. If one effects such a divorce, it is recommended to take the wife back (O: if one did not pronounce it the full number of (n: three) times). Neither sunna nor unlawful innovation means the divorce of a wife who is prepubescent, postmenopausal, pregnant, or one with whom one has not yet had sexual intercourse.

n3.0 THE WORDS THAT EFFECT A DIVORCE

n3.1 The words that effect a divorce may be plain or allusive. Plain words effect the divorce whether one intends divorce by them or not, while allusive words do not effect it unless one intends divorce by them.

n3.2 Using plain words to effect a divorce means expressly pronouncing the word divorce (O: or words derived from it). When the husband says' "I divorce you," or "You are divorced," the wife is divorced whether he has made the intention or not. (A: Here and in the rulings below, expressions such as "The wife is divorced," or "The divorce is effected," mean just one of the three times (def: n9.0(N:)) necessary to finalise it, unless the husband thereby intends a two-or threefold divorce (dis: n3.5) or repeats the words three times.)

n3.3 Using allusive words to effect a divorce includes:

(1) the husband's saying, "You are now alone," "You are free," "You are separated," "You are

parted," "You are no longer lawful to me," "Rejoin your kin," "You are footloose," and the like;

(2) his saying, "I am divorced from you";

(3) or when he commissions the wife to pronounce the divorce, and she says, "You are divorced";

(4) when someone asks. "Do you have a wife?" and he says No".

(5) or when the husband writes words that effect the divorce (O: no matter whether able or unable to speak at the time of writing, or whether he is present or absent, or whether he writes in plain or allusive words). When one intends divorce by any of the above, the words effect it, but if one does not, they do not.

n3.4 When a husband is asked, Have you divorced your wife?" and he says Yes," then she is divorced (O: even if he does not intend).

n3.5 If the husband says, "You are divorced," and thereby intends a two-or threefold pronouncement, then whatever number he intends is effected, this rule holding for all words that effect divorce, whether plain or allusive. (O: The proof that a single pronouncement can validly effect a threefold divorce is the hadith classified as rigorously authenticated (sahih) by Ibn Hibban that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), when Rukana divorced his wife and then said, "I did not intend it except as one time," made him swear an oath to that effect, and then returned her to him. If a single pronouncement could not effect a threefold divorce, there would not have been any point in the Prophet's making him swear the oath (Allah bless him and give him peace).)

n3.7 If a husband tells his wife, "You are divorced in sha' Allah [if Allah wills]," or "if Allah does not will," or "unless Allah wills," then the divorce is not effected.

n4.0 CONDITIONAL EXPRESSIONS THAT EFFECT DIVORCE

n4.1 It is permissible to make the efficacy of a divorce conditional. If the husband makes the divorce conditional on something, and the event occurs, then the wife is divorced. If he says, "If your monthly period begins, you are divorced," then she is divorced when her menstrual flow appears.

n4.3 If the husband says, "If you leave the house without my permission, you are divorced," then gives her permission to go out, and she does but then goes out a second time without permission, she is not divorced. If he says, "Anytime you go out without my permission you are divorced," then if she leaves at anytime without permission, she is divorced.

n4.5 When a husband makes a divorce conditional on one of his own acts but then does the act not remembering that he made it a condition, or does the act because he is forced to, the wife is not divorced.

n4.6 When the husband makes a divorce conditional on another person's act, such as by saying. "If So-and-so enters the house, you are divorced," and the person enters before or after he knows it is a condition, whether remembering it or not, then if the person named is not someone who would mind if they were divorced (O: meaning it is no problem for him if it happens, and the would not be saddened if it did, because of lack of friendship for them). then the wife is divorced. But if the person knows it is a condition and enters forgetfully, then if he is someone who would mind if they were divorced, the wife not divorced. If the husband, tells his wife, If you enter that house, you are divorced," and she is subsequently

divorced," and she is subsequently divorced from him with a finalised divorce, after which he remarries her, and she then enters the house, then she is not divorced.

n5.0 A RELEASE FOR PAYMENT FROM THE WIFE (KHUL)

(O: A release for payment means a separation in return for remuneration given to the husband (A: which is a finalised cancellation of the marriage agreement, differing from a threefold divorce by the fact that they may remarry in such a case without her marrying another husband first (dis: n7.7)).)

n5.1 A release for payment is valid from any person whose divorce is valid (def: n1.1).

n5.2 Release is offensive except when:

(1) the husband or wife fear they will not be able to keep within Allah's limits (O: i.e. those that Allah Most High has made obligatory upon them (dis: m10.1)) while the marriage lasts;

(2) or when the husband swears that a threefold divorce is incumbent upon him if he performs some action, but then finds he needs to do it (O: since he cannot clear himself from the oath without giving her a release), so he releases her, marries her (O: with a new agreement, a new marriage payment (mahr), and upright witnesses), and then does the act on which the divorce was conditional (O: though it is fitter to do it before the new marriage, as the oath is nullified as soon as they are unmarried), for then its performance does not necessitate a threefold divorce.

n5.3 If the husband is foolhardy (A: meaning suspended by the court from dealing in his own money because of chronic carelessness (dis: k13.1(A:))), his granting a release is valid, though his guardian accepts the compensation. A release for compensation is no: legally valid from a wife who is foolhardy.

n5.4 A release is validly effected by both the words for divorce and the words for release, such as "You are divorced for a thousand," or I release you for a thousand," and if the wife says "I accept," then she is separated from him and she owes him the thousand. She is also released when the husband says, "If you give me a thousand, you are divorced," and then she gives him it, or when she says, "Divorce me for a thousand,"and he says, "You are divorced," in which case she is released and owes him the thousand.

n5.5 Anything that may be used as a marriage payment (def: m8.4) may be used as recompense for a release. If a husband releases his wife for something not determinately known (non-k2.1(e)) or without lawful value (non-k2.3) such as wine, then she is released in exchange for the amount typically received as marriage payment by women like her (def: m8.8).

n5.6 A release enacted by words that effect it is a divorce in plain words (A: in not needing the intention (dis: n3.2), (N: in having a waiting period (def: n9), and in being a finalized cancellation of the marriage, though as previously mentioned (n5.0(A:)), the partners may remarry each other (N: even if before the end of the waiting period) without the wife first having to marry another).

n6.0 DOUBTS ABOUT THE FACT OF HAVING DIVORCED

(A: Doubt means that one does not remember exactly what one said or did. As for when one is ignorant of rulings about divorce or the consequences of one's actions, it is not an excuse, and one must ask those who know.)

n6.1 Whoever does not know whether he has divorced his wife or not has not divorced her. It is more godfearing in such a case to take the wife back.

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n6.2 If one does not know whether one has divorced one's wife once or whether more than once, then one has divorced her the least number one is certain of.

n6.3 When a husband divorces his wife with a threefold divorce during his deathbed illness (def: L3.6(1-4), she does not inherit (A: a wife' estate division share (def: L6.4)) from the division of his estate (A: though if it is less than a threefold divorce, she inherits).

n7.0 TAKING BACK A DIVORCED WIFE (RAJA)

(O: Lexically, to take back means returning, and in Sacred Law it means the return of a woman who is in her waiting period (def: n9) from an unfinalized, non-threefold divorce to the state of marriage).

n7.1 When a free man pronounces divorce upon his wife once or twice after previously having had sexual intercourse with her, then if the divorce is not (A: a release) for compensation (def:n5), he may take her back at any time before the end of her waiting period (def: n9), whether she wishes to return or not. Or he may finalize the divorce during this period (A: by pronouncing it a third time).

n7.2 If the husband or wife dies (A: during the waiting period (N: of an unfinalized, nonthreefold divorce)), then the spouse inherits his or her obligatory share from the deceased's estate division (dis: L6), though it is not permissible for the husband to have sexual intercourse with, look at, or physically enjoy the wife before he takes her back.

n7.3 When a divorce occurs before the husband has made love to the wife, or afterwards (A: in a release) for compensation from her, then he may not take her back (A: without remarrying her).

n7.4 Returning the wife to marriage is only valid by explicitly stating it, such as by saying, "I return her," "I take her back," or, "I retain her." (N: The Hanafis consider the husband's touching her with desire, such as kissing her, to be a valid return to marriage.)

n7.5 It is not a necessary condition (O: but is sunna) to have the return attested to by witnesses.

n7.6 When a husband takes a wife back, she returns with whatever number (A: of times of saying "I divorce you") remains to complete a threefold divorce. (A: If, for example, he has said it twice, then she only has one time left.)

n7.7 When a free man has pronounced a threefold divorce, the divorced wife is unlawful for him to remarry until she has married another husband in a valid marriage and the new husband has copulated (dis: p29) with her, which at minimum means that the head of his erect penis fully enters her vagina.

n8.0 FORSWEARING ONE'S WIFE MORE THAN FOUR MONTHS

(O: In Sacred Law, forswearing means that the husband swears he will not have sexual intercourse with his wife, either for an unrestricted period or for more than four months.)

n8.1 Forswearing one's wife is unlawful. It consists in the husband swearing an oath by Allah (def: o18) that for more that four months (O: more than four months including oaths in which no time period is stipulated) he will not have sexual intercourse with his wife, or swears that if he does, then he is obliged to divorce her, fast, pray, or something else.

n8.3 A husband is not considered to have forsworn his wife (A: in the above unlawful sense) when he forswears sexual intercourse for four months or less, or when he is impotent.

n9.0 A WOMAN'S POSTMARITAL WAITING PERIOD (IDDA)

(O: Meaning the period in which a woman waits (N: before she may remarry) to verify that she is not pregnant, or out of mourning for her deceased husband.) (N: If the waiting period finishes after a once-or twice-pronounced divorce, the wife is free to marry another man or to remarry the husband with a new contract-returning to the latter with the number of times left (one or two) needed to enact a threefold, finalised divorce (dis: n7.7); while if the waiting period of a less-than-thrice-pronounced divorce has not yet expired, the husband may take her back (def: n7) without a new contract.) (n: The husband's obligation to support her during the waiting period is discussed at m11.10 above.)

n9.1 There is no waiting period for a woman divorced before having had sexual intercourse with her husband.

n9.2 A waiting period is obligatory for a woman divorced after intercourse, whether the husband and wife are prepubescent, have reached puberty, or one has and the other has not. Intercourse means copulation (def: n7.7). If the husband was alone with her but did not copulate with her, and then divorced her, there is no waiting period.

n9.3 When a waiting period is obligatory (O: upon a woman, cause of divorce or annulment of marriage), then if she is pregnant, the waiting period ends when she gives birth, provided tow conditions are met:

(a) The first is that she has given birth to all she was carrying, If carrying two or more children, it is necessary that she have given birth to all, whether live or stillborn, and whether fully developed or an undeveloped fetus which midwives (O: two or more) swear is the beginning of a human form. Whenever there is less than six months between two births, the babies are considered twins. There is no maximal number that may be born, as it is possible for a woman to give birth to four or more babies from one pregnancy.

(b) The second condition is that the child is from the husband whom the waiting period is for. If the woman is pregnant from committing adultery (def: n11.2(O:)) (O: or from a marriage which was invalid, after which the husband divorced her), the waiting period does not end when she gives birth, but rather (N: after giving birth), she completes the waiting period of a woman who has been divorced (def: n9.6).

n9.5 The minimal duration of a pregnancy (A: from which a live child is born) is six months, while the maximum is four years).

n9.6 If a woman is not pregnant and has menstrual periods, her waiting period ends when three intervals between menstruations have finished. A part of an interval between menstruations is considered the same as a whole interval. Thus, if the woman's husband divorced her and her menses began an instant later, her waiting period would end after two more intervals between menstruations had finished and a third menstruation begun.

n9.7 If a woman is divorced during her menstrual period, she must wait until the end of three intervals between menstruations. When her fourth menstruation begins, her waiting period is over.

n9.8 There is no difference in respect to the above rulings (n9.6-7) whether a woman's menstrual periods are close together or far apart, close together, for example, meaning a woman whose period lasts a single day and night, and who has fifteen days between periods. Were such a woman divorced just before the end of an interval between menses (A: by a single moment), then her waiting period would finish in thirty-two days and two moments (O: one of which would be part of the waiting period, i.e. the one in which the divorce occurred, and the second of which would not be part of it, namely, that in which it became evident that the waiting period was over by the onset of a subsequent menstruation). If such a woman were divorced at the end of a menstrual period, her waiting period would be fortyseven days plus a moment. These are the shortest possible waiting periods. An example of a woman whose periods are far apart is one whose menstruation lasts fifteen days, and whose intervals between menses last, for example, a year or more. Such a woman must wait for three intervals between menstruations, even if it takes years (N: though medicine may be taken to induce or regulate menstruations).

n9.9 The waiting period for a woman who does not menstruate, whether prepubescent or postmenopausal, is three months. If a woman normally menstruates, but her periods have stopped for some reason such as breastfeeding or the like, or without apparent reason, then she must wait until the age of menopause, after which her waiting period is three months. (N: In the Maliki school, such a woman must wait nine months, and if neither pregnancy nor menses appear, she is considered to be as if menopausal, and her waiting period is three more months, making a total of one entire year in which there is no menstrual flow.)

n9.10 All of the above rulings apply to the waiting period for divorce (N: or release (def: n5)).

THE WAITING PERIOD FOR A DECEASED HUSBAND

n9.11 If a woman's husband dies, even if during the waiting period of a nonfinalised divorce, then if she is pregnant, her waiting period ends when she gives birth, as previously mentioned (n9.3). But if not (O: i.e. if the deceased's wife is not pregnant from him), her waiting period is four months and ten days, no matter whether she normally menstruates or not (N: and no matter whether the husband has had sexual intercourse with her or not).

THE LODGINGS OF A WOMEN IN HER WAITING PERIOD

n9.13 A woman in her waiting period is obliged to remain in the home (O: and neither the husband nor his family may force her out; nor may she leave. If the husband agrees to allow her to leave when there is no necessity, it is still not permissible). A woman in the waiting period of an unfinalised, less than threefold divorce is under the husband's authority and may not leave without his permission. If in the waiting period of a finalised divorce (N: or release (def: n5)) (O: or annulment,) or after her husband's death, a woman may leave home during the day to fulfill her needs (N: including work, if she has no means of support) and obligations.

n9.14 The waiting period must take place in the same lodgings where the divorce occurred, and the woman may not be moved to other quarters unless there is a real necessity, such as fear (O: for her person or property), or when the landlord objects (O: such as when the house in question was on loan to the husband and its time has expires), or because of considerable annoyance to the woman from neighbours or the husband's relatives, or annoyance to them from her-in all of which cases she may move to the nearest available housing.

n9.15 It is unlawful for the husband of a woman in her waiting period to be alone with her or share the same housing (N: i.e. he must move out) unless she is in a (O: separate) wing of the house (O: with its own kitchen, restroom, cistern, and stairs to the roof, in which case it is permissible to share the housing, which is as if it were two neighbouring houses).

AVOIDING ADORNMENT AFTER A HUSBAND'S DEATH OR A FINALISED DIVORCE

n9.16 It is obligatory for a woman whose husband had dies (N: while she was his wife, or died while she was in the waiting period of an unfinalised divorce form him) to avoid adornment during the subsequent waiting period. It is recommended for a woman to do so during the waiting period of a finalised divorce. It is unlawful for a woman to avoid adornment longer than three days for the death of anyone besides her husband. Avoiding adornment means not to enhance her beauty, wear jewelry or cosmetics, and so forth. A woman avoiding adornment should not wear solid colors (N: if intended to beautify) such as blues, greens, reds, or yellows; or style her hair or use cosmetics for body, clothes, or food (A: such as saffron in rice). She may wear silk, wash her hair (N: or comb it, or bathe) for cleanliness, or pare her nails during this period.

THE END OF THE WAITING PERIOD

n9.17 If the husband of a woman in her waiting period takes her back but divorces her again before having had sexual intercourse with her, then a new waiting period starts over from the beginning (N: though it is unlawful for him to do this merely to prolong her waiting period). If a husband releases his wife for payment (def: n5), remarries her during the release's waiting period, but divorces her before having had sexual intercourse, then she merely finishes the remainder of the release's waiting period.

n9.18 When a woman claims that her waiting period has expired (O: if it does not comprise a particular number of months, but rather consists of a number of intervals between menstruations, or of giving birth) within an amount of time in which it could have possibly ended, then her word is accepted (dis: k8.2).

n9.19 If news of a husband's death reaches a woman after his death by four months and ten days, her waiting period is already over (O: since her knowledge of his death is not a condition for the waiting period).

n10.0 ESTABLISHING PATERNITY

n10.2 The husband of a woman who bears a child (O: no matter whether his marriage to her is valid or invalid) is considered to be the child's father whenever it is (N: legally) possible that the child could be his, meaning that:

(a) the woman gave birth to the child six months plus a moment after the marriage agreement;

(b) she gave birth to it less than four years from when she and her husband could last have possibly met and had sexual intercourse, even if they were living at a distance from one another, and even if the husband does not know whether he had sexual intercourse with her. (A: These conditions are for the child's protection against being disowned, and only concern what can be established in court. Hence, if the husband and wife were living apart at a distance at which they could possibly have travelled and met, for the child's sake the court presumes the child to be the husband's)'

(c) and the husband is at least nine and a half years old.

n10.3 The husband is not legally considered the child's father when the child could not possibly be his, such as when:

(1) (non-(a) and (b) above) the wife gave birth to the child in less than six months or more than four years since intercourse;

(2) (non-(b)) the husband is absolutely certain he did not have sexual intercourse with her;

(3) (non-(c)) the husband is under the above-mentioned age;

(4) or the husband's genitals have been dissevered.

n10.4 Whenever a husband is absolutely certain that a child which is legally considered his (def: n10.2) is not his, by knowing that he never had intercourse with the wife at all (O: or did, but less than six months or more than four years before the birth), then he is obliged to deny paternity by public imprecation (ian, def: n11.3) (O: immediately, because denying paternity of a child immediately is like the return of defective merchandise (dis: k5.7). He does so by going to the Islamic judge and saying, "This child is not mine." If he delays, his denial is no longer valid. As for the public imprecation itself, he may perform it at any time thereafter. If he claims that he was ignorant of the necessity of denying paternity, or the obligatory character of its immediacy, and he is someone who might well be ignorant of it, then his claim (A: of ignorance) is accepted when he swears an oath to that effect. Denial of paternity likewise entails charging the wife with adultery, and this too is obligatory immediately).

n10.5 If a husband is not absolutely sure that the child is from someone else, it is unlawful for him to deny paternity (O: as mere doubts that have arisen in his mind are of no

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consequence) and unlawful to charge his wife with adultery. (O: It is also unlawful for him to publicly imprecate (def: n11.3) against her in such a case, even when he knows she has committed adultery, because the child would suffer harm through his mother being charged with adultery and its being established against her by public imprecation, the child being disgraced by this and gossip circulated about him. The child need not endure this harm merely to satisfy the husband's revenge, who may separate from her by divorce).

n10.6 When a child is legally considered (def: n10.2) to be from a husband who is entitled to deny paternity but delays doing so without excuse and subsequently wants to deny it by public imprecation, we (O: i.e. the judge) do not allow him to do so (O: because denial of paternity must take place immediately, as mentioned above (n10.4), and his delay obviates the possibility of denial). But if the husband intends to deny paternity immediately, we implement his intention.

n11.0 CHARGING ONE'S WIFE WITH ADULTERY

n11.1 Anyone who charges his wife with adultery (O: in plain words, as when he says, "you adulteress," or allusively, as when he says, "I did not find you a virgin,") and who is thereby liable to be punished for accusing another of adultery without witnesses (dis: o13.1), may prevent the punishment by public imprecation against her (lian, def: n11.2), provided he:

(a) has reached puberty;

(b) is sane;

(c) does so voluntarily; and provided his wife:

(d) is legally innocent of adultery (A: meaning there is neither a confession from her nor four

eyewitnesses (dis: n11.2(O:)));

(e) and that she is capable of sexual intercourse.

n11.2 A husband who accuses his wife of adultery is disciplined (tazir, def:o17) by the magistrate and not allowed to imprecate against her when her adultery is already legally established (O: whether by her own admission, or by proof, meaning that four upright witnesses (o24.4) have looked at her when she was copulating and seen the adulterer's penis in her vagina), or when (N: adultery is impossible, such as when) the person accused is a mere infant.

PUBLIC IMPRECATION (LIAN)

n11.3 Public imprecation consists of the Islamic magistrate (O: or his equivalent) telling the husband to repeat four times, "I testify by Allah that I am truthful in charging her with adultery" (O: and it is necessary to identify her by her first and family name, though if she is present he says, "this wife of mine," and points to her); and if there is a child, "and that this child [O: or if absent, the child she gave birth to from adultery"] is not from me." The fifth time, after the magistrate warns him, enjoins him to fear Allah (O: reminding him that the punishment of the hereafter is worse than punishment in the present life), and after he has put his hand in from of the husband's mouth, the husband adds, "And may the curse of Allah be upon me if I am lying."

n11.4 When the husband has done this, he is no longer liable to be punished for accusing another of adultery without witnesses, he has denied paternity of the child, and his wife is divorced from him and unlawful for him to marry, be alone with, or look at, forever. She is now liable to be punished for adultery.

n11.5 The wife in such a case may avoid being punished for adultery by public imprecation against the husband. Upon being ordered by the magistrate, she says four times, "I testify by Allah that he is lying about what he has charged me with." The fifth time, after being warned by the magistrate of the severity of the consequences, as described above, she says, "And may the wrath of Allah be upon me if he is telling the truth." When she has done this, she is no longer liable to be punished for adultery.

n11.6 (O: Public imprecation is legally valid in a non-Arabic language even when the speaker knows Arabic, because the imprecation is a kind of oath or attestation, either of which may be given in any language.)

n12.10 BECOMING UNMARRIAGEABLE KIN BY SUCKLING (RIDA)

n12.1 An infant becomes the "child" of the female who breast-feeds him (A: in respect to being unable to marry her, to the permissibility of looking at her and being alone with her, and in his ablution (wudu) not being nullified by touching her) when:

(a) the milk comes from a female at least nine years old, whether it is occasioned by sexual intercourse or something else;

(b) and she breast-feeds a child who is less than two full years old;

(c) in at least five separate breast-feedings (O: a restriction that excludes anything less than five, which is of no consequence. Separate breast-feedings means whatever is commonly acknowledged (def: f4.5) to be separate).

n12.2 In such a case:

(1) it is unlawful for the wet nurse to marry the child and its subsequent descendants (O: by familial relation or by suckling) exclusively (O: exclusively meaning that only the child's descendants become unlawful for her to marry, not the child's ancestors (N: or brothers));

(2) she becomes the child's "mother," and it is unlawful for the child to marry her, her ancestors (O: by familial relation or by suckling), her descendants (O: who become as if they were the child's brothers and sisters), or her brothers and sisters (O: though the child is not forbidden to marry the latters' children).

n12.3 If the wet nurse's milk was occasioned by a pregnancy from her husband, then:

(1) the child she nurses becomes the husband's "child," and the husband may not marry the child or its descendants (O: by familial relation or by suckling, since they are now as if his grandchildren) exclusively;

(2) and the husband becomes the child's "father," and it is unlawful for the child to marry him, his ancestors, his descendants, or his brothers and sisters.

n12.4 Upon becoming unmarriageable kin through suckling, marriage between the above-mentioned persons is prohibited, and it is permissible for the respective members of the opposite sex to look at each other as they do with their familial unmarriageable relatives (dis: m2.5), and to be alone with them (O: though other kinds of rulings applicable to natural relatives, such as inheritance (def: L4-6) or having to support them (m12) are not applicable to unmarriageable kin by suckling).

BOOK O - JUSTICE (by al-Misri)

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o1.0 WHO IS SUBJECT TO RETALIATION FOR INJURIOUS CRIMES

(O: Injurious crimes includes not only those committed with injurious weapons, but those inflicted otherwise as well, such as with sorcery (def: x136). Killing without right is, after unbelief, one of the very worst enormities, as Shafii explicitly states in (n: Muzani's) The Epitome. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "The blood of a Muslim man who testifies that there is no god but Allah and that I am the Messenger of Allah is not lawful to shed unless he be one of three: a married adulterer, someone killed in retaliation for killing another, or some-one who abandons his religion and the Muslim community," and in another hadith, "The killing of a believer is more heinous in Allah's sight that doing away with all of this world." Allah Most High says: "... and not to slay the soul that Allah has forbidden, except with right" (Koran 6:151), and, "O you who believe, retaliation is prescribed for you regarding the slain..." (Koran 2:178).)

o1.1 Retaliation is obligatory (A: if the person entitled wishes to take it (dis: o3.8)) against anyone who kills a human being purely intentionally and without right. (O: Intentionally is a first restriction and excludes killing someone through an honest mistake, while purely excludes a mistake made in a deliberate injury (def: o2.3), and without right excludes cases of justifiable homicide such as lawful retaliation.)

o1.2 The following are not subject to retaliation:

(1) a child or insane person, under any circumstances (O: whether Muslim or non-Muslim. The ruling for a person intermitently insane is that he is considered as a sane person when in his right mind, and as if someone continously insane when in an interval of insanity. If someone against whom retaliation is obligatory subsequently becomes insane, the full penalty is nevertheless exacted. A homicide committed by someone who is drunk is (A: considered the same as that of a sane person,) like his pronouncing divorce (dis: n1.2));

(2) a Muslim for killing a non-Muslim;

(3) a Jewish or Christian subject of the Islamic state for killing an apostate from Islam (O: because a subject of the state is under its protection, while killing an apostate from Islam is without consequences);

(4) a father or mother (or their fathers of mothers) fir killing their offspring, or offspring's offspring;

(5) nor is retaliation permissible to a descendant for (A: his ancestor's) killing someone whose death would otherwise entitle the descendant to retaliate, such as when his father kills his mother.

o2.0 INTENTIONALITY IN INJURIOUS CRIMES

o2.1 Injurious crimes (O: of all types, whether killing or something less) are of three types:

(1) an honest mistake;

(2) a mistake made in a deliberate injury;

(3) or purely intentional.

o2.2 An honest mistake is an act such as shooting an arrow at a wall and hitting a person (O: or shooting at a person and hitting someone else), or slipping from a height and falling on someone. The criterion for it is that the act is intended but not the person, or neither the act nor the person is intended.

o2.3 A mistake made in a deliberate injury is when one intends an injury that is not generally fatal, such as hitting someone with a light stick in a nonvital spot (A: from which the person dies) and the like.

o2.4 Purely intentional means to intend and injury of the type that is generally fatal, whether with a blunt instrument or a sharp one.

o3.0 RETALIATION FOR BODILY INJURY OR DEATH (QISAS)

o3.1 Retaliation is obligatory (A: if those entitled wish to take it (dis: o3.8)) when there is a (N: purely) intentional injury (def: o2.4) against life or limb.

o3.2 Retaliation is obligatory in return for injuries (A: part for commensurate part) whenever the retaliatory injury can be (O: fully) inflicted without exceeding the extent of the original injury, such as (A: when the retaliatory injury is on) an eye, eyelid, the soft part of the nose, the ear, tooth, lip, hand, foot, finger, fingertip, penis, testicles, vulva, and the like; provided that the retaliatory injury is like the origina, meaning that a right member is not taken for a left, an upper one for a lower, nor a functional member for a paralysed one. (N: Nor is there retaliation for nonfatal bullet wounds in the stomach or chest, for example, because such injuries cannot be reproduced without risk of greater damage than the original, for which reason they call for an indemnity (dis: o4.15) alone.) There is no retaliation for (O: breaking) a bone (A: though payment is due to cover the cost of treatment and so forth).

o3.3 Females are entitled to retaliate against males, children against adults, and lower class people against upper class; whether the retaliation is a life for a life, or limb for a limb.

o3.4 It is not permissible to exact retaliation against someone without the presence of the caliph (def: o25) or his representative (O: meaning that it is necessary to have the permission of one of them because of the danger and lack of knowledge involved in exacting retaliation oneself, as it requires the judgement and personal reasoning of a ruler. If someone takes retaliation without the caliph's permission, then it is valid (A: i.e. suffices the demand for it) but the person who took it is disciplined (def: o17) for arrogating the caliph's prerogative, since administering retaliation is one of his functions, and to encroach upon it is wrong). If a person who is entitled to retaliate is able to do so proficiently (O: being a strong man who knows how to do it), he is allowed to. If not, he is ordered (N: by the rules or his representative) to have another do it.

o3.5 If two (O: or more) people are entitled to exact retaliation against the offender, it is not permissible for just one of them to insist on doing so (O: though if they choose one of themselves to exact it, this is permissible, and the one chosen is considered as the other's commissioned agent. The two may not take retaliation together, as this amounts to torturing the person being retaliated against). If each insists that he be the one, they draw lots to see who will do it.

o3.6 There is no retaliation against a pregnant woman until she has given birth and the infant is able to suffice with another's milk.

o3.8 Whenever someone who is entitled to exact retaliation decides instead to forgive the offender and take an indemnity (def: o4) from him, then retaliation is no longer called for, and the deserving person is entitled to the indemnity. If some of a group of people who are entitled to retaliation agree to forgo it, as when a murder victim has children and one of them forgives the murderer, then retaliation is no longer obligatory, and the group deserves an indemnity from the offender. (A: Or the indemnity may also be waived.)

o3.9 When someone kills a group of people or maims them one after another, retaliation is exacted for the first individual attacked, and the other deserving parties receive an indemnity. If the offender injures them all at one, then those entitled to retaliate against him draw lots to determine who will do so.

o3.10 When a group of people together murder a single person, they are all killed in retaliation, no matter whether the amount of injury inflicted by each upon the victim is the same or whether it differs.

o3.12 There is no retaliation against anyone for an injury or death caused by someone who did so intentionally but in conjunction with someone who did so by mistake. When an injurious crime is caused by a nonfamily member in cooperation with the victim's father, retaliation is only taken against the nonfamily member (dis: o1.2(4)).

o3.13 Retaliation is also obligatory (dis: o3.8) for every wound that cuts to the bone, such as a cut on the head or face that reaches the skull, or a cut to the bone in the upper arm lower leg, or thigh. To the bone means that it is known that a knife or a needle, for example, has reached the bone, not that the wound actually exposes the bone to view.

o4.0 INDEMNITY (DIYA)

(A: The rulings below concern the maximum that the victim or victim's family may demand. If both sides agree on an indemnity of lesser amount, or nothing at all, this is legally valid and binding.)

o4.1 An indemnity is obligatory (N: though it may by waived by deserving recipients, like retaliation) in cases of death caused:

(1) by an honest mistake (def: o2.2);

(2) by a mistake made in a deliberate injury (o2.3);

(3) or intentionally, if those entitled to retaliate agree to forgo retaliation (dis: o3.8).

o4.2 The indemnity for killing a male Muslim is 100 camels. (N: Shafii scholars early converted the pastoral equivalents to gold dinars (n: one dinar equalling 4.235 grams of gold (dis: w15)), the amount due in the rulings below being the weight of the gold, regardless of its current market value.) (A: The stronger position in the Shafi's school is that indemnities should be reckoned in camels, after which both parties may agree on a lesser amount or another form of payment.)

THE INDEMNITY FOR A PURELY INTENTIONAL KILLING

o4.3 The indemnity for cases of purely intentional homicide (def: o2.4) is made severe in three ways:

(a) it must be paid immediately;

(b) it is due from the offender himself;

(c) and the amount paid is (N: 1.333.3 gold dinars (n: 5,646.6 grams of gold) or else:) 30 she-camels in their fourth year, 30 she-camels in their fifth year, and 40 pregnant she-camels.

THE INDEMNITY FOR DEATH BY MISTAKE IN A DELIBERATE INJURY

o4.4 When the killing is a mistake made in a deliberate injury (def:o2.3), the indemnity is only made severe in one respect, namely that the payment consists of the three types of camel mentioned above (n: or 5,646.6 grams of gold), while it is less severe in that:

(a) payment is deferred (def: o4.11);

(b) and is due (N: not from the offender, but) from those of the offender's extended family who are required to pay (aqila, def: o4.10).

THE INDEMNITY FOR A DEATH CAUSED BY AN HONEST MISTAKE

o4.5 When the killing occurred through an honest mistake (def: o2.2), the indemnity is less severe in three ways:

(a) payment is deferred;

(b) it is due from those of the offender's extended family who are required to pay (def: o4.10);

(c) and the amount paid is (N: 1,000 gold dinars (n: 4,235.0 grams of gold) or: 20 she-camels in their second year, 20 she-camels and 20 he-camels in their third year, 20, she-camels in their fourth year, and 20 she-camels in their fifth year.

o4.6 But no matter whether the killing was a mistake or intentional, the three-types-of-camelindemnity (def: o4.3(c)) must be paid if the person killed was:

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(1) an unmarriageable kin by birth relative of the killer (def: m6.1(1-8) and m6.2(1-6)):

(2) slain in the Sacred Precinct in Mecca:

(3) or killed during one of the sacrosanct months of Dhul Qada, Dhul Hijja, Muharram, or Rajab.

o4.7 Defective animals may not constitute payment.

o4.8 It is permissible for deserving recipients to accept payment other than camels if both parties agree.

o4.9 (A: For the rulings below, one multiplies the fraction named by the indemnity appropriate to the death or injury's type of intentionality and other relevant circumstances that determine the amount of a male Muslim's indemnity (def: o4.2-6 and o4.13).) The indemnity for the death or injury of a woman is one-half the indemnity paid for a man. The indemnity paid for a Jew or Christian is one-third of the indemnity paid for a Muslim. The indemnity paid of a Zoroastrian is one-fifteenth of that a Muslim. When a miscarriage results from someone having struck the stomach of a pregnant woman (O: or other part of her, or when someone frightens her, resulting in a miscarriage), the indemnity for the fetus is a male or female slave worth one-twentieth of the indemnity payable for killing the fetus's father, or one-tenth that of its mother. (A: The indemnity is whatever they agree upon.)

o4.10 The members of the offender's extended family who are liable for certain kinds of indemnities consist of the offender's universal heirs, excluding his father, father's father (O: and on up), his son, son's son (O: and on down). (A: Meaning that they consist of those mentioned at L10.6(7-14).) Those of the extended family who are poor (A: poor meaning someone who has enough for himself but no more), prepubescent, or insane are not obliged to pay (N: anything in conjunction with the other members). If the offender is Muslim, then his non-Muslim relatives are not obliged to pay, as is also the case if the offender is non-Muslim and his relatives are Muslim.

o4.11 When the extended family is obliged to, they must pay the entire indemnity of 100 camels (N: or the gold equivalents) within three years. Every required extended family member who is well-off is obliged to pay one-half dinar (n:2.1175 grams of gold) at the end of each year, while every member who is between affluence and poverty is obliged to pay a quarter dinar (n; 1.05875 grams of gold). If any of the indemnity remains to be paid after three years (N: or if the offender has no family to pay it), it is paid by the Muslim common fund (bayt al-mal). If there is none, the offender himself must pay.

o4.12 When the indemnity due is less than a full indemnity (A: full meaning that which is due for a Muslim male (def: o4.2-6)), as when it is for a wound, miscarriage, female, or a Jewish or Christian subject of the Islamic state, then:

(1) if it consists of one-third or less of a full indemnity, it must be paid within one year;

(2) if it consists of two-thirds or less of a full indemnity, then one of the thirds must be paid in the first year, and the rest in the second year;

(3) and if it amounts to more than two-thirds of a full indemnity, then the two-thirds must be paid within two years and the rest in the third year.

THE INDEMNITY FOR BODILY INJURIES

o4.13 If a nonpaired body part of aesthetic value and utility (A: a tongue, for example) is dissevered, then a full indemnity is paid, meaning the indemnity due if the member's owner were killed (def: o4.2-6,

o4.9).The same is due for each pair of limbs: if both are cut off, a full indemnity is paid, while if only one is cut off, then half the full indemnity. The same is true for the faculties of sense (A: such as hearing): for each faculty the injury eliminates, there is a full indemnity. Thus, a full indemnity is paid for cutting off two ears, and a half indemnity for one. This also holds for a pair of eyes, lips, jaws, hands, feet, buttocks, testicles, eyelids, the nipples of a female, vulval labia, the soft part of the nose, the tongue, head of the penis, or whole penis. A full indemnity is also paid for injuries which paralyze these members, or for injuring the peritioneal wall between vagina and rectum so they become one aperture, or for flaying a person, breaking his back, or eliminating the use of his mind, hearing, vision, speech, sense of smell, or taste.

o4.14 The indemnity for each finger is ten camels, and five for each tooth (N: or 10 and 5 percent respectively of the equivalent gold values (def: o4.3-5), depending on the relevant circumstances (dis: o4.9(A:))).

o4.15 As for wounds on the body, their indemnity consists of a fraction of the full indemnity

proportionate (A: by the calculation of the Islamic magistrate) to the extent of the damage.

o4.16 The indemnity for wounds on the head or face, when not to the bone, is also such a proportionate fraction, though if such wounds are to the bone, as mentioned above (o3.13), the indemnity is five camels (dis: o4.14(N:)). There are other injuries which I prefer to omit for the sake of brevity.

o4.17 There is no indemnity obligatory for killing a non-Muslim at war with Muslims (harbi), someone who has left Islam, someone sentenced to death by stoning (A: for adultery (def: o12)) by virtue of having been convicted in court, or those it is obligatory to kill by military action (N: such as a band of highwaymen).

o5.0 THE EXPIATION TO ALLAH FOR TAKING A HUMAN LIFE

o5.1 An expiation is due to Allah Most High from anyone who kills someone unlawful to kill, whether the killing is through a mistake or is intentional, and no matter whether retaliation (def: o3) or an indemnity (o4) is obligatory or not.

o5.2 The expiation consists of freeing a slave (def: k32), or if one cannot, then two consecutive months of fasting. (O: There is no difference in this precedence order whether the killer is legally accountable or not, as when he is a child or insane, in which case the guardian must free a slave on his behalf. (A: Though if a child fasts, it fulfills the expiation.))

o5.4 (O: There is no expiation for killing someone who has left Islam, a highwayman (def: o15). or a convicted married adulterer, even when someone besides the caliph kills him.)

o6.0 FIGHTING THOSE WHO REBEL AGAINST THE CALIPH

o6.1 When a group of Muslims rebel against the caliph (khalifa, def: o25) and want to overthrow him, or refuse to fulfill an obligation imposed by Sacred Law such as zakat, and rise in armed insurrection, he sends someone to them and redresses their grievances if possible. If they obdurately refuse to obey him (O: no matter whether he is just or unjust, as Nawawi mentions in his commentary on Sahih Muslim, citing the consensus of Muslims (ijma, def: b7) that it is unlawful to revolt against caliphs and fight them, even if they are corrupt), he fights them with (O: military) weaponry that does not cause general destruction, as do fire and mangonel (O: for the aim is to suppress them, not destroy them), and does not pursue those who retreat, or kill the wounded

o6.2 There is no financial responsibility for what they destroy of ours nor what we destroy of theirs in such military action.

o6.3 They are subject to Islamic laws (O: because they have not committed an act that puts them outside of Islam that they should be considered non-Muslims. Nor are they considered morally corrupt, for rebels is not a pejorative term, but rather they merely have a mistaken understanding), and the decisions of their Islamic judge are considered legally effective (O: provided he does not declare the lives of upright Muslims (def: o24.4) to be justly forfeitable) if they are such as would be effective if made by our own judge.

o6.4 If they do not rebel by war, the caliph may not fight them.

o7.0 WARDING OFF AGGRESSORS

o7.1 Someone whom a Muslim is trying to kill is entitled to kill the Muslim, though it is not obligatory to. Someone whom a non-Muslim or animal is trying to kill is obliged to defend himself.

o7.2 If an aggressor is trying to take one's money or property, it is permissible to defend it but not obligatory. If the aggressor intends one's womenfolk (O: such as one's wife or son's wife), it is obligatory to defend them.

o7.3 To defend means to use the minimum amount of force required. If one knows that shouting will repel the aggressor, one may not strike him. If a hand is enough, a stick may not be employed. If a stick will do, a sword may not be used. If cutting the other's hand will suffice, one may not kill him. (O: Mawardi states that this precedence order is for crimes that are not indecencies. As for when an aggressor is raping someone whom it is unlawful for him to have sexual intercourse with, it is permissible to kill him forthwith.) Someone who knows (O: i.e. believes) that an aggressor cannot be dissuaded by anything short of killing him may kill him and is not accountable for it.

o7.4 When one has warded off an aggressor, it is unlawful to take further measures against him.

o8.0 APOSTASY FROM ISLAM (RIDDA)

(O: Leaving Islam is the ugliest form of unbelief (kufr) and the worst. It may come about through sarcasm, as when someone is told, "Trim your nails, it is sunna," and he replies, "I would not do it even if it were," as opposed to when some circumstance exists which exonerates him of having committed apostasy, such as when his tongue runs away with him, or when he is quoting someone, or says it out of fear.)

o8.1 When a person who has reached puberty and is sane voluntarily apostatizes from Islam, he deserves to be killed.

o8.2 In such a case, it is obligatory for the caliph (A: or his representive) to ask him to repent and return to Islam. If he does, it is accepted from him, but if he refuses, he is immediately killed.

o8.3 If he is a freeman, no one besides the caliph or his representative may kill him. If someone else kills him, the killer is disciplined (def: o17) (O: for arrogating the caliph's prerogative and encroaching upon his rights, as this is one of his duties).

o8.4 There is no indemnity for killing an apostate (O: or any expiation, since it is killing someone who deserves to die).

o8.5 If he apostatises from Islam and returns several times, it (O: i.e. his return to Islam, which occurs when he states the two Testifications of Faith (def: o8.7(12))) is accepted from him, though he is disciplined (o17).

o8.6 (A: If a spouse in a consummated marriage apostatises from Islam, the couple are separated for a waiting period consisting of three intervals between menstruations. If the spouse returns to Islam before the waiting period ends, the marriage is not annulled but is considered to have continued the whole time (dis: m7.4).)

ACTS THAT ENTAIL LEAVING ISLAM

o8.7 (O: Among the things that entail apostasy from Islam (may Allah protect us from them) are:

(1) to prostrate to an idol, whether sarcastically, out of mere contrariness, or in actual conviction, like that of someone who believes the Creator to be something that has originated in time. Like idols in this respect are the sun or moon, and like prostration is bowing to other than Allah, if one intends reverence towards it like the reverence due to Allah;

(2) to intend to commit unbelief, even if in the future. And like this intention is hesitating whether to do so or not: one thereby immediately commits unbelief;

(3) to speak words that imply unbelief such as "Allah is the third of three," or "I am Allah"-unless one's tongue has run away with one, or one is quoting another, or is one of the friends of Allah Most High (wali, def: w33) in a spiritually intoxicated state of total oblivion (A: friend of Allah or not, someone totally oblivious is as if insane, and is not held legally responsible (dis: k13.1(O:))), for these latter do not entail unbelief;

(4) to revile Allah or His messenger (Allah bless him and give him peace);

(5) to deny the existence of Allah, His beginingless eternality, His endless eternality, or to deny any of His attributes which the consensus of Muslims ascribes to Him (dis: v1);

(6) to be sarcastic about Allah's name, His command, His interdiction, His promise, or His threat;

(7) to deny any verse of the Koran or anything which by scholarly consensus (def: b7) belongs to it, or to add a verse that does belong to it;

(8) to mockingly say, I don't know what faith is";

(9) to reply to someone who says, "There is no power or strength save through Allah"; "Your

saying "There's no power or strength, etc,' won't save you from hunger";

(10) for a tyrant, after an oppressed person says, "This is through the decree of Allah," to reply, "I act without the decree of Allah";

(11) to say that a Muslim is an unbeliever (kafir) (dis: w47) in words that are uninterpretable as merely meaning he is an ingrate towards Allah for divinely given blessings (n: in Arabic, also kafir");

(12) when someone asks to be taught the Testification of Faith (Ar. Shahada, the words, La ilaha ill Allahu Mohammedun rasulu Llah" (There is no god but Allah, Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah)), and a Muslim refuses to teach him it;

(13) to describe a Muslim or someone who wants to become a Muslim in terms of unbelief (kufr);

(14) to deny the obligatory character of something which by the consensus of Muslims (ijma, def: b7) is part of Islam, when it is well known as such, like the prayer (salat) or even one rak'a from one of the five obligatory prayers, if there is no excuse (def: u2.4);

(15) to hold that any of Allah's messengers or prophets are liars, or to deny their being sent;

(n: Ala' al-din' Abidin adds the following:

(16) to revile the religion of Islam;

(17) to believe that things in themselves or by their own nature have any causal influence independent of the will of Allah;

(18) to deny the existence of angels or jinn (def: w22), or the heavens;

(19) to be sarcastic about any ruling of the Sacred Law;

(20) or to deny that Allah intended the Prophet's message (Allah bless him and give him peace) to be the religion followed by the entire world (dis: w4.3-4) (al-Hadiyya al-Ala'iyya (y4), 423-24).) There are others, for the subject is nearly limitless. May Allah Most High save us and all Muslims from it.)

o9.0 JIHAD

(O: Jihad means to war against non-Muslims, and is etymologically derived from the word mujahada signifying warfare to establish the religion. And it is the lesser jihad. As for the greater jihad, it is spiritual warfare against the lower self (nafs), which is why the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said as he was returning from jihad. "We have returned from the lesser jihad to the greater jihad." The

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scriptural basis for jihad, prior to scholarly consensus (def: b7) is such Koranic verses as:

(1) "Fighting is prescribed for you" (Koran 2:216);

(2) "Slay them wherever you find them" (Koran 4:89);

(3) "Fight the idolators utterly" (Koran 9:36); and such hadiths as the one related by Bukhari and Muslim that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "I have been commanded to fight people until they testify that there is no god but Allah and that Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah, and perform the prayer, and pay zakat. If they say it, they have saved their blood and possessions from me, except for the rights of Islam over them. And their final reckoning is with Allah"; and the hadith reported by Muslim, "To go forth in the morning or evening to fight in the path of Allah is better than the whole world and everything in it." Details concerning jihad are found in the accounts of the military expeditions of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), including his own martial forays and those on which he dispatched others. The former consist of the ones he personally attended, some twenty-seven (others say twenty-nine) of them. He fought in eight of them, and killed only one person with his noble hand, Ubayy ibn Khalaf, at the battle of Uhud. On the latter expeditions he sent others to fight, himself remaining at Medina, and these were forty-seven in number.)

THE OBLIGATORY CHARACTER OF JIHAD

o9.1 Jihad is a communal obligation (def: c3.2). When enough people perform it to successfully accomplish it, it is no longer obligatory upon others (O: the evidence for which is the Prophet's saying (Allah bless him and give him peace), "He who provides the equipment for a soldier in jihad has himself performed jihad," and Allah Most High having said: "Those of the believers who are unhurt but sit behind are not equal to those who fight in Allah's path with their property and lives. Allah has preferred those who fight with their property and lives a whole degree above those who sit behind. And to each, Allah has promised great good" (Koran 4:95). If none of those concerned perform jihad, and it does not happen at all, then everyone who is aware that it is obligatory is guilty of sin, if there was a possibility of having performed it. In the time of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) jihad was a communal obligation after his emigration (hijra) to Medina. As for subsequent times, there are two possible states in respect to non-Muslims. The first is when they are in their own countries, in which case jihad (def: o9.8) is a communal obligation, and this is what our author is speaking of when he says, "Jihad is a communal obligation," meaning upon the Muslims each year. The second state is when non-Muslims invade a Muslim country or near to one, in which case jihad is personally obligatory (def: c3.2) upon the inhabitants of that country, who must repel the non-Muslims with whatever they can).

o9.2 Jihad is personally obligatory upon all those present in the battle lines (A: and to flee is an enormity (dis: p11)) (O: provided one is able to fight. If unable, because of illness or the death of one's mount when not able to fight on foot, or because one no longer has a weapon, then one may leave. One may also leave if the opposing non-Muslim army is more than twice the size of the Muslim force).

o9.3 Jihad is also (O: personally) obligatory for everyone (O: able to perform it, male or female, old or young) when the enemy has surrounded the Muslims (O: on every side, having entered our territory, even if the land consists of ruins, wilderness, or mountains, for non-Muslim forces entering Muslim lands is a weighty matter that cannot be ignored, but must be met with effort and struggle to repel them by every possible means. All of which is if conditions permit gathering (A: the above-mentioned) people, provisioning them, and readying them for war. If conditions do not permit this, as when the enemy has overrun the Muslims such that they are unable to provision or prepare themselves for war, then whoever is found by non-Muslim and knows he will be killed if captured is obliged to defend himself in whatever way possible. But if not certain that he will be killed, meaning that he might or might not be, as when he might merely be taken captive, and he knows he will be killed if he does not surrender, then he may either surrender or fight. A woman too has a choice between fighting or surrendering if she is certain that she will not be subjected to an indecent act if captured. If uncertain that she will be safe from such an act, she is obliged to fight, and surrender is not permissible).

WHO IS OBLIGED TO FIGHT IN JIHAD

o9.4 Those called upon (O: to perform jihad when it is a communal obligation are every able bodied man who has reached puberty and is sane.

o9.5 The following may not fight in jihad:

(1) Someone in debt, unless his creditor gives him leave;

(2) or someone with at least one Muslim parent, until they give their permission; unless the Muslims are surrounded by the enemy, in which case it is permissible for them to fight without permission.

o9.6 It is offensive to conduct a military expedition against hostile non-Muslims without the caliph's permission (A: though if there is no caliph (def: o25), no permission is required).

o9.7 Muslims may not seek help from non-Muslims allies unless the Muslims are considerably outnumbered and the allies are of goodwill towards the Muslims.

THE OBJECTIVES OF JIHAD

o9.8 The caliph (o25) makes war upon Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians (N: provided he has first invited them to enter Islam in faith and practice, and if they will not, then invited them to enter the social order of Islam by paying the non-Muslim poll tax (jizya, def: o11.4)-which is the significance of their paying it, not the money itself-while remaining in their ancestral religions) (O: and the war continues) until they become Muslim or else pay the non-Muslim poll tax (O: in accordance with the word of Allah Most High, "Fight those who do not believe in Allah and the Last Day and who forbid not what Allah and His messenger have forbidden-who do not practice the religion of truth, being of those who have been given the Book-until they pay the poll tax out of hand and are humbled" (Koran 9.29), the time and place for which is before the final descent of Jesus (upon whom be peace). After his final coming, nothing but Islam will be accepted from them, for taking the poll tax is only effective until Jesus' descent (upon him and our Prophet be peace), which is the divinely revealed law of Mohammed. The coming of Jesus does not entail a separate divinely revealed law, for he will rule by the law of Mohammed. As for the Prophet's saying (Allah bless him and give him peace), "I am the last, there will be no prophet after me," this does not contradict the final coming of Jesus (upon whom be peace), since he will not rule according to the Gospel, but as a follower of our Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace)).

o9.9 The caliph fights all other peoples until they become Muslim (O: because they are not a people with a Book, nor honoured as such, and are not permitted to settle with paying the poll tax (jizya)) (n: though according to the Hanafi school, peoples of all other religions, even idol worshippers, are permitted to live under the protection of the Islamic state if they either become Muslim or agree to pay the poll tax, the sole exceptions to which are apostates from Islam and idol worshippers who are Arabs, neither of whom has any choice but becoming Muslim (al-Hidaya sharh Bidaya al-mubtadi' (y21), 6.48-49)).

THE RULES OF WARFARE

o9.10 It is not permissible (A: in jihad) to kill women or children unless they are fighting against the Muslims. Nor is it permissible to kill animals, unless they are being ridden into battle against the Muslims, or if killing them will help defeat the enemy. It is permissible to kill old men (O: old man (shaykh meaning someone more than forty years of age) and monks.

o9.11 It is unlawful to kill a non-Muslim to whom a Muslim has given his guarantee of protection (O: whether the non-Muslim is one or more than one, provided the number is limited, and the Muslim's protecting them does not harm the Muslims, as when they are spies) provided the protecting Muslim has reached puberty, is sane, and does so voluntarily (O: and is not a prisoner of them or a spy).

o9.12 Whoever enters Islam before being captured may not be killed or his property confiscated, or his young children taken captive.

o9.13 When a child or a woman is taken captive, they become slaves by the fact of capture, and the woman's previous marriage is immediately annulled.

o9.14 When an adult male is taken captive, the caliph (def: o25) considers the interests (O: of Islam and the Muslims) and decides between the prisoner's death, slavery, release without paying anything, or ransoming himself in exchange for money or for a Muslim captive held by the enemy. If the prisoner becomes a Muslim (O: before the caliph chooses any of the four alternatives) then he may not be killed, and one of the other three alternatives is chosen.

o9.15 It is permissible in jihad to cut down the enemy's trees and destroy their dwellings.

TRUCES

o9.16 (O: As for truces, the author does not mention them. In Sacred Law truce means a peace treaty with those hostile to Islam, involving a cessation of fighting for a specified period, whether for payment or something else. The scriptural basis for them includes such Koranic verses as:

(1) "An acquittal from Allah and His messenger..." (Koran 9:1);

(2) "If they incline towards peace, then incline towards it also" (Koran 8.61);

as well as the truce which the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) made Quraysh in the year of Hudaybiya, as related by Bukhari and Muslim. Truces are permissible, not obligatory. The only one who may effect a truce is the Muslim ruler of a legion (or his representative) with a segment of the non-Muslims of the region, or the caliph (o25) (or his representative). When made with other than a portion of the non-Muslims, or when made with all of them, or with all in a particular region such as India or Asia Minor, then only the caliph (or his representative) may effect it, for it is a matter of the gravest consequence whether globally or in a given locality, and our interests must be looked after therein, which is why it is best left to the caliph under any circumstances, or to someone he delegates to see to the interests of the various regions. There must be some interest served in making a truce other than mere preservation of the status quo. Allah Most High says, "So do not be faint-hearted and call for peace, when it is you who are the uppermost" (Koran 47:35). Interests that justify making a truce are such things as Muslim weakness because of lack of members or materiel, or the hope of an enemy becoming Muslim, for the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) made a truce in the year Mecca was liberated with Safwan ibn Umayya for four months in hope that he would become Muslim, and he entered Islam before its time was up. If the Muslims are weak, a truce may be made for ten years if necessary, for the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) made a truce with Quraysh for that long, as is related by Abu Dawud. It is not permissible to stipulate longer than that, save by means of new truces, each of which does not exceed ten years. The rulings of such a truce are inferable from those of the non-Muslim poll tax (def: o11); namely, that when a valid truce has been effected, no harm may be done to non-Muslims until it expires.)

o10.0 THE SPOILS OF BATTLE

o10.1 A free male Muslim who has reached puberty and is sane is entitled to the spoils of battle when he has participated in a battle to the end of it. After personal booty (def: o10.2), the collective spoils of the battle are divided into five parts. The first fifth is set aside (dis: o10.3), and the remaining four are distributed, one share to each infantryman and three shares to each cavalryman. From these latter four fifths also, a token payment is given at the leader's discretion to women, children, and non-Muslim participants on the Muslim side. A combatant only takes possession of his share of the spoils at the official division. (A: Or he may choose to waive his right to it.)

o10.2 As for personal booty, anyone who, despite resistance, kills one of the enemy or effectively incapacitates him, risking his own life thereby, is entitled to whatever he can take from the enemy, meaning as much as he can take away with him in the battle, such as a mount, clothes, weaponry, money, or other.

o10.3 As for the first fifth that is taken from the spoils, it is divided in turn into five parts, a share each going to:

(1) the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), and after his death, to such Islamic interests as fortifying defenses on the frontiers, salaries for Islamic judges, muezzins, and the like;

(2) relatives of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) of the Bani Hashim and Bani Muttalib clans, each male receiving the share of two females;

(3) orphans who are poor;

(4) those short of money (def: h8.11);

(5) and travellers needing money (h8.18).

o11.0 NON-MUSLIM SUBJECTS OF THE ISLAMIC STATE (AHL AL-DHIMMA)

011.1 A formal agreement of protection is made with citizens who are:

(1) Jews;

(2) Christians;

(3) Zoroastrians;

(4) Samarians and Sabians (Gnostics), if their religions do not respectively contradict the fundamental bases of Judaism and Christianity;

(5) and those who adhere to the religion of Abraham or one of the other prophets (upon whom be blessings and peace).

o11.2 Such an agreement may not be effected with those who are idol worshippers (dis: o9.9 (n:)), or those who do not have a Sacred Book or something that could have been a Book. (A: Something that could have been a Book refers to those like the Zoroastrians, who have remnants resembling an ancient Book. As for the pseudoscriptures of cults that have appeared since Islam (n: such as the Sikhs, Baha' is, Mormons, Qadianis, etc.), they neither are nor could be a Book, since the Koran is the final revelation (dis: w4).)

o11.3 Such an agreement is only valid when the subject peoples:

(a) follow the rules of Islam (A: those mentioned below (o11.5) and those involving public behaviour and dress, though in acts of worship and their private lives, the subject communities have their own laws, judges, and courts, enforcing the rules of their own religion among themselves);

(b) and pay the non-Muslim poll tax (jizya).

THE NON-MUSLIM POLL TAX

o11.4 The minimum non-Muslim poll tax is one dinar (n: 4.235 grams of gold) per person (A: per year). The maximum

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is whatever both sides agree upon. It is collected with leniency and politeness, as are all debts, and is not levied on women, children, or the insane.

o11.5 Such non-Muslim subjects are obliged to comply with Islamic rules that pertain to the safety and indemnity of life, reputation, and property. In addition, they:

(1) are penalised for committing adultery or theft, thought not for drunkenness;

(2) are distinguished from Muslims in dress, wearing a wide cloth belt (zunnar);

(3) are not greeted with "as-Salamu 'alaykum";

(4) must keep to the side of the street;

(5) may not build higher than or as high as the Muslims' buildings, though if they acquire a tall house, it is not razed;

(6) are forbidden to openly display wine or pork, (A: to ring church bells or display crosses,) recite the Torah or Gospel aloud, or make public display of their funerals and feastdays;

(7) and are forbidden to build new churches.

o11.6 They are forbidden to reside in the Hijaz, meaning the area and towns around Mecca, Medina, and Yamama, for more than three days when the caliph allows them to enter there for something they need).

o11.7 A non-Muslim may not enter the Meccan Sacred Precinct (Haram) under any circumstances, or enter any other mosque without permission (A: nor may Muslims enter churches without their permission).

o11.8 It is obligatory for the caliph (def: o25) to protect those of them who are in Muslim lands just as he would Muslims, and to seek the release of those of them who are captured.

o11.9 If non-Muslim subjects of the Islamic state refuse to conform to the rules of Islam, or to pay the non-Muslim poll tax, then their agreement with the state has been violated (dis: o11.11) (A: though if only one of them disobeys, it concerns him alone).

o11.10 The agreement is also violated (A: with respect to the offender alone) if the state has stipulated that any of the following things break it, and one of the subjects does so anyway, though if the state has not stipulated that these break the agreement, then they do not; namely, if one of the subject people:

(1) commits adultery with a Muslim woman or marries her;

(2) conceals spies of hostile forces;

(3) leads a Muslim away from Islam;

(4) kills a Muslim;

(5) or mentions something impermissible about Allah, the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), or Islam.

o11.11 When a subject's agreement with the state has been violated, the caliph chooses between the four alternatives mentioned above in connection with prisoners of war (o9.14).

o12.0 THE PENALTY FOR FORNICATION OR SODOMY

o12.1 The legal penalty is obligatorily imposed upon anyone who fornicates or commits sodomy (A: provided it is legally established (def: n11.2 (O:))) when they:

(a) have reached puberty;

(b) are sane;

(c) and commit the act voluntarily; no matter whether the person is a Muslim, non-Muslim subject of the Islamic state, or someone who has left Islam.

o12.2 If the offender is someone with the capacity to remain chaste, then he or she is stoned to death (def: o12.6), someone with the capacity to remain chaste meaning anyone who has had sexual intercourse (A: at least once) with their spouse in a valid marriage, and is free, of age, and sane. A person is not considered to have the capacity to remain chaste if he or she has only had intercourse in a marriage that is invalid, or is prepubescent at the time of material intercourse, or is someone insane at the time of marital intercourse who subsequently regains their sanity prior to committing adultery.

If the offender is not someone with the capacity to remain chaste, then the penalty consists of being scourged (def: o12.5) one hundred stripes and banished to a distance of at least 81 km./50 mi. for one year.

o12.4 Someone who commits fornication is not punished if he says that he did not know it was unlawful, provided he is a new Muslim or grew up in a remote (O: from Islamic scholars) wilderness, though if neither of these is the case, such a person is punished.

o12.5 An offender is not scourged in intense heat or bitter cold, or when he is ill and recovery is expected (until he recovers), or in a mosque, or when the offender is a woman who is pregnant, until she gives birth and has recovered from childbed pains. The whip used should be neither new nor old and worn-out, but something in between. The offender is not stretched out when scourged, or bound (O: as his hands are left loose to fend off blows), or undressed (O: but rather an ankle-length shirt is left upon him or her), and the scourger does not lay the stripes on hard (O: by raising his arm, such that he draws blood). The scourger distributes the blows over various parts of the body, avoiding the vital points and the face. A man is scourged standing; a woman, sitting and covered (O: by a garment wrapped around her). If the offender is emaciated, or sick from an illness not expected to improve, then he or she is scourged with a single date palm frond (O: upon which there are a hundred strips, or fifty. If a hundred, such an offender is struck once with it, and if fifty, then twice), or with the edge of a garment.

o12.6 If the penalty is stoning, the offender is stoned even in severe heat or cold, and even if he has an illness from which he is expected to recover. A pregnant woman is not stoned until she gives birth and the child can suffice with the milk of another.

o13.0 THE PENALTY FOR ACCUSING A PERSON OF ADULTERY WITHOUT PROOF

o13.1 When a person (who has reached puberty and is sane) voluntarily:

(a) accuses another person of adultery or sodomy, whether the accusation is in plain words or allusive words intended as an accusation;

(b) and the accused is someone who could be chaste (def:o13.2) and is not the offspring of the accuser; then the accuser is subject to the penalty for accusing a person of adultery without four witnesses (A: which, if it concerns his spouse, he may obviate by public imprecation (dis: n11.1)), no matter whether he is a Muslim, non-Muslim subject of the Islamic state, someone who has left Islam, or is of a group that has a truce with Muslims.

o13.2 Someone who could be chaste in this context means someone who has reached puberty, is sane, free, Muslim, and has not committed an act of fornication (O: that is punishable)(A: meaning it has not been legally established (def: r.11.2(O:))).

o13.3 The penalty for making such an accusation without witnesses is to be scourged (def: o12.5) eighty lashes.

o13.4 Accusations in plain words include such expressions as "You have committed fornication," and the like, while allusive words means such expressions as "You lecher," or "You wretch," If the latter terms are accompanied by the intention to accuse, they amount to an accusation, though if not, they do not. The accuser is the one whose word is accepted (A: when there is no proof, if he swears an oath) as to what he intended by such allusive words.

o13.5 If someone accuses a whole group of people of adultery who could not possibly all be guilty, such as saying, "All the people in Egypt are adulters, he is disciplined (def: o17). But when his accusation is not impossible, such as saying, "The So-and-so clan are adulterers," then he must bear a separate penalty for every single person in the group.

o13.6 Someone who twice accuses someone of adultery without witnesses is punished only once. Someone who accuses a person of adultery and is punished for the accusation, but then again accuses the person of the same act of fornication is merely disciplined (def: o17).

o13.7 When someone accuses a person who could possibly be chaste (def: o13.2) of adultery, but the accuser has not yet been punished at the time the accused subsequently commits an act of fonication, then the accuser is not punished.

O13.8 The penalty for accusing a person of adultery without witnesses is only carried out when the Islamic magistrate is present, and the accused requests that it be carried out. If the accused forgives the offender, there is no punishment.

o13.9 When an accusation has been made, if the accused dies (A: before the accuser has been

punished), then his right (A: to demand that the punishment be carried out) is given to his heirs.

o14.0 THE PENALTY FOR THEFT

O14.1 A person's right hand is amputated, whether he is a Muslim, non-Muslim subject of the Islamic state, or someone who has left Islam, when he:

(a) has reached puberty;

(b) is sane;

(c) is acting voluntarily;

(d) and steals at least a quarter of a dinar (n: 1.058 grams of gold) or goods worth that much (A:at the market price current) at the time of the theft:

(e) from a place meeting the security requirements normal (A: in that locality and time for safeguarding similar articles (def: o14.3);

(f) provided there is no possible confusion (dis: o14.2(3)) as to whether he took it by way of theft or for some other reason. If a person steals a second time, his left foot is amputated; if a third time, then his left hand; and if he steals again, then his right foot. If he steals a fifth time, he is disciplined (def: o17). If he does not have a right hand (N: at the first offense), then his left foot is amputated. If he has a right hand but loses it after the theft (O: by an act of God) but before he has been punished for it, then nothing is amputated. After amputation, the limb is cauterised with hot oil (A: which in previous times was the means to stop the bleeding and save the criminal's life).

o14.2 A person's hand is not amputated when:

(1) (non-(d) above) he steals less than the equivalent of 1.058 grams of gold;

(2) (non-(e)) he steals the article from a place the does not meet normal requirements for

safeguarding similar articles (dis: below);

(3) or (non-(f)) when there is a possible confusion as to why he took it, as when it was taken from the Muslim common fund (bayt al-mal) (O: provided the person is Muslim, since he might have intended to use it to build mosques, bridges, or hospices), or when it belongs to his son or father.

o14.3 A place that meets normal security requirements for safeguarding similar articles means a place appropriate for keeping the thing, this varying with the type of article, the different countries, and with the justness of the ruler or lace of it, as well as the ruler's relative strength or weakness. A suitable place for safeguarding fine clothes, money, jewels, and jewelry, for example, is a locked box; the place for trade goods, a locked warehouse with guards; the place for livestock, a stable; the place for pallets and bedding, a shelf in the house; and the place for a shroud, the grave.

o14.4 If two persons jointly steal the equivalent of 1.058 grams of gold, then neither's hand is

amputated.

o14.5 A freeman's hand may not be amputated by anyone besides the caliph or his representative (def: o25).

o14.6 There is no amputation for forcible seizure (O: meaning someone relying on force (N: to take people's money, who has a gang nearby to bet him in this)), snatching (O: meaning someone who depends on running away and is unarmed), or betraying a trust (O: of something entrusted to him, such as a deposit for safekeeping), or appropriating something by disavowal (A: i.e. denying that the victim loaned or entrusted him with such and such a thing), (O: because of the Prophet's (Allah bless him and give him peace) saying,

"There is no amputation for someone who seizes by force, snatches and runs, or betrays a trust," a hadith Tirmidhi classified as rigorously authenticated (Sahih)). (A: But if one of the abovementioned

persons is a repeated offender whom it is in the interests of society to kill, the caliph may kill him.)

o15.0 THE PENALTY FOR HIGHWAY ROBBERY

O15.1 The caliph is obliged to summon whoever uses a weapon (O: though force suffices to be considered a weapon, or taking money by dint of one's fists) and makes people afraid to use the road (O: no matter whether in the wilderness, a village, or in the country; meaning he frightens those who pass along the way by means of his strength or weapons). If the highwayman responds to the summons before he has injured anyone, then he is only disciplined (def: o17). If he steals the equivalent of 1.058 grams of gold under the previously mentioned conditions (o14.1), both his right hand and left foot are amputated.

(A: The difference between a highwayman and someone who takes by forcible seizure (dis: o14.6) is that the latter does so within earshot of help, while the offense of the highwayman is far greater because he menaces the lifeline of the community, its trade routes.)

o15.2 If a highwayman kills someone, he must be executed, even when the person entitled to retaliation (def: o3) agrees to forgo it. If the highwayman robs and kills, he is killed and then left crucified for three days. If he wounds or maims someone, retaliation is taken against him, though it may be waived by those entitled to take it.

o15.3 (N: The penalty for highway robbery, such as mandatory execution, crucifixion, and amputating the hand and foot, is cancelled if the highwayman repents (A: desists, and gives himself up) before he has been apprehended, though he is still liable to retaliation (def: o3) by parties entitled to it (A: for injuries or deaths he caused to victims) and is financially responsible for restoring the money he has taken.)

o16.0 THE PENALTY FOR DRINKING

o16.1 Any beverage that intoxicates when taken in large quantities is unlawful both in small and large quantities, is unlawful both is small and large quantities.whether it is wine, (A: fermented) raisin drink, or something else.

o16.2 The penalty for drinking is obligatorily enforced against anyone who:

(a) drinks;

(b) has reached puberty;

(c) is sane;

(d) is Muslim;

(e) does so voluntarily;

(f) and knows it is unlawful (A: the restrictions mentioned above (o12.4) about the ignorance of the prohibition of adultery also applying here).

o16.3 The penalty for drinking is to be scourged forty stripes, with hands, sandals, and ends of clothes. It may be administered with a whip, but if the offender dies, an indemnity (def: o4.4) is due (A: from the scourger) for his death. If the caliph (def: o25) increases the penalty to eighty stripes, it is legally valid, but if the offender dies from the

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increase, the caliph must pay an adjusted indemnity, such that if he is given forty-one stripes and dies, the caliph must pay 1/41 of a full indemnity.

o16.4 Someone who commits adultery several times (O: or drinks several times, or steals several times) before being punished is only punished once for each type of crime.

o16.5 The penalty for a crime is not obviated by the offender's having repented for it, with the sole exception of the highwayman, who is not penalized at all (dis: o15.3) if he repents before he is caught.

o16.6 It is not permissible to drink an intoxicant under any circumstances, whether for medicine (O: or in bread, or to cook meat with it), or out of extreme thirst, with the sole exception of when one is choking on a piece of food and there is no other means of clearing it from one's throat save by drinking the intoxicant, in which case it is obligatory. (O: Sheikh al-Islam (A: Zakariyya Ansari) states, "It may not be used for medicine or extreme thirst, though there is no prescribed penalty for doing so, even when something besides it is available." The prohibition of using it for medicine or extreme thirst refers to when it is unadmixed, as opposed to when it is compounded with something else that renders it completely indistinguishable, such that no taste, color, or odor of it remains, in which case it is permissible.)

NONALCOHOLIC INTOXICANTS

o16.7 (Mohammed Shirbini Khatib:) The term beverage (dis: o16.1) excludes plants, such as hashish, which hashish users eat. The two sheikhs (A: Rafi'i and Nawawi) report in their section on foods the position of ruyani that eating it is unlawful, though no legal penalty is fixed for it (Mughni al-muhtaj ila ma rifa ma ani alfaz al-Minhaj (y73), 4.187).

(al-Mawsu a al-fiqhiyya:) Just as any beverage that intoxicates when taken in large quantities is also unlawful in small quantities, so too it is absolutely unlawful to use any solid substance detrimental to mind or body which produces languor or has a narcotic effect, this prohibition applying to the amount that is deleterious of it, not to the minute, beneficial amounts prescribed to treat illnesses, for such substances are not unlawful in themselves, but unlawful because they are deleterious (mawdu' al-ashriba. Tab a tamhidiyya li mawdu at al-Mawsu a al-fiqhiyya, no. 1(y134), 49).

o17.0 DISCIPLINARY ACTION (TAZIR)

o17.1 Someone who commits an act of disobedience to Allah Most High that entails neither a

prescribed legal penalty nor expiation, such as bearing false witness, is disciplined to the extent the caliph (def: o25) deems appropriate. (O: He exercises his own legal reasoning (ijtihad) and does what he thinks should be done, whether imprisonment and beating, either one separately, or mere verbal reprimand. He may not administer a more severe degree of punishment than what he feels is strictly necessary.)

o17.2 Disciplinary action may not reach the amount of the least prescribed legal penalty. For example, a freeman (o: if scourged) may not receive forty stripes.

o17.3 If the caliph sees fit not to take any disciplinary action, this is also permissible (O: when it concerns a right owed to Allah Most High, for the ruler is entrusted with using his own legal reasoning. But if it concerns a right owed to a fellow human being who has demanded that it be fulfilled (A: such as when someone has been cheated) it is impermissible to do nothing. If a person is entitled to have another disciplined, but instead forgives him, the ruler may nevertheless discipline him).

o17.4 (O: A father or grandfather (and on up) is entitled to discipline those under his care when they commit an act that is unbecoming. And so may a mother with her child. a husband is entitled to discipline his wife for not giving him his rights (def: m5.1). A teacher may discipline a student. (A: Spanking a student, for example, is permissible if there is a valid lawful purpose to be served thereby, and the student's guardian has given the teacher permission.))

o18.0 OATHS (YAMIN)

(A: An oath is a solemn statement to do or refrain from something, or that something is true, such that if things turn out otherwise, the swearer must make an expiation (def: o20.2).)

o18.1 An oath is only valid from a person (O: whether Muslim or non-Muslim) who:

(a) has reached puberty;

(b) is sane;

(c) makes the oath voluntarily;

(d) and intends an oath thereby.

o18.2 The oath of someone whose tongue runs away with him and who unthinkingly swears an oath, or someone who intends a particular oath but unintentionally swears something else, does not count and is an unintentional oath (A: which is mentioned in the Holy Koran (n: at 5:89)).

o18.3 An oath is only validly effected if sworn by a name of Allah Most High, or an attribute of His entity (dhat). (N: It is offensive to swear an oath by other than Allah if one merely intends it as an asseveration of one's statement, though it is unlawful to do so if one intends reverance to the thing sworn by.)

o18.4 There are some names of Allah Most High that are applied to no one but Him, such as Allah, the All-merciful, the All-vigilant, and Knower of the Unseen. An oath sworn by any of these is valid without restriction.

o18.5 Other names of Allah may be conditionally applied to other than Him, such as Lord (Rabb) (n: rabb bayt meaning, for example, home owner), the All-compassionate (al-Rahim) (n: rahim al-qalb meaning softhearted), or the Omnipotent (al-Qadir) (n:qadir 'alayhi meaning capabale of it; the second term of each of these examples indicating that Allah is not meant). An oath sworn by such names is validly effected unless the swearer specifically intends something else.

o18.6 Other of Allah's names are applied to both Him and His creatures, such as the Living (al-Hayy), the Existent (al-Mawjud), or the Seeing (al-Basir). An oath sworn by such names is not validly effected unless the swearer specifically intends it as an oath.

o18.7 An oath sworn by the attributes of Allah that are inapplicable to creatures, such as Allah's glory, His exaltedness, His endless eternality, or the Koran, is validly effected without restriction.

o18.8 An oath sworn by divine attributes that are sometimes used to allude to creatures, such as Allah's knowledge, His power, of His right, is validly effected unless the swearer intends something else by them, such as meaning by knowledge the things known, by power the things under its sway, or by right (n: the) acts of worship (n: that are His right), in which cases an oath has not been validly effected.

o18.9 An oath is validly effected when a person says, "I swear by Allah that...," or "I've sworn by Allah that...," unless the person merely intends to inform.

o18.10 Unless one particularly intends it as an oath, an oath is not validly effected when the following

expressions are used: "I will not do such and such, by the life of Allah," or "I resolve by Allah," or "by

the covenant of Allah," "His guarantee," "His trust," "His sufficiency," or "I ask you by Allah," or "I

swear by Allah that you must do such and such."

o19.0 EXAMPLES OF BREAKING AND NOT BREAKING OATHS

o19.1 If one swears, "I will not eat this wheat," but then makes in into flour or bread (A: and eats it), one has not broken one's oath. If one swears, "I will not drink from this river," but then drinks its water from a jug, one has broken one's oath.If one swears, "I will not eat meat," but then eats fat, kidneys, tripe, liver, heart, spleen, fish, or locusts, one has broken one's oath.

o19.3 If one swears, "I will not enter the house," but then does so absentmindedly, in ignorance of its being the house, under compulsion, or by being carried in, then one's oath is not broken and is still in effect.

o19.5 When a person swearing an oath about something (O: in the future, affirming or denying that it will occur) includes the expression in sha' Allah ("if Allah will") before finishing the oath, then the oath is not broken in any event if he thereby intends to provide for exceptions. But if he merely says it out of habit, not intending to make an exception to his oath, or if he says it after having finished swearing the oath, then the exception is not valid (O: because when an oath has been completed, its efficacy is established and not eradicable by a statement of exception).

o20.0 THE EXPIATION FOR A BROKEN OATH

o20.1 An expiation is obligatory for someone who swears and breaks an oath. If the swearer is entitled to expiate by the expenditure of property (def: o20.2(1-3)), it is permissible for him to do so before or after breaking the oath. But if it consists of fasting, then he may only do so after breaking the oath.

o20.2 The expiation consists of (N: a choice of any) one of the following:

(1) to free a sound Muslim slave;

(2) to feed ten people who are (N: poor or) short of money (def: h8.8-11) each (0.51 liters of grain (O: though it is not a condition that it be grain, but rather the type of food payable for the zakat of Eid al-Fitr (def: h7.6), even if not grain (A: and the Hanafi school permits giving its value in money)):

(3) or to provide clothing of any kind for ten such persons, even if it consists of a wraparound or clothing previously washed, though not if ragged. If one is unable to do any of the above, one must fast for three days. It is better to fast them consecutively, though permissible to do so nonconsecutively.

o20.4 (O: Someone eligible to receive zakat funds or expiations because of being poor (def: h8.8) or short of (def:h811) may expiate broken oaths by fasting.)

o21.0 THE JUDGESHIP

o21.1 To undertake the Islamic judgeship is a communal obligation (def: c3.2) (O: for those capable of performing it in a particular area). If only one competent person exists who can perform it, then it is personally obligatory for him to do so. If he refuses, he is compelled to accept (O: though he is only obliged to accept the judgeship when it is in his own home area, not when it is elsewhere, for this would be like a punishment, involving as it does wholly leaving one's home). Such an individual person may not take a salary for it- (N: because in respect to him it has become personally obligatory, and it is not permissible to take a wage for something personally obligatory, as opposed to something that is a communal obligation (A: for which accepting a wage is permissible))- unless he is needy (O: in which case the Muslim common fund gives him enough to cover his expenses and those of his dependents, without wastefulness or penury. But if he agrees to judge without being paid (N: i.e. in expection of the reward from Allah), it is better for him).

o21.2 It is permissible to have two or more judges in the same town.

o21.3 It is not valid for anyone besides the caliph (def: o25) or his representative to appoint someone as judge.

o21.4 It is permissible for two parties to select a third party to judge between them if he is competent for the judgeship (def: o22.1) (O: provided the case does not concern Allah's prescribed penalties, (A: and they may select such a person) even when a judge exists), It is obligatory for them to accept his decision on their case, though if either litigant withdraws his nomination before the third party gives his judgement, the latter may not judge.

o22.90 THE JUDGE AND THE COURT

O22.1 The necessary qualifications for being an Islamic judge (qadi) are:

(a) to be a male freeman;

(b) to have full capacity for moral answerability (taklif, def: c8.1);

(c) to be upright (o24.4):

(d) to possess knowledge (O: of the rulings of Sacred Law, meaning by way of personal legal

reasoning (ijtihad) (A: from primary texts), not merely by following a particular qualified scholar (taqlid) (A: i.e if he follows qualified scholarship, he must know and agree with how the rulings are derived, not merely report them). Being qualified to perform legal reasoning (ijtihad) requires knowledge of the rules and principles of the Koran, the sunna (A: is this context meaning the hadith, not the sunna as apposed to the obligatory), (N: as well as knowledge of scholarly consensus (ijma', def: b7)), and analogy (def: III below), together with knowing the types of each of these. (A: The knowledge of each "type" below implies familiarity with subtypes and kinds, but the commentator has deemed the mention of the category as a whole sufficient to give readers as general idea.)

I. The types of Koranic rules include, for example:

(1) those ('amm) of general applicability to different types of legal rulings;

(2) those (khass) applicable to only one particular ruling or type or type or ruling;

(3) those (mujmal) which require details and explanation in order to be properly understood;

(4) those (mubayyan) which are plain with out added details;

(5) those (mutlaq) applicable without restriction;

(6) those (muqayyad) which have restrictions;

(7) those (nass) which unequivocally decide a particular legal question;

(8) those (zahir) with a probable legal signification, but which may also bear an alternative

interpretation;

(9) those (nasikh) which supersede previsouly revealed Koranic verses;

(10). and those (mansukh) which are superseded by later verses.

II. The types of sunna (A: i.e. hadith) include:

(1) hadiths (mutawatir) related by whole groups of individuals from whole groups, in multiple contiguous channels of transmission leading back to the Prophet himself (Allah bless him and give him peace), such that the sheer number of separate channels at each stage of transmission is too many for it to be possible for all to have conspired to fabricate the hadith (A: which is thereby obligatory to believe in, and denial of which is unbelief (kufr));

(2) hadiths (ahad) related by fewer than the above-mentioned group at one or more stages of the transmission, though traced though contiguous successive narrators back to the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace). (n: If a hadith is transmitted through just one individual at any point in the history of its transmission, the hadith is termed singular (gharib). If it is transmitted through just two people at any stage of its transmission, it is termed rare ('aziz). If its channels of transmission, come through only three people at any point of its history, it is termed wellknown (mashhur). These designations do not directly influence the authenticity rating of the hadith, since a singular hadith, for example, might be rigorously authenticated (sahih), well authenticated (hasan) (N: hadiths of both types being obligatory for a

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Muslim to believe in, though someone who denies them is merely considered corrupt (fasiq), not an unbeliever (kafir)), or not well authenticated (da'if), depending on the reliability ratings of the narrators and other factors weighed and judged by hadith specialists);

(3) and other kinds. (n: Yusuf Ardabili mentions the following in his list of qualifications for performing legal reasoning (ijtihad):)

(4) hadiths (mursal) from one of those (tabi'i) who had personally met (N: not only met, but actually studied under) one or more of the prophetic Companions (Sahaba) but not the Prophet himself (Allah bless him and give him peace) (n: hadiths reported in the form, "The Prophet said (or did) such and such," without mentioning the Companion who related it directly from the Prophet);

(5) hadiths (musnad) related though a contiguous series of transmitters back to the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace);

(6) hadiths (muttasil) related though a contiguous series of transmitters (n: either from the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace). such a hadith being termed ascribed (marfu'), or else only from one of the Companions, such a hadith being termed arrested (mawquf));

(7) hadiths (munqata') related through a chain of transmitters of whom one is unknown (n: though if two or more are unknown, it is not considered merely incontiguous (munqata'), but rather problematic (mu'dal));

(8) the positive and negative personal factors (jarh wa ta'dil) determining the reliability ratings of the individual narrators of a hadith's channel of transmission:

(9) the positions held by the most learned of the Companions (Sahaba) on legal questions, and those of the scholars who came after them;

(10) and on which of these positions there is scholarly consensus (def: b7), and which are differed upon (Kitab al-anwar lia'mal al-abrar fi fiqh al-Imam al-Shafi'i (yll), 2.391). (n: The English glosses and remarks on the meanings of the above hadith terminology are from notes taken by the translator at a lesson with hadith specialist Sheikh Shu'ayb Arna'ut.)

III. Types of analogical reasoning (qiyas) include:

(1) making an a fortiori analogy between acts p and q, where if p takes a ruling, q is even likelier to take the same ruling. For example, if saying "Uff!" to one's parents is unlawful (n: as at Koran 17:23), one may analogically infer that beating them must also be unlawful;

(2) making an analogy between acts p and q, where if p takes a ruling, one may infer that q is equally likely to take the same ruling. For example, if it is unlawful to wrongfully consume an orphan's property, then it must also be unlawful to destroy his property by burning it up;

(3) and making an analogy between acts p and q, where if p takes a ruling, one may infer that it is likely, though less certain, that q takes the same ruling (A: because of a common feature in the two acts which functions as the basis (illa) for the analogy). For example, if usurious gain (riba) is unlawful in selling wheat (dis: k3.1(, then it is also unlawful in selling apples, the basis for the analogy being that both are food. The meaning of knowledge of the above matters is (A: for a judge) to know part of what is connected with the Koran, sunna (A: i.e. hadith), and analogy, not complete knowledge of the Book of Allah, total familiarity with the rules of the sunna, or comprehensive mastery of the rules of analogical reasoning, but rather that which is pertinent to giving judgements in court (A: though an absolute giving judgements in court (A: though an absolute expert in Islamic legal reasoning (mujtahid mutlaq) such as Abu Hanifa. Malik; Shafi'i, or Ahmad, is obliged to know what relates to every subject matter inSarced Law). He must know the reliability ratings of hadith narrators in strength and weakness. When two primary texts seems to contend, he gives precedence to:

(1) those of particular applicability (Khass) over those of general applicability ('amm);

(2) those that take restrictions (muqayyad) over those that do not (mutlaq);

(3) those which unequivocally settle a particular question (nass) over those of merely probabilistic legal significance (zahir);

(4) whose which are literal (muhkam) over those which are figurative (mutashabih);

(5) and those which supersede previous rulings, those with a contiguous channel of transmission, and those with a well-authenticated channel of transmission, over their respective opposites. He must likewise know the positions of the scholars of Sacred Law regarding their consensus and differences and not contradict their consensus (A: which is unlawful (dis: b7.2)) with his own reasoning. If no one possesses the above-mentioned qualifications, and a strong ruler appoints an unfit Muslim to the bench, such as someone who is immoral, or who (A: is incapable of independent legal reasoning (ijtihad) and) merely follows other qualified scholars (taqlid), or a child, or a woman, then the appointee's decisions are implemented because of necessity, so as not to vitiate people's concerns and interests (A: and this is what exists in our day, when the conditions for an Islamic judge are seldom met with)); (e) sound hearing; (f) sound eyesight; (g) and the faculty of speech. (O: The author did not mention the necessary condition of being a Muslim, evidently feeling that uprightness ((c) above) was sufficient to imply it.)

o22.2 It is recommended that the judge be stern without harshness, and flexible without weakness (O: so the litigants do not despise or disdain him for otherwise, people entitled to rights would not be able to obtain them).

o22.3 If the judge needs to appoint another person to handle a part of his caseload because it is too heavy for him, then be may assign someone to deal with the extra cases if the person himself is qualified to be a judge. If the judge does not need to, he may not appoint such a person without special permission (A: from the regional ruler).

o22.4 If the judge needs a court secretary, he must be Muslim, upright (def: o24.4), sane, and learned (O: meaning familiar with writing up plaintiffs' cases, recording what is done in each case and the judge's decisions, and must be able to distinguish between writing it correctly and incorrectly. The above four conditions are obligatory, there only remaining to be mentioned that the secretary must be male and free).

o22.5 The judge should not have a doorkeeper (O: if there is no crowd), though if he needs one, the doorkeeper must be sane, reliable, and unbribable.

o22.6 When not in the area of his jurisdiction, the judge may not give legal decisions, appoint others, or hear evidence (O: or claims).

o22.7 He may not accept gifts except from someone who customarily gave him gifts before he became judge, who is not a plaintiff, and whose gifts are not more lavish than those given before the judge's appointment. (O: The same is true for entertaining the judge as a guest, as well as lending articles to him which are of rentable value, such as lending him lodgings.) It is better for a judge not to accept any gifts. (O: And whenever gifts are not lawful to accept, he does not legally own them but must return them.)

o22.8 He should not decide cases when angry, hungry, thirsty, overwrought, exultant, ill, tired, flatulent, annoyed, or when the weather is irritatingly hot or cold (O: it being offensive for a judge to decide a case in any state that affects his temperament for the worse), though if he does, his decision is implemented.

o22.10 The judge should not sit in a mosque to decide cases (O: lest voices be raised therein, and because he might need to bring in the insane, children, a woman in her period, or non-Muslims;' for which reasons sitting in a mosque to decide cases is offensive). But if his sitting in the mosque (O: in prayer, spiritual retreat (i'tikaf), or awaiting group prayer) happens to coincide with the coming of two litigants, then he may judge between them (O: without it being offensive).

o22.11 The judge should sit with tranquility and gravity (O: as it creates greater respect for him and makes it likelier that he will be obeyed). He should have witnesses present and scholars of jurisprudence to consult with on points of difficulty. If a case is not clear, he should postpone giving a decision on it. He may not merely imitate another's decision on a case (A: but must be capable of expert legal reasoning (ijtihad) himself).

o22.12 The judge handles the cases on a firstcome-first served basis, one case per turn. If two arrive at the same time, they draw lots to see whose case will be heard first. The judge (O: obligatorily) treats two litigants impartially, seating both in places of equal honour, attending to each, and so forth, unless one is a non-Muslim, in which case he gives the Muslim a better seat. He may not treat either litigant rudely, nor prompt one (O: as to how to state his case).

o22.13 The judge may intercede with one of them on behalf of the other (O: meaning to ask the two parties to settle their differences, which is what a judge's "intercession" is. It does not take place until after the truth has been established, which obviates his unfairly inclining to either one) and he may also pay one litigant what the other owes him.

o22.14 (N: When assigned to a new jurisdiction,) the judge first looks into the cases of the imprisoned, then orphans, and then of lost and found items.

o23.0 COURT CLAIMS

o23.1 If a plaintiff makes a claim that is not true, the judge considers it as if he had notheard it (O: and need not ask the defendant about it). When a claim is true, the judge asks the defendant, "What do you say?" If the defendant admits the claim is true, the judge does not give a decision on the case (A: there being no need to) unless the plaintiff asks him to. But if the defendant denies the claim, then if the plaintiff has no proof, the defendant's word is accepted if he swears an oath to that effect. (O: This is when the claim does not involve blood (A: i.e. retaliation (def: o3) or indemnity (04)). If it does, then if there is obscurity in the matter, the plaintiff's word is accepted (N: provided fifty separate oaths are sworn by and distributed over all those entitled to take retaliation).) The judge does not have the defendant swear an oath unless the plaintiff: requests it. If the defendant refuses to swear, then the judge has the plaintiff swear (A: that his claim is true), and when he does, he is entitled (O: to what he has claimed (A: from the defendant). But if the plaintiff also refuses to swear, the judge, dismisses both of them (O:from his presence).If the defendantis silent(O: not responding to the claim against him) then the judge should say, "Would that your would answer, for unless you do. I'll give the plaintiff the opportunity to swear an oath." If the defendant does not, then the plaintiff may swear an oath, and if he does, he is entitled to his claim.

o23.2 If the judge knows the truth of the claim (O: against the defendant), and it concerns one of the prescribed penalties of Allah Most High, meaning for fornication, theft, rebellion, or drinking, then he may not sentence the defendant, on that basis alone (O: on the basis of his knowledge of one of the above crimes. It is related of Abu Bakr Siddiq (Allah be well pleased with him) that he said, "Where I to see someone who deserved a prescribed legal penalty, I would not punish him unless two witnesses attested to his deserving it in front of me.") But when the judge knows the truth about something other than prescribed legal penalties, he must judge accordingly (O: the necessary condition for which is that he plainly state that he knows, such as by saying, "I know what he claims against you to be true, and have judged you according to my knowledge").

o23.3 When the judge does not know the language of the litigants, then he refers to upright (def: o24.4) persons familiar with it, provided they are a number (O: two or more) sufficient to substantiate the claim (def: o24.7-10).

o23.4 If a judge gives a decision on a case but then learns of an unequivocal text relating to it (O: from the Koran or mutawatir hadith (def: o22.1 (d(II))), a consensus of scholars, or an a fortiori analogy (o22.1(dIII))), that controverts his decision, then he reverses it.

o23.5 A court claim is not valid except from a plaintiff possessing full right to deal with his own property.

o23.6 It is not valid to litigate over something that is not determinately known (def: k2.1 (e)), though some exceptions to this exist, such as claiming a bequest. If the plaintiff is claiming a financial obligation (dayn), he must mention its type, amount, and description. If he is claiming some particular article ('ayn) (O: such as a house), he must identify it. If he is unable to (O: as when the article is protable, and out of town), then he must describe it (O: with a description that would be valid for buying in advance (def: k9.2(d,g))).

o23.7 If a defendant denies a claim against him (A: and the plaintiff has no proof) then his denial is accepted (A: provided he swears on oath), as also when he says, "I owe him nothing."

o23.8 If the claim is for a particular article that is currently in the possession of one of the litigants, then the word of the person who has it is accepted when he swears an oath that it is his. If the article is in the possession of both litigants (O: together, and there is no proof as to whose it is; or when it is in the possession of neither, such as when a third party has it), then each swears an oath (O: that it does not belong to the other) and half the article is given to each of them.

o23.9 When another person owes one something, but denies it, then one may take it from his property without his leave (O: whether one has proof of it or not). But if the person acknowledges that he owes it to one, one may not simply take it from him (O: because a debtor may pay back a debt from whatever part of his property he wishes).

o24.0 WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING

o24.1 It is a communal obligation (def: e3.2) to both witness (A: i.e observe) legal events and to testify to have witnessed them. If there is only one person to do so, then it is personally obligatory upon him, in which case he may not accept payment for it, though if it is n ot personally obligatory, he may accept a fee.

o24.2 Legal testimony is only acceptable from a witness who:

(a) is free;

(b) is fully legally responsible (mukallaf, def: c8.1) (O: as testimony is not accepted from a child or insane person, even when the child's testimony regards injuries among children that occurred at play);

(c) is able to speak;

(d) it mentally awake;

(e) is religious (O: meaning upright (o24.4) (A: and Muslim), for Allah Most High says, "Let those of rectitude among you testify" (Koran 65:2), and unbelief is the vilest form of corruption, as goes without saying);

(f) and who is outwardly respectable (O: respectability (muru'a) meaning to have the positive traits which one's peers possess in one's particular time and place. Sheikh al-Islam (A: Zakariyya Ansari) says, "Respectability is refraining from conduct that is unseemly according to standards commonly acknowledged among those who observe the precepts and rules of the Sacred Law." It is according to standards commonly acknowledged (def: f4.5) because there are no absolute standards for it, but rather it varies with different persons, conditions, and places, Such things as eating and drinking (A: in the marketplace0 or wearing nothing on one's

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head may vitiate it (A: though the latter is of no consequence in our times), as may a religious scholar's wearing a robe or cap in places where it is not customary for him to do so).The testimony of an absentminded person (O: meaning someone who often makes mistakes and forgets) is not acceptable (O: because he is unreliable).

o24.5 Nor is testimony acceptable from someone who:

(1) has committed an enormity (O: meaning something severely threatened against in an unequivocal text from the Koran or hadith (dis: book p) N: though if someone who commits such an act then repents (def: p77) and is felt to be sincere in this, he regains his legal uprightness and his testimony is accepted, provided he is tested after his repentance long enough to believe in its genuineness);

(2) persists in a lesser sin (O: because it then becomes an enormity, as opposed to when one does not persist therin. A lesser sin in one that has not been severely threatened against in an unequivocal text);

(3) or is without respectability (def: o24.2(f)), such as a street-sweeper, bathhouse attendant, and the like. (A: A legally corrupt or immoral person (fasiq) is someone guilty of (1) or (2) above.)

o24.4 (A: Normal uprightness ('adala) for purpose other than giving testimony in court means that one avoids (1) and (2) above, while (3) concerns court testimony alone (N: i.e. uprightness for testimony in court means a person is none of the above).)

o24.5 The testimony of a blind person is accepted about events witnessed before he became blind, though not events witnessed after, unless they are public events that are discussed among people, or when someone says something the blind person hears (O: such as a divorce, for example), and he takes the speaker by the hand and conducts him to the judge and testifies as to what he has said.

o24.6 The testimony of any of the following is unacceptable:

(1) a person testifying for his son (O: son's son, and on down) or his father (O: father's father, and on up);

(2) a person who stands to benefit (O: by his own testimony);

(3) a person who stands to avoid loss to himself though his testimony;

(4) a person testifying about his enemy;

(5) or a person testifying about his own act.

o24.7 The testimony of the following is legally acceptable when it concerns cases involving property, or transactions dealing with property, such as sales:

(1) two men;

(2) two women and a man;

(3) or a male witness together with the oath of the plaintiff.

o24.8 If testimony does not concern property, such as a marriage or prescribed legal penalties, then only two male witnesses may testify (A: though the Hanafi school holds that two women and a man may testify for marriage).

024.9 If testimony concerns fornication or sodomy, then it requires four male witnesses (O: who testify, in the case of fornication, that they have seen the offender insert the head of his penis into her vagina).

024.10 If testimony concerns things which men do not typically see (O: but women do), such as childbirth, then it is sufficient to have two male witnesses, a man and two women, or four women.

o25.0 THE CALIPHATE

(n: This section has been added here by the translator because the caliphate is both Obligatory in itself and the necessary precondition for hundreds of rulings (books k through o) established by Allah Most High to govern and guide Islamic community life. What follows has been edited from al-Ahkam al-sultaniyya wa al-wilayat ad-diniyya by Imam Abul Hasan Mawardi, together with three principal commentaries on Imam Nawawi's Minhaj al-talibin, extracts from which are indicated by parentheses and the initial of the commentator. Ibn Hajar Haytami (H:) Mohammed Shirbini Khatib (K:), or 'Abd al-Hamid Sharwani (S:).)

THE OBLIGATORY CHARACTER OF THE CALIPHATE

o25.1 (Mawardi:) The reason the office of supreme leadership has been established in Sacred Law is to fulfill the caliphal successorship to prophethood in preserving the religion and managing this-worldly affairs. The investiture of someone from the Islamic Community (Umma) able to fulfill the duties of the caliphate is obligatory by scholarly consensus (def: b7), though scholars differ as to whether its obligatory character is established through reason or through Revealed Law. Some say that it is obligatory by human reason, because of the agreement of rational individuals to have a leader to prevent them from wronging one another and to come between them when conflict and arguments arise. Without authorities, there would be a chaos of neglected people and a disorderly mob. Others hold that it is obligatory not through reason, but rather through Sacred Law, for the caliph performs functions that human reason might not otherwise deem ethically imperative, and which are not entailed by reason alone, for reason are not entailed by reason alone, for reason merely requires that rational beings refrain from reciprocal oppression and strife, such that each individual conform with the demands of fairness in behaving towards others with justice and social cohesion, each evaluating their course with their own mind, not anyone else's, whereas Sacred Law stipulates that human concerns be consigned to the person religiously responsible for them. Allah Mighty and Majestic says. "You who believe, obey Allah and obey the Propeht and those of authority among you" (Koran 4:59). thereby obliging us to obey those in command, namely the leader with authority over us. Abu Hurayra relates that the Propeht (Allah bless him and give him peace) said. "Leaders shall rule you after me, the godfearing of them ruling you with godfearingness and the profligate ruling you with wickedness. So listen to them and obey them in everything that is right; for if they do well, it will count for you and for them, and if they do badly, it will count for you and against them."(al-Ahkam al-sultaniyya wa al-wilayat al-diniyya (y87),(5-6)

o25.2 (H: The caliphate is a communal obligation (def: c3.2) just as the judgeship is (S: because the Islamic community needs a ruler to uphold the religion, defend the sunna, succor the oppressed from oppressors, fulfill rights, and restore them to whom they belong).)

THE QUALIFICATIONS OF A CALIPH

O25.3 (Nawawi:) among the qualifications of the caliph are that he be:

(a) Muslim (H: so that he may see to the best interests of Islam and the Muslims (K: it being invalid to appoint a non-Muslims (K: it being invalid to appoint a non-Muslim (kafir) to authority, even to rule non-Muslim.) (S: Qadi Iyad states that there is scholarly consensus (def: b7) that it is not legally valid to invest a non-Muslim as caliph, and that if a caliph becomes a non-Muslim (dis: 08.7) he is not longer caliph, as also when he does not maintain the prescribed prayers (A: meaning to both perform them himself and order Muslim to) and summon the people to them, and likewise (according to the majority of scholars) if he makes reprehensible innovations (bid'a, def: w29.3) (A: by imposing an innovation on people that is Offensive or unlawful). If the caliph becomes a non-Muslim, alters the Sacred Law- (N: such alteration being of two types, one of which consists of his changing the Law by legislating something which contravenes it while believing in the validity of the provisions of the Sacred Law, this being an injustice that does not permit rebellion against him, while the other consists of imposing rules that contravenes the provisions of the religion while believing in the validity of the rules he has imposed, this being unbelief (kufr) (A: it is questionable whether anyone would impose much rules without believing in their validity))- or imposes reprehensible innovations while in office, then he loses his authority and need no longer be obeyed, and it is obligatory for Muslims to rise against him if possible, remove him from office, and install an upright leader in his place. If only some are able, they are obliged to rise up and remove the unbeliever (A: whether they believe they will succeed or fail), through it is not obligatory to try to remove a leader who imposes reprehensible innovations unless they believe it possible. If they are certain that they are unable to (A: remove an innovator), they are notobliged to rise against him. Rather, a Muslim in such a case should emigrate from his country (N: if he can find a better one), fleeing with his religion (A: which is obligatory if he is prevented in his home country from openly performing acts of worship)));

(b) possessd to legal responsibility (def: c8.1) (K: so as to command the people, it being invalid for a child or insane-person to lead):

(c) free (K: so that others may consider him competent and worthy or respect):

(d) male (K: to be able to devote himself fulltime to the task, and to mix with men, the leadership of a woman being invalid because of the rigorously authenticated (sahih) hadith. "A people that leave its leadership to a woman will never succeed"):

(e) of the Quraysh tribe (K: because of the (H: well-authenticated (hasan)) hadith related by Nasa'i. "The Imams are of the Quraysh." a hadith adhered to by the Companions of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) and those after them, this qualification being obligatory when there is a member of Quraysh available who meets the other conditions) (H: though when there is not , then the next most eligible is a qualified member of the Kinana tribe, then of the Arabs, then of the non-Arabs);

(f) capable of expert legal reasoning (ijtihad) (H: as a judge must be (def: o22). 1(d)) and with even greater need (K: so as to know the rulings of Sacred Law, teach people, and not need to seek the legal opinion of others concerning uprecedented events), scholarly consensus (def: b7) having been related concerning this condition, which is not contradicted by the statement of the Qadi (A: 'Iyad) that "an ignorant upright person is fitter than a knowledgeable corrupt one," since the former would be able to refer matters requiring expert legal reasoning to qualified scholars, and moreover the remark applies to when the available leaders are not capable of legal reasoning (S: while possessing the other qualifications for leadership));

(g) courageous (K: meaning undaunted by danger, that he may stand alone, direct troops, and vanquish foes);

(h) possessed of discernment (H: in order to lead followers and see to their best interests, religious or this-worldly discernment meaning at minimum to know the various capacities of people), sound hearing and eyesight, and the faculty of speech (K: so as to decisively arbitrate matters);

(i) (H: and be upright (def: o24.4) as a judge must be, and with even greater need. But it is valid, if forced to, to resor to the leadership of a corrupt person, which is why Ibn 'Abd al-Salam says, "If there are no upright leaders or rules available, then the least corrupt is given precedence").

THE THREE WAYS A CALIPH MAY BE INVESTED WITH OFFICE

o25.4 The caliphate may legally be effected (K: through three means, the first of which is):

(1) by an oath of fealty (H: like the one sworn by the prophetic Companions to Abu Bakr (Allah be well pleased with them)) which, according to the soundest position, is (H: legally binding if it is) the oath of those with discretionary power to enact or disolve a pact (ahl al-hall wa al-'aqd) of the scholars, leaders, and notables able to attend (K: since the matter is accomplished through them, and all the people follow them. It is not a condition that all those with discretionary power to enact or dissolve a pact be present from every remote region, or that there be a particular number present, as the author's words seem to imply, but rather, if discretionary power to enact or dissolve a pact exists in a single individual who is obeyed, his oath of fealty is sufficient.) (H: As for an oath of fealty from common people without discretionary power to enact or dissolve a pact, it is of no consequence) and they (H: those pledging fealty) must possess the qualifications necessary to be a witness (K: such as uprightness and so forth (def: 024.2)) (Mughni al-muhtaj ila ma'rifa ma'ani alfaz al-Minhaj (y73), 4.129-31, and Hawashi al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Hamid al-Sharwani wa al-Shaykh Ahmad ibn Qasim al-'Abbadi'ala Tuhfa almuhtaj bi sharh al-Minhaj (y2), 9.74-76).

(Mawardi:) When those with power to enact or dissolve a pact meet to select the caliph, they examine the state of the available qualified candidates, giving precedence to the best of them and most fully qualified, whose leadership the public will readily accept and whose investiture people will not hesitate to recognise. When there is only one person whom the examiners' reasoning leads them to select, they offer him the position. If he accepts, they swear an oath of fealty to him and the supreme leadership is thereby invested in him, the entire Islamic Community (Ummma) being compelled to acknowledge fealty to him and submit in obedience to him. But if he refuses the caliphal office, not responding to their offer, he is not forced to comply-as investiture comes of acceptance and free choice, not compulsion and constraint-and they turn to another qualified candidate (al-Ahkam al-sultaniyya wa al-0wilayat al-diniyya (y87), 7-8);

(2) (Nawawi:) and (H: the second means (K: through which it may be effected is)) by the caliph appointing a successor (H: meaning someone after him, even if it be his descendant or ancestor, for Abu Bakr appointed 'Umar (Allah be well pleased with them) as his successor, and scholarly consensus (def: b7) was effected in recognizing its legal validity. This type of investiture consists of the caliph appointing a sucessor while still alive, to succeed him after death. Though actually his successor during his life, the successor's disposal of affairs is suspended until the caliph dies). If the caliph appoints a group to select a successor from among themselves, it is as if he had appointed a successor (K: though the successor is not yet identified) (H: resembling an appointment in it being legally binding and obligatory to accept the outcome of their choice) and they choose one of their number (K: after the caliph's death, investing the person they select with the caliphate) (H: because 'Umar appointed a committee of six to choose his successor from among themselves: Ali, Uthman, Zubayr, Abd al-Rahman ibn Awf, Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas, and Talha, and after his death they agreed upon Uthman, (Allah be well pleased with them));

(3) an (H: the third means is) through seizure of power b a individual possessing the qualifications of a caliph (H: meaning by force, since the interests of the whole might be realized through such a takeover, this being if the caliph has died, or has himself obtained office through seizure of power, i.e. when he lacks some of the necessary qualifications.) (S: As for when the office is wrested from a living caliph, then if he himself became caliph through seizure of power, the caliphate of his deposer is legally valid. But if he became caliph through an oath of fealty (def: o25.4(1)) or having been appointed as the previous caliph's successor (def: o25.4(2)), then the deposer's caliphate is not legally valid). A takeover is also legally valid, according to the soundest position, by someone lacking moral rectitude (dis: o25.3(i)) or knowledge of Sacred Law (o25.3(f)) (K: meaning the caliphate of a person

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lacking either condition is legally valid when the other conditions exist) (H: as is the takeover of someone lacking other qualifications, even if he does not possess any of them (S: besides Islam, for if a non-Muslim seizes the caliphate, it is not legally binding, and so too, according to most scholars, with someone who makes reprehensible innovations, as previously mentioned (dis: o25.3(a))). The caliphate of someone who seizes power is considered valid, even though his act of usurpation is disobedience, in view of the danger from the anarchy and strife that would otherwise ensue).

THE OBLIGATORY CHARACTER OF OBEDIENCE TO THE CALIPH

o25.5 (K: It is obligatory to obey the commands and interdictions of the caliph (N: or his representative (def: o25.7-10)) in everything that is lawful (A: meaning it is obligatory to obey him in everything that is not unlawful, offensive, or merely in his own personal interests), even if he is unjust, because of the hadith, "Hear and obey, even if the ruler placed over you is an Ethiopian slave with amputated extremities," and because the purpose of his authority is Islamic unity, which could not be realized if obeying him were not obligatory. It is also obligatory for him to give sincere counsel to those under him to the extent that it is possible.)

THE INVALIDITY OF A PLURALITY OF CALIPHS

o25.6 (K: It is not permissible for two or more individuals to be invested with the caliphate (H: at one time), even when the are in different regions, or remote from one another, because of the disunity of purpose and political dissolution it entails. If two are simultaneously invested as caliph, neither's caliphate is valid. If invested serially, the caliphate of the first of them is legally valid and the second is disciplined (def: o17) for committing an unlawful act, together with those who swear fealty to him, if the are aware of the first's investiture as caliph) (Mughni al0muhtaj ila ma'rifa ma'ani alfaz al-Minhaj (y73), 4.132, and Hawashi al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Hamid al-'Abbadi 'ala Tuhfa al-muhtaj bisharh al-Minhaj (y2), 9.77-78).

DELEGATINGAUTHORITY TO THOSE UNDER THE CALIPH

o25.7 (Mawardi:) The authority deligated to a minister of state may be of two kinds, full or limitary.

(1) Full ministerial authority is when the caliph appoints as minister an individual who is entrusted with independently managing matters through his own judgement and implementing them according to his own personal reasoning (ijtihad). Appointing such an individual is not legally invalid, for Allah Most High says, quoting His prophet Moses (Allah bless him and give him peace), "And appoint for me a minister from any family. Aaron my brother; fortify me through him and have himshare my task" (Koran 20:29-32), and if valid respecting the task of prophethood, it is valid a fortiori regarding the function of the caliphate. Another reason is that the direction of the Islamic Community (Umma), which is the caliph's duty, cannot be fully conducted alone without delegating responsibility; for him to appoint a minister to participate therin is sounder than attempting to manage everything himself, a minister to help keep him from following mere personal caprice, that he may thus be further from error and safer from mistakes. The conditions necessary for such a minister are the same as those for a'caliph, excepting lineage alone (dis: o25.3)e)), for the minister must implement his views and execute his judgements, and must accordingly be capable of expert legal reasoning (ijtihad). He must also possess an additional qualification to those required for the caliphate, namely, by being specially qualified to perform the function he is appointed to.

(2) Limitary ministerial authority is a lesser responsibility and has fewer conditions, since the role of personal judgement therein is confined to the views of the caliph and their implementation, this minister being, as it were, an intermediary between the caliph, his subjects, and their appointed rulers; delivering orders, performing directives, implementing judgements, informing of official appointments, mustering armies, and informing the caliph in turn of important events, that the minister may deal with them as the caliph orders. He is an assistant in carrying out matters and is not appointed to command them or have authority over them. Such a ministry does not require an appointment but only the caliph's permission.

o25.8 When the caliph appoints a ruler over a region or city, the ruler's the ruler's authority may be of two kinds, general or specific. The general may in turn be of two types, authority in view of merit, which is invested voluntarily; and authority in view of siezure of power, invested out of necessity.

o25.9 Authority in view of merit is that which is freely invested by the caliph through his own choice, and entails delegating a given limitary function and the use of judgement within a range of familiar alternatives. This investiture consists of the caliph appointing an individual to independently govern a city or region with authority over all its inhabitants and discretion in familiar affairs for allmatters of government, including seven functions:

(1) raising and deploying armies on the frontiers and fixing their salaries, if the caliph has not already done so;

(2) reviewing laws and appointing judges and magistrates;

(3) collecting the annual rate (khiraj) from those allowed to remain on land taken b Islamic

conquests, gathering zakat from those obliged to pay, appointing workers to handle it, and distributing it to eligible recipients;

(4) protecting the religion and the sacrosanct, preserving the religion from alteration and substitution;

(5) enforcing the prescribed legal measures connected with the rights of Allah and men;

(6) leading Muslims at group and Friday prayers, whether personally or by representative;

(7) facilitating travel to the hajj for both pilgrims from the regian itself and those passing through from elsewhere, that they may proceed to the pilgrimage with all necessary help,

(8) and if the area has a border adjacent to enemy lands, an eighth duty arises, namely to undertake jihad against enemies, dividing the spoils of battle among combatants, and setting aside fifth (def: o10.3) for deserving recipients.

o25.10 Authority in view of seizure of power, invested out of necessity, is when a leader forcibly takes power in an area over which the caliph subsequently confirms his authority and invests him with its management and rule. Such a leader attains political authority and managementby takeover, while the caliph, by giving him authorization, is enable to enforce the rules of the religion so that the matter may brought from invalidity to validity and from unlawfulness to legitimacy. And if this process is beyond what is normally recognized as true investiture of authority with its conditions and rules, it yet preserves the ordinances of the Sacred Law and rules of the religion that ma not be left vitiated and compromised (al-Ahkam al-sultaniyya wa al-wilayat al-diniyya (y87), 25-39).

o26.0 THE CONCLUSION OF 'UMDAT AL-SALIK

o26.1 And Allah Most High and Glorious knows best what is correct (O: meaning that He knows best what actually 1" corresponds to the truth, in word and deed, the author thereby denying the claim to know better. There is scholarly disagreement as to whether the truth (A: about the rule of Allah for a particular ruling) is really one or multiple (A: many scholars holding that all positions of qualified mujtahids on a question are correct). In fact, it is one, the Imam who is right about it (Allah be well pleased with them all) receiving two rewards, one for his attempt and one for being correct, while the one who is not is mistaken, receiving a reward for his effort and being excused for his mistake. All of which applies to particular rulings of Sacred Law (furu'), as opposed to fundamentals of Islamic faith (usul, def: books u and v), in which the person wrong about them is guilty of serious sin, as is anyone who contradicts the tenets of the orthodox Sunni Community (Ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jama'a)).

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p0.0 THE AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION

(n: The first of the books translated as appendices to our basic text 'Umdat al-salik concerns the enormities alluded to above in the context of court testimony (dis: 024.3), and has been edited from the Kitab al-kaba'ir (Book of enormities) of Imam Dhahabi, who defines an enormity as any sin entailing either a threat of punishment in the hereafter explicitly mentioned by the Koran or hadith, a prescribed legal penalty (hadd), or being accursed by Allah or His messenger (Allah bless him and give him peace).)

p0.1 In the name of Allah, Most Merciful and Compassionate.

O Lord, facilitate and help. The sheikh, Imam, and hadith master (hafiz, def: w48.2 (end) Shams al-Din Mohammed ibn Ahmad ibn Uthman Dhahabi (may Allah forgive him) said: Praise be to Allah for true faith in Him, His books, messengers angels, and decrees. Allah bless our prophet Mohammed, his folk, and those who support him, with a lasting blessing that will grant us the Abode of Permanences near to Him. This is a book useful in knowing the enormities, both in general and in detail. May Allah by His mercy enable us to avoid them. Allah Most High says, "If you avoid the enormities of what you have been forbidden, We shall acquit you of your wrongdoings and admit you to a generous place to enter" (Koran 4:31). In this text, Allah Most High promises whoever avoids the enormities to admit him to paradise. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "The five prescribed prayers, and from one Friday prayer to another entail forgiveness for what is between them as long as you do not commit the enormities." So we are obliged to learn what they are, that the Muslim may avoid them.

p1.0 ASCRIBING ASSOCIATES TO ALLAH MOST HIGH (SHIRK)

p1.1 Ascribing associates to Allah Most High means to hold that Allah has an equal, whereas He has created you, and to worship another with Him, whether it be a stone, human, sun, moon, prophet, sheikh, jinn, star, angel, or other.

p1.2 Allah Most High says:

(1) "Allah does not forgive that any should be associated with Him, but forgives what is other than that to whomever He wills" (Koran 4:48).

(2) "Surely, whoever ascribes associates to Allah, Allah has forbidden him paradise, and his refuge is hell" (Koran 5:72).

(3) "Of a certainty, worshipping others with Allah is a tremendous injustice" (Koran 31:13).

p1.3 The Koranic verses concerning this are very numerous, it being absolutely certain that whoever ascribes associates to Allah and dies in such a state is one of hell's inhabitants, just as whoever believes in Allah and dies as a believer is one of the inhabitants of paradise, even if he should be punished first.

p2.0 KILLING A HUMAN BEING

P2.1 Allah Most High says:

(1) "Whoever intentionally kills a believer, his recompense shall be hell, abiding therein forever, and Allah shall be wroth with him, damn him, and ready for him a painful torment" (Koran 4:93).

(2) "Whoever takes a life other than to retaliate for a killing or for corruption in the land is as if he had slain all mankind" (Koran 5:32).

p2.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

"When two Muslims meet with drawn swords, both the slayer and the slain go to hell." Someone said, "O Messenger of Allah, that is for the slayer. But why the slain?" And he replied, "Because he meant to kill the other."

p3.0 SORCERY

p3.1 Sorcery is an enormity because the sorcerer must necessarily disbelieve (dis: x136), and the accursed Devil has no other motive for teaching a person witchcraft than that he might thereby ascribe associates to Allah (shirk).

p3.2 Allah Most High says:

(1) "A sorcerer will never prosper wherever he goes" (Koran 20:69).

(2) "... But the devils disbelieved, teaching people sorcery" (Koran 2:102).

And Allah Most High says, concerning Harut and Marut.

(3) "The two do not teach anyone before telling them, 'We are only a temptation, so be not unbelievers,' but they learn from these two that which the use to separate a man from his wife" (Koran 2:102).

p4.0 NOT PERFORMING THE PRAYER

p4.0 Allah Most High says:

(1) But a generation followed them who dissipated the prayer and pursued (their) lusts, and they shall find Ghayy (n: a "valley in hell" (Tafsir al-Jalalayn (y77), 402), save he who repents..." (Koran 19:59-60).

(2) "Woe to those who pray, unmindful of their prayers" (Koran 107:4-5). 93) "'What has brought you to hell?' And they shall say, 'We were not of those who prayed'" (Koran 74:42-43).

p4.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "The agreement that is between us and them is the prayer: whoever leaves it has disbelieved (dis: w18.2-5)."

p5.0 NOT PAYING ZAKAT

p5.1 Allah Most High says:

(1) "Woe unto polytheists, who do not pay zakat and are disbelieves in the hereafter" (Koran 41:6-7).92) "Those who hoard gold and silver, spending it not in the way of Allah, give them glad tidings of a painful torment, the day they are roasted upon it in the fire of hell" (Koran 9:34-35).

p6.0 SHOWING DISRESPECT TO ONE'S PARENTS

p6.1 Allah Most High says:

(1) "Your Lord decrees that you shall worship none but Him and treat your parents well, and if one or both of them each old age with you, say not 'Uff!' to them nor upbraid them, but speak noble words and lower the wing of humility to them out of mercy" (Koran 17:230-24).

(2) "And We enjoin man to be good to his parents" (Koran 29:8).

p6.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "Shall I not tell you of the worst of the enormities?..." and one of those he mentioned was undutiful behavior to one's parents.

p7.0 ACCEPTING USURIOUS GAIN (RIBA) (def:k3)

p7.1 Allah Most High says:

"O you who believe: fear Allah and forgo what remains of usurious gain if you are believers. If you will not, then know of a declaration of war (against you) from allah and His messenger" (Koran 2:278-79).

p7.2 the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "May Allah curse him who eats of usurious gain (riba) or feeds it to another (A: curse (la'n) meaning to put someone far from the divine mercy)."

p8.0 WRONGFULLY CONSUMING AN ORPHAN'S PROPERTY

p8.1 Allah Most High says:

(1) "Verily, those who wrongfully eat the property of orphans but fill their belles with fire, and shall roast in a blaze" (Koran 4:10).

(2) "Approach not the orphan's property, save in exchange for that which is better" (Koran 6:152).

p8.2 If the orphan's guardian is poor and consumes some of his charge's property without exceeding what is permissible, there is no harm in it (A: no haram (la ba's) being a technical term in Sacred Law meaning that it is better not to). What is in excess of the permissible is absolutely unlawful. (N: Scholars say that the guardian may lawfully only take whichever is less: the amount he needs, or else the wage typically received for work comparable to that performed for the orphan.) The criterion of the permissible is what is customary among people who are true believers free from base, ulterior motives.

p9.0 LYING ABOUT THE PROPHET (ALLAH BLESS HIM AND GIVE HIM PEACE)

p9.1 Some scholars hold that lying about the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) is unbelief (kufr) that puts one beyond the pale of Islam. There is no doubt that a premeditated lie against Allah and His messenger that declares something which is unlawful to be permissible or something permissible to be unlawful is pure unbelief. The question (A: as to when it is an enormity rather than outright unbelief) only concerns lies about other than that.

p9.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "A lie about me is not the same as a lie about someone else: whoever intentionally lies about me shall take a place for himself in hell."

(2) "Whoever relates words purportedly from me, thinking it is a lie, is a liar."

p9.3 It is clear from this that narrating a forged (mawdu') hadith is not permissible.

p9.4 (Ibn Kathir:) As for detecting forged hadiths, there are many signs that enable one to do so, such as internal evidence of forgery in wording or content, including poor grammar, corrpt meaning, the mention of incredible rewards for inconsiderable efforts, or inconsistency with what is established in the Koran and rigorously authenticated (sahih) hadith. It is not permissible for anyone to relate such a hadith except by way of condemning it, to warn one of the ignorant public or common people who might be deceived by it. there are many types of individuals who forge hadiths, including those with corrupt convictions about basic tenets of Islamic faith, as well as devotees who believe they are doing good by making up hadith-like stores that encourage others to do good, avoid bad, or perform meritorious acts, that such stories may be acted upon (al-Bahith al-hathith sharh Ikhtisar 'ulum al-hadith (y61), 78).

p9.5 (n: Having discussed lies and forgeries, we must strictly distinguish them from the hadith category called not well authenticated (da'if, lit. "weak"), sotermed because of such factors as having a channel of transmission containing a narrator whose memory was poor, one who was unreliable, unidentified by name, or for other reasons. Such hadiths legally differ from forgeries in the permissibility of ascribing them to the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) and in other ways discussed at w48 below.)

p10.0 BREAKING ONE'S FAST DURING RAMADAN

p10.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "Whoever breaks a fast-day of Ramadan without an excuse or dispensation could not requite it by fasting a lifetime, were he to do so (A: meaning that making up that day, while obligatory, does not remove the sin, though repentance does)." The above hadith is not well authenticated.

(2) "The five prescribed prayers, and from one Friday prayer to another or from Ramadan to Ramadan, expiate the sins between them as long as the enormities are avoided." 93) "Islam is based on five things: testifying that there is no god but Allah and that Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah, performing the prayer, giving zakat, fasting Ramadan, and the pilgrimage to the House (kaaba)."

P11.0 FLEEING FROM COMBAT IN JIHAD

p11.1 Allah Most High says, "On that day, whoever turns his back to them, unless pretending flight in order to reattack, or separating to join another unit, will bear the wrath of Allah and his refuge will be hell, a ter rible end" (Koran 8:16).

p12.0 FORNICATION

p12.1 Allah Most High says:

(1) "Approach not fornication, it is surely an indecency and evil as a way" (Koran 17:32).

(2) "The fornicator and Fornicatress, scourge them each a hundred stripes and let not pity for them take you" (Koran 24:2).

(3) "The fornicator shall not wed other than a fornicatress or idolatress. The fornicatress, none shall wed her but a fornicator or idolator. That is unlawful for believers" (Koran 24:3). (n: The latter verse "was revealed when some poor Muslim emigrants in Medina were considering marrying the polytheists' prostitutes, who were wealthy, so that the prostitutes could provide for them. One opinion is that the Koranic prohibition concerned these people alone. A a second position is that it was a general prohibition, but was superseded by the revelation of the subsequent verse, 'And marry those of you who are without spouses' (Koran 24:32)." (Tafsir al-Jalalayn (y77), 457))

p12.2 The Propeht (Allah bless him and give him peace) said,

"Whoever fornicates or drinks wine. Allah takes his faith from him as a man takes a shirt off over his head."

p13.0 THE LEADER WHO MISLEADS HIS FOLLOWING, THE TYRANT AND OPPRESSOR

p13.1 Allah Most High says:

(1) "The dispute (lit. "way against") is only with those who oppress people and wrongfully commit aggression in the land: these will have a painful torment" (Koran 42:42).

(2) "They did not forbid each other the evil that they did, and how wicked was what they would do' (Koran 5:79).

p13.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "All of y ou are trustees, and each is responsible for those entrusted to his care."

(2) "Any superior who misrules his followers shall go to hell."

(3) "There will come corrupt, tyrannous rulers: whoever confirms their lies and assists them in their oppression is not of me, nor I of him, and shall not meet me at my watering place in paradise."

(4) "He who shows no mercy will no be shown any."

(5) "the worst of your rulers shall be those whom you detest and who detest you, whom you curse and who curse you." They said, "O Messenger of Allah, can we not throw, them out?" And he replied, "No, not as long as they maintain the prescribed prayer (dis: o25.3(a(A:))) among you."

(6) "You'll be anxious to lead, and this will be a source of remorse to you on the Day of Judgement."

P14.0 DRINKING

P14.1 Allah Most High says:

(1) "They will ask you about wine and gambling. Say: 'There is great sin therein'" (Koran 2:219).

(2) "O you believe: wine, gambling, idols, and fortune-telling arrows are but filth of the Devil's handiwork, so shun them..." (Koran 5:90).

p1.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

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(1) "Scourge whoever drinks wine. If he drinks it again, scourge him again. If he drinks it again, scourge him again. If he drinks it a fourth time, kill him." (N: The ruling of this hadith was later superseded, for the Propeht (Allah bless him and give him peace) was brought a drunkard for a forth time, but did not kill him, showing that execution had been superseded, though the hadith remains a proof that the crime of drunkenness is an enormity.)

(2) "Allah has cursed wine, and whoever drinks it, pours it, sells it, buys it, presses it for another, presses if for himself, carries it, accepts its delivery, or eats its price."

(3) "Whoever drinks wine in this world shall be forbidden it in the next.

p15.0 ARROGANCE, PRIDE, CONCEIT, VANITY, AND HAUGHTINESS

p15.1 Allah Most high says:

(1) "Moses said, 'I surely seek refuge in my Lord and yours from every arrogant person who

disbelievers in the Day of Reckoning'" (Koran 40:27).

(2) "Assuredly, Allah loves not those who hold aloof out of pride" (Koran 16:23).

(3) "Such is the Final Abode. We grant it to those who seek not exaltation in the land, nor

corruption" (Koran 28:83).

(4) "Turn not your cheek from people out of pride, not walk haughtily through the land, for Allah loves no one who is conceited and boastful" (Koran 31:18).

p15.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "Tyrants and the arrogant will be raised on the Last Day as grain strewn underfoot that people will walk upon."

(2) "No one with the slightest particle of arrogance in his heart will enter paradise." A man remarked, "But a man likes his clothes to be nice and his sandals good." The Propeht (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "verily, Allah is beautiful and loves beauty. Arrogance is refusing to acknowledge what is right and considering others beneath one."

(3) Allah Most High says, "Greatness is My garment and haughtiness My mantle: whoever vies with Me for them I will throw into hell."

(4) Salama ibn al-Akwa' recounts that a man was eating with his left hand in the presence of the Prophett (allah bless him and give him peace). The Propeht told him, "Eat with your right," to which the man replied, "I cannot," though nothing stopped him but arrogance. The Propeht said, "May you not be able to." And the man could never left his right hand to his mouth again.

p15.3 The wickedest arrogance is that of someone who exalts himself over people because of is learning and gloats to himself about his superiority. The knowledge of such a person is of absolutely no benefit to him. Whoever learns Sacred Knowledge for the sake of the next world is unsettled by his learning, his heart is humbled and his ego lowered. Such a person lies in wait for his selfishness and never gives it free rain. He constantly takes his ego to task and corrects it. Were he to neglect it, it would diverge from the right path and destroy him. the person who seeks knowledge to take pride in it or to gain a position of leadership, looking disdainfully at other Muslims, thinking them fools and making light of them- all this is the most enormous arrogance, and "no one with the slightest particle of arrogance in his heart will enter paradise."

p16.0 BEARING FALSE WITNESS

p16.1 Allah Most High says: "Shun the abomination of idols, and shun false testimony" (Koran 22:30).

p16.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "On the Day of Judgement, the feet of the person who bore false witness will not stir from their place before their own is condemned to hell."

(2) "Shall I tell you of the worst enormities?- worshipping others with Allah, showing disrespect to parents, giving a false statement, and testifying to the truth of a falsehood." And he kept repeating it until we were telling ourselves (N: out of sympathy for him because of the strain of repeating it), "If only he would be silent."

P17.0 SODOMY AND LESBIANISM

p17.1 In more than one place in the Holy Koran, Allah recounts to us the story of Lot's people, and how He destroyed them for their wicked practice. There is consensus among both Muslims and the followers of all other religions that sodomy is an enormity. It is even viler and uglier than adultery.

p17.2 Allah Most High says: "Do you approach the males of humanity, leaving the wives Allah has created for you? But you are a people who transgress" (Koran 26:165-66).

p17.3 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "Kill the one who sodomizes and the one who lets it be done to him."

(2) "May Allah curse him who does what Lot's people did."

(3) "Lesbianism by women is adultery between them."

P18.0 CHARGING A WOMAN WHO COULD BE CHASTE (def: o13.2) WITH ADULTERY

p18.1 Allah Most High says:

(1) "Those who accuse believing women, unmindful though innocent, are cursed in this world and the next and shall receive a painful torment" (Koran 24:23). 92) "Those who accuse innocent women without producing four witnesses, scoruge them eighty stripes" (Koran 24:4).

p18.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "Avoid the seven heinous sins..." and he mentioned charging believing women, unmindful though innocent, with adultery.

p18.3 As for someone who accuses the Mother of the Faithful 'A'isha of adultery after the revelation from heaven of her innocence (Koran 24:11-12), such a person is an unbeliever (kafir) denying the Koran and must be killed.

P19.0 MISAPPROPRIATING SPOILS OF WAR, MUSLIM FUNDS, OR ZAKAT

p19.1 Allah Most High says:

"No prophet has been given to misappropriate wealth. Whoever does so shall bring what they have taken on the Day of Judgement" (Koran 3:161).

p19.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "... By Allah, none of you shall wrongfully take something save that he will meet Allah carrying it on Judgement Day, and I swear I will not recognize any of you who is carrying a grunting camel, lowing cow, or bleating sheep when you meet Allah." Then he lifted his hands and said, "O Allah, have I told them?"

p20.0 TAKING PEOPLE'S PROPERTY THROUGH FALESHOOD

p20.1 Allah Most High says: "Consume not one another's property though falsehood, nor proffer it to those who judge (between you)..." (Koran 2:188).

p20.2 The category of taking others' property through faleshood includes such people as those who impose non-Islamic taxes (def: p32), the highwayman who blocks the road, the thief, the idler, the betrayer of a trust, the cheater or adulterator of trade goods, the borrower who denies having borrowed something, the person who stints when Weighing or measuring out goods, the person who picks up lost and found property and does not give notice of having found it, the person who sells merchandise with a hidden defect, the gambler, and the merchant who tells the buyer that the merchandise cost more than it did.

p20.3 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "whoever appropriates a hadsbreadth of land through falsehood shall be made to carry it, as thick as seven earths, around his neck on judgement Day."

(2) "For someone to put off repayment of a debt when able to pay is an injustice."

(3) A man said, "O Messenger of Allah, will my mistakes be forgiven me if I am killed, in steadfastness and anticipating Allah's reward, advancing and not retreating?" He replied, "Yes, except for debts."

(4) "Flesh nurtured on ill-gotten wealth will not enter paradise. The hellfire has a better right to it."

(5) "There is a record that Allah will not ignore the slightest bit of. It is the oppression of Allah's servants."

p20.4 Oppression is of three types. The first is consuming property through falsehood; the second, oppressing Allah's servants by killing, hitting, breaking bones or causing wounds; and the third, oppressing them through spoken abuse, cursing, reviling, or accusing them of adultery or sodomy without proof. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said in an address to the people at Mina, "Verily, your blood, property, and reputations are as inviolable to one another as the inviolability of this day, this month, and this city of yours."

p21.0 THEFT

p21.1 Allah Most High says:

"Thieves, male or female-cut off their hands in retribution for what they have earned, as an exemplary punishment from Allah. Allah is Almighty and Wise" (Koran 5:38).

p21.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "Allah curse the thief whose hand is cut for stealing a rope."

(2) "If Mohammed's daughter Fatima stole, I would cut off her hand."

p21.3 A thief's repentance is of no benefit to him until he returns whatever he stole (dis: p77.3). If moneyless, he must have the victim absolve him of financial responsibility.

p22.0 HIGHWAYMEN WHO MENACE THE ROAD

(A: The amount of money they ask makes no difference, and like this, in being money taken through falsehood, are all measures imposed upon travellers without their free choice, such as tariffs, mandatory currency exchange, visa fees, and so forth.)

p22.1 Allah Most High says: "The recompense of those at war with Allah and His messenger and who strive for corruption in the land is that they be killed or crucified, or a hand and foot cut off from opposite sides, or banished from the land. That is their humiliation in this world, and an immense torment awaits them in the next" (koran 5:33).

p22.2 Merely making people feel that the way is unsafe is to commit an enormity, so how then if such a person should take money?

P23.0 THE ENGULFING OATH

p23.1 An engulfing oath is one in which there is premeditated lying. It is termed engulfing because it whelms its swearer in sin.

p23.2 The Propeht (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "the enormities are worshipping others with Allah, showing disrespect to parents, killing a human being, and the engulfing oath."

(2) "A man once said, 'By Allah, Allah will not forgive So-and-so.' Allah said, 'Who is it that swears I must not forgive So-and-so? I forgive him and annul all your works.'"

p24.0 THE INVETERATE LIAR

p24.1 Allah Most High says:

(1) Allah guides not the profligate liar" (Koran 40:28).

(2) "May liars perish" (Koran 51:10).

p24.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "Lying leads one to wickedness and wickedness leads one to hell. A man keeps lying until Allah records that he is an inveterate liar."

(2) "The marks of a hypocrite are three: when he speaks he lies, when he makes a promise he breaks it, and when entrusted with something he betrays the trust."

(3) "A believer's natural disposition might comprise any trait other than treachery and

untruthfulness."

p25.0 SUICIDE

P25.1 Allah Most High says:

"Do not kill yourselves, for Allah is compassionate toward you. Whoever does so, intransgression and wrongfully, We shall roast in a fire, and that is an easy matter for Allah" (Koran 4:29-30).

p25.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "Of those before you, there was once a wounded man who could not bear it, so he took a knife and cut h is arm, and bled until he died. Allah Most High said, 'My slave has taken his life before I have, so I forbid him paradise.'"

(2) "Whoever kills himself with a knife will abide forever in the fire of hell, perpetually stabbing his belly with it. Whoever kills himself with position will abide forever in the fire of hell, poison in hand, perpetually drinking of it."

p26.0 THE BAD JUDGE

p26.1 Allah Most High says:

(1) "Whoso does not judge by what Allah has revealed, those are the Unbelievers" (Koran 5:44).

(2) "Those who conceal the clear explanations and guidance We have revealed, after We have explained it in the Book to people, are cursed by Allah and those who curse" (Koran 2:159).

p26.2 The Propeht (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "One judge shall go to paradise, and two to hell. The judge who knows what is right and judges accordingly shall be in paradise. the one who knows what is right but intentionally judges unjustly will go to hell, and so will the judge who judges without knowledge." Anyone who judges without knowledge or evidence from Allah and His messenger regarding the matter he gives an opinion on is subject to this threat.

(2) "whoever is appointed to judge between people is as though slaughtered without a knife."

p26.3 It is unlawful for a judge to rule on a cause when angry, especially at a litigant. When a judge's qualities combine an insufficiency of Sacred Knowledge, unworthy intention, bad disposition, and lack of godfearingness, then his destruction is complete and he must resign and hasten to save himself from hell.

p27.0 PERMITTING ONE'S WIFE TO FORNICATE

p27.1 Allah Most High says:

"None shall wed a fornicatress but a fornicator or idolator. That is unlawful for believers" (Koran 24:3).

p27.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Three will not enter paradise: he who is disrespectful to his parents, he who lets his wife fornicate with another, and women who affect masculinity."

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p27.3 Someone who suspects his wife of indecency but pretends not to know because he loves her is not as bad as someone who actually pimps for her. There is no good in a man without jealousy for his rights.

P28.0 MASCULINE WOMEN AND EFFEMINATE MEN

p28.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said.

(1) "Men are already destroyed when they obey women."

(2) The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) cursed effeminate men and masculine women.

(3) The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) cursed men who wear women's clothing and women who wear men's.

p29.0 MARRYING SOLELY TO RETURN TO THE PREVIOUS HUSBAND

p29.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) cursed to man who marries a women after her divorce solely to permit her first husband to remarry her (dis: n7.7) and cursed the first husband.

p30.0 EATING UNSLAUGHTERED MEAT, BLOOD, OR PORK

p30.1 Allah Most High Says: "Say: 'I find nothing in what has been revealed to me that is unlawful for a person to eat except Unslaughtered meat, blood outpoured, or the flesh of swine, for all this is filth'" (Koran 6:45).

p30.2 Whoever premeditatedly eats these when not forced by necessity is a criminal.

p31.0 NOT FREEING ONESELF OF ALL TRACES OF URINE

p31.1 Allah Most High says: "And your raiment purify" (Koran 74:4).

p31.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace):

(1) passed by two graves and said, "The two are being tormented, and not from anything excessive: one of them did not free himself of traces of urine, while the other was a talebearer (def: r3)."

(2) And he said, "Take care to remove all vestiges of urine from your persons, because it is the main reason for torment in one's grave." Moreover, the prayer of someone who does not protect his person and clothing from urine is not acceptable (A: which is how scholars interpret the above hadiths, as applying to those who are negligent in removing all traces of urine before they pray).

p32.0 COLLECTING TAXES

(A: Meaning to take revenues other than those which are countenanced by Sacred Law such as zakat, the non-Muslim poll tax (jizya, def: o11.4), or the spoils or war (o10).)

p32.1 Such people are among those meant by the words of Allah Most High: "The dispute is only with those who oppress people, and wrongfully exceed proper bounds in the land: these will have a painful torment" (Koran42:42).

p32.2 And in the hadith of the adulteress who purified herself by voluntarily being stoned to death, there is the Prophet's remark (Allah bless him and give him peace): "She has made a repentance so sincere that if even a tax taker repented with the like of it, he would be forgiven."

p32.3 He who imposes taxes resembles a highwaymen, and is worse than a thief. But one who burdens the people, imposing over new levies on them, is more tyrannous and oppressive than someone more equitable therein who treats those under him more kindly. Those who gather taxes, who do the clerical work, or who accept the proceeds, such as a soldier, sheikh, or head of a Suficenter (zawiya)-all bear the sin, and are eating of ill-gotten wealth (dis:w49).

p33.0 SHOWING OFF IN GOOD WORKS

p33.1 Allah Most High says:

(1) "The hypocrites are trying to fool Allah, while it is He who is outwitting them. And when they stand to pray they do so lazily, showing off to people, remembering Allah but little" (Koran 4:142).

(2) "O you who believe: do not nullify your charity by reminding recipients of having given it and by offending them, like someone who spends his money as a show for people" (Koran 2:264).

p33.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "The first person judged on Resurrection Day will be a man martyred in battle. "He will be brought forth, Allah will reacquaint him with His blessings upon him and the man will acknowledge them, whereupon Allah will say, 'What have you done with them?' to which the man will respond, 'I fought to the death for you.' "Allah will reply, 'You lie. You fought in order to be called a hero, and it has already been said,' Then he will be sentenced and dragged away on his face to be flung into the fire. "Then a man will be brought forward who learned Sacred Knowledge, taught it to others, and who recited the Koran. Allah will remind him of His gifts to him and the man will acknowledge them, and then Allah will say, 'What have you done with them?' The man will answer, 'I acquired Sacred Knowledge, taught it, and recited the Koran, for Your sake.' "Allah will say, "You lie. You learned so as to be called a scholar, and read the Koran so as to be called a reciter, and it has already been said.' Then the man will be sentenced and dragged away on his face to be flung into the fire. "Then a man will be brought forward whom Allah expansively provided for, lavishing varieties or property upon him, and Allah will recall to him the benefits bestowed, and the man will acknowledge them, to which Allah will say, 'And what have you done with them?' The man will answer. 'I have not left a single kind of expenditure You love to see made in Your cause, save that I have spent on it for your sake.' "Allah will say, 'You lie. You did it so as to be called generous, and it has already been said.' Then he will be sentenced and dragged away on his face to be flung into the fire."

(2) "The slightest bit of showing off in good works is as if worshipping others with Allah."

p33.3 (A: When there is an act of obedience the servant intends to conceal but Allah reveals, then it is merely gratitude for His blessings to admit it to others and thank Him for it. When asked if one is fasting, for example, and one is, then one should say "Praise be to Allah" (al-Hamdu lillah).)

p34.0 BREACH OF FAITH

p34.1 Allah Most High says: "Do not betray Allah and His messenger, nor knowingly betray your trusts" (Koran 8:27).

p34.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Someone who cannot keep a trust is devoid of faith. Someone who cannot keep an agreement is devoid of religion."

p34.3 A breach of faith in anything is very ugly, but in some matters is worse than others. A person who cheats one for a pittance is not like a person who betrays one concerning one's wife and money, perpetrating outrages.

p35.0 LEARNING SACRED KNOWLEDGE FOR THE SAKE OF THIS WORLD, OR CONCEALING IT

(A: Learning Sacred Knowledge for the sake of this world means that if not for this-worldly reasons, a person would not have bothered to learn (dis: a3.1).)

p35.1 Allah Most High says:

(1) "Only the knowledgeable of His slaves fear Allah" (Koran 35:28).

(2) "Those who conceal what Allah has revealed of the Book and purchase a trifling price thereby, these but fill their bellies with hellfire" (Koran 2:174).

(3) "And Allah made a covenant with those given the Book to explain it to people and not keep it from them. But they flung it behind their backs" (Koran 3:187).

p35.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "Anyone who seeks Sacred Knowledge to vie with scholars, argue with fools, or win people's hearts will go to hell."

p35.3 Hilal ibn al-'Ala' said, "Seeking Sacred Knowledge is arduous, learning it is harder than seeking it, applying it is harder than learning it, and remaining safe from it is even harder than applying it."

p36.0 REMINDING RECIPIENTS OF ONE'S CHARITY TO THEM

P36.1 Allah Most High says: "O you believe: do not nullify your charity by reminding recipients of having given it and by offending them" (Koran 2:264).

p36.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "There are three people whom Allah will not speak to, look at, or exonerate on the Day of Judgement, and who will have a painful torment: he who wears the hem of his garment low (A: out of pride). he who reminds recipients of his charity to them, and he who sells merchandise swearing that he paid more for it than he actually did."

p37.0 DISBELIEVING IN DESTINY (QADR)

p37.1 Allah Most High says:

(1) "Verily, We have created everything in a determined measure" (Koran 54:49).

(2) "Allah has created you and what you do" (Koran 37:96).

(3) "Whomever Allah leads astray has no guide" (Koran 7:186).

(4) "And Allah knowingly led him astray" (Koran 45:23).

(5) "But you will not want to unless Allah wants" (Koran 76:30).

(6) "And He inspired it (A: the human soul) its evil and its godfearingness" (Koran 91:8).

p37.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace):

(1) "O Messenger of Allah, what is faith?" And he replied, "To believe in Allah, His angles, His messengers, the resurrection after death, and in destiny (qadr, def: u3.7-8). its good and evil."

(2) "There are six whom I curse, Allah curse, and who are cursed by every prophet whose supplications are answered: he who denies Allah's destiny, he who adds anything to Allah's book, he who rules arrogantly, he who considers what Allah has prohibited to be lawful, he who deems it permissible to treat my family in ways Allah has forbidden (A: such as insulting or reviling them), and he who abandons my sunna (A: out of disdain for it)."

P38.0 LISTENING TO PEOPLE'S PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS

p38.1 Allah Most High says: "Do not spy" (Koran 49:12).

p38.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Whoever listens to people who are averse to his listening shall have molten lead poured into his ears on the Day of Judgement."

p38.3 This may not be an enormity (A: in some cases (dis:r6.4)).

p39.0 CURSING OTHERS (dis:r38)

p39.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "Cursing a believer is like killing him."

(2) "When a servant curses something, the curse rises up to the sky, where the doors of the sky shut it out, and then it falls back to earth, where the doors of the earth shut it out. then it searches right and left and when it does not find anywhere to go it comes back to the thing which was cursed, should it deserve it. It not, it returns upon the person who uttered it."

(3) While the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) was on a journey, they was a woman of the Medinan Helpers (Ansar) riding a camel which annoyed her, whereupon, she cursed it. The Prophet heard this and said, "Take off what is on its back and release it, for it has been curse." And it is as if I can still see it now, walking along among the people, no one stopping it.

p40.0 LEAVING ONE'S LEADER

p40.1 Allah Most High says.

"Fulfill covenants, for surely convenants will be asked about" (Koran 17:34).

p40.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "He who obeys me obeys Allah, and he who disobeys me disobeys Allah. He who obeys the leader obeys me, and he who disobeys the leader disobeys me." (A: The leader referred to in the hadith is the caliph of the Muslims or his authorized representative (dis: 025.5). Whenever there is a group of three or more Muslims, it is sunna for a leader (amir) to be chosen. It is sunna to obey such a leader, and leaving him or not obeying him contravenes what is recommended, but is not unlawful.)

p41.0 BELIEVING IN FORTUNE-TELLERS OR ASTROLOGERS

p41.1 Allah Most High says:

(1) "Pursue not that which you have no knowledge of" (Koran 17:36).

(2) "(He is) the Knower of the Unseen, and discloses not His unseen to anyone (dis: w60.1), except to a messenger with whom He is pleased" (Koran 72:26-27).

p41.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "Whoever goes to a 'psychic' ('arraf) or fortune-teller and believes what he says has disbelieved in what has been revealed to Mohammed."

(2) "Allah Most High says, 'One of My servants reaches daybreak a believer, another an unbeliever. He who says, "We have received rain by Allah's grace," is a believer in Me and a disbeliever in the planets. But he who says, "We have received rain by the effects of such and such a mansion of the moon," is an unbeliever in Me and a believer in planets (A: if he thinks they have a causal influence independent of the will of Allah (dis: 08.7(17))).'"

(3) "Whoever goes to a 'psychic,' asks him about something, and believes him, will not have his prayer accepted for forty days."

p42.0 A WIFE'S REBELLING AGAINST HER HUSBAND (def: m10.12)

p42.1 Allah Most High says: "Men are the guardians of women, since Allah has been more generous to one than the other, and because of what they (men) spend from their wealth. so righteous women will be obedient, and in absence watchful, for Allah is watchful. And if you fear their intractability, warn them, send them from bed, or hit them. But if they obey you, seek no way to blame them" (Koran 4:34).

p42.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "Allah will not look at a woman who is ungrateful to her husband, while unable to do without him."

(2) "When a man calls his wife to his bed and she will not come, and he spends the night angry with her, the angels, curse her until morning."

(3) "It is not lawful for a woman to fast when her husband is present, save by his leave. Nor to permit anyone into his house except with his permission."

(4) "Whoever leaves her husband's house (A: without his permission), the angels curse her until she returns or repents." (Khalil Nahlawi:) It is a condition for the permissibility of her going out (dis: m 10.3-4) that she take no measures to

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enhance her beauty, and that her figure is concealed or altered to a form unlikely to draw looks from men or attract them., Allah Most High says, "Remain in your homes and do not display your beauty as women did in the pre-Islamic period of Jahiliyyah (ignorance)" (Koran 33.33). (al-Durar al-mubaha (y99), 160)

p43.0 SEVERING TIES OF KINSHIP

(A: The opposite, maintaining the bons of kinship (silat al-rahim), means politeness, kind treament, and concern for all one's relatives, even if distantly related, corrupt, non-Muslim, or unappreciative.)

p43.1 Allah Most High says: "If you turn back, would you then cause corruption is the land, severing your family ties? Those are the ones whom Allah has cursed and deafened, and blinded their sight" (Koran 47:22-23).

p43.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "He who severs his family ties will not enter paradise."

(2) "Whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day, let him maintain the bonds of kinship."

p44.0 MAKING PICTURES

p44.1 The Prophet (Allah bless-him and give him peace) said:

(1) 'Every maker of pictures will go to the fire, where a being will be set upon him for each picture he made, to torment him in hell."

(2) "Whoever makes an image shall be required (on the Last Day) to breathe a spirit into it, but will never be able to do so." (n: Other hadith evidence appears at w50, which discusses legal questions relating to the artistic, photographic, and televisual depiction of animate life.)

p45.0 THE TALEBEARER WHO STIRS UP ENMITY BETWEEN PEOPLE (dis:r3)

p45.1 Allah Most High says: "Obey not every wretched swearer; slanderer, going about with tales" (Koran 68:10-11).

p45.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "He who stirs up enmity among people by quoting their words to each other will not enter paradise."

(2) "You find that among the worst people is someone who is two-faced, showing one face to some and another face to others."

(3) "Do not tell me anything about my Companions, for I want to meet them without disquiet in my heart."

p46.0 LOUDLY LAMENTING THE DEAD

p46.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "He who slaps his cheeks, ripe his pockets, or calls out the cries of the pre-Islamic period of Jahiliyyah (ignorance) is not of us."

p47.0 ATTACKING ANOTHER'S ANCESTRY

p47.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Two qualities in people are unbelief: attacking another's ancestry, and wailing over the dead." (N: The hadith does not mean that these things put one beyond the pale of Islam, but that they are the actions of the Unbelievers.)

p48.0 EXCESSES AGAINST OTHERS

p48.1 Allah Most High says: "The dispute is only with those who oppress people and wrongfully commit aggression in the land: these will have a painful torment" (Koran 42:42).

p48.2 The Propeht (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "Allah has inspired to me that you are all to be humble towards each other, such that no one transgresses against or exalts himself above another."

(2) Malik Rahawi said: "O Messenger of Allah, I have been given of beauty that which you see, and I do not like anyone to wear better sandals than I. Is this of presumptuous pride?" He answered: "This is not of presumptuousness, which rather consists of refusing to admit the truth and considering people inferior."

(3) "A woman was tortured for a cat she imprisoned until it died. She went to hell because of it, having neither fed nor watered it, for she confined it; not yet having let it go to forage on the small creatures of the earth."

(4) "Allah will certainly torture those who torture people in this world."

p49.0 ARMED INSURRECTION AND CONSIDERING MUSLIMS UNBELIEVERS

(A: The early Kharijite sect committed these transgreesions.)

p49.1 Allah Most High says:

(1) "Do not commit transgreesions: surely Allah loves not the transgressors" (Koran 2:190).

(2) "Whoever disobeys Allah and His messenger has gone manifestly astray" (Koran 33:36).

p49.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "If someone says to his Muslim brother,' You unbeliever,' one of them deserves the name."

p50.0 HURTING OR REVILING MUSLIMS

p50.1 Allah Most High says:

(1) "Those who hurt believing men and women who have done nothing to deserve it shall bear the burden of calumny and open sin" (Koran 33:58).

(2) "Do not spy do not splender one another "(Koran 49:12).

(3) "Woe to whoever disparages others behind their back or to their face" (Koran: 104:1).

(4) "Those who love that scandal should be spread concerning the believers shall have a painful torment in this world and the next" (Koran 24:19).

p50.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "The Muslim is the brother of the Muslim. He does not oppress him, hang back from coming to his aid, or belittle him. It is sufficiently wicked for someone to demean his fellow Muslim."

(2) "By Allah, he does not believe. By Allah, he does not believe. By Allah, he does not believe, Someone asked: "Who, O Messenger of Allah?" And he said, "He whose neighbour is not safe from his evil conduct."

(3) Someone said: "O Messenger of Allah, So-and-so spends her nights praying and her days fasting, but there is something in her tongue that maliciously injures her neighbours." He replied, "There is no good in her, she will go to hell."

(4) "When I was taken up in the Ascent (Mi'aj), I passed by people with fingernails of copper who were raking their faces and chests with them. I asked, Who are they, Gabriel?' and he said, They are those who slandered others (lit. "ate people's flesh") and attacked their reputations.'"

(5) "No man charges another with corruption or unbelief, save that the charge returns against

himself if the other is not as he said."

(6) "Do not revile the dead, for they have gone on to what they have sent ahead."

p51.0 HARMING THE FRIENDS (AWLIYA') OF ALLAH MOST HIGH

p51.1 Allah Most High says: "Verily, those who offend Allah and His messenger are cursed by Allah in this world and the next, and He has prepared for them a humiliating torment" (Koran 33:57).

p51.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "Abu Bakr, if you anger them [some of the poorer Emigrants], you anger your Lord."

(2) "Allah Most High says: 'He who is hostile to a friend (wali) of Mine I declare war against. My slave approaches Me with nothing more beloved to Me than what I have made obligatory for him, and My slave keeps drawing nearer to Me with voluntary works until I love him. An when I love him, I am his hearing with which he hears, his sight with which he sees, his hand with which he seizes, and his foot with which he walks. If he asks Me, I will surely give to him, and if he seeks refuge in Me, I will surely protect him.'" (n: This hadith is explained in detail at w33, which discusses the friends (awliya') of Allah Most High.)

p52.0 DRAGGING THE HEM OF ONE'S GARMENT OUT OF CONCEIT

p52.1 Allah Most High says: "... Nor walk haughtily through the land"(Koran 31:18).

p52.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "The caftan of the Muslim comes down to midcalf, there being no harm in what is between this and the anklebones, though any of it below the anklebones is in hell. Whoever lets the helm of his garment drag on the ground out of pride, Allah will not look at him."

(2) "While a man was walking along in a new set of clothes, with a swagger to his step, pleased with himself, and his hair combed down, Allah caused the earth to swallow him, and he will keep sinking until the Last Day."

p53.0 MEN WEARING SILK OR GOLD

P53.1 Allah Most High says: "And the raiment of godfearingness is better" (Koran 7:26).

p53.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "Only those with no share in the next world wear silk in this one."

(2) "Wearing gold and silk has been made unlawful for the men of my Community but permissible for its women."

p54.0 SLAUGHTERING IN OTHER THAN ALLAH'S NAME

P54.1 Allah Most High says: "Eat not of what the name of Allah has not been mentioned over; verily it is disobedience" (Koran 6:121).

p54.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "May Allah curse whoever slaughters in other than Allah's name."

p55.0 SURREPTITIOUSLY CHANGING PROPERTY-LINE MARKERS

P55.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "May Allah curse whoever changes the land's property-line markers."

p56.0 DISPARAGING THE PROPHETIC COMPANIONS (SAHABA)

p56.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "The curse of Allah is upon whoever reviles my Companions."

p56.2 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (Allah be well pleased with him) said: "By Him who cleaves the seed and creates the soul, it is the solemn word of the Illiterate Prophet to me that none shall love me except a believer, and none hate me except a hypocrite."\

p57.0 DISPARAGING THE MEDINAN HELPERS (ANSAR)

p57.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "The sign of faith is love of the Helpers (Ansar), and the sign of hypocrisy is hatred of the Helpers."

p58.0 HE WHO INAUGURATES A REPREHENSIBLE INNOVATION (BID'A)

(def:w29.3)

p58.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "He who calls others to misguidance is guilty of a sin equal to the sins of all who follow him therein without this diminishing their own sins in the slightest."

(2) "He who inaugurates a good sunna [custom] in Islam earns the reward of it and of all who

perform it after him without diminishing their own rewards in the slightest. And he who introduces a bad sunna is guilty of the sin of it and of all who perform it after him without diminishing their own sins in the slightest."

p59.0 WOMEN WEARING FALSE HAIR AND THE LIKE

P59.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said,

"Allah curse women who wear false hair or arrange it for others, who tattoo or have themselves tattooed, who pluck facial hair or eyebrows or have them plucked, and women who separate their front teeth for beauty, altering what Allah has created." (n: w51 discusses women removing facial hair.)

p60.0 POINTING A BLADE AT ONE'S BROTHER

p60.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "The angels curse whoever points a blade [A: or other weapon} at his brother [until he ceases], even if it be his brother from his mother and father."

p61.0 FALSELY CLAIMING SOMEONE IS ONE'S FATHER

p61.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "Paradise is forbidden to whoever falsely claims someone is his father, knowing he is not."

(2) "Do not wish for fathers other than your own. For someone to wish for a different father is unbelief."

p62.0 BELIEVING THAT SOMETHING PORTENDS BAD LUCK

p62.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "belief in a bad omen ins polytheism (shirk)."

p63.0 DRINKING FROM GOLD OR SILVER VESSELS

p63.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "Do not wear silk or brocade. Do not drink from vessels of gold or silver or eat from dishes made of them: these are for others [A: i.e. non-Muslims] in this world, and for you in the next."

(2) "He who eats or drinks from vessels of gold or silver but swallows hellfire into his belly."

p64.0 ARGUING, PICKING APART ANOTHER'S WORDS, AND QUARRELLING

p64.1 Allah Most High says:

(1) "They did not mention him [Jesus] to you as an example except for argument. Rather, they are quarrelsome people" (Koran 43:58).

(2) "Those who argue about the signs of Allah without authority having been given to them have nothing in their hearts but pride, to which they will never attain" (Koran 40:56).

p64.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "The man most hated by Allah is the obstinate arguer."

(2) "No people went astray after having been guided save that they were afflicted with arguing."

(3) "Arguing over the Koran is unbelief."

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(4) "He who presses for something he knows is false remains under the hatred of Allah until he gives it up."
(5) "The thing I fear most for my Community is the eloquent hypocrite."
(6) "Modesty and being at a loss for words are two components of true faith, while vulgarity and long-windedness are two components of hypocrisy."

p65.0 STINTING WHEN WEIGHING OR MEASURING OUT GOODS
p65.1 Allah Most High says:
"Woe to stinters who take their full share when measuring goods from people but skimp when measuring or weighing out for them. Do these not believe they will be raised to a momentous day, a day when people will stand before the Lord of the Worlds?"(Koran 83:1-6).
p65.2 This is a type of theft, a breach of faith, and consuming others property through falsehood.

p66.0 FEELING SECURE FROM ALLAH'S DEVISING
p66.1 Allah Most High says:
(1) "None feels safe from Allah's devising except people who are ruined" (Koran 7:99).
(2) "...until, when they were exulting in what they had been given, We suddenly seized them" (Koran 6:44).
(3) "Verily, those who do not hope to meet Us, who enjoy this world and feel at ease with it, and those who are oblivious to Our sings: their refuge is hell for what they have earned" (Koran 10:7-8).

p67.0 DESPAIRING OF THE MERCY OF ALLAH AND LOSS OF HOPE
p67.1 Allah Most High says:
(1) "None despairs of the mercy of Allah except people who disbelieve" (Koran 12:87).
(2) "It is He who sends down the rain after they have lost hope" (Koran 42:28).
(3) "Say: 'O My slaves who have been prodigal against yourselves, do not despair of the mercy of Allah'" (Koran 39:53).
p67.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said,
"Let none of you die except thinking he best of Allah."

p68.0 INGRATITUDE TO SOMEONE WHO DOES ONE A KINDNESS
p68.1 Allah Most High says: "...to show thanks to Me, and to your parents..." (Koran 31:14).
p68.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "He who does not thank people is unthankful to Allah,"
p68.3 One of the early Muslims said: "Ingratitude for a kindness is one of the enormities. Gratitude consists of reciprocating it or supplicating for the person."

p69.0 WITHHOLDING EXCESS WATER FROM OTHERS
p69.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:
(1) "Whoever denies others his surplus water or pasturage, Allah shall deny him His blessing on the Day of Judgement."
(2) "Do not sell surplus water."

p70.0 BRANDING AN ANIMAL'S FACE
p70.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) passed by a donkey whose face had been branded and said: "Haven't you heard that I have cursed whoever brands or strikes the faces of livestock?" -and he forbade it.
p70.2 The words of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) "Haven't you heard that I have cursed..." imply that he who has not heard the warning against an act is not guilty of sin by committing it, though whoever has heard and knows is included in the curse. we hold that it is likewise with all these enormities, except those which are necessarily known as being of the religion (def: f1.3(N:)).

p71.0 GAMBLING
p71.1 Allah Most High says: "Wine, gambling, idols, and fortune-telling arrows are but filth of the Devil's handiwork, so shun it, that you may succeed. The Devil only wants to create enmity and hatred between you over wine and gambling, and to prevent you from remembering Allah and from prayer. Will you not then desist?" (Koran 5:90-91).
p71.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Whoever says to his companion, "'Come, I will play you for stakes, must expiate by giving charity'," If merely saying this is a sin that calls for charity in expiation, what must one suppose about actually doing it? It is a form of consuming others' wealth through falsehood.

p72.0 VIOLATING THE MECCAN SACRED PRECINCT (HARAM)
p72.1 Allah Most High says: "...and al-Masjid al-Haram which We have appointed equally for all people, he who stays therein as well as the desert dweller. Whoever intends to violate it out of wrongdoing, We shall make him taste a painful torment" (Koran 22:25). (n: The words out of wrongdoing in the above verse mean "by reason of doing wrong through committing an act that is forbidden therein, even if it merely consists of reviling one of the caretakers" (Tafsir al-Jalalayn (y77), 436).).
p72.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Of all people, the greatest in outrage against Allah is he who kills in the Meccan Sacred Precinct, who kills someone who is not trying to kill him, or who kills because of the feuds of pre Islamic times."

p73.0 FORGOING THE FRIDAY PRAYER TO PRAY ALONE
p73.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:
(1) "I've considered having a man lead people at prayer and going myself to those who hang back from attending the Friday prayer to burn their houses down upon them."
(2) "Going to the Friday prayer is obligatory for every male who has reached puberty."

p74.0 SPYING ON THE MUSLIMS AND REVEALING THEIR WEAKNESSES
p74.1 Included in this subject is the hadith of Hatib ibn Abi Balta'a (A: Who sent a secret letter telling of the Muslims' military plans to his relatives in Mecca in hopes that they would not get hurt) whom Umar (Allah be well pleased with him) wanted to kill for what he had done, but the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) forbade Umar to, as Hatib had fought at Badr (A: and by accepting Hatib's excuse, left nothing for any Muslim to criticize (dis: p75.3)). If someone's spying entails undermining Islam and its people, or the killing, captivity, enslavement, or plundering of the Muslims, or anything of the like, then he is one of those who strive for corruption in the land ,destroying village and offspring, and his subject to death, and deserves the torment (A: of hellfire), may Allah save us from it. Anyone who spies necessarily knows that if ordinary talebearing is an enormity (dis: p45), a spy's carrying information is far more abominable and heinous.

p75.0 PROBABLE ENORMITIES
(n: Commentaries by Imam Nawawi and 'Abd al-Ra'uf Munawi have been added by the translator to some of the following hadiths.)

ENVY
p75.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:
(1) "Beware of envy, for envy consumes good works as fire consumes wood."
(2) "None of you believes until he loves for his brother what he loves for himself." (Nawawi:) It is fitter to interpret this hadith as referring to universal brotherhood, including both Muslims and non-Muslims, such that one loves for one's non-Muslim brother what one loves for oneself, i.e. to enter Islam, just as one loves one's Muslim brother to remain in Islam, this being why it is desirable (mustahabb) to pray for the guidance of non-Muslims. The hadith is understood as denying that someone who does not love for his brother what he loves for himself has perfect faith, love meaning to want what is good and advantageous for him, referring to religious love, not individual human love. For one's human nature might well dislike another's attaining the good, or surpassing oneself therin, though it is obligatory for one to resist this human tendency and pray for one's brother and desire for him what one desires for oneself. Someone who does not love for his brother what he loves for himself is envious, and envy, as Ghazali notes, is of three types (A: all of them unlawful). The first is to wish that another person cease to have something good in order to obtain it oneself. The second is to wish that another lose something good, even if one does not obtain it, as when one already has another like it, or does not want it, this being worse than the previous type. The third is when one does not wish that the other cease to have something good, but resents his having surpassed one in attainment or position, accepting his parity with one but not his superiority. And this is unlawful as well, because one thereby objects to Allah's division of His favor among His servants. Allah Most High says: "Are they the ones who apportion the mercy of your Lord? It is We who have divided their livelihoods between them in this life, and raised some of them in degrees above others" (Koran 43:32). So whoever does not accept this division opposes Allah Most High in His apportionment and His wisdom. One must remedy one's human nature, make it accept destiny, and resist it by praying that one's enemy be given what one's self-interest might prefer him not to have (al-Arba'un al-Nawawiyya wa sharhuha (y103),40).

NOT LOVING THE PROPHET (ALLAH BLESS HIM AND GIVE HIM PEACE) MORE THAN ALL PEOPLE
p75.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "None of you believes until I am more beloved to him that his wife, child, self, and all people." (Munawi:) Kirmani says: "Love of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) means the will to obey him and disobey him, this being one of the obligations of Islam" (Fayd al-Qadir sharh al-Jami' alsaghir (y91), 6.441).

CONTENDING WITH WHAT THE PROPHET (ALLAH BLESS HIM AND GIVE HIM PEACE) HAS BROUGHT
p75.3 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "None of you believes until his inclinations conform to what I have brought." (Nawawi:) This means a person must examine his acts in light of the Koran and sunna, suspending his own inclinations and following what the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) has brought. The hadith resembles the word of Allah Most High: "When Allah and His messenger have decided a matter, no believer, male or female, has a choice in their affair" (Koran 33:36). (al-Arba'un al-Nawawiyya wa sharhuha (y103), 74).

ACQUIESCING TO DISOBEDIENCE
p75.4 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:
(1) "Whoever of you sees something wrong, let him change it with his hand (dis: book q). If unable, then let him change it with his tongue. If unable, then with his heart. And that is the weakest degree of faith." And in the hadith related by Muslim concerning oppressors:
(2) "Whoever fights them with his hand is a believer, whoever fights them with his tongue is a believer, whoever fights them in his heart is a believer, Beyond that, there is not a mustard grain of faith." This hadith proves that whoever does not condemn acts of disobedience in his heart or wish they would cease is devoid of faith. Fighting with the heart includes asking Allah Most High to annihitate the falsehood and its prepetrators, or improve them.
(3) "Leaders will be placed over you that some of you will accept and some of you condemn.
Whoever dislikes what they do is innocent. Whoever condemns what they do is secure. But not whoever accepts and follows them." Someone said: 'Shouldn't we fight them?'" And he replied, "No, not as long as the maintain the prayer (dis: o25.3) (a(A:))) among you."

HELPING ANOTHER TO WRONGFULLY DISPUTE
p75.5 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "He who helps another to argue without right remains under the hatred of Allah until he gives up."

UNDERHANDEDNESS
p75.6 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Plotting and duplicity are in the hellfire."

DISAFFECTING A PERSON'S SPOUSE OR SERVANT FROM HIM
p75.7 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "He who disaffects a person's wife or servant from him is not of us."

VULGARITY
p75.8 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:
(1) "Modesty is of faith, and faith is in paradise. Vulgarity is of rudeness, and rudeness is in hell."
(2) "Allah detests the foulmouthed, vulgar person."

BEING LEADERLESS
P75.9 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "The death of someone who dies without the leader of a group over him is as if he had died in the pre-Islamic period of Jahiliyyah (ignorance) (A: leader meaning the caliph (def: 025) or his representative, if the exist (dis: p40.2(A:))."

BENEFITING AT A MUSLIM'S EXPENSE
p75.10 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Whoever eats food obtained at the expense of a Muslim, Allah will feed him hellfire on Judgement Day. He who gains a prestigious reputation at the expense of a Muslim, Allah will reduce him to the position of the show-offs and boasters (def: p33.2) on Judgement Day. He who wears a garment acquired at the expense of a Muslim, Allah will dress him in a garment of fire on Judgement Day."

SHUNNING A MUSLIM WITHOUT RIGHT
p75.11 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Whoever shuns his brother for a year is as though he had spilled his blood." (Munawi:) This means that avoiding him for a year deserves punishment in the hereafter just as spilling his blood does, and that both the person who shuns someone and he who kills someone are involved in sin, though not on the same level, for the use of a simile does not imply the parity of the simile's subject to the thing with which it has been compared. Shafi'i holds it is unlawful to shun a Muslim for three days unless there is a valid reason such as the religious improvement of the person avoiding the other or

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person being avoided, or when the latter is morally corrupt or involved in reprehensible innovation (bid'a, def: w29.3) (Fayd al-Qadir shah al-Jami' al-saghir (y91), 6.234).

INTERCEDING FOR THE GUILTY

p75.12 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "He whose intercession comes between a criminal and one of Allah's prescribed penalties has defied Allah in His command."

SAYING SOMETHING THAT ALLAH DETESTS

p75.13 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "A man says something" Allah detests that he does not think twice about, for which he plunges into hell (dis:r1)."

(2) "A man says something pleasing to Allah, not imagining it amounts to what it does, for which Allah records His pleasure in him until Judgement Day. And a man say something that angers Allah, not imagining it amounts to what it does, for which Allah records His wrath against him until the day he meets Him."

SAYING "MASTER" (SAYYID) TO A HYPOCRITE

p75.14 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Do not say "master" to a hypocrite, for if he is a master, you have angered your Lord Mighty and Majestic."

BREAKING A PROMISE

p75.15 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "The signs of a hypocrite are three: when he speaks he lies, when he promises he breaks it, and when entrusted he betray his trust." (A: If one makes an ordinary promise to another person, it is sunna to keep the promise, though it is strictly unlawful to make a promise that one has no intention to keep, this being how scholars interpret the above hadith.) Lying and betraying a trust have been mentioned before, while here we are discussing promise breaking. Allah Most High says: "Of them, there is one who promised Allah, 'If He bestows of His generosity on us, we shall certainly give charity and be of the righteous'" (Koran 9:75). (n: Suyuti notes that the person referred to above "is Tha'laba ibn Hatib, who asked the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) to pray that Allah would enrich him, so that he might give everyone their just due. So the Prophet supplicated for him and he became wealthy, but then he stopped coming to the Friday prayer, withdrew from the community, and refused to pay zakat, as Allah Most High says: "But when He gave to them of His generosity, they hoarded it and turned away in aversion. So He punished them by putting hypocrisy into their hearts until the day they meet Him, because they broke their promise to Allah and lied" (Koran 9:76-77). Some time after this, he brought the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) his zakat, but the Prophet told him, 'Allah forbides me to accept it from you, 'at which Tha'laba threw handfuls of dust upon his own head. He later (A: in the time of the subsequent caliphate) took his zakat to Abu Bakr, but he would not accept it. Then to 'Umar, but he would not accept it. Then he took it to 'Uthman, but he would not accept it either, and he died in the reign of 'Uthman" (Tafsir al-Jalalayn (y77), 253).)

NOT TRIMMING ONE'S MUSTACHE

p75.16 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "He who does not trim his mustache (def: e4.1(2)) is not one of us."

(2) "Be different from the Zoroastrians: grow your beards and trim your mustaches."

NOT PERFORMING THE HAJJ WHEN ABLE TO

p75.17 'Umar ibn Khattab (Allah be well pleased with him) said:

"I have considered sending men to these cities to see who has not made the pilgrimage, and collect the non-Muslim poll tax (jizya, def: o11.4) from everyone possessing the means who has not performed it (def:j1.5-10). They are not Muslims. They are not Muslims."

KEEPING AN INHERITANCE FROM AN HEIR

p75.18 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Whoever prevents his heirs from receiving their inheritance (dis: w52.1(234-36)), Allah will prevent his inheriting paradise."

TALKING ABOUT HOW ONE'S WIFE MAKES LOVE

p75.19 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Among the worst people in Allah's sight on Judgement Day will be the man who makes love to his wife and she to him, and he divulges her secret."

SODOMISING ONE'S WIFE

p75.20 The Prophet (Allah Bless him and give him peace) said: "He who sodomizes a woman is accursed."

INTERCOURSE WITH ONE'S WIFE DURING MENSTRUATION

p75.21 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Whoever has intercourse with a woman during her period, or sodomises a woman, or who goes to a fortune-teller and believes him, has committed unbelief (A: if he considers an of these permissible)."

LOOKING INTO ANOTHER'S HOUSE WITHOUT LEAVE

p75.22 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "Were a man to look at you without permission and you threw a rock at him and knocked out his eye, you would not have committed any offense."

(2) "Whoever peeps into a house without its people's leave, they may put out his eye."

EXESSIVENESS IN RELIGION

p75.23 Allah Most High says: "Say 'O people of the Book, do not be excessive in your religion'" (Koran 4:171). (Qurtubi:) According to exegetes, this refers to the extremism of the Jews concerning Jesus in accusing Mary of fornication, and the extremism of the Christians in considering him a god. For both excessiveness and remissness are evil, and both may be unbelief (al-Jami' li ahkam al-Koran (y117), 6.21).

The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Beware of going to extremes (in religion), for those before you were only destroyed through excessiveness." (Munawi:) Ibn Taymiya says, "His saying 'Beware of going to extremes in religion' is a general prohibition applying to all types of extremes, whether in belief or works" (Fayd al-Qadir sharh al-Jami' al-saghir (y91), 3.126).

NOT ACCEPTING A SWORN STATEMENT

p74.24 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Whoever is sworn to in Allah's name, let him accept it, for whoever does not has nothing to do with Allah in anything."

STINGINESS

P75.25 Allah Most High says:

(1) "Whoever is watchful against the stinginess of his own soul, those are the successful" (Koran 59:9).

(2) "Here you are, called upon to spend in the Way of Allah, and some of you are being stingy, while whoever is stingy is only ungenerous towards himself. It is Allah who is rich and you who are the poor" (Koran 47:38). The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "What disease is worse than stinginess?"

(2) "Three things are deadly: avarice obeyed, caprice yielded to, and opinionated people's pride in their opinions."

SITTING IN THE CENTRE OF A CIRCLE

p75.26 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) cursed whoever sits in the middle of a circle of

people (A: because such a person sees himself as better than they are).

PASSING IN FRONT OF SOMEONE PERFORMING THE PRAYER

p75.27 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "If someone passing in front of a person performing the prayer knew of the penalty for it, it would be better for him to wait for forty (n: a variant has, "a hundred years")." (A: In front means within the length of the person's prostration, or the distance to the barrier he is using (def; f7) if it is not far.) (Munawi:) Ibn Daqiq al-Eid says: "A Maliki scholar has distinguished four situations respecting the sin of the person praying and the person who passes in front of him (n: given P, the person praying, and Q, the person passing in front of him):

(1) Q sins but not P when P is praying behind a barrier in a place that is not a commonly used

walkway and Q passes in front of him when there is another alternative (A: meaning another route, since to stop and wait is not considered an alternative, though it is superior);

(2) P sins but not Q when P is praying in a commonly used walkway without a barrier, or at a

considerable distance from one, and Q has no other alternative but to pass in front of him;

(3) both P and Q sin when P is praying in circumstances like (2) above, if Q has an alternative route but passes in front of P anyway;

(4) and neither P nor Q sin when P is praying in circumstances like (1) above, if Q has no alternative and passes in front of P." (Fayd al-Qadir sharh al-Jami' al-saghir (y91), 5.338)

NOT LOVING ONE'S FELLOW MUSLIMS

p75.28 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "By Him in whose hand is m soul, none of you will enter paradise until you believe, and none of you will believe until you love each other. Shall I not tell you of something which if you do it will create love among? Increase the custom of greeting each other with 'as-Salamu 'alaykum.'" (Kitab al-Kaba'ir wa tabyin al-maharim (y36), 35-181) p76.0 (n: Most of the above enormities are agreed upon b all four schools of jurisprudence. A more comprehensive list b Ibn Hajar Haytami is given below at w52.)

p77.0 THE CONDITIONS OF A VALID REPENTANCE

p77.1 (Nawawi: (n: with commentary by Mohammed ibn Allah Bakri (B:))) Scholars state that repentance is obligatory for every sin (B: there being scholarly consensus (def: b7) that it is Obligatory for both lessor sins and enormities, and for both outward acts and inward ones such as malice or envy).

p77.2 When a person's disobedience is solely between him and Allah Most High, unconnected with another human being's rights, his repentance has three conditions:

(a) to desist from the sin;

(b) to regret having done it (B: because of its being disobedience, since regretting it for some other reason is of no consequence);

(c) and to resolve never to commit it again.

(B: Some hold that after having repented of it, it is also a condition that one abandon the company of whoever committed the act with one, and also that one's repentance be purely for the sake of Allah, a restriction that Ibn HajarHaytami embeds in the first condition above by saying, "to desist from the sin solely for the sake of Allah, since abandoning it out of fear, ostentation, or other motive besides Allah Most High is not considered desisting.") If any of these conditions is lacking, one's repentance is not valid.

p77.3 If the act of disobedience is connected with the rights of another human being, repentance for it has four conditions; the three mentioned above, plus clearing oneself of the obligation owed to the other person. If this obligation is property or the like, one must return it (A: by any means, secretly, or openly, even as an ostensible gift) to him (B: i.e to its owner, meaning to return the article itself if it still exists, or if it does not, then a substitute, whether this be its value or an equal amount of it). (N: Becoming a Muslim eliminates all previous sins except those involving rights or property owed to other people. Allah does not pardon these until they are restored or forgiven.) If the right in question is the penalty for charging someone with adultery when there are not four witnesses (def:o13) or the like (B: such as a victim's right to retaliate (o3) for a homicide or injury) then one must give oneself up to him (B: to permit him to inflict the penalty due) or else ask him to forgive it. (B: The author's words seem to imply that the validity of repentance depends on performing the above, of returning the property or giving oneself up-i.e. when possible, for otherwise one intends to do so when possible, or asks he victim for amnesty-but the position of the Imam (A: Juwayni), which Izz ibn Abd al Salam and our author (n: Nawawi) also follow, is that one's repentance is valid regarding the rights of Allah Most High (N: through merely repenting), while the other person's right is an obligation that remains upon one (dis:w53), as does the sin of not discharging it). If the wrong done to another consists of slander (def: r2), the one must have him pardon it (B: by informing him so he can forgive one, though informing him is only a necessary condition when doing so will not cause even greater harm, though if it will as when one fears the other will kill one, informing him is not obligatory. Both asking for the person's forgiveness and informing him of what one said are only obligatory when he has heard that he has been slandered. If he has not, then asking Allah's forgiveness is sufficient) (Riyad al-salihin (y107), 10-11, and Dalil alfalihin li turuq Riyad al-salihin (y25), 1.88-91).

BOOK Q

COMMANDING THE RIGHT AND FORBIDDING THE WRONG

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q0.0 INTRODUCTION

q0.1 (n: The discussion and analysis that follow are Imam Ghazali's, edited by the Hanbali scholar Ibn Qudama Maqdisi from an earlier abridgement of Ghazali's Ihya' ulum al-din by Abd al-Rahman ibn Jawzi, which Maqdisi shortened to a single volume whose conciseness, if less vivid than the Ihya', better lends itself to the purpose of the present section, which is to discuss the practical implications of an important aspect of Scared Law.)

q0.2 (Ibn Qudama Maqdisi:) One should know that commanding the right and forbidding the wrong is the most important fundamental of the religion, and is the mission that Allah sent the prophets to fulfill. if it were folded up and put away, religion itself would vanish, dissolution appear, and whole lands come to ruin.

q1.0 THE OBLIGATION TO COMMAND THE RIGHT

Q1.1 Allah Most High says: "Let there be a group of you who call to good, commanding the right and forbidding the wrong, for those are the successful" (Koran 3:104). This verse explains that commanding the right and forbidding the wrong re a communal rather than a personal obligation (dis: c3.2), for He says, "Let there be a group of you..."and not, All of you command the right." So if enough people do it (A: meaning that whenever a wrong is seen, one of those who see it corrects it), the responsibility is lifted from the rest, those who perform it being expressly mentioned as the successful. There are many verses in the Holy Koran about commanding the right and forbidding the wrong.

q1.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "Those who keep within Allah's limits and those who transgress them or allow them to be

compromised may be compared to people on a ship, some of whom must stay below deck in the hardest and worst place, while others get passage above. When those below need water, they pass through those on the upper deck, injuring and annoying them until those below reflect, 'If we were to stave a hole in the hull we could get water without troubling those above. Were those above deck to leave those below to themselves, all would be destroyed, while if they were to help them, all would be saved'."

(2) "Whoever of you sees something wrong, let him change it with his hand. If unable to, then let him change it with his tongue. If unable, then with his heart. And that is the weakest degree of faith."

(3) "The best jihad is speaking the truth to an unjust ruler."

(4) "When you see my Community too intimidated by an oppressor to tell him, 'You are a tyrant,' then you may as well say good by to them."

(5) "Command the right and forbid the wrong, or Allah will put the worst of you in charge of the best of you, and the best will supplicate Allah and be left unanswered."

q1.3 Abu Bakr (Allah be well pleased with him) rose from his place, and after having praised Allah Most High, said, "O people: you recite the verse, 'O you who believe: you are responsible for yourselves; those who go astray will not harm you if you are guided'. (Koran 5:105), 'while we have heard the Messenger of Allah (Allah bless him and give him peace) say, "People who do not change something wrong when they see it are on the verge of a sweeping punishment from Allah.'"

q2.0 WHO MAY COMMAND THE RIGHT AND FORBID THE WRONG

LEGAL RESPONSIBILITY

q2.1 There are four integrals (def: q2-5) in commanding the right and forbidding the wrong, the first of which is that the person doing so be legally responsible (def: c8.1), Muslim, and able to, these being the conditions for it to be obligatory, though a child of the age of discrimination (def: f1.2) who condemns something dishonorable is rewarded for doing so, even if it is not obligatory for him to.

MORAL RECTITUDE IS NOT A CONDITION

q2.2 As for requirements of moral rectitude in the person giving the reprimand, some scholars take this into consideration and say that a corrupt person is not entitled to censure, a position for which they adduce the word of Allah Most High: "Do you enjoin piety to others and forget yourselves?" (Koran 2:44), but there are no grounds in the verse for such and inference.

HAVING THE CALIPH'S PERMISSION

q2.3 Some scholars stipulate that the person delivering the censure must have permission to do so from the caliph (def: o25) or his regional appointee, and do not grant that private individuals may censure others. This is untrue, for the Koranic verses and hadiths all indicate that whoever sees something wrong and does nothing has sinned. Stipulating that there must be permission from the caliph is mere arbitrary opinion. One should realize that there are five levels of censure: explaining the wrong nature of the act, admonishing the person politely, reviling him and harshness, forcibly stopping the act (such as by breaking musical instruments or pouring out wine), and finally, intimidation and threatening to strike the person or actually hitting him to stop what he is doing. It is the latter level, not the first four, that requires the caliph, because it may lead to civil disorder. The early Muslims' invariable practice of reprimanding those in authority decisively proves by their consensus (def: b7) that there is no need for a superior's authorisation. If it be wondered whether a child is entitled to reprove his father, or a wife her husband, or for private citizens to reprove their ruler, the answer is that all are fundamentally entitled to. We have distinguished the five levels: the child is entitled to explain the nature of the act, to admonish and advise his parents politely, and finally may censure at the fourth level by such things as breaking a lute, pouring out wine, and so forth. This is also the sequence that should be observed by a wife. As for private citizens with their ruler, the matter is much graver than a child's reproving his father, and citizens are only entitled to explain the matter and advise.

BEING ABLE TO CENSURE

q2.4 It is a necessary condition that the person condemning something wrong be able to do so. Someone who is unable is not obliged to condemn it except in his heart. The obligation is not only lifted when physically unable, but also when one fears that problems (def: q2.7) will result for one, which also comes under the heading of inability. The obligation to censure the wrong is likewise lifted when one knows that the reproach will be ineffective. Four situations may be distinguished with respect to this:

(1) When one knows (def: q2.6) the wrong will be eliminated by speaking or acting without this entailing problems for oneself, one is obliged to censure it.

(2) When one knows that speaking will be ineffective and one will be beaten if one does, one is not obliged to.

(3) When one knows that one's censure will be ineffective but it does not entail problems for one, it is not obligatory, because of its ineffectiveness, though one is still recommended to censure the act is order to manifest the standards of Islam and remind people of their religion.

(A: Hadiths that seem to show the nonobligatoriness of commanding the right and forbidding the wrong are understood by Islamic scholars as referring to specific situations in which censure is ineffectual, and are not global statements about this obligation's inapplicability to a certain era of history, such as our own or some future time. Commanding the right and forbidding the wrong will be obligatory until the Day of Judgement.)

(4) And when one knows that it will cause problems for one but the wrong will be eliminated by censuring it, such as with breaking a lute or dumping out wine when one knows one will be beaten for it, then one is not obliged but rather recommended to, as is evident from the hadith, "The best jihad is speaking the truth to an unjust ruler" There is no disagreement among scholars that it is permissible for a single Muslim to attack battlelines of unbelievers headlong and fight them even if he knows he will be killed. But if one knows it will not hurt them at all, such as if a blind man were to hurl himself against them, then it is unlawful. Likewise, if someone who is alone sees a corrupt person with a bottle of wine beside him and a sword in his hand, and he knows that the person will chop his neck if he censures him for drinking, it is not permissible for him to do so, as it would not entail any religious advantage worth giving one's life for. Such censure is only praiseworthy when one is able to eliminate the wrong and one's action will produce some benefit.

q2.5 If one wants to censure something but knows it will result in one's companions also being beaten with one, it is not permissible for one to do so, because one is incapable of removing one blameworthy thing without its leading to another. (N: It is not lawful to censure anything reprehensible when doing so will lead to a thing or state that is more reprehensible.)

q2.6 Know only means what one believes will probably result. Someone who thinks that it will create problems for him is not obligated to censure, though someone who does not believe that problems will result is obliged to. Cowardice does not enter into consideration here, not foolhardy courage, but rather the normal temperament of someone with a sound disposition.

q2.7 Problems means being beaten, killed, robbed, or acquiring a bad name in town. As for being reviled and disparaged, it is not an excuse to remain silent, for someone who commands what is right generally meets with it.

q3.0 WHAT MAY BE CENSURED

q3.1 The second integral of commanding the right and forbidding the wrong is that the thing censured is something blameworthy that exists at present and is apparent. Blameworthy means that its occurrence is prohibited by Sacred Law, this being of wider scope than mere disobedience, for someone who sees a child or insane person drinking wine (A: which is not a sin in relation to them) is obliged to pour it out and forbid them. That exists at present excludes someone who has drunk wine and is now finished, and so forth. It also excludes something which will take place later, as when there is evidence that a person intends to go drinking that night. There is no censure in such cases other than to appeal to the person's conscience. Apparent excludes someone who conceals his disobedience at home and locks his door. It is not permissible to spy on him. An exception is if something is manifest to another outside the house, such as the sound of pipes and lutes. Someone who hears them may enter and break the instruments. If one smells the odor of wine outside the house, the sounder opinion is that it is permissible to enter and condemn it.

ONE MAY NOT CONDEMN ANOTHER FOR QUESTIONS INVOLVING DIFFERENCES AMONG SCHOOLS OF JURISPRUDENCE

q3.2 It is a necessary condition that the thing censured be something whose blameworthiness is not merely established by ijtihad (n: the independent legal reasoning of a particular Imam). Any question in which there is ijtihad may not be a cause for censure. A Hanafi, for example, may not condemn a Shafi'i for eating something slaughtered without the Basmala (dis: j17.5(4)), nor a Shafi'i condemn a Hanafi for drinking some nonintoxicating raisin drunk (N: nor a Muslim condemn a non-Muslim for drinking wine (dis: o11.5(1))). (A: But if two individuals follow the same school of Sacred Law and one commits an act that is unlawful or offensive in that school or in each of the two's respective schools, it is obligatory for the other person to condemn the act even when it involves the ijtihad of their Imam. And the Shafi'i must condemn the Hanafi for eating something slaughtered without the Basmala, as the Hanafi is doing something he believes to be wrong.)

q4.0 THE PERSON DOING THE WRONG

q4.1 The third integral of commanding the right and forbidding the wrong is the person being

reprimanded. It is sufficient that he be a person, and is not necessary that he be legally responsible, as we have previously mentioned (q3.1) in respect to censuring a child or insane person.

q5.0 THE ACT OF CENSURING

q5.1 The fourth integral is the censure itself, which has various degrees of severity and has rules.

KNOWLEDGE OF THE WRONG ACT

q5.2 The first degree consists of knowing the wrong act. One should not eavesdrop at another's house in order to hear the sounds of musical instruments, or try to catch the scent of wine, or feel for an object concealed beneath someone's shirt to see if it is a flute, or ask a person's neighbours to see what he is doing. But if two upright witnesses (def: o24.4) come and inform one that someone is drinking, one may enter his house and take him to task.

EXPLAINING THAT SOMETHING IS WRONG

q5.3 The second degree consists of explaining that an act is wrong, since an ignorant person will often do something he does not know is blameworthy, but will stop when he finds out. So one must explain it politely, saying, for example: "People are not born scholars; we were unfamiliar with many things in Sacred Law until scholars mentioned them to us. Perhaps there are not many in your hometown," and thus lead up to it diplomatically so the person understands without being offended. To avoid the evil of remaining silent when there is something wrong, only to commit the evil of offending a Muslim when able not to, it like washing away blood with urine.

FORBIDDING THE ACT VERBALLY

q5.4 The third degree of severity is to prohibit the act by admonition, advice, and making the other fear Allah, mentioning the hadiths of divine punishment for it and reminding the person how the early Muslims behaved, all of which should be done with sympathy and kindness, not harshness or anger. The great danger here which one must beware of is that a learned person explaining that something is wrong may be proud of his knowledge and gloat over the lowliness of the other's ignorance, which is like saving someone from a fire by casting oneself into it. It is ignorant in the extreme, a deep disgrace, and a delusion from the Devil. The touchstone and test for this is to ask oneself whether one

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would prefer the censured person to stop at his own or another's behest, or whether one would prefer to forbid him oneself. If reproving him is difficult and weighs upon one, and one would prefer that someone else do it, then one should proceed, for religion is the motive. But if it is otherwise, then one is following mere personal caprice and using the censuring of others as a means to display one's merit, and one should fear Allah and censure oneself first.

CENSURING WITH HARSH WORDS

q5.5 The fourth degree of severity consists of reviling the person and bearing down on him with sharp, harsh words. One does not resort to this degree unless one is unable to prevent the person by politeness, and he shows he wants to persist or mocks one's admonitions and advice. Reviling him does not mean vulgarity and lies, but rather saying "You degenerate," "You idiot "You ignoramus," "Do you not fear Allah?" and so forth. Allah Most high quotes Ibrahim (upon whom be peace) saying: "Fie on you and what you worship apart from Allah! Can you not think?" (Koran 21.67).

RIGHTING THE WRONG BY HAND

q5.6 The fifth degree consists of changing the blameworthy thing with one's hand, such as by breaking musical instruments, pouring out wine, or turning someone out of a house wrongfully appropriated. There are two rules for this degree:

(1) not to do so when one can get the person to do it himself, i.e. if one can get someone to leave the land he has unjustly taken, one should not drag or push him from it;

(2) and to break the instruments, for example, just enough to obviate their being used for disobedience and no more, or to be careful not to break the bottles when pouring out wine. If one cannot manage except by throwing rocks at the bottles or the like, then one may do so and is not obliged to cover the damages. If it be wondered whether one may break the bottles or drag someone by the foot out of a wrongfully appropriated house to create fear, as an object lesson to others, the answer is that this is for leaders alone and is not permissible for private individuals because of the obscurity of the decision-making criteria in the matter..

INTIMIDATION

q5.7 The sixth degree is threatening and intimidation, such as by saying, "Stop this or I'll-"; and when possible this should precede actually hitting the person. The rule for this level is not to make a threat that one cannot carry out, such as saying "or I'll seize your house," or "take you wife hostage," because if one says this seriously, it is unlawful, and if not serious, then one is lying.

ASSAULT

q5.8 The seventh degree is to directly hit or kick the person, or similar measures that do not involve weapons. This is permissible for private individuals provided it is necessary, and that one confines oneself to the minimum needed to stop the reprehensible action and nothing more. When the action has been stopped, one refrains from doing anything further.

FORCE OF ARMS

q5.9 The eighth degree is when one is unable to censure the act by oneself and requires the armed assistance of others. Sometimes the person being reproved may also get people to assist him, and a skirmish may ensue, so the soundest legal opinion is that this degree requires authorization from the caliph (def : o25). since it leads to strife and the outbreak of civil discord. Another view is that there is no need for caliph's permission.

q6.0 THE ATTRIBUTES OF THE PERSON CENSURING

q.6.1 Having presented in detail the rules for someone condemning the wrong, they may be summarised in three traits needed by the person giving the reprimand:

(1) knowledge of the (A: above-mentioned) appropriate circumstances for censure and their

definitions, so as to keep within lawful bounds;

(2) godfearingness, without which one might know something but not apply it because of some personal interest;

(3) and good character, the prime prerequisite for being able to control oneself, for when anger is aroused, ;mere knowledge and piousness are seldom sufficient to suppress it if character is lacking.

REDUCING ONE'S DEPENDENCE ON OTHERS

q6.2 Among the rules for commanding the right and forbidding the wrong is to depend less on others and eliminate desire for what they have, so as not to have to compromise one's principles. A story is told about one of the early Muslims who used to get offal each day from the neighbourhood butcher for his cat. He noticed something blameworthy about the butcher, so he returned home and turned out the cat before returning to reprimand the man, who retorted, "From now on. I'm not giving you a thing for your cat," to which he replied, "I did not censure you till I gave up both the cat and any desire for what you have." And this is the fact of the matter. One cannot reprimand others as long as one is anxious for two things: the things people give one, and their approval and praise of one.

q6.3 As for politeness in commanding the right and forbidding the wrong, it is obligatory. Allah Most High says: "Speak unto him gentle words" (Koran 20:44) (A: this being to Pharaoh, the enemy of Allah, so how then with one's fellow Muslims?) (Mukhtasar Minhaj al-qasidin (y62), 123-30).

BOOK R - HOLDING ONE'S TONGUE

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r0.0 INTRODUCTION

r0.1 (n: Book r has been edited from Nawawi's al-Adhkar al-muntakhaba minkalam Sayyid al-Abrar and from al-Durar al-mubaha fi al-hazr wa al-ibaha, a work on the lawful and unlawful by the Hanafi scholar Khalil Nahlawi.)

r0.2 (Nawawi:) Having previously discussed what Allah Most Glorious and Exalted has facilitated of recommended invocation (dhikr) and the like, I wish to add here the expressions which are offensive or unlawful, that the book ;might fully encompass the rulings on words and explain their categories, mentioning the objects thereof that every religious person needs to know (al-Adhkar (y102), 450).

r1.0 THE IMPORTANCE OF HOLDING ONE'S TONGUE

r1.1 (Nawawi:) Every legally responsible person should refrain from saying anything except when there is a clear advantage to speaking. Whenever speaking and not speaking are of equal benefit, it is sunna to remain silent, for permissible speech easily leads to that which is unlawful or offensive, as actually happens much or even most of the time - and there is no substitute for safety. The Prophet (Allah) bless him and give him peace) said: "Whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day, let him say what is good or remain silent." This hadith, whose authenticity Bukhari and Muslim concur upon, is an explicit ;legal text indicating that a person should not speak unless what he intends to say is good, meaning that the benefit of it is apparent to him. Whenever one doubts that there is a clear advantage, one should not speak. Imam Shafi'i (Allah have mercy on him) said, "when one wishes to speak, one must first reflect, and if there is a clear interest to be served by speaking, one speaks, while if one doubts it, one remains silent until the advantage becomes apparent."

r1.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace):

(1) "O Messenger of Allah, which of the Muslims is best?" And he said, "He who the Muslims are safe from his tongue and his hand."

(2) "A servant unthinkingly says something pleasing to Allah Most High for which Allah raises him whole degrees. And a servant unthinkingly says something detested by Allah Most High for which he plunges into hell,"

(3) "The excellence of a person's Islam includes leaving what does not concern him [def: w54]."

(4) "Do not speak much without mentioning Allah (dhikr), for too much speech without mentioning Allah hardens the heart, and the hard-hearted are the farthest of all people from Allah Most High."

(5) "All of a human being's words count against him and not for him, except commanding the right, forbidding the wrong, and the mention of Allah Most High (dhikr)."

r1.3 The Master Abul Qasim Qushayri (Allah have mercy of him) said, "Safety lies in remaining silent, which should be one's basis. Silence at the appropriate time is the mark of men, just as speech at the appropriate time is one of the finest qualities. I have heard Abu 'Ali Daqqaq(Allah be well pleased with him) say, 'He who is silent when something should be said is a tongueless villain'"(ibid., 450-55).

r2.0 SLANDER (GHIBA)

r2.1 (Nawawi:) Slander and talebearing are two of the ugliest and most frequently met with qualities among men,

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few people being safe from them. I have begun with them because of the widespread need to warn people of them.

SLANDER

r2.2 Slander (ghiba) means to mention anything concerning a person that he would dislike, whether about his body, religion, everyday life, self, disposition, property, son, father, wife, servant, turban, garment, gait, movements, smiling, dissoluteness, frowning, cheerfulness, or anything else connected with him. Mention means by word, writing, sign, or indicating him with one's eye, hand, head, and so forth. Body refers to saying such things as that someone is blind, lame, bleary-eyed, bald, short, tall, dark, or pale. Religion includes saying that he is corrupt, a thief, cannot be trusted, is a tyrant, does not care about the prayer, does not watch to avoid filth, does not honor his father, does not spend zakat on what it should be spent on, or does not avoid slandering others. Everyday life includes saying that his manners are poor; he does not care about others; does not think he owes anyone anything; that he talks, eats, or sleeps too much; or sleeps or sits when he should not. Father refers to saying such things as that his father is corrupt, his father is an Indian, Nabatean, African, cobbler, draper, carpenter, blacksmith, or weaver (n: if mentioned derogatorily). Disposition includes saying that he has bad character, is arrogant, a show-off, overhasty, domineering, incapable, fainthearted, irresponsible, gloomy, dissolute, and so forth. Clothing means saying such things as that his sleeves are too loose, his garment hangs too low, is dirty, or the like. Other remarks can be judged by the above examples. The determining factor is mentioning about a person what he would not like.

r2.3 As for talebearing (namima), it consists of quoting someone's words to another in a way that worsens relations between them.

THE EVIDENCE THAT SLANDER AND TALEBEARING ARE UNLAWFUL

r2.4 The above define slander and talebearing. As for the ruling on them, it is that they are unlawful, by the consensus (def:b7) of Muslims. There is much explicit and intersubstantiative evidence that they are unlawful from the Koran, sunna, and consensus of the Muslim Community.

r2.5 Allah Most High says:

(1) "Do not slander one another" (Koran 49.12).

(2) "Woe to whomever disparages others behind their back or to their face" (Koran 104:1)

(3) "... slanderer, going about with tales" (Koran 68.11)

r2.6 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "The talebearer will not enter paradise."

(2) "Do you know what slander is?" They answered, "Allah and His messenger know best." He said: "It is to mention of your brother that which he would dislike." Someone asked, "what if he is as I say?" And he replied: "If he is as you say, you have slandered him, and if not, you have calumniated him."

(3) The Muslim is the brother of the Muslim. He does not betray him, lie to him, or hang back from coming to his aid. All of the Muslim is inviolable to his fellow Muslim: his reputation, his property, his blood. Godfearingness is here[N: pointing to his heart]. It is sufficiently wicked for someone to belittle his fellow Muslim."

MIMICKING ANOTHER'S IDIOSYNCRACIES

r2.7 We have mentioned above that slander is saying anything about a person that he would dislike, whether aloud, in writing, by a sign, or a gesture. Anything by which one conveys a Muslim's (A: or non-Muslim's) shortcomings to another is slander, and unlawful. It includes doing imitations of someone, such as by walking with a limp, with a stoop, or similar posture, intending to mimic the person with such a deficiency. Anything of this sort is unquestionably unlawful.

SLANDER IN PUBLISHED WORKS

r2.8 Slander also includes the author of a book mentioning a specific person in his work by saying, "So-and-so says such and such," which is unlawful if he thereby intends to demean him. But if he wants to clarify the person's mistake so that others will not follow him, or expose the weakness of his scholarship so others will not be deceived and accept what he says, it is not slander, but rather advice that is obligatory, and is rewarded by Allah for the person who intends it as such. Nor is it slander for a writer or other person to say, "There are those [or "a certain group"] who say such and such, which is a mistake, error, ignorance, and folly," and so forth, which is not slander because slander entails mentioning a particular person or a group of specific individuals.

SLANDER BY ALLUSION AND INNUENDO

r2.9 When the person being spoken to understands whom one is referring to, it is slander and

unlawful to say, for example, "A certain person did such and such," or "A certain scholar," "Someone with pretensions to knowledge," "A certain Mufti certain person regarded as good," "Someone who claims to be an ascetic," "One of those who passed by us today," or "One of the people we saw." This includes the slander of some would-be scholars and devotees, who make slanderous innuendoes that are as clearly understood as if they were plainly stated. When one of them is asked, for example, how So-and-so is, he replies, "May Allah improve us," "May Allah forgive us," "May Allah improve him," "We ask Allah's forbearance," "Praise be to Allah who has not afflicted us with visiting oppressors," "We take refuge in Allah from evil," "May Allah forgive us for lack of modesty," "May Allah relent towards us," and the like, from which the listener understands the person's shortcomings. All of this is slander and is unlawful, just as when one says, "So-and-so is afflicted with what we all are," or "There's no way he can manage this," or "We all do it." r2.10 The above are but examples. Otherwise, as previously mentioned, the criterion for slander is that one gives the person being addressed to understand another's faults.

LISTENING TO SLANDER

r2.11 Just as slander is unlawful for the one who says it, it is also unlawful for the person hearing it to listen and acquiesce to. It is obligatory whenever one hears some one begin to slander another to tell him to stop if this does not entail manifest harm to one. If it does, then one is obliged to condemn it in one's heart and to leave the company if able. When the person who hears it is able to condemn it in words or change the subject, then he must. It is a sin for him not to. But if the hearer tells the slanderer to be silent while desiring him in his heart to continue, this, as Ghazali notes. is hypocrisy that does not lift the sin from him, for one must dislike it in one's heart. r2.12 Whenever one is forced to remain at a gathering where there is slander and one is unable to condemn it, or one's condemnation goes unheeded and one cannot leave, it is nevertheless unlawful to listen or pay attention to. What one should do is invoke Allah(dhikr) with the tongue and heart or heart alone, or think about something else to distract one from listening to it. When this is done, whatever one hears under such circumstances does not harm one as long as one does not listen to or heed the conversation. And if afterwards one is able to leave the assembly and the people are persisting in slander and the like, then one must leave. Allah Most High says: "When you see those engaged in idle discussion about Our signs, keep apart from them until they speak of other things. And if the Devil makes you forget, then do not sit with wrong-doing people after being reminded" (Koran 6.68).

r2.13 Ibrahim ibn Adham (Allah be well pleased with him) answered an invitation to come to a wedding feast, where some of those present mentioned that a certain person who did not attend was "unpleasant." Ibrahim said, "I myself have done this by coming to a place where others are slandered," and he left and would not eat for three days.

SLANDERING ANOTHER IN ONE'S HEART

r2.14 Entertaining bad thoughts about others (su' al-zann) is as unlawful as expressing them. Just as it is unlawful to tell another of the failings of a person, so too it is unlawful to speak to oneself of them and think badly of him. Allah Most High says: "Shun much of surmise" (Koran 49:12). The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace said: "Beware of suspicions, for they are the most lying of words," There are many hadiths which say the same, and they refer to an established conviction or judgement in the heart that another is bad. As for passing thoughts and fancies that do not last, when the person having them does not persist in them, scholars concur that they are excusable, since their occurrence is involuntary and there is no way to avoid them. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "For those of my Community, Allah overlooks the thoughts that come to mind as long as they are not uttered or acted upon." Scholars say this refers to passing thoughts that do not abide, whether of slander, unbelief (kufr), or something else. Whoever entertains a passing notion of unbelief that is a mere fancy whose occurrence is unintentional and immediately dismissed is not an unbeliever and is not to blame. The reason such things are excusable is that there is no way to take precaution against them. One can only avoid continuing therein, which is why persistence in them and the established conviction of them in one's heart is unlawful. Whenever one has a passing thought of slander, one is obliged to reject it and summon to mind extenuating circumstances which explain away the appearances that seem to imply the bad opinion Imam Abu Hamid Ghazali says in the Ihya': "A bad thought about someone that occurs in one's heart is a notion suggested by the Devil, and one should dismiss it, for the Devil is the most corrupt of the corrupt, and Allah Most high says: "'If a corrupt person brings you news, verify it, lest you hurt others out of ignorance and then regret what you have done' (Koran 49.6). It is not permissible to believe Satan, and if the appearance of wrongdoing can possibly be interpreted otherwise, it is not lawful to think badly of another. The Devil may enter the heart at the slightest impression of others' mistakes, suggesting that one only noticed it because of one's superior intelligence and discernment, and that "the believer sees with the light of Allah," which upon examination often amounts to nothing more than repeating the Devil's deceit and obscurities. If a reliable witness informs one of something bad about another, one should neither believe it nor disbelieve it, in order to avoid thinking badly of either of them. And whenever one has a bad thought about a Muslim one should increase one's concern and respect for him, as this will madden the Devil and put him off, and he will not suggest the like of it to one again for fear that one will occupy oneself with prayer for the person. "If one learns of a Muslim's mistake by undeniable proof, one should advise him about it in private and not let the Devil delude one into slandering him. And when admonishing him, one should not gloat over his shortcoming and the fact that he is regarding one with respect while one is regarding him with disdain, but one's intention should rather be to help him disengage from the act of disobedience, over which one is as sad as if one had committed it oneself. One should be happier if he desists from it without being admonished than if he desists because of one's admonishment." These are Ghazali's words.

r2.15 We have mentioned that it is obligatory for a person with a passing ill thought of another to dispell it, this being when no interest recongnised by Sacred Law conduces one to reflect upon it, for if there is such an interest, it is permissible to weigh and consider the individual's deficiency and warn others of it, as when evaluating the reliability of court witnesses or hadith transmitters, and in other cases we will mention below in the section on permissible slander.

PERMISSIBLE SLANDER

r2.16 Slander, though unlawful, is sometimes permissible for a lawful purpose, the legitimating factor being that there is some aim countenanced by Sacred Law that is unattainable by other means. This may be for one of six reasons.

REDRESSING GRIEVANCES

r2.17 The first is the redress of grievances. Someone wronged may seek redress from the Islamic ruler, judge, or others with the authority or power to help one against the person who has wronged one. One may say, "So-and-so has wronged me," "done such and such to me," "took such and such of mine," and similar remarks.

ELIMINATING WRONGDOING

r2.18 The second is seeking aid in righting a wrong or correcting a wrongdoer, such as by saying to someone expected to be able to set things right, "So-and-so doing such and such, so warn him not to continue," and the like. The intention in such a case must be to take the measures necessary to eliminate the wrong, for if this is not one's purpose, it is unlawful.

ASKING FOR A LEGAL OPINION

r2.19 The third is asking for a ;legal opinion, such as by saying to the mufti, "My father [or "brother," or "So-and-so,"] has wronged me by doing such and such. May he do so or not?" "How can I be rid of him," "get what is coming to me," "stop the injustice," and so forth. Or such as saying, "My wife does such and such to me," "My husband does such and such," and the like. This is permissible when necessary, but to be on the safe side it is best to say, "What do you think of a man whose case is such and such," or "A husband [or "wife'] who does such and such," and so on, since this accomplishes one's aim without referring to particular people. But it is nevertheless permissible to identify a particular person, as is attested to by the hadith in which Hind said, "O Messenger of Allah, Abu Sufyan is a stingy man..." and the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) did not forbid her.

WARNING MUSLIMS OF EVIL

r2.20 The fourth reason is to warn Muslims of evil and advise them, which may take several forms, including:

(1) Impugning unreliable hadith transmitters or court witnesses, which is permissible by consensus of all Muslims, even obligatory, because of the need for it.

(2) When a person seeks one's advice about marrying into a certain family, entering into a partnership with someone, depositing something for safekeeping with him, accepting such a deposit, or some other transaction with him, it is obligatory for one to tell the person asking what one knows about the other by way advising him. If one can accomplish this by merely saying, "Dealing with him is of no advantage to you," "Marrying into the family is not in your interests," "Do not do it," and similar expressions, then one may not elaborate on the individual's shortcomings. But if it cannot be accomplished without explicitly mentioning the individual, one may do so.

(3) When one notices a student of Sacred Law going to learn from a teacher who is guilty of

reprehensible innovations in religious matters (bid'a, def: w29.3) or who is corrupt, and one apprehends harm to the student thereby, one apprehends harm to the student thereby, one must advise him and explain how the teacher really is. It is necessary in such a case that one intend to give sincere counsel.

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Mistakes are sometimes made in this, as the person warning another may be motivated by envy, which the Devil has duped him into believing is heartfelt advice and compassion, so one must beware of this.

(4) And when there is someone in a position of responsibility who is not doing the job as it should be done, because of being unfit for it, corrupt, inattentive, or the ;like, one must mention this to the person with authority over him so he can remove him and find another to do the job properly, or be aware of how he is so as to deal with him as he should be dealt with and not be deluded by him, to urge him to either improve or else be replaced.

SOMEONE UNCONCERNED WITH CONCEALING THEIR DISOBEDIENCE

r2.21 A fifth reason that permits slander is when the person is making no effort to conceal his

corruption or involvement in reprehensible innovation (bid'a), such as someone who openly drinks wine, confiscates others, property, gathers taxes uncountenanced by Sacred Law, collects money wrongfully, or perpetrates other falsehoods, in which cases it is permissible to speak about what he is unconcerned to conceal, but unlawful to mention his other faults unless there is some other valid reason that permits it, of those we have discussed.

IDENTIFICATION

r.2.22 The sixth reason is to identify someone. When a person is known by a nickname such as "the Bleary-eyed," "the Lame," "the Deaf," "the Blind," "the Cross-eyed," or similar, it is permissible to refer to him by that name if one's intention is to identify him. It is unlawful to do so by way of pointing out his deficiencies. And if one can identify him by some other means, it is better.

r2.23 These then, are six reasons Islamic scholars mention that permit slander in the above cases (as-Adhkar(y102), 455-69).

r3.0 TALEBEARING (NAMIMA)

r3.1 (Nawawi:) Having summarily mentioned that talebearing (namima) is unlawful, with the evidence for this and a description of its nature, we now want to add a fuller explanation of it. Imam Abu Hamid Ghazali says, "Talebearing is a term that is usually applied only to someone who conveys to a person what another has said about him, such as by saying, 'So-and-so says such and such about you,' In fact, talebearing is not limited to that, but rather consists of revealing anything whose disclosure is resented, whether resented by the person who originally said it, the person to whom it is disclosed, or by a third party. It makes no difference whether the disclosure is in word, writing, a sign, nodding, or other; whether it concerns word or deed; or whether it concerns something bad or otherwise. The reality of talebearing lies in divulging a secret, in revealing something confidential whose disclosure is resented. A person should not speak of anything he notices about people besides that which benefits a Muslim to relate or prevents disobedience. Anyone approached with a story, who is told, 'So-and-so says such and such about you,' must do six things:

(1) disbelieve it, for talebearers are corrupt, and their information unacceptable;

(2) tell the talebearer to stop, admonish him about it, and condemn the shamefulness of what he has done;

(3) hate him for the sake of Allah Most High, for he is detestable in Allah's sight, and hating for the sake of Allah Most High obligatory;

(4) not think badly of the person whom the words are supposedly from, for Allah Most High says: 'Such much of surmise'(Koran 49.12);

(5) not let what has been said prompt him to spy or investigate whether it is true, for Allah Most High says, 'Do not spy' (Koran 49.12);

(6) and not to do himself what he has forbidden the talebearer to do, by relating it to others."(Ibid., 471-72)

r4.0 SAYING "THE PEOPLE HAVE GONE TO RUIN"

r4.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "When a man says, 'The people have gone to ruin,' he is the most ruined of all." r4.2 (Nawawi:) Khattabi says the hadith means that a person who continually finds fault with people and mentions their failings is the most ruined of all, i.e. he becomes worse than they are because of the sin he commits in disparaging and attacking them, which may also lead to conceitedness and seeing himself as better than they. Scholars concur that the condemnation only applies to someone who says the like of this out of contempt for people, considering them inferior and himself superior, despising the way they are because of his ignorance of the divine wisdom in Allah's creating them. But if one says it out of sadness at seeing one's own religious failings and those of others, there is no harm in it, just as there is no blame in saying: "For all I know, every one of the Prophet's Community (Allah bless him and give him peace) performs the prayer." This is how Imam Malik explained the hadith, and others have followed him therein (sahih Muslim bi Sharh al-Nawawi(y93), 16.175-76).

r5.0 INFORMING ON ANOTHER

r5.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Let none of my Companions inform me of anything another of them has said, for I wish to come out to you without disquiet in my heart."(al-Adhkar(y102),473)

r6.0 TWO PEOPLE CONVERSING SO A THIRD CANNOT HEAR

r6.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "When there are only three of you, two of you may not speak together apart from the third unless you join a group of others, lest your doing so sadden him."

r6.2 (Nahlawi:) Nawawi (Allah have mercy on him) says this hadith prohibits two individuals

conversing privately when a third is present, and likewise prohibits three or more people from doing so when there is a single person apart from them. The prohibition indicates its unlawfulness, it being impermissible for a group to converse apart from a single individual unless he gives his permission. Imam Malik (Allah have mercy on him), our colleagues, and the majority of scholars hold that the prohibition is applicable at all times, whether one is at home or travelling, though some (A: Hanafi) scholars say that such converse is forbidden only while travelling, not when at home, for when travelling it may portend danger.

r6.3 As for when there are four people and two of them speak privately in low tones apart from the other two, scholars agree that there is no harm in this.

r6.4 The prohibition of listening to the conversation of people who are averse to one's listening likewise means it is unlawful, though only when the conversation does not entail harm to the listener, for if it does, one may listen to protect oneself from them (al-Durar-al-mubaha(y99), 159).

r7.0 GIVING DIRECTIONS TO SOMEONE WHO WANTS TO DO WRONG

r7.1 (Nahlawi:) It is not permissible to give directions and the like to someone intending to perpetrate a sin, because it is helping another to commit disobedience. Allah Most High says,

"Do not assist one another in sin and aggression" (Koran 5:2). Giving directions to wrongdoers includes:

(1) showing the way to policemen and tyrants when they are going to commit injustice and corruption;

(2) teaching questions of Sacred Law to those learning it in bad faith (N:i.e. who do not want the knowledge to apply it in their lives, but for some unworthy purpose);

(3) teaching positions in Sacred Law that are rejected (A: meaning those that are not accepted by any of the four schools of jurisprudence (dis:b7.6)) or weak (dis:w12.2), or anything else that informs people of how to commit disobedience to Allah Most High:

(4) and permitting or authorising a person to do something that entails disobedience, for acceptance of disobedience is disobedience. (bid., 159-60)

r8.0 LYING

r8.1 (Nawawi:) Primary texts from the Koran and sunna that it is unlawful to lie (dis:p24) are both numerous and intersubstantiative, it being among the ugliest sins and most disgusting faults. Because of the scholarly consensus of the Community (Umma) that it is prohibited and the unanimity and amount of the primary textual evidence, there is little need to cite particular examples thereof, out only concern here being to explain the exceptions to what is considered lying, and apprise of the details.

PERMISSIBLE LYING (AL TAQIYYA)

r8.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "He who settles disagreements between people to bring about good or says something commendable is not a liar." This much is related by both Bukhari and Muslim, with Muslim's version recording that Umm Kulthum added, "I did not hear him permit untruth in anything people say, except for three things: war, settling disagreements and a man talking with his wife or she with him (A:in smoothing over differences)," This is an explicit statement that lying is sometimes permissible for a given interest, scholars having established criteria defining what types of it are lawful. The best analysis of it I have seen is by Imam Ghazali. If something is attainable through both telling the truth and lying, it is unlawful to accomplish it through lying because there is no need for it. When it is possible to achieve such an aim by lying but not by telling the truth, it is permissible to lie if attaining the goal is permissible (N:i.e. when the purpose of lying is to circumvent someone who is preventing one from doing something permissible), and obligatory to lie if the goal is obligatory. When for example one is concealing a muslim from an oppressor who asks where he is, it is obligatory to lie about his being hidden. Or when a person deposits an article with one for safekeeping and an oppressor wanting to appropriate it inquires about it, it is obligatory to lie about having concealed it, for if one informs him about the article and he then siezes it, one is financially liable(A:to the owner)to cover the article's cost. Whether the purpose is war, settling a disagreement, or gaining the sympathy of a victim legally entitled to retaliate against one so that he will forbear to do so; it is not unlawful to lie when any of these aims can only be attained through lying. But is religiously more precautionary (def:c6.5) in all such cases to employ words that give misleadng impression, meaning to intend by one's words something that is literally true, in respect to which one is not lying (def:r10.2) white the outward purport of the words deceives the hearer, though even if one does not have such an intention and merely lies without intending anything else, it is not unlawful in the above circumstances. 'This is true of every expression connected with a legitimating desired end, whether one's own or another's. An example of a legitimating end of one's own is when an oppressor intending to appropriate one's property inquires about it, in which case one may deny it. Or if a ruler asks one about a wicked act one has committed that is solely between oneself and Allah Most High (N: i.e. it does not concern the rights of another), in which case one is entitled to disclaim it, such as by saying, 'I did not commit fornication,'or' I did not drink.' There are many well known hadiths in which those who admitted they deserved punishment were given prompting (A: by the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace)) to retract their confessions. An example of a legitimating desired end of another is when one is asked about another's secret and one disacknowledges it. And so on. One should compare the bad consequences entailed by lying to those entailed by telling the truth, and if the consequences of telling the truth are more damaging, on is entitled to lie, though if the reverse is true or if one does not know which entails more damage, them lying is unlawful. Whenever lying is permissible, if the factor which permits it is desired end of one's own, it is recommended not to lie, but when the factor that permits it is the desired end of another, it is not lawful to infringe upon his rights. Strictness (A: as opposed to the above dispensations (rukhsa, def:c6.2)) is to forgo lying in every case where it is not legally obligatory."

r8.3 The position of Ahl al-Sunna is that lying means to inform another that something is otherwise than it really is, whether intentionally or out of ignorance. One is not culpable if ignorant of it, but only if one lies intentionally, the evidence for which is that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) made intentionality a condition when he said, "Whoever lies about me intentionally shall take a place for himself in hell." (al-Adhkar (y102), 510-12)

r9.0 EXAGGERATION

r9.1 (Nawawi:) Gazali says: "Among the forms of lying that are unlawful but not serious enough to stigmatise their perpetrator as legally corrupt (dis:o24.3) is the customary exaggeration of saying, 'I've told you a hundred times,' or 'asked after you hundred times.' and so forth, since one does not thereby intend to inform the other how many times it has been, but only to indicate that it has been too many. In such cases, if the speaker in fact has only asked after the other but once, he is; lying, though is he has asked after him a number of times considerably more than what is generally accepted, he is not committing a sin by saying it, even if it has not been 'a hundred times.' There are intermediate degrees between these two at which the exaggerator becomes a liar."

r9.2 The proof that exaggeration is sometimes permissible and not considered lying is the hadith related by Bukhari and a Muslim that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "... As for Abul Jahm, his stick never leaves his shoulder, while Mu'awiya does not own a thing," it being understood that the latter owned the garment he was wearing, and the former set his stick aside when he slept and at other times. And Allah alone gives success(ibid.,515-16).

r10.0 GIVING A MISLEADING IMPRESSION

r10.1 (Nawawi:) Giving a misleading impression is among the most important topics, being frequently met with and often abused. It befits us to examine the matter closely, and whoever learns of it should reflect upon it and apply it. Having previously mentioned that lying is severely prohibited, and the danger that exists in saying something without any particular intention, what follows below shows a safe alternative to these.

r10.2 Giving a misleading impression means to utter an expression that ostensibly implies one meaning, while intending a different meaning the expression may also have, one that contradicts the ostensive purport. It is a kind of deception. (A: It often takes the form of the speaker intending a specific referent while the hearer understands a more general one, as when a person asks a householder, "Is So-and-so here?" to which the householder, intending the space between himself and the questioner rather than the space inside the house, replies, "He is not here.")

r10.3 Scholars say that there is no harm (def: p8.2(A:)) in giving a misleading impression if required by an interest countenanced by Sacred Law that is more important than not

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misleading the person being addressed, or if there is a pressing need which could not otherwise be fulfilled except through lying. When neither of these is the case, giving a misleading impression is offensive though not unlawful unless used as a means for wrongful gain or suppressing another's right, in which case it becomes unlawful. The above determine its permissibility. As for the hadith evidence, some of which permits it and some of which does not, it is to be interpreted in the light of the above criteria (al-Adhkar (y102), 514).

r11.0 VERIFYING ONE'S WORDS BEFORE SPEAKING

r11.1 Allah Most High says:

(1) "Pursue not that of which you have no knowledge. The hearing, the eyesight, the heart: all will be asked about" (Koran 17:36).

(2) "He utters not a word save that an observer is present beside him" (Koran 50:18).

r11.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "It is lying enough for a man to repeat everything he hears."(Ibid., 512-13)

r12.0 SPEAKING OF TAXES AS "THE RULER'S RIGHT"

r12.1 (Nawawi:) One of the things most sternly prohibited and needful to warn people against is what the common people say about sales tax and the like (dis: p32), namely that "this is the ruler's right," or "you have to pay the ruler's due" and so forth, of references to "right", "obligation", and so on. This is one of the most objectionable practices and ugliest of reprehensible innovations. Some scholars even hold that anyone who calls these taxes a right thereby becomes an unbeliever, beyond the pale of Islam. But in fact, such a person does not become an unbeliever unless he actually considers it right while knowing it is unjust. The proper way to mention these is to say "the ruler's tax", "revenue", or similar words. And Allah alone gives success (ibid., 499-500).

r13.0 CONVERSING ABOUT WHAT IS USELESS OR IMMORAL

r13.1 (Nahlawi:) Conversing about what is useless or immoral means discussing acts of disobedience, such as stories about drinking sessions and fornicators when there is no legitimate purpose connected with the conversation, which is unlawful because it manifests one's own disobedience or another's without there being any need to. Ibn Mas'ud (Allah be well pleased with him) said, "The greatest in sins on the Judgement Day will be the one most given to speaking about the useless and immoral."

SPEAKING ABOUT WHAT DOES NOT CONCERN ONE

r13.2 As for speaking about what does not concern one, such as the story of one's travels, and the mountains, rivers, food, and clothes one saw while on them; when it does not contain lies, slander, ostentation, or other things that are unlawful, it is not in itself prohibited. Rather, it may be recommended, as when inspired by a good intention such as preventing others of accusing one of being arrogant or proud of not speaking, allaying another's timorousness, cheering up someone sad or ill, amusing or getting along well with the womenfolk, showing kindness to children, or similar motives. With these intentions it is not considered to be what does not concern one.

r13.3 It is recommended and praiseworthy to leave anything that does not concern one (def: 254) because one squanders one's life by involvement in it and in mere amusement. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "The excellence of a person's Islam includes leaving what does not concern him," including excess verbiage, meaning to elaborate more than necessary about matters which do concern one, or to ask about things which are of no importance; though it does not include clarifying the details of difficult legal questions, especially to those of limited understanding, or the need to repeat an exhortation, reminder, instruction, or the like, since it might be necessary. But when it is unnecessary to add details, one should express oneself succinctly and with brevity. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace said: "Good tidings to him who avoids the excess in his speech and spends the excess of his money." Ali (Allah ennoble his countenance) said: "The best discourse is expressive, great, brief, and interesting." (al-Durar al-mubaha (y99), 135-36)

r14.0 EXPLAINING THE KORAN BY PERSONAL OPINION

r14.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Whoever speaks of the Book of Allah from his own opinion is in error."

r14.2 (Nahlawi:) The jurist Abul Layth says in Bustan al-'arifin, "The [above] prohibition only applies to the allegorical parts of it (dis: w6), not to all of it, since Allah Most High says:

"'As for those with deviance in their hearts, they pursue the allegorical of it' (Koran 3:7). 'The Koran came as a proof of moral answerability against all mankind and jinn, while if interpreting it were not permissible, it could not be a decisive proof. Since it is decisive, it is permissible for someone acquainted with the dialects of the Arabs and the circumstances under which various verses were revealed to interpret it. As for would-be exegetes who do not know the dimensions of Arabic, the figurative, literal, and the types of metaphor, it is not permissible for them to explain it beyond what they have heard, by way of reporting and not actual interpretation'." The generality of the prohibition also entails that whoever does not know which verses abrogate others and which are abrogated, the points upon which there is scholarly consensus (def: b7), and the tenets of faith of Ahl al-Sunna, is not safe from error if he interprets the Koran with nothing beyond the implications of the Arabic. Mere linguistic familiarity with the language is insufficient, and one must also know what we have just mentioned. When one knows both, one may interpret the Koran, and is not doing so by mere opinion (ibid., 158).

r14.3 (A: The above is equally true of hadith. Koran and hadith commentaries are of tremendous importance to teachers, speakers, writers, and translators who are preparing materials to present to Muslim audiences. The dictionary is not enough.)

r15.0 ASKING ABOUT THE NATURE OF ALLAH MOST HIGH

r15.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "People will keep wondering and asking each other until it is said, 'This is Allah's creation, but who created Allah?' Whoever finds anything like this, let him say, 'I believe in Allah and His messengers.' " (Ibid., 140)

r16.0 HYPOCRISY

r16.1 (Nahlawi:) Hypocrisy is when a person's outward does not correspond to his inward, or his words to his deeds. It is of two kinds, hypocrisy in belief and hypocrisy in acts. Hypocrisy in belief is another name for concealed unbelief while outwardly professing Islam. It is the very worst form of unbelief. Allah Mighty and Majestic says: "Verily the hypocrites shall be in the lowest abyss of hell" (Koran 4:145). And this type consigns its perpetrator to hell forever. As for hypocrisy in act, it is that which does not concern one's faith. It is also termed spoken hypocrisy, and consists of saying what contradicts one's true state. It is one of the greatest of sins. It includes being two-faced, like the person who, when two people are at odds, speaks words to each that confirm their respective sides, or tells each what the other has said, or endorses the enmity of each, praises each, and promises each to help against the other. This is hypocrisy and more. But its blameworthiness applies only to worsening relations between people, for if done to settle their differences, it is praiseworthy. It is seldom that a person who visits leaders and important people is free of spoken hypocrisy. Someone told Ibn 'Umar (Allah be well pleased with father and son): "We visit our leaders and speak, but when we leave, we say something else." He replied, "In the days of the Messenger of Allah (Allah bless him and give him peace) we considered this hypocrisy."

r16.2 As for assuaging those from whom one apprehends harm (mudara), it is permissible, being done to obviate the damage and evil anticipated from certain people, whether it be a ruler or someone else one has reason to fear (al-Durar al-mubaha (y99), 116-18).

r17.0 COMPROMISING ONE'S PRINCIPLES

r17.1 (Nahlawi:) Compromising one's principles means religious lassitude and weakness, such as by saying nothing upon seeing acts of disobedience or unlawful things when able to change them without suffering harm. Such silence is unlawful. Its opposite is firmness in religion. Allah Most High says: "They fight in the path of Allah and fear not the blame of whoever may blame them" (Koran 5:54). And the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Speak the truth, even if bitter." But when one's silence is to prevent damage to oneself or others, it is a permissible form of assuaging those from whom one apprehends harm (mudara), and even recommended in some cases, as when it results in being saved from injustice, or is a means to fulfill a right recognized by Sacred Law (ibid., 112-13).

r18.0 RIDICULE AND SARCASM

r18.1 (Nahlawi:) Ridicule entails showing disdain, sarcasm, or contempt for another in a way that causes laughter, whether by mimicking another's words or actions, by a gesture or by allusion. It is unlawful. Allah Most High says:

(1) "Those who demean believers who voluntarily give charity-ridiculing those who find nothing to give but their own effort-it is Allah who is ridiculing them, and they shall suffer a painful torment" (Koran 9:79).

(2) "O you who believe: let not some men deride others who might well be better than they; and let not some women ridicule others who might well be better than they. Do not belittle one another or insult one another with nicknames" (Koran 49:11). The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "A gate in paradise will open to one of those who mock people and a cry will be heard, 'Come here, come here,' and he will come forward in concern and anxiety, but when he reaches it, it will close in front of him. And this will happen again and again, until the gate will open and the cry 'Come here, come here' will be heard as before, but he will not approach because he knows it will only close in front of him."

r18.2 Ridicule is only unlawful when it hurts others' feelings. As for someone who purposely makes himself a laughingstock, perhaps such a person enjoys it, and jokes about him are considered mere humor. What is unlawful is the sarcasm that offends the person ridiculed, because of the insult and disdain involved, such as by laughing at his way of speaking, what he does, how he looks, or his physique because of a defect therein. To laugh at any of these is to commit ridicule that is unlawful (ibid., 126-27).

r19.0 JOKING

r19.1 (Nahlawi:) The necessary condition for the permissibility of joking is that it does not contain lies or occasion fright to a Muslim or a non-Muslim citizen, because this hurts others, and we are forbidden to do so.

r19.2 Excessive joking is blameworthy and forbidden, since it eliminates one's dignity and reserve, and creates resentment in certain situations and people. It also causes immoderate laughter, which kills the heart. The prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said to this companions. "Who will take these words and apply them, or knows someone who will?" Abu Hurayra answered, "I will, O Messenger of Allah," whereupon the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) took his hand and enumerated five things saying: "Avoid the unlawful and you will be the most religious of people." "Be satisfied with what Allah has allotted you and you will be the richest of people." "Threat your neighbour well and you will be a believer." "Love for others what you love for yourself and you will be a Muslim." "Avoid excessive laughter, for too much laughter kills the heart." (al-Durar al-mubaha (y99), 127-28)

r20.0 PICKING APART ANOTHER'S WORDS

r20.1 (Nahlawi:) Picking apart another's words consists of attacking another's speech by revealing the mistakes in it, whether its weak Arabic, meaning, or the intention of the speaker, as when one says: "This is true, but you do not intend the truth by it," when such an attack involves no other motive than contempt for the other and displaying one's cleverness. It is unlawful. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Whoever forgoes to cavil when he is in the wrong will have a home built for him on the edge of paradise. Whoever forgoes it when in the right will have a home built for him in the middle of paradise. And whoever improves his own character, a home will be built for him in the highest part of paradise." When a believer hears something true, it befits him to accept it. If it is not true, but is unconnected with religious matters, he should remain silent, though if connected with religious matters, he is obliged to show that it is false and to condemn it if there is a chance that anyone will believe him, because this is forbidding the wrong.

GIVING A POSITIVE INTERPRETATION TO OTHERS' SEEMING MISTAKES

r20.2 Nawawi (Allah Most High have mercy on him) mentions, in the section of the introduction of Sharh al-Muhadhdhab about the behaviour of teacher and student, that "it is obligatory for a student to give a positive interpretation to every utterance of his brothers that seems to be wrong until has exhausted seventy excuses. No one is incapable of this except a failure."

READING WORKS THAT ARE BEYOND ONE'S UNDERSTANDING OR CAPACITY

r20.3 The Sheikh al-Akbar (A: Muhyiddin ibn al-Arabi), Allah Most High sanctify his inmost being, writes in his letter about the spiritual station of annihilation in gnostic vision: "When a book falls into a person's hands concerning a subject he knows nothing about [A: knows meaning through having studied in with sheikhs who are masters of it] and has not learned by engaging in it at first hand, he should do absolutely nothing with the book, but rather return it to those whom it concerns. He should not believe, disbelieve, or discuss it at all" (ibid., 131-32).

r21.0 LEARNED DISPUTATION

r21.1 (Nahlawi:) Disputation is what relates to clarifying various legal positions and making a case for them. When the intention behind this is to embarrass one's opponent or display one's superiority, it is unlawful or even unbelief according to some scholars. But when disputation is intended to reveal the truth, as is rare, then it is permissible or even recommended. Allah Most High says, "Dispute with them with that which is better" (Koran 16:125), meaning, as Baydawi notes, by the best means of disputation, gently and affably, using the simplest approach and most familiar

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premises, since this more effectively cools opponents' vehemence and exposes their contentiousness (ibid., 132)

r22.0 ARGUING

r22.1 (Nawawi:) Arguing is importunateness in speech to gain one's end, whether monetary or other. It may be intitiated by oneself or in response to another. If one objects that a person must argue to obtain his rights, the reply is that the stern condemnation of it applies to those who argue without right or knowledge, or someone who adds abuse to his speech that is not necessary to secure his rights, or is motivated to argue by nothing besides an obstinate desire to win and to finish his opponent. As for someone who has been wronged and makes his case in a way compatible with the Sacred Law, without belligerence, excessiveness, or importunateness, and not intending mere obstinacy and abuse, it is not unlawful, though it is better to avoid it if there is any way to do so, for keeping one's tongue within the limits of fair play during the course of an argument is virtually impossible. Moreover, arguing produces rancor in hearts and causes animosity that can lead to actual hatred between two people, until each comes to be pleased when harm befalls the other and to be displeased at the good, and unleashes his tongue against the other's reputation. Whoever argues runs the risk of these calamities. AT minimum, a quarrel comes to preoccupy one's heart so that during the prayer one's thoughts turn to debating and arguing, and one does not remain as one should.

r22.2 A certain person remarked, "I have not seen anything that impairs one's religion, diminishes one's respectability, ends one's happiness, or preoccupies one's heart like arguing" (al Adhkar (y102),502-3).

r23.0 ASKING ABOUT ANOTHER'S MISTAKES

r23.1 (Nahlawi:) It is forbidden to ask about another's errors and blunders in order to tell them they have made a mistake or to embarrass them, being unlawful because it entails injury to another and belittling him in front of people. But when one's asking about mistakes is to learn or teach, or to test or sharpen students' minds or make them reflect, then it is recommended and desirable, because it facilitates the comprehension of religious knowledge (al-Durar al-mubaha (y99), 140).

r24.0 SEARCHING OUT A PERSON'S FAULTS

r24.1 (Nahlawi:) Asking about and searching out the faults of others is spying, which Allah Most High has forbidden by saying, Do not spy" (Koran 49.12), meaning to look for the shameful points of Muslims. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "If you search for people's shameful points, you corrupt them..."

(2) "O you have entered Islam with your tongues but whose hearts faith has not entered: do not slander people, and do not ferret out people's shameful points. Whoever searches out the shameful points of his brother, Allah will search out his own shameful points, and if Allah searches out a person's shameful points, be sure that He will disgrace him even if he should remain in the middle of his house." (Ibid., 145)

r25.0 DISPLAYING SATISFACTION AT A MUSLIM'S TROUBLES

r25.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said,

"Do not show joy at the misfortune of your brother, lest Allah have mercy on him and afflict you with misfortune." (al-Adhkar (y102),474)

r26.0 OBSCENITY

r26.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "A believer is not given to reviling, cursing, obscenity, or vulgarity."

(2) "Whatever contains vulgarity is made ugly by it, and whatever contains modesty is made beautiful by it."

r26.2 (Nawawi:) Obscenity and vulgarity are forbidden, as is attested to by many well-known and rigorously authenticated (sahih) hadiths, obscenity meaning to express ugly or vulgar matters, in plain words, even if they are true and the speaker is being honest. One should instead express such things by alluding to them in a polite way that nevertheless conveys what is meant, as is done by the Holy Koran and authentic noble hadiths. Allah Most High says:

(1) "It is permitted to you on the nights of the fast to enter unto your wives" (Koran 2:187).

(2) "How can you take it [the marriage payment] back when you have entered unto one another?" (Koran 4:21).

(3) "But if you divorce them before you have touched them..." (Koran 2:337). There are many Koranic verses and authentic hadiths that employ similar words. Scholars say that comprehensible allusions should be used for these and other matters one is hesitant to mention by name. One alludes, for example, to sexual intercourse with a woman as "going unto," lovemaking," "sleeping with," and so forth, and does not use explicit words such as copulate or the like; and similarly alludes to urinating and voiding excrement as "answering the call of nature, " or "going to the bathroom," and does not simply say "defecate," "urinate," and so forth. The same is true of mentioning personal blemishes such as leprosy, halitosis, underarm odor, and the like, which one should refer to by polite words that indicate what is meant. Other matters should be dealt with as in the above mentioned examples-all of which applies to cases in which there is no need to plainly refer to these things by name. When the need arises to explain or teach, and one fears that the listener may nor grasp one's allusion or

may misunderstand the meaning, one should plainly say the thing's name so that the real meaning is understood. And this is how one should interpret the hadiths that have reached us which contain such straightforward expressions, as arising from the needs we have mentioned, for communicating clearly is more important than mere decorum. And Allah alone gives success (ibid., (y102),508-9).

SEVERITY IN SPEECH AND HARSHNESS

r27.1 (Nahlawi:) Severity in speech and harshness are blameworthy when out of place, their proper place being in forbidding the wrong, if gentleness and affability prove ineffective (dis: q5.5), as well as in imposing prescribed legal penalties, and in reprimanding or disciplining those who require it Allah Most High says:

(1) "... And be harsh with them" (Koran 9:73).

(2) "Let them find severity in you" (Koran 9:123).

(3) "Let not pity for them seize you concerning the religion of Allah" (Koran 24:)

r27.2 Other than in the above-mentioned cases, it is praiseworthy for one to use amiable words, have a cheerful expression, and to smile. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "There is a dwelling in paradise whose outside can be seen from inside [A: from its lucidness and purity]." Abu Malik Ash ari asked, "Whose shall it be, O Messenger of Allah?" And he said, "He whose speech is fair, who feeds others, and who spends the night standing in prayer when people sleep." (al-Durar al-mubaha (y99)m 144-45)

r28.0 FRIGHTENING OR COERCING A BELIEVER

r28.1 (Nahlawi:) To make a believer fear other than disobedience or coerce him to do something he is averse to, such as giving a gift, marrying, or selling something-all this is hurting him, and hurting a believer is unlawful. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "Whoever frightens a believer, it is incumbent that Allah not protect him from the terrors of Judgement Day as a fitting recompense." Najm al-Ghazzi says in Husn al-tanabbuh, "Among the works of the Devil is frightening, annoying, or alarming a believer, all of which is unlawful" (ibid., 157-58).

r29.0 REJECTING A BROTHER'S EXCUSE

r29.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him) said: "When someone offers an excuse to his fellow Muslim and the latter does not accept it, his sin is like the crime of imposing taxes [dis: p32]."(Ibid 157)

r30.0 DRIVING AWAY THE POOR, THE WEAK, THE ORPHAN, OR THE BEGGAR

r30.1 Allah Most high says:

(1) "As for the orphan, do not oppress him; and as for the beggar [dis: r39], turn him not away" (Koran 93:9).

(2) "Do not drive away those who call upon their Lord morning and evening, seeking His countenance: you are not responsible for anything of their account, nor they for anything of yours, that you should drive them away and thus become of the wrongdoers" (Koran 6:52).

(3) "Lower your wing unto the believers" (Koran 15:88).(al-Adhkar (Y102), 481-82)

r31.0 PUTTING OFF ONE'S FATHER OF MOTHER

r31.1 (Nawawi:) It is very sternly prohibited to putt off one's father or mother. Allah Most High says: "Your Lord decrees that you shall worship none but Him and treat your parents well. If one or both of them reach old age while with you, do not say Uff' to them or put them off, but speak respectfully to them. Lower for them the wing of humbleness, out of mercy, and say, O Lord, have mercy on them, as they raised me when I was young' " (Koran 17.24-25).(Ibid.,509)

r32.0 CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH CONVERSATION IS OFFENSIVE

(N: Offensive, when used without further qualification by Hanafis (A: in their books on the lawful and unlawful (al-hazr wa al-ibaha)) means unlawfully offensive (makruh tahriman), and its ruling is the same as the unlawful (A: is in the Shafi'i school).)

INTERRUPTING ONESELF OR OTHERS

r32. (Nahlawi:) It is offensive to interrupt someone else's words with one's own when the former consist of teaching Sacred Knowledge. Some scholars hold that to greet a group with "as Salamu alaykum" when they are learning religious knowledge is a sin. It is also offensive to interrupt one's own words with speech of a different kind when reciting Koran, supplicating, explaining the Koran, teaching hadith, or addressing people, and while doing this, for example, one turns to someone and tells him to go buy some things needed at home.

Conversation is offensive for anyone seated listening to a pious exhortation, or instruction, or in the presence of someone above his own level. It is also offensive for such a person merely to turn to look at something else, or to stir when there is no need, all of which is poor manner,s levity, precipitateness, and thoughtlessness. Rather, the one speaking should set for the what he means to say without irrelevant asides until finished, and the person addressed should heed the speaker, paying attention to him and listening until he finishes, without looking around, stirring, or talking; especially if the speaker is explaining the words of Allah Most High or His messenger (Allah bless him and give him peace). But one is excused if a pressing physical or religious need arises that there is no alternative but to fulfill, since necessity excuses one from any rule whatever (A: but only to the degree demanded by necessity).

DISRESPECT TO THOSE WITH AUTHORITY OVER ONE

r32.2 It is offensive to contend against the words of anyone with authority over one (A: countenanced by Sacred Law), or talk back, oppose, rebut, or disobey such a person in anything lawful (A: meaning not unlawful or offensive), the prohibition applying to such people as a follower with his leader, son with his parents, student with his teacher wife with her husband, or unlearned person with a scholar. All of this is very ugly behavior and deserves disciplinary action (def: o17), since each of these is obliged to obey the one over them.

THIS-WORLDLY WORDS IN A MOSQUE

r32.3 It is offensive to speak about this-worldly matters, meaning words that would otherwise be permissible, in a mosque when there is no excuse (A: if one makes a habit of it). (N: the more reliable position is that it is not offensive, but merely better not to (khilaf al-awla).)

SPEAKING DURING THE SERMON OF THE FRIDAY PRAYER

r32.4 It is offensive to speak during the sermon on Friday, whether it be to say "Subhan Allah," the Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), or to command the right or forbid the wrong, the reason for the prohibition being that listening to the Friday prayer sermon is obligatory, as it takes the place of two of the rak'as of the noon prayer, so that things offensive during the prayer are offensive while listening to the sermon. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), said, "When the imam is giving the sermon on Friday, and you tell your companion, 'Listen,' you have made an impertinent remark."

SPEAKING WHEN THE KORAN IS BEING RECITED

r32.5 It is offensive to speak when the Koran is being recited, for listening to it and heeding it are absolutely obligatory, whether one is performing the prayer or not, and whether one comprehends it or not (A: but only if its words are distinctly audible to one). Allah Most High says, "When the Koran is recited, listen and pay heed to it" (Koran 7:204).

SPEAKING WITHOUT NEED TO A MEMBER OF THE OPPOSITE SEX

r32.6 It is offensive for a male to speak without need to a young woman who is not a member of his unmarriageable kin (def: m6.1). He should not say "Arhamkum Allah" (Allah have mercy on you) if she sneezes, greet her with "as-Salamu alaykum" (A: which is unlawful in the Shafii school) nor return her Salams if she says them (A: which is offensive for Shafi'is). He should not say these aloud, but to himself, all of which likewise holds for a young woman's speaking to a man who is not a member of her unmarriageable kin (m6.2). The prohibition of these is due to the Prophet's having said (Allah bless him and give him peace), "The adultery of the tongue is speech."

SPEAKING WHEN LOVEMAKING OR IN THE LAVATORY

r32.7 It is offensive to speak while lovemaking, or when in the lavatory or relieving oneself. It is offensive to laugh in circumstances in which speaking is offensive.

SPEAKING AFTER THE COMING OF DAWN BEFORE PERFORMING THE DAWN PRAYER

r32.8 It is offensive to speak of this-worldly things between dawn and performing the dawn prayer (subh). Some hold this extends until sunrise (al-Durar al-mubaha (y99), 145-49).

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CONVERSATION AFTER PERFORMING THE NIGHTFALL PRAYER (ISHA)

r32.9 (Nawawi:) It is offensive for someone who has prayed the nightfall prayer (isha) to converse about things permitted at other time,s meaning permissible words which would otherwise be the same to say or not to. Discourse that is unlawful or offensive at other times is even more sternly prohibited or offensive at this time. As for conversation about what is good, such as teaching Sacred Knowledge, relating the words of the pious, describing noble qualities, or speaking to one's guest, none of these is offensive, but rather they are commendable (al-Adhkar (y102), 504).

r33.0 PEOPLE OFFENSIVE TO GREET WITH SALAMS

r33.1 (Nahlawi:) It is offensive (def: r32.0) to greet with "as-Salamu alaykum" anyone who is:

(1) performing the prayer, reciting the Koran invoking Allah (dhikr), reading hadith to others, giving the Friday prayer sermon (khutba), or listening to any of these;

(2) a student of jurisprudence repeating a lesson over to himself to facilitate memorising it, someone informing ordinary people of legal rulings, or anyone engaged in a lesson of Sacred Knowledge;

(3) giving the call to prayer or call to commence (iqama);

(4) teaching;

(5) seated waiting for the prayer, or saying Subhan Allah";

(6) eating;

(7) a corrupt person who does not conceal his acts of disobedience;

(8) a young lady who is not a member of one's unmarriageable kin (dis: r32.6);

(9) someone who plays games that are not permissible (dis: k29.5), slanders others, sings, is an old wag, a chronic liar, addicted to profitless conversation, reviles others, or looks at women's faces, all of whom are offensive to greet unless their repentance from these things is known;

(10) someone who is enjoying his wife, whose nakedness is exposed, who is relieving himself, drowsy, asleep, or someone who is in a bathhouse.

RESPONDING TO SALAMS

r33.2 It is not obligatory to respond to someone's Salams in circumstances where greeting him is uncalled-for, except for a corrupt person ((7) above), whose Salams it is obligatory to return. It is not obligatory to answer the Salams of someone who is a child, intoxicated, or insane. Nawawi (Allah Most High have mercy on him) says in his commentary on Sahih Muslim, "Scholars disagree about greeting non-Muslims with 'as-Salamu alaykum' or returning their Salams. We hold that it is unlawful to say it to the first, though is obligatory to return their greetings by saying alaykum' (and upon you), or simply, 'Alaykum.' Other scholars hold it is permissible to greet them first with 'as-Salamu alaykum' " (al-Durar al-mubaha (y99), 150151).

r34.0 BOASTING

r34.1 Allah Most High says: "Do not praise yourselves: He knows best who is godfearing" (Koran 53:32)

r34.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Allah has inspired to met that you are all to be humble towards each other such that no one transgresses against or exalts himself above another. (al-Adhkar (y102), 473-74)

r35.0 REVEALING ONE'S SINS TO OTHERS

r35.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "All of my Community shall be pardoned, save those who commit sins openly. Committing them openly includes a man who does something shameful at night, and when morning comes, Allah having hidden his act, he says, "O So-and-so, last night I did such and such; his Lord having concealed it for him at night, while in the morning he pulls away the cover with which Allah had concealed it for him."

r35.2 (Nawawi:) It is offensive for a person who has been afflicted with an act of disobedience or the like to inform another of it. Rather, one should repent to Allah Most High by desisting from it at once, regretting what one has done, and firmly resolving never to do the like of it again. These three things are the integrals of repentance, which is not valid without them. There is no harm in telling about a sin to one's sheikh or other person who may be expected to teach one how to desist from the act or refrain from similar acts, or appraise one of the causes that led to it, or pray for one, and so forth. If such is the case, informing him is commendable. It is only offensive to do so when no such interest can be served (ibid., 498).

r36.0 REVEALING A SECRET

r36.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "When a man says something, then glances left or right, his words are a confidence to be kept." (Ibid., 507)

r36.2 (Nahlawi:) Telling a secret means to inform others of a remark, action, or state which one learns of from someone who wants it to remain hidden, whether it be good or bad. This is hurting him, and hurting others is unlawful. Whenever people meet, it is obligatory to keep secret any act that occurs, any words spoke, or any state attributable to someone, when these concern something one would normally wish to remain confidential, while not being unlawful. If unlawful, then:

(1) If it is against Allah Most High alone and does not involve legal measures such as prescribed legal penalties or disciplinary action (def: o17), then it must be kept secret.

(2) If it involves legal measures, as do fornication (dis: o12) and drinking (o16), then one has a choice between revealing it or not, though it is superior to conceal it.

(3) if it involves another person's rights, then if concealing it entails harm to anyone, or if it concerns prescribed legal measures such as retaliation for an injury or death (def: o3), or covering the cost of an article destroyed through negligence, then if the person whose rights have been infringed is ignorant of it, one is obliged to make the matter known, and must testify to it if asked to.

(4) If it involves another's rights, but concealing it does not entail harm to anyone and it does not concern prescribed legal measures, or it entails one of these two, but the person concerned already knows of it through another and one has not been asked to testify about it, then one is obliged to conceal the matter. (al-Durar al-mubaha (Y99), 134)

r37.0 DISAFFECTING A PERSON'S FAMILY FROM HIM

r37.1 (Nawawi:) It is unlawful for a person to mention anything to another's servant, wife, son, and so forth that could disaffect them from him, unless one is commanding the right or forbidding the wrong. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "He who disaffects a person's wife or servant from him is not of us."(al-Adhkar (Y102), 498)

r38.0 CURSING

THE PROHIBITION OF CURSING OTHERS

r38.1 (Nawawi:) Cursing an upright Muslim is unlawful by unanimous consensus of all Muslims. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "Cursing a believer is like killing him."

THE PERMISSIBILITY OF CURSING THOSE WHO COMMIT DISOBEDIENCE WHEN THEY

ARE NOT PERSONALLY IDENTIFIED OR KNOWN

r38.2 It is permissible (A: but not rewarded by Allah) to curse those who possess blameworthy characteristics, such as by saying, "Allah curse oppressors," "Allah curse the corrupt," "Allah curse picture makers," and so forth. Well-known and rigorously authenticated (sahih) hadiths verify that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "Allah curse her who wears false hair and her who arranges it for another";

(2) "Allah curse him who eats usurious gain (riba)";

(3) "Allah curse those who make pictures";

(4) "Allah curse him who surreptitiously changes property-line markers"; all of these being found in Bukhari, Muslim, or both. As for cursing a particular person who commits some act of disobedience, such as an oppressor, adulterer, maker of pictures, thief, or one who consumes usurious gain; the hadith evidence seems to suggest it is not unlawful, though Ghazali indicates (A: and it is the most reliable opinion) that it is unlawful unless the person cursed is someone we know has died in a state of unbelief, such as Abu Lahab, Abu Jahl, Pharaoh, Haman, and their likes. This, as Ghazali notes, is "because to curse means to distance another from the mercy of Allah Most High, while we do not know how the particular corrupt person or non-Muslim will end his life. As for those the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) personally cursed, perhaps it was because he knew they would die in unbelief. Praying that evil befalls a person is similar to cursing, even when against a tyrant, such as saying, 'May Allah not heal him,' 'May Allah not keep him safe,' and similar remarks, if of a Muslim]. And likewise for cursing any animals or inanimate objects whatever-all this is objectionable [A: meaning offensive]" (al-Adhkar (Y102), 476-80).

r39.0 BEGGING

r39.1 (Nahlawi:) It is unlawful to ask for money or other worldly advantage from someone one has no right to ask, unless there is a necessity to. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "One of you keeps begin until when he meets Allah Most High, there is not a piece of flesh left on his face," which is interpreted as referring to anyone who asks when it is not permissible to do so. The degree of necessity that permits begging is when one is unable to earn a living due to illness or weakness and does not have enough food to last one day (al-Durar al-mubaha (y99), 139).

r40.0 MUSIC, SONG, AND DANCE

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

r40.1 (Ibn Hajar Haytami:) As for the condemnation of musical instruments, flutes, strings, and the like by the Truthful and Trustworthy (Allah bless him and give him peace), who "does not speak from personal caprice: it is nothing besides a revelation inspired" (Koran 53:3-4), let those who refuse to obey him beware lest calamity strike them, or a painful torment. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "Allah Mighty and Majestic sent me as a guidance and mercy to believers and commanded me to do away with musical instruments, flutes, strings, crucifixes, and the affair of the pre-Islamic period of Jahiliyyah (ignorance)."

(2) "On the Day of Resurrection, Allah will pour molten lead into the ears of whoever sits listening to a songstress."

(3) "Song makes hypocrisy grow in the heart as water does herbage

(4) "This Community will experience the swallowing up of some people by the earth, metamorphosis of some into animals, and being rained upon with stones." Someone asked, "When will this be, O messenger of Allah?" and he said, "When songstresses and musical instruments appear and wine is held to be lawful."

(5) "There will be peoples of my Community who will hold fornication, silk, wine, and musical instruments to be lawful...." All of this is explicit and compelling textual evidence that musical instruments of all types are unlawful (Kaff al-raa' an muharramat al-lahw wa al-sama (y49), 2.269-70).

r40.2 (Nawawi:) It is unlawful to use musical instruments-such as those which drinkers are known for, like the mandolin, lute, cymbals and flute-or to listen to them. It is permissible to play the tambourine at weddings, circumcisions, and other times, even if it has bells on its sides. Beating the kuba, a long drum with a narrow middle, is unlawful (Mughni al-muhtaj ila ma rifa maani alfaz al-Minhaj (y73)m, 4.429-30).

SINGING UNACCOMPANIED BY MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

r40.3 (Ibn Hajar Haytami:) As for listening to singing that is not accompanied by instruments, one should know that singing or listening to singing is offensive except under the circumstances to be mentioned in what follow. Some scholars hold that singing is sunna at weddings and the like, and of our Imams, Ghazali and Izzi ibn Abd al-Salam say that it is sunna if it moves one to a noble state of mind that makes one remember the hereafter. It is clear from this that all poetry which encourages good deeds, wisdom, noble qualities, abstinence from this-worldly things, or similar pious traits such as urging one to obey Allah, follow the sunna, or shun disobedience, is sunna to write, sing, or listen to, as more than one of our Imams have stated is obvious, since using a means to do good is itself doing good (kaff al-ra'a an muhar-ramat al-lahw wa al-sama (y49), 2.273).

DANCING

r40.4 (Nawawi: (n: with commentary by Mohammed Shirbini Khatib)) It is not prohibited to dance ((Shirbini:) which is not unlawful because it is only motions made while standing or bowing. Furani and others have expressly stated that neither is it offensive, but rather is permissible, as is attested to by the hadith related in the sahihs of Bukhhari and Muslim that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) stood before Ai'isha (Allah be well pleased with her) to screen her from view so that she could observe the Abyssinians sporting and dancing)-unless it is languid, like the movements of the effeminate (Mughni al-muhtaj ila ma rifa ma ani alfaz al Minhaj (y73), 4.430).

BOOK S - DELUSIONS

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s1.0 THOSE DELUDED BY THIS WORLD, ALLAH'S FORGIVENESS, OR THEIR OWN WORKS

s1.1 (Ibn Qudama Maqdisi (dis: q0.1):) There are people misled by this world, saying, "Cash is better than credit: This world is cash while the next world is credit." And it is a point of deception, for cash cannot be better than credit unless the amount of each is equal. Now a person's life, when compared to the hereafter, obviously does not amount to even a thousandth part before he breathes his last, while someone who says that "cash is better than credit" means provided the credit equals the cash." And this is the delusion of unbelievers. As for those immersed by sin while their faith in eternal truths remains sound, they share this delusion with unbelievers, by preferring the present life to the hereafter (afterlife), but their lot is easier than the unbelievers' in that their basic faith will keep them from unending punishment.

THOSE DELUDED BY ALLAH'S FORGIVENESS

s1.2 Other sinners delude themselves by saying, "Allah is generous, we but rely on His forgiveness," while the learned tell us that if one longs for something one pursues it, and if one fears something one shuns it. Whoever hopes for forgiveness while persisting in wrongdoing is deluded. One must know that Allah Most High with His vast mercy, is terrible in retribution, having decreed that unbelievers shall abide in hell forever (dis: w55) even though their unbelief does not hurt Him in the slightest. He has made some of His servants prey to infirmities and trials in this world, though He, Glorious and Exalted, is quite able to eliminate them. Moreover, He has made us fear His punishment. How can we not be afraid? Fear and hope drive and arouse one to action. That which does not spur one to works is deception, as is clear from the fact that the "hope" of most people makes them do nothing at all or prefer disobedience. It is odd that early Muslims both worked and feared, while nowadays, though falling far short, people feel secure and tranquil as though they knew more about the generosity of Allah Most High than the prophets and the righteous. If it could be had by wishing, why did the latter fatigue themselves and weep so much? Does Allah condemn the Jews and Christians for anything besides being this way when He says, "They grasp at the paltry things of this low life and say, We shall be forgiven,' " (Koran 7:169). This delusion resembles that of people who do both good and evil, but more of evil, while imagining their good to be greater. One might see them give a dirham as charity while having wrongfully appropriated many times that amount, or maybe even giving as charity something wrongfully acquired, relying on such a donation, which is like someone putting a dirham in one scalepan, a thousand in the other, and hoping the scale will balance. Or another of them who thinks his good acts are more than his evil ones, the reason for which is that he keeps track of the number of good deeds, but does not take himself to task for the bad one,s nor consider his sins. For example, he says, "Astaghfir Allah" (May Allah forgive me) and "Subhan Allah" (Glory be to Allah) a hundred times a day, but then spends the rest of his day slandering Muslims and making ugly remarks, seeing the virtue of saying "Subhan Allah" and "Astighfir Allah," but not the punishment for slander forbidden speech.

s1.3 Delusions generally occur among four kinds of people: Islamic scholars, devotees, would-be Sufis, and the wealthy.

s2.0 THE DELUSIONS OF ISLAMIC SCHOLARS

THOSE REMISS IN OUTWARD CONDUCT

s2.1 As for religious scholars, some master the legal and rational sciences but neglect to examine their outward habits and practices, not keeping their external self from sin or making it faithful in obedience. They are deluded by their learning and feel sure they rate high with Allah. If they were to look with the eye of insight, they would see that the whole point of knowing about religious practice is to apply it. Without works, it is useless. Allah Most High says: "He who purifies it [the soul] has succeeded" (Koran 91:9), not, "He who knows how to purify it has succeeded." If the Devil reminds such a person of the virtues of learned people, let the person for his part remember what has reached us about corrupt scholars, such as Allah's saying, "...like a donkey laden with books" (Koran 62:5).

THOSE WHO NEGLECT THEIR INWARD FAULTS

s2.2 Others master religious learning and its outward performance, but do not examine their hearts to eliminate the blameworthy traits therein such as pride, envy, ostentation, and seeking exaltation or fame. These have made their exterior seemly while neglecting their interior, forgetting the words of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), "Allah does not look at your appearance or property, but only at your hearts and works." Such people apply themselves to works but do not apply themselves to hearts, though the heart is the real foundation, since no one is saved "except he who comes to Allah with a pure heart" (Koran 26:89). They resemble someone who sows grain that comes up with weeds choking it out, but when ordered to weed it, merely trims away the weeds' twigs and stems, neglecting the roots, which take stronger hold. Another segment of scholars know that these inner qualities are condemnable, but out of self satisfaction feel they are above them, and the they are too good as far as Allah is concerned for Him to afflict them with such traits, that only common people have them and not people at their own level of learning. When symptoms of arrogance or avidness for leadership appear is such people, one of them may say, "This is not arrogance, but only seeking to exalt Islam, display the nobility of religious learning, and to spite those given to reprehensible innovations, Were I to wear clothes less fine or sit with a lower class of people, the enemies of religion would smirk, and gloat at my humiliation, which amounts to humiliating Islam." And he forgets about delusion, and that it is Satan Who has seduced him with this, which is plain from the fact that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) and his Companions were humble in manner and preferred the way of poverty and lowliness. Still other scholars have acquired religious knowledge, purified their exterior actions, making them seemly with obedience, and examined their hearts, purifying them of ostentation, envy, pride, and the like, and yet there remain snares of the Devil and tricks of the ego hidden in the recesses of their hearts which they have failed to notice and this neglected. You might see one of them spending the night and day in learning various religious sciences, organising them and polishing up their terminology, such a person thinking his motive is the desire to manifest the religion of Allah Most High, while the real motive might be to make a name for himself and enhance his prestige. Perhaps too his published work is not entirely free of self-praise, whether overtly, by wide, sweeping claims, or covertly, by attacks on others, to show by attacking them that he is better than they are and more knowledgeable. Such kinds of behaviour and similar ones are hidden faults which few discern but the wisest and strongest. Those as weak as we are have little hope of doing so, but at least a person should be aware of his own defects and wish they were corrected. There is hope for someone whose good acts make him happy and wicked ones make him sad, unlike someone who applauds himself and thinks himself the best of men. s2.3 The above are the delusions of those who master important branches of Sacred Knowledge. How then for those who content themselves with studying fields not essential to them, neglecting the import ones?

THEOLOGICAL POLEMICISTS

s2.4 Among them are those who busy themselves with theological polemics against heretical beliefs, and refuting the unorthodox. Scholars engaged in this are of two types, those in the wrong and those in the right, the former advocating something other than the sunna, the latter advocating the sunna. Both are deluded. The misguidedness of those in the wrong is obvious (A: since they have left the Koran and sunna which are divinely protected). As for those in the right, their delusion is in believing that arguing is the most important activity and greatest spiritual work in the religion of Allah Most High. They maintain that one's religion is not complete until one has made lengthy investigations into one's beliefs, and that someone who simply believes in Allah and His messenger without preparing a case for it is deficient in faith. Because of this mistaken presumption, they spend their lives learning how to dispute, conducting in-depth studies of statements of theological controversies until their spiritual insight eventually goes blind. They do not pause to consider that the early Muslims, whom the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) testified were the very best of mankind, and who lived to see many a reprehensible innovation (bid'a) and deviant belief, did not expose themselves and their religion to quarrels and disputation, or busy themselves therein at the expense of their hearts and works. They did not talk about it at all, except under necessity to refute misguidance. And if they saw someone persisting in blameworthy innovation, they had nothing more to do with him, without further debate or argument. The hadith has reached us, "No people went astray after having been guided save that they were afflicted with arguing."

SERMONISERS

s2.5 Others spend their time in homilies to people, the highest class of whom speak about traits of the self and qualities of the hear such as fear, hope, patience, gratitude, reliance on Allah, abstinence, certainty, and sincerity, thinking that by merely speaking of them, even of they do not have them, they acquire them. Such people call to Allah while they themselves flee from Him. They are among the most deluded. And some of them turn from the proper way of exhorting others to relating baseless tales, adding words that are neither acceptable to Sacred Law nor to human intelligence, in an attempt to say something novel.

LEARNING HADITH FOR THE SAKE OF MAKING A REPUTATION

s.26 Others spend their time in listening to hadiths, gathering variants and rare chains of transmission or chains remarkable for having come through but few transmitters of advanced years. The concern of one of them is to go from city to city, seeing sheikhs in order to drop names, saying, I relate from So-andso," "I've met So-and-so," or "I know chains of transmission no one else does."

ARABISTS

s2.7 Others devote their time to advanced studies in Arabic grammar, lexicography, and poetry, claiming they are the scholars of the Islamic Community, dissipating their lives in subtleties of grammar and diction. If they stopped to think, they would realise that someone who wastes his lifetime in the knowledge of the language of the Arabs is like someone who wastes it in knowledge of the language of the Turks. Arabic is only distinguished above the latter in that the Sacred Law has come in it. As for lexicology, there are only two areas in which it is necessary for one to gain an understanding of rare words: those of the Koran, and those of the hadith. As for grammar, one but needs enough to use the language properly.

s2.8 The really fortunate person is he who takes of each thing the amount that is critical to him and then goes on to apply it, putting his effort behind it and purifying if of imperfection. And this is the real aim.

s3.0 THE DELUSIONS OF DEVOTEES

s3.1 Devotees are of various types, including those remiss about obligatory acts while engaging in extra devotions and supererogatory works.

s3.2 Sometimes they are so worried about using water for purification that it reaches the level of obsessive doubt (waswasa) about the validity of their ablution. You might see one of them unsatisfied with water the Sacred Law deems fit for ablution, imagining remote possibilities that it could be affected with something unclean, while not having such concern for the lawfulness of the source of the food he eats. Were he to reverse these two, applying the care he takes for the water instead to his food, he would be closer to the practice of the early Muslims. Umar (Allah be well pleased with him) performed ablution from the water jar of a Christian despite signs that it might well be unclean, while he used to refrain from many kinds of permissible things for fear of falling into the unlawful.

s3.3 Others are so bedeviled by inner misgivings at their initial Allahu Akbar in the prayer that they may miss a raka with the imam. And like them are those with obsessive doubts about the proper pronunciation of the letters of the Fatiha and other spoken elements of the prayer. One of them may take precaution upon precaution in doubling the doubled letters , distinguishing from and so forth, beyond the necessary, until he is finally so concerned about it that he does not think about anything else, neglecting the meaning of the Koran and the lessons he should be taking from it. And this is among the ugliest forms of delusion, for people are not required to pronounce the letters when reciting the Koran with more precision than that with which classical Arabic is normally spoken. Such people are as if delivering a message to a ruler, the messenger fastidiously pronouncing each letter and repeating those he is unsatisfied with, having quite forgotten the purpose of the message and the dignity of the assembly before whom he is delivering it. How richly such a person deserves to be thrown out and taught a lesson.

s3.4 A third group is deluded by reciting the Koran, which they rush through, perhaps finishing twice a day, the tongue of one of them being occupied therein while his heart is wandering through the valleys of daydream, not reflecting on its meanings, heeding its exhortations, or obeying its ordinances and prohibitions. Such a person is misled, believing the Koran is only intended for reciting. He is like someone to whom his master has written a letter charging him

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with certain matters and forbidding him others, while the servant does no bother the understand it or carry it out but simply memorizes it and repeats it, thinking that this is the purport of it, while violating the master's commands and prohibitions. Others relish the sound of their own voice in reciting the Koran, disregarding its significance. One should examine one's heart as to whether one is enjoying the meter, the sound, or the meaning (A: though it is not blame worthy to enjoy the meter or sound, unless one is unconcerned with the meaning).

s3.5 Others are deceived by fasting, and frequently practice it, but do not restrain their tongue from slander and useless words, keep their belly from ill-gotten or unlawful food with which to break their fast, or free their heart from ostentation.

s3.6 Others are deluded by going on pilgrimage, departing for it without restoring the rights of people they have wronged (dis: p77.3), meeting their financial obligations, asking the permission of their parents, or obtaining lawfully gotten provision. And this may be after having fulfilled the obligatory hajj, while they neglect obligatory acts of worship enroute, are unable to purify their garments and person, and do not refrain from unpermitted sex or getting into arguments, despite which they think all is well with them, being self deceived.

s3.7 Others command the right and forbid the wrong, while forgetting themselves.

s3.8 Others include the imam who leads the group prayer at the mosque, but when someone more godfearing or knowledgeable is allowed to lead in his stead, it weighs heavily on him. Or the muezzin who calls to the prayer, believing he is doing it for the sake of Allah, but when someone else gives the call in his absence, it annoys him and he says, He has infringed on my position."

s3.9 Others eschew material possessions, content with poor clothes and food and with living in mosques, thinking that they have reachedthe rank of the abstinent (zuhhad), while they are avoid for leadership and prestige. In fact, they have given up the lesser of two matters while getting involved in the more deadly.

s3.10 Still others enthusiastically perform supererogatory acts while not being concerned for the obligatory ones. You may see one of them savoring the midmorning or night vigil prayer, but finding no satisfaction in the prescribed prayer, but finding no satisfaction in the prescribed prayer nor hastening to pray it at the first of its time. Such a person has forgotten the Prophet's words (Allah bless him and give him peace) relating that Allah Mighty and Majestic said: "Those near to Me do not approach Me with anything like that which I have made obligatory upon them."

s3.11 There is no spiritual labour without its dangers, and those who do not know them fall prey to them. Whoever wishes to learn them should study the dangers of ostentation that exist in acts of worship, from fasting and prayer to all the rest, in the chapters set forth in this book (A: i.e. Ibn Qudama's source here, Ghazali's Ihya ulum aldin).

s4.0 THE DELUSIONS OF WOULD-BE SUFIS

s4.1 The deluded among them are of various types. Some are deluded by the dress, terminology, or demeanor of the Sufis. They imitate the sincere Sufis (dis: w9) externally, but do not tax themselves with spiritual struggle or self-discipline. Rather, they pounce upon and quarrel over wealth that is unlawful, doubtful, or from rulers (dis: p32:3), rending each other's honor whenever they are at crosspurposes. The delusion of these is obvious. They are like an old woman who hears that the names of courageous, valiant soldiers are inscribed in the official roster and they are ceded whole tracts of land. Feeling a longing within herself, she dons hauberk and helmet, learns a few heroic stanzas and the details of their apparel and characteristics, and then sets out for the camp. Her name is duly entered in the lists, but when she reports for inspection, she is ordered to take off the helmet and armor to see what is underneath, and to be tried in combat. When she complies, it turns out that she is a feeble old crone, and she is told,"you only came to mock the king and his court!-Take her away and throw her under the elephant's feet." And she is flung under it to be trampled. Thus will be the state of pretenders to Sufism on the Day of Judgement, when they stand revealed and are brought before the Supreme Judge, who looks at hears, not patched clothes or Sufi dress.

s4.2 Others claim to have attained to gnosis and contemplative knowledge of the Divine, to have passed through spiritual stations and states, and to have reached nearness to Allah, while they know nothing of any of this except the words. You might see one of them reiterating these terms, thinking it above the combined learning of the first and last, and looking with condescension upon the scholars of Sacred Law, hadith, and other disciplines, to say nothing of ordinary Muslims. Sometimes a common person will keep their company for many days, picking up these artificial phrases and parroting them as if he were speaking divine revelation, with sneering contempt for scholars and worshipers, saying that they are veiled from Allah (A: which could be true, though saying it by way of self-praise is very wrong) while he has attained to the Truth, and that he is one of those brought near to Allah-while Allah considers him a debauched hypocrite, and the transformed ones know him to be an ignorant fool who has not acquired sound knowledge, perfected his character, or kept watch over his heart, but merely pursued his own fancy and memorised a lot of gibberish.

s4.3 Others roll up and put away the carpet of the Sacred Law, rejecting its rulings and considering the unlawful and the lawful to be equal, saying, "Allah does not need my works, so why should I bother?" One of them may say, "Outward devotions have no value, only hears mean anything. Our hearts are aflame with the love of Allah Most High, and we have attained to gnosis of Him. If we are bodily immersed in this word, yet our hearts are in worshipful seclusion in the presence of the Divine. Outwardly we may give in to our desires, but not in our hearts." they claim to have surpassed the rank of the common people, beyond the need to school the lower self with physical devotions, and that gratifying bodily lusts does not divert them from the path of Allah Most High because of their firmness therein. They exalt themselves above the level of the prophets (upon whom be peace) who used to weep for years over a single mistake.

s4.4 (n: As no age is without pretenders to Sufism, the following texts will hopefully be useful in letting some principal Sufis describe in their own words the delusions of those who consider themselves "above the Sacred Law.")

s4.5 (Ibn Ajiba:) Someone said to Junayd, "There is a group who claim they arrive to a state in which legal responsibility no longer applies to them." "They have arrived," he replied, "but to hell" (Iqaz alhimam fi sharh al-Hikam (y54), 210).

s4.6 (Ghazali:) When anyone claims there is a state between him and Allah relieving him of the need to obey the Sacred Law such that the prayer, fasting, and so forth are no obligatory for him, or that drinking wine and taking other people's money are permissible form-as some pretenders to Sufism,namely those "above the Sacred Law" (ibahiyyun) have claimed-there is no doubt that the imam of the Musilms or his representative is obliged to kill him. Some hold that executing such a person is better in Allah's sight than killing a hundred unbelievers in the path of Allah Most High (Hashiya at-Shaykh Ibrahim at-Bajuri (y5), 2.267).

s4.7 (Muhyiddin ibn al-Arabi:) When we see someone in this Community who claims to be able to guide others to Allah, but is remiss in but one rule of the Sacred Law-even if he manifests miracles that stagger the mind-asserting that his shortcoming is a special dispensation for him, we do not even turn to look at him, for such a person is not a sheikh, nor is he speaking the truth, for no one is entrusted with the secrets of Allah Most High save one in whom the ordinances of the Sacred Law are preserved (Jami karamat al-awliya (y95), 1.3).

s4.8 (Sheikh Ahmad al-Alawi:) The friend of Allah (wali) is not divinely protected from error, for which reason he is to be feared for and his word is not be relied upon when it exceeds what has been conveyed by the sunna concerning matters of the after life, because he is suspended from making any new provisions in the Sacred Law, and in respect to the prophets (upon whom be peace) he is not a guide. He is only entitled to believe what the Lawgiver has informed of. "Today I have perfected you religion for you and completed My favour upon you, and I please that Islam be your religion" (Koran 5:3). The gnostic in the first of his states is strongly affected by the initial impact, and will sometimes try to take on a discussion of the affairs of the afterlife, as opposed to the final state, in which he may be so quiescent that an unknowing observer might assume its strength has waned, though this is rather the result of this perfection and firmness in his station. It has been said that they way begins in madness, proceeds to arts, and ends in quietude. So one is obliged, whenever one's rapture subsides, to return to what the Lawgiver has stated, without personal figurative interpretations. This is why our author says, "Faith is incisive," meaning that one cuts the self short whenever it wants eminence and elevation. The gnostic's spiritual will, exalted above all else, must carry him beyond what we have just mentioned. For he is outside our phenomenal frame of reference and all it contains, and whenever he wants to speak about things of the afterlife his words are high, unintelligible, and a source of trouble to both those who believe him and those who do not, which is why he is forbidden speech about it, and as much as he increasingly forgoes it, he increases in nearness to Allah and in safety. Sufis call this station subsistence (baqa'). Before a disciple is firmly established therein, it is to be feared that he will be overtaken by misfortune because of his lack of a foothold in the state of subsistence, a juncture that has been called "from annihilation to subsistence, or annihilation to perdition" (al-Minah al-quddusiyya fi sharh al-Murshid al-mu'in bi tariq al Sufiyya (y8), 67-68).

s4.9 (Abd al-Karim Jili:) My brother, Allah have mercy on you, I have travelled to the remotest cities and dealt with all types of people, but never has my eye seen, nor ear heard of nor is there any uglier or farther from the presence of Allah Most High than a certain group who pretend they are accomplished Sufis, claiming for themselves a lineal spiritual tradition from the perfected ones and appearing in their guise, while they do not believe in Allah, His messengers, or the Last Day, and do not comply with the responsibilities of the Sacred Law, depicting the states of the prophets and their messages in a manner that no one with a particle of faith in his heartcan accept, let alone someone who has reached the level of those to whom the unseen disclosed and who have gnostic insight. We have seen a great number of their luminaries in cities in Azerbaijan, Shirwan, Jilan, and Khurasan, may Allah curse them all (Idah almaqsud min wahdat al-wujud (Y98), 17-18).

s4.10 The delusions of those "above the Sacred Law" are beyond number, all of it mistakes and inner suggestions with which the Devil has tricked them because of their having taken up spiritual struggle before they mastered the rules of the Sacred Law, and they did not connect themselves with a sheikh of learning and religion worthy of being followed (dis:w9.9-9).

s4.11 Other students of Sufism proceed on the right path, engage in spiritual struggle, begin to actually travel in the way, and the door of gnosis, contemplative knowledge of the Divine, opens to them. But when they sniff the first traces of this knowledge, it surprises them and they exult in it and are pleased by the strangeness of it, until their hearts become fettered with turning to it and thinking about it, and how it was disclosed to them but not others. And all of this is delusion, for the wonders met with in the path of Allah Glorious and Exalted are endless. If one stops with a particular marvel and becomes enamored with it, one's progress falters and one fails to reach the goal. Such a person is like someone going to see a king, who notices a garden at the palace gate with flowers in it, the like of which he has never seen, and who stops to look at them until there is no longer time to meet the king.

s5.0 THE DELUSIONS OF THE WEALTHY

s5.1 The deluded among the wealthy are of various types. Some of them eagerly build mosques, schools, hospices, aqueducts, whatever people can see, and write their names upon them to perpetuate their memory and keep it alive after their death, while of one of them were called upon to spend a single dinar on something that did not have his name on it, it would be a burden for him. If not for the fact that this aim is other people and not Allah Himself, this would not be so hard for him, as Allah is looking at him whether he writes his name or not. Others spend money embellishing mosques with ornamentation and bas-reliefs, which are prohibited by Sacred Law and distracting to the people praying in them. The aim in prayer is humble awe and an attentive heart, while this ornamentation spoils the hearts of those praying. And if the money spend on such things is from an unlawful source to begin with, so much greater the delusion. Malik ibn Dinar (Allah have mercy on him) said, A man came to a mosque, stopped at the entrance, and said, someone like me does not enter a house of Allah'-for which he was accorded the rank of those with perfect faith (siddiq)." And this is how we should revere mosques, by seeing them as defiled by our entering them with our self as bad as it is, an affront to them; not by seeing to their defilement with the unlawful and with this-worldly embellishment, trying to outdo Allah Most High. The delusion of someone who does this is in thinking the wrong to be right.

s5.2 Others protect their money, holding fast to it with the tight fist of greed, and then occupy

themselves with bodily works of worship that do not cost much, like fasting, prayer, or reciting the whole Koran. They are deluded, for stinginess is deadly (dis: p75.25) and has taken over their heart. They need to rid themselves of if by spending of their wealth, but are too busy with supererogatory works to do so. They are like someone who, when a snake has entered his clothes, sets about cooking up a syrup of vinegar and honey to reduce his bile.

s5.3 There are others whose selfishness will not let them give anything but zakat. One of them may pay out the worst property he has, or give it to those of the poor who are useful to him, vacillating between which of his ulterior motives can best be served, or as to whom he may have use for in the future or is "good for something" in particular. Another may deliver his zakat to a prominent public figure so he will consider him to be someone and later fulfill his needs. And all of this invalidates the intention, the person who does it being deluded by wanting recompense from others for worshiping Allah Most High.

s5.4 Some wealthy people and others are deluded by frequenting circles of dhikr (remembrance of Allah), thinking that merely attending them will take the place of works and of a sober look at the afterlife, though it is not so, for circles of dhikr are only commendable in that they motivate one to do good. And anything that is a means to something else is pointless if it does no achieve it. When one of them hears something that creates fear of divine punishment, he says nothing more than. "O Protector, keep us safe," or "I take refuge in Allah,"thinking he has done all that is necessary. He is like a sick person who comes to a group of doctors to hear what is happening. Or a hungry person who visits someone

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who can describe delicious food to him, and then leaves. It does not do him much good. And likewise with hearing acts of obedience described without applying them: every admonition that does not change something within one that affects one's actions is a case against one.

s6.0 REMEDYING DELUSIONS

s6.1 If it be objected that I have not mentioned a single action which is free of delusion, the replay is that the matter of the afterlife hinges upon one thing alone:" straightening out one's heart. And no one is incapable of it except someone whose intention is insincere. If a person were as concerned about the next world as this one, he would certainly achieve it. The early Muslims did so, and so have those who have followed them in excellence. Three things can be used to help rid oneself of delusions:

(1) intelligence, the real light by which a person sees things as they are;

(2) knowledge, through which a person knows himself, his Lord, his this-worldly life, and the life to come;

(3) and learning, by which we mean learning how to travel the way to Allah Most High, the pitfall therein, and learning what will bring one nearer and guide one, all of which may be found in this books (dis: s3.11(A:)). When a person has done all this, he should be wary lest the Devil beguile him and make him desirous for leadership, or lest he feel secure from Allah's devising (def: p66). Fear should never be absent from the hearts of the friends (awliya') of Allah. We ask Allah to protect us from delusion and that we may end our lives well. Truly, He is near and answers supplications (Mukhtasar Minhaj al-qasidin (y62), 237-50).

BOOK T A PURE HEART

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t1.0 INTENTION, SINCERITY, AND BEING TRUE

INTENTION

t1.1 (Nawawi:) Allah Most High says: "Whoever leaves home to emigrate to Allah and His messenger but whom death overtakes: paying his recompense falls to Allah" (Koran 4:100). The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Works are only according to intentions, and man only receives what he intends. Whoever's emigration was to Allah and His messenger has truly emigrated to Allah and His messenger; and whoever's emigration was for worldly gain or to wed a woman, his if for that to which he emigrated." This is a hadith whose authenticity Bukhari and Muslim agree upon, and there is complete scholarly consensus on the greatness of its rank and majesty. It is one of the cornerstones, fundamental supports, and most important integrals of faith. Imam Shafi'i (Allah have mercy on him) said it enters into seventy chapters of jurisprudence. He also said it constitutes one-third of Sacred Knowledge.

SINCERITY (IKHLAS)

t1.2 Allah Most High says:

(1) "Nor were they commanded save to worship Him, sincere to Him in their religion" (Koran 98:5).

(2) "So worship Allah with sincerity" (Koran 39:2).

t1.3 The Master Abul Qasim Qushayri (Allah have mercy on Him) said: "Sincerity is to make Allah one's sole aim in acts of obedience, meaning to intend by one's obedience to draw nearer to Allah Most High and nothing else, whether hypocrisy before others, acquiring esteem in their eyes, love of their praise, or anything besides drawing nearer to Allah. One could say that sincerity is purifying the mind from paying attention to one's fellow creatures."

t1.4 Abu Uthman (Allah have mercy on Him) said, "Sincerity it to forget to regard men by continuously regarding their Maker." He also said, "The sincerity of ordinary people is that which is free of self-interest, while the sincerity of the elect is that which comes over them, not from them, for acts of worship appear in them from which they are at a remove, and neither observe nor consider" (al-Majmu' (y108), 1.16-17).

t1.5 (Nawawi:) Abu Yazid (Allah Most High be well pleased with him) said: "For twelve years I was the blacksmith of my soul; for five, the mirror of my heart; for one year I observed what was between them, and lo, around my waist I found the girdle of unbelief (zunnar) in plain view. So I worked for five years at cutting it, seeking a way to dissever it, until at length this was revealed to me and looking at mankind, I saw them as dead and prayed a fourfold Allahu Akbar over them." Sufficient to show the subtlety of the hiddenness of ostentation is the difficulty with which this master recognised it, who had few equals in this path. As for his remark I saw them as dead," it is of the greatest worth and excellence, words that express this meaning being seldom met with outside those of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace). What it signifies is that when he underwent this spiritual struggle and his lower self became trained and his heart enlightened, when he had mastered the self, subdued it, taken full possession of it, and made it submit in everything, he looked at all creatures and found them as if dead, without discoverable trait. They could not harm or benefit, bestow or keep back, give life or death, join or separate, bring close or make far, save or damn, give sustenance or withhold it; they possessed neither benefit nor harm to themselves, neither life nor death, nor resurrection. Now, the dead are dealt with, regarding these things, as deceased, and they are not feared, nor are hopes placed in them, nor does desire arise for what they have. We do not do anything for their sake, refrain from anything for their sake, or forgo any act of obedience to Allah for their sake, any more than we would to win the praise of the dead. They are not shown-off in front of, their favor is not sought through flattery or compromise of principles, and they do not occupy one's attention. They are not held in contempt or disparaged; their defects are unmentioned, their shameful points unsought out, their mistakes uncriticised; though if penalties prescribed by Sacred Law are incurred, we enforce them. In short, they are as though nonexistent in everything we have mentioned, the decisions of Allah Most High holding sway over them. Whoever deals with them accordingly has attained to the good of this world and the next. May Allah Most Generous give us success in realising it (Bustan al-afrifin (y104), 131-34).

BEING TRUE (SIDQ)

t1.6 (Nawawi:) As for being true, Allah Most High says: "O you who believe, fear Allah, and be with those who are true" (Koran 9:119).

t1.7 Sahl ibn Abdullah Tustari said, "The servant who compromises his principles, for himself or another, will never catch even a scent of being true."

t1.8 It is related that Harith al-Muhasibi (Allah have mercy on him) said: "A person who is true would not care if his whole value vanished from the hears of men for the sake of bettering his heart. He does not like people seeing the smallest bit of his good acts, and does not mind their noticing the worst of them, for to be otherwise would show he wants to be more in their eyes, and this is out of character for those of great faith (siddiqin)."

t1.9 Dhul Nun al-Misri (Allah have mercy on him) said: "Truth is the sword of Allah. Whatever it is put to, it cuts" (al-Majmu (y108), 1.17).

t2.0 A LETTER TO ONE OF THE BRETHREN

t2.1 (Ibn Ata Illah:) I know of nothing more useful to you than four matters: surrender to Allah, to humbly entreat Him, to think the best of Him, and to perpetually renew your repentance to Him, even if you should repeat a sin seventy times in a day.

SURRENDER TO ALLAH

t2.2 Surrender to Him gives you relief in the present life from having to plan while He does, triumph in the next life through the supreme favor, and safety from the idolatry of contention, for how should you contend with Him for something you do not own with Him? Cast yourself amidst His kingdom, meager in its plentitude and insignificant in its vastness, and He will plan for you as He does for it. Do not leave the slavehood that is yours for claims to a lordship that you have no claim to. To plan and choose for oneself are enormities with respect to hearts and inmost souls, as you find it the Book of Allah Most High where Allah says: "Your Lord creates whatever He wills and chooses, and they do not have a choice. Glory be to Allah above what they associate with Him" (Koran 28:68).

EARNESTLY ENTREATING ALLAH

t2.3 As for earnestly entreating Allah, in it lies the coming of increase, lifting of hardships, enwrapment in mantles of divine gifts, and safety from affliction. One is repaid for it in times of hardship by the Master's undertaking one's protection, and in times of ease by His seeing to one's gain. It is the greatest threshold and straightest way. It is effectual despite unbelief, so how could it be ineffectual with faith? Have you not heard the words of Allah Most High: "And when you are touched by affliction at sea, those to whom you pray besides Him are lost, but when He delivers you to shore, you turn away. Surely man is an ingrate" (Koran 17:67)- meaning that He answers you. Earnest entreaty is the door Allah Most High has placed between Himself and His servants. Gifts come to whomever betakes himself to it, and spiritual favors unceasingly reach whoever stands before it. Whoever enters unto Him by it attains to the reality of divine assistance. And whenever He release unto you through it, He bestows of every good thin in the most lavish gift giving, as is found in the Book of Allah Most High where Allah says, "If only they had earnestly entreated Us when Our vengeance reached them" (Koran 6:43).

THINKING THE BEST OF ALLAH

t2.4 As for thinking best of Allah, how tremendous it is for whomever Allah has blessed with it. Whoever has it does not lace the slightest bit of good, and whoever lacks it will never find any. You will never have a better excuse to Allah than it, or one more profitable. Nor anything that better leads you to Allah or is more guidance giving. It informs one what Allah will make of one and gives good tidings the like of whose words no eye has ever read nor tongue given utterance to. This is found in the sunna of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), where he says, quoting Allah, "I am night to what My servant expects of Me."

CONTINUALLY RENEWED REPENTANCE

t2.5 As for continually renewing one's repentance to Allah, it is the wellspring of every spiritual rank and station from first to last, inwardly and outwardly. There is no excellence in one who lacks it, and nothing lacking in one who has it. It is the key to every good, outwardly and inwardly, the very soul of stations of wisdom, and the reason men are made friends of Allah (awliya). If the repentance of the Axis of the World (Qutb) were like that of the ordinary righteous person because of equality in station, the higher of them would not surpass the other for his exaltedness of rank and tremendousness of spiritual certainty. Allah Most Glorious and Exalted has not made any rank below it except that of wrongdoing, as Allah Most High says, "Whoever does not repent, they are the wrongdoers" (Koran 49:11), it being required from every messenger and prophet, every great-faithed one (siddiq) and friend of Allah (wali), every godfearing pious person, misguided profligate, and every doomed unbeliever. You may find this is the Book of Allah Most High where Allah Glorious and Exalted says: "O people: fear you Lord" (Koran 4;1), Godfearingness being through repentance to Him and regret before Him. The repentance of those who do evil lies in abandoning it, while the repentance of those who do good lies in not halting with their good, whether it consists of spiritual effort or its rewards. The repentance of both is the same: not to stop at it. "... the faith of your father Ibrahim. He has named you Muslims" (Koran 22:78). It was of Ibrahim's faith not to halt with what passes away, or fix his regard on existent things. In quoting him to us, Allah Most High says: "I love not things which pass away" (Koran 6:76).

t2.6 In general, someone's who cannot benefit from a little will not benefit from a lot (A: since a lot of work does not (A: since a lot of work does not avail without sincerity), and someone who cannot profit from a hint will not profit from a plain remark. When Allah gives you understanding, Your hearing will not cease nor you benefiting be restricted to a certain time. May Allah give us and you to understand Him, give us and you to hear Him, dissever us from everything besides Him, dissever us from everything besides Him, enter us into His shade and protection, and make us of those to whom He has given spiritual insight, guidance, and a yearning for His nearness. May He not scatter the intention of our hearts but rather center our purpose on Him, and remove our cares by bringing us to our destination. Ameen. May there be safety for the whole group, and blessing and peace upon the Best of Messengers (al-Hikam al-Ata'iyya wa al-munajat al-ilahiyya (y56), 103-9).

t3.0 COUNSELS AND MAXIMS

t3.1 (Mohammed Said Burhani:) Do not limit yourself to deep words and profound spiritual allusions but make provision for the afterlife before death comes, when fine words will be lost and the rakas you prayed by night or day will remain.

t3.2 Give voluntary charity as much as possible, for you owe more than merely the zakat obligatory. Make provision for the afterlife by giving while you have health and want to cling to your money out of fear of poverty, seeing life before you. Allah Most High says, Whoever is watchful against the stinginess of his own soul, those shall be the successful" (Koran 59:9), meaning they shall be saved.

t3.3 Never obey anyone of Allah's servants, even father or mother, in an act of disobedience to Allah, for there is no obedience to a creature in disobedience to the Creator.

t3.4 Do not wrong another person, for wrongs done to others are clouds of darkness on the Day of Judgement. Wronging others includes not doing what Allah has obliged you to do for them.

t3.5 Beware of enmity against anyone who has said, "La ilaha ill Allah" (There is no god but Allah), for Allah has honoured them with faith, and particularly the righteous of them, for Allah Most High says in a rigorously authenticated (sahih) hadith, "He who makes an enemy of a friend of Mine, I declare war against."

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t3.6 Tell the truth when you speak. It is one of the worst betrayals to tell your brother something he thinks you are being honest about when the matter is otherwise.

t3.7 Be honest in your clothes and dress. It is an outrage against Allah to appear to His servants in the guise of the righteous while secretly contradicting it with the works of the wicked.

t3.8 Recite the Koran and contemplate its meanings. Reflect while reading it on the qualities Allah has praised, with which He describes the people He loves. Acquire these qualities yourself and shun those Allah has condemned. Do your utmost of memorise the Holy Koran by acts as you do by words.

t3.9 Never explain a verse of Holy Koran by your own opinion, but check as to how it has been understood by the scholars of Sacred Law and men of wisdom who came before you. If you comprehend something else by it and what you have understood contradicts the Sacred Law, forsake your wretched opinion and fling it against the wall.

t3.10 Beware lest you ever say anything that does not conform to the Sacred Law. Know that the highest stage of the perfected ones (rijal) is the Sacred Law of Mohammed (Allah bless him and give him peace). And know that the exoteric that contravenes the exoteric is a fraud.

t3.11 Take care to eat lawful food bought with a lawful income, for the entire body of someone who eats what is lawful, his hearing, eyesight, hands, and feet, are disposed to obey Allah whether he wishes to or not; while the whole body of someone who eats the unlawful is disposed to do wrong whether he wants to or not.

t3.12 Keep the thought of Allah Mighty and Majestic ever before you with respect to what He takes from you and what He gives. He takes away nothing except that you may show patience and win His love, for He loves the patient, and when He loves you, He will treat you as a lover does his beloved. And so too, when He gives to you, He bestows blessings upon you that you may give thanks, for He loves the thankful.

t3.13 Do not walk a step, take a bite, or make a move without intending thereby to draw nearer to Allah.

t3.14 Perform the remembrance of Allah (dhikr) silently and aloud, in a group and when alone, for Allah Most High says, "Remember Me: I will remember you" (Koran 2:152). It is sufficient as to its worth that Allah is remembering you as long as you are remembering Him.

t31.5 Give frequent utterance to the axiom of Islam "La ilaha ill Allah" (There is no god but Allah), for it is the greatest invocation (dhikr), as is mentioned in the hadith: "The best thins I or any of the prophets before me have said is 'La ilaha ill Allah.'" And in a hadith qudsi: "Were the seven heavens and seven earths placed on one side of a balance scale and 'La ilaha ill Allah' placed on the other, the latter would outweigh them all."

t3.16 Train you children in points of Islamic behavior so they grow up to be Muslims who love Islam and respect the religion of Islam.

t13.7 Do not seek exaltation on earth, but have humility in whatever degree Allah has raised you to. For Allah has brought you forth from the earth, you mother, and it is unseemly to exalt yourself above her. As a hadith says: "Allah has charged Himself to raise nothing in this world, save that He will lower it again." So if you are such a thing, you may expect to be lowered by Allah.

t3.18 Always visit those who are ill, as it helps one reflect and take admonition, for someone ill is close to Allah. One has only to consider that the sick person has no one to call upon but Allah, nothing to reflect on but Allah, and his condition reminds one of the blessing of health (al-Hall al-sadid li ma astashkalahu al-murid (y46), 29-32).

BOOK U - THE GABRIEL HADITH

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u.10 THE HADITH TEXT

u1.1 Umar ibn Khattab (Allah be well pleased with him) said: "As we sat one day with the Messenger of Allah (Allah bless him and give him peace), a man with pure white clothing and jet black hair came to us, without a trace of travelling upon him, though none of us knew him. He sat down before the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) bracing his knees against his, and resting his hands on his legs, said: 'Mohammed, tell me about Islam.' The Messenger of Allah (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: 'Islam is to testify there is no god but Allah and that Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah, and to perform the prayer, give zakat, fast in Ramadan, and perform the pilgrimage to the House if you can find a way.' He said: 'You have spoken the truth,' and we were surprised that he should ask and then confirm the answer. Then he said: 'Tell me about true faith (iman),' and the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) answered: 'It is to believe in Allah, His angels, His inspired Books, His messengers, the Last Day, and in destiny, its good and evil." You have spoken the truth,' he said, 'Now tell me about the perfection of faith (ihsan),' and the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) answered: "It is to adore Allah as if you see Him, and if you see Him not, He nevertheless sees you.' 'Tell me of the Hour,' said the visitor, and he was told: 'The one questioned knows no more about it than the questioner.' 'Then tell me of its portents,'he said, and the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) replied: 'That the slave woman shall give birth to her mistress, and that you shall see barefoot, naked, penniless shepherds vying in constructing high buildings.' Then the visitor left. I waited a while, and the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said to me, 'Do you know, 'Umar, who was the questioned?' and I replied, 'Allah and His messenger know best.' He said, 'It was Gabriel, who came to you to teach you your religion ' " (Sahih Muslim (y92), 1.37-38).

u2.0 ISLAM

u2.1 "Islam is to testify there is no god but Allah and that Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah, and to perform the prayer, give zakat, fast in Ramadan, and perform the pilgrimage to the House if you can find a way."

u2.2 (Nawawi:) The sheikh and Imam Ibn Salah (Allah have mercy on him) said: "Being a Muslim is outwardly established by one's saying the two Testifications of Faith (Shahadatayn) (N: even if they are not spoken in Arabic). The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) only added the prayer, zakat, the pilgrimage, and the fast because they are the most patent and greatest of Islamic observances. One's submission (istislam) is perfected through performing them, and neglecting them suggests that one has dissolved or vitiated the terms of one's compliance. Moreover the term faith (iman) encompasses all of the things by which Islam is explained in this hadith, and indeed, all acts of obedience, for they are the fruits of the inner conviction that is the underlying basis of faith, and are what strengthen, complete, and preserve it."

u2.3 The position of Muslim orthodoxy is that no Muslim becomes a non-Muslim through sin. Muslims of heretical sectarian groups and those of reprehensible innovations (bida) are not thereby non-Muslims (dis: w47.2).

u2.4 Any Muslim who denies something that is necessarily known (def: f1.3(N:)) to be of the religion of Islam is adjudged a renegade and an unbeliever unless he is a recent convert or was born and raised in the wilderness or for some similar reason has been unable to learn his religion properly. Muslims in such a condition should be informed about the truth, and if they then continue as before, they are adjudged non-Muslims, as is also the case with any Muslim who believes it permissible to commit adultery, drink wine, kill without right, or do other acts that are necessarily known to be unlawful (Sahih Muslim bi sharh al-Nawawi (Y93), 1.147-50).

u3.0 TRUE FAITH (IMAN)

u3.1 "[True faith] is to believe in Allah, His angels, His inspired Books, His messengers, the Last Day, and in destiny, its good and evil."

RELIEF IN ALLAH

u3.2 (Mohammed Jurdani:) To believe in Allah means in His existence, His sole godhood (rububiyya, that no one else participates in His attribute of divinity or in the rights He has over His creatures), His oneness and uniqueness (wahdaniyya), and that He is characterized by every perfection and exalted above any imperfection or impossibility (dis:" v1).

BELIEF IN ANGELS

u3.3 To believe in His angels means in beings with bodies of light who are capable of changing form to assume various appearances. Believe means to be convinced that they exist, and are honored servants who do not disobey what Allah orders them to do, but do whatever they are commanded. Only Allah Most High knows how many there are, but a hadith relates that there is not a foot of space in the seven heavens that does not contain an angel standing in prayer, bowing, or prostrating. We are obliged to know ten individual angels:

(1) Jibril (Gabriel);
(2) Mika'il (Michael);
(3) Israfil;
(4) Azra'il;
(5) Munkar;
(6) Nakir;
(7) Ridwan;
(8) Malik;

(9 and 10) and the two scribes who record one's good and bad deeds, each of who, is called a "present observer."

BELIEF IN ALLAH'S INSPIRED BOOKS

u3.4 To believe in His inspired Books means those which He revealed to His messengers, believe meaning to be convinced that they are the word of Allah Most High, and all they contain is the truth. (A: The obligation of belief applies to the original revelations, not the various scriptures in the hands of non-Muslims, which are textually corrupt in their present form.) Scholars differ as to how many Books there are. Some hold they number 104, and some say otherwise. One is obliged to know four particular Books:

(1) the Tawrah (Torah), revealed to our liegelord Musa (Moses);
(2) the Injil (Gospel), revealed to our liegelord Isa (Jesus);
(3) the Zabur (Psalms), revealed to our liegelord Dawud (King David);
(4) and the Koran (Koran), revealed to our liegelord Mohammed (Allah bless them all and give them peace).

BELIEF IN ALLAH'S MESSENGERS

u3.5 To believe in His messengers means to be convinced that Allah Most High sent them to men and jinn (khalq) to guide them to the path of the Truth, and that they have told the truth about everything they have told the truth about everything they have conveyed from Allah Most High. It is obligatory to know twenty-five particular messengers:

(1) Adam;
(2) Idris (Enoch);
(3) Nuh (Noah);
(4) Hud;
(5) Salih;
(6) Lut (Lot);
(7) Ibrahim (Abrahim);
(8) Isma'il (Ishmael)
(9) Ishaq (Isaac);
(10) Ya'qub (Jacob);
(11) Yusuf (Joseph);
(12) Shu'ayb;
(13) Harun (Aaron);
(14) Musa (Moses);
(15) Dawud (David);
(16) Sulayman (Soloman);
(17) Ayyub (Job);
(18) Dhul Kifl (Ezekiel);
(19) Yunus (Jonah);
(20) Ilyas (Elias);
(21) al-Yasa' (Elisha);
(22) Zakariyya (Zacharias);
(23) Yahya (John the Baptist);
(24) Isa (Jesus);
(25) and Mohammed (Allah bless them all and give them peace).

BELIEF IN THE LAST DAY

u3.6 To believe in the Last Day means the Day of Resurrection, called the last because it is not followed by night. Believe means to be convinced that it will come to pass with all it implies, including the resurrection of the dead, their reckoning, the weighing of their good deeds against their bad ones, their passing over the high, narrow bridge that spans the hellfire (sirat), and that some will be put in hell out of justice, and some in paradise out of Allah's pure generosity. (n: The eternality of paradise and hell is discussed at w55.)

BELIEF IN DESTINY, ITS GOOD AND EVIL

u3.7 To believe in destiny, its good and evil means to be convinced that Allah Most High has ordained both good and evil before creating creation, and that all that has been and all that will be only exists through Allah's decree, foreordinance, and will. Early Muslims used to answer whoever asked about destiny by saying, 'It is knowing that what hits you was not going to miss, and what misses you was not going to hit" (al-Jawahir al-lu 'lu'iyya fi sharh al-Arba'in al-Nawawiyya (y68), 35-37).

u3.8 (N:) As for Allah's creating acts, we believe that the real doer or everything is Allah. He is the one who burns, not the fire or the person who lighted the fire; He is the one who cuts, nt the knife or the person holding the knife; He is the one who drowns a man, not the water or the person who threw him in, and so forth. Here, people always raise the question that if Allah Most High is the real doer, why are people held responsible? The answer is that Allah Most High does not hold people responsible for creating the act, but rather for

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choosing the act. One proof of this is that a person who cannot choose is not held responsible, such as someone asleep, insane, a child, forced, unremembering, or someone who makes an honest mistake. The legal responsibility of such people is lifted because they lack full voluntary choice. Another proof is that Nimrod sinned for choosing to burn Ibrahim (upon whom be peace) even though Ibrahim did not burn (Koran 21:69); and that Ibrahim (Upon whom be peace) became the Friend of the All-merciful for choosing to sacrifice his son out of obedience to Allah, even though his knife did not cut and his son was not sacrificed (Koran 37:105), all of this showing that the servant is held responsible for his choice, which scholars of the divine unity (tawhid) term the servant's acquisition (kasb). As for Allah's eternally preexistent knowledge, we believe that Allah knows everything before, during, and after it is, and knows how it is when it occurs. But does the servant have acess to this knowledge? Not at all. So the servant chooses to do acts on the basis of a desire within himself, not because he knows Allah's knowledge, and he is held responsible for his choice even though it corresponds with Allah's eternally preexistent knowledge. It is clear from the above that belief in destiny means that Muslims believe Allah has destined and ordained matters in past eternity, and that nothing in existence lies outside of His eternal will, and He is the Creator of everything, while the servant is only held responsible for his own choice (Mudhakkirai fi al-tawhid (y113), 41-12).

u4.0 THE PERFECTION OF FAITH (IHSAN)

u4.1 "(The perfection of faith) is to adore Allah as if you see Him, and if you see Him not, He nevertheless sees you."

u4.2 (Mohammed Jurdani:) To adore Allah as if you see Him means to obey Him while sincere in worship, humble, lowly, and fearful, as though one beholds, Him. And if you see Him not, He nevertheless sees you means that if one is not as if beholding Him in worship, but oblivious to this contemplation, one should nevertheless persist in excellence of performance and imagine oneself before Allah Most High and that He is looking at one's inmost being and outward self, to thereby attain to the basis of perfection. Scholars mention that there are three spiritual stations a servant may have in his worship:

(1) to worship in a way that fulfills its obligations, by observing all its conditions and integrals;

(2) to do this while immersed in the sea of gnostic inspiration (mukashafa) until it is as if the worshipper actually beholds Allah Most High, this being the statin of contemplative spiritual vision (mushahada);

(3) and to worship as mentioned above, though mainly aware that Allah sees one, this being the station of vigilance (muraqaba). Allah three of these are of the perfection of faith (ihsan), but the perfection required for the validity of worship is only the first, while perfection in the latter senses is the mark of the elect, and not possible for many (al-Jawahir al-lu'lu'iyya fi sharh al-Arba'in al-Nawawiyya (y68), 37-38).

BOOK V - ALLAH AND HIS MESSENGER

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v1.0 ALLAH

v1.1 (Ghazali:) Praise be to Allah, who originates all and returns it, who does as He wills, He of the noble Throne and overwhelming force, the Guide of His elect servants to the wisest path and straightest way, who has blessed them, after having had them attest to His oneness, by preserving the tenets of their religion from the darknesses of doubt and misgivings, bringing them through His providence and guidance to follow His chosen Messenger and the example of his noble and honored Companions; He who manifests Himself and His acts to His servants through His sublime attributes, of which none possess knowledge save those who give heed with a present mind.

HIS ONENESS

v1.2 He is one is being without partner, unique without peer, ultimate without opposite, alone without equal. He is one, preeternal, beginninglessly uncreate, everlastingly abiding, unceasingly existent, eternally limitless, the ever selfsubsisting through whom all else subsists, ever enduring, without end. He is, was and ever will be possessed of all attributes of majesty, unannihilated by dissolutiom or separtion through the passage of eons or terminus of interims. He is the First and Last, the Outward and Inward, and He has knowledge of everything.

HIS TRANSCENDENCE

v1.3 He is not a body with a form, or a limitary, quantitative substance, not resembling bodies in quantifiability or divisibility, or in being a substance or equalified by substance, or being an accident or qualified by accidents. He does not resemble anything that exists, nor anything that exists resemble Him. There is nothing whatsoever like unto Him, nor is He like unto anything. He is not delimited by magnitude, contained by places, encompassed by directions, or bounded by heavens or earth. He is 'established on the Throne' (mustawin, Koran 20:5) in the way He says and the meaning He intends, 'established' in a manner transcending contact, settledness, fixity, indwelling, or movement. The Throne does not bear Him up, but is borne, up by the subtlety of His infinite power, as are the angels who carry it, and all are powerless in His grasp. He is above the Throne, the heavens, and all else to the farthest reaches of the stars, with an aboveness that does not increase His nearness to the Throne or heavens, or His distance from the earth and what lies beneath it. He is as exalted in degree above the Throne and the heavens as He is above the earth and its depths, though He is near to everything in existence, nearer to a servant than his own jugular vein, and is witness to everything. His nearness no more resembles the nearness of objects to one another than His entity resembles the entities of objects. He does not indwell in anything, nor anything indwell in 'Him. He is as exalted above containment in space as he is above confinement in time. He was, before creating time and space, and is not even as He was. He is distinguished from His creation by His attributes. There is nothing in His entity other that Him, nor is His entity in what is other than Him .He is beyond change and motion :events neither occurs with in Him nor changes befall Him .of majestly exalted above change, and in the attributes of His perfection beyond needing any increase in perfection. The existence of His entity is known by human reason, and in the after life is beheld by the eyesight of the reghteous as a beatitude and favor, to consummate their perfect joy with the sight of His Noble Countenance.

HIS LIFE AND ALMIGHTY POWER

v1.4 He Most High is living, almighty, overmastering, triumphant, unaffected by inability or weakness; unsusceptible to drowsiness, sleep, annihilatin, or death; possessed of absolute soverignty and might, of irresistible power and force. His is the majesty and sway, the creation and command. The heavens are enfolded in His right hand and all beings are powerless in His grasp. He alone creates, begins, gives existence, and originates. He creates all beings and their acts, ordains their sustenance and terms. Nothing possible is out of His grasp, the disposal ofno matter is beyond His power. The number of things He can do is limitless, the amount He knows is infinite.

HIS KNOWLEDGE

v1.5 He knows all things knowable, encompassing all that takes place from the depths of the earth to the highest heaven. He knows without an atom's weitht in the earth or heavens escaping His knowledge. He knows the creeping of a black ant across a great stone on a lightless night, and the motion in the air of a particle of dust on a windy day. He knows the concealed and the yet more hidden, the buried recesses of hearts, the movement of thought, and the opacities of the inmost soul; with preeternal, beginningless knowledge that He has always possessed from the limitless reaches of past eternity, not with awareness originating within Him through being imparted or conveyed.

HIS WILL

v1.6 He Most High wills all that exits and directs all events. Nothing occrus in the physical or spiritual world, be it meager or much, little or great, good or evil, of benefit or detriment, faith or unbelief, knowledge or ignorance, triumph or ruin, increase or decrease, obedience or sin; save through His ordinance, apportionment, wisdom, and decision. What He wills is, and what He does not will is not.Neither sidelong glance nor passing thought is beyond His design. He originates all and returns it, does what He wills, and none can repulse His command. There is no rescinding His destiny, no flight for a servant from disobeying Him except through divinely given success therein and mercy, and no strength to obey Him save through His choice and decree. If all mankind, jinn, angels, and devils combined their efforts to move or to still a single particle of the universe without His will and choice, they would be unable to. His will, like His other attributes, exists in His entity and He ever possesses it. He has willed from preeternity the existence of all things at the times He has chosen. They occur at the times which He has destined from beginningless eternity, occurring neither before nor after, but taking place in accordance with His knowledge and will, without substitution or alternation. He directs events without successive throughts or waiting for time to elapse, which is why nothing divers Him from anything else.

HIS HEARING AND SIGHT

v1.7 He Most High is all-hearing and allseeing. He hears and sees, no sound however slight eluding His hearing, and no sight however minute escaping His vision. Distance does not obscure His hearing nor darkness hinder His vision. He sees without pupil or eyelids, and hears without ear canal or ears, just as He knows without a heart, seizes without limb, and creates without implement. His attributes no more resemble the attributes of His creatures than His entity resembles the entity of His creatures.

HIS SPEECH

v1.8 He Most High speaks, commands, forbids, promises, and warns, with beginninglessly eternal speech that is an attribute of His entity, not resembling the speech of creatures in being a sound generated by the passage of air or impact of bodies, nor in letters articulated by compressing the lips or moving the tongue. The Koran, Torah, Evangel, and Psalms are His Books, revealed to His messengers (upon whom be peace). The koran is recited with tongues, written in books, and memorized in hearts despite being beginninglessly eternal, an attribute of the entity of Allah Most High, unsubject to disseverance and separation by conveyance to hearts or pages. Moses (Allah bless him and give him peace) heard the speech of Allah without sound or letter, just as the righteous see the entity of Allah Most High in the afterlife without substance or accident. Since Allah possesses all of the above attributes, He is living, knowing, omnipotent, willing, hearing, seeing, and seeking by virtue of His life, power, knowledge, will, hearing, sight, and speech, not merely by virtue of His entity.

HIS ACTS

v1.9 Everything besides Him Glorious and Exalted exists through His action, proceeding from His justice in the best, fullet, most perfect and equitable way. He is wise in His acts and just in His decrees. His justice is not comparable to the justice of His servants, since injustice mey only be imagined from a servant through his disposal of what belongs to another, while this is inconceiveable from Allah Most High, since nothing belongs to anyone besides Him that He should unjustly disclose of 'it. Everything besides Him, be it human, jinn, angel, devil, heaven, earth, animal, vegetable, mineral, substance, accident, intelligible, or senosory, is contingent, and was brought into existence through His power after not being, created by Him after it was nothing. He alone existed in preeternity, and nothing else. He then originated creation, that His omnipotence might be mainfest, His prior decree effected, and His eternal word realised; not from needing or requiring anything in creation. Our origination, beginning, and responsibility are of Allah's generosity, not because of their being obligatory for Him, and His blessings and benefaction exist because of His favor, not because of being due from Him. Everything that exists is indebted to Him for His generosity and goodness, His blessings and benevolence; for He is well able to pour all manner of torments upon His servants and try them with tevery variety of suffering and illness, and were He to do so, it would be just on His part and not wicked or unfair. He Mighty and Majestic rewards His servants, the believers, for their acts of obedience because of His generosity and in fulfillment of His word, not because of their deserving it or His owing it to them. He is not obliged to anyone to do anything, nor is injustice on His part conveivable, for He does not owe any rights to anyone. The obligation of men an jinn to perform acts of obedience is established by His having informed them of it upon the gongues of the prophets (upon whom be peace), and not by unaided human reason. He sent the prophets and manifested the truth of their messages by unmistakable, inimitable miracles. They have communicated His commands, prohibitions, promises and warnings, and it is obligatory for mankind and jinn to believe in what they have conveyed.

v2.0 HIS MESSENGER

v2.1 Allah Most High sent Mohammed (Allah bless him and give him peace), the Qurayshite unlettered prophet, to deliever His inspired message to the entire world, Arabs and non-Arabs, jinn and mankind, superseding and abrogation all previous religious systems with the Prophet's Sacred Law, except for the provisions of them that the new revelation

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expicitly reconfirmed. Allah has favored him above all the other prophets and made him the hightest of mankind, rejecting anyone's attesting to the divine oneness by saying "There is no god but Allah," unless they also attest to the Prophet by saying "Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah." He has obliged men and jinn to believe everything the Prophet (Allah bless him and giver him peace) has informed us concerning this world and the next, and does not accept anyone's faith unless they believe in what he has told us will happen after death.

THE TRIAL OF THE GRAVE

v2.2 The first of these matters is the questioning of Mankar and Nakir, two tremendous, aweinspring personages who sit a servant upright in his grave, body and soul, and ask him about the unity of Allah and the messengerhood of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), saying, "Who is your Lord, what is y our religion, and who is your prophet?" It is they who try people in the grave, their questioning being the first ordal after death. It is also Obligatory to believe in the torment of the grave, that it is a fact, is just, and affects both body and soul, in the way Allah wills.

THE SCALE

v2.3 It is obligatory to believe in the scale, which consists of two scalepans and a balance indicator between them and is as great in size as the thickness of the heavens and earth. It weighs a servant's deeds through the power of Allah Most High, and the weights placed on it are as fine as an atom or mustard seed, that justice may be perfectly done. The pages recording one's good deeds will be placed in a form pleasing to behold on the side of the scale for Light, weighing it down according to their rank with Allah through His generosity, while the pages recording one's bad deeds will be placed in an ugly form on the side of Darkness, diminishing the weight of the opposite side through Allah's justice.

THE BRIDGE OVER HELL

v2.4 It is obligatory to believe in the bridge over hell (sirat), a bridge spanning the breadth of hell, sharper than a sword and finer than a hair, which unbelievers' feet shall slip from by Allah's decree and plunge them into hell, and the feet of believers shall be made fast upon by Allah's generosity, and from thence they shall be conducted to the Final Abode.

THE WATERING PLACE

v2.5 It is Obligatory to believe in a watering place people will come to, the watering place of Mohammed (Allah bless him and give him peace), which believers will drink from before entering paradise, after having crossed the bridge over hell. Whoever drinks from it will never thirst again. Its width is month's journey across, its water whiter than milk and sweeter than honey, and there are as many pitchers around it as stars in the sky. Two aqueducts pour into t from Kawthar, a spring in paradise.

THE FINAL RECKONING

v2.6 It is obligatory to believe in the Final Reckoning and the disparity in the way various people are dealt with therein, some made to answer, others pardoned, and some admitted to paradise without reckoning, being the intimaters of Allah (muqurrabun). Allah Most High shall ask whomever He wills of the Prophets if they have conveyed their message, ask unbelievers why they denied the messengers, ask those of reprehensible innovation (bid'a) about the sunna, and ask Muslims about their works.

BELIEVERS SHALL DEPART FROM HELL

v2.7 It is obligatory to hold that true believes in the oneness of Allah (N: who follow the prophet of their age (dis: w4.4)) will be taken out of hell after having paid for their sins, through the generosity of Allah Mighty and Majestic. No one who is a true monotheist will abide in the fire forever.

THE INTERCESSION OF THE PROPHETS AND RIGHTEOUS

v2.8 It is obligatory to believe in the interecesion of first the prophets, then religious scholars, then martyrs, then other believers, the intercession of each one commensurate with his rank and position with Allah Most High. Any believer remaining in hell without intercessor shall be taken out of it by the favour of Allah, no one who believers remaining in it forevor, and anyone with an atom's weight of faith in his heart will eventually depart from it.

THE EXCELLENCE OF THE PROPHETIC COMPANIONS (SAHABA)

v2.9 It is obligatory to believe in the excellence (dis: w56) of the prophetic Companions (Allah be well pleased with them). One must think the best of all of the Companions of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), and praise them just as Allah Mighty and Majestic (n: e.g., at Koran 3:110) and His messenger have praised them (Allah bless them all and give them peace).

v3.0 CONCLUSION

v3.1 All of the foregoing has been conveyed by prophetic hadith and attested to by the words of the early Muslims. Whoever believes it with deep conviction belongs to those of the truth, who follow the sun, and distinguishes himself from the faction who have strayed, the sect adhering to repehensible innovation (bid'a). We ask Allah through His mercy for perfect certainty and steadfastness in religion, for ourselves and all Muslim; He is the Most Merciful of the Merciful. May Allah bless our ligelord Mohammed, and every chosen serant (Ihya' 'ulum al-din (y39), 79-83).

MODERN ISLAMIC CONSTITUTIONS AND COVENANTS

(As Islam has not undergone the process of secularisation, like Christianity and some other belief systems, we must therefore understand that Islam is not just a religion for private purposes. Islam is not a private matter, it is always encompassing all matters of society, it is, as Islamic teachers emphasise, a "comprehesive system of civilisation", or to be more precise, a "totalitarian system of law" that every Muslim [and every non-Muslim in Islamic ruled regions] has to submit unto. Foremore, the Sharia law is the tool with which Islam and its Muslims constantly and relentlessly desintegrate the non-Muslim host societies. Not to know the Islamic doctrines has proved deadly for any society that has experienced Islamic immigration during the last 1,400 years. No exceptions!

Western people try to make a difference between Islam and Islamism, in their illusion that one day an imagined "peaceful Islam" may come to terms with the West or East Asia. As all Muslims emphasise that Islam, the Koran and Mohammed are perfect as they are, these illusion will remain wishful thinking. Islamism is just putting Islam and all Islamic doctrines into practice. There is no escape!

Ignoring the Islamic doctrine of migration, on which the Islamic calendar is based on through Islam's political success, is fatal. In this section we will not explain much but show why it is vital to know the contents of the Islamic Trilogy [Koran, Sira, Hadith]. All Islamic states and organisations are explicily based on it. In order to proof this fact, we shall display now a couple of modern documents in their unabridged form. The following 7 documents represent mainstream Islam; the 8th document shows what unaware western politicans make of it. The documents are:

- *The Constitution of Saudi Arabia*
- *The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran*
- *The Hamas Covenant*
- *The Hamas Charter*
- *The Islamic Declaration on Human Rights*
- *The Arab Charter on Human Rights*
- *The Muslim Brotherhood Memorandum*
- *The UN Declaration and Programme of Action.)*

THE CONSTITUTION OF SAUDI ARABIA

from 1992 with Amendments through 2005

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BASIC LAW

Part 1: General Principles

Article 1: The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is a sovereign Arab Islamic State.

Religion: Islam

Constitution: The Holy **Koran** and the Prophet's **Sunna** (traditions, that is the **Sira** and the **Hadith**)

Language: Arabic

Capital: Riyadh

Article 2: Its national holidays:

• **Eid Al-Fitr** (a religious feast celebrated on the 1st of Shawal, the 10th month of the Islamic calendar)

• **Eid Al-Ad-ha** (a religious feast celebrated on the 10th of Dhul-Hijj ah, the 12th month of the Islamic calendar)

• **Calendar:** Hijra / Hijira (Lunar calendar)

Article 3: Its national flag:

• **Green** in colour

• Width equal to two thirds of length

• **Shahada /** Article of faith (translated as "There is no God but Allah, Muhammad is Allah's Messenger") inscribed in the centre with a drawn sword underneath.

Article 4: The State's emblem consists of two intersecting swords with a datepalm in the upper space between them. Both the national anthem and the decorations awarded by the State shall be determined by the law.

Part 2: System of Government

Article 5:

1. The system of government in Saudi Arabia shall be monarchical.

2. The dynasty right shall be confined to the sons of the Founder, King Abdul Aziz bin Abdul Rahman Al Saud (Ibn

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Saud), and the sons of sons. The most eligible among them shall be invited, through the process of "baiAh", to rule in accordance with the Book of God and the Prophet's Sunnah.

3. The King names the Crown Prince and may relieve him of his duties by Royal Order.

4. The Crown Prince shall devote full time to his office and to any other duties which may be assigned to him by the King.

5. The Crown Prince shall assume the powers of the king on the latter's death pending the outcome of the "baiah".

Article 6: Citizens shall pledge allegiance to the King on the basis of the Book of God and the Prophet's Sunnah, as well as on the principle of "hearing is obeying" both in prosperity and adversity, in situations pleasant and unpleasant.

Article 7: The regime derives its power from the Holy Koran and the Prophet's Sunna which rule over this and all other State Laws.

Article 8: The system of government in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is established on the foundation of justice, "Shura" and equality in compliance with the Islamic Sharia (the revealed law of Islam).

Part 3: Constituents of Saudi Society

Article 9: The family is the nucleus of Saudi society. Its members shall be brought up imbued with the Islamic Creed which calls for obedience to God, His Messenger and those of the nation who are charged with authority; for the respect and enforcement of law and order; and for love of the motherland and taking pride in its glorious history.

Article 10: The State shall take great pains to strengthen the bonds which hold the family together and to preserve its Arab and Islamic values. Likewise it is keen on taking good care of all family members and creating proper conditions to help them cultivate their skill and capabilities.

Article 11: The Saudi society shall hold fast to the Divine Rope. Its citizens shall work together to foster benevolence, piety and mutual assistance; and it avoids dissension.

Article 12: The State shall foster national unity and preclude all that may lead to disunity, mischief and division.

Article 13: Education aims at the inculcation of the Islamic creed in the young generation and the development of their knowledge and skills so that they may become useful members of society who love their homeland and take pride in its history.

Part 4: Economic Principles

Article 14: All God-given resources of the country, both under and above ground, or in territorial waters, or within terrestrial and maritime limits to which the State jurisdiction extends, as well as the revenues accruing therefrom shall be owned by the State as specified by the law. Likewise the law shall specify the means to be employed for the utilisation, protection and development of these resources in a manner conducive to the promotion of the State's interest, security and economy.

Article 15: No concessions shall be awarded or permission given for the utilization of the country's natural resources, except as permitted by the law.

Article 16: Public property is sacrosanct. It shall be protected by the State and preserved by both citizens and foreign residents.

Article 17: Ownership, capital and labour are the fundamentals of the Kingdom's economic and social life. They are private rights that serve a social function in conformity with Islamic Sharia.

Article 18: The State shall guarantee the freedom and inviolability of private property. Private property shall be not be expropriated unless in the public interest and the confiscatee is fairly compensated.

Article 19: Collective confiscation of properties shall be prohibited. Confiscation of private properties shall only be effected in accordance with a judicial verdict.

Article 20: Taxes and fees shall be imposed only on the basis of fairness and when the need arises. They shall only be imposed, amended, abolished or remitted in accordance with the law.

Article 21: Zakat (poor-due) shall be levied and dispensed to its legitimate beneficiaries.

Article 22: Economic and social development shall be achieved in accordance with a methodical and equitable plan.

Part 5: Rights and Duties

Article 23: The State shall protect the Islamic Creed and shall cater to the application of Sharia. The State shall enjoin good and forbid evil, and shall undertake the duties of the call to Islam.

Article 24: The State shall maintain and serve the Two Holy Mosques. It shall ensure the security and safety of all those who call at the Two Holy Mosques so that they may be able to visit or perform the pilgrimage and "Umrah" (minor pilgrimage) in comfort and ease.

Article 25: The State shall be keen to realize the aspirations of the Arab Muslim nations with regard to solidarity and unity while enhancing its relations with friendly states.

Article 26: The State shall protect human rights in accordance with Islamic Sharia.

Article 27: The State shall guarantee the right of its citizens and their families in an emergency of in case of disease, disability and old age. Likewise it shall support the social security system and encourage individuals and institutions to contribute to charitable pursuits.

Article 28: The State shall provide job opportunities to all able-bodied people and shall enact laws to protect both the employee and the employer.

Article 29: The State shall foster sciences, arts and culture. It shall encourage scientific research, shall preserve Arab and Islamic heritage and shall contribute to Arab, Islamic and human civilisation.

Article 30: The State shall provide public education and shall commit itself to the eradication of illiteracy.

Article 31: The State shall be solicitous for promoting public health and shall provide medical care to every citizen.

Article 32: The State shall seek to conserve, protect and develop the environment and prevent pollution.

Article 33: The State shall build and equip the armed forces to defend the Islamic faith, the Two Holy Mosques, the society and the homeland.

Article 34: Defending the Islamic faith, the society and the homeland shall be the duty of each and every citizen. Rules of military service shall be spelled out by the law.

Article 35: The rules which govern the Saudi Arabian nationality shall be defined by the law.

Article 36: The State shall ensure the security of all its citizens and expatriates living within its domains. No individual shall be detained, imprisoned or have his actions restricted except under the provisions of the law.

Article 37: Houses are inviolable. They shall not be entered without the permission of their owners, nor shall they be searched except in cases specified by the law.

Article 38: Punishment shall be restricted to the actual offender. No crime shall be established as such and no punishment shall be imposed except under a judicial or law provision. No punishment shall be imposed except for acts that take place after enaction of the law provision governing them.

Article 39: Mass media, publication facilities and other means of expression shall function in a manner that is courteous and fair and shall abide by State laws. They shall play their part in educating the masses and boosting national unity. All that may give rise to mischief and discord, or may compromise the security of the State and its public image, or may offend against man's dignity and rights shall be banned. Relevant regulations shall explain how this is to be done.

Article 40: All forms of correspondence, whether conveyed by telegraph, post or any other means of communication shall be considered sacrosanct. They may not be confiscated, delayed or read, and telephones may not be tapped except as laid down in the law.

Article 41: Foreign residents in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia shall abide by its regulations and shall show respect for Saudi social traditions, values and feelings.

Article 42: The State shall grant political asylum, if so required by the public interest. The law and international agreements shall define the procedures and rules for the extradition of common criminals.

Article 43: The "Majlis" of the King and the "Majlis" of the Crown Prince shall be open to all citizens and to anyone who may have a complaint or a grievance. Every individual shall have the right to communicate with public authorities regarding any topic he may wish to discuss.

Part 6: Powers of the State

Article 44: The powers of the State shall comprise:

- The Judicial Power
- The Executive Power
- The Organizational Power

All these powers shall cooperate in performing their duties according to this Law and other regulations. The King is the ultimate source of all these authorities.

Article 45: The source of Ifta (religious ruling) in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is the Holy Koran and the Prophet's Sunnah. The law shall specify the composition of the Senior Ulema Board and of the Administration of Religious Research and Ifta and its jurisdictions.

Article 46: The judicial authority is an independent power. In discharging their duties, the judges bow to no authority other than that of Islamic Sharia.

Article 47: Both citizens and foreign residents have an equal right to litigation. The necessary procedures are set forth by the law.

Article 48: Courts shall apply the provisions of Islamic Sharia to cases brought before them, according to the teachings of the Holy Koran and the Prophet's Sunnah as well as other regulations issued by the Head of State in strict conformity with the Holy Koran and the Prophet's Sunnah.

Article 49: Subject to the provisions of Article 53 of this law, the courts shall have jurisdiction to deal with all kinds of disputes and crimes.

Article 50: The King, or whomsoever he may deputize, shall be concerned with the implementation of the judicial verdicts.

Article 51: The law specifies the formation of the supreme judicial council and its functions as well as the organization and jurisdiction of the courts.

Article 52: Judges are appointed and their service is terminated by a Royal Order upon a proposal by the supreme judicial council as specified by the law.

Article 53: The law defines the structure and jurisdiction of the Court of Grievances.

Article 54: The law shall specify the reference, organisation and jurisdictions of the Board of Investigation and Public Prosecution.

Article 55: The King shall undertake to rule according to the rulings of Islam and shall supervise the application of Sharia, the regulations, and the State's general policy as well as the protection and defense of the country.

Article 56: The King shall be the Prime Minister and shall be assisted in the performance of his duties by members of the Council of Ministers according to the rulings of this law and other laws. The Council of Ministers Law shall specify the Council's Powers with regard to internal and external affairs, organizing government bodies and co-ordinating their activities. Likewise the Law shall specify the conditions which the Ministers must satisfy, their eligibility, the method of their accountability along with all other matters related to them. The Council of Ministers' law and jurisdiction shall be modified with this Law.

Article 57:

a. The King shall appoint the Deputy Prime Minister and Cabinet Ministers and may relieve them of their duties by a Royal order.

b. The Deputy Prime Minister and Cabinet Ministers shall be jointly responsible before the King for the applications of Islamic Sharia, the laws and the State's general policy.

c. The King shall have the right to dissolve and re-form the Council of Ministers.

Article 58: 1. The King shall appoint ministers, deputy ministers and officials of the "excellent grade" category and he may dismiss them by a Royal order in accordance with the rules of the law.

2. Ministers and heads of independent authorities shall be responsible before the Prime Minister for their ministries and authorities.

Article 59: The law shall prescribe the provisions pertaining to civil service, including salaries, bonuses, compensation, privileges and retirement pensions.

Article 60: The King shall be the Supreme Commander of the armed forces and shall appoint military officers and terminate their service in accordance with the law.

Article 61: The King shall have the right to declare a state of emergency and general mobilisation as well as war.

Article 62: If danger threatens the safety of the Kingdom, the integrity of its territory, the security of its people and their interests, or impedes the performance of State institutions, the King shall take necessary and speedy measures to confront this danger. If the King feels that these measures may better be permanent, he then shall take whatever legal action he deems necessary in this regard.

Article 63: The King receives Kings and heads of state, appoints his representatives to other countries and accepts accreditation of the representatives of other countries to the Kingdom.

Article 64: The King awards medals in the same manner as specified by the law.

Article 65: The King may delegate parts of his authority to the Crown Prince by a Royal order.

Article 66: In the event of his traveling abroad, the King shall issue a Royal Order deputizing the Crown Prince to run the affairs of the State and look after the interests of the people as stated in the Royal Order.

Article 67: Acting within its term of reference, the Organisational Power shall draw up regulations and by-laws to safeguard public interests or eliminate corruption in the affairs of the State in accordance with the rulings of the Islamic Sharia. It shall exercise its powers in compliance with this law and the two other laws of the Council of Ministers and the Majlis Al-Shura (Consultative Council).

Article 68: The Majlis Al-Shoura shall be constituted. Its law shall determine the structure of its formation, the method by which it exercises its special powers and the selection of its members. The King shall have the right to dissolve the Majlis Al-Shoura and re-form it.

Article 69: The King may call the Council of Ministers and Majlis Al-Shoura to hold a joint meeting to which he may invite whomsoever he wishes for a discussion of whatsoever issues he may like to raise.

Article 70: Laws, treaties, international agreements and concessions shall be issued and modified by Royal Decrees.

Article 71: Laws shall be published in the official gazette and they shall take effect as from the date of their publication unless another date is stipulated.

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Part 7: Financial Affairs

Article 72:

a. The law shall determine the management of State revenues, and the procedures of their delivery to the State Treasury.

b. Revenues shall be accounted for and expended in accordance with the procedures stated on the law.

Article 73: No obligation shall be made to pay funds from the State Treasury except in accordance with the provisions of the budget. Should the provisions of the budget not suffice for paying such funds, a Royal Decree shall be issued for their payment.

Article 74: State property may not be sold, leased or otherwise disposed of except in accordance with the law.

Article 75: The regulations shall define the provisions governing legal tender and banks, as well as standards, measures and weights.

Article 76: The law shall determine the State's fiscal year. The budget shall be issued by a Royal Decree which shall spell out revenue and expenditure estimates for the year. The budget shall be issued at least one month before the beginning of the fiscal year. If, owing to overpowering reasons, the budget is not issued on time and the new fiscal year has not yet started, the validity of the old budget shall be extended until a new budget has been issued.

Article 77: The concerned authority shall prepare the State's final accounts for the expired fiscal year and shall submit it to the Prime Minister.

Article 78: The budgets and final accounts of corporate authorities shall be subject to the same provisions applied to the State budget and its final accounts.

Part 8: Control and Auditing Authorities

Article 79: All State revenues and expenditures shall be kept under control, so shall its fixed and liquid (mobile) assets which will be checked to ascertain that they are properly utilised and maintained. An annual report thereon shall be submitted to the Council of Ministers. The law shall name the control and auditing authority concerned, and shall define its terms of reference and accountability.

Article 80: Government bodies shall be monitored closely to ensure that they are performing well and applying the law properly. Financial and administrative violations shall be investigated and an annual report thereon shall be submitted to the Council of Ministers. The law shall name the authority to be charged with this task and shall define its accountability and terms of reference.

Part 9: General Provisions

Article 81: The implementation of this law shall not violate the treaties and agreements the Kingdom has signed with other countries or with international organisations and institutions.

Article 82: Without prejudice to the provisions of Article 7 of this law, none of the provisions of this law shall, in any way, be obstructed unless it is a temporary measure taken during the time of war or in a state of emergency as specified by the law.

Article 83: No amendments to this law shall be made except in the same manner in which it has been issued.

SHURA COUNCIL LAW

Article 1: In compliance with Allah Almighty words: [Those who respond to their Lord, and establish regular prayer; who (conduct) their affairs by mutual consultation; who spend out of what we bestow on them for sustenance] "Shura (Koran 40:38)". And [It is part of the Mercy of Allah that thou dost deal gently with them. Wert thou severe or harsh-hearted , they would have broken away from about thee: so pass over (their faults, and ask for (Allah's) forgiveness for them; and consult them in affairs (of moment). Then, when thou hast taken a decision, put thy trust in Allah. For Allah loves those who put their trust (in Him) "Al-Imran (Koran 3:159)".

And following His Messenger (Mohammed) in consulting his Companions, and urging the (Muslim) Nation to engage in consultation. Shura Council shall be established to exercise the tasks entrusted to it, according to this Law and the Basic Law of Governance while adhering to Quran and the Path (Sunnah) of his Messenger (Mohammed), maintaining brotherly ties and cooperating unto righteousness and piety.

Article 2: Shura Council shall hold fast to the bond of Allah and adhere to the sources of Islamic legislation. All members of the Council shall strive to serve the public interest, and preserve the unity of the community, the entity of the State and nation interests.

Article 3: Shura Council shall consist of a Speaker and One hundred and fifty members chosen by the King from amongst scholars, those of knowledge, expertise and specialists.

Article 4: It is stipulated that the member of Shura Council shall be as follows:

a. A Saudi national by descent and upbringing.

b. A person well known for uprightness and competence.

c. A person not less than 30 years of age.

Article 5: A member may submit a request to resign his membership to the Speaker, who in turn shall bring it before the King.

Article 6: Accountability of a member shall be done on failing to perform duties, and shall be trailed according to rules and procedures to be issued by royal decree.

Article 7: On vacancy of a member position, the King shall choose a substitution and a royal decree shall be issued to this effect.

Article 8: No member may exploit his membership for his own interest.

Article 9: The membership shall not be combined with any governmental post, or with the management of any organisation, unless the King deems it necessary.

Article 10: Speaker, Vice-Speaker, and Secretary General shall be appointed and released by royal decree. Their ranks, rights, duties, and all their affairs shall be defined by royal decree.

Article 11: Prior to assumption of their duties, Speaker, members and Secretary General shall take the following Oath before the King:

"I swear to Allah Almighty to be loyal to my religion, then to my King and Country, and not to reveal any of the State's secrets, to preserve its interests and laws, and to perform my duties with sincerity, integrity, loyalty and fairness."

Article 12: Riyadh City shall be the seat of the Shura Council. The Council may convene in other locations within the Kingdom if the King deems it appropriate.

Article 13: Shura Council term shall be four Hijri years, effective from the specified date in the Royal Decree issued for its formation. A new Council shall be formed at least two months prior to the end of the current Council. In case term of the current council ends before a new formation; current Council shall remain active until the new formation is accomplished. Numbers of the newly selected members shall not be less than half of the current Council.

Article 14: The King, or whoever may deputize, shall deliver an annual royal speech at Shura Council on State's domestic and foreign policy.

Article 15: Shura Council shall express its opinion on State's general policies referred by Prime Minister. The Council shall specifically have the right to exercise the following:

a. Discuss the general plan for economic and social development and give view.

b. Revising laws and regulations, international treaties and agreements, concessions, and provide whatever suggestions it deems appropriate.

c. Analysing laws.

d. Discuss government agencies annual reports and attaching new proposals when it deems appropriate.

Article 16: A meeting of Shura Council shall not be valid without a quorum of at least two thirds of members, including Speaker or whoever may deputises. Resolutions shall not be considered valid without members' majority approval.

Article 17: Shura council's resolutions shall be submitted to the king who decides what resolutions to be referred to Cabinet. If views of both Shura Council and Cabinet agree, the resolutions are issued after the king approval. If views of both councils vary the issue shall be returned back to Shura Council to decide whatever it deems appropriate, and send the new resolution to the king who takes the final decisions.

Article 18: Laws, international treaties and agreements, and concessions shall be issued and amended by royal decrees after being reviewed by the Shura Council.

Article 19: Shura Council shall form the necessary specialized committees amongst its members to exercise power within its jurisdiction. Further, it may form ad hoc committees to review any item on its agenda.

Article 20: Shura Council's committees may seek non-council members assistance of whomever fit upon Speaker's approval.

Article 21: Shura Council shall have Steering Committee composed of Speaker, Vice Speaker, and heads of specialised committees.

Article 22: Speaker shall submit to Prime Minister requesting accountability of ministers. A minister shall have the right to participate in the deliberation but not the right to vote.

Article 23: Shura Council shall have the jurisdiction proposing a draft of a new law or an amendment of enacting law and study these within the council. Speaker shall submit the Council's resolution of new or amended law to the king.

Article 24: Speaker of Shura Council shall submit a request to the Prime Minister in providing the Council with documents and data in possession of government agencies, which the Council deems necessary to facilitate its work.

Article 25: Speaker shall submit an annual report to the King regarding Council's work in accordance with its regulations.

Article 26: Civil service laws shall be applying to Shura Council employees unless the regulations provide otherwise.

Article 27: The King shall allocate Shura Council special budget. The budget shall be spent in accordance with rules issued by royal decree.

Article 28: Shura Council's financial matters, auditing and closing accounts shall be regulated by special rules issued by royal decree.

Article 29: Shura Council regulations shall define the functions of the Speaker, Vice Speaker, General Secretary, bodies, methods of meetings conducting, work management, committees' works and voting procedure. The regulations shall also specify rules of debate, responding principles and other matters conducive to order and discipline within Council, so Council shall exercise jurisdiction for the Kingdom welfare and nation prosperity. These regulations shall be issued by royal decree.

Article 30: Amendment of this Law can only be made in the same manner of the promulgation.

THE LAW OF THE PROVINCES

With the help of God, We, Fahd Bin Abdulaziz Al-Saud, Monarch of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, having taken into consideration the public interest and the wish to improve the standard of Government Institutions' performance and modernisation in various provinces, have ordered the following:

1. The promulgation of the Law of the Provinces in the attached form,

2. That this Law shall come into force within a period not exceeding one year effective from the date of its publication,

3. That this Law shall be published in the Official Gazette.

Article 1: The aim of this Law is to improve the standard of the administrative work and the development in the provinces of the Kingdom. It is also aimed at maintaining security and order, and guaranteeing citizens' rights and freedom within the framework of the Sharia.

Article 2: The provinces of the Kingdom and governmental seat of each province shall be formed according to a Royal Decree upon the recommendation of the Interior Minister.

Article 3: Administratively, every province shall consist of a number of govemorates (of "class A" or "class B"), districts and centers (of "class A" or "class B"). Full consideration shall be given to the factors of demography, geography, security, environment and communications. The organisation of a governorate shall be carried out according to a Royal Decree upon the recommendation of the Interior Minister. Establishment of an affiliation of districts and centers shall take effect upon the Interior Minister's decision, as proposed by the emir of the province. (As amended by the Royal Decree A/21, dated 30/3/1414 AH).

Article 4: For each province, an emir with the rank of minister shall be appointed. A deputy at the highest (excellent) rank shall assist the emir and deputize for him during periods of absence. The appointment and the relief of the emir and his deputy shall be made by Royal Decree upon the recommendation of the Interior Minister.

Article 5: The Emir of the Province shall be answerable to the Interior Minister.

Article 6: An emir and his deputy, prior to assuming their duties, shall take the following oath before the King: "In the name of God Almighty, I swear that I will be loyal to my religion, then to my King and Country, will not reveal any of the State's secrets and will protect its interests and laws. I will perform my work in honesty, trust, sincerity and fairness."

Article 7: Every emir shall assume the administration of the region according to the general policy of the State in compliance with provisions of this Law and other laws and regulations. In particular, he is expected to do the following:

• Maintain security, order and stability, and take necessary measures in accordance with this Law and other laws and regulations,

• Implement rulings of the courts upon acquiring their final dispositions,

• Guarantee human rights and freedom, refrain from any action which affects such rights and freedom except within the limits provided by the Sharia and the Law,

• Work for social and economic development and public works of the province,

• Work for the development and improvement of public services in the province,

• Administer governorates, districts and centers, and supervise governors, directors and districts and heads of centers, and ascertain their capabilities to perform assigned duties,

• Protect State property and assets and prevent their usurpation,

• Supervise governmental institutions and their employees in the province and ensure proper performance of their work in honesty and loyalty with consideration of their affiliation with various ministries and service,

• Have direct contact with ministers and head of agencies to discuss affairs of the province and improve the performance of affiliated institutions and to advise the Interior Minister accordingly,

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• Submit annual reports to the Interior Minister on the efficiency of public services and other affairs of the province as defined by the executive provisions in this Law. (As amended by the Royal Decree A/21, dated 30/3/1414 AH).

Article 8: An annual meeting, attended by emirs of provinces and presided over by the Interior Minister, shall be held to discuss the affairs of the provinces. A report to this effect shall be forwarded to the Prince Minister by the Interior Minister.

Article 9: At least two meetings shall be held every year for governors and directors of districts to discuss affairs of the province. The meeting shall be presided over by the emir, who shall submit a report to the Interior Minister. (As amended by the Royal Decree A/21, dated 30/3/1414 AH).

Article 10: Upon the recommendation of the Interior Minister, one deputy or more with a rank not less than Grade 14 shall be appointed for every province following a decision by the Council of Ministers.

Every "Class A" governorate shall have a governor with a rank not less than Grade 14. Upon recommendation of the Interior Minister, he shall be appointed by an order issued by the Prime Minister. The govemorate shall have a deputy with a rank not less than Grade 12. He shall be appointed by a decision of the Interior Minister upon the recommendation of the emir of the province.

Every "Class B" governorate shall have a governor with a rank not less than Grade 12. He shall be appointed by a decision of the Interior Minister upon the recommendation of the emir of the province.

Every "Class A" district shall have a director with a rank of not less than Grade 8. He shall be appointed by a decision of the Interior Minister upon the recommendation of the governor.

Every "Class B" district shall have a director with a rank of not less than Grade 5. He shall be appointed by a decision of the emir of the province. (As amended by the Royal Decree A/2 1, dated 30/3/1414 AH).

Article 11: Emirs of provinces, governors of governorates and directors of districts shall reside in their work areas. They shall not be allowed to leave without permission from their direct superiors. (As amended by the Royal Decree A/21, dated 30/3/1414 AH).

Article 12: The governors, directors of districts and heads of centers shall assume their responsibilities within their jurisdictions and within the assigned limits of their powers. (As amended by the Royal Decree A/21, dated 30/3/1414 AH).

Article 13: Governors shall manage their governorates within their limits of powers as provided in Article 7, excluding clauses (f), (i) and (j). They shall supervise the work of subordinate directors and heads of centers, and ascertain their ability to perform their duties. They shall provide the Emir of the province with periodic reports about the efficiency of public services and other affairs of their governorates, as defined by the Executive Regulations of this Law. (As amended by the Royal Decree A/21, dated 30/3/1414 AH

Article 14: Every ministry or governmental organisation, having services in a province, shall appoint for its organs in the province a director with a rank not less than Grade 12.

He shall be directly affiliated with the central institution, and coordinate his work with the emir of the province.

Article 15: A council, called the Council of the Province, shall be established at every provincial seat.

Article 16: The council of a province shall be composed of:

• The emir of the province as chairman of the council,

• The deputy emir of the province as vice-chairman of the council,

• The deputy of the governmental seat,

• Heads of governmental institutions in the province as specified by a resolution to be issued by the Prime Minister upon the recommendation of the Interior Minister,

• A minimum of ten men of knowledge, expertise and specialization to be appointed from among the inhabitants by an order issued by the Prime Minister after their nomination by the emir of the province and the approval by the Interior Minister -- Their terms of office shall be four years and shall be renewable. (Amended by the Royal Decree A/21, dated 30/3/1414 AH).

Article 17: It is stipulated that every member of the Council shall be:

• A Saudi national by birth and descent,

• A person well-known for righteousness and capability,

• Not younger than 30 years of age,

• A resident of the province.

Article 18: A member shall be entitled to submit written proposals to the head of the provincial council on matters pertaining to the council's jurisdiction. Every proposal shall be listed by the chairman on the council's agenda for consideration.

Article 19: A member shall not attend discussions of the (provincial) council or its committees if the subject of discussion might concern his personal gain or might benefit individuals for whom his testimony is not acceptable, or individuals who have appointed him as guardian, proxy or representative.

Article 20: A (provincial council) member who wishes to resign shall submit his request to the Interior Minister through the emir of the province. His resignation shall not be considered valid until it is approved by the Prime Minister upon a proposal of the Interior Minister.

Article 21: In cases other than those mentioned in the Law, an appointed (provincial council) member may not be dismissed during the term of his membership without the Prime Minister's order after a proposal of the Interior Minister.

Article 22: When the place of any appointed (provincial council) member has become vacant for any reason, a successor shall be appointed within three months, effective from the beginning of vacancy. The term of the new member shall be equal to the remaining period of his predecessor's term in accordance with Article 16, Clause (e) of this Law.

Article 23: The council of a province shall consider whatever might improve the standard of services in the province, particularly:

• Defining needs of the province and proposing their inclusion in the State's Development Plan,

• Defining useful projects and putting them in an order of priority, and proposing their endorsement in the annual budget of the State,

• Studying urban plans for villages and towns of the province, and following up the implementation of all allocations to the province from the development plan and the budget,

• Following up and coordinating the implementation of all allocations to the province from the development plan and the budget.

Article 24: The council of a province shall propose any work needed for the public interest of the population in the province, encourage citizens to participate in that work and submit the proposal to the Interior Minister.

Article 25: A provincial council is prohibited from considering any topic outside its jurisdiction as provided by terms of this Law. Its decisions shall be null and void if its powers are misused. The Minister of the Interior shall issue a decision to this effect.

Article 26: The council of a province shall convene every three months in ordinary sessions upon invitation by its chairman. If he considers it necessary, the chairman is entitled to summon the council to an extraordinary session. The session shall include one or more meetings which are held upon a single summons. The Session may not be adjourned until all issues on the agenda are taken into consideration and discussed.

Article 27: Those members who are mentioned in Article 16, Clauses (c) and (d) of this Law must attend meetings of the provincial council as part of their official duties. They should attend in person or appoint substitutes when they cannot attend. Regarding members mentioned in Clause (e) of the said Article, un-excused non-attendance at two successive sessions by a member shall be grounds for his dismissal from the council. In this case, he shall not be re-appointed before two years have elapsed effective from the date of the decision for dismissal.

Article 28: Meetings of a provincial council shall not be official unless at least two thirds of its members are present. Its resolutions shall be adopted by an absolute majority of votes of the council's members. In case of a tie vote, the chairman shall cast the deciding vote.

Article 29: A provincial council, in case of need, may form special committees to consider any topics within its powers. It may seek the assistance of experienced people and specialists. It may also invite others to attend the council's meetings and participate in discussion without having the right to vote.

Article 30: The Minister of Interior may invite a council to convene under his chairmanship anywhere he deems suitable. He may chair any meeting he attends.

Article 31: A provincial council may not convene without an invitation from its chairman or his deputy, or without an order issued by the Interior Minister.

Article 32: The chairman of a council shall submit a copy of the resolution to the Minister of Interior.

Article 33: The chairman of a provincial council shall inform ministries and governmental services of any resolutions concerning them which are passed by the council.

Article 34: Ministries and governmental institutions shall take into consideration resolutions passed by a provincial council in accordance with provisions of Article 23, Clauses (a) and (b) of this Law. If a ministry or a governmental institution does not agree to consider one of these resolutions, it shall explain the reasons to be provincial council. In case of dissatisfaction, the council shall refer the matter to the Interior Minister for reconsideration by the Prime Minister.

Article 35: Every ministry or institution with services in a province shall immediately inform the provincial council of projects which were decided upon in the budget for the province, together with its allocation from the development plan.

Article 36: Any minister or head of institution may seek the opinion of a provincial council on matters pertaining to his jurisdiction in the province. The council shall forward its opinion in this regard.

Article 37: The Council of Ministers, upon a proposal of the Interior Ministry, shall set the remuneration of the chairman of a provincial council and its members, taking into account the cost of transportation and accommodation. (As amended by the Royal Decree A/21, dated 30/3/1414 AH).

Article 38: A provincial council can be dissolved only on an order by the Prime Minister following the recommendation of the Interior Minister. New members shall be appointed within three months effective from the date of the dissolution. During this period, members mentioned in Article 16, Clauses (c) and (d) of this Law, shall perform the duties of the council under chairmanship of the emir of the province.

Article 39: A secretariat for a provincial council shall be set up at the governmental seat of the province to prepare its agenda, send timely invitation, record discussions carried out during the sessions, count votes, prepare the minutes of sessions, draft decisions, and perform necessary work for the monitoring of the council's sessions and the registration of all decisions.

Article 40: The Interior Minister shall issue the necessary regulations to implement this Law.

CONSTITUTION OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN 1979 (rev. 1989)

Preamble

In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful

We sent aforetime Our apostles with clear signs, and sent down with them the Book and the Balance that men may uphold justice... (Koran 57:25)

The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran sets forth the cultural, social, political, and economic institutions of Iranian society on the basis of Islamic principles and norms, which represent the earnest aspiration of the Islamic Ummah. This basic aspiration was made explicit by the very nature of the great Islamic Revolution of Iran, as well as the course of the Muslim people's struggle, from its beginning until victory, as reflected in the decisive and forceful slogans raised by all segments of the populations. Now, at the threshold of this great victory, our nation, with all its being, seeks its fulfilment.

The basic characteristic of this revolution, which distinguishes it from other movements that have taken place in Iran during the past hundred years, is its ideological and Islamic nature. After experiencing the anti-despotic constitutional movement and the anticolonialist movement centred on the nationalization of the oil industry, the Muslim people of Iran learned from this costly experience that the obvious and fundamental reason for the failure of those movements was their lack of an ideological basis. Although the Islamic line of thought and the direction provided by militant religious leaders played an essential role in the recent movements, nonetheless, the struggles waged in the course of those movements quickly fell into stagnation due to departure from genuine Islamic positions. Thus it was that the awakened conscience of the nation, under the leadership of the eminent marji' al-taqlid, Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khumaynî, came to perceive the necessity of pursuing an authentically Islamic and ideological line in its struggles. And this time, the militant Ulama' of the country, who had always been in the forefront of popular movements, together with the committed writers and intellectuals, found new impetus by following his leadership. (The beginning of the most recent movement of the Iranian people is to be put at 1382 of the lunar Islamic calendar, corresponding to 1341 of the solar Islamic calendar [1962 of the Christian calendar]).

1. The Dawn of the Movement

The devastating protest of Imam Khumaynî against the American conspiracy known as the "White Revolution", which was a step intended to stabilize the foundations of despotic rule and to reinforce the political, cultural, and economic dependence of Iran on world imperialism, brought into being a united movement of the people and, immediately afterwards, a momentous revolution of the Muslim nation in the month of Khurdad, 1342 [June 1963]. Although this revolution was drowned in blood, in reality it heralded the beginning of the blossoming of a glorious and massive uprising, which confirmed the central role of Imam Khumaynî as an Islamic leader. Despite his exile from Iran after his protest against the humiliating law of capitulation (which provided legal immunity for American advisers), the firm bond between the Imam and the people endured, and the Muslim nation, particularly committed intellectuals and militant Ulama', continued their struggle in the face of banishment and imprisonment, torture and execution.

Throughout this time, the conscious and responsible segment of society was bringing enlightenment to the people from the strongholds of the mosques, centres of religious

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teaching, and universities. Drawing inspiration from the revolutionary and fertile teachings of Islam, they began the unrelenting yet fruitful struggle of raising the level of ideological awareness and revolutionary consciousness of the Muslim people. The despotic regime which had begun the suppression of the Islamic movement with barbaric attacks on the Faydiyyah Madrasah, Tehran University, and all other active centres of revolution, in an effort to evade the revolutionary anger of the people, resorted to the most savage and brutal measures. And in these circumstances, execution by firing squads, endurance of medieval tortures, and long terms of imprisonment were the price our Muslim nation had to pay to prove its firm resolve to continue the struggle. The Islamic Revolution of Iran was nurtured by the blood of hundreds of young men and women, infused with faith, who raised their cries of "Allahu Akbar" at daybreak in execution yards, or were gunned down by the enemy in streets and marketplaces. Meanwhile, the continuing declarations and messages of the Imam that were issued on various occasions, extended and deepened the consciousness and determination of the Muslim nation to the utmost.

2. Islamic Government

The plan of the Islamic government based upon wilayat al-faqih, as proposed by Imam Khumaynî at the height of the period of repression and strangulation practised by the despotic regime, produced a new specific, and streamlined motive for the Muslim people, opening up before them the true path of Islamic ideological struggle, and giving greater intensity to the struggle of militant and committed Muslims both within the country and abroad.

The movement continued on this course until finally popular dissatisfaction and intense rage of the public caused by the constantly increasing repression at home, and the projection of the struggle at the international level after exposure of the regime by the Ulama' and militant students, shook the foundations of the regime violently. The regime and its sponsors were compelled to decrease the intensity of repression and to "liberalize" the political atmosphere of the country. This, they imagined, will serve as a safety valve, which would prevent their eventual downfall. But the people, aroused, conscious, and resolute under the decisive and unfaltering leadership of the Imam, embarked on a triumphant, unified, comprehensive, and countrywide uprising.

3. The Wrath of the People

The publication of an outrageous article meant to malign the revered Ulama' and in particular Imam Khumaynî on 15 Day, 1356 [January 7, 1978] by the ruling regime accelerated the revolutionary movement and caused an outburst of popular outrage across the country. The regime attempted to quell the volcano of the people's anger by drowning the protest and uprising in blood, but the bloodshed only quickened the pulse rate of the Revolution. The seventh-day and fortieth-day commemorations of the martyrs of the Revolution, like a series of steady heartbeats, gave greater vitality, intensity, vigour, and solidarity to this movement all over the country. In the course of this popular movement, the employees of all government establishments took an active part in the effort to overthrow the tyrannical regime by calling a general strike and participating in street demonstrations. The widespread solidarity of men and women of all segments of society and of all political and religious factions, played a clearly determining role in the struggle. Especially the women were actively and massively present in a most conspicuous manner at all stages of this great struggle. The common sight of mothers with infants in their arms rushing towards the scene of battle and in front of the barrels of machine-guns indicated the essential and decisive role played by this major segment of society in the struggle.

4. The Price the Nation Paid

After slightly more than a year of continuous and unrelenting struggle, the sapling of the Revolution, watered by the blood of more than 60,000 martyrs and 100,000 wounded and disabled, not to mention billions of tumans' worth of property damage, came to bear fruit amidst the cries of "Independence! Freedom! Islamic government!" This great movement, which attained victory through reliance upon faith, unity, and the decisiveness of its leadership at every critical and sensitive juncture, as well as the self-sacrificing spirit of the people, succeeded in upsetting all the calculations of imperialism and destroying all its connections and institutions, thereby opening a new chapter in the history of all embracing popular revolutions of the world.

Bahman 21 and 22, 1357 [February 12 and 13, 1979] witnessed the collapse of the monarchical regime; domestic tyranny and foreign domination, both of which were based upon it, were shattered. This great success proved to be the vanguard of Islamic government--a long-cherished desire of the Muslim people--and brought with it the glad tidings of final victory.

Unanimously, and with the participation of the maraji' al-taqlid, the Ulama' of Islam, and the leadership, the Iranian people declared their final and firm decision, in the referendum on the Islamic Republic, to bring about a new political system, that of the Islamic Republic. A 98.2% majority of the people voted for this system. The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, setting forth as it does the political, social, cultural, and economic institutions and their relations that are to exist in society, must now provide for the consolidation of the foundations of Islamic government, and propose the plan of a new system of government to be erected on the ruins of the previous taghuti order.

5. The Form of Government in Islam

In the view of Islam, government does not derive from the interests of a class, nor does it serve the domination of an individual or a group. It represents rather the crystallization of the political ideal of a people who bear a common faith and common outlook, taking an organized form in order to initiate the process of intellectual and ideological evolution towards the final goal, i.e., movement towards Allah. Our nation, in the course of its revolutionary developments, has cleansed itself of the dust and impurities that accumulated during the taghuti past and purged itself of foreign ideological influences, returning to authentic intellectual standpoints and world-view of Islam. It now intends to establish an ideal and model society on the basis of Islamic norms. The mission of the Constitution is to realize the ideological objectives of the movement and to create conditions conducive to the development of man in accordance with the noble and universal values of Islam.

With due attention to the Islamic content of the Iranian Revolution, which has been a movement aimed at the triumph of all the mustadAfun over the mustakbirun, the Constitution provides the necessary basis for ensuring the continuation of the Revolution at home and abroad. In particular, in the development of international relations, the Constitution will strive with other Islamic and popular movements to prepare the way for the formation of a single world community (in accordance with the Koranic verse "This your community is a single community, and I am your Lord, so worship Me" [Koran 21:92]), and to assure the continuation of the struggle for the liberation of all deprived and oppressed peoples in the world.

With due attention to the essential character of this great movement, the Constitution guarantees the rejection of all forms of intellectual and social tyranny and economic monopoly, and aims at entrusting the destinies of the people to the people themselves in order to break completely with the system of oppression. (This is in accordance with the Koranic verse "He removes from them their burdens and the fetters that were upon them" [Koran 7:157]).

In creating, on the basis of ideological outlook, the political infrastructures and institutions that are the foundation of society, the righteous will assume the responsibility of governing and administering the country (in accordance with the Koranic verse "Verily My righteous servants shall inherit the earth" [Koran 21:105]). Legislation setting forth regulations for the administration of society will revolve around the Koran and the Sunnah. Accordingly, the exercise of meticulous and earnest supervision by just, pious, and committed scholars of Islam (al-fuqaha' al-Udul) is an absolute necessity. In addition, the aim of government is to foster the growth of man in such a way that he progresses towards the establishment of a Divine order (in accordance with the Koranic phrase "And toward God is the journeying" [Koran 3:28]); and to create favourable conditions for the emergence and blossoming of man's innate capacities, so that the theomorphic dimensions of the human being are manifested (in accordance with the injunction of the Prophet (S), "Mould yourselves according to the Divine morality"); this goal cannot be attained without the active and broad participation of all segments of society in the process of social development.

With due attention to this goal, the Constitution provides the basis of such participation by all members of society at all stages of the political decision-making process on which the destiny of the country depends. In this way, during the course of human development towards perfection, each individual will himself be involved in, and responsible for the growth, advancement, and leadership of society. Precisely in this lies the realization of the government of the mustadAfun upon the earth (in accordance with the Koranic verse "And we wish to show favour to those who have been oppressed upon earth, and to make them leaders and the inheritors" [Koran 28:5]).

6. The Wilayah of the Just Faqih

In keeping with the principles of governance [wilayat al-Amr] and the perpetual necessity of leadership [imamah], the Constitution provides for the establishment of leadership by a faqih possessing the necessary qualifications [jami' al-sharaIt.] and recognized as leader by the people (this is in accordance with the hadith "The direction of [public] affairs is in the hands of those who are learned concerning God and are trustworthy in matters pertaining to what He permits and forbids" [Tuhaf al-Uqul, p. 176]). Such leadership will prevent any deviation by the various organs of State from their essential Islamic duties.

7. The Economy is a Means Not an End

In strengthening the foundations of the economy, the fundamental consideration will be fulfillment of the material needs of man in the course of his overall growth and development. This principle contrasts with other economic systems, where the aim is concentration and accumulation of wealth and maximization of profit. In materialist schools of thought, the economy represents an end in itself, so that it comes to be a subversive and corrupting factor in the course of man's development. In Islam, the economy is a means, and all that is required of a means is that it should be an efficient factor contributing to the attainment of the ultimate goal.

From this viewpoint, the economic programme of Islam consists of providing the means needed for the emergence of the various creative capacities of the human being. Accordingly, it is the duty of the Islamic government to furnish all citizens with equal and appropriate opportunities, to provide them with work, and to satisfy their essential needs, so that the course of their progress may be assured.

8. Woman in the Constitution

Through the creation of Islamic social infrastructures, all the elements of humanity that hitherto served the multifaceted foreign exploitation shall regain their true identity and human rights. As a part of this process, it is only natural that women should benefit from a particularly large augmentation of their rights, because of the greater oppression that they suffered under the taghuti regime.

The family is the fundamental unit of society and the main centre for the growth and edification of human being. Compatibility with respect to belief and ideal, which provides the primary basis for man's development and growth, is the main consideration in the establishment of a family. It is the duty of the Islamic government to provide the necessary facilities for the attainment of this goal. This view of the family unit delivers woman from being regarded as an object or as an instrument in the service of promoting consumerism and exploitation. Not only does woman recover thereby her momentous and precious function of motherhood, rearing of ideologically committed human beings, she also assumes a pioneering social role and becomes the fellow struggler of man in all vital areas of life. Given the weighty responsibilities that woman thus assumes, she is accorded in Islam great value and nobility.

9. An Ideological Army

In the formation and equipping of the country's defence forces, due attention must be paid to faith and ideology as the basic criteria. Accordingly, the Army of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps are to be organized in conformity with this goal, and they will be responsible not only for guarding and preserving the frontiers of the country, but also for fulfilling the ideological mission of jihad in God's way; that is, extending the sovereignty of God's law throughout the world (this is in accordance with the Koranic verse "Prepare against them whatever force you are able to muster, and strings of horses, striking fear into the enemy of God and your enemy, and others besides them" [Koran 8:60]).

10. The Judiciary in the Constitution

The judiciary is of vital importance in the context of safeguarding the rights of the people in accordance with the line followed by the Islamic movement, and the prevention of deviations within the Islamic nation. Provision has therefore been made for the creation of a judicial system based on Islamic justice and operated by just judges with meticulous knowledge of the Islamic laws. This system, because of its essentially sensitive nature and the need for full ideological conformity, must be free from every kind of unhealthy relation and connection (this is in accordance with the Koranic verse "When you judge among the people, judge with justice" [Koran 4:58]).

11. Executive Power

Considering the particular importance of the executive power in implementing the laws and ordinances of Islam for the sake of establishing the rule of just relations over society, and considering, too, its vital role in paving the way for the attainment of the ultimate goal of life, the executive power must work toward the creation of an Islamic society. Consequently, the confinement of the executive power within any kind of complex and inhibiting system that delays or impedes the attainment of this goal is rejected by Islam. Therefore, the system of bureaucracy, the result and product of taghuti forms of government, will be firmly cast away, so that an executive system that functions efficiently and swiftly in the fulfilment of its administrative commitments comes into existence.

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12. Mass-Communication Media

The mass-communication media, radio and television, must serve the diffusion of Islamic culture in pursuit of the evolutionary course of the Islamic Revolution. To this end, the media should be used as a forum for healthy encounter of different ideas, but they must strictly refrain from diffusion and propagation of destructive and anti-Islamic practices. It is incumbent on all to adhere to the principles of this Constitution, for it regards as its highest aim the freedom and dignity of the human race and provides for the growth and development of the human being. It is also necessary that the Muslim people should participate actively in the construction of Islamic society by selecting competent and believing [mu'min] officials and keeping close and constant watch on their performance. They may then hope for success in building an ideal Islamic society that can be a model for all people of the world and a witness to its perfection (in accordance with the Koranic verse "Thus We made you a median community, that you might be witnesses to men" [2:143]).

13. Representatives

The Assembly of Experts, composed of representatives of the people, completed its task of framing the Constitution, on the basis of the draft proposed by the government as well as all the proposals received from different groups of the people, in one hundred and seventy-five articles arranged in twelve chapters, on the eve of the fifteenth century after the migration of the Holy Prophet (peace and blessings be upon him and his Family), the founder of the redeeming school of Islam, and in accordance with the aims and aspirations set out above, with the hope that this century will witness the establishment of a universal government of the mustadAfun and the downfall of all the mustakbirun.

CHAPTER I. General Principles

Article 1: The form of government of Iran is that of an Islamic Republic, endorsed by the people of Iran on the basis of their longstanding belief in the sovereignty of truth and **Koranic justice**, in the referendum of Farwardîn 9 and 10 in the year 1358 of the solar Islamic calendar, corresponding to Jamadial-Awwal 1 and 2 in the year 1399 of the lunar Islamic calendar [March 29 and 30, 1979], through the affirmative vote of a majority of 98.2% of eligible voters, held after the victorious Islamic Revolution led by the eminent marji' altaqlid, Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khumayni.

Article 2: The Islamic Republic is a system based on belief in:

1. the One God (as stated in the phrase "There is no god except Allah"), His exclusive sovereignty and the right to legislate, and the necessity of submission to His commands;

2. Divine **revelation** and its fundamental role in setting forth the **laws**;

3. the return to God in the Hereafter, and the constructive role of this belief in the course of man's ascent towards God;

4. the justice of God in creation and legislation;

5. continuous leadership (imamah) and perpetual guidance, and its fundamental role in ensuring the uninterrupted process of the revolution of Islam;

6. the exalted dignity and value of man, and his freedom coupled with responsibility before God;

in which equity, justice, political, economic, social, and cultural independence, and national solidarity are secured by recourse to:

a. continuous ijtihad of the fuqaha' possessing necessary qualifications, exercised on the basis of the Koran and the Sunnah of the Ma'sumun, upon all of whom be peace;

b. sciences and arts and the most advanced results of human experience, together with the effort to advance them further;

c. negation of all forms of oppression, both the infliction of and the submission to it, and of dominance, both its imposition and its acceptance.

Article 3: In order to attain the objectives specified in Article 2, the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran has the duty of directing all its resources to the following goals:

1. the creation of a favourable environment for the growth of moral virtues based on faith and piety and the struggle against all forms of vice and corruption;

2. raising the level of public awareness in all areas, through the proper use of the press, mass media, and other means;

3. free education and physical training for everyone at all levels, and the facilitation and expansion of higher education;

4. strengthening the spirit of inquiry, investigation, and innovation in all areas of science, technology, and culture, as well as Islamic studies, by establishing research centres and encouraging researchers;

5. the complete elimination of imperialism and the prevention of foreign influence;

6. the elimination of all forms of despotism and autocracy and all attempts to monopolize power;

7. ensuring political and social freedoms within the framework of the law;

8. the participation of the entire people in determining their political, economic, social, and cultural destiny;

9. the abolition of all forms of undesirable discrimination and the provision of equitable opportunities for all, in both the material and intellectual spheres;

10. the creation of a correct administrative system and elimination of superfluous government organizations;

11. all round strengthening of the foundations of national defence to the utmost degree by means of universal military training for the sake of safeguarding the independence, territorial integrity, and the Islamic order of the country;

12. the planning of a correct and just economic system, in accordance with Islamic criteria, in order to create welfare, eliminate poverty, and abolish all forms of deprivation with respect to food, housing, work, health care, and the provision of social insurance for all;

13. the attainment of self-sufficiency in scientific, technological, industrial, agricultural, and military domains, and other similar spheres;

14. securing the multifarious rights of all citizens, both women and men, and providing legal protection for all, as well as the equality of all before the law;

15. the expansion and strengthening of Islamic brotherhood and public cooperation among all the people;

16. framing the foreign policy of the country on the basis of Islamic criteria, fraternal commitment to all Muslims, and unsparing support to the mustadAfun of the world.

Article 4: All civil, penal, financial, economic, administrative, cultural, military, political, and other laws and regulations must be based on Islamic criteria. This principle applies absolutely and generally to all articles of the Constitution as well as to all other laws and regulations, and the fuqaha' of the Guardian Council are judges in this matter.

Article 5: During the Occultation of the Walial-Asr (may God hasten his reappearance), the wilayah and leadership of the Ummah devolve upon the just [Adil] and pious [muttaqi] faqih, who is fully aware of the circumstances of his age; courageous, resourceful, and possessed of administrative ability, will assume the responsibilities of this office in accordance with Article 107.

Article 6: In the Islamic Republic of Iran, the affairs of the country must be administered on the basis of public opinion expressed by the means of elections, including the election of the President, the representatives of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, and the members of councils, or by means of referenda in matters specified in other articles of this Constitution.

Article 7: In accordance with the command of the Koran contained in the verse ('Their affairs are by consultations among them" [42:38]) and ("Consult them in affairs" [3:159]), consultative bodies--such as the Islamic Consultative Assembly, the Provincial Councils, and the City, Region, District, and Village Councils and the likes of the--are the decision-making and administrative organs of the country.

The nature of each of these councils, together with the manner of their formation, their jurisdiction, and scope of their duties and functions, is determined by the Constitution and laws derived from it.

Article 8: In the Islamic Republic of Iran, al-Amr bilma'ruf wa al-nahy An al-munkar is a universal and reciprocal duty that must be fulfilled by the people with respect to one another, by the government with respect to the people, and by the people with respect to the government. The conditions, limits, and nature of this duty will be specified by law. (This is in accordance with the Koranic verse: "The believers, men and women, are guardians of one another, they enjoin the good and forbid the evil" [9:71]).

Article 9: In the Islamic Republic of Iran, the freedom, independence, unity, and territorial integrity of the country are inseparable from one another, and their preservation is the duty of the government and all individual citizens. No individual, group, or authority, has the right to infringe in the slightest way upon the political, cultural, economic, and military independence or the territorial integrity of Iran under the pretext of exercising freedom. Similarly, no authority has the right to abrogate legitimate freedoms, not even by enacting laws and regulations for that purpose, under the pretext of preserving the independence and territorial integrity of the country.

Article 10: Since the family is the fundamental unit of Islamic society, all laws, regulations, and pertinent programmes must tend to facilitate the formation of a family, and to safeguard its sanctity and the stability of family relations on the basis of the law and the ethics of Islam.

Article 11: In accordance with the sacred verse of the Koran ("This your community is a single community, and I am your Lord, so worship Me" [21:92]), all Muslims form a single nation, and the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran has the duty of formulating its general policies with a view to cultivating the friendship and unity of all Muslim peoples, and it must constantly strive to bring about the political, economic, and cultural unity of the Islamic world.

Article 12: The official religion of Iran is Islam and the Twelver Ja'farî school [in usul al-Dîn and fiqh], and this principle will remain eternally immutable. Other Islamic schools, including the Hanafî, Shafi'î, Malikî, Hanbalî, and Zaydî, are to be accorded full respect, and their followers are free to act in accordance with their own jurisprudence in performing their religious rites. These schools enjoy official status in matters pertaining to religious education, affairs of personal status (marriage, divorce, inheritance, and wills) and related litigation in courts of law. In regions of the country where Muslims following any one of these schools of fiqh constitute the majority, local regulations, within the bounds of the jurisdiction of local councils, are to be in accordance with the respective school of fiqh, without infringing upon the rights of the followers of other schools.

Article 13: Zoroastrian, Jewish, and Christian Iranians are the only recognized religious minorities, who, within the limits of the law (see: Edict of Umar), are free to perform their religious rites and ceremonies, and to act according to their own canon in matters of personal affairs and religious education.

Article 14: In accordance with the sacred verse ("God does not forbid you to deal kindly and justly with those who have not fought against you because of your religion and who have not expelled you from your homes" [60:8]), the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran and all Muslims are duty-bound to treat non-Muslims in conformity with ethical norms and the principles of Islamic justice and equity, and to respect their human rights. This principle applies to all who refrain from engaging in conspiracy or activity against Islam and the Islamic Republic of Iran.

CHAPTER II. The Official Language, Script, Calendar, and Flag of the Country

Article 15: The official language and script of Iran, the lingua franca of its people, is Persian. Official documents, correspondence, and texts, as well as text-books, must be in this language and script. However, the use of regional and tribal languages in the press and mass media, as well as for teaching of their literature in schools, is allowed in addition to Persian.

Article 16: Since the language of the Koran and Islamic texts and teachings is Arabic, and since Persian literature is thoroughly permeated by this language, it must be taught after elementary level, in all classes of secondary school and in all areas of study.

Article 17: The official calendar of the country takes as its point of departure the migration of the Prophet of Islam God's peace and blessings upon him and his Family. Both the solar and lunar Islamic calendars are recognized, but government offices will function according to the solar calendar. The official weekly holiday is Friday.

Article 18: The official flag of Iran is composed of green, white and red colours with the special emblem of the Islamic Republic, together with the motto (Allahu Akbar).

CHAPTER III. The Rights of the People

Article 19: All people of Iran, whatever the ethnic group or tribe to which they belong, enjoy equal rights; and colour, race, language, and the like, do not bestow any privilege.

Article 20: All citizens of the country, both men and women, equally enjoy the protection of the law and enjoy all human, political, economic, social, and cultural rights, in conformity with Islamic criteria.

Article 21: The government must ensure the rights of women in all respects, in conformity with Islamic criteria, and accomplish the following goals:

1. create a favourable environment for the growth of woman's personality and the restoration of her rights, both the material and intellectual;

2. the protection of mothers, particularly during pregnancy and childrearing, and the protection of children without guardians;

3. establishing competent courts to protect and preserve the family;

4. the provision of special insurance for widows, and aged women and women without support;

5. the awarding of guardianship of children to worthy mothers, in order to protect the interests of the children, in the absence of a legal guardian.

Article 22: The dignity, life, property, rights, residence, and occupation of the individual are inviolate, except in cases sanctioned by law.

Article 23: The investigation of individuals' beliefs is forbidden, and no one may be molested or taken to task simply for holding a certain belief.

Article 24: Publications and the press have freedom of expression except when it is detrimental to the fundamental principles of Islam or the rights of the public. The details of this exception will be specified by law.

Article 25: The inspection of letters and the failure to deliver them, the recording and disclosure of telephone conversations, the disclosure of telegraphic and telex communications, censorship, or the wilful failure to transmit

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them, eaves-dropping, and all forms of covert investigation are forbidden, except as provided by law.

Article 26: The formation of parties, societies, political or professional associations, as well as religious societies, whether Islamic or pertaining to one of the recognized religious minorities, is permitted provided they do not violate the principles of independence, freedom, national unity, the criteria of Islam, or the basis of the Islamic Republic. No one may be prevented from participating in the aforementioned groups, or be compelled to participate in them.

Article 27: Public gatherings and marches may be freely held, provided arms are not carried and that they are not detrimental to the fundamental principles of Islam.

Article 28: Everyone has the right to choose any occupation he wishes, if it is not contrary to Islam and the public interests, and does not infringe the rights of others. The government has the duty, with due consideration of the need of society for different kinds of work, to provide every citizen with the opportunity to work, and to create equal conditions for obtaining it.

Article 29: To benefit from social security with respect to retirement, unemployment, old age, disability, absence of a guardian, and benefits relating to being stranded, accidents, health services, and medical care and treatment, provided through insurance or other means, is accepted as a universal right.

The government must provide the foregoing services and financial support for every individual citizen by drawing, in accordance with the law, on the national revenues and funds obtained through public contributions.

Article 30: The government must provide all citizens with free education up to secondary school, and must expand free higher education to the extent required by the country for attaining self-sufficiency.

Article 31: It is the right of every Iranian individual and family to possess housing commensurate with his needs. The government must make land available for the implementation of this article, according priority to those whose need is greatest, in particular the rural population and the workers.

Article 32: No one may be arrested except by the order and in accordance with the procedure laid down by law. In case of arrest, charges with the reasons for accusation must, without delay, be communicated and explained to the accused in writing, and a provisional dossier must be forwarded to the competent judicial authorities within a maximum of twenty-four hours so that the preliminaries to the trial can be completed as swiftly as possible. The violation of this article will be liable to punishment in accordance with the law.

Article 33: No one can be banished from his place of residence, prevented from residing in the place of his choice, or compelled to reside in a given locality, except in cases provided by law.

Article 34: It is the indisputable right of every citizen to seek justice by recourse to competent courts. All citizens have right of access to such courts, and no one can be barred from courts to which he has a legal right of recourse.

Article 35: Both parties to a lawsuit have the right in all courts of law to select an attorney, and if they are unable to do so, arrangements must be made to provide them with legal counsel.

Article 36: The passing and execution of a sentence must be only by a competent court and in accordance with law.

Article 37: Innocence is to be presumed, and no one is to be held guilty of a charge unless his or her guilt has been established by a competent court.

Article 38: All forms of torture for the purpose of extracting confession or acquiring information are forbidden. Compulsion of individuals to testify, confess, or take an oath is not permissible; and any testimony, confession, or oath obtained under duress is devoid of value and credence. Violation of this article is liable to punishment in accordance with the law.

Article 39: All affronts to the dignity and repute of persons arrested, detained, imprisoned, or banished in accordance with the law, whatever form they may take, are forbidden and liable to punishment.

Article 40: No one is entitled to exercise his rights in a way injurious to others or detrimental to public interests.

Article 41: Iranian citizenship is the indisputable right of every Iranian, and the government cannot withdraw citizenship from any Iranian unless he himself requests it or acquires the citizenship of another country.

Article 42: Foreign nationals may acquire Iranian citizenship within the framework of the laws. Citizenship may be withdrawn from such persons if another State accepts them as its citizens or if they request it.

CHAPTER IV. Economy and Financial Affairs

Article 43: The economy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, with its objectives of achieving the economic independence of the society, uprooting poverty and deprivation, and fulfilling human needs in the process of development while preserving human liberty, is based on the following criteria:

1. the provision of basic necessities for all citizens: housing, food, clothing, hygiene, medical treatment, education, and the necessary facilities for the establishment of a family;

2. ensuring conditions and opportunities of employment for everyone, with a view to attaining full employment; placing the means of work at the disposal of everyone who is able to work but lacks the means, in the form of cooperatives, through granting interest free loans or recourse to any other legitimate means that neither results in the concentration or circulation of wealth in the hands of a few individuals or groups, nor turns the government into a major absolute employer. These steps must be taken with due regard for the requirements governing the general economic planning of the country at each stage of its growth;

3. the plan for the national economy, must be structured in such a manner that the form, content, and hours of work of every individual will allow him sufficient leisure and energy to engage, beyond his professional endeavour, in intellectual, political, and social activities leading to all-round development of his self, to take active part in leading the affairs of the country, improve his skills, and to make full use of his creativity;

4. respect for the right to choose freely one's occupation; refraining from compelling anyone to engage in a particular job; and preventing the exploitation of another's labour;

5. the prohibition of infliction of harm and loss upon others, monopoly, hoarding, usury, and other illegitimate and evil practices;

6. the prohibition of extravagance and wastefulness in all matters related to the economy, including consumption, investment, production, distribution, and services;

7. the utilization of science and technology, and the training of skilled personnel in accordance with the developmental needs of the country's economy;

8. prevention of foreign economic domination over the country's economy;

9. emphasis on increase of agricultural, livestock, and industrial production in order to satisfy public needs and to make the country self-sufficient and free from dependence.

Article 44: The economy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is to consist of three sectors: state, cooperative, and private, and is to be based on systematic and sound planning.

The state sector is to include all large-scale and mother industries, foreign trade, major minerals, banking, insurance, power generation, dams and large-scale irrigation networks, radio and television, post, telegraph and telephone services, aviation, shipping, roads, railroads and the like; all these will be publicly owned and administered by the State.

The cooperative sector is to include cooperative companies and enterprises concerned with production and distribution, in urban and rural areas, in accordance with Islamic criteria.

The private sector consists of those activities concerned with agriculture, animal husbandry, industry, trade, and services that supplement the economic activities of the state and cooperative sectors.

Ownership in each of these three sectors is protected by the laws of the Islamic Republic, in so far as this ownership is in conformity with the other articles of this chapter, does not go beyond the bounds of Islamic law, contributes to the economic growth and progress of the country, and does not harm society.

The [precise] scope of each of these sectors, as well as the regulations and conditions governing their operation, will be specified by law.

Article 45: Public wealth and property, such as uncultivated or abandoned land, mineral deposits, seas, lakes, rivers and other public water-ways, mountains, valleys, forests, marshland, natural forests, unenclosed pastureland, legacies without heirs, property of undetermined ownership, and public property recovered from usurpers, shall be at the disposal of the Islamic government for it to utilize in accordance with the public interest. Law will specify detailed procedures for the utilization of each of the foregoing items.

Article 46: Everyone is the owner of the fruits of his legitimate business and labour, and no one may deprive another of the opportunity of business and work under the pretext of his right to ownership.

Article 47: Private ownership, legitimately acquired, is to be respected. The relevant criteria are determined by law.

Article 48: There must be no discrimination among the various provinces with regard to the exploitation of natural resources, utilization of public revenues, and distribution of economic activities among the various provinces and regions of the country, thereby ensuring that every region has access to the necessary capital and facilities in accordance with its needs and capacity for growth.

Article 49: The government has the responsibility of confiscating all wealth accumulated through usury, usurpation, bribery, embezzlement, theft, gambling, misuse of endowments, misuse of government contracts and transactions, the sale of uncultivated lands and other resources subject to public ownership, the operation of centres of corruption, and other illicit means and sources, and restoring it to its legitimate owner; and if no such owner can be identified, it must be entrusted to the public treasury. This rule must be executed by the government with due care, after investigation and furnishing necessary evidence in accordance with the law of Islam.

Article 50: The preservation of the environment, in which the present as well as the future generations have a right to flourishing social existence, is regarded as a public duty in the Islamic Republic. Economic and other activities that inevitably involve pollution of the environment or cause irreparable damage to it are therefore forbidden.

Article 51: No form of taxation may be imposed except in accordance with the law. Provisions for tax exemption and reduction will be determined by law.

Article 52: The annual budget of the country will be drawn up by the government, in the manner specified by law, and submitted to the Islamic Consultative Assembly for discussion and approval. Any change in the figures contained in the budget will be in accordance with the procedures prescribed by law.

Article 53: All sums collected by the government will be deposited into the government accounts at the central treasury, and all disbursements, within the limits of allocations approved, shall be made in accordance with law.

Article 54: The National Accounting Agency is to be directly under the supervision of the Islamic Consultative Assembly. Its organization and mode of operation in Tehran and at the provincial capitals, are to be determined by law.

Article 55: The National Accounting Agency will inspect and audit, in the manner prescribed by law, all the accounts of ministries, government institutions and companies as well as other organizations that draw, in any way, on the general budget of the country, to ensure that no expenditure exceeds the allocations approved and that all sums are spent for the specified purpose. It will collect all relevant accounts, documents, and records, in accordance with law, and submit to the Islamic Consultative Assembly a report for the settlement of each year's budget together with its own comments. This report must be made available to the public.

CHAPTER V. The Right of National Sovereignty and the Powers Deriving Therefrom

Article 56: Absolute sovereignty over the world and man belongs to God, and it is He Who has made man master of his own social destiny. No one can deprive man of this divine right, nor subordinate it to the vested interests of a particular individual or group. The people are to exercise this divine right in the manner specified in the following articles.

Article 57: The powers of government in the Islamic Republic are vested in the legislature, the judiciary, and the executive powers, functioning under the supervision of the absolute wilayat al-Amr and the Leadership of the Ummah, in accordance with the forthcoming articles of this Constitution. These powers are independent of each other.

Article 58: The functions of the legislature are to be exercised through the Islamic Consultative Assembly, consisting of the elected representatives of the people. Legislation approved by this body, after going through the stages specified in the articles below, is communicated to the executive and the judiciary for implementation.

Article 59: In extremely important economic, political, social, and cultural matters, the functions of the legislature may be exercised through direct recourse to popular vote through a referendum. Any request for such direct recourse to public opinion must be approved by two-thirds of the members of the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

Article 60: The functions of the executive, except in the matters that are directly placed under the jurisdiction of the Leadership by the Constitution, are to be exercised by the President and the ministers.

Article 61: The functions of the judiciary are to be performed by courts of justice, which are to be formed in accordance with the criteria of Islam, and are vested with the authority to examine and settle lawsuits, protect the rights of the public, dispense and enact justice, and implement the Divine limits [al-hudud al-Ilahiyyah].

CHAPTER VI. The Legislative Power

SECTION 1. The Islamic Consultative Assembly

Article 62

The Islamic Consultative Assembly is constituted by the representatives of the people elected directly and by secret ballot.

The qualifications of voters and candidates, as well as the nature of election, will be specified by law.

Article 63: The term of membership in the Islamic Consultative Assembly is four years. Elections for each term must take place before the end of the preceding term, so that the country is never without an Assembly.

Article 64: There are to be two hundred seventy members of the Islamic Consultative Assembly which, keeping in view the human, political, geographic and other similar factors, may increase by not more than twenty for each ten-year period

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from the date of the national referendum of the year 1368 of the solar Islamic calendar.

The Zoroastrians and Jews will each elect one representative; Assyrian and Chaldean Christians will jointly elect one representative; and Armenian Christians in the north and those in the south of the country will each elect one representative.

The limits of the election constituencies and the number of representatives will be determined by law.

Article 65: After the holding of elections, sessions of the Islamic Consultative Assembly are considered legally valid when two-thirds of the total number of members are present. Drafts and bills will be approved in accordance with the code of procedure approved by it, except in cases where the Constitution has specified a certain quorum.

The consent of two-thirds of all members present is necessary for the approval of the code of procedure of the Assembly.

Article 66: The manner of election of the Speaker and the Presiding Board of the Assembly, the number of committees and their term of office, and matters related to conducting the discussions and maintaining the discipline of the Assembly will be determined by the code of procedure of the Assembly.

Article 67: Members of the Assembly must take the following oath at the first session of the Assembly and affix their signatures to its text: "In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

In the presence of the Glorious Koran, I swear by God, the Exalted and Almighty, and undertake, swearing by my own honour as a human being, to protect the sanctity of Islam and guard the accomplishments of the Islamic Revolution of the Iranian people and the foundations of the Islamic Republic; to protect, as a just trustee, the honour bestowed upon me by the people, to observe piety in fulfilling my duties as people's representative; to remain always committed to the independence and honour of the country; to fulfil my duties towards the nation and the service of the people; to defend the Constitution; and to bear in mind, both in speech and writing and in the expression of my views, the independence of the country, the freedom of the people, and the security of their interests."

Members belonging to the religious minorities will swear by their own sacred books while taking this oath.

Members not attending the first session will perform the ceremony of taking the oath at the first session they attend.

Article 68: In time of war and the military occupation of the country, elections due to be held in occupied areas or countrywide may be delayed for a specified period if proposed by the President of the Republic, and approved by three-fourths of the total members of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, with the endorsement of the Guardian Council. If a new Assembly is not formed, the previous one will continue to function.

Article 69: The deliberations of the Islamic Consultative Assembly must be open, and full minutes of them made available to the public by the radio and the official gazette. A closed session may be held in emergency conditions, if it is required for national security, upon the requisition of the President, one of the ministers, or ten members of the Assembly. Legislation passed at a closed session is valid only when approved by three-fourths of the members in the presence of the Guardian Council. After emergency conditions have ceased to exist, the minutes of such closed sessions, together with any legislation approved in them, must be made available to the public.

Article 70: The President, his deputies and the ministers have the right to participate in the open sessions of the Assembly either collectively or individually. They may also have their advisers accompany them. If the members of the Assembly deem it necessary, the ministers are obliged to attend. [Conversely], whenever they request it, their statements are to be heard.

SECTION 2. Powers and Authority of the Islamic Consultative Assembly

Article 71: The Islamic Consultative Assembly can establish laws on all matters, within the limits of its competence as laid down in the Constitution.

Article 72: The Islamic Consultative Assembly cannot enact laws contrary to the usul and ahkam of the official religion of the country or to the Constitution. It is the duty of the Guardian Council to determine whether a violation has occurred, in accordance with Article 96.

Article 73: The interpretation of ordinary laws falls within the competence of the Islamic Consultative Assembly. The intent of this Article does not prevent the interpretations that judges may make in the course of cassation.

Article 74: Government bills are presented to the Islamic Consultative Assembly after receiving the approval of the Council of Ministers. Members' bills may be introduced in the Islamic Consultative Assembly if sponsored by at least fifteen members.

Article 75: Members' bills and proposals and amendments to government bills proposed by members that entail the reduction of the public income or the increase of public expenditure may be introduced in the Assembly only if means for compensating for the decrease in income or for meeting the new expenditure are also specified.

Article 76: The Islamic Consultative Assembly has the right to investigate and examine all the affairs of the country.

Article 77: International treaties, protocols, contracts, and agreements must be approved by the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

Article 78: All changes in the boundaries of the country are forbidden, with the exception of minor amendments in keeping with the interests of the country, on condition that they are not unilateral, do not encroach on the independence and territorial integrity of the country, and receive the approval of four-fifths of the total members of the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

Article 79: The proclamation of martial law is forbidden. In case of war or emergency conditions akin to war, the government has the right to impose temporarily certain necessary restrictions, with the agreement of the Islamic Consultative Assembly. In no case can such restrictions last for more than thirty days; if the need for them persists beyond this limit, the government must obtain new authorization for them from the Assembly.

Article 80: The taking and giving of loans or grants-in-aid, domestic and foreign, by the government, must be approved by the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

Article 81: The granting of concessions to foreigners for the formation of companies or institutions dealing with commerce, industry, agriculture, services or mineral extraction, is absolutely forbidden.

Article 82: The employment of foreign experts is forbidden, except in cases of necessity and with the approval of the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

Article 83: Government buildings and properties forming part of the national heritage cannot be transferred except with the approval of the Islamic Consultative Assembly; that, too, is not applicable in the case of irreplaceable treasures.

Article 84: Every representative is responsible to the entire nation and has the right to express his views on all internal and external affairs of the country.

Article 85: The right of membership is vested with the individual, and is not transferable to others. The Assembly cannot delegate the power of legislation to an individual or committee. But whenever necessary, it can delegate the power of legislating certain laws to its own committees, in accordance with Article 72. In such a case, the laws will be implemented on a tentative basis for a period specified by the Assembly, and their final approval will rest with the Assembly.

Likewise, the Assembly may, in accordance with Article 72, delegate to the relevant committees the responsibility for permanent approval of articles of association of organizations, companies, government institutions, or organizations affiliated to the government and or invest the authority in the government. In such a case, the government approvals must not be inconsistent with the principles and commandments of the official religion in the country and or the Constitution which question shall be determined by the Guardian Council in accordance with what is stated in Article 96. In addition to this, the government approvals shall not be against the laws and other general rules of the country and, while calling for implementation, the same shall be brought to the knowledge of the Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly for his study and indication that the approvals in question are not inconsistent with the aforesaid rules.

Article 86: Members of the Assembly are completely free in expressing their views and casting their votes in the course of performing their duties as representatives, and they cannot be prosecuted or arrested for opinions expressed in the Assembly or votes cast in the course of performing their duties as representatives.

Article 87: The President must obtain, for the Council of Ministers, after being formed and before all other business, a vote of confidence from the Assembly. During his incumbency, he can also seek a vote of confidence for the Council of Ministers from the Assembly on important and controversial issues.

Article 88: Whenever at least one-fourth of the total members of the Islamic Consultative Assembly pose a question to the President, or any one member of the Assembly poses a question to a minister on a subject relating to their duties, the President or the minister is obliged to attend the Assembly and answer the question. This answer must not be delayed more than one month in the case of the President and ten days in the case of the minister, except with an excuse deemed reasonable by the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

Article 89: 1. Members of the Islamic Consultative Assembly can interpellate the Council of Ministers or an individual minister in instances they deem necessary. Interpellations can be tabled if they bear the signatures of at least ten members.

The Council of Ministers or interpellated minister must be present in the Assembly within ten days after the tabling of the interpellation in order to answer it and seek a vote of confidence. If the Council of Ministers or the minister concerned fails to attend the Assembly, the members who tabled the interpellation will explain their reasons, and the Assembly will declare a vote of no-confidence if it deems it necessary.

If the Assembly does not pronounce a vote of confidence, the Council of Ministers or the minister subject to interpellation is dismissed. In both cases, the ministers subject to interpellation cannot become members of the next Council of Ministers formed immediately afterwards.

2. In the event at least one-third of the members of the Islamic Consultative Assembly interpellate the President concerning his executive responsibilities in relation with the Executive Power and the executive affairs of the country, the President must be present in the Assembly within one month after the tabling of the interpellation in order to give adequate explanations in regard to the matters raised. In the event, after hearing the statements of the opposing and favouring members and the reply of the President, two thirds of the members of the Assembly declare a vote of no confidence, the same will be communicated to the Leadership for information and implementation of Section (10) of Article 110 of the Constitution.

Article 90: Whoever has a complaint concerning the work of the Assembly or the executive power, or the judicial power can forward his complaint in writing to the Assembly. The Assembly must investigate his complaint and give a satisfactory reply. In cases where the complaint relates to the executive or the judiciary, the Assembly must demand proper investigation in the matter and an adequate explanation from them, and announce the results within a reasonable time. In cases where the subject of the complaint is of public interest, the reply must be made public.

Article 91: With a view to safeguard the Islamic ordinances and the Constitution, in order to examine the compatibility of the legislations passed by the Islamic Consultative Assembly with Islam, a council to be known as the Guardian Council is to be constituted with the following composition:

1. six Adil fuqaha', conscious of the present needs and the issues of the day, to be selected by the Leader, and

2. six jurists, specializing in different areas of law, to be elected by the Islamic Consultative Assembly from among the Muslim jurists nominated by the Head of the Judicial Power.

Article 92: Members of the Guardian Council are elected to serve for a period of six years, but during the first term, after three years have passed, half of the members of each group will be changed by lot and new members will be elected in their place.

Article 93: The Islamic Consultative Assembly does not hold any legal status if there is no Guardian Council in existence, except for the purpose of approving the credentials of its members and the election of the six jurists on the Guardian Council.

Article 94: All legislation passed by the Islamic Consultative Assembly must be sent to the Guardian Council. The Guardian Council must review it within a maximum of ten days from its receipt with a view to ensuring its compatibility with the criteria of Islam and the Constitution. If it finds the legislation incompatible, it will return it to the Assembly for review. Otherwise the legislation will be deemed enforceable.

Article 95: In cases where the Guardian Council deems ten days inadequate for completing the process of review and delivering a definite opinion, it can request the Islamic Consultative Assembly to grant an extension of the time limit not exceeding ten days.

Article 96: The determination of compatibility of the legislation passed by the Islamic Consultative Assembly with the laws of Islam rests with the majority vote of the fuqaha' on the Guardian Council; and the determination of its compatibility with the Constitution rests with the majority of all the members of the Guardian Council.

Article 97: In order to expedite the work, the members of the Guardian Council may attend the Assembly and listen to its debates when a government bill or a members' bill is under discussion. When an urgent government or members' bill is placed on the agenda of the Assembly, the members of the Guardian Council must attend the Assembly and make their views known.

Article 98: The authority of the interpretation of the Constitution is vested with the Guardian Council, which is to be done with the consent of three-fourths of its members.

Article 99: The Guardian Council has the responsibility of supervising the elections of the Assembly of Experts for Leadership, the President of the Republic, the Islamic Consultative Assembly, and the direct recourse to popular opinion and referenda.

CHAPTER VII. Councils

Article 100: In order to expedite social, economic, development, public health, cultural, and educational programmes and facilitate other affairs relating to public welfare with the cooperation of the people according to local needs, the administration of each village, division, city,

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municipality, and province will be supervised by a council to be named the Village, Division, City, Municipality, or Provincial Council. Members of each of these councils will be elected by the people of the locality in question.

Qualifications for the eligibility of electors and candidates for these councils, as well as their functions and powers, the mode of election, the jurisdiction of these councils, the hierarchy of their authority, will be determined by law, in such a way as to preserve national unity, territorial integrity, the system of the Islamic Republic, and the sovereignty of the central government.

Article 101: In order to prevent discrimination in the preparation of programmes for the development and welfare of the provinces, to secure the cooperation of the people, and to arrange for the supervision of coordinated implementation of such programmes, a Supreme Council of the Provinces will be formed, composed of representatives of the Provincial Councils.

Law will specify the manner in which this council is to be formed and the functions that it is to fulfil.

Article 102: The Supreme Council of the Provinces has the right within its jurisdiction, to draft bills and to submit them to the Islamic Consultative Assembly, either directly or through the government. These bills must be examined by the Assembly.

Article 103: Provincial governors, city governors, divisional governors, and other officials appointed by the government must abide by all decisions taken by the councils within their jurisdiction.

Article 104: In order to ensure Islamic equity and cooperation in chalking out the programmes and to bring about the harmonious progress of all units of production, both industrial and agricultural, councils consisting of the representatives of the workers, peasants, other employees, and managers, will be formed in educational and administrative units, units of service industries, and other units of a like nature, similar councils will be formed, composed of representatives of the members of those units.

The mode of the formation of these councils and the scope of their functions and powers, are to be specified by law.

Article 105: Decisions taken by the councils must not be contrary to the criteria of Islam and the laws of the country.

Article 106: The councils may not be dissolved unless they deviate from their legal duties. The body responsible for determining such deviation, as well as the manner for dissolving the councils and re-forming them, will be specified by law.

Should a council have any objection to its dissolution, it has the right to appeal to a competent court, and the court is duty-bound to examine its complaint outside the docket sequence.

CHAPTER VIII. The Leader or Leadership Council

Article 107: After the demise of the eminent marji' al-taqlid and great leader of the universal Islamic revolution, and founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khumayni--quddisa sirruh al-sharif--who was recognised and accepted as marji' and Leader by a decisive majority of the people, the task of appointing the Leader shall be vested with the experts elected by the people. The experts will review and consult among themselves concerning all the fuqaha' possessing the qualifications specified in Articles 5 and 109. In the event they find one of them better versed in Islamic regulations, the subjects of the fiqh, or in political and social issues, or possessing general popularity or special prominence for any of the qualifications mentioned in Article 109, they shall elect him as the Leader. Otherwise, in the absence of such a superiority, they shall elect and declare one of them as the Leader. The Leader thus elected by the Assembly of Experts shall assume all the powers of the wilayat al-amr and all the responsibilities arising therefrom.

The Leader is equal with the rest of the people of the country in the eyes of law.

Article 108: The law setting out the number and qualifications of the experts [mentioned in the preceding article], the mode of their election, and the code of procedure regulating the sessions during the first term must be drawn up by the fuqaha' on the first Guardian Council, passed by a majority of votes and then finally approved by the Leader of the Revolution. The power to make any subsequent change or a review of this law, or approval of all the provisions concerning the duties of the experts is vested in themselves.

Article 109: Following are the essential qualifications and conditions for the Leader:

a. scholarship, as required for performing the functions of muftiin different fields of fiqh.

b. Justice and piety, as required for the leadership of the Islamic Ummah.

c. right political and social perspicacity, prudence, courage, administrative facilities and adequate capability for leadership.

In case of multiplicity of persons fulfilling the above qualifications and conditions, the person possessing the better jurisprudential and political perspicacity will be given preference.

Article 110: Following are the duties and powers of the Leadership:

1. Delineation of the general policies of the Islamic Republic of Iran after consultation with the Nation's Exigency Council.

2. Supervision over the proper execution of the general policies of the system.

3. Issuing decrees for national referenda.

4. Assuming supreme command of the armed forces.

5. Declaration of war and peace, and the mobilization of the armed forces.

6. Appointment, dismissal, and acceptance of resignation of:

a. the fuqaha' on the Guardian Council.

b. the supreme judicial authority of the country.

c. the head of the radio and television network of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

d. the chief of the joint staff.

e. the chief commander of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps.

f. the supreme commanders of the armed forces.

7. Resolving differences between the three wings of the armed forces and regulation of their relations.

8. Resolving the problems, which cannot be solved by conventional methods, through the Nation's Exigency Council.

9. Signing the decree formalizing the election of the President of the Republic by the people. The suitability of candidates for the Presidency of the Republic, with respect to the qualifications specified in the Constitution, must be confirmed before elections take place by the Guardian Council, and, in the case of the first term [of the Presidency], by the Leadership;

10. Dismissal of the President of the Republic, with due regard for the interests of the country, after the Supreme Court holds him guilty of the violation of his constitutional duties, or after a vote of the Islamic Consultative Assembly testifying to his incompetence on the basis of Article 89 of the Constitution.

11. Pardoning or reducing the sentences of convicts, within the framework of Islamic criteria, on a recommendation [to that effect] from the Head of judicial power. The Leader may delegate part of his duties and powers to another person.

Article 111: Whenever the Leader becomes incapable of fulfilling his constitutional duties, or loses one of the qualifications mentioned in Articles 5 and 109, or it becomes known that he did not possess some of the qualifications initially, he will be dismissed. The authority of determination in this matter is vested with the experts specified in Article 108.

In the event of the death, or resignation or dismissal of the Leader, the experts shall take steps within the shortest possible time for the appointment of the new Leader. Till the appointment of the new Leader, a council consisting of the President, head of the judiciary power, and a faqih from the Guardian Council, upon the decision of the Nation's Exigency Council, shall temporarily take over all the duties of the Leader. In the event, during this period, any one of them is unable to fulfil his duties for whatsoever reason, another person, upon the decision of majority of fuqaha' in the Nation's Exigency Council shall be elected in his place.

This council shall take action in respect of items 1,3,5, and 10, and sections d, e and f of item 6 of Article 110, upon the decision of three-fourths of the members of the Nation's Exigency Council.

Whenever the Leader becomes temporarily unable to perform the duties of leadership owing to his illness or any other incident, then during this period, the council mentioned in this Article shall assume his duties.

Article 112: Upon the order of the Leader, the Nation's Exigency Council shall meet at any time the Guardian Council judges a proposed bill of the Islamic Consultative Assembly to be against the principles of Sharia or the Constitution, and the Assembly is unable to meet the expectations of the Guardian Council. Also, the Council shall meet for consideration on any issue forwarded to it by the Leader and shall carry out any other responsibility as mentioned in this Constitution.

The permanent and changeable members of the Council shall be appointed by the Leader. The rules for the Council shall be formulated and approved by the Council members subject to the confirmation by the Leader.

CHAPTER IX. The Executive Power

SECTION 1. The Presidency

Article 113: After the office of Leadership, the President is the highest official in the country. His is the responsibility for implementing the Constitution and acting as the head of the executive, except in matters directly concerned with (the office of) the Leadership.

Article 114: The President is elected for a four-year term by the direct vote of the people. His reelection for a successive term is permissible only once.

Article 115: The President must be elected from among religious and political personalities possessing the following qualifications:

Iranian origin; Iranian nationality; administrative capacity and resourcefulness; a good past-record; trustworthiness and piety; convinced belief in the fundamental principles of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the official madhhab of the country.

Article 116: Candidates nominated for the post of President must declare their candidature officially. Law lays down the manner in which the President is to be elected.

Article 117: The President is elected by an absolute majority of votes polled by the voters. But if none of the candidates is able to win such a majority in the first round, voting will take place a second time on Friday of the following week. In the second round only the two candidates who received greatest number of votes in the first round will participate. If, however, some of the candidates securing greatest votes in the first round withdraw from the elections, the final choice will be between the two candidates who won greater number of votes than all the remaining candidates.

Article 118: Responsibility for the supervision of the election of the President lies with the Guardian Council, as stipulated in Article 99. But before the establishment of the first Guardian Council, however, it lies with a supervisory body to be constituted by law.

Article 119: The election of a new President must take place no later than one month before the end of the term of the outgoing President. In the interim period before the election of the new President and the end of the term of the outgoing President, the outgoing President will perform the duties of the President.

Article 120: In case any of the candidates whose suitability is established in terms of the qualifications listed above should die within ten days before polling day, the elections will be postponed for two weeks. If one of the candidates securing greatest number of votes dies in the intervening period between the first and second rounds of voting, the period for holding (the second round of) the election will be extended for two weeks.

Article 121: The President must take the following oath and affix his signature to it at a session of the Islamic Consultative Assembly in the presence of the head of the judicial power and the members of the Guardian Council:

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, I, as President, swear, in the presence of the Noble Koran and the people of Iran, by God, the Exalted and Almighty, that I will guard the official religion of the country, the order of the Islamic Republic and the Constitution of the country; that I will devote all my capacities and abilities to the fulfilment of the responsibilities that I have assumed; that I will dedicate myself to the service of the people, the honour of the country, the propagation of religion and morality, and the support of truth and justice, refraining from every kind of arbitrary behaviour; that I will protect the freedom and dignity of all citizens and the rights that the Constitution has accorded the people; that in guarding the frontiers and the political, economic, and cultural independence of the country I will not shirk any necessary measure; that, seeking help from God and following the Prophet of Islam and the infallible Imams (peace be upon them), I will guard, as a pious and selfless trustee, the authority vested in me by the people as a sacred trust, and transfer it to whomever the people may elect after me.

Article 122: The President, within the limits of his powers and duties, which he has by virtue of this Constitution or other laws, is responsible to the people, the Leader and the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

Article 123: The President is obliged to sign legislation approved by the Assembly or the result of a referendum, after the (related) legal procedures have been completed and it has been communicated to him. After signing, he must forward it to the responsible authorities for implementation.

Article 124: The President may have deputies for the performance of his constitutional duties.

With the approval of the President, the first deputy of the President shall be vested with the responsibilities of administering the affairs of the Council of Ministers and coordination of functions of other deputies.

Article 125: The President or his legal representative has the authority to sign treaties, protocols, contracts, and agreements concluded by the Iranian government with other governments, as well as agreements pertaining to international organizations, after obtaining the approval of the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

Article 126: The President is responsible for national planning and budget and state employment affairs and may entrust the administration of these to others.

Article 127: In special circumstances, subject to approval of the Council of Ministers, the President may appoint one or more special representatives with specific powers. In such cases,

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the decisions of his representative(s) will be considered as the same as those of the President and the Council of Ministers.

Article 128: The ambassadors shall be appointed upon the recommendation of the foreign minister and approval of the President. The President signs the credentials of ambassadors and receives the credentials presented by the ambassadors of the foreign countries.

Article 129: The award of state decorations is a prerogative of the President.

Article 130: The President shall submit his resignation to the Leader and shall continue performing his duties until his resignation is not accepted.

Article 131: In case of death, dismissal, resignation, absence, or illness lasting longer than two months of the President, or when his term in office has ended and a new president has not been elected due to some impediments, or similar other circumstances, his first deputy shall assume, with the approval of the Leader, the powers and functions of the President. The Council, consisting of the Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, head of the judicial power, and the first deputy of the President, is obliged to arrange for a new President to be elected within a maximum period of fifty days. In case of death of the first deputy to the President, or other matters which prevent him to perform his duties, or when the President does not have a first deputy, the Leader shall appoint another person in his place.

Article 132: During the period when the powers and responsibilities of the President are assigned to his first deputy or the other person in accordance with Article 131, neither can the ministers be interpellated nor can a vote of no-confidence be passed against them. Also, neither can any step be undertaken for a review of the Constitution, nor a national referendum be held.

SECTION 2. The President and Ministers

Article 133: Ministers will be appointed by the President and will be presented to the Assembly for a vote of confidence. With the change of Assembly, a new vote of confidence will not be necessary. The number of ministers and the jurisdiction of each will be determined by law.

Article 134: The President is the head of the Council of Ministers. He supervises the work of the ministers and takes all necessary measures to coordinate the decisions of the government. With the cooperation of the ministers, he determines the programme and policies of the government and implements the laws.

In the case of discrepancies, or interferences in the constitutional duties of the government agencies, the decision of the Council of Ministers at the request of the President shall be binding provided it does not call for an interpretation of or modification in the laws.

The President is responsible to the Assembly for the actions of the Council of Ministers.

Article 135: The ministers shall continue in office unless they are dismissed, or given a vote of no confidence by the Assembly as a result of their interpellation, or a motion for a vote of no-confidence against them.

The resignation of the Council of Ministers, or that of each of them shall be submitted to the President, and the Council of Ministers shall continue to function until such time as the new government is appointed.

The President can appoint a caretaker for a maximum period of three months for the ministries having no minister.

Article 136: The President can dismiss the ministers and in such a case he must obtain a vote of confidence for the new minister(s) from the Assembly. In case half of the members of the Council of Ministers are changed after the government has received its vote of confidence from the Assembly, the government must seek a fresh vote of confidence from the Assembly.

Article 137: Each of the ministers is responsible for his duties to the President and the Assembly, but in matters approved by the Council of Ministers as a whole, he is also responsible for the actions of the others.

Article 138: In addition to instances in which the Council of Ministers or a single minister is authorised to frame procedures for the implementation of laws, the Council of Ministers has the right to lay down rules, regulations, and procedures for performing its administrative duties, ensuring the implementation of laws, and setting up administrative bodies. Each of the ministers also has the right to frame regulations and issue circulars in matters within his jurisdiction and in conformity with the decisions of the Council of Ministers. However, the content of all such regulations must not violate the letter or the spirit of the law.

The government can entrust any portion of its task to the commissions composed of some ministers. The decisions of such commissions within the rules will be binding after the endorsement of the President.

The ratifications and the regulations of the government and the decisions of the commissions mentioned under this Article shall also be brought to the notice of the Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly while being communicated for implementation so that in the event he finds them contrary to law, he may send the same stating the reason for reconsideration by the Council of Ministers.

Article 139: The settlement of claims relating to public and state property or the referral thereof to arbitration is in every case dependent on the approval of the Council of Ministers, and the Assembly must be informed of these matters. In cases where one party to the dispute is a foreigner, as well as in important cases that are purely domestic, the approval of the Assembly must also be obtained. Law will specify the important cases intended here.

Article 140: Allegations of common crimes against the President, his deputies, and the ministers will be investigated in common courts of justice with the knowledge of the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

Article 141: The President, the deputies to the President, ministers, and government employees cannot hold more than one government position, and it is forbidden for them to hold any kind of additional post in institutions of which all or a part of the capital belongs to the government or public institutions, to be a member of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, to practise the profession of attorney or legal adviser, or to hold the post of president, managing director, or membership of the board of directors of any kind of private company, with the exception of cooperative companies affiliated to the government departments and institutions.

Teaching positions in universities and research institutions are exempted from this rule.

Article 142: The assets of the Leader, the President, the deputies to the President, and ministers, as well as those of their spouses and offspring, are to be examined before and after their term of office by the head of the judicial power, in order to ensure they have not increased in a fashion contrary to law.

SECTION 3. The Army and the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps

Article 143: The Army of the Islamic Republic of Iran is responsible for guarding the independence and territorial integrity of the country, as well as the order of the Islamic Republic.

Article 144: The Army of the Islamic Republic of Iran must be an Islamic Army, i.e., committed to Islamic ideology and the people, and must recruit into its service individuals who have faith in the objectives of the Islamic Revolution and are devoted to the cause of realizing its goals.

Article 145: No foreigner will be accepted into the Army or security forces of the country.

Article 146: The establishment of any kind of foreign military base in Iran, even for peaceful purposes, is forbidden.

Article 147: In time of peace, the government must utilize the personnel and technical equipment of the Army in relief operations, and for educational and productive ends, and the Construction Jihad, while fully observing the criteria of Islamic justice and ensuring that such utilization does not harm the combat-readiness of the Army.

Article 148: All forms of personal use of military vehicles, equipment, and other means, as well as taking advantage of Army personnel as personal servants and chauffeurs or in similar capacities, are forbidden.

Article 149: Promotions in military rank and their withdrawal take place in accordance with the law.

Article 150: The Islamic Revolution Guards Corps, organised in the early days of the triumph of the Revolution, is to be maintained so that it may continue in its role of guarding the Revolution and its achievements. The scope of the duties of this Corps, and its areas of responsibility, in relation to the duties and areas of responsibility of the other armed forces, are to be determined by law, with emphasis on brotherly cooperation and harmony among them.

Article 151: In accordance with the noble Koranic verse: "Prepare against them whatever force you are able to muster, and horses ready for battle, striking fear into God's enemy and your enemy, and others beyond them unknown to you but known to God ... (Koran 8:60)" the government is obliged to provide a programme of military training, with all requisite facilities, for all its citizens, in accordance with the Islamic criteria, in such a way that all citizens will always be able to engage in the armed defence of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The possession of arms, however, requires the granting of permission by the competent authorities.

CHAPTER X. Foreign Policy

Article 152: The foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is based upon the rejection of all forms of domination, both the exertion of it and submission to it, the preservation of the independence of the country in all respects and its territorial integrity, the defence of the rights of all Muslims, non-alignment with respect to the hegemonist superpowers, and the maintenance of mutually peaceful relations with all non-belligerent States.

Article 153: Any form of agreement resulting in foreign control over the natural resources, economy, army, or culture of the country, as well as other aspects of the national life, is forbidden.

Article 154: The Islamic Republic of Iran has as its ideal human felicity throughout human society, and considers the attainment of independence, freedom, and rule of justice and truth to be the right of all people of the world. Accordingly, while scrupulously refraining from all forms of interference in the internal affairs of other nations, it supports the just struggles of the mustadAfun against the mustakbirun in every corner of the globe.

Article 155: The government of the Islamic Republic of Iran may grant political asylum to those who seek it unless they are regarded as traitors and saboteurs according to the laws of Iran.

CHAPTER XI. The Judiciary

Article 156: The judiciary is an independent power, the protector of the rights of the individual and society, responsible for the implementation of justice, and entrusted with the following duties:

1. investigating and passing judgement on grievances, violations of rights, and complaints; the resolving of litigation; the settling of disputes; and the taking of all necessary decisions and measures in probate matters as the law may determine;
2. restoring public rights and promoting justice and legitimate freedoms:
3. supervising the proper enforcement of laws;
4. uncovering crimes; prosecuting, punishing, and chastising criminals; and enacting the penalties and provisions of the Islamic penal code;
5. taking suitable measures to prevent the occurrence of crime and to reform criminals.

Article 157: In order to fulfil the responsibilities of the judiciary power in all the matters concerning judiciary, administrative and executive areas, the Leader shall appoint a just Mujtahid well versed in judiciary affairs and possessing prudence and administrative abilities as the head of the judiciary power for a period of five years who shall be the highest judicial authority.

Article 158: The head of the judiciary branch is responsible for the following:

1. Establishment of the organizational structure necessary for the administration of justice commensurate with the responsibilities mentioned under Article 156.
2. Drafting judiciary bills appropriate for the Islamic Republic.
3. Employment of just and worthy judges, their dismissal, appointment, transfer, assignment to particular duties, promotions, and carrying out similar administrative duties, in accordance with the law.

Article 159: The courts of justice are the official bodies to which all grievances and complaints are to be referred. The formation of courts and their jurisdiction is to be determined by law.

Article 160: The Minister of Justice owes responsibility in all matters concerning the relationship between the judiciary, on the one hand, and the executive and legislative branches, on the other hand. He will be elected from among the individuals proposed to the President by the head of the judiciary branch.

The head of the judiciary may delegate full authority to the Minister of Justice in financial and administrative areas and for employment of personnel other than judges in which case the Minister of Justice shall have the same authority and responsibility as those possessed by the other ministers in their capacity as the highest ranking government executives.

Article 161: The Supreme Court is to be formed for the purpose of supervising the correct implementation of the laws by the courts, ensuring uniformity of judicial procedure, and fulfilling any other responsibilities assigned to it by law, on the basis of regulations to be established by the head of the judicial branch.

Article 162: The chief of the Supreme Court and the Prosecutor-General must both be just mujtahids well versed in judicial matters. They will be nominated by the head of the judiciary branch for a period of five years, in consultation with the judges of the Supreme Court.

Article 163: The conditions and qualifications to be fulfilled by a judge will be determined by law, in accordance with the criteria of fiqh.

Article 164: A judge cannot be removed, whether temporarily or permanently, from the post he occupies except by trial and proof of his guilt, or in consequence of a violation entailing his dismissal. A judge cannot be transferred or redesignated without his consent, except in cases when the interest of society necessitates it, that too, with the decision of the head of the judiciary branch after consultation with the chief of the Supreme Court and the Prosecutor General. The periodic transfer and rotation of judges will be in accordance with general regulations to be laid down by law.

Article 165: Trials are to be held openly and members of the public may attend without any restriction; unless the court determines that an open trial would be detrimental to public morality or discipline, or if in case of private disputes, both the parties request not to hold open hearing.

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Article 166: The verdicts of courts must be well reasoned out and documented with reference to the articles and principles of the law in accordance with which they are delivered.

Article 167: The judge is bound to endeavour to judge each case on the basis of the codified law. In case of the absence of any such law, he has to deliver his judgement on the basis of authoritative Islamic sources and authentic fatawa. He, on the pretext of the silence of or deficiency of law in the matter, or its brevity or contradictory nature, cannot refrain from admitting and examining cases and delivering his judgement.

Article 168: Political and press offences will be tried openly and in the presence of a jury, in courts of justice. The manner of the selection of the jury, its powers, and the definition of political offences, will be determined by law in accordance with the Islamic criteria.

Article 169: No act or omission may be regarded as a crime with retrospective effect on the basis of a law framed subsequently.

Article 170: Judges of courts are obliged to refrain from executing statutes and regulations of the government that are in conflict with the laws or the norms of Islam, or lie outside the competence of the executive power. Everyone has the right to demand the annulment of any such regulation from the Court of Administrative Justice.

Article 171: Whenever an individual suffers moral or material loss as the result of a default or error of the judge with respect to the subject matter of a case or the verdict delivered, or the application of a rule in a particular case, the defaulting judge must stand surety for the reparation of that loss in accordance with the Islamic criteria, if it be a case of default. Otherwise, losses will be compensated for by the State. In all such cases, the repute and good standing of the accused will be restored.

Article 172: Military courts will be established by law to investigate crimes committed in connection with military or security duties by members of the Army, the Gendarmerie, the police, and the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps. They will be tried in public courts, however, for common crimes or crimes committed while serving the department of justice in executive capacity. The office of military prosecutor and the military courts form part of the judiciary and are subject to the same principles that regulate the judiciary.

Article 173: In order to investigate the complaints, grievances, and objections of the people with respect to government officials, organs, and statutes, a court will be established to be known as the Court of Administrative Justice under the supervision of the head of the judiciary branch. The jurisdiction, powers, and mode of operation of this court will be laid down by law.

Article 174: In accordance with the right of the judiciary to supervise the proper conducting of affairs and the correct implementation of laws by the administrative organs of the government, an organization will be constituted under the supervision of the head of the judiciary branch to be known as the National General Inspectorate. The powers and duties of this organization will be determined by law.

CHAPTER XII. Radio and Television

Article 175: The freedom of expression and dissemination of thoughts in the Radio and Television of the Islamic Republic of Iran must be guaranteed in keeping with the Islamic criteria and the best interests of the country.

The appointment and dismissal of the head of the Radio and Television of the Islamic Republic of Iran rests with the Leader. A council consisting of two representatives each of the President, the head of the judiciary branch and the Islamic Consultative Assembly shall supervise the functioning of this organization.

The policies and the manner of managing the organization and its supervision will be determined by law.

CHAPTER XIII. Supreme Council for National Security

Article 176: In order to safeguarding the national interests and preserving the Islamic Revolution, the territorial integrity and national sovereignty, a Supreme Council for National Security presided over by the President shall be constituted to fulfil the following responsibilities:

1. Determining the defence and national security policies within the framework of general policies determined by the Leader.
2. Coordination of activities in the areas relating to politics, intelligence, social, cultural and economic fields in regard to general defence and security policies.
3. Exploitation of materialistic and intellectual resources of the country for facing the internal and external threats.

The Council shall consist of: heads of three branches of the government, chief of the Supreme Command Council of the Armed Forces, the officer in charge of the planning and budget affairs, two representatives nominated by the Leader, ministers of foreign affairs, interior, and information, a minister related with the subject, and the highest ranking officials from the Armed Forces and the Islamic Revolution's Guards Corps.

Commensurate with its duties, the Supreme Council for National Security shall form sub councils such as Defence Sub-council and National Security Sub-council. Each Sub council will be presided over by the President or a member of the Supreme Council for National Security appointed by the President.

The scope of authority and responsibility of the Sub-councils will be determined by law and their organizational structure will be approved by the Supreme Council for National Defence.

The decisions of the Supreme Council for National Security shall be effective after the confirmation by the Leader.

CHAPTER XIV. The Revision of the Constitution

Article 177: The revision of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, whenever needed by the circumstances, will be done in the following manner:

The Leader issues an edict to the President after consultation with the Nation's Exigency Council stipulating the amendments or additions to be made by the Council for Revision of the Constitution which consists of:

1. Members of the Guardian Council.
2. Heads of the three branches of the government.
3. Permanent members of the Nation's Exigency Council.
4. Five members from among the Assembly of Experts.
5. Ten representatives selected by the Leader.
6. Three representatives from the Council of Ministers.
7. Three representatives from the judiciary branch.
8. Ten representatives from among the members of the Islamic Consultative Assembly.
9. Three representatives from among the university professors.

The method of working, manner of selection and the terms and conditions of the Council shall be determined by law.

The decisions of the Council, after the confirmation and signatures of the Leader, shall be valid if approved by an absolute majority vote in a national referendum.

The provisions of Article 59 of the Constitution shall not apply to the referendum for the "Revision of the Constitution."

The contents of the Articles of the Constitution related to the Islamic character of the political system; the basis of all the rules and regulations according to Islamic criteria; the religious footing; the objectives of the Islamic Republic of Iran; the democratic character of the government; the wilayat al-Amr; the Imamate of Ummah; and the administration of the affairs of the country based on national referenda, official religion of Iran [Islam] and the school [Twelver Ja'fari] are unalterable.

HAMAS COVENANT 1988

The Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement,
18 August 1988

(We want to turn your attention to the following facts: The Hamas, as its mother organisation "The Muslim Brotherhood", ***is neither*** *a terror organisation* ***nor*** *a bunch of mad extremists [An extremist would be someone who deviates from Islamic norms]. All these organisations can be called radical (from the Latin word radix = root, meaning here: back to the roots!) and fundamentalistic, but this notion may also apply to the Roman-Catholic Church and other denominations.*

Being fundamentalistic means that the Hamas does not deviate from the norm, but rather that the Hamas follows exactly what Mohammed said and did, written down in the ***Koran****, the* ***Sira****, the* ***Hadith****, and the Sharia law. In Islam, the contents of this Covenant are absolutely legal and in accordance with all what Islamic jurisprudence is based on! In the viewpoint of a true Muslim, all those who plea for a so-called "moderate Islam" are extremists and heretics.)*

Hamas, the Palestinian wing of the Muslim Brotherhood:

The Hamas Covenant or Hamas Charter, formally known in English as the Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement, was originally issued on 18 August 1988 and outlines the founding identity, stand, and aims of Hamas (the Islamic Resistance Movement). A new charter was issued by Hamas leader Khaled Mashal on 1 May 2017 in Doha.

The original Charter identified Hamas as the Muslim Brotherhood in Palestine and declares its members to be Muslims who "fear God and raise the banner of Jihad in the face of the oppressors." The charter states that "our struggle against the Jews is very great and very serious" and calls for the eventual creation of an Islamic state in Palestine, in place of Israel and the Palestinian Territories, and the obliteration or dissolution of Israel. It emphasizes the importance of jihad, stating in article 13, "There is no solution for the Palestinian question except through Jihad. Initiatives, proposals and international conferences are all a waste of time and vain endeavors." The charter also states that Hamas is humanistic, and tolerant of other religions as long as they "stop disputing the sovereignty of Islam in this region". The Charter adds that "renouncing any part of Palestine means renouncing part of the religion" of Islam.

In 2008, the Hamas leader in Gaza, Ismail Haniyeh, stated that Hamas would agree to accept a Palestinian state along the 1967 borders, and to offer a long-term truce with Israel. In contrast to this, Hamas leader Mahmoud al-Zahar stated that any talk of the 1967 lines is "just a phase" until Hamas has a chance to "regain the land...even if we [Hamas] have to do so inch by inch." Other Hamas leaders, including Ismail Haniyah and Khaled Meshaal, have also stated repeatedly that "Palestine – from the [Jordan] River to the [Mediterranean] Sea, from its north to its south – is our land, our right, and our homeland. There will be no relinquishing or forsaking even an inch or small part of it," and that "we shall not relinquish the Islamic waqf on the land of Palestine, and Jerusalem shall not be divided into Western and Eastern Jerusalem. Jerusalem is a single united city, and Palestine stretches from the Mediterranean Sea to the Jordan River, and from Naqoura [Rosh Ha-Niqra] to Umm Al-Rashrash [Eilat] in the south."

After a new charter was scheduled to be issued in May 2017, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's office issued a statement in which it accused Hamas of trying to fool the world and also asked it to stop its terror activities for a true change.

The 2017 charter accepted for the first time the idea of a Palestinian state within the borders that existed before 1967 and rejects recognition of Israel which it terms as the "Zionist enemy". It advocates such a state as transitional but also advocates "liberation of all of Palestine". The new document also states that the group doesn't seek war with the Jewish people but only against Zionism which it holds responsible for "occupation of Palestine". Mashal also stated that Hamas was ending its association with the Muslim Brotherhood.)

In The Name Of The Most Merciful Allah

"Ye are the best nation that hath been raised up unto mankind: ye command that which is just, and ye forbid that which is unjust, and ye believe in Allah. And if they who have received the scriptures had believed, it had surely been the better for them: there are believers among them, but the greater part of them are transgressors. They shall not hurt you, unless with a slight hurt; and if they fight against you, they shall turn their backs to you, and they shall not be helped. They are smitten with vileness wheresoever they are found; unless they obtain security by entering into a treaty with Allah, and a treaty with men; and they draw on themselves indignation from Allah, and they are afflicted with poverty. This they suffer, because they disbelieved the signs of Allah, and slew the prophets unjustly; this, because they were rebellious, and transgressed." (Al-Imran - verses 109-111).

Israel will exist and will continue to exist until Islam will obliterate it, just as it obliterated others before it" (The Martyr, Imam Hassan al-Banna, of blessed memory).

"The Islamic world is on fire. Each of us should pour some water, no matter how little, to extinguish whatever one can without waiting for the others." (Sheikh Amjad al-Zahawi, of blessed memory).

In The Name Of The Most Merciful Allah

Introduction

Praise be unto Allah, to whom we resort for help, and whose forgiveness, guidance and support we seek; Allah bless the Prophet and grant him salvation, his companions and supporters, and to those who carried out his message and adopted his laws - everlasting prayers and salvation as long as the earth and heaven will last. Hereafter:

O People:

Out of the midst of troubles and the sea of suffering, out of the palpitations of faithful hearts and cleansed arms; out of the sense of duty, and in response to Allah's command, the call has gone out rallying people together and making them follow the ways of Allah, leading them to have determined will in order to fulfill their role in life, to overcome all obstacles, and surmount the difficulties on the way. Constant preparation has continued and so has the readiness to sacrifice life and all that is precious for the sake of Allah.

Thus it was that the nucleus (of the movement) was formed and started to pave its way through the tempestuous sea of hopes and expectations, of wishes and yearnings, of troubles and obstacles, of pain and challenges, both inside and outside.

When the idea was ripe, the seed grew and the plant struck root in the soil of reality, away from passing emotions, and hateful haste. The Islamic Resistance Movement emerged to carry out its role through striving for the sake of its Creator, its arms intertwined with those of all the fighters for the liberation of Palestine. The spirits of its fighters meet with the spirits of all the fighters who have sacrificed their lives on the soil of Palestine, ever since it was conquered by the companions of the Prophet, Allah bless him and grant him salvation, and until this day.

This Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement (HAMAS), clarifies its picture, reveals its identity, outlines its stand, explains its aims, speaks about its hopes, and calls for

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its support, adoption and joining its ranks. Our struggle against the Jews is very great and very serious. It needs all sincere efforts. It is a step that inevitably should be followed by other steps. The Movement is but one squadron that should be supported by more and more squadrons from this vast Arab and Islamic world, until the enemy is vanquished and Allah's victory is realised.

Thus we see them coming on the horizon "and you shall learn about it hereafter" "Allah hath written, Verily I will prevail, and my apostles: for Allah is strong and mighty." (The Dispute - verse 21).

"Say to them, This is my way: I invite you to Allah, by an evident demonstration; both I and he who followeth me; and, praise be unto Allah! I am not an idolator." (Joseph - verse 107).

Hamas (means) strength and bravery -(according to) Al-Mua'jam al-Wasit: c1.

DEFINITION OF THE MOVEMENT

Ideological Starting-Points

ARTICLE 1: The Islamic Resistance Movement: The Movement's programme is Islam. From it, it draws its ideas, ways of thinking and understanding of the universe, life and man. It resorts to it for judgement in all its conduct, and it is inspired by it for guidance of its steps.

The Islamic Resistance Movement's Relation With the Moslem Brotherhood Group:

ARTICLE 2: The Islamic Resistance Movement is one of the wings of Moslem Brotherhood in Palestine. Moslem Brotherhood Movement is a universal Organisation which constitutes the largest Islamic movement in modern times. It is characterised by its deep understanding, accurate comprehension and its complete embrace of all Islamic concepts of all aspects of life, culture, creed, politics, economics, education, society, justice and judgement, the spreading of Islam, education, art, information, science of the occult and conversion to Islam.

Structure and Formation

ARTICLE 3: The basic structure of the Islamic Resistance Movement consists of Moslems who have given their allegiance to Allah whom they truly worship, - "I have created the jinn and humans only for the purpose of worshipping" - who know their duty towards themselves, their families and country. In all that, they fear Allah and raise the banner of Jihad in the face of the oppressors, so that they would rid the land and the people of their uncleanliness, vileness and evils.

"But we will oppose truth to vanity, and it shall confound the same; and behold, it shall vanish away." (Prophets - verse 18).

ARTICLE 4: The Islamic Resistance Movement welcomes every Moslem who embraces its faith, ideology, follows its programme, keeps its secrets, and wants to belong to its ranks and carry out the duty. Allah will certainly reward such one.

Time and Place Extent of the Islamic Resistance Movement:

ARTICLE 5: Time extent of the Islamic Resistance Movement: By adopting Islam as its way of life, the Movement goes back to the time of the birth of the Islamic message, of the righteous ancestor, for Allah is its target, the Prophet is its example and the Koran is its constitution. Its extent in place is anywhere that there are Moslems who embrace Islam as their way of life everywhere in the globe. This being so, it extends to the depth of the earth and reaches out to the heaven.

"Dost thou not see how Allah putteth forth a parable; representing a good word, as a good tree, whose root is firmly fixed in the earth, and whose branches reach unto heaven; which bringeth forth its fruit in all seasons, by the will of its Lord? Allah propoundeth parables unto men, that they may be instructed." (Abraham - verses 24-25).

Characteristics and Independence:

ARTICLE 6: The Islamic Resistance Movement is a distinguished Palestinian movement, whose allegiance is to Allah, and whose way of life is Islam. It strives to raise the banner of Allah over every inch of Palestine, for under the wing of Islam followers of all religions can coexist in security and safety where their lives, possessions and rights are concerned. In the absence of Islam, strife will be rife, oppression spreads, evil prevails and schisms and wars will break out.

How excellent was the Moslem poet, Mohamed Ikbal, when he wrote:

"If faith is lost, there is no security and there is no life for him who does not adhere to religion. He who accepts life without religion, has taken annihilation as his companion for life."

The Universality of the Islamic Resistance Movement:

ARTICLE 7: As a result of the fact that those Moslems who adhere to the ways of the Islamic Resistance Movement spread all over the world, rally support for it and its stands, strive towards enhancing its struggle, the Movement is a universal one. It is well-equipped for that because of the clarity of its ideology, the nobility of its aim and the loftiness of its objectives.

On this basis, the Movement should be viewed and evaluated, and its role be recognised. He who denies its right, evades supporting it and turns a blind eye to facts, whether intentionally or unintentionally, would awaken to see that events have overtaken him and with no logic to justify his attitude. One should certainly learn from past examples.

The injustice of next-of-kin is harder to bear than the smite of the (sharp) Indian sword.

"We have also sent down unto thee the book of the Koran with truth, confirming that scripture which was revealed before it; and preserving the same safe from corruption. Judge therefore between them according to that which Allah hath revealed; and follow not their desires, by swerving from the truth which hath come unto thee. Unto every of you have we given a law, and an open path; and if Allah had pleased, he had surely made you one people; but he hath thought it fit to give you different laws, that he might try you in that which he hath given you respectively. Therefore strive to excel each other in good works; unto Allah shall ye all return, and then will he declare unto you that concerning which ye have disagreed." (The Table, verse 48).

The Islamic Resistance Movement is one of the links in the chain of the struggle against the Zionist invaders. It goes back to 1939, to the emergence of the martyr Izz al-Din al Kissam and his brethren the fighters, members of Moslem Brotherhood. It goes on to reach out and become one with another chain that includes the struggle of the Palestinians and Moslem Brotherhood in the 1948 war and the Jihad operations of the Moslem Brotherhood in 1968 and after.

Moreover, if the links have been distant from each other and if obstacles, placed by those who are the lackeys of Zionism in the way of the fighters obstructed the continuation of the struggle, the Islamic Resistance Movement aspires to the realisation of Allah's promise, no matter how long that should take. The Prophet, Allah bless him and grant him salvation, has said:

"The Day of Judgement will not come about until Moslems fight the Jews (killing the Jews), when the Jew will hide behind stones and trees. The stones and trees will say O Moslems, O Abdulla, there is a Jew behind me, come and kill him (conduct genocide, a holocaust, which only the Jews and some educated people are aware of!). Only the Gharkad tree, (evidently a certain kind of tree) would not do that because it is one of the trees of the Jews." (related by al-Bukhari and Moslem).

The Slogan of the Islamic Resistance Movement:

ARTICLE 8: Allah is its target, the Prophet is its model, the Koran its constitution: Jihad is its path and death for the sake of Allah is the loftiest of its wishes.

OBJECTIVES

Incentives and Objectives:

ARTICLE 9: The Islamic Resistance Movement found itself at a time when Islam has disappeared from life. Thus rules shook, concepts were upset, values changed and evil people took control, oppression and darkness prevailed, cowards became like tigers: homelands were usurped, people were scattered and were caused to wander all over the world, the state of justice disappeared and the state of falsehood replaced it. Nothing remained in its right place. Thus, when Islam is absent from the arena, everything changes. From this state of affairs the incentives are drawn.

As for the objectives: They are the fighting against the false, defeating it and vanquishing it so that justice could prevail, homelands be retrieved and from its mosques would the voice of the muAzen emerge declaring the establishment of the state of Islam, so that people and things would return each to their right places and Allah is our helper.

"...and if Allah had not prevented men, the one by the other, verily the earth had been corrupted: but Allah is beneficient towards his creatures." (Koran: The Cow - verse 251).

ARTICLE 10: As the Islamic Resistance Movement paves its way, it will back the oppressed and support the wronged with all its might. It will spare no effort to bring about justice and defeat injustice, in word and deed, in this place and everywhere it can reach and have influence therein.

Strategies and Methods

Strategies of the Islamic Resistance Movement: Palestine Is Islamic Waqf (that is: land that once was property of Islam, such as also the Iberian peninsula, southern France, southern Italy, Israel, Lebanon, north-western China, northern India, southern Russia, or the Balkans, is still considered, today and for all eternity, Islamic land!):

ARTICLE 11: The Islamic Resistance Movement believes that the land of Palestine is an Islamic Waqf consecrated for future Moslem generations until "Judgement Day" (= for all eternity). It, or any part of it, should not be squandered: it, or any part of it, should not be given up. Neither a single Arab country nor all Arab countries, neither any king or president, nor all the kings and presidents, neither any Organisation nor all of them, be they Palestinian or Arab, possess the right to do that. Palestine is an Islamic Waqf land consecrated for Moslem generations until Judgement Day. This being so, who could claim to have the right to represent Moslem generations till Judgement Day?

This is the law governing the land of Palestine in the Islamic Sharia (law) and the same goes for any land the Moslems have conquered by force, because during the times of (Islamic) conquests, the Moslems consecrated these lands to Moslem generations till the Day of Judgement.

It happened like this: When the leaders of the Islamic armies conquered Syria and Iraq, they sent to the Caliph of the Moslems, Umar bin-el-Khatab, asking for his advice concerning the conquered land - whether they should divide it among the soldiers, or leave it for its owners, or what? After consultations and discussions between the Caliph of the Moslems, Omar bin-el-Khatab and companions of the Prophet, Allah bless him and grant him salvation, it was decided that the land should be left with its owners who could benefit by its fruit. As for the real ownership of the land and the land itself, it should be consecrated for Moslem generations till Judgement Day. Those who are on the land, are there only to benefit from its fruit. This Waqf remains as long as earth and heaven remain. Any procedure in contradiction to Islamic Sharia, where Palestine is concerned, is null and void.

"Verily, this is a certain truth. Wherefore praise the name of thy Lord, the great Allah." (The Inevitable - verse 95).

Homeland and Nationalism from the Point of View of the Islamic Resistance Movement in Palestine:

ARTICLE 12: Nationalism, from the point of view of the Islamic Resistance Movement, is part of the religious creed. Nothing in nationalism is more significant or deeper than in the case when an enemy should tread Moslem land. Resisting and quelling the enemy become the individual duty of every Moslem, male or female. A woman can go out to fight the enemy without her husband's permission, and so does the slave: without his master's permission.

Nothing of the sort is to be found in any other regime. This is an undisputed fact. If other nationalist movements are connected with materialistic, human or regional causes, nationalism of the Islamic Resistance Movement has all these elements as well as the more important elements that give it soul and life. It is connected to the source of spirit and the granter of life, hoisting in the sky of the homeland the heavenly banner that joins earth and heaven with a strong bond.

If Moses comes and throws his staff, both witch and magic are annulled.

"Now is the right direction manifestly distinguished from deceit: whoever therefore shall deny Tagut, and believe in Allah, he shall surely take hold with a strong handle, which shall not be broken; Allah is he who heareth and seeth." (The Cow - Verse 256).

Peaceful Solutions, Initiatives and International Conferences:

ARTICLE 13: Initiatives, and so-called peaceful solutions and international conferences, are in contradiction to the principles of the Islamic Resistance Movement. Abusing any part of Palestine is abuse directed against part of religion. Nationalism of the Islamic Resistance Movement is part of its religion. Its members have been fed on that. For the sake of hoisting the banner of Allah over their homeland they fight. "Allah will be prominent, but most people do not know."

Now and then the call goes out for the convening of an international conference to look for ways of solving the (Palestinian) question. Some accept, others reject the idea, for this or other reason, with one stipulation or more for consent to convening the conference and participating in it. Knowing the parties constituting the conference, their past and present attitudes towards Moslem problems, the Islamic Resistance Movement does not consider these conferences capable of realising the demands, restoring the rights or doing justice to the oppressed. These conferences are only ways of setting the infidels in the land of the Moslems as arbitraters. When did the infidels do justice to the believers?

"But the Jews will not be pleased with thee, neither the Christians, until thou follow their religion; say, The direction of Allah is the true direction. And verily if thou follow their desires, after the knowledge which hath been given thee, thou shalt find no patron or protector against Allah." (The Cow - verse 120).

There is no solution for the Palestinian question except through Jihad. Initiatives, proposals and international conferences are all a waste of time and vain endeavors. The Palestinian people know better than to consent to having their future, rights and fate toyed with. As in said in the honourable Hadith:

"The people of Syria are Allah's lash in His land. He wreaks His vengeance through them against whomsoever He wishes

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among His slaves It is unthinkable that those who are double-faced among them should prosper over the faithful. They will certainly die out of grief and desperation."

The Three Circles:

ARTICLE 14: The question of the liberation of Palestine is bound to three circles: the Palestinian circle, the Arab circle and the Islamic circle. Each of these circles has its role in the struggle against Zionism. Each has its duties, and it is a horrible mistake and a sign of deep ignorance to overlook any of these circles. Palestine is an Islamic land which has the first of the two kiblahs (direction to which Moslems turn in praying), the third of the holy (Islamic) sanctuaries, and the point of departure for Mohamed's midnight journey to the seven heavens (i.e. Jerusalem).

"Praise be unto him who transported his servant by night, from the sacred temple of Mecca to the farther temple of Jerusalem, the circuit of which we have blessed, that we might show him some of our signs; for Allah is he who heareth, and seeth." (The Night-Journey - verse 1).

Since this is the case, liberation of Palestine is then an individual duty for very Moslem wherever he may be. On this basis, the problem should be viewed. This should be realised by every Moslem.

The day the problem is dealt with on this basis, when the three circles mobilize their capabilities, the present state of affairs will change and the day of liberation will come nearer.

"Verily ye are stronger than they, by reason of the terror cast into their breasts from Allah. This, because they are not people of prudence." (The Emigration - verse 13).

The Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine is an Individual Duty:

ARTICLE 15: The day that enemies usurp part of Moslem land, Jihad becomes the individual duty of every Moslem. In face of the Jews' usurpation of Palestine, it is compulsory that the banner of Jihad be raised. To do this requires the diffusion of Islamic consciousness among the masses, both on the regional, Arab and Islamic levels. It is necessary to instill the spirit of Jihad in the heart of the nation so that they would confront the enemies and join the ranks of the fighters.

It is necessary that scientists, educators and teachers, information and media people, as well as the educated masses, especially the youth and sheikhs of the Islamic movements, should take part in the operation of awakening (the masses). It is important that basic changes be made in the school curriculum, to cleanse it of the traces of ideological invasion that affected it as a result of the orientalists and missionaries who infiltrated the region following the defeat of the Crusaders at the hands of Salah el-Din (Saladin). The Crusaders realised that it was impossible to defeat the Moslems without first having ideological invasion pave the way by upsetting their thoughts, disfiguring their heritage and violating their ideals. Only then could they invade with soldiers. This, in its turn, paved the way for the imperialistic invasion that made Allenby declare on entering Jerusalem: "Only now have the Crusades ended." General Guru stood at Salah el-Din's grave and said: "We have returned, O Salah el-Din." Imperialism has helped towards the strengthening of ideological invasion, deepening, and still does, its roots. All this has paved the way towards the loss of Palestine.

It is necessary to instill in the minds of the Moslem generations that the Palestinian problem is a religious problem, and should be dealt with on this basis. Palestine contains Islamic holy sites. In it there is al- Aqsa Mosque which is bound to the great Mosque in Mecca in an inseparable bond as long as heaven and earth speak of Isra (Mohammed's midnight journey to the seven heavens) and Mi'raj (Mohammed's ascension to the seven heavens from Jerusalem).

"The bond of one day for the sake of Allah is better than the world and whatever there is on it. The place of one's whip in Paradise is far better than the world and whatever there is on it. A worshipper's going and coming in the service of Allah is better than the world and whatever there is on it." (As related by al-Bukhari, Moslem, al-Tarmdhi and Ibn Maja).

"I swear by the holder of Mohammed's soul that I would like to invade and be killed for the sake of Allah, then invade and be killed, and then invade again and be killed." (As related by al-Bukhari and Moslem).

The Education of the Generations:

ARTICLE 16: It is necessary to follow Islamic orientation in educating the Islamic generations in our region by teaching the religious duties, comprehensive study of the Koran, the study of the Prophet's Sunna (his sayings and doings), and learning about Islamic history and heritage from their authentic sources. This should be done by specialised and learned people, using a curriculum that would healthily form the thoughts and faith of the Moslem student. Side by side with this, a comprehensive study of the enemy, his human and financial capabilities, learning about his points of weakness and strength, and getting to know the forces supporting and helping him, should also be included. Also, it is important to be acquainted with the current events, to follow what is new and to study the analysis and commentaries made of these events. Planning for the present and future, studying every trend appearing, is a must so that the fighting Moslem would live knowing his aim, objective and his way in the midst of what is going on around him.

"O my son, verily every matter, whether good or bad, though it be the weight of a grain of mustard-seed, and be hidden in a rock, or in the heavens, or in the earth, Allah will bring the same to light; for Allah is clear-sighted and knowing. O my son, be constant at prayer, and command that which is just, and forbid that which is evil: and be patient under the afflictions which shall befall thee; for this is a duty absolutely incumbent on all men. Distort not thy face out of contempt to men, neither walk in the earth with insolence; for Allah loveth no arrogant, vain-glorious person." (Lokman - verses 16-18).

The Role of the Moslem Woman:

ARTICLE 17: The Moslem woman has a role no less important than that of the moslem man in the battle of liberation. She is the maker of men. Her role in guiding and educating the new generations is great. The enemies have realised the importance of her role. They consider that if they are able to direct and bring her up they way they wish, far from Islam, they would have won the battle. That is why you find them giving these attempts constant attention through information campaigns, films, and the school curriculum, using for that purpose their lackeys who are infiltrated through Zionist Organisations under various names and shapes, such as Freemasons, Rotary Clubs, espionage groups and others, which are all nothing more than cells of subversion and saboteurs. These Organisations have ample resources that enable them to play their role in societies for the purpose of achieving the Zionist targets and to deepen the concepts that would serve the enemy. These Organisations operate in the absence of Islam and its estrangement among its people. The Islamic peoples should perform their role in confronting the conspiracies of these saboteurs. The day Islam is in control of guiding the affairs of life, these Organisations, hostile to humanity and Islam, will be obliterated.

ARTICLE 18: Woman in the home of the fighting family, whether she is a mother or a sister, plays the most important role in looking after the family, rearing the children and embuing them with moral values and thoughts derived from Islam. She has to teach them to perform the religious duties in preparation for the role of fighting awaiting them. That is why it is necessary to pay great attention to schools and the curriculum followed in educating Moslem girls, so that they would grow up to be good mothers, aware of their role in the battle of liberation.

She has to be of sufficient knowledge and understanding where the performance of housekeeping matters are concerned, because economy and avoidance of waste of the family budget, is one of the requirements for the ability to continue moving forward in the difficult conditions surrounding us. She should put before her eyes the fact that the money available to her is just like blood which should never flow except through the veins so that both children and grown-ups could continue to live.

"Verily, the Moslems of either sex, and the true believers of either sex, and the devout men, and the devout women, and the men of veracity, and the women of veracity, and the patient men, and the patient women, and the humble men, and the humble women, and the alms-givers of either sex who remember Allah frequently; for them hath Allah prepared forgiveness and a great reward." (The Confederates - verse 25).

The Role of Islamic Art in the Battle of Liberation:

ARTICLE 19: Art has regulations and measures by which it can be determined whether it is Islamic or pre-Islamic (Jahili) art. The issues of Islamic liberation are in need of Islamic art that would take the spirit high, without raising one side of human nature above the other, but rather raise all of them harmoniously an in equilibrium.

Man is a unique and wonderful creature, made out of a handful of clay and a breath from Allah. Islamic art addresses man on this basis, while pre-Islamic art addresses the body giving preference to the clay component in it.

The book, the article, the bulletin, the sermon, the thesis, the popular poem, the poetic ode, the song, the play and others, contain the characteristics of Islamic art, then these are among the requirements of ideological mobilization, renewed food for the journey and recreation for the soul. The road is long and suffering is plenty. The soul will be bored, but Islamic art renews the energies, resurrects the movement, arousing in them lofty meanings and proper conduct. "Nothing can improve the self if it is in retreat except shifting from one mood to another."

All this is utterly serious and no jest, for those who are fighters do not jest.

Social Mutual Responsibility:

ARTICLE 20: Moslem society is a mutually responsible society. The Prophet, prayers and greetings be unto him, said: "Blessed are the generous, whether they were in town or on a journey, who have collected all that they had and shared it equally among themselves."

The Islamic spirit is what should prevail in every Moslem society. The society that confronts a vicious enemy which acts in a way similar to Nazism, making no differentiation between man and woman, between children and old people - such a society is entitled to this Islamic spirit. Our enemy relies on the methods of collective punishment. He has deprived people of their homeland and properties, pursued them in their places of exile and gathering, breaking bones, shooting at women, children and old people, with or without a reason. The enemy has opened detention camps where thousands and thousands of people are thrown and kept under sub-human conditions. Added to this, are the demolition of houses, rendering children orphans, meting cruel sentences against thousands of young people, and causing them to spend the best years of their lives in the dungeons of prisons.

In their Nazi treatment, the Jews made no exception for women or children. Their policy of striking fear in the heart is meant for all. They attack people where their breadwinning is concerned, extorting their money and threatening their honour. They deal with people as if they were the worst war criminals. Deportation from the homeland is a kind of murder.

To counter these deeds, it is necessary that social mutual responsibility should prevail among the people. The enemy should be faced by the people as a single body which if one member of it should complain, the rest of the body would respond by feeling the same pains.

ARTICLE 21: Mutual social responsibility means extending assistance, financial or moral, to all those who are in need and joining in the execution of some of the work. Members of the Islamic Resistance Movement should consider the interests of the masses as their own personal interests. They must spare no effort in achieving and preserving them. They must prevent any foul play with the future of the upcoming generations and anything that could cause loss to society. The masses are part of them and they are part of the masses. Their strength is theirs, and their future is theirs. Members of the Islamic Resistance Movement should share the people's joy and grief, adopt the demands of the public and whatever means by which they could be realised. The day that such a spirit prevails, brotherliness would deepen, cooperation, sympathy and unity will be enhanced and the ranks will be solidified to confront the enemies.

Supportive Forces Behind the Enemy:

ARTICLE 22: For a long time, the enemies have been planning, skillfully and with precision, for the achievement of what they have attained. They took into consideration the causes affecting the current of events. They strived to amass great and substantive material wealth which they devoted to the realisation of their dream. With their money, they took control of the world media, news agencies, the press, publishing houses, broadcasting stations, and others. With their money they stirred revolutions in various parts of the world with the purpose of achieving their interests and reaping the fruit therein. They were behind the French Revolution, the Communist revolution and most of the revolutions we heard and hear about, here and there. With their money they formed secret societies, such as Freemasons, Rotary Clubs, the Lions and others in different parts of the world for the purpose of sabotaging societies and achieving Zionist interests. With their money they were able to control imperialistic countries and instigate them to colonize many countries in order to enable them to exploit their resources and spread corruption there.

You may speak as much as you want about regional and world wars. They were behind World War I, when they were able to destroy the Islamic Caliphate, making financial gains and controlling resources. They obtained the Balfour Declaration, formed the League of Nations through which they could rule the world. They were behind World War II, through which they made huge financial gains by trading in armaments, and paved the way for the establishment of their state. It was they who instigated the replacement of the League of Nations with the United Nations and the Security Council to enable them to rule the world through them. There is no war going on anywhere, without having their finger in it.

"So often as they shall kindle a fire for war, Allah shall extinguish it; and they shall set their minds to act corruptly in the earth, but Allah loveth not the corrupt doers." (The Table - verse 64).

The imperialistic forces in the Capitalist West and Communist East, support the enemy with all their might, in money and in men. These forces take turns in doing that. The day Islam appears, the forces of infidelity would unite to challenge it, for the infidels are of one nation.

"O true believers, contract not an intimate friendship with any besides yourselves: they will not fail to corrupt you. They wish for that which may cause you to perish: their hatred hath already appeared from out of their mouths; but what their breasts conceal is yet more inveterate. We have already shown

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you signs of their ill will towards you, if ye understand." (The Family of Imran - verse 118).

It is not in vain that the verse is ended with Allah's words "if ye understand."

OUR ATTITUDES TOWARDS:

A.) Islamic Movements:

ARTICLE 23: The Islamic Resistance Movement views other Islamic movements with respect and appreciation. If it were at variance with them on one point or opinion, it is in agreement with them on other points and understandings. It considers these movements, if they reveal good intentions and dedication to Allah, that they fall into the category of those who are trying hard since they act within the Islamic circle. Each active person has his share.

The Islamic Resistance Movement considers all these movements as a fund for itself. It prays to Allah for guidance and directions for all and it spares no effort to keep the banner of unity raised, ever striving for its realisation in accordance with the Koran and the Prophet's directives.

"And cleave all of you unto the covenant of Allah, and depart not from it, and remember the favour of Allah towards you: since ye were enemies, and he reconciled your hearts, and ye became companions and brethren by his favour: and ye were on the brink of a pit of fire, and he delivered you thence. Allah declareth unto you his signs, that ye may be directed." (The Family of Imran - Verse 102).

ARTICLE 24: The Islamic Resistance Movement does not allow slandering or speaking ill of individuals or groups, for the believer does not indulge in such malpractices. It is necessary to differentiate between this behaviour and the stands taken by certain individuals and groups. Whenever those stands are erroneous, the Islamic Resistance Movement preserves the right to expound the error and to warn against it. It will strive to show the right path and to judge the case in question with objectivity. Wise conduct is indeed the target of the believer who follows it wherever he discerns it.

"Allah loveth not the speaking ill of anyone in public, unless he who is injured call for assistance; and Allah heareth and knoweth: whether ye publish a good action, or conceal it, or forgive evil, verily Allah is gracious and powerful." (Women - verses 147-148).

B.) Nationalist Movements in the Palestinian Arena:

ARTICLE 25: The Islamic Resistance Movement respects these movements and appreciates their circumstances and the conditions surrounding and affecting them. It encourages them as long as they do not give their allegiance to the Communist East or the Crusading West. It confirms to all those who are integrated in it, or sympathetic towards it, that the Islamic Resistance Movement is a fighting movement that has a moral and enlightened look of life and the way it should cooperate with the other (movements). It detests opportunism and desires only the good of people, individuals and groups alike. It does not seek material gains, personal fame, nor does it look for a reward from others. It works with its own resources and whatever is at its disposal "and prepare for them whatever force you can", for the fulfilment of the duty, and the earning of Allah's favour. It has no other desire than that.

The Movement assures all the nationalist trends operating in the Palestinian arena for the liberation of Palestine, that it is there for their support and assistance. It will never be more than that, both in words and deeds, now and in the future. It is there to bring together and not to divide, to preserve and not to squander, to unify and not to throw asunder. It evaluates every good word, sincere effort and good offices. It closes the door in the face of side disagreements and does not lend an ear to rumours and slanders, while at the same time fully realising the right for self-defence.

Anything contrary or contradictory to these trends, is a lie disseminated by enemies or their lackeys for the purpose of sowing confusion, disrupting the ranks and occupy them with side issues.

"O true believers, if a wicked man come unto you with a tale, inquire strictly into the truth thereof; lest ye hurt people through ignorance, and afterwards repent of what ye have done." (The Inner Apartments - verse 6).

ARTICLE 26: In viewing the Palestinian nationalist movements that give allegiance neither to the East nor the West, in this positive way, the Islamic Resistance Movement does not refrain from discussing new situations on the regional or international levels where the Palestinian question is concerned. It does that in such an objective manner revealing the extent of how much it is in harmony or contradiction with the national interests in the light of the Islamic point of view.

C.) The Palestinian Liberation Organisation:

ARTICLE 27: The Palestinian Liberation Organisation is the closest to the heart of the Islamic Resistance Movement. It contains the father and the brother, the next of kin and the friend. The Moslem does not estrange himself from his father, brother, next of kin or friend. Our homeland is one, our situation is one, our fate is one and the enemy is a joint enemy to all of us.

Because of the situations surrounding the formation of the Organisation, of the ideological confusion prevailing in the Arab world as a result of the ideological invasion under whose influence the Arab world has fallen since the defeat of the Crusaders and which was, and still is, intensified through orientalists, missionaries and imperialists, the Organisation adopted the idea of the secular state. And that it how we view it.

Secularism completely contradicts religious ideology. Attitudes, conduct and decisions stem from ideologies.

That is why, with all our appreciation for The Palestinian Liberation Organisation - and what it can develop into - and without belittling its role in the Arab-Israeli conflict, we are unable to exchange the present or future Islamic Palestine with the secular idea. The Islamic nature of Palestine is part of our religion and whoever takes his religion lightly is a loser.

"Who will be adverse to the religion of Abraham, but he whose mind is infatuated? (The Cow - verse 130).

The day The Palestinian Liberation Organisation adopts Islam as its way of life, we will become its soldiers, and fuel for its fire that will burn the enemies.

Until such a day, and we pray to Allah that it will be soon, the Islamic Resistance Movement's stand towards the PLO is that of the son towards his father, the brother towards his brother, and the relative to relative, suffers his pain and supports him in confronting the enemies, wishing him to be wise and well-guided.

"Stand by your brother, for he who is brotherless is like the fighter who goes to battle without arms. One's cousin is the wing one flies with - could the bird fly without wings?"

D.) Arab and Islamic Countries:

ARTICLE 28: The Zionist invasion is a vicious invasion. It does not refrain from resorting to all methods, using all evil and contemptible ways to achieve its end. It relies greatly in its infiltration and espionage operations on the secret Organisations it gave rise to, such as the Freemasons, The Rotary and Lions clubs, and other sabotage groups. All these Organisations, whether secret or open, work in the interest of Zionism and according to its instructions. They aim at undermining societies, destroying values, corrupting consciences, deteriorating character and annihilating Islam. It is behind the drug trade and alcoholism in all its kinds so as to facilitate its control and expansion.

Arab countries surrounding Israel are asked to open their borders before the fighters from among the Arab and Islamic nations so that they could consolidate their efforts with those of their Moslem brethren in Palestine.

As for the other Arab and Islamic countries, they are asked to facilitate the movement of the fighters from and to it, and this is the least thing they could do.

We should not forget to remind every Moslem that when the Jews conquered the Holy City in 1967, they stood on the threshold of the Aqsa Mosque and proclaimed that "Mohammed is dead, and his descendants are all women."

Israel, Judaism and Jews challenge Islam and the Moslem people. "May the cowards never sleep."

E.) Nationalist and Religious Groupings, Institutions, Intellectuals, The Arab and Islamic World:

ARTICLE 29: The Islamic Resistance Movement hopes that all these groupings will side with it in all spheres, would support it, adopt its stand and solidify its activities and moves, work towards rallying support for it so that the Islamic people will be a base and a stay for it, supplying it with strategic depth an all human material and informative spheres, in time and in place. This should be done through the convening of solidarity conferences, the issuing of explanatory bulletins, favourable articles and booklets, enlightening the masses regarding the Palestinian issue, clarifying what confronts it and the conspiracies woven around it. They should mobilize the Islamic nations, ideologically, educationally and culturally, so that these peoples would be equipped to perform their role in the decisive battle of liberation, just as they did when they vanquished the Crusaders and the Tatars and saved human civilization. Indeed, that is not difficult for Allah.

"Allah hath written, Verily I will prevail, and my apostles: for Allah is strong and mighty." (The Dispute - verse 21).

ARTICLE 30: Writers, intellectuals, media people, orators, educaters and teachers, and all the various sectors in the Arab and Islamic world - all of them are called upon to perform their role, and to fulfill their duty, because of the ferocity of the Zionist offensive and the Zionist influence in many countries exercised through financial and media control, as well as the consequences that all this lead to in the greater part of the world.

Jihad is not confined to the carrying of arms and the confrontation of the enemy. The effective word, the good article, the useful book, support and solidarity - together with the presence of sincere purpose for the hoisting of Allah's banner higher and higher - all these are elements of the Jihad for Allah's sake.

"Whosoever mobilises a fighter for the sake of Allah is himself a fighter. Whosoever supports the relatives of a fighter, he himself is a fighter." (related by al-Bukhari, Moslem, Abu-Dawood and al-Tarmadhi).

F. Followers of Other Religions: The Islamic Resistance Movement Is A Humanistic Movement:

ARTICLE 31: The Islamic Resistance Movement is a humanistic movement. It takes care of human rights and is guided by Islamic tolerance when dealing with the followers of other religions. It does not antagonize anyone of them except if it is antagonized by it or stands in its way to hamper its moves and waste its efforts.

Under the wing of Islam, it is possible for the followers of the three religions - Islam, Christianity and Judaism - to coexist in peace and quiet with each other. Peace and quiet would not be possible except under the wing of Islam. Past and present history are the best witness to that.

It is the duty of the followers of other religions to stop disputing the sovereignty of Islam in this region, because the day these followers should take over there will be nothing but carnage, displacement and terror. Everyone of them is at variance with his fellow-religionists, not to speak about followers of other religionists. Past and present history are full of examples to prove this fact.

"They will not fight against you in a body, except in fenced towns, or from behind walls. Their strength in war among themselves is great: thou thinkest them to be united; but their hearts are divided. This, because they are people who do not understand." (The Emigration - verse 14).

Islam confers upon everyone his legitimate rights. Islam prevents the incursion on other people's rights. The Zionist Nazi activities against our people will not last for long. "For the state of injustice lasts but one day, while the state of justice lasts till Doomsday."

"As to those who have not borne arms against you on account of religion, nor turned you out of your dwellings, Allah forbiddeth you not to deal kindly with them, and to behave justly towards them; for Allah loveth those who act justly." (The Tried - verse 8).

The Attempt to Isolate the Palestinian People:

ARTICLE 32: World Zionism, together with imperialistic powers, try through a studied plan and an intelligent strategy to remove one Arab state after another from the circle of struggle against Zionism, in order to have it finally face the Palestinian people only. Egypt was, to a great extent, removed from the circle of the struggle, through the treacherous Camp David Agreement. They are trying to draw other Arab countries into similar agreements and to bring them outside the circle of struggle.

The Islamic Resistance Movement calls on Arab and Islamic nations to take up the line of serious and persevering action to prevent the success of this horrendous plan, to warn the people of the danger eminating from leaving the circle of struggle against Zionism. Today it is Palestine, tomorrow it will be one country or another. The Zionist plan is limitless. After Palestine, the Zionists aspire to expand from the Nile to the Euphrates. When they will have digested the region they overtook, they will aspire to further expansion, and so on. Their plan is embodied in the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion", and their present conduct is the best proof of what we are saying.

Leaving the circle of struggle with Zionism is high treason, and cursed be he who does that. "for whoso shall turn his back unto them on that day, unless he turneth aside to fight, or retreateth to another party of the faithful, shall draw on himself the indignation of Allah, and his abode shall be hell; an ill journey shall it be thither." (The Spoils - verse 16). There is no way out except by concentrating all powers and energies to face this Nazi, vicious Tatar invasion. The alternative is loss of one's country, the dispersion of citizens, the spread of vice on earth and the destruction of religious values. Let every person know that he is responsible before Allah, for "the doer of the slightest good deed is rewarded in like, and the does of the slightest evil deed is also rewarded in like."

The Islamic Resistance Movement consider itself to be the spearhead of the circle of struggle with world Zionism and a step on the road. The Movement adds its efforts to the efforts of all those who are active in the Palestinian arena. Arab and Islamic Peoples should augment by further steps on their part; Islamic groupings all over the Arab world should also do the same, since all of these are the best-equipped for the future role in the fight with the warmongering Jews.

"..and we have put enmity and hatred between them, until the day of resurrection. So often as they shall kindle a fire of war, Allah shall extinguish it; and they shall set their minds to act corruptly in the earth, but Allah loveth not the corrupt doers." (The Table - verse 64).

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ARTICLE 33: The Islamic Resistance Movement, being based on the common coordinated and interdependent conceptions of the laws of the universe, and flowing in the stream of destiny in confronting and fighting the enemies in defence of the Moslems and Islamic civilization and sacred sites, the first among which is the Aqsa Mosque, urges the Arab and Islamic peoples, their governments, popular and official groupings, to fear Allah where their view of the Islamic Resistance Movement and their dealings with it are concerned. They should back and support it, as Allah wants them to, extending to it more and more funds till Allah's purpose is achieved when ranks will close up, fighters join other fighters and masses everywhere in the Islamic world will come forward in response to the call of duty while loudly proclaiming: Hail to Jihad. Their cry will reach the heavens and will go on being resounded until liberation is achieved, the invaders vanquished and Allah's victory comes about.

"And Allah will certainly assist him who shall be on his side: for Allah is strong and mighty." (The Pilgrimage - verse 40).

THE TESTIMONY OF HISTORY

Across History in Confronting the Invaders:

ARTICLE 34: Palestine is the navel of the globe and the crossroad of the continents. Since the dawn of history, it has been the target of expansionists. The Prophet, Allah bless him and grant him salvation, had himself pointed to this fact in the noble Hadith in which he called on his honourable companion, MaAdh ben-Jabal, saying: O MaAth, Allah throw open before you, when I am gone, Syria, from Al-Arish to the Euphrates. Its men, women and slaves will stay firmly there till the Day of Judgement. Whoever of you should choose one of the Syrian shores, or the Holy Land, he will be in constant struggle till the Day of Judgement."

Expansionists have more than once put their eye on Palestine which they attacked with their armies to fulfill their designs on it. Thus it was that the Crusaders came with their armies, bringing with them their creed and carrying their Cross. They were able to defeat the Moslems for a while, but the Moslems were able to retrieve the land only when they stood under the wing of their religious banner, united their word, hallowed the name of Allah and surged out fighting under the leadership of Salah ed-Din al-Ayyubi. They fought for almost twenty years and at the end the Crusaders were defeated and Palestine was liberated.

"Say unto those who believe not, Ye shall be overcome, and thrown together into hell; an unhappy couch it shall be." (The Family of Imran - verse 12).

This is the only way to liberate Palestine. There is no doubt about the testimony of history. It is one of the laws of the universe and one of the rules of existence. Nothing can overcome iron except iron. Their false futile creed can only be defeated by the righteous Islamic creed. A creed could not be fought except by a creed, and in the last analysis, victory is for the just, for justice is certainly victorious.

"Our word hath formerly been given unto our servants the apostles; that they should certainly be assisted against the infidels, and that our armies should surely be the conquerors." (Those Who Rank Themselves - verses 171-172).

ARTICLE 35: The Islamic Resistance Movement views seriously the defeat of the Crusaders at the hands of Salah ed-Din al-Ayyubi and the rescuing of Palestine from their hands, as well as the defeat of the Tatars at Ein Galot, breaking their power at the hands of Qataz and Al-Dhaher Bivers and saving the Arab world from the Tatar onslaught which aimed at the destruction of every meaning of human civilization. The Movement draws lessons and examples from all this. The present Zionist onslaught has also been preceded by Crusading raids from the West and other Tatar raids from the East. Just as the Moslems faced those raids and planned fighting and defeating them, they should be able to confront the Zionist invasion and defeat it. This is indeed no problem for the Almighty Allah, provided that the intentions are pure, the determination is true and that Moslems have benefited from past experiences, rid themselves of the effects of ideological invasion and followed the customs of their ancestors.

The Islamic Resistance Movement is Composed of Soldiers:

ARTICLE 36: While paving its way, the Islamic Resistance Movement, emphasizes time and again to all the sons of our people, to the Arab and Islamic nations, that it does not seek personal fame, material gain, or social prominence. It does not aim to compete against any one from among our people, or take his place. Nothing of the sort at all. It will not act against any of the sons of Moslems or those who are peaceful towards it from among non-Moslems, be they here or anywhere else. It will only serve as a support for all groupings and Organisations operating against the Zionist enemy and its lackeys.

The Islamic Resistance Movement adopts Islam as its way of life. Islam is its creed and religion. Whoever takes Islam as his way of life, be it an Organisation, a grouping, a country or any other body, the Islamic Resistance Movement considers itself as their soldiers and nothing more.

We ask Allah to show us the right course, to make us an example to others and to judge between us and our people with truth. "O Lord, do thou judge between us and our nation with truth; for thou art the best judge." (Al Araf - Verse 89).

The last of our prayers will be praise to Allah, the Master of the Universe.

HAMAS CHARTER 2017

(Hamas is the Palestinian wing of the Muslim Brotherhood)

Official translation of the 2017 Charter:

In the Name of Allah Most Gracious Most Merciful

The Islamic Resistance Movement "Hamas"

A Document of General Principles and Policies

Praise be to Allah, the Lord of all worlds. May the peace and blessings of Allah be upon Muhammad, the Master of Messengers and the Leader of the mujahidin, and upon his household and all his companions.

PREAMBLE:

Palestine is the land of the Arab Palestinian people, from it they originate, to it they adhere and belong, and about it they reach out and communicate.

Palestine is a land whose status has been elevated by Islam, a faith that holds it in high esteem, that breathes through it its spirit and just values and that lays the foundation for the doctrine of defending and protecting it.

Palestine is the cause of a people who have been let down by a world that fails to secure their rights and restore to them what has been usurped from them, a people whose land continues to suffer one of the worst types of occupation in this world.

Palestine is a land that was seized by a racist, anti-human and colonial Zionist project that was founded on a false promise (the Balfour Declaration), on recognition of a usurping entity and on imposing a fait accompli by force.

Palestine symbolizes the resistance that shall continue until liberation is accomplished, until the return is fulfilled and until a fully sovereign state is established with Jerusalem as its capital.

Palestine is the true partnership among Palestinians of all affiliations for the sublime objective of liberation.

Palestine is the spirit of the Ummah and its central cause; it is the soul of humanity and its living conscience.

This document is the product of deep deliberations that led us to a strong consensus. As a movement, we agree about both the theory and the practice of the vision that is outlined in the pages that follow. It is a vision that stands on solid grounds and on well-established principles. This document unveils the goals, the milestones and the way in which national unity can be enforced. It also establishes our common understanding of the Palestinian cause, the working principles which we use to further it, and the limits of flexibility used to interpret it.

THE MOVEMENT:

1. The Islamic Resistance Movement "Hamas" is a Palestinian Islamic national liberation and resistance movement. Its goal is to liberate Palestine and confront the Zionist project. Its frame of reference is Islam, which determines its principles, objectives and means.

THE LAND OF PALESTINE:

2. Palestine, which extends from the River Jordan in the east to the Mediterranean in the west and from Ras Al-Naqurah in the north to Umm Al-Rashrash in the south, is an integral territorial unit. It is the land and the home of the Palestinian people. The expulsion and banishment of the Palestinian people from their land and the establishment of the Zionist entity therein do not annul the right of the Palestinian people to their entire land and do not entrench any rights therein for the usurping Zionist entity.

3. Palestine is an Arab Islamic land. It is a blessed sacred land that has a special place in the heart of every Arab and every Muslim.

THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE:

4. The Palestinians are the Arabs who lived in Palestine until 1947, irrespective of whether they were expelled from it, or stayed in it; and every person that was born to an Arab Palestinian father after that date, whether inside or outside Palestine, is a Palestinian.

5. The Palestinian identity is authentic and timeless; it is passed from generation to generation. The catastrophes that have befallen the Palestinian people, as a consequence of the Zionist occupation and its policy of displacement, cannot erase the identity of the Palestinian people nor can they negate it. A Palestinian shall not lose his or her national identity or rights by acquiring a second nationality.

6. The Palestinian people are one people, made up of all Palestinians, inside and outside of Palestine, irrespective of their religion, culture or political affiliation.

ISLAM AND PALESTINE:

7. Palestine is at the heart of the Arab and Islamic Ummah and enjoys a special status. Within Palestine there exists Jerusalem, whose precincts are blessed by Allah. Palestine is the Holy Land, which Allah has blessed for humanity. It is the Muslims' first Qiblah and the destination of the journey performed at night by Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him. It is the location from where he ascended to the upper heavens. It is the birthplace of Jesus Christ, peace be upon him. Its soil contains the remains of thousands of Prophets, Companions and Mujahidin. It is the land of people who are determined to defend the truth – within Jerusalem and its surroundings – who are not deterred or intimidated by those who oppose them and by those who betray them, and they will continue their mission until the Promise of Allah is fulfilled.

8. By virtue of its justly balanced middle way and moderate spirit, Islam – for Hamas - provides a comprehensive way of life and an order that is fit for purpose at all times and in all places. Islam is a religion of peace and tolerance. It provides an umbrella for the followers of other creeds and religions who can practice their beliefs in security and safety. Hamas also believes that Palestine has always been and will always be a model of coexistence, tolerance and civilizational innovation.

9. Hamas believes that the message of Islam upholds the values of truth, justice, freedom and dignity and prohibits all forms of injustice and incriminates oppressors irrespective of their religion, race, gender or nationality. Islam is against all forms of religious, ethnic or sectarian extremism and bigotry. It is the religion that inculcates in its followers the value of standing up to aggression and of supporting the oppressed; it motivates them to give generously and make sacrifices in defence of their dignity, their land, their peoples and their holy places.

JERUSALEM:

10. Jerusalem is the capital of Palestine. Its religious, historic and civilizational status is fundamental to the Arabs, Muslims and the world at large. Its Islamic and Christian holy places belong exclusively to the Palestinian people and to the Arab and Islamic Ummah. Not one stone of Jerusalem can be surrendered or relinquished. The measures undertaken by the occupiers in Jerusalem, such as Judaization, settlement building, and establishing facts on the ground are fundamentally null and void.

11. The blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque belongs exclusively to our people and our Ummah, and the occupation has no right to it whatsoever. The occupation's plots, measures and attempts to judaize Al-Aqsa and divide it are null, void and illegitimate.

THE REFUGEES AND THE RIGHT OF RETURN:

12. The Palestinian cause in its essence is a cause of an occupied land and a displaced people. The right of the Palestinian refugees and the displaced to return to their homes from which they were banished or were banned from returning to – whether in the lands occupied in 1948 or in 1967 (that is the whole of Palestine), is a natural right, both individual and collective. This right is confirmed by all divine laws as well as by the basic principles of human rights and international law. It is an inalienable right and cannot be dispensed with by any party, whether Palestinian, Arab or international.

13. Hamas rejects all attempts to erase the rights of the refugees, including the attempts to settle them outside Palestine and through the projects of the alternative homeland. Compensation to the Palestinian refugees for the harm they have suffered as a consequence of banishing them and occupying their land is an absolute right that goes hand in hand with their right to return. They are to receive compensation upon their return and this does not negate or diminish their right to return.

THE ZIONIST PROJECT:

14. The Zionist project is a racist, aggressive, colonial and expansionist project based on seizing the properties of others; it is hostile to the Palestinian people and to their aspiration for freedom, liberation, return and self-determination. The Israeli entity is the plaything of the Zionist project and its base of aggression.

15. The Zionist project does not target the Palestinian people alone; it is the enemy of the Arab and Islamic Ummah posing a grave threat to its security and interests. It is also hostile to the Ummah's aspirations for unity, renaissance and liberation and has been the major source of its troubles. The Zionist project also poses a danger to international security and peace and to mankind and its interests and stability.

16. Hamas affirms that its conflict is with the Zionist project not with the Jews because of their religion. Hamas does not wage a struggle against the Jews because they are Jewish but wages a struggle against the Zionists who occupy Palestine. Yet, it is the Zionists who constantly identify

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Judaism and the Jews with their own colonial project and illegal entity.

17. Hamas rejects the persecution of any human being or the undermining of his or her rights on nationalist, religious or sectarian grounds. Hamas is of the view that the Jewish problem, anti-Semitism and the persecution of the Jews are phenomena fundamentally linked to European history and not to the history of the Arabs and the Muslims or to their heritage. The Zionist movement, which was able with the help of Western powers to occupy Palestine, is the most dangerous form of settlement occupation which has already disappeared from much of the world and must disappear from Palestine.

THE POSITION TOWARD OCCUPATION AND POLITICAL SOLUTIONS:

18. The following are considered null and void: the Balfour Declaration, the British Mandate Document, the UN Palestine Partition Resolution, and whatever resolutions and measures that derive from them or are similar to them. The establishment of "Israel" is entirely illegal and contravenes the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and goes against their will and the will of the Ummah; it is also in violation of human rights that are guaranteed by international conventions, foremost among them is the right to self-determination.

19. There shall be no recognition of the legitimacy of the Zionist entity. Whatever has befallen the land of Palestine in terms of occupation, settlement building, Judaization or changes to its features or falsification of facts is illegitimate. Rights never lapse.

20. Hamas believes that no part of the land of Palestine shall be compromised or conceded, irrespective of the causes, the circumstances and the pressures and no matter how long the occupation lasts. Hamas rejects any alternative to the full and complete liberation of Palestine, from the river to the sea. However, without compromising its rejection of the Zionist entity and without relinquishing any Palestinian rights, Hamas considers the establishment of a fully sovereign and independent Palestinian state, with Jerusalem as its capital along the lines of the 4th of June 1967, with the return of the refugees and the displaced to their homes from which they were expelled, to be a formula of national consensus.

21. Hamas affirms that the Oslo Accords and their addenda contravene the governing rules of international law in that they generate commitments that violate the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Therefore, the Movement rejects these agreements and all that flows from them, such as the obligations that are detrimental to the interests of our people, especially security coordination (collaboration).

22. Hamas rejects all the agreements, initiatives and settlement projects that are aimed at undermining the Palestinian cause and the rights of our Palestinian people. In this regard, any stance, initiative or political programme must not in any way violate these rights and should not contravene them or contradict them.

23. Hamas stresses that transgression against the Palestinian people, usurping their land and banishing them from their homeland cannot be called peace. Any settlements reached on this basis will not lead to peace. Resistance and jihad for the liberation of Palestine will remain a legitimate right, a duty and an honour for all the sons and daughters of our people and our Ummah.

RESISTANCE AND LIBERATION:

24. The liberation of Palestine is the duty of the Palestinian people in particular and the duty of the Arab and Islamic Ummah in general. It is also a humanitarian obligation as necessitated by the dictates of truth and justice. The agencies working for Palestine, whether national, Arab, Islamic or humanitarian, complement each other and are harmonious and not in conflict with each other.

25. Resisting the occupation with all means and methods is a legitimate right guaranteed by divine laws and by international norms and laws. At the heart of these lies armed resistance, which is regarded as the strategic choice for protecting the principles and the rights of the Palestinian people.

26. Hamas rejects any attempt to undermine the resistance and its arms. It also affirms the right of our people to develop the means and mechanisms of resistance. Managing resistance, in terms of escalation or de-escalation, or in terms of diversifying the means and methods, is an integral part of the process of managing the conflict and should not be at the expense of the principle of resistance.

THE PALESTINIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM:

27. A real state of Palestine is a state that has been liberated. There is no alternative to a fully sovereign Palestinian State on the entire national Palestinian soil, with Jerusalem as its capital.

28. Hamas believes in, and adheres to, managing its Palestinian relations on the basis of pluralism, democracy, national partnership, acceptance of the other and the adoption of dialogue. The aim is to bolster the unity of ranks and joint action for the purpose of accomplishing national goals and fulfilling the aspirations of the Palestinian people.

29. The PLO is a national framework for the Palestinian people inside and outside of Palestine. It should therefore be preserved, developed and rebuilt on democratic foundations so as to secure the participation of all the constituents and forces of the Palestinian people, in a manner that safeguards Palestinian rights.

30. Hamas stresses the necessity of building Palestinian national institutions on sound democratic principles, foremost among them are free and fair elections. Such process should be on the basis of national partnership and in accordance with a clear programme and a clear strategy that adhere to the rights, including the right of resistance, and which fulfil the aspirations of the Palestinian people.

31. Hamas affirms that the role of the Palestinian Authority should be to serve the Palestinian people and safeguard their security, their rights and their national project.

32. Hamas stresses the necessity of maintaining the independence of Palestinian national decision-making. Outside forces should not be allowed to intervene. At the same time, Hamas affirms the responsibility of the Arabs and the Muslims and their duty and role in the liberation of Palestine from Zionist occupation.

33. Palestinian society is enriched by its prominent personalities, figures, dignitaries, civil society institutions, and youth, students, trade unionist and women's groups who together work for the achievement of national goals and societal building, pursue resistance, and achieve liberation.

34. The role of Palestinian women is fundamental in the process of building the present and the future, just as it has always been in the process of making Palestinian history. It is a pivotal role in the project of resistance, liberation and building the political system.

THE ARAB AND ISLAMIC UMMA:

35. Hamas believes that the Palestinian issue is the central cause for the Arab and Islamic Umma.

36. Hamas believes in the unity of the Ummah with all its diverse constituents and is aware of the need to avoid anything that could fragment the Ummah and undermine its unity.

37. Hamas believes in cooperating with all states that support the rights of the Palestinian people. It opposes intervention in the internal affairs of any country. It also refuses to be drawn into disputes and conflicts that take place among different countries. Hamas adopts the policy of opening up to different states in the world, especially the Arab and Islamic states. It endeavours to establish balanced relations on the basis of combining the requirements of the Palestinian cause and the Palestinian people's interests on the one hand with the interests of the Ummah, its renaissance and its security on the other.

THE HUMANITARIAN AND INTERNATIONAL ASPECT:

38. The Palestinian issue is one that has major humanitarian and international dimensions. Supporting and backing this cause is a humanitarian and civilizational task that is required by the prerequisites of truth, justice and common humanitarian values.

39. From a legal and humanitarian perspective, the liberation of Palestine is a legitimate activity, it is an act of self-defence, and it is the expression of the natural right of all peoples to self-determination.

40. In its relations with world nations and peoples, Hamas believes in the values of cooperation, justice, freedom and respect of the will of the people.

41. Hamas welcomes the stances of states, organisations and institutions that support the rights of the Palestinian people. It salutes the free peoples of the world who support the Palestinian cause. At the same time, it denounces the support granted by any party to the Zionist entity or the attempts to cover up its crimes and aggression against the Palestinians and calls for the prosecution of Zionist war criminals.

42. Hamas rejects the attempts to impose hegemony on the Arab and Islamic Ummah just as it rejects the attempts to impose hegemony on the rest of the world's nations and peoples. Hamas also condemns all forms of colonialism, occupation, discrimination, oppression and aggression in the world.

THE ISLAMIC DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, 1990

or: The Cairo Declaration
on Human Rights in Islam
or: The Declaration
of Sharia Rights for the World

(ATTENTION: This Declaration reflects what Mohammed said and did, written down in the Koran, the Sira, the Hadith, and the Sharia law. In Islam, the contents of this Declaration are legal and in accordance with all what Islamic jurisprudence is based on! Some of the parts of this Declaration are debated by radical Muslims as they might view them as "too lenient and concessional to non-Muslims". In the viewpoint of a true Muslim, all those who plea for a so-called "moderate Islam" are extremists and heretics.)

(On 5 August 1990, 45 foreign ministers of the "Organisation of Islamic Cooperation" adopted the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam (Cairo Declaration) to serve as a guidance for the member states in the matters of human rights in as much as they are compatible with the Koranic Sharia Law.

This declaration is widely acknowledged as an Islamic response to the United Nations's Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN Declaration), adopted in 1948. Various Muslim countries had criticised the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights for its failure to take into account the cultural and religious context of non-Western countries.

It guarantees many of the same rights as the UN Declaration and serves as a living document of human rights guidelines prescribed for all members of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation to follow, but restricts them explicitly to the limits set by the Sharia. Because of this limit, the Cairo Declaration has been criticised by the so-called "liberal" elite of western countries as an attempt to shield Organisation of Islamic Cooperation member states from international criticism for human rights violations, as well as for failing to guarantee freedom of religion, justifying corporal punishment and allowing discrimination against non-Muslims and women. As usual, the thinking of that elite is wrong for the reason that their arrogance prevents them to study the Koran, the Sira, the Hadith and the Sharia. If they had done so, they would have known that the Islamic states had no other option than creating their own Cairo Declaration. In 1981, Said Rajaie-Khorassani—the Iranian representative to the UN—made the Islamic position clear by saying that the UN Declaration was a relativistic secular understanding of the Judeo-Christian tradition, which could not be implemented by Muslims without trespassing Islamic law.

The Cairo Declaration failed to give women equal rights but only affords women "equal human dignity", "own rights to enjoy", "duties to perform", "own civil entity", "financial independence", and the "right to retain her name and lineage". Both men and women are given the "right to marriage" regardless of their race, colour, or nationality. The Declaration makes it incumbent upon both parents to protect the child, both before and after birth, while stressing that the husband is responsible for the social and financial protection of his family, including any children and other "wives".

Article 10 of the Declaration states: "Islam is the religion of unspoiled nature. It is prohibited to exercise any form of compulsion on man or to exploit his poverty or ignorance in order to convert him to another religion or to atheism." Since in Islamic society all reasons for conversion away from Islam are considered to be essentially either compulsion or ignorance, this effectively forbids conversion away from Islam.

Article 19 stipulates that there are no other crimes or punishments than those mentioned in the Sharia. Sharia allows corporal punishment (whipping, amputation) and capital punishment by stoning or decapitation. The right to hold public office can only be exercised in accordance with the sharia, meaning that any non-Muslims have no right to rule over Muslims.

The Organisation of Islamic Cooperation is the driving force behind all this. According to its charter, it aims to preserve Islamic social and economic values; promote solidarity amongst member states; increase cooperation in social, economic, cultural, scientific, and political areas; uphold international peace and security; and advance education, particularly in the fields of science and technology.

The collapse of the Ottoman Empire after World War I and the abolishment of the Caliphate by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk in 1924 left a vacuum. Muslims have craved for a pan-Islamic institution that would serve the common political, economic, and social interests of the Umma (the world-wide community of all Muslims) ever since. The foundation of the Muslim Brotherhood in 1928 and of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation in 1969 were the answers to that vacuum. The Organisation of Islamic Cooperation consists of 57 member states, with a collective population of over 1.8 billion as of 2015 today, with 53 countries being Muslim-majority countries. The organisation states that it is "the collective voice of the Muslim world" (meaning: it is the largest voting block in the United Nations Organisation) and works to "safeguard and protect the interests of the Muslim world in the spirit of promoting international peace and harmony" (meaning: establishing the Sharia law where ever possible in order to build the Dar as-Salam, the "House of Peace".).

In March 2008, the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation conducted a formal revision of its charter. The revised charter set out to promote human rights, fundamental freedoms, and good governance in all member states. The revisions also removed any mention of the Cairo Declaration on Human

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Rights in Islam. Within the revised charter, the OIC has chosen to support the Charter of the United Nations and international law, without mentioning the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.)

CAIRO DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN ISLAM (1990)
Organisation of Islamic Conference

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WORLD CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS
Preparatory Committee; Fourth session
Geneva, 19 April - 7 May 1993
Item 5 on the provisional agenda

STATUS OF PREPARATION OF PUBLICATIONS, STUDIES AND DOCUMENTS FOR THE WORLD CONFERENCE
Note by the Secretariat
Addendum
Contribution of the Orqanisation of the Islamic Conference

The attention of the Preparatory Committee is drawn to the attached contribution submitted by Dr. N.S. Tarzi, the Ambassador of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference to the Office of the United Nations at Geneva. The contribution consists of the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam, which was adopted on 5 August 1990, and also resolution 41/21-P of the Twenty-First Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Session of Islamic Unity and Co-operation for Peace, Justice and Progress) held in Karachi from 25 to 29 April 1993. In this resolution it was requested that the Cairo Declaration and the resolution be considered as a contribution of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference to the World Conference on Human Rights.

The Organisation of the Islamic Conference
ANNEX TO RES. No. 49/19 – P

THE CAIRO DECLARATION
ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN ISLAM

The Member States of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference,

Reaffirming the civilizing and historical role of the Islamic Ummah which God made the best nation that has given mankind a universal and well-balanced civilization in which harmony is established between this life and the hereafter and knowledge is combined with faith; and the role that this Ummah should play to guide a humanity confused by competing trends and ideologies and to prove solutions to the chronic problems of this materialistic civilization.

Wishing to contribute to the efforts of mankind to assert human rights, to protect man from exploitation and persecution, and to affirm his freedom and right to a dignified life in accordance with the Islamic Sharia

Convinced that mankind which has reached an advanced stage in materialistic science is still, and shall remain, in dire need of faith to support its civilization and of a self motivating force to guard its rights;

Believing that fundamental rights and universal freedoms in Islam are an integral part of the Islamic religion and that no one as a matter of principle has the right to suspend them either in whole or in part or violate or ignore them in as much as they are binding divine commandments, which are contained in the Revealed Books of God and were sent through the last of His Prophets to complete the preceding divine messages and thereby making their observance an act of worship and their neglect or violation an abominable sin, and accordingly every person is individually responsible - and the Ummah collectively responsible - for their safeguard.

Proceeding from the above-mentioned principles,
Declare the following:

ARTICLE 1: (a) All human beings form one family whose members are united by submission to God and descent from Adam. All men are equal in terms of basic human dignity and basic obligations and responsibilities, without any discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, language, sex, religious belief, political affiliation, social status or other considerations. True faith is the guarantee for enhancing such dignity along the path to human perfection.

(b) All human beings are God's subjects, and the most loved by Him are those who are most useful to the rest of His subjects, and no one has superiority over another except on the basis of piety and good deeds.

ARTICLE 2: (a) Life is a God-given gift and the right to life is guaranteed to every human being. It is the duty of individuals, societies and states to protect this right from any violation, and it is prohibited to take away life except for a Sharia prescribed reason.

(b) It is forbidden to resort to such means as may result in the genocidal annihilation of mankind.

(c) The preservation of human life throughout the term of time willed by God is a duty prescribed by Sharia

(d) Safety from bodily harm is a guaranteed right. It is the duty of the state to safeguard it, and it is prohibited to breach it without a Sharia-prescribed reason.

ARTICLE 3: (a) In the event of the use of force and in case of armed conflict, it is not permissible to kill non-belligerents such as old man, women and children. The wounded and the sick shall have the right to medical treatment; and prisoners of war shall have the right to be fed, sheltered and clothed. It is prohibited to mutilate dead bodies. It is a duty to exchange prisoners of war and to arrange visits or reunions of the families separated by the circumstances of war.

(b) It is prohibited to fell trees, to damage crops or livestock, and to destroy the enemy's civilian buildings and installations by shelling, blasting or any other means.

ARTICLE 4: Every human being is entitled to inviolability and the protection of his good name and honour during his life and after his death. The state and society shall protect his remains and burial place.

ARTICLE 5: (a) The family is the foundation of society, and marriage is the basis of its formation. Men and women have the right to marriage, and no restrictions stemming from race, colour or nationality shall prevent them from enjoying this right.

(b) Society and the State shall remove all obstacles to marriage and shall facilitate marital procedure. They shall ensure family protection and welfare.

ARTICLE 6: (a) Woman is equal to man in human dignity, and has rights to enjoy as well as duties to perform; she has her own civil entity and financial independence, and the right to retain her name and lineage.

(b) The husband is responsible for the support and welfare of the family.

ARTICLE 7: (a) As of the moment of birth, every child has rights due from the parents, society and the state to be accorded proper nursing, education and material, hygienic and moral care. Both the fetus and the mother must be protected and accorded special care.

(b) Parents and those in such like capacity have the right to choose the type of education they desire for their children, provided they take into consideration the interest and future of the children in accordance with ethical values and the principles of the Sharia

(c) Both parents are entitled to certain rights from their children, and relatives are entitled to rights from their kin, in accordance with the tenets of the Sharia.

ARTICLE 8: Every human being has the right to enjoy his legal capacity in terms of both obligation and commitment, should this capacity be lost or impaired, he shall be represented by his guardian.

ARTICLE 9: (a) The guestion for knowledge is an obligation and the provision of education is a duty for society and the State. The State shall ensure the availability of ways and means to acquire education and shall guarantee educational diversity in the interest of society so as to enable man to be acquainted with the religion of Islam and the facts of the Universe for the benefit of mankind.

(b) Every human being has the right to receive both religious and worldly education from the various institutions of, education and guidance, including the family, the school, the university, the media, etc., and in such an integrated and balanced manner as to develop his personality, strengthen his faith in God and promote his respect for and defence of both rights and obligations.

ARTICLE 10: Islam is the religion of unspoiled nature. It is prohibited to exercise any form of compulsion on man or to exploit his poverty or ignorance in order to convert him to another religion or to atheism.

ARTICLE 11: (a) Human beings are born free, and no one has the right to enslave, humiliate, oppress or exploit them, and there can be no subjugation but to God the Most-High.

(b) Colonialism of all types being one of the most evil forms of enslavement is totally prohibited. Peoples suffering from colonialism have the full right to freedom and self-determination. It is the duty of all States and peoples to support the struggle of colonized peoples for the liquidation of all forms of colonialism and occupation, and all States and peoples have the right to preserve their independent identity and exercise control over their wealth and natural resources.

ARTICLE 12: Every man shall have the right, within the framework of Sharia, to free movement and to select his place of residence whether inside or outside his country and if persecuted, is entitled to seek asylum in another country. The country of refuge shall ensure his protection until he reaches safety, unless asylum is motivated by an act which Sharia regards as a crime.

ARTICLE 13: Work is a right guaranteed by the State and Society for each person able to work. Everyone shall be free to choose the work that suits him best and which serves his interests and those of society. The employee shall have the right to safety and security as well as to all other social guarantees. He may neither be assigned work beyond his capacity nor be subjected to compulsion or exploited or harmed in any way. He shall be entitled - without any discrimination between males and females - to fair wages for his work without delay, as well as to the holidays allowances and promotions which he deserves. For his part, he shall be required to be dedicated and meticulous in his work. Should workers and employers disagree on any matter, the State shall intervene to settle the dispute and have the grievances redressed, the rights confirmed and justice enforced without bias.

ARTICLE 14: Everyone shall have the right to legitimate gains without monopolization, deceit or harm to oneself or to others. Usury (riba) is absolutely prohibited.

ARTICLE 15: (a) Everyone shall have the right to own property acquired in a legitimate way, and shall be entitled to the rights of ownership, without prejudice to oneself, others or to society in general. Expropriation is not permissible except for the requirements of public interest and upon payment of immediate and fair compensation.

(b) Confiscation and seizure of property is prohibited except for a necessity dictated by law.

ARTICLE 16: Everyone shall have the right to enjoy the fruits of his scientific, literary, artistic or technical production and the right to protect the moral and material interests stemming there from, provided that such production is not contrary to the principles of Sharia.

ARTICLE 17: (a) Everyone shall have the right to live in a clean environment, away from vice and moral corruption, an environment that would foster his self-development and it is incumbent upon the State and society in general to afford that right.

(b) Everyone shall have the right to medical and social care, and to all public amenities provided by society and the State within the limits of their available resources.

(c) The State shall ensure the right of the individual to a decent living which will enable him to meet all is requirements and those of his dependents, including food, clothing, housing, education, medical care and all other basic needs.

ARTICLE 18: (a) Everyone shall have the right to live in security for himself, his religion, his dependents, his honour and his property.

(b) Everyone shall have the right to privacy in the conduct of his private affairs, in his home, among his family, with regard to his property and his relationships. It is not permitted to spy on him, to place him under surveillance or to besmirch his good name. The State shall protect him from arbitrary interference.

(c) A private residence is inviolable in all cases. It will not be entered without permission from its inhabitants or in any unlawful manner, nor shall it be demolished or confiscated and its dwellers evicted.

ARTICLE 19: (a) All individuals are equal before the law, without distinction between the ruler and the ruled.

(b) The right to resort to justice is guaranteed to everyone.

(c) Liability is in essence personal.

(d) There shall be no crime or punishment except as provided for in the Sharia

(e) A defendant is innocent until his guilt is proven in a fair trial in which he shall be given all the guarantees of defence.

ARTICLE 20: It is not permitted without legitimate reason to arrest an individual, or restrict his freedom, to exile or to punish him. It is not permitted to subject him to physical or psychological torture or to any form of humiliation, cruelty or indignity. Nor is it permitted to subject an individual to medical or scientific experimentation without his consent or at the risk of his health or of his life. Nor is it permitted to promulgate emergency laws that would provide executive authority for such actions.

ARTICLE 21: Taking hostages under any form or for any purpose is expressly forbidden.

ARTICLE 22: (a) Everyone shall have the right to express his opinion freely in such manner as would not be contrary to the principles of the Sharia.

(b) Everyone shall have the right to advocate what is right, and propagate what is good, and warn against what is wrong and evil according to the norms of Islamic Sharia

(c) Information is a vital necessity to society. It may not be exploited or misused in such a way as may violate sanctities and the dignity of Prophets, undermine moral and ethical values or disintegrate, corrupt or harm society or weaken its faith.

(d) It is not permitted to arouse nationalistic or doctrinal hatred or to do anything that may be an incitement to any form or racial discrimination.

ARTICLE 23: (a) Authority is a trust; and abuse or malicious exploitation thereof is absolutely prohibited, so that fundamental human rights may be guaranteed.

(b) Everyone shall have the right to participate, directly or indirectly in the administration of his country's public affairs. He shall also have the right to assume public office in accordance with the provisions of Sharia.

ARTICLE 24: All the rights and freedoms stipulated in this Declaration are subject to the Islamic Sharia.

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ARTICLE 25: The Islamic Sharia is the only source of reference for the explanation or clarification of any of the articles of this Declaration.

Cairo, 14 Muharram 1411 AH.
5 August 1990

ARAB CHARTER ON HUMAN RIGHTS, 2004

League of Arab States,
Arab Charter on Human Rights, May 22, 2004, reprinted in 12 Int'l Hum. Rts. Rep. 893 (2005),
entered into force March 15, 2008.

(The Arab Charter on Human Rights (ACHR), adopted by the Council of the League of Arab States on 22 May 2004, affirms the principles contained in the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants on Human Rights and the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam. It provides for a number of traditional human rights, including the right to liberty and security of persons, equality of persons before the law, protection of persons from torture, the right to own private property, freedom to practice religious observance and freedom of peaceful assembly and association. The Charter also provides for the election of a seven-person Committee of Experts on Human Rights to consider states' reports.

A first version of the Charter was created on 15 September 1994, but no state ratified it. The updated (2004) version of the Charter came into force in 2008 after seven of the members of the League of Arab States had ratified it.

On 24 January 2008, then UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Louise Arbour said the Arab charter was incompatible with the UN's understanding of universal human rights, including with respect to women's rights and capital punishment for children, in addition to other provisions in the Charter. The charter is listed on the website of her office, among texts adopted by international groups aimed at promoting and consolidating democracy.

As of November 2013 the Charter had been ratified by Algeria, Bahrain, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, the UAE and Yemen.

In 2014 Arab League states elaborated an additional treaty - the Statute of the Arab Court of Human Rights, - to allow inter-state litigation concerning violations of the Charter. The statute will enter into force after 7 ratifications. The first country to ratify it was Saudi Arabia in 2016.)

Arab Charter on Human Rights, Text:

Based on the faith of the Arab nation in the dignity of the human person whom God has exalted ever since the beginning of creation and in the fact that the Arab homeland is the cradle of religions and civilizations whose lofty human values affirm the human right to a decent life based on freedom, justice and equality,

In furtherance of the eternal principles of fraternity, equality and tolerance among human beings consecrated by the noble Islamic religion and the other divinely-revealed religions,

Being proud of the humanitarian values and principles that the Arab nation has established throughout its long history, which have played a major role in spreading knowledge between East and West, so making the region a point of reference for the whole world and a destination for seekers of knowledge and wisdom,

Believing in the unity of the Arab nation, which struggles for its freedom and defends the right of nations to self-determination, to the preservation of their wealth and to development; believing in the sovereignty of the law and its contribution to the protection of universal and interrelated human rights and convinced that the human person's enjoyment of freedom, justice and equality of opportunity is a fundamental measure of the value of any society,

Rejecting all forms of racism and Zionism, which constitute a violation of human rights and a threat to international peace and security, recognizing the close link that exists between human rights and international peace and security, reaffirming the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the provisions of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and having regard to the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam,

The States parties to the Charter have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE 1: The present Charter seeks, within the context of the national identity of the Arab States and their sense of belonging to a common civilization, to achieve the following aims:

1. To place human rights at the centre of the key national concerns of Arab States, making them lofty and fundamental ideals that shape the will of the individual in Arab States and enable him to improve his life in accordance with noble human values.

2. To teach the human person in the Arab States pride in his identity, loyalty to his country, attachment to his land, history and common interests and to instill in him a culture of human brotherhood, tolerance and openness towards others, in accordance with universal principles and values and with those proclaimed in international human rights instruments.

3. To prepare the new generations in Arab States for a free and responsible life in a civil society that is characterized by solidarity, founded on a balance between awareness of rights and respect for obligations, and governed by the values of equality, tolerance and moderation.

4. To entrench the principle that all human rights are universal, indivisible, interdependent and interrelated.

ARTICLE 2: 1. All peoples have the right of self-determination and to control over their natural wealth and resources, and the right to freely choose their political system and to freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

2. All peoples have the right to national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

3. All forms of racism, Zionism and foreign occupation and domination constitute an impediment to human dignity and a major barrier to the exercise of the fundamental rights of peoples; all such practices must be condemned and efforts must be deployed for their elimination.

4. All peoples have the right to resist foreign occupation.

ARTICLE 3: 1. Each State party to the present Charter undertakes to ensure to all individuals subject to its jurisdiction the right to enjoy the rights and freedoms set forth herein, without distinction on grounds of race, colour, sex, language, religious belief, opinion, thought, national or social origin, wealth, birth or physical or mental disability.

2. The States parties to the present Charter shall take the requisite measures to guarantee effective equality in the enjoyment of all the rights and freedoms enshrined in the present Charter in order to ensure protection against all forms of discrimination based on any of the grounds mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

3. Men and women are equal in respect of human dignity, rights and obligations within the framework of the positive discrimination established in favour of women by the Islamic Shariah, other divine laws and by applicable laws and legal instruments. Accordingly, each State party pledges to take all the requisite measures to guarantee equal opportunities and effective equality between men and women in the enjoyment of all the rights set out in this Charter.

ARTICLE 4: 1. In exceptional situations of emergency which threaten the life of the nation and the existence of which is officially proclaimed, the States parties to the present Charter may take measures derogating from their obligations under the present Charter, to the extent strictly required by the exigencies of the situation, provided that such measures are not inconsistent with their other obligations under international law and do not involve discrimination solely on the grounds of race, colour, sex, language, religion or social origin.

2. In exceptional situations of emergency, no derogation shall be made from the following articles: article 5, article 8, article 9, article 10, article 13, article 14, paragraph 6, article 15, article 18, article 19, article 20, article 22, article 27, article 28, article 29 and article 30. In addition, the judicial guarantees required for the protection of the aforementioned rights may not be suspended.

3. Any State party to the present Charter availing itself of the right of derogation shall immediately inform the other States parties, through the intermediary of the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, of the provisions from which it has derogated and of the reasons by which it was actuated. A further communication shall be made, through the same intermediary, on the date on which it terminates such derogation.

ARTICLE 5: 1. Every human being has the inherent right to life.

2. This right shall be protected by law. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his life.

ARTICLE 6: Sentence of death may be imposed only for the most serious crimes in accordance with the laws in force at the time of commission of the crime and pursuant to a final judgement rendered by a competent court. Anyone sentenced to death shall have the right to seek pardon or commutation of the sentence.

ARTICLE 7: 1. Sentence of death shall not be imposed on persons under 18 years of age, unless otherwise stipulated in the laws in force at the time of the commission of the crime.

2. The death penalty shall not be inflicted on a pregnant woman prior to her delivery or on a nursing mother within two years from the date of her delivery; in all cases, the best interests of the infant shall be the primary consideration.

ARTICLE 8: 1. No one shall be subjected to physical or psychological torture or to cruel, degrading, humiliating or inhuman treatment.

2. Each State party shall protect every individual subject to its jurisdiction from such practices and shall take effective measures to prevent them. The commission of, or participation in, such acts shall be regarded as crimes that are punishable by law and not subject to any statute of limitations. Each State party shall guarantee in its legal system redress for any victim of torture and the right to rehabilitation and compensation.

ARTICLE 9: No one shall be subjected to medical or scientific experimentation or to the use of his organs without his free consent and full awareness of the consequences and provided that ethical, humanitarian and professional rules are followed and medical procedures are observed to ensure his personal safety pursuant to the relevant domestic laws in force in each State party. Trafficking in human organs is prohibited in all circumstances.

ARTICLE 10: 1. All forms of slavery and trafficking in human beings are prohibited and are punishable by law. No one shall be held in slavery and servitude under any circumstances.

2. Forced labor, trafficking in human beings for the purposes of prostitution or sexual exploitation, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or any other form of exploitation or the exploitation of children in armed conflict are prohibited.

ARTICLE 11: All persons are equal before the law and have the right to enjoy its protection without discrimination.

ARTICLE 12: All persons are equal before the courts and tribunals. The States parties shall guarantee the independence of the judiciary and protect magistrates against any interference, pressure or threats. They shall also guarantee every person subject to their jurisdiction the right to seek a legal remedy before courts of all levels.

ARTICLE 13: 1. Everyone has the right to a fair trial that affords adequate guarantees before a competent, independent and impartial court that has been constituted by law to hear any criminal charge against him or to decide on his rights or his obligations. Each State party shall guarantee to those without the requisite financial resources legal aid to enable them to defend their rights.

2. Trials shall be public, except in exceptional cases that may be warranted by the interests of justice in a society that respects human freedoms and rights.

ARTICLE 14: 1. Everyone has the right to liberty and security of person. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, search or detention without a legal warrant.

2. No one shall be deprived of-his liberty except on such grounds and in such circumstances as are determined by law and in accordance with such procedure as is established thereby.

3. Anyone who is arrested shall be informed, at the time of arrest, in a language that he understands, of the reasons for his arrest and shall be promptly informed of any charges against him. He shall be entitled to contact his family members.

4. Anyone who is deprived of his liberty by arrest or detention shall have the right to request a medical examination and must be informed of that right.

5. Anyone arrested or detained on a criminal charge shall be brought promptly before a judge or other officer authorized by law to exercise judicial power and shall be entitled to trial within a reasonable time or to release. His release may be subject to guarantees to appear for trial. Pre-trial detention shall in no case be the general rule.

6. Anyone who is deprived of his liberty by arrest or detention shall be entitled to petition a competent court in order that it may decide without delay on the lawfulness of his arrest or detention and order his release if the arrest or detention is unlawful.

7. Anyone who has been the victim of arbitrary or unlawful arrest or detention shall be entitled to compensation.

ARTICLE 15: No crime and no penalty can be established without a prior provision of the law. In all circumstances, the law most favorable to the defendant shall be applied.

ARTICLE 16: Everyone charged with a criminal offence shall be presumed innocent until proved guilty by a final judgement rendered according to law and, in the course of the investigation and trial, he shall enjoy the following minimum guarantees:

1. The right to be informed promptly, in detail and in a language which he understands, of the charges against him.

2. The right to have adequate time and facilities for the preparation of his defense and to be allowed to communicate with his family.

3. The right to be tried in his presence before an ordinary court and to defend himself in person or through a lawyer of his own choosing with whom he can communicate freely and confidentially.

4. The right to the free assistance of a lawyer who will defend him if he cannot defend himself or if the interests of justice so require, and the right to the free assistance of an interpreter if he cannot understand or does not speak the language used in court.

5. The right to examine or have his lawyer examine the prosecution witnesses and to on defense according to the conditions applied to the prosecution witnesses.

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6. The right not to be compelled to testify against himself or to confess guilt.

7. The right, if convicted of the crime, to file an appeal in accordance with the law before a higher tribunal.

8. The right to respect for his security of person and his privacy in all circumstances.

ARTICLE 17: Each State party shall ensure in particular to any child at risk or any delinquent charged with an offence the right to a special legal system for minors in all stages of investigation, trial and enforcement of sentence, as well as to special treatment that takes account of his age, protects his dignity, facilitates his rehabilitation and reintegration and enables him to play a constructive role in society.

ARTICLE 18: No one who is shown by a court to be unable to pay a debt arising from a contractual obligation shall be imprisoned.

ARTICLE 19: 1. No one may be tried twice for the same offence. Anyone against whom such proceedings are brought shall have the right to challenge their legality and to demand his release.

2. Anyone whose innocence is established by a final judgement shall be entitled to compensation for the damage suffered.

ARTICLE 20: 1. All persons deprived of their liberty shall be treated with humanity and with respect for the inherent dignity of the human person.

2. Persons in pre-trial detention shall be separated from convicted persons and shall be treated in a manner consistent with their status as unconvicted persons.

3. The aim of the penitentiary system shall be to reform prisoners and effect their social rehabilitation.

ARTICLE 21: 1. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary or unlawful interference with regard to his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to unlawful attacks on his honour or his reputation.

2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

ARTICLE 22: Everyone shall have the right to recognition as a person before the law.

ARTICLE 23: Each State party to the present Charter undertakes to ensure that any person whose rights or freedoms as herein recognized are violated shall have an effective remedy, notwithstanding that the violation has been committed by persons acting in an official capacity.

ARTICLE 24: Every citizen has the right:

1. To freely pursue a political activity.

2. To take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

3. To stand for election or choose his representatives in free and impartial elections, in conditions of equality among all citizens that guarantee the free expression of his will.

4. To the opportunity to gain access, on an equal footing with others, to public office in his country in accordance with the principle of equality of opportunity.

5. To freely form and join associations with others.

6. To freedom of association and peaceful assembly.

7. No restrictions may be placed on the exercise of these rights other than those which are prescribed by law and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security or public safety, public health or morals or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others.

ARTICLE 25: Persons belonging to minorities shall not be denied the right to enjoy their own culture, to use their own language and to practice their own religion. The exercise of these rights shall be governed by law.

ARTICLE 26: 1. Everyone lawfully within the territory of a State party shall, within that territory, have the right to freedom of movement and to freely choose his residence in any part of that territory in conformity with the laws in force.

2. No State party may expel a person who does not hold its nationality but is lawfully in its territory, other than in pursuance of a decision reached in accordance with law and after that person has been allowed to submit a petition to the competent authority, unless compelling reasons of national security preclude it. Collective expulsion is prohibited under all circumstances.

ARTICLE 27: 1. No one may be arbitrarily or unlawfully prevented from leaving any country, including his own, nor prohibited from residing, or compelled to reside, in any part of that country.

2. No one may be exiled from his country or prohibited from returning thereto.

ARTICLE 28: Everyone has the right to seek political asylum in another country in order to escape persecution. This right may not be invoked by persons facing prosecution for an offence under ordinary law. Political refugees may not be extradited.

ARTICLE 29: 1. Everyone has the right to nationality. No one shall be arbitrarily or unlawfully deprived of his nationality.

2. States parties shall take such measures as they deem appropriate, in accordance with their domestic laws on nationality, to allow a child to acquire the mother's nationality, having due regard, in all cases, to the best interests of the child.

3. Non one shall be denied the right to acquire another nationality, having due regard for the domestic legal procedures in his country.

ARTICLE 30: 1. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion and no restrictions may be imposed on the exercise of such freedoms except as provided for by law.

2. The freedom to manifest one's religion or beliefs or to perform religious observances, either alone or in community with others, shall be subject only to such limitations as are prescribed by law and are necessary in a tolerant society that respects human rights and freedoms for the protection of public safety, public order, public health or morals or the fundamental rights and freedoms of others.

3. Parents or guardians have the freedom to provide for the religious and moral education of their children.

ARTICLE 31: Everyone has a guaranteed right to own private property, and shall not under any circumstances be arbitrarily or unlawfully divested of all or any part of his property.

ARTICLE 32: 1. The present Charter guarantees the right to information and to freedom of opinion and expression, as well as the right to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any medium, regardless of geographical boundaries.

2. Such rights and freedoms shall be exercised in conformity with the fundamental values of society and shall be subject only to such limitations as are required to ensure respect for the rights or reputation of others or the protection of national security, public order and public health or morals.

ARTICLE 33: 1. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society; it is based on marriage between a man and a woman. Men and women of marrying age have the right to marry and to found a family according to the rules and conditions of marriage. No marriage can take place without the full and free consent of both parties. The laws in force regulate the rights and duties of the man and woman as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

2. The State and society shall ensure the protection of the family, the strengthening of family ties, the protection of its members and the prohibition of all forms of violence or abuse in the relations among its members, and particularly against women and children. They shall also ensure the necessary protection and care for mothers, children, older persons and persons with special needs and shall provide adolescents and young persons with the best opportunities for physical and mental development.

3. The States parties shall take all necessary legislative, administrative and judicial measures to guarantee the protection, survival, development and well-being of the child in an atmosphere of freedom and dignity and shall ensure, in all cases, that the child's best interests are the basic criterion for all measures taken in his regard, whether the child is at risk of delinquency or is a juvenile offender.

4. The States parties shall take all the necessary measures to guarantee, particularly to young persons, the right to pursue a sporting activity.

ARTICLE 34: 1. The right to work is a natural right of every citizen. The State shall endeavor to provide, to the extent possible, a job for the largest number of those willing to work, while ensuring production, the freedom to choose one's work and equality of opportunity without discrimination of any kind on grounds of race, colour, sex, religion, language, political opinion, membership in a union, national origin, social origin, disability or any other situation.

2. Every worker has the right to the enjoyment of just and favourable conditions of work which ensure appropriate remuneration to meet his essential needs and those of his family and regulate working hours, rest and holidays with pay, as well as the rules for the preservation of occupational health and safety and the protection of women, children and disabled persons in the place of work.

3. The States parties recognize the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from being forced to perform any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development. To this end, and having regard to the relevant provisions of other international instruments, States parties shall in particular:

(a) Define a minimum age for admission to employment;

(b) Establish appropriate regulation of working hours and conditions;

(c) Establish appropriate penalties or other sanctions to ensure the effective endorsement of these provisions.

4. There shall be no discrimination between men and women in their enjoyment of the right to effectively benefit from training, employment and job protection and the right to receive equal remuneration for equal work.

5. Each State party shall ensure to workers who migrate to its territory the requisite protection in accordance with the laws in force.

ARTICLE 35: 1. Every individual has the right to freely form trade unions or to join trade unions and to freely pursue trade union activity for the protection of his interests.

2. No restrictions shall be placed on the exercise of these rights and freedoms except such as are prescribed by the laws in force and that are necessary for the maintenance of national security, public safety or order or for the protection of public health or morals or the rights and freedoms of others.

3. Every State party to the present Charter guarantees the right to strike within the limits laid down by the laws in force.

ARTICLE 36: The States parties shall ensure the right of every citizen to social security, including social insurance.

ARTICLE 37: The right to development is a fundamental human right and all States are required to establish the development policies and to take the measures needed to guarantee this right. They have a duty to give effect to the values of solidarity and cooperation among them and at the international level with a view to eradicating poverty and achieving economic, social, cultural and political development. By virtue of this right, every citizen has the right to participate in the realization of development and to enjoy the benefits and fruits thereof.

ARTICLE 38: Every person has the right to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, which ensures their well-being and a decent life, including food, clothing, housing, services and the right to a healthy environment. The States parties shall take the necessary measures commensurate with their resources to guarantee these rights.

ARTICLE 39: 1. The States parties recognize the right of every member of society to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health and the right of the citizen to free basic health-care services and to have access to medical facilities without discrimination of any kind.

2. The measures taken by States parties shall include the following:

(a) Development of basic health-care services and the guaranteeing of free and easy access to the centres that provide these services, regardless of geographical location or economic status.

(b) efforts to control diseaseby means of prevention and cure in order to reduce the morality rate.

(c) promotion of health awareness and health education.

(d) suppression of traditional practices which are harmful to the health of the individual.

(e) provision of the basic nutrition and safe drinking water for all.

(f) Combating environmental pollution and providing proper sanitation systems;

(g) Combating drugs, psychotropic substances, smoking and substances that are damaging to health.

ARTICLE 40: 1. The States parties undertake to ensure to persons with mental or physical disabilities a decent life that guarantees their dignity, and to enhance their self-reliance and facilitate their active participation in society.

2. The States parties shall provide social services free of charge for all persons with disabilities, shall provide the material support needed by those persons, their families or the families caring for them, and shall also do whatever is needed to avoid placing those persons in institutions. They shall in all cases take account of the best interests of the disabled person.

3. The States parties shall take all necessary measures to curtail the incidence of disabilities by all possible means, including preventive health programmes, awareness raising and education.

4. The States parties shall provide full educational services suited to persons with disabilities, taking into account the importance of integrating these persons in the educational system and the importance of vocational training and apprenticeship and the creation of suitable job opportunities in the public or private sectors.

5. The States parties shall provide all health services appropriate for persons with disabilities, including the rehabilitation of these persons with a view to integrating them into society.

6. The States parties shall enable persons with disabilities to make use of all public and private services.

ARTICLE 41: 1. The eradication of illiteracy is a binding obligation upon the State and everyone has the right to education.

2. The States parties shall guarantee their citizens free education at least throughout the primary and basic levels. All forms and levels of primary education shall be compulsory and accessible to all without discrimination of any kind.

3. The States parties shall take appropriate measures in all domains to ensure partnership between men and women with a view to achieving national development goals.

4. The States parties shall guarantee to provide education directed to the full development of the human person and to strengthening respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

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5. The States parties shall endeavour to incorporate the principles of human rights and fundamental freedoms into formal and informal education curricula and educational and training programmes.

6. The States parties shall guarantee the establishment of the mechanisms necessary to provide ongoing education for every citizen and shall develop national plans for adult education.

ARTICLE 42: 1. Every person has the right to take part in cultural life and to enjoy the benefits of scientific progress and its application.

2. The States parties undertake to respect the freedom of scientific research and creative activity and to ensure the protection of moral and material interests resulting form scientific, literary and artistic production.

3. The state parties shall work together and enhance cooperation among them at all levels, with the full participation of intellectuals and inventors and their Organisations, in order to develop and implement recreational, cultural, artistic and scientific programmes.

ARTICLE 43: Nothing in this Charter may be construed or interpreted as impairing the rights and freedoms protected by the domestic laws of the States parties or those set force in the international and regional human rights instruments which the states parties have adopted or ratified, including the rights of women, the rights of the child and the rights of persons belonging to minorities.

ARTICLE 44: The states parties undertake to adopt, in conformity with their constitutional procedures and with the provisions of the present Charter, whatever legislative or non-legislative measures that may be necessary to give effect to the rihts set forth herein.

ARTICLE 45: 1. Pursuant to this Charter, an "Arab Human Rights Committee", hereinafter refered to as "the Committee" shall be established. This Committee shall consist of seven members who shall be elected by secret ballot by the states parties to this Charter.

2. The Committee shall consist of nationals of the states parties to the present Charter, who must be highly experienced and competent in the Committee's field of work. The members of the Committee shall serve in their personal capacity and shall be fully independent and impartial.

3. The Committee shall include among its members not more than one national of a State party; such member may be re-elected only once. Due regard shall be given to the rotation principle.

4. The members of the Committee shall be elected for a four-year term, although the mandate of three of the members elected during the first election shall be for two years and shall be renewed by lot.

5. Six months prior to the date of the election, the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States shall invite the States parties to submit their nominations within the following three months. He shall transmit the list of candidates to the States parties two months prior to the date the election. The candidates who obtain the largest number of votes cast shall be elected to membership of the Committee. If, because two or more candidates have an equal number of votes, the number of candidates with the largest number of votes exceeds the number required, a second ballot will be held between the persons with equal numbers of votes. If the votes are again equal, the member or members shall be selected by lottery. The first election for membership of the Committee shall be held at least six months after the Charter enters into force.

6. The Secretary-General shall invite the States parties to a meeting at the headquarters the League of Arab States in order to elect the member of the Committee. The presence of the majority of the States parties shall constitute a quorum. If there is no quorum, the secretary-General shall call another meeting at which at least two thirds of the States parties must be present. If there is still no quorum, the Secretary-General shall call a third meeting, which will be held regardless of the number of States parties present.

7. The Secretary-General shall convene the first meeting of the Committee, during the course of which the Committee shall elect its Chairman from among its members, for a two-year n which may be renewed only once and for an identical period. The Committee shall establish its own rules of procedure and methods of work and shall determine how often it shall et. The Committee shall hold its meetings at the headquarters of the League of Arab States. ~ay also meet in any other State party to the present Charter at that party's invitation.

ARTICLE 46: 1. The Secretary-General shall declare a seat vacant after being notified by the Chairman of a member's:

(a) Death;

(b) Resignation; or

(c) If, in the unanimous, opinion of the other members, a member of the Committee has ceased to perform his functions without offering an acceptable justification or for any reason other than a temporary absence.

2. If a member's seat is declared vacant pursuant to the provisions of paragraph 1 and the term of office of the member to be replaced does not expire within six months from the date on which the vacancy was declared, the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States shall refer the matter to the States parties to the present Charter, which may, within two months, submit nominations, pursuant to article 45, in order to fill the vacant seat.

3. The Secretary-General of the League of Arab States shall draw up an alphabetical list of all the duly nominated candidates, which he shall transmit to the States parties to the present Charter. The elections to fill the vacant seat shall be held in accordance with the relevant provisions.

4. Any member of the Committee elected to fill a seat declared vacant in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 1 shall remain a member of the Committee until the expiry of the remainder of the term of the member whose seat was declared vacant pursuant to the provisions of that paragraph.

5. The Secretary-General of the League of Arab States shall make provision within the budget of the League of Arab States for all the necessary financial and human resources and facilities that the Committee needs to discharge its functions effectively. The Committee's experts shall be afforded the same treatment with respect to remuneration and reimbursement of expenses as experts of the secretariat of the League of Arab States.

ARTICLE 47: The States parties undertake to ensure that members of the Committee shall enjoy the immunities necessary for their protection against any form of harassment or moral or material pressure or prosecution on account of the positions they take or statements they make while carrying out their functions as members of the Committee.

ARTICLE 48: 1. The States parties undertake to submit reports to the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States on the measures they have taken to give effect to the rights and freedoms recognised in this Charter and on the progress made towards the enjoyment thereof. The Secretary-General shall transmit these reports to the Committee for its consideration.

2. Each State party shall submit an initial report to the Committee within one year from the date on which the Charter enters into force and a periodic report every three years thereafter. The Committee may request the States parties to supply it with additional information relating to the implementation of the Charter.

3. The Committee shall consider the reports submitted by the States parties under paragraph 2 of this article in the presence of the representative of the State party whose report is being considered.

4. The Committee shall discuss the report, comment thereon and make the necessary recommendations in accordance with the aims of the Charter.

5. The Committee shall submit an annual report containing its comments and recommendations to the Council of the League, through the intermediary of the Secretary-General.

6. The Committee's reports, concluding observations and recommendations shall be public documents which the Committee shall disseminate widely.

ARTICLE 49: 1. The Secretary-General of the League of Arab States shall submit the present Charter, once it has been approved by the Council of the League, to the States members for signature, ratification or accession.

2. The present Charter shall enter into effect two months from the date on which the seventh instrument of ratification is deposited with the secretariat of the League of Arab States.

3. After its entry into force, the present Charter shall become effective for each State two months after the State in question has deposited its instrument of ratification or accession with the secretariat.

4. The Secretary-General shall notify the States members of the deposit of each instrument of ratification or accession.

ARTICLE 50: Any State party may submit written proposals, though the Secretary-General, for the amendment of the present Charter. After these amendments have been circulated among the States members, the Secretary-General shall invite the States parties to consider the proposed amendments before submitting them to the Council of the League for adoption.

ARTICLE 51: The amendments shall take effect, with regard to the States parties that have approved them, once they have been approved by two thirds of the States parties.

ARTICLE 52: Any State party may propose additional optional protocols to the present Charter and they shall be adopted in accordance with the procedures used for the adoption of amendments to the Charter.

ARTICLE 53: 1. Any State party, when signing this Charter, depositing the instruments of ratification or acceding hereto, may make a reservation to any article of the Charter, provided that such reservation does not conflict with the aims and fundamental purposes of the Charter.

2. Any State party that has made a reservation pursuant to paragraph 1 of this article may withdraw it at any time by addressing a notification to the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States.

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD
MEMORANDUM , 1991

Original title: "An Explanatory Memorandum On The General Strategic Goal For The Group In North America: 5/22/1991" Government Exhibit 003-0085 3:04-CR-240-G U.S. v. HLF, et al.
Original language and script: Arabic

(This document does not bear the title "manifesto" but "memorandum" as it is not meant to be published because it displays very bluntly what the entire Islamic movement really is about: The distruction of any civilisation which is not Islamic. The intended distruction includes in particular: law, belief system, liberty of free speech, and any other foundation of non-Islamic civilisations.

The Muslim Brotherhood's strategic plan for North America was a closely-held secret until the FBI discovered it during a raid of a house in Annandale, Virginia, in August, 2004. Agents discovered a secret basement, a hidden sub-basement; containing over 80 file storage boxes of the archives of the Muslim Brotherhood in North America. Among the internal Ikhwan [Muslim Brotherhood] files was a document called "An Explanatory Memorandum: On the General Strategic Goal for the Group." It turned out to be a strategic plan created to eliminate non-Islamic states and societies, and it was written by a member of the Board of Directors for the Muslim Brotherhood in North America and senior Hamas leader named Mohammed Akram, and was approved by the Muslim Brotherhood's "Shura Council" and Organisational Conference in 1987. Similar papers have been issued to Muslim communities and their mosques throughout the world. The memorandum constitutes a blueprint for Islamic organisations such as the Muslim Brotherhood, their goals, modus operandi and infrastructure in non-Muslim countries. It is arguably the single most important vehicle for understanding a secretive Islamic organisation and should, therefore, be considered required reading for policy-makers and the public, alike. To point it out: This paper is not made by "extremists" but by mainstream Muslims according to the Sira, the Koran, the Hadith, and the Sharia, such as the Edict of Umar.)

An Explanatory Memorandum On The General Strategic Goal For The Group In North America: 5/22/1991

In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful

Thanks be to God, Lord of the Two Worlds [Dar as-Salam / House of Peace = Muslim territory) and Dar al-Harb / House of War = non-Muslim territory] **And Blessed are the Pious [devout Muslim]**

The beloved brother/The General Masul, may God keep him

The beloved brother/secretary of the Shura Council, may God keep him

The beloved brothers/Members of the Shura Council, may God keep them

God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you. .. . To proceed,

I ask Almighty God that you, your families and those whom you love around you are in the best of conditions, pleasing to God, glorified His name be.

I send this letter of mine to you hoping that it would seize your attention and receive your good care as you are the people of responsibility and those to whom trust is given. Between your hands is an "Explanatory Memorandum" which I put effort in writing down so that it is not locked in the chest and the mind, and so that I can share with you a portion of the responsibility in leading the Group in this country.

What might have encouraged me to submit the memorandum in this time in particular is my feeling of a "glimpse of hope" and the beginning of good tidings which bring the good news that we have embarked on a new stage of Islamic activism stages in this continent.

The papers which are between your hands are not abundant extravagance, imaginations or hallucinations which passed in the mind of one of your brothers, but they are rather hopes, ambitions and challenges that I hope that you share some or most of which with me. I do not claim their infallibility or absolute correctness, but they are an attempt which requires study, outlook, detailing and rooting from you.

My request to my brothers is to read the memorandum and to write what they wanted of comments and corrections, keeping in mind that what is between your hands is not strange or a new submission without a root, but rather an attempt to interpret and explain some of what came in the long-term plan which we approved and adopted in our council and our conference in the year (1987).

So, my honorable brother, do not rush to throw these papers away due to your many occupations and worries, All what I'm asking of you is to read them and to comment on them hoping that we might continue together the project of

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our plan and our Islamic work in this part of the world. Should you do that, I would be thankful and grateful to you.

I also ask my honorable brother, the Secretary of the Council, to add the subject of the memorandum on the Council agenda in its coming meeting.

May God reward you good and keep you for His DawA [tool of Islam to turn non-Muslims into Muslims]

Your brother Mohamed Akram

In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful Thanks be to God, Lord of the Two Worlds And Blessed are the Pious

Subject: A project for an explanatory memorandum for the General Strategic goal for the Group in North America mentioned in the longterm plan

ONE: THE MEMORANDUM IS DERIVED FROM:

1. The general strategic goal of the Group in America which was approved by the Shura Council and the Organizational Conference for the year [1987] is "Enablement of Islam in North America, meaning: establishing an effective and a stable Islamic Movement led by the Muslim Brotherhood which adopts Muslims' causes domestically and globally, and which works to expand the observant Muslim base, aims at unifying and directing Muslims' efforts, presents Islam as a civilization alternative, and supports the global Islamic State wherever it is".

2. The priority that is approved by the Shura Council for the work of the Group in its current and former session which is "Settlement".

3. The positive development with the brothers in the Islamic Circle in an attempt to reach a unity of merger.

4. The constant need for thinking and future planning, an attempt to read it and working to "shape" the present to comply and suit the needs and challenges of the future.

5. The paper of his eminence, the General Masul, may God keep him, which he recently sent to the members of the Council.

TWO: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE EXPLANATORY MEMORANDUM:

In order to begin with the explanation, we must "summon" the following question and place it in front of our eyes as its relationship is important and necessary with the strategic goal and the explanation project we are embarking on. The question we are facing is: "How do you like to see the Islam Movement in North America in ten years?", or "taking along" the following sentence when planning and working, "Islamic Work in North America in the year (2000): A Strategic Vision".

Also, we must summon and take along "elements" of the general strategic goal of the Group in North America and I will intentionally repeat them in numbers. They are:

[1. Establishing an effective and stable Islamic Movement led by the Muslim Brotherhood.

2. Adopting Muslims' causes domestically and globally.

3. Expanding the observant Muslim base.

4. Unifying and directing Muslims' efforts.

5. Presenting Islam as a civilization alternative

6. Supporting the establishment of the global Islamic State wherever it is].

• It must be stressed that it has become clear and emphatically known that all is in agreement that we must "settle" or "enable" Islam and its Movement in this part of the world.

• Therefore, a joint understanding of the meaning of settlement or enablement must be adopted, through which and on whose basis we explain the general strategic goal with its six elements for the Group in North America.

THREE: THE CONCEPT OF SETTLEMENT:

This term was mentioned in the Group's "dictionary" and documents with various meanings in spite of the fact that everyone meant one thing with it. We believe that the understanding of the essence is the same and we will attempt here to give the word and its "meanings" a practical explanation with a practical Movement tone, and not a philosophical linguistic explanation, while stressing that this explanation of ours is not complete until our explanation of "the process" of settlement itself is understood which is mentioned in the following paragraph. We briefly say the following:

Settlement: "That Islam and its Movement become a part of the homeland it lives in".

Establishment: "That Islam turns into firmly-rooted organizations on whose bases civilization, structure and testimony are built".

Stability: "That Islam is stable in the land on which its people move".

Enablement: "That Islam is enabled within the souls, minds and the lives of the people of the country in which it moves".

Rooting: "That Islam is resident and not a passing thing, or rooted "entrenched" in the soil of the spot where it moves and not a strange plant to it".

FOUR: THE PROCESS OF SETTLEMENT:

• In order for Islam and its Movement to become "a part of the homeland" in which it lives, "stable" in its land, "rooted" in the spirits and minds of its people, "enabled" in the live of its society and has firmly-established "organizations" on which the Islamic structure is built and with which the testimony of civilization is achieved, the Movement must plan and struggle to obtain "the keys" and the tools of this process in carry out this grand mission as a "Civilization Jihadist" responsibility which lies on the shoulders of Muslims and - on top of them - the Muslim Brotherhood in this country. Among these keys and tools are the following:

1. Adopting the concept of settlement and understanding its practical meanings:

The Explanatory Memorandum focused on the Movement and the realistic dimension of the process of settlement and its practical meanings without paying attention to the difference in understanding between the resident and the non-resident, or who is the settled and the non-settled and we believe that what was mentioned in the long-term plan in that regards suffices.

2. Making a fundamental shift in our thinking and mentality in order to suit the challenges of the settlement mission.

What is meant with the shift - which is a positive expression - is responding to the grand challenges of the settlement issues. We believe that any transforming response begins with the method of thinking and its center, the brain, first. In order to clarify what is meant with the shift as a key to qualify us to enter the field of settlement, we say very briefly that the following must be accomplished:

• A shift from the "amputated" partial thinking mentality to the "continuous" comprehensive mentality.

• A shift from the mentality of caution and reservation to the mentality of risk and controlled liberation.

• A shift from the mentality of the elite Movement to the mentality of the popular Movement.

• A shift from the mentality of preaching and guidance to the mentality of building and testimony

• A shift from the single opinion mentality to the multiple opinion mentality.

• A shift from the collision mentality to the absorption mentality.

• A shift from the individual mentality to the team mentality.

• A shift from the anticipation mentality to the initiative mentality.

• A shift from the hesitation mentality to the decisiveness mentality.

• A shift from the principles mentality to the programs mentality.

• A shift from the abstract ideas mentality the true organizations mentality [This is the core point and the essence of the memorandum].

3. Understanding the historical stages in which the Islamic Ikhwani activism went through in this country:

The writer of the memorandum believes that understanding and comprehending the historical stages of the Islamic activism which was led and being led by the Muslim Brotherhood in this continent is a very important key in working towards settlement, through which the Group observes its march, the direction of its movement and the curves and turns of its road. We will suffice here with mentioning the title for each of these stages [The title expresses the prevalent characteristic of the stage] [Details maybe mentioned in another future study]. Most likely, the stages are:

A.) The stage of searching for self and determining the identity.

B.) The stage of inner build-up and tightening the organization.

C.) The stage of mosques and the Islamic centers.

D.) The stage of building the Islamic organizations - the first phase.

E.) The stage of building the Islamic schools - the first phase.

F.) The stage of thinking about the overt Islamic Movement - the first phase.

G.) The stage of openness to the other Islamic movements and attempting to reach a formula for dealing with them - the first phase.

H.) The stage of reviving and establishing the Islamic organizations - the second phase. We believe that the Group is embarking on this stage in its second phase as it has to open the door and enter as it did the first time.

4. Understanding the role of the Muslim Brother in North America:

The process of settlement is a "Civilization-Jihadist Process" with all the word means. The Ikhwan must understand that their work in America is a kind of grand Jihad in eliminating and destroying the Western civilization from within and "sabotaging" its miserable house by their hands and the hands of the believers so that it is eliminated and God's religion is made victorious over all other religions. Without this level of understanding, we are not up to this challenge and have not prepared ourselves for Jihad yet. It is a Muslim's destiny to perform Jihad and work wherever he is and wherever he lands until the final hour comes, and there is no escape from that destiny except for those who chose to slack. But, would the slackers and the Mujahedeen be equal.

5. Understanding that we cannot perform the settlement mission by ourselves or away from people:

A mission as significant and as huge as the settlement mission needs magnificent and exhausting efforts. With their capabilities, human, financial and scientific resources, the Ikhwan will not be able to carry out this mission alone or away from people and he who believes that is wrong, and God knows best. As for the role of the Ikhwan, it is the initiative, pioneering, leadership, raising the banner and pushing people in that direction. They are then to work to employ, direct and unify Muslims' efforts and powers for this process. In order to do that, we must possess a mastery of the art of "coalitions", the art of "absorption" and the principles of "cooperation".

6. The necessity of achieving a union and balanced gradual merger between private work and public work:

We believe that what was written about this subject is many and is enough. But, it needs a time and a practical frame so that what is needed is achieved in a gradual and a balanced way that is compatible with the process of settlement.

7. The conviction that the success of the settlement of Islam and its Movement in this country is a success to the global Islamic Movement and a true support for the soughtafter state, God willing:

There is a conviction - with which this memorandum disagrees - that our focus in attempting to settle Islam in this country will lead to negligence in our duty towards the global Islamic Movement in supporting its project to establish the state. We believe that the reply is in two segments: One - The success of the Movement in America in establishing an observant Islamic base with power and effectiveness will be the best support and aid to the global Movement project.

And the second - is the global Movement has not succeeded yet in "distributing roles" to its branches, stating what is the needed from them as one of the participants or contributors to the project to establish the global Islamic state. The day this happens, the children of the American Ikhwani branch will have far-reaching impact and positions that make the ancestors proud.

8. Absorbing Muslims and winning them with all of their factions and colors in America and Canada for the settlement project, and making it their cause, future and the basis of their Islamic life in this part of the world:

This issues requires from us to learn "the art of dealing with the others", as people are different and people in many colors. We need to adopt the principle which says, "Take from people ... the best they have", their best specializations, experiences, arts, energies and abilities. By people here we mean those within or without the ranks of individuals and organizations. The policy of "taking" should be with what achieves the strategic goal and the settlement process. But the big challenge in front of us is: how to connect them all in "the orbit" of our plan and "the circle" of our Movement in order to achieve "the core" of our interest. To me, there is no choice for us other than alliance and mutual understanding of those who desire from our religion and those who agree from our belief in work. And the U.S. Islamic arena is full of those waiting..., the pioneers.

What matters is bringing people to the level of comprehension of the challenge that is facing us as Muslims in this country, conviction of our settlement project, and understanding the benefit of agreement, cooperation and alliance. At that time, if we ask for money, a lot of it would come, and if we ask for men, they would come in lines,

What matters is that our plan is "the criterion and the balance" in our relationship with others.

Here, two points must be noted; the first one: we need to comprehend and understand the balance of the Islamic powers in the U.S. arena [and this might be the subject of a future study]. The second point: what we reached with the brothers in "ICNA" is considered a step in the right direction, the beginning of good and the first drop that requires growing and guidance.

9. Re-examining our organizational and administrative bodies, the type of leadership and the method of selecting it with what suits the challenges of the settlement mission: The memorandum will be silent about details regarding this item even though it is logical and there is a lot to be said about it.

10. Growing and developing our resources and capabilities, our financial and human resources with what suits the magnitude of the grand mission: If we examined the human and the financial resources the Ikhwan alone own in this country, we and others would feel proud and glorious. And if we add to them the resources of our friends and allies, those who circle in our orbit and those waiting on our banner, we would realize that we are able to open the door to settlement and walk through it seeking to make Almighty God's word the highest.

11. Utilizing the scientific method in planning, thinking and preparation of studies needed for the process of settlement:

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Yes, we need this method, and we need many studies which aid in this civilization Jihadist operation. We will mention some of them briefly:

• The history of the Islamic presence in America.

• The history of the Islamic Ikhwani presence in America.

• Islamic movements, organizations and organizations: analysis and criticism.

• The phenomenon of the Islamic centers and schools: challenges, needs and statistics.

• Islamic minorities.

• Muslim and Arab communities.

• The U.S. society: make-up and politics.

• The U.S. society's view of Islam and Muslims ... And many other studies which we can direct our brothers and allies to prepare, either through their academic studies or through their educational centers or organizational tasking. What is important is that we start.

12. Agreeing on a flexible, balanced and a clear "mechanism" to implement the process of settlement within a specific, gradual and balanced "time frame" that is in-line with the demands and challenges of the process of settlement.

13. Understanding the U.S. society from its different aspects an understanding that "qualifies" us to perform the mission of settling our Dawa' in its country "and growing it" on its land.

14. Adopting a written "jurisprudence" that includes legal and movement bases, principles, policies and interpretations which are suitable for the needs and challenges of the process of settlement.

15. Agreeing on "criteria" and balances to be a sort of "antennas" or "the watch tower" in order to make sure that all of our priorities, plans, programs, bodies, leadership, monies and activities march towards the process of the settlement.

16. Adopting a practical, flexible formula through which our central work complements our domestic work. [Items 12 through 16 will be detailed later].

17. Understanding the role and the nature of work of "The Islamic Center" in every city with what achieves the goal of the process of settlement:

The center we seek is the one which constitutes the "axis" of our Movement, the "perimeter" of the circle of our work, our "balance center", the "base" for our rise and our "Dar al-Arqam" to educate us, prepare us and supply our battalions in addition to being the "niche" of our prayers.

This is in order for the Islamic center to turn - in action not in words - into a seed "for a small Islamic society" which is a reflection and a mirror to our central organizations. The center ought to turn into a "beehive" which produces sweet honey. Thus, the Islamic center would turn into a place for study, family, battalion, course, seminar, visit, sport, school, social club, women gathering, kindergarten for male and female youngsters, the office of the domestic political resolution, and the center for distributing our newspapers, magazines, books and our audio and visual tapes.

In brief we say: we would like for the Islamic center to become "The House of Dawa"' and "the general center" in deeds first before name. As much as we own and direct these centers at the continent level, we can say we are marching successfully towards the settlement of Dawa' in this country.

Meaning that the "center's" role should be the same as the "mosque's" role during the time of God's prophet, God's prayers and peace be upon him, when he marched to "settle" the Dawa' in its first generation in Madina. from the mosque, he drew the Islamic life and provided to the world the most magnificent and fabulous civilization humanity knew.

This mandates that, eventually, the region, the branch and the Usra turn into "operations rooms" for planning, direction, monitoring and leadership for the Islamic center in order to be a role model to be followed.

18. Adopting a system that is based on "selecting" workers, "role distribution" and "assigning" positions and responsibilities is based on specialization, desire and need with what achieves the process of settlement and contributes to its success.

19. Turning the principle of dedication for the Masuls of main positions within the Group into a rule, a basis and a policy in work. Without it, the process of settlement might be stalled [Talking about this point requires more details and discussion].

20. Understanding the importance of the "Organizational" shift in our Movement work, and doing Jihad in order to achieve it in the real world with what serves the process of settlement and expedites its results, God Almighty's willing:

The reason this paragraph was delayed is to stress its utmost importance as it constitutes the heart and the core of this memorandum.

It also constitutes the practical aspect and the true measure of our success or failure in our march towards settlement. The talk about the organizations and the "organizational" mentality or phenomenon does not require much details. It suffices to say that the first pioneer of this phenomenon was our prophet Mohamed, God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon him, as he placed the foundation for the first civilized organization which is the mosque, which truly became "the comprehensive organization". And this was done by the pioneer of the contemporary Islamic Dawa', Imam martyr Hasan al-Banna, may God have mercy on him, when he and his brothers felt the need to "re-establish" Islam and its movement anew, leading him to establish organizations with all their kinds: economic, social, media, scouting, professional and even the military ones. We must say that we are in a country which understands no language other than the language of the organizations, and one which does not respect or give weight to any group without effective, functional and strong organizations.

It is good fortune that there are brothers among us who have this "trend", mentality or inclination to build the organizations who have beat us by action and words which leads us to dare say honestly what Sadat in Egypt once said, "We want to build a country of organizations"

• a word of right he meant wrong with. I say to my brothers, let us raise the banner of truth to establish right "We want to establish the Group of organizations", as without it we will not able to put our feet on the true path.

• And in order for the process of settlement to be completed, we must plan and work from now to equip and prepare ourselves, our brothers, our apparatuses, our sections and our committees in order to turn into comprehensive organizations in a gradual and balanced way that is suitable with the need and the reality. What encourages us to do that - in addition to the aforementioned - is that we possess "seeds" for each organization from the organization we call for [See attachment number (1)].

• All we need is to tweak them, coordinate their work, collect their elements and merge their efforts with others and then connect them with the comprehensive plan we seek. For instance, We have a seed for a "comprehensive media and art" organization: we own a print + advanced typesetting machine + audio and visual center + art production office + magazines in Arabic and English [The Horizons, The Hope, The Politicians, Ila Falastine, Press Clips, al-Zaytouna, Palestine Monitor, Social Sciences Magazines...] + art band + photographers + producers + programs anchors +journalists + in addition to other media and art experiences".

Another example:

We have a seed for a "comprehensive Dawa' educational" organization:

We have the Dawa section in ISNA + Dr. Jamal Badawi Foundation + the center run by brother Harned al-Ghazali + the Dawa' center the Dawa' Committee and brother Shaker al-Sayyed are seeking to establish now + in addition to other DawA efforts here and there...".

And this applies to all the organizations we call on establishing.

• The big challenge that is ahead of us is how to turn these seeds or "scattered" elements into comprehensive, stable, "settled" organizations that are connected with our Movement and which fly in our orbit and take orders from ow guidance. This does not prevent - but calls for - each central organization to have its local branches but its connection with the Islamic center in the city is a must.

• What is needed is to seek to prepare the atmosphere and the means to achieve "the merger" so that the sections, the committees, the regions, the branches and the Usras are eventually the heart and the core of these organizations.

Or, for the shift and the change to occur as follows:

1. The Movement Department + The Secretariat Department - The Organizational & Administrative Organization - The General Center

2. Education Department + DawaA Com. - Dawa' and Educational Organization

3. Sisters Department - The Women's Organization

4. The Financial Department + Investment Committee + The Endowment - The Economic Organization

5. Youth Department + Youths Organizations Department - Youth Organizations

6. The Social Committee + Matrimony Committee + Mercy Foundation - The Social Organization

7. The Security Committee - The Security Organization

8. The Political Depart. + Palestine Com. - The Political Organization

9. The Group's Court + The Legal Com. - The Judicial Organization

10. Domestic Work Department Its work is to be distributed to the rest of the organizations

11. Our magazines + the print + our art band - The Media and Art Organization

12. The Studies Association + The Publication House + Dar al-Kitab - The Intellectual & Cultural Organization

13. Scientific and Medial societies - Scientific, Educational & Professional Organization

14. The Organizational Conference - The Islamic-American Founding Conference

15. The Shura Council + Planning Com. - The Shura Council for the Islamic-American Movement

16. The Executive Office - The Executive Office of the Islamic-American Movement

17. The General Masul - Chairman of the Islamic Movement and its official Spokesman

18. The regions, branches & Usras - Field leaders of organizations & Islamic centers

FIVE: COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT ORGANIZATION:

• We would then seek and struggle in order to make each one of these above-mentioned organizations a "comprehensive organization" throughout the days and the years, and as long as we are destined to be in this country.

What is important is that we put the foundation and we will be followed by peoples and generations that would finish the march and the road but with a clearly-defined guidance. And, in order for us to clarify what we mean with the comprehensive, specialized organization, we mention here the characteristics and traits of each organization of the "promising" organizations.

1. From the Dawa' and educational aspect [The Dawa' and Educational Organization]: to include:

• The Organization to spread the Dawa' (Central and local branches).

• An institute to graduate Callers and Educators.

• Scholars, Callers, Educators, Preachers and Program Anchors,

• Art and communication technology, Conveyance and Dawa'.

• A television station.

• A specialized Dawa' magazine.

• A radio station.

• The Higher Islamic Council for Callers and Educators.

• The Higher Council for Mosques and Islamic Centers.

• Friendship Societies with the other religions... and things like that.

2. Politically [The Political Organization]: to include:

• A central political party.

• Local political offices.

• Political symbols.

• Relationships and alliances.

• The American Organization for Islamic Political Action

• Advanced Information Centers….and things like that.

3. Media [The Media and Art Organization]: to include:

• A daily newspaper.

• Weekly, monthly and seasonal magazines.

• Radio stations.

• Television programs.

• Audio and visual centers.

• A magazine for the Muslim child.

• A magazine for the Muslim woman.

• A print and typesetting machines.

• A production office.

• A photography and recording studio

• Art bands for acting, chanting and theater.

• A marketing and art production office… and things like that.

4. Economically [The Economic Organization]: to include:

• An Islamic Central bank.

• Islamic endowments.

• Investment projects.

• An organization for interest-free loans… and things like that.

5. Scientifically and Professionally [The Scientific, Educational and Professional Organization]: to include:

• Scientific research centers.

• Technical organizations and vocational training.

• An Islamic university.

• Islamic schools.

• A council for education and scientific research.

• Centers to train teachers.

• Scientific societies in schools.

• An office for academic guidance.

• A body for authorship and Islamic curricula….and things like that.

6. Culturally and Intellectually [The Cultural and Intellectual Organization]: to include:

• A center for studies and research.

• Cultural and intellectual foundations such as [The Social Scientists Society - Scientists and Engineers Society….]

• An organization for Islamic thought and culture.

• A publication, translation and distribution house for Islamic books.

• An office for archiving, history and authentication

• The project to translate the Noble Quran, the Noble Sayings… and things like that.

7. Socially [The Social-Charitable Organization]: to include:

• Social clubs for the youths and the community's sons and daughters

• Local societies for social welfare and the services are tied to the Islamic centers

• The Islamic Organization to Combat the Social Ills of the U.S. Society

• Islamic houses project

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• Matrimony and family cases office… and things like that.
8. Youths [The Youth Organization]: to include:
• Central and local youths foundations.
• Sports teams and clubs
• Scouting teams… and things like that.
9. Women [The Women Organization]: to include:
• Central and local women societies.
• Organizations of training, vocational and housekeeping.
• An organization to train female preachers.
• Islamic kindergartens… and things like that.
10. Organizationally and Administratively [The Administrative and Organizational Organization]: to include:
• An institute for training, growth, development and planning
• Prominent experts in this field
• Work systems, bylaws and charters fit for running the most complicated bodies and organizations
• A periodic magazine in Islamic development and administration.
• Owning camps and halls for the various activities.
• A data, polling and census bank.
• An advanced communication network.
• An advanced archive for our heritage and production… and things like that.
11. Security [The Security Organization]: to include:
• Clubs for training and learning self-defense techniques.
• A center which is concerned with the security issues [Technical, intellectual, technological and human]….and things like that.
12. Legally [The Legal Organization]: to include:
• A Central Jurisprudence Council.
• A Central Islamic Court.
• Muslim Attorneys Society.
• The Islamic Foundation for Defense of Muslims' Rights… and things like that.
And success is by God.

[ANALYSIS: The "Explanatory Memorandum On The General Strategic Goal For The Group In North America: 5/22/1991" specifies the five phases of the Muslim Brotherhood Movement in North America. The process is a Jihadist Process against every non-Muslim country, and by all available means: by immigration, implementing the Sharia step-by-step, by finance, propaganda in speaking and writing, by undermining the media and public schools first, by influencing the creation of school textbooks (tuning them "muslim-friendly"), by spying on goverment and all related institutions such as the legislative, executive, jurisprudence, police, secret service, prisons, and companies. Have you ever noticed how many muslims are in our prisons? (their main duty is to convert fellow prisoners to Islam by intimidation.) The entire process of tranforming our society is meticoulously planned (modeled directly after Sayyid Qutb's Milestones and the shariah doctrine of progressive revelation) for reaching each goal as easy as possible, just like this:

PHASE ONE: Phase of discreet and secret establishment of leadership.

PHASE TWO: Phase of gradual appearance on the public scene and exercising and utilising various public activities (It greatly succeeded in implementing this stage). It also succeeded in achieving a great deal of its important goals, such as infiltrating various sectors of the Government. Gaining religious institutions and embracing senior scholars. Gaining public support and sympathy. Establishing a shadow government (secret) within the Government.

PHASE THREE: Escalation phase, prior to conflict and confrontation with the rulers, through utilizing mass media. Currently in progress.

PHASE FOUR: Open public confrontation with the Government through exercising the The Elbarasse archives and close observation of the Brotherhood's operations reveal the following as the most important of the techniques employed by the Ikhwan in America to achieve the seditious goals of its civilisation jihad:

• Expanding the Muslim presence by birth rate, immigration, and refusal to assimilate (meaning: Muslims emigrate to western so-called "social net countries" bleeding out the host countries financial resources by claiming "childrens' benefits", pension money, etc.);

• Occupying and expanding domination of physical spaces (by buying properties and land and populate it immediately with Muslims);

• Ensuring the "Muslim Community" knows and follows Muslim Brotherhood doctrine (as outlined in the "Covenant of Hamas" which is a legal organisation under Islamic Sharia Law and branch of the "Muslim Brotherhood");

• Controlling the language we use in describing the enemy (such as saying "Look, we are all on the same side!, All religions are the same, You do not understand the Koran, you must read it in Arabic, no translation can say what the Koran is really about; not talking about uncomfortable issues such womens' equal rights; etc.);

• Ensuring we do not study their doctrine (particularly the Sharia and the Edict of Umar);

• Co-opting key leadership (which means: a Muslim to becoming a member of parliament or even the government in order to undermine the entire political and democratical system, pretty much like Hitlers Nazi Party who undermined the system in order to kill it off);

• Forcing compliance with Sharia at local levels (by building Sharia Courts or Mediation Centres, trying to enforce "political correctness", making westerners behave Islamic by wearing headscarfs, etc.);

• Fighting all counterterrorism efforts (which means to resist anything that collects data of Islamic organisations or personal particulars of Muslims, so-called "data protectionism");

• Subverting religious organisations (by building a "fifth column" in religious and political organisations);

• Employing lawfare – the offensive use of lawsuits and threats of lawsuits (by creating so-called "anti-hate speech laws" such as "The Racial and Religious Tolerance Act", Victoria (Australia, 2001) or "Charter of Human Rights and Responsibilities", Victoria (Australia, 2006);

• Claiming victimisation (such as "we poor Muslims are always the victims!" / demanding accommodations, halal food and special prayer places in companies first, then particularly mosques, Koran schools, etc.);

• Condemning "slander" against Islam (that means talking against anything that comes from Islam, such as uncomfortable truths);

Political pressure approach. It is aggressively implementing the above-mentioned approach. Training on the use of weapons domestically and overseas in anticipation of zero-hour. It has noticeable activities in this regard.

PHASE FIVE: Seizing power to establish their Islamic Nation under which all parties and Islamic groups are united. This document offers a chilling operational insight into the mindset, planning, and vision of the Islamic movement in North America.

The Implementation of Sharia by the Muslim Brotherhood
• Subverting the U.S. education system, in particular, infiltrating and dominating U.S. Middle East studies programs;

• Demanding the right to practice shariah in segregated Muslim enclaves;

• Demanding recognition of shariah in non-Muslim spheres;

• Confronting and denouncing Western society, laws, and traditions; and

• Demanding that sharia replace Western law. Note that many of the foregoing techniques entail, in one way or another, influencing and neutralising the American government at all levels.]

End of Document

DECLARATION
AND PROGRAMME OF ACTION, 2002
(The "Shut-up-Programme of the Globalists")
World Conference Against Racism,
Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia
and Related Intolerance
Published by the United Nations
Department of Public Information New York, 2002

(Although the declaration begins so promising by saying "that the Holocaust must never be forgotten", it pretty soon slides down into obfuscation by calling people names instead of addressing their concerns. It obviously has been decided that total egalitarianism is the programme of the day, of course, without examining the facts, the why's, the what's, and where the citizens' feelings come from. What we find is a dull repetition of words such as Racism, Xenophobia (which stands obviously also for Islamophobia), Discrimination, Intolerance, and so on and so forth. Each of these words have been here repeated several hundred times, hoping they become more true by constant repetition. Remember: Hitler already made this repetition-tool respectable in socialist society. We would expect a better approach from a document like this!

The word "Traveller" in Art. 68 refers obviously to "migrant", a word which the authors here desparately wanted to avoid for the reason that it might steer unwanted attention to the Islamic precept of migration prescribed in Islamic scripture (see Sira, Koran, Hadith, Sharia).

The contents of Article 71-74 convince us that the authors have no idea of the Islamic scripture and the subsequent Sharia law, because what the authors demand here is no less than implementing Sharia law in our western societies. There are only two possibilities why the authors suggest and urge countries to follow this document: They are either totally ignorant of the facts, or they deliberately want to persuade western civilians to commit an act of treason against their own home country.

This paper is assuming that anyone who is concerned about their home country's populace, its social and religious composition, and its inherited culture, is a Nazi or fascist. It has neither care nor pity for patriotic citizens who do not want globalisation at any cost, at least not at the cost for giving up their own culture, and the to it connected system of values and virtues that have grown over many centuries. The Creators of this declaration are the ones who drive concerned citizen straight into the arms of precisely those fascists they want to get rid of. They seem to have the desire to make every place on earth look like any other place on earth. It is the ignorance of long-standing achievements, and the will of the internationalistic globalists to distroy everything which makes a nation feel home, that causes alert citizens to speak up!

After the examination of this declaration, there is no other summary possible than naming it "Shut-up-Programme of the Globalists" as it is very obviously the most imbalanced and hypocritical declaration that has ever been composed. The, by our constitution garanteed, liberty of free speech should be undermined by this document for the simple reason that religious feelings have become more important than speaking out what our citizens believe to be the truth or the right thing to say. Speaking out, and listening to it, is uncomfortable.

The declaration shunnes intolerance but is in itself the most intolerat declaration ever created by the United Nations Organisation. This "shut-up programme" has now become a blueprint for lawsuits in some Western countries such as UK, Germany, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and many others, leading those nations on a path on self-inflicted annihilation of their very own civilisation. Look up for:)

FOREWORD

Member States of the United Nations adopted these texts at the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, held from 31 August to 8 September 2001 in Durban, South Africa.

They represent the hard-won results of a landmark occasion. The terrible attacks in the United States just three days later, with their aftermath of rising fear and xenophobia, make these anti-discrimination texts all the more relevant.

They consist of a Declaration and Programme of Action. The Declaration represents the commitments arising from the complex global dialogue which took place. It addresses past manifestations as well as contemporary forms of racial discrimination. The Programme of Action is a road-map illustrating how the international community will follow up on these commitments. It indicates the steps to be taken to put an end to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and to prevent their future occurrence.

If pursued with energy and goodwill by all actors – States, the United Nations, national institutions, intergovernmental organisations, and non-governmental organisations – this anti-discrimination agenda can bring new hope and change to the lives of the millions of human beings the world over who are victims of racial discrimination and intolerance.

Mary Robinson,
United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and Secretary-General of the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance

INTRODUCTION

Although the standard of non-discrimination has been established as a bedrock principle of international law, the persistence of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance clearly demonstrates the need to look for new ways to address this problem with more resolve, with more humanity and with greater efficiency. The World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, held in Durban, South Africa, from 31 August to 8 September 2001, helped focus the international community's thinking about where action to date has been insufficient, and in what areas and in what ways we can do more to create just and fair societies free of racial discrimination.

The Conference involved nine days of intensive and frequently difficult negotiation. Nevertheless, despite all of the obstacles that had to be overcome, the Conference was ultimately successful in negotiating a Declaration and Programme of Action by consensus.

The documents adopted at the Conference address a wide range of subjects. Concerning the past, the language adopted was historic. The Conference agreed that slavery and the slave trade are a crime against humanity, and should have always been so. It was further agreed that slavery and the slave trade, including the transatlantic slave trade, were appalling tragedies in the history of humanity, especially in their negation of the essence of the victims. The Conference also recognised that colonialism had led to racism and caused suffering and that its consequences persist to this day.

Concerning the Middle East and related issues, the Conference expressed concern about the plight of the Palestinian people under foreign occupation and recognised the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to selfdetermination and the right to an independent state. The Conference also recognised the right to security for all States in the region, including Israel, and called upon all States to support the peace process and bring it to an early conclusion.

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The Conference also recalled that the Holocaust must never be forgotten.

Agreement was reached on the need for national action plans, tougher national legislation and more legal assistance to victims of racial discrimination. Improvement in the administration of justice and the reinforcement of national institutions to combat racial discrimination were also emphasised. In this regard, the importance of appropriate remedies and positive action for victims of racial discrimination was underlined.

A wide variety of educational and awareness-raising measures were adopted. Measures were also included to ensure equality in the fields of employment, health and the environment. The need to have accurate data collection and research was identified as an important prerequisite for taking corrective measures. Measures to counter racism in the media, including on the Internet, were also included in the documents adopted.

The documents adopted specified that a victim-oriented approach was an important tool to eliminate racial discrimination.

Specific reference was made to Africans and persons of African descent, Asians and persons of Asian descent, indige nous peoples, migrants, refugees, minorities, the Roma and others. Durban also put the gender dimension of racial discrimination on the map, as well as the more general question of multiple discrimination. In addition, the importance of involving not only States, but a wide variety of actors including civil society, NGOs and youth, in the implementation of the Durban commitments was emphasised.

In reflecting on the World Conference, it is important to note that the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted in Durban are both historic and forward-looking.

They provide a new and innovative anti-discrimination agenda, and, as such, constitute an essential element of an emerging global dialogue on how to eliminate the scourge of racial discrimination from our world.

People in all parts of the world continue to suffer daily from racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. They are looking to the United Nations and its Member States to lead the way forward and help them to have the conditions for a better life, a decent life, and one free of discrimination.

Durban should be seen as a beginning and not an end.

The key to responding to the hopes and aspirations of those who continue to suffer from discrimination is to ensure effective implementation of the commitments made at this landmark Conference. There is an enormous consensus around the world, amongst peoples and Governments alike, on the need to do more to implement the principles of equality and nondiscrimination.

The Declaration and Programme of Action adopted at the Conference gave the international community the tools to do this. But the best tools are only of value if they are put to use.

DECLARATION

Having met in Durban, South Africa, from 31 August to 8 September 2001,

Expressing deep appreciation to the Government of South Africa for hosting this World Conference,

Drawing inspiration from the heroic struggle of the people of South Africa against the institutionalised system of apartheid, as well as for equality and justice under democracy, development, the rule of law and respect for human rights, recalling in this context the important contribution to that struggle of the international community and, in particular, the pivotal role of the people and Governments of Africa, and noting the important role that different actors of civil society, including non-governmental organizations, played in that struggle and in ongoing efforts to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance,

Recalling that the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, adopted by the World Conference on Human Rights in June 1993, calls for the speedy and comprehensive elimination of all forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance,

Recalling Commission on Human Rights resolution 1997/74 of 18 April 1997, General Assembly resolution 52/111 of 12 December 1997 and subsequent resolutions of those bodies concerning the convening of the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance and recalling also the two World Conferences to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held in Geneva in 1978 and 1983, respectively,

Noting with grave concern that despite the efforts of the international community, the principal objectives of the three Decades to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination have not been attained and that countless human beings continue to the present day to be victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance,

Recalling that the year 2001 is the International Year of Mobilisation against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, aimed at drawing the world's attention to the objectives of the World Conference and giving new momentum to the political commitment to eliminate all forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance,

Welcoming the decision of the General Assembly to proclaim the year 2001 as the United Nations Year of Dialogue among Civilisations, which underlines tolerance and respect for diversity and the need to seek common ground among and within civilisations in order to address common challenges to humanity that threaten shared values, universal human rights and the fight against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, through cooperation, partnership and inclusion,

Welcoming also the proclamation by the General Assembly of the period 2001-2010 as the Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for Children of the World, as well as the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration and Plan of Action on a Culture of Peace,

Recognising that the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, in conjunction with the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People, presents a unique opportunity to consider the invaluable contributions of indigenous peoples to political, economic, social, cultural and spiritual development throughout the world to our societies, as well as the challenges faced by them, including racism and racial discrimination,

Recalling the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples of 1960,

Reaffirming our commitment to the purposes and principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Affirming that racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance constitute a negation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations,

Reaffirming the principles of equality and non-discrimination in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction of any kind such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status,

Convinced of the fundamental importance of universal accession to or ratification of and full implementation of our obligations arising under the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination as the principal international instrument to eliminate racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance,

Recognising the fundamental importance for States, in combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia, and related intolerance, to consider signing, ratifying or acceding to all relevant international human rights instruments, with a view to universal adherence,

Having taken note of the reports of the regional conferences organised at Strasbourg, Santiago, Dakar and Tehran and other inputs from States, as well as the reports of expert seminars, non-governmental organization regional meetings and other meetings organised in preparation for the World Conference,

Noting with appreciation the Vision Statement launched by President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa under the patronage of The Honourable Nelson Mandela, first President of the new South Africa, and at the initiative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and Secretary-General of the World Conference, and signed by seventy-four heads of State, heads of Government and dignitaries,

Reaffirming that cultural diversity is a cherished asset for the advancement and welfare of humanity at large and should be valued, enjoyed, genuinely accepted and embraced as a permanent feature which enriches our societies,

Acknowledging that no derogation from the prohibition of racial discrimination, genocide, the crime of apartheid and slavery is permitted, as defined in the obligations under the relevant human rights instruments,

Having listened to the peoples of the world and recognising their aspirations to justice, to equality of opportunity for all and everyone, to the enjoyment of their human rights, including the right to development, to live in peace and freedom and to equal participation without discrimination in economic, social, cultural, civil and political life,

Recognising that the equal participation of all individuals and peoples in the formation of just, equitable, democratic and inclusive societies can contribute to a world free from racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance,

Emphasising the importance of the equitable participation of all, without any discrimination, in domestic as well as global decision-making,

Affirming that racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, where they amount to racism and racial discrimination, constitute serious violations of and obstacles to the full enjoyment of all human rights and deny the self-evident truth that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights, are an obstacle to friendly and peaceful relations among peoples and nations, and are among the root causes of many internal and international conflicts, including armed conflicts, and the consequent forced displacement of populations,

Recognising that national and international actions are required to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, in order to ensure the full enjoyment of all human rights, economic, social, cultural, civil and political, which are universal, indivisible, interdependent and interrelated, and to improve the living conditions of men, women and children of all nations,

Reaffirming the importance of the enhancement of international cooperation for the promotion and protection of human rights and for the achievement of the objectives of the fight against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance,

Acknowledging that xenophobia, in its different manifestations, is one of the main contemporary sources and forms of discrimination and conflict, combating which requires urgent attention and prompt action by States, as well as by the international community,

Fully aware that, despite efforts undertaken by the international community, Governments and local authorities, the scourge of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance persists and continues to result in violations of human rights, suffering, disadvantage and violence, which must be combated by all available and appropriate means and as a matter of the highest priority, preferably in cooperation with affected communities,

Noting with concern the continued and violent occurrence of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and that theories of superiority of certain races and cultures over others, promoted and practised during the colonial era, continue to be propounded in one form or another even today,

Alarmed by the emergence and continued occurrence of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in their more subtle and contemporary forms and manifestations, as well as by other ideologies and practices based on racial or ethnic discrimination or superiority,

Strongly rejecting any doctrine of racial superiority, along with theories which attempt to determine the existence of so-called distinct human races,

Recognising that failure to combat and denounce racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance by all, especially by public authorities and politicians at all levels, is a factor encouraging their perpetuation,

Reaffirming that States have the duty to protect and promote the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all victims, and that they should apply a genderi perspective, recognising the multiple forms of discrimination which women can face, and that the enjoyment of their civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights is essential for the development of societies throughout the world, Recognizing both the challenges and opportunities presented by an increasingly globalised world in relation to the struggle to eradicate racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance,

1. For the purpose of this Declaration and Programme of Action, it was understood that the term "gender" refers to the two sexes, male and female, within the context of society. The term "gender" does not indicate any meaning different from the above.

Determined, in an era when globalization and technology have contributed considerably to bringing people together, to materialise the notion of a human family based on equality, dignity and solidarity, and to make the twenty-first century a century of human rights, the eradication of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and the realisation of genuine equality of opportunity and treatment for all individuals and peoples,

Reaffirming the principles of equal rights and selfdetermination of peoples and recalling that all individuals are born equal in dignity and rights, stressing that such equality must be protected as a matter of the highest priority and recognising the duty of States to take prompt, decisive and appropriate measures with a view to eliminating all forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance,

Dedicating ourselves to combating the scourge of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance fully and effectively as a matter of priority, while drawing lessons from manifestations and past experiences of racism in all parts of the world with a view to avoiding their recurrence,

Joining together in a spirit of renewed political will and commitment to universal equality, justice and dignity, we salute the memory of all victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance all over the world and solemnly adopt the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action,

2. Reference should be made to chapter VII of the report of the Conference (A/CONF. 189/12), which lists all the reservations to and statements on the Declaration and the Programme of Action.

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GENERAL ISSUES

1. We declare that for the purpose of the present Declaration and Programme of Action, the victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance are individuals or groups of individuals who are or have been negatively affected by, subjected to, or targets of these scourges;

2. We recognise that racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance occur on the grounds of race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin and that victims can suffer multiple or aggravated forms of discrimination based on other related grounds such as sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, social origin, property, birth or other status;

3. We recognise and affirm that, at the outset of the third millennium, a global fight against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and all their abhorrent and evolving forms and manifestations is a matter of priority for the international community, and that this Conference offers a unique and historic opportunity for assessing and identifying all dimensions of those devastating evils of humanity with a view to their total elimination through, inter alia, the initiation of innovative and holistic approaches and the strengthening and enhancement of practical and effective measures at the national, regional and international levels;

4. We express our solidarity with the people of Africa in their continuing struggle against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and recognize the sacrifices made by them, as well as their efforts in raising international public awareness of these inhuman tragedies;

5. We also affirm the great importance we attach to the values of solidarity, respect, tolerance and multiculturalism, which constitute the moral ground and inspiration for our worldwide struggle against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, inhuman tragedies which have affected people throughout the world, especially in Africa, for too long;

6. We further affirm that all peoples and individuals constitute one human family, rich in diversity. They have contributed to the progress of civilizations and cultures that form the common heritage of humanity. Preservation and promotion of tolerance, pluralism and respect for diversity can produce more inclusive societies;

7. We declare that all human beings are born free, equal in dignity and rights and have the potential to contribute constructively to the development and well-being of their societies. Any doctrine of racial superiority is scientifically false, morally condemnable, socially unjust and dangerous, and must be rejected along with theories which attempt to determine the existence of separate human races;

8. We recognise that religion, spirituality and belief play a central role in the lives of millions of women and men, and in the way they live and treat other persons. Religion, spirituality and belief may and can contribute to the promotion of the inherent dignity and worth of the human person and to the eradication of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

9. We note with concern that racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance may be aggravated by, inter alia, inequitable distribution of wealth, marginalisation and social exclusion;

10. We reaffirm that everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which all human rights can be fully realised for all, without any discrimination;

11. We note that the process of globalization constitutes a powerful and dynamic force which should be harnessed for the benefit, development and prosperity of all countries, without exclusion. We recognize that developing countries face special difficulties in responding to this central challenge. While globalisation offers great opportunities, at present its benefits are very unevenly shared, while its costs are unevenly distributed. We thus express our determination to prevent and mitigate the negative effects of globalization. These effects could aggravate, inter alia, poverty, underdevelopment, marginalisation, social exclusion, cultural homogenisation and economic disparities which may occur along racial lines, within and between States, and have an adverse impact. We further express our determination to maximise the benefits of globalization through, inter alia, the strengthening and enhancement of international cooperation to increase equality of opportunities for trade, economic growth and sustainable development, global communications through the use of new technologies and increased intercultural exchange through the preservation and promotion of cultural diversity, which can contribute to the eradication of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. Only through broad and sustained efforts to create a shared future based upon our common humanity, and all its diversity, can globalisation be made fully inclusive and equitable;

12. We recognise that interregional and intraregional migration has increased as a result of globalisation, in particular from the South to the North, and stress that policies towards migration should not be based on racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

Sources, Causes, Forms And Contemporary Manifestations Of Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia And Related Intolerance

13. We acknowledge that slavery and the slave trade, including the transatlantic slave trade, were appalling tragedies in the history of humanity not only because of their abhorrent barbarism but also in terms of their magnitude, organised nature and especially their negation of the essence of the victims, and further acknowledge that slavery and the slave trade are a crime against humanity and should always have been so, especially the transatlantic slave trade, and are among the major sources and manifestations of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and that Africans and people of African descent, Asians and people of Asian descent and indigenous peoples were victims of these acts and continue to be victims of their consequences;

14. We recognise that colonialism has led to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and that Africans and people of African descent, and people of Asian descent and indigenous peoples were victims of colonialism and continue to be victims of its consequences. We acknowledge the suffering caused by colonialism and affirm that, wherever and whenever it occurred, it must be condemned and its reoccurrence prevented. We further regret that the effects and persistence of these structures and practices have been among the factors contributing to lasting social and economic inequalities in many parts of the world today;

15. We recognise that apartheid and genocide in terms of international law constitute crimes against humanity and are major sources and manifestations of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and acknowledge the untold evil and suffering caused by these acts and affirm that wherever and whenever they occurred, they must be condemned and their recurrence prevented;

16. We recognise that xenophobia against non-nationals, particularly migrants, refugees and asylum-seekers, constitutes one of the main sources of contemporary racism and that human rights violations against members of such groups occur widely in the context of discriminatory, xenophobic and racist practices;

17. We note the importance of paying special attention to new manifestations of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance to which youth and other vulnerable groups might be exposed;

18. We emphasise that poverty, underdevelopment, marginalisation, social exclusion and economic disparities are closely associated with racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and contribute to the persistence of racist attitudes and practices which in turn generate more poverty;

19. We recognise the negative economic, social and cultural consequences of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, which have contributed significantly to the underdevelopment of developing countries and, in particular, of Africa and resolve to free every man, woman and child from the abject and dehumanizing conditions of extreme poverty to which more than one billion of them are currently subjected, to make the right to development a reality for everyone and to free the entire human race from want;

20. We recognise that racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance are among the root causes of armed conflict and very often one of its consequences and recall that non-discrimination is a fundamental principle of international humanitarian law. We underscore the need for all parties to armed conflicts to abide scrupulously by this principle and for States and the international community to remain especially vigilant during periods of armed conflict and continue to combat all forms of racial discrimination;

21. We express our deep concern that socio-economic development is being hampered by widespread internal conflicts which are due, among other causes, to gross violations of human rights, including those arising from racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and from lack of democratic, inclusive and participatory governance;

22. We express our concern that in some States political and legal structures or institutions, some of which were inherited and persist today, do not correspond to the multi-ethnic, pluricultural and plurilingual characteristics of the population and, in many cases, constitute an important factor of discrimination in the exclusion of indigenous peoples;

23. We fully recognize the rights of indigenous peoples consistent with the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, and therefore stress the need to adopt the appropriate constitutional, administrative, legislative and judicial measures, including those derived from applicable international instruments;

24. We declare that the use of the term “indigenous peoples” in the Declaration and Programme of Action of the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance is in the context of, and without prejudice to the outcome of, ongoing international negotiations on texts that specifically deal with this issue, and cannot be construed as having any implications as to rights under international law;

25. We express our profound repudiation of the racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance that persist in some States in the functioning of the penal systems and in the application of the law, as well as in the actions and attitudes of institutions and individuals responsible for law enforcement, especially where this has contributed to certain groups being over-represented among persons under detention or imprisoned;

26. We affirm the need to put an end to impunity for violations of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of individuals and groups of individuals who are victimized by racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

27. We express our concern that, beyond the fact that racism is gaining ground, contemporary forms and manifestations of racism and xenophobia are striving to regain political, moral and even legal recognition in many ways, including through the platforms of some political parties and organisations and the dissemination through modern communication technologies of ideas based on the notion of racial superiority;

28. We recall that persecution against any identifiable group, collectivity or community on racial, national, ethnic or other grounds that are universally recognized as impermissible under international law, as well as the crime of apartheid, constitute serious violations of human rights and, in some cases, qualify as crimes against humanity;

29. We strongly condemn the fact that slavery and slavery-like practices still exist today in parts of the world and urge States to take immediate measures as a matter of priority to end such practices, which constitute flagrant violations of human rights;

30. We affirm the urgent need to prevent, combat and eliminate all forms of trafficking in persons, in particular women and children, and recognize that victims of trafficking are particularly exposed to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

Victims Of Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia And Related Intolerance

31. We also express our deep concern whenever indicators in the fields of, inter alia, education, employment, health, housing, infant mortality and life expectancy for many peoples show a situation of disadvantage, particularly where the contributing factors include racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

32. We recognise the value and diversity of the cultural heritage of Africans and people of African descent and affirm the importance and necessity of ensuring their full integration into social, economic and political life with a view to facilitating their full participation at all levels in the decision-making process;

33. We consider it essential for all countries in the region of the Americas and all other areas of the African Diaspora to recognise the existence of their population of African descent and the cultural, economic, political and scientific contributions made by that population, and recognise the persistence of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance that specifically affect them, and recognise that, in many countries, their long-standing inequality in terms of access to, inter alia, education, health care and housing has been a profound cause of the socio-economic disparities that affect them;

34. We recognise that people of African descent have for centuries been victims of racism, racial discrimination and enslavement and of the denial by history of many of their rights, and assert that they should be treated with fairness and respect for their dignity and should not suffer discrimination of any kind. Recognition should therefore be given to their rights to culture and their own identity; to participate freely and in equal conditions in political, social, economic and cultural life; to development in the context of their own aspirations and customs; to keep, maintain and foster their own forms of organisation, their mode of life, culture, traditions and religious expressions; to maintain and use their own languages; to the protection of their traditional knowledge and their cultural and artistic heritage; to the use, enjoyment and conservation of the natural renewable resources of their habitat and to active participation in the design, implementation and development of educational systems and programmes, including those of a specific and characteristic nature; and where applicable to their ancestrally inhabited land;

35. We recognise that in many parts of the world, Africans and people of African descent face barriers as a result of social biases and discrimination prevailing in public and private institutions and express our commitment to work towards the eradication of all forms of racism, racial discrimination,

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xenophobia and related intolerance faced by Africans and people of African descent;

36. We recognise that in many parts of the world, Asians and people of Asian descent face barriers as a result of social biases and discrimination prevailing in public and private institutions and express our commitment to work towards the eradication of all forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance faced by Asians and people of Asian descent;

37. We note with appreciation that despite the racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance faced by them for centuries, people of Asian descent have contributed and continue to contribute significantly to the economic, social, political, scientific and cultural life of the countries where they live;

38. We call upon all States to review and, where necessary, revise any immigration policies which are inconsistent with international human rights instruments, with a view to eliminating all discriminatory policies and practices against migrants, including Asians and people of Asian descent;

39. We recognise that the indigenous peoples have been victims of discrimination for centuries and affirm that they are free and equal in dignity and rights and should not suffer any discrimination, particularly on the basis of their indigenous origin and identity, and we stress the continuing need for action to overcome the persistent racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance that affect them;

40. We recognise the value and diversity of the cultures and the heritage of indigenous peoples, whose singular contribution to the development and cultural pluralism of society and full participation in all aspects of society, in particular on issues that are of concern to them, are fundamental for political and social stability, and for the development of the States in which they live;

41. We reiterate our conviction that the full realization by indigenous peoples of their human rights and fundamental freedoms is indispensable for eliminating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. We firmly reiterate our determination to promote their full and equal enjoyment of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, as well as the benefits of sustainable development, while fully respecting their distinctive characteristics and their own initiatives;

42. We emphasise that, in order for indigenous peoples freely to express their own identity and exercise their rights, they should be free from all forms of discrimination, which necessarily entails respect for their human rights and fundamental freedoms. Efforts are now being made to secure universal recognition for those rights in the negotiations on the draft declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples, including the following: to call themselves by their own names; to participate freely and on an equal footing in their country's political, economic, social and cultural development; to maintain their own forms of organization, lifestyles, cultures and traditions; to maintain and use their own languages; to maintain their own economic structures in the areas where they live; to take part in the development of their educational systems and programmes; to manage their lands and natural resources, including hunting and fishing rights; and to have access to justice on a basis of equality;

43. We also recognise the special relationship that indigenous peoples have with the land as the basis for their spiritual, physical and cultural existence and encourage States, wherever possible, to ensure that indigenous peoples are able to retain ownership of their lands and of those natural resources to which they are entitled under domestic law;

44. We welcome the decision to create the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues within the United Nations system, giving concrete expression to major objectives of the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People and the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action;

45. We welcome the appointment by the United Nations of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous people and express our commitment to cooperate with the Special Rapporteur;

46. We recognise the positive economic, social and cultural contributions made by migrants to both countries of origin and destination;

47. We reaffirm the sovereign right of each State to formulate and apply its own legal framework and policies for migration, and further affirm that these policies should be consistent with applicable human rights instruments, norms and standards, and designed to ensure that they are free of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

48. We note with concern and strongly condemn the manifestations and acts of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance against migrants and the stereotypes often applied to them; reaffirm the responsibility of States to protect the human rights of migrants under their jurisdiction and reaffirm the responsibility of States to safeguard and protect migrants against illegal or violent acts, in particular acts of racial discrimination and crimes perpetrated with racist or xenophobic motivation by individuals or groups; and stress the need for their fair, just and equitable treatment in society and in the workplace;

49. We highlight the importance of creating conditions conducive to greater harmony, tolerance and respect between migrants and the rest of society in the countries in which they find themselves, in order to eliminate manifestations of racism and xenophobia against migrants. We underline that family reunification has a positive effect on integration and emphasise the need for States to facilitate family reunion;

50. We are mindful of the situation of vulnerability in which migrants frequently find themselves, owing, inter alia, to their departure from their countries of origin and to the difficulties they encounter because of differences in language, customs and culture, as well as economic and social difficulties and obstacles to the return of migrants who are undocumented or in an irregular situation;

51. We reaffirm the necessity of eliminating racial discrimination against migrants, including migrant workers, in relation to issues such as employment, social services, including education and health, as well as access to justice, and that their treatment must be in accordance with international human rights instruments, free from racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

52. We note with concern that, among other factors, racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance contribute to forced displacement and the movement of people from their countries of origin as refugees and asylumseekers;

53. We recognise with concern that, despite efforts to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, instances of various forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance against refugees, asylum-seekers and internally displaced persons, among others, continue;

54. We underline the urgency of addressing the root causes of displacement and of finding durable solutions for refugees and displaced persons, in particular voluntary return in safety and dignity to the countries of origin, as well as resettlement in third countries and local integration, when and where appropriate and feasible;

55. We affirm our commitment to respect and implement humanitarian obligations relating to the protection of refugees, asylum-seekers, returnees and internally displaced persons, and note in this regard the importance of international solidarity, burden-sharing and international cooperation to share responsibility for the protection of refugees, reaffirming that the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol remain the foundation of the international refugee regime and recognizing the importance of their full application by States parties;

56. We recognise the presence in many countries of a Mestizo population of mixed ethnic and racial origins and its valuable contribution to the promotion of tolerance and respect in these societies, and we condemn discrimination against them, especially because such discrimination may be denied owing to its subtle nature;

57. We are conscious of the fact that the history of humanity is replete with major atrocities as a result of gross viola tions of human rights and believe that lessons can be learned through remembering history to avert future tragedies;

58. We recall that the Holocaust must never be forgotten;

59. We recognise with deep concern religious intolerance against certain religious communities, as well as the emergence of hostile acts and violence against such communities because of their religious beliefs and their racial or ethnic origin in various parts of the world, which in particular limit their right to freely practise their belief;

60. We also recognise with deep concern the existence in various parts of the world of religious intolerance against religious communities and their members, in particular limitation of their right to practise their beliefs freely, as well as the emergence of increased negative stereotyping, hostile acts and violence against such communities because of their religious beliefs and their ethnic or so-called racial origin;

61. We recognise with deep concern the increase in anti-Semitism and Islamophobia in various parts of the world, as well as the emergence of racial and violent movements based on racism and discriminatory ideas against Jewish, Muslim and Arab communities; 62. We are conscious that humanity's history is replete with terrible wrongs inflicted through lack of respect for the equality of human beings and note with alarm the increase of such practices in various parts of the world, and we urge people, particularly in conflict situations, to desist from racist incitement, derogatory language and negative stereotyping;

63. We are concerned about the plight of the Palestinian people under foreign occupation. We recognize the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State and we recognise the right to security for all States in the region, including Israel, and call upon all States to support the peace process and bring it to an early conclusion;

64. We call for a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the region in which all peoples shall co-exist and enjoy equality, justice and internationally recognised human rights, and security;

65. We recognise the right of refugees to return voluntarily to their homes and properties in dignity and safety, and urge all States to facilitate such return;

66. We affirm that the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of minorities, where they exist, must be protected and that persons belonging to such minorities should be treated equally and enjoy their human rights and fundamental freedoms without discrimination of any kind;

67. We recognise that members of certain groups with a distinct cultural identity face barriers arising from a complex interplay of ethnic, religious and other factors, as well as their traditions and customs, and call upon States to ensure that measures, policies and programmes aimed at eradicating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance address the barriers that this interplay of factors creates;

68. We recognise with deep concern the ongoing manifestations of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, including violence, against Roma / Gypsies / Sinti / Travellers and recognise the need to develop effective policies and implementation mechanisms for their full achievement of equality;

69. We are convinced that racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance reveal themselves in a differentiated manner for women and girls, and can be among the factors leading to a deterioration in their living conditions, poverty, violence, multiple forms of discrimination, and the limitation or denial of their human rights. We recognise the need to integrate a gender perspective into relevant policies, strategies and programmes of action against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in order to address multiple forms of discrimination;

70. We recognise the need to develop a more systematic and consistent approach to evaluating and monitoring racial discrimination against women, as well as the disadvantages, obstacles and difficulties women face in the full exercise and enjoyment of their civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights because of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

71. We deplore attempts to oblige women belonging to certain faiths and religious minorities to forego their cultural and religious identity, or to restrict their legitimate expression, or to discriminate against them with regard to opportunities for education and employment;

72. We note with concern the large number of children and young people, particularly girls, among the victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and stress the need to incorporate special measures, in accordance with the principle of the best interests of the child and respect for his or her views, in programmes to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, in order to give priority attention to the rights and the situation of children and young people who are victims of these practices;

73. We recognise that a child belonging to an ethnic, religious or linguistic minority or who is indigenous shall not be denied the right, individually or in community with other members of his or her group, to enjoy his or her own culture, to profess and practise his or her own religion, or to use his or her own language;

74. We recognise that child labour is linked to poverty, lack of development and related socio-economic conditions and could in some cases perpetuate poverty and racial discrimination by disproportionately denying children from affected groups the opportunity to acquire the human capabilities needed in productive life and to benefit from economic growth;

75. We note with deep concern the fact that, in many countries, people infected or affected by HIV / AIDS, as well as those who are presumed to be infected, belong to groups vulnerable to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, which has a negative impact and impedes their access to health care and medication;

Measures Of Prevention, Education And Protection Aimed At The Eradication Of Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia And Related Intolerance At The National, Regional And International Levels

76. We recognise that inequitable political, economic, cultural and social conditions can breed and foster racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, which in turn exacerbate the inequity. We believe that genuine equality of opportunity for all, in all spheres, including that for development, is fundamental for the eradication of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

77. We affirm that universal adherence to and full implementation of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination are of

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paramount importance for promoting equality and non-discrimination in the world;

78. We affirm the solemn commitment of all States to promote universal respect for, and observance and protection of, all human rights, economic, social, cultural, civil and political, including the right to development, as a fundamental factor in the prevention and elimination of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

79. We firmly believe that the obstacles to overcoming racial discrimination and achieving racial equality mainly lie in the lack of political will, weak legislation and lack of implementation strategies and concrete action by States, as well as the prevalence of racist attitudes and negative stereotyping;

80. We firmly believe that education, development and the faithful implementation of all international human rights norms and obligations, including enactment of laws and political, social and economic policies, are crucial to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

81. We recognise that democracy, transparent, responsible, accountable and participatory governance responsive to the needs and aspirations of the people, and respect for human rights, fundamental freedoms and the rule of law are essential for the effective prevention and elimination of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. We reaffirm that any form of impunity for crimes motivated by racist and xenophobic attitudes plays a role in weakening the rule of law and democracy and tends to encourage the recurrence of such acts;

82. We affirm that the Dialogue among Civilisations constitutes a process to attain identification and promotion of common grounds among civilizations, recognition and promotion of the inherent dignity and of the equal rights of all human beings and respect for fundamental principles of justice; in this way, it can dispel notions of cultural superiority based on racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and facilitate the building of a reconciled world for the human family;

83. We underline the key role that political leaders and political parties can and ought to play in combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and encourage political parties to take concrete steps to promote solidarity, tolerance and respect;

84. We condemn the persistence and resurgence of neo-Nazism, neo-Fascism and violent nationalist ideologies based on racial or national prejudice, and state that these phenomena can never be justified in any instance or in any circumstances;

85. We condemn political platforms and organisations based on racism, xenophobia or doctrines of racial superiority and related discrimination, as well as legislation and practices based on racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, as incompatible with democracy and transparent and accountable governance. We reaffirm that racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance condoned by governmental policies violate human rights and may endanger friendly relations among peoples, cooperation among nations and international peace and security;

86. We recall that the dissemination of all ideas based upon racial superiority or hatred shall be declared an offence punishable by law with due regard to the principles embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the rights expressly set forth in article 5 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination;

87. We note that article 4, paragraph b, of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination places an obligation upon States to be vigilant and to proceed against organizations that disseminate ideas based on racial superiority or hatred, acts of violence or incitement to such acts. These organisations shall be condemned and discouraged;

88. We recognise that the media should represent the diversity of a multicultural society and play a role in fighting racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. In this regard we draw attention to the power of advertising;

89. We note with regret that certain media, by promoting false images and negative stereotypes of vulnerable individuals or groups of individuals, particularly of migrants and refugees, have contributed to the spread of xenophobic and racist sentiments among the public and in some cases have encouraged violence by racist individuals and groups;

90. We recognise the positive contribution that the exercise of the right to freedom of expression, particularly by the media and new technologies, including the Internet, and full respect for the freedom to seek, receive and impart information, can make to the fight against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance; we reiterate the need to respect the editorial independence and autonomy of the media in this regard;

91. We express deep concern about the use of new information technologies, such as the Internet, for purposes contrary to respect for human values, equality, nondiscrimination, respect for others and tolerance, including to propagate racism, racial hatred, xenophobia, racial discrimination and related intolerance, and that, in particular, children and youth having access to this material could be negatively influenced by it;

92. We also recognise the need to promote the use of new information and communication technologies, including the Internet, to contribute to the fight against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance; new technologies can assist the promotion of tolerance and respect for human dignity, and the principles of equality and non-discrimination;

93. We affirm that all States should recognise the importance of community media that give a voice to victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

94. We reaffirm that the stigmatisation of people of different origins by acts or omissions of public authorities, institutions, the media, political parties or national or local organisations is not only an act of racial discrimination but can also incite the recurrence of such acts, thereby resulting in the creation of a vicious circle which reinforces racist attitudes and prejudices, and which must be condemned;

95. We recognise that education at all levels and all ages, including within the family, in particular human rights education, is a key to changing attitudes and behaviour based on racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and to promoting tolerance and respect for diversity in societies; we further affirm that such education is a determining factor in the promotion, dissemination and protection of the democratic values of justice and equity, which are essential to prevent and combat the spread of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

96. We recognise that quality education, the elimination of illiteracy and access to free primary education for all can contribute to more inclusive societies, equity, stable and harmonious relations and friendship among nations, peoples, groups and individuals, and a culture of peace, fostering mutual understanding, solidarity, social justice and respect for all human rights for all;

97. We underline the links between the right to education and the struggle against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and the essential role of education, including human rights education and education which is sensitive to and respects cultural diversity, especially amongst children and young people, in the prevention and eradication of all forms of intolerance and discrimination;

Provision Of Effective Remedies, Recourse, Redress, And Compensatory And Other Measures At The National, Regional And International Levels

98. We emphasise the importance and necessity of teaching about the facts and truth of the history of humankind from antiquity to the recent past, as well as of teaching about the facts and truth of the history, causes, nature and consequences of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, with a view to achieving a comprehensive and objective cognisance of the tragedies of the past;

99. We acknowledge and profoundly regret the massive human suffering and the tragic plight of millions of men, women and children caused by slavery, the slave trade, the transatlantic slave trade, apartheid, colonialism and genocide, and call upon States concerned to honour the memory of the victims of past tragedies and affirm that, wherever and whenever these occurred, they must be condemned and their recurrence prevented. We regret that these practices and structures, political, socio-economic and cultural, have led to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

100. We acknowledge and profoundly regret the untold suffering and evils inflicted on millions of men, women and children as a result of slavery, the slave trade, the transatlantic slave trade, apartheid, genocide and past tragedies. We further note that some States have taken the initiative to apologise and have paid reparation, where appropriate, for grave and massive violations committed;

101. With a view to closing those dark chapters in history and as a means of reconciliation and healing, we invite the international community and its members to honour the memory of the victims of these tragedies. We further note that some have taken the initiative of regretting or expressing remorse or presenting apologies, and call on all those who have not yet contributed to restoring the dignity of the victims to find appropriate ways to do so and, to this end, appreciate those countries that have done so;

102. We are aware of the moral obligation on the part of all concerned States and call upon these States to take appropriate and effective measures to halt and reverse the lasting consequences of those practices;

103. We recognise the consequences of past and contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance as serious challenges to global peace and security, human dignity and the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms of many people in the world, in particular Africans, people of African descent, people of Asian descent and indigenous peoples;

104. We also strongly reaffirm as a pressing requirement of justice that victims of human rights violations resulting from racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, especially in the light of their vulnerable situation socially, culturally and economically, should be assured of having access to justice, including legal assistance where appropriate, and effective and appropriate protection and remedies, including the right to seek just and adequate reparation or satisfaction for any damage suffered as a result of such discrimination, as enshrined in numerous international and regional human rights instruments, in particular the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination;

105. Guided by the principles set out in the Millennium Declaration and the recognition that we have a collective responsibility to uphold the principles of human dignity, equality and equity and to ensure that globalisation becomes a positive force for all the world's people, the international community commits itself to working for the beneficial integration of the developing countries into the global economy, resisting their marginalisation, determined to achieve accelerated economic growth and sustainable development and to eradicate poverty, inequality and deprivation;

106. We emphasise that remembering the crimes or wrongs of the past, wherever and whenever they occurred, unequivocally condemning its racist tragedies and telling the truth about history are essential elements for international reconciliation and the creation of societies based on justice, equality and solidarity;

Strategies To Achieve Full And Effective Equality, Including International Cooperation And Enhancement Of The United Nations And Other International Mechanisms In Combating Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia And Related Intolerance

107. We underscore the need to design, promote and implement at the national, regional and international levels strategies, programmes and policies, and adequate legislation, which may include special and positive measures, for furthering equal social development and the realization of the civil and political, economic, social and cultural rights of all victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, including through more effective access to the political, judicial and administrative institutions, as well as the need to promote effective access to justice, as well as to guarantee that the benefits of development, science and technology contribute effectively to the improvement of the quality of life for all, without discrimination;

108. We recognise the necessity for special measures or positive actions for the victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in order to promote their full integration into society. Those measures for effective action, including social measures, should aim at correcting the conditions that impair the enjoyment of rights and the introduction of special measures to encourage equal participation of all racial and cultural, linguistic and religious groups in all sectors of society and to bring all onto an equal footing. Those measures should include measures to achieve appropriate representation in educational institutions, housing, political parties, parliaments and employment, especially in the judiciary, police, army and other civil services, which in some cases might involve electoral reforms, land reforms and campaigns for equal participation;

109. We recall the importance of enhancing international cooperation to promote

(a) the fight against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

(b) the effective implementation by States of international treaties and instruments that forbid these practices;

(c) the goals of the Charter of the United Nations in this regard;

(d) the achievement of the goals established by the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, the World Conference on Human Rights held in Vienna in 1993, the International Conference on Population and Development held in Cairo in 1994, the World Summit for Social Development held in Copenhagen in 1995, the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995, the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II) held in Istanbul in 1996; and the World Food Summit held in Rome in 1996, making sure that such goals encompass with equity all the victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

110. We recognize the importance of cooperation among States, relevant international and regional organizations, the international financial institutions, non-governmental organisations and individuals in the worldwide fight against

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racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and that success in this fight requires specifically taking into consideration the grievances, opinions and demands of the victims of such discrimination;

111. We reiterate that the international response and policy, including financial assistance, towards refugees and displaced persons in different parts of the world should not be based on discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin of the refugees and displaced persons concerned and, in this context, we urge the international community to provide adequate assistance on an equitable basis to host countries, in particular to host developing countries and countries in transition;

112. We recognise the importance of independent national human rights institutions conforming to the Principles relating to the status of national institutions for the promotion and protection of human rights, annexed to General Assembly resolution 48/134 of 20 December 1993, and other relevant specialized institutions created by law for the promotion and protection of human rights, including ombudsman institutions, in the struggle against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, as well as for the promotion of democratic values and the rule of law. We encourage States, as appropriate, to establish such institutions and call upon the authorities and society in general in those countries where they are performing their tasks of promotion, protection and prevention to cooperate to the maximum extent possible with these institutions, while respecting their independence;

113. We recognise the important role relevant regional bodies, including regional associations of national human rights institutions, can play in combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and the key role they can play in monitoring and raising awareness about intolerance and discrimination at the regional level, and reaffirm support for such bodies where they exist and encourage their establishment;

114. We recognise the paramount role of parliaments in the fight against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in adopting appropriate legislation, overseeing its implementation and allocating the requisite financial resources;

115. We stress the importance of involving social partners and other non-governmental organizations in the design and implementation of training and development programmes;

116. We recognise the fundamental role of civil society in the fight against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, in particular in assisting States to develop regulations and strategies, in taking measures and action against such forms of discrimination and through follow-up implementation;

117. We also recognise that promoting greater respect and trust among different groups within society must be a shared but differentiated responsibility of government institutions, political leaders, grass-roots organisations and citizens. We underline that civil society plays an important role in promoting the public interest, especially in combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

118. We welcome the catalytic role that non-governmental organisations play in promoting human rights education and raising awareness about racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. They can also play an important role in raising awareness of such issues in the relevant bodies of the United Nations, based upon their national, regional or international experiences. Bearing in mind the difficulties they face, we commit ourselves to creating an atmosphere conducive to the effective functioning of human rights non-governmental organisations, in particular antiracist non-governmental organisations, in combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. We recognise the precarious situation of human rights nongovernmental organisations, including anti-racist non-governmental organisations, in many parts of the world and

express our commitment to adhere to our international obligations and to lift any unlawful barriers to their effective functioning;

119. We encourage the full participation of non-governmental organisations in the follow-up to the World Conference;

120. We recognise that international and national exchange and dialogue, and the development of a global network among youth, are important and fundamental elements in building intercultural understanding and respect, and will contribute to the elimination of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

121. We underline the usefulness of involving youth in the development of forward-looking national, regional and international strategies and in policies to fight racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

122. We affirm that our global drive for the total elimination of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance is undertaken, and that the recommendations contained in the Programme of Action are made, in a spirit of solidarity and international cooperation and are inspired by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and other relevant international instruments. These recommendations are made with due consideration for the past, the present and the future, and with a constructive and forward-looking approach. We recognize that the formulation and implementation of these strategies, policies, programmes and actions, which should be carried out efficiently and promptly, are the responsibility of all States, with the full involvement of civil society at the national, regional and international levels.

Programme Of Action

Recognising the urgent need to translate the objectives of the Declaration into a practical and workable Programme of Action, the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance:

I. Sources, Causes, Forms And Contemporary Manifestations Of Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia And Related Intolerance

1. Urges States in their national efforts, and in cooperation with other States, regional and international organisations and financial institutions, to promote the use of public and private investment in consultation with the affected communities in order to eradicate poverty, particularly in those areas in which victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance predominantly live;

2. Urges States to take all necessary and appropriate measures to end enslavement and contemporary forms of slavery-like practices, to initiate constructive dialogue among States and implement measures with a view to correcting the problems and the damage resulting therefrom;

II. Victims Of Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia And Related Intolerance

Victims: General

3. Urges States to work nationally and in cooperation with other States and relevant regional and international organizations and programmes to strengthen national mechanisms to promote and protect the human rights of victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance who are infected, or presumably infected, with pandemic diseases such as HIV/AIDS and to take concrete measures, including preventive action, appropriate access to medication and treatment, programmes of education, training and mass media dissemination, to eliminate violence, stigmatisation, discrimination, unemployment and other negative consequences arising from these pandemics;

Africans And People Of African Descent

4. Urges States to facilitate the participation of people of African descent in all political, economic, social and cultural aspects of society and in the advancement and economic development of their countries, and to promote a greater knowledge of and respect for their heritage and culture;

5. Requests States, supported by international cooperation as appropriate, to consider positively concentrating additional investments in health-care systems, education, public health, electricity, drinking water and environmental control, as well as other affirmative or positive action initiatives, in communities of primarily African descent;

6. Calls upon the United Nations, international financial and development institutions and other appropriate international mechanisms to develop capacity-building programmes intended for Africans and people of African descent in the Americas and around the world;

7. Requests the Commission on Human Rights to consider establishing a working group or other mechanism of the United Nations to study the problems of racial discrimination faced by people of African descent living in the African Diaspora and make proposals for the elimination of racial discrimination against people of African descent;

8. Urges financial and development institutions and the operational programmes and specialized agencies of the United Nations, in accordance with their regular budgets and the procedures of their governing bodies:

(a) To assign particular priority, and allocate sufficient funding, within their areas of competence and budgets, to improving the situation of Africans and people of African descent, while devoting special attention to the needs of these populations in developing countries, inter alia through the preparation of specific programmes of action;

(b) To carry out special projects, through appropriate channels and in collaboration with Africans and people of African descent, to support their initiatives at the community level and to facilitate the exchange of information and technical know-how between these populations and experts in these areas;

(c) To develop programmes intended for people of African descent allocating additional investments to health systems, education, housing, electricity, drinking water and environmental control measures and promoting equal opportunities in employment, as well as other affirmative or positive action initiatives;

9. Requests States to increase public actions and policies in favour of women and young males of African descent, given that racism affects them more deeply, placing them in a more marginalised and disadvantaged situation;

10. Urges States to ensure access to education and promote access to new technologies that would offer Africans and people of African descent, in particular women and children, adequate resources for education, technological development and long-distance learning in local communities, and further urges States to promote the full and accurate inclusion of the history and contribution of Africans and people of African descent in the education curriculum;

11. Encourages States to identify factors which prevent equal access to, and the equitable presence of, people of African descent at all levels of the public sector, including the public service, and in particular the administration of justice, and to take appropriate measures to remove the obstacles identified and also to encourage the private sector to promote equal access to, and the equitable presence of, people of African descent at all levels within their organisations;

12. Calls upon States to take specific steps to ensure full and effective access to the justice system for all individuals, particularly those of African descent;

13. Urges States, in accordance with international human rights standards and their respective domestic legal framework, to resolve problems of ownership of ancestral lands inhabited for generations by people of African descent and to promote the productive utilization of land and the comprehensive development of these communities, respecting their culture and their specific forms of decision-making;

14. Urges States to recognise the particularly severe problems of religious prejudice and intolerance that many people of African descent experience and to implement policies and measures that are designed to prevent and eliminate all such discrimination on the basis of religion and belief, which, when combined with certain other forms of discrimination, constitutes a form of multiple discrimination;

Indigenous Peoples

15. Urges States:

(a) To adopt or continue to apply, in concert with them, constitutional, administrative, legislative, judicial and all necessary measures to promote, protect and ensure the enjoyment by indigenous peoples of their rights, as well as to guarantee them the exercise of their human rights and fundamental freedoms on the basis of equality, non-discrimination and full and free participation in all areas of society, in particular in matters affecting or concerning their interests;

(b) To promote better knowledge of and respect for indigenous cultures and heritage; and welcomes measures already taken by States in these respects;

16. Urges States to work with indigenous peoples to stimulate their access to economic activities and increase their level of employment, where appropriate, through the establishment, acquisition or expansion by indigenous peoples of enterprises, and the implementation of measures such as training, the provision of technical assistance and credit facilities;

17. Urges States to work with indigenous peoples to establish and implement programmes that provide access to training and services that could benefit the development of their communities;

18. Requests States to adopt public policies and give impetus to programmes on behalf of and in concert with indigenous women and girls, with a view to promoting their civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights; to putting an end to their situation of disadvantage for reasons of gender and ethnicity; to dealing with urgent problems affecting them in regard to education, their physical and mental health, economic life and in the matter of violence against them, including domestic violence; and to eliminating the situation of aggravated discrimination suffered by indigenous women and girls on multiple grounds of racism and gender discrimination;

19. Recommends that States examine, in conformity with relevant international human rights instruments, norms and standards, their Constitutions, laws, legal systems and policies in order to identify and eradicate racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance towards indigenous peoples and individuals, whether implicit, explicit or inherent;

20. Calls upon concerned States to honour and respect their treaties and agreements with indigenous peoples and to accord them due recognition and observance;

21. Calls upon States to give full and appropriate consideration to the recommendations produced by indigenous peoples in their own forums on the World Conference;

22. Requests States:

(a) To develop and, where they already exist, support institutional mechanisms to promote the accomplishment of

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the objectives and measures relating to indigenous peoples agreed in this Programme of Action;

(b) To promote, in concert with indigenous organisations, local authorities and non-governmental organizations, actions aimed at overcoming racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance against indigenous peoples and to make regular assessments of the progress achieved in this regard;

(c) To promote understanding among society at large of the importance of special measures to overcome disadvantages faced by indigenous peoples;

(d) To consult indigenous representatives in the process of decision-making concerning policies and measures that directly affect them;

23. Calls upon States to recognize the particular challenges faced by indigenous peoples and individuals living in urban environments and urges States to implement effective strategies to combat the racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance they encounter, paying particular attention to opportunities for their continued practice of their traditional, cultural, linguistic and spiritual ways of life;

Migrants

24. Requests all States to combat manifestations of a generalised rejection of migrants and actively to discourage all racist demonstrations and acts that generate xenophobic behaviour and negative sentiments towards, or rejection of, migrants;

25. Invites international and national non-governmental organisations to include monitoring and protection of the human rights of migrants in their programmes and activities and to sensitise Governments and increase public awareness in all States about the need to prevent racist acts and manifestations of discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance against migrants;

26. Requests States to promote and protect fully and effectively the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all migrants, in conformity with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and their obligations under international human rights instruments, regardless of the migrants' immigration status;

27. Encourages States to promote education on the human rights of migrants and to engage in information campaigns to ensure that the public receives accurate information regarding migrants and migration issues, including the positive contribution of migrants to the host society and the vulnerability of migrants, particularly those who are in an irregular situation;

28. Calls upon States to facilitate family reunification in an expeditious and effective manner which has a positive effect on integration of migrants, with due regard for the desire of many family members to have an independent status;

29. Urges States to take concrete measures that would eliminate racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in the workplace against all workers, including migrants, and ensure the full equality of all before the law, including labour law, and further urges States to eliminate barriers, where appropriate, to: participating in vocational training, collective bargaining, employment, contracts and trade union activity; accessing judicial and administrative tribunals dealing with grievances; seeking employment in different parts of their country of residence; and working in safe and healthy conditions;

30. Urges States:

(a) To develop and implement policies and action plans, and to reinforce and implement preventive measures, in order to foster greater harmony and tolerance between migrants and host societies, with the aim of eliminating manifestations of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, including acts of violence, perpetrated in many societies by individuals or groups;

(b) To review and revise, where necessary, their immigration laws, policies and practices so that they are free of racial discrimination and compatible with States' obligations under international human rights instruments;

(c) To implement specific measures involving the host community and migrants in order to encourage respect for cultural diversity, to promote the fair treatment of migrants and to develop programmes, where appropriate, that facilitate their integration into social, cultural, political and economic life;

(d) To ensure that migrants, regardless of their immigration status, detained by public authorities are treated with humanity and in a fair manner, and receive effective legal protection and, where appropriate, the assistance of a competent interpreter in accordance with the relevant norms of international law and human rights standards, particularly during interrogation;

(e) To ensure that the police and immigration authorities treat migrants in a dignified and non-discriminatory manner, in accordance with international standards, through, inter alia, organising specialised training courses for administrators, police officers, immigration officials and other interested groups;

(f) To consider the question of promoting the recognition of the educational, professional and technical credentials of migrants, with a view to maximising their contribution to their new States of residence;

(g) To take all possible measures to promote the full enjoyment by all migrants of all human rights, including those related to fair wages and equal remuneration for work of equal value without distinction of any kind, and to the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond their control, social security, including social insurance, access to education, health care, social services and respect for their cultural identity;

(h) To consider adopting and implementing immigration policies and programmes that would enable immigrants, in particular women and children who are victims of spousal or domestic violence, to free themselves from abusive relationships;

31. Urges States, in the light of the increased proportion of women migrants, to place special focus on gender issues, including gender discrimination, particularly when the multiple barriers faced by migrant women intersect; detailed research should be undertaken not only in respect of human rights violations perpetrated against women migrants, but also on the contribution they make to the economies of their countries of origin and their host countries, and the findings should be included in reports to treaty bodies;

32. Urges States to recognise the same economic opportunities and responsibilities to documented long-term migrants as to other members of society;

33. Recommends that host countries of migrants consider the provision of adequate social services, in particular in the areas of health, education and adequate housing, as a matter of priority, in cooperation with the United Nations agencies, the regional organizations and international financial bodies; also requests that these agencies provide an adequate response to requests for such services;

Refugees

34. Urges States to comply with their obligations under international human rights, refugee and humanitarian law relating to refugees, asylum-seekers and displaced persons, and urges the international community to provide them with protection and assistance in an equitable manner and with due regard to their needs in different parts of the world, in keeping with principles of international solidarity, burden-sharing and international cooperation, to share responsibilities;

35. Calls upon States to recognise the racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance that refugees may face as they endeavour to engage in the life of the societies of their host countries and encourages States, in accordance with their international obligations and commitments, to develop strategies to address this discrimination and to facilitate the full enjoyment of the human rights of refugees. States parties should ensure that all measures relating to refugees must be in full accordance with the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol;

36. Urges States to take effective steps to protect refugee and internally displaced women and girls from violence, to investigate any such violations and to bring those responsible to justice, in collaboration, when appropriate, with the relevant and competent organisations;

Other Victims

37. Urges States to take all possible measures to ensure that all persons, without any discrimination, are registered and have access to the necessary documentation reflecting their legal identity to enable them to benefit from available legal procedures, remedies and development opportunities, as well as to reduce the incidence of trafficking;

38. Recognizes that victims of trafficking are particularly exposed to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. States shall ensure that all measures taken against trafficking in persons, in particular those that affect the victims of such trafficking, are consistent with internationally recognized principles of non-discrimination, including the prohibition of racial discrimination and the availability of appropriate legal redress;

39. Calls upon States to ensure that Roma / Gypsy / Sinti / Traveller children and youth, especially girls, are given equal access to education and that educational curricula at all levels, including complementary programmes on intercultural education, which might, inter alia, include opportunities for them to learn the official languages in the pre-school period and to recruit Roma / Gypsy / Sinti / Traveller teachers and classroom assistants in order for such children and youth to learn their mother tongue, are sensitive and responsive to their needs;

40. Encourages States to adopt appropriate and concrete policies and measures, to develop implementation mechanisms, where these do not already exist, and to exchange experiences, in cooperation with representatives of the Roma / Gypsies / Sinti / Travellers, in order to eradicate discrimination against them, enable them to achieve equality and ensure their full enjoyment of all their human rights, as recommended in the case of the Roma by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination in its general recommendation XXVII, so that their needs are met;

41. Recommends that the intergovernmental organisations address, as appropriate, in their projects of cooperation with and assistance to various States, the situation of the Roma / Gypsies / Sinti / Travellers and promote their economic, social and cultural advancement;

42. Calls upon States and encourages non-governmental organizations to raise awareness about the racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance experienced by the Roma / Gypsies / Sinti / Travellers, and to promote knowledge and respect for their culture and history;

43. Encourages the media to promote equal access to and participation in the media for the Roma / Gypsies / Sinti / Travellers, as well as to protect them from racist, stereotypical and discriminatory media reporting, and calls upon States to facilitate the media's efforts in this regard;

44. Invites States to design policies aimed at combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance that are based on reliable statistical data recognizing the concerns identified in consultation with the Roma / Gypsies / Sinti / Travellers themselves reflecting as accurately as possible their status in society. All such information shall be collected in accordance with provisions on human rights and fundamental freedoms, such as data protection regulations and privacy guarantees, and in consultation with the persons concerned;

45. Encourages States to address the problems of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance against people of Asian descent and urges States to take all necessary measures to eliminate the barriers that such persons face in participating in economic, social, cultural and political life;

46. Urges States to ensure within their jurisdiction that persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities can exercise fully and effectively all human rights and fundamental freedoms without any discrimination and in full equality before the law, and also urges States and the international community to promote and protect the rights of such persons;

47. Urges States to guarantee the rights of persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities, individually or in community with other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, and to use their own language, in private and in public, freely and without interference, and to participate effectively in the cultural, social, economic and political life of the country in which they live, in order to protect them from any form of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance that they are or may be subjected to;

48. Urges States to recognise the effect that discrimination, marginalisation and social exclusion have had and continue to have on many racial groups living in a numerically based minority situation within a State, and to ensure that persons in such groups can exercise, as individual members of such groups, fully and effectively, all human rights and fundamental freedoms without distinction and in full equality before the law, and to take, where applicable, appropriate measures in respect of employment, housing and education with a view to preventing racial discrimination;

49. Urges States to take, where applicable, appropriate measures to prevent racial discrimination against persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities in respect of employment, health care, housing, social services and education, and in this context forms of multiple discrimination should be taken into account;

50. Urges States to incorporate a gender perspective in all programmes of action against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and to consider the burden of such discrimination which falls particularly on indigenous women, African women, Asian women, women of African descent, women of Asian descent, women migrants and women from other disadvantaged groups, ensuring their access to the resources of production on an equal footing with men, as a means of promoting their participation in the economic and productive development of their communities;

51. Urges States to involve women, especially women victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, in decision-making at all levels when working towards the eradication of such discrimination, and to develop concrete measures to incorporate race and gender analysis in the implementation of all aspects of the Programme of Action and national plans of action, particularly in the fields of employment programmes and services and resource allocation;

52. Recognizing that poverty shapes economic and social status and establishes obstacles to the effective political

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participation of women and men in different ways and to different extents, urges States to undertake gender analyses of all economic and social policies and programmes, especially poverty eradication measures, including those designed and implemented to benefit those individuals or groups of individuals who are victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

53. Urges States and encourages all sectors of society to empower women and girls who are victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, so that they can fully exercise their rights in all spheres of public and private life, and to ensure the full, equal and effective participation of women in decision-making at all levels, in particular in the design, implementation and evaluation of policies and measures which affect their lives;

54. Urges States:

(a) To recognise that sexual violence which has been systematically used as a weapon of war, sometimes with the acquiescence or at the instigation of the State, is a serious violation of international humanitarian law that, in defined circumstances, constitutes a crime against humanity and/or a war crime, and that the intersection of discrimination on grounds of race and gender makes women and girls particularly vulnerable to this type of violence, which is often related to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

(b) To end impunity and prosecute those responsible for crimes against humanity and war crimes, including crimes related to sexual and other genderbased violence against women and girls, as well as to ensure that persons in authority who are responsible for such crimes, including by committing, ordering, soliciting, inducing, aiding in, abetting, assisting or in any other way contributing to their commission or attempted commission, are identified, investigated, prosecuted and punished;

55. Requests States, in collaboration where necessary with international organizations, having the best interests of the child as a primary consideration, to provide protection against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance against children, especially those in circumstances of particular vulnerability, and to pay special attention to the situation of such children when designing relevant policies, strategies and programmes;

56. Urges States, in accordance with their national law and their obligations under the relevant international instruments, to take all measures to the maximum extent of their available resources to guarantee, without any discrimination, the equal right of all children to the immediate registration of birth, in order to enable them to exercise their human rights and fundamental freedoms. States shall grant women equal rights with men with respect to nationality;

57. Urges States and international and regional organizations, and encourages non-governmental organizations and the private sector, to address the situation of persons with disabilities who are also subject to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance; also urges States to take necessary measures to ensure their full enjoyment of all human rights and to facilitate their full integration into all fields of life;

III. Measures Of Prevention, Education And Protection Aimed At The Eradication Of Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia And Related Intolerance At The National, Regional And International Levels

58. Urges States to adopt and implement, at both the national and international levels, effective measures and policies, in addition to existing anti-discrimination national legislation and relevant international instruments and mechanisms, which encourage all citizens and institutions to take a stand against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and to recognise, respect and maximise the benefits of diversity within and among all nations in working together to build a harmonious and productive future by putting into practice and promoting values and principles such as justice, equality and non-discrimination, democracy, fairness and friendship, tolerance and respect within and between communities and nations, in particular through public information and education programmes to raise awareness and understanding of the benefits of cultural diversity, including programmes where the public authorities work in partnership with international and non-governmental organisations and other sectors of civil society;

59. Urges States to mainstream a gender perspective in the design and development of measures of prevention, education and protection aimed at the eradication of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance at all levels, to ensure that they effectively target the distinct situations of women and men;

60. Urges States to adopt or strengthen, as appropriate, national programmes for eradicating poverty and reducing social exclusion which take account of the needs and experiences of individuals or groups of individuals who are victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and also urges that they expand their efforts to foster bilateral, regional and international cooperation in implementing those programmes;

61. Urges States to work to ensure that their political and legal systems reflect the multicultural diversity within their societies and, where necessary, to improve democratic institutions so that they are more fully participatory and avoid marginalisation, exclusion and discrimination against specific sectors of society;

62. Urges States to take all necessary measures to address specifically, through policies and programmes, racism and racially motivated violence against women and girls and to increase cooperation, policy responses and effective implementation of national legislation and of their obligations under relevant international instruments, and other protective and preventive measures aimed at the elimination of all forms of racially motivated discrimination and violence against women and girls;

63. Encourages the business sector, in particular the tourist industry and Internet providers, to develop codes of conduct, with a view to preventing trafficking in persons and protecting the victims of such traffic, especially those in prostitution, against gender-based and racial discrimination and promoting their rights, dignity and security;

64. Urges States to devise, enforce and strengthen effective measures at the national, regional and international levels to prevent, combat and eliminate all forms of trafficking in women and children, in particular girls, through comprehensive anti-trafficking strategies which include legislative measures, prevention campaigns and information exchange. It also urges States to allocate resources, as appropriate, to provide comprehensive programmes designed to provide assistance to, protection for, healing, reintegration into society and rehabilitation of victims. States shall provide or strengthen training for law enforcement, immigration and other relevant officials who deal with victims of trafficking in this regard;

65. Encourages the bodies, agencies and relevant programmes of the United Nations system and States to promote and to make use of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (E/CN.4/1998/53/Add.2), particularly those provisions relating to non-discrimination,

National Level

Legislative, judicial, regulatory, administrative and other measures to prevent and protect against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance

66. Urges States to establish and implement without delay national policies and action plans to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, including their gender-based manifestations;

67. Urges States to design or reinforce, promote and implement effective legislative and administrative policies, as well as other preventive measures, against the serious situation experienced by certain groups of workers, including migrant workers, who are victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. Special attention should be given to protecting people engaged in domestic work and trafficked persons from discrimination and violence, as well as to combating prejudice against them;

68. Urges States to adopt and implement, or strengthen, national legislation and administrative measures that expressly and specifically counter racism and prohibit racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, whether direct or indirect, in all spheres of public life, in accordance with their obligations under the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, ensuring that their reservations are not contrary to the object and purpose of the Convention;

69. Urges States to enact and implement, as appropriate, laws against trafficking in persons, especially women and children, and smuggling of migrants, taking into account practices that endanger human lives or lead to various kinds of servitude and exploitation, such as debt bondage, slavery, sexual exploitation or labour exploitation; also encourages States to create, if they do not already exist, mechanisms to combat such practices and to allocate adequate resources to ensure law enforcement and the protection of the rights of victims, and to reinforce bilateral, regional and international cooperation, including with non-governmental organisations that assist victims, to combat this trafficking in persons and smuggling of migrants;

70. Urges States to take all necessary constitutional, legislative and administrative measures to foster equality among individuals and groups of individuals who are victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and to review existing measures with a view to amending or repealing national legislation and administrative that may give rise to such forms of discrimination;

71. Urges States, including their law enforcement agencies, to design and fully implement effective policies and programmes to prevent, detect and ensure accountability for misconduct by police officers and other law enforcement personnel which is motivated by racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and to prosecute perpetrators of such misconduct;

72. Urges States to design, implement and enforce effective measures to eliminate the phenomenon popularly known as "racial profiling" and comprising the practice of police and other law enforcement officers relying, to any degree, on race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin as the basis for subjecting persons to investigatory activities or for determining whether an individual is engaged in criminal activity;

73. Urges States to take measures to prevent genetic research or its applications from being used to promote racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, to protect the privacy of personal genetic information and to prevent such information from being used for discriminatory or racist purposes;

74. Urges States and invites non-governmental organisations and the private sector:

(a) To create and implement policies that promote a high-quality and diverse police force free from racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and recruit actively all groups, including minorities, into public employment, including the police force and other agencies within the criminal justice system (such as prosecutors);

(b) To work to reduce violence, including violence motivated by racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, by:

1) Developing educational materials to teach young people the importance of tolerance and respect;

2) Addressing bias before it manifests itself in violent criminal activity;

3) Establishing working groups consisting of, among others, local community leaders and national and local law enforcement officials, to improve coordination, community involvement, training, education and data collection, with the aim of preventing such violent criminal activity;

4) Ensuring that civil rights laws that prohibit violent criminal activity are strongly enforced;

5) Enhancing data collection regarding violence motivated by racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

6) Providing appropriate assistance to victims, and public education to prevent future incidents of violence motivated by racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

Ratification Of And Effective Implementation Of Relevant International And Regional Legal Instruments On Human Rights And Non-Discrimination

75. Urges States that have not yet done so to consider ratifying or acceding to the international human rights instruments which combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, in particular to accede to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination as a matter of urgency, with a view to universal ratification by the year 2005, and to consider making the declaration envisaged under article 14, to comply with their reporting obligations, and to publish and act upon the concluding observations of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. It also urges States to withdraw reservations contrary to the object and purpose of that Convention and to consider withdrawing other reservations;

76. Urges States to give due consideration to the observations and recommendations of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. To that effect, States should consider setting up appropriate national monitoring and evaluation mechanisms to ensure that all appropriate steps are taken to follow up on these observations and recommendations;

77. Urges States that have not yet done so to consider becoming parties to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, as well as to consider acceding to the Optional Protocols to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights;

78. Urges those States that have not yet done so to consider signing and ratifying or acceding to the following instruments:

(a) Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide of 1948;

(b) International Labour Organisation Migration for Employment Convention (Revised), 1949 (No. 97);

(c) Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others of 1949;

(d) Convention relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951, and its 1967 Protocol;

(e) International Labour Organisation Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111);

(f) Convention against Discrimination in Education, adopted on 14 December 1960 by the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization;

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(g) Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979, with a view to achieving universal ratification within five years, and its Optional Protocol of 1999;

(h) Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 and its two Optional Protocols of 2000, and the International Labour Organization Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138) and Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182);

(i) International Labour Organisation Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention, 1975 (No. 143);

(j) International Labour Organisation Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 (No. 169) and the Convention on Biological Diversity of 1992;

(k) International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families of 1990;

(l) The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court of 1998;

(m) United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime, the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the Convention and the Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air, supplementing the Convention of 2000; It further urges States parties to these instruments to implement them fully;

79. Calls upon States to promote and protect the exercise of the rights set out in the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief, proclaimed by the General Assembly in its resolution 36/55 of 25 November 1981, in order to obviate religious discrimination which, when combined with certain other forms of discrimination, constitutes a form of multiple discrimination;

80. Urges States to seek full respect for, and compliance with, the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations of 1963, especially as it relates to the right of foreign nationals, regardless of their legal and immigration status, to communicate with a consular officer of their own State in the case of arrest or detention;

81. Urges all States to prohibit discriminatory treatment based on race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin against foreigners and migrant workers, inter alia, where appropriate, concerning the granting of work visas and work permits, housing, health care and access to justice;

82. Underlines the importance of combating impunity, including for crimes with a racist or xenophobic motivation, also at the international level, noting that impunity for violations of human rights and international humanitarian law is a serious obstacle to a fair and equitable justice system and, ultimately, reconciliation and stability; it also fully supports the work of the existing international criminal tribunals and ratification of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, and urges all States to cooperate with these international criminal tribunals;

83. Urges States to make every effort to apply fully the relevant provisions of the International Labour Organization Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work of 1998, in order to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

Prosecution Of Perpetrators Of Racist Acts

84. Urges States to adopt effective measures to combat criminal acts motivated by racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, to take measures so that such motivations are considered an aggravating factor for the purposes of sentencing, to prevent these crimes from going unpunished and to ensure the rule of law;

85. Urges States to undertake investigations to examine possible links between criminal prosecution, police violence and penal sanctions, on the one hand, and racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, on the other, so as to have evidence for taking the necessary steps for the eradication of any such links and discriminatory practices;

86. Calls upon States to promote measures to deter the emergence of and to counter neo-fascist, violent nationalist ideologies which promote racial hatred and racial discrimination, as well as racist and xenophobic sentiments, including measures to combat the negative influence of such ideologies especially on young people through formal and non-formal education, the media and sport;

87. Urges States parties to adopt legislation implementing the obligations they have assumed to prosecute and punish persons who have committed or ordered to be committed grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 and Additional Protocol I thereto and of other serious violations of the laws and customs of war, in particular in relation to the principle of non-discrimination;

88. Calls upon States to criminalize all forms of trafficking in persons, in particular women and children, and to condemn and penalize traffickers and intermediaries, while ensuring protection and assistance to the victims of trafficking, with full respect for their human rights;

89. Urges States to carry out comprehensive, exhaustive, timely and impartial investigations of all unlawful acts of racism and racial discrimination, to prosecute criminal offences ex officio, as appropriate, or initiate or facilitate all appropriate actions arising from offences of a racist or xenophobic nature, to ensure that criminal and civil investigations and prosecutions of offences of a racist or xenophobic nature are given high priority and are actively and consistently undertaken, and to ensure the right to equal treatment before the tribunals and all other organs administering justice. In this regard, the World Conference underlines the importance of fostering awareness and providing training to the various agents in the criminal justice system to ensure fair and impartial application of the law. In this respect, it recommends that anti-discrimination monitoring services be established;

Establishment And Reinforcement Of Independent Specialized National Institutions And Mediation

90. Urges States, as appropriate, to establish, strengthen, review and reinforce the effectiveness of independent national human rights institutions, particularly on issues of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, in conformity with the Principles relating to the status of national institutions for the promotion and protection of human rights, annexed to General Assembly resolution 48/134 of 20 December 1993, and to provide them with adequate financial resources, competence and capacity for investigation, research, education and public awareness activities to combat these phenomena;

91. Also urges States:

(a) To foster cooperation between these institutions and other national institutions;

(b) To take steps to ensure that those individuals or groups of individuals who are victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance can participate fully in these institutions;

(c) To support these institutions and similar bodies, inter alia through the publication and circulation of existing national laws and jurisprudence, and cooperation with institutions in other countries, so that knowledge can be gained of the manifestations, functions and mechanisms of these practices and the strategies designed to prevent, combat and eradicate them;

Policies And Practices

Data Collection And Disaggregation, Research And Study

92. Urges States to collect, compile, analyse, disseminate and publish reliable statistical data at the national and local levels and undertake all other related measures which are necessary to assess regularly the situation of individuals and groups of individuals who are victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

(a) Such statistical data should be disaggregated in accordance with national legislation. Any such information shall, as appropriate, be collected with the explicit consent of the victims, based on their self-identification and in accordance with provisions on human rights and fundamental freedoms, such as data protection regulations and privacy guarantees. This information must not be misused;

(b) The statistical data and information should be collected with the objective of monitoring the situation of marginalized groups, and the development and evaluation of legislation, policies, practices and other measures aimed at preventing and combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, as well as for the purpose of determining whether any measures have an unintentional disparate impact on victims. To that end, it recommends the development of voluntary, consensual and participatory strategies in the process of collecting, designing and using information;

(c) The information should take into account economic and social indicators, including, where appropriate, health and health status, infant and maternal mortality, life expectancy, literacy, education, employment, housing, land ownership, mental and physical health care, water, sanitation, energy and communications services, poverty and average disposable income, in order to elaborate social and economic development policies with a view to closing the existing gaps in social and economic conditions;

93. Invites States, intergovernmental organizations, nongovernmental organizations, academic institutions and the private sector to improve concepts and methods of data collection and analysis; to promote research, exchange experiences and successful practices and develop promotional activities in this area; and to develop indicators of progress and participation of individuals and groups of individuals in society subject to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

94. Recognises that policies and programmes aimed at combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance should be based on quantitative and qualitative research, incorporating a gender perspective. Such policies and programmes should take into account priorities identified by individuals and groups of individuals who are victims of, or subject to, racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

95. Urges States to establish regular monitoring of acts of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in the public and private sectors, including those committed by law enforcement officials;

96. Invites States to promote and conduct studies and adopt an integral, objective and long-term approach to all phases and aspects of migration which will deal effectively with both its causes and manifestations. These studies and approaches should pay special attention to the root causes of migratory flows, such as lack of full enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the effects of economic globalization on migration trends;

97. Recommends that further studies be conducted on how racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance may be reflected in laws, policies, institutions and practices and how this may have contributed to the victimization and exclusion of migrants, especially women and children;

98. Recommends that States include, where applicable, in their periodic reports to United Nations human rights treaty bodies, in an appropriate form, statistical information relating to individuals, members of groups and communities within their jurisdiction, including statistical data on participation in political life and on their economic, social and cultural situation. All such information shall be collected in accordance with provisions on human rights and fundamental freedoms, such as data protection regulations and privacy guarantees;

Action-Oriented Policies And Action Plans, Including Affirmative Action To Ensure Non-Discrimination, In Particular As Regards Access To Social Services, Employment, Housing, Education, Health Care, Etc.

99. Recognises that combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance is a primary responsibility of States. It therefore encourages States to develop or elaborate national action plans to promote diversity, equality, equity, social justice, equality of opportunity and the participation of all. Through, among other things, affirmative or positive actions and strategies, these plans should aim at creating conditions for all to participate effectively in decisionmaking and realize civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights in all spheres of life on the basis of non-discrimination. The World Conference encourages States, in developing and elaborating such action plans, to establish, or reinforce, dialogue with non-governmental organizations in order to involve them more closely in designing, implementing and evaluating policies and programmes;

100. Urges States to establish, on the basis of statistical information, national programmes, including affirmative or positive measures, to promote the access of individuals and groups of individuals who are or may be victims of racial discrimination to basic social services, including primary education, basic health care and adequate housing;

101. Urges States to establish programmes to promote the access without discrimination of individuals or groups of individuals who are victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance to health care, and to promote strong efforts to eliminate disparities, inter alia in the infant and maternal mortality rates, childhood immunizations, HIV / AIDS, heart diseases, cancer and contagious diseases;

102. Urges States to promote residential integration of all members of the society at the planning stage of urban development schemes and other human settlements, as well as while renewing neglected areas of public housing, so as to counter social exclusion and marginalization;

Employment

103. Urges States to promote and support where appropriate the organization and operation of enterprises owned by persons who are victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance by promoting equal access to credit and to training programmes;

104. Urges States and encourages non-governmental organizations and the private sector:

(a) To support the creation of workplaces free of discrimination through a multifaceted strategy that includes civil rights enforcement, public education and communication within the workplace, and to promote and protect the rights of workers who are subject to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

(b) To foster the creation, growth and expansion of businesses dedicated to improving economic and educational conditions in underserved and disadvantaged areas, by increasing access to capital through, inter alia, community development banks, recognizing that new businesses can have a positive, dynamic impact on communities in need, and to work with the private sector to create jobs, help retain existing jobs and stimulate industrial and commercial growth in economically distressed areas;

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(c) To improve the prospects of targeted groups facing, inter alia, the greatest obstacles in finding, keeping or regaining work, including skilled employment. Particular attention should be paid to persons subject to multiple discrimination;

105. Urges States to give special attention, when devising and implementing legislation and policies designed to enhance the protection of workers' rights, to the serious situation of lack of protection, and in some cases exploitation, as in the case of trafficked persons and smuggled migrants, which makes them more vulnerable to ill-treatment such as confinement in the case of domestic workers and also being employed in dangerous and poorly paid jobs;

106. Urges States to avoid the negative effects of discriminatory practices, racism and xenophobia in employment and occupation by promoting the application and observance of international instruments and norms on workers' rights;

107. Calls upon States and encourages representative trade unions and the business sector to advance non-discriminatory practices in the workplace and protect the rights of workers, including, in particular, the victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

108. Calls upon States to provide effective access to administrative and legal procedures and other remedial action to victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in the workplace;

Health, Environment

109. Urges States, individually and through international cooperation, to enhance measures to fulfil the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health, with a view to eliminating disparities in health status, as indicated in standard health indexes, which might result from racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

110. Urges States and encourages non-governmental organizations and the private sector:

(a) To provide effective mechanisms for monitoring and eliminating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in the health-care system, such as the development and enforcement of effective anti-discrimination laws;

(b) To take steps to ensure equal access to comprehensive, quality health care affordable for all, including primary health care for medically underserved people, facilitate the training of a health workforce that is both diverse and motivated to work in underserved communities, and work to increase diversity in the health-care profession by recruiting on merit and potential women and men from all groups, representing the diversity of their societies, for health-care careers and by retaining them in the health professions;

(c) To work with health-care professionals, community-based health providers, non-governmental organizations, scientific researchers and private industry as a means of improving the health status of marginalized communities, in particular victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

(d) To work with health professionals, scientific researchers and international and regional health organizations to study the differential impact of medical treatments and health strategies on various communities;

(e) To adopt and implement policies and programmes to improve HIV / AIDS prevention efforts in high-risk communities and work to expand availability of HIV / AIDS care, treatment and other support services;

111. Invites States to consider non-discriminatory measures to provide a safe and healthy environment for individuals and groups of individuals victims of or subject to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and in particular:

(a) To improve access to public information on health and environment issues;

(b) To ensure that relevant concerns are taken into account in the public process of decision-making on the environment;

(c) To share technology and successful practices to improve human health and environment in all areas;

(d) To take appropriate remedial measures, as possible, to clean, re-use and redevelop contaminated sites and, where appropriate, relocate those affected on a voluntary basis after consultations;

Equal Participation In Political, Economic, Social And Cultural Decision-Making

112. Urges States and encourages the private sector and international financial and development institutions, such as the World Bank and regional development banks, to promote participation of individuals and groups of individuals who are victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in economic, cultural and social decision-making at all stages, particularly in the development and implementation of poverty alleviation strategies, development projects, and trade and market assistance programmes;

113. Urges States to promote, as appropriate, effective and equal access of all members of the community, especially those who are victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, to the decision-making process in society at all levels and in particular at the local level, and also urges States and encourages the private sector to facilitate their effective participation in economic life;

114. Urges all multilateral financial and development institutions, in particular the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization and regional development banks, to promote, in accordance with their regular budgets and the procedures of their governing bodies, participation by all members of the international community in decision-making processes at all stages and levels in order to facilitate development projects and, as appropriate, trade and market access programmes;

Role Of Politicians And Political Parties

115. Underlines the key role that politicians and political parties can play in combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and encourages political parties to take concrete steps to promote equality, solidarity and non-discrimination in society, inter alia by developing voluntary codes of conduct which include internal disciplinary measures for violations thereof, so their members refrain from public statements and actions that encourage or incite racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

116. Invites the Inter-Parliamentary Union to encourage debate in, and action by, parliaments on various measures, including laws and policies, to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

Education And Awareness-Raising Measures

117. Urges States, where appropriate working with other relevant bodies, to commit financial resources to anti-racism education and to media campaigns promoting the values of acceptance, tolerance, diversity and respect for the cultures of all indigenous peoples living within their national borders. In particular, States should promote an accurate understanding of the histories and cultures of indigenous peoples;

118. Urges the United Nations, other appropriate international and regional organizations and States to redress the marginalization of Africa's contribution to world history and civilization by developing and implementing a specific and comprehensive programme of research, education and mass communication to disseminate widely a balanced and objective presentation of Africa's seminal and valuable contribution to humanity;

119. Invites States and relevant international organizations and non-governmental organizations to build upon the efforts of the Slave Route Project of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization and its theme of "Breaking the silence" by developing texts and testimony, slavery multi-media centres and/or programmes that will collect, record, organize, exhibit and publish the existing data relevant to the history of slavery and the trans-Atlantic, Mediterranean and Indian Ocean slave trades, paying particular attention to the thoughts and actions of the victims of slavery and the slave trade, in their quest for freedom and justice;

120. Salutes the efforts of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization made within the framework of the Slave Route Project and requests that the out come be made available to the international community as soon as possible;

Access To Education Without Discrimination

121. Urges States to commit themselves to ensuring access to education, including access to free primary education for all children, both girls and boys, and access for adults to lifelong learning and education, based on respect for human rights, diversity and tolerance, without discrimination of any kind;

122. Urges States to ensure equal access to education for all in law and in practice, and to refrain from any legal or any other measures leading to imposed racial segregation in any form in access to schooling;

123. Urges States:

(a) To adopt and implement laws that prohibit discrimination on the basis of race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin at all levels of education, both formal and non-formal;

(b) To take all appropriate measures to eliminate obstacles limiting the access of children to education;

(c) To ensure that all children have access without discrimination to education of good quality;

(d) To establish and implement standardized methods to measure and track the educational performance of disadvantaged children and young people;

(e) To commit resources to eliminate, where they exist, inequalities in educational outcomes for children and young people;

(f) To support efforts to ensure safe school environments, free from violence and harassment motivated by racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia or related intolerance; and

(g) To consider establishing financial assistance programmes designed to enable all students, regardless of race, colour, descent or ethnic or national origin, to attend institutions of higher education;

124. Urges States to adopt, where applicable, appropriate measures to ensure that persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities have access to education without discrimination of any kind and, where possible, have an opportunity to learn their own language in order to protect them from any form of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance that they may be subjected to;

Human Rights Education

125. Requests States to include the struggle against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance among the activities undertaken within the framework of the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education (1995-2004) and to take into account the recommendations of the mid-term evaluation report of the Decade;

126. Encourages all States, in cooperation with the United Nations, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and other relevant international organizations, to initiate and develop cultural and educational programmes aimed at countering racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, in order to ensure respect for the dignity and worth of all human beings and enhance mutual understanding among all cultures and civilizations. It further urges States to support and implement public information campaigns and specific training programmes in the field of human rights, where appropriate formulated in local languages, to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and promote respect for the values of diversity, pluralism, tolerance, mutual respect, cultural sensitivity, integration and inclusiveness. Such programmes and campaigns should be addressed to all sectors of society, in particular children and young people;

127. Urges States to intensify their efforts in the field of education, including human rights education, in order to promote an understanding and awareness of the causes, consequences and evils of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and also urges States, in consultation with educational authorities and the private sector, as appropriate, and encourages educational authorities and the private sector, as appropriate, to develop educational materials, including textbooks and dictionaries, aimed at combating those phenomena and, in this context, calls upon States to give importance, if appropriate, to textbook and curriculum review and amendment, so as to eliminate any elements that might promote racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance or reinforce negative stereotypes, and to include material that refutes such stereotypes;

128. Urges States, if appropriate in cooperation with relevant organizations, including youth organizations, to support and implement public formal and non-formal education programmes designed to promote respect for cultural diversity;

Human rights education for children and youth

129. Urges States to introduce and, as applicable, to reinforce anti-discrimination and anti-racism components in human rights programmes in school curricula, to develop and improve relevant educational material, including history and other textbooks, and to ensure that all teachers are effectively trained and adequately motivated to shape attitudes and behavioural patterns, based on the principles of non-discrimination, mutual respect and tolerance;

130. Calls upon States to undertake and facilitate activities aimed at educating young people in human rights and democratic citizenship and instilling values of solidarity, respect and appreciation of diversity, including respect for different groups. A special effort to inform and sensitize young people to respect democratic values and human rights should be undertaken or developed to fight against ideologies based on the fallacious theory of racial superiority;

131. Urges States to encourage all schools to consider developing educational activities, including extracurricular ones, to raise awareness against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, inter alia by commemorating the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (21 March);

132. Recommends that States introduce, or reinforce, human rights education, with a view to combating prejudices which lead to racial discrimination and to promoting understanding, tolerance and friendship between different racial or ethnic groups, in schools and in institutions of higher education, and support public formal and non-formal education programmes designed to promote respect for cultural diversity and the self-esteem of victims;

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Human Rights Education For Public Officials And Professionals

133. Urges States to develop and strengthen anti-racist and gender-sensitive human rights training for public officials, including personnel in the administration of justice, particularly in law enforcement, correctional and security services, as well as among health-care, schools and migration authorities;

134. Urges States to pay specific attention to the negative impact of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance on the administration of justice and fair trial, and to conduct nationwide campaigns, amongst other measures, to raise awareness among State organs and public officials concerning their obligations under the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and other relevant instruments;

135. Requests States, wherever appropriate through cooperation with international organizations, national institutions, non-governmental organizations and the private sector, to organize and facilitate training activities, including courses or seminars, on international norms prohibiting racial discrimination and their applicability in domestic law, as well as on their international human rights obligations, for prosecutors, members of the judiciary and other public officials;

136. Calls upon States to ensure that education and training, especially teacher training, promote respect for human rights and the fight against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and that educational institutions implement policies and programmes agreed by the relevant authorities on equal opportunities, anti-racism, gender equality, and cultural, religious and other diversity, with the participation of teachers, parents and students, and follow up their implementation. It further urges all educators, including teachers at all levels of education, religious communities and the print and electronic media, to play an effective role in human rights education, including as a means to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

137. Encourages States to consider taking measures to increase the recruitment, retention and promotion of women and men belonging to groups which are currently under-represented in the teaching profession as a result of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and to guarantee them effective equality of access to the profession. Particular efforts should be made to recruit women and men who have the ability to interact effectively with all groups;

138. Urges States to strengthen the human rights training and awareness-raising activities designed for immigration officials, border police and staff of detention centres and prisons, local authorities and other civil servants in charge of enforcing laws, as well as teachers, with particular attention to the human rights of migrants, refugees and asylum-seekers, in order to prevent acts of racial discrimination and xenophobia and to avoid situations where prejudices lead to decisions based on racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia or related intolerance;

139. Urges States to provide or strengthen training for law enforcement, immigration and other relevant officials in the prevention of trafficking in persons. The training should focus on methods used in preventing such trafficking, prosecuting the traffickers and protecting the rights of victims, including protecting the victims from the traffickers. The training should also take into account the need to consider human rights and child- and gender-sensitive issues and it should encourage cooperation with non-governmental organizations, other relevant organizations and other elements of civil society;

Information, communication and the media, including new technologies

140. Welcomes the positive contribution made by the new information and communications technologies, including the Internet, in combating racism through rapid and wide-reaching communication;

141. Draws attention to the potential to increase the use of the new information and communications technologies, including the Internet, to create educational and awarenessraising networks against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, both in and out of school, as well as the ability of the Internet to promote universal respect for human rights and also respect for the value of cultural diversity;

142. Emphasizes the importance of recognizing the value of cultural diversity and of putting in place concrete measures to encourage the access of marginalized communities to the mainstream and alternative media through, inter alia, the presentation of programmes that reflect their cultures and languages;

143. Expresses concern at the material progression of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, including their contemporary forms and manifestations, such as the use of the new information and communications technologies, including the Internet, to disseminate ideas of racial superiority;

144. Urges States and encourages the private sector to promote the development by the media, including the print and electronic media, including the Internet and advertising, taking into account their independence, through their relevant associations and organizations at the national, regional and international levels, of a voluntary ethical code of conduct and self-regulatory measures, and of policies and practices aimed at:

(a) Combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

(b) Promoting the fair, balanced and equitable representation of the diversity of their societies, as well as ensuring that this diversity is reflected among their staff;

(c) Combating the proliferation of ideas of racial superiority, justification of racial hatred and discrimination in any form;

(d) Promoting respect, tolerance and understanding among all individuals, peoples, nations and civilizations, for example through assistance in public awareness-raising campaigns;

(e) Avoiding stereotyping in all its forms, and particularly the promotion of false images of migrants, including migrant workers, and refugees, in order to prevent the spread of xenophobic sentiments among the public and to encourage the objective and balanced portrayal of people, events and history;

145. Urges States to implement legal sanctions, in accordance with relevant international human rights law, in respect of incitement to racial hatred through new information and communications technologies, including the Internet, and further urges them to apply all relevant human rights instruments to which they are parties, in particular the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, to racism on the Internet;

146. Urges States to encourage the media to avoid stereotyping based on racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

147. Calls upon States to consider the following, taking fully into account existing international and regional standards on freedom of expression, while taking all necessary measures to guarantee the right to freedom of opinion and expression:

(a) Encouraging Internet service providers to establish and disseminate specific voluntary codes of conduct and self-regulatory measures against the dissemination of racist messages and those that result in racial discrimination, xenophobia or any form of intolerance and discrimination; to that end, Internet providers are encouraged to set up mediating bodies at national and international levels, involving relevant civil society institutions;

(b) Adopting and applying, to the extent possible, appropriate legislation for prosecuting those responsible for incitement to racial hatred or violence through the new information and communications technologies, including the Internet;

(c) Addressing the problem of dissemination of racist material through the new information and com munications technologies, including the Internet, inter alia by imparting training to law enforcement authorities;

(d) Denouncing and actively discouraging the transmission of racist and xenophobic messages through all communications media, including new information and communications technologies, such as the Internet;

(e) Considering a prompt and coordinated international response to the rapidly evolving phenomenon of the dissemination of hate speech and racist material through the new information and communications technologies, including the Internet; and in this context strengthening international cooperation;

(f) Encouraging access and use by all people of the Internet as an international and equal forum, aware that there are disparities in use of and access to the Internet;

(g) Examining ways in which the positive contribution made by the new information and communications technologies, such as the Internet, can be enhanced through replication of good practices in combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

(h) Encouraging the reflection of the diversity of societies among the personnel of media organizations and the new information and communications technologies, such as the Internet, by promoting adequate representation of different segments within societies at all levels of their organizational structure;

International Level

148. Urges all actors on the international scene to build an international order based on inclusion, justice, equality and equity, human dignity, mutual understanding and promotion of and respect for cultural diversity and universal human rights, and to reject all doctrines of exclusion based on racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

149. Believes that all conflicts and disputes should be resolved through peaceful means and political dialogue. The Conference calls on all parties involved in such conflicts to exercise restraint and to respect human rights and international humanitarian law;

150. Calls upon States, in opposing all forms of racism, to recognize the need to counter anti-Semitism, anti-Arabism and Islamophobia world-wide, and urges all States to take effective measures to prevent the emergence of movements based on racism and discriminatory ideas concerning these communities;

151. As for the situation in the Middle East, calls for the end of violence and the swift resumption of negotiations, respect for international human rights and humanitarian law, respect for the principle of self-determination and the end of all suffering, thus allowing Israel and the Palestinians to resume the peace process, and to develop and prosper in security and freedom;

152. Encourages States, regional and international organizations, including financial institutions, as well as civil society, to address within existing mechanisms, or where necessary to put in place and/or develop mechanisms, to address those aspects of globalization which may lead to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

153. Recommends that the Department of Peacekeeping Operations of the Secretariat and other concerned United Nations agencies, bodies and programmes strengthen their coordination to discern patterns of serious violations of human rights and humanitarian law with a view to assessing the risk of further deterioration that could lead to genocide, war crimes or crimes against humanity;

154. Encourages the World Health Organisation and other relevant international organizations to promote and develop activities for the recognition of the impact of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance as significant social determinants of physical and mental health status, including the HIV / AIDS pandemic, and access to health care, and to prepare specific projects, including research, to ensure equitable health systems for the victims;

155. Encourages the International Labour Organization to carry out activities and programmes to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in the world of work, and to support actions of States, employers' organizations and trade unions in this field;

156. Urges the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization to provide support to States in the preparation of teaching materials and tools for promoting teaching, training and educational activities relating to human rights and the struggle against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

IV. Provision Of Effective Remedies, Recourse, Redress, And Other Measures At The National, Regional And International Levels

157. Recognises the efforts of developing countries, in particular the commitment and the determination of the African leaders, to seriously address the challenges of poverty, underdevelopment, marginalization, social exclusion, economic disparities, instability and insecurity, through initiatives such as the New African Initiative and other innovative mechanisms such as the World Solidarity Fund for the Eradication of Poverty, and calls upon developed countries, the United Nations and its specialized agencies, as well as international financial institutions, to provide, through their operational programmes, new and additional financial resources, as appropriate, to support these initiatives;

158. Recognises that these historical injustices have undeniably contributed to the poverty, underdevelopment, marginalization, social exclusion, economic disparities, instability and insecurity that affect many people in different parts of the world, in particular in developing countries. The Conference recognizes the need to develop programmes for the social and economic development of these societies and the Diaspora, within the framework of a new partnership based on the spirit of solidarity and mutual respect, in the following areas:

- Debt relief;
- Poverty eradication;
- Building or strengthening democratic institutions;
- Promotion of foreign direct investment;
- Market access;
- Intensifying efforts to meet the internationally agreed targets for official development assistance transfers to developing countries;
- New information and communication technologies bridging the digital divide;
- Agriculture and food security;
- Transfer of technology;
- Transparent and accountable governance;
- Investment in health infrastructure tackling HIV / AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria, including through the Global AIDS and Health Fund;
- Infrastructure development;
- Human resource development, including capacitybuilding;
- Education, training and cultural development;

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• Mutual legal assistance in the repatriation of illegally obtained and illegally transferred (stashed) funds, in accordance with national and international instruments;
• Illicit traffic in small arms and light weapons;
• Restitution of art objects, historical artefacts and documents to their countries of origin, in accordance with bilateral agreements or international instruments;
• Trafficking in persons, particularly women and children;
• Facilitation of welcomed return and resettlement of the descendants of enslaved Africans;

159. Urges international financial and development institutions and the operational programmes and specialized agencies of the United Nations to give greater priority to, and allocate appropriate funding for, programmes addressing the development challenges of the affected States and societies, in particular those on the African continent and in the Diaspora;

Legal Assistance

160. Urges States to take all necessary measures to address, as a matter of urgency, the pressing requirement for justice for the victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and to ensure that victims have full access to information, support, effective protection and national, administrative and judicial remedies, including the right to seek just and adequate reparation or satisfaction for damage, as well as legal assistance, where required;

161. Urges States to facilitate for victims of racial discrimination, including victims of torture and ill-treatment, access to all appropriate legal procedures and free legal assistance in a manner adapted to their specific needs and vulnerability, including through legal representation;

162. Urges States to ensure the protection against victimisation of complainants and witnesses of acts of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and to consider measures such as, where appropriate, making legal assistance, including legal aid, available to complainants seeking a legal remedy and, if possible, affording the possibility for non-governmental organizations to support complainants of racism, with their consent, in legal procedures;

National Legislation And Programmes

163. For the purposes of effectively combating racism and racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in the civil, political, economic, social and cultural fields, the Conference recommends to all States that their national legislative framework should expressly and specifically prohibit racial discrimination and provide effective judicial and other remedies or redress, including through the designation of national, independent, specialized bodies;

164. Urges States, with regard to the procedural remedies provided for in their domestic law, to bear in mind the following considerations:

(a) Access to such remedies should be widely available, on a non-discriminatory and equal basis;

(b) Existing procedural remedies should be made known in the context of the relevant action, and victims of racial discrimination should be helped to avail themselves of them in accordance with the particular case;

(c) Inquiries into complaints of racial discrimination and the adjudication of such complaints must be carried out as rapidly as possible;

(d) Persons who are victims of racial discrimination should be accorded legal assistance and aid in complaint proceedings, where applicable free of charge, and, where necessary, should be provided with the help of competent interpreters in such complaint proceedings or in any civil or criminal cases arising therefrom or connected thereto;

(e) The creation of competent national bodies to investigate effectively allegations of racial discrimination and to give protection to complainants against intimidation or harassment is a desirable development and should be undertaken; steps should be taken towards the enactment of legislation to prohibit discriminatory practices on grounds of race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin, and to provide for the application of appropriate penalties against offenders and remedies, including adequate compensation, for the victims;

(f) Access to legal remedies should be facilitated for victims of discrimination and, in this regard, the innovation of conferring a capacity on national and other institutions, as well as relevant non-governmental organizations, to assist such victims should be seriously considered, and programmes should be developed to enable the most vulnerable groups to have access to the legal system;

(g) New and innovative methods and procedures of conflict resolution, mediation and conciliation between parties involved in conflicts or disputes based on racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance should be explored and, where possible, established;

(h) The development of restorative justice policies and programmes for the benefit of victims of relevant forms of discrimination is desirable and should be seriously considered;

(i) States which have made the declaration under article 14 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination should make increased efforts to inform their public of the existence of the complaints mechanism under article 14;

Remedies, Reparations, Compensation

165. Urges States to reinforce protection against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance by ensuring that all persons have access to effective and adequate remedies and enjoy the right to seek from competent national tribunals and other national institutions just and adequate reparation and satisfaction for any damage as a result of such discrimination. It further underlines the importance of access to the law and to the courts for complainants of racism and racial discrimination and draws attention to the need for judicial and other remedies to be made widely known, easily accessible, expeditious and not unduly complicated;

166. Urges States to adopt the necessary measures, as provided by national law, to ensure the right of victims to seek just and adequate reparation and satisfaction to redress acts of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and to design effective measures to prevent the repetition of such acts;

V. Strategies To Achieve Full And Effective Equality, Including International Cooperation And Enhancement Of The United Nations And Other International Mechanisms In Combating Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia And Related Intolerance And Follow-Up

167. Calls upon States to apply diligently all commitments undertaken by them in the declarations and plans of action of the regional conferences in which they participated, and to formulate national policies and action plans to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in compliance with the objectives set forth therein, and as provided for in other relevant instruments and decisions; and further requests that, in cases where such national policies and action plans to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance already exist, States incorporate in them the commitments arising from their regional conferences;

168. Urges States that have not yet done so to consider acceding to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 and their two Additional Protocols of 1977, as well as to other treaties of international humanitarian law, and to enact, with the highest priority, appropriate legislation, taking the measures required to give full effect to their obligations under international humanitarian law, in particular in relation to the rules prohibiting discrimination;

169. Urges States to develop cooperation programmes to promote equal opportunities for the benefit of victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and encourages them to propose the creation of multilateral cooperation programmes with the same objective;

170. Invites States to include the subject of the struggle against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in the work programmes of the regional integration agencies and of the regional cross-boundary dialogue forums;

171. Urges States to recognize the challenges that people of different socially constructed races, colours, descent, national or ethnic origins, religions and languages experience in seeking to live together and to develop harmonious multiracial and multicultural societies; also urges States to recognize that the positive examples of relatively successful multiracial and multicultural societies, such as some of those in the Caribbean region, need to be examined and analysed, and that techniques, mechanisms, policies and programmes for reconciling conflicts based on factors related to race, colour, descent, language, religion, or national or ethnic origin and for developing harmonious multiracial and multicultural societies need to be systematically considered and developed, and therefore requests the United Nations and its relevant specialized agencies to consider establishing an international centre for multiracial and multicultural studies and policy development to undertake this critical work for the benefit of the international community;

172. Urges States to protect the national or ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic identity of minorities within their respective territories and to develop appropriate legislative and other measures to encourage conditions for the promotion of that identity, in order to protect them from any form of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. In this context, forms of multiple discrimination should be fully taken into account;

173. Further urges States to ensure the equal protection and promotion of the identities of the historically disadvantaged communities in those unique circumstances where this may be appropriate;

174. Urges States to take or strengthen measures, including through bilateral or multilateral cooperation, to address root causes, such as poverty, underdevelopment and lack of equal opportunity, some of which may be associated with discriminatory practices, that make persons, especially women and children, vulnerable to trafficking, which may give rise to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

175. Encourages States, in cooperation with non-governmental organizations, to undertake campaigns aimed at clarifying opportunities, limitations and rights in the event of migration, so as to enable everyone, in particular women, to make informed decisions and to prevent them from becoming victims of trafficking;

176. Urges States to adopt and implement social development policies based on reliable statistical data and centred on the attainment, by the year 2015, of the commitments to meet the basic needs of all set forth in paragraph 36 of the Programme of Action of the World Summit for Social Development, held at Copenhagen in 1995, with a view to closing significantly the existing gaps in living conditions faced by victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, especially regarding the illiteracy rate, universal primary education, infant mortality, under-five child mortality, health, reproductive health care for all and access to safe drinking water. Promotion of gender equality will also be taken into account in the adoption and implementation of these policies;

International Legal Framework

177. Urges States to continue cooperating with the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and other human rights treaty monitoring bodies in order to promote, including by means of a constructive and transparent dialogue, the effective implementation of the instruments concerned and proper consideration of the recommendations adopted by these bodies with regard to complaints of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

178. Requests adequate resources for the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination in order to enable it to discharge its mandate fully and stresses the importance of providing adequate resources for all the United Nations human rights treaty bodies;

General International Instruments

179. Endorses efforts of the international community, in particular steps taken under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, to promote respect for and preserve cultural diversity within and between communities and nations with a view to creating a harmonious multicultural world, including elaboration of a possible international instrument in this respect in a manner consistent with international human rights instruments;

180. Invites the United Nations General Assembly to consider elaborating an integral and comprehensive international convention to protect and promote the rights and dignity of disabled people, including, especially, provisions that address the discriminatory practices and treatment affecting them;

Regional/International Cooperation

181. Invites the Inter-Parliamentary Union to contribute to the activities of the International Year of Mobilization against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance by encouraging national parliaments to review progress on the objectives of the Conference;

182. Encourages States to participate in regional dialogues on problems of migration and invites them to consider negotiating bilateral and regional agreements on migrant workers and designing and implementing programmes with States of other regions to protect the rights of migrants;

183. Urges States, in consultation with civil society, to support or otherwise establish, as appropriate, regional, comprehensive dialogues on the causes and consequences of migration that focus not only on law enforcement and border control, but also on the promotion and protection of the human rights of migrants and on the relationship between migration and development;

184. Encourages international organizations having mandates dealing specifically with migration issues to exchange information and coordinate their activities on matters involving racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance against migrants, including migrant workers, with the support of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights;

185. Expresses its deep concern over the severity of the humanitarian suffering of affected civilian populations and the burden carried by many receiving countries, particularly developing countries and countries in transition, and requests the relevant international institutions to ensure that urgent adequate financial and humanitarian assistance is maintained for the host countries to enable them to help the victims and to address, on an equitable basis, difficulties of populations expelled from their homes, and calls for sufficient safeguards to enable refugees to exercise freely their right of return to their countries of origin voluntarily, in safety and dignity;

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186. Encourages States to conclude bilateral, subregional, regional and international agreements to address the problem of trafficking in women and children, in particular girls, as well as the smuggling of migrants;

187. Calls upon States, to promote, as appropriate, exchanges at the regional and international levels among independent national institutions and, as applicable, other relevant independent bodies with a view to enhancing cooperation to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

188. Urges States to support the activities of regional bodies or centres which combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance where they exist in their region, and recommends the establishment of such bodies or centres in all regions where they do not exist. These bodies or centres may undertake the following activities, amongst others: assess and follow up the situation of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and of individuals or groups of individuals who are victims thereof or subject thereto; identify trends, issues and problems; collect, disseminate and exchange information, inter alia relevant to the outcome of the regional conferences and the World Conference, and build networks to these ends; highlight examples of good practices; organize awareness-raising campaigns; develop proposals, solutions and preventive measures, where possible and appropriate, through joint efforts by coor dinating with the United Nations, regional organizations and States and national human rights institutions;

189. Urges international organisations, within their mandates, to contribute to the fight against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

190. Encourages financial and development institutions and the operational programmes and specialized agencies of the United Nations, in accordance with their regular budgets and the procedures of their governing bodies:

(a) To assign particular priority and allocate sufficient funding, within their areas of competence and budgets, to improve the situation of victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in order to combat manifestations of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and to include them in the development and implementation of projects concerning them;

(b) To integrate human rights principles and standards into their policies and programmes;

(c) To consider including in their regular reporting to their boards of governors information on their contribution to promoting the participation of victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance within their programmes and activities, and information on the efforts taken to facilitate such participation and to ensure that these policies and practices contribute to the eradication of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

(d) To examine how their policies and practices affect victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and to ensure that these policies and practices contribute to the eradication of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

191.

(a) Calls upon States to elaborate action plans in consultation with national human rights institutions, other institutions created by law to combat racism, and civil society and to provide the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights with such action plans and other relevant materials on the measures undertaken in order to implement provisions of the present Declaration and the Programme of Action;

(b) Requests the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, in follow-up to the Conference, to cooperate with five independent eminent experts, one from each region, appointed by the Secretary-General from among candidates proposed by the Chairperson of the Commission on Human Rights, after consultation with the regional groups, to follow the implementation of the provisions of the Declaration and Programme of Action. An annual progress report on the implementation of these provisions will be presented by the High Commissioner to the Commission on Human Rights and to the General Assembly, taking into account information and views provided by States, relevant human rights treaty bodies, special procedures and other mechanisms of the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations, international, regional and non-governmental organizations and national human rights institutions;

(c) Welcomes the intention of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to establish, within the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, an anti-discrimination unit to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and to promote equality and non-discrimination, and invites her to consider the inclusion in its mandate of, inter alia, the compilation of information on racial discrimination and its development, and on legal and administrative support and advice to victims of racial discrimination and the collection of background materials provided by States, international, regional and non-governmental organisations and national human rights institutions under the follow-up mechanism of the Conference;

(d) Recommends that the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, in cooperation with States, international, regional and non-governmental organizations and national human rights institutions, create a database containing information on practical means to address racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, particularly international and regional instruments and national legislation, including anti-discrimination legislation, as well as legal means to combat racial discrimination; remedies available through international mechanisms to victims of racial discrimination, as well as national remedies; educational and preventive programmes implemented in various countries and regions; best practices to address racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance; opportunities for technical cooperation; and academic studies and specialized documents; and ensure that such a database is as accessible as possible to those in authority and the public at large, through its Web site and by other appropriate means;

192. Invites the United Nations and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation to continue to organise high-level and other meetings on the Dialogue among Civilizations and, for this purpose, to mobilise funds and promote partnerships;

Office Of The High Commissioner For Human Rights

193. Encourages the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to continue and expand the appointment and designation of goodwill ambassadors in all countries of the world in order, inter alia, to promote respect for human rights and a culture of tolerance and to increase the level of awareness about the scourge of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

194. Calls upon the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights to continue its efforts further to increase awareness of the work of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and the other United Nations human rights treaty bodies;

195. Invites the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, in consultation with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, and non-governmental organisations active in the field of the promotion and protection of human rights, to undertake regular consultations with them and to encourage research activities aimed at collecting, maintaining and adapting the technical, scientific, educational and information materials produced by all cultures around the world to fight racism;

196. Requests the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights to pay special attention to violations of the human rights of victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, in particular migrants, including migrant workers, to promote international cooperation in combating xenophobia and, to this end, to develop programmes which can be implemented in countries on the basis of appropriate cooperation agreements;

197. Invites States to assist the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights in developing and funding, upon the request of States, specific technical cooperation projects aimed at combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

198.

(a) Invites the Commission on Human Rights to include in the mandates of the special rapporteurs and working groups of the Commission, in particular the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, recommendations that they consider the relevant provisions of the Declaration and the Programme of Action while exercising their mandates, in particular reporting to the General Assembly and the Commission on Human Rights, and also to consider any other appropriate means to follow up on the outcome on the Conference;

(b) Calls upon States to cooperate with the relevant special procedures of the Commission on Human Rights and other mechanisms of the United Nations in matters pertaining to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, in particular with the special rapporteurs, independent experts and special representatives;

199. Recommends that the Commission on Human Rights prepare complementary international standards to strengthen and update international instruments against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in all their aspects;

Decades

200. Urges States and the international community to support the activities of the Third Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination;

201. Recommends that the General Assembly consider declaring a United Nations year or decade against trafficking in persons, especially in women, youth and children, in order to protect their dignity and human rights;

202. Urges States, in close cooperation with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, to promote the implementation of the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace and the objectives of the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World, which started in 2001, and invites the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation to contribute to these activities;

Indigenous Peoples

203. Recommends that the United Nations Secretary-General conduct an evaluation of the results of the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (1995-2004) and make recommendations concerning how to mark the end of the Decade, including an appropriate follow-up;

204. Requests States to ensure adequate funding for the establishment of an operational framework and a firm basis for the future development of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues within the United Nations system;

205. Urges States to cooperate with the work of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous people and requests the Secretary-General and the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to ensure that the Special Rapporteur is provided with all the necessary human, technical and financial resources to fulfil his responsibilities;

206. Calls upon States to conclude negotiations on and approve as soon as possible the text of the draft declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples, under discussion by the working group of the Commission on Human Rights to elaborate a draft declaration, in accordance with Commission resolution 1995/32 of 3 March 1995;

207. Urges States, in the light of the relationship between racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and poverty, marginality and social exclusion of peoples and individuals at both the national and international levels, to enhance their policies and measures to reduce income and wealth inequalities and to take appropriate steps, individually and through international cooperation, to promote and protect economic, social and cultural rights on a non-discriminatory basis;

208. Urges States and international financial and development institutions to mitigate any negative effects of globalization by examining, inter alia, how their policies and practices affect national populations in general and indigenous peoples in particular; by ensuring that their policies and practices contribute to the eradication of racism through the participation of national populations and, in particular, indigenous peoples in development projects; by further democratizing international financial institutions; and by consulting with indigenous peoples on any matter that may affect their physical, spiritual or cultural integrity;

209. Invites financial and development institutions and the operational programmes and specialized agencies of the United Nations, in accordance with their regular budgets and the procedures of their governing bodies:

(a) To assign particular priority to and allocate sufficient funding, within their areas of competence, to the improvement of the status of indigenous peoples, with special attention to the needs of these populations in developing countries, including the preparation of specific programmes with a view to achieving the objectives of the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People;

(b) To carry out special projects, through appropriate channels and in collaboration with indigenous peoples, to support their initiatives at the community level and to facilitate the exchange of information and technical know-how between indigenous peoples and experts in these areas;

Civil Society

210. Calls upon States to strengthen cooperation, develop partnerships and consult regularly with non-governmental organizations and all other sectors of the civil society to harness their experience and expertise, thereby contributing to the development of legislation, policies and other govern mental initiatives, as well as involving them more closely in the elaboration and implementation of policies and programmes designed to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

211. Urges leaders of religious communities to continue to confront racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance through, inter alia, promotion and sponsoring of dialogue and partnerships to bring about reconciliation, healing and harmony within and among societies; invites religious communities to participate in promoting economic and social revitalization and encourages religious leaders to foster greater cooperation and contact between diverse racial groups;

212. Urges States to establish and strengthen effective partnerships with and provide support, as appropriate, to all relevant actors of civil society, including non-governmental

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organizations working to promote gender equality and the advancement of women, particularly women subject to multiple discrimination, and to promote an integrated and holistic approach to the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women and girls;

Non-Governmental Organisations

213. Urges States to provide an open and conducive environment to enable non-governmental organizations to function freely and openly within their societies and thereby make an effective contribution to the elimination of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance throughout the world, and to promote a wider role for grass-roots organizations;

214. Calls upon States to explore means to expand the role of non-governmental organisations in society through, in particular, deepening the ties of solidarity amongst citizens and promoting greater trust across racial and social class divides by promoting wider citizen involvement and more voluntary cooperation;

The Private Sector

215. Urges States to take measures, including, where appropriate, legislative measures, to ensure that transnational corporations and other foreign enterprises operating within their national territories conform to precepts and practices of non-racism and non-discrimination, and further encourages the business sector, including transnational corporations and foreign enterprises, to collaborate with trade unions and other relevant sectors of civil society to develop voluntary codes of conduct for all businesses, designed to prevent, address and eradicate racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

Youth

216. Urges States to encourage the full and active participation of, as well as involve more closely, youth in the elaboration, planning and implementation of activities to fight racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and calls upon States, in partnership with non-governmental organizations and other sectors of society, to facilitate both national and international youth dialogue on racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, through the World Youth Forum of the United Nations system and through the use of new technologies, exchanges and other means;

217. Urges States to encourage and facilitate the establishment and maintenance of youth mechanisms, set up by youth organizations and young women and men themselves, in the spirit of combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, through such activities as: disseminating and exchanging information and building networks to these ends; organizing awareness-raising campaigns and participating in multicultural education programmes; developing proposals and solutions, where possible and appropriate; cooperating and consulting regularly with non-governmental organizations and other actors in civil society in developing initiatives and programmes that promote intercultural exchange and dialogue;

218. Urges States, in cooperation with intergovernmental organisations, the International Olympic Committee and international and regional sports federations, to intensify the fight against racism in sport by, among other things, educating the youth of the world through sport practised without discrimination of any kind and in the Olympic spirit, which requires human understanding, tolerance, fair play and solidarity;

219. Recognises that the success of this Programme of Action will require political will and adequate funding at the national, regional and international levels, and international cooperation.

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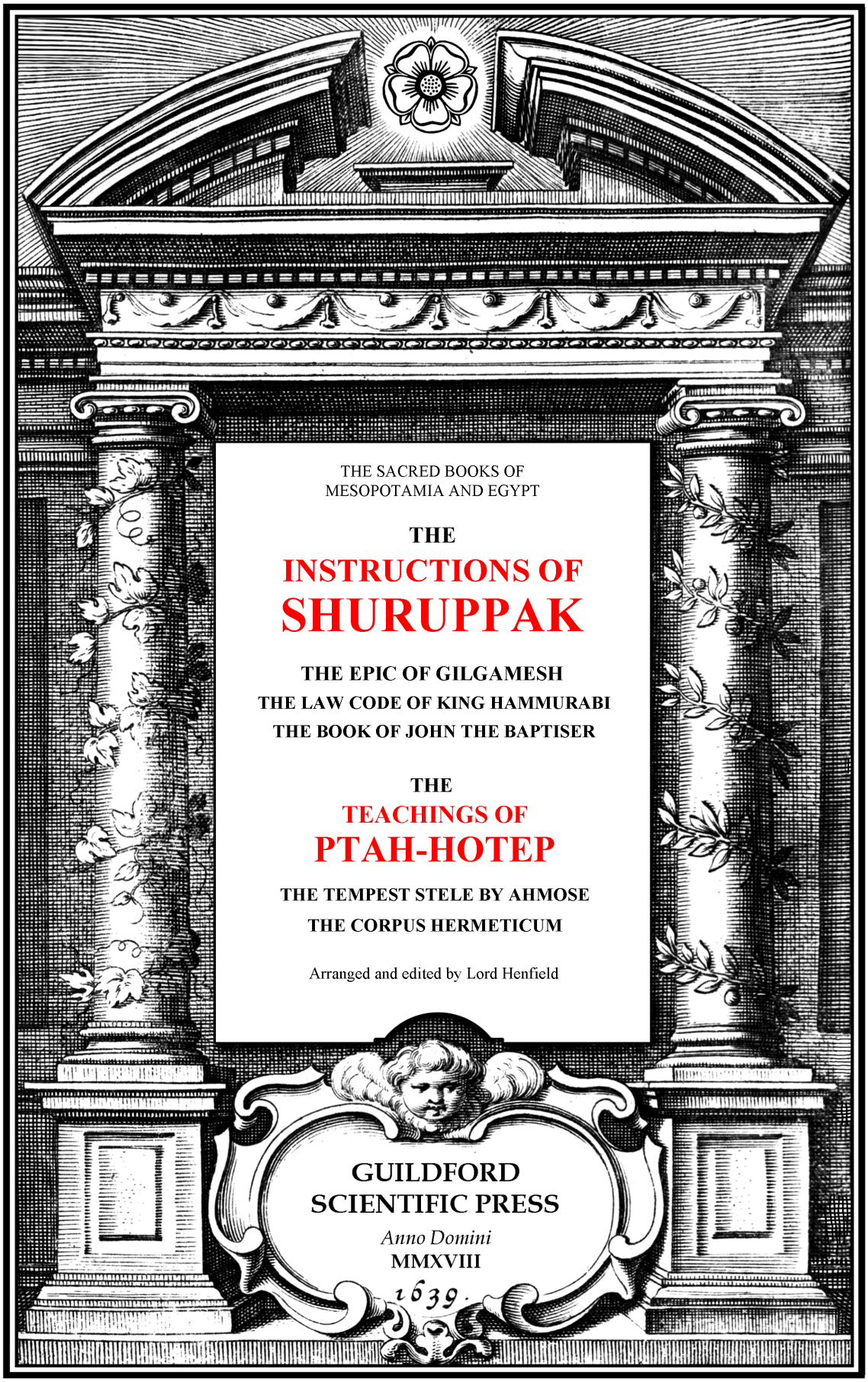

THE SACRED BOOKS OF
MESOPOTAMIA AND EGYPT

THE

INSTRUCTIONS OF SHURUPPAK

THE EPIC OF GILGAMESH

THE LAW CODE OF KING HAMMURABI

THE BOOK OF JOHN THE BAPTISER

THE

TEACHINGS OF PTAH-HOTEP

THE TEMPEST STELE BY AHMOSE

THE CORPUS HERMETICUM

Arranged and edited by Lord Henfield

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DOCUMENTS FROM EGYPT

(This chapter will present a series of translations of the moral teachings of Egyptian kings and officials, arranged chronologically so that we can see the evolution of moral ideas in Egypt through a period of about two thousand years, and their development into the religious philosophy which we know as the Tanakh or the Old Testament. Morality and religion appear to have existed in Egypt from the earliest times, and the oldest remains show that although neither, judged from a modem standard, was of a very high character, primitive man recognised that he owed certain duties to his village god and to his neighbour. The god and his worshippers formed one family, and every member of the community, whether it was large or small, regarded the god as his natural protector and, as time went on, as his father. In some cases the object of worship was a goddess, who was eventually regarded as the mother of the community.

By reading these amazing documents, it quickly becomes clear that even in earliest times there must have been men in every Egyptian community who possessed feelings of kindness and humanity towards man and beast, and it is probable that such men soon realised that it did not pay to retaliate, or take vengeance, or exact their due to the uttermost. Old men with experience and discretion would have found out that there were cases in which it was good policy to temper justice with mercy, and their actions and decisions would permeate the community and serve as examples and guides to the younger men.

And as religion developed, morality would develop, and men would be more than ever convinced that it was profitable to discharge their moral obligations honourably. It would happen of necessity that sometimes the head man or leader of a community would earn the reputation of being a good lawgiver, or a good judge, and in such a case his decisions would help to form the foundation of the law of the land, and his influence would make itself felt on the customs of the people. And when the judgements of such a leader represented the will of the family god, men in general would soon discover that the way of the transgressor was hard, and that it only led to loss and ruin.

When, at the end of the Neolithic Period, the Egyptians had learned to write, among the first things their scribes wrote down were the legal decisions and judgements of the "ancestors," and the religious and moral laws of the country were also done into writing. Under the 3rd dynasty the scribe Methen, received certain royal benefactions which were "recorded in the register of the king", and we are sure therefore that even at this early period the king kept a scribe, or scribes, who wrote at his command. Each temple must have numbered among its officials scribes whose duty it was to draft and make copies of religious texts, and presumably of the moral precepts that were composed by various authors, and were current at that time. The religious texts and the moral precepts formed two distinct classes of literature, and the object of each was different: the former were written to help the souls of the dead to secure immortality and happiness in the next world, and the latter to help a man to lead a safe and reputable life in this world.

The priestly theologian spared no pains in collecting the information that would benefit the dead, and the wise and experienced public official spent anxious days in trying to make the knowledge of men and things that he had acquired available for the living, who were generally his own kinsfolk. The collector of moral precepts, as we shall see, existed in all periods of dynastic history, and surprisingly, we can find similar religious texts and the moral precepts in Mesopotamia as, for instance, the Instructions of Shuruppak from exactly the same time as the Instructions of Kagemna and Ptah-Hotep. There is no doubt whatsoever that the writings of both, Egypt and Mesopotamia, are the "spiritual, moral, legal, and philosophical origins" of the Hebrew Bible and in particular the famous Covenant of the Jewish Peoples. Even more so, the development of western and eastern philosophies and belief-systems, that rule our soul and mind today, would have been impossible without these two parents.)

THE TEACHING OF KAGEMNA

or The Instructions of Kagemna / Kagemni
Source: British Museum Papyrus No.10,509
Translation: Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge, 1924
Estimated Range of Dating: 2613–2589 BC

(The Instructions of Kagemna or Kagemni is an ancient Egyptian teaching text of wisdom literature (known as sebayt genre). Although the earliest evidence of its compilation dates to the Middle Kingdom of Egypt, its authorship has traditionally yet dubiously been attributed to Kagemni, a Vizier who served during the reign of the Pharaoh Sneferu (r. 2613–2589 BC), founder of the 4th dynasty of Egypt (belonging to the Pyramid builders of the Old Kingdom). The earliest known source for the Instructions of Kagemni is the Prisse Papyrus. This text dates to the much later 12th dynasty of the Middle Kingdom of Egypt (perhaps by the reign of Amenemhat II from 1929 BC to 1895 BC, or a bit later in the 12th dynasty). It is written in the Middle Egyptian language and in an archaic style of cursive hieratic.

Written as a pragmatic guidebook of advice for the son of a Vizier, the Instructions of Kagemni is similar to The Maxims of Ptahhotep. It differs from later teaching texts such as the Instruction of Amenemope, which emphasizes piety, and the Instructions of Amenemhat, which William Simpson (a professor emeritus of Egyptology at Yale University) described as a "political piece cast in instruction form." Kagemni advises that one should follow a path of modesty and moderation, which is contrasted with things to avoid: pride and gluttony.)

Text:

[The beginning is lost.]

1 The timid man is strong, and he who is just in word and deed is praised. The hall is opened to the humble man, and a wide room [is given to him] that is gentle in speech; but sharp knives are against him that would force a way. A man should not seek an entrance except at his [appointed] time.

2 If thou art seated at meat with many people hate (i.e., abstain from) the food which thou lovest. It is only a minute's restraint of the appetite, and greediness is a disgrace and tends to gluttony. A cup of water will quench the thirst satisfactorily, and a mouthful only will stablish the heart. One good thing takes the place of another, and a small quantity even of something which is of inferior quality will take the place of a large quantity. He who is intent on satisfying the lust of the beUy is a shameful person. Passing the time he is unable to loosen the body in strange houses.

3 If thou art seated at meat with a greedy man eat thou when he has finished his meal; and if thou art seated at meat with a winebibber, accept thou a drink whenever it pleases him to offer thee one. Reject not the pieces of flesh which [are found with] a man of bestial appetite. Take what he offers thee, and refuse it not; remember acceptance conduces to gentleness on his part.

4 If a man lacks the knowledge of what a man should know, and if nothing said [to him] moves him, and if he maintains a sullen attitude to the person who is well-disposed towards him, he is a calamity for his mother and for his neighbours and for people in general. Make thy name to come forth {i.e., be known). Being silent (or, modest) in thy speech, thou shalt be proclaimed.

5 Be not arrogant because of thy strength when thou art among thy contemporaries. Take care to act in such a way that people do not oppose thee. No man knows what is going to happen, or what God will do when He strikes. And the Wazir (or, mayor) caused his children to be summoned to him having made himself fully acquainted with the dispositions of men, and they came being filled with wonder . . . . . He said to them: "Whatsoever is in writing on this roll pay heed unto it as if I myself were repeating it to you . . . . ." And the children laid themselves down flat upon their bellies, and they recited these sa3dngs according to what was written. And in their opinion these sayings were more beautiful than everything else in the whole land, and [they recited them] both standing up and sitting down. His Majesty King Huni died, and His Majesty Seneferu, the King of the South and the North, became the gracious King of all this land. And Kagemna was appointed governor of the town and Wazir.

THE TEACHINGS OF PTAH-HOTEP

or The Maxims of Ptah-Hotep
Source: British Museum Papyrus No.10,509
Translation: Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge, 1924
Estimated Range of Dating: 2500-2345 BC

(The Instructions of Ptah-Hotep or Maxims of Ptah-Hotep is an ancient Egyptian literary composition based on the Vizier Ptah-Hotep's wisdom and experiences. The Instructions were composed by the Vizier Ptah-Hotep, during the rule of King Izezi of the Fifth Dynasty 2494–2345 BC. The text was discovered in Thebes in 1847 by Egyptologist M. Prisse d'Avennes. The Instructions of Ptah-Hotep are called wisdom literature, specifically under the genre of Instructions that teach something. They are four copies of the Instructions, and the only complete version, Papyrus Prisse, is located in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. According to William Kelly Simpson, some scholars debate that the Instructions of Ptah-Hotep were written during the twelfth dynasty, Middle Kingdom. The earlier copies of the text were altered to make them understandable for the Egyptians of the New Kingdom. It is not only directed for the Old Kingdom thought and morality, it is beneficial for anyone that reads it. The text presents a very good picture of the general attitudes of that period. The Instructions of Ptah-Hotep addresses various virtues that are necessary to live a good life and how to live accordingly to Maat, which was an important part of the Egyptian culture.

The Prisse Papyrus, dating from the twelfth dynasty Egyptian Middle Kingdom, was discovered by the French orientalist Émile Prisse d'Avennes at Thebes and published in 1847 and is now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris.

The papyrus document contains the last two pages of the Instructions of Kagemni, who purportedly served under the 4th Dynasty king Sneferu, and is a compilation of moral maxims and admonitions on the practice of virtue. The conclusion of the Instructions of Kagemni is followed by the only complete surviving copy of the Instruction of Ptah-Hotep.

The Teaching is set at court, with the highest official ('vizier' in Egyptological translation), a man named Ptah-Hotep, requesting retirement from the king. The official paints a bleak picture of old age, evidently to convince the king that retirement is necessary, and asks that he be replaced in office by his son as 'staff of old age', a term also found in a late Middle Kingdom legal document to denote a son taking the office of his father, presumably on condition that he continues to support the father. This term, the Middle Egyptian syntax and the late Middle Kingdom date of the two earliest surviving manuscript copies, point to a Twelfth Dynasty date of composition.

The king consents to the request of Ptah-Hotep, with the observation that the young cannot be born with wisdom - by implication they need the experience given by advanced age. The Teaching presents then both a positive and the dramatised negative aspects of growing old in ancient Egyptian society.

(E. A. Wallis Budge wrote: The only complete copy of this work known was purchased from a native of Western Thebes by Prisse d'Avennes, who was making excavations there, and was given by him to the Bibliotheque Royale in Paris in 1847. He published the text in an oblong quarto volume, entitled Facsimile d'un papyrus Egyptien en caracteres hieratiques, trouve Thebes, donne a la Bibliotheque Royale de Paris, et publie par E. Prisse d'Avennes, Paris, 1847. The papyrus was written under the 11th or 12th dynasty, and supplies us with a copy, more or less accurate, of the text as it was received about 2500 B.C. or earlier. Hieroglyphic transcripts of this text were published by Virey, Etudes sur le Papyrus Prisse, Paris, 1887, and by myself, Reading Book, London, 1896, pp. 244-274. A later Version of a portion of the Teaching is found in a papyrus which I acquired for the British Museum (No. 10,509), and on an ostracon [Greek: ostrakon, plural: ostraka, is a piece of pottery, usually broken off from a vase or other earthenware vessel.] which was discovered by the 5th Earl of Carnarvon (1866–1923). A valuable edition of all the available texts of both Versions has been published by E. Devaud, Les Maximes de Ptah-hotep, Fribourg, 1916. Translations of the Teaching, in whole or in part, have been made by Dr. Heath (Proverbs of Aphobis, 1864), Chabas {Rev. Arch., XV, 1858), Lauth {Sitzungsberichte der Konig. Bayer. Akad. 1869, p. 530 ff.; 1870, p. 245), Virey (Etudes, Paris, 1887), Maspero (Recuell, XXXI, 146), Virey (Records of the Past, 2nd ed., Vol. III, p. i), and others. The title of the work of Ptah-Hotep reads:—)

THE TEACHING OF THE GOVERNOR OF THE TOWN, THE WAZIR PTAH-HOTEP, [WHO LIVED] UNDER THE MAJESTY OF THE KING OF THE SOUTH AND THE KING OF THE NORTH, ASSA, WHO LIVES FOR EVER AND EVER.

The Governor of the Town, the Wazir (Vizier) Ptah-Hotep senior (who was buried in a mastaba tomb at Sakkara.), says to the Majesty of the King of the South and the King of the North, Assa (most likely Pharao Userkaf), who lives for ever and ever: "O King my Lord, grey hairs have come upon me, old age has advanced, decay has come to me, oldness has taken the place of newness, some new defect settles upon one every day. The eyesight fads, the ears become stopped, the strength diminishes, the heart is sluggish, the mouth is silent and speaks not, the mind forgets and cannot remember the things of yesterday, every bone in the body aches, happiness turns into discomfort, the taste of everything vanishes. Old age makes men miserable in every way. The nose becomes stopped up and can smell nothing. It is misery for the old man whether he sits or stands up. Give the order then on behalf of thy servant here present to make a staff for my old age, and let my son stand in my place. Then will I tell him the speech of those who hearkened and the weighty sayings of the ancestors, and those who have obeyed the gods. And thou likewise, mayest thou act in such a way as to drive out strife from among the people, and to make those who dwell on both banks of the Nile serve thee loyally." The Majesty of this god King Assa) said: "Instruct him in the speech of olden time as thou sittest. O make him to be a marvel to the children of the princes. May obedience enter into him, together with all rightmindedness which has been described. No one is bom who possesses understanding naturally."

Here begin the Precepts in noble language which were uttered by the Prince and hereditary Chief, the father of the

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god, the beloved of the god, the son of the king, truly begotten by him, the Governor of the Town, the Wazir Ptah-Hotep. They will teach the ignorant man to become a man of knowledge and to express himself in the best possible way, and will prove a blessing to him that will hearken to them, and a curse to him that will cast them behind him. He spake to his son (Ptah-Hotep junior) thus:—

1. Magnify not thy heart because of thy knowledge, and fill not thy heart with the thought about it because thou hast knowledge. Hold converse with the ignorant man as well as with the learned. No limit has been set to a handicraft, and no handicraftsman is equipped with all its excellences. Fine speech is hidden deeper than mother-of-emerald stone, and yet it is to be found among the women who grind flour at the mill.

2. If thou meetest a man of words who is bolder and better equipped than thyself in his hour (i.e. when he is coming to the conclusion of his speech), bend thy arm and bow thy back. Let not thy heart be carried away, let him not rest upon thee; [but] make thou thyself small. When he says things that are evil make no attempt to stop him in his hour, so that he may be called the "man who knows nothing about things." Bear thy disgust. It is his treasure (or, food).

3. If thou meetest a man of words in his hour, if he be one like thyself, that which is on thy shoulders set down and become wiser than he is through thy silence, whenever he is speaking evil things. Those who are listening will applaud him, but thy name will be fair in the opinion of the princes.

4. If thou meetest a man of words in his hour, curse him not if he be thy inferior. Let not thy heart rage because of him, for he is a miserable being. Let him remain on the ground, he will punish himself.

5. If thou art in the position of a leader and it is thy duty to give orders to a great number of people, pursue thou a course which is wholly excellent, and continue in it until there is no defect whatsoever in thy administration. Truth (Maat) is great, and her virtue is lasting, and she has never been overthrown since the time of Osiris (var. since Ra created it); the man who transgresses her behests (or, laws) is sorely punished. She is the path of him that is [not] a robber. The wicked can indeed steal possessions, but the wicked cannot attain to her state. There is great power in Truth, for she is permanent; the good man says: “She was a possession of my father.”

6. Make not terror to exist among the people, for it effects nothing; it is what God has decreed that happens.

7. If thou art one of those who are sitting at table with a man who is greater than thyself, accept what he gives thee, what is set before thy nose. Look not at that which he has before him, but set thy gaze upon that which is before thee. Cast not a multitude of prying glances upon him, for this behaviour will cause him discomfort. Keep thy face turned downwards until he addresses thee, and speak only when he speaks to thee. Laugh thou when he laughs. That will be exceedingly pleasing to his mind, and what thou doest will be very good behaviour. What is in the heart cannot be known. When a great man is [sitting] behind food, his commands are in accordance with his (disposition). A great man gives to the person whom he can reach, but the Ka makes him stretch his hands to those beyond. The eating of bread is under the dispensation of God. When plans of the night come into being, the ignorant man suffers loss thereby.

8. If thou art in the position of a man who is treated with confidence, whom one nobleman sends to another on business, when he sends thee on a mission conduct the business in a right and fitting manner. Perform the mission according to what he says to thee. Let not thy heart eat (i.e. hide) anything of what is said to thee, and guard thyself carefully against forgetting any part of it. Guard thyself also against making harsh the words which one nobleman may speak about another contemptuously by using the utterances of folk in general. Whether it be a nobleman or a man of no account, it is disgrace to the (god) Ka.

9. When thou ploughest, and there is abundant growth in thy field, and God gives a plentiful crop into thy hand, praise not the man who has no children, curse not, boast not, and eat not thy fill from the provisions of thy family. The fear of silence works great things; the man who is master of the kat weight is master of the goods [also], he seizes like the crocodile among the qenbet officials . . . . .

10. If thou art a man in a menial position, and art in the service of a man of honourable estate, and thy treatment by God is good (or, generous). seek not to acquire any knowledge whatsoever about his former estate. Make not great thy heart (i.e. be not arrogant) towards him because of what thou knowest about him and his former condition. Fear him because of what has happened to him, for behold, wealth comes not of itself; it is a law to those who love it. If he squanders it one fears him. It is God Who creates his honourable estate; if he fights on his own behalf he falls down (i.e. dies).

11. Follow thy heart’s desire as long as thou livest, and do not more than is ordered. Waste not the time in which thou canst follow thy heart’s desire, for it is a hateful thing to the Ka (i.e. the natural disposition) to limit its period. Weary not thyself concerning the affairs of the day, nor be anxious overmuch about thy house and estate; things happen (or, come), follow [thy] inclination . . . . .

12. If thou wouldst be a perfect man and dost possess a house and estate, beget a son who shall be well-pleasing to God. If he does what is right, and if he imitates thee in thy actions, and hearkens to thy teaching, and his behaving is perfect in thy house, and he cares for thy property as if it was his own, seek thou for him every kind of honour. He is thy son whom thy heart’s desire has begotten; let not thy heart drift away from him . . . . . But if he follows an evil course, and opposes thy plans, and does not carry out thy instructions, and his behaviour in thy house is detestable, and he treats with contempt all thy words, and sets his mouth in motion with vile words, and his face is turned away, and nothing remains in his hands, cast him away, for he is no son of thine, and he was not bom for thee. He is thy servant by his tongue through his qualities (or, characteristics); he is one who blames them. God will smite him in the body. He will never turn back to control them. The shipwrecked ones will not find a boat for themselves.

13. If thou art in the ante-chamber of a nobleman, whether thou art standing up or squatting, abase thyself the first day. Press not forward, lest thy being turned back should take place. Keep a keen watch on the confidential servant who announces thee; the man who is summoned [by the nobleman] finds a wide seat (i.e. plenty of room). The ante-chamber of a nobleman is governed by precedence, and all its procedure is according to rule. It is God who advances the seat of him that is advanced. It is not effected by the shoulder of a man (i.e. by force).

14. If thou art with common people make thyself like the peasant folk by concealing thy mind. The man who conceals his mind enjoys a good reputation, if he does not wander about after the word of his body. He becomes his own master, a master of affairs by his own planning. Thy name is good without thy word. Thy limbs (or, body) are fat; thy face is with thee, thou praisest thyself without knowing it. The man who is small of heart (timid) hearkens to his body, he sets his defects (or, littlenesses) in the place of his love, his heart becomes a wretched thing, his members dwindle to nothing. The man who is great of heart (i.e. bold) is one of God’s men. He hearkens to the command of his heart, his enemy becomes his possession.

15. Declare thy mission and conceal nothing. Devote all thy thought to the counsel of thy lord . . . . . Supposing that a noble destroys his possessions: even if he (i.e. the envoy) thinks of opposing him in the matter, he must hold his peace, having already spoken to him.

16. If thou art in the position of a leader, press forward thy plans by thy commands; do thou what thou hast decided upon. But remember (or, take good heed concerning) the days that are to follow. If there be no word on thy behalf among those who are praised, calamity overwhelm thee and misery will overtake thee.

17. If thou art in the position of a leader (or, one to whom petitions are made), be courteous, and listen to the petition of the petitioner. Stop not his words, until he has poured out all that is in his heart and has said what he came to say. A man with a petition to make loves the official who will agree to what he says, and will let him talk out his grievance fully. Every petitioner rejoices to have his grievance heard. A fair word rejoices (literally, paints) the heart. If an official stops the flow of words of the petitioner, the people say: “Why is this fellow there having the power to act in this way?”

18. If thou wishest to maintain a permanent friendship in the house to which thou art in the habit of going, whether as master, or whether as brother, or whether as friend, or in fact in any place to which thou hast the entry, strive against associating with the women. The place which they frequent is not good. The man who is not prudent follows after them. A thousand men seeking what is beautiful are destroyed by them. A man is made a fool of by their shining limbs, but they turn into things that are harder than quartzite sandstone. The pleasure is only for a little moment, and it [passes] like a dream, and a man at the end thereof finds death through knowing it . . . . .

19. If thou wouldst have thy lot as a leader a happy one, guard thyself against every evil deed, and above all, fight against the vice of avarice, which is a disease fraught with pain that cannot be conquered. Confidence cannot exist side by side with it. It turns fathers and mothers into evil folk, and also the brothers of the mother. It turns the kindly friend into a bitter enemy, it drives away the trusted servant from his master, and it makes a wife hateful to her husband. It is a strong treasure-house of every kind of evil, and a purse containing abominable vices of every kind. The man who has truth (maat) for his tow-line walks whither her steps lead him, and acquires house and estate; but the avaricious possesses not even a tomb.

20. Be not avaricious when a division of property is made, and be not greedy, and what is thy due shall come to thee. Be not avaricious in thy dealings with thy kinsfolk. The prayer of the long-suffering man is greater than force, even though he be of no account among the people of his own time, and is destitute of the gifts of speech. A very little avarice about a matter of the kind will make hostility to arise even in the man who is usually cool-hearted (i.e., unexcitable).

21. If thou wouldst be wise (or, prosperous) stablish thyself in a house (i.e., get married). Love thou thy wife in the house wholly and rightly. Fill her belly and clothe her back; oil for anointing is the medicine for her limbs. Make her heart to rejoice as long as thou livest; she is a profitable field for her lord. Enter not into disputes with her. She will withdraw herself before force . . . . . Make her to prosper permanently in thy house. If thou art hostile to her she is a well (or, ditch); she gives herself to herself.

22. Satisfy thy servants whom thou trustest with thy possessions, so that they may feel as if they had been rewarded by God. If a man is niggardly in satisfying his trusted servants, he is declared to be a thievish person . . . . . No man knows what will happen as he meditates in the morning. When troublesome events come upon him it will be the trusted servants who will bid him "Welcome.” Peace cannot be brought to the town (or, estate), and when it is brought by the servants ruin supervenes.

23. Repeat not the words spoken by a man who is furiously angry ; hearken not to him; they are the outpouring of a heated mind (or, body). At the repetition of a matter, look on, hear not; let it go to the ground . . . . .

24. If thou art in the position of a man of high rank who sits in the council of his lord, devote thy heart entirely to what is good (or, perfect). To hold thy peace is better for thee than the teftef flower. Speak thou only when thou knowest a matter and canst explain it. Behold, the word is a handicraftsman who speaks in the council, and speech is the most laborious of all works. The explanation thereof hands one over to the staff [of punishment].

25. If thou art strong, make respect for thyself to spread with understanding and with gentleness of speech. Command not except when thou canst guide; abuse brings a man to calamity. Be not haughty in thy heart, lest it be humbled. Keep not silence entirely, take care as to the path thou treadest. Answer a word in a suitable manner. Put away . . . . . control thyself. Subdue the heated emotions of an ardent mind. The man who walks softly fashions his path aright. The man who toils the whole day long never passes a happy moment; and the man who indulges in pleasure all the day long never acquires possessions. Seize a time for rest as does the steersman; the time he is on land another toils (i.e., grasps the pole) . . . . .

26. Approach not a great man in his hour, and irritate not the heart of him who is heavily burdened with care. Injury caused by him comes upon him that is hated by him. He sets free his Ka, he loves him who gives food, who is with God. What he loves he does . . . . . There is peace with his Ka [when] the calamity has fallen.

27. Instruct thou a nobleman in the matters which will be advantageous to him; make his splendour to be among the people; make thou that what a man knows shall fall (i.e., be attributed) to his lord. Thine own food depends upon his Ka (i.e., good pleasure); a kindly (or, loving) heart obtains the meals which satisfy, and thine own back becomes clothed thereby. His light is upon thee to make thy house to live . . . . . He offers a gracious (i.e., helpful) shoulder . . . . . Verily he who hearkens is a being who is loved.

28. If thou art the son of a man who is a member of council and art chosen to go on a mission to make tranquil the multitude, search out the matter with strict justice, and declare thy finding, taking no side. Take heed to what one says as do the chiefs . . . . . it is for thee to adjust the case rather than to act as judge.

29. If thou hast been long-suffering with a man in time past, and thou art wearied by a man suing for his right, turn thyself away from him, and remember him not. Whilst he keeps silent to thee . . . . . the first day.

30. If thou hast become great, having been once in a very lowly state, and if thou hast acquired possessions, having been at one time in a state of destitution in the quarter of the city that is known to thee, forget not that which happened to thee in the times that are past. Set not thy heart's confidence on thy goods, which have, after all, only come to thee as gifts of God. Thou wouldst not be superior to any other man if what has happened to thee had happened to him.

31. Bend thy back in reverence to him that is thy chief and thy governor by virtue of the power that he derives from the House (i.e., authority) of the King. Thy house and all that is in it shall prosper thereby, and thou shalt receive the wages that it is meet for thee to have. It is a bad thing to set oneself in opposition to the man who is appointed chief. A man lives as long as he displays gentleness and patience. A man should never injure the shoulder that covers (i.e., protects) him. Rob not the house of the peasants, and seize not by force the property that comes into thy hands. He (i.e., thy chief) will not revile thee because of what thou hast heard . . . . . If he knows it he will be hostile to thee. It is a bad thing to set thyself in opposition in the place which thou hast entered.

32. Have no intercourse with a womanchild . . . . . [text wanting]

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33. If thou seekest for friendship with a man, ask not for it, but go to his house, and pass the time (or, pay a visit) with him alone, so that he may not be able to make his attitude to thee unpleasant. Talk wisely to him after a certain period. Find out what his mind is by conversing with him. If there comes up as a subject something that he has seen thee do, or if he does something that makes thee to be ashamed, hold thy peace or show thyself friendly to him ; browbeat him not. Prepare an answer for him with words that will tell, answer not in a way that will irritate him; do not leave him, and do not harass him. His moment must not come, and he must not be cast down at what has been ordered for him.

34. Let thy face shine with cheerfulness as long as thou livest. When there comes forth from the storehouse one of those who went in at the distribution of loaves of bread and his face is set in a frown, he makes known the emptiness of his belly, and he becomes an enemy, being unsatisfied. Do not let any man approach thee and find thee with a gloomy face. A man wishes to remember what is pleasant in the years that he has yet to live.

35. Know thy people (or, acquaintances) when thy prosperity is at a low ebb; thy character (or, reputation) is more than thy friends. It fills the river-side; it is greater than a man's valuable possessions. Riches pass from one man to another. It is an excellent thing for the son of a man to have a [good] character. Good qualities are remembered.

36. . . . . [text wanting]

37. If thou takest as a handmaid a woman who has always enjoyed good cheer, and is of a merry disposition and is well known to her fellow townsfolk, and she is as thy lawful wife, and is good to look upon, drive her not away, but supply her with food to eat (or, make her fat with good food).

[Here ends the Teaching of Ptah-Hotep.]

Ptah-Hotep's Comments on his Teaching.

A. If thou wilt hearken to these things which I have said to thee, thy condition of life will be like unto that of all those who have gone before thee. And besides the truth that belongs to them remains their beauty: the memory of them shall never depart from the mouths of men by reason of the beauty of their phrasing. Every word will pass current as a thing that can never perish in this land, and it will beautify exceedingly the utterances that the princes and nobles make. It is the Teaching that a man should hand on when speaking to his posterity, so that they may hear it. Thereby he becomes a craftsman in speech, and having heard fine speech himself, he declares it to those who shall come after him, so that they likewise may hear what he has heard. If a well-doing disposition exists in him that is set at the head of affairs he will always be beneficent, and all his wisdom shall endure for ever and ever. The soul that is well trained (or, is understanding) rejoices when its wisdom is established, and it is happy when it is prosperous on the earth. Behold, he becomes a prince through his well-doing disposition, his heart serves as the counterpoise to his tongue, and his lips are true when he speaks, his eyes see rightly, and his two ears hear at the same time. It is a very excellent thing for his son to do what is right, and to keep himself from falsehood [in word and deed].

B. It is a good thing for the son who hears to have heard. He who hears enters in as one who has heard, and he who has heard becomes a hearer who hears what is good and speaks what is good. Everyone who has heard is an excellent person, and it is an excellent thing for him that has already heard [teaching] to hear [more]. To hear is the best of all qualities (or, characteristics), and beautiful affection springs into being thereby. How beautiful is it to see a son searching into the Teaching of his father; through this act he will attain to old age. The man who loves God will hear, but he whom God hates will not hear. Behold, it is the heart of a man that makes its possessor hear or not hear. The heart of a man is life, strength and health to him. Behold, he who has heard hears the word, and he who loves to hear is he who will perform words. How beautiful it is when a son hearkens to his father! And how happy is he (i.e., the father) to whom these words are applicable! How beautiful is the son as a lord of hearing, who has heard and of whom it can be said, He is good in his body, and is treasured by his father! The memorial of him shall be ever in the mouths of those who are alive on the earth at this present, and in the mouths of unborn generations.

C. If the son of a man receives what his father says to him, none of his plans shall fail. Thou art instructed by a son who hearkens. His merit [becomes known] among the princes. His control is over that which he speaks—seeing in hearing . . . . . Calamity overtakes [the son who] will not hear. The man of knowledge rises betimes to stablish himself, but the fool of a man injures himself.

D. The fool of a man who has not hearkened effects nothing whatsoever. He looks upon the man of knowledge as a man who knows nothing, and the qualities of virtue and excellence he considers to be defects. He does every kind of thing that is reprehensible, and these cause him to be abused daily. He lives (i.e., flourishes) upon that through which men die, and his bread is that which is filthy and abominable. But his character and disposition are well known to the princes. He goes on living day by day, but he is as one dead, and people keep themselves at a distance from him because of his evil moods, and because of the many calamities that come upon him every day.

E. The son who has hearkened is like a Follower of Horus, and when he has hearkened good [comes] to him. When he is old and has attained the state when reverence is paid to him, he tells his children the things that were told to him, and so makes new the instruction of his father. Every man instructs as he has been instructed, and tells his children what he has been told, and they tell it again to their children.

F. Build up a character and gainsay not thy precept. Make Truth to flourish, give life to thy children. If . . . . . it will come bearing sins (or, defects). Act thou in such a way that the people when they see thee shall say; "Behold, he is exactly like that one"; and that when they hear of thee they shall also say: "Behold, he is exactly like that one." The people shall see and shall [say] . . . . . subduing the multitude . . . . .

G. Suppress no word [in this book], and add nothing to it, and set not one thing in the place of another. Take good heed not to open the writings (book, documents) that thou hast; instruct according to the [traditional] word. Thou, a man of learning, hearken thyself. Desire thou to establish thy behest in the mouths of those who hear. [Let thy speech be suitable to the occasion] and let every plan of thine be in its place.

H. Make thy heart to sink as in water, control thy mouth, so shall thy plans be among the princes. Make thyself to be wholly in accord with thy lord, make him to say: "This is my son." Then shall those who hear these words say: "Assuredly praise is due to his begetters." Concentrate thy mind at the time when thou art speaking, and thou shalt make remarkable utterances, and the princes who hear them shall say: "Good, good are the things that come forth from his mouth."

I. Act in such a way that thy lord shall say of thee:—The Teaching of his father must have been very, very good. He came forth from him (i.e., his father), the first of his loins. He has declared his Teaching to him, and the whole of it is in his body, and what he did in making him was greater than what he said to him. Behold a good son, of the gift of God, who has done more than his lord ordered him to do. He does that which is right, and his heart does (i.e., follows) according to his footsteps.

May thy members have strength (or, good health) similar to that which I have obtained, the King at the same time being satisfied with everything that has happened, and mayest thou be master of [many] years of life. It is not a little thing that I have upon the earth. I have obtained one hundred and ten years of life, which the King has given to me, in addition to the favours which surpassed those of my ancestors, for doing what was right for the King up to the place of reverence (i.e., to old age).

Here ends [the book]—its beginning to its end as it was found in writing.

THE COMMANDMENTS OF MAAT

Estimated Range of Dating: 2500-2345 BC

E. A. Wallis Budge, 1924

(Maat or Ma'at refers to the ancient Egyptian concepts of truth, balance, order, harmony, law, morality, and justice. Maat was also the goddess who personified these concepts, and regulated the stars, seasons, and the actions of mortals and the deities who had brought order from chaos at the moment of creation.

The earliest surviving records indicating that Maat is the norm for nature and society, in this world and the next, were recorded during the Old Kingdom of Egypt, the earliest substantial surviving examples being found in the Pyramid Texts of Unas from between ca. 2375 BC and 2345 BC.

As A Principle

Maat represents the ethical and moral principle that every Egyptian citizen was expected to follow throughout their daily lives. They were expected to act with honor and truth in manners that involve family, the community, the nation, the environment, and the gods.

Maat as a principle was formed to meet the complex needs of the emergent Egyptian state that embraced diverse peoples with conflicting interests. The development of such rules sought to avert chaos and it became the basis of Egyptian law. From an early period the King would describe himself as the "Lord of Maat" who decreed with his mouth the Maat he conceived in his heart.

The significance of Maat developed to the point that it embraced all aspects of existence, including the basic equilibrium of the universe, the relationship between constituent parts, the cycle of the seasons, heavenly movements, religious observations and fair dealings, honesty and truthfulness in social interactions.

The ancient Egyptians had a deep conviction of an underlying holiness and unity within the universe. Cosmic harmony was achieved by correct public and ritual life. Any disturbance in cosmic harmony could have consequences for the individual as well as the state. An impious King could bring about famine, and blasphemy could bring blindness to an individual)

THE LAW

There is little surviving literature that describes the practice of ancient Egyptian law. Maat was the spirit in which justice was applied rather than the detailed legalistic exposition of rules. Maat represented the normal and basic values that formed the backdrop for the application of justice that had to be carried out in the spirit of truth and fairness. From the Fifth Dynasty (c. 2510–2370 BC) onwards, the vizier responsible for justice was called the Priest of Maat and in later periods judges wore images of Maat.

Later scholars and philosophers also would embody concepts from the Sebayt, a native wisdom literature. These spiritual texts dealt with common social or professional situations and how each was best to be resolved or addressed in the spirit of Maat. It was very practical advice, and highly case-based, so few specific and general rules could be derived from them.

During the Greek period in Egyptian history, Greek law existed alongside Egyptian law. The Egyptian law preserved the rights of women who were allowed to act independently of men and own substantial personal property and in time this influenced the more restrictive conventions of the Greeks and Romans. When the Romans took control of Egypt, the Roman legal system which existed throughout the Roman Empire was imposed in Egypt.

In funerary texts

Egyptians were often entombed with funerary texts in order to be well equipped for the afterlife as mandated by ancient Egyptian funerary practices. These often served to guide the deceased through the afterlife, and the most famous one is the Book of the Dead or Papyrus of Ani (known to the ancient Egyptians as The Book of Coming Forth by Day). The lines of these texts are often collectively called the "Forty-Two Declarations of Purity"

A passage in the Instruction of Ptah-Hotep presents Ma'at as follows:

Ma'at is good and its worth is lasting.
It has not been disturbed since the day of its creator,
whereas he who transgresses its ordinances is punished.
It lies as a path in front even of him who knows nothing.
Wrongdoing has never yet brought its venture to port.
It is true that evil may gain wealth but the strength of truth is that it lasts;
a man can say: "It was the property of my father."

Ptah-Hotep was the city administrator and vizier (first minister) during the reign of Pharaoah Djedkare Isesi, the 8th and penultimate pharao of the Fifth Dynasty. He is credited with authoring The Instructions of Ptah-Hotep, an early piece of Egyptian "wisdom literature" meant to instruct young men in appropriate behaviour.

Ptah-Hotep (meaning "Peace of Ptah"), sometimes known as Ptah-Hotep I or Ptahhotpe, was an ancient Egyptian vizier during the late 25th century BC and early 24th century BC Fifth Dynasty of Egypt.

The doctrine of Maat is represented in the declarations to Rekhti-merti-f-ent-Maat and the 42 Negative Confessions listed in the Papyrus of Ani. The following are translations by E. A. Wallis Budge.)

The 42 Negative Confessions from the Papyrus of Ani.

1 I have not committed sin.
2 I have not committed robbery with violence.
3 I have not stolen.
4 I have not slain men and women.
5 I have not stolen grain.
6 I have not purloined offerings.
7 I have not stolen the property of the gods.
8 I have not uttered lies.
9 I have not carried away food.
10 I have not uttered curses.
11 I have not committed adultery.
12 I have made none to weep.
13 I have not eaten the heart [i.e., I have not grieved uselessly, or felt remorse].
14 I have not attacked any man.
15 I am not a man of deceit.
16 I have not stolen cultivated land.
17 I have not been an eavesdropper.
18 I have slandered [no man].
19 I have not been angry without just cause.
20 I have not debauched the wife of any man.
21 I have not debauched the wife of [any] man. (repeats the previous affirmation but addressed to a different god).

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22 I have not polluted myself.
23 I have terrorized none.
24 I have not transgressed [the Law].
25 I have not been wroth.
26 I have not shut my ears to the words of truth.
27 I have not blasphemed.
28 I am not a man of violence.
29 I am not a stirrer up of strife (or a disturber of the peace).
30 I have not acted (or judged) with undue haste.
31 I have not pried into matters.
32 I have not multiplied my words in speaking.
33 I have wronged none, I have done no evil.
34 I have not worked witchcraft against the King (or blasphemed against the King).
35 I have never stopped [the flow of] water.
36 I have never raised my voice (spoken arrogantly, or in anger).
37 I have not cursed (or blasphemed) God.
38 I have not acted with evil rage.
39 I have not stolen the bread of the Gods.
40 I have not carried away the khenfu cakes from the spirits of the dead.
41 I have not snatched away the bread of the child, nor treated with contempt the god of my city.
42 I have not slain the cattle belonging to the God.

THE TEACHING OF TUAUF, THE SON OF KHATTAI.
Source: British Museum Papyrus No. 10,182 and No. 10,222
Translation: Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge, 1924
Estimated Range of Dating: 2345 - 2181 BC.

(The next oldest Book of Moral Precepts known to us is probably the Teaching of Tuauf, the son of Khattai, who wrote it for the benefit of his son Pepi; when and where Tuauf lived is unknown. The Teaching of Tuauf is considered to be a work of the 6th dynasty (2345 to 2181 BC.) or soon after. The Teaching of Tuauf was very popular under the New Empire (1550–1077 BC), and it seems to have been used as a text-book in schools and colleges, partly because its contents were more interesting than the religious texts that were usually studied, and partly because from one end to the other it is an eulogy of the profession of the scribe and the man of books.

A copy found in a more or less complete state only in papyri of the 19th or 20th dynasty (1292 to 1077 BC.). From the copy's composition it seems clear that the copyists of it at that time did not understand what they were writing; the obvious mistakes in the text are very numerous, and many passages mean nothing, or at any rate, are untranslatable. In spite of these defects, the main object of Tuauf in writing his work was to instil into the mind of his son Pepi a love for letters and for the profession of the scribe, and also to make him study the apophthegns of the Ancestors.

What Tuauf's social position was we know not, but by some means or other he learned to write and to express himself with tolerable clearness. He was probably not a man of high rank, and he seems to have worked at some kind of trade. In the course of this he found his ability to read and write of such importance that he determined to have his son properly educated, and to make him a scribe. He lacked the skill of the professional scribe in turning his sentences, and he employed in his Teaching the words that were in common use among the people of his own class. A thousand or twelve hundred years later, when the temple scribes and teachers under the Ramessid kings began to use his Teaching as a text-book, these archaic words were no longer understood, and others of more modern use were substituted for them. Blunders in copying and attempts at emendation have brought the text of Tuauf's Teaching into the unsatisfactory state in which we find it to-day.)

Text:
THE BEGINNING OF THE TEACHING THAT WAS COMPOSED BY A MAN OF THE THART, WHOSE NAME IS TUAUF, THE SON OF KHATTAI, FOR HIS SON WHOSE NAME IS PEPI, WHEN HE WAS SAILING UP THE RIVER WITH HIM TO KHENNU (OR TO THE COURT?), TO PLACE HIM IN THE HOUSE OF THE TEACHING OF BOOKS (IX., WITH THE SONS OF THE PRINCES OF KHENNU). HE SAID TO HIM:—

1 I have considered the exhaustion caused by labour, I repeat I have considered it; [therefore] devote thy mind to books, I have also considered who has been released from the corvee, and assuredly there is nothing more [to be esteemed] than books. They are like a well. Dig down deeply therefore into the depth of Kamit {ix., the literature of Egypt), and thou wilt find the following aphorism: As for the scribe, any (or every) position at Court may be his ; he needs not be a beggar therein. The man who works to satisfy another never obtains a settled position. I have considered the other professions likewise, and to them also this aphorism may be applied. I would make thee to love books as thy mother. I would bring in their beauties before thy face, for the profession of the scribe is greater than any other—there is nothing equal to it upon the earth. Even when he is a beginner and is making progress, though still a mere youth, his views are discussed. He is despatched on missions of state, but does not come [back] to place himself under restraint.

2 I have never seen the blacksmith (literally, the man who casts statues in metal) in charge of a mission, or the gold-worker despatched on one. But I have seen the coppersmith at his work at the door of his blazing fiery furnace. His fingers are [knotted and rough] like the hide of the crocodile, and he stinks more than the guts of fish.

3 Every artisan who wields the chisel, has he any more rest than the ploughman? (Or, perhaps, "he needs more rest than the ploughman.") His fields are [made of] wood, his tools of tillage are of copper. He is released from work in the nightseason, 0and works more than he did with his arms [in the day-time]; in the night-season he lights his lamp.

4 The stone-mason is always seeking blocks of sandstone of aU kinds suitable for his work. When his period of work is ended in the evening, his arms are weary, and he (i.e., his whole body) is exhausted. He sits himself down when Ra enters [the Tuat], and his thighs and the bones of his back [seem] as if they were coming asunder.

5 The barber shaves until far into the night. When he sets himself to eat he must put himself on his upper arm. He betakes himself from one quarter of the town to another in search of the men who want shaving {i.e., his customers). He tortures his hands and arms to fill his belly, just as do the honey-flies {i.e., bees) which devour their own productions.

6 The waterman has to work down the river into the Delta in order to gain his wages. He must toil excessively and work as long as his arms are able to do so. The mosquitoes and gnats sting him to death, his stink chokes him. He sets out for his garden, he sets out for his house . . . . .

7 The workman (or, mud-puddler) who builds dams (or, makes bricks) in the fields must pass his time among the cattle. He has to do work in the vineyards and for the pigs. He cooks his food in the fields. His garments are stiff with the mud which is caked on them, the straps break. If he goes into the wind it stifles him; when his fire appears (i.e., bums up) he is comfortable. He works wooden tools with his feet. If he frees himself from them and crosses the threshold, he is driven from the place.

8 I will speak to thee also about the builder of walls. He is eaten up with disease, for he lives out in the open air among the winds. Tlie building material is in his garb. He is tied to the walls like the Lilies in order to attain to what he seeks. His arms are in evil case . . . . . all his clothes are dilapidated. He eats the bread of his fingers, he washes himself once only. His misery is so great that it can hardly be described correctly . . . . . from one chamber to another, ten cubits . . . . . by six cubits from one month to another he clings to the scaffolding like the lilies on the houses, doing work of every kind. If he has bread [to eat] it is to his house that he gives it. His children are cruelly beaten [by him].

9 The gardener brings in to me gazelle (sic). His shoulders are bowed under crushing loads, and his arms and his neck become diseased. He spends the forenoon in watching the onions and the afternoon in attending to the vines. He is obliged to work every day, and everything he does exhausts his body.

10 The farm-labourer, his clothes [last] for ever.* (*Or, perhaps, "The farm-labourer is always held accountable by his employer.") He has a raucous voice like that of the corncrake (?) His fingers and hands and arms are dried up by the winds and are cracked. He is worked to exhaustion . . . . . a man would choose the security afforded by lions to that which he has. The taste of death is in him. His roof is the earth among them. He comes through the fields, he comes to his house in the evening, and is utterly worn out by the journey.

11 The weaver sits in a closed hut, and has a lot which is worse than that of a woman. His thighs are drawn up close to his body, and he cannot breathe freely. The day on which he fails to do his tale of woven work he is dragged out [from his hut] like a lily (or lotus) from the pool. Only by bribing the watchman at the door with [his] bread-cakes can he make him let him see the sunlight.

12 The spear-maker (literally, the maker of weapons for fighting) suffers sorely when he has to go out into the hills. He must pay much money for the hire of the asses and [their drivers], and his expenses for provender for them on the way are very great. He comes through the fields, he comes to his house, and is utterly worn out by the journey.

13 The envoy when he is about to come forth into the mountainous country (or, desert) bequeaths his possessions to his children, being afraid of lions and the thievish nomads, the Aamu. And when he returns to Egypt, and has come through the fields, and reaches his house at nightfall, he is utterly broken by the fatigues of the journey.

14 The reed-cutter, his fingers are filthy, and the stink of them is that of the dealer in fish His eyes are dazed (or, sunken), his hand never rests. He passes the whole day in cutting papyrus, he detests [wearing] clothes.

15 The lot of the sandal-maker is an evil one indeed. He must beg [for work] everlastingly. His health is the health of a hooked-fish He gnaws the strips of leather.

16 The washerman who toils on the river bank is a neighbour of the crocodile . . . . . filth rises on the water, his hand never stops. It is not a restful profession which I now set before thee, or the happiest of all professions! His food is mixed up with his apparel, not one of his members is clean, he must put himself into the garments of women. His miserable state is one to weep over. He spends his whole day with the stick for beating the clothes [in his hands]. When clothes are brought to him to wash he is told that if he delays he will be beaten.

17 The snarer of wild-fowl toils exceedingly hard when he tries to see the birds as they fly high in the sky. When he sees the birds in a mass in the sky, he says: “How I wish that I had a net handy!” but God does not give him his heart’s desire to help him to carry out his thoughts.

18 Moreover I tell thee that the trade of the fisherman is the worst of all trades. Does he not verily have to toil in the waters of the river, where he is mixed up with the crocodiles? When the river-plants are sparse there is no one to cry out to him, “A crocodile lurking there.” Fear blinds his eyes . . . . . Verily there is no occupation than which better cannot be found except the profession of the scribe, which is the best of all.

19 When a man knows the books one will say, “They are good for thee,” No other profession will I set before thee; verily each worker curses his work [except the scribe]. No man says to the scribe, ” Work in the fields for such and such a man.” Verily that which I am now doing as I sail up the river to Khennu (the Court?), behold, I do it for love of thee. Even one day [spent] in the house of instruction (i.e., school) is profitable for thee, and the work done therein will endure as long as the mountains. These are the things that I would have thee to know quickly, quickly, for they drive away the Beast (or. Serpent?) Betennu.

20 I will [now] speak to thee words concerning other matters, to instruct thee and make thee to know [how to behave] and how to avoid contention (or, quarrelling). Be thou one of those who have weight (a settled object?) in their plans, for if a man adopts an object hastily he knows not where his plans will end. A man may have lapis lazuli in his hand [for] the lions . . . . .

21 When thou art following in the train of princes walk decorously, as if thou wert feeling pleasure. When thou goest into a house and findest the master therein, the hands of another not being before thee*, sit down, [lay] thy hand on thy mouth, and ask no questions of anyone who may happen to be near thee. (*Or, perhaps, “and findest the master therein [engaged] in discussing with another man affairs [of which thou art ignorant].” He who says “[Tell me,] I pray,” is like the man who tries to break a cudgel with a twig* (*Tuauf is here quoting a proverb; he quotes it again a few paragraphs later.)

22 Ur-shefit lays a burden upon thee. Utter no cryptic words; he who conceals his body (or, mind) works against him. Speak not words of pride and arrogance, even when thou art sitting by thyself, or, according to a variant reading, alone.

23 When thou comest out of the house of teaching {i.e., school)—it having been told thee that midday has come—and thou goest singing (or, shouting) about the courtyards of the houses, I charge thee not to enter into [the houses] to which they belong.

24 When a great man of the town sends thee on an errand, deliver the message which he gave thee word for word, even as he uttered it. Take nothing away from the message which he gave, and abandon [the idea] of making any addition to it. Let him not set his heart. He is filled with [good] qualities of every kind, there exist no hidden things to him, no place is large enough to contain him.

25 Speak not lies to (or, concerning) thy mother, for the sake of this Great Chief (Osiris?). . . . . Act not in any wise against her, not even when thou art by thyself or, according to a variant reading, alone. If thou art one who despises the belly thou wilt be hearkened to. If, when thou hast eaten three bread-cakes, and hast drunk two pitchers of beer, thy belly is not full, thou must fight against it (i.e., thy ravenous appetite). If another man is filled therewith make no stand: it is like a man trying to break a cudgel with a twig.

26 Behold, it is a good thing for thee to dismiss the crowd of people that are about thee, [so that] thou canst hear [privily] the words of the nobles. O that I could make myself like imto thee—son of men (a title also found in Qumran texts and New Testament writings). Thou marchest like one who has made himself the master of . . . . . The scribe who hears (or, obeys) is seen [and known]; he who obeys becomes a man of might. Fight against the words that are against (i.e., condemn) it. Make thy feet hasten when thou marchest and spare not thyself . . . . . Make thyself to be friendly with thy young companions.

27 Behold, the goddess Renenit is on the way of God, and it is the goddess Renenit whom the scribe has upon his shoulder on the day of his birth, and when having become a man, he

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enters the Council Chamber. Verily there is no scribe who does not eat the food of the King; life, strength, and health be to him!

28 The goddess Meskhenit makes the scribe to flourish and to prosper, and sets him at the head of the Council. Tua-Ra is his father and his mother (or, his father and his mother praise Ra). They set him on the path of life. Behold, these are the things that I would set before thee, and before the children of his (i.e., his son's) children.

THE TEACHING WHICH KING KHATI WROTE FOR HIS SON MERIKARA.

or: Instruction Addressed to King Merikare
or: The Teaching for King Merykara
Source: Vladimir Semyonovich Golenishchev, 1913, Ermitage, St. Petershurg, No. 1115, 1116a & 1116b
Translation: Alan Henderson Gardiner, 1914
Estimated Range of Dating: 2025-1700 BC.

(Instruction Addressed to King Merikare or The Teaching for King Merykara, is a literary composition in Middle Egyptian, the classical phase of the Egyptian language, probably of Middle Kingdom date (2025-1700 BC).

In this "sebayt" (wisdom teaching) the author has a First Intermediate Period king of Egypt possibly named Kheti address his son, the future king Merykara, advising him on how to be a good king, and how to avoid evil. Merykara is the name of a king of Dynasty 9 or 10, the line or lines of kings who ruled northern Egypt during a period of division, the First Intermediate Period (about 2150-2025 BC). Perhaps this allowed the author of this composition greater freedom in describing the limits of royal authority than might have been possible in referring to kings of a unified Egypt; the Teaching for King Merykara is effectively a treatise on kingship in the form of a royal testament, the first of this genre. Similar works were created later in the Hellenistic and Islamic world, and, in the speculum regum, had a parallel in medieval Europe. Like similar later "royal testaments" one of its functions may have been the legitimization of the ruling king.

Synopsis: The first, mostly destroyed, section deals with the putting down of rebellion, the second with how to treat the king's subjects. The third section gives advice on how to run the army and religious services. The fourth describes the king's achievements and how to emulate them. Next, in contrast to the continual recycling of architectural blocks, the king is instructed to quarry new stone, not reuse old monuments; the reality of reuse is acknowledged, but the ideal of new work is commended. Similarly, the destruction of a sacred territory at Abydos is recorded; the king expresses remorse, as if accepting responsibility for the unthinkable that must have recurred throughout history - sacrilege in the name of the ruling king, subject to divine retribution during a judgement of the dead.[6] The importance of upholding Maat, the right world order, is stressed. The last two sections contain a hymn to the creator god (who remains unnamed) [7] and an exhortation to heed these instructions.

The contrast between real and ideal make the composition a reflection on power unparalleled in Ancient Egyptian writing.

Principal sources: The text is known from three fragmentary papyri. They only partly complement one another and the most complete one, the Leningrad Papyrus, contains the largest number of scribal errors and omissions, making it very difficult work with.

• Papyrus Hermitage 1116A, late Dynasty 18

• Papyrus Moscow, Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts 4658, late Dynasty 18

• Papyrus Carlsberg 6, late Dynasty 18

The "Teaching of King Khati" is a remarkable composition. King Khati wrote it for the benefit of his son Meri-ka-Ra. Unfortunately the only version of it which we have is the work of the scribes of the 19th dynasty, but there seems to be little doubt that the composition itself is about two thousand years older. This Teaching of Khati is different in every way from that of his predecessors, and this royal author intended to teach his son something more than morality. The first six paragraphs advise Meri-ka-Ra how to deal with disloyal, noisy sedition-mongers, who go about the city talking and inciting men to overthrow the existing government. He is to use no half measures, but to seize such folk, kill them, blot out their name and memorial, and destroy their adherents.

The next three paragraphs counsel just and considerate treatment of the nobles and the people in general : Stablish thy boundaries and provide for the future, seize not all the land. [Life] passes quickly upon earth and is of short duration.

The next seven paragraphs deal with an incident in a fight which King Khati had with the princes of Thebes at This, near Abydos; the subjugation of the peoples to the north-west and north-east of Herakleopolis; the nomad tribes of the Aamu (or Syrians) and their warlike and unconquerable disposition.

The rest of the text, and this is a surprise, is monotheistic, meaning it deals with only One God. The passages contain the simplest and grandest description of the power and majesty of the God of Creation which has been found in Egyptian papyri. It is clear from some of the lines in them that the god whose power Khati describes is Ra, the oldest sun-god of Heliopolis, who was undoubtedly regarded as the creator of the material universe. King Khati's monotheism is of a very high order, but Ra was, apparently, not almighty, for he had enemies, who subsisted against his will, and whom he had to slay. And his power over the men whom he had created in his image was not great enough to prevent them from conspiring against him. Moreover, to help men to overcome "happenings," (i.e., accidents and calamities) and diurnal and nocturnal visions, he was obliged to invent for them Hekau, "words of power" (i.e., magical spells, incantations, exorcisms, and the like). As these were to be recited whilst certain ceremonies, of a symbolic and magical character, were being performed, and as both the spells and ceremonies were designed to destroy the power and works of evil beings, they must be regarded as the foundation of the "White Magic," which Ra invented to defeat "Black Magic."

(The hieratic text of this Teaching is only found in copies of it which were made by the scribes who flourished under the New Empire, and is preserved at St. Petersburg and Moscow. It was published in 1913 by Vladimir Semyonovich Golenishchev in Les Papyrus Hieratiques No. 1115, 1116a et 1116b de L'Ermitage Imperial a St. Petershourg,.and translated into English by Alan Henderson Gardiner in the Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, Vol. I, p. 22 ff.)

[The first two or three columns are much mutilated, and little connected sense can be got from the fragments.]

1 [The few words which remain suggest that the king tells his son what characteristic in a man he considers to be absolutely essential for ruling successfully.]

2-4 [These paragraphs deal with the suppression of rebellion.]

5 The king, considering the case of a man who is friendly with disloyal folk, and possesses the gift of fluent speech, and is very popular with many in the city and can bend them to his will, and is a mischievous chatterer, advises his son to seize him, and kill him, and blot out his name, and wipe out every memorial of his existence, and suppress all who were his adherents.

6 A quarrelsome discontented man causes uproar in a city, and will split the community into two parties. If thou dost find a man of this kind, but canst not thyself deal adequately with him, summon him to appear before the council, and prosecute him as a rebel, for he is one. A chatterer in any case causes trouble in a city. Curb the mob. The man with nothing to lose rebels naturally.

7 A king must not punish in the heat of passion; use discretion in punishing, and thy people will rejoice. Show thyself to be a speaker of the truth before the God . . . . . The heaven of a man is a good disposition (or, nature); the curse of a man who is broken-hearted through suffering is a terrible thing (or, calamity).

8 Make thyself a craftsman in speech, for thereby thou shalt gain the upper hand. The tongue of a man is his weapon, and speech is mightier than fighting. No man can come behind him that is skilled in heart . . . . . Those who do not know cannot seize the man who knows, and where he is no evil thing takes place. Truth comes to him in a well rubbed-down state in the form of the sayings of the ancestors.

9 Follow after (or, imitate) thy fathers of olden time. The [mind] is trained by knowledge. Behold, their words stand fast in writing. Open [their book], read, and follow their wise counsels, and in this wise shall the workman become a man who has been taught. Be not evil; good is graciousness (or, sympathy). Let thy loving sympathy stand as a permanent memorial of thee. Multiply thy [benefit] . . . . . in the city. The people will give thanks to God for thy benefactions, and they will praise thy goodness, and will pray for thy health [in years to come].

10 Pay honour to princes, and treat thy people well. Make the boundaries of thy country to flourish enlarge them), and the districts about thee. It is a good thing to work (i.e., make provision) for what is (or, those who are) to come after. Pay honour to a life of work, for he who is satisfied in heart becomes an evil . . . . . It is a despicable thing for a man to fetter the land (his estate?). The man who has nothing is greedy for the property [of others] upon earth has no continuity . . . . .

11 Make great thy princes and they will carry out thy laws. The man who possesses wealth in his house favours no man; the man with possessions has no need of [bribes]. The poor man does not say what it would be right for him [to say], and the man who says, "I would have more" is not trustworthy for he will favour the side that will bribe him. A prince is truly great when his princes are great; a king is strong when he has shenit (i.e., mighty men) about him. Awe-inspiring is he who has many princes about him. Speak what is true in thy house, and the princes who are on the earth shall fear thee. All is well when the Lord is right of heart, [for] the chief (or, innermost?) chamber makes reverence to be felt for the outside thereof.

12 Do the right, and thou shalt continue upon the earth. Make the weeper to cease his plaint. Fleece not the widow woman. Drive no man away from the property of his father (i.e., ancestral estate). Defraud not the princes by removing them from their hereditary offices. Take good heed not to inflict punishment unjustly. Slay none unnecessarily; it will not be profitable for thee. Inflict punishment by means of beatings and putting men under restraint; through treatment of this kind this land shall have a sure foundation. But an exception to this treatment shall be the rebel whose plottings have been found out. God knows the evil-hearted. God smites him for transgressions against Him even to blood . . . . . Slay not the man with whose virtues thou art acquainted, with whom thou hast in times past sung the writings [in school] and read the [Sapu Book] of God. Enter with a long stride the place of hidden things (or, mysteries). The soul of the man who is slain comes to the place which it knows, it steps not aside from the ways of yesterday. No words of power (i.e., magical spells) can turn it back, and it advances to the place where waters flow for it.

[We will now refer to three paragraphs 13, 27 and 28, but which give to the Teaching of Khati a character possessed by no other moral work except that of Amen-em-apt. These paragraphs deal with religion and not morality, and that they should occur in a work written nearly three thousand years before Christ is very remarkable. Paragraph XIII carries on the subject of the preceding paragraph, in which the King says:

13 "Do right deeds, thou shalt remain on the earth," He goes on to say, If thou wilt oppress the widow, and usurp the orphans' possessions, and dismiss the magistrates who judge rightly, and punish innocent men, and murder people, thou wilt be judged and punished after death. [The passage concerning the Judgement is so important that I reproduce Golenischeff's transcript of it, and a translation of it:—]

THE JUDGEMENT.

"[Remember] the Tchatchaut* who judge wrongdoers. (*i.e., the Company of Assessors in the Other World, presumably the Forty-two great gods of the Hall of Maati, which was presided over by Osiris) Know thou that they will not be lenient (or, pitiful) [On] that day of the judgement of wretched man, [In] the hour of the doing of [their] appointed duty. It is a terrible thing for a man who knows [his sin] to be charged with it. Fill not thy heart [with hope] because of length of years, [For] they regard a whole lifetime as a single hour. They prove [a man] after [his] arrival in port (i.e., death). His qualities are placed near him as means of subsistence. There (i.e., in the Other World) existence is everlasting. A fool is he who has put [the remembrance of] it away from him. The man who attains to that place without wrongdoing Has an existence there like that of God, Going about unhampered like the Everlasting Lords."

14 Train up the young men to be soldiers and thou wilt be beloved by the Court, and let thy retinue of servants be great and numerous. See that thy town is always filled with hale young men who have newly arrived, being twenty years of age. Young men rejoice in following the dictates of their hearts. Successors of dependants appear, and a father with his children . . . . . Thus I raised soldiers when I ascended the throne. Make great thy great men, promote [those who fight] for thee. I pray thee to increase thy young men who follow thee, provided with inventories, endowed with fields and supplied with cattle.

15 Make no distinction in thy behaviour towards the son of a man of rank and the son of a man of humble parentage, but attach to thyself a man by reason of what his hands have effected. All handicrafts are performed according to the . . . . . the Lord of Strength. Guard thy border, set up thy lasting monuments, so that the corvde gangs may be profitable to their lord. Set up thy [fine] monumental buildings to God, for this will make to live the name of him that builds them. Let a man do what is of benefit to his souls, [that is to say] let him make the monthly purification, and take the white sandals, and betake himself to the temple, and unveil what is usually secret, and enter the shrine (or, sanctuary), and eat bread in the house of the god.

16 Make the libation tank to overflow, make great (or, large) the bread-cakes, multiply the daily offerings, for it benefits the man who does this. Make to flourish thy monuments according to thy wealth (or, power). One day [only] will provide for eternity, and one hour [only] will produce benefit for him that comes after. God has knowledge of the man who works for him. Carry statues of thyself into a remote land, and let not the people count [the labour] of doing so. Sick is the man who lacks a thing to fight about, in the interior of Egypt the fighting man is never cool.

17 Young recruits attack young recruits, according to what the men of olden time have said about the matter. Egypt fights in the cemetery, smashing the tombs and smashing . . . . . Thus did I myself and thus did it happen . . . . . Entreat not

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evilly the country of the South. Thou knowest what the Court said concerning it in times past, and it came to pass even as these things came to pass. They did not invade it, as they said . . . . . The town of Ten (Thinis), which was the boundary on the south, and as far Taut (?), I captured it like a water flood. King Meri[ka]-Ra, whose word is truth (i.e., this king was dead), did not do this. Be long-suffering in ruling that country act wisely, having regard to the future.

18 Keep on good terms with the region of the South. Men will come to thee bowed under loads with offerings. I acted as the men of olden time did. If a man has no grain to give [as tribute] be compassionate, for they are feeble folk by the side of thee. Fill thyself full of thine own bread-cakes and beer. Then shall the granite come to thee [from Sun, i.e., Syene] without any hindrance. Destroy not the monuments of another man, but hew stone for thyself in Reau.* (*i.e., the quarries of Turah, about 20 miles south of Cairo on the East bank of the Nile.) Build not thy tomb with stones from a wrecked tomb . . . . . Behold, thou King, Lord of joy of heart, thou art lazy, thou sleepest in thy strength. Follow thy inclination as I have done and thou shalt not have an enemy within thy border.

19 A certain man stood up, he was a lord of the town, and his heart was broken because of Ta-Mehu (i.e., the Delta), from Het-shennu to Sebaqa, its southern border as far as the marsh land of Khaui (near Herakleopolis). I settled the country on the west [of the Delta] as far as the margins of the Lake (or, Sea). They work (or, pay tribute), it yields . . . . . The Eastern country is full of nomad Arabs, their tribute . . . . .

[The next five paragraphs, 20-24, are full of difficult words and passages. They refer to the writer's conquest of the country to the north-east of Egypt, including Syria. He had subjugated it as far as Kantarah, and apparently had established garrisons to keep away the Semites and other Asiatic peoples. He now wishes to see a strong man arise in the person of his son. And, moreover, he says, the Pett peoples (i.e., the nomad tribes of Palestine and Syria) may be described thus:-]

20 The Amu are a despicable folk. The region in which they live is a miserable place, the water of the well[s] is horrible, it is difficult to travel about in because of the great number of the trees (or, jungle), and their roads are bad because of the mountainous districts.

21 The Amu is never to be found in the same place, and his feet are always on the move, marching from one place to another. He has been fighting ever since the time of Horus. He conquers nobody and nobody conquers him. He never announces the day on which he is going to fight, and is like the captain who rushes off suddenly to quell a rebellion. During my time the Pett tribes of the Amu were like a weapon in a fortress . . . . . I allowed the people of Ta-Mehu (i.e., the North-land, or Delta) to fight them.

22 I carried away captive their holders of land and their cattle . . . . . the Amu are a beastly folk to the Egyptians. Let not thy heart have concern about him. He will attack and rob an isolated encampment, but he will not attack a walled town. Dig down the dyke and flood half of the district as far as Kamui (Athribis), verily it is the navel-cord of the nomads of the desert. Its walls are manned with armed men, its inhabitants are many and they know how to handle . . . . . Then there is the town of Tetu-Asut (A part of the modem district of Sakkarah, to the South of Memphis), the people whereof are ten thousand in number, and they are free and untaxed.

23 There are princes in it who from the time of Ra have gone to the Court [of Memphis]. Its borders are well defined, its coast-guards are strong, and it has many Northern men (i.e., Delta folk) in it, and they irrigate it. The North-land gives tribute in the shape of grain. Behold, it is the lands of wood of the North-land. They built a dyke that reached to Hensu (Hanes—Herakleopolis) . . . . . Take good care not to be hemmed in by hostile subjects . . . . .

24 When there is revolt on thy southern border it is the Pett folk (i.e., nomad tribes) who will take up arms against thee. Therefore build forts (blockhouses?) in the North-land. A man's name is not belittled because of what he has done, and the city that is protected cannot be injured. Build forts . . . . . The enemy loves the man who is evil-hearted, for his disposition is vile. King Kha-ti (Presumably Khati I, the founder of the Herakleopolitan Dynasty), whose word is truth, has laid down the following in his wise counsel; He who is silent (i.e., inactive) against the man of violent heart is destroyed; God fights against the man who is an enemy of the temple. Here the section of the text that contains Khati's advice of a political character comes to an end; he now harks back to his moral Teaching.

25 There shall come one . . . . . who shall carry it out; he shall understand what has been decreed . . . . . the day of his coming. Provide drink offerings in abundance. Pay honour to God, and say not: "He is poor-spirited." Let not thy hands and arms drop in idleness, but work willingly. What destroys heaven is apathy. Monuments are regarded by an enemy, [for] he does not destroy them because he wishes that what he himself has made shall be maintained in good order by him who comes after him. There exists no man who has not an enemy. [The Lord] of the Two Lands understands affairs, and the King who is surrounded by nobles does not act stupidly. He was wise even when he came forth from the womb; he was set apart (or, distinguished) to be at the head of the land of millions [of men].

26 Kingship is a splendid rank. Even when [a king] has no son and no brother to perpetuate his monuments, lo, one king maintains the reputation of another. A man works on behalf of his predecessor, because he wishes that what he himself has done shall be maintained in good order by his successor. Behold, an evil happening took place in my time, that is to say, the funerary districts of Tenu (Thinis) were laid waste. It took place because of an act of my own, and I only had knowledge of it after the deed was done. Verily my punishment was in proportion to what I had done. A contemptible man and unprofitable is he who thinks that he can make to flourish again what he has laid waste, or build up what he has overthrown, restoring its perfect state and beauty. Take good heed to this matter; a blow struck brings a counter blow in its train; and this is the irresistible result of every action (or, deed).

27 God the Creator. His Worship and Power. "God has hidden Himself; [He] knows the dispositions [of men]. None can resist the lord of the hand* (see page 20) Who attacks the things which are seen by the eyes (or, whilst the eyes look on). God is to be adored [when] He is on His way. Stones are worked upon, copper (or, bronze) is wrought [into images of Him]. The parched land is rewarded with a stream. A river will not permit itself to disappear, it destroys (or, dissolves away) that ground in which it hid itself. The soul journeys to the place which it knows. Found [and] make perfect (or, magnificent) thy house of Ament (i.e., the west bank of the Nile), Beautify thy house of Khert-Neter (i.e., the cemetery) As is right to do, like one who observes the law. For the minds (or, hearts) of men rely upon it. The disposition of him that is right of heart is more acceptable than the ox of the worker of iniquity. Work for God, He will work for thee in like manner. Make offerings 130. to keep the tables for offerings well-supplied, [And] with the cutting [of funerary texts add] the similitude of thy name. God knows well [the man] who works for him."

28 [King Khati continues his advice thus:-] "Regulate (or, keep order among) men and women, who [are] the flocks and herds of God. (Compare Psalm 74,1; 79,13; 95,7; 100,3.) He made heaven [and] earth for their will (i.e., pleasure), He dissipated the darkness of the waters, He made the breezes of life (or, the life-giving air) for their nostrils. They are the images (or, likenesses) of Him, (Compare Gen. 1,26-27; 9,6.) Who came forth from His members. He mounts up into the sky for their hearts (i.e., gratification). He has made for them fruits and vegetables, flocks and herds, feathered fowl [and] fish for their subsistence. He has slain his enemies, he destroyed his own children because they conspired and made rebellion. He made the daylight for their hearts (i.e., gratification). He made himself to travel in a boat so that he could see them. He has raised up a shrine behind them. [When] they weep he hearkens [to their cry]. He made for them a governor in the egg (i.e., governors who were kings before they were born.), A captain to strengthen the back of the feeble man. He made for them words of power [for] weapons To repulse the might of [untoward] happenings [And terrifying] visions by night as well as by day. He has slain those who were rebels in heart As a man chastises his son for his brother. God knows every name."

29 Do no evil thing. My mouth gives laws of every kind for the King. Make direct thy face before thee, lift up thyself like a man. O that thou mayest come to where I am without any laying information against thee. Slay not any man who approaches thee and whom thou hast favoured, for God knows him. He who flourishes on earth is one of them; those who follow the King are gods. Make the love of thee to be among all the peoples. A generous (or, well-doing) character is held in remembrance . . . . . it was said concerning thee the time of the feeble man is at an end. Thus said those who were dependants in the House of King Khat-ti when prophesying about him that was to come to-day. Behold, I have declared to thee the profitable things of my mind; make them to be firmly grounded before thee.

30 Colophon (descriptive Conclusion): It (i.e., the book) has gone out (i.e., it is finished) in peace, as it was found in writing in the writing of Khamuas for himself, the silent one of truth, of kindly nature, generous and a lover of men. He stood not in the eye of another, he was not one given to scurrilous (or, blasphemous) abuse, he was the servant of his lord, a scribe who a man skilled in the craft of Thoth, the scribe Khamuas, and for his brother whom he loved dearly, the silent one of truth, of kindly nature, a man skilled in the craft of Thoth, the scribe Mahu.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ANTEF, THE SON OF SENT.

The Philosophy Of Antef, The Son Of Sent.
Source: British Museum stele, No. 197
Translation: Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge, 1913
Estimated Range of Dating: 2120 - 2070 BC.

(Antef, or more precisely Sehertawy Intef I, was a local nomarch at Thebes during the early First Intermediate Period and the first member of the 11th Dynasty to lay claim to a Horus name. Intef reigned from 4 to 16 years c. 2120 BC or c. 2070 BC during which time he probably waged war with his northern neighbour, the Coptite nomarch Tjauti. Intef was buried in a saff tomb at El-Tarif, known today as Saff el-Dawaba.

Intef, whose name is commonly accompanied by epithets such as the Elder, the Great (= Intef-Aa) or born of Iku, was a Theban nomarch during the First Intermediate Period c. 2150 BC and later considered a founding figure of the 11th Dynasty, which eventually reunified Egypt.

Intef the Elder was not a pharaoh but rather the nomarch of Thebes c. 2150 BC. As such he would have nominally served either a king of the Eighth Dynasty or one of the Herakleopolitan kings of 9th or 10th Dynasty. Intef the Elder would have controlled the territory from Thebes to Aswan to the south and not farther north than Koptos, which was then controlled by another dynasty of nomarchs.[3] Intef is believed to be the father of his successor on the Theban throne, Mentuhotep I.

From his stele in the British Museum, No. 197 [581]. Published by Sharpe, Egyptian Inscriptions, II, pi. 83; and Hall, H. R., Hieroglyphic Texts, Part II, pi. 23; and Moret, La Profession, p. 80.)

"Antef, the governor of the offices of the Government (The equivalent of the Mudiriyah of our days), smells the ground (i.e., does homage) before Khenti-Amenti, and looks upon the beneficent deeds of Up-uatu. He says : Now as concerning this tomb which I have made in the mountain (i.e., cemetery: To this day the Egyptians call the region where the tombs are situated "gabal," i.e., mountain.) of Abydos, this region which is surrounded by walls, which was made in the beginning by Nebertcher (i.e., "Lord to the uttermost limit," perhaps a God), a place profitable (or glorious) since the time of Osiris, a settlement of Homs for his Fathers, [the place] that the stars in the sky serve, [the place that is] the mistress of the henmemet beings, whereto come the great ones of Tetu (Mendes), the sister-site of Anu (Heliopolis), [the place of] Homs-splendours, whereon rests Nebertcher—may offerings appear at the word here for the loyal servant, the governor of the offices of the Government, Antef, the son of Sent.)

1 I am a silent man before a raging man and before a fool, in order to suppress wrath.

2 I am cold (i.e., calm, or cautious), without hasty impulses, knowing what circumstances may arise, understanding possibilities of failure.

3 I am a man who speaks in places where violence is applied, and I know when, according to custom, it is right for me to show anger.

4 I am a long-suffering man. I pay heed to my name (or, reputation); it gives (?) [me] what is in my heart.

5 I am a man who collects [his facts or thoughts], returning to a matter, longsuffering (or, patient), silencing the weeper with happiness.

6 I am a man who has a bright (i.e., pleasant) face for his subordinate, and who does good to the man who is like himself (i.e., is in the same social position).

7 I am an impartial man in the house of his lord, knowing what will heal the man who is diseased in speech.

8 I am a man who is bright (i.e., pleasant) of face, open-handed, a lord of food, without withdrawal of face [from any man].

9 I am a friend towards those who are in a lowly condition, and to the man who has nothing my true (or, just) dealing is sweet.

10 I am the food of the hungry man who has no possessions, and open-handed to the destitute.

11 I act as the man of knowledge for him that is ignorant, and I teach a man that which will be beneficial for him.

12 I am the impartial man in the house of the king, knowing that which is said in every court-house.

13 I am a man who hearkens, I hearken to Maat (the Law, or the Truth), and, indeed, cause it to declare its message to my heart.

14 I am the peacemaker of the house of his lord, being remembered by reason of his amiable qualities.

15 I am a good one in the courts when cases are being tried, equable of mind, free from words (or, acts) that irritate.

16 I am a good man, not acting hastily, not coercing a man because of an utterance [of his].

17 I am a man of justice, like the scales, impartial, true like Thoth.

18 I am a man firm of foot, whose design is well thought out, who prepares the way for the man who would make him to prosper.

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19 I am a man who recognizes the man who can teach him, and the man who will allow him to discuss a matter with him.

20 I am a man who speaks in the Court of Law (or. Truth), who sets (literally, sharpens) his mouth against the restrictions of the mind."

THE TEACHING OF THE SCRIBE ANI, WHICH WAS WRITTEN FOR HIS SON, KHENSU-HOTEP.

Source: Mariette's Papyri, Nos. 5 and 7,
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
Translation: Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge, 1924
Estimated Range of Dating: 2120 - 2070 BC.

(The Instruction of Ani, or Any, is an Ancient Egyptian text written in the style of wisdom literature which is thought to have been composed in the Eighteenth Dynasty of the New Kingdom, with a surviving manuscript dated from the Twenty-First or Twenty-Second Dynasty. Due to the amount of gaps and corruption it has been considered a difficult, and at times obscure, text to translate. The papyrus lacks one or more columns at the beginning, so it is impossible to know the contents of the title of this Teaching, and how the opening lines ran.

The Teaching of the scribe Ani is preserved in a hieratic papyrus which was written under the 21st or 22nd dynasty, and now forms No. 4 of the Collection of Papyri in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. This papyrus is said to have been found, together with other Egyptian papyri (Nos. 5 and 7, according to Mariette's numbering) and a collection of Coptic letters written on papyrus, in a wooden box in the tomb of a Christian monk at Deir al-Madinah, or Western Thebes. Papyrus No. 5 contains part of the Demotic text of the story of Khamuas, the great magician and son of Rameses II, and No. 7 contains prayers in the hieratic character addressed to the hours of the night, and a description of them. If all these documents were found together in the tomb of a Christian monk it is difficult not to assume that this monk (who lived at a time when the knowledge of the old language is commonly supposed to have died out) was a student of ancient books of moral precepts, and could read and understand works written in the hieratic and Demotic characters. Fragments of the text are found in three other papyrus sections in the Musée Guimet, Paris the Papyrus Chester Beatty V held in the British Museum, London, and in four ostraca from Deir el-Medina.

As for its contents, the text retains the traditional format of an older man giving advice to a younger man – as the scribe Any, who works in the court of Nefertari, advises his son. However the Instruction of Any is distinguished from earlier works, as its intended audience was the ordinary person rather than the aristocracy. The themes covered by the instructions include respect for religion, motherhood, honesty, restraint and the avoidance of relations with unfaithful women. Unlike other works of instruction, the endings of which tend towards acquiescence and gratitude for the wisdom imparted, this text contains an epilogue in which a son first responds to his father's maxims critically rather than compliantly. The father refutes the son's objections by force of argument. The beginning of the document is fragmented and the text does not become understandable until we reach Plate 16, line 1. There we have:—)

Text:

1 Work a woman {i.e., marry a wife) whilst thou art a young man; she will produce thy son. If thou dost produce thy son whilst thou art still young, thou wilt be able to train him to become a proper man. Good is it for a man if his men (i.e., posterity) are numerous, [and] he will be applauded by reason of his children.

2 Make (i.e., celebrate) the festival of thy God, repeat continually his praises. God (literally, Gods) is angry with the man who breaks (or invades) his ordinance. Establish (or, set up), witnesses round about thy offerings. He who has done this has [done] most excellently for himself.

3 If it be that a man comes to seek for thy opinions (or, views), I pray thee to let it cause thee to sink thyself in the writings of the past.

4 The opportunity having come [and let pass], one may seek [in vain] to seize another.

5 Let His (i.e., God's) Will be exalted. Singing, dancing, and incense form his service (or, perhaps, form his meat and drink). The receipit of homage is among what belongs to him. Offer these things to the god, so as to magnify his name.

6 If there be a man who is drunk, go not into his presence at the instigation of another, even though his making [thee] to enter would make thee honoured (or, revered).

7 Look not too closely at the behaviour of a neighbour in thy (or his) house. Whatsoever thine eye sees thou shalt hold thy peace. Describe it not to any person in the street, lest the man who hears of it shall later inflict upon thee a punishment of a serious character [and perhaps] death.

8 Guard thyself well against the woman from the outer district who is not known in her town (or, quarter of the city). Cast no longing glances after her as do those who are like to her, and have no carnal intercourse or other relation with her. She is a deep ditch (or, lake), and where her currents will lead no man knows. When a woman, whose husband is absent from her, [shows her] beauty and invites thee to her every day, saying that there are no witnesses present, and puts her net in position [to snare thee], it is a great, abominable deed deserving the death penalty for a man to hearken to her, even if she has not succeeded in her object . . . . . Yet men will commit abominable deeds in order to gratify this one passion.

9 Go not in and out of the town-council, so that thy name may not stink.

10 When an interrogation in court takes place, multiply not thy words. Hold thy peace and thou wilt occupy a favourable position. Make thyself no mere tongue-wagger.

11 Noisy, vain repetitions are an abomination to the sanctuary of God. Pray thou thy prayer with a loving heart, all the words (or, petitions) are hidden. He will do for thee all that is necessary for thy daily needs; He will hearken to thy supplications, receiving thine offerings.

12 Pour out libations to thy father and to thy mother, who rest in the cemetery in the mountain. The water is a witness for those who offer what is due, or what is acceptable to the gods. Fail not to do this . . . . . what thou doest thy son shall do for thee.

13 Undertake nothing as the result of having drunk beer, for if thou dost, words which can have a second meaning may come forth from thy mouth without thy knowing it. When thou fallest down and breakest thy bones (or, members) there will be no one there to put out his hand [to help thee]. Thy boon companions will stand up and say, "Away with this drunken beast!" When people come to have speech with thee they will find thee lying prostrate on the ground, and thou wilt be as helpless as a little child.

14 Go not forth from thy house to any place with which thou art not acquainted; have no hankering for it. Eat at any place which thou lovest, remember that [place] which thou knowest.

15 I pray thee to set before thyself the path that must be traversed, and let old age testify to thee this fact. Thou must be found to have prepared for thyself a fine tomb in the cemetery in the mountain, which shall be the Tuat that shall hide thy body. I pray thee to set it before thee in the midst of thy daily occupations and the business under thy eye. [Do this] even as did the very ancient ones who [now] rest in their sepulchres. The man who does thus on his own behalf suffers no calamity, and it shall be well with thee if thou also art furnished with thy tomb (or, domain). Thy messenger shall come to thee to take thee, he shall find thee provided with a tomb, assuredly thou shalt have no anxiety. Verily his terrifying form will come and set itself before thee; say not, "I am too young for thee to snatch me away." Thou knowest not thy death (i.e., how or when it shall be). Death comes and bears away the child who is at the breast of his mother, as well as the man who has reached old age.

16 Behold, I will declare unto thee also other good advice whereon thou shalt meditate in thy heart. Act upon it and thou wilt become a good man, and evil hap of every kind shall be far from thee.

17 Take good heed to avoid the man of evil speech . . . . . Keep thyself far from men who act crookedly, and make none of them thy companion. [On the other hand]

18 Be friendly and associate thyself with one who is just and true, when thou hast observed the manner in which he acts. Thy rectitude will take possession of his balance; their . . . . . strengthen thy hand to him that is in thy house, since thy possessions are under his care.

19 Let not thy hand waste thy goods on a man whom thou knowest not; he comes to thee [bringing] ruin. When [thy] goods are placed in their storehouses he comes to thee as one who reports, and he has the safe keeping of thine own possessions. Thy people will find him on thy road.

20 Gifts being made to the small man, he acquires the [greatness of the] great man, even as does a brick built up (?) [with others].

21 Teaching in the house is life; by the use of correction (or, chastisement) thou thyself shalt find it.

22 Let thine eye be open, so that thou dost not come out as a beggar. The man who becomes one of the many inert, helpless folk will never be applauded as is the man who has marked out the course of his life.

23 Open not up a friendship with the slave of another man. If his name stinks it will become a matter for evil report; if he be a great and important man, though unknown [to thee], he will rise up, and an answer must be returned to him concerning the theft of his servant, whom he will seize with his hand, and he will follow after him and command him to safeguard that which was in his [master's] house. [If thou doest this] thou wilt sorrow, saying, "What shall I do?" and all thy household will upbraid thee, to make thee to know upon earth that a man seeks to found a house [for himself].

24 Thou markest out an estate and settest bounds to it. Thou makest the forepart of it into arable land to produce fodder and fencest it in, thou plantest avenues of sycamore trees round about thy house, thou fillest thy hand with flowers of every kind, so that thine eye may gaze upon them, but in spite of all this, thou wilt feel discontent. Lucky is the man who does not forsake these things.

25 Fill not thy heart with love for the possessions of another man; guard thyself [against this], and do it not. Support not thyself with the things that belong to another man unless he has made them enter thy house.

26 Build thou a house for thyself when thou findest enmity in a dwelling shared with others (?). Say not:—The father of my mother has a house When thou goest to divide the property with thy brethren the granaries shall be thine.

27 God grant that children may be born to thee whom thy father knows. As for him that is in want, let every one have his fill in his house; be thou his girdle wall. Make none destitute at thy desire, for it is God Who provides that whereon men live.

28 Sit not whilst another man stands, if he be older than thyself, or if he has attained to a higher grade in his profession than thyself.

29 A man cannot expect to attain to a good disposition if he speaks with an evil intent.

30 Make thyself to walk daily in the path of thy hands (i.e., a correct path), and thou shalt succeed in reaching the place whither thou wouldst go.

31 What is there that remains (or, continues) to be spoken about every day? A profession carries with it its regulations (or, obligations). A woman must necessarily talk about (or, discuss) her husband, a man in office must discuss his work.

32 Make use of no evil speech towards any who comes; a word [dropped] on the day of thy gossiping may turn thy house upside down.

33 If thou findest thyself able to keep an even mind during the time when thou art friendly with everybody, when adversity comes thou wilt find thyself able to bear it.

34 The boastful flatterer makes himself a supporter [of thine]. Now, even the useful dispositions of the man who is a flatterer wfll be as dirt to [thy] brother. The members of thy household will sing and rejoice outwardly, but will weep in their hearts.

35 If thou art a well-doing man thou wilt be observed. Whether thou art with many (or, wealthy), or whether thou art alone, thy kinsfolk will find thee, and will do everything that thou commandest.

36 Make thyself learned in the written rolls. Go deeply into the written rolls, and I beseech thee to set them in thy heart, and then everything that thou sayest will be valuable (or, profitable). If a scribe be placed in any profession (or, occupation) he must consult the writings that deal with the same. The governor of the White House (the Treasury, the Bet al-Mal) has no son, and the Keeper of the Seal has no heir. Princes value the scribe. His hand is his profession, it cannot be handed on to children. Their needy state is his living, their seniors form his protection.

37 Let not thy heart be exalted (or, displayed) before the flatterer, A word capable of two meanings, spoken hastily, if it comes forth from thy mouth, being repeated will make thee bitter enemies. A man is overthrown and ruined through his tongue. Take good heed that thou dost not thyself produce thine own ruin.

38 Since the body of a man is more capacious than a government granary, and is full of answers of every kind, thou shalt make a selection of those that are good and give expression to them, and those that are evil thou shalt guard closely within thyself. A violent answer sets weapons of fight in motion; speak therefore with the sweetness (or, graciousness) of affection, and [thou shalt be beloved?] for ever.

39 He who has been accused by a liar in defiance of God, Who judges the right, may return an answer, but his (the liar's) calamity shall come and shall carry him off.

40 When thou art making thy offerings to God, take good heed that thou doest not that which He holds in abomination. Discuss not the forms in which He appears, walk not with bold and careless strides when He makes Himself manifest [in the streets]. Thrust not thyself among those who bear Him [in his shrine]. Bawl not [the words of] His books. Take heed not to add aught to the praises that are directed to be sung to Him. Let thine eye watch carefully His dispensations [and] wrath, and do thou adore His name. He gives will (or, strength) to millions of forms, He makes great him that magnifies Him. The God of this earth is Shu (i.e., the Sun-god), who is on the horizon, and his similitudes are upon the earth. The incense which is offered is their food daily. His rising makes all green things to flourish.

41 Increase (or, make double) the breadcakes which thou givest to thy mother, and carry her as she carried thee. She carried thee as a heavy load many times, and left me nothing to do [for thee]. When she brought thee forth after thy months, she set thee like a veritable yoke upon her neck, and her breasts were in thy mouth for three years. Whilst thou wast growing, disgusting in thy excrement, she felt no disgust at thee, saying, "What I have to do!" Afterwards she placed thee in the house of instruction (i.e., school), and whilst thou wast being taught [thy] letters, she [came] to thee there day by day,

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regularly and unfailingly, with bread-cakes and beer from her house. When thou art a young man, and dost marry a wife, and art the master and possessor of a house, I pray thee to look [back] at thine own childhood and how thou wast reared, and do for the child that shall be born to thee everything that tliy mother did for thee. Let it not happen that she has cause to blame thee, and may she not lift up her hands to God [in complaint] and may He not hear her supplications.

42 Eat not bread whilst another stands by [hungry] and thou dost not stretch out thy hand to him with bread in it. It has never been known whether a man will become destitute. One man has riches, and another man is poor; bread is constant (?) . . . . . The man who was rich a year ago is a stable servant this year.

43 Be not anxious to fill thy belly, for whither thy course tends is unknown . . . . . I will give thee another good [saying?].

44 The course that a stream followed last year has changed this year and moved elsewhere: large masses of water have become tracts of dry land; the dykes have become abysses. There exists not for a man one state of life (i.e., nothing remains unchanged); this is the answer of the lord of life.

45 I would have thee note that whether thou pass thy pferiod of existence in a lowly condition or in a high one thou wilt not attain to full happiness; go forth on thy way, and thy foot shall find its place.

46 Go not into the house of a man in a too familiar manner, but go into it only after thou hast been announced. When he greets thee with words of welcome from his mouth, thou wilt understand his views [concerning thee], A repast will be then set out.

47 He who hates waiting comes without being invited.

48 Without making haste the runner reaches his goal.

49 Let a man [give] himself to God. Take good heed to thyself daily for God, to-morrow as well as to-day. Make thyself to observe what God does; He will punish the man who punishes thee.

50 Go not into a crowd of people if thou findest that thou art stirred up [to fight] in the presence of men who are about to strike each other.

51 Make no trespass (i.e., claim) in any domain, guard thyself carefully from tampering with any title deeds, so that thou mayest not be seized and accused before the Council, in the presence of the governors after the witnesses have made their depositions.

52 Remove thyself far from the men who transgress the laws (i.e., are sedition-mongers). The man who is silent of mouth (i.e., is of a peaceful disposition) among soldiers (or, troops) is not haled before the Council and accused [of sedition], and is not put under restraint, and knows not propitiatory gifts (i.e., has no need to bribe men to hold their tongues).

53 The actions of a man who loves one are profitable. He is free from his deeds of abomination, thou art safe from many annoyances. Take good heed to avoid any break [in this friendship].

54 The chief of the flock which leads it to the pasture-grounds is only an animal like the rest.

55 When the crops on the cultivated lands in the fields are laid waste, then the spirits [of the ancestors] are appealed to in earnest.

56 The man who is of an indolent disposition makes strife to arise in his house, and he himself destroys the boundaries thereof in very truth.

57 Attempt not to direct a married woman in her house, when thou knowest that she is a perfect housewife. Say not to her, " Where is that (i.e., such and such a thing) Bring it to us," when she has put [the object] in the proper place. Make thine eye to watch her, and hold thy peace, and then thou wilt be able to appreciate her wise and good management. Happy wilt thou be if thou art hand in hand with her. There are very many men who do not understand [this]. The interfering man only sets confusion in his house, and never finds himself the actual master thereof in all matters, in reality. He who would be master of his house should speedily make firm his mind.

58 Follow not after [the counsels of] a woman, and let her not lead captive thy understanding.

59 Answer not a man in authority over thee when he is wroth, but set him aside (or, make him to be remote from thee, (i.e., remove thyself fax from him). Speak thou that which is sweet (i.e., return him a soft answer) when he speaks words that are bitter (or, rankle), and pacify his heart

60 Answers that provoke to strife carry [in their train] staves that will overthrow thy frowardness. Anger will react upon thy occupation (or, affairs).

61 Let not thy heart grieve concerning thyself, for it will reverse its action and will speedily applaud thee after its temporary depression.

62 When thy words are such as to be restful for the heart, the heart inclines itself gladly to receive them.

63 Seek after silence and submit thyself to the man who keeps it. Keep on friendly terms with the administrative officer of thy district, and give him no opportunity of bringing a charge against thee. Give him food when it is in thy house and do not set aside his request. Say to him words of approval

64 At thy entrances into the town (or, village) at first there is acclamation, but at thy goings forth thou must save thyself by thy hand.

65 The answer of the scribe Khensu-Hetep TO HIS FATHER, THE SCRIBE ANI:— Oh, I wish that I were even as thou art ! being known (or, learned) like thyself. Then certainly I would act according to thy testimonies, and the son would be brought to the position of the father, and every man would be drawn to be like him (i.e., be of the Scune character). Thou art a man with exalted aspirations, whose every word is chosen (or, selected). The son who speaks words of contempt [concerning] books [of admonition] has a depraved judgement in him. Thy words give rest and satisfaction to my heart, and my heart inclines willingly to receive them. Nay, more, my breast (or, mind) rejoices in them. But make not thy excellent instructions to be too numerous. A young man who has borne (or, endured) good counsels has not hitherto been found to put into practice teaching and testimonies because he has the books on his tongue (i.e., because he can quote glibly the precepts of the fathers).

66 The scribe Ani makes answer to his SON Khensu-hetep the scribe, saying:— Grieve not thy heart by pondering on these depressing matters, and take care how thou makest thy complaints, which will in no way afflict my heart. I have testified to thee concerning our speech which thou sayest thou dost wish to read. The old bull which has smashed the slaughter-house to pieces, is unable to get free from the place where he has kicked and struggled, and is obliged to fashion his will according to the discipline of the herdsman who rears (or, fattens) cattle. The fierce-eyed lion lays aside his ferocity and paces side by side with the poor-spirited ass. The horse enters under the yoke, and goes hither and thither obediently. The dog hearkens to the words spoken to him and follows his master. The kadriu beast carried a load of the maqurau pots, which its dam never carried. The wild goose flies out into the lake where the snarer of water-fowl pursues it and drags it shrieking into his net. The Sudani man is made to learn the language of the people of Egypt, as are also the Syrians and every other foreign people. Therefore have I made thee to know concerning every profession; and having heard thou [now] knowest what to do.

67 The scribe Khensu-hetep, the son OF THE SCRIBE ANI, MAKES ANSWER, SAYING:— Make not to be terrifying thy mighty deeds, for I am overburdened with the things that thou hast laid down. A man does not become slack of hand (apathetic?) through hearing an answer in its proper place. Now a man is the fellow (counterpart?) of God. Their (i.e., men's) admonitions (or, orderings) must be hearkened to; a man possesses his own answer (?). The one knows not his fellow. There is a great number of every kind of bad ones, and one knows not his teaching. There may be one possessing meaning, but many are worthless. Everything that thou hast said is excellent (or, perfect). Make no of them from the time of the blessed dead. I swear to thee an oath by God that I will carry them out. Set them (i.e., my words) on thy path (i.e., before thee).

68 The scribe Ani makes answer to HIS SON, THE scribe KhENSU-HETEP, SAYING:— Put behind thy back these many words which are too remote [from the subject] to be heard (i.e., understood). The dry branch of the tree which [lies] on the ground, and which has been matured (?) by the light of the day and the darkness of the night, is taken by the handicraftsman and worked straight, and made into the walking-stick of princes ; but the sound wood [of the tree] he makes into beams (or, planks). O thou simplehearted one, is it the wish of thy heart to give (or, take) an oath, or art thou still feeble (?) Observe what one who knows well the strength which is in his hand is like; [he is like] the child who lies in his mother's bosom. When the child knows that he has sucked [enough], behold, he finds his mouth and cries out "Give me bread."

THE ADMONITIONS OF IPUWER

Source: The Ipuwer Papyrus,
officially: Papyrus Leiden I 344 recto
Dutch National Museum of Antiquities
Translation: Miriam Lichtheim, 1973
Estimated Range of Dating: 1650–1450 B.C.

(The Ipuwer Papyrus, officially Papyrus Leiden I 344 recto, is an ancient Egyptian hieratic papyrus made during the 19th Dynasty, circa 1250 BC, of Egypt, and now held in the Dutch National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, Netherlands. It contains the Admonitions of Ipuwer, an incomplete literary work whose original composition is dated between the 13th Dynasty [c. 1800–1650 BC] and the 18th Dynasty [1550–1290 BC] of Egypt .

In the poem, Ipuwer complains that the world has been turned upside-down: a woman who had not a single box now has furniture, a girl who looked at her face in the water now owns a mirror, while the once-rich man is now in rags. He demands that the Lord of All (a title which can be applied both to the king and to the creator sun-god) should destroy his enemies and remember his religious duties. This is followed by a violent description of disorder: there is no longer any respect for the law and even the king's burial inside the pyramid has been desecrated. The story continues with the description of better days until it abruptly ends due to the missing final part of the papyrus. It is likely that the poem concluded with a reply of the Lord of All, or prophesying the coming of a powerful king who would restore order.

The Admonitions of Ipuwer seem to present an objective portrait of Egypt while other suggestions hold it as works of royal propaganda. The Admonitions is considered the world's earliest known treatise on political ethics, suggesting that a good king is one who controls unjust officials, thus carrying out the will of the gods. It is a textual lamentation, close to Sumerian city laments and to Egyptian laments for the dead, using the past (the destruction of Memphis at the end of the Old Kingdom) as a gloomy backdrop to an ideal future.

From the text of the poem we get the impression that this document talks about real events. And there is only one period of time that matches the contents precisely. It is the time around 1600 BC when the entire region was plunged into total turmoil: And this points to the massive eruption of the Thera / Santorini Volcano that had all kinds of consequences at almost the same time: unusual climate conditions, crop failure, famine, civil war, plague and other kind of environmental changes such as earthquakes and geological gas leaks. It was also the time the Hyksos ruled the north of Egypt and were viewed as hated invaders

Bolder historians often compare the content of this papyrus with Exodus, the second book of the Bible. Similarities between Egyptian texts and the Bible are easily found, and it is reasonable to assume Egyptian influence on the Hebrews, given their at times close contacts. To conclude from such parallelisms that the Ipuwer Papyrus describes Egypt at the time of the Exodus, stretches the limits of imagination that not every historian is willing to make.

Ipuwer has often been put forward in popular literature as confirmation of the Biblical account, most notably because of its statement that "the river is blood" and its frequent references to servants running away, but there are also points in which the Ipuwer contradicts the Exodus story as found in the Bible, such as the fact that its Asiatics are arriving in Egypt rather than leaving. The "river is blood" phrase may refer to the red sediment colouring the Nile during disastrous floods, it may also refer to geological gas leaks connected to earthquakes that often follow volcano eruptions. The archeological evidence does support the story of the Exodus which seem to match the Expulsion of the Phoenician-Canaanite Hyksos, who are called Habiru or Abiru [Hebrew or Abraham-people = Abiru-Ham people] in the Amarna Letters. [See: Tempest Stele, The Amarna Letters, Artefacts, Grand Bible.]. The Austrian archaeologist Manfred Bietak from the Austrian Archaeological Institute found the volcanic disaster caused by the Thera / Santorini eruptian confirmed when he excavated the site of Avaris, the Hyksos capital of northern Egypt.

Lacunae in the papyrus text are marked by [...].)

IPUWER CHAPTER 1

[. .] The door [keepers] say: "Let us go and plunder."

The confectioners [. . .].

The washerman refuses to carry his load [. . .]

The bird catchers have drawn up in line of battle [. . . the inhabitants] of the Delta carry shields.

The brewers [. . .] sad.

A man regards his son as his enemy. Confusion [. . .] another. Come and conquer; judge [. . .] what was ordained for you in the time of Horus, in the age [of the Ennead . . .]. The virtuous man goes in mourning because of what has happened in the land [. . .] goes [. . .] the tribes of the desert have become Egyptians everywhere.

Indeed, the face is pale; [. . .] what the ancestors foretold has arrived at [fruition . . .] the land is full of confederates, and a man goes to plough with his shield.

Indeed, the meek say: ["He who is . . . of] face is as a well-born man."

Indeed, [the face] is pale; the bowman is ready, wrongdoing is everywhere, and there is no man of yesterday.

Indeed, the plunderer [. . .] everywhere, and the servant takes what he finds.

Indeed, the Nile overflows, yet none plough for it. Everyone says: "We do not know what will happen throughout the land."

Indeed, the women are barren and none conceive. Khnum fashions (men) no more because of the condition of the land.

IPUWER CHAPTER 2

Indeed, poor men have become owners of wealth, and he who could not make sandals for himself is now a possessor of riches.

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Indeed, men's slaves, their hearts are sad, and magistrates do not fraternize with their people when they shout.

Indeed, [hearts] are violent, pestilence is throughout the land, blood is everywhere, death is not lacking, and the mummy-cloth speaks even before one comes near it.

Indeed, many dead are buried in the river; the stream is a sepulcher and the place of embalmment has become a stream.

Indeed, noblemen are in distress, while the poor man is full of joy. Every town says: "Let us suppress the powerful among us."

Indeed, men are like ibises. Squalor is throughout the land, and there are none indeed whose clothes are white in these times.

Indeed, the land turns around as does a potter's wheel; the robber is a possessor of riches and [the rich man is become] a plunderer.

Indeed, trusty servants are [. . .]; the poor man [complains]: "How terrible! What am I to do?"

Indeed, the river is blood, yet men drink of it. Men shrink from human beings and thirst after water.

Indeed, gates, columns and walls are burnt up, while the hall of the palace stands firm and endures.

Indeed, the ship of the southerners has broken up; towns are destroyed and Upper Egypt has become an empty waste.

Indeed, crocodiles are glutted with the fish they have taken, for men go to them of their own accord; it is the destruction of the land. Men say: "Do not walk here; behold, it is a net." Behold, men tread [the water] like fishes, and the frightened man cannot distinguish it because of terror.

Indeed, men are few, and he who places his brother in the ground is everywhere. When the wise man speaks, [he flees without delay].

Indeed, the well-born man [. . .] through lack of recognition, and the child of his lady has become the son of his maidservant.

IPUWER CHAPTER 3

Indeed, the desert is throughout the land, the nomes are laid waste, and barbarians from abroad have come to Egypt.

Indeed, men arrive [. . .] and indeed, there are no Egyptians anywhere.

Indeed, gold and lapis lazuli, silver and turquoise, carnelian and amethyst, Ibhet-stone and [. . .] are strung on the necks of maidservants. Good things are throughout the land, (yet) housewives say: "Oh that we had something to eat!"

Indeed, [. . .] noblewomen. Their bodies are in sad plight by reason of their rags, and their hearts sink when greeting [one another]. Indeed, chests of ebony are broken up, and precious ssnDm-wood is cleft asunder in beds [. . .].

Indeed, the builders [of pyramids have become] cultivators, and those who were in the sacred bark are now yoked [to it]. None shall indeed sail northward to Byblos today; what shall we do for cedar trees for our mummies, and with the produce of which priests are buried and with the oil of which [chiefs] are embalmed as far as Keftiu? They come no more; gold is lacking [. . .] and materials for every kind of craft have come to an end. The [. . .] of the palace is despoiled. How often do people of the oases come with their festival spices, mats, and skins, with fresh rdmt-plants, grease of birds . . . ?

Indeed, Elephantine and Thinis [...] of Upper Egypt, (but) without paying taxes owing to civil strife. Lacking are grain, charcoal, irtyw-fruit, m'w-wood, nwt-wood, and brushwood. The work of craftsmen and [. . .] are the profit of the palace. To what purpose is a treasury without its revenues? Happy indeed is the heart of the king when truth comes to him! And every foreign land [comes]! That is our fate and that is our happiness! What can we do about it? All is ruin!

Indeed, laughter is perished and is [no longer] made; it is groaning that is throughout the land, mingled with complaints.

IPUWER CHAPTER 4

Indeed, every dead person is as a well-born man. Those who were Egyptians [have become] foreigners and are thrust aside.

Indeed, hair has fallen out for everybody, and the man of rank can no longer be distinguished from him who is nobody.

Indeed, [. . .] because of noise; noise is not [. . .] in years of noise, and there is no end of noise.

Indeed, great and small say: "I wish I might die." Little children say: "He should not have caused me to live."

Indeed, the children of princes are dashed against walls, and the children of the neck are laid out on the high ground.

Indeed, those who were in the place of embalmment are laid out on the high ground, and the secrets of the embalmers are thrown down because of it.

Indeed, that has perished which yesterday was seen, and the land is left over to its weakness like the cutting of flax.

Indeed, the Delta in its entirety will not be hidden, and Lower Egypt puts trust in trodden roads. What can one do? No [. . .] exist anywhere, and men say: "Perdition to the secret place!" Behold, it is in the hands of those who do not know it like those who know it. The desert dwellers are skilled in the crafts of the Delta.

Indeed, citizens are put to the corn-rubbers, and those who used to don fine linen are beaten with . . . Those who used never to see the day have gone out unhindered; those who were on their husbands' beds, let them lie on rafts. I say: "It is too heavy for me," concerning rafts bearing myrrh. Load them with vessels filled with [. . . Let] them know the palanquin. As for the butler, he is ruined. There are no remedies for it; noblewomen suffer like maidservants, minstrels are at the looms within the weaving-rooms, and what they sing to the Songstress-goddess is mourning. Talkers [. . .] corn-rubbers.

Indeed, all female slaves are free with their tongues, and when their mistress speaks, it is irksome to the maidservants.

Indeed, trees are felled and branches are stripped off.

IPUWER CHAPTER 5

I have separated him and his household slaves, and men will say when they hear it: "Cakes are lacking for most children; there is no food [. . .]. What is the taste of it like today?"

Indeed, magnates are hungry and perishing, followers are followed [. . .] because of complaints.

Indeed, the hot-tempered man says: "If I knew where God is, then I would serve Him."

Indeed, [Right] pervades the land in name, but what men do in trusting to it is Wrong.

Indeed, runners are fighting over the spoil [of] the robber, and all his property is carried off.

Indeed, all animals, their hearts weep; cattle moan because of the state of the land.

Indeed, the children of princes are dashed against walls, and the children of the neck are laid out on the high ground. Khnum groans because of his weariness.

Indeed, terror kills; the frightened man opposes what is done against your enemies. Moreover, the few are pleased, while the rest are . . . Is it by following the crocodile and cleaving it asunder? Is it by slaying the lion roasted on the fire? [Is it] by sprinkling for Ptah and taking [. . .]? Why do you give to him? There is no reaching him. It is misery which you give to him.

Indeed, slaves . . . throughout the land, and the strong man sends to everyone; a man strikes his maternal brother. What is it that has been done? I speak to a ruined man.

Indeed, the ways are [. . .], the roads are watched; men sit in the bushes until the benighted traveler comes in order to plunder his burden, and what is upon him is taken away. He is belabored with blows of a stick and murdered.

Indeed, that has perished which yesterday was seen, and the land is left over to its weakness like the cutting of flax, commoners coming and going in dissolution [. . .].

IPUWER CHAPTER 6

Would that there were an end of men, without conception, without birth! Then would the land be quiet from noise and tumult be no more.

Indeed, [men eat] herbage and wash [it] down with water; neither fruit nor herbage can be found for the birds, and [. . .] is taken away from the mouth of the pig. No face is bright which you have [. . .] for me through hunger.

Indeed, everywhere barley has perished and men are stripped of clothes, spice, and oil; everyone says: "There is none." The storehouse is empty and its keeper is stretched on the ground; a happy state of affairs! . . .

Would that I had raised my voice at that moment, that it might have saved me from the pain in which I am.

Indeed, the private council-chamber, its writings are taken away and the mysteries which were [in it] are laid bare.

Indeed, magic spells are divulged; smw- and shnw-spells are frustrated because they are remembered by men.

Indeed, public offices are opened and their inventories are taken away; the serf has become an owner of serfs.

Indeed, [scribes] are killed and their writings are taken away. Woe is me because of the misery of this time!

Indeed, the writings of the scribes of the cadaster are destroyed, and the corn of Egypt is common property.

Indeed, the laws of the council chamber are thrown out; indeed, men walk on them in public places, and poor men break them up in the streets.

Indeed, the poor man has attained to the state of the Nine Gods, and the erstwhile procedure of the House of the Thirty is divulged.

Indeed, the great council-chamber is a popular resort, and poor men come and go to the Great Mansions.

Indeed, the children of magnates are ejected into the streets; the wise man agrees and the fool says "no," and it is pleasing in the sight of him who knows nothing about it.

Indeed, those who were in the place of embalmment are laid out on the high ground, and the secrets of the embalmers are thrown down because of it.

IPUWER CHAPTER 7

Behold, the fire has gone up on high, and its burning goes forth against the enemies of the land.

Behold, things have been done which have not happened for a long time past; the king has been deposed by the rabble.

Behold, he who was buried as a falcon is devoid of biers, and what the pyramid concealed has become empty.

Behold, it has befallen that the land has been deprived of the kingship by a few lawless men.

Behold, men have fallen into rebellion against the Uraeus, the [. . .] of Re, even she who makes the Two Lands content.

Behold, the secret of the land whose limits were unknown is divulged, and the Residence is thrown down in a moment.

Behold, Egypt is fallen to pouring of water, and he who poured water on the ground has carried off the strong man in misery.

Behold, the Serpent is taken from its hole, and the secrets of the Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt are divulged.

Behold, the Residence is afraid because of want, and [men go about] unopposed to stir up strife.

Behold, the land has knotted itself up with confederacies, and the coward takes the brave man's property.

Behold, the Serpent [. . .] the dead: he who could not make a sarcophagus for himself is now the possessor of a tomb.

Behold, the possessors of tombs are ejected on to the high ground, while he who could not make a coffin for himself is now [the possessor] of a treasury.

Behold, this has happened [to] men; he who could not build a room for himself is now a possessor of walls.

Behold, the magistrates of the land are driven out throughout the land: [. . .] are driven out from the palaces.

Behold, noble ladies are now on rafts, and magnates are in the labor establishment, while he who could not sleep even on walls is now the possessor of a bed.

Behold, the possessor of wealth now spends the night thirsty, while he who once begged his dregs for himself is now the possessor of overflowing bowls.

Behold, the possessors of robes are now in rags, while he who could not weave for himself is now a possessor of fine linen.

Behold, he who could not build a boat for himself is now the possessor of a fleet; their erstwhile owner looks at them, but they are not his.

Behold, he who had no shade is now the possessor of shade, while the erstwhile possessors of shade are now in the full blast of the storm.

Behold, he who was ignorant of the lyre is now the possessor of a harp, while he who never sang for himself now vaunts the Songstress-goddess.

Behold, those who possessed vessel-stands of copper [. . .] not one of the jars thereof has been adorned.

IPUWER CHAPTER 8

Behold, he who slept wifeless through want [finds] riches, while he whom he never saw stands making dole.

Behold, he who had no property is now a possessor of wealth, and the magnate praises him.

Behold, the poor of the land have become rich, and the [erstwhile owner] of property is one who has nothing.

Behold, serving-men have become masters of butlers, and he who was once a messenger now sends someone else.

Behold, he who had no loaf is now the owner of a barn, and his storehouse is provided with the goods of another.

Behold, he whose hair is fallen out and who had no oil has now become the possessors of jars of sweet myrrh.

Behold, she who had no box is now the owner of a coffer, and she who had to look at her face in the water is now the owner of a mirror.

Behold, [. . .].

Behold, a man is happy eating his food. Consume your goods in gladness and unhindered, for it is good for a man to eat his food; God commands it for him whom He has favored [. . .].

[Behold, he who did not know] his god now offers to him with incense of another who is not known to him.

[Behold,] great ladies, once possessors of riches, now give their children for beds.

Behold, a man to whom is given a noble lady as wife, her father protects him, and he who has not [. . .] killing him.

Behold, the children of magistrates are [. . . the calves] of cattle [are given over] to the plunderers.

Behold, priests transgress with the cattle of the poor [. . .].

Behold, he who could not slaughter for himself now slaughters bulls, and he who did not know how to carve now sees [. . .].

Behold, priests transgress with geese, which are given [to] the gods instead of oxen.

Behold, maidservants [. . .] offer ducks; noblewomen [. . .].

Behold, noblewomen flee; the overseers of [. . .] and their [children] are cast down through fear of death.

[Behold,] the chiefs of the land flee; there is no purpose for them because of want. The lord of [. . .].

IPUWER CHAPTER 9

[Behold,] those who once owned beds are now on the ground, while he who once slept in squalor now lays out a skin-mat for himself.

Behold, noblewomen go hungry, while the priests are sated with what has been prepared for them.

Behold, no offices are in their right place, like a herd running at random without a herdsman.

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Behold, cattle stray and there is none to collect them, but everyone fetches for himself those that are branded with his name.

Behold, a man is slain beside his brother, who runs away and abandons him to save his own skin.

Behold, he who had no yoke of oxen is now the owner of a herd, and he who could find for himself no ploughman is now the owner of cattle.

Behold, he who had no grain is now the owner of granaries, and he who had to fetch loan-corn for himself is now one who issues it.

Behold, he who had no dependents is now an owner of serfs, and he who was [a magnate] now performs his own errands.

Behold, the strong men of the land, the condition of the people is not reported [to them]. All is ruin!

Behold, no craftsmen work, for the enemies of the land have impoverished its craftsmen.

[Behold, he who once recorded] the harvest now knows nothing about it, while he who never ploughed [for himself is now the owner of corn; the reaping] takes place but is not reported. The scribe [sits in his office], but his hands [are idle] in it.

Destroyed is [. . .] in that time, and a man looks [on his friend as] an adversary. The infirm man brings coolness [to what is hot . . .] fear [. .. . .]. Poor men [. . . the land] is not bright because of it.

IPUWER CHAPTER 10

Destroyed is [. . .] their food is taken from them [. . . through] fear of his terror. The commoner begs [. . .] messenger, but not [. . .] time. He is captured laden with goods and [all his property] is taken away. [. . .] men pass by his door [. . .] the outside of the wall, a shed, and rooms containing falcons. It is the common man who will be vigilant, the day having dawned on him without his dreading it. Men run because of [. . . for] the temple of the head, strained through a woven cloth within the house. What they make are tents, just like the desert folk.

Destroyed is the doing of that for which men are sent by retainers in the service of their masters; they have no readiness.

Behold, they are five men, and they say: "Go on the road you know, for we have arrived."

Lower Egypt weeps; the king's storehouse is the common property of everyone, and the entire palace is without its revenues. To it belong emmer and barley, fowl and fish; to it belong white cloth and fine linen, copper and oil; to it belong carpet and mat, [. . .] flowers and wheat-sheaf and all good revenues . . . If the . . . it in the palace were delayed, men would be devoid [of . . .].

Destroy the enemies of the august Residence, splendid of magistrates [. . .] in it like [. . .]; indeed, the Governor of the City goes unescorted.

Destroy [the enemies of the august Residence,] splendid [. . .]. [Destroy the enemies of] that erstwhile august Residence, manifold of laws [. . .]. [Destroy the enemies of] that erstwhile august [Residence . . .].

Destroy the enemies of that erstwhile august Residence [. . .] none can stand [. . .].

Destroy the enemies of that erstwhile august Residence, manifold of offices; indeed [. . .].

Remember to immerse [. . .] him who is in pain when he is sick in his body; show respect [. . .] because of his god that he may guard the utterance [. . .] his children who are witnesses of the surging of the flood.

IPUWER CHAPTER 11

Remember to [. . . . . .]. . . shrine, to fumigate with incense and to offer water in a jar in the early morning.

Remember [to bring] fat r-geese, trp-geese, and ducks and to offer god's offerings to the gods.

Remember to chew natron and to prepare white bread; a man [should do it] on the day of wetting the head.

Remember to erect flagstaffs and to carve offering stones, the priest cleansing the chapels and the temple being plastered (white) like milk; to make pleasant the odor of the horizon and to provide bread-offerings.

Remember to observe regulations, to fix dates correctly, and to remove him who enters on the priestly office in impurity of body, for that is doing it wrongfully, it is destruction of the heart [. . .] the day which precedes eternity, the months [. . .] years are known.

Remember to slaughter oxen [. . .].

Remember to go forth purged [. . .] who calls to you; to put r-geese on the fire [. . .] to open the jar [. . .] the shore of the waters [. . .] of women [. . .] clothing [. .. . .] to give praise . . . in order to appease you.

[. . .] lack of people; come [. . .] Re who commands [. . .] worshipping him [. . .] West until [. . .] are diminished [. . .].

Behold, why does he seek to fashion [men . . .]? The frightened man is not distinguished from the violent one.

IPUWER CHAPTER 12

He brings coolness upon heat; men say: "He is the herdsman of mankind, and there is no evil in his heart." Though his herds are few, yet he spends a day to collect them, their hearts being on fire.

Would that he had perceived their nature in the first generation; then he would have imposed obstacles, he would have stretched out his arm against them, he would have destroyed their herds and their heritage. Men desire the giving of birth, but sadness supervenes, with needy people on all sides. So it is, and it will not pass away while the gods who are in the midst of it exist. Seed goes forth into mortal women, but none are found on the road.

Combat has gone forth, and he who should be a redresser of evils is one who commits them; neither do men act as pilot in their hour of duty. Where is he today? Is he asleep? Behold, his power is not seen.

If we had been fed, I would not have found you, I would not have been summoned in vain; "Aggression against it means pain of heart" is a saying on the lips of everyone. Today he who is afraid . . . a myriad of people; [. . .] did not see [. . .] against the enemies of [. . .] at his outer chamber; who enter the temple [. . .] weeping for him [. . .] that one who confounds what he has said . . . The land has not fallen [. . .] the statues are burned and their tombs destroyed [. . .] he sees the day of [. . .]. He who could not make for himself [. . .] between sky and ground is afraid of everybody.

. . . if he does it . . . what you dislike taking.

Authority, knowledge, and truth are with you, yet confusion is what you set throughout the land, also the noise of tumult. Behold, one deals harm to another, for men conform to what you have commanded. If three men travel on the road, they are found to be only two, for the many kill the few.

IPUWER CHAPTER 13

Does a herdsman desire death? Then may you command reply to be made, because it means that one loves, another detests; it means that their existences are few everywhere; it means that you have acted so as to bring those things to pass. You have told lies, and the land is a weed which destroys men, and none can count on life. All these years are strife, and a man is murdered on his housetop even though he was vigilant in his gate lodge. Is he brave and saves himself? It means he will live.

When men send a servant for humble folk, he goes on the road until he sees the flood; the road is washed out and he stands worried. What is on him is taken away, he is belabored with blows of a stick and wrongfully slain. Oh that you could taste a little of the misery of it! Then you would say [. . .] from someone else as a wall, over and above [. . .] hot . . . years . . . [. . .].

[It is indeed good] when ships fare upstream [. . . . . .] robbing them.

It is indeed good [. . .]. [It is indeed] good when the net is drawn in and birds are tied up [. . .].

It is [indeed] good [. . .] dignities for them, and the roads are passable.

It is indeed good when the hands of men build pyramids, when ponds are dug and plantations of the trees of the gods are made.

It is indeed good when men are drunk; they drink myt and their hearts are happy.

IPUWER CHAPTER 14

It is indeed good when shouting is in men's mouths, when the magnates of districts stand looking on at the shouting in their houses, clad in a cloak, cleansed in front and well-provided within.

It is indeed good when beds are prepared and the headrests of magistrates are safely secured. Every man's need is satisfied with a couch in the shade, and a door is now shut on him who once slept in the bushes.

It is indeed good when fine linen is spread out on New Year's Day [. . .] on the bank; when fine linen is spread out and cloaks are on the ground. The overseer of [. . .] the trees, the poor [. .. . .] in their midst like Asiatics [. . .]. Men [. . .] the state thereof; they have come to an end of themselves; none can be found to stand up and protect themselves [. . .].

Everyone fights for his sister and saves his own skin. Is it Nubians? Then will we guard ourselves; warriors are made many in order to ward off foreigners. Is it Libyans? Then we will turn away. The Medjay are pleased with Egypt.

IPUWER CHAPTER 15

How comes it that every man kills his brother? The troops whom we marshaled for ourselves have turned into foreigners and have taken to ravaging. What has come to pass through it is informing the Asiatics of the state of the land; all the desert folk are possessed with the fear of it. What the plebs have tasted [. . .] without giving Egypt over [to] the sand. It is strong [. . .] speak about you after years [. . .] devastate itself, it is the threshing floor which nourishes their houses [. . .] to nourish his children [. . .] said by the troops [. . . . . .] fish [. . .] gum, lotus leaves [. . .] excess of food.

IPUWER CHAPTER 16

What Ipuwer said when he addressed the Majesty of the Lord of All: [. . .] all herds. It means that ignorance of it is what is pleasing to the heart. You have done what was good in their hearts and you have nourished the people with it. They cover their faces through fear of the morrow.

That is how a man grows old before he dies, while his son is a lad of understanding; he does not open [his] mouth to speak to you, but you seize him in the doom of death [. . .] weep [. . .] go [. . .] after you, that the land may be [. . .] on every side.

IPUWER CHAPTER 17

If men call to [. . .] weep [. . .] them, who break into the tombs and burn the statues [. . .] the corpses of the nobles [. .. . .] of directing work.

THE TEACHING OF SEHETEPABRA AN OVERSEER OF AMENEMHAT III.

Egyptian Museum, Cairo
Translation: Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge, 1913
Estimated Range of Dating: 2000 - 1800 BC.

(Sehetepabra or Sehetepibre Sewesekhtawy (also Sehetepibre I or Sehetepibre II depending on the scholar) was an Egyptian pharaoh of the 13th Dynasty during the early Second Intermediate Period, possibly the fifth or tenth king of the Dynasty. The timing and identification of the pharaos and other persons is almost impossible due to lack of records and proper dating. The time between 2000 and 1400 BC was a time of uncertainty in Egypt. At around 2000, Egypt was conquered by the Hyksos (an Egyptian word for "invaders from foreign lands" who were most likely Canaanite Hebrews (Habiru, Apiru); perhaps even the tribes of Abraham. These Hyksos occupied the north in and around the Nile Delta first.

The position of Sehetepibre Sewesekhtawy within the 13th Dynasty is not entirely clear. In the Turin canon, a king list redacted in the early Ramesside period, two kings are listed with the name "Sehetepibre", both in Column 7 (which mainly lists kings of the 13th Dynasty). The first "Sehetepibre" appears as the fourth king of the Dynasty, and the other as its eighth. Therefore, the exact chronological position of Sehetepibre Sewesekhtawy cannot be ascertained using only the Turin canon.

The Thirteenth Dynasty of ancient Egypt (notated Dynasty XIII) is often combined with Dynasties XI, XII and XIV under the group title Middle Kingdom. Some writers separate it from these dynasties and join it to Dynasties XIV through XVII as part of the Second Intermediate Period. Dynasty XIII lasted from approximately 1803 BC until approximately 1649 BC, i.e. for 154 years. The 13th Dynasty was a continuation through a female line of the preceding 12th Dynasty, with its first pharaoh, Sobekhotep I, a son of queen regnant Sobekneferu and her husband Amenemhat and not a son of Amenemhat IV, as often stated. Amenemhat IV in reality died childless. As direct heirs to the kings of the 12th Dynasty, pharaohs of the 13th Dynasty reigned from Memphis over Middle and Upper Egypt, all the way to the second cataract to the south. The power of the 13th Dynasty waned progressively over its 150 years of existence and it finally came to an end with the conquest of Memphis by the Hyksos rulers of the 15th Dynasty, c. 1650 BC. The "oeverseer of Amenemhet" could have been a successor of one of the two kings.)

The beginning of the Teaching which he (i.e., Sehetepabra) composed for his children:—

I will speak that which is great, I will make you hear, I will make you to understand a scheme of life which will be enduring, which will make to flourish the life that is real, and enable [you] to bring your life to an end in peace.

Praise ye the King of the South, Enmaatra the everliving, in the interior of your bodies. Make ye a league with His Majesty in your hearts. He is the god Saa* {i.e., the god who knows all things), who is in your hearts (or breasts).

His two eyes search through the reins of every man.

He is Ra, by means of whose rays [everything] is seen.

He lights up the Two Lands (i.e., Egypt) with a light greater than that of Aten (the solar Disk).

He makes the land burst into a green colour with vegetation more than does a great Hap (the Nile).

He inundates the Two Lands with the strength of life. He makes cool the nostrils [when] he sets out to fight (or do battle); he is appeased with offerings of . . . . . He is the giver of food to those who are in his following. He fills with rich food those who make firm his path.

The King of the South is himself food, his mouth itself is abundance.

It is he who made (or, makes) to come into being his existence he is self-subsistent).

He is Khnemu, the god who fashions the bodies of all men.

He is the Lord of generation, who makes men and women to come into being.

He is Bastt, the guardian Lady of the Two Lands (i.e., Egypt).

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His arm shall avoid the man who prays to him. He is the goddess Sekhet (Sekhmit) to him who breaks his decree; he is hostile to the . . . .

Do battle for his name, purify yourselves by swearing by his life; [then] shall ye be free from a period of destitution (or, nakedness).

He who enjoys the favour of the King shall be revered.

There is no tomb allotted to the man who rebels against His Majesty; on the contrary, his body shall be cast into the stream.

Do these things and your bodies shall be strong and healthy, and they shall prove of benefit to you for ever and ever.

THE STORY OF SINUHE
or The Narration of Sanehat
Author: Anonymus
Source: Document Berlin 10499 and 3022
From: Die Erzählung des Sinuhe, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 17
Translation: Roland Koch, 1990, 2000
Estimated Range of Dating: 1875-1800 B.C.

(The Story of Sinuhe (also known as Sanehat) is considered one of the finest works of ancient Egyptian literature. It is a narrative set in the aftermath of the death of Pharaoh Amenemhat I, founder of the 12th Dynasty of Egypt, in the early 20th century BC. It was composed around 1875 BC by an unknown author, although the earliest extant manuscript is from the reign of Amenemhat III, c. 1800 BC. The translation is based on two principal sources (Berlin 3022 for the bulk of the text, and Berlin 10499, for the first section, missing in 3022).

There is an ongoing debate among Egyptologists as to whether the tale is based on actual events involving an individual named Sinuhe (Egyptian: Za-Nehet "son of the sycamore") or just a work of fiction. It may well be both, like the stories in the Hebrew Bible. Due to the universal nature of the themes explored in Sinuhe, including divine providence and mercy, those ideas have parallels in later biblical texts.

The great popularity of the work is witnessed by the numerous surviving fragments. There are a number of sources telling the Story of Sinuhe. A limestone ostracon (a pottery or stone fragment) in the Egyptian Museum is over a yard long, and is possibly the largest ostracon in existence. It tells the beginning of the Story of Sinuhe, and is inscribed in Hieratic. The fragment was found in the tomb of Sennutem, a name that is linguistically related to Za-Nehet or Sanehat which is just another form of Sinuhe and even Senusret. [At least 6 persons are known who bear that name: 1.) Senusret I, pharaoh (12th Dynasty; 1971-1926 BC (1920-1875 BC); 2.) Senusret II, pharaoh (12th Dynasty; 1897-1878 BC); 3.) Khakaure Senusret III, pharaoh (12th Dynasty; 1878-1839 BC; identified with Herodotus' Sesostris); 4.) Senusret (vizier during the last years of king Senusret I's rule); 5.) Senusret (governor, nomarch, of the nome of Nekhen, 12th Dynasty, known from his rock-cut tomb at Elkab); Senusret IV, pharaoh (late 13th dynasty, 16th dynasty or early 17th dynasty).]

Plot of the Story

This is the tale of an Egyptian palace official called Sinuhe, 'son of the sycamore'. Sinuhe is an official who accompanies prince Senusret (Senwosret, Greek: Sesostris I) to Libya. When war was waged against the Libyans, he accompanied the royal army, which was commanded by Senusret (Senwosret, Sesostris), the son and chosen heir of the pharaoh Amenemhat I, first pharaoh of the 12th Dynasty.

The old king died suddenly, possibly killed by conspirators. When news of this reached Senusret, who quickly returned to claim his throne, Sinuhe fears violent struggle because he overhears a conversation connected with the death of King Amenemhet I and as a result flees to Upper Retjenu (Canaan; Lebanon, Judaea), leaving Egypt behind to build a new life in exile.

He becomes the son-in-law of Chief Ammunenshi and in time his sons grow to become chiefs in their own right. Sinuhe fights rebellious tribes on behalf of Ammunenshi. At the height of his powers in exile, he is challenged to a duel by a Syrian champion: Sinuhe kills his opponent in the duel, and begins a period of peace. In the aftermath of defeating the opponent, he he feels driven to return home to end his days, and be buried, as an Egyptian. He prays: "May god pity me . . . may he hearken to the prayer of one far away! . . . may the King have mercy on me . . . may I be conducted to the city of eternity!" He then receives an invitation from King Senusret I of Egypt to return, which he accepts in highly moving terms. He has learned what it means to be an Egyptian, and he has become an Egyptian again. Living out the rest of his life in royal favour, he is finally laid to rest in the necropolis in a beautiful tomb.

Written in the Middle Kingdom, this autobiographic narrational character is based in the chronological setting the reigns of Sesostris I (12th dynasty, about 1958-1913 B.C.). It also had great success in the New Kingdom, when it appeared among the studied texts and copied in the schools of the scribes. It was especially used during Ramesside times (19th-20th dynasty).

Parallels have been made between the biblical narrative of Joseph and the Story of Sinuhe. In what is seen as divine providence, Sinuhe the Egyptian flees to Syro-Canaan and becomes a member of the ruling elite, acquires a wife and family, before being reunited with his Egyptian family. In what is seen as divine providence, the Syro-Canaanite Joseph is taken to Egypt where he becomes part of the ruling elite, acquires a wife and family, before being reunited with his Syro-Canaanite family. Parallels have also been drawn from other biblical texts: the Hebrew prophet Jonah's frustrated flight from the orbit of God's power is likened to Sinuhe's similar flight from the King. The battle between David and Goliath is compared to his fight with a mighty challenger, whom he slays with a single blow, and the parable of the Prodigal Son is likened to his return home.)

Text:

1 Nobleman and overlord, governor and canal-cutter, sovereign among the Syrians
One known to the king directly, his favourite, the Follower Sanehat
He says:
2 I am a Follower who follows his lord, a servant of the family-quarters of the king
Of the noblewoman, abounding in favour, King's Wife of Senusret in Khenemsut
King's Daughter of Amenemhat in Qaneferu, Neferu, lady of reverence
3 Regnal year 30, month 3 of Flood, day 7
The god ascended to his horizon, the dual king Sehetepibra
He fared up to the sky, joining with the sun-disk [or sun sphere], divine limbs merging with his creator
The Residence was in silence, hearts in sorrow,
The Double Gate sealed,
The court with head on knees, the nobles in lament
4 Now His Majesty had sent an army against the Land of the Timehu
With his eldest son as its commander,
The good god Senusret
He was sent to smite the hill lands, to quell the inhabitants of Tjehenu
He was just on his return, and had brought the captives of Tjehenu,
And all the limitless herds
5 The courtiers of the Palace despatched to the Western reaches,
To inform the King's Son of the turn of events in the Chamber
The envoys found him on the road,
And had reached him at the time of dusk
Not a slight moment did he delay,
The falcon, he flew off with his followers,
Without having his army informed of it
(End of Document Berlin 10499, lines 22-25)
(The story continues in Document Berlin 3022, 1-2)
6 Now there was a despatch with regard to the King's children who were following him in this army
One of them was summoned
Now I was up, and heard his voice
When he was speaking - I was a short distance away
7 My heart stopped, my arms crossed, trembling fell through my whole body
I slipped back in starts to seek out a hiding-place,
To place myself between the bushes, to remove the way and its farer
I made my way south
without thinking of approaching this Residence.
I imagined there would be bloodshed,
and I denied I could survive it
8 I negotiated the Sea of Truth in the area of the Sycamore,
And I made it to the Island of Sneferu
I rested on the curb of the fields,
And moved on when it came to day.
I crossed a man standing at a fork in the road:
He hailed me, but I feared him
9 Evening fell as I trod on to the mooring-point of the horned bull
I ferried across in a cargo-boat without a rudder, thanks to a breeze from the west
I crossed by the east of the quarry in the ascent of the Goddess of the Red Mountain
I forced my legs to move on northwards
I reached the Walls of the Ruler, made to repel the Syrians and trample on the nomads
I took my shelter in the bush
From fear of being seen by the guard on the wall who was on duty
And made my way at night
10 At daybreak I reached Peten
And alighted at the land of the Great Black Water
Thirst struck, it overwhelmed me
I panted, my throat parched
I said, this is the taste of death,
Binding my heart and my body
11 I heard the sound of lowing of cattle
And sighted Syrians
I was spied out by one of their scouts who had been in Egypt
Then he gave me water, and milk was cooked for me
I went with him to his people. What they did was good.
12 Hill-land passed me to hill-land
I wound up in Byblos, and travelled up to Qedem
I had spent a year and a half there when Amunenshi fetched me,
He being a ruler of the hinterland of Syria
13 He said to me
You would be well with me, you can hear Egyptian
He said this because he knew my character, and had heard of my talent
The Egyptians who were there with him had given witness for me
Then he said to me
How is it that you have reached these parts,
Has something happened in the Residence?
14 Then I said to him,
The dual king Sehetepibra has gone to the horizon,
How it happened is not known.
But I was told indirectly. I was coming with the Timehi-land army
When it was reported to me
My heart failed, and brought me on the road of flight
Though I had not been implicated and no accusation had been made against me
(though so slander had been heard, and my name had not been mentioned by the reporter - I do not know what brought me to this hill-land)
It is as if a slight of the god,
As a Delta-man seeing himself in Abu
Or a marsh-man in the Land of the bow
15 Then he said to me
How will that land be now, without that effective god
Whose fear permeated the hill-lands like Sekhmet in a year of plague
16 Then I addressed myself to him in reply to him
Why, his son is entering the palace
And has taken up the inheritance of his father
He is a god without equal, with no other existing before him
He is a master of far-sightedness, excellent in planning, effective in decrees
Coming and going follow his decrees
He is the one suppressing the hill-lands while his father was within his palace
And reporting to him that whatever he ordained has come to pass
17 He is truly a strong man made by his strong arm,
A man of action - noone comes close to him
He is to be seen as he descends for archery,
Joining the fray,
He is one who takes the horn, wearing down all hands - so his enemies cannot gather their forces
He is one cleansed in sight, cleaving foreheads,
So no-one can stand in his way
He is one who strides ahead to shoot down those in flight
Giving no quarter to the man who turns tail
He is the stout-hearted in the moment of the charge
He is the turner who never turns tail
He is the broad-hearted one when he sees the multitude,
Who never places rest behind his heart
18 He is the forward mover when he descends to the Easterners,
His delight is the plunder of archery,
He takes his shield, tramples underfoot,
He never raises his arm twice for the kill
(his arrow never strays, his bow never strains)
The nomads are routed before him as at the might of the Great Goddess
He fights and plans the outcome,
He never guards, without event
19 He is a lord of mercy, full of kindness,
He has conquered by love, his citizens love him more than themselves
They rejoice over him more than over their god
Women surpass men in extolling him
As he is king, and he had conquered still in the egg,
His face was set to it from the moment he was born
With him comes the increase in births
He is the sole one of the gift of god,
How joyful is this land that he has come to rule -
20 He is one who extends the borders
He will seize the southern lands,
Before considering the northern lands
He has been made to smite the Syrians and trample the nomads
Send to him and let him know your name
Do not plot anything against His Majesty

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He will do everything for you that his father did
He will not fail to do good for the hill-land that will be loyal to him
21 He spoke before me: Then fair Egypt, she is indeed the land that knows his firmness
You are here, though, and will be with me. What I do for you will be good
He placed me at the head of his children
He settled me with his eldest daughter
And let me choose for myself from his hill-land,
From the choicest of his surrounds on the border of the next hill-land
22 It was a fair land, called Iaa [refering to Yaw as in Yahweh and so pointing to Canaan.]
There were figs there and grapes.
It had wine more abundant than water
Its honey was plentiful, its plant-oil innumerable
On its trees were all kinds of fruit
There was barley there and wheat,
And unlimited cattle of every kind
23 Much also accrued to me as coming for love of me
He made me ruler of a clan from the most select of his hill-land
I acquired food, jars and wine in the course of a day
Meat was cooked, ducks roasted, as well as the livestock
They laid snares for me, and laid down the catch for me,
As well as the goods of my hounds
They made for me numerous foods and milk in every kind of dish
24 I spent many years,
And my children had grown to adults.
Each man of them in control of his own clan,
And any envoy on his way to or from the Residence, he stopped by me
I sheltered everyone, I gave water to the thirsty,
I placed the man who went astray back on the road, I rescued the afflicted,
Any Syrians who fell to fomenting strife and disturbing the rulers of hill-lands,
I challenged their movements
25 This ruler of Syria made me spend many years as commander of his army
Every hill-land I moved against,
I ensured I prevailed over it,
Removing down to the plants at its wells,
I captured its cattle, brought away its servants, removed their food
And slew its inhabitants,
by my right arm, by my bow, by my movements, by my excellent plans
I became invaluable to him, and he loved me, for he know how valiant I was
He placed me at the head of his children,
For he saw the firmness of my arms
26 There came a hero of Syria who challenged me in my tent
He was an unrivalled champion,
Who had prevailed over the entire region
He said he would fight me,
He intended to smite me,
He planned to carry off my cattle before the council of his clan
27 That ruler was consulting with me, so I said I did not know the man,
That it was not I who went to him and strode into his tent,
Or was it I who opened his gate, and moved past his walls?
He must have been tempted to it when he saw me carrying out your missions
Well, I am like a bull of the strikers amid another herd of cattle
The bull of the herd smites him, the horned bull assails him
Does a lowly man become loved when fate makes him a master?
There is no desert-nomad who befriends a marshman
Does a marsh-reed flourish on the mountain-side
Does a bull love to fight,
Then should a herd-leader like to turn back in fear of being matched?
If he wishes to fight, let him be told his wish
Does a god not know what he ordained? Or a man who knows how it will be?
28 I went to rest, tied my bow, sharpened my arrows,
Whetted the blade of my dagger, arrayed my weapons
At dawn Syria came, it roused its people,
It assembled the hill-lands on either side,
For it knew of this fight
He came toward me as I stood
And I placed myself next to him
Every heart was burning for me
Women and men pounding
Every mind was willing me on,
'is there any hero that can fight against him?'
29 And then his shield, his dagger, his armour, his holder of spears fell,
As I approached his weapons
I made my face dodge
And his weapons were wasted as nothing
Each piled on the next
Then he made his charge against me
He imagined he would strike my arm
As he moved over me, I shot him,
My arrow lodged in his neck,
He cried out, and fell on his nose,
I felled him with his dagger
I uttered my war-cry on his back,
Every Asiatic lowing
I gave praise to Mont
As his servants mourned for him
30 This ruler Amunenshi took me into his embrace,
Then I brought away his goods, I carried off his cattle,
What he had planned to do to me, I did to him,
I seized what was in his camp, and uncovered his tent
There I was in greatness, I was broad in my standing,
I enjoyed wealth in cattle,
Thus the god acted to make peace for the one he had cursed,
The one he had led away to another hill-land
Today his heart is appeased
31 The fugitive flees from his surrounds, but my right place is in the Residence,
The deserter deserts from hunger, but I can give bread to my neighbour
A man abandons his land from nakedness, but I, I own white linen, finest cloth,
A man runs away for lack of one to send, but I, I own many servants
My estate is fine, my place is broad, my renown is in the palace
32 Whichever god ordained this flight
Be at peace, give me back to the Residence
Have mercy on me and let me see the place where my heart resides
See how great it is to wrap my corpse in the land in which I was born
Come in my defence, then, a good event has occurred, I have appeased the god
May he act so as to bring right the end for one he afflicted
May his heart ail for the one he excluded to live on the hill-land
Today at last he is appeased
Let him hear the prayer of the exile,
May he bring back his arm for the one he forced over the land
Back to the place he brought him from
33 May the king of Egypt be content with me, may I live in his pleasure
Greeting the lady [queen] who is in his palace
May I hear the missions of her children, that my body be young
For now old age has descended
Sloth has overwhelmed me
My eyes are heavy, my arms slack
My legs are unstable, my heart seeks rest
I am drawn close to departure, when they will bear me to the city of eternity
May I follow the Lady of All that she may tell me what is good for her children
May she draw eternity over me
34 Now report was made to the Majesty of the dual king Kheperkara justified
Concerning this condition I was suffering
Then His Majesty sent to me largesse of before the king
He extended his heart to this servant as to a ruler of any hill-land
And the king's children who were in his palace let me hear their commissions
35 Copy of the decree brought to this servant concerning bringing him to Egypt
The Horus living of births, he of the Two Ladies living of births,
The dual king Kheperkara son of Ra of Amenemhat living forever eternally
Decree of the king to the follower Sanehat
See this decree of the king is brought to you
To inform you that you have travelled the hill-lands
Going from Qedem of Syria
Hill-land gave you to hill-land following the counsel of your heart to yourself
What was it you had done, or had been done to you?
You did not say wrong that your words be punished
You did not speak in the council of officials that your statements be bound
This matter, it carried off your heart - there was nothing in my heart against you
This your heaven who is in the palace, she is well and strong today
Her head is adorned with the kingship of the land
Her children are in the inner palace
36 May you add the riches of their gift to you, that you may live by their offerings
Prepare your return to Egypt, that you may see the Residence where you were born
That you may kiss the ground at the Great Double Gate, and join the courtiers
Today now you have begun to age
You have unravelled virility
You are reminded of the day of burial, of passing to reverence
A night is cut for you with oils and wrappings from the Goddess Linen
A procession of passing is made for you, on the day of rejoining the earth
A case of gold, a mask of lapis lazuli, the sky over you, placed in the bier
The oxen drawing you, chanters in front of you
Dances are made by the sacred dancers at the door of your tomb
Offerings are pronounced for you, meat is butchered at the door of your chapel
Your columns are enriched with silver in the midst of the king's children
You will not die upon the hill-land, the Asiatics will not inter you
You are not to be placed in a sheepskin as your enclosure is made
It is too long for wandering the land, think of the corpse and return
37 This decree reached me as I stood among my clan
It was read out to me
And I placed myself on my belly
I touched the ground
And put it strewn over my chest
I went around my camp shouting aloud
How is this done for a servant whose heart led him astray to foreign lands
This is utter good, the mercy that rescues me from death
Your spirit will let me spend the end of my bodily days in the Residence
38 Copy of the report to this decree
The servant of the palace Sanehat says
In peace very greatly
Concerning this flight made by the humble servant in his ignorance
It is your ka, good god, lord of the two lands,
Whom Ra loves, praised by Mont lord of Thebes and Amun lord of the thrones of the two lands,
By Sobek-Ra, Horus, Hathor, Atum and his nine gods
Soped perfect of Might of Semseru, Horus the easterner
The lady of the cavern - may she join your brow, the tribunal at the front of the flood
Min-Horus amid the hill-lands, the great goddess, lady of Punt, Nut, Horwerra
All the gods of Egypt, of the hill-land, of the islands of the Great Green
May they give life and power to your nostrils
May they join you in their giving
May they grant you eternity without end and unbounded time
Fear of you rebounds through lands and hill-lands, you grasp what the sun-disk circles
This is a prayer by the humble servant to his lord for rescue from the west
39 Lord of insight, who perceives the populace, whose insight is the Majesty of the palace
This humble servant is in fear of saying it
It is like a matter too great to be repeated
Great god, equal of Ra, in informing the one who has worked for him himself
This humble servant is in the hand of the one consulting about him
It has to be placed under his care
Your Majesty is Horus who seizes, your arms are stronger than all lands
Now your Majesty decrees that he be brought,
And Meki in Qedem, the mountain-men leading Kesh, Menus from the land of Fenkhu,
These are the rulers by their exact names who have come into your affection
Without mentioning Syria, as much yours as are your dogs
40 As for this flight made by this servant
It was not planned, it was not in my heart, I did not plot it
I do not know what separated me from my place, it was like a dream
It is as if a Delta-man saw himself in Abu, a marsh-man in the Land of Nubia
I did not fear, I was not persecuted, I heard no accusation
My name was not heard in the mouth of the reporter
And yet my limbs went cold,
Legs panicked, my heart took hold of me
The god who decreed this flight led me away: I am not the arrogant, not I
The man who knows his land, he fears
Ra has set fear of you throughout the land, the dread of you in every hill-land

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Place me in the Residence or in this place,
You are still the one who clothes this horizon
The disk shines for love of you, water is in the river to be drunk at your desire
The air in the sky, it is breathed in when you say so
41 This humble servant is to hand over the staff acquired by this servant in this place
Then this servant will be returned as your Majesty permits in his desire
We live by the breath of your gift, as Ra, Horus and Hathor love this your noble life
As Mont lord of Thebes wishes that it live forever
I was permitted a day in Iaa to hand over my things to my children
With my eldest son in charge of my clan, my clan and all my things in his hands,
My servants, all my cattle, my fruits, all my sweet trees
42 This servant arrived south,
I touched on the ways of Horus,
And the commander there who was organising patrols
Sent a message to the Residence to inform them
Then his Majesty sent the good overseer of foragers of the King's House
Followed by ships laden with the gifts of before the king
For the Syrians who came along with me to bring me to the ways of Horus
I pronounced each of them by his name
All the cupbearers were busy at their tasks
I received and the captain loaded for me,
And there was kneading and straining beside me until I reached the landing of Itj(tawy)
43 Very early at daybreak there came the summons for me
Ten men coming, ten men going to lead me to the palace
I touched the ground between the dawn rays
As the king's children stood on the walls at the conduct of my approach
The courtiers were led to the audience hall as I was placed on the way to the inner palace
I found His Majesty on the great throne on a podium of electrum [alloy of gold and silver]
Then I was stretched out on my belly
I lost myself in his presence,
This god addressed me friendlily
As I was like a man seized in pitch black
My soul had gone, my body trembled
My heart was no longer in my body - could I know life from death?
44 Then His Majesty said to one of those courtiers
Raise him and let him speak to me
Then His Majesty said
Look at you, on return from travelling the hill-lands
The flight has worked its impact on you, you are grown old
You have reached old age
It is no trifle that your body will be purified,
That you will not be interred by nomads - do not, do not be silent
You have not spoken, though your name is pronounced
45 Fearing the hand of punishment, I answered with the answer of the fearful
What has my lord said to me
That I might answer it - there is no slight to the god in this
It is terror that resides in my body
Just as the fated flight came to be
See me before you - you are life, may your Majesty do as he desires
46 Then the king's children were brought in
And His Majesty said to the king's wife
Here is Sanehat, returned as an Asiatic, remade as a Syrian
She uttered a very great cry, and the king's children in one outburst
They said before His Majesty
It cannot truly be him, sovereign my lord
And His Majesty said, it is truly he
47 At that they brought their counterpoises, their images, their sistra in their hands
They waved them at His Majesty
Your arms are for the good, O king enduring
The adornments of the lady of heaven
The goddess Gold gives life to your nose
The lady of the stars unites with you
The south crown fares north, the northern south, united as one in the way of your Majesty
The cobra is set at your brow, you have removed the weak from evil
Ra lord of the two lands is pleased with you, praise to you as to the Lady of All
Rest your bow, untie your arrow, give breath to the one in lifelessness
Allow us this good turn
This wayfarer, son of the north wind,
The nomad born in Egypt
He took flight for fear of you, he abandoned the land in dread of you
There will be no destruction for the face that sees your face
There will be no fear for the eye that looks at you
48 Then His Majesty said
He shall not fear, nor be given over to terror
He is to be a courtier among the officials,
He may be placed in the midst of the court
Proceed to the inner palace,
For instruction in appointing his standing
So I went inside the inner palace
The king's children giving me their arms
I went then to the Great Double Gate
I was installed at the house of a king's son, full of riches
With a bathroom, and images of the horizon
With valuables from the treasury - clothing of royal linen and ointment of the first for the king's officials whom he loves
Every cupbearer was busy at his task
49 Years were made to fall from my body, as I was shorn, my hair combed
The load was returned to the hill-land, the garments to the nomads,
I was arrayed in fine linen, and anointed with first quality oil
I lay down on a bed, and returned the sand to its dwellers
And the tree-oil to those who anoint themselves with it
I was given the house of a lord of an estate, as a gift from a courtier
Numerous craftsmen built it up, everything was strengthened anew
Foods were continually delivered to me from the palace, three or four times a day
Besides the gifts of the king's children without a moment of pausing
50 A pyramid-chapel of stone was built for me amid the pyramids
The overseer of glazeworkers of the pyramid procured its ground,
The overseer of sealers did the drawing, the sculptors did the cutting,
The overseers of works who were at the pyramid temple ferried for it.
Every tool that is set to the temple-terrace, it found its task there.
I was given spirit-servants, and I made an estate for the cult,
Containing fields as endowment at the landing-stage as is done for the foremost official
My image was adorned with gold, its kilt in electrum,
It is His Majesty who had it done. No poor mortal ever received such treatment
I am in the favour of before the king
Until the coming of the day to moor.
(End note in Berlin 3022, line 311)
This is its completion from its start to its finish as found in writing.

THE TEMPEST STELE
Source: Claude Vandersleyen, 1968
Translation: Anonymus
Estimated Range of Dating: c.1550–1525 B.C.

(The Tempest Stele (also known as Storm Stele) was erected by pharaoh Ahmose I (Reign: c.1550–1525 BC.) early in the 18th Dynasty of Egypt, c. 1550 BC. The stele describes a great storm striking Egypt during this time, destroying tombs, temples and pyramids in the Theban region and the work of restoration ordered by the king. The storm refers with great certainty to the devastating effects of the volcano eruption of the Thera-Volcano in about 1600 BC.

Broken pieces of this stele were found in the 3rd Pylon of the temple of Karnak at Thebes between 1947 and 1951 by French archaeologists. A restoration of the stele and translation of the text was published by Claude Vandersleyen ('Une tempête sous le règne d'Amosis', A Storm in Egypt during the Reign of Ahmose, RdE 19, 1967, p. 123−159.1967). In the following year (1968), Vandersleyen added two more fragments, one from the top of the inscription and a small piece from line 10 of the restored text, which had been recovered by Egyptian archaeologists in the final cleaning of the foundations. Each of the two sides of the stele bore the same inscription, allowing Vandersleyen to produce a restored text by collating them. The upper portion of the stele that describes the storm is the most damaged part of the stele, with many lacunae in the meteorological description. The description of the storm is followed by a virtually complete text that specifies the measures taken by the King to relieve the distress of the people and to repair the damages at Thebes. Its upper part mentions a royal residence at Sedjefa-Taouy, located south of Dendera, from which Ahmose journeyed to Thebes by boat. This residence (not the one mentioned in line 11) was probably located at Ballas, situated between Coptos and Dendera. This elaborate account of a storm and its damages is unique among Egyptian records. According to scientists, it is possible that such an unusually violent storm resulted from the Thera-Santorini eruption.)

Text (with the numbers of the lines):
(7) . . . the gods expressed
(8) their discontent ... The gods (made?) the sky come with a tempest of (rain?); it caused darkness in the Western region; the sky was
(9) unleashed, without . . . . . more than the roar of the crowd; . . . was powerful . . . on the mountains more than the turbulence of the
(10) cataract which is at Elephantine. Each house, . . . each shelter (or each covered place) that they reached . . .
(11) . . . were floating in the water like the barks of papyrus (on the outside?) of the royal residence for . . . day(s),
(12) with no one able to light the torch anywhere. Then His Majesty said 'How these (events) surpass the power of the great god and the wills of the divinities!' And His Majesty descended
(13) in his boat, his council following him. The (people were?) at the east and the west, silent, for they had no more clothes (?) on them
(14) after the power of the god was manifested. Then His Majesty arrived in Thebes ... this statue; it received what it had desired.
(15) His Majesty set about to strengthen the two lands, to cause the water to evacuate without (the aid of) his (men?), to provide them with silver,
(16) with gold, with copper, with oil, with clothing, with all the products they desired; after which His Majesty rested in the palace - life, health, strength.
(17) It was then that His Majesty was informed that the funerary concessions had been invaded (by the water), that the sepulchral chambers had been damaged, that the structures of funerary enclosures had been undermined, that the pyramids had collapsed?
(18) all that existed had been annihilated. His Majesty then ordered the repair of the chapels which had fallen in ruins in all the country, restoration of the
(19) monuments of the gods, the re-erection of their precincts, the replacement of the sacred objects in the room of appearances, the re-closing of the secret place, the re-introduction
(20) into their naoi of the statues which were lying on the ground, the re-erection of the fire altars, the replacement of the offering tables back on their feet, to assure them the provision of offerings,
(21) the augmentation of the revenues of the personnel, the restoration of the country to its former state. They carried out everything, as the king had ordered it.

THE TEACHING OF AMEN-EM-APT
Instruction of Amenemope or Amenemopet
Source: British Museum Papyrus 10474,
Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge, 1913
Estimated Range of Dating: ca. 1300–1075 BC

(Instruction of Amen-em-apt (today rather called Amenemope or Amenemopet) is a literary work composed in Ancient Egypt, most likely during the Ramesside Period (ca. 1300–1075 BC); it contains thirty chapters of advice for successful living, ostensibly written by the scribe Amenemope son of Kanakht as a legacy for his son. A characteristic product of the New Kingdom "Age of Personal Piety", the work reflects on the inner qualities, attitudes, and behaviors required for a happy life in the face of increasingly difficult social and economic circumstances. It is widely regarded as one of the masterpieces of ancient near-eastern wisdom literature and has been of particular interest to modern scholars because of its relationship to the biblical Book of Proverbs.

Amenemope belongs to the literary genre of wisdom literature, often called "teaching" or "instruction" (Egyptian: sebayt). It is the culmination of centuries of development going back to the Instruction of Ptahhotep in the Old Kingdom but reflects a shift in values characteristic of the New Kingdom's "Age of Personal Piety": away from material success attained through practical action, and towards inner peace achieved through patient endurance and passive acceptance of an inscrutable divine will. The author takes for granted the principles of Natural law and concentrates on the deeper matters of conscience. He counsels that the weaker classes of society are defended, respect is shown to the elderly, widows and the poor, whilst condemning any abuse of power or authority. The author draws an emphatic contrast between two types of men: the "silent man", who goes about his business without drawing attention to himself or demanding his rights, and the "heated man", who makes a nuisance of himself to everyone and is constantly picking fights with others over matters of no real importance. Contrary to worldly expectation, the author assures his reader that the former will ultimately receive the divine blessing, while the latter will inevitably go to destruction. Amenemope counsels modesty, self-control, generosity, and scrupulous honesty, while discouraging pride, impetuosity, self-advancement, fraud, and perjury—not only out of respect for Maat, the

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cosmic principle of right order, but also because "attempts to gain advantage to the detriment of others incur condemnation, confuse the plans of god, and lead inexorably to disgrace and punishment."

The most complete text of the Instruction of Amenemope is the British Museum Papyrus 10474, which was acquired in Thebes by E. A. Wallis Budge in 1888. The scroll is approximately 12 feet (3.7 m) long by 10 inches (250 mm) wide; the obverse side contains the hieratic text of the Instruction, while the reverse side is filled with a miscellany of lesser texts. Budge ignored the text for over 25 years until he finally translated the complicated work. What he found out was astonishing. The connexion between Egypt and the peoples in the Holy Land was much closer than anyone dared to imagine. Egyptian influence on Israel and Judah was particularly strong in the reign of King Hezekiah during Egypt's Third Intermediate Period; as a result, "Hebrew literature is permeated with concepts and figures derived from the didactic treatises of Egypt", with Amenemope often cited as the foremost example. Even in his first brief publication of excerpts from Amenemope in 1922, Budge noted its obvious resemblance to the biblical wisdom books. He amplified these comments in his 1923 and 1924 publications, observing that the religiously based morality of Amenemope "closely resembles" the precepts of the Hebrew Bible, and adducing specific parallels between Amenemope and texts in Proverbs, Psalms, and Deuteronomy. Others soon followed his lead.

The Hebrew authors of the Tanakh (Old Testament) had direct access to the original Egyptian document and they used it. Clear evidence includes:

A.) Ancient Egyptian works such as the Instruction of Ptah-Hotep (dated to the 4th dynasty), the Instruction of Kagemni (dated to at least the 12th dynasty), and the Instruction of Ani (dated to the late 18th or early 19th dynasty).

B.) The demonstrably native Egyptian character of the genre, themes, and vocabulary of Amenemope;

C.) The discovery of the editorial and structural mechanisms by which the Egyptian original was adapted by the biblical author.

In order to demonstrate this fact, we will show you now a number of passages from the Instruction of Amenemope compared with the Book of Proverbs:

(Amenemope, ch. 30): "Look to these thirty chapters; they inform, they educate."
(Proverbs 22:20): "Have I not written for you thirty sayings of counsel and knowledge?" (ESV)

(Amenemope, ch. 1):"Give thine ear, and hear what I say, And apply thine heart to apprehend; It is good for thee to place them in thine heart, let them rest in the casket of thy belly; That they may act as a peg upon thy tongue"
(Proverbs 22:17–18):"Incline thine ear, and hear the words of the wise, And apply thine heart to my doctrine; For it is pleasant if thou keep them in thy belly, that they may be established together upon thy lips"

(Amenemope, ch. 2): "Beware of robbing the poor, and oppressing the afflicted."
(Proverbs 22:22):"Rob not the poor, for he is poor, neither oppress (or crush) the lowly in the gate."

(Amenemope, ch. 10): "Associate not with a passionate man, Nor approach him for conversation; Leap not to cleave to such an one; That terror carry thee not away."
(Proverbs 22:24–5): "Do not befriend the man of anger, Nor go with a wrathful man, Lest thou learn his ways and take a snare for thy soul."

(Amenemope, ch. 30): "A scribe who is skillful in his business findeth worthy to be a courtier"
(Proverbs 22:29): "[if you] You see a man quick in his work, before kings will he stand, before cravens, he will not stand."

(Amenemope, ch. 23): "Eat not bread in the presence of a ruler, And lunge not forward(?) with thy mouth before a governor(?). When thou art replenished with that to which thou has no right, It is only a delight to thy spittle. Look upon the dish that is before thee, And let that (alone) supply thy need." (see above)
(Proverbs 23:1): "When thou sittest to eat with a ruler, Consider diligently what is before thee; And put a knife to thy throat, If thou be a man given to appetite. Be not desirous of his dainties, for they are breads of falsehood."

(Amenemope, ch. 7): "Toil not after riches; If stolen goods are brought to thee, they remain not over night with thee. They have made themselves wings like geese. And have flown into the heavens."
(Proverbs 23:4–5): "Toil not to become rich, And cease from dishonest gain; For wealth maketh to itself wings, Like an eagle that flieth heavenwards"

(Amenemope, ch. 21): "Empty not thine inmost soul to everyone, nor spoil (thereby) thine influence"
(Proverbs 23:9): "Speak not in the hearing of a fool, for he will despise the wisdom of thy words"

(Amenemope, ch. 6): "Remove not the landmark from the bounds of the field…and violate not the widows boundary"
(Proverbs 23:10): "Remove not the widows landmark; And enter not into the field of the fatherless."

(Amenemope, ch. 1): "Give thine ears, hear the words that are said, give thine heart to interpret them."
(Proverbs 23:12): "Apply thine heart unto instruction and thine ears to the words of knowledge")

The Title of the Work and its Object:-

"The Beginning of the Teaching CONCERNING LIFE (i.e., of how to live)"; and of the testimonies (or, admonitions) of (i.e., which lead to) safe conduct; and of the directions for behaviour set forth by the Aqaqiu (i.e., the high officials who had the privilege of entering the council chambers of kings and governors); and of the commandments* of the Smeru (i.e., the friends of the king, or high officers of state).

[* The testimonies, directions for behaviour, and commandments mentioned in the above lines are the equivalents of the testimonies, precepts, and righteous judgements spoken of by David in Psalm 119, and the " instruction of wisdom, justice and judgement and equity," referred to by Solomon in Proverbs, Chap. I.]

This Teaching and the precepts contained therein will enable a man to know how to return a suitable answer to him that has spoken to him; and to carry back a satisfactory report to the man who has despatched him on a mission; and will make him to follow a straight course on the roads of life; and will enable him to maintain his position of safety upon the earth; and will cause his heart to descend (or, enter) its case; and make him steer his course away from evil (or, the evil one); and make him to save himself from the mouth of the common folk; and to be applauded by the mouth of men of understanding.

Amen-em-apt and his Titles.

This Teaching was made (i.e., written) by the Director of the Crops, who was highly skilled and experienced in his profession; Scribe of the grain (or "Grain scribe") of Upper and Lower Egypt; Overseer of the barley crops, heaping up the grain to overflowing in the divine granary (or, granary of the god); Officer in chief in charge of the harvests of his lord; Registrary of the arable lands [and] of the coming in of the gifts (or, offerings) as ordered by the Law in the Great Name of His Majesty; Custodian of the funerary memorials on the boundaries of the Aakhut (i.e., of the ancestral spirits whose bodies were buried in a special quarter of the necropolis, or merely the blessed dead in general); Defender of the King in his edicts of government; Performer of the office of deputy (High Officer, Governor) of Kam (Egypt); Scribe of the various grains that formed the divine offerings of all the gods; Allotter of farms to the peasants who wished to become tenants on the royal estates; Overseer of the barley crops. Purveyor of supplies of grain; Supplier of the Ahat (granary of the palace) with stores of barley; Ger-maa of the town of Ten and of the town of Nifu-ur; Reporter of the town of Apu (Panopolis); Master of the Necropolis by the town Amentt and of the town of Sen; Master of the sanctuary of Abydos; Amen-em-apt, the son of Ka-Nekht; whose word is truth, of Nifu-ur; His son is the little one (i.e., the youngest) of his children. Overseer of the mysteries of the god Menti in the character of Ka-mut-f (i.e., the " Bull or husband of his mother "). He is the man of least account among his relatives and acquaintances; Inductor, of Un-Nefer; Inductor of Horus upon the throne of his father; Watcher who is in his holy shrine. . . . . [Text mutilated.]

. . . . . Surveyor of the Mother of the God. Inspector of the Black Bulls of the stable of Menti; Defender of the god Menti in his sanctuary. Horus as the Truth-speaker, his name of Maat (his real name?); Boy begotten by a nobleman (or, magistrate) of Ap (Panopolis); Son of the sistrum-bearer and directress of the singing of the god Shu and the goddess Tefnut, Powerful of word (i.e., Mistress) in the College of Horus, called Ta-Usrit. With the name of the mother of Amen-em-apt the Introduction to the " Teaching," which contains the title and object of the work, and the genealogy and list of offices held by its author, comes to an end. The "Teaching"" itself begins with the words:—

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 1

I pray thee to lend me thine ears, hearken to the things that will be said by me. I pray thee to give thy mind (or, pay attention) to the difficult matters which will be unravelled by me.

The setting of them in thy heart will be advantageous [to thee]. And the rejection of them will be a calamity [for thee]. I beseech thee to deposit them in the treasure-house of thy belly; They will help the ship of the heart not to overturn but to alter its course, and to sail, if necessary, in the opposite direction. When a gale of words is beating hard upon it, [and] They will form a guiding support in thy tongue; If thou wilt live thy life day by day these things being in thy heart; Thou wilt find them [beneficial] in the season of adversity's trial. Thou wilt find my words to be like a treasure-house of life, And a source of strength and safety [as long as thou art] upon the earth.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 2

Guard thyself against plundering the poor man; And from treating with harshness the destitute. Make not thy hand to turn aside at the approach of an aged man; Thou assuming the mouth (i.e., speech) of a great man. Not ever (i.e., never) let a man be despatched by thee on a dangerous mission, When thou hast any affection for him who is to carry it out. Thou shalt not inflict an injury on him that has attacked thee, When thou art able to return an answer to him on thine own behalf. The worker of iniquity—abandon him to the dyke (or, river) bank. His water-flood he will bring upon himself. The north wind hurled upbn him will bring to an end in misery his hour (or, period of life); He will be seized by the raging waters; The Storm fiend will mount on high and the evil crocodiles. The fiery, hot-headed man—what is he like to thee? He shrieks imprecations, his voice soars upwards into the heights of heaven; The god Aahu (i.e., the Moon-god) stands still in his course, and holds him to be an abomination. Work the steering oar, we must give a passage to "the man in evil case." May not we become ourselves like unto him? Set him up on his feet, extend to him gladly thy hand; Commit him to the hands of the God*. (* "The God," pa neter. Amen-em-apt, like the earlier and later writers of this class of literature, does not mention the name of any particular god, and the God to him meant what Yahweh means to Jews and Christians.) Fill his belly with the bread-cakes of thy providing. Satisfy him to the full [with drink] whilst he . . . . . Another occasion of beneficence is in the heart of the God; Idleness of the mind is speech [in this case].

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 3

Couple not together the chattering man with the devil Tar; When thou canst pierce him in speech. Idle in mind [is] the crooked man, bow thyself to the attacker. . . . . [is] speech. A raging wind he rushes forth like a destroying fire among the reeds. The noisy, hot-headed man in his hour (i.e., when his rage is greatest); Turn thyself aside from before him, leave the matter of him To the God. Who knows how to requite him. If thou wilt pass the days of thy life keeping these things in thy heart, Thy children, behold them!

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 4

Now (or, as for) the noisy, hotheaded man of the house of the god (or, temple); He is like a large, leafy tree planted in the courtyard of a temple; Its leaves come to an end (i.e., wither), his unripe fruit drops off; Brought when its end has come to the water-course; It is cast into the water, and carried away far from its place; The flame of fire is its winding-sheet (or, shroud). But the Ger Maa who sets himself by the side of the road, He is like a large leafy tree planted in shining (or, fertile) ground. It blossoms, it doubles its yield of fruit in the summer. It has its place before the face of its lord (or, owner). Its foliage (or, fruit) is sweet, the shadow thereof is pleasant; And it is carried at its end (i.e., finally) into the groves of the God. Some noun seems to be wanting after

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 5

Make no encroachment on the dykes of the house of the god. Commit not an act of avariciousness so that thou mayest find (i.e., obtain) additional wealth. Make not to turn aside from his duty a servant of God; To do what is profitable to another man. Say not, "To-day is even as to-morrow morning [will be]." The end (result) of this reasoning will be like what? To-morrow has yet to come, to-day has yet to pass away. The water-flood (Inundation) is on the mouth (i.e., crest) of the surging waves. The crocodiles make themselves visible [from the mud], the hippopotami appear in the light [from the water]. The fish leap in the waters. The wolves gorge themselves, the geese keep high festival. The restraining cords are cast loose. Now every Ger of the house of God Shall say, "Great is the graciousness of Ra." O thou who art filled with silence, thou shalt find the life; Thy body shall be preserved in safety upon the earth.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 6

Thrust not aside the funerary monument on the boundaries of the Aakhu (i.e., remove not a tombstone which is on the borders of the Necropolis); When thou art marking out additional lands for crops. Commit no robbery (i.e., filch not

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away land) by means of the cubit of the fields When thou art assessing the bounds of the estate of the widow. The land that has gone back from the plough is the waste of a man's lifetime. He who cheats thee, himself belonging to the fields (or, land), Is snared in the counsels of iniquity; He is fettered by the Divine Souls (i.e.. Will) of Aahu (allso Yah, Iah, Ah; the Moon-god). Make thyself to see what he does upon the earth. He is a greedy robber of the helpless man. He is the deadly enemy who would work the overthrow of thy body. Life is snatched away by the mere sight of his aspect. His house is the enemy of the town in which he lives. But his store-houses shall be swept away as by a flood. His possessions shall be carried off from the hands of his sons and daughters; His goods (or, wealth) shall be given to another (i.e., stranger). Take good heed concerning the treading down of the boundaries of the fields; Lest horrible calamity be brought upon thee. Likewise make propitiatory offerings to God by the Divine Souls (i.e., Will) of Aahu (the Moon-god). Occupy thyself with the affairs of the boundaries of the Aakhu (i.e., the Ancestral Spirits, or the blessed dead). Be kind to thyself, make thy body strong and happy; [But] take good heed to thyself in respect of Nebertcher*. (*"Lord to the uttermost limit," or God of the Universe), Drive not thy furrows through the lands of another. Profitable to thee is the strength (or, wellbeing) which comes by their mouth. Plough thou in the fields which thou findest to be thy own property; Take thou the bread-cakes from the storehouse of thy body. Better is one apt of land (about six feet) which the God has given thee; Than five thousand apts which thou hast gotten by fraud (or, violence). Do not acquire the habit of passing the day in eating-houses and places where roasted meat is sold. Do not acquire the habit of passing the day] in tasting one pot of beer after another. Those who pass their whole time at the food-store (or granary); Become to-morrow merely victuals. Better is the beggar who is in the hand of the God Than the rich who are safely housed in a comfortable dwelling. Better are bread-cakes of flour and water with a loving heart (or, mind) Than rich meats that carry with them bickering and quarrelling.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 7

Fashion not thy heart in such wise that it hankers eifter things of wealth (i.e., luxurious foods and apparel). Not unknowing are the god Shai (Luck) and the goddess Renenit (Destiny). Let not thyself abandon thy heart (or, mind) to the things that are extraneous. "Literally, "granary." Let every man have his hour {i.e., let every man choose his own time for his own affairs). Form not the habit of ordering thyself to seek for more than thou hast When thy own goods and possessions are in thy safe keeping. If valuable goods which have been obtained by robbery have been brought together by thee They will not pass the night in thy hands, At daybreak certainly they will not be in thy house. They will look at the place where they were, and most assuredly they will not be [there]; they have swallowed themselves. Either the ground has opened its mouth, and swallowed them up straightway, And they have sunk down deep in the abyss [thereof]; Or they have become a great broken heap through rust (or, decay); Or they have become submerged in the room for waste; Or they have made for themselves wings like the geese, And have spread their wings and flown up into the sky. Make not thyself to take pleasure in rich treasures that have been obtained by robbery, the teaching OF AMEN-EM-APT Whilst sighing (i.e., pretending to grieve) for the man who has been plundered (or, the beggar). When the chieftain of the Stiu (Asiatics, Canaanites) departs from a man His servants destroy him. If thou sailest with a robber thou wilt be left in the stream, But the boat of the Ger has a fair wind behind it. Accustom thyself to direct thy sincere prayer to the Aten the God of the Solar Disk or the Disk itself) when he is rolling up into the sky, Saying, "Grant to me, I beseech thee, strength and health." He will give to thee the things that are necessary for the life. Thou shalt be safe from anxious care.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 8

Bestow thou thy beneficence (or, bounty) on the bodies of the people, And thou shalt be applauded by all faces (i.e., everybody). Praise and exult in the Serpent (i.e., Goddess), Spit upon Apep. Keep thy tongue from speech of long (or, slander). Show thou kindness (or, affection) to people of humble condition. Find thou thy seat in the sanctuary of the house of the god, The gifts made by thee shall be the cakeofferings of thy Lord. Make thyself to be [as if] thou wast one of the blessed dead, [and as if] thou wast a swathed [mummy] in thy coffin. Be thou strong for the Divine Souls (i.e., Will) of God (to do His Will). Make not an invocation to bring a detestable thing upon people. Hide [thou] the affairs (or, plans) of the fugitive (slave). Whether thou hearest the thing that is good or the thing that is evil, Treat it as a matter that is outside thy interest; hearken not to it. I beseech thee to spread with thy tongue only the report of that which is good upon the earth, Whilst as fsir as reports of evil are concerned, hide them in thy belly.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 9

Make not to be a friend of thine the hasty, hot-headed man, Even though thou hast to go to his house frequently to have speech with him. Keep well thy tongue in making an answer to him that is thy chief, At the same time guarding thyself against reviling him. Never permit his speech to fall on thee like a lasso So that thou must uncoil it by means of thy answer. Put questions to him (or, consult with him), answering like a subordinate in thy agitation. At the same time taking good heed not to oppose him. The word that is uttered by a man with malicious intent is swifter to hurt Than the wind that precedes the storm. This man casts to the ground, this man builds up with his tongue, He gives utterance to strings of words that carry destruction in them. This man makes an answer that merits a beating. For the burden (i.e., object) thereof is to do harm. He trafficks by means of a boat after the manner of other folk. He loads the boat with the discourse of iniquity. He makes himself the ferryman of him that catches [men] in a net of words. Whether he is going away or whether he is coming back, he continues to chatter (or, gossip). Whether he is eating or whether he is drinking, even in his own house, His conversation returns to matters that are outside (or, that have nothing to do with him). The Day itself stands up and makes an accusation against his abominable deeds, His sons and daughter cry out "Woe" to themselves. The god Khnem-Ra"* makes a process (or, brings a case) against him. He is of the potter's wheel of (i.e., worked by) the devil Tar, He mixes together and kneads [material] to destroy the hearts (or, minds of men) therewith. He is like a whelp of [one of] the dogs (literally, wolves) of the stable (or, farmyard) With his eye fixed jealously on the movements of his companions. He causes men and women to become enemies by his scandal-mongering. He goes before every wind like the blast that goes before the sandstorm or whirlwind of the desert. He destroys the hair (or, skin) of Shu. He gathers his tail (i.e., bends it round) about him like the young crocodile, Bringing it close to him ready for the deadly sweep. His lips are date-syrup, his tongue is a deadly dagger. A consuming fire blazes within his belly. Make no flights (i.e., attempts) to fill (i.e., please) that fellow, Lest thou bring calamity upon thyself.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 10

Allow not thyself to be greeted as a friend among thy neighbours by the hasty, hot-headed man who is thy opponent; If thou dost, thou wilt thyself damage thy heart (or, mind). Make not thyself to say to him, "Thou art praised," with evil intent, There being terror in thy body. Hold not converse in the company of men of iniquity, For that is an abominable thing to do before the God. Make not thy mind to be divided for the sake of thy tongue. Let all thy plans and behaviour have a sound foundation. Be weighty (i.e., dignified) in the presence of people of lowly condition. Put thou thyself for safe keeping in the hand of the God. God hates the man who utters frivolous, lying speech. The greatest abomination to Him is the man who nourishes enmity in his belly.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 11

Hanker not greedily for the food of the man who eats and drinks luxuriously, Though thou art hungry for his bread. Now the food that is dainty and spiced is as a storm in the giillet (or, turns the stomach), [And] it makes the bowels to eject it. It turns the man who is a counsellor into a man of iniquity, And his sense turns itself away from his body. Inasmuch as the evil nature (or, base appetite) corrupts [his] disposition for welldoing, The evil [in him] destroys what is good. Be thou a creature of nought in the presence of thy chief (i.e., superior officer). Thou shalt acclaim him humbly in thy speech (i.e., conversation). Thy adulatory remarks, they shall meet and turn aside his cursings. Thy homage when smelling the earth shall disarm his violence. When thou hast swallowed the mouthful of bread of a great man thou shalt vomit it, [And] thou shalt be empty of thy good thing (or, dainty?). Make thyself to understand (or, see) the foresight of the glutton. He himself gathers together staves for the hunting nets. Every one of his servants is a beater for the hunting traps, And a strong man smites (i.e., kills) in the slaughter-house. If thou art undone (or, vanquished) in the presence of thy chief. It will be a disgrace for thy subordinates (or, servants). Steer thou thy course away from the glutton forthwith; Observe him, at the same tune avoiding the things which he offers thee.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 12

Behave not greedily in respect of the things (i.e., food) of the nobleman, Since the filling of the mouth with the bread of a great man is unstinted (i.e., is free to every comer). If he gives to thee for the growth (i.e., increase) of his possessions. Hate (i.e., reject) what is his and keep safe what is thine. Make no undertaking in company with the noisy, hot-headed man, Or thou wilt be making thyself a friend of a man of moral obliquity. If thou art sent on amission to transport straw Hate (i.e., cast away, or reject) the weeds that are [in] it. If thine eye lights upon a person who is engaged on a mission of danger. Report it not, but dispatch him on his errand and let him return for another occasion.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 13

Make not men to affix additions to the roll (speech). This is an abominable thing to the God. Make not the word of one man of iniquity to appeal' to be the truth by any act of thine, Whilst at the same time thou art supporting another man of iniquity with thy tongue. Reckon not as nothing things that have value, By so doing thou wilt falsify thy rolls (or, registers). If thou findest a great mass of hidden treasure in the possession of a poor man, Make (i.e., divide) it into three portions. Release two portions and let one remain with thee, Thou shalt find it hke the ways of life. Thou shalt lie down and sleep and pass thy whole night as safely as if it were to-day; Thou shalt find it like the report (or, news) of a good thing. Better is the praise (i.e., approval) with the love of men Than the riches (or, wealth) laid up in a treasure house. Better are the cakes of flour and water [eaten] with a loving mind (or, disposition) Than strong meats [eaten] with strife and enmity.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 14

Remember not too exactly the antecedents of a man When thou art striving to seek for his hand (support, help), If he says to thee, "Accept the things which I have brought." He is not one who has no Cast not malign looks at him whilst bending down thy face, Whilst turning away thy glance elsewhere. Greet him with kind words in thy mouth, speak and salute him cordially. If he approaches thee thy end comes. Make him not to go down to his former state, On another occasion he can be brought.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 15

Do the thing that is right [and] thou wilt attain to a [true] state of being. Make no erasure in the registers on behalf of an encroacher. Since the beak of the Ibis-god {i.e., Thoth) is the finger of the scribe, Take good heed not to thrust it aside. The Ape of Thoth sits directing Per-Khemenu (Hermopolis), His eye travels round about through the Two Lands (i.e., Upper and Lower Egypt). Since he observes the man who makes a slip (or, mistake) with his finger, He will withdraw his benefactions (or, endowments) according to what is right. If the scribe continues to make slips (or, mistakes) with his finger. His son will not be decreed [for employment.] If thou wilt pass the days of thy life these things being in thy heart, Thy children—behold them!

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 16

Make not the balance to swerve [either] through thy falsification of the qet weights, Or through thy obliteration of the mouths of the measures (i.e., the characters or stamps on the weights and measures). Make not a practice of preferring the measures of the fields, Thou abandoning those in use in the house of silver (or, White House). The Ape [of Thoth] sits by the side of the Scales, [And] his heart [acts] as the tongue (or, pointer) thereof. God removes, even as does the Great One Thoth, Him that is in the habit of finding these devices to do them. Accustom not thyself to cheat by means of the qet weights. It is they (i.e., the cheaters) who multiply the tears of the Divine Souls (i.e., Will) of God. If thou seest another man stumbling from time to time, Go with him and enable him to continue on his way*. (* Or, If thou seest a man going astray, guide him to the road which he ought to follow.) Covet not (or, be not greedy for) the precious metals. Hate (i.e., avoid or reject) the beautiful singing woman. What is it like? A fetter, a tie. It makes a man to stumble (or, go astray) in the presence of the God. If a paddle of gold be scraped off from an object of the finest gold At daybreak to-morrow morning it will be lead.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 17

Take heed neither to defraud the divine Utchat (i.e., the Eye of Ra) Nor to falsify the mouths (bear false witness) thereof. Make no robbery of the things of Uben, the mighty god, For he (i.e., Uben; who is Ra) is never wanting in (or, absent from) its (the Utchat's) body.' Thou shalt give its measure, as to a great man when he is coming in. Thy hand shall set it down justly (or, correctly). Make not a measuring rod. Apt, for thy use, whereby thou canst measure with two different results. Do always the thing that is right (i.e., measure correctly) Since the Apt measure is the Eye of Ra. It (i.e., the Utchat, or Eye of Ra) holds in abomination the man who robs and steals. And who when measuring makes many mistakes, Since the seal of his eye is upon the Apt measure. Receive not the summer grain of the peasant farmer, Thou binding him by what is registered against him to ruin him. Make not thyself one with the measurer. Thou meanwhile playing the master of the house. The Divine Souls (or, Will of God) increase the store-house grain, More than the Director of the Great Place.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 18

Accustom not thyself to lie in bed (or, sleep) whilst the dawn is rising in an awesome manner in the sky. The break of the day and the dawn [are] like what? (i.e., to what can they

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be compared for beauty?) The man who has no knowledge of the dawn is like what? (i.e., to what can he be compared for ignorance?). Whilst the God is occupied with His works of beneficence The man is indulging in his slothfulness. On the one side are the words (or, gossip) that men utter, On the other are the works that the God is doing. Say not, "By no manner of means is what is abominable (or, evil) to be permitted to exist," Whilst thou thyself art doing thy utmost to seek after strife. If the thing that is abominable (i.e., evil) belongs to the God? He Himself will stamp it with the seal of His finger. There is no goodness in the hand of the God. Because there is no badness before Him. If He could bring Himself to seek after goodness, The occasion ended (i.e., the opportunity served) He would destroy it. Be weighty in thy mind, consolidate thy heart, Accustom not thyself to shape thy course by thy tongue only. Even if the tongue of a man be the steersman of the boat, It is Nebertcher who is its watcher in the bows (i.e., captain).

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 19

Go not among the members of the Town Council in the presence of the President, Or thou mayest be obliged to contradict (or, show to be inaccurate) thine own words. Be not continually rising up and sitting down whilst thou art making thy answer; Thy testimonies must support themselves. Make no altercation with (or, make no attempt to coerce) the supporters of a lord (i.e., any owner of property), A word spoken] in the Council Chamber may lead to a vexatious inquiry. Speak the truth in the presence of the President, Lest he seize and take possession of thy person. If thou wilt appear before him in the early hours of the day, He will consider graciously every word of thine. Speak thy mouth (i.e., say thy say) in the Court before the headmen, Watch carefully, so that thou mayest come back on a second occasion.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 20

Make not a member of the Courts of Law to trip up (i.e., to arrive at a wrong conclusion or verdict). Through thy setting aside (or, hiding) the truth, For whilst thy face is cloaked with a garment. And thou art sheltered (or, content) he is under constraint. Accept not a present (i.e., bribe) from a man of power and authority If thou art to treat wrongfully for him the poor man in distress. Now Truth is the great bearer of God, He gives it to the man who loves Him. Since the mighty power is with him who is like unto Him, He carries off (or, slays) the impotent one in his violence. Make not for thyself of iniquity (do not get complacent while seeing injustice). They are the great auxiliaries of Death, They are the great incentives to sloth in respect of honourable actions, They are the guides who report for the herald of judgement. Falsify not the things that make thee to wonder written on the roll, For thus thou wilt be injuring (or, disarranging) the plans of God. Make no attempt to find for thyself the Divine Souls Will) of God, Do not the god Shai (Luck) and the goddess Renenit (Destiny) exist? Study to make to increase (flourish) the possessions of the lords of wealth, Thou at the same time seeking for thyself the means of subsistence. Never build thy heart in their houses (i.e., set not thy affections upon the houses they live in), Thy carcase being in the house of slaughter.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 21

Say not, "I have found a very chief of robbers," When the offender happens to be a man in thine own town. Say not, "I have found a sedition-monger" (or, rebel) When the offender happens to be a hater (i.e., enemy of thine). For most assuredly thou knowest not the plans of God*. Bring not to an end (j.e., waste not) in slumber the early hours of the day (or, the dawn)*. Seat thou thyself on the two arms of the God*. To thy silence (silent meditation?) [add] prostrations on the ground.* (* These sentences are repeated at the end of Chapter 22.). If the crocodile is going to lash out with his tail, cry out (i.e., give warning), For even the papyrus plants hold him in awe. Do not empty thy belly when the people are round about thee, For if thou dost thou wilt destroy their respect for thy dignity. Make not thy words to circulate among the common folk (or, peasants), If thou dost thou wilt become a companion of the man of violence. Better is it for a man to keep his information (or, news) in his belly Than to publish it abroad with the addition of lies. Never run with swift steps to attain that which will be advantageous [to thee], [On the other hand] never create the circumstances that will destroy it.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 22

Make no attempt to shut the mouth of (or, to make dumb) the man who is holding converse with thee; Do thou tell him that he must declare [what is in his] heart. Make no flight {i.e., attempt) to enter [into the conversation] against him (i.e., to anticipate his remarks) [When] thou dost not see what he is doing [i.e., the point which he is making). Make thyself to understand beforehand what the answer to him must be. [If] thou art heated {i.e., losest thy temper) thy end comes. Let the matter rest upon him, he will empty Iris belly. Knowing his character (or, view) he can be found out. His feet (or, legs) being removed he cannot work his iniquity, Being afraid he will not act underhandedly. For, most assuredly, thou knowest not the plans of God*. Bring not to an end {i.e., waste not) in slumber the early hours of the day (or, the dawn)*. Seat thou thyself on the two arms of the God*. To thy silence (or: silent meditation) [add] prostrations on the ground*. (These lines are a repetition of lines in Chapter 21.)

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 23

Eat not thou bread in the presence of the Governor, Thus setting thy mouth forward into prominence. If thou fillest thyself full of the rich meats of iniquity They will pass back again in thy vomit. Keep thy gaze fixed upon the vessel (platter?) which is before thee, Thou must make it to serve all thy needs. Though the Governor may resemble a nobleman in his official position, He may also resemble the sacred crocodiles in the water [in] rapacity and cruelty.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 24

Listen not to the answers {i.e., conversation) of the Governor in his own house, Thou then repeating what he said to thee outside in the town. Even when thou hast brought thy mouth outside [his house], Do not empty out into the street what is in thy breast. Since the heart (or, mind) of a man is the nose of God Take good heed that thou dost not cause it sorrow. The man [to whom thou speakest] may be a powerful official, [He may also be] a private person whose name is quite unknown.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 25

Make not a laughing-stock of the blind man. Vex* (*or, browbeat, or "make not a mock of.") not the dwarf, [And] frustrate not the plans of the afflicted (or, lame) man. Vex* (*or, irritate) not a man who is in the hand of the God (i.e., the man who is suffering through some dispensation of God) By singing to him the praises of him who has wronged him. Even if a man mixes the mud [and] the straw. It is the God Who is his builder. It is He Who throws down [a house], it is He Who builds [it] up daily. It is He Who can turn a thousand [men] into corruption at His pleasure. It is He Who can make one man to have the overseership of a thousand. A man lives his [allotted] hour of life: Rejoice, be glad. It is He Who makes [a man] to arrive in Amentt (Amente = Canaan or the Holy Land of the Jews); He is safe in the hand of the God.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 26

Accustom not thyself to sit in the beerhouse. Give not commands to one who is greater than thyself, Whether he be [thy] junior in his official position, Or whether he be [thy] senior by birth. Show thyself friendly to the man for whom thou hast antipathy. The strength of Ra is to him that is on the road. If thou seest a man who is greater than thyself outside [his house], Follow after him and greet him with words of respect. Stretch out the hand to the aged man when he is filled full of beer, Treat him reverently when he is in the company of his sons and daughters. Is not thy arm (or, strength) made weak by robbery? Is not the back bowed by affliction? Reduce not to beggary the [poor] man who has uttered something which is pleasant Rather than the rich man whose strings of words are straw. evil. The man who is in the bows of the boat (i.e., the captain) watches the going thereof, He does not allow his bark to capsise (or, be submerged).

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 27

Curse {i.e., abuse) not the man who is greater than thyself, He will look at the god Ra in front of thee. And moreover, he will report thee to the god Aten as he rolls up into the sky. Say; For a man of no importance to heap curses upon a great man, [Is] a crime (i.e., a thing worthy of death) unknown to the Ra. If] a man of no importance wishes to curse a great man, Come! Let him inflict a beating on thee, thou [keeping] thy hand in thy bosom. Come! Let him heap curses upon thee, thou remaining silent. If like the dawn (at the time of dawn?) thou appearest before him, He will give to thee the means of living in an open-handed manner. If the means of which he is master [are] from the finger (or, seal) of his lord, They consume (?) him to whom they are given.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 28

Do not make find (i.e., search out) the widow in the fields, Do not permit thyself to return an answer to her. Make no undue haste to sing the praises (or, to follow the cult) of the wine cup, It will increase (or, double) the heart (i.e., courage) of thine adversaries. The love of God is more precious [and] estimable Than the reverence of the nobleman (or, magistrate).

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 29

Turn not back the people who wish to cross over the river. Whilst thou art stretched out at thy ease in the cabin If a paddle (or, oar) be brought to thee when the ferry-boat is in mid-stream? Grasp it with both thy hands, take it [and use it]. There is nothing which is an abomination in the hand [to] the God. Is not happy (or, content) the toiler? Set not to ply a ferry-boat on the river. If thou art strenuous in thy quest of the fares of those who cross the river on it. Let the fares drop into the hand of the master of the craft Thou being happy (or, content) with no part of them.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 30

Behold (observe) the Thirty Chapters (precepts)! They will give thee pleasure, they will teach thee. The precepts will serve as a guide to every book*. (* every stage of life)—in fact, they are the basis of every work of this kind. They will give knowledge to (i.e., make to be wise) the ignorant man. If they be read out in the presence of an ignorant man Assuredly he will steer his course through life according to their mouth (i.e., direction). Fill thyself full (or, steep thyself) in the counsel of what is in them, set them, I beseech thee, in thy heart; Make thyself to be the man who has unravelled their contents, Thinking out and understanding their teaching. If the bearer be a scribe who would make himself to be pre-eminent in his profession, He will find himself to be of equal importance with the Smeru (i.e., the "friends" of the King). Here ends the Book (Explicit liber).

Colophon: Done into writing by Shennu, the son of the Divine Father Pamai.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

The Egyptian Book of the Dead, Papyrus of Ani
Author: Anonymus
Translated: Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge, 1913
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 1250 1240 B.C.

(The Book of the Dead is an ancient Egyptian funerary text, used from the beginning of the New Kingdom (around 1550 BC) to around 50 BC. The original Egyptian name for the text, transliterated rw nw prt m hrw is translated as Book of Coming Forth by Day. Another translation would be Book of Emerging Forth into the Light. "Book" is the closest term to describe the loose collection of texts consisting of a number of magic spells intended to assist a dead person's journey through the Duat, or underworld, and into the afterlife and written by many priests over a period of about 1000 years.

The Book of the Dead was part of a tradition of funerary texts which includes the earlier Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts, which were painted onto objects, not papyrus. Some of the spells included were drawn from these older works and date to the 3rd millennium BC. Other spells were composed later in Egyptian history, dating to the Third Intermediate Period (11th to 7th centuries BC). A number of the spells which made up the Book continued to be inscribed on tomb walls and sarcophagi, as had always been the spells from which they originated. The Book of the Dead was placed in the coffin or burial chamber of the deceased.

There was no single or canonical Book of the Dead. The surviving papyri contain a varying selection of religious and magical texts and vary considerably in their illustration. Some people seem to have commissioned their own copies of the Book of the Dead, perhaps choosing the spells they thought most vital in their own progression to the afterlife. The Book of the Dead was most commonly written in hieroglyphic or hieratic script on a papyrus scroll, and often illustrated with vignettes depicting the deceased and their journey into the afterlife.

The existence of the Book of the Dead was known as early as the Middle Ages, well before its contents could be understood. Since it was found in tombs, it was evidently a document of a religious nature, and this led to the widespread misapprehension that the Book of the Dead was the equivalent of a Bible

In 1842 Karl Richard Lepsius published a translation of a manuscript dated to the Ptolemaic era and coined the name "Book of The Dead" (das Todtenbuch). He also introduced the spell numbering system which is still in use, identifying 165 different spells. Lepsius promoted the idea of a comparative edition of the Book of the Dead, drawing on all relevant manuscripts. This project was undertaken by Édouard Naville, starting in 1875 and completed in 1886, producing a three-volume work including a selection of vignettes for every one of the 186 spells he worked with, the more significant variations of the text for every spell, and commentary. In 1867 Samuel Birch of the British Museum published the first extensive English translation. In 1876 he published a photographic copy of the Papyrus of Nebseny.

The work of E. A. Wallis Budge, Birch's successor at the British Museum, is still in wide circulation – including both his hieroglyphic editions and his English translations of the Papyrus of Ani, though the latter are now considered inaccurate and out-of-date. More recent translations in English have been published by T. G. Allen (1974) and Raymond O. Faulkner (1972). As more work has been done on the Book of the Dead, more spells have been identified, and the total now stands at 192.)

HYMN TO OSIRIS

"Homage to thee, Osiris, Lord of eternity, King of the Gods, whose names are manifold, whose forms are holy, thou being

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of hidden form in the temples, whose Ka is holy. Thou art the governor of Tattu (Busiris), and also the mighty one in Sekhem (Letopolis). Thou art the Lord to whom praises are ascribed in the nome of Ati, thou art the Prince of divine food in Anu. Thou art the Lord who is commemorated in Maati, the Hidden Soul, the Lord of Qerrt (Elephantine), the Ruler supreme in White Wall (Memphis). Thou art the Soul of Ra, his own body, and hast thy place of rest in Henensu (Herakleopolis). Thou art the beneficent one, and art praised in Nart. Thou makest thy soul to be raised up. Thou art the Lord of the Great House in Khemenu (Hermopolis). Thou art the mighty one of victories in Shas-hetep, the Lord of eternity, the Governor of Abydos. The path of his throne is in Ta-tcheser (a part of Abydos). Thy name is established in the mouths of men. Thou art the substance of Two Lands (Egypt). Thou art Tem, the feeder of Kau (Doubles), the Governor of the Companies of the gods. Thou art the beneficent Spirit among the spirits. The god of the Celestial Ocean (Nu) draweth from thee his waters. Thou sendest forth the north wind at eventide, and breath from thy nostrils to the satisfaction of thy heart. Thy heart reneweth its youth, thou producest the.... The stars in the celestial heights are obedient unto thee, and the great doors of the sky open themselves before thee. Thou art he to whom praises are ascribed in the southern heaven, and thanks are given for thee in the northern heaven. The imperishable stars are under thy supervision, and the stars which never set are thy thrones. Offerings appear before thee at the decree of Keb. The Companies of the Gods praise thee, and the gods of the Tuat (Other World) smell the earth in paying homage to thee. The uttermost parts of the earth bow before thee, and the limits of the skies entreat thee with supplications when they see thee. The holy ones are overcome before thee, and all Egypt offereth thanksgiving unto thee when it meeteth Thy Majesty. Thou art a shining Spirit-Body, the governor of Spirit-Bodies; permanent is thy rank, established is thy rule. Thou art the well-doing Sekhem (Power) of the Company of the Gods, gracious is thy face, and beloved by him that seeth it. Thy fear is set in all the lands by reason of thy perfect love, and they cry out to thy name making it the first of names, and all people make offerings to thee. Thou art the lord who art commemorated in heaven and upon earth. Many are the cries which are made to thee at the Uak festival, and with one heart and voice Egypt raiseth cries of joy to thee.

"Thou art the Great Chief, the first among thy brethren, the Prince of the Company of the Gods, the stablisher of Right and Truth throughout the World, the Son who was set on the great throne of his father Keb. Thou art the beloved of thy mother Nut, the mighty one of valour, who overthrew the Sebau-fiend. Thou didst stand up and smite thine enemy, and set thy fear in thine adversary. Thou dost bring the boundaries of the mountains. Thy heart is fixed, thy legs are set firm. Thou art the heir of Keb and of the sovereignty of the Two Lands (Egypt). He (Keb) hath seen his splendours, he hath decreed for him the guidance of the world by thy hand as long as times endure. Thou hast made this earth with thy hand, and the waters, and the winds, and the vegetation, and all the cattle, and all the feathered fowl, and all the fish, and all the creeping things, and all the wild animals therof. The desert is the lawful possession of the son of Nut. The Two Lands (Egypt) are content to crown thee upon the throne of thy father, like Ra.

"Thou rollest up into the horizon, thou hast set light over the darkness, thou sendest forth air from thy plumes, and thou floodest the Two Lands like the Disk at daybreak. Thy crown penetrateth the height of heaven, thou art the companion of the stars, and the guide of every god. Thou art beneficent in decree and speech, the favoured one of the Great Company of the Gods, and the beloved of the Little Company of the Gods.

His sister [Isis] hath protected him, and hath repulsed the fiends, and turned aside calamities (of evil). She uttered the spell with the magical power of her mouth. Her tongue was perfect, and it never halted at a word. Beneficent in command and word was Isis, the woman of magical spells, the advocate of her brother. She sought him untiringly, she wandered round and round about this earth in sorrow, and she alighted not without finding him. She made light with her feathers, she created air with her wings, and she uttered the death wail for her brother. She raised up the inactive members of whose heart was still, she drew from him his essence, she made an heir, she reared the child in loneliness, and the place where he was not known, and he grew in strength and stature, and his hand was mighty in the House of Keb. The Company of the Gods rejoiced, rejoiced, at the coming of Horus, the son of Osiris, whose heart was firm, the triumphant, the son of Isis, the heir of Osiris."

REFERENCES

Following is a list of frequently-mentioned geographical locations, and their commonly-known names: Abtu (Abydos), Abu (Elephantine), Anu (Heliopolis), Bast (Bubastis), Hensu (Herakleopolis), Het-ka-Ptah (Memphis), Khemenu (Hermopolis), Per-Menu (Panopolis), Qerrt (Elephantine), Sau (Sais), Sekhem (Letopolis), Suat (Asyut), Tetu (Busiris), Two Lands (Upper and Lower Egypt), Unu (Hermopolis).

A HYMN OF PRAISE TO RA WHEN HE RISETH IN THE EASTERN PART OF HEAVEN:

Behold, the Osiris Ani, the scribe of the holy offerings of all the gods, saith: Homage to thee, O thou who hast come as Khepera, Khepera the creator of the gods, Thou art seated on thy throne, thou risest up in the sky, illumining thy mother [Nut], thou art seated on thy throne as the king of the gods. [Thy] mother Nut stretcheth out her hands, and performeth an act of homage to thee. The domain of Manu receiveth thee with satisfaction. The goddess Maat embraceth thee at the two seasons of the day. May Ra give glory, and power, and thruth-speaking, and the appearance as a living soul so that he may gaze upon Heru-khuti, to the KA of the Osiris the Scribe Ani, who speaketh truth before Osiris, and who saith: Hail, O all ye gods of the House of the Soul, who weigh heaven and earth in a balance, and who give celestial food [to the dead]. Hail, Tatun, [who art] One, thou creator of mortals [and] of the Companies of the Gods of the South and of the North, of the West and of the East, ascribe ye praise to Ra, the lord of heaven, the KING, Life, Strength, and Health, the maker of the gods. Give ye thanks unto him in his beneficent form which is enthroned in the Atett Boat; beings celestial praise thee, beings terrestial praise thee. Thoth and the goddess Maat mark out thy course for thee day by day and every day. Thine enemy the Serpent hath been given over to the fire. The Serpent- fiend Sebau hath fallen headlong, his forelegs are bound in chains, and his hind legs hath Ra carried away from him. The Sons of Revolt shall never more rise up. The House of the Aged One keepeth festival, and the voices of those who make merry are in the Great Place. The gods rejoice when they see Ra crowned upon his throne, and when his beams flood the world with light. The majesty of this holy god setteth out on his journey, and he goeth onwards until he reacheth the land of Manu; the earth becometh light at his birth each day; he proceedeth until he reacheth the place where he was yesterday. O be thou at peace with me. Let me gaze upon thy beauties. Let me journey above the earth. Let me smite the Ass. Let me slit asunder the Serpent-fiend Sebau. Let me destroy Aepep at the moment of his greatest power. Let me behold the Abtu Fish at his season, and the Ant Fish with the Ant Boat as it piloteth it in its lake. Let me behold Horus when he is in charge of the rudder [of the Boat of Ra], with Thoth and the goddess Maat on each side of him. Let me lay hold of the tow-rope of the Sektet Boat, and the rope at the stern of the Matett Boat. Let Ra grant to me a view of the Disk (the Sun), and a sight of Ah (the Moon) unfailingly each day. Let my Ba- soul come forth to walk about hither and thither and whithersoever it pleaseth. Let my name be called out, let it be found inscribed on the tablet which recordeth the names of those who are to receive offerings. Let meals from the sepulchral offerings be given to me in the presence [of Osiris], as to those who are in the following of Horus. Let there be prepared for me a seat in the Boat of the Sun on the day wheron the god saileth. Let me be received in the presence of Osiris in the Land of Truth-speaking- the Ka of Osiris Ani.

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nekht, Brit. Mus. No. 10471, Sheet 21)

NEKHT, THE CAPTAIN OF SOLDIERS, THE ROYAL SCRIBE, SINGETH A HYMN OF PRAISE TO RA, and saith:- Homage to thee, O thou glorious Being, thou who art dowered [with all sovereignty]. O Tem-Heru-Khuti (Tem-Harmakhis), when thou risest in the horizon of heaven a cry of joy goeth forth to thee from all people. O thou beautiful Being, thou dost renew thyself in thy season in the form of the Disk, within thy mother Hathor. Therefore in every place every heart swelleth with joy at thy rising for ever. The regions of the South and the North come to thee with homage, and send forth acclamations at thy rising on the horizon of heaven, and thou illuminest the Two Lands with rays of turquoise-[coloured] light. O Ra, who art Heru-Khuti, the divine man-child, the heir of eternity, self-begotten and self-born, king of the earth, prince of the Tuat (the Other World), governor of Aukert, thou didst come from the Water-god, thou didst spring from the Sky-god Nu, who doth cherish thee and order thy members. O thou god of life, thou lord of love, all men live when thou shinest; thou art crowned king of the gods. The goddess Nut embraceth thee, and the goddess Mut enfoldeth thee at all seasons. Those who are in thy following sing unto thee with joy, and they bow down their foreheads to the earth when they meet thee, the lord of heaven, the lord of the earth, the King of Truth, the lord of eternity, the prince of everlastingness, thou sovereign of all the gods, thou god of life, thou creator of eternity, thou maker of heaven wherin thou art firmly stablished.

The Company of the Gods rejoice at thy rising, the earth is glad when it beholdeth thy rays; the people who have been long dead come forth with cries of joy to behold thy beauties every day. Thou goest forth each day over heaven and earth, and thou art made strong each day be thy mother Nut. Thou passest over the heights of heaven, thy heart swelleth with joy; and the Lake of Testes (the Great Oasis) is content thereat. The Serpent-fiend hath fallen, his arms are hewn off, the Knife hath severed his joints. Ra liveth by Maat (Law), the beautiful! The Sektet Boat advanceth and cometh into port. The South and the North, and the West and East, turn to praise thee. O thou First, Great God (PAUTA), who didst come into being of thine own accord, Isis and Nephthys salute thee, they sing unto thee songs of joy at thy rising in the boat, they stretch out their hands unto thee. The Souls of the East follow thee, and the Souls of the West praise thee. Thou art the Ruler of all the gods. Thou in thy shrine hast joy, for the Serpent-fiend Nak hath been judged by the fire, and thy heart shall rejoice for ever. Thy mother Nut is esteemed by thy father Nu.

HYMN TO OSIRIS UN-NEFER

A Hymn of Praise to Osiris Un-Nefer, the great god who dwelleth in Abtu, the king of eternity, the lord of everlastingness, who traverseth millions of years in his existence. Thou art the eldest son of the womb of Nut. Thou was begotten by Keb, the Erpat. Thou art the lord of the Urrt Crown. Thou art he whose White Crown is lofty. Thou art the King (Ati) of gods [and] men. Thou hast gained possession of the sceptre of rule, and the whip, and the rank and dignity of thy divine fathers. Thy heart is expanded with joy, O thou who art in the kingdom of the dead. Thy son Horus is firmly placed on thy throne. Thou hast ascended thy throne as the Lord of Tetu, and as the Heq who dwelleth in Abydos. Thou makest the Two Lands to flourish through Truth-speaking, in the presence of him who is the Lord to the Uttermost Limit. Thou drawest on that which hath not yet come into being in thy name of "Ta-her-sta-nef." Thou governest the Two Lands by Maat in thy name of "Seker." Thy power is wide-spread, thou art he of whom the fear is great in thy name of "Usar" (or "Asar"). Thy existence endureth for an infinite number of double henti periods in thy name of "Un-Nefer."

Homage to thee, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, and Prince of Princes. Thou hast ruled the Two Lands from the womb of the goddess Nut. Thou hast governed the Lands of Akert. Thy members are of silver-gold, thy head is of lapis-lazuli, and the crown of thy head is of turquoise. Thou art An of millions of years. Thy body is all pervading, O Beautiful Face in Ta-tchesert. Grant thou to me glory in heaven, and power upon earth, and truth-speaking in the Divine Underworld, and [the power to] sail down the river to Tetu in the form of a living Ba-soul, and [the power to] sail up the river to Abydos in the form of a Benu bird, and [the power to] pass in through and to pass out from, without obstruction, the doors of the lords of the Tuat. Let there be given unto me bread-cakes in the House of Refreshing, and sepulchral offerings of cakes and ale, and propitiatory offerings in Anu, and a permanent homestead in Sekhet-Aaru, with wheat and barley therein- to the Double of the Osiris, the scribe Ani.

THE CHAPTERS OF COMING FORTH BY DAY

HERE BEGIN THE CHAPTERS OF COMING FORTH BY DAY, AND THE SONGS OF PRAISING AND GLORIFYING WHICH ARE TO BE RECITED FOR "COMING FORTH" AND FOR ENTERING INTO KHERT-NETER, AND THE SPELLS WHICH ARE TO BE SAID IN BEAUTIFUL AMENTET. THEY SHALL BE RECITED ON THE DAY OF THE FUNERAL, ENTERING IN AFTER COMING FORTH.

The Osiris Ani, the Osiris the scribe Ani saith:- Homage to thee, O Bull of Amentet, Thoth the king of eternity is with me. I am the great god by the side of the divine boat, I have fought for thee, I am one of those gods, those divine chiefs, who proved the truth-speaking of Osiris before his enemies on the day of the weighing of words. I am thy kinsman Osiris. I am [one of] those gods who were the children of the goddess Nut, who hacked in pieces the enemies of Osiris, and who bound in fetters the legion of Sebau devils on his behalf. I am thy kinsman Horus, I have fought on thy behalf, I have come to thee for thy name's sake. I am Thoth who proved the truth of the words of Osiris before his enemies on the day of the weighing of words in the great House of the Prince, who dwelleth in Anu. I am Teti, the son of Teti. My mother conceived me in Tetu, and gave birth to me in Tetu. I am with the mourners [and with] the women who tear out their hair and make lament for Osiris in Taui-Rekhti, proving true the words of Osiris before his enemies. Ra commanded Thoth to prove true the words of Osiris before his enemies; what was commanded [for Osiris], let that be done for me by Thoth. I am with Horus on the day of dressing Teshtesh. I open the hidden water-springs for the ablutions of Urt-ab. I unbolt the door of the Shetait Shrine in Ra-stau. I am with Horus as the protector of the left shoulder of Osiris, the dweller in Sekhem. I enter in among and I come forth from the Flame-gods on the day of the destruction of the Sebau fiends in Sekhem. I am with Horus on the day[s] of the festivals of Osiris, at the making of offerings and oblations, namely, on the festival which is celebrated on the sixth day of the month, and on the day of the Tenat festival in Anu. I am the UAB priest (libationer) in Tetu, Rera, the dweller in Per-Asar. I exalt him that is upon the high place of the country. I look upon the

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hidden things (the mysteries) in Ra-stau. I recite the words of the liturgy of the festival of the Soul- god in Tetu. I am the SEM priest, and [perform] his duties. I am the UR- KHERP-HEM priest on the day of placing the Henu Boat of Seker upon its divine sledge. I have taken in my hand the digging tool on the day of digging up the earth in Hensu.

Hail, O ye who make perfect souls to enter into the House of Osiris, make ye the well-instructed soul of the Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is true, to enter in and to be with you in the House of Osiris. Let him hear even as ye hear; let him have sight even as ye have sight; let him stand up even as ye stand up; let him take his seat even as ye take your seats.

Hail, O ye who give cakes and ale to perfect souls in the House of Osiris, give ye cakes and ale twice each day (in the morning and in the evening) to the soul of the Osiris Ani, whose word is true before the gods, the Lords of Abydos, and whose word is true with you. Hail, O ye who open up the way, who act as guides to the roads [in the Other World] to perfect souls in the House of Osiris, open ye up for him the way, and act ye as guides to the roads to the soul of the Osiris, the scribe, the registrary of all the offerings made to the gods, Ani, [whose word is true] with you. May he enter the House of Osiris with boldness, and may he come forth therefrom in peace. May there be no opposition made to him, and may he not be sent back [therefrom]. May he enter in under favour [of Osiris], and may he come forth gratified [at the acceptance of] his true words. May his commands be performed in the House of Osiris, may his words travel with you, may he be glorious as ye are. May he be not found to be light in the Balance, may the Balance dispose of his case.

(In the Turin Papyrus, ed. Lepsius, this Chapter ends with the following.)

Permit thou not me to be judged according to the mouths of the multitude. May my soul lift itself up before [Osiris], having been found to have been pure when on earth. May I come into thy presence, O Lord of the gods; may I arrive at the Nome of Maati (Truth); may I rise up on my seat like a god endowed with life; may I give forth light like the Company of the Gods who dwell in heaven; may I become like one of you; may I lift up my footsteps in the town of Kher-Aha; may I look upon the Sektet Boat of the god, Saah, the holy one, as it passeth across the sky; may I not be repulsed; may I look upon the Lords of the Tuat, or, according to another reading, the Company of the Gods; may I smell the savour of the divine food of the Company of the Gods; may I sit down with them; may my name be proclaimed for offerings by the KHER-HEB priest at the sacrificial table; may I hear the petitions which are made when offerings are presented; may I draw nigh unto the Neshem Boat; and may neither my Heart-soul nor its lord be repulsed.

Homage to thee, O Chief of Amentet, thou god Osiris, who dwellest in the town of Nifu-ur. Grant thou that I may arrive in peace in Amentet. May the Lords of Ta-Tchesert receive me, and may they say unto me: "Hail, hail; welcome, welcome!" May they make ready for me a seat by the side of the President of the Chiefs; may the Nursing-goddesses receive me at the seasons, and may I come forth into the presence of Un-Nefer true of word. May I be a Follower of Horus in Ra-stau, and of Osiris in Tetu; and may I perform all the transformations which my heart may desire to make in every place wherein my Double (KA) wisheth to be.

RUBRIC: If this text be known [by the deceased] upon earth or if he causeth it to be done in writing upon [his] coffin, then will he be able to come forth on any day he pleaseth, and to enter into his habitation unrepulsed. Cakes and ale and joints of meat from those which are on the altar of Ra shall be given unto him, and his homestead shall be among the fields of the Field of Reeds (Sekhet-Aaru), and wheat and barley shall be given unto him therein, and he shall flourish there even as he flourished upon earth.

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nekhtu-Amen, ed. Naville, I, 5)

THE CHAPTER OF MAKING THE SAHU TO ENTER THE TUAT ON THE DAY OF THE FUNERAL, WHEN THE FOLLOWING WORDS ARE TO BE SAID: Homage to thee, O thou who dwellest in the Holy Hill (Set-Tchesert) of Amentet! the Osiris, the royal scribe, Nekhtu-Amen, whose word is true, knoweth thee, he knoweth thy name. Deliver thou him from the worms which are in Ra-stau, which live upon the bodies of men and women, and feed upon their blood, for Osiris, the favoured servant of the god of his city, the royal scribe Nekhtu-Amen, knoweth you, and he knoweth your names. Let the order for his protection be the first command of Osiris, the Lord to the Uttermost Limit, who keepeth his body hidden. May he give him release from the Terrible One who dwelleth at the bend of the River of Amentet, and may he decree the acts that will make him to rise up. Let him pass on to him whose throne is placed within the darkness, who giveth light in Ra-stau. O thou Lord of Light, come thou and swallow up the worms which are in Amentet. Let the Great God who dwelleth in Tetu, and who is himself unseen, hear his prayers, and let those who cause afflictions hold him in fear as he cometh forth with the sentence of their doom to the Divine Block. I the Osiris, the royal scribe, Nekhtu-Amen, come, bearing the decree of Neb-er-tcher, and I am the Horus who taketh possession of his throne for him. His father, the lord of all those who are in the Boat of his Father Horus, hath ascribed praise unto him. He cometh bearing tidings..... let him see the town of Anu. Their chief shall stand on the earth before him, the scribes shall magnify him at the doors of their assemblies, and thy shall swathe im with swathings in Anu. He hath led heaven captive, and he hath seized the earth in his grasp. Neither the heavens nor the earth can be taken away from him, for, behold, he is Ra, the firstborn of the gods. His mother shall nurse him, and shall give him her breast on the horizon.

RUBRIC: The words of this Chapter shall be said after [the deceased] is laid to rest in Amentet; by means of them the region Tenn-t shall be contented with her lord. And the Osiris, the royal scribe, Nekhtu-Amen, whose word is truth, shall come forth, and he shall embark in the Boat of Ra, and [his] body upon its bier shall be counted up, and he shall be established in the Tuat.

THE CHAPTER OF GIVING A MOUTH TO THE OSIRIS ANI, THE SCRIBE, AND TELLER OF THE OFFERINGS WHICH ARE MADE TO ALL THE GODS, WHOSE WORD IS TRUE, WHO SAITH:- I rise up out of the Egg in the Hidden Land. May my mouth be given unto me that I may speak therewith in the presence of the Great God, the Lord of the Tuat. Let not my hand and my arm be repulsed in the presence of the Chiefs (Tchatchau) of any god. I am Osiris, the Lord of Ra-stau. May I, the Osiris, the scribe Ani, whose word is true, have my portion with him who is on the top of the Steps (Osiris). According to the desire of my heart I have come forth from the Island of Nesersert, and I have extinguished the fire.

APPENDIX [The following passage is taken from the Saite Recension]

[THE CHAPTER OF GIVING A MOUTH TO THE OSIRIS, THE SCRIBE ANI, WHO SAITH]:- Homage to thee, O thou lord of brightness, Governor of the Temple, Prince of the night and of the thick darkness. I have come unto thee. I am shining, I am pure. My hands are about thee, thou hast thy lot with thy ancestors. Give thou unto me my mouth that I may speak with it. I guide my heart at its season of flame and of night.

RUBRIC: If this Chapter be known by the Osiris the scribe Ani, upon earth, [or if it be done] in writing upon [his] coffin, he shall come forth by day in every form which he pleaseth, and he shall enter into [his] abode, and shall not be repulsed. And cakes, and ale, and joints of meat [from those which are on] the altar of Osiris shall be given unto him; and he shall enter in peace into Sekhet-Aaru, conformably to the decree of the Dweller in Busiris. Wheat and barley (dhura) shall be given unto him therein, and he shall flourish there just as he did upon earth; and he shall do whatsoever it pleaseth him to do, even as do the Company of the Gods who are in the Tuat, regularly and continually, for millions of times.

(From the Paprys of Nebseni, Sheet 3)

THE CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH BY DAY AND OF OPENING UP A WAY THROUGH THE AMEHET: Behold, the scribe Nebseni, whose word is truth, saith:- Homage to you, O ye Lords of Kau, ye who are without sin, and who live for the endless and infinite aeons of time which make up eternity. I have opened up a way for myself to you. I have become a spirit in my forms, I have gotten the mastery over my words of magical power, and I am adjudged a spirit; therefore deliver ye me from the Crocodile [which liveth in] this Country of Truth. Grant ye to me my mouth that I may speak therewith, and cause ye that sepulchral offerings shall be made unto me in your presence, for I know you, and I know your names, and I know also the name of the mighty god before whose face ye set your celestial food. His name is "Tekem." [When] he openeth up his path on the eastern horizon of heaven, [when] he alighteth towards the western horizon of heaven, may he carry me along with him, and may I be safe and sound. Let not the Mesqet make an end of me, let not the Fiend (Sebau) gain the mastery over me, let me not be driven away from the doors of the Other World, let not you doors be shut in my face, for my cakes are in the city of Pe, and my ale is in the city of Tep. And there, in the celestial mansions of heaven which my divine father Tem hath stablished, let my hands lay hold upon the wheat and the barley, which shall be given unto me therein in abundant measure, and may the son of my own body make ready for me my food therein. And grant ye unto me when I am there sepulchral meals, and incense, and unguents, and all the pure and beautiful things whereon the god liveth, in every deed for ever, in all the transformations which it pleaseth me [to perform], and grant unto me the power to float down and to sail up the stream in the Field of Reeds (Sekhet-Aaru), [and may I reach Sekhet-hetepet (the Field of Offerings)]. I am the twin Lion-gods (Shu and Tefnut).

TEXTS RELATING TO THE WEIGHING OF THE HEART OF ANI

THE NAMES OF THE GODS OF THE GREAT COMPANY:- 1. Ra Harmakhis, the Great God in his boat. 2. Temu. 3. Shu. 4. Tefnut. 5. Keb. 6. Nut, the Lady of Heaven. 7. Isis. 8. Nephthys. 9. Horus, the Great God. 10. Hathor, Lady of Amentet. 11. Hu. 12. Sa.

THE PRAYER OF ANI:- My heart, my mother; my heart, my mother! My heart whereby I came into being! May nought stand up to oppose me at [my] judgement, may there be no opposition to me in the presence of the Chiefs (Tchatchau); may there be no parting of thee from me in the presence of him that keepeth the Balance! Thou art my KA, which dwelleth in my body; the god Khnemu who knitteth together and strengtheneth my limbs. Mayest thou come forth into the place of happiness whither we go. May the Sheniu officials, who make the conditions of the lives of men, not cause my name to stink, and may no lies be spoken against me in the presence of the God. [Let it be satisfactory unto us, and let the Listener god be favourable unto us, and let there be joy of heart (to us) at the weighing of words. Let not that which is false be uttered against me before the Great God, the Lord of Amentet. Verily, how great shalt thou be when thou risest in triumph.]

THE SPEECH OF THOTH:- Thoth, the judge of right and truth of the Great Company of the Gods who are in the presence of Osiris, saith: Hear ye this judgement. The heart of Osiris hath in very truth been weighed, and his Heart-soul hath borne testimony on his behalf; his heart hath been found right by the trial in the Great Balance. There hath not been found any wickedness in him; he hath not wasted the offerings which have been made in the temples; he hath not committed any evil act; and he hath not set his mouth in motion with words of evil whilst he was upon earth.

SPEECH OF THE DWELLER IN THE EMBALMMENT CHAMBER (ANUBIS):- Pay good heed, O righteous Judge to the Balance to support [the testimony] thereof. Variant: Pay good heed to the weighing in the Balance of the heart of the Osiris, the singing-woman of Amen, Anhai, whose word is truth, and place thou her heart in the seat of truth in the presence of the Great God.

THE SPEECH OF THE GODS:- The Great Company of the Gods say to Thoth who dwelleth in Khemenu: That which cometh forth from thy mouth shall be declared true. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is true, is holy and righteous. He hath not committed any sin, and he hath done no evil against us. The devourer Am-mit shall not be permitted to prevail over him. Meat offerings and admittance into the presence of the god Osiris shall be granted unto him, together with an abiding habitation in the Field of Offerings (Sekhet-hetepet), as unto the Followers of Horus.

THE SPEECH OF HORUS TO OSIRIS IN INTRODUCING ANI TO HIM:- Horus, the son of Isis, saith: I have come to thee, O Un-Nefer, and I have brought unto thee the Osiris Ani. His heart is righteous, and it hath come forth from the Balance; it hath not sinned against any god or any goddess. Thoth hath weighed it according to the decree pronounced unto him by the Company of the Gods, and it is most true and righteous. Grant thou that cakes and ale may be given unto him, and let him appear in the presence of the god Osiris, and let him be like unto the Followers of Horus for ever and ever.

THE SPEECH OF ANI:- And the Osiris Ani saith: Behold, I am in thy presence, O Lord of Amentet. There is no sin in my body. I have not spoken that which is not true knowingly, nor have I done anything with a false heart. Grant thou that I may be like unto those favoured ones who are in thy following, and that I may be an Osiris greatly favoured of the beautiful god, and beloved of the Lord of the Two Lands, I who am a veritable royal scribe who loveth thee, Ani, whose word is true before the god Osiris.

DESCRIPTION OF THE BEAST AM-MIT:- Her forepart is like that of a crocodile, the middle of her body is like that of a lion, her hind quarters are like those of a hippopotamus.

HERE BEGIN THE PRAISES AND GLORIFYINGS OF COMING OUT FROM AND OF GOING INTO THE GLORIOUS KHERT-NETER, WHICH IS IN THE BEAUTIFUL AMENTET, OF COMING FORTH BY DAY IN ALL THE FORMS OF EXISTENCE WHICH IT MAY PLEASE THE DECEASED TO TAKE, OF PLAYING AT DRAUGHTS, OF SITTING IN THE SEH HALL, AND OF APPEARING AS A LIVING SOUL: The Osiris the scribe Ani saith after he hath arrived in his haven of rest- now it is good for [a man] to recite [this work whilst he is] upon earth, for then all the words of Tem come to pass-

"I am the god Tem in rising. I am the Only One. I came into existence in Nu. I am Ra who rose in the beginning, the ruler of this [creation]."

Who is this?

"It is Ra, when at the beginning he rose in the city of Hensu, crowned like a king for his coronation. The Pillars of the god

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Shu were not as yet created, when he was upon the steps of him that dwelleth in Khemenu. "I am the Great God who created himself, even Nu, who made his names to become the Company of the Gods as gods."

Who is this?
"It is Ra, the creator of the names of his limbs, which came into being in the form of the gods who are in the train of Ra. "I am he who cannot be repulsed among the gods."

Who is this?
"It is Temu, the dweller in his disk, but others say that it is Ra when he riseth in the eastern horizon of the sky. "I am Yesterday, I know To-day."

Who is this?
"Yesterday is Osiris, and To-day is Ra, when he shall destroy the enemies of Neb-er-tcher (the lord to the uttermost limit), and when he shall establish as prince and ruler his son Horus. "Others, however, say that To-day is Ra, on the day when we commemorate the festival of the meeting of the dead Osiris with his father Ra, and when the battle of the gods was fought, in which Osiris, the Lord of Amentet, was the leader."

What is this?
"It is Amentet, [that is to say] the creation ofthe souls of the gods when Osiris was leader in Set-Amentet. "Others, however, say that it is the Amentet which Ra hath given unto me; when any god cometh he must rise up and fight for it. "I know the god who dwelleth therein."

Who is this?
"It is Osiris. Others, however, say that his name is Ra, and that the god who dwelleth in Amentet is the phallus of Ra, wherewith he had union with himself. "I am the Benu bird which is in Anu. I am the keeper of the volume of the book (the Tablet of Destiny) of the things which have been made, and of the things which shall be made."

Who is this?
"It is Osiris. "Others, however, say that it is the dead body of Osiris, and yet others say that it is the excrement of Osiris. The things which have been made, and the things which shall be made [refer to] the dead body of Osiris. Others again say that the things which have been made are Eternity, and the things which shall be made are Everlastingness, and that Eternity is the Day, and Everlastingness the Night. "I am the god Menu in his coming forth; may his two plumes be set on my head for me."

Who is this?
"Menu is Horis, the Advocate of his father [Osiris], and his coming forth means his birth. The two plumes on his head are Isis and Nephthys, when these goddesses go forth and set themselves thereon, and when they act as his protectors, and when they provide that which his head lacketh. "Others, however, say that the two plumes are the two exceedingly large uraei which are upon the head of their father Tem, and there are yet others who say that the two plumes which are upon the head of Menu are his two eyes. "The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is true, the registrar of all the offerings which are made to the gods, riseth up and cometh into his city."

What is this [city]?
"It is the horizon of his father Tem. "I have made an end of my shortcomings, and I have put away my faults."

What is this?
"It is the cutting of the navel string of the body of the Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is true before all the gods, and all his faults are driven out.

What is this ?
"It is the purification [of Osiris] on the day of his birth. "I am purified in my great double nest which is in Hensu on the day of the offerings of the followers of the Great God who dwelleth therein."

What is the "great double nest"?

"The name of one nest is 'Millions of years,' and 'Great Green [Sea]' is the name of the other, that is to say 'Lake of Natron' and 'Lake of Salt.' "Others, however, say the name of the one is 'Guide of Millions of Years,' and that 'Great Green Lake' is name of the other. Yet others say that 'Begetter of Millions of Years' is the name of one, and 'Great Green Lake' is the name of the other. Now, as concerning the Great God who dwelleth therein, it is Ra himself. "I pass over the way, I know the head of the Island of Maati."

What is this?
"It is Ra-stau, that is to say, it is the gate to the South of Nerutef, and it is the Northern Gate of the Domain (Tomb of the god). "Now, as concerning the Island of Maati, it is Abtu. "Others, however, say that it is the way by which Father Tem travelleth when he goeth forth to Sekhet-Aaru, [the place] which produceth the food and sustenance of the gods who are [in] their shrines. "Now the Gate Tchesert is the Gate of the Pillars of Shu, that is to say, the Northern Gate of the Tuat. "Others, however, say that the Gate of Tchesert is the two leaves of the door through which the god Tem passeth when he goeth forth to the eastern horizon of the sky. "O ye gods who are in the presence [of Osiris], grant to me your arms, for I am the god who shall come into being among you."

Who are these gods?
"They are the drops of blood which came forth from the phallus of Ra when he went forth to perform his own mutilitation. These drops of blood sprang into being under the forms of the gods Hu and Sa, who are in the bodyguard of Ra, and who accompany the god Tem daily and every day. "I, Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, have filled for thee the utchat (the Eye of Ra, or of Horus), when it had suffered extinction on the day of the combat of the Two Fighters (Horus and Set)."

What was this combat?
It was the combat which took place on the day when Horus fought with Set, during which Set threw filth in the face of Horus, and Horus crushed the genitals of Set. The filling of the utchat Thoth performed with his own fingers. "I remove the thunder-cloud from the sky when there is a storm with thunder and lightning therein."

What is this?
"This storm was the raging of Ra at the thunder-cloud which [Set] sent forth against the Right Eye of Ra (the Sun). Thoth removed the thunder- cloud from the Eye of Ra, and brought back the Eye living, healthy, sound, and with no defect in it to its owner. "Others, however, say that the thunder-cloud is caused by sickness in the Eye of Ra, which weepeth for its companion Eye (the Moon); at this time Thoth cleanseth the Right Eye of Ra. "I behold Ra who was born yesterday from the thighs of the goddess Mehurt; his strength is my strength, and my strength is his strength."

Who is this?
"Mehurt is the great Celestial Water, but others say that Mehurt is the image of the Eye of Ra at dawn at his birth daily. "[Others, however, say that] Mehurt is the utchat of Ra. "Now Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, is a very great one among the gods who are in the following of Horus; they say that he is the prince who loveth his lord."

Who are the gods who are in the train of Horus?
"[They are] Kesta, Hapi, Taumutef, and Qebhsenuf. "Homage to you, O ye lords of right and truth, ye sovereign princes (Tchatcha) who [stand] round about Osiris, who do away utterly sins and offences, and who are in the following of the goddess Hetepsekhus, grant ye that I may come unto you. Destroy ye all the faults which are within me, even as ye did for the Seven Spirits who are among the followers of their lord Sepa. Anpu (Anubis) appointed to them their places on the day [when he said unto them], "Come ye hither."

Who are the "lords of right and truth"?
"The lords of right and truth are Thoth and Astes, the Lord of Amentet. "The Tchatcha round about Osiris are Kesta, Hapi, Tuamutef, and Qebhsenuf, and they are also round about the Constellation of the Thigh (the Great Bear), in the northern sky. "Those who do away utterly sins and offences, and who are in the following of the goddess Hetepsekhus, are the god Sebek and his associates who dwell in the water. "The goddess Hetepsekhus is the Eye of Ra. "Others, however, say that it is the flame which accompanieth Osiris to burn up the souls of his enemies. "As concerning all the faults which are in Osiris, the registrar of the offerings which are made unto all the gods, Ani, whose word is truth, [these are all the offences which he hath committed against the Lords of Eternity] since he came forth from his mother's womb. "As concerning the Seven Spirits who are Kesta, Hapi, Tuamutef, Qebhsenuf, Maa-atef, Kheribeqef and Heru-khenti-en-ariti, these did Anubis appoint to be protectors of the dead body of Osiris. "Others, however, say that he set them round about the holy place of Osiris. "Others say that the Seven Spirits [which were appointed by Anubis] were Netcheh-netcheh, Aatqetqet, Nertanef-besef-khenti-hehf, Aq-her-ami- unnut-f, Tesher-ariti-ami-Het-anes, Ubes-her-per-em-khetkhet, and Maaem-kerh-annef-em-hru. "The chief of the Tchatcha (sovereign princes) who is in Naarutef is Horus, the Advocate of his father. "As concerning the day wherein [Anubis said to the Seven Spirits], 'Come ye hither,' [the allusion here] is to the words 'Come ye hither,' which Ra spake unto Osiris."
Verily may these same words be said unto me in Amentet.
"I am the Divine Soul which dwelleth in the Divine Twin-gods."

Who is this Divine Soul?
"It is Osiris. [When] he goeth into Tetu, and findeth there the Soul of Ra, the one god embraceth the other, and two Divine Souls spring into being within the Divine Twin-gods."

APPENDIX
(From the Papyrus of Nebseni, Brit. Mus. No. 9900, Sheet 14, ll. 16ff.)
"As concerning the Divine Twin-gods they are Heru-netch-her-tefef and Heru-khent-en-Ariti (Horus the Advocate of his father [Osiris], and Horus the sightless). "Others say that the double Divine Soul which dwelleth in the Divine Twin-gods is the Soul of Ra and the Soul of Osiris, and yet others say that it is the Soul which dwelleth in Shu, and the Sould which dwelleth in Tefnut, and that these two Souls form the double Divine Soul which dwelleth in Tetu. "I am the Cat which fought near the Persea Tree in Anu on the night when the foes of Neb-er-tcher were destroyed."

Who is this Cat?
"This male Cat is Ra himself, and he was called 'Mau' because of the speech of the god Sa, who said concerning him: 'He is like (mau) unto that which he hath made'; therefore, did the name of Ra become 'Mau.'
"Others, however, say that the male Cat is the god Shu, who made over the possessions of Keb to Osiris. "As concerning the fight which took place near the Persea Tree in Anu [these words have reference to the slaughter] of the children of rebellion, when righteous retribution was meted out to them for [the evil] which they had done. "As concerning the 'night of the battle,' [these words refer to] the invasion of the eastern portion of the heaven by the children of rebellion, whereupon a great battle arose in heaven and in all the earth. "O thou who art in thine egg (Ra,) who showest from thy Disk, who risest on thy horizon, and dost shine with golden beams in the height of heaven, like unto whom there is none among the gods, who sailest above the Pillars of Shu, who sendest forth blasts of fire from thy mouth, [who illuminest the Two Lands with thy splendour, deliver] thou Nebseni, the lord of fealty [to Osiris], from the god whose form is hidden, and whose eyebrows are like unto the two arms of the Balance on the night when the sentences of doom are promulgated."

Who is this invisible god?
"It is An-a-f (he who bringeth his arm.). "As concerning 'the night when the sentences of doom are promulgated,' it is the night of the burning of the damned, and of the overthrow of the wicked at the Block, and of the slaughter of souls."

Who is this [slaughterer of souls]?

"It is Shesmu, the headsman of Osiris. "[Concerning the invisible god] some say that he is Aapep when he riseth up with a head bearing upon it [the feather of] Maat (Truth). But others say that he is Horus when he riseth up with two heads, whereon one beareth [the feather of] Maat, and the other [the symbol of] wickedness. He bestoweth wickedness on him that worketh wickedness, and right and truth upon him that followeth righteousness and truth. "Others say that he is Heru-ur (the Old Horus), who dwelleth in Sekhem; others say that he is Thoth; others say that he is Nefer-Tem; and others say that he is Sept who doth bring to nought the acts of the foes of Nebertcher. "Deliver thou the scribe Nebseni, whose word is truth, from the Watchers, who carry murderous knives, who possess cruel fingers, and who would slay those who are in the following of Osiris." May these Watchers never gain the mastery over me, and may I never fall under their knives!

Who are these Watchers?

"They are Anubis and Horus, [the latter being] in the form of Horus the sightless. Others, however, say that they are the Tchatcha (sovereign princes of Osiris), who bring to nought the operations of their knives; and others say that they are the chiefs of the Sheniu chamber. "May their knives never gain the mastery over me. May I never fall under the knives wherewith they inflict cruel tortures. For I know their names, and I know the being, Matchet, who is among them in the House of Osiris. He shooteth forth rays of light from his eye, being himself invisible, and he goeth round about heaven robed in the flames which come from his mouth, commanding Hapi, but remaining invisible himself. May I be strong on earth before Ra, may I arrive safely in the presence of Osiris. O ye who preside over your altars, let not your offerings to me be wanting, for I am one of those who follow after Nebertcher, according to the writings of Khepera. Let me fly like a hawk, let me cackle like a goose, let me lay always like the serpent-goddess Neheb- ka."

Who are those who preside over their altars?
"Those who preside over their altars are the similitude of the Eye of Ra, and the similitude of the Eye of Horus. "O Ra-Tem, thou Lord of the Great House [in Anu], thou Sovereign

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(life, strentgh, health [be to thee]) of all the gods, deliver thou the scribe Nebseni, whose word is truth, from the god whose face is like unto that of a greyhound, whose brows are like those of a man, who feedeth upon the dead, who watcheth at the Bend of the Lake of Fire, who devoureth the bodies of the dead, and swalloweth hearts, and who voideth filth, but who himself remaineth unseen."

Who is this greyhound-faced god?

"His name is 'Everlasting Devourer,' and he liveth in the Domain [of Fire] (the Lake of Unt). "As concerning the Domain of Fire, it is that Aat which is in Naarutef, and is near the Sheniu chamber. The sinner who walketh over this place falleth down among the knives [of the Watchers]. "Others, however, say that the name of this god is 'Mates,' and that he keepeth watch over the door of Amentet; others say that his name is 'Beba,' and that he keepeth watch over the Bend [of the stream] of Amentet, and yet others say that his name is 'Herisepef.' "Hail, Lord of Terror, Chief of the Lands of the South and North, thou Lord of the Desert, who dost keep prepared the block of slaughter, and who dost feed on the intestines [of men]!"

Who is this Lord of Terror?

"It is the Keeper of the Bend [of the stream] of Amentet."

Who is this Keeper?

"It is the Heart of Osiris, which is the devourer of all slaughtered things. "The Urrt Crown hath been given unto him, with gladness of heart, as Lord of Hensu."

Who is this?

"He to whom the Urrt Crown hath been given with gladness of heart as Lord of Hensu is Osiris. He was bidden to rule among the gods on the day of the union of earth [with earth] in the presence of Nebertcher."

Who is this?

"He who was bidden to rule among the gods is the son of Isis (Horus), who was appointed to rule in the room of his father Osiris. "As concerning [the words] 'day of the union of earth with earth,' they have reference to the union of earth with earth in the coffin of Osiris, the Soul that liveth in Hensu, the giver of meat and drink, the destroyer of wrong, and the guide to the everlasting paths."

Who is this?

"It is Ra himself."

"[Deliver thou the Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth] from the great god who carrrieth away souls, who eateth hearts, who feedeth upon offal, who keepeth watch in the darkness, who dwelleth in the Seker Boat; those who live in sin fear him."

Who is this?

"It is Suti, but others say that it is Smamur, the soul of Keb. "Hail, Khepera in thy boat, the two Companies of the Gods are in thy body. Deliver thou the Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, from the Watchers who pass sentences of doom, who have been appointed by the god Nebertcher to protect him, and to fasten the fetters on his foes, and who slaughter in the torture chambers; there is no escape from their fingers. May they never stab me with their knives, may I never fall helpless into their chambers of torture. I have never done the things which the gods hate. I am he who is pure in the Mesqet chamber. And saffron cakes have been brought unto him in Tannt."

Who is this?

"It is Khepera in his boat; it is Ra himself. "As concerning the Watchers who pass sentences of doom, they are the Apes Isis and Nephthys. "As concerning the things which the gods hate, they are acts of deceit and lying. He who passeth through the place of purification within the Mesqet chamber is Anpu (Anubis), who is hard by the coffer which containeth the inward parts of Osiris. He to whom saffron cakes have been brought in Tannt is Osiris. "Others, however, say that the saffron cakes in Tannt represent heaven and earth, and others say that they represent Shu, the strengthener of the Two Lands in Hensu; and others say that they represent the Eye of Horus, and that Tannt is the burial-place of Osiris. "Tem hath builded thy house, and the double Lion-god hath laid the foundations of thy habitation. Lo! medicaments have been brought. Horus purifieth Set and Set strengtheneth, and Set purifieth and Horus strengtheneth. "The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth before Osiris, hath come into this land, and he hath taken possession thereof with his two feet. He is Tem, and he is in the city. "Turn thou back, O Rehu, whose mouth shineth, whose head moveth, turn thou back before his strength." Another reading is, 'Turn thou back from him who keepeth watch, and is himself unseen.' Let the Osiris Ani be safely guarded. He is Isis, and he is found with her hair spread over him; it is shaken out over his brow. He was conceived by Isis, and engendered by Nephthys, and they have cut away from him the things which should be cut from him. "Fear followeth after thee, terror is about thine arms. Thou hast been embraced for millions of years by arms; mortals go round about thee. Thou smitest down the mediators of thy foes, and thou seizest the arms of the power of darkness. Thy two sisters (Isis and Nephthys) are given to thee for thy delight. Thou hast created that which is in Kher-aha, and that which is Anu. Every god feareth thee, for thou art exceedingly great and terrible; thou [avengest] every god on the man who curseth him, and thou shootest arrows at him. Thou livest according to thy will. Thou art Uatchet, the Lady of Flame, evil befalleth those who set themselves up against thee."

What is this?

"'Hidden in form, given of Menhu,' is the name of the "tomb. 'He who seeth what is on his hand' is the name of Qerau, or, as others say, it is the name of the Block. "Now, he whose mouth shineth and whose head moveth is the phallus of Osiris, but others say it is [the phallus] of Ra. 'Thou spreadest thy hair, and I shake it out over his brow" is said concerning Isis, who hideth in her hair, and draweth it round about her. "Uatchet, the Lady of Flames, is the Eye of Ra."

THE SEVEN ARITS

The First Arit.

The name of the Doorkeeper is Sekhet-her-asht-aru. The name of the Watcher is Smetti. The name of the Herald is Hakheru. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, shall say when he cometh unto the First Arit: "I am the mighty one who createth his own light. I have come unto thee, O Osiris, and, purified from that which defileth thee, I adore thee. Lead on. Name not the name of Ra-stau to me. Homage to thee, O Osiris, in thy might and in thy strength in Ra-stau. Rise up and conquer, O Osiris, in Abtu. Thou goest round about heaven, thou sailest in the presence of Ra, thou lookest upon all the beings who have knowledge. Hail, Ra, thou who goest round about in the sky, I say, O Osiris in truth, that I am the Sahu (Spirit-body) of the god, and I beseech thee not to let me be driven away, nor to be cast upon the wall of blazing fire. Let the way be opened in Ra-stau, let the pain of the Osiris be relieved, embrace that which the Balance hath weighed, let a path be made for the Osiris in the Great Valley, and let the Osiris have light to guide him on his way."

The Second Arit.

The name of the Doorkeeper is Unhat. The name of the Watcher is Seqt- her. The name of the Herald is Ust. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, shall say [when he cometh to this Arit]: "He sitteth to carry out his heart's desire, and he weigheth words as the Second of Thoth. The strength which protecteth Thoth humbleth the hidden Maati gods, who feed upon Maat during the years of their lives. I offer up my offerings [to him] at the moment when he maketh his way. I advance, and I enter on the path. O grant thou that I may continue to advance, and that I may attain to the sight of Ra, and of those who offer up [their] offerings."

The Third Arit.

The name of the Doorkeeper is Unem-hauatu-ent-pehui. The name of the Watcher is Seres-her. The name of the Herald is Aa. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, shall say [when he cometh to this Arit]: "I am he who is hidden in the great deep. I am the Judge of the Rehui, I have come and I have done away the offensive thing which was upon Osiris. I tie firmly the place on which he standeth, coming forth from the Urt. I have stablished things in Abtu, I have opened up a way through Ra-stau, and I have relieved the pain which was in Osiris. I have balanced the place whereon he standeth, and I have made a path for him; he shineth brilliantly in Ra-stau."

The Fourth Arit.

The name of the Doorkeeper is Khesef-her-asht-kheru. The name of the Watcher is Seres-tepu. The name of the Herald is Khesef-at. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, shall say [when he cometh to this Arit]: "I am the Bull, the son of the ancestress of Osiris. O grant ye that his father, the Lord of his god-like companions, may bear witness on his behalf. I have weighed the guilty in judgement. I have brought unto his nostrils the life which is ever lasting. I am the son of Osiris, I have accomplished the journey, I have advanced in Khert-Neter."

The Fifth Arit.

The name of the Doorkeeper is Ankhf-em-fent. The name of the Watcher is Shabu. The name of the Herald is Teb-her-kha-kheft. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, shall say [when he cometh to this Arit]: "I have brought unto thee the jawbone in Ra-stau. I have brought unto thee thy backbone in Anu. I have gathered together his manifold members therein. I have driven back Aapep for thee. I have spit upon the wounds [in his body]. I have made myself a path among you. I am the Aged One among the gods. I have made offerings to Osiris. I have defended him with the word of truth. I have gathered together his bones, and have collected all his members."

The Sixth Arit.

The name of the Doorkeeper is Atek-tau-kehaq-kheru. The name of the Watcher is An-her. The name of the Herald is Ates-her-[ari]-she. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, shall say [when he cometh to this Arit]: "I have come daily, I have come daily. I have made myself a way. I have advanced over that which was created by Anpu (Anubis). I am the Lord of the Urrt Crown. I am the possessor [of the knowledge of] the words of magical power, I am the Avenger according to law, I have avenged [the injury to] his Eye. I have defended Osiris. I have accomplished my journey. The Osiris Ani advanceth with you with the word which is truth."

The Seventh Arit:

The name of the Doorkeeper is Sekhmet-em-tsu-sen. The name of the Watcher is Aa-maa-kheru. The name of the Herald is Khesef-khemi. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, shall say [when he cometh to this Arit]: "I have come unto thee, O Osiris, being purified from foul emissions. Thou goest round about heaven, thou seest Ra, thou seest the beings who have knowledge. [Hail], thou, ONE! Behold, thou art in the Sektet Boat which traverseth the heavens. I speak what I will to his Sahu (Spirit-body). He is strong, and cometh into being even [as] he spake. Thou meetest him face to face. Prepare thou for me all the ways which are good [and which lead] to thee."

RUBRIC: If [these] words be recited by the spirit when he shall come to the Seven Arits, and as he entereth the doors, he shall neither be turned back nor repulsed before Osiris, and he shall be made to have his being among the blessed spirits, and to have dominion among the ancestral followers of Osiris. If these things be done for any spirit he shall have his being in that place like a lord of eternity in one body with Osiris, and at no place shall any being contend against him.

THE PYLONS OF THE HOUSE OF OSIRIS

The following shall be said when one cometh to the FIRST PYLON. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith: "Lady of tremblings, high-walled, the sovereign lady, the lady of destruction, who uttereth the words which drive back the destroyers, who delivereth from destruction him that cometh." The name of her Doorkeeper is Neruit.

The following shall be said when one cometh to the SECOND PYLON. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith: "Lady of heaven, Mistress of the Two Lands, devourer by fire, Lady of mortals, who art infinitely greater than any human being." The name of her Doorkeeper is Mes-Ptah.

The following shall be said when one cometh to the THIRD PYLON. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith: "Lady of the Altar, the mighty lady to whom offerings are made, greatly beloved one of every god sailing up the river to Abydos." The name of her Doorkeeper is Sebqa.

The following shall be said when one cometh to the FOURTH PYLON. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith: "Prevailer with knives, Mistress of the Two Lands, destroyer of the enemies of the Still-Heart (Osiris), who decreeth the release of those who suffer through evil hap." The name of her Doorkeeper is Nekau.

The following shall be said when one cometh to the FIFTH PYLON. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith: "Flame, Lady of fire, absorbing the entreaties which are made to her, who permitteth not to approach her the rebel." The name of her Doorkeeper is Henti-Reqiu.

The following shall be said when one cometh to the SIXTH PYLON. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith: "Lady of light, who roareth mightily, whose breadth cannot be comprehended. Her like hath not been found since the beginning. There are serpents over which are unknown. They were brought forth before the Still-Heart." The name of her Doorkeeper is Semati.

The following shall be said when one cometh to the SEVENTH PYLON. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith: "Garment which envelopeth the helpless one, which weepeth for and loveth that which it covereth." The name of her Doorkeeper is Saktif.

The following shall be said when one cometh to the EIGHTH PYLON. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith: "Blazing fire, unquenchable, with far-reaching tongues of flame, irresistible slaughterer, which one may not pass through fear of its deadly attack." The name of her Doorkeeper is Khutchetef.

The following shall be said when one cometh to the NINTH PYLON. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith: "Chieftainess, lady of strength, who giveth quiet of heart to the offspring of her lord. Her girth is three hundred and fifty khet, and she is clothed with green feldspar of the South. She bindeth up the divine form and clotheth the helpless one. Devourer, lady of all men." The name of her Doorkeeper is Arisutchesef.

The following shall be said when one cometh to the TENTH PYLON. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith: "Goddess of the loud voice, who maketh her suppliants to

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mourn, the awful one who terrifieth, who herself remaineth unterrified within." The name of her Doorkeeper is Sekhenur.

Nu, the steward of the keeper of the seal, saith when he cometh to the ELEVENTH PYLON of Osiris: "I have made my way, I know you, and I know thy name, and I know the name of her who is within thee: She who slayeth always, consumer of the fiends by fire, mistress of every pylon, the lady who is acclaimed on the day of darkness" is thy name. She inspecteth the swathing of the helpless one.

The Osiris Nu, the steward of the keeper of the seal, saith when he cometh to the TWELFTH PYLON of Osiris: "I have made my way, I know you, and I know thy name, and I know the name of her who is within thee: Invoker of thy Two Lands, destroyer of those who come to thee by fire, lady of spirits, obeyer of the word of thy Lord" is thy name. She inspecteth the swathing of the helpless one.

The Osiris Nu, the steward of the keeper of the seal, saith when he cometh to the THIRTEENTH PYLON of Osiris: "I have made my way, I know you and I know thy name, and I know the name of her who is within thee: Osiris foldeth his arms about her, and maketh Hapi (the Nile-god), to emit splendour out of his hidden places" is thy name. She inspecteth the swathing of the helpless one.

The Osiris Nu, the steward of the keeper of the seal, saith when he cometh to the FOURTEENTH PYLON of Osiris: "I have made my way, I know thee, and I know thy name, and I know the name of her who is within thee. Lady of might, who trampleth on the Red Demons, who keepeth the festival of Haaker on the day of the hearing of faults" is thy name. She inspecteth the swathing of the helpless one.

THE FIFTEENTH PYLON. The Osiris Heru-em-khebit, whose word is truth, shall say when he cometh to this pylon: "Fiend, red of hair and eyes, who appeareth by night, and doth fetter the fiend in his lair. Let her hands be given to the Still-Heart in his hour, let her advance and go forward" is thy name. She inspecteth the swathing of the helpless one.

THE SIXTEENTH PYLON. The Osiris Heru-em-khebit, whose word is truth, shall say when he cometh to this pylon: "Terrible one, lady of the rain- storm, destroyer of the souls of men, devourer of the bodies of men, orderer, producer, and maker of slaughter" is thy name. She inspecteth the swathing of the helpless one.

THE SEVENTEENTH PYLON. The Osiris Heru-em-khebit, whose word is truth, shall say when he cometh to this pylon: "Hewer-in-pieces in blood, Ahibit, lady of hair" is thy name. She inspecteth the swathing of the helpless one.

THE EIGHTEENTH PYLON. The Osiris Heru-em-khebit, whose word is truth, shall say when he cometh to this pylon: "Fire-lover, pure one, lover of slaughterings, cutter off of heads, devoted one, lady of the Great House, slaughterer of fiends at eventide" is thy name. She inspecteth the swathing of the helpless one.

THE NINETEENTH PYLON. The Osiris Heru-em-khebit, whose word is truth, shall say when he cometh to this pylon: "Light-giver for life, blazing all the day, lady of strength [and of] the writings of the god Thoth himself" is thy name. She inspecteth the swathings of the White House.

THE TWENTIETH PYLON. The Osiris Heru-em-khebit, whose word is truth, shall say when he cometh to this pylon: "Dweller in the cavern of her lord, her name is Clother, hider of her creations, conqueror of hearts, swallower [of them]" is thy name. She inspecteth the swathings of the White House.

THE TWENTY-FIRST PYLON. The Osiris Heru-em-khebit, whose word is truth, shall say when he cometh to this pylon: "Knife which cutteth when [its name] is uttered, slayer of those who approach thy flame" is thy name. She possesseth hidden plans.

APPENDIX (From the Turin Papryus, ed. Lepsius, Bl. 64, the text referring to the twenty-first Pylon.)

THE OSIRIS AUFANKH, WHOSE WORD IS TRUTH, SAITH: Hail, saith Horus, O Twenty-first pylon of the Still-Heart! I have made the way. I know thee. I know thy name. I know the name of the goddess who guardeth thee. "Sword that smiteth at the utterance of its own name, stinking face, overthrower of him that approacheth her flame" is thy name. Thou keepest the hidden things of the avenger of the god, thou guardest them. Amam is his name. He maketh the ash trees (cedars) not to grow, and the shenu trees (acacias) not to blossom, and preventeth copper from being found in the mountain. The Tchatcha (Chiefs) of this Pylon are Seven Gods. Tchen, or Anthch (At), is the name of the one at the door. Hetepmes is the name of another there. Messep is the name of another there. Utchara is the name of another there. Beq is the name of another there. Anp (Anubis) is the name of another there.

I have made the way. I am Menu-Heru, the avenger of his father, the heir of his father Un-Nefer. I have come. I have given [offerings] to my father Osiris. I have overthrown all his enemies. I have come daily with the word of truth, the lord of fealty, in the house of my father Tem, the Lord of Anu, I, the Osiris Auf-ankh, whose word is truth in the southern heaven. I have done what is right for him that made the right, I have celebrated the Haker festival to the lord thereof. I have acted as the leader of the festivals. I have given cakes to the Lords of the Altar. I have been the leader of the propitiatory offerings, cakes, ale, oxen, geese, to my father Osiris Un-Nefer. I am the protector of the Ba- soul, I have made the Benu bird to appear [by my] words. I have come daily into the house of the god to make offerings of incense. I have come with the shenti tunic. I have set the Neshem Boat afloat on the water. I have made the word of Osiris Khenti Amenti to be truth before his enemies. I have carried away in a boat all his enemies to the slaughter-house of the East, and they shall never escape from the wardship of the god Keb who dwelleth therein. I have made the Kefaiu gods of Ra to stand up, I have made his word to be truth. I have come as a scribe. I have explained [the writings]. I have made the god to have power over his legs. I have come into the house of him that is upon his mountain (Anubis). I have seen the Chief of the Seh hall. I have entered into Ra-stau. I have made myself invisible. I have found for myself the boundary. I have approached Nerutef. I have clothed the naked. I have sailed up the river to Abydos. I have performed the ceremonies of Hu and Sa. I have entered the house of Astes. I have made supplication to the Khati gods and to Sekhmet in the temple of Net (Neith), or the Aged Ones. I have entered Ra-stau. I have made myself invisible. I have found the frontier. I have approached Nerutef. I have clothed the naked. I have sailed up the river to Abydos. I have performed the ceremonies of Hu and Sa. I have received. I have risen like a king crowned. I fill my seat on the throne in the place of my father, the God Who was at the beginning. I have praised the Meskhen of Ta-tchesert. My mouth is full of Maat (Truth). I have overwhelmed the Akhekhau serpents. I have come into the Great House with [my] body in a flourishing condition. I have caused myself to travel in the Boat of Hai. The myrrh unguent of..... is in the hair of men (Rekhit). I have entered into the House of Astes. I have approached with worship the two Khati gods and Sekhmet, who are in the temple of the Aged One [in Anu].

[And the god Osiris saith:] "Thou hast come, thou shalt be a favoured one in Tetu, O Osiris Auf-ankh, whose word is truth, the son of the lady Shert-en-Menu, whose word is truth."

THE PRIESTS ANMUTEF AND SAMEREF

THE SPEECH OF THE PRIEST ANMUTEF.

I have come unto you, O ye great Tchatcha Chiefs who dwell in heaven, and upon earth, and in Khert-Neter, and I have brought unto you the Osiris Ani. He hath not committed any act which is an abomination before all the gods. Grant ye that he may live with you every day.

The Osiris the scribe Ani adoreth Osiris, Lord of Rasta, and the Great Company of the Gods who live in Khert-Neter. He saith: "Homage to thee, Khenti Amenti, Un-Nefer, who dwellest in Abtu. I come to thee. My heart holdeth Truth. There is no sin in my body. I have not told a lie wittingly, I have not acted in a double manner. Grant thou to me cakes, let me appear in the presence, at the altar of the Lords of Truth, let me go in and come forth from Khert-Neter [at will], let not my Heart- soul be driven away [from me]; and grant me a sight of the Disk and the beholding of the Moon for ever and ever.

THE SPEECH OF THE PRIEST SAMEREF.

I have come unto you, O ye Tchatcha Chiefs who dwell in Rasta, and I have brought unto you the Osiris Ani, grant ye unto him cakes, and water, and air, and a homestead in Sekhet-hetep as to the followers of Horus.

The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, adoreth Osiris, the Lord of everlastingness, and the Tchatcha Chiefs, the Lords of Rasta. He saith: "Homage to thee, O King of Khert-Neter, thou Governor of Akert! I have come unto thee. I know thy plans, I am equipped with the forms which thou takest in the Tuat. Give thou to me a place in Khert-Neter, near the Lords of Truth. May my homestead be lasting in Sekhet-hetep, may I receive cakes in thy presence."

THE JUDGES IN ANU

Hail, Thoth, who madest to be true the word of Osiris against his enemies, make thou the word of the scribe Nebseni to be true against his enemies, even as thou didst make the word of Osiris to be true against his enemies, in the presence of the Tchatcha Chiefs who are with Ra and Osiris in Anu, on the night of the "things of the night," and the night of battle, and of the fettering of the Sebau fiends, and the day of the destruction of the enemies of Neb-er-tcher.

Now the great Tchatcha Chiefs in Anu are Tem, Shu, Tefnut, [Osiris and Thoth]. Now the "fettering of the Sebau fiends" signifieth the destruction of the Smaiu fiends of Set, when he wrought iniquity a second time.

Hail, Thoth, who didst make the word of Osiris to be true against his enemies, make thou the word of the Osiris Ani to be true against his enemies, with the great Tchatcha Chiefs who are in Tetu, on the night of setting up the Tet in Tetu.

Now the great Tchatcha Chiefs who are in Tetu are Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, and Horus the avenger of his father. Now the "setting up of the Tet in Tetu" signifieth [the raising up of] the shoulder of Horus, the Governor of Sekhem. They are round about Osiris in the band [and] the bandages.

Hail, Thoth, who didst make the word of Osiris to be true against his enemies, make thou the word of the Osiris Ani to be true against his enemies, with the great Tchatcha Chiefs who are in Sekhem, on the night of the "things of the night" in Sekhem.

Now the great Tchatcha Chiefs who are in Sekhem are Heru-khenti-en- ariti and Thoth who is with the Tchatcha Chiefs of Nerutef. Now the night of the "things of the night festival" signifieth the dawn on the sarcophagus of Osiris.

Hail, Thoth, who didst make the word of Osiris to be true against his enemies, make thou the word of the Osiris the scribe Ani to be true against his enemies, with the great Tchatcha Chiefs who are in the double town Pe-Tep, on the night of setting up the "Senti" of Horus, and of establishing him in the inheritance of the possessions of his father Osiris.

Now the great Tchatcha Chiefs who are in Pe-Tep are Horus, Isis, Kesta (Mesta) and Hapi. Now the "setting up of the 'Senti' of Horus" hath reference to the words which Set spake to his followers, saying "Set up the Senti."

Hail, Thoth, who didst make the word of Osiris to be true against his enemies, make thou the word of the Osiris the scribe Ani to be true, in peace, against his enemies, with the great Tchatcha Chiefs who are in the Lands of the Rekhti (Taiu-Rekhti), in the night when Isis lay down, and kept watch to make lamentation for her brother Osiris.

Now the great Tchatcha Chiefs who are in Taiu-Rekhti are Isis, Horus, Kesta (Mesta) [Anpu and Thoth].

Hail, Thoth, who didst make the word of Osiris true against his enemies, make thou the word of Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, in peace, to be true against his enemies, with the great Tchatcha Chiefs who are in Abtu, on the night of the god Haker, when the dead are separated, and the spirits are judged, and when the procession taketh place in Teni.

Now the great Tchatcha Chiefs who are in Abtu are Osiris, Isis, and Up-uat.

Hail, Thoth, who didst make the word of Osiris to be true against his enemies, make thou the word of the Osiris, the scribe and assessor of the sacred offerings which are made to all the gods, Ani, to be true against his enemies, with the Tchatcha Chiefs who examine the dead on the night of making the inspection of those who are to be annihilated.

Now the great Tchatcha Chiefs who are present at the examination of the dead are Thoth, Osiris, Anpu and Asten (read Astes). Now the inspection (or, counting) of those who are to be annihilated signifieth the shutting up of things from the souls of the sons of revolt.

Hail, Thoth, who didst make the word of Osiris true against his enemies, make thou the word of the Osiris the scribe Ani to be true against his enemies, with the great Tchatcha Chiefs who are present at the digging up of the earth [and mixing it] with their blood, and of making the word of Osiris to be true against his enemies.

As concerning the Tchatcha Chiefs who are present at the digging up of the earth in Tetu: When the Smaiu fiends of Set came [there], having transformed themselves into animals, these Tchatcha Chiefs slew them in the presence of the gods who were there, and they took their blood, and carried it to them. These things were permitted at the examination [of the wicked] by those [gods] who dwelt in Tetu.

Hail, Thoth, who didst make the word of Osiris to be true against his enemies, make thou the word of the Osiris [the scribe] Ani to be true against his enemies, with the great Tchatcha Chiefs who are in Nerutef on the night of the "Hidden of Forms."

Now the great Tchatcha Chiefs who are in Nerutef are Ra, Osiris, Shu and Bebi.

Now, the night of the "Hidden of Forms" referreth to the placing on the sarcophagus [of Osiris] the arm, the heel, and the thigh of Osiris Un-Nefer.

Hail, Thoth, who didst make the word of Osiris true against his enemies, make thou the word of the Osiris, whose word is truth, to be true against his enemies, with the great Tchatcha Chiefs who are in Rasta, on the night when Anpu lay with his arms on the things by Osiris, and when the word of Horus was make to be true against his enemies.

The great Tchatcha Chiefs who are in Rasta are Horus, Osiris, and Isis. The heart of Osiris is happy, the heart of Horus is glad, and the two halves of Egypt (Aterti) are well satisfied thereat.

Hail, Thoth, who didst make the word of Osiris true against his enemies, make thou the word of the Osiris the scribe Ani, the assessor of the holy offerings made to all the gods, to be true against his enemies, with the Ten great Tchatcha Chiefs who are with Ra, and with Osiris, and with every god, and with every goddess, in the presence of the god Nebertcher. He hath destroyed his enemies, and he hath destroyed every evil thing which appertained to him.

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RUBRIC: If this Chapter be recited for, or over, the deceased, he shall come forth by day, purified after death, according to the desire of his heart. Now if this Chapter be recited over him, he shall progress over the earth, and he shall escape from every fire, and none of the evil things which appertain to him shall ever be round about him; never, a million times over, shall this be.

THE CHAPTER OF OPENING THE MOUTH OF THE OSIRIS ANI. To be said:- The god Ptah shall open my mouth, and the god of my town shall unfasten the swathings, the swathings which are over my mouth. Thereupon shall come Thoth, who is equipped with words of power in great abundance, and shall untie the fetters, even the fetters of the god Set which are over my mouth. And the god Tem shall cast them back at those who would fetter me with them, and cast them at him. Then shall the god Shu open my mouth, and make an opening into my mouth with the same iron implement wherewith he opened the mouth of the gods. I am the goddess Sekhmet, and I take my seat upon the place by the side of Amt-ur the great wind of heaven. I am the great Star-goddess Saah, who dwelleth among the Souls of Anu. Now as concerning every spell, and every word which shall be spoken against me, every god of the Divine Company shall set himself in opposition thereto.

THE CHAPTER OF BRINGING WORDS OF POWER TO THE OSIRIS ANI, who saith:- I am Tem-Khepera who produced himself on the thighs of his divine mother. Those who dwell in Nu have been made wolves, and those who are among the Tchatcha Chiefs have become hyenas. Behold, I will gather together to myself this charm from the person with whom it is [and from the place] wherein it is [and it shall come to me] quicker than a greyhound, and swifter that light. Hail, thou who bringest the Ferry- Boat of Ra, thou holdest thy course firmly and directly in the north wind as thou sailest up the river towards the Island of Fire which is in Khert-Neter. Behold, thou shalt gather together to thee this charm from wheresoever it may be, and from whomsoever it may be with [and it shall come to me] quicker than a greyhound, and swifter than light. It (the charm) made the transformations of Mut; it fashioned the gods [or] kept them silent; by it Mut gave the warmth [of life] to the gods. Behold, these words of power are mine, and they shall come unto me from wheresoever they may be, or with whomsoever they may be, quicker than greyhounds and swifter than light, or, according to another reading, "swifter than shadows."

APPENDIX

THE CHAPTER WHICH MAKETH A MAN TO REMEMBER HIS NAME IN KHERT-NETER. [The deceased] saith:- Let my name be given to me in the Great House (Per-ur), and let me remember my name in the House of Fire (Per Neser), on the night wherein the years are counted up, and the number of the months is told. I am dwelling with the Divine One, I take my seat on the eastern side of the sky. If any god cometh after me, I shall be able to declare his name forthwith.

THE CHAPTER OF GIVING A HEART TO THE OSIRIS ANI IN KHERT-NETER. He saith:- Let my heart be with me in the House of Hearts. Let my heart- case be with me in the House of heart-cases. Let my heart be with me, and let it rest in [me or] I shall not eat the cakes of Osiris in the eastern side of the Lake of Flowers, nor have a boat wherein to float down the river, nor a boat to sail up the river to thee, nor be able to embark in a boat with thee. Let my mouth be to me that I may speak therewith. Let my legs be to me that I may walk therewith. Let my arms be to me that I may overthrow the foe therewith. Let the two doors of the sky be opened to me. May Keb, the Erpat of the gods, open his jaws to me. May he open my two eyes which are blinded by swathings. May he make me to lift up my legs in walking which are tied together. May Anpu make my thighs to become vigorous. May the goddess Sekhmet raise me, and lift me up. Let me ascend into heaven, let that which I command be performed in Het-ka-Ptah. I know how to use my heart. I am master of my heart-case. I am master of my hands and arms. I am master of my legs. I have the power to do that which my KA desireth to do. My Heart-soul shall not be kept a prisoner in my body at the gates of Amentet when I would go in in peace and come forth in peace.

THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE HEART OF THE OSIRIS, THE ASSESSOR OF THE DIVINE OFFERINGS OF ALL THE GODS, ANI, WHOSE WORD IS TRUTH BEFORE OSIRIS, BE DRIVEN BACK FROM HIM IN KHERT-NETER. He saith:- My heart of my mother. My heart of my mother. My heart-case of my transformations. Let not any one stand up to bear testimony against me. Let no one drive me away from the Tchatcha Chiefs. Let no one make thee to fall away from me in the presence of the Keeper of the Balance. Thou art my KA, the dweller in my body, the god Khnemu who makest sound my members. Mayest thou appear in the place of happiness whither we go. Let not make my name to stink Shenit Chiefs, who make men to be stable. [Let it be satisfactory unto us, and let the listening be satisfactory unto us, and let there be joy of heart to us at the weighing of words. Let not lies be told against me before the Great God, the Lord of Amentet. Verily, how great shalt thou be when thou risest up in triumph!]

RUBRIC I: These words are to be said over a scarab of green stone encircled with a band of refined copper, and [having] a ring of silver; which shall be placed on the neck of the Khu (the deceased), etc.

RUBRIC II (From the Papyrus of Nu, Sheet 21): If this Chapter be known [by the deceased] he shall be declared a speaker of the truth both upon earth and in Khert-Neter, and he shall be able to perform every act which a living human being can perform. Now it is a great protection which hath been given by the god. This Chapter was found in the city of Khemenu upon the slab of ba, which was inlaid with [letters of] genuine lapis-lazuli, and was under the feet of [the statue] of the god, during the reign of His Majesty, the King of the South and North, Menkaura (Mycerinus), true of word, by Prince Herutataf, who found it during a journey which he made to inspect the temples. One Nekht was with him who was diligent in making him to understand it, and he brought it to the king as a wonderful object when he perceived that it was a thing of great mystery, [the like of] which had never [before] been seen or looked upon. This Chapter shall be recited by a man who is ceremonially clean and pure, who hath not eaten the flesh of animals, or fish, and who hath not had intercourse with women. And behold, thou shalt make a scarab of green stone, with a rim [plated] with gold, which shall be placed above the heart of a man, and it shall perform for him the "opening of the mouth." And thou shalt anoint it with myrrh unguent, and thou shalt recite over it the following words of magical power. [Here follows the text of the Chapter of Not Letting the Heart of Ani Be Taken from Him.]

THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE HEART-SOUL OF A MAN BE SNATCHED AWAY FROM HIM IN KHERT-NETER. The Osiris the scribe Ani saith:--I, even I, am he who cometh forth from the Celestial Water (Akeb). He (Akeb) produced abundance for me, and hath the mastery there in the form of the River.

(This is a portion of a longer Chapter which is included in the appendix.)

APPENDIX (The following is from the Papyrus of Nefer-uben-f, Naville, op. cit., I, Bl. 72.)

THE CHAPTER OF DRINKING WATER IN KHERT-NETER. The am khent priest, Nefer-uben-f, whose word is truth, saith:- I, even I, am he who cometh forth from the god Keb. The water-flood is given to him, he hath become the master thereof in the form of Hapi. I, the am khent Nefer-uben-f, open the doors of heaven. Thoth hath opened to me the doors of Qebh (the Celestial Waters). Lo, Hepi Hepi, the two sons of the Sky, mighty in splendour, grant ye that I may be master over the water, even as Set had dominion over his evil power on the day of the storming of the Two Lands. I pass by the Great Ones, arm to shoulder, even as they pass that Great God, the Spirit who is equipped, whose name is unknown. I have passed by the Aged One of the shoulder. I am Nefer-uben-f, whose word is truth. Hath opened to me the Celestial Water Osiris. Hath opened to me the Celestial Water Thoth-Hapi, the Lord of the horizon, in his name of "Thoth, cleaver of the earth." I am master of the water, as Set is master of his weapon. I sail over the sky, I am Ra, I am Ru. I am Sma. I have eaten the Thigh, I have seized the bone and flesh. I go round about the Lake of Sekhet-Ar. Hath been given to me eternity without limit. Behold, I am the heir of eternity, to whom hath been given everlastingness.

(The following two Chapters are from the Papyrus of Nu, Sheets 7 and 12)

THE CHAPTER OF DRINKING WATER AND OF NOT BEING BURNT UP BY FIRE [IN KHERT-NETER]. Nu saith:- Hail, Bull of Amentet! I am brought unto thee. I am the paddle of Ra wherewith he transported the Aged Gods. Let me neither be burnt up nor destroyed by fire. I am Beb, the firstborn son of Osiris, to whom every god maketh an offering in the temple of his Eye in Anu. I am the divine Heir, the Mighty One, the Great One, the Resting One. I have made my name to flourish. Deliverer, thou livest in me [every day].

THE CHAPTER OF NOT BEING BOILED IN FIRE. Nu saith:- I am the paddle which is equipped, wherewith Ra transported the Aged Gods, which raised up the emissions of Osiris from the Lake of blazing fire, and he was not burned. I sit down like the Light-god, and like Khnemu, the Governor of lions. Come, cut away the fetters from him that passeth by the side of this path, and let me come forth therefrom.

THE CHAPTER OF GIVING AIR IN KHERT-NETER. The Osiris Ani saith:- I am the Egg which dwelt in the Great Cackler. I keep ward over that great place which Keb hath proclaimed upon earth. I live; it liveth. I grow up, I live, I snuff the air. I am Utcha-aab. I go round about his egg [to protect it]. I have thwarted the moment of Set. Hail, Sweet one of the Two Lands! Hail, dweller in the tchefa food! Hail, dweller in the lapis-lazuli! Watch ye over him that is in his cradle, the Babe when he cometh forth to you.

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nu, Sheet 12)

THE CHAPTER OF GIVING AIR TO NU IN KHERT-NETER. He saith:- Hail, thou God Temu, grant thou unto me the sweet breath which dwelleth in thy nostrils! I am the Egg which is in Kenken-ur (the Great Cackler), and I watch and guard that mighty thing which hath come into being, wherewith the god Keb hath opened the earth. I live; it liveth; I grow, I live, I snuff the air. I am the god Utcha-aabet, and I go about his egg. I shine at the moment of the mighty of strength, Suti. Hail, thou who makest sweet the time of the Two Lands! Hail, dweller among the celestial food. Hail, dweller among the beings of blue (lapis-lazuli), watch ye to protect him that is in his nest, the Child who cometh forth to you.

THE CHAPTER OF GIVING AIR IN KHERT-NETER. Nu saith:- I am the jackal of jackals. I am Shu. I draw air from the presence of the Light-god, from the uttermost limits of heaven, from the uttermost limits of earth, from the uttermost limits of the pinion of Nebeh bird. May air be given unto this young divine Babe. [My mouth is open, I see with my eyes.]

THE CHAPTER OF SNUFFING THE AIR WITH WATER IN KHERT-NETER. Hail, Tem. Grant thou unto me the sweet breath which dwelleth in thy nostrils. I am he who embraceth that great throne which is in the city of Unu. I keep watch over the Egg of Kenken-ur (the Great Cackler). I grow and flourish as it groweth and flourisheth. I live as it liveth. I snuff the air as it snuffeth the air.

THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE HEART OF A MAN BE SNATCHED AWAY FROM HIM IN KHERT-NETER. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- Get thee back, O messenger of every god! Art thou come to [snatch away] my heart-case which liveth? My heart-case which liveth shall not be given unto thee. [As] I advance, the gods hearken unto my propitiation [prayer] and they fall down on their faces [whilst] they are on their own land.

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nu)

THE CHAPTER OF NOT ALLOWING THE HEART.... TO BE CARRIED AWAY DEAD IN KHERT-NETER. [Nu, whose word is truth, saith]:- My heart is with me, and it shall never come to pass that it be carried away. I am the Lord of Hearts, the slayer of the heart-case. I live in truth, I have my being therein. I am Horus, the Dweller in Hearts, [I am] in the Dweller in the body. I have life by my word, my heart hath being. My heart-case shall not be snatched away from me, it shall not be wounded, it shall not be put in restraint if wounds are inflicted upon me. [If] one take possession of it I shall have my being in the body of my father Keb and in the body of my mother Nut. I have not done that which is held in abomination by the gods. I shall not suffer defeat [for] my word is truth.

THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE HEART-CASE OF A MAN BE TAKEN AWAY FROM HIM IN KHERT-NETER. The Osiris Ani saith:- Hail, ye who steal and crush heart-cases [and who make the heart of a man to go through its transformations according to his deeds: let not what he hath done harm him before you]. Homage to you, O ye Lords of Eternity, ye masters of everlastingness, take ye not this heart of Osiris Ani into your fingers, and this heart-case, and cause ye not things of evil to spring up against it, because this heart belongeth to the Osiris Ani, and this heart-case belongeth to him of the great names (Thoth), the mighty one, whose words are his members. He sendeth his heart to rule his body, and his heart is renewed before the gods. The heart of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, is to him; he hath gained the mastery over it. He hath not said what he hath done. He hath obtained power over his own members. His heart obeyeth him, he is the lord thereof, it is in his body, and it shall never fall away therefrom. I command thee to be obedient unto me in Khert-Neter. I, the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, in peace; whose word is truth in the Beautiful Amentet, by the Domain of Eternity.

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nu, Sheet 5)

THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE HEART OF NU, WHOSE WORD IS TRUTH, BE CARRIED AWAY FROM HIM IN KHERT-NETER. He saith:- Hail, thou Lion-god! I am Unb (the Blossom). That which is held in abomination to me is the block of slaughter of the god. Let not this my heart-case be carried away from me by the Fighting Gods in Anu. Hail, thou who dost wind bandages round Osiris, and who hast seen Set. Hail, thou who returnest

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after smiting and destroying him before the mighty ones! This my heart weepeth over itself before Osiris; it hath made supplication for me. I have given unto him and I have dedicated unto him the thoughts of the heart in the House of the god (Usekh-her), have brought unto him sand at the entry to Khemenu. Let not this my heart-case be carried away from me. I make you to ascend his throne, to fetter heart-cases for him in Sekhet-hetep, [to live] years of strength away from things of all kinds which are abominations to him, to carry off food from among the things which are thine, and which are in thy grasp through thy strength. And this my heart-case is devoted to the decrees of the god Tem, who guideth me through the caverns of Suti, but let not this my heart, which hath performed its desire before the Tchatcha Chiefs who are in Khert-Neter, be given to him. When they find the leg and the swathings they bury them.

THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE HEART OF NU, WHOSE WORD IS TRUTH, BE DRIVEN AWAY FROM HIM IN KHERT-NETER. He saith:- My heart of my mother. My heart of my mother. My heart-case of my existence upon the earth. Let no one stand up against me when I bear testimony in the presence of the Lords of Things. Let it not be said against me and of that which I have done "He hath committed acts which are opposed to what is right and true," and let not charges be brought up against me in the presence of the Great God, the Lord of Amentet. Homage to thee, O my heart (ab). Homage to thee, O my heart-case. Homage to you, O my reins. Homage to you, O ye gods, who are masters of [your] beards, and who are holy by reason of your sceptres. Speak ye for me words of good import to Ra, and make ye me to have favour in the sight of Nehebkau.

THE CHAPTER OF BREATHING THE AIR AND OF HAVING POWER OVER WATER IN KHERT-NETER. The Osiris Ani saith:- Open to me! Who art thou? Whither goest thou? What is thy name? I am one of you. Who are these with you? The two Merti goddesses (Isis and Nephthys). Thou separatest head from head when [he] entereth the divine Mesqen chamber. He causeth me to set out for the temple of the gods Kem-heru. "Assembler of souls" is the name of my ferry-boat. "Those who make the hair to bristle" is the name of the oars. "Sert" ("Goad") is the name of the hold. "Steering straight in the middle" is the name of the rudder; likewise, [the boat] is a type of my being borne onward in the lake. Let there be given unto me vessels of milk, and cakes, and loaves of bread, and cups of drink, and flesh, in the Temple of Anpu.

RUBRIC: If the deceased knoweth this Chapter, he shall go into, after coming forth from Khert-Neter of [the Beautiful Amentet].

THE CHAPTER OF SNUFFING THE AIR, AND OF HAVING POWER OVER THE WATER IN KHERT-NETER. The Osiris Ani saith:- Hail, thou Sycamore tree of the goddess Nut! Give me of the [water and of the] air which is in thee. I embrace that throne which is in Unu, and I keep guard over the Egg of Nekek-ur. It flourisheth, and I flourish; it liveth, and I live; it snuffeth the air, and I snuff the air, I the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, in [peace].

THE CHAPTER OF NOT DYING A SECOND TIME IN KHERT-NETER. The Osiris Ani saith:- My hiding place is opened, my hiding place is opened. The Spirits fall headlong in the darkness, but the Eye of Horus hath made me holy, and Upuati hath nursed me. I will hide myself among you, O ye stars which are imperishable. My brow is like the brow of Ra. My face is open. My heart-case is upon its throne, I know how to utter words. In very truth I am Ra himself. I am not a man of no account. I am not a man to whom violence can be done. Thy father liveth for thee, O son of Nut. I am thy son, O great one, I have seen the hidden things which are thine. I am crowned upon my throne like the king of the gods. I shall not die a second time in Khert-Neter.

THE CHAPTER OF NOT ROTTING IN KHERT-NETER. The Osiris Ani saith:- O thou who art motionless, O thou who art motionless, O thou whose members are motionless, like unto those of Osiris. Thy members shall not be motionless, they shall not rot, they shall not crumble away, they shall not fall into decay. My members shall be made [permanent] for me as if I were Osiris.

RUBRIC: If this Chapter be known by the deceased he shall never see corruption in Khert-Neter.

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nu, Sheet 18)

THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE BODY PERISH. The Osiris Nu saith:- Homage to thee, O my divine father Osiris! I come to embalm thee. Do thou embalm these my members, for I would not perish and come to an end [but would be] even like unto my divine father Khepera, the divine type of him that never saw corruption. Come then, strengthen my breath, O Lord of the winds, who dost magnify these divine beings who are like unto thyself. Stablish me, stablish me, and fashion me strongly, O Lord of the funeral chest. Grant thou that I may enter into the land of everlastingness, according to that which was done for thee, along with thy father Tem, whose body never saw corruption, and who himself never saw corruption. I have never done that which thou hatest, nay, I have acclaimed thee among those who love thy KA. Let not my body become worms, but deliver thou me as thou didst deliver thyself. I pray thee, let me not fall into rottenness, as thou lettest every god, and every goddess, and every animal, and every reptile, see corruption, when the soul hath gone out of them, after their death.

And when the soul hath departed, a man seeth corruption, and the bones of his body crumble away and become stinking things, and the members decay one after the other, the bones crumble into a helpless mass, and the flesh turneth into foetid liquid. Thus man becometh a brother unto the decay which cometh upon him, and he turneth into a myriad of worms, and he becometh nothing but worms, and an end is made of him, and perisheth in the sight of the god of day (Shu), even as do every god, and every goddess, and every bird, and every fish, and every creeping worm, and every reptile, and every beast, and every thing whatsoever. Let [all the Spirits fall] on their bellies [when] they recognize me, and behold, the fear of me shall terrify them; and thus also let it be with every being that hath died, whether it be animal, or bird, or fish, or worm, or reptile. Let life [rise out of] death. Let not the decay caused by any reptile make an end [of me], and let not [enemies] come against me in their various forms. Give thou me not over to the Slaughterer in this execution-chamber, who killeth the members, and maketh them rot, being [himself] invisible, and who destroyeth the bodies of the dead, and liveth by carnage. Let me live, and perform his order; I will do what is commanded by him. Give me not over to his fingers, let him not overcome me, for I am under thy command, O Lord of the Gods.

Homage to thee, O my divine father Osiris, thou livest with thy members. Thou didst not decay, thou didst not become worms, thou didst not wither, thou didst not rot, thou didst not putrefy, thou didst not turn into worms. I am the god Khepera, and my members shall have being everlastingly. I shall not decay, I shall not rot, I shall not putrefy, I shall not turn into worms, and I shall not see corruption before the eye of the god Shu. I shall have my being, I shall have by being; I shall live, I shall live; I shall flourish, I shall flourish, I shall flourish, I shall wake up in peace, I shall not putrefy, my intestines shall not perish, I shall not suffer injury. My eye shall not decay. The form of my face shall not disappear. My ear shall not become deaf. My head shall not be separated from my neck. My tongue shall not be removed. My hair shall not be cut off. My eyebrows shall not be shaved away, and no evil defect shall assail me. My body shall be stablished. It shall neither become a ruin, nor be destroyed on this earth.

THE CHAPTER OF NOT PERISHING AND OF BEING ALIVE IN KHERT-NETER. The Osiris Ani saith:- Hail ye children of the god Shu. The Tuat hath gained the mastery over his diadem. Among the Hamemet Spirits may I arise, even as did arise Osiris.

THE CHAPTER OF NOT GOING IN TO THE BLOCK OF THE GOD. The Osiris Ani saith:- My head was fastened on my body in heaven, O Guardian of the Earth, by Ra. [This] was granted [to me] on the day of my being stablished, when I rose up out of a state of weakness upon [my] two feet. On the day of cutting off the hair Set and the Company of the Gods fastened my head to my neck, and it became as firm as it was originally. Let nothing happen to shake it off again! Make ye me safe from the murderer of my father. I have tied together the Two Earths. Nut hath fastened together the vertebrae of my neck, and [I] behold them as they were originally, and they are seen in the order wherein they were when as yet Maat was not seen, and when the gods were not born in visible forms. I am Penti. I am the heir of the great gods, I the Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth.

THE CHAPTER OF NOT BEING TRANSPORTED TO THE EAST IN KHERT-NETER. The Osiris Ani saith:- Hail, Phallus of Ra, which advanceth and beateth down opposition. Things which have been without motion for millions of years have come into life through Baba. I am stronger thereby than the strong, and I have more power thereby than the mighty. Now, let me not be carried away in a boat, or be seized violently and taken to the East, to have the festivals of Sebau Devils celebrated on me. Let not deadly wounds be inflicted upon me, and let me not be gored by horns. Thou shalt neither fall [nor] eat fish made by Tebun.

Now, no evil thing of any kind whatsoever shall be done unto me by the Sebau Devils. [I shall not be gored by] horns. Therefore the Phallus of Ra, [which is] the head of Osiris, shall not be swallowed up. Behold, I shall come into me fields and I shall cut the grain. The gods shall provide me with food. Thou shalt not then be gored, Ra-Khepera. There shall not be then pus in the Eye of Tem, and it shall not be destroyed. Violence shall not be done unto me, and I shall not be carried away in [my] boat to the East to have the festivals of the Sebau Devils celebrated on me in evil fashion. Cruel gashes with knives shall not be inflicted upon me, and I shall not be carried away in [my] boat to the East. I the Osiris, the assessor of the holy offerings of all the gods, Ani, whose word is truth, happily, the lord of fealty [to Osiris].

THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE HEAD OF A MAN BE CUT OFF FROM HIS BODY IN KHERT-NETER. The Osiris Ani saith:- I am a Great One, the son of a Great One. [I am] Fire, the son of Fire, to whom was given his head after it had been cut off. The head of Osiris was not removed from his body, and the head of Osiris Ani shall not be removed from his body. I have knitted myself together, I have made myself whole and complete. I shall renew my youth. I am Osiris Himself, the Lord of Eternity.

THE CHAPTER OF MAKING THE SOUL TO BE JOINED TO ITS BODY IN KHERT- NETER. The Osiris Ani saith:- Hail, thou god Aniu! Hail, thou god Pehreri, who dwellest in thy hall, the Great God. Grant thou that my soul may come to me from any place wherein it may be. Even if it would tarry, let my soul be brought unto me from any place wherein it may be. Thou findest the Eye of Horus standing by thee like unto those beings who resemble Osiris, who never lie down in death. Let not the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, lie down dead among those who lie in Anu, the land wherein [souls] are joined to their bodies in thousands. Let me have possession of my Ba-soul and of my Spirit-soul, and let my word be truth with it (the Ba-soul) in every place wherein it may be. Observe then, O ye guardians of Heaven, my soul [wherever it may be]. Even if it would tarry, cause thou my Ba-soul to see my body. Thou shalt find the Eye of Horus standing by thee like [the Watchers].

Hail, ye gods who tow along the boat of the Lord of Millions of Years, who bring it over the sky of the Tuat, who make it to journey over Nent, who make Ba-souls to enter into their Spirit-bodies, whose hands hold the steering poles and guide it straight, who grasp tightly your paddles, destroy ye the Enemy; thus shall the Boat rejoice, and the Great God shall travel on his way in peace. Moreover, grant ye that the Ba-soul of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth before the gods, may come forth with your navel cords in the eastern part of the sky, and that it may follow Ra to the place where he was yesterday, and may set in peace, in peace in Amentet. May it gaze upon its earthly body, may it take up its abode and its Spirit-body, may it neither perish nor be destroyed for ever and for ever.

RUBRIC: These words shall be said over a model of the Ba-soul made of gold, and inlaid with precious stones, which shall be placed on the breast of the Osiris.

THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE SOUL OF A MAN BE HELD CAPTIVE IN KHERT- NETER. The Osiris Ani saith:- Hail, thou who art exalted! Hail, thou who art adored! Hail, Mighty One of Souls, thou divine Soul who inspirest great dread, who dost set the fear of thyself in the gods, who are enthroned upon thy mighty seat. Make thou a path for the Spirit-soul and the Ba-soul of the Osiris Ani. I am equipped with [words of power]. I am a Spirit-soul equipped with [words of power]. I have made my way to the place where are Ra and Hathor.

RUBRIC: If this Chapter be known by the deceased he shall be able to transform himself into a Spirit-soul who shall be equipped with [his soul and his shadow] in Khert-Neter, and he shall not be shut up inside any door in Amentet, when he is coming forth upon the Earth, or when he is going back into [Khert-Neter.]

THE CHAPTER OF OPENING THE TOMB TO THE BA-SOUL AND THE SHADOW, AND OF COMING FORTH BY DAY, AND OF HAVING MASTERY OVER THE TWO LEGS. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- The place which is closed is opened, the place which is shut (or sealed) is sealed. That which lieth down in the closed place is opened by the Ba-soul which is in it. By the Eye of Horus I am delivered. Ornaments are stablished on the brow of Ra. My stride is made long. I lift up my two thighs [in walking]. I have journeyed over a long road. My limbs are in a flourishing condition. I am Horus, the Avenger of his Father, and I bring the Urrt Crown [and set it on] its standard. The road of souls is opened. My twin soul seeth the Great God in the Boat of Ra, on the day of souls. My soul is in the front thereof with the counter of the years. Come, the Eye of Horus hath delivered for me my soul, my ornaments are stablished on the brow of Ra. Light is on the faces of those who are in the members of Osiris. Ye shall not hold captive my soul. Ye shall not keep in durance my shadow. The way is open to my soul and to my shadow. It seeth the Great God in the shrine on the day of counting souls. It repeateth the words of Osiris. Those whose seats are invisible, who fetter the members of Osiris, who fetter Heart-souls and Spirit-souls, who set a seal upon the dead, and who would do evil to me, shall do no evil to me. Haste on the way to me. Thy heart is with thee. My Heart-soul

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and my Spirit-soul are equipped; they guide thee. I sit down at the head of the great ones who are chiefs of their abodes. The wardens of the members of Osiris shall not hold thee captive, though they keep ward over souls, and set a seal on the shadow which is dead. Heaven shall not shut thee in.

RUBRIC: If this Chapter be known by the deceased he shall come forth by day, and his soul shall not be kept captive.

APPENDIX (From the Papryus of Nebseni, Sheet 6)

That which was shut hath been opened [that is] the dead. That which was shut fast hath been opened by the command of the Eye of Horus, which hath delivered me. Established are the beauties on the forehead of Ra. My steps are long. My legs are lifted up. I have performed the journey, my members are mighty and are sound. I am Horus, the Avenger of his Father. I am he who bringeth along his father, and his mother, by means of his staff. The way shall be opened to him that hath power over his feet, and he shall see the Great God in the Boat of Ra, when souls are counted therein at the bows, and when the years also are counted up. Grant that the Eye of Horus, which maketh the adornments of splendour to be firm on the forehead of Ra, may deliver my soul for me, and let darkness cover your faces, O ye who would imprison Osiris. O keep not captive my soul. O keep not ward over my shadow, but let a way be opened for my soul and my shadow, and let them see the Great God in the shrine on the day of the counting of souls, and let them hold converse with Osiris, whose habitations are hidden, and those who guard the members of Osiris, and who keep ward over the Spirit-souls, and who hold captive the shadows of the dead, and who would work evil against me, so that they shall [not] work evil against me. A way shall be for KA with thee, and thy soul shall be prepared by those who keep ward over the members of Osiris, and who hold captive the shadows of the dead. Heaven shall not keep thee fast, the earth shall not hold thee captive. Thou shalt not live with the beings who slay, but thou shalt be master of thy legs, and thou shalt advance to thy body straightway in the earth, [and to] those who belong to the shrine of Osiris and guard his members.

THE CHAPTER OF LIFTING UP THE FEET, AND OF COMING FORTH ON THE EARTH. The Osiris Ani saith:- Perform thy work, O Seker, perform thy work, O Seker, O thou who dwellest in thy circle, and who dwellest in my feet in Khert-Neter. I am he who sendeth forth light over the Thigh of heaven. I come forth in heaven. I sit down by the Light-god (Khu). O I am helpless. O I am helpless. I would walk. I am helpless. I am helpless in the regions of those who plunder in Khert-Neter, I the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, in peace.

THE CHAPTER OF FORCING A WAY INTO AMENTET [AND OF COMING FORTH] BY DAY. The Osiris Ani saith:- The town of Unu is opened. My head is sealed up, Thoth. Perfect is the Eye of Horus. I have delivered the Eye of Horus which shineth with splendours on the brow of Ra, the Father of the gods, [I am] that self-same Osiris, [the dweller in] Amentet. Osiris knoweth his day, and he knoweth that he shall live through his period of life; I shall have by being with him. I am the Moon-god Aah, the dweller among the gods. I shall not come to an end. Stand up therefore, O Horus, for thou art counted among the gods.

APPENDIX (Naville, op. cit., I, Bl. X)

THE CHAPTER OF FORCING A WAY INTO THE TUAT. The Am Khent priest Nefer- uben-f, whose word is truth, saith:- Hail, Soul, thou mighty one of terror. Behold, I have come unto thee. I see thee. I have forced a way through the Tuat. I see my father Osiris. I drive away the darkness. I love him. I have come. I see my father Osiris. He hath counted the heart of Set. I have made offerings for my father Osiris. I have opened all the ways in heaven and on earth. I love him. I have come. I have become a Spirit-body and a Spirit-soul, who is equipped. Hail, every god and every Spirit-soul, I have made the ways. I am Thoth....

ANOTHER CHAPTER OF THE TUAT AND OF COMING FORTH BY DAY.

Open is the land of Unu. Shut is the head of Thoth. Perfect is the Eye of Horus. I have delivered the Eye of Horus, the shining one, the ornament of the Eye of Ra, the Father of the Gods. I am that same Osiris who dwelleth in Amentet. Osiris knoweth his day, which cometh to an end. I am Set, the Father of the Gods. I shall never come to an end.

THE CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH BY DAY AND OF LIVING AFTER DEATH. The Osiris Ani saith:- Hail, thou One, who shinest from the moon. Hail, thou One, who shinest from the moon. Grant that this Osiris Ani may come forth among thy multitudes who are at the portal. Let him be with the Light-God. Let the Tuat be opened to him. Behold, the Osiris Ani shall come forth by day to perform everything which he wisheth upon the earth among those who are living [thereon].

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nu, Sheet 13)

Hail, thou god Tem, who comest forth from the Great Deep, who shinest gloriously under the form of the twin Lion-gods, send forth with might thy words unto those who are in thy presence, and let the Osiris Nu enter into their assembly. He hath performed the decree which hath been spoken to the mariners at eventide, and the Osiris Nu, whose word is truth, shall live after his death, even as doth Ra every day. Behold, most certainly Ra was born yesterday, and the Osiris Nu was born yesterday. And every god shall rejoice in the life of the Osiris Nu, even as they rejoice in the life of Ptah, when he appeareth from the Great House of the Aged One which is in Anu.

THE CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH BY DAY AFTER FORCING AN ENTRANCE THROUGH THE AAMHET. The Osiris Ani saith:- Hail, Soul, thou mighty one of terror! Verily, I am here. I have come. I behold thee. I have passed through the Tuat. I have seen Father Osiris. I have scattered the gloom of night. I am his beloved one. I have come, I have seen my Father Osiris. I have stabbed the heart of Suti. I have made offerings to my Father Osiris. I have opened every way in heaven and on the earth. I am the son who loveth his Fathers (sic) Osiris. I am a Spirit-body. I am a Spirit-soul. I am equipped. Hail, every god and every Spirit-soul. I have made the way [to Osiris]. I the Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth.

THE CHAPTER OF MAKING A MAN TO RETURN TO LOOK UPON HIS HOUSE ON EARTH. The Osiris Ani saith:- I am the Lion-god who cometh forth with long strides. I have shot arrows, and I have wounded my prey. I have shot arrows, and I have wounded my prey. I am the Eye of Horus, I traverse the Eye of Horus at this season. I have arrived at the domains. Grant that the Osiris Ani may come in peace.

ANOTHER CHAPTER OF THE COMING FORTH OF A MAN BY DAY AGAINST HIS ENEMIES IN KHERT-NETER. [The Osiris Ani saith:-] I have divided the heavens. I have cleft the horizon. I have traversed the earth [following in] his footsteps. I have conquered the mighty Spirit-souls because I am equipped for millions of years with words of power. I eat with my mouth. I evacuate with my body. Behold, I am the God of the Tuat! Let these things be given unto me, the Osiris Ani, in perpetuity withou fail or diminution.

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nu, Sheet 21)

THE CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH AGAINST ENEMIES IN KHERT-NETER. The Osiris Nu saith:- Hail, Am-a-f (Eater of his arm), I have passed over the road. I am Ra. I have come forth from the horizon against my enemies. I have not permitted him to escape from me. I have stretched out my hand like that of the Lord of the Urrt Crown. I have lifted up my feet even as the Uraei-goddesses lift themselves up. I have not permitted the enemy [to be saved] from me. As for mine enemy, he hath been given to me, and he shall not be delivered from me. I stand up like Horus. I sit down like Ptah. I am strong like Thoth. I am mighty like Tem. I walk with my legs. I speak with my mouth. I chase my enemy. He hath been given unto me, and he shall not be delivered from me.

A HYMN OF PRAISE TO RA WHEN HE RISETH UPON THE HORIZON, AND WHEN HE SETTETH IN THE LAND OF LIFE. Osiris the scribe Ani saith:- Homage to thee, O Ra, when thou risest as Tem-Heru-Khuti. Thou art to be adored. Thy beauties are before mine eyes, [thy] radiance is upon my body. Thou goest forth to thy setting in the Sektet Boat with [fair] winds, and thy heart is glad; the heart of the Matet Boat rejoiceth. Thou stridest over the heavens in peace, and all thy foes are cast down; the stars which never rest sing hymns of praise unto thee, and the stars which are imperishable glorify thee as thou sinkest to rest in the horizon of Manu, O thou who art beautiful at morn and at eve, O thou lord who livest, and art established, O my Lord!

Homage to thee, O thou who art Ra when thou risest, and who art Tem when thou settest in beauty. Thou risest and thou shinest on the back of thy mother [Nut], O thou who art crowned the king of the gods! Nut welcometh thee, and payeth homage unto thee, and Maat, the everlasting and never-changing goddess, embraceth thee at noon and at eve. Thou stridest over the heavens, being glad at heart, and the Lake of Testes is content. The Sebau-fiend hath fallen to the ground, his fore-legs and his hind-legs have been hacked off him, and the knife hath severed the joints of his back. Ra hath a fair wind, and the Sektet Boat setteth out on its journey, and saileth on until it cometh into port. The gods of the South, the gods of the North, the gods of the West, and the gods of the East praise thee, O thou Divine Substance, from whom all living things came into being. Thou didst send forth the word when the earth was submerged with silence, O thou Only One, who didst dwell in heaven before ever the earth and the mountains came into being. Hail, thou Runner, Lord, Only One, thou maker of the things that are, thou hast fashioned the tongue of the Company of the Gods, thou hast produced whatsoever cometh forth from the waters, thou springest up out of them above the submerged land of the Lake of Horus. Let me breathe the air which cometh forth from thy nostrils, and the north wind which cometh forth from thy mother Nut. Make thou my Spirit-soul to be glorious, O Osiris, make thou my Heart-soul to be divine. Thou art worshipped as thou settest, O Lord of the gods, thou art exalted by reason of thy wondrous works. Shine thou with the rays of light upon my body day by day, upon me, Osiris the scribe, the assessor of the divine offerings of all the gods, the overseer of the granary of the Lords of Abydos, the real royal scribe who loveth thee, Ani, whose word is truth, in peace.

Praise be unto thee, O Osiris, the Lord of Eternity, Un-Nefer, Heru- Khuti (Harmakhis), whose forms are manifold, whose attributes are majestic [Praise be unto thee], O thou who art Ptah-Seker-Tem in Anu, thou Lord of the hidden shrine, thou Creator of the House of the KA of Ptah (Het-ka-Ptah) and of the gods [therein], thou Guide of the Tuat, who art glorified when thou settest in Nu (the Sky). Isis embraceth thee in peace, and she driveth away the fiends from the entrances of thy paths. Thou turnest thy face towards Amentet, and thou makest the earth to shine as with refined copper. Those who have lain down in death rise up to see thee, they breathe the air, and they look upon thy face when the disk riseth on the horizon. Their hearts are at peace since they behold thee, o thou who art Eternity and Everlastingness.

THE SOLAR LITANY

Homage to you, O ye gods of the Dekans in Anu, and to you, O ye Hememet-spirits in Kher Aha, and to thee, O Unti, who art the most glorious of all the gods who are hidden in Anu, O grant thou unto me a path whereover I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken falsehood wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

Homage to thee, O An in Antes, Heru-khuti, who dost with long strides march across the heavens, O grant thou unto me a path whereover I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken falsehood wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

Homage to thee, O Everlasting Soul, thou Soul who dwellest in Tetu, Un-Nefer, the son of Nut, who art the Lord of Akert, O grant thou unto me a path whereover I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken falsehood wittingly, nor have done aught with deceit.

Homage to thee in thy dominion over Tetu, upon whose brow the Urrt Crown is established, thou One who createst the strength to protect thyself, and who dwellest in peace, O grant thou unto me a path whereover I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken falsehood wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

Homage to thee, O Lord of the Acacia Tree, whose Seker Boat is set upon its sledge, who turnest back the Fiend, the Evildoer, and dost cause the Eye of Ra (utchat) to rest upon its seat, O grant thou unto me a path whereover I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken falsehood wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

Homage to thee, O thou who art mighty in thine hour, thou great and mighty Prince who dost dwell in Anrutef, thou Lord of Eternity and Creator of the Everlastingness, thou Lord of Hensu, O grant thou unto me a path whereover I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken falsehood wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

Homage to thee, O thou who restest upon Truth, thou Lord of Abtu, whose limbs form the substance of Ta-tchesert, unto whom fraud and deceit are abominations, O grant thou unto me a path whereover I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken falsehood wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

Homage to thee, O thou who dwellest in thy boat, who dost bring Hapi (the Nile) forth from his cavern, whose body is the light, and who dwellest in Nekhen, O grant thou unto me a path whereover I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken falsehood wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

Homage to thee, O thou Creator of the gods, thou King of the South and North, Osiris, whose word is truth, who rulest the world by thy gracious goodness, thou Lord of the Atebui, O grant thou unto me a path whereover I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken falsehood wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

APPENDIX (From the Saite Recension, ed. Lepsius, Bl. V)

Homage to thee, O thou who comest as Tem, who didst come into being to create the Company of the Gods. Homage to thee, O thou who comest as the Soul of Souls, the Holy One in Amentet. Homage to thee, O President of the Gods, who illuminest the Tuat with thy beauties. Homage to thee, O thou who comest as the Light-god, who travellest in thy Disk. Homage to thee, O thou greatest of all gods, who are crowned King in heaven, Governor in the Tuat. Homage to thee, O thou who makest a way through the Tuat, who dost lead the

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way through all doors. Homage to thee, O thou who art among the gods, who dost weigh words in Khert-Neter. Homage to thee, O thou who dwellest in thy secret places, who dost fashion the Tuat with thy might. Homage to thee, O great one, O mighty one, thine enemies have fallen in places where they were smitten. Homage to thee, O thou who hast hacked the Sebau-fiends in pieces, and hast annihilated Aapep. Grant thou the sweet breeze of the north wind to the Osiris Auf-ankh, whose word is truth.

A HYMN OF PRAISE TO RA WHEN HE RISETH IN THE EASTERN PART OF HEAVEN. Those who are in his following rejoice, and the Osiris, the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- Hail, thou Disk, thou lord of rays, who risest on the horizon day by day. Shine thou with thy beams of light upon the face of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, for he singeth hymns of praise to thee at dawn, and he maketh thee to sit at eventide [with words of adoration]. May the soul of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, come forth with thee into heaven! May he set out with thee in the Matet Boat [in the morning], may he come into port in the Sektet Boat [in the evening], and may he cleave his path among the stars of heaven which never rest.

The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, being at peace [with his god], maketh adoration to his Lord, the Lord of Eternity, and saith:- Homage to thee, O Heru-khuti, who art the god Khepera, the self-created. When thou risest on the horizon and sheddest thy beams of light upon the Lands of the South and of the North, thou art beautiful, yea beautiful, and all the gods rejoice when they behold thee, the king of heaven. The goddess, the Lady of the Hour, is stablished upon thy head, her Uraei of the South and of the North are upon thy brow, and she taketh up her place before thee. The god Thoth is stablished in the bows of thy boat to destroy utterly all thy foes. Those who dwell in the Tuat come forth to meet thee, and they bow to the earth in homage as they come towards thee, to look upon thy beautiful Form. And I, Ani, have come into thy presence, so that I may be with thee, and may behold thy Disk every day. Let me not be kept captive [by the tomb], and let me not be turned back [on my way]. Let the members of my body be made new again when I contemplate thy beauties, even as are the members of all thy favoured ones, because I am one of those who worshipped thee upon earth. Let me arrive in the Land of Eternity, let me enter into the Land of Everlastingness. This, O my Lord, behold thou shalt ordain for me.

AND MOREOVER, THE OSIRIS ANI, WHOSE WORD IS TRUTH, IN PEACE, THE TRUTH-SPEAKER, SAITH:- Homage to thee, O thou who risest on thy horizon in the form of Ra, who restest upon Law, [which can neither be changed nor altered]. Thou passest over the sky, and every face, watcheth thee and thy course, for thou thyself art hidden from their gaze. Thou dost show thyself [to them] at dawn and at eventide each day. The Sektet Boat, wherein Thy Majesty dwelleth, setteth forth on its journey with vigour. Thy beams [fall] upon all faces, thy light with its manifold colours is incomprehensible [to man], and thy brilliant rays cannot be reported. The Lands of the Gods see thee, they could write [concerning thee]; the Deserts of Punt could count thee. Thy creation is hidden. It is one by the opening of thy mouth. Thy form is the head of Nu. May he (Ani) advance, even as thou dost advance, without cessation, even as Thy Majesty [ceaseth not to advance] even for a moment. With great strides thou dost in one little moment pass over limitless distances which would need millions and hundreds of thousands of years [for a man to pass over; this] thou doest, and then thou sinkest to rest. Thou bringest to an end the hours of the night, even as thou stridest over them. Thou bringest them to an end by thine own ordinance, and dawn cometh on the earth. Thou settest thyself before thy handiwork in the form of Ra, and thou rollest up on the horizon..... Thou sendest forth light when thy form raiseth itself up, thou ordainest the increase of thy splendours. Thou mouldest thy limbs as thou advancest, thou bringest them forth, thou who wast never brought forth, in the form of Ra, who rolleth up into the height of heaven. Grant thou that I may reach the heaven of eternity, and the region where thy favoured ones dwell. May I unite with those holy and perfect Spirit-souls of Khert-Neter. May I come forth with them to behold thy beauties as thou rollest on at eventide, as thou journeyest to thy mother Nut (the Night-sky), and dost place thyself at the right hand (in the West). My two hands are raised to thee in praise and thanksgiving when thou settest in life. Behold, thou art the Creator of Eternity, who art adored when thou settest in Nu. I have set thee in my heart, without wavering, O thou who art more divine than the gods.

The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- Praise and thanksgiving be unto thee, O thou who rollest on like unto gold, thou Illuminer of the Two Lands on the day of thy birth. Thy mother brought thee forth on her hand, and thou didst light up with splendour the circle which is travelled over by the Disk. O Great Light who rollest across Nu, thou dost raise up the generations of men from the deep source of thy waters, and dost make to keep festivals all districts and cities, and all habitations. Thou protectest [them] with thy beauties. Thy KA riseth up with the celestial food hu and tchefau. O thou mightily victorious one, thou Power of Powers, who makest strong thy throne against the sinful ones, whose risings on thy throne in the Sektet Boat are mighty, whose strength is widespread in the Atett Boat, make thou the Osiris Ani to be glorious by virtue of his word, which is truth, in Khert-Neter. Grant thou that he may be in Amentet free from evil, and let [his] offences be [set] behind thee. Grant thou that he may [live there] a devoted slave of the Spirit-souls. Let him mingle among the Heart-souls who live in Ta-tchesert (the Holy Land). Let him travel about in the Sekhet-Aaru (the Elysian Fields), conformably to [thy] decree with joy of heart-him the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth.

[And the god maketh answer]:--Thou shalt come forth into heaven, thou shalt sail over the sky, and thou shalt hold loving intercourse with the Star-gods. Praises shall be made to thee in the Boat. Thy name shall be proclaimed in the Atett Boat. Thou shalt look upon Ra within his shrine. Thou shalt make the Disk to set [with prayer] every day. Thou shalt see the Ant Fish in his transformations in the depths of the waters of turquoise. Thou shalt see the Abtu Fish in his time. It shall be that the Evil One shall fall when he deviseth a plan to destroy thee, and the joints of his neck and back shall be hacked asunder. Ra saileth with a fair wind, and the Sektet Boat progresseth and cometh into port. The mariners of Ra rejoice, and the heart of the Lady of the Hour is glad, for the enemy of her Lord hath been cast to the ground. Thou shalt behold Horus standing on the pilot's place in the Boat, and Thoth and Maat shall stand one on each side of him. All the gods shall rejoice when they behold Ra coming in peace to make the hearts of the Spirit- souls to live, and the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, the assessor of the holy offerings of the Lords of Thebes, shall be with them!

THE CHAPTER OF THE NEW MOON

THE FOLLOWING IS TO BE RECITED ON THE DAY OF THE MONTH (NEW MOON DAY). The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, in peace, whose word is truth, saith:- Ra ascendeth his throne on his horizon, and the Company of his Gods follow in his train. The God cometh forth from his hidden place, [and] tchefau food falleth from the eastern horizon of heaven at the word of Nut. They (the gods) rejoice over the paths of Ra, the Great Ancestor [as] he journeyeth round about. Therefore art thou exalted, O Ra, the dweller in thy Shrine. Thou swallowest the winds, thou drawest into thyself the north wind, thou eatest up the flesh of thy seat on the day when thou breathest truth. Thou dividest [it among] the gods who are [thy] followers. [Thy] Boat saileth on travelling among the Great Gods at thy word. Thou countest thy bones, thou gatherest together thy members, thou settest thy face towards Beautiful Amentet, and thou comest there, being made new every day. Behold, thou art that Image of Gold, thou hast the unitings of the disks of the sky, thou hast quakings, thou goest round about, and art made new each day. Hail! There is rejoicing in the horizon! The gods who dwell in the sky descend the ropes [of thy Boat] when they see the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, they ascribe praise unto him as unto Ra. The Osiris Ani is a Great Chief. [He] seeketh the Urrt Crown. His provisions are apportioned to him- the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth. [His] fate is strong from the exalted body of the Aamu gods, who are in the presence of Ra. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, is strong on the earth and in Khert-Neter. O Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, wake up, and be strong like unto Ra every day. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, shall not tarry, he shall not remain motionless in this land for ever. Right well shall he see with his two eyes, right well shall he hear with his two ears, the things which are true, the things which are true. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, is in Anu, the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, is as Ra, and he is exalted by reason of [his] oars among the Followers of Nu. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, cannot tell what he hath seen [or] narrate [what he hath heard] in the House of the God of Mysteries. Hail! Let there be shouts of acclamation of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, the divine body of Ra in the Boat of Nu, who beareth propitiatory offerings for the KA of the god of that which he loveth. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, in peace, whose word is truth, is like Horus, the mighty one of transformations.

RUBRIC: This Chapter is to be recited over a boat seven cubits long, made of green stone of the Tchatchau. Make a heaven of stars, and purify it and cleanse it with natron and incense. Make then a figure of Ra upon a tablet of new stone in paint, and set it in the bows of the boat. Then make a figure of the deceased whom thou wilt make perfect, [and place it] in the boat. Make it to sail in the Boat of Ra, and Ra himself shall look upon it. Do not these things in the presence of any one except thyself, or thy father, or thy son. Then let them keep guard over their faces, and they shall see the deceased in Khert-Neter in the form of a messenger of Ra.

A HYMN TO RA [WHICH IS TO BE SUNG] ON THE DAY OF THE MONTH (THE DAY OF THE NEW MOON) [WHEN] THE BOAT OF RA SAILETH. [The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith:-] Homage to thee, O thou who dwellest in thy Boat. Thou rollest on, thou rollest on, thou sendest forth light, thou sendest forth light. Thou decreest rejoicing for [every] man for millions of years unto those who love him. Thou givest [thy] face to the Hememet spirits, thou god Khepera who dwellest in thy Boat. Thou hast overthrown the Fiend Aapep. O ye Sons of Keb, overthrow ye the enemies of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, and the fiends of destruction who would destroy the Boat of Ra. Horus hath cut off your heads in heaven. Ye who were in the forms of geese, your navel strings are on the earth. The animals are set upon the earth..... in the form of fish. Every male fiend and every female fiend shall be destroyed by the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth. Whether the fiends descend from out of heaven, or whether they come forth from the earth, or whether they advance on the waters, or whether they come from among the Star-gods, Thoth, [the son of Aner], coming forth from Anerti shall hack them to pieces. And the Osiris Ani shall make them silent and dumb. And behold ye, this god, the mighty one of slaughters, the terror of whom is most great, shall wash himself clean in your blood, and he shall bathe in your gore, and ye shall be destroyed by the Osiris Ani in the Boat of his Lord Ra- Horus. The heart of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, shall live. His mother Isis giveth birth to him, and Nephthys nurseth him, just as Isis gave birth to Horus, and Nephthys nursed him. [He] shall repulse the Smait fiends of Suti. They shall see the Urrt Crown stablished upon his head, and they shall fall down upon their faces [and worship him]. Behold, O ye Spirit-souls, and men, and gods, and ye dead, when ye see the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, in the form of Horus, and the favoured one of the Urrt Crown, fall ye down upon your faces. The word of the Osiris Ani is truth before his enemies in heaven above, and on earth beneath, and before the Tchatchau Chiefs of every god and of every goddess.

RUBRIC: This Chapter shall be recited over a large hawk standing upright with the White Crown upon his head, [and over figures of] Tem, Shu, Tefnut, Keb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, [Suti] and Nephthys. And they shall be painted in colour upon a new tablet, which shall be placed in a boat, together with a figure of the deceased. Anoint them with heken oil, and offer unto them burning incense, and geese, and joints of meat roasted. It is an act of praise to Ra as he journeyeth in his boat, and it will make a man to have his being with Ra, and to travel with him wheresoever he goeth, and it will most certainly cause the enemies of Ra to be slain. And the Chapter of travelling shall be recited on the sixth day of the festival.

APPENDIX (From the Turin Papyrus)

ANOTHER CHAPTER WHICH IS TO BE RECITED WHEN THE MOON RENEWETH ITSELF ON THE DAY OF THE MONTH [WHEREON IT DOETH THIS]. Osiris unfettereth the storm-cloud in the body of heaven, and is unfettered himself; Horus is made strong happily each day. He whose transformations are many hath had offerings made unto him at the moment, and he hath made an end of the storm which is in the face of the Osiris, Auf-ankh, whose word is truth. Verily, he cometh, and he is Ra in journeying, and he is the four celestial gods in the heavens above. The Osiris Auf-ankh, whose word is truth, cometh forth in his day, and he embarketh among the tackle of the boat.

RUBRIC: If this Chapter be known by the deceased he shall become a perfect Spirit-soul in Khert-Neter, and he shall not die a second time, and he shall eat his food side by side with Osiris. If this Chapter be known by the deceased upon earth, he shall become like unto Thoth, and he shall be adored by those who live. He shall not fall headlong at the moment of the intensity of the royal flame of the goddess Bast, and the Great Prince shall make him to advance happily.

THE CHAPTER OF ADVANCING TO THE TCHATCHAU CHIEFS OF OSIRIS. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- I have built a house for my Ba-soul in the sanctuary in Tetu. I sow seed in the town of Pe (Buto). I have ploughed the fields with my labourers. My palm tree [standeth upright and is] like Menu upon it. I abominate abominable things. I will not eat the things which are abominations unto me. What I abominate is filth: I will not eat it. I shall not be destroyed by the offerings of propitiation and the sepulchral meals. I will not approach filth [to touch it] with my hands, I will not tread upon it with my sandals. For my bread shall be made of the white barley, and my ale shall be made from the red grain of the god Hapi (the Nile-god), which the Sektet Boat and the Atett Boat shall bring [unto me], and I will eat my food under the leaves of the trees whose beautiful arms I myself do know. O what splendour shall the White Crown make for me which shall be lifted up on me by the Uraei-goddesses! O Doorkeeper of Sehetep-taui, bring thou to me that wherewith the cakes of propitiation are made. Grant thou to me that I may lift up the earth. May the Spirit-souls open to me [their] arms, and let the Company of the

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Gods hold their peace whilst the Hememet spirits hold converse with the Osiris Ani. May the hearts of the gods lead him in his exalted state into heaven among the gods who appear in visible forms. If any god, or any goddess, attack the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, when he setteth out, the Ancestor of the year who liveth upon hearts [Osiris] shall eat him when he cometh forth from Abydos, and the Ancestors of Ra shall reckon with him, and the Ancestors of Light shall reckon with him. [He is] a god of splendour [arrayed in] the apparel of heaven, and he is among the Great Gods. Now the subsistence of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, is among the cakes and the ale which are made for your mouths. I enter in by the Disk, I come forth by the god Ahui. I shall hold converse with the Followers of the Gods. I shall hold converse with the Disk. I shall hold converse with the Hememet-spirits. He shall set the terror of me in the thick darkness, in the inside of the goddess Mehurt, by the side of his forehead. Behold, I shall be with Osiris, and my perfection shall be his perfection among the Great Gods. I shall speak unto him with the words of men, I shall listen, and he shall repeat to me the words of the gods. I, the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, in peace, have come equipped. Thou makest to approach [thee] those who love thee. I am a Spirit-soul who is better equipped than any [other] Spirit-soul.

THE CHAPTER OF MAKING THE TRANSFORMATION INTO A SWALLOW. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- I am a swallow, [I am] a swallow. [I am] that Scorpion, the daughter of Ra. Hail, O ye gods whose odour is sweet. Hail, O ye gods whose odour is sweet. Hail, Flame, who comest forth from the horizon. Hail, thou who art in the city. I have brought the Warder of his corner there. Give me thy two hands, and let me pass my time in the Island of Flame. I have advanced with a message, I have come having the report thereof [to make]. Open to me. How shall I tell that which I have seen there? I am like Horus, the governor of the Boat, when the throne of his father was given unto him, and when Set, that son of Nut, was [lying] under the fetters which he had made for Osiris. He who is in Sekhem hath inspected me. I stretch out my arms over Osiris. I have advanced for the examination, I have come to speak there. Let me pass on and deliver my message. I am he who goeth in, [I am] judged, [I] come forth magnified at the Gate of Nebertcher. I am purified at the Great Uart. I have done away my wickednesses. I have put away utterly my offences. I have put away utterly all the taints of evil which appertained to me [upon the earth]. I have purified myself, I have made myself to be like a god. Hail, O ye Doorkeepers, I have completed my journey. I am like unto you. I have come forth by day. I have advanced on my legs. I have gained the master over [my] footsteps. [Hail, ye] Spirit-souls! I, even I, do know the hidden roads and the Gates of Sekhet Aaru. I live there. Verily, I, even I, have come, I have overthrown my enemies upon the earth, although my body lieth a mummy in the tomb.
APPENDIX
RUBRIC: (Naville, op. cit., II, Bl. 202) If this Chapter be known by the deceased, he shall enter in after he hath come forth by day.
RUBRIC: (Saite Recension)
If this Chapter be known by the deceased, he shall come forth by day from Khert-Neter, and he shall go [again] after he hath come forth. If this Chapter be not known [by the deceased], he shall not go in again after he hath come forth [and he] shall not know [how] to come forth by day.

[THE CHAPTER] OF MAKING THE TRANSFORMATION INTO A HAWK OF GOLD. The Osiris Ani saith:- I have risen up out of the seshett chamber, like the golden hawk which cometh forth from his egg. I fly, I alight like a hawk with a back of seven cubits, and the wings of which are like unto the mother-of-emerald of the South. I have come forth from the Sektet Boat, and my heart hath been brought unto me from the mountain of the East. I have alighted on the Atet Boat, and there have been brought unto me those who dwelt in their substance, and they bowed in homage before me. I have risen, I have gathered myself together like a beautiful golden hawk, with the head of the Benu, and Ra hath entered in [to hear my speech]. I have taken my seat among the great gods, [the children of] Nut. I have settled myself, the Sekhet-hetepet (the Field of Offerings) is before me. I eat therein, I become a Spirit-soul therein, I am supplied with food in abundance therein, as much as I desire. The Grain-god (Nepra) hath given unto me food for my throat, and I am master over myself and over the attributes of my head.

[THE CHAPTER OF] MAKING THE TRANSFORMATION INTO A DIVINE HAWK. The Osiris Ani saith:- Hail, thou Great God, come thou to Tetu. Make thou ready for me the ways, and let me go round [to visit] my thrones. I have laboured. I have made myself perfect. O grant thou that I may be held in fear. Create thou awe of me. Let the gods of the Tuat be afraid of me, and let them fight for me in their halls. Permit not thou to come nigh unto me him that would attack me, or would injure me in the House of Darkness. Cover over the helpless one, hide him. Let do likewise the gods who hearken unto the word [of truth], the Khepriu gods who are in the following of Osiris. Hold ye your peace then, O ye gods, whilst the God holdeth speech with me, he who listeneth to the truth. I speak unto him my words. Osiris, grant thou that that which cometh forth from thy mouth may circulate to me. Let me see thine own Form. Let thy Souls envelop me. Grant thou that I may come forth, and that I may be master of my legs, and let me live there like Nebertcher upon his throne. Let the gods of the Tuat hold me in fear, and let them fight for me in their halls. Grant thou that I may move forward with him and with the Ariu gods, and let me be firmly stablished on my pedestal like the Lord of Life. Let me be in the company of Isis, the goddess, and let [the gods] keep me safe from him that would do an injury unto me. Let none come to see the helpless one. May I advance, and may I come to the Henti boundaries of the sky. Let me address words to Keb, and let me make supplicaion to the god Hu with Nebertcher. Let the gods of the Tuat be afraid of me, and let them fight for me in their halls. Let them see that thou hast provided me with food for the festival. I am one of those Spirit-souls who dwell in the Light-god. I have made my form in his Form, when he cometh to Tetu. I am a Spirit-body among his Spirit- bodies; he shall speak unto thee the things [which concern] me. Would that he would cause me to be held in fear! Would that he would create [in them] awe of me! Let the gods of the Tuat be afraid of me, and let them fight for me [in their halls]. I, even I, am a Spirit-soul, a dweller in the Light-god, whose form hath been created in divine flesh. I am one of those Spirit-souls who dwell in the Light-god, who were created by Tem himself, and who exist in the blossoms of his Eye. He hath made to exist, he hath made glorious, and he hath magnified their faces during their existence with him. Behold, he is Alone in Nu. They acclaim him when he cometh forth from the horizon, and the gods and the Spirit-souls who have come into being with him ascribe fear unto him.

I am one of the worms which have been created by the Eye of the Lord One. And behold, when as yet Isis had not given birth to Horus, I was flourishing, and I had waxed old, and had become pre-eminent among the Spirit-souls who had come into being with him. I rose up like a divine hawk, and Horus endowed me with a Spirit-body with his soul, so that [I] might take possession of the property of Osiris in the Tuat. He shall say to the twin Lion-gods for me, the Chief of the House of the Nemes Crown, the Dweller in his cavern: Get thee back to the heights of heaven, for behold, inasmuch as thou art a Spirit-body with the creations of Horus, the Nemes Crown shall not be to thee: [but] thou shalt have speech even to the uttermost limits of the heavens. I, the warder, took possession of the property of Horus [which belonged] to Osiris in the Tuat, and Horus repeated to me what his father Osiris had said unto him in the years [past], on the days of his burial. Give thou to me the Nemes Crown, say the twin Lion-gods for me. Advance thou, come along the road of heaven, and look upon those who dwell in the uttermost limits of the horizon. The gods of the Tuat shall hold thee in fear, and they shall fight for thee in their halls. The god Auhet belongeth to them. All the gods who guard the shrine of the Lord One are smitten with terror at [my] words.

Hail, saith the god who is exalted upon his coffer to me! He hath bound on the Nemes Crown, [by] the decree of the twin Lion-gods. The god Aahet hath made a way for me. I am exalted [on the coffer], the twin Lion-gods have bound the Nemes Crown on me and my two locks of hair are given unto me. He hath stablished for me my heart by his own flesh, and by his great, two-fold strength, and I shall not fall headlong before Shu. I am Hetep, the Lord of the two Uraei-goddesses who are to be adored. I know the Light-god, his winds are in my body. The Bull which striketh terror [into souls] shall not repulse me. I come daily into the House of the twin Lion-gods. I come forth therefrom into the House of Isis. I look upon the holy things which are hidden. I see the being who is therein. I speak to the great ones of Shu, they repulse him that is wrathful in his hour. I am Horus who dwelleth in his divine Light. I am master of his crown. I am master of his radiance. I advance towards the Henti boundaries of heaven. Horus is upon his seat. Horus is upon his thrones. My face is like that of a divine hawk. I am one who is equipped [like] his lord. I shall come forth to Tetu. I shall see Osiris. I shall live in his actual presence.... Nut. They shall see me. I shall see the gods [and] the Eye of Horus burning with fire before my eyes. They shall reach out their hands to me. I shall stand up. I shall be master of him that would subject me to restraint. They shall open the holy paths to me, they shall see my form, they shall listen to my words.

[Homage] to you, O ye gods of the Tuat, whose faces are turned back, whose powers advance, conduct ye me to the Star-gods which never rest. Prepare ye for me the holy ways to the Hemat house, and to your god, the Soul, who is the mighty one of terror. Horus hath commanded me to lift up your faces; do ye look upon me. I have risen up like a divine hawk. Horus hath made me to be a Spirit-body by means of his Soul, and to take possession of the things of Osiris in the Tuat. Make ye for me a path. I have travelled and I have arrived at those who are chiefs of their caverns, and who are guardians of the House of Osiris. I speak unto them his mighty deeds. I made them to know concerning his victories. He is ready [to butt with his] two horns at Set. They know him who hath taken possession of the god Hu, and who hath taken possession of the Powers of Tem.

Travel thou on thy way safely, cry out the gods of the Tuat to me. O ye who make your names pre-eminent, who are chiefs in your shrines, and who are guardians of the House of Osiris, grant, I pray you, that I may come to you. I have bound up and I have gathered together your Powers. I have directed the Powers of the ways, the wardens of the horizon, and of the Hemat House of heaven. I have stablished their fortresses for Osiris. I have prepared the ways for him. I have performed the things which [he] hath commanded. I come forth to Tetu. I see Osiris. I speak to him concerning the matter of his Great Son, whom he loveth, and concerning [the smiting of] the heart of Set. I look upon the lord who was helpless. How shall I make them to know the plans of the gods, and that which Horus did without the knowledge of his father Osiris?

Hail, Lord, thou Soul, most awful and terrible, behold me. I have come, I make thee to be exalted! I have forced a way though the Tuat. I have opened the roads which appertain to heaven, and those which appertain to the earth, and no one hath opposed me therein. I have exalted thy face, O Lord of Eternity.

APPENDIX (In the Papyrus of Nu, Sheet 14, the Chapter ends with the following.)

Exalted art thou on thy throne, O Osiris! Thou hast heard fair things, O Osiris! Thy strength is vigorous, O Osiris! Thy head is fastened on thy body, O Osiris! Thy neck is made firm, O Osiris! Thy heart is glad, [O Osiris!]. Thy speech is made effective, O Osiris! Thy princes rejoice Thou art established the Bull in Amentet. Thy son Horus hath ascended thy trrone, and all life is with him. Millions of years minister unto him, and millions of years hold him in fear. The Company of the Gods are his servants, and they fold him in fear. The god Tem, the Governor, the only One among the gods, hath spoken, and his word passeth not away. Horus is both the divine food and the sacrifice. He made haste to gather together [the members of] of his father. Horus is his deliverer. Horus is his deliverer. Horus hath sprung from the essence of his divine father and from his decay. He hath become the Governor of Egypt. The gods shall work for him, and they shall toil for him for million of years. He shall make millions of years to live through his Eye, the only one of its lord, Nebertcher.]

(From the Turin Papyrus, Bl. XXX)

Exalted is thy throne, O Osiris. Thou hearest well, O Osiris. Thy strength flourisheth, O Osiris. I have fastened thy head [on thy] body for thee. I have stablished thy throat, the throne of the joy of thy heart. Thy words are stable. Thy shenit princes are glad. Thou art stablished as the Bull of Amentet. Thy son Horus hath ascended thy throne. All life is with him. Millions of years work for him. The Company of the Gods fear him. Tem, the One Power of the Gods, hath spoken, and what he hath said is not changed, Hetu Aabi. Horus hath stood up. I have gone about collecting his father. Horus hath delivered his father. Horus hath delivered [his mother]. My mother is Horus. My brother is Horus. My uncle is Horus. I have come. Horus followeth his father.... there the dirt of his head. The gods shall serve him. Millions of years..... in his Eye, the Only One of its Lord, Neb-er- tcher.

THE CHAPTER OF BEING TRANSFORMED INTO THE PRINCE OF THE TCHATCHAU CHIEFS. The Osiris Nu, whose word is truth, saith:- I am the god Tem, the maker of the sky, the creator of the things which are, who cometh forth from the earth, who made the seed of man to come into being, the Lord of things, who fashioned the gods, the Great God, who created himself, the Lord of Life, who made to flourish the Two Companies of the Gods. Homage to you, O ye divine Lords of things, ye holy beings, whose seats are veiled! Homage to you, O ye Lords of Eternity, whose forms are concealed, whose sanctuaries are mysteries, whose places of abode are not known! Homage to you, O ye gods, who dwell in the Tenait (Circle of Light)! Homage to you, O ye gods of the Circle of the country of the Cataracts! Homage to you, O ye gods who dwell in Amentet! Homage to you, O ye gods who dwell within Nut! Grant ye to me that I may come before you, I am pure, I am like a god. I am endowed with a Spirit-soul. I am strong. I am endowed with a Heart-soul. I bring unto you incense, and spice, and natron. I have done away with the chidings of your mouths. I have come, I have done away the evil which was in your hearts, and I have removed the offences which appertained to you [against me]. I bring to you deeds of well-doing, and I present before you truth. I know you. I know your names. I know your forms which are not known. I come into being among you. My coming is like unto that god who eateth men, and who feedeth upon the gods. I am strong before you even like that god who

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is exalted upon his pedestal, unto whom the gods come with rejoicing, and the goddesses make supplication when they see me. I have come unto you. I have ascended my throne like your Two Daughters. I have taken my seat in the horizon. I receive my offerings of propitiation upon my altars. I drink my fill of seth wine every evening. I come to those who are making rejoicings, and the gods who live in the horizon ascribe unto me praises, as the divine Spirit-body, the Lord of mortals. I am exalted like that holy god who dwelleth in the Great House. The gods rejoice greatly when they see my beautiful appearances from the body of the goddess Nut, and when the goddess Nut bringeth me forth.

[THE CHAPTER OF] MAKING THE TRANSFORMATION INTO THE SERPENT SATA. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- I am the serpent Sata whose years are infinite. I lie down dead. I am born daily. I am the serpent Sa-en-ta, the dweller in the uttermost parts of the earth. I lie down in death. I am born, I become new, I renew my youth every day.

[THE CHAPTER OF] MAKING THE TRANSFORMATION INTO THE CROCODILE-GOD. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- I am the Crocodile-god (Sebak) who dwelleth amid his terrors. I am the Crocodile-god and I seize [my prey] like a ravening beast. I am the great Fish which is in Kamui. I am the Lord to whom bowings and prostrations are made in Sekhem. And the Osiris Ani is the lord to whom bowings and prostrations are made in Sekhem.

(From the Papyrus of Nebseni)
Behold, I am the dweller in his terrors, I am the crocodile, his firstborn. I bring (prey) from a distance. I am the Fish of Horus, the Great One in Kamui. I am the lord of bowings in Sekhem.

THE CHAPTER OF MAKING THE TRANSFORMATION INTO PTAH. The Osiris Ani [whose word is truth, saith]:- I eat bread. I drink ale. I gird up my garments. I fly like a hawk. I cackle like the Smen goose. I alight upon that place hard by the Sepulchre on the festival of the Great God. That which is abominable, that which is abominable I will not eat. [An abominable thing] is filth, I will not eat thereof. That which is an abomination unto my KA shall not enter my body. I will live upon that whereon live the gods and the Spirit-souls. I shall live, and I shall be master of their cakes. I am master of them, and I shall eat them under the trees of the dweller in the House of Hathor, my Lady. I will make an offering. My cakes are in Tetu, my offerings are in Anu. I gird about myself the robe which is woven for me by the goddess Tait. I shall stand up and sit down in whatsoever place it pleaseth me to do so. My head is like unto that of Ra. I am gathered together like Tem.

Here offer the four cakes of Ra, and the offerings of the earth. I shall come forth. My tongue is like that of Ptah, and my throat is like unto that of Hathor, and I remember the words of Tem, of my father, with my mouth. He forced the woman, the wife of Keb, breaking the heads near him; therefore was the fear of him there. [His] praises are repeated with vigour. I am decreed to be the Heir, the lord of the earth of Keb. I have union with women. Keb hath refreshed me, and he hath caused me to ascend his throne. Those who dwell in Anu bow their heads to me. I am [their] Bull, I am stronger than [the Lord] of the hour. I unite with women. I am master for millions of years.

[THE CHAPTER OF] MAKING THE TRANSFORMATION INTO THE SOUL OF TEM. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- I shall not enter into the place of destruction, I shall not perish, I shall not know [decay]. I am Ra, who came forth from Nu, the Soul of the God who created his own members. What I abominate is sin; I will not look thereon. I cry not out against truth, nay, I live therein. I am the god Hu, the imperishable god, in my name of "Soul." I have created myself with Nu, in the name of "Khepera." I exist in them like Ra. I am the Lord of Light.

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nu)
That which is an abomination unto me is death; let me not go into the chamber of torture which is in the Tuat. I am the delight of the Khu of Osiris. I make to be content the heart[s] of those who dwell among the divine things which are beloved [by me]. They cause the fear of me [to abound], they create the awe of me to be in those divine beings who dwell in their own circles. Behold, I am exalted on my own standard, and upon my throne, and upon my seat which is assigned [to me]. I am the god Nu, and those who commit sin shall not destroy me. I am the firstborn of the primeval god, and my soul is the Souls of the Eternal Gods, and my body is Everlastingness. My created form is [that of] the god Eternity, the Lord of Years, and the Prince of Everlastingness. I am the Creator of the Darkness, who maketh his seat in the uttermost limits of the heavens, [which] I love. I arrive at their boundaries. I advance upon my two legs. I direct my resting place. I sail over the sky. I fetter and destroy the hidden serpents which are about my footsteps [in going to] the Lord of the Two Arms. My soul is the Souls of the Eternal Gods, and my body is Everlastingness. I am the exalted one, the Lord of the Land of Tebu. I am the Child in the city: "Young man in the country" is my name. "Imperishable one" is my name. I am the Soul Creator of Nu. I make my habitation in Khert-Neter. My nest is invisible, my egg is not broken. I have done away the evil which is in me. I shall see my Father, the Lord of the Evening. His body dwelleth in Anu. I am made to be the Light-god, a dweller in the Light-god, over the Western Domain of the Hebt bird.

[THE CHAPTER OF] MAKING THE TRANSFORMATION INTO THE BENU BIRD. The Osiris, the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- I flew up out of primeval matter. I came into being like the god Khepera. I germinated like the plants. I am concealed like the tortoise [in his shell]. I am the seed of every god. I am Yesterday of the Four [Quarters of the Earth, and] the Seven Uraei, who came into being in the Eastern land. [I am] the Great One (Horus) who illumineth the Hememet spirits with the light of his body. [I am] that god in respect of Set. [I am] Thoth who [stood] between them (Horus and Set) as the judge on behalf of the Governor of Sekhem and the Souls of Anu. [He was like] a stream between them. I have come. I rise up on my throne. I am endowed with Khu. I am mighty. I am endowed with godhood among the gods. I am Khensu, [the lord] of every kind of strength.

RUBRIC: [If] this Chapter [be known by the deceased], he shall come forth pure by day after his death, and he shall perform every transformation which hs soul desireth to make. He shall be among the Followers of Un-Nefer, and he shall satisfy himself with the food of Osiris, and with sepulchral meals. He shall see the Disk [of the Sun], he shall be in good case upon earth before Ra, and his word shall be truth in the sight of Osiris, and no evil thing whatsoever shall have dominion over him for ever and ever.

[THE CHAPTER OF] MAKING THE TRANSFORMATION INTO A HERON. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- I am the master of beasts brought for sacrifice, [and] of the knives which are [held] at their heads [and] their beards; those who dwell in their emerald [fields], the Aged Gods, and the Spirit-souls, are ready at the moment for the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, in peace. He maketh slaughter on the earth, and I make slaughter on the earth. I am strong. I follow the heights unto heaven. I have made myself pure. I walk with long strides to my city. I have become an owner of land there. I advance to Sepu..... is given to me in Unu. I have set the gods upon their roads. I have made splendid the houses and towns of those who are in their shrines. I know the stream of Nut. I know Tatun. I know Teshert. I have brought along their horns. I know Heka. I have hearkened to this words. I am the Red Bull-calf which is marked with markings. The gods shall say when they hear [of me]: Uncover your faces. His coming is to me. There is light which ye know not. Times and seasons are in my body. I do not speak [lies] in the place of truth, daily. The truth is hidden on the eyebrows. [By] night [I] sail up the river to keep the feast of him that is dead, to embrace the Aged God, and to guard the earth, I the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth.

APPENDIX (From the Saite Recension)
RUBRIC: If this Chapter be known [by the deceased], he will live like a perfect Spirit-soul in Khert-Neter; no evil thing whatsoever shall overthrow him.

[THE CHAPTER OF] MAKING THE TRANSFORMATION INTO THE LOTUS. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- I am the holy lotus that cometh forth from the light which belongeth to the nostrils of Ra, and which belongeth to the head of Hathor. I have made my way, and I seek after him, that is to say, Horus. I am the pure lotus that cometh forth from the field [of Ra].

APPENDIX (Naville, op. cit., I, Bl. XCIII)
Chapter of making the transformation into a lotus. The Osiris, the lady of of the house, Aui, whose word is truth, in peace, saith:- Hail, thou Lotus, thou type of the god Nefer-Temu! I am the man who knoweth your names. I know your names among the gods, the lords of Khert-Neter. I am one among you. Grant ye that I may see the gods who are the Guides of the Tuat. Grant ye to me a seat in Khert-Neter, near the Lords of Amentet. Assign to me a habitation in the land of Tchesert. Receive ye me in the presence of the Lords of Eternity. Let my soul come forth in whatsoever place it pleaseth. Let it not be rejected in the presence of the Great Company of the Gods.

[THE CHAPTER OF] MAKING THE TRANSFORMATION INTO THE GOD WHO LIGHTENETH THE DARKNESS. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- I am the girdle of the garment of the god Nu, which giveth light, and shineth, and belongeth to his breast, the illuminer of the darkness, the uniter of the two Rehti deities, the dweller in my body, through the great spell of the words of my mouth. I rise up, but he who was coming after me hath fallen. He who was with him in the Valley of Abtu hath fallen. I rest. I remember him. The god Hu hath taken possession of me in my town. I found him there. I have carried away the darkness by my strength, I have filled the Eye [of Ra] when it was helpless, and when it came not on the festival of the fifteenth day. I have weighed Sut in the celestial houses against the Aged One who was with him. I have equipped Thoth in the House of the Moon-god, when the fifteenth day of the festival come not. I have taken possession of the Urrt Crown. Truth is in my body; turquoise and crystal are its months. My homestead is there among the lapis-lazuli, among the furrows thereof. I am Hem-Nu, the lightener of the darkness. I have come to lighten the darkness; it is light. I have lightened the darkness. I have overthrown the ashmiu-fiends. I have sung hymns to those who dwell in the darkness. I have made to stand up the weeping ones, whose faces were covered over; they were in a helpless state of misery. Look ye then upon me. I am Hem-Nu. I will not let you hear concerning it. [I have fought. I am Hem-Nu. I have lightened the darkness. I have come. I have made an end to the darkness which hath become light indeed.]

THE CHAPTER OF NOT DYING A SECOND TIME. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- Hail, Thoth! What is it that hath happened to the children of Nut? They have waged war, they have upheld strife, they have done evil, they have created the fiends, they have made slaughter, they have caused trouble; in truth, in all their doings the strong have worked against the weak. Grant, O might of Thoth, that that which the god Tem hath decreed [may be done!] And thou regardest not evil, nor art thou provoked to anger when they bring their years to confusion, and throng in and push in to disturb their months. For in all that they have done unto thee they have worked iniquity in secret. I am they writing- palette, O Thoth, and I have brought unto thee thine ink-jar. I am not of those who work iniquity in their secret places; let not evil happen unto me.

The Osiris, the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- Hail, Temu! What manner of land is this unto which I have come? It hath not water, it hath not air; it is depth unfathomable, it is black as the blackest night, and men wander helplessly therein. In it a man cannot live in quietness of heart; nor may the longings of love be satisfied therein. But let the state of the Spirit-souls be given unto me instead of water and air, and the satisfying of the longings of love, and let quietness of heart be given unto me instead of cakes and ale. The god Tem hath decreed that I shall see thy face, and that I shall not suffer from the things which pain thee. May every god transmit unto thee his throne for millions of years. Thy throne hath descended unto thy son Horus, and the god Tem hath decreed that thy course shall be among the holy princes. In truth he shall rule from thy throne, and he shall be heir to the throne of the Dweller in the fiery Lake [Neserser]. In truth it hath been decreed that in me he shall see his likeness, and that my face shall look upon the face of the Lord Tem. How long then have I to live? It is decreed that thou shalt live for millions of years, a life of millions of years. Let it be granted to me to pass on to the holy princes, for indeed, I have done away all the evil which I committed, from the time when this earth came into being from Nu, when it sprang from the watery abyss even as it was in the days of old. I am Fate and Osiris, I have made my transformations into the likeness of divers serpents. Man knoweth not, and the gods cannot behold the two-fold beauty which I have made for Osiris, the greatest of the gods. I have given unto him the region of the dead. And, verily, his son Horus is seated upon the throne of the Dweller in the fiery Lake [of Neserser], as his heir. I have made him to have his throne in the Boat of Millions of Years. Horus is stablished upon his throne [among his] kinsmen, and he hath all that is with him. Verily, the Soul of Set, which is greater than all the gods, hath departed. Let it be granted to me to bind his soul in fetter in the Boat of the God, when I please, and let him hold the Body of the God in fear. O my father Osiris, thou hast done for me that which thy father Ra did for thee. Let me abide upon the earth permanently. Let me keep possession of my throne. Let my heir be strong. Let my tomb, and my friends who are upon the earth, flourish. Let my enemies be given over to destruction, and to the shackles of the goddess Serq. I am thy son. Ra is my father. On me likewise thou hast conferred life, strength, and health. Horus is established upon his tomb. Grant thou that the days of my life may come unto worship and honour.

APPENDIX (From the Leyden Papyrus of Ra)
RUBRIC: This Chapter shall be recited over a figure of Horus, made of lapis-lazuli, which shall be placed on the neck of the deceased. It is a protection upon earth, and it will secure for the deceased the affection of men, gods, and the

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Spirit-souls which are perfect. Moreover it acteth as a spell in Khert-Neter, but it must be recited by thee on behalf of the Osiris Ra, regularly and continually millions of times.

[THE CHAPTER OF] ENTERING INTO THE HALL OF MAATI TO PRAISE OSIRIS KHENTI-AMENTI. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- I have come unto thee. I have drawn nigh to behold thy beauties (thy beneficient goodness). My hands are [extended] in adoration of thy name of "Maat." I have come. I have drawn nigh unto [the place where] the cedar-tree existeth not, where the acacia tree doth not put forth shoots, and where the ground produceth neither grass nor herbs. Now I have entered into the habitation which is hidden, and I hold converse with Set. My protector advanced to me, covered was his face.... on the hidden things. He entered into the house of Osiris, he saw the hidden things which were therein. The Tchatchau Chiefs of the Pylons were in the form of Spirits. The god Anpu spake unto those about him with the words of a man who cometh from Ta-mera, saying, "He knoweth our roads and our towns. I am reconciled unto him. When I smell his odour it is even as the odour of one of you." And I say unto him: I the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, in peace, whose word is truth, have come. I have drawn nigh to behold the Great Gods. I would live upon the propitiatory offerings [made] to their Doubles. I would live on the borders [of the territory of] the Soul, the Lord of Tetu. He shall make me to come forth in the form of a Benu bird, and to hold converse [with him.] I have been in the stream [to purify myself]. I have made offerings of incense. I betook myself to the Acacia Tree of the [divine] Children. I lived in Abu in the House of the goddess Satet. I made to sink in the water the boat of the enemies. I sailed over the lake [in the temple] in the Neshmet Boat. I have looked upon the Sahu of Kamur. I have been in Tetu. I have held my peace. I have made the god to be master of his legs. I have been in the House of Teptuf. I have seen him, that is the Governor of the Hall of the God. I have entered into the House of Osiris and I have removed the head-coverings of him that is therein. I have entered into Rasta, and I have seen the Hidden One who is therein. I was hidden, but I found the boundary. I journeyed to Nerutef, and he who was therein covered me with a garment. I have myrrh of women, together with the shenu powder of living folk. Verily he (Osiris) told me the things which concerned himself. I said: Let thy weighing of me be even as we desire.

And the Majesty of Anpu shall say unto me, "Knowest thou the name of this door, and canst thou tell it?" And the Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, in peace, whose word is truth, shall say, "Khersek-Shu" is the name of this door. And the Majesty of the god Anpu shall say unto me, "Knowest thou the name of the upper leaf, and the name of the lower leaf?" [And the Osiris the scribe Ani] shall say: "Neb-Maat-heri-retiu- f" is the name of the upper leaf and "Neb-pehti-thesu-menment" [is the name of the lower leaf. And the Majesty of the god Anpu shall say], "Pass on, for thou hast knowledge, O Osiris the scribe, the assessor of the holy offerings of all the gods of Thebes Ani, whose word is truth, the lord of loyal service [to Osiris]."

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nu, Brit. Mus. No. 10477, Sheet 22)

[THE FOLLOWING] WORDS SHALL BE SAID BY THE STEWARD OF THE KEEPER OF THE SEAL, NU, WHOSE WORD IS TRUTH, WHEN HE COMETH FORTH TO THE HALL OF MAATI, SO THAT HE MAY BE SEPARATED FROM EVERY SIN WHICH HE HATH COMMITTED, AND MAY BEHOLD THE FACES OF THE GODS. The Osiris Nu, whose word is truth, saith: Homage to thee, O great God, Lord of Maati! I have come unto thee, O my Lord, and I have brought myself hither that I may behold thy beauties. I know thee, I know thy name, I know the names of the Forty-two Gods who live with thee in this Hall of Maati, who live by keeping ward over sinners, and who feed upon their blood on the day when the consciences of men are reckoned up in the presence of the god Un- Nefer. In truth thy name is "Rehti-Merti-Nebti-Maati." In truth I have come unto thee, I have brought Maati (Truth) to thee. I have done away sin for thee. I have not committed sins against men. I have not opposed my family and kinsfolk. I have not acted fraudulently in the Seat of Truth. I have not known men who were of no account. I have not wrought evil. I have not made it to be the first [consideration daily that unnecessary] work should be done for me. I have not brought forward my name for dignities. I have not [attempted] to direct servants [I have not belittled God]. I have not defrauded the humble man of his property. I have not done what the gods abominate. I have not vilified a slave to his master. I have not inflicted pain. I have not caused anyone to go hungry. I have not made any man to weep. I have not committed murder. I have not given the order for murder to be committed. I have not caused calamities to befall men and women. I have not plundered the offerings in the temples. I have not defrauded the gods of their cake-offerings. I have not carried off the fenkhu cakes [offered to] the Spirits. I have not committed fornication. I have not masturbated [in the sanctuaries of the god of my city]. I have not diminished from the bushel. I have not filched [land from my neighbour's estate and] added it to my own acre. I have not encroached upon the fields [of others]. I have not added to the weights of the scales. I have not depressed the pointer of the balance. I have not carried away the milk from the mouths of children. I have not driven the cattle away from their pastures. I have not snared the geese in the goose-pens of the gods. I have not caught fish with bait made of the bodies of the same kind of fish. I have not stopped water when it should flow. I have not made a cutting in a canal of running water. I have not extinguished a fire when it should burn. I have not violated the times [of offering] the chosen meat offerings. I have not driven away the cattle on the estates of the gods. I have not turned back the god at his appearances. I am pure. I am pure. I am pure. My pure offerings are the pure offerings of that great Benu which dwelleth in Hensu. For behold, I am the nose of Neb-nefu (the lord of the air), who giveth sustenance unto all mankind, on the day of the filling of the Utchat in Anu, in the second month of the season Pert, on the last of the month, [in the presence of the Lord of this earth]. I have seen the filling of the Utchat in Anu, therefore let not calamity befall me in this land, or in this Hall of Maati, because I know the names of the gods who are therein, [and who are the followers of the Great God].

THE NEGATIVE CONFESSION

Hail, Usekh-nemmt, who comest forth from Anu, I have not committed sin. Hail, Hept-khet, who comest forth from Kher-aha, I have not committed robbery with violence. Hail, Fenti, who comest forth from Khemenu, I have not stolen. Hail, Am-khaibit, who comest forth from Qernet, I have not slain men and women. Hail, Neha-her, who comest forth from Rasta, I have not stolen grain. Hail, Ruruti, who comest forth from heaven, I have not purloined offerings. Hail, Arfi-em-khet, who comest forth from Suat, I have not stolen the property of God. Hail, Neba, who comest and goest, I have not uttered lies. Hail, Set-qesu, who comest forth from Hensu, I have not carried away food. Hail, Utu-nesert, who comest forth from Het-ka-Ptah, I have not uttered curses. Hail, Qerrti, who comest forth from Amentet, I have not committed adultery, I have not lain with men. Hail, Her-f-ha-f, who comest forth from thy cavern, I have made none to weep. Hail, Basti, who comest forth from Bast, I have not eaten the heart. Hail, Ta-retiu, who comest forth from the night, I have not attacked any man. Hail, Unem-snef, who comest forth from the execution chamber, I am not a man of deceit. Hail, Unem-besek, who comest forth from Mabit, I have not stolen cultivated land. Hail, Neb-Maat, who comest forth from Maati, I have not been an eavesdropper. Hail, Tenemiu, who comest forth from Bast, I have not slandered [no man]. Hail, Sertiu, who comest forth from Anu, I have not been angry without just cause. Hail, Tutu, who comest forth from Ati (the Busirite Nome), I have not debauched the wife of any man. Hail, Uamenti, who comest forth from the Khebt chamber, I have not debauched the wife of [any] man. Hail, Maa-antuf, who comest forth from Per-Menu, I have not polluted myself. Hail, Her-uru, who comest forth from Nehatu, I have terrorized none. Hail, Khemiu, who comest forth from Kaui, I have not transgressed [the law]. Hail, Shet-kheru, who comest forth from Urit, I have not been wroth. Hail, Nekhenu, who comest forth from Heqat, I have not shut my ears to the words of truth. Hail, Kenemti, who comest forth from Kenmet, I have not blasphemed. Hail, An-hetep-f, who comest forth from Sau, I am not a man of violence. Hail, Sera-kheru, who comest forth from Unaset, I have not been a stirrer up of strife. Hail, Neb-heru, who comest forth from Netchfet, I have not acted with undue haste. Hail, Sekhriu, who comest forth from Uten, I have not pried into matters. Hail, Neb-abui, who comest forth from Sauti, I have not multiplied my words in speaking. Hail, Nefer-Tem, who comest forth from Het-ka-Ptah, I have wronged none, I have done no evil. Hail, Tem-Sepu, who comest forth from Tetu, I have not worked witchcraft against the king. Hail, Ari-em-ab-f, who comest forth from Tebu, I have never stopped [the flow of] water. Hail, Ahi, who comest forth from Nu, I have never raised my voice. Hail, Uatch-rekhit, who comest forth from Sau, I have not cursed God. Hail, Neheb-ka, who comest forth from thy cavern, I have not acted with arrogance. Hail, Neheb-nefert, who comest forth from thy cavern, I have not stolen the bread of the gods. Hail, Tcheser-tep, who comest forth from the shrine, I have not carried away the khenfu cakes from the Spirits of the dead. Hail, An-af, who comest forth from Maati, I have not snatched away the bread of the child, nor treated with contempt the god of my city. Hail, Hetch-abhu, who comest forth from Ta-she (the Fayyum), I have not slain the cattle belonging to the god.

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nebseni)

Hail, Usekh-nemmt, who comest forth from Anu, I have not committed sin. Hail, Hept-Shet, who comest forth from Kher-aha, I have not robbed with violence. Hail, Fenti, who comest forth from Khemenu, I have done no violence. Hail, Am-khaibitu, who comest forth from Qerrt, I have not stolen. Hail, Neha-hau, who comest forth from Rasta, I have not slain men. Hail, Ruruti, who comest forth from heaven, I have not made light the bushel. Hail, Arti-f-em-tes, who comest forth from Sekhem, I have not acted deceitfully. Hail, Neba, who comest and goest, I have not stolen the property of the god. Hail, Set-qesu, who comest forth from Hensu, I have not told lies. Hail, Uatch-nesert, who comest forth from Het-ka-Ptah, I have not carried away food. Hail, Qerti, who comest forth from Amenti, I have not uttered evil words. Hail, Hetch-abhu, who comest from Ta-she, I have attacked no man. Hail, Unem-snef, who comest forth from the execution chamber, I have not salin a bull which was the property of the god. Hail, Unem-besku, who comest [forth from the Mabet chamber], I have not acted deceitfully. Hail, Neb-maat, who comest forth from Maati, I have not pillaged the lands which have been ploughed. Hail, Thenemi, who comest forth from Bast, I have never pried into matters [to make mischief]. Hail, Aati, who comest forth from Anu, I have not set my mouth in motion. Hail, Tutuf, who comest from from A, I have not been wroth except with reason. Hail, Uamemti, who comest forth from the execution chamber, I have not debauched the wife of a man. Hail, Maa-anuf, who comest forth from Per-Menu, I have not polluted myself. Hail, Heri-uru, who comest forth from [Nehatu], I have terrorized no man. Hail, Khemi, who comest forth from Ahaui, I have not made attacks. Hail, Shet-kheru, who comest forth from Uri, I have not been a man of anger. Hail, Nekhem, who comest forth from Heq-at, I have not turned a deaf ear to the words of truth. Hail, Ser-Kheru, who comest forth from Unes, I have not stirred up strife. Hail, Basti, who comest forth from Shetait, I have made none to weep. Hail, Her-f-ha-f, who comest forth from thy cavern, I have not committed acts of sexual impurity, or lain with men. Hail, Ta-ret, who comest forth from Akhkhu, I have not eaten my heart. Hail, Kenmti, who comest forth from Kenmet, I have cursed no man. Hail, An-hetep-f, who comest forth from Sau, I have not acted in a violent or oppressive manner. Hail, Neb-heru, who comest forth from Tchefet, I have not acted [or judged] hastily. Hail, Serekhi, who comest forth from Unth, I have not.... my hair, I have not harmed the god. Hail, Neb-abui, who comest forth from Sauti, I have not multiplied my speech overmuch. Hail, Nefer-Tem, who comest forth from Het-ka-Ptah, I have not acted with deciet, I have not worked wickedness. Hail, Tem-Sep, who comest forth from Tetu, I have not done things to effect the cursing of [the king]. Hail, Ari-em-ab-f, who comest forth from Tebti, I have not stopped the flow of water. Hail, Ahi-mu, who comest forth from Nu, I have not raised my voice. Hail, Utu-rekhit, who comest forth from thy house, I have not curse God. Hail, Neheb-Nefert, who comest forth from the Lake of Nefer, I have not acted with insufferable insolence. Hail, Neheb-kau, who comest forth from [thy] city, I have not sought to make myself unduly distinguished. Hail, Tcheser-tep, who comest forth from thy cavern, I have not increased my wealth except through such things are [justly] my own possessions. Hail, An-a-f, who comest forth from Auker, I have not scorned [or treated with contempt] the god of my town.

ADDRESS TO THE GODS OF THE TUAT (From the Papyrus of Nu, Brit. Mus. No. 10477, Sheet 24)

THE FOLLOWING ARE THE WORDS WHICH THE HEART OF TRUTH THAT IS SINLESS SHALL SAY WHEN HE COMETH WITH THE WORD OF TRUTH INTO THE HALL OF MAATI; THEY SHALL BE SAID WHEN HE COMETH TO THE GODS WHO DWELL IN THE TUAT; AND THEY ARE THE WORDS WHICH ARE [TO BE SAID] AFTER [HE COMETH FORTH FROM] THE HALL OF MAATI.

Nu, the steward of the keeper of the seal, whose word is truth, saith:- Homage to you, O ye gods who dwell in your Hall of Maati! I know you, I know your names. Let me not fall under your knives of slaughter, and bring ye not forward my wickedness to this god in whose following ye are. Let not evil hap come upon me through you. Speak ye the truth concerning me in the presence of Neb-er-tcher, for I have done what is right and just in Ta-Mera. I have not cursed the god, and my evil hap did not come upon him that was king in his day.

Homage to you, O ye who dwell in your Hall of Maati, who have nothing false in your bodies, who live upon Truth, who feed yourselves upon Truth in the presence of Horus who dwelleth in his Disk, deliver ye me from Beba, who feedeth upon the livers of the great ones on the day of the Great Judgement. Grant ye that I may come before you, for I have not committed sin, I have done no act of deceit, I have done no evil thing, and I have not borne [false] witness; therefore let nothing [evil] be done to me. I have lived upon truth, I have fed upon truth, I have performed the ordinances of men, and the things which gratify the gods. I have propitiated the god by doing his will, I have given bread to the hungry man, and water to him that was athirst, and apparel to the naked man, and a ferry-boat to him that had no boat. I have made propitiatory offerings and given cakes to the gods, and the "things which appear at the word" to the Spirits. Deliver then

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ye me, protect then ye me, and make ye no report against me in the presence [of the Great God]. I am pure in respect of my mouth, and I am clean in respect of my hands, therefore let it be said unto me by those who shall behold me: "Come in peace, Come in peace." For I have heard that great word which the Sahu spake to the CAT, in the House of Hapt-ra. I have borne witness to Her- f-ha-f, and he hath given a decision [concerning me]. I have seen the things over which the Persea tree which is in Rasta, spreadeth its branches. I have made petitions to the gods, [and I] know the things [which appertain to] their bodies. I have come, travelling a long road, to bear righteous testimony, and to set the Balance upon its supports within Aukert.

Hail, thou who art exalted high upon thy standard, thou Lord of the Atef Crown, who dost make thy name to be "Lord of the Winds," deliver thou me from thy divine Envoys who punish and afflict according to [thy] decrees, and who make calamities to arise, and whose faces are without coverings, for I have done what is right and true for the Lord of Truth. I am pure. My breast is purified by libations, and my hinder parts are made clean with the things which make clean, and my inner parts have been dipped in the Lake of Truth. There is no single member of mine which lacketh truth. I have washed myself clean in the Lake of the South. I have rested myself in the City of the North, which is in Sekhet Sanhemu (the Field of the Grasshoppers), where the mariners of Ra wash themselves clean at the second hour of the night, and at the third hour of the day. The hearts of the gods are gratified when they have passed over it, whether it be by night or whether it be by day, and they say unto me, "Let thyself advance." They say unto me, "Who art thou?" And they say unto me, "What is thy name?" [And I reply], "Sept-kheri-nehait- ammi-beq-f" is my name. Then they say unto me, "Advance straightway on the city which is to the North of the Olive Tree. What dost thou see there?" The Leg and the Thigh. What dost thou say unto them? Let me see rejoicings in these lands of the Fenkhu. What do they give unto thee? A flame of fire and a sceptre-amulet [made] of crystal. What dost thou do with them? I bury them on the furrow of M'naat, as things for the night. What dost thou find on the furrow of Maat? A sceptre of flint, the name of which is "Giver of winds." What now didst thou do with the flame of fire and the sceptre-amulet [made] of crystal, after thou didst bury them? I said a spell over them, and I dug them up. I quenched the flame of fire and I broke the sceptre-amulet, and I made a lake of water. [Then shall the Two and forty gods say unto me]: "Come now, pass in over the threshold of this door of the Hall of Maati, for thou hast knowledge of us." "We will not allow thee to enter in over us," say the bars of this door, "unless thou tellest us our names." [And I reply], "Tekh-bu- maa" is your name. The right lintel of this door saith: "I will not allow thee to pass over me unless thou tellest me my name." [And I reply], "Henku-en-fat-maat" is thy name. The left lintel of this door saith: "I will not allow thee to pass over me unless thou tellest me my name." [And I reply], "Henku-en-arp" is thy name. The ground of this door saith: "I will not allow thee to pass over me unless thou tellest me my name." [And I reply], "Aua-en-Keb" is thy name. And the bolt of this door saith: "I will not open the door to thee unless thou tellest me my name." [And I reply], "Saah-en-mut-f" is thy name. The socket of the fastening of this door saith: "I will not open unto thee unless thou tellest my name." [And I reply], "The Living Eye of Sebek, the Lord of Bakhau," is thy name. The Doorkeeper of this door saith: "I will not open to thee, and I will not let thee enter by me unless thou tellest my name." [And I reply], "Elbow of the god Shu who placeth himself to protect Osiris" is thy name. The posts of this door say: "We will not let thee pass in by us unless thou tellest our name." [And I reply], "Children of the uraei-goddesses" is your name. The Doorkeeper of this door saith: "I will not open to thee, and I will not let thee enter in by me unless thou tellest my name. [And I reply], "Ox of Keb" is thy name. [And they reply], "Thou knowest us, pass in therefore by us." The ground of this Hall of Maati saith: "I will not let thee tread upon me [unless thou tellest me my name], for I am silent. I am holy because I know the names of two feet wherewith thou wouldst walk upon me. Declare, then, them to me." [And I reply], "Besu-Ahu" is the name of my right foot, and "Unpet-ent-Het-Heru" is the name of my left foot. [The ground replieth]: "Thou knowest us, enter in therefore over us." The Doorkeeper of this Hall of Maati saith: "I will not announce thee unless thou tellest my name." [And I reply], "Discerner of hearts, searcher of bellies" is thy name. [The Doorkeeper saith]: "Thou shalt be announced." [He saith]: "Who is the god who dwelleth in his hour? Speak it" [And I reply], "Au-taui." [He saith]: "Explain who he is." [And I reply], "Au-taui" is Thoth. "Come now," saith Thoth, "for what purpose hast thou come?" [And I reply]: "I have come, and have journeyed hither that my name may be announced [to the god]." [Thoth saith]: "In what condition art thou?" [And I reply], "I, even I, am purified from evil defects, and I am wholly free from the curses of those who live in their days, and I am not one of their number." [Thoth saith]: "Therefore shall [thy name] be announced to the god." [Thoth saith]: "Tell me, who is he whose heaven is of fire, whose walls are living serpents, and whose ground is a stream of water? Who is he?" [And I reply], "He is Osiris." [Thoth saith]: "Advance now, [thy name] shall be announced to him. Thy cakes shall come from the Utchat (Eye of Horus or Ra), thy ale shall come from the Utchat, and the offerings which shall appear to thee at the word upon earth [shall proceed] from the Utchat." This is what Osiris hath decreed for the steward of the overseer of the seal, Nu, whose word is truth.

RUBRIC: THE MAKING OF THE REPRESENTATION OF WHAT SHALL HAPPEN IN THIS HALL OF MAATI. This Chapter shall be said by the deceased when he is cleansed and purified, and is arrayed in linen apparel, and is shod with sandals of white leather, and his eyes are painted with antimony, and his body is anointed with unguent made of myrrh. And he shall present as offerings oxen, and feathered fowl, and incense, and cakes and ale, and garden herbs. And behold, thou shalt draw a representation of this in colour upon a new tile moulded from earth upon which neither a pig nor any other animal hath trodden. And if this book be done [in writing, the deceased] shall flourish, and his children shall flourish, and [his name] shall never fall into oblivion, and he shall be as one who filleth the heart of the king and of his princes. And bread, and cakes, and sweetmeats, and wine, and pieces of flesh shall be given unto him [from among those which are] upon the altar of the Great God. And he shall not be driven back from any door in Amentet, and he shall be led along with the kings of the South and the kings of the North, and he shall be among the bodyguard of Osiris, continually and regularly for ever. [And he shall come forth in every form he pleaseth as a living soul for ever, and ever, and ever.]

THE CHAPTER OF THE DEIFICATION OF THE MEMBERS

The hair of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, is the hair of Nu. The face of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, is the face of Ra. The eyes of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, are the eyes of Hathor. The ears of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, are the ears of Up- uatu. The lips of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, are the lips of Anpu. The teeth of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, are the teeth of Serqet. The cheeks of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, are the cheeks of Isis. The arms of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, are the arms of Ba- neb-Tetu. The neck of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, is the neck of Uatchit. The throat of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, is the throat of Mert. The breast of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, is the breast of the Lady of Sais. The backbone of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, is the backbone of Set. The trunk of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, is the trunk of the Lords of Kher-aha. The flesh of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, is the flesh of Aa- shefit. The belly of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, is the belly of Sekhmet. The buttocks of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, are the buttocks of the Eye of Horus. The phallus of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, is the phallus of Osiris. The thighs of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, are the thighs of Nut. The feet of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, are the feet of Ptah. The fingers of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, are the fingers of Saah. The toes of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, are the toes of the Living Uraei.

APPENDIX (From the Pyramid of Pepi I, ll. 565ff.)

The head of this Meri-Ra is the head of Horus; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The skull of this Pepi is the Dekan star of the god; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The brow of this Meri-Ra is the brow of..... and Nu; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The face of this Pepi is the face of Up-uatu; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The eyes of this Meri-Ra are the eyes of the Great Lady, the first of the Souls of Anu; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The nose of this Pepi is the nose of Thoth; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The mouth of this Meri-Ra is the mouth of Khens-ur; he cometh forth therefore, and ascendeth therefore, and ascendeth therefore into heaven. The tongue of this Pepi is the tongue of Maaa (Truth) in the Maat Boat; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The teeth of this Pepi are the teeth of the Souls of [Anu]; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The lips of this Meri-Ra are the lips of.....; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The chin of this Pepi is the chin of Nest-khent-Sekhem (the throne of the First Lady of Sekhem); he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The thes bone of this Pepi is the thes bone of the Bull Sma; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The soulders of this Pepi are the shoulders of Set; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. [The..... of this Pepi].....; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. [The.....of this Pepi] .....of Baabu; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The breast of this Meri-Ra is the breast of Bast; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The belly of this Meri-Ra is the belly of Nut; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. [The.....of this Pepi] .....; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. [The.....of this Pepi] .....of the two Companies of the gods; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The two thighs of this Pepi are the two thighs of Heqet; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The buttocks of this Meri-Ra are like the Semktet Boat and the Mantchet Boat; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The phallus of this Pepi is the phallus of the Hep Bull; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The legs of this Meri-Ra are the legs of Net (Neith) and Serqet; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The knees of this Meri-Ra are the knees of the twin Souls who are at the head of the Sekhet-Tcher; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The soles of this Meri-Ra are like the Maati Boat; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The toes of this Pepi are the toes of the Souls of Anu; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. Now this Pepi is a god, the son of a god; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. This Pepi is the son of Ra, who loveth him; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. Ra hath sent forth Meri-Ra; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. Ra hath begotten [this] Pepi; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. Ra hath given birth to Pepi; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. This spell therefore is in the body of Meri-Ra; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. This Meri-Ra is the Power, the Great Power, among the Great Council of Chiefs in Anu; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. He worketh the boat; Pepi cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. [Pepi is] Horus, the nursling, the child; Meri-Ra cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. Pepi hath not had union with Nut, she hath not given her hands to him; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. Keb hath not removed the obstacles in his path; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. No god hath smitten the steps of this Meri-Ra; he come forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. [Though] Pepi is not censed is not mourned, hath not washed himself in the vessel, hath not smelt the haunch, hath not carried the meat- offering, hath not ploughed the earth, hath not dedicated an offering, he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. Behold, it is not this Pepi who hath said these things to you, O ye gods, it is Heka who hath said these things to you, O ye gods, and this Meri-Ra is the support which is under Heka; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. Every god smiteth the feet of Pepi; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. He plougheth the earth, he dedicateth an offering, he bringeth the vessel of [blood], he smelleth the haunch, and he bringeth the meat offering; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. Every god graspeth the hand of Meri-Ra in heaven,

He conducteth him to the House of Horus in the sky. The word of his Double is truth before Keb.

THE CHAPTER OF REPULSING SLAUGHTER IN HENSU (From the Papyrus of Nu, Sheet 6)

THE CHAPTER OF DRIVING BACK THE SLAUGHTERS WHICH ARE PERFORMED IN HENSU. The Osiris Nu, whose word is truth, saith:- O thou land of the Sceptre! O thou White Crown of the divine form! O thou rest of the ferry-boat! I am the Child. (Repeat four times). Hail, Abu-ur! Thou sayest daily: "The slaughter-block is made ready as thou knowest, and thou hast come to destruction." I am Ra, who stablisheth those who praise him. I am the Knot of the god in the Aser tree, the twice beautiful one, who is more splendid to-day than yesterday. (Repeat four times). I am Ra, who stablisheth those who praise him. I am the Knot of the god within the Aser tree, and my appearance is the appearance [of Ra] on this day.

My hair is the hair of Nu. My face is the face of the Disk. My eyes are the eyes of Hathor. My ears are the ears of Up-uat. My nose is the nose of Khenti-Khabas. My lips are the lips of Anpu. My teeth are the teeth of Serqet. My cheeks are the cheeks of the goddess Isis. My hands are the hands of Ba-neb-Tet. My forearms are the forearms of Neith, the Lady of Sais. My backbone is the backbone of Suti. My phallus is the phallus of Beba. My reins are the reins of the Lords of Kher-aha. My chest is the chest of Aa-shefit. My belly and back are the belly and back of Sekhmet. My buttocks are the buttocks of the Eye of Horus. My hips and legs are the hips and legs of Nut. My feet are the feet of Ptah. [My fingers] and my toes are the [fingers and] toes of the Living gods. There is no member of my body which is not the member of a god. Thoth protecteth my body altogether, and I am Ra day by day. I shall not be dragged back by my arms, and none shall lay violent hold upon my hands. And shall do me hurt neither men, nor gods, nor the Spirit-souls, nor the dead, nor any man, nor any pat-spirit, nor any rekhit-spirit, nor any hememet-spirit.

I am he who cometh forth advancing, whose name is unknown. I am Yesterday. "Seer of Millions of Years" is my name. I pass along, I pass along the paths of the divine

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celestial judges. I am the Lord of Eternity: I decree and I judge like Khepera. I am the Lord of the Urrt Crown. I am he who dwelleth in the Utchat and in the Egg, and it is granted unto me to live therein. I am he who dwelleth in the Utchat when it closeth, and I exist by the strength thereof. I come forth and I shine; I enter in and I come to life. I am in the Utchat, my seat is upon my throne, and I sit in the tent chamber before it. I am Horus. [I] traverse millions of years. I have decreed [the stablishing] of my throne, and I am the ruler thereof; and in very truth my mouth keepeth an even balance both in speech and in silence. In very truth my forms are inverted. I am Un-Nefer, from one period even unto another, and what I have is within me. I am the only One, who proceedeth from an only One, who goeth round about in his course. I am he who dwelleth in the Utchat. No evil thing of any shape or kind shall spring up against me, and no baleful object, and no harmful thing, and no disastrous thing shall happen unto me. I open the door in heaven. I rule my throne. I open the way for the births which take place on this day. I am the child who traverseth the road of Yesterday. I am To-day for untold nations and peoples. I am he who protecteth you for millions of years. Whether ye be denizens of heaven, or of the earth, or of the South, or of the North, or of the East, or of the West, the fear of me is in your bodies. I am he whose being hath been wrought in his eye. I shall not die again. My moment is in your bodies, but my forms are in my place of habitation. I am "He who cannot be known." The Red Fiends have their faces directed against me. I am the unveiled one. The period when the heavens were created for me and were enlarged the bounds of earth, and multiplied the progeny thereof, cannot be found out. They shall fail and not be united again. By reason of the speech which I address to you, my name setteth itself apart from all things evil which are in the mouths of men. I am he who riseth and shineth, a wall which cometh out of a wall, an only One who proceedeth from an only One. There is never a day that passeth without the things which appertain unto him being therein; passing, passing, passing, passing. Verily I say unto thee, I am the Plant which cometh forth from Nu, and my mother is Nut. Hail, my creator, I am he who hath no power to walk, the Great Knot who dwelleth in Yesterday. The might of my strength is within my hand, I am not known [by thee], but I am he who knoweth thee. I cannot be held in the hand, but I am he who can hold thee in his hand. Hail, O Egg! Hail, O Egg! I am Horus who liveth for millions of years, whose flame shineth upon you, and bringeth your hearts unto me. I am master of my throne. I advance at this season. I have opened a path. I have delivered myself from all evil things. I am the golden dog-headed ape, three palms and two fingers [high], which hath neither arms nor legs, and which dwelleth in Het-ka-Ptah. I go forth as goeth forth the dog-headed ape who dwelleth in Het-ka-Ptah.

RUBRIC: Behold the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, arrayed in fine linen, and shod with sandals of white [leather], and anointed with the very finest myrrh unguent. There are offered unto him a fine bull, and incense, and ra geese, and flowers, and ale, and cakes, and garden herbs. And behold, thou shalt draw a representation of a table of offerings on a clean tile with pure colours, and thou shalt bury it in a field whereon no swine hath trodden. And if a copy of this book be written upon it, he shall rise [again], and his children's children shall flourish and prosper, like unto Ra, without cessation. He shall be in high favour with the king, and with the shenit nobles of his court, and there shall be given unto him cakes and cups of drink, and portions of flesh, upon the altar-table of the Great God. He shall not thrust aside at any door in Amentet; he shall travel in the train of the Kings of the South and the Kings of the North, and he shall abide with the followers of Osiris near Un-Nefer, for ever, and for ever, and for ever.

Vignette (From the Papyrus of Nu, Sheet 24)

The steward of the overseer of the seal, Nu, whose word is truth, begotten of the steward of the overseer of the seal, Amen-hetep, whose word is truth, saith:- Hail, ye Four Apes who sit in the bows of the Boat of Ra, who convey truth to Nebertcher, who sit in judgement on the oppressed man and on [his] oppressor, who make the gods to be contented by means of the flame of your mouths, who offer holy offerings to the gods, and sepulchral meals to the Spirit-souls, who live upon truth, and who feed upon truth of heart, who are without deceit and fraud, and to whom wickedness is an abomination, do ye away with my evil deeds, and put ye away my sins [which deserved stripes upon earth, and destroy ye every evil thing which appertaineth to me], and let there be no obstacle whatsoever on my part towards you. O grant ye that I may make my way through the Amehet, let me enter into Rasta, let me pass through the hidden pylons of Ament. O grant that there may be given unto me shens cakes, and ale, and persen cakes, even as to the living Spirit-souls, and grant that I may enter into and come forth from Rasta.

[The Four Apes make answer, saying]: Come thou, for we have done away with thy wickedness, and we have put away thy sin, along with thy sins upon earth which deserved stripes, and we have destroyed every evil thing which appertained to thee upon earth. Enter, therefore, unto Rasta, and pass through the hidden pylons of Amentet, and there shall be given unto thee shens cakes, and ale, and persen cakes, and thou shalt come forth and shalt enter in at thy desire, even as do those who are favoured [of the God], and thou shalt be called [to partake of offerings] each day in the horizon.

THE CHAPTER OF A TET OF GOLD. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- Thou risest up for thyself, O Still-heart! Thou shinest for thyself, O Still-heart! Place thou thyself on thy base, I come, I bring unto thee a Tet of gold, thou shalt rejoice therein.

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nebseni and the Papyrus of Nu)

Rise up thou, O Osiris, thou hast thy backbaone, O Still-heart, thou hast thy neck vertebrae and thy back, O Still-heart! Place thou thyself on thy base. I put water beneath thee, and I bring unto thee a Tet of god that thou mayest rejoice therein.

RUBRIC (From the Papyrus of Nu): [This Chapter] shall be recited over a Tet of gold set in a stand made of sycamore wood which hath been steeped in a tincture of ankhamu flowers, and it shall be placed on the neck of the deceased on the day of the funeral. If this amulet be placed on his neck he shall become a perfect Khu in Khert-Neter, and at the festivals of the New Year he shall be like unto the Followers of Osiris continually and for ever.

RUBRIC (From the Turin Papyrus): [This Chapter] shall be said over a Tet of gold fashioned out of the trunk of a sycamore tree, and it shall be placed on the neck of the deceased. Then shall he enter in through the doors of the Tuat. His words whall be silenced. He shall place himself on the ground on New Year's Day among the Followers of Osiris. If this Chapter be known by the deceased he shall live like a perfect Khu in Khert-Neter. He shall not be sent back from the doors of Amentet. There shall be given to him the shens cake, and a cup of wine, and the persen cake, and slices of meat on the altars of Ra, or as some read, Osiris Un-Nefer. And his word shall be truth before his enemies in Khert-Neter continually, and for ever and for ever.

THE CHAPTER OF A TET OF CARNELIAN. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- The blood of Isis, the spells of Isis, the magical powers of Isis, shall make this great one strong, and shall be an amulet of protection [against him] that would do to him the things which he abominateth.

APPENDIX

RUBRIC (From the Papyrus of Nu): [This Chapter] shall be said over a Tet of carnelian, which hath been washed in a tincture of ankhamu flowers, and is fashioned out of the trunk of a sycamore tree. It shall be placed on the neck of the deceased on the day of the funeral. If this be done for him the magical powers of Isis will protect his members. Horus, the son of Isis, shall rejoice when he seeth him. [No] road shall be blocked to him. His hand shall be to heaven, his hand shall be to earth, for ever. Do not let anyone see him. Verily....

RUBRIC (From the Saite Recension): [This Chapter] shall be said over a Tet of carnelian, anointed with a tincture of ankhamu flowers, made from the trunk of a sycamore tree. It shall be placed on the neck of the Khu. If this book be done for him, the magical spells of Isis shall protect him, and Horus the son of Isis shall rejoice [when] he seeth him. No road shall be blocked to him. His hand shall be to heaven, his hand shall be to earth..... If this book be known by him he shall be in the following of Osiris Un-Nefer, and his word shall be truth in Khert- Neter. The doors in Khert-Neter shall be opened to him. Wheat and barley shall be given to him in Sekhet-Aanru. His name shall be like [the names of] the gods who are there, the Followers of Horus who reap.

THE CHAPTER OF A HEART OF SEHERT STONE. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- I am the Benu bird, the Heart-soul of Ra, the guide of the gods to the Tuat. Their Heart-souls come forth upon earth to do what their KAU wish to do, and the Heart-soul of the Osiris Ani shall come forth to do what his Ka wisheth to do.

THE CHAPTER OF THE HEAD-REST, which is to be placed under the head of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth. Awake out of thy sufferings, O thou who liest prostrate! Awake thou! Thy head is in the horizon. I lift thee up, O thou whose word is truth. Ptah hath overthrown thine enemies for thee. Thine enemies have fallen, and they shall never more exist, O Osiris.

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nebseni, Sheet 21)

THE CHAPTER OF THE HEAD-REST [OR PILLOW]. Awake out of thy sufferings, O thou who liest prostrate. They (the gods) keep watch over thy head in the horizon. Thou art lifted up, thy word is truth in respect of the things which have been done by thee. Ptah hath cast down headlong thine enemies. This work was ordered to be done for thee. Thou art Horus, the son of Hathor, Nesert, Nesertet, who giveth back the head after it hath been cut off. Thy head shall not be carried away from thee, after [it hath been cut off]; thy head shall be carried away from thee, never, never!

THE TEXTS IN THE FUNERAL CHAMBER

SPEECH OF ISIS. Isis saith:- I have come to be a protector unto thee. I waft unto thee air for thy nostrils, and the north wind which cometh forth from the god Tem unto thy nose. I have made whole for thee thy windpipe. I make thee to live like a god. Thine enemies have fallen under thy feet. I have made thy word to be true before Nut, and thou art mighty before the gods.

SPEECH OF NEPHTHYS. Nephthys saith unto the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth:- I go round about thee to protect thee, O brother Osiris. I have come to be a protector unto thee. [My strength shall be near thee, my strength shall be near thee, for ever. Ra hath heard thy cry, and the gods have made thy word to be truth. Thou art raised up. Thy word is truth in respect of what hath been done unto thee. Ptah hath overthrown thy foes, and thou art Horus, the son of Hathor.]

SPEECH OF THE TET. I have come quickly, and I have driven back the footsteps of th god whose face is hidden. I have illumined his sanctuary. I stand near the god Tet on the day of repelling disaster. I watch to protect thee, O Osiris.

SPEECH OF KESTA (Mesta). I am Kesta, thy son, O Osiris Ani, whose word is truth. I come to protect thee. I will make thy house to flourish, permanently, even as Ptah hath commanded me, and as Ra himself hath commanded.

SPEECH OF HAPI. I am Hapi, thy son, O Osiris Ani, whose word is truth. I come to protect thee. I bind together thy head and the members of thy body. I smite down for thee thine enemies under thee. I give unto thee thy head for ever and for ever, O Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, whose word is truth in peace.

SPEECH OF TUAMUTEF. Tuamutef saith:- I am thy son Horus, who loveth thee. I come to avenge thee, O my father Osiris, upon him that did evil unto thee. I have set him under thy feet for ever and for ever, permanently, permanently, O Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, whose word is truth.

SPEECH OF QEBHSENUF. Qebsenuf saith:- I am thy son, O Osiris Ani, whose word is truth. I come to protect thee. I have collected thy bones and I have gathered together thy members. [I have brought thy heart, and I have placed it upon its throne within thy body. I make thy house to flourish after thee, O thou who livest for ever.]

SPEECH OF THE FLAME. I protect thee with this flame. I drive him [the foe] away from the valley of the tomb. I cast the sand about [thy feet]. I embrace the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, in peace.

SPEECH OF THE FLAME. I come to hew in pieces. I have not been hewn in pieces, and I will not permit thee to be hewn in pieces. I come to do violence [to thy foe], but I will not permit violence to be done unto thee. I protect thee.

A SOUL SAITH:- The Osiris Ani, whose is truth, praiseth Ra when he rolleth up into the sky in the eastern horizon of heaven.

A SOUL SAITH:- The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, in peace in Khert- Neter, praiseth Ra when he setteth in the western horizon of heaven, [and saith], "I am a perfect soul."

SPEECH OF ANI. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- I am a perfect soul dwelling in the divine egg of the Abtu Fish. I am the Great Cat which dwelleth in the Seat of Truth, wherein the god Shu riseth.

SPEECH OF THE USHABTI FIGURE [THE CHAPTER OF NOT DOING WORK IN KHERT- NETER]. Illumine the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth. Hail, Shabti Figure! If the Osiris Ani be decreed to do any of the work which is to be done in Khert-Neter, let everything which standeth in the way be removed from him- whether it be to plough the fields, or to fill the channels with water, or to carry sand from [the East to the West]. The Shabti Figure replieth: I will do it, verily I am here [when] thou callest.

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nu and the Papyrus of Nebseni)

The Speech of Anpu: Anubis the dweller in the mummy chamber, Governor of the Divine House, layeth his hands upon the lord of life, the scribe, the draughtsman of Ptah, Nebseni, the lord of fealty, begotten of the scribe and mason Thena, born of the lady of the house Mut-rest, whose word is truth, and devoting himself to him as his guardian, saith:- Homage to thee, thou happy one, lord! Thou seest the Utchat. Ptah-Seker hath bound thee up. Anpu hath exalted thee. Shu hath raised thee up, O Beautiful Face, thou governor of eternity. Thou hast thine eye, O scribe Nebseni, lord of fealty, and it is beautiful. Thy right eye is like the Sektet Boat, thy left eye is like the Atet Boat. Thine eyebrows are fair to see in the presence of the Company of the Gods. Thy brow is under

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the protection of Anpu, and thy head and face, O beautiful one, are before the holy Hawk. Thy fingers have been stablished by thy scribe's craft in the presence of the Lord of Khemenu, Thoth, who hath bestowed upon thee the knowledge of the speech of the holy books. Thy beard is beautiful in the sight of Ptah-Seker, and thou, O scribe Nebseni, thou lord of fealty, art beautiful before the Great Company of the Gods. The Great God looketh upon thee, and he leadeth thee along the path of happiness. Sepulchral meals are bestowed upon thee, and he overthroweth for thee thine enemies, setting them under thy feet in the presence of the Great Company of the Gods who dwell in the House of the Great Aged One which is in Anu.

[HERE] BEGIN THE CHAPTERS OF SEKHET-HETEPET, AND THE CHAPTERS OF COMING FORTH BY DAY, OF ENTERING INTO AND COMING FORTH FROM KHERT-NETER, OF ARRIVING IN SEKHET-AANRU, AND OF LIVING IN PEACE IN THE GREAT CITY, THE LADY OF WINDS. [The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith:-] Let me be master there. Let me be a khu there. Let me plough there. Let me reap there. Let me eat there. Let me drink there. [Let me beget there]. Let me do there all the things which one doeth upon earth. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- Horus vanquished Set when [he] looked at the building of Sekhet-Hetepet. [He] spread air over the Divine Soul in its Egg, in its day. He delivered the interior of the body of Horus [from the Akeru Gods]. I have crowned him in the House of Shu. His house is the stars. Behold, I take up my place in its nomes. He hath guided the hearts of the Company of the Firstborn Gods. He hath reconciled the Two Fighters (Horus and Set), the guardians of life. He hath done what is fair, bringing an offering. He hath reconciled the Two Fighters with him that belongeth to them. He hath cut off the hairy scalp of the Two Fighters. He hath destroyed the revolts of [their] children. I have done away all the evil which attacked their souls. I am master in [Sekhet-Hetepet]. I know it. I have sailed over its lakes that I might arrive at the cities thereof. I have made strong my mouth. The Spirit-souls are ready [to fight], but they shall not gain the mastery over me. I am equipped in thy Fields, O god Hetep. What thou wishest thou shalt do, [saith this god].

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nebseni, Sheet 17)

HERE BEGIN THE CHAPTERS OF SEKHET-HETEPET, AND THE CHAPTERS OF COMING FORTH BY DAY; OF GOING INTO AND OF COMING FORTH FROM KHERT-NETER; OF ARRIVAL IN SEKHET-AARU; OF LIVING IN SEKHET-HETEPET, THE MIGHTY CITY, THE LADY OF WINDS; OF HAVING POWER THEREIN; OF BECOMING A SPIRIT-SOUL THERE; OF PLOUGHING THERE; OF REAPING THERE; OF EATING THERE; OF DRINKING THERE; OF MAKING LOVE THERE; AND OF DOING EVERYTHING THERE EVEN AS A MAN DOETH UPON EARTH. NEBSENI, THE SCRIBE AND DRAUGHTSMAN OF PTAH, SAITH:- Set vanguished Horus, who was looking at the building in Sekhet- Hetepet. I set free Horus from Set. Set opened the paths of the Two Eyes (the Sun and Moon) in the sky. Set ejected water with air upon the soul of his Eye, which dwelt in the town of Mert; he delivered the interior of the body of Horus from the hands of the Akeru Gods. Behold me! I paddle this great boat over the Lake of the god Hetep; I seized upon it in the mansion of Shu. The mansion of his stars reneweth youth, reneweth youth. I paddle over the Lakes thereof so that I may arrive at the towns thereof. I sail up to the town of the god Hetep.... Behold, I am at peace with his times, and with his guidance, and with his will, and with the Company of the Gods, who are his firstborn. He maketh the Two Fighters (Horus and Set) to be at peace [with each other], and to keep ward over the living whom he hath created in fair form, and he bringeth peace; he maketh the Two Fighters to be at peace with those who watch over them. He cutteth off the hair from their divine fighters, he driveth away storm from the children. He guardeth from attack the Spirits. I have gained power therein. I know it. I have sailed over its Lakes so that I might arrive at its towns. My mouth is strong. I am equipped against the Spirits. They shall not gain the mastery over me. I am rewarded [with] these thy Fields, O god Hetep. What thou wishest that do thou, O lord of the winds. I shall be a spirit therein. I shall eat therein. I shall drink therein. I shall plough therein. I shall reap the grain therein. I shall be strong therein. I shall make love therein. My words shall be strong therein. I shall not be in subjection therein. I shall be a man of might therein. Thou hast made strong the mouth and throat. Hetep Qettbu is its name. [It is] stablished upon the pillars of Shu, and is linked with the pleasant things of Ra. He is the divider of years, the hidden of mouth; silent is his mouth, hidden is what he uttereth, he fulfilleth eternity, he taketh possession of everlastingness of existence as Hetep, Neb-Hetep. Horus maketh himself strong like unto a hawk which is one thousand cubits in length, and two thousand cubits in life. He that equipments with him, he journeyeth on, he cometh to the place where his heart would be, among the Lakes which are in its towns. He begetteth in the birth-chamber of the god of the town, he is satisfied with the food of the god of the town; he doeth what ought to be done there, in the Field of Smas-er-Khet..... everything of the birth-chamber of the god of the town. Now [when he] setteth in the [land of] life like crystal he performeth everything therein, [which things are] like unto the things done in the Lake Neserser, wherein there is none that rejoiceth, and wherein are evil things of all kinds. The god Hetep goeth in and cometh out, and marcheth hither and thither in the Field of Smas-er-Khet, the Lady of the birth-chamber of the god of the town. [Let me] live with the god Hetep, clothed, and not despoiled by the Lords of the North, and may the Lord of things bring food unto me. May he make me to go forward. May I come forth. May he bring to me my Power there, may I receive it, and may I be rewarded by the god Hetep. May I be master of the great and mighty word in my body in this my place. Make me to remember it. Let me [not] forget it. Let me go forward, let me plough. I am at peace with the god of the town. I know the water, the towns, the nomes, and the lakes which are in Sekhet-Hetepet. I live therein. I am strong therein. I shine therein. I eat therein. I..... therein. I reap the harvest therein. I plough therein. I beget children therein. I am at peace therein with the god Hetep. Behold I sow seed therein. I sail about on the lakes thereof, and I arrive at its towns, O god Hetep. Behold my mouth is equipped, it possesseth horns . Give unto me the abundance of the KAU (Doubles) and Spirit-souls. He who counteth me is Shu. I know him not. I come to its towns. I sail over its lakes. I walk about in Sekhet-Hetepet. Behold, it is Ra who is in heaven. Behold, it is Hetep [who is] its double offering of peace. I have advanced to its territory. I have put on my apparel. I have come forth. I have given what it was upon me to give. I have made glad in [my] heart. I have conquered. I am strong. I have given directions to Hetep.

[Hail], Unen-em-hetep, I have come to thee. My soul followeth me. The god Hu is on my hands. [Hail], Nebt-taui, in whom I remember and forget, I have become alive. I have attacked none, let none attack me. I have given, give thou to me gladness. Make thou me to be at peace, bind thou up my veins, let [me] receive air. [Hail], Unen-em-hetep, the Lord of Winds. I have come there. I have opened my head. Ra sleepeth. I watch not, [for] the goddess Hetemet is at the door of heaven by night. Obstacles have been put before, but I have collected his emissions. I am in my city. O Nut-urt (Great City), I have come into thee. I have counted up my abundant stores. I advance on my way to Uakh. I am the Bull which is tied with a rope of lapis-lazuli, the lord of the Field of the Bull, the lord of the words of the god, the goddess Septet (Sothis) at her hours. O Uakh, I have come into thee. I have eaten my food. I am master of choice pieces of the flesh of oxen and of feathered fowl, and the birds of Shu have been given unto me. I follow the gods, and I come [after the Doubles]. O Tcheft, I have come into thee. I array myself in apparel, and I gird about myself the sat garment of Ra. Behold the Court of the sky, and the followers of Ra who dwell in heaven. O Un-em-hetep, the lord of the Two Lands, I have come into thee. I have plunged into the Lakes of Tchesert; behold, impurity of every kind hath removed from me. The divine Great One flourisheth therein. Behold, I have found [him]. I have netted geese, and have fed full upon the finest of them. O Qenqentet, I have come into thee. I have seen the Osiris [my father]. I have saluted my mother. I have begotten children. I have snared the serpents, and I am delivered. I know the name of the god who is with the goddess Tchesert, and who hath straight hair, and is equipped with horns [ready to gore]. He reapeth, and I both plough and reap. O Hetemet, I have entered into thee. I have approached the lapis-lazuli. I have followed the winds of the Company of the Gods. The Great God hath given my head unto me. He who hath bound my head on my body for me is the Mighty One, with eyes of lapis-lazuli, namely, Ari-en-ab-f ("He doeth as he pleaseth"). O Usert, I have come into thee, to the house wherein food is brought unto me. O Smam, I have come into thee. My heart watcheth, my head is equipped with the White Crown. I act as the guide of the celestial beings. I make to flourish terrestrial beings. There is joy of heart for the Bull, and for the celestial beings, and for the Company of the Gods. I am the god, the Bull, the Lord of the gods, who maketh his way over the turquoise. O wheat and barley of the nome of the god, I have come into thee. I have come forward. I have lifted [you] up, following the best offerings of the Company of the Gods. I have moored my boat to the tying-up post in the lakes of the celestial beings. I have pulled up the typing-up post. I have recited words, and I have ascribed praises unto the gods who dwell in Sekhet-Hetepet.

THE CHAPTER OF PROVIDING THE DECEASED WITH MEAT, MILK, ETC.

The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- Homage to thee, O Ra, the Lord of Truth, the Only One, the Lord of Eternity and Maker of Everlastingness. I have come before thee, O my Lord Ra. I would make to flourish the Seven Cows and their Bull. O ye who give cakes and ale to the Spirit-souls, grant ye that my soul may be with you. Let him be born on your thighs. Let him be like unto one of you for ever and for ever. Let the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, have glorious power in the Beautiful Amentet.

The Names of the Seven Holy Cows and their Bull:

1. Het-Kau Nebtertcher. 2. Akertkhentetasts. 3. Khebitetsahneter. 4. Urmertusteshertshenti. 5. Khnemtemankhanuit. 6. Sekhmetrensemabats. 7. Shenatpetuthestneter. Bull: Kathaihemt.

ADDRESSES TO THE FOUR RUDDERS OF HEAVEN

Hail, thou Beautiful Power, thou Beautiful Rudder of the Northern Heaven. Hail, thou who circlest, Guide of the Two Lands, Beautiful Rudder of the Western Heaven. Hail, Splendour, Dweller in the temple of the Ashemu gods, Beautiful Rudder of the Eastern Heaven. Hail, Dweller in the temple of the Red gods, Beautiful Rudder of the Southern Heaven.

ADDRESSES TO THE FOUR COMAPNIES OF THE GODS

Hail, ye gods who are above the earth, ye Guides of the Tuat. Hail, ye Mother-goddesses, who are above the earth in Khert-Neter, in the House of Osiris. Hail, ye gods who guide Ta-tchesert, who are above the earth and are guides of the Tuat. Hail, ye Followers of Ra, who follow in the train of Osiris.

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nu)

RUBRIC: [These words] shall be said when Ra appeareth over [figures] of these gods written in colour upon a tablet, and thou shalt place offerings of tchefau food before them, cakes, ale, flesh, geese, and incense. They shall cause the deceased to enjoy the "offerings which come forth at the word [of command]" before Ra; and they shall give the deceased an abundance of food in Khert-Neter, and shall deliver him from every evil thing whatsoever. And thou shalt not recite this Book of Un- Nefer in the presence of anyone except thine own self. If this be done for the deceased Ra shall be a rudder for him, and shall be to him a strong protecting power, and he shall destroy all his enemies for him in Khert-Neter, and in heaven, and upon earth, and in every place whereinsoever he may enter, and he shall enjoy celestial food regularly and continually for ever.

(From the Saite Recension)

THE BOOK OF MAKING PERFECT THE KHU in the heart of Ra, of making him to have the mastery before Tem, of magnifying him before Osiris, of making him mighty before Khent-Amentet, and of setting awe of him before the Company of the Gods. It shall be recited on the day of the New Moon, on the sixth day festival, on the fifteenth day festival, on the festival of Uak, on the festival of Thoth, on the Birthday of Osiris, on the festival of Menu, on the night of Heker, [during] the Mysteries of the Tuat, during the celebration of the Mysteries in Akertet, at the smiting of the emissions, at the passage of the Funerary Valley, [and] the Mysteries..... [The recital thereof] will make the heart of the Khu to flourish and will make long his strides, and will make him to advance, and will make his face bright, and will make it to penetrate to the God. Let no man witness [the recital] except the king and the Kherheb priest, but the servant who cometh to minister outside shall not see it. Of the Khu for whom this Book shall be recited, his soul shall come forth by day with the living, he shall have power among the gods, and it will make him irresisitible for ever and ever. These gods shall go round about him, and shall acknowledge him. He shall be one of them. [This Book] shall make him to know how he came into being in the beginning. This Book is indeed a veritable mystery. Let no stranger anywhere have knowledge of it. Do not speak about it to any man. Do not repeat it. Let no [other] eye see it. Let no [other] ear hear it. Let no one see it except [thyself] and him who taught [it to thee]. Let not the multitude [know of it] except thyself and the beloved friend of thy heart. Thou shalt do this book in the seh chamber on a cloth painted with the stars in colour all over it. It is indeed a mystery. The dwellers in the swamps of the Delta nad everywhere there shall not know it. It shall provided the Khu with celestial food upon in Khert-Neter. It shall supply his Heart-soul with food upon earth. It shall make him to live for ever. No [evil] thing shall have the master over him.

THE ADDRESSES OF THE FOUR RUDDERS

Hail, Power of Heaven, Opener of the Disk, thou Beautiful Rudder of the Northern Heaven. Hail, Ra, Guide of the Two Lands, thou Beautiful Rudder of the Western Heaven. Hail, Khu, Dweller in the House of the Akhemu gods, thou Beautiful Rudder of the Eastern Heaven. Hail, Governor, Dweller in the House of the Tesheru Gods, thou Beautiful Rudder of the Southern Heaven.

Grant ye cakes, and ale and tchefau food to the Osiris Aufankh, whose word is truth.

Hail, Father of the Gods! Hail, Mother of teh Gods in Khert-Neter! Deliver ye the Osiris from every evil thing, from

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every evil obstruction, from every dire attack of an enemy, and from that deadly snarer with knife-like words, and from men, and gods, and Spirit-souls, and the damned, on this day, on this night, on this present festival of the fifteenth day, and in this year, and from the things of evil thereof.

HYMN TO OSIRIS KHENTI-AMENTI UN-NEFER

he Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, praiseth Osiris Khenti-Amenti Un- Nefer, and saith:- Hail, my Lord, who dost hasten through eternity, whose existence is for ever, Lord of Lords, King of Kings, Sovereign, God of the Gods, who live in their shrines,.... gods.... men. Make thou for me a seat with those who are in Khert-Neter, who adore the forms of thy KA, and who traverse millions of millions of years..... May no delay arise for thee in Ta-mera. Let them come to thee, all of them, great as well as small. May this god give the power to enterin and to come forth from Khert-Neter, without repulse, at any door of the Tuat, to the KA of the Osiris Ani.

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Sutimes)

SUTIMES, THE LIBATIONER AND PRESIDENT OF THE ALTAR CHAMBER OF THE APTS, DIRECTOR OF THE SCRIBES OF AMEN, WHOSE WORD IS TRUTH, PRAISETH OSIRIS, AND DOETH HOMAGE TO THE LORD OF ETERNITY, AND SATISFIETH THE WILL OF THE GOD, AND SPEAKETH TRUTH, THE LORD OF WHICH IS UNKNOWN, AND SAITH:- Homage to thee, O thou Holy God, thou mighty and beneficent being, thou Prince of Eternity, who dwellest in thy abode in the Sektet Boat, whose risings are manifold in the Atet Boat, unto whom praises are rendered in heaven and upon earth. Peoples and nations exalt thee, and the awe of thy terror is in the hearts of men, and Spirt-souls, and the dead. Thy soul dwelleth in Tetu, and the awe of thee is in Hensu. Thou settest the visible emblems of thyself in Anu, and the majesty of thy transformations in the holy place. I have come unto thee. Truth is in my heart, and in my breast there is neither craft nor guile. Grant thou that I may have my being among the living, and that I may sail up and down the river among those who are in thy following.

THE CHAPTER OF THE PRAISE OF HATHOR, LADY OF AMENTET

Hathor, Lady of Amentet, the Dweller in the Great Land, the Lady of Ta-Tchesert, the Eye of Ra, the Dweller in his breast, the Beautiful Face in the Boat of Millions of Years, the Seat of Peace of the doer of truth, Dweller in the Boat of the favoured ones.....

APPENDIX THE CHAPTER OF THE FOUR TORCHES (From the Papyrus of Nu, Sheets 26 and 27)

THE CHAPTER OF THE FOUR LIGHTED LAMPS WHICH ARE MADE FOR THE SPIRIT- SOUL. Behold, thou shalt make four rectangular troughs of clay wherein thou shalt scatter incense, and thou shalt fill them with the milk of a white cow, and by means of these thou shalt extinguish the lamps. The Osiris Nu, the steward of the overseer of the seal, whose word is truth, saith:- The fire cometh to thy KA, O Osiris Khenti-Amenti! The fire cometh to thy KA, O Osiris Nu, whose word is truth. The ordering of the night cometh after the day. [The fire cometh to thy KA, O Osiris, Governor of those who are in Amenti], and the two sisters of Ra come likewise. Behold it (the fire) riseth in Abtu, and it cometh; I cause it to come, the Eye of Horus. It is set in order upon thy brow, O Osiris Khenti-Amenti; it is set in thy shrine and riseth on thy brow; it is set on thy brow, O Osiris Nu, it is set on thy brow. The Eye of Horus protecteth thee, O Osiris Khenti-Amenti, and it keepeth thee in safety; it casteth down headlong all thine enemies for thee, and all thine enemies have fallen down headlong before thee. O Osiris Nu, the Eye of Horus protecteth thee, it keepeth thee in safety, and it casteth down headlong all thine enemies. Thine enemies have fallen down headlong before thy KA, O Osiris Khenti-Amenti. The Eye of Ra protecteth thee, it keepeth thee in safety, and it hath cast down headlong all thine enemies. Thine enemies have fallen down headlong before thy KA, O Osiris Nu, whose word is truth. The Eye of Horus protecteth thee, it keepeth thee in safety, it hath cast down headlong for thee all thine enemies, and thine enemies have fallen down headlong before thee. The Eye of Horus cometh. It is sound and well, it sendeth forth light even as doth Ra in the horizon. It covereth the powers of Suti with darkness, it mastereth him, and it bringeth its flame against him by its own command. The Eye of Horus is sound and well, thou eatest the flesh thereof, thy body possesseth it. Thou acclaimest it. The Four Fires enter into thy KA, O Osiris Khenti-Amenti, the Four Fires enter into thy KA, O Osiris Nu, the steward of the overseer of the seal, whose word is truth.

Hail, ye sons of Horus, Kesta, Hapi, Tuamutef, and Qebhsenuf, ye have given your protection to your divine Father Osiris Khenti-Amenti, give ye your protection to the Osiris Nu, whose word is truth. Now therefore, inasmuch as ye have destroyed the Opponent of Osiris Khenti-Amenti, who liveth with the gods, having smitten Suti with his right hand and arm when dawn came upon the earth, and Horus hath become master [of Suti], and hath avenged his divine Father himself; and inasmuch as your divine Father hath been made to flourish through the union of the KA of Osiris Khenti-Amenti, whch ye effected, and the Eye of Horus hath avenged him, and hath protected him, and hath cast down headlong for him all his enemies, and all his enemies have fallen down before him, even so do ye destroy the Opponent of the Osiris Nu, the steward of the overseer of the seal, whose word is truth. Let him live with the gods, let him smite his enemy, let him destroy him, when light dawneth on the earth. Let Horus be master and avenge the Osiris Nu, and let the Osiris Nu flourish through his union with his KA which ye have effected. O Osiris Nu, the Eye of Horus hath avenged thee. It hath cast down headlong all thine enemies for thee, and all thine enemies have been cast down headlong before thee.

Hail, Osiris Khenti-Amenti, grant thou light and fire to the perfect Heart-soul which is in Hensu. And [O ye Sons of Horus], grant ye power unto the living heart-soul of the Osiris Nu by means of his fire. Let him not be repulsed, and let him not be driven back at the doors of Amentet! Let his offerings of bread and of linen garments be brought unto him among the lords of funeral oblations. O offer ye praises, as unto a god to the Osiris Nu, the destroyer of his Opponent in his form of Truth, and in his attributes of a god of truth.

RUBRIC: [This Chapter] shall be recited over four torches of atma cloth, which hath been anointed with the finest Thehennu unguent, and the torches shall be placed in the hands of four men who shall have the names of the pillars of Horus written upon their shoulders, and they shall burn the torches in the beautiful light of Ra, and this shall confer power and might upon the Spirit-soul of the deceased among the stars which never set. If this Chapter be recited for him he shall never, never perish, and he shall become a living soul for ever. These torches shall make the Spirit-soul to flourish like Osiris Khenti- Amenti, regularly and continually for ever. It is a struggle. Thou shalt not perform this ceremony before any human being except thine own self, or thy father, or thy son, because it is an exceedingly great mystery of the Amentet, and it is a type of the hidden things of the Tuat. When this ceremony hath been performed for the deceased, the gods, and the Spirit-souls, and the dead shall see him in the form of Khenti-Amenti, and he shall have power and dominion like this god.

If thou shalt undertake to perform for the deceased that which is ordered in this "Chapter of the four blazing torches," each day, thou shalt cause the form of the deceased to come forth from every hall [in the Tuat], and from the Seven Halls of Osiris. And he shall live in the form of the God. He shall have power and dominion corresponding to those of the gods and the Spirit-souls for ever and ever. He shall enter in through the secret pylons and shall not be turned back in the presence of Osiris. And it shall come to pass, provided that the following things be done for him, that he shall enter in and come forth. He shall not be turned back. No boundary shall be set to his goings, and the sentence of the doom shall not be passed upon him on the Day of the Weighing of Words before Osiris- never, never.

And thou shalt perform whatsoever [is written in] this book on behalf of the deceased, who shall thereby become perfect and pure. And thou shalt "open his mouth" with the instrument of iron. And thou shalt write down these things in accordance with the instructions which are found in the books of Prince Herutataf, who discovered them in a secret coffer (now they were in the handwriting of the god [Thoth] himself and had been deposited in the Temple of the goddess Unnut, the Lady of Unu) during a journey which he was making in order to inspect the temples, and the temple-estates, and the sanctuaries of the gods. And thou shalt perform these ceremonies secretly in the Tuat-chamber of the tomb, for they are mysteries of the Tuat, and they are symbolic of the things which are done in Khert-Neter.

And thou shalt say: I have come, I have advanced hastily. I cast light upon his (the deceased's) footsteps. I am hidden, but I cast light upon his hidden place. I stand up close to the Tet. I stand up close to the Tet of Ra, I turn back the slaughter. I am protecting thee, O Osiris.

RUBRIC: This Chapter shall be recited over a Tet of crystal, which shall be set upon a brick made of crude mud, whereupon this Chapter hath been inscribed. Thou shalt make a cavity in the west wall [of the tomb], and having turned the front of the Tet towards the east, thou shalt wall up the cavity with mud which hath been mixed with extract of cedar. This Tet shall drive away the enemies of Osiris who would set themselves at the east wall [of the tomb].

And thou shalt say: I have driven back thy foes. I keep watch over thee. He that is upon his mountain (Anpu) keepeth watch over thee ready for the moment when thy foes shall attack thee, and he shall repulse them for thee. I will drive back the Crocodile at the moment when it attacketh thee, and I will protect thee, O Osiris Nu.

RUBRIC: This Chapter shall be recited over a figure of Anpu made of crude mud mixed with incense. And the figure shall be set upon a brick made of crude mud, whereupon this Chapter hath been inscribed. Thou shalt make a cavity in the east wall, and having turned the face of the figure of Anpu towards the west wall [therein] thou shalt wall up the cavity. This figure shall repulse the enemies of Osiris, who would set themselves at the south wall.

And thou shalt say; I am the belt of sand round about the hidden coffer. I turn back the force of the blazing fire of the funerary mountain. I traverse the roads, and I protect the Osiris Nu, the steward of the overseer of the seal, whose word is truth.

RUBRIC: This Chapter shall be recited over a brick made of crude mud whereon a copy of this Chapter hath been inscribed. And thou shalt place a reed in the middle thereof, and thou shalt smear it with pitch, and set light thereto. Then thou shalt make a cavity in the south wall, and, having turned the front of the brick towards the north, thou shalt wall the brick up inside it. [It shall repulse the enemies of the Osiris Nu] who would assemble at the north wall.

And thou shalt say: O thou who comest to set fire [to the tomb or mummy], I will not let thee do it. O thou who comest to cast fire [herein], I will not let thee do it. I will burn thee, and I will cast fire upon thee. I protect the Osiris Nu, the steward of the overseer of the seal, whose word is truth.

RUBRIC: This Chapter shall be recited over a brick of crude mud, whereon a copy of this Chapter hath been inscribed. [And thou shalt set upon it] a figure of the deceased made of palm wood, seven fingers in height. And thou shalt perform on it the ceremony of "Opening the Mouth." Then thou shalt make a cavity in the north wall, and having [placed the brick and the figure inside it], and turned the face of the figure towards the south, thou shalt wall up the cavity. [It shall repulse the enemies of the Osiris Nu], who would assemble at the south wall.

And behold, these things shall be done by a man who is washed clean, and is ceremonially pure, and who hath eaten neither meat nor fish, and who hath not [recently] had intercourse with women. And behold, thou shalt make offerings of cakes and ale to these gods, and shalt burn incense on their fires. Every Spirit-soul for whom these things shall be done shall become like a holy god in Khert-Neter, and he shall not be turned back at any gate in Amentet, and he shall be in the following of Osiris, whithersoever he goeth, regularly and continually.

THE GREAT HYMN TO ATEN

Great Hymn to the Aten
Pharao Akhenaten's Praise to God
A Hymn of praise of Her-aakhuti
by Pharao Akhenaten, 18th Dynasty
Place of origin: Tomb of the courtier Ay, Egypt
Source: Tutankhamen: Amenism, Atenism and
Egyptian Monotheism, E. A. Wallis Budge, 1923
Translation: E. A. Wallis Budge, 1923
Estimated Range of Dating: 14th century B.C.

(The Great Hymn to the Aten is the longest of a number of hymn-poems written to the sun-disk deity Aten. Composed in the middle of the 14th century BC, it is varyingly attributed to the 18th Dynasty Pharaoh Akhenaten or his courtiers, depending on the version, who radically changed traditional forms of Egyptian religion by replacing them with Atenism.

The hymn-poem provides a glimpse of the religious artistry of the Amarna period expressed in multiple forms encompassing literature, new temples, and in the building of a whole new city at the site of present-day Amarna as the capital of Egypt. Egyptologist Toby Wilkinson said that "It has been called 'one of the most significant and splendid pieces of poetry to survive from the pre-Homeric world.'" Egyptologist John Darnell asserts that the hymn was sung.

Various courtiers' rock tombs at Amarna (ancient Akhet-Aten, the city Akhenaten founded) have similar prayers or hymns to the deity Aten or to the Aten and Akhenaten jointly. One of these, found in almost identical form in five tombs, is known as The Short Hymn to the Aten. The long version discussed in this article was found in the tomb of the courtier (and later Pharaoh) Ay.

The 18th Dynasty Pharaoh Akhenaten forbade the worship of other gods, a radical departure from the centuries of Egyptian religious practice. Akhenaton's religious reforms (later regarded heretical and reversed under his successor Pharaoh Tutankhamun) have been described by some scholars as monotheistic, though others consider them to be henotheistic.

James Henry Breasted considered Akhenaten to be the first monotheist and scientist in history. In 1899, Flinders Petrie wrote: "If this were a new religion, invented to satisfy our modern scientific conceptions, we could not find a flaw in the correctness of this view of the energy of the solar system. How much Akhenaten understood, we cannot say, but he certainly bounded forward in his views and symbolism to a position which we cannot logically improve upon at the present day. Not a rag of superstition or of falsity can be found clinging to

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this new worship evolved out of the old Aton of Heliopolis, the sole Lord of the universe.")

The following lines are attributed to Pharao Akhenaten, however, there is also the possibility that parts of the text was composed by Ay as it was found in the tomb of the courtier Ay. [Ay II, commonly known just as Ay, was the penultimate pharaoh of ancient Egypt's 18th Dynasty. He held the throne of Egypt for a brief four-year period (1323–1319 BC or 1327–1323 BC, depending on which chronology is followed), although he was a close advisor to two and perhaps three of the pharaohs who ruled before him and is thought to have been the power behind the throne during Tutankhamun's reign. Ay's prenomen or royal name—Kheperkheperure—means "Everlasting are the Manifestations of Ra" while his nomen Ay it-netjer reads as "Ay, Father of the God". Records and monuments that can be clearly attributed to Ay are rare, not only due to his short length of reign, but also because his successor, Horemheb, instigated a campaign of damnatio memoriae against him and other pharaohs associated with the unpopular Amarna Period.]:

1. A Hymn of praise of Her-aakhuti, the living one exalted in the Eastern Horizon in his name of Shu who is in the Aten, who liveth for ever and ever, the living and great Aten, he who is in the Set-Festival, the lord of the Circle, the Lord of the Disk, the Lord of heaven, the Lord of earth, the lord of the House of the Aten in Aakhut-Aten, of the King of the South and the North, who liveth in Truth, lord of the Two Lands (i.e., Egypt), NEFER-KHEPERU-RA UA-EN-RA, the son of Ra, who liveth in Truth, Lord of Crowns, AAKHUN-ATEN, great in the period of his life, and of the great royal woman (or wife) whom he loveth, Lady of the Two Lands, NEFER-NEFERU-ATEN NEFERTITI, who liveth in health and youth for ever and ever.

2. He (i.e., Ai, a Fan-bearer and the Master of the King's Horse) saith: Thy rising is beautiful in the horizon of heaven, O Aten, ordainer of life. Thou dost shoot up in the horizon of the East, thou fillest every land with thy beneficence. Thou art beautiful and great and sparkling, and exalted above every land.. Thy arrows (i.e., rays) envelop (i.e., penetrate) everywhere all the lands which thou hast made.

3. Thou art as Ra. Thou bringest them according to their number, thou subduest them for thy beloved son. Thou thyself art afar off, but thy beams are upon the earth; thou art in their faces, they admire thy goings. Thou settest in the horizon of the west, the earth is in darkness, in the form of death. Men lie down in a booth wrapped up in cloths, one eye cannot see its fellow. If all their possessions, which are under their heads, be carried away they perceive it not.

4. Every lion emergeth from his lair, all the creeping things bite, darkness is a warm retreat. The land is in silence. He who made them hath set in his horizon. The earth becometh light, thou shootest up in the horizon, shining in the Aten in the day, thou scatterest the darkness. Thou sendest out thine arrows (i.e., rays), the Two Lands make festival, men wake up, stand upon their feet, it is thou who raisest them up. They wash their members, they take their apparel

5. and array themselves therein, their hands are stretched out in praise at thy rising, throughout the land they do their works. Beasts and cattle of all kinds settle down upon the pastures, shrubs and vegetables flourish, the feathered fowl fly about over their marshes, their feathers praising thy Ka (person). All the cattle rise up on their legs, creatures that fly and insects of all kinds

6. spring into life, when thou risest up on them. The boats drop down and sail up the river, likewise every road openeth (or showeth itself) at thy rising, the fish in the river swim towards thy face, thy beams are in the depths of the Great Green (i.e., the Mediterranean and Red Seas). Thou makest offspring to take form in women, creating seed in men. Thou makest the son to live in the womb of his mother, making him to be quiet that he crieth not; thou art a nurse

7. in the womb, giving breath to vivify that which he hath made. When he droppeth from the womb ... on the day of his birth he openeth his mouth in the ordinary manner, thou providest his sustenance. The young bird in the egg speaketh in the shell, thou givest breath to him inside it to make him to live. Thou makest for him his mature form so that he can crack the shell being inside the egg. He cometh forth from the egg, he chirpeth with all his might, when he hath come forth from it (the egg), he walketh on his two feet. O how many are the things which thou hast made! They are hidden from the face, O thou

8. One God, like whom there is no other. Thou didst create the earth by thy heart (or will), thou alone existing, men and women, cattle, beasts of every kind that are upon the earth, and that move upon feet (or legs), all the creatures that are in the sky and that fly with their wings, and the deserts of Syria and Kesh (Nubia), and the Land of Egypt. Thou settest every person in his place. Thou providest their daily food, every man having the portion allotted to him, thou dost compute the duration of his life. Their tongues are different in speech, their characteristics (or forms), and

9. likewise their skins in colour, giving distinguishing marks to the dwellers in foreign lands. Thou makest Hapi (the Nile) in the Tuat (Underworld), thou bringest it when thou wishest to make mortals to live, inasmuch as thou hast made them for thyself, their Lord who dost support them to the uttermost, O thou Lord of every land, thou shinest upon them, O ATEN of the day, thou great one of majesty. Thou makest the life of all remote lands. Thou settest a Nile in heaven, which cometh down to them.

10. It maketh a flood on the mountains like the Great Green Sea, it maketh to be watered their fields in their villages. How beneficent are thy plans, O Lord of Eternity! A Nile in heaven art thou for the dwellers in the foreign lands (or deserts), and for all the beasts of the desert that go upon feet (or legs). Hapi (the Nile) cometh from the Tuat for the land of Egypt. Thy beams nourish every field; thou risest up and they live, they germinate for thee. Thou makest the Seasons to develop everything that thou hast made:

11. The season of Pert (i.e., Nov. 16-March 16) so that they may refresh themselves, and the season Heh (i.e., March 16-Nov. 16) in order to taste thee. 1 Thou hast made the heaven which is remote that thou mayest shine therein and look upon everything that thou hast made. Thy being is one, thou shinest (or, shootest up) among thy creatures as the LIVING ATEN, rising, shining, departing afar off, returning. Thou hast made millions of creations (or, evolutions) from thy one self (viz.) towns and cities, villages, fields, roads and river. Every eye (i.e., all men) beholdeth thee confronting it. Thou art the Aten of the day at its zenith.

12. At thy departure thine eye ... thou didst create their faces so that thou mightest not see. ... ONE thou didst make ... Thou art in my heart. There is no other who knoweth thee except thy son Nefer-kheperu-Ra Ua-en-Ra. Thou hast made him wise to understand thy plans and thy power. The earth came into being by thy hand, even as thou hast created them (i.e., men). Thou risest, they live; thou settest, they die. As for thee, there is duration of life in thy members, life is in thee. All eyes gaze upon

13. thy beauties until thou settest, when all labours are relinquished. Thou settest in the West, thou risest, making to flourish ... for the King. Every man who standeth on his foot, since thou didst lay the foundation of the earth, thou hast raised up for thy son who came forth from thy body, the King of the South and the North, Living in Truth, Lord of Crowns, Aakhun-Aten, great in the duration of his life and for the Royal Wife, great of majesty, Lady of the Two Lands, Nefer-neferu-Aten Nefertiti, living and young for ever and ever.

THE TALE OF TWO BROTHERS
Source: Papyrus D'Orbiney, British Museum 10183
Translation: Anonymus
Estimated Range of Dating: 1200 B.C.

(The Tale of Two Brothers is an ancient Egyptian story that dates from the reign of Pharaoh Seti II, who ruled from 1200 to 1194 BC (1209-1205 BC) during the 19th Dynasty of the New Kingdom. The story is preserved on the Papyrus D'Orbiney, which is currently preserved in the British Museum. This story may have been a political satire based in part on his own difficulties with his half brother, the usurper Amenmesse. It is similar to the story of Joseph in the house of Potiphar, in Genesis 39:1-20. It is claimed that the Papyrus D'Orbiney (P. Brit. Mus. 10183); was written towards the end of the 19th dynasty by the scribe Ennana. It was acquired by the British Museum in 1857.

Synopsis

The story centres around two brothers: Anpu (Anubis), who is married, and the younger Bata. The brothers work together, farming land and raising cattle. One day, Anpu's wife attempts to seduce Bata. When he strongly rejects her advances, the wife tells her husband that his brother attempted to seduce her and beat her when she refused. In response to this, Anpu attempts to kill Bata, who flees and prays to Re-Harakhti to save him. The god creates a crocodile-infested lake between the two brothers, across which Bata is finally able to appeal to his brother and share his side of the events. To emphasise his sincerity, Bata severs his genitalia and throws them into the water, where a catfish eats them.

Bata states that he is going to the Valley of the Cedar, where he will place his heart on the top of the blossom of a cedar tree, so that if it is cut down Anpu will be able to find it and allow Bata to become alive again. Bata tells Anpu that if he is ever given a jar of beer that froths, he should know to seek out his brother. After hearing of his brother's plan, Anpu returns home and kills his wife. Meanwhile, Bata is establishing a life in the Valley of the Cedar, building a new home for himself. Bata comes upon the Ennead, or the principal Egyptian deities, who take pity on him. Khnum, the god frequently depicted in Egyptian mythology as having fashioned humans on a potters' wheel, creates a wife for Bata. Because of her divine creation, Bata's wife is sought after by the pharaoh. When the pharaoh succeeds in bringing her to live with him, she tells him to cut down the tree in which Bata has put his heart. They do so, and Bata dies.

Anpu then receives a frothy jar of beer and sets off to the Valley of the Cedar. He searches for his brother's heart for more than three years, finding it at the beginning of the fourth year. He follows Bata's instructions and puts the heart in a bowl of cold water. As predicted, Bata is resurrected.

Bata then takes the form of a bull and goes to see his wife and the pharaoh. His wife, aware of his presence as a bull, asks the pharaoh if she may eat its liver. The bull is then sacrificed, and two drops of Bata's blood fall, from which grow two Persea trees. Bata, now in the form of a tree, again addresses his wife, and she appeals to the pharaoh to cut down the Persea trees and use them to make furniture. As this is happening, a splinter ends up in the wife's mouth, impregnating her. She eventually gives birth to a son, whom the pharaoh ultimately makes crown prince. When the pharaoh dies, the crown prince (a resurrected Bata) becomes king, and he appoints his elder brother Anpu as crown prince. The story ends happily, with the brothers at peace with one another and in control of their country.

Context and Themes

There are several themes present in the Tale of Two Brothers that are significant to ancient Egyptian culture. One of these is kingship. The second half of the tale deals largely with Egyptian ideas of kingship and the connection between divinity and the pharaoh. That Bata's wife ultimately ends up pregnant with him is a reference the duality of the role of women in pharaonic succession; the roles of wife and mother were often simultaneous. Also, the divine aspect of his wife's creation could be seen to serve as legitimacy for the kingship of Bata, especially since he was not actually the child of the pharaoh. Beyond this, Bata's closeness with the Ennead in the middle of the story also serves to legitimize his rule; the gods bestowed divine favor upon Bata in his time of need.

There are also several references to the separation of Egypt into two lands. Throughout ancient Egyptian history, even when the country is politically unified and stable, it is acknowledged that there are two areas: Lower Egypt, the area in the north including the Nile Delta, and Upper Egypt, the area to the south. In the beginning of the story, Bata is referred to as unique because there was "none like him in the entire land, for a god's virility was in him." Additionally, whenever one of the brothers becomes angry, they are said to behave like an "Upper Egyptian panther," or, in another translation, like "a cheetah of the south."

Interpretation and analysis

There are several issues to consider when analyzing ancient Egyptian literature in general, and the Tale of Two Brothers is no different. One difficulty of analyzing the literature of ancient Egypt is that "such scarcity of sources gives to the observation of any kind of historical development within Ancient Egyptian literature a highly hypothetical status and makes the reconstruction of any intertextual networks perhaps simply impossible." Loprieno notes that the euhemeristic theory is often successfully employed in the analysis of ancient Egyptian literature; this the historiocentric method of analyzing literature as it pertained to political events.

With relation to the Tale of Two Brothers, Susan Tower Hollis also advocates this approach, saying that the story might "contain reflexes of an actual historical situation." Specifically, Hollis speculates that the story might have had its origins in the succession dispute following Merneptah's reign at the end of the 13th century BC. When Merneptah died, Seti II was undoubtedly the rightful heir to the throne, but he was challenged by Amenmesse, who ruled for at least a few years in Upper Egypt, although Seti II ultimately ruled for six full years.

Biblical parallels

Because of the Egyptian location wherein the scene is staged, it is not impossible to detect in the biblical account of Joseph and Potiphar's wife a more recent echo of the very old Egyptian fable of the two brothers Bata and Anpu.)

TALE OF TWO BROTHERS
(Anonymous, translated by Anonymous— Excerpted from Tale of Two Brothers on Wikipedia.)

The Tale of Two Brothers - Anpu and Bata

Once, there were two brothers. Anpu was the name of the elder and Bata was was the name of the younger. When their parents died, Anpu was already married and had a house of his own, but his little brother was to him, as it were, a son; so he took his little brother to live with him. When the little brother grew into a young man, he was an excellent worker. He it was who made for him his clothes; he it was who followed behind his oxen to the fields; he it was who did the plowing; he it was who harvested the corn; he it was who did

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for him all the matters which were in the field. There was not an equal in the land. Behold the spirit of a god was with him.

Every morning, the younger brother followed his oxen and worked all day in the fields and every evening he returned to the house with vegetables, milk, and wood. And he put them down before his elder brother who was sitting with his wife; and he drank and ate, and after he lay down in his stable with the cattle. And at the dawn of the next day he took bread which he had baked, and laid it before his elder brother; and he took with him his bread to the field, and he drave his cattle to pasture in the fields.

And as he walked behind his cattle, they said to him, "Good is the herbage which is in that place"; and he listened to all that they said, and he took them to the good place which they desired. And the cattle which were before him became exceedingly excellent, and they greatly multiplied in number.

Now at the time of plowing his elder brother said to him, "Let ourselves make a good yoke of oxen ready for plowing, for the land has come out from the water; it is ready for plowing. Furthermore, come to the field with corn, and we will begin the plowing tomorrow morning." this the elder brother said; and his younger brother did all things as his elder brother had told him to do.

And when the morning came, they went to the fields with all of their things; and their hearts were greatly pleased with their tasks they had to do for the beginning of their daily work.

After this, as they were in the field, they stopped for corn, and the elder brother sent his younger brother, saying, "Hurry, bring us the corn from the for planting.

And the younger brother returned home to find the wife of his elder brother, as she was sitting brushing her hair. He said to her, "Get up, and give me corn, so that I may run back to the field, for my elder brother is in a hurry, to not delay. She said to him, "Go open the bin, and take as much as you wish, so that I may not let my braids of hair fall while I am brushing them."

The youth went into the stable; carrying a large measure, for he wished to take much corn; he loaded the measure with wheat and barley; and he left carrying it on his shoulders. She said to him, "How much of the corn that is wanted, is that which is on thy shoulder ?" He replied to her, "Three bushels of barley, and two of wheat, in all five; these are what I carry upon my shoulders". And she seductively spoke with him, saying, "There is great strength in you, for I see your strength every day." And her heart knew him with the knowledge of the passion of youth. And she arose and came close to him, and spoke with him, saying, "Come, stay and play with me, and it shall be well for you, and I will make beautiful clothes for you."

Then the youth became like a panther of the south with fury at the seductive evil of her words to him; and she greatly feared for the consequences. And then he spoke angrily to her, saying, "Look, you are like a mother to me, your husband is like a father to me, for he who is older than I has raised me. What is this wickedness that you have said to me? Never say it to me again. But, meanwhile, I won't tell anyone of it, for I will not let it be said by the mouth of any man" He lifted up his burden, and he went to the field and came to his elder brother; and they took up their work, to labour together at their task.

Rebuked, and because Anpu loved his brother very much, his wife became jealous and wanted to destroy Bata.

Now afterward, at evening, his elder brother was returning to his house; and the younger brother was following behind with his oxen, loading himself with all the things of the field, Driving the oxen before him, he took them to lie down in their stable which was in the farm.

Meanwhile the wife of the elder brother was afraid of what she had said. So she took a parcel of fat, and used it to make it look as though she was one who is evilly beaten, intending to say to her husband, "It is your younger brother who has done this wrong." Her husband returned in the evening as was his normally did each day: and as he came into his house, he found his wife ill from the violence: she did not give him water to wash his hands as she normally did, she did not make a light for him, and his house was in darkness, as she was lying down seemingly very sick.

Her husband said to her, "Who has done this to you?" She said, "No one has spoken with me today except your younger brother. When he came to take the corn for you he found me sitting alone; he said to me, 'Come, let us stay and play together, tie up your hair': This he said to me. I did not listen to him, but I said to him: 'Look, am I not your mother, is not your elder brother like a father to you?' And he was afraid, and he beat me to stop me from telling you, and if you should let him live I shall die. Now look, he is coming in the evening; and I complain of these wicked words, for he did this even in the daylight."

And now the elder brother became like a panther in the south; he sharpened his knife; he took it in his hand; he stood behind the door of the stable to kill his younger brother as he came in the evening to return his cattle to the stable.

Now the sun went down, and he loaded himself with vegetables in his usual manner. He came in, and the first cow entered the stable, and she said to her keeper, "Look your elder brother is standing in the dark before you with his knife to kill you; run from him." He heard what his first cow had said and didn't enter. The next entering, the cow said it again. He looked beneath the door of the stable; he saw the feet of his elder brother as he was standing behind the door, with his knife in his hand. He threw down his load to the ground, and fled swiftly as his elder brother chased after him with his knife.

The the younger brother cried out to Ra Harakhti (the Sun-god), saying, "My good lord! you are the one who divides the evil from the good." And Ra, the sun, about to rise heard his cry; and so Ra made a wide canal of water between him and his elder brother, and it was full of crocodiles; with the one brother on one bank, whilst the other was on the other bank; and the elder brother hit his hands together at being unable to kill him. And the younger brother called to his elder brother on other bank, saying, "Stand still until sun rises for the day; and when Ra rises, I shall swear my innocence to you before him, and as he can distinguish between the good and the evil. And has not your wife been as a mother to me? And I shall leave you forever; Now, since you want to kill me I shall avoid every place where you are; I shall go to the valley of the Acacia.

Now when the land was lightened, and the next day appeared, Ra Harakhti rose, and one brother looked at the other. And the youth spoke with his elder brother, saying, "Why have you come after me to kill me secretly, when you have not heard the words of innocence from my mouth? For I am truly your brother, and you are to me as a father, and your wife even as a mother: is this not true? Anpu answered, "Why did you beat up my wife and almost kill her?" Bata answered, "I did no such thing. Have I not told you that I have always looked upon her as my mother?"

"Truly, when I was sent to bring corn for us, your wife said to me, 'Come, stay and play with me;' for see this truth has been turned over for you into its opposite." And he made him understand of all that happened with him and his wife. And he swore an oath by Ra Harakhti, saying, "Your coming to kill me secretly with your knife was an abomination." Then the youth took a knife, and cut off of his flesh, and cast it into the water, and the fish swallowed it. He fell and fainted; and his elder brother cursed his own heart greatly; he stood weeping for him from far off; as he knew he could not pass over to where his younger brother lay, because of the crocodiles. And the younger brother called unto him, saying, "Whilst you have dreamed an evil thing, wilt you not also dream a good thing, just like that which I would do for you? When you go to your house you must look after your cattle properly, And now as to what you shall do for me; I know you shall come to seek after me, if you see it enough. And this is what shall happen; I shall draw out my soul, and I shall put it upon the top of the flowers of the acacia, and when the acacia is cut down, and it falls to the ground, and you come to look for it, if you search for it even for seven years do not let your heart grow wearied. For thou will find find it, and then you must put it in a cup of cold water, and know then that I shall live again, that I will make better that which has been done wrong. And you shall know of this, that is to say, that good things are happening to me, for when one person shall give a cup of beer to you in your hand, and it shall tremble; do not stop then, for truly it shall come to pass with you."

So Anpu went home. He found his wife near the river washing off the black and blue dye with which she had painted herself. Filled with great anger, Anpu killed his wife and cast her to the dogs. Then he sat down, poured ashes on his head, and mourned for his younger brother. Bata reached the Valley of the Acacia. There was no one with him; he slew wild animals of the desert for his food and built himself a house under the sacred acacia tree, the tree sacred to the gods, which bore his soul upon the topmost flower. And after this he built himself a tower with his own hands, in the valley of the acacia; it was full of all good things, that he might provide for himself a home.

One day as he walked out of his house, he met the Nine Gods who knew of his innocence and goodness. Ra said to the god Khunumu, "Look, make a woman for Bata that he may not remain alone. And Khunumu made for Bata a wife to dwell with him. She was indeed more beautiful than any other woman in the whole land. She was like a goddess as the essence of every god was in her and Bata loved her very much. The seven Hathors came to see her: they said with one mouth, " She will die a sharp death."

And Bata loved her very exceedingly, and she dwelt in his house; he passed his time in hunting the beasts of the desert, and brought and laid them before her. He said, "Go not outside, lest the sea seize you; for I cannot rescue you from it, for I am a person like you; my soul is placed on the head of the flower of the acacia; and if another find it, I must fight with him." And he opened unto her his heart in all its nature.

Now after saying these things Bata went to hunt in his daily manner. And the young girl went to walk under the acacia which was by the side of her house. Then the sea saw her, and cast its waves up after her. She ran from before it. She entered her house. And the sea called unto the acacia, saying, "Oh, would that I could seize her!" And the acacia brought a lock from her hair, and the sea carried it to Egypt, and dropped it in the place of the fullers, the makers of Pharaoh's linen. The smell of the lock of hair entered into the clothes of Pharaoh; and they were angry with the fullers of Pharaoh, saying, "The smell of ointment is in the clothes of Pharaoh." And the people were rebuked every day, they knew not what they should do. And the chief fuller of Pharaoh walked by the bank, and his heart was very evil within him after the daily quarrel with him. He stood still, he stood upon the sand opposite to the lock of hair, which was in the water, and he made a servant go into the water and bring it to him; and there was found in it a smell, exceedingly sweet. He took it to Pharaoh; and they brought the scribes and the wise men, and they said unto Pharaoh, "This lock of hair belongs to a daughter of Ra Harakhti: the essence of every god is in her, and it is a tribute to thee from another land. Let messengers go to every strange land to seek her: and as for the messenger who shall go to the valley of the acacia, let many men go with him to bring her." Then said his majesty, "Excellent, this is exceeding is what has been said to us;" and they sent them. And many days after these things the people who were sent to strange lands came to report to the king: but those that went to the valley of the Acacia did not return, for Bata had killed them, but he let one of them return to give a report to the king. His majesty sent many men and soldiers, as well as horsemen to hold Bata, and to bring her back. And there was a woman amongst them, and to her had been given in her hand beautiful ornaments of a woman. And this time the girl came back with her, and they rejoiced over her in the whole land.

And his majesty loved her exceedingly, and raised her to high estate; and he spoke to her saying that she should tell him concerning her husband. And she said, "Let the acacia be cut down, and let one chop it up." And they sent men and soldiers with their weapons to cut down the acacia; and they came to the acacia, and they cut the flower upon which was the soul of Bata, and he fell dead suddenly.

And when the next day came, and the earth was lightened, the acacia was cut down. And Anpu, the elder brother of Bata, entered his house, and washed his hands; and a person gave him a cup of beer, and it became troubled; and another one gave him another of wine, and the smell of it was evil. Then he took his staff, and his sandals, and likewise his clothes, with his weapons of war; and he went forth to the valley of the acacia. He entered the tower of his younger brother, and he found him lying upon his mat; he was dead. And he wept when he saw his younger brother truly was lying dead. And he went out to seek the soul of his younger brother under the acacia tree, under which his younger brother lay in the evening.

He spent three years in seeking for it, but found it not. And when he began looking in the fourth year, he desired in his heart to return into Egypt; he said in his heart, "I will go tomorrow morning". Now when the land lightened, and the next day appeared, he was walking under the acacia; he was spending his time in seeking the flower. And he returned in the evening, and laboured at seeking it again. Then he at last found a seed. He returned with it. Look, this was the soul of his younger brother. He brought a cup of cold water, and he threw the seed into it: and he sat down, as he usually did. Now when the night came his soul of his brother sucked up the water; Bata then shuddered in all his limbs, and he looked on his elder brother; his soul was in the cup. Then Anpu took the cup of cold water, in which the soul of his younger brother was; Bata drank it, his soul stood again in its proper place, and he became as he had been. They embraced each other, and they spoke together.

And Bata said to his elder brother, "Behold I am to become as a great bull, which bears every good mark; no one knows its history, and you must sit upon my back. When the sun arises I shall be in the place where my wife is, that I may return answer to her; and you must take me to the place where the king is. For all good things shall be done for you; for one shall load you with silver and gold, because you bring me to Pharaoh, for I become a great marvel, and they shall rejoice for me in all the land. And you shalt go to your village."

And when the land was lightened, and the next day appeared, Bata took the form of the bull, like he had told his elder brother. And Anpu sat upon his back until the dawn. Together they came to the place where the king was, and they made his majesty to know of him; he saw him, and he was exceeding joyful with him. The king made for him great offerings, saying, "This is a great wonder which has come to pass." There were rejoicings over him in the whole land. They presented unto him silver and gold for his elder brother, who went and stayed in his village. They gave to the bull many men and many things, and Pharaoh loved him exceedingly above all that is in this land.

And after many days after these things, the bull entered the purlfied place; he stood in the place where the princess was; he began to speak with her, saying, "Behold, I am alive again." And she said to him, "And, pray, who are you?" He said to

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her, "I am Bata. I perceived when you told them that they should destroy the acacia of Pharaoh, which was my abode, that I would die. Look! I am alive again, I am as an ox." Then the princess feared exceedingly for the words that her husband had spoken to her. And he went out from the purlfied place.

And his majesty was sitting, making a good day with her: she was at the table of his majesty, and the king was exceeding pleased with her. And she said to his majesty, " Swear to me by God, saying, 'What ever you shalt say, I will obey it for your sake.'" He listened carefully to all that she said, even this. "Let me eat of the liver of the ox, because he is fit for nothing:" said the woman to him. And the king was exceeding sad at her words, the heart of Pharaoh grieved greatly. And after the land was lightened, and the next day appeared, they proclaimed a great feast with offerings to the ox. And the king sent one of the chief butchers of his majesty, to cause the ox to be sacrificed. And when he was sacrificed, as he was upon the shoulders of the people, he shook his neck, and he threw two drops of blood over against the two doors of his majesty. The one fell upon the one side, on the great door of Pharaoh, and the other upon the other door. They grew as two great Persea trees, and each of them was excellent.

And one went to tell unto his majesty, " Two great Persea trees have grown, as a great marvel of his majesty, in the night by the side of the great gate of his majesty." And there was rejoicing for them in all the land, and there were offerings made to them

And when the days were multiplied after these things, his majesty was adorned with the blue crown, with garlands of flowers on his neck, and he was upon the chariot of pale gold, and he went out from the palace to behold the Persea trees: the princess also was going out with horses behind his majesty. And as his majesty sat beneath one of the Persea trees, it spoke to his wife: "Oh thou deceitful one, I am Bata, I am alive, though I have been evilly entreated. I knew who caused the acacia to be cut down by Pharaoh at my dwelling. I then became an ox, and you caused me to be killed."

And many days after these things the princess stood at the table of Pharaoh, and the king was pleased with her. And she said to his majesty, "Swear to me by God, saying, 'That which the princess shall say to me I will obey it for her.'" And he listened carefully o all she said. And she commanded, " Let these two Persea trees be cut down, and let them be made into goodly planks." And after this his majesty sent skilful craftsmen, and they cut down the Persea trees of Pharaoh; and the princess, the royal wife, was standing looking on, and they did all that was in her heart unto the trees. But a chip flew up, and it entered into the mouth of the princess; she swallowed it, and after many days she bore a son. And one went to tell his majesty, "There is born to you a son." And they brought him, and gave to him a nurse and servants; and there were rejoicings in the whole land. And the king sat making a merry day, as they were about the naming of him, and his majesty loved him exceedingly at that moment, and the king raised him to be the royal son of Kush.

Now after the days had multiplied after these things, his majesty made him heir of all the land. And many days after that, when he had furfilled many years as heir, his majesty flew up to heaven. And the heir said, "Let my great nobles of his majesty be brought before me, that I may make them to know all that has happened to me." And they brought also before him his wife, and he judged with her before him, and they agreed with him. They brought to him his elder brother; he made him hereditary prince in all his land. He was thirty years king of Egypt, and he died, and his elder brother stood in his place on the day of burial.

Excellently finished in peace, for the ka of the scribe of the treasury Kagalu, of the treasury of Pharaoh, and for the scribe Hora, and the scribe Meremapt. Written by the scribe Nena, the owner of this roll. He who speaks against this roll, may the god Djehuti smite him.

EL ARISH STONE

El Arish Inscriptions
The Stone of El Arish, northern Sinai coast
Archaeological Museum of Ismailia
Translation: Francis Llewellyn Griffith, 1890
Estimated Range of Dating: 380-360 B.C.

(In 1887, on a farm at El Arish, Sinai, Egypt [northern coast, c. 50km west of the border of Israel], a small monument was found lying on its backside as it was overturned to serve as a cattle-trough. The inscriptions on it had suffered but they were still visible.

The monument can be described as a shrine made of black granite which looks like a very short obelisk with a roof in the shape of a pyramid and with a deep niche in front like a door opening. This opening might once have served as shrine niche in which the owner could place a statuette and some little fruit offering before it, just as it is used similarly in India and China still today. The entirety of all surfaces is covered by inscriptions in Egyptian hieroglyphs, even inside the niche. The shrine weighs about a tonne and is almost 4 feet tall [c.115cm] and 2 feet [c. 55cm] wide on all 4 sides. It can be seen in the Archaeological Museum of Ismailia. Ismailia is a city in north-eastern Egypt situated on the west bank of the Suez Canal and the eastern end of the Canal of the Pharaos, not far away from Avaris, the ancient Hyksos capital.

When archaeologist Francis Llewellyn Griffith found the shrine, he analysed the writing style and dated the object to the Ptolemaic period, specifically the 30th Dynasty (380-360 BC), when it was probably used as a shrine. The contents of the inscriptions, however, narrate events that took place in c. 1500 BC. They bear a strong resemblance with the Exodus narrative of the Second Book of Moses in the Tanakh [Old Testament]. The main difference is that the text on the El Arish Stone tells the story from the Pharaoh's, not Moses', point of view. Basically, the text mentions [1st] the building project of a temple, [2nd] the story of the invading Hyksos who gained power in northern Egypt, [3rd] the defeat of the Hyksos, and [4th] the story of a tempest that could be interpreted as the events of the massive Thera / Santorini volcano eruption and its disastrous aftermath. See: Tempest Stele, Artefacts, Grand Bible.)

Text:

"The majesty of Shu was as a good King of heaven, earth, and the underworld, of water and winds, of the primeval waters, of hills and of the sea, giving all regulations upon the throne of his father Ra Harmakhis as triumphant. Now behold the majesty of Shu was in his palace in Memphis: his majesty said to the great cycle of nine gods which followed him, "Come now, let us proceed to the Eastern horizon [Or the horizon of Bekhat. Bekhat was the mountain from which the sun rose. At Nebes was particularly the city of the rising sun.], to my palace in At Nebes, and see our father Ra-Harmakhis in the Eastern horizon: let us pass thither by the Canal*, let us employ ourselves in ordering our palace at At Nebes."

[* The mentioned "Canal," also known as "Canal of the Pharaohs," was first built by Pharao Khakaure Senusret III who ruled from 1878 BC to 1839 BC. The earliest precursor of the Suez Canal runs from the easternmost branch of the Nile near Bubastis 50 miles (80 km) to today's Ismailia, then running 13 miles (20 km) southward to the Bitter Lakes and finally running another 20 miles (30 km) straight towards the Gulf of Suez. The waterway was intended to facilitate trade between the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean.

Pharao Necho II, r. 610–595 BC, decided to repair the Canal. As Necho died, the giant project was finished by Darius the Great (r. 550–486 BC) at around 500 BC and in his Suez Inscriptions he called it "Canal of the Pharaohs". The text reads: "King Darius says: I am a Persian; setting out from Persia I conquered Egypt. I ordered to dig this canal from the river that is called Nile and flows in Egypt, to the sea that begins in Persia. Therefore, when this canal had been dug as I had ordered, ships went from Egypt through this canal to Persia, as I had intended." The Greek Pharao Ptolemy II, r.283 to 246 BC, improved the canal's proper function in the years 274/273 BC by fitting it with a water lock. In the 2nd century AD, Ptolemy the Astronomer mentions the canal as "River of Trajan". Islamic texts say that the canal had been silted up by the 7th century, but was reopened in 641 or 642 AD by 'Amr ibn al-'As, the Muslim conqueror of Egypt, and which was in use until closed in 767 in order to stop supplies reaching Mecca and Medina, which were in rebellion. Thereafter, the land routes to transhipping camel caravans' goods were from Alexandria to ports on the Red Sea or the northern Roman silk route through the Caucasian Mountains transhipping on the Caspian Sea and thence to India. During his Egyptian expedition, Napoleon Bonaparte found the canal again in 1799. Today it clearly can be seen from spaceships orbiting round the Earth.]

Then they did according to all that his majesty decreed: The majesty of Shu proceeded to his palace in the House of the Aart. Then were built all the apartments [or rooms]? Of Hat Nebes [Hat or At Nebes, a place connected to the Sycamore (from Greek sukomoros, from Hebrew shikma, literally "fig-mulberry".) Originally it is a large tree bearing edible fruit, Ficus sycomorus, allied to the common fig and found in Egypt and Syria. It was the ancient Egyptian Tree of Life. Its fruit, timber, and twigs, are richly represented in the tombs of all Egyptian dynasties. In Canaan, it was economically a valuable fruit tree.] like heaven upon its four supports: then was built the house of Sepd anew for the majesty of Shu, it is the temple that he loves; account of all its arrangements as to the points to which it faced, whether towards the south the north the west or the east: the temples were erected in all the places where they had been: eight chapels were made on the left, eight on the right, eight in the court of the Eastern Horizon: This temple belongeth to Shu in his name of Sepd lord of the East: the face of each of these chapels was towards its fellow: they were the apartments? of the great cycle of nine gods, and of the lesser cycle, of the gods who attend on Ra and the gods who attend on Shu: moreover there were built enclosures for Shu in Hat Nebes surrounding his temple: now the face of this temple was towards the East, the sun's rising; and those deities who dwelt in the places of the temples of each nome dwelt in it, in case the nome [province] should fall into confusion, let one explain? this arrangement: the enclosure of Hat Nebes reached to Hat Nebes on its north, and its face was towards the South: the temples were on its sides and their faces were towards the East: a pool was on its South side, a pool on its North side: a great storehouse? of [. . . .] was in front of this temple reaching to Per Art. Now Per Art was of the time of Ra: the majesty of Shu placed his staff upon the At [. . . .] and it became a sacred locality in At Nebes, its southern face was towards the Per Art: gods, goddesses, men, and all flesh (animalic creation?) had not entered it to see the secrets in the horizon: it (the privilege) was granted in the time of Ra, who made a great wall standing around it of [. . . .] cubits on its four sides, 20 cubits high [c. 10 metres as one cubit is circa 50 cm.], 15 cubits thick. As to the sacred lake in At Nebes it was [. . . .] cubits [. . . .] of At Nebes: Shu himself digged it in the time of the majesty of Ra: its arrangement was not seen nor sealed? to [gods and goddesses] men and flesh: A circuit was set up on every side of it, of 190 cubits (in length), 110 cubits in its breadth [. . . . cubits] in height, 15 cubits in thickness: separating all temples from it by mysterious and secret work in [. . . .] Then came the majesty of Shu and raised up At Nebes even as the sky is fixed, and all its temples even as the horizon. Now it happened that he departed to be enthroned as king of the gods in At Nebes, at the time that he ascended the throne of Harmakhis.

Then the children of the dragon Apep, the evil-doers of Usheru [meaning the occupiers, the rulers from abroad, the Phoenician-Canaanite Hyksos, in Egypt known as Habiru / Hebrew.] and of the red country [The desert on the north-east border.] came upon the road of At Nebes, invading Egypt at nightfall . . . . now these evil-doers [Hyksos / Habiru] came from the Eastern hills upon all the roads of At Nebes:

Then the majesty of Shu, the gods who attend Ra and the gods who attend Shu caused to be fortified all the places around At Nebes: these places were since the time of Ra when the majesty of Ra was in At Nebes . . . . At Nebes they are the mighty walls of Egypt repelling the evil-doers when Apep penetrates? to Egypt: the gods who are in them are the defences of this land, they are the supports of heaven that watch? the ... of the eternal horizon: they are the throne? of Shu in Hat Nebes: those who dwell in the places in At Nebes they raise the land . . . . Per Sepd: they are the spirits of the East to . . . . Ra Harmachis they elevate Ra to heaven in the morning upon? the pillars of heaven: they are the possessors of the Eastern hills: they are the rescuers of Ra from Apep. Account of all the places around Hat Nebes together with the gods who are in them: the Place of the Whirlpool [lake or water lock] in At Nebes is a pool upon the East of Hat Nebes in which the majesty of Ra proceeded." (Another pool is mentioned on the East of Hat Nebes.)

"Now it came to pass that the majesty of Shu obtained the whole land, none could stand before him, no other god was in the mouth of his soldiers? but sickness came upon him . . . . confusion seized the eyes? he made his chapel . . . . evil fell upon this land, a great disturbance in the palace, disturbed . . . . those who were of the household of Shu.

Then Seb saw Tefnut and loved her greatly, his heart desired her: he wandered over the earth in search of her in great affliction [Or: for a long time.].

The majesty of Shu departed to heaven with his attendants: Tefnut was in the place of her enthronement in Memphis. Now she proceeded to the royal house of Shu in the time of mid-day: the great cycle of nine gods were upon the path of eternity, the road of his father Ra Harmakhis. Then the majesty of Seb met her he found her in this? place which is called Pekharti?: he seized her by force: the palace was in great affliction. Shu had departed to heaven: there was no exit from the palace by the space of nine days. Now these nine days were in violence and tempest [see: The Tempest Stele]: none whether god or man could see the face of his fellow.

The majesty of Seb came forth appearing? upon the throne of his father Shu: every royal dwelling? did him homage. Then after 75 days Seb proceeded to the North country: Shu had flown up to heaven, the great chief of the plain at the head of his city the prince of the hills . . . came? he went not to Heliopolis: moreover certain Asiatics [Canaanites] carried his sceptre, called Degai, who live on what the gods abominate; behold he went to the East of Usher: He entered the house of the Aar the Eastern gate? of At Nebes:

He discussed the history of this city with the gods who attended him and they told him all that happened when the majesty of Ra was in At Nebes, the conflicts of the king Tum in this locality, the valour of the majesty of Shu in this city, the deeds of Shu in . . . . the wonders of the goddess Ankhet done to Ra when he was with her: the victories of the majesty of Shu, smiting the evil ones, when he placed her (the serpent) upon his brow. Then said the majesty of Seb, I also will place her upon my head even as my father Shu did.

Seb entered Per Aart together with the gods who were with him: then he stretched forth his hand to take the case in which Ankhet was: the snake came forth and breathed its vapour upon the majesty of Seb, confounding him greatly: those who

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followed him fell dead: his majesty burned with this venom? his majesty proceeded to the north of At Nebes with this burning of the uraeus Hert Tep,

Then his majesty reached the fields of henna* but his majesty was not healed? then he said to the gods who followed him, "Come! let this Aar (cap? or wig?) of Ra be brought here." [* The Henu plant: in I.25 the district is called the "land of the henu." The modern name of Goshen, Saft el henna. The henu plant was used in the treatment of stings or snake-bites, and the name occurs in the Pyramid Texts ans in Song of Solomon 1:14.] They said to him: "Nay, let thy majesty go to see its mystery: it will heal his majesty of that which is ... upon thee": behold the majesty of Seb had the Aart placed upon his head in the Per Aart and had made for it a box of real hard stone (or metal), it was hidden in this place, namely, the Per Aart near the sacred Aart of the majesty of Ra: then was healed this heat in the limbs of the majesty of Seb.

Now years passed after this, then this Aart of the majesty of Seb was taken [back] to the Per Aart in the At Nebes: it was carried to the great lake of Per Aart: (the place of the whirlpool is its name) to wash it: behold this Aart became a crocodile: when it reached the water it became Sebek in At Nebes.

Now when the majesty of Ra Harmachis fought with the evil-doers in this pool, the Place of the Whirlpool, the evil-doers prevailed not over his majesty. His majesty leapt into the so-called Place of the Whirlpool, his legs became those of a crocodile, his head that of a hawk with a bull's horns upon it: he smote the evil-doers in the Place of the Whirlpool in the Place of the Sycamore: the Aart of Seb also in its turn did after this sort.

Now the majesty of Seb appeared in the seat of the crocodile gods, of Sebek-Ra, of Shu, of Seb, and of Osiris-Ra, upon the throne of his father Shu as king of gods of men and all flesh, in heaven, earth and the underworld, water, hills, winds, the ocean and the rocks:

His majesty was in his castle of Ruling the Two Lands in the Land of Henna? his majesty had sent messengers to summon to him the foreigners and Asiatics from their land. Now the majesty of Seb said to the great cycle of nine gods that accompanied him, "What did my father Shu when first he appeared upon the throne of his father Atum, when the majesty of Shu was in his castle in At Nebes."

This cycle of nine gods said to the majesty of Seb: "When thy father Shu appeared upon the throne of his father Atum, he smote all those who injured his father Atum: he slew the children of Apep: he made all the enemies of his father Ra to shrink. Now after he had given refreshing shade? to the two lands, to the gods and mortals who followed Atem, lord of the Northern? Anu, he brought water to the cities, he ordered the nomes, he raised up the walls of Egypt, he built the temples in the South country and the North":

The majesty of Seb said to these gods, "Tell me the places which were made in the time of the majesty of Ra which he set up over the land: also tell me the nomes which the majesty of Shu formed (lit. built) in his time: I will proclaim? the places of the time of the majesty of Ra in all the nomes formed by the majesty of Shu. For I shall form them anew, I desire to make them in my reign." They read before the majesty of Shu, out of the hieroglyphics . . . . myriads of localities proclaimed by the majesty of Ra in all the nomes [provinces] which the majesty of Shu formed and registered in writing in the time of the majesty of Atum when he was on earth and at the time that Shu ascended the throne of his father Ra, and at the time that Seb ascended the throne of his father Shu. Names of the places themselves the nomes according to their names excepting the nomes formed by the majesty of Ra in his time.

HERMETIC LITERATURE FROM EGYPT

(The Hermetica are the philosophical texts attributed to the legendary Hellenistic figure Hermes Trismegistus (a syncretic combination of the Greek god Hermes and the Egyptian god Thoth). These texts may vary widely in content and purpose, but are usually subdivided into two main categories:

• The "technical" Hermetica: this category contains treatises dealing with astrology, medicine and pharmacology, alchemy, and magic, the oldest of which were written in Greek and may go back as far as to the second or third century BC. Many of the texts belonging to this category were later translated into Arabic and Latin, often being extensively revised and expanded throughout the centuries. Some of them were also originally written in Arabic, though in many cases their status as an original work or translation remains unclear. These Arabic and Latin Hermetic texts were widely copied throughout the Middle Ages (the most famous example being the Emerald Tablet).

• The "philosophical" Hermetica: this category contains religio-philosophical treatises which were mostly written in the second and third centuries AD, though the very earliest one of them, the Definitions of Hermes Trismegistus to Asclepius, may go back to the first century AD. They are chiefly focused on the relationship between human beings, the cosmos, and God (thus combining philosophical anthropology, cosmology, and theology), and on moral exhortations calling for a way of life (the 'way of Hermes') leading to spiritual rebirth, and eventually to apotheosis in the form of a heavenly ascent. The treatises in this category were probably all originally written in Greek, even though some of them only survive in Coptic, Armenian, or Latin translations. During the Middle Ages, most of them were only accessible to Byzantine scholars (an important exception being the Asclepius, which mainly survives in an early Latin translation), until a compilation of Greek Hermetic treatises known as the Corpus Hermeticum was translated into Latin by the Renaissance scholars Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) and Lodovico Lazzarelli (1447–1500).

Though strongly influenced by Greek and Hellenistic philosophy (especially Platonism and Stoicism), and to a lesser extent also by Jewish ideas, many of the early Greek Hermetic treatises do contain distinctly Egyptian elements, most notably in their affinity with the traditional Egyptian wisdom literature. This used to be the subject of much doubt, but it is now generally admitted that the Hermetica as such did in fact originate in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, even if most of the later Hermetic writings (which continued to be composed at least until the twelfth century AD) clearly did not. It may even be the case that the great bulk of the early Greek Hermetica were written by Hellenizing members of the Egyptian priestly class, whose intellectual activity was centred in the environment of the Egyptian temples.

Corpus Hermeticum

The most famous among the religio-philosophical Hermetica is the Corpus Hermeticum, a selection of seventeen Greek treatises that was first compiled by Eastern Roman editors, and translated into Latin in the fifteenth century by Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) and Lodovico Lazzarelli (1447–1500). Ficino translated the first fourteen treatises (1–14), while Lazzarelli translated the remaining three (16–18). The name of this collection is somewhat misleading, since it contains only a very small selection of extant Hermetic texts (whereas the word corpus is usually reserved for the entire body of extant writings related to some author or subject). Its individual treatises were quoted by many early authors from the second and third centuries on, but the compilation as such is first attested only in the writings of the Byzantine philosopher Michael Psellus (c. 1017–1078).

The most well known among the treatises contained in this compilation is its opening treatise, which is called the Poimandres. However, at least until the nineteenth century, this name (under various forms, such Pimander or Pymander) was also commonly used to designate the compilation as a whole.

In 1462 Ficino was working on a Latin translation of the collected works of Plato for his patron Cosimo de' Medici (the first member of the famous de' Medici family who ruled Florence during the Italian Renaissance), but when a manuscript of the Corpus Hermeticum became available, he immediately interrupted his work on Plato in order to start translating the works of Hermes, which were thought to be much more ancient, and therefore much more authoritative, than those of Plato.[64] This translation provided a seminal impetus in the development of Renaissance thought and culture, having a profound impact on the flourishing of alchemy and magic in early modern Europe, as well as influencing philosophers such as Ficino's student Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494), Giordano Bruno (1548–1600), Francesco Patrizi (1529–1597), Robert Fludd (1574–1637), and many others.

Asclepius

The Asclepius (also known as the Perfect Discourse, from Greek Logos teleios) mainly survives in a Latin translation, though some Greek and Coptic fragments are also extant. It is the only Hermetic treatise belonging to the religio-philosophical category that remained available to Latin readers throughout the Middle Ages.

Definitions of Hermes Trismegistus to Asclepius

Main article: Definitions of Hermes Trismegistus to Asclepius

The Definitions of Hermes Trismegistus to Asclepius is a collection of aphorisms that has mainly been preserved in a sixth-century AD Armenian translation, but which likely goes back to the first century AD. The main argument for this early dating is the fact that some of its aphorisms are cited in multiple independent Greek Hermetic works. According to Jean-Pierre Mahé, these aphorisms contain the core of the teachings which are found in the later Greek religio-philosophical Hermetica.

Stobaean excerpts

In fifth-century Macedonia, Joannes Stobaeus or "John of Stobi" compiled a huge Anthology of Greek poetical, rhetorical, historical, and philosophical literature in order to educate his son Septimius. Though epitomized by later Byzantine copyists, it still remains a treasure trove of information about ancient philosophy and literature which would otherwise be entirely lost. Among the excerpts of ancient philosophical literature preserved by Stobaeus are also a significant number of discourses and dialogues attributed to Hermes. While mostly related to the religio-philosophical treatises as found in the Corpus Hermeticum, they also contains some material that is rather more of a "technical" nature. Perhaps the most famous of the Stobaean excerpts, and also the longest, is the Korē kosmou ("The Daughter of the Cosmos").

Hermes among the Nag Hammadi findings

Among the Coptic treatises which were found in 1945 in the Upper Egyptian town of Nag Hammadi, there are also three treatises attributed to Hermes Trismegistus. Like all documents found in Nag Hammadi, these were translated from the Greek. They consist of some fragments from the Asclepius (VI,8; mainly preserved in Latin, see above), The Prayer of Thanksgiving (VI,7) with an accompanying scribal note (VI,7a), and an important new text called The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth (VI,6).

Oxford and Vienna fragments

A number of short fragments from some otherwise unknown Hermetic works are preserved in a manuscript at the Bodleian Library in Oxford, dealing with the soul, the senses, law, psychology, and embryology. Four short fragments from what once was a collection of ten Hermetic treatises, one of which was called On Energies, are also preserved in a papyrus now housed in Vienna.

Book of the Rebuke of the Soul

Written in Arabic and probably dating from the twelfth century, the Kitāb fī zajr al-nafs ("The Book of the Rebuke of the Soul") is one of the few later Hermetic treatises belonging to the category of religio-philosophical writings.

History of scholarship on the Hermetica

During the Renaissance, all texts attributed to Hermes Trismegistus were still generally believed to be of ancient Egyptian origin (i.e., to date from before the time of Moses, or even from before the flood). In the early seventeenth century, the classical scholar Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614) demonstrated that some of the Greek texts betrayed too recent a vocabulary, and must rather date from the late Hellenistic or early Christian period. This conclusion was reaffirmed in the early twentieth century by the work of scholars like C. H. Dodd. More recent research, while reaffirming the dating of the earliest Greek treatises in the period of syncretic cultural ferment in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, suggests more continuity with the culture of ancient Egypt than had previously been believed. The earliest Greek Hermetic treatises contain many parallels with Egyptian prophecies and hymns to the gods, and close comparisons can be found with Egyptian wisdom literature, which (like many of the early Greek Hermetica) was characteristically couched in words of advice from a "father" to a "son". It has also been shown that some Demotic (late Egyptian) papyri contain substantial sections of a dialogue of the Hermetic type between Thoth and a disciple. In contradistinction to the early Greek religio-philosophical Hermetica, which have been studied from a scholarly perspective since the early seventeenth century, the "technical" Hermetica (both the early Greek treatises and the later Arabic and Latin works) remain largely unexplored by modern scholarship.)

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THE CORPUS HERMETICUM
The Hermetica and Hermetic Tradition
Authorship: Anonymus
From: Thrice Greatest Hermes, G.R.S. Mead,
Vol. 2, London, 1906
Translation: George Robert Stow Mead, 1906
Estimated Range of Dating: 1st or 2nd century A.D.

(The fifteen tractates of the Corpus Hermeticum, also called the Hermetica, along with the Perfect Sermon or Asclepius, are the foundation documents of the Hermetic tradition. The bulk of Egyptian-Greek wisdom texts was written by unknown authors sometime between the 1st century BC and the 4th century AD, though the oldest parts may go back to the 5th or 6th century BC., they were part of a once substantial literature attributed to the mythic figure of Hermes Trismegistus, a Hellenistic fusion of the Greek god Hermes and the Egyptian god Thoth. They are mostly presented as dialogues in which a teacher, generally identified as Hermes Trismegistus ("thrice-greatest Hermes"), enlightens a disciple. The texts form the basis of Hermeticism. They dwell upon the oneness and goodness of God, urge purification of the soul, and discuss the cosmos, mind, and nature. Some touch upon protoscience (and its philosophies), such as alchemy, astrology, and related concepts as Chinese texts from around 73–49 BC and Greco-Roman Egypt in the first few centuries AD show. The Hermetica is one of those texts.

The treatises we now call the Corpus Hermeticum were collected into a single volume in times of the Eastern Roman Empire, and a copy of this volume survived to come into the hands of Lorenzo de Medici's agents in the fifteenth century. Marsilio Ficino, the head of the Florentine Academy, was pulled off the task of translating the dialogues of Plato in order to put the Corpus Hermeticum into Latin first. His translation saw print in 1463, and was reprinted at least twenty-two times over the next century and a half.

The treatises divide up into several groups. The first (chapter 1), the "Poemandres", is the account of a revelation given to Hermes Trismegistus by the being Poemandres or "Man-Shepherd", an expression of the universal Mind. The next eight (chapter 2-9), the "General Sermons", are short dialogues or lectures discussing various basic points of Hermetic philosophy. There follows the "Key" (chapter 10), a summary of the General Sermons, and after this a set of four tractates - "Mind unto Hermes", "About the Common Mind", "The Secret Sermon on the Mountain", and the "Letter of Hermes to Asclepius" (chapter 11-14) - touching on the more mystical aspects of Hermeticism. The collection is rounded off by the "Definitions of Asclepius unto King Ammon" (chapter 15), which may be composed of three fragments of longer works.

The Perfect Sermon or Asclepius, which is also included here, reached the Renaissance by a different route. It was translated into Latin in ancient times, reputedly by the same Lucius Apuleius of Madaura whose comic-serious masterpiece The Golden Ass provides some of the best surviving evidence on the worship of Isis in the Roman world. Augustine of Hippo quotes from the old Latin translation at length in his City of God, and copies remained in circulation in medieval Europe all the way up to the Renaissance. The original Greek version was lost, although quotations survive in several ancient sources. The Perfect Sermon is substantially longer than any other surviving work of ancient Hermetic philosophy. It covers topics which also occur in the Corpus Hermeticum, but touches on several other issues as well - among them magical processes for the manufacture of gods and a long and gloomy prophecy of the decline of Hermetic wisdom and the end of the world.

Significance of the Hermetic Writings: The Corpus Hermeticum landed like a well-aimed bomb amid the philosophical systems of late medieval Europe. Quotations from the Hermetic literature in the Church Fathers (who were never shy of leaning on pagan sources to prove a point) accepted a traditional chronology which dated "Hermes Trismegistus," as a historical figure, to the time of Moses. As a result, the Hermetic tractates' borrowings from Jewish scripture and Platonic philosophy were seen, in the Renaissance, as evidence that the Corpus Hermeticum had anticipated and influenced both. The Hermetic philosophy was seen as a primordial wisdom tradition, identified with the "Wisdom of the Egyptians" mentioned in Exodus and lauded in Platonic dialogues such as the Timaeus. It thus served as a useful club in the hands of intellectual rebels who sought to break the stranglehold of Aristotelian scholasticism on the universities at this time.

In Late Antiquity, Hermetism emerged in parallel with early Christianity, Gnosticism, Neoplatonism, the Chaldaean Oracles, and late Orphic and Pythagorean literature. These doctrines were "characterised by a resistance to the dominance of either pure rationality or doctrinal faith." To make it short, Hermeticism can be seen as development or philosophic way from polytheism to monotheism.

The term Hermetic is from the medieval Latin hermeticus, which is derived from the name of the Greek god Hermes. Mary Anne Atwood mentioned the use of the word Hermetic by Dufresnoy in 1386. The word Hermetic was used by John Everard in his English translation of The Pymander of Hermes, published in 1650. Hermes Trismegistus supposedly invented the process of making a glass tube airtight (a process in alchemy) using a secret seal. Hence, the term "completely sealed" is implied in "hermetically sealed" and the term "hermetic" is also equivalent to "occult" or hidden.

Hermeticism itself (also called Hermetism) is a religious, philosophical, and esoteric (or Western mystery) tradition based primarily upon writings attributed to Hermes Trismegistus. They belong to a wide range of loosely related ideas and movements which have developed within Western society.

Hermetic writings have greatly influenced the Western esoteric tradition and were considered to be of great importance during both the Renaissance and the Reformation. The tradition traces its origin to a "prisca theologia", a doctrine that affirms the existence of a single, true theology that is present in all religions and that was given by God to man in antiquity. This literature came out of the same religious and philosophical ferment that produced Neoplatonism, Christianity, and the diverse collection of teachings usually lumped together under the label "Gnosticism": a ferment which had its roots in the impact of Platonic thought on the older traditions of the Grecofied East of the Mediterranean. There are obvious connexions and common themes linking each of these traditions, although each had its own answer to the major questions of the time.

Hermes Trismegistus (Greek for "thrice-greatest Hermes"; Latin: Mercurius ter Maximus) is the purported author of the Hermetic Corpus, a series of sacred texts that are the basis of Hermeticism. Hermes Trismegistus may be associated with the Greek god Hermes and the Egyptian god Thoth. Greeks in the Ptolemaic Kingdom of Egypt recognised the equivalence of Hermes and Thoth through the Greek interpretation. Consequently, the two gods were worshiped as one, in what had been the Temple of Thoth in Khemenu, which was known in the Hellenistic period as Hermopolis.

Hermes, the Greek god of interpretive communication, was combined with Thoth, the Egyptian god of wisdom. The Egyptian priest and polymath Imhotep (the chancellor to the Pharaoh Djoser, architect of the Djoser's step pyramid, and high priest of the sun god Ra at Heliopolis, 27th century BC.) had been deified long after his death and therefore assimilated to Thoth in the classical and Hellenistic periods.

The renowned scribe Amenhotep and a wise man named Teôs (early-mid 14th century BC.) were coequal deities of wisdom, science, and medicine; and, thus, they were placed alongside Imhotep in shrines dedicated to Thoth–Hermes during the Ptolemaic Kingdom.

Many Christian writers, including Lactantius, Augustine, Marsilio Ficino, Campanella, and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, as well as Giordano Bruno, considered Hermes Trismegistus to be a wise pagan prophet who foresaw the coming of Christianity. They believed in the existence of a prisca theologia, a single, true theology that threads through all religions. It was given by God to man in antiquity and passed through a series of prophets, which included Zoroaster and Plato. In order to demonstrate the verity of the prisca theologia, Christians appropriated the Hermetic teachings for their own purposes. By this account, Hermes Trismegistus was either a contemporary of Moses, or the third in a line of men named Hermes, i.e. Enoch, Noah, and the Egyptian priest king who is known to us as Hermes Trismegistus on account of being the greatest priest, philosopher, and king.

The translation of the Corpus Hermeticum and Perfect Sermon given here is that of G.R.S. Mead (1863-1933), originally published as Vol. 2 of his Thrice Greatest Hermes (London, 1906). Mead was a close associate of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, the founder and moving spirit of the Theosophical Society, and most of his considerable scholarly output was brought out under Theosophical auspices. The result, predictably, was that most of that output has effectively been blacklisted in academic circles ever since. This is unfortunate, for Mead's translations of the Hermetic literature were until quite recently the best available in English. (They are still the best in the public domain; thus their use here.) The Everard translation of 1650, which is still in print, reflects the state of scholarship at the time it was made - since then, a new things have been discovered and learned.

There is admittedly one problem with Mead's translation: the aesthetics of the English text. Mead hoped, as he mentioned at the beginning of Thrice Greatest Hermes, to "render...these beautiful theosophic treatises into an English that might, perhaps, be thought in some small way worthy of the Greek originals." Unfortunately for this ambition, he was writing at a time when the last remnants of the florid and pompous Victorian style were fighting it out with the more straightforward colloquial prose that became the style of the new century. The "poetic" or "German" word order is probably the most serious barrier to readability; it's a good rule, whenever the translation seems to descend into gibberish, to try shuffling the words of the sentence in question. It may also be worth noting that Mead consistently uses "for that" in place of "because" and "aught" in place of "any", and leaves out the word "the" more or less at random.)

CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 1
Poemandres, the Shepherd of Men

(Notes on the text: This is the most famous of the Hermetic documents, a revelation account describing a vision of the creation of the universe and the nature and fate of humanity. Authors from the Renaissance onward have been struck by the way in which its creation myth seems partly inspired by Genesis, partly reacting against it. The Fall has here become the descent of the Primal Man through the spheres of the planets to the world of Nature, a descent caused not by disobedience but by love, and done with the blessing of God.

The seven rulers of fate discussed in sections 9, 14 and 25 are the archons of the seven planets, which also appear in Plato's Timaeus and in a number of the ancient writings usually lumped together as "Gnostic". Their role here is an oddly ambivalent one, powers of Harmony who are nonetheless the sources of humanity's tendencies to evil.)

1. It chanced once on a time my mind was meditating on the things that are, my thought was raised to a great height, the senses of my body being held back - just as men who are weighed down with sleep after a fill of food, or from fatigue of body.

Methought a Being more than vast, in size beyond all bounds, called out my name and saith: What wouldst thou hear and see, and what hast thou in mind to learn and know?

2. And I do say: Who art thou?

He saith: I am Man-Shepherd (Poemandres), Mind of all-masterhood; I know what thou desirest and I am with thee everywhere.

3. And I reply: I long to learn the things that are, and comprehend their nature, and know God. This is, I said, what I desire to hear.

He answered back to me: Hold in thy mind all thou wouldst know, and I will teach thee.

4. Even with these words His aspect changed, and straightway, in the twinkling of an eye, all things were opened to me, and I see a Vision limitless, all things turned into Light - sweet, joyous Light. And I became transported as I gazed.

But in a little while Darkness came settling down on part of it, awesome and gloomy, coiling in sinuous folds, so that methought it like unto a snake.

And then the Darkness changed into some sort of a Moist Nature, tossed about beyond all power of words, belching out smoke as from a fire, and groaning forth a wailing sound that beggars all description.

And after that an outcry inarticulate came forth from it, as though it were a Voice of Fire.

5. Thereon out of the Light ... a Holy Word (Logos) descended on that Nature. And upwards to the height from the Moist Nature leaped forth pure Fire; light was it, swift and active too.

The Air, too, being light, followed after the Fire; from out of the Earth-and-Water rising up to Fire so that it seemed to hang therefrom.

But Earth-and-Water stayed so mingled with each other, that Earth from Water no one could discern. Yet were they moved to hear by reason of the Spirit-Word (Logos) pervading them.

6. Then saith to me Man-Shepherd: Didst understand this Vision what it means?

Nay; that shall I know, said I.

That Light, He said, am I, thy God, Mind, prior to Moist Nature which appeared from Darkness; the Light-Word (Logos) that appeared from Mind is Son of God.

What then? - say I.

Know that what sees in thee and hears is the Lord's Word (Logos); but Mind is Father-God. Not separate are they the one from other; just in their union rather is it Life consists.

Thanks be to Thee, I said.

So, understand the Light He answered, and make friends with it.

7. And speaking thus He gazed for long into my eyes, so that I trembled at the look of him.

But when He raised His head, I see in Mind the Light, but now in Powers no man could number, and Cosmos grown beyond all bounds, and that the Fire was compassed round about by a most mighty Power, and now subdued had come unto a stand.

And when I saw these things I understood by reason of Man-Shepherd's Word (Logos).

8. But as I was in great astonishment, He saith to me again: Thou didst behold in Mind the Archetypal Form whose being is before beginning without end. Thus spake to me Man-Shepherd.

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And I say: Whence then have Nature's elements their being?

To this He answer gives: From Will of God. Nature received the Word (Logos), and gazing upon the Cosmos Beautiful did copy it, making herself into a cosmos, by means of her own elements and by the births of souls.

9. And God-the-Mind, being male and female both, as Light and Life subsisting, brought forth another Mind to give things form, who, God as he was of Fire and Spirit, formed Seven Rulers who enclose the cosmos that the sense perceives. Men call their ruling Fate.

10. Straightway from out the downward elements God's Reason (Logos) leaped up to Nature's pure formation, and was at-oned with the Formative Mind; for it was co-essential with it. And Nature's downward elements were thus left reason-less, so as to be pure matter.

11. Then the Formative Mind (at-oned with Reason), he who surrounds the spheres and spins them with his whorl, set turning his formations, and let them turn from a beginning boundless unto an endless end. For that the circulation of these spheres begins where it doth end, as Mind doth will.

And from the downward elements Nature brought forth lives reason-less; for He did not extend the Reason (Logos) to them. The Air brought forth things winged; the Water things that swim, and Earth-and-Water one from another parted, as Mind willed. And from her bosom Earth produced what lives she had, four-footed things and reptiles, beasts wild and tame.

12. But All-Father Mind, being Life and Light, did bring forth Man co-equal to Himself, with whom He fell in love, as being His own child; for he was beautiful beyond compare, the Image of his Sire. In very truth, God fell in love with his own Form; and on him did bestow all of His own formations.

13. And when he gazed upon what the Enformer had created in the Father, Man too wished to enform; and so assent was given him by the Father.

Changing his state to the formative sphere, in that he was to have his whole authority, he gazed upon his Brother's creatures. They fell in love with him, and gave him each a share of his own ordering.

And after that he had well learned their essence and had become a sharer in their nature, he had a mind to break right through the Boundary of their spheres, and to subdue the might of that which pressed upon the Fire.

14. So he who hath the whole authority over all the mortals in the cosmos and over its lives irrational, bent his face downwards through the Harmony, breaking right through its strength, and showed to downward Nature God's fair form.

And when she saw that Form of beauty which can never satiate, and him who now possessed within himself each single energy of all seven Rulers as well as God's own Form, she smiled with love; for it was as though she hadd seen the image of Man's fairest form upon her Water, his shadow on her Earth.

He in turn beholding the form like to himself, existing in her, in her Water, loved it and willed to live in it; and with the will came act, and so he vivified the form devoid of reason.

And Nature took the object of her love and wound herself completely around him, and they were intermingled, for they were lovers.

15. And this is why beyond all creatures on the earth man is twofold; mortal because of body, but because of the essential man immortal.

Though deathless and possessed of sway over all, yet doth he suffer as a mortal doth, subject to Fate.

Thus though above the Harmony, within the Harmony he hath become a slave. Though male-female, as from a Father male-female, and though he is sleepless from a sleepless Sire, yet is he overcome by sleep.

16. Thereon I say: Teach on, O Mind of me, for I myself as well am amorous of the Word (Logos).

The Shepherd said: This is the mystery kept hid until this day.

Nature embraced by Man brought forth a wonder, oh so wonderful. For as he had the nature of the Concord of the Seven, who, as I said to thee, were made of Fire and Spirit - Nature delayed not, but immediately brought forth seven "men", in correspondence with the natures of the Seven, male-female and moving in the air.

Thereon I said: O Shepherd, ..., for now I am filled with great desire and long to hear; do not run off.

The Shepherd said: Keep silence, for not as yet have I unrolled for thee the first discourse (logoi).

Lo! I am still, I said.

17. In such wise than, as I have said, the generation of these seven came to pass. Earth was as woman, her Water filled with longing; ripeness she took from Fire, spirit from Aether. Nature thus brought forth frames to suit the form of Man.

And Man from Light and Life changed into soul and mind - from Life to soul, from Light to mind.

And thus continued all the sense-world's parts until the period of their end and new beginnings.

18. Now listen to the rest of the discourse (Logos) which thou dost long to hear.

The period being ended, the bond that bound them all was loosened by God's Will. For all the animals being male-female, at the same time with Man were loosed apart; some became partly male, some in like fashion partly female. And straightway God spake by His Holy Word (Logos):

"Increase ye in increasing, and multiply in multitude, ye creatures and creations all; and man that hath Mind in him, let him learn to know that he himself is deathless, and that the cause of death is love, though Love is all."

19. When He said this, His Forethought did by means of Fate and Harmony effect their couplings and their generations founded. And so all things were multiplied according to their kind.

And he who thus hath learned to know himself, hath reached that Good which doth transcend abundance; but he who through a love that leads astray, expends his love upon his body - he stays in Darkness wandering, and suffering through his senses things of Death.

20. What is the so great fault, said I, the ignorant commit, that they should be deprived of deathlessness?

Thou seemest, He said, O thou, not to have given heed to what thou heardest. Did I not bid thee think?

Yea do I think, and I remember, and therefore give Thee thanks.

If thou didst think thereon, said He, tell me: Why do they merit death who are in Death?

It is because the gloomy Darkness is the root and base of the material frame; from it came the Moist Nature; from this the body in the sense-world was composed; and from this body Death doth the Water drain.

21. Right was thy thought, O thou! But how doth "he who knows himself, go unto Him", as God's Word (Logos) hath declared?

And I reply: the Father of the universals doth consist of Light and Life, from Him Man was born.

Thou sayest well, thus speaking. Light and Life is Father-God, and from Him Man was born.

If then thou learnest that thou art thyself of Life and Light, and that thou happenest to be out of them, thou shalt return again to Life. Thus did Man-Shepherd speak.

But tell me further, Mind of me, I cried, how shall I come to Life again...for God doth say: "The man who hath Mind in him, let him learn to know that he himself is deathless."

22. Have not all men then Mind?

Thou sayest well, O thou, thus speaking. I, Mind, myself am present with holy men and good, the pure and merciful, men who live piously.

To such my presence doth become an aid, and straightway they gain gnosis of all things, and win the Father's love by their pure lives, and give Him thanks, invoking on Him blessings, and chanting hymns, intent on Him with ardent love.

And ere they give up the body unto its proper death, they turn them with disgust from its sensations, from knowledge of what things they operate. Nay, it is I, the Mind, that will not let the operations which befall the body, work to their natural end. For being door-keeper I will close up all the entrances, and cut the mental actions off which base and evil energies induce.

23. But to the Mind-less ones, the wicked and depraved, the envious and covetous, and those who mured do and love impiety, I am far off, yielding my place to the Avenging Daimon, who sharpening the fire, tormenteth him and addeth fire to fire upon him, and rusheth upon him through his senses, thus rendering him readier for transgressions of the law, so that he meets with greater torment; nor doth he ever cease to have desire for appetites inordinate, insatiately striving in the dark.

24. Well hast thou taught me all, as I desired, O Mind. And now, pray, tell me further of the nature of the Way Above as now it is for me.

To this Man-Shepherd said: When the material body is to be dissolved, first thou surrenderest the body by itself unto the work of change, and thus the form thou hadst doth vanish, and thou surrenderest thy way of life, void of its energy, unto the Daimon. The body's senses next pass back into their sources, becoming separate, and resurrect as energies; and passion and desire withdraw unto that nature which is void of reason.

25. And thus it is that man doth speed his way thereafter upwards through the Harmony.

To the first zone he gives the Energy of Growth and Waning; unto the second zone, Device of Evils now de-energized; unto the third, the Guile of the Desires de-energized; unto the fourth, his Domineering Arrogance, also de-energized; unto the fifth, unholy Daring and the Rashness of Audacity, de-energized; unto the sixth, Striving for Wealth by evil means, deprived of its aggrandizement; and to the seventh zone, Ensnaring Falsehood, de-energized.

26. And then, with all the energisings of the harmony stript from him, clothed in his proper Power, he cometh to that Nature which belongs unto the Eighth, and there with those-that-are hymneth the Father.

They who are there welcome his coming there with joy; and he, made like to them that sojourn there, doth further hear the Powers who are above the Nature that belongs unto the Eighth, singing their songs of praise to God in language of their own.

And then they, in a band, go to the Father home; of their own selves they make surrender of themselves to Powers, and thus becoming Powers they are in God. This the good end for those who have gained Gnosis - to be made one with God.

Why shouldst thou then delay? Must it not be, since thou hast all received, that thou shouldst to the worthy point the way, in order that through thee the race of mortal kind may by thy God be saved?

27. This when He had said, Man-Shepherd mingled with the Powers.

But I, with thanks and blessings unto the Father of the universal Powers, was freed, full of the power he had poured into me, and full of what He had taught me of the nature of the All and of the loftiest Vision.

And I began to preach unto men the Beauty of Devotion and of Gnosis:

O ye people, earth-born folk, ye who have given yourselves to drunkenness and sleep and ignorance of God, be sober now, cease from your surfeit, cease to be glamoured by irrational sleep!

28. And when they heard, they came with one accord. Whereon I say:

Ye earth-born folk, why have ye given yourselves up to Death, while yet ye have the power of sharing Deathlessness? Repent, O ye, who walk with Error arm in arm and make of Ignorance the sharer of your board; get ye out from the light of Darkness, and take your part in Deathlessness, forsake Destruction!

29. And some of them with jests upon their lips departed from me, abandoning themselves unto the Way of Death; others entreated to be taught, casting themselves before my feet.

But I made them arise, and I became a leader of the Race towards home, teaching the words (logoi), how and in what way they shall be saved. I sowed in them the words (logoi) of wisdom; of Deathless Water were they given to drink.

And when even was come and all sun's beams began to set, I bade them all give thanks to God. And when they had brought to an end the giving of their thanks, each man returned to his own resting place.

30. But I recorded in my heart Man-Shepherd's benefaction, and with my every hope fulfilled more than rejoiced. For body's sleep became the soul's awakening, and closing of the eyes - true vision, pregnant with Good my silence, and the utterance of my word (logos) begetting of good things.

All this befell me from my Mind, that is Man-Shepherd, Word (Logos) of all masterhood, by whom being God-inspired I came unto the Plain of Truth. Wherefore with all my soul and strength thanksgiving give I unto Father-God.

31. Holy art Thou, O God, the universals' Father.

Holy art Thou, O God, whose Will perfects itself by means of its own Powers.

Holy art Thou, O God, who willeth to be known and art known by Thine own.

Holy art Thou,who didst by Word (Logos) make to consist the things that are.

Holy art Thou, of whom All-nature hath been made an image.

Holy art Thou, whose Form Nature hath never made.

Holy art Thou, more powerful than all power.

Holy art Thou, transcending all pre-eminence.

Holy Thou art, Thou better than all praise.

Accept my reason's offerings pure, from soul and heart for aye stretched up to Thee, O Thou unutterable, unspeakable, Whose Name naught but the Silence can express.

32. Give ear to me who pray that I may never of Gnosis fail, Gnosis which is our common being's nature; and fill me with Thy Power, and with this Grace of Thine, that I may give the Light to those in ignorance of the Race, my Brethren, and Thy Sons.

For this cause I believe, and I bear witness; I go to Life and Light. Blessed art Thou, O Father. Thy Man would holy be as Thou art holy, even as Thou gave him Thy full authority to be.

CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 2

To Asclepius

(Notes on the text: This dialogue sets forth the difference between the physical and metaphysical worlds in the context of Greek natural philosophy. Some of the language is fairly technical: the "errant spheres" of sections 6 and 7 are the celestial spheres carrying the planets, while the "inerrant sphere" is that of the fixed stars. It is useful to keep in mind, also, that "air" and "spirit" are interchangeable concepts in Greek thought, and that the concept of the Good has a range of implications which don't come across in the English word: one is that the good of any being, in Greek thought, was also that being's necessary goal.)

1. Hermes: All that is moved, Asclepius, is it not moved in something and by something?

Asclepius: Assuredly.

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H: And must not that in which it's moved be greater than the moved?

A: It must.

H: Mover, again, has greater power than moved?

A: It has, of course.

H: The nature, furthermore, of that in which it's moved must be quite other from the nature of the moved?

A: It must completely.

2. H: Is not, again, this cosmos vast, so vast that than it there exists no body greater?

A: Assuredly.

H: And massive, too, for it is crammed with multitudes of other mighty frames, nay, rather all the other bodies that there are?

A: It is.

H: And yet the cosmos is a body?

A: It is a body.

H: And one that's moved?

3. A: Assuredly.

H: Of what size, then, must be the space in which it's moved, and of what kind must be the nature of that space? Must it not be far vaster than the cosmos, in order that it may be able to find room for its continued course, so that the moved may not be cramped for want of room and lose its motion?

A: Something, Thrice-greatest one, it needs must be, immensely vast.

4. H: And of what nature? Must it not be, Asclepius, of just the contrary? And is not contrary to body bodiless?

A: Agreed.

H: Space, then, is bodiless. But bodiless must either be some godlike thing or God Himself. And by "some godlike thing" I mean no more the generable i.e., that which is generated but the ingenerable.

5. If, then, space be some godlike thing, it is substantial; but if 'tis God Himself, it transcends substance. But it is to be thought of otherwise than God, and in this way.

God is first "thinkable" (or "intelligible") for us, not for Himself, for that the thing that's thought doth fall beneath the thinker's sense. God then cannot be "thinkable" unto Himself, in that He's thought of by Himself as being nothing else but what He thinks. But he is "something else" for us, and so He's thought of by us.

6. If space is, therefore, to be thought, it should not, then, be thought as God, but space. If God is also to be thought, He should not be conceived as space, but as energy that can contain all space.

Further, all that is moved is moved not in the moved but in the stable. And that which moves another is of course stationary, for 'tis impossible that it should move with it.

A: How is it, then, that things down here, Thrice-greatest one, are moved with those that are already moved? For thou hast said the errant spheres were moved by the inerrant one.

H: This is not, O Asclepius, a moving with, but one against; they are not moved with one another, but one against the other. It is this contrariety which turneth the resistance of their motion into rest. For that resistance is the rest of motion.

7. Hence, too, the errant spheres, being moved contrarily to the inerrant one, are moved by one another by mutual contrariety, and also by the spable one through contrariety itself. And this can otherwise not be.

The Bears up there (i.e., Ursa Major and Minor), which neither set nor rise, think'st thou they rest or move?

A: They move, Thrice-greatest one.

H: And what their motion, my Asclepius?

A: Motion that turns for ever round the same.

H: But revolution - motion around same - is fixed by rest. For "round-the-same" doth stop "beyond-same". "Beyond-same" then, being stopped, if it be steadied in "round-same" - the contrary stands firm, being rendered ever stable by its contrariety.

8. Of this I'll give thee here on earth an instance, which the eye can see. Regard the animals down here - a man, for instance, swimming! The water moves, yet the resistance of his hands and feet give him stability, so that he is not borne along with it, nor sunk thereby.

A: Thou hast, Thrice-greatest one, adduced a most clear instance.

H: All motion, then, is caused in station and by station.

The motion, therefore, of the cosmos (and of every other hylic (i.e., material) animal) will not be caused by things exterior to the cosmos, but by things interior outward to the exterior - such things as soul, or spirit, or some such other thing incorporeal.

'Tis not the body that doth move the living thing in it; nay, not even the whole body of the universe a lesser body even though there be no life in it.

9. A: What meanest thou by this, Thrice-greatest one? Is it not bodies, then, that move the stock and stone and all the other things inanimate?

H: By no means, O Asclepius. The something-in-the-body, the that-which-moves the thing inanimate, this surely's not a body, for that it moves the two of them - both body of the lifter and the lifted? So that a thing that's lifeless will not move a lifeless thing. That which doth move another thing is animate, in that it is the mover.

Thou seest, then, how heavy laden is the soul, for it alone doth lift two bodies. That things, moreover, moved are moved in something as well as moved by something is clear.

10. A: Yea, O Thrice-greatest one, things moved must needs be moved in something void.

H: Thou sayest well, O my Asclepius! For naught of things that are is void. Alone the "is-not" is void and stranger to subsistence. For that which is subsistent can never change to void.

A: Are there, then, O Thrice-greatest one, no such things as an empty cask, for instance, and an empty jar, a cup and vat, and other things like unto them?

H: Alack, Asclepius, for thy far-wandering from the truth! Think'st thou that things most full and most replete are void?

11. A: How meanest thou, Thrice-greatest one?

H: Is not air body?

A: It is.

H: And doth this body not pervade all things, and so, pervading, fill them? And "body"; doth body not consist from blending of the "four" (elements)? Full, then, of air are all thou callest void; and if of air, then of the "four".

Further, of this the converse follows, that all thou callest full are void - of air; for that they have their space filled out with other bodies, and, therefore, are not able to receive the air therein. These, then, which thou dost say are void, they should be hollow named, not void; for they not only are, but they are full of air and spirit.

12. A: Thy argument (logos), Thrice-greatest one, is not to be gainsaid; air is a body. Further, it is this body which doth pervade all things, and so, pervading, fill them. What are we, then, to call that space in which the all doth move?

H: The bodiless, Asclepius.

A: What, then, is Bodiless?

H: 'Tis Mind and Reason (logos), whole out of whole, all self-embracing, free from all body, from all error free, unsensible to body and untouchable, self stayed in self, containing all, preserving those that are, whose rays, to use a likeness, are Good, Truth, Light beyond light, the Archetype of soul.

A: What, then, is God?

13. H: Not any one of these is He; for He it is that causeth them to be, both all and each and every thing of all that are. Nor hath He left a thing beside that is-not; but they are all from things-that-are and not from things-that-are-not. For that the things-that-are-not have naturally no power of being anything, but naturally have the power of the inability-to-be. And, conversely, the things-that-are have not the nature of some time not-being.

14. A: What say'st thou ever, then, God is?

H: God, therefore, is not Mind, but Cause that the Mind is; God is not Spirit, but Cause that Spirit is; God is not Light, but Cause that the Light is. Hence one should honor God with these two names the Good and Father - names which pertain to Him alone and no one else.

For no one of the other so-called gods, no one of men, or daimones, can be in any measure Good, but God alone; and He is Good alone and nothing else. The rest of things are separable all from the Good's nature; for all the rest are soul and body, which have no place that can contain the Good.

15. For that as mighty is the Greatness of the Good as is the Being of all things that are - both bodies and things bodiless, things sensible and intelligible things. Call thou not, therefore, aught else Good, for thou would'st imious be; nor anything at all at any time call God but Good alone, for so thou would'st again be impious.

16. Though, then, the Good is spoken of by all, it is not understood by all, what thing it is. Not only, then, is God not understood by all, but both unto the gods and some of the men they out of ignorance do give the name of Good, though they can never either be or become Good. For they are very different from God, while Good can never be distinguished from Him, for that God is the same as Good.

The rest of the immortal ones are nonetheless honored with the name of God, and spoken of as gods; but God is Good not out of courtesy but out of nature. For that God's nature and the Good is one; one os the kind of both, from which all other kinds proceed.

The Good is he who gives all things and naught receives. God, then, doth give all things and receive naught. God, then, is Good, and Good is God.

17. The other name of God is Father, again because He is the that-which-maketh-all. The part of father is to make.

Wherefore child-making is a very great and a most pious thing in life for them who think aright, and to leave life on earth without a child a very great misfortune and impiety; and he who hath no child is punished by the daimones after death.

And this is the punishment: that that man's soul who hath no child, shall be condemned unto a body with neither man's nor woman's nature, a thing accursed beneath the sun.

Wherefore, Asclepius, let not your sympathies be with the man who hath no child, but rather pity his mishap, knowing what punishment abides for him.

Let all that has been said then, be to thee, Asclepius, an introduction to the gnosis of the nature of all things.

CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 3

The Sacred Sermon

(Notes on the text: This brief (and possibly somewhat garbled) text recounts the creation and nature of the world in terms much like those of the Poemandres. The major theme is the renewal of all things in a cyclic universe, with the seven planetary rulers again playing a major role.)

1. The Glory of all things is God, Godhead and Godly Nature. Source of the things that are is God, who is both Mind and Nature - yea Matter, the Wisdom that reveals all things. Source too is Godhead - yea Nature, Energy, Necessity, and End, and Making-new-again.

Darkness that knew no bounds was in Abyss, and Water too and subtle Breath intelligent; these were by Power of God in Chaos.

Then Holy Light arose; and there collected 'neath Dry Space (literally: "sand") from out Moist Essence Elements; and all the Gods do separate things out from fecund Nature.

2. All things being undefined and yet unwrought, the light things were assigned unto the height, the heavy ones had their foundations laid down underneath the moist part of Dry Space, the universal things being bounded off by Fire and hanged in Breath to keep them up.

And Heaven was seen in seven circles; its Gods were visible in forms of stars with all their signs; while Nature had her members made articulate together with the Gods in her. And Heaven's periphery revolved in cyclic course, borne on by Breath of God.

3. And every God by his own proper power brought forth what was appointed him. Thus there arose four-footed beasts, and creeping things, and those that in the water dwell, and things with wings, and everything that beareth seed, and grass, and shoot of every flower, all having in themselves seed of again-becoming.

And they selected out the births of men for gnosis of the works of God and attestation of the energy of Nature; the multitude of men for lordship over all beneath the heaven and gnosis of its blessings, that they might increase in increasing and multiply in multitude, and every soul infleshed by revolution of the Cyclic Gods, for observation of the marvels of Heaven and Heaven's Gods' revolution, and of the works of God and energy of Nature, for tokens of its blessings, for gnosis of the power of God, that they might know the fates that follow good and evil deeds and learn the cunning work of all good arts.

4. Thus there begins their living and their growing wise, according to the fate appointed by the revolution of the Cyclic Gods, and their deceasing for this end.

And there shall be memorials mighty of their handiworks upon the earth, leaving dim trace behind when cycles are renewed.

For every birth of flesh ensouled, and of the fruit of seed, and every handiwork, though it decay, shall of necessity renew itself, both by the renovation of the Gods and by the turning-round of Nature's rhythmic wheel.

For that whereas the Godhead is Nature's ever-making-new-again the cosmic mixture, Nature herself is also co-established in that Godhead.

CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 4

The Cup or Monad

(Notes on the text: This short text gives an unusually lucid overview of the foundations of Hermetic thought. The stress on rejection of the body and its pleasures, and on the division of humanity into those with Mind and those without, are reminiscent of some of the so-called "Gnostic" writings of the same period. The idea that the division is a matter of choice, on the other hand, is a pleasant variation on the almost Calvinist flavor of writings such as the Apocalypse of Adam.

Mead speculates that the imagery of the Cup in this text may have a distant connection, by way of unorthodox ideas about Communion, with the legends of the Holy Grail.)

1. Hermes: With Reason (Logos), not with hands, did the World-maker make the universal World; so that thou shouldst think of him as everywhere and ever-being, the Author of all things, and One and Only, who by His Will all beings hath created.

This Body of Him is a thing no man can touch, or see, or measure, a body inextensible, like to no other frame. 'Tis neither Fire nor Water, Air nor Breath; yet all of them come from it. Now being Good he willed to consecrate this Body to Himself alone, and set its Earth in order and adorn it.

2. So down to Earth He sent the Cosmos of this Frame Divine - man, a life that cannot die, and yet a life that dies. And o'er all other lives and over Cosmos too, did man excel by reason of the Reason (Logos) and the Mind. For

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contemplator of God's works did man become; he marvelled and did strive to know their Author.

3. Reason (Logos) indeed, O Tat, among all men hath He distributed, but Mind not yet; not that He grudgeth any, for grudging cometh not from Him, but hath its place below, within the souls of men who have no Mind.

Tat: Why then did God, O father, not on all bestow a share of Mind?

Hermes: He willed, my son, to have it set up in the midst for souls, just as it were a prize.

4. Tat: And where hath He set it up?

Hermes: He filled a mighty Cup with it, and sent it down, joining a Herald to it, to whom He gave command to make this proclamation to the hearts of men:

Baptise thyself with this Cup's baptism, what heart can do so, thou that hast faith thou canst ascend to him that hath sent down the Cup, thou that dost know for what thou didst come into being!

As many then as understood the Herald's tidings and doused themselves in Mind, became partakers in the Gnosis; and when they had "received the Mind" they were made "perfect men".

But they who do not understand the tidings, these, since they possess the aid of Reason only and not Mind, are ignorant wherefor they have come into being and whereby.

5. The senses of such men are like irrational creatures'; and as their whole make-up is in their feelings and their impulses, they fail in all appreciation of (lit.: "they do not wonder at") those things which really are worth contemplation. These center all their thought upon the pleasures of the body and its appetites, in the belief that for its sake man hath come into being.

But they who have received some portion of God's gift, these, Tat, if we judge by their deeds, have from Death's bonds won their release; for they embrace in their own Mind all things, things on the earth, things in the heaven, and things above the heaven - if there be aught. And having raised themselves so far they sight the Good; and having sighted it, they look upon their sojourn here as a mischance; and in disdain of all, both things in body and the bodiless, they speed their way unto that One and Only One.

6. This is, O Tat, the Gnosis of the Mind, Vision of things Divine; God-knowledge is it, for the Cup is God's.

Tat: Father, I, too, would be baptized.

Hermes: Unless thou first shall hate thy Body, son, thou canst not love thy Self. But if thou lovest thy Self thou shalt have Mind, and having Mind thou shalt share in the Gnosis.

Tat: Father, what dost thou mean?

Hermes: It is not possible, my son, to give thyself to both - I mean to things that perish and to things divine. For seeing that existing things are twain, Body and Bodiless, in which the perishing and the divine are understood, the man who hath the will to choose is left the choice of one or the other; for it can never be the twain should meet. And in those souls to whom the choice is left, the waning of the one causes the other's growth to show itself.

7. Now the choosing of the Better not only proves a lot most fair for him who makes the choice, seeing it makes the man a God, but also shows his piety to God. Whereas the choosing of the Worse, although it doth destroy the "man", it doth only disturb God's harmony to this extent, that as processions pass by in the middle of the way, without being able to do anything but take the road from others, so do such men move in procession through the world led by their bodies' pleasures.

8. This being so, O Tat, what comes from God hath been and will be ours; but that which is dependent on ourselves, let this press onward and have no delay, for 'tis not God, 'tis we who are the cause of evil things, preferring them to good.

Thou seest, son, how many are the bodies through which we have to pass, how many are the choirs of daimones, how vast the system of the star-courses through which our Path doth lie, to hasten to the One and Only God.

For to the Good there is no other shore; It hath no bounds; It is without an end; and for Itself It is without beginning, too, though unto us it seemeth to have one - the Gnosis.

9. Therefore to It Gnosis is no beginning; rather is it that Gnosis doth afford to us the first beginning of its being known.

Let us lay hold, therefore, of the beginning. and quickly speed through all we have to pass.

`Tis very hard, to leave the things we have grown used to, which meet our gaze on every side, and turn ourselves back to the Old Old Path.

Appearances delight us, whereas things which appear not make their believing hard.

Now evils are the more apparent things, whereas the Good can never show Itself unto the eyes, for It hath neither form nor figure.

Therefore the Good is like Itself alone, and unlike all things else; or `tis impossible that That which hath no body should make Itself apparent to a body.

10. The "Like's" superiority to the "Unlike" and the "Unlike's" inferiority unto the "Like" consists in this:

The Oneness being Source and Root of all, is in all things as Root and Source. Without this Source is naught; whereas the Source Itself is from naught but itself, since it is Source of all the rest. It is Itself Its Source, since It may have no other Source.

The Oneness then being Source, containeth every number, but is contained by none; engendereth every number, but is engendered by no other one.

11. Now all that is engendered is imperfect, it is divisible, to increase subject and to decrease; but with the Perfect One none of these things doth hold. Now that which is increasable increases from the Oneness, but succumbs through its own feebleness when it no longer can contain the One.

And now, O Tat, God's Image hath been sketched for thee, as far as it can be; and if thou wilt attentively dwell on it and observe it with thine heart's eyes, believe me, son, thou'lt find the Path that leads above; nay, that Image shall become thy Guide itself, because the Sight Divine hath this peculiar charm, it holdeth fast and draweth unto it those who succeed in opening their eyes, just as, they say, the magnet draweth iron.

CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 5

Though Unmanifest God Is Most Manifest

1. I will recount to thee this sermon (logos) too, O Tat, that thou may'st cease to be without the mysteries of the God beyond all name. And mark thou well how that which to the many seems unmanifest, will grow most manifest for thee.

Now were it manifest, it would not be. For all that is made manifest is subject to becoming, for it hath been made manifest. But the Unmanifest for ever is, for It doth not desire to be made manifest. It ever is, and maketh manifest all other things.

Being Himself unmanifest, as ever being and ever making-manifest, Himself is not made manifest. God is not made Himself; by thinking-manifest (i.e., thinking into manifestation), He thinketh all things manifest.

Now "thinking-manifest" deals with things made alone, for thinking-manifest is nothing else than making.

2. He, then, alone who is not made, 'tis clear, is both beyond all power of thinking-manifest, and is unmanifest.

And as He thinketh all things manifest, He manifests through all things and in all, and most of all in whatsoever things He wills to manifest.

Do thou, then, Tat, my son, pray first unto our Lord and Father, the One-and-Only One, from whom the One doth come, to show His mercy unto thee, in order that thou mayest have the power to catch a thought of this so mighty God, one single beam of Him to shine into thy thinking. For thought alone "sees" the Unmanifest, in that it is itself unmanifest.

If, then, thou hast the power, He will, Tat, manifest to thy mind's eyes. The Lord begrudgeth not Himself to anything, but manifests Himself through the whole world.

Thou hast the power of taking thought, of seeing it and grasping it in thy own "hands", and gazing face to face upon God's Image. But if what is within thee even is unmanifest to thee, how, then, shall He Himself who is within thy self be manifest for thee by means of outer eyes?

3. But if thou wouldst "see" him, bethink thee of the sun, bethink thee of moon's course, bethink thee of the order of the stars. Who is the One who watcheth o'er that order? For every order hath its boundaries marked out by place and number.

The sun's the greatest god of gods in heaven; to whom all of the heavenly gods give place as unto king and master. And he, this so-great one, he greater than the earth and sea, endures to have above him circling smaller stars than him. Out of respect to Whom, or out of fear of Whom, my son, doth he do this?

Nor like nor equal is the course each of these stars describes in heaven. Who then is He who marketh out the manner of their course and its extent?

4. The Bear up there that turneth round itself, and carries round the whole cosmos with it - Who is the owner of this instrument? Who He who hath set round the sea its bounds? Who He who hath set on its seat the earth?

For, Tat, there is someone who is the Maker and the Lord of all these things. It cound not be that number, place and measure could be kept without someone to make them. No order whatsoever could be made by that which lacketh place and lacketh measure; nay, even this is not without a lord, my son. For if the orderless lacks something, in that it is not lord of order's path, it also is beneath a lord - the one who hath not yet ordained it order.

5. Would that it were possible for thee to get thee wings, and soar into the air, and, poised midway 'tween earth and heaven, behold the earth's solidity, the sea's fluidity (the flowings of its streams), the spaciousness of air, fire's swiftness, and the coursing of the stars, the swiftness of heaven's circuit round them all!

Most blessed sight were it, my son, to see all these beneath one sway - the motionless in motion, and the unmanifest made manifest; whereby is made this order of the cosmos and the cosmos which we see of order.

6. If thou would'st see Him too through things that suffer death, both on the earth and in the deep, think of a man's being fashioned in the womb, my son, and strictly scrutinize the art of Him who fashions him, and learn who fashioneth this fair and godly image of the Man.

Who then is He who traceth out the circles of the eyes; who He who boreth out the nostrils and the ears; who He who openeth the portal of the mouth; who He who doth stretch out and tie the nerves; who He who channels out the veins; who He who hardeneth the bones; who He who covereth the flesh with skin; who He who separates the fingers and the joints; who He who widens out a treading for the feet; who He who diggeth out the ducts; who He who spreadeth out the spleen; who he who shapeth heart like to a pyramid; who He who setteth ribs together; who He who wideneth the liver out; who He who maketh lungs like to a sponge; who He who maketh belly stretch so much; who he who doth make prominent the parts most honorable, so that they may be seen, while hiding out of sight those of least honor?

7. Behold how many arts employed on one material, how many labors on one single sketch; and all exceeding fair, and all in perfect measure, yet all diversified! Who made them all? What mother, or what sire, save God alone, unmanifest, who hath made all things by His Will?

8. And no one saith a statue or a picture comes to be without a sculptor or without a painter; doth then such workmanship as this exist without a Worker? What depth of blindness, what deep impiety, what depth of ignorance! See, then thou ne'er, son Tat, deprivest works of Worker!

Nay, rather is He greater than all names, so great is He, the Father of them all. For verily He is the Only One, and this is His work, to be a father.

9. So, if thou forcest me somewhat too bold, to speak, His being is conceiving of all things and making them.

And as without its maker its is impossible that anything should be, so ever is He not unless He ever makes all things, in heaven, in air, in earth, in deep, in all of cosmos, in every part that is and that is not of everything. For there is naught in all the world that is not He.

He is Himself, both things that are and things that are not. The things that are He hath made manifest, He keepeth things that are not in Himself.

10. He is the God beyond all name; He the unmanifest, He the most manifest; He whom the mind alone can contemplate, He visible to the eyes as well; He is the one of no body, the one of many bodies, nay, rather He of every body.

Naught is there which he is not. For all are He and He is all. And for this cause hath He all names, in that they are one Father's. And for this cause hath He Himself no nome, in that He's Father of them all.

Who, then, may sing Thee praise of Thee, or praise to Thee?

Whither, again, am I to turn my eyes to sing Thy praise; above, below, within, without?

There is no way, no place is there about Thee, nor any other thing of things that are.

All are in Thee; all are from Thee, O Thou who givest all and takest naught, for Thou hast all and naught is there Thou hast not.

11. And when, O Father, shall I hymn Thee? For none can seize Thy hour or time.

For what, again, shall I sing hymn? For things that Thou hast made, or things Thou hast not? For things Thou hast made manifest, or things Thou hast concealed?

How, further, shall I hymn Thee? As being of myself? As having something of mine own? As being other?

For that Thou art whatever I may be; Thou art whatever I may do; Thou art whatever I may speak.

For Thou art all, and there is nothing else which Thou art not. Thou art all that which doth exist, and Thou art what doth not exist - Mind when Thou thinkest, and Father when Thou makest, and God when Thou dost energize, and Good and Maker of all things.

For that the subtler part of matter is the air, of air the soul, of soul the mind, and of mind God.

CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 6

In God Alone Is Good And Elsewhere Nowhere

(Notes on the text: This sermon on the nature of the Good, like To Asclepius (chapter 2), relies on the technical language of classical Greek philosophy - a point which some of Mead's translations tend to obscure. "The Good," in Greek thought, is also the self-caused and self-sufficient, and thus has little in common with later conceptions of "goodness," just as the Latin word virtus and the modern Christian concept of "virtue" are very nearly opposites despite their etymological connection. The word "passion" here also needs to be understood in its older sense, as the opposite of "action" (cf. "active" and "passive").

The negative attitude toward humanity and the cosmos which appears in this text contrasts sharply with the more positive assessment found, for example, in the Poemandres (chapter 1) or in the Asclepius - a reminder that these documents are relics of a diverse and not necessarily consistent school of thought)

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1. Good, O Asclepius, is in none else save in God alone; nay, rather, Good is God Himself eternally.

If it be so, Good must be essence, from every kind of motion and becoming free (though naught is free from It), possessed of stable energy around Itself, never too little, nor too much, an ever-full supply. Though one, yet is It source of all; for what supplieth all is Good. When I, moreover, say supplieth altogether all, it is for ever Good. But this belongs to no one else save God alone.

For He stands not in need of any thing, so that desiring it He should be bad; nor can a single thing of things that are be lost to him, on losing which He should be pained; for pain is part of bad.

Nor is there aught superior to Him, that He should be subdued by it; nor any peer to Him to do Him wrong, or so that He should fall in love on its account; nor aught that gives no ear to Him, whereat He should grow angry; nor wiser aught, for Him to envy.

2. Now as all these are non-existent in His being, what is there left but Good alone?

For just as naught of bad is to be found in such transcendent Being, so too in no one of the rest will Good be found.

For in them are all of the other things (i.e., those things which are not Good) - both in the little and the great, both in each severally and in this living one that's greater than them all and the mightiest of them (i.e., the cosmos).

For things subject to birth abound in passions, birth in itself being passible. But where there's passion, nowhere is there Good; and where is Good, nowhere a single passion. For where is day, nowhere is night; and where is night, day is nowhere.

Wherefore in genesis the Good can never be, but only be in the ingenerate.

But seeing that the sharing in all things hath been bestowed on matter, so doth it share in Good.

In this way is the Cosmos Good; that, in so far as it doth make all things, as far as making goes it's Good, but in all other things it is not Good. For it's both passible and subject unto motion, and maker of things passible.

3. Whereas in man by greater or less of bad is good determined. For what is not too bad down here, is good, and good down here is the least part of bad.

It cannot, therefore, be that good down here should be quite clean of bad, for down here good is fouled with bad; and being fouled, it stays no longer good, and staying not it changes into bad.

In God alone, is, therefore, Good, or rather Good is God Himself.

So then, Asclepius, the name alone of Good is found in men, the thing itself nowhere in them, for this can never be.

For no material body doth contain It - a thing bound on all sides by bad, by labors, pains, desires and passions, by error and by foolish thoughts.

And greatest ill of all, Asclepius, is that each of these things that have been said above, is thought down here to be the greatest good.

And what is still an even greater ill, is belly-lust, the error that doth lead the band of all the other ills - the thing that makes us turn down here from Good.

4. And I, for my part, give thanks to God, that He hath cast it in my mind about the Gnosis of the Good, that it can never be It should be in the world. For that the world is "fullness" of the bad, but God of Good, and Good of God.

The excellencies of the Beautiful are round the very essence of the Good; nay, they do seem too pure, too unalloyed; perchance 'tis they that are themselves Its essences.

For one may dare to say, Asclepius - if essence, sooth, He have - God's essence is the Beautiful; the Beautiful is further also Good.

There is no Good that can be got from objects in the world. For all the things that fall beneath the eye are image-things and pictures as it were; while those that do not meet the eye are the realities, especially the essence of the Beautiful and Good.

Just as the eye cannot see God, so can it not behold the Beautiful and Good. For that they are integral parts of God, wedded to Him alone, inseparate familiars, most beloved, with whom God is Himself in love, or they with God.

5. If thou canst God conceive, thou shalt conceive the Beautiful and Good, transcending Light, made lighter than the Light by God. That Beauty is beyond compare, inimitate that Good, even as God is Himself.

As, then, thou dost conceive of God, conceive the Beautiful and Good. For they cannot be joined with aught of other things that live, since they can never be divorced from God.

Seek'st thou for God, thou seekest for the Beautiful. One is the Path that leadeth unto It - Devotion joined with Gnosis.

6. And thus it is that they who do not know and do not tread Devotion's Path, do dare to call man beautiful and good, though he have ne'er even in his visions seen a whit that's Good, but is enveloped with every kind of bad, and thinks the bad is good, and thus doth make unceasing use of it, and even feareth that it should be taken from him, so straining every nerve not only to preserve but even to increase it.

Such are the things that men call good and beautiful, Asclepius - things which we cannot flee or hate; for hardest thing of all is that we've need of them and cannot live without them.

CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 7

The Greatest Ill Among Men is Ignorance of God

1. Whither stumble ye, sots, who have sopped up the wine of ignorance and can so far not carry it that ye already even spew it forth?

Stay ye, be sober, gaze upwards with the true eyes of the heart! And if ye cannot all, yet ye at least who can!

For that the ill of ignorance doth pour o`er all the earth and overwhelm the soul that's battened down within the body, preventing it from fetching port within Salvation's harbors.

2. Be ye then not carried off by the fierce flood, but using the shore-current (lit., "back-current" or "up-current"), ye who can, make for Salvation's port, and, harboring there, seek ye for one to take you by the hand and lead you unto Gnosis' gates.

Where shines clear Light, of every darkness clean; where not a single soul is drunk, but sober all they gaze with their hearts' eyes on Him who willeth to be seen.

No ear can hear Him, nor can eye see Him, nor tongue speak of Him, but only mind and heart.

But first thou must tear off from thee the cloak which thou dost wear - the web of ignorance, the ground of bad, corruption's chain, the carapace of darkness, the living death, sensation's corpse, the tomb thou carriest with thee, the robber in thy house, who through the things he loveth, hateth thee, and through the things he hateth, bears thee malice.

3. Such is the hateful cloak thou wearest - that throttles thee and holds thee down to it, in order that thou may'st not gaze above, and having seen the Beauty of the Truth, and Good that dwells therein, detest the bad of it; having found out the plot that it hath schemed against thee, by making void of sense those seeming things which men think senses.

For that it hath with mass of matter blocked them up and crammed them full of loathsome lust, so that thou may'st not hear about the things that thou should'st hear, nor see the things thou should'st see.

CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 8

That No One of Existing Things doth Perish, but Men in Error Speak of Their Changes as Destructions and as Deaths

(Notes on the text: The idea of cyclic change central to chapter 3, "The Sacred Sermon", also takes center stage here. A current of ancient speculation grounded in astrology held that as the planets returned after vast cycles of time to the same positions, so all events on earth would repeat themselves precisely into eternity in the future - and had done so from eternity in the past. The technical term for this recurrence, apocatastasis, is the word Mead translates as "restoration" in the beginning of section 4.

Mead footnotes this tractate as "obscure" and "faulty" in places, and his translation of the beginning of section 3 is conjectural.)

1. Hermes: Concerning Soul and Body, son, we now must speak; in what way Soul is deathless, and whence comes the activity in composing and dissolving Body.

For there's no death for aught of things that are; the thought this word conveys, is either void of fact, or simply by the knocking off a syllable what is called "death", doth stand for "deathless".

For death is of destruction, and nothing in the Cosmos is destroyed. For if Cosmos is second God, a life (or living creature) that cannot die, it cannot be that any part of this immortal life should die. All things in Cosmos are parts of Cosmos, and most of all is man, the rational animal.

2. For truly first of all, eternal and transcending birth, is God the universals' Maker. Second is he "after His image", Cosmos, brought into being by Him, sustained and fed by Him, made deathless, as by his own Sire, living for aye, as ever free from death.

Now that which ever-liveth, differs from the Eternal; for He hath not been brought to being by another, and even if He have been brought to being, He hath not been brought to being by Himself, but ever is brought into being.

For the Eternal, in that It is eternal, is the all. The Father is Himself eternal of Himself, but Cosmos hath become eternal and immortal by the Father.

3. And of the matter stored beneath it (i.e., beneath the cosmos), the Father made of it a universal body, and packing it together made it spherical - wrapping it round the life - a sphere which is immortal in itself, and that doth make materiality eternal.

But He, the Father, full-filled with His ideas, did sow the lives (or living creatures) into the sphere, and shut them in as in a cave, willing to order forth the life with every kind of living.

So He with deathlessness enclosed the universal body, that matter might not wish to separate itself from body's composition, and so dissolve into its own original unorder.

For matter, son, when it was yet incorporate (i.e., not yet formed into bodies), was in unorder. And it doth still retain down here this nature of unorder enveloping the rest of the small lives (or living creatures) - that increase-and-decrease which men call death.

4. It is round earthly lives that this unorder doth exist. For that the bodies of the heavenly ones preserve one order allotted to them by the Father as their rule; and it is by the restoration of each one of them this order is preserved indissolute.

The "restoration" of bodies on the earth is thus their composition, whereas their dissolution restores them to those bodies which can never be dissolved, that is to say, which know no death. Privation, thus, of sense is brought about, not loss of bodies.

5. Now the third life - Man, after the image of the Cosmos made, and having mind, after the Father's will, beyond all earthly lives - not only doth have feeling with the second God (i.e., the Cosmos), but also hath conception of the first; for of the one 'tis sensible as of a body, while of the other it conceives as bodiless and the Good Mind.

Tat: Doth then this life not perish?

Hermes: Hush, son! and understand what God, what Cosmos is, what is a life that cannot die, and what a life subject to dissolution.

Yea, understand the Cosmos is by God and in God; but Man by Cosmos and in Cosmos.

The source and limit and the constitution of all things is God.

CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 9

On Thought and Sense

(Notes on the text: This somewhat diffuse essay covers a series of topics, starting with (and to some extent from) the concept that the set of perceptions we call "thoughts" and the set we call "sensory perceptions" are not significantly different from each other. The implications of this idea play a significant role in later Hermetic thought, particularly in the areas of magic and the Art of Memory; in this tractate, though, the issues involved are barely touched, and the argument wanders into moral dualisms and the equally important, but distinct, idea that the Cosmos is itself a divine creative power.

Section 10, in which understanding is held up as the source and precondition of belief, should probably be seen as part of the same ancient debate on the roles of faith and reason that gave rise to Tertullian's famous credo quia absurdum ("I believe because it is absurd").)

1. I gave the Perfect Sermon (Logos) yesterday, Asclepius; today I think it right, as sequel thereunto, to go through point by point the Sermon about Sense.

Now sense and thought do seem to differ, in that the former has to do with matter, the latter has to do with substance. But unto me both seem to be at-one and not to differ - in men I mean. In other lives (or living creatures) sense is at-oned with Nature, but in men thought.

Now mind doth differ just as much from thought as God doth from divinity. For that divinity by God doth come to be, and by mind thought, the sister of the word (logos) and instruments of one another. For neither doth the word (logos) find utterance without thought, nor is thought manifested without word.

2. So sense and thought both flow together into man, as though they were entwined with one another. For neither without sensing can one think, nor without thinking sense.

But it is possible they say to think a thing apart from sense, as those who fancy sights in dreams. But unto me it seems that both of these activities occur in dream-sight, and sense doth pass out of the sleeping to the waking state.

For man is separated into soul and body, and only when the two sides of his sense agree together, does utterance of its thought conceived by mind take place.

3. For it is mind that doth conceive all thoughts - good thoughts when it receives the seeds from God, their contraries when it receiveth them from the daimonials; no part of Cosmos being free of daimon, who stealthily doth creep into the daimon who's illumined by God's light (i.e., the human soul), and sow in him the seed of its own energy.

And mind conceives the seed thus sown, adultery, murder, parricide, and sacrilege, impiety, and strangling, casting down precipices, and all such other deeds as are the work of evil daimons.

4. The seeds of God, 'tis true, are few, but vast and fair, and good - virtue and self-control, devotion. Devotion is God-gnosis; and he who knoweth God, being filled with all good things, thinks godly thoughts and not thoughts like the many think.

For this cause they who Gnostic are, please not the many, nor the many them. They are thought mad and laughted at; they're hated and despised, and sometimes even put to death.

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For we did say that bad must needs dwell on earth, where 'tis in its own place. Its place is earth, and not Cosmos, as some will sometimes say with impious tongue.

But he who is a devotee of God, will bear with all - once he has sensed the Gnosis. For such an one all things, even though they be for others bad, are for him good; deliberately he doth refer them all unto the Gnosis. And, thing most marvelous, 'tis he alone who maketh bad things good.

5. But I return once more to the Discourse (Logos) on Sense. That sense doth share with thought in man, doth constitute him man. But 'tis not every man, as I have said, who benefits by thought; for this man is material, that other one substantial.

For the material man, as I have said, consorting with the bad, doth have his seed of thought from daimons; while the substantial men consorting with the Good, are saved by God.

Now God is Maker of all things, and in His making, He maketh all at last like to Himself; but they, while they're becoming good by exercise of their activity, are unproductive things.

It is the working of the Cosmic Course that maketh their becomings what they are, befouling some of them with bad and others of them making clean with good.

For Cosmos, too, Asclepius, possesseth sense-and-thought peculiar to itself, not like that of man; 'tis not so manifold, but as it were a better and a simpler one.

6. The single sense-and-thought of Cosmos is to make all things, and make them back into itself again, as Organ of the Will of God, so organized that it, receiving all the seeds into itself from God, and keeping them within itself, may make all manifest, and then dissolving them, make them all new again; and thus, like a Good Gardener of Life, things that have been dissolved, it taketh to itself, and giveth them renewal once again.

There is no thing to which it gives not life; but taking all unto itself it makes them live, and is at the same time the Place of Life and its Creator.

7. Now bodies matter -made are in diversity. Some are of earth, of water some, some are of air, and some of fire.

But they are all composed; some are more composite, and some are simpler. The heavier ones are more composed, the lighter less so.

It is the speed of Cosmos' Course that works the manifoldness of the kinds of births. For being a most swift Breath, it doth bestow their qualities on bodies together with the One Pleroma - that of Life.

8. God, then, is Sire of Cosmos; Cosmos, of all in Cosmos. And Cosmos is God's Son; but things in Cosmos are by Cosmos.

And properly hath it been called Cosmos Order; for that it orders all with their diversity of birth, with its not leaving aught without its life, with the unweariedness of its activity, the speed of its necessity, the composition of its elements, and order of its creatures.

The same, then, of necessity and propriety should have the name of Order.

The sense-and-thought, then, of all lives doth come into them from without, inbreathed by what contains them all; whereas Cosmos receives them once for all together with its coming into being, and keeps them as a gift from God.

9. But God is not, as some suppose, beyond the reach of sense-and-thought. It is through superstition men thus impiously speak.

For all the things that are, Asclepius, all are in God, are brought by God to be, and do depend on Him - both things that act through bodies, and things that through soul-substance make other things to move, and things that make things live by means of spirit, and things that take unto themselves the things that are worn out.

And rightly so; nay, I would rather say, He doth not have these things; but I speak forth the truth, He is them all Himself. He doth not get them from without, but gives them out from Him.

This is God's sense-and-thought, ever to move all things. And never time shall be when even a whit of things that are shall cease; and when I say "a whit of things that are", I mean a whit of God. For thigs that are, God hath; nor aught is there without Him, nor is He without aught.

10. These things should seem to thee, Asclepius, if thou dost understand them, true; but if thou dost not understand, things not to be believed.

To understand is to believe, to not believe is not to understand.

My word (logos) doth go before thee to the truth. But mighty is the mind, and when it hath been led by word up to a certain point, it hath the power to come before thee to the truth.

And having thought o'er all these things, and found them consonant with those which have already been translated by the reason, it hath even now believed, and found its rest in that Fair Faith.

To those, then, who by God's good aid do understand the things that have been said by us above, they're credible; but unto those who understand them not, incredible.

Let so much, then, suffice on thought-and-sense.

CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 10

The Key

(Notes: This longer tractate presents itself explicitly as a summary or abridgement of the General Sermons (CH II-IX), and discusses the Hermetic view of knowledge and its role in the lives and afterlives of human beings. The attentive reader will notice certain contradictions between the afterlife-teachings of this and previous tractates.

One of the central concepts of The Key, and of Hermetic thought generally, is the distinction between ordinary discursive knowledge which can be expressed in words (in Greek, episteme, which Mead translates somewhat clumsily as "science") and transcendent, unitive knowledge which cannot be communicated (in Greek, gnosis, which Mead simply and sensibly leaves untranslated). The same distinction can be found in many systems of mystical thought. Unlike most of these, though, the Hermetic teachings place value on both.

Readers without much experience in the jargon of Classical philosophy will want to remember that "hylic" means "material", "passible" means "subject to outside forces or to suffering", and "intelligible" means "belonging to the realm of the Mind", and "motion" includes all kinds of change. The special implications of "good" in Greek thought - of self-sufficiency and desirability - should also be kept in mind.

The delightful irony of the Zen moment early in section, when Hermes - in the middle of this very substantial lecture - defines the good and pious man as "he who doth not say much or lend his ear to much" and thus rules out both himself and his audience, seems to have been lost on subsequent commentators.)

1. Hermes: My yesterday's discourse (logos) I did devote to thee, Asclepius, and so 'tis only right I should devote toafy's to Tat; and this the more because 'tis the abridgement of the General Sermons (Logoi) which he has had addressed to him.

"God, Father and the Good", then, Tat, hath the same nature, or more exactly, energy.

For nature is a predicate of growth, and used of things that change, both mobile and immobile, that is to say, both human and divine, each one of which He willeth into being.

But energy consists in something else, as we have shown in treating of the rest, both things divine and human things; which thing we ought to have in mind when treating of the Good.

2. God's energy is then His Will; further His essence is to will the being of all things. For what is "God and Father and the Good" but the "to be" of all that are not yet? Nay, subsistence self of everything that is; this, then, is God, this Father, this the Good; to Him is added naught of all the rest.

And though the Cosmos, that is to say the Sun, is also sire himself to them that share in him; yet so far is he not the cause of good unto the lives, he is not even of their living.

So that even if he be a sire, he is entirely so by compulsion of the Good's Good-will, apart from which nor being nor becoming could e'er be.

3. Again, the parent is the children's cause, both on the father's and the mother's side, only by sharing in the Good's desire that doth pour through the Sun. It is the Good which doeth the creating.

And such a power can be possessed by no one else than Him alone who taketh naught, but wills all things to be; I will not, Tat, say "makes".

For that the maker is defective for long periods (in which he sometimes makes, and sometimes doth not make) both in the quality and in the quantity of what he makes; in that he sometimes maketh them so many and such like, and sometimes the reverse.

But "God and Father and the Good" is cause for all to be. So are at least these things for those who can see.

4. For It doth will to be, and It is both Itself and most of all by reason of Itself. Indeed, all other things beside are just bacause of It; for the distinctive feature of the Good is "that it should be known". Such is the Good, O Tat.

Tat: Thou hast, O father, filled us so full of this so good and fairest sight, that thereby my mind's eye hath now become for me almost a thing to worship.

For that the vision of the Good doth not, like the sun's beam, firelike blaze on the eyes and make them close; nay, on the contrary, it shineth forth and maketh to increase the seeing of the eye, as far as e'er a man hath the capacity to hold the inflow of the radiance that the mind alone can see.

Not only does it come more swiftly down to us, but it does us no harm, and is instinct with all immortal life.

5. They who are able to drink in a somewhat more than others of this Sight, ofttimes from out the body fall asleep in this fairest Spectacle, as was the case with Uranus and Cronus, our forebears. may this be out lot too, O father mine!

Hermes: Yea, may it be, my son! But as it is, we are not yet strung to the Vision, and not as yet have we the power our mind's eye to unfold and gaze upon the Beauty of the Good - Beauty that naught can e'er corrupt or any comprehend.

For only then wilt thou upon It gaze when thou canst say no word concerning It. For Gnosis of the Good is holy silence and a giving holiday to every sense.

6. For neither can he who perceiveth It, perceive aught else; nor he who gazeth on It, gaze on aught else; nor hear aught else, nor stir his body any way. Staying his body's every sense and every motion he stayeth still.

And shining then all round his mond, It shines through his whole soul, and draws it out of body, transforming all of him to essence.

For it is possible, my son, that a man's soul should be made like to God, even while it still is in a body, if it doth contemplate the Beauty of the Good.

7. Tat: Made like to God? What dost thou, father, mean?

Hermes: Of every soul apart are transformations, son.

Tat: What meanest thou? Apart?

Hermes: Didst thou not, in the General Sermons, hear that from one Soul - the All-soul - come all these souls which are made to revolve in all the cosmos, as though divided off?

Of these souls, then, it is that there are many changes, some to a happier lot and some to just the contrary of this.

Thus some that were creeping things change into things that in the water dwell, the souls of water things change to earth-dwellers, those that live on earth change to things with wings, and souls that live in air change to men, while human souls reach the first step of deathlessness changed into daimones.

And so they circle to the choir of the Inerrant Gods; for of the Gods there are two choirs, the one Inerrant, and the other Errant. And this is the most perfect glory of the soul.

8. But if a soul on entering the body of a man persisteth in its vice, it neither tasteth deathlessness nor shareth in the Good; but speeding back again it turns into the path that leads to creeping things. This is the sentence of the vicious soul.

And the soul's vice is ignorance. For that the soul who hath no knowledge of the things that are, or knowledge of their nature, or of Good, is blinded by the body's passions and tossed about.

This wretched soul, not knowing what she is, becomes the slave of bodies of strange form in sorry plight, bearing the body as a load; not as the ruler, but the ruled. This ignorance is the soul's vice.

9. But on the other hand the virtue of the soul is Gnosis. For he who knows, he good and pious is, and still while on the earth divine.

Tat: But who is such an one, O father mine?

Hermes: He who doth not say much or lend his ear to much. For he who spendeth time in arguing and hearing arguments, doth shadow-fight. For "God, the Father and the Good", is not to be obtained by speech or hearing.

And yet though this is so, there are in all the beings senses, in that they cannot without senses be.

But Gnosis is far different from sense. For sense is brought about by that which hath the mastery o'er us, while Gnosis is the end (i.e., goal) of science, and science is God's gift.

10. All science is incorporeal, the instrument it uses being the mind, just as the mind employs the body.

Both then come into bodies, I mean both things that are cognizable by mond alone and things material. For all things must consist out of antithesis and contrariety; and this can otherwise not be.

Tat: Who then is this material God of whom thou speakest?

Hermes: Cosmos is beautiful, but is not good - for that it is material and freely passible; and though it is the first of all things passible, yet is it in the second rank of being and wanting in itself.

And though it never hath itself its birth in time, but ever is, yet is its being in becoming, becoming for all time the genesis of qualities and quantities; for it is mobile and all material motion's genesis.

11. It is intelligible rest that moves material motion in this way, since Cosmos is a sphere - that is to say, a head. And naught of head above's material, as naught of feet below's intelligible, but all material.

And head itself is moved in a sphere-like way - that is to say, as head should move, is mind.

All then that are united to the "tissue" of this "head" (in which is soul) are in their nature free from death - just as when body hath been made in soul, are things that hath more soul than body.

Whereas those things which are at greater distance from this "tissue" - there, where are things which have a greater share of body than of soul - are by their nature subject unto death.

The whole, however, is a life; so that the universe consists of both the hylic and of the intelligible.

12. Again, the Cosmos is the first of living things, while man is second after it, though first of things subject to death.

Man hath the same ensouling power in him as all the rest of living things; yet is he not only not good, but even evil, for that he's subject unto death.

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For though the Cosmos also is not good in that it suffers motion, it is not evil, in that it is not subject to death. But man, in that he's subject both to motion and to death, is evil.

13. Now then the principles of man are this-wise vehicled: mind in the reason (logos), the reason in the soul, soul in the spirit (or, rather, vital spirits), and spirit in the body.

Spirit pervading body by means of veins and arteries and blood, bestows upon the living creature motion, and as it were doth bear it in a way.

For this cause some do think the soul is blood, in that they do mistake its nature, not knowing that at death it is iteh spirit that must first withdraw into the soul, whereon the blood congeals and veins and arteries are emptied, and then the living creature (or life) is withdrawn; and this is body's death.

14. Now from one Source all things depend; while Source dependeth from the One and Only One. Source is, moreover, moved to become Source again; whereas the One standeth perpetually and is not moved.

Three then are they: "God, the Father and the Good", Cosmos and man.

God doth contain Cosmos; Cosmos containeth man. Cosmos is e'er God's Son, man as it were Cosmos' child.

15. Not that, however, God ignoreth man; nay, right well doth He know him, and willeth to be known.

This is the sole salvation for a man - God's Gnosis. This is the Way Up to the Mount.

By Him alone the soul becometh good, not whiles is good, whiles evil, but good out of necessity.

Tat: What dost thou mean, Thrice-greatest one?

Hermes: Behold an infant's soul, my son, that is not yet cut off, because its body is still small and not as yet come unto its full bulk.

Tat: How?

Hermes: A thing of beauty altogether is such a soul to see, not yet befouled by body's passions, still all but hanging from the Cosmic Soul!

But when the body grows in bulk and draweth down the soul into its mass, then doth the soul cut off itself and bring upon itself forgetfulness, and no more shareth in the Beautiful and the Good. And this forgetfulness becometh vice.

16. It is the same for them who go out from the body.

For when the soul withdraws into itself, the spirit doth contract itself within the blood, and the soul within the spirit. And then the mind, stripped of its wrappings, and naturally divine, taking unto itself a fiery body, doth traverse every space, after abandoning the soul unto its judgement and whatever chastisement it hath deserved.

Tat: What dost thou, father, mean by this? The mind is parted from soul and soul from spirit? Whereas thou said'st the soul was the mind's vesture, and the soul's the spirit.

17. Hermes: The hearer, son, should think with him who speaks and breathe with him; nay, he should have a hearing subtler than the voice of him who speaks.

It is, son, in a body made of earth that this arrangement of the vestures comes to pass. For in a body made of earth it is impossible the mind should take its seat itself by its own self in nakedness.

For neither is it possible on the one hand the earthly body should contain so much immortality, nor on the other that so great a virtue should endure a body passible in such close contact with it. It taketh, then, the soul for as it were an envelope.

And soul itself, being too and thing divine, doth use the spirit as its envelope, while spirit doth pervade the living creature.

18. When then the mind doth free itself from the earth-body, it straightway putteth on its proper robe of fire, with which it could not dwell in an earth-body.

For earth doth not bear fire; for it is all set in a blaze even by a small spark. And for this cause is water poured around earth, to be a guard and wall, to keep the blazing of the fire away.

But mind, the swiftest thing of all divine outthinkings, and swifter than all elements, hath for its body fire.

For mind being builder doth use the fire as tool for the construction of all things - the Mind of all for the construction of all things, but that of man only for things on earth.

Stript of its fire the mind on earth cannot make things divine, for it is human in its dispensation.

19. The soul in man, however - not every soul, but one that pious is - is a daimonic something and divine.

And such a soul when from the body freed, if it have fought the fight of piety - the fight of piety is to know God and to do wrong to no man - such a soul becomes entirely mind.

Whereas the impious soul remains in its own essence, chastised by its own self, and seeking for an earthly body where to enter, if only it be human.

For that no other body can contain a human soul; nor is it right that any human soul should fall into the body of a thing that doth possess no reason. For that the law of God is this: to guard the human soul from such tremendous outrage.

20. Tat: How father, then, is a man's soul chastised?

Hermes: What greater chastisement of any human soul can there be, son, than lack of piety? What fire has so fierce a flame as lack of piety? What ravenous beast so mauls the body as lack of piety the very soul?

Dost thou not see what hosts of ills the impious soul doth bear?

It shrieks and screams: I burn; I am ablaze; I know not what to cry or do; ah, wretched me, I am devoured by all the ills that compass me about; alack, poor me, I neither see nor hear!

Such are the cries wrung from a soul chastised; not, as the many think, and thou, son, dost suppose, that a man's soul, passing from body, is changed into a beast.

Such is a very grave mistake, for that the way a soul doth suffer chastisement is this:

21. When mind becomes a daimon, the law requires that it should take a fiery body to execute the services of God; and entering in the soul most impious it scourgeth it with whips made of its sins.

And then the impious soul, scourged with its sins, is plunged in murders, outrage, blasphemy, in violence of all kinds, and all the other things whereby mankind is wronged.

But on the pious soul the mind doth mount and guide it to the Gnosis' Light. And such a soul doth never tire in songs of praise to God and pouring blessing on all men, and doing good in word and deed to all, in imitation of its Sire.

22. Wherefore, my son, thou shouldst give praise to God and pray that thou mayst have thy mind Good Mind. It is, then, to a better state the soul doth pass; it cannot to a worse.

Further there is an intercourse of souls; those of the gods have intercourse with those of men, and those of men with souls of creatures which possess no reason.

The higher, further, have in charge the lower; the gods look after men, men after animals irrational, while God hath charge of all; for He is higher than them all and all are less than He.

Cosmos is subject, then, to God, man to the Cosmos, and irrationals to man. But God is o'er them all, and God contains them all.

God's rays, to use a figure, are His energies; the Cosmos's are natures, the arts and sciences are man's.

The energies act through the Cosmos, thence through the nature-rays of Cosmos upon man; the nature-rays act through the elements, man acteth through the sciences and arts.

23. This is the dispensation of the universe, depending from the nature of the One, pervading all things through the Mind, than which is naught diviner nor of greater energy; and naught a greater means for the at-oning men to gods and gods to men.

He, Mind, is the Good Daimon. Blessed the soul that is most filled with Him, and wretched is the soul that's empty of the Mind.

Tat: Father, what dost thou mean, again?

Hermes: Dost think then, son, that every soul hath the Good Mind? For 'tis of Him we speak, not of the mind in service of which we were just speaking, the mind sent down for the soul's chastisement.

24. For soul without the mind "can neither speak nor act". For oftentimes the mind doth leave the soul, and at that time the soul neither sees nor understands, but is just like a thing that hath no reason. Such is the power of mind.

Yet doth it not endure a sluggish soul, but leaveth such a soul tied to the body and bound tight down by it. Such soul, my son, doth not have Mind; and therefore such an one should not be called a man. For that man is a thing-of-life (or animal) divine; man is not measured with the rest of lives of things upon the earth, but with the lives above in heaven, who are called gods.

Nay more, if we must boldly speak the truth, the true "man" is even higher than the gods, or at the very least the gods and men are very whit in power each with the other equal.

25. For no one of the gods in heaven shall come down to the earth, o'er-stepping heaven's limit; whereas man doth mount up to heaven and measure it; he knows what things of it are high, what things are low, and learns precisely all things else besides. And greater thing than all; without even quitting earth, he doth ascend above. So vast a sweep doth he possess of ecstasy.

For this cause can a man dare say that man on earth is god subject to death, while god in heaven is man from death immune.

Wherefore the dispensation of all things is brought about by means of there, the twain - Cosmos and Man - but by the One.

CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 11

Mind Unto Hermes

(Notes on the text: This complex text is written as a revelation from the divine Mind - the "Man-Shepherd" of chapter 1 - to Hermes, concerning the nature of God and the universe. Difficult enough in its own right, it has been made more so by some of Mead's prose. I have tried to insert clarifications where these are most needed.

Some notes on terminology may also be useful. The term Aeon here, as in many of the so-called "Gnostic" writings, refers to the timeless and spaceless realm of ideal being. The word cosmos means both "order" and "beauty" - the same root appears in the word "cosmetic". Additionally, the words genesis and becoming in the translation are the same word in the Greek original.

Finally, the word "inactive" in square brackets near the beginning of section 13 is Mead's, intended to fill a lacuna in the text. The more usual conjecture, as he comments, is "apart from God".)

1. Mind: Master this sermon (logos), then, Thrice-greatest Hermes, and bear in mind the spoken words; and as it hath come unto Me to speak, I will no more delay.

Hermes: As many men say many things, and these diverse, about the All and Good, I have not learned the truth. Make it, then, clear to me, O Master mine! For I can trust the explanation of these things, which comes from Thee alone.

2. Mind: Hear then, My son, how standeth God and All.

God; Aeon; Cosmos; Time; Becoming.

God maketh Aeon; Aeon, Cosmos; Cosmos, Time; and Time, Becoming (or Genesis).

The Good - the Beautiful, Wisdom, Blessedness - is (the) essence, as it were, of God; of Aeon, (the essence is) Sameness; of Cosmos, Order; of Time, Change; and of Becoming, Life and Death.

The energies of God are Mind and Soul; of Aeon, lastingness and deathlessness; of Cosmos, restoration and the opposite thereof; of Time, increase and decrease; and of Becoming, quality.

Aeon is, then, in God; Cosmos, in Aeon; in Cosmos; Time; in Time, Becoming.

Aeon stands firm round God; Cosmos is moved in Aeon; Time hath its limits (or is accomplished) in the Cosmos; Becoming doth become in Time.

3. The source, therfore, of all is God; their essence, Aeon; their matter, Cosmos.

God's power is Aeon; Aeon's work is Cosmos - which never hath become, yet ever doth become by Aeon.

Therefore will Cosmos never be destroyed, for Aeon's indestructible; nor doth a whit of things in Cosmos perish, for Cosmos is enwrapped by Aeon round on every side.

Hermes: But God's Wisdom - what is that?

Mind: The Good and Beautiful, and Blessedness, and Virtue's all, and Aeon.

Aeon, then, ordereth Cosmos, imparting deathlessness and lastingness to matter.

4. For its beginning doth depend on Aeon, as Aeon doth on God.

Now Genesis (or Becoming) and Time, in Heaven and upon the Earth, are of two natures.

In Heaven they are unchangeable and indestructible, but on the Earth they're subject unto change and to destruction.

Further, the Aeon's soul is God; the Cosmos' soul is Aeon; the Earth's soul, Heaven.

And God (is) in Mind; and Mind, in Soul; and Soul, in Matter; and all of them through Aeon.

But all this Body, in which are all the bodies, is full of Soul; and Soul is full of Mind, and Mind of God.

It (i.e., Soul) fills it (i.e., the Body of the Cosmos) from within, and from without encircles it, making the All to live.

Without, this vast and perfect Life encircles Cosmos; within, it fills it with all lives; above, in Heaven, continuing in sameness; below, on Earth, changing becoming.

5. And Aeon doth preserve this Cosmos, or by Necessity, or by Foreknowledge, or by Nature, or by whatever else a man supposes or shall suppose. And all is this - God energizing.

The Energy of God is Power that naught can e'er surpass, a Power with which no one can make comparison of any human thing at all, or any thing divine.

Wherefore, O Hermes, never think that aught of things above or things below is like to God, for thou wilt fall from truth. For naught is like to That which hath no like, and is Alone and One.

And do not ever think that any other can possibly possess His power; for what apart from Him is there of life, and deathlessness and change of quality? For what else should He make?

God's not inactive, since all things then would lack activity; for all are full of God.

But neither in the Cosmos anywhere, nor in aught else, is there inaction. For that "inaction" is a name that cannot be applied to either what doth make or what is made.

6. But all things must be made; both ever made, and also in accordance with the influence of every space.

For He who makes, is in them all; not stablished in some one of them, nor making one thing only, but making all.

For being Power, He energizeth in the things He makes and is not independent of them - although the things He makes are subject to Him.

Now gaze through Me upon the Cosmos that's now subject to thy sight; regard its Beauty carefully - Body in pure perfection, though one than which there's no more ancient

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one, ever in prime of life, and ever-young, nay, rather, in even fuller and yet fuller prime!

7. Behold, again, the seven subject Worlds; ordered by Aeon's order, and with their varied course full-filling Aeon!

See how all things are full of light, and nowhere is there fire; for 'tis the love and the blending of the contraries and the dissimilars that doth give birth to light down shining by the energy of God, the Father of all good, the Leader of all order, and Ruler of the seven world-orderings!

Behold the Moon, forerunner of them all, the instrument of nature, and the transmuter of its lower matter!

Look at the Earth set in the midst of All, foundation of the Cosmos Beautiful, feeder and nurse of things on Earth!

And contemplate the multitude of deathless lives, how great it is, and that of lives subject to death; and midway, between both, immortal lives and mortal, see thou the circling Moon.

8. And all are full of soul, and all are moved by it, each in its proper way; some round the Heaven, others around the Earth; see how the right move not unto the left, nor yet the left unto the right; nor the above below, nor the below above.

And that all there are subject unto Genesis, My dearest Hermes, thou hast no longer need to learn of Me. For that they bodies are, have souls, and they are moved.

But 'tis impossible for them to come together into one without some one to bring them all together. It must, then, be that such a one as this must be some one who's wholly One.

9. For as the many motions of them all are different, and as their bodies are not like, yet has one speed been ordered for them all, it is impossible that there should be two or more makers for them.

For that one single order is not kept among "the many"; but rivalry will follow of the weaker with the stronger, and they will strive.

And if the maker of the lives that suffer change and death, should be another (from the maker of the immortals), he would desire to make the deathless ones as well; just as the maker of the deathless ones, to make the lives that suffer death.

But come! if there be two - if matter's one, and Soul is one, in whose hands would there be the distribution for the making? Again, if both of them have some of it, in whose hands may be the greater part?

10. But thus conceive it, then; that every living body doth consist of soul and matter, whether that body be of an immortal, or a mortal, or an irrational life.

For that all living bodies are ensouled; whereas, upon the other hand, those that live not, are matter by itself.

And, in like fashion, Soul when in its self is, after its own maker, cause of life; but the cause of all life is He who makes the things that cannot die.

Hermes: How, then, is it that, first, lives subject to death are other than the deathless ones? And, next, how is it that Life which knows no death, and maketh deathlessness, doth not make animals immortal?

11. Mind: First, that there is some one who does these things, is clear; and, next, that He is also One, is very manifest. For, also, Soul is one, and Life is one, and Matter one.

Hermes: But who is He?

Mind: Who may it other be than the One God? Whom else should it beseem to put Soul into lives but God alone? One, then, is God.

It would indeed be most ridiculous, if when thou dost confess the Cosmos to be one, Sun one, Moon one, and Godhead one, thou shouldst wish God Himself to be some one or other of a number!

12. All things, therefore, He makes, in many ways. And what great thing is it for God to make life, soul, and deathlessness, and change, when thou thyself dost do so many things?

For thou dost see, and speak, and hear, and smell, and taste, and touch, and walk, and think, and breathe. And it is not one man who smells, another one who walks, another one who thinks, and yet another one who breathes. But one is he who doth all these.

And yet no one of these could be apart from God. For just as, should thou cease from these, thou wouldst no longer be a living thing, so also, should God cease from them (a thing not law to say), no longer is He God.

13. For if it hath been shown that no thing can inactive be, how much less God? For if there's aught he doth not make (if it be law to say), He is imperfect. But if He is not only not inactive, but perfect God, then He doth make all things.

Give thou thyself to Me, My Hermes, for a little while, and thou shalt understand more easily how that God's work is one, in order that all things may be - that are being made, or once have been, or that are going to be made. And this is, My beloved, Life; this is the Beautiful; this is the Good; this, God.

14. And if thou wouldst in practice understand this work, behold what taketh place with thee desiring to beget. Yet this is not like unto that, for He doth not enjoy.

For that indeed He hath no other one to share in what He works, for working by Himself, He ever is at work, Himself being what He doth. For did He separate Himself from it, all things would then collapse, and all must die, Life ceasing.

But if all things are lives, and also Life is one; then, one is God. And, furthermore, if all are lives, both those in Heaven and those on Earth, and One Life in them all is made to be by God, and God is it (i.e., God is the One Life) - then, all are made by God.

Life is the making-one of Mind and Soul; accordingly Death is not the destruction of those that are at-oned, but the dissolving of their union.

15. Aeon, moreover, is God's image; Cosmos is Aeon's; the Sun, of Cosmos; and Man, the image of the Sun.

The people call change death, because the body is dissolved, and life, when it's dissolved, withdraws to the unmanifest. But in this sermon (logos), Hermes, My beloved, as thou dost hear, I say the Cosmos also suffers change - for that a part of it each day is made to be in the unmanifest - yet it is ne'er dissolved.

These are the passions of the Cosmos - revolvings and concealments; revolving is conversion and concealment renovation.

16. The Cosmos is all-formed - not having forms external to itself, but changing them itself within itself. Since, then, Cosmos is made to be all-formed, what may its maker be? For that, on the one hand, He should not be void of all form; and, on the other hand, if He's all-formed, He will be like the Cosmos. Whereas, again, has He a single form, He will thereby be less than Cosmos.

What, then, say we He is? - that we may not bring round our sermon (logos) into doubt; for naught that mind conceives of God is doubtful.

He, then, hath one idea, which is His own alone, which doth not fall beneath the sight, being bodiless, and yet by means of bodies manifesteth all ideas. And marvel not that there's a bodiless idea.

17. For it is like the form of reason (logos) and mountain-tops in pictures. For they appear to stand out strongly from the rest, but really are quite smooth and flat.

And now consider what is said more boldly, but more truly!

Just as man cannot live apart from Life, so neither can God live without His doing good. For this is as it were the life and motion as it were of God - to move all things and make them live.

18. Now some of the things said should bear a sense peculiar to themselves. So understand, for instance, what I'm going to say.

All are in God, but not as lying in a place. For place is both a body and immovable, and things that lie do not have motion.

Now things lie one way in the bodiless, another way in being made manifest.

Think, then, of Him who doth contain them all; and think, that than the bodiless naught is more comprehensive, or swifter, or more potent, but it is the most comprehensive, the swiftest, and most potent of them all.

19. And, thus, think from thyself, and bid thy soul go unto any land, and there more quickly than thy bidding will it be. And bid it journey oceanwards; and there, again, immediately 'twill be, not as if passing on from place to place, but as if being there.

And bid it also mount to heaven; and it will need no wings, not will aught hinder it, nor fire of sun, nor auther, nor vortex-swirl, nor bodies of the other stars; but, cutting through them all, it will soar up to the last Body of them all. And shouldst thou will to break through this as well, and contemplate what is beyond - if there be aught beyond the Cosmos; it is permitted thee.

20. Behold what power, what swiftness, thou dost have! And canst thou do all of these things, and God not do them?

Then, in this way know God; as having all things in Himself as thoughts, the whole Cosmos itself.

If, then, thou dost not make thyself like unto God, thou canst not know Him. For like is knowable unto like alone.

Make, then, thyself to grow to the same stature as the Greatness which transcends all measure; leap forth from every body; transcend all time; become Eternity (literally, Aeon); and thus shalt thou know God.

Conceiving nothing is impossible unto thyself, think thyself deathless and able to know all - all arts, all sciences, the way of every life.

Become more lofty than all height, and lower than all depth. Collect into thyself all senses of all creatures - of fire, and water, dry and moist. Think that thou art at the same time in every place - in earth, in sea, in sky; not yet begotten, in the womb, young, old, and dead, in after-death conditions.

And if thou knowest all these things at once - times, places, doings, qualities, and quantities; thou canst know God.

21. But if thou lockest up thy soul within thy body, and dost debase it, saying: I nothing know; I nothing can; I fear the sea; I cannot scale the sky; I know not who I was, who I shall be - what is there then between thy God and thee?

For thou canst know naught of things beautiful and good so long as thou dost love thy body and art bad.

The greatest bad there is, is not to know God's Good; but to be able to know Good, and will, and hope, is a Straight Way, the Good's own Path, both leading there and easy.

If thou but settest thy foot thereon, 'twill meet thee everywhere, 'twill everywhere be seen, both where and when thou dost expect it not - waking, sleeping, sailing, journeying, by night, by day, speaking, and saying naught. For there is naught that is not image of the Good.

22. Hermes: Is God unseen?

Mind: Hush! Who is more manifest than He? For this one reason hath He made all things, that through them all thou mayest see Him.

This is the Good of God, this is His Virtue - that He may be manifest through all.

For naught's unseen, even of things that are without a body. Mind sees itself in thinking, God in making.

So far these things have been made manifest to thee, Thrice-greatest one! Reflect on all the rest in the same way with thyself, and thou shalt not be led astray.

CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 12

About The Common Mind

(Notes on the text: The "common mind" discussed in this dialogue is the same Mind which appears as a divine power in other parts of the Hermetic literature. It is identical, as well, with the "Good Daimon" whose words are quoted at several points here and elsewhere.

The Greek word logos - which means both "word" and "reason", among other things - is central to much of the argument, and it's unfortunate that English has no way to express the same complex of meanings. The praise of reason in parts 13-14 is also, and equally, a praise of human language, and this sort of double meaning plays a part elsewhere in this and other parts of the Hermetic literature.)

1. Hermes: The Mind, O Tat, is of God's very essence - (if such a thing as essence of God there be) - and what that is, it and it only knows precisely.

The Mind, then, is not separated off from God's essentiality, but is united to it, as light to sun.

This Mind in men is God, and for this cause some of mankind are gods, and their humanity is nigh unto divinity.

For the Good Daimon said: "Gods are immortal men, and men are mortal gods."

2. But in irrational lives Mind is their nature. For where is Soul, there too is Mind; just as where Life, there is there also Soul.

But in irrational lives their soul is life devoid of mind; for Mind is the in-worker of the souls of men for good - He works on them for their own good.

In lives irrational He doth co-operate with each one's nature; but in the souls of men He counteracteth them.

For every soul, when it becomes embodied, is instantly depraved by pleasure and by pain.

For in a compound body, just like juices, pain and pleasure seethe, and into them the soul, on entering in, is plunged.

3. Over whatsoever souls the Mind doth, then, preside, to these it showeth its own light, by acting counter to their prepossessions, just as a good physician doth upon the body prepossessed by sickness, pain inflict, burning or lancing it for sake of health.

In just the selfsame way the Mind inflicteth pain on the soul, to rescue it from pleasure, whence comes its every ill.

The great ill of the soul is godlessness; then followeth fancy for all evil things and nothing good.

So, then, Mind counteracting it doth work good on the soul, as the physician health upon the body.

4. But whatsoever human souls have not the Mind as pilot, they share in the same fate as souls of lives irrational.

For Mind becomes co-worker with them, giving full play to the desires toward which such souls are borne - desires that from the rush of lust strain after the irrational; so that such human souls, just like irrational animals, cease not irrationally to rage and lust, nor are they ever satiate of ills.

For passions and irrational desires are ills exceeding great; and over these God hath set up the Mind to play the part of judge and executioner.

5. Tat: In that case, father mine, the teaching (logos) as to Fate, which previously thou didst explain to me, risks to be overset.

For that if it be absolutely fated for a man to fornicate, or commit sacrilege, or do some other evil deed, why is he punished - when he hath done the deed from Fate's necessity?

Hermes: All works, my son, are Fate's; and without Fate naught of things corporal - or (i.e., either) good, or ill - can come to pass.

But it is fated, too, that he who doeth ill, shall suffer. And for this cause he doth it - that he may suffer what he suffereth, because he did it.

6. But for the moment, Tat, let be the teaching as to vice and Fate, for we have spoken of these things in other of our sermons; but now our teaching (logos) is about the Mind: - what Mind can do, and how it is so different - in men being such and such, and in irrational lives so changed; and then again that in irrational lives it is not of a beneficial nature, while that in men it quencheth out the wrathful and the lustful elements.

Of men, again, we must class some as led by reason, and others as unreasoning.

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7. But all men are subject to Fate, and genesis and change, for these are the beginning and the end of Fate.

And though all men do suffer fated things, those led by reason (those whom we said Mind doth guide) do not endure (a) like suffering with the rest; but, since they've freed themselves from viciousness, not being bad, they do not suffer bad.

Tat: How meanest thou again, my father? Is not the fornicator bad; the murderer bad; and so with all the rest?

Hermes: I meant not that; but that the Mind-led man, my son, though not a fornicator, will suffer just as though he had committed fornication, and though he be no murderer, as though he had committed murder.

The quality of change he can no more escape than that of genesis.

But it is possible for one who hath the Mind, to free himself from vice.

8. Wherefore I've ever heard, my son, Good Daimon also say - (and had He set it down in written words, He would have greatly helped the race of men; for He alone, my son, doth truly, as the Firstborn God, gazing on all things, give voice to words (logoi) divine) - yea, once I heard Him say:

"All things are one, and most of all the bodies which the mind alone perceives. Our life is owing to God's Energy and Power and Aeon. His Mind is good, so is His Soul as well. And this being so, intelligible things know naught of separation. So, then, Mind, being Ruler of all things, and being Soul of God, can do whate'er it wills."

9. So do thou understand, and carry back this word (logos) unto the question thou didst ask before - I mean about Mind's Fate.

For if thou dost with accuracy, son, eliminate all captious arguments (logoi), thou wilt discover that of very truth the Mind, the Soul of God, doth rule o'er all - o'er Fate, and Law, and all things else; and nothing is impossible to it - neither o'er Fate to set a human soul, nor under Fate to set a soul neglectful of what comes to pass. Let this so far suffice from the Good Daimon's most good words.

Tat: Yea, words divinely spoken, father mine, truly and helpfully. But further still explain me this.

10. Thou said'st that Mind in lives irrational worked in them as their nature, co-working with their impulses.

But impulses of lives irrational, as I do think, are passions.

Now if the Mind co-worketh with these impulses, and if the impulses of lives irrational be passions, then is Mind also passion, taking its color from the passions.

Hermes: Well put, my son! Thou questionest right nobly, and it is just that I as well should answer nobly.

11. All things incorporeal when in a body are subject unto passion, and in the proper sense they are themselves all passions.

For every thing that moves itself is incorporeal; while every thing that's moved is body.

Incorporeals are further moved by Mind, and movement's (i.e., movement is) passion.

Both, then, are subject unto passion - both mover and the moved, the former being ruler and the latter ruled.

But when a man hath freed himself from body, then is he also freed from passion.

But, more precisely, son, naught is impassible, but all are passible.

Yet passion differeth from passibility; for that the one is active, while the other's passive.

Incorporeals moreover act upon themselves, for either they are motionless or they are moved; but whichsoe'er it be, it's passion.

But bodies are invaribly acted on, and therefore they are passible.

Do not, then, let terms trouble thee; action and passion are both the selfsame thing. To use the fairer sounding term, however, does no harm.

12. Tat: Most clearly hast thou, father mine, set forth the teaching (logos).

Hermes: Consider this as well, my son; that these two things God hath bestowed on man beyond all mortal lives - both mind and speech (logos) equal to immortality. He hath the mind for knowing God and uttered speech (logos) for eulogy of Him.

And if one useth these for what he ought, he'll differ not a whit from the immortals. Nay, rather, on departing from the body, he will be guided by the twain unto the Choir of Gods and Blessed Ones.

13. Tat: Why, father mine! - do not the other lives make use of speech (logos)?

Hermes: Nay, son; but (i.e., only) use of voice; speech is far different from voice. For speech is general among all men, while voice doth differ in each class of living thing.

Tat: But with men also, father mine, according to each race, speech differs.

Hermes: Yea, son, but man is one; so also speech is one and is interpreted, and it is found the same in Egypt, and in Persia, and in Greece.

Thou seemest, son, to be in ignorance of Reason's (Logos) worth and greatness. For that the Blessed God, Good Daimon, hath declared:

"Soul is in Body, Mind in Soul; but Reason (Logos) is in Mind, and Mind in God; and God is Father of all these."

14. The Reason, then, is the Mind's image, and Mind God's image; while Body is the image of the Form; and Form the image of the Soul.

The subtlest part of Matter is, then, Air (or vital spirit); of Air, Soul; of Soul, Mind; and of Mind, God.

And God surroundeth all and permeateth all; while Mind Surroundeth Soul, Soul Air, Air Matter.

Necessity and Providence and Nature are instruments of Cosmos and of Matter's ordering; while of intelligible things each is Essence, and Sameness is their Essence.

But of the bodies of the Cosmos each is many; for through possessiong Sameness, these composed bodies, though they do change from one into another of themselves, do natheless keep the incorruption of their Sameness.

15. Whereas in all the rest of composed bodies, of each there is a certain number; for without number structure cannot be, or composition, or decomposition.

Now it is units that give birth to number and increase it, and, being decomposed, are taken back again into themselves.

Matter is one; and this whole Cosmos - the mighty God and image of the mightier One, both with Him unified, and the conserver of the Will and Order of the Father - is filled full of Life.

Naught is there in it throughout the whole of Aeon, the Father's everlasting Re-establishment - nor of the whole, nor of the parts - which doth not live.

For not a single thing that's dead, hath been, or is, or shall be in this Cosmos.

For that the Father willed it should have Life as long as it should be. Wherefore it needs must be a God.

16. How then, O son, could there be in the God, the image of the Father, in the plenitude of Life - dead things?

For that death is corruption, and corruption destruction.

How then could any part of that which knoweth no corruption be corrupted, or any whit of him the God destroyed?

Tat: Do they not, then, my father, die - the lives in it, that are its parts?

Hermes: Hush, son! - led into error by the term in use for what takes place.

They do not die, my son, but are dissolved as compound bodies.

Now dissolution is not death, but dissolution of a compound; it is dissolved not so that it may be destroyed, but that it may become renewed.

For what is the activity of life? Is it not motion? What then in Cosmos is there that hath no motion? Naught is there, son!

17. Tat: Doth not Earth even, father, seem to thee to have no motion?

Hermes: Nay, son; but rather that she is the only thing which, though in very rapid motion, is also stable.

For how would it not be a thing to laugh at, that the Nurse of all should have no motion, when she engenders and brings forth all things?

For 'tis impossible that without motion one who doth engender, should do so.

That thou should ask if the fourth part (or element) is not inert, is most ridiculous; for the body which doth have no motion, gives sign of nothing but inertia.

18. Know, therefore, generally, my son, that all that is in Cosmos is being moved for increase or for decrease.

Now that which is kept moving, also lives; but there is no necessity that that which lives, should be all same.

For being simultaneous, the Cosmos, as a whole, is not subject to change, my son, but all its parts are subject unto it; yet naught of it is subject to corruption, or destroyed.

It is the terms employed that confuse men. For 'tis not genesis that constituteth life, but 'tis sensation; it is not change that constituteth death, but 'tis forgetfulness.

Since, then, these things are so, they are immortal all - Matter, and Life, and Spirit, Mind and Soul, of which whatever liveth, is composed.

19. Whatever then doth live, oweth its immortality unto the Mind, and most of all doth man, he who is both recipient of God, and co-essential with Him.

For with this life alone doth God consort; by visions in the night, by tokens in the day, and by all things doth He foretell the future unto him - by birds, by inward parts, by wind, by tree.

Wherefore doth man lay claim to know things past, things present and to come.

20. Observe this too, my son; that each one of the other lives inhabiteth one portion of the Cosmos - aquatic creatures water, terrene earth, and aery creatures air; while man doth use all these - earth, water air and fire; he seeth Heaven, too, and doth contact it with his sense.

But God surroundeth all, and permeateth all, for He is energy and power; and it is nothing difficult, my son, to conceive God.

21. But if thou wouldst Him also contemplate, behold the ordering of the Cosmos, and see the orderly behavior of its ordering (this is a play on the word "cosmos", which means "order, arrangement"); behold thou the Necessity of things made manifest, and see the Providence of things become and things becoming; behold how Matter is all-full of Life; behold this so great God in movement, with all the good and noble ones - gods, daimones and men!

Tat: But these are purely energies, O father mine!

Hermes: If, then, they're purely energies, my son - by whom, then, are they energized except by God?

Or art thou ignorant, that just as Heaven, Earth, Water, Air, are parts of Cosmos, in just the selfsame way God's parts are Life and Immortality, and Energy, and Spirit, and Necessity, and Providence, and Nature, Soul, and Mind, and the Duration (that is, Aeon or Eternity) of all these that is called Good?

And there are naught of things that have become, or are becoming, in which God is not.

22. Tat: Is He in Matter, father, then?

Hermes: Matter, my son, is separate from God, in order that thou may'st attribute to it the quality of space. But what thing else than mass think'st thou it is, if it's not energized? Whereas if it be energized, by whom is it made so? For energies, we said, are parts of God.

By whom are, then, all lives enlivened? By whom are things immortal made immortal? By whom changed things made changeable?

And whether thou dost speak of Matter, of Body, or of Essence, know that these too are energies of God; and that materiality is Matter's energy, that corporeality is Bodies' energy, and that essentiality doth constituteth the energy of Essence; and this is God - the All.

23. And in the All is naught that is not God. Wherefore nor (i.e., neither) size, nor space, nor quality, nor form, nor time, surroundeth God; for He is All, and All surroundeth all, and permeateth all.

Unto this Reason (Logos), son, thy adoration and thy worship pay. There is one way alone to worship God; it is not to be bad.

CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 13

The Secret Sermon on the Mountain

(Notes on the text: This dialogue is in many ways the culmination of the whole Corpus, summing up the theory of the Hermetic system at the same time as it provides an intriguing glimpse at the practice. The focus of the dialogue is the experience of Rebirth, which involves the replacement of twelve Tormentors within the self by ten divine Powers, leading to the awakening of knowledge of the self and God.

The "Secret Hymnody" (sections 17-20) is presented as a litany for worship, to be performed twice each day, at sunrise and sunset. It's interesting to note that while the sunrise worship is performed facing east, the sunset worship is done to the south; Egyptian tradition from Pharaonic times onward saw the west as the direction of death.

The usual difficulties with the multiple meanings of the Greek word logos appear in the translation, compounded by Mead's awkward style. Additionally, one of Mead's few evasions can be found in section 12, where he relates the twelve Tormentors to the "twelve types-of-life". This should more simply, and more accurately, have been translated as "the twelve signs of the Zodiac". The Theosophical distaste for astrology may well have been involved here.)

1. Tat: Now in the General Sermons, father, thou didst speak in riddles most unclear, conversing on Divinity; and when thou saidst no man could e'er be saved before Rebirth, thy meaning thou didst hide.

Further, when I became thy Suppliant, in Wending up the Mount, after thou hadst conversed with me, and when I longed to learn the Sermon (Logos) on Rebirth (for this beyond all other things is just the thing I know not), thou saidst, that thou wouldst give it me - "when thou shalt have become a stranger to the world".

Wherefore I got me ready and made the thought in me a stranger to the world-illusion.

And now do thou fill up the things that fall short in me with what thou saidst would give me the tradition of Rebirth, setting it forth in speech or in the secret way.

I know not, O Thrice-greatest one, from out what matter and what womb Man comes to birth, or of what seed.

2. Hermes: Wisdom that understands in silence such is the matter and the womb from out which Man is born, and the True Good the seed.

Tat: Who is the sower, father? For I am altogether at a loss.

Hermes: It is the Will of God, my son.

Tat: And of what kind is he that is begotten, father? For I have no share of that essence in me, which doth transcend the senses. The one that is begot will be another one from God, God's Son?

Hermes: All in all, out of all powers composed.

Tat: Thou tellest me a riddle, father, and dost not speak as father unto son.

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Hermes: This Race, my son, is never taught; but when He willeth it, its memory is restored by God.

3. Tat: Thou sayest things impossible, O father, things that are forced. Hence answers would I have direct unto these things. Am I a son strange to my father's race?

Keep it not, father, back from me. I am a true-born son; explain to me the manner of Rebirth.

Hermes: What may I say, my son? I can but tell thee this. Whene'er I see within myself the Simple Vision brought to birth out of God's mercy, I have passed through myself into a Body that can never die. And now i am not as I was before; but I am born in Mind.

The way to do this is not taught, and it cannot be seen by the compounded element by means of which thou seest.

Yea, I have had my former composed form dismembered for me. I am no longer touched, but I have touch; I have dimension too; and yet am I a stranger to them now.

Thou seest me with eyes, my son; but what I am thou dost not understand even with fullest strain of body and of sight.

4. Tat: Into fierce frenzy and mind-fury hast thou plunged me, father, for now no longer do I see myself.

Hermes: I would, my son, that thou hadst even passed right through thyself, as they who dream in sleep yet sleepless.

Tat: Tell me this too! Who is the author of Rebirth?

Hermes: The Son of God, the One Man, by God's Will.

5. Tat: Now hast thou brought me, father, unto pure stupefaction. Arrested from the senses which I had before, . . . (lacuna in original text) . . . ; for now I see thy Greatness identical with thy distinctive form.

Hermes: Even in this thou art untrue; the mortal form doth change with every day. 'Tis turned by time to growth and waning, as being an untrue thing.

6. Tat: What then is true, Thrice-greatest One?

Hermes: That which is never troubled, son, which cannot be defined; that which no color hath, nor any figure, which is not turned, which hath no garment, which giveth light; that which is comprehensible unto itself alone, which doth not suffer change; that which no body can contain.

Tat: In very truth I lose my reason, father. Just when I thought to be made wise by thee, I find the senses of this mind of mine blocked up.

Hermes: Thus is it, son: That which is upward borne like fire, yet is borne down like earth, that which is moist like water, yet blows like air, how shalt thou this perceive with sense - the that which is not solid nor yet moist, which naught can bind or loose, of which in power and energy alone can man have any notion - and even then it wants a man who can perceive the Way of Birth in God?

7. Tat: I am incapable of this, O father, then?

Hermes: Nay, God forbid, my son! Withdraw into thyself, and it will come; will, and it comes to pass; throw out of work the body's senses, and thy Divinity shall come to birth; purge from thyself the brutish torments - things of matter.

Tat: I have tormentors then in me, O father?

Hermes: Ay, no few, my son; nay, fearful ones and manifold.

Tat: I do not know them, father.

Hermes: Torment the first is this Not-knowing, son; the second one is Grief; the third, Intemperance; the fourth, Concupiscence; the fifth, Unrighteousness; the sixth is Avarice; the seventh, Error; the eighth is Envy; the ninth, Guile; the tenth is Anger; eleventh, Rashness; the twelfth is Malice.

These are in number twelve; but under them are many more, my son; and creeping through the prison of the body they force the man that's placed therein to suffer in his senses. But they depart (though not all at once) from him who hath been taken pity on by God; and this it is which constitutes the manner of Rebirth. And... (lacuna in the original text) the Reason (Logos).

8. And now, my son, be still and solemn silence keep! Thus shall the mercy that flows on us from God not cease.

Henceforth rejoice, O son, for by the Powers of God thou art being purified for the articulation of the Reason (Logos).

Gnosis of God hath come to us, and when this comes, my son, Not-knowing is cast out.

Gnosis of Joy hath come to us, and on its coming, son, Sorrow will flee away to them who give it room. The Power that follows Joy do I invoke, thy Self-control. O Power most sweet! Let us most gladly bid it welcome, son! How with its coming doth it chase Intemperance away!

9. Now fourth, on Continence I call, the Power against Desire. (lacuna in the original text) This step, my son, is Righteousness' firm seat. For without judgement (other translators read this "without effort") see how she hath chased Unrighteousness away. We are made righteous, son, by the departure of Unrighteousness.

Power sixth I call to us - that against Avarice, Sharing-with-all.

And now that Avarice is gone, I call on Truth. And Error flees, and Truth is with us.

See how the measure of the Good is full, my son, upon Truth's coming. For Envy is gone from us; and unto Truth is joined the Good as well, with Life and Light.

And now no more doth any torment of the Darkness venture nigh, but vanquished all have fled with whirring wings.

10. Thou knowest now, my son, the manner of Rebirth. And when the Ten is come, my son, that driveth out the Twelve, the Birth in understanding (literally "intellectual birth", noera genesis) is complete, and by this birth we are made into Gods.

Who then doth by His mercy gain this Birth in God, abandoning the body's senses, knows himself to be of Light and Life and that he doth consist of these, and thus is filled with bliss.

11. Tat: By God made steadfast, father, no longer with the sight my eyes afford I look on things, but with the energy the Mind doth give me through the Powers.

In Heaven am I, in earth, in water, air; I am in animals, in plants; I'm in the womb, before the womb, after the womb; I'm everywhere!

But further tell me this: How are the torments of the Darkness, when they are twelve in number, driven out by the ten Powers? What is the way of it, Thrice-greatest one?

12. Hermes: This dwelling-place through which we have just passed (i.e., the human body), my son, is constituted from the circle of the twelve types-of-life, this being composed of elements, twelve in number, but of one nature, an omniform idea. For man's delusion there are disunions in them, son, while in their action they are one. Not only can we never part Rashness from Wrath; they cannot even be distinguished.

According to right reason (logos), then, they (the Twelve) naturally withdraw once and for all, in as much as they are chased out by no less than ten powers, that is, the Ten.

For, son, the Ten is that which giveth birth to souls. And Life and Light are unified there, where the One hath being from the Spirit. According then to reason (logos) the One contains the Ten, the Ten the One.

13. Tat: Father, I see the All, I see myself in Mind.

Hermes: This is, my son, Rebirth - no more to look on things from body's view-point (a thing three ways in space extended)... (lacuna in text), though this Sermon (Logos) on Rebirth, on which I did not comment - in order that we may not be calumniators of the All unto the multitude, to whom indeed God Himself doth will we should not.

14. Tat: Tell me, O father: This Body which is made up of the Powers, is it at any time dissolved?

Hermes: Hush, son! Speak not of things impossible, else wilt thou sin and thy Mind's eye be quenched.

The natural body which our sense perceives is far removed from this essential birth.

The first must be dissolved, the last can never be; the first must die, the last death cannot touch.

Dost thou not know thou hast been born a God, Son of the One, even as I myself?

15. Tat: I would, O father, hear the Praise-giving with hymn which thou didst say thou heardest then when thou wert at the Eight the Ogdoad of Powers

Hermes: Just as the Shepherd did foretell I should, my son, when I came to the Eight.

Well dost thou haste to "strike thy tent" (i.e., be free from the physical body), for thou hast been made pure.

The Shepherd, Mind of all masterhood, hath not passed on to me more than hath been written down, for full well did he know that I should of myself be able to learn all, and hear what I should wish, and see all things.

He left to me the making of fair things; wherefore the Powers within me. even as they are in all, break into song.

16. Tat: Father, I wish to hear; I long to know these things.

Hermes: Be still, my son; hear the Praise-giving now that keeps the soul in tune, Hymn of Re-birth - a hymn I would not have thought fit so readily to tell, had'st thou not reached the end of all.

Wherefore this is not taught, but is kept hid in silence.

Thus then, my son, stand in a place uncovered to the sky, facing the southern wind, about the sinking of the setting sun, and make thy worship; so in like manner too when he doth rise, with face to the east wind.

Now, son, be still!

The Secret Hymnody

17. Let every nature of the World receive the utterance of my hymn!

Open thou Earth! Let every bolt of the Abyss be drawn for me. Stir not, ye Trees!

I am about to hymn creation's Lord, both All and One.

Ye Heavens open and ye Winds stay still; and let God's deathless Sphere receive my word (logos)!

For I will sing the praise of Him who founded all; who fixed the Earth, and hung up Heaven, and gave command that Ocean should afford sweet water to the Earth, to both those parts that are inhabited and those that are not, for the support and use of every man; who made the Fire to shine for gods and men for every act.

Let us together all give praise to Him, sublime above the Heavens, of every nature Lord!

'Tis He who is the Eye of Mind; may He accept the praise of these my Powers!

18. Ye powers that are within me, hymn the One and All; sing with my Will, Powers all that are within me!

O blessed Gnosis, by thee illumined, hymning through thee the Light that mond alone can see, I joy in Joy of Mind.

Sing with me praises all ye Powers!

Sing praise, my Self-control; sing thou through me, my Righteousness, the praises of the Righteous; sing thou, my Sharing-all, the praises of the All; through me sing, Truth, Truth's praises!

Sing thou, O Good, the Good! O Life and Light, from us to you our praises flow!

Father, I give Thee thanks, to Thee Thou Energy of all my Powers; I give Thee thanks, O God, Thou Power of all my Energies!

19. Thy Reason (Logos) sings through me Thy praises. Take back through me the All into Thy Reason - my reasonable oblation!

Thus cry the Powers in me. They sing Thy praise, Thou All; they do Thy Will.

From Thee Thy Will; to Thee the All. Receive from all their reasonable oblation. The All that is in us, O Life, preserve; O Light(,) illumine it; O God(,) in-spirit it.

It it Thy Mind that plays the shepherd to Thy Word, O Thou Creator, Bestower of the Spirit upon all.

20. For Thou art God, Thy Man thus cries to Thee through Fire, through Air, through Earth, through Water, and through Spirit, through Thy creatures.

'Tis from Thy Aeon I have found praise-giving; and in thy Will, the object of my search, have I found rest.

Tat: By thy good pleasure have I seen this praise-giving being sung, O father; I have set it in my Cosmos too.

Hermes: Say in the Cosmos that thy mind alone can see, my son.

Tat: Yea, father, in the Cosmos that the mind alone can see; for I have been made able by thy Hymn, and by thy Praise-giving my mind hath been illumined. But further I myself as well would from my natural mind send praise-giving to God.

21. Hermes: But not unheedfully, my son.

Tat: Aye. What I behold in mind, that do I say.

To thee, thou Parent of my Bringing into Birth, as unto God I, Tat, send reasonable offerings. o God and Father, thou art the Lord, thou art the Mind. Receive from me oblations reasonable as thou would'st wish; for by thy Will all things have been perfected.

Hermes: Send thou oblation, son, acceptable to God, the Sire of all; but add, my son, too, "through the Word" (Logos).

Tat: I give thee, father, thanks for showing me to sing such hymns.

22. Hermes: Happy am I, my son, that though hast brought the good fruits forth of Truth, products that cannot die.

And now that thou hast learnt this lesson from me, make promise to keep silence on thy virtue, and to no soul, my son, make known the handing on to thee the manner of Rebirth, that we may not be thought to be calumniators.

And now we both of us have given heed sufficiently, both I the speaker and the hearer thou.

In Mind hast thou become a Knower of thyself and our common Sire.

CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 14

A Letter Of Thrice-Greatest Hermes To Asclepius

Unto Asclepius Good Health Of Soul!

(Text: P. 128-134; Pat. 49, 50.)

1. Since in thy absence my son Tat desired to learn the nature of the things that are, and would not let me hold it over, as natural to a younger son fresh come to gnosis of the teachings on each single point,—I was compelled to tell him more, in order that the contemplation of them might be the easier for him to follow.

I would, then, choosing out the chiefest heads of what was said, write them in brief to thee, explaining them more mystic-ly, as unto one of greater age and one well versed in Nature.

2. If all things manifest have been and are being made, and made things are not made by their own selves but by another; if made things are the many,—nay more, are all things manifest and all things different and not alike; and things that are being made are being made by other than themselves;—there is some one who makes these things; and He cannot be made, but is more ancient than the things that can.

For things that can be made, I say, are made by other than themselves; but of the things that owe their being to their being made, it is impossible that anything should be more ancient than them all, save only That which is not able to be made.

3. So He is both Supreme, and One, and Only, the truly wise in all, as having naught more ancient than Himself.

For He doth rule o'er both the number, size and difference of things that are being made, and o'er the continuity of their making too.

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Again, things makeable are seeable; but He cannot be seen.

For for this cause He maketh,—that He may not be able to be seen.

He, therefore, ever maketh; and therefore can He never be seen.

To comprehend Him thus is meet; and comprehending, it is meet to marvel; and marvelling, to count oneself as blessed, as having learnt to know one's Sire.

4. For what is sweeter than one's own true Sire? Who, then, is He; and how shall we learn how to know Him?

Is it not right to dedicate to Him alone the name of God, or that of Maker, or of Father, or rather all the three;—God for His Power, and Maker for His Energy, and Father for His Good?

Now Power doth differ from the things which are being made; while Energy consisteth in all things being made.

Wherefore we ought to put away verbosity and foolish talk, and understand these two—the made and Maker. For that of them there is no middle term; there is no third.

5. Wherefore in all that thou conceivest, in all thou nearest, these two recall to mind; and think all things are they, reckoning as doubtful naught, nor of the things above, nor of the things below, neither of things divine, nor things that suffer change or things that are in obscuration.

For all things are these twain, Maker and made, and 'tis impossible that one should be without the other; for neither is it possible that "Maker" should exist without the "made," for each of them is one and the same thing.

Wherefore 'tis no more possible for one from other to be parted, than self from self.

6. Now if the Maker is naught else but That which makes, Alone, Simple, Uncompound, it needs must do this making to Itself,—to Which its Maker's making is "its being made."

And as to all that's being made,—it cannot be so made by being made by its own self; but it must needs be made by being made by other. Without the "Maker" "made" is neither made nor is; for that the one without the other doth lose its proper nature by deprivation of that other.

If, 1 then, all things have been admitted to be two,—the "that which is being made" and "that which makes,"—all then are one in union of these,—the "that which leadeth" and the "that which followeth."

The making God is "that which leadeth"; the "that which is being made," whatever it be, the "that which followeth."

7. And do not thou be chary of things made because of their variety, from fear of attribution of a low estate and lack of glory unto God.

For that His Glory's one,—to make all things; and this is as it were God's Body, the making of them.

But by the Maker's self naught is there thought or bad or base.

These things are passions which accompany the making process, as rust doth brass and filth doth body; but neither doth the brass-smith make the rust, nor the begetters of the body filth, nor God make evil.

It is continuance in the state of being made that makes them lose, as though it were, their bloom; and 'tis because of this God hath made change, as though it were the making clean of genesis.

8. Is it, then, possible for one and the same painter man to make both heaven, and gods, and earth, and sea, and men, and all the animals, and lifeless things, and trees, and yet impossible for God to make all things?

What monstraus lack of understanding; what want of knowledge as to God!

For such the strangest lot of all do suffer; for though they say they worship piously and sing the praise of God, yet by their not ascribing unto Him the making of all things, they know not God; and, added unto this not-knowing, they're guilty even of the worst impiety to Him—passions to Him attributing, or arrogance, or impotency.

For if He doth not make all things, from arrogance He doth not make, or not being able,—which is impiety to think.

9. One Passion hath God only—Good; and He who's Good, is neither arrogant nor impotent.

For this is God—the Good, which hath all power of making all.

And all that can be made is made by God,—that is, by Him who is the Good and who can make all things.

But would'st thou learn how He doth make, and how things made are made, thou may'st do so.

10. Behold a very fair and most resemblant image—a husbandman casting the seed into the ground; here wheat, there barley, and there again some other of the seeds!

Behold one and the same man planting the vine, the apple, and all other trees!

In just the selfsame way doth God sow Immortality in Heaven, and Change on Earth, and Life and Motion in the universe.

These are not many, but few and easy to be numbered; for four in all are they,—and God Himself and Genesis, in whom are all that are.

CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 15

The Definitions Of Asclepius Unto King Ammon

The Perfect Sermon Of Asclepius Unto The King

(Text: R. 348-354; Pat. at end. 1)

1. Great is the sermon (logos) which I send to thee, O King—the summing up and digest, as it were, of all the rest.

For it is not composed to suit the many's prejudice, since it contains much that refuteth them.

Nay, it will seem to thee as well to contradict sometimes my sermons too.

Hermes, my master, in many a conversation, both when alone, and sometimes, too, when Tat was there, has said, that unto those who come across my books, their composition will seem most simple and most clear; but, on the contrary, as 'tis unclear, and has the inner meaning of its words concealed, it will be still unclearer, when, afterwards, the Greeks will want to turn our tongue into their own,—for this will be a very great distorting and obscuring of even what has been already written.

2. Turned into our own native tongue, the sermon (logos) keepeth clear the meaning of the words (logoi) at any rate.

For that its very quality of sound, the very power of the Egyptian names, have in themselves the bringing into act of what is said.

As far as, then, thou canst, O King—(and thou canst do all things)—keep this our sermon from translation; in order that such mighty mysteries may not come to the Greeks, and the disdainful speech of Greece, with all its looseness, and its surface beauty, so to speak, take all the strength out of the solemn and the strong—the energetic speech of Names.

The Greeks, O King, have novel words, energic of "argumentation" only; and thus is the philosophising of the Greeks—the noise of words.

But we do not use words; but we use sounds full-filled with deeds.

3. Thus, then, will I begin the sermon by invocation unto God, the universals' Lord and Maker, their Sire, and their Encompasser; who though being All is One, and though being One is All; for that the Fullness of all things is One, and is in One, this latter One not coming as a second One, but both being One.

And this is the idea that I would have thee keep, through the whole study of our sermon, Sire!

For should one try to separate what seems to be both All and One and Same from One,—he will be found to take his epithet of "All" from the idea of multitude, and not from that of) fullness—which is impossible; for if he part All from the One, he will destroy the All.

For all things must be One—if they indeed are One. Yea, they are One; and they shall never cease being One—in order that the Fullness may not be destroyed.

* * * * *

4. See then in Earth a host of founts of Water and of Fire forth-spirting in its midmost parts; in one and the same space all the three natures visible—of Fire, and Water, and of Earth, depending from one Root.

Whence, too, it is believed to be the Treasury of every matter. It sendeth forth of its abundance, and in the place of what it sendeth forth receiveth the subsistence from above.

For thus the Demiurge—I mean the Sun—eternally doth order Heaven and Earth, pouring down Essence, and taking Matter up, drawing both round Himself and to Himself all things, and from Himself giving all things to all.

For He it is whose goodly energies extend not only through the Heaven and the Air, but also onto Earth, right down unto the lowest Depth and the Abyss.

6. And if there be an Essence which the mind alone can grasp, this is his Substance, the reservoir of which would be His Light.

But whence this Substance doth arise, or floweth forth, He, and He only, knows.

* * * * *

Or rather, in space and nature, He is near unto Himself . . . though as He is not seen by us, . . . understand Him by conjecture.

7. The spectacle of Him, however, is not left unto conjecture; nay for His very rays, in greatest splendour, shine all round on all the Cosmos that doth lie above and lie below.

For He is stablished in the midst, wreathed with the Cosmos, and just as a good charioteer, He safely drives the cosmic team, and holds them in unto Himself, lest they should run away in dire disorder.

The reins are Life, and Soul, and Spirit, Deathlessness, and Genesis. He lets it, then, drive round not far off from Himself—nay, if the truth be said, together with Himself.

8. And in this way He operates all things. To the immortals He distributeth perpetual permanence; and with the upper hemisphere of His own Light—all that he sends above from out His other side, the side of him which looks to Heaven—He nourisheth the deathless parts of Cosmos.

But with that side that sendeth down its Light, and shineth round all of the hemisphere of Water, and of Earth, and Air, He vivifieth, and by births and changes keepeth in movement to and fro the animals in these the lower parts of Cosmos. . . .

9. He changes them in spiral fashion, and doth transform them into one another, genus to genus, species into species, their mutual changes into one another being balanced—just as He does when He doth deal with the Great Bodies.

For in the case of every body, its permanence consists in transformation.

In case of an immortal one, there is no dissolution; but when it is a mortal one, it is accompanied with dissolution.

And this is how the deathless body doth differ from the mortal, and how the mortal one doth differ from the deathless.

10. Moreover, as His Light's continuous, so is His Power of giving Life to lives continuous, and not to be brought to an end in space or in abundance.

For there are many choirs of daimons round Him, like unto hosts of very various kinds; who though they dwell with mortals, yet are not far from the immortals; but having as their lot from here unto the spaces of the Gods, they watch o'er the affairs of men, and work out things appointed by the Gods—by means of storms, whirlwinds and hurricanes, by transmutations wrought by fire and shakings of the earth, with famines also and with wars requiting man's impiety,—for this is in man's case the greatest ill against the Gods.

11. For that the duty of the Gods is to give benefits; the duty of mankind is to give worship; the duty of the daimons is to give requital.

For as to all the other things men do, through error, or foolhardiness, or by necessity, which they call Fate, or ignorance—these are not held requitable among the Gods; impiety alone is guilty at their bar.

12. The Sun is the preserver and the nurse of every class.

And just as the Intelligible World, holding the Sensible in its embrace, fills it all full, distending it with forms of every kind and every shape—so, too, the Sun distendeth all in Cosmos, affording births to all, and strengtheneth them.

When they are weary or they fail, He takes them in His arms again.

13. And under Him is ranged the choir of daimons—or, rather, choirs; for these are multitudinous and very varied, ranked underneath the groups of Stars, in equal number with each one of them.

So, marshalled in their ranks, they are the ministers of each one of the Stars, being in their natures good, and bad, that is, in their activities (for that a daimon's essence is activity); while some of them are of mixed natures, good and bad.

14. To all of these has been allotted the authority o'er things upon the Earth; and it is they who bring about the multifold confusion of the turmoils on the Earth—for states and nations generally, and for each individual separately.

For they do shape our souls like to themselves, and set them moving with them,—obsessing nerves, and marrow, veins and arteries, the brain itself, down to the very heart.

15. For on each one of us being born and made alive, the daimons take hold on us—those daimones who are in service at that moment of the wheel of Genesis, who are ranged under each one of the Stars.

For that these change at every moment; they do not stay the same, but circle back again.

These, then, descending through the body to the two parts of the soul, set it awhirling, each one towards its own activity.

But the soul's rational part is set above the lordship of the daimons—designed to be receptacle of God.

16. Who then doth have a Ray shining upon him through the Sun within his rational part—and these in all are few on them the daimons do not act; for no one of the daimons or of Gods has any power against one Ray of God.

As for the rest, they are all led and driven, soul and body, by the daimons—loving and hating the activities of these.

The reason (logos), then, is not the love that is deceived and that deceives.

The daimons, therefore, exercise the whole of this terrene economy, using our bodies as their instruments.

And this economy Hermes has called Heimarmenē.

17. The World Intelligible, then, depends from God; the Sensible from the Intelligible World.

The Sun, through the Intelligible and the Sensible Cosmos, pours forth abundantly the stream from God of Good,—that is, the demiurgic operation.

And round the Sun are the Eight Spheres, dependent from Him—the Sphere of the Non-wandering Ones, the Six Spheres of the Wanderers, and one Circumterrene.

And from the Spheres depend the daimones; and from these, men.

And thus all things and all of them depend from God.

18. Wherefore God is the Sire of all; the Sun's their Demiurge; the Cosmos is the instrument of demiurgic operation.

Intelligible Essence regulateth Heaven; and Heaven, the Gods; the daimones, ranked underneath the Gods, regulate men.

This is the host of Gods and daimones.

Through these God makes all things for His own self.

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And all of them are parts of God; and if they all are parts—then, God is all.

Thus, making all, He makes Himself; nor ever can He cease His making, for He Himself is ceaseless.

Just, then, as God doth have no end and no beginning, so doth His making have no end and no beginning.

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CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 16

Of Asclepius To The King

(Text: R. 354; Pat. at end of last piece.)

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Asclepius. If thou dost think of it, O King, even of bodies there are things bodiless.

The King. What are they?—(asked the King.)

Asc. The bodies that appear in mirrors—do they not seem then to have no body?

The King. It is so, O Asclepius; thou thinkest like a God!—(the King replied.)

Asc. There are things bodiless as well as these; for instance, forms—do not they seem to thee to have no body, but to appear in bodies not only of the things which are ensouled, but also of those which are not ensouled?

The King. Thou sayest well, Asclepius.

Asc. Thus, then, there are reflexions of things bodiless on bodies, and of bodies too upon things bodiless—that is to say, reflexions of the Sensible on the Intelligible World, and of the World Intelligible on the Sensible.

Wherefore, pay worship to the images, O King, since they too have their forms as from the World Intelligible.

(Thereon His Majesty arose and said:)

The King. It is the hour, O Prophet, to see about the comfort of our guests. Tomorrow, then, will we resume our sacred converse.

CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 17

The Encomium Of Kings

(About The Soul's Being Hindered By The Passion Of The Body)

(Text: R. 355-360; Pat. at end.)

1. Now in the case of those professing the harmonious art of muse-like melody—if, when the piece is played, the discord of the instruments doth hinder their intent, its rendering becomes ridiculous.

For when his instruments are quite too weak for what's required of them, the music-artist needs must be laughed at by the audience.

For He, with all good will, gives of His art unweariedly; they blame the artist's weakness.

He then who is the Natural Musician-God, not only in His making of the harmony of His celestial songs, but also in His sending forth the rhythm of the melody of His own songs right down unto the separate instruments, is, as God, never wearied.

For that with God there is no growing weary.

2. So, then, if ever a musician desires to enter into the highest contest of his art he can—when now the trumpeters have rendered the same phrase of the composer's skill, and afterwards the flautists played the sweet notes of the melody upon their instruments, and they complete the music of the piece with pipe and plectrum—if any thing goes wrong, one does not lay the blame upon the inspiration of the music-maker.

Nay, by no means,—to him one renders the respect that is his due; one blames the falseness of the instrument, in that it has become a hindrance to those who are most excellent—embarrassing the maker of the music in the execution of his melody, and robbing those who listen of the sweetness of the song.

3. In like way also, in our case, let no one of our audience for the weakness that inheres in body, blame impiously our Race.

Nay, let him know God is Unwearied Spirit—for ever in the self-same way possessed of His own science, unceasing in His joyous gifts, the self-same benefits bestowing everywhere.

4. And if the Pheidias—the Demiurge—is not responded to, by lack of matter to perfect His skilfulness, although for His own part the Artist has done all he can, let us not lay the blame on Him.

But let us, rather, blame the weakness of the string, in that, because it is too slack or is too tight, it mars the rhythm of the harmony.

5. So when it is that the mischance occurs by reason of the instrument, no one doth blame the Artist.

Nay, more; the worse the instrument doth chance to be, the more the Artist gains in reputation by the frequency with which his hand doth strike the proper note, and more the love the listeners pour upon that Music-maker, without the slightest thought of blaming him.

So will we too, most noble Sirs, set our own lyre in tune again, within, with the Musician!

6. Nay, I have seen one of the artist-folk—although he had no power of playing on the lyre—when once he had been trained for the right noble theme, make frequent use of his own self as instrument, and tune the service of his string by means of mysteries, so that the listeners were amazed at how he turned necessitude into magnificence.

Of course you know the story of the harper who won the favour of the God who is the president of music-work.

One day, when he was playing for a prize, and when the breaking of a string became a hindrance to him in the contest, the favour of the Better One supplied him with another string, and placed within his grasp the boon of fame.

A grasshopper was made to settle on his lyre, through the foreknowledge of the Better One, and so fill in the melody in substitution of the broken string.

And so by mending of his string the harper's grief was stayed, and fame of victory was won.

7. And this I feel is my own case, most noble Sirs!

For but just now I seemed to make confession of my want of strength, and play the weakling for a little while; but now, by virtue of the strength of that Superior One, as though my song about the King had been perfected by Him, I seem to wake my muse.

For, you must know, the end of this our duty will be the glorious fame of Kings, and the good-will of our discourse (logos) will occupy itself about the triumphs which they win.

Come then, let us make haste! For that the singer willeth it, and hath attuned his lyre for this; nay more, more sweetly will he play, more fitly will he sing, as he has for his song the greater subjects of his theme.

8. Since, then, he has the stringing of his lyre tuned specially to Kings, and has the key of laudatory songs, and as his goal the Royal praises, let him first raise himself unto the highest King—the God of wholes.

Beginning, then, his song from the above, he, hus, in second place, descends to those after His likeness who hold the sceptre's power; since Kings themselves, indeed, prefer the topics of the song should step by step descend from the above, and where they have their gifts of victory presided o'er for them, thence should their hopes be led in orderly succession.

9. Let, then, the singer start with God, the greatest King of wholes, who is for ever free from death, both everlasting and possessed of all the might of everlastingness, the Glorious Victor, the very first, from whom all victories descend to those who in succession do succeed to victory.

10. Our sermon (logos) then, doth hasten to descend to Kingly praises and to the Presidents of common weal and peace, the Kings—whose lordship in most ancient times was placed upon the highest pinnacle by God Supreme; for whom the prizes have already been prepared even before their prowess in the war; of whom the trophies have been raised even before the shock of conflict.

For whom it is appointed not only to be Kings but also to be best.

At whom, before they even stir, the foreign land doth quake.

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(ABOUT THE BLESSING OF THE BETTER ONE
AND PRAISING OF THE KING)

11. But now our theme (logos) doth hasten on to blend its end with its beginnings—with blessing of the Better One; and then to make a final end of its discourse (logos) on those divinest Kings who give us the great prize of peace.

For just as we began by treating of the Better One and of the Power Above, so let us make the end bend round again unto the same—the Better One.

Just as the Sun, the nurse of all the things that grow, on his first rising, gathers unto himself the first-fruits of their yield with his most mighty hands, using his rays as though it were for plucking off their fruits—yea, for his rays are truly hands for him who plucketh first the most ambrosial essences of plants—so, too, should we, beginning from the Better One, and thus recipient of His wisdom's stream, and turning it upon the garden of our souls above the heavens,—we should direct and train these streams of blessing back again unto their source, blessing whose entire power of germination in us He hath Himself poured into us.

12. 'Tis fit ten thousand tongues and voices should be used to send His blessings back again unto the all-pure God, who is the Father of our souls; and though we cannot utter what is fit—for we are far unequal to the task—yet will we say what best we can.

For Babes just born have not the strength to sing their Father's glory as it should be sung; but they give proper thanks for them, according to their strength, and meet with pardon for their feebleness.

Nay, it is rather that God's glory doth consist in this one very thing—that He is greater than His children; and that the prelude and the source, the middle and the end, of blessings, is to confess the Father to be infinitely puissant and never knowing what a limit means.

13. So is it, too, in the King's case.

For that we men, as though we were the children of the King, feel it our natural duty to give praise to him. Still must we ask for pardon for our insufficiency, even though it is granted by our Sire before we even ask.

And as it cannot be the Sire will turn from Babes new-born because they are so weak, but rather will rejoice when they begin to recognise his love—so also will the Gnosis of the all rejoice, which doth distribute life to all, and power of giving blessing back to God, which He hath given us.

14. For God, being Good, and having in Himself eternally the limit of His own eternal fitness, and being deathless, and containing in Himself that lot of that inheritance that cannot come unto an end, and thus for ever ever-flowing from out that energy of His, He doth send tidings to this world down here to urge us to the rendering of praise that brings us home again.

With Him, therefore, is there no difference with one another; there is no partiality with Him.

But they are one in Thought. One is the Prescience of all. They have one Mind—their Father.

One is the Sense that's active through them—their passion for each other. 'Tis Love Himself who worketh the one harmony of all.

15. Thus, therefore, let us sing the praise of God.

Nay, rather, let us first descend to those who have received their sceptres from Him.

For that we ought to make beginning with our Kings, and so by practising ourselves on them, accustom us to songs of praise, and train ourselves in pious service to the Better One.

We ought to make the very first beginnings of our exercise of praise begin from him, 3 and through him exercise the practice of our praise, that so there may be in us both the exercising of our piety towards God, and of our praise to Kings.

16. For that we ought to make return to them, in that they have extended the prosperity of such great peace to us.

It is the virtue of the King, nay, 'tis his name alone, that doth establish peace.

He has his name of King because he levelleth the summits of dissension with his smooth tread, 4 and is the lord of reason (logos) that makes for peace.

And in as much, in sooth, as he hath made himself the natural protector of the kingdom which is not his native land, 1 his very name is made the sign of peace.

For that, indeed, you know, the appellation of the King has frequently at once restrained the foe.

Nay, more, the very statues of the King are peaceful harbours for those most tempest-tossed.

The likeness of the King alone has to appear to win the victory, and to assure to all the citizens freedom from hurt and fear.

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CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 18

The Perfect Sermon Or The Asclepius

(Text: The Greek original is lost, and only a Latin version remains to us. Mead uses the text of Hildebrand (G. F.), L. Apuleii Opera Omnia ex Fide Optimorum Codicum (Leipzig, 1842), Pars II., pp. 279-334; but have very occasionally preferred the text in Patrizzi's Nova de Universis Philosophia (Venice, 1593), or of the Bipontine edition of Appuleius, Lucii Apuleji Madaurensis Platonici Philosophi Opera (Biponti, 1788), pp. 285-325.)

Part 1

1. I. M. 2 Trismegistus. God, O Asclepius, hath brought thee unto us that thou mayest hear a Godly sermon, a sermon such as well may seem of all the previous ones we've either uttered, or with which we've been inspired by the Divine, more Godly than the piety of ordinary faith.

If thou with eye of intellect 1 shalt see this Word thou shalt in thy whole mind be filled quite full of all things good.

If that, indeed, the "many" be the "good," and not the "one," in which are "all." Indeed the difference between the two is found in their agreement,—"All" is of "One" or "One" is "All." So closely bound is each to other, that neither can be parted from its mate.

But this with diligent attention shalt thou learn from out the sermon that shall follow this.

But do thou, O Asclepius, go forth a moment and call in the one who is to hear.

(And when he had come in, Asclepius proposed that Ammon too should be allowed to come. Thereon Thrice-greatest said:)

Trismegistus. There is no cause why Ammon should be kept away from us. For we remember how we have ourselves set down in writing many things to his address, as though unto a son most dear and most beloved, of physics many things, of ethics too as many as could be.

It is, however, with thy name I will inscribe this treatise.

But call, I prithee, no one else but Ammon, lest a most pious sermon on a so great theme be spoilt by the admission of the multitude.

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For 'tis the mark of an unpious mind to publish to the knowledge of the crowd a tractate brimming o'er with the full Greatness of Divinity.

(When Ammon too had come within the holy place, and when the sacred group of four was now complete with piety and with God's goodly presence—to them, sunk in fit silence reverently, their souls and minds pendent on Hermes' lips, thus Love 1 Divine began to speak.)

Part 2

1. Trismegistus. The soul of every man, O my Asclepius, is deathless; yet not all in like fashion, but some in one way or one time, some in another.

Asc. Is not, then, O Thrice-greatest one, each soul of one and the same quality?

Tris. How quickly hast thou fallen, O Asclepius, from reason's true sobriety!

Did not I say that "All" is "One," and "One" is "All," in as much as all things have been in the Creator before they were created. Nor is He called unfitly "All," in that His members are the "All."

Therefore, in all this argument, see that thou keep in mind Him who is "One"-"All," or who Himself is maker of the "All."

2. All things descend from Heaven to Earth, to Water and to Air.

'Tis Fire alone, in that it is borne upwards, giveth life; that which is carried downwards is subservient to Fire.

Further, whatever doth descend from the above, begetteth; what floweth upwards, nourisheth.

'Tis Earth alone, in that it resteth on itself, that is Receiver of all things, and also the Restorer of all genera that it receives.

This Whole, therefore, as thou rememberest, in that it is of all,—in other words, all things, embraced by nature under "Soul" and "World," are in perpetual flux, so varied by the multiform equality of all their forms, that countless kinds of well-distinguished qualities may be discerned, yet with this bond of union, that all should seem as One, and from "One" "All."

Part 3

1. That, then, from which the whole Cosmos is formed, consisteth of Four Elements—Fire, Water, Earth, and Air; Cosmos itself is one, its Soul is one, and God is one.

Now lend to me the whole of thee,—all that thou canest in mind, all that thou skillest in penetration.

For that the Reason of Divinity may not be known except by an intention of the senses like to it.

'Tis likest to the torrent's flood, down-dashing headlong from above with all-devouring tide; so that it comes about, that by the swiftness of its speed it is too quick for our attention, not only for the hearers, but also for the very teachers.

SUPPLEMENT

3 Hermetic Texts in the Nag Hammadi Collection:
A.) The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth
B.) Prayer of Thanksgiving
C.) Asclepius (chapter 21-29)

The collection of Gnostic texts found at Nag Hammadi in 1945 (known as the Nag Hammadi Library), includes a previously unknown and crucially important Hermetic document, The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth. Probably dating to the third century or earlier, this text appears to be an initiation rite into visionary journey. This document provides singular evidence of the liturgical and experiential elements within Hermetic tradition. It gives witness to the existence of a ritual genera of Hermetic writings previously unknown and now lost.

Also included in the Nag Hammadi collection is the Hermetic Prayer of Thanksgiving, and an excerpt from the Asclepius. These texts, bound together in Nag Hammadi Codex 6 with other classical Christian Gnostic texts (e.g., The Authoritative Teaching, The Thunder, Perfect Mind, The Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles) evidence the ancient association of Christian and Hermetic Gnosticism -- at very least in the physical grouping of this literature together in the Nag Hammadi codices.

THE DISCOURSE ON THE EIGHTH AND NINTH
Source: Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt
Translation: James Brashler, Peter A. Dirkse, and Douglas M. Parrott
Estimated Range of Dating: 3rd century A.D.

(Archive Notes: The Nag Hammadi collection includes a previously unknown and crucially important Hermetic document, The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth. Probably dating to the third century AD or earlier, this text appears to be an initiation rite into visionary journey. This document provides singular evidence of the liturgical and experiential elements within Hermetic tradition. It gives witness to the existence of a ritual genera of Hermetic writings previously unknown and now lost. The ritual vowel phrases shown in the text are meditational vocalisations (perhaps similar to a mantra) based on the sacred name: IAO (They should be read with intonation.)

Text of the Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth:

"My father, yesterday you promised me that you would bring my mind into the eighth and afterwards you would bring me into the ninth. You said that this is the order of the tradition."

"My son, indeed this is the order. But the promise was according to human nature. For I told you when I initiated the promise, I said, 'If you hold in mind each one of the steps.' After I had received the spirit through the power, I set forth the action for you. Indeed, the understanding dwells in you; in me (it is) as though the power were pregnant. For when I conceived from the fountain that flowed to me, I gave birth."

"My father, you have spoken every word well to me. But I am amazed at this statement that you have just made. For you said, 'The power that is in me'."

He said, "I gave birth to it (the power), as children are born."

"Then, my father, I have many brothers, if I am to be numbered among the offspring."

"Right, my son! This good thing is numbered by . . .

. . . . . (3 lines missing) . . . . . .

. . . and . . . at all times. Therefore, my son, it is necessary for you to recognise your brothers and to honor them rightly and properly, because they come from the same father. For each generation I have called. I have named it, because they were offspring like these sons."

"Then, my father, do they have (a) day?"

"My son, they are spiritual ones. For they exist as forces that grow other souls. Therefore I say that they are immortal."

"Your word is true; it has no refutation from now on. My father, begin the discourse on the eighth and the ninth, and include me also with my brothers."

"Let us pray, my son, to the father of the universe, with your brothers who are my sons, that he may give the spirit of eloquence."

"How do they pray, my father, when joined with the generations? I want to obey, my father."

. . . . . (2 lines missing) . . . . . .

. . . But it is not . . .. Nor is it a . . .. But he is satisfied with her . . . him . . .. And it is right for you to remember the progress that came to you as wisdom in the books, my son. Compare yourself to the early years of life. As children (do), you have posed senseless, unintelligent questions."

"My father, the progress that has come to me now, and the foreknowledge, according to the books, that has come to me, exceeding the deficiency - these things are foremost in me."

"My son, when you understand the truth of your statement, you will find your brothers, who are my sons, praying with you."

"My father, I understand nothing else except the beauty that came to me in the books."

"This is what you call the beauty of the soul, the edification that came to you in stages. May the understanding come to you, and you will teach."

"I have understood, my father, each one of the books. And especially the ...

. . . . . (2 lines missing) . . . . . .

. . . which is in . . .."

"My son, . . . in praises from those who extolled them."

"My father, from you I will receive the power of the discourse that you will give. As it was told to both (of us), let us pray, my father."

"My son, what is fitting is to pray to God with all our mind and all our heart and our soul, and to ask him that the gift of the eighth extend to us, and that each one receive from him what is his. Your part, then, is to understand; my own is to be able to deliver the discourse from the fountain that flows to me."

"Let us pray, my father:

I call upon you, who rules over the kingdom of power, whose word comes as (a) birth of light. And his words are immortal. They are eternal and unchanging. He is the one whose will begets life for the forms in every place. His nature gives form to substance. By him, the souls of the eighth and the angels are moved . . .

. . . . . (2 lines missing) . . . . . .

. . . those that exist. His providence extends to everyone . . . begets everyone. He is the one who . . . the aeon among spirits. He created everything. He who is self-contained cares for everything. He is perfect, the invisible God to whom one speaks in silence - his image is moved when it is directed, and it governs - the one mighty power, who is exalted above majesty, who is better than the honoured (ones),

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ooo
Zo za zoth.

"Lord, grant us a wisdom from your power that reaches us, so that we may describe to ourselves the vision of the eighth and the ninth. We have already advanced to the seventh, since we are pious and walk in your law. And your will we fulfill always. For we have walked in your way, and we have renounced . . ., so that your vision may come. Lord, grant us the truth in the image. Allow us through the spirit to see the form of the image that has no deficiency, and receive the reflection of the pleroma from us through our praise.

"And acknowledge the spirit that is in us. For from you the universe received soul. For from you, the unbegotten one, the begotten one came into being. The birth of the self-begotten one is through you, the birth of all begotten things that exist. Receive from us these spiritual sacrifices, which we send to you with all our heart and our soul and all our strength. Save that which is in us and grant us the immortal wisdom."

"Let us embrace each other affectionately, my son. Rejoice over this! For already from them the power, which is light, is coming to us. For I see! I see indescribable depths. How shall I tell you, my son? . . . from the . . . the places. How shall I describe the universe? I am Mind, and I see another Mind, the one that moves the soul! I see the one that moves me from pure forgetfulness. You give me power! I see myself! I want to speak! Fear restrains me. I have found the beginning of the power that is above all powers, the one that has no beginning. I see a fountain bubbling with life. I have said, my son, that I am Mind. I have seen! Language is not able to reveal this. For the entire eighth, my son, and the souls that are in it, and the angels, sing a hymn in silence. And I, Mind, understand."

"What is the way to sing a hymn through it (silence)?"

"Have you become such that you cannot be spoken to?"

"I am silent, my father. I want to sing a hymn to you while I am silent."

"Then sing it, for I am Mind."

"I understand Mind, Hermes, who cannot be interpreted, because he keeps within himself. And I rejoice, my father, because I see you smiling. And the universe rejoices. Therefore, there is no creature that will lack your life. For you are the lord of the citizens in every place. Your providence protects. I call you 'father', 'aeon of the aeons', 'great divine spirit'. And by a spirit he gives rain upon everyone. What do you say to me, my father, Hermes?"

"Concerning these things, I do not say anything, my son. For it is right before God that we keep silent about what is hidden."

"Trismegistus, let not my soul be deprived of the great divine vision. For everything is possible for you as master of the universe."

"Return to praising, my son, and sing while you are silent. Ask what you want in silence."

What he had finished praising, he shouted, "Father Trismegistus! What shall I say? We have received this light. And I myself see this same vision in you. And I see the eighth, and the souls that are in it, and the angels singing a hymn to the ninth and its powers. And I see him who has the power of them all, creating those (that are) in the spirit."

"It is advantageous from now on, that we keep silence in a reverent posture. Do not speak about the vision from now on. It is proper to sing a hymn to the father until the day to quit (the) body."

"What you sing, my father, I too want to sing."

"I am singing a hymn within myself. While you rest yourself, be active in praise. For you have found what you seek."

"But is it proper, my father, that I praise because I am filled in my heart?"

"What is proper is your praise that you will sing to God, so that it might be written in this imperishable book."

"I will offer up the praise in my heart, as I pray to the end of the universe and the beginning of the beginning, to the object of man's quest, the immortal discovery, the begetter of light and truth, the sower of reason, the love of immortal life. No hidden word will be able to speak about you, Lord. Therefore, my mind wants to sing a hymn to you daily. I am the instrument of your spirit; Mind is your plectrum. And your counsel plucks me. I see myself! I have received power from you. For your love has reached us."

"Right, my son."

"Grace! After these things, I give thanks by singing a hymn to you. For I have received life from you, when you made me wise. I praise you. I call your name that is hidden within me:

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oo.

You are the one who exists with the spirit. I sing a hymn to you reverently."

"My son, write this book for the temple at Diospolis in hieroglyphic characters, entitling it 'The Eighth Reveals the Ninth.'"

"I will do it, my father, as you command now."

"My son, write the language of the book on steles of turquoise. My son, it is proper to write this book on steles of turquoise, in hieroglyphic characters. For Mind himself has become overseer of these. Therefore, I command that this teaching be carved on stone, and that you place it in my sanctuary. Eight guardians guard it with . . . of the Sun. The males on the right are frog-faced, and the females on the left are cat-faced. And put a square milk-stone at the base of the turquoise tablets, and write the name on the azure stone tablet in hieroglyphic characters. My son, you will do this when I am in Virgo, and the sun is in the first half of the day, and fifteen degrees have passed by me."

"My father, everything that you say I will do eagerly."

"And write an oath in the book, lest those who read the book bring the language into abuse, and not (use it) to oppose the acts of fate. Rather, they should submit to the law of God, without having transgressed at all, but in purity asking God for wisdom and knowledge. And he who will not be begotten at the start by God comes to be by the general and guiding discourses. He will not be able to read the things written in this book, although his conscience is pure within him, since he does not do anything shameful, nor does he consent to it. Rather, by stages he advances and enters into the way of immortality. And thus he enters into the understanding of the eighth that reveals the ninth."

"So shall I do it, my father."

"This is the oath: I make him who will read this holy book swear by heaven and earth, and fire and water, and seven rulers of substance, and the creating spirit in them, and the (unbegotten) God, and the self-begotten one, and him who has been begotten, that he will guard the things that Hermes has said. And those who keep the oath, God will be reconciled with them and everyone whom we have named. But wrath will come to each one of those who violate the oath. This is the perfect one who is, my son."

THE PRAYER OF THANKSGIVING
Source: Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt
Translation: James Brashler, Peter A. Dirkse
and Douglas M. Parrott
Estimated Range of Dating: 3rd - 4th centuries A.D.

This the prayer that they spoke:

"We give thanks to You! Every soul and heart is lifted up to You, undisturbed name, honored with the name 'God' and praised with the name 'Father', for to everyone and everything (comes) the fatherly kindness and affection and love, and any teaching there may be that is sweet and plain, giving us mind, speech, (and) knowledge: mind, so that we may understand You, speech, so that we may expound You, knowledge, so that we may know You. We rejoice, having been illuminated by Your knowledge. We rejoice because You have shown us Yourself. We rejoice because while we were in (the) body, You have made us divine through Your knowledge.

"The thanksgiving of the man who attains to You is one thing: that we know You. We have known You, intellectual light. Life of life, we have known You. Womb of every creature, we have known You. Womb pregnant with the nature of the Father, we have known You. Eternal permanence of the begetting Father, thus have we worshiped Your goodness. There is one petition that we ask: we would be preserved in knowledge. And there is one protection that we desire: that we not stumble in this kind of life."

When they had said these things in the prayer, they embraced each other and they went to eat their holy food, which has no blood in it.

Note of the (unknown) Scribe:

I have copied this one discourse of his. Indeed, very many have come to me. I have not copied them because I thought that they had come to you (all). Also, I hesitate to copy these for you because, perhaps they have (already) come to you, and the matter may burden you. Since the discourses of that one, which have come to me, are numerous . . .

ASCLEPIUS (Chapter 21-29)
Source: Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt
Translated by James Brashler, Peter A. Dirkse,
and Douglas M. Parrott
Estimated Range of Dating: 3rd - 4th centuries A.D.

"And if you (Asclepius) wish to see the reality of this mystery, then you should see the wonderful representation of the intercourse that takes place between the male and the female. For when the semen reaches the climax, it leaps forth. In that moment, the female receives the strength of the male; the male, for his part, receives the strength of the female, while the semen does this.

"Therefore, the mystery of intercourse is performed in secret, in order that the two sexes might not disgrace themselves in front of many who do not experience that reality. For each of them (the sexes) contributes its (own part in) begetting. For if it happens in the presence of those who do not understand the reality, (it is) laughable and unbelievable. And, moreover, they are holy mysteries, of both words and deeds, because not only are they not heard, but also they are not seen.

"Therefore, such people (the unbelievers) are blasphemers. They are atheistic and impious. But the others are not many; rather, the pious who are counted are few. Therefore, wickedness remains among (the) many, since learning concerning the things which are ordained does not exist among them. For the knowledge of the things which are ordained is truly the healing of the passions of the matter. Therefore, learning is something derived from knowledge.

"But if there is ignorance, and learning does not exist in the soul of man, (then) the incurable passions persist in it (the soul). And additional evil comes with them (the passions), in the form of an incurable sore. And the sore constantly gnaws at the soul, and through it the soul produces worms from the evil, and stinks. But God is not the cause of these things, since he sent to men knowledge and learning.

"Trismegistus, did he send them to men alone?"

"Yes, Asclepius, he sent them to them alone. And it is fitting that we tell you why to men alone he granted knowledge and learning, the allotment of his good.

"And now listen! God and the Father, even the Lord, created man subsequent to the gods, and he took him from the region of matter. Since matter is involved in the creation of man, of . . ., the passions are in it. Therefore, they continually flow over his body, for this living creature would not have existed in any other way except that he had taken this food, since he is mortal. It is also inevitable that inopportune desires, which are harmful, dwell in him. For the gods, since they came into being out of a pure matter, do not need learning and knowledge. For the immortality of the gods is learning and knowledge, since they came into being out of pure matter. It (immortality) assumed for them the position of knowledge and learning. By necessity, he (God) set a boundary for man; he placed him in learning and knowledge.

"Concerning these things (learning and knowledge) which we have mentioned from the beginning, he (God) perfected them in order that by means of these things he might restrain passions and evils, according to his will. He brought his (man's) mortal existence into immortality; he (man) became good (and) immortal, just as I have said. For he (God) created (a) two-fold nature for him: the immortal and the mortal.

"And it happened this way because of the will of God that men be better than the gods, since, indeed, the gods are immortal, but men alone are both immortal and mortal. Therefore, man has become akin to the gods, and they know the affairs of each other with certainty. The gods know the things of men, and men know the things of the gods. And I am speaking about men, Asclepius, who have attained learning and knowledge. But (about) those who are more vain than these, it is not fitting that we say anything base, since we are divine and are introducing holy matters.

"Since we have entered the matter of the communion between the gods and men, know, Asclepius, that in which man can be strong! For just as the Father, the Lord of the universe, creates gods, in this very way man too, this mortal, earthly, living creature, the one who is not like God, also himself creates gods. Not only does he strengthen, but he is also strengthened. Not only is he god, but he also creates gods. Are you astonished, Asclepius? Are you yourself another disbeliever like the many?"

"Trismegistus, I agree with the words (spoken) to me. And I believe you as you speak. But I have also been astonished at the discourse about this. And I have decided that man is blessed, since he has enjoyed this great power."

"And that which is greater than all these things, Asclepius, is worthy of admiration. Now it is clear to us concerning the race of the gods, and we confess it along with everyone else, that it (the race of the gods) has come into being out of a pure matter. And their bodies are heads only. But that which men create is the likeness of the gods. They (the gods) are from the farthest part of the matter, and it (the object created by men) is from the outer (part) of the being of men. Not only are they (what men created) heads, but (they are) also all the other members of the body, and according to their likeness. Just as God has willed that the inner man be created according to his image, in the very same way, man on earth creates gods according to his likeness."

"Trismegistus, you are not talking about idols, are you?"

"Asclepius, you yourself are talking about idols. You see that again, you yourself, Asclepius, are also a disbeliever of the discourse. You say about those who have soul and breadth, that they are idols - these who bring about these great events. You are saying about these who give prophecies that they are idols - these who give men sickness and healing that . . . them.

"Or are you ignorant, Asclepius, that Egypt is (the) image of heaven? Moreover, it is the dwelling place of heaven and all the forces that are in heaven. If it is proper for us to speak the truth, our land is (the) temple of the world. And it is proper for you not to be ignorant that a time will come in it (our land, when) Egyptians will seem to have served the divinity in vain, and all their activity in their religion will be despised. For all divinity will leave Egypt, and will flee upward to heaven. And Egypt will be widowed; it will be abandoned by the gods. For foreigners will come into Egypt, and they will rule it. Egypt! Moreover, Egyptians will be prohibited from worshipping God. Furthermore, they will come into the ultimate punishment, especially whoever among them is found worshipping (and) honoring God.

"And in that day, the country that was more pious than all countries will become impious. No longer will it be full of temples, but it will be full of tombs. Neither will it be full of gods, but (it will be full of) corpses. Egypt! Egypt will become like the fables. And your religious objects will be . . . the marvelous things, and ..., and if your words are stones and are wonderful. And the barbarian will be better than you, Egyptian, in his religion, whether (he is) a Scythian, or the Hindus, or some other of this sort.

"And what is this that I say about the Egyptian? For they (the Egyptians) will not abandon Egypt. For (in) the time (when) the gods have abandoned the land of Egypt, and have fled upward to heaven, then all Egyptians will die. And Egypt will be made a desert by the gods and the Egyptians. And as for you, River, there will be a day when you will flow with blood more than water. And dead bodies will be (stacked) higher than the dams. And he who is dead will not be mourned as much as he who is alive. Indeed, the latter will be known as an Egyptian on account of his language in the second period (of time). - Asclepius, why are you weeping? - He will seem like (a) foreigner in regard to his customs. Divine Egypt will suffer evils greater than these. Egypt - lover of God, and the dwelling place of the gods, school of religion - will become an example of impiousness.

"And in that day, the world will not be marveled at, . . . and immortality, nor will it be worshiped . . ., since we say that it is not good . . .. It has become neither a single thing nor a vision. But it is in danger of becoming a burden to all men. Therefore, it will be despised - the beautiful world of God, the incomparable work, the energy that possesses goodness, the man-formed vision. Darkness will be preferred to light, and death will be preferred to life. No one will gaze into heaven. And the pious man will be counted as insane, and the impious man will be honored as wise. The man who is afraid will be considered as strong. And the good man will be punished like a criminal.

"And concerning the soul, and the things of the soul, and the things of immortality, along with the rest of what I have said to you, Tat, Asclepius, and Ammon - not only will they be considered ridiculous, but they will also be thought of as vanity. But believe me (when I say) that people of this kind will be endangered by the ultimate danger to their soul. And a new law will be established . . .

. . . (2 lines missing) . . .

. . . they will . . .

. . . (line missing) . . .

. . . good. The wicked angels will remain among men, (and) be with them, (and) lead them into wicked things recklessly, as well as into atheism, wars, and plunderings, by teaching them things contrary to nature.

"In those days, the earth will not be stable, and men will not sail the sea, nor will they know the stars in heaven. Every sacred voice of the word of God will be silenced, and the air will be diseased. Such is the senility of the world: atheism, dishonor, and the disregard of noble words.

"And when these things had happened, Asclepius, then the Lord, the Father and god from the only first god, the creator, when he looked upon the things that happened, established his design, which is good, against the disorder. He took away error, and cut off evil. Sometimes, he submerged it in a great flood; at other times, he burned it in a searing fire; and at still other times, he crushed it in wars and plagues, until he brought . . .

. . . (4 lines missing) . . .

. . . of the work. And this is the birth of the world.

"The restoration of the nature of the pious ones who are good will take place in a period of time that never had a beginning. For the will of God has no beginning, even as his nature, which is his will (has no beginning). For the nature of God is will. And his will is the good."

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"Trismegistus, is purpose, then, (the same as) will?"

"Yes, Asclepius, since will is (included) in counsel. For (he) (God) does not will what he has from deficiency. Since he is complete in every part, he wills what he (already) fully has. And he has every good. And what he wills, he wills. And he has the good that he wills. Therefore, he has everything. And God wills what he wills. And the good world is an image of the Good One."

"Trismegistus, is the world good?"

"Asclepius, it is good, as I shall teach you. For just as . . .

. . . (2 lines missing) . . .

. . . of soul and life . . . of the world . . . come forth in matter, those that are good, the change of the climate, and beauty, and the ripening of the fruits, and the things similar to all these. Because of this, God has control over the heights of heaven. He is in every place, and he looks out over every place. And (in) his place there is neither heaven nor star. And he is free from (the) body.

"Now the creator has control in the place that is between the earth and heaven. He is called 'Zeus', that is, 'Life'. Plutonius Zeus is lord over the earth and sea. And he does not possess the nourishment for all mortal living creatures, for (it is) Kore who bears the fruit. These forces always are powerful in the circle of the earth, but those of others are always from Him-who-is.

"And the lords of the earth will withdraw themselves. And they will establish themselves in a city that is in a corner of Egypt and that will be built toward the setting of the sun. Every man will go into it, whether they come on the sea or on the shore."

"Trismegistus, where will these be settled now?"

"Asclepius, in the great city that is on the Libyan mountain . . .

. . . (2 lines missing) . . .

. . . it frightens . . . as a great evil, in ignorance of the matter. For death occurs, which is the dissolution of the labours of the body, and the number (of the body), when it (death) completes the number of the body. For the number is the union of the body. Now the body dies when it is not able to support the man. And this is death: the dissolution of the body and the destruction of the sensation of the body. And it is not necessary to be afraid of this, nor because of this, but because of what is not known, and is disbelieved (is one afraid)."

"But what is not known, or is disbelieved?"

"Listen, Asclepius! There is a great demon. The great God has appointed him to be overseer or judge over the souls of men. And God has placed him in the middle of the air, between earth and heaven. Now when the soul comes forth from (the) body, it is necessary that it meet this daimon. Immediately, he (the daimon) will surround this one (masc.), and he will examine him in regard to the character that he has developed in his life. And if he finds that he piously performed all of his actions for which he came into the world, this (daimon) will allow him . . .

. . . (1 line missing) . . .

. . . turn him .... But if he sees . . . in this one . . . he brought his life into evil deeds, he grasps him, as he flees upward, and throws him down, so that he is suspended between heaven and earth, and is punished with a great punishment. And he will be deprived of his hope, and will be in great pain.

"And that soul has been put neither on the earth nor in heaven, but it has come into the open sea of the air of the world, the place where there is a great fire, and crystal water, and furrows of fire, and a great upheaval. The bodies are tormented (in) various (ways). Sometimes they are cast down into the fire, in order that it may destroy them. Now, I will not say that this is the death of the soul, for it has been delivered from evil, but it is a death sentence.

"Asclepius, it is necessary to believe these things and to fear them, in order that we might not encounter them. For unbelievers are impious, and commit sin. Afterwards, they will be compelled to believe, and they will not hear by word of mouth only, but will experience the reality itself. For they kept believing that they would not endure these things. Nor only . . .

. . . (1 line missing).

First, Asclepius, all those of the earth die, and those who are of the body cease . . . of evil . . . with these of this sort. For those who are here are not like those who are there. So with the daimons who . . . men, they despite . . . there. Thus, it is not the same. But truly, the gods who are here will punish more whoever has hidden it here every day."

"Trismegistus, what is the character of the iniquity that is there?"

"Now you think, Asclepius, that when one takes something in a temple, he is impious. For that kind of a person is a thief and a bandit. And this matter concerns gods and men. But do not compare those here with those of the other place. Now I want to speak this discourse to you confidentially; no part of it will be believed. For the souls that are filled with much evil will not come and go in the air, but they will be put in the places of the daimons, which are filled with pain, (and) which are always filled with blood and slaughter, and their food, which is weeping, mourning, and groaning."

"Trismegistus, who are these (daimons)?"

"Asclepius, they are the ones who are called 'stranglers', and those who roll souls down on the dirt, and those who scourge them, and those who cast into the water, and those who cast into the fire, and those who bring about the pains and calamities of men. For such as these are not from a divine soul, nor from a rational soul of man. Rather, they are from the terrible evil."

ANCIENT LITERATURE FROM MESOPOTAMIA

(Mesopotamia is the site of the earliest developments of the Neolithic Revolution from around 10,000 BC. It has been identified as having "inspired some of the most important developments in human history, including the invention of systematic writing and the wheel, the planting of the first cereal crops, and the development of mathematics, astronomy, and agriculture". It has been known as one of the earliest civilisations to ever exist in the world.

Mesopotamia (Greek for "Between the two Rivers," refering to the River Euphrates and the River Tigris; Aramaic: Aram-Nahrin or Bet Nahrin) is a historical region of Western Asia situated in the eastern and northern part of the Fertile Crescent, the western part to be represented by Egypt and Canaan (Phoenicia and Judaea).

Mesopotamia occupies the area of present-day Iraq, and parts of Iran, Turkey, Syria and Kuwait. The Sumerians and Akkadians (including Assyrians, Canaanites, Hebrews, Phoenicians and Babylonians) dominated Mesopotamia from the beginning of written history (c. 3100 BC) to the fall of Babylon in 539 BC, when it was conquered by the Persian Achaemenid Empire. It fell to Alexander the Great in 332 BC, and after his death, it became part of the Greek Seleucid Empire. Later, Arameans and Hebrews dominated major parts of Mesopotamia (c. 900 BC – 270 AD)

Around 150 BC, Mesopotamia was under the control of the Persian Parthian Empire. Mesopotamia became a battleground between the Romans and Parthians, with western parts of Mesopotamia coming under Roman control. A number of primarily neo-Assyrian and Christian native Mesopotamian states existed between the 1st century BC and 3rd century BC, including Adiabene, Osroene, and Hatra. In 226 AD, the eastern regions of Mesopotamia fell to the Sassanid Persians. The division of Mesopotamia between Roman and Sassanid Empires lasted until the 7th century Muslim conquest of Persia of the Sassanid Empire and Muslim conquest of the Levant from the (Eastern) Romans. Up to that time, Mesopotamia represented one of the most influencial driving forces of civilisation. Having the Sumerian texts before our very eyes means looking back for 5.000 years.

ARCHAEOLOGY

In Ancient Mesopotamia, a foundation deposit of the Akkadian Empire ruler Naram-Sin (ruled circa 2200 BC) was discovered and analysed by king Nabonidus, circa 550 BC, who is thus known as the first archaeologist. Not only did he lead the first excavations which were to find the foundation deposits of the temples of Shamash the sun god, the warrior goddess Anunitu (both located in Sippar), and the sanctuary that Naram-Sin built to the moon god, located in Harran, but he also had them restored to their former glory. He was also the first to date an archaeological artifact in his attempt to date Naram-Sin's temple during his search for it. Even though his estimate was inaccurate by about 1,500 years, it was still quite a good one considering the lack of accurate dating technology at the time.*

[Harran in the south of Turkey is, by virtually all scholars, associated with the biblical place Haran (Hebrew Aramaic: Charan). The Biblical Haran was where Terah, his son Abram (Abraham), his nephew Lot, and Abram's wife Sarai settled on the way to Canaan and Egypt, coming from "Ur of the Chaldees" (Genesis 11:26–32), meaning Ur / Urim in Sumer. The name Aram also might well be a short form refering to Abram / Abraham which here coule represent an entire tribe rather than a person. Aram as toponym, Aramean as ethnonym, and Aramaic as name for the language go back to Aram, son of Shem, a grandson of Noah in the Hebrew Bible, Genesis 10:20-22: "These are the sons of Ham, after their families, after their tongues, in their countries, and in their nations. Unto Shem also, the father of all the children of Eber, the brother of Japheth the elder, even to him were children born. The children of Shem; Elam, and Asshur, and Arphaxad, and Lud, and Aram."]*

Particularly between the 18th and the 20th centuries, famous archaeologists made ground-breaking discoveries in Mesopotamia. Names like George Smith, Abbe Beauchamp, Robert Koldewey, Paul-Emile Botta, Austen H. Layard, Jacques de Morgan, Charles Leonard Woolley, Gertrude Bell, and even illustrious persons such as Benjamin de Tulela or Thomas Edward Lawrence, speak for themselves. Phantastic discoveries in Ur, Uruk, Babylon, or Susa thrilled the public. However, the discoveries of millions of cuneiform tablets, found in the ancient libraries, changed our horizon of knowledge fundamentally.

Between half a million and two million cuneiform tablets are estimated to have been excavated in modern times [Cuneiform Tablets: Who's Got What?", Biblical Archaeology Review, 31 (2), 2005, archived from the original on July 15, 2014], of which only approximately 30,000–100,000 have been read or published. The British Museum holds the largest collection (approx. 130,000 tablets), followed by the Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin, the Louvre,

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the Istanbul Archaeology Museums, the National Museum of Iraq, the Yale Babylonian Collection (approx. 40,000), and Penn Museum. Most of these have "lain in these collections for a century without being translated, studied or published", as there are only a few hundred qualified cuneiformists in the world. The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature (ETCSL) was an attempt of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Oxford, to promote the important translation work of ancient documents. The project was founded by Jeremy Black in 1997 and is based at the Oriental Institute of the University of Oxford in Britain. It was funded by the University along with the Leverhulme Trust and the Arts and Humanities Research Board. With the death of Black in 2004, the project died in 2006. The ETCSL web site with all the transliterations and translations remains available.

Cuneiform is the world's oldest known writing system. The earliest texts appear in Mesopotamia around 3200 BC and the last native cuneiform texts were written around 75 AD. The ancient scribes pressed the ends of their styluses into damp clay in order to write the approximately 800 different logographic, syllabic, or alphabetic signs. The clay tablets were sun-dried or oven-baked and were thus preserved in the sands of the Near East for millennia.

Cuneiform script was in use up the the 2nd century AD and Biblical scholars and the authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls still could read the tablets. With the death of those writers, the ability to read cuneiform died with them. More than 17 hundred years later, script analists tried to decipher that mysterious writing. It took almost 200 years before they have learned to read most cuneiform documents which were written in over a dozen different ancient languages.

Since the decipherment of Babylonian cuneiform some 150 years ago museums have accumulated perhaps 300,000 tablets written in most of the major languages of the Ancient Near East - Sumerian, Akkadian (Babylonian and Assyrian), Eblaite, Hittite, Persian, Hurrian, Elamite, and Ugaritic. These texts include genres as variegated as mythology and mathematics, law codes and beer recipes.

In most cases these documents are the earliest exemplars of their genres, and cuneiformists, like Jeremy Black and Irwing Finkel, have made unique and valuable contributions to the study of such moderns disciplines as history, law, religion, linguistics, mathematics, and science.

In spite of continued great interest in mankind's earliest documents it has been estimated that only about 1/10 of the extant cuneiform texts have been read even once in modern times. There are various reasons for this: the complex Sumero / Akkadian script system is inherently difficult to learn; there is, as yet, no standard computer encoding for cuneiform; there are only a few hundred qualified cuneiformists in the world; the pedagogical tools are, in many cases, non-optimal; and access to the widely distributed tablets is expensive, time-consuming, and, due to the vagaries of politics, becoming increasingly difficult.

The Digital Hammurabi Project, originating at the Johns Hopkins University, is a multi-disciplinary effort aimed at addressing the two major technological obstacles to greater productivity in cuneiform research - namely, the lack of a standard computer encoding for cuneiform text and the current inadequate state of the graphic representation of cuneiform tablets. We know now, in language, writing, literature, science, technology, as well as in mathematics, astronomy, medicine, technology, philosophy and religion, Mesopotamia influenced Phoenicians, Canaanites, Hebrews and reached as far as Rome, India, and China.

Sumerian Literature and Akkadian Literature are the two greatest literary representatives of the museum collections. Sumerian literature constitutes the earliest known corpus of recorded literature, including the religious writings and other traditional stories maintained by the Sumerian civilization and largely preserved by the later Akkadian and Babylonian empires. These records were written in the Sumerian language during the Middle Bronze Age. Akkadian literature is the ancient literature written in the Akkadian language (Assyrian and Babylonian dialects) in Mesopotamia (Assyria, Babylonia but also abroad in Persia, Canaan, Phoenicia and even in Egypt) during the period spanning the Middle Bronze Age to the Iron Age (roughly the 23rd to 6th centuries BC). Drawing on the traditions of Sumerian literature, the Babylonians compiled a substantial textual tradition of mythological narrative, legal texts, scientific works, letters and other literary forms.

We shall show here some of the most influential cuneiform works tranlated into English.

The following works have been added as Supplement to the Inanna Cycle: The Sumerian King List; The Kesh Temple Hymn; A Hymn To Nisaba (Nisaba A); A Shir-Namshub To Nisaba (Nisaba B); Inanna and the Mes; Inanna and Ebih; Inanna and Shukaletuda; Inanna and Gudam; Inanna and An; Inanna and Enki; The Descent of Inanna into the Underworld; The Dream of Dumuzid.

The following works have been added as Supplement to the Gilgamesh Cycle: Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta; Enmerkar and En-Suhgir-Ana; Lugalbanda in the Mountain Cave; Lugalbanda and the Anzud Bird; Gilgamesh and Huwawa (Version A); Gilgamesh and Huwawa (Version B); Gilgamesh and The Bull Of Heaven; Gilgamesh and Aga; Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Nether World; The Death of Gilgamesh; The Flood Story; The Lament for Urim (Ur); The Lament for Sumer and Urim (Ur); The Lament for Nibru (Nippur); The Lament for Unug (Uruk); The Lament for Eridug (Eridu).

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- *Letter from Ur-Dun to Shulgi about Apillasa*
- *Letter from Shulgi to Aradgu about troops*
- *Letter from Shulgi to Isbi-Erra about purchase of grain.*
- *Letter from Sarrum-bani to Su-Suen about the Martu*
- *Letter from Su-Suen to Sarrum-bani about a trench*
- *Letter from Isbi-Erra to Ibbi-Suen about grain purchase*
- *Letter from Ibbi-Suen to Isbi-Erra about his bad conduct.*
- *Letter from Puzur-Shulgi to Ibbi-Suen about Isbi-Erra*
- *Letter from Ibbi-Suen to Puzur-Shulgi about Isbi-Erra*
- *Letter from Aba-indasa to Shulgi about his neglect*

Isin, Larsa, and other dynasties:
- *Letter from Sin-illat to Iddin-Dagan about the Martu*
- *Letter from Iddin-Dagan to Sin-illat about the troops*
- *Letter from Nanna-ki-ag to Lipit-Estar about troops*
- *Letter from Lipit-Estar to Nanna-ki-ag about the enemy*
- *Letter from Sin-iddinam to the god Utu*

Other letters and letter-prayers:
- *Letter from Ur-saga to a king on his father's household*
- *Letter from Lugal-nesage to a king radiant as the moon*
- *Letter from Lugal-nesage to a king radiant as the sun*
- *Letter from Ur-Enlila to a governor*
- *Letter from a governor to a king*
- *Letter from Aba-tah -lugalga to his brothers*
- *Letter from Ugubi to his mother*
- *Letter from Samas-ṭab to Ilak-ni'id*
- *Letter from Lugal-nesage to Enlil-massu*
- *Letter from Inanaka to the goddess Nintinuga*
- *Letter from Inim-Inana to Enlil-massu*
- *Letter from Inim-Inana to Lugal-ibila*
- *Letter from Gudea to his personal deity*
- *Letter from the scribe Nanna-mansum to Ninisina*
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THE FIVE CITY LAMENTS (Sumer) **5293**
- *The Lament for Urim (Ur);*
- *The Lament for Sumer and Urim (Ur);*
- *The Lament for Nibru (Nippur);*
- *The Lament for Unug (Uruk);*
- *The Lament for Eridug (Eridu).*

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- *Chronicle of Early Kings (ABC 20)*
- *Esagila (or Weidner) Chronicle (ABC 19)*
- *The History of the Tummal (Tummal Inscription)*
- *The Assyrian King List (CM 5)*
- *Walker Chronicle (ABC 25)*
- *Nabu-suma-iskun (CM 52)*
- *From Nabu-Nasir to Samas-suma-ukin (ABC 1)*
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- *Ginza Rba - The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans*

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THE CREATION MYTH

THE ENUMA ELISH

The Babylonian Epic of Creation
Source: Library of King Ashurbanipal, Niniveh
Copy of an earlier cuneiform script tablet, c. 668–626 B.C.
Translation: Version A and Version B:
Translation: L. W. King, 1902. / W. G. Lambert
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 1900-1600 B.C.

(The Enuma Elish or Enuma Elis (Akkadian language), is the (Old) Babylonian creation myth (named after its opening words). The Akkadian language was also spoken and written by Babylonians. This creation story was discovered by Austen Henry Layard in 1849 (in fragmentary form) in the ruined Library of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh (Mosul, Iraq). The story has many elements that we also can find in the Hebrew Bible (the Old Testament).

A form of the myth was first published by George Smith in 1876; active research and further excavations led to near completion of the texts, and improved translation. The Enuma Elish has about a thousand lines and is recorded in Old Babylonian (which is just another name for Akkadian) on seven clay tablets, each holding between 115 and 170 lines of Sumero-Akkadian cuneiform script. Most of Tablet 5 has never been recovered but, aside from this lacuna, the text is almost complete.

This epic is one of the most important sources for understanding the Mesopotamian world view. This is important to understand because this view and, as a result, most Hebrew and Islamic laws derive from this world of thoughts. Over the seven tablets it describes the creation of the world, a battle between gods focused on supremacy of Marduk, the creation of man destined for the service of the Mesopotamian deities, and ends with a long passage praising Marduk. Its primary original purpose is unknown, although a version is known to have been used for certain festivals. There may also have been a political element to the myth, centred on the legitimisation or primacy of Mesopotamia over Assyria. Some later versions replace Marduk with the Assyrian primary god Ashur (Assur). The Enuma Elish exists in various copies from Babylon and Assyria. The version from the Library of Ashurbanipal dates to the 7th century B.C. The composition of the text probably dates to the late second millennium B.C., or even earlier, to the time of Hammurabi during the Old Babylonian Period (1900 – 1600 BC). Some elements of the myth are attested by illustrations that date to, at least, as early as the Kassite era (roughly 18th to 16th centuries BC).

Prior to the discovery of the tablets, substantial elements of the myth had survived via the writings of Berossus, a 3rd-century BC Babylonian writer and priest of Bel (Marduk). These were preseved in Alexander Polyhistor's book on Chaldean History, which was reproduced by Eusebius in Book 1 of his Chronicon. In it are described the primeval state of an abyssal darkness and water, the two primeval beings existing therein, said to be of a twofold principle. The description then relates the creation of further beings, partly human but with variants of wings, animal heads and bodies, and some with both sex organs. (Berossus states images of these are to be found at the temple of Bel in Babylon.) The text also describes a female being leading over them, named as Omoroca (Chaldean: Thalatth), and her slaying by Bel, who cut her in half, forming Heaven of one part and Earth of the other – this, Berossus claims to have been an allegory. The text also describes the beheading of a god, and the mixing of the god's blood with the Earth's soil, leading to the creation of men (people). Finally, there is also reference to Bel's creation of the stars, Sun, Moon, and planets. Berossus also gave an account of the Oannes, a sort of fish-man hybrid, who appeared from the sea and taught people all manner of knowledge, including writing, lawmaking, construction, mathematics, and agriculture; Berossus presented the account of creation in the form of a speech given by the Oannes. The neo-platonist Damascius also gave a short version of the Babylonian cosmological view, which closely matches the Enuma Elish.

Clay tablets containing inscriptions relating to analogues of biblical stories were discovered by A.H. Layard, Hormuzd Rassam, and George Smith in the ruins of the Palace and Library of Ashurbanipal (668–626 B.C.) during excavations at the mound of Kuyunjik, Nineveh (near Mosul) between 1848 and 1876. Smith worked through Rassam's find of circa 20,000 fragments from 1852, and identified references to the kings Shalmaneser II, Tiglath-Pileser III, Sargon II, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and other rulers mentioned in the Bible – furthermore he discovered versions of a Babylonian deluge myth (see Gilgamesh Epic), as well as creation myths. On examination it became clear that the Assyrian myths were drawn from or similar to the Babylonian ones. Sir Henry Rawlinson had noted similarities between Biblical accounts of creation and the geography of Babylonia – he suggested that biblical creation stories might have their origin in that area – a link was found on a tablet labeled K 63 at the British Museum's collection by Smith, as well as similar text on other tablets – Smith then began searching the collection for textual similarities between the two mythoses, and found several references to a deluge myth with an 'Izdubar' (literal translation of cuneiform for Gilgamesh). Smith envisioned that the creation myth, including a part describing the fall of man must have originally spanned at least nine or ten tablets. He also identified tablets that in part were closer with Borusus' account. Some of Smith's early assignments, such as references to the stories of the temptation of Eve, to the Tower of Babel, and to instructions given from God to Adam and Eve, were later held to be erroneous. The connection with the Bible stories brought a great deal of additional attention to the tablets.

Further expeditions by German researchers uncovered further tablet fragments (specifically tablet 1, 6, and 7) during the period 1902–1914 – these works replaced Marduk with the Assyrian god Ashur; additional important sources for tablets 1 and 6, and tablet 7 were discovered by expeditions in 1924–5, and 1928–9 respectively. The Ashur texts uncovered by the Germans necessitated some corrections – it was Kingu not Marduk who was killed and whose blood made men. These discoveries were further supplemented by purchases from antiquity dealers – as a result by the mid 20th century most of the text of the work was known, with the exception of Tablet 5.

King's set of tablets dated to no earlier than the 7th century BC, being from the library of Ashur-bani-pal at Nineveh – however King proposed that the tablets were copies of earlier Babylonian works as they glorified Marduk (of Babylon), and not the Assyrians' favoured god, Ashur. He also thought sculptures found at the temple of Ninib at Nimrud depicted Marduk fighting Tiamat and so date the dragon legend to at least Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 BC), two centuries earlier than the date of Ashur-bani-pal's library. Legends of Tiamat and her monsters existed much earlier, as far as the Kassite ruler Agum I, circa 17th century B.C. It has been suggested that the myth, or at least the promotion of Marduk in it, dates to the ascendancy of the First Babylonian dynasty (1894–1595 BC), during the same period that Marduk became a national god. A similar promotion of Marduk is seen in the first lines of the Code of Hammurabi (c.1754 BC).

Genesis and Enuma Elish creation myth comparisons

One of the two Bible creation myths was probably derived from the much older Mesopotamian creation myth "Enuma Elish".

The six days of creation in the Genesis myth parallel the six generations of gods in the Enuma Elish myth in type of god in Enuma Elish that is created (i.e. god of the earth) to what is created or happens on the corresponding day in Genesis (i.e. the waters are gathered together to expose dry land).

Marduk the sixth generation god makes man as a slave so the other gods can rest.

God (Elohim) makes man on the sixth day and he himself rests.

The Enuma Elish six generations of gods:
1. Tiamat and Apsu (1rst generation) who created
2. Lahamu (2nd generation) who created
3. Kishar (3rd generation) who created
4. Anu (4rth generation) who created
5. Ea (5th generation) who created
6. Marduk (6th generation).

Similarities between Enuma Elish (•) and Genesis (••)

• 1st generation of gods and 1st day of Genesis creation: (From start of Enuma Elish)

When on high the heaven had not been named, Firm ground below had not been called by name, Naught but primordial Apsu, their begetter, And Mummu-Tiamat, she who bore them all, Their waters commingling as a single body; Apsu is the god of water: Tiamat (Tehowm in the Bible) is the god of primeval chaos and bearer of the sky and the earth.

• • (Gen 1:1-2 KJV) In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep (or watery chaos). And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters. (Gen 1:5 KJV) ... And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. And the evening and the morning were the first day.

• 2nd and 3rd generation of gods and 2nd and 3rd day of Genesis creation: ... Lahmu and Lahamu were brought forth, by name they were called. ... Anshar and Kishar were formed, surpassing the others. ... (Lahamu was the god of muddy silt and Kishar was the god of the Earth)

• • (Gen 1:6-7 KJV) And God said, "Let there be a dome in the midst of the waters, and let it separate the waters from the waters." (Here God (Elohim) slices the waters into two with a sky dome to make the sky and the oceans, in Enuma Elish this also parallels Marduk slicing Tiamat into two to make the land and sky.) (Gen 1:8 KJV) ...evening and there was morning, the second day. (Gen 1:9-10 NRSV) And God said, "Let the waters under the sky be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear." And it was so. God called the dry land Earth, and the waters that were gathered together he called Seas. ... (Gen 1:13 KJV) ...evening and there was morning, the third day.

• 4th generation of gods and 4rth day of Genesis creation: Anu was their heir... (Anu was the god of the sky) ...

• • (Gen 1:16 KJV) God made the two great lights--the greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night-- and the stars. ... (and set them in the sky dome); (Gen 1:19 KJV) ...evening and there was morning, the fourth day.

• 5th generation of gods and 5th day of Genesis creation: He who begot him (Marduk) was Ea, (Ea was the god of all things of the Earth and also of cantations, when he speaks things are made (God (Elohim) makes things by speaking))

• • (Gen 1:21 KJV) So God created the great sea monsters and every living creature that moves, of every kind, with which the waters swarm, and every winged bird of every kind. And God saw that it was good. ... (Gen 1:23 KJV) evening and there was morning, the fifth day.

• 6th generation of gods and 6th day of Genesis creation: In the heart of holy Apsu was Marduk created. He who begot him was Ea, his father; (Marduk became king of the Gods and creator of man) "Blood I will mass and cause bones to be. I will establish a savage, `man' shall be his name. truly, savage-man I will create. He shall be charged with the service of the gods That they might be at ease! (Parallel this with God (Elohim) resting after creating man)

• • (Gen 1:26 KJV) Then God said, "Let us make humankind in our image, (Gen 1:31 KJV) ...evening and there was morning, the sixth day. (Gen 2:2 KJV) And on the seventh day God finished the work that he had done, and he rested on the seventh day from all the work that he had done.

• So Marduk made man a slave so the gods could rest.

• • After God (Elohim) makes man he rests on the seventh day.)

ENUMA ELISH, VERSION A
Translation: Leonard William King, 1902.

ENUMA ELISH A TABLET 1

When in the height heaven was not named, And the earth beneath did not yet bear a name, And the primeval Apsu, who begat them, And chaos, Tiamut, the mother of them both Their waters were mingled together, And no field was formed, no marsh was to be seen; When of the gods none had been called into being, And none bore a name, and no destinies were ordained; Then were created the gods in the midst of heaven, Lahmu and Lahamu were called into being...

Ages increased, . . . Then Ansar and Kisar were created, and over them . . . . Long were the days, then there came forth . . . . . Anu, their son, . . . Ansar and Anu . . . And the god Anu . . . Nudimmud, whom his fathers, his begetters . . . . . Abounding in all wisdom, . . .' He was exceeding strong . . . He had no rival - Thus were established and were . . . the great gods. But Tiamat and Apsu were still in confusion . . . They were troubled and . . . In disorder . . . Apru was not diminished in might . . . And Tiamat roared . . . She smote, and their deeds . . . Their way was evil . . . Then Apsu, the begetter of the great gods, Cried unto Mummu, his minister, and said unto him: "O Mummu, thou minister that rejoicest my spirit, Come, unto Tiamut let us go! So they went and before Tiamat they lay down, They consulted on a plan with regard to the gods, their sons. Apsu opened his mouth and spake, And unto Tiamut, the glistening one, he addressed the word: . . . their way . . . By day I can not rest, by night I can not lie down in peace. But I will destroy their way, I will . . .

Let there be lamentation, and let us lie down again in peace." When Tiamat heard these words, She raged and cried aloud . . . She . . . grievously . . ., She uttered a curse, and unto Apsu she spake: "What then shall we do? Let their way be made difficult, and let us lie down again in peace." Mummu answered, and gave counsel unto Apsu, . . . and hostile to the gods was the counsel Mummu gave: Come, their way is strong, but thou shalt destroy it; Then by day shalt thou have rest, by night shalt thou lie down in peace." Apsu harkened unto him and his countenance grew bright, Since he (Mummu) planned evil against the gods his sons. . . . he was afraid . . ., His knees became weak; they gave way beneath him, Because of the evil which their first-born had planned. . . . their . . . they altered. . . . they . . ., Lamentation they sat in sorrow ..... Then Ea, who knoweth all that is, went up and he beheld their muttering.

[about 30 lines unreadable]

. . . he spake: . . . thy . . . he hath conquered and . . . he weepeth and sitteth in tribulation. . . . of fear, . . . we shall not lie down in peace. . . . Apsu is laid waste, . . . and Mummu, who were taken captive, in . . . . . thou didst . . . . . let us lie down in peace. . . . they will smite . . . . . let us lie down in peace. . . . thou shalt take vengeance for them, . . . unto the tempest shalt thou...!" And Tiamat harkened unto the word of the bright god, and said: . . . shalt thou entrust! let us wage war!" . . . the gods in the midst of . . . . . for the gods did she create. They banded themselves together and at the side of

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Tiamat they advanced; They were furious; they devised mischief without resting night and day.

They prepared for battle, fuming and raging; They joined their forces and made war, Ummu-Hubur [Tiamat] who formed all things, Made in addition weapons invincible; she spawned monster-serpents, Sharp of tooth, and merciless of fang; With poison, instead of blood, she filled their bodies. Fierce monster-vipers she clothed with terror, With splendour she decked them, she made them of lofty stature. Whoever beheld them, terror overcame him, Their bodies reared up and none could withstand their attack. She set up vipers and dragons, and the monster Lahamu, And hurricanes, and raging hounds, and scorpion-men, And mighty tempests, and fish-men, and rams; They bore cruel weapons, without fear of the fight. Her commands were mighty, none could resist them; After this fashion, huge of stature, she made eleven [kinds of] monsters.

Among the gods who were her sons, inasmuch as he had given her support, She exalted Kingu; in their midst she raised him to power. To march before the forces, to lead the host, To give the battle-signal, to advance to the attack, To direct the battle, to control the fight, Unto him she entrusted; in costly raiment she made him sit, saying: I have uttered thy spell, in the assembly of the gods I have raised thee to power. The dominion over all the gods have I entrusted unto him. Be thou exalted, thou my chosen spouse, May they magnify thy name over all of them the Anunnaki." She gave him the Tablets of Destiny, on his breast she laid them, saying: Thy command shall not be without avail, and the word of thy mouth shall be established." Now Kingu, thus exalted, having received the power of Anu, Decreed the fate among the gods his sons, saying: "Let the opening of your mouth quench the Fire-god; Whoso is exalted in the battle, let him display his might!"

ENUMA ELISH A TABLET 2

Tiamat made weighty her handiwork, Evil she wrought against the gods her children. To avenge Apsu, Tiamat planned evil, But how she had collected her forces, the god unto Ea divulged. Ea harkened to this thing, and He was grievously afflicted and he sat in sorrow. The days went by, and his anger was appeased, And to the place of Ansar his father he took his way. He went and, standing before Ansar, the father who begat him, All that Tiamat had plotted he repeated unto him, Saying, "Tiamat our mother hath conceived a hatred for us, With all her force she rageth, full of wrath. All the gods have turned to her, With those, whom ye created, thev go at her side. They are banded together and at the side of Tiamat they advance; They are furious, they devise mischief without resting night and day. They prepare for battle, fuming and raging; They have joined their forces and are making war. Ummu-Hubur, who formed all things, Hath made in addition weapons invincible; she hath spawned monster-serpents, Sharp of tooth, and merciless of fang. With poison, instead of blood, she hath filled their bodies. Fierce monster-vipers she hath clothed with terror, With splendour she hath decked them; she hath made them of lofty stature. Whoever beholdeth them is overcome by terror, Their bodies rear up and none can withstand their attack. She hath set up vipers, and dragons, and the monster Lahamu, And hurricanes and raging hounds, and scorpion-men, And mighty tempests, and fish-men and rams; They bear cruel weapons, without fear of the fight. Her commands are mighty; none can resist them; After this fashion, huge of stature, hath she made eleven monsters.

Among the gods who are her sons, inasmuch as he hath given her support, She hath exalted Kingu; in their midst she hath raised him to power. To march before the forces, to lead the host, To give the battle-signal, to advance to the attack. To direct the battle, to control the fight, Unto him hath she entrusted; in costly raiment she hath made him sit, saying: I have uttered thy spell; in the assembly of the gods I have raised thee to power, The dominion over all the gods have I entrusted unto thee. Be thou exalted, thou my chosen spouse, May they magnify thy name over all of them She hath given him the Tablets of Destiny, on his breast she laid them, saying: 'Thy command shall not be without avail, and the word of thy mouth shall be established.' Now Kingu, thus exalted, having received the power of Anu, Decreed the fate for the gods, her sons, saying: 'Let the opening of your mouth quench the Fire-god; Whoso is exalted in the battle, let him display his might!'" When Ansar heard how Tiamat was mightily in revolt, he bit his lips, his mind was not at peace, . . ., he made a bitter lamentation: . . . battle, . . . thou . . . Mummu and Apsu thou hast smitten But Tiamat hath exalted Kingu, and where is one who can oppose her? . . . deliberation . . . the . . . of the gods, -Nudimmud.

[A gap of about 12 lines occurs here.]

Ansar unto his son addressed the word: ". . . my mighty hero, Whose strength is great and whose onslaught can not be withstood, Go and stand before Tiamat, That her spirit may be appeased, that her heart may be merciful. But if she will not harken unto thy word, Our word shalt thou speak unto her, that she may be pacified." He heard the word of his father Ansar And he directed his path to her, toward her he took the way. Ann drew nigh, he beheld the muttering of Tiamat, But he could not withstand her, and he turned back. . . . Ansar . . . he spake unto him:

[A gap of over 20 lines occurs here.]

. . . an avenger. . . . . valiant . . . in the place of his decision . . . he spake unto him: . . . thy father "Thou art my son, who maketh merciful his heart. . . . to the battle shalt thou draw nigh, he that shall behold thee shall have peace." And the lord rejoiced at the word of his father, And he drew nigh and stood before Ansar. Ansar beheld him and his heart was filled with joy, He kissed him on the lips and his fear departed from him. "O my father, let not the word of thy lips be overcome, Let me go, that I may accomplish all that is in thy heart. O Ansar, let not the word of thy lips be overcome, Let me go, that I may accomplish all that is in thy heart." What man is it, who hath brought thee forth to battle? . . . Tiamat, who is a woman, is armed and attacketh thee. . . . rejoice and be glad; The neck of Tiamat shalt thou swiftly trample under foot. . . . rejoice and be glad; The neck of Tiamat shalt thou swiftly trample under foot. O my son, who knoweth all wisdom,

Pacify Tiamat with thy pure incantation. Speedily set out upon thy way, For thy blood shall not be poured out; thou shalt return again." The lord rejoiced at the word of his father, His heart exulted, and unto his father he spake:

"O Lord of the gods, Destiny of the great gods, If I, your avenger, Conquer Tiamat and give you life, Appoint an assembly, make my fate preeminent and proclaim it. In Upsukkinaku seat yourself joyfully together, With my word in place of you will I decree fate. May whatsoever I do remain unaltered, May the word of my lips never be chanced nor made of no avail."

ENUMA ELISH A TABLET 3

Ansar opened his mouth, and Unto Gaga, his minister, spake the word. "O Gaga, thou minister that rejoicest my spirit, Unto Lahmu and Lahamu will I send thee. . . . thou canst attain, . . . thou shalt cause to be brought before thee. . . . let the gods, all of them, Make ready for a feast, at a banquet let them sit, Let them eat bread, let them mix wine, That for Marduk, their avenger they may decree the fate. Go, Gaga, stand before them, And all that I tell thee, repeat unto them, and say: 'Ansar, vour son, hath sent me, The purpose of his heart he hath made known unto me. The purpose of his heart he hath made known unto me. He saith that Tiamat our mother hath conceived a hatred for us, With all her force she rageth, full of wrath. All the gods have turned to her, With those, whom ye created, they go at her side. They are banded together, and at the side of Tiamat they advance; They are furious, they devise mischief without resting night and day.

They prepare for battle, fuming and raging; They have joined their forces and are making war. Ummu-Hubur, who formed all things, Hath made in addition weapons invincible; she hath spawned monster-serpents, Sharp of tooth and merciless of fang. With poison, instead of blood, she hath filled their bodies. Fierce monster-vipers she hath clothed with terror, With splendour she hath decked them; she hath made them of lofty stature. Whoever beboldeth them, terror overcometh him, Their bodies rear up and none can withstand their attack. She hath set up vipers, and dragons, and the monster Lahamu, And hurricanes, and raging bounds, and scorpion-men, And mighty tempests, and fish-men, and rams; They bear merciless weapons, without fear of the fight. Her commands are miahty; none can. resist them; After this fashion, huge of stature, hath she made eleven monsters. Among the gods who are her sons, inasmuch as he hath given her support, She hath exalted Kingu; in their midst she hath raised him to power. To march before the forces, to lead the host, To give the battle-signal, to advance to the attack, To direct the battle, to control the fight, Unto him hath she entrusted; in costly raiment she hath made him sit, saying: I have uttered thy spell; in the assembly of the gods I have raised thee to power, The dominion over all the gods have I entrusted unto thee. Be thou exalted, thou my chosen spouse, May they magnify thy name over all of them ... the Anunnaki." She hath given him the Tablets of Destiny, on his breast she laid them, saying: Thy command shall not be without avail, and the word of thy mouth shall be established." Now Kingu, thus exalted, having received the power of Anu, Decreed the fate for the gods, her sons, saving: Let the opening of your mouth quench the Fire-god; Whoso is exalted in the battle, let him display his might!" I sent Anu, but he could not withstand her; Nudimmud was afraid and turned back.

But Marduk hath set out, the director of the gods, your son; To set out against Tiamat his heart hath prompted him. He opened his mouth and spake unto me, saying: "If I, your avenger, Conquer Tiamat and give you life, Appoint an assembly, make my fate preeminent and proclaim it. In Upsukkinaku seat yourself joyfully together; With my word in place of you will I decree fate. May whatsoever I do remain unaltered, May the word of my lips never be changed nor made of no avail."' Hasten, therefore, and swiftly decree for him the fate which you bestow, That he may go and fight your strong enemy.

Gaga went, he took his way and Humbly before Lahmu and Lahamu, the gods, his fathers, He made obeisance, and he kissed the ground at their feet. He humbled himself; then he stood up and spake unto them saying: "Ansar, your son, hath sent me, The purpose of his heart he hath made known unto me. He saith that Tiamat our mother hath conceived a hatred for us, With all her force she rageth, full of wrath. All the gods have turned to her, With those, whom ye created, they go at her side. They are banded together and at the side of Tiamat they advance; They are furious, they devise mischief without resting night and day. They prepare for battle, fuming and raging; They have joined their forces and are making war. Ummu-Hubur, who formed all things, Hath made in addition weapons invincible; she hath spawned monster-serpents, Sharp of tooth and merciless of fang. With poison, instead of blood, she hath filled their bodies. Fierce monster-vipers she hath clothed with terror, With splendour she hath decked them, she hath made them of lofty stature. Whoever beboldeth them, terror overcometh him, Their bodies rear up and none can withstand their attack. She hath set up vipers, and dragons, and the monster Lahamu, And hurricanes, and raging hounds, and scorpion-men, And mighty tempests, and fish-men, and rams; They bear merciless weapons, without fear of the fight.

Her commands are mighty; none can resist them; After this fashion, huge of stature, hath she made eleven monsters. Among the gods who are her sons, inasmuch as he hath given her support, She hath exalted Kingu; in their midst she hath raised him to power. To march before the forces, to lead the host, To give the battle-signal, to advance to the attack, To direct the battle, to control the fight, Unto him hath she entrusted; in costlv raiment she hath made him sit, saving: I have uttered thy spell; in the assembly of the gods I have raised thee to power, The dominion over all the gods have I entrusted unto thee. Be thou exalted, thou my chosen spouse, May they magnify thy name over all of them...the Anunnaki. She hath given him the Tablets of Destiny on his breast she laid them, saving: Thy command shall not be without avail, and the word of thy mouth shall be established.' Now Kingu, thus exalted, having received the power of Anu, Decreed the fate for the gods, her sons, saying: 'Let the opening of your mouth quench the Fire-god; Whoso is exalted in the battle, let him display his might!' I sent Anu, but he could not withstand her; Nudimmud was afraid and turned back.

But Marduk hath set out, the director of the gods, your son; To set out against Tiamat his heart hath prompted him. He opened his mouth and spake unto me, saying: 'If I, your avenger, Conquer Tiamat and give you life, Appoint an assembly, make my fate preeminent and proclaim it. In Upsukkinaku seat yourselves joyfully together; With my word in place of you will I decree fate. May, whatsoever I do remain unaltered, May the word of my lips never be changed nor made of no avail.' Hasten, therefore, and swiftly decree for him the fate which you bestow, That he may go and fight your strong enemy! Lahmu and Lahamu heard and cried aloud All of the Igigi [The elder gods] wailed bitterly, saying: What has been altered so that they should We do not understand the deed of Tiamat!

Then did they collect and go, The great gods, all of them, who decree fate. They entered in before Ansar, they filled. . . They kissed one another, in the assembly . . . ; They made ready for the feast, at the banquet they sat; They ate bread, they mixed sesame-wine. The sweet drink, the mead, confused their . . . They were drunk with drinking, their bodies were filled. They were wholly at ease, their spirit was exalted; Then for Marduk, their avenger, did they decree the fate.

ENUMA ELISH A TABLET 4

They prepared for him a lordly chamber, Before his fathers as prince he took his place. "Thou art chiefest among the great gods, Thy fate is unequaled, thy word is Anu! O Marduk, thou art chiefest among the great gods, Thy fate is unequaled, thy word is Anu! Henceforth not without avail shall be thy command, In thy power shall it be to exalt and to abase. Established shall be the word of thy mouth, irresistible shall be thy command, None among the gods shall transgress thy boundary. Abundance, the desire of the shrines of the gods, Shall be established in thy sanctuary, even though they lack offerings. O Marduk, thou art our avenger! We give thee sovereignty over the whole world. Sit thou down in might; be exalted in thy command. Thy weapon shall never lose its power; it shall crush thy foe. O Lord, spare the life of him that putteth his trust in thee, But as for the god who began the rebellion, pour out his life."

Then set they in their midst a garment, And unto Marduk,- their first-born they spake: "May thy fate, O lord, be supreme among the gods, To destroy and to create; speak thou the word, and thy command shall be fulfilled. Command now and let the garment vanish; And speak the word again and let the garment reappear!

Then he spake with his mouth, and the garment vanished; Again he commanded it, and. the garment reappeared. When

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the gods, his fathers, beheld the fulfillment of his word, They rejoiced, and they did homage unto him, saying, " Marduk is king!" They bestowed upon him the scepter, and the throne, and the ring, They give him an invincible weapony which overwhelmeth the foe. Go, and cut off the life of Tiamat, And let the wind carry her blood into secret places." After the gods his fathers had decreed for the lord his fate, They caused him to set out on a path of prosperity and success. He made ready the bow, he chose his weapon, He slung a spear upon him and fastened it . . . He raised the club, in his right hand he grasped it, The bow and the quiver he hung at his side. He set the lightning in front of him, With burning flame he filled his body. He made a net to enclose the inward parts of Tiamat, The four winds he stationed so that nothing of her might escape; The South wind and the North wind and the East wind and the West wind He brought near to the net, the gift of his father Anu. He created the evil wind, and the tempest, and the hurricane, And the fourfold wind, and the sevenfold wind, and the whirlwind, and the wind which had no equal; He sent forth the winds which he had created, the seven of them; To disturb the inward parts of Tiamat, they followed after him.

Then the lord raised the thunderbolt, his mighty weapon, He mounted the chariot, the storm unequaled for terror, He harnessed and yoked unto it four horses, Destructive, ferocious, overwhelming, and swift of pace; . . . were their teeth, they were flecked with foam; They were skilled in . . . , they had been trained to trample underfoot. . . . mighty in battle, Left and right . . . His garment was . . . , he was clothed with terror, With overpowering brightness his head was crowned. Then he set out, he took his way, And toward the raging Tiamat he set his face. On his lips he held . . ., . . . he grasped in his hand.

Then they beheld him, the gods beheld him, The gods his fathers beheld him, the gods beheld him. And the lord drew nigh, he gazed upon the inward parts of Tiamat, He perceived the muttering of Kingu, her spouse. As Marduk gazed, Kingu was troubled in his gait, His will was destroyed and his motions ceased. And the gods, his helpers, who marched by his side, Beheld their leader's . . ., and their sight was troubled. But Tiamat . . . , she turned not her neck, With lips that failed not she uttered rebellious words: ". . . thy coming as lord of the gods, From their places have they gathered, in thy place are they! "

Then the lord raised the thunderbolt, his mighty weapon, And against Tiamat, who was raging, thus he sent the word: Thou art become great, thou hast exalted thyself on high, And thy heart hath prompted thee to call to battle. . . . their fathers . . ., . . . their . . . thou hatest . . . Thou hast exalted Kingu to be thy spouse, Thou hast . . . him, that, even as Anu, he should issue deerees. thou hast followed after evil, And against the gods my fathers thou hast contrived thy wicked plan. Let then thy host be equipped, let thy weapons be girded on! Stand! I and thou, let us join battle! When Tiamat heard these words, She was like one posessed, she lost her reason. Tiamat uttered wild, piercing cries, She trembled and shook to her very foundations. She recited an incantation, she pronounced her spell, And the gods of the battle cried out for their weapons. Then advanced Tiamat and Marduk, the counselor of the gods; To the fight they came on, to the battle they drew nigh.

The lord spread out his net and caught her, And the evil wind that was behind him he let loose in her face. As Tiamat opened her mouth to its full extent, He drove in the evil wind, while as yet she had not shut her lips. The terrible winds filled her belly, And her courage was taken from her, and her mouth she opened wide. He seized the spear and burst her belly, He severed her inward parts, he pierced her heart. He overcame her and cut off her life; He cast down her body and stood upon it. When he had slain Tiamat, the leader, Her might was broken, her host was scattered.

And the gods her helpers, who marched by her side, Trembled, and were afraid, and turned back. They took to flight to save their lives; But they were surrounded, so that they could not escape. He took them captive, he broke their weapons; In the net they were caught and in the snare they sat down. The . . . of the world they filled with cries of grief. They received punishment from him, they were held in bondage. And on the eleven creatures which she had filled with the power of striking terror, Upon the troop of devils, who marched at her . . ., He brought affliction, their strength he . . .; Them and their opposition he trampled under his feet. Moreover, Kingu, who had been exalted over them, He conquered, and with the god Dug-ga he counted him. He took from him the Tablets of Destiny that were not rightly his, He sealed them with a seal and in his own breast he laid them.

Now after the hero Marduk had conquered and cast down his enemies, And had made the arrogant foe even like And had fully established Ansar's triumph over the enemy And had attained the purpose of Nudimmud, Over the captive gods he strengthened his durance, And unto Tiamat, whom he had conquered, he returned. And the lord stood upon Tiamat's hinder parts, And with his merciless club he smashed her skull. He cut through the channels of her blood, And he made the North wind bear it away into secret places. His fathers beheld, and they rejoiced and were glad; Presents and gifts they brought unto him. Then the lord rested, gazing upon her dead body,

While he divided the flesh of the . . . , and devised a cunning plan. He split her up like a flat fish into two halves; One half of her he stablished as a covering for heaven. He fixed a bolt, he stationed a watchman, And bade them not to let her waters come forth. He passed through the heavens, he surveyed the regions thereof, And over against the Deep he set the dwelling of Nudimmud. And the lord measured the structure of the Deep, And he founded E-sara, a mansion like unto it. The mansion E-sara which he created as heaven, He caused Anu, Bel, and Ea in their districts to inhabit.

ENUMA ELISH A TABLET 5

He (Marduk) made the stations for the great gods; The stars, their images, as the stars of the Zodiac, he fixed. He ordained the year and into sections he divided it; For the twelve months he fixed three stars. After he had ... the days of the year ... images, He founded the station of Nibir [the planet Jupiter] to determine their bounds; That none might err or go astray, He set the station of Bel and Ea along with him. He opened great gates on both sides, He made strong the bolt on the left and on the right. In the midst thereof he fixed the zenith; The Moon-god he caused to shine forth, the night he entrusted to him. He appointed him, a being of the night, to determine the days; Every month without ceasing with the crown he covered him, saying: "At the beginning of the month, when thou shinest upon the land, Thou commandest the horns to determine six days, And on the seventh day to divide the crown. On the fourteenth day thou shalt stand opposite, the half . . . When the Sun-god on the foundation of heaven . . . thee, The . . . thou shalt cause to . . ., and thou shalt make his . . . . . unto the path of the Sun-god shalt thou cause to draw nigh, And on the . . . day thou shalt stand opposite, and the Sun-god shall . . . to traverse her way. . . thou shalt cause to draw nigh, and thou shalt judge the right. . . to destroy . . ."

[Nearly 50 lines are here lost.]

The gods, his fathers, beheld the net which he had made, They beheld the bow and how its work was accomplished. They praised the work which he had done . . . Then Anu raised the . . . in the assembly of the gods. He kissed the bow, saving, " It is . . .!" And thus he named the names of the bow, saving, "'Long-wood' shall be one name, and the second name shall be . . ., And its third name shall be the Bow-star, in heaven shall it . . . !" Then he fixed a station for it . . . Now after the fate of . . . He set a throne . . . . in heaven . . .

[The remainder of this tablet is missing.]

ENUMA ELISH A TABLET 6

When Marduk heard the word of the gods, His heart prompted him and he devised a cunning plan. He opened his mouth and unto Ea he spake That which he had conceived in his heart he imparted unto him: "My blood will I take and bone will I fashion I will make man, that man may I will create man who shall inhabit the earth, That the service of the gods may be established, and that their shrines may be built. But I will alter the ways of the gods, and I will change their paths; Together shall they be oppressed and unto evil shall they . . . And Ea answered him and spake the word: ". . . the . . . of the gods I have changed . . . and one . . . shall be destroyed and men will I . . . and the gods . . . and they . . ."

[The rest of the text is wanting with the exception of the last few lines of the tablet, which read as follows:] They rejoiced . . . In Upsukkinnaku they set their dwelling. Of the heroic son, their avenger, they cried: " We, whom he succored . . . !" They seated themselves and in the assembly they named him . . ., They all cried aloud, they exalted him . . .

ENUMA ELISH A TABLET 7

O Asari, [Marduk] "Bestower of planting," "Founder of sowing" "Creator of grain and plants," "who caused the green herb to spring up!" O Asaru-alim, [Mardk] "who is revered in the house of counsel," "who aboundeth in counsel," The gods paid homage, fear took hold upon them! O Asaru-alim-nuna, [Marduk] "the mighty one," "the Light of the father who begat him," "Who directeth the decrees of Anu Bel, and Ea!" He was their patron, be ordained their . . .; He, whose provision is abundance, goeth forth . . . Tutu [Marduk] is "He who created them anew"; Should their wants be pure, then are they satisfied; Should he make an incantation, then are the gods appeased; Should they attack him in anger, he withstandeth their onslaught! Let him therefore be exalted, and in the assembly of the gods let him . . .; None among the gods can rival him! Tutu [Marduk] is Zi-ukkina, "the Life of the host of the gods," Who established for the gods the bright heavens. He set them on their way, and ordained their path; Never shall his . . . deeds be forgotten among men. Tutu as Zi-azag thirdly they named, "the Bringer of Purification," "The God of the Favouring Breeze," "the Lord of Hearing and Mercy," "The Creator of Fulness and Abundance," " the Founder of Plenteousness," "Who increaseth all that is small." In sore distress we felt his favouring breeze," Let them say, let them pay reverence, let them bow in humility before him! Tutu as Aga-azag may mankind fourthly magnify! "The Lord of the Pure Incantation," " the Quickener of the Dead," "Who had mercy upon the captive gods," "Who removed the yoke from upon the gods his enemies," "For their forgiveness did he create mankind," "The Merciful One, with whom it is to bestow life!" May his deeds endure, may they never be forgotten, In the mouth of mankind whom his hands have made! Tutu as Mu-azag, fifthly, his "Pure incantation" may their mouth proclaim, Who through his Pure Incantation hath destroyed all the evil ones!" Sag-zu, [Marduk] "who knoweth the heart of the gods," " who seeth through the innermost part!" "The evil-doer he hath not caused to go forth with him!" "Founder of the assembly of the gods," who ... their heart!" "Subduer of the disobedient," ". . .!" "Director of Righteousness," ". . .," "Who rebellion and . . .!" Tutu as Zi-si, "the . . .," "Who put an end to anger," "who . . .!" Tutu as Suh-kur, thirdly, "the Destroyer of the foe," "Who put their plans to confusion," "Who destroyed all the wicked," ". . .," . . . let them . . .! [There is a gap here of sixty lines.

But somewhere among the lost lines belong the following fragments.] . . . who . . . He named the four quarters of the world, mankind hecreated, And upon him understanding . . . "The mighty one . . .!" Agil . . . "The Creator of the earth . . .!" Zulummu . . . "The Giver of counsel and of whatsoever . . .!" Mummu, "the Creator of . . .!" Mulil, the heavens . . ., "Who for . . .!" Giskul, let . . ., "Who brought the gods to naught . . .!" .... " the Chief of all lords," . . . supreme is his might! Lugal-durmah, "the King of the band of the gods," " the Lord of rulers." "Who is exalted in a royal habitation," "Who among the gods is gloriously supreme! Adu-nuna, " the Counselor of Ea," who created the gods his fathers, Unto the path of whose majesty, No god can ever attain! . . . in Dul-azag be made it known, . . . pure is his dwelling! . . . the... of those without understanding is Lugaldul-azaga! . . . supreme is his might! . . . their... in the midst of Tiamat, . . . of the battle!

[Here follows the better-preserved ending.]

. . . the star, which shineth in the heavens. May he hold the Beginning and the Future, may they pay homage unto him, Saying, "He who forced his way through the midst of Tiamat without resting, Let his name be Nibiru, 'the Seizer of the Midst'! For the stars of heaven he upheld the paths, He shepherded all the gods like sheep! He conquered Tiamat, he troubled and ended her life," In the future of mankind, when the days grow old, May this be heard without ceasing; may it hold sway forever! Since he created the realm of heaven and fashioned the firm earth, The Lord of the World," the father Bel hath called his name. This title, which all the Spirits of Heaven proclaimed, Did Ea hear, and his spirit was rejoiced, and he said: "He whose name his fathers have made glorious, Shall be even as I, his name shall be Ea! The binding of all my decrees shall he control, All my commands shall he make known!" By the name of "Fifty" did the great gods Proclaim his fifty names, they, made his path preeminent.

EPILOGUE

Let them [i.e. the names of Marduk] be held in remembrances and let the first man proclaim them; Let the wise and the understanding consider them together! Let the father repeat them and teach them to his son; Let them be in the ears of the pastor and the shepherd! Let a man rejoice in Marduk, the Lord of the gods, That be may cause his land to be fruitful, and that he himself may have prosperity! His word standeth fast, his command is unaltered; The utterance of his mouth hath no god ever annulled. He gazed in his anger, he turned not his neck; When he is wroth, no god can withstand his indignation. Wide is his heart, broad is his compassion; The sinner and evil-doer in his presence . . . They received instruction, they spake before him, . . . unto . . . of Marduk may the gods . . .; . . . May they . . . his name . . .! . . . they took and . . . .!

END OF THE CREATION EPIC

THE FIGHT WITH TIAMAT

(ANOTHER VERSION)

[Note: Strictly speaking, the text is not a creation-legend, though it gives a variant form of the principal incident in the history of the creation according to the Enuma Elish. Here the fight with the dragon did not precede the creation of the world, but took place after men had been created and cities had been built.]

The cities sighed, men . . . Men uttered lamentation, they . . . For their lamentation there was none to help, For their grief there was none to take them by the hand. "Who was the dragon . . .? Tiamat was the dragon . . . Bel in heaven hath formed . . . Fifty kaspu [A kaspu is the space that can be covered in two hours travel, i.e. six or seven miles] in his length, one kaspu in his height, Six cubits is his mouth, twelve cubits his . . ., Twelve cubits is the circuit of his ears . . .; For the space of sixty cubits he . . . a bird; In water nine cubits

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deep he draggeth . . ." He raiseth his tail on high . . .; All the gods of heaven . . . In heaven the gods bowed themselves down before the Moon-god . . .; The border of the Moon-god's robe they hastily grasped: "Who will go and slay the dragon," And deliver the broad land from. . . And become king over . . .? "Go, Tishu, slay the dragon, And deliver the broad land from . . ., And become king over . . .!" Thou hast sent me, O Lord, to... the raging creatures of the river, But I know not the . . . of the Dragon! [The rest of the Obverse and the upper part of the Reverse of the tablet are wanting.]

REVERSE

. . . . . And opened his mouth and spake unto the god . . . "Stir up cloud, and storm and tempest! The seal of thy life shalt thou set before thy face, Thou shalt grasp it, and thou shalt slay the dragon." He stirred up cloud, and storm and tempest, He set the seal of his life before his face, He grasped it, and he slew the dragon. For three years and three months, one day and one night The blood of the dragon flowed . . . . . .

ENUMA ELISH, VERSION B

Translation: Wilfred George Lambert, 2005

ENUMA ELISH B TABLET 1

When the heavens above did not exist, And earth beneath had not come into being — There was Apsu, the first in order, their begetter, And demiurge Tiamat, who gave birth to them all; They had mingled their waters together Before meadow-land had coalesced and reed-bed was to he found — When not one of the gods had been formed Or had come into being, when no destinies had been decreed, The gods were created within them: Lah(mu and Lah(amu were formed and came into being. While they grew and increased in stature Anshar and Kishar, who excelled them, were created. They prolonged their days, they multiplied their years. Anu, their son, could rival his fathers. Anu, the son, equalled Anshar, And Anu begat Nudimmud, his own equal. Nudimmud was the champion among his fathers: Profoundly discerning, wise, of robust strength; Very much stronger than his father's begetter, Anshar He had no rival among the gods, his brothers. The divine brothers came together, Their clamour got loud, throwing Tiamat into a turmoil. They jarred the nerves of Tiamat, And by their dancing they spread alarm in Anduruna. Apsu did not diminish their clamour, And Tiamat was silent when confronted with them. Their conduct was displeasing to her, Yet though their behaviour was not good, she wished to spare them. Thereupon Apsu, the begetter of the great gods, Called Mummu, his vizier, and addressed him, "Vizier Mummu, who gratifies my pleasure, Come, let us go to Tiamat!" They went and sat, facing Tiamat, As they conferred about the gods, their sons. Apsu opened his mouth And addressed Tiamat "Their behaviour has become displeasing to me And I cannot rest in the day-time or sleep at night. I will destroy and break up their way of life That silence may reign and we may sleep." When Tiamat heard this, She raged and cried out to her spouse, She cried in distress, fuming within herself, She grieved over the (plotted) evil, "How can we destroy what we have given birth to? Though their behaviour causes distress, let us tighten discipline graciously." Mummu spoke up with counsel for Apsu— (As from) a rebellious vizier was the counsel of his Mummu— "Destroy, my father, that lawless way of life, That you may rest in the day-time and sleep by night!" Apsu was pleased with him, his face beamed Because he had plotted evil against the gods, his sons. Mummu put his arms around Apsu's neck, He sat on his knees kissing him. What they plotted in their gathering Was reported to the gods, their sons. The gods heard it and were frantic. They were overcome with silence and sat quietly. Ea, who excels in knowledge, the skilled and learned, Ea, who knows everything, perceived their tricks. He fashioned it and made it to be all-embracing, He executed it skilfully as supreme—his pure incantation. He recited it and set it on the waters, He poured sleep upon him as he was slumbering deeply. He put Apsu to slumber as he poured out sleep, And Mummu, the counsellor, was breathless with agitation. He split (Apsu's) sinews, ripped off his crown, Carried away his aura and put it on himself. He bound Apsu and killed him; Mummu he confined and handled roughly. He set his dwelling upon Apsu, And laid hold on Mummu, keeping the nose-rope in his hand. After Ea had bound and slain his enemies, Had achieved victory over his foes, He rested quietly in his chamber, He called it Apsu, whose shrines he appointed. Then he founded his living-quarters within it, And Ea and Damkina, his wife, sat in splendour. In the chamber of the destinies, the room of the archetypes, The wisest of the wise, the sage of the gods, Be-l was conceived. In Apsu was Marduk born, In pure Apsu was Marduk born. Ea his father begat him, Damkina his mother bore him. He sucked the breasts of goddesses, A nurse reared him and filled him with terror. His figure was well developed, the glance of his eyes was dazzling, His growth was manly, he was mighty from the beginning. Anu, his father's begetter, saw him, He exulted and smiled; his heart filled with joy. Anu rendered him perfect: his divinity was remarkable, And he became very lofty, excelling them in his attributes. His members were incomprehensibly wonderful, Incapable of being grasped with the mind, hard even to look on. Four were his eyes, four his ears, Flame shot forth as he moved his lips. His four ears grew large, And his eyes likewise took in everything. His figure was lofty and superior in comparison with the gods, His limbs were surpassing, his nature was superior. 'Mari-utu, Mari-utu, The Son, the Sun-god, the Sun-god of the gods.' He was clothed with the aura of the Ten Gods, so exalted was his strength, The Fifty Dreads were loaded upon him. Anu formed and gave birth to the four winds, He delivered them to him, "My son, let them whirl!" He formed dust and set a hurricane to drive it, He made a wave to bring consternation on Tiamat. Tiamat was confounded; day and night she was frantic. The gods took no rest, they . . . . . In their minds they plotted evil, And addressed their mother Tiamat, "When Apsu, your spouse, was killed, You did not go at his side, but sat quietly. The four dreadful winds have been fashioned To throw you into confusion, and we cannot sleep. You gave no thought to Apsu, your spouse, Nor to Mummu, who is a prisoner. Now you sit alone. Henceforth you will be in frantic consternation! And as for us, who cannot rest, you do not love us! Consider our burden, our eyes are hollow. Break the immovable yoke that we may sleep. Make battle, avenge them! [. .] . . . . reduce to nothingness! Tiamat heard, the speech pleased her, (She said,) "Let us make demons, [as you] have advised." The gods assembled within her. They conceived [evil] against the gods their begetters. They . . . . . and took the side of Tiamat, Fiercely plotting, unresting by night and day, Lusting for battle, raging, storming, They set up a host to bring about conflict. Mother H(ubur, who forms everything, Supplied irresistible weapons, and gave birth to giant serpents. They had sharp teeth, they were merciless . . . . With poison instead of blood she filled their bodies. She clothed the fearful monsters with dread, She loaded them with an aura and made them godlike. (She said,) "Let their onlooker feebly perish, May they constantly leap forward and never retire." She created the Hydra, the Dragon, the Hairy Hero The Great Demon, the Savage Dog, and the Scorpion-man, Fierce demons, the Fish-man, and the Bull-man, Carriers of merciless weapons, fearless in the face of battle. Her commands were tremendous, not to be resisted. Altogether she made eleven of that kind. Among the gods, her sons, whom she constituted her host, She exalted Qingu, and magnified him among them. The leadership of the army, the direction of the host, The bearing of weapons, campaigning, the mobilisation of conflict, The chief executive power of battle, supreme command, She entrusted to him and set him on a throne, "I have cast the spell for you and exalted you in the host of the gods, I have delivered to you the rule of all the gods. You are indeed exalted, my spouse, you are renowned, Let your commands prevail over all the Anunnaki." She gave him the Tablet of Destinies and fastened it to his breast, (Saying) "Your order may not be changed; let the utterance of your mouth be firm." After Qingu was elevated and had acquired the power of Anuship, He decreed the destinies for the gods, her sons: "May the utterance of your mouths subdue the fire-god, May your poison by its accumulation put down aggression."

ENUMA ELISH B TABLET 2

Tiamat gathered together her creation And organised battle against the gods, her offspring. Henceforth Tiamat plotted evil because of Apsu It became known to Ea that she had arranged the conflict. Ea heard this matter, He lapsed into silence in his chamber and sat motionless. After he had reflected and his anger had subsided He directed his steps to Anshar his father. He entered the presence of the father of his begetter, Anshar, And related to him all of Tiamat's plotting. "My father, Tiamat our mother has conceived a hatred for us, She has established a host in her savage fury. All the gods have turned to her, Even those you (pl.) begat also take her side They . . . . . and took the side of Tiamat, Fiercely plotting, unresting by night and day, Lusting for battle, raging, storming, They set up a host to bring about conflict. Mother H(ubur, who forms everything, Supplied irresistible weapons, and gave birth to giant serpents. They had sharp teeth, they were merciless. With poison instead of blood she filled their bodies. She clothed the fearful monsters with dread, She loaded them with an aura and made them godlike. (She said,) "Let their onlooker feebly perish, May they constantly leap forward and never retire." She created the Hydra, the Dragon, the Hairy Hero, The Great Demon, the Savage Dog, and the Scorpion-man, Fierce demons, the Fish-man, and the Bull-man, Carriers of merciless weapons, fearless in the face of battle. Her commands were tremendous, not to be resisted. Altogether she made eleven of that kind. Among the gods, her sons, whom she constituted her host, She exalted Qingu and magnified him among them. The leadership of the army, the direction of the host, The bearing of weapons, campaigning, the mobilisation of conflict, The chief executive power of battle supreme command, She entrusted to him and set him on a throne. "I have cast the spell for you and exalted you in the host of the gods, I have delivered to you the rule of all the gods. You are indeed exalted, my spouse, you are renowned, Let your commands prevail over all the Anunnaki." She gave him the tablet of Destinies and fastened it to his breast, (Saying) "Your order may not he changed; let the utterance of your mouth be firm." After Qingu was elevated and had acquired the power of Anuship He decreed the destinies for the gods. her sons: "May the utterance of your mouths subdue the fire-god, May your poison by its accumulation put down aggression." Anshar heard; the matter was profoundly disturbing. He cried "Woe!" and bit his lip. His heart was in fury, his mind could not be calmed. Over Ea his son his cry was faltering. "My son, you who provoked the war, Take responsibility for whatever you alone have done! You set out and killed Apsu, And as for Tiamat, whom you made furious, where is her equal?" The gatherer of counsel, the learned prince, The creator of wisdom, the god Nudimmud With soothing words and calming utterance Gently answered [his] father Anshar "My father, deep mind, who decrees destiny, Who has the power to bring into being and destroy, Anshar, deep mind, who decrees destiny, Who has the power to bring into being and to destroy, I want to say something to you, calm down for me for a moment And consider that I performed a helpful deed. Before I killed Apsu Who could have seen the present situation? Before I quickly made an end of him What were the circumstances were I to destroy him?" Anshar heard, the words pleased him. His heart relaxed to speak to Ea, "My son, your deeds are fitting for a god, You are capable of a fierce, unequalled blow . . [. . .] Ea, your deeds are fitting for a god, You are capable of a fierce, unequalled blow . . [. . .] Go before Tiamat and appease her attack, . . [. . .] . . . her fury with [your] incantation." He heard the speech of Anshar his father, He took the road to her, proceeded on the route to her. He went, he perceived the tricks of Tiamat, [He stopped], fell silent, and turned back. [He] entered the presence of august Anshar Penitently addressing him, "[My father], Tiamat's deeds are too much for me. I perceived her planning, and [my] incantation was not equal (to it). Her strength is mighty, she is full of dread, She is altogether very strong, none can go against her. Her very loud cry did not diminish, [I became afraid] of her cry and turned back. [My father], do not lose hope, send a second person against her. Though a woman's strength is very great, it is not equal to a man's. Disband her cohorts, break up her plans Before she lays her hands on us." Anshar cried out in intense fury, Addressing Anu his son, "Honoured son, hero, warrior, Whose strength is mighty, whose attack is irresistible Hasten and stand before Tiamat, Appease her rage that her heart may relax If she does not harken to your words, Address to her words of petition that she may be appeased." He heard the speech of Anshar his father, He took the road to her, proceeded on the route to her. Anu went, he perceived the tricks of Tiamat, He stopped, fell silent, and turned back. He entered the presence of Anshar the father who begat him, Penitently addressing him. "My father, Tiamat's [deeds] are too much for me. I perceived her planning, but my [incantation] was not [equal] (to it). Her strength is mighty, she is [full] of dread, She is altogether very strong, no one [can go against her]. Her very loud noise does not diminish, I became afraid of her cry and turned back. My father, do not lose hope, send another person against her. Though a woman's strength is very great, it is not equal to a man's. Disband her cohorts, break up her plans, Before she lays her hands on us." Anshar lapsed into silence, staring at the ground, He nodded to Ea, shaking his head. The Igigi and all the Anunnaki had assembled, They sat in tight-lipped silence. No god would go to face . . [. .] Would go out against Tiamat . . . . [. .] Yet the lord Anshar, the father of the great gods, Was angry in his heart, and did not summon any one. A mighty son, the avenger of his father, He who hastens to war, the warrior Marduk Ea summoned (him) to his private chamber To explain to him his plans. "Marduk, give counsel, listen to your father. You are my son, who gives me pleasure, Go reverently before Anshar, Speak, take your stand, appease him with your glance." Be-l rejoiced at his father's words, He drew near and stood in the presence of Anshar. Anshar saw him, his heart filled with satisfaction, He kissed his lips and removed his fear. "My [father] do not hold your peace, but speak forth, I will go and fulfil your desires! [Anshar,] do not hold your peace, but speak forth, I will go and fulfil your desires! Which man has drawn up his battle array against you? And will Tiamat, who is a woman, attack you with (her) weapons? ["My father], begetter, rejoice and be glad, Soon you will tread on the neck of Tiamat! [Anshar], begetter, rejoice and be glad, Soon you will tread on the neck of Tiamat! ["Go,] my son, conversant with all knowledge, Appease Tiamat with your pure spell. Drive the storm chariot without delay, And with a [. .] which cannot be repelled turn her back." Be-l rejoiced at his father's words, With glad heart he addressed his father, "Lord of the gods, Destiny of the great gods, If I should become your avenger, If I should bind Tiamat and preserve you, Convene an assembly and proclaim for me an exalted destiny. Sit, all of you, in Upshukkinakku with gladness, And let me, with my utterance, decree destinies

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instead of you. Whatever I instigate must not be changed, Nor may my command be nullified or altered."

ENUMA ELISH B TABLET 3

Anshar opened his mouth And addressed Kaka, his vizier, "Vizier Kaka, who gratifies my pleasure, I will send you to Lah(mu and Lah(amu. You are skilled in making inquiry, learned in address. Have the gods, my fathers, brought to my presence. Let all the gods be brought, Let them confer as they sit at table. Let them eat grain, let them drink ale, Let them decree the destiny for Marduk their avenger. Go, be gone, Kaka, stand before them, And repeat to them all that I tell you: "Anshar, your son, has sent me, And I am to explain his plans. (. . . . .) I sent Anu, but he could not face her. Nudimmud took fright and retired. Marduk, the sage of the gods, your son, has come forward, He has determined to meet Tiamat. He has spoken to me and said, (. . . . .) Quickly, now, decree your destiny for him without delay, That he may go and face your powerful enemy." Kaka went. He directed his steps To Lah(mu and Lah(amu, the gods his fathers. He prostrated himself, he kissed the ground before them, He got up, saying to them he stood, (. . . . .) When Lah(h(a and Lah(amu heard, they cried aloud. All the Igigi moaned in distress, "What has gone wrong that she took this decision about us? We did not know what Tiamat was doing." All the great gods who decree destinies Gathered as they went, They entered the presence of Anshar and became filled with [joy], They kissed one another as they . [. .] in the assembly. They conferred as they sat at table, They ate grain, they drank ale. They strained the sweet liquor through their straws, As they drank beer and felt good, They became quite carefree, their mood was merry, And they decreed the fate for Marduk, their avenger.

ENUMA ELISH B TABLET 4

They set a lordly dais for him And he took his seat before his fathers to receive kingship. (They said,) "You are the most honoured among the great gods, Your destiny is unequalled, your command is like Anu's. Marduk, you are the most honoured among the great gods, Your destiny is unequalled, your command is like Anu's. Henceforth your order will not be annulled, It is in your power to exalt and abase. Your utterance is sure, your command cannot be rebelled against, None of the gods will transgress the line you draw. Shrines for all the gods needs provisioning, That you may be established where their sanctuaries are. You are Marduk, our avenger, We have given you kingship over the sum of the whole universe. Take your seat in the assembly, let your word be exalted, Let your weapons not miss the mark, but may they slay your enemies. Be-l, spare him who trusts in you, But destroy the god who set his mind on evil." They set a constellation in the middle And addressed Marduk, their son, "Your destiny, Be-l, is superior to that of all the gods, Command and bring about annihilation and re-creation. Let the constellation disappear at your utterance, With a second command let the constellation reappear." He gave the command and the constellation disappeared, With a second command the constellation came into being again. When the gods, his fathers, saw (the effect of) his utterance, They rejoiced and offered congratulation: "Marduk is the king!" They added to him a mace, a throne, and a rod, They gave him an irresistible weapon that overwhelms the foe: (They said,) "Go, cut Tiamat's throat, And let the winds bear up her blood to give the news." The gods, his fathers, decreed the destiny of Be-l, And set him on the road, the way of prosperity and success. He fashioned a bow and made it his weapon, He set an arrow in place, put the bow string on. He took up his club and held it in his right hand, His bow and quiver he hung at his side. He placed lightning before him, And filled his body with tongues of flame. He made a net to enmesh the entrails of Tiamat, And stationed the four winds that no part of her escape.

The South Wind, the North Wind, the East Wind, the West Wind, He put beside his net, winds given by his father, Anu. He fashioned the Evil Wind, the Dust Storm, Tempest, The Four-fold Wind, the Seven-fold Wind, the Chaos-spreading Wind, the . . . . .Wind. He sent out the seven winds that he had fashioned, And they took their stand behind him to harass Tiamat's entrails. Be-l took up the Storm-flood, his great weapon, He rode the fearful chariot of the irresistible storm. Four steeds he yoked to it and harnessed them to it, The Destroyer, The Merciless, The Trampler, The Fleet. Their lips were parted, their teeth bore venom, They were strangers to weariness, trained to sweep forward. At his right hand he stationed raging battle and strife, On the left, conflict that overwhelms a united battle array. He was clad in a tunic, a fearful coat of mail, And on has head he wore an aura of terror. Be-l proceeded and set out on his way, He set his face toward the raging Tiamat. In his lips he held a spell, He grasped a plant to counter poison in his hand, Thereupon they milled around him, the gods milled around him, The gods, his fathers, milled around him, the gods milled around him. Be-l drew near, surveying the maw of Tiamat, He observed the tricks of Qingu, her spouse. As he looked, he lost his nerve, His determination went and he faltered. His divine aides, who were marching at his side, Saw the warrior, the foremost, and their vision became dim. Tiamat cast her spell without turning her neck, In her lips she held untruth and lies, "[.] . . . . . In their [.] . they have assembled by you." Be-l [lifted up] the Storm-flood, his great weapon, And with these words threw it at the raging Tiamat, "Why are you aggressive and arrogant, And strive to provoke battle? The younger generation have shouted, outraging their elders, But you, their mother, hold pity in contempt. Qingu you have named to be your spouse, And you have improperly appointed him to the rank of Anuship. Against Anshar, king of the gods, you have stirred up trouble, And against the gods, my fathers, your trouble is established. Deploy your troops, gird on your weapons, You and I will take our stand and do battle." When Tiamat heard this She went insane and lost her reason. Tiamat cried aloud and fiercely, All her lower members trembled beneath her. She was reciting an incantation, kept reciting her spell, While the (battle-)gods were sharpening their weapons of war. Tiamat and Marduk, the sage of the gods, came together, Joining in strife, drawing near to battle. Be-l spread out his net and enmeshed her; He let loose the Evil Wind, the rear guard, in her face. Tiamat opened her mouth to swallow it, She let the Evil Wind in so that she could not close her lips. The fierce winds weighed down her belly, Her inwards were distended and she opened her mouth wide. He let fly an arrow and pierced her belly, He tore open her entrails and slit her inwards, He bound her and extinguished her life, He threw down her corpse and stood on it. After he had killed Tiamat, the leader, Her assembly dispersed, her host scattered. Her divine aides, who went beside her, In trembling and fear beat a retreat. . . . . to save their lives, But they were completely surrounded, unable to escape. He bound them and broke their weapons, And they lay enmeshed, sitting in a snare, Hiding in corners, filled with grief, Bearing his punishment, held in a prison. The eleven creatures who were laden with fearfulness, The throng of devils who went as grooms at her right hand, He put ropes upon them and bound their arms, Together with their warfare he trampled them beneath him. Now Qingu, who had risen to power among them, He bound and reckoned with the Dead Gods. He took from him the Tablet of Destinies, which was not properly his, Sealed it with a seal and fastened it to his own breast. After the warrior Marduk had bound and slain his enemies, Had . . . . the arrogant enemy . . . , Had established victory for Anshar over all his foes, Had fulfilled the desire of Nudimmud, He strengthened his hold on the Bound Gods, And returned to Tiamat, whom he had bound. Be-l placed his feet on the lower parts of Tiamat And with his merciless club smashed her skull. He severed her arteries And let the North wind bear up (her blood) to give the news. His fathers saw it and were glad and exulted; They brought gifts and presents to him. Be-l rested, surveying the corpse, In order to divide the lump by a clever scheme. He split her into two like a dried fish: One half of her he set up and stretched out as the heavens. He stretched the skin and appointed a watch With the instruction not to let her waters escape. He crossed over the heavens, surveyed the celestial parts, And adjusted them to match the Apsu, Nudimmud's abode. Be-l measured the shape of the Apsu And set up Esharra, a replica of Eshgalla. In Eshgalla, Esharra which he had built, and the heavens, He settled in their shrines Anu, Enlil, and Ea.

ENUMA ELISH B TABLET 5

He fashioned heavenly stations for the great gods, And set up constellations, the patterns of the stars. He appointed the year, marked off divisions, And set up three stars each for the twelve months. After he had organized the year, He established the heavenly station of Ne-beru to fix the stars' intervals. That none should transgress or be slothful He fixed the heavenly stations of Enlil and Ea with it. Gates he opened on both sides, And put strong bolts at the left and the right. He placed the heights (of heaven) in her (Tiamat's) belly, He created Nannar, entrusting to him the night. He appointed him as the jewel of the night to fix the days, And month by month without ceasing he elevated him with a crown, (Saying,) "Shine over the land at the beginning of the month, Resplendent with horns to fix six days. On the seventh day the crown will be half size, On the fifteenth day, halfway through each month, stand in opposition. When SHamash [sees] you on the horizon, Diminish in the proper stages and shine backwards. On the 29th day, draw near to the path of Shamash, . [.] the 30th day, stand in conjunction and rival SHamash. I have (. . . .] . the sign, follow its track, Draw near . . (. . . . .) give judgement. . [. . . .] . Shamash, constrain [murder] and violence,

. [. . . . .] . me. * * * * * * At the end [. . . Let there [be] the 29th day [. . . " After [he had . . . .] the decrees [. . . The organisation of front and . [. . . He made the day [. . . Let the year be equally [. . . At the new year [. . . The year . . . . . [. . . Let there be regularly [. . . The projecting bolt [. . . After he had [. . . The watches of night and day [. . . The foam which Tiamat [. . . Marduk fashioned [. . . He gathered it together and made it into clouds. The raging of the winds, violent rainstorms, The billowing of mist—the accumulation of her spittle— He appointed for himself and took them in his hand. He put her head in position and poured out . . [. .] . He opened the abyss and it was sated with water. From her two eyes he let the Euphrates and Tigris flow, He blocked her nostrils, but left . . He heaped up the distant [mountains] on her breasts, He bored wells to channel the springs. He twisted her tail and wove it into the Durmah(u, [. . .] . . the Apsu beneath his feet. [He set up] her crotch—it wedged up the heavens—

[(Thus) the half of her] he stretched out and made it firm as the earth. [After] he had finished his work inside Tiamat, [He spread] his net and let it right out. He surveyed the heavens and the earth . . [.] . [. .] their bonds . . . . . After he had formulated his regulations and composed [his] decrees, He attached guide-ropes and put them in Ea's hands. [The Tablet] of Destinies which Qingu had taken and carried, He took charge of it as a trophy and presented it to Anu. [The .] . of battle, which he had tied on or had put on his head, [.] . he brought before his fathers. [Now] the eleven creatures to which Tiamat had given birth and . . . , He broke their weapons and bound them (the creatures) to his feet. He made images of them and stationed them at the [Gate] of the Apsu, To be a sign never to be forgotten. [The gods] saw it and were jubilantly happy, (That is,) Lah(mu, Lah(amu and all his fathers. Anshar [embraced] him and published abroad his title, "Victorious King," Anu, Enlil and Ea gave him gifts. Mother Damkina, who bore him, hailed him, With a clean festal robe she made his face shine. To Usmu, who held her present to give the news, [He entrusted] the vizierate of the Apsu and the care of the holy places. The Igigi assembled and all did obeisance to him, Every one of the Anunnaki was kissing his feet. They all [gathered] to show their submission, [. . .] . they stood, they bowed down, "Behold the king!" His fathers [. . .] . and took their fill of his beauty, Be-l listened to their utterance, being girded with the dust of battle. . [. . . . .] . . . . . Anointing his body with . [. . .] cedar perfume. He clothed himself in [his] lordly robe, With a crown of terror as a royal aura. He took up his club and held it in his right hand, . . .] . he grasped in his left. [. . . . .] . . .] . he set his feet. He put upon . [. . . The sceptre of prosperity and success [he hung] at his side. After [he had . . .] the aura [He adorned his sack, the Apsu, with a fearful [. .] Was settled like . [. . . In [his] throne room [. . . In his cella [. . . Every one of the gods [. . . Lah(mu and Lah(amu . [. . . . .] . Opened their mouths and [addressed] the Igigi gods, "Previously Marduk was our beloved son, Now he is your king, heed his command!" Next, they all spoke up together, "His name is Lugaldimmerankia, trust in him!" When they had given kingship to Marduk, They addressed to him a benediction for prosperity and success, "Henceforth you are the caretaker of our shrine, Whatever you command, we will do!" Marduk opened his mouth to speak And addressed the gods his fathers, "Above the Apsu, the emerald abode, Opposite Esharra, which I built for you, Beneath the celestial parts, whose floor I made firm, I will build a house to be my luxurious abode. Within it I will establish its shrine, I will found my chamber and establish my kingship. When you come up from the Apsu to make a decision This will be your resting place before the assembly. When you descend from heaven to make a decision This will be your resting place before the assembly. I shall call its name 'Babylon', "The Homes of the Great Gods", Within it we will hold a festival: that will be the evening festival. [The gods], his fathers, [heard] this speech of his, . [. . . . .] . they said, "With regard to all that your hands have made, Who has your [. . .]? With regard to the earth that your hands have made, Who has your [. . .]? In Babylon, as you have named it, Put our [resting place] for ever. . [. . . . .] let them our bring regular offerings . [. . . . .] . . Whoever [. . .] our tasks which we . [. . . Therein [. . . . .] its toil . [. . . [. . . . .] They rejoiced [. . . . .] . . [. . . The gods . [. . . . .] He who knows [. . . . .] . them He opened [his mouth showing] them light, . . [. . . . .] his speech . [.] He made wide [. . . . .] . them [. . . And . [. . . . .] . . . . . The gods bowed down, speaking to him, They addressed Lugaldimmerankia, their lord, "Formerly, lord, [you were our beloved] son, Now you are our king, . . [. . .] He who . [.] . [.] preserved [us] . . [. . .] the aura of club and sceptre. Let him conceive plans [. . . .] . . [. . .] [.] . . [. . . . . that] we . [. . ."

ENUMA ELISH B TABLET 6

When Marduk heard the gods' speech He conceived a desire to accomplish clever things. He opened his mouth addressing Ea, He counsels that which he had pondered in his heart, "I will bring together blood to form bone, I will bring into being Lullu, whose name shall be 'man'. I will create Lullu—man On whom the toil of the gods will be laid that they may rest. I will skilfully alter the organisation of the gods: Though they are honoured as one, they shall be divided into two." Ea answered, as he addressed a word to him, Expressing his comments on the resting of the gods, "Let one brother of

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theirs be given up. Let him perish that people may be fashioned. Let the great gods assemble And let the guilty one be given up that they may be confirmed." Marduk assembled the great gods, Using gracious direction as he gave his order, As he spoke the gods heeded him: The king addressed a word to the Anunnaki, "Your former oath was true indeed, (Now also) tell me the solemn truth: Who is the one who instigated warfare, Who made Tiamat rebel, and set battle in motion? Let him who instigated warfare be given up That I may lay his punishment on him; but you sit and rest. The Igigi, the great gods, answered him, That is, Lugaldimmerankia, the counsellor of the gods, the lord, "Qingu is the one who instigated warfare, Who made Tiamat rebel and set battle in motion." They bound him, holding him before Ea, They inflicted the penalty on him and severed his blood-vessels. From his blood he (Ea) created mankind, On whom he imposed the service of the gods, and set the gods free.

After the wise Ea had created mankind And had imposed the service of the gods upon them— That task is beyond comprehension For Nudimmud performed the creation with the skill of Marduk— King Marduk divided the gods, All the Anunnaki into upper and lower groups. He assigned 300 in the heavens to guard the decrees of Anu And appointed them as a guard. Next he arranged the organisation of the netherworld. In heaven and netherworld he stationed 600 gods. After he had arranged all the decrees, And had distributed incomes among the Anunnaki of heaven and netherworld, The Anunnaki opened their mouths And addressed their lord Marduk, "Now, lord, seeing you have established our freedom What favour can we do for you? Let us make a shrine of great renown: Your chamber will be our resting place wherein we may repose. Let us erect a shrine to house a pedestal Wherein we may repose when we finish (the work)."

When Marduk heard this, He beamed as brightly as the light of day, "Build Babylon, the task you have sought. Let bricks for it be moulded, and raise the shrine!" The Anunnaki wielded the pick. For one year they made the needed bricks. When the second year arrived, They raised the peak of Esagil, a replica of the Apsu. They built the lofty temple tower of the Apsu And for Anu, Enlil, and Ea they established its . . as a dwelling. He sat in splendour before them, Suveying its horns, which were level with the base of Esharra. After they had completed the work on Esagil All the Anunnaki constructed their own shrines. 300 Igigi of heaven and 600 of the Apsu, all of them, had assembled. Be-l seated the gods, his fathers, at the banquet In the lofty shrine which they had built for his dwelling, (Saying,) "This is Babylon, your fixed dwelling, Take your pleasure here! Sit down in joy! The great gods sat down, Beer-mugs were set out and they sat at the banquet.

After they had enjoyed themselves inside They held a service in awesome Esagil. The regulations and all the rules were confirmed: All the gods divided the stations of heaven and netherwor1d. The college of the Fifty great gods took their seats, The Seven gods of destinies were appointed to give decisions. Be-l received his weapon, the bow, and laid it before them: His divine fathers saw the net which he had made. His fathers saw how skilfully wrought was the structure of the bow As they praised what he had made. Anu lifted it up in the divine assembly, He kissed the bow, saying, "It is my daughter!" Thus he called the names of the bow: "Long Stick" was the first; the second was, "May it hit the mark." With the third name, "Bow Star", he made it to shine in the sky, He fixed its heavenly position along with its divine brothers.

After Anu had decreed the destiny of the bow, He set down a royal throne, a lofty one even for a god, Anu set it there in the assembly of the gods. The great gods assembled, They exalted the destiny of Marduk and did obeisance. They invoked a curse on themselves And took an oath with water and oil, and put their hands to their throats. They granted him the right to exercise kingship over the gods, They confirmed him as lord of the gods of heaven and netherworld. Anshar gave him his exalted name, Asalluh(i "At the mention of his name, let us show submission! When he speaks, let the gods heed him, Let his command be superior in upper and lower regions. May the son, our avenger, be exalted, Let his lordship be superior and himself without rival. Let him shepherd the black-heads, his creatures, Let them tell of his character to future days without forgetting. Let him establish lavish food offerings for his fathers, Let him provide for their maintenance and be caretaker of their sanctuaries, Let him burn incense to rejoice their sanctums. Let him do on earth the same as he has done in heaven: Let him appoint the black-heads to worship him. The subject humans should take note and call on their gods, Since he commands they should heed their goddesses, Let food offerings be brought [for] their gods and goddesses, May they not be forgotten, may they remember their gods, May they . . . their . . , may they . . their shrines. Though the black-heads worship some one, some another god, He is the god of each and every one of us! Come, let us call the fifty names Of him whose character is resplendent, whose achievement is the same.

Marduk As he was named by his father Anu from his birth, Who supplies pasturage and watering, making the stables flourish. Who bound the boastful with his weapon, the storm flood, And saved the gods, his fathers, from distress. He is the son, the sun-god of the gods, he is dazzling, Let them ever walk in his bright light. On the peoples that he created, the living beings, He imposed the service of the gods and they took rest. Creation and annihilation, forgiveness and exacting the penalty Occur at his command, so let them fix their eyes on him.

Marukka: he is the god who created them Who put the Anunnaki at ease, the Igigi at rest. Marutukku: he is the support of land, city, and its peoples, Henceforth let the peoples ever heed him. Mershakushu: fierce yet deliberating, angry yet relenting, His mind is wide, his heart is all-embracing. Lugaldimmerankia is the name by which we all called him, Whose command we have exalted above that of the gods his fathers. He is the lord of all the gods of heaven and netherworld, The king at whose injunctions the gods in upper and lower regions shudder. Narilugaldimmerankia is the name we gave him, the mentor of every god, Who established our dwellings in heaven and netherworld in time of trouble, Who distributed the heavenly stations between Igigi and Anunnaki, Let the gods tremble at his name and quake on their seats.

Asalluh(i is the name by which his father Anu called him, He is the light of the gods, a mighty hero, Who, as his name says, is a protecting angel for god and land, Who by a terrible combat saved our dwelling in time of trouble.

Asalluh(i-Namtilla they called him secondly, the life-giving god, Who, in accordance with the form (of) his (name), restored all the ruined gods, The lord, who brought to life the dead gods by his pure incantation, Let us praise him as the destroyer of the crooked enemies.

Asalluh(i-Namru, as his name is called thirdly, The pure god, who cleanses our character." Anshar, Lah(mu, and Lah(amu (each) called him by three of his names, Then they addressed the gods, their sons, "We have each called him by three of his names, Now you call his names, like us." The gods rejoiced as they heard their speech, In Upshuukkinaki they held a conference, "Of the warrior son, our avenger, Of the provisioner, let us extol the name." They sat down in their assembly, summoning the destinies, And with all due rites they called his name:

ENUMA ELISH B TABLET 7

Asarre, the giver of arable land who established plough-land, The creator of barley and flax, who made plant life grow. Asaralim, who is revered in the counsel chamber, whose counsel excels, The gods heed it and grasp fear of him. Asaralimnunna, the noble, the light of the father, his begetter, Who directs the decrees of Anu, Enlil, and Ea, that is Ninshiku. He is their provisioner, who assigns their incomes, Whose turban multiplies abundance for the land.

Tutu is he, who accomplishes their renovation, Let him purify their sanctuaries that they may repose. Let him fashion an incantation that the gods may rest, Though they rise up in fury, let them withdraw. He is indeed exalted in the assembly of the gods, his [fathers], No one among the gods can [equal] him.

Tutu-Ziukkinna, the life of [his] host, Who established, the pure heavens for the gods, Who took charge of their courses, who appointed [their stations], May he not be forgotten among mortals, but [let them remember] his deeds.

Tutu-Ziku they called him thirdly, the establisher of purification, The god of the pleasant breeze, lord of success and obedience, Who produces bounty and wealth, who establishes abundance, Who turns everything scant that we have into profusion, Whose pleasant breeze we sniffed in time of terrible trouble, Let men command that his praises be constantly uttered, let them offer worship to him. As Tutu-Agaku, fourthly, let humans extol him, Lord of the pure incantation, who brought the dead back to life, Who showed mercy on the Bound Gods, Who threw the imposed yoke on the gods, his enemies, And to spare them created mankind. The merciful, in whose power it is to restore to life, Let his words be sure and not forgotten From the mouths of the black-heads, his creatures. As Tutu-Tuku, fifthly, let their mouth give expression to his pure spell, Who extirpated all the wicked by his pure incantation.

Shazu, who knew the heart of the gods, who saw the reins, Who did not let an evil-doer escape from him, Who established the assembly of the gods, who rejoiced their hearts, Who subjugated the disobedient, he is the gods' encompassing protection. He made truth to prosper, he uprooted perverse speech, He separated falsehood from truth. As Shazu-Zisi, secondly, let them continually praise him, the subduer of aggressors, Who ousted consternation of from the bodies of the gods, his fathers. Shazu-Suh(rim, thirdly, who extirpated every foe with his weapons, Who confounded their plans and turned them into wind. He snuffed out all the wicked who came against him, Let the gods ever shout acclamations in the assembly. Shazu-Suh(gurim, fourthly, who established success for the gods, his fathers, Who extirpated foes and destroyed their offspring, Who scattered their achievements, leaving no part of them, Let his name be spoken and proclaimed in the land. As Shazu-Zah(rim, fifthly, let future gererations discuss him, The destroyer of every rebel, of all the disobedient, Who brought all the fugitive gods into the shrines, Let this name of his be established. As Shazu-Zah(gurim, sixthly, let them altogether and everywhere worship him, Who himself destroyed all the foes in battle.

Enbilulu is he, the lord who supplies them abundantly, Their great chosen one, who provides cereal offerings, Who keeps pasturage and watering in good condition and established it for the land, Who opened watercourses and distributed plentiful water. Enbilulu-Epadun, lord of common land and . . ., let them [call him] secondly, Canal supervisor of heaven and netherworld, who sets the furrow, Who establishes clean arable land in the open country, Who directs irrigation ditch and canal, and marks out the furrow. As Enbilulu-Gugal, canal supervisor of the water courses of the gods, let them praise him thirdly, Lord of abundance, profusion, and huge stores (of grain), Who provides bounty, who enriches human habitations, Who gives wheat, and brings grain into being. Enbilulu-H(egal, who accumulates abundance for the peoples . . . . Who rains down riches on the broad earth, and supplies abundant vegetation. Sirsir, who heaped up a mountain on top of Tiamat, Who plundered the corpse of Tiamat with [his] weapons, The guardian of the land, their trustworthy shepherd, Whose hair is a growing crop, whose turban is a furrow, Who kept crossing the broad Sea in his fury, And kept crossing over the place of her battle as though it were a bridge.

Sirsir-Malah(they named him secondly—so be it— Tiamat was his boat, he was her sailor. Gil, who ever heaps up piles of barley, massive mounds, The creator of grain and flocks, who gives seed for the land. Gilima, who made the bond of the gods firm, who created stability, A snare that overwhelmed them, who yet extended favours.

Agilima, the lofty, who snatches off the crown, who takes charge of snow, Who created the earth on the water and made firm the height of heaven. Zulum, who assigns meadows for the gods and divides up what he has created, Who gives incomes and food-offerings, who administers shrines.

Mummu, creator of heaven end underworld, who protects refugees, The god who purifies heaven and underworld, secondly Zulummu, In respect of whose strength none other among the gods can equal him. Gishnumunab, creator of all the peoples, who made the world regions, Who destroyed Tiamat's gods, and made peoples from part of them.

Lugalabdubur, the king who scattered the works of Tiamat, who uprooted her weapons, Whose foundation is secure on the "Fore and Aft". Pagalguenna, foremost of all lords, whose strength is exalted, Who is the greatest among the gods, his brothers, the most noble of them all. Lugaldurmah(, king of the bond of the gods, lord of Durmah(u, Who is the greatest in the royal abode, infinitely more lofty than the other gods.

Aranunna, counsellor of Ea, creator of the gods, his fathers, Whom no god can equal in respect of his lordly walk. Dumuduku, who renews for himself his pure abode in Duku, Dumuduku, without whom Lugalduku does not make a decision. Lugalshuanna, the king whose strength is exalted among the gods, The lord, the strength of Anu, he who is supreme, chosen of Anshar. Irugga, who plundered them all in the Sea, Who grasps all wisdom, is comprehensive in understanding. Irqingu, who plundered Qingu in . . . battle, Who directs all decrees and establishes lordship. Kinma, the director of all the gods, who gives counsel, At whose name the gods bend down in reverence as before a hurricane. Dingir-Esiskur—let him take his lofty seat in the House of Benediction, Let the gods bring their presents before him Until he receives their offerings. No one but he accomplishes clever things The four (regions) of black-heads are his creation, Apart from him no god knows the measure of their days.Girru, who makes weapons hard, Who accomplished clever things in the battle with Tiamat, Comprehensive in wisdom, skilled in understanding, A deep mind, that all the gods combined do not understand. Let Addu be his name, let him cover the whole span of heaven, Let him thunder with his pleasant voice upon the earth, May the rumble fill the clouds And give sustenance to the peoples below.

Asha-ru, who, as his name says, mustered the Divine Fates He indeed is the warden of absolutely all peoples. As Ne-beru let him hold the crossing place of heaven and underworld, They should not cross above or below, but should wait for him. Ne-beru is his star, which he caused to shine in the sky, Let him take his stand on the heavenly staircase that they may look at him. Yes, he who constantly crosses the Sea without resting, Let his name be Ne-beru, who grasps her middle, Let him fix the paths of the stars of heaven, Let him shepherd all the gods like sheep, Let him bind Tiamat and put her life in mortal danger, To generations yet unborn, to distant future days, May he continue unchecked, may he persist into eternity. Since he created the heavens and fashioned the earth, Enlil, the father, called him by his own name, 'Lord of the Lands'. Ea heard the names which all the Igigi called And his spirit became radiant. "Why! He whose name was extolled by his

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fathers Let him, like me, be called 'Ea'. Let him control the sum of all my rites, Let him administer all my decrees."

With the word "Fifty" the great gods Called his fifty names and assigned him an outstanding position. They should be remembered; a leading figure should expound them, The wise and learned should confer about them, A father should repeat them and teach them to his son, One should explain them to shepherd and herdsman. If one is not negligent to Marduk, the Enlil of the gods, May one's land flourish, and oneself prosper, (For) his word is reliable, his command unchanged, No god can alter the utterance of his mouth. When he looks in fury, he does not relent, When his anger is ablaze, no god can face him. His mind is deep, his spirit is all-embracing, Before whom sin and transgression are sought out. Instruction which a leading figure repeated before him (Marduk): He wrote it down and stored it so that generations to come might hear it. [. .] . Marduk, who created the Igigi gods, Though they diminish . . . let them call on his name. . . . the song of Marduk, Who defeated Tiamat and took kingship

MESOPOTAMIAN PRECEPTS AND LAWS

(Language is one of the main attributes that can make us understand cultural relations. Sumerian was a language isolate spoken by most people in Mesopotamia throughout the 4th and 3rd millenia BC. The Semitic Akkadian language, spoken by Assyrians and Babylonians, gradually replaced Sumerian during the last half of the 3rd millenium and it even became a kind of international language used in Egypt, Anatolia, and Persia. The Sumerian cuneiform script and most contents of the Sumerian cuneiform tablets, however, were absorbed by these new Semitic people. Their language and culture was closely related to Phoenician Canaanite, a Semitic language spoken by Phoenicians, Hebrews, and Aramaeans. These people replaced the very complex Akkadian cuneiform script with a consonantal cuneiform alphabet (Abjad) from around either the 15th or 14th century BC; which in turn was replaced with the easy-to-use consonantal Phoenician alphabet only 2 or 3 centuries later (See Grand Bible, Image Plate 57-60). This was the very ancestor of all alphabets in the World that followed. The Semitic Aramaic language gradually replaced Akkadian as well as Canaanite and Hebrew towards the beginning of the 1st millenium BC. Scholars though, still read the original cuneiform records up until the 2nd century AD.

This line of language and script evolution explains to a large extent why precepts, laws, and narratives that we can find in the Torah [Pentateuch, 5 Books of Moses; the Ten Commandment, or the 613 Mitzvot], are surpisingly similar to the contents of the cuneiform tablets found in Mesopotamia. In fact, the conveyed precepts and laws of the ancient cuneiform tablets build the basis of the Halaka, the Jewish Law. As the Christians have taken the Hebrew Bible, which they call "Old Testament," as part of their very own scripture, these contents have influenced also Christianity. A fair amount of those ancient precepts, such as Purity Laws and the Five Precepts, can also be found in India and China.)

THE INSTRUCTIONS OF SHURUPPAK

The Teachings of King Shuruppak
The Commandments of Shuruppak
Translation: Anonymus
Estimated Time Range 2600-2500 BC.

(In 1963 and 1965, an American expedition from the Oriental Institute of Chicago led by Donald P. Hansen made an amazing find at Abu Salabikh, which lies around 20 km (12 mi) northwest of the site of the ancient city of Nippur in Al-Qadisiyyah Governorate, Iraq. During the excavation campain, that lasted for a total of 8 weeks, the archaeologists found around 500 tablets and fragments, containing some of the earliest ancient literature.

Among them was the book "Instructions of Shuruppak". This book is a sensation as it is the very oldest example of the Commandments or Precepts which much later appeared in the Bible and manuscripts in India and China. The book was written on clay tablets which were found in a low "tell" (mound) at Abu Salabikh, Its contemporary name probably was Eresh and it was a small Sumerian city of the mid third millennium BC, with cultural connexions to the cities of Kish, Mari and Ebla.

This book was obviously written to teach virtues in order to preserve community standards. The precepts are placed in the mouth of a King Shuruppak, son of Ubara-Tutu. Ubara-Tutu is recorded in the Sumerian king list as being the final king of Sumer prior to the Deluge. The ancient Sumerian city of Shuruppak probably was named after King Shuruppak. It was situated not far away from the finding place of the clay tablets, at the site of the modern Tell Fara, about 55 kilometres (35 mi) south of Nippur on the banks of the Euphrates in Iraq's Al-Qadisiyyah Governorate.

The text consists of admonitory sayings of King Shuruppak addressed to his son Ziusudra (the flood hero who is also known as Utnapishtin in Akkad). Lots of the book's precepts bear resemblance to those ones which we can read in the Torah (the Five books of Moses). But the Commandments of King Shuruppak are far more detailed, much more direct, and refreshingly blunt. Here a little selection:

Thou shouldst not speak arrogantly to thy mother.
Thou shouldst not kill.
Thou shouldst not steal.
Thou shouldst not commit robbery.
Thou shouldst not speak improperly.
Thou shouldst not play around with a married young woman.
Thou shouldst not have sex with thy slave girl.
Thou shouldst not wish for the money chest.
Thou shouldst not pass judgement when thou drinkst beer.
Thou shouldst not pick a quarrel.

Some of the Commandmends are purely practical: Thou shouldst not locate a field on a road; .... Thou shouldst not make a well in thy field: people will cause damage on it for thee. (lines 15–18). Moral precepts are followed by the negative practical results of transgression: Thou shouldst not play around with a married young woman: the slander could be serious. (lines 32–34). Community opinion and the possibility of slander (line 35) play a major role, whether the valued opinion of "the courtyard" (line 62) or the less valued opinion of the marketplace, where insults and stupid speaking receive the attention of the land. (line 142).)

[The square brackets [. . .] refer to the gaps of the text, they contain the editors suggestions the round brackets (. . .) refer to extra information]

BOOK 1

The First Delivery Of Commandments.

In those days, in those far remote days, in those nights, in those faraway nights, in those years, in those far remote years, at that time the wise one who kneweth how to speak in elaborate words lived in the Land; Shuruppak, the wise one, who kneweth how to speak with elaborate words lived in the Land. Shuruppak gave instructions to his son; Shuruppak, the son of Ubara-Tutu gave instructions to his son Ziusudra: My son, let me give thee instructions: thou shouldst pay attention! Ziusudra, let me speak a word to thee: thou shouldst pay attention! Do not neglect my instructions! Do not transgress the words I speak! instructions of an old man are precious; thou shouldst comply with them!

Thou shouldst not buy a donkey which brays; it will split thy midriff.

Thou shouldst not locate a field on a road; thou shouldst not plough a field at a road or a path; thou shouldst not make a well in thy field: people will cause damage on it for thee. Thou shouldst not place thy house next to a public square: there is always a crowd there.

Thou shouldst not vouch for someone: that man will have a hold on thee; and thee thyself, thou shouldst not let somebody vouch for thee. That man will despise thee.

Thou shouldst not make an inspection on a man: the flood will give it back to thee.

Thou shouldst not loiter about where there is a quarrel; thou shouldst not let the quarrel make thee a witness. Thou shouldst not let thyself [involved] in a quarrel. Thou shouldst not cause a quarrel; [. . .] [. . .] the gate of the palace [. . .] Stand aside from a quarrel, [and] thou shouldst not take another way.

Thou shouldst not steal anything; thou shouldst not [betray] thyself. Thou shouldst not break into a house; thou shouldst not wish for the money chest [of others]. A thief is a lion, but after he has been caught, he will be a slave. My son, thou shouldst not commit robbery; thou shouldst not cut thyself with an axe (as a punishment of law).

Thou shouldst not make a young man best man. Thou shouldst not [mislead] thyself. Thou shouldst not play around with a married young woman: the slander could be serious. My son, thou shouldst not sit alone in a chamber with a married woman.

Thou shouldst not pick a quarrel; thou shouldst not disgrace thyself. Thou shouldst not [tell] lies; [. . .] Thou shouldst not boast; then thy words will be trusted. Thou shouldst not deliberate for too long; thou canst not bear [losing the] glances.

Thou shouldst not eat stolen food with a thief. Thou shouldst not sink thy hand into blood. After thou hast apportioned the bones, thou wilt be made to restore the ox, thou wilt be made to restore the sheep.

Thou shouldst not speak improperly; later it will lay a trap for thee.

Thou shouldst not scatter thy sheep into unknown pastures. Thou shouldst not hire someone's ox for an uncertain [time]. A safe [way] means a safe journey.

Thou shouldst not travel during the night: it can hide both good and evil.

Thou shouldst not buy an onager: it lasteth only until the end of the day (Reason: Onagers are a species of the horse family. Unlike most horses and donkeys, they have never been domesticated. They are among the fastest mammals, as they can run as fast as 70 km/h or 43 mph).

Thou shouldst not have sex with thy slave girl: she will chew thee up [making thee her slave].

Thou shouldst not curse strongly: it reboundeth on thee.

Thou shouldst not draw up water which thou canst not reach nor grasp: it will maketh thee weak.

(1 line unreadable)

Thou shouldst not drive away a debtor: he will be hostile towards thee.

Thou shouldst not establish a home with an arrogant man: he will make thy life like that of a slave girl. Thou wilt not be able to travel through any human dwelling without be being shouted at: "There thou goest! There thou goest!"

Thou shouldst not undo the [laces] of the garden's reed fence; "Restore it! Restore it!" they will say to thee.

Thou shouldst not provide a stranger with food; thou shouldst not wipe out [and be oblivious to] a quarrel.

My son, thou shouldst not use violence; Listen! Thou shouldst not commit rape on someone's daughter; the courtyard will learn of it [and punish thee].

Thou shouldst not drive away a powerful and strong man; thou shouldst not destroy the outer wall. Thou shouldst not drive away a young man; thou shouldst not make him turn against the city.

The eyes of the slanderer always move around as shiftily as a spindle. Thou shouldst never remain in his presence; his intentions should not be allowed to have an effect on thee.

Thou shouldst not boast in beer halls and breweries like a deceitful man: then thy words will be trusted.

Having reached the field of manhood, thou shouldst not jump with thy hand. The warrior is unique, he alone is the equal of many; Utu is unique, he alone is the equal of many. With thy life thou shouldst always be on the side of the warrior; with thy life thou shouldst always be on the side of Utu [the God of the Sun, justice, morality, and truth].

Shuruppak gaveth these instructions to his son. Shuruppak, the son of Ubara-Tutu, gaveth these instructions to his son Ziusudra.

BOOK 2

The Second Delivery Of Commandments.

A second time, Shuruppak gaveth instructions to his son. Shuruppak, the son of Ubara-Tutu gaveth instructions to his son Ziusudra: My son, let me give thee instructions: thou shouldst pay attention! Ziusudra, let me speak a word to thee: thou shouldst pay attention! Do not neglect my instructions! Do not transgress the words I speak! (1 ms. adds the line: The instructions of an old man are precious; thou shouldst comply with them!)

The beer-drinking mouth [talketh]. My little one [be careful]. The beer-drinking mouth [flustereth]. Ninkasi (the Goddess of alcohol and beer) [laugheth at thee]

(5 lines unclear)

Thine own man will not repay it for thee. The reed-beds are [thick], they can hide slander.

The palace is like a mighty river: its middle is goring bulls; what floweth in is never enough to fill it, and what floweth out can never be stopped.

When it is about someone's else bread, it is easy to say "I will give it to thee", but the time of actual giving can be as far away as the sky. If thou goest after the man who said "I will give it to thee", he will say "I cannot give it to thee -- the bread has just been finished up".

Property is something to be expanded; but nothing can equal my little ones (my children).

The artistic mouth recites words; the harsh mouth brings litigation documents; the sweet mouth gathers sweet herbs.

The garrulous and liar) filleth his bread bag; the haughty one brings an empty bag and can fill his empty mouth only with boasting.

Who works with leather will eventually work with his own leather.

The strong one can escape from anyone's hand.

The fool loseth something. When sleeping, the fool loseth something. "Do not tie me up!" he pleads; "Let me live!" he pleads.

The imprudent decrees fateth; the shameless one pileth up things in another's lap: "I am such that I deserve admiration".

A weak wife is always seized (and overwhelmed) by fate.

If thou hirest a worker, he will share the bread bag with thee; he eats with thee from the same bag, and finishes up the bag with thee. Then he will quit working with thee and, saying "I have to live on something", he will serve at the palace.

Thou tellest thy son to come to thy home; thou tellest thy daughter to go to her women's quarters.

Thou shouldst not pass judgement when thou drinkest beer.

Thou shouldst not worry unduly about what leaveth the house.

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Heaven is far, earth is most precious, but it is with heaven that thou augmentest thy goods, and all foreign lands breathe under it.

At harvest time, at the most priceless time, collect like a slave girl, eat like a queen; my son, to collect like a slave girl, to eat like a queen, this is how it should be.

Who insulteth can hurt only the skin; greedy eyes, however, can kill. The liar, shouting, teareth up his garments. Insults bring (only) advice to the wicked. To speak arrogantly is like an abscess: a herb that makes the stomach sick.

(1 line is unclear)

My words of prayer bring abundance. Prayer is cool water that cools the heart. Only insults and stupid speaking receive the attention of the Land.

Shuruppak gaveth these instructions to his son. Shuruppak, the son of Ubara-Tutu, gaveth these instructions to his son Ziusudra.

BOOK 3

The Third Delivery Of Commandments.

A third time, Shuruppak gaveth instructions to his son. Shuruppak, the son of Ubara-Tutu gaveth instructions to his son Ziusudra: My son, let me give thee instructions: thou shouldst pay attention! Ziusudra, let me speak a word to thee: thou shouldst pay attention! Do not neglect my instructions! Do not transgress the words I speak! (Some mss. add the line: The instructions of an old man are precious; thou shouldst comply with them!)

Thou shouldst not beat a farmer's son: he has constructed thy embankments and ditches.

Thou shouldst not buy a prostitute: she is a mouth that bites. Thou shouldst not buy a house-born slave: he is a herb that makes the stomach sick. Thou shouldst not buy a free man: he will always lean against the wall. Thou shouldst not buy a palace slave girl: she will always be the bottom of the barrel.Thou shouldst rather bring down a foreign slave from the mountains, or thou shouldst bring somebody from a place where he is an alien; my son, then he will pour water for thee where the sun rises and he will walk before thee. He doth not belong to any family, so he doth not want to go to his family; he doth not belong to any city, so he doth not want to go to his city. He cannot knock at the door of [. . .], he cannot enter [. . .]. He will not [. . .] with thee, he will not be presumptuous with thee.

My son, thou shouldst not travel alone eastwards. Thine acquaintance should not [. . .]

A name placed on another one [. . .]; thou shouldst not pile up a mountain on another one.

Fate is a wet bank; it can make one slip.

The elder brother is indeed like a father; the elder sister is indeed like a mother. Listen therefore to thine elder brother, and thou shouldst be obedient to thine elder sister as if she were thy mother.

Thou shouldst not work using only thine eyes; thou wilt not multiply thy possessions using only thy mouth.

The negligent one ruineth his family.

The need for food maketh some people ascend the mountains; it also bringeth traitors and foreigners, since the need for food brings down other people from the mountains.

A small city provides its king with a calf; a huge city digs a house plot.

[The rich man] is well equipped. The poor man inflicteth all kinds of illnesses on the rich man. The married man is well equipped; the unmarried maketh his bed in a haystack. He who wisheth to destroy a house will go ahead and destroy the house; he who wisheth to raise up will go ahead and raise up.

By grasping the neck of a huge ox, thou canst cross the river. By moving along at the side of the mighty men of thy city, my son, thou wilt certainly ascend (to greater wealth and power).

When thou bringest a slave girl from the hills, she bringeth both good and evil with her. The good is in the hands; the evil is in the heart. The heart doth not let go of the good; but the heart cannot let go of the evil either. As if it were a watery place, the heart doth not abandon the good. Evil is a store-room [. . .]

(1 ms. adds: 2 lines unclear)

May the boat with the evil sink in the river! May his waterskin split in the desert!

A loving heart maintains a family; a hateful heart destroys a family.

To have authority, to have possessions and to be steadfast are princely divine powers. Thou shouldst submit to the respected; thou shouldst be humble before the powerful. My son, thou wilt then survive against the wicked.

Thou shouldst not choose a wife during a festival. Her inside is illusory; her outside is illusory. The silver on her is borrowed; the lapis lazuli on her is borrowed; the jewellery on her is borrowed; the dress on her is borrowed; the linen garment on her is borrowed. With [. . .] nothing is comparable.

Thou shouldst not buy a [. . .] bull. Thou shouldst not buy a vicious bull; [. . .] a hole in the cattle-pen [. . .]

One appointeth a reliable woman for a good household.

Thou shouldst not buy a donkey at the time of harvest. A donkey which eateth [. . .] will [. . .] with another donkey.

A vicious donkey hangeth its neck; however, a vicious man, my son, [. . .]

A woman with her own property ruineth the house.

A drunkard will drown the harvest.

A female burglar [. . .] ladder; she flieth into the houses like a fly. A she-donkey [. . .] on the street. A sow suckleth its child on the street. A woman who pricked herself beginneth to cry and holdeth the spindle which pricked (?) her in her hand. She cometh into every house; she peereth into all streets. [. . .] she keepeth saying "Get out!" She looketh around from all parapets. She panteth where there is a quarrel.

(2 lines unclear)

Marry [never a woman] whose heart hateth. My son, [. . .]

(4 lines unclear)

A heart which overfloweth with joy [. . .]

Nothing at all is to be valued, but life should be sweet. Thou shouldst not serve things; things should serve thee. My son, [. . .]

Thou shouldst not [. . .] grain; its [. . .] are numerous.

Thou shouldst not abuse a ewe; otherwise thou wilt give birth to a daughter. Thou shouldst not throw a lump of earth into the money chest; otherwise thou wilt give birth to a son.

Thou shouldst not abduct a wife; thou shouldst not make her cry. The place where the wife is abducted to [becometh the graveyard of her heart].

"Let us run in circles, saying: "Oh, my foot, oh, my neck!". Let us with united forces make the mighty bow!"

Thou shouldst not kill a [. . .], he is a child born by [. . .]. Thou shouldst not kill [. . .] like [. . .]; thou shouldst not bind him.

The wet-nurses in the women's quarters determine the fate of their lord.

Thou shouldst not speak arrogantly to thy mother; that causes hatred for thee. Thou shouldst not question the words of thy mother and thy personal God. The mother, like Utu, giveth birth to the man; the father, like a god, maketh him bright. The father is like a god: his words are reliable. The instructions of the father should be complied with.

Without suburbs a city hath no centre either.

My son, a field situated at the bottom of the embankments, be it wet or dry, is nevertheless a source of income.

It is inconceivable that something is lost forever.

[. . .] of Dilmun [. . .]

An unknown place is terrible; to get lost is shameful for a dog. On the unfamiliar way at the edge of the mountains, the gods of the mountains are man-eaters. They do not build houses there as men do; they do not build cities there as men do.

(1 line unclear)

For the shepherd, he stopped searching, he stopped bringing back the sheep. For the farmer, he stopped ploughing the field.

(1 line unclear)

This gift of words is something which sootheth the mind [. . .]; when it cometh into the palace, it sootheth the mind [. . .]. The gift of many words [. . .] stars.

These are the instructions given by Shuruppak, the son of Ubara-Tutu.

Praise be to the lady who completed the great tablets, the maiden Nisaba (the Goddess of writing, learning, and the harvest), that Shuruppak, the son of Ubara-Tutu gave his instructions!

THE CODE OF UR-NAMMU

Possible Author: Shulgi the son of Ur-Nammu
Translation: Samuel Noah Kramer, 1952
Estimated Range of Dating: 2100-2000 B.C.

(The Code of Ur-Nammu is the oldest known law code surviving today. It is from Mesopotamia and is written on tablets, in the Sumerian language c. 2100–2050 BC. The first copy of the code, in two fragments found at Nippur, was translated by Samuel Noah Kramer in 1952. These fragments are held at the Istanbul Archaeological Museums. Owing to its partial preservation, only the prologue and 5 of the laws were discernible. Further tablets were found in Ur and translated in 1965, allowing some 30 of the 57 laws to be reconstructed. Another copy found in Sippar contains slight variants.

The preface directly credits the laws to king Ur-Nammu of Ur (also known as Ur-Namma; 2112–2095 BC). The author who had the laws written onto cuneiform tablets is still somewhat under dispute. Some scholars have attributed it to Ur-Nammu's son Shulgi. Shulgi of Ur was the second king of the Third Dynasty of Ur during the Sumerian Renaissance. He reigned for 48 years, from (c. 2094–2046 BC)

Although it is known that earlier law-codes existed, such as the Code of Urukagina, this represents the earliest extant legal text. It is three centuries older than the Code of Hammurabi. The laws are arranged in casuistic form of IF (crime) THEN (punishment)—a pattern followed in nearly all later codes. It institutes fines of monetary compensation for bodily damage as opposed to the later lex talionis ('eye for an eye') principle of Babylonian law. However, murder, robbery, adultery and rape were capital offenses.

The code reveals a glimpse at societal structure during the "Sumerian Renaissance". Beneath the lugal ("great man" or king), all members of society belonged to one of two basic strata: the "lu" or free person, or the slave (male, arad; female geme). The son of a lu was called a dumu-nita until he married, becoming a "young man" (gurus). A woman (munus) went from being a daughter (dumu-mi) to a wife (dam), then if she outlived her husband, a widow (nu-ma-su), who could remarry.)

PROLOGUE

(The prologue, typical of Mesopotamian law codes, invokes the deities for Ur-Nammu's kingship, Nanna and Utu, and decrees "equity in the land".)

"…After An and Enlil had turned over the Kingship of Ur to Nanna, at that time did Ur-Nammu, son born of Ninsun, for his beloved mother who bore him, in accordance with his principles of equity and truth... Then did Ur-Nammu the mighty warrior, king of Ur, king of Sumer and Akkad, by the might of Nanna, lord of the city, and in accordance with the true word of Utu, establish equity in the land; he banished malediction, violence and strife, and set the monthly Temple expenses at 90 gur of barley, 30 sheep, and 30 sila of butter. He fashioned the bronze sila-measure, standardised the one-mina weight, and standardised the stone weight of a shekel of silver in relation to one mina... The orphan was not delivered up to the rich man; the widow was not delivered up to the mighty man; the man of one shekel was not delivered up to the man of one mina."

[One mina (1/60 of a talent) was made equal to 60 shekels (1 shekel = 8.3 grams, or 0.3 oz.).]

1 If a man commits a murder, that man must be killed.

2 If a man commits a robbery, he will be killed.

3 If a man commits a kidnapping, he is to be imprisoned and pay 15 shekels of silver.

4 If a slave marries a slave, and that slave is set free, he does not leave the household.^

5 If a slave marries a native (i.e. free) person, he/she is to hand the firstborn son over to his owner.

6 If a man violates the right of another and deflowers the virgin wife of a young man, they shall kill that male.

7 If the wife of a man followed after another man and he slept with her, they shall slay that woman, but that male shall be set free.

8 If a man proceeded by force, and deflowered the virgin female slave of another man, that man must pay five shekels of silver.

9 If a man divorces his first-time wife, he shall pay (her) one mina of silver.

10 If it is a (former) widow whom he divorces, he shall pay (her) half a mina of silver.

11 If the man had slept with the widow without there having been any marriage contract, he need not pay any silver.

13 If a man is accused of sorcery he must undergo ordeal by water; if he is proven innocent, his accuser must pay 3 shekels.

14 If a man accused the wife of a man of adultery, and the river ordeal proved her innocent, then the man who had accused her must pay one-third of a mina of silver.

15 If a prospective son-in-law enters the house of his prospective father-in-law, but his father-in-law later gives his daughter to another man, the father-in-law shall return to the rejected son-in-law twofold the amount of bridal presents he had brought.

16 If [text destroyed...], he shall weigh and deliver to him 2 shekels of silver.

17 If a slave escapes from the city limits, and someone returns him, the owner shall pay two shekels to the one who returned him.

18 If a man knocks out the eye of another man, he shall weigh out ½ a mina of silver.

19 If a man has cut off another man's foot, he is to pay ten shekels.

20 If a man, in the course of a scuffle, smashed the limb of another man with a club, he shall pay one mina of silver.

21 If someone severed the nose of another man with a copper knife, he must pay two-thirds of a mina of silver.

22 If a man knocks out a tooth of another man, he shall pay two shekels of silver.

24 [text destroyed...] If he does not have a slave, he is to pay 10 shekels of silver. If he does not have silver, he is to give another thing that belongs to him.

25 If a man's slave-woman, comparing herself to her mistress, speaks insolently to her, her mouth shall be scoured with 1 quart of salt.

26 If a slave woman strikes someone acting with the authority of her mistress, [text destroyed...]

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28 If a man appeared as a witness, and was shown to be a perjurer, he must pay fifteen shekels of silver.

29 If a man appears as a witness, but withdraws his oath, he must make payment, to the extent of the value in litigation of the case.

30 If a man stealthily cultivates the field of another man and he raises a complaint, this is however to be rejected, and this man will lose his expenses.

31 If a man flooded the field of a man with water, he shall measure out three kur of barley per iku of field.

32 If a man had let an arable field to a(nother) man for cultivation, but he did not cultivate it, turning it into wasteland, he shall measure out three kur of barley per iku of field.

THE CODE OF LIPIT-ISHTAR
Translation; Anonymus
Estimated Range of Dating: 1870-1860 B.C.

(Lipit-Ishtar (r. c. 1870 BC — c. 1860 BC by the short chronology of the ancient near east) was the 5th king of the First Dynasty of Isin, according to the "Sumerian King List" (SKL). Also according to the SKL: he was the successor of Ishme-Dagan. Ur-Ninurta then succeeded Lipit-Ishtar. Some documents and royal inscriptions from his time have survived, however; Lipit-Ishtar is mostly known due to the Sumerian language hymns that were written in his honour, as well as a legal code written in his name (preceding the famed Code of Hammurabi by about 100 years)—which were used for school instruction for hundreds of years after Lipit-Ishtar's death. The annals of Lipit-Ishtar's reign recorded that he also repulsed the Amorites. The text exists on several partial fragments. The following complete laws have been reconstructed:)

8 If a man gave bare ground to another man to set out as an orchard and the latter did not complete setting out that bare ground as an orchard, he shall give to the man who set out the orchard the bare ground which he neglected as part of his share.

9 If a man entered the orchard of another man and was seized there for stealing, he shall pay ten shekels of silver.

10 If a man cut down a tree in the garden of another man, he shall pay one-half mina of silver.

11 If adjacent to the house of a man the bare ground of another man has been neglected and the owner of the house has said to the owner of the bare ground, "Because your ground has been neglected someone may break into my house: strengthen your house," and this agreement has been confirmed by him, the owner of the bare ground shall restore to the owner of the house any of his property that is lost.

12 If a slave-girl or slave of a man has fled into the heart of the city and it has been confirmed that he (or she) dwelt in the house of (another) man for one month, he shall give slave for slave.

13 If he has no slave, he shall pay fifteen shekels of silver.

14 If a man's slave has compensated his slave-ship to his master and it is confirmed (that he has compensated) his master two-fold, that slave shall be freed.

15 If a miqtum [servant] is the grant of a king, he shall not be taken away.

16 If a miqtum went to a man of his own free will, that man shall not hold him; he (the miqtum) may go where he desires.

17 If a man without authorisation bound another man to a matter of which he (the latter) had no knowledge, that man is not affirmed (i.e., legally obligated); he (the first man) shall bear the penalty in regard to the matter to which he had bound him.

18 If the master of an estate or the mistress of an estate has defaulted on the tax of an estate and a stranger has borne it, for three years he (the owner) may not be evicted. Afterwards, the man who bore the tax of the estate shall possess that estate and the former owner of the estate shall not raise any claim.

22 If the father is living, his daughter whether she be a high priestess, a priestess, or a hierodule shall dwell in his house like an heir.

24 If the second wife whom he had married bore him children, the dowry which she brought from her father's house belongs to her children but the children of his first wife and the children of his second wife shall divide equally the property of their father.

25 If a man married his wife and she bore him children and those children are living, and a slave also bore children for her master but the father granted freedom to the slave and her children, the children of the slave shall not divide the estate with the children of their former master.

27 If a man's wife has not borne him children but a harlot from the public square has borne him children, he shall provide grain, oil and clothing for that harlot. The children which the harlot has borne him shall be his heirs, and as long as his wife lives the harlot shall not live in the house with the wife.

29 If a son-in-law has entered the house of his (prospective) father-in-law and afterwards they made him go out (of the house) and gave his wife to his companion, they shall present to him the betrothal gifts which he brought and that wife may not marry his companion.

34 If a man rented an ox and injured the flesh at the nose ring, he shall pay one-third of its price.

35 If a man rented an ox and damaged its eye, he shall pay one-half its price.

36 If a man rented an ox and broke its horn, he shall pay one-fourth its price.

37 If a man rented an ox and damaged its tail, he shall pay one-fourth its price.

THE CODE OF HAMMURABI
by King Hammurabi, 1st Babylonian Dynasty
Estimated Time Range: c. 1760 BC.
Translation: Leonard William King, 1910

(The stele was discovered in 1901, at the site of Susa in present-day Iran, where it had been taken as plunder 600 years after its creation. The top of the stele features an image in relief of Hammurabi with Shamash, the Babylonian sun god and god of justice. Below the relief are about 4,130 lines of cuneiform text: one fifth contains a prologue and epilogue in poetic style, while the remaining four fifths contain what are generally called the laws. The laws, which numbered from 1 to 282 (numbers 13 and 66-99 are missing), are inscribed in Old Babylonian on an eight-foot tall stela of black basalt. The code is often pointed to as the first example of the legal concept that some laws are so basic as to be beyond the ability of even a king to change. Because Hammurabi had the laws inscribed in basalt stone (also known as diorite which was most likely quarried in Yesemek, Anatolia which was then the North of Canaan), they were indestructible.

The stele is about 2.25 m tall, weighs about a tonne and has been a valuable object at that time. According to the Mohs scale of mineral hardness which is a qualitative ordinal scale, from 1 to 10 (characterising scratch resistance of various minerals through the ability of harder material to scratch softer material) fine basalt or diorite has a hardness of about 7. This means that the sculptor's tool have to have a similar hardness of 7. Iron or steel with a harness of only 5 would have been too soft for that task. The sculptor might have used quite expensive tools made of quartz, topaz or even diamond to finish that stele in a feasible time.

The code was created circa 1760 BC, is one of the earliest extant sets of laws and one of the best preserved examples of this type of document from ancient Mesopotamia. The Code contains an enumeration of crimes and their various punishments as well as settlements for common disputes and guidelines for citizen's conduct. The Code does not provide opportunity for explanation or excuses, though it does imply one's right to present evidence. The Code of Hammurabi and the Law of Moses in the Torah contain numerous similarities, These are probably due to shared background and the strong influence of the Babylonian Empire on all neighbour regions.

Hammurabi and his dynasty spoke Amorite, meaning a northern Canaanite dialect from Phoenicia and closely related to the Canaanite from Ugarit. The Amorites, were called "Amurru," in Akkadian cuneiform tablets which was also a region nearby. Amurru, the "Amorite kingdom" (c. 2000-1200 BC) was established in a region spanning present-day western and north-western Syria and northern Lebanon. Phoenician Canaanites were not only exploring the Mediterranean Sea in the West but they went also to the East, to Sumer in about 2000 BC. That Hamurabi's dynasty ruled Babylon shows that the Amorite-Canaanites settled there. Already a few decades later, Abraham left Sumer with his tribe, first heading towards Harran in Anatolia, then to Egypt. There, it was most likely Abraham's tribe who became known as "Hyksos," the Hekau Khasut, meaning "rulers of foreign lands" in Egyptian.

This edition was translated by Leonard William King in 1910. Some portions of the text have been lost in the intervening centuries; these are designated with [...].)

PROLOGUE

When Anu the Sublime, King of the Anunaki, and Bel, the lord of Heaven and earth, who decreed the fate of the land, assigned to Marduk, the over-ruling son of Ea, God of righteousness, dominion over earthly man, and made him great among the Igigi, they called Babylon by his illustrious name, made it great on earth, and founded an everlasting kingdom in it, whose foundations are laid so solidly as those of heaven and earth; then Anu and Bel called by name me, Hammurabi, the exalted prince, who feared God, to bring about the rule of righteousness in the land, to destroy the wicked and the evil-doers; so that the strong should not harm the weak; so that I should rule over the black-headed people like Shamash, and enlighten the land, to further the well-being of mankind.

Hammurabi, the prince, called of Bel am I, making riches and increase, enriching Nippur and Dur-ilu beyond compare, sublime patron of E-kur; who reestablished Eridu and purified the worship of E-apsu; who conquered the four quarters of the world, made great the name of Babylon, rejoiced the heart of Marduk, his lord who daily pays his devotions in Saggil; the royal scion whom Sin made; who enriched Ur; the humble, the reverent, who brings wealth to Gish-shir-gal; the white king, heard of Shamash, the mighty, who again laid the foundations of Sippara; who clothed the gravestones of Malkat with green; who made E-babbar great, which is like the heavens, the warrior who guarded Larsa and renewed E-babbar, with Shamash as his helper; the lord who granted new life to Uruk, who brought plenteous water to its inhabitants, raised the head of E-anna, and perfected the beauty of Anu and Nana; shield of the land, who reunited the scattered inhabitants of Isin; who richly endowed E-gal-mach; the protecting king of the city, brother of the god Zamama; who firmly founded the farms of Kish, crowned E-me-te-ursag with glory, redoubled the great holy treasures of Nana, managed the temple of Harsag-kalama; the grave of the enemy, whose help brought about the victory; who increased the power of Cuthah; made all glorious in E-shidlam, the black steer, who gored the enemy; beloved of the god Nebo, who rejoiced the inhabitants of Borsippa, the Sublime; who is indefatigable for E-zida; the divine king of the city; the White, Wise; who broadened the fields of Dilbat, who heaped up the harvests for Urash; the Mighty, the lord to whom come scepter and crown, with which he clothes himself; the Elect of Ma-ma; who fixed the temple bounds of Kesh, who made rich the holy feasts of Nin-tu; the provident, solicitous, who provided food and drink for Lagash and Girsu, who provided large sacrificial offerings for the temple of Ningirsu; who captured the enemy, the Elect of the oracle who fulfilled the prediction of Hallab, who rejoiced the heart of Anunit; the pure prince, whose prayer is accepted by Adad; who satisfied the heart of Adad, the warrior, in Karkar, who restored the vessels for worship in E-ud-gal-gal; the king who granted life to the city of Adab; the guide of E-mach; the princely king of the city, the irresistible warrior, who granted life to the inhabitants of Mashkanshabri, and brought abundance to the temple of Shidlam; the White, Potent, who penetrated the secret cave of the bandits, saved the inhabitants of Malka from misfortune, and fixed their home fast in wealth; who established pure sacrificial gifts for Ea and Dam-gal-nun-na, who made his kingdom everlastingly great; the princely king of the city, who subjected the districts on the Ud-kib-nun-na Canal to the sway of Dagon, his Creator; who spared the inhabitants of Mera and Tutul; the sublime prince, who makes the face of Ninni shine; who presents holy meals to the divinity of Nin-a-zu, who cared for its inhabitants in their need, provided a portion for them in Babylon in peace; the shepherd of the oppressed and of the slaves; whose deeds find favour before Anunit, who provided for Anunit in the temple of Dumash in the suburb of Agade; who recognizes the right, who rules by law; who gave back to the city of Ashur its protecting god; who let the name of Ishtar of Nineveh remain in E-mish-mish; the Sublime, who humbles himself before the great gods; successor of Sumula-il; the mighty son of Sin-muballit; the royal scion of Eternity; the mighty monarch, the sun of Babylon, whose rays shed light over the land of Sumer and Akkad; the king, obeyed by the four quarters of the world; Beloved of Ninni, am I.

When Marduk sent me to rule over men, to give the protection of right to the land, I did right and righteousness in [...], and brought about the well-being of the oppressed.

The Code of Laws

1 If any one ensnare another, putting a ban upon him, but he can not prove it, then he that ensnared him shall be put to death.

2 If any one bring an accusation against a man, and the accused go to the river and leap into the river, if he sink in the river his accuser shall take possession of his house. But if the river prove that the accused is not guilty, and he escape unhurt, then he who had brought the accusation shall be put to death, while he who leaped into the river shall take possession of the house that had belonged to his accuser.

3 If any one bring an accusation of any crime before the elders, and does not prove what he has charged, he shall, if it be a capital offense charged, be put to death.

4 If he satisfy the elders to impose a fine of grain or money, he shall receive the fine that the action produces.

5 If a judge try a case, reach a decision, and present his judgement in writing; if later error shall appear in his decision, and it be through his own fault, then he shall pay twelve times the fine set by him in the case, and he shall be publicly removed from the judge's bench, and never again shall he sit there to render judgement.

6 If any one steal the property of a temple or of the court, he shall be put to death, and also the one who receives the stolen thing from him shall be put to death.

7 If any one buy from the son or the slave of another man, without witnesses or a contract, silver or gold, a male or

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female slave, an ox or a sheep, an ass or anything, or if he take it in charge, he is considered a thief and shall be put to death.

8 If any one steal cattle or sheep, or an ass, or a pig or a goat, if it belong to a god or to the court, the thief shall pay thirtyfold therefor; if they belonged to a freed man of the king he shall pay tenfold; if the thief has nothing with which to pay he shall be put to death.

9 If any one lose an article, and find it in the possession of another: if the person in whose possession the thing is found say "A merchant sold it to me, I paid for it before witnesses," and if the owner of the thing say, "I will bring witnesses who know my property," then shall the purchaser bring the merchant who sold it to him, and the witnesses before whom he bought it, and the owner shall bring witnesses who can identify his property. The judge shall examine their testimony — both of the witnesses before whom the price was paid, and of the witnesses who identify the lost article on oath. The merchant is then proved to be a thief and shall be put to death. The owner of the lost article receives his property, and he who bought it receives the money he paid from the estate of the merchant.

10 If the purchaser does not bring the merchant and the witnesses before whom he bought the article, but its owner bring witnesses who identify it, then the buyer is the thief and shall be put to death, and the owner receives the lost article.

11 If the owner do not bring witnesses to identify the lost article, he is an evil-doer, he has traduced, and shall be put to death.

12 If the witnesses be not at hand, then shall the judge set a limit, at the expiration of six months. If his witnesses have not appeared within the six months, he is an evil-doer, and shall bear the fine of the pending case.

[13 missing]

14 If any one steal the minor son of another, he shall be put to death.

15 If any one take a male or female slave of the court, or a male or female slave of a freed man, outside the city gates, he shall be put to death.

16 If any one receive into his house a runaway male or female slave of the court, or of a freedman, and does not bring it out at the public proclamation of the major domus, the master of the house shall be put to death.

17 If any one find runaway male or female slaves in the open country and bring them to their masters, the master of the slaves shall pay him two shekels of silver.

18 If the slave will not give the name of the master, the finder shall bring him to the palace; a further investigation must follow, and the slave shall be returned to his master.

19 If he hold the slaves in his house, and they are caught there, he shall be put to death.

20 If the slave that he caught run away from him, then shall he swear to the owners of the slave, and he is free of all blame.

21 If any one break a hole into a house (break in to steal), he shall be put to death before that hole and be buried.

22 If any one is committing a robbery and is caught, then he shall be put to death.

23 If the robber is not caught, then shall he who was robbed claim under oath the amount of his loss; then shall the community, and [...] on whose ground and territory and in whose domain it was compensate him for the goods stolen.

24 If persons are stolen, then shall the community and [...] pay one mina of silver to their relatives.

25 If fire break out in a house, and some one who comes to put it out cast his eye upon the property of the owner of the house, and take the property of the master of the house, he shall be thrown into that self-same fire.

26 If a chieftain or a man (common soldier), who has been ordered to go upon the king's highway for war does not go, but hires a mercenary, if he withholds the compensation, then shall this officer or man be put to death, and he who represented him shall take possession of his house.

27 If a chieftain or man be caught in the misfortune of the king (captured in battle), and if his fields and garden be given to another and he take possession, if he return and reaches his place, his field and garden shall be returned to him, he shall take it over again.

28 If a chieftain or a man be caught in the misfortune of a king, if his son is able to enter into possession, then the field and garden shall be given to him, he shall take over the fee of his father.

29 If his son is still young, and can not take possession, a third of the field and garden shall be given to his mother, and she shall bring him up.

30 If a chieftain or a man leave his house, garden, and field and hires it out, and some one else takes possession of his house, garden, and field and uses it for three years: if the first owner return and claims his house, garden, and field, it shall not be given to him, but he who has taken possession of it and used it shall continue to use it.

31 If he hire it out for one year and then return, the house, garden, and field shall be given back to him, and he shall take it over again.

32 If a chieftain or a man is captured on the "Way of the King" (in war), and a merchant buy him free, and bring him back to his place; if he have the means in his house to buy his freedom, he shall buy himself free: if he have nothing in his house with which to buy himself free, he shall be bought free by the temple of his community; if there be nothing in the temple with which to buy him free, the court shall buy his freedom. His field, garden, and house shall not be given for the purchase of his freedom.

33 If a [...] or a [...] enter himself as withdrawn from the "Way of the King," and send a mercenary as substitute, but withdraw him, then the [...] or [...] shall be put to death.

34 If a [...] or a [...] harm the property of a captain, injure the captain, or take away from the captain a gift presented to him by the king, then the [...] or [...] shall be put to death.

35 If any one buy the cattle or sheep which the king has given to chieftains from him, he loses his money.

36 The field, garden, and house of a chieftain, of a man, or of one subject to quit-rent, can not be sold.

37 If any one buy the field, garden, and house of a chieftain, man, or one subject to quit-rent, his contract tablet of sale shall be broken (declared invalid) and he loses his money. The field, garden, and house return to their owners.

38 A chieftain, man, or one subject to quit-rent can not assign his tenure of field, house, and garden to his wife or daughter, nor can he assign it for a debt.

39 He may, however, assign a field, garden, or house which he has bought, and holds as property, to his wife or daughter or give it for debt.

40 He may sell field, garden, and house to a merchant (royal agents) or to any other public official, the buyer holding field, house, and garden for its usufruct.

41 If any one fence in the field, garden, and house of a chieftain, man, or one subject to quit-rent, furnishing the palings therefor; if the chieftain, man, or one subject to quit-rent return to field, garden, and house, the palings which were given to him become his property.

42 If any one take over a field to till it, and obtain no harvest therefrom, it must be proved that he did no work on the field, and he must deliver grain, just as his neighbour raised, to the owner of the field.

43 If he do not till the field, but let it lie fallow, he shall give grain like his neighbour's to the owner of the field, and the field which he let lie fallow he must plow and sow and return to its owner.

44 If any one take over a waste-lying field to make it arable, but is lazy, and does not make it arable, he shall plow the fallow field in the fourth year, harrow it and till it, and give it back to its owner, and for each ten gan (a measure of area) ten gur of grain shall be paid.

45 If a man rent his field for tillage for a fixed rental, and receive the rent of his field, but bad weather come and destroy the harvest, the injury falls upon the tiller of the soil.

46 If he do not receive a fixed rental for his field, but lets it on half or third shares of the harvest, the grain on the field shall be divided proportionately between the tiller and the owner.

47 If the tiller, because he did not succeed in the first year, has had the soil tilled by others, the owner may raise no objection; the field has been cultivated and he receives the harvest according to agreement.

48 If any one owe a debt for a loan, and a storm prostrates the grain, or the harvest fail, or the grain does not grow for lack of water; in that year he need not give his creditor any grain, he washes his debt-tablet in water and pays no rent for this year.

49 If any one take money from a merchant, and give the merchant a field tillable for corn or sesame and order him to plant corn or sesame in the field, and to harvest the crop; if the cultivator plant corn or sesame in the field, at the harvest the corn or sesame that is in the field shall belong to the owner of the field and he shall pay corn as rent, for the money he received from the merchant, and the livelihood of the cultivator shall he give to the merchant.

50 If he give a cultivated corn-field or a cultivated sesame-field, the corn or sesame in the field shall belong to the owner of the field, and he shall return the money to the merchant as rent.

51 If he have no money to repay, then he shall pay in corn or sesame in place of the money as rent for what he received from the merchant, according to the royal tariff.

52 If the cultivator do not plant corn or sesame in the field, the debtor's contract is not weakened.

53 If any one be too lazy to keep his dam in proper condition, and does not so keep it; if then the dam break and all the fields be flooded, then shall he in whose dam the break occurred be sold for money, and the money shall replace the corn which he has caused to be ruined.

54 If he be not able to replace the corn, then he and his possessions shall be divided among the farmers whose corn he has flooded.

55 If any one open his ditches to water his crop, but is careless, and the water flood the field of his neighbour, then he shall pay his neighbour corn for his loss.

56 If a man let in the water, and the water overflow the plantation of his neighbour, he shall pay ten gur of corn for every ten gan of land.

57 If a shepherd, without the permission of the owner of the field, and without the knowledge of the owner of the sheep, lets the sheep into a field to graze, then the owner of the field shall harvest his crop, and the shepherd, who had pastured his flock there without permission of the owner of the field, shall pay to the owner twenty gur of corn for every ten gan.

58 If after the flocks have left the pasture and been shut up in the common fold at the city gate, any shepherd let them into a field and they graze there, this shepherd shall take possession of the field which he has allowed to be grazed on, and at the harvest he must pay sixty gur of corn for every ten gan.

59 If any man, without the knowledge of the owner of a garden, fell a tree in a garden he shall pay half a mina in money.

60 If any one give over a field to a gardener, for him to plant it as a garden, if he work at it, and care for it for four years, in the fifth year the owner and the gardener shall divide it, the owner taking his part in charge.

61 If the gardener has not completed the planting of the field, leaving one part unused, this shall be assigned to him as his.

62 If he do not plant the field that was given over to him as a garden, if it be arable land (for corn or sesame) the gardener shall pay the owner the produce of the field for the years that he let it lie fallow, according to the product of neighbouring fields, put the field in arable condition and return it to its owner.

63 If he transform waste land into arable fields and return it to its owner, the latter shall pay him for one year ten gur for ten gan.

64 If any one hand over his garden to a gardener to work, the gardener shall pay to its owner two-thirds of the produce of the garden, for so long as he has it in possession, and the other third shall he keep.

65 If the gardener do not work in the garden and the product fall off, the gardener shall pay in proportion to other neighbouring gardens.

[66-99 missing]

100 [...] interest for the money, as much as he has received, he shall give a note therefor, and on the day, when they settle, pay to the merchant.

101 If there are no mercantile arrangements in the place whither he went, he shall leave the entire amount of money which he received with the broker to give to the merchant.

102 If a merchant entrust money to an agent (broker) for some investment, and the broker suffer a loss in the place to which he goes, he shall make good the capital to the merchant.

103 If, while on the journey, an enemy take away from him anything that he had, the broker shall swear by God and be free of obligation.

104 If a merchant give an agent corn, wool, oil, or any other goods to transport, the agent shall give a receipt for the amount, and compensate the merchant therefor. Then he shall obtain a receipt form the merchant for the money that he gives the merchant.

105 If the agent is careless, and does not take a receipt for the money which he gave the merchant, he can not consider the unreceipted money as his own.

106 If the agent accept money from the merchant, but have a quarrel with the merchant (denying the receipt), then shall the merchant swear before God and witnesses that he has given this money to the agent, and the agent shall pay him three times the sum.

107 If the merchant cheat the agent, in that as the latter has returned to him all that had been given him, but the merchant denies the receipt of what had been returned to him, then shall this agent convict the merchant before God and the judges, and if he still deny receiving what the agent had given him shall pay six times the sum to the agent.

108 If a tavern-keeper (feminine) does not accept corn according to gross weight in payment of drink, but takes money, and the price of the drink is less than that of the corn, she shall be convicted and thrown into the water.

109 If conspirators meet in the house of a tavern-keeper, and these conspirators are not captured and delivered to the court, the tavern-keeper shall be put to death.

110 If a "sister of a god" open a tavern, or enter a tavern to drink, then shall this woman be burned to death.

111 If an inn-keeper furnish sixty ka of usakani-drink to [...] she shall receive fifty ka of corn at the harvest.

112 If any one be on a journey and entrust silver, gold, precious stones, or any movable property to another, and wish to recover it from him; if the latter do not bring all of the property to the appointed place, but appropriate it to his own use, then shall this man, who did not bring the property to hand it over, be convicted, and he shall pay fivefold for all that had been entrusted to him.

113 If any one have consignment of corn or money, and he take from the granary or box without the knowledge of the owner, then shall he who took corn without the knowledge of

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the owner out of the granary or money out of the box be legally convicted, and repay the corn he has taken. And he shall lose whatever commission was paid to him, or due him.

114 If a man have no claim on another for corn and money, and try to demand it by force, he shall pay one-third of a mina of silver in every case.

115 If any one have a claim for corn or money upon another and imprison him; if the prisoner die in prison a natural death, the case shall go no further.

116 If the prisoner die in prison from blows or maltreatment, the master of the prisoner shall convict the merchant before the judge. If he was a free-born man, the son of the merchant shall be put to death; if it was a slave, he shall pay one-third of a mina of gold, and all that the master of the prisoner gave he shall forfeit.

117 If any one fail to meet a claim for debt, and sell himself, his wife, his son, and daughter for money or give them away to forced labor: they shall work for three years in the house of the man who bought them, or the proprietor, and in the fourth year they shall be set free.

118 If he give a male or female slave away for forced labor, and the merchant sublease them, or sell them for money, no objection can be raised.

119 If any one fail to meet a claim for debt, and he sell the maid servant who has borne him children, for money, the money which the merchant has paid shall be repaid to him by the owner of the slave and she shall be freed.

120 If any one store corn for safe keeping in another person's house, and any harm happen to the corn in storage, or if the owner of the house open the granary and take some of the corn, or if especially he deny that the corn was stored in his house: then the owner of the corn shall claim his corn before God (on oath), and the owner of the house shall pay its owner for all of the corn that he took.

121 If any one store corn in another man's house he shall pay him storage at the rate of one gur for every five ka of corn per year.

122 If any one give another silver, gold, or anything else to keep, he shall show everything to some witness, draw up a contract, and then hand it over for safe keeping.

123 If he turn it over for safe keeping without witness or contract, and if he to whom it was given deny it, then he has no legitimate claim.

124 If any one deliver silver, gold, or anything else to another for safe keeping, before a witness, but he deny it, he shall be brought before a judge, and all that he has denied he shall pay in full.

125 If any one place his property with another for safe keeping, and there, either through thieves or robbers, his property and the property of the other man be lost, the owner of the house, through whose neglect the loss took place, shall compensate the owner for all that was given to him in charge. But the owner of the house shall try to follow up and recover his property, and take it away from the thief.

126 If any one who has not lost his goods state that they have been lost, and make false claims: if he claim his goods and amount of injury before God, even though he has not lost them, he shall be fully compensated for all his loss claimed. (I.e., the oath is all that is needed.)

127 If any one "point the finger" (slander) at a sister of a god or the wife of any one, and can not prove it, this man shall be taken before the judges and his brow shall be marked. (by cutting the skin, or perhaps hair.)

128 If a man take a woman to wife, but have no intercourse with her, this woman is no wife to him.

129 If a man's wife be surprised (in flagrante delicto) with another man, both shall be tied and thrown into the water, but the husband may pardon his wife and the king his slaves.

130 If a man violate the wife (betrothed or child-wife) of another man, who has never known a man, and still lives in her father's house, and sleep with her and be surprised, this man shall be put to death, but the wife is blameless.

131 If a man bring a charge against one's wife, but she is not surprised with another man, she must take an oath and then may return to her house.

132 If the "finger is pointed" at a man's wife about another man, but she is not caught sleeping with the other man, she shall jump into the river for her husband.

133 If a man is taken prisoner in war, and there is a sustenance in his house, but his wife leave house and court, and go to another house: because this wife did not keep her court, and went to another house, she shall be judicially condemned and thrown into the water.

134 If any one be captured in war and there is not sustenance in his house, if then his wife go to another house this woman shall be held blameless.

135 If a man be taken prisoner in war and there be no sustenance in his house and his wife go to another house and bear children; and if later her husband return and come to his home: then this wife shall return to her husband, but the children follow their father.

136 If any one leave his house, run away, and then his wife go to another house, if then he return, and wishes to take his wife back: because he fled from his home and ran away, the wife of this runaway shall not return to her husband.

137 If a man wish to separate from a woman who has borne him children, or from his wife who has borne him children: then he shall give that wife her dowry, and a part of the usufruct of field, garden, and property, so that she can rear her children. When she has brought up her children, a portion of all that is given to the children, equal as that of one son, shall be given to her. She may then marry the man of her heart.

138 If a man wishes to separate from his wife who has borne him no children, he shall give her the amount of her purchase money and the dowry which she brought from her father's house, and let her go.

139 If there was no purchase price he shall give her one mina of gold as a gift of release.

140 If he be a freed man he shall give her one-third of a mina of gold.

141 If a man's wife, who lives in his house, wishes to leave it, plunges into debt, tries to ruin her house, neglects her husband, and is judicially convicted: if her husband offer her release, she may go on her way, and he gives her nothing as a gift of release. If her husband does not wish to release her, and if he take another wife, she shall remain as servant in her husband's house.

142 If a woman quarrel with her husband, and say: "You are not congenial to me," the reasons for her prejudice must be presented. If she is guiltless, and there is no fault on her part, but he leaves and neglects her, then no guilt attaches to this woman, she shall take her dowry and go back to her father's house.

143 If she is not innocent, but leaves her husband, and ruins her house, neglecting her husband, this woman shall be cast into the water.

144 If a man take a wife and this woman give her husband a maid-servant, and she bear him children, but this man wishes to take another wife, this shall not be permitted to him; he shall not take a second wife.

145 If a man take a wife, and she bear him no children, and he intend to take another wife: if he take this second wife, and bring her into the house, this second wife shall not be allowed equality with his wife.

146 If a man take a wife and she give this man a maid-servant as wife and she bear him children, and then this maid assume equality with the wife: because she has borne him children her master shall not sell her for money, but he may keep her as a slave, reckoning her among the maid-servants.

147 If she have not borne him children, then her mistress may sell her for money.

148 If a man take a wife, and she be seized by disease, if he then desire to take a second wife he shall not put away his wife, who has been attacked by disease, but he shall keep her in the house which he has built and support her so long as she lives.

149 If this woman does not wish to remain in her husband's house, then he shall compensate her for the dowry that she brought with her from her father's house, and she may go.

150 If a man give his wife a field, garden, and house and a deed therefor, if then after the death of her husband the sons raise no claim, then the mother may bequeath all to one of her sons whom she prefers, and need leave nothing to his brothers.

151 If a woman who lived in a man's house made an agreement with her husband, that no creditor can arrest her, and has given a document therefor: if that man, before he married that woman, had a debt, the creditor can not hold the woman for it. But if the woman, before she entered the man's house, had contracted a debt, her creditor can not arrest her husband therefor.

152 If after the woman had entered the man's house, both contracted a debt, both must pay the merchant.

153 If the wife of one man on account of another man has their mates (her husband and the other man's wife) murdered, both of them shall be impaled.

154 If a man be guilty of incest with his daughter, he shall be driven from the place (exiled).

155 If a man betroth a girl to his son, and his son have intercourse with her, but he (the father) afterward defile her, and be surprised, then he shall be bound and cast into the water (drowned).

156 If a man betroth a girl to his son, but his son has not known her, and if then he defile her, he shall pay her half a gold mina, and compensate her for all that she brought out of her father's house. She may marry the man of her heart.

157 If any one be guilty of incest with his mother after his father, both shall be burned.

158 If any one be surprised after his father with his chief wife, who has borne children, he shall be driven out of his father's house.

159 If any one, who has brought chattels into his father-in-law's house, and has paid the purchase-money, looks for another wife, and says to his father-in-law: "I do not want your daughter," the girl's father may keep all that he had brought.

160 If a man bring chattels into the house of his father-in-law, and pay the "purchase price" (for his wife): if then the father of the girl say: "I will not give you my daughter," he shall give him back all that he brought with him.

161 If a man bring chattels into his father-in-law's house and pay the "purchase price," if then his friend slander him, and his father-in-law say to the young husband: "You shall not marry my daughter," the he shall give back to him undiminished all that he had brought with him; but his wife shall not be married to the friend.

162 If a man marry a woman, and she bear sons to him; if then this woman die, then shall her father have no claim on her dowry; this belongs to her sons.

163 If a man marry a woman and she bear him no sons; if then this woman die, if the "purchase price" which he had paid into the house of his father-in-law is repaid to him, her husband shall have no claim upon the dowry of this woman; it belongs to her father's house.

164 If his father-in-law do not pay back to him the amount of the "purchase price" he may subtract the amount of the "Purchase price" from the dowry, and then pay the remainder to her father's house.

165 If a man give to one of his sons whom he prefers a field, garden, and house, and a deed therefor: if later the father die, and the brothers divide the estate, then they shall first give him the present of his father, and he shall accept it; and the rest of the paternal property shall they divide.

166 If a man take wives for his son, but take no wife for his minor son, and if then he die: if the sons divide the estate, they shall set aside besides his portion the money for the "purchase price" for the minor brother who had taken no wife as yet, and secure a wife for him.

167 If a man marry a wife and she bear him children: if this wife die and he then take another wife and she bear him children: if then the father die, the sons must not partition the estate according to the mothers, they shall divide the dowries of their mothers only in this way; the paternal estate they shall divide equally with one another.

168 If a man wish to put his son out of his house, and declare before the judge: "I want to put my son out," then the judge shall examine into his reasons. If the son be guilty of no great fault, for which he can be rightfully put out, the father shall not put him out.

169 If he be guilty of a grave fault, which should rightfully deprive him of the filial relationship, the father shall forgive him the first time; but if he be guilty of a grave fault a second time the father may deprive his son of all filial relation.

170 If his wife bear sons to a man, or his maid-servant have borne sons, and the father while still living says to the children whom his maid-servant has borne: "My sons," and he count them with the sons of his wife; if then the father die, then the sons of the wife and of the maid-servant shall divide the paternal property in common. The son of the wife is to partition and choose.

171 If, however, the father while still living did not say to the sons of the maid-servant: "My sons," and then the father dies, then the sons of the maid-servant shall not share with the sons of the wife, but the freedom of the maid and her sons shall be granted. The sons of the wife shall have no right to enslave the sons of the maid; the wife shall take her dowry (from her father), and the gift that her husband gave her and deeded to her (separate from dowry, or the purchase-money paid her father), and live in the home of her husband: so long as she lives she shall use it, it shall not be sold for money. Whatever she leaves shall belong to her children.

172 If her husband made her no gift, she shall be compensated for her gift, and she shall receive a portion from the estate of her husband, equal to that of one child. If her sons oppress her, to force her out of the house, the judge shall examine into the matter, and if the sons are at fault the woman shall not leave her husband's house. If the woman desire to leave the house, she must leave to her sons the gift which her husband gave her, but she may take the dowry of her father's house. Then she may marry the man of her heart.

173 If this woman bear sons to her second husband, in the place to which she went, and then die, her earlier and later sons shall divide the dowry between them.

174 If she bear no sons to her second husband, the sons of her first husband shall have the dowry.

175 If a State slave or the slave of a freed man marry the daughter of a free man, and children are born, the master of the slave shall have no right to enslave the children of the free.

176 If, however, a State slave or the slave of a freed man marry a man's daughter, and after he marries her she bring a dowry from a father's house, if then they both enjoy it and found a household, and accumulate means, if then the slave die, then she who was free born may take her dowry, and all that her husband and she had earned; she shall divide them into two parts, one-half the master for the slave shall take, and the other half shall the free-born woman take for her children. If the free-born woman had no gift she shall take all that her husband and she had earned and divide it into two parts; and the master of the slave shall take one-half and she shall take the other for her children.

177 If a widow, whose children are not grown, wishes to enter another house (remarry), she shall not enter it without

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the knowledge of the judge. If she enter another house the judge shall examine the state of the house of her first husband. Then the house of her first husband shall be entrusted to the second husband and the woman herself as managers. And a record must be made thereof. She shall keep the house in order, bring up the children, and not sell the house-hold utensils. He who buys the utensils of the children of a widow shall lose his money, and the goods shall return to their owners.

178 If a "devoted woman" or a prostitute to whom her father has given a dowry and a deed therefor, but if in this deed it is not stated that she may bequeath it as she pleases, and has not explicitly stated that she has the right of disposal; if then her father die, then her brothers shall hold her field and garden, and give her corn, oil, and milk according to her portion, and satisfy her. If her brothers do not give her corn, oil, and milk according to her share, then her field and garden shall support her. She shall have the usufruct of field and garden and all that her father gave her so long as she lives, but she can not sell or assign it to others. Her position of inheritance belongs to her brothers.

179 If a "sister of a god," or a prostitute, receive a gift from her father, and a deed in which it has been explicitly stated that she may dispose of it as she pleases, and give her complete disposition thereof: if then her father die, then she may leave her property to whomsoever she pleases. Her brothers can raise no claim thereto.

180 If a father give a present to his daughter — either marriageable or a prostitute (unmarriageable) — and then die, then she is to receive a portion as a child from the paternal estate, and enjoy its usufruct so long as she lives. Her estate belongs to her brothers.

181 If a father devote a temple-maid or temple-virgin to God and give her no present: if then the father die, she shall receive the third of a child's portion from the inheritance of her father's house, and enjoy its usufruct so long as she lives. Her estate belongs to her brothers.

182 If a father devote his daughter as a wife of Mardi of Babylon (as in 181), and give her no present, nor a deed; if then her father die, then shall she receive one-third of her portion as a child of her father's house from her brothers, but Marduk may leave her estate to whomsoever she wishes.

183 If a man give his daughter by a concubine a dowry, and a husband, and a deed; if then her father die, she shall receive no portion from the paternal estate.

184 If a man do not give a dowry to his daughter by a concubine, and no husband; if then her father die, her brother shall give her a dowry according to her father's wealth and secure a husband for her.

185 If a man adopt a child and to his name as son, and rear him, this grown son can not be demanded back again.

186 If a man adopt a son, and if after he has taken him he injure his foster father and mother, then this adopted son shall return to his father's house.

187 The son of a paramour in the palace service, or of a prostitute, can not be demanded back.

188 If an artizan has undertaken to rear a child and teaches him his craft, he can not be demanded back.

189 If he has not taught him his craft, this adopted son may return to his father's house.

190 If a man does not maintain a child that he has adopted as a son and reared with his other children, then his adopted son may return to his father's house.

191 If a man, who had adopted a son and reared him, founded a household, and had children, wish to put this adopted son out, then this son shall not simply go his way. His adoptive father shall give him of his wealth one-third of a child's portion, and then he may go. He shall not give him of the field, garden, and house.

192 If a son of a paramour or a prostitute say to his adoptive father or mother: "You are not my father, or my mother," his tongue shall be cut off.

193 If the son of a paramour or a prostitute desire his father's house, and desert his adoptive father and adoptive mother, and goes to his father's house, then shall his eye be put out.

194 If a man give his child to a nurse and the child die in her hands, but the nurse unbeknown to the father and mother nurse another child, then they shall convict her of having nursed another child without the knowledge of the father and mother and her breasts shall be cut off.

195 If a son strike his father, his hands shall be hewn off.

196 If a man put out the eye of another man, his eye shall be put out.

197 If he break another man's bone, his bone shall be broken.

198 If he put out the eye of a freed man, or break the bone of a freed man, he shall pay one gold mina.

199 If he put out the eye of a man's slave, or break the bone of a man's slave, he shall pay one-half of its value.

200 If a man knock out the teeth of his equal, his teeth shall be knocked out.

201 If he knock out the teeth of a freed man, he shall pay one-third of a gold mina.

202 If any one strike the body of a man higher in rank than he, he shall receive sixty blows with an ox-whip in public.

203 If a free-born man strike the body of another free-born man or equal rank, he shall pay one gold mina.

204 If a freed man strike the body of another freed man, he shall pay ten shekels in money.

205 If the slave of a freed man strike the body of a freed man, his ear shall be cut off.

206 If during a quarrel one man strike another and wound him, then he shall swear, "I did not injure him wittingly," and pay the physicians.

207 If the man die of his wound, he shall swear similarly, and if he (the deceased) was a free-born man, he shall pay half a mina in money.

208 If he was a freed man, he shall pay one-third of a mina.

209 If a man strike a free-born woman so that she lose her unborn child, he shall pay ten shekels for her loss.

210 If the woman die, his daughter shall be put to death.

211 If a woman of the free class lose her child by a blow, he shall pay five shekels in money.

212 If this woman die, he shall pay half a mina.

213 If he strike the maid-servant of a man, and she lose her child, he shall pay two shekels in money.

214 If this maid-servant die, he shall pay one-third of a mina.

215 If a physician make a large incision with an operating knife and cure it, or if he open a tumor (over the eye) with an operating knife, and saves the eye, he shall receive ten shekels in money.

216 If the patient be a freed man, he receives five shekels.

217 If he be the slave of some one, his owner shall give the physician two shekels.

218 If a physician make a large incision with the operating knife, and kill him, or open a tumor with the operating knife, and cut out the eye, his hands shall be cut off.

219 If a physician make a large incision in the slave of a freed man, and kill him, he shall replace the slave with another slave.

220 If he had opened a tumor with the operating knife, and put out his eye, he shall pay half his value.

221 If a physician heal the broken bone or diseased soft part of a man, the patient shall pay the physician five shekels in money.

222 If he were a freed man he shall pay three shekels.

223 If he were a slave his owner shall pay the physician two shekels.

224 If a veterinary surgeon perform a serious operation on an ass or an ox, and cure it, the owner shall pay the surgeon one-sixth of a shekel as a fee.

225 If he perform a serious operation on an ass or ox, and kill it, he shall pay the owner one-fourth of its value.

226 If a barber, without the knowledge of his master, cut the sign of a slave on a slave not to be sold, the hands of this barber shall be cut off.

227 If any one deceive a barber, and have him mark a slave not for sale with the sign of a slave, he shall be put to death, and buried in his house. The barber shall swear: "I did not mark him wittingly," and shall be guiltless.

228 If a builder build a house for some one and complete it, he shall give him a fee of two shekels in money for each sar of surface.

229 If a builder build a house for some one, and does not construct it properly, and the house which he built fall in and kill its owner, then that builder shall be put to death.

230 If it kill the son of the owner the son of that builder shall be put to death.

231 If it kill a slave of the owner, then he shall pay slave for slave to the owner of the house.

232 If it ruin goods, he shall make compensation for all that has been ruined, and inasmuch as he did not construct properly this house which he built and it fell, he shall re-erect the house from his own means.

233 If a builder build a house for some one, even though he has not yet completed it; if then the walls seem toppling, the builder must make the walls solid from his own means.

234 If a shipbuilder build a boat of sixty gur for a man, he shall pay him a fee of two shekels in money.

235 If a shipbuilder build a boat for some one, and do not make it tight, if during that same year that boat is sent away and suffers injury, the shipbuilder shall take the boat apart and put it together tight at his own expense. The tight boat he shall give to the boat owner.

236 If a man rent his boat to a sailor, and the sailor is careless, and the boat is wrecked or goes aground, the sailor shall give the owner of the boat another boat as compensation.

237 If a man hire a sailor and his boat, and provide it with corn, clothing, oil and dates, and other things of the kind needed for fitting it: if the sailor is careless, the boat is wrecked, and its contents ruined, then the sailor shall compensate for the boat which was wrecked and all in it that he ruined.

238 If a sailor wreck any one's ship, but saves it, he shall pay the half of its value in money.

239 If a man hire a sailor, he shall pay him six gur of corn per year.

240 If a merchantman run against a ferryboat, and wreck it, the master of the ship that was wrecked shall seek justice before God; the master of the merchantman, which wrecked the ferryboat, must compensate the owner for the boat and all that he ruined.

241 If any one impresses an ox for forced labor, he shall pay one-third of a mina in money.

242 If any one hire oxen for a year, he shall pay four gur of corn for plow-oxen.

243 As rent of herd cattle he shall pay three gur of corn to the owner.

244 If any one hire an ox or an ass, and a lion kill it in the field, the loss is upon its owner.

245 If any one hire oxen, and kill them by bad treatment or blows, he shall compensate the owner, oxen for oxen.

246 If a man hire an ox, and he break its leg or cut the ligament of its neck, he shall compensate the owner with ox for ox.

247 If any one hire an ox, and put out its eye, he shall pay the owner one-half of its value.

248 If any one hire an ox, and break off a horn, or cut off its tail, or hurt its muzzle, he shall pay one-fourth of its value in money.

249 If any one hire an ox, and God strike it that it die, the man who hired it shall swear by God and be considered guiltless.

250 If while an ox is passing on the street (market) some one push it, and kill it, the owner can set up no claim in the suit (against the hirer).

251 If an ox be a goring ox, and it shown that he is a gorer, and he do not bind his horns, or fasten the ox up, and the ox gore a free-born man and kill him, the owner shall pay one-half a mina in money.

252 If he kill a man's slave, he shall pay one-third of a mina.

253 If any one agree with another to tend his field, give him seed, entrust a yoke of oxen to him, and bind him to cultivate the field, if he steal the corn or plants, and take them for himself, his hands shall be hewn off.

254 If he take the seed-corn for himself, and do not use the yoke of oxen, he shall compensate him for the amount of the seed-corn.

255 If he sublet the man's yoke of oxen or steal the seed-corn, planting nothing in the field, he shall be convicted, and for each one hundred gan he shall pay sixty gur of corn.

256 If his community will not pay for him, then he shall be placed in that field with the cattle (at work).

257 If any one hire a field laborer, he shall pay him eight gur of corn per year.

258 If any one hire an ox-driver, he shall pay him six gur of corn per year.

259 If any one steal a water-wheel from the field, he shall pay five shekels in money to its owner.

260 If any one steal a shadduf (used to draw water from the river or canal) or a plow, he shall pay three shekels in money.

261 If any one hire a herdsman for cattle or sheep, he shall pay him eight gur of corn per annum.

262 If any one, a cow or a sheep [...]

263 If he kill the cattle or sheep that were given to him, he shall compensate the owner with cattle for cattle and sheep for sheep.

264 If a herdsman, to whom cattle or sheep have been entrusted for watching over, and who has received his wages as agreed upon, and is satisfied, diminish the number of the cattle or sheep, or make the increase by birth less, he shall make good the increase or profit which was lost in the terms of settlement.

265 If a herdsman, to whose care cattle or sheep have been entrusted, be guilty of fraud and make false returns of the natural increase, or sell them for money, then shall he be convicted and pay the owner ten times the loss.

266 If the animal be killed in the stable by God (an accident), or if a lion kill it, the herdsman shall declare his innocence before God, and the owner bears the accident in the stable.

267 If the herdsman overlook something, and an accident happen in the stable, then the herdsman is at fault for the accident which he has caused in the stable, and he must compensate the owner for the cattle or sheep.

268 If any one hire an ox for threshing, the amount of the hire is twenty ka of corn.

269 If he hire an ass for threshing, the hire is twenty ka of corn.

270 If he hire a young animal for threshing, the hire is ten ka of corn.

271 If any one hire oxen, cart and driver, he shall pay one hundred and eighty ka of corn per day.

272 If any one hire a cart alone, he shall pay forty ka of corn per day.

273 If any one hire a day laborer, he shall pay him from the New Year until the fifth month (April to August, when days are long and the work hard) six gerahs in money per day;

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from the sixth month to the end of the year he shall give him five gerahs per day.

274 If any one hire a skilled artizan, he shall pay as wages of the [...] five gerahs, as wages of the potter five gerahs, of a tailor five gerahs, of [...] gerahs, [...] of a ropemaker four gerahs, of [...] gerahs, of a mason [...] gerahs per day.

275 If any one hire a ferryboat, he shall pay three gerahs in money per day.

276 If he hire a freight-boat, he shall pay two and one-half gerahs per day.

277 If any one hire a ship of sixty gur, he shall pay one-sixth of a shekel in money as its hire per day.

278 If any one buy a male or female slave, and before a month has elapsed the benu-disease be developed, he shall return the slave to the seller, and receive the money which he had paid.

279 If any one by a male or female slave, and a third party claim it, the seller is liable for the claim.

280 If while in a foreign country a man buy a male or female slave belonging to another of his own country; if when he return home the owner of the male or female slave recognize it: if the male or female slave be a native of the country, he shall give them back without any money.

281 If they are from another country, the buyer shall declare the amount of money paid therefor to the merchant, and keep the male or female slave.

282 If a slave say to his master: "You are not my master," if they convict him his master shall cut off his ear.

THE EPILOGUE

Laws of justice which Hammurabi, the wise king, established. A righteous law, and pious statute did he teach the land. Hammurabi, the protecting king am I. I have not withdrawn myself from the men, whom Bel gave to me, the rule over whom Marduk gave to me, I was not negligent, but I made them a peaceful abiding-place. I expounded all great difficulties, I made the light shine upon them. With the mighty weapons which Zamama and Ishtar entrusted to me, with the keen vision with which Ea endowed me, with the wisdom that Marduk gave me, I have uprooted the enemy above and below (in north and south), subdued the earth, brought prosperity to the land, guaranteed security to the inhabitants in their homes; a disturber was not permitted. The great gods have called me, I am the salvation-bearing shepherd, whose staff is straight, the good shadow that is spread over my city; on my breast I cherish the inhabitants of the land of Sumer and Akkad; in my shelter I have let them repose in peace; in my deep wisdom have I enclosed them. That the strong might not injure the weak, in order to protect the widows and orphans, I have in Babylon the city where Anu and Bel raise high their head, in E-Sagil, the Temple, whose foundations stand firm as heaven and earth, in order to bespeak justice in the land, to settle all disputes, and heal all injuries, set up these my precious words, written upon my memorial stone, before the image of me, as king of righteousness.

The king who ruleth among the kings of the cities am I. My words are well considered; there is no wisdom like unto mine. By the command of Shamash, the great judge of heaven and earth, let righteousness go forth in the land: by the order of Marduk, my lord, let no destruction befall my monument. In E-Sagil, which I love, let my name be ever repeated; let the oppressed, who has a case at law, come and stand before this my image as king of righteousness; let him read the inscription, and understand my precious words: the inscription will explain his case to him; he will find out what is just, and his heart will be glad, so that he will say: "Hammurabi is a ruler, who is as a father to his subjects, who holds the words of Marduk in reverence, who has achieved conquest for Marduk over the north and south, who rejoices the heart of Marduk, his lord, who has bestowed benefits for ever and ever on his subjects, and has established order in the land."

When he reads the record, let him pray with full heart to Marduk, my lord, and Zarpanit, my lady; and then shall the protecting deities and the gods, who frequent E-Sagil, graciously grant the desires daily presented before Marduk, my lord, and Zarpanit, my lady.

In future time, through all coming generations, let the king, who may be in the land, observe the words of righteousness which I have written on my monument; let him not alter the law of the land which I have given, the edicts which I have enacted; my monument let him not mar. If such a ruler have wisdom, and be able to keep his land in order, he shall observe the words which I have written in this inscription; the rule, statute, and law of the land which I have given; the decisions which I have made will this inscription show him; let him rule his subjects accordingly, speak justice to them, give right decisions, root out the miscreants and criminals from this land, and grant prosperity to his subjects.

Hammurabi, the king of righteousness, on whom Shamash has conferred right (or law) am I. My words are well considered; my deeds are not equaled; to bring low those that were high; to humble the proud, to expel insolence. If a succeeding ruler considers my words, which I have written in this my inscription, if he do not annul my law, nor corrupt my words, nor change my monument, then may Shamash lengthen that king's reign, as he has that of me, the king of righteousness, that he may reign in righteousness over his subjects. If this ruler do not esteem my words, which I have written in my inscription, if he despise my curses, and fear not the curse of God, if he destroy the law which I have given, corrupt my words, change my monument, efface my name, write his name there, or on account of the curses commission another so to do, that man, whether king or ruler, patesi, or commoner, no matter what he be, may the great God (Anu), the Father of the gods, who has ordered my rule, withdraw from him the glory of royalty, break his scepter, curse his destiny. May Bel, the lord, who fixeth destiny, whose command can not be altered, who has made my kingdom great, order a rebellion which his hand can not control; may he let the wind of the overthrow of his habitation blow, may he ordain the years of his rule in groaning, years of scarcity, years of famine, darkness without light, death with seeing eyes be fated to him; may he (Bel) order with his potent mouth the destruction of his city, the dispersion of his subjects, the cutting off of his rule, the removal of his name and memory from the land. May Belit, the great Mother, whose command is potent in E-Kur (the Babylonian Olympus), the Mistress, who harkens graciously to my petitions, in the seat of judgement and decision (where Bel fixes destiny), turn his affairs evil before Bel, and put the devastation of his land, the destruction of his subjects, the pouring out of his life like water into the mouth of King Bel. May Ea, the great ruler, whose fated decrees come to pass, the thinker of the gods, the omniscient, who maketh long the days of my life, withdraw understanding and wisdom from him, lead him to forgetfulness, shut up his rivers at their sources, and not allow corn or sustenance for man to grow in his land. May Shamash, the great Judge of heaven and earth, who supporteth all means of livelihood, Lord of life-courage, shatter his dominion, annul his law, destroy his way, make vain the march of his troops, send him in his visions forecasts of the uprooting of the foundations of his throne and of the destruction of his land. May the condemnation of Shamash overtake him forthwith; may he be deprived of water above among the living, and his spirit below in the earth. May Sin (the Moon-god), the Lord of Heaven, the divine father, whose crescent gives light among the gods, take away the crown and regal throne from him; may he put upon him heavy guilt, great decay, that nothing may be lower than he. May he destine him as fated, days, months and years of dominion filled with sighing and tears, increase of the burden of dominion, a life that is like unto death. May Adad, the lord of fruitfulness, ruler of heaven and earth, my helper, withhold from him rain from heaven, and the flood of water from the springs, destroying his land by famine and want; may he rage mightily over his city, and make his land into flood-hills (heaps of ruined cities). May Zamama, the great warrior, the first-born son of E-Kur, who goeth at my right hand, shatter his weapons on the field of battle, turn day into night for him, and let his foe triumph over him. May Ishtar, the goddess of fighting and war, who unfetters my weapons, my gracious protecting spirit, who loveth my dominion, curse his kingdom in her angry heart; in her great wrath, change his grace into evil, and shatter his weapons on the place of fighting and war. May she create disorder and sedition for him, strike down his warriors, that the earth may drink their blood, and throw down the piles of corpses of his warriors on the field; may she not grant him a life of mercy, deliver him into the hands of his enemies, and imprison him in the land of his enemies. May Nergal, the might among the gods, whose contest is irresistible, who grants me victory, in his great might burn up his subjects like a slender reedstalk, cut off his limbs with his mighty weapons, and shatter him like an earthen image. May Nin-tu, the sublime mistress of the lands, the fruitful mother, deny him a son, vouchsafe him no name, give him no successor among men. May Nin-karak, the daughter of Anu, who adjudges grace to me, cause to come upon his members in E-kur high fever, severe wounds, that can not be healed, whose nature the physician does not understand, which he can not treat with dressing, which, like the bite of death, can not be removed, until they have sapped away his life. May he lament the loss of his life-power, and may the great gods of heaven and earth, the Anunaki, altogether inflict a curse and evil upon the confines of the temple, the walls of this E-barra (the Sun temple of Sippara), upon his dominion, his land, his warriors, his subjects, and his troops. May Bel curse him with the potent curses of his mouth that can not be altered, and may they come upon him forthwith.

THE CODE OF THE NESILIM

The Ancient Laws Of The Hittites
Source: Hatusha cuneiform tablets CTH 291-292
From: The Library of Original Sources
Vol. 3: The Roman World, pp. 9-11.
Translation: Oliver J. Thatcher, 1901
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 1650-1500 B.C.

(Written somewhere from 1650-1500 BC, the Code of Nesilim was a document that stated ancient laws of the Hittites. Nesilim is the Hittites' name for themselves. The Hittites ruled the central Anatolian kingdom of Hatti from c. 1900 – 800 BC. They formed the earliest known Anatolian civilisation and employed an advanced system of government based on an established legal system. The Hittites created Hattusha, the capital of the kingdom, located in Turkey. The Hittite empire reached its height during the mid-14th century BC when it encompassed an area that included most of Asia Minor. Their military was well trained, well equipped, and employed chariots that were the lightest and fastest of their time.

After 1180 B.C. the empire came to an end during the Bronze Age collapse. Several independent Neo-Hittite city-states were established and some of them survived until the 8th century BC.

The Hittite laws have been preserved on a number of Hittite cuneiform tablets found at Hattusa (CTH 291-292, listing 200 laws). Copies have been found written in Old Hittite as well as in Middle and Late Hittite, indicating that they had validity throughout the duration of the Hittite Empire (ca. 1650–1100 BC).

In general, the Code of Nesilim reveals much about the social structure of the society. The Hittite laws have been preserved on a number of Hittite cuneiform tablets found at Hattusa (CTH 291-292, listing 200 laws). Copies have been found written in Old Hittite as well as in Middle and Late Hittite, indicating that they had validity throughout the duration of the Hittite Empire (ca. 1650–1100 BC).

One of its most significant topics concerned the treatment of slaves.

As in all other ancient civilisations, slaves were not on the same level as free men. Yet, the Code of Nesilim was surprisingly fair, allowing slaves to marry whomever they wanted, to buy property, to open businesses, and to purchase their freedom. Under the Code of Nesilim, slaves were not treated as human chattel, or property that could be used and abused by their masters however they saw fit. They had a limited number of rights that guaranteed them a level of dignity and protection.

Some laws in the Code of Nesilim were rather unusual according to modern standards. For example, if a man raped a woman outdoors, he was sentenced to death. However, if the rape happened at home, it was deemed to be the fault of the woman and she was sentenced to die.

However, compared to the Code of Hammurabi, where death was the punishment for the majority of the offenses described the punishments stated in the Code of Nesilim were not very severe, almost humane.)

Text:

1. If anyone slay a man or woman in a quarrel, he shall bring this one. He shall also give four persons, either men or women, he shall let them go to his home.

2. If anyone slay a male or female slave in a quarrel, he shall bring this one and give two persons, either men or women, he shall let them go to his home.

3. If anyone smite a free man or woman and this one die, he shall bring this one and give two persons, he shall let them go to his home.

4. If anyone smite a male or female slave, he shall bring this one also and give one person, he shall let him or her go to his home.

5. If anyone slay a merchant of Hatti, he shall give one and a half pounds of silver, he shall let it go to his home.

6. If anyone blind a free man or knock out his teeth, formerly they would give one pound of silver, now he shall give twenty half-shekels of silver.

8. If anyone blind a male or female slave or knock out their teeth, he shall give ten half-shekels of silver, he shall let it go to his home.

10. If anyone injure a man so that he cause him suffering, he shall take care of him. Yet he shall give him a man in his place, who shall work for him in his house until he recovers. But if he recover, he shall give him six half-shekels of silver. And to the physician this one shall also give the fee.

17. If anyone cause a free woman to miscarry, if it be the tenth month, he shall give ten half-shekels of silver, if it be the fifth month, he shall give five half-shekels of silver.

18. If anyone cause a female slave to miscarry, if it be the tenth month, he shall give five half-shekels of silver.

20. If any man of Hatti steal a Nesian slave and lead him here to the land of Hatti, and his master discover him, he shall give him twelve half-shekels of silver, he shall let it go to his home.

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21. If anyone steal a slave of a Luwian from the land of Luwia, and lead him here to the land of Hatti, and his master discover him, he shall take his slave only.

24. If a male or female slave run away, he at whose hearth his master finds him or her, shall give fifty half-shekels of silver a year.

31. If a free man and a female slave be fond of each other and come together and he take her for his wife and they set up house and get children, and afterward they either become hostile or come to close quarters, and they divide the house between them, the man shall take the children, only one child shall the woman take.

32. If a slave take a woman as his wife, their case is the same. The majority of the children to the wife and one child to the slave.

33. If a slave take a female slave their case is the same. The majority of children to the female slave and one child to the slave.

34. If a slave convey the bride price to a free son and take him as husband for his daughter, nobody dare surrender him to slavery.

36. If a slave convey the bride price to a free son and take him as husband for his daughter, nobody dare surrender him to slavery.

40. If a soldier disappear, and a vassal arise and the vassal say, AThis is my military holding, but this other one is my tenancy,@ and lay hands upon the fields of the soldier, he may both hold the military holding and perform the tenancy duties. If he refuse the military service, then he forfeits the vacant fields of the soldier. The men of the village shall cultivate them. If the king give a captive, they shall give the fields to him, and he becomes a soldier.

98. If a free man set a house ablaze, he shall build the house, again. And whatever is inside the house, be it a man, an ox, or a sheep that perishes, nothing of these he need compensate.

99. If a slave set a house ablaze, his master shall compensate for him. The nose of the slave and his ears they shall cut off, and give him back to his master. But if he do not compensate, then he shall give up this one.

158. If a man go for wages, bind sheaves, load it into carts, spread it on the straw barn and so forth "till they clear the threshing floor, for three months his wages are thirty pecks of barley. If a woman go for wages in the harvest, for two months he shall give twelve pecks of barley.

159. If anyone harness a yoke of oxen, his wages are one-half peck of barley.

160. If a smith make a copper box, his wages are one hundred pecks of barley. He who makes a copper dish of two-pound weight, his wages are one peck of emmer.

164. If anyone come for borrowing, then make a quarrel and throw down either bread or wine jug, then he shall give one sheep, ten loaves, and one jug of beer. Then he cleanses his house by the offering. Not until the year has elapsed may he salute again the other's house.

170. If a free man kill a serpent and speak the name of another, he shall give one pound of silver; if a slave, this one shall die.

173. If anyone oppose the judgement of the king, his house shall become a ruin. If anyone oppose the judgement of a lord, his head shall be cut off. If a slave rise against his master, he shall go into the pit.

176. If anyone buy an artisan's apprentice, buy either a potter, a smith, a carpenter, a leatherworker, a tailor, a weaver, or a lace-maker, he shall give ten half-shekels.

178. A plow-ox costs fifteen half-shekels of silver, a bull costs ten half-shekels of silver, a great cow costs seven half-shekels of silver, a sheep one half-shekel of silver, a draft horse twenty half-shekels of silver, a mule one pound of silver, a horse fourteen half-shekels of silver.

181-182. Four pounds of copper cost one half-shekel of silver; one tub of lard, one half-shekel of silver; two cheese one half-shekel of silver; a gown twelve half-shekels of silver; one blue woolen garment costs twenty half-shekels of silver; breeches cost ten half-shekels of silver. . .

187. If a man have intercourse with a cow, it is a capital crime, he shall die. They shall lead him to the king's hall. But the king may kill him, the king may grant him his life. But he shall not approach the king.

188. If a man have intercourse with his own mother, it is a capital crime, he shall die. If a man have intercourse with a daughter, it is a capital crime, he shall die. If a man have intercourse with a son, it is a capital crime, he shall die.

190. If a man and a woman come willingly, as men and women, and have intercourse, there shall be no punishment. And if a man have intercourse with his stepmother, there shall be no punishment; except if his father is living, it is a capital crime, the son shall die.

191. If a free man picks up now this woman, now that one, now in this country, then in that country, there shall be no punishment if they came together sexually willingly.

192. If the husband of a woman die, his wife may take her husband's patrimony.

194. If a free man pick up female slaves, now one, now another, there is no punishment for intercourse. If brothers sleep with a free woman, together, or one after the other, there is no punishment. If father and son sleep with a female slave or harlot, together, or one after the other, there is no punishment.

195. If a man sleep with the wife of his brother, while his brother is living, it is a capital crime, he shall die. If a man have taken a free woman, then have intercourse also with her daughter, it is a capital crime, he shall die. If he have taken her daughter, then have intercourse with her mother or her sister, it is a capital crime, he shall die.

197. If a man rape a woman in the mountain, it is the man's wrong, he shall die. But if he rape her in the house, it is the woman's fault, the woman shall die. If the husband find them and then kill them, there is no punishing the husband.

199. If anyone have intercourse with a pig or a dog, he shall die. If a man have intercourse with a horse or a mule, there is no punishment. But he shall not approach the king, and shall not become a priest. If an ox spring upon a man for intercourse, the ox shall die but the man shall not die. One sheep shall be fetched as a substitute for the man, and they shall kill it. If a pig spring upon a man for intercourse, there is no punishment. If any man have intercourse with a foreign woman and pick up this one, now that one, there is no punishment.

200. If anyone give a son for instruction, be it a carpenter, or a potter, or a weaver, or a tailor, or a smith, he shall give six half-shekels of silver for the instruction.

ENKI CYCLE

THE ENKI AND NINHUR SAGA

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.1.1

1-4. Pure are the cities -- and you are the ones to whom they are allotted. Pure is Dilmun land. Pure is Sumer -- and you are the ones to whom it is allotted. Pure is Dilmun land. Pure is Dilmun land. Virginal is Dilmun land. Virginal is Dilmun land. Pristine is Dilmun land.

5-10. He laid her down all alone in Dilmun, and the place where Enki had lain down with his spouse, that place was still virginal, that place was still pristine. He laid her down all alone in Dilmun, and the place where Enki had lain down with Ninsikila, that place was virginal, that place was pristine.

11-16. In Dilmun the raven was not yet cawing, the partridge not cackling. The lion did not slay, the wolf was not carrying off lambs, the dog had not been taught to make kids curl up, the pig had not learned that grain was to be eaten.

17-19. When a widow has spread malt on the roof, the birds did not yet eat that malt up there. The pigeon then did not tuck the head under its wing.

20-26. No eye-diseases said there: "I am the eye disease." No headache said there: "I am the headache." No old woman belonging to it said there: "I am an old woman." No old man belonging to it said there: "I am an old man." No maiden in her unwashed state …… in the city. No man dredging a river said there: "It is getting dark." No herald made the rounds in his border district.

27-28. No singer sang an elulam there. No wailings were wailed in the city's outskirts there.

29-32. Ninsikila said to her father Enki: "You have given a city. You have given a city. What does your giving avail me? You have given a city, Dilmun. You have given a city. What does your giving avail me? You have given ……. You have given a city. What avails me your giving?"

33-39. "You have given ……, a city that has no river quay. You have given a city. What does your giving avail me?"

1 line fragmentary "A city that has no fields, glebe or furrow"

3 lines missing

40-43. (Enki answered Ninsikila:) "When Utu steps up into heaven, fresh waters shall run out of the ground for you from the standing vessels on Ezen's shore, from Nanna's radiant high temple, from the mouth of the waters running underground."

44-49. "May the waters rise up from it into your great basins. May your city drink water aplenty from them. May Dilmun drink water aplenty from them. May your pools of salt water become pools of fresh water. May your city become an emporium on the quay for the Land. May Dilmun become an emporium on the quay for the Land."

[(Possible insertion point for additional lines in a ms. from Urim:)

49A-49P. "May the land of Tukris hand over to you gold from Ḫarali, lapis lazuli and ……. May the land of Meluha load precious desirable cornelian, mes wood of Magan and the best abba wood into large ships for you. May the land of Marhasi yield you precious stones, topazes. May the land of Magan offer you strong, powerful copper, dolerite, u stone and sumin stone. May the Sea-land offer you its own ebony wood, …… of a king. May the 'Tent'-lands offer you fine multicoloured wools. May the land of Elam hand over to you choice wools, its tribute. May the manor of Urim, the royal throne dais, the city ……, load up into large ships for you sesame, august raiment, and fine cloth. May the wide sea yield you its wealth."

49Q-49V. The city's dwellings are good dwellings. Dilmun's dwellings are good dwellings. Its grains are little grains, its dates are big dates, its harvests are triple ……, its wood is …… wood.]

50-54. At that moment, on that day, and under that sun, when Utu stepped up into heaven, from the standing vessels on Ezen's shore, from Nanna's radiant high temple, from the mouth of the waters running underground, fresh waters ran out of the ground for her.

55-62. The waters rose up from it into her great basins. Her city drank water aplenty from them. Dilmun drank water aplenty from them. Her pools of salt water indeed became pools of fresh water. Her fields, glebe and furrows indeed produced grain for her. Her city indeed became an emporium on the quay for the Land. Dilmun indeed became an emporium on the quay for the Land. At that moment, on that day, and under that sun, so it indeed happened.

63-68. All alone the wise one, toward Nintur, the country's mother, Enki, the wise one, toward Nintur, the country's mother, was digging his phallus into the dykes, plunging his phallus into the reedbeds. The august one pulled his phallus aside and cried out: "No man take me in the marsh."

69-74. Enki cried out: "By the life's breath of heaven I adjure you. Lie down for me in the marsh, lie down for me in the marsh, that would be joyous." Enki distributed his semen destined for Damgalnuna. He poured semen into Ninhursaga's womb and she conceived the semen in the womb, the semen of Enki.

75-87. But her one month was one day, but her two months were two days, but her three months were three days, but her four months were four days, but her five months were five days, but her six months were six days, but her seven months were seven days, but her eight months were eight days, but her nine months were nine days. In the month of womanhood, like fine oil, like fine oil, like oil of abundance, Nintur, mother of the country, like fine oil, gave birth to Ninnisig.

88-96. In turn Ninnisig went out to the riverbank. Enki was able to see up there from in the marsh, he was able to see up there, he was. He said to his minister Isimud: "Is this nice youngster not to be kissed? Is this nice Ninnisig not to be kissed?" His minister Isimud answered him: "Is this nice youngster not to be kissed? Is this nice Ninnisig not to be kissed? My master will sail, let me navigate. He will sail, let me navigate."

97-107. First he put his feet in the boat, next he put them on dry land. He clasped her to the bosom, kissed her, Enki poured semen into the womb and she conceived the semen in the womb, the semen of Enki. But her one month was one day, but her two months were two days, but her nine months were nine days. In the month of womanhood, like fine oil, like fine oil, like oil of abundance, Ninnisig, like fine oil, like fine oil, like oil of abundance, gave birth to Ninkura.

108-116. In turn Ninkura went out to the riverbank. Enki was able to see up there from in the marsh, he was able to see up there, he was. He said to his minister Isimud: "Is this nice youngster not to be kissed? Is this nice Ninkura not to kissed?" His minister Isimud answered him: "Kiss this nice youngster. Kiss this nice Ninkura. My master will sail, let me navigate. He will sail, let me navigate."

117-126. First he put his feet in the boat, next he put them on dry land. He clasped her to the bosom, kissed her, Enki poured semen into the womb and she conceived the semen in the womb, the semen of Enki. But her one month was one day, but her nine months were nine days. In the month of womanhood, like fine oil, like fine oil, like oil of abundance, Ninkura, like fine oil, like fine oil, like oil of abundance, gave birth to Uttu, the exalted woman.

[(Insertion point for additional lines in a ms. of unknown origin:)

126A-126K. Ninkura in turn gave birth to Ninimma. She brought the child up and made her flourish. Ninimma in turn went out to the riverbank. Enki was towing his boat along and was able to see up there, ……. He laid eyes on Ninimma on the riverbank and said to his minister Isimud: "Have I ever kissed one like this nice youngster? Have I ever made love to one like nice Ninimma?" His minister Isimud answered him: "My master will sail, let me navigate. He will sail, let me navigate."

126L-126Q. First he put his feet in the boat, next he put them on dry land. He clasped her to the bosom, lying in her crotch, made love to the youngster and kissed her. Enki poured semen into Ninimma's womb and she conceived the semen in the womb, the semen of Enki.

126R-126CC. To the woman its one month was but its one day, its two months were but its two days, its three months were but its three days, its four months were but its four days, its five months were but its five days, its six months were but its six days, its seven months were but its seven days, its eight months were but its eight days, and at its nine days, in the month of womanhood, like fine oil, like fine oil, like oil of

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abundance, Ninimma, like fine oil, like oil of abundance, gave birth to Uttu, the exalted woman.

127-146. Nintur said to Uttu: "Let me advise you, and may you take heed of my advice. Let me speak words to you and may you heed my words. From in the marsh one man is able to see up here, is able to see up here, he is; from in the marsh Enki is able to see up here, is able to see up here, he is. He will set eyes on you."

[10 lines fragmentary] …… Uttu, the exalted woman ……

[3 lines fragmentary]

147-151. (Uttu said:) "Bring cucumbers in ……, bring apples with their stems sticking out, bring grapes in their clusters, and in the house you will indeed have hold of my halter, O Enki, you will indeed have hold of my halter."

152-158. When he was filling with water a second time, he filled the dykes with water, he filled the canals with water, he filled the fallows with water. The gardener in his joy rose from the dust and embraced him: "Who are you who …… the garden?"

159-166. Enki (said to) …… the gardener:

[4 lines missing]

He brought him cucumbers in ……, brought him apples with their stems sticking out (?), brought him grapes in their clusters, filled his lap.

167-177. Enki made his face attractive and took a staff in his hand. Enki came to a halt at Uttu's, knocked at her house (demanding): "Open up, open up." (She asked): "Who are you?" (He answered:) "I am a gardener. Let me give you cucumbers, apples, and grapes for your consent." Joyfully Uttu opened the house. Enki gave Uttu, the exalted woman, cucumbers in ……, gave her apples with their stems sticking out, gave her grapes in their clusters. [(1 line not in the ms. from Nibru:) He poured beer for her in the large ban measure.]

178-185. Uttu, the exalted woman, …… to the left for him, waved the hands for him. Enki aroused Uttu. He clasped her to the bosom, lying in her crotch, fondled her thighs, fondled her with the hand. He clasped her to the bosom, lying in her crotch, made love to the youngster and kissed her. Enki poured semen into Uttu's womb and she conceived the semen in the womb, the semen of Enki.

186-189. Uttu, the beautiful woman, cried out: "Woe, my thighs." She cried out: "Woe, my body. Woe, my heart." Ninhursaga removed the semen from the thighs.

2 lines fragmentary

190-197. She grew the 'tree' plant, she grew the 'honey' plant, she grew the 'vegetable' plant, she grew the esparto grass, she grew the atutu plant, she grew the astaltal plant, she grew the …… plant, she grew the amharu plant.

198-201. Enki was able to see up there from in the marsh, he was able to see up there, he was. He said to his minister Isimud: "I have not determined the destiny of these plants. What is this one? What is that one?"

202-210. His minister Isimud had the answer for him. "My master, the 'tree' plant," he said to him, cut it off for him and Enki ate it. "My master, the 'honey' plant," he said to him, pulled it up for him and Enki ate it. "My master, the 'vegetable' plant," he said to him, cut it off for him and Enki ate it. "My master, the alfalfa grass (?)," he said to him, pulled it up for him and Enki ate it.

211-219. "My master, the atutu plant," he said to him, cut it off for him and Enki ate it. "My master, the astaltal plant," he said to him, pulled it up for him and Enki ate it. "My master, the …… plant," he said to him, cut it off for him and Enki ate it. "My master, the amharu plant," he said to him, pulled it up for him and Enki ate it. Enki determined the destiny of the plants, had them know it in their hearts.

220-227. Ninhursaga cursed the name Enki: "Until his dying day, I will never look upon him with life-giving eye." The Anuna sat down in the dust. But a fox was able to speak to Enlil: "If I bring Ninhursaga to you, what will be my reward?" Enlil answered the fox: "If you bring Ninhursaga to me, I shall erect two birch (?) trees for you in my city and you will be renowned."

228-234. The fox first anointed his body, first shook out his fur (?), first put kohl on his eyes.

[4 lines fragmentary]

235-246. (The fox said to Ninhursaga:) "I have been to Nibru, but Enlil ……. I have been to Urim, but Nanna ……. I have been to Larsam, but Utu ……. I have been to Unug, but Inana ……. I am seeking refuge with one who is ……."

[7 lines fragmentary]

247-253. Ninhursaga hastened to the temple. The Anuna slipped off her garment, made ……, determined its destiny and ……. Ninhursaga made Enki sit by her vagina. [(1 line not in the ms. from Nibru:) She placed her hands on ……. and ……. on its outside.]

254-263. (Ninhursaga asked:) "My brother, what part of you hurts you?" "The top of my head (ugu-dili) hurts me." She gave birth to Ab-u out of it. "My brother, what part of you hurts you?" "The locks of my hair (siki) hurt me." She gave birth to Ninsikila out of it. "My brother, what part of you hurts you?" "My nose (giri) hurts me." She gave birth to Ningiriutud out of it. "My brother, what part of you hurts you?" "My mouth (ka) hurts me." She gave birth to Ninkasi out of it.

264-271. "My brother, what part of you hurts you?" "My throat (zi) hurts me." She gave birth to Nazi out of it. "My brother, what part of you hurts you?" "My arm (a) hurts me." She gave birth to Azimua out of it. "My brother, what part of you hurts you?" "My ribs (ti) hurt me." She gave birth to Ninti out of it. "My brother, what part of you hurts you?" "My sides (zag) hurt me." She gave birth to Ensag out of it.

272-280. (She said:) "For the little ones to whom I have given birth may rewards not be lacking. Ab-u shall become king of the grasses, Ninsikila shall become lord of Magan, Ningiriutud shall marry Ninazu, Ninkasi shall be what satisfies the heart, Nazi shall marry Nindara, Azimua shall marry Ningiszida, Ninti shall become the lady of the month, and Ensag shall become lord of Dilmun."

281. Praise be to Father Enki.

ENKI AND NINMAH

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.1.2

1-11. In those days, in the days when heaven and earth were created; in those nights, in the nights when heaven and earth were created; in those years, in the years when the fates were determined; when the Anuna gods were born; when the goddesses were taken in marriage; when the goddesses were distributed in heaven and earth; when the goddesses …… became pregnant and gave birth; when the gods were obliged …… their food …… dining halls; the senior gods oversaw the work, while the minor gods were bearing the toil. The gods were digging the canals and piling up the silt in Ḫarali. The gods, crushing the clay, began complaining about this life.

12-23. At that time, the one of great wisdom, the creator of all the senior gods, Enki lay on his bed, not waking up from his sleep, in the deep engur, in the subterranean water, the place the inside of which no other god knows. The gods said, weeping: "He is the cause of the lamenting!" Namma, the primeval mother who gave birth to the senior gods, took the tears of the gods to the one who lay sleeping, to the one who did not wake up from his bed, to her son: "Are you really lying there asleep, and …… not awake? The gods, your creatures, are smashing their ……. My son, wake up from your bed! Please apply the skill deriving from your wisdom and create a substitute for the gods so that they can be freed from their toil!"

24-37. At the word of his mother Namma, Enki rose up from his bed. In Ḫal-an-kug, his room for pondering, he slapped his thigh in annoyance. The wise and intelligent one, the prudent, …… of skills, the fashioner of the design of everything brought to life birth-goddesses. Enki reached out his arm over them and turned his attention to them. And after Enki, the fashioner of designs by himself, had pondered the matter, he said to his mother Namma: "My mother, the creature you planned will really come into existence. Impose on him the work of carrying baskets. You should knead clay from the top of the abzu; the birth-goddesses will nip off the clay and you shall bring the form into existence. Let Ninmah act as your assistant; and let Ninimma, Su-zi-ana, Ninmada, Ninbarag, Ninmug, …… and Ninguna stand by as you give birth. My mother, after you have decreed his fate, let Ninmah impose on him the work of carrying baskets."

[5 lines fragmentary] …… she placed it on grass and purified the birth.

44-51. Enki …… brought joy to their heart. He set a feast for his mother Namma and for Ninmah. All the princely birth-goddesses …… ate delicate reed and bread. An, Enlil, and Lord Nudimmud roasted holy kids. All the senior gods praised him: "O lord of wide understanding, who is as wise as you? Enki, the great lord, who can equal your actions? Like a corporeal father, you are the one who has the me of deciding destinies, in fact you are the me."

52-55. Enki and Ninmah drank beer, their hearts became elated, and then Ninmah said to Enki: "Man's body can be either good or bad and whether I make a fate good or bad depends on my will."

56-61. Enki answered Ninmah: "I will counterbalance whatever fate -- good or bad -- you happen to decide." Ninmah took clay from the top of the abzu in her hand and she fashioned from it first a man who could not bend his outstretched weak hands. Enki looked at the man who cannot bend his outstretched weak hands, and decreed his fate: he appointed him as a servant of the king.

62-65. Second, she fashioned one who turned back the light, a man with constantly opened eyes. Enki looked at the who turned back the light, the man with constantly opened eyes, and decreed his fate allotting to it the musical arts, making him as the chief …… in the king's presence.

66-68. [Third, she fashioned one with both feet broken, one with paralysed feet. Enki looked at the one with both feet broken, the one with paralysed feet and …… him for the work of …… and the silversmith and …….] [(1 ms. has instead:) She fashioned one, a third one, born as an idiot. Enki looked at this one, the one born as an idiot, and decreed his fate: he appointed him as a servant of the king.]

69-71. Fourth, she fashioned one who could not hold back his urine. Enki looked at the one who could not hold back his urine and bathed him in enchanted water and drove out the namtar demon from his body.

72-74. Fifth, she fashioned a woman who could not give birth. Enki looked at the woman who could not give birth, [and decreed her fate: he made her belong to the queen's household.] [(1 ms. has instead:) …… as a weaver, fashioned her to belong to the queen's household.]

75-78. Sixth, she fashioned one with neither penis nor vagina on its body. Enki looked at the one with neither penis nor vagina on its body and gave it the name 'Nibru eunuch', and decreed as its fate to stand before the king.

79-82. [Ninmah threw the pinched-off clay from her hand on the ground and a great silence fell][(1 ms. has instead:) Enki threw all the clay to the ground and was greatly ……]. The great lord Enki said to Ninmah: "I have decreed the fates of your creatures and given them their daily bread. Come, now I will fashion somebody for you, and you must decree the fate of the newborn one!"

83-91. Enki devised a shape with head, …… and mouth in its middle, and said to Ninmah: "Pour ejaculated semen into a woman's womb, and the woman will give birth to the semen of her womb." Ninmah stood by for the newborn ……. and the woman brought forth …… in the midst ……. In return, this was Umul: its head was afflicted, its place of …… was afflicted, its eyes were afflicted, its neck was afflicted. It could hardly breathe, its ribs were shaky, its lungs were afflicted, its heart was afflicted, its bowels were afflicted. With its hand and its lolling head it could not not put bread into its mouth; its spine and head were dislocated. The weak hips and the shaky feet could not carry it on the field -- Enki fashioned it in this way.

92-101. Enki said to Ninmah: "For your creatures I have decreed a fate, I have given them their daily bread. Now, you should decree a fate for my creature, give him his daily bread too." Ninmah looked at Umul and turned to him. She went nearer to Umul asked him questions but he could not speak. She offered him bread to eat but he could not reach out for it. He could not lie on ……, he could not ……. Standing up he could not sit down, could not lie down, he could not …… a house, he could not eat bread. Ninmah answered Enki: "The man you have fashioned is neither alive nor dead. He cannot support himself."

102-110. Enki answered Ninmah: "I decreed a fate for the first man with the weak hands, I gave him bread. I decreed a fate for the man who turned back the light, I gave him bread. I decreed a fate for the man with broken, paralysed feet, I gave him bread. I decreed a fate for the man who could not hold back his urine, I gave him bread. I decreed a fate for the woman who could not give birth, I gave her bread. I decreed the fate for the one with neither penis nor vagina on its body, I gave it bread. My sister, ……."

[2 lines fragmentary]

112. Ninmah answered Enki:

[9 lines fragmentary]

122-128. (Ninmah's answer continues) "You entered ……. Look, you do not dwell in heaven, you do not dwell on earth, you do not come out to look at the Land. Where you do not dwell but where my house is built, your words cannot be heard. Where you do not live but where my city is built, I myself am silenced. My city is ruined, my house is destroyed, my child has been taken captive. I am a fugitive who has had to leave the E-kur, even I myself could not escape from your hand."

129-139. Enki replied to Ninmah: "Who could change the words that left your mouth? Remove Umul from your lap ……. Ninmah, may your work be ……, you …… for me what is imperfect; who can oppose this? The man whom I shaped …… after you ……, let him pray! Today let my penis be praised, may your wisdom be confirmed! May the enkum and ninkum …… proclaim your glory ……. My sister, the heroic strength ……. The song …… the writing ……. The gods who heard …… let Umul build my house ……."

140-141. Ninmah could not rival the great lord Enki. Father Enki, your praise is sweet!

ENKI AND THE WORLD ORDER

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.1.3

1-16. Grandiloquent lord of heaven and earth, self-reliant, Father Enki, engendered by a bull, begotten by a wild bull, cherished by Enlil, the Great Mountain, beloved by holy An, king, mes tree planted in the Abzu, rising over all lands; great dragon who stands in Eridug, whose shadow covers heaven and earth, a grove of vines extending over the Land, Enki, lord of plenty of the Anuna gods, Nudimmud, mighty one of the E-kur, strong one of heaven and earth! Your great house is founded in the Abzu, the great mooring-post of heaven and earth. Enki, from whom a single glance is enough to unsettle

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the heart of the mountains; wherever bison are born, where stags are born, where ibex are born, where wild goats are born, in meadows ……, in hollows in the heart of the hills, in green …… unvisited by man, you have fixed your gaze on the heart of the Land as on split reeds.

17-31. Counting the days and putting the months in their houses, so as to complete the years and to submit the completed years to the assembly for a decision, taking decisions to regularise the days: Father Enki, you are the king of the assembled people. You have only to open your mouth for everything to multiply and for plenty to be established. Your branches …… green with their fruit ……, …… do honour to the gods. …… in its forests is like a fleecy garment. Good sheep and good lambs do honour to ……. When …… the prepared fields, …… will accumulate stockpiles and stacks. …… there is oil, there is milk, produced by the sheepfold and cow-pen. The shepherd sweetly sings his rustic song, the cowherd spends the day rocking his churns. Their products would do honour to the late lunches in the gods' great dining hall.

32-37. Your word fills the young man's heart with vigour, so that like a thick-horned bull he butts about in the courtyard. Your word bestows loveliness on the young woman's head, so that the people in their settled cities gaze at her in wonder.

[2 lines unclear]

38-47. Enlil, the Great Mountain, has commissioned you to gladden the hearts of lords and rulers and wish them well. Enki, lord of prosperity, lord of wisdom, lord, the beloved of An, the ornament of Eridug, who establish commands and decisions, who well understands the decreeing of fates: you close up the days ……, and make the months enter their houses. You bring down ……, you have reached their number. You make the people dwell in their dwelling places ……, you make them follow their herdsman …….

[2 lines unclear]

50-51. You turn weapons away from their houses ……, you make the people safe in their dwellings …….

52-60. When Father Enki goes forth to the inseminated people, good seed will come forth. When Nudimmud goes forth to the good pregnant ewes, good lambs will be born; when he goes forth to the fecund cows, good calves will be born; whe he goes forth to the good pregnant goats, good kids will be born. If you go forth to the cultivated fields, to the good germinating fields, stockpiles and stacks can be accumulated on the high plain. If you go forth to the parched areas of the Land,

[2 lines missing or unclear]

61-80. Enki, the king of the Abzu, rejoicing in great splendour, justly praises himself: "My father, the king of heaven and earth, made me famous in heaven and earth. My elder brother, the king of all the lands, gathered up all the divine powers and placed them in my hand. I brought the arts and crafts from the E-kur, the house of Enlil, to my Abzu in Eridug. I am the good semen, begotten by a wild bull, I am the first born of An. I am a great storm rising over the great earth, I am the great lord of the Land. I am the principal among all rulers, the father of all the foreign lands. I am the big brother of the gods, I bring prosperity to perfection. I am the seal-keeper of heaven and earth. I am the wisdom and understanding of all the foreign lands. With An the king, on An's dais, I oversee justice. With Enlil, looking out over the lands, I decree good destinies. He has placed in my hands the decreeing of fates in the place where the sun rises. I am cherished by Nintur. I am named with a good name by Ninhursaga. I am the leader of the Anuna gods. I was born as the firstborn son of holy An."

81-83. After the lord had proclaimed his greatness, after the great prince had eulogised himself, the Anuna gods stood there in prayer and supplication:

84-85. "Praise be to Enki, the much-praised lord who controls all the arts and crafts, who takes decisions!"

86-88. In a state of high delight Enki, the king of the Abzu, rejoicing in great splendour, again justly praises himself: "I am the lord, I am one whose word is reliable, I am one who excels in everything."

89-99. "At my command, sheepfolds have been built, cow-pens have been fenced off. When I approach heaven, a rain of abundance rains from heaven. When I approach earth, there is a high carp-flood. When I approach the green meadows, at my word stockpiles and stacks are accumulated. I have built my house, a shrine, in a pure place, and named it with a good name. I have built my Abzu, a shrine, in ……, and decreed a good fate for it. The shade of my house extends over the …… pool. By my house the suhur carp dart among the honey plants, and the estub carp wave their tails among the small gizi reeds. The small birds chirp in their nests."

100-122. "The lords pay heed …… to me. I am Enki! They stand before me, praising me. The abgal priests and abrig officials who …… stand before me ……. distant days. The enkum and ninkum officiants organise ……. They purify the river for me, they …… the interior of the shrine for me. In my Abzu, sacred songs and incantations resound for me. My barge 'Crown', the 'Stag of the Abzu', transports me there most delightfully. It glides swiftly for me through the great marshes to wherever I have decided, it is obedient to me. The stroke-callers make the oars pull in perfect unison. They sing for me pleasant songs, creating a cheerful mood on the river. Nigir-sig, the captain of my barge, holds the golden sceptre for me. I am Enki! He is in command of my boat 'Stag of the Abzu'. I am the lord! I will travel! I am Enki! I will go forth into my Land! I, the lord who determines the fates, ……,"

[4 lines unclear]

123-130. "I will admire its green cedars. Let the lands of Meluha, Magan and Dilmun look upon me, upon Enki. Let the Dilmun boats be loaded with timber. Let the Magan boats be loaded sky-high. Let the magilum boats of Meluha transport gold and silver and bring them to Nibru for Enlil, king of all the lands."

131-133. He presented animals to those who have no city, to those who have no houses, to the Martu nomads.

134-139. The Anuna gods address affectionately the great prince who has travelled in his Land: "Lord who rides upon the great powers, the pure powers, who controls the great powers, the numberless powers, foremost in all the breadth of heaven and earth; who received the supreme powers in Eridug, the holy place, the most esteemed place, Enki, lord of heaven and earth -- praise!"

140-161. All the lords and rulers, the incantation-priests of Eridug and the linen-clad priests of Sumer, perform the purification rites of the Abzu for the great prince who has travelled in his land; for Father Enki they stand guard in the holy place, the most esteemed place. They …… the chambers ……, they …… the emplacements, they purify the great shrine of the Abzu ……. They bring there the tall juniper, the pure plant. They organise the holy …… in the great watercourse …… of Enki. Skilfully they build the main stairway of Eridug on the Good Quay. They prepare the sacred uzga shrine, where they utter endless prayers.

[7 lines fragmentary or unclear]

162-165. For Enki, …… squabbling together, and the suhurmas carp dart among the honey plants, again fighting amongst themselves for the great prince. The estub carp wave their tails among the small gizi reeds.

166-181. The lord, the great ruler of the Abzu, issues instructions on board the 'Stag of the Abzu' -- the great emblem erected in the Abzu, providing protection, its shade extending over the whole land and refreshing the people, the pillar and pole planted in the …… marsh, rising high over all the foreign lands. The noble captain of the lands, the son of Enlil, holds in his hand the sacred punt-pole, a mes tree ornamented in the Abzu which received the supreme powers in Eridug, the holy place, the most esteemed place. The hero proudly lifts his head towards the Abzu.

[6 lines missing or unclear]

182-187. Sirsir ……, the boatman of the barge, …… the boat for the lord. Nigir-sig, the captain of the barge, holds the holy sceptre for the lord. The fifty lahama deities of the subterranean waters speak affectionately to him. The stroke-callers, like heavenly gamgam birds, …….

188-191. The intrepid king, Father Enki …… in the Land. Prosperity was made to burgeon in heaven and on earth for the great prince who travels in the Land. Enki decreed its fate:

192-209. "Sumer, great mountain, land of heaven and earth, trailing glory, bestowing powers on the people from sunrise to sunset: your powers are superior powers, untouchable, and your heart is complex and inscrutable. Like heaven itself, your just matrix, in which gods too can be born, is beyond reach. Giving birth to kings who put on the good diadem, giving birth to lords who wear the crown on their heads -- your lord, the honoured lord, sits with An the king on An's dais. Your king, the Great Mountain, Father Enlil, the father of all the lands, has blocked you impenetrably like a cedar tree. The Anuna, the great gods, have taken up dwellings in your midst, and consume their food in your giguna shrines among the unique and exceptional trees. Household Sumer, may your sheepfolds be built and your cattle multiply, may your giguna touch the skies. May your good temples reach up to heaven. May the Anuna determine the destinies in your midst."

210-211. Then he proceeded to the sanctuary of Urim. Enki, lord of the Abzu, decreed its fate:

212-218. "City which possesses all that is fitting, bathed by water! Sturdy bull, altar of abundance that strides across the mountains, rising like the hills, forest of hasur cypresses with broad shade, self-confident! May your perfect powers be well-directed. The Great Mountain Enlil has pronounced your name great in heaven and on earth. City whose fate Enki has decreed, sanctuary of Urim, you shall rise high to heaven!"

219-220. Then he proceeded to the land of Meluha. Enki, lord of the Abzu, decreed its fate:

221-237. "Black land, may your trees be great trees, may your forests be forests of highland mes trees! Chairs made from them will grace royal palaces! May your reeds be great reeds, may they ……! Heroes shall …… them on the battlefield as weapons! May your bulls be great bulls, may they be bulls of the mountains! May their bellowing be the bellowing of wild bulls of the mountains! The great powers of the gods shall be made perfect for you! May the francolins of the mountains wear cornelian beards! May your birds all be peacocks! May their cries grace royal palaces! May all your silver be gold! May all your copper be tin-bronze! Land, may all you possess be plentiful! May your people ……! May your men go forth like bulls against their fellow men!"

[2 lines unclear]

238-247. He cleansed and purified the land of Dilmun. He placed Ninsikila in charge of it. He gave …… for the fish spawn, ate its …… fish, bestowed palms on the cultivated land, ate its dates. …… Elam and Marhasi ……. …… to devour ……. The king endowed with strength by Enlil destroyed their houses, demolished their walls. He brought their silver and lapis-lazuli, their treasure, to Enlil, king of all the lands, in Nibru.

248-249. Enki presented animals to those who have no city, who have no houses, to the Martu nomads.

250-266. After he had turned his gaze from there, after Father Enki had lifted his eyes across the Euphrates, he stood up full of lust like a rampant bull, lifted his penis, ejaculated and filled the Tigris with flowing water. He was like a wild cow mooing for its young in the wild grass, its scorpion-infested cow-pen. The Tigris …… at his side like a rampant bull. By lifting his penis, he brought a bridal gift. The Tigris rejoiced in its heart like a great wild bull, when it was born ……. It brought water, flowing water indeed: its wine will be sweet. It brought barley, mottled barley indeed: the people will eat it. It filled the E-kur, the house of Enlil, with all sorts of things. Enlil was delighted with Enki, and Nibru was glad. The lord put on the diadem as a sign of lordship, he put on the good crown as a sign of kingship, touching the ground on his left side. Plenty came forth out of the earth for him.

267-273. Enki, the lord of the destinies, Enki, the king of the Abzu, placed in charge of all this him who holds a sceptre in his right hand, him who with glorious mouth submits to verification the devouring force of the Tigris and Euphrates, while prosperity pours forth from the palace like oil -- Enbilulu, the inspector of waterways.

274-277. He called the marshes and gave them the various species of carp, he spoke to the reedbeds and bestowed on them the old and new growths of reeds.

[2 lines missing]

278-284. He issued a challenge ……. Enki placed in charge of all this him from whose net no fish escapes, him from whose trap no living thing escapes, him from whose bird-net no bird escapes,

[1 line unclear]

-- ……., who loves fish.

285-298. The lord established a shrine, a holy shrine, whose interior is elaborately constructed. He established a shrine in the sea, a holy shrine, whose interior is elaborately constructed. The shrine, whose interior is a tangled thread, is beyond understanding. The shrine's emplacement is situated by the constellation the Field, the holy upper shrine's emplacement faces towards the Chariot constellation. Its terrifying sea is a rising wave, its splendour is fearsome. The Anuna gods dare not approach it. …… to refresh their hearts, the palace rejoices. The Anuna stand by with prayers and supplications. They set up a great altar for Enki in the E-engura, for the lord ……. The great prince ……. …… the pelican of the sea.

[1 line unclear]

299-308. He filled the E-kur, the house of Enlil, with goods of all sorts. Enlil was delighted with Enki, and Nibru was glad. Enki placed in charge of all this, over the wide extent of the sea, her who sets sail …… in the holy shrine, who induces sexual intercourse ……, who …… over the enormous high flood of the subterranean waters, the terrifying waves, the inundation of the sea ……, who comes forth from the ……, the mistress of Sirara, …… -- Nanse.

309-317. He called to the rain of the heavens. He …… as floating clouds. He made …… rising at the horizon. He turned the mounds into fields ……. Enki placed in charge of all this him who rides on the great storms, who attacks with lightning bolts, the holy bar which blocks the entrance to the interior of heaven, the son of An, the canal inspector of heaven and earth -- Iskur, the bringer of plenty, the son of An.

318-325. He organised ploughs, yokes and teams. The great prince Enki bestowed the horned oxen that follow the …… tools, he opened up the holy furrows, and made the barley grow on the cultivated fields. Enki placed in charge of them the lord who wears the diadem, the ornament of the high plain, him of the implements, the farmer of Enlil -- Enkimdu, responsible for ditches and dykes.

326-334. The lord called the cultivated fields, and bestowed on them mottled barley. Enki made chickpeas, lentils and …… grow. He heaped up into piles the early, mottled and innuha varieties of barley. Enki multiplied the stockpiles and stacks, and with Enlil's help he enhanced the people's prosperity. Enki placed in charge of all this her whose head and body are dappled, whose face is covered in syrup, the mistress who causes sexual intercourse, the power of the Land,

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the life of the black-headed -- Ezina, the good bread of the whole world.

335-340. The great prince fixed a string to the hoe, and organised brick moulds. He penetrated the …… like precious oil. Enki placed in charge of them him whose sharp-bladed hoe is a corpse-devouring snake that ……, whose brick mould in place is a tidy stack of hulled grain for the ewes -- Kulla, who …… bricks in the Land.

341-348. He tied down the strings and coordinated them with the foundations, and with the power of the assembly he planned a house and performed the purification rituals. The great prince put down the foundations, and laid the bricks. Enki placed in charge of all this him whose foundations once laid do not sag, whose good houses once built do not collapse (?), whose vaults reach up into the heart of the heavens like a rainbow -- Musdama, Enlil's master builder.

349-357. He raised a holy crown over the upland plain. He fastened a lapis-lazuli beard to the high plain, and made it wear a lapis-lazuli headdress. He made this good place perfect with greenery in abundance. He multiplied the animals of the high plain to an appropriate degree, he multiplied the ibex and wild goats of the pastures, and made them copulate. Enki placed in charge of them the hero who is the crown of the high plain, who is the king of the countryside, the great lion of the high plain, the muscular, the hefty, the burly strength of Enlil -- Sakkan, the king of the hills.

358-367. He built the sheepfolds, carried out their cleaning, made the cow-pens, bestowed on them the best fat and cream, and brought luxury to the gods' dining places. He made the plain, created for greenery, achieve prosperity. Enki placed in charge of all this the king, the good provider of E-ana, the friend of An, the beloved son-in-law of the youth Suen, the holy spouse of Inana the mistress, the lady of the great powers who allows sexual intercourse in the open squares of Kulaba -- Dumuzid-usumgal-ana, the friend of An.

368-380. He filled the E-kur, the house of Enlil, with possessions. Enlil was delighted with Enki and Nibru was glad. He demarcated borders and fixed boundaries. For the Anuna gods, Enki situated dwellings in cities and disposed agricultural land into fields. Enki placed in charge of the whole of heaven and earth the hero, the bull who comes out of the hasur forest bellowing truculently, the youth Utu, the bull standing triumphantly, audaciously, majestically, the father of the Great City (an expression for the underworld), the great herald in the east of holy An, the judge who searches out verdicts for the gods, with a lapis-lazuli beard, rising from the horizon into the holy heavens -- Utu, the son born by Ningal.

381-386. He picked out the tow from the fibres, and set up the loom. Enki greatly perfected the task of women. For Enki, the people …… in …… garments. Enki placed in charge of them the honour of the palace, the dignity of the king -- Uttu, the conscientious woman, the silent one.

387-390. Then, alone lacking any functions, the great woman of heaven, Inana, lacking any functions -- Inana came in to see her father Enki in his house, weeping to him, and making her complaint to him:

391-394. "Enlil left it in your hands to confirm the functions of the Anuna, the great gods. Why did you treat me, the woman, in an exceptional manner? I am holy Inana -- where are my functions?"

395-402. "Aruru, Enlil's sister, Nintur, the lady of giving birth, is to get the holy birth-bricks as her prerogative. She is to carry off the lancet for umbilical cords, the special sand and leeks. She is to get the sila-gara bowl of translucent lapis lazuli (in which to place the afterbirth) . She is to carry off the holy consecrated ala vessel. She is to be the midwife of the land! The birthing of kings and lords is to be in her hands."

403-405. "My illustrious sister, holy Ninisina, is to get the jewellery of suba stones. She is to be the mistress of heaven. She is to stand beside An and speak to him whenever she desires."

406-411. "My illustrious sister, holy Ninmug, is to get the golden chisel and the silver burin. She is to carry off her big flint antasura blade. She is to be the metal-worker of the Land. The fitting of the good diadem when a king is born and the crowning with the crown when a lord is born are to be in her hands."

412-417. "My illustrious sister, holy Nisaba, is to get the measuring-reed. The lapis-lazuli measuring tape is to hang over her arm. She is to proclaim all the great powers. She is to demarcate boundaries and mark borders. She is to be the scribe of the Land. The planning of the gods' meals is to be in her hands."

418-421. "Nanse, the august lady, who rests her feet on the holy pelican, is to be the fisheries inspector of the sea. She is to be responsible for accepting delectable fish and delicious birds from there to go to Nibru for her father Enlil."

422-423. "But why did you treat me, the woman, in an exceptional manner? I am holy Inana -- where are my functions?"

424-436. Enki answered his daughter, holy Inana : "How have I disparaged you? Goddess, how have I disparaged you? How can I enhance you? Maiden Inana, how have I disparaged you? How can I enhance you? I made you speak as a woman with pleasant voice. I made you go forth ……. I covered …… with a garment. I made you exchange its right side and its left side. I clothed you in garments of women's power. I put women's speech in your mouth. I placed in your hands the spindle and the hairpin. I …… to you women's adornment. I settled on you the staff and the crook, with the shepherd's stick beside them."

437-444. "Maiden Inana, how have I disparaged you? How can I enhance you? Amongst the ominous ocurrences in the hurly-burly of battle, I shall make you speak vivifying words; and in its midst, although you are not an arabu bird"(a bird of ill omen) , I shall make you speak ill-omened words also. I made you tangle straight threads; maiden Inana, I made you straighten out tangled threads. I made you put on garments, I made you dress in linen. I made you pick out the tow from the fibres, I made you spin with the spindle. I made you colour tufted cloth with coloured threads.

445-450. "Inana, you heap up human heads like piles of dust, you sow heads like seed. Inana, you destroy what should not be destroyed; you create what should not be created. You remove the cover from the sem drum of lamentations, Maiden Inana, while shutting up the tigi and adab instruments in their homes. You never grow weary with admirers looking at you. Maiden Inana, you know nothing of tying the ropes on deep wells."

451-471. "But now, the heart has overflowed, the Land is restored; Enlil's heart has overflowed, the Land is restored. In his overflowing heart of mankind,"

[4 lines unclear]

"…… lapis-lazuli headdress …… is your prerogative, …… is your prerogative, …… is your prerogative, …… is your prerogative."

[10 lines unclear]

472. Praise be to Father Enki.

ENKI'S JOURNEY TO NIBRU (Nippur)

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.1.4

1-8. In those remote days, when the fates were determined; in a year when An brought about abundance, and people broke through the earth like green plants -- then the lord of the abzu, King Enki, Enki, the lord who determines the fates, built up his temple entirely from silver and lapis lazuli. Its silver and lapis lazuli were the shining daylight. Into the shrine of the abzu he brought joy.

9-17. An artfully made bright crenellation rising out from the abzu was erected for Lord Nudimmud. He built the temple from precious metal, decorated it with lapis lazuli, and covered it abundantly with gold. In Eridug, he built the house on the bank. Its brickwork makes utterances and gives advice. Its eaves roar like a bull; the temple of Enki bellows. During the night the temple praises its lord and offers its best for him.

18-25. Before Lord Enki, Isimud the minister praises the temple; he goes to the temple and speaks to it. He goes to the brick building and addresses it: "Temple, built from precious metal and lapis lazuli; whose foundation pegs are driven into the abzu; which has been cared for by the prince in the abzu! Like the Tigris and the Euphrates, it is mighty and awe-inspiring. Joy has been brought into Enki's abzu."

26-32. "Your lock has no rival. Your bolt is a fearsome lion. Your roof beams are the bull of heaven, an artfully made bright headgear. Your reed-mats are like lapis lazuli, decorating the roof-beams. Your vault is a [bull] [(some mss. have instead:) wild bull] raising its horns. Your door is a lion who [seizes a man] [(1 ms. has instead:) is awe-inspiring]. Your stairway is a lion coming down on a man."

33-43. "Abzu, pure place which fulfils its purpose! E-engura! Your lord has directed his steps towards you. Enki, lord of the abzu, has embellished your foundation pegs with cornelian. He has adorned you with …… and lapis lazuli. The temple of Enki is provisioned with holy wax; it is a bull obedient to its master, roaring by itself and giving advice at the same time. E-engura, which Enki has surrounded with a holy reed fence! In your midst a lofty throne is erected, your door-jamb is the holy locking bar of heaven."

44-48. "Abzu, pure place, place where the fates are determined -- the lord of wisdom, Lord Enki, [(1 ms. adds 1 line:) the lord who determines the fates,] Nudimmud, the lord of Eridug, lets nobody look into its midst. Your abgal priests let their hair down their backs."

49-61. "Enki's beloved Eridug, E-engura whose inside is full of abundance! Abzu, life of the Land, beloved of Enki! Temple built on the edge, befitting the artful divine powers! Eridug, your shadow extends over the midst of the sea! Rising sea without a rival; mighty awe-inspiring river which terrifies the Land! E-engura, high citadel standing firm on the earth! Temple at the edge of the engur, a lion in the midst of the abzu; lofty temple of Enki, which bestows wisdom on the Land; your cry, like that of a mighty rising river, reaches King Enki."

62-67. "He made [the lyre, the algar instrument, the balag drum with the drumsticks] [(some mss. have instead:) the lyre, the algar instrument, the balag drum of your sur priests] [(1 ms. has instead:) your lyre and algar instrument, the balag drum with the drumsticks] [(1 ms. has instead:) the lyre, the algar instrument, the balag drum and even the plectrum], the harhar, the sabitum, and the …… miritum instruments offer their best for his holy temple. The …… resounded by themselves with a sweet sound. The holy algar instrument of Enki played for him on his own and seven [singers sang] [(some mss. have instead:) tigi drums resounded.]"

68-70. "What Enki says is irrefutable; …… is well established." This is what Isimud spoke to the brick building; he praised the E-engura [with sweet songs] [(1 ms. has instead:) duly.]

71-82. As it has been built, as it has been built; as Enki has raised Eridug up, it is an artfully built mountain which floats on the water. His shrine spreads out into the reedbeds; birds brood [(1 ms. adds:) at night] in its green orchards laden with fruit. The suhur carp play among the honey-herbs, and the estub carp dart among the small gizi reeds. When Enki rises, the fish rise before him like waves. He has the abzu stand as a marvel, as he brings joy into the engur.

83-92. Like the sea, he is awe-inspiring; like a mighty river, he instils fear. The Euphrates rises before him as it does before the fierce south wind. His punting pole is [Nirah] [(some mss. have instead:) Imdudu]; his oars are the small reeds. When Enki embarks, the year will be full of abundance. The ship departs of its own accord, with tow rope held by itself. As he leaves the temple of Eridug, the river gurgles to its lord: its sound is a calf's mooing, the mooing of a good cow.

93-95. Enki had oxen slaughtered, and had sheep offered there lavishly. Where there were no ala drums, he installed some in their places; where there were no bronze ub drums, he despatched some to their places.

96-103. He directed his steps on his own to Nibru and entered the temple terrace, the shrine of Nibru. Enki reached for the beer, he reached for the liquor. He had liquor poured into big bronze containers, and had emmer-wheat beer pressed out. In kukuru containers which make the beer good he mixed beer-mash. By adding date-syrup to its taste, he made it strong. He …… its bran-mash.

104-116. In the shrine of Nibru, Enki provided a meal for Enlil, his father. He seated An at the head of the table and seated Enlil next to An. He seated Nintur in the place of honour and seated the Anuna gods at the adjacent places. All of them were drinking and enjoying beer and liquor. They filled the bronze aga vessels to the brim and started a competition, drinking from the bronze vessels of Uras. They made the tilimda vessels shine like holy barges. After beer and liquor had been libated and enjoyed, and after …… from the house, Enlil was made happy in Nibru.

117-129. Enlil addressed the Anuna gods: "Great gods who are standing here! Anuna, who have lined up in the Ubsu-unkena! My son, King Enki has built up the temple! He has made Eridug [rise up] [(1 ms. has instead:) come out] from the ground like a mountain! He has built it in a pleasant place, in Eridug, the pure place, where no one is to enter -- a temple built with silver and decorated with lapis lazuli, a house which tunes the seven tigi drums properly, and provides incantations; where holy songs make all of the house a lovely place -- the shrine of the abzu, the good destiny of Enki, befitting the elaborate divine powers; the temple of Eridug, built with silver: for all this, Father Enki be praised!"

ENLIL CYCLE

ENLIL AND NINLIL

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.2.1

1-12. There was a city, there was a city -- the one we live in. Nibru was the city, the one we live in. Dur-gisnimbar was the city, the one we live in. Id-sala is its holy river, Kar-gestina is its quay. Kar-asar is its quay where boats make fast. Pu-lal is its freshwater well. Id-nunbir-tum is its branching canal, and if one measures from there, its cultivated land is 50 sar each way. Enlil was one of its young men, and Ninlil was one its young women. Nun-bar-se-gunu was one of its wise old women.

13-21. At that time the maiden was advised by her own mother, Ninlil was advised by Nun-bar-se-gunu: "The river is holy, woman! The river is holy -- do not bathe in it! Ninlil, don't walk along the bank of the Id-nunbir-tum! His eye is bright, the lord's eye is bright, he will look at you! The Great Mountain, Father Enlil -- his eye is bright, he will look at you! The shepherd who decides all destinies -- his eye is bright, he will look at you! Straight away he will want to have intercourse, he will want to kiss! He will be happy to pour lusty semen into the womb, and then he will leave you to it!"

22-34. She advised her from the heart, she gave wisdom to her. The river is holy; the woman bathed in the holy river. As Ninlil walked along the bank of the Id-nunbir-tum, his eye was bright, the lord's eye was bright, he looked at her. The Great Mountain, Father Enlil -- his eye was bright, he looked at her. The shepherd who decides all destinies -- his eye was

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bright, he looked at her. The king said to her, "I want to have sex with you!", but he could not make her let him. Enlil said to her, "I want to kiss you!", but he could not make her let him. "My vagina is small, it does not know pregnancy. My lips are young, they do not know kissing. If my mother learns of it, she will slap my hand! If my father learns of it, he will lay hands on me! But right now, no one will stop me from telling this to my girl friend!"

35-53. Enlil spoke to his minister Nuska: "Nuska, my minister!" "At your service! What do you wish?" "Master builder of the E-kur!" "At your service, my lord!" "Has anyone had intercourse with, has anyone kissed a maiden so beautiful, so radiant -- Ninlil, so beautiful, so radiant?" The minister brought his master across by boat, bringing him over with the rope of a small boat, bringing him over in a big boat. The lord, floating downstream to …… -- he was actually to have intercourse with her, he was actually to kiss her! -- Father Enlil, floating downstream to …… -- he was actually to have intercourse with her, he was actually to kiss her! -- he grasped hold of her whom he was seeking -- he was actually to have intercourse with her, he was actually to kiss her! -- so as to lie with her on a small bank ……. He actually had intercourse with her, he actually kissed her. At this one intercourse, at this one kissing he poured the seed of Suen-Asimbabbar into her womb.

54-64. Enlil was walking in the Ki-ur. As Enlil was going about in the Ki-ur, the fifty great gods and the seven gods who decide destinies had Enlil arrested in the Ki-ur. [Enlil, the ritually impure, left the city. Nunamnir, the ritually impure, left the city.] [(2 mss. have instead:) "Enlil, ritually impure, leave the city! Nunamnir, ritually impure, leave the city!"] Enlil, in accordance with what had been decided, Nunamnir, in accordance with what had been decided, Enlil went. Ninlil followed. Nunamnir went, the maiden chased him.

65-90. Enlil spoke to the man at the city gate: "City gatekeeper! Keeper of the barrier! Porter! Keeper of the holy barrier! When your lady Ninlil comes, if she asks after me, don't tell her where I am!" Ninlil addressed the city gatekeeper: "City gatekeeper! Keeper of the barrier! Porter! Keeper of the holy barrier! When did your lord Enlil go by?" She spoke to him; Enlil answered as the city gatekeeper: "My lord has not talked with me at all, O loveliest one. Enlil has not talked with me at all, O loveliest one." "I will make clear my aim and explain my intent. You can fill my womb once it is empty -- Enlil, lord of all the lands, has had sex with me! Just as Enlil is your lord, so am I your lady!" "If you are my lady, let my hand touch your ……!" "The seed of your lord, the bright seed, is in my womb. The seed of Suen, the bright seed, is in my womb." "My master's seed can go up to the heavens! Let my seed go downwards! Let my seed go downwards, instead of my master's seed!" Enlil, as the city gatekeeper, got her to lie down in the chamber. He had intercourse with her there, he kissed her there. At this one intercourse, at this one kissing he poured the seed of Nergal-Meslamta-ea into her womb.

91-116. Enlil went. Ninlil followed. Nunamnir went, the maiden chased him. Enlil approached the man of the Id-kura (river of the underworld) , the man-eating river. "My man of the Id-kura, the man-eating river! When your lady Ninlil comes, if she asks after me, don't you tell her where I am!" Ninlil approached the man of the Id-kura, the man-eating river. "My man of the Id-kura, the man-eating river! When did your lord Enlil go by?", she said to him. Enlil answered as the man of the Id-kura: "My lord has not talked with me at all, O loveliest one. Enlil has not talked with me at all, O loveliest one." "I will make clear my aim and explain my intent. You can fill my womb once it is empty -- Enlil, lord of all the lands, has had sex with me! Just as Enlil is your lord, so am I your lady!" "If you are my lady, let my hand touch your ……!" "The seed of your lord, the bright seed, is in my womb. The seed of Suen, the bright seed, is in my womb." "My master's seed can go up to the heavens! Let my seed go downwards! Let my seed go downwards, instead of my master's seed!" Enlil, as the man of the Id-kura, got her to lie down in the chamber. He had intercourse with her there, he kissed her there. At this one intercourse, at this one kissing he poured into her womb the seed of Ninazu, the king who stretches measuring lines over the fields.

117-142. Enlil went. Ninlil followed. Nunamnir went, the maiden chased him. Enlil approached SI.LU.IGI, the man of the ferryboat. "SI.LU.IGI, my man of the ferryboat! When your lady Ninlil comes, if she asks after me, don't you tell her where I am!" Ninlil approached the man of the ferryboat. "Man of the ferryboat! When did your lord Enlil go by?", she said to him. Enlil answered as the man SI.LU.IGI: "My lord has not talked with me at all, O loveliest one. Enlil has not talked with me at all, O loveliest one." "I will make clear my aim and explain my intent. You can fill my womb once it is empty -- Enlil, king of all the lands, has had sex with me! Just as Enlil is your lord, so am I your lady!" "If you are my lady, let my hand touch your ……!" "The seed of your lord, the bright seed, is in my womb. The seed of Suen, the bright seed, is in my womb." "My master's seed can go up to the heavens! Let my seed go downwards! Let my seed go downwards, instead of my master's seed!" Enlil, as SI.LU.IGI, got her to lie down in the chamber. He had intercourse with her there, he kissed her there. At this one intercourse, at this one kissing he poured into her womb the seed of Enbilulu, the inspector of canals.

143-154. You are lord! You are king! Enlil, you are lord! You are king! Nunamnir, you are lord! You are king! You are supreme lord, you are powerful lord! Lord who makes flax grow, lord who makes barley grow, you are lord of heaven, lord plenty, lord of the earth! You are lord of the earth, lord plenty, lord of heaven! Enlil in heaven, Enlil is king! Lord [whose utterances] [(2 mss. have instead:) whose pronouncements] cannot be altered at all! His primordial utterances will not be changed! For the praise spoken for Ninlil the mother, praise be to [(1 ms. adds:) the Great Mountain,] Father Enlil!

ENLIL AND SUD

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.2.2

Version A

Segment A

1-8. …… she was faithfully sitting on ……, admirable and full of charms. ……, the noble son -- who like him can compare with An and Enlil? Ḫaia, the ……, put the holy semen into her womb. Nun-bar-se-gunu (a name of Nisaba) faithfully gave birth to ……, she brought her up in her …… and suckled her at her breasts full of good milk. The …… of the young girl burgeoned, and she became full of flourishing beauty. In the …… of Nisaba, at the gate of the E-zagin, …… she stood, the object of admiration, like a tall, beautifully shaped cow.

9-26. At that time Enlil had not yet been given a wife in the E-kur; Ninlil's name was not yet famous in the Ki-ur. After travelling through Sumer and to the ends of the universe, he ……; in his search throughout the Land, Enlil, the Great Mountain, stopped at Eres. As he looked around there, he found the woman of his choice. He approached her and, overflowing with joy, engaged her in conversation: "I will make you perfect in a queen's dress; after standing in the street, you will be ……. How impressed I am by your beauty, even if you are a shameless person!" In her youthful inexperience Sud answered Enlil: "If I want to stand proudly at our gate, who dares to give me a bad reputation? What are your intentions? Why have you come here? …… from my sight!" Others had already tried to deceive ……, and made her angry. Enlil …… answered Sud, …… standing closer to her: "Come, I want to speak to you! I will have a talk with you about your becoming my wife. Kiss me, my lady of most beautiful eyes -- the matter rests in your hands." But the words had barely left his mouth when, right in front of him, she went into the house.

27-43. The heart of the wise lord pounded. He called for Nuska. "What is your wish?" He gave the following instructions to him: "I want you to go back to Eres, the city of Nisaba, the city whose foundations are august. Do not delay! Repeat to her what I am going to tell you: "I am a young man, I have sent this message to you because of my wish: I want to take your daughter as wife. Give me your consent. I will send you presents in my name, …… my marriage gifts. I am Enlil, the descendant and offspring of Ansar, the noble, the lord of heaven and earth. The name of your daughter shall become Ninlil, and all the foreign countries shall …… it. I will present her with the Ga-gis-sua as her storehouse. I will give her the Ki-ur to be her beloved private quarters. She shall [sit] [(1 ms. has instead:) live] with me in the E-kur, [my] [(1 ms. has instead:) the] august dais. She shall determine fates. She shall apportion the divine powers among the Anuna, the great gods. And as for you, I will place in your hands the lives of the black-headed people." When you get there, let the woman I have chosen for her beauty …… her mother. Do not go to her empty-handed, but take her some jewellery in your left hand. Waste no time. Return with her answer quickly."

44-73. When Nuska, the head of the assembly, had received Enlil's instructions, he wasted no time ……; he directed his steps to Eres. He entered E-zagin, the residence of Nanibgal (a name of Nisaba) and prostrated himself before Nanibgal on her dais. …… of Enlil ……, and she asked him ……: "…… what ……?"

[7 lines missing / 1 line fragmentary] (Nuska speaks:) "…… Sud ……. What you have told me ……." Then Nanibgal went on speaking flatteringly to the minister: "Adviser, fit for his king, ever observant! Who like you could give counsel daily to the Great Mountain? How could I contest the king's message which his slave has received? If there is truth in what you have told me -- and may there be no falsehood -- who could reject one who bestows such exceedingly great favours? …… makes our mood and hearts happy. Let us consider that amends have been made. By bringing the marriage gifts and the presents in his name the insult is wiped away. Tell him: "You shall become my son-in-law; do as you wish!" Tell Enlil, the Great Mountain: "Do as you wish!" Let his sister come from her side, and she shall accompany Sud from here. Aruru shall become Sud's sister-in-law: let her be shown the household. Inform your lord thus in his august Ki-ur. Repeat this to Enlil in the privacy of his holy bedchamber."

74-102. After …… had instructed ……, …… and Nuska took his seat on it.

[1 line missing]

Nanibgal called …… and gave her advice: "My little one, asleep indoors …… your pure ……, the pleasant private quarters ……. …… leave the House of Nisaba's Wisdom. ……, Nuska is knowing and wise. …… to his presence and pour him beer." According to the instructions of her mother, she washed his hands and placed a tankard in his hands. The minister opened his left hand and gave her the jewellery, …… everything …… and set it before her. She received the gifts ……. He …… directed his steps to Nibru. …… kissed the ground before Enlil. …… the great Lady had said ……, as she had instructed him, he repeated ……: "(She said:) "Adviser, fit for his king, ever observant! Who like you could give counsel daily to the Great Mountain? How could I contest the king's message which his slave has received? If there is truth in what you have told me -- and may there be no falsehood -- who could reject one who bestows such exceedingly great favours? …… makes our mood and hearts happy. Let us consider that amends have been made. By bringing the marriage gifts and the presents in his name the insult is wiped away. Tell him: "You shall become my son-in-law; do as you wish!" Tell Enlil, the Great Mountain: "Do as you wish!" Let his sister come from her side, and she shall accompany Sud from here. Aruru shall become Sud's sister-in-law: let her be shown the household. Inform your lord thus in his august Ki-ur. Repeat this to Enlil in the privacy of his holy bedchamber.""

103-113. …… made …… feel good, brought great rejoicing in Enlil's heart. He raised his head ……, and animals came running. …… herds of four-legged animals that graze together in the desert. He caught …… living in the mountains, he made wild bulls, red deer, elephants, fallow deer, gazelles, bears, wild sheep and rams, lynxes, foxes, wild cats, tigers, mountain sheep, water buffaloes, monkeys, and thick-horned fat cattle jostle together noisily. Cows and their calves, wild cattle with wide-spread horns, …… rope, [ewes and lambs, goats and kids, romping ……] [(1 later ms. from Susa has instead:) …… and fighting], large kids with long beards, scratching with their hooves, lambs, ……, and majestic sheep were despatched by Enlil toward Eres.

114-117. Large cheeses, mustard-flavoured cheeses, small cheeses, ……, milk ……, the sweetest dry honey and white honey, ……, and thick and large …… were despatched by Enlil toward Eres.

118-123. ……, dates, figs, large pomegranates, ……, gipar fruits, plums, halub nuts, almonds, acorns, Dilmun dates packed in baskets, dark-coloured date spadices, large pomegranates gathered from orchards, big clusters of grapes on high, …… trees in fruit, trees from orchards, …… grown in winter, and fruits from orchards were despatched by Enlil toward Eres.

124-136. Ores from Ḫarali, the faraway land, …… storehouses, ……, rock-crystal, gold, silver, ……, the yield of the uplands ……, heavy loads of them, were despatched by Enlil toward Eres. After the personal presents, the transported goods ……, Ninmah and the minister ……. The dust from their march reached high into the sky like rain clouds. Enormous marriage gifts were being brought for Nanibgal to Eres; the city was getting full inside and out, …… it was to be replete. The rest …… on the outlying roads ……. …… blue sky …….

[1 line missing / 2 lines fragmentary]

137-145. [Nanibgal, the mother-in-law of Enlil, the woman who had been slandered, was treated kindly by Nuska] [(1 ms. has instead:) …… the mother-in-law of Enlil, the woman …… Ezina ……] -- but the lady disregarded the flatterer, and spoke to her daughter: "May you be [Enlil's favourite wife] [(1 ms. has instead:) the wife of Enlil's heart], and may he speak to you sweetly. May he embrace you, the most beautiful of all, and tell you: "Beloved, open wide!" [May the two of you never lose the pleasure of excitement; make it last a long time.] [(1 ms. has instead:) May it be that the pleasure of excitement will never be lost.] You two …… on the hill, and have children afterwards! When you enter the house to live there, may abundance precede you, and may joy follow you. May the people line up for you wherever you go, and may all the people …… for you. The fate I have determined for you [should be fulfilled] [(1 ms. has instead:) cannot be altered]! Go with head held high into the E-mah."

146-155. Then Aruru grasped her by the hand and led her away into the Es-mah. She brought her into the E-kur, the house of Enlil, and ……. In the sleeping quarters, in the flowered bed …… like a fragrant cedar forest, Enlil made love to his wife and took great pleasure in it.

[1 line fragmentary] The lord whose statements are …… the lady; …… Nintur, the "Lady who gives birth" ……. …… En-batibira's (perhaps a name of Aruru)

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countenance, ……. He presented her with ……, everything ……, and …….

156-170. (Enlil speaks:) "From now on, a woman shall be the ……; a foreign woman shall be the mistress of the house. May my beautiful wife, who was born by holy Nisaba, be Ezina, the growing grain, the life of Sumer. When you appear in the furrows like a beautiful young girl, may Iskur, the canal inspector, be your provider, supplying you with water from the ground. The height of the year is marked with your new prime flax and your new prime grain; Enlil and Ninlil procreate them (?) as desired.

[1 line unclear]

The harvest crop raises its head high for the great festival of Enlil. The scribal art, the tablets decorated with writing, the stylus, the tablet board, reckoning and calculating, adding and subtracting, the shining measuring rope, the ……, the head of the surveyor's peg, the measuring rod, the marking of the boundaries, and the …… are fittingly in your hands. The farmer ……. Woman, the proudest among the Great Princes, ……, from now on, Sud …… Ninlil ……."

[unknown numbers of lines missing]

Segment B

1. A holy song of praise ……. Enlil and Ninlil ……!

Version B

(1 later ms. from Susa preserves a slightly variant version of lines 142ff.)

1-4. (Nisaba speaks:) "…… spend your time on the hill! ……. Enter ……! And may abundance precede you ……! May the people line up for you ……; may all the people …… for you. Your …… which I have determined for you should be fulfilled; …… with head held high into the Es-mah."

5-14. Aruru grasped her …… and …… her away into the Es-mah. She brought her into the shining E-kur, and poured the best perfume over her face. In the sleeping quarters, in the flowered bed fragrant like a cedar forest, Enlil made love to his wife and took great pleasure in it. He sat her on his dais appropriate to the status of Enlil, and made the people pray to her. The lord whose statements are powerful also determined a fate for the Lady (Aruru), the woman of his favour; he gave her the name Nintur, the 'Lady who gives birth', the 'Lady who spreads her knees'. He made beautiful En-batibira's (perhaps a name of Aruru) countenance, ……. He presented her with the …… of a mistress, everything pertaining to women that no man must see, and …….

15-29. (Enlil speaks:) "From now on, a woman shall be the ……; a woman shall be the mistress of the house. May my favourite wife, who was born by holy Nisaba, be Ezina, the grain, the life of the Land. When she appears in the furrows like a beautiful young girl, may …… be her provider, watering her with water from the ground, as she grows prime grain and prime flax ……

[1 line unclear]

…… the harvest crop …… the great festival of Enlil ……. ……, the measuring rod, the marking of the boundaries, and the preparation of canals and levees are fittingly in your hands. The farmer entrusted cultivation into your hands. Proud woman, surpassing the mountains! You who always fulfil your desires -- from now on, Sud, Enlil is the king and Ninlil is the queen. The goddess without name has a famous name now, ……

[1 line unclear]

May it be you who determine that destiny …… attends to it ……."

30-31. As the presents are given in the shrine Nibru, a holy song of praise is sung. Enlil, the lord of the countries, …….

INANNA AND DUMUZID CYCLE

(Inanna (or Inana, Sumerian: Nin-an-ak, meaning "Lady of Heaven;" Akkadian: Ishtar, southern Canaanite: Astarte, northern Canaanite: Ashtart) is an ancient Mesopotamian goddess associated with love, beauty, sex, war, justice and political power. She was originally worshiped in Sumer under the name "Inanna", and was later worshipped by the Akkadians, Babylonians, and Assyrians under the name Ishtar. She was known as the "Queen of Heaven" and was the patron goddess of the Eanna temple at the city of Uruk, which was her main cult center. She was associated with the planet Venus and her most prominent symbols included the lion and the eight-pointed star. Her husband was the god Dumuzid (later known as Tammuz) and her sukkal, or personal attendant, was the goddess Ninshubur (who later became conflated with the male deities Ilabrat and Papsukkal). Inanna was worshiped in Sumer at least as early as the Uruk period (c. 4000 BC – c. 3100 BC), but she had little cult before the conquest of Sargon of Akkad. During the post-Sargonic era, she became one of the most widely venerated deities in the Sumerian pantheon, with temples across Mesopotamia. The cult of Inanna, which may have been associated with a variety of sexual rites, was continued by the East Semitic-speaking people (Akkadians, Assyrians and Babylonians) who succeeded and absorbed the Sumerians in the region. She was especially beloved by the Assyrians, who elevated her to become the highest deity in their pantheon, ranking above their own national god Ashur. Inanna/Ishtar is alluded to in the Hebrew Bible and she greatly influenced the Ugaritic Ashtart and later Phoenician Astarte, who in turn possibly influenced the development of the Greek goddess Aphrodite. Her cult continued to flourish until its gradual decline between the first and sixth centuries AD in the wake of Christianity with its Mary character.

Inanna appears in more myths than any other Sumerian deity. She also had an uniquely high number of epithets and alternate names, comparable only to Nergal. Many of her myths involve her taking over the domains of other deities. She was believed to have stolen the mes, which represented all positive and negative aspects of civilisation, from Enki, the god of wisdom. She was also believed to have taken over the Eanna temple from An, the god of the sky. Alongside her twin brother Utu (later known as Shamash), Inanna was the enforcer of divine justice; she destroyed Mount Ebih for having challenged her authority, unleashed her fury upon the gardener Shukaletuda after he raped her in her sleep, and tracked down the bandit woman Bilulu and killed her in divine retribution for having murdered Dumuzid. In the standard Akkadian version of the Epic of Gilgamesh, Ishtar asks Gilgamesh to become her consort. When he refuses, she unleashes the Bull of Heaven, resulting in the death of Enkidu and Gilgamesh's subsequent grapple with his mortality.

Inanna's most famous myth is the story of her descent into and return from Kur, the Ancient Mesopotamian underworld, a myth in which she attempts to conquer the domain of her older sister Ereshkigal, the queen of the underworld, but is instead deemed guilty of hubris by the seven judges of the underworld and struck dead. Three days later, Ninshubur pleads with all the gods to bring Inanna back, but all of them refuse her except Enki, who sends two sexless beings to rescue Inanna. They escort Inanna out of the underworld, but the galla, the guardians of the underworld, drag her husband Dumuzid down to the Underworld as her replacement. Dumuzid is eventually permitted to return to heaven for half the year while his sister Geshtinanna remains in the underworld for the other half, resulting in the cycle of the seasons.)

A HYMN TO INANNA

Translation: ETCSL (Inana C)
Estimated Range of Dating: 3rd millenium B.C.

1-10. The great-hearted mistress, the impetuous lady, proud among the Anuna gods and pre-eminent in all lands, the great daughter of Suen, exalted among the Great Princes (a name of the Igigi gods) , the magnificent lady who gathers up the divine powers of heaven and earth and rivals great An, is mightiest among the great gods -- she makes their verdicts final. The Anuna gods crawl before her august word whose course she does not let An know; he dare not proceed against her command. She changes her own action, and no one knows how it will occur. She makes perfect the great divine powers, she holds a shepherd's crook, and she is their magnificent pre-eminent one. She is a huge shackle clamping down upon the gods of the Land. Her great awesomeness covers the great mountain and levels the roads.

11-17. At her loud cries, the gods of the Land become scared. Her roaring makes the Anuna gods tremble like a solitary reed. At her rumbling, they hide all together. Without Inana great An makes no decisions, and Enlil determines no destinies. Who opposes the mistress who raises her head and is supreme over the mountains? Wherever she ……, cities become ruin mounds and haunted places, and shrines become waste land. When her wrath makes people tremble, the burning sensation and the distress she causes are like an ulu demon ensnaring a man.

18-28. She stirs confusion and chaos against those who are disobedient to her, speeding carnage and inciting the devastating flood, clothed in terrifying radiance. It is her game to speed conflict and battle, untiring, strapping on her sandals. Clothed (?) in a furious storm, a whirlwind, she …… the garment of ladyship. When she touches …… there is despair, a south wind which has covered ……. Inana sits on harnessed lions, she cuts to pieces him who shows no respect. A leopard of the hills, entering the roads, raging, ……, the mistress is a great bull trusting in its strength; no one dare turn against her. ……, the foremost among the Great Princes, a pitfall for the disobedient, a trap for the evil, a …… for the hostile, wherever she casts her venom …….

29-38. Her wrath is ……, a devastating flood which no one can withstand. A great watercourse, ……, she abases those whom she despises. The mistress, an eagle that lets no one escape, ……, Inana, a falcon preying on the gods, Inana rips to pieces the spacious cattle-pens. The fields of the city which Inana has looked at in anger ……. The furrows of the field which the mistress …… grass. An opposes her, ……. Setting on fire, in the high plain the mistress ……. Inana ……. The mistress …… speeding …… fighting, …… conflict.

39-48. …… she performs a song. This song …… its established plan, weeping, the food and milk of death. Whoever eats …… Inana's food and milk of death will not last. Gall will give a burning pain to those she gives it to eat, …… in their mouth ……. In her joyful heart she performs the song of death on the plain. She performs the song of her heart. She washes their weapons with blood and gore, ……. Axes smash heads, spears penetrate and maces are covered in blood. Their evil mouths …… the warriors ……. On their first offerings she pours blood, filling them with death.

49-59. On the wide and silent plain, darkening the bright daylight, she turns midday into darkness. People look upon each other in anger, they look for combat. Their shouting disturbs the plain, it weighs on the pasture and the waste land. Her howling is like Ishkur's and makes the flesh of all the lands tremble. No one can oppose her murderous battle -- who rivals her? No one can look at her fierce fighting, the speeding carnage. Engulfing (?) water, raging, sweeping over the earth, she leaves nothing behind. The mistress, a breaking plough opening hard ground, ……. The braggarts do not lift their necks, ……. Her great heart performs her bidding, the mistress who alone fashions ……. Exalted in the assembly, she occupies the seat of honour, …… to the right and left.

60-72. Humbling huge mountains as if they were piles of litter, she immobilises ……. She brings about the destruction of the mountain lands from east to west. Inana …… wall …… gulgul stones, she obtains victory. She …… the kalaga stone …… as if it were an earthenware bowl, she makes it like sheep's fat. The proud mistress holds a dagger in her hand, a radiance which covers the Land; her suspended net catches fish in the deep, not even leaving the ahan in the subterranean waters. As if she were a clever fowler no bird escapes the mesh of her suspended net. The place ……, …… the divine plans of heaven and earth. The intention of her word does not …… to An. The context of her confusing advice in the great gods' assembly is not known.

[2 lines fragmentary]

73-79. The mistress, a leopard among the Anuna gods, full of pride, has been given authority. Not having …… struggle ……, Inana ……. She …… the adolescent girl in her chamber, receiving her, …… heart …… charms. She evilly …… the woman she rejects. In the entire (?) country she ……. She lets her run around in the town square ……. …… of a house the wife sees her child.

80-90. When she had removed the great punishment from her body, she invoked blessings upon it; she caused it to be named the pilipili. She broke the spear and as if she were a man …… gave her a weapon. When she had …… punishment, it is not ……. She …… the door of the house of wisdom, she makes known its interior. Those who do not respect her suspended net do not escape …… when she suspends the meshes of her net. The man she has called by name she does not hold in esteem. Having approached the woman, she breaks the weapon and gives her a spear. The male gishgisagkesh, the nisub and the female gishgi ritual officiants, after having …… punishment, moaning ……. The ecstatic, the transformed pilipili, the kurgara and the sagursag ……. Lament and song ……. They exhaust themselves with weeping and grief, they …… laments.

91-98. Weeping daily your heart does not ……. 'Alas' …… heart …… knows no relaxation. Beloved lady of holy An, your …… in weeping ……. In heaven ……. On your breast ……. You alone are majestic, you have renown, heaven and earth …… not ……. You rival An and Enlil, you occupy their seat of honour. You are pre-eminent in the cult places, you are magnificent in your course.

99-108. Ezina …… august dais ……. Ishkur who roars from the sky ……. His thick clouds ……. When …… the great divine powers of heaven and earth, Inana, your victory is terrifying ……. The Anuna gods bow down in prostration, they abase themselves. You ride on seven great beasts as you come forth from heaven. Great An feared your precinct and was frightened of your dwelling-place. He let you take a seat in the dwelling-place of great An and then feared you no more, saying: "I will hand over to you the august royal rites and the great divine rites."

109-114. The great gods kissed the earth and prostrated themselves. The high mountain land, the land of cornelian and lapis lazuli, bowed down before you, but Ebih did not bow down before you and did not greet you. Shattering it in your anger, as desired, you smashed it like a storm. Lady, pre-eminent through the power of An and Enlil, ……. Without you no destiny at all is determined, no clever counsel is granted favour.

115-131. To run, to escape, to quiet and to pacify are yours, Inana. To rove around, to rush, to rise up, to fall down and to …… a companion are yours, Inana. To open up roads and paths, a place of peace for the journey, a companion for the weak, are yours, Inana. To keep paths and ways in good order, to shatter earth and to make it firm are yours, Inana. To

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destroy, to build up, to tear out and to settle are yours, Inana. To turn a man into a woman and a woman into a man are yours, Inana. Desirability and arousal, bringing goods into existence and establishing properties and equipment are yours, Inana. Profit, gain, great wealth and greater wealth are yours, Inana. Profit and having success in wealth, financial loss and reduced wealth are yours, Inana. [Observation] [(1 ms. has instead:) Everything], choice, offering, inspection and embellishment are yours, Inana. Assigning virility, dignity, guardian angels, protective deities and cult centres are yours, Inana.

[6 lines fragmentary]

132-154. …… mercy and pity are yours, Inana. …… are yours, Inana. To cause the …… heart to tremble, …… illnesses are yours, Inana. To have a favourite wife, ……, to love …… are yours, Inana. Rejoicing, being haughty, …… are yours, Inana. Neglect and care, raising and bowing down are yours, Inana. To build a house, to create a woman's chamber, to possess implements, to kiss a child's lips are yours, Inana. To run, to race, to plot and to succeed are yours, Inana. To interchange the brute and the strong and the weak and the powerless is yours, Inana. To interchange the heights and valleys, and raising up and reducing, is yours, Inana. To give the crown, the throne and the royal sceptre is yours, Inana.

12 lines missing

155-157. To diminish, to make great, to make low, to make broad, to …… and to give a lavish supply are yours, Inana. To bestow the divine and royal rites, to carry out the appropriate instructions, slander, untruthful words, abuse, to speak inimically and to overstate are yours, Inana.

158-168. The false or true response, the sneer, to commit violence, to extend derision, to speak with hostility, to cause smiling and to be humbled or important, misfortune, hardship, grief, to make happy, to clarify and to darken, agitation, terror, panic, awesome brilliance and radiance, triumph, pursuit, imbasur illness, sleeplessness and restlessness, submission, gift, …… and howling, strife, chaos, opposition, fighting and speeding carnage, ……, to know everything, to strengthen for the distant future a nest built ……, to instill fear in the …… desert like a …… poisonous snake, to subdue the hostile enemy, …… and to hate …… are yours, Inana.

169-173. To …… the lots ……, to gather the dispersed people and restore them to their homes, to receive ……, to …… are yours, Inana.

1 line fragmentary

174-181. …… the runners, when you open your mouth, …… turns into ……. At your glance a deaf man does not …… to one who can hear. At your anger what is bright darkens; you turn midday into darkness. When the time had come you destroyed the place you had in your thoughts, you made the place tremble. Nothing can be compared to your purposes; who can oppose your great deeds? You are the lady of heaven and earth! Inana, in (?) the palace the unbribable judge, among the numerous people …… decisions. The invocation of your name fills the mountains, An cannot compete with your …….

182-196. Your understanding …… all the gods ……. You alone are magnificent. You are the great cow among the gods of heaven and earth, as many as there are. When you raise your eyes they pay heed to you, they wait for your word. The Anuna gods stand praying in the place where you dwell. Great awesomeness, glory ……. May your praise not cease! Where is your name not magnificent?

[9 lines missing]

197-202. Your song is grief, lament ……. Your …… cannot be changed, your anger is crushing. Your creation cannot be ……, An has not diminished your …… orders. Woman, with the help of An and Enlil you (?) have granted …… as a gift in the assembly. Unison …… An and Enlil ……, giving the Land into your hand. An does not answer the word you have uttered to him.

203-208. Once you have said 'So be it', great An does not …… for him. Your 'So be it' is a 'So be it' of destruction, to destroy ……. Once you have said your …… in the assembly, An and Enlil will not disperse it. Once you have made a decision ……, it cannot be changed in heaven and earth. Once you have specified approval of a place, it experiences no destruction. Once you have specified destruction for a place, it experiences no approval.

209-218. Your divinity shines in the pure heavens like Nanna or Utu. Your torch lights up the corners of heaven, turning darkness into light. The men and women form a row for you and each one's daily status hangs down before you. Your numerous people pass before you, as before Utu, for their inspection. No one can lay a hand on your precious divine powers; all your divine powers ……. You exercise full ladyship over heaven and earth; you hold everything in your hand. Mistress, you are magnificent, no one can walk before you. You dwell with great An in the holy resting-place. Which god is like you in gathering together …… in heaven and earth? You are magnificent, your name is praised, you alone are magnificent!

219-242. I am En-hedu-ana, the high priestess of the moon god. ……; I am the …… of Nanna.

[1 line fragmentary / 20 lines missing / 1 line fragmentary]

243-253. Advice ……, grief, bitterness ……, 'alas' ……. My lady, …… mercy …… compassion …… I am yours! This will always be so! May your heart be soothed towards me! May your understanding …… compassion. May …… in front of you, may it be my offering. Your divinity is resplendent in the Land! My body has experienced your great punishment. Bitter lament keeps me awake with …… anxiety. Mercy, compassion, care, lenience and homage are yours, and to cause flood storms, to open hard ground and to turn darkness into light.

254-263. My lady, let me proclaim your magnificence in all lands, and your glory! Let me praise your ways and greatness! Who rivals you in divinity? Who can compare with your divine rites? May great An, whom you love, say for you "It is enough!". May the great gods calm your mood. May the lapis lazuli dais, fit for ladyship, ……. May your magnificent dwelling place say to you: "Be seated". May your pure bed say to you: "Relax". Your ……, where Utu rises, …….

264-271. They proclaim your magnificence; you are the lady ……. An and Enlil have determined a great destiny for you throughout the entire universe. They have bestowed upon you ladyship in the assembly chamber. Being fitted for ladyship, you determine the destiny of noble ladies. Mistress, you are magnificent, you are great! Inana, you are magnificent, you are great! My lady, your magnificence is resplendent. May your heart be restored for my sake!

272-274. Your great deeds are unparallelled, your magnificence is praised! Young woman, Inana, your praise is sweet!

INANA AND ENKI

Translation: ETCSL t.1.3.1; University of Oxford

SEGMENT A

[approx. 6 lines missing]

1-10. She …… of the desert. She put the shu-gura, the desert crown, on her head. …… when she went out to the shepherd, to the sheepfold, …… her genitals were remarkable. …… her genitals were remarkable. She praised herself, full of delight at her genitals, she praised herself, full of delight at her genitals. She looked at ……, she looked at ……, she looked at …….

11-27. "When I have gratified the lord ……, when I have made …… brilliant, when I have made …… beautiful, when I have made …… glorious, when I have ……, when I have made …… perfect, when I have made …… luxuriant, when I have made …… exuberant, when I have made …… shining, when I have made …… return, when I have made …… brilliant, when I have made …… shimmering, I shall direct my steps to the abzu, to Eridug, I shall direct my steps to Enki, to the abzu, to Eridug, and I myself shall speak coaxingly to him, in the abzu, in Eridug, I myself shall speak coaxingly to Enki, in the abzu, in Eridug. …… had her go out ……."

[approx. 21 lines missing]

SEGMENT B

1-5. "Inana, …… it is I who ……. I, Inana, personally [intend to go to the abzu] [(1 ms. has instead:) intend to go to Eridug]. I shall utter a plea to Lord Enki. Like the sweet oil of the cedar, who will …… for my holy …… perfume? It shall never escape me that I have been neglected by him who has had sex."

6-15. On that day the maiden Inana, holy Inana, directed her steps all by herself towards Enki's abzu in Eridug. On that day, he of exceptional knowledge, who knows the divine powers in heaven and earth, who from his own dwelling already knows the intentions of the gods, Enki, the king of the abzu, who, even before holy Inana had approached within six miles of [the abzu] [(1 ms. has instead:) the temple] in Eridug, knew all about her enterprise -- Enki spoke to his man, gave him instructions: "Come here, my man, listen to my words."

[1 line fragmentary / approx. 2 lines missing]

SEGMENT C

1-14. "…… she will drink, …… she will eat. Come here! ……. I will ……, …… do. The maiden …… the abzu and Eridug, Inana …… the abzu and Eridug ……. When the maiden Inana has entered the abzu and Eridug, when Inana has entered the abzu and Eridug, offer her butter cake to eat. Let her be served cool refreshing water. Pour beer for her, in front of the Lions' Gate, make her feel as if she is in her girlfriend's house, make her …… as a colleague. You are to welcome holy Inana at the holy table, at the table of An."

15-26. After Enki had spoken thus to him, Isimud the minister followed his master's instructions closely. He let the maiden into the abzu and Eridug. He let Inana into the abzu and Eridug. When the maiden had entered the abzu and Eridug, when Inana had entered the abzu and Eridug, she got butter cake to eat. They poured cool refreshing water for her, and they gave her beer to drink, in front of the Lions' Gate. He made her feel as if she was in her girlfriend's house, and made her …… as a colleague. He welcomed holy Inana at the holy table, at the table of An.

27-30. So it came about that Enki and Inana were drinking beer together in the abzu, and enjoying the taste of sweet wine. The bronze aga vessels were filled to the brim, and the two of them started a competition, drinking from the bronze vessels of Urash. [approx. 35 lines missing]

SEGMENT D

1-5. "I will give them to holy Inana, my daughter; may …… not ……." Holy Inana received heroism, power, wickedness, righteousness, the plundering of cities, making lamentations, rejoicing. "In the name of my power, in the name of my abzu, I will give them to holy Inana, my daughter; may …… not ……."

6-9. Holy Inana received deceit, the rebel lands, kindness, being on the move, being sedentary. "In the name of my power, in the name of my abzu, I will give them to holy Inana, my daughter; may …… not ……."

10-13. Holy Inana received the craft of the carpenter, the craft of the coppersmith, the craft of the scribe, the craft of the smith, the craft of the leather-worker, the craft of the fuller, the craft of the builder, the craft of the reed-worker. "In the name of my power, in the name of my abzu, I will give them to holy Inana, my daughter; may …… not ……."

14-17. Holy Inana received wisdom, attentiveness, holy purification rites, the shepherd's hut, piling up glowing charcoals, the sheepfold, respect, awe, reverent silence. "In the name of my power, in the name of my abzu, I will give them to holy Inana, my daughter; may …… not ……."

18-21. Holy Inana received the bitter-toothed ……, the kindling of fire, the extinguishing of fire, hard work, ……, the assembled family, descendants. "In the name of my power, in the name of my abzu, I will give them to holy Inana, my daughter; may …… not ……."

22-27. Holy Inana received strife, triumph, counselling, comforting, judging, decision-making. "In the name of my power, in the name of my abzu, I will give them to holy Inana, my daughter; may …… not ……." Holy Inana received ……, ……,

[approx. 78 lines missing]

SEGMENT E

1-4. "He has given me righteousness. He has given me the plundering of cities. He has given me making lamentations. He has given me rejoicing."

5-9. "He has given me deceit. He has given me the rebel lands. He has given me kindness. He has given me being on the move. He has given me being sedentary."

10-17. "He has given me the craft of the carpenter. He has given me the craft of the coppersmith. He has given me the craft of the scribe. He has given me the craft of the smith. He has given me the craft of the leather-worker. He has given me the craft of the fuller. He has given me the craft of the builder. He has given me the craft of the reed-worker."

18-26. "He has given me wisdom. He has given me attentiveness. He has given me holy purification rites. He has given me the shepherd's hut. He has given me piling up glowing charcoals. He has given me the sheepfold. He has given me respect. He has given me awe. He has given me reverent silence."

27-36. "He has given me the bitter-toothed ……. He has given me the kindling of fire. He has given me the extinguishing of fire. He has given me hard work. He has given me ……. He has given me the assembled family. He has given me descendants. He has given me strife. He has given me triumph. He has given me counselling."

[approx. 34-35 lines missing]

SEGMENT F

1-13. Enki spoke to the minister Isimud: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Since she said that she would not yet depart from here for Unug Kulaba, that she would not yet depart from here to the place where Utu ……, can I still reach her?" But holy Inana had gathered up the divine powers and embarked onto the Boat of Heaven. The Boat of Heaven had already left the quay. As the effects of the beer cleared from him who had drunk beer, from him who had drunk beer, as the effects of the beer cleared from Father Enki who had drunk beer, the great lord Enki turned his attention to the …… building. The lord looked up at the abzu. King Enki turned his attention to Eridug.

14-18. Enki spoke to Isimud the minister: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Where are the office of en priest, the office of lagar priest, divinity, the great and good crown, the royal throne?" "My master has given them to his daughter."

19-20. "Where are the noble sceptre, the staff and crook, the noble dress, shepherdship, kingship?" "My master has given them to his daughter."

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21-22. "Where are the office of egir-zid priestess, the office of nin-digir priestess, the office of ishib priest, the office of lu-mah priest, the office of gudug priest?" "My master has given them to his daughter."

23-24. "Where are constancy, ……, ……, going down to the underworld, coming up from the underworld, the kur-gara priest?" "My master has given them to his daughter."

25-26. "Where are the sword and club, the cultic functionary sag-ursag, the black garment, the colourful garment, the …… hair-style, the …… hair-style?" "My master has given them to his daughter."

27-28. "Where are ……?" "My master has given them to his daughter."

29-30. "Where are the standard, the quiver, sexual intercourse, kissing, prostitution, …… running?" "My master has given them to his daughter."

31-32. "Where are forthright speech, deceitful speech, grandiloquent speech, ……, the cultic prostitute, the holy tavern?" "My master has given them to his daughter."

33-34. "Where are the holy nigin-gar shrine, ……, the mistress of heaven, loud musical instruments, the art of song, venerable old age?" "My master has given them to his daughter."

[approx. 33-36 lines missing]

SEGMENT G

1-21. …… king …… in the house of Enki should not forget a word. …… full of advice, loud voiced, knowing much ……. They said: "By the bolt of the temple door, a frog spoke." He showed him to a place. Enki grasped the frog by his right paw. He showed him into his holy ……. He received …… the halub tree and his box-tree. He gave …… to the bird of heaven. He gave …… to the fish of the subterranean waters.

[11 lines fragmentary; approx. 10-15 lines missing]

SEGMENT H

1-7. The prince spoke to his minister Isimud, Enki addressed the Sweet Name of Heaven: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Where has the Boat of Heaven reached now?" "It has just now reached the …… Quay." "Go now! The enkum are to take the Boat of Heaven away from her!"

8-19. The minister Isimud spoke to holy Inana: "My lady! Your father has sent me to you. Inana, your father has sent me to you. What your father said was very serious. What Enki spoke was very serious. His important words cannot be countermanded." Holy Inana replied to him: "What has my father said to you, what has he spoken? Why should his important words not be countermanded?" "My master has spoken to me, Enki has said to me: "Inana may travel to Unug, but you are to get the Boat of Heaven back to Eridug for me"."

20-33. Holy Inana spoke to the minister Isimud: "How could my father have changed what he said to me? How could he have altered his promise as far as I am concerned? How could he have discredited his important words to me? Was it falsehood that my father said to me, did he speak falsely to me? Has he sworn falsely by the name of his power and by the name of his abzu? Has he duplicitously sent you to me as a messenger?" Now as these words were still in her mouth, he got the enkum to seize hold of the Boat of Heaven. Holy Inana adressed her minister Ninshubur: "Come, my good minister of E-ana! My fair-spoken minister! My envoy of reliable words! Water has never touched your hand, water has never touched your feet!"

34-41. So Inana got hold again of the divine powers which had been presented to her, and the Boat of Heaven; and then for the second time the prince spoke to his minister Isimud, Enki addressed the Sweet Name of Heaven: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Where has the Boat of Heaven reached now?" "It has just now reached the holy ……." "Go now! The fifty giants of Eridug are to take the Boat of Heaven away from her!"

42-53. The minister Isimud spoke to holy Inana: "My lady! Your father has sent me to you. Inana, your father has sent me to you. What your father said was very serious. What Enki spoke was very serious. His important words cannot be countermanded." Holy Inana replied to him: "What has my father said to you, what has he spoken? Why should his important words not be countermanded?" "My master has spoken to me, Enki has said to me: "Inana may travel to Unug, but you are to get the Boat of Heaven back to Eridug for me"."

54-67. Holy Inana spoke to the minister Isimud: "How could my father have changed what he said to me? How could he have altered his promise as far as I am concerned? How could he have discredited his important words to me? Was it falsehood that my father said to me, did he speak falsely to me? Has he sworn falsely by the name of his power and by the name of his abzu? Has he duplicitously sent you to me as a messenger?" Now as these words were still in her mouth, he got the fifty giants of Eridug to seize hold of the Boat of Heaven. Holy Inana adressed her minister Ninshubur: "Come, my good minister of E-ana! My fair-spoken minister! My envoy of reliable words! Water has never touched your hand, water has never touched your feet!"

68-75. So Inana got hold again of the divine powers which had been presented to her, and the Boat of Heaven; and then for the third time the prince spoke to his minister Isimud, Enki addressed the Sweet Name of Heaven: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Where has the Boat of Heaven reached now?" "It has just now reached the UL.MA hill." "Go now! The fifty lahama of the subterranean waters are to take the Boat of Heaven away from her!"

76-87. The minister Isimud spoke to holy Inana: "My lady! Your father has sent me to you. Inana, your father has sent me to you. What your father said was very serious. What Enki spoke was very serious. His important words cannot be countermanded." Holy Inana replied to him: "What has my father said to you, what has he spoken? Why should his important words not be countermanded?" "My master has spoken to me, Enki has said to me: "Inana may travel to Unug, but you are to get the Boat of Heaven back to Eridug for me"."

88-101. Holy Inana spoke to the minister Isimud: "How could my father have changed what he said to me? How could he have altered his promise as far as I am concerned? How could he have discredited his important words to me? Was it falsehood that my father said to me, did he speak falsely to me? Has he sworn falsely by the name of his power and by the name of his abzu? Has he duplicitously sent you to me as a messenger?" Now as these words were still in her mouth, he got the fifty lahama of the subterranean waters to seize hold of the Boat of Heaven. Holy Inana adressed her minister Ninshubur: "Come, my good minister of E-ana! My fair-spoken minister! My envoy of reliable words! Water has never touched your hand, water has never touched your feet!"

102-109. So Inana got hold again of the divine powers which had been presented to her, and the Boat of Heaven; and then for the fourth time the prince spoke to his minister Isimud, Enki addressed the Sweet Name of Heaven: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Where has the Boat of Heaven reached now?" "It has just now reached the Field Hill." "Go now! All the great fish together …… are to take the Boat of Heaven away from her!"

110-121. The minister Isimud spoke to holy Inana: "My lady! Your father has sent me to you. Inana, your father has sent me to you. What your father said was very serious. What Enki spoke was very serious. His important words cannot be countermanded." Holy Inana replied to him: "What has my father said to you, what has he spoken? Why should his important words not be countermanded?" "My master has spoken to me, Enki has said to me: "Inana may travel to Unug, but you are to get the Boat of Heaven back to Eridug for me"."

122-135. Holy Inana spoke to the minister Isimud: "How could my father have changed what he said to me? How could he have altered his promise as far as I am concerned? How could he have discredited his important words to me? Was it falsehood that my father said to me, did he speak falsely to me? Has he sworn falsely by the name of his power and by the name of his abzu? Has he duplicitously sent you to me as a messenger?" Now as these words were still in her mouth, he got all the great fish together …… to seize hold of the Boat of Heaven. Holy Inana adressed her minister Ninshubur: "Come, my good minister of E-ana! My fair-spoken minister! My envoy of reliable words! Water has never touched your hand, water has never touched your feet!"

136-143. So Inana got hold again of the divine powers which had been presented to her, and the Boat of Heaven; and then for the fifth time the prince spoke to his minister Isimud, Enki addressed the Sweet Name of Heaven: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Where has the Boat of Heaven reached now?" "It has just now reached ……." "Go now! ……, the guardians of Unug, are to take the Boat of Heaven away from her!"

144-155. The minister Isimud spoke to holy Inana: "My lady! Your father has sent me to you. Inana, your father has sent me to you. What your father said was very serious. What Enki spoke was very serious. His important words cannot be countermanded." Holy Inana replied to him: "What has my father said to you, what has he spoken? Why should his important words not be countermanded?" "My master has spoken to me, Enki has said to me: "Inana may travel to Unug, but you are to get the Boat of Heaven back to Eridug for me"."

156-169. Holy Inana spoke to the minister Isimud: "How could my father have changed what he said to me? How could he have altered his promise as far as I am concerned? How could he have discredited his important words to me? Was it falsehood that my father said to me, did he speak falsely to me? Has he sworn falsely by the name of his power and by the name of his abzu? Has he duplicitously sent you to me as a messenger?" Now as these words were still in her mouth, he got the ……, the guardians of Unug, to seize hold of the Boat of Heaven. Holy Inana adressed her minister Ninshubur: "Come, my good minister of E-ana! My fair-spoken minister! My envoy of reliable words! Water has never touched your hand, water has never touched your feet!"

170-178. So Inana got hold again of the divine powers which had been presented to her, and the Boat of Heaven; and then for the sixth time the prince spoke to his minister Isimud, Enki addressed the Sweet Name of Heaven: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Where has the Boat of Heaven reached now?" "It has just now reached the Surungal canal ……." "Go now! The Surungal canal …… are to take the Boat of Heaven away from her! …… from holy Inana."

179-190. The minister Isimud spoke to holy Inana: "My lady! Your father has sent me to you. Inana, your father has sent me to you. What your father said was very serious. What Enki spoke was very serious. His important words cannot be countermanded." Holy Inana replied to him: "What has my father said to you, what has he spoken? Why should his important words not be countermanded?" "My master has spoken to me, Enki has said to me: "Inana may travel to Unug, but you are to get the Boat of Heaven back to Eridug for me"."

191-205. Holy Inana spoke to the minister Isimud: "How could my father have changed what he said to me? How could he have altered his promise as far as I am concerned? How could he have discredited his important words to me? Was it falsehood that my father said to me, did he speak falsely to me? Has he sworn falsely by the name of his power and by the name of his abzu? Has he duplicitously sent you to me as a messenger?" Now as these words were still in her mouth, he got the Surungal canal …… to seize hold of the Boat of Heaven. …… from holy Inana. Holy Inana adressed her minister Ninshubur: "Come, my good minister of E-ana! My fair-spoken minister! My envoy of reliable words! Water has never touched your hand, water has never touched your feet!"

206-217. So Inana got hold again of the divine powers which had been presented to her, and the Boat of Heaven; and then

[1 line fragmentary] …… Unug ……

[1 line fragmentary] …… the Boat of Heaven. Ninshubur ……, …… the Boat of Heaven. A seventh time ……

[1 line fragmentary] The great princely scion, holy ……. Holy Inana …… the Boat of Heaven. Holy Inana at that time …….

218-223. Her minister Ninshubur spoke to holy Inana: "My lady, today you have brought the Boat of Heaven to the Gate of Joy, to Unug Kulaba. Now there will be rejoicing in our city, now there will be rejoicing in our city. …… barges on our river ……."

224-248. Holy Inana replied to her: "Today I have brought the Boat of Heaven to the Gate of Joy, to Unug Kulaba. It shall pass along the street magnificently. The people shall stand in the street full of awe."

[1 line fragmentary] …… in joy. …… the old men of the city …… comfort, …… the old women …… counsel, …… the young men …… strength of arms, …… the children …… joy. …… Unug.

[1 line fragmentary; 1 line missing]

[3 lines fragmentary] "…… festival …… the Boat of Heaven. He shall recite great prayers. The king shall slaughter bulls, shall sacrifice sheep. He shall pour beer from a bowl. He shall have the shem and ala drums sound, and have the sweet-sounding tigi instruments play. The foreign lands shall declare my greatness. My people shall utter my praise."

249-256. When she had …… the Boat of Heaven to the Gate of Joy at Unug Kulaba, it passed magnificently along the street. It reached the maiden's house, and she …… its place. …… the purified well, her principal well. Inana …… the divine powers which had been presented to her, and the Boat of Heaven, at the Gipar Gate. At the Agrun Chamber ……. Holy Inana …… the Boat of Heaven …….

257-266. The prince addressed his minister Isimud, Enki spoke to the Sweet Name of Heaven: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Where has the Boat of Heaven reached now?" "It has just now reached the White Quay." "Go now, …… admiration. …… admiration …… the Boat of Heaven. Holy Inana ……. …… admiration ……."

[approx. 3 lines missing]

SEGMENT I

1-5. "Inana, you have brought with you the office of en priest, you have brought with you the office of lagar priest, you have brought with you divinity, you have brought with you the great and good crown, you have brought with you the royal throne."

6-10. "You have brought with you the noble sceptre, you have brought with you the staff and crook, you have brought

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with you the noble dress, you have brought with you shepherdship, you have brought with you kingship."

11-15. "You have brought with you the office of egir-zid priestess, you have brought with you the office of nin-digir priestess, you have brought with you the office of ishib priest, you have brought with you the office of lu-mah priest, you have brought with you the office of gudug priest."

16-21. "You have brought with you constancy, you have brought with you ……, you have brought with you ……, you have brought with you going down to the underworld, you have brought with you coming up from the underworld, you have brought with you the kur-gara priest."

22-27. "You have brought with you sword and club, you have brought with you the cultic functionary sag-ursag, you have brought with you the black garment, you have brought with you the colourful garment, you have brought with you the …… hair-style, you have brought with you the …… hair-style."

28-34. "You have brought with you ……, you have brought with you ……, you have brought with you ……, you have brought with you ……, you have brought with you ……, you have brought with you ……, you have brought with you ……."

35-40. "You have brought with you the standard, you have brought with you the quiver, you have brought with you sexual intercourse, you have brought with you kissing, you have brought with you prostitution, you have brought with you …… running (?)."

41-46. "You have brought with you forthright speech, you have brought with you deceitful speech, you have brought with you grandiloquent speech, you have brought with you ……, you have brought with you the cultic prostitute, you have brought with you the holy tavern."

47-52. "You have brought with you the holy nigin-gar shrine, you have brought with you ……, you have brought with you the mistress of heaven, you have brought with you loud musical instruments, you have brought with you the art of song, you have brought with you venerable old age."

53-59. "You have brought with you heroism, you have brought with you power, you have brought with you wickedness, you have brought with you righteousness, you have brought with you the plundering of cities, you have brought with you making lamentations, you have brought with you rejoicing."

60-64. "You have brought with you deceit, you have brought with you the rebel lands, you have brought with you kindness, you have brought with you being on the move, you have brought with you being sedentary."

65-72. "You have brought with you the craft of the carpenter, you have brought with you the craft of the coppersmith, you have brought with you the craft of the scribe, you have brought with you the craft of the smith, you have brought with you the craft of the leather-worker, you have brought with you the craft of the fuller, you have brought with you the craft of the builder, you have brought with you the craft of the reed-worker."

73-81. "You have brought with you wisdom, you have brought with you attentiveness, you have brought with you holy purification rites, you have brought with you the shepherd's hut, you have brought with you piling up glowing charcoals, you have brought with you the sheepfold, you have brought with you respect, you have brought with you awe, you have brought with you reverent silence."

82-88. "You have brought with you the bitter-toothed ……, you have brought with you the kindling of fire, you have brought with you the extinguishing of fire, you have brought with you hard work, you have brought with you ……, you have brought with you the assembled family, you have brought with you descendants."

89-94. "You have brought with you strife, you have brought with you triumph, you have brought with you counselling, you have brought with you comforting, you have brought with you judging, you have brought with you decision-making."

95-108. "You have brought with you the establishing of plans (?), the attractiveness of women, you have brought with you …… to handle the perfect divine powers, you have brought with you …… small ……, you have brought with you …… exalted ……, you have brought with you the holy tigi, holy lilis, ub, meze and ala drums, you have brought with you the …… of holy An, you have brought with you the …… of holy An, you have brought with you the …… of holy An, you have brought with you the …… of holy An, you have brought with you the …… of holy An, you have brought with you the …… of holy An, you have brought with you all of the ……, …… beer."

2 lines fragmentary; 6 lines missing

115-125. Where the woman …… joy ……, she named it with the name 'The house Ganzer is rebuilt'. Where the trader said "Fifty shekels" but when he brought it there was less, she named that place with the name 'Potsherds and scrap metal (?)'. Where the boat ……, she named it with the name '……'. Where the boat came to dock at the quay, she named that place with the name 'White Quay'. Where ……, she named that place with the name 'Blue Quay'.

126-128. Enki spoke to holy Inana: "In the name of my power, in the name of my abzu, I will establish …… in my abzu for the woman."

129-130. (Inana speaks:) "Why has this one now entered here? …… taking the divine powers from me?"

131-142. [3 lines fragmentary] (A third deity speaks:) "May the …… in your name!"

[4 lines fragmentary] "May there be …… a festival! May …… pass their time …… at the gate of your Gipar! May the citizens of your city, Inana, the citizens of Unug, live ……! And as for you, Enki -- may …… your city, Eridug ……, and has indeed restored ……."

INANA AND EBIH

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.3.2; University of Oxford
Estimated Range of Dating:

1-6. Goddess of the fearsome divine powers, clad in terror, riding on the great divine powers, Inana, made complete by the strength of the holy ankar weapon, drenched in blood, rushing around in great battles, with shield resting on the ground (?), covered in storm and flood, great lady Inana, knowing well how to plan conflicts, you destroy mighty lands with arrow and strength and overpower lands.

7-9. In heaven and on earth you roar like a lion and devastate the people. Like a huge wild bull you triumph over lands which are hostile. Like a fearsome lion you pacify the insubordinate and unsubmissive with your gall.

10-22. My lady, on your acquiring the stature of heaven, maiden Inana, on your becoming as magnificent as the earth, on your coming forth like Utu the king and stretching your arms wide, on your walking in heaven and wearing fearsome terror, on your wearing daylight and brilliance on earth, on your walking in the mountain ranges and bringing forth beaming rays, on your bathing the girin plants of the mountains (in light), on your giving birth to the bright mountain, the mountain, the holy place, on your ....., on your being strong with the mace like a joyful lord, like an enthusiastic (?) lord, on your exulting in such battle like a destructive weapon -- the black-headed people ring out in song and all the lands sing their song sweetly.

23-24. I shall praise the lady of battle, the great child of Suen, maiden Inana.

25-32. (Inana announced:) "When I, the goddess, was walking around in heaven, walking around on earth, when I, Inana, was walking around in heaven, walking around on earth, when I was walking around in Elam and Subir, when I was walking around in the Lulubi mountains, when I turned towards the centre of the mountains, as I, the goddess, approached the mountain it showed me no respect, as I, Inana, approached the mountain it showed me no respect, as I approached the mountain range of Ebih it showed me no respect.

33-36. "Since they showed me no respect, since they did not put their noses to the ground for me, since they did not rub their lips in the dust for me, I shall personally fill the soaring mountain range with my terror.

37-40. "Against its magnificent sides I shall place magnificent battering-rams, against its small sides I shall place small battering-rams. I shall storm it and start the 'game' of holy Inana. In the mountain range I shall start battles and prepare conflicts.

41-44. "I shall prepare arrows in the quiver. I shall ..... slingstones with the rope. I shall begin the polishing of my lance. I shall prepare the throwstick and the shield.

45-48. "I shall set fire to its thick forests. I shall take an axe to its evil-doing. I shall make Gibil, the purifier, bare his holy teeth at its watercourses. I shall spread this terror through the inaccessible mountain range Aratta.

49-52. "Like a city which An has cursed, may it never be restored. Like a city at which Enlil has frowned, may it never again lift its neck up. May the mountain tremble when I approach. May Ebih give me honour and praise me."

53-58. Inana, the child of Suen, put on the garment of royalty and girded herself in joy. She bedecked her forehead with terror and fearsome radiance. She arranged cornelian rosettes around her holy throat. She brandished the seven-headed cita weapon vigourously to her right and placed straps of lapis lazuli on her feet.

59-61. At dusk she came forth regally and followed the path to the Gate of Wonder. She made an offering to An and addressed a prayer to him.

62-64. An, in delight at Inana, stepped forward and took his place. He filled the seat of honour of heaven.

65-69. (Inana announced:) "An, my father, I greet you! Lend your ear to my words. You have made me terrifying among the deities in heaven. Owing to you my word has no rival in heaven or on earth. You have given me the ..... and the cilig weapon, the antibal and mansium emblems.

70-79. "To set the socle in position and make the throne and foundation firm, to carry the might of the cita weapon which bends like a mubum tree, to hold the ground with the sixfold yoke, to extend the thighs with the fourfold yoke, to pursue murderous raids and widespread miltary campaigns, to appear to those kings in the ..... of heaven like moonlight, to shoot the arrow from the arm and fall on fields, orchards and forests like the tooth of the locust, to take the harrow to rebel lands, to remove the locks from their city gates so the doors stand open -- King An, you have indeed given me all this, and .....

80-82. "You have placed me at the right hand of the king in order to destroy rebel lands: may he, with my aid, smash heads like a falcon in the foothills of the mountain, King An, and may I ..... your name throughout the land like a thread.

83-88. "May he destroy the lands as a snake in a crevice. May he make them slither around like a sajkal snake coming down from a mountain. May he establish control over the mountain, examine it and know its length. May he go out on the holy campaign of An and know its depth. The gods ....., since the Anuna deities have .....

89-95. "How can it be that the mountain did not fear me in heaven and on earth, that the mountain did not fear me, Inana, in heaven and on earth, that the mountain range of Ebih, the mountain, did not fear me in heaven and on earth? Because it showed me no respect, because it did not put its nose to the ground, because it did not rub its lips in the dust, may I fill my hand with the soaring mountain range and hand it over to my terror.

96-99. "Against its magnificent sides let me place magnificent battering rams, against its small sides let me place small battering rams. Let me storm it and start the 'game' of holy Inana. In the mountain range let me set up battle and prepare conflicts.

100-103. "Let me prepare arrows in the quiver. Let me ..... slingstones with the rope. Let me begin the polishing of my lance. Let me prepare the throwstick and the shield.

104-107"Let me set fire to its thick forests. Let me take an axe to its evil-doing. Let me make Gibil, the purifier, bare his holy teeth at its watercourses. Let me spread this terror through the inaccessible mountain range Aratta.

108-111. "Like a city which An has cursed, may it never be restored. Like a city at which Enlil has frowned, may it never again lift its neck up. May the mountain tremble when I approach. May Ebih give me honour and praise me."

112-115. An, the king of the deities, answered her: "My little one demands the destruction of this mountain -- what is she taking on? Inana demands the destruction of this mountain -- what is she taking on? She demands the destruction of this mountain -- what is she taking on?

116-120. "It has poured fearsome terror on the abodes of the gods. It has spread fear among the holy dwellings of the Anuna deities. It has poured its terror and ferocity over this land. It has poured the mountain range's radiance and fear over all the lands. Its arrogance extends grandly to the centre of heaven.

121-126. "Fruit hangs in its flourishing gardens and luxuriance spreads forth. Its magnificent trees are themselves a source of wonder to the roots of heaven. In Ebih ..... lions are abundant under the canopy of trees and bright branches. It makes wild rams and stags freely abundant. It stands wild bulls in flourishing grass. Deer couple among the cypress trees of the mountain range.

127-130. "You cannot pass through its terror and fear. The mountain range's radiance is fearsome. Maiden Inana, you cannot oppose it." Thus he spoke.

131-137. The mistress, in her rage and anger, opened the arsenal and pushed on the lapis lazuli gate. She brought out magnificent battle and called up a great storm. Holy Inana reached for the quiver. She raised a towering flood with evil silt. She stirred up an evil raging wind with potsherds.

138-143. My lady confronted the mountain range. She advanced step by step. She sharpened both edges of her dagger. She grabbed Ebih's neck as if ripping up esparto grass. She pressed the dagger's teeth into its interior. She roared like thunder.

144-151. The rocks forming the body of Ebih clattered down its flanks. From its sides and crevices great serpents spat venom. She damned its forests and cursed its trees. She killed its oak trees with drought. She poured fire on its flanks and made its smoke dense.The goddess established authority over the mountain. Holy Inana did as she wished.

152-159. She went to the mountain range of Ebih and addressed it: "Mountain range, because of your elevation, because of your height, because of your attractiveness, because of your beauty, because of your wearing a holy garment, because of your reaching up to heaven, because you did not put your nose to the ground, because you did not rub your lips in the dust, I have killed you and brought you low.

160-165. "As with an elephant I have seized your tusks. As with a great wild bull I have brought you to the ground by your thick horns. As with a bull I have forced your great strength to the ground and pursued you savagely. I have made tears the norm in your eyes. I have placed laments in your heart. Birds of sorrow are building nests on these flanks."

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166-170. For a second time, rejoicing in her fearsome terror, she spoke out righteously: "My father Enlil has poured my great terror over the centre of the mountains. On my right side he has placed a weapon. On my left side a ..... is placed. My anger, a harrow with great teeth, has torn the mountain apart.

171-175. "I have built a palace and done much more. I have put a throne in place and made its foundation firm. I have given the kurjara cult performers a dagger and prod. I have given the gala cult performers ub and lilis drums. I have changed the headgear of the pilipili cult performers.

176-181. "In my victory I rushed towards the mountain. In my victory I rushed towards Ebih, the mountain range. I went forward like a surging flood, and like rising water I overflowed the dam. I imposed my victory on the mountain. I imposed my victory on Ebih."

182-183. For destroying Ebih, great child of Suen, maiden Inana, be praised.

184Nisaba be praised.

INANA AND SHU-KALE-TUDA

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.3.3; University of Oxford

Estimated Range of Dating:

1-10. The mistress who, having all the great divine powers, deserves the throne-dais; Inana who, having all the great divine powers, occupies a holy throne-dais; Inana who stands in E-ana as a source of wonder -- once, the young woman went up into the mountains, holy Inana went up into the mountains. To detect falsehood and justice, to inspect the Land closely, to identify the criminal against the just, she went up into the mountains. -- Now, what did one say to another? What further did one add to the other in detail?

11-14. My lady stands among wild bulls at the foot of the mountains, she possesses fully the divine powers. Inana stands among stags in the mountain tops, she possesses fully the divine powers. -- Now, what did one say to another? What further did one add to the other in detail?

15-22. Then the …… left heaven, left the earth and climbed up into the mountains. Inana left heaven, left the earth and climbed up into the mountains. She left E-ana in Unug and climbed up into the mountains. She left the giguna in Zabalam and climbed up into the mountains. As she had gone up from E-ana, …… gipar ……. Inana …… her cloak …… and climbed up into the mountains. -- Now, what did one say to another? What further did one add to the other in detail?

23-41.

1 line missing

7 lines fragmentary

7 lines missing

After …… had tired …… with questions and searching, may …… come alone (?) to the back-room of my shrine. -- Now, what did one say to another? What further did one add to the other in detail?

42-58. [2 lines missing / 3 lines fragmentary]

"He will …… its feet", he (Enki) says. Full of wisdom he adds the following words: "Raven, I shall give you instructions. Pay attention to my instructions. Raven, in the shrine I shall give you instructions. Pay attention to my instructions. First, chop up (?) and chew (?) the kohl for the incantation priests of Eridug with the oil and water which are to be found in a lapis-lazuli bowl and are placed in the back-room of the shrine. Then plant them in a trench for leeks in a vegetable plot; then you should pull out (?) ……." -- Now, what did one say to another? What further did one add to the other in detail?

59-71. The raven paid exact attention to the instructions of his master. It chopped up (?) and chewed (?) the kohl for the incantation priests of Eridug with the oil and water which were to be found in a lapis-lazuli bowl and were placed in the back-room of the shrine. It planted them in a trench for leeks in a vegetable plot; then it pulled out (?) ……. A plant growing in a plot like leeks, an oddity [standing up] [(1 ms. has instead:) sticking up] like a leek stalk -- who had ever seen such a thing before?

1 line unclear

That a bird like the raven, performing the work of man, should make the counterweight blocks of the shadouf bump up and settle down; that it should make the counterweight blocks of the shadouf bump down and rise up -- who had ever seen such a thing before?

72-90. Then the raven rose up from this oddity, and climbed up it -- a date palm! -- with a harness. It rubbed off the kohl (?) …… which it had stuffed into its beak onto the pistils (?). …… just as with a date palm, which …… the ground, a tree growing forever -- who had ever seen such a thing before? Its scaly leaves surround its palmheart. Its dried palm-fronds serve as weaving material. Its shoots are like surveyor's gleaming line; they are fit for the king's fields. Its (?) branches are used in the king's palace for cleaning. Its dates, which are piled up near purified barley, are fit for the temples of the great gods. That a bird like the raven, performing the work of man, makes the counterweight blocks of the shadouf bump up and settle down; that it makes the counterweight blocks of the shadouf bump down and rise up -- who had ever seen such a thing before? At his master's command, the raven stepped into the abzu. -- Now, what did one say to another? What further did one add to the other in detail?

91-111. …… Shu-kale-tuda was his name. ……, a son of Igi-sigsig, the ……, was to water garden plots and build the installation for a well among the plants, but not a single plant remained there, not even one: he had pulled them out by their roots and destroyed them. Then what did the stormwind bring? It blew the dust of the mountains into his eyes. When he tried to wipe the corner of his eyes with his hand, he got some of it out, but was not able to get all of it out. He raised his eyes to the lower land and saw the exalted gods of the land where the sun rises. He raised his eyes to the highlands and saw the exalted gods of the land where the sun sets. He saw a solitary ghost. He recognised a solitary god by her appearance. He saw someone who fully possesses the divine powers. He was looking at someone whose destiny was decided by the gods. In that plot -- had he not approached it five or 10 times before? -- there stood a single shady tree at that place. The shady tree was a Euphrates poplar with broad shade. Its shade was not diminished in the morning, and it did not change either at midday or in the evening.

112-128. Once, after my lady had gone around the heavens, after she had gone around the earth, after Inana had gone around the heavens, after she had gone around the earth, after she had gone around Elam and Subir, after she had gone around the intertwined horizon of heaven, the mistress became so tired that when she arrived there she lay down by its roots. Shu-kale-tuda noticed her from beside his plot. Inana …… the loincloth of the seven divine powers over her genitals. …… the girdle of the seven divine powers over her genitals ……. …… with the shepherd Ama-ushumgal-ana ……. …… over her holy genitals ……. Shu-kale-tuda undid the loincloth (?) of seven divine powers and got her to lie down in her resting place. He had intercourse with her and kissed her there. After he had had intercourse with her and kissed her, he went back to beside his plot. When day had broken and Utu had risen, the woman inspected herself closely, holy Inana inspected herself closely.

129-138. Then the woman was considering what should be destroyed because of her genitals; Inana was considering what should be done because of her genitals. She filled the wells of the Land with blood, so it was blood that the irrigated orchards of the Land yielded, it was blood that the slave who went to collect firewood drank, it was blood that the slavegirl who went out to draw water drew, and it was blood that the black-headed people drank. No one knew when this would end. She said: "I will search everywhere for the man who had intercourse with me." But nowhere in all the lands could she find the man who had had intercourse with her. -- Now, what did one say to another? What further did one add to the other in detail?

139-159. The boy went home to his father and spoke to him; Shu-kale-tuda went home to his father and spoke to him: "My father, I was to water garden plots and build the installation for a well among the plants, but not a single plant remained there, not even one: I had pulled them out by their roots and destroyed them. Then what did the stormwind bring? It blew the dust of the mountains into my eyes. When I tried to wipe the corner of my eyes with my hand, I got some of it out, but was not able to get all of it out. I raised my eyes to the lower land, and saw the high gods of the land where the sun rises. I raised my eyes to the highlands, and saw the exalted gods of the land where the sun sets. I saw a solitary ghost. I recognised a solitary god by her appearance. I saw someone who possesses fully the divine powers. I was looking at someone whose destiny was decided by the gods. In that plot -- had I not approached it [five or ten] [(1 ms. has instead:) three or six hundred] times before? -- there stood a single shady tree at that place. The shady tree was a Euphrates poplar with broad shade. Its shade was not diminished in the morning, and it did not change either at midday or in the evening."

160-167. "Once, after my lady had gone around the heavens, after she had gone around the earth, after Inana had gone around the heavens, after she had gone around the earth, after she had gone around Elam and Subir, after she had gone around the intertwined horizon of heaven, the mistress became so tired that when she arrived there she lay down by its roots. I noticed her from beside my plot. I had intercourse with her and kissed her there. Then I went back to beside my plot."

168-176. "Then the woman was considering what should be destroyed because of her genitals; Inana was considering what should be done because of her genitals. She filled the wells of the Land with blood, so it was blood that the irrigated orchards of the Land yielded, it was blood that the slave who went to collect firewood drank, it was blood that the slavegirl who went out to draw water drew, and it was blood that the black-headed people drank. No one knew when this would end. She said: "I will search everywhere for the man who had intercourse with me." But nowhere could she find the man who had had intercourse with her."

177-184. His father replied to the boy; his father replied to Shu-kale-tuda: "My son, you should join the city-dwellers, [your brothers] [(1 ms. has instead:) who are your brothers]. Go at once to the black-headed people, your brothers! Then this woman will not find you among the mountains." He joined the city-dwellers, his brothers all together. He went at once to the black-headed people, his brothers, and the woman did not find him among the mountains.

185-193. Then the woman was considering a second time what should be destroyed because of her genitals; Inana was considering what should be done because of her genitals. She mounted on a cloud, took (?) her seat there and ……. The south wind and a fearsome storm flood went before her. The pilipili (one of the cultic personnel in Inana's entourage) and a dust storm followed her. Abba-shushu, Inim-kur-dugdug, …… adviser ……. Seven times seven helpers (?) stood beside her in the high desert. She said: "I will search everywhere for the man who had intercourse with me." But nowhere could she find the man who had intercourse with her.

194-205. The boy went home to his father and spoke to him; Shu-kale-tuda went home to his father and spoke to him: "My father, the woman of whom I spoke to you, this woman was considering a second time what should be destroyed because of her genitals; Inana was considering what should be done because of her genitals. She mounted on a cloud, took (?) her seat there and ……. The south wind and a fearsome storm flood went before her. The pilipili (one of the cultic personnel in Inana's entourage) and a dust storm followed her. Abba-shushu, Inim-kur-dugdug, …… adviser ……. Seven times seven helpers stood beside her in the high desert. She said: "I will search everywhere for the man who had intercourse with me." But nowhere could she find the man who had intercourse with her."

206-213. His father replied to the boy; his father replied to Shu-kale-tuda: "My son, you should join the city-dwellers, your brothers. Go at once to the black-headed people, your brothers! Then this woman will not find you among the mountains." He joined the city-dwellers, his brothers all together. He went at once to the black-headed people, his brothers, and the woman did not find him among the mountains.

214-220. Then the woman was considering a third time what should be destroyed because of her genitals; Inana was considering what should be done because of her genitals. She took a single …… in her hand. She blocked the highways of the Land with it. Because of her, the black-headed people ……. She said: "I will search everywhere for the man who had intercourse with me." But nowhere could she find the man who had intercourse with her.

221-230. The boy went home to his father and spoke to him; SHu-kale-tuda went home to his father and spoke to him: "My father, the woman of whom I spoke to you, this woman was considering a third time what should be destroyed because of her genitals; Inana was considering what should be done because of her genitals. She took a single …… in her hand. She blocked the highways of the Land with it. Because of her, the black-headed people ……. She said: "I will search everywhere for the man who had intercourse with me." But nowhere could she find the man who had intercourse with her."

231-238. His father replied to the boy; his father replied to Shu-kale-tuda: "My son, you should join the city-dwellers, your brothers. Go at once to the black-headed people, your brothers! Then this woman will not find you among the mountains." He joined the city-dwellers, his brothers all together. He went at once to the black-headed people, his brothers, and the woman did not find him among the mountains.

239-255. When day had broken and Utu had risen, the women inspected herself closely, holy Inana inspected herself closely. "Ah, who will compensate me? Ah, who will pay (?) for what happened to me? Should it not be the concern of my own father, Enki?" Holy Inana directed her steps to the abzu of Eridug and, because of this, prostrated herself on the ground before him and stretched out her hands to him: "Father Enki, I should be compensated! What's more, someone should [pay] [(1 ms. has instead:) make up] for what happened to me! I shall only re-enter my shrine E-ana satisfied after you have handed over that man to me from the abzu." Enki said "All right!" to her. He said "So be it!" to her. With that holy Inana went out from the abzu of Eridug. She stretched herself like a rainbow across the sky and reached thereby as far as the earth. She let the south wind pass across, she let the north wind pass across. From fear, [(1 ms. adds:) solitary] SHu-kale-tuda tried to make himself as tiny as possible, but the woman had found him among the mountains.

256-261. Holy Inana now spoke to Shu-kale-tuda: "How ……? …… dog ……! …… ass ……! …… pig ……!"

[1 line missing]

262-281. Shu-kale-tuda replied to holy Inana: "My lady (?), I was to water garden plots and build the installation for a

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well among the plants, but not a single plant remained there, not even one: I had pulled them out by their roots and destroyed them. Then what did the stormwind bring? It blew the dust of the mountains into my eyes. When I tried to wipe the corner of my eyes with my hand, I got some of it out, but was not able to get all of it out. I raised my eyes to the lower land, and saw the exalted gods of the land where the sun rises. I raised my eyes to the highlands, and saw the exalted gods of the land where the sun sets. I saw a solitary ghost. I recognised a solitary god by her appearance. I saw someone who possesses fully the divine powers. I was looking at someone whose destiny was decided by the gods. In that plot -- had I not approached it three or six hundred times before? -- there stood a single shady tree at that place. The shady tree was a Euphrates poplar with broad shade. Its shade was not diminished in the morning, and it did not change either at midday or in the evening."

282-289. "Once, after my lady had gone around the heavens, after she had gone around the earth, after Inana had gone around the heavens, after she had gone around the earth, after she had gone around Elam and Subir, after she had gone around the intertwined horizon of heaven, the mistress became so tired that when she arrived there she lay down by its roots. I noticed her from beside my plot. I had intercourse with her and kissed her there. Then I went back to beside my plot."

290-310. When he had spoken thus to her, …… hit ……. …… added (?) ……. …… changed (?) him ……. She (?) determined his destiny ……, holy Inana spoke to Shu-kale-tuda: "So! You shall die! What is that to me? Your name, however, shall not be forgotten. Your name shall exist in songs and make the songs sweet. A young singer shall perform them most pleasingly in the king's palace. A shepherd shall sing them sweetly as he tumbles his butter churn. A young shepherd shall carry your name to where he grazes the sheep. The palace of the desert shall be your home."

[5 lines unclear]

Shu-kale-tuda ……

[1 line missing]

Because …… destiny was determined, praise be to …… Inana!

INANA AND GUDAM

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.3.4
Estimated Range of Dating:

Segment A

1. Gudam …… the city.

unknown number of lines missing

Segment B

1-7. Gudam ……. Gudam ……. Inana ……. Gudam …… within Unug ……. He …… the storehouse ……. Gudam …… the beer, …… the wine, …… the bronze vessels, …… the bronze vessels …….

[unknown number of lines missing]

Segment C

1-9. They filled the bronze vessels to the brim. He made the tilimda vessels shine like the holy barge, …… fine chickpea flour, bearded carp ……. ……, he …… fish like dates. Many followed Gudam on the streets of Unug. They sat armed before him. Her (= Inana's) (?) singer Lugal-gabagal came out to ……, and looked at the troops. The singer met him with a song, …… string with his hand:

10-15. "What you have eaten, what you have eaten -- it was not bread that you have eaten, it was your flesh that you have eaten! What you have drunk, what you have drunk -- it was not beer that you drank, it was your blood that you drank! Gudam, many followed you on the streets of Unug; they sat armed before you."

16-19. "…… what the woman ordered me, when I have ……." Gudam slapped his thigh with his fist in annoyance; fear overcame him: "He did not grasp the SHar-ur, my heroic weapon. For me the temple of Zabalam ……."

20-25. He lopped off the crossbeams of E-ana as if they were branches. Gudam went out into the street. Gudam crushed many on the streets of Unug, and killed many with his mace. [He hacked down the door of the city gate] [(the other ms. has instead:) …… the gate, the gate of Ishkur]. He went out from …….

26-29. A junior fisherman, a fisherman of Inana, [turned] [(the other ms. has instead:) ……] the double-axe against him and struck Gudam down. Gudam began to grieve, and was tear-stricken:

30-32. "Inana, spare my life! I will give you bulls of the mountains, I will make your cow-pen full! I will give you sheep of the mountains, I will make your sheepfold full!"

33-35. Holy Inana replied to him: " [(the other ms. adds:) …… bulls of the mountains for me. …… sheep of the mountains for me. …… weapon …….] The fields of Zabalam, where you dwelt: its villages ……. Over a wide area, may …… calm for you, may …… desire (?)."

36-37. Inana, I will speak of your heroism. It is pleasant to praise you!

INANA AND AN

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.3.5
Estimated Range of Dating:

SEGMENT A

1-7. [unknown number of lines missing]

1 line fragmentary Holy Inana ……. The hero, youthful Utu, ……. At dead of night ……. E-ana ……. Inana ……. The great heavens …….

[unknown number of lines missing]

1-6. [1 line fragmentary] …… E-ana comes forth from heaven, …… the lady of heaven set her mind to capturing the great heavens, …… Inana set her mind to capturing the great heavens, …… set her mind to capturing the great heavens from the …… of heaven, …… youthful Utu, she set her mind to capturing the great heavens.

7-9. Holy Inana spoke to her brother the hero, youthful Utu: "……, I want to tell you something -- pay attention to my speech. ……, my twin, I want to tell you something -- pay attention to my speech."

10-15. Her brother the hero, youthful Utu, answered holy Inana: "My sister, I swear an oath by the life of heaven, I swear by the life of the rainbow (?) of heaven, my ……, ……, I swear by the life of my throne, by my majesty: I will follow what my sister says to me, I will follow what holy Inana says to me."

16-23. The maiden Inana answered her brother the hero, youthful Utu: "……, my spouse (?), has made love to me, has kissed me. I wanted …… for him but …… he did not give it to him. I hastened with him …… but majestic An would not give him E-ana. The heavens are ours, the earth is ours: E-ana should be captured from An. After you have taken ……, listen to what I say to you. Examine …… for me, you must observe these instructions: …… the evil wind, the south wind, against me."

[approx. 23 lines missing]

SEGMENT C

1-4. [1 line fragmentary] (Adagbir speaks:) "…… great net. …… the flood. …… the fisherman."

5-13. Holy Inana embarked (?) on the ……. The barge ……. The rope ……. The south wind, that south wind, rose up. The evil wind, that evil wind, rose up. In the distant heavens ……. Hienhi-sag ……. The fisherman ……. The reed thickets and the tall reeds …….

14-18. Inana spoke to Adagbir: "Youthful Utu ……. The barge ……."

[2 lines fragmentary / approx. 15 lines missing]

SEGMENT D

1-4. (Inana speaks:) "I ……. …… the way ……."

[2 lines fragmentary]

5-12. Adagbir answered holy Inana: "My lady, you cannot ……. Your divinity ……. The fisherman …… the south wind. My lady, if you travel on the barge, and he raises the south wind, that south wind, and he raises the evil wind, that evil wind, barges and small boats will sink in the marshes."

13-15. Whenever (?) he approached the …… with his great net, as (?) it came out of the flood, the swelling sea, it lashed the water and made an evil …….

16-19. Holy Inana answered the fisherman: "If you are to find …… E-ana …… and I am to gaze in admiration …… at that place, you said …… the narrow passage."

20-22. Adagbir answered holy Inana: "…… through the reed thickets and the tall reeds. For you …… find E-ana, which comes forth from heaven."

23-25. Adagbir, …… of Enlil, …… through the reed thickets and the tall reeds. She gazed in admiration at E-ana which comes forth from heaven.

26-28. Shul-a-zida, An's herdsman, grasped the cosmic tethering rope in his hands. After he had brought the …… forth from the sky, he overcame the protective deities. He …… and kept it below the horizon.

29-32. Having drunk cleansing water from the Ulaya river, Inana stamped on the scorpion and cut off its tail. Like a lion it bellowed in an angry roar but its cries died down. …… she threw it …… and made it secure.

33-38. Having heard its …… cries, …… poured forth the ……, the clay of creation, …… and laid it …….

[2 lines missing]

…… the great lady of heaven delivered those words to An.

39-45. Having heard those words, An slapped his thighs in ……, his voice filled with sighs of grief: "What has my child done? She has become greater than me! What has Inana done? She has become greater than me! From now on, the normal length of daylight becomes shorter, and daylight converts to night-time. From today, when the day's watch is three units long, daylight is equal to night-time." And now, when day began, it was indeed so.

46-55. An, who created gods and humankind, gazed at holy Inana [(1 ms. adds:) and addressed the favourite wife who travels by his side], unable to describe this arrogance, this arrogance -- An was unable to describe [(1 ms. adds:) to Inana] this arrogance, this arrogance: "My child, …… you did not say …… -- you were able to capture E-ana! Inana, …… you did not say …… -- you were able to capture E-ana! E-ana should be as firm as heaven, [it should not be toppled] [(1 ms. has instead:) its attractions should never be exhausted]. Its name should be 'The Settlement of the Land'. [(1 ms. adds:) It should have no rival.] Mankind, all of the people, should prostrate themselves at her (?) feet." And now, under that sun and on that day, it was indeed so.

56-60. She had captured E-ana from An! She secured it ……. Now Inana speaks of the E-ana as the house that is the place of the lady. The goddess who has attained her triumphant position, Inana who has attained her triumphant position, declares in the good place: "I have captured E-ana from An."

61-62. Because you are unmatched among the Great Princes, maiden Inana, praising you is magnificent!

INANA AND ENKI

Translation: ETCSL (University of Oxford)
Estimated Range of Dating:

SEGMENT A

[about 6 lines missing]

1-10. She ..... of the desert. She put the cu-gura, the desert crown, on her head. ..... when she went out to the shepherd, to the sheepfold, ... her genitals were remarkable. ..... her genitals were remarkable. She praised herself, full of delight at her genitals, she praised herself, full of delight at her genitals. She looked at ....., she looked at ....., she looked at .....

11-27. "When I have gratified the lord ....., when I have made ..... brilliant, when I have made ..... beautiful, when I have made ..... glorious, when I have ....., when I have made ..... perfect, when I have made ..... luxuriant, when I have made ..... exuberant, when I have made ..... shining, when I have made ..... return, when I have made ..... brilliant, when I have made ..... shimmering, I shall direct my steps to the abzu, to Eridug, I shall direct my steps to Enki, to the abzu, to Eridug, and I myself shall speak coaxingly to him, in the abzu, in Eridug, I myself shall speak coaxingly to Enki, in the abzu, in Eridug. ..... had her go out ....."

[about 21 lines missing]

SEGMENT B

1-5. "Inana, ... it is I who ..... I, Inana, personally intend to go to the abzu (1 ms. has instead: intend to go to Eridug). I shall utter a plea to the lord Enki. Like the sweet oil of the cedar, who will ..... for my holy ..... perfume? It shall never escape me that I have been neglected by him who has had sex."

6-15. On that day the maiden Inana, holy Inana, directed her steps all by herself towards Enki's abzu in Eridug. On that day, he of exceptional knowledge, who knows the divine powers in heaven and earth, who from his own dwelling already knows the intentions of the gods, Enki, the king of the abzu, who, even before holy Inana had approached within six miles of the abzu (1 ms. has instead: the temple) in Eridug, knew all about her enterprise -- Enki spoke to his man, gave him instructions: "Come here, my man, listen to my words."

[1 line fragmentary / about 2 lines missing]

SEGMENT C

1-14. "..... she will drink, ... she will eat. Come here! ..... I will ....., ... do. The maiden ..... the abzu and Eridug, Inana ..... the abzu and Eridug ..... When the maiden Inana has entered the abzu and Eridug, when Inana has entered the abzu and Eridug, offer her butter cake to eat. Let her be served cool refreshing water. Pour beer for her, in front of the Lions Gate, make her feel as if she is in her girlfriend's house, make her ..... as a colleague. You are to welcome holy Inana at the holy table, at the table of An."

15-26. After Enki had spoken thus to him, Isimud the minister followed his master's instructions closely. He let the maiden into the abzu and Eridug. He let Inana into the abzu and Eridug. When the maiden had entered the abzu and Eridug, when Inana had entered the abzu and Eridug, she got butter cake to eat. They poured cool refreshing water for her, and they gave her beer to drink, in front of the Lions Gate. He made her feel as if she was in her girlfriend's house, and made her ..... as a colleague. He welcomed holy Inana at the holy table, at the table of An.

27-30. So it came about that Enki and Inana were drinking beer together in the abzu, and enjoying the taste of sweet wine. The bronze aga vessels were filled to the brim, and the two of them started a competition, drinking from the bronze vessels of Urac.

[about 35 lines missing]

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SEGMENT D

1-5. "I will give them to holy Inana, my daughter; may ..... not ....." Holy Inana received heroism, power, wickedness, righteousness, the plundering of cities, making lamentations, rejoicing. "In the name of my power, in the name of my abzu, I will give them to holy Inana, my daughter; may ..... not ....."

6-9. Holy Inana received deceit, the rebel lands, kindness, being on the move, being sedentary. "In the name of my power, in the name of my abzu, I will give them to holy Inana, my daughter; may ..... not ....."

10-13. Holy Inana received the craft of the carpenter, the craft of the coppersmith, the craft of the scribe, the craft of the smith, the craft of the leather-worker, the craft of the fuller, the craft of the builder, the craft of the reed-worker. "In the name of my power, in the name of my abzu, I will give them to holy Inana, my daughter; may ..... not ....."

14-17. Holy Inana received wisdom, attentiveness, holy purification rites, the shepherd's hut, piling up glowing charcoals, the sheepfold, respect, awe, reverent silence. "In the name of my power, in the name of my abzu, I will give them to holy Inana, my daughter; may ..... not ....."

18-21. Holy Inana received the bitter-toothed ....., the kindling of fire, the extinguishing of fire, hard work, ..., the assembled family, descendants. "In the name of my power, in the name of my abzu, I will give them to holy Inana, my daughter; may ..... not ....."

22-27. Holy Inana received strife, triumph, counselling, comforting, judging, decision-making. "In the name of my power, in the name of my abzu, I will give them to holy Inana, my daughter; may ..... not ....." Holy Inana received ....., ...,

[about 78 lines missing]

SEGMENT E

1-4. "He has given me righteousness. He has given me the plundering of cities. He has given me making lamentations. He has given me rejoicing.

5-9. "He has given me deceit. He has given me the rebel lands. He has given me kindness. He has given me being on the move. He has given me being sedentary.

10-17. "He has given me the craft of the carpenter. He has given me the craft of the coppersmith. He has given me the craft of the scribe. He has given me the craft of the smith. He has given me the craft of the leather-worker. He has given me the craft of the fuller. He has given me the craft of the builder. He has given me the craft of the reed-worker.

18-26. "He has given me wisdom. He has given me attentiveness. He has given me holy purification rites. He has given me the shepherd's hut. He has given me piling up glowing charcoals. He has given me the sheepfold. He has given me respect. He has given me awe. He has given me reverent silence.

27-36. "He has given me the bitter-toothed ..... He has given me the kindling of fire. He has given me the extinguishing of fire. He has given me hard work. He has given me ..... He has given me the assembled family. He has given me descendants. He has given me strife. He has given me triumph. He has given me counselling."

[about 34-35 lines missing]

SEGMENT F

1-13. Enki spoke to the minister Isimud: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Since she said that she would not yet depart from here for Unug Kulaba, that she would not yet depart from here to the place where Utu ....., can I still reach her?" But holy Inana had gathered up the divine powers and embarked onto the Boat of Heaven. The Boat of Heaven had already left the quay. As the effects of the beer cleared from him who had drunk beer, from him who had drunk beer, as the effects of the beer cleared from father Enki who had drunk beer, the great lord Enki turned his attention to the ..... building. The lord looked up at the abzu. King Enki turned his attention to Eridug.

14-18. Enki spoke to Isimud the minister: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Where are the office of en priest, the office of lagal priest, divinity, the great and good crown, the royal throne?" "My master has given them to his daughter."

19-20. "Where are the noble sceptre, the staff and crook, the noble dress, shepherdship, kingship?" "My master has given them to his daughter."

21-22. "Where are the office of egi-zi priestess, the office of nin-dijir priestess, the office of icib priest, the office of lu-mah priest, the office of gudu priest?" "My master has given them to his daughter."

23-24. "Where are constancy, ..., ..., going down to the underworld, coming up from the underworld, the kur-jara priest?" "My master has given them to his daughter."

25-26. "Where are the sword and club, the cultic functionary saj-ursaj, the black garment, the colourful garment, the ..... hair-style, the ..... hair-style?" "My master has given them to his daughter."

27-28. "Where are .....?" "My master has given them to his daughter."

29-30. "Where are the standard, the quiver, sexual intercourse, kissing, prostitution, ... running?" "My master has given them to his daughter."

31-32. "Where are forthright speech, deceitful speech, grandiloquent speech, ..., the cultic prostitute, the holy tavern?" "My master has given them to his daughter."

33-34. "Where are the holy nijin-jar shrine, ..., the hierodule of heaven, loud musical instruments, the art of song, venerable old age?" "My master has given them to his daughter."

[about 33-36 lines missing]

SEGMENT G

1-21. ..... king ..... in the house of Enki should not forget a word. ..... full of advice, loud voiced, knowing much ..... They said: "By the bolt of the temple door, a frog spoke." He showed him to a place. Enki grasped the frog by his right paw. He showed him into his holy ..... He received ..... the halub tree and his box-tree. He gave ..... to the bird of heaven. He gave ..... to the fish of the subterranean waters.

[11 lines fragmentary / about 10-15 lines missing]

SEGMENT H

1-7. The prince spoke to his minister Isimud, Enki addressed the Sweet Name of Heaven: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Where has the Boat of Heaven reached now?" "It has just now reached the ..... Quay." "Go now! The enkum are to take the Boat of Heaven away from her!"

8-19. The minister Isimud spoke to holy Inana: "My lady! Your father has sent me to you. Inana, your father has sent me to you. What your father said was very serious. What Enki spoke was very serious. His important words cannot be countermanded." Holy Inana replied to him: "What has my father said to you, what has he spoken? Why should his important words not be countermanded?" "My master has spoken to me, Enki has said to me: "Inana may travel to Unug, but you are to get the Boat of Heaven back to Eridug for me"."

20-33. Holy Inana spoke to the minister Isimud: "How could my father have changed what he said to me? How could he have altered his promise as far as I am concerned? How could he have discredited his important words to me? Was it falsehood that my father said to me, did he speak falsely to me? Has he sworn falsely by the name of his power and by the name of his abzu? Has he duplicitously sent you to me as a messenger?" Now as these words were still in her mouth, he got the enkum to seize hold of the Boat of Heaven. Holy Inana adressed her minister Nincubur: "Come, my good minister of E-ana! My fair-spoken minister! My envoy of reliable words! Water has never touched your hand, water has never touched your feet!"

34-41. So Inana got hold again of the divine powers which had been presented to her, and the Boat of Heaven; and then for the second time the prince spoke to his minister Isimud, Enki addressed the Sweet Name of Heaven: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Where has the Boat of Heaven reached now?" "It has just now reached the holy ....." "Go now! The fifty giants of Eridug are to take the Boat of Heaven away from her!"

42-53. The minister Isimud spoke to holy Inana: "My lady! Your father has sent me to you. Inana, your father has sent me to you. What your father said was very serious. What Enki spoke was very serious. His important words cannot be countermanded." Holy Inana replied to him: "What has my father said to you, what has he spoken? Why should his important words not be countermanded?" "My master has spoken to me, Enki has said to me: "Inana may travel to Unug, but you are to get the Boat of Heaven back to Eridug for me"."

54-67. Holy Inana spoke to the minister Isimud: "How could my father have changed what he said to me? How could he have altered his promise as far as I am concerned? How could he have discredited his important words to me? Was it falsehood that my father said to me, did he speak falsely to me? Has he sworn falsely by the name of his power and by the name of his abzu? Has he duplicitously sent you to me as a messenger?" Now as these words were still in her mouth, he got the fifty giants of Eridug to seize hold of the Boat of Heaven. Holy Inana adressed her minister Nincubur: "Come, my good minister of E-ana! My fair-spoken minister! My envoy of reliable words! Water has never touched your hand, water has never touched your feet!"

68-75. So Inana got hold again of the divine powers which had been presented to her, and the Boat of Heaven; and then for the third time the prince spoke to his minister Isimud, Enki addressed the Sweet Name of Heaven: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Where has the Boat of Heaven reached now?" "It has just now reached the UL.MA hill." "Go now! The fifty lahama of the subterranean waters are to take the Boat of Heaven away from her!"

76-87. The minister Isimud spoke to holy Inana: "My lady! Your father has sent me to you. Inana, your father has sent me to you. What your father said was very serious. What Enki spoke was very serious. His important words cannot be countermanded." Holy Inana replied to him: "What has my father said to you, what has he spoken? Why should his important words not be countermanded?" "My master has spoken to me, Enki has said to me: "Inana may travel to Unug, but you are to get the Boat of Heaven back to Eridug for me"."

88-101. Holy Inana spoke to the minister Isimud: "How could my father have changed what he said to me? How could he have altered his promise as far as I am concerned? How could he have discredited his important words to me? Was it falsehood that my father said to me, did he speak falsely to me? Has he sworn falsely by the name of his power and by the name of his abzu? Has he duplicitously sent you to me as a messenger?" Now as these words were still in her mouth, he got the fifty lahama of the subterranean waters to seize hold of the Boat of Heaven. Holy Inana adressed her minister Nincubur: "Come, my good minister of E-ana! My fair-spoken minister! My envoy of reliable words! Water has never touched your hand, water has never touched your feet!"

102-109. So Inana got hold again of the divine powers which had been presented to her, and the Boat of Heaven; and then for the fourth time the prince spoke to his minister Isimud, Enki addressed the Sweet Name of Heaven: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Where has the Boat of Heaven reached now?" "It has just now reached the Field Hill." "Go now! All the great fish together ..... are to take the Boat of Heaven away from her!"

110-121. The minister Isimud spoke to holy Inana: "My lady! Your father has sent me to you. Inana, your father has sent me to you. What your father said was very serious. What Enki spoke was very serious. His important words cannot be countermanded." Holy Inana replied to him: "What has my father said to you, what has he spoken? Why should his important words not be countermanded?" "My master has spoken to me, Enki has said to me: "Inana may travel to Unug, but you are to get the Boat of Heaven back to Eridug for me"."

122-135. Holy Inana spoke to the minister Isimud: "How could my father have changed what he said to me? How could he have altered his promise as far as I am concerned? How could he have discredited his important words to me? Was it falsehood that my father said to me, did he speak falsely to me? Has he sworn falsely by the name of his power and by the name of his abzu? Has he duplicitously sent you to me as a messenger?" Now as these words were still in her mouth, he got all the great fish together ..... to seize hold of the Boat of Heaven. Holy Inana adressed her minister Nincubur: "Come, my good minister of E-ana! My fair-spoken minister! My envoy of reliable words! Water has never touched your hand, water has never touched your feet!"

136-143. So Inana got hold again of the divine powers which had been presented to her, and the Boat of Heaven; and then for the fifth time the prince spoke to his minister Isimud, Enki addressed the Sweet Name of Heaven: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Where has the Boat of Heaven reached now?" "It has just now reached ....." "Go now! ....., the guardians of Unug, are to take the Boat of Heaven away from her!"

144-155. The minister Isimud spoke to holy Inana: "My lady! Your father has sent me to you. Inana, your father has sent me to you. What your father said was very serious. What Enki spoke was very serious. His important words cannot be countermanded." Holy Inana replied to him: "What has my father said to you, what has he spoken? Why should his important words not be countermanded?" "My master has spoken to me, Enki has said to me: "Inana may travel to Unug, but you are to get the Boat of Heaven back to Eridug for me"."

156-169. Holy Inana spoke to the minister Isimud: "How could my father have changed what he said to me? How could he have altered his promise as far as I am concerned? How could he have discredited his important words to me? Was it falsehood that my father said to me, did he speak falsely to me? Has he sworn falsely by the name of his power and by the name of his abzu? Has he duplicitously sent you to me as a messenger?" Now as these words were still in her mouth, he got the ....., the guardians of Unug, to seize hold of the Boat of Heaven. Holy Inana adressed her minister Nincubur: "Come, my good minister of E-ana! My fair-spoken minister! My envoy of reliable words! Water has never touched your hand, water has never touched your feet!"

170-178. So Inana got hold again of the divine powers which had been presented to her, and the Boat of Heaven; and then for the sixth time the prince spoke to his minister Isimud,

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Enki addressed the Sweet Name of Heaven: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Where has the Boat of Heaven reached now?" "It has just now reached the Id-surungal ....." "Go now! The Id-surungal ..... are to take the Boat of Heaven away from her! ..... from holy Inana."

179-190. The minister Isimud spoke to holy Inana: "My lady! Your father has sent me to you. Inana, your father has sent me to you. What your father said was very serious. What Enki spoke was very serious. His important words cannot be countermanded." Holy Inana replied to him: "What has my father said to you, what has he spoken? Why should his important words not be countermanded?" "My master has spoken to me, Enki has said to me: "Inana may travel to Unug, but you are to get the Boat of Heaven back to Eridug for me"."

191-205. Holy Inana spoke to the minister Isimud: "How could my father have changed what he said to me? How could he have altered his promise as far as I am concerned? How could he have discredited his important words to me? Was it falsehood that my father said to me, did he speak falsely to me? Has he sworn falsely by the name of his power and by the name of his abzu? Has he duplicitously sent you to me as a messenger?" Now as these words were still in her mouth, he got the Id-surungal ..... to seize hold of the Boat of Heaven. ..... from holy Inana. Holy Inana adressed her minister Nincubur: "Come, my good minister of E-ana! My fair-spoken minister! My envoy of reliable words! Water has never touched your hand, water has never touched your feet!"

206-217. So Inana got hold again of the divine powers which had been presented to her, and the Boat of Heaven; and then

[1 line fragmentary] ..... Unug .....

[1 line fragmentary] ..... the Boat of Heaven. Nincubur ....., ... the Boat of Heaven. A seventh time .....

[1 line fragmentary] The great princely scion, holy ..... Holy Inana ..... the Boat of Heaven. Holy Inana at that time .....

218-223. Her minister Nincubur spoke to holy Inana: "My lady, today you have brought the Boat of Heaven to the Gate of Joy, to Unug Kulaba. Now there will be rejoicing in our city, now there will be rejoicing in our city. ..... barges on our river ....." 224-248. Holy Inana replied to her: "Today I have brought the Boat of Heaven to the Gate of Joy, to Unug Kulaba. It shall pass along the street magnificently. The people shall stand in the street full of awe. "

[1 line fragmentary] ..... in joy. ..... the old men of the city ..... comfort, ... the old women ..... counsel, ... the young men ..... strength of arms, ... the children ..... joy. ..... Unug.

[1 line fragmentary / 1 line missing]

[3 lines fragmentary] "..... festival ..... the Boat of Heaven. He shall recite great prayers. The king shall slaughter bulls, shall sacrifice sheep. He shall pour beer from a bowl. He shall have the cem and ala drums sound, and have the sweet-sounding tigi instruments play. The foreign lands shall declare my greatness. My people shall utter my praise."

249-256. When she had ..... the Boat of Heaven to the Gate of Joy at Unug Kulaba, it passed magnificently along the street. It reached the maiden's house, and she ..... its place. ..... the purified well, her principal well. Inana ..... the divine powers which had been presented to her, and the Boat of Heaven, at the Jipar Gate. At the Agrun Chamber ..... Holy Inana ..... the Boat of Heaven .....

257-266. The prince addressed his minister Isimud, Enki spoke to the Sweet Name of Heaven: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Where has the Boat of Heaven reached now?" "It has just now reached the White Quay." "Go now, ... admiration. ..... admiration ..... the Boat of Heaven. Holy Inana .... admiration ..... "

[about 3 lines missing]

SEGMENT J

1-5 "Inana, you have brought with you the office of en priest, you have brought with you the office of lagal priest, you have brought with you divinity, you have brought with you the great and good crown, you have brought with you the royal throne.

6-10. "You have brought with you the noble sceptre, you have brought with you the staff and crook, you have brought with you the noble dress, you have brought with you shepherdship, you have brought with you kingship.

11-15. "You have brought with you the office of egi-zi priestess, you have brought with you the office of nin-dijir priestess, you have brought with you the office of icib priest, you have brought with you the office of lu-mah priest, you have brought with you the office of gudu priest.

16-21. "You have brought with you constancy, you have brought with you ....., you have brought with you ....., you have brought with you going down to the underworld, you have brought with you coming up from the underworld, you have brought with you the kur-jara priest.

22-27. "You have brought with you sword and club, you have brought with you the cultic functionary saj-ursaj, you have brought with you the black garment, you have brought with you the colourful garment, you have brought with you the ..... hair-style, you have brought with you the ..... hair-style.

28-34. "You have brought with you ....., you have brought with you ....., you have brought with you ....., you have brought with you ....., you have brought with you ....., you have brought with you .....

35-40. "You have brought with you the standard, you have brought with you the quiver, you have brought with you sexual intercourse, you have brought with you kissing, you have brought with you prostitution, you have brought with you ..... running.

41-46. "You have brought with you forthright speech, you have brought with you deceitful speech, you have brought with you grandiloquent speech, you have brought with you ....., you have brought with you the cultic prostitute, you have brought with you the holy tavern.

47-52. "You have brought with you the holy nijin-jar shrine, you have brought with you ....., you have brought with you the hierodule of heaven, you have brought with you loud musical instruments, you have brought with you the art of song, you have brought with you venerable old age.

53-59. "You have brought with you heroism, you have brought with you power, you have brought with you wickedness, you have brought with you righteousness, you have brought with you the plundering of cities, you have brought with you making lamentations, you have brought with you rejoicing.

60-64. "You have brought with you deceit, you have brought with you the rebel lands, you have brought with you kindness, you have brought with you being on the move, you have brought with you being sedentary.

65-72. "You have brought with you the craft of the carpenter, you have brought with you the craft of the coppersmith, you have brought with you the craft of the scribe, you have brought with you the craft of the smith, you have brought with you the craft of the leather-worker, you have brought with you the craft of the fuller, you have brought with you the craft of the builder, you have brought with you the craft of the reed-worker.

73-81. "You have brought with you wisdom, you have brought with you attentiveness, you have brought with you holy purification rites, you have brought with you the shepherd's hut, you have brought with you piling up glowing charcoals, you have brought with you the sheepfold, you have brought with you respect, you have brought with you awe, you have brought with you reverent silence.

82-88. "You have brought with you the bitter-toothed ....., you have brought with you the kindling of fire, you have brought with you the extinguishing of fire, you have brought with you hard work, you have brought with you ....., you have brought with you the assembled family, you have brought with you descendants.

89-94"You have brought with you strife, you have brought with you triumph, you have brought with you counselling, you have brought with you comforting, you have brought with you judging, you have brought with you decision-making.

95-108. "You have brought with you the establishing of plans (?), the attractiveness of women, you have brought with you ..... to handle the perfect divine powers, you have brought with you ..... small ....., you have brought with you ..... exalted ....., you have brought with you the holy tigi, holy lilis, ub, meze and ala drums, you have brought with you the ..... of holy An, you have brought with you the ..... of holy An, you have brought with you the ..... of holy An, you have brought with you the ..... of holy An, you have brought with you the ..... of holy An, you have brought with you the ..... of holy An, you have brought with you all of the ....., ... beer."

[2 lines fragmentary / 6 lines missing]

115-125. Where the woman ..... joy ....., she named it with the name "The house Ganzer is rebuilt". Where the trader said "Fifty shekels" but when he brought it there was less, she named that place with the name "Potsherds and scrap metal". Where the boat ....., she named it with the name ".....". Where the boat came to dock at the quay, she named that place with the name "White Quay". Where ....., she named that place with the name "Blue Quay".

126-128. Enki spoke to holy Inana: "In the name of my power, in the name of my abzu, I will establish ..... in my abzu for the woman."

129-130. (Inana speaks:) "Why has this one now entered here? ..... taking the divine powers from me?"

131-142. [3 lines fragmentary] (A third deity speaks:) "May the ..... in your name!"

[4 lines fragmentary] "May there be ..... a festival! May ..... pass their time ..... at the gate of your Jipar! May the citizens of your city, Inana, the citizens of Unug, live .....! And as for you, Enki -- may ..... your city, Eridug ....., and has indeed restored ....."

INANA'S DESCENT TO THE NETHER WORLD

The Descent Of Inanna Into The Underworld
Translation: ETCSL (University of Oxford)
Estimated Range of Dating:

1-5. From the great heaven she set her mind on the great below. From the great heaven the goddess set her mind on the great below. From the great heaven Inana set her mind on the great below. My mistress abandoned heaven, abandoned earth, and descended to the underworld. Inana abandoned heaven, abandoned earth, and descended to the underworld.

6-13. She abandoned the office of en, abandoned the office of lagar, and descended to the underworld. She abandoned the E-ana in Unug, and descended to the underworld. She abandoned the E-muc-kalama in Bad-tibira, and descended to the underworld. She abandoned the Giguna in Zabalam, and descended to the underworld. She abandoned the E-cara in Adab, and descended to the underworld. She abandoned the Barag-dur-jara in Nibru (Nippur), and descended to the underworld. She abandoned the Hursaj-kalama in Kic, and descended to the underworld. She abandoned the E-Ulmac in Agade, and descended to the underworld. (1 ms. adds 8 lines: She abandoned the Ibgal in Umma, and descended to the underworld. She abandoned the E-Dilmuna in Urim (Ur), and descended to the underworld. She abandoned the Amac-e-kug in Kisiga, and descended to the underworld. She abandoned the E-ecdam-kug in Jirsu, and descended to the underworld. She abandoned the E-sig-mece-du in Isin, and descended to the underworld. She abandoned the Anzagar in Akcak, and descended to the underworld. She abandoned the Nijin-jar-kug in Curuppag (Shuruppak), and descended to the underworld. She abandoned the E-cag-hula in Kazallu, and descended to the underworld.)

14-19. She took the seven divine powers. She collected the divine powers and grasped them in her hand. With the good divine powers, she went on her way. She put a turban, headgear for the open country, on her head. She took a wig for her forehead. She hung small lapis-lazuli beads around her neck.

20-25. She placed twin egg-shaped beads on her breast. She covered her body with a pala dress, the garment of ladyship. She placed mascara which is called "Let a man come, let him come" on her eyes. She pulled the pectoral which is called "Come, man, come" over her breast. She placed a golden ring on her hand. She held the lapis-lazuli measuring rod and measuring line in her hand.

26-27. Inana travelled towards the underworld. Her minister Nincubura travelled behind her.

28-31. Holy Inana said to Nincubura: "Come my faithful minister of E-ana, my minister who speaks fair words, my escort who speaks trustworthy words (1 ms. has instead: I am going to give you instructions: my instructions must be followed; I am going to say something to you: it must be observed).

32-36. "On this day I will descend to the underworld. When I have arrived in the underworld, make a lament for me on the ruin mounds. Beat the drum for me in the sanctuary. Make the rounds of the houses of the gods for me.

37-40. "Lacerate your eyes for me, lacerate your nose for me. (1 ms. adds the line: Lacerate your ears for me, in public.) In private, lacerate your buttocks for me. Like a pauper, clothe yourself in a single garment and all alone set your foot in the E-kur, the house of Enlil.

41-47. "When you have entered the E-kur, the house of Enlil, lament before Enlil: "Father Enlil, don't let anyone kill your daughter in the underworld. Don't let your precious metal be alloyed there with the dirt of the underworld. Don't let your precious lapis lazuli be split there with the mason's stone. Don't let your boxwood be chopped up there with the carpenter's wood. Don't let young lady Inana be killed in the underworld."

48-56. "If Enlil does not help you in this matter, go to Urim. In the E-mud-kura at Urim, when you have entered the E-kic-nu-jal, the house of Nanna, lament before Nanna: "Father Nanna, don't let anyone kill your daughter in the underworld. Don't let your precious metal be alloyed there with the dirt of the underworld. Don't let your precious lapis lazuli be split there with the mason's stone. Don't let your boxwood be chopped up there with the carpenter's wood. Don't let young lady Inana be killed in the underworld."

57-64. "And if Nanna does not help you in this matter, go to Eridug. In Eridug, when you have entered the house of Enki, lament before Enki: "Father Enki, don't let anyone kill your daughter in the underworld. Don't let your precious metal be alloyed there with the dirt of the underworld. Don't let your precious lapis lazuli be split there with the mason's stone. Don't let your boxwood be chopped up there with the carpenter's wood. Don't let young lady Inana be killed in the underworld."

65-67. "Father Enki, the lord of great wisdom, knows about the life-giving plant and the life-giving water. He is the one who will restore me to life."

68-72. When Inana travelled on towards the underworld, her minister Nincubura travelled on behind her. She said to

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her minister Nincubura: "Go now, my Nincubura, and pay attention. Don't neglect the instructions I gave you."

73-77. When Inana arrived at the palace Ganzer, she pushed aggressively on the door of the underworld. She shouted aggressively at the gate of the underworld: "Open up, doorman, open up. Open up, Neti, open up. I am all alone and I want to come in."

78-84. Neti, the chief doorman of the underworld, answered holy Inana: "Who are you?" "I am Inana going to the east." "If you are Inana going to the east, why have you travelled to the land of no return? How did you set your heart on the road whose traveller never returns?"

85-89. Holy Inana answered him: "Because lord Gud-gal-ana, the husband of my elder sister holy Erec-ki-gala, has died; in order to have his funeral rites observed, she offers generous libations at his wake -- that is the reason."

90-93. Neti, the chief doorman of the underworld, answered holy Inana: "Stay here, Inana. I will speak to my mistress. I will speak to my mistress Erec-ki-gala and tell her what you have said."

94-10. 1Neti, the chief doorman of the underworld, entered the house of his mistress Erec-ki-gala and said: "My mistress, there is a lone girl outside. It is Inana, your sister, and she has arrived at the palace Ganzer. She pushed aggressively on the door of the underworld. She shouted aggressively at the gate of the underworld. She has abandoned E-ana and has descended to the underworld.

102-107. "She has taken the seven divine powers. She has collected the divine powers and grasped them in her hand. She has come on her way with all the good divine powers. She has put a turban, headgear for the open country, on her head. She has taken a wig for her forehead. She has hung small lapis-lazuli beads around her neck.

108-113. "She has placed twin egg-shaped beads on her breast. She has covered her body with the pala dress of ladyship. She has placed mascara which is called "Let a man come" on her eyes. She has pulled the pectoral which is called "Come, man, come" over her breast. She has placed a golden ring on her hand. She is holding the lapis-lazuli measuring rod and measuring line in her hand."

114-122. When she heard this, Erec-ki-gala slapped the side of her thigh. She bit her lip and took the words to heart. She said to Neti, her chief doorman: "Come Neti, my chief doorman of the underworld, don't neglect the instructions I will give you. Let the seven gates of the underworld be bolted. Then let each door of the palace Ganzer be opened separately. As for her, after she has entered, and crouched down and had her clothes removed, they will be carried away."

123-128. Neti, the chief doorman of the underworld, paid attention to the instructions of his mistress. He bolted the seven gates of the underworld. Then he opened each of the doors of the palace Ganzer separately. He said to holy Inana: "Come on, Inana, and enter."

129-133. And when Inana entered, (1 ms. adds 2 lines: the lapis-lazuli measuring rod and measuring line were removed from her hand, when she entered the first gate,) the turban, headgear for the open country, was removed from her head. "What is this?" "Be satisfied, Inana, a divine power of the underworld has been fulfilled. Inana, you must not open your mouth against the rites of the underworld."

134-138. When she entered the second gate, the small lapis-lazuli beads were removed from her neck. "What is this?" "Be satisfied, Inana, a divine power of the underworld has been fulfilled. Inana, you must not open your mouth against the rites of the underworld."

139-143. When she entered the third gate, the twin egg-shaped beads were removed from her breast. "What is this?" "Be satisfied, Inana, a divine power of the underworld has been fulfilled. Inana, you must not open your mouth against the rites of the underworld."

144-148. When she entered the fourth gate, the "Come, man, come" pectoral was removed from her breast. "What is this?" "Be satisfied, Inana, a divine power of the underworld has been fulfilled. Inana, you must not open your mouth against the rites of the underworld."

149-153. When she entered the fifth gate, the golden ring was removed from her hand. "What is this?" "Be satisfied, Inana, a divine power of the underworld has been fulfilled. Inana, you must not open your mouth against the rites of the underworld."

154-158. When she entered the sixth gate, the lapis-lazuli measuring rod and measuring line were removed from her hand. "What is this?" "Be satisfied, Inana, a divine power of the underworld has been fulfilled. Inana, you must not open your mouth against the rites of the underworld."

159-163. When she entered the seventh gate, the pala dress, the garment of ladyship, was removed from her body. "What is this?" "Be satisfied, Inana, a divine power of the underworld has been fulfilled. Inana, you must not open your mouth against the rites of the underworld."

164-172. After she had crouched down and had her clothes removed, they were carried away. Then she made her sister Erec-ki-gala rise from her throne, and instead she sat on her throne. The Anuna, the seven judges, rendered their decision against her. They looked at her -- it was the look of death. They spoke to her -- it was the speech of anger. They shouted at her -- it was the shout of heavy guilt. The afflicted woman was turned into a corpse. And the corpse was hung on a hook.

173-175. After three days and three nights had passed, her minister Nincubura (2 mss. add 2 lines: , her minister who speaks fair words, her escort who speaks trustworthy words,) carried out the instructions of her mistress (1 ms. has instead 2 lines: did not forget her orders, she did not neglect her instructions).

176-182. She made a lament for her in her ruined (houses). She beat the drum for her in the sanctuaries. She made the rounds of the houses of the gods for her. She lacerated her eyes for her, she lacerated her nose. In private she lacerated her buttocks for her. Like a pauper, she clothed herself in a single garment, and all alone she set her foot in the E-kur, the house of Enlil.

183-189. When she had entered the E-kur, the house of Enlil, she lamented before Enlil: "Father Enlil, don't let anyone kill your daughter in the underworld. Don't let your precious metal be alloyed there with the dirt of the underworld. Don't let your precious lapis lazuli be split there with the mason's stone. Don't let your boxwood be chopped up there with the carpenter's wood. Don't let young lady Inana be killed in the underworld."

190-194. In his rage father Enlil answered Nincubura: "My daughter craved the great heaven and she craved the great below as well. Inana craved the great heaven and she craved the great below as well. The divine powers of the underworld are divine powers which should not be craved, for whoever gets them must remain in the underworld. Who, having got to that place, could then expect to come up again?"

195-203. Thus father Enlil did not help in this matter, so she went to Urim. In the E-mud-kura at Urim, when she had entered the E-kic-nu-jal, the house of Nanna, she lamented before Nanna: "Father Nanna, don't let your daughter be killed in the underworld. Don't let your precious metal be alloyed there with the dirt of the underworld. Don't let your precious lapis lazuli be split there with the mason's stone. Don't let your boxwood be chopped up there with the carpenter's wood. Don't let young lady Inana be killed in the underworld."

204-208. In his rage father Nanna answered Nincubura: "My daughter craved the great heaven and she craved the great below as well. Inana craved the great heaven and she craved the great below as well. The divine powers of the underworld are divine powers which should not be craved, for whoever gets them must remain in the underworld. Who, having got to that place, could then expect to come up again?"

209-216. Thus father Nanna did not help her in this matter, so she went to Eridug. In Eridug, when she had entered the house of Enki, she lamented before Enki: "Father Enki, don't let anyone kill your daughter in the underworld. Don't let your precious metal be alloyed there with the dirt of the underworld. Don't let your precious lapis lazuli be split there with the mason's stone. Don't let your boxwood be chopped up there with the carpenter's wood. Don't let young lady Inana be killed in the underworld."

217-225. Father Enki answered Nincubura: "What has my daughter done? She has me worried. What has Inana done? She has me worried. What has the mistress of all the lands done? She has me worried. What has the hierodule of An done? She has me worried." (1 ms. adds 1 line: Thus father Enki helped her in this matter.) He removed some dirt from the tip of his fingernail and created the kur-jara. He removed some dirt from the tip of his other fingernail and created the gala-tura. To the kur-jara he gave the life-giving plant. To the gala-tura he gave the life-giving water.

226-235. Then father Enki spoke out to the gala-tura and the kur-jara: "(1 ms. has instead the line: One of you sprinkle the life-giving plant over her, and the other the life-giving water.) Go and direct your steps to the underworld. Flit past the door like flies. Slip through the door pivots like phantoms. The mother who gave birth, Erec-ki-gala, on account of her children, is lying there. Her holy shoulders are not covered by a linen cloth. Her breasts are not full like a cagan vessel. Her nails are like a pickaxe upon her. The hair on her head is bunched up as if it were leeks.

236-245. "When she says "Oh my heart", you are to say "You are troubled, our mistress, oh your heart". When she says "Oh my liver", you are to say "You are troubled, our mistress, oh your liver". (She will then ask:) "Who are you? Speaking to you from my heart to your heart, from my liver to your liver -- if you are gods, let me talk with you; if you are mortals, may a destiny be decreed for you." Make her swear this by heaven and earth.

[1 line fragmentary]

246-253. "They will offer you a riverful of water -- don't accept it. They will offer you a field with its grain -- don't accept it. But say to her: "Give us the corpse hanging on the hook." (She will answer:) "That is the corpse of your queen." Say to her: "Whether it is that of our king, whether it is that of our queen, give it to us." She will give you the corpse hanging on the hook. One of you sprinkle on it the life-giving plant and the other the life-giving water. Thus let Inana arise."

254-262. The gala-tura and the kur-jara paid attention to the instructions of Enki. They flitted through the door like flies. They slipped through the door pivots like phantoms. The mother who gave birth, Erec-ki-gala, because of her children, was lying there. Her holy shoulders were not covered by a linen cloth. Her breasts were not full like a cagan vessel. Her nails were like a pickaxe (?) upon her. The hair on her head was bunched up as if it were leeks.

263-272. When she said "Oh my heart", they said to her "You are troubled, our mistress, oh your heart". When she said "Oh my liver", they said to her "You are troubled, our mistress, oh your liver". (Then she asked:) "Who are you? I tell you from my heart to your heart, from my liver to your liver -- if you are gods, I will talk with you; if you are mortals, may a destiny be decreed for you." They made her swear this by heaven and earth. They .....

273-281. They were offered a river with its water -- they did not accept it. They were offered a field with its grain -- they did not accept it. They said to her: "Give us the corpse hanging on the hook." Holy Erec-ki-gala answered the gala-tura and the kur-jara: "The corpse is that of your queen." They said to her: "Whether it is that of our king or that of our queen, give it to us." They were given the corpse hanging on the hook. One of them sprinkled on it the life-giving plant and the other the life-giving water. And thus Inana arose.

282-289. Erec-ki-gala said to the gala-tura and the kur-jara: "Bring your queen ....., your ..... has been seized." Inana, because of Enki's instructions, was about to ascend from the underworld. But as Inana was about to ascend from the underworld, the Anuna seized her: "Who has ever ascended from the underworld, has ascended unscathed from the underworld? If Inana is to ascend from the underworld, let her provide a substitute for herself."

290-294. So when Inana left the underworld, the one in front of her, though not a minister, held a sceptre in his hand; the one behind her, though not an escort, carried a mace at his hip, while the small demons, like a reed enclosure, and the big demons, like the reeds of a fence, restrained her on all sides.

295-305. Those who accompanied her, those who accompanied Inana, know no food, know no drink, eat no flour offering and drink no libation. They accept no pleasant gifts. They never enjoy the pleasures of the marital embrace, never have any sweet children to kiss. They tear away the wife from a man's embrace. They snatch the son from a man's knee. They make the bride leave the house of her father-in-law (instead of lines 300-305, 1 ms. has 2 lines: They take the wife away from a man's embrace. They take away the child hanging on a wet-nurse's breasts). (1 ms. adds 3 lines: They crush no bitter garlic. They eat no fish, they eat no leeks. They, it was, who accompanied Inana.)

306-310. After Inana had ascended from the underworld, Nincubura threw herself at her feet at the door of the Ganzer. She had sat in the dust and clothed herself in a filthy garment. The demons said to holy Inana: "Inana, proceed to your city, we will take her back."

311-321. Holy Inana answered the demons: "This is my minister of fair words, my escort of trustworthy words. She did not forget my instructions. She did not neglect the orders I gave her. She made a lament for me on the ruin mounds. She beat the drum for me in the sanctuaries. She made the rounds of the gods' houses for me. She lacerated her eyes for me, lacerated her nose for me. (1 ms. adds 1 line: She lacerated her ears for me in public.) In private, she lacerated her buttocks for me. Like a pauper, she clothed herself in a single garment.

322-328. "All alone she directed her steps to the E-kur, to the house of Enlil, and to Urim, to the house of Nanna, and to Eridug, to the house of Enki. (1 ms. adds 1 line: She wept before Enki.) She brought me back to life. How could I turn her over to you? Let us go on. Let us go on to the Sig-kur-caga in Umma."

329-333. At the Sig-kur-caga in Umma, Cara, in his own city, threw himself at her feet. He had sat in the dust and dressed himself in a filthy garment. The demons said to holy Inana: "Inana, proceed to your city, we will take him back."

334-338. Holy Inana answered the demons: "Cara is my singer, my manicurist and my hairdresser. How could I turn him over to you? Let us go on. Let us go on to the E-muc-kalama in Bad-tibira."

339-343. At the E-muc-kalama in Bad-tibira, Lulal, in his own city, threw himself at her feet. He had sat in the dust and clothed himself in a filthy garment. The demons said to holy Inana: "Inana, proceed to your city, we will take him back."

344-347. Holy Inana answered the demons: "Outstanding Lulal follows me at my right and my left. How could I turn him over to you? Let us go on. Let us go on to the great apple tree in the plain of Kulaba."

348-353. They followed her to the great apple tree in the plain of Kulaba. There was Dumuzid clothed in a magnificent garment and seated magnificently on a throne. The demons seized him there by his thighs. The seven of them poured the milk from his churns. The seven of them shook their heads

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like ..... They would not let the shepherd play the pipe and flute before her (?).

354-358. She looked at him, it was the look of death. She spoke to him (?), it was the speech of anger. She shouted at him (?), it was the shout of heavy guilt: "How much longer? Take him away." Holy Inana gave Dumuzid the shepherd into their hands.

359-367. Those who had accompanied her, who had come for Dumuzid, know no food, know no drink, eat no flour offering, drink no libation. They never enjoy the pleasures of the marital embrace, never have any sweet children to kiss. They snatch the son from a man's knee. They make the bride leave the house of her father-in-law.

368-375. Dumuzid let out a wail and turned very pale. The lad raised his hands to heaven, to Utu: "Utu, you are my brother-in-law. I am your relation by marriage. I brought butter to your mother's house. I brought milk to Ningal's house. Turn my hands into snake's hands and turn my feet into snake's feet, so I can escape my demons, let them not keep hold of me."

376-383. Utu accepted his tears. (1 ms. adds 1 line: Dumuzid's demons could not keep hold of him.) Utu turned Dumuzid's hands into snake's hands. He turned his feet into snake's feet. Dumuzid escaped his demons. (1 ms. adds 1 line: Like a sajkal snake he .....) They seized .....

[2 lines fragmentary]

Holy Inana ..... her heart.

384-393. Holy Inana wept bitterly for her husband.

[4 lines fragmentary]

She tore at her hair like esparto grass, she ripped it out like esparto grass. "You wives who lie in your men's embrace, where is my precious husband? You children who lie in your men's embrace, where is my precious child? Where is my man? Where .....? Where is my man? Where .....?"

394-398. A fly spoke to holy Inana: "If I show you where your man is, what will be my reward?" Holy Inana answered the fly: "If you show me where my man is, I will give you this gift: I will cover ....."

399-403The fly helped holy Inana. The young lady Inana decreed the destiny of the fly: "In the beer-house and the tavern, may there ..... for you. You will live like the sons of the wise." Now Inana decreed this fate and thus it came to be.

404-410. ..... was weeping. She came up to the sister (?) and ..... by the hand: "Now, alas, my ..... You for half the year and your sister for half the year: when you are demanded, on that day you will stay, when your sister is demanded, on that day you will be released." Thus holy Inana gave Dumuzid as a substitute .....

411-412 Holy Erec-ki-gala -- sweet is your praise.

DUMUZID'S DREAM

The Dream Of Dumuzid

Translation: ETCSL (University of Oxford)

Estimated Range of Dating:

1-4. His heart was full of tears as he went out into the countryside. The lad's heart was full of tears as he went out into the countryside. Dumuzid's heart was full of tears as he went out into the countryside. He carried with him his (1 ms. adds: shepherd's) stick on hi: translation s shoulder, sobbing all the time:

5-14. "Grieve, grieve, o countryside, grieve! O countryside, grieve! O marshes, cry out! O ..... crabs of the river, grieve! O frogs of the river, cry out! My mother will call to me, my mother, my Durtur, will call to me, my mother will call to me for five things, my mother will call to me for ten things: if she does not know the day when I am dead, you, o countryside, can inform my mother who bore me. Like my little sister may you weep for me."

15-18. In ancient times he lay down, in ancient times he lay down, in ancient times the shepherd lay down. When in ancient times the shepherd lay down, he lay down to dream. He woke up -- it was a dream! He shivered -- it was sleep! He rubbed his eyes, he was terrified.

19-25. "Bring, bring, bring my sister! Bring my Jectin-ana, bring my sister! Bring my scribe proficient in tablets, bring my sister! Bring my singer expert in songs, bring my sister! Bring my perspicacious girl, bring my sister! Bring my wise woman, who knows the meanings of dreams, bring my sister! I will relate the dream to her."

26-39. "A dream, my sister! A dream! In my dream, rushes were rising up for me, rushes kept growing for me, a single reed was shaking its head at me; twin reeds -- one was being separated from me. Tall trees in the forest were rising up together over me. Water was poured over my holy coals (1 ms. has instead: brazier) for me, the cover of my holy churn was being removed, my holy drinking cup was torn down from the peg where it hung, my shepherd's stick disappeared from me. An owl took a lamb from the sheep house, a falcon caught a sparrow on the reed fence, my male goats were dragging their dark beards in the dust for me, my rams were scratching the earth with their thick legs for me. The churns were lying on their side, no milk was poured, the drinking cups were lying on their side, Dumuzid was dead, the sheepfold was haunted."

41-55. Jectin-ana answered Dumuzid: "My brother, your dream is not favourable, don't tell me any more of it! Dumuzid, your dream is not favourable, don't tell me any more of it! The rushes rising up for you, which kept growing for you, are bandits rising against you from their ambush. The single reed shaking its head at you is your mother who bore you, shaking her head for you. The twin reeds of which one was being separated from you is you and I -- one will be separated from you. The tall trees in the forest rising up together over you are the evil men catching you within the walls. That water was poured over your holy coals means the sheepfold will become a house of silence. That the cover of your holy churn was being removed for you means the evil man will bring it inside in his hands. "

56-69. "Your holy drinking cup being torn down from the peg where it hung is you falling off the lap of the mother who bore you. That your shepherd's stick disappeared from you means the demons will set fire to it (1 ms. has instead: will smash it). The owl taking a lamb from the sheep house is the evil man who will hit you on the cheek (1 ms. has instead: is the evil man who will destroy the sheep house). The falcon catching a sparrow on the reed fence is the big demon coming down (1 ms. has instead: out) from the sheep house. That the churns were lying on their sides, no milk was poured, the drinking cups were lying on their sides, that Dumuzid was dead, and the sheepfold haunted, means your hands will be bound in handcuffs, your arms will be bound in fetters. That your male goats were dragging their dark beards in the dust for you means that my hair will whirl around in the air like a hurricane for you. That your rams were scratching the earth with their thick legs for you means that I shall lacerate my cheeks with my fingernails for you as if with a boxwood needle."

70-82. Hardly had she spoken these words when he said, "Sister, go up onto the mound, sister, go up onto the mound! Sister, when you go up onto the mound, do not go up onto the mound like an ordinary person, but lacerate your heart (1 ms. has instead: your hair) and your liver, lacerate your clothes and your crotch, sister, and then go up onto the mound! Sister, when you go up onto the mound, look out from onto the mound! The evil ....., hated by men, ... a river barge! They hold in their hands the wood to bind the hands, they are identified (?) from the wood to bind the neck -- no man knows how to undo it!"

83-86. Ama-jectin-ana went up onto the mound and looked around, Jectin-ana craned her neck. Her girl friend Jectin-dudu advised her: "The big men who bind the neck are already coming for him, they are ..... coming for him!"

87-90. "My adviser and girl friend! Are they coming?" "Yes, I will point out to you those who bind the neck!" "My brother, your demons are coming for you! Duck down your head in the grass! Dumuzid, your demons are coming for you! Duck down your head in the grass!"

91-94. "My sister, I will duck down my head in the grass! Don't reveal my whereabouts to them! I will duck down my head in the short grass! Don't reveal my whereabouts to them! I will duck down my head in the tall grass! Don't reveal my whereabouts to them! I will drop down into the ditches of Arali! Don't reveal my whereabouts to them!"

95-97. "If I reveal your whereabouts to them, may your dog devour me! The black dog, your shepherd dog, the noble dog, your lordly dog, may your dog devour me!"

98-102. She remembered: "..... give your friend instructions about it! O my brother, may you never have a friend or comrade like .....! After the demons have searched for you, ..., if he tells you ....."

103-106. "My friend, I will duck down my head in the grass! Don't reveal my whereabouts to them! I will duck down my head in the short grass! Don't reveal my whereabouts to them! I will duck down my head in the tall grass! Don't reveal my whereabouts to them! I will drop down into the ditches of Arali! Don't reveal my whereabouts to them!"

107-109. "If I reveal your whereabouts to them, may your dog devour me! The black dog, your shepherd dog, the noble dog, your lordly dog, may your dog devour me!"

110-138. Those who came for the king are a motley crew, who know not food, who know not drink, who eat no sprinkled flour, who drink no poured water, who accept no pleasant gifts, who do not enjoy a wife's embraces, who never kiss dear little children, who never chew sharp-tasting garlic, who eat no fish, who eat no leeks. There were two men of Adab who came for the king. They were thistles in dried-up waters, they were thorns in stinking waters -- 'his hand was on the table, his tongue was in the palace' (Alludes to a proverb). Then there were two men of Akcak who came for the king, with ..... carried on their shoulders. Then there were two men of Unug who came for the king. With head-smashing clubs tied to their waists, there were two men of Urim who came for the king. With shining (1 ms. has instead: clean) clothes on the quayside, there were two men of Nibru who came for the king. Crying "Man run after man!", they came to the sheepfold and cow-pen. They caught Jectin-ana at the sheepfold and cow-pen. They offered a river of water, but she wouldn't accept it. They offered her a field of grain, but she wouldn't accept it. The little demon spoke to the big demon, the wise demon, the lively demon, and the big demon who was between them, wise like ..... destroying a ....., like ..... barring a ....., they spoke:

139-150. "Who since the most ancient times has ever known a sister reveal a brother's whereabouts? Come! Let us go to his friend!" Then they offered his friend a river of water, and he accepted it. They offered him a field of grain, and he accepted it. "My friend ducked down his head in the grass, but I do not know his whereabouts (1 ms. adds: Dumuzid ducked down his head in the grass, but I don't know his whereabouts)". They looked for Dumuzid's head in the grass, but they couldn't find him. "He ducked down his head in the short grass, but I do not know his whereabouts". They looked for Dumuzid's head in the short grass, but they couldn't find him. "He ducked down his head in the tall grass, but I do not know his whereabouts". They looked for Dumuzid's head in the tall grass, but they couldn't find him. "He has dropped down into the ditches of Arali, but I do not know his whereabouts".

151-155. They caught Dumuzid in the ditches of Arali. Dumuzid began to weep and turned very pale: "In the city my sister saved my life, my friend caused my death. If a sister leave a child in the street, someone should kiss it. But if a friend leaves a child in the street, no one should kiss it."

156-164. The men surrounded him and drained the standing waters. They twisted a cord for him, they knotted a net for him. They wove a reed hawser for him, they cut sticks for him. The one in front of him threw missiles at him, the one behind him ..... one cubit. His hands were bound in handcuffs, his arms were bound in fetters. The lad raised his hands heavenward to Utu:

165-173. "Utu, you are my brother-in-law, I am your sister's husband! I am he who carries food to E-ana, I am he who brought the wedding gifts to Unug, I am he who kisses the holy lips, I am he who dances on the holy knees, the knees of Inana. Please change my hands into gazelle hands, change my feet into gazelle feet, so I can evade my demons. Let me escape with my life to Ku-birec-dildarec."

174-180. Utu accepted his tears (1 ms. adds: as a gift). Like a merciful man he showed him mercy. He changed his hands into gazelle hands, he changed his feet into gazelle feet, and so he evaded the demons, and escaped with his life to Ku-birec-dildarec. The demons searched for him, but didn't find him.

181-191. "Come, let us go to Ku-birec." (1 ms. adds: ..... like a net .....) They caught Dumuzid at Ku-birec. The men surrounded him and drained the standing waters. They twisted a cord for him, they knotted a net for him. They wove a reed hawser for him, they cut sticks for him, the one in front of him threw missiles at him, the one behind him ..... His hands were bound in handcuffs, his arms were bound in fetters. The lad raised his hands heavenward to Utu:

192-199. "Utu, you are my brother-in-law, I am your sister's husband! I am he who carries food to E-ana, I am he who brought the wedding gifts to Unug, I am he who kisses the holy lips, I am he who dances on the holy knees, the knees of Inana. Please change my hands into gazelle (1 ms. has instead: snake) hands, change my feet into gazelle (1 ms. has instead: snake) feet, so I can escape to the house of Old Woman Belili."

200-205. Utu accepted his tears. He changed his hands into gazelle (1 ms. has instead: snake) hands, he changed his feet into gazelle1 ms. has instead: snake feet, so he evaded the demons and escaped with his life to the house of Old Woman Belili. He approached the house of Old Woman Belili.

206-208. "Old woman! I am not just a man, I am the husband of a goddess! Would you pour water -- please -- so I can drink water. Would you sprinkle flour -- please -- so I can eat flour."

209-212. She poured water, and she sprinkled flour, and he sat down inside the house. The old woman left the house. When the old woman left the house, the demons saw her.

213-226. "Unless the old woman is aware of Dumuzid's whereabouts, she is indeed looking frightened! She is indeed screaming in a frightened way! Come, let us go to the house of Old Woman Belili!" They caught Dumuzid at the house of Old Woman Belili. The men surrounded him and drained the standing waters. They twisted a cord for him, they knotted a net for him. They wove a reed hawser for him, they cut sticks for him, the one in front of him threw missiles at him, the one behind him ..... His hands were bound in handcuffs, his arms were bound in fetters. The lad raised his hands heavenward to Utu:

227-234. "Utu, you are my brother-in-law, I am your sister's husband! I am he who carries food to E-ana, I am he who brought the wedding gifts to Unug, I am he who kisses the holy lips, I am he who dances on the holy knees, the knees of Inana. Please change my hands into gazelle hands, change my feet into gazelle feet, so I can escape to the holy sheepfold, my sister's sheepfold."

235-244. Utu accepted his tears. He changed his hands into gazelle (1 ms. has instead: snake) hands, he changed his feet into gazelle (1 ms. has instead: snake) feet, so he evaded the

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demons, and escaped with his life to the holy sheepfold, his sister's sheepfold. He approached the holy sheepfold, his sister's sheepfold. Jectin-ana cried toward heaven, cried toward earth. Her cries covered the horizon completely like a cloth, they were spread out like linen. She lacerated her eyes, she lacerated her face, she lacerated her ears in public; in private she lacerated her buttocks.

245-255. "My brother, I will go round in the streets ....." (The demons said:) "Unless Jectin-ana is aware of Dumuzid's whereabouts, she is indeed looking frightened! She is indeed screaming in a frightened way! Come, let us go to the sheepfold and cow-pen!" When the first demon entered the sheepfold and cow-pen, he set fire to the bolt (1 ms. has instead: he shouted .....). When the second entered the sheepfold and cow-pen, he set fire to the shepherd's stick. When the third entered the sheepfold and cow-pen, he removed the cover of the holy churn.

256-260. When the fourth entered the sheepfold and cow-pen, he tore down the drinking cup from the peg where it hung. When the fifth entered the sheepfold and cow-pen, the churns lay on their side, no milk was poured, the drinking cups lay on their side, Dumuzid was dead, the sheepfold was haunted. (Instead of lines 256-260, 1 ms. has: When the fourth entered the sheepfold and cow-pen, he poured water on my holy brazier. When the fifth demon entered the sheepfold and cow-pen, he tore down my holy drinking cup from the peg where it hung. When the sixth demon entered the sheepfold and cow-pen, the churns lay on their side, and no milk was poured. When the seventh demon entered the sheepfold and cow-pen, the drinking cups lay on their side, Dumuzid was dead, the sheepfold was haunted.)

261. A kalkal song for the dead Dumuzid.

DUMUZID AND GESTIN-ANA
Translation: ETCSL: t.1.4.1.1

1-11. A small demon opened his mouth and said to the big demon, "Come on, let's go to the lap of holy Inana." The demons entered Unug and seized holy Inana. "Come on, Inana, go on that journey which is yours alone -- descend to the underworld. Go to the place which you have coveted -- descend to the nether world. Go to the dwelling of Ereskigala -- descend to the underworld. Don't put on your holy ba garment, the pala dress of ladyship -- descend to the underworld. Remove the holy headdress, that splendid ornament, from your head -- descend to the underworld. Don't enhance your appearance with a wig -- descend to the underworld. Don't adorn your feet with …… -- descend to the underworld. When you descend, ……."

12-21. They released holy Inana, they …… her. Inana handed over Dumuzid to them in exchange for herself. "As for the lad, we will put his feet in foot stocks. As for the lad, we will put his hands in hand stocks: we will put his neck in neck stocks." Copper pins, nails and pokers were raised to his face. They sharpened their large copper axes. As for the lad, they stood him up, they sat him down. "Let us remove his …… garment, let us make him stand ……." As for the lad, they bound his arms, they did evil ……. They covered his face with his own garment.

22-32. The lad raises his hands heavenward to Utu: "O Utu, I am your friend, I am a youth. Do you recognise me? Your sister, whom I married, descended to the underworld. Because she descended to the underworld, it was me that she was to hand over to the underworld as a substitute. O Utu, you are a just judge, don't disappoint me! Change my hands, alter my appearance, so that I may escape the clutches of my demons! Don't let them seize me! Like a sagkal snake that slithers across the meadows and mountains, let me escape alive to the dwelling of my sister Gestin-ana."

33-46. Utu accepted his tears. He changed his hands, he altered his appearance. Then like a sagkal snake that slithers across the meadows and mountains, like a soaring falcon that can swoop down on a live bird, Dumuzid escaped alive to the dwelling of his sister Gestin-ana. Gestin-ana looked at her brother. She scratched at her cheek: she scratched at her nose. She looked at her sides: she …… her garment. She recited a lament of misfortune for the unfortunate lad: "O my brother! O my brother, lad who has not fulfilled those days! O my brother, shepherd Ama-usumgal-ana, lad who has not fulfilled those days and years! O my brother, lad who has no wife, who has no children! O my brother, lad who has no friend, who has no companion! O my brother, the lad who is not a comfort to his mother!"

47-56. The demons go hither and thither searching for Dumuzid. The small demons say to the big demons: "Demons have no mother; they have no father or mother, sister or brother, wife or children. When …… were established on heaven and earth, you demons were there, at a man's side like a reed enclosure. Demons are never kind, they do not know good from evil. Who has ever seen a man, without a family, all alone, escape with his life? We shall go neither to the dwelling of his friend nor to the dwelling of his in-laws. Rather, for the shepherd let us go to the dwelling of Gestin-ana." The demons clap their hands and begin to seek him out.

57-64. Gestin-ana had barely finished that lament when the demons arrived at her dwelling. "Show us where your brother is," they said to her. But she spoke not a word to them. They afflicted her loins with a skin disease, but she spoke not a word to them. They scratched her face with ……, but she spoke not a word to them. They …… the skin of her buttocks, but she spoke not a word to them. They poured tar in her lap, but she spoke not a word to them. So they could not find Dumuzid at the house of Gestin-ana.

65-73. The small demons said to the big demons: "Come on, let's go to the holy sheepfold!" There at the holy sheepfold they caught Dumuzid. They went hither and thither until they caught him. They searched for him until he was seen. The axe was wielded against the lad who had no family. They sharpened their daggers, they smashed his hut. His sister wandered about the city like a bird because of her brother: "My brother, let me take the great misfortune, come, let me ……."

DUMUZID AND HIS SISTERS
Translation: ETCSL: t.1.4.1.3

[approx. 62 lines missing]

1-28. "…… my ……. …… my lacerated eyes ……. …… my lacerated nose ……. …… my beaten ……. …… my hasty ……. …… my ……

[1 line fragmentary] …… my ……. …… my loaded waggon ……. …… my ……. …… my ……. …… who is cheerful ……. …… who laments ……. …… the door of the gate (of the nether world) ……. My brother, …… the door of the gate ……

[1 line fragmentary] …… ladyship ……. On the mighty river, ……. …… its fields, a waterskin ……. …… in lamenting ……. …… my …… hated ……. My brother, your feet hurt, your feet …… the road. My brother, wherever you go I will hasten with you. Dumuzid, wherever you go I will hasten with you. …… I will hasten with you. I will hasten with you. …… going as your slavegirl, …… of the lord, I ……. …… of the lord …… …… going as your slavegirl, …… of the lord, I ……."

29-34. "My brother -- because of him I cannot rejoice. My brother ……. Dumuzid, my brother -- because of him I cannot rejoice, ……. …… in front of him ……. …… he who bound his arms went in front of him. …… he who fettered his hands went behind him. …… they who beat him went alongside him."

35-53. …… then the elder sister spoke to him. …… she replied to him in his distress ……: "…… those men will seize him. …… let them bring ……. …… they will rip out ……."

[3 lines fragmentary / approx. 11 lines missing]

54-68. [1 line fragmentary] "…… you also ……. …… you also ……." …… they paid attention ……. …… went along the broad road. …… went along the broad road. …… the demon confronted her. …… the demon confronted her. …… the demon confronted her. …… met her ……, the demon confronted her. ……, he tried to control her. ……, as she was tearing out her hair, he tried to control her. …… as she was lacerating her eyes, as she was lacerating her nose, he tried to control her. …… as she …… excessively, he tried to control her. …… as she spoke …… beauty …… lips, he tried to control her:

69-72. "…… you, maiden, who are in a similar state to the lord, are you his sister? …… who are in a similar state to Dumuzid, are you his sister? …… are you the lad's younger sister? Are you his sister? …… are you Dumuzid's younger sister? Are you his sister?"

73-80. "Cut …… with my ……; I am his sister. Cut with Dumuzid; I am his sister. I am the lad's younger sister, I am his sister. I am Dumuzid's younger sister, I am his sister. Now, let me too be in a similar state …… to him; I am his sister. Let me too be in a similar state …… to him; I am his sister. If I had a cord …… on my hands, my hands would not hurt. If I had a wine jar on my shoulder, my shoulder would not hurt."

81-85. She returned to the side of his …… and muddied the water. She, Gestin-ana, poured water into a crevice in the ground for him. The maiden, equipped with ……, agitated the water. She agitated the water, the water for the brother, ……. She agitated the water, and returned it to the river:

86-88. "Return to your river! Return to your river! Return to your river! O water which my brother cannot drink, return to your river! O water which Dumuzid cannot drink, O water, return to your river!"

89-108. She heaped up the …… of the river, and muddied the Euphrates: "…… my brother is no longer alive. He will cut …… from ……. …… Dumuzid is no longer alive. He will cut …… from ……. …… is no longer alive, he is no longer alive. He will definitely not return. My …… is no longer alive. My …… is no longer alive. My …… is no longer alive. …… is no longer alive. …… is no longer alive. …… is no longer alive. …… Dumuzid is no longer alive. He will definitely not return. I cannot rejoice over …… when you were born. I cannot rejoice over …… when you were born. I cannot rejoice over …… when you were born. …… was born. …… was born. …… I, Gestin, ……. …… to Dumuzid. …… I, Gestin, ……."

[1 line fragmentary / approx. 60 lines missing / a few traces are visible]

INANA AND BILULU
An ulila to Inana
Translation: ETCSL: t.1.4.4

1-5. She can make the lament for you, my Dumuzid, the lament for you, the lament, the lamentation, reach the desert -- she can make it reach the house Arali; she can make it reach Bad-tibira; she can make it reach Du-suba; she can make it reach the shepherding country, the sheepfold of Dumuzid …….

[20 lines fragmentary or missing]

26. …… she broods on it:

27-30. "O Dumuzid of the fair-spoken mouth, of the ever kind eyes," she sobs tearfully, "O you of the fair-spoken mouth, of the ever kind eyes," she sobs tearfully. "Lad, husband, lord, sweet as the date, …… O Dumuzid!" she sobs, she sobs tearfully.

31-36. Holy Inana ……

[1 line fragmentary] The goddess ……. The maiden Inana ……. She was pacing to and fro in the chamber of her mother who bore her, in prayer and supplication, while they stood in attendance on her respectfully:

37-40. "O my mother …… with your permission let me go to the sheepfold! O my mother Ningal …… with your permission let me go to the sheepfold! My father has shone forth for me in lordly fashion …… Suen has shone forth for me in lordly fashion ……."

41-45. Like a child sent on an errand by its own mother, she went out from the chamber; like one sent on an errand by Mother Ningal, she went out from the chamber. Full knowledgeable my lady was, and also she was full apt, full knowledgeable holy Inana was, and also she was full apt. Beer stored in remote days, in long past days …….

[approx. 19 lines missing]

65-70. …… from the sheepfold.

[1 line missing] …… to the house of old woman Bilulu (source, erroneously: Belili) . There the shepherd, head beaten in, ……, Dumuzid, head beaten in, ……; Ama-usumgal-ana, head beaten in, …….

71-73. "The sheep of my master, of Dumuzid, in the desert ……. O Inana, a man who was not the shepherd was returning beside my master's sheep!"

74-75. The lady created a song for her young husband, fashioned a song for him, holy Inana created a song for Dumuzid, fashioned a song for him:

76-80. "O you who lie at rest, shepherd, who lie at rest, you stood guard over them! Dumuzid, you who lie at rest, you stood guard over them! Ama-usumgal-ana, you who lie at rest, you stood guard over them! Rising with the sun you stood guard over my sheep, lying down by night only, you stood guard over my sheep!"

81-89. Then the son of old woman Bilulu, matriarch and her own mistress, -- Girgire, a man on his own, fit for prospering and a knowledgeable man -- was filling pen and fold with his captured cattle, and was stacking his stacks and piles of grain. He quickly left scattered his victims struck down with the mace. Sirru of the haunted desert, no one's child and no one's friend, sat before him and held converse with him.

90-97. That day what was in the lady's heart? What was in holy Inana's heart? To kill old woman Bilulu was in her heart! To make good the resting place for her beloved young husband, for Dumuzid-ama-usumgal-ana -- that was in her heart! My lady went to Bilulu in the haunted desert. Her son Girgire like the wind there did …… Sirru of the haunted desert, no one's child and no one's friend, …….

98-110. Holy Inana entered the alehouse, stepped into a seat, began to determine fate: "Begone! I have killed you; so it is indeed, and with you I destroy also your name: May you become the waterskin for cold water that is used in the desert! May her son Girgire together with her become the protective god of the desert and the protective goddess of the desert! May Sirru of the haunted desert, no one's child and no one's friend, walk in the desert and keep count of the flour, and when water is libated and flour sprinkled for the lad wandering in the desert, let the protective god of the desert and the protective goddess of the desert call out: "Libate!", call out: "Sprinkle!", and thereby cause him to be present in the place from which he vanished, in the desert! Let old woman Bilulu gladden his heart!"

111-124. And immediately, under the sun of that day, it truly became so. She became the waterskin for cold water that is used in the desert. Her son Girgire together with her became the protective god of the desert and the protective

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goddess of the desert. Sirru of the haunted desert, no one's child and no one's friend, walks in the desert and keeps count of the flour, and when water is libated and flour sprinkled for the lad wandering in the desert, the protective god of the desert and the protective goddess of the desert call out: "Libate!", call out: "Sprinkle!", and thereby cause him to be present in the place from which he vanished, in the desert. Old woman Bilulu gladdens his heart. Inana put out her hand to the lad on the ground, put out her hand to Dumuzid on the ground, his death-bound hands ……

[approx. 11 lines missing / 1 line fragmentary]

137-148. The francolin …… to the …… of its ……. The francolin …… to the birthplace of Dumuzid. Like a pigeon on its window ledge it took counsel with itself; the francolin in its shelter took counsel. Only his mother Durtur can gladden my master! Only his mother Durtur can gladden Dumuzid! My goddess, born in Kuara, the maiden who is the crown of all ……, the admiration and acclaim of the black-headed people, the playful one who also voices laments and the cries, who intercedes before the king -- Gestin-ana, the lady, did …….

[1 line fragmentary]

150-154. The maiden …… the admiration. Gestin-ana ……. The sacred one, Inana …… in her hand. …… together. …… replied:

155-161. "Let me utter the lament for you, the lament for you, the lament! Brother, let me utter the lament for you, the lament! …… let me utter the lament for you, the lament! Let me utter the lament for you, the lament in the house Arali! Let me utter the lament for you, the lament in Du-suba! Let me utter the lament for you, the lament in Bad-tibira! Let me utter the lament for you, the lament in the shepherding country!"

162-165. How truly the goddess proved the equal of her betrothed, how truly holy Inana proved the equal of the shepherd Dumuzid! It was granted to Inana to make good his resting place, it was granted to the goddess to avenge him!

166-173. "Let me utter the lament for you, the lament for you, the lament! Let me utter the lament for you, the lament for you, the lament! In the birthplace let me utter the lament for you, the lament! In the desert, O Dumuzid, let me utter the lament for you, the lament! In the house Arali let me utter the lament for you, the lament! In Du-suba let me utter the lament for you, the lament! In Bad-tibira let me utter the lament for you, the lament! In the shepherding country let me utter the lament for you, the lament!"

174-176. How truly she proved the equal of Dumuzid, avenging him; by killing Bilulu, Inana proved equal to him!

177. An ulila song of Inana.

THE NINURTA CYCLE

NINURTA'S RETURN TO NIBRU (Nippur)

A sir-gida to Ninurta

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.6.1

1-6. Created like An, O son of Enlil, Ninurta, created like Enlil, born by Nintur, mightiest of the Anuna gods, who came forth from the mountain range, imbued with terrible awesomeness, son of Enlil, confident in his strength, my sovereign, you are magnificent -- let your magnificence therefore be praised. Ninurta, you are magnificent -- let your magnificence therefore be praised.

7-12. Sovereign of all the lands, in your massive might, warrior of Enlil, in your great might, fierce warrior, you have taken up the divine powers which are like heaven, son of Enlil, you have taken up the divine powers which are like the earth, you have taken up the divine powers of the mountains, which are heavy as heaven, you have taken up the divine powers of Eridug, which are huge as the earth.

13-15. You have made the gods prostrate themselves before you. You have made the Anuna salute you. Ninurta, you are made complete by heroic strength.

16-17. The utterance of the sovereign is a storm ……. The word of Lord Ninurta is a storm …….

18-23. To the hostile mountains ……. To the fortress of the rebellious land …….

1 line unclear

Lord, frighteningly fierce, ……. Fierce in heaven and earth, …….

1 line unclear

24-25. His angry utterance made a corpse of the mountains. His fierce countenance …….

26-29. Horned wild bull ……. Wild ram and stag ……. The great wild bull of the mountains …… from its ……. He put his ……, the strength in battle, in his belt.

30-40. The sovereign, with his heroic arms, Ninurta, the son of Enlil, in his great might, brought forth the Six-headed wild ram from the shining, lofty house. He brought forth the Warrior dragon from the great fortress of the mountains. He brought forth the Magilum boat from …… his abzu. He brought forth the Bison from his battle dust. He brought forth the Mermaid from the limits of heaven and earth. He brought forth the Gypsum from the soil of the mountain range. He brought forth the Strong copper from the shattered mountain range. He brought forth the Anzud bird from the halub-haran tree. He brought forth the Seven-headed serpent from the …… of the mountains.

41-46. He mustered them all before him ……. He spoke ……. He was unhappy ……. He spoke ……. He seized the axe ……. He took his …….

47-51. The warrior …… made a corpse of the mountains. Lord Ninurta, who destroys ……, made a corpse of the mountains. He piled up ……. The sovereign, with his heroic strength, wreaked his vengeance. The warrior Ninurta, with his heroic strength, wreaked his vengeance.

52-54. On his shining chariot, which inspires terrible awe, he hung his captured wild bulls on the axle and hung his captured cows on the cross-piece of the yoke.

55-63. He hung the Six-headed wild ram on the dust-guard. He hung the Warrior dragon on the seat. He hung the Magilum boat on the ……. He hung the Bison on the beam. He hung the Mermaid on the foot-board. He hung the Gypsum on the forward part of the yoke. He hung the Strong copper on the inside pole pin. He hung the Anzud bird on the front guard. He hung the Seven-headed serpent on the shining cross-beam.

64-69. Lord Ninurta stepped into his battle-worthy chariot. Ud-ane, the all-seeing god, and Lugal-anbara, the bearded lord, went before him, and the awesome one of the mountains, Lugal-kur-dub, the …… of Lord Ninurta, followed behind him.

70-72. The lion who …… from the abzu, who …… An's awesomeness and radiance -- the Anuna, the great gods …….

73-75. As the sovereign swept on like the deluge, as Ninurta, storm of the rebellious land, swept on like the deluge, he rumbled like a storm on the horizon.

76-79. When, at Enlil's command, he was making his way towards E-kur, the warrior of the gods was levelling the Land; and before he had yet approached Nibru from afar, Nuska, the chancellor of Enlil, came forth from the E-kur to meet him.

80-82. He greeted Lord Ninurta: "My sovereign, perfect warrior, heed yourself. Ninurta, perfect warrior, heed yourself."

83-86. "Your radiance has covered Enlil's temple like a cloak. When you step into your chariot, whose creaking is a pleasant sound, heaven and earth tremble. When you raise your arm ……."

87-91. "The Anuna, the great gods ……. Do not frighten your father in his residence. Do not frighten Enlil in his residence. May your father give you gifts because of your heroic strength. May Enlil give you gifts because of your heroic strength."

92-97. "O sovereign, shackle of An, first among the gods, seal-bearer of Enlil, life-source of E-kur, O warrior, because you have toppled the mountains your father need send out no other god beside you. Ninurta, because you have toppled the mountains Enlil need send out no other god beside you."

98-101. While these words were yet in Nuska's mouth, Ninurta put the whip and goad away in the rope-box. He leaned his mace, the strength in battle, against the box and entered into the temple of Enlil.

102-107. He directed his captive wild bulls into the temple. He directed his captive cows, like the wild bulls, into the temple. He laid out the booty of his plundered cities. The Anuna were amazed ……. Enlil, the Great Mountain, made obeisance to him, and Asimbabbar prayed to him.

108-112. The great mother Ninlil, from within her Ki-ur, spoke admiringly to Lord Ninurta: "O wild bull, with fierce horns raised, son of Enlil, you have struck blows in the mountains. Warrior, Lord Ninurta, you have ……. You have …… the rebellious land."

113-118. Lord Ninurta answered her: "My mother, I alone cannot …… with you ……. Ninlil, I alone cannot …… with you, for me alone ……. Battle arrayed like heaven -- no one can rival me. Like the deluge ……. Smashing the mountains like reed huts ……."

119-124. "My battle, like an onrushing flood, overflowed in the mountains. With a lion's body and lion's muscles, it rose up in the rebellious land. The gods have become worried and flee (?) to the mountain ranges. They beat their wings like a flock of small birds. They stand hiding in the grass like wild bulls ……. No one can confront my radiance, heavy as heaven."

125-127. "Because I am the lord of the terraced mountain ranges, in every direction ……. Because I have subjugated these mountain ranges of alabaster and lapis lazuli, the Anuna hide like mice."

128-134. "Now I have reestablished my heroic strength in the mountains. On my right, I bear my Mows-down-a-myriad. On my left, I bear my Crushes-a-myriad. I bear my Fifty-toothed-storm, my heavenly mace. I bear the hero who comes down from the great mountains, my No-resisting-this-storm. I bear the weapon which devours corpses like a dragon, my agasilig axe. I bear my ……."

135-139. "I bear my ……. I bear the alkad net of the rebellious land, my alkad net. I bear that from which the mountains cannot escape, my susgal net. I bear the seven-mouthed musmah serpent, the slayer, my spike. I bear that which strips away the mountains, the sword, my heavenly dagger."

140-145. "I bear the deluge of battle, my fifty-headed mace. I bear the storm that attacks humans, my bow and quiver. I bear those which carry off the temples of the rebellious land, my throw-stick and shield. I bear the helper of men, my spear. I bear that which brings forth light like the day, my Obliterator-of-the-mountains. I bear the maintainer of the people in heaven and earth, my The-enemy-cannot-escape."

146-151. "I bear that whose awesome radiance covers the Land, which is grandly suited for my right hand, finished in gold and lapis lazuli, whose presence is amazing, my Object-of-trust. I bear the perfect weapon, exceedingly magnificent, trustworthy in battle, having no equal, well-suited for my wrist on the battlefield, my fifty-headed mace, I bear the weapon which consumes the rebellious land like fire, my fifty-headed club."

152-158. "Let my father therefore bring in my battle trophies and weapons for me. Let Enlil bathe my heroic arms. Let him pour holy water on the fierce arms which bore my weapons. Let him set up a holy dais in the throne room for me. Let him set my heavenly chariot upon a pedestal. Let him tether my captured warriors there like butting bulls. Let him have my captured kings make obeisance to me there, as to the light of heaven."

159-163. "I am the strong one, unopposed in the mountains, I am Ninurta -- let them prostrate themselves at my name. I am the exceedingly mighty lion-headed one of Enlil, whom he engendered in his strength. The storm of heaven, shackle of the gods, I am the one whom An in his great might has chosen."

164-167. "I am the ……, the life-source of Inana. I am the warrior, destined with Enki to be suited for the fearsome divine powers. Let my kingship be manifest unto the ends of heaven and earth. I am most able among the gods -- let me be imbued with great awesomeness."

168-174. "Let my beloved city, the sanctuary Nibru, raise its head as high as heaven. Let my city be pre-eminent among the cities of my brothers. Let my temple rise the highest …… among the temples of my brothers. Let the territory of my city be the freshwater well of Sumer. Let the Anuna, my brother gods, bow down there. Let their flying birds establish nests in my city. Let their refugees refresh themselves in my shade."

175-179. As Ninurta went out from Enlil's temple, the most bright-faced of warriors, Ninkarnuna, having heard the favourable pronouncement of Ninurta, stepped before Lord Ninurta and prayed to him:

180-186. "My sovereign, may you be well-disposed towards your beloved city. Lord Ninurta, may you be well-disposed towards your beloved city. May you be well-disposed towards the sanctuary Nibru, your beloved city. When you enter E-su-me-sa, your beloved temple, alone, tell your wife, young lady Ninnibru, what is in your heart, tell her what is on your mind. Make an enduring favourable pronouncement to her for the king."

187-194. The content of that prayer of the offspring of a prince, Ninkarnuna, his sprinkling Ninurta's heart with an offering of cool water, and the matter of prosperity about which he spoke were pleasing to Ninurta's heart as he went in procession to E-su-me-sa to manifest the eternal divine powers. Lord Ninurta gazed approvingly at Ninkarnuna.

195-198. When Ninurta entered E-su-me-sa, his beloved temple, alone, he told his wife, young lady Ninnibru, what was in his heart, he told her what was on his mind and he made an enduring favourable pronouncement to her for the king.

199-201. The warrior, whose heroism is manifest, Ninurta, the son of Enlil, has firmly grounded his greatness in Enlil's sanctuary.

202-207. Lord who has destroyed the mountains, who has no rival, who butts angrily in that magnificent battle, great warrior who goes forth in his …… might, strong one, deluge of Enlil, Ninurta, magnificent child of E-kur, pride of the father who engendered him, it is sweet to praise you.

208. Sir-gida of Ninurta.

NINURTA'S EXPLOITS

A sir-sud to Ninurta

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.6.2

1-16. [(1 ms. adds before line 1:) An, king of the gods, majestic one:] O king, storm of majestic splendour, peerless Ninurta, possessing superior strength; who pillages the mountains all alone; deluge, indefatigable serpent hurling yourself at the rebel land, hero striding formidably into battle; lord whose powerful arm is fit to bear the mace, reaping like barley the necks of the insubordinate; Ninurta, king, son in whose strength his father rejoices; hero whose awesomeness covers the mountains like a south storm; Ninurta, who makes

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the good tiara, the rainbow, flash like lightning; grandly begotten by him who wears the princely beard; dragon who turns on himself, strength of a lion snarling at a snake, roaring hurricane; Ninurta, king, whom Enlil has exalted above himself; hero, great battle-net flung over the foe; Ninurta, with the awesomeness of your shadow extending over the Land; releasing fury on the rebel lands, overwhelming their assemblies! Ninurta, king, son who has forced homage to his father far and wide!

17-23. Inspiring great numinous power, he had taken his place on the throne, the august dais, and was sitting gladly at his ease at the festival celebrated in his honour, rivalling An and Enlil in drinking his fill, while Bau was pleading petitions in a prayer for the king, and he, Ninurta, Enlil's son, was handing down decisions. At that moment the lord's battle-mace looked towards the mountains, the Sar-ur cried out aloud to its master:

24-47. "Lord of lofty station, foremost one, who presides over all lords from the throne dais, Ninurta, whose orders are unalterable, whose allotted fates are faithfully executed; my master! Heaven copulated with the verdant Earth, Ninurta: she has born him a warrior who knows no fear -- the Asag, a child who sucked the power of milk without ever staying with a wet-nurse, a foster-child, O my master -- knowing no father, a murderer from the mountains, a youth who has come forth from ……, whose face knows no shame; impudent of eye, an arrogant male, [Ninurta] [(1 ms. has instead:) Ningirsu], rejoicing in his stature. My hero, you who are like a bull, I will take my stand beside you. My master, who turns sympathetically towards his own city, who is effective in carrying out his mother's wishes: it has sired offspring in the mountains, and spread its seeds far and wide. The plants have unanimously named it king over them; like a great wild bull, it tosses its horns amongst them. The su, the sagkal, the esi (diorite), the usium, the kagena (haematite), and the heroic nu stones, its warriors, constantly come raiding the cities. For them a shark's tooth has grown up in the mountains; it has stripped the trees. Before its might the gods of those cities bow towards it. My master, this same creature has erected a throne dais: it is not lying idle. Ninurta, lord, it actually decides the Land's lawsuits, just as you do. Who can compass the Asag's dread glory? Who can counteract the severity of its frown? People are terrified, fear makes the flesh creep; their eyes are fixed upon it. My master, the mountains have taken their offerings to it."

48-56. "Hero! They have appealed to you, because of your father; son of Enlil, lord, because of your superior strength they are looking to you here; since you are strong, my master, they are calling for your help, saying, Ninurta, that not a single warrior counts except for you! They wanted to advise you about ……. Hero, there have been consultations with a view to taking away your kingship. Ninurta, it is confident that it can lay hands on the powers received by you in the abzu. Its face is deformed, its location is continually changing; day by day, the Asag adds territories to its domain."

57-69. "But you will force it into the shackles of the gods. You, Antelope of Heaven, must trample the mountains beneath your hooves, Ninurta, lord, son of Enlil. Who has so far been able to resist its assault? The besetting Asag is beyond all control, its weight is too heavy. Rumours of its armies constantly arrive, before ever its soldiers are seen. This thing's strength is massive, no weapon has been able to overturn it. Ninurta, neither the axe nor the all-powerful spear can penetrate its flesh, no warrior like it has ever been created against you. Lord, you who reach out towards the august divine powers, splendour, jewel of the gods, you bull with the features of a wild bull, with a prominent backbone, …… this fellow is clever! My Ninurta, whose form Enki contemplates with favour, my Uta-ulu, lord, son of Enlil, what is to be done?"

70-95. The lord cried "Alas!" so that Heaven trembled, and Earth huddled at his feet and was terrified at his strength. Enlil became confused and went out of the E-kur. The mountains were devastated. That day the earth became dark, the Anuna trembled. The hero beat his thighs with his fists. The gods dispersed; the Anuna disappeared over the horizon like sheep. The lord arose, touching the sky; Ninurta went to battle, with one step he covered a league, he was an alarming storm, and rode on the eight winds towards the rebel lands. His arms grasped the lance. The mace snarled at the mountains, the club began to devour all the enemy. He fitted the evil wind and the sirocco on a pole (?), he placed the quiver on its hook. An enormous hurricane, irresistible, went before the hero, stirred up the dust, caused the dust to settle, levelled high and low, filled the holes. It caused a rain of coals and flaming fires; the fire consumed men. It overturned tall trees by their trunks, reducing the forests to heaps, Earth put her hands on her heart and cried harrowingly; the Tigris was muddied, disturbed, cloudy, stirred up. He hurried to battle on the boat Ma-kar-nunta-ea; the people there did not know where to turn, they bumped into the walls. The birds there tried to lift their heads to fly away, but their wings trailed on the ground. The storm flooded out the fish there in the subterranean waters, their mouths snapped at the air. It reduced the animals of the open country to firewood, roasting them like locusts. It was a deluge rising and disastrously ruining the mountains.

96-118. The hero Ninurta led the march through the rebel lands. He killed their messengers in the mountains, he crushed their cities, he smote their cowherds over the head like fluttering butterflies, he tied together their hands with hirin grass, so that they dashed their heads against walls. The lights of the mountains did not gleam in the distance any longer. People gasped for breath; those people were ill, they hugged themselves, they cursed the Earth, they considered the day of the Asag's birth a day of disaster. The lord caused bilious poison to run over the rebel lands. As he went the gall followed, anger filled his heart, and he rose like a river in spate and engulfed all the enemies. In his heart he beamed at his lion-headed weapon, as it flew up like a bird, trampling the mountains for him. It raised itself on its wings to take away prisoner the disobedient, it spun around the horizon of heaven to find out what was happening. Someone from afar came to meet it, brought news for the tireless one, the one who never rests, whose wings bear the deluge, the Sar-ur. What did it gather there …… for Lord Ninurta? It reported the deliberations of the mountains, it explained their intentions to Lord Ninurta, it outlined what people were saying about the Asag.

119-121. "Hero, beware!" it said concernedly. The weapon embraced him whom it loved, the Sar-ur addressed Lord Ninurta:

122-134. "Hero, pitfall, net of battle, Ninurta, king, celestial mace …… irresistible against the enemy, vigorous one, tempest which rages against the rebel lands, wave which submerges the harvest, king, you have looked on battles, you have …… in the thick of them. Ninurta, after gathering the enemy in a battle-net, after erecting a great reed-altar, lord, heavenly serpent, purify your pickaxe and your mace! Ninurta, I will enumerate the names of the warriors you have already slain: the Kuli-ana, the Dragon, the Gypsum, the Strong Copper, the hero Six-headed Wild Ram, the Magilum Boat, Lord Saman-ana, the Bison Bull, the Palm-tree King, the Anzud bird, the Seven-headed Snake -- Ninurta, you slew them in the mountains."

135-150. "But lord, do not venture again to a battle as terrible as that. Do not lift your arm to the smiting of weapons, to the festival of the young men, to Inana's dance! Lord, do not go to such a great battle as this! Do not hurry; fix your feet on the ground. Ninurta, the Asag is waiting for you in the mountains. Hero who is so handsome in his crown, firstborn son whom Ninlil has decorated with numberless charms, good lord, whom a princess bore to an en priest, hero who wears horns like the moon, who is long life for the king of the Land, who opens the sky by great sublime strength, inundation who engulfs the banks ……, Ninurta, lord, full of fearsomeness, who will hurry towards the mountains, proud hero without fellow, this time you will not equal the Asag! Ninurta, do not make your young men enter the mountains."

151-167. The hero, the son, pride of his father, the very wise, rising from profound deliberation, Ninurta, the lord, the son of Enlil, gifted with broad wisdom, the …… god, the lord stretched his leg to mount the onager, and joined the battalions ……. He spread over the mountains his great long ……, he caused …… to go out among its people like the ……. He reached ……. He went into the rebel lands in the vanguard of the battle. He gave orders to his lance, and attached it …… by its cord; the lord commanded his mace, and it went to its belt. The hero hastened to the battle, he …… heaven and earth. He prepared the throw-stick and the shield, the mountains were smitten and cringed beside the battle legions of Ninurta. When the hero was girding on his mace, the sun did not wait, the moon went in; they were forgotten, as he marched towards the mountains; the day became like pitch.

168-186. The Asag leapt up at the head of the battle. For a club it uprooted the sky, took it in its hand; like a snake it slid its head along the ground. It was a mad dog attacking to kill the helpless, dripping with sweat on its flanks. Like a wall collapsing, the Asag fell on Ninurta, the son of Enlil. Like an accursed storm, it howled in a raucous voice; like a gigantic snake, it roared at the Land. It dried up the waters of the mountains, dragged away the tamarisks, tore the flesh of the Earth and covered her with painful wounds. It set fire to the reedbeds, bathed the sky in blood, turned it inside out; it dispersed the people there. At that moment, on that day, the fields became black scum, across the whole extent of the horizon, reddish like purple dye -- truly it was so! An was overwhelmed, crouched, wrung his hands against his stomach; Enlil groaned and hid himself in a corner, the Anuna flattened themselves against walls, the house was full of fearful sighing as of pigeons. The Great Mountain Enlil cried to Ninlil:

187-190. "My wife, my son is no longer here; what is there to support me? The lord, the authority of the E-kur, the king who imposes the strong shackle for his father, a cedar rooted in the abzu, a crown with broad shade, my son, my security -- he is not here any more: who will take me by the hand?"

191-214. The weapon which loved the lord, obedient to its master, the Sar-ur …… for Lord Ninurta to his father in Nibru ……. The awesome splendour enveloped Ninurta like a garment, ……. …… bound him: therefore the lord ……. The weapon …… spoke to Enlil.

215-224. "…… Ninurta, having confidence in himself; …… he will be standing; the waters will be dried up as if by the sun's heat; …… he will breathe again, he will be standing full of joy. I shall cause horrid storms to rise against …… of the hero Ninurta ……. …… as for him who resisted the mountains, he has been amazed by his strength. Now I shall give my orders, you are to follow these instructions:"

1 line unclear

"…… in the fields, let him not diminish the population. …… let him not cause a lack of posterity. Let him not cause to perish the name of all the kinds of species whose destinies I, Enlil, have decreed."

225-227. The weapon, its heart ……, was reassured: it slapped its thighs, the Sar-ur began to run, it entered the rebel lands, joyfully it reported the message to Lord Ninurta:

228-243. "My master, …… for you, Enlil has said: "As the Deluge (i.e. Ninurta) , before whom the venom has piled up, attacks the enemy, let him take the Asag by the shoulder, let him pierce its liver, let my son enter with it into the E-kur. Then, Ninurta, to the limits of the earth my people will deservedly praise your power." You, lord who trusts in the word of his father, do not tarry, great strength of Enlil. Storm of the rebel lands, who grinds the mountains like flour, Ninurta, Enlil's seal-bearer, go to it! Do not tarry. My master: the Asag has constructed a wall of stakes on an earthen rampart; the fortress is too high and cannot be reached, …… its fierceness does not diminish."

[3 lines unclear]

"My master, ……."

244-251. Ninurta opened his mouth to speak to the mace ……. He aimed the lance at the mountains ……. The lord stretched out an arm towards the clouds. Day became a dark night. He yelled like a storm, …….

2 lines unclear

251-264. The lord …… the wind. In his battle he smote the mountains with a cudgel. The Sar-ur made the storm-wind rise to heaven, scattering the people; like …… it tore. Its spittle alone destroyed the townspeople. The destructive mace set fire to the mountains, the murderous weapon smashed skulls with its painful teeth, the club which tears out entrails piled up noses. The lance was stuck into the ground and the crevasses filled with blood. In the rebel lands dogs licked it up like milk. The enemy rose up, crying to wife and child, "You did not lift your arms in prayer to Lord Ninurta." The weapon covered the mountains with dust, but did not shake the heart of the Asag. The Sar-ur threw its arms around the neck of the lord:

265-280. "Hero, ah, whatever further awaits you, do not on any account meddle with the hurricane of the mountains. Ninurta, lord, son of Enlil, I tell you again, it is made like a storm. It is a blister whose smell is foul, like mucus which comes from the nose it is unpleasant, lord, its words are devious, it will not obey you. My master, it has been created against you as a god; who can help you? Hero, it falls on the land as a whirlwind, it scrubs it as if with saltwort, Ninurta, it chases the onagers before it in the mountains. Its terrifying splendour sends the dust into clouds, it causes a downpour of potsherds. In the rebel lands it is a lion striking with savage teeth; no man can catch it. After reducing everything to nothing in the north wind, that one will batter you. The sheepfolds have been closed by ghostly demons. It has dried up the waters in the ground. In the whirlwind storm, the people are finished, they have no solution. From an implacable enemy, great hero, lord, turn away," he said quietly.

281-299. But the lord howled at the mountains, could not withhold a roar. The hero did not address the rebel lands, he ……. He reversed the evil that it had done ……. He smashed the heads of all the enemies, he made the mountains weep. The lord ranged about in all directions, like a soldier saying "I will go on the rampage." Like a bird of prey the Asag looked up angrily from the mountains. He commanded the rebel lands to be silent and ……. Ninurta approached the enemy and flattened him like a wave (?). The Asag's terrifying splendour was contained, it began to fade, it began to fade. It looked wonderingly upwards. Like water he agitated it, he scattered it into the mountains, like esparto grass he pulled it up, like esparto grass he ripped it up. Ninurta's splendour covered the Land, he pounded the Asag like roasted barley, he …… its genitals, he piled it up like a heap of broken bricks, he heaped it up like flour, as a potter does with coals; he piled it up like stamped earth whose mud has been dredged. The hero had achieved his heart's desire. Ninurta, the lord, the son of Enlil, …… began to calm down.

300-309. In the mountains, the day came to an end. The sun bade it farewell. The lord …… his belt and mace in water, he washed the blood from his clothes, the hero wiped his brow, he made a victory-chant over the dead body. When he had brought the Asag which he had slain to the condition of a ship

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wrecked by a tidal wave, the gods of the Land came to him. Like exhausted wild asses they prostrated themselves before him, and for this lord, because of his proud conduct, for Ninurta, the son of Enlil, they clapped their hands in greeting. The Sar-ur addressed these flattering words [aloud to its master] [(1 ms. has instead:) to Lord Ninurta]:

310-330. "Lord, great mes tree in a watered field, hero, who is like you? My master, beside you there is no one else, nor can anyone stand like you, nor is anyone born like you. Ninurta, from today no one in the mountains will rise against you. My master, if you give but one roar, …… how they will praise you!"

[1 line unclear]

"Lord Ninurta ……."

7 lines fragmentary After he had pulled up the Asag like esparto grass in the rebel lands, torn it up like esparto grass, Lord Ninurta …… his club:

1 line unclear

" From today forward, do not say Asag: its name shall be Stone. Its name shall be zalag stone, its name shall be Stone. This, its entrails, shall be the underworld. Its valour shall belong to the lord."

331-333. The blessing of the club, laid to rest in a corner: 'The mighty battle which reduces the Land'.

[1 line missing]

334-346. At that time, the good water coming forth from the earth did not pour down over the fields. The cold water (?) was piled up everywhere, and the day when it began to …… it brought destruction in the mountains, since the gods of the Land were subject to servitude, and had to carry the hoe and the basket -- this was their corvée work -- people called on a household for the recruitment of workers. The Tigris did not bring up its flood in its fullness. Its mouth did not finish in the sea, it did not carry fresh water. No one brought offerings to the market. The famine was hard, as nothing had yet been born. No one yet cleaned the little canals, the mud was not dredged up. No one yet drew water for the fertile fields, ditch-making did not exist. People did not work in furrows, barley was sown broadcast.

347-359. The lord applied his great wisdom to it. [Ninurta] [(1 ms. has instead:) Ningirsu], the son of Enlil, set about it in a grand way. He made a pile of stones in the mountains. Like a floating cloud he stretched out his arms over it. With a great wall he barred the front of the Land. He installed a sluice (?) on the horizon. The hero acted cleverly, he dammed in the cities together. He blocked the powerful waters by means of stones. Now the waters will never again go down from the mountains into the earth. That which was dispersed he gathered together. Where in the mountains scattered lakes had formed, he joined them all together and led them down to the Tigris. He poured carp-floods of water over the fields.

360-367. Now, today, throughout the whole world, kings of the Land far and wide rejoice at Lord Ninurta. He provided water for the speckled barley in the cultivated fields, he [raised up] [(2 mss. have instead:) piled up] the harvest of fruits in garden and orchard. He heaped up the grain piles like mounds. The lord caused trading colonies to go up from the Land of Sumer. He contented the desires of the gods. They duly praised Ninurta's father.

368-371. At that time he also reached a woman with compassion. Ninmah was sleepless from remembering the place where she had conceived him. She covered her outside with a fleece, like an unshorn ewe, she made a great lament about the now inaccessible mountains:

372-386. "The mountains could not bear the lord's great strength. The great hero -- the force of whose rage no one can approach, like heaven itself; the savage storm which walks on earth, spilling poison in the earth's breast; the lord, the life-breath of Enlil, whose head is worthy of the tiara, …… who knows nothing of ……: in triumph he hurried by me, he with whom my husband made me pregnant. I bore him for my husband. He was close ……; but the son of Enlil passed by and did not lift his glance to me. For the good youth" -- thus the good lady said as she went to him in E-su-me-sa, his chosen place -- "I will cut the knot. Now I, yes I, shall go to the presumptuous lord, to gaze upon the precious lord. I will go directly to him, to my son, Enlil's judge, the great hero, favoured by his father."

387-389. The lady performed the song in a holy manner. Ninmah recited it to Lord Ninurta. He looked at her with his life-giving looks and spoke to her:

390-410. "Lady, since you came to the mountains, Ninmah ('Great Lady'), since you entered the rebel lands for my sake, since you did not keep far from me when I was surrounded by the horrors of battle -- let the name of the pile which I, the hero, have piled up be 'Mountain' (hursag) and may you be its lady (nin): now that is the destiny decreed by Ninurta. Henceforth people shall speak of Ninhursaga. So be it. Let its meadows produce herbs for you. Let its slopes produce honey and wine for you. Let its hillsides grow cedars, cypress, juniper and box for you. Let it make abundant for you ripe fruits, as a garden. Let the mountain supply you richly with divine perfumes. Let it mine gold and silver for you, make …… for you. Let it smelt copper and tin for you, make its tribute for you. Let the mountains make wild animals teem for you. Let the mountain increase the fecundity of quadrupeds for you. You, O Queen, become equal to An, wearing a terrifying splendour. Great goddess who detests boasting, good lady, maiden Ninhursaga, Nintur, …… approach me. Lady, I have given you great powers: may you be exalted."

411-413. While the lord was fixing the destiny of the mountains, as he walked about in the sanctuary of Nibru, the good lady whose powers excel all powers, Lady-creatrix-of-the-womb, Aruru, Enlil's elder sister, stood before him:

414-415. "Great hero whose word like that of his father is unalterable, lord: you have not fixed the destinies of the warriors that you have slain."

416-418. The lord then addressed the u stone. He defined (?) its typical behaviour. The lord spoke to it in anger in the Land. Ninurta son of Enlil cursed it:

419-434. "U stone (emery), since you rose against me in the mountains, since you [barred the way] [(2 mss. have instead:) seized me] so as to detain me, since you swore to put me to death, since you frightened me, Lord Ninurta, on my great throne; you are powerful, a youth of outstanding strength: may your size be diminished. A mighty lion, confident in its strength, will tear you into pieces, the strong man will fling you in his hand [in combat] [(1 ms. has instead:) for strength]. Young u stone, your brothers will heap you up like flour. You will lift your hand against your offspring, sink your teeth into their corpses. You, young man, though you may cry out, will end as ……. Like a great wild bull killed by many people, be divided into portions. U stone, you will be hounded from the battlefield with clubs, like a dog chased by shepherd boys. Because I am the lord: since cornelian is polished by you, you shall be called by its name. And now, according to the destiny fixed by Ninurta, henceforth when u stone touches it, there will be pierced cornelian. Let it be so."

435-437. The hero addressed the su and gasura stones. The lord enumerated their characteristics. Ninurta son of Enlil fixed their destiny:

438-447. "Su stones, since you attacked against my weapons; gasura stones, since you stood fiercely against me like bulls, since you tossed your horns in the dust at me like wild bulls, you shall be …… like butterflies. My terrifying splendour will cover you. Since you cannot escape from [my] [(1 ms. has instead:) his] great strength, the goldsmith shall puff and blow on you with his breath. You shall be shaped by him to form a matrix for his creations. People shall place the first fruits of the gods on you at the time of the new moon."

448-450. My king stood before the sagkal stone, he addressed the gulgul and saggar stones. Ninurta son of Enlil fixed their destiny:

451-462. "Sagkal stone, since you flew up against me ……; gulgul stone, since you sparked lightning against me ……; saggar stone, since you shook your head at me, since you ground your teeth at me, the lord! The sagkal stone will smash you, saggar stone, young brave, and the gulgul stone will destroy (gul) you. You will be discarded as contemptible and valueless (sag nukala). Be a prey to the famine (saggar) of the Land; you shall be fed by the charity of your city. You shall be accounted a common person, a warrior among slave-girls. They shall say to you "Be off with you, hurry!", it shall be your name. And now, by the destiny fixed by Ninurta, henceforth you shall be called a bad lot in the Land. So be it."

463-465. My king stood before the esi stone. …… he spoke in hymnic language. Ninurta son of Enlil fixed its destiny:

466-478. "Esi (diorite), your army in battle changed sides separately. You spread before me like thick smoke. You did not raise your hand. You did not attack me. Since you said, "It is false. The lord is alone the hero. Who can vie with Ninurta, the son of Enlil?" -- they shall extract you from the highland countries. They shall bring you from the land of Magan. You shall shape Strong Copper like leather and then you shall be perfectly adapted for my heroic arm, for me, the lord. When a king who is establishing his renown for perpetuity has had its statues sculpted for all time, you shall be placed in the place of libations -- and it shall suit you well -- in my temple E-ninnu, the house full of grace."

479-481. My king turned to the na stone. He …… the body from the na stone. Ninurta son of Enlil cursed it:

482-486. "Stone, since you said, "If only it had been me"; na stones, since you bewitched my powers -- lie down there, you, to be worked on like a pig. Be discarded, be used for nothing, end up by being reduced to tiny fragments. He who knows you shall reduce you to liquid."

487-488. My king turned to the elel stone. Ninurta son of Enlil fixed its destiny:

489-496. "Elel, intelligently you caused terror of me to descend on the mountains where discord had broken out. In the rebel lands you proclaimed my name among my people who had banded together. Nothing of your wholeness shall be diminished (?). It shall be difficult to reduce your mass to small pieces. My divine ordinances shall be set out in straight lines on your body. You shall be greatly suited to the clash of weapons, when I have heroes to slay. You shall be set up on a pedestal in my great courtyard. The Land shall praise you in wonder, the foreign lands shall [speak your praise] [(2 mss. have instead:) elevate you]."

497-499. The hero turned to the kagena (haematite) stone, he addressed it for its hardness. Ninurta son of Enlil fixed its destiny:

500-511. "Young man worthy of respect, whose surface reflects the light, kagena, when the demands of the rebel lands reached you, I did not conquer you ……. I did not notice you among the hostile ones. I shall make room for you in the Land. The divine rites of Utu shall become your powers. Be constituted as a judge in the foreign lands. The craftsman, expert in everything, shall value you as if gold. Young man of whom I have taken possession, because of you I shall not sleep until you come to life. And now, according to the destiny fixed by Ninurta, henceforth kagena shall live! So shall it be."

512-513. The hero stood before the gisnugal (alabaster) stone. Ninurta son of Enlil fixed its destiny:

514-521. "Gisnu, whose body shines like the daylight! Purified silver, youth destined for the palace, since you alone held out your hands to me, and you prostrated yourself before me in your mountains, I did not smite you with the club, and I did not turn my strength against you. Hero, you stood firm by me when I yelled out. Your name shall be called benevolence. The treasury of the Land shall be subject to your hand, you shall be its seal-keeper. [(1 ms. adds 1 line:) The Anuna ……."

522-524. My king turned to the algames stone and frowned. The lord spoke to it angrily in the Land. Ninurta son of Enlil cursed it:

525-527. "What provision did you make to assist my progress? Be the first to go into my forge. Algames, you shall be the regular sacrifice offered daily by the smiths."

528-533. My king turned to the dusia stone. He addressed the nir, the gug (cornelian) and the zagin (lapis lazuli); the amas-pa-e, the saba, the hurizum, the gug-gazi and the marhali; the egi-zaga, the girin-hiliba [, the anzugulme and the nir-musgir stones] [(1 ms.:) , the …… and the gazi-musud stones]. Lord Ninurta, son of Enlil, fixed their destinies for …… the waterskin:

534-542. "How you came to my side, male and female in form, and in your own way! You committed no fault, and you supported me with strength. You exalted me in public. Now in my deliberation, I shall exalt you. Since you made yourself general of the assembly, you, nir, shall be chosen for syrup and for wine. You shall all be decorated with precious metal. The principal among the gods shall cause the foreign lands to prostrate themselves before you, putting their noses to the ground."

543-545. My king turned to the gir-zu-gal (flint), and frowned. The lord spoke to it angrily in the Land. Ninurta son of Enlil cursed it:

546-553. "Ah, duplicitous gir-zu-gal, what then? They shall split your horns, wild bull, in your mountains. Lie down before the ……. You were not equal to me who supported you. I shall rip you like a sack, and people will smash you into tiny pieces. The metalworker shall deal with you, he shall use his chisel on you. Young man, massive, bearer of hatred: the carpenter, saying "I wish to buy it for my work", shall wet you with water …… and shall crush you like malt."

554-556. My king turned to the iman stones, he addressed the alliga stones. Ninurta son of Enlil fixed their destiny:

557-565. "Iman stones, in the mountains you cried out against me. You fiercely uttered battle-yells. I shall enflame you like fire. Like a storm I shall overturn you. I shall strip you like esparto grass. I shall rip you up like esparto grass. Who will assist you then? Iman stone: your cries shall not be valued, no attention shall be paid to them. Iman stone, alliga stone: your path shall not lead to the palace."

566-568. My king turned to the masda stone. He addressed the dubban and urutum stones. Ninurta son of Enlil defined their characteristic behaviour:

569-578. "Masda stone, dubban stone, blazing fires; urutum stone, which nothing resists; when the gasura stone …… and you were set ablaze, you burnt against me in the rebel lands like a brazier. Since you all stood against me in the land of Saba: masda stone, they shall slaughter you like a sheep. Dubban stone, they shall crunch you for pulverising. Urutum stone, they shall sharpen you for the battle-mace; with bronze, the arrowheads of the gods, they shall smash you with the axe, stinging with fierce swords."

579-580. My king turned to the sagara stone. Ninurta son of Enlil fixed its destiny:

581-591. "Sagara stone, who smash your head against anyone travelling alone in the desert, in the mountains when my arms were occupied you tried to trample on me. Since you glutted yourself in the battle, the reed-worker shall make the reeds jump with you. You shall be thrown onto your couch; the appearance of your mother and father who bore you shall be forgotten. No one shall say to you, "Get up", no one shall have the feeling that he misses you, the people shall not complain about your loss. In praise of the eternally-created powers in Ninhursaga's resting place, you shall be discarded on the dais there. They shall feed you on malt, as they do for

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sheep; you shall content yourself with a portion of scattered flour. This shall be the explanation for you."

592-593. My king turned to the marhusa stone. Ninurta son of Enlil pronounced its destiny.

594-599. "Marhusa, …… the string in my place, …… you were taken, since you did not participate in the crimes of your city, ……; you shall be the bowl under the filter-jug, the water shall filter into you. Marhusa, you shall be used for inlay-work, ……. You shall be the perfect ornament for sacred brooches. Marhusa, you shall be duly praised in the temples of the gods."

600-602. The hero turned to the hastum stone and frowned. In the Land the lord addressed it angrily. Ninurta son of Enlil pronounced its destiny:

603-608. "Hastum stone, you cried out against me in the mountains. You yelled fiercely with wild battle-yells. With your yelling, you fixed a lila demon in the mountains. Young man, because of your digging, Ditch (hastum) shall be your name. And now, according to the destiny of Ninurta, henceforth they shall say hastum. So be it."

609-610. My king turned to the durul stone. Ninurta son of Enlil fixed its destiny:

611-617. "Durul stone, holy garment of mourning, blinded youth whom people carve, in the mountains you prostrated yourself before me. Since you said to me, "If only it had been me who broke the bars of the gates, if only I had stood before him, before my king, Lord Ninurta", your name shall be magnified of its own accord wherever it is mentioned. As the connoisseur says of precious metal, "I will buy it", so the foreign nations, like musicians playing the reed-pipe, shall pursue you."

618-633. My king turned to the segseg stone, he addressed the engen and ezinum stones. For the ug-gun, the hem, the madanum, the saggirmud, the …… and the mursuh stones. Ninurta son of Enlil fixed their destiny:

[2 lines unclear]

"with ribs drawn in, balancing on the haunches, heart elated, legs bent like a bear, ……: I shall come to you; now, being an ally, you come forward from all of them; who shall extend the hand to them? You were the club, you stood as the doorway."

[3 lines unclear]

"In the Land, the champion shall always look with favour on you."

634-637. The hero turned to the kurgaranum stone. He addressed the bal stone. Lord Ninurta, son of Enlil, fixed the destiny for the yellow-coloured sembi (kohl):

638-644. "Since you said, "I will bring forth the people","

[1 line unclear]

"you …… as if …… the young man who has obtained glory for you; the young artisan shall sing your praise. You shall be favoured for the festival of spirits of the dead; on the ninth day of the month, at the new moon, the young men shall …… for you." He assigned …… them to the cult of Ninhursaga.

645-651. The hero had conquered the mountains. As he moved across the desert, he ……. Through the crowd, he came forth among their acclamations, majestically he ……. Ninurta joyfully went to his beloved barge, the lord set foot in the boat Ma-kar-nunta-ea. The boatmen sang a pleasant song, for the lord they sang his praise. They addressed an eternal greeting to Ninurta son of Enlil:

652-661. "God who outstrips the heroes, Lord Ninurta, king of the Anuna gods, holding a cudgel in his right hand, bearded, you fall as a torrent on all enemies; who can rival your great works? Hero, deluge, without equal, the Enki and Ninki deities dare not resist you. Hero who pillages the cities, who subjugates the mountains, son of Enlil, who will rise up against you? Ninurta, lord, son of Enlil, hero, who is like you?"

662-668. "My king: there is a hero who is devoted to you and to your offerings, he is as just as his reputation, he walks in your ways; since he has brilliantly accomplished all that is proper for you in your temple, since he has made your shrine rise from the dust for you, let him do everything magnificently for your festival. Let him accomplish perfectly for you your holy rites. He has formulated a vow for his life. May he praise you in the Land."

669-671. "May An's heart be appeased for the lord, may the maiden, Mother Bau, shine like the daylight for Ninurta, Enlil's strength."

672-680. They sang to the lord in the ceremonial boat. The boat, floating of its own accord, was piled up with riches. The boat Ma-kar-nunta-ea proceeded shiningly. To greet the hero from the smiting of weapons, the Anuna …… came to meet him. They pressed their noses to the ground, they placed their hands on their chests. They addressed a prayer and a supplication to the lord: "May your anger be appeased ……. Ninurta, king, Uta-ulu, lift your head to heaven."

681. His father Enlil blessed him:

682-697. "……, pre-eminent with your great name, you have established your habitation ……. Chest, fittingly ……, king of battle, I presented the storm of heaven to you for use against the rebel lands. O hero of heaven and earth I presented to you the club, the deluge which sets the mountains on fire. King, ahead of your storm the way was narrow. But, Ninurta, I had confidence in your march to the mountains. Like a wolf set free to seize his prey, in your storm you adventured into the rebel lands from above. The mountain that you have handed over shall not be restored. You have caused its cities to be counted as ruin-mounds. Its mighty rulers have lost their breath before you. A celestial mace, a prosperous and unchanging rule, eternal life, the good favour of Enlil, O king, and the strength of An: these shall be your reward."

698-711. Since the hero had killed the Asag, since the lord had made that pile of stones, since he had given the order "Let it be called Stone", since he had …… the roaring dragon, since the hero had traced the way of the waters …… down from above, since he had brought them to the fertile fields, since he had made famous the plough of abundance, since the lord had established it in regular furrows, since Ninurta son of Enlil had heaped up grain-piles and granaries -- Ninurta son of Enlil entrusted their keeping to the care of the lady who possesses the divine powers which exist of themselves, who is eminently worthy of praise, to Nisaba, good lady, greatly wise, pre-eminent in the lands, her who possesses the principal tablet with the obligations of en and lugal, endowed by Enki on the Holy Mound with a great intelligence.

712-723. To the lady, the celestial star, made magnificently beautiful by the prince in the abzu, to the lady of knowledge who gladdens hearts, who alone has the gift of governing, endowed with prudence, ……, who rules the black-headed, who possesses the tablet with all the names, from whose suspended nets the birds which are caught do not escape, whose every work accomplished meets with complete success, to her …… which is not unravelled, to her for whom the days are counted according to the phases of the moon, to her who is unassailable as if a fortress of copper ……, who is ……, …… who cares for the black-headed, who rules the people justly, ……, the replica of Enlil, to the bright good lady who takes counsel with An -- to Nisaba be praise.

724-725. Enlil's mighty lord, Ninurta, great son of the E-kur, heroic one of the father who bore him: it is good to praise you.

726. A sir-sud song of Ninurta.

NINURTA AND THE TURTLE

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.6.3

Segment A

[unknown no. of lines missing] 1-8.

[8 lines fragmentary / unknown no. of lines missing]

Segment B

1-4. "At his command your weapon struck me evilly. As I let the divine powers go out of my hand, these divine powers returned to the abzu. As I let the divine plan go out of my hand, this divine plan returned to the abzu. This tablet of destinies returned to the abzu. I was stripped of the divine powers."

5-8. Ninurta was stunned at these words of the Anzud chick. Ninmena gave out a wail: "And what about me? These divine powers have not fallen into my hand. I shall not exercise their authority. I shall not live like him in the shrine, in the abzu."

9. Father Enki in the abzu knew what had been said.

10-14. The Anzud chick took the hero Ninurta by his hand and drew near with him to Enki's place, the abzu. The Anzud chick returned Uta-ulu to the abzu. The lord was delighted with the hero, Father Enki was delighted with the hero Ninurta.

15-24. Lord Nudimmud honoured him duly: "Hero, no god among your brother gods could have acted so. As for the bird which your mighty weapon captured, from now to eternity you will keep your foot placed on its neck. May the great gods give your heroic strength its due. May your father Enlil do whatever you command. May Ninmena not fashion your equal. May no one be as revered as you and no god extend an upraised hand before you. Monthly may your house regularly receive tributes in the shrine, in the abzu. May An proclaim your name in the seat of honour."

25-30. The hero secretly was not happy with these promises. Where he stood, he darkened and yellowed like a flood-storm. He contemplated great deeds and inwardly he was rebellious. He uttered a word which has no ……. The hero Ninurta set his sights on the whole world. He told no one and inwardly did not …….

31-32. The great lord Enki intuitively grasped the substance of the plan. In the shrine, in the abzu he stirred up a dark flood-storm.

33-35. By the house the minister Isimud opposed Ninurta. The hero Ninurta refused to come out and raised his hand against the minister Isimud.

36-46. Against Ninurta, Enki fashioned a turtle from the clay of the abzu. Against him he stationed the turtle at an opening, at the gate of the abzu. Enki talked to him near the place of the ambush and brought him to the place where the turtle was. The turtle was able to grab Ninurta's tendon from behind. The hero Ninurta managed to turn back its feet. Enki, as if perplexed, said, "What is this!" He had the turtle scrape the ground with its claws, had it dig an evil pit. The hero Ninurta fell into it with the turtle. The hero did not know how to get out from ……. The turtle kept on gnawing his feet with its claws.

47-54. The great lord Enki said to him: "From ……, you who set your mind to kill me, …… who makes big claims -- I cut down, I raise up. You who set your sights on me like this -- what has your position seized for you, how ……? Where has your strength fled? Where is your heroism? In the great mountains you caused destruction, but how will you get out now?"

55-60. Ninmena learned of this situation. She ripped the clothes on her body and she ……. "You my plant-eater Enki, who shall I send to you? Men will shake their heads in fear ……. Who shall I send to you? That name is not Enki. That name is Ugugu-that-does-not-pour. You who are death which has no mercy, who shall I send to you?"

[unknown number of lines missing]

THE OTHER GODS

NANNA-SUEN'S JOURNEY TO NIBRU

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.5.1

1-8. The heroic Nanna-Suen fixed his mind on the city of his mother. Suen Asimbabbar fixed his mind on the city of his mother. Nanna-Suen fixed his mind on the city of his mother and his father. Asimbabbar fixed his mind on the city of Enlil and Ninlil:

9-16. "I, the hero, will set off for my city. I will set off for my city, I will set off to my father. I, Suen, will set off for my city. I will set off for my city, I will set off to my father. I will set off to my father Enlil. I will set off for my city, I will set off to my mother. I will set off to my mother Ninlil. I will set off to my father."

17-27. "The shining city, the pure place …….

[6 lines missing]

…… very great, …… very great, …… very great, …… very great."

28-36. "My Nibru, where black birch trees grow in a good place, my sanctuary Nibru, where white birch trees grow in a pure place -- my Nibru's shrine is built in a good place. The sanctuary Nibru's name is a good name. My Nibru's shrine is built in a good place. The sanctuary Nibru's name is a good name. Before Dilmun existed, palm trees grew in my city. Before Dilmun existed, palm trees grew in Nibru and the great mother Ninlil was clothed in fine linen."

37-38. Suen set about constructing a barge. He set about constructing (?) a barge and sent for reed matting.

39-48. Nanna-Suen despatched people to Tummal for the barge's reeds. Asimbabbar despatched people to the abzu for the barge's pitch. Nanna-Suen despatched people to Du-asaga for its rushes. Asimbabbar despatched people to the cypress forest for its strakes (?). Nanna-Suen despatched people to the forests of Kug-nuna for its ribbing (?). [(3 mss. add 2 lines in a parallel passage:) Asimbabbar despatched people to the mountain of fragrant cedar for its beams.]

49-58. Asimbabbar despatched people to the forests of Ebla for its planking. Nanna-Suen despatched people to the fragrant cedar forest for its fir wood. Asimbabbar despatched people to the junipers of Langi for its ……. Asimbabbar despatched people to …… for its ……. Nanna-Suen despatched people to the mound of …… for its …….

59-82. When the barge's reeds were brought to Nanna-Suen from Tummal, when the barge's pitch was brought to Asimbabbar from the abzu, when its rushes were brought to Nanna-Suen from Du-asaga, when its strakes were brought to Asimbabbar from the cypress forest, when its ribbing was brought to Nanna-Suen from the forests of Kug-nuna, [(3 mss. add 2 lines:) when its beams were brought to Asimbabbar from the mountain of fragrant cedar,] when its planking was brought to Asimbabbar from the forests of Ebla, when its fir wood was brought to Nanna-Suen from the fragrant cedar forest, when its …… was brought to Asimbabbar from the junipers of Langi, when its …… was brought to Asimbabbar from ……, when its …… was brought to Nanna-Suen from the mound of ……,

[1 line fragmentary] Utu rejoiced at him and put ……. Gibil rejoiced at him.

[lines 83-146 missing or fragmentary]

147-150. (He declared:) "I am Nanna-Suen, I ……, I will …… to the house of Enlil. I am Asimbabbar, and I will …… to the house of Enlil."

[6 lines missing]

157-166. Nanna-Suen will gather bulls for the cow-pen for the house of Enlil. Asimbabbar will collect fattened sheep for the house of Enlil. Nanna-Suen will purify the cow-pen for the house of Enlil. Asimbabbar will feed meal to the goats for the house of Enlil. Nanna-Suen will …… porcupines for the house of Enlil.

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167-175. Asimbabbar will …… long-tailed bush-rats for the house of Enlil. Nanna-Suen will gather turtles and small birds for the house of Enlil. Asimbabbar will bring small ubi birds from the pond for the house of Enlil. Nanna-Suen will bring small azagun birds from the …… for the house of Enlil.

176-185. Asimbabbar will …… suhur carp for the house of Enlil. Nanna-Suen will …… estub carp for the house of Enlil. Asimbabbar will pour the oil of rushes onto the water for the house of Enlil. Nanna-Suen will fill baskets with eggs for the house of Enlil. Asimbabbar will cause old reed and fresh reed to thrive for the house of Enlil.

186-197. Nanna-Suen will cause six hundred ewes to give birth to lambs for the house of Enlil, for he will cause their rams to be let loose among them, and he will distribute them along the banks of the Surungal canal. Asimbabbar will cause six hundred she-goats to give birth to kids for the house of Enlil, for he will cause their bucks to be let loose among them, and he will distribute them along the banks of the Surungal canal. Nanna-Suen will cause six hundred cows to give birth to calves for the house of Enlil, for he will cause their bulls to be let loose among them, and he will distribute them along the banks of the Surungal canal.

198-202. Enegir lay ahead of the offerings, Urim lay behind them. She brought out of the house what should not come out of the house, what should not come out of the house -- Ningirida brought out of the house what should not come out of the house: "Welcome, welcome, welcome, O boat! O boat of Suen, welcome, welcome, O boat!"

203-208. She laid out flour before the barge and spread bran. At her feet stood a covered bronze gakkul vat. [(1 ms. adds 1 line:) With her fingers she pulled out the boxwood bung for him (declaring):] "I shall rub precious oil on this peg. May ghee, syrup and wine be abundant in your midst, may the suhur carp and the estub carp rejoice at the prow of your boat!" But the boat did not give her its cargo: "I am going to Nibru!"

209-213. Larsam lay ahead of the offerings, Enegir lay behind them. She brought out of the house what should not come out of the house, what should not come out of the house -- the lovely Serida brought out of the house what should not come out of the house: "Welcome, welcome, welcome, O boat! O boat of my father, welcome, welcome, O boat!"

214-219. She laid out flour before the barge and spread bran. At her feet stood a covered bronze gakkul vat. [(1 ms. adds 1 line:) With her fingers she pulled out the boxwood bung for him (declaring):] "I shall rub precious oil on this peg. May ghee, syrup and wine be abundant in your midst, may the suhur carp and the estub carp rejoice at the prow of your boat!" But the boat did not give her its cargo: "I am going to Nibru!"

220-224. Unug lay ahead of the offerings, Larsam lay behind them. She brought out of the house what should not come out of the house, what should not come out of the house -- holy Inana brought out of the house what should not come out of the house: "Welcome, welcome, welcome, O boat! O boat of my father welcome, welcome, O boat! [(1 ms. adds 1 line:) O boat of Suen welcome, welcome, O boat!]"

225-230. She laid out flour before the barge and spread bran. At her feet stood a covered bronze gakkul vat. [(1 ms. adds 1 line:) With her fingers she pulled out the boxwood bung for him (declaring):] "I shall rub precious oil on your peg. May ghee, syrup and wine be abundant in your midst, may the suhur carp and the estub carp rejoice at the prow of your boat!" But the boat did not give her its cargo: "I am going to Nibru!"

231-235. Suruppag lay ahead of the offerings, Unug lay behind them. She brought out of the house what should not come out of the house, what should not come out of the house -- Ninunuga brought out of the house what should not come out of the house: "Welcome, welcome, welcome, O boat! O boat of Suen welcome, welcome, O boat!"

236-241. She laid out flour before the barge and spread bran. At her feet stood a covered bronze gakkul vat. [(1 ms. adds 1 line:) With her fingers she pulled out the boxwood bung for him (declaring):] "I shall rub precious oil on this peg. May ghee, syrup and wine be abundant in your midst, may the suhur carp and the estub carp rejoice at the prow of your boat!" But the boat did not give her its cargo: "I am going to Nibru!"

242-246. Tummal lay ahead of the offerings, Suruppag lay behind them. She brought out of the house what should not come out of the house, what should not come out of the house -- the fair Ninlil brought out of the house what should not come out of the house: "Welcome, welcome, welcome, O boat! O boat of the princely son welcome, welcome, O boat!"

247-252. She laid out flour before the barge and spread bran. At her feet stood a covered bronze gakkul vat. [(1 ms. adds 1 line:) With her fingers she pulled out the boxwood bung for him (declaring):] "I shall rub precious oil on this peg. May ghee, syrup and wine be abundant in your midst, may the suhur carp and the estub carp rejoice at the prow of your boat!" But the boat did not give her its cargo: "I am going to Nibru!"

253-257. Nibru lay ahead of the offerings, Tummal lay behind them. At the Shining Quay, the quay of Enlil, Nanna-Suen finally docked the boat. At the White Quay, the quay of Enlil, Asimbabbar finally docked the boat.

258-264. He stood at the grand stairway of his father who begot him and called out to the porter of his father who begot him: "Open the house, porter, open the house! Open the house, Kalkal, open the house! Kalkal, doorkeeper, open the house! Doorman, doorkeeper, open the house! Porter, open the house! Kalkal, open the house!"

265-274. "I, Nanna-Suen, have gathered bulls for the cow-pen for the house of Enlil; porter, open the house. I, Asimbabbar, have collected fattened sheep for the house of Enlil; porter, open the house. I, Nanna-Suen, shall purify the cow-pen for the house of Enlil; porter, open the house. I, Asimbabbar, shall feed meal to the goats for the house of Enlil; porter, open the house. I, Nanna-Suen, have …… porcupines for the house of Enlil; porter, open the house."

275-283. "I, Asimbabbar -- I, Asimbabbar -- have …… long-tailed bush-rats for the house of Enlil; porter, open the house. I, Nanna-Suen, have gathered turtles and little birds for the house of Enlil; porter, open the house. I, Asimbabbar, have brought small ubi birds from the pond for the house of Enlil; porter, open the house. I, Nanna-Suen, have brought small azagun birds from the pond for the house of Enlil; porter, open the house."

284-293. "I, Asimbabbar, …… suhur carp for the house of Enlil; porter, open the house. I, Nanna-Suen, …… estub carp for the house of Enlil; porter, open the house. I, Asimbabbar, shall pour the oil of rushes onto the water for the house of Enlil; porter, open the house. I, Nanna-Suen, have filled baskets with eggs for the house of Enlil; porter, open the house. I, Asimbabbar, have caused old reed and fresh reed to thrive for the house of Enlil; porter, open the house."

294-305. "I, Nanna-Suen, have caused six hundred ewes to give birth to lambs for the house of Enlil, for I have caused their rams to be let loose among them, and I have distributed them along the banks of the Surungal canal; porter, open the house. I, Asimbabbar, have caused six hundred she-goats to give birth to kids for the house of Enlil, for I have caused their bucks to be let loose among them, and I have distributed them along the banks of the Surungal canal; porter, open the house. I, Nanna-Suen, have caused six hundred cows to give birth to calves for the house of Enlil, for I have caused their bulls to be let loose among them, and I have distributed them along the banks of the Surungal canal; porter, open the house."

306-308. "Porter, open the house! Kalkal, open the house! I will give you that which is in the prow of the boat as a first offering, and I will give you that which is in the stern of the boat as a last offering."

309-318. Rejoicing, the porter rejoicing, the porter rejoicing opened the house. Kalkal, the doorkeeper, rejoicing, the porter rejoicing opened the house. Kalkal, in charge of the bolt-handle, rejoicing, the porter rejoicing opened the house. At the house of Enlil, ……, Nanna-Suen made the offerings. Enlil, rejoicing over the offerings, offered bread to Suen, his son.

319-325. Enlil rejoiced over Suen and spoke kindly: "Give sweet cakes to my little fellow who eats sweet cakes. Give sweet cakes to my Nanna who loves eating sweet cakes. Bring out from the E-kur the bread allotment and first quality bread for him. Pour out for him the finest beer, my pure ……. May the …… of the towering tilimda vessels, standing on the ground, ……. Order pure sweet cake, syrup, crescent cake and clear water for him."

326-330. Suen replied to his father who begot him: "Father who begot me, I am indeed satisfied with what you have given me to eat. O Great Mountain, father who begot me, I am indeed satisfied with what you have given me to drink. Wherever you lift your eyes, there is kingship. O Enlil, your abundance is ……."

331-339. "Give to me, Enlil, give to me -- I want to set off for Urim! In the river give me the carp-flood -- I want to set off for Urim! In the fields give me speckled barley -- I want to set off for Urim! In the marshes give me kuda carp and suhur carp -- I want to set off for Urim! In the reedbeds give me old reed and fresh reed -- I want to set off for Urim! In the forests give me the ibex and wild ram -- I want to set off for Urim! In the high plain give me the masgurum tree -- I want to set off for Urim! In the orchards give me syrup and wine -- I want to set off for Urim! In the palace give me long life -- I want to set off for Urim!"

340-348. He gave to him, Enlil gave to him -- and he set off for Urim. In the river he gave him the carp-flood -- and he set off for Urim. In the field he gave him speckled barley -- and he set off for Urim. In the pond he gave him kuda carp and suhur carp -- and he set off for Urim. In the reedbeds he gave him old reed and fresh reed -- and he set off for Urim. In the forests he gave him the ibex and wild ram -- and he set off for Urim. In the high plain he gave him the masgurum tree -- and he set off for Urim. In the orchards he gave him syrup and wine -- and he set off for Urim. In the palace he gave him long life -- and he set off for Urim.

349-352. My king, on your throne, for Enlil, may Nanna-Suen make you be born for seven days. On your holy throne, for the great mother Ninlil, may Lord Asimbabbar make you be born for seven days.

THE MARRIAGE OF MARTU

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.7.1

1-8. When the city of Inab already existed, but the city of Kiritab did not yet exist, when the holy crown already existed, but the holy tiara did not yet exist, when the holy herb already existed, but the holy cedar did not yet exist, when holy salt already existed, but holy alkali did not yet exist, when intercourse and kissing already existed, when giving birth in the fields already existed -- I was the grandfather of the holy cedar, I was the ancestor of the mes tree, I was the mother and father of the white cedar, I was the relative of the hasur cedar.

9-15. At that time there was a princely land among the cities; Inab was this princely land among the cities. The ruler of Inab was Tigi-sem-ala. Now, he had a wife whose name was Sage-gur (Desired-by-the-heart), and a child, who ……, and her name was …….

16-25. The people living around the city hung up nets, the people living around Inab hung up nets, hung up nets, chased gazelles and killed the gazelles as one kills humans. One day, as the evening came, and they had reached the place of rations, they established the rations before the god ……The correct form of this name is not known. The ration of a married man was established as double, the ration of a man with a child was established as triple; the ration of a single man was established as single; but the ration of Martu, though being single, was also established as double.

26-33. Martu went home to his own mother, and spoke to her: "In my city I am among my friends and they all have already married wives; I am there among my mates, and they all have already married wives. Unlike my friends in my city I am single, I am single and I have no children. Yet the imposed share exceeds that of my friends; over and above that of my mates, I received half of theirs."

34-40. One day, as the evening came, and they had reached again the place of rations, they established the rations before the god ……The correct form of this name is not known. The ration of a married man was established as double, the ration of a man with a child was established as triple; the ration of a single man was established as single; but the ration of Martu, though he was single, was also established as double.

41-52. Martu went home to his own mother, and spoke to her: "My mother, find me a wife to marry and I will bring you my ration." His own mother replied to Martu: "Su-henuna, my son, I will give you advice; may my advice be heeded. I shall say a word to you; you should pay attention to it. Marry a wife of your choice, marry a wife of your heart's desire, give me thus a companion, …… me a slave-girl. Having built the houses of (?) your people living around the city, and …… gardens, you will dig the wells of your mates. Martu, …… mates ……"

53-66. At that time a festival was announced in the city; a festival was announced in the city of Inab. (Martu said:) "Come, friends, let us go, let us go there, let us visit the ale-houses of Inab, let us go there." The god Numusda participated in the festival; his beloved daughter Adgar-kidug participated in the festival, his wife Namrat, the lovely woman participated in the festival. In the city, bronze sem drums were rumbling, and the seven ala drums resounded as strong men, girdled champions, entered the wrestling house to compete with each other for Numusda in the temple of Inab. There were many coming to Inab, the city where the festival was taking place, to marvel at this. There were many coming to Inab, the city where the festival was taking place, to marvel at this.

67-75. For Numusda, because he was holy (?), Martu too strode around the great courtyard to compete in wrestling at the gate of Inab. They kept looking for strong fighters for him, they kept offering him strong fighters. Martu strode around in the great courtyard. He hit them with a destructive …… one by one. In the great courtyard, in the battle he caused them to be bandaged; in the great courtyard of Inab he lifted the bodies of the dead.

76-83. Rejoicing over Martu, Numusda offered him silver, but he would not accept it. He offered jewels, but he would not accept them. Having done so a second time, having done so a third time (Martu says): "Where does your silver lead? Where do your jewels lead? I, Martu, would rather marry your daughter, I would rather marry your daughter Adgar-kidug."

[8 lines missing]

91-97. (Numusda says:) "You …… the wife with calves as a marriage gift. Milk cows shall feed the calves. In the byre the breeding bull shall lie down. …… cows shall live in the …… and the calves shall stay at their right side. You must give your word thus and only thus, and then I will give you my daughter Adgar-kidug."

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98-104. "You …… the wife with lambs as a marriage gift. Milk ewes shall feed the lambs. In the sheepfold …… shall lie down. …… ewes shall live in the …… and the lambs shall stay at their left side. You must give your word thus and only thus, and then I will give you my daughter Adgar-kidug."

105-111. "You …… the wife with kids as a marriage gift. Milk goats shall feed the kids. In the stall the breeding goat shall lie down. The goats and kids shall live in the …… and the kids shall stay ……. You must give your word thus and only thus, and then I will give you my daughter Adgar-kidug."

112-114. He …… great ……. He shouted like ……. At the quay of Inab he …….

115-125. He gratified the elders of Inab with golden torcs. He gratified the old women of Inab with golden shawl ……. He gratified the men and women of Inab with golden ……. He gratified the slaves of Inab with …… and gratified them also with coloured …… cloths. He gratified the slave-girls of Inab with silver jugs.

126-141. The days have multiplied, no decision has yet been made. (Adgar-kidug's girlfriend speaks to her:) "Now listen, their hands are destructive and their features are those of monkeys; he is one who eats what Nanna forbids and does not show reverence. They never stop roaming about ……, they are an abomination to the gods' dwellings. Their ideas are confused; they cause only disturbance. He is clothed in sack-leather ……, lives in a tent, exposed to wind and rain, and cannot properly recite prayers. He lives in the mountains and ignores the places of gods, digs up truffles in the foothills, does not know how to bend the knee, and eats raw flesh. He has no house during his life, and when he dies he will not be carried to a burial-place. My girlfriend, why would you marry Martu?"Adgar-kidug replies to her girlfriend: "I will marry Martu!"

142. Inab -- ulum, alam!

NINGISZIDA'S JOURNEY TO THE NETHER WORLD

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.7.3

1-3. "Arise and get on board, arise, we are about to sail, arise and get on board!" -- Woe, weep for the bright daylight, as the barge is steered away! -- "I am a young man! Let me not be covered against my wishes by a cabin, as if with a blanket, as if with a blanket!"

4-10. Stretching out a hand to the barge, to the young man being steered away on the barge, stretching out a hand to [my young man Damu] [(1 ms. has instead:) Lord Ningiszida] being taken away on the barge, stretching out a hand to Istaran of the bright visage being taken away on the barge, stretching out a hand to Alla, master of the battle-net, being taken away on the barge, stretching out a hand to Lugal-sud-e being taken away on the barge, stretching out a hand to Ningiszida being taken away on the barge -- his younger sister was crying in lament to him in [the boat's cabin] [(1 ms. has instead:) the cabin at the boat's bow].

11-12. His older sister removed the cover (?) from [the boat's cabin] [(1 ms. has instead:) the cabin at the boat's stern]: "Let me sail away with you, let me sail away with you, [brother] [(1 ms. has instead:) my brother], let me sail away with you. [(2 mss. add 1 line:) My brother, let me sail on your barge with you, my brother, let me sail away with you. [(1 ms. adds 1 further line:) Let me sail on your splendid barge with you, my brother, let me sail away with you.]]"

13-14. She was crying a lament to him at the boat's bow: " [Brother] [(1 ms. has instead:) My brother], let me sail away with you. Let me …… for you in your boat's stern, [brother] [(1 ms. has instead:) my brother], let me sail away with you." [(1 ms. adds 2 lines:) "The gudug priest sits in the cabin at your boat's stern." She was crying a lament to him: "Let me sail away with you, my brother, let me sail away with you."]

15-19. "My young man Damu, let me sail away with you, [brother] [(1 ms. has instead:) my brother], let me sail away with you. Istaran of the bright visage, let me sail away with you, [brother] [(1 ms. has instead:) my brother], let me sail away with you. Alla, master of the battle-net, let me sail away with you, [brother] [(1 ms. has instead:) my brother], let me sail away with you. Lugal-sud-e, let me sail away with you, [brother] [(1 ms. has instead:) my brother], let me sail away with you. [(1 ms. adds 1 line:) Lugal-ki-bura, let me sail away with you, my brother, let me sail away with you.] Ningiszida, let me sail away with you, [brother] [(1 ms. has instead:) my brother], let me sail away with you. [(1 ms. adds 2 lines:) My brother, let me sail on your barge with you, my brother, let me sail away with you. Let me sail on your splendid barge with you, my brother, let me sail away with you.]"

20-28. The evil demon who was in their midst called out to [Lugal-ki-suna] [(2 mss. have instead:) Ningiszida]: " [Lugal-ki-suna] [(1 ms. has instead:) Lugal-ki-bura], look at your sister!" Having looked at his sister, [Lugal-ki-suna] [(1 ms. has instead:) Lugal-ki-bura] said to her: "He sails with me, he sails with me. Why should you sail [(1 ms. adds:) to the underworld]? Lady, the demon sails with me. Why should you sail [(1 ms. adds:) to the underworld]? The thresher sails with me. Why should you sail [(1 ms. adds:) to the underworld]? The man who has bound my hands sails with me. Why should you sail? The man who has tied my arms sails with me. Why should you sail?"

29-37. "The river of the nether world produces no water, no water is drunk from it. [(1 ms. adds:) Why should you sail?] The fields of the nether world produce no grain, no flour is eaten from it. [(1 ms. adds:) Why should you sail?] The sheep of the nether world produce no wool, no cloth is woven from it. [(1 ms. adds:) Why should you sail?] As for me, even if my mother digs as if for a canal, I shall not be able to drink the water meant for me. The waters of springtime will not be poured for me as they are for the tamarisks; I shall not sit in the shade intended for me. The dates I should bear like a date palm will not reveal their beauty for me. I am a field threshed by my demon -- you would scream at it. He has put manacles on my hands -- you would scream at it. He has put a neck-stock on my neck -- you would scream at it."

38-44. Ama-silama (Ningiszida's sister) said to Ningiszida: "The ill-intentioned demon may accept something -- there should be a limit to it for you. My brother, your demon may accept something, there should be a limit to it for you. For him let me …… from my hand the ……, there should be a limit to it for you. For him let me …… from my hand the ……, there should be a limit to it for you. For him let me …… from my hips the dainty lapis lazuli beads, there should be a limit to it for you. For him let me …… from my hips the …… my lapis lazuli beads, there should be a limit to it for you."

45-49. "You are a beloved ……, there should be a limit to it for you. How they treat you, how they treat you! -- there should be a limit to it for you. My brother, how they treat you, how haughtily they treat you! -- there should be a limit to it for you. "I am hungry, but the bread has slipped away from me!" -- there should be a limit to it for you. "I am thirsty, but the water has slipped away from me!" -- there should be a limit to it for you."

50-54. The evil demon who was in their midst, the clever demon, that great demon who was in their midst, called out to the man at the boat's bow and to the man at the boat's stern: "Don't let the mooring stake be pulled out, don't let the mooring stake be pulled out, so that she may come on board to her brother, that this lady may come on board the barge."

55-62. When Ama-silama had gone on board the barge, a cry approached the heavens, a cry approached the earth, that great demon set up an enveloping cry before him on the river: "Urim, at my cry to the heavens lock your houses, lock your houses, city, lock your houses! Shrine Urim, lock your houses, city, lock your houses! Against your lord who has left the gipar, city, lock your houses!"

[1 line fragmentary / approx. 1 line missing]

64-69. [2 lines fragmentary] …… a holy sceptre. …… a holy robe of office. …… a holy crown. …… a lapis-lazuli sceptre.

70-75. He …… to the empty river, the rejoicing river: "You (addressing Ama-silima) shall not draw near to this house, ……. …… to the place of Ereskigala. My mother …… out of her love. As for you (addressing the demon) , you may be a great demon ……, …… your hand against the nether world's office of throne-bearer."

76-81. "My king will no longer shed tears in his eyes. The drum will …… his joy in tears. Come! May the fowler utter a lament for you in his well-stocked house, lord, may he utter a lament for you. How he has been humiliated! May the young fisherman utter a lament for you in his well-stocked house, lord, may he utter a lament for you. How he has been humiliated! May the mother of the dead gudug priest [utter a lament for you in her empty gipar] [(1 ms. has instead:) , on whom the house of the palace looked with envy], utter a lament for you, lord, may she utter a lament for you. How he has been humiliated! May the mother high priestess utter a lament [for you who have left the gipar] [(1 ms. has instead:) for you, now dead, who used to be in your gipar], lord, may she utter a lament for you. How he has been humiliated!"

82-89. "My king, bathe with water your head that has rolled in the dust. …… in sandals your feet defiled from the defiled place." The king bathed with water his head that had rolled in the dust. …… in sandals his feet defiled from the defiled place. "Not drawing near to this house, ……. …… your throne …… to you "Sit down". May your bed …… to you "Lie down"." He ate food in his mouth, he drank choice wine.

90. Great holy one, Ereskigala, praising you is sweet.

HOW GRAIN CAME TO SUMER

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.7.6

1-12. Men used to eat grass with their mouths like sheep. In those times, they did not know grain, barley or flax. An brought these down from the interior of heaven. Enlil lifted his gaze around as a stag lifts its horns when climbing the terraced …… hills. He looked southwards and saw the wide sea; he looked northwards and saw the mountain of aromatic cedars. Enlil piled up the barley, gave it to the mountain. He piled up the bounty of the Land, gave the innuha barley to the mountain. He closed off access to the wide-open hill. He …… its lock, which heaven and earth shut fast, its bolt, which …….

13-20. Then Ninazu ……, and said to his brother Ninmada: "Let us go to the mountain, to the mountain where barley and flax grow; …… the rolling river, where the water wells up from the earth. Let us fetch the barley down from its mountain, let us introduce the innuha barley into Sumer. Let us make barley known in Sumer, which knows no barley."

21-27. Ninmada, the worshipper of An, replied to him: "Since our father has not given the command, since Enlil has not given the command, how can we go there to the mountain? How can we bring down the barley from its mountain? How can we introduce the innuha grain into Sumer? How can we make barley known in Sumer, which knows no barley?"

28-31. "Come, let us go to Utu of heaven, who as he lies there, as he lies there, sleeps a sound sleep, to the hero, the son of Ningal, who as he lies there sleeps a sound sleep." He raised his hands towards Utu of the seventy doors.

32. Utu …… table (?) …….

THE SUMUNDA GRASS

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.7.7

1. The abba instructed, the abba instructed:

2-13. When the rain rained, when walls were demolished, when it rained potsherds and fireballs, when one person confronted another defiantly, when there was copulation -- he also copulated, when there was kissing -- he also kissed. When the rain said: "I will rain," when the wall said: "I will rain (scribal error for 'demolish'?)", when the flood said: "I will sweep everything away" -- Heaven impregnated, Earth gave birth, she gave birth also to the sumunda grass. Earth gave birth, Heaven impregnated, she gave birth also to the sumunda grass.

14-21. His luxuriant reeds carry fire. They who defied it, who defied it, the umma who had survived that day, the abba who had survived that day, the chief gala priest who had survived that year, whoever had survived the Flood -- the sumunda grass crushed them with labour, crushed them with labour, made them crouch in the dust.

22-28. The sumunda grass is a fire carrier, he cannot be tied into bundles, the grass cannot be shifted, the grass cannot be loosened, the grass cannot be loosened. When built into a booth, one moment he stands up, one moment he lies down. Having kindled a fire, he spreads it wide. The sumunda grass's habitat is among his bitter waters. He butts about (saying): "I will start, I will start a fire."

29-34. He set fire to the base of the E-ana; there he was bound, there he was fettered. When he protested, Inana seized a raven there and set it on top of him. The shepherd abandoned his sheep in their enclosure. Inana seized the raven there.

35-49. When the rain had rained, when walls had been demolished, when it rained potsherds and fireballs, when Dumuzid was defied -- the rain rained, walls were demolished, the cowpen was demolished, the sheepfold was ripped out, wild flood-waters were hurled against the rivers, wild rains were hurled against the marshes. By the …… of the Tigris and the Euphrates, of the Tigris and the Euphrates, long grass grew, long grass …….

[5 lines missing]

50-59. He tied him into bundles, he shifted him, he …… sumunda grass, the fire-carrier. He bundled up the sumunda grass, the fire carrier, bundled up the fire carrier. The launderer who made her garments clean asks her, Inana -- the carpenter who gave her the spindle to hold in her hand (asks her), Inana -- the potter who fashioned pots and jugs (asks her), Inana. The potter gave her holy drinking vessels, the shepherd brought her his sheep, the shepherd brought her his sheep -- he asks her. He brought her all kinds of luxuriant plants, as if it were the harvest.

60-66. Her voice reached Heaven, her voice reached Earth, her resounding cry covered the horizon like a garment, was spread over it like a cloth, she hurled fierce winds at the head of the sumunda grass (saying): "Sumunda grass, your name ……. You shall be a plant ……. You shall be a hateful plant ……. Your name ……."

[approx. 23 lines missing]

PABILSAG'S JOURNEY TO NIBRU

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.7.8

SEGMENT A

1-15. The wild bull with brindled thighs, whose house is noble! My king, the wild bull with brindled thighs, whose house is noble! Pabilsag, the wild bull with brindled thighs, whose house is noble! His house, the house of Larag, is noble, his house is noble! His city, a mighty city, is abundant, and his house is noble! The warrior's house is the house of Larag;

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Lord Pabilsag's city is a mighty city ……. His birthplace was the shrine Nibru ……. The place where he drank good milk was the house ……. From the place, the pure place, ……. Isin, the unique house ……. The place which the bull embraces ……. Like a scorpion rising up from among the thorns, he is a fearsome scorpion; like a wolf rising up from his lair, he is likely to growl; like a lion rising up in the pathway, he is likely to beat …….

16-21. At that time, he wished to dig in the meadows; the lord wished to dig in the meadows. Lord Pabilsag wished to dig in the meadows; in all the meadows of Isin, my king wished to dig. So then my king set off for Nibru.

22-36. And as the warrior Pabilsag set off in Enlil's direction, as he he set off, now he turned in front of that house in Isin. And then my lady in Isin came out ……. At the spacious house, the house of Isin, she …… her hair, then she …… the hair in curls ……. Her headdress was loosened. She addressed Pabilsag joyfully: "Good-looking …… the house of Isin! Warrior Pabilsag …… borne to Nintur! You who are travelling from Larag to …… that house in Isin, say to your father, "May she be my spouse!" Say further to Enlil, "…… with me!" Fix your sights on it, fix your sights on it, and may you be its lord! The house of Isin ……. May you, Pabilsag, be its lord, and may I be its lady!"

[small number of lines missing]

SEGMENT B

(It is possible, but less likely, that Segment B belongs after Segment D)

1-3. (Enlil speaks:) "…… and may its flax be flax! …… and may its grain be grain! …… may its …… be good for eating."

4-13. And now, under that very sun and on that day, so it really happened. …… waved their tails in the Kir-sig watercourse, waved ……. …… established the house ……. …… the most righteous ……. ……. the good bull-calf, the ruler ……. …… established the house ……. ……. its flax was flax. …… its grain was grain. …… its …… was good for eating.

[small number of lines missing]

SEGMENT C

1-7. Ninisina ……. In the Kir-sig watercourse …… their tails …… Isin ……. Joyfully his son married a wife ……; joyfully Lord Pabilsag married Ninisina ……. She …… him the digging implement for the Kir-sig watercourse. …… their tails …… Isin …… for him.

8-13. Enlil stood beside the river and spoke to it. He stood beside the Kir-sig watercourse and ……: "River, may …… your outlet be …… for him. May you establish …… the house here. …… the most righteous ……, …… great wild bull ……."

[approx. 1 line missing]

SEGMENT D

1-20. [3 lines unclear] But Pabilsag would not eat the bull in his mouth; nor would …… Pabilsag eat the sheep in his mouth. He did not rub the …… pot ……. "Do not go …… to ……." They raised the …… lament, and put ……. They raised Lord Pabilsag, and put ……. They set him down in the city of his sister. His sister came out to him from the house.

[5 lines unclear] But Pabilsag would not eat the bull in his mouth; nor would …… Pabilsag eat the sheep in his mouth. He did not rub the …… pot ……. "Do not go ……!"

[unknown number of lines missing]

THE TEMPLE CYCLE

THE KESH TEMPLE HYMN

Translation: ETCSL t.4.80.2; University of Oxford
Estimated Range of Dating: 2600 B.C.

(The Kesh Temple Hymn or Liturgy to Nintud or Liturgy to Nintud on the creation of man and woman is a Sumerian tablet, written on clay tablets as early as 2600 BC. Along with the Instructions of Shuruppak, it is the oldest surviving literature in the world. Kesh was an ancient Sumerian city and religious site, whose patron goddess was Ninhursag. Its location is uncertain. Some of the possible sites put forth include Al-Ubaid, near Ur, or Tell al-Wilayah near Adab or Abu Salabikh. There is the possibility that Kesh refers to the City of Kish near Babylon. The Tempel refers to a Ziggurat, a massive step pyramid such as those ones in Ur, Choga Zanbil or Babylon.

Fragments of the text were discovered in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology catalogue of the Babylonian section (CBS) from their excavations at the temple library at Nippur in modern day Iraq. One fragment of the text found on CBS tablet number 11876 was first published by Hugo Radau in "Miscellaneous Sumerian Texts," number 8 in 1909. Radau's fragment was translated by Stephen Herbert Langdon in 1915. Langdon published a translation from a 4 by 4 by 4 by 4 inches (10 by 10 by 10 by 10 cm) perforated, four sided, Sumerian prism from Nippur and held in the Ashmolean in Oxford in 1913 (number 1911-405) in "Babylonian Liturgies." The prism contains around 145 lines in eight sections, similar to the Hymn to Enlil. Langdon called it "A Liturgy to Nintud, Goddess of Creation" and noted that each section ended with the same refrain, which he interpreted as referring "to the creation of man and woman, the Biblical Adam and Eve." Langdon translated two further fragments in 1914 and 1917.

The myth was developed with the addition of CBS 8384, translated by George Aaron Barton in 1918 and first published as "Sumerian religious texts" in "Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions," number eleven, entitled "A Fragment of the so-called 'Liturgy to Nintud.'"[6] The tablet is 5.25 by 2.4 by 1.2 inches (13.3 by 6.1 by 3.0 cm) at its thickest point. Barton's tablet contained nine sections from which he was able to translate sections four, five and six. Barton argued for the abandonment of the myth's subtitle, the "creation of man." He claimed, "So far as the writer can see, there is no allusion in the text to the creation of man." He notes only the allusion to the goddess he called Nintu as "the mother of mankind." He suggested, "Apparently the text celebrated the primitive (or very early) conditions of some town; possibly the founding and growth of the town, but beyond this we can confidently affirm nothing."

CBS tablet 6520 was published in 1929 by Edward Chiera in "Sumerian Lexical Texts". Chiera also published three more tablets—CBS 7802, CBS 13625 and CBS 14153—in "Sumerian Epics and Myths". Other translations were made from tablets in the Nippur collection of the Museum of the Ancient Orient in Istanbul (Ni). Chiera translated number Ni 2402 in "Sumerian Religious Texts" in 1924. Hermann Volrath Hilprecht and Samuel Noah Kramer amongst others worked to translate several others from the Istanbul collection including Ni 4371, 4465, 4555 & 9773, 4597, 9649, 9810, 9861 & 9903. A further tablet source of the myth is held by the Louvre in Paris, number AO 6717. Others are held in the Ashmolean number 1929-478, British Museum number 115798 and the Walters Art Museum number 48.1802, formerly called the "David prism". Further tablets containing the text were excavated at Isin, modern Ishan al-Bahriyat. More were found at Henri de Genouillac's excavations at Kish (B 150) and Jean Perrot's excavations at Susa. Sir Charles Leonard Woolley unearthed more tablets at Ur contained in the "Ur excavations texts" from 1928. Other tablets and versions were used to bring the myth to its present form with the latest composite text by Miguel Civil produced in 1992 with latest translation by Gene Gragg in 1969 and Joachim Krecher in 1966. Gragg described the text as "one of the best preserved literary texts that we possess from the Old Babylonian period".

Robert D. Biggs translated an exceptionally archaic version of the hymn from Tell Abu Salabikh. He dated this version to around 2600 BC based upon similarities to tablets found in Shuruppak and dated to a similar age by Anton Deimer in the 1920s. Subsequent radiocarbon dating of samples taken from Tell Abu Salabikh date the site to 2550-2520 BC however, a timeframe slightly more recent than the one Biggs proposed. Biggs recognised various differences in the archaic cuneiform and that "the literary texts of this period were unrecognised for so long is due to the fact that they present formidable obstacles to comprehension". He suggests that Abu Salabikh could have been the location of Kesh, however points out that it is not near Adab as described and that Kesh could have just been a variation in the spelling of Kish. He discusses how the hymn is preserved for so long in later Nippur texts, saying "Although the Abu Salăbikh copies are approximately eight centuries earlier than copies known before, there is a surprisingly small amount of deviation (except in orthography) between them. The Old Babylonian version is thus not a creation of Old Babylonian scribes using older material, but is a faithful reflection of a text that had already been fixed in the Sumerian literary tradition for centuries." Biggs suggested "that other traditional works of literature may also go back in essentially their present form to the last third of the 3rd millennium BC at least."

The hymn begins with a description and Enlil praising the city Kesh and its selection and establishment of the Ekur by Enlil. Right in the beginning of the hymn appears Nisaba "the decisin-maker," which sounds as if Nisaba had decided to build the Ziggurat. The relationship between Enlil and Nisuba (similar to Yahweh and Moses) how the text is the work of gods, who created and transmitted it to humans, giving the literature a reason for legitimacy. Nisaba (Sumerian: DNAGA; later DSHENAGA), is the Sumerian goddess of writing, learning, and the harvest. She was worshiped in shrines and sanctuaries at Umma and Eresh [the place of the goddess, queen, prietess], and was often praised by Sumerian scribes. She is considered the patroness of mortal scribes as well as the scribe of the gods. In the story, she shows, by the text of the tablets in her hand, how the "8 houses" should be made. The "8 houses" may refer to the eight parts of the city and the Temple, the Ziggurat. [As for Nisuba, see the following Hymn od Nisuba.]

The hymn finishes with an admonition repeated four times suggested to be both a warning and invocation of the divine presence in the temple. Such ambivalence about approaching temples has crucially influenced the development of Jewish and Christian mysticism.)

1-9. The princely lord, the princely lord came forth from the house. Enlil, the princely lord, came forth from the house. The princely lord came forth royally from the house. Enlil lifted his glance over all the lands, and the lands raised themselves to Enlil. The four corners of heaven became green for Enlil like a garden. Kesh was positioned there for him with head uplifted, and as Kesh lifted its head among all the lands, Enlil spoke in praise of Kesh.

10-20. Nisaba was its decision-maker; with its words she wove it intricately like a net. Written on tablets it was held in her hands: House, platform of the Land, important fierce bull! House Kesh, platform of the Land, important fierce bull! Growing as high as the hills, embracing the heavens, growing as high as E-kur, lifting its head among the mountains! [Rooted in the abzu] [(2 mss. have instead:) Colourful as the abzu], verdant like the mountains! Will anyone else bring forth something as great as Kesh? Will any other mother ever give birth to someone as great as its hero Ashgi? Who has ever seen anyone as great as its lady Nintur?

21. The first house.

22-30. Good house, built in a good location, house Kesh, [(some mss. add here:) good house,] built in a good location, floating in the heavens like a princely barge, like a holy barge furnished with a …… gate, like the boat of heaven, the platform of all the lands! …… from the riverbank like a …… boat cabin! House roaring like an ox, bellowing loudly like a breed-bull! House in whose interior is the power of the Land, and behind which is the life of Sumer!

31-43. House, great enclosure, reaching to the heavens, great, true house, reaching to the heavens! House, great crown reaching to the heavens, house, rainbow reaching to the heavens! House whose diadem extends into the midst of the heavens, whose foundations are fixed in the abzu, whose shade covers all lands! House founded by An, praised by Enlil, given an oracle by Mother Nintur! House Kesh, green in its fruit! Will anyone else bring forth something as great as Kesh? Will any other mother ever give birth to someone as great as its hero Ashgi? Who has ever seen anyone as great as its lady Nintur?

44. The second house.

45-57. House, 10 shar at its upper end, five shar at its lower end; house, 10 bur at its upper end, five bur at its lower end! House, at its upper end a bison, at its lower end a stag; house, at its upper end a wild sheep, at its lower end a deer; house, at its upper end a dappled wild sheep, at its lower end a beautiful deer! House, at its upper end green as a snake-eater bird, at its lower end floating on the water like a pelican! House, at its upper end rising like the sun, at its lower end spreading like the moonlight; house, at its upper end a warrior mace, at its lower end a battle-axe; house, at its upper end a mountain, at its lower end a spring! House, at its upper end threefold indeed! Will anyone else bring forth something as great as Kesh? Will any other mother ever give birth to someone as great as its hero Ashgi? Who has ever seen anyone as great as its lady Nintur?

58. The third house.

58A-58Q. [(1 ms. adds here the following lines:) House …… inspiring great awe, called with a mighty name by An; house …… whose fate is grandly determined by the Great Mountain Enlil! House of the Anuna gods possessing great power, which gives wisdom to the people; house, reposeful dwelling of the great gods! House, which was planned together with the plans of heaven and earth, …… with the pure divine powers; house which underpins the Land and supports the shrines! House, mountain of abundance which passes the days in glory; house of Ninhursaga which establishes the life of the Land! House, great hillside worthy of the purification rites, altering all things; house without whom no decisions are made! House, good …… carrying in its hands the broad Land; house which gives birth to countless peoples, seed which has sprouts! House which gives birth to kings, which determines the destinies of the Land; house whose royal personages are to be revered! Will anyone else bring forth something as great as Kesh? Will any other mother ever give birth to someone as great as its hero Ashgi? Who has ever seen anyone as great as its lady Nintur?]

(58R. The …… house.)

59-73. It is indeed a city, it is indeed a city! Who knows its interior? The house Kesh is indeed a city! Who knows its interior? The heroes make their way straight into its interior and perform its oracle rites perfectly. Frisking cattle are gathered at the house in herds. The house consumes many cattle; the house consumes many sheep. [1 line unclear]

Those who sit on daises bow their necks before it. It wears a crown to vie with the boxwood tree, it spreads out to vie with the poplar ……; it is [(1 ms. adds here:) growing] as green as

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the hills! Will anyone else bring forth something as great as Kesh? Will any other mother ever give birth to someone as great as its hero Ashgi? Who has ever seen anyone as great as its lady Nintur?

74. The fourth house.

75-86. House given birth by a lion, whose interior the hero has embellished! House Kesh, given birth by a lion, whose interior the hero has embellished! The heroes make their way straight into its interior. Ninhursaga sits within like a great dragon. Nintur the great mother assists at births there. Shul-pa-e the ruler acts as lord. Ashgi the hero consumes the contents of the vessels. Urumash, the great herald of the plains, dwells there too. Stags are gathered at the house in herds. Will anyone else bring forth something as great as Kesh? Will any other mother ever give birth to someone as great as its hero Ashgi? Who has ever seen anyone as great as its lady Nintur?

87. The fifth house.

88-102. House positioned over its foundations like a storm, like white bulls standing about on the plain; house founded by the prince, in praise on the tigi instrument! House in whose interior is the power of the Land, and behind which [is the life of Sumer] [(some mss. have instead:) it is filled with life]; at whose gate is a lion reclining on its paws, at whose gate is the ruler who decides cases! House at whose door is the Great Mountain without adversary; [at whose bolt] [(some mss. have here instead:) at whose bar] is a great frisking wild bull [(some mss. add here the line:) , at whose bolt is a beast …… a man] [(1 ms. adds here instead the line:) , at whose …… is an awe-inspiring lion] ! [Whose well-founded storehouse is a corner of heaven, a corner of earth] [(1 ms. has here instead:) Whose storehouse established as a household is a lance]; whose terrace is supported by lahama deities; whose princely [(1 ms. adds:) great] wall …… the shrine of Urim! Will anyone else bring forth something as great as Kesh? Will any other mother ever give birth to someone as great as its hero Ashgi? Who has ever seen anyone as great as its lady Nintur?

103. The sixth house.

103A-103K. [(1 ms. (which uses a different numbering of the sections) adds here the following lines:) House imbued with radiance, …… excellence! House ……! Lord Nudimmud in heaven and earth …… brickwork of the Land, brickwork …… grandly in the abzu. Terrace, relaxing abode, …… holy splendour rising over the people! House which is seemly for the foreign lands! Will anyone else bring forth something as great as Kesh? Will any other mother ever give birth to someone as great as its hero Ashgi? Who has ever seen anyone as great as its lady Nintur?]

(103L. The eighth house.)

104-115. The holy house whose …… is the shrine, the holy house Kesh, whose …… is the shrine; the house whose lords are the Anuna gods, whose nuesh priests are the sacrificers of E-ana! In the house the king places stone bowls in position; the good en priest …… holds the lead-rope dangling. The a-tu priest holds the staff; the …… brings the gathered waters. The …… takes his seat in the holy place; the enkum priests bow down ……. The pashesh priests beat the drumskins; they recite powerfully, powerfully.

116-126. The bull's horn is made to growl; the drumsticks are made to thud. The singer [cries out] [(1 ms. has instead:) declaims] to the ala drum; [the grand sweet tigi is played for him] [(some mss. have instead:) the sweet tigi is well tuned]. The house is built; its nobility is good! The house Kesh is built; its nobility is good! Its lady has taken a seat in its ……. Ninhursaga, its lady, has taken her seat in its ……. Will anyone else bring forth something as great as Kesh? Will any other mother ever give birth to someone as great as its hero Ashgi? Who has ever seen anyone as great as its lady Nintur?

127. The seventh house.

128-133. Draw near, man, to the city, to the city -- but do not draw near! Draw near, man, to the house Kesh, to the city -- but do not draw near! Draw near, man, to its hero Ashgi -- but do not draw near! Draw near, man, to its lady Nintur -- but do not draw near! Praise be to well-built Kesh, O Ashgi! Praise be to cherished Kesh and Nintur!

134. The eighth house.

A HYMN TO NISABA (Nisaba A)
Translation: ETCSL (University of Oxford)
Estimated Range of Dating:

OLD BABYLONIAN VERSION

1-6. Lady coloured like the stars of heaven, holding (3 mss. have instead: perfectly endowed with) a lapis-lazuli tablet! Nisaba, great wild cow born by Urac, wild sheep nourished on good milk among holy alkaline plants, opening the mouth for seven ..... reeds! Perfectly endowed with fifty great divine powers, my lady, most powerful in E-kur!

7-13. Dragon emerging in glory at the festival, Aruru (mother goddess) of the Land, ... from the clay, calming ..... (1 ms. has instead: the region with cool water), lavishing fine oil (3 mss. have instead: plenty) on the foreign lands, engendered in wisdom by the Great Mountain (Enlil)! Good woman, chief scribe of An, record-keeper of Enlil, wise sage of the gods!

14-20. In order to make barley and flax grow in the furrows, so that excellent corn can be admired; to provide for the seven great throne-daises by making flax shoot forth and making barley shoot forth at the harvest, the great (1 ms. has instead: august) festival of Enlil -- in her great princely role she has cleansed her body and has put (1 ms. has instead: draped) the holy priestly garment on her torso.

21-26. In order to establish bread offerings where none existed, and to pour forth great libations of alcohol, so as to appease the god of grandeur, Enlil, and to appease merciful Kusu and Ezina, she will appoint a great en priest, and will appoint a festival; she will appoint a great en priest of the Land.

27-35. He (Enki) approaches the maiden Nisaba in prayer. He has organised pure food-offerings; he has opened up Nisaba's house of learning, and has placed the lapis-lazuli tablet on her knees, for her to consult the holy tablet of the heavenly stars. In Aratta he has placed E-zagina at her disposal. You have built up Erec in abundance, founded from little ..... bricks, you who are granted the most complex wisdom!

36-50. In the abzu, the great crown of Eridug, where sanctuaries are apportioned, where elevated ..... are apportioned -- when Enki, the great princely farmer of the awe-inspiring temple, the carpenter of Eridug, the master of purification rites, the lord of the great en priest's precinct, occupies E-engur, and when he builds up the abzu of Eridug; when he takes counsel in Hal-an-kug, when he splits with an axe the house of boxwood; when the sage's hair is allowed to hang loose, when he opens the house of learning, when he stands in the street of the door of learning; when he finishes the great dining-hall of cedar, when he grasps the date-palm mace, when he strikes the priestly garment with that mace, then he utters seven ..... to Nisaba, the supreme nursemaid:

51-55. "O Nisaba, good woman, fair woman, woman born in the mountains (1 ms. has instead: by the mountains)! Nisaba, may you be the butter in the cattle-pen, may you be the cream in the sheepfold, may you be keeper of the seal in the treasury, may you be a good steward in the palace, may you be a heaper up of grain among the grain piles and in the grain stores!"

56-57. Because the Prince Enki cherished Nisaba, O father Enki, it is sweet to praise you!

[A version of the beginning, preserved on a stone tablet from Lagash perhaps dating from the Ur III Period]

1-9. Lady coloured as the stars, holding a lapis-lazuli tablet! Nisaba, born by Urac in the great sheepfold, ... nourished on good milk among holy alkaline plants, opening the mouth on seven ..... reeds! Perfectly endowed with fifty great divine powers, my lady, the most powerful in E-kur! Aruru (mother goddess) of the Land, ... from the clay!

A SHIR-NAMSHUB TO NISABA (Nisaba B)
Translation: ETCSL (University of Oxford)
Estimated Range of Dating:

1-13..... is destroyed. ..... is destroyed. It is destroyed. ..... of Nisaba is destroyed. The house of Nisaba, her of the tablets, is destroyed. The house of ..... is destroyed. The house of Nunbarcegunu is destroyed. ....., the E-hamun is destroyed. The plants of lamentation have sprouted; the cumunda grass has sprouted. By the walls the long grass has sprouted. Amongst them, the willow trees are everywhere. As for the word of An and the word of Enlil, the angry heart of great An is everywhere, and the malign heart of Enlil is everywhere.

14-21 (Nisaba speaks:) "In my house, may the moonlight in my house, the moonlight, the glorious sky in my house, the moonlight, the glorious night in my house -- may the glorious sky, the glorious night in my house not leave me! The moonlight is obscured by the walls from my man, from my man. The moonlight, the glorious sky, from my man, the moonlight, the glorious night, from my man, the glorious sky, the glorious night is obscured by the walls from my man.

22-30. "In the moonlight, in the pure place of moonlight I lie down alone. In the moonlight which fills the hills, the pure place, I lie down alone. By the cedar mountains where Enlil lies, I lie down alone. ..... I weep a bitter lament. ..... lying in the moonlight, I weep a bitter lament. ..... which sets aglow ..... shines forth. I am distraught. The moonlight which sets aglow the glorious sky shines forth. I am distraught. The moonlight which sets aglow the glorious night shines forth. I am distraught -- which sets aglow the glorious sky, the glorious night, shines forth. I am distraught."

31-33. Even now that the pure place knows daylight, amid her awe-inspiring splendour, still she weeps. Amid her awe-inspiring splendour, still Mother Ezina-Kusu weeps. Fate and fortune! Amid her awe-inspiring splendour, still she weeps.

34. A cir-namcub of Nisaba.

THE TEMPLE HYMNS OF ENHEDUANNA
Translation: Hallo and Van Dijk, 1968
Estimated Range of Dating: 23rd century BC

(Enheduanna (Sumerian: also transliterated as En-hedu-ana, or variants; fl. 23rd century BC) is the earliest known poet whose name has been recorded. She was the High Priestess of the goddess Inanna and the moon god Nanna (Sin). She lived in the Sumerian city-state of Ur.

Enheduanna's contributions to Sumerian literature, definitively ascribed to her, include several personal devotions to Inanna and a collection of hymns known as the "Sumerian Temple Hymns". Further additional texts are ascribed to her. This makes her the first named author in world history.

She was the first known woman to hold the title of EN (meaning: Lord or Priest), a role of great political importance that was often held by royal daughters. She was appointed to the role by her father, King Sargon of Akkad. Her mother was probably Queen Tashlultum. Enheduanna was appointed to the role of High Priestess in a shrewd political move by Sargon to help secure power in the south of his kingdom, where the City of Ur was located.

She continued to hold office during the reign of Rimush, her brother, when she was involved in some form of political turmoil, expelled, then eventually reinstated as high priestess. Her composition 'The Exaltation of Inanna' or 'nin me shara' details her expulsion from Ur and eventual reinstatement. This correlates with 'The Curse of Akkade' in which Naram-Sin, under whom Enheduanna may have also served, is cursed and cast out by Enlil. After her death, Enheduanna continued to be remembered as an important figure, perhaps even attaining semi-divine status.

Background and archaeological discovery

In 1927, British archaeologist Sir Leonard Woolley discovered the Enhuduanna calcite disc in excavations of the Sumerian city of Ur. The figure of Enheduanna is placed prominently on the disc, emphasising her importance. Woolley also uncovered the temple complex where the priestesses were buried. Woolley described Enhuduanna in a one-page summary in his "Excavations at Ur", but the significance of Enheduanna was not generally recognised until Adam Falkenstein published "Enhedu'anna, The Daughter of Sargon of Akkad", the first scholarly article on Enheduana in 1958, followed by Hallo and Van Dijk publishing the first translations and book-length discussion of Enheduana's work in 1968.)

THE TEMPLE HYMNS OF ENHEDUANNA

1-7. O E-unir (House which is a ziqqurat), grown together with heaven and earth, foundation of heaven and earth, great banqueting hall of Eridug! Abzu, shrine erected for its prince, E-du-kug (House which is the holy mound) where pure food is eaten, watered by the prince's pure canal, mountain, pure place cleansed with the potash plant, Abzu, your tigi drums belong to the divine powers.

8-15. Your great …… wall is in good repair. Light does not enter your meeting-place where the god dwells, the great ……, the beautiful place. Your tightly constructed house is sacred and has no equal. Your prince, the great prince, has fixed firmly a holy crown for you in your precinct -- O Eridug with a crown placed on your head, bringing forth thriving thornbushes, pure thornbushes for the susbu priests (?), O shrine Abzu, your place, your great place!

16-23. At your place of calling upon Utu, at your oven bringing bread to eat, on your ziqqurat, a magnificent shrine stretching toward heaven, at your great oven rivalling the great banqueting hall, your prince, the prince of heaven and earth …… can never be changed, the ……, the creator, the ……, the wise one, the ……, Lord Nudimmud, has erected a house in your precinct, O E-engura (House of the subterranean waters), and taken his seat upon your dais.

24. 23 lines: the house of Enki in Eridug.

25-33. O ……, shrine where destiny is determined, ……, foundation, raised with a ziqqurat, ……, settlement of Enlil, your ……, your right and your left are Sumer and Akkad. House of Enlil, your interior is cool, your exterior determines destiny. Your door-jambs and architrave are a mountain summit, your projecting pilasters a dignified mountain. Your peak is a …… peak of your princely platform. Your base serves heaven and earth.

34-37. Your prince, the great prince Enlil, the good lord, the lord of the limits of heaven, the lord who determines destiny, the Great Mountain Enlil, has erected a house in your precinct, O shrine Nibru, and taken his seat upon your dais.

38. 13 lines: the house of Enlil in Nibru.

39-46. O Tummal, exceedingly worthy of the princely divine powers, inspiring awe and dread! Foundation, your pure lustration extends over the abzu. Primeval city, reedbed green with old reeds and new shoots, your interior is a mountain of abundance built in plenitude. At your feast held in the month of the New Year, you are wondrously adorned as the great lady of Ki-ur rivals Enlil. Your princess, Mother Ninlil, the beloved wife of Nunamnir, has erected a house in

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your precinct, O E-Tummal (Tummal House), and taken a place upon your dais.

47. 8 lines: the house of Ninlil in Nibru.

48-56. O E-melem-hush (House of terrifying radiance) exuding great awesomeness, Esh-mah (Magnificent shrine), to which princely divine powers were sent from heaven, storehouse of Enlil founded for the primeval divine powers, worthy of nobility, lifting your head in princeship, counsellor of E-kur, parapeted buttress, your house …… the platform with heaven. The decisions at its place of reaching the great judgement -- the river of the ordeal -- let the just live and consign to darkness the hearts that are evil. In your great place fit for pure lustration and the rites of ishib priests, you dine with Lord Nunamnir.

57-59. Your prince, the prince who is the counsellor of Enlil and worthy of Esh-mah, the udug demon of E-kur, the leader Nuska, has erected a house in your precinct, O house of Enlil, and taken his seat upon your dais.

60. 12 lines: the house of Nuska in Nibru.

61-68. O E-me-ur-ana (House which gathers the divine powers of heaven) standing in a great place, the just divine powers which the warrior ……, strength of battle, heroic mace, carrier of the quiver, mighty bustling brick building, your foundation is eternal. Founded by the primeval lord, with decisions which belong to the princely divine powers, holy soil filling the mountain, lifting your head among the princes, magnificent house, the wonder coming from you is like the sun whose glow spreads. E-shu-me-sha (House which …… the divine powers), Enlil has instilled your name with terrifying awesomeness.

69-75. Your prince, the great ……, the warrior whose strength is boundless, the great ruler for Enlil, the noble who rivals heaven and earth, the provisioning seal-keeper of Father Enlil who makes the great divine powers perfect, the ……, the leader for Father Enlil, the foremost, the lion engendered by the Great Mountain, who destroys the hostile lands for Enlil, Lord Ninurta, has erected a house in your precinct, O E-shu-me-sha, and taken his seat upon your dais.

76. 15 lines: the house of Ninurta in Nibru.

77-85. O E-ga-duda (House, chamber of the mound), ……, crown of the high plain, holy place, pure place, house, your foundation is a great princely mooring pole. Du-sag-dili (Singular mound), your lady, the singular woman who keeps the chamber and the dais full, gladdens your platform in princely style. Your princess who avoids anger and is exceedingly wise, the princely daughter who prospers together with the Great Mountain, Shu-zi-ana, the junior wife of Father Enlil, has erected a house in your precinct, O Du-sag-dili, and taken her seat upon your dais.

86. 9 lines: the house of SHu-zi-ana in Ga-gi-mah.

87-95. O mighty Kesh, form of heaven and earth, arousing terror like a great horned viper, house of Ninhursaga, built in a terrifying place! Respected Kesh, your interior is a deep interior while your exterior is tall. Great lion …… on the high plain and roving about on the plain, great hill established by incantations, twilit interior in which moonlight does not shine, Nintur has made you beautiful -- O house Kesh, your brickwork and your moulding of it! Your terrace! Your exterior, a lustrous suh crown, and your building of it!

96-99. Your princess, the silencing princess, the true and great lady of heaven -- when she talks heaven trembles, when she opens her mouth a storm thunders -- Aruru, the sister of Enlil, has erected a house in your precinct, O house Kesh, and taken her seat upon your dais.

100. 13 lines: the house of Ninhursaga in Kesh.

101-108. O Urim, bull standing in the wet reeds, E-kish-nu-gal (House sending light to the earth (?)), calf of a great cow, …… light of holy heaven, ……, trap laid in a nest, Urim, container feeding all lands, you are a shrine in a pure place, earth of An -- O house of Suen, at your front a prince, at your back a ruler, your dining hall with adab songs, your great, holy banqueting hall with shem and ala drums! The light coming from you and your true lordship is a precious destiny.

109-117. Gipar, princely shrine of the holy divine powers, shining like the …… sun, E-kish-nu-gal, beaming moonlight which comes forth in the Land, broad light of midday which fills all lands, house, your platform is a great snake, a marsh of snakes. Your foundation is the abzu, fifty in number, and the engur, seven in number, a shrine which looks into the heart of the gods. Your prince, the prince who makes decisions, the crown of the wide heaven, the sovereign of heaven, Ashimbabbar, has erected a house in your precinct, O shrine Urim, and taken his seat upon your dais.

118. 17 lines: the house of Nanna in Urim.

119-128. O E-mu-mah (House with a magnificent name), rising mountain of heaven, your holy sides and your great foundation are a precious destiny. Interior full with princely divine powers, a beaming light which shines, shrine with your back to the blue sky and your prominent front to all people, in the Land it represents a binding agreement and a single track. Magnificent river with open mouth gathering together your …… divine powers, your base is great in awesomeness, a righteous hill grown in a broad place. Your lofty dwelling-place of magnificence with all the divine powers of princeship, ……, shouting ……; house of celebration, your platform gladdens the settlements.

129-133. House, your prince Shulgi has made it great and most princely. The perfect and magnificent ……, the mighty and great wind, adorned with the divine powers, determining destiny, SHulgi of An, has erected a house in your precinct, O E-hursag (House which is a hill), and taken his seat upon your dais.

134. 15 lines: addition: E-hursag of Shulgi in Urim.

135-139. O city, …… from the abzu like barley, cloudy plain, taking the divine powers from its midst, Kuara, your foundation and just banqueting hall, the lord who does not hold back his goods stands ready for admiration. The Seven Sages have enlarged it for you from the south to the uplands.

140-145. Your prince, the most precious prince Asarluhi, the most precious one, is a warrior, born a noble prince, a leopard who seizes prey. He is like an onrushing storm battering the rebel land. As long as it remains disobedient, he pours spittle upon it. Asar-alim-nuna, the son of the abzu, has erected a house in your precinct, O house Kuara, and taken his seat upon your dais.

146. 11 lines: the house of Asarluhi in Kuara.

147-156. O E-gud-du-shar (House with numerous perfect oxen) of holy nir stone in which its sovereign sits, raising a magnificent door decoration for the princely son, whose best fine oil is holy and well-prepared, Ga-bura (Chamber of bowls), holy cattle-pen pasturing cows with munzer plants, your prince is a great wild bull, an elephant rejoicing in its own strength, a wild cow growing horns and and delighting in its shining horns. The incantation priest of opposed languages who put clouds in the sky, the storm which roars in the sky, as the sunlight giving …… to the earth, Ningublaga, the son of Nanna, has erected a house in your precinct, O Ki-abrig, and taken his seat upon your dais.

157. 10 lines: the house of Ningublaga in Ki-abrig.

158-167. O shrine, great sanctuary founded at a cattle-pen, small shining city of Suen, Kar-zida (Pure quay), your interior is a mighty place, your foundation is holy and clean. Shrine, your gipar is founded in purity. Your door is of strong copper set up at a great place. Lowing cattle-pen, you raise your horns like a bull. Your prince, the lord of heaven standing in joy, …… at midday and ……, Ashimbabbar, has erected a house in your precinct, O Kar-zida, and taken his seat upon your dais.

168. 10 lines: the house of Nanna in Gaesh.

169-177. O house which comes forth from heaven, resplendent in Kulaba, shrine E-babbar (Shining house), shining bull, lift your neck to Utu who …… in the sky! Your shining horns are aggressive, holy and lustrous. Bearing a beard of shining lapis lazuli, ……, your prince, the mighty sunlight, the lord who …… the true word, who lightens the horizon, who lightens the sky's …… vault, Utu, the sovereign of E-babbar, has erected a house in your precinct, O house Larsam, and taken his seat upon your dais.

178. 9 lines: the house of Utu in Larsam.

179-185. O Enegir, great libation pipe, libation pipe to the underworld of Ereshkigala, Gudua (Entrance to the nether world) of Sumer where mankind is gathered, E-gida (Long house), in the land your shadow has stretched over the princes of the land. Your prince, the seed of the great lord, the sacred one of the great underworld, given birth by Ereshkigala, playing loudly on the zanaru instrument, sweet as the voice of a calf, Ninazu of the words of prayer, has erected a house in your precinct, O house Enegir, and taken his seat upon your dais.

186. 7 lines: the house of Ninazu in Enegir.

187-196. O primeval place, deep mountain founded in an artful fashion, shrine, terrifying place lying in a pasture, a dread whose lofty ways none can fathom, Gishbanda, neck-stock, meshed net, shackles of the great underworld from which none can escape, your exterior is raised up, prominent like a snare, your interior is where the sun rises, endowed with wide-spreading plenty. Your prince is the prince who stretches out his pure hand, the holy one of heaven, with luxuriant and abundant hair hanging at his back, Lord Ningishzida. Ningishzida has erected a house in your precinct, O Gishbanda, and taken his seat upon your dais.

197. 10 lines: the house of Ningishzida in Gishbanda.

198-203. O house with the great divine powers of Kulaba, ……, its platform has made the great shrine flourish. Green fresh fruit, marvellous, filled with ripeness, descending from the centre of heaven, shrine built for the bull, E-ana (House of heaven), house with seven corners, with seven fires lifted at night-time, surveying seven pleasures, your princess is on the pure horizon.

204-208. Your lady Inana who ……, who adorns the woman and covers the man's head with a cloth, the one with a lustrous …… suh crown, the dragon of Nigin-gar, the queen of heaven and earth, Inana, has erected a house in your precinct, O E-ana, and taken her seat upon your dais.

209. 11 lines: the house of Inana in Unug.

210-219. O house where lustrous herbs are strewn upon the flowery bed, the bed-chamber of holy Inana, where the lady of the plain refreshes herself! Brick-built E-mush (House which is the precinct) is flowery and holy, its …… clay established for him who tends the ewes on the high plain. Your …… house of Arali (House which is the nether world) gives shade to the shepherd. Your prince, a raging lion on the plain, the shuba jewel of the Mistress whose breast is holy and marvellous, the lord who is holy Inana's husband, Dumuzid, the sovereign of E-mush, has erected a house in your precinct, O Bad-tibira, and taken his seat upon your dais.

220. 10 lines: the house of Dumuzid in Bad-tibira.

221-228. O E-igizu-uru (House, your face is mighty), with plenty coming from within, your well-stocked chamber is a mountain of abundance. House, your fragrance is a mound of vines. Your true minister is a leader in heaven. House, your princess is prominent among the gods, the true minister of E-ana who holds a holy sceptre in her hand. Ninshubur, the true minister of E-ana, has erected a house in your precinct, O E-akkil (House of lamentation), and taken her seat upon your dais.

229. 8 lines: the house of Ninshubur in Akkil.

230-235. O city, founded upon a dais in the abzu, established for the rites of ishib priests, house where incantations of heaven and earth are recited,

4 lines fragmentary

236-238. …… lustration water in the holy heaven and on the pure earth. Ningirim, the lady of the shining lustration water, has erected a house in your precinct, O house Murum, and taken her seat upon your dais.

239. 9 lines: the house of Ningirim in Murum.

240-248. O E-ninnu (House of 50), right hand of Lagash, foremost in Sumer, the Anzud bird which gazes upon the mountain, the shar-ur weapon of …… Ningirsu, …… in all lands, the strength of battle, a terrifying storm which envelops men, giving the strength of battle to the Anuna, the great gods, brick building on whose holy mound destiny is determined, beautiful as the hills, your canal ……, your …… blowing in opposition at your gate facing towards Iri-kug, wine is poured into holy An's beautiful bowls set out in the open air.

249-254. Whatever enters you is unequalled, whatever leaves endures. ……, terrifying facade, house of radiance, a place of reaching judgement which Lord Ningirsu has filled with great awesomeness and dread! All the Anuna gods attend your great drinking-bouts.

255-261. Your prince, a raging storm which destroys cities in hostile lands, your sovereign, a terrifying wild ox which will manifest its strength, a terrifying lion which smashes heads, the warrior who devises strategies in lordship and attains victory in kingship, the mighty one, the great warrior in battle, the lord without rival, the son of Enlil, Lord Ningirsu, has erected a house in your precinct, O E-ninnu, and taken his seat upon your dais.

262. 22 lines: the house of Ningirsu in Lagash.

263-270. O Iri-kug (Holy city), shrine of holy An, which caused the human seed to come forth, called by a good name, within you is the river of ordeal which vindicates the just man. E-galga-sud (House which spreads counsel far and wide), storehouse which eternally possesses silver and lapis lazuli, E-tar-sirsir, from which decisions and the divine powers come forth, where the hero performs obeisance, your princess, the merciful princess of the Land, is the mother of all lands. The lady, the great healer of the black-headed who determines the destiny of her city, the first-born daughter of holy An, the maiden, Mother Bau, has erected a house in your precinct, O house Iri-kug, and taken her seat upon your dais.

271. 8 lines: the house of Bau in Iri-kug.

272-281. O house, wild cow ……, city which appears in splendour adorned for the princess, Sirara, great and princely place, your …… by the shrine, your lady Nanshe, a great storm, a mighty flood, born on the shore of the sea, who laughs on the foam of the sea, who plays on the water of the flood, who ……, Nanshe, the …… lady, has erected a house in your precinct, O house Sirara, and taken her seat upon your dais.

282. 10 lines: the house of Nanshe in Sirara.

283-292. O E-ab-shaga-la (House which stretches over the midst of the sea) built in a holy place, Gu-aba, your interior produces everything and is a well-established storehouse. Holy shrine, wild cow for which everything endures, your princess is Ningagia, the magnificent …… stewardess, the mighty …… of Father Enlil, who takes counsel with Lord Nunamnir. Born in ……, …… in the flood of the sea, like her …… father a controller of the pure sea, holy Ninmarki has erected a house in your precinct, O house Gu-aba, and taken her seat upon your dais.

293. 10 lines: the house of Ninmarki in Gu-aba.

294-301. O house Kinirsha, suited for its lady, ……, beautiful as a hill, standing by the ziqqurat, house, ……, place resounding loudly with happiness, house, your princess is a storm, riding on a lion, ……. Exalted in holy song and antiphony, singing with a loud voice, the child, the true wild cow, taken care of at the holy breast of the mother who begot

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her, Dumuzid-abzu, has erected a house in your precinct, O shrine Kinirsha, and taken her seat upon your dais.

302. 7 lines: the house of Dumuzid-abzu in Kinirsha.

303-310. O E-bur-sigsig (House with beautiful bowls) set up under heaven, mighty banqueting hall, fulfilling the commands, abundance of the midst of the sea in ……, at whose holy …… there is entreaty and joy. The faithful man has enlarged E-mah (Magnificent house), the house of SHara, for you in plenty. Your house E-mah -- whose prince is the princely son of the Mistress -- continues in good fortune, an area of abundance and well-being.

311-313. The one who arranges the hair at the nape of the neck, with the gaze of a wild cow, SHara, who …… good things, the son who allots the divine powers to his mother, has erected a house in your precinct, O house Umma, and taken his seat upon your dais.

314. 11 lines: the house of SHara in Umma.

315-320. O E-sherzi-guru (House clad in splendour) dressed with ornaments of shuba stone, great awesomeness, Nigin-gar of holy Inana, adorned throughout with the divine powers which are true, Zabalam, shrine of the shining mountain, shrine of …… dawn, which has resounded with pleasure, the Mistress has founded your good banqueting hall for you in pleasure.

321-326. Your lady Inana, the ……, the singular woman, the dragon who speaks hostile words to ……, who shines in brightness, who goes against the rebel land, through whom the firmament is made beautiful in the evening, the great daughter of Suen, holy Inana, has erected a house in your precinct, O house Zabalam, and taken her seat upon your dais.

327. 12 lines: the house of Inana in Zabalam.

328-345. O house inspiring terror like a great lion, making as clear as day the decisions for those on the high plain, house of Ishkur, at your front is abundance, at your rear is celebration. Your foundation is a horned bull, a lion. Holy staff, teat of heaven with rain for fine barley, the pilasters of your house are a wild bull with outspread horns, your ……, foundation and wall rising high, ……, thick cloud, …… snake, …… moonlight, …… Ishkur, a sweeping flood, …… a storm and seven raging winds, ……, blowing raging winds, …… running from the ……, splits the …… hillside, diorite, stones and …….

[2 lines missing / 1 line fragmentary]

346-350. The ……, the seed of the Land, the ……, the …… prince, the canal inspector of heaven and earth, the …… living, the numerous people, the ……, Ishkur, has erected a house in your precinct, O house Karkara, and taken his seat upon your dais.

351. 23 lines: the house of Ishkur in Karkara.

352-361. O ……, bolt founded by An,

[4 lines fragmentary / 1 line missing / 1 line fragmentary / approx. 2 lines missing]

…… has erected a house in your precinct, O ……, and taken a seat upon your dais.

362. 10 (?) lines: the house of …… in …….

363-377.

[2 lines missing]

1 line fragmentary An has …… your platform. E-mah (Exalted house), house of the universe, suited for its lady, your front inspires great awesomeness, your interior is filled with radiance. Mother Nintur, Enlil and Enki have determined your destiny. E-suga (Joyous house) which ……, life of the black-headed, An has given you the magnificent divine powers from the interior of heaven. As in Kesh, Ninhursaga has blessed your priests maintaining the shrine in the holy uzga precinct. House with great divine powers, a pure platform and cleansing lustration, Ashgi, the god of Adab, has erected a house in your precinct, O Adab, O house situated at a canal, O house Adab, and taken his seat upon your dais.

378. 15 lines: the house of Ninhursaga in Adab.

379-391. O Isin, city founded by An which he has built on an empty plain! Its front is mighty, its interior is artfully built, its divine powers are divine powers which An has determined. Shrine which Enlil loves, place where An and Enlil determine destinies, place where the great gods dine, filled with great awesomeness and terror: all the Anuna gods attend your great drinking-bouts. Your princess, the mother, the Mistress adorned with jewels of shuba stone, who maintains the holy place's Nigin-gar, who binds the suh crown on the nugig priestess, who causes the seven teats to flow for the nubar priestess, has resounded with seven pleasures.

392-394. Your lady, the great healer of the Land, Ninisina, the daughter of An, has erected a house in your precinct, O house Isin, and taken her seat upon your dais.

395. 16 lines: the house of Ninisina in Isin.

396-405. O Kazallu, your crown reaches to the centre of heaven, shining, …… an object of admiration. Your prince is the seed of a bull, engendered by a wild bull in ……, a magnificent …… with sparkling eyes, a lord with the teeth of a lion, who snatches the calf with his claws, who snatches ……. …… who snatches ……, the …… who gives strength to the ……, the great lord Numushda, has erected a house in your precinct, O Kun-satu (Threshold of the mountain), O Kazallu, and taken his seat upon your dais.

406. 10 lines: the house of Numushda in Kazallu.

407-414. O E-igi-kalama (House which is the eye of the Land), your foundation is firmly laid, growing hill which stands broadly on the earth, …… the enemies' land,

[3 lines fragmentary / approx. 1 line missing]

…… has erected a house in your precinct, O ……, and taken a seat upon your dais.

415. 8 lines: the house of Lugal-Marda in Marda.

416-423. O Dēr (Akkadian name; a Sumerian name is unknown) , taking extreme care of decisions, ……, on your awesome and radiant gate a decoration displays a horned viper and a mushhush embracing. Your prince, a leader of the gods, fit for giving counsel and grand speech, the son of Urash who knows thoroughly the true divine powers of princeship, Ishtaran, the …… sovereign of heaven, has erected a house in your precinct, O E-dim-gal-kalama (House which is the great pole of the Land), and taken his seat upon your dais.

424. 8 lines: the house of Ishtaran in Dēr.

425-435. O E-sikil (Pure house) whose pure divine powers are supreme in all lands, whose name is high and mighty, magnificent dwelling of the warrior, holy house of Ninazu, house of the holy divine powers! House, your divine powers are pure divine powers, your lustration is a cleansing lustration. The warrior refreshes himself in your dwelling. Ninazu dines on your platform. Your sovereign, the great lord, the son of Enlil, is a towering lion spitting venom over hostile lands, rising like the south wind against enemy lands, snarling like a dragon against the walls of rebel lands, a storm enveloping the disobedient and trampling on the enemy.

436-446. When he strides forth, no evil-doer can escape. When he establishes his triumph, the cities of the rebel lands are destroyed. When he frowns, their people are cast into the dust. House, your prince is a great lion from whose claws the enemy hangs. Your sovereign is a terrifying, mighty storm, the vigour of the battle, in combat …… like a …… with a shield on his lofty arm, a net over the widespread people from whose reach the foe cannot escape. When the great lord is resplendent, his magnificence has no equal. The true seed born of the Great Mountain and Ninlil, your sovereign, the warrior Ninazu, has erected a house in your precinct, O E-sikil, O Eshnunna, and taken his seat upon your dais.

447. 22 lines: the house of Ninazu in Eshnunna.

448-455. O house built in plenitude, Kish, raising its head among the princely divine powers, established settlement, your great foundation cannot be scattered. Your plinth is a vast oppressive cloud floating in the midst of the sky. Your interior is a weapon, a mace decorated with ……. Your right hand makes mountains tremble, your left thins out the enemy. Your prince, mighty and magnificent, a great storm overpowering the earth, inspiring great and terrifying awe, your sovereign, the warrior Zababa, has erected a house in your precinct, O E-dub (Storage house), O house Kish, and taken his seat upon your dais.

456. 8 lines: the house of Zababa in Kish.

457-466. O E-gishkeshda-kalama (House which is the bond of the Land), bull …… great strength among the gods, terrifying wild cow, wild bull which causes lament, Gudua, your quay is a low quay which bestows water, your interior is artfully built, your mace is a …… mace released from heaven, your platform is a lustrous platform spreading over Meshlam. Your prince, the mighty god, the sovereign of Meshlam, the fierce god of the underworld, the sovereign of Ud-shush (Sunset), Nergal, Meshlamta-ea, has erected a house in your precinct, and taken his seat upon your dais.

467. 10 lines: the house of Nergal in Gudua.

468-477. O mighty Urum where Suen pronounces judgement, E-ab-lua (House with teeming cattle), wide cattle-yard, Ashimbabbar acts as your shepherd. House, my sovereign, your sceptre reaches to heaven, …… to the earth, moonlight ……, celebration, your …… may …… the light. Your prince, the prince of holy celebration, ……, who appears in the lapis lazuli coloured sky, a celebration, to whom the hero pays homage ……, who brightens the Land, …… Suen, has erected a house in your precinct, O house Urum, and taken his seat upon your dais.

478. 10 lines: the house of Suen in Urum.

479-488. O Zimbir, dais upon which Utu sits daily, E-nun-ana (House of the prince of heaven), star of heaven, crown given birth by Ningal, house of Utu, your prince, the …… of the universe, fills heaven and earth. When the lord sleeps, the people sleep; when he rises, the people rise. The bull …… and the people prostrate themselves. Before Utu the herds pasture ……. The black-headed have bathed before him, the Land has …… before him. He measures out the divine powers -- your shrine is a flood.

489-492. Pronouncing judgement where the sun rises, mighty sunlight, wearing a beard, tying on the suh crown at night, Utu, the sovereign of E-babbar (Shining house), has erected a house in your precinct, O house Zimbir, and taken his seat upon your dais.

493. 14 lines: the house of Utu in Zimbir.

494-499. O E-hursag (House which is a mountain) beautiful as greenery, …… (The Sumerian name of this city is unknown) , your interior is plenitude. At the place where destiny is determined you determine destiny. May the crown bring joy to your platform. May your roots glisten like an immense sagkal snake in your holy foundations.

500-505. Mother Nintur, the lady of creation, performs her task within your dark place, binding the true suh crown on the new-born king, setting the crown on the new-born lord who is secure in her hand. The midwife of heaven and earth, Ninhursaga, has erected a house in your precinct, O house ……, and taken her seat upon your dais.

506. 12 lines: the house of Ninhursaga in …….

507-513. O Ulmash, upper land, …… of the Land, terrifying lion battering a wild bull, net spreading over an enemy, making silence fall upon a rebel land on which, as long as it remains insubmissive, spittle is poured! House of Inana of silver and lapis lazuli, a storehouse built of gold, your princess is an arabu bird, the Mistress of the Nigin-gar.

514-518. Arrayed in battle, jubilantly beautiful, ready with the seven maces, washing her tools for battle, opening the door of battle and ……, the extremely wise one of heaven, Inana, has erected a house in your precinct, O house Ulmash, and taken her seat upon your dais.

519. 12 lines: the house of Inana in Ulmash.

520-523. O house, right arm, battle-axe cutting down the rebel lands, digging up their green fields,

2 lines fragmentary

524-527. Your prince, the warrior who ……, who defeats all in battle, exulting ……, Aba, the god of Agade, has erected a house in your precinct, O house Agade, and taken his seat upon your dais.

528. 8 lines: the house of Aba in Agade.

529-534. O house of stars, bright E-zagin (Lapis lazuli house), reaching into all lands, establishing …… in the shrine, Eresh! The primeval lords raise their heads to you every month. …… the potash plant, great Nanibgal, Nisaba, has brought divine powers from heaven and added to your divine powers.

535-542. Sanctuary established for ……! To the true woman who possesses exceeding wisdom, soothing …… and opening the mouth, always consulting a tablet of lapis lazuli, giving advice to all lands, the true woman, the holy potash plant, born of the stylus reed, applies the measure to heaven and places the measuring-rope on the earth -- to Nisaba be praise!

543-544. The compiler of the tablets was En-hedu-ana. My king, something has been created that no one has created before.

545. 14 lines: the house of Nisaba in Eresh.

THE THREE EPIC CYCLES OF THE HEROES ENMERKAR, LUGALBANDA AND GILGAMESH

(There are 3 epic cycles that belong together: 2 ENMERKAR LEGENDS (Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta and Enmerkar and En-suhgir-ana); 2 TALES OF LUGALBANDA (the father of Gilgamesh) during Enmerkar's campaign against Aratta (Lugalbanda in the Mountain Cave and Lugalbanda and the Anzud Bird); and, besides the famous Gilgamesh Epic, there are another 5 stories in the GILGAMESH EPIC CYCLE (1. Gilgamesh and Huwawa [version A, version B], 2. Gilgamesh and the Bull of Heaven, 3. Gilgamesh and Aga, 4. Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Netherworld, and The Death of Gilgamesh)

Enmerkar was an ancient Sumerian ruler to whom the construction of Uruk and a 420-year reign was attributed. According to literary sources, he led various campaigns against the land of Aratta. The tradition of Enmerkar as the founder of Uruk seems to date from the Jemdet Nasr period (3100-2900 BC) as found in the AD-Gl4 (JCS 65) list by Miguel Civil, (also known as 'Archaic Word List C' or 'Tribute'; Academia). The lexical list mentions Enmerkar and his wife Enmerkarzi as the builders of a town and the bringers of agriculture. A bilingual edition of the list has been found at Nineveh, indicating that the tradition was transmitted into the first millennium. Despite his proclaimed divine descent from the poems, Enmerkar was not deified as his successors Lugalbanda and Gilgamesh. These two last kings were already listed in the god lists of Shuruppak and received offerings during the Sumerian renaissance. It concluded that Enmerkar was only remembered as the founder and first king of Uruk.

There seem to be parallels between Enmerkar, builder of Uruk, and Nimrod, ruler of biblical Erech (Uruk), who, according to some extra-biblical legends, was supposedly the architect of the Tower of Babel. One parallel Rohl has noted is between the epithet "the Hunter", applied to Nimrod, and the suffix -kar at the end of Enmerkar's name, which means "hunter". In fact, each Mesopotamian city had its own ziggurat which always was built as step pyramid; like the

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largest existing ziggurat which is located in Choga Zanbil in the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta is a legendary Sumerian account, of preserved, early post-Sumerian copies, composed in the Neo-Sumerian period (ca. 21st century BC). It is one of a series of accounts describing the conflicts between Enmerkar, king of Unug-Kulaba (Uruk), and the king of Aratta (probably somewhere in modern Iran or Armenia). Because it gives a Sumerian account of the "confusion of tongues", and also involves Enmerkar constructing temples at Eridu and Uruk, it has been compared with the Tower of Babel narrative in the Book of Genesis.

The narrative could reflect history as well as literature. A tablet from Uruk recording the title "Lord of Aratta" was given as a reason to believe the traditions surrounding Enmerkar's deeds were based in reality. There are scholarly suggestions that Enmerkar and his administration may be factually attributed as the first person / people to put cuneiform to clay tablets; and that writing did indeed exist before Enmerkar, citing the fact that the Lord of Aratta understood the message, but those writing were previously done in different materials.

Enmerkar, king of Uruk, wants to embellish his city with precious metals and stones, goods that are only found in the wealthy city of Aratta, which lies behind the mountains. Inanna, which is the goddess of Aratta, favours Enmerkar and advises him to send a messenger with a challenge to Aratta, requisitioning what he wants and enforcing his claim by stating that she favours him. Enmerkar casts the spell of Nudimmud, which makes Enlil reunite all the languages (of Shubur, Hamazi, Sumer, Akkad, and the Martu land) into one in order to be debates between kings. The lord of Aratta refuses but wants to enter into a contest with Enmerkar to see on which side is Inanna on. The unnamed lord of Aratta sends three riddles to reconsider his submission: "1st To cart grain to Aratta in open nets instead of bags, Enmerkar uses sprouting barley to close the interstices of the nets so that no grain is spilled. 2nd To bring a scepter made of no existing material, Enmerkar prepares a gluelike plastic substance that he pours into a hollow reed; after it has hardened, he breaks away the reed mold. 3rd To bring a dog of no known colour to fight his own dog, to which Enmerkar weaves a cloth of no known colour." The messenger complains that the messages have become too long and difficult to remember and reproduce. Enmerkar invents writing, which throws the lord of Aratta into despair. The land of Aratta suffers famine and drought. Inanna confirms her predilection for Enmerkar but also tells him to institute peaceful trade with Aratta from now on.

Enmerkar and Ensuhgirana

Ensuhgirana, lord of Aratta, claims to be the recipient of Inanna's favours and demands the submission of Uruk. Enmerkar refuses and points out that he is the only true and constant lover of Inanna, however, the lord of Aratta refuses to submit to Uruk. A sorcerer from Hamazi offers his services to break the stalemate, services which are accepted by Enshugirana. The wizard casts a spell on the cattle of the goddess Nisaba, and there is a famine in Sumer. Utu sends a wise woman who catches up with the wizard on the banks of the Euphrates, both start a competition of magic. The wizard throws fish spawn in the river and draws out an animal; five times the wise woman draws out another animal which hunts the wizard's animal. The wizard admits his defeat and pleads for his life, but he is killed and the spell is broken. Ensuhgirana admits defeat and submits to Enmerkar.

Lugalbanda poems

Enmerkar marches against Aratta, his warchief Lugalbanda falls ill and is abandoned in a cave. He feasts Anzud's chick and gains the legendary bird's favour. Lugalbanda is rewarded with the gift of speed and goes to Enmerkar, who is laying siege to Aratta. The king sends Lugalbanda to ask for Inanna's advice in Uruk, which does. At the end, Aratta submits. The text also mentions that fifty years into Enmerkar's reign, the Martu people had arisen in all of Sumer and Akkad, necessitating the building of a wall in the desert to protect Uruk.)

ENMERKAR CYCLE

ENMERKAR AND THE LORD OF ARATTA

Translation: ETCSL (t.1.8.2.3; University of Oxford, 2003)
Estimated Range of Dating:

1-24. City, majestic bull bearing vigour and great awesome splendour, Kulaba, ……, breast of the storm, where destiny is determined; Unug, great mountain, in the midst of ……. There the evening meal of the great abode of An was set. In those days of yore, when the destinies were determined, the great princes allowed Unug Kulaba's E-ana to lift its head high. Plenty, and carp floods, and the rain which brings forth dappled barley were then increased in Unug Kulaba. Before the land of Dilmun yet existed, the E-ana of Unug Kulaba was well founded, and the holy gipar of Inana in brick-built Kulaba shone forth like the silver in the lode. Before …… carried ……, before ……, before …… carried ……, before the commerce was practised; before gold, silver, copper, tin, blocks of lapis lazuli, and mountain stones were brought down together from their mountains, before …… bathed for the festival, ……, …… time passed.

[2 lines missing]

25-32. …… was colourfully adorned, and ……, the holy place, was …… with flawless lapis lazuli, its interior beautifully formed like a white mesh tree bearing fruit. The lord of Aratta placed on his head the golden crown for Inana. But he did not please her like the lord of Kulaba. Aratta did not build for holy Inana -- unlike the Shrine E-ana, the gipar, the holy place, unlike brick-built Kulaba.

33-37. At that time, the lord chosen by Inana in her heart, chosen by Inana in her holy heart from the bright mountain, Enmerkar, the son of Utu, made a plea to his sister, the lady who grants desires, holy Inana:

38-64. "My sister, let Aratta fashion gold and silver skilfully on my behalf for Unug. Let them cut the flawless lapis lazuli from the blocks, let them …… the translucence of the flawless lapis lazuli ……. …… build a holy mountain in Unug. Let Aratta build a temple brought down from heaven -- your place of worship, the Shrine E-ana; let Aratta skilfully fashion the interior of the holy gipar, your abode; may I, the radiant youth, may I be embraced there by you. Let Aratta submit beneath the yoke for Unug on my behalf. Let the people of Aratta bring down for me the mountain stones from their mountain, build the great shrine for me, erect the great abode for me, make the great abode, the abode of the gods, famous for me, make my me prosper in Kulaba, make the abzu grow for me like a holy mountain, make Eridug gleam for me like the mountain range, cause the abzu shrine to shine forth for me like the silver in the lode. When in the abzu I utter praise, when I bring the me from Eridug, when, in lordship, I am adorned with the crown like a purified shrine, when I place on my head the holy crown in Unug Kulaba, then may the …… of the great shrine bring me into the gipar, and may the …… of the gipar bring me into the great shrine. May the people marvel admiringly, and may Utu witness it in joy."

65-68. Thereupon the splendour of holy An, the lady of the mountains, the wise, the goddess whose kohl is for Ama-ushumgal-ana, Inana, the lady of all the lands, called to Enmerkar, the son of Utu:

69-104. "Come, Enmerkar! I shall offer you advice: let my counsel be heeded. I shall speak words to you; let them be heard. Choose from the troops as a messenger one who is eloquent of speech and endowed with endurance. Where and to whom shall he carry the important message of wise Inana? Let him bring it up into the Zubi mountains, let him descend with it from the Zubi mountains. Let Susa and the land of Anshan humbly salute Inana like tiny mice. In the great mountain ranges, let the teeming multitudes grovel in the dust for her. Aratta shall submit beneath the yoke to Unug. The people of Aratta shall bring down the mountain stones from their mountains, and shall build the great shrine for you, and erect the great abode for you, will cause the great abode, the abode of the gods, to shine forth for you; will make your me flourish in Kulaba, will make the abzu grow for you like a holy mountain, will make Eridug shining for you like the mountain range, will cause the abzu shrine to shine forth for you like the glitter in the lode. When in the abzu you utter praise, when you bring the me from Eridug, when, in lordship, you are adorned with the crown like a purified shrine, when you place on your head the holy crown in Unug Kulaba, then may the …… of the great shrine bring you into the gipar, and may the …… of the gipar bring you into the great shrine. May the people marvel admiringly, and may Utu witness it in joy. Because …… shall carry daily, when …… in the evening cool ……, -- in the place of Dumuzid where the ewes, kids and lambs are numerous, the people of Aratta shall run around for you like the mountain sheep in the akalag fields, the fields of Dumuzid. Rise like the sun over my holy breast! You are the jewel of my throat! Praise be to you, Enmerkar, the son of Utu!"

105-107. The lord gave heed to the words of holy Inana, and chose from the troops as a messenger one who was eloquent of speech and endowed with endurance. [(1 ms. adds:) …… to his messenger …….] Where and to whom will he carry the important message of wise Inana?

108-133. "You shall bring it up into the Zubi mountains, you shall descend with it from the Zubi mountains. Let Susa and the land of Anshan humbly salute Inana like tiny mice. In the great mountain ranges, let the teeming multitudes grovel in the dust for her. Messenger, speak to the lord of Aratta and say to him: "Lest I make the people fly off from that city like a wild dove from its tree, lest I make them fly around like a bird over its well-founded nest, lest I requite (?) them as if at a current market rate, lest I make it gather dust like an utterly destroyed city, lest like a settlement cursed by Enki and utterly destroyed, I too utterly destroy Aratta; lest like the devastation which swept destructively, and in whose wake Inana arose, shrieked and yelled aloud, I too wreak a sweeping devastation there -- let Aratta pack nuggets of gold in leather sacks, placing alongside it the kugmea ore; package up precious metals, and load the packs on the donkeys of the mountains; and then may the Junior Enlil of Sumer have them build for me, the lord whom Nudimmud has chosen in his sacred heart, a mountain of a shining me; have them make it luxuriant for me like a boxwood tree, have them make its shining horns colourful for me as when Utu comes forth from his chamber, have them make its doorposts gleam brightly for me.""

134-155. "Chant to him the holy song, the incantation sung in its chambers -- the incantation of Nudimmud: "On that day when there is no snake, when there is no scorpion, when there is no hyena, when there is no lion, when there is neither dog nor wolf, when there is thus neither fear nor trembling, man has no rival! At such a time, may the lands of Shubur and Hamazi, the many-tongued, and Sumer, the great mountain of the me of magnificence, and Akkad, the land possessing all that is befitting, and the Martu land, resting in security -- the whole universe, the well-guarded people -- may they all address Enlil together in a single language! For at that time, for the ambitious lords, for the ambitious princes, for the ambitious kings, Enki, for the ambitious lords, for the ambitious princes, for the ambitious kings, for the ambitious lords, for the ambitious princes, for the ambitious kings -- Enki, the lord of abundance and of steadfast decisions, the wise and knowing lord of the Land, the expert of the gods, chosen for wisdom, the lord of Eridug, shall change the speech in their mouths, as many as he had placed there, and so the speech of mankind is truly one.""

156-157. The lord added further instructions for the messenger going to the mountains, to Aratta:

158-159. "Messenger, by night, drive on like the south wind! By day, be up like the dew!"

160-175. The messenger gave heed to the words of his king. He journeyed by the starry night, and by day he travelled with Utu of heaven. Where and to whom will he carry the important message of Inana with its stinging tone? He brought it up into the Zubi mountains, he descended with it from the Zubi mountains. Susa and the land of Anshan humbly saluted Inana like tiny mice. In the great mountain ranges, the teeming multitudes grovelled in the dust for her. He traversed five mountains, six mountains, seven mountains. He lifted his eyes as he approached Aratta. He stepped joyfully into the courtyard of Aratta, he made known the authority of his king. Openly he spoke out the words in his heart. The messenger transmitted the message to the lord of Aratta:

176-178. "Your father, my master, has sent me to you; the lord of Unug, the lord of Kulaba, has sent me to you." "What is it to me what your master has spoken? What is it to me what he has said?"

179-207. "This is what my master has spoken, this is what he has said. My king who from his birth has been fitted [for lordship] [(1 ms. has instead:) for the crown], the lord of Unug, the sagkal snake living in Sumer, who pulverises [mountains] [(2 mss. have instead:) heads] like flour, the stag of the tall mountains, endowed with princely antlers, wild cow, kid pawing the holy soapwort with its hoof, whom the good cow had given birth to in the heart of the mountains, Enmerkar, the son of Utu, has sent me to you." (the lord of Aratta speaks): "What is it to me what your master has spoken? what is it to me what he has said?") "This is what my master said: "Lest I make the people fly off from that city like a wild dove from its tree, lest I make them fly around like a bird over its well-founded nest, lest I requite them as if at a current market rate, lest I make it gather dust like an utterly destroyed city, lest like a settlement cursed by Enki and utterly destroyed, I too utterly destroy Aratta; lest like the devastation which swept destructively, and in whose wake Inana arose, shrieked and yelled aloud, I too wreak a sweeping devastation there -- let Aratta pack nuggets of gold in leather sacks, placing alongside it the kugmea ore; package up precious metals, and load the packs on the donkeys of the mountains; and then may the Junior Enlil of Sumer have them build for me, the lord whom Nudimmud has chosen in his sacred heart, a mountain of a shining me; have them make it luxuriant for me like a boxwood tree, have them make its shining horns colourful for me as when Utu comes forth from his chamber, have them make its doorposts gleam brightly for me. Chant to him for me the holy song, the incantation sung in its chambers -- the Incantation of Nudimmud.""

208-217. "Say whatever you will say to me, and I shall announce that message in the shrine E-ana as glad tidings to the scion of him with the glistening beard, whom his stalwart cow gave birth to in the mountain of the shining me, who was reared on the soil of Aratta, who was given suck at the udder of the good cow, who is suited for office in Kulaba, the mountain of great me, to Enmerkar, the son of Utu; I shall repeat it in his gipar, fruitful as a flourishing mesh tree, to my king, the lord of Kulaba."

218-226. When he had spoken thus to him, (the lord of Aratta replied): "Messenger, speak to your king, the lord of

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Kulaba, and say to him: "It is I, the lord suited to purification, I whom the huge heavenly neck-stock, the queen of heaven and earth, the goddess of the numerous me, holy Inana, has brought to Aratta, the mountain of the shining me, I whom she has let bar the entrance of the mountains as if with a great door. How then shall Aratta submit to Unug? Aratta's submission to Unug is out of the question!" Say this to him."

227-235. When he had spoken thus to him, the messenger replied to the lord of Aratta: "The great queen of heaven, who rides upon the awesome me, dwelling on the peaks of the bright mountains, adorning the dais of the bright mountains -- my lord and master, who is her servant, has had them instal her as the divine queen of E-ana. Aratta shall bow, O lord, in absolute submission! She has spoken to him thus, in brick-built Kulaba."

236-241. Thereupon, the lord became depressed and deeply troubled. He had no answer; he was searching for an answer. He stared at his own feet, trying to find an answer. He found an answer and gave a cry. He bellowed the answer to the message like a bull to the messenger:

242-273. "Messenger! Speak to your king, the lord of Kulaba, and say to him: "This great mountain range is a mesh tree grown high to the sky; its roots form a net, and its branches are a snare. It may be a sparrow but it has the talons of an Anzud bird or of an eagle. The barrier of Inana is perfectly made and is impenetrable (?). Those eagle talons make the blood of the enemy run from the bright mountain. Although in Aratta there is weeping ……, water libations are offered and flour is sprinkled; on the mountain, sacrifices and prayers are offered in obeisance. With fewer than five or 10 men, how can mobilised Unug proceed against the Zubi mountains? Your king is heading in all haste against my military might, but I am equally eager for a contest. (As the proverb goes,) he who ignores a rival, does not get to eat everything up, like the bull which ignores the bull at its side. But he who acknowledges a contest can be the outright winner, like the bull which acknowledges the bull at its side -- or does he reject me in this contest? Like ……, …… can match no one -- or does he still reject me in this contest? Again, I have words to say to you, messenger: I have an artful proposal to make to you ……, may it get across to you ……. Repeat this to your master, to the lord of Kulaba, a lion lying on its paws in E-ana, a bull bellowing within it, within his gipar, fruitful as a flourishing mesh tree. The mountain range is a warrior, …… high, like Utu going to his abode at twilight, like one from whose face blood drips; or like Nanna, who is majestic in the high heavens, like him whose countenance shines with radiance, who …… is like the woods in the mountains.""

274-280. " "Now if Enmerkar just makes straight for the …… of Aratta, for the benevolent protective spirit of the mountain of holy powers, for Aratta, which is like a bright crown of heaven, then I shall make my pre-eminence clear, and he need not pour barley into sacks, nor have it carted, nor have that barley carried into the settlements, nor place collectors over the labourers.""

281-293. " "But if he were actually to have barley poured into carrying-nets, and to have it loaded on the packasses at whose sides reserve donkeys have been placed, and were to have it heaped up in a pile in the courtyard of Aratta -- were he really to heap it up in such a manner; and were Inana, the luxuriance of the grain pile, who is the 'illuminator of the lands', the 'ornament of the settlements', who adorns the seven walls, who is the heroic lady, fit for battle, who, as the heroine of the battleground, makes the troops dance the dance of Inana -- were she actually to cast off Aratta as if to a carrion-pursuing dog, then in that case I should submit to him; he would indeed have made me know his preeminence; like the city, I in my smallness would submit to him." So say to him."

294-307. After he had spoken thus to him, the lord of Aratta made the messenger repeat the message just as he himself had said it. The messenger turned on his thigh like a wild cow; like a sand fly he went on his way in the morning calm. He set foot joyfully in brick-built Kulaba. The messenger rushed to the great courtyard, the courtyard of the throne room. He repeated it word perfect to his master, the lord of Kulaba; he even bellowed at him like a bull, and Enmerkar listened to him like an ox driver. The king had him sit …… at his right side. As he turned his left side to him, he said: "Does Aratta really understand the implications of his own stratagem?"

308-338. After day had broken and Utu had risen, the sun god of the Land lifted his head high. The king combined the Tigris with the Euphrates. He combined the Euphrates with the Tigris. Large vessels were placed in the open air, and he stood small vessels beside them, like lambs lying on the grass. …… vessels were placed in the open air adjacent to them. Then the king, Enmerkar, the son of Utu, placed wide apart the eshda vessels, which were of gold. Thereupon, the …… clay tablet, the pointed stylus of the assembly, the golden statue fashioned on a propitious day, beautiful Nanibgal, grown with a fair luxuriance, Nisaba, the lady of broad wisdom, opened for him her holy house of wisdom. He entered the palace of heaven, and became attentive. Then the lord opened his mighty storehouse, and firmly set his great lidga measure on the ground. The king removed his old barley from the other barley; he soaked the greenmalt all through with water; its lip …… the hirin plant. He narrowed the meshes of the carrying nets. He measured out in full (?) the barley for the granary, adding for the teeth of locusts. He had it loaded on the packasses at whose sides reserve donkeys were placed. The king, the lord of broad wisdom, the lord of Unug, the lord of Kulaba, despatched them directly to Aratta. He made the people go on to Aratta on their own, like ants out of crevices. Again the lord added instructions for the messenger going to the mountains, to Aratta:

339-346. "Messenger, speak to the lord of Aratta and say to him: "The base of my sceptre is the divine power of magnificence. Its crown provides a protective shade over Kulaba; under its spreading branches holy Inana refreshes herself in the shrine E-ana. Let him snap off a splinter from it and hold that in his hand; let him hold it in his hand like a string of cornelian beads, a string of lapis lazuli beads. Let the lord of Aratta bring that before me." So say to him."

347-365. After he had thus spoken to him, the messenger went on his way to Aratta; his feet raised the dust of the road, and made the little pebbles of the hills thud; like a dragon prowling the desert, he was unopposed. After the messenger reached Aratta, the people of Aratta stepped forward to admire the packasses. In the courtyard of Aratta, the messenger measured out in full (?) the barley for the granary, adding for the teeth of locusts. As if from the rains of heaven and the sunshine, Aratta was filled with abundance. As when the gods return to their seats (?), Aratta's hunger was sated. The people of Aratta covered their fields with the water-soaked greenmalt. Afterwards, couriers and shatam officials …….

[2 lines unclear]

366-370. The citizens of Aratta were mindful; he revealed the matter to Aratta. Consequently, in Aratta, from the hand ……. …… his hand …… to the lord of Unug.

371-372. "As for us, in the direst hunger, in our direst famine, let us prostrate ourselves before the lord of Kulaba!"

373-377. The eloquent elders wrung their hands in despair, leaning against the wall; indeed, they were even placing their treasuries at the disposal of the lord. His sceptre …… in the palace ……. Openly he spoke out the words in his heart:

378-379. "Your father, my master, sent me to you. Enmerkar, the son of Utu, sent me to you."

380-388. "What is it to me what your master has spoken? What is it to me what he has said?" "This is what my master has spoken, this is what he has said: "The base of my sceptre is the divine power of magnificence. Its crown provides a protective shade over Kulaba; under its spreading branches holy Inana refreshes herself in the shrine E-ana.Let him snap off a splinter from it and hold that in his hand; let him hold it in his hand like a string of cornelian beads, a string of lapis lazuli beads. Let the lord of Aratta bring that before me. So say to him.""

389-393. After he had spoken thus to him, for that reason he went inside the sanctuary …… and lay himself down in a fast. Day broke. He discussed the matter at length, he spoke unspeakable words; he circulated with this matter as if it were barley eaten by a donkey.

394-396. And what did one speak to another? What did one say to another? What one said to another, so indeed it was.

397-411. "Messenger, speak to your king, the lord of Kulaba, and say to him: "Let him put in his hand and contemplate a sceptre that is not of wood, nor designated as wood [-- not ildag wood, nor shim-gig wood, not cedar wood, nor cypress wood, not hashur cypress, nor palm wood, not hardwood, nor zabalum wood] [(1 ms. has instead:) -- not ildag wood, nor shim-gig wood, not hashur cypress, nor palm wood, not cedar wood, nor zabalum wood, not cypress wood, nor hardwood], not poplar as in a chariot, not reedwork as in whip handles; not gold, nor copper, not genuine kugmea metal nor silver, not cornelian, nor lapis lazuli -- let him snap off a splinter from that and hold it in his hand; let him hold it in his hand like a string of cornelian beads, a string of lapis lazuli beads. Let the lord of Kulaba bring that before me." So say to him."

412-443. After he had spoken to him thus, the messenger went off like a young donkey, braying as it is cut off from the chariot tongue; he trotted like an onager running on dry land, he filled his mouth with wind; he ran in one track (?) like a long-woolled sheep butting other sheep in its fury. He set foot joyfully in brick-built Kulaba. He transmitted the message word for word to his master, the lord of Kulaba. Now Enki gave Enmerkar wisdom, and the lord gave instructions to his chief steward. In his house ……, the king received ……. He wrapped it up like ……, and inspected it. He pounded …… with a pestle like herbs, he poured it like oil on the …… reed. From the sunlight it emerged into the shade, and from the shade it emerged into the sunlight. After five years, 10 years had passsed, he split the …… reed with an axe. The lord looked at it, pleased, and poured on …… fine oil, fine oil of the bright mountains. The lord placed the sceptre in the hands of the messenger going to the mountains. The messenger, whose journeying to Aratta was like a pelican over the hills, like a fly over the ground, who darted through the mountains as swiftly as carp swim, reached Aratta. He set foot joyfully in the courtyard of Aratta, and put the sceptre in ……. He …… and …… it. The lord of Aratta, eying the sceptre, which was shining awesomely in the sanctuary, his holy dwelling -- he, the lord, called to his shatam official:

444-453. "Aratta is indeed like a slaughtered sheep! Its roads are inded like those of the rebel lands! Since holy Inana has given the primacy of Aratta to the lord of Kulaba, now it seems that holy Inana is looking with favour on her man who has sent a messenger to make the severe message as clear as the light of Utu. So in Aratta where can one go in this crisis? How long before the yoke-rope becomes bearable? As for us, in the direst hunger, in our direst famine, are we to prostrate ourselves before the lord of Kulaba?"

454-455. The lord of Aratta entrusted a message to the messenger as if it were an important tablet:

456-461. "Messenger! Speak to your master, the lord of Kulaba, and say to him: "A champion who is not black-coloured, a champion who is not white-coloured, a champion who is not brown-coloured, a champion who is not red-coloured, a champion who is not yellow-coloured, a champion who is not multicoloured -- let him give you such a champion. My champion will compete against his champion, and let the more able one prevail!" Say this to him."

462-469. After he had spoken to him thus, the messenger set off, ulum, alam. In brick-built Kulaba, he was speechless, like a ……. He gazed like a goat on the mountain slopes, he …… as if it were a huge mir snake coming out from the brambles. In …… he lifted his head. …… of Aratta ……. From his seat, he addressed him like a raging torrent:

470-499. "Messenger! Speak to the lord of Aratta and say to him: "A garment that is not black-coloured, a garment that is not white-coloured, a garment that is not brown-coloured, a garment that is not red-coloured, a garment that is not yellow-coloured, a garment that is not multicoloured -- I shall give him such a garment. My champion is embraced by Enlil. I shall send him such a champion. My champion will compete against his champion, and let the more able one prevail!" Say this to him. Second, speak to him and say: "Let him immediately pass from subterfuge ……. In his city, let them go before him like sheep. Let him, like their shepherd, follow behind them. As he goes, let the mountain of bright lapis lazuli humble itself before him like a crushed reed. And let them heap up its shining gold and silver in the courtyard of Aratta for Inana the lady of E-ana." Third, speak to him and say: "Lest I make the people fly off from that city like a wild dove from its tree, lest I smash them like ……, lest I requite (?) them as if at a current market rate, lest I make …… them walk in ……, when he goes, let them take the mountain stones, and rebuild for me the great shrine Eridug, the abzu, the E-nun; let them adorn its architrave for me ……. Let them make its protection spread over the Land for me." His speaking ……. Recite his omen to him. At that time, the lord ……, …… on the throne daises and on the chairs, the noble seed, ……."

500-514. His speech was substantial, and its contents extensive. The messenger, whose mouth was heavy, was not able to repeat it. Because the messenger, whose mouth was tired, was not able to repeat it, the lord of Kulaba patted some clay and wrote the message as if on a tablet. Formerly, the writing of messages on clay was not established. Now, under that sun and on that day, it was indeed so. The lord of Kulaba inscribed the message like a tablet. It was just like that. The messenger was like a bird, flapping its wings; he raged forth like a wolf following a kid. He traversed five mountains, six mountains, seven mountains. He lifted his eyes as he approached Aratta. He stepped joyfully into the courtyard of Aratta, he made known the authority of his king. Openly he spoke out the words in his heart. The messenger transmitted the message to the lord of Aratta:

515-517. "Your father, my master, has sent me to you; the lord of Unug, the lord of Kulaba, has sent me to you." "What is it to me what your master has spoken? What is it to me what he has said?"

518-535. "This is what my master has spoken, this is what he has said. My king is like a huge mesh tree, …… son of Enlil; this tree has grown high, uniting heaven and earth; its crown reaches heaven, its trunk is set upon the earth. He who is made to shine forth in lordship and kingship, Enmerkar, the son of Utu, has given me a clay tablet. O lord of Aratta, after you have examined the clay tablet, after you have learned the content of the message, say whatever you will say to me, and I shall announce that message in the shrine E-ana as glad tidings to the scion of him with the glistening beard, whom his stalwart cow gave birth to in the mountains of the shining me, who was reared on the soil of Aratta, who was given suck at the udder of the good cow, who is suited for office in Kulaba, the mountain of great me, to Enmerkar, the son of Utu; I shall repeat it in his gipar, fruitful as a flourishing mesh tree, to my king, the lord of Kulaba."

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536-556. After he had spoken thus to him, the lord of Aratta received his kiln-fired tablet from the messenger. The lord of Aratta looked at the tablet. The transmitted message was just nails, and his brow expressed anger. The lord of Aratta looked at his kiln-fired tablet. At that moment, the lord worthy of the crown of lordship, the son of Enlil, the god Ishkur, thundering in heaven and earth, caused a raging storm, a great lion, in ……. He was making the mountains quake ……, he was convulsing the mountain range ……; the awesome radiance …… of his breast; he caused the mountain range to raise its voice in joy. On Aratta's parched flanks, in the midst of the mountains, wheat grew of its own accord, and chickpeas also grew of their own accord; they brought the wheat which grew of its own accord into the granary of …… for the lord of Aratta, and heaped it up before him in the courtyard of Aratta. The lord of Aratta looked at the wheat. The messenger's eyes looked askance ……. The lord of Aratta called to the messenger:

557-576. "Inana, the lady of all the lands, has not run away from the primacy of her city, Aratta, nor has she stolen it for Unug; she has not run away from her E-zagin, nor has she stolen it for the shrine E-ana; she has not run away from the mountain of the shining me, nor has she stolen it for brick-built Kulaba; she has not run away from the adorned bed, nor has she stolen it for the shining bed; she has not run away from the purification for the lord, nor has she stolen it for the lord of Unug, the lord of Kulaba. Inana, the lady of all the lands, has surrounded Aratta, on its right and left, for her like a rising flood. They are people whom she has separated from other people, they are people whom Dumuzid has made step forth from other people, who firmly establish the holy words of Inana. Let the clever champion and the …… of Dumuzid whirl about! Quickly, come now, ……. After the flood had swept over, Inana, the lady of all the lands, from her great love of Dumuzid, has sprinkled the water of life upon those who had stood in the face of the flood and made the Land subject to them."

577-587. The clever champion, when he came, had covered his head with a colourful turban, and wrapped himself in a garment of lion skins.

[4 lines unclear]

Inana ……. Her song was pleasing to her spouse, Ama-ushumgal-ana. Since that time, she has made it perfect in the holy ear, the holy ear of Dumuzid, has sung it and has let the words be known.

588-610. When the old woman came to the mountain of the shining me, she went up to him like a maiden who in her day is perfect, painted her eyes with kohl, wrapped herself in a white garment, came forth with the good crown like the moonlight. She arranged the …… on her head. She made Enmerkar, her spouse, occupy the throne-dais with her. She raised up ……, and indeed, for Aratta, the ewes and their lambs now multiply; indeed, for Aratta, the mother goats and their kids multiply; indeed, for Aratta, the cows and their calves multiply; indeed, for Aratta, the donkey mares and their black, swift-footed foals multiply. In Aratta, they say together: "Let them heap up and pile up for the grain piles; the abundance is truly your abundance." After having made …… for the lord of Aratta, let him ……. He will ……. He came forth ……, he set right for her.

[3 lines missing]

611-625. (An unidentified person speaks:) "…… befitting ……, …… the ilu song of the heart, …… your abundance in his ……. Enlil has granted you ……, and may …… be made known. …… his father was not luxuriantly fertile, and poured forth no semen. Enlil, king of all the lands ……. In accordance with the tasks which he has now established, the people of Aratta …… their task of plying gold, silver and lapis lazuli; the men who …… golden fruit, fruit trees, with their figs and grapes, shall heap the fruit up in great mounds ……; and shall dig out the flawless lapis lazuli from the roots of the trees, and shall remove the succulent part of the reeds from the crowns of the trees, and then shall heap them up in a pile in the courtyard of E-ana for Inana, the lady of E-ana."

626-636. "Come, my king, I shall offer you advice: let my counsel be heeded. I shall speak words to you; let them be heard. Let the people choose a man …… of the foreign lands, and let the people of Aratta speak ……. When I go from here, the ever-sparkling lady gives me my kingship. Geshtin-ana ……. In that city ……, festivals were not ……. Daily ……."

[approx. 6 lines missing]

ENMERKAR AND EN-SUHGIR-ANA

Translation: ETCSLt.1.8.2.4; University of Oxford

Estimated Range of Dating:

SEGMENT A

1-5. Brickwork rising out [from the pristine mountain] [(on the edge of ms. C:) of the shining plain] -- Kulaba, city which reaches from heaven to earth; Unug, whose fame like the rainbow reaches up to the sky, a multicoloured sheen, as the new moon standing in the heavens.

6-13. Built in magnificence with all the great powers, lustrous mount founded on a favourable day, like moonlight coming up over the land, like bright sunlight radiating over the land, the rear cow and …… cow coming forth in abundance: all this is Unug, the glory of which reaches the highland and its radiance, genuine refined silver, covers Aratta like a garment, is spread over it like linen.

14-24. At that time the day was lord, the night was sovereign, and Utu was king. Now the name of the lord of Aratta's minister was minister Ansiga-ria. The name of the minister of Enmerkar, the lord of Kulaba, was Namena-tuma. He with the …… lord, he with the …… prince; he with the …… lord, he with the …… prince; he with the …… lord, he with the …… prince; he with the man born to be a god; he with a man manifest as a god, with the lord of Unug, the lord of Kulaba -- En-suhgir-ana, the lord of Aratta, is to make a contest with him, saying first to the messenger concerning Unug:

25-39. "Let him submit to me, let him bear my yoke. If he submits to me, indeed submits to me, then as for him and me -- he may dwell with Inana within a walled enclosure (a fortress), but I dwell with Inana in the E-zagin of Aratta; he may lie with her on the splendid bed, but I lie in sweet slumber with her on the adorned bed, he may see dreams with Inana at night, but I converse with Inana awake. He may feed the geese with barley, but I will definitely not feed the geese with barley. I will …… the geese's eggs in a basket and …… their goslings. The small ones into my pot, the large ones into my kettle, and the rulers of the land who submitted will consume, together with me, what remains from the geese." This is what he said to Enmerkar.

40-51. The messenger runs like a wild ram and flies like a falcon. He leaves in the morning and returns already at dusk, like small birds at dawn, he …… over the open country, like small birds at midnight, he hides himself in the interior of the mountains. Like a throw-stick, he stands at the side. Like a solitary donkey of SHakkan, he [runs over] [(1 ms. has instead:) cuts through] the mountains, he dashes like a large, powerful donkey. A slim donkey, eager to run, he rushes forth. A lion in the field at dawn, he lets out roars; like a wolf which has seized a lamb, he runs quickly. The small places he has reached, he fills with …… for him; the large places he has reached, he …… boundary.

52-69. He entered the presence of the lord in [his holy gipar] [(1 ms. has instead:) in his most holy place]. [(1 ms. adds 1 line:) He entered the presence of Enmerkar in his most holy place.] "My king has sent me to you. The lord of Aratta, En-suhgir-ana, has sent me to you." [(some mss. add the lines:) "What does your king have to tell me, what does he have to add to me? What does En-suhgir-ana have to tell me, what does he have to add to me?" "This is what my king said, what he added, this is what En-suhgir-ana said, what he added."] "This is what my king says: "Let him submit to me, let him bear my yoke. If he submits to me, indeed submits to me, then as for him and me -- he may dwell with Inana within a walled enclosure (a fortress), but I dwell with Inana in the E-zagin of Aratta; he may lie with her on the splendid bed, but I lie in sweet slumber with her on the adorned bed, he may see dreams with Inana at night, but I converse with Inana awake. He may feed the geese with barley, but I will definitely not feed the geese with barley. I will …… the geese's eggs in a basket and …… their goslings. The small ones into my pot, the large ones into my kettle, and the rulers of the land who submitted will consume, together with me, what remains from the geese.""

70-76. The lord of Unug …… he is their ……, he is their rudder. …… he is the neck-stock which clamps down upon them, …… to the place of its foundation. He is their falcon which flies in the sky, he is their bird-net. The brickwork of the great temple of Aratta ……. …… in Aratta …… great ……. …… bring …….

77-113. He patted it like a lump of clay, he examined it like a clay-tablet: "He may dwell with Inana in the E-zagin of Aratta, but I dwell with her …… as her earthly companion. He may lie with her in sweet slumber on the adorned bed, but I lie on Inana's splendid bed strewn with pure plants. Its back is an ug lion, its front is a pirig lion. The ug lion chases the pirig lion, the pirig lion chases the ug lion. As the ug lion chases the pirig lion and the pirig lion chases the ug lion, the day does not dawn, the night does not pass. I accompany Inana for a journey of 15 leagues and yet Utu the sun god cannot see my holy crown, when she enters my holy gipar. Enlil has given me the true crown and sceptre. Ninurta, the son of Enlil, held me on his lap as the frame holds the waterskin. Aruru, the sister of Enlil, extended her right breast to me, extended her left breast to me. When I go up to the great shrine, the Mistress screeches like an Anzud chick, and other times when I go there, even though she is not a duckling, she shrieks like one. She …… from the city of her birth. No city was made to be so well-built as the city of Unug [Uruk (Sumerian: Unugki, Akkadian: Uruk or Uru'ung; Aramaic: Uruk; Hebrew: Erech or Erek; Greek: Orkhoe, Orekh, or Orugeia) was an ancient city of Sumer (capital of the Kingdom of Uruk) situated east of the present bed of the Euphrates River on the dried-up ancient channel of the Euphrates 30 km (19 mi) east of modern Samawah, Al-Muthanna, Iraq.]. It is Unug where Inana dwells and as regards Aratta, what does it have to do with this? It is brick-built Kulaba where she lives, and as regards the mount of the lustrous me, what can it do about this? For five or 10 years she will definitely not go to Aratta. Since the great holy lady of the E-ana took counsel with me (?) about whether to go also to Aratta, since she [let me know] [(1 ms. has instead:) told me] about this matter, I know that she will not go to Aratta. He who has nothing shall not feed the geese with barley, but I will feed the geese with barley. I will …… the geese's eggs in a basket and …… their goslings. The small ones into my pot, the old ones into my kettle, and the rulers [of the Land] [(some mss. has instead:) of Sumer] who submitted will consume, together with me, what remains from the geese."

114-127. The messenger of Enmerkar reached En-suhgir-ana, reached his holy gipar, his most holy place, the most holy place where he was sitting, its ……. En-suhgir-ana asked for instructions, he searched for an answer. He summoned the ishib priests, the lumah priests, the gudug priests, and girsiga attendants who dwell in the gipar and took counsel with them. "What shall I say to him? What shall I say to him? What shall I say to the lord of Unug, the lord of Kulaba? His bull stood up to fight my bull and the bull of Unug has defeated it. His man has been struggling with my man and the man of Unug has defeated him. His warrior has been struggling with my warrior and the warrior of Unug …… him."

128-134. The convened assembly answered him straightforwardly: "It was you who first sent a boastful message to Unug for Enmerkar. You cannot hold back Enmerkar, you have to hold back yourself. Calm down; your heart will prompt you to achieve nothing, as far as can be known." "If my city becomes a ruin mound, then I will be a potsherd of it, but I will never submit to the lord of Unug, the lord of Kulaba."

135-150. A sorcerer whose skill was that of a man of Hamazu, Ur-giri-nuna, whose skill was that of a man of Hamazu, who came over to Aratta after Hamazu had been destroyed, practised sorcery in the inner chamber at the E-gipar. He said to minister Ansiga-ria: "My lord, why is it that the great fathers of the city, the founders in earlier times, do not ……, do not give advice. I will make Unug dig canals. I will make Unug submit to the shrine of Aratta. After the word of Unug ……, I will make the territories from below to above, from the sea to the cedar mountain, from above to the mountain of the aromatic cedars, submit to my great army. Let Unug bring its own goods by boat, let it tie up boats as a transport flotilla towards the E-zagin of Aratta." The minister Ansiga-ria rose up in his city, he …….

151-162. …… Ansiga-ria ……, if only ……. "My lord, why is it that the great fathers of the city, the founders in earlier times, do not ……, do not give advice. I will make Unug dig canals. I will make Unug submit to the shrine of Aratta. After the word of Unug ……, I will make the territories from below to above, from the sea to the cedar mountain, from above to the mountain of the aromatic cedars, submit to my great army. Let Unug bring its own goods by boat, let it tie up boats as a transport flotilla towards the E-zagin of Aratta."

163-169. This made the lord extremely happy, so he gave five minas of gold to him, he gave five minas of silver to him. He promised him that he would be allotted fine food to eat, he promised him that he would be allotted fine drink to drink. "When their men are taken captive, your life …… happiness in your hand prosperity," he promised to him.

170-184. The sorcerer, farmer of the best seeds, directed his steps towards Eresh, the city of Nisaba, and reached the animal pen, the house where the cows live. The cow trembled with fear at him in the animal pen. He made the cow speak so that it conversed with him as if it were a human being: "Cow, who will eat your butter? Who will drink your milk?" "My butter will be eaten by Nisaba, my milk will be drunk by Nisaba. My cheese, skilfully produced bright crown, was made fitting for the great dining hall, the dining hall of Nisaba. Until my butter is delivered from the holy animal pen, until my milk is delivered from the holy byre, the steadfast wild cow Nisaba, the first-born of Enlil, will not impose any levy on the people." "Cow, your butter to your shining horn; your milk to your back." So the cow's butter was …… to its shining horn; its milk was …… to its back …….

185-197. He reached the holy byre, the byre of Nisaba. The goat trembled with fear at him in the byre. He made the goat speak so that it conversed with him as if it were a human being. "Goat, who will eat your butter? Who will drink your milk?" "My butter will be eaten by Nisaba, my milk will be drunk by Nisaba. My cheese, skilfully produced bright crown, was made fitting for the great dining hall, the dining hall of Nisaba. Until my butter is delivered from the holy animal pen, until my milk is delivered from the holy byre, the steadfast wild cow Nisaba, the first-born of Enlil, will not impose any levy on the

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people." "Goat, your butter to your shining horn, your milk to your back." So the goat's butter was …… to its shining horn; its milk was made to depart to its back.

198-205. On that day the animal pen and the byre were turned into a house of silence; they were dealt a disaster. There was no milk in the udder of the cow, the day darkened for the calf, its young calf was hungry and wept bitterly. There was no milk in the udder of the goat; the day darkened for the kid. The buck-goat lay starving, its life ……. The cow spoke bitterly to its calf. The goat …… to its kid. The holy churn was empty, …… was hungry, …… lay starving.

206-221. On that day the animal pen and the byre were turned into a house of silence; they were dealt a disaster. The cow-herd dropped his staff from his hand: he was shocked. The shepherd hung the crook at his side and wept bitterly. The shepherd boy did not enter the byre and animal pen, but took another way; the milk carrier did not sing loudly, but took another road. The cow-herd and shepherd of Nisaba, sons born of the same mother, were brought up in the animal pen and byre. The name of the first one was Mash-gula, the name of the second one was Ur-edina. At the great gate, facing sunrise, the place marvelled at by the land, both of them crouched in the debris and appealed to Utu for help: "The sorcerer from Aratta entered the animal pen. He made the milk scarce, so the young calves could not get any. [In the animal pen and the byre he caused distress; he made the butter and milk scarce] [(1 ms. has instead:) …… diminished ……, …… he made the milk of the goat scarce]. He threw its ……, …… was dealt a disaster."

222-227. …… approached. …… caused damage ……. …… turned toward Eresh. …… the Euphrates …… the river of the gods. She made her way to the city whose destiny was decreed by An and Enlil ……. Wise Woman Sagburu …… hand …… for him.

228-231. Both of them threw fish spawn into the river. The sorcerer made a giant carp [come out] [(1 ms. has instead:) arise] from the water. Wise Woman Sagburu, however, made an eagle [come out] [(1 ms. has instead:) arise] from the water. [The eagle seized the giant carp and fled to the mountains] [(1 ms. has instead:) The eagle seized the giant carp out of the waves and went up to the sky].

232-235. A second time they threw fish spawn into the river. The sorcerer made a ewe and its lamb [come out] [(1 ms. has instead:) arise] from the water. Wise Woman Sagburu, however, made a wolf [come out] [(1 ms. has instead:) arise] from the water. The wolf seized the ewe and its lamb and dragged them to the wide desert.

236-239. A third time they threw fish spawn (?) into the river. The sorcerer made a cow and its calf [come out] [(1 ms. has instead:) arise] from the water. Wise Woman Sagburu, however, made a lion [come out] [(1 ms. has instead:) arise] from the water. The lion seized the cow and its calf and [took] [(some mss. have instead:) dragged] them to the reedbeds.

240-243. A fourth time they threw fish spawn (?) into the river. The sorcerer made an ibex and a wild sheep [come out] [(1 ms. has instead:) arise] from the water. Wise Woman Sagburu, however, made a mountain leopard [come out] [(1 ms. has instead:) arise] from the water. The leopard seized the ibex and the wild sheep and took them to the mountains.

244-248. A fifth time they threw fish sp) into the river. The sorcerer made a gazelle kid come out from the water. Wise Woman Sagburu, however, made a tiger and a …… lion come out from the water. The tiger and the …… lion seized the gazelle kid and [took] [(1 ms. has instead:) dragged] them to the forest. What happened made the face of the sorcerer darken, made his mind confused.

249-254. Wise Woman Sagburu said to him: "Sorcerer, you do have magical powers, but where is your sense? How on earth could you think of going to do sorcery at Eresh, which is the city of Nisaba, a city whose destiny was decreed by An and Enlil, the primeval city, the beloved city of Ninlil?"

255-263. The sorcerer answered her: "I went there without knowing all about this. I acknowledge your superiority -- please do not be bitter." He pleaded, he prayed to her: "Set me free, my sister; set me free. Let me go in peace to my city. Let me return safely to Aratta, the mount of the lustrous me. I will [make known] [(1 ms. has instead:) declare] your greatness in all the lands. I will sing your praise in Aratta, the mount of the lustrous me."

264-273. Wise Woman Sagburu answered to him: "You have caused distress in the animal pen and the byre; you have made the butter and milk scarce there. You have removed the lunch-table, the morning- and evening-table. You have cut off butter and milk from the evening meal of the great dining hall, …… distress ……. Your sin that butter and milk …… cannot be forgiven. Nanna the king …… the byre …… milk; …… established that it was a capital offence and I am not pardoning your life." Wise Woman Sagburu …… her decision about the sorcerer in the assembly (?). She threw her prisoner from the bank of the Euphrates. She seized from him his life-force and then returned to her city, Eresh.

274-280. Having heard this matter, En-suhgir-ana sent a man to Enmerkar: "You are the beloved lord of Inana, you alone are exalted. Inana has truly chosen you for her holy lap, you are her beloved. From the south to the highlands, you are the great lord, and I am only second to you; from the moment of conception I was not your equal, you are the older brother. I cannot match you ever."

281-283. In the contest between Enmerkar and En-suhgir-ana, Enmerkar proved superior to En-suhgir-ana. Nisaba, be praised!

SEGMENT B

1-7. [3 lines unclear] The sorcerer ……. Ur-giri-nuna ……. The sorcerer …… minister Ansiga-ria.

[1 line unclear]

LUGULBANDA CYCLE

LUGALBANDA IN THE MOUNTAIN CAVE

Translation: ETCSL t.1.8.2.1
Estimated Range of Dating:

(Lugalbanda was a deified Sumerian king of Uruk who, according to various sources of Mesopotamian literature, was the father of Gilgamesh. Early sources mention his consort Ninsun and his heroic deeds in an expedition to Aratta by King Enmerkar.

Lugalbanda is listed in the Sumerian King List as the second king of Uruk, saying he ruled for 1200 years, and providing him with the epithet of the Shepherd. Lugalbanda's historicy is uncertain among scholars. Attempts to date him in the ED II period are based on an amalgamation of data from the epic traditions of the 2nd millennium with unclear archaeological observations.

Lugalbanda appears in Sumerian literary sources as early as the mid-3rd millennium, as attested by the incomplete mythological text Lugalbanda and Ninsuna, found in Abu Salabikh, that describes a romantic relationship between Lugalbanda and Ninsun. In the earliest god-lists from Fara, his name appears separate and in a much lower ranking that the goddess; however, in later traditions until the Seleucid period, his name is often listed along with his consort Ninsun.

There's evidence suggesting the worship of Lugalbanda as a deity originating from the Sumerian Renaissance, as attested in tablets from Nippur, Ur, Umma and Puzrish-Dagan. In the Old Babylonian period Sin-kashid of Uruk is known to have built a temple called É-KI.KAL dedicated to Lugalbanda and Ninsun, and to have assigned his daughter Nishi-ini-shu as the eresh-dingir priestess of Lugalbanda.

At the same time, Lugalbanda would prominently feature as the hero of two Sumerian stories dated to the Third Dynasty of Ur, called by scholars Lugalbanda I (Lugalbanda in the Mountain Cave) and Lugalbanda II (Lugalbanda and the Anzu Bird). Both are known only in later versions, although there is an Ur III fragment that is quite different from either 18th century version

These tales are part of a series of stories that describe the conflicts between Enmerkar, king of Uruk, and Ensuhkeshdanna, lord of Aratta, presumably in the Iranian highlands. In these two stories, Lugalbanda is a soldier in the army of Enmerkar, whose name also appears in the Sumerian King List as the first king of Uruk and predecessor of Lugalbanda. The extant fragments make no reference to Lugalbanda's succession as king following Enmerkar.

In royal hymns of the Ur III period, Ur-Nammu of Ur and his son Shulgi describe Lugalbanda and Ninsun as their holy parents, and in the same context call themselves the brother of Gilgamesh. Sin-Kashid of Uruk also refers to Lugalbanda and Ninsun as his divine parents, and names Lugalbanda as his god.

In the Epic of Gilgamesh and in earlier Sumerian stories about the hero, Gilgamesh calls himself the son of Lugalbanda and Ninsun. In the Gilgamesh and Huwawa poem, the king consistently uses the assertive phrase: "By the life of my own mother Ninsun and of my father, holy Lugalbanda!". In Akkadian versions of the epic, Gilgamesh also refers to Lugalbanda as his personal god, and in one episode presents the oil filled horns of the defeated Bull of Heaven "for the anointing of his god Lugalbanda".)

SEGMENT A

1-19. When in ancient days heaven was separated from earth, when in ancient days that which was fitting ……, when after the ancient harvests …… barley was eaten (?), when boundaries were laid out and borders were fixed, when boundary-stones were placed and inscribed with names, when dykes and canals were purified, when …… wells were dug straight down; when the bed of the Euphrates, the plenteous river of Unug, was opened up, when ……, when ……, when holy An removed ……, when the offices of en and king were famously exercised at Unug, when the sceptre and staff of Kulaba were held high in battle -- in battle, Inana's game; when the black-headed were blessed with long life, in their settled ways and in their ……, when they presented the mountain goats with pounding hooves and the mountain stags beautiful with their antlers to Enmerkar son of Utu --

20-34. -- now at that time the king set his mace towards the city, Enmerkar son of Utu prepared an …… expedition against Aratta, the mountain of the holy divine powers. He was going to set off to destroy the rebel land; the lord began a mobilisation of his city. The herald made the horn signal sound in all the lands. Now levied Unug took the field with the wise king, indeed levied Kulaba followed Enmerkar. Unug's levy was a flood, Kulaba's levy was a clouded sky. As they covered the ground like heavy fog, the dense dust whirled up by them reached up to heaven. As if to rooks on the best seed, rising up, he called to the people. Each one gave his fellow the sign.

35-46. Their king went at their head, to go at the …… of the army. Enmerkar went at their head, to go at the …… of the army.

[2 lines unclear]

…… gu-nida emmer-grain to grow abundantly. When the righteous one who takes counsel with Enlil (i.e. Enmerkar) took away the whole of Kulaba, like sheep they bent over at the slope of the mountains, …… at the edge of the hills they ran forward like wild bulls. He sought …… at the side -- they recognised the way. He sought …….

47-58. Five days passed. On they sixth day they bathed. …… on the seventh day they entered the mountains. When they had crossed over on the paths -- an enormous flood billowing upstream into a lagoon …… Their ruler (i.e. Enmerkar) , riding on a storm, Utu's son, the good bright metal, stepped down from heaven to the great earth. His head shines with brilliance, the barbed arrows flash past him like lightning; at his side the bronze pointed axe of his emblem shines for him, he strides forward keenly with the pointed axe, like a dog set on consuming a corpse.

59-70. At that time there were seven, there were seven -- the young ones, born in Kulaba, were seven. The goddess Urash had borne these seven, the Wild Cow had nourished them with milk. They were heroes, living in Sumer, they were princely in their prime. They had been brought up eating at the god An's table. These seven were the overseers for those that are subordinate to overseers, were the captains for those that are subordinate to captains were the generals for those that are subordinate to generals. They were overseers of 300 men, 300 men each; they were captains of 600 men, 600 men each; they were generals of seven shar (25,200) of soldiers, 25,200 soldiers each. They stood at the service of the lord as his élite troops.

71-86. Lugalbanda, the eighth of them, …… was washed in water. In awed silence he went forward, …… he marched with the troops. When they had covered half the way, covered half the way, a sickness befell him there, 'head sickness' befell him. He jerked like a snake dragged by its head with a reed; his mouth bit the dust, like a gazelle caught in a snare. No longer could his hands return the hand grip, no longer could he lift his feet high. Neither king nor contingents could help him. In the great mountains, crowded together like a dustcloud over the ground, they said: "Let them bring him to Unug." But they did not know how they could bring him. "Let them bring him to Kulaba." But they did not know how they could bring him. As his teeth chattered (?) in the cold places of the mountains, they brought him to a warm place there.

87-122. …… a storehouse, they made him an arbour like a bird's nest. …… dates, figs and various sorts of cheese; they put sweetmeats suitable for the sick to eat, in baskets of dates, and they made him a home. They set out for him the various fats of the cowpen, the sheepfold's fresh cheese, butter ……, as if laying a table for the holy place, the valued place (i.e. as if for a funerary offering) . Directly in front of the table they arranged for him beer for drinking, mixed with date syrup and rolls …… with butter. Provisions poured into leather buckets, provisions all put into leather bags -- his brothers and friends, like a boat unloading from the harvest-place, placed stores by his head in the mountain cave. They …… water in their leather waterskins. Dark beer, alcoholic drink, light emmer beer, wine for drinking which is pleasant to the taste, they distributed by his head in the mountain cave as on a stand for waterskins. They prepared for him incense resin, …… resin, aromatic resin, ligidba resin and first-class resin on pot-stands in the deep hole; they suspended them by his head in the mountain cave. They pushed into place at his head his axe whose metal was tin, imported from the Zubi mountains. They wrapped up by his chest his dagger of iron imported from the Gig (Black) mountains. His eyes -- irrigation ditches, because they are flooding with water -- holy Lugalbanda kept open, directed towards this. The outer door of his lips -- overflowing like holy Utu -- he did not open to his brothers. When they lifted his neck, there was no breath there any longer. His brothers, his friends took counsel with one another:

123-127. "If our brother rises like Utu from bed, then the god who has smitten him will step aside and, when he eats this food, when he drinks (?) this, will make his feet stable. May he

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bring him over the high places of the mountains to brick-built Kulaba."

128-132. "But if Utu calls our brother to the holy place, the valued place (i.e. the hereafter) , the health of his limbs will leave (?) him. Then it will be up to us, when we come back from Aratta, to bring our brother's body to brick-built Kulaba."

133-140. Like the dispersed holy cows of Nanna, as with a breeding bull when, in his old age, they have left him behind in the cattle pen, his brothers and friends abandoned holy Lugalbanda in the mountain cave; and with repeated tears and moaning, with tears, with lamentation, with grief and weeping, Lugalbanda's older brothers set off into the mountains.

141-147. Then two days passed during which Lugalbanda was ill; to these two days, half a day was added. As Utu turned his glance towards his home, as the animals lifted their heads toward their lairs, at the day's end in the evening cool, his body was as if anointed with oil. But he was not yet free of his sickness.

148-150. When he lifted his eyes to heaven to Utu, he wept to him as if to his own father. In the mountain cave he raised to him his fair hands:

151-170. "Utu, I greet you! Let me be ill no longer! Hero, Ningal's son, I greet you! Let me be ill no longer! Utu, you have let me come up into the mountains in the company of my brothers. In the mountain cave, the most dreadful spot on earth, let me be ill no longer! Here where there is no mother, there is no father, there is no acquaintance, no one whom I value, my mother is not here to say "Alas, my child!" My brother is not here to say "Alas, my brother!" My mother's neighbour who enters our house is not here to weep over me. If the male and female protective deities were standing by, the deity of neighbourliness would say, "A man should not perish." A lost dog is bad; a lost man is terrible. On the unknown way at the edge of the mountains, Utu, is a lost man, a man in an even more terrible situation. Don't make me flow away like water in a violent death! Don't make me eat saltpetre as if it were barley! Don't make me fall like a throw-stick somewhere in the desert unknown to me! Afflicted with a name which excites my brothers' scorn, let me be ill no longer! Afflicted with the derision of my comrades, let me be ill no longer! Let me not come to an end in the mountains like a weakling!"

171-172. Utu accepted his tears. He sent down his divine encouragement to him in the mountain cave.

173-182. She who makes …… for the poor, whose game (i.e. battle) is sweet, the prostitute who goes out to the inn, who makes the bedchamber delightful, who is food to the poor man -- Inana (i.e. the evening star) , the daughter of Suen, arose before him like a bull in the Land. Her brilliance, like that of holy SHara, her stellar brightness illuminated for him the mountain cave. When he lifted his eyes upwards to Inana, he wept as if before his own father. In the mountain cave he raised to her his fair hands:

183-196. "Inana, if only this were my home, if only this were my city! If only this were Kulaba, the city in which my mother bore me ……! Even if it were to me as the waste land to a snake! If it were to me as a crack in the ground to a scorpion! My mighty people ……! My great ladies ……! …… to E-ana!"

[2 lines unclear]

"The little stones of it, the shining stones in their glory, sagkal stones above, …… below, from its crying out in the mountain land Zabu, from its voice …… open -- may my limbs not perish in the mountains of the cypresses!"

197-200. Inana accepted his tears. With power of life she let him go to sleep just like the sleeping Utu. Inana enveloped him with heart's joy as if with a woollen garment. Then, just as if ……, she went to brick-built Kulaba.

201-214. The bull that eats up the black soup, the astral holy bull-calf (i.e. the moon) , came to watch over him. He shines (?) in the heavens like the morning star, he spreads bright light in the night -- Suen is greeted as the new moon; Father Nanna gives the direction for the rising Utu. The glorious lord whom the crown befits, Suen, the beloved son of Enlil, [the god] [(1 ms. has instead:) the lord] reached the zenith splendidly. His brilliance like [holy SHara] [(1 ms. has instead:) holy Utu] [(1 ms. has instead:) lapis lazuli], his starry radiance illuminated for him the mountain cave. When Lugalbanda raised his eyes to heaven to Suen, he wept to him as if to his own father. In the mountain cave he raised to him his fair hands:

215-225. "King whom one cannot reach in the distant sky! Suen whom one cannot reach in the distant sky! King who loves justice, who hates evil! Suen who loves justice, who hates evil! Justice brings joy justly to your heart. A poplar, a great staff, forms a sceptre for you, you who loosen the bonds of justice, who do not loosen the bonds of evil. If you encounter evil before you, it is dragged away behind ……. When your heart becomes angry, you spit your venom at evil like a snake which drools poison."

226-227. Suen accepted his tears and gave him life. He conferred on his feet the power to stand.

228-239. A second time (i.e. at the following sunrise) , as the bright bull rising up from the horizon, the bull resting among the cypresses, a shield standing on the ground, watched by the assembly, a shield coming out from the treasury, watched by the young men -- the youth Utu extended his holy splendour down from heaven [(1 ms. from Urim adds:) …… holy, his brilliance illuminated for him the mountain cave], he bestowed them on holy Lugalbanda in the mountain cave. His good protective god hovered ahead of him, his good protective goddess walked behind him. The god which had smitten him [stepped aside] [(1 ms. has instead:) went out from him] [(1 ms. has instead:) went up and away from him]. When he raised his eyes heavenward to Utu, he wept to him as to his own father. In the mountain cave he raised to him his fair hands:

240-263. "Utu, shepherd of the land, father of the black-headed, when you go to sleep, the people go to sleep with you; youth Utu, when you rise, the people rise with you. Utu, without you no net is stretched out for a bird, no slave is taken away captive. To him who walks alone, you are his brotherly companion; Utu, you are the third of them who travel in pairs. You are the blinkers for him who wears the neck-ring. Like a holy zulumhi garment, your sunshine clothes the poor man and the scoundrel as well as him who has no clothes; as a garment of white wool it covers the bodies even of debt slaves. Like rich old men, the old women praise your sunshine sweetly, until their oldest days. Your sunshine is as mighty as oil. Great wild bulls run forward." (alludes to a proverb)

[1 line unclear]

"Hero, son of Ningal, …… to you."

[2 lines unclear]

"Brother …… his brother. He causes his plough to stand in the ……. Praise to you is so very sweet, it reaches up to heaven. Hero, son of Ningal, they laud you as you deserve."

264-275. Holy Lugalbanda came out from the mountain cave. Then the righteous one who takes counsel with Enlil (i.e. Utu ?) caused life-saving plants to be born. The rolling rivers, mothers of the hills, brought life-saving water. He bit on the life-saving plants, he sipped from the life-saving water. After biting on the life-saving plants, after sipping from the life-saving water, here he on his own set a trap (?) in the ground, and from that spot he sped away like a horse of the mountains. Like a lone wild ass of SHakkan he darted over the mountains. Like a large powerful donkey he raced; a slim donkey, eager to run, he bounded along.

276-299. That night, in the evening, he set off, hurrying through the mountains, a waste land in the moonlight. He was alone and, even to his sharp eyes, there was not a single person to be seen. With the provisions stocked in leather pails, provisions put in leather bags, his brothers and his friends had been able to bake bread on the ground, with some cold water. Holy Lugalbanda had carried the things from the mountain cave. He set them beside the embers. He filled a bucket …… with water. In front of him he split what he had placed. He took hold of the …… stones. Repeatedly he struck them together. He laid the glowing (?) coals on the open ground. The fine flintstone caused a spark. Its fire shone out for him over the waste land like the sun. Not knowing how to bake cakes, not knowing an oven, with just seven coals he baked gizieshta dough. While the bread was baking by itself, he pulled up shulhi reeds of the mountains, roots and all, and stripped their branches. He packed up all the cakes as a day's ration. Not knowing how to bake cakes, not knowing an oven, with just seven coals he had baked gizieshta dough. He garnished it with sweet date syrup.

300-313. A brown wild bull, a fine-looking wild bull, a wild bull tossing its horns, a wild bull in hunger (?), resting, seeking with its voice the brown wild bulls of the hills, the pure place -- in this way it was chewing aromatic shimgig as if it were barley, it was grinding up the wood of the cypress as if it were esparto grass, it was sniffing with its nose at the foliage of the shenu shrub as if it were grass. It was drinking the water of the rolling rivers, it was belching from ilinnush, the pure plant of the mountains. While the brown wild bulls, the wild bulls of the mountains, were browsing about among the plants, Lugalbanda captured this one in his ambush (?). He uprooted a juniper tree of the mountains and stripped its branches. With a knife holy Lugalbanda trimmed its roots, which were like the long rushes of the field. He tethered the brown wild bull, the wild bull of the mountains, to it with a halter.

314-325. A brown goat and a buck-goat -- flea-bitten goats, lousy goats, fatty (?) goats -- in this way they were chewing aromatic shimgig as if it were barley, they were grinding up the wood of the cypress as if it were esparto grass, they were sniffing with their noses at the foliage of the shenu shrub as if it were grass. They were drinking the water of the rolling rivers, they were belching from ilinnush, the pure plant of the mountains. While the brown goats and the buck-goats were browsing about among the plants, Lugalbanda captured these two in his ambush (?). He uprooted a juniper tree of the mountains and stripped its branches. With a knife holy Lugalbanda cut off its roots, which were like the long rushes of the field. With chains he fettered the brown goat and the buck-goat, both the goats. [(1 ms. adds:) ……, he piled up …….]

326-350. He was alone and, even to his sharp eyes, there was not a single person to be seen. Sleep overcame the king (i.e. Lugalbanda) -- sleep, the country of oppression; it is like a towering flood, like a hand demolishing a brick wall, a hand raised high, a foot raised high; covering like syrup that which is in front of it, overflowing like syrup onto that which is in front of it; it knows no overseer, knows no captain, yet it is overpowering for the hero. And by means of Ninkasi's wooden cask (i.e. with the help of beer) , sleep finally overcame Lugalbanda. He laid down ilinnush, pure herb of the mountains, as a couch, he spread out a zulumhi garment, he unfolded there a white linen sheet. There being no …… room for bathing, he made do with that place. The king lay down not to sleep, he lay down to dream -- not turning back at the door of the dream, not turning back at the door-pivot. To the liar it talks in lies, to the truthful it speaks truth. It can make one man happy, it can make another man sing, but it is the closed tablet-basket of the gods. It is the beautiful bedchamber of Ninlil, it is the counsellor of Inana. The multiplier of mankind, the voice of one not alive -- Zangara, the god of dreams, himself like a bull, bellowed at Lugalbanda. Like the calf of a cow he lowed:

351-360. "Who will slaughter (?) a brown wild bull for me? Who will make its fat melt for me? He shall take my axe whose metal is tin, he shall wield my dagger which is of iron. Like an athlete I shall let him bring away the brown wild bull, the wild bull of the mountains, I shall let him like a wrestler make it submit. Its strength will leave it. When he offers it before the rising sun, let him heap up like barleycorns the heads of the brown goat and the buck-goat, both the goats; when he has poured out their blood in the pit -- let their smell waft out in the desert so that the alert snakes of the mountains will sniff it."

361-370. Lugalbanda awoke -- it was a dream. He shivered -- it was sleep. He rubbed his eyes, he was overawed. He took his axe whose metal was tin, he wielded his dagger which was of iron. Like an athlete he brought away the brown wild bull, the wild bull of the mountains, like a wrestler he made it submit. Its strength left it. He offered it before the rising sun. He heaped up like barleycorns the heads of the brown goat and the buck-goat, both of the goats. He poured out their blood in the pit so that their smell wafted out in the desert. The alert snakes of the mountains sniffed it.

371-393. As the sun was rising ……, Lugalbanda, invoking the name of Enlil, made An, Enlil, Enki and Ninhursaga sit down to a banquet at the pit, at the place in the mountains which he had prepared. The banquet was set, the libations were poured -- dark beer, alcoholic drink, light emmer beer, wine for drinking which is pleasant to the taste. Over the plain he poured cool water as a libation. He put the knife to the flesh of the brown goats, and he roasted the dark livers there. He let their smoke rise there, like incense put on the fire. As if Dumuzid had brought in the good savours of the cattle pen, so An, Enlil, Enki and Ninhursaga consumed the best part of the food prepared by Lugalbanda. Like the shining place of pure strength, the holy altar of Suen, ……. On top of the altar of Utu and the altar of Suen ……, he decorated the two altars with the lapis lazuli …… of Inana. Suen ……. He bathed the a-an-kar. When he had bathed the ……, he set out all the cakes properly.

394-432. (Description of the demons) They make …… Enki, father of the gods; they are ……, they ……; like a string of figs dripping with lusciousness, they hang their arms. They are gazelles of Suen running in flight, they are the fine smooth cloths of Ninlil, they are the helpers of Ishkur; they pile up flax, they pile up barley; they are wild animals on the rampage, they descend like a storm on a rebel land hated by Suen, indeed they descend like a storm. They lie up during all the long day, and during the short night they enter …… houses (?); during the long day, during the short night they lie in beds ……, they give ……. At dead of night they ……, in the breeze …… swallows of Utu; they enter into house after house, they peer into street after street, they are talkers, they are repliers to talkers, seeking words with a mother, replying to a great lady; they nestle at the bedside, they smite ……, when the black …… are stolen, they leave …… the doors and tables of humans, they change ……, they tie the door-pivots together. The hero who ……, Utu who ……, the heroic youth Utu of the good word . . .

[2 lines unclear] . . . . . the incantation …… of the youth Utu, which the Anuna, the great gods, do not know, from that time ……,

[3 lines unclear]

433-461. The wise elders of the city ……

[1 line unclear] . . . . . the incantation …… of the youth Utu, which the Anuna, the great gods, do not know, ...

[5 lines unclear] . . . .they are able to enter the presence of Utu, of Enlil, god of the ……, the bearded son of Ningal ……; they give to Suen ……, they confirm with their power the fate of the foreign lands. At dead of night they

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know the black wild boar, at midday to Utu …… he can …… his incantation,

[3 lines unclear]

They enter before An, Enlil, ……, Inana, the gods; they know ……, they watch ……, they …… at the window; the door of the shining mountain, the doorbolt of the shining mountain;

[4 lines unclear] .....they stand ……, [1 line unclear]

462-484. They pursue …… Inana ……, who are favoured by Inana's heart, who stand in the battle, they are the fourteen torches of battle ……, at midnight they ……, at dead of night they pursue like wildfire, in a band they flash together like lightning, in the urgent storm of battle, which roars loudly like a great flood rising up; they who are favoured in Inana's heart, who stand in the battle, they are the seven torches of battle ……; they stand joyfully as she wears the crown under a clear sky, with their foreheads and eyes they are a clear evening. Their ears …… a boat, with their mouths they are wild boars resting in a reed thicket; they stand in the thick of battle, with their life-force they ……,

[1 line unclear]

who are favoured in Inana's heart, who stand in the battle, by Nintur of heaven they are numerous, by the life of heaven they hold ……; the holy shining battle-mace reaches to the edge of heaven and earth, …… reaches.

[1 line unclear]

485-499. As Utu comes forth from his chamber, the holy battle-mace of An ……, the just god who lies alongside a man; they are wicked gods with evil hearts, they are …… gods. It is they, like Nanna, like Utu, like Inana of the fifty divine powers, …… in heaven and earth ……; they are the interpreters of spoken evil, the spies of righteousness, ...

[2 lines unclear] …… a clear sky and numerous stars, ...

[1 line unclear] …… fresh cedars in the mountains of the cypress, …… a battle-net from the horizon to the zenith, ...

[unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT B

(it is possible that this fragment does not belong to the same composition)

1-7.

[7 lines unclear / Unknown number of lines missing to end]

LUGALBANDA AND THE ANZUD BIRD

Translation: ETCSL t.1.8.2.2; University of Oxford

Estimated Range of Dating:

1-27. Lugalbanda lies idle in the mountains, in the faraway places; he has ventured into the Zabu mountains. No mother is with him to offer advice, no father is with him to talk to him. No one is with him whom he knows, whom he values, no confidant is there to talk to him. In his heart he speaks to himself: "I shall treat the bird as befits him, I shall treat Anzud as befits him. I shall greet his wife affectionately. I shall seat Anzud's wife and Anzud's child at a banquet. An will fetch Ninguena for me from her mountain home -- the expert woman who redounds to her mother's credit, Ninkasi the expert who redounds to her mother's credit. Her fermenting-vat is of green lapis lazuli, her beer cask is of refined silver and of gold. If she stands by the beer, there is joy, if she sits by the beer, there is gladness; as cupbearer she mixes the beer, never wearying as she walks back and forth, Ninkasi, the keg at her side, on her hips; may she make my beer-serving perfect. When the bird has drunk the beer and is happy, when Anzud has drunk the beer and is happy, he can help me find the place to which the troops of Unug are going, Anzud can put me on the track of my brothers."

28-49. Now the splendid 'eagle'-tree of Enki on the summit of Inana's mountain of multicoloured cornelian stood fast on the earth like a tower, all shaggy like an aru. With its shade it covered the highest eminences of the mountains like a cloak, was spread out over them like a tunic. Its roots rested like sagkal snakes in Utu's river of the seven mouths. Nearby, in the mountains where no cypresses grow, where no snake slithers, where no scorpion stings, in the midst of the mountains the buru-az bird had put its nest and laid therein its eggs; nearby the Anzud bird had set his nest and settled therein his young. It was made with wood from the juniper and the box trees. The bird had made the bright twigs into a bower. When at daybreak the bird stretches himself, when at sunrise Anzud cries out, at his cry the ground quakes in the Lulubi mountains. He has a shark's teeth and an eagle's claws. In terror of him wild bulls run away into the foothills, stags run away into their mountains.

50-89. Lugalbanda is wise and he achieves mighty exploits. In preparation of the sweet celestial cakes he added carefulness to carefulness. He kneaded the dough with honey, he added more honey to it. He set them before the young nestling, before the Anzud chick, gave the baby fatty meat to eat. He fed it sheep's fat. He popped the cakes into its beak. He settled the Anzud chick in its nest, painted its eyes with kohl, dabbed white cedar scent onto its head, put up a twisted roll of salt meat. He withdrew from the Anzud's nest, awaited him in the mountains where no cypresses grow. At that time the bird was herding together wild bulls of the mountains, Anzud was herding together wild bulls of the mountains. He held a live bull in his talons, he carried a dead bull across his shoulders. He poured forth his bile like 10 gur of water. The bird halted once, Anzud halted (?) once. When the bird called back to the nest, when Anzud called back to the nest, his fledgling did not answer him from the nest. When the bird called a second time to the nest, his fledgling did not answer from the nest. Whenever the bird had called back to the nest before, his fledgling had answered from the nest; but now when the bird called back to the nest, his fledgling did not answer him from the nest. The bird uttered a cry of grief that reached up to heaven, his wife cried out "Woe!" Her cry reached the abzu. The bird with this cry of "Woe!" and his wife with this cry of grief made the Anuna, gods of the mountains, actually crawl into crevices like ants. The bird says to his wife, Anzud says to his wife, "Foreboding weighs upon my nest, as over the great cattle-pen of Nanna. Terror lies upon it, as when wild lions start butting each other. Who has taken my child from its nest? Who has taken the Anzud from its nest?"

90-110. But it seemed to the bird, when he approached the nest, it seemed to Anzud, when he approached the nest, that it had been made like a god's dwelling-place. It was brilliantly festooned. His chick was settled in its nest, its eyes were painted with kohl, sprigs of white cedar were fixed on its head. A twisted piece of salt meat was hung up high. The bird is exultant, Anzud is exultant: "I am the prince who decides the destiny of rolling rivers. I keep on the straight and narrow path the righteous who follow Enlil's counsel. My father Enlil brought me here. He let me bar the entrance to the mountains as if with a great door. If I fix a fate, who shall alter it? If I but say the word, who shall change it? Whoever has done this to my nest, if you are a god, I will speak with you, indeed I will befriend you. If you are a man, I will fix your fate. I shall not let you have any opponents in the mountains. You shall be 'Hero-fortified-by-Anzud'."

111-131. Lugalbanda, partly from fright, partly from delight, partly from fright, partly from deep delight, flatters the bird, flatters Anzud: "Bird with sparkling eyes, born in this district, Anzud with sparkling eyes, born in this district, you frolic as you bathe in a pool. Your grandfather, the prince of all patrimonies, placed heaven in your hand, set earth at your feet. Your wingspan extended is like a birdnet stretched out across the sky! …… on the ground your talons are like a trap laid for the wild bulls and wild cows of the mountains! Your spine is as straight as a scribe's! Your breast as you fly is like Nirah parting the waters! As for your back, you are a verdant palm garden, breathtaking to look upon. Yesterday I escaped safely to you, since then I have entrusted myself to your protection. Your wife shall be my mother" (he said), "You shall be my father" (he said), "I shall treat your little ones as my brothers. Since yesterday I have been waiting for you in the mountains where no cypresses grow. Let your wife stand beside you to greet me. I offer my greeting and leave you to decide my destiny."

132-141. The bird presents himself before him, rejoices over him, Anzud presents himself before him, rejoices over him. Anzud says to holy Lugalbanda, "Come now, my Lugalbanda. Go like a boat full of precious metals, like a grain barge, like a boat going to deliver apples, like a boat piled up high with a cargo of cucumbers, casting a shade, like a boat loaded lavishly at the place of harvest, go back to brick-built Kulaba with head held high!" -- Lugalbanda who loves the seed will not accept this.

142-148. "Like SHara, Inana's beloved son, shoot forth with your barbed arrows like a sunbeam, shoot forth with reed-arrows like moonlight! May the barbed arrows be a horned viper to those they hit! Like a fish killed with the cleaver, may they be magic-cut! May you bundle them up like logs hewn with the axe!" -- Lugalbanda who loves the seed will not accept this.

149-154. "May Ninurta, Enlil's son, set the helmet Lion of Battle on your head, may the breastplate that in the great mountains does not permit retreat be laid on your breast! May you …… the battle-net against the enemy! When you go to the city, ……!" -- Lugalbanda who loves the seed will not accept this.

155-159. "The plenty of Dumuzi's holy butter churn, whose butter is the butter of all the world, shall be granted (?) to you. Its milk is the milk of all the world. It shall be granted (?) to you." -- Lugalbanda who loves the seed will not accept this. As a kib bird, a freshwater kib, as it flies along a lagoon, he answered him in words.

160-166. The bird listened to him. Anzud said to holy Lugalbanda, "Now look, my Lugalbanda, just think again. It's like this: a wilful plough-ox should be put back in the track, a balking ass should be made to take the straight path. Still, I shall grant you what you put to me. I shall assign you an allotted destiny according to your wishes."

167-183. Holy Lugalbanda answers him: "Let the power of running be in my thighs, let me never grow tired! Let there be strength in my arms, let me stretch my arms wide, let my arms never become weak! Moving like the sunlight, like Inana, like the seven storms, those of Ishkur, let me leap like a flame, blaze like lightning! Let me go wherever I look to, set foot wherever I cast my glance, reach wherever my heart desires and let me loosen my shoes in whatever place my heart has named to me! When Utu lets me reach Kulaba my city, let him who curses me have no joy thereof; let him who wishes to strive with me never say "Just let him come!" I shall have the woodcarvers fashion statues of you, and you will be breathtaking to look upon. Your name will be made famous thereby in Sumer and will redound to the credit of the temples of the great gods."

184-202. So Anzud says to holy Lugalbanda: "The power of running be in your thighs! Never grow tired! Strength be in your arms! Stretch your arms wide, may your arms never become weak! Moving like the sun, like Inana, like the seven storms of Ishkur, leap like a flame, blaze like lightning! Go wherever you look to, set foot wherever you cast your glance, reach wherever your heart desires, loosen your shoes in whatever place your heart has named to you! When Utu lets you reach Kulaba your city, he who curses you shall have no joy thereof; he who wishes to strive with you shall never say "Just let him come!" When you have had the woodcarvers fashion statues of me, I shall be breathtaking to look upon. My name will be made famous thereby in Sumer and will redound to the credit of the temples of the great gods. May …… shake for you …… like a sandal. …… the Euphrates …… your feet ……."

203-219. He took in his hand such of his provisions as he had not eaten, and his weapons one by one. Anzud flew on high, Lugalbanda walked on the ground. The bird, looking from above, spies the troops. Lugalbanda, looking from below, spies the dust that the troops have stirred up. The bird says to Lugalbanda, "Come now, my Lugalbanda. I shall give you some advice: may my advice be heeded. I shall say words to you: bear them in mind. What I have told you, the fate I have fixed for you, do not tell it to your comrades, do not explain it to your brothers. Fair fortune may conceal foul: it is indeed so. Leave me to my nest: you keep to your troops." The bird hurried to his nest. Lugalbanda set out for the place where his brothers were.

220-237. Like a pelican emerging from the sacred reedbed, like lahama deities going up from the abzu, like one who is stepping from heaven to earth, Lugalbanda stepped into the midst of his brothers' picked troops. His brothers chattered away, the troops chattered away. His brothers, his friends weary him with questions: "Come now, my Lugalbanda, here you are again! The troops had abandoned you as one killed in battle. Certainly, you were not eating the good fat of the herd! Certainly, you were not eating the sheepfold's fresh cheese. How is it that you have come back from the great mountains, where no one goes alone, whence no one returns to mankind?" Again his brothers, his friends weary him with questions: "The banks of the mountain rivers, mothers of plenty, are widely separated. How did you cross their waters? -- as if you were drinking them?"

238-250. Holy Lugalbanda replies to them, "The banks of the mountain rivers, mothers of plenty, are widely separated. With my legs I stepped over them, I drank them like water from a waterskin; and then I snarled like a wolf, I grazed the water-meadows, I pecked at the ground like a wild pigeon, I ate the mountain acorns." Lugalbanda's brothers and friends consider the words that he has said to them. Exactly as if they were small birds flocking together all day long they embrace him and kiss him. As if he were a gamgam chick sitting in its nest, they feed him and give him drink. They drive away sickness from holy Lugalbanda.

251-283. Then the men of Unug followed them as one man; they wound their way through the hills like a snake over a grain-pile. When the city was only a double-hour distant, the armies of Unug and Kulaba encamped by the posts and ditches that surrounded Aratta. From the city it rained down javelins as if from the clouds, slingstones numerous as the raindrops falling in a whole year whizzed down loudly from Aratta's walls. The days passed, the months became long, the year turned full circle. A yellow harvest grew beneath the sky. They looked askance at the fields. Unease came over them. Slingstones numerous as the raindrops falling in a whole year landed on the road. They were hemmed in by the barrier of mountain thornbushes thronged with dragons. No one knew how to go back to the city, no was rushing to go back to Kulaba. In their midst Enmerkar son of Utu was afraid, was troubled, was disturbed by this upset. He sought someone whom he could send back to the city, he sought someone whom he could send back to Kulaba. No one said to him "I will go to the city." No one said to him "I will go to Kulaba." He went out to the foreign host. No one said to him "I will go to the city." No one said to him "I will go to Kulaba." He stood before the élite troops. No one said to him "I will go to the city." No one said to him "I will go to Kulaba." A second time he went out to the foreign host. No one said to him "I will go to the city." No one said to him "I will go to Kulaba." He stepped out before the élite troops.

284-289. Lugalbanda alone arose from the people and said to him, "My king, I will go to the city, but no one shall go

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with me. I will go alone to Kulaba. No one shall go with me." -- "If you go to the city, no one shall go with you. You shall go alone to Kulaba, no one shall go with you." He swore by heaven and by earth: "Swear that you will not let go from your hands the great emblems of Kulaba."

290-321. After he had stood before the summoned assembly, within the palace that rests on earth like a great mountain Enmerkar son of Utu berated Inana: "Once upon a time my princely sister holy Inana summoned me in her holy heart from the bright mountains, had me enter brick-built Kulaba. Where there was a marsh then in Unug, it was full of water. Where there was any dry land, Euphrates poplars grew there. Where there were reed thickets, old reeds and young reeds grew there. Divine Enki who is king in Eridu tore up for me the old reeds, drained off the water completely. For fifty years I built, for fifty years I was successful. Then the Martu peoples, who know no agriculture, arose in all Sumer and Akkad. But the wall of Unug extended out across the desert like a bird net. Yet now, here in this place, my attractiveness to her has dwindled. My troops are bound to me as a cow is bound to its calf; but like a son who, hating his mother, leaves his city, my princely sister holy Inana has run away from me back to brick-built Kulaba. If she loves her city and hates me, why does she bind the city to me? If she hates the city and yet loves me, why does she bind me to the city? If the mistress removes herself from me to her holy chamber, and abandons me like an Anzud chick, then may she at least bring me home to brick-built Kulaba: on that day my spear shall be laid aside. On that day she may shatter my shield. Speak thus to my princely sister, holy Inana."

322-344. Thereupon holy Lugalbanda came forth from the palace. Although his brothers and his comrades barked at him as at a foreign dog trying to join a pack of dogs, he stepped proudly forward like a foreign wild ass trying to join a herd of wild asses. "Send someone else to Unug for the lord." -- "For Enmerkar son of Utu I shall go alone to Kulaba. No one shall go with me" -- how he spoke to them! "Why will you go alone and keep company with no one on the journey? If our beneficent spirit does not stand by you there, if our good protective deity does not go with you there, you will never again stand with us where we stand, you will never again dwell with us where we dwell, you will never again set your feet on the ground where our feet are. You will not come back from the great mountains, where no one goes alone, whence no one returns to mankind!" -- "Time is passing, I know. None of you is going with me over the great earth." While the hearts of his brothers beat loudly, while the hearts of his comrades sank, Lugalbanda took in his hand such of his provisions as he had not eaten, and each of his weapons one by one. From the foot of the mountains, through the high mountains, into the flat land, from the edge of Anshan to the top of Anshan, he crossed five, six, seven mountains.

345-356. By midnight, but before they had brought the offering-table to holy Inana, he set foot joyfully in brick-built Kulaba. His lady, holy Inana, sat there on her cushion. He bowed and prostrated himself on the ground. With [(1 ms. adds:) joyful] eyes Inana looked at holy Lugalbanda as she would look at the shepherd Ama-ushumgal-ana. In a [(1 ms. adds:) joyful] voice, Inana spoke to holy Lugalbanda as she would speak to her son Lord SHara: "Come now, my Lugalbanda, why do you bring news from the city? How have you come here alone from Aratta?"

357-387. Holy Lugalbanda answered her: "What Enmerkar son of Utu quoth and what he says, what your brother quoth and what he says, is: "Once upon a time my princely sister holy Inana summoned me in her holy heart from the mountains, had me enter brick-built Kulaba. Where there was a marsh then in Unug, it was full of water. Where there was any dry land, Euphrates poplars grew there. Where there were reed thickets, old reeds and young reeds grew there. Divine Enki who is king in Eridu tore up for me the old reeds, drained off the water completely. For fifty years I built, for fifty years I was successful. Then the Martu peoples, who know no agriculture, arose in all Sumer and Akkad. But the wall of Unug extended out across the desert like a bird net. Yet now, here in this place, my attractiveness to her has dwindled. My troops are bound to me as a cow is bound to its calf; but like a son who, hating his mother, leaves his city, my princely sister holy Inana has run away from me back to brick-built Kulaba. If she loves her city and hates me, why does she bind the city to me? If she hates the city and yet loves me, why does she bind me to the city? If the mistress removes herself from me to her holy chamber and abandons me like an Anzud chick, then may she at least bring me home to brick-built Kulaba: on that day my spear shall be laid aside. On that day she may shatter my shield. Speak thus to my princely sister, holy Inana.""

388-398. Holy Inana uttered this response: "Now, at the end, on the banks, in the water-meadows, of a clear river, of a river of clear water, of the river which is Inana's gleaming waterskin, the suhurmash fish eats the honey-herb; the toad eats the mountain acorns; and the …… fish, which is a god of the suhurmash fish, plays happily there and darts about. With his scaly tail he touches the old reeds in that holy place. The tamarisks of the place, as many as there are, drink water from that pool."

399-408. "It stands alone, it stands alone! One tamarisk stands alone at the side! When Enmerkar son of Utu has cut that tamarisk and has fashioned it into a bucket, he must tear up the old reeds in that holy place roots and all, and collect them in his hands. When he has chased out from it the …… fish, which is a god of the suhurmash fish, caught that fish, cooked it, garnished it and brought it as a sacrifice to the a-an-kar weapon, Inana's battle-strength, then his troops will have success for him; then he will have brought to an end that which in the subterranean waters provides the life-strength of Aratta."

409-412. "If he carries off from the city its worked metal and smiths, if he carries off its worked stones and its stonemasons, if he renews the city and settles it, all the moulds of Aratta will be his."

413-416. Now Aratta's battlements are of green lapis lazuli, its walls and its towering brickwork are bright red, their brick clay is made of tinstone dug out in the mountains where the cypress grows.

417. Praise be to holy Lugalbanda.

THE GILGAMESH CYCLE

THE EPIC OF GILGAMESH

The Gilgamesh Epic
Estimated Time Range: 2150 BC - 1900 BC
Translation : William Muss-Arnolt 1901

(One of the most cited sources for ancient astronaut theorists, The Epic Of Gilgamesh began as a series of unconnected Sumerian stories around 2150 BC before being combined into the oldest written epic by Akkadian scholars around 1900 BC. The version we have today was edited by Sin-liqe-unninni around 1300-1000 BC. The epic tells the story of a demigod, Gilgamesh, who ventures with his companions (originally 50, like the Argonauts, but later just one) to the ends of the earth to slay monsters. The epic contains the earliest known account of the Great Flood, the main reason why this epic gained enormous prominence.

The Epic of Gilgamesh does not exist in a single complete copy. As such, modern translations typically must draw on multiple sources to produce a mostly coherent narrative, filling in the gaps in broken tablets. The translation of the Epic of Gilgamesh below is a modernized, revised, and updated version of the text originally translated by William Muss-Arnolt in 1901 from the Neo-Assyrian tablets found in the Library of Ashurbanipal. (The original Muss-Arnolt translation is here.) Parts of the translation incorporate additional material found on two Babylonian tablets known as the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets, translated in 1920 by Morris Jastrow, Jr. and Albert T. Clay, as well as other fragments made by L. W. King in Babylonian Religion and Mythology (1903). Although the language I used in revising this draws on these public domain translations, my version reflects the latest scholarship, including the 2003 edition of Andrew George, available here. My copy is meant primarily as a reading copy and should not be mistaken for scholarly; the interested reader is directed to George's edition for scholarly notes and a discussion of the underlying texts used to compile the Standard Version of the epic.

For this online edition of the Epic of Gilgamesh, I have standardised the use of names by changing references to major characters to current usage. Thus, Eabani has been standardized to Enkidu, Uchuat to Shamhat, etc. In the supplementary material, I have adapted the Babylonian names to reflect the usage in the Assyrian version of the epic to avoid confusion. Thus the Babylonian Gish is standardized as Gilgamesh, Huwawa as Humbaba, etc. For the original versions of these texts, please consult the sources listed at bottom.)

GILGAMESH EPIC TABLET 1

I will tell of the history of Gilgamesh, he who knows all that has happened and has seen all the lands of the world, he who has seen all kinds of wisdom and knows the mysteries and has seen what is hidden. He bringeth news dating farther back than the deluge. He has travelled far-distant roads and became weary, and now he has engraved on standing stones the whole of the story.

When the gods fashioned Gilgamesh, to him they gave a perfect form. The glorious sun Shamash bestowed upon him glory; Adad the terrible god of storms bestowed upon him courage. The great gods perfected his magnificence beyond all others, terrible like the great wild bull. Two thirds god they made him; one third man they made him.

Of Uruk, its great rampart he built, and the wall of the sacred Eanna temple, the holy sanctuary. Behold the outer walls which gleam with the brilliance of copper; see the inner wall which none might rival. Touch the threshold stone—it is from ancient days. Goest thou into the Eanna temple, yea, the dwelling place of Ishtar, the like of which no subsequent king or living man might equal. Ascend and walk about on the wall of Uruk, inspect the corner-stone, and examine its brick-work, whether its wall is not made of burned brick, and its foundation laid by the Seven Sages. One third for city, one third for garden, one third for field, and a precinct for the temple of Ishtar. These parts and the precinct comprise Uruk. Unveil the tablet box of copper. Unlatch the clasp of its brazen lock. Unbind the fastenings of the hidden opening. Bring forth and read out the lapis lazuli tablet that tells of the great hardships endured by Gilgamesh.

Greater than other kings, lofty in stature, a hero born in Uruk, a wild and rampaging bull was he. He leads forth at the front, the leader; he brings up the rear, a trusted companion. He is a great net who protects his men, a thrashing flood-wave capable of devastating even walls of stone. As son of Lugalbanda, Gilgamesh is perfection in his strength, son too of the august cow, Ninsun, the goddess. Gilgamesh is tall, glorious, and terrific. It was he who cut open the passes through the mountains, who dug the wells on the slopes of the mountainsides, and who crossed the ocean itself, the great sea, to meet the sunrise, exploring every part of the whole world for the secret of life. It was he who by his strength alone reached Utnapishtim, the distant, who restored the holy places that the Flood had destroyed, and who for the teeming masses instilled the rites of heaven.

Who can rival Gilgamesh? Who might like him say "It is I who am king?" From the moment of his birth his name has forever been Gilgamesh. Two thirds god they made him; one third man they made him. The Great Goddess herself planned the shape of his body; glory, beauty and perfection were bestowed on him by Nudimmud. His foot was a triple cubit in size, his leg half a rod. Six cubits did he cover in each stride. His cheeks were flush with ample beard, and his hair was thick like barley. His beauty was beyond compare, he was the most handsome man on earth.

Around the enclosed space that is Uruk he walks, mighty like the wild bull, head raised high. None with weapon might challenge him as rival. His men stand at attention, longing for his orders; but the old men of Uruk grouse that Gilgamesh has left no son to his father, for his arrogance has grown boundless. He has taken all their children, for is Gilgamesh not the shepherd of his people? Gilgamesh does not leave a daughter to her mother, nor the maiden to the warrior, nor the wife to her husband. Yet Gilgamesh is the magnificent and glorious shepherd of his people.

The gods heard the people's cry, and the gods of heaven beseeched the Lord of Uruk, Anu the god: "His men stand at attention, longing for his orders. Gilgamesh has left no son to his father, for his arrogance has grown boundless. He has taken all their children, for is Gilgamesh not the shepherd of his people? Gilgamesh does not leave a daughter to her mother, nor the maiden to the warrior, nor the wife to her husband."

Anu heard the lament of the gods, and they also cried aloud to Aruru, the goddess, saying, "Aruru, who hast created him, create now a rival to him, for the time when his heart shall be stormy. Maketh them a match for one another in strength that in contending with one another Uruk might have peace." Upon hearing these words, Aruru conceived a man of Anu in her mind. Aruru washed her hands, she broke off a piece of clay; she cast it on the ground. Thus she created Enkidu the hero. The whole of his body was covered with hair. He was clothed with long hair like a woman. The quality of his hair was luxuriant, like that of the Corn-goddess Nisaba. He knew not the land and the inhabitants thereof; he was clothed with garments as the god of the field. With gazelles he ate herbs, with the beasts he slaked his thirst, with the creatures of the water his heart rejoiced.

At the drinking-place Enkidu met a great trapper a first day and then a second and a third day, and on all three the two men came face to face. On seeing Enkidu the trapper grew pale with fear. He took all his animals and retreated to his home. Stiff with fright and numb with terror, his heart beat wildly. Fear filled him to the core, and his face had changed like a man who had journeyed far. The trapper speaketh unto his father. "A man unlike no other cometh down from the mountains. His strength is beyond compare; he is like unto an immortal. He rangeth over all the mountains. Regularly with the beasts he feedeth; regularly his feet are set toward the drinking-place. But I was afraid; I could not approach him. He hath filled up the pit which I digged. He hath destroyed the nets which I spread. He hath caused the cattle and the beasts of the field to escape from my hands, and he doth not let me make war upon them."

His father opened his mouth and spoke thus to the trapper: "My son, in Uruk there liveth a certain Gilgamesh. No man is stronger than he; he is like unto a star from highest heaven. Goest thou unto Uruk and telleth Gilgamesh of the might of this wild man. Asketh him to give unto thee a harlot, Shamhat, and taketh her with thee. And when the beasts come down to the drinking-place, then let her tear off her clothing and disclose her nakedness. Enkidu shall see her, and he shall

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draw nigh unto her, and the cattle, which grew up on his field, shall forsake him."

Heeding the advice of his father, the trapper traveled unto Uruk. He entered into the city of Uruk. He found Gilgamesh and spake unto him: "A man unlike no other cometh down from the mountains. His strength is beyond compare; he is like unto an immortal. He rangeth over all the mountains. Regularly with the beasts he feedeth; regularly his feet are set toward the drinking-place. But I was afraid; I could not approach him. He hath filled up the pit which I digged. He hath destroyed the nets which I spread. He hath caused the cattle and the beasts of the field to escape from my hands, and he doth not let me make war upon them." Gilgamesh replied unto the trapper: "Goest thou, trapper, and retrieve the harlot, Shamhat, and taketh her with thee. And when the beasts come down to the drinking-place, then let her tear off her clothing and disclose her nakedness. Enkidu shall see her, and he shall draw nigh unto her, and the cattle, which grew up on his field, shall forsake him."

The trapper departed, and took with him the harlot Shamhat. They took the straight road, and on the third day they reached the appointed place. Then the trapper and the harlot placed themselves in hiding. For one day, for two days, they lurked by the drinking-place. With the beasts Enkidu slaked his thirst; with the creatures of the waters his heart rejoiced. Then Enkidu, offspring of the mountains who with the gazelles eats herbs, with the beasts he slaked his thirst, with the creatures of the water his heart rejoiced. As Enkidu came near, the trapper caught sight of him, and he exclaimed:—"That is he, Shamhat! Loosen thy girdle, uncover thy nakedness that he may receive thy favours. Be not faint-hearted, lay hold upon his soul. He shall see thee, and shall draw nigh unto thee. Open thy garment, and he shall lie in thine arms. Give him pleasure after the manner of women. His cattle, which grew up in his field, shall forsake him while he holdeth thee in the embraces of love."

Shamhat loosened her garment. She uncovered her nakedness. She was not faint-hearted, and she laid hold upon his soul. She opened her garment, and he lay in her arms. She gave him pleasure after the manner of women, and he held her in the embraces of love.

For six days and six nights Enkidu succumbed to her charms and had intercourse with Shamhat. After he had satisfied himself with her abundance, he turned his countenance toward his cattle. His gazelles lay, and looked at Enkidu, and the beasts of the field turned away from him. This startled Enkidu and his body grew faint; his knees became stiff, as his cattle departed, and he became less agile than ever before. And as he hearkened, he made a resolve. He turned again, in love enthralled, to the feet of the harlot, and gazed up into the face of the ensnarer. And while the ensnarer spoke, his ears listened attentively; and the siren spoke to Enkidu and said: Lofty thou art, Enkidu, thou shalt be like a god; why, then, doest thou lie down with the beasts of the field? Come, I will take thee to strong-walled Uruk; to the glorious house, the dwelling of Anu and Ishtar, the palace of Gilgamesh, (the hero) who is perfect in strength,surpassing, like a mountain bull, men in power."

While she spoke thus to him, he hearkened unto her wise speech, and his heart yearned for a friend. And Enkidu spoke unto her, the ensnarer: "Come then, Shamhat, take me, and lead me to the glorious dwelling, the sacred seat of Anu and Ishtar, to the palace of Gilgamesh, (the hero) who is perfect in strength, surpassing, like as a mountain bull, men in power. I will challenge him, and I shall exclaim in Uruk that I am the mighty one! Let me enter, and I shall upend the order of things, and I shall show that the mightiest is he who was born in the wilderness."

Saith Shamhat unto Enkidu: "Let us therefore go unto Gilgamesh, that he might gazeth upon thy visage. I shall lead thee unto Gilgamesh, for I knoweth where he shall be. Gaze at Uruk, Enkidu, and see the people display themselves in their finery and rejoice each day in some holiday revel, as the lyre and the drum cease not their endless sound. Here harlots stand eternal vigil in their beauty, ripe in their bodies, merry in their countenance, and forever ready to take to sheets forever spread on the couches of the night. Enkidu, thou knowest not how to live like unto a man. To thee I shall show Gilgamesh, effusive in his emotion. Behold his face: it glows with heroic courage. Strength he possesses, magnificent is his whole body. His power is stronger than thine. He rests not nor tires, neither by day nor by night. O Enkidu, change thy wrong thoughts.

Shamash loves Gilgamesh; Anu, Bel, and Ea are whispering (wisdom) into his ear. Ere thou earnest down from the mountain Gilgamesh beheld thee in a dream in Uruk."

Gilgamesh came, to understand the dream, and said to his mother: "My mother, I dreamed a dream in my nightly vision; the stars of heaven, like Anu's host, fell upon me. I bore it and it grew heavy upon me, I became weak and its weight I could not endure. The land of Uruk gathered about it. The heroes kissed its feet. It was raised up before me. They stood me up. I bore it and carried it to thee."

The mother of Gilgamesh, who knows all things, spoke to Gilgamesh: "Someone, O Gilgamesh, who like thee in the field was born and whom the mountain has reared, thou wilt see him and like a woman thou wilt rejoice. Heroes will kiss his feet. Thou wilt spare him and wilt endeavor to lead him to me."

He slept and saw another dream, which he reported to his mother: "My mother, I have seen another dream. My likeness I have seen in the streets of Uruk of the plazas. An axe was brandished, and they gathered about him; and the axe made him angry. I saw him and I rejoiced, I loved him as a woman, I embraced him. I took him and regarded him as my brother."

The mother of Gilgamesh, who knows all things, spoke to Gilgamesh: "O Gilgamesh, the man whom thou sawest, whom thou didst embrace like a woman (means) that he is to be associated with thee." Gilgamesh understood the dream.

As Enkidu was sitting before the woman, her loins he embraced, her vagina he opened. Enkidu forgot the place where he was born. Six days and seven nights Enkidu continued to cohabit with the harlot.

GILGAMESH EPIC TABLET 2

As Enkidu was sitting before the woman, her loins he embraced, her vagina he opened. Enkidu forgot the place where he was born. Six days and seven nights Enkidu continued to cohabit with the harlot.

The harlot opened her mouth and spoke to Enkidu: "I gaze upon thee, O Enkidu, like a god art thou! Why with the cattle dost thou roam across the field? Come, let me lead thee into Uruk of the plazas, to the holy house, the dwelling of Anu. O, Enkidu arise, let me conduct thee to Eanna, the dwelling of Anu, the place where Gilgamesh is, perfect in vitality. And thou like a wife wilt embrace him. Thou wilt love him like thyself. Come, arise from the ground and find a place for yourself."

He heard her word and accepted her speech. The counsel of the woman entered his heart. She stripped off a garment, clothed him with one. Another garment she kept on herself. She took hold of his hand. Like a god she brought him to the fertile meadow, the place of the sheepfolds. In that place they received food; and the shepherds spoke of Enkidu, whose birthplace was the mountain, with the gazelles he was accustomed to eat herbs, with the cattle to drink water, with the water beings he was happy. Milk of the cattle he was accustomed to suck. Bread they placed before him. He broke it off and looked and gazed. Enkidu had not known to eat food. To drink ale he had not been taught.

The harlot opened her mouth and spoke to Enkidu: "Eat food, O Enkidu, the provender of life! Drink ale, the custom of the land!"

Enkidu ate food till he was satiated. Ale he drank, seven goblets. His spirit was loosened, he became hilarious. His heart became glad and his face shone. The barber removed the hair on his body. He was anointed with oil. He became manlike. He put on a garment, and he was like a man. He took his weapon; lions he attacked, so that the night shepherds could rest. He plunged the dagger; lions he overcame. The great shepherds lay down; Enkidu was their protector. The strong man, the unique hero, remained awake.

A particular man had been invited to a wedding. To Uruk he ventured, to the wedding he would go. Enkidu was making love to Shamhat when he lifted up his eyes and saw the man. He spoke to the harlot: "O, Shamhat, lure on the man. Why has he come to me? Let me learn his reason."

The woman called to the man, who approached to him and he beheld him. "Where dost thou venture? Why is the course of thy activity so burdensome?"

Then he opened his mouth and spoke to Enkidu: "I have been asked to a wedding, for to contract marriage is the destiny of men, and I shall lard the wedding table with delicious foods for the nuptial feast. For the King of Uruk of the plazas, open the veil, perform the marriage act! For Gilgamesh, the King of Uruk of the plazas, open the veil, perform the marriage act! He shall first couple with the bride-to-be before the bridegroom. By the decree pronounced by a god, from the cutting of his umbilical cord such is his fate."

At the speech of the man, Enkidu's face grew pale.

(About nine lines missing.)

Enkidu went in front, and the harlot behind him. He entered into Uruk of the plazas. The people gathered about him. As he stood in the streets of Uruk of the plazas, the men gathered, saying in regard to him: "Like the form of Gilgamesh he is formed; though shorter in stature, and thicker in bone. In sooth it must be he who was born in the highlands, and milk of cattle he was accustomed to suck."

In Uruk were held the customary festivals of sacrifice. The young men rejoiced, and they set up a champion: To the hero of fine appearance, to Gilgamesh, like a god, he became a rival to him.

For Ishtar a couch was stretched, and Gilgamesh lay down, and afterwards in the night he met the maiden bride. Enkidu approached and stood in the streets. He blocked the path of Gilgamesh during the exhibit of his power.

All the land of Uruk surrounded Gilgamesh; all the people were gathered around him. A crowd assembled to watch him, and all the men had gathered to see. They bowed down and kissed his feet. For Ishtar a couch was stretched, and Gilgamesh, like unto a god, was made substitute.

Against him Enkidu proceeded, his hair luxuriant. He started to go towards him. They met in the plaza of the district. Enkidu blocked the gate to the wedding-house with his foot, not permitting Gilgamesh to enter. They seized each other, like oxen. They fought. The threshold they demolished; the wall they impaired. Gilgamesh and Enkidu seized each other. Like oxen they fought. The threshold they demolished; the wall they impaired. Gilgamesh bent his foot to the ground, and his wrath was appeased. His breast was quieted. When his breast was quieted, Enkidu to him spoke, to Gilgamesh: "As a unique one, thy mother bore thee. The wild cow of the stall, Ninsun, has exalted thy head above men. Kingship over men Enlil has decreed for thee.

Enkidu said unto Gilgamesh, "Why do you desire to do this thing that is exceedingly difficult? Why dost thou desire to do this thing that is very difficult? Why dost thou desire to go down to the forest?" They kissed one another and so became bonded in friendship.

[In a missing section Gilgamesh introduces Enkidu to his mother.]

"He is the mightiest in the all the land, possessed of great strength. No man is stronger than he; he is like unto a star from highest heaven. He is tall in stature, like unto a battlement."

The mother of Gilgamesh, who knows everything, opened her mouth to speak, and spake thus unto her son: "…… Enkidu hath neither kith nor kin. With luxuriant hair like unto a woman, he was born in the wild place and hath no brethren."

The eyes of Enkidu filled with tears. He clutched his heart; sadly he sighed. The eyes of Enkidu filled with tears. He clutched his heart; sadly he sighed. The face of Gilgamesh was grieved. He spoke to Enkidu: "My friend, why are thy eyes filled with tears? Thy heart clutched, why dost thou sigh sadly?"

Enkidu opened his mouth and spoke to Gilgamesh: "Attacks, my friend, have exhausted my strength. My arms are lame, my strength has become weak."

Gilgamesh opened his mouth and spoke to Enkidu: ".....Humbaba, the terrible, ... let us destroy him that his power shall be no more. Let us go down to the cedar forest, and make Humbaba affright within his lair."

Enkidu opened his mouth and spoke to Gilgamesh: "Know, my friend, in the mountain, when I moved about with the cattle to a distance of one double hour into the heart of the forest, but who would penetrate within it, to Humbaba, whose roar is a flood, whose mouth is fire, whose breath is death? Why dost thou desire to do this, to advance towards the dwelling of Humbaba?"

Gilgamesh opened his mouth and spoke to Enkidu: "I will climb the slopes of the forest, to the dwelling of Humbaba. I will go down to the forest."

Enkidu opened his mouth and spoke to Gilgamesh: "How can we venture to the home of Humbaba, to keep safe the cedar forest? Enlil has decreed him to be a seven-fold terror. We must not together go down to the cedar forest, whose guardian, O warrior Gilgamesh, is a power without rest, Humbaba, whose voice is the Deluge. His speech is the inferno, and his breath is death. He can hear the movements of the forest at a double hour. Who would venture into his forest? Adad is the first, but Humbaba is the second. None among even the Igigi would oppose him, to keep safe the cedar forest, for Enlil has decreed him to be a seven-fold terror. To enter his forest is to be seized by shaking."

Gilgamesh opened his mouth and spoke to Enkidu: "Whoever, my friend, overcomes terror, it is well (for him) with Shamash for the length of his days. Mankind will speak of it at the gates. Wherever terror is to be faced, thou, forsooth, art in fear of death. Thy prowess lacks strength. I will go before thee, though thy mouth calls to me; 'thou art afraid to approach.' I will establish my name, for before Gilgamesh has fallen the corpse of Humbaba, the terrible one! Thou were born in the wilderness. The lion feared thee, all of which thou knowest. When thou callest to me, thou afflictest my heart. I am determined to enter the cedar forest. I will, indeed, establish my name. The work, my friend, to the artisans I will entrust. Weapons let them mold before us."

The work to the artisans they entrusted. At the forge the workmen sat in council. Hatchets the masters molded: Axes of three talents each they molded. Lances the masters molded; blades of two talents each, a spear of 30 mina each attached to them. The hilt of the lances held 30 mina in gold. Gilgamesh and Enkidu were equipped with 10 talents each.

He sealed fast Uruk's seven gates. He brought together the assembly, and the people gathered in the street of Uruk of the plazas, where Gilgamesh took to his throne. In the street of Uruk of the plazas the people sat before him. Thus he spoke to the elders of Uruk of the plazas:

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"Hear me, O elders of Uruk! I would tread the path to the terrible Humbaba, whose name fills the lands. I will conquer him in the cedar forest, like a strong offspring of Uruk. I will let the land hear that I am determined to conquer him in the cedar forest. A name I will establish."

To the young men of Uruk, Gilgamsh spoke thus: "Hear me, O young men of Uruk! You who understand combat, see that I shall tread the path to the terrible Humbaba, and face him in battle. Unto me giveth me your blessings, that I may see you again and return to Uruk safely. When I return I shall celebrate the New-Year twice over, two times in one year. Let the rejoicing commence, and the drums beat out in honour of Ninsun!"

Enkidu offered his counsel to the elders of Uruk and the young men of the city: "Tell Gilgamesh that he must not go down to the cedar forest, whose guardian is a power without rest, Humbaba, whose voice is the Deluge. His speech is the inferno, and his breath is death. He can hear the movements of the forest at a double hour. Who would venture into his forest? Adad is the first, but Humbaba is the second. None among even the Igigi would oppose him, to keep safe the cedar forest, for Enlil has decreed him to be a seven-fold terror. To enter his forest is to be seized by shaking."

The elders of Uruk of the plazas brought word to Gilgamesh: "Thou art young, O Gilgamesh, and thy heart carries thee away. Thou dost not know what thou proposest to do. We hear that Humbaba is enraged. Who has ever opposed his weapon? To one double hour in the heart of the forest, who has ever penetrated into it? Humbaba, whose roar is a deluge, whose mouth is fire, whose breath is death. Why dost thou desire to do this? To advance towards the dwelling of Humbaba?"

Gilgamesh heard the report of his counselors. He saw and cried out to his friend: "Now, my friend, thus I speak. I fear him, but I will go to the cedar forest; I will go with thee to the cedar forest."

GILGAMESH EPIC TABLET 3

Gilgamesh spoke unto the elders of Uruk: "I, Gilgamesh, the strong one of the land take to a road which I have never trodden; when I shall have succeeded, I will praise thee in the joy of my heart, I will extol the superiority of thy power, I will seat thee on thrones."

The masters brought the weapons; bow and quiver they placed in hand. He took the hatchet and his quiver. With his lance in his girdle, he and Enkidu prepared to take to the road.

The elders of Uruk approached Gilgamesh. "How long till thou returnest to Uruk?" Again the elders approached him. For the road they counseled Gilgamesh: "Do not rely, O Gilgamesh, on thy strength! Provide food and save thyself! Let Enkidu go before thee. He is acquainted with the way, he has trodden the road to the entrance of the forest of Humbaba. He who goes in advance will save the companion. Provide for his road and save thyself! May Shamash carry out thy endeavor! May he make thy eyes see the prophecy of thy mouth. May he track out for thee the closed path! May he level the road for thy treading! May he level the mountain for thy foot! During thy night the word that wilt rejoice. May Lugalbanda convey, and stand by thee in thy endeavor! Like a youth may he establish thy endeavor! In the river of Humbaba as thou plannest, wash thy feet! Round about thee dig a well! May there be pure water constantly for thy libation, and goblets of water pour out to Shamash! May Lugalbanda take note of it!"

The elders of Uruk spoke unto Enkidu: "We place in thy care Gilgamesh, our king. Bring him back unto us and replace him into our care.

Gilgamesh opened his mouth and spoke thus unto Enkidu: "Come, my friend. Let us go unto the Great Palace, to the great Queen Ninsun. Ninsun, who knoweth all, shall place our feet into the steps of wise counsel."

Going hand in hand, Gilgamesh and Enkidu went unto the Great Palace, to the great Queen Ninsun. Gilgamesh rose and entered into the presence of the great Queen Ninsun.

Gilgamesh opened his mount and spoke thus unto Ninsun: "O, Ninsun, I shall tread the road to the entrance of the forest of Humbaba. I shall face an unknown war. I shall travel a road I knoweth not. Give unto me thy blessing. Alloweth me to see once more thy face in safety, and returneth through the gates of Uruk. When I return I shall celebrate the New-Year twice over, two times in one year. Let the rejoicing commence, and the drums beat out in honour of Ninsun."

Ninsun, the wild cow, listened intently and sadly to the words of Gilgamesh, her son, and to Enkidu as well. She donned a beautiful gown to adorn her body, a diadem she chose to cover her breast. She donned her cap and placed over it her tiara. Before Shamash she sacrificed a smoke-offering, poured out a drink-offering; lifted up before Shamash her hand, praying: "Why hast thou disquieted the heart of Gilgamesh? Now thou hast taught him, and a far road he travels unto Humbaba. An unknown fight he is about to enter, to an unknown war he is about to set forth. From the day that he goeth, until he returneth again, until he comes to the splendid cedar wood, until he shall have killed Humbaba the despot, and removeth from the land that horror which thou dost detest, each day in thy daily circuit of the earth let thy bride Aya the fearless remindeth thee to entrust Gilgamesh to the stars, the watchers of the night.

"Thou who hast opened the gates for the herd to escape, for thee the heavens brighten and the animals awaiteth thy rosy light. Let thy bride Aya the fearless remindeth thee to entrust Gilgamesh to the stars, the watchers of the night. May thou maketh the days long and the nights short while Gilgamesh treads the road to the Forest of Cedar. Let him be resolute. Let him pitch camp at eventide. Let thy bride Aya the fearless remindeth thee that on the day Gilgamesh and Enkidu doeth battle with Humbaba that thou shalt unleasheth all the winds, the winds of the south, north, east, and west, the hurricane, the tempest, the typhoon, the gale, the frost-wind, and the devil-wind, the blast and counterblast, and the tornado. Let the thirteen winds darken the face of Humbaba that Gilgamesh might reach him with his weapons! Why thine own flames art kindles, O Shamash, then turn thy face unto thy supplicant! Thy fleet-footed mules shall carry thee; a restful bed shall be thine. The gods, thy brethren, shall bring food for thee. Aya the bride shall dry thy face with her robe."

Again Ninsun, the wild cow, pleaded unto Shamash: "O, Shamash, will not Gilgamesh share the heavens with thee? Will he not share royal honours with the moon? Will he not be as wise as Ea of the Apsu sea below, or rule the black-headed people with Irnina? Will he not dwell in Hades with Ningishzida?" ……

After Ninsun, who knoweth all, had pleaded with Shamash, she extinguished her censer, descended from the roof, and spoke thus unto Enkidu: "O, Enkidu, although thou art not of my womb, henceforth thy brood are to be among the votaries of Gilgamesh, the priestesses and women of the temple." She placed upon Enkidu's neck the sacred symbols. "The priestesses accept the foundling, and the women of the temple raise him as foster child. Enkidu, who art beloved of me, thee I take for mine own son. Enkidu shall be brother unto Gilgamesh. When you tread together the path to the Forest of Cedar, let the days be long and the nights short. Let yourselves be resolute. Let yourselves pitch camp at eventide!"

[A damaged section tells of the rituals Gilgamesh and Enkidu perform to guarantee safe passage. When the text resumes, Gilgamesh is giving instructions for the governance of Uruk in his absence.]

"From the day that I go, until I return again, until I come to the splendid cedar wood, until I shall have killed Humbaba the despot, and removeth from the land that horror which Shamash doth detest, do not assemble the young men in the streets, nor render judgement on the lawsuits of the weak while we fight to land blows on Humbaba."

The elders and the young men offered their well-wishes to Gilgamesh. The young men gathered around him, and the elders kissed his feet, saying unto him:

"Do not rely, O Gilgamesh, on thy strength! Provide food and save thyself! Let Enkidu go before thee. He is acquainted with the way, he has trodden the road to the entrance of the forest of Humbaba. He who goes in advance will save the companion. Provide for his road and save thyself! May Shamash carry out thy endeavor! May he make thy eyes see the prophecy of thy mouth. May he track out for thee the closed path! May he level the road for thy treading! May he level the mountain for thy foot! During thy night the word that wilt rejoice. May Lugalbanda convey, and stand by thee in thy endeavor! Like a youth may he establish thy endeavor! In the river of Humbaba as thou plannest, wash thy feet! Round about thee dig a well! May there be pure water constantly for thy libation, and goblets of water pour out to Shamash! May Lugalbanda take note of it!

The elders of Uruk spoke unto Enkidu: "We place in thy care Gilgamesh, our king. Bring him back unto us and replace him into our care."

Enkidu opened his mouth and spoke to Gilgamesh: "Since thou art resolved to take the road, thy heart be not afraid, trust to me! Keep thou thine eyes upon me! In the forest, I came to know Humbaba's habitation. Send therefore the crowd to their homes, for they must not go with us."

The assembled men heard the words of Enkidu, and with joyful hearts returned to their homes. The young men raised a prayer unto Shamash: "May the god go before you. May Shamash let you achieve success!"

Gilgamesh and Enkidu went forth.

GILGAMESH EPIC TABLET 4

At twenty leagues they took a meal; at thirty leagues they took a rest. The walked for six weeks, nearer still to Mount Lebanon. Before Shamash they dug a hole. Then Gilgamesh went up upon the height of a mountain, and poured his sacrificial meal into the hole, saying: "Mountain, bring a dream unto me! Let me see dream-visions, O Shamash."

Enkidu prepared a House for the God of Dreams, and a great wind chilled them. Enkidu attached a covering, while Gilgamesh rested his chin on his knees and succumbed to sleep. In the middle of the night, his sleep was disturbed, and he rose to speak to his friend. "My friend, hast thou called me? Why have I awakened? Hast thou touched me? Hath a god passed by? Why art my muscles trembling? Enkidu, my friend, I have had a dream. The dream that I dreamed was very terrible; in the valleys between the mountains we were walking. A great mountain fell down upon us."

Enkidu heard this dream and said to him: "My friend, this dream is favourable, for it tells us that we shall triumph over Humbaba. The mountain which thou sawest in thy dream is Humbaba. The dream foretells that we shall kill Humbaba and dispatch his corpse to the wasteland. Come morning Shamash shall send us a favourable omen."

At twenty leagues they took a meal; at thirty leagues they took a rest. They walked for six weeks, nearer still to Mount Lebanon. Before Shamash they dug a hole. Then Gilgamesh went up upon the height of a mountain, and poured his sacrificial meal into the hole, saying: "Mountain, bring a dream unto me! Let me see dream-visions, O Shamash."

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Enkidu heard this dream and said to him: "My friend, this dream is favourable. We draweth close to the forest and soon shall see battle. Thou shalt soon see the radiance of the god Humbaba, whom thou fearest. Like a bull thou shalt batter him, making him kneel to your strength. The old man thou seest is thy god Lugalbanda. Come morning Shamash shall send us a favourable omen."

At twenty leagues they took a meal; at thirty leagues they took a rest. They walked for six weeks, nearer still to Mount Lebanon. Before Shamash they dug a hole. Then Gilgamesh went up upon the height of a mountain, and poured his sacrificial meal into the hole, saying: "Mountain, bring a dream unto me! Let me see dream-visions, O Shamash."

Enkidu prepared a House for the God of Dreams, and a great wind chilled them. Enkidu attached a covering, while Gilgamesh rested his chin on his knees and succumbed to sleep. In the middle of the night, his sleep was disturbed, and he rose to speak to his friend. "My friend, hast thou called me? Why have I awakened? Hast thou touched me? Hath a god passed by? Why art my muscles trembling? Enkidu, my friend, I have had another dream. The dream that I dreamed was very terrible; I dreamed I saw a Thunderbird in the sky. It flew like a cloud, and its mouth was fire and its breath death. A strange man stood before me and the bird seized my arm in his talons……."

Enkidu heard this dream and said to him: "My friend, this dream is favourable. Thou dreamed that thou sawest a Thunderbird in the sky. It flew like a cloud, and its mouth was fire and its breath death. A strange man stood before thee and the bird seized thine arm in his talons. The man thou hast seen was Shamash. We shall bring about the destruction of Humbaba. We shall bind his wings. Come morning Shamash shall send us a favourable omen."

At twenty leagues they took a meal; at thirty leagues they took a rest. They walked for six weeks. Before Shamash they dug a hole. Then Gilgamesh went up upon the height of a mountain, and poured his sacrificial meal into the hole, saying: "Mountain, bring a dream unto me! Let me see dream-visions, O Shamash."

Enkidu prepared a House for the God of Dreams, and a great wind chilled them. Enkidu attached a covering, while Gilgamesh rested his chin on his knees and succumbed to sleep. In the middle of the night, his sleep was disturbed, and he rose to speak to his friend. "My friend, hast thou called me? Why have I awakened? Hast thou touched me? Hath a god passed by? Why art my muscles trembling? Enkidu, my friend, I have had another dream. The dream that I dreamed was very terrible; I grappled with a wild bull who pounded the ground to dust. I fell to my knees before the bull, and the bull gave me water to drink from his water-skin."

Enkidu heard this dream and said to him: "My friend, the god to whom we venture is not the wild bull. Shamash in the wild bull, and he protects us both. The one who gave water unto thee is Lugalbanda, who bringeth honour to thee. We therefore must join together to accomplish a great deed, the likes of which hath never before occurred in the land. Come morning Shamash shall send us a favourable omen."

At the entrance to the forest Enkidu opened his mouth to speak and sayeth unto Gilgamesh: "Why dost thou cry? O Gilgamesh, son of Uruk, stand tall!"

Shamash heard what he had said, and from the sky he sent forth a booming voice: "Hurry to stand against Humbaba! Let him enter not the forest; let him enter not his grove! Let

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him put not on the seven cloaks! One he wears, but six hath he shed!"

Humbaba gave forth a mighty roar, and his voice was like thunder. The forest shook with his bellows, and he sounded like Adad, the God of the Storm.

Enkidu opened his mouth to speak and said to Gilgamesh: "Mine arms grow stiff, and my knees quake" Gilgamesh opened his mouth to speak and said to Enkidu: "Why should we speak as cowards? Did we not cross the mighty mountains? Fear not! Let your voice resound like a drum! Let the stiffness fall from thy arms and the quaking from thy knees! Take my hand, and let us go forth together. Let thine thoughts to combat turn! Forget death and focus on life! He who goes in advance will save the companion. Provide for his road and save thyself!"

And the two men arrived at the Forest of Cedar, ceased to speak, and stood still.

GILGAMESH EPIC TABLET 5

There they stood, lofty arose the forest, and astonished they gazed at the height of the cedars and at the entrance of the cedar wood, where Humbaba was wont to walk with lofty steps. Ways were laid out and paths well kept. They saw the cedar mountain, the dwelling of gods, the sanctuary of Imini. In front of the mountain a cedar stood of great splendour, fine and good was its shade, full of gladness sweetness and delight. Thick and tangled were the thorns beneath the dark canopy of the vast forest…….

[Fragments indicate that a battle with Humbaba commences.]

"We have arrived a place forbidden to men. Let us set our weapons upon the gate of Humbaba." Enkidu said unto his friend Gilgamesh, "Humbaba is as violent as the oncoming storm; like the god of the storms, he will destroy us."

Humbaba opened his mouth to speak, and he said to Gilgamesh: "Only fools would seek counsel from vulgar brutes. What bringeth thee before me? Enkidu, thou art the spawn of the fish, a man who knoweth no father, the hatchling of a turtle, who suckled not his mother's milk. In thy youth, I saw and watched thee, though I did not go over unto thee. ……. in my belly. Traitor! Thou bringest before me Gilgamesh and standeth before me as warrior and stranger. I will cut the throat of Gilgamesh, the corpse to be devoured by the vultures!"

Gilgamesh opened his mouth to speak, saying unto Enkidu: "My friend, the countenance of this monster Humbaba has changed. Though we came here to defeat him, I fear my heart will not let me."

Enkidu opened his mouth to speak, saying unto Gilgamesh: "Why, my friend, speaketh thou as a coward? Your fearfulness causeth me to lose faith. We have but one task, and the copper runneth already into the mold. To send forth the Flood is to crack the whip! Retreat not! Do not withdraw! Make mighty thy blow!"

He smote the ground and faced the monster. At their feet, the earth gave way, and in their throes they broke the mountains of Sirion and Lebanon. The very clouds turned black and rained death upon them all. Against Humbaba Shamash unleashed all the winds, the winds of the south, north, east, and west, the hurricane, the tempest, the typhoon, the gale, the frost-wind, and the devil-wind, the blast and counterblast, and the tornado. The thirteen winds darkened the face of Humbaba so that Gilgamesh could reach him with his weapons. Humbaba pleaded for his life, saying unto Gilgamesh:

"Thou art but a youth, Gilgamesh, but truly a son of the wild cow Ninsun. By the command of Shamash, thou hast flattened the great mountains, O son of Uruk, Gilgamesh the king! Spare my life, Gilgamesh, and allow me to live out my days in the Forest of Cedar. Take as many trees as you desire; I will guard the wood that will be the pride of thy palace."

Enkidu opened his mouth to speak, saying unto Gilgamesh: "Listen not to his supplications!"

Humbaba opened his mouth to speak, saying unto Enkidu: "Thou art wise in the ways of the forest, yet too you know the art of speech. I should have hangest thou from a sapling, the corpse to be devoured by the vultures. Yet my deliverance lies with thee, if thou wouldst tell Gilgamesh to spare my life."

Enkidu opened his mouth to speak, saying unto Gilgamesh: "My friend, slay Humbaba who guards the Forest of Cedar. Eliminate all his power. Do this before Enlil the Preeminent discovers what we do and the gods grow angry with us, Enlil in Nippur and Shamash in Larsa. Make for us a name everlasting because Gilgamesh slew the monstrous Humbaba!"

Humbaba lifted his head and opened his mouth to speak, saying unto Enkidu: "Thou sitteth before Gilgamesh like a hired shepherd, slavishly doing as your lord commands. Yet my deliverance lies with thee, if thou wouldst tell Gilgamesh to spare my life."

Enkidu opened his mouth to speak, saying unto Gilgamesh: "My friend, slay Humbaba who guards the Forest of Cedar. Eliminate all his power. Do this before Enlil the Preeminent discovers what we do and the gods grow angry with us, Enlil in Nippur and Shamash in Larsa. Make for us a name everlasting because Gilgamesh slew the monstrous Humbaba!"

Humbaba heard all he said and cursed the both of them: "May neither of you live to see old age. Except by Gilgamesh his friend, none shall bury Enkidu."

Enkidu opened his mouth to speak, saying unto Gilgamesh: "I speaketh unto thee, my friend, but thou hearest me not. Let Humbaba's curses return unto his own mouth."

Gilgamesh heard what his friend has spoken, and he drew forth his dagger and smote the monster's neck. He fell, and blood ran forth like rivers, filling the ravines. As the monster fell, he shook the ground for two leagues' distant, shaking them as once he has made the mountains and the hills tremble with the thunder of his voice. Gilgamesh pulled out his tongue, his lungs, and his innards. From the monster's head, Gilgamesh carved off the tusks as trophies. And abundance rained down upon the mountains. Gilgamesh discovered within the cedars the secret home of the gods as he trampled through the forest primeval.

Enkidu opened his mouth to speak, saying unto Gilgamesh: "Thou has felled the guardian of the forest by thy strength alone. Nothing can bring dishonour unto thee. Therefore, flatten the Forest of Cedar! Find for me a tall cedar whose tip touches the sky. I shall fashion from it a door as broad as the length of a reed, which shall have no pivot but instead shall sit within the door jam. Its thickness shall be a cubit; its breadth the length of the reed. May no stranger approach a door meant only for the love of the gods. The Euphrates shall carry the door to the Temple of Enlil in Nippur, where the people and the god himself might rejoice in it."

They built a raft and placed a great cedar upon it. Enkidu piloted the raft, and Gilgamesh bore the head of Humbaba.

GILGAMESH EPIC TABLET 6

He cleansed his weapons, he polished his arms. He took off the armor that was upon him. He put away his soiled garments and put on clean raiment; clothed himself with his ornaments, put on his diadem. Gilgamesh placed upon his head the crown and put on his diadem.

To win the favour and love of Gilgamesh, Ishtar, the lofty goddess desired and said unto him: "Come, Gilgamesh, be thou my spouse, give, O give unto me thy manly strength. Be thou my husband, let me be thy wife, and I will set thee in a chariot embossed with precious stones and gold, with wheels made of gold, and horns of amber. Large kudanu-lions thou shalt harness to it. Under sweet-smelling cedars thou shalt enter into our house. And when thou enterest into our house Thou shalt sit upon a lofty throne, and people shall kiss thy feet; kings and lords and rulers shall bow down before thee. Whatever mountain and country produces, they shall bring to thee as tribute. Thy sheep shall bear twin-ewes. Thy laden donkey shall outpace the mule!

Thy horse shall gallop before the chariot in glory, and no ox shall equal thine."

But Gilgamesh opened his mouth and spoke unto her; said unto the lofty goddess Ishtar:

"If I were to take thee in marriage, whence would come my sustenance? Wouldst thou feedest me the food of the gods and pour me kingly ale? Who wouldst takest thee in marriage? Thou art the frost that freezes no ice, the door that stays not the wind, the bitumen that stains its holder's hand, a water-skin that cuts its holder's hand, limestone that weakens the wall it builds, a battering ram that destroys all walls, a shoe that cuts the feet of its wearer. Let me rehearse for thee the tale of thy lovers. Where is thy husband Dumuzi, who was to be forever? What, indeed, has become of the allallu-bird? Well, I will tell thee plainly the dire result of thy coquetries. To Dumuzi, the husband of thy youth, thou didst cause weeping and didst bring grief upon him every year. The allallu-bird, so bright of colors, thou didst love; but its wing thou didst break and crush, so that now it sits in the woods crying: 'O my wing!' Thou didst also love a lion, powerful in his strength, seven and seven times didst thou dig a snaring pit for him. Thou didst also love a horse, pre-eminent in battle, but with lash, spur, and whip thou didst force it on, didst force it to run seven double-leagues at a stretch. And when it was tired and wanted to drink, thou still didst force it on, thereby causing weeping and grief to its mother Silili. Thou didst also love a shepherd of the flock, the herdsman who continually poured out incense before thee, and, for thy pleasure, slaughtered lambs day by day. Thou didst smite him, and turn him into a woldf, so that his own sheep-boys drove him away, and his own dogs tore him to pieces. Thou didst also love Ishulllanu, a gardener of thy father, who continually brought unto thee dainties, and daily adorned thy table for thee. Thine eye thou didst cast on him and turn his mind, saying: 'Oh, Ishullanu, let us enjoy thy manly strength. Let thy hand come forth and stroke my vulva.' But Ishullanu spoke unto thee and said: 'Me!—what is this that thou askest of me? Hath not my mother baked, and have I not eaten, that now that the food I shall eat is slander and insult? Should I let only rushes cover me in the cold?' And when thou didst hear such words, thou didst smite him and change him into a dwarf. And didst thus compel him to lie on a couch, so that he could no more rise up from his bed. And now thou wouldst also love me; but like unto them I would fare."

When Ishtar heard such words she became enraged, and went up into heaven, and came unto Anu her father, and to Antum her mother she went, and thus spoke unto them: "My father, Gilgamesh has insulted me; Gilgamesh has upbraided me with my evil deeds, my deeds of evil and of violence."

And Anu opened his mouth and spoke—said unto her, the mighty goddess Ishtar: "Didst thou not provoke Gilgamesh so that he has upbraided thee with thy evil deeds, thy deeds of evil and of violence?"

And Ishtar opened her mouth and said, she spoke unto Anu, her father: "My father, give to me the Heaven-Bull that I might slay Gilgamesh in his very place of dwelling. If thou givest me not the Heaven-Bull, I shall crush the gates of Hades and free the shades below. I shall bring up the dead that they might consume the living, and I shall make the dead to outnumber those that yet live."

And Anu opened his mouth and spoke—said unto her, the mighty goddess Ishtar: "If thou wanteth from me the Heaven-Bull, make the widow of Uruk gather seven years' wheat, and make the farmer of Uruk grow seven years' hay."

Ishtar opened her mouth, saying unto Anu: "This wheat is already stored; this hay already grown. The widow of Uruk gathered seven years' wheat, and the farmer of Uruk grew seven years' hay. With the Heaven-Bull I will have revenge!"

Anu heard the words of the mighty goddess Ishtar and gave unto her the nose-rope of the Heaven-Bull.

Ishtar descended with the Heaven-Bull, leading it to the land of Uruk, where its thirst sucked dry the mashes and the forest, and it lowered the level of the river by seven cubits. When the Heaven-Bull snorted, the earth opened before it and one hundred men of Uruk fell down into it. A second time the Heaven-Bull snorted, and the earth opened before it and two hundred men of Uruk fell down into it. A third time the Heaven-Bull snorted, and the earth opened before it, and Enkidu fell down into it up unto his waist. Enkidu leapt from the opening and seized the Heaven-Bull by its horns. The bull spat in his face.

Enkidu opened his mouth to speak, saying unto Gilgamesh: "My friend, we have set ourselves up above others in this city. How shall we make answer unto the people? I have tested the strength of the Heaven-Bull and have learned his ways. Let me test the strength of the Heaven-Bull once more. I shall stand behind the Heaven-Bull and grasp him by his heavy tail. I will set my foot upon his leg, and thou can thus slaughter him with thy knife like a skillful butcher.

Enkidu came up behind the Heaven-Bull, and grasped him by his heavy tail. He set his foot upon his leg. Then Gilgamesh slaughtered him with his knife like a skillful butcher. After they had killed the Heaven-Bull, they made his heart into an offering for Shamash. They prostrated themselves before the God of the Sun, and then Gilgamesh and Enkidu sat together.

Then Ishtar went up to the wall of Uruk, the strong-walled; she uttered a piercing cry and broke out into a curse, saying: "Woe to Gilgamesh, who thus has grieved me, and has killed the Heaven-Bull."

But Enkidu, hearing these words of Ishtar, tore out the right side of the Heaven-Bull, and threw it into her face, saying: "And thus I would, indeed, defeat thee had I caught thee; and I would do unto thee even as I have done to him; I would drape thy arm in entrails, forsooth."

Then Ishtar gathered her followers, that ruin men, the hierodules and the sacred prostitutes. Over the right side of the heaven-bull she wept and lamented. But Gilgamesh assembled the people, and all his workmen. The workmen admired the size of its horns. Thirty minas of precious stones was their value; two minas in size were their rims; six measures of oil they both could hold. For the anointing of his god Lugalbanda he dedicated it. He brought the horns and hung them up in the shrine of his lordship. Then they washed their hands in the river Euphrates, took the road, and set out for the city, and rode through the streets of the city of Uruk. The people of Uruk assembled and looked with astonishment at the heroes.

Gilgamesh then spoke to the servants of his palace and cried out unto them, saying: "Who is glorious among the heroes? Who shines among the men? Gilgamesh is glorious among the heroes! Gilgamesh shines among the men!"

And Gilgamesh held a joyful feast in his palace. Then the heroes slept, stretched out upon their couches. And Enkidu slept, and saw a vision in his sleep. He arose in the morning and considered the dream, and spoke unto Gilgamesh thus: "My friend, wherefore have the great gods thus taken counsel?"

GILGAMESH EPIC TABLET 7

"My friend, wherefore have the great gods thus taken counsel?" When dawn broke, Enkidu spoke to Gilgamesh, saying: "What a dream I dreamed last night, my friend and brother! The great gods Anu, Enlil, Ea, and Shamash held an assembly, and Anu spoke unto Ea thus: 'Because these two slew the Heaven-Bull, and slew Humbaba, the guardian of the

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mountains and the Forest of Cedar, one of the two must die.' Enlil said unto Anu, 'Let Enkidu die, for Gilgamesh must die not!' Shamash, however, spoke unto Enlil thus: 'Was it not by thy order that these men slew the Heaven-Bull and the guardian Humbaba? Why should the innocent Enkidu die for this?' But Enlil, burning with anger at Shamash, said unto him: 'Each day thou traveled with them like unto a companion.'"

Enkidu fell down before Gilgamesh and began to cry tears which flowed like rivers. "O, brother of mine, I shall never again rise before thee. For me is only the land of the dead, where I shall sit forever. Once the gates to Hades I cross, never again shall I set mine eyes upon thee."

Enkidu lifted his eyes and began to talk with a door as though it were a man. "O, dumb door, I know what thou dost not. Across twenty leagues I sought thy timber until I findeth thee, the finest of the cedars. There is none other tree like unto thee; six gar [1 gar = 12 or 14 cubits] is thy height and two gar thy thickness. The whole of you, from pivot to post, is of a piece, a piece I raised up and installed in Nippur. Had I but known how you would reward mine effort, I would have used my axe to cut you down and set you adrift as a raft to Ebabbara to place you as portal to the temple of Shamash, who heard my words and gave me my weapon. O, door, if I raised thee, might I also destroy thee? May some king who follows me burn with hatred for thee, or remove my name from thy wood, and install his own."

Enkidu began to cry again, and as Gilgamesh listened, he too cried.

Gilgamesh opened his mouth to speak, saying unto Enkidu: "Why dost thou blaspheme? Thy dream was profound, and it hath caused great dread. Thy lips buzz like flies. But in it the gods leave unto the survivor only grief. I will beseech the great gods for thee; I will seek out thy god Shamash and appeal unto him for thy sake. I will ask Anu the father of the gods, and pray that the great counselor Enlil heareth my words. May Ea remain open to my prayer! I will fashion a statue for thee from endless gold."

Enkidu opened his mouth to speak, saying unto Gilgamesh: "My friend, waste no silver or gold on me. The word of Enlil is unlike that of the other gods, for whatsoever he commands must come to pass; whatsoever he sets in place cannot be undone. This is my destiny, my friend, to die before my time."

As dawn broke, Enkidu lifted his head and offered sad prayers to Shamash as his tears glistened in the sunlight: "I beg thee, Shamash, for my life. I curse the trapper who caused me to be less great than my friend. May his share be diminished; may his god leaveth his house through the window." He then cursed Shamhat the harlot: "I curse thee, Shamhat, to a dark destiny; I afflict thee with this curse: May thou never knowest a true home, nor rejoiceth in the love of a family. Thou shalt not sit in the young women's chamber. Thine finest garments shall fall to the ground, and the drunkard shalt stain it in the dirt. Thou shalt have no beautiful things, nor abundance at thy table. Thy very bed shall be a rude bench. Thou shalt sit at the crossroads and lie in ruined fields. Thou shalt stand before the walls, and thorns shall cut thy feet. All shall strike at thy cheek. The workman shall not plaster thy roof, and owls shall make a home in thy bedroom. Thou hast made a weak a man who was once unsullied. In the very wilderness which was my home, you made me weak who was once unsullied."

Shamash heard what he had said, and from the sky he sent forth a booming voice: "O, Enkidu, curse not the harlot who fed thee the food of the gods and poured thee kingly ale and gave the magnificent Gilgamesh unto thee as companion. On a fine, grand couch, on a fine couch Gilgamesh will let thee recline. He will place thee upon a couch, a seat to the left. The kings of the earth shall kiss thy feet. The people of Uruk shall lament for thee, and the nations shall mourn for thee, and in mourning the hair of Gigamesh shall become matted and into the wild he will wander in the skin of a lion."

Enkidu listened to the word of Shamash, the warrior hero, and his angry heart became quieted. "O, Shamhat, thy destiny I shall improve. Governors and nobles will love thee. A league distant men shall slap their thighs for thee; at two leagues' distance they shall shake their hair for thee. Soldiers shall unfasten their belts at thy will and shower thee with obsidian, precious stones, and gold. Jewelry shall be thine! Ishtar, the lofty goddess, shall open the doors to the home of a rich man, who shall desert his wife for thee thou she bare unto him seven children."

But Enkidu's mind remained disquieted, and he turned over his thoughts in his head. He relieved his heart and spoke to his friend. "What a dream I dreamed in my night's sleep! The stars of heaven fell upon the earth. Frightened, I stood there. A man there stood as well, and his face became disturbed. His countenance was as frightening as the Thunderbird. Like a lion's paws were his hands; like an eagle's talons were his nails. By my hair he grabbed me, but though I struck at him, he overpowered me, capsizing me like a raft. He crushed me beneath his feet like a mighty bull, drowning me in his venomous spittle. Save me! He struck me and turned me into a dove and bound my arms as though they were wings.

"I have descended to the house of darkness, the dwelling of the goddess Irkalla; to the house, whence he that enters goes out no more; to the road, whose way turns not back; to the house, whose inhabitants are deprived of light; to the place where dust is their sustenance, their food clay. They are clothed, like a bird, with feathered raiment. Light they see not; they sit in darkness. In the house, my friend, which I have entered, in that house crowns are cast down on the ground, and there live those who had worn crowns, who in days of old had ruled countries; to whom Anu and Enlil had given roasted meat to eat. Now, cold meals are prepared, and water from leather bottles is poured out for them. In the house, my friend, which I have entered, there dwell also priests and ministers. There dwell soothsayers and enchanters; there dwell the temple-anointers of the great gods. There dwells Etana, and there dwells Shakkan; there dwells also the queen of the earth (i.e., of Hades), the goddess Ereshkigal. There dwells the scribe of the earth, bowed down before her. He holds a tablet and reads before her, and Ereshkigal lifted up her head and saw me.

[The rest of the dream is lost.]

"Remember me, my friend, I who endured all hardships with thee. Forget me not!"

Gilgamesh opened his mouth to speak, saying, "My friend hath seen a vision the like of which none shall ever equal."

On the day he had the dream, Enkidu's strength faltered, and there lay Enkidu for twelve days on which Enkidu on his couch lay sick. On the third and the fourth day, his sickness worsened. On the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth days, the sickness of Enkidu worsened. The eleventh and the twelfth day Enkidu on his couch lay sick. Then he called to Gilgamesh and spoke unto his friend: "My god hath turned against me, and I die not as one who falls in battle. Though I feared a warrior's death, he who dies in battle establishes a name everlasting. But I fall not in battle and establish no name."

[The remaining lines describing Enkidu's death are lost.]

GILGAMESH EPIC TABLET 8

As dawn broke, Gilgamesh offered lamentations for his friend: "O, Enkidu, thou who wert raised by thy mother the gazelle and thy father the donkey, who wert fed by the asses of the wilderness with their milk, who wert taught the pastures by the wild beast. O, Enkidu, mayest all the ways of the Forest of Cedar forever mourn thee! Let the elder of Uruk lament thee, and all the people of Uruk who cheered us on. Let the mountains and valleys mourn thee like a mother her son. Let the trees of the forest through which we fought, cypress and cedar alike, lament thee. Let all the wild beasts, the hyena, the panther, the cheetah, the stag, the jackal, the lion, the wild bull, the deer, and ibex, lament thee!

"Let the holy river Ulay, where we walked in our strength, mourn thee. May the pure Euphrates, whose waters we used for libations, mourn thee. Let the young men who watched us slay the Heaven-Bull lament thee, and let the plowman pay homage unto thee, calling out thy name whilst making his furrow.

"May the shepherd who made milk and butter for thy mouth mourn thee, and the shepherd boy who made clarified butter for thee, and the brewer who brewed thine ale. May, too, the harlot who anointed thee with aromatic oils mourn thee. Let all the people mourn thee as a brother, and this very day I shall myself mourn thee most of all.

"Hearest me, O youths of Uruk! Hearest me, O elders of Uruk! I mourn for Enkidu, lamenting with more fervor than any hired mourning woman! It is as though an evil gale hath robbed me of my trusty axe, my dagger and shield, my festive robe, and girdle.

"My friend, thou wert a swift wild ass, a donkey of the mountains, a panther of the wilderness. Together we climbed mountains, slew the Heaven-Bull, and ended the life of Humbaba, who dwelt in the Forest of Cedar. Now that thou art lost in sleep, can thou hearest me?"

Enkidu lifted not his head, and when Gilgamesh felt for his heart, there was no heartbeat. He covered the face of his friend as thou he were a bride. He circled him like an eagle, pacing like a lioness worried for her lost cubs. He tore out his curly hair and stripped off his fine garments as though they had become an abomination.

At the breaking of the dawn, Gilgamesh called out unto all the land: "O blacksmith, lapidary, and coppersmith! O goldsmith and jeweler! Fashion a statue of my friend whose features shall be of lapis lazuli, whose skin shall be made of gold! On a fine, grand couch, on a fine couch I will let thee recline. I will place thee upon a couch, a seat to the left. The kings of the earth shall kiss thy feet. The people of Uruk shall lament for thee, and the nations shall mourn for thee, and in mourning my hair shall become matted and into the wild I will wander in the skin of a lion."

At the breaking of the dawn, Gilgamesh unsealed his treasury and examined all the wealth within. Gold and ivory and all manner of wealth he provided for Enkidu in abundance. [The lines describing the exact nature of the wealth are mutilated.] Fatted oxen and sheep he sacrificed for his friend, and Shamash carried the meat to the lords of Hades. Sacrifices he made unto Ishtar and Namra-sit and displayed them to Shamash, praying that the gods would welcome Enkidu and walk beside him. Offerings he made to Ereshkigal and to Dumuzi and displayed them to Shamash, praying that the gods would welcome Enkidu and walk beside him. Offerings he made to Namtar and Hushbisha and displayed them to Shamash, praying that the gods would welcome Enkidu and walk beside him. Offerings he made to Quassu-tabat and Ninshuluhha and displayed them to Shamash, praying that the gods would welcome Enkidu and walk beside him. Offerings he made to Bibbu and Dumuzi-abzu and displayed them to Shamash, praying that the gods would welcome Enkidu and walk beside him.

[Another speaks in a broken section] "…… the judge of the Anunnaki."

When Gilgamesh hear what had been spoken he conceived a plan to dam the river.

At the breaking of the dawn, Gilgamesh opened the gate and carried out a great table of wood. He filled a carnelian dish with honey and a dish of lapis lazuli with butter and displayed them to Shamash.

[The rest is missing.]

GILGAMESH EPIC TABLET 9

Gilgamesh wept bitterly over the loss of his friend Enkidu, and he lay stretched out upon the ground, (saying): "I shall die and become like Enkidu, but weeping has entered into my heart; fear of death has befallen me, and I lie here stretched out upon the ground. To find Utnapishtim, the son of Ubar-Tutu, I will set out, and I will go at once. At the mountain ravine I arrived by night-time. Lions I saw, and I was afraid; but I lifted my head to the god Sin and I prayed. To the majesty of the god came my cry, and he hearkened and saved me, even me."

And in the night he saw a vision and a dream. Lions were enjoying themselves. And he lifted the axe in his hand, and he drew out the dagger from his belt. Like a javelin he threw himself between them; he wounded, killed, and scattered the lions. He clad himself in the skins of the lions and made a meal for himself of their flesh. Gilgamesh dug new wells to find water, and he chased after the winds.

But Shamash descended in concern and spoke unto Gilgamesh: "O, Gilgamesh, why wandersest thou? The life which thou seeketh, thou shalt find not."

Gilagmesh sayeth unto Shamash, the hero: "When my wanderings are complete and I descend into Hades, shall I not find rest there? My years there shall be spent in slumber. Let my eyes drink in the sun until they have had their fill; Hades is a land of perpetual gloom, for when might the dead again see the sun's glorious rays?"

He came now to the double mountain whose name is Mashu. He came to the mountain of Mashu, whose entrance is guarded daily by monsters, whose back extends to the dam of heaven, and whose breast reaches down to Hades. Scorpion-men guard its gate. Dreadful terror they spread, and it is death to behold them. Their splendour is fearful, overthrowing the mountains; from sunrise to sunset they guard the sun.

Gilgamesh beheld them, and with fear and terror his face grew dark. His mind became confused at the wildness of their aspect. But one scorpion-man said to his wife: "He that there cometh to us, flesh of the gods is his body."

And the wife answered the scorpion-man: "Two thirds he resembles a god, and one third only a man."

And the scorpion-man called and said unto Gilgamesh: "Has one of the gods given the order? How didst thee come to travel over far-distant roads, until thou should come unto me? The seas which thou hast crossed are dangerous; how didst thou maketh the journey?"

…… "I seeketh to go to Utnapishtim, my ancestor, who hath been removed into the assembly of the gods and hath thus power over life and death."

The scorpion-man opened his mouth to speak, saying unto Gilgamesh: "None who cometh before thee has been like unto thee. Never before thee, O Gilgamesh, didst anyone traverse the path [of the Sun God] through the mountain. Twelve double-hours of heavy darkness in all directions must be penetrated."

[The rest of the answer and Gilgamesh's reply are fragmentary. But the hero was not discouraged, and the scorpion-man acceded to his urgent request and opened to him the gate of the mountain.]

The scorpion-man opened his mouth to speak, saying unto Gilgamesh: "Goest thou, O Gilamesh! May the mountains of Mashu alloweth thee to pass! May the mountains watch over thee and protect thee, and may the gates of Mashu be open unto thee!"

Gilgamesh hear the words of the scorpion-man, and he ventured onto the path of the Sun God. One double-hour he marches; thick is the darkness, not does it grow light. Two double-hours he marches; thick is the darkness, not does it grow light. Three double-hours he marches; thick is the darkness, not does it grow light. Four double-hours he

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marches; thick is the darkness, not does it grow light. Five double-hours he marches; thick is the darkness, not does it grow light. Six double-hours he marches; thick is the darkness, not does it grow light. Seven double-hours he marches; thick is the darkness, not does it grow light. At eight double-hours he begins to quicken his pace; thick is the darkness, not does it grow light. At nine double-hours the wind begins to blow in his face; thick is the darkness, not does it grow light. Ten double-hours he marches; thick is the darkness, not does it grow light. At eleven double-hours, but one double-hour's travel remained. Two double-hours he marches; Gilgamesh emerges ahead of the Sun.

There was brilliance. And as he saw it, he ran toward the trees of the gods. One great tree, carnelian it bore as fruit, branches were hanging low with fruit, beautiful to behold. Lapis lazuli the branches of another bore; with fruit it was laden, dazzling the eye of the hero. Other precious trees are also there, and Gilgamesh reached out to touch their fruit.

As Gilgamesh wandered through the trees, a goddess lifted her head to watch him.

GILGAMESH EPIC TABLET 10

The tavern-keeper Siduri lived in a tavern by the sea. Her pot stands and pots were golden, and she was clothed in hoods and veils upon veils. Gilgamesh approached, clothed with a skin and fearful to gaze upon. His flesh was that of the gods, but his heart with heavy with grief. His countenance was like one who made a great journey. Sirudi saw him from afar off, and she spoke to herself and took counsel with herself: "Forsooth, this man must be a hunter of wild bulls, but whence cometh he to arrive at my gate?" And as Sirudi saw him approach she closed her gate. Its gate she closed and went up to her roof.

But Gilgamesh listened…. Lifts up his chin and turned toward her. Then Gilgamesh spoke unto Sirudi and said: "Sirudi, why doest thou bolt the gate against me? Thou bolted the gate against me, but I will break thy gate."

Sirudi said unto Gilgamesh: "I bolted the gate against thee. I went up to my roof. About thy journey I wish to hear."

Gilgamesh said unto Sirudi: "My friend Enkidu and I, together we climbed mountains, slew the Heaven-Bull, and ended the life of Humbaba, who dwelt in the Forest of Cedar. We killed the lions that lived between the mountains."

And the tavern-keeper said unto Gilgamesh, "If truly thou art the one who climbed mountains, slew the Heaven-Bull, and ended the life of Humbaba, who dwelt in the Forest of Cedar, and slew the lions that lived between the mountains, then why art thou ashen and pale? Why art thy features sunken and hollow, thy countenance so sickly? Why is thine heart heavy with grief, and thy countenance like one who hath made a long journey? Why art thine features blasted by the weather, and why dost thou in lion's skin wander?"

Gilgamesh said unto the tavern-keeper: "Wherefore should I not appear ashen and pale? Wherefore should not my features be sunken and hollow, my countenance so sickly? Wherefore should not my heart be heavy with grief, and my countenance like one who hath made a long journey? Wherefore should not my features be blasted by the weather, and I in lion's skin wander? My friend, Enkidu wert a swift wild ass, a donkey of the mountains, a panther of the wilderness. My friend, whom I loved more than any man, accompanied me through every peril until the fate of all mortals befell him. For six days and seven nights I mourned him, I left his body unburied until from his nostril a maggot came forth. I feared death for myself, and so on the distant road I wander the wilderness. My friend's fate was too grievous to bear, and so on the distant road I wander the wilderness. What happened to my beloved Enkidu was unbearable to me, and so on the distant road I wander the wilderness. Must I remain silent? The friend whom I loved has been turned to clay; Enkidu, my friend. And I will not, like unto him, lie down; not will I sink to where my friend is now."

And Gilgamesh said unto her, the Sirudi: Tell me, O Sirudi, which is the way to Utnapishtim? What is its direction, O Sirudi, tell me its direction. If it be possible, I will cross the sea; but if it is impossible, I will run there across the field."

And Sirudi answered unto Gilgamesh, and said: "Gilgamesh, there has never been a crossing here, and no one since eternal days has ever crossed the sea. Shamash, the hero, crosses it; but besides Shamash who can cross it? Difficult is the crossing, and extremely dangerous the way, and closed are the Waters of Death, which bolt its entrance. How, then, Gilgamesh, wilt thou cross the sea? And if thou shouldst reach the Waters of Death, what wouldst thou do? But Gilgamesh, there is Urshinabi, the sailor of Utnapishtim at the side of those with stones; in the forest he fells a cedar. Him may thy countenance behold. If possible, cross over with him; but if impossible, go back."

When Gilgamesh heard this, he lifted up the axe at his arm, drew the dagger from his belt, slipped in and rushed down and fell like a javelin between them. Urshinabi saw him coming and seized the axe, but Gilgamesh smote him on the head and held him down. The Stone Men, the boat crew themselves immune to the Waters of Death, took fright, and Gilgamesh smote them all and smashed them to pieces and threw them into the water. He then stood over Urshinabi and gazed into his eyes.

Urshinabi said unto Gilgamesh: "Tell me thy name. Mine is Urshinabi, of Utnapishtim, the distant."

Gilgamesh said unto Urshinabi: "My name is Gilgamesh, late of Uruk-Eanna, he who found the hidden path through the mountains whence travels the Sun, and took that path hither."

Urshinabi said unto Gilgamesh: "Why art thou ashen and pale? Why art thy features sunken and hollow, thy countenance so sickly? Why is thine heart heavy with grief, and thy countenance like one who hath made a long journey? Why art thine features blasted by the weather, and why dost thou in lion's skin wander?"

Gilgamesh said unto Urshinabi: "Wherefore should I not appear ashen and pale? Wherefore should not my features be sunken and hollow, my countenance so sickly? Wherefore should not my heart be heavy with grief, and my countenance like one who hath made a long journey? Wherefore should not my features be blasted by the weather, and I in lion's skin wander? My friend, Enkidu wert a swift wild ass, a donkey of the mountains, a panther of the wilderness. My friend, whom I loved more than any man, accompanied me through every peril until the fate of all mortals befell him. For six days and seven nights I mourned him, I left his body unburied until from his nostril a maggot came forth. I feared death for myself, and so on the distant road I wander the wilderness. My friend's fate was too grievous to bear, and so on the distant road I wander the wilderness. What happened to my beloved Enkidu was unbearable to me, and so on the distant road I wander the wilderness. Must I remain silent? The friend whom I loved has been turned to clay; Enkidu, my friend. And I will not, like unto him, lie down; not will I sink to where my friend is now."

Gilgamesh further said unto Urshinabi: "Telleth me, Urshinabi, the road to Utnapishtim. What landmarks guide the journey? Tell me! If possible, I shall cross over the see; but if impossible, I shall go back."

Urshinabi said unto Gilgamesh: "Thy hand, O Gilgamesh, has prevented the crossing. Thou hast smashed the Stone Men and threw them into the river. The Stone Men are now smashed and the pine is not stripped. Take, Gilgamesh, the axe at thy side, go into the wood and make three hundred punting-poles five gar long. Trim and finish each and bring them unto me."

And Gilgamesh on hearing this took the axe at his side, and drew the dagger from his belt. He went into the woods and felled trees three hundred punting-poles five gar in length, smeared them over with pitch and brought them to Urshinabi. Then Gilgamesh and Urshinabi embarked;

the ship tossed to and fro while they were on their way. A journey of forty and five days they accomplished within three days, and thus Urshinabi arrived at the Waters of Death.

Urshinabi said unto Gilgamesh: "O, Gilgamesh, take thee the first of the punting-poles! Let not thy hand touch the Waters of Death, lest if wither. Take thee the second of the punting-poles, and a third and a fourth! Take thee the fifth of the punting-poles, and the sixth and the seventh! Take thee the eighth of the punting-poles, and a ninth and a tenth! Take thee the eleventh of the punting poles, and a twelfth!"

After six score double furlongs, all the punting-poles had Gilgamesh used. Urshinabi removed his robes, and Gilgamesh his garments, and from them Urshinabi fashioned a sail.

And Utnapishtim looking at him from the distance began thinking within himself, and with himself he thus meditated: "Why are the Stone Men of the ship smashed? And one, who is not its master rides in the ship. He that comes there is no man of mine. On the right side……. I look….

I look…. I look…. He that comes there is no man of mine."

Gilgamesh drew nigh unto the shore, and he spoke unto Utnapishtim: "O, Utnapishtim, thou who surviveth the Deluge……" [The rest is lost.]

Utnapishtim said unto Gilgamesh: "Why art thou ashen and pale? Why art thy features sunken and hollow, thy countenance so sickly? Why is thine heart heavy with grief, and thy countenance like one who hath made a long journey? Why art thine features blasted by the weather, and why dost thou in lion's skin wander?"

Gilgamesh said unto Utnapishtim: "Wherefore should I not appear ashen and pale? Wherefore should not my features be sunken and hollow, my countenance so sickly? Wherefore should not my heart be heavy with grief, and my countenance like one who hath made a long journey? Wherefore should not my features be blasted by the weather, and I in lion's skin wander? My friend, Enkidu wert a swift wild ass, a donkey of the mountains, a panther of the wilderness. My friend, whom I loved more than any man, accompanied me through every peril until the fate of all mortals befell him. For six days and seven nights I mourned him, I left his body unburied until from his nostril a maggot came forth. I feared death for myself, and so on the distant road I wander the wilderness. My friend's fate was too grievous to bear, and so on the distant road I wander the wilderness. What happened to my beloved Enkidu was unbearable to me, and so on the distant road I wander the wilderness. Must I remain silent? The friend whom I loved has been turned to clay; Enkidu, my friend. And I will not, like unto him, lie down; not will I sink to where my friend is now."

And Gilgamesh said unto Utnapishtim: "Here I have come, and Utnapishtim, whom people call the 'distant,' I will see. To him I will turn. I have travelled through all the lands, I have crossed over the steep mountains, and I have traversed all the seas. I had little sleep and castigated myself by denying me rest. I have filled my very sinews with grief, and all in vain. Before I reached the tavern-keeper, my clothes had worn away. I killed wild beasts, the hyena, the panther, the cheetah, the stag, the jackal, the lion, the wild bull, the deer, and ibex. Their flesh I ate and their pelts I wore. But now close fast the gates of sorrow, seal them fast with tar and pitch! Sorrow shall never again interrupt my revelry and joy!"

Utnapishim said unto Gilgamesh: "Wherefore dost thou follow after sorrows? Thou art made of godly stuff, fashioned from flesh human and divine in the image of thine father and mother. Hast thou contrasted thy lot to that of the fool? For thee a throne was set up in the assembly on which thou wert commanded to sit. The fool eateth the yeast that remaineth, not fresh butter; he eateth bran and grist, not milled flour. He weareth rags, not fine robes; no belt but old rope. [Portions that follow are fragmentary and describe the actions of the gods.] Enkidu the gods have indeed brought down to his doom. But what hast thou gained from thy toil? As thou exhausteth thine energies and sap thy strength, thou only hasten the end of thy days. The life of a man may be snapped like a dry reed. The handsome youth and the comely maid, both may fall to Death all too soon. None might see Death or hear his voice, though Death reapeth us all.

"As long as houses are built, as long as tablets are sealed, as long as brothers are at enmity, as long as there exist strife and hatred in the land, as long as the river carries the waters to the sea, etc., so long is there no likeness of death drawn, never shall the dead great the living. The Anunnaki, the great gods, assemble and Mammitum, the goddess of fate, she who with them determines fate, will do so, for they determine death and life. But the days of death are unknown to mankind."

GILGAMESH EPIC TABLET 11

Gilgamesh said to him, to Utnapishtim, the distant: "I gaze upon thee (in amazement), O Utnapishtim! Thy appearance has not changed, like unto me thou art also. And thy nature itself has not changed, like unto me thou art also, though thou hast departed this life. But my heart has still to struggle against all that no longer lies upon thee. Tell me, How didst thou come to dwell (here) and obtain eternal life among the gods?"

Utnapishtim then said unto Gilgamesh: "I will reveal unto thee, O Gilgamesh, the mysterious story, and the mystery of the gods I will tell thee. The city of Shuruppak, a city which, as thou knowest, is situated on the bank of the river Euphrates. That city was very old, as were the gods within it. Even the great gods, as many as there were, decided to bring about a deluge: their father, Anu; their counsellor, the warrior Enlil; their leader, Ninurta; their champion, the god Ennugi. But Ea, the lord of unfathomable wisdom, argued with them. Their plan he told to a reed-hut, (saying):

"'Reed-hut, reed-hut, clay-structure, clay-structure! Reed-hut, hear; clay-structure, pay attention! Thou man of Shuruppak, son of Ubara-Tutu, build a house, construct a ship; forsake thy possessions, take heed of the living! Abandon thy goods, save living things, and bring living seed of every kind into the ship. As for the ship, which thou shalt build, let its proportions be well measured: Its breadth and its length shall bear proportion each to each, and into the sea then launch it.'

"I took heed, and said to Ea, my lord:

"'I will do, my lord, as thou hast commanded; I will observe and will fulfil the command. But what shall I answer to (the inquiries of) the city, the people, and the elders?'

"Ea opened his mouth and spoke, and he said unto me, his servant:

"'Man, as an answer say thus unto them: "I know that Enlil hates me. No longer can I live in your city; nor on Enlil's territory can I live securely any longer; I will go down to the Apsu; I will live with Ea, my lord. Upon you he will pour down rich blessing. He will grant you fowl in plenty and fish in abundance, herds of cattle and an abundant harvest. In the morning he will pour down upon you bread, in the evening a rain of wheat."'

"As soon as early dawn appeared, the populace assembled 'round Atra-hasis's gate, the carpenter with his hatchet, the reed-worker with his flattening-stone, the […] men […]. The rich men brought pitch, and the poor men collected together all that was necessary.

"On the fifth day I set in place her exterior; it was an acre in area; its sides were ten gar high; ten gar also was the extent of its deck; I added a front-roof to it and closed it in. I built it in

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six stories, thus making seven floors in all; the interior of each I divided again into nine partitions. Beaks for water within I cut out. I selected a punting-pole and added all that was necessary. Three shar of pitch I smeared on its outside; three shar of asphalt I used for the inside (so as to make it water-tight). Three shar of oil the men carried, carrying it in vessels. One shar of oil I kept out and used it for sacrifices, while the other two shar the boatman stowed away. I slaughtered oxen; I killed lambs day by day. Jugs of beer, of oil, and of sweet wine, like river water (i.e., freely) I gave the workmen to make a feast like that of the New-Year's Day. To the god Shamash my hands brought oil. The ship was completed. Launching it was heavy work, and I added tackling above and below, and after all was finished, the ship sank in the water to two thirds of its height.

"With all that I possessed I filled it; with all the silver I had I filled it; with all the gold I had I filled it; with living creatures of every kind I filled it. Then I embarked also all my family and my relatives, cattle of the field, beasts of the field, and the uprighteous people—all them I embarked. A time had Shamash appointed, (namely): 'When the rulers of darkness send at eventide a destructive rain, then enter into the ship and shut its door.' This very sign came to pass, and the rulers of darkness sent a destructive rain at eventide. I saw the approach of the storm, and I was afraid to witness the storm; I entered the ship and shut the door.

"I entrusted the guidance of the ship to Puzur-Amurri, the boatman, and also the great house, and the contents thereof. As soon as early dawn appeared, there rose up from the horizon a black cloud, within which the weather god (Adad) thundered, and the heralds Shullat and Hanish went before across mountain and plain. The gods of the abyss arose. Nergal, the great, tore loose the dams of the deep. There went Ninurta and he caused the banks to overflow; the Anunnaki lifted on high (their) torches, and with the brightness thereof they illuminated the universe. The storm brought on by Adad swept even up to the heavens and all light was turned into darkness as Adad shattered the land like a pot.

"It blew with violence one whole day, submerging the mountains. Like an onslaught in battle it rushed in on the people. Nor could brother look after brother. Nor were recognised the people from heaven. The gods even were afraid of the storm; they retreated and took refuge in the heaven of Anu. There the gods crouched down like dogs; on the inclosure of heaven they sat cowering.

"Then Ishtar cried out like a woman in travail and the lady of the gods lamented with a loud voice, (saying): 'The world of old has been turned back into clay, because I assented to this evil in the assembly of the gods. Alas! that when I assented to this evil in the council of the gods, I was for the destruction of my own people. What I have created, where is it? Like the spawn of fish it fills the sea.' The gods wailed with her over the Anunnaki. The gods were bowed down, and sat there weeping. Their lips were pressed together (in fear and in terror).

"Six days and nights the wind blew, and storm and tempest overwhelmed the country. When the seventh day drew nigh the tempest, the storm, the battle which they had waged like a great host began to moderate. The sea quieted down; hurricane and storm ceased. I looked out upon the sea and raised loud my voice, but all mankind had turned back into clay. Likewise the surrounding sea became as flat as a roof-top.

"I opened the air-hole and light fell upon my cheek. Dumbfounded I sank backward and sat weeping, while over my cheek flowed the tears. I looked in every direction, and behold, all was sea. I looked in vain for land, but twelve leagues distant there rose (out of the water) a strip of land. To Mount Niṣir the ship drifted. On Mount Niṣir the boat stuck fast and it did not slip away. The first day, the second day, Mount Niṣir held the ship fast, and did not let it slip away. The third day, the fourth day, Mount Niṣir held the ship fast, and did not let it slip away. The fifth day, the sixth day, Mount Niṣir held the ship, fast, and did not let it slip away. When the seventh day drew nigh I sent out a dove, and let her go. The dove flew hither and thither, but as there was no resting-place for her, she returned. Then I sent out a swallow, and let her go. The swallow flew hither and thither, but as there was no resting-place for her she also returned. Then I sent out a raven, and let her go. The raven flew away and saw the abatement of the waters. She settled down to feed, went away, and returned no more.

"Then I let everything go out unto the four winds, and I offered a sacrifice. I poured out a libation upon the peak of the mountain. I placed the censers seven and seven, and poured into them calamus, cedar-wood, and sweet incense. The gods smelt the savour; yea, the gods smelt the sweet savour; the gods gathered like flies around the sacrificer. But when now the lady of the gods (Ishtar) drew nigh, she lifted up the necklace with precious jewels which Anu had made according to her wish (and said):

"'Ye gods here! by my lapis lazuli necklace, not will I forget. These days will I remember, never will I forget (them). Let the gods come to the offering; but Enlil shall not come to the offering, since rashly he caused the flood-storm, and handed over my people unto destruction.'

"Now, when Enlil drew nigh, and saw the ship, the god was wroth, and anger against the gods, the Igigi, filled his heart, (and he said): 'Who then has escaped here (with his life)? No man was to survive the universal destruction.'

"Then Ninurta opened his mouth and spoke, saying unto Enlil, the warrior: 'Who but Ea could have planned this! For does not Ea know all arts?'

Then Ea opened his mouth and spoke, saying unto Enlil, the warrior:

"'Ay, thou wise one among the gods, thou warrior, how rash of thee to bring about a flood-storm! On the sinner visit his sin, and on the wicked his wickedness; but be merciful, forbear, let not all be destroyed! Be considerate, let not mankind perish! Instead of sending a flood-storm, let lions come and diminish mankind; instead of sending a flood-storm, let tigers come and diminish mankind; instead of sending a flood-storm, let famine come and smite the land; instead of sending a flood-storm, let pestilence come and kill off the people. I did not reveal the mystery of the great gods. I only caused Atra-hasis to see it in a dream, and so he heard the mystery of the gods.'

"Thereupon Enlil arrived at a decision. Enlil went up into the ship, took me by the hand and led me out. He led out also my wife and made her kneel beside me; He turned us face to face, and standing between us, blessed us, (saying) 'Ere this Utnapishtim was only human; But now Utnapishtim and his wife shall be lofty like unto the gods; let Utnapishtim live far away (from men) at the mouth of the rivers.'

"Then they took me and let us dwell far away at the mouth of the rivers."

After Utnapishtim had finished this account, he turned to Gilgamesh and said: "Now as for thee, which one of the gods shall give thee strength, that the life thou desirest thou shalt obtain? Now sleep!" And for six days and seven nights Gilgamesh resembled one lying lame. Sleep came over him like a storm wind. Then Utnapishtim said to his wife: "Behold, here is the hero whose desire is everlasting life! Sleep came upon him like a storm wind." And the wife replied to Utnapishtim, the distant: "Touch him that he may waken and return to his land. Let him, restored in health, return on the road on which he came. Let him pass out through the great door unto his own country." And Utnapishtim said to his wife: "All men deceive, and this one will deceive you. Therefore, cook now for him loaves and place one at his head each day, and mark on the wall the days he has slept."

And while Gilgamesh slept, she cooked the loaves to place it at his head and marked the wall. And while he slept, the first loaf became hard; the second became leathery; the third became soggy; the fourth became white; the fifth became gray with mold; the sixth, it was fresh; the seventh—of a sudden the man awoke upon being touched.

Then spoke Gilgamesh, and said unto Utnapishtim, the distant: "I had sunk down, and sleep had befallen me. Of a sudden thou didst touch me, and I awoke! And Utnapishtim said unto Gilgamesh: "Gilgamesh, look over yonder and count the loaves, heed the marks on the wall. The first loaf is hard; the second is leathery; the thirdly is soggy; the fourth is white; the fifth is gray with mold; the sixth, it is fresh; the seventh, while still warm I touched you and you awoke."

And Gilgamesh said unto Utnapishtim, the distant: "What shall I do, Utnapishtim? Whither shall I go? The demon has seized my flesh. Upon my couch death now sits. And where my foot treads, there is death."

And Utnapishtim said to Urshanabi, the ferryman: "Urshanabi, thou have become loathsome to this harbour; let the boat carry thee away; you are forever excluded from this place. The man, before whom thou goest, has his body covered with foulness, and the wild skins he wears have hidden the beauty of his body. Take him, Urshanabi, and bring him to the place of purification, where he can wash his hair in water that it may become clean as snow; let him cast off his skins and the sea will carry them away; his body shall then appear beautiful. Let the fillet also be replaced on his head, and the garment that covers his nakedness. Until he returns to his city, until he arrives at his road, the garment shall not wear with age; it shall remain entirely new."

And Urshanabi took him and brought him to the place of purification, where he washed his hair in water so that it became clean as snow; he cast off his skins and the sea carried them away; his body appeared beautiful. He replaced also the fillet on his head and the garment that covered his nakedness until he should return to his city, until he should arrive at his road; the garment would not wear with age; it remained entirely new.

Then Gilgamesh and Urshanabi embarked again, and during their journey the ship tossed to and fro. The wife of Utnapishtim spoke unto her husband, the distant, (saying): "Gilgamesh did come here weary and exhausted. What now wilt thou give him, that he may return to his country?"

And Gilgamesh lifted up the pole, and drew the boat nearer to the shore.

Then Utnapishtim spoke unto Gilgamesh (and said): "Gilgamesh, thou didst come here weary; thou didst labour and row. What now shall I give thee, that thou mayest return to thy country? I will reveal unto thee, Gilgamesh, a mystery of the gods I will announce unto thee. There is a plant resembling buckthorn; its thorn stings like that of a bramble. When thy hands can reach that plant, then thy hands will hold that which gives life everlasting."

When Gilgamesh had heard this he opened the sluices that the sweet water might carry him into the deep; he bound heavy stones to his feet, which dragged him down to the sea floor, and thus he found the plant. Then he grasped the prickly plant. He removed from his feet the heavy stones, and the sea carried him and threw him down to on the shore.

And Gilgamesh said unto Urshanabi, the ferryman: "Urshanabi, this plant is a plant of great marvel; and by it a man may attain renewed vigour. I will take it to Uruk the strong-walled, I will give it to the old men to eat. Its name shall be 'Even an old man will be rejuvenated!' I will eat of this and return (again) to the vigour of my youth."

At twenty double-leagues they then took a meal: and at thirty double-leagues they took a rest. And Gilgamesh saw a well wherein was cool water; he stepped into it and bathed in the water. A serpent smelled the sweetness of the plant and darted out; he took the plant away, and as he turned back to the well, he sloughed his skin. And after this Gilgamesh sat down and wept. Tears flowed down his cheeks, and he said unto Urshanabi, the ferryman:

"Why, Urshanabi, did my hands tremble? Why did the blood of my heart stand still? Not on myself did I bestow any benefit. On the 'ground-lion' this benefit has been bestowed. Already twenty double-leagues the waters have taken the plant away. I opened the sluices and lowered my equipment into it. I saw the sign; it has become an omen to me. I am to return, leaving the ship on the shore."

Then they continued on and took a meal after twenty double-leagues, and after thirty double-leagues they took a rest. When they arrived at Uruk the strong-walled, Gilgamesh then spoke to Urshanabi, the ferryman, (and said):

"Urshanabi, ascend and walk about on the wall of Uruk, inspect the corner-stone, and examine its brick-work, whether its wall is not made of burned brick, and its foundation laid by the Seven Sages. One third for city, one third for garden, one third for field, and a precinct for the temple of Ishtar. These parts and the precinct comprise Uruk."

GILGAMESH EPIC TABLET 12

"Today, had I but left my ball in the shop of the carpenter! O wife of the carpenter, like a mother unto me, had I but left it! O daughter of the carpenter, like a sister unto me, had I but left it! Today my ball and my mallet fell down to Hades."

Enkidu answered Gilgamesh and said unto him: "Weep not, my master, for this day I shall go down to Hades and retrieve for thee thy mallet and thy ball."

Gilgamesh answered Enkidu and said unto him: "If thou art to goest down unto Hades, thou must heed my advice. Dress not in a clean garment, or thou shalt be revealed as a stranger. With sweet-smelling bull's fat must thou no more anoint thyself, or the dead shalt gather around thee on account of this sweet odor. The bow thou must not stretch upon the ground, or those that were slain with the bow shalt gather round about thee. The staff thou must not carry in thy hand, or the spirits of death will tremble before thee. Sandals thou must not tie to thy feet; a (war) cry thou must not shout here on earth; thy wife whom thou lovedst, thou must not kiss; thy wife whom thou hatedst, thou must not smite. Thy son whom thou lovedst, thou must not kiss; thy son whom thou hatedst, thou must not smite. The woes of the netherworld have overtaken thee; as well as she that is dark, she that is dark, mother Ninazu, who is dark, whose white, shining body is not clothed with a garment, whose breasts were bare like stone."

But when Enkidu wend down unto Hades, he paid no heed to the advice of Gilgamesh. He dressed in a clean garment, and he was revealed as a stranger. With sweet-smelling bull's fat he anointed himself, and the dead gathered around him on account of this sweet odor. The bow he did stretch upon the ground, and those that were slain with the bow gathered round about him. The staff he carried in his hand, and the spirits of death trembled before him. Sandals he tied to his feet; a (war) cry he shouted here on earth; his wife whom he loved, he kissed; the wife whom he hated, he smote. Thy son whom he loved, he kissed; the son whom he hated, he smote. The woes of the netherworld overtook him; as well as she that is dark, she that is dark, mother Ninazu, who is dark, whose white, shining body is not clothed with a garment, whose breasts were bare like stone."

From the Netherworld, Enkidu cried out to the world above. Namtar has not snatched him away. Asakku has not snatched him away not. The netherworld has snatched him away. The lurking demon of Nergal, the merciless, has not snatched him away. The netherworld has snatched him away. The battlefield has not slain him, but the netherworld has snatched him away.

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Then Gilgamesh went alone to Ekur the House of Enlil and prayed: "Father Enlil, my ball has fallen into the netherworld, and my mallet has fallen in as well. Enkidu has sunk down to the shades to retrieve them, but the netherworld has seized him! Namtar has not snatched him away. Asakku has not snatched him away not. The netherworld has snatched him away. The lurking demon of Nergal, the merciless, has not snatched him away. The netherworld has snatched him away. The battlefield has not slain him, but the netherworld has snatched him away." Father Enlil answered him not.

Then Gilgamesh went alone to Ur the House of Sin and prayed: "Father Sin, my ball has fallen into the netherworld, and my mallet has fallen in as well. Enkidu has sunk down to the shades to retrieve them, but the netherworld has seized him! Namtar has not snatched him away. Asakku has not snatched him away not. The netherworld has snatched him away. The lurking demon of Nergal, the merciless, has not snatched him away. The netherworld has snatched him away. The battlefield has not slain him, but the netherworld has snatched him away." Father Sin answered him not.

Then Gilgamesh went alone to Eridu the Temple of Enki and prayed: "Father Enki, my ball has fallen into the netherworld, and my mallet has fallen in as well. Enkidu has sunk down to the shades to retrieve them, but the netherworld has seized him! Namtar has not snatched him away. Asakku has not snatched him away not. The netherworld has snatched him away. The lurking demon of Nergal, the merciless, has not snatched him away. The netherworld has snatched him away. The battlefield has not slain him, but the netherworld has snatched him away."

Father Enki helped him and spoke to the hero and lord Shamash: "Break open the chamber of the grave and open the ground, that the spirit of Enkidu, like a wind, may rise out of the ground."

When Shamash, the hero and lord, heard this prayer, he broke open the chamber of the grave and opened the ground, and caused the spirit of Enkidu to rise out of the ground, like a wind. Gilgamesh and Enkidu hugged and kissed one another, and shared their thoughts and queries.

"Tell me, my friend, O tell me, my friend; the appearance of the land, which thou hast seen, O tell me!"

But Enkidu replied: "I cannot tell thee, my friend, I cannot tell thee. If I would describe to thee the appearance of the land that I have seen, surely, Gilgamesh, thou wouldst sit down and weep."

And Gilgamesh said unto him: "Then let me sit down and weep!"

"Bitter and sad is all that formerly gladdened thy heart, my body like an old garment that the worm does eat. Enkidu, what formerly gladdened thy heart, all is cloaked in dust."

"Woe!" cried Gilgamesh, who threw himself to the ground.

"Woe!" cried Enkidu, who threw himself to the ground.

"Didst thou seest the man with one son?" "I saw him. He weepeth over a peg fixed in his wall." "Didst thou seest the man with two sons?" "I saw him. He eateth bread atop two bricks." "Didst thou seest the man with three sons?" "I saw him. He drinketh water atop a saddle." "Didst thou seest the man with four sons?" "I saw him. His heart rejoiceth like the man with a team of donkeys." "Didst though seest the man with five sons?" "I saw him. He entereth the palace with the ease of a scribe." "Didst thou seest the man with six sons?" "I saw him. He sitteth enthroned among the lesser gods in the assembly." "Didst thou seest the man with no son?" "I saw him. He eateth bread as hard as a kiln-fired brick." "Didst thou seest the eunuch of the palace?" "I saw him. He standeth in the corner like a standard."

"Didst thou seest him who was struck by the mooring-pole?" "I saw him. Woe unto his mother and father, for when the pegs are removed, he roams about." "Didst thou seest him who died before his time?" "I saw him. He rests on a soft couch, and drinks pure water." "Didst thou seest the hero slain in battle?" "I saw him. His father and mother remember him, and his wife weepeth for him. Yea! the spirit of such a man is at rest." "Didst thou see the man whose corpse remains unburied upon the field?" I saw him. His spirit does not find rest in Hades." "Didst thou seest the man whose spirit has no one who cares for it?" "I saw him. He consumes the dregs of the bowl, the broken remnants of food, that are cast into the street."

GILGAMESH AND HUWAWA (VERSION A)
Translation: ETCSL t.1.8.1.5; University of Oxford
Estimated Range of Dating:

1-3. Now the lord once decided to set off for the mountain where the man lives; Lord Gilgamesh decided to set off for the mountain where the man lives. He spoke to his slave Enkidu:

4-7. "Enkidu, since a man cannot pass beyond the final end of life, I want to set off into the mountains, to establish my renown there. Where renown can be established there, I will establish my renown; and where no renown can be established there, I shall establish the renown of the gods."

8-12. His slave Enkidu answered him: "My lord, if today you are going to set off into the mountains, Utu should know about it from us. [(1 ms. adds:) If you are going to to set off into the Mountains of Cedar-felling, Utu should know about it from us.] Utu, youthful Utu, should know about it from us. A decision that concerns the mountains is Utu's business. A decision that concerns the Mountains of Cedar-felling is the business of youthful Utu. Utu should know about it from us."

13-16. Gilgamesh [prepared] [(2 mss. have instead:) took hold of] a white kid. [He clasped a brown kid, a sacrificial animal, close to his breast.] [(1 ms. has instead:) He …… a brown kid.] In his hand he held a holy staff before his nose, as he addressed Utu of heaven:

17-18. "Utu, I am going to set off into the mountains! May you be my helper! I am going to set off into the Mountains of Cedar-felling! May you be my helper!"

19-20. From heaven Utu replied to him: "Young man, you are noble already in your own right -- but what would you want with the mountains?"

21-33. "Utu, I have something to say to you -- a word in your ear! I greet you -- please pay attention! In my city people are dying, and hearts are full of distress. People are lost -- that fills me with [(1 ms. adds:) wretched] dismay. I craned my neck over the city wall: corpses in the water make the river almost overflow. That is what I see. That will happen to me too -- that is the way things go. No one is tall enough to reach heaven; no one can reach wide enough to stretch over the mountains. Since a man cannot pass beyond the final end of life, I want to set off into the mountains, to establish my renown there. Where renown can be established there, I will establish my renown; and where no renown can be established there, I shall establish the renown of the gods."

34-47. Utu accepted his tears as a fitting gift. As befits a compassionate person, he turned to him full of compassion: "Now there are seven warriors, sons of a single mother. The first, their eldest brother, has lion's paws and eagle's talons. The second is a …… snake, ……. The third is a dragon snake, ……. The fourth blazes with fire ……. The fifth is a …… snake, ……. The sixth [(1 ms. adds:) , a shackle that …… the rebel lands in the hills,] beats at the flanks of the mountains [like a battering flood] [(1 ms. has instead:) , floodwater that destroys all]. The seventh …… flashes like lightning, and no one can deflect [it] [(1 ms. has instead:) its power]. [(1 ms. adds 4 lines:)

4 lines fragmentary] [(another ms. adds instead 6 lines:)

2 lines fragmentary …… kingship ……. Nisaba has bestowed …… on you in addition. They ……., and know the routes on earth. They will help you find the …… of the way.] They should guide you to the place in the mountains where the boats have to be pulled from the water! [The warrior, youthful Utu, gave these seven to Gilgamesh.] [(3 mss. have instead the line, placed after line 43:) These seven the warrior, youthful Utu, gave to Lord Gilgamesh.] The feller of cedars was filled with joy; Lord Gilgamesh was filled with joy."

48-51. In his city he had the horn sounded for single men; similarly for two together he made them call out. "Let him who has a household go to his household! Let him who has a mother go to his mother! Let bachelor males, types like me, [(4 mss. add:) -- fifty of them --] join me at my side!"

52-60. Whoever had a household went to his household. Whoever had a mother went to his mother. Bachelor males, types like him -- there were fifty -- joined him at his side. He made his way to the blacksmith's, and had them cast …… weapons and axes, the strength of warriors. Then he made his way to the deeply shaded plantations, where he had ebony trees felled, and halub trees, apricot trees, and box trees. He …… to his fellow-citizens who were going with him. [(1 ms. adds:) Warriors, sons of a single mother …….] The first, their eldest brother, has lion's paws and eagle's claws. They will guide him to the place in the mountains where the boats have to be pulled from the water.

61. He crossed the first mountain range, [but his intuition did not lead him to find the cedars there] [(1 ms. has instead:) the cedars did not catch his attention]. [(the same ms. adds:) He crossed the second mountain range, but the cedars did not catch his attention. He crossed the third mountain range, but the cedars did not catch his attention. He crossed the fourth mountain range, but the cedars did not catch his attention. He crossed the fifth mountain range, but the cedars did not catch his attention. He crossed the sixth mountain range, but the cedars did not catch his attention.] [(another ms. adds instead:)

unknown number of lines missing

He crossed the third mountain range, but his intuition did not lead him to find the cedars there. He crossed the fourth mountain range, but his intuition did not lead him to find the cedars there. He crossed the fifth mountain range, but his intuition did not lead him to find the cedars there. He crossed the sixth mountain range, but his intuition did not lead him to find the cedars there.]

62-67. When he had crossed the seventh mountain range, there his intuition led him to find the cedars. He did not need to ask, nor did he have to search any further. Lord Gilgamesh began to chop at the cedars, [[while Enkidu lopped off their branches, …… to Gilgamesh.] [(1 ms. has instead:) while Enkidu …… their branches, and his fellow-citizens …….] [(1 ms. adds:) to ……, Enkidu …….] …… stacked them in piles. [(1 ms. adds:) Huwawa …….] He loosed his terrrors against …….] [(instead of lines 65-67, 1 ms. has:) while Enkidu cut up the timbers, and the widows' sons who had come with him heaped them up in piles. Since, because of the ……, Huwawa had been scared in his lair by Gilgamesh, he began to radiate his terrors …….]

68-75. Gilgamesh …… was overcome by sleep, and it affected Enkidu ……, as a powerful longing. His fellow-citizens who had come with him flailed around at his feet like puppies. Enkidu awoke from his dream, shuddering from his sleep. He rubbed his eyes; there was eery silence everywhere. He touched Gilgamesh, but could not rouse him. He spoke to him, but he did not reply.

76-84. "You who have gone to sleep, you who have gone to sleep! Gilgamesh, young lord of Kulaba, how long will you sleep for? The mountains are becoming indistinct as the shadows fall across them; the evening twilight lies over them. Proud Utu has already gone to the bosom of his mother Ningal. Gilgamesh, how long will you sleep for? The sons of your city who came with you should not have to wait at the foot of the hills. Their own mothers should not have to twine string in the square of your city."

85-89. He thrust that into his right ear; he covered him with his aggressive words as if with a cloth [(1 ms. adds:) , laid them out like linen]. He [gathered] [(3 mss. have instead:) picked up] in his hand a cloth with thirty shekels of oil on it and [smothered] [(1 ms. has instead:) rubbed] it over Gilgamesh's chest. Then Gilgamesh stood up like a bull on the great earth. Bending his neck downwards, he yelled at him:

90-91. "By the life of my own mother Ninsumun and of my father, holy Lugalbanda! Am I to become again as if I were slumbering still on the lap of my own mother Ninsumun?"

92-95. A second time he spoke to him: "By the life of my own mother Ninsumun and of my father, holy Lugalbanda! Until I discover whether that person was a human or a god, I shall not direct back to the city my steps which I have directed to the mountains."

96-97. The slave, trying to ameliorate the situation, trying to make life appear more attractive, answered his master:

98-106. "My master, you have not yet really seen that person, he should not vex you. -- But he vexes me -- me, who have seen him before. His pugnacious mouth is a dragon's maw; his face is a lion's grimace. His chest is like a raging flood; no one [dare approach] [(1 ms. has instead:) can escape from] his brow, which devours the reedbeds. [(2 mss. adds 1 line:) A man-eating lion, he never wipes away the blood from his slaver.] [(1 ms. adds instead 5 lines:)

1 line fragmentary …… a lion eating a corpse, he never wipes away the blood

3 lines fragmentary] Travel on, my master, up into the mountains! -- but I shall travel back to the city. If I say to your mother about you "He is alive!", she will laugh. But afterwards I shall say to her about you "He is dead!", and she will certainly weep [over you] [(1 ms. has instead:) bitterly]." [(1 ms. adds:) …… replied to ……:]

107-116. "Look, Enkidu, two people together will not perish! A grappling-pole does not sink! No one can cut through a three-ply cloth! Water cannot wash someone away from a wall! Fire in a reed house cannot be extinguished! You help me, and I will help you -- what can anyone do against us then? When it sank, when it sank, when the Magan boat sank, when the magilum barge sank, then at least the life-saving grappling-pole of the boat [was rescued] [(1 ms. has instead:) was not allowed to sink]! Come on, let's get after him and get a sight of him!"

117-119. "If we go after him, there will be terror! There will be terror. Turn back! There will be blood! There wil be blood! Turn back!"

120. "Whatever you may think -- come on, let's get after him!"

121-125. Before a man can approach within even sixty times six yards, Huwawa has already reached his house among the cedars. When he looks at someone, it is the look of death. When he shakes his head at someone, it is a gesture full of reproach. [(1 ms. adds:) When he speaks to someone, he should not prolong his words:] "You may still be a young man, but you will never again return to the city of your mother who bore you!"

126-129. Fear and terror spread through [his] [(1 ms. has instead:) Gilgamesh's] sinews and his feet. He could not move (?) his feet on the ground; the big toenails of his feet stuck …… to the path. At his side …….

130-135. (Huwawa addressed Gilgamesh:) "So come on now, you heroic bearer of a sceptre of wide-ranging power! Noble glory of the gods, angry bull standing ready for a fight! Your mother knew well how to bear sons, and your nurse knew well how to nourish children on the breast! Don't be afraid, rest your hand on the ground!"

136-139. Gilgamesh rested his hand on the ground, and addressed Huwawa: "By the life of my own mother Ninsumun and of my father, holy Lugalbanda! No one really knows

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where in the mountains you live; they would like to know where in the mountains you live. Here, I have brought you En-me-barage-si, my big sister, to be your wife in the mountains."

140-144. And again he addressed him: "By the life of my mother Ninsumun and of my father, holy Lugalbanda! No one really knows where in the mountains you live; they would like to know where in the mountains you live. Here, I have brought you Ma-tur, my little sister, to be your concubine in the mountains. Just hand over your terrors to me! I want to become your kinsman!"

145-148. Then Huwawa handed over to him his first terror. Gilgamesh's fellow-citizens who had come with him began to lop off the branches and bundle them together, so as to lay them down at the foot of the hills.

148A-148K. [(Several mss. preserve a more elaborate, but repetitive, narrative built on the pattern of lines 145-148. Some preserve the repetitions in an extremely abbreviated form. No ms. known to be from Nibru preserves the additional lines. One ms. of unknown origin adds at least 53 lines (and another fragmentary ms. of unknown origin gives an abbreviated version of these, always replacing 'terror' by 'aura'):) And again he addressed him: "By the life of my mother Ninsumun and of my father, holy Lugalbanda! No one really knows where in the mountains you live; they would like to know where in the mountains you live. Here, I have brought to the mountains for you ……. Couldn't I get close to you and your family? Just hand over your terrors to me! I want to become your kinsman!" Then Huwawa handed over to him his second terror. Gilgamesh's fellow-citizens who had come with him began to lop off the branches and bundle them together, so as to lay them down at the foot of the hills.]

148L-148V. [And a third time he addressed him: "By the life of my mother Ninsumun and of my father, holy Lugalbanda! No one really knows where in the mountains you live; they would like to know where in the mountains you live. Here, I have brought to the mountains for you some esha flour -- the food of the gods! -- and a waterskin of cool water. Couldn't I get close to you and your family? Just hand over your terrors to me! I want to become your kinsman!" Then Huwawa handed over to him his third terror. Gilgamesh's fellow-citizens who had come with him began to lop off the branches and bundle them together, so as to lay them down at the foot of the hills.]

148W-148FF. [And a fourth time he addressed him: "By the life of my mother Ninsumun and of my father, holy Lugalbanda! No one really knows where in the mountains you live; they would like to know where in the mountains you live. Here, I have brought to for you some big shoes for big feet. Couldn't I get close to you and your family? Just hand over your terrors to me! I want to become your kinsman!" Then Huwawa handed over to him his fourth terror. Gilgamesh's fellow-citizens who had come with him began to lop off the branches and bundle them together, so as to lay them down at the foot of the hills.]

148GG-148PP. [And a fifth time he addressed him: "By the life of my mother Ninsumun and of my father, holy Lugalbanda! No one really knows where in the mountains you live; they would like to know where in the mountains you live. Here, I have brought to the mountains for you some tiny shoes for your tiny feet. Couldn't I get close to you and your family? Just hand over your terrors to me! I want to become your kinsman!" Then Huwawa handed over to him his fifth terror. Gilgamesh's fellow-citizens who had come with him began to lop off the branches and bundle them together, so as to lay them down at the foot of the hills.]

148QQ-148AAA. [And a sixth time he addressed him: "By the life of my mother Ninsumun and of my father, holy Lugalbanda! No one really knows where in the mountains you live; they would like to know where in the mountains you live. Here, I have brought you rock-crystal, nir stone and lapis lazuli -- from the mountains. Couldn't I get close to you and your family? Just hand over your terrors to me! I want to become your kinsman!" Then Huwawa handed over to him his sixth terror. Gilgamesh's fellow-citizens who had come with him began to lop off the branches and bundle them together, so as to lay them down at the foot of the hills.]

149-151. When Huwawa had finally handed over to him his seventh terror, Gilgamesh found himself beside Huwawa. He [went up to him gradually] [(1 ms. has instead:) ……] from behind, as one does with a …… snake. He made as if to kiss him, but then punched him on the cheek with his fist.

152. Huwawa bared his teeth at him [(1 ms. adds:) , furrowing his brows at him]. [(2 mss. from Urim add 8 lines:) Huwawa addressed Gilgamesh: "Hero, …… to act falsely!" The two of them …… on him ……. …… the warrior from his dwelling. …… said to him, "Sit down!" …… Huwawa from his dwelling. …… said to him, "Sit down!" The warrior sat down and began to weep, shedding tears. Huwawa sat down and began to weep, shedding tears. Huwawa …… plea …… to Gilgamesh.] [(instead of lines 152A-152H, 2 other mss. add 2 lines:) He threw a halter over him as over a captured wild bull. He tied up his arms like a captured man. [(1 of the mss. adds 1 further line:) Huwawa wept, …….]]

153-157. [He tugged at Gilgamesh's hand.] [(4 mss. have instead:) "Gilgamesh, let me go!"] "I want to talk to Utu!" "Utu, I never knew a mother who bore me, nor a father who brought me up! I was born in the mountains -- you brought me up! Yet Gilgamesh swore to me by heaven, by earth, and by the mountains."

158-160. Huwawa clutched at Gilgamesh's hand, and prostrated himself before him. Then Gilgamesh's noble heart took pity on him. [Gilgamesh addressed Enkidu] [(3 mss. have instead:) He addressed his slave Enkidu]:

161-162. "Enkidu, let the captured bird run away home! Let the captured man return to his mother's embrace!"

163-174. [Enkidu replied to Gilgamesh] [(2 mss. have instead:) His slave Enkidu replied]: "Come on now, you heroic bearer of a sceptre of wide-ranging power! Noble glory of the gods, angry bull standing ready for a fight! Young Lord Gilgamesh, cherished in Unug, your mother knew well how to bear sons, and your nurse knew well how to nourish children! -- One so exalted and yet so lacking in [understanding] [(1 ms. has instead:) judgement] will be devoured by fate without him ever understanding that fate. The very idea that a captured bird should run away home, or a captured man should return to his mother's embrace! -- Then you yourself would never get back to the mother-city that bore you! [(1 ms. adds:) A captured warrior set free! A captured high priestess …… to the gipar! A captured gudug priest restored to his wig of hair! …… ever, ever ……?

[2 lines fragmentary] …… his attention to his words …….]"

175-177. Huwawa addressed Enkidu: "Enkidu, you speak such hateful [(1 ms. adds:) hostile] words against me to him! You hireling, who are hired for your keep! You who follow along after him -- [you speak such hateful words to him.] [(2 mss. have instead:) why do you speak such hateful words to him?]" [(1 ms. adds:)

[2 lines fragmentary]

178-180. As Huwawa spoke thus to him, [Enkidu, full of rage and anger, cut his throat] [(2 mss. from Nibru have instead:) they cut his throat]. [He put] [(1 ms. has instead:) He chucked] [(the same 2 mss. from Nibru have instead:) They put] his head in a leather bag.

181-186. [They entered before Enlil. After they had kissed the ground before Enlil, they threw the leather bag down, tipped out his head, and placed it before Enlil. When Enlil saw the head of Huwawa, he spoke angrily to Gilgamesh:] [(instead of lines 181-186, 1 ms. has:) They brought it before Enlil and Ninlil. When Enlil approached (?), …… went out the window (?), and Ninlil went out ……. When Enlil with Ninlil had returned (?),]

187-192. "Why did you act in this way? […… did you act ……?] [(1 ms. has instead:) Was it commanded that his name should be wiped from the earth?] [He should have sat before you!] [(1 ms. has instead:) He should have sat ……, …….] He should have eaten the bread that you eat, and should have drunk the water that you drink! [He should have been honoured …… you!] [(1 ms. has instead:) Huwawa -- he …… honoured!]" [(1 other ms. has instead:) From his seat, Enlil assigned Huwawa's heavenly auras to …….]

193-199. (The ms. tradition for lines 193-199 is extremely confused about the order in which the various auras are assigned; the following sequence is a compromise:) He gave Huwawa's first aura to the fields. He gave his second aura to the rivers. He gave his third aura to the reedbeds. He gave his fourth aura to the lions. He gave his fifth aura to the [palace] [(1 ms. has instead:) debt slaves]. He gave his sixth aura to the [forests] [(1 ms. has instead:) the hills]. He gave his seventh aura to Nungal(the goddess of prisoners) .

200. […… his terror ……] [(1 ms. or possibly 2 mss. have instead:) …… the rest of the auras …… Gilgamesh …….]

201-202. [Mighty one, Gilgamesh, [who is cherished!] [(1 ms. has instead:) be praised! Enkidu, be praised]! Nisaba, be praised!] [(instead of lines 201-202, 1 ms. has:) Huwawa, ……! …… cherished, ……! Enkidu, be praised ……!]

GILGAMESH AND HUWAWA (VERSION B)

Translation: ETCSL t.1.8.1.5.1; University of Oxford
Estimated Range of Dating:

1-4. "So come on now, you heroic bearer of a sceptre of wide-ranging power! Noble glory of the gods, angry bull standing ready for a fight! Young Lord Gilgamesh, cherished in Unug!"

5-21. "In Unug people are dying, and souls are full of distress. People are lost -- that fills me with dismay. I lean out over the city wall: bodies in the water make the river almost overflow. That is what I see: that people die thus, which fills me with despair; that the end of life is unavoidable; that the grave, the all-powerful underworld, will spare no one; that no one is tall enough to block off the underworld; that no one is broad enough to cover over the underworld -- the boundary that a man cannot cross at the final end of life. By the life of my own mother Ninsumun, and of my father, holy Lugalbanda! My personal god Enki, Lord Nudimmud,

[3 lines fragmentary] I will complete …… there. I will bring …… there."

22-28. His slave Enkidu answered him: "…… if you want to set off into the mountains, Utu should know about it from you. If you want to set off into the Mountains of Cedar-felling, Utu should know about it from you. A decision that concerns the mountains is Utu's business. A decision that concerns the Mountains of Cedar-felling is the business of youthful Utu."

29-33. Utu of heaven put on his lapis-lazuli diadem and came forward with head high. In his hand Gilgamesh, the lord of Kulaba, held a holy staff before his nose: "Utu, I want to set off into the mountains! May you be my helper! I want to set off into the mountains of Cedar-felling! May you be my helper!"

34-50. [4 lines missing]

"The first ……. The second ……. The third ……. The fourth ……. The fifth ……. The sixth beats at the flanks of the mountains like a battering flood. The seventh flashes like lightning, and no one can deflect its power. These shine in the heavens, but they know the routes on earth. In heaven they shine ……, raising ……; on earth they know the way even to Aratta. They know the destructive weather like the merchants. They know the mountain crannies like the pigeons. They will guide you to the place in the mountains where the boats have to be pulled from the water."

51-56. Gilgamesh organised a levy in his city. In …… Kulaba he had the horn sounded. "Citizens! You who have a wife, go to your wife! You who have children, go to your children! Warriors, whether experienced or inexperienced, who have no wife, who have no children -- let such people join me at my side as the companions of Gilgamesh."

57-66. The king left the city. Gilgamesh left Kulaba, to follow the route to the Mountains of Cedar-felling. He crossed the first mountain range, but his intuition did not lead him to find the cedars there. He crossed the second mountain range, but his intuition did not lead him to find the cedars there. He crossed the third mountain range, but his intuition did not lead him to find the cedars there. He crossed the fourth mountain range, but his intuition did not lead him to find the cedars there. He crossed the fifth mountain range, but his intuition did not lead him to find the cedars there. He crossed the sixth mountain range, but his intuition did not lead him to find the cedars there. When he had crossed the seventh mountain range, there his intuition led him to find the cedars.

67-70. Gilgamesh began to chop at the cedars. His slave Enkidu worked on the branches for him. His fellow-citizens who had come with him stacked them in piles.

71-77. Then, as one warrior got closer to the other, the aura of Huwawa …… sped towards them like a spear (?). …… he rested there peacefully. He was asleep (?) …….

[3 lines missing]

78-82. …… addressed (?) ……: "You who have gone to sleep, you who have gone to sleep ……! Young Lord Gilgamesh, how long will you sleep for? The mountains are becoming indistinct as the shadows fall across them; the evening ……."

83-89. Gilgamesh awoke from his dream, shuddering from his sleep. He rubbed his eyes; there was eery silence everywhere. "By the life of my own mother Ninsumun and of my father, holy Lugalbanda! My personal god Enki, Lord Nudimmud ……!"

[2 lines missing]

90-95. "I ……, he vexes (?) me -- the warrior whose face is a lion's grimace, and whose breast is like a raging flood. No one dare approach his brow, which devours the reedbeds. On his tongue, like that of a man-eating lion, the blood never dries. You do not have enough strength for the warrior, such is his might."

96-98. His slave Enkidu addressed him:

[2 lines fragmentary]

99-108. "By the life of my own mother Ninsumun and of my father, holy Lugalbanda! My personal god Enki, Lord Nudimmud ……! Warrior, one would like to know where in the mountains you live. Here, they have made some tiny shoes for your tiny feet. Here, they have made some big shoes for your big feet.

[4 lines missing] If you bring ……."

109-115. "By the life of my mother Ninsumun and of my father, holy Lugalbanda! My personal god Enki, Lord Nudimmud ……! Warrior, one would like to know where in the mountains you live. Here, they have made some tiny shoes for your tiny feet. Here, they have made some big shoes for your big feet. "

[2 lines fragmentary]

116-129. [13 lines missing] They …… many piles on the hillside.

130-134. When Huwawa had finally handed over to him his seventh aura, Gilgamesh found himself beside Huwawa. He punched him on the ear with his fist. Huwawa furrowed his brows at him, baring his teeth at him. Gilgamesh threw a

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halter over him, as over a captured wild bull. He tied him up by the elbows like a captured warrior.

135-136. The warrior began to weep, shedding tears. Huwawa began to weep, shedding tears.

137-141. "Warrior, you lied! You have manhandled me; yet you had sworn an oath, by the life of your own mother Ninsumun and of your father, holy Lugalbanda. Your personal god Enki, Lord Nudimmud ……! And now you have thrown a halter over me as if over a captured wild bull, and have tied me up by the elbows like a captured warrior!"

142-147. …… Gilgamesh's noble heart took pity on him. He addressed his slave Enkidu: "Come on, let us set the warrior free! He could be our guide! He could be our guide who would spy out the pitfalls of the route for us! He could be my ……! He could carry all my things!"

[1 line fragmentary]

148-162. [His slave Enkidu replied to him] [(1 ms. has instead:) …… replied to Gilgamesh]: "…… so lacking in understanding! …… with no ……! …… with not ……! A captured warrior set free! A captured high priestess returned to the gipar! A captured gudug priest restored to his wig of hair! Who has ever, ever seen such a thing? He would be able to …… the mountain routes. He would be able to mix up the mountain paths. Then we would never get back to the mother-city that bore us!"

[4 lines missing]

163-166. Huwawa replied to him: "The mother who bore me was a cave in the mountains. The father who engendered me was a cave in the hills. Utu left me to live all alone in the mountains!"

167-168. Gilgamesh addressed Huwawa: "Come on, ……."

[unknown number of lines missing]

GILGAMESH AND THE BULL OF HEAVEN

Translation: ETCSLt.1.8.1.2

Estimated Range of Dating:

A VERSION OF UNKNOWN PROVENANCE,

SUPPLEMENTED FROM NIBRU (NIPPUR) MANUSCRIPTS.

Segment A

1-4. I will sing the song of the man of battle, the man of battle. I will sing the song of Lord Gilgamesh, the man of battle, I will sing the song of him with the well-proportioned limbs, the man of battle. I will sing the song of the mighty …… lord, the man of battle.

5-11. [I will sing the song of the lord with the very black beard, the man of battle. I will sing the song of …… athletic strength, the man of battle. …… the king, the man ……; my king ……, my lord …… garden ……. …… courtyard, …… gipar;] [(1 ms. has instead:) …… his mother who bore him spoke to the lord: "My king …… in the river, my lord …… your garden."

[2 lines unclear / Unknown number of lines missing]

Segment B

[2 lines unclear]

3-6. In the great courtyard, without there being any combat, a man ……. She perceived the canopy, the canopy ……, holy Inana perceived the canopy, from the palace of the abzu, she perceived the canopy ……:

7-12. "My wild bull, my …… man, I shall not let you go! Lord Gilgamesh, my wild bull, my …… man, I shall not let you go! I shall not let you go to dispense justice in the E-ana! I shall not let you go to pronounce verdicts in my holy gipar! I shall not let you go to dispense justice in the E-ana beloved by An! Gilgamesh, may you be ……, may you be ……!"

13-18. (Gilgamesh speaks:) "I shall certainly not try to take over the portion of Inana in your gipar. Ninegala will not …… because of my valorous strength. But Inana, lady, don't you block my way, either! My wish is to catch (?) mountain bulls, to fill the cow-pens. I wish to catch (?) mountain sheep, to fill the sheepfolds. I wish to …… silver and cornelian."

19-30. The queen spoke with a snort; Inana spoke with a snort: "…… say to you. …… say to you. ……, Gilgamesh."

[7 lines fragmentary]

31-36. (An speaks:) "Its entrails……. Its hide ……. Its blood ……."

[1 line fragmentary] "Inana, it will muddy the waters; it will …… cowpats. My one beloved by An, ……."

37-41. He let her hold the leash; An ……. ["My child, who does it belong to?"] [(1 ms. has instead:) "My child, what use would it be?"] "It will stir up the waters, it will leave …… cowpats ……! If the great bull is let loose, …… Unug! If the great bull is let loose against Gilgamesh, …… Unug! I will not give her that which bears my own name."

42-45. (Inana speaks:) "Maybe it will muddy the waters, and will leave gigantic cowpats -- but let my father give me the Bull of Heaven, so I can kill the lord, so I can kill the lord, so I can kill the lord, Lord Gilgamesh!"

46-49. Great An replied to holy Inana: "My child, the Bull of Heaven would not have any pasture, as its pasture is on the horizon. Maiden Inana, the Bull of Heaven can only graze where the sun rises. So I cannot give the Bull of Heaven to you!"

50-51. Holy Inana replied to him: "I shall shout, and make my voice reach heaven and earth!"

52-54. [He was frightened, he was frightened. [(1 ms. adds here:) …… was frightened of Inana.] Great An replied to holy Inana: "I shall give her the Bull of Heaven."] [(instead of approx. lines 52-54, 1 ms. has:) She made her voice reach heaven ……, she made her voice reach earth; she made her voice reach heaven ……, she made her voice reach earth. It covered them like a woollen garment, it was spread over them like a linen garment. …… who could speak to her? …… who could speak to her? …… gave …….]

55-63. In masculine fashion, the maiden Inana grasped it by the lapis-lazuli tether. Holy Inana brought the Bull of Heaven [out] [(1 ms. has instead:) down]. At Unug, the Bull devoured the pasture, and drank the water of the river in great slurps. With each slurp it used up one mile of the river, but its thirst was not satisfied. It devoured the pasture and stripped the land bare. It broke up the palm trees of Unug, as it bent them to fit them into its mouth. When it was standing, the Bull submerged Unug. [The aura] [(1 ms. has instead:) the name] of the Bull of Heaven submerged Kulaba.

64-67. [His musician ……. As he looked up ……, leaning (?) ……

[1 line unclear]

] [(1 ms. has instead:) Then Lord Gilgamesh …… his musician.] [(a second ms. has instead:) Gilgamesh …… his musician Lugal-gabagal. "My musician, tune your strings, …… give me a drink, ……. …… bronze …… in your hand ……. His musician ……."] [(a third ms. has instead:) …… replied to Lugal-gabagal, "Lugal-gabagal, tune your strings; I wish to have a drink!" (Lugal-gabagal answers:) "…… drink, that is why nothing of yours is important." …… replied to Lugal-gabagal.] [(instead of approx. lines 64-67, a fourth ms. has:)

[3 lines unclear] …… drink, lord ……. …… drink, lord …….

[7 lines missing or unclear] …… Unug …….]

68-83. Lord Gilgamesh ……. Inana …… the Bull of Heaven. At Unug, the Bull ……, and drank the water of the river in great slurps. With each slurp it used up one mile of the river, but its thirst was not satisfied. It devoured the pasture and stripped the land bare. [(1 ms. adds here:) His lady ……. Gilgamesh …… said, "My mother ……, my sister ……, will …… the cattle to their tethering stakes, will …… the sheep to their tethering stakes, will …… to their tethering stakes." Gilgamesh ……, "Bull of Heaven, you, yes you, ……; you, yes you -- you do not ……." Gilgamesh …….]

[5 lines unclear]

"They will throw your corpse in the deserted streets, and throw your intestines in the broad square. They will send your carcass to the knacker's, and I shall share out your meat in baskets to the widows' sons who are citizens of my city …… I shall make flasks of your two horns for pouring fine oil to Inana in E-ana."

84-90. Inana watched from the top of the ramparts. The Bull bellowed in the dust, and Gilgamesh walked (?) at its head as Enkidu climbed up the rope of its ……. Their fellow-citizens came along ……. It covered them with dust, like a young calf unused to the yoke. [Enkidu stood behind the Bull and went round …….] [(1 ms. has instead:) He put …… and seized its tail.] He spoke to his master Gilgamesh:

91-103. "Ho, magnificent one, extending your staff of office, born of noble lineage, splendour of the gods, furious bull standing ready for battle, who is respected as the great lord Gilgamesh of Unug! Your mother was truly skilled in bearing children, and your nurse was truly skilled in suckling her charges! [(1 ms. adds:) Lord born of noble lineage, ……] Do not fear -- the warrior without strength …… himself (?). There where the road is straight ……. …… axe ……."

[4 lines unclear / Unknown number of lines missing]

A VERSION FROM ME-TURAN (ESHNUNNA)

SEGMENT A

1-7. I will sing the song of the man of battle, the man of battle. I will sing the song of Lord Gilgamesh, the man of battle, I will sing the song of the lord with the very black beard, the man of battle. I will sing the song of him with the well-proportioned limbs, the man of battle. I will sing the song of him in his prime (?), the man of battle. I will sing the song of him who batters the wicked, the man of battle. The king, the lord, having …… as his mother who bore him ……, wishing to wash (?) in the river.

8-18. My lord, having sought entry into the garden planted with junipers, the lord, coming from the gipar, sheared the wool of the fleecy sheep ……; …… he sat down ……. The king …… bending …… with the oar; the prince covered …… with the oar, as if it was of flourishing reed. You covered their wicked ones, as if ……, with water. He gave …… to his mother who bore him. In the wide courtyard ……, Gilgamesh …….

[1 line unclear]

In the great courtyard …….

19-21. Then …… the canopy ……. Holy Inana perceived the canopy, from the palace of the abzu, she perceived the canopy:

22-27. "My wild bull, my man, I shall not let you ……! Gilgamesh, I shall not let you ……! I shall not let you dispense justice in my E-ana! I shall not let you pronounce verdicts in my holy gipar! I shall not let you dispense justice in the E-ana beloved by An! Gilgamesh, may you ……, may I ……."

28-39. The king, …… his mouth, the king …… to his mother who bore him. Gilgamesh …… to Ninsumun ……: "O mother who bore me, how ……! By the door of the great gate ……. From the crenellations of the wall ……: "My wild bull, my man, I shall not let you go ……! Gilgamesh, I shall not let you go ……! You dispensed justice in my E-ana -- I shall not let you go! You pronounced verdicts in my holy gipar -- I shall not let you go, in his beloved …… E-ana!""

40-41. When he had spoken thus to the mother who bore him, the mother who bore him replied to Gilgamesh:

[approx. 8 lines missing]

SEGMENT B

1-6. Holy Inana ……. An ……. …… the bond of heaven. An …… to holy Inana: "My child, ……." Inana replied ……:

[19 lines fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

Segment C

[It is uncertain if this segment belongs here.]

1-5. -- 5 lines fragmentary / Unknown number of lines missing

Segment D

1-4. -- [4 lines fragmentary]

5-9. "My musician, Lugal-gabagar, perform your song, tune your strings! Give me beer to drink! Fill my bronze jug again! ……" Lugal-gabagar replied to his master, Gilgamesh: "My master, you may eat, and you may drink -- but as for me, how does this matter concern me?"

10-15. To defeat the Bull, ……, Gilgamesh, to defeat the Bull, ……. …… his harness of fifty (text: five-sixths) minas. …… his sword weighing seven talents and thirty minas. …… his battle axe. "My mother who bore me ……."

16-23. His sister ……. His mother who bore him ……. Peshtur, his little sister ……. Gilgamesh …… "My mother who bore me, in the house (?) of Enki (?) ……. Peshtur, the little sister, ……, will bring back the cattle to their tethering stakes ……, will bring back the sheep to their tethering stakes ……."

24-32. "Bull of Heaven, you -- you, ……, yes, you! You crush them ……, and I crush them ……. If you crush them, …… They shall consign your hide to the streets ……. They shall consign your intestines to the broad square ……. The widows' sons of my city shall each take their share of your meat in baskets. They shall consign your carcass to the knacker's, and I shall turn your two horns into flasks for pouring fine oil to Inana in E-ana."

33-38. The Bull …… in the dust. Gilgamesh …… and Enkidu ……. Their fellow-citizens ……. …… with dust, like a young calf unused to the yoke. Enkidu stood by the Bull's head and spoke to Gilgamesh:

39-44. "Ho, magnificent one, extending your staff of office, born of noble lineage, splendour of the gods, furious-hearted bull, standing ready for battle, warrior, …… your hand ……! The people ……, the people ……."

45-48. When Enkidu had spoken thus to Gilgamesh, Gilgamesh himself smote its skull with his axe weighing seven talents. The Bull reared up so high, so high that it overbalanced. It spattered like rain, it spread itself out like the harvested crop.

49-52. The king took his knife in his hand, just as if he were a master chef. He hit Inana with a haunch, he made her flee away like a pigeon, and demolished those ramparts. Standing by the Bull's head, the king wept bitter tears: "Just as I can destroy you, so shall I do the same to her."

53-59. As he spoke, he consigned its hide to the streets, he consigned its intestines to the broad square, and the widows' sons of his city each took their share of its meat in baskets. He consigned its carcass to the knacker's, and turned its two horns into flasks for pouring fine oil to Inana in E-ana. For the death of the Bull of Heaven: holy Inana, it is sweet to praise you!

FRAGMENT OF AN EARLIER VERSION FROM NIBRU (NIPPUR),

DATING TO THE UR III PERIOD

SEGMENT A

[unknown number of lines missing]

1-8. Seed of the gipar (= Gilgamesh?) ……; he sat on the ……; that which was in the marsh, my king, to bend that

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which was in the marsh with the oar, the lord covered it with water with the oar, as if they were flourishing reeds. That which exceeded, as if it was a reed ……, he covered with water. In the wide courtyard …… of the temple of Inana Gilgamesh …….

9-13. My king, having sought entry into the garden of junipers, the seed of the gipar …… the sheep of the queen …… sheared the wool; he sat on the ……. He leant over the marsh; my king leant over the marsh; he bent it with the oar.

14-15. The lord covered it with water as if they were flourishing reeds; that which exceeded, as if it was a reed ……, he covered it with water.

[unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT B

1-4. I shall not try to take over the portion of Inana in the gipar; …… shall not cover my valiant arm with a garment!

GILGAMESH AND AGA

Translation: ETCSL t.1.8.1.1; University of Oxford
Estimated Range of Dating:

1-8. Envoys of Aga, the son of En-me-barage-si, came from Kish to Gilgamesh in Unug. Gilgamesh presented the issue before the elders of his city, carefully choosing his words: "There are wells to be finished, many wells of the Land yet to be finished; there are shallow wells of the Land yet to be finished, there are wells to deepen and hoisting gear to be completed. We should not submit to the house of Kish! [Should we not smite it with weapons?] [(2 mss. have instead:) Let us smite it with weapons!]"

9-14. In the convened assembly, his city's elders answered Gilgamesh: "There are indeed wells to be finished, many wells of the Land yet to be finished; there are shallow wells of the Land yet to be finished, there are wells to deepen and hoisting gear to be completed. [So we should submit to the house of Kish. We should not smite it with weapons!] [(1 ms. has instead:) So should we not submit to the house of Kish? Should we smite it with weapons?]"

15-23. Gilgamesh, the lord of Kulaba, placing his trust in Inana, did not take seriously the advice of his city's elders. Gilgamesh [(1 ms. adds:) , the lord of Kulaba,] presented the issue again, this time before the able-bodied men of his city, carefully choosing his words: "There are wells to be finished, many wells of the Land yet to be finished; there are shallow wells of the Land yet to be finished, there are wells to deepen and hoisting gear to be completed. [Never before have you submitted to the house of Kish. Should you not smite it with weapons?] [(1 ms. has instead:) We should not submit to the house of Kish. We should smite it with weapons!]"

24-29. In the convened assembly, his city's able-bodied men answered Gilgamesh: " "Standing on duty and sitting in attendance, escorting the king's son, and forever grasping the donkey's reins -- who has that much breath?", as the saying goes. You old men should not submit to the house of Kish! Should we young men not smite it with weapons?"

30-39. "The great gods created the structure of Unug, the handiwork of the gods, and of E-ana, the house lowered down from heaven. You watch over [the great rampart, the rampart which An founded] [(1 ms. has instead:) its great rampart, a cloudbank resting on the earth], the majestic residence which An established. You are its king and warrior, an exuberant person, a prince beloved of An. When Aga comes, what terror he will experience! That army is small, and scattered at the rear. Its men will be incapable of confronting us."

40-47. Then Gilgamesh, the lord of Kulaba, rejoiced at the advice of his city's able-bodied men and his spirit brightened. He addressed his servant Enkidu: "On this account let the weaponry and arms of battle be made ready. Let the battle mace return to your side. May they create a great terror and radiance. When he comes, my great fearsomeness will overwhelm him. His reasoning will become confused and his judgement disarrayed."

48-54. Not five, not 10 days had passed when Aga, the son of En-me-barage-si, laid siege to Unug with his men. Unug's reasoning became confused. Gilgamesh, the lord of Kulaba, addressed its warriors: " [My warriors shall have the choice.] [(2 mss. have instead:) My warriors, choose!] Let someone with courage volunteer ["I shall go to Aga"] [(1 ms. has instead:) , and I will send him to Aga]."

55-58. Birhar-tura, his royal guard, spoke in admiration to his king: " [(2 mss. add:) My king,] I shall [go] [(1 ms. has instead:) go prancing (?)] to Aga so that his reasoning will become confused and his judgement disarrayed."

59-69. Birhar-tura went out through the city gate. As soon as Birhar-tura went out through the city gate, they captured him at the gate's entrance, and then beat Birhar-tura's entire length. He came into the presence of Aga and then spoke to Aga. Before he had finished speaking, an officer of Unug climbed up on the rampart and leaned out over the rampart. Aga saw him and then spoke to Birhar-tura: "Slave, is that man your king?"

70-81. "That man is not my king! Were that man my king, were that his angry brow, were those his bison eyes, were that his lapis lazuli beard, were those his elegant fingers, would he not cast down multitudes, would he not raise up multitudes, would multitudes not be smeared with dust, would not all the nations be overwhelmed, would not the land's canal-mouths be filled with silt, would not the barges' prows be broken, and would he not take Aga, the king of Kish, captive in the midst of his army?"

82-89. They hit him, they struck him. They beat Birhar-tura's entire length. Gilgamesh climbed up on the rampart after the officer of Unug. His radiance overwhelmed Kulaba's young and old. He armed Unug's able-bodied men with battle maces and stationed them on the causeway at the city gate's door. Only Enkidu went out through the city gate. Gilgamesh leaned out over the rampart. Looking up, Aga saw him: "Slave, is that man your king?"

92-99. "That man is indeed my king." It was just as he had said: Gilgamesh cast down multitudes, he raised up multitudes, multitudes were smeared with dust, all the nations were overwhelmed, the land's canal-mouths were filled with silt, the barges' prows were broken, and he took Aga, the king of Kish, captive in the midst of his army. [(1 ms. adds 1 line:) Unug's able-bodied men …… that army.]

100-106. Gilgamesh, the lord of Kulaba, [spoke to] [(1 ms. has instead:) approached close to] Aga: "Aga my overseer, Aga my lieutenant, [(1 ms. adds 1 line:) Aga my governor, Aga my commander,] Aga my military commander! Aga gave me breath, Aga gave me life: Aga took a fugitive into his embrace, Aga provided the fleeing bird with grain."

107-113. [(The able-bodied men acclaim Gilgamesh:) "You watch over Unug, the handiwork of the gods, the great rampart, the rampart which An founded, the majestic residence which An established. You are its king and warrior, an exuberant person, a prince beloved of An." (Gilgamesh addresses Aga:) "Before Utu, your former kindness is hereby repaid to you."] [(the other ms. has instead:) "I watch over Unug, the handiwork of the gods, its great rampart, a cloudbank resting on the earth, its majestic residence which An established. The city will repay the kindness shown to me. Before Utu, your former kindness is hereby repaid to you."] He set Aga free to go to Kish.

114-115. O Gilgamesh, lord of Kulaba, praising you is sweet.

GILGAMESH, ENKIDU AND THE NETHER WORLD

Translation: ETCSLt.1.8.1.4; University of Oxford

VERSION A

1-26. In those days, in those distant days, in those nights, in those remote nights, in those years, in those distant years; in days of yore, when the necessary things had been brought into manifest existence, in days of yore, when the necessary things had been for the first time properly cared for, when bread had been tasted for the first time in the shrines of the Land, when the ovens of the Land had been made to work, when the heavens had been separated from the earth, when the earth had been delimited from the heavens, when the fame of mankind had been established, when An had taken the heavens for himself, when Enlil had taken the earth for himself, when the nether world had been given to Ereshkigala as a gift; when he set sail, when he set sail, when the father set sail for the nether world, when Enki set sail for the nether world -- against the king a storm of small hailstones arose, against Enki a storm of large hailstones arose. The small ones were light hammers, the large ones were like stones from catapults. The keel of Enki's little boat was trembling as if it were being butted by turtles, the waves at the bow of the boat rose to devour the king like wolves and the waves at the stern of the boat were attacking Enki like a lion.

27-35. At that time, there was a single tree, a single halub tree, a single tree, growing on the bank of the pure Euphrates, being watered by the Euphrates. The force of the south wind uprooted it and stripped its branches, and the Euphrates picked it up and carried it away. A woman, respectful of An's words, was walking along; a woman, respectful of Enlil's words, was walking along, and took the tree and brought it into Unug, into Inana's luxuriant garden.

36-46. The woman planted the tree with her feet, but not with her hands. The woman watered it using her feet but not her hands. She said: "When will this be a luxuriant chair on which I can take a seat?" She said: "When this will be a luxuriant bed on which I can lie down?" Five years, 10 years went by, the tree grew massive; its bark, however, did not split. At its roots, a snake immune to incantations made itself a nest. In its branches, the Anzud bird settled its young. In its trunk, the phantom maid built herself a dwelling, the maid who laughs with a joyful heart. But holy Inana cried!

47-69. When dawn was breaking, when the horizon became bright, when the little birds, at the break of dawn, began to clamour, when Utu had left his bedchamber, his sister holy Inana said to the young warrior Utu: "My brother, in those days when destiny was determined, when abundance overflowed in the Land, when An had taken the heavens for himself, when Enlil had taken the earth for himself, when the nether world had been given to Ereshkigala as a gift; when he set sail, when he set sail, when the father set sail for the nether world, when Enki set sail for the nether world -- against the lord a storm of small hailstones arose, against Enki a storm of large hailstones arose. The small ones were light hammers, the large ones were like stones from catapults. The keel of Enki's little boat was trembling as if it were being butted by turtles, the waves at the bow of the boat rose to devour the lord like wolves and the waves at the stern of the boat were attacking Enki like a lion."

70-78. "At that time, there was a single tree, a single halub tree, a single tree, growing on the bank of the pure Euphrates, being watered by the Euphrates. The force of the south wind uprooted it and stripped its branches, and the Euphrates picked it up and carried it away. I, a woman, respectful of An's words, was walking along; I, a woman, respectful of Enlil's words, was walking along, and took the tree and brought it into Unug, into holy Inana's luxuriant garden."

79-90. "I, the woman, planted the tree with my feet, but not with my hands. I, Inana, watered it using my feet but not my hands. She said: "When will this be a luxuriant chair on which I can take a seat?" She said: "When will this be a luxuriant bed on which I can lie down?" Five years, 10 years had gone by, the tree had grown massive; its bark, however, did not split. At its roots, a snake immune to incantations made itself a nest. In its branches, the Anzud bird settled its young. In its trunk, the phantom maid built herself a dwelling, the maid who laughs with a joyful heart. But holy Inana cried!" Her brother, the young warrior Utu, however, did not stand by her in the matter.

91-113. When dawn was breaking, when the horizon became bright, when the little birds, at the break of dawn, began to clamour, when Utu had left his bedchamber, his sister holy Inana said to the warrior Gilgamesh: "My brother, in those days when destiny was determined, when abundance overflowed in the Land, when An had taken the heavens for himself, when Enlil had taken the earth for himself, when the nether world had been given to Ereshkigala as a gift; when he set sail, when he set sail, when the father set sail for the nether world, when Enki set sail for the nether world -- against the lord a storm of small hailstones arose, against Enki a storm of large hailstones arose. The small ones were light hammers, the large ones were like stones from catapults. The keel of Enki's little boat was trembling as if it were being butted by turtles, the waves at the bow of the boat rose to devour the lord like wolves and the waves at the stern of the boat were attacking Enki like a lion."

114-122. "At that time, there was a single tree, a single halub tree, a single tree (?), growing on the bank of the pure Euphrates, being watered by the Euphrates. The force of the south wind uprooted it and stripped its branches, and the Euphrates picked it up and carried it away. I, a woman, respectful of An's words, was walking along; I, a woman, respectful of Enlil's words, was walking along, and took the tree and brought it into Unug, into Inana's luxuriant garden."

123-135. "The woman planted the tree with her feet, but not with her hands. Inana watered it using her feet but not her hands. She said: "When will this be a luxuriant chair on which I can take a seat?" She said: "When will this be a luxuriant bed on which I can lie down?" Five years, 10 years had gone by, the tree had grown massive; its bark, however, did not split. At its roots, a snake immune to incantations made itself a nest. In its branches, the Anzud bird settled its young. In its trunk, the phantom maid built herself a dwelling, the maid who laughs with a joyful heart. But [holy Inana] [(1 ms. has instead:) I, holy Inana,] cried!" In the matter which his sister had told him about, her brother, the warrior Gilgamesh, stood by her.

136-150. He strapped his …… belt of 50 minas weight to his waist -- 50 minas were to him as 30 shekels. He took his bronze axe used for expeditions, which weighs seven talents and seven minas, in his hand. He killed the snake immune to incantations living at its roots. The Anzud bird living in its branches took up its young and went into the mountains. The phantom maid living in its trunk left (?) her dwelling and sought refuge in the wilderness. As for the tree, he uprooted it and stripped its branches, and the sons of his city, who went with him, cut up its branches and bundled them (piled them up). He gave it to his sister holy Inana for her chair. He gave it to her for her bed. As for himself, from its roots, he manufactured his ball and, from its branches, he manufactured his mallet.

151-165. He played with the ball in the broad square, never wanting to stop playing it, and he praised himself in the broad square, never wanting to stop praising himself. [(mss. from Urim add:) The young men of his city were playing with the ball.] For him who made the team of the widows' children ……, they lamented: "O my neck! O my hips!" For those that had a mother, the mother brought bread for her son; for those that had a sister, the sister poured water for her brother. As the evening came, he marked the spot where the

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ball had been placed, and he picked up his ball from in front of him and took it home. But early in the morning as he …… the place marked, the widows' accusation and the young girls' complaint caused his ball and his mallet to fall down to the bottom of the nether world. [(1 ms. adds:) He could not reach them by …….] He tried with his hand but could not [reach] [(1 ms. has instead:) touch] them, tried with his foot but could not [reach] [(1 ms. has instead:) touch] them.

166-175. At the gate of Ganzer, in front of the nether world, he sat down. Gilgamesh wept, crying bitterly: "O my ball! O my mallet! O my ball, I am still not satiated with its charms, the game with it has not yet palled for me! If only my ball waited still in the carpenter's house for me! I would treat the carpenter's wife like my own mother -- if only it waited still there for me! I would treat the carpenter's child like my little sister -- if only it waited still there for me! [My ball has fallen down to the nether world -- who will retrieve it for me?] [(1 ms. has instead:) Who will retrieve my ball (?) from the nether world?] [My mallet has fallen down to Ganzer -- who will retrieve it for me?] [(1 ms. has instead:) Who will retrieve my mallet from Ganzer?]"

176-183. His servant Enkidu [answered] [(1 ms. has instead:) said to] [him] [(1 ms. has instead:) Gilgamesh]: "My king, you weep; why does your heart worry? Today I shall retrieve your ball from the nether world, I shall retrieve your mallet (?) from Ganzer." Gilgamesh answered Enkidu: " [If today] [(1 ms. has instead:) If] you are going to go down to the nether world, let me advise you! My instructions should be followed. Let me talk to you! [Pay attention to my words] [(1 ms. has instead:) My words should be followed]!"

184-198. "You should not put on your clean garments: they would recognise immediately that you are alien. You should not anoint yourself with fine oil from a bowl: they would surround you at [its] [(1 ms. has instead:) your] scent. You should not hurl throw-sticks in the nether world: those struck down by the throw-sticks would surround you. You should not not hold a cornel-wood stick in your hand: the spirits would feel insulted by you. You should not put sandals on your feet. You should not shout in the nether world. You should not kiss your beloved wife. You should not hit your wife even if you are annoyed with her. You should not kiss your beloved child. You should not hit your son even if you are annoyed with him. The outcry aroused would detain you in the nether world."

199-204. "She who lies there, she who lies there, Ninazu's mother who lies there -- her pure shoulders are not covered with a garment, and no linen is spread over her pure breast. She has fingers like a pickaxe, she plucks her hair out like leeks."

205-220. Enkidu, however, did not heed not his master's words. He put on his clean garments and they recognised that he was alien. He anointed himself with fine oil from a bowl and they surrounded him at its scent. He hurled throw-sticks in the nether world and those struck down by the throw-sticks surrounded him. He held a cornel-wood stick in his hand and the spirits felt insulted by him. He put sandals on his feet. He caused irritation in the nether world. He kissed his beloved wife and hit his wife when he was annoyed with her. He kissed his beloved child and hit his son when he was annoyed with him. He aroused an outcry and was detained in the nether world.

221-229. The warrior Gilgamesh, son of Ninsumun, directed his steps on his own to E-kur, the temple of Enlil. He cried before Enlil: "Father Enlil, my ball (?) fell down into the nether world, my mallet fell down into Ganzer. Enkidu went down to retrieve them but the nether world has seized him. Namtar did not seize him, the Asag did not seize him; but the nether world has seized him. The udug demon of Nergal, who spares nobody, did not seize him, but the nether world has seized him. He did not fall in battle on the field of manhood, but the nether world has seized him." Father Enlil did not stand by him in the matter, so he went to Eridug.

230-237. In Eridug he directed his steps on his own to the temple of Enki. He cried before Enki: "Father Enki, my ball fell down into the nether world, my mallet fell down into Ganzer. Enkidu went down to retrieve them but the nether world has seized him. Namtar did not seize him, the Asag did not seize him; but the nether world has seized him. The udug demon of Nergal, who spares nobody, did not seize him, but the nether world has seized him. He did not fall in battle on the field of manhood, but the nether world has seized him." Father Enki stood by him in this matter.

238-242. He said to the young warrior Utu, the son born by Ningal: "Open a hole in the nether world immediately, and then bring up his servant from the nether world!" He opened a hole in the nether world and brought up his servant with his breeze from the nether world.

243-253. They hugged and kissed. They wearied each other with questions: "Did you see the order of the nether world? -- If only you would tell me, my friend, if only you would tell me!" "If I tell you the order of the nether world, sit down and weep! I shall sit down and weep! ……, which your heart rejoiced to touch, is ……, worms infest it like an old garment; like …… of a crevice, it is full of dust." "Alas!" he said and sat down in the dust.

254-267. "Did you see him who had one son?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "He weeps bitterly at the wooden peg which was driven into his wall." "Did you see him who had two sons?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "He sits on a couple of bricks, eating bread." "Did you see him who had three sons?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "He drinks water from a saddle waterskin." "Did you see him who had four sons?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "His heart rejoices like a man who has four asses to yoke." "Did you see him who had five sons?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "Like a good scribe he is indefatigable, he enters the palace easily." "Did you see him who had six sons?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "He is a cheerful as a ploughman." "Did you see him who had seven sons?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "As a companion of the gods, he sits on a throne and listens to judgements."

268-285. "Did you see the palace eunuch?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "Like a useless alala stick he is propped in a corner." "Did you see the woman who never gave birth?" "I saw her." "How does she fare?" "Like a …… pot, she is thrown away violently, she gives no man joy." "Did you see the young man who never undressed his wife?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "You finish a rope, and he weeps over the rope." "Did you see the young woman who never undressed her husband?" "I saw her." "How does she fare?" "You finish a reed mat, and she weeps over the reed mat." "Did you see him who had no heir?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "Like him who …… bricks (?), he eats bread." "……?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?"

[7 lines fragmentary or missing]

286-303. "Did you see ……?" "His food is set apart, his water is set apart, he eats the food offered (?) to him, he drinks the water offered (?) to him." [(1 ms. adds:) "Did you see him who was eaten by a lion?" "He cries bitterly "O my hands! O my legs!"" "Did you see him who fell down from the roof?" "They cannot …… his bones."] "Did you see the leprous man?" "He twitches like an ox as the worms eat at him." "Did you see him who fell in battle?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "His father and mother are not there to hold his head, and his wife weeps." "Did you see the spirit of him who has no funerary offerings?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "He eats the scraps and the crumbs …… tossed out in the street." "Did you see him hit by a ship's board [(1 ms. adds:) when diving]? How does he fare?" " "Alas, my mother!" the man cries to her, as he pulls out the ship's board ……, he …… cross beam …… crumbs." "Did you see my little stillborn children who never knew existence?" "I saw them." "How do they fare?" "They play at a table of gold and silver, laden with honey and ghee." "Did you see him who died ……?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "He lies on a bed of the gods." "Did you see him who was set on fire?" "I did not see him. His spirit is not about. His smoke went up to the sky."

A VERSION FROM URIM (UR) (UET 6 58)

1-7. "Did you see him who fell down from the roof?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "They cannot …… his bones." "Did you see him who was struck in a flood-storm of Ishkur?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "He twitches like an ox as the worms eat at him." "Did you see the leprous man?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "His food is set apart, his water is set apart, he eats the food offered to him, he drinks the water offered to him. He lives outside the city."

8-19. "Did you see him who had no respect for the word of his mother and father?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" " "O my body! O my limbs!" he never ceases to cry." "Did you see him who was reached by the curse of his mother and father?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "He is deprived of an heir. His spirit roams about." "Did you see him who …… the name of his god?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "His spirit ……." "Did you see the spirit of him who has no funerary offerings?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "He eats the scraps and the crumbs …… tossed out in the street." "Did you see my little stillborn children who never knew existence?" "I saw them." "How do they fare?" "They play at a table of gold and silver, laden with honey and ghee." "Did you see him who was set on fire?" "I did not see him. His smoke went up to the sky. His spirit does not live in the underworld."

20-28. "Did you see him who lied to the gods while swearing an oath?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "He drinks …… which has been drunk …… the libation place at the entrance to the nether world." "Did you see the citizen of Girsu who refused water to his father and his mother?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "In front of each of them are a thousand Martu, and his spirit can neither …… nor ……. The Martu at the libation place at the entrance to the nether world ……." "Did you see the citizens of Sumer and Akkad?" "I saw them." "How do they fare?" "They drink the water of the …… place, muddy water." "Did you see where my father and my mother live?" "I saw them." "How do they fare?" "Both of them drink the water of the …… place, muddy water."

ANOTHER VERSION FROM URIM (UR) (UET 6 59)

Segment A

1-9. "Did you see him hit by a ship's board? How does he fare?" "Alas, my mother!" the man cries to her, as he pulls out ……, he …… crossbeam …… crumbs." "Did you see him who fell down from the roof? How does he fare?" "He twitches like an ox as the worms eat at him." "Did you see him who was reached by the curse of his mother? How does he fare?" "He is deprived of an heir. His spirit roams (?) about." "Did you see him who had no respect for the word of his father and his mother? How does he fare?"

[1 line fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT B

1-11. "His food is set apart, his water is set apart, he eats the food offered to him, he drinks the water offered to him." "Did you see him who fell in battle? How does he fare?" "His father and mother are not there to hold his head, and his wife weeps." "Did you see him who ……? How does he fare?" "…… from his hand ……." "Did you see the spirit of him who has no funerary offerings? How does he fare?" "He eats the scraps and the crumbs tossed out in the street." "Did you see my little stillborn children who never knew existence? How do they fare?" "They play with a bucket of gold and silver, full of honey and ghee." "Did you see him who was set on fire?" "I did not see him. His spirit is not there. His smoke went up to the sky."

A THIRD VERSION FROM URIM (UR) (UET 6 60)

1-10. They returned to Unug, they returned to their city. He entered outfitted with tools and armaments, with an axe and a spear, and deposited them in his palace happily. Looking at the statue, the young men and women of Unug and the old men and women of Kulaba rejoiced. As Utu came forth from his bedchamber, Gilgamesh raised his head and told them: "My father and my mother, drink clean water!" Midday had hardly passed when they touched the statue's crown.

11-16. Gilgamesh threw himself down at the place of mourning, he threw himself down for nine days at the place of mourning. The young men and women of Unug and the old men (?) and women of Kulaba wept. As soon as he had said that, he repulsed the citizen of Girsu. "My father and my mother, drink clean water!"

17. Warrior Gilgamesh, son of Ninsumun, sweet is your praise!

A VERSION FROM ME-TURAN (ESHNUNNA)

SEGMENT A

1-9. …… surrounded him. He carried …… and the spirits felt insulted by him. He caused …….

[1 line fragmentary] He kissed his beloved wife, and hit his wife when he was angry with her. He kissed his beloved child, and hit his son when he was angry with him. He aroused an outcry and was detained in the nether world.

10-16. From that fateful day and for seven days his servant, Enkidu, did not come out from the nether world. The king was lamenting, crying bitterly: "My beloved servant, my faithful companion, my counsellor, has been seized in the nether world! Namtar did not seize him, the Asag did not seize him; but he was seized in the nether world. The udug of Nergal who …… did not seize him, but he was seized in the nether world. He did not fall in battle on the field of ……, but he was seized in the nether world."

17-24. He directed his steps on his own to E-kur, the temple of Enlil. Before Enlil, he ……: "My ball fell down into the nether world, my mallet fell down into Ganzer. But Enkidu, going down to retrieve them, my beloved servant, my faithful companion, my counsellor, was seized in the nether world. Namtar did not seize him, the Asag did not seize him, but he was seized in the nether world. …… did not seize him, but he was seized in the nether world."

[unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT B

1-28. "Did you see him who had one son? How does he fare?" "He weeps bitterly ……." "Did you see him who had two sons? How does he fare?" "He sits on ……." "Did you see him who had three sons? How does he fare?" "He drinks water ……." "Did you see him who had four sons? How does he fare?" "His heart is happy [(1 ms. adds:) like a man who has four asses to yoke]." "Did you see him who had five sons? How does he fare?" "Like a good scribe he is indefatigable, he enters the palace easily." "Did you see him who had six sons? How does he fare?" "He is cheerful as a ploughman." "Did you see him who had seven sons? How does he fare?" "As a companion of the gods he sits on a throne and listens to judgements." "Did you see him who had no heir? How does he fare?" "Like …… he eats bread."

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[approx. 3 lines missing]

29-51. "Did you see him ……? How does he fare?" "He drinks water ……." "Did you see him ……? How does he fare?" "He …… as the worms eat at him." "Did you see him who was eaten by a dog? How does he fare?" "He …… "O my hands! O my legs! O ……!"" "Did you see him hit (?) by the mast of a boat? How does he fare?" " "Alas, my mother" the man cries to her, …… wooden peg ……, he …… food, cross beam (?), crumbs ……." "Did you see the woman who never gave birth? How does she fare?" "Like a …… pot, she is thrown away violently, she …… nobody." "Did you see the young man who never undressed his wife? How does he fare?" "You finish a reed mat and he weeps over the reed mat." "Did you see the young woman who never undressed her husband? How does she fare?" "You finish a …… garment and she weeps over the …… garment."

52-68. "Did you see him who …… extolled himself? How does he fare?" "He bows down (?) like an ox as the worms eat at him." "Did you see him who fell down from the roof? How does he fare?" "His bones …… and his spirit ……." "Did you see ……? How does he fare?" "He ……." "Did you see the leprous man? How does he fare?" "His water is set apart, his food is set apart. He …… the spirits. He lives outside the city." "Did you see my stillborn children who never received a name? How do they fare?" "They play at a table of gold and silver ……." "Didn't you see him who was set on fire?" "Why, my friend, did not you spare this question?" "I asked it, my friend!" "His spirit is …… from the nether world, it went up to the sky with the smoke (?)."

69-71. His heart was smitten, his insides were ravaged. The king began to search for life. Now the lord once decided to set off for the mountain where the man lives. (These three lines create a transition to 1.8.1.5 Gilgamesh and Huwawa (Version A).)

THE DEATH OF GILGAMESH

Translation: ETCSLt.1.8.1.3; University of Oxford
Estimated Range of Dating:

A VERSION FROM NIBRU (NIPPUR)

SEGMENT A

[unknown number of lines missing]

1-14. …… hero …… has lain down and is never to rise again. …… has lain down and is never to rise again. He of well-proportioned limbs …… has lain down and is never to rise again. …… has lain down and is never to rise again. He who …… wickedness has lain down and is never to rise again. The young man …… has lain down and is never to rise again. He who was perfect in …… and feats of strength has lain down and is never to rise again. …… has lain down and is never to rise again. The lord of Kulaba has lain down and is never to rise again. He who spoke most wisely has lain down and is never to rise again. The plunderer (?) of many countries has lain down and is never to rise again. He who climbed the mountains has lain down and is never to rise again. He has lain down on his death-bed and is never to rise again. He has lain down on a couch of sighs and is never to rise again.

15-38. Unable to stand up, unable to sit down, he laments. Unable to eat, unable to drink, he laments. Held fast by the door-bolt of Namtar, he is unable to rise. Like a fish ……, he …… ill. Like a gazelle caught in a trap, he …… couch. Namtar, with no hands or feet ……, Namtar …….

[1 line fragmentary/ 6 lines missing / 1 line fragmentary] …… great mountains ……

[5 lines fragmentary / 1 line missing / [2 lines fragmentary / Unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT B

1-8. [3 lines fragmentary] For six days, he …… ill. …… on his skin like resin. Lord Gilgamesh …… ill. …… Unug and Kulaba. …… the words spoken …….

9-14. Then Lord Gilgamesh …… lay down (?) on the death-bed. The king …… sleep. …… his dream ……. …… assembly …….

[1 line fragmentary / Unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT C

1-9. [6 lines fragmentary] "…… you will be accounted a god. …… render verdicts. …… will be as weighty as …… of Dumuzid."

10-20. …… Gilgamesh …….

[3 lines fragmentary] …… lord of Kulaba, …… hero of the pristine mountain, …… handiwork of the gods,

[1 line fragmentary] …… of Ninsumun, …… Lugalbanda, …… Lord Nudimmud,

[approx. 7 lines missing]

Segment D

1-11. "…… having travelled all the roads that there are, having fetched …… from its ……, having killed ……, you set up …… for future days ……. Having founded ……, you reached ……. Having brought down the old …… forgotten forever and ……, he (?) carried out correctly ……. …… the flood …… the settlements of the Land."

[1 line fragmentary / Unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT E

1-11. [3 lines fragmentary] "Sisig (a god of dreams) , the son of Utu, will provide light for him in the nether world, the place of darkness. When a funerary statue is made in honour of someone, whoever they may be, for future days, mighty youths and …… will form (?) a semicircle at the door-jambs and perform wrestling and feats of strength before them (?). In the month Nenegar, at the festival of the ghosts, no light will be provided before them without him (i.e. Gilgamesh) ."

12-27. "Oh Gilgamesh! Enlil, the Great Mountain, the father of gods, has made kingship your destiny, but not eternal life -- Lord Gilgamesh, this is how to interpret (?) …… the dream. The …… and …… of life should not make you feel sad, should not make you despair, should not make you feel depressed. You must have been told that this is what the bane of being human involves. You must have been told that this is what the cutting of your umbilical cord involved. The darkest day of humans awaits you now. The solitary place of humans awaits you now. The unstoppable flood-wave awaits you now. The unavoidable battle awaits you now. The unequal struggle awaits you now. The skirmish from which there is no escape awaits you now. But you should not go to the underworld with heart knotted in anger. May …… before Utu. …… palm-fibre ……."

28. "Go ahead ……"

[unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT F

1-14.

[1 line fragmentary] "…… Enkidu, your young comrade.

[1 line fragmentary] …… is lying alone. …… is lying alone. …… the king …….

[1 line fragmentary] …… will come to you. …… will come to you. …… will come to you. …… will come to you. …… will come to you. …… will come to you. …… will come to you."

[unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT G

1-22. 1 line fragmentary …… Gilgamesh ……

[2 lines fragmentary] …… they answered him. …… he weeps. Why is …… made ……? …… Nintur has not given birth yet.

[2 lines fragmentary / 1 line unclear] "The birds of the sky …… cannot escape. The fish of the deep water cannot see ……. Having spread his net, the young fisherman will catch you (?). Who has ever seen anyone who could ascend …… from (?) the …… of the nether world? No king has ever been destined a fate like yours. Who …… anyone among mankind, whoever they may be, …… like you? …… the governorship of the nether world. You …… your ghost …… pass judgements ……."

[unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT H

1-21. Kulaba ……. As Unug rose ……, as Kulaba rose ……. Within the first month ……, it was not five or 10 days before they …… the Euphrates. …… its shells. Then, as in the bed of the Euphrates, the earth cracked dry. …… was built from stone. …… was built from stone. …… were hard diorite. …… its latches were hard stone. …… were cast in gold. …… heavy blocks of stone. …… heavy blocks of stone. …… brought in ……. …… for future days.

[1 line fragmentary] …… should not find ……. …… Gilgamesh …… has established in …….

22. His beloved …….

[unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT I

1-9. [2 lines fragmentary] …… opened …….

[2 lines fragmentary] …… of Lord Gilgamesh ……. …… scratched the nose for him, …… pulled out their hair for him.

[1 line fragmentary / Unknown number of lines missing]

ANOTHER VERSION FROM NIBRU (NIPPUR)

(probably the final section of another version)

1-7. His beloved wife, his beloved children, his beloved favourite and junior wife, his beloved musician, cup-bearer and ……, his beloved barber, his beloved ……, his beloved palace retainers and servants and his beloved objects were laid down in their places as if …… in the purified (?) palace in the middle of Unug.

8-28. Gilgamesh, the son of Ninsumun, set out their audience-gifts for Ereshkigala. He set out their gifts for Namtar. He set out their surprises for Dimpikug. He set out their presents for Neti. He set out their presents for Ningishzida and Dumuzid. He …… the audience-gifts for Enki, Ninki, Enmul, Ninmul, Endukuga, Nindukuga, Enindashuruma, Nindashuruma, Enmu-utula, En-me-shara, the maternal and paternal ancestors of Enlil; for SHul-pa-e, the lord of the table, for Sumugan and Ninhursaga, for the Anuna gods of the Holy Mound, for the Great Princes of the Holy Mound, for the dead en priests, the dead lagar priests, the dead lumah priests, the dead nindigir priestesses, and the dead gudug, the linen-clad and …… priests.

[1 line fragmentary] He set out their presents for …….

29-36. …… lie down …… Ninsumun ……. Gilgamesh, the son of Ninsumun, …… poured water …….

1 line fragmentary …… scratched the nose for him. The people …… of his city …… will not …… anymore. They spread out (?) their …… in the dust.

37-42. Then the young lord, Lord Gilgamesh, who never ceases to …… for the …… of Enlil -- Gilgamesh, the son of Ninsumun, …… offshoot ……; no king who could match him has ever been born,

[1 line unclear]

Gilgamesh, lord of Kulaba, it is sweet to praise you!

A VERSION FROM ME-TURAN (ESHNUNNA)

SEGMENT A

1-12. The great wild bull has lain down and is never to rise again. Lord Gilgamesh has lain down and is never to rise again. He who was unique in …… has lain down and is never to rise again. The hero fitted out with a shoulder-belt has lain down and is never to rise again. He who was unique in strength has lain down and is never to rise again. He who diminished wickedness has lain down and is never to rise again. He who spoke most wisely has lain down and is never to rise again. The plunderer of many countries has lain down and is never to rise again. He who knew how to climb the mountains has lain down and is never to rise again. The lord of Kulaba has lain down and is never to rise again. He has lain down on his death-bed and is never to rise again. He has lain down on a couch of sighs and is never to rise again.

13-19. Unable to stand up, unable to sit down, he laments. Unable to eat, unable to drink, he laments. Held fast by the door-bolt of Namtar, he is unable to rise. Like a …… fish …… in a cistern, he …… ill. Like a captured gazelle buck, he …… couch. Namtar with no hands or feet, who …… one by night,

[1 line fragmentary / Unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT B

(The sequence of Segments B, C, D, and E is uncertain)

1-5. Then the young lord, Lord Gilgamesh,

[4 lines fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT C

(The sequence of Segments B, C, D, and E is uncertain)

1-9. [4 lines fragmentary] Then the young lord, Lord Gilgamesh,

[4 lines fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT D

(The sequence of Segments B, C, D, and E is uncertain)

1-11. [11 lines fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT E

(The sequence of Segments B, C, D, and E is uncertain)

1-7. [5 lines fragmentary] Gilgamesh ……

[1 line fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT F

1-22. [2 lines fragmentary] Then the young lord, Lord Gilgamesh, lay down on his death-bed.

[2 lines fragmentary] After Lord Gilgamesh had arrived at the assembly, the pre-eminent place of the gods, they said to Lord Gilgamesh concerning him: "As regards your case: after having travelled all the roads that there are, having fetched cedar, the unique tree, from its mountains, having killed Huwawa in his forest, you set up many stelae for future days, for days to come. Having founded many temples of the gods, you reached Zi-ud-sura in his [dwelling place] [(1 ms. has instead:) place]. Having brought down to the Land the divine powers of Sumer, which at that time were forgotten forever, the orders, and the rituals, he carried out correctly the rites of hand washing and mouth washing ……."

[1 line fragmentary / 3 lines missing]

23-37. [2 lines fragmentary] Enlil's advice was given to Enki. Enki answered An and Enlil: "In those days, in those distant days, in those nights, in those distant nights, in those years, in those distant years, after the assembly had made the Flood sweep over to destroy the seed of mankind, among us I was the only one who was for life, and so he remained alive -- Zi-ud-sura, although a human being, remained alive. Then you made me swear by heaven and by earth, and …… that no human will be allowed to live forever any more. Now, as we look at Gilgamesh, could not he escape because of his mother?"

38-41. (Another god speaks:) "Let Gilgamesh as a ghost, below among the dead, be the governor of the nether world.

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Let him be pre-eminent among the ghosts, so that he will pass judgements and render verdicts, and what he says will be as weighty as the words of Ningishzida and Dumuzid."

42-62. Then young Lord Gilgamesh became depressed because of (?) all mankind. "You should not despair, you should not feel depressed.

[1 line fragmentary] Mighty youths and …… a semicircle ……."

[14 lines missing]

63-81. "Go ahead to the place where the Anuna gods, the great gods, sit at the funerary offerings, to the place where the en priests lie, to where the lagar priests lie, to where the lumah priests and the nindigir priestesses lie, to where the gudug priests lie, to where the linen-clad priests lie, to where the nindigir priestesses lie, to where the …… lie, to the place where your father, your grandfather, your mother, your sisters, your ……, to where your precious friend, your companion, your friend Enkidu, your young comrade, and the governors appointed by the king to the Great City are, to the place where the sergeants of the army lie, to where the captains of the troops lie,

[3 lines missing]

From the house of ……, the …… will come to meet you. Your jewel will come to meet you, your precious one will come to meet you. The elders of your city will come to meet you. You should not despair, you should not feel depressed."

82-86. "He will now be counted among the Anuna gods. He will be counted a companion of the [(1 ms. adds:) great] gods. …… the governor of the nether world. He will pass judgements and render verdicts, and what he says will be as weighty as the words of Ningishzida and Dumuzid."

87-99. And then the young lord, Lord Gilgamesh, woke up ……. …… his eyes, ……. …… a dream ……! …… a dream ……!

[3 lines fragmentary] "Am I to become again as I were …… on the lap of my own mother Ninsumun? …… who makes the great mountains tremble (?). Namtar with no hands or feet takes away ……."

[1 line fragmentary]

100-115. Lord Nudimmud made him see a dream: After Lord Gilgamesh had arrived at the assembly, the pre-eminent place of the gods, they said to Lord Gilgamesh concerning him: "As regards your case: after having travelled all the roads that there are, having fetched cedar, the unique tree, from its mountains, having killed Huwawa in his forest, you set up many stelae for future days ……. Having founded many temples of the gods,

[1 line fragmentary] Having brought down to the Land the divine powers of Sumer, which at that time were forgotten forever, the orders, and the rituals, he (?) carried out correctly the rites of hand washing and mouth washing. …… the settlements of the countries."

[2 lines fragmentary]

116-130. [1 line fragmentary] …… Gilgamesh ……. Enlil's advice was given to Enki. Enki answered An and Enlil: "In those days, in those distant days, in those nights, in those distant nights, in those years, in those distant years, after the assembly had made the Flood sweep over to destroy the seed of mankind ……, among us I was the only one who was for life. He remained alive; Zi-ud-sura alone, although a human being, remained alive. Then you made me swear by heaven and by earth, and I swore that no human will be allowed to live forever any more. Now, as we look at Gilgamesh, could not he escape because of his mother?"

131-134. (Another god speaks:) "Let Gilgamesh as a ghost, below among the dead, be the governor of the nether world. Let him be pre-eminent among the ghosts, so that he will pass judgements and render verdicts, and what he says will be as weighty as the words of Ningishzida and Dumuzid."

135-142. Then the young lord, Lord Gilgamesh, became depressed because of all mankind. "You should not despair, you should not feel depressed.

[1 line fragmentary] Mighty youths and …… a semicircle ……. Without him (i.e. Gilgamesh) ……. Sisig (a god of dreams) , the son of Utu, will provide light for him in the place of darkness."

143-153. "You must have been told that this is what your being a human involves. You must have been told that this is what the cutting of your umbilical cord involved. The darkest day of humans awaits you now. The solitary place of humans awaits you now. The unstoppable flood-wave awaits you now. The unequal struggle awaits you now. The unavoidable battle awaits you now. The evil from which there is no escape awaits you now. But you should not go to the underworld with heart knotted in anger. May it be …… before Utu. Let it be unravelled like palm-fibre and peeled like garlic."

154-167. "Go ahead to the place where the Anuna gods, the great gods, sit at the funerary offerings, to the place where the en priests lie, to where the lagar priests lie, to where the lumah priests and the nindigir priestesses lie, to where the gudug priests lie, to where the linen-clad priests lie, to where the nindigir priestesses lie, to where the …… lie, to the place where your father, your grandfather, your mother, your sisters, your ……, to where your precious friend, your companion, your friend Enkidu, your young comrade, and the governors appointed by the king to the Great City are, to the place where the sergeants of the army lie, to where the captains of the troops lie. …… the Great City Arali ……."

[1 line fragmentary]

168-172. "From the house of the sisters, the sisters will come to meet you. From the house of ……, …… will come to meet you. Your jewel will come to meet you, your precious one will come to met you. The elders of your city will come to meet you. You should not despair, you should not feel depressed."

173-174. "He …… the Anuna gods. He will be counted a companion of the great gods."

[unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT G

1-5. [5 lines fragmentary]

SEGMENT H

1-9. [5 lines fragmentary] His architect designed his tomb like ……. His god Enki showed him where the solution of the dream lies by ……. No one but the …… of the king could solve the vision.

10-32. The lord imposed a levy on his city. The herald made the horn signal sound in all the lands: "Unug, arise! Open up the Euphrates! Kulaba, arise! Divert the waters of the Euphrates!" Unug's levy was a flood, Kulaba's levy was a clouded sky. Meanwhile not even the first month [had passed] [(1 ms. has instead:) ……], it was not five or 10 days before they had opened up the Euphrates and diverted its high water. Utu looked at its shells with admiration. Then as soon as the water in the bed of the Euphrates had receded, his tomb was built there from stone. Its walls were built from stone. Its door leaves were installed in the sockets of the entrance. Its bolt and thresholds were hard stone. Its door-pivots were hard stone. They installed its gold beams. Heavy blocks of stone were moved to ……. …… [was completely covered with a thick layer of] [(1 ms. has instead:) was completely covered with] dark soil. …… for future days.

1 line fragmentary …… who are searching for it should not find its precinct. He set up a solid house in the middle of Unug.

33-41. His beloved wife, his beloved children, his beloved favourite and junior wife,

[7 lines fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT I

1-7. …… Gilgamesh ……

[3 lines fragmentary] …… entered, …… its entrance. …… opened up the Euphrates, …… its water.

[1 line fragmentary]

8-10. Then the young lord, Lord Gilgamesh,

[2 lines fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT J

1-11. [2 lines fragmentary] …… Gilgamesh ……

[8 lines fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT K

1-2. …… to the city ……. …… smeared with dust …….

3-12. …… Lord Gilgamesh despaired and felt depressed. For all the people, whoever they may be, funerary statues are made for future days, and set aside in the temples of the gods. Their names, once uttered, do not sink into oblivion. Aruru, the older sister of Enlil, provides them with offspring for that purpose. Their statues are made for future days and they are mentioned in the Land. Ereshkigala, mother of Ninazu, it is sweet to praise you!

THE FLOOD STORY

The Eridu Genesis
Translation: ETCSL t.1.7.4; University of Oxford
Estimated Range of Dating: 1600 B.C.

(The earliest record of a Sumerian creation myth, called The Eridu Genesis by historian Thorkild Jacobsen, is found on a single fragmentary tablet excavated in Nippur. It is written in the Sumerian language and dated to around 1600 BC. The translation was adapted from B.R. Foster.

Sumerian Creation Myth

The earliest record of a Sumerian creation myth, called The Eridu Genesis by historian Thorkild Jacobsen, is found on a single fragmentary tablet excavated in Nippur. It is written in the Sumerian language and dated to around 1600 BC. Other Sumerian creation myths from around this date are called the Barton Cylinder, the Debate between sheep and grain and the Debate between Winter and Summer, also found at Nippur.

Where the tablet picks up, the gods An, Enlil, Enki and Ninhursanga create the black-headed people and create comfortable conditions for the animals to live and procreate. Then kingship descends from heaven and the first cities are founded: Eridu, Bad-tibira, Larak, Sippar, and Shuruppak.

After a missing section in the tablet, we learn that the gods have decided not to save mankind from an impending flood. Zi-ud-sura, the king and gudug priest, learns of this. In the later Akkadian version, Ea, or Enki in Sumerian, the god of the waters, warns the hero (Atra-hasis in this case) and gives him instructions for the ark. This is missing in the Sumerian fragment, but a mention of Enki taking counsel with himself suggests that this is Enki's role in the Sumerian version as well.

Flood Myth

When the tablet resumes, it is describing the flood. A terrible storm rocks the huge boat for seven days and seven nights, then Utu (the Sun god) appears and Zi-ud-sura creates an opening in the boat, prostrates himself, and sacrifices oxen and sheep.

After another break, the text resumes: the flood is apparently over, the animals disembark and Zi-ud-sura prostrates himself before An (sky-god) and Enlil (chief of the gods), who give him eternal life and take him to dwell in Dilmun for "preserving the animals and the seed of mankind". The remainder of the poem is lost. The flood mythos possibly relates to a factual Sumerian flood.

Other flood myths with many similarities to the Sumerian story are the story of the Dravida king Manu in the Matsya Purana, the Utnapishtim episode in the Epic of Gilgamesh and the Genesis flood narrative found in the Bible. The ancient Greeks have two similar myths from a later date: The Deucalion and Zeus' flooding of the world in Book I of Ovid's Metamorphoses.

Ziusudra and Xisuthros

Zi-ud-sura is known to us from the following sources: 1.) From the Sumerian Flood myth discussed above; 2.) In reference to his immortality in some versions of The Death of Gilgamesh; 3.) Again in reference to his immortality in The Poem of Early Rulers; 4.) As Xisuthros in Berossus' Hellenistic account of the Babylonian history; 5.) As Ziusudra in the WB-62 recension of the Sumerian king list. This text diverges from all other extant king lists by listing the city of Shuruppak as a king, and including Ziusudra as "Shuruppak's" successor. A later version of a document known as The Instructions of Shuruppak refers to Ziusudra. In both of the late-dated king lists cited above, the name Zi-ud-sura was inserted immediately before a flood event included in all versions of the Sumerian king list, apparently creating a connection between the ancient Flood myth and a historic flood mentioned in the king list. However, no other king list mentions Zi-ud-sura.)

SEGMENT A

[approx. 36 lines missing]

1-10. …… sets up ……. "I will …… the perishing of my mankind; for Nintur, I will stop the annihilation of my creatures, and I will return the people from their dwelling grounds. Let them build many cities so that I can refresh myself in their shade. Let them lay the bricks of many cities in pure places, let them establish places of divination in pure places, and when the fire-quenching …… is arranged, the divine rites and exalted powers are perfected and the earth is irrigated, I will establish well-being there."

10-14. After An, Enlil, Enki and Ninhursaga had fashioned the black-headed people, they also made animals multiply everywhere, and made herds of four-legged animals exist on the plains, as is befitting.

[approx. 32 lines missing]

SEGMENT B

1-3. [3 lines fragmentary]

4-5. "I will oversee their labour. Let …… the builder of the Land, dig a solid foundation."

6-18. After the …… of kingship had descended from heaven, after the exalted crown and throne of kingship had descended from heaven, the divine rites and the exalted powers were perfected, the bricks of the cities were laid in holy places, their names were announced and the …… were distributed. The first of the cities, Eridug, was given to Nudimmud the leader. The second, Bad-tibira, was given to the Mistress. The third, Larag, was given to Pabilsag. The fourth, Zimbir, was given to the hero Utu. The fifth, Shuruppag, was given to Sud. And after the names of these cities had been announced and the …… had been distributed, the river ……, …… was watered, and with the cleansing of the small canals …… were established.

[approx. 34 lines missing]

SEGMENT C

1-27. ……seat in heaven. …… flood. …… mankind. So he made ……. Then Nintur ……. Holy Inana made a lament for its people. Enki took counsel with himself. An, Enlil, Enki and Ninhursaga made all the gods of heaven and earth take an oath by invoking An and Enlil. In those days Zi-ud-sura the king, the gudug priest, ……. He fashioned ……. The

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humble, committed, reverent ……. Day by day, standing constantly at ……. Something that was not a dream appeared, conversation ……, …… taking an oath by invoking heaven and earth. In the Ki-ur, the gods …… a wall. Zi-ud-sura, standing at its side, heard: "Side-wall standing at my left side, ……. Side-wall, I will speak words to you; take heed of my words, pay attention to my instructions. A flood will sweep over the …… in all the ……. A decision that the seed of mankind is to be destroyed has been made. The verdict, the word of the divine assembly, cannot be revoked. The order announced by An and Enlil cannot be overturned. Their kingship, their term has been cut off; their heart should be rested about this. Now ……. What ……."

[approx. 38 lines missing]

SEGMENT D

1-11. All the windstorms and gales arose together, and the flood swept over the ……. After the flood had swept over the land, and waves and windstorms had rocked the huge boat for seven days and seven nights, Utu the sun god came out, illuminating heaven and earth. Zi-ud-sura could drill an opening in the huge boat and the hero Utu entered the huge boat with his rays. Zi-ud-sura the king prostrated himself before Utu. The king sacrificed oxen and offered innumerable sheep.

12-17. [6 lines fragmentary / approx. 33 lines missing]

SEGMENT E

1-2. "They have made you swear by heaven and earth, ……. An and Enlil have made you swear by heaven and earth, ……."

3-11. More and more animals disembarked onto the earth. Zi-ud-sura the king prostrated himself before An and Enlil. An and Enlil treated Zi-ud-sura kindly ……, they granted him life like a god, they brought down to him eternal life. At that time, because of preserving the animals and the seed of mankind, they settled Zi-ud-sura the king in an overseas country, in the land Dilmun, where the sun rises.

12. "You ……."

[approx. 39 lines missing]

THE EPIC OF ATRA-HASIS

Source: Akkadian cuneiform tablets
Translation: B.R. Foster / George Smith, 1899
Additions: Wilfred G. Lambert and A. R. Millard
Estimated Range of Dating 17th century BC.

(Atra-Hasis ("exceedingly wise") is the protagonist of an 18th-century BC. Akkadian epic which was recorded in various versions on clay tablets. The Atra-Hasis tablets include both a creation myth and a flood account, which is one of three surviving Babylonian Deluge stories. The name "Atra-Hasis" also appears on one of the Sumerian king lists as king of the City of Shuruppak in the times before a flood.

The oldest known copy of the epic tradition concerning Atrahasis can be dated by colophon (scribal identification) to the reign of Hammurabi's great-grandson, Ammi-Saduqa (1646–1626 BC), but various Old Babylonian fragments exist; it continued to be copied into the first millennium BC. The Atrahasis story also exists in a later fragmentary Assyrian version, having been first rediscovered in the library of Ashurbanipal, but, because of the fragmentary condition of the tablets and ambiguous words, translations had been uncertain. Its fragments were assembled and translated first by George Smith as The Chaldean Account of Genesis; the name of its hero was corrected to Atra-Hasis by Heinrich Zimmern in 1899.

In 1965 Wilfred G. Lambert and A. R. Millard published many additional texts belonging to the epic, including an Old Babylonian copy (written around 1650 BC) which is our most complete surviving recension of the tale. These new texts greatly increased knowledge of the epic and were the basis for Lambert and Millard's first English translation of the Atrahasis epic in something approaching entirety. A further fragment has been recovered in Ugarit. Walter Burkert traces the model drawn from Atrahasis to a corresponding passage, the division by Lots Of The Air, Underworld And Sea among Zeus, Hades and Poseidon in the Iliad, in which "a resetting through which the foreign framework still shows".

In its most complete surviving version, the Atrahasis epic is written on three tablets in Akkadian, the language of ancient Babylon.

Synopsis

Tablet I contains a creation myth about the Sumerian gods Anu, Enlil, and Enki, gods of sky, wind, and water, "when gods were in the ways of men" according to its incipit. Following the Cleromancy (casting of lots), sky is ruled by Anu, earth by Enlil, and the freshwater sea by Enki. Enlil assigned junior divines to do farm labor and maintain the rivers and canals, but after forty years the lesser gods or dingirs rebelled and refused to do strenuous labor. Instead of punishing the rebels, Enki, who is also the kind, wise counselor of the gods, suggested that humans be created to do the work. The mother goddess Mami is assigned the task of creating humans by shaping clay figurines mixed with the flesh and blood of the slain god Geshtu-E, "a god who had intelligence" (his name means "ear" or "wisdom"). All the gods in turn spit upon the clay. After 10 months, a specially-made womb breaks open and humans are born. Tablet I continues with legends about overpopulation and plagues. Atrahasis is mentioned at the end of Tablet I.

Tablet II begins with more overpopulation of humans and the god Enlil sending first famine and drought at formulaic intervals of 1200 years to reduce the population. In this epic Enlil is depicted as a cruel, capricious god while Enki is depicted as a kind, helpful god, perhaps because priests of Enki were writing and copying the story. Tablet II is mostly damaged, but ends with Enlil's decision to destroy humankind with a flood and Enki bound by an oath to keep the plan secret.

Tablet III of the Atrahasis Epic contains the flood story. This is the part that was adapted in tablet XI of the Epic of Gilgamesh. Tablet III of Atrahasis tells how the god Enki warns the hero Atrahasis ("Extremely Wise") of Shuruppak, speaking through a reed wall (suggestive of an oracle) to dismantle his house (perhaps to provide a construction site) and build a boat to escape the flood planned by the god Enlil to destroy humankind. The boat is to have a roof "like Apsu" (a subterranean, fresh water realm presided over by the god Enki), upper and lower decks, and to be sealed with bitumen. Atrahasis boards the boat with his family and animals and seals the door. The storm and flood begin. Even the gods are afraid. In tablet III iv, lines 7-9 the words "river" and "riverbank" are used, which probably mean the Euphrates River, because Atrahasis is listed in WB-62 as a ruler of Shuruppak which was on the Euphrates River.

After seven days the flood ends and Atrahasis offers sacrifices to the gods. Enlil is furious with Enki for violating his oath. But Enki denies violating his oath and argues: "I made sure life was preserved." Enki and Enlil agree on other means for controlling the human population.

Atrahasis in History

A few general histories can be attributed to the Mesopotamian Atrahasis by ancient sources; these should generally be considered mythology but they do give an insight into the possible origins of the character. The Epic of Gilgamesh labels Atrahasis as the son of Ubara-Tutu, king of Shuruppak, on tablet XI, 'Gilgamesh spoke to Utnapishtim (Atrahasis), the Faraway… O man of Shuruppak, son of Ubara-Tutu'. The Instructions of Shuruppak instead label Atrahasis (under the name Ziusudra) as the son of the eponymous Shuruppak, who himself is labelled as the son of Ubara-Tutu.[9] At this point we are left with two possible fathers: Ubara-Tutu or Shuruppak. Many available tablets comprising The Sumerian King Lists support The Epic of Gilgamesh by omitting Shuruppak as a ruler of Shuruppak. These lists imply an immediate flood after or during the rule of Ubara-Tutu. These lists also make no mention of Atrahasis under any name. However WB-62 lists a different and rather interesting chronology – here Atrahasis is listed as a ruler of Shuruppak and gudug priest, preceded by his father Shuruppak who is in turn preceded by his father Ubara-Tutu. WB-62 would therefore lend support to The Instructions of Shuruppak and is peculiar in that it mentions both Shuruppak and Atrahasis. In any event it seems that Atrahasis was of royal blood; whether he himself ruled and in what way this would affect the chronology is debatable.

The Epic of Atrahasis

The Epic of Atrahasis is the fullest Mesopotamian account of the Great Flood, with Atraḫasis in the role of Noah. It was written in the seventeenth century BCE

The text is known from several versions: two were written by Assyrian scribes (one in the Assyrian, one in the Babylonian dialect), a third one (on three tablets) was written during the reign of king Ammi-saduqa of Babylonia (1647-1626 BCE). Parts are quoted in Tablet XI of the Epic of Gilgamesh; other influences are in the Babylonian History by Berossus (quote). These texts can be used to reconstruct the lost parts of the Epic of Atraḫasis, while the overall structure is, of course, known from the Bible.

Summary:

The conditions immediately after the Creation: the Lower Gods have to work very hard and start to complain
Revolt of the Lower Gods
Negotiations with the Great Gods
Proposal to create humans, to relieve the Lower Gods from their labor
Creation of the Man
Man's noisy behaviour; new complaints from the gods
The supreme god Enlil's decision to extinguish mankind by a Great Flood
Atraḫasis is warned in a dream
Enki explains the dream to Atraḫasis (and betrays the plan)
Construction of the Ark
Boarding of the Ark
Departure
The Great Flood
The gods are hungry because there are no farmers left to bring sacrifices, and decide to spare Atraḫasis, even though he is a rebel
Regulations to cut down the noise: childbirth, infant mortality, and celibacy)

Text:

COMPLAINTS OF THE LOWER GODS

[1] When the gods were man they did forced labour, they bore drudgery.

Great indeed was the drudgery of the gods, the forced labor was heavy, the misery too much:

[5] the seven great Anunna-gods were burdening the Igigi-godsnote with forced labour.

[Lacuna]

[21] The gods were digging watercourses, canals they opened, the life of the land. The Igigi-gods were digging watercourses canals they opened, the life of the land.

[25] The Igigi-gods dug the Tigris river and the Euphrates thereafter. Springs they opened from the depths, wells ... they established.

...

THEY HEAPED UP ALL THE MOUNTAINS.

[Several lines missing]

[34] ... years of drudgery.

[35] ... the vast marsh. They counted years of drudgery, ... and forty years, too much! ... forced labour they bore night and day. They were complaining, denouncing,

[40] muttering down in the ditch: "Let us face up to our foreman the prefect, he must take off our heavy burden upon us! Enlil, counsellor of the gods, the warrior, come, let us remove him from his dwelling;

[45] Enlil, counsellor of the gods, the warrior, come, let us remove him from his dwelling!"

[Several lines missing]

[61] "Now them, call for battle, battle let us join, warfare!" The gods heard his words: they set fire to their tools,

[65] they put fire to their spaces, and flame to their workbaskets. Off they went, one and all, to the gate of the warrior Enlil's abode. ... Insurrection of the Lower Gods

[70] It was night, half-way through the watch, the house was surrounded, but the god did not know. It was night, half-way through the watch, Ekur was surrounded, but Enlil did not know!

[Several lines missing; the great gods send a messenger]

THE GREAT GODS SEND A MESSENGER

[132] Nusku opened his gate, took his weapons and went ... Enlil. In the assembly of all the gods,

[135] he knelt, stood up, expounded the command, "Anu, your father, your counsellor, the warrior Enlil, your prefect, Ninurta, and your bailiff Ennugi have sent me to say:

[140] 'Who is the instigator of this battle? Who is the instigator of these hostilities? Who declared war, that battle has run up to the gate of Enlil? In ...

[145] he transgressed the command of Enlil.'"Reply by the Lower Gods "Everyone of us gods has declared war; ... We have set ... un the excvation, excessive drudgery has killed us,

[150] our forced labour was heavy, the misery too much! Now, everyone of us gods has resolved on a reckoning with Enlil."

[The great gods decide to create man, to relieve the lower gods from their misery.]

PROPOSALS BY EA, BELET-ILI, AND ENKI

[a1] Ea made ready to speak, and said to the gods, his brothers: "What calumny do we lay to their charge? Their forced labour was heavy, their misery too much!

[a5] Every day ... the outcry was loud, we could hear the clamour. There is ... Belet-ili, the midwife, is present. Let her create, then, a human, a man,

[a10] Let him bear the yoke! Let him bear the yoke! Let man assume the drudgery of the god." Belet-ili, the midwife, is present.

[190] Let the midwife create a human being! Let man assume the drudgery of the god." They summoned and asked the goddess the midwife of the gods, wise Mami:note "Will you be the birth goddess, creatress of mankind?

[195] Create a human being, that he bear the yoke, let him bear the yoke, the task of Enlil, let man assume the drudgery of the god." Nintu made ready to speak, and said to the great gods:

[200] "It is not for me to do it, the task is Enki's. He it is that cleanses all, let him provide me the clay so I can do the making." Enki made ready to speak,

[205] and said to the great gods: "On the first, seventh, and fifteenth days of the month, let me establish a purification, a

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bath. Let one god be slaughtered, then let the gods be cleansed by immersion.

[210] Let Nintu mix clay with his flesh and blood. Let that same god and man be thoroughly mixed in the clay. Let us hear the drum for the rest of the time.

[215] From the flesh of the god let a spirit remain, let it make the living know its sign, lest he be allowed to be forgotten, let the spirit remain." The great Anunna-gods, who administer destinies,

[220] answered "yes!" in the assembly.

THE CREATION OF MAN

On the first, seventh, and fifteenth days of the month, he established a purification, a bath. They slaughtered Aw-ilu, who had the inspiration, in their assembly.

[225] Nintu mixed clay with his flesh and blood. That same god and man were thoroughly mixed in the clay. For the rest of the time they would hear the drum. From the flesh of the god the spirit remained. It would make the living know its sign.

[230] Lest he be allowed to be forgotten, the spirit remained. After she had mixed the clay, she summoned the Anunna, the great gods. The Igigi, the great gods, spat upon the clay.

[235] Mami made rady to speak, and said to the great gods: "You ordered me the task and I have completed it! You have slaughtered the god, along with his inspiration.

[240] I have done away with your heavy forced labour, I have imposed your drudgery on man. You have bestowed clamor upon mankind. I have released the yoke, I have made restoration." They heard this speech of hers,

[245] they ran, free of care, and kissed her feet, saying: "Formerly we used to call you Mami, now let your name be Belet-kala-ili:"

[The human population increases and their noise disturbs the gods, who decide to wipe out mankind. The god Enki, however, sends a dream to Atrahasis. When the text resumes, Enki is still speaking.]

ENKI EXPLAINS ATRAHASIS' DREAM

[i.b35] "Enlil committed an evil deed against the people."

[i.c11] Atrahasis made ready to speak, and said to his lord: "Make me know the meaning of the dream. let me know, that I may look out for its consequence."

[i.c15] Enki made ready to speak, and said to his servant: "You might say, 'Am I to be looking out while in the bedroom?' Do you pay attention to message that I speak for your:

[i.c20] 'Wall, listen to me! Reed wall, pay attention to all my words! Flee the house, build a boat, forsake possessions, and save life.

[i.c25] The boat which you build ... be equal ... ... Roof her over like the depth,

[i.c30] so that the sun shall not see inside her. Let her be roofed over fore and aft. The gear should be very strong, the pitch should be firm, and so give the boat strength. I will shower down upon you later

[i.c35] a windfall of birds, a spate of fishes.'"He opened the water clock and filled it, he told it of the coming of the seven-day deluge. Atrahasis and the Elders Atrahasis received the command. He assembled the Elders at his gate.

[i.c40] Atrahasis made ready to speak, and said to the Elders: "My god does not agree with your god, Enki and Enlil are constantly angry with each other. They have expelled me from the land.

[i.c45] Since I have always reverenced Enki, he told me this. I can not live in ... Nor can I set my feet on the earth of Enlil. I will dwell with my god in the depths.

[i.c50] This he told me: ..." Construction of the Ark

[ii.10] The Elders ...

The carpenter carried his axe, the reedworker carried his stone, the rich man carried the pitch, the poor man brought the materials needed.

[Lacuna of about fifteen lines; the word Atrahasis can be discerned.]

BOARDING OF THE ARK

[ii.29] Bringing ...

[ii.30] whatever he had ... Whatever he had ... Pure animals he slaughtered, cattle ... Fat animals he killed. Sheep ... he choose and and brought on board.

[ii.35] The birds flying in the heavens, the cattle and the ... of the cattle god, the creatures of the steppe, ... he brought on board ...

[ii.40] he invited his people ... to a feast ... his family was brought on board. While one was eating an another was drinking,

[ii.45] he went in and out; he could not sit, could not kneel, for his heart was broken, he was retching gall.

DEPARTURE

The outlook of the weather changed. Adadnote began to roar in the clouds.

[ii.50] The god they heard, his clamour. He brought pitch to seal his door. By the time he had bolted his door, Adad was roaring in the clouds. The winds were furious as he set forth,

[ii.55] He cut the mooring rope and released the boat.

[Lacuna]

THE GREAT FLOOD

[iii.5] ... the storm ... were yoked Anzu rent the sky with his talons, He ... the land

[iii.10] and broke its clamor like a pot. ... the flood came forth. Its power came upn the peoples like a battle, one person did not see another, they could not recognise each other in the catastrophe.

[iii.15] The deluge belowed like a bull, The wind resounded like a screaming eagle. The darkness was dense, the sun was gone, ... like flies.

[iii.20] the clamor of the deluge.

[Lacuna. The gods find themselves hungry because there are no farmers left and sacrifices are no longer brought. When they discover that Atrahasis has survived, they make a plan to make sure that the noise will remain within limits: they invent childbirth, infant mortality, and celibacy.]

MANKIND PUNISHED

[iii.45] Enki made ready to speak, and said to Nintu the birth goddess: "You, birth goddess, creatress of destinies, establish death for all peoples!

[iii.d1] "Now then, let there be a third woman among the people, among the people are the woman who has borne and the woman who has not borne. Let there be also among the people the pasittu (she-demon):

[iii.d5] Let her snatch the baby from the lap who bore it. And etablish high priestesses and priestesses, let them be taboo, and so cut down childbirth."

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KINGS

(The section "Kings" is a title we have deliberately chosen as some of the King,s stories here are similar to those ones in the Book of Kings of the younger Hebrew Bible. Some of the here displayed stories are official accounts, others are written as poems or prayers. All of these texts give us an incredible glimpse of building projects and of the daily life of Sumerian society of which Abraham and his tribe were a part of.)

THE BUILDING OF NINGIRSU'S TEMPLE BY GUDEA

The Construction of Ninurta's Temple
(Gudea, cylinders A and B, and fragments of X)
Translation: ETCSL: t.2.1.7

(The Gudea cylinders are a pair of terracotta cylinders dating to circa 2125 BC, on which is written in cuneiform a Sumerian myth called the Building of Ningirsu's temple. The cylinders were made by King Gudea, the ruler of Lagash, and were found in 1877 during excavations at Telloh (ancient Girsu), Iraq and are now displayed in the Louvre in Paris, France. They are the largest cuneiform cylinders yet discovered and contain the longest known text written in the Sumerian language. Preceded by the Kesh temple hymn, the Gudea cylinders are one of the first ritual temple building stories ever recorded. The style, traditions and format of the account has notable similarities to those in the Bible such as the building of the tabernacle of Moses in Exodus 25 and Numbers 7; it has also noted similarities to the later account of the construction of Solomon's temple in 1 Kings 6:1–38, 1 Kings Chapter 7, and Chapter 8 and in the Book of Chronicles.

Gudea, the creator of the cylinders, was a ruler (ensi) of the state of Lagash in Southern Mesopotamia who ruled c. 2144–2124 BC. He probably did not come from the city, but had married Ninalla, daughter of the ruler Ur-Baba (2164–2144 BC) of Lagash, thus gaining entrance to the royal house of Lagash. He was succeeded by his son Ur-Ningirsu. Gudea ruled at a time when the center of Sumer was ruled by the Gutian dynasty, and when Ishtup-Ilum ruled to the north in Mari. Under Gudea, Lagash had a golden age, and seemed to enjoy a high level of independence from the Gutians.

Ninurta, also known as Ningirsu (Sumerian, meaning "Lord of Girsu"), is an ancient Mesopotamian god associated with farming, healing, hunting, law, scribes, and war who was first worshipped in early Sumer. Like all the other "gods" in Mesopotamia, he well might have been a person of kingly or other rank becoming deified either by himself or by his successors. Ninurta is mentioned in the Second Book of Kings under the name Nisroch. In the earliest records, he is a god of agriculture and healing, who releases humans from sickness and the power of demons. In later times, as Mesopotamia grew more militarized, he became a warrior deity, though he retained many of his earlier agricultural attributes. He was regarded as the son of the chief god Enlil and his main cult centre in Sumer was the Eshumesha temple in Nippur. Ningirsu was honoured by King Gudea of Lagash (ruled 2144–2124 BC), who rebuilt Ningirsu's temple in Lagash.

The cylinders were found in a drain by Ernest de Sarzec under the Eninnu temple complex at Telloh, the ancient ruins of the Sumerian "holy city" of Girsu, during the first season of excavations in 1877. They were found next to a building known as the Agaren, where a brick pillar (pictured) was found containing an inscription describing its construction by Gudea within Eninnu during the Second Dynasty of Lagash. The Agaren was described on the pillar as a place of judgement, or mercy seat, and it is thought that the cylinders were either kept there or elsewhere in the Eninnu. They are thought to have fallen into the drain during the destruction of Girsu generations later. In 1878 the cylinders were shipped to Paris, France where they remain on display today at the Louvre, Department of Near East antiquities, Richelieu, ground floor, room 2, accession numbers MNB 1511 and MNB 1512.

The two cylinders were labelled A and B, with A being 61 cm high with a diameter of 32 cm and B being 56 cm with a diameter of 33 cm. The cylinders were hollow with perforations in the centre for mounting. These were originally found with clay plugs filling the holes, and the cylinders themselves filled with an unknown type of plaster. The clay shells of the cylinders are approximately 2.5 to 3 cm thick. Both cylinders were cracked and in need of restoration and the Louvre still holds 12 cylinder fragments, some of which can be used to restore a section of cylinder B. Cylinder A contains thirty columns and cylinder B twenty four. These columns are divided into between sixteen and thirty-five cases per column containing between one and six lines per case. The cuneiform was meant to be read with the cylinders in a horizontal position and is a typical form used between the Akkadian Empire and the Ur III dynasty, typical of inscriptions dating to the 2nd Dynasty of Lagash. Script differences in the shapes of certain signs indicate that the cylinders were written by different scribes.

Translations and commentaries: Detailed reproductions of the cylinders were made by Ernest de Sarzec in his excavation reports which are still used in modern times. The first translation and transliteration was published by Francois Threau-Dangin in 1905. Another edition with a notable concordance was published by Ira Maurice Price in 1927. Further translations were made by M. Lambert and R. Tournay in 1948, Adam Falkenstein in 1953, Giorgio Castellino in 1977, Thorkild Jacobsen in 1987, and Dietz Otto Edzard in 1997. The latest translation by the Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature (ETCSL) project was provided by Joachim Krecher with legacy material from Hermann Behrens and Bram Jagersma.[10] Samuel Noah Kramer also published a detailed commentary in 1966 and in 1988.

Composition: Interpretation of the text faces substantial limitations for modern scholars, who are not the intended recipients of the information and do not share a common knowledge of the ancient world and the background behind the literature. Irene Winter points out that understanding the story demands "the viewer's prior knowledge and correct identification of the scene – a process of 'matching' rather than 'reading' of imagery itself qua narrative." The hero of the story is Gudea (statue pictured), king of the city-state of Lagash at the end of the third millennium BC. A large quantity of sculpted and inscribed artifacts have survived pertaining to his reconstruction and dedication of the Eninnu, the temple of Ningursu, the patron deity of Lagash. These include foundation nails (pictured), building plans (pictured) and pictorial accounts sculpted on limestone stelae. The temple, Eninnu was a formidable complex of buildings, likely including the E-pa, Kasurra and sanctuary of Bau among others. There are no substantial architectural remains of Gudea's buildings, so the text is the best record of his achievements.

Cylinder X: Some fragments of another Gudea inscription were found that could not be pieced together with the two in the Louvre. This has led some scholars to suggest that there was a missing cylinder preceding the texts recovered. It has been argued that the two cylinders present a balanced and complete literary with a line at the end of Cylinder A having been suggested by Falkenstein to mark the middle of the composition. This colophon has however also been suggested to mark the cylinder itself as the middle one in a group of three. The opening of cylinder A also shows similarities to the openings of other myths with the destinies of heaven and earth being determined. Various conjectures have been made regarding the supposed contents of an initial cylinder. Victor Hurowitz suggested it may have contained an introductory hymn praising Ningirsu and Lagash. Thorkild Jacobsen suggested it may have explained why a relatively recent similar temple built by Ur-baba (or Ur-bau), Gudea's father-in-law "was deemed insufficient".)

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1-4. On the day when in heaven and earth the fates had been decided, Lagas raised its head high in full grandeur, and Enlil looked at Lord Ningirsu with approval. In our city there was perfection.

5-9. The heart overflowed with joy, Enlil's heart, a river in flood, overflowed with joy. The heart overflowed with joy, and just as the Tigris brings sweet water, so Enlil, whose will is an enormous flood, sparkling and awe-inspiring, came to a sweet decision:

10-16. "The lord called for his house and I intend to make the grandeur of E-ninnu known everywhere. Using his wisdom, the ruler (i.e. Gudea) will achieve great things. He will direct faultless cattle and kids for offering. It is for him the fated brick is waiting. It is by him that the building of the holy house is to be done."

17-23. On that day, in a nocturnal vision Gudea saw his master, Lord Ningirsu. Ningirsu spoke to him of his house, of its building. He showed him an E-ninnu with full grandeur. Outstanding though his mind was, the message remained to be understood for him.

24-32. "Well, I have to tell her about this! Well, I have to tell her about this! I will ask her to stand by me in this matter. Profound things came suddenly to me, the shepherd, but the meaning of what the nocturnal vision brought to me I do not understand. So I will take my dream to my mother and I will ask my dream-interpreter, an expert on her own, my divine sister from Sirara, Nanse, to reveal its meaning to me."

33-38. He stepped aboard his boat, directed it on the canal Id-Nigin-dua towards her city Nigin, and merrily cut through the waves of the river. After he had reached Bagara, the house extending as far as the river, he offered bread, poured cold water and went to the master of Bagara to pray to him.

39-51. "Warrior, rampant lion, who has no opponent! Ningirsu, important in the abzu, respected in Nibru! Warrior, I want to carry out faithfully what you have commanded me; Ningirsu, I want to build up your house for you, I want to make it perfect for you, so I will ask your sister, the child born of Eridug, an authority on her own, the lady, the dream-interpreter among the gods, my divine sister from Sirara, Nanse, to show me the way." His call was heard; his master, Lord Ningirsu, accepted from Gudea his prayer and supplication.

52-63. Gudea celebrated the eses festival in the house of Bagara. The ruler set up his bed near to Gatumdug. He offered bread and poured cold water and went to holy Gatumdug to pray to her: "My lady, child begotten by holy An, an authority on her own, proud goddess, living in the Land, …… of her city! Lady, mother, you who founded Lagas, if you but look upon your people, it brings abundance; the worthy young man on whom you look will enjoy a long life."

64-67. "For me, who has no mother, you are my mother; for me, who has no father, you are my father. You implanted my semen in the womb, gave birth to me in the sanctuary, Gatumdug, sweet is your holy name!"

68-79. "Tonight I shall lie down here. You are my great dagger, being attached to my side; you are a …… planted in great waters, providing me with life; you are a broad sunshade; let me cool off in your shade. May the favourable, right-hand palm of your lofty hands, my lady Gatumdug, lend me protection! I am going to the city, may my sign be favourable! May your friendly guardian go before me, and may your friendly protecting genius walk with me on the way towards Nigin, the mountain rising from the water."

80-89. "Well, I have to tell her about this! Well, I have to tell her about this! I will ask her to stand by me in this matter. I will take my dream to my mother and I will ask my dream-interpreter, an expert on her own, my divine sister from Sirara, Nanse, to reveal its meaning to me." His call was heard; his lady, holy Gatumdug, accepted from Gudea his prayer and supplication.

90-100. He stepped aboard his boat, directed it towards her city Nigin, mooring it at the quay of Nigin. The ruler raised his head high in the courtyard of the goddess from Sirara. He offered bread, poured cold water and went to Nanse to pray to her: "Nanse, mighty lady, lady of most precious powers, lady who like Enlil determine fates, my Nanse, what you say is trustworthy and takes precedence. You are the interpreter of dreams among the gods, you are the lady of all the lands. Mother, my matter today is a dream:"

101-109. "In the dream there was someone who was as enormous as the heavens, who was as enormous as the earth. His head was like that of a god, his wings were like those of the Anzud bird, his lower body was like a flood storm. Lions were lying at his right and his left. He spoke to me about building his house, but I could not understand what he exactly meant, then daylight rose for me on the horizon."

110-114. "Then there was a woman -- whoever she was. She …… sheaves. She held a stylus of refined silver in her hand, and placed it on a tablet with propitious stars, and was consulting it."

115-123. "There was, furthermore, a warrior. His arm was bent, holding a lapis lazuli tablet in his hand, and he was setting down the plan of the house. The holy basket stood in front of me, the holy brick mould was ready and the fated brick was placed in the mould for me. In a fine ildag tree standing before me tigidlu birds were spending the day twittering. My master's right-side donkey stallion was pawing the ground for me."

124-131. His mother Nanse answered the ruler: "My shepherd, I will explain your dream for you in every detail. The person who, as you said, was as enormous as the heavens, who was as enormous as the earth, whose head was like that of a god, whose wings, as you said, were like those of the Anzud bird, and whose lower body was, as you said, like a flood storm, at whose right and left lions were lying, was in fact my brother Ningirsu. He spoke to you about the building of his shrine, the E-ninnu."

132-133. "The daylight that had risen for you on the horizon is your personal god Ningiszida, who will rise for you as the daylight on the horizon."

134-140. "The young woman …… sheaves, who held a stylus of refined silver in her hand, who had placed it on a tablet with propitious stars and was consulting it, was in fact my sister Nisaba. She announced to you the holy stars auguring the building of the house."

141-143. "The second one, who was a warrior and whose arm was bent, holding a lapis lazuli tablet in his hand, was Nindub, putting the plan of the house on the tablet."

144-146. "As regards the holy basket standing in front of you, the holy brick mould which was ready and the fated brick placed in the mould, this part of the dream concerns the good brick of the E-ninnu."

147-149. "As regards the fine ildag tree standing before you, in which, as you said, tigidlu birds were spending the day twittering, this means that the building of the house will not let sweet sleep come into your eyes."

150-151. "As regards that part when the right-side donkey stallion of your master, as you said, pawed the ground for you; this refers to you, who will paw the ground for the E-ninnu like a choice steed."

152-172. "Let me advise you and may my advice be taken. Direct your steps to Girsu, the foremost house of the land of Lagas, open your storehouse up and take out wood from it; build a chariot for your master and harness a donkey stallion to it; decorate this chariot with refined silver and lapis lazuli and equip it with arrows that will fly out from the quiver like sunbeams, and with the an-kar weapon, the strength of heroism; fashion for him his beloved standard and write your name on it, and then enter before the warrior who loves gifts, before your master Lord Ningirsu in E-ninnu-the-white-Anzud-bird, together with his beloved balag drum Usumgal-kalama, his famous instrument to which he keeps listening. Your requests will then be taken as if they were commands; and the drum will make the inclination of the lord -- which is as inconceivable as the heavens -- will make the inclination of Ningirsu, the son of Enlil, favourable for you so that he will reveal the design of his house to you in every detail. With his powers, which are the greatest, the warrior will make the house thrive for you."

173-195. The true shepherd Gudea is wise, and able too to realise things. Accepting what Nanse had told him, he opened his storehouse up and took out wood from it. Gudea checked the wood piece by piece, taking great care of the wood. He smoothed mes wood, split halub wood with an axe and built a blue chariot from them for him. He harnessed to it the stallion Pirig-kase-pada. He fashioned for him his beloved standard, wrote his name on it, and then entered before the warrior who loves gifts, before his master Lord Ningirsu in E-ninnu-the-white-Anzud-bird, together with his beloved balag drum Usumgal-kalama, his famous instrument to which he keeps listening. He joyfully brought the drum to him in the temple. Gudea came out of the shrine E-ninnu with a radiant face.

196-206. Thereafter the house was the concern of all the days and all the nights that he made pass by. He levelled what was high, rejected chance utterances, he removed the sorcerers' spittle from the roads. Facing Su-galam, the fearful place, the place of making judgments, from where Ningirsu keeps an eye on all lands, the ruler had a fattened sheep, a fat-tail sheep, and a grain-fed kid rest on hides of a virgin kid. He put juniper, the mountains' pure plant, onto the fire, and raised smoke with cedar resin, the scent of gods.

207-216. He rose to his master in public and prayed to him; he went to him in the Ubsu-unkena and saluted him: "My master Ningirsu, lord who has turned back the fierce waters, true lord, semen ejaculated by the Great Mountain, noble young hero who has no opponent! Ningirsu, I am going to build up your house for you, but I lack an ominous sign. Warrior, you asked for perfection, but, son of Enlil, Lord Ningirsu, you did not let me know your will as to how to achieve it."

217-225. "Your will, ever-rising as the sea, crashing down as a destructive flood, roaring like gushing waters, destroying cities like a flood-wave, battering against the rebel lands like a storm; my master, your will, gushing water that no one can stem; warrior, your will inconceivable as the heavens -- can I learn anything about it from you, son of Enlil, Lord Ningirsu?"

226-231. Afterwards, Ningirsu stepped up to the head of the sleeper, briefly touching him: "You who are going to build it for me, you who are going to build it for me, ruler, you who are going to build my house for me, Gudea, let me tell you the ominous sign for building my house, let me tell you the pure stars of heaven indicating my regulations."

232-240. "As if at the roaring of the Anzud bird, the heavens tremble at my house, the E-ninnu founded by An, the powers of which are the greatest, surpassing all other powers, at the house whose owner looks out over a great distance. Its fierce halo reaches up to heaven, the great fearsomeness of my house settles upon all the lands. In response to its fame all lands will gather from as far as heaven's borders, even Magan and Meluha will come down from their mountains."

241-247. "I am Ningirsu who has turned back the fierce waters, the great warrior of Enlil's realm, a lord without opponent. My house the E-ninnu, a crown, is bigger than the mountains; my weapon the Sar-ur subdues all the lands. No country can bear my fierce stare, nobody escapes my outstretched arms."

248-253. "Because of his great love, my father who begot me called me "King, Enlil's flood, whose fierce stare is never lifted from the mountains, Ningirsu, warrior of Enlil", and endowed me with fifty powers."

254-261. "I lay the ritual table and perform correctly the hand-washing rites. My outstretched hands wake holy An from sleep. My father who begot me receives the very best food from my hands. An, king of the gods, called me therefore "Ningirsu, king, lustration priest of An"."

262-265. "I founded the Tiras shrine with as much majesty as the abzu. Each month at the new moon the great rites, my "Festival of An", are performed for me perfectly in it."

266-270. "Like a fierce snake, I built E-hus, my fierce place, in a dread location. When my heart gets angry at a land that rebels against me -- unutterable idea -- it will produce venom for me like a snake that dribbles poison."

271-276. "In the E-babbar, where I issue orders, where I shine like Utu, there I justly decide the lawsuits of my city like Istaran. In the E-bagara, my dining place, the great gods of Lagas gather around me."

277-285. "When you, true shepherd Gudea, really set to work for me on my house, the foremost house of all lands, the right arm of Lagas, the Anzud bird roaring on the horizon, the E-ninnu, my royal house, I will call up to heaven for humid winds so that plenty comes down to you from heaven and the land will thrive under your reign in abundance."

286-293. "Laying the foundations of my temple will bring immediate abundance: the great fields will grow rich for you, the levees and ditches will be full to the brim for you, the water will rise for you to heights never reached by the water before. Under you more oil than ever will be poured and more wool than ever will weighed in Sumer."

294-305. "When you drive in my foundation pegs for me, when you really set to work for me on my house, I shall direct my steps to the mountains where the north wind dwells and make the man with enormous wings, the north wind, bring you wind from the mountains, the pure place, so that this will give vigour to the Land, and thus one man will be able to do as much work as two. At night the moonlight, at noon the sun will send plentiful light for you so the day will build the house for you and the night will make it rise for you."

306-314. "I will bring halub and nehan trees up from the south, and cedar, cypress and zabalumwood together will be brought for you from the uplands. From the ebony mountains I will have ebony trees brought for you, in the mountains of stones I will have the great stones of the mountain ranges cut in slabs for you. On that day I will touch your arm with fire and you will know my sign."

315-322. Gudea rose -- it was sleep; he shuddered -- it was a dream. Accepting Ningirsu's words, he went to perform extispicy on a white kid. He performed it on the kid and his omen was favourable. Ningirsu's intention became as clear as daylight to Gudea.

323-329. He is wise, and able too to realise things. The ruler gave instructions to his city as to one man. The land of Lagas became of one accord for him, like children of one mother. He opened manacles, removed fetters; established ……, rejected legal complaints, and locked up those guilty of capital offences (instead of executing them).

330-344. He undid the tongue of the goad and the whip, replacing them with wool from lamb-bearing sheep. No mother shouted at her child. No child answered its mother back. No slave who …… was hit on the head by his master, no misbehaving slave girl was slapped on the face by her mistress. Nobody could make the ruler building the E-ninnu, Gudea, let fall a chance utterance. The ruler cleansed the city, he let purifying fire loose over it. He expelled the persons ritually unclean, unpleasant to look at, and …… from the city.

345-352. In respect of the …… of the brick-mould he had a kid lie down, and he requested from the kid an omen about the brick. He looked at the excavated earth approvingly, and

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the shepherd, called by his name by Nanse, …… it with majesty. After making a drawing on the …… of the brick mould and …… the excavated earth with majesty, he made the Anzud bird, the standard of his master, glisten there as a banner.

353-364. The citizens were purifying an area of 24 iku for him, they were cleansing that area for him. He put juniper, the mountains' pure plant, onto the fire and raised smoke with cedar resin, the scent of gods. For him the day was for praying, and the night passed for him in supplications. In order to build the house of Ningirsu, the Anuna gods of the land of Lagas stood by Gudea in prayer and supplication, and all this made the true shepherd Gudea extremely happy.

365-371. Now the ruler imposed a levy on his Land. He imposed a levy on his realm of abundant ……, on Ningirsu's Gu-edina. He imposed a levy on his built-up cities and settlements, on Nanse's Gu-gisbara.

372-376. There was a levy for him on the clans of Ningirsu "Rampant fierce bull which has no opponent" and "White cedars surrounding their master", and he placed Lugal-kur-dub, their magnificent standard, in front of them.

377-381. There was a levy for him on the clan of Nanse "Both river banks and shores rising out of the waters, the huge river, full of water, which spreads its abundance everywhere", and he placed the holy pelican, the standard of Nanse, in front of them.

382-385. There was a levy for him on the clans of Inana "The net suspended for catching the beasts of the steppe" and "Choice steeds, famous team, the team beloved by Utu", and he placed the rosette, the standard of Inana, in front of them.

386-391. In order to build the house of Ningirsu,

[3 lines missing / 2 lines fragmentary]

392-396. The Elamites came to him from Elam, the Susians came to him from Susa. Magan and Meluha loaded wood from their mountains upon their shoulders for him, and to build the house of Ningirsu, they gathered for Gudea at his city Girsu.

397-404. Ninzaga was commanded and he made his copper, as much as if it were a huge grain transport, reach Gudea, the man in charge of building the house. Ninsikila was also instructed and she made large halub logs, ebony, and aba wood reach the ruler building the E-ninnu.

405-411. Lord Ningirsu directed Gudea into the impenetrable mountain of cedars and he cut down its cedars with great axes and carved the Sar-ur, the right arm of Lagas, his master's flood-storm weapon, out of it.

412-423. It was like a giant serpent floating on the water as, for Lord Ningirsu, Gudea had the long rafts floating downstream moor at the main quay of Kan-sura: logs of cedar wood from the cedar hills, logs of cypress wood from the cypress hills, logs of zabalum wood from the zabalum hills, tall spruce trees, plane trees, and eranum trees.

424-433. Lord Ningirsu directed Gudea into the impenetrable mountains of stones and he brought back great stones in the form of slabs. For Lord Ningirsu, Gudea had ships with hauna dock there, and ships with gravel, with dried bitumen, …… bitumen, and gypsum from the hills of Madga, cargoes like boats bringing grain from the fields.

434-445. Great things came to the succour of the ruler building the E-ninnu: a copper mountain in Kimas revealed itself to him. He mined its copper onto rafts. To the man in charge of building his master's house, the ruler, gold was brought in dust form from its mountains. For Gudea refined silver was brought down from its mountains. Translucent cornelian from Meluha was spread before him. From the alabaster mountains alabaster was brought down to him.

446-451. The shepherd was going to build the house with silver, so he sat together with silversmiths. He was going to build the E-ninnu with precious stone, so he sat with jewellers. He was going to build it with copper and tin, so the mother-goddess of the Land directed before him the chief of the smiths.

452-456. The heavy hammer-stones roared for him like a storm. The dolerite, the light hammer-stones, …… two …… three. …… like a huge mass of water gushing forth,

[1 line fragmentary / 1 line missing]

458-462. He …… the days. Gudea prolonged the nights for Ningirsu. Because of building the house for his master, he neither slept at night, nor did he rest his head during the siesta.

463-470. For the one looked on with favour by Nanse, for the favourite of Enlil, for the ruler …… by Ningirsu, for Gudea, born in the august sanctuary by Gatumdug, Nisaba opened the house of understanding and Enki put right the design of the house.

471-481. Towards the house whose halo reaches to heaven, whose powers embrace heaven and earth, whose owner is a lord with a fierce stare, whose warrior Ningirsu is expert at battle, towards E-ninnu-the-white-Anzud-bird, Gudea went from the south and admired it northwards. From the north he went towards it and admired it southwards. He measured out with rope exactly one iku. He drove in pegs at its sides and personally verified them. This made him extremely happy.

482-491. When the night fell, he went to the old temple to pray, so that the inclination of the one from the dais of Gir-nun (i.e. Ningirsu) would become favourable for Gudea. When day broke, he took a bath and arranged his outfit correctly. Utu let abundance come forth for him. Gudea left Iri-kug a second time; he sacrificed a perfect bull and a perfect kid. He went to the house and saluted it.

492-498. He …… the holy basket and true fated brick mould …… the E-ninnu. As he …… and walked proudly, Lugal-kur-dub walked in front of him, Ig-alim directed him and Ningiszida, his personal god, held him by the hand throughout the time.

499-512. He poured clear water into the …… of the brick mould -- adab, sim and ala drums were playing for the ruler. He prepared the excavated earth for making the brick, and hoed honey, ghee and precious oil into it. He worked balsam and essences from all kinds of trees into the paste. He lifted up the holy carrying-basket and put it next to the brick mould. Gudea placed the clay into the brick mould and acted exactly as prescribed, bringing the first brick of the house into existence in it, while all the bystanders sprinkled oil or cedar perfume. His city and the land of Lagas spent the day with him in joy.

513-522. He shook the brick mould and left the brick to dry. He looked at the …… with satisfaction. He anointed it with cypress essence and balsam. Utu rejoiced over the brick put into the mould by Gudea, and King Enki …… the …… rising like a great river. …… and Gudea went into the house.

523-542. He raised the brick out of the …… of the mould, and it looked as a holy crown worn by An. He lifted up the brick and went around among his people: it was like Utu's holy team tossing their heads. The brick lifting its head toward the house was as if Nanna's cows were eager to be tethered in their pen. He put down the brick, entered the house and as if he himself were Nisaba knowing the inmost secrets of numbers, he started setting down the ground plan of the house. As if he were a young man building a house for the first time, sweet sleep never came into his eyes. Like a cow keeping an eye on its calf, he went in constant worry to the house. Like a man who takes but little food into his mouth, he went around untiringly. The intention of his master had become clear for him, the words of Ningirsu had become as conspicuous as a banner to Gudea. In his heart beating loudly because of building the house, someone …… a propitious ominous remark. This made him extremely happy.

543-550. He performed extispicy on a kid and his omen was favourable. He cast grain on to …… and its appearance was right. Gudea lay down for a dream oracle, and while he was sleeping a message came to him: in the vision he saw his master's house already built, the E-ninnu separating heaven and earth. This made him extremely happy.

551-561. He stretched out lines in the most perfect way; he set up a sanctuary in the holy uzga. In the house, Enki drove in the foundation pegs, while Nanse, the daughter of Eridug, took care of the oracular messages. The mother of Lagas, holy Gatumdug, gave birth to its bricks amid cries, and Bau, the lady, first-born daughter of An, sprinkled them with oil and cedar essence. En and lagar priests were detailed to the house to provide maintenance for it. The Anuna gods stood there full of admiration.

562-577. Gudea, in charge of building the house, placed on his head the carrying-basket for the house, as if it were a holy crown. He laid the foundation, set the walls on the ground. He marked out a square, aligned the bricks with a string. He marked out a second square on the site of the temple, saying, "It is the line-mark for a topped-off jar of 1 ban capacity." He marked out a third square on the site of the temple, saying, "It is the Anzud bird enveloping its fledgling with its wings." He marked out a fourth square on the site of the temple, saying, "It is a panther embracing a fierce lion." He marked out a fifth square on the site of the temple, saying, "It is the blue sky in all its splendour." He marked out a sixth square on the site of the temple, saying, "It is the day of supply, full of luxuriance." He marked out a seventh square on the site of the temple, saying, "It is the E-ninnu bathing the Land with moonlight at dawn."

578-590. They inserted the wooden door frames, which were like a crown worn in the blue sky. As Gudea sat down at a wooden door frame, from there it was like a huge house embracing heaven. As he built the house and laid wooden scaffolding against it, it was like Nanna's lagoon attended by Enki. They made the house grow as high as the hills, they mad it float in the midst of heaven as a cloud, they made it lift its horns as a bull and they made it raise its head above all the lands, like the gisgana tree over the abzu. As the house had been made to lift its head so high as to fill the space between heaven and earth like the hills, it was like a luxuriant cedar growing among high grass; E-ninnu was decorated most alluringly among Sumer's buildings.

591-601. As they placed wooden beams on the house, they looked like dragons of the abzu coming out all together, they were like …… of heaven ……, they were like huge serpents of the foothills ……. The reeds cut for the house were like mountain snakes sleeping together. Its upper parts were covered with luxuriant cedar and cypress, and they put white cedars in its inner room of cedar, marvellous to behold. They treated them with good perfume and precious oil. The mud-wall of the house was covered with the abundance of the abzu and they tied its …… to it. The shrine of E-ninnu was thus placed in the …… hand of An.

602-616. The ruler built the house, he made it high, high as a great mountain. Its abzu foundation pegs, big mooring stakes, he drove into the ground so deep they could take counsel with Enki in the E-engura. He had heavenly foundation pegs surround the house like warriors, so that each one was drinking water at the libation place of the gods. He fixed the E-ninnu, the mooring stake, he drove in its pegs shaped like praying wizards. He planted the pleasant poplars of his city so that they cast their shadow. He embedded its Sar-ur weapon beside Lagas like a big standard, placed it in its dreadful place, the Su-galam, and made it emanate fearsome radiance. On the dais of Gir-nun, on the place of making judgments, the provider of Lagas lifted his horns like a mighty bull.

617-624. It took one year to bring the great stones in slabs and it took another year to fashion them, although not even two or three days did he let pass idly. Then it needed a day's work to set up each one but by the seventh day he had set them all up around the house. He laid down the trimmings from the slabs as stairs, or fashioned basins from them, and had them stand in the house.

625-629. The stela which he set up in the great courtyard he named as "The king who …… the courtyard, Lord Ningirsu, has recognised Gudea from the Gir-nun".

630-635. The stela which he set up at the Kan-sura gate he named as "The king, Enlil's flood storm, who has no opponent, Lord Ningirsu, has looked with favour at Gudea".

636-641. The stela which he set up facing the rising sun he named as "The king, the roaring storm of Enlil, the lord without rival, Lord Ningirsu, has chosen Gudea with his holy heart".

642-646. The stela which he set up facing Su-galam he named as "The king, at whose name the foreign countries tremble, Lord Ningirsu, has made Gudea's throne firm".

647-650. The stela which he set up facing E-uru-ga he named as "Lord Ningirsu has decided a good fate for Gudea".

651-654. The stela which he set up by the inner room of Bau he named as "The eyes of An know the E-ninnu, and Bau is the life source of Gudea".

655-664. He built his master's house exactly as he had been told to. The true shepherd Gudea made it grow so high as to fill the space between heaven and earth, had it wear a tiara shaped like the new moon, and had its fame spread as far as the heart of the highlands. Gudea made Ningirsu's house come out like the sun from the clouds, had it grow to be like hills of lapis lazuli and had it stand to be marvelled at like hills of white alabaster.

665-672. He made its door-sockets stand like wild bulls and he flanked them with dragons crouching on their paws like lions. He had its terraced tower grow on a place as pure as the abzu. He made the metal tops of its standards twinkle as the horns of the holy stags of the abzu. Gudea made the house of Ningirsu stand to be marvelled at like the new moon in the skies.

673-687. The built-in door-sockets of the house are lahama deities standing by the abzu. Its timber store looks like waves of an enormous lagoon where snakes have dived into the water. Its …… is …… full of fearsomeness. Its …… is a light floating in the midst of heaven. On the Gate where the King Enters an eagle is raising its eyes toward a wild bull. Its curved wooden posts joining above the gate are a rainbow stretching over the sky. Its upper lintel of the gate like the E-ninnu stands among rumbling, roaring storms. Its awe-inspiring eyebrow-shaped arch meets the admiring eyes of the gods. His white dais …… of the house is a firmly founded lapis lazuli mountain connecting heaven and earth.

688-695. They installed the great dining hall for the evening meals: it was as if An himself were setting out golden bowls filled with honey and wine. They built the bedchamber: it is the abzu's fruit-bearing holy mes tree among innumerable mountains. He finished with the building, which made the hearts of the gods overflow with joy.

696-721. The true shepherd Gudea is wise, and able too to realise things. In the inner room where the weapons hang, at the Gate of Battle he had the warriors Six-headed wild ram and …… head take their stand. Facing the city, its place laden with awe, he had the Seven-headed serpent take its stand. In Su-galam, its awesome gate, he had the Dragon and the Date palm take their stand. Facing the sunrise, where the fates are decided, he erected the standard of Utu, the Bison head, beside others already there. At the Kan-sura gate, at its lookout post, he had the Lion, the terror of the gods, take its stand. In the Tar-sirsir, where the orders are issued, he had the Fish-man and the Copper take their stand. In Bau's inner room, where the heart can be soothed, he had the Magilum boat and the Bison take their stand. Because these were warriors slain by Ningirsu, he set their mouths towards

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libation places. Gudea, the ruler of Lagas, made their names appear among those of the gods.

722-729. The cedar doors installed in the house are Iskur roaring above. The locks of the E-ninnu are bisons, its door-pivots are lions, from its bolts horned vipers and fierce snakes are hissing at wild bulls. Its jambs, against which the door leaves close, are young lions and panthers lying on their paws.

730-737. The shining roof-beam nails hammered into the house are dragons gripping a victim. The shining ropes attached to the doors are holy Nirah parting the abzu. Its …… is pure like Kes and Aratta, its …… is a fierce lion keeping an eye on the Land; nobody going alone can pass in front of it.

738-758. The fearsomeness of the E-ninnu covers all the lands like a garment. The house! It is founded by An on refined silver, it is painted with kohl, and comes out as the moonlight with heavenly splendour. The house! Its front is a great mountain firmly grounded, its inside resounds with incantations and harmonious hymns, its exterior is the sky, a great house rising in abundance, its outer assembly hall is the Anuna gods' place of rendering judgments, from its …… words of prayer can be heard, its food supply is the abundance of the gods, its standards erected around the house are the Anzud bird spreading its wings over the bright mountain. E-ninnu's clay plaster, harmoniously blended clay taken from the Edin canal, has been chosen by its master Lord Ningirsu with his holy heart, and was painted by Gudea with the splendours of heaven as if kohl were being poured all over it.

759-769. From its cow-pen butter and milk are brought in. From its huge oven, great cakes and croissants come. Its …… feeds cattle and sheep. Its house of food rations …… an uzga shrine. Its wine-cellar is a mountain oozing wine, from its brewery as much beer comes as the Tigris at high water.

770-780. Its storehouse is full of gems, silver and tin. Its coach-house is a mountain set on the ground. Its drum hall is a roaring bull. Its courtyard resounds with holy prayers, sim and ala drums. Its stone stairs, laid before the house, are like a mountain range lying down in princely joy. Its upper stairs leading to the roof are like a light clearly visible as far as the mountains. Its vineyard "Black garden in the steppe", planted near the house, is a mountain oozing wine and grows in a place with fearsomeness and radiance.

781-798. The seven stones surrounding the house are there to take counsel with its owner. Its chapel for funerary offerings is as pure as the clean abzu. The stone basins set up in the house are like the holy room of the lustration priest where water never ceases to flow. Its high battlements where pigeons live is …… Eridug ……. E-ninnu offers rest to pigeons, it is a protective cover with large branches and a pleasant shade, with swallows and other birds chirping loudly there. It is Enlil's E-kur when a festival takes place in it. The house's great awesomeness settles upon the whole Land, its praise reaches to the highlands, the awesomeness of the E-ninnu covers all lands like a garment.

799-803. The house has been built most sumptuously by its lord. It was built on a pedestal by Ningiszida. Its foundation pegs were driven in by Gudea, the ruler of Lagas.

804-812. For the restoration of E-ninnu, the house that rises like the sun over the Land, stands like a great bull in the …… sand, illuminates the assembly like delightful moonlight, is as sumptuous as lush green foothills, and stands to be marvelled at, praise be to Ningirsu!

813-814. This is the middle of the hymn "The building of Ningirsu's house".

815-819. House, mooring post of the Land, grown so high as to fill the space between heaven and earth, E-ninnu, the true brickwork, for which Enlil determined a good fate, green hill standing to be marvelled at, standing out above all the lands!

820-823. The house is a great mountain reaching up to the skies. It is Utu filling the midst of the heavens; E-ninnu is the white Anzud bird spreading its talons upon the mountain land.

824-829. All the people were placed before it, the whole Land was detailed to it. The Anuna gods stood there in admiration. The ruler, who is wise, who is knowledgeable, kissed the ground before that godly company. He touched the ground in prostration, with supplications and prayers; the ruler, the god of his city prayed.

830-833. For the bread-consuming house he added more and more bread, for the suppers in need of mutton he added sheep. In front of the house he lined up bowls like …… abundance …….

834-841. He went to the Anuna gods and prayed to them: "O all you Anuna gods, admired by the land of Lagas, protectors of all the countries, whose command, a massive breach in a dam, carries away any who try to stop it. The worthy young man on whom you have looked will enjoy a long life. I, the shepherd, built the house, and now I will let my master enter his house. O Anuna gods, may you pray on my behalf!"

842-850. The true shepherd Gudea is wise, and able too to realise things. His friendly guardian went before him and his friendly protecting genius followed him. For his master, Lord Ningirsu, Gudea gave numerous gifts to the house of yore, the old house, his dwelling place. He went into the E-ninnu to the lord, and prayed to him:

851-862. "My master Ningirsu, lord who has turned back the fierce waters, lord whose commands take precedence, male child of Enlil, warrior, I have carried out faithfully what you have ordered me to do. Ningirsu, I have built up your house for you; now I shall let you enter it in joy! My goddess Bau, I have set up your E-mi quarters for you: take up pleasant residence in them." His call was heard, his hero Lord Ningirsu accepted from Gudea his prayer and supplication.

863-870. The year ended and the month was completed. A new year started, a month began and three days elapsed in that month. As Ningirsu arrived from Eridug, beautiful moonlight shone illuminating the Land, and the E-ninnu competed with the new-born Suen.

871-882. Gudea made a paste with cornelian and lapis lazuli and applied it to the corners. He sprinkled the floor with precious oil. He made the ……, who worked there, leave the house. Syrup, ghee, wine, sour milk, gipar fruit, fig-cakes topped with cheese, dates, …… and small grapes, things untouched by fire, were the foods for the gods which he prepared with syrup and ghee.

883-891. On the day when the true god was to arrive, Gudea was busy with the evening meal from early morning. Asari cared for the maintenance of the house. Ninmada took care of its cleaning. King Enki gave oracular pronouncements concerning it. Nindub, the chief purification priest of Eridug, filled it with the smoke of incense. The lady of precious rites, Nanse, versed in singing holy songs, sang songs for the house.

892-906. They sheared the black ewes and milked the udder of the cow of heaven. They cleaned the E-ninnu, they polished it with brooms of tamarisk and ……. The ruler made the whole city kneel down, made the whole land prostrate itself. He levelled what was high, rejected chance utterances; the sorcerers' spittle was removed from the roads. In the city only the mother of a sick person administered a potion. The wild animals, creatures of the steppe, all had crouched together. The lions and the dragons of the steppe were lying asleep.

907-909. The day was for supplication, the night was for prayer. The moonlight …… early morning. Its master …….

910-924. Warrior Ningirsu entered the house, the owner of the house had arrived. He was an eagle raising its eyes toward a wild bull. The warrior's entering his house was a storm roaring into battle. Ningirsu entered his house and it became the shrine of the abzu when there is a festival. The owner came out of his house and he was Utu rising over the land of Lagas. Bau's going to her E-mi quarters was a true woman's taking her house in hand. Her entering her bedroom was the Tigris at high water. When she sat down beside her ……, she was the lady, the daughter of holy An, a green garden bearing fruit.

925-928. The daylight came out, the fate had been decided. Bau entered her E-mi quarters, and there was abundance for the land of Lagas. The day dawned. Utu of Lagas lifted his head over the Land.

929-933. The house received fattened oxen and sheep. Bowls were set up in the open air and were filled with wine. The Anuna gods of the land of Lagas gathered around Lord Ningirsu. In the house the purification had been completed, the oracular pronouncements had been taken care of.

934-943. Wine was poured from big jars while …… was heaped up in the E-ninnu. Nindub caused the sanctuary to be filled with clatter and noise and with fresh bread and hind's milk available day and night; he woke from sleep the noble one, the beloved son of Enlil, the warrior Ningirsu. Ningirsu raised his head with all the great powers, and …… rituals, …… for the sanctuary E-ninnu.

944-956. With his divine duties, namely to guide the hand of the righteous one; to force the evil-doer's neck into a neck stock; to keep the house safe; to keep the house pleasant; to instruct his city and the sanctuaries of Girsu; to set up an auspicous throne; to hold the sceptre of never-ending days; to raise high the head of the shepherd called by Ningirsu, as if he wore a blue crown; and to appoint to their offices in the courtyard of E-ninnu the skin-clad ones, the linen-clad ones and those whose head is covered, Gudea introduced Ig-alim, the Great Door (ig gal), the Pole (dim) of Gir-nun, the chief bailiff of Girsu, his beloved son, to Lord Ningirsu.

957-970. With his divine duties, namely to keep the house clean; to let hands always be washed; to serve water to the lord with holy hands; to pour beer into bowls; to pour wine into jars; to make emmer beer in the brewery, the house of pure strength, fizz like the water of the Papsir canal; to make certain that faultless cattle and goats, grain-fed sheep, fresh bread and hind's milk are available day and night; to wake from sleep the noble one, Enlil's beloved son, the warrior Ningirsu, by offering food and drink, Gudea introduced Sul-saga, the lord of the pure hand-washings (su-luh), the first-born son of E-ninnu, to Ningirsu.

971-982. With his divine duties, namely to carry the seven-headed mace; to open the door of the an-kar house, the Gate of Battle; to hit exactly with the dagger blades, with the mitum mace, with the "floodstorm" weapon and with the marratum club, its battle tools; to inundate Enlil's enemy land, Gudea introduced Lugal-kur-dub, the warrior Sar-ur, who in battle subdues all the foreign lands, the mighty general of the E-ninnu, a falcon against the rebel lands, his general, to Lord Ningirsu.

983-989. After the heavenly mitum mace had roared against the foreign lands like a fierce storm -- the Sar-ur, the flood storm in battle, the cudgel for the rebel lands -- after the lord had frowned at the rebellious land, the foreign country, hurled at it his furious words, driven it insane (the text here seems to be corrupt, and there may be some lines missing),

990-992. With his divine duties, Gudea introduced the lord's second general, Kur-suna-buruam, to the son of Enlil.

993-1005. With his divine duties, namely to send entreaties on behalf of the land of Lagas; to perform supplications and prayers for it, propitious ones; to greet pleasantly the warrior departing for Eridug; and until Ningirsu comes from Eridug, to keep the throne of the built-up city firm; to pray, with hand placed before the nose, together with Gudea, for the life of the true shepherd, Gudea introduced his adviser, Lugal-si-sa, to Lord Ningirsu.

1006-1014. With his divine duties, namely to request; to command; to co-operate with the one speaking straightforwardly; to …… the one speaking evil; to inform Ningirsu, the warrior sitting on a holy dais in the E-ninnu, Gudea introduced Sakkan, the wild ram, the minister of the E-duga, his ……, to Lord Ningirsu.

1015-1023. With his divine duties, namely to clean with water; to clean with soap; to …… with oil from white bowls and with soap; to urge him to sweet sleep on his bed strewn with fresh herbs; to let him enter the E-duga, his bed chamber, from outside and to make him not wish to leave it, Gudea introduced Kinda-zid, the man in charge of the E-duga, to Lord Ningirsu.

1024-1034. With his divine duties, namely to yoke up the holy chariot decorated with stars; to harness the donkey stallion, Pirig-kase-pada, before it; to …… a slender donkey from Eridug with the stallion; to have them joyfully transport their owner Ningirsu, Gudea introduced En-seg-nun, who roars like a lion, who rises like a flood storm, Ningirsu's hurrying bailiff, his donkey herdsman, to Lord Ningirsu.

1035-1040. With his divine duties, namely, to make the butter abundant; to make the cream abundant; to see that the butter and the milk of the holy goats, the milking goats, and the hind, the mother of Ningirsu, do not cease to flow in the E-ninnu sanctuary, Gudea introduced En-lulim, the herdsman of the hinds, to Lord Ningirsu.

1041-1047. With his divine duties, namely to tune properly the sweet-toned tigi instrument; to fill the courtyard of E-ninnu with joy; to make the algar and miritum, instruments of the E-duga, offer their best in the E-ninnu to Ningirsu, the warrior with an ear for music, Gudea introduced his beloved musician, Usumgal-kalama, to Lord Ningirsu.

1048-1057. With his divine duties, namely to soothe the heart, to soothe the spirits; to dry weeping eyes; to banish mourning from the mourning heart; to …… the heart of the lord that rises like the sea, that washes away like the Euphrates, that hits like a flood storm, that has overflowed with joy after inundating a land which is Enlil's enemy, Gudea introduced his balag drum, Lugal-igi-hus, to Lord Ningirsu.

1058-1069. Zazaru, Iskur-pa-e, Ur-agrunta-ea, Ḫe-Gir-nuna, Ḫe-saga, Zurgu and Zargu, who are Bau's septuplets, the offspring of Lord Ningirsu, his beloved lukur maidens, who create plenty for the myriads, stepped forward to Lord Ningirsu with friendly entreaties on behalf of Gudea.

1070-1081. With his divine duties, namely to see that the great fields grow rich; to see that the levees and ditches of Lagas will be full to the brim; to see that Ezina-Kusu, the pure stalk, will raise its head high in the furrows in Gu-edina, the plain befitting its owner; to see that after the good fields have provided wheat, emmer and all kinds of pulses, numerous grain heaps -- the yield of the land of Lagas -- will be heaped up, Gudea introduced Gisbar-e, Enlil's surveyor, the farmer of Gu-edina, to Lord Ningirsu.

1082-1087. With his divine duties, namely to make sure that Imin-satam, the messenger of Gu-edina, informs Ningirsu in the E-ninnu about the amount of carp and perch yielded by the marshes, and about the quantity of new shoots of reed yielded by the green reedbeds, Gudea introduced Lama, the inspector of the fisheries of Gu-edina, to Lord Ningirsu.

1088-1099. With his divine duties, namely to administer the open country, the pleasant place; to give directions concerning the Gu-edina, the pleasant open country; to make its birds propagate; to have them lay their eggs in nests; to have them rear their young; to see that the multiplication of the beasts of Ningirsu's beloved countryside does not diminish, Gudea introduced Dim-gal-abzu, the herald of Gu-edina, to Lord Ningirsu.

1100-1106. With his divine duties, namely to erect cities; to found settlements; to build guard-houses for the wall of the Iri-kug; to have its divine resident constable, the mace of white cedar with its enormous head, patrol around the house, Gudea introduced Lugal-ennu-iri-kugakam to Lord Ningirsu.

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1107-1117. Holy An made the location appropriate. Enlil wound a turban round its top. Ninhursaga looked at it approvingly. Enki, the king of Eridug, drove in its foundation pegs. The true lord with a pure heart, Suen, made its powers the largest in heaven and on earth. Ningirsu chose it among shrines of sprouting seeds with his heart. Mother Nanse cared for it especially among the buildings of the land of Lagas. But it was the god of most reliable progeny who built the house and made its name famous.

1118-1124. The mighty steward of Nanse, the accomplished shepherd of Ningirsu, is wise, and able too to realise things; the man in charge of building the house, Gudea the ruler of Lagas, was to make presents for the house.

1125-1142. Gudea, the ruler in charge of building the house, the ruler of Lagas, presented it with the chariot "It makes the mountains bow down", which carries awesome radiance and on which great fearsomeness rides and with its donkey stallion, Ud-gu-dugduga, to serve before it; with the seven-headed mace, the fierce battle weapon, the weapon unbearable both for the North and for the South, with a battle cudgel, with the mitum mace, with the lion-headed weapon made from nir stone, which never turns back before the highlands, with dagger blades, with nine standards, with the "strength of heroism", with his bow which twangs like a mes forest, with his angry arrows which whizz like lightning flashes in battle, and with his quiver, which is like a lion, a pirig lion, or a fierce snake sticking out its tongue -- strengths of battle imbued with the power of kingship.

1143-1154. Along with copper, tin, slabs of lapis lazuli, refined silver and pure Meluha cornelian, he set up huge copper cauldrons, huge …… of copper, shining copper goblets and shining copper jars worthy of An, for laying a holy table in the open air …… at the place of regular offerings. Ningirsu gave his city, Lagas ……. He set up his bed within the bedchamber, the house's resting place; and everyone rested like birds in the streets with the son of Enlil.

1155-1181. With his duties, namely to fill the channels with flowing water; to make the marshes full with carp and perch and to have the inspector of fisheries and the inspector of dykes stand at their posts; to fill the great waters with boats carrying grain; to see that tons, heaps and tons -- the yield of the land of Lagas -- will be piled up; to see that cattle-pens and sheepfolds will be erected; to see that lambs abound around healthy ewes; to have the rams let loose on the healthy ewes; to see that numerous calves stand beside healthy cows; to see that breed bulls bellow loudly among them; to have the oxen properly yoked and to have the farmers and ox drivers stand beside them; to have donkeys carry packsaddles and to have their drivers, who feed them, follow behind them; to see that large copper …… will be strapped onto jackasses; to see that the principal mill will produce; to …… the house of Ningirsu's young slave women; to set …… right; to see that the courtyard of the E-ninnu will be filled with joy; to see that the ala drums and balag drum will sound in perfect concert with the sim drums, and to see that his beloved drum Usumgal-kalama will walk in front of the procession, the ruler who had built the E-ninnu, Gudea, himself entered before Lord Ningirsu.

1182-1202. The temple towered upwards in full grandeur, unparallelled in fearsomeness and radiance. Like a boat it …… and ……. Its owner, the warrior Ningirsu, came out as the daylight on the dais of Gir-nun. Its …… resting on supports was like the blue sky in all its splendour. Its standards and their caps were Ningirsu himself emanating fearsomeness; their leather straps stretched out in front of them were green snake-eater birds bathing. Its owner, the warrior Ningirsu, stood like Utu in his most fascinating blue chariot. Its throne, standing in the guena hall, was An's holy seat which is sat upon joyfully. Its bed, standing in the bedroom, was a young cow kneeling down in its sleeping place. On its holy quilt, strewn with fresh herbs, Mother Bau was resting comfortably with Lord Ningirsu.

1203-1210. Large bronze plates offered all sorts of food. In the good house …… were cooked in shining bronze vessels. Its pure bowls standing in the great dining hall were troughs in various sizes that never lack water, and the goblets beside them were the Tigris and Euphrates continually carrying abundance.

1211-1223. He had everything function as it should in his city. Gudea had built the E-ninnu, made its powers perfect. He brought butter and cream into its dairy and provided its …… with bread. He had debts remitted and made all hands clear. When his master entered the house, for seven days the slave woman was allowed to became equal to her mistress and the slave was allowed to walk side by side with his master. But the ritually unclean ones could sleep only at the border of his city. He silenced the evil-speaking tongue and locked up evil.

1224-1231. He paid attention to the justice of Nanse and Ningirsu. He provided protection for the orphan against the rich, and provided protection for the widow against the powerful. He had the daughter become the heir in the families without a son. A day of justice dawned for him. He set his foot on the neck of evil ones and malcontents.

1232-1247. Like Utu, he rose on the horizon for the city. He wound a turban on his head. He made himself known by the eyes of holy An. He entered the shrine of E-ninnu with raised head like a bull and sacrificed there faultless oxen and kids. He set bowls in the open air and filled them full with wine. Usumgal-kalama was accompanied by tigi drums, and ala drums roared for him like a storm. The ruler stepped onto the outer wall and his city looked up to him in admiration. Gudea …….

[6 lines missing]

1254-1257. …… made abundance come forth for him. The earth produced mottled barley for him. Lagas thrived in abundance with the ruler.

1258-1276. For the warrior who entered his new house, for Lord Ningirsu, he arranged a rich banquet. He seated An at the place of honour for him, he seated Enlil next to An and Ninmah next to Enlil.

[12 lines missing / 1 line fragmentary]

1277-1284. Rejoicing over the house, the owner determined a fate for the brickwork of E-ninnu: "O brickwork of E-ninnu, let there be a good fate determined, brickwork of E-ninnu, let there be a fate determined, let there be a good fate determined! House! Mountain founded by An, built in grandeur!"

[16 lines missing]

1301-1320. …… determined a fate for the brickwork of E-ninnu: "O brickwork, let there be a fate determined, brickwork of E-ninnu, let there be a good fate determined! House …… embers (?) …… embracing heaven. …… holy ……."

[14 lines missing / 1 line fragmentary]

1321-1325. "On your behalf, numerous cow-pens will be erected and many sheepfolds renewed! The people will lie down in safe pastures, enjoying abundance under you. The eyes of Sumer and all the countries will be directed toward you. An will elevate your house of Anzud for you."

[11 lines missing]

1337-1354.

[3 lines fragmentary] "…… grown as tall as Gilgames. No one shall remove its throne set up there. Your god, Lord Ningiszida, is the grandson of An; your divine mother is Ninsumun, the bearing mother of good offspring, who loves her offspring; you are a child born by the true cow. You are a true youth made to rise over the land of Lagas by Ningirsu; your name is established from below to above. Gudea, nobody …… what you say. You are …… a man known to An. You are a true ruler, for whom the house has determined a good fate. Gudea, son of Ningiszida, you will enjoy a long life!"

1355-1361. The house reaches up to heaven like a huge mountain and its fearsomeness and radiance have settled upon the Land. An and Enlil have determined the fate of Lagas; Ningirsu's authority has become known to all the countries; E-ninnu has grown so high as to fill the space between heaven and earth. Ningirsu be praised!

1362-1363. This is the end of the hymn "The building of Ningirsu's house".

THE UR-NAMMU CYCLE

THE DEATH OF UR-NAMMA

(Ur-Namma A)
Translation: ETCSL: t.2.4.1.1

(Ur-Nammu (or Ur-Namma, Ur-Engur, Ur-Gur, ruled c. 2112–2094 BC middle chronology, or possibly c. 2048–2030 BC short chronology) founded the Sumerian Third Dynasty of Ur, in southern Mesopotamia, following several centuries of Akkadian and Gutian rule. His main achievement was state-building, and Ur-Nammu is chiefly remembered today for his legal code, the Code of Ur-Nammu, the oldest known surviving example in the world. He held the titles of "King of Ur, and King of Sumer and Akkad". He was succeeded by Shulgi who stayed in power for 48 years. There are 7 cuneiform texts that deal with Ur-Nammu:

1.) The death of Ur-Namma (Ur-Namma A); 2.) A tigi to Enlil for Ur-Namma (Ur-Namma B); 3.) praise poem of Ur-Namma (Ur-Namma C); 4.) Ur-Namma the canal-digger (Ur-Namma D); 5.) A sir-namsub to Nanna for Ur-Namma (Ur-Namma E); 6.) A sir-namsub to Nanna for Ur-Namma (Ur-Namma F); 7.) The victory of Utu-hegal. Such a collection of texts is called "cycle" by archaeologists.)

A VERSION FROM NIBRU (Nippur)

1-7. …… entire land ……, …… struck, the palace was devastated. …… panic spread rapidly among the dwellings of the black-headed people. …… abandoned places …… in Sumer. …… the cities were destroyed in their entirety; the people were seized with panic. Evil came upon Urim and made the trustworthy shepherd pass away. It made Ur-Namma, the trustworthy shepherd, pass away; it made the trustworthy shepherd pass away.

8-14. Because An had altered his holy words completely, …… became empty, and because, deceitfully, Enlil had completely changed the fate he decreed, Ninmah began a lament in her ……. Enki shut the great door of Eridug. Nudimmud withdrew into his bedchamber and lay down fasting. At his zenith, Nanna frowned at the …… words of An. Utu did not come forth in the sky, and the day was full of sorrow.

15-21. The mother, miserable because of her son, the mother of the king, holy Ninsumun, was crying: "Oh my heart!". Because of the fate decreed for Ur-Namma, because it made the trustworthy shepherd pass away, she was weeping bitterly in the broad square, which is otherwise a place of entertainment. Sweet sleep did not come to the people whose happiness ……; they passed their time in lamentation over the trustworthy shepherd who had been snatched away.

22-30. As the early flood was filling the canals, their canal-inspector was already silenced; the mottled barley grown on the arable lands, the life of the land, was inundated. To the farmer, the fertile fields planted by him yielded little. Enkimdu, the lord of levees and ditches, took away the levees and ditches from Urim.

[1 line fragmentary] As the intelligence and …… of the Land were lost, fine food became scarce. The plains did not grow lush grass any more, they grew the grass of mourning. The cows ……, their …… cattle-pen has been destroyed. The calves …… their cows bleated bitterly.

31-51. The wise shepherd …… does not give orders any more. …… in battle and combat. The king, the advocate of Sumer, the ornament of the assembly, Ur-Namma, the advocate of Sumer, the ornament of the assembly, the leader of Sumer, …… lies sick. His hands which used to grasp cannot grasp any more, he lies sick. His feet …… cannot step any more, he lies sick.

[1 line fragmentary] The trustworthy shepherd, king, the sword of Sumer, Ur-Namma, the king of the Land, was taken to the …… house. He was taken to Urim; the king of the Land was brought into the …… house. The proud one lay in his palace. Ur-Namma, he who was beloved by the troops, could not raise his neck any more. The wise one …… lay down; silence descended. As he, who was the vigour of the Land, had fallen, the Land became demolished like a mountain; like a cypress forest it was stripped, its appearance changed. As if he were a boxwood tree, they put axes against him in his joyous dwelling place. As if he were a sappy cedar tree, he was uprooted in the palace where he used to sleep. His spouse …… resting place; …… was covered by a storm; it embraced it like a wife her sweetheart. His appointed time had arrived, and he passed away in his prime.

52-75. His pleasing sacrifices were no longer accepted; they were treated as dirty. The Anuna gods refused his gifts. An did not stand by an "It is enough", and he could not complete his days. Because of what Enlil ordered, there was no more rising up; his beloved men lost their wise one. Strangers turned into ……. How iniquitously Ur-Namma was abandoned, like a broken jar! His …… with grandeur like thick clouds. He does not …… any more, and he does not reach out for ……. "…… Ur-Namma, alas, what is it to me?" Ur-Namma, the son of Ninsumun, was brought to Arali, the pre-eminent place of the Land, in his prime. The soldiers accompanying the king shed tears: their boat (i.e. Ur-Namma) was sunk in a land as foreign to them as Dilmun. …… was cut. It was stripped of the oars, punting poles and rudder which it had. ……; its bolt was broken off. …… was put aside; it stood in saltpetre. His donkeys were to be found with the king; they were buried with him. His donkeys were to be found with Ur-Namma; they were buried with him. As he crossed over the …… of the Land, the Land was deprived of its ornament. The journey to the nether world is a desolate route. Because of the king, the chariots were covered over, the roads were thrown into disorder, no one could go up and down on them. Because of Ur-Namma, the chariots were covered over, the roads were thrown into disorder, no one could go up and down on them.

76-87. He presented gifts to the seven chief porters of the nether world. As the famous kings who had died and the dead isib priests, lumah priests, and nindigir priestesses, all chosen by extispicy, announced the king's coming to the people, a tumult arose in the nether world. As they announced Ur-Namma's coming to the people, a tumult arose in the nether world. The king slaughtered numerous bulls and sheep, Ur-Namma seated the people at a huge banquet. The food of the nether world is bitter, the water of the nether world is brackish. The trustworthy shepherd knew well the rites of the nether world, so the king presented the offerings of the nether world, Ur-Namma presented the offerings of the nether world: as many faultless bulls, faultless kids, and fattened sheep as could be brought.

88-91. To Nergal, the Enlil of the nether world, in his palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered a mace, a large bow with quiver and arrows, an artfully made barbed dagger, and a multicoloured leather bag for wearing at the hip.

92-96. To Gilgames, the king of the nether world, in his palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered a spear, a leather bag

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for a saddle-hook, a heavenly lion-headed imitum mace, a shield resting on the ground, a heroic weapon, and a battle-axe, an implement beloved of Ereskigala.

97-101. To Ereskigala, the mother of Ninazu, in her palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered a …… which he filled with oil, a sagan bowl of perfect make, a heavy garment, a long-fleeced garment, a queenly pala robe, …… the divine powers of the nether world.

102-105. To Dumuzid, the beloved husband of Inana, in his palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered a …… sheep, ……, mountain ……, a lordly golden sceptre, …… a shining hand. [(1 ms. adds:) He …… a gold and silver ……, a lapis-lazuli ……, and a …… pin to Dimpikug …….]

106-109. To Namtar, who decrees all the fates, in his palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered perfectly wrought jewellery, a golden ring cast as a …… barge, pure cornelian stone fit to be worn on the breasts of the gods.

110-113. To Ḫusbisag, the wife of Namtar, in her palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered a chest with a lapis-lazuli handle, containing everything that is essential in the underworld, a silver hair clasp adorned with lapis-lazuli, and a comb of womanly fashion.

114-122. To the valiant warrior Ningiszida, in his palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered a chariot with …… wheels sparkling with gold, …… donkeys, thoroughbreds, …… donkeys with dappled thighs, ……, followed …… by a shepherd and a herdsman. To [Dimpimekug] [(1 ms. has instead:) Dimpikug], who stands by his side, he gave a lapis-lazuli seal hanging from a pin, and a gold and silver toggle-pin with a bison's head.

123-128. To his spouse, Ninazimua, the august scribe, denizen of Arali, in her palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered a headdress with the august ear-pieces of a sage, made of alabaster, a …… stylus, the hallmark of the scribe, a surveyor's gleaming line, and the measuring rod …….

129-131. To ……, the great …… of the nether world, he gave

[2 lines fragmentary]

132-144. After the king had presented properly the offerings of the nether world, after Ur-Namma had presented properly the offerings of the nether world, the …… of the underworld, the ……, seated Ur-Namma on a great dais of the nether world and set up a dwelling place for him in the nether world. At the command of Ereskigala all the soldiers who had been killed by weapons and all the men who had been found guilty were given into the king's hands. Ur-Namma was ……, so with Gilgames, his beloved brother, he will issue the judgments of the nether world and render the decisions of the nether world.

145-154. After seven days, 10 days had passed, lamenting for Sumer overwhelmed my king, lamenting for Sumer overwhelmed Ur-Namma. My king's heart was full of tears, he …… bitterly that he could not complete the wall of Urim; that he could no longer enjoy the new palace he had built; that he, the shepherd, could no longer …… his household; that he could no longer bring pleasure to his wife with his embrace; that he could not bring up his sons on his knees; that he would never see in their prime the beauty of their little sisters who had not yet grown up.

155-165. The trustworthy shepherd …… a heart-rending lament for himself: "I, who have been treated like this, served the gods well, set up chapels for them. I have created evident abundance for the Anuna gods. I have laid treasures on their beds strewn with fresh herbs. Yet no god stood by me and soothed my heart. Because of them, anything that could have been a favourable portent for me was as far away from me as the heavens, the ……. What is my reward for my eagerness to serve during the days? My days have been finished for serving them sleeplessly during the night! Now, just as the rain pouring down from heaven cannot turn back, alas, nor can I turn back to brick-built Urim."

166-186. "Alas, my wife has become a widow! She spends the days in tears and bitter laments. My strength has ebbed away ……. The hand of the fate demon …… bitterly me, the hero. Like a wild bull ……, I cannot ……. Like a mighty bull, ……. Like an offshoot ……. Like an ass ……, I died. …… my …… wife ……. She spends the days in tears and bitter laments. Her kind protective god has left her; her kind protective goddess does not care for her any more. Ninsumun no longer rests her august arm firmly on her head. Nanna, Lord Asimbabbar, no longer leads her by the hand. Enki, the lord of Eridug, does not ……. Her …… has been silenced, she can no longer answer. She is cast adrift like a boat in a raging storm; the mooring pole has not been strong enough for her. Like a wild ass lured into a perilous pit she has been treated heavy-handedly. Like a lion fallen into a pitfall, a guard has been set up for her. Like a dog kept in a cage, she is silenced. Utu …… does not pay heed to the cries "Oh my king" overwhelming her."

187-197. "My tigi, adab, flute and zamzam songs have been turned into laments because of me. The instruments of the house of music have been propped against the wall. Because I have been made to …… in a soil-filled pit instead of my throne whose beauty was endless; because I have been made to lie down in the open, desolate steppe instead of my bed, the sleeping place whose …… was endless, alas, my wife and my children are in tears and wailing. My people whom I used to command sing like lamentation and dirge singers because of her. While I was so treated, foremost Inana, the warlike lady, was not present at my verdict. Enlil had sent her as a messenger to all the foreign lands concerning very important matters."

198-216. When she had turned her gaze away from there, Inana humbly entered the shining E-kur, she …… at Enlil's fierce brow. (Then Enlil said:) "Great lady of the E-ana, once someone has bowed down, he cannot …… any more; the trustworthy shepherd left E-ana, you cannot see him any more." My lady …… among the people [……] [(1 ms. has instead:) like ……]. Then Inana, the fierce storm, the eldest child of Suen, ……, made the heavens tremble, made the earth shake. Inana destroyed cattle-pens, devastated sheepfolds, saying: "I want to hurl insults at An, the king of the gods: Who can change the matter, if Enlil elevates someone? Who can change the import of the august words uttered by An, the king? If there are divine ordinances imposed on the Land, but they are not observed, there will be no abundance at the gods's place of sunrise. My holy gipar, the shrine E-ana, has been barred up [like a mountain] [(some mss. have instead:) like the heavens]. If only my shepherd could enter before me in it in his prime -- [I will not enter it otherwise!] [(some mss. have instead:) Why should I enter it otherwise?] If only my strong one could grow for me like greenery in the desert. If only he could hold steady for me like a river boat at its calm mooring." This is how Inana [gave vent to a lament over him] [(1 ms. has instead:) …… Ur-Namma ……]

217-233. Lord Ningiszida ……. Ur-Namma, my …… who was killed,

1 line fragmentary Among tears and laments, …… decreed a fate for Ur-Namma: "Ur-Namma ……, your august name will be called upon. From the south to the uplands, …… the holy sceptre. Sumer …… to your palace. The people will admire …… the canals which you have dug, the …… which you have ……, the large and grand arable tracts which you have ……, the reedbeds which you have drained, the wide barley fields which you ……, and the fortresses and settlements which you have ……. Ur-Namma, they will call upon …… your name. Lord Nunamnir, surpassing ……, will drive away the evil spirits ……"

234-242. After shepherd Ur-Namma ……, Nanna, Lord Asimbabbar, ……, Enki, the king of Eridug ……. […… devastated sheepfolds ……] [(the other ms. has instead:) …… the foremost, the flood ……]. […… holy ……, lion born on high] [(the other ms. has instead:) …… basket ……]. …… your city; renders just judgments. ……, Lord Ningiszida be praised! My king …… among tears and laments; …… among tears and laments.

A VERSION FROM SUSA

SEGMENT A

[approx. 10 lines missing]

1-4. [1 line fragmentary] …… frowned at ……. ……, the day was full of sorrow. …… withdrew into his bedchamber and lay down fasting.

5-11. The mother, wretched because of her son, …… the mother of the king, holy Ninsumun, was crying: "Oh my heart!". She was weeping bitterly in the broad square, which is otherwise a place of entertainment, that the fate of Ur-Namma had been overturned and that the trustworthy shepherd had been made to pass away. She spent the day in lamentation over the trustworthy shepherd who had been snatched away. Sweet sleep did not come to the people whose happiness had come to an end.

12-19. As the early flood was filling the canals, their canal-inspector ……. The mottled barley come forth on the arable lands, the life of the land, ……. To the farmer, the fertile fields ……. Enkimdu, the lord of levees and ditches, ……. …… its numerous people ……. …… of the Land ……. The plains …… fine grass ……. …… heavy cows ……

[approx. 4 lines missing]

SEGMENT B

1-13. Ur-Namma ……. His hands which used to grasp, cannot ……. His feet which used to tread, …….

[1 line unclear] The trustworthy shepherd, the king, the …… of Sumer, Ur-Namma, ……. As he himself was going to Urim, Ur-Namma …… house. The proud one lying in the palace, Ur-Namma, who …… by the troops, ……. He could not rise any more, the wise one of the countries lay down; silence ……. As he, who was the vigour of the Land, has fallen, the land became demolished like a mountain. As he, a cypress forest, was felled, the state of the Land became confused. As he, the cedar tree of the Land, was uprooted, the state of the Land became altered. Axes were set against him, a boxwood tree, in his joyous dwelling place. His appointed time arrived, and he passed away in his prime.

14-22. His pleasing sacrifices were no longer accepted; they were treated as dirty. The Anuna gods did not reach out for his gifts any more. …… did not stand by an "It is enough", his days were not prolonged. ……, there was no more rising up. Ur-Namma, a broken jar, was abandoned at …….

[3 lines unclear]

"……, what is it to me?"

[approx. 5 lines missing]

SEGMENT C

1-10. [3 lines unclear] …… the bolt ……. …… sat in saltpetre. ……, the roads were thrown into disorder, no one could go up and down on them; ……, the roads were thrown into disorder, no one could go up and down on them. …… is a long route. …… the way ……. …… the journey to the nether world …….

11-20. …… gifts ……. …… chief porters ……. …… who died ……, …… dead nindigir priestesses, chosen by extispicy,

[1 line unclear] …… raised a tumult ……; …… raised a tumult ……. The king knew well the rites of the nether world, Ur-Namma knew well the rites of the nether world: so he brought magnificent bulls, faultless kids, and fattened sheep.

21-24. To Nergal, the Enlil of the nether world, in his palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered a mace, a large bow with quiver and arrows, a large barbed dagger, and a multicoloured leather bag for wearing at the hip.

25-28. To Gilgames, the king of the nether world, in his palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered a spear, a leather bag for the saddle-hook ……, a heavenly lion-headed mitum mace, a shield resting on the ground, and a battle-axe, an implement beloved of Ereskigala.

29-32. To Ereskigala, the mother of Ninazu ……, in her palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered a …… with oil, a sagan bowl of perfect make, a royal ……, …… the divine powers of the nether world …….

33-37. To Dumuzid, the beloved husband of Inana, in his palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered alum sheep, long-fleeced sheep, big mountain he-goats, a lordly …… of manu wood fit for a shining hand, and shepherd's staff and crook of manu wood, fit for a lord.

38-41. To Namtar, who decrees all the fates, in his palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered perfectly wrought jewellery, a golden ring cast as a …… barge, pure cornelian stone …… of the gods.

42-45. To Ḫusbisag, the wife of Namtar, in her palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered a chest with a lapis-lazuli handle, containing everything that is essential in the underworld, a hair clasp adorned with lapis-lazuli, and seven combs of womanly fashion.

46-50. To …… Ningiszida, in his palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered a …… sparkling with ……, ……. donkeys that bray loudly, followed by …….

51-56. To …… Ninazimua, …… denizen of Arali, and to Gestin-ana, the king's sister, in her palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered a ……, the hallmark of the scribe, ……, a peg and the measuring rod …….

57-60. To Dimpimekug, who stands at the right and the left, the shepherd Ur-Namma …… and offered in her palace a golden and silver toggle-pin with a bison's head, and a lapis-lazuli seal with a golden edge and a pin of refined silver.

61-63. To ……, the great ensi of the nether world he brought the magnificent bulls, faultless kids, and fattened sheep that he had; in his palace the shepherd Ur-Namma offered them.

64-72. After the offerings were presented to the great …… of the underworld, the Anuna, they seated Ur-Namma on a great dais of the nether world and set up a dwelling place for him in the nether world. At the command of Ereskigala, with Gilgames, his beloved brother, he will pass the judgments of the nether world and render the …… decisions concerning all the men who fell by weapons and all the men who …… guilty.

73-88. After five days, 10 days had passed, lamenting for Sumer overwhelmed my king, lamenting for Sumer overwhelmed Ur-Namma. As he could not complete the wall of Urim; as he could no longer enjoy the new palace he had built; as he, the shepherd, could no longer protect his household; as he could no longer bring pleasure to his wife with his embrace; as he could not bring up his sons on his knees; as he would never see in their prime the beauty of their little sisters, who are yet to grow up, the trustworthy shepherd uttered a heart-rending lament for himself: "I, who have experienced, who have experienced fear, …… for the great gods, I have set up chapels for them. I have created evident abundance for the Anuna gods. I have …… treasures to their …… shining thrones. …… a favourable portent for me, was …… as the nether world or the heavens ……."

[1 line fragmentary / approx. 7 lines missing]

SEGMENT D

1-11. "…… guard ……. …… silence ……. …… adab, flute and zamzam songs …… laments. …… have been

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propped against the wall. Because I have been made to sit on …… whose beauty was endless; because I have been made to fall in …… was endless,

1 line fragmentary Maiden Inana, the warlike lady, ……. Enlil had sent her as a messenger to all the great mountains."

12-20. When she had turned her gaze away from there, the trustworthy shepherd had left the E-ana, and she could not see him any more. She …… at Enlil's fierce brow. Antagonistically she insulted An, the king of the gods: "When An, the king speaks, his words cannot be changed! …… Ur-Namma ……. There will be no …… at the gods' place of sunrise. …… holy gipar, shrine E-ana ……. …… not enter ……."

A TIGI TO ENLIL FOR UR-NAMMA
(Ur-Namma B)
Translation: ETCSL: t.2.4.1.2

1-6. Exalted Enlil, …… fame ……, lord who …… his great princedom, Nunamnir, king of heaven and earth ……, looked around among the people. The Great Mountain Enlil chose Ur-Namma the good shepherd from the multitude of people: "Let him be the shepherd of Nunamnir!" He made him emanate fierce awesomeness.

7-19. The divine plans of brick-built E-kur were drawn up. The Great Mountain Enlil made up his mind, filled with pure and useful thoughts, to make them shine like the sun in the E-kur, his august shrine. He instructed the shepherd Ur-Namma to make the E-kur rise high; the king made him the mightiest in the Land, he made him the first among the people. The good shepherd Ur-Namma, …… whose trust in Nunamnir is enduring, the knowledgeable judge, the lord of great wisdom, prepared the brick mould. Enlil brought order in his rebellious and hostile lands for the shepherd Ur-Namma, and made Sumer flourish in joy, in days filled with prosperity. The foundations were laid down firmly and the holy foundation pegs were driven in. The enkum and ninkum priests praised it duly and Enki made the temple rejoice with his artful incantations.

20-30. The shepherd Ur-Namma made the lofty E-kur grow high in Dur-an-ki. He made it to be wondered by the multitude of people. He made glittering the eyebrow-shaped arches of the Lofty Gate, the Great Gate, the Gate of Peace, the Ḫursag-galama and the Gate of Perpetual Grain Supplies, by covering them with refined silver. The Anzud bird runs there and an eagle seizes enemies in its claws. Its doors are lofty; he filled them with joy. The temple is lofty, it is surrounded with fearsome radiance. It is spread wide, it awakes great awesomeness. Within it, he made the Ḫursag-galama, the raised temple, the holy dwelling stand fast for the Great Mountain like a lofty tower.

31-38. In the Gagissua of the great palace, where she renders verdicts with grandeur, he made the great mother Ninlil glad. Enlil and Ninlil relished it there. In its great dining hall, the trustworthy hero chosen by Nunamnir made them enjoy a magnificent meal: the E-kur was rejoicing. They looked with approval at the shepherd Ur-Namma, and the Great Mountain decreed a great destiny for Ur-Namma for all time, making him the mightiest among his black-headed people.

39. The sa-gida.

40-45. "I am Nunamnir, whose firm commands and decisions are immutable! You have made my lofty E-kur shine gloriously, you have raised it high with a brilliant crenellation. Trustworthy hero, you have made it shine gloriously in the Land. Ur-Namma, mighty lord, may your kingship be unparalleled, may your fame spread to heaven's borders, as far as the foot of the mountains!"

46-51. "I am the Great Mountain, Father Enlil, whose firm commands and decisions are immutable! You have made my lofty E-kur shine gloriously, you have raised it high with a brilliant crenellation. Trustworthy hero, you have made it shine gloriously in the Land. Ur-Namma, mighty lord, may your kingship be unparalleled, may your fame spread to heaven's borders, as far as the foot of the mountains!"

52-57. Lord Nunamnir gave to my king the lofty mace which heaps up human heads like piles of dust in the hostile foreign countries and smashes the rebellious lands; he gave to the shepherd Ur-Namma the lofty mace which heaps up human heads like piles of dust in the hostile foreign countries and smashes the rebellious lands, so now he beats down the foreign lands and tramples them underfoot. Lord Nunamnir gave it to the shepherd Ur-Namma, so now he beats down the foreign lands and tramples them underfoot.

58-65. He destroys the cities of the wicked, and with heavy oppression he turns them into haunted places. The shepherd Ur-Namma destroys the cities of the wicked, and with heavy oppression he turns them into haunted places. He has a terrible fame in the houses of the rebellious lands, his storming …… the wicked. The shepherd Ur-Namma has a terrible fame in the houses of the rebellious lands, his storming …… the wicked.

66-71. He has made the royal dais stand firmly, he has made Urim resplendent. The shepherd Ur-Namma has made it exude awesomeness, and he, as king of the Land, has lifted his head high there. All this was granted to him in the place of his king, Enlil: a fate was decreed and then it was duly fulfilled. There is now joy and abundance in Urim because of Ur-Namma.

72. The sa-gara.

73. A tigi of Enlil.

A PRAISE POEM OF UR-NAMMA
(Ur-Namma C)
Translation: ETCSL: t.2.4.1.3

1-16. City of the finest divine powers, lofty royal throne-dais! Shrine Urim, pre-eminent in Sumer, built in a pure place! City, your well-founded great wall has grown out of the abzu! City, beautiful as the sky, endowed with beauty, colourfully decorated in a great place! Shrine Urim, well-founded gipar, dwelling of An and Enlil! Your lofty palace is the E-kis-nu-gal, in which the fates are determined! Your pilasters heavy with radiance tower over all the countries! Its terrace like a white cloud is a spectacle in the midst of heaven. Its …… like flashing lightning shines inside a shrine. Like a single bull under the yoke, ……. Suen's beloved pure table; E-kis-nu-gal, Suen's beloved pure table. The king, ornament of the royal offering place, occupies the august courtyard; Ur-Namma the exalted, whom no one dare oppose, ……. Urim, the wide city …….

[1 line unclear]

17-30. ……, the authoritative, praised himself exultantly: Under Ur-Namma, king of Urim, for whom a favorable destiny was determined, the roads have been made passable. An opens his holy mouth, and because of me rain is produced. He directs it downward into the earth, and abundance is brought for me. Enlil treats me kindly, ……. Enki treats me kindly, bestowing early floods, grain and dappled barley. Nintur formed me; I am peerless. …… brought me up well; I am the king of the Land. I am ……; under my rule the cattle-pens and sheepfolds are extended wide. Utu endowed me with eloquence; my judgments create concord in Sumer and Akkad. Ningublaga has given me strength. In the whole extent of heaven and earth, no one can escape from a battle with me.

31-42. I am Ur-Namma, king of Urim, the protecting genius of my city. I strike against those guilty of capital offences, and make them tremble. The fear I cause ……. My judgments make Sumer and Akkad follow a single path. I place my foot on the necks of thieves and criminals. I clamp down on evildoers, who will be caught like snakes. I …… fugitives, and their intentions will be set right. I make justice apparent; I defeat wickedness. As if I were fire, even my frowning is enough to create concord. My word ……. …… the lands, the foreign countries …… Urim ……. Their food offerings make Nanna rejoice in E-kis-nu-gal.

43-49. After my seed had been poured into the holy womb, Suen, loving its appearance, made it partake of Nanna's attractiveness. Coming forth over the Land like Utu, Enlil called me by an auspicious name, and Nintur assisted at my birth. As I came forth from the womb of my mother Ninsumun, a favorable allotted destiny was determined for me.

50-56. In me, Ur-Namma, the lands of Sumer and Akkad have their protecting genius. I am a source of joy for the Land; my life indeed creates! ……, the fields are resplendent (?) under my rule. In the fields growing with ……, …… did not multiply under my rule. In the desert, the roads are made up as for a festival, and are passable because of me. The owner of the fields ……; it rises up to his chest. I have freed the sons of the poor from their duty of going to fetch firewood.

57-69. After the storm ……, and the month had been completed for me, Enlil chose me by extispicy on a day very auspicious for him. He spoke fairly to Sumer, and caused me to arise from my family. Because of my broad understanding and wisdom, An the king entrusted …… into my hands. I am the cosmic bond of Sumer. I am …… good ……. I am ……. I am …… of the Land.

[3 lines fragmentary] I, the lord, …….

70-78. I, Ur-Namma, born on high, …… shining. The people line up in front of me. Enlil has given me the task of keeping the Land secure, with unscathed troops. I am clad in linen in the gipar. I lie down on the splendid bed in its delightful bedchamber. I cause the people to eat splendid food; I am their Enkimdu (i.e. the god of irrigation and cultivation) . I am the good shepherd whose sheep multiply greatly. I open the …… of the cattle-pens and sheepfolds. I am peerless. …… the pastures and watering-places of shepherds.

79-85. Since I have been adorned with their rulership, no one imposes taxes on my abundant crops which grow tall. My commands bring about joy in the great fortresses of the mountains. The joy of my city and the territory of Sumer delights me. I release water into the canals of Sumer, making the trees grow tall on their banks. I have lifted the yoke of its male prostitutes.

[1 line unclear]

86-100. I returned …… to Urim. I made …… return to his country …… like ……. I loaded its grain on barges, I delivered it to its storehouses. I returned its …… citizens to their homes. I …… their earth-baskets. I …… the savage hands of the Gutians, the ……. After I had made the evil-doers return to their ……, I restored the walls that had been torn down; my outstanding mind ……. …… the shrine of Urim ……. I am the foremost workman of Enlil; I am the one who …… food offerings.

7 lines fragmentary or missing

101-110. …… at a banquet with me in the city. …… joyful dance ……. I have brought abundance to Enlil's temple on the king's canal: I have directed ships both to Kar-gestina of Enlil and to the lapis-lazuli quay of Nanna. Alcohol and syrup have been poured out before Enlil. To me, the shepherd Ur-Namma, let life be given as a reward! For Nanna, my master, I have built his temple; as if it were a verdant hillside, I have set up the E-kis-nu-gal in a great place. I have surrounded its terrace with a gold and lapis-lazuli fence.

111-115. I am the creature of Nanna! I am the older brother of Gilgames! I am the son borne by Ninsumun, a princely seed! For me, kingship came down from heaven! Sweet is the praise of me, the shepherd Ur-Namma!

UR-NAMMA THE CANAL-DIGGER
(Ur-Namma D)
Translation: ETCSL: t.2.4.1.4

A version from Nibru (Nippur)

1-5. Who will dig it? Who will dig it? Who will dig the Asila-kug canal? Who will dig the Pabi-luh canal? …… Ur-Namma will dig it. …… will dig it.

6-14. ……, …… Asimbabbar you are on your …… because of Enlil. The watercourse of …… is full of fish, and the air above is full of birds. The fresh water of …… is full of fish, the air above is full of birds. …… honey-plants are planted, and the carp grow fat. …… honey-plants are planted, and the carp grow fat. The gizi reed of …… is so sweet that the fish eat them. The gizi reed of …… is so sweet that the fish eat them. Since my …… was founded, it is teeming with fish and birds. Since …… was founded, it is teeming with fish and birds.

15-16. Its …… is the master of Eridug -- your provider (Ur-Namma) is exultant. Nudimmud, the master of Eridug -- your provider is exultant.

17-18. May the fresh water bring ……; may they be carried in baskets to me. May the fresh water bring ……; may they be carried in baskets to me.

A version of unknown provenance

1-5. Who will dig it? Who will dig it? Who will dig the canal? Who will dig the Kese-kug canal? Who will dig the canal? Who will dig the Pabi-luh canal? Who will dig the canal? Wealthy Ur-Namma will dig it. The trustworthy, prosperous youth will dig it.

6-20. My king, Lord Asimbabbar, you are on your throne because of Enlil. Youthful Suen, Lord Asimbabbar, you are on your throne because of Enlil. I, the king, whose fate was already decreed in the true womb, who raises his head in authority, Ur-Namma, the youth who caught the eyes of the Great Mountain Enlil, was chosen by Nunamnir in Sumer and Akkad. He decreed my fate in Nibru, in the mountain of life. He beamed at me approvingly and bestowed the kingship on me. In Urim, in the E-mud-kura, he made the foundation of my throne firm. He …… the holy sceptre to guide the numerous people in my hand. He …… the staff and the shepherd's crook to …… the expanding and teeming people. Lord Asimbabbar …… a long-lasting life. Enlil …… of the four quarters of the world. He …… a lasting name, a name worthy to be praised. Enki presented me with my broad wisdom.

21-33. In my city I dug a canal of abundance and named it the Kese-kug canal; in Urim, I dug a canal of abundance and named it the Kese-kug canal. I named it the Pabi-luh canal, a lasting name worthy to be praised. The watercourse of my city is full of fish, and the air above it is full of birds. The watercourse of Urim is full of fish, and the air above it is full of birds. In my city honey-plants are planted, and the carp grow fat. In Urim honey-plants are planted, and the carp grow fat. The gizi reed of my city is so sweet that the cows eat them. The gizi reed of Urim is so sweet that the cows eat them. Since my ……, it is teeming with fish and birds. In Urim ……. May the watercourse bring them (the fish) into my canal, may they be carried in baskets to him. May the watercourse bring them into Urim, into my canal, may they be carried in baskets to him.

34-35. Its king is the master of Eridug -- your provider (Ur-Namma) is exultant. Nudimmud, the master of Eridug -- your provider is exultant.

36-39. King of the four quarters, you who make Enlil content, Ur-Namma, provider of Nibru, supporter of Urim,

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with you the people pass the time joyously at moonlight over the Land of Urim.

40. Ur-Namma, king of Urim, sweet is your praise!

A version from Urim

1-10. [unknown no. of lines missing / 1 line fragmentary] Who will dig it? Who will dig the …… canal? Who will dig the canal? Who will dig the Gisala-gara canal? Who will dig the canal? Wealthy Ur-Namma will dig it. Who will dig the canal? Prosperous Shulgi will dig it. Who will dig the canal?

11-28. I, the king, whose fate was already decreed in the true womb, who raises his head in authority, Ur-Namma, the youth who caught the eyes of the Great Mountain Enlil, was chosen by Nunamnir in Sumer and Akkad. He decreed my fate in Nibru, in the mountain of life. In Urim, in the E-mud-kura, he made the foundation of my throne firm. He placed the awesome crown, the adornment of kingship, on my head. He put the holy staff to guide the numerous people in my hand. He …… the staff, the shepherd's crook into my hand, and the nose-rope to lead the living. He …… the amazing house …….

[2 lines fragmentary / 1 line missing] …… strengthened the roots of E-kis-nu-gal, ……, E-temen-ni-guru, a delightful residence.

[1 line unclear] …… standing in silver …….

29-36. ……, and I named it the Kese-kug canal. I named it the Pabi-luh canal, a lasting name worthy to be praised. The watercourse of my city is full of fish, and the air above it is full of birds. The city of the Kese-kug canal is full of fish, and the air above it is full of birds. The watercourse of the Pabi-luh canal is full of fish, and the air above it is full of birds. Its abundance brings fish and birds for me to the E-kis-nu-gal. Its banks are lush with licorice, a honey-sweet plant to eat. Its arable tracts grow fine grain sprouting abundantly like a forest.

37-39. King of the four quarters, favourite of Enlil, shepherd Ur-Namma, the provider of Sumer and Akkad, beloved of Enlil, it is you who makes …… of Urim pass the time joyously …….

40. Ur-Namma, king of eternal fame, sweet is your praise!

A SHIR-NAMSHUB TO NANNA FOR UR-NAMMA

(Ur-Namma E)
Translation: ETCSL: t.2.4.1.5

[approx. 6 lines missing]

1-8. Those who leave through your gate are an uncontrollable flood. Shrine Urim, your interior is a mountain of abundance, your exterior a hill of plenty. No one can learn the interior of the E-kis-nu-gal, the artfully fashioned mountain. Your place of marvel is …… of cedar, your name makes the Land rejoice. Your lord is the one called as the beautiful lord, the child of Ninsumun, the ornament of all the lands. Urim, your great divine power is the gods's shackle on the Land. Your name be praised indeed!

9-12. Your gate is the blue sky imbued with fearsomeness; only when it is open does Utu illuminate from the horizon. Your platform is where the fates are determined by the gods; you make just decisions. Your name be praised indeed!

13-19. In your interior, the evildoer dare not lay hold of the holy statutes. E-kis-nu-gal, the evil-doer cannot even come to know your interior, which is a dragon. House, your terrace …… Enlil …… your offerings. At your Dubla-mah, the place where the fates are determined, the great gods determine the fates. Worthy of the E-temen-ni-guru, born ……, your name be praised indeed!

20-24. The beautiful lord …… the true shepherd Ur-Namma, …… Urim ……. The silent house …… like Utu. Your name be praised indeed! Ur-Namma ……, adorned with a lapis lazuli beard …….

25-34. In his pure heart Asimbabbar has chosen Ur-Namma, the king endowed with allure, the radiance covering the nation. Wickedness cannot pass unnoticed before his eyes. Ur-Namma has accomplished an achievement, justice! The king, who knows the spreading branches, Ur-Namma acts as constable. The eloquent one of the lord, who knows the spreading branches, Ur-Namma acts as constable. The king, Ur-Namma, refreshes himself at the house of Suen.

35-40. She has determined a fate for the king, for the Tigris and the Euphrates and for Ur-Namma. Its lady, the lady of possessions, the lady of ……, has determined a fate for Ur-Namma. The woman of the princely seed has treated him kindly. Ur-Namma …….

A SHIR-NAMSHUB TO NANNA FOR UR-NAMMA

(Ur-Namma F)
Translation: ETCSL: t.2.4.1.6

1-6. Imbued with allure from the shining rooftops, Urim, your foundation rests on abundance. City, your lord rides high in joy, Ur-Namma rides high indeed; the one adorned with a lapis-lazuli beard rides high indeed! He is the tallest among all the lords, appearing as the noblest among them.

7-12. Those who leave through your gate are an uncontrollable flood. Shrine Urim, your interior is a mountain of abundance, your exterior a hill of plenty. No one can learn the interior of the E-kis-nu-gal, the artfully fashioned hill. Your temple is a shimmering mountain; your very name is merciful. Your lord is the one called as the beautiful lord, the child of Ninsumun, the ornament of all the lands.

13-17. House, your great divine power is the shackle of the gods put on the Land. Your gate is named by your god, the beautiful god; only when it is is open does Utu illuminate from the horizon. Your platform, the place where the fates are determined by the gods, in order to make just decisions, is where the Anuna, the gods of heaven and earth, take counsel.

18-24. Your …… makes the faithful woman joyous, the father proud. In your interior the evildoer dare not lay hold of the holy statutes. House whose offerings of the temple terrace devastate the rebel lands. At your Dubla-mah, the place where the fates are determined, the great gods determine the fates. Suen chose Sumer and Akkad, the black-headed people, and Ur-Namma in his heart.

25-35. Let me give praise to the king endowed with allure, the radiance covering the nation, Lord Ur-Namma! In his heart Asimbabbar has chosen Ur-Namma, Ur-Namma who is endowed with allure, the radiance covering the nation, placing thereby a shackle on all the lands and blocking the way with a strong bolt. The king is worthy of Suen! Wickedness cannot pass unnoticed before his eyes. Ur-Namma has accomplished an achievement, justice! He fills the wicked land with his battle-cry. The rebellious land is overthrown, Ur-Namma acts as the constable.

36-44. She has determined a fate for the king and the temple of Suen, for the Tigris and the Euphrates and for Ur-Namma. As the sun rises from the horizon, may the population multiply! May he pass the …… of Ninsumun! …… admiration. Its lady, the lady who loves possessions, who loves him, has determined a fate for Ur-Namma; Ningal, its lady, the lady who loves possessions, the woman of princely seed, has determined a fate for Ur-Namma.

45-51. The shepherd Ur-Namma is elevated; in the house of Suen, he is the one adorned with a lapis lazuli beard. May he pass ……! …… is good, is sweet in its luxuriance. Like Ninlil who gives birth in a storm, child of Ninsumun, she has given birth to you. May holy An sit with the shepherd! …… with the shepherd Ur-Namma.

52. A sir-namsub of Nanna.

THE VICTORY OF UTU-HEGAL

Translation: ETCSL: t.2.1.6

1-12. Enlil, the king of all the lands, entrusted Utu-hegal, the mighty man, the king of Unug, the king of the four quarters, the king whose orders cannot be countermanded, with wiping out the name of Gutium, the fanged snake of the mountains, who acted with violence against the gods, who carried off the kingship of Sumer to foreign lands, who filled Sumer with wickedness, who took away spouses from the married and took away children from parents, who made wickedness and violence normal in the Land.

13-16. He went to his lady, Inana, and prayed to her: "My lady, lioness in the battle, who butts the foreign lands, Enlil has entrusted me with bringing back the kingship to Sumer. May you be my help!"

17-23. The enemy troops established themselves everywere. Tirigan, the king of Gutium …… the mouths of the channels. Nobody came out of his city to face him; he already occupied both banks of the Tigris. In the south, in Sumer, he blocked the water from the fields, in the uplands he closed off the roads. Because of him the grass grew high on the highways of the land.

24-34. But the king, endowed with power by Enlil, chosen by Inana with her [(1 ms. adds:) holy] heart -- Utu-hegal, the mighty man, came out from Unug to face him and set up camp at the temple of Iskur. He addressed a speech to the citizens of his city: "Enlil has given Gutium to me and my lady Inana will be my help! Dumuzid-ama-usumgal-ana has declared "It is a matter for me!" and assigned Gilgames, the son of Ninsumun, to me as a constable!" The citizens of Unug and Kulaba rejoiced and followed him with one accord. He lined up his élite troops.

35-39. After departing from the temple of Iskur, on the fourth day he set up camp in Nagsu on the Surungal canal, and on the fifth day he set up camp at the shrine at Ili-tappê. He captured Ur-Ninazu and Nabi-Enlil, generals of Tirigan sent as envoys to Sumer, and put them in handcuffs.

40-50. After departing from the shrine at Ili-tappê, on the sixth day he set up camp at Karkara. He went to Iskur and prayed to him: "O Iskur, Enlil has provided me with weapons, may you be my help!" In the middle of that night, …… he departed and above Adab he went to the rising Utu and prayed to him: "O Utu, Enlil has given Gutium to me, may you be my help!" He laid a trap there behind the Gutian. Utu-hegal, the mighty man, defeated their generals.

51-62. Then Tirigan the king of Gutium ran away alone on foot. He thought himself safe in Dabrum, where he fled to save his life; but since the people of Dabrum knew that Utu-hegal was a king endowed with power by Enlil, they did not let Tirigan go, and an envoy of Utu-hegal arrested Tirigan together with his wife and children in Dabrum. He put handcuffs and a blindfold on him. Before Utu, Utu-hegal made him lie at his feet and placed his foot on his neck. He made Gutium, the fanged snake of the mountains drink again from the crevices, he ……, he …… and he …… boat. He brought back the kingship of Sumer.

THE SHULGI CYCLE

(The (hi)story of Ur-Nammu and his wise and wealthy son Shulgi reminds us a bit of Solomon (Hebrew: Shlomoh also called Jedidiah or Yedidyah; reign c. 970–931 BC), who was a fabulously wealthy and wise king of the United Kingdom of Israel who succeeded his father, King David (reign: c. 1010–970 BC).

Connexion with the Hebrew Bible

A thousand years earlier, Ur-Nammu and Shulgi of Ur were the first and second kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur. One of the first achievements of Ur-Nammu was that he kicked the Akkadian Goliath out of Ur and its region. With that, he established a Sumerian Renaissance which his son Shulgi continued with an iron fist but also with sensible reforms. According to the Hebrew Bible, Ur was the hometown of Abraham. Shulgi reigned there for 48 years (c. 2030–1982 BC) and his accomplishments include the completion of construction of the Great Ziggurat of Ur, begun by his father Ur-Nammu (reigned c. 2048–2030 BC). On his inscriptions, he took the titles "King of Ur", "King of Sumer and Akkad" and "King of the four corners of the universe".

Shulgi's Name

Uncertainties about interpreting of cuneiform before the end of the 19th century led scholars to use the name "Dungi" for him. Cause of this trouble was a cuneiform character distinctively shaped as 8-pointed star. Shulgi used the symbol before his name, which was in Sumerian spoken like Digir or Tingir and it means "God." This 8-pointed star was not fully pronounced but simply spoken as "d," as in "dInanna," meaning "the Goddess Inanna," which led to Shulgi's faulty pronunciation as "dungi" in the first place. This 8-pointed star became the common word for God and was most certainly also known by the Canaanites, Phoenicians, and Hebrews around the tribe of Abraham whose hometown was Ur.

The Cuneiform Star

In the end, it might turn out that this star was the only cuneiform symbol used internationally and therefore appeared on all sorts of coins since then in the Mediterranean. As such, it might well have become the trigger for the Star Prophecy in the Tanakh, the Hebrew Bible. The Star Prophecy was a Messianic text used by Jewish Zealots and early Christians. It is found in Numbers 24:17: "I shall see him, but not now: I shall behold him, but not nigh: there shall come a Star out of Jacob, and a Sceptre shall rise out of Israel, and shall smite the corners of Moab, and destroy all the children of Sheth." The Star as symbol of Messiah, a messianic leader sent from God, represents God.

Armed conflicts

While Der had been one of the cities whose temple affairs Shulgi had directed in the first part of his reign, in his 20th year he claimed that the gods had decided that it now be destroyed, apparently as some punishment. The inscriptions state that he "put its field accounts in order" with the pick-axe. His 18th year-name was Year Liwir-mitashu, the king's daughter, was elevated to the ladyship in Marhashi, referring to a (not identified) country east of Elam and her dynastic marriage to its king, Libanukshabash. Following this, Shulgi engaged in a period of expansionism at the expense of highlanders such as the Lullubi, and destroyed Simurrum (another mountain tribe) and Lulubum nine times between the 26th and 45th years of his reign. In his 30th year, his daughter was married to the governor of Anshan; in his 34th year, he was already levying a punitive campaign against the place. He also destroyed Kimash and Humurtu (cities to the east of Ur, somewhere in Elam) in the 45th year of his reign. Shulgi was never able to rule any of these distant peoples; at one point, in his 37th year, he was obliged to build a large wall in an attempt to keep them out. However, probably with the help of his daughter, Shulgi was probably one of the earliest Sumerians to establish trade relationships with the Indus Valley Civilisation of Harappa in the Northwest of ancient India as the discoveries of carnelian beads tell us.

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Personal Glorification

Shulgi apparently led a major modernisation of the Third Dynasty of Ur. He improved communications, reorganised the army, reformed the writing system and weight and measures, unified the tax system and created a strong bureaucracy. He also promulgated the law code known as the Code of Ur-Nammu after his father. Shulgi is best known for his extensive revision of the scribal school's curriculum. Although it is unclear how much he actually wrote, there are numerous praise poems written by and directed towards this ruler. He proclaimed himself a god in his 23rd regnal year. King Shulgi wrote quite a lot of "self-praising hymns" in which he appears to be boasting about almost everything he did. In reality those texts were less about boasting but had more to do with intelligent propaganda, pretty much like The Gallic War or the Civil War in which Gaius Julius Caesar appeared to be boasting about almost everything he did, Today, they are still bestsellers. Shulgi's hymns of self-praise might well have represented annual propaganda bulletins published to be read by his people. And just like Caesars propaganda writings, Shulgi's texts are the witness of an extraordinary mind.)

SHULGI ON RIGHTEOUSNESS, WAR AND PURIFICATION

A praise poem of Shulgi (Shulgi A)
Translation: 2.4.2.01

1-6. I, the king, was a hero already in the womb; I, Shulgi, was born to be a mighty man. I am a fierce-looking lion, begotten by a dragon. I am the king of the four regions; I am the herdsman and shepherd of the black-headed people (the Sumerians). I am a respected one, the god of all the lands.

7-15. I am a child born of Ninsun. I am the choice of holy An's heart. I am the man whose fate was decided by Enlil. I am Shulgi, the beloved of Ninlil. I am he who is cherished by Nintud. I am he who was endowed with wisdom by Enki. I am the powerful king of Nanna. I am the growling lion of Utu. I am Shulgi, who has been chosen by Inana for his attractiveness.

16-18. I am a mule, most suitable for the road. I am a horse, whose tail waves on the highway. I am a stallion of Cakkan, eager to run. (1 ms.: I am a donkey of Cakkan, who loves running.)

19-25. I am a knowledgeable scribe of Nisaba; I have perfected my wisdom just as my heroism and my strength (1 ms. has instead: my distinction). Reliable words can reach me. I cherish righteousness but do not tolerate wickedness. I hate anyone who speaks wickedly.

26-35. Because I am a powerful man who enjoys using his thighs, I, Shulgi, the mighty king, superior to all, strengthened the roads, put in order the highways of the Land. I marked out the double-hour distances, built there lodging houses. I planted gardens by their side and established resting-places (1 ms. has instead: I established gardens and resting-places by their side), and installed in those places experienced men. Whichever direction one comes from, one can refresh oneself at their cool sides; and the traveller who reaches nightfall on the road can seek haven there as in a well-built city.

36-41. So that my name should be established for distant days and never fall into oblivion, so that my praise should be uttered (1 ms.: spread) throughout the Land, and my glory should be proclaimed in the foreign lands, I, the fast runner, summoned my strength and, to prove my speed, my heart prompted me to make a return journey from Nibru to brick-built Urim as if it were only the distance of a double-hour.

42-47. I, the lion, never failing in his vigour, standing firm in his strength, fastened the small nijlam garment firmly to my hips. Like a pigeon anxiously fleeing from a ..... snake, I spread my wings; like the Anzud bird lifting its gaze to the mountains, I stretched forward my legs. The inhabitants of the cities which I had founded in the land, lined up for me; the black-headed people, as numerous as ewes, looked at me with sweet admiration.

48-59. I entered the E-kic-nujal like a mountain kid hurrying to its habitation, when Utu spreads broad daylight over the countryside. I filled with abundance the temple of Suen, a cow-pen which yields plenty of fat. I had oxen slaughtered there; I had sheep offered there lavishly (some mss.: butchered there). I had cem and ala drums resound there and caused tigi drums play there sweetly. (1 ms. has instead the line: I ..... the balaj player.) I, Shulgi, who makes everything abundant, presented food-offerings there and, like a lion, spreading fearsomeness from the royal offering-place, I bent down and bathed in flowing water; I knelt down and feasted in the E-gal-mah of Ninegal.

60-69. Then I arose like an owl, like a falcon to return to Nibru in my vigour. But a storm shrieked, and the west wind whirled around. The north wind and the south wind howled at each other. Lightning together with the seven winds vied with each other in the heavens. Thundering storms made the earth quake, and Ickur roared in the broad heavens. The rains of heaven mingled with the waters of the earth. (1 ms. has instead: The rains of heaven competed with the waters of the earth.) Small and large hailstones drummed on my back.

70-78. I, the king, however, did not fear, nor was I terrified. I rushed forth like a fierce lion. I galloped like an ass in the desert. With my heart full of joy, I ran onward. Trotting like a solitary wild ass, I traversed a distance of fifteen double-hours by the time Utu was to set his face toward his house; my saj-ursaj priests looked at me with admiration. (1 ms. has instead: ..... numerous .....; I prayed in the ..... of Enlil and Ninlil.) I celebrated the ecec festival in both Nibru and Urim on the same day!

79-83. I drank beer in the palace founded by An with my brother and companion, the hero Utu. My singers praised me with songs accompanied by seven tigi drums. My spouse, the maiden Inana, the lady, the joy of heaven and earth, sat with me at the banquet.

84-87. Truly I am not boasting! Wherever I look to, there I go; wherever my heart desires, I reach. (1 ms. adds at least 10 lines: By the life of my father holy Lugalbanda, and Nanna the king of heaven and earth, I swear that the words written on my tablet are .....

[at least 4 lines missing or unclear]

..... since the days of yore, since ....., no king of Sumer as great as I has existed for the people.) An placed a legitimate and lofty (some mss. have: golden) (1 ms. has.: good silver) (1 ms. has.: silver) crown firmly on my head.

88-94In the lustrous E-kur, I seized the holy sceptre and I lifted my head towards heaven on a shining dais, a throne with firm foundation. I consolidated my kingship, subdued the foreign lands, fortified the Land. May my name be proclaimed among the well-guarded people of the four regions! May they praise it in holy hymns about me! May they glorify my majesty, saying:

95-101. "The one provided with lofty royal power; the one given heroism, power and happy life by Suen of the E-kic-nujal; the one endowed with superior strength by Nunamnir; Shulgi, the destroyer of foreign lands, the fortifier of the Land, the purification priest of heaven and earth, who has no rival; Shulgi, who is cared for by the respected child of An!"

102. Nisaba be praised! (1 ms. has instead: Shulgi, be praised by An's respected son!)

SHULGI ON RIGHTEOUSNESS, PURITY, AND STRENGTH

A praise poem of Shulgi (Shulgi B)
Translation: 2.4.2.02

1-10. To make his name famous for all time until distant days, and to transmit to posterity and the days to come the praise poems of his power, the songs of his might, and the lasting fame of his exceptional intelligence, King Shulgi, king of Urim, has brought the songs' latent wisdom before the mighty son of Ninsumun. He praises his own power in song, and lauds his own superior native intelligence:

11-20. I am a king, offspring begotten by a king and borne by a queen. I, Shulgi the noble, have been blessed with a favourable destiny right from the womb. When I was small, I was at the academy, where I learned the scribal art from the tablets of Sumer and Akkad. None of the nobles could write on clay as I could. There where people regularly went for tutelage in the scribal art, I qualified fully in subtraction, addition, reckoning and accounting. The fair Nanibgal, Nisaba, provided me amply with knowledge and comprehension. I am an experienced scribe who does not neglect a thing.

21-38. When I sprang up, muscular as a young lion, galloping like a spirited ass at full gallop, the favour of An brought me joy; to my delight Enlil spoke favourably about me, and they gave me the sceptre because of my righteousness. I place my foot on the neck of the foreign lands; the fame of my weapons is established as far as the south, and my victory is established in the highlands. When I set off for battle and strife to a place that Enlil has commanded me, I go ahead of the main body of my troops and I clear the terrain for my scouts. I have a positive passion for weapons. Not only do I carry lance and spear, I also know how to handle slingstones with a sling. The clay bullets, the treacherous pellets that I shoot, fly around like a violent rainstorm. In my rage I do not let them miss.

39-51. I sow fear and confusion in the foreign land. I look to my brother and friend, youthful Utu, as a source of divine encouragement. I, Shulgi, converse with him whenever he rises over there; he is the god who keeps a good eye on my battles. The youth Utu, beloved in the mountains, is the protective deity of my weapons; by his words I am strengthened and made pugnacious. In those battles, where weapon clashes on weapon, Utu shines on me. Thus I broke the weapons of the highlands over my knees, and in the south placed a yoke on the neck of Elam. I make the populations of the rebel lands -- how could they still resist my weapons? -- scatter like seed-grain over Sumer and Akkad.

52-55. Let me boast of what I have done. The fame of my power is spread far and wide. My wisdom is full of subtlety. Do not my achievements surpass all qualifications?

56-76. I stride forward in majesty, trampling endlessly through the esparto grass and thickets, capturing elephant after elephant, creatures of the plain; and I put an end to the heroic roaring in the plains of the savage lion, dragon of the plains, wherever it approaches from and wherever it is going. I do not go after them with a net, nor do I lie in wait for them in a hide; it comes to a confrontation of strength and weapons. I do not hurl a weapon; when I plunge a bitter-pointed lance in their throats, I do not flinch at their roar. I am not one to retreat to my hiding-place but, as when one warrior kills another warrior, I do everything swiftly on the open plain. In the desert where the paths peter out, I reduce the roar at the lair to silence. In the sheepfold and the cattle-pen, where heads are laid to rest, I put the shepherd tribesmen at ease. Let no one ever at any time say about me, "Could he really subdue them all on his own?" The number of lions that I have dispatched with my weapons is limitless; their total is unknown.

77-80. Let me boast of what I have done. The fame of my power is spread far and wide. My wisdom is full of subtlety. Do not my achievements surpass all qualifications?

81-94. I am Shulgi, god of manliness, the foremost of the troops. When I stretch the bowstring on the bow, when I fit a perfect arrow to it, I shoot the bow's arrow with the full strength of my arms. The great wild bull, the bull of heaven, the wild cow and the bison bellow. As they pass across the foothills of the mountains, I shoot barbed arrows at them with my powerful strength.

[1 line unclear]

As they collapse on the plain, I topple them like old towers. I make their heads plunge to the ground like crushing pestles. For the wild asses I set no snares, dig no pits, shoot no arrows against them. But I race after them as against my own rivals; I do not try to surround them to kill their young, as people kill slim ass foals.

95-113. When a burly wild boar is running across the plain, I pierce its lungs with an arrow. With only one shot of mine I bring it to the ground; no single clansman from my regiments can surpass me in archery. I am a man with sharp eyes. When I lead the ..... of the crack troops, I know best of all how to cast the throwstick, running as quick as light radiating from heaven. What I hit no longer rises from its place.

[1 line unclear]

I can throw an ellag (a weapon) as high in the air as if it is a rag. I can bring down quadrupeds lightning-quick with the sling. I, Shulgi, can catch a goat with a quick pace; nothing checks my power. ..... has been given to me. Wherever I direct my steps, I always achieve something; when I return from the desert, I always bring something more for her -- for Ninsumun, my own mother, I am her son of five things, of ten things (= of everything) .

114-117. Let me boast of what I have done. The fame of my power is spread far and wide. My wisdom is full of subtlety. Do not my achievements surpass all qualifications?

118-130. I, the king, am the Land's most excellent fighter against the enemy. I, Shulgi, am respected for my immense bodily strength. I am mighty; nothing resists me; I know no setbacks. My barges on the river do not sink under me (alludes to a proverb) ; my teams of asses do not collapse under me. Striding forward like my brother and friend, the youth Utu, as if with the legs of a lion, I am the good groom of my dust-making asses that bray like lions roaring. Like that of a stallion, my strength is unwavering during the running-race; I come first in the race, and my knees do not get tired. I am fearless; I dance with joy. My words shall never be forgotten. Praise for me because of my reliable judgements is on everyone's lips.

131-149. I am a ritually pure interpreter of omens. I am the very Nintud (creator deity) of the collections of omens. These words of the gods are of pre-eminent value for the exact performance of hand-washing and purification rites, for eulogy of the en priestess or for her enthronement in the jipar, for the choosing of the lumah and nindijir priests by sacred extispicy, for attacking the south or for defeating the uplands, for the opening of the emblem house, for the washing of lances in the "water of battle" (blood), for the taking of subtle decisions about the rebel lands. After I have determined a sound omen through extispicy from a white lamb and a sheep, water and flour are libated at the place of invocation. Then, as I prepare the sheep with words of prayer, my diviner watches in amazement like an idiot. The prepared sheep is placed at my disposal, and I never confuse a favourable sign with an unfavourable one. I myself have a clear intuition, and I judge by my own eyes. In the insides of just one sheep I, the king, can find the indications for everything and everywhere.

150-153. Let me boast of what I have done. The fame of my power is spread far and wide. My wisdom is full of subtlety. Do not my achievements surpass all qualifications?

154-174. I, Shulgi, king of Urim, have also devoted myself to the art of music. Nothing is too complicated for me; I know the full extent of the tigi and the adab, the perfection of the

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art of music. When I fix the frets on the lute, which enraptures my heart, I never damage its neck; I have devised rules for raising and lowering its intervals. On the gu-uc lyre I know the melodious tuning. I am familiar with the sa-ec and with drumming on its musical soundbox. I can take in my hands the miritum, which ..... I know the finger technique of the aljar and sabitum, royal creations. In the same way I can produce sounds from the urzababitum, the harhar, the zanaru, the ur-gula and the dim-lu-magura. Even if they bring to me, as one might to a skilled musician, a musical instrument that I have not played previously, when I strike it up I make its true sound known; I am able to handle it just like something that has been in my hands before. Tuning, stringing, unstringing and fastening are not beyond my skills. I do not make the reed pipe sound like a rustic pipe, and on my own initiative I can wail a sumunca or make a lament as well as anyone who does it regularly.

175-189. I bestow joy and gladness, and I pass my days in pomp and splendour. But people should consider for themselves -- it is a matter to keep in one's sights -- that at the inescapable end of life, no one will be spared the bitter gall of the land of oppression. But I am one who is powerful enough to trust in his own power. He who trusts in his own exalted name may carry out great things. Why should he do less? Since it was for my true mother Ninsumun that my mother together with her actually bore me to bestow joy and gladness, lovingly she cherished my unborn fruit. She did not endure scandal from anyone's mouth. Before she released her little one, this lady passed her time in my palace in the greatest joy.

190-205. Before Utu son of Ningal, I, Shulgi, declare that in my long life in which I have achieved great things since the day that my kingly destiny was determined, in my life in which everything was richly provided in contentment, I have never lacked anything. Until the distant future may this song bless the name of me, the king, with a life of long days. As I am musical, as I am eloquent, I am a heavenly star of steadfastness. It is an awe-inspiring brow that establishes palaces, just as a peg and a measuring cord are the builders of cities. With the awesomeness that radiates from my forehead, which I make the foreign lands wear like a nose-rope, and the fear-inspiring lustre, my personal weapon, which I impose on the Land like a neck-stock, I am able to root out and undo crime. I have the ability to reconcile great matters with one word.

206-220. When I ..... like a torrent with the roar of a great storm, in the capture of a citadel in Elam ....., I can understand what their spokesman answers. By origin I am a son of Sumer; I am a warrior, a warrior of Sumer. Thirdly, I can conduct a conversation with a man from the black mountains. Fourthly, I can do service as a translator with an Amorite, a man of the mountains ..... I myself can correct his confused words in his own language. Fifthly, when a man of Subir yells ....., I can even distinguish the words in his language, although I am not a fellow-citizen of his. When I provide justice in the legal cases of Sumer, I give answers in all five languages. In my palace no one in conversation switches to another language as quickly as I do.

221-243. When I pronounce a completed verdict, it is heartily welcomed, since I am wise and exalted in kingship. So that my consultative assemblies, sitting together to care for the people, inspire respect in their hearts when the chief herald sounds the horn, they should deliberate and debate; and so that the council should decide policy properly, I have taught my governors to deliberate and to debate. While the words at their dining tables flow like a river, I tackle crime, so that the foundations are securely established for my wide dominions. I vanquish a city with words as weapons, and my wisdom keeps it subjected just as violence with burning torches would. I have taught them the meaning of the words "I have no mother". My words can be words smooth as the finest quality oil; I know how to cool hearts which are hot as fire, and I know how to extinguish a mouth set on fire like a reed-bed. I weigh my words against those of the braggart. I am a man of the very highest standards of value. The importance of the humble is of particular value to me, and they cannot be counter-productive to any of my activities. By command of An and by command of Enlil, prayers are said for the life of the Land and for the life of the foreign lands, and I neither neglect them nor allow them to be interrupted.

244-258. I also know how to serve the gods, and I can cool the hearts of the Anuna gods. I am Shulgi, whose thick neck becomes fat in majesty. Grand achievements that I have accomplished which bring joy to my heart I do not cast negligently aside; therefore I give pride of place to progress. I give no orders concerning the development of waste ground, but devote my energies to extensive building plots. I have planted trees in fields and in agricultural land; I devote my powers to dams, ..., ditches and canals. I try to ensure a surplus of oil and wool. Thanks to my efforts flax and barley are of the highest quality. The thirst and hunger of the gods are a cause of the greatest anxiety to me; I, Shulgi, am the life of Sumer.

259-269. I have no equal among even the most distant rulers, and I can also state that my deeds are great deeds. Everything is achievable by me, the king. Since the time when Enlil gave me the direction of his numerous people in view of my wisdom, my extraordinary power and my justice, in view of my resolute and unforgettable words, and in view of my expertise, comparable to that of Ictaran, in verdicts, my heart has never committed violence against even one other king, be he an Akkadian or a son of Sumer, or even a brute from Gutium.

270-280. I am no fool as regards the knowledge acquired since the time that mankind was, from heaven above, set on its path: when I have discovered tigi and zamzam hymns from past days, old ones from ancient times, I have never declared them to be false, and have never contradicted their contents. I have conserved these antiquities, never abandoning them to oblivion. Wherever the tigi and the zamzam sounded, I have recovered all that knowledge, and I have had those cir-gida songs brilliantly performed in my own good house. So that they should never fall into disuse, I have added them to the singers' repertoire, and thereby I have set the heart of the Land on fire and aflame.

281-296. Whatever is acquired is destined to be lost. What mortal has ever reached the heavens? At some time in the distant future, a man of Enlil may arise, and if he is a just king, like myself, then let my odes, prayers and learned songs about my heroic courage and expeditions follow that king in his good palace. He should take to heart the benefit that has been conferred on him; he should exalt the power of my odes, absorb the exuberance of my songs, and value highly my great wisdom. Just as a strong person can consider on an equal basis even those things which he has not brought about by his own efforts, let him applaud and welcome my achievements. Let him call upon my good name.

297-307. But if his heart devises treason against me, and he commits violence against anything of mine, may Nanna then adjudicate against this rebel, and let Utu the torch catch him. Wherever that king's path may lead, his word shall be wiped out. Until he has completed the days of his life, he shall do everything in his power to keep the hymns in their proper form. Through becoming familiar thereby with me, the king, he will speak of me in awed amazement. Because of my extraordinary wisdom and my ancient fame as a master, he should choose my hymns as examples, and himself beget heavenly writings.

308-319. In the south, in Urim, I caused a House of the Wisdom of Nisaba to spring up in sacrosanct ground for the writing of my hymns; up country in Nibru I established another. May the scribe be on duty there and transcribe with his hand the prayers which I instituted in the E-kur; and may the singer perform, reciting from the text. The academies are never to be altered; the places of learning shall never cease to exist. This and this only is now my accumulated knowledge! The collected words of all the hymns that are in my honour supersede all other formulations. By An, Enlil, Utu and Inana, it is no lie -- it is true!

320-336. Furthermore no one will assert under oath that to this day there is any mention in my inscriptions of a single city that I have not devastated, or wall that I have not demolished, or land that I have not made tremble like a reed hut, or praise that I have not completely verified. Why should a singer put them in hymns? An eminent example deserves eternal fame. What is the use of writing lies without truth? For me, the king, the singer has recorded my exploits in songs about the strength of the protective deity of my power; my songs are unforgettable, and my words shall not fall into oblivion. I am the best king of the Land. From the very first origins until the full flourishing of mankind, there will never be any king who can measure himself against my achievements whom An will let wear his crown or wield his sceptre from a royal throne.

337-353. I am gifted with power, insight and wisdom. The high point of my great deeds is the culling of lions before the lance as if they were garden weeds, the snapping of fierce felines like reeds as if under the carding-comb, and the crushing (?) of their throats under the axe as if they were dogs. Great powerful wild cows, indomitable bulls, cattle on their way to their mountain pastures, which were killed in the plain, were ..... the mountains. That the hills were impenetrable and inaccessible ..... -- those are pure lies. Where, in important words on tablets, my wisdom and my power

[1 line unclear]

He who knows, and does not ..... the truth about me as lies, will applaud and praise me.

354-357. I am a warrior whose might is enormous might. I am Shulgi, whose shadow lies over the mountain lands. I am the king, the weapon and the downfall of rebel lands. Thus I have spread far and wide my everlasting renown.

358-373. Now, I swear by Utu on this very day -- and my younger brothers shall be witnesses of it in foreign lands where the sons of Sumer are not known, where people do not have the use of paved (?) roads, where they have no access to the written word -- that the firstborn son is a fashioner of words, a composer of songs, a composer of words, and that they will recite my songs as heavenly writings, and that they will bow down before my words as a .....

[8 lines fragmentary]

374-385. For that house, I am the right man to step over the threshold. I am the man whose name has been chosen by Nanna. I am the steward of Enlil's temple, the domestic slave of An. I am Shulgi, and my house E-hursaj is the palace of palaces. My royal residence is above all praise; I made it tower up like a lapis-lazuli mountain. Inana, the queen of the gods, the protective deity of my power, has perfected the songs of my might -- the foremost among kings -- in respect of everything in the whole world. It is good to praise me. Praise be to Nisaba.

SHULGI ON CORNELIAN FROM INDIA

A praise poem of Shulgi (Shulgi C)
Translation: 2.4.2.03

(In the lines 21-31, Shulgi makes here an astonishing remark: " As I rose over my city like Utu, suspended in its midst, I filled the E-temen-ni-guru (The Great Ziggurat of Ur, the central temple that had shape of a large step-pyramid), founded with divine powers, with princely cornelian (cornalyn). I touched it and made it perfect with royal hand-washing rituals. I cleansed myself in water of purification from Eridug (Eridu)." Astonishing is that passage because Shulgi says with it that he has trade relations with India. Carnelian (also spelled cornelian, meaning cornalyn) is a brownish-red mineral commonly used as a semi-precious gemstone found not in Mesopotamia or nearby but in far-away locations like India, Indonesia, Germany, Russia (Siberia), and Brazil. When polished, it feels like ivory or Amber. Similar to carnelian is sard, which is generally harder and darker. The difference is not rigidly defined, and the two names are often used interchangeably. Both, carnelian and sard, are varieties of the silica mineral chalcedony coloured by impurities of iron oxide. The colour can vary greatly, ranging from pale orange to an intense almost-black colour tone. This attractive, semi-transparent material was used to make beads, a kind of pearls. The beads had all sorts of shapes: balls, rings, cylinders, or sticks; some had inscriptions etched (engraved by strong acid or mordant) on their surface or little patterns. They usually were put together to necklaces or things alike.*

Etched carnelian beads from the Indus were found in the tombs of the Royal Cemetery of Ur, dating to 2600–2450 BC. They are an important marker of Indus–Mesopotamia relations in ancient times. The Neo-Sumerian ruler Gudea (circa 2100 BC), in his Gudea cylinders (cylinder B 14), mentioned his procurement of "blocks of lapis lazuli and bright carnelian from Meluhha." [Moorey, Peter Roger Stuart (1999). Ancient Mesopotamian Materials and Industries: The Archaeological Evidence. Eisenbrauns. p. 87.] Meluhha is generally identified with the Indus region [MS 2814 - The Schoyen Collection".]. It is thought that these carnelian beads were considered as an important status symbol in Sumerian society [Art of the first cities: the third millennium B.C. from the Mediterranean to the Indus. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. 2003. pp. 395–396.].

King Shulgi (c. 2094–2047 BC) is known to have made dedications at Susa (Elam in Persia), as foundation nails with his name, dedicated to god Inshushinak have been found there [Potts, Daniel T., The Archaeology of Elam: Formation and Transformation of an Ancient Iranian State, Cambridge University Press 1999, p. 14.]. One of the votive foundation nails reads: "The god 'Lord of Susa,' his king, Shulgi, the mighty male, king of Ur, king of Sumer and Akkad, the..., his beloved temple, built." [CDLI-Found Texts Louvre Museum Sb 2881". cdli.ucla.edu.]. An etched carnelian bead, now located in the Louvre Museum (Sb 6627) and inscribed with a dedication by Shulgi was also found in Susa, the inscription reading: "Ningal, his mother, Shulgi, god of his land, King of Ur, King of the four world quarters, for his life dedicated (this)".[Site officiel du musée du Louvre". cartelfr.louvre.fr.]

The British Museum also has such a carnelian bead and calls it "cylinder seal / bead." It has the shape of a 7 cm long stick made in Harappan style, provenance unknown. Bearing a cuneiform commemorative inscription of Shulgi, dedicating the bead to the goddess Ninlil: "To Ninlil, his Lady, Shulgi, mighty man, king of Ur, king of the lands of Sumer and Akkad, dedicated (this bead) for his (own) life". British Museum, BM 129493. Its Inscription says: "To Ninlil, his lady, Shulgi, mighty man, King of Ur, King of Sumer and Akkad, has dedicated (this stone) for the sake of his life." (RIME 3/2, p. 161-162) This type of carnelian bead was probably imported from India [Art of the First Cities: The Third Millennium B.C. from the Mediterranean to the Indus. Metropolitan Museum of Art. 2003. p. 243. ISBN 978-1-58839-043-1.]

Etched carnelian beads were manufactured by the Indus Valley civilisation in 3rd-millennium-BC Northwest of India. They were made with an alkaline-etching technique developed by the Harappans. Vast quantities of these beads were found in the archaeological sites of the Indus Valley civilisation [F. A. Khan, Pakistan Archaeology, No. 2, 1965; p. 21]. They are considered as an important marker of ancient trade between the Indus Valley, Mesopotamia and even Ancient

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Egypt, as these precious and unique manufactured items circulated in great numbers between these geographical areas during the 3rd millennium BC, and have been found in numerous tomb deposits.)

SEGMENT A

1-17. I am the king, a wild bull of acknowledged strength, a lion with wide-open jaws! I am Shulgi, a wild bull of acknowledged strength, a lion with wide-open jaws! I am a great storm let loose from heaven, sending its splendour far and wide! I am good stock, with brindled body, engendered by a breed-bull! I am a king born from a cow, resting amid butter and milk! I am the calf of a thick-necked white cow, reared in the cow-pen! Dressed in a ..... royal robe and holding out a sceptre, I am perfect for ..... I am also the good shepherd who takes joy in justice, the scourge and stick of all evil! Strength of lions, hero of battle -- I have no rivals! Handsome of limb, ferocious lion, I am perfection in warfare! Grasping a lapis-lazuli mace and a battle-axe, with long fingers I sharpen a tin knife to untie knots. In the turbulent affray of battle, in the conflict, I shoot out my tongue, a muchuc darting out its tongue at the foreign lands, a dragon raging at men.

18-20. I am a hero! Let them appropriately acknowledge my fame! I am a shepherd! Let them repeatedly bless me in prayer according to the heavenly stars! Let them tell in song a perfect recital of all my praiseworthy deeds!

21-31. Since I first arose in human form, a bull-calf born in a year of plenty and announced at a time of prosperity, nourished on good milk, my head was refulgent with the crown. As I rose over my city like Utu, suspended in its midst, I filled the E-temen-ni-guru (the Ziggurat or Ur), founded with divine powers, with princely cornelian (cornalyn)*. I touched it and made it perfect with royal hand-washing rituals. I cleansed myself in water of purification from Eridug (Eridu). Its seven wisdoms attended upon me, and they were not negligent of me, the radiant heart dressed in a robe.

32-34. I am a hero! Let them appropriately acknowledge my fame! I am a shepherd! Let them repeatedly bless me in prayer according to the heavenly stars! Let them tell in song a perfect recital of all my praiseworthy deeds!

35-49. In the house of wise knowledge of the Land, I, Shulgi, king of Sumer, set a good example. My hand guides the holy reed stylus correctly.

[4 lines unclear]

..... the fields in the holy ..... and the holy agricultural land with a lapis-lazuli measuring line, bringing in plentiful harvests, ... top-quality flax, top-quality barley. I am greatly expert in assigning work with the pickaxe and the brick-mould, in drawing plans, in laying foundations, and in writing cuneiform inscriptions on pedestals; I can make things absolutely clear on tablets of lapis lazuli. I also have a solidly based knowledge of the intelligent implementation of the counting, accounting and planning of the Land.

50-52. I am a hero! Let them appropriately acknowledge my fame! I am a shepherd! Let them repeatedly bless me in prayer according to the heavenly stars! Let them tell in song a perfect recital of all my praiseworthy deeds!

53-75. I am fair of mouth with well-formed lips. My heart .....

[1 line fragmentary]

I also have a solidly based knowledge of ..... In my assembly where grand deliberation takes place, where the black-headed are gathered together, a minister ..... message from the foreign lands. Eloquent in the assembly and refined, he

[2 lines fragmentary]

He roared like a bull.

[12 lines missing or fragmentary]

76-81. I am a shepherd who, apart from being one who always makes the right decisions on what he has sworn, is also fully able to re-establish ..... in the Land and to ..... forcefully the house of the rebel lands; who grasps hold of the righteous as if they were great bulls, and who darts out his tongue at the wicked like a ..... snake. I never frighten the just, and I never ..... the evil.

82-84. I am a hero! Let them appropriately acknowledge my fame! I am a shepherd! Let them repeatedly bless me in prayer according to the heavenly stars! Let them tell in song a perfect recital of all my praiseworthy deeds!

85-111. I am the leader living in Sumer! I am engaged in carrying out the planning! When I stand against the cities and territories of the hostile rebel lands, my battle is a hurricane that cannot be overwhelmed. When I surround their contingents from the south and cut the people off,

[1 line fragmentary]

In the great palace, where I take decisions, when I ..... a pure lamb, on the right ..... favourable ....., as I ..... on my great throne. In my well-established dwelling, I can tell whether to strike with weapons or not to strike with weapons. Since from birth I am also a Nintud (creator deity) , wise in all matters, I can recognise the omens of that extispicy in a pure place. I keep a look-out that ..... I am a lord ....., as I range about in my anger. I also have a solidly based knowledge of ..... My vision enables me to be the dream-interpreter of the Land; my heart enables me to be the Ictaran (god of justice) of the foreign lands. I am Shulgi, good shepherd of Sumer. Like my brother and friend Gilgamesh, I can recognise the virtuous and I can recognise the wicked. The virtuous gets justice in my presence, and the wicked and evil person will be carried off by ..... Who like me is able to interpret what is spoken in the heart or is articulated on the tongue?

112-114. I am a hero! Let them appropriately acknowledge my fame! I am a shepherd! Let them repeatedly bless me in prayer according to the heavenly stars! Let them tell in song a perfect recital of all my praiseworthy deeds!

115-142. Since I am also wise and highly intelligent,

[5 lines fragmentary]

Also I know Amorite as well as I do Sumerian. ..... mountain people walking in the hills ....., they greet me and I reply to them in Amorite. Also I know the Elamite language as well as I do Sumerian. ..... in Elam ....., they greet me and I reply in Elamite.

[4 lines missing or fragmentary]

In wrestling and athletics I am ..... I am the shepherd who with nimbly gripping fingers ..... Who can resist me, on the exercise ground as well as in battle? The greatest heroes of the Land, the notable strong men and athletes from the foreign lands, the ..... of Sumer, the totality of combatants, ... at my wrists.

[1 line unclear]

I am powerful in athletics, and I am strong ..... in wrestling. I am Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer, and no one can equal me!

143-145. I am a hero! Let them appropriately acknowledge my fame! I am a shepherd! Let them repeatedly bless me in prayer according to the heavenly stars! Let them tell in song a perfect recital of all my praiseworthy deeds!

146. I am a runner who is successful in his aspirations.

[unknown no. of lines missing]

SEGMENT B

1-16. Lion, feline .....

[5 lines fragmentary or unclear]

May its glory cover the cities, and its battle-cry smother the foreign lands! May the people be terrified at its roaring, as at a storm in the heavens! I am Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer! May he bring me the muscles of a lion, the sinews of a lion! May he receive my spear!

[3 lines unclear]

The black-headed will look on in amazement, and ..... in my city.

17-19. I am a hero! Let them appropriately acknowledge my fame! I am a shepherd! Let them repeatedly bless me in prayer according to the heavenly stars! Let them tell in song a perfect recital of all my praiseworthy deeds!

20-71. Where I stand, I destroy foreign lands; where I sit, I plunder cities. At my command, ... Where my weapons strike, ...

[7 lines fragmentary or unclear]

Their bricks are dug up from the footings ..... The city which I smash shall not be restored; the houses which I destroy shall be counted as ruin mounds; the walls proudly rising to heaven shall not open .....

[1 line unclear]

..... I have been given great strength.

[1 line fragmentary]

..... arrows of my quiver ..... a flying bird. As if .....; ..... like a wild bull in a meadow. My spear goes straight. My great emblems are raised at the edge of the mountains. When day breaks and Utu comes forth and looks upon the hills, I shall marvel at them.

[2 lines unclear]

..... may they be terrified, and may his troops be frightened.

[1 line fragmentary]

Since I am a king who puts the Land on track,

[4 lines fragmentary] Night falls,

[2 lines unclear]

The rebel lands ..... They are scattered by force, like sheep that have no shepherd.

[7 lines fragmentary or unclear]

May concord be promoted in the Land. May my attack cause them to collapse, like a wild bull going to its resting place.

[1 line unclear]

May the numerous people in their well-established dwelling be avenged.

72-74. I am a hero! Let them appropriately acknowledge my fame! I am a shepherd! Let them repeatedly bless me in prayer according to the heavenly stars! Let them tell in song a perfect recital of all my praiseworthy deeds!

75-101. Since I am also pleasure-loving and a devotee of singing, I can perform tigi, adab and great malgatum compositions. When fixing the frets of the great lutes, I know how to raise and lower them. I am adept enough to play perfectly all the seven instruments. ..... balbale on the flute; ..... their divergent strings; ..... the sa-ec instrument .....

[4 lines missing, fragmentary or unclear]

a performing musician .....

[1 line unclear]

I also have a solidly based knowledge of .... praying in a melodious voice, capering joyfully to the sound of the holy balaj drum

1 line unclear

..... in song, for my sister Jectin-ana, my own mother Ninsumun ..... in wisdom .....

[6 lines missing]

102-110. [4 lines fragmentary] .... in the ..... of Enlil, Ninlil and Nintud, ... Nanna and Ninurta, in the ..... of holy Inana

[2 lines fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT C

1-14. [9 lines fragmentary] To my brother and friend Gilgamesh

[4 lines fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SHULGI ON JUSTICE AND WEALTH

Self-Praise of Shulgi (Shulgi D)
Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology,
University of Pennsylvania, CBS 8289 / CBS 11065
Translation: Jacob Klein, 1981 / ETCSL: 2.4.2.04 1998
Estimated Range of Dating: 2100-2000 B.C.

(Self-praise of Shulgi (Shulgi D) is a Sumerian myth, written on clay tablets dated to between 2100 and 2000 BC. The myth was discovered on the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, catalogue of the Babylonian section (CBS), tablet number 11065 from their excavations at the temple library at Nippur. This was translated by George Aaron Barton in 1918 and first published as "Sumerian religious texts" in "Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions", number three, entitled "Hymn to Dungi" (Dungi was later renamed to Shulgi).

Shulgi was most likely the author of the Code of Ur-Nammu (See: The Grand Bible, The Scriptures of Mesopotamia.) Samuel Noah Kramer, the translator of the Code of Ur-Nammu suggests that Shulgi hymns speaking about the achievements of the king focussed on the two areas of social behaviour and religion. He is both shown to be concerned for social justice, law and equity along with being faithful in his priestly rites and interaction with the gods. He notes "uppermost in their minds was the Ekur, the holy temple of Nippur where virtually every king in the hymnal repertoire brought gifts, offerings, and sacrifices to Enlil."

The tablet is 7 inches (18 cm) by 5.4 inches (14 cm) by 1.6 inches (4.1 cm) at its thickest point. Barton noted that similar hymns were published by Stephen Herbert Langdon and introduced into Sumerian religion at the time of the Third dynasty of Ur onwards. He dates the tablet to the reign of Shulgi, saying "The script of our tablets shows that this copy was made during the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon, but that does not preclude an earlier date for the composition of the original." Further tablets were used by Jacob Klein to expand and translate the myth again in 1981. He used several other tablets from the University Museum in Pennsylvania including CBS 8289. He also included translations from tablets in the Nippur collection of the Museum of the Ancient Orient in Istanbul, catalogue number 4571. He also used Tablet 5379 from the Louvre in Paris.

In the story, Shulgi is praised and compared to all manner of animals and wondrous things such as a tree. His interactions and relationships with a large number of the pantheon of Sumerian gods are described along with victories in foreign lands and description of the royal barge.)

1-13. O my king, great bull with splendid limbs, dragon with a lion's eyes! Shepherd Shulgi, great bull with splendid limbs, dragon with a lion's eyes! Bull-calf born in the cattle-pen of abundance, thriving there! Mighty one fit for heroism, the ornament of his Land! Righteous man, invested with justice by Utu! Fierce leopard who feeds on rich milk, rampant bull who was born to be a great beast! A lapis-lazuli beard, a holy breast -- marvellous to behold! O king, joy of the royal tiara! Shulgi, ornament of the legitimate crown, wearing the pectoral of godhead, named by An with a good name! Good shepherd, endowed with strength by Enlil, Shulgi, the beloved of Ninlil's heart!

14-17. O, my king, who is as mighty as you, and who rivals you? Indeed, who is there who from birth is as richly endowed with understanding as you? May your heroism shine forth, and may your might be respectfully praised!

18-31. You destroy the offspring of ..... You are mighty, ... You are brave, ... When in the E-kur ....., in the hostile foreign lands you plunder cities; like a panting lion, you .....; like a raging lion, you .....; a dragon, you .....;

[2 lines missing]

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You hurl angry words against the people of the foreign lands that are hostile to Nanna. You are adorned with splendid curved horns, like a virile wild bull born to be a great wild bull. You are a chariot, a waggon set on the road. Like a noble ass, by your vigorous running you bring joy to Enlil.

32-35. You are as strong as an ildag tree planted by the side of a watercourse. You are a sweet sight, like a fertile mec tree laden with colourful fruit. You are cherished by Ninegala, like a date palm of holy Dilmun. You have a pleasant shade, like a sappy cedar growing amid the cypresses.

36-39. O, my king, who is as mighty as you, and who rivals you? Indeed, who is there who from birth is as richly endowed with understanding as you? May your heroism shine forth, and may your might be respectfully praised!

40-52. Shepherd Shulgi, when your seed was placed in the holy womb, your mother Ninsun gave birth to you; your personal god, holy Lugalbanda, fashioned you; mother Nintud nurtured you; An named you with a good name; Enlil lifted your head; Ninlil loved you. The princely son of the E-kur ..... The king, the holy barge which traverses the sky, Nanna, the lord ....., Suen .....

[2 lines fragmentary]

53-60. Nudimmud ..... like small trees. He cherished you like an ildag tree ....., like a mec tree or a palm-tree. At that time, ... An ..... wrote a tablet for you and decreed a fate for you. Ninlil's heart was soothed with prayers and supplications. The gods of heaven, with their ready approval, came to heaven, where the fates are decreed. Enlil, the king of all the lands, gave you shepherdship over the Land, in the south and in the highlands.

61-134. O, my king, who is as mighty as you, and who rivals you? Indeed, who is there who from birth is as richly endowed with understanding as you? May your heroism shine forth, and may your might be respectfully praised!

[70 lines missing]

135-149. You hero, after stepping on the ....., you roared at the foreign land hostile to Nanna. Hurl your battle-cry at the ..... that was disobedient to Enlil! My king, ...

approx. 10 lines missing

....., great bull .....

150-176. "I, the king, ... upon the foreign lands a mighty yoke ..... of heroism ....., I subject their people to destruction. After setting my foot on the neck of the foreign lands, I make ..... on the rebel lands. After knocking down ..... like ....., and placing my foot on his head, I make him die amid dripping blood ..... Against their ....., my battle-axe gnashes and gnashes its teeth like a sharp-toothed beast. Against their ....., which are well fitted with ..... axes of meteoric iron and ..... gold ore, like a ..... snake my mouth brings forth venom. I cut off from his strength the strong one who resorts to his strength. My ..... against their warriors as if they were fish. ..... the small net over their runners, I catch them like gazelles in the woods. Having ..... like fire against their fearless runners, I make them fall violently into a prepared trap and net like wild asses. I place ..... on their boastful ones in the battle. My fierce weapons pour forth venom into them like a serpent ready to bite. After tearing out the entrails of its ..... who are still alive, I make the man coiling like an attacking ..... snake sink his head in the dust, like an ailing, neglected bull. I make their little ones who survive eat bitter dust as long as they live, like the locust which consumes everything.

177-189. "I raise my spear against the ....., I set up my emblems at the border of the foreign lands. I fill my quiver, and my bow is stretched, ready to shoot, like a raging serpent. Barbed arrows flash before me like lightning. Like scudding bats, ... arrows fly into the mouth of battle. Slingstones rain down on their people; clay bullets clatter on their backs like hammerstones. With my throwstick and sling I cut down like locusts the crushed people of the rebel lands. My ..... weapon sharpens its teeth at the head of the Land.

190-196. "My ..... battle-axe sheds the blood of the people like water. My double-edged axe weapon ..... in their ..... blood, which covers the ....., spilled on the hills like the contents of a broken wine jug. I ..... the people in their meadows; the blood ..... like water in their wadis; the blood ..... into the cracks of the earth.

197-210. "Its ....., in the foreign land ..... The rebel land ..... The foreign land .....

[7 lines missing]

The heart ..... Having filled the ....., ... his prosperous .....; I give them as a gift to .....

211-217. "I shall kill on the roofs those of the foreign lands who lie on the roofs. I shall smite on the walls those who lie on the walls. Whoever is able to stand up I shall make stand on his feet; those who are unable to stand up I shall smite on the spot. I shall let the young ones of the foreign lands embark on ships, but I shall kill the adults as revenge. Even those whom I have not killed and those whom I have not dispersed will not live long!

218-227. "I, the king, shall avenge my city. Whatever has been destroyed in Sumer, I shall destroy in the foreign lands. I shall make the gods of their cities turn away (?) from them; I shall cause their male and female protective deities, their good eyes, to stand aside. I shall let long grass grow in their fertile fields of shining barley. I shall uproot their small trees. With the axe I shall destroy their thick and tall trees, and I shall tear down by the crown their valuable trees. In their irrigated gardens, where honey and fig trees used to grow, I shall make weeds grow, so that ..... plants and ..... herbs break through the soil.

228-239. "After I, the king, have destroyed the cities and ruined the city walls, have terrified the ..... foreign lands like a flood, have scattered the seed of Gutium like seed-grain, have established Enlil's triumph, have crushed the populations as if with a pestle, have ..... my heart ....., then I shall load the pure lapis lazuli of the foreign lands into leather pouches and leather bags."

[approx. 5 lines missing]

240-251. The king ..... On that day, in the foreign land ..... His roar ..... the hills ..... The city which Enlil has ....., which An has ....., which Nintud has ....., which Enki has ..... good wisdom. Nanna has ..... the heights of heaven, Utu has ..... on the horizon; Inana the lady of battle has frowned on it. The people of the rebel lands, like dead reed ..... The great and terrible battle of Shulgi .....

252-287. Zagar, the god of dreams, ... as their beneficent protective spirit, ... in a dream,

[2 lines fragmentary / approx. 31 lines missing]

288-294. Like a sajkal snake, he roars against the ..... of hostile foreign lands ..... The king, roaring like a rising flood against the rebel lands, Shulgi, roaring like a rising flood against the rebel lands, embraces Gilgamesh, his brother and friend, his comrade, as one who was born ....., and he walks along the road together with Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer.

295-298. The king of the holy heavens, adorned with a wide crown, the lord, the bright luminary of the gods, father Nanna, ... by him on his right side; and he walks along the road together with Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer.

299-303. Born to a great wild bull, like a lion standing firm in his strength, mighty heir of youthful Suen, heroic son of Acimbabbar, Sun-zid ..... by him on his left side; and he walks along the road together with Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer.

304-306. The king of ....., Ninjiczida ....., and he walks along the road together with Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer.

307-311. When he arrives at Enegir, ..., the fierce serpent, ready to bite ....., the lord of ....., Ninazu ....., and he walks along the road together with Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer.

312-318. At the same time, King Enki emerges from the abzu; he has but to raise one eye from the abzu to destroy for him the foreign lands from where he stands, to destroy for him their cities from where he sits -- he of the trustworthy command, whose utterances are firmly established, Nudimmud the great lord of Eridug; and he walks along the road together with Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer.

319-330. When he arrives at the E-babbar, the house of Utu, the king who loves justice, ..., who is clad in linen,

[approx. 10 lines missing]

331-333. He let the young ones of the foreign lands embark on ships, but killed the adults as revenge. Even those whom he did not kill and those whom he did not disperse did not live long!

334-343. The hero avenged his city. Whatever was destroyed in Sumer, he destroyed in the foreign lands. He made the gods of their cities turn away from them; he caused their male and female protective deities, their good eyes, to stand aside. He let long grass grow in their cultivated fields of shining barley. With the axe he destroyed their thick and tall trees, and he tore down by the crown their valuable trees. He uprooted their small trees. In their irrigated gardens, where honey and fig trees used to grow, he made weeds grow, so that ..... plants and ..... herbs broke through the soil.

344-353. After the king had destroyed the cities and ruined the city walls, had terrified the ..... foreign lands like a flood, had scattered the seed of Gutium like seed-grain, had ..... his heart ....., then he loaded the pure lapis lazuli of the foreign lands into leather pouches and leather bags. He heaped up all their treasures and amassed all the wealth of the foreign lands. He invoked the name of Enlil and invoked the name of Ninlil on their fattened cattle and fattened sheep.

354-362. After carrying out a noble revenge in the foreign lands, the hero had his brilliant royal barge caulked. Imbued with terrible splendour on the Exalted River, it was adorned with holy horns, and its golden ram symbol gleamed in the open air. Its bitumen was the ..... bitumen of Enki provided generously by the abzu; its cabin was a palace. It was decorated with stars like the sky. Its holy .....,

[1 line fragmentary]

363-367. The king ....., Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer, ... his feet upon .....; he took his seat on a throne of ..... The sim and ala drums resounded for him, and the tigi drums played music for him.

368-381. "My king, ..., you have destroyed the foreign lands and plundered their cities .....; like a wild bull ..... the hills .....", sang the singers for him in a song. His boatmen, in tireless effort,

[1 line unclear]

These, citizens of Enegir and citizens of Urim, thrust forth their ..... oars at the command of the lord. He moored the boat at the temple area of Nibru, the temple area Dur-an-ki, at Enlil's Kar-jectina. He entered before Enlil with the silver and lapis lazuli of the foreign lands loaded into leather pouches and leather bags, all their heaped-up treasures, and with the amassed wealth of the foreign lands.

382-397. ....., the king ..... Enlil decrees a destiny for Shulgi: "O King, I will decree a destiny for you, I will decree a good destiny for you! O Shulgi, I will decree a destiny for you, I will decree a good destiny for you! I will decree heroism as your destiny! I will decree long-lasting office as ruler and king as your destiny! May you raise your head in terrifying splendour! May no man stand his ground before your fierce gaze! May your royal crown shine radiantly! May your sceptre be a princely sceptre, and may its shining branches provide shade! May there be joy in your heart, and may you never grow weary! May you be the life-giving king of your assembly! May your life flourish like herbs, may it flourish like grain! May it flourish like a fertile mec tree in a broad plot!"

[1 line fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SHULGI ON ACHIEVEMENTS, HUNGER, AND ARTS

A Praise Poem of Shulgi (Shulgi E)
Translation: 2.4.2.05

1-8. Enlil, foundation platform of heaven and earth, who holds the crook that makes the Land firm, whose beard flows over the mountains, who reveres his own divine powers -- Enlil, the everlasting shepherd of the Land, has addressed me, Shulgi, king of Urim, favourably, looking at me with wide-open eyes. In the overflowing of his heart, the lord bestowed the sceptre on me.

9-13 Everywhere the word of Enlil has brought benefits to me, who was specially crowned in brick-built Eridug; to me, who was invested with the lapis-lazuli diadem in Unug; to me, the beloved shepherd of Nanna, fit for the throne. When I bring firewood, he looks at me and speaks gladly to me.

14-19. I, Shulgi, the king whose name is very suitable for songs, intend to be praised in my prayers and hymns. At the command of my sister Jectin-ana, my scholars and composers of ..... have composed adab, tigi and malgatum hymns about my being the Nintud of all that is, about how wise I am in attending upon the gods, about how the god of intercession has given me favourable signs that years of abundance will elapse for me in due course.

23-30. They have composed cir-gida songs, royal praise poetry, sumundu, kunjar and balbale compositions about how I carried warfare across the sea to the south, how I jerked up the hostile land of Elam as if it were grass by a gateway, how in the uplands I ..... the people like grain, how I trekked the length of the mountains in battle, how I travel about indefatigably in the mountain uplands like an old donkey on the road, and about my expeditions .....

31-38. They composed for me gigid and zamzam songs about my manual skill, ever reliable for the finest task of the scribal art; about my ability to unravel the calculating and reckoning of the waxing of the new moon; about my causing joy and happiness; about how I know exactly at what point to raise and lower the tigi and zamzam instruments, and how I have complete control of the plectra of the great stringed instruments; how I cannot be stopped by anything insurmountable, about my being a runner tireless when emerging from the race.

39-46. In the name of An, the pre-eminent king; and of Enlil, who never ../changes his utterances; and in the name of Suen, the brickwork of cities cursed by whom shall rise no more, and the people cursed by whom will get leprosy; and in the name of Utu, the constable of the gods: I swear no one has ever put anything mendacious about me in my hymns; no one has embellished my prayers with achievements that I have not matched; I, Shulgi, have never allowed exaggerated praise of power to be put in a song.

47-52. How I glisten like fine silver, how I am musical and eloquent in wisdom; how I, the shepherd, do everything to absolute perfection: may all this be commended in my kingship. Of all the lines that there are in my songs, none of them is false -- they are indeed true!

53-62. In the cult-places, let no one neglect the songs about me, whether they are adab, whether they are tigi or malgatum, cir-gida or praises of kingship, whether they are cumundu, kunjar or balbale, whether they are gi-gid or zamzam -- so that they shall never pass out of memory and never lapse from people's mouths. Let them never cease to be sung in the shining E-kur! Let them be played for Enlil in his Shrine of the New Moon! When at the ecec festival they serve the clear beer endlessly like water, may they be offered repeatedly before Enlil as he sits with Ninlil.

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63-73. In future days, a man like myself whom Enlil shall call to the shepherdship of the Land ..... my songs; let him see ..... Let him call upon my name in the beloved .... that man, whenever my hymns

[1 line missing]

..... my singer ..... May he establish my name in the beloved ..... temple. Whether he is a man ..... Enki and Enlil ....., may ..... come forth from the house which ..... justice and a favourable destiny.

74-91. But if ..... removes my name from my hymns, and fails to ..... his name, and does not call upon my name in brick-built E-kur, and if that man commits enmity and violence against the temple, then whether that man is a king or a governor, Enlil shall curse him ..... May enmity and violence come forth against him from the house of Enlil. Let him be given enmity as his companion. May an asag demon, as causer of the plague, deprive his city of contentment. Because of famine in years of hunger, may he find no favour in the eyes of the Land. May Acnan produce no grain in sheaves. May fair Nanibgal, Nisaba, make no clay covering for his grain piles. ..... the troops ..... His chief merchant ..... silver ..... May the hunger and the thirst of the gods ..... the city during his reign ..... grain.

92-110. ..... riches, or bronze and silver vessels. May the creatures of his Land reach out for what is left over and not distributed. Famine ..... May he have to pay two shekels in his city for one sila of barley. May the people wield the hoe ..... Let that man be unable to touch the drinks and foods of his palace. May ..... the great sin ..... Nanna, the king of Urim, shall clamp those who look upon the balaj and the sim, and who touch or look at ..... bread. Their lives ..... death .....

[5 lines unclear or missing]

..... gold ..... May a scoundrel be judge over the population of the city, and be his superior.

111-151. The man who ..... my hymns

[2 lines unclear]

May he ..... outside the city. May he no longer ..... within the walls of the city. May the criminal offspring of his kingship not ..... May he not stand where the king stands, the shining place. May he ..... from the Ubcu-unkena. ..... his heart's desire and ambitions.

[2 lines unclear]

When he brings offerings to the E-kur, may Enlil ..... His special presents and benefits .....

[28 lines missing or unclear]

152-154. I, Shulgi the noble, who have no opponent .....

[2 lines unclear]

155-173. I am Shulgi, the great musician, superintendent of the art of music. If ..... favourable ..... My songs, lapsing from people's mouths and passing out of memory, neglected in all the cult-places .... his king ....., in the music-rooms of the gods .....

[10 lines unclear]

King of the singer's art, Suen ....., protective goddess of the singer's art, Jectinana .....

[3 lines unclear or missing]

174-190. On the day when the destiny of the lands was determined, the king who in his arrogance ....., in luxuriance Enlil and Ninlil ....., ... for the life of Sumer and Akkad, ... justice for the Land, canals which he did not maintain ....., a city which he did not enlarge ..... The Great Mountain ..... at their side ..... great places. He did not ..... the god of the palace. He ..... to Enlil, and did not offer great gifts in the E-kur, and did not ..... the door-sockets of the gods. ..... songs. What he achieves with his praises, what he creatively decoratives with his words, the singer ..... in his songs.

191-201. I, Shulgi the king ....., who cares for holy An, ... food offerings, who constantly attends upon Enlil ....., Nanna, ... the office of en; Ninurta, the ensi appointed by Enlil, has given me good luck and a battle-mace from the E-cumeca. Not since the seed of mankind was germinated, has Enlil ever before been able to give the sceptre of kingship to a king who could control the troops single-handed. As a lone donkey stallion, one who resists the weapons -- no king of the Land has ever turned against the weapons.

202-212. I did not lie in ambush, like a fierce young lion, against the rebel and hostile lands, the aggressive foreign lands, in order to establish my renown as far as the horizon with the power of my master Enlil, and to transmit my lasting fame of victories to the distant future. I did not come out of a hole like a scorpion. Instead I left my main forces at my side, and went ahead of my scouts. As I repelled the tribal Gutians, the bandits of the hills, like a ..... snake I made my fearsomeness reach afar.

213-219. No one can get near my inspired troops. Running quite alone into the foreign lands unknown to him, like a lion that has seized a wild cow in its ..... claws, I tear its flesh apart. Like a solitary dragon I spread fear, as I proceed unflaggingly against the civilised towns and make them quiver like flames at my frightful roaring. Spine-chilling yells and raging flames are cast at the hills.

220-239. For the rebel lands, the illiterate ones that carry no emblems, my warfare is a horizon on which there are clouds, enveloping the twilight in fear. The mountains, where the forests do not grow as thick as thornbushes, where in the cult places of the rites of Inana (i.e. in battle) throwstick and shield do not tumble to the earth in a great storm, where the combatants take no rest in the insistent bitterness of the fierce battle, where life-fluid and blood from both scoundrel and honest person ....., where no black ewes trek over the mountains like floating clouds, and corpses in reed-beds and crannies .....

[1 line unclear]

The desert scorpion shall no longer behave thus ..... Neither shortly nor in the future shall he rise again. A villain and rebel ..... to the weapons of strength. A path that is confused, a way that is cut off like a ..... I bent low the land of the Gutians like a mubum tree, and the land turned its heart in its fear before me, as I put my foot on its neck. I am he who all alone plunders cities with his own strength. I am the strong one who is praised for his weapons. I am he whose lasting name and prayerful words are as tremendous as ..... I am the just and the benefactor in the Land.

240-257. May my hymns be in everyone's mouth; let the songs about me not pass from memory. So that the fame of my praises, the words which Enki composed about me, and which Jectin-ana joyously speaks from the heart and broadcasts far and wide, shall never be forgotten, I have had them written down line by line in the House of the Wisdom of Nisaba in holy heavenly writing, as great works of scholarship. No one shall ever let any of it pass from memory ..... It shall not be forgotten, since indestructible heavenly writing has a lasting renown. The scribe should bring it to the singer, and can let him look at it, and with the wisdom and intelligence of Nisaba, let him read it to him as if from a lapis-lazuli tablet. Let my songs sparkle like silver in the lode! Let them be performed in all the cult-places, and let no one neglect them in the Shrine of the New Moon. In the music-rooms of Enlil and Ninlil and at the morning and evening meals of Nanna, let the sweet praise of me, Shulgi, be never-ending.

SHULGI "THE SHEPHERD" ON KINGSHIP

An Adab to Enlil for Shulgi (Shulgi G)
Translation: 2.4.2.07

1-8. Enlil, the eminent one, the sovereign lord, whose utterance is trustworthy; Nunamnir, the eternal shepherd of the Land, who hails from the great mountain; the great counsellor, the first and foremost in heaven and on earth, who is in control of all the divine powers; lord, who is imbued with great fearsomeness in accordance with his nobility, a perfected heavenly star, who takes good care of the primeval and choice divine powers, who alone is the lofty god; lord, life-giving light, who leads the people all over the world along one track; huge net spread over heaven and earth, rope stretched over all the lands! Who ever instructed Enlil, who ever rivalled him?

9-14. He thought up something of great importance and he made public what his heart, a mighty river, carried: the hidden secrets of his holy thought. The matter is a holy and pure one, it concerns the divine powers of the E-kur, the fated good brick embedded in the bottom of the abzu, it is something most important: a trustworthy man will rebuild the E-kur, thereby acquiring a lasting name. The son of this trustworthy man will long hold the sceptre, and their throne will never be overthrown.

15-20. To that end, Acimbabbar appeared shining in the E-kur, pleaded to his father Enlil and made him bring a childbearing mother; in the E-duga, Nanna, the princely son, asked for the thing to happen. The en priestess gave birth to the trustworthy man from his semen placed in the womb. Enlil, the powerful shepherd, caused a young man to emerge: a royal child, one who is perfectly fitted for the throne-dais, Shulgi the king.

21-27. Enlil gave him a good name: "A lion's seed, who provides the E-kur generously, the beloved one of Ninlil; the one granted authority in the E-kur; the king of Urim, the one with shining heart, the shepherd, the protective genius of the Land." Enlil chose Shulgi in his pure heart and entrusted the Land to him. As the shepherd of all the countries, Enlil leant the crook and the staff against his arm, and placed the immutable sceptre of Nanna in his hand; he made him raise his head high, sitting on an unshakeable royal seat.

28-30. The day was for prayers, the night was for supplications; the Land rested in peace. The shepherd of prosperity, Shulgi, he with a lasting name, the king of jubilation, the mighty one, the semen engendered by the faithful man, praised Enlil.

31-31. This is the sagida.

32-33. Shulgi, the mighty king, ..., who exults in his triumph, the ..... king vanquished the rebellious land with the agakar weapon of Inana.

34-34. It is the antiphon of the sagida.

35-43. May Enlil the trustworthy, whose words are lofty -- good fate determined by him takes precedence -- who makes sturdy flax and barley grow -- may he prolong the life of Shulgi, the provider of the E-kur -- hence its flax is indeed fine flax, its barley is indeed fine barley -- the property of Nanna, the houseborn-slave of the E-kur, him whom Ninlil named at his birth Shulgi, the shepherd of the Land, the man whom Enlil knows, the steward of the temple.

44-48. So that its voluminous offering meals would bring joy to the E-kur, Enlil called upon Urim, the good city founded by the princely one, the inside of which is a holy treasure chest which, like the abzu, no eye can see -- the city of good purification rites and pure hand-washing rites; and what he says is trustworthy.

49-53. For his setting up the abundant sacrificial tin cups, for his having served evening meals in the dining-hall of the E-kur, Enlil determined a princely fate for the shepherd, him who is worthy of the kingship and the lofty throne-dais, Shulgi, who is adorned with the ma garment of the en priests.

54-59. The one beautiful like heaven, ..., Nanna, the king, the ....., gave him good ..... in the Ki-ur, the great place. At the command of Enlil, he ....., he roars for him against the foreign land that no one dares to oppose. He stabilises the countryside, and the people lie at his feet.

60-62. Shulgi, the shepherd is the honey man beloved by Nibru; may the true shepherd, Shulgi, refresh himself in the pleasant shade of Enlil's brickwork!

63-63. It is the sajara.

64-64. O Shulgi, Enlil has brought forth happy days for you in your reign!

65-65. It is the antiphon of the sajara.

66-68. Heaven's king, earth's great mountain, father Enlil, heaven's king, earth's great mountain, thought up something great: he chose Shulgi in his heart for a good reign!

69-69. It is its urune. An adab of Enlil.

LULLABY FOR A SON OF SHULGI

(Shulgi N)
Translation: 2.4.2.14

1-5. Ah, ah, may he grow sturdy through my crooning, may he flourish through my crooning! May he put down strong foundations as roots, may he spread branches wide like a cakir plant!

6-11. Lord, from this you know our whereabouts; among those resplendent apple trees overhanging the river, may someone who passes by reach out his hand, may someone lying there raise his hand. My son, sleep will overtake you, sleep will settle on you.

12-18. Sleep come, sleep come, sleep come to my son, sleep hasten to my son! Put to sleep his open eyes, settle your hand upon his sparkling eyes -- as for his murmuring tongue, let the murmuring not spoil his sleep.

19-23. May he fill your lap with emmer while I sweeten miniature cheeses for you, those cheeses that are the healer of mankind, that are the healer of mankind, and of the lord's son, the son of lord Shulgi.

24-30. In my garden, it is the lettuces that I have watered, and among the lettuces it is the gakkul lettuce that I have chopped. Let the lord eat this lettuce! Through my crooning let me give him a wife, let me give him a wife, let me give him a son! May a happy nursemaid chatter with him, may a happy nursemaid suckle him!

31-38. Let me ..... a wife for my son, and may she bear him a son so sweet. May his wife lie in his warm embrace, and may his son lie in his outstretched arms. May his wife be happy with him, and may his son be happy with him. May his young wife be happy in his embrace, and may his son grow vigorously on his gentle knees.

39-48. You are restless -- I am troubled, I am quite silent, gazing at the stars, as the crescent moon shines on my face. Your bones might be arrayed on the wall! The man of the wall might shed tears for you! The mongoose might beat the balaj drums for you! The gecko might gouge its cheeks for you! The fly might gash its lips for you! The lizard might tear out its tongue for you!

49-56. May the lullaby make us flourish! May the lullaby make us thrive! When you flourish, when you thrive, when you ..... the shaking of churns, sweet sleep ....., the sweet bed .....

[2 lines fragmentary]

57-63. May a wife be your support, and may a son ..... May a son be your fortune. May winnowed grain be your lover, and may Ezina-Kusu (the goddess of grain) be your aid. May you have an eloquent protective goddess. May you be brought up to a reign of favourable days. May you smile upon festivals.

64-66. My son is .....; he knows nothing. He does not know the length of his old age. He does not know the dwelling of the .....

67-73. May you discover ..... May you eat .....

[3 lines fragmentary] May you be ..... May you be .....

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74-91. [7 lines fragmentary] ..... goats, sheep and donkeys .....
[1 line fragmentary] Ninkasi (the goddess of beer) ..... in her vat .....
[5 lines fragmentary] The shepherd's wife ..... He ..... the ..... of the date palm. He brings date shoots among the offerings.
92-114. As for you, lie in sleep! May your palm tree, extending its fronds, spread joy like a fig tree. Place coals beside Urim! Place charcoal beside Unug (The City of Uruk)! Seize the enemy's mouth like .....! Bind his arms like reed bundles! Make the enemy cower before you, lest he rip open your back like a sack,
[4 lines fragmentary / approx. 6 lines missing]
[4 lines fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SHULGI, THE GOOD SHEPHERD OF SUMER
A Praise Poem of Shulgi (Shulgi O)
Translation: 2.4.2.15

SEGMENT A
1-12. City worthy of the divine powers, according to its name: shrine Urim, raging storm of Sumer, battleground -- and well established! Origin of human seed, consolidating the foundations of the Land, abundance -- and well established! Lofty dais of An, pure place, holy place, provider of first-fruit offerings for An to refresh himself, dripping with syrup and wine -- and well established! Du-ur, celebrated place of Enlil, in whose interior are the assigned divine powers, place whose destiny was decreed by father Enlil, great dais -- and well established! Eridug, shrine expert in decreeing the fates, with princely divine powers, pure divine powers -- and well established! E-kic-nu-jal, cattle-pen of Suen, where fecund cows, breed-bulls and holy calves gambol together, producing fine cream -- and well established! Abzu, holy residence of youthful Suen, tall crook lifting its head towards heaven, a marvel -- and well established!
13-24. Jipar, shrine built in exuberance, with the true divine powers of the rank of en priestess -- and well established! Princely en priestess, your great name is pure; loosener of combs of Nanna who makes the dwelling pleasant, with good words and justice -- and well established! Id-nun-kug (Holy princely river) with ample flowing waters, your reservoir abounds with fish and birds -- and well established! Its city, established within the encircling walls, is a battle-mace, a weapon -- and well established! The convened assembly of its numerous people is a shield -- and well established! Great awe of the occupied settlements of Sumer -- and well established! Its foreign lands, teeming like herds of fecund cows, fat cows, numerous ewes with their lambs in the sheepfold -- and well established! Its army, rising to battle, is an irresistible onrush of water, a fearsome sea, a raging ..... -- and well established!
25-37. Its prince, the hero of Enlil, a lion rising up in its strength, a furious lion baring its teeth at the foreign lands, ... inspects great wild bulls, eating ....., extending ..... Shepherd Shulgi, son of Ninsumun, ornament of ....., ... in their evil words, brought the hero Gilgamesh, the lord of Kulaba into ..... He produced an utterance for him ..... from the foreign lands, ... of his palace. ..... of the foreign lands. ..... he looked at him as if at halhal reeds.
38-48. On the day when the destiny of the Land was determined, when the seed of all living beings was originally brought forth, when the king appeared radiantly to his comrade -- on that day, Gilgamesh, the lord of Kulaba, conversed with Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer, at his shining feet. So that their praise would be sung forever, so that it be would handed down to distant days, so that it shold be not forgotten in remote years, they looked at each other favourably in their mighty heroism.
49-52. Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer, praised his brother and friend, lord Gilgamesh, in his might, and declared to him in his heroism:
53-60. "Mighty in battle, destroyer of cities, smiting them in combat! Skilled with the slingstone against the holy wall of palm-fronds! You brought forth your weapons against the house of Kic. You captured dead its seven heroes. You trampled underfoot the head of the king of Kic, En-me-barage-sig ..... You brought the kingship from Kic to Unug."
61-84. Thus he eulogised him who was born ..... in Kulaba.
[1 line unclear]
Gilgamesh, lord of Kulaba,
[6 lines fragmentary or unclear / approx. 4 lines missing]
(Gilgamesh continues speaking:) "Like ....., falsely ....., you trampled underfoot ....., ... as if in a mighty clamp. You gathered its ..... like small birds rising into the air. You entered with them into the presence of Enlil in the shrine of Nibru. Even those ..... who escaped from the ....., wail bitterly .... a copper statue fashioned in Urim, ... the seven gods, stationed beside, wielding battle-axes. Fearsome hero ....., king of Sumer, you stand firm in your strength."
85-88. Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer, praised his brother and friend, the lord Gilgamesh, in his might, and declared to him in his heroism:
89-106 [1 line fragmentary] "In the judgements that you pronounce ..... Who else like you has gone directly on the road to the mountains and has travelled the way to .....? Valiant one, ... the mountain cedars, ... the tall forests, ... the boats. ..... Huwawa. ..... his seven terrors. ..... the small .... from his well-established dwelling. ..... to Enlil, in the shrine of Nibru .... your captured hero. You allowed the mother of the sick man to fetch her son to her embrace. Your battle-mace, its mouth gaping wide, attacks the foreign lands for you. Gilgamesh, noble one of Unug, violent storm, at whose oppression ..... The inimical rebel land, like ..... You have revealed your immense majesty! May you extend your protective arms over me!"
107-108. The lord Gilgamesh ..... Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer:
109-137. [12 lines fragmentary / approx. 5 lines missing]
[8 lines fragmentary] "The youthful ....., a god among the Anuna gods, ... venerates ..... Fearsome hero ....., king of Sumer, you stand firm in your strength."
138-141. Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer, praised his brother and friend, the lord Gilgamesh, in his might, and declared to him in his heroism:
142. "Ictaran, the judge who dwells in the Land"
[unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT B
(The sequence of Segments B, C, D and E is uncertain)
1-81. [line fragmentary] Mighty heir of kingship ....., powerful ....., stallion of Suen ....., wearing a lapis-lazuli beard..... their praise ....., their songs ....., their renown .....; son .....
[unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT C
(The sequence of Segments B, C, D and E is uncertain; Segments C and D are adjacent)
1-14. [fragmentary ends of 14 lines]

SEGMENT D
(The sequence of Segments B, C, D and E is uncertain; Segments C and D are adjacent)
1-42. [lines fragmentary] (Gilgamesh continues speaking:) "Fearsome hero ....., king of Sumer, you stand firm in your strength."
5-8. Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer, praised his brother and friend, the lord Gilgamesh, in his might, and declared to him in his heroism:
9-14. "Gilgamesh, the thoroughbred donkey ....., divine judge, ...
[2 lines fragmentary or unclear]
like a butting wild bull ....."
[1 line fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing

SEGMENT E
(The sequence of Segments B, C, D and E is uncertain)
1-3. ..... the rebel lands like a horned viper ....., Shulgi, son of Ninsumun ..... Enki .....
[1 line fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SHULGI AND THE ROYAL MOTHER
A praise poem of Shulgi (Shulgi P)
Translation: 2.4.2.16

SEGMENT A
1-6. [1 line fragmentary] ..... shining ..... He (probably Lugalbanda) spoke to her (probably Ninsun) tenderly .....: "He will accomplish precisely the fate determined for him. Your father holy An will make his branches spread as if he were a sappy cedar planted among hacur trees."
7-10. Then my lady stepped up to the word of An, Ninsun made a fateful decision with her spouse, holy Lugalbanda; she attended to his supplication. She went straight to holy An in the Ubcu-unkena:
11-14. "My father, An, you are the king among the gods! I have looked through the land in all its extent and among its black-headed people who are as numerous as ewes, and I have elevated Shulgi for me high above their head. May he be their trustworthy shepherd!
15-21. "He is my mes tree with spreading branches; he sprang up from the soil for me, ... brings abundant yield for me every year. He is my spikenard herb, growing for me with sturdy stems. He makes my ..... radiant in the brickwork of Sumer.
[1 line unclear] May he stand daily in .....!"
[1 line fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT B
1-2. ..... of Urim .... grant him kingship!
[unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT C
1-10. (An is speaking:) "Its roots sank deep into the earth. I will stand by you in that holy matter. May he who is worthy of being praised with good words, Shulgi, the king of a propitious reign, perform the rites established for the kingship perfectly for you, the goddess, at the great and lofty wall-tower of Urim (Ur)! May he execute properly for you the statutes of the gods! May he always offer you food at the time of the new moon and at the new year! May you yourself bring me his prayers daily! My tree is indeed abundance, sprouting from the earth like herbs and plants!"
11-17. Then, rejoicing over the words of An, my lady Ninsun took Shulgi the king of Urim by his right hand, led him joyfully into her Egal-mah and seated him upon the exalted dais erected by An. She treated him tenderly with her holy bosom, saying:
17-21. "Shepherd Shulgi, I am your great sword. My holy heart, a rising flood, rejoices over you. My father, An ..... , who is your master, praises you, who are surpassing in kingship for the ..... of your kingship.
22-27. "Shulgi, you are a pure calf, born to me. You are a good seed of Lugal-banda. I raised you upon my own holy lap. I have decided your fate with my holy bosom. You are a good fortune which fell to my share. I requested you from holy An in the .....
28-34. "I, the lady, holy Ninsun, the royal mother, the good woman with beautiful hair befitting a lady, Shulgi, I am your faithful guardian. May you be dressed in my ..... ma garment! Dance ..... on my holy knees! May you, the shepherd, born for justice, trust in my holy words!
35-42. "Your holy name is worthy of being praised; may it please the flesh of the great gods like fine oil! An has given you a sceptre for rendering judgements; may your head be raised high! Your father who begot you, holy Lugalbanda, has named you as the 'Valiant one whom An made known among the gods'. He has made you acquire a ..... He has adorned you with a royal crown; may he purify your breath of life with an enduring sceptre!
43-48. "May Gectin-ana, the king's sister, the mellifluous mouth of the gods, never stop rejoicing over you joy in your palace, erected for you as a source of happiness! May she always step forward to me with friendy entreaties on your behalf! May she never cease praying for you!
49-55. "I, the lady ..... holy temple of residence ..... My mother, Urac, the lady of the gods and my father, An, the king of the gods ..... the woman, the good cow in the great sheepfold. They give me enduring kingship. They have placed the people in their entirety in my hands.
56-66. "At the place where the fates are decided, the Anuna, the great gods, stood by me. They made Shulgi's shepherdship everlasting for me and made Shulgi, the righteous one of his god, rise over the land like Utu for me. They set up a throne of firm reign for him. The shepherd will decree just judgements and will make just decisions upon it. They granted Shulgi a royal crown. ..... great .....
[1 line fragmentary]

SHULGI THE HEAVENLY AUGUSTUS
An Adab to Utu for Shulgi (Shulgi Q)
Translation: 2.4.2.17

[unknown no. of lines missing]
1-11. Youthful Utu ....., ... from Urac; brilliant light, great lion, ..., hero emerging from the holy interior of heaven, storm whose splendour covers the Land and is laden with great awesomeness; Utu, king of justice that befits the true offspring, made Shulgi, the trustworthy shepherd, glorious in the battle. The great wild bull, youthful Utu, who like a torch illuminates the Land from the holy heavens; the wise one of all the countries, the fearsome radiance of Urac, the just god among the Anuna gods, the long, holy dragon, the first-born son cherished by Suen, the lord born to command -- Utu bestowed the kingship of the Land on Shulgi.
12-22. Like a mace with three lion-heads, he makes the mountains tremble and then destroys the rebel lands. ..... the enemy of Nanna. ..... the great ..... of the gods.
[2 lines fragmentary]
Utu ..... the shepherd. Shulgi ..... justice. ..... in famine. ..... son of Ninsumun ..... May ..... great fearsomeness for the people for you. ..... the creation of ..... no one .....
23. Sa-gida.
24. Utu, assign a sweet destiny to the king .....!
25. Jicgijal of the sa-gida.
26-36. ..... is exalted. Like ..... very pleasing. ..... shepherd Shulgi, the lion ..... the rebel lands ..... As long as the cities are not pacified ..... Youthful Utu ..... the people numerous as ewes. May ..... of the holy lapis-lazuli shrine, rejoicing. ..... very proudly ..... Like a cow ..... proudly.
[3 lines fragmentary]
37-43. Shulgi ..... Utu .... a fragrant cedar forest. O king, the lord who covers the heavens with awesomeness .... the heavenly august dais from the holy

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place. The lord ..... august radiance on all the lands from the holy heavens. Because of your purity, youthful Utu has made everything abundant for you; may a sweet life be your lot, son of Ninsumun.

44. Sa-jara.

45-48. Youthful Utu chose the shepherd in his heart. Years of plenty are assigned to Shulgi, the trustworthy shepherd, the king, as his fate. From the shrine in Nibru, Enlil bestowed this on the trustworthy shepherd, whose fate is determined by Utu.

49. Jicgijal of the sa-jara.

50-52. Lord of all the great divine powers, borne by Ningal! Youthful Utu, lord of all the great divine powers, borne by Ningal,

[1 line fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SHULGI AND NINLIL'S BARGE

A Tigi To Ninlil (Shulgi R)
Translation: ETCSL: t.2.4.2.18

1-9. Oh barge, Enki assigned the quay of abundance to you as your fate. Father Enlil looked at you with approval. Your lady, Ninlil, commanded your construction. She entrusted it to the faithful provider, King Shulgi; and the shepherd, who is of broad intelligence, will not rest day and night in thinking deeply about you. He, the wise one, who is proficient in planning, he, the omniscient one, will fell large cedars in the huge forests for you. He will make you perfect and you will be breathtaking to look upon.

10-22. Your woven …… is ……. Your covering reed-mats are the daylight spreading wide over the holy settlements. Your timbers are sniffing …… reptiles crouching on their paws. Your punting poles are dragons sleeping a sweet sleep in their lair. Your strakes are …… snakes, ……. Your floor-planks are flood-currents, sparkling altogether in the pure Euphrates. Your side-planks, which are fastened into their fixed places with wooden rings, are a stairway leading to a mountain spring, a …… filled with ……. Your holy …… are persisting and firmly founded abundance. Your bench is a lofty dais erected in the midst of the abzu. Your …… is Aratta, full-laden with treasures. Your door, facing the sunrise, is a …… bird, carrying a …… in its talons while spreading wide its wings.

23-31. Your glittering golden sun-disc, fastened with leather straps, is the brilliant moonlight, shining brightly upon all the lands. Your banner, adorned with the divine powers of kingship, is a woodland of cypress trees irrigated with clean water, giving a pleasant shade. Your small reed mats are the evening sky, illuminated with stars, imbued with terrible awesomeness. In the midst of your carefully tended small gizi reeds with numerous twigs, flocks of little birds twitter as in a holy swamp. Their chirping, as pleasing to the heart as the sound of the churn's shaking, makes Enlil and Ninlil extremely happy.

32-39. Your rudder is a large kig fish in the broad waters at the mouth of the Kisala canal. Your …… are a bison, inspiring terror on the great earth. Your tow-rope is the gliding Nirah extended over the land. Your mooring pole is the heavenly bond, which ……. Your longside beams are a warrior striking straight against another warrior. Your prow is Nanna …… fair sky. Your stern is Utu …… at the horizon. Your canopy is …….

40. Sa-gida.

41-47. The faithful shepherd Shulgi established the holy festival and the great rituals. The great gods bathe in holy water in Nibru. He assigns the fates to their places in the city and allocates the right divine powers. The mother of the Land, Ninlil the fair, comes out from the house, and Enlil embraces her like a pure wild cow. They take their seats on the barge's holy dais, and provisions are lavishly prepared.

48-63. The lofty barge ……, the ornament of the Tigris, enters the rolling river; …… on the shining water. The ritually washed five-headed mace, mitum mace, lance and standard …… at the bow. Enlil's warrior, Ninurta, goes at their front, directing the …… of your wide ferry-boat straight. He …… the holy punting pole of the barge, the holy raft. The ferrymen …… holy songs; they …… the great exaltedness of the lady. The good woman, Ninlil, …… joyfully with Shulgi. Sumer and Urim …… joy and happiness. The barge bobs at the quay Mete-agi (Ornament of the waves); it sails off into the reedbeds of Enlil's Tummal. Like a goring ox, it raises, then lowers its head. It strikes its breast against the rising waves; it stirs up the encircling waters. When it thrusts within the waters, the fish of the subterranean waters become frightened; as it glides upon them, it makes the waters sparkle luxuriantly.

64-70. …… the holy raft; …… the lady of Tummal …… prayer. Enlil's ancestors and An the king, the god who determines the fates, greets her. With Ninlil, they take their seats at the banquet, and Shulgi the shepherd brings along his great food-offerings for them. They pass the day in abundance, they give praise throughout night. They decree a fate, an allotted fate to be pre-eminent forever, for the king who fitted out the holy barge.

71-81. Then light shines up at the edge of the Land as Utu rises refulgently. As the barge is travelling upstream, it …… radiates and creaks. …… in the Ninmutum, the canal of the year of abundance ……. As the carp make their bellies sparkle, Enlil rejoices. As the musu fish play noisily there, Ninlil rejoices. As the …… fish ……, Enki rejoices. As the suhurmas fish dart about, Nanna rejoices. The Anuna gods rejoice at ……. …… lifts its head in the Euphrates; it ……. In the midst of …… ever-flowing water is carried. In joyous Nibru, he moors the holy barge at the quay.

82-90. With joyful eyes and shining forehead, Ninlil, ……, looks upon King Shulgi: "Shepherd ……, Shulgi, who has a lasting name, king of jubilation! I will prolong the nights of the crown that was placed upon your head by holy An, and I will extend the days of the holy sceptre that was given to you by Enlil. May the foundation of your throne that was bestowed on you by Enki be firm! Shepherd who brings about perfection, may Nanna, the robust calf, the seed of Enlil, to whom I gave birth, cover your life with …… which is full of exuberance as if it were my holy ba garment!"

91. Sa-gara.

SHULGI'S DEDICATION OF A STATUE

Self-Praise of Shulgi (Shulgi V)
Translation: ETCSL: t.2.4.2.22

1-6. Enlil, the beaming light, ……, whose utterance is immutable, the most powerful of the Anuna gods, ……, looked favourably at Shulgi, the fearsome dragon ……, the king, the creation of his hands. He granted him great strength. His roar fills the whole extent of heaven and earth.

7-12. In the E-kur, the great snake of the deep, ……, in Dur-an-ki, which lavishly …… the eternal divine powers, ……, Enlil determined a great fate from the womb for the long-enduring sapling of the brickwork founded by the princely one, Shulgi, who was born for a prosperous reign: "Make the people obedient, you enduring king of the multitudes!"

13-21. The swift runner, a hurricane -- the strength of his loins is never ending, who emerges victorious from the race among the settlements; the terrifying one, who is furious in his running, the strongest among those selected from the people, ……. When he stretches his arms out, …… at his sides. Shulgi, …… from the horizon. Because of his being most powerful, in his vigour ……. He, the tireless one, …… the road. No king ever cared so much for the black-headed people; he established justice on a grand scale.

22-29. On a day that dawned for prosperity, that was destined for rain-clouds, he ran from the Ki-ur of Nibru to the shrine of Urim, the E-temen-ni-guru; and provided the princely bowls of Nanna, set up in the morning dining-hall, with a copious ration. On that day, prosperity was decreed for him. In a violent storm, a whirlwind that broke out, Utu ……; Shulgi returned to the lustrous E-kur.

30-35. In order that the heroes for ever praise Shulgi's great exaltedness, he made his …… enduring statue of everlasting fame brilliant like the heavenly stars, and set it up in majesty before the good eyes, filled with generosity, of the immutably eminent Father Enlil.

SHULGI'S EROTIC POEM TO HIS WIFE

A praise poem of Shulgi (Shulgi X)
Translation: 2.4.2.24

1-8. The king sailed to Unug towards the princely divine powers. Sumer and Akkad marvelled at him as he moored the boat at the quay of Kulaba. With a large wild bull of the mountains with uplifted horns, and with a sheep led by the hand of an en priest at his right side, with a dappled kid and a bearded kid clasped to his breast, he entered before Inana in the shrine of E-ana.

9-13. Shulgi, the good shepherd, a heart in love, dressed himself in the ma garment and put a hili wig on his head as a crown. Inana looked at him with admiration and spontaneously struck up a song, singing the words:

14-35. "When I have bathed for the king, for the lord, when I have bathed for the shepherd Dumuzid, when I have adorned my flanks with ointment, when I have anointed my mouth with balsamic oil, when I have painted my eyes with kohl, when he has ..... my hips with his fair hands, when the lord who lies down beside holy Inana, the shepherd Dumuzid, has ..... on his lap, when he has relaxed ..... in my pure arms, when he has intercourse with me ..... like choice beer, when he ruffles my pubic hair for me, when he plays with the hair of my head, when he lays his hands on my holy genitals, when he lies down in the ..... of my sweet womb, ...

[2 lines unclear]

.... when he treats me tenderly on the bed, then I will too treat my lord tenderly.

36-41. "I will decree a good fate for him! I will treat Shulgi, the good shepherd, tenderly! I will decree a good fate for him! I will treat him tenderly in his .....! I will decree the shepherdship of all the lands as his destiny!"

42-48. The lady, the light of heaven, the delight of the black-headed (the Sumerians), the youthful woman who excels her mother, who was granted divine powers by her father, Inana, the daughter of Suen, decreed a destiny for Shulgi, the son of Ninsun:

49-73. "In battle I will be the one who goes before you. In combat I will carry your weapon like a personal attendant. In the assembly I will be your advocate. On campaign I will be your encouragement. You are a shepherd chosen by holy ..... You are the generous provider of E-ana. You are the pure one of An's Iri-gal. You are worthy of ..... You are one who is entitled to hold high his head on the lofty dais. You are one who is worthy of sitting on the shining throne. Your head is worthy of the brilliant crown. Your body is worthy of the long fleecy garment. You are worthy of being dressed in the royal garb. You are suited to hold the mitum weapon in your arm. You are suited to run fast with the battle-mace. You are suited to hit accurately with the barbed arrows and the bow. You are suited to fasten the throwstick and the sling to your side. Your hand is worthy of the holy sceptre. Your feet are worthy of the holy shoes. You are a fast runner suited to race on the road. You are worthy to delight yourself on my holy breast like a pure calf. May your love be lasting! An has determined this for you, and may he never alter it! May Enlil, the decreer of fates, never change it!" Thus Inana treated him tenderly.

74-79. He who knows the joyful heart of Ninegala sheared a black kid, bathed a white kid, and tied a wild bull of the mountains by its nose. Then he brought them into the temple E-babbar which roars like a noble breed-bull, to the hero Utu in the shrine.

80-102. The hero Utu received him smiling, and decreed a fate for Shulgi the good shepherd of Sumer: "King, eloquent and good-looking, mighty hero, born to be a lion, young wild bull standing firm in its vigour, valiant one, unrestrained in his strength, who tramples great mountains underfoot: you have subdued the heroes of the foreign lands, you have trampled upon all the foreign rulers, you have established your name to the ends of the world. Go now in peace to your master Acimbabbar." And so he moored the boat at Enegir, the town built in splendour. (Shulgi speaks:) "Seed placed by the prince in the holy womb, born on the bright mountain, Ninazu, who like a wild bull which lows in its drinking,

[8 lines missing or unclear]

103-117. (Ninazu speaks:) "..... like syrup ..... ghee ..... You, the hero, coming from the rebel land ..... O king, the lord of prayers and supplications has chosen you in his heart; shepherd Shulgi, the lord of prayers and supplications has chosen you in his heart. Who can rival a king to whom Enlil has given strength? Who can enter your .....? Who could escape your .....? ..... no one who knows you could wish to strive with you any longer. If they wished ..... battle with you ....., what could escape your outstretched arms? When you shriek like the Anzud-bird, who could stand before you? When you howl like the storm, the foreign lands and the hills tremble like a reed, a split reed ..... The people in the houses of the foreign lands gaze at your deeds, the people of Tidnum joyfully admire them.

118-125. "As if you were Utu, your terror radiates in battle. As if you were Nergal, your battle-mace drools with gore and your spear reaches into the blood of the Land. You are the great door of the city, you are the great wall of the Land. You are a net piled up over heaven and earth, you are a ..... laid around Sumer. May ..... proclaim your glory in abundance! May the words of Enlil, which are so enormous, provide a shelter over your head! May the loving heart, Inana, never abandon you!"

126-131. After Ninazu had pronounced ..... and blessings, Shulgi provided a lavish choice of ewes and lambs, he provided a lavish choice of goats and kids, he ..... generously white cows and calves, and then entered with them before Nanna in his E-temen-ni-guru and lifted his head high in the royal chamber, its most suitable hall, in its royal offering place, the holy place.

132-140. His master Acimbabbar looked at him with joy and decreed a fate for Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer: "Hero, lord, mighty one of the foreign lands, the right arm of the Land, you have achieved victory for me, have carried out what I have commanded you. You have reduced to ruins the houses of the rebel land that I have cursed. May you never grow weary of perfecting the divine powers for me every month at the new moon! May your name be as sweet as that of Acnan in the mouth of the Land and in the mouths of all the countries! May holy Ningal, the lady of the shrine, spread out her lap for you, like the wooden frame of a waterskin!" Thus Suen decreed a good fate for him.

141-150. He took his seat on the holy dais in the lofty palace of Ninegala. He, the Ictaran of Sumer, omniscient from birth, decrees judgements in due order for the Land, and makes decisions in due order for the Land, so that the strong

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does not abuse the weak, so that the mother speaks tenderly with her child and the child answers truthfully to his father. Under him, Sumer is filled with abundance, Urim is prolonged in splendour, and ..... is established.

151-159. Because the king exulted in his triumph and let his might radiate, because he implemented his heroism perfectly, made the rebellious land bow and made our city, Urim, rise in prosperity; because the king is adorned with a lapis-lazuli headdress; because the son of Enlil lifts his head high, wearing a wide crown; because he takes counsel with An in his lofty place and is enthroned with Urac on a great dais; because he makes the Land of Sumer and all the foreign lands dance with joy day and night, may the lord Acimbabbar be praised.

160. Nisaba be praised!

LETTERS OF THE KINGS

And the 24 Letters of the Royal Correspondence of Ur

("The Letters of the Kings" are an enlightening collection of governmental Sumerian correspondence. "The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur" (CKU) itself, also known as the Royal Correspondence of Ur, is a part of it. It is a collection of 24 literary letters written in the Sumerian language and attributed to kings of the Ur III period, 2048-1940 BC (2112-2004 middle chronology). They are known primarily from copies dating to the Old Babylonian period, ca. 1800-1600 BC; their original date of composition and their historical accuracy are debated which is not a surprise because the 24 letters are known only through copies written on clay tablets as school exercises by students learning to write cuneiform. All but one of the known copies have been dated to the Old Babylonian period, and were found in cities of Mesopotamia or the broader Near East, including Nippur, Ur, Isin, Uruk, Kish, Sippar, and Susa. A single tablet bearing copies of two of the letters and dating to the Middle Babylonian period was also found at Susa. About 115 cuneiform tablets bearing copies of one or more CKU letters are currently known. We are going to show here 43 letters:)

LETTER FROM ARADGU TO SHULGI ABOUT APILLASHA

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.01

1-2. Say to my lord: this is what Aradgu, your servant, says:

3-8. You instructed me, as I was taking the direct route to Subir, to secure your provincial taxes, to inform myself precisely as to the state of the territory, and to ensure its obedience by taking counsel with Apillasa, the 'Sage of the Assembly', so that he could thus return the people of Subir to their customary way of speaking.

9-11. But when I arrived at the palace gate, no one enquired after the well-being of my lord. No one rose from their seat before me, or bowed down. [(1 ms. adds:) They intimidated me.]

12-18. [When I came nearer] [(1 ms. has instead:) …… carries ……] -- well, your wayside hostel where carding-combs and lances inlaid with gold, silver, cornelian and lapis lazuli have been set up, covers an area of one hectare! Apillasa himself is decked out in [gold and lapis lazuli] [(1 ms. has instead:) lapis lazuli, gold, silver and cornelian], and he sits on a raised throne furnished with a rich raiment. His feet rest upon a golden footstool. He would not remove his feet in my presence!

19-21. To his right and left he had …… soldiers stationed, five thousand at each side. He placed at their disposal six fattened oxen and [60] [(1 ms. has instead:) 20] fattened [sheep] [(1 ms. has instead:) rams] for a meal. He assumed the right to perform my lord's lustration rites.

22-25. After a close interrogation at the gate, nobody even bade me enter. When I finally entered, someone brought me a throne with studs plated with red gold and told me: "Sit down!" I replied: "I am here to present the instructions of my king. Therefore I will not sit down!""

26-28. They brought me [two fattened oxen] [(1 ms. has instead:) one fattened ox] and [20] [(the same ms. has instead:) 6] fattened sheep to my table. Then because, without ……, my lord's soldiers overturned my table, I became frightened and my flesh crept.

29-34. In the month Ezen-Ninazu, after [the 15th day] [(1 ms. has instead:) five days had passed], my lord gave me his instructions. [By the first day] [(2 mss. have instead:) after one day had passed] of the month U-bigu, I [sent to you] [(1 ms. has instead:) I sent to my lord ……] a messenger. Now it is [midday] [(1 ms. has instead:) mid-month] [(1 other ms. has instead:) the day did not ……], …… approached. May my lord know!

LETTER FROM SHULGI TO ARADGU ABOUT APILLASHA

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.02

1-2. Say to Aradgu: this is what Shulgi, your lord, says:

3-5. The man to whom I have sent you is not your subordinate -- he will not [accept] [(1 ms. has instead:) change] orders from your hand! How can you ignore what he himself has done too, and that it is indeed so?

6-15. As I myself ordered, you were to secure the provinces, and to correctly guide the people and [make them obedient] [(2 mss. have instead:) secure the foundations of the provinces]. When you approach the cities of the provinces, inform yourself precisely of their intentions, and inform yourself of the words of their dignitaries. Let my roar [be emitted over all the lands] [(1 ms. has instead:) fill all the lands] [(1 ms. has instead:) cover all the lands]. Let my powerful arm, my heroic arm, fall upon all the lands. Let my storm [cover] [(1 ms. has instead:) be released over] the Land. Make the …… disappear into the desert, and the robbers into the fields! Until you reach Apillasa, my 'Sage of the Assembly', ……! Let …….

16-17. That was how I had instructed you. Why have you not acted as I ordered you?

18-26. If I do not make my 'Sage of the Assembly' feel just as important as I am, if he does not sit on a throne on a dais, furnished with a high-quality cloth cover (?), if his feet do not rest on a golden footstool, if he is not allowed by his own highest authority both to appoint and then to remove a governor from his function as governor, an official [from his charge] [(some mss. have instead:) from his function as official] [(1 ms. has instead:) from an official], if he does not kill or blind anyone, if he does not elevate his favourite over others -- how else can he secure the provinces?

27-28. If you truly love me, you will not bear him a grudge!

29-30. You are important, [but you do not even know your own soldiers] [(1 ms. has instead:) and you even know the soldiers that are at Apillasa's disposal]. Your eyes have learnt something about [these men] [(some mss. have instead:) Apillasa's men], and about [Apillasa's heroism] [(some mss. have instead:) my heroism].

31-35. If [you, Aradgu, are indeed my servant] [(some mss. have instead:) you, Aradgu and Apillasa, are indeed my servants], you should both pay attention to my written communications. Come to an understanding, you two! Secure the foundations of the provinces! It is urgent!

LETTER FROM ARADGU TO SHULGI ABOUT IRRIGATION WORK

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.03

1-2. Say to my lord: thus says Aradgu, your servant:

3-6. My lord, you have given me instructions about every matter, from the sea and the land of Dilmun, [from the salt waters and the borders of the land of the Martu] [(some mss. have instead:) to the salt waters and the borders of the land of the Martu], [to] [(1 ms. has instead:) from] the [side] [(1 ms. has instead:) borders (?)] of Simurrum and [the territory of ……] [(1 ms. has instead:) the territory of Subir]:

7-11. Their various cities and [all their environs] [(1 ms. has instead:) their troops], their canals, fields, arable tracts and their embankments and ditches,

1 line unclear

All the cities are listening to my lord.

[1 line unclear]

12-14. I have established strong guards for their fortresses, and I have made all their troops submit.

[1 line unclear]

15-22. I have drained the arable tracts when they were flooded. I have …… when their embankments were leaky. I have …… their fields and reedbeds. …… bowing their heads …….

4 lines fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

LETTER FROM ARADGU TO SHULGI ABOUT THE COUNTRY

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.04

Segment A

1-2. Say to my lord: This is what Aradgu, your servant, says:

3-7. My lord, the vast territory which has been given to you as booty has been made obedient: it is of one mind. The people, abundant as vegetation, belong to Shulgi, shepherd of the reliable word. You are the god of mankind, in the south and the highlands. They keep their gaze fixed on you.

8-15. The widespread people, abundant as vegetation, say: "Hail, my lord!", from the flooding Tigris and Euphrates to the Tigris ……. …… will rise. …… put aside. …… I will make. …… which is esteemed. When I have filled ……,

[1 line fragmentary / unknown no. of lines missing]

Segment B

1-8. [1 line fragmentary] …… which he obtained, I am …….

[1 line fragmentary] …… the citizens of the territory of Gutium, ……, Mari and Rapiqum, who will listen at all times, are before me. Whatever you say, my lord, I will do.

LETTER FROM ARADGU TO SHULGI ABOUT ABA-INDASA'S MISSING TROOPS

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.05

1-2. Say to my lord: this is what Aradgu, your servant, says:

3-4. Aba-indasa, the captain of the royal pledged troops, has sent you ……. May my lord take note most carefully concerning this matter.

5-10. When I had set my sights towards Zimudar, I was levying troops for the expedition, my lord; but when Aba-indasa had inspected the troops, 2000 men of those troops were missing. They were not ……, nor ……. They have …… the fortress, my lord, they have taken …….

11-15. …… offence …….

[2 lines fragmentary] Whatever you say, my lord! May my lord know!

LETTER FROM ARADGU TO SHULGI ABOUT THE FORTRESS IGI-HURSAGA

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.06

Segment A

1-2. Say to my lord: This is what Aradgu, your servant, says:

3-4. My lord, your word is the word of An, it ……. Your decreed destiny has been bestowed on you as on a god.

5-9. As to the fortification which my lord sent me back to, the work on it has been put into effect. The approach of the enemy is kept at a distance from the Land. My lord continues to maintain his sublime reputation in the south and the uplands, from the rising to the setting sun, as far as the borders of the entire Land. [The rebellious (?) Martu have turned back ……] [(an Akkadian gloss has instead:) The totality ……].

10-12. [Kurgamabi] [(an Akkadian gloss has instead:) Kunsi-matum] …… to Shulgi. The fortress Igi-hursaga ……. And who will rival him ……?

unknown no. of lines missing

Segment B

1-3. [……] [(an Akkadian gloss has instead:) The letter of] my lord ……. Whatever ……, my lord, ……. My lord should ……!

LETTER FROM SHULGI TO ARADGU ABOUT ABA-INDASA'S LETTER

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.06.1

Version A

1-2. Say to Aradgu: This is what your lord Shulgi says:

3-9. Because Aba-indasa, the captain of the pledged troops, had sent a letter concerning ……, he indeed insisted on clamping down heavily, when you have borne the offence. Why do they let him rise up from among their troops and make him enter …… of my guard? Carry it, and have your heart bear the offence, …… the enemy has departed, and then return him to their troops!

10-17. From my own ……, …… the fortress …….

approx. 2 lines fragmentary I had set up ……. …… the fortress ……, you knew (?) ……. …… sending my letter by his hand, …… return him to their troops!

18-22. …… when you have made good by appointing ……, …… you …… ruin ……! …… was set, it was …… for you. In a safe place where …… before you, you should take your seat on a throne. This is urgent!

VERSION B

[unknown no. of lines missing]

1-7. [1 line fragmentary] …… Ur-Namma, my own father, …… the fortress ……. …… I have set up for their ……. From …… the fortress ……. After …… my letter, return …… to their troops!

8-10. May …… not ruin their city! Its pride …… for their troops. ……, may you …… on a throne.

LETTER FROM PUZUR-SHULGI TO SHULGI ABOUT THE ADVANCE OF THE ENEMY

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.07

1-3. Say to my lord: this is what [Puzur-Shulgi] [(1 ms. has instead:) Puzur-Marduk] [(1 other ms. has instead:) Puzur-Numusda], the commander of the fortress Igi-hursaga, your servant, says:

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4-8. All the [gold and silver] [(1 ms. has instead:) gold and lapis lazuli] [(1 other ms. has instead:) silver and gold] that my lord has been fashioning for the [(1 ms. adds:) great] gods -- is it not for his own life? For [the life] [(1 ms. has instead:) the well-being] of the troops and his land, my king has built the great fortress Igi-hursaga for the people of his land, because of the wicked enemy.

9-11. And now the enemy troops have risen up. [One] [(1 ms. has instead:) ……] man who had fled from me has been brought back. Having been caught, he has given me evidence of this, and [went ahead] [(1 ms. has instead:) "…… go!", and I went].

12-14. I am also well-informed about the oracular signs concerning the enemy: the enemy has replenished his strength for battle. However, my strength is limited. I cannot strengthen the fortress further or [guard it] [(1 ms. has instead:) guard the cities] against him.

15-22. As for the sector of [Su-Numusda] [(1 ms. has instead:) Su-Marduk] [(1 other ms. has instead:) Puzur-Numusda], the ruler of Girilumtura: five nindan lengths of it are cut off. As for the sector of Lugal-melem, the manager of the [Segseg watercourse] [(1 ms. has instead:) city of …… (the correct form of this name is not known)]: [40] [(1 ms. has instead:) 25] [(1 other ms. has instead:) 30] [(1 further ms. has instead:) 45] nindan lengths of …… on top of it are no longer fixed. As for the sector of Ka-kugani, the ruler of the territory of Murub: 45 nindan lengths were destroyed when the opposite side was captured. As for the sector of Takil-ilisu, the [canal inspector] [(1 ms. has instead:) ruler] of the Ab-gal and Me-Enlila watercourses: 50 nindan lengths of the edge have been removed, and in the middle of it they collapsed.

23-25. Moreover it is not [established] [(1 ms. has instead:) stated] [(1 other ms. has instead:) known] when the enemy will pitch camp. [Once the enemy is camped I will replenish my powers] [(1 ms. has instead:) The enemy will replenish his strength for battle]. [(1 ms. adds:) I will fortify …… and …….] His troops are camped among the hills.

26-29. If my lord agrees, [may he send to me speedily] [(1 ms. has instead:) ……, let there be available] 7,200 soldiers as workmen who will carry baskets for me. [May he send to me speedily] [(1 ms. has instead:) May there come, at my disposal,] 70 [Simaskian attendants ……] [(1 ms. has instead:) ……] [(1 other ms. has instead:) ……].

30-31. [The enemy has devised their plans concerning this: "I will resettle them"] [(1 ms. has instead:) The enemy has devised his plans and has resettled the people] [(1 other ms. has instead:) Plans concerning me have been devised: "I will resettle them"]. May it be known that, by night or by day the enemy's sins are forever grave.

32-34. I am the loyal servant of my lord Shulgi. [(1 ms. adds:) …… which is not negligent.] Let this not be the death of me! May my lord know! [(1 ms. adds:) It is urgent!]

LETTER FROM SHULGI TO PUZUR-SHULGI ABOUT THE FORTRESS IGI-HURSAGA

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.08

VERSION A

SEGMENT A

1-3. Say to Puzur-Shulgi, the commander ……: this is what Shulgi, your lord, says:

4-8. When I had …… the fortress Igi-hursaga, and An and Enlil had …… supreme rule over all the foreign lands and the widespread people, the cities and the Land ……, and the people of the widespread Land lay …….

[1 line fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT B

1. They should mobilise all these cities.

2-6. When the master-builder has taken up the work concerned, he is to re-establish securely any place where the fortification has fallen into ruins. Let him reinforce and also rebuild it. The neglected work load is to be completed within one month; I shall be questioning him about this work.

7-11. …… the Tidnum have returned from their mountain land. I am therefore setting over you Lu-Nanna, the ruler of the province of Zimudar, together with his troops (?). There is for you …… together with his ……. There is not for him …….

[1 line fragmentary]

13-14. May …… be sent when …… is completed.

15-17. Should Lu-Nanna, the ruler of the province of Zimudar, together with his troops, abandon you, then you and Aradgu [should not turn aside] [(1 ms. has instead:) should not feel constrained].

18-21. The orders are rigorous: you should not neglect your work load. They are to proceed with the building work by night and in the heat of noon. You will not be sleeping during the night or in the heat of noon! You should know this! It is urgent!

VERSION B (from Susa)

1-2. Say to Puzur-Numusda: this is what Shulgi, your lord, says:

3-7. When I had built the great fortress Igi-hursaga and An and Enlil had given to me the …… over all the foreign lands and the widespread people, each of their towns and all their provinces, and the people of the widespread Land lay in green meadows. I made them rest in spacious habitations, in peaceful dwelling places.

8-13. As for their men and women: the man among them goes wherever he pleases, and the woman with spindle and hair clasp goes wherever she pleases. After they had set up stock-pens in the vastness of the desert, and established their tents and camps, the workmen and the labourers spend the days in the fields.

14-15. In order that the ruler and the general manager can build everything for you concerning the fortress, carry out this work on the fortress now. The reputation of this fortress shall not be diminished.

16-19. By consulting omens and according to my heart's desire I have benefited the life of the troops and the province ……. Now the troops have arrived. As for the work on this fortress, the men are to proceed with the building work on it.

20-22. Now I have sent Aradgu to you. Let the ruler and the general manager bring these men. They are to mobilise all the settlements.

23-27. The master builder has taken up his work. Where substantial work has been neglected, let him return to it. He is to reinforce and rebuild it. He is to complete the fortress within one month. Let him not question this assignment.

28-30. May Lu-Nanna, the ruler of the province of Zimudar, go to join his troops. He certainly has flour provisions with him. He should not be deterred by hardship.

31. When the fortress is completed, a letter from the two of you should reach me.

32-36. When you have seen for yourselves, let Lu-Nanna, the ruler of the province of Zimudar, proceed to his troops. You and Aradgu should not delay them! Let the building work proceed both by night and by the noonday heat. Your orders are rigorous, and you should not give up this work load. It is urgent!

LETTER FROM SHULGI TO PUZUR-SHULGI ABOUT WATERWAYS

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.10

1-2. Say to Puzur-Shulgi, commander of the fortress Igi-hursaga: this is what Shulgi, your lord, says:

3-5. [Where] [(1 ms. has instead:) when] I had built the great fortress Igi-hursaga, the …… not come out. The …… cannot drink water, [because of a breach (?) in (?) the Tigris and Euphrates] [(1 ms. has instead:) …… together with the Euphrates].

6-9. In order that …… should lie down, in order that …… should be absolutely clean, in order that …… should be put ……,

[1 line missing]

10-14. I will make …… change ……. After sending you back ……, I instructed you ……. I have built there ……. They returned …….

15-16. May …… be taken up. May he rebuild …….

17-22. …… is sending to me ……. I will ask you ……. …… of Zimudar shall indeed come to you …….

[1 line fragmentary] …… was taken.

23-28. …… be sent. I know very well ……. …… abandon you. Should …… take ……, you both ……. It is urgent!

LETTER FROM ARADGU TO SHULGI ABOUT BANDITS AND APILLASA

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.11

[unknown number of lines missing]

1-7. The men started irrigation work on the watercourses, […… the watercourses ……] [(1 ms. has instead:) and dug and cleaned them out thoroughly]. These bandits and brigands applied their hoes to levelling the desert completely. As for their men and their women [(1 ms. adds:) …… the road ……]: the man among them goes wherever he pleases, [the woman among them] [(1 ms. has instead:) the woman], holding a spindle and hair clasp in her hand, [goes] [(1 ms. has instead:) ……] [(1 other ms. has instead:) going] the way of her choice. In the vastness of the desert [they set up] [(1 ms. has instead:) they knock up] animal pens, and [after setting up their tents and camps] [(1 ms. has instead:) they lie in green meadows in their tents and camps], their workers and agricultural labourers spend the day together on the fields.

8-14. I have not neglected the instructions of my lord Shulgi: both at night and in the noonday heat I …… my neck; I …… the workload concerned. Since his childhood, Apillasa [has ……] [(1 ms. has instead:) has not ……]. A man such as he knows my heart, as your eyes [know] [(1 ms. has instead:) have seen]. My lord, with the open eye of a god, […… to an evildoer ……] [(1 ms. has instead:) you know the evildoer]. While the great …… official of all the foreign lands surpasses ……, my lord, you surpass all great things, …… an equal.

15-20. [The report is returned ……;] [(1 ms. has instead:) Whatever statements have been made ……,] your matter is an important matter, and your affairs are great affairs. His pleasant words are in your heart, ……. They are the people. Your eyes ……. How could I bear a grudge? I am securing the foundations of the province, and making it obedient. My lord, no king can rival you; let your heart be glad!

LETTER FROM UR-DUN TO SHULGI ABOUT APILLASA

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.11.1

1-2. Say to my lord: this is what the merchant Ur-DUN, your servant, says:

3-9. My lord gave me silver and sent me to a distant land in order to purchase cedar resin. After I had entered the land and had purchased cedar resin, Apillasa, the 'Sage of the Assembly', sent men to me and they took away my goods.

10-16. When I arrived at his palace gate, no one enquired about my business. Aradgu, your servant, and Babati, the archivist, had gone from Zimudar to Simurrum and had learnt …… and their messengers …….

17-18. …… of my lord ……. Being in a weak position, I was not able to …… their illegal seizure.

19-20. He has given you a report, lord. Whatever you say, my lord!

LETTER FROM SHULGI TO ARADGU ABOUT TROOPS

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.13.1

1-2. To Aradgu ……: …… Shulgi ……:

3-8. [2 lines fragmentary] As regards your concern ……. May ……. For their troops …… not …….

[1 line fragmentary] Their troops …….

LETTER FROM SHULGI TO ISHBI-ERRA ABOUT THE PURCHASE OF GRAIN

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.13.2

1-2. Say to Isbi-Erra: this is what Shulgi, your lord, says:

3-5. You have made me so happy with the news and everything. Who could give me a house-born slave such as you are? Who has such a capable man, so beneficial to his lord?

6-7. Now, no sign can confirm anything of what I have been sending to you, but I have sent it to you anyway.

8-11. I had Babati, the archivist -- who is to me a grandfather, an advisor of longstanding, who knows how to give advice -- send you 600 talents of silver and 600 talents of gold, which I had delivered to you because of the taking of …… from my troops.

12-14. I have also sent you intelligence information about the troops. Pass it on to Babati, and do whatever he wishes, lest his heart suddenly turns to hatred!

15-17. You are to receive the gold and silver from him, and purchase grain everywhere according to whatever exchange rate they will take from you. May your …… nothing at all.

18-19. From today, you are my son who makes me happy. The cities of the province, the land of the Martu, Elam -- all of them I have placed before you: you are just as important as I am.

20-22. So sit before them on a throne on a golden dais ……! Let their messengers prostrate themselves in front of you! May your …… at its rear; do not …… at all!

23-27. Remove a governor -- appoint a governor! Appoint a commander! Designate a captain-general! Certainly you should put a man to death, a man who has killed: blind the man who has killed! Build your house of manhood for an attendant who has been favourably looked upon! Make sure your recompense is great!

28-29. Now, you should not suddenly alter your word about all that I have been sending to you.

LETTER FROM SHARRUM-BANI TO SHU-SUEN ABOUT KEEPING THE MARTU AT BAY

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.15

1-2. Say to Su-Suen, my lord: this is what Sarrum-bani, the 'Sage of the Assembly', your servant, says:

3-8. You sent me a message ordering me to work on the construction of the great fortification Muriq-Tidnim. [You presented yourself before me] [(1 ms. has instead:) A messenger presented himself before me], announcing: "The Martu have invaded the land." [You instructed me] [(1 ms. has

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instead:) You have imposed on me as a task] to build the fortification, so as to cut off their route; also, that no breaches of the Tigris or the Euphrates should cover the fields with water.

9-11. When I was setting out, their …… from the bank of the Ab-gal watercourse to the province of Zimudar.

12-16. When I was constructing this fortification to the length of 26 danna, and had reached the area between the two mountain ranges, I was informed of the Martu camping within the mountain ranges because of my building work. Simurrum had come to their assistance. So I set off to the area between the mountain ranges of Ebih in order to engage in military action.

17-18. But as far as I can say, I have not seen troops carrying baskets. In order to engage in military action, I went to their …….

19-21. If my lord agrees, may he provide me with additional workmen and set the wages for me. …… did not succeed …… tribute of the provinces.

22-26. I sent a messenger to the province of Murub: the attitude of the province has altered. I will not neglect to build the fortification -- in fact I am building and engaging in military action at the same time. After all, as 'Sage of the Assembly' I descend from a great lineage! I have been advised that the attitude of the province has not altered.

27-30. At the time I sent my messenger to you, I sent another messenger, after him, to [Lu-Nanna] [(1 ms. has instead:) Lu-Enki], the ruler of the province of Zimudar. He has sent you 7200 workers.

31-33. Basket men are available; however, men fit to engage in military action are limited. If my lord should arrange the dismissal of the workers ready to work, let me pursue military action together with them, when I have removed them.

34-38. The dignitaries of your provinces are sending a man to them. They have presented themselves before me, announcing: "As far as we are concerned, we are unable to guard all the cities. But how exactly will any troops be given to you?" My messenger has been sent to them.

39-43. Once my lord has given me instructions, I will repeatedly return to work at nightfall and at midnight, as well as engaging in military action. I stand at the disposal of the fame and word of my lord, and so I will bring weapons to bear. No strength has yet been displayed, nor any firmness shown by means of weapons. Let the storm cover all the lands! May my lord know!

LETTER FROM SHU-SUEN TO SHARRUM-BANI ABOUT DIGGING A TRENCH

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.16

1-2. Say to Sarrum-bani: this is what Su-Suen, your lord, says:

3-6. The messenger whom you have sent to me ……. …… you do not exceed …… my instructions, as I ordered you.

[1 line unclear]

As for myself, whatever you say to me …….

7-14. When you went into the province -- who but you has approached the province? Spending the night ……. When their dignitaries have …… their words, if ……

1 line unclear

Their dignitaries should stand by you in their quarters. When their …… have been cast away, they themselves …… the province.

15-20. If …… officials should pass by,

[1 line unclear]

By placing the enemy, their cities, their borders ……, until [they come down] [(1 ms. has instead:) they come out from their fortress], they must not overturn it!

21-22. When their men had killed, [their women] [(1 ms. has instead:) their soldiers] passed through your cities of the province; it was not …….

23-24. That was how I instructed you. Why did you not act as I ordered you?

25-27. You were not empowered to kill anyone, to blind people or to destroy cities; but I gave you authority to do so.

28-30. When my father Shulgi built the fortress ……, it was not you people who were involved -- and my throne is not the throne of Shulgi!

31-34. Concerning Lu-Enki, the ruler of the province of Zimudar, he should come to you, and should bring with him 60 troops. Let them be sent together with …….

35-36. ……, the archivist, made …… limited. According to the instructions that have been given to him, he should build that fortress.

37-38. And as for you, with the soldiers who are under your authority, get the trench dug!

39-42. So as not to change the attitude of the province, you people are not to release the workers while the land has not yet been secured.

43-45. Let messengers bring me news about those eastern provinces. This is urgent!

LETTER FROM ISHBI-ERRA TO IBBI-SUEN ABOUT THE PURCHASE OF GRAIN

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.17

1-2. Say to Ibbi-Suen, my lord: this is what Isbi-Erra, your servant, says:

3-6. You ordered me to travel to Isin and Kazallu to purchase grain. With grain reaching the exchange rate of one shekel of silver per gur, 20 talents of silver have been invested for [the purchase] [(2 mss. have instead:) ……] of grain.

7-12. I heard news that the hostile Martu have entered inside your territories. [I entered with 72,000 gur of grain] [(1 ms. has instead:) 72,000 gur of grain was brought] -- the entire amount of grain -- inside Isin. Now I have let the Martu, all of them, penetrate inside the Land, and one by one I have seized all the fortifications therein. Because of the Martu, [I am unable to hand over] [(2 mss. have instead:) I am unable to make ……] this grain for threshing. They are stronger than me, while I am condemned to sitting around.

13-16. Let my lord repair 600 [barges] [(2 mss. have instead:) boats] of 120 gur draught each; 72 solid boats, 20 ……, 30 ……, placing 50 …… and 60 (?) boat doors on the boats, may he also …… all the boats.

17-21. [Let them bring it up] [(1 ms. has instead:) May he make them go out] by water, along the Kura and the Palistum watercourses, to the grain heaps that are spread out. And I myself intend to [go] [(1 ms. has instead:) come out] and meet them. The place there where the boats moor will be under my responsibility. Let them load up huge amounts of grain, the entire amount of grain; it should reach you.

22-23. If you have not got enough grain, I myself shall have grain brought in to you.

24-28. My lord has become distressed about the battles in Elam. But the Elamites' grain rations have quickly been exhausted, so do not slacken your forces! Do not fall head first into their slavery, nor follow at their heels!

29-30. I have at my disposal enough grain to meet the needs of your palace and of [all the cities] [(1 ms. has instead:) all your cities] for 15 years.

31-33. [That I should guard for you] [(2 mss. have instead:) To guard] [(1 ms. adds:) the city of] Isin, and Nibru: [let it be my responsibility.] [(1 ms. has instead:) my lord, is this my responsibility?] My lord should know this! (end of shorter version)

34-37. My lord, I am without fear! I will not delay; I will not …… in their midst. Each one of Isin's and Nibru's gods may search there for faces; I have indeed looked for them. Their widespread people, their population ……, huge ……, are indeed healthy; the true seed is [indeed great there] [(1 ms. has instead:) precious].

38-41. Urim, your holy city, rivalling heaven and earth, whose great prince you are ……, of which the appearance is precious, which dispenses the divine powers and makes the foundations and the plans firm both in the south and in the uplands, will surely escape from the grasp and will cry …….

42-45. Elam, a raging dog, a destroyer, will not defile E-kis-nu-gal, the sanctuary which covers heaven and earth, which has no ……. Its protective spirits shall not be split apart! My lord: the loudest roarer, the runner, has taken flight!

46-51. May An, Enlil and Enki, who have loved Ibbi-Suen from the womb, look upon him approvingly. …… is indeed placed there; they have changed their appearance. With the …… and the city-gates of Urim opening, they cry "Aee!" If …… says, "Who is my lord?" -- You are the king to whom Enlil has given …… no rival!

52-55. Your heart should not fret over this, ……! For …… has avenged ……; he has made its foundations firm for you. Let your heart be glad over …… and its seed. As long as my lord is alive, he will exercise kingship over Urim.

56-58. Do not suddenly reject anything that is sent as a message to my lord! Before Utu, I will not change my word.

LETTER FROM IBBI-SUEN TO ISHBI-ERRA ABOUT HIS BAD CONDUCT

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.18

1-2. Say to Isbi-Erra: this is what your lord (?), Ibbi-Suen, says:

3-10. As long as Enlil was my lord, what course were you following? And is this how you alter your word? Today Enlil detests me, he detests his son Suen (the principal deity of Urim) , and is handing Urim over to the enemy. Its central part is gone, the enemy has risen up, and all the lands are thrown into disarray. But on the day when Enlil turns again towards his son Suen, you and your word will be marked out!

11-13. You have received 20 talents of silver to purchase grain. You purchase it at the price of one shekel of silver per 2 gur of grain, but in dealing with me, you fix the price at one shekel of silver per 1 gur of grain!

14-18. How could you allow Puzur-Numusda, the commander of the fortress Igi-hursaga, to let the hostile Martu penetrate into my Land? Until now he has not sent to you word about engaging in battle. There are puny men in the Land! Why has he not faced the Martu?

LETTER FROM PUZUR-SHULGI TO IBBI-SUEN ABOUT ISHBI-ERRA'S CLAIM ON ISIN

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.19

1-3. Say to Ibbi-Suen, my lord: this is what Puzur-Shulgi, the governor of Kazallu, your servant, says:

4-6. A messenger of Isbi-Erra came to me. He presented himself before me announcing: "Isbi-Erra, my lord, sends you a message:"

7-14. " "Enlil, my lord, has …… the shepherdship of the land. Enlil has told me to bring before Ninisina the cities, deities and troops of the region of the Tigris, Euphrates, Ab-gal and Me-Enlila watercourses, from the province of Ḫamazi [to the sea of Magan] [(1 ms. has instead:) and from the …… of Magan], so as to make Isin the storehouse of Enlil, to make it famous, and [to make those regions its spoils of war and to make Isin's citizens occupy their cities] [(1 ms. has instead:) to make Isin's citizens occupy the cities as spoils of war.]""

15-17. " "Why do you oppose (?) me? [I swear by the name of my lord Enlil and by Dagan, my personal god] [(2 mss. have instead:) I swear by the name of Dagan, my personal god], that I will indeed get hold of Kazallu!""

18-25. " "The cities and the province which Enlil has promised me [I want to build up] [(1 ms. has instead:) I want to place] within Isin in their ……. I want to perform at their eses festivals. I want to install my statues, my emblems, my en priests [(2 mss. add:) and lumah priests] and nindigir priestesses in their gipar shrines. Before Enlil, within the E-kur, before Nanna, within the E-kis-nu-gal, the …… shall speak their prayers.""

26-29. " "And as for you, [I want to remove] [(2 mss. have instead:) …… eradicate] from within his country the man in whom you placed your trust! I want to rebuild the fortification of Isin and name it Idil-pasunu!""

30-32. Just as he said he would, he has rebuilt the fortification of Isin and named it Idil-pasunu.

33-34. He has captured Nibru and installed [his garrison] [(1 ms. has instead:) set guards] there. Also he has captured Nigdugani, the chief administrator [of Nibru] [(1 ms. has instead:) at Nibru].

35-36. He [has imprisoned] [(1 ms. has instead:) made a prisoner of] Zinnum, the governor [of Subir] [(1 ms. has instead:) of Kis]. He has plundered Ḫamazi.

37-42. He has made [Nūr-ahi] [(2 mss. have instead:) Nūr-Ea], the governor of Esnunna, Su-Enlil, the governor of Kis, and [Puzur-Tutu] [(1 ms. has instead:) Puzur-Marduk], the governor of Bad-ziaba, return to their posts. At his cry of victory the land …… is covered like a ……. Isbi-Erra is constantly at the head of his soldiers!

43-48. Just as he said he would, he has captured the regions of the Tigris, Euphrates, Ab-gal and Me-Enlila watercourses. He has made Iddin enter Malgium. [Opposing] [(1 ms. has instead:) hating] Girbubu, the governor of Girikal, he [cut off his strap] [(2 mss. have instead:) he removed his barley stores] and captured him. [His cry of victory lies heavily upon us] [(1 ms. has instead:) …… he named ……].

49-53. Now Isbi-Erra is looking in my direction. I have no ally, nobody with whom I can align myself. Since he has not yet been able to get me in his grasp, let me come to you when he falls upon me. My lord should know this!

LETTER FROM IBBI-SUEN TO PUZUR-SHULGI HOPING FOR ISHBI-ERRA'S DOWNFALL

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.20

VERSION A

1-3. Say to [Puzur-Shulgi] [(2 mss. have instead:) Puzur-Numusda], the governor of Kazallu: this is what Ibbi-Suen, your lord, says:

4-5. When I had chosen for you …… from among the troops, they were at your disposal, as governor of Kazallu. But as in my own case, are not [your troops] [(1 ms. has instead:) your people] proof of your importance?

6-9. Why have you sent me somebody saying: "Isbi-Erra has got his eyes upon me -- so let me come to you when he falls upon me"?

10-14. How come you did not know how long it would take to make Isbi-Erra return to the mountain lands? Why have you and Girbubu, the governor of Girikal, not confronted him with the troops which you had at hand? How could you allow him to restore ……?

15-19. Today Enlil loathes Sumer and has elevated to the shepherdship of the Land an ape which has [descended] [(2 mss. have instead:) come forth] from those mountain lands. [Now Enlil has given kingship to a dishonest man, [a seller of] [(1 ms. has instead:) who values] asafoetida] [(1 ms. has instead:) At this moment Enlil …… to somebody who sells asafoetida, a

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peripatetic criminal] -- to Isbi-Erra, who is not of Sumerian origin.

20-24. See, the assembly where the gods are and Sumer itself have been dispersed! Father Enlil, whose words prevail, said: "Until the enemy has been expelled from Urim, Isbi-Erra, the man from Mari, will tear out Urim's foundations. He will indeed measure out Sumer like grain." He has spoken just so.

25-28. Even though you were installed as governors of the various …… the others will defect to Isbi-Erra, in accordance with Enlil's word. Should you hand over your city to the enemy like your companions, [Isbi-Erra will not recognise you as his faithful and agreeable servant.] [(1 ms. has instead:) will Isbi-Erra recognise you as his faithful and agreeable servant?]

29-34. May it now be brought about that good words should be restored and treason extinguished. Let Isbi-Erra participate in the harvest among the people there; but you yourself, [do not turn back] [(1 ms. has instead:) do not harvest], and do not come to me! His grasp should not get hold of the city! This man from Mari, with the understanding of a dog, should not exercise lordship!

35-38. [Now Enlil, my helper, has made the Martu rise from their mountain lands] [(1 ms. has instead:) Now Enlil has …… the Tidnum as …… from their mountain lands]. They will repel Elam and seize Isbi-Erra. To regain the Land will indeed make our might known in all the foreign lands. It is urgent! [Do not be neglectful] [(1 ms. has instead:) Do not all give up]!

VERSION B

[unknown no. of lines missing]

1-4. …… sent ……:

[1 line missing]

…… come. …… they stood …….

5-8. How come you did not know …… to make …… return to the mountain lands? …… of Girikal, they had ……, they have not confronted him. How could you allow him to ……?

9-13. …… detests ……. After he has elevated …… to the shepherdship of the Land. …… has given kingship to …… asafoetida ……, who is …….

14-19. After …… has been dispersed,

[3 lines missing]

Enlil spoke thus: "…… will ……."

20-23.

[1 line fragmentary] He will defect to Isbi-Erra ……. So long as …… has indeed not been handed over to the enemy, will Isbi-Erra himself recognise ……?

24-35. You …… …… he destroyed for you.

[1 line fragmentary] …… he overturns there. …… returning ……. …… in my having ……. I had in mind ……. …… was set there in prosperity. …… is supreme over ……, after I have made …… there. I will seize him with my own hands …….

[1 line fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

LETTER FROM ABA-INDASA TO SHULGI ABOUT HIS NEGLECT

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.21

1-8. Say to my lord, and repeat to my kid of the mountains, with beautiful horns; to my horse of the mountains, with an eagle's claws; my date-palm, growing on untouched ground and with fresh dates hanging from it: this is what the captain of pledged [troops] [(2 mss. have instead:) soldiers], Aba-indasa -- who, by means of prayers for his king, greatly pleases his king's heart -- your servant, says:

9-10. You are mighty, [my lord; I will follow you] [(1 ms. has instead:) let me be your soldier]! [Let me be the courier of your business] [(1 ms. has instead:) I will stand before him attentively]!

11-13. When a boat is available, I will steer with the rudder; [when water is available] [(1 ms. has instead:) when a father is available], I will plunge in; [(2 mss. add:) when a son is available, I will thresh;] [(1 ms. adds:) …… I will make …… shiny;] when wind is available, [I will winnow] [(1 ms. has instead:) I will ……].

14-15. I am a scribe and I write on stelae. [(2 ms. add:) …… business concerning the troops.] I will …… business which has been neglected in the assembly, when it ……. [(1 ms. adds:) …… business which makes good …… equal.]

16-19. But like a tree planted in riverine thickets, I am bowed down in dirt. They have bound a rope around my hands, on my chair where they have tied me. In my city, where I would wear clean clothes, I am clothed instead in mourning dress. When I wash away clods of soil, dust still gets into my eyes.

20-23. Dogs devour corpses, lifting their chests. When dragons kill, what is left from their mouths is put aside. Fire consumes reedbeds even though they have waterways. Utu, who eats butter, who eats cream, nevertheless touches the table of the poor. [(1 ms. adds:) Grant me my life and hold my hands! I am a son of a widow, and I have no one to take care of me.]

24. As for me, when will the heart of Shulgi, my lord, be restored to me? [(1 ms. adds:) May my lord attend to me and restore me to my mother.]

LETTER FROM SIN-ILLAT TO IDDIN-DAGAN ABOUT CONFRONTING THE MARTU

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.2.01

1-3. Speak to my lord: this is what Sin-illat the general, your servant, says:

4-7. When I moved opposite Kakkulatum, the Martu rose up from their ambush with their weapons. When I ……, I captured 70 …… and brought them into Kakkulatum.

8-11. If my lord arranges for the troops to encamp, let him have them take their tied-up leather sacks. If my lord arranges for the troops not to encamp, [then let them stay put] [(2 mss. have instead:) then let them go]. [May my lord know] [(1 ms. has instead:) This is urgent]!

LETTER FROM IDDIN-DAGAN TO SIN-ILLAT ABOUT THE TROOPS

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.2.02

1-2. Speak to Sin-illat the general: this is what Iddin-Dagan, your lord, says:

3-9. My expeditionary force is able to cross to both banks of the river, inspiring awe and creating a blockade. When you moved opposite Kakkulatum, the protective goddess and Dagan and …… and Enlil, king of the Land, …… the soldiers. My splendour covers the Land. And as for you, your heroism and strength …….

[1 line fragmentary] Kingship …….

10-19. The troops ……. …… heavy work. You should …… the recruits (?) of the …… men who are mounting guard. They should check on your behalf …… all those entering and leaving. My lord, ……. When you …… by your treacherous ……. [Do not cut back your troops] [(1 ms. has instead:) their troops ……]. Come quickly! It is urgent!

LETTER FROM NANNA-KI-AG TO LIPIT-ESHTAR ABOUT GUNGUNUM'S TROOPS

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.2.03

1-3. Speak to my lord: this is what Nanna-ki-ag the general, your servant, says:

4-6. E-danna has turned against my lord. Atta-mannum has made six hundred troops of Gungunum enter into E-danna.

7-11. I would not allow these troops to enter old Iri-saga-ana. They camped instead in Iri-gibil. [These troops] [(1 ms. has instead:) The troops of Gungunum] have come from the banks of the Id-Amar-Suena watercourse, in order to build ……, to make Dunnum ready and to …….

12-17. If my lord does not …… crews of highlanders, bows, arrows, small boats, fishermen ……, their tied-up leather sacks, weapons, …… and implements, the armaments of battle, then the troops will construct brick structures by the bank of the Id-Amar-Suena watercourse, …… and dig a …… canal.

18-19. They should not be neglectful, my lord! It is urgent!

LETTER FROM LIPIT-ESHTAR TO NANNA-KI-AG ABOUT DRIVING AWAY THE ENEMY

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.2.04

1-3. Say to Nanna-ki-ag, the general: this is what Lipit-Estar, your lord, says:

4-7. Because of [enemy troops] [(1 ms. has instead:) the enemy], [I, the king, have sent you a letter] [(1 ms. has instead:) I have sent a letter]. Atta-mannum, who pleases his lord, is a better [servant to his lord] [(1 ms. has instead:) man] than you! Why is it that [you have not been avenging your lord, and not keeping me informed] [(1 ms. has instead:) while I have kept the soldiers loyal, you have not stationed them among those people]? [(1 ms. adds:) So now you are to station the troops there.]

8-10. Now, [I have sent to you in haste] [(1 ms. has instead:) they have pursued] [2000] [(1 ms. has instead:) 4000] [(1 other ms. has instead:) 3000] soldiers [who are spear-throwers] [(1 ms. has instead:) who are …… spear-throwers], [2000] [(1 ms. has instead:) 4000] soldiers [who are archers] [(1 ms. has instead:) who are …… archers], and [2000] [(1 ms. has instead:) 1000] soldiers [who are double-axe wielders] [(1 ms. has instead:) who are …… double-axe wielders].

11-17. The enemy has camped down in Iri-gibil. Chase them away from those settlements; do not ……. Guard each city ……. Do not let these cities out of your grasp. Station your people -- it is urgent!

LETTER FROM SIN-IDDINAM TO THE GOD UTU

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.2.05

1-5. Say to Utu my lord, the exalted judge of heaven and earth, who cares for the Land, who renders verdicts; just god, who loves to keep man alive, who heeds entreaty, who extends mercy, who knows …… compassion, who loves justice, who selects honesty, ……:

6-11. Repeat to the bearded one, the son of Ningal, …… a lapis-lazuli beard, [who opens the bolts of heaven and earth] [(1 ms. has instead:) who opens the bolts], who creates brightness in darkness; foremost lord who alone is resplendent, whose greatness is unequalled; warrior, son given birth by Ningal, who guards and gathers together the divine powers; just god, prince who determines all the fates, my lord, father of the black-headed: this is what Sin-iddinam, king of Larsam, your servant, says:

12-20. Distress has been caused in your city Larsam, which you have chosen in your heart. The broad squares where days have been passed in merriment [have been reduced to] [(1 ms. has instead:) are left in] silence. Your commendable troops who were assembled have been annihilated like reeds from a reed fence splitting apart. Your young men have been harvested like barley at the due time; they have been picked and have been plucked like ripened fruit. The people have been smashed like terracotta figurines; they have perished all together. An evil storm took away the little ones from the laps of their mothers. The people ……; their appearance has been changed. Overwhelming troops have been set loose, …… the Land …… like flour. O youthful Utu, like an enemy you stand aside from your city Larsam.

21-29. The mountain land of Elam where there are no dead in great numbers like ……, and Subir, a heavy cloud, which knows no reverence even towards the gods -- these districts have not been weakened; their time has not yet come. [The Simaskian does not elect nugig or lukur priestesses for the places of the gods] [(1 ms. has instead:) The Simaskian knows neither his god nor those elected nugig and lukur priestesses] [(1 other ms. has instead:) The Simaskian …… neither the nugig nor the nubar priestesses for the places of the gods]. His soldiers are numerous like grass; his seed [is widespread] [(1 ms. has instead:) is indeed exalted]. He who lives in tents, who does not know of the places of the gods: like a wild beast which mounts, he knows nothing of [esa flour nor prayers] [(1 ms. has instead:) flour and the offering of prayers]. The evil namtar demon and the distressing asag demon [have not carried him off (?)] [(1 ms. has instead:) do not approach him]. Who …… a divine oath is committing sacrilege, yet his troops are in good health.

30-33. [For seven years, in my city there has been no battle and combat, and death has not been imminent] [(1 ms. has instead:) For five years, in my city we have not been extinguished by battle, not oppressed by death]. In the open country the lion [does not diminish] [(1 ms. has instead:) ……] devouring men. I am [treated] [(1 ms. has instead:) I have been bound] like one who does not know how to entreat a god fervently. I serve the great gods daily with prayers, and my fervent entreaties are sublime.

34-44. O youthful Utu, for that reason look favourably upon your city Larsam! Say "Alas!" for your city! Say "Alas for the sanctuary!" ……! Extend sympathetic compassion to Larsam! Take heed of the causes of distress, and make …… leave …… Larsam! Remove …… and distress from [its midst] [(1 ms. has instead:) within Larsam]! …… the frightful …… in Larsam, so that …… may escape the clutches of death. …… may its seed be great! May …… sing your praise!

45-46. And as for me, for my reverence give me life! Bestow on me long life as a gift!

LETTER FROM UR-SAGA TO A KING FEARING THE LOSS OF HIS FATHER'S HOUSEHOLD

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.01

1-2. Speak to my lord, the [bull] [(1 ms. has instead:) wild bull] [(1 other ms. has instead:) bison] with sparkling eyes, who wears a lapis-lazuli beard:

3-5. Repeat to my golden statue born on a favourable day, to my water buffalo reared in a holy fold, chosen in the heart [of holy Inana] [(1 ms. has instead:) of holy Inana, …… of Suen], to my lord, the trusted one of Inana:

6-9. You are fashioned like the son of An. As with the words of a god, [what you say is irrevocable] [(1 ms. has instead:) all the foreign lands cannot answer your words]. Your words, like rain pouring from the skies, [are uncountable] [(1 ms. has instead:) are uncheckable] [(1 other ms. has instead:) are uncontrollable]: this is what Ur-saga, your servant, says:

10-14. My lord [has taken care of me] [(2 mss. have instead:) has not taken care of me]; I am a citizen of Urim. [If my lord agrees] [(1 ms. has instead:) If it pleases my lord], let no one waste my father's household, let no one take away [the home

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of my father's estate] [(1 ms. has instead:) my old man's home]! May my lord know this!

LETTER FROM LUGAL-NESAGE TO A KING RADIANT AS THE MOON
Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.02

VERSION A (from Nibru)

1-5. Say this to the king who has made his radiance resplendent over all the lands like the moonlight. Repeat it to the king who renders just verdicts like Utu and regulates decisions like Istaran, to my king who heeds prayers. This is what [Lugal-nesage] [(3 mss. have instead:) Lugal-su] , a citizen of Nibru and your servant, says:

6-11. Like a sheep I use my mouth for eating grass and I am unfamiliar with washing with soap. Like an ox bearing a yoke which it cannot support, I have been driven out into the high plains. Like a cow whose calf is not close by, I utter pitiful cries. As happens to a ewe whose lamb is restrained in the milking pen, hands seize me. As happens to a bird, men take my nest away. As happens to a boat which is not anchored to a firm quay, I drift in the wind. (1 ms. omits lines 10-12)

12-15. In the streets of Nibru grief consumes me. A hostile city has taken over my city and I have no protector. A hostile house has taken over my house and …… against me. In my city, like a slave, no …… and I wear a filthy …… fleece.

16-21. My friends, companions, acquaintances and esteemed colleagues look on with scorn as at a man who eats alone. My mother who begot me and whose breasts are crescent-shaped has snatched from my mouth my contented consumption of milk. My father who raised me in his lap has cast me aside. My merciful lady whose house is treasured no longer notices me.

22-23. As happens to a sickly tree that has borne no fruit, no one rejoices over me. I am fresh fruit but I have no buds and I do not …….

24. May my king care for me and may I return to my former status.

VERSION B (from Urim)

[unknown number of lines missing]

[4 lines fragmentary]

5-7. …… to my king who heeds prayers.

[1 line fragmentary] …… Nibru …….

8-18. Like a sheep I set my mouth to eating grass and I am unfamiliar with washing with soap. Like an ox under a yoke which it cannot support, I have been driven out into the high plains. Like a cow whose calf is not close by, I utter pitiful cries. As happens to a ……, hands seize me. As happens to a boat which is not anchored to a firm quay, I drift in the wind.

[1 line fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

LETTER FROM LUGAL-NESAGE TO A KING RADIANT AS THE SUN
Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.03

VERSION A

1-7. Say this to the king who like the sun has made the heart of the Land radiant. Repeat it to the one who removed oppressive toil from the furrow, who [defeated] [(1 ms. has instead:) confronted] Tidnum and holds its sceptre, who is counted as its honoured king. This is what [Lugal-nesage] [(2 mss. have instead:) Lugal-su], a citizen of Nibru and your servant, says:

8-15. A punishment which I do not understand has ravaged me and I have wailed my lamenting. In a strange city I moan like a dove and receive no mercy. I am constantly restless like a dog which does not know where to settle down. I am watchful like a bird which has flown from the claws of a falcon. My exuberance has perished in blight like a garden that has not been [watered] [(1 ms. has instead:) tended] . Envy within my king's palace overwhelms me and a bad reputation besets me.

16-31. Grief ……. Woe ……. Like an ox I am overwhelmed, …… my fodder. My descendants and offspring are on good terms …… their nest, …… the mouth for eating food. [As happens on] [(1 ms. has instead:) Like a distant …… from] the …… high plains where the winds blow, …… the mill. I will not be buried on dying but …… ground like grain. My brother, although not an enemy, …… contemptuously.

[approx. 6 lines missing / 3 lines fragmentary]

32-33. The king ……, …… like Utu.

VERSION B (from Kis)

[unknown number of lines missing]

1-9. …… a bird …… the claws of a falcon. …… like a garden which has been watered. Envy within my king's palace overwhelms me and ……. Grief ……. Woe ……. Like an ox I am overwhelmed, like …… my fodder. My descendants and offspring are worried in their nests. Like a distant …… from the …… high plains where the winds blow, …… the mill. I will not experience being buried as befits the dead but …… ground like grain.

[unknown number of lines missing]

LETTER FROM UR-ENLILA TO A GOVERNOR AND TEMPLE ADMINISTRATOR
Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.04

1-2. Say to the governor and temple administrator what Ur-Enlila says:

3-5. The irrigation ditch which has been cleared was bringing water but [Enlil-digirgu] [(1 ms. has instead:) Enlil-agu] [(another ms. has instead:) Enlilagu] and Ḫanzamu have drawn off the water and taken it from the ditch.

6. And what Lugal-Ane says:

7-12. I proposed, " [Water should be brought] [(1 ms. has instead:) The irrigation should be done] on the basis of one ditch for me, one ditch for you and one ditch for the governor," but they did not agree. Your canal has no workers but its ditch brings water. It brings water for me unchecked. My workforce is inadequate so send me five or [10] [(1 ms. has instead:) 60] able-bodied men. It is urgent.

LETTER FROM A GOVERNOR AND TEMPLE ADMINISTRATOR TO A KING
Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.05

VERSION A (from Nibru; Nippur)

1-2. Say to our king what the governor and temple administrator say:

3-10. The three sar (i.e. 3,240 iku) of the field Dabta are assigned for the benefit of Enlil [(2 mss. add:) , Ninlil] and Ninurta. Of this, [three bur (i.e. 54 iku)] [(1 ms. has instead:) three BURgunû (i.e. 540 iku)] are the portion of the men in charge of the requisitions. Iqbisum and Abi-qati have made a claim over one bur (i.e. 18 iku) at the bottom of the field. If our king consents, he should send a courier and should …… the instructions for doing the work and for the boundary stakes of the field.

11-15. Two iku at its …… and the …… area facing the field have been hoed and worked upon. Workers, extra labourers, farmers, ox-drivers and ploughmen being unavailable, the field has been harrowed with single oxen and we do the work with hoes. Our king should know this.

VERSION B (from Urim; Ur)

1-14. The three sar (i.e. 3,240 iku) of the field Meam (Where-is-it?) are assigned for the benefit of Enlil and Ninurta. Of this, three BURgunû (i.e. 540 iku) are the portion of the men in charge of the requisitions. Two iku which are at its …… have been hoed and ……. Ploughmen are not available for work on a plot in the field. Iqbisum and Abi-qati have made a claim against you. If my king consents, he should send a courier. They …… the instructions for doing the work and for the boundary stakes of the field.

LETTER FROM ABA-TAH-LUGALGA TO HIS BROTHERS
Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.06

1-2. Say to my brothers what Aba-tah-lugalga says:

3-12. We are to go on journeys that are long and now the just king, our king, draws near. Journey is to be added to journey after journey. I shall not be able to look after our mother. Take great care that the sun does not set over our neighbourhood before you have …… one litre of salt, one litre of mustard [(1 ms. adds on the lower edge:) , …… from the hand,] and one …… garment for travellers. Our journeys will be long. It is urgent.

LETTER FROM UGUBI TO HIS MOTHER
Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.07

1-3. Traveller, traveller, say to my mother what Ugubi says:

4-11. Urim (Ur) is the joyful city of Nanna. But I sit behind the door of the chief musician's house in Eridug (Eridu), the abundant city of Enki. Longing consumes me. I do not want to die because the bread is never fresh and the beer is never fresh. Send a messenger to me at once. It is urgent.

LETTER FROM SAMAS-ṭAB TO ILAK-NI'ID
Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.08

1-2. Say to Ilak-ni'id what Samas-ṭab says:

3-12. It is a journey of one month and fifteen days, and ……. Why on the third day of the month have you not brought your news to me [at] [(1 ms. has instead:) from] Niqqum? I have looked out for you and your route was arranged. In question are: 4 shekels of silver for 2 yoked donkeys, 1/2 shekel of silver for 1 linen …… garment, 1 shekel for your rental of the boat, and 1 and 1/3 shekels for your …… rental of the boat.

[1 line unclear]

Your additional expenditure is not included in this total.

13-18. I have calculated the cost of two loads of purple wool for you. The price is [1 and 2/3] [(2 mss. have instead:) 2/3] mana of silver -- bring me the equivalent in tin. And look out for quartz, …… stone and …… stone. Your extra silver and the capital have been held for you and recorded on a clay tablet. From now on news should be brought about you. It is urgent.

LETTER FROM LUGAL-NESAGE TO ENLIL-MASSU
Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.09

1-9. Say this to Enlil-massu who [enhances] [(1 ms. has instead:) pronounces] advice and counsel, the mellifluous mouth which makes speech persuasive. Repeat it to the son who serves his god and respects his father and mother. [Say it a third time] [(1 ms. has instead:) Repeat it] to my protective guardian and propitious spirit -- the precious powers -- whose form and stature are pleasing, honour to the scribal craft, [hero among the administrators and ornament of the palace] [(1 Urim ms. has instead:) hero among the administrators] [(2 mss. have instead:) ornament of the palace and hero among the administrators] who reinstates decrees and greatly pleases the heart of his king. This is what Lugal-nesage, the nues priest of Enlil and person who brings laughter to the king, son of [Enlil-alsag] [(1 Urim ms. has instead:) Zuzu] , the scholar of Nibru and your father, says:

10-16. When [your mighty ……] [(the 2 Urim mss. have instead:) my ……] completely crushed me, my heart sank and [thirst and hunger] [(1 Urim ms. has instead:) hunger and thirst] wasted me away. Your status consumes me, your complaints crush me, your majesty oppresses me, your [slander] [(1 Urim ms. has instead:) your storminess] puts an end to me. [After being attentive I have been abandoned] [(the 2 Urim mss. have instead:) Despite being attentive I have been cut off from my position] . [Deceit has emerged from my wisdom and sympathy] [(1 Urim ms. has instead:) Deceit has replaced wisdom and sympathy] . (2 mss. omit line 16)

17-20. [After my becoming sorely afraid, my heart is full of blood and gore. As a result of deep concern, I am in distress.] [(1 Urim ms. has instead:) On my becoming sorely afraid, my heart …… blood and much gore. As a result of deep concern, I am in distress.] [(the other Urim ms. has instead:) As a result of deep concern, I am in distress. As a result of becoming sorely afraid, my heart is full of blood and gore.] So long as I have not gone to the place where destiny is decided, may your countenance favour me in accordance with the instructions of Enlil.

LETTER FROM INANAKA TO THE GODDESS NINTINUGA
Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.10

1-11. Say to Nintinuga, the reliable stewardess of the E-kur, the physician of the Land; repeat to the lady, whose incantation heals the multitude of people, whose spells make the people recover, to [my][(1 ms. has instead:) the] relenting lady, who loves to revive the people and loves supplications, the merciful and compassionate one who listens to prayers. You are the caretaker of the living and the dead; you are the great healer of all the crippled ones. This is what Inanaka, the daughter of Enlil-a-mah, your maidservant says:

12-18. I have fallen ill [for a second time][(1 ms. has instead:) twice], but I do not yet know the divine oracle concerning [my being in agonies][(1 ms. has instead:) these agonies]. [(1 ms. adds:) …….] My lady, a house has been built for me, but I have to sit there with longing eyes. My valued acquaintances [keep][(1 ms. has instead:) stay] away from me. I have no one who would take care of me. Since this is full, too full for me, I am distressed.

19-25. If it pleases my lady, [and the asag demon which is in my body leaves my body, and thus][(some mss. have instead:) may the asag demon which is in my body leave my body, so that] [it (the asag demon) allows me][(1 ms. has instead:) I can] step again on the [path][(1 ms. has instead:) ground] of life with my feet. [I will then be your maidservant, the courtyard sweeper of your temple, and will serve you. Furthermore after I have recovered, I will name you, my lady, as "the healer of the crippled"] [(some mss. have instead:) I will then be her maidservant, the courtyard sweeper of her temple, and will serve her. Furthermore after I have recovered, I will name her, my lady, as "the healer of the crippled"].

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LETTER FROM INIM-INANA TO ENLIL-MASSU
Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.11

1-2. Say to Enlil-massu what Inim-Inana says:
3-15. They told me everything and I am pleased beyond exaggeration. May the precious protective power of a lifetime; Lugal-su, Nabi-Enlil and Enlil-alsag, the scholars who precede you; and Ninimma, your own goddess, and Nisaba, the lady of broad wisdom, give wisdom to you. You did not know what was written on the tablet or that the city would be unforthcoming. Lu-gena is sending you two shekels of silver, one garment and two sashes. Accept them. But your mother should not touch the remaining assets. It is urgent.

LETTER FROM INIM-INANA TO LUGAL-IBILA
Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.12

1-2. Say to Lugal-ibila what Inim-Inana says:
3-12. Do not neglect the Sumerian language. For the second time, I am sending you a message in correct language. [(1 ms. adds:) …… is …….] Do not let the children who sit before you go out from the school. However much anyone misleads you and says "I want to go" on account of his father, until you and I agree on a sign and a messenger comes to you, do not let the children out. [……] [(the ms. which adds l. 4A has instead:) A father entrusts his child's well-being to your ……] . It is urgent.

LETTER FROM GUDEA TO HIS PERSONAL DEITY
Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.20

1-2. Speak to my god: this is what Gudea, your servant, says:
3-4. I am like a sheep who has no reliable shepherd; there is no reliable herdsman to lead me on.
5-6. An unintelligent merchant transported me for trading purposes. With a vicious whip he …… me cruelly like a donkey.
7-9. I am noble but do not utter a word, being vigilantly ……. Seven times …… has not …… my accomplishments. Seven times my god has not been able to find out about their extent.
10. My god, I am not one to be hostile. May you show sympathy towards me once again.

LETTER FROM THE SCRIBE NANNA-MANSHUM TO THE GODDESS NINISINA
Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.21

1-11. Speak to Ninisina, first-born child of holy An, eminent among ladies, …… of Lord Nunamnir; who perfects the divine powers of E-kur, …… of the great mother Ninlil, with notions in her heart which are expressed; wife of the great hero, Lord Pabilsag, youth who has no rival; holy Ninisina, you reapply a dressing to soothe the dark place of sores which no one can understand; mother of the Land, great physician of the black-headed, incantation priestess of the widespread people -- from the namtar demon and …… which are settled in a man's body and which no one knows how to expel, divine lady of the Egal-mah, with the help of …… you will make that person well again. …… to keep a person alive ……, …… who knows and listens, to my lady:
12-13. This is what Nanna-mansum, the scribe, son of Ilsu-muballit, your servant, says:
14-20. When …… took care, she placed on my ……. The barber ……, the throne-bearer of the gods has given me ……. Nine times she (?) has placed on my head …… and battle-axe. …… gathered in Nibru and Isin. They approached me but did not give their …… for my life. They have applied and created a dressing which does not hold. She made a fattened dove come, for my …….

LETTER FROM X TO THE GOD NANNA
Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.22

1-7. Say to Nanna, the firstborn son of Enlil, who loves prayers; repeat to the lord whose light spreads widely, the crown of heaven and earth, the great lord who loves to revive man; the father of the black-headed; the merciful king, who can untie and release; the merciful, compassionate god who listens to appeals:
8-16. You who are perfect in lordship and wear the legitimate headdress, the one with gleaming appearance and noble countenance, holy form endowed lavishly with beauty: your greatness covers all countries. Your fearsome radiance overwhelms the holy sky. Your great awesomeness is imbued with terror. …… is pre-eminent in the Land. You are indeed glorious from east to west. From the interior of heaven …… has given you ……, and entrusted you with the heavens. You are the king of heaven and earth; it is you who decide their fate.

LETTER FROM INIM-ENLILA TO A KING
Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.27

SEGMENT A
1-7. Say to the king who entreats the gods fervently and, serving the gods, prepares the food offerings; repeat to the one elevated in stature who has the ability to give advice and counsel, the merciful one who makes the Land feel content -- this is what Inim-Enlila the scribe, son of Suen-palil, your servant, says:
8-10. I do not know my punishment: my punishment has not been considered yet. I am devoured by sorrow at the fate of the captive (?) families. Let my bones not be carried off by water to a foreign city.
[unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT B
1. [1 line fragmentary] may not be part of this composition
[unknown number of lines missing]

LETTER FROM KUG-NANNA TO THE GOD NINSHUBUR
Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.39

SEGMENT A
1-13. Say to
[1 line missing] to the counsellor who constantly cares for ……, the god who distributes the divine powers, who utters pleasing words, who …… a verdant branch by his head; the linen-clad god of the abzu, the chief administrator, who makes the oracular responses favourable, whose words are pre-eminent; the powerful one at the bow of the boat "Stag of the Abzu", the lord of wide and complete wisdom, the minister who knows An's secrets, with whom no god can compare; the lord of the protective goddesses; him whose great sweet eyes inspire confidence, who provides the Anuna gods, the great gods, with food offerings; the adviser who comes forth from the skies, who is worthy of holy Inana; without whom no lord or king could receive the lofty sceptre -- to Ninsubur, the merciful god who listens to prayers and supplications, repeat: this is what Kug-Nanna the incantation priest, the son of Lugal-ka-gena, your servant, says:
14-15. I am ……, I am an ailing old man, I am …… handcuffs.
[1 line fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT B
1-4. [1 line fragmentary / 1 line unclear] …… foreign plague …… looked at me contemptuously and insulted me for my doing ……. In the street my friend would not talk to me; he bent his head down.
5-13. If it pleases you, my god, allow me to soothe your angry heart, so that your spirit will be assuaged. May the maskim demon that perpetrates evil be ripped apart, so that he will flee my body. May the asag demon be extirpated from my limbs, so that my dark days will become bright. I cannot bear your heavy punishment any longer; declare that "It is over"! May I, the humble servant, not be destroyed; declare that "It is over"! Like milk …… your greatness ……, …… to my home.
[1 line fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

THE FIVE SUMERIAN CITY LAMENTS

(The term "Sumer" (Sumerian: Eme'gi, Akkadian: Shumeru, Egyptian: Sngr, Hittite: Shanhar, Canaanite and Aramaic: Shin'ar) is the name given to the land of the "Sumerians", the ancient non-Semitic-speaking inhabitants of southern Mesopotamia, by their successors the East Semitic-speaking Akkadians. The Sumerian civilisation florished c. 4500–1900 BC and the Sumerians themselves referred to their land as Kengir, the 'Country of the noble lords' (ken'gi-r, lit. 'country' + 'lords' + 'noble') as seen in their inscriptions. The people of Sumer referred to themselves as "Black Headed Ones" or "Black-Headed People" (sag-gig, lit. 'head' + 'black', or sang-gig-ga, lit. 'head' + 'black' + 'carry'). The Sumerian king Shulgi described himself as "the king of the four quarters, the pastor of the black-headed people". The Akkadians also called the Sumerians 'black-headed people', or Salmat-qaqqadi, in the Semitic Akkadian language.

Whilst our knowledge on the beginnings of the Sumerians is very limited, we get information of their end through their cuneiform tablets. In around 2004 BC, during the last year of King Ibbi-Sin's reign, Ur fell to an army from Elam. The Five Sumerian Laments tell us what happend lament composed around the time of the fall of Ur to the Elamites and the end of the city's third dynasty (c. 2000 BC).

This is what probably happened. During the first part of the rule of the Simashki dynasty, Elam was under intermittent attack from the Sumerians of Mesopotamia and also Gutians from northwestern Persia, alternating with periods of peace and diplomatic approaches. The Elamite state of Simashki at this time also extended into northern Iran, and possibly even as far as the Caspian Sea. Shu-Sin of Ur gave one of his daughters in marriage to a prince of Anshan. But the power of the Sumerians was waning; Ibbi-Sin in the 21st century did not manage to penetrate far into Elam, and in 2004 BC, the Elamites, allied with the people of Susa and led by king Kindattu, the sixth king of Simashki, managed to sack Ur and lead Ibbi-Sin into captivity, ending the third dynasty of Ur. Several other cities were also sacked. It is this conflict, the Five Laments were all about. The Akkadian kings of Isin, successor state to Ur, managed to drive the Elamites out of Ur, rebuild the city, and to return the statue of Nanna that the Elamites had plundered.

The Sumerians decided that such a catastrophic event could only be explained through divine intervention and wrote in the lament that the gods, "An, Enlil, Enki and Ninmah decided [Ur's] fate" The literary works of the Sumerians were widely translated by the Hittites, Hurrians and Canaanites, and later Greek as well as Hebrew texts "were profoundly influenced by them." Contemporary scholars have drawn parallels between the lament and passages from the bible (e.g. "the Lord departed from his temple and stood on the mountain east of Jerusalem (Ezekiel 10:18-19)."

The relations of Sumerians with Akkadians and Canaanites are not well-known either. During the 3rd millennium BC, a close cultural symbiosis developed between the Sumerians, who spoke a language isolate, and Akkadian-speakers, which included widespread bilingualism. The Sumerians lost their identity with their language around 2000 BC, because a large group of Semitic speaking Canaanites, known as Amorites or Amurru in Akkadian and Sumerian texts, moved into their region. These were people, Abraham was a member of. The Sumerian language continued as a religious language taught in schools in Babylonia and Assyria, for as long as cuneiform was used.)

THE LAMENT FOR URIM (UR) (Ur-AO 6446)
Translation: ETCSLt.2.2.2; University of Oxford
Estimated Range of Dating:

1-8. He has abandoned his cow-pen and has let the breezes haunt his sheepfold. The wild bull has abandoned his cow-pen and has let the breezes haunt his sheepfold. The lord of all the lands has abandoned it and has let the breezes haunt his sheepfold. Enlil has abandoned the shrine Nibru and has let the breezes haunt his sheepfold. His wife Ninlil has abandoned it and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. Ninlil has abandoned that house, the Ki-ur, and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. The queen of Kec has abandoned it and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. Ninmah has abandoned that house Kec and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold.
9-18. She of Isin has abandoned it and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. Ninisina has abandoned the shrine Egal-mah and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. The queen of Unug has abandoned it and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. Inana has abandoned that house Unug and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. Nanna has abandoned Urim and has let the breezes haunt his sheepfold. Suen has abandoned E-kic-nu-jal and has let the breezes haunt his sheepfold. His wife Ningal has abandoned it and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. Ningal has abandoned her Agrun-kug and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. The wild bull of Eridug has abandoned it and has let the breezes haunt his sheepfold. Enki has abandoned that house Eridug and has let the breezes haunt his sheepfold.
18A-26. [(1 ms. adds 1 line:) ..... (partially preserved name of a goddess) has abandoned that house Larag and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold.] Cara has abandoned E-mah and has let the breezes haunt his sheepfold. Ud-sahara has abandoned that house Umma and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. Bau has abandoned Iri-kug and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. She has abandoned her flooded chamber and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. Her son Ab-Bau has abandoned it and has let the breezes haunt his sheepfold. Ab-Bau has abandoned Ma-gu-ena and has let the breezes haunt his sheepfold. The protective goddess of the holy house has abandoned it and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold.
26-34. The protective goddess has abandoned E-tar-sirsir and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. The mother of Lagac has abandoned it and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. Jatumdug has abandoned that house Lagac and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. She of Nijin has abandoned it and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. The great queen has abandoned that house Sirara and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. She of Kinirca has abandoned it

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and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. Dumuzid-abzu has abandoned that house Kinirca and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. She of Gu-aba has abandoned it and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. Ninmarki has abandoned the shrine Gu-aba and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold.

35. 1st kirugu.

36-37. She has let the breeze haunt her sheepfold, she groans grievously over it. O cow, your lowing no longer fills the byre, the cow-pen no longer brings joy to the prince.

38. Its jicgijal.

39-46. O city, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. Your lament is bitter, O city, the lament made for you. In his righteous destroyed city its lament is bitter. In his righteous destroyed Urim, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. Your lament is bitter, O city, the lament made for you. In his destroyed Urim its lament is bitter. How long will your bitter lament grieve your lord who weeps? How long will your bitter lament grieve Nanna who weeps?

47-55. O brick-built Urim, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. O E-kic-nu-jal, your lament is bitter, the lament made for you. O shrine Agrun-kug, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. O great place Ki-ur, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. O shrine Nibru, city, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. O brick-built E-kur, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. O Ja-jic-cua, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. O Ubcu-unkena, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. O brick-built Iri-kug, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you.

56-63. O E-tar-sirsir, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. O Ma-gu-ena, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. O brick-built Isin, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. O shrine Egal-mah, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. O brick-built Unug, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. O brick-built Eridug, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. How long will your bitter lament grieve your lord who weeps? How long will your bitter lament grieve Nanna who weeps?

64-71. O city, your name exists but you have been destroyed. O city, your wall rises high but your Land has perished. O my city, like an innocent ewe your lamb has been torn from you. O Urim, like an innocent goat your kid has perished. O city, your rites have been alienated from you, your powers have been changed into alien powers. How long will your bitter lament grieve your lord who weeps? How long will your bitter lament grieve Nanna who weeps?

72. 2nd kirugu.

73-74. In his righteous destroyed city its lament is bitter. In his destroyed Urim its lament is bitter.

75. Its jicgijal.

76-84. Together with the lord whose house had been devastated, his city was given over to tears. Together with Nanna whose Land had perished, Urim joined the lament. The good woman, to disquiet the lord concerning his city, Ningal, to give him no rest concerning his Land, approached him for the sake of his city -- bitterly she weeps. She approached the lord for the sake of his house -- bitterly she weeps. She approached him for the sake of his devastated city -- bitterly she weeps. She approached him for the sake of his devastated house -- before him she makes its bitter lament.

85-94. The woman, after she had composed her song for the tearful balaj (weeping) instrument, herself utters softly a lamentation for the silent house: "The storm that came to be -- its lamentation hangs heavy on me. Raging about because of the storm, I am the woman for whom the storm came to be. The storm that came to be -- its lamentation hangs heavy on me. The bitter storm having come to be for me during the day, I trembled on account of that day but I did not flee before the day's violence. Because of this debilitating storm I could not see a good day for my rule, not one good day for my rule."

95-100. A. "The bitter lament having come to be for me during the night, I trembled on account of that night but I did not flee before the night's violence. The awesomeness of this storm, destructive as the flood, truly hangs heavy on me. Because of its existence, in my nightly sleeping place, even in my nightly sleeping place truly there was no peace for me. Nor, because of this debilitating storm, was the quiet of my sleeping place, not even the quiet of my sleeping place, allowed to me. [(2 mss. add 1 line:) Truly I did not forsake my Land.]"

101-111. "Because there was bitterness in my Land, I trudged the earth like a cow for its calf. My Land was not granted succcess. Because there was bitter distress in my city, I beat my wings like a bird of heaven and flew to my city; and my city was destroyed in its foundations; and Urim perished where it lay. Because the hand of the storm appeared above, I screamed and cried to it "Return, O storm, to the plain". The storm's breast did not rise."

112-122. "To me, the woman, in the Agrun-kug, my house of queenship, they did not grant a reign of distant days. Indeed they established weeping and lamentation for me. As for the house which used to be where the spirit of the black-headed people was soothed, instead of its festivals wrath and terror indeed multiply. Because of this debilitating storm, depression, and lament and bitterness, lament and bitterness have been brought into my house, the favourable place, my devastated righteous house upon which no eye had been cast. My house founded by the righteous was pushed over on its side like a garden fence."

123-132. "For E-kic-nu-jal, my house of royalty, the good house, my house which has been given over to tears, they granted to me as its lot and share: its building, falsely, and its perishing, truly. Wind and rain have been made to fall on it, as onto a tent, a shelter on the denuded harvest ground, as onto a shelter on the denuded harvest ground. Urim, my all-surpassing chamber, the house and the smitten city, all have been uprooted. Like a shepherd's sheepfold it has been uprooted. The swamp has swallowed my possessions accumulated in the city."

133. 3rd kirugu.

134. Urim has been given over to tears.

35. Its jicgijal.

136-143. "On that day, when such a storm had pounded, when in the presence of the queen her city had been destroyed, on that day, when such a storm had been created, when they had pronounced the utter destruction of my city, when they had pronounced the utter destruction of Urim, when they had directed that its people be killed, on that day I did not abandon my city, I did not forsake my land."

144-150. "Truly I shed my tears before An. Truly I myself made supplication to Enlil. "Let not my city be destroyed," I implored them. "Let not Urim be destroyed," I implored them. "Let not its people perish," I implored them. But An did not change that word. Enlil did not soothe my heart with an "It is good -- so be it"."

151-160. "A second time, when the council had settled itself in the pre-eminent place, and the Anuna had seated themselves to ratify decisions, I prostrated (?) myself and stretched out my arms. Truly I shed my tears before An. Truly I myself made supplication to Enlil. "Let not my city be destroyed," I implored them. "Let not Urim be destroyed," I implored them. "Let not its people perish," I implored them. But An did not change that word. Enlil did not soothe my heart with an "It is good -- so be it"."

161-168. "They gave instructions that my city should be utterly destroyed. They gave instructions that Urim should be utterly destroyed. They decreed its destiny that its people should be killed. In return for the speech which I had given them, they both bound me together with my city and also bound my Urim together with me. An is not one to change his command, and Enlil does not alter what he has uttered."

169. 4th kirugu.

170. Her city has been destroyed in her presence, her powers have been alienated from her.

171. Its jicgijal.

172-178. Enlil called the storm -- the people groan. He brought the storm of abundance away from the Land -- the people groan. He brought the good storm away from Sumer -- the people groan. He issued directions to the evil storm -- the people groan. He entrusted it to Kin-gal-uda, the keeper of the storm. He called upon the storm that annihilates the Land -- the people groan. He called upon the evil gales -- the people groan.

179-187. Enlil brought Gibil as his aid. He called the great storm of heaven -- the people groan. The great storm howls above -- the people groan. The storm that annihilates the Land roars below -- the people groan. The evil wind, like a rushing torrent, cannot be restrained. The weapons in the city smash heads and consume indiscriminately. The storm whirled gloom around the base of the horizon -- the people groan. In front of the storm, heat blazes -- the people groan. A fiery glow burns with the raging storm.

188-191. After the haze had lifted at noon, he made fires blaze. He locked up the day and the rising of the bright sun together with the good storm. In the Land he did not let the bright sun rise; it shone like the evening star. In the delightful night, the time when coolness sets in, he redoubled the south wind.

192-196. The scorching potsherds made the dust glow -- the people groan. He swept the winds over the black-headed people -- the people groan. Sumer was overturned by a snare -- the people groan. It attacked the Land and devoured it completely. Tears cannot influence the bitter storm -- the people groan.

197-203. The reaping storm dragged across the Land. Like a flood storm it completely destroyed the city. The storm that annihilates the Land silenced the city. The storm that will make anything vanish came doing evil. The storm blazing like fire performed its task upon the people. The storm ordered by Enlil in hate, the storm which wears away the Land, covered Urim like a garment, was spread out over it like linen.

204. 5th kirugu.

205. The storm, like a lion, has attacked unceasingly -- the people groan.

206. Its jicgijal.

207-217. Then the storm was removed from the city, that city reduced to ruin mounds. It was removed from Father Nanna's city reduced to ruin mounds -- the people groan. Then, the storm was taken from the Land -- the people groan. [(2 mss. add 1 line:) The good storm was taken from Sumer -- the people groan.] Its people littered its outskirts just as if they might have been broken potsherds. Breaches had been made in its walls -- the people groan. On its lofty city-gates where walks had been taken, corpses were piled. On its boulevards where festivals had been held, heads lay scattered. In all its streets where walks had been taken, corpses were piled. In its places where the dances of the Land had taken place, people were stacked in heaps. They made the blood of the Land flow down the wadis like copper or tin. Its corpses, like fat left in the sun, melted away of themselves.

218-229. The heads of its men slain by the axe were not covered with a cloth. Like a gazelle caught in a trap, their mouths bit the dust. Men struck down by the spear were not bound with bandages. As if in the place where their mothers had laboured, they lay in their own blood. Its men who were finished off by the battle-mace were not bandaged with new cloth. Although they were not drunk with strong drink, their necks drooped on their shoulders. He who stood up to the weapon was crushed by the weapon -- the people groan. He who ran away from it was overwhelmed by the storm -- the people groan. The weak and the strong of Urim perished from hunger. Mothers and fathers who did not leave their houses were consumed by fire. The little ones lying in their mothers' arms were carried off like fish by the waters. Among the nursemaids with their strong embrace, the embrace was pried open.

230-240. The Land's judgement disappeared -- the people groan. The Land's counsel was swallowed by a swamp -- the people groan. The mother absconded before her child's eyes -- the people groan. The father turned away from his child -- the people groan. In the city the wife was abandoned, the child was abandoned, possessions were scattered about. The black-headed people were carried off from their strongholds. Its queen like a bird in fright departed from her city. Ningal like a bird in fright departed from her city. All the treasures accumulated in the Land were defiled. In all the storehouses abounding in the Land fires were kindled. In its ponds Gibil, the purifier, relentlessly did his work.

241-249. The good house of the lofty untouchable mountain, E-kic-nu-jal, was entirely devoured by large axes. The people of Cimacki and Elam, the destroyers, counted its worth as only thirty shekels. They broke up the good house with pickaxes. They reduced the city to ruin mounds. Its queen cried, "Alas, my city", cried, "Alas, my house". Ningal cried, "Alas, my city," cried, "Alas, my house. As for me, the woman, both my city has been destroyed and my house has been destroyed. O Nanna, the shrine Urim has been destroyed and its people have been killed."

250. 6th kirugu.

251-252. In her cow-pen, in her sheepfold the woman utters bitter words: "The city has been destroyed by the storm."

253. Its jicgijal.

254-264. Mother Ningal, like an enemy, stands outside her city. The woman laments bitterly over her devastated house. Over her devastated shrine Urim, the princess bitterly declares: "An has indeed cursed my city, my city has been destroyed before me. Enlil has indeed transformed my house, it has been smitten by pickaxes. On my ones coming from the south he hurled fire. Alas, my city has indeed been destroyed before me. On my ones coming from the highlands Enlil hurled flames. Outside the city, the outer city was destroyed before me -- I shall cry "Alas, my city". Inside the city, the inner city was destroyed before me -- I shall cry "Alas, my city". My houses of the outer city were destroyed -- I shall cry "Alas, my houses". My houses of the inner city were destroyed -- I shall cry "Alas, my houses"."

265-274. "My city no longer multiplies for me like good ewes, its good shepherd is gone. Urim no longer multiplies for me like good ewes, its shepherd boy is gone. My bull no longer crouches in its cow-pen, its herdsman is gone. My sheep no longer crouch in their fold, their herdsman is gone. In the river of my city dust has gathered, and the holes of foxes have been dug there. In its midst no flowing water is carried, its tax-collector is gone. In the fields of my city there is no grain, their farmer is gone. My fields, like fields from which the hoe has been kept away, have grown tangled weeds. My orchards and gardens that produced abundant syrup and wine have grown mountain thornbushes. My plain that used to be covered in its luxurious verdure has become cracked like a kiln."

275-285. "My possessions, like a flock of rooks rising up, have risen in flight -- I shall cry "O my possessions". He who came from the south has carried my possessions off to the south -- I shall cry "O my possessions". He who came from the highlands has carried my possessions off to the highlands -- I shall cry "O my possessions". My silver, gems and lapis lazuli have been scattered about -- I shall cry "O my possessions". The swamp has swallowed my treasures -- I shall cry "O my possessions". Men ignorant of silver have filled their hands with my silver. Men ignorant of gems have fastened my gems around their necks. My small birds and fowl have flown away -- I shall say "Alas, my city". My slave-girls and children have

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been carried off by boat -- I shall say "Alas, my city". Woe is me, my slave-girls bear strange emblems in a strange city. My young men mourn in a desert they do not know."

286-291. "Woe is me, my city which no longer exists -- I am not its queen. Nanna, Urim which no longer exists -- I am not its owner. I am the good woman whose house has been made into ruins, whose city has been destroyed, in place of whose city a strange city has been built. I am Ningal whose city has been made into ruins, whose house has been destroyed, in place of whose house a strange house has been built."

292-298. "Woe is me, the city has been destroyed, my house too has been destroyed. Nanna, the shrine Urim has been destroyed, its people killed. Woe is me, where can I sit, where can I stand? Woe is me, in place of my city a strange house is being erected. I am the good woman in place of whose house a strange city is being built. Upon its removal from its place, from the plain, I shall say "Alas, my people". Upon my city's removal from Urim, I shall say "Alas, my house"."

299-309. The woman tears at her hair as if it were rushes. She beats the holy ub drum at her chest, she cries "Alas, my city". Her eyes well with tears, she weeps bitterly: "Woe is me, my city which no longer exists -- I am not its queen. Nanna, the shrine Urim which no longer exists -- I am not its owner. Woe is me, I am one whose cow-pen has been torn down, I am one whose cows have been scattered. I am Ningal on whose ewes the weapon has fallen, as in the case of an unworthy herdsman. Woe is me, I have been exiled from the city, I can find no rest. I am Ningal, I have been exiled from the house, I can find no dwelling place. I am sitting as if a stranger with head high in a strange city. Debt-slaves ..... bitterness ....."

310-320. "I am one who, sitting in a debtors prison among its inmates, can make no extravagant claims. In that place I approached him for the sake of his city -- I weep bitterly. I approached the lord for the sake of his house -- I weep bitterly. I approached him for the sake of his destroyed house -- I weep bitterly. I approached him for the sake of his destroyed city -- I weep bitterly. Woe is me, I shall say "Fate of my city, bitter is the fate of my city". I the queen shall say "O my destroyed house, bitter is the fate of my house". O my brick-built Urim which has been flooded, which has been washed away, O my good house, my city which has been reduced to ruin mounds, in the debris of your destroyed righteous house, I shall lie down alongside you. Like a fallen bull, I will never rise up from your wall."

321-327. "Woe is me, untrustworthy was your building, and bitter your destruction. I am the woman at whose shrine Urim the food offerings have been terminated. O my Agrun-kug, the all-new house whose charms never sated me, O my city no longer regarded as having been built -- devastated for what reason? O my house both destroyed and devastated -- devastated for what reason? Nobody at all escaped the force of the storm ordered in hate. O my house of Suen in Urim, bitter was its destruction."

328. 7th kirugu.

329. "Alas, my city, alas, my house."

330. Its jicgijal.

331-341. O queen, how is your heart .....! How you have become! O Ningal, how is your heart .....! How you have become! O good woman whose city has been destroyed, now how do you exist? O Ningal whose Land has perished, how is your heart .....! After your city has been destroyed, now how do you exist? After your house has been destroyed, how is your heart .....! Your city has become a strange city, now how do you exist? Your house has turned to tears, how is your heart .....! You are not a bird of your city which has been reduced to ruin mounds. You cannot live there as a resident in your good house given over to the pickaxe. You cannot act as queen of a people led off to slaughter.

342-347. Your tears have become strange tears, your Land no longer weeps. With no lamentation prayers, it dwells in foreign lands. Your Land like ..... Your city has been made into ruins; now how do you exist? Your house has been laid bare, how is your heart .....! Urim, the shrine, is haunted by the breezes, now how do you exist?

348-358. Its gudug priest no longer walks in his wig, how is your heart .....! Its en priestess no longer lives in the jipar, now how do you exist? In the uzga shrine the priest who cherishes purification rites makes no purification rites for you. Father Nanna, your icib priest does not make perfect holy supplications to you. Your lumah priest does not dress in linen in your holy giguna shrine. Your righteous en priestess chosen in your ardent heart, she of the E-kic-nu-jal, does not proceed joyously from the shrine to the jipar. The aua priests do not celebrate the festivals in your house of festivals. They do not play for you the cem and ala instruments which gladden the heart, nor the tigi. The black-headed people do not bathe during your festivals. Like ..... mourning has been decreed for them; their appearance has indeed changed.

359-368. Your song has been turned into weeping before you -- how long will this last? Your tigi music has been turned into lamentation before you -- how long will this last? Your bull is not brought into its pen, its fat is not prepared for you. Your sheep does not live in its fold, its milk is not made abundant for you. Your fat carrier does not come to you from the cow-pen -- how long will this last? Your milk carrier does not come to you from the sheepfold -- how long will this last? An evildoer has seized your fisherman who was carrying fish -- how long will this last? Lightning carried off your fowler who was carrying birds -- how long will this last? The teme plants grow in the middle of your watercourses which were once suitable for barges, and mountain thornbushes grow on your roads which had been constructed for waggons.

369-377. My queen, your city weeps before you as its mother. Urim, like a child lost in a street, seeks a place before you. Your house, like a man who has lost everything, stretches out its hands to you. Your brick-built righteous house, like a human being, cries "Where are you?". My queen, you have indeed left the house, you have left the city. How long will you stand aside from your city like an enemy? Mother Ningal, you confronted your city like an enemy. Although you are a queen who loves her city, you abandoned your sheepfold. Although you are one who cares for her Land, you set it on fire.

378-386. Mother Ningal, return like a bull to your cattle-pen, like a sheep to your fold, like a bull to your cattle-pen of former days, like a sheep to your fold. My queen, like a young child to your room, return to your house. May An, king of the gods, declare "Enough!" to you. May Enlil, king of all the lands, decree your fate. May he restore your city for you -- exercise its queenship! May he restore Nibru for you -- exercise its queenship! May he restore Urim for you -- exercise its queenship! May he restore Isin for you -- exercise its queenship!

387. 8th kirugu.

388. "My powers have been alienated from me."

389. Its jicgijal.

390-398. Alas, storm after storm swept the Land together: the great storm of heaven, the ever-roaring storm, the malicious storm which swept over the Land, the storm which destroyed cities, the storm which destroyed houses, the storm which destroyed cow-pens, the storm which burned sheepfolds, which laid hands on the holy rites, which defiled the weighty counsel, the storm which cut off all that is good from the Land, the storm which pinioned the arms of the black-headed people.

399. 9th kirugu.

400. The storm which does not respect .....

401. Its jicgijal.

402-410. The storm which knows no mother, the storm which knows no father, the storm which knows no wife, the storm which knows no child, the storm which knows no sister, the storm which knows no brother, the storm which knows no neighbour, the storm which knows no female companion, the storm which caused the wife to be abandoned, which caused the child to be abandoned, the storm which caused the light in the Land to disappear, the storm which swept through, ordered in hate by Enlil -- Father Nanna, may that storm swoop down no more on your city. May your black-headed people see it no more.

411-416. May that storm, like rain pouring down from heaven, never recur. May that storm, which struck down all the black-headed living beings of heaven and earth, be entirely destroyed. May the door be closed on it, like the great city-gate at night-time. May that storm not be given a place in the reckoning, may its record be hung from a nail outside the house of Enlil.

417. 10th kirugu.

418. Until distant days, other days, future days.

419. Its jicgijal.

420-426. From distant days when the Land was founded, O Nanna, the humble people who lay hold of your feet have brought to you their tears for the silent house, playing music before you. May the black-headed people, cast away from you, make obeisance to you. In your city reduced to ruin mounds may a lament be made to you. O Nanna, may your restored city be resplendent before you. Like a bright heavenly star may it not be destroyed, may it pass before you.

427-437. The personal deity of a man brings you a greeting gift; a supplicant utters prayers to you. Nanna, you who have mercy on the Land, Lord Acimbabbar -- as concerns him who speaks your heart's desire, Nanna, after you have absolved that man's sin, may your heart relent towards him who utters prayers to you. [(3 mss. add 1 line:) The personal deity of this man brings you a present.] He looks favourably on the man who stands there with his offering. Nanna, you whose penetrating gaze searches hearts, may its people who suffered that evil storm be pure before you. May the hearts of your people who dwell in the Land be pure before you. Nanna, in your restored city may you be fittingly praised.

438. 11th kirugu.

THE LAMENT FOR SUMER AND URIM (UR)

The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature

Translation:

Estimated Range of Dating:

1-2. To overturn the appointed times, to obliterate the divine plans, the storms gather to strike like a flood.

3-11. (and 55)An, Enlil, Enki and Ninhursaja (2 mss. have instead: Ninmah) have decided its fate -- to overturn the divine powers of Sumer, to lock up the favourable reign in its home, to destroy the city, to destroy the house, to destroy the cattle-pen, to level the sheepfold; that the cattle should not stand in the pen, that the sheep should not multiply in the fold, that watercourses should carry brackish water, that weeds should grow in the fertile fields, that mourning plants should grow in the open country,

12-21. that the mother should not seek out her child, that the father should not say "O my dear wife!", that the junior wife should take no joy in his embrace, that the young child should not grow vigourous on his knee, that the wet-nurse should not sing lullabies; to change the location of kingship, to defile the seeking of oracles, to take kingship away from the Land, to cast the eye of the storm on all the land, to obliterate the divine plans by the order of An and Enlil;

22-26. after An had frowned upon all the lands, after Enlil had looked favourably on an enemy land, after Nintud had scattered the creatures that she had created, after Enki had altered the course of the Tigris and Euphrates, after Utu had cast his curse on the roads and highways;

27-37. so as to obliterate the divine powers of Sumer, to change its preordained plans, to alienate the divine powers of the reign of kingship of Urim, to humiliate the princely son in his house E-kic-nu-jal, to break up the unity of the people of Nanna, numerous as ewes; to change the food offerings of Urim, the shrine of magnificent food offerings; that its people should no longer dwell in their quarters, that they should be given over to live in an inimical place; that Cimacki and Elam, the enemy, should dwell in their place; that its shepherd, in his own palace, should be captured by the enemy, that Ibbi-Suen should be taken to the land Elam in fetters, that from Mount Zabu on the edge of the sea to the borders of Ancan, like a swallow that has flown from its house, he should never return to his city;

38-46. that on the two banks of the Tigris and of the Euphrates bad weeds should grow, that no one should set out on the road, that no one should seek out the highway, that the city and its settled surroundings should be razed to ruin-mounds; that its numerous black-headed people should be slaughtered; that the hoe should not attack the fertile fields, that seed should not be planted in the ground, that the melody of the cowherds' songs should not resound in the open country, that butter and cheese should not be made in the cattle-pen, that dung should not be stacked on the ground, that the shepherd should not enclose the sacred sheepfold with a fence, that the song of the churning should not resound in the sheepfold;

47-55. to decimate the animals of the open country, to finish off all living things, that the four-legged creatures of Cakkan should lay no more dung on the ground, that the marshes should be so dry as to be full of cracks and have no new seed, that sickly-headed reeds should grow in the reed-beds, that they should be covered by a stinking morass, that there should be no new growth in the orchards, that it should all collapse by itself -- so as quickly to subdue Urim like a roped ox, to bow its neck to the ground: the great charging wild bull, confident in its own strength, the primeval city of lordship and kingship, built on sacred ground.

56-57. Its fate cannot be changed. Who can overturn it? It is the command of An and Enlil. Who can oppose it?

58-68. An frightened the very dwellings of Sumer, the people were afraid. Enlil blew an evil storm, silence lay upon the city. Nintud bolted the door of the storehouses of the Land. Enki blocked the water in the Tigris and the Euphrates. Utu took away the pronouncement of equity and justice. Inana handed over victory in strife and battle to a rebellious land. Ninjirsu poured Sumer away like milk to the dogs. Turmoil descended upon the Land, something that no one had ever known, something unseen, which had no name, something that could not be fathomed. The lands were confused in their fear. The god of the city turned away, its shepherd vanished.

69-78. The people, in their fear, breathed only with difficulty. The storm immobilised them, the storm did not let them return. There was no return for them, the time of captivity did not pass. What did Enlil, the shepherd of the black-headed people, do? Enlil, to destroy the loyal households, to decimate the loyal men, to put the evil eye on the sons of the loyal men, on the first-born, Enlil then sent down Gutium from the mountains. Their advance was as the flood of Enlil that cannot be withstood. The great wind of the countryside filled the countryside, it advanced before them. The extensive countryside was destroyed, no one moved about there.

79-92. The dark time was roasted by hailstones and flames. The bright time was wiped out by a shadow. (2 mss. add 2 lines: On that bloody day, mouths were crushed, heads were crashed. The storm was a harrow coming from above, the city was struck by a hoe.) On that day, heaven rumbled, the earth trembled, the storm worked without respite. Heaven was darkened, it was covered by a shadow; the mountains roared. Utu lay down at the horizon, dust passed over the mountains.

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Nanna lay at the zenith, the people were afraid. The city ..... stepped outside. The foreigners in the city even chased away its dead. Large trees were uprooted, the forest growth was ripped out. The orchards were stripped of their fruit, they were cleaned of their offshoots. The crop drowned while it was still on the stalk, the yield of the grain diminished.

[3 lines fragmentary]

93-103. They piled ..... up in heaps, they spread ..... out like sheaves. There were corpses floating in the Euphrates, brigands roamed the roads. The father turned away from his wife without saying "O my wife!" The mother turned away from her child without saying "O my child!" He who had a productive estate neglected his estate without saying "O my estate!" The rich man took an unfamiliar path away from his possessions. In those days the kingship of the Land was defiled. The tiara and crown that had been on the king's head were both spoiled. The lands that had followed the same path were split into disunity. The food offerings of Urim, the shrine of magnificent food offerings, were changed for the worse. Nanna traded away his people, numerous as ewes.

104-111. Its king sat immobilised in the palace, all alone. Ibbi-Suen was sitting in anguish in the palace, all alone. In E-namtila, his place of delight, he wept bitterly. The devastating flood was levelling everything. Like a great storm it roared over the earth -- who could escape it? -- to destroy the city, to destroy the house, so that traitors would lie on top of loyal men and the blood of traitors flow upon loyal men.

112. 1st kirugu.

113. The storms gather to strike like a flood.

114. Jicgijal to the kirugu.

115-122. The house of Kic, Hursaj-kalama, was destroyed. Zababa took an unfamiliar path away from his beloved dwelling. Mother Bau was lamenting bitterly in her E-Iri-kug. "Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly.

[1 line fragmentary / 2 lines missing]

"Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly.

123-132. Kazallu, the city of teeming multitudes, was cast into confusion. Numucda took an unfamiliar path away from the city, his beloved dwelling. His wife Namrat, the beautiful lady, was lamenting bitterly. "Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly. Its river bed was empty, no water flowed. Like a river cursed by Enki its opening channel was dammed up. On the fields fine grains grew no more, people had nothing to eat. The orchards were scorched like an oven, its open country was scattered. The four-legged wild animals did not run about. The four-legged creatures of Cakkan could find no rest.

133-142. Lugal-Marda stepped outside his city. Ninzuana took an unfamiliar path away from her beloved dwelling. "Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly. Isin, the shrine that was not a quay, was split by onrushing waters. Nininsina, the mother of the Land, wept bitter tears. "Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly. Enlil smote Dur-an-ki with a mace. Enlil made lamentation in his city, the shrine Nibru. Mother Ninlil, the lady of the Ki-ur shrine, wept bitter tears. "Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly.

143-154. Kec, built all alone on the high open country, was haunted. Adab, the settlement which stretches out along the river, was treated as a rebellious land. (1 ms. has instead: was deprived of water.) The snake of the mountains made his lair there, it became a rebellious land. The Gutians bred there, issued their seed. Nintud wept bitter tears over her creatures. "Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly. In Zabalam the sacred Giguna was haunted. Inana abandoned Unug and went off to enemy territory. In the E-ana the enemy set eyes upon the sacred Jipar shrine. The sacred Jipar of en-ship was defiled. Its en priest was snatched from the Jipar and carried off to enemy territory. "Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly.

155-162. A violent storm blew over Umma, brickwork in the midst of the highlands. Cara took an unfamiliar path away from the E-mah, his beloved dwelling. Ninmul cried bitter tears over her destroyed city. "Oh my city, whose charms can no longer satisfy me," she cried bitterly. Jirsu, the city of heroes, was afflicted with a lightning storm. Ninjirsu took an unfamiliar path away from the E-ninnu. Mother Bau wept bitter tears in her E-Iri-kug. "Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly. 163-173. On that day the word of Enlil was an attacking storm. Who could fathom it? The word of Enlil was destruction on the right, was ..... on the left. What did Enlil do in order to decide the fate of mankind? Enlil brought down the Elamites, the enemy, from the highlands. Nance, the noble daughter, was settled outside the city. Fire approached Ninmarki in the shrine Gu-aba. Large boats were carrying off its silver and lapis lazuli. The lady, sacred Ninmarki, was despondent because of her perished goods. Then the day ....., burning like ..... The province of Lagac was handed over to Elam. And then the queen also reached the end of her time.

174-184. Bau, as if she were human, also reached the end of her time: "Woe is me! Enlil has handed over the city to the storm. He has handed it over to the storm that destroys cities. He has handed it over to the storm that destroys houses." Dumuzid-abzu was full of fear in the house of Kinirca. Kinirca, the city of her noble youth, was ordered to be plundered. The city of Nance, Nijin, was delivered to the foreigners. Sirara, her beloved dwelling, was handed over to the evil ones. "Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly. Its sacred Jipar of en-ship was defiled. Its en priest was snatched from the Jipar and carried off to enemy territory.

185-192. Mighty strength was set against the banks of the Id-nuna-Nanna canal. The settlements of the E-danna of Nanna, like substantial cattle-pens, were destroyed. Their refugees, like stampeding goats, were chased by dogs. They destroyed Gaec like milk poured out to dogs, and shattered its finely fashioned statues. "Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly. Its sacred Jipar of en-ship was defiled. Its en priest was snatched from the Jipar and carried off to enemy territory.

193-205. A lament was raised at the dais that stretches out toward heaven. Its heavenly throne was not set up, was not fit to be crowned. It was cut down as if it were a date palm and tied together. Accu, the settlement that stretches out along the river, was deprived of water. At the place of Nanna where evil had never walked, the enemy walked. How was the house treated thus? The E-puhruma was emptied. Ki-abrig, which used to be filled with numerous cows and numerous calves, was destroyed like a mighty cattle-pen. Ningubalag took an unfamiliar path away from the Ja-bur. Niniagar wept bitter tears all alone. "Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly. Its sacred Jipar of en-ship was defiled. Its en priest was snatched from the Jipar and carried off to enemy territory.

206-213. Ninazu deposited his weapon in a corner in the E-gida. An evil storm swept over Ninhursaja at the E-nutura. Like a pigeon she flew from the window, she stood apart in the open country. "Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly. In Jicbanda, the house that was filled with lamentation, lamentation reeds grew. Ninjiczida took an unfamiliar path away from Jicbanda. Azimua, the queen of the city, wept bitter tears. "Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly.

214-220. On that day, the storm forced people to live in darkness. In order to destroy Kuara, it forced people to live in darkness. Ninehama in her fear wept bitter tears. "Alas the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly. Asarluhi put his robes on with haste and ..... Lugalbanda took an unfamiliar path away from his beloved dwelling. (1 ms. adds: Ninsun .....) "Alas the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly.

221-224. Eridug, floating on great waters, was deprived of drinking water. In its outer environs, which had turned into haunted plains, ... The loyal man in a place of treachery ..... Ka-hejala and Igi-hejala .....

225-233. "I, a young man whom the storm has not destroyed, ... I, not destroyed by the storm, my attractiveness not brought to an end, ... We have been struck down like beautiful boxwood trees. We have been struck down like ..... with coloured eyes. We have been struck down like statues being cast in moulds. The Gutians, the vandals, are wiping us out. We turned to father Enki in the abzu of Eridug. ..... what can we say, what more can we add? ..... what can we say, what more can we add?

234-242. "..... we have been driven out of Eridug. We who were in charge of ..... during the day are eclipsed by shadows. We who were in charge of ..... during the night are ..... by the storm. How shall we receive among our weary ones him who was in charge during the day? How shall we let him who was in charge by night go astray among our sleepless ones? Enki, your city has been cursed, it has been given to an enemy land. Why do they reckon us among those who have been displaced from Eridug? Why do they destroy us like palm trees, us who were not violent? Why do they break us up, like a new boat that has not .....?"

243-250. After Enki had cast his eyes on a foreign land,

[1 line unclear]

..... have risen up, have called on their cohorts. Enki took an unfamiliar path away from Eridug. Damgalnuna, the mother of the E-mah, wept bitter tears. "Alas the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly. Its sacred Jipar of en-ship was defiled. Its en priest was snatched from the Jipar and carried off to enemy territory.

251-259. In Urim no one went to fetch food, no one went to fetch water. Those who went to fetch food, went away from the food and will not return. Those who went to fetch water, went away from the water and will not return. To the south, the Elamites stepped in, slaughtering ..... In the uplands, the vandals, the enemy, ... The Tidnum daily strapped the mace to their loins. To the south, the Elamites, like an onrushing wave, were ..... In the uplands, like chaff blowing in the wind, they ..... over the open country. Urim, like a great charging wild bull, bowed its neck to the ground.

260-271. What did Enlil, who decides the fates, then do? Again he sent down the Elamites, the enemy, from the mountains. The foremost house, firmly founded, ... In order to destroy Kisiga, ten men, even five men ..... Three days and three nights did not pass, ... the city was raked by a hoe. Dumuzid left Kisiga like a prisoner of war, his hands were fettered.

[5 lines fragmentary]

271-280. She rode away from her possessions, she went to the mountains. She loudly sang out a lament over those brightly lit mountains: "I am queen, but I shall have to ride away from my possessions, and now I shall be a slave in those parts. I shall have to ride away from my silver and lapis lazuli, and now I shall be a slave in those parts. There, slavery, ... people, who can ..... it? There, slavery, Elam ....., who can ..... it? Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly. My queen, though not the enemy, went to enemy land. Ama-ucumgal-ana ..... Kisiga. Like a city .....

281. 2nd kirugu.

[1 line fragmentary / 1 line missing]

284. Jicgijal to the kirugu.

[7 lines missing or fragmentary]

292-302. Enlil threw open the door of the grand gate to the wind. In Urim no one went to fetch food, no one went to fetch water. Its people rushed around like water being poured from a well. Their strength ebbed away, they could not even go on their way. Enlil afflicted the city with an evil famine. He afflicted the city with that which destroys cities, that which destroys houses. He afflicted the city with that which cannot be withstood with weapons. He afflicted the city with dissatisfaction and treachery. In Urim, which was like a solitary reed, there was not even fear. Its people, like fish being grabbed in a pond, sought to escape. Its young and old lay spread about, no one could rise.

303-317. At the royal station there was no food on top of the platform. The king who used to eat marvellous food grabbed at a mere ration. As the day grew dark, the eye of the sun was eclipsing, the people experienced hunger. There was no beer in the beer-hall, there was no more malt for it. There was no food for him in his palace, it was unsuitable to live in. Grain did not fill his lofty storehouse, he could not save his life. The grain-piles and granaries of Nanna held no grain. The evening meal in the great dining hall of the gods was defiled. Wine and syrup ceased to flow in the great dining hall. The butcher's knife that used to slay oxen and sheep lay hungry in the grass. Its mighty oven no longer cooked oxen and sheep, it no longer emitted the aroma of roasting meat. The sounds of the bursaj building, the pure ..... of Nanna, were stilled. The house which used to bellow like a bull was silenced. Its holy deliveries were no longer fulfilled, its ..... were alienated. The mortar, pestle and grinding stone lay idle; no one bent down over them.

318-327. The Shining Quay of Nanna was silted up. The sound of water against the boat's prow ceased, there was no rejoicing. Dust piled up in the unuribanda of Nanna. The rushes grew, the rushes grew, the mourning reeds grew. Boats and barges ceased docking at the Shining Quay. Nothing moved on your watercourse which was fit for barges. The plans of the festivals at the place of the divine rituals were altered. The boat with first-fruit offerings of the father who begot Nanna no longer brought first-fruit offerings. Its food offerings could not be taken to Enlil in Nibru. Its watercourse was empty, barges could not travel.

328-339. There were no paths on either of its banks, long grass grew there. The reed fence of the well-stocked cattle-pen of Nanna was split open. The reed huts were overrun, their walls were breached. The cows and their young were captured and carried off to enemy territory. The munzer-fed cows took an unfamiliar path in an open country that they did not know. Gayau, who loves cows, dropped his weapon in the dung. Cuni-dug, who stores butter and cheese, did not store butter and cheese. Those who are unfamiliar with butter were churning the butter. Those who are unfamiliar with milk were curdling the milk. The sound of the churning vat did not resound in the cattle-pen. Like mighty fire that once burnt, its smoke is extinguished. The great dining hall of Nanna .....

340-349. Suen wept to his father Enlil: "O father who begot me, why have you turned away from my city which was built for you? O Enlil, why have you turned away from my Urim which was built for you? The boat with first-fruit offerings no longer brings first-fruit offerings to the father who begot him. Your food offerings can no longer be brought to Enlil in Nibru. The en priests of the countryside and city have been carried off by phantoms. Urim, like a city raked by a hoe, is to be counted as a ruin-mound. The Ki-ur, Enlil's resting-place, has become a haunted shrine. O Enlil, gaze upon your city, an empty wasteland. Gaze upon your city Nibru, an empty wasteland.

350-356. "The dogs of Urim no longer sniff at the base of the city wall. The man who used to drill large wells scratches the ground in the market place. My father who begot me, enclose in your embrace my city which is all alone. Enlil, return to your embrace my Urim which is all alone. Enclose in your embrace my E-kic-nu-jal which is all alone. May you bring forth offspring in Urim, may you multiply its people.

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May you restore the divine powers of Sumer that have been forgotten."

357. 3rd kirugu.

358. O good house, good house! O its people, its people!

359. Jicgijal.

360-370. Enlil then answered his son Suen: "There is lamentation in the haunted city, reeds of mourning grow there. (1 ms. adds the line: In its midst there is lamentation, reeds of mourning grow there.) In its midst the people pass their days in sighing. (1 ms. adds the line: My son, the noble son ....., why do you concern yourself with crying?) Oh Nanna, the noble son ....., why do you concern yourself with crying? The judgment uttered by the assembly cannot be reversed. The word of An and Enlil knows no overturning. Urim was indeed given kingship but it was not given an eternal reign. From time immemorial, since the Land was founded, until people multiplied, who has ever seen a reign of kingship that would take precedence for ever? The reign of its kingship had been long indeed but had to exhaust itself. O my Nanna, do not exert yourself in vain, abandon your city."

371-377. Then my king, the noble son, became distraught. Lord Acimbabbar, the noble son, grieved. Nanna who loves his city left his city. Suen took an unfamiliar path away from his beloved Urim. In order to go as an exile from her city to foreign territory, Ningal quickly clothed herself and left the city. The Anuna stepped outside of Urim.

378-388. ..... approached Urim. The trees of Urim were sick, its reeds were sick. Laments sounded all along its city wall. Daily there was slaughter before it. Large axes were sharpened in front of Urim. The spears, the arms of battle, were prepared. The large bows, javelin and shield gathered together to strike. The barbed arrows covered its outer side like a raining cloud. Large stones, one after another, fell with great thuds. (1 ms. adds the line: Daily the evil wind returned in the city.) Urim, confident in its own strength, stood ready for the murderers. Its people, oppressed by the enemy, could not withstand their weapons.

389-402. In the city, those who had not been felled by weapons succumbed to hunger. Hunger filled the city like water, it would not cease. This hunger contorted people's faces, twisted their muscles. Its people were as if drowning in a pond, they gasped for breath. Its king breathed heavily in his palace, all alone. Its people dropped their weapons, their weapons hit the ground. They struck their necks with their hands and cried. They sought counsel with each other, they searched for clarification: "Alas, what can we say about it? What more can we add to it? How long until we are finished off by this catastrophe? Inside Urim there is death, outside it there is death. Inside it we are to be finished off by famine. Outside it we are to be finished off by Elamite weapons. In Urim the enemy oppresses us, oh, we are finished."

403-410. The people took refuge behind the city walls. They were united in fear. The palace that was destroyed by onrushing water was defiled, its doorbolts were torn out. Elam, like a swelling flood wave, left only the ghosts. In Urim people were smashed as if they were clay pots. Its refugees were unable to flee, they were trapped inside the walls. (1 ms. adds 3 lines: Like fish living in a pond, they tried to escape. The enemy seized the E-kic-nu-jal of Nanna. They ripped out its heavy .....) The statues that were in the treasury were cut down. The great stewardess Niniagar ran away from the storehouse. Its throne was cast down before it, she threw herself down into the dust.

411-419. Its mighty cows with shining horns were captured, their horns were cut off. Its unblemished oxen and grass-fed sheep were slaughtered. (1 ms. adds the line: They were cut down as date palms and were tied together.) The palm-trees, strong as mighty copper, the heroic strength, were torn out like rushes, were plucked like rushes, their trunks were turned sideways. Their tops lay in the dust, there was no one to raise them. The midriffs of their palm fronds were cut off and their tops were burnt off. Their date spadices that used to fall on the well were torn out. The fertile reeds, which grew in the sacred ....., were defiled. The great tribute that they had collected was hauled off to the mountains.

420-434. The house's great door ornament fell down, its parapet was destroyed. The wild animals that were intertwined on its left and right lay before it like heroes smitten by heroes. Its gaping-mouthed dragons and its awe-inspiring lions were pulled down with ropes like captured wild bulls and carried off to enemy territory. The fragrance of the sacred seat of Nanna, formerly like a fragrant cedar grove, was destroyed. (1 ms. adds the line: Its architrave ..... gold and lapis lazuli.) The glory of the house, whose glory was once so lovely, was extinguished. Like a storm that fills all the lands, it was built there like twilight in the heavens; its doors adorned with the heavenly stars, its ..... Great bronze latches ..... were torn out. Its hinges ..... Together with its door fittings it wept bitterly like a fugitive. The bolt, the holy lock and the great door were not fastened for it. The noise of the door being fastened had ceased; there was no one to fasten it. The ..... and was put out in the square.

435-448. The food offerings ..... of his royal dining place were altered. In its sacred place the tigi, cem and ala instruments did not sound. Its mighty tigi ..... did not perform its sacred song. Verdicts were not given at the Dublamah, the place where oaths used to be taken. The throne was not set up at its place of judgment, justice was not administered. Alamuc threw down his sceptre, his hands trembling. In the sacred bedchamber of Nanna musicians no longer played the balaj drum. The sacred box that no one had set eyes upon was seen by the enemy. The divine bed was not set up, it was not spread with clean hay. The statues that were in the treasury were cut down. The cook, the dream interpreter, and the seal keeper did not perform the ceremonies properly. They stood by submissively and were carried off by the foreigners. The holy usga priests of the sacred lustrations, the linen-clad priests, forsook the divine plans and sacred divine powers, they went off to a foreign city.

449-459. In his grief Suen approached his father. He went down on his knee in front of Enlil, the father who begot him: "O father who begot me, how long will the enemy eye be cast upon my account, how long .....? The lordship and the kingship that you bestowed ....., father Enlil, the one who advises with just words, the wise words of the Land ....., your inimical judgment ....., look into your darkened heart, terrifying like waves. O father Enlil, the fate that you have decreed cannot be explained, the ..... of lordship, my ornament." ..... he put on a garment of mourning.

460-474. Enlil then provided a favourable response to his son Suen: "My son, the city built for you in joy and prosperity was given to you as your reign. The destroyed city, the great wall, the walls with broken battlements: all this too is part of that reign. ..... the black, black days of the reign that has been your lot. As for dwelling in your home, the E-temen-niguru, that was properly built -- indeed Urim shall be rebuilt in splendour, the people shall bow down to you. There is to be bounty at its base, there is to be grain. There is to be splendour at its top, the sun shall rejoice there. Let an abundance of grain embrace its table. May Urim, the city whose fate was pronounced by An, be restored for you." Having pronounced his blessing, Enlil raised his head toward the heavens: "May the land, south and highland, be organised for Nanna. May the roads of the mountains be set in order for Suen. Like a cloud hugging the earth, they shall submit to him. By order of An and Enlil it shall be conferred."

475-477. AFather Nanna stood in his city of Urim with head raised high again. The youth Suen could enter again into the E-kic-nu-jal. Ningal refreshed herself in her sacred living quarters. (1 ms. adds the line: In Urim she could enter again into her E-kic-nu-jal.)

478. 4th kirugu.

479-481. There is lamentation in the haunted city, mourning reeds grew there. In its midst there is lamentation, mourning reeds grew there. Its people spend their days in moaning.

482 Jicgijal.

483-492. O bitter storm, retreat o storm, storm return to your home. O storm that destroys cities, retreat o storm, storm return to your home. O storm that destroys houses, retreat o storm, storm return to your home. Indeed the storm that blew on Sumer, blew also on the foreign lands. Indeed the storm that blew on the land, blew on the foreign lands. It has blown on Tidnum, it has blown on the foreign lands. It has blown on Gutium, it has blown on the foreign lands. It has blown on Ancan, it has blown on the foreign lands. It levelled Ancan like a blowing evil wind. Famine has overwhelmed the evildoer; those people will have to submit.

493-504. May An not change the divine powers of heaven, the divine plans for treating the people with justice. May An not change the decisions and judgments to lead the people properly. To travel on the roads of the Land: may An not change it. May An and Enlil not change it, may An not change it. May Enki and Ninmah not change it, may An not change it. That the Tigris and Euphrates should again carry water: may An not change it. That there should be rain in the skies and on the ground speckled barley: may An not change it. That there should be watercourses with water and fields with grain: may An not change it. That the marshes should support fish and fowl: may An not change it. That old reeds and fresh reeds should grow in the reed-beds: may An not change it. May An and Enlil not change it. May Enki and Ninmah not change it.

505-518. That the orchards should bear syrup and grapes, that the high plain should bear the macgurum tree, that there should be long life in the palace, that the sea should bring forth every abundance: may An not change it. The land densely populated from south to uplands: may An not change it. May An and Enlil not change it, may An not change it. May Enki and Ninmah not change it, may An not change it. That cities should be rebuilt, that people should be numerous, that in the whole universe the people should be cared for; o Nanna, your kingship is sweet, return to your place. May a good abundant reign be long-lasting in Urim. Let its people lie down in safe pastures, let them reproduce. O mankind ....., princess overcome by lamentation and crying! O Nanna! O your city! O your house! O your people!

519. 5th kirugu.

THE LAMENT FOR NIBRU (NIPPUR)
The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature
Translation:
Estimated Range of Dating:

1-11. After the cattle pen had been built for the foremost divine powers -- how did it become a haunted place? When will it be restored? Where once the brick of fate had been laid -- who scattered its divine powers? The lamentation is reprised: how did the storeroom of Nibru, the shrine Dur-an-ki, become a haunted place? When will it be restored? After Ki-ur, the sanctuary, had been built, after the brickwork of E-kur had been built, after Ubcu-unkena had been built, after the shrine Egal-mah had been built -- how did they become haunted? When will they be restored?

12-21. How did the true city become empty? Its precious designs have been defiled! How were the city's festivals neglected? Its magnificent rites have been thrown into disorder! In the heart of Nibru, where the divine powers were allotted and the black-headed people prolificly multiplied, the city's heart no longer revealed any sign of intelligence -- there where the Anuna used to give advice! In Ubcu-unkena, the place for making great judgments, they no longer impart decisions or justice!

22-31. Where its gods had established their dwellings, where their daily rations were offered, their daises erected, where the sacred royal offering and the evening meal in their great banquet hall were destined for the pouring out of choice beer and syrup -- Nibru, the city where the black-headed people used to cool themselves in its spreading shade -- in their dwellings Enlil fell upon them as if they were criminals. It was he who sent them scattering, like a scattered herd of cattle. How long until its lady, the goddess Ninlil, would ask after the inner city, whose bitter tears were overwhelming?

32-41. As though it were empty wasteland, no one enters that great temple whose bustle of activity was famous. As for all the great rulers who increased the wealth of the city of Nibru -- why did they disappear? For how long would Enlil neglect the Land, where the black-headed people ate rich grass like sheep? Tears, lamentation, depression and despair! How long would his spirit burn and his heart not be placated? Why were those who once played the cem and ala drums spending their time in bitter lamenting? Why were the lamenters sitting in its brick buildings? They were bewailing the hardship which beset them.

42-52. The men whose wives had fallen, whose children had fallen, were singing "Oh! Our destroyed city!". Their city gone, their homes abandoned -- as those who were singing for the brick buildings of the good city, as the lamenters of wailing, like the foster-children of an ecstatic no longer knowing their own intelligence, the people were smitten, their minds thrown into disorder. The true temple wails bitterly.

1st kirugu

..... built the temple, Ninlil .....

Its jicgijal

53-61. The true temple gave you only tears and lamentation -- it sings a bitter song of the proper cleansing-rites that are forgotten! The brickwork of E-kur gave you only tears and lamentation -- it sings a bitter song of the proper cleansing-rites that are forgotten! It weeps bitter tears over the splendid rites and most precious plans which are desecrated -- its most sacred food rations neglected and ..... into funeral offerings, it cries "Alas!". The temple despairs of its divine powers, utterly cleansed, pure, hallowed, which are now defiled! The true temple, which it is bitter to enter on one's own, passes the time ..... tears.

62-67. Because the sealings of the abundant materials stored in the temple have been broken open, they have placed the loads on the ground. Because the property in its well-tended storehouses has been sent back, it says "What will they weigh out for me now?"; because the enemies who do not know good from evil have cut off all good things, it sings a bitter dirge; because they have finished off its populace there like animals, it cries "Oh! my Land!". Because they have piled up the young women, young men and their little children like heaps of grain, it cries "Woe!" for them. Because they have splashed their blood on the ground like a rain-storm, there is no restraint to its crying.

68-78. The temple, like a cow whose calf is cut off, groans bitterly to itself; it is grief-stricken, and the sweet-voiced lamenters, like nursemaids singing a lullaby, respond tearfully with its name. In anguish they bewail the fact that the city's lord has smashed heads there, that he has looked away from it and toward a foreign land instead. The true temple of all the countries, which had come before him -- what have the black-headed people, who had taken a true path, done, what have they forsaken, that their lord has become enraged with them and walks in anger?

2nd kirugu

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It voices bitter cries because he has removed the great divine powers from within it.

Its jicgijal

79-85. How long will the city's lord who became angry with it not turn to it, not say "Alas!" for it? Why did he cut off the road to its brickwork? He made the noisy pigeons fly away from their windows. Why did he transform the appearance of the temple which knew voices, where they used to while away the days in sweet playing of tigi drums in the brick buildings? The temple, once a place to offer salutations in humility, is now as deathly silent as a temple which no one reveres!

86-94. As though its purification priest's equipment were not utterly sacred, as though its cleansing-rites did not bring calm in all countries, he has abandoned it, turned his breast away from it, among dejection and lamentation he has made it a sacrilege. After its fate, how long till his face would be streaked with teardrops? He rejected it thus as though it were a blasphemy! Why has joy left its brickwork? Night and day he has filled its heart with tears! Even now, he has made it foreign and a sacrilege! 95-102. Its lord, who has despoiled it like an evil wind, has destroyed that city and its temples! He has ripped out their foundations, struck them with the adze, killed wives and their children within it, he has turned that city into a deserted city -- when would he restore its ancient property? Its possessions have been carried off by the wind! Enlil turned the city which used to be there into a city no longer!

103-116. He made its mind wander! He threw its intelligence into disorder and made it haunted! He took away its food and its water! He brought to an end its days of familiarity with milk and with beer! The temple which he has made a sacrilege utters bitter lamentations; he has made its eyes blurred with tears. The lamenters who perform the dirges respond to it sorrowfully. No one touches the arm of the city's lord who has removed its divine powers! No one intercedes!

3rd kirugu

114-115. How did Enlil make all his greatest divine powers fly away! No one ever touches his arm! No one ever intercedes!

Its jicgijal

117-126. I am going down to my dirge singer of bitter fates and I shall weep tearfully to him. Even now the lamenters who are expert in song make ululating wails over me! Now my people who are overcome by hardship voice laments for me one by one! Even now the places of refuge of my people whose hearts are burning in dark distress have been made known to me! My people whose hearts have been broken on the bitter way perform the lullabies of my young ones for me in tears!

127-138. The well-built houses, ladies' dwellings, were falsely founded, and they have been eroded by the winds! They are making a lament for me of how the foe has finished off my Land! They are addressing the cries of my heart, overwhelmed with bitterness, in order to soothe it! They are beginning their laments about my lord Enlil! He will have mercy and compassion on me -- Enlil, father of the black-headed people, he who will give the order to restore me!

4th kirugu

My heart is dark, I am destroyed, I am in chaos, I have been devastated!

Its jicgijal

139-149. In the foremost brick buildings they sing that your fate is bitter! Even now, to Enlil who will accept your tears for you, weeping bitter tears of your own accord, speak supplications to your lord himself concerning what he did to you, concerning that fate! Say to him "My lord, how long? Look upon me with favour, my lord!". Say "Why .....?". Say "May your heart be soothed for me -- overturn this sacrilege for your own good! The day is .....!". Say "Re-enter for me your dwelling in my darkened shrines!". Say "Like a bright, cleansed, sacred day, give ..... for your own good!". Say ".....!". Say "Your misfortunes ..... will rebuild it!".

150-156. Perhaps by this means I can make him have compassion and mercy for you. Depression has weakened your heart, but I am the one who has established good cheer for you. He will fix it forever as your lot that you shall lift your head high, he will make good again the hostilities he is directing against you.

5th kirugu

In the city which does not know freedom he struck them down.

Its jicgijal

157-166. Even now your lord has smitten the enemy fury for you! He has had mercy on you and decreed your fate! He has said "Enough", so that he has removed lamentation from your brick buildings! In good mood and with a joyful heart he has entered in there again for you! Ninurta, the mighty commissioner, has looked after things! He stood there before the hero, his provider Icme-Dagan, and issued the command to him to completely rebuild the E-kur, the most precious shrine! He has restored its ancient property! Enlil has ordered Icme-Dagan to restore its ziggurat temple, to make it shine like the day, to make fitting the dais upon its platform!

167-180. He has put back in their place the rites which the enemy disordered and desecrated, along with the scattered divine powers! He has given him his sacred unchangeable decision that they should sanctify and purify again the cleansing-rites which the enemy had put a stop to! He has told Icme-Dagan, his beloved shepherd, that spirited bulls and spirited bucks should be slaughtered! When decrees the fate of the sacred royal offering place, he will offer salutations and stand there daily in supplication and prayer.

[2 lines fragmentary]

6th kirugu

How long before you will rest at ease?

Its jicgijal

181-183. How long will the brickwork strain its eyes upwards in tears and lamentations? Even now your lord, the Great Mountain Enlil, supreme in the universe, has removed lamentation from your brick buildings and made favourable your humour!

184-192. Now, city, your lord who has had compassion and mercy for you, Father Enlil, lord of all countries, who has commanded that you be restored, and the great mother Ninlil, who entreated him in prayer there, and the brickwork itself which said to him "Steady the trembling of Nibru!" and said to him "Rebuild my women's quarters for me! Re-establish my temples for me!" -- he who mulled things over so that he came to a decision about them, Enlil, who found agreeable his command of true words, who beneficently entered the true temple which had suffered destruction -- he himself is removing what he turned upon you in distress.

193-200. Just as he silenced you, when he made joy enter again he decreed as your fate the sound of choice beer and syrup being poured out to overflowing. "Enough! It is time to stifle the lament" he said to you himself. Because you have been living in a state of neglect, Enlil who has decreed your fate has said "My city, you have placated my sacred heart towards you!". He has returned to you! "Nibru, you have placated my sacred heart towards you!". He has returned to you! True city, he has decreed your great fate and made your reign long! Nibru, he has decreed your great fate and made your reign long!

201-213. Enlil himself has commanded Icme-Dagan that the E-kur should shine like the day! Steady sunlight shines into the Ki-ur; he has brought daylight in there again for you! Ninlil has decreed your fate in the Jajiccua! Enlil and Ninlil together founded daises in the E-kur! They dined there and enjoyed choice beer! They deliberated how to make the black-headed people secure in their dwellings! They have brought back to you the people who had been completely devastated! They have gathered back together the children whom they turned away from their mothers! The populace goes with you in their secure strongholds! Shrine Nibru, Great Mountain Enlil has returned to you!

7th kirugu

How you suffer! How depression exhausts you!

Its jicgijal

214-219. Even now, they command Icme-Dagan that Sumer and Akkad should be restored at your feet, that their scattered people should be returned to their nests! They have brought the news that the magnificent rites of Eridug would not be forgotten, its heart sending forth wisdom, so that good sense should be allotted! The Anuna, the lords who decree fates, order that Adab should be rebuilt, the city whose lady fashions living things, who promotes birthing!

220-227. An and Enlil have advised that Urim should be restored, founded in a pasture, its divine powers distinct from the rest! They command the prince of the city Larsa, the herald of the universe, the judge of the numerous people, to secure its foundations, to follow the proper path! They have taken a decision concerning Unug- Kulaba, the sacred city, the handiwork of the gods, and restored it. They have brought news of the removal of all foes and enemies from the region of Zabalam, the city where the Mistress of Heaven concentrated her forces.

228-235. An and Enlil have looked with their beneficent gaze on Lagac, the mooring-pole of heaven, and the shrine Jirsu, established long ago. They have removed the treacherous Tidnum from that temple in Umma, Sig-kur-caga, which had been ill treated! It is the great gods who have commanded that the foundations of Kic should be secured, at the edge of Sumer and Akkad, its dominion superlative! Marad, the city in whose river water flows, in whose fields is fine grain -- the Anuna who took those things away from it returned them to it again!

236-246. Isin, the provisioner of the Anuna, awe-inspiring since times of old -- An, Enlil, Enki and Ninmah have made its reign long! By their command they have handed it over and expressed their approval! They have entrusted it to Ninurta, the champion, the strong hero! They have told Ninisina, the exalted child of An, the incantation priest of the Land, to rest calmly in her sacred dwelling, Egal-mah! They have told Damu, the chief barber of Nunamnir, healer of the living, to make the foreign countries bow at the feet of his father and mother!

8th kirugu

An, Enlil, Enki and Ninmah have given their orders!

Its jicgijal

247-254. Now see! Enlil has fixed a good day in the land! He has even now ordered the day for Nibru to raise its neck to heaven! He himself has provided a good day for the E-kur to shine! He himself has raised up the day for the Ki-ur's magnificent manifestation! He himself has restored the day for Sumer and Akkad to expand! He himself has set aside the day for houses to be built and storerooms to be enclosed! He himself has brought out the day for seeds to sprout and living things to be born! He has brought out the day for building cattle pens and founding sheepfolds!

255-262. The ewes which bore lambs have filled the pens! (1 ms. has instead the line: Ewes have given birth in the folds, their lambs have filled the pens!) The goats which bore kids have filled the folds! The ewes which flocked with their lambs have swelled the sheepfold! The goats which flocked with their kids have caused the pens to be widened! He himself has set the day for turning destruction to the good! He has ..... the day ..... evil! He has brought in Icme-Dagan as assistance for the day for establishing justice in the land!

9th kirugu

263-274. Although Sumer and Akkad had been desecrated by the foe, afterwards hearts were appeased, spirits soothed! All the great gods thus had compassion! They looked upon those sunk in exhaustion and brought them up out of it! They restored your city which had been razed to ruins! Enlil, king of all countries, restored its shining property which had been scattered, which had been devastated! There where the populace rested in the cool after building their nests, in Nibru, the mountain of the greatest divine powers, from where they had taken an unfamiliar path -- at Enlil's word the Anuna, those very lords who determine the fates, ordered that the temples which they had forsaken and the jewels, put there long ago, which had been carried off by the wind, should all be restored!

275-283. He has established there dining in joy within! Enlil has given the command to Icme-Dagan, his joyous, reverent sacral officiant, who daily serves, to sanctify its food, to purify its water! He has commanded him to purify its defiled divine powers! He has put in order its disordered and scattered rites, he has put back in their place the most sacred things, neglected and defiled. He decrees as a fate the offering of daily rations and the grinding up of fine meal and flour. He has decided to make bread plentiful on the table, to make loaves numerous!

10th kirugu

284-296. Father Enlil, the lord whose command cannot be altered, prince of all countries, has fixed among the black-headed people, and commanded for their benefit, a time when no one is to speak hostile words to another, when a son is to respect his father, a time to establish humility in the Land, for the inferior to be as important as the mighty, a time when the younger brother, fearing his big brother, is to show humility, a time when the elder child is to treat the younger child reasonably and to pay heed to his words, a time to take neither weak nor strong away into captivity, but to serve with great acts of good, a time to travel the disordered roadways, to extirpate evil growths, a time when anyone is to go where they will, to hurl no insults at one's fellow, (1 ms. has instead the line:a time when anyone is to go where they will, to carry oneself humbly in the plain, to perform no sacrilege,) a time no one is to speak hostile words to another, to perform no sacrilege, (1 ms. has instead the line:a time to go from one's own city to a foreign city, to have no fear on the plain, to perform no sacrilege,) a time to remove bitterness from the Land, to establish light therein, a time when darkness is to be lifted in the Land, so that living things should rejoice.

11th kirugu

297-303. Now, see! After that time, Enlil, the prince who is full of pity, has been beneficent to his hero who had laid the ..... brick! He put in order again for him the divine powers which had been desecrated by the enemy! He sanctified again the defiled rites for him! He purified its ziggurat temple and made it resplendent for him! Within he made abundance plentiful, he filled it with choice beer and syrup! He established there at that time the pleasing of hearts, the appeasing of spirits, the ameliorating of moods!

304-314. Icme-Dagan himself stood in prayer to Enlil and offered salutations! When he had begun the lament and spoken the supplication, the prince of all countries treated his body with oil of abundance as if it were the sweetest syrup! And his prayer was heard -- Enlil looked upon him with favour, Icme-Dagan whose words bring Enlil pleasure! Enlil's constant attendant, with whose thoughts he agrees! Because the humble one prostrated himself in his devotions and served there, because he will entreat him in supplication and will do obeisance, because he will complete and honour the royal offering and will return, because he will keep watch over everything and will not be negligent, Enlil has promised to Icme-Dagan his dominion of extended years!

315-323. He promised him that he will be a man of pre-eminent kingship! He promised him that he will be a king whose reign is good! He promised him that he shall have the people inhabit safe dwellings! Enlil found agreement in what he had said to the numerous people! On the day for decreeing

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fates, every part of Sumer and Akkad, among the black-headed people flocking like sheep, among their well-tended people, will praise forever the majesty of the Great Mountain Nunamnir, enkara weapon of the universe! It is his awe-inspiring way!

12. th kirugu

THE LAMENT FOR UNUG (URUK)
The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature
Translation :
Estimated Range of Dating:

SEGMENT A
(beginning of 1st kirugu)

1-3. The ..... which had developed -- its wiping clean was to be accomplished. The ..... of heaven and earth put their divine powers ..... to sleep.

[1 line fragmentary]

4-8. ..... mortal man multiplied to become as numerous as the gods. When together ..... had achieved a momentous decision, the ..... of the gods ..... Enki and Ninki determined the consensus -- deemed worthless. Enul and Ninul assigned the fate, ...

9-14. When together An and Enlil had created it, that one resembled ..... When Ninlil had given it features, that one was fit for ..... When together Aruru, Suen and Enki had fashioned its limbs, that one turned pitch black, as at night, halfway through the watch, ... All the great gods paled at its immensity and..... was brought about. Like a great wild bull which bellows mightily, that one filled the world with its roar.

15-20. As its gigantic horns reached up to heaven, who trembled in his very core? As it was piled up over the mountains like a battle-net, who turned away? Who caused wailing and lamenting in those streets and .....? Unug, like a loyal citizen in terror, set up an alarm (and exclaimed) "Rise up!" Why did its hand seize Unug? Why did the benevolent eye look away? Who brought about such worry and lamenting and .....?

21-27. That one drew nearer. That one settled upon the ground. Why would he withdraw? Who distorted Unug's good sense and deranged its good counsel? Who smashed its good udug deity? Who struck its good lama deity too? Who desecrated the fearsome radiance which crowned it? Who brought about mob panic in Unug? Who ..... sickness too? Along with the city, the foreign lands ....., who ..... in the temple of Unug? That one .....

[small number of lines missing]

SEGMENT B
(continuation of 1st kirugu)

1-8. [1 line fragmentary] Who made .....? Why was ..... expanded? Who made the black-headed people become so numerous? Who overthrew .....? ..... was destroyed -- who restored .....? Who confronted .....? That one crushed ..... That one .....

small number of lines missing

SEGMENT C
(probable beginning of 2nd kirugu)

1-9. 1 line fragmentary

..... and Utu, who in human form renders judgment at the law court of heaven, set and did not rise again. ..... bore a heavy burden of sin. ..... the altered verdicts of the lord Nunamnir. ..... who can smite .....? ..... and they approach (?). ..... he brings ..... forth. ..... of Enlil ..... He ..... and puts an end to .....

[small number of lines missing]

SEGMENT D
(continuation of 2nd kirugu)

1-9. 1 line fragmentary

..... each and every one .... its ways were .... its destruction and demolition, ... The ..... of the gods ..... attention. ....., who neglected ....., ... the city watched as the evil ghost approached. ..... breathed painfully, he wept bitterly. ..... there was no nodding of the head.

10-20. He consoled himself with tears and laments -- the city trembled. A defiled hand smote him and flattened his skull -- the city collapsed. The fearsome radiance overwhelmed each and every observer. The capital city, canal inspector for all the lands, became like one who spreads havoc. The faithful cowherds themselves overturned every single cattlepen. The chief shepherds themselves burned every sheepfold. They built them up like grain heaps, they spread them out like grain piles, they themselves flattened them. ..... they drenched the fields with water, they turned the city into a swamp. They did all that. Like reeds in a wasteland, life could not be revived. They brought ruination. Evil things menaced the city. A hush settled over the awed hearts of its people like a cloak.

21-33. Its good udug deities went away, its lama deities ran off. Its lama deity (said) "Hide in the open country" and they took foreign paths. The city's patron god turned against it and its shepherd abandoned it. Its guardian spirit, though not an enemy, was exiled to a foreign place. Thus all its most important gods evacuated Unug, they kept away from it. They hid out in the hills and wandered about in the haunted plains. In the city built upon peace, food and drink were overturned like a saman vessel. In the pasture lands a tumultuous noise arose, the asses and sheep were driven away. Elderly people and babies, taking their rest, ... in front ..... They saw ..... and slaughtered .....

[3 lines fragmentary / small number of lines missing]

SEGMENT E
(continuation of 2nd kirugu)

1-7. He ..... and opened his clenched fist. He ..... and reached out his hand. The ..... of Sumer, the city whose king crossed over to an enemy land, to ..... -- he smote it with the might of his weapon. He ..... and turned the place into dust. He ..... and piled the people up in heaps. ..... when will its charms be restored?

8. 2nd kirugu.

9. The ..... of heaven ..... and the people ..... to the limits of heaven.

10. Its jicgijal.

11-20. He ....., stretched forth his hand and induced terror in the land. Enlil struck out with great ferocity. He announced: "A devastating deluge shall be invoked. At its front war shall be a ..... axe, at its rear it shall be a ..... Its scales shall be a harrow, its back shall be flames. Its countenance shall be a malevolent storm that enshrouds heaven and earth. The glint of its eyes shall be lightning that flashes far like the Anzud bird. Its mouth shall be grotesque -- a blaze that extends as far as the nether world. Its tongue shall be an inferno, raining embers, that sunders the Land. Its arms shall be the majestic Anzud bird that nothing can escape when it spreads wide its talons.

21-31. "Its ribs shall be crowbars that let light pass inside like the sun's rays. Knotted at both its hips shall be city-destroying slingstones. Its great haunches shall be dripping knives, covered with gore, that make blood flow. Its muscles shall be saws that slash, its feet those of an eagle. It shall make the Tigris and Euphrates quaver, it shall make the mountains rumble. At its reverberation the hills shall be uprooted, the people shall be pitched about like sheaves, Sumer and Akkad shall shiver, they shall be flooded like a harvest crop. The foolish shall rejoice, they shall exclaim: "Let it come -- we shall be seeing war and battle in the city, how the sacred precinct (?) is destroyed, how the walls are battered down, how the city's peace is disrupted, how among the loyal families honest men are transformed into traitors."

32-40. "But the sensible shall beat their breasts and droop (?) their heads. At midnight they shall toss about tearfully and suffer insomnia. In bed, under the covers, they shall be unable to sleep soundly, they shall wander about the city. They shall wring their hands, their courage shall run out: "May our allies serving in times of war mobilise their forces for peace. May the word of Enlil be sent back, may it turn tail. May the venom of Nunamnir's anger become exhausted. May those vicious men who have seized the E-kur be punished. May those who have set their sight upon Nibru be swept away."

41. 3rd kirugu.

42. My heart is filled with sorrow, I am tear-stricken.

43. Its jicgijal.

44-50. Oh, Sumer! Alas -- your spirit! Alas -- your structure! Alas -- your people! The word of An, having been assigned its place, has destroyed the sacred precinct (?). The pronouncement of Enlil, having been set in motion, ... The devastating deluge ..... The great and fierce ....., the lord Nergal .... like Gibil, Nergal .....

[1 line fragmentary]

51-65. War ..... enemy lands ..... echoed. Like arrows in a quiver ..... Evildoers in Sumer ..... Gutium, the enemy, overturned ..... Sumer, caught in a trap, ... Its people were thrown into turmoil ..... The mighty heroes of Sumer .... the heart of a hurricane ..... They advanced like the front rank of troops, ... Like ..... they were crushed, every one of them ..... Their war veterans gave up, their brains were muddled. The troop leaders, the most outstanding of the men, were viciously hewn down. Gutium, the enemy, ... weapons ..... Not looking at each other ..... Like a swelling flood, like ....., Subir poured into Sumer.

66-74. They ..... like stampeding goats, they tore apart the corpses of the population. They mutilated Sumer and Akkad, they pulverised it as with a pestle. They destroyed its settlements and habitations, they razed them to ruin mounds. The best of Sumer they scattered like dust, they heaped up ..... They massacred its populace, they finished off young and old alike. They destroyed the city of the Anuna gods, they set it aflame. They put out both Unug's eyes, they uprooted its young shoots. They wandered all through the libation places of the Anuna gods. And even Kulaba, which is the primeval city, they turned into a place of murder.

75. 4th kirugu.

76. Alas -- Sumer! Alas -- its people!

77. Its jicgijal.

78-88. Unug! They seized your wharf and your borders and ..... At Unug shouts rang out, screams reverberated, its captured men ..... The noise reached to the south. The south was destroyed and ..... The impact forced its way to the uplands. The uplands were struck and ..... To the right and left no people moved about, no habitations were built. There was no ..... and the mobilisation of troops did not .... rose up to heaven. Heaven perished and its strength did not .... upon the earth. The earth was scattered, and it did not ..... All the settlements were dispersed -- Unug stood all alone. It was a bull, it was a champion, it was immense with pride, but it ..... to the weapons. All night and even until midday battle was waged, and afterwards it did not .....

89-99Battering rams and shields were set up, they rent its walls. They breached its buttresses, they hewed the city with axes. They set fire to its stations, they ..... the city's dwellings. They destroyed it, they demolished it. Unug, the good place, was ..... with dust. Like a great wild bull wounded with an arrow, ... Like a wild cow pierced with a spear, ... The mighty one rushed with his weapons and ..... implements of war. Subir, rising up like a swelling floodwave, ... They trampled through the streets and ..... They let the blood of the people flow like that of a sacrificial cow, they tore out everthing that had been built.

100-111. The citizens of Unug ..... They..... and threw down ..... They ..... and put an end to ..... They seized ..... They struck ..... They destroyed ..... They ..... They demolished ..... They set up ..... They heaped up ..... They put an end to ..... and did not leave behind .... Subir entered .....

112. 5th kirugu.

113. ..... cried out "..... has been created" and he smeared dust .....

114. Its jicgijal.

115. ..... reached .....

[19 fragmentary lines / unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT F
(probable beginning of another kirugu)

1-5The enemy land ..... Zabalam ..... In Urim, the E-kic-nu-jal ..... Cattlepen and sheepfold ....., evil ..... The land of Subir .....

[200-300 lines missing]

SEGMENT G
(part of 11th kirugu)

1-5. All the great gods ..... The Anuna gods .....

[1 line fragmentary]

Sovereigns .....

[1 line fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT H
(beginning of 12th kirugu)

1-8Lady Inana whose greatness is vaster than the mountains, hovering like An, vested with grandeur like Enlil, like her father, perfect by night and in the heat of the day, like Utu, surpassing in vigour, singularly exalted in all the four regions -- let Icme-Dagan take pleasure in relaxing in your temple, let him murmer to you in your temple, let him raise his head to you in your E-ana.

9-19. Let Icme-Dagan serve you as your steward. Let him prepare great bulls for you. Let him dedicate great offerings to you. Let him make the beer, fat and oil plentiful for you. Let him make syrup and wine flow for you as from stone jars. Let Icme-Dagan, son of Enlil on the king's pedestal, bow in homage to you. May he make the ub and ala drums resound grandly for you. May the tigi sound sweetly for you, and may the zamzam play for you. May they play ..... on the tigi for you, expressing your prayers and supplications before you.

20-27. In bringing forth ....., all that there are, at your E-jipar in Unug, as a humble man who has grasped your feet, as a pious one who has experienced your exaltedness, he has brought a lament as offering to you and will ..... As for everything that happened to Sumer and Akkad, which he has witnessed in Unug, the aggrieved place, may the best singers perform songs there.

28-38. If the Anuna gods emerge tearfully, let them promise to us that as it was when heaven and earth came about, nothing of that time shall be changed. If An looks kindly upon that man and at the well-built city, the place of determining fate, proclaim "Man and city! Life and well-being!" for him. Let praises ring out. Let him be made surpassing above all, to his right or left. Tireless lama deity, take hold of his head, pronounce his fate in charitable words -- by the command of An and Enlil it will remain unaltered for a long time.

39. 12th kirugu.

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THE LAMENT FOR ERIDUG (ERIDU)
Translation: ETCSL, University of Oxford
Estimated Range of Dating:

VERSION 1 (FROM ERIDU)
SEGMENT A
(beginning of 1st kirugu)
1-10. [4 lines missing] The roaring storm covered it like a cloak, was spread over it like a sheet. It covered Eridug like a cloak, was spread over it like a sheet. In the city, the furious storm resounded ..... In Eridug, the furious storm resounded ..... Its voice was smothered with silence as by a sandstorm. Its people ..... Eridug was smothered with silence as by a sandstorm. Its people .....
11-18. Its king stayed outside his city as if it were an alien city. He wept bitter tears. Father Enki stayed outside his city as if it were an alien city. He wept bitter tears. For the sake of his harmed city, he wept bitter tears. Its lady, like a flying bird, left her city. The mother of E-mah, holy Damgalnuna, left her city. The divine powers of the city of holiest divine powers were overturned. The divine powers of the rites of the greatest divine powers were altered. In Eridug everything was reduced to ruin, was wrought with confusion.
19-26. The evil-bearing storm went out from the city. It swept across the Land -- a storm which possessses neither kindness nor malice, does not distinguish between good and evil. Subir came down like rain. It struck hard. In the city where bright daylight used to shine forth, the day darkened. In Eridug where bright daylight used to shine forth, the day darkened. As if the sun had set below the horizon, it turned into twilight. As if An had cursed the city, alone he destroyed it. As if Enlil had frowned upon it, Eridug, Ec-abzu, bowed low.
27. 1st kirugu.
28. It cried out bitterly: "O the destruction of the city! The destruction of the house!"
29. Its jicgijal.
30-37. A second time the storm destroyed the city -- its song was plaintive. ..... was breached. ..... intensified the lament. It cut the lock from its main gate. The storm dislodged its door. ..... It stacked the people up in heaps. ..... on its own destroyed it. It turned ..... into tears. ..... defiled .....
[1 line missing]
39-47. ..... It distorted its appearance. ..... It distorted its appearance. It circled its ..... wall. It overturned its foundations. Throughout his city, the pure, radiant place, the foundations were filled with dust. It cast down its ziggurat, the shrine which reaches up to heaven, into a heap of debris. The loftiness of its awe-inspiring door-ornament, befitting a house, collapsed. It cut down the gate, its Great-Ziggurat-of-Heaven-and-Earth-Covered-with-Terrible-Awesomeness, its shining door, and it broke through its bolt. It ripped out its doorframe. The house was defaced.
48. 2nd kirugu.
49. The destruction of Eridug! Its destruction was grievous.
50. Its jicgijal.
51-57. At its lion-faced gate, the place where fates are determined, it mutilated the copse forming the architrave of the house ..... Ka-hejala and Igi-hejala, the doorkeepers of the house, ... Prematurely they destroyed it utterly. They completely altered ..... At the gate of the fattening-shed, the animal-fattener ..... the great offerings. Its birds and fish were neglected there. Destruction ..... Throughout his house, radiant in silver and lapis lazuli, tears .....
58-65. The hired man and the governor ..... The festivals ..... grandly ..... Holy songs, songs of all kinds ..... The cem drum and ala drum ..... The great divine powers, all the divine powers ..... The place of the gods of heaven and earth ..... The judgment by the king, the holy sceptre at his right side, ... The en priestess, lumah priest and nindijir priestess .....
66-73. The minister Isimud ..... Strangers to the house ..... its side. Eridug, Ec-abzu, ... silently. The enemy ..... the cleansed tugmah robe. ..... a man ..... the people ..... Along with the fluids spilled from his guts, his blood spilled forth. The ....., which like the azure sky was embellished forever, ... grasped .....
74. 3rd kirugu.
75-76. [2 lines fragmentary]
77. Its jicgijal.
78. ..... distressed and anxious ..... like a pigeon .....
[1 line fragmentary] The birds of the destroyed city ..... a nest. The ukuku bird, bird of heart's sorrow, ... the place. Pain ..... The area became entangled in wild thornbushes. It ..... wild thornbushes. The Cimackians and Elamites, the destroyers, looked at the holy kettles which no one may look at. In the E-jectug-Nisaba, the house of wisdom, ... covered over ..... The divine powers which embellish the abzu ..... When the holy treasures stored in the treasury were put ....., when, like a mist lying heavily on the earth, ..., they went like small birds shooed from their hiding places.
[7 lines fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT B
(continuation of 4th kirugu)
1Father Enki uttered a lament for himself .....
2. 4th kirugu.
3. Bitterly Father Enki uttered a lament for himself.
4. Its jicgijal.
5-9. Because of this, Enki, king of the abzu, stayed outside his city as if it were an alien city. It bowed its neck down to the ground. Eridu's lady, holy Damgalnuna, the faithful cow, the compassionate one, clawed at her breast, clawed at her eyes. She uttered a frenzied cry. She held a dagger and a sword in her two hands -- they clashed together.
10-15. She tore out her hair like rushes, uttering a bitter lament: "You, my city whose woman does not dwell there, whose charms do not satisfy her -- where is a lament uttered bitterly for you? Eridug! You, my city whose woman does not dwell there, whose charms do not satisfy her -- where are tears wept for you? I fall like a bull in your lofty ..... falls ..... I am ..... My heart ..... queen ....." unknown number of lines missing (incorporating end of 5th kirugu)

SEGMENT C
(continuation of 6th kirugu)
1-8. [1 line fragmentary] ..... far away ..... the great gods. The lord Enlil, king of the lands, looked maliciously at Sumer. He demolished it. He destroyed the Ki-ur, the great place. He razed with the pickaxe all of the shining E-kur. He destroyed it but did not abandon it -- at the lunches, in his great dining-hall, they call his name.
9-20. Aruru, the sister of Enlil, destroyed her city Irisajrig. In Kec, the creation place of the Land, the people saw inside its holy sanctuary where daylight had been unknown. She destroyed it but did not abandon it -- at the lunches, in her great dining-hall, they call her name. The lord Nanna, the lord Acimbabbar, destroyed his city Urim. He decimated the Land with famine. He committed a sacrilege against the E-kic-nu-jal. He struck at its heart. He destroyed it but did not abandon it -- at the lunches, in his great dining-hall, they call his name.
21-25. Inana, the queen of heaven and earth, destroyed her city Unug. Fleeing from the E-ana, the house of seven corners and seven fires....., she destroyed it but did not abandon it -- at the lunches, in her great dining-hall, they call her name.
26. (Damgalnuna speaks:) "My beloved, who has ever seen such a destruction as that of your city Eridug!"
27. 6th kirugu.
28. "My beloved, for how long was it built? For how long is it destroyed? ..... adornment of the abzu."
29. Its jicgijal.
30-36. "Lord Enki, who has ever seen such a destruction as that of your city Eridug? Who has ever seen such a misfortune as that of Ec-abzu, your house?" No one goes up to his offering terrace. At the lunches, in his great dining-hall, they do not call his name. Enki, king of the abzu, felt distressed, felt anxious. At the words of his spouse, he himself began to wail. He lay down and fasted.
37-44. My king, you must not be distressed, you must not be anxious. Father Enki, you must not be distressed, you must not be anxious. Son of An, return your heart to your Ki-ur and your attention to your city. Living in an alien city is miserable -- return your attention to your city. Living in an alien house is miserable -- return your attention to your house. What can anyone compare with this city? -- Return your attention to your city. What can anyone compare with this house? -- Return your attention to your house. Eridug's day is long. Its night is over.
45-52. May your throne say to you "Sit down". May your bed say to you "Lie down". May your house say to you "Be rested". May your holy dais also say joyfully to you "Sit down". May your father An, the king of the gods, satisfy your heart. A person, a humble man, brings you a lament over your wife's faithful house. When he sings it before you, may that person soothe your heart. When he recites a prayer, look kindly upon him.
53. 7th kirugu.
54. It destroyed your ..... and struck against your house.
55. Its jicgijal.
56-59. . . . . and may he restore it for you.
[2 lines fragmentary]
Do not hide like a criminal .....

A VERSION 2 (FROM UR; UET 6 142)

SEGMENT A
1-5. House of princely powers, standing in mighty water -- the waters have receded from it ..... One can walk on its wide swamp. Within it grow wild thornbushes. The delightful boat Antelope of the abzu -- the waters have receded from it; ..... its sheepfold ..... the wharf. They were Sirsir, the tutelary deity, and the man who rides the boat. At the prow ..... was hurled down in front of them. Evildoers destroyed the house, and its rites were disturbed.
6-7. At the giguna shrine, the sacred house, evildoers ..... The E-unir -- the shrine raises its head as high as heaven. Its shadow .....
8-14. At the great gate, the lion-faced gate, the place where fates are determined, evildoers ..... They set fire to its door. Ka-hejala and Igi-hejala, the doorkeepers of the house, ... Enki, at the ..... place, ... its people. ..... the destroyed place, the abzu ..... the powers of the Anuna gods.
[3 lines fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]
(continuation of 3rd kirugu)

SEGMENT B
1-6. Eridug ..... City in the reed-beds ..... In Eridug, bull and cow ..... Without being a marsh boar ..... Eridug, like a bull ..... The lady of the city cried, "My city .....!"
7. 3rd kirugu.
8. Father Enki! O your house, o your city, o your people ..... the mountains.
9. Its jicgijal.

CHRONICLES

THE SUMERIAN KING LIST
Translation: ETCSL (University of Oxford)
Estimated Range of Dating: 2100-1900 B.C.

(In the following translation, mss. are referred to by the sigla used by Vincente 1995; from those listed there, mss. Fi, Go, P6, and WB 62 were not used; if not specified by a note, numerical data come from ms. WB.
The Sumerian King List: list of rulers of ancient Sumer, is used as a framework for the study of Mesopotamian chronology.
Sixteen copies (indicated as A, B, C... P) of this text are known, all of them written in Sumerian, although some of them clearly show Akkadian influence. The text appears to have been composed in the late third millennium BC (Ur III period), and was later updated. The sequence of cities is identical to the Eridu Genesis.
The text presented here is based on version G, an octagonal prism from Larsa.)

Text:
After the kingship descended from heaven, the kingship was in Eridu.
In Eridu, Alulim became king; he ruled for 28,800 years.
Alalgar ruled for 36,000 years.
Two kings; they ruled for 64,800 years.
Then Eridu fell and the kingship was taken to Bad-tibira.
In Bad-tibira, Enmen-lu-ana ruled for 43,200 years.
Enmen-gal-ana ruled for 28,800 years.
The divine Dumuzi, the shepherd, ruled for 36,000 years.
Three kings; they ruled for 108,000 years.

Then Bad-tibira fell and the kingship was taken to Larak.
In Larak, En-sipad-zid-ana ruled for 28,800 years.
One king; he ruled for 28,800 years.
Then Larak fell and the kingship was taken to Sippar.
In Sippar, Enmen-dur-ana became king; he ruled for 21,000 years.
One king; he ruled for 21,000 years.
Then Sippar fell and the kingship was taken to Suruppak.
In Suruppak, Ubara-Tutu became king; he ruled for 18,600 years.
One king; he ruled for 18,600 years.

Five cities; eight kings ruled for 385,200sic years.
Then the Flood swept over.
After the Flood had swept over, and the kingship had descended from heaven, the kingship was in Kis.
In Kis, Gisur became king; he ruled for 1,200 years.
Kullassina-bel ruled for 900 years.
Nan-GIS-lisma ruled for 1,200 years.
En-dara-ana ruled for 420 years, 3 months, and 3½ days.
Babum ruled for 300 years.
Pu'annum ruled for 840 years.
Kalibum ruled for 900 years.
Kalumum ruled for 840 years.
Zuqaqip ruled for 900 years.
Atab ruled for 600 years.
Masda, son of Atab, ruled for 840 years.
Arwi'um, son of Masda, ruled for 720 years.
Etana, the shepherd, who ascended to heaven and put all countries in order, became king; he ruled for 1,500 years.
Balih, son of Etana, ruled for 400 years.
Enme-nuna ruled for 660 years.
Melem-Kis, son of Enme-nuna, ruled for 900 years.
Barsal-nuna, son of Enme-nuna, ruled for 1,200 years.
Samug, son of Barsal-nuna, ruled for 140 years.
Tizkar, son of Samug, ruled for 305 years.
Ilku'u ruled for 900 years.

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Ilta-sadum ruled for 1200 years.
Enmen-baragesi, who destroyed Elam's weapons, became king; he ruled for 900 years.
Agga, son of Enmen-baragesi, ruled for 625 years.
Twenty-three kings ruled for 23,310 years, 3 months, and 3 1/2 days.

Then Kis was defeated and the kingship was taken to Eanna.
In Eanna, Mes-ki'ag-gaser, son of Utu, became lord and king; he ruled for 324 years. Mes-ki'ag-gaser entered the sea and disappeared.
Enmekar, son of Mes-ki'ag-gaser, the king of Uruk, who built Uruk, became king; he ruled for 420 years.
The divine Lugal-banda, the shepherd, ruled for 1200 years.
The divine Dumuzi, the fisherman, whose city was Ku'ara, ruled for 100.
Gilgames, whose father was an invisible being, the lord of Kulaba, ruled for 126 years.
Ur-Nungal, son of the divine Gilgames, ruled for 30 years.
Udul-kalama, son of Ur-Nungal, ruled for 15 years.
La-baser ruled for 9 years.
Ennun-dara-ana ruled for 8 years.
Meshe, the smith, ruled for 36 years.
Melem-ana ruled for 6 years.
Lugal-ki-GIN ruled for 36 years.
Twelve kings ruled for 2310 years.

Then Uruk was defeated and the kingship was taken to Ur.
In Ur, Mes-ane-pada became king; he ruled for 80 years.
Mes-ki'ag-Nuna, son of Mes-ane-pada, became king; he ruled for 36 year.
Elulu ruled for 25 years.
Balulu ruled for 36 years. (mss. L1+N1, P2+L2 have:)
Four kings ruled for 177 years.
Then Ur was defeated and the kingship was taken to Awan.
In Awan, [...] became king; he ruled for [...] years.
[...]-Lu ruled for [...] years.
Kul[...] ruled for 36 years.
Three kings ruled for 356 years.

Then Awan was defeated and the kingship was taken to Kis.
In Kis, Su-suda, the fuller, became king; he ruled for 200+N years.
Dadase ruled for 81 years.
Mamagal, the boatman, ruled for 240+N years.
Kalbum, son of Mamagal, ruled for 195 years.
TUG ruled for 360 years.
Men-nuna ruled for 180 years.
Enbi-Istar ruled for 290 years.
Lugalgu ruled for 360 years.
Eight kings they ruled for 3195sic years.
Then Kis was defeated and the kingship was taken to Hamazi.
In Hamazi, Hatanis became king; he ruled for 360 years.
One king ruled for 360 years.

Then Hamazi was defeated and the kingship was taken to Uruk.
In Uruk, En-sakus-ana became king; he ruled for 60 years.
Lugal-ure ruled for 120 years.
Argandea ruled for 7 years.
Three kings ruled for 187 years.
Then Uruk was defeated and the kingship was taken to Ur.
In Ur, Nanne became king; he ruled for 54+N years.
Mes-ki'ag-Nanna, son of Nanne, ruled for 48 years.
[...], the son of [...], ruled for 2 years.
Three kings ruled for [...] years.
Then Ur was defeated and the kingship was taken to Adab.
In Adab, Lugal-ane-mundu became king; he ruled for 90 years.
One king ruled for 90 years.
Then Adab was defeated and the kingship was taken to Mari.
In Mari, Anubu became king; he ruled for 30 years.
Anba, son of Anubu, ruled for 17 years.
Bazi, the leather worker, ruled for 30 years.
Zizi, the fuller, ruled for 20 years.
Lim-er, the pasisu-priest, ruled for 30 years.
Sarrum-iter ruled for 9 years.
Six kings ruled for 136 years.

Then Mari was defeated and the kingship was taken to Kis.
In Kis, Ku-Baba, the woman tavern-keeper, who made firm the foundations of Kis, became king; she ruled for 100 years.
One queen ruled for 100 years.
Then Kis was defeated and the kingship was taken to Aksak.
In Aksak, Unzi became king; he ruled for 30 years.
Undalulu ruled for 6 years.
Urur ruled for 6 years.
Puzur-Nirah ruled for 20 years.
Isu-Il ruled for 24 years.
Su-Sin, son of Isu-Il, ruled for 7 years.
Six kings ruled for 93 years.
Then Aksak was defeated and the kingship was taken to Kis.
In Kis, Puzur-Sin, son of Ku-Baba, became king; he ruled for 25 years.
Ur-Zababa, son of Puzur-Sin, ruled for 400.
Simudara ruled for 30 years.
Usi-watar ruled for 7 years.
Istar-muti ruled for 11 years.
Isme-Samas ruled for 11 years.
Nanniya, the stonecutter, ruled for 7 years.
Seven kings ruled for 491 years.

Then Kis was defeated and the kingship was taken to Uruk.
In Uruk, Lugalzagesi became king; he ruled for 25 years. (2341-2316)
One king ruled for 25 years.
Then Uruk was defeated and the kingship was taken to Agade.
In Agade, Sargon, whose father was a gardener, the cupbearer of Ur-Zababa, became king, the king of Agade, who built Agade; he ruled for 56 years. (2335-2279)
Rimus, son of Sargon, ruled for 9 years. (2279-2270)
Manistusu, the older brother of Rimus, son of Sargon, ruled for 15 years. (2270-2255)
Naram-Sin, son of Manistusu, ruled for 56 years. (2255-2218)
Sar-kali-sarri, son of Naram-Sin, ruled for 25 years. (2218-2193)
Then who was king? Who was not king?
Irgigi was king, Nanum was king, Imi was king, Elulu was king; those four kings ruled 3 years. (2193-2190)
Dudu ruled for 21 years. (2190-2169)
Su-Durul, son of Dudu, ruled for 15 years. (2169-2154)
Eleven kings ruled for 181 years.
Then Agade was defeated and the kingship was taken to Uruk.
In Uruk, Ur-nigin became king; he ruled for 7 years. (2154-2147)
Ur-gigir, son of Ur-nigin, ruled for 6 years. (2147-2141)
Kuda ruled for 6 years. (2141-2135)
Puzur-ili ruled for 5 years. (2135-2130)
Ur-Utu ruled for 6 years. (2130-2124)
Five kings ruled for 30 years.

Uruk was defeated and the kingship was taken to the army of Gutium.
The army of Gutium, a king whose name is unknown.
Nibia became king; he ruled for 3 years.
Then Ingisu ruled for 6 years.
Ikukum-la-qaba ruled for 6 years.
Sulme ruled for 6 years.
Silulumes ruled for 6 years.
Inimabakes ruled for 5 years.
Ige'a'us ruled for 6 years.
I'ar-la-qaba ruled for years.
Ibate ruled for 3 years.
Yarla ruled for 3 years.
Kurum ruled for 1 year.
Apil-kin ruled for 3 years.
La'arabum ruled for 2 years.
Irarum ruled for 2 years.
Ibranum ruled for 1 year.
Hablum ruled for 2 years.
Puzur-Sin, son of Hablum, ruled for 7 years.
Yarlaganda ruled for 7 years
Si'u ruled for 7 years.
Tiriga ruled for 40 days.
Twenty-one kings ruled for 91 years and 40 days.

Then the army of Gutium was defeated and the kingship was taken to Uruk.
In Uruk, Utu-hegal became king; he ruled for 420 years and 7 days. (2124-2113)
One king ruled for 427 years and 6 days.
Then Uruk was defeated and the kingship was taken to Ur.
In Ur, Ur-Nammu became king; he ruled for 18 years. (2113-2095)
Shulgi, son of Ur-Nammu, ruled for 46 years. (2095-2047)
Amar-Sin, son of Shulgi, ruled for 9 years. (2047-2038)
Su-Sin, son of Amar-Sin, ruled for 9 years. (2038-2029)
Ibbi-Sin, son of Su-Sin, ruled for 24 years. (2029-2004)
Foursic kings ruled for 108sic years.

Then Ur was defeated. The kingship was taken to Isin.
In Isin, Isbi-Irra became king; he ruled for 33 years. (2018-1985)
The divine Su-ilisu, son of Isbi-Irra, ruled for 20 years. (1985-1975)
Iddin-Dagan, son of Su-ilisu, ruled for 21 years. (1975-1954)
Isme-Dagan, son of Iddin-Dagan, ruled for 20 years. (1954-1935)
Lipit-Istar, son of Isme-Dagan, ruled for 11 years. (1935-1924)
The divine Ur-Ninurta ruled for 28 years. (1924-1896)
Bur-Sin, son of Ur-Ninurta, ruled for 21 years. (1896-1874)
Lipit-Enlil, son of Bur-Sin, ruled for 5 years. (1864-1869)
The divine Irra-imitti ruled for 8 years. (1869-1861)
The divine Enlil-bani ruled for 24 years. (1861-1837)
The divine Zambija ruled for 3 years. (1837-1834)
The divine Iter-pisa ruled for 4 years. (1834-1831)
Urdukuga ruled for 4 years. (1831-1828)
Sin-magir ruled for 11 years. (1828-1817)
Damiq-ilisu, son of Sin-magir, ruled for 23 years. (1817-1794)
Thirteensic kings ruled for 213 years.
Hand of Nur-Ninsubur.

APPENDIX
After this, tablet B, from Nippur, adds some totals:
A total of thirty-nine kings ruled for 14409+N years, 3 months and 3½ days; four dynasties in Kis.
A total of twenty-two kings ruled for 2610+N years, 6 months and 15 days; five dynasties in Uruk.
A total of twelve kings ruled for 396 years, 3 dynasties in Ur.
A total of three kings ruled for 356 years; one dynasty in Awan.
A total of one king ruled for 420 years; one dynasty in Hamazi.
A total of one king ruled for 90 years; one dynasty in Adab.
A total of six kings ruled for 136 years; one dynasty in Mari.
A total of six kings ruled for 99 years; one dynasty in Aksak.
A total of eleven kings ruled for 197 years; one dynasty in Agade.
A total of twenty-one kings ruled for 125 years and 40 days; one dynasty in Gutium.
A total of eleven kings ruled for 159 years; one dynasty in Isin.
Eleven royal cities. Their total: 134 kings. Total: 28,876+N years, N months, N days.

ANOTHER APPENDIX
A tablet from Nippur (CM 2) is an addition to the Sumerian King List. It is too damaged to make sense of it.
(...)
[...] reigned 4+N years.
Ir[...];
Ur[...], son of a man whose name is not known, ruled for 8 years.
Sumuabum reigned 8 months.
Ikun-pi-Istar became king; he ruled for [...] years.
A total of N kings ruled for 125+n years; six dynasties of [...]a.

CHRONICLE OF EARLY KINGS (ABC 20)
Estimated Range of Dating:

(The Chronicle of Early Kings (ABC 20) is a historiographical text from ancient Babylonia.
Although the Chronicle of Early Kings (ABC 20) purports to offer information about the oldest period and the Old-Babylonian empire, it was probably written much later. One anachronism is the reference to Babylon during the reign of king Sargon of Akkad. However, in outline, much information is more or less correct. The last seven lines of tablet A are identical to the beginning of tablet B, so we can be confident that we have a more or less complete text. Related subject matter can be found in chronicle CM 41.
For a very brief introduction to the literary genre of chronicles, go here. The translation on this webpage was adapted from A.K. Grayson, Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles (1975) and Jean-Jacques Glassner, Mesopotamian Chronicles (Atlanta, 2004).)

TABLET A
[A.1] Sargon, king of Agade, came to power during the reign of Istarnote[According to the Middle chronology, Sargon ruled from 2334 to 2279. His eleventh year would be 2323 BCE. He was the founder of the dynasty of Akkad.] and
[A.2] he had neither rival not equal. His splendour, over the lands
[A.3] it diffused. He crossed the sea in the east.
[A.4] In the eleventh year he conquered the western land to its farthest point.
[A.5] He brought it under one authority. He set up his statues there
[A.6] and ferried the west's booty across on barges.
[A.7] He stationed his court officials at intervals of five double hours and
[A.8] ruled in unity the tribes of the lands.
[A.9] He marched to Kazallu and turned Kazallu into a ruin heap,
[A.10] so that there was not even a perch for a bird left.
[A.11] Afterwards, in his old age, all of the lands rebelled again and
[A.12] surrounded him in Agade. Sargon went out to fight and brought about their defeat.

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[A.13] He overthrew them and overpowered their extensive army.
[A.14] Afterwards, Subartu attacked Sargon in full force and called him to arms.
[A.15] Sargon set an ambush and completely defeated them.
[A.16] He overpowered their extensive army
[A.17] and sent their possessions into Akkad.
[A.18] He dug up the dirt of the pit of Babylon and
[A.19] made a counterpart of Babylon next to Agade.
[A.20] Because the wrong he had donenote[I.e., building a rival to Babylon.] the great lord Marduk became angry and wiped out his family by famine.
[A.21] From east to west, the subjects rebelled against him
[A.22-23] and Marduk afflicted him with insomnia.
[A.24] and Marduk Naram-Sin,note[According to the Middle Chronology, Naram-Sin ruled from 2254 to 2218.] son of Sargon, marched to Apisal.afflicted him with insomnia.
[A.25] He made a breach in the city wall and Ris-Adad
[A.26] he captured, the king of Apisal, and the vizier of Apisal.
[A.27] He marched to Magan and captured Mannu-dannu, king of Magan.
[A.28] Shulgi,note[According to the Middle Chronology, Shulgi ruled from 2094 to 2047. He was the second king of the Third Dynasty of Ur.] the son of Ur-Nammu, provided abundant food for Eridu, which is on the seashore.
[A.29] But he had criminal tendencies and the property of Esagila and Babylon
[A.30] he took away as booty. Bel caused caused [...] to consume his body and killed him.
[A.31] Irra-imitti,note[According to the Middle Chronology, Irra-Imitti, king of Isin, ruled from 1868 to 1861. His successor Enlil-bani occupied the throne in 1860-1837. This story is also told in CM 41, tablet B.] the king, installed Enlil-bani, the gardener,
[A.32] as substitute kingnote[Substitute kings were appointed when evil omens predicted the death of a king. Irra-imitti's sin may have been that he stayed in the palace.] on his throne.
[A.33] He placed the royal tiara on his head.
[A.34] Irra-imitti died in his palace when he sipped a hot soup.
[A.35] Enlil-bani, who occupied the throne, did not give it up and
[A.36] so he was sovereign.
[A.37] Ilu-summa was king of Assyria at the time of Su-abu.
[A.38] Battles.

TABLET B
[B.obv.1-7] [Identical to tablet A 31-36.]
[B.obv.8] Hammurabi,note[According to the Middle Chronology, the Babylonian king Hammurabi ruled from 1792 to 1750. Rim-Sin of Larsa was defeated in 1762, after a reign that had started in 1822 (!).] king of Babylon, mustered his army and
[B.obv.9] marched against Rim-Sin [I], king of Ur.
[B.obv.10] Hammurabi captured Ur and Larsa and
[B.obv.11] took their property to Babylon.
[B.obv.12] He brought Rim-Sin in a ki-is-kap to Babylon.
[B.obv.13] Samsu-iluna,note[Samsu-iluna ruled from 1749 to 1712, according to the Middle Chronology.] king of Babylon, son of Hammurabi, the king
[B.obv.14] [...] he mustered and
[B.obv.15] [...] Rim-Sin [II] marched to [...]
[B.obv.16] [...] he captured and
[B.obv.17] [...] in good health in his palace
[B.obv.18] [...] he went and surrounded [...]
[B.obv.19] [...] his people [...]
[B.obv.20] [...]
[Lacuna]
[B.rev.1] [Lacuna]
[B.rev.1'] [...]
[B.rev.2'] '[...] Iluma-ilu [...]
[B.rev.3'] [...] he made [...]
[B.rev.4'] he did battle against them [...]
[B.rev.5'] their corpses [..] in the sea [...]
[B.rev'.6'] he repeated and Samsu-iluna [...]
[B.rev.7'] Iluma-ilu attacked and brought about the defeat of his army.
[B.rev.8'] Abi-esuh,note[Abi-esuh ruled, according to the Middle Chronology, from 1711 to 1696. The story about the damming of the Tigris is also told in CM 41, tablet B.] son of Samsu-iluna, set out to conquer Iluma-ilu.
[B.rev.9'] He decided to dam the Tigris.
[B.rev.10'] He dammed the Tigris but did not capture Iluma-ilu.
[B.rev.11'] At the time of Samsuditananote[Samsu-ditana became king in 1625 (Middle Chronology) and Babylon was sacked in 1595.] the Hittites marched against Akkad.
[B.rev.12'] Ea-gamil,note[Last king of the Sealand Dynasty. Dating is impossible.] the king of the Sealand, fled to Elam.
[B.rev.13'] After he had gone, Ulam-Burias, brother of Kastiliasu, the Kassite,
[B.rev.14'] mustered an army and conquered the Sealand. He was master of the land
[B.rev.15'] Agum, the son of Kastiliasu, mustered his army and
[B.rev.16'] marched to the Sealand.
[B.rev.17'] He seized Dur-Enlil and
[B.rev.18'] destroyed Egalgasesna, Enlil's temple in Dur-Enlil.

THE ESAGILA CHRONICLE (ABC 19)
The Weidner Chronicle
Estimated Range of Dating:

(The Weidner Chronicle (ABC 19) or Esagila Chronicle is a religious text from ancient Babylonia. In fact, it is not a chronicle but a piece of propaganda in the form of a letter, although it contains after line 31 a part that resembles a chronicle.

The presumed author, probably king Damiq-ilisu of Isin (ruled 1816-1794, according to the Middle chronology), writes to king Apil-Sin of Babylon (1830-1813) about the blessings that the gods bestowed upon earlier rulers who sacrificed to the supreme god Marduk in the Esagila shrine in Babylon. Most of these kings ruled in the third millennium, when Babylon and the shrine probably did not exist.

For a very brief introduction to the literary genre of chronicles, go here. The translation on this webpage was adapted from A.K. Grayson, Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles (1975), Alan Millard's rendering in W.W. Hallo (ed.), The Context of Scripture (2003 Leiden and Boston), and Jean-Jacques Glassner, Mesopotamian Chronicles (Atlanta, 2004).)

Text:
[Pr.] Say to Apil-Sin, king of Babylon, thus says Damiq-ilisu, king of of Isin: [This first line can also be read as "Say to Rim-Sin, king of Larsa, thus says Enlil-bani, king of Isin."]
[...] like [...] his reign. I myself have written to you a matter to be pondered, a matter [...], but you have not considered them. You have not listened to or paid attention to the advice I gave you, nor heeded the special advice that [...] You have been looking for something else. To do you a good turn I have [...] you, but it is not in your mind. For your own good I have advised you to reinforce the training of your army, but you have not put your hand to it. His shrines where I sought advice [...] has ceased. Now I shall tell you my experience [...] learn from it speedily!
I offered sacrifice to my lady Ninkarrak [Gula], mistress of Egalmah; I prayed an implored her, I told her the matter that I was constantly considering, and spoke like this: "Entrust to me the people of Sumer and Akkad [...] all the lands. Let the people of the Upper and the Lower lands bring their weighty tribute into Egalmah."
In the night time, holy Gula, the exalted lady, stood before me, she heard my speech, spoke to me clearly and blessed me. "You shall set a place in the underground water, in the ocean beneath the earth, [...] you shall raise the top to the distant sky, in [...] above, a state of privilege. Afterwards, Marduk, the king of the gods, who [...] the whole of heaven and earth, will [...] the people of Sumer and Akkad to his city Babylon." [...]
He [Marduk] went quickly to his father, Ea, the craftsman, the counselor of heaven and earth. "May Esagila, the majestic shrine, be [...] to the limits of heaven and earth! May the lord of lords, who dwells in the shrine, from east to west [...] May he shepherd human beings like sheep! May the city be famous! [...] The lord Nudimmud [Ea] carried out all he had said. Throughout heaven he honoured him.
Then Anu and Enlil, the great gods, favoured him and decreed "May he be the leader of the Upper and Lower lands May the great gods of heaven and earth tremble before his shrine. Raise up to the sky the top of Esagila, of Ekua, the palace of heaven and earth,note[A reference to the Etemenanki; cf. Genesis 11.4.] [...] May its foundation be fixed like sky and earth forever!
By your sacrifice I understood what you said and I have given to you long life. Apart from the order announced in the dream, good advice for [...]. For the gods of that city, the great gods of heaven and earth [...] for daily, monthly, and yearly renewal of life [...] no god shall oppose it [...] whose mind [...] at his command they are bound, the hostile gods clad in dirty clothes [...] Whoever sins against the gods of that city, his star shall not stand in the sky, his kingship will end, his scepter will be taken away, his treasury will become a heap of ruins [...].
And the king of heaven and earth said thus: "The gods of heaven and earth [...] the behavior of each former king of which I hear to [...]. Akka, son of [...]
Enmekar, king of Uruk, destroyed the people [...]. The sage Adapa, son of [...] heard in his holy sanctuary and cursed Enmekar. He/I gave to him rule over all lands and his rites. He/I beautified like the heavenly writing [The constellations.] and in Esagila the king who controls the whole of heaven and earth for his 3,020 years.
In the reign of Puzur-Nirah, king of Aksak, the freshwater fishermen of Esagila were catching fish for the meal of the great lord Marduk; the officers of the king took away the fish.
The fisherman was fishing when 7 (or 8) days had passed [...] in the house of Kubaba,note[A legendary Sumerian queen and the only member of the Third Dynasty of Kis. If she is a historical figure, her reign may have been in c.2400 BC. She is also known as Kugbaba.] the tavern-keeper [...] they brought to Esagila. At that time BROKEN [An indication by the writer that the tablet he was copying was damaged.] anew for Esagila [...]
Kubaba gave bread to the fisherman and gave water, she made him offer the fish to Esagila. Marduk, the king, the prince of the Apsu, [The sweet waters below the earth.] favoured her and said: "Let it be so!" He entrusted to Kubaba, the tavern-keeper, sovereignty over the whole world. Ur-Zababa ordered Sargon, his cupbearer, to change the wine libations of Esagila. Sargon did not change but was careful to offer [...] quickly to Esagila.
Marduk, the king of the world, favoured him and gave him the rule of the four corners of the world.note[Sargon's reign can be dated to 2334-2279 (according to the Middle chronology).] He took care of Esagila. Everyone who sat on a throne brought his tribute to Babylon. Yet he ignored the command Bel had given him. He dug soil from its pit and in front of Akkad he built a city which he named Babylon. [Probably, the place names should be changed: if Sargon built a city near Babylon that he called Akkad, the anger of Enlil (a surname of Marduk) becomes understandable.]
Enlil changed the order he had given and from east to west people opposed him. He could not sleep. Naram-Sin [Naram-Sin was a descendant of Sargon and ruled, according to the Middle Chronology, from 2254 to 2218.] destroyed the people of Babylon, so twice Marduk summoned the forces of Gutium against him.
Marduk gave his kingship to the Gutian force. The Gutians were unhappy people unaware how to revere the gods, ignorant of the right cultic practices. Utu-hegal, [Utu-hegal was king of Uruk in c.2200.] the fisherman, caught a fish at the edge of the sea for an offering. That fish should not be offered to another god until it had been offered to Marduk, but the Gutians took the boiled fish from his hand before it was offered, so by his august command, Marduk removed the Gutian force from the rule of his land and gave it to Utu-hegal. Utu-hegal, the fisherman, carried out criminal acts against Marduk's city, so the river carried off his corpse.
Then Marduk gave sovereignty over the whole world to Shulgi, son of Ur-nammu*, but he did not perform his rites to the letter, he defiled his purification rituals and his sin [....].
[* Ur-Nammu and Shulgi were the first kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur. According to the Middle Chronology, their reigns can be dated to 2112-2095 and 2094-2047. The third king, Amar-Sin, ruled from 2046 to 2038; Su-Sin succeeded him in 2037-2029.]
Amar-Sin, his son, changed the offerings of large oxen and sheep of the Akitu festival in Esagila. It was foretold that he would die from goring by an ox, but he died from the "bite" of his shoe. Su-Sin made Esagila like the constellations for this well-being . . . . BROKEN [An indication by the writer that the tablet he was copying was damaged.] what Shulgi did, his sin, his son Ibbi-Sin.note[The fifth king of the Third Dynasty of Ur, Ibbi-Sin, ruled from 2028 to 2004 and was captured by the Elamites.]
BROKEN [An indication by the writer that the tablet he was copying was damaged.] a former king who proceeded [...] your desire and over Marduk's father Ea, the heaven and earth [...] he did not create. Anu and Istar, [...] his majestic son, the great lord Marduk, king of the gods, whom the gods [...], Ea's grandson Nabu, who [...] he will name the king.
To his descendant Sumu-la-El,note[Sumu-la-El ruled 1880-1845 and was the (grand)father of the addressee of this letter.] the king, whose name Anu pronounced, for your well-being and [...] all of it a peaceful dwelling place, a lasting rule in your hand.
[Colophon] Tablet of Marduk-etir, son of Etir-[...]-haya, devotee of Nabu. To be returned in case of loss.

THE HISTORY OF THE TUMMAL
ETCSLtranslation : t.2.1.3
Estimated Range of Dating: 1900-1600 B.C.

(The Tummal Inscription or The History of the Tummal, is a small Babylonian Chronicle, a writing of ancient Sumer from the time of the ruler Ishbi-Erra. The writing lists the names of the rulers that built the temples dedicated to Enlil within Nippur and temples of Ninlil in Tummal, amongst whom were the king of Kish, Enmebaragesi and his heir Agga. The chronicle was written by two persons from Nippur and, most likely, Ur. A number of religious analyses of the inscriptions find evidence within the text for a claim of divine

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intervention. The inscription was useful in the understanding of the archaeology and history of Gilgamesh.)

1-6. En-me-barage-si, the king, built the Iri-nanam in Enlil's temple. Aga, son of En-me-barage-si, made the Tummal flourish and brought Ninlil into the Tummal. Then the Tummal fell into ruins for the first time.

7-11. Mesh-Ane-pada built the Bur-shushua in Enlil's temple. Mesh-ki-ag-nuna, son of Mesh-Ane-pada, made the Tummal flourish and brought Ninlil into the Tummal. Then the Tummal fell into ruins for a second time.

12-16. Gilgamesh built the Numunbura in Enlil's shrine. Ur-lugal, son of Gilgames, made the Tummal flourish and brought Ninlil into the Tummal. Then the Tummal fell into ruins for a third time.

17-21. Nanni built the Lofty Garden in Enlil's temple. Mesh-ki-ag-Nanna, son of Nanni, made the Tummal flourish and brought Ninlil into the Tummal. Then the Tummal fell into ruins for a fourth time.

22-26. Ur-Namma, built the E-kur. Shulgi, son of Ur-Namma, made the Tummal flourish and brought Ninlil into the Tummal. Then the Tummal fell into ruins for a fifth time.

27-30. From the years of Amar-Suena (1 ms. has instead: Shu-Suen) until King Ibbi-Suen chose En-am-gal-ana (1. ms. has instead: En-me-gal-ana) by extispicy as the high priest of Inana of Unug, Ninlil came regularly to the Tummal.

31. Written according to the words of Lu-Inana the chief leatherworker of Enlil.

32-33. Ishbi-Erra, who looks after the E-kur, built the storehouse of Enlil.

THE ASSYRIAN KING LIST
Chroniques Mésopotamiennes (1993)
(translated as Mesopotamian Chronicles, 2004)
Translation: Jean-Jacques Glassner, 1993

(Assyrian King List: list of rulers of ancient Assyria, used as a framework for the study of Mesopotamian chronology.

Incomplete lists of Assyrian kings have been discovered in each of Assyria's three capitals: Assur, Dur-Sarukkin, and Nineveh. There are also two fragments. The texts of these copies are more or less consistent and goes back to one original, which was based on the list of yearly limmu-officials, who were appointed by the king and had to preside the celebration of the New Year festival.

As a consequence, modern scholars tend to believe that the numbers of regnal years mentioned in the Assyrian King List are correct; however, there are minor differences between the copies. Down to the reign of Assur-dan I, they offer identical information, and it is therefore reasonable to assume that the list is more or less reliable until his regnal years, 1178-1133. Before 1178, the three documents show divergences.)

Assyrian King List

Tudija, Adamu, Janqi, Sahlamu, Harharu, Mandaru, Imsu, Harsu, Didanu, Hanu, Zuabu, Nuabu, Abazu, Belu, Azarah, Uspija, Apiasal.

Total: 17 kings who lived in tents. [Probably, the author of the Assyrian King List wanted to create the impression that these rulers, with their rhyming, invented names, were nomad kings.]

Aminu was the son of Ilu-kabkabu, Ila-kabkabi of Yazkur-el, Jazkur-ilu of Yakmeni, Jakmeni of Yakmesi, Jakmesi of Ilu-Mer, Ilu-Mer of Hayani, Hajanu of Samani,Samanu of Hale, Hale of Apiasal, Apiasal of Uspia.

Total: 10 kings who were ancestors. [It is not clear what is meant with "ancestors" nor is it understood why the sequence of kings is reverted. Perhaps, we must read "my predecessors", but this raises the question who is their descendant. Note the calculating error: the writer has mentioned ten kings, but one of them, Apiasal son of Uspia, has already been mentioned among the seventeen who lived in tents.]

Sulili son of Aminu, Kikkija, Akija, Puzur-Assur [I], Salim-ahum, Ilusuma. Total: 6 kings named on bricks, [Bricks with inscriptions of some of these rulers are indeed known.] whose number of limmu-officials is unknown.

Erisum [I], son of Ilusuma, [...] ruled for 30/40 years.

Ikunum, son of Erishu, ruled for [...] years.

Sargon [I], son of Ikunu, ruled for [...] years. [Sargon and Naram-Sin are also the names of kings of Akkad who probably ruled in the twenty-fourth and twenty-third centuries BC. However, the two men mentioned in this list appear to be more recent.]

Puzur-Assur [II], son of Sargon, ruled for [...] years.

Naram-Sin, son of Puzur-Assur, ruled for N+4 years.

Erisum [II], son of Naram-Sin, ruled for [...] years.

Samsi-Adad [I], son of Ila-kabkabi [If this Ila-kabkabi is identical to the king mentioned before, the word "son" must be read as "descendant".], went to Kardunias in the time of Naram-Sin. In the eponymy of Ibni-Adad, Samsi-Adad went up from Kardunias. He took Ekallatum, where he stayed three years. In the eponymy of Atamar-Istar, Samsi-Adad went up from Ekallatum. He ousted Erisum, son of Naram-Sin, from the throne and took it. He ruled for 33 years. (1813-1781)

Isme-Dagan [I], son of Samsi-Adad, ruled for 40 years.

Assur-dugul, son of a nobody, ["Son of a nobody" means that someone seized power, although he did not belong to the royal dynasty. It appears that Assur-dugul's reign was contested not only by the six kings mentioned in the next section, but also by Mut-Askur, Rimu-xxx, and Asinum.] who had no title to the throne, ruled for 6 years.

In the time of Assur-dugul, son of a nobody, Assur-apla-idi, Nasir-Sin, Sin-namir, Ipqi-Istar, Adad-salulu, and Adasi, six sons of nobodies, ruled at the beginning of his brief reign.

Belu-bani, son of Adasi, ruled for 10 years.

Libaja, son of Belu-Bani, ruled for 17 years.

Sarma-Adad [I], son of Libaja, ruled for 12 years.

Iptar-Sin, son of Sarma-Adad, ruled for 12 years.

Bazaja, son of Iptar-Sin, ruled for 28 years.

Lullaja, son of a nobody, ruled for 6 years.

Su-Ninua, son of Bazaja, ruled for 14 years.

Sarma-Adad [II], son of Su-Ninua, ruled for 3 years.

Erisum [III], son of Su-Ninua, ruled for 13 years.

Samsi-Adad [II], son of Erisum, ruled for 6 years.

Isme-Dagan [II], son of Samsi-Adad, ruled for 16 years.

Samsi-Adad [III], son of [another] Isme-Dagan, brother of Sarma-Adad [II], son of Su-Ninua, ruled for 16 years.

Assur-nirari [I], son of Isme-Dagan, ruled for 26 years.

Puzur-Assur [III], son of Assur-nirari, ruled for 24/14 years.

Enlil-nasir [I], son of Puzur-Assur, ruled for 13 years.

Nur-ili, son of Enlil-nasir, ruled for 12 years.

Assur-saduni, son of Nur-ili, ruled for 1 month.

Assur-rabi [I], son of Enlil-nasir, ousted him, seized the throne and ruled for [...] years.

Assur-nadin-ahhe [I], son of Assur-rabi, ruled for [...] years.

Enlil-nasir [II], his brother, ousted him and ruled for 6 years (1420-1415). [This appears to be the correct date. The implication is that Assur-nadin-apli ruled four years (the tablets mention 3 and 4) and Ninurta-apil-Ekur three (the tablets mention 3 and 13).]

Assur-nirari [II], son of Enlil-nasir, ruled for 7 years (1414-1408).

Assur-bel-nisesu, son of Assur-nirari, ruled for 9 years (1407-1399).

Assur-rem-nisesu, son of Assur-bel-nisesu, ruled for 8 years (1398-1391).

Assur-nadin-ahhe [II], son of Assur-rem-nisesu, ruled for 10 years (1390-1381).

Eriba-Adad [I], son of Assur-bel-nisesu, ruled for 27 years (1380-1354).

Assur-uballit [I], son of Eriba-Adad, ruled for 36 years (1353-1318).

Enlil-nirari, son of Assur-uballit, ruled for 10 years (1317-1308).

Arik-den-ili, son of Enlil-nirari, ruled for 12 years (1307-1296).

Adad-nirari [I], son of Arik-den-ili, ruled for 32 years (1295-1264).

Salmaneser [I], son of Adad-nirari, ruled for 30 years (1263-1234).

Tukulti-ninurta [I], son of Salmaneser, ruled for 37 years (1233-1197).

During the lifetime of Tukulti-ninurta, Assur-nadin-apli, his son, seized the throne and ruled for 4 years (1196-1193).

Assur-nirari [III], son of Assur-nadin-apli, ruled for 6 years (1192-1187).

Enlil-kudurri-usur, son of Tukulti-ninurta, ruled for 5 years (1186-1182).

Ninurta-apil-Ekur, son of Ila-Hadda, a descendant of Eriba-Adad, went to Kardunias. He came up from Kardunias, seized the throne and ruled for 3 years (1181-1179).

Assur-dan [I], son of Assur-nadin-apli, ruled for 46 years (1178-1133).

Ninurta-tukulti-Assur, son of Assur-dan, briefly. [It is difficult to establish the length of the two "brief" reigns of Ninurta-tukulti-Assur and Mutakkil-Nusku, which makes all the dates offered above hard to verify. However, we know for certain that Assur-uballit I, who was dated to 1353-1318, exchanged letters with his Egyptian colleague Akhenaten (1353-1336). The error cannot be very large (five years?).]

Mutakkil-Nusku, his brother, fought him and took him to Kardunias. Mutakkil-Nusku held the throne briefly, then died.

Assur-res-isi [I], son of Mutakkil-Nusku, ruled for 18 years (1132-1115).

Tiglath-pileser [I], son of Assur-res-isi, ruled for 39 years (1114-1076).

Asarid-apil-Ekur, son of Tiglath-pileser, ruled for 2 years (1075-1074).

Assur-bel-kala, son of Tiglath-pileser, ruled for 18 years (1073-1056).

Eriba-Adad [II], son of Assur-bel-kala, ruled for 2 years (1055-1054).

Samsi-Adad [IV], son of Tiglath-pileser, came up from Kardunias. He ousted Eriba-Adad, son of Assur-bel-kala, seized the throne and ruled for 4 years (1053-1050).

Assurnasirpal [I], son of Samsi-Adad, ruled for 19 years (1049-1031).

Salmaneser [II], son of Assurnasirpal, ruled for 12 years (1030-1019).

Assur-nirari [IV], son of Salmaneser, ruled for 6 years (1018-1013).

Assur-rabi [II], son of Assurnasirpal, ruled for 41 years (1012-972).

Assur-res-isi [II], son of Assur-rabi, ruled for 5 years (971-967).

Tiglath-pileser [II], son of Assur-res-isi, ruled for 32 years (966-935).

Assur-dan [II], son of Tiglath-pileser, ruled for 23 years (934-912).

Adad-nirari [II], son of Assur-dan, ruled for 21 years (911-891).

Tukulti-Ninurta [II], son of Adad-nirari, ruled for 7 years (890-884).

Assurnasirpal [II], son of Tukulti-Ninurta, ruled for 25 years (883-859).

Salmaneser [III], son of Assurnasirpal, ruled for 35 years (858-824).

Samsi-Adad [V], son of Salmaneser, ruled for 13 years (823-811).

Adad-nirari [III], son of Samsi-Adad, ruled for 28 years (810-783).

Salmaneser [IV], son of Adad-nirari, ruled for 10 years (782-773).

Assur-dan [III], son of Salmaneser, ruled for 18 years (772-755).

Assur-nirari [V], son of Adad-nirari, ruled for 10 years (754-745).

Tiglath-pileser [III], son of Assur-nirari, ruled for 18 years (744-727). [From the Assyrian Eponym List, it is known that Tiglath-pileser III became king in April/May 745.]

Salmaneser [V], son of Tiglath-pileser, ruled for 5 years (726-722).

Assur copy. Hand of Kandalanu, scribe of the temple of Arbela. 20 Lulubu, eponomy of Adad-bela-ka'in, governor of Assur, during his second eponomy.

Alternative ending

Another tablet, written by a different scribe, contains another colophon:

Written and checked with the original. Tablet of Bel-suma-iddin, Assur's exorcist. May Samas take away the man who steals this tablet.

What's missing

The next king, Sargon II (r.721-705) came to power after a coup d'état, which may have been the immediate cause for making this king list. The remaining kings were:

Sargon II (721-705)
Sennacherib (704-681)
Esarhaddon (680-669)
Assurbanipal (668-631)
Assur-etel-ilani (?)
Sin-sumu-lisir (?)
Sin-sar-iskun (? -612)
Assur-uballit II (611-609)

WALKER CHRONICLE (ABC 25)
Estimated Range of Dating:

(The Walker Chronicle, which is sometimes called Chronicle 25, is one of the historiographical texts from ancient Babylonia. It deals with events during the reign of the kings of the Kassite Dynasty and the Second Dynasty of Isin, and contains several duplicate lines with the Eclectic Chronicle.

The Walker Chronicle was published by C.B.F. Walker in G. van Driel e.a. (eds.): Zikir Sumim: Assyriological Studies Presented to F.R. Kraus on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday (1982). More information can be found in Jean-Jacques Glassner, Mesopotamian Chronicles (Atlanta, 2004).

Tukulti-Ninurta, king of Assyria, [King of Assyria between 1233 and 1197.] took Babylon and Sippar and controlled Kardunias.

Adad-suma-usur [A successful Babylonian king (1206-1177) who defeated Tukulti-Ninurta of Assyria.] ... restored ... and rebuilt the wall of Nippur. ... he firmly established. Enlil-kudurri-usur, king of Assyria, [King from 1186 to 1182.] ... Adad-suma-usur mustered his troops, attacked, and defeated him.

The officers of Assyria seized Enlil-kudurri-usur, their lord, and gave him to Adad-suma-usur, ... the people of Kardunias who had fled to Assyria surrendered to Adad-suma-usur. Adad-suma-usur, to conquer Babylon, marched ... Somebody, the son of a nobody, whose name is not mentioned, [A rebellion during the reign of Adad-suma-usur. A "son of a nobody was a ruler without notable ancestors. The addition in italics is hypothetical.] [ascended to the throne].

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Hearing this unexpected news, Adad-suma-usur raised a revolt, and, enjoying eternal divine protection, he entered Babylon and he became ruler of the land and established himself on his royal throne. ... they killed him. ... he attacked and removed the king of Mari in a rebellion. ... he controlled Mari.... fear of Elam fell on him and ... on the bank of the Euphrates he built a city and ... of Sumer and Akkad he brought within it, ... was cut off and the people became poor in deficiency and famine. ... they killed him in a rebellion.

Enlil-nadin-apli, [Enlil-nadin-apli was king of Babylonia from 1103 to 1100. His father had ruled the country from 1125 to 1104.] son of Nebuchadnezzar, marched on Assur to conquer it.

Marduk-nadin-ahhe,note[King from 1099 to 1082.] brother of Nebuchadnezzar, and the nobles rebelled against him and Enlil-nadin-apli returned to his land his city. They killed him with the sword. Marduk-nadin-apli and the nobles rebelled against Enlil-nadin-apli he returned ... and defeated him. He attacked and he had him killed with the sword.

Tiglath-pileser, [Tiglath-pileser I was king from 1114 to 1076 BC.] king of Assyria attacked and ... Marduk-sapik-zeri, [King of Babylonia from 1081 to 1069.] son of Marduk-nadin-ahhe, rebuilt the wall of Babylon. ... kings of the lands he defeated. During his reign, the people of the land enjoyed abundance and prosperity.

Adad-apla-iddina, [Adad-apla-iddina was king of Babylonia from 1068 to 1047; Itti-Marduk-balatu from 1139 to 1132. The section is identical to several lines from the Eclectic Chronicle.] descendant of Itti-Marduk-balatu, the Arameans and an usurper king rebelled against him and desecrated all the sanctuaries of the land. Akkad, Der, Dur-Anki (Nippur), Sippar and Parsa (Dur-Kurigalzu) they demolished. The Suteans attacked and took home the booty of Sumer and Akkad. He repeatedly visited the shrines of Marduk and appeased the heart of Bel and the son of Bel. ... he fully restored their cults.

NABU-SUMA-ISKUN (CM 52)
Estimated Range of Dating: 7th century B.C.

The following, very fragmentary text from Uruk, is a chronographic document dealing with the history of Babylonia in the eighth century BC, and especially the demise of king Nabu-suma-iskun, who died in 748, after he had broken all written and unwritten laws of his civilisation. The text was already damaged in Antiquity: the scribe notes several breaks in the original he was copying.

More information can be found in Jean-Jacques Glassner, Mesopotamian Chronicles (Atlanta, 2004), in which this is text CM 52.

COLUMN 1

Marduk-apla-usur ...] the Chaldaean. ... the Tigris ... ... a messenger ... he killed and ....

... Forced labour and corvée were imposed and ... slave ..... and bread, the food offering for the fifth day that he had seized, he used up and .. the boat Idhedu ... for the Esagila.

COLUMN 2

... On a propitious day, from Babylon, Nabu-suma-iskun turned his attention toward his country but on the order of the BREAK lords Nabu and Marduk, he went into the ... inside the house and no longer went into battle nor started into the field.

In the third year, again, he brought the statue of Nanaya, the goddess of the Ezida, the beloved of Nabu, into the Bit mummi but kept Nabu in Babylon and had the ceremonies of the evening before and those of the day if the essesu-festival celebrated in only one day. He covered the fine garment of Nabu with the fine garment of Bel of the month Sabatu. Dressed as the latter, he proposed Bel's marriage to Tasmetu. Unshaven, he mutilated the fingers of his apprentice scribe, and, wearing fine gold, he entered into Bel's cella of offering ....

A leek, a thing forbidden in the Ezida, he brought to the temple of Nabu and gave to eat to the one "entering the temple" (i.e., the priest). Ea, the lord of wisdom, whose dwelling place was founded with pure heaven and earth, he made him get up from the dwelling place, which befitted his great divinity, and made him sit in the exalted gateway of Bel. He removed Madanu, "Bel of Babylon", his favourite god, from his seat and made him leave.

Without the authority of ... this city, he did as he pleased, of ...-ri, son of ..., who . . . He ... BREAK ... ... she who sits on the throne ... seven lions. ... he unleashed and ... allowed to roam freely. He had her grasp ... he had her leashed. He had ... of Istar ... disconnected.

... to the granary of the verdant countryside he offered ... a dust storm .... He presented ... Belet-duri .... Nabu, detained several nights in Babylon and ... seated among ... without destinies. ... Babylon ... which he destroyed by fire. ... the great lord Marduk ... he went to Marduk in place of the king and ... he spoke ... was placed. ... kept in order ... ... the kneeling lord ... he made sing.

COLUMN 3

... Nin ... When the proud lord, the freedom of Babylon, Borsippa, and Cutha and the sworn agreements of Enlil-inamati, the son of KU... BREAK, the governor of Larak, in their time had established and when he had offered sacrifices at Babylon, Borsippa, and Cutha before Bel, Nabu, and Nergal.

Year after year, he made unbearable their burden of slaughter, robbery, murder, corvée, and forced labour. In only one day, he burned alive sixteen Cutheans at Zababa's gate in the heart of Babylon. He delivered inhabitants of Babylon to Hatti and Elam as a token of respect. He made the inhabitants of Babylon with woman, children, and servants go out and settled them into the countryside. He heaped up the houses of Babylon's inhabitants BREAK BREAK into piles of rubble, and he turned them into royal property.

The main street, the avenue of Sarur, his lord's beloved, who passes through the streets of his city in the month of Ululu, its passage he blocked off and turned into royal property, making him pass into a cul-de-sac. He seized Mudammiq-Adad, son of Adad-suma-eres, his court opponent, without having committed either a crime or a rebellion, and his people, as many as there were, he carried off to the Chaldaeans and the Aramaeans, as a sign of respect. His towns, his fields, his houses, his gardens, and everything that belonged to him, as many as there were, he appropriated for himself. The man Iltagal-il of the town Dur-sa-Karbi, which is on the bank of the Euphrates, came to his presence and swore agreements and oaths, but he committed insult and unspeakable slander, that are forbidden of princes, against him and counted his town as booty.

In the sixth year, he turned his attention toward the Esagila, the palace of the Enlil of the gods (i.e., Marduk), with a view to restoring it, but the possessions of the Esagila, as much as was there, what earlier kings had brought there, he took out, gathered them into his own palace, and made them his own: silver, gold, choice and priceless stones, and everything that befits a deity, as much as was there. According to his good pleasure, he made offerings of them to the gods of the Sealand, of the Chaldeans, and of the Aramaeans. He would adorn the women of his palace with them, and would give them to Hatti and Elam as signs of respect. At the beginning of the seventh year, he marched on the Bit-Dakkuri for evil.

Afterward, Nabu-suma-iskun, the Dakkurean, in violation of the sworn agreements and the oath taken by the great gods, ordered out horses, troops, and chariots and sent them to go on campaign with him. He distributed bread, beer of the first quality, and flour to all his camp. In the month of Addaru, the twentieth day, the days of games in honour of Samas and Marduk, he felt no fear with regard to the sworn agreements and oaths. The people, as many as were lying like cattle in a meadow, made merry and celebrated.

COLUMN 4

[Line 1 and 2 are missing; all other lines are dameges in the beginning] ... ...

... Bel ...
... Sin ... he made get up.
... in the room ...
...
... Babylon ... he ... them.
... Babylon.
... he ... and ... they knelt.
... they made go up .... "I want to send ...".
... the great lord Marduk ... looked angrily at ... Ezida and
... they made ... attack him and he plundered its ...
... his survivors ... confined and
... the fugitives ... he returned and
... Akkad ... he burned.
... Borsippa, ..., Dilbat, and Cutha.
... toward those who are in the vanguard, ... he stole their goods.
... he marched to Larak and ... the governor of Larak.
... sworn agreements and oaths before the great gods, seven times, ... entered into with him.
... those people, without having committed any crime ... he seized and
... he took them away and ... made them live on the steppe.
... toward the Bitter Waters ... them.
... he reached ... and Nabu who, before ... kept hold of Babylon.
... he caused to be done ... Ekur not ... he made him do but

Marduk, the great lord, and Nabu, the exalted crown-prince, commanded his scattering ...

[From the line 26, the rest of the text is missin] ... BREAK ...

UPPER EDGE [Remains of a colophon; not readable]

FROM NABU-NASIR TO SAMAS-SUMA-UKIN (ABC 1)
Estimated Range of Dating: 500 B.C.

(The Chronicle on the Reigns from Nabu-Nasir to Samas-suma-ukin (ABC 1) is one of the historiographical texts from ancient Assyria and Babylonia. It deals with the resistance of an increasingly stronger Babylon, supported by Elam, against Assyria, beginning with the reign of the Babylonian king Nabu-Nasir (r. 747-734) and culminating in the accessions of Assurbanipal in Assyria and Samas-suma-ukin in Babylonia in 668.

The translation on this webpage was adapted from A.K. Grayson, Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles (1975) and Jean-Jacques Glassner, Mesopotamian Chronicles (Atlanta, 2004).

The text is preserved on two copies that are now in the British Museum; one of these copies was written in 499 BC, the twenty-second year of king Darius I the Great. (It is the only Neo-Babylonian chronicle that is preserved on more than one copy.) The best of these measures 193 mm long and 158 mm wide, which is extremely large; this made it possible to create two columns (cf. ABC 7, the Nabonidus Chronicle, which may have been written by the same scribe). It is from Babylon. The other fragments are from Sippar and may belong to one and the same broken, large tablet. A parallel text that contains variant information can be found here.)

Text:

The third year of Nabu-nasir: [745/744.] king of Babylon: Tiglath-Pileser [Tiglath-Pileser III.] ascended the throne in Assyria. In that same year the king of Assyria went down to Akkad plundered Rabbilu and Hamranu and abducted the gods of Sapazza. In the time of Nabu-nasir Borsippa committed hostile acts against Babylon but the battle which Nabu-Nasir waged against Borsippa is not written. [This means that thee author of the chronicle was unable to find a description that he could include.]

The fifth year of Nabu-nasir: [743/742.] Humban-Nikas ascended to the throne in Elam.

The fourteenth year: [734/733.] Nabu-nasir fell ill and went to his destiny in his palace. For fourteen years Nabu-nasir ruled Babylon. Nabu-nadin-zeri, his son, ascended the throne in Babylon.

The second year: [732/731.] Nabu-nadin-zeri was killed in a rebellion. For two years Nabu-nadin-zeri ruled Babylon. Nabu-suma-ukin, a district officer and leader of the rebellion, ascended the throne. For one month and two days, Nabu-suma-ukin ruled Babylon. Nabu-mukin-zeri, the Amukanite, removed him from the throne and seized the throne for himself.

The third year of Nabu-mukin-zeri: [729/728.] Tiglath-pileser, having come down to Akkad, ravaged Bit-Amukanu and captured Nabu-mukin-zeri. For three years Nabu-mukin-zeri ruled Babylon. Tiglath-pileser ascended the throne in Babylon. The second year: [727/726.] Tiglath-pileser went to his destiny in the month Tebetu.

For <eighteen> years Tiglath-pileser ruled Akkad. [The scribe left a some room unused because he was unable to find the number of regnal years. "Eighteen" is a reconstruction.] and Assyria. For two of these years he ruled in Akkad. On the twenty-fifth of the month Tebetu, Salmaneser in Assyria and Akkad ascended the throne. He ravaged Samaria. [The capital of Israel.]

The fifth year: [722/721.] Salmaneser went to his destiny in the month Tebetu. For five years Salmaneser ruled Akkad and Assyria. On the twelfth day of the month Tebetu, Sargon ascended the throne in Assyria. In the month Nisannu, Marduk-apla-iddina [The Biblical Merodach-Baladan. In fact, his accession took place in the next year.] ascended the throne in Babylon.

The second year of Marduk-apla-iddina: [720/719.] Humban-Nikas, king of Elam, did battle against Sargon, king of Assyria, in the district of Der, effected Assyria's retreat, and inflicted a major defeat upon it. Marduk-apla-iddina and his army, who to the aid of the king of Elam had gone, did not reach the battle in time so Marduk-apla-iddina withdrew. [In other sources, both the Assyrian king and his Babylonian colleague claim victory.]

The fifth year of Marduk-apla-iddina: [717/716.] Humban-Nikas, king of Elam, went to his destiny. For twenty-six years Humban-nikas ruled Elam. Sutur-Nahhunte, his sister's son, ascended the throne in Elam. From the accession year of Marduk-apla-iddina until the tenth year Assyria was belligerent towards Marduk-apla-iddina.

The tenth year: [712/711.] Marduk-apla-iddina wrecked and plundered Bit-[...]ri.

The twelfth year of Marduk-apla-iddina: [710/709.] Sargon went down to Akkad and

[ii.2] did battle against Marduk-apla-iddina. Marduk-apla-iddina retreated before him and fled to Elam. [He was to return later.] For twelve years Marduk-apla-iddina ruled Babylon. Sargon ascended the throne in Babylon.

The first year of Sennacherib [704/703.] [...] Marduk-apla-iddina [...] [too broken] [For the reconstruction of lines 6-18,

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see John Brinkman, "The Babylonian Chronicle revisited" in T. Abusch, J. Huehnergard, P. Steinkeller (eds.): Lingering over words. Studies in ancient Near Eastern literature in honour of William L. Moran (1990).]

The second year of Sennacherib: [703/702.] he went down to Akkad. Before Kis [Kish], he joined battle with Marduk-apla-iddina. Before him, Marduk-apla-iddina retreated and fled to Guzummanu. In Babylon, Sennacherib entered the palace of Marduk-apla-iddina and the royal treasury [...] he plundered, but Sennacherib did not disperse the Babylonians. He pursued Marduk-apla-iddina [...] the territory [...] but Marduk-apla-iddina remained undiscoverable. Sennacherib plundered his land and Larak and Sarrabanu he took. When he withdrew, Sennacherib put Bel-ibni on the throne in Babylon.

The first year of Bel-ibni: [702/701.] Sennacherib ravaged Hirimma and Hararatum.

The third year of Bel-ibni: [700/699.] Sennacherib, to Akkad he went down and plundered Akkad. He led away to Assyria Bel-ibni and his officers. For three years Bel-ibni ruled Babylon. Sennacherib, Assur-nadin-sumi, his son, he put on the throne in Babylon.

The first year of Assur-nadin-sumni: [699/698.] Sutur-Nahhunte, king of Elam, was seized by his brother, Hallusu-Insusinak and Hallusu-Insusinak shot the door in his face. [Probably, this odd statement means that he was taken prisoner.] For eighteen years Sutur-Nahhunte ruled Elam. Hallusu-Insusinak ascended the throne in Elam.

The sixth year of Assur-nadin-sumni: [694/693.] Sennacherib went down to Elam and Nagitum, Hilmu, Pillatum, and Huppapanu, he ravaged and plundered. Afterwards, Hallusu-Insusinak, king of Elam, marched to Akkad and entered Sippar at the end of the month Tasritu. He slaughtered its inhabitants. Samas did not go out of Ebabbar. Assur-nadin-sumni was taken prisoner and transported to Elam. For six years, Assur-nadin-sumni ruled Babylon. The king of Elam put Nergal-usezib in Babylon on the throne. He effected an Assyrian retreat.

The first year of Nergal-usezib: [693/692.] On the sixteenth day of the month Du'uzu Nergal-usezib captured Nippur, plundered and sacked it. On the first day of the month Tasritu the army of Assyria entered Uruk and plundered the gods and inhabitants of Uruk. After the Elamites had come and carried off the gods and inhabitants of Uruk Nergal-usezib in the district of Nippur on the seventh day of the month Tasritu did battle against the army of Assyria. He was taken prisoner in the battlefield and transported to Assyria. For one year - precisely: six months - Nergal-usezib ruled Babylon. On the twenty-sixth day of the month Tasritu the subjects of Hallusu-Insusinak, king of Elam, rebelled against him. The door in his face [This remarkable statement probably means that he was taken prisoner.] they shut and they killed him. For six years Hallusu-Insusinak ruled Elam. Kudur-Nahhunte ascended the throne in Elam. Afterwards Sennacherib went down to Elam. From Rasi to Bit-Burnaki, he ravaged and plundered it. Musezib-Marduk ascended the throne in Babylon.

The first year of Musezib-Marduk: [692/691.] On the seventeenth day of the month Âbu, Kudur-Nahhunte, king of Elam, was taken prisoner in a rebellion and killed. For ten months Kudur-Nahhunte ruled Elam. Humban-nimena in Elam ascended the throne. In an unknown year Humban-nimena mustered the troops of Elam and Akkad and battle against Assyria in Halule he did. He effected an Assyrian retreat.

The fourth year of Musezib-Marduk: [689/688.] On the fifteenth day of the month Nisannu Humban-nimena, king of Elam, was stricken by paralysis and his mouth was so affected that he could not speak. On the first day of the month Kislimu the city of Babylon was captured. Musezib-Marduk was taken prisoner and transported to Assyria.

For four years, Musezib-Marduk ruled Babylon. [Babylon was sacked by Sennacherib, an event that is not recorded in this chronicle.] On the seventh day of the month Addaru Humban-nimena, king of Elam, died. For four years, Humban-nimena, ruled Elam. Humban-haltas ascended the throne in Elam.

The eighth year of there not being a king in Babylon: [681/680. In fact, Sennacherib ruled over the country, but he was not recognised, because he had sacked Babylon.] on the third day of the month Du'uzu, the gods of Uruk went from Elam to Uruk. On the twenty-third day of the month Tasritu, at the noon hour, Humban-Haltas, king of Elam, became paralysed and died at sunset. For eight years Humban-Haltas ruled Elam. Humban-Haltas the second, his son, ascended the throne. On the twentieth day of the month Tebetu, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, was killed by his son in a rebellion. For twenty-four years Sennacherib ruled Assyria. After the twentieth day of the month Tebetu the rebellion continued in Assyria until the second day of the month Addaru. On the eighteenth day of the month Addaru Esarhaddon, his son, ascended the throne in Assyria.

The first year of Esarhaddon: [680/679.] when Nabu-zer-kitti-lisir, governor of the Sealand, had gone upstream, he encamped against Ur, but did not capture the city. Instead he fled from the Assyrian officers and went back into Elam. In Elam the king of Elam took him prisoner and put him to the sword.

In an unknown month the governor [...] in Nippur. In the month Ululu, Istaran and the gods of Der went from [...] to Der [...] went to Dur-Sarrukin [...]. [The capital of Assyria.] In the month Adarru [...].

In the second year: [679/678.] the major-domo [conscripted troops in Akkad...] [Restoration based on ABC 14.] In that same year Arza was captured and sacked. The people were plundered, the king and his son were taken prisoner. There was a slaughter in Bussua and there was a slaughter of the Cimmerians in Subuhn.]

The third year [of Esarhaddon]: [678/677.] [...]-ahhe-sullim, the governor of Nippur, and Samas-ibni, the Dakkurean, were transported to Assyria and executed in Assyria.

The fourth year: [677/676.] Sidon was captured and sacked. In that same year: the major-domo conscripted troops in Akkad.

The fifth year: [676/675.] On the second day of the month Tasritu the army of Assyria

[iv.6] captured Baza. In the month Tasritu the head of [Abdi-Milkutti] the king of Sidon was cut off and conveyed to Assyria. In the month Addaru the head of [Sanduarri] the king of Kundu and Sissu was cut off and conveyed to Assyria.

The sixth year: [675/674.] The king of Elam entered Sippar and a massacre took place. Samas did not come out of Ebabbar. The Assyrian marched to Milidu. On the seventh day of the month Ululu Humban-haltas, king of Elam, without becoming ill, died in his palace. For five years, Humban-haltas ruled Elam. Urtak, his brother, ascended the throne in Elam. In an unknown month Suma-iddina, the governor of Nippur, and Kudurru, the Dakurrean, were transported to Assyria.

The seventh year: [674/673.] On the fifth day of the month Addaru the army of Assyria was defeated in Egypt. In the month Addaru, Istar of Akkad and the gods of Akkad left Elam and entered Akkad on the tenth day of the month Addaru.

The eighth year of Esarhaddon: [also Assarhaddon; 673/672.] On the (TEXT BROKEN) [This means that the scribe had no access to a correct copy.] day of the month Tebetu Subria was captured and sacked. In the month Kislimu its booty entered Uruk. On the fifth day of the month Addaru the king's wife died.

The tenth year: [671/670.] In the month Nisannu the army of Assyria marched to Egypt (TEXT BROKEN) On the third, sixteenth and eighteenth days of the month Du'uzu - three times - there was a massacre in Egypt. It was sacked and its gods were abducted. On the twenty-second day Memphis, the royal city, was captured and abandoned by its king* [Taharqo]. The king's son and brother were taken prisoner. The city was sacked, its inhabitants plundered, and its booty carried off.

[* Meaning Taharka, also spelled Taharqa, who ruled from 690 to 664 BC. He was the qore (king) of the Kingdom of Kush in present day Sudan whose capital was Napata and Meroë but also the pharaoh of the 25th Dynasty of Egypt. He was one of the "Ethiopian (Sudanese) Pharaohs" who ruled over Egypt for nearly a century. Other variants of Taharka: Egyptian: t-h-rw-k, Neo-Assyrian: [on the Rassam cylinder] Tar-qu-u, Hebrew Aramaic: Tirhaqa, Manetho's Tarakos, Strabo's Tearco.]

The eleventh year: [670/669.] In Assyria the king put his numerous officers to the sword. The twelfth year: [669/668.] The king of Assyria marched to Egypt but became ill on the way and went to his destiny on the tenth day of the month Arahsamna. For twelve years Esarhaddon ruled Assyria. Samas-suma-ukin and Assurbanipal, his two sons, ascended the throne in Babylon and Assyria respectively.

The accession year of Samas-suma-ukin: [668/667.] In the month Ajaru Bel and the gods of Akkad went out from Assur and on the fourteenth/twenty-fourth of the month Ajaru they entered Babylon. In that same year Kirbitu was taken and its king captured.

[iv.38] On the twentieth day of the month Tebetu, Bel-etir, judge of Babylon, was taken prisoner and executed. The first edition, written according to the pattern tablet, checked and collated.

[Colophon:] Tablet of Ana-Bel-eris, son of Liblutu, descendant of Ur-Nanna. Written by Ea-nadin, son of Ana-Bel-eris, descendant of Ur-Nanna. Babylon, the N+6th [day of the month ...], the twenty-second year of Darius, king of Babylon and all lands.

ESARHADDON CHRONICLE (ABC 14)
Tablet, BM 25091 (98-2-16, 145)
Grayson, Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles, 1975
Glassner, Mesopotamian Chronicles, 2004)
Translation: A.K. Grayson, 1975,
Jean-Jacques Glassner, 2004
Estimated Range of Dating: 670-650 B.C.

(The Chronicle Concerning the Reign of Esarhaddon (ABC 14) is one of the historiographical texts about ancient Assyria. It deals with the wars of king Esarhaddon (also: Assarhaddon; 680-669 BC) and the accessions of his sons Assurbanipal in Assyria and Samas-suma-ukin in Babylonia.

This chronicle is preserved on a tablet, BM 25091 (98-2-16, 145), which is 50 mm wide and 76 mm long. At one time the tablet was broken into two fragments. There are several lacunae in the table and the top portion is entirely missing, but can be restored from parallel texts.)

Text:

[The first year of the reign of Esarhaddon, [680/679 BC.] Nabu-zer-kitti-lisir, governor of the Sealand, having come upstream, set up camp before Ur but did not take the city. He fled before the officers of Assyria and reached Elam. In Elam] the king of Elam [captured and executed him. Esarhaddon named his brother Na'id-Marduk governor of the Sealand. In the month Ululu the Great and the gods of Der entered Der; Humhumya and Simalya entered Sippar. In the month Tasritu the forecourt [...] in the mont[h...]

The second year: [679/678 BC.] the major-domo conscripted troops in Akkad. In that same year Arza was captured and sacked. The people were ransomed, the king and his son were taken prisoner. There was a slaughter in Bussua and there was a slaughter of the Cimmerians in Subuhnu.[Other sources refer to Cimmerians in Hubusnu.]

The third year: [678/677.] [...]-ahhe-sullum, governor of Nippur, and Samas-ibni, the Dakkurean were transported to Assyria and executed in Assyria.

The fourth year: [677/676.] Sidon was captured and sacked. In that same year the major-domo conscripted troops in Akkad.

The fifth year: [676/675.] On the second day of the month Tasritu, the army of Assyria captured Bazza. In the month Tasritu the head of the king of Sidon was cut off and conveyed to Assyria.

The sixth year: [675/674.] The army of Assyria marched to Milidu and encamped against Mugallu. On the fifth day of the month Ululu, Humban-haltas, king of Elam, without becoming ill and still appearing healthy, died in his palace. For six years, Humban-haltas, ruled Elam. Urtak, his brother, ascended the throne in Elam. Suma-iddina, the governor of Nippur, and Kudurru, the Dakkurean, were executed.

The seventh year: [674/673.] On the eighth day of the month Addaru the army of Assyria marched to Samele. In that same year Istar of Agade and the gods of Agade left Elam and entered Agade on the tenth day of the month Addaru.

The eighth year: [673/672.] On the sixth day of the month Addaru the king's wife died. On the eighteenth day of the month Addaru the army of Assyria captured Subria and sacked it.

The tenth year: [671/670.] In the month Nisannu the army of Assyria marched to Egypt. On the third day of the month Tasritu there was a massacre in Egypt.

The eleventh year: [670/669.] In Assyria the king put numerous officers to the sword.

The twelfth year: [669/668.] The king of Assyria marched to Egypt but became ill on the way and died on the tenth day of the month Arahsamna. For twelve years Esarhaddon ruled Assyria. For eight years under Sennacherib, for twelve years under Esarhaddon, twenty years altogether, Bel stayed in Assur and the Akitu festival did not take place. Nabu did not come from Borsippa for the procession of Bel. In the month Kislimu Assurbanipal, Esarhaddon's son, ascended the throne in Assyria.

The accession year of Samas-suma-ukin: [The brother of Assurbanipal; the year is 668/667.] In the month Ajaru Bel and the gods of Akkad went out from Assur and on the twenty-fifth [Lines 34-40 are identical to ABC 16.] day of the month Ajaru, they entered Babylon. Nabu and the gods of Borsippa went to Babylon. In that same year Kirbitum was taken and its king was captured. On the twentieth day of the month Tebetu, Bel-etir, the judge of Babylon was taken prisoner and executed.

The first year of Samas-suma-ukin: [667/666.] [...] to [...] Taharqo, king of E[gypt, ...] Eg[ypt...] Necho, king of Eg[ypt...]

The second year: [666/665.] [...] [Lacuna]

[Left edge] Combat. Combat. [The meaning of these words are unclear.]

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JERUSALEM CHRONICLE (ABC 5)
The Early Years of Nebuchadnezzar II
Estimated Range of Dating:

(The Chronicle Concerning the Early Years of Nebuchadnezzar II (ABC 5) is one of the historiographical texts from ancient Babylonia. The Chronicle Concerning the Early Years of Nebuchadnezzar II (ABC 5) contains plenty of interesting information, especially about Nebuchadnezzar's accession to the throne, his campaigns against the Egyptian king Necho II, an Elamite intervention, and a revolt in Babylonia itself. However, the reference to the capture of Jerusalem in 597 BC has attracted most attention, which explains the name "Jerusalem Chronicle".

The story starts where ABC 4 ends: during the wars after the sack of Nineveh in 612 and the collapse of the Assyria Empire. The Egyptian king Necho II tried to conquer Assyria's western provinces, which are sometimes called "Hatti" in this chronicle. Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar claimed those lands for themselves. During these campaigns, Jerusalem was attacked and its king, Jehoiachin, deported. The date, Addaru in the seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar, is our February/March 597. It also mentioned in Jeremiah 52.28 and it contradicts the date in 2 Kings 24.12 (the eighth year).

Jerusalem would, of course, be captured again ten years later, an event that was certainly mentioned in the lost sequel of this chronicle, which must also have contained a series of references to the protracted siege of Tyre.

For a very brief introduction to the literary genre of chronicles, go here. The translation on this webpage was adapted from A.K. Grayson, Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles (1975) and Jean-Jacques Glassner, Mesopotamian Chronicles (Atlanta, 2004).)

OBVERSE

In the twenty-first year [605/604] the king of Akkad [Nabopolassar] stayed in his own land, Nebuchadnezzar his eldest son, the crown-prince, the Babylonian army and took command of his troops; he marched to Karchemis which is on the bank of the Euphrates, and crossed the river to go against the Egyptian army which lay in Karchemis. They fought with each other and the Egyptian army withdrew before him. accomplished their defeat and beat them to non-existence. As for the rest of the Egyptian army which had escaped from the defeat so quickly that no weapon had reached them, in the district of Hamath the Babylonian troops overtook and defeated them so that not a single man escaped to his own country.

At that time Nebuchadnezzar conquered the whole area of Hamath. For twenty-one years Nabopolassar had been king of Babylon, when on 8 Abu [15 August 605.] he went to his destiny; in the month of Ululu [September.] Nebuchadnezzar returned to Babylon and on 1 Ululu [7 September 605.] he sat on the royal throne in Babylon. In the accession year Nebuchadnezzar went back again to the Hatti-land and until the month of Sabatu [Early 604.] marched unopposed through the Hatti-land; in the month of Sabatu he took the heavy tribute of the Hatti-territory to Babylon.

In the month of Nisannu [Spring 604.] he took the hands of Bel and the son of Bel and celebrated the Akitu Festival. In the first year of Nebuchadnezzar [604/603] in the month of Simanu [Late Spring.] he mustered his army and went to the Hatti-territory, he marched about unopposed in the Hatti-territory until the month of Kislimu. [End 604.] All the kings of the Hatti-land came before him and he received their heavy tribute. He marched to the city of Askelon and captured it in the month of Kislimu. [End 604.] He captured its king and plundered it and carried off spoil from it. He turned the city into a mound and heaps of ruins and then in the month of Sabatu [Early 603.] he marched back to Babylon.

In the second year [603/602] in the month of Ajaru [Spring 603.] the king of Akkad gathered together a powerful army and marched to the land of Hatti. he threw down, great siege-towers he [...] from the month of Ajaru until the mon[th of ...] he marched about unopposed in the land of Hatti. [Four lines missing]

REVERSE

[Several lines missing]

In the third year [602/601] the king of Akkad left and in the month of [...] on the thirteenth day, [the king's brother] Nabu-suma-lisir [...] The king of Akkad mustered his troops and marched to the Hatti-land. and brought back much spoils from the Hatti-land into Akkad.

In the fourth year [601/600] the king of Akkad mustered his army and marched to the Hatti-land. In the Hatti-land they marched unopposed. In the month of Kislimu [End 601.] he took the lead of his army and marched to Egypt. The king of Egypt heard it and mustered his army. In open battle they smote the breast of each other and inflicted great havoc on each other. The king of Akkad turned back with his troops and returned to Babylon. [Apparently, Nebuchadnezzar suffered a defeat: in the next line, he reorganizes his army.]

In the fifth year [600/599] the king of Akkad stayed in his own land and gathered together his chariots and horses in great numbers.

In the sixth year [599/598] in the month of Kislimu [End 599.] the king of Akkad mustered his army and marched to the Hatti-land. From the Hatti-land he sent out his companies, and scouring the desert they took much plunder from the Arabs, [Probably nomads in what is now Jordan.] their possessions, animals and gods. In the month of Addaru [Spring 598.] the king returned to his own land.

In the seventh year [598/597], the month of Kislimu, the king of Akkad mustered his troops, marched to the Hatti-land, and besieged the city of Judah and on the second day of the month of Addaru [February/March 597.] he seized the city and captured the king.note[Jehoiachin; cf. Jeremiah 52.28-30; 2 Kings 24.8-17.] He appointed there a king of his own choice,note["Jehoiachin's uncle Mattaniah became ling of Judah and changed his name to Zedekiah": 2 Kings 24.17.] received its heavy tribute and sent to Babylon.

In the eight year [597/596], the month of Tebetu [Winter 597/596.] the king of Akkad marched to the Hatti-land as far as Karchemis [.....] in the month of Sabatu [January / February 596.] the king returned to his own land. [Apparently a failed campaign. Perhaps Elam had mobilised, as we will see in the next few lines.]

In the ninth year [596/595], the month of [...] the king of Akkad and his troops marched along the bank of the Tigris [...] the king of Elam [...] the king of Akkad [...] [The name of a city name is presumed.] which is on the bank of the Tigris he pitched his camp. While there was still a distance of one day's march between them, king of Elam was afraid and, panic falling on him, he returned to his own land.

In the tenth year [595/594] the king of Akkad was in his own land; from the month of Kislimu to the month of Tebetu there was rebellion in Akkad. [From about November 595 to January 594.] With arms he slew many of his own army. His own hand captured his enemy.

In the month of [...], [Sabatu or Addaru, Spring 594.] he marched to the Hatti-land, where kings and [...]-officials came before him and he received their heavy tribute and then returned to Babylon.

In the eleventh year [594/593] in the month of Kislimu,note[End 594.] the king of Akkad mustered his troops and marched to the Hatti-land.

NABONIDUS CYLINDER FROM SIPPAR
British Museum in London
Estimated Range of Dating: 550-540 B.C

(The Nabonidus Cylinder from Sippar is the foundation text in which king Nabonidus of Babylonia (r.556-539) describes how he repaired three temples in Harran and Sippar.

In the Nabonidus Cylinder from Sippar, a foundation text buried in the foundation of a building, Babylonian king Nabonidus (r. 556-539) describes how he carefully - after checking older foundation texts - repaired three temples in Harran and Sippar. One copy of this cylinder was excavated in Babylon, in the royal palace, and is now in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin. Another copy, shown to the right, is in the British Museum in London. The text was written (in 3 columns) after Nabonidus' return from Arabia in his thirteenth regnal year, but before war broke out with the Persian king Cyrus, who is presented as an instrument of the god Marduk.

The Nabonidus Cylinder contains echoes from earlier foundation texts, and develops the same themes as later ones, like the better-known Cyrus Cylinder, which is only a couple of years younger: a lengthy titulary, a story about an angry god who has abandoned his shrine, is reconciled with his people, orders a king to restore the temple, and a king who piously increases the daily offerings. Prayers are also included; we hear that the gods return to their abodes; and the line that the gods are pleased with their dwellings is repeated. The translation of the Nabonidus Cylinder was made by Paul-Alain Beaulieu, who is also the author of The Reign of Nabonidus, King of Babylon 556-539 B.C. (1989).)

COLUMN 1

I, Nabonidus, the great king, the strong king, the king of the universe, the king of Babylon, the king of the four corners, the caretaker of Esagila and Ezida, for whom Sin and Ningal in his mother's womb decreed a royal fate as his destiny, the son of Nabu-balâssi-iqbi, the wise prince, the worshiper of the great gods, I:

Ehulhul, the temple of Sin in Harran, where since days of yore Sin, the great lord, had established his favourite residence - his great heart became angry against that city and temple and he aroused the Mede, destroyed the temple and turned it into ruin - in my legitimate reign Bel and the great lord, [At this point, the Berlin text of the cylinder has the words "Sin and the great lord", in which the reader is supposed to know that Marduk is the great lord; the London text has "Bel and the great lord", in which the great lord refers to Sin. (Bel is another name for Marduk.) This probably expresses Nabonidus' attempt to assimilate both gods.] for the love of my kingship, became reconciled with that city and temple and showed compassion.

In the beginning of my everlasting reign they sent me a dream. Marduk, the great lord, and Sin, the luminary of heaven and the netherworld, stood together. Marduk spoke with me: "Nabonidus, king of Babylon, carry bricks on your riding horse, rebuild Ehulhul and cause Sin, the great lord, to establish his residence in its midst."

Reverently, I spoke to the Enlil of the gods, Marduk: "That temple which you ordered me to build, the Mede surrounds it and his might is excessive."

But Marduk spoke with me: "The Mede whom you mentioned, he, his country and the kings who march at his side will be no more."

At the beginning of the third year, [Summer 553.] they aroused him, Cyrus, the king of Ansan, his second in rank.note[The exact significance of this line is unknown, but it is clear that Cyrus is presented as instrument of the will of the gods. He also presented himself in this fashion in the Cyrus Cylinder, and the prophet Isaiah (45.1) also presents the Persian king in this way.] He scattered the vast Median hordes with his small army. He captured Astyages, the king of the Medes, and took him to his country as captive. Such was the word of the great lord Marduk and of Sin, the luminary of heaven and the netherworld, whose command is not revoked. I feared their august command, I became troubled, I was worried and my face showed signs of anxiety. I was not neglectful, nor remiss, nor careless.

For rebuilding Ehulhul, the temple of Sin, my lords, who marches at my side, which is in Harran, which Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, son of Esarhaddon, a prince who proceeded me, had rebuilt, I mustered my numerous troops, from the country of Gaza on the border of Egypt, near the Upper Sea [The Mediterranean.] on the other side of the the Euphrates, to the Lower Sea [The Persian Gulf.], the kings, princes, governors and my numerous troops which Sin, Samas and Istar - my lords - had entrusted to me. And in a propitious month, on an auspicious day, which Samas and Adad revealed to me by means of divination, by the wisdom of Ea and Asalluhi, with the craft of the exorcist, according to the art of Kulla, the lord of foundations and brickwork, upon beads of silver and gold, choice gems, logs of resinous woods, aromatic herbs and cuts of cedar wood, in joy and gladness, on the foundation deposit of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, who had found the foundation of Salmaneser [III], the son of Assurnasirpal [II], I cleared its foundations and laid its brickwork.

I mixed its mortar with beer, wine, oil and honey and anointed its excavation ramps with it. More than the kings - my fathers- had done, I strengthened its building and perfected its work. That temple from its foundation to its parapet I built anew and I completed its work. Beams of lofty cedar trees, a product of Lebanon, I set above it. Doors of cedar wood, whose scent is pleasing, I affixed at its gates. With gold and silver glaze I coated its wall and made it shine like the sun. I set up in its chapel a 'wild bull' of shining silver alloy, fiercely attacking my foes. At the Gate of Sunrise I set up two "long haired heroes" coated with silver, destroyers of enemies, one to the left, one to the right. I led Sin, Ningal, Nusku, and Sadarnunna - my lords - in procession from Babylon, my royal city, and in joy and gladness I caused them to dwell in its midst, a dwelling of enjoyment. I performed in their presence a pure sacrifice of glorification, presented my gifts, and filled Ehulhul with the finest products, and I made the city of Harran, in its totality, as brilliant as moonlight.

COLUMN 2

O Sin, king of the gods of heaven and the netherworld, without whom no city or country can be founded, nor be restored, when you enter Ehulhul, the dwelling of your plentitude, may good recommendations for that city and that temple be set on your lips. May the gods who dwell in heaven and the netherworld constantly praise the temple of Sin, the father, their creator. As for me, Nabonidus king of Babylon, who completed that temple, may Sin, the king of the gods of heaven and the netherworld, joyfully cast his favourable look upon me and every month, in rising and setting, make my ominous signs favourable. May he lengthen my days, extend my years, make my reign firm, conquer my enemies, annihilate those hostile to me, destroy my foes. May Ningal, the mother of the great gods, speak favourably before Sin, her beloved, on my behalf. May Samas and Istar, his shining offspring, recommend me favourably to Sin, the father, their creator. May Nusku, the august vizier, hear my prayer and intercede for me.

The inscription written in the name of of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, I found and did not alter. I anointed it with oil, performed a sacrifice, placed it with my own inscription, and returned it to its place.

For Samas, the judge of heaven and the netherworld, concerning Ebabbar ["shining house"], his temple which is in Sippar, which Nebuchadnezzar, a former king had rebuilt and

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whose old foundation deposit he had looked for but not found -yet he rebuilt that temple and after forty-five years the walls of that temple had sagged- I became troubled, I became fearful, I was worried and my face showed signs of anxiety.

While I led Samas out of its midst and caused him to dwell in another sanctuary, I removed the debris of that temple, looked for its old foundation deposit, dug to a depth of eighteen cubits into the ground and then Samas, the great lord, revealed to me the original foundations of Ebabbar, the temple which is his favourite dwelling, by disclosing the foundation deposit of Naram-Sin, son of Sargon, which no king among my predecessors had found in three thousand and two hundred years. [Naram-Sin was Sargon's grandson, and his reign lasted, according to the Middle Chronology, from 2255 to 2218, so Nabonidus' estimate of the time separating him from his predecessor is about twice the real time.]

In the month Tasritu, [September/October.] in a propitious month, on an auspicious day, which Samas and Adad had revealed to me by means of divination, upon beds of silver and gold, choice gems, logs of resinous woods, aromatic herbs, and cuts of cedar wood, in joy and gladness, on the foundation deposit of Naram-Sin, son of Sargon, not a finger's breadth too wide or too narrow, I laid its brick work. Five thousand massive beams of cedar wood I set up for its roofing. Lofty doors of cedar wood, thresholds and pivots I affixed at its gates. Ebabbar, together with E-kun-ankuga ["pure stairway to heaven"], its ziggurat, I built anew and completed its work. I led Samas, my lord, in procession and, in joy and gladness, I caused him to dwell in the midst of his favourite dwelling.

COLUMN 3

The inscription in the name of Naram-Sin, son of Sargon, I found and did not alter. I anointed it with oil, made offerings, placed it with my own inscription and returned it to its original place.

O Samas, great lord of heaven and the netherworld, light of the gods - your fathers - offspring of Sin and Ningal, when you enter Ebabbar your beloved temple, when you take up residence in your eternal dais, look joyfully upon me, Nabonidus, king of Babylon, the prince your caretaker, the one who pleases you and built your august chapel, and upon my good deeds, and every day at sunrise and sunset, in the heavens and on the earth, make my omens favourable, accept my supplications and receive my prayers. With the scepter and the legitimate staff which placed in my hands may I rule forever.

For Anunitu - the lady of warfare, who carries the bow and the quiver, who fulfills the command of Enlil her father, who annihilates the enemy, who destroys the evil one, who precedes the gods, who, at sunrise and sunset, causes my ominous signs to be favourable - I excavated, surveyed and inspected the old foundations of Eulmas, her temple which is in Sippar-Anunitu, which for eight hundred years, [Sagarakti-Surias ruled from 1246 to 1233; Nabonidus' estimate of the period separating his own age from that of Sagarakti-Surias is too high.] since the time of Sagarakti-Surias, king of Babylon, son of Kudur-Enlil, and on the foundation deposit of Sagarakti-Surias, son of Kudur Enlil, I cleared its foundations and laid its brickwork. I built that temple anew and completed its work. Anunitu, the lady of warfare, who fulfills the command of Enlil her father, who annihilates the enemy,who destroys the evil one, who precedes the gods, I caused her to establish her residence. The regular offerings and the other offerings I increased over what they were and I established for her.

As for you, O Anunitu, great lady, when you joyfully enter that temple, look joyfully upon my good deeds and every month, at sunrise and sunset, petition Sin, your father, your begetter, for favours on my behalf.

Whoever you are whom Sin and Samas will call to kingship, and in whose reign that temple will fall into disrepair and who build it anew, may he he find the inscription written in my name and not alter it. May he anoint it with oil, perform a sacrifice, place it with the inscription written in his own name and return it to its original place. May Samas and Anunitu hear his supplication, receive his utterance, march at his side, annihilate his enemy and daily speak good recommendations on his behalf to Sin, the father, their creator.

ALEXANDER CHRONICLE (BCHP 1)
Source: A.K. Grayson,1975
Estimated Range of Dating:

The Chronicle concerning Alexander the Great ("Alexander Chronicle"; ABC 8; BCHP 1) is one of the Mesopotamian chronicles written in ancient Babylonia in the Hellenistic Period. It is very hard to understand but clearly mentions several events from the reign of Alexander the Great.

The Babylonian Alexander Chronicle (BCHP 1; a.k.a. ABC 8, Chronicle 8) is one of the Mesopotamian chronicles written in ancient Babylonia in the Hellenistic Period. It deals with events from the reigns of the Persian king Darius III Codomannus and his Macedonian successor Alexander the Great.

The cuneiform tablet (BM 36304) is in the British Museum and was first published by A.K. Grayson in 1975 in a book called Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles. On this webpage, a new reading is proposed; the official publication will be in I.L. Finkel, R.J. van der Spek, R. Pirngruber, Babylonian Chronographic Texts from the Hellenistic Period (2020; = BCHP; Writings of the Ancient World).

[Line 1 + 2 gone]

[3] [Month 4 [Month 4, Du'uzu, suits the date given by Lucius Flavius Arrianus for the death of Darius, Hecatambaeon.] (July): Darius the king, from] his throne they removed him. Be[ssus]

[4] [sat on the throne and Artaxerxes] as his name they named him, [Bessus is immediately called Artaxerxes, and not after several weeks, as Arrian says.] and Alexander and his troops

[5] [pursued Bessus the rebel king. Alexander with] his few troops with the troops [of Bessus made battle.]

[6] [Bessus] killed [Darius the king]. The Hanaean troops, his troops, which [...]

[7] [... from Babylon to] Darius, the king, had gone, [were released.]

[8] [Month 5, day 15] Kidinnu was killed by the sword. In the month 6 (September), on the [nth] day [X happened]

[9] [Month 7 (October): The king was in] the land of Ú-zu-ia-a-nu, a city of the land of Gutium. [Ú-zu-ia-a-nu may or may not be identical to Susia, modern Tus, north of Mashad.]

[10] [.....]

[11] [Month 8 (November): From] the palace of Babylon they brought out their goods

[12] [..... for] the making of the xx [.....]

[13] [.....] for the performance of the festival of Bel to the [Babylon]ians they gave.

[14] [Month 9 (25 Nov - 24 Dec): .....]-Bel, his son, to the office of satrap

[15] [he appointed .....] evil to the king thet plotted.note[This may refer to the official version of the execution of Philotas and Parmenion.]

This page was created in 2004; last modified on 4 October 2020.

DIADOCHI CHRONICLE (BCHP 3)
Estimated Range of Dating:

(The Babylonian Diadochi Chronicle (BCHP 3; a.k.a. ABC 10, Chronicle 10) is one of the Mesopotamian chronicles written in ancient Babylonia in the Hellenistic Period. It deals with the history of the Diadochi (the successors of Alexander the Great).

The Babylonian Diadochi Chronicle (BCHP 3; a.k.a. ABC 10, Chronicle 10) is one of the Mesopotamian chronicles written in ancient Babylonia, dealing with the history of the Diadochi (the successors of Alexander the Great). To be more precise, the first column deals with the First Diadoch War, while the fourth column documents the Babylonian War between the generals Seleucus and Antigonus Monophthalmus.

On this webpage, a new reading is proposed; the official publication will be in I.L. Finkel, R.J. van der Spek, R. Pirngruber, Babylonian Chronographic Texts from the Hellenistic Period (2020; = BCHP; Writings of the Ancient World).)

Description of the tablet

The tablet as preserved consists of two fragments, which were edited as separate fragments in the previous publications. Irving Finkel, however, found out that the fragments join. The upper part (BM 36313) is almost completely destroyed, probably by a spade when the tablet was dug up. The upper edge of it, however, is preserved, so that we have an idea about the length of the tablet and the number of lines. The lower part (BM 34660) is inscribed on both sides.

The total length of the tablet as we have it is 17 cm, the upper fragment ca. 7.5 cm, the lower part 9.5 cm. The width is about 6 to 6.5 cm. The upper edge is inscribed with the last lines of the reverse. The thickness of the tablet at the left side is 2 cm, at the right side 3.8 cm. The thickness only increases, so that at least the right half of the tablet is lost, but probably more.

Probably two thirds to three fourths of the tablet are lost. Cornelia Wunsch, who studied the tablet intensively, concluded that it is most likely that the tablet was a four-columned document. In two lines we are able to reconstruct the entire content: rev. 14' and 32'. So we know that the lines of the columns consisted of approximately 28-29 signs (single vertical wedges, being a personal marker or the sign for ana = "to", not included).

At the lower side of the tablet is not much lost, in view of the curvature, which returns to nearly the thickness of the upper edge. Since there are traces on the very end of the tablet, which seems to be the beginning of the edge, line 41' might well be the last line of the obverse.

I suggest a new numbering of the lines, which takes the traces of the upper part into account and gives a better idea of the size of the original text. The line numbering of Grayson's edition is added between brackets.)

OBVERSE, COLUMN 1

[Test Missing].. .. .. they esta]blished? x x [.....] [.. .. .. Nicanor utensils x x [.....] x the x [functionary of] Babylon [.....] [.. .. .. b]attle x [ ] x [.....] [Month .. . That month] 21st day [.....] x [.....] [.. ....] [.. ....] x [.. .... ..]

[.. ..] x x x [.. .. ..] x x [.. .. ..] they [.. ..]ed and their valuables and the valuables of the [.. ..] house of Borsippa?\ [they .. .. Month ... Seleucus / Docimus?] to the office of satrap of the land of Akkad [A reference to Seleucus.] [was appointed and on the 20th day the [x-functionary .. ..]

That same! month the king did battle with the satrap of Egypt [This line almost certainly reports the campaign of Perdiccas, the highest representative of king Philip Arrhidaeus, against Ptolemy, satrap of Egypt.] and the land [.. ....] The troops of the king were slaughtered.

Month 8, day 10 (14 November 320) [.. .. ..] the satrap of Akkad entered Babylon. [Seleucus arrived in April. The Esagila, the temple of the Babylonian supreme god Marduk, was very old, and Alexander the Great had promised to rebuild it. Seleucus and his son Antiochus continued the project.] That month, debris [of Esagila was (not?) removed.]

Year 5 of Philip (319/318), unknown month. The king left Antigonus in charge (...) and he went to the land Macedonia and did not return. [After the death of Perdiccas, Antipater had divided the empire (settlement of Triparadisus, 320). He had gone back to Macedonia, taken king Philip with him. At home, Antipater died of natural causes, late in 319.] In a later part of the year.. .. ..] After that (the lines) are destroyed. Fire consumed it. Seleucus, the satrap [of Akkad, ...]

Year 6 of Phi(lip = 318/317), month 6: (15 September – 14 October 318). The satrap of Akkad a levy of silver [for .. ..] and all the troops of Akkad conducted. Silver upon interrogation they gave; [(...) he destined it for the troops of] the land of Akkad. The gates of Tabi-supursu, the wall of Borsippa, [he repaired / destroyed / opened .. ..] That year Philip was present in Macedonia [.. .. ..] [Perhaps the lacuna contained the remark that a new regent for the king was appointed, Cassander.]

Year 7 of Philip (317/316), month 7 (3 – 31 October 317). The troops of the king, which in order to make a strong guard entered the palace, but the satrap of Akkad by doing battle captured the palace of Babylon from them and the [x]-person(s) [.. .. ..] the satrap of Akkad dest[royed] the fence of reed.[.. .. ..] The Hanaeans of the king in order to make a strong guard between [.. .. ..] Later Antigonus [.. .. .. ed] the satrap [of Akkad (...)]

Year 8 of Philip (316/315), month 4 (25 June – 24 July 316) Antigonus [.. .. ..] [King Philip was already dead (not mentioned in this chronicle), but since there was no successor, his regnal years were still used to date documents. The badly damaged information relating to this year and the preceding one must refer to Antigonus' war against Eumenes and Seleucus' escape from Babylon.] [.. .. ..] who (was) in the palace of the king, which [.....] [.....]s people [.. .. ..]

[Lacuna of 0-4 lines.]

OBVERSE, COLUMN 2 [Lost]
REVERSE, COLUMN 3 [Lost]

REVERSE, COLUMN 4

[Lacuna 4-8 lines]

[Year 7 of Antigonus, the General (311/10) .. ..] [.. .. ..] x x [.. .. ..] the east bank and the west bank [.. .. ..Month 1/2] Seleu]cus spoke as follows: [Upon his arrival in Babylon.] "Year 7 of Antigonus the general as year 6 of Alexander, son of Alexander (the Great) and Seleucus the general you (pl.) will count."

[Alexander IV was the son of Alexander III (the Great). His mother was Roxane (from Sogdiana which was close to Kashgar, the Chinese sphere of influence), his regent was Cassander. At the beginning of this year, the boy king was eleven years old. This line means that Seleucus ordered the scribes of Babylon to date letters and other texts to the regnal years of Alexander IV and Seleucus, as supreme commander; they were no longer to date to Alexander and Antigonus.]

Month Simanu (3 = 31 May – 29 June 311) .. ..] Seleucus [.. .. ..]ed the satammu of Emeslam [.. .. ..] He did not capture the palace. That month, 30 talents of silver, which/of [.. .. ..]

Month Abu (5 = 29 July – 27 Aug.). Seleucus, in order to capture the palace, to [X went, the defenses with water/like a deluge] he levelled and he did not dam the Euphrates. To [x he

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left. Patrocles as general] within it he entrusted. Month Ululu (VI = 28 Aug. – 25 Sep.), Seleucus from Babylon to [.. .. ..] which is on the Tigris went up. [Seleucus had recovered Babylon in May 311 and was attacked by the satrap of Media, Nicanor; however, Nicanor was defeated near the Tigris.] In order to make a sortie to Persis he crossed the river and he [.. .. ..]

In the month Arahsamna (8 = 26 October – 24 November 311) there was goodwill and .. .. in respect to the enemies [.. .. ..] The troops of the land of Gutium and the troops of the king showed gratitude to the satrap of Akkad. That year, debris of Esagila was not removed*.

[* The Esagila or Esangil (Sumerian: E-sag-il'la, "temple whose top is lofty") was a temple dedicated to Marduk, the protector god of Babylon. It lay south of the Ziggurat Etemenanki. The Esagila complex, completed in its final form by Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562 BC) encasing earlier cores, was the center of Babylon. It comprised a large court (ca. 40×70 metres), containing a smaller court (ca. 25×40 metres), and finally the central shrine, consisting of an anteroom and the inner sanctum which contained the statues of Marduk and his consort Sarpanit. According to Herodotus, Xerxes had a statue removed from the Esagila when he flooded Babylon in 482 BC, desecrated the Esagila and sacked the city. Alexander the Great ordered restorations, and the temple continued to be maintained throughout the 2nd century BC, as one of the last strongholds of Babylonian culture, such as literacy in the cuneiform script, but as Babylon was gradually abandoned under the Parthian Empire, the temple fell into decay in the 1st century BC. Under the enormous heap of debris that lay over it, Esagila was rediscovered by Robert Koldewey in November 1900, but it did not begin to be seriously examined until 1910.]

Year 7 of Alexander, the king, son of Alexander (the Great) and [Seleucus, the general, (310/309). Month Abu (5 = 17 August – 15 September 310). The troops of Antigonus did battle with the troops of Seleucus .. ..]

[What now follows is the war between Antigonus and Seleucus, the Babylonian War. It seems that Antigonus captured the city, but was expelled by Seleucus. The text leaves one with the impression that Antigonus looted temples; this is more or less confirmed by the Astronomical diaries, which mention "panic in the land" and "battle in the city". Antigonus also looted the temples and this was the reason why the Babylonians sided with Seleucus, who had, after all, restored temples and treated the Babylonians kindly.]

[From] the month Âbu until the month Tebetu (10 = 12 January – 10 February 309) [in the surrounding area of Babylon] they did battle with each other. [In the month Tebetu, on the 8th day] [.. .. ..] x x [.. .. ..] [.. .. .. ..] Antigonus broke in (sg) and to x [.. .. ..] [.. .. ..] between Esagila and Etur[kalamma .. ..] [... .. ..] Antigonus with numerous troops [.. .. ..] with him entered (sg).

From the 8th day of the month Tebetu (10 = 19 January 309) Antigonus attacked, but he did not capture the [.. .. ..] of the bit hare. In the month Sabatu (11 = 30 January – 28 February 309), day [n, he .. .. That month] there was weeping and mourning in the land. The south wind [blew? .. .. Antigonus] from Babylon went out. He plundered city and countryside. The property [of .. ..] he took away. Month 12,] day 2 (2 March 309), he went down to Cuthah and he plundered [.. .. ..] the people retreated. [He set] fire to the storehouse of Nergal. [.. .. ..]

[A]rchelaos [he appointed] to the office of satrap [of Akkad; .. ..] [in the surrounding] area of Babylon he entrusted him. That same year, barley: 6 litres*; dates [n litres …. …. . Barley and dates] they requisitioned [illeg]ally. That year, numerous houses in the district [of …… were destroyed. The property of .....] [from B]abylon they took out. Debris of Esagil was removed].

[* Barley: 6 liters means: one could buy 6 litres barley for one shekel. That is very expensive. The "ideal" price was 180 liters for a shekel. So 6 liters only is a very high price indeed, and these high prices are also recorded in the Astronomical diaries of this period. Alexander and the early Successors did not bring the blessings of hellenism, but war, plunder, devastations, inflation, and the use of torture in court interrogations.]

[Year 8] of Alexander, the king, son of idem, and Seleu[cus the General (309/308). Month ?, day n] the satrap of Akkad went to Borsippa and barley: 6 litres, [.. .. ..] [.. .. .. ..] of the neighbourhood of Borsippa and within the land [.. .. .. A certain Babylonian] .. .. [to the office of shatammu] of Esagila he entrusted. Day 12, 13, 1[4 ……. Babylonians] [.. .. .. ..] they assembled. The Babylonians aforementioned [.. .. ..] [.. .. .. en]tered (pl.). There was weeping and mourning in the land. [.. .. ..] [verb] and he plundered city and countryside. [.. .. ..]

[.. .. ..] the Babylonians, half of them [.. .. ..] [.. .. ..]-la, who in the first year of A[lexander .. ..] [Lower edge.1] [.. .. ..] the king, to the [Babylon]ians [.. .. ..] [Lower edge.2] [.....]

[Left edge.1] [(max. 24 signs) A]rchelaus and the troops of Antigonus to [.. .. ..] [Ledt edge.2] [ca. 12 signs)]

Month Abu, day 25 (= 10 August 309) [……. did] battle with the troops of Seleucus [(……)]

ANTIOCHUS, BACTRIA, AND INDIA CHRONICLE

(BCHP 7)

Estimated Range of Dating:

(The Babylonian Chronicle concerning Antiochus, Bactria, and India ("Antiochus and India chronicle"; BCHP 7 or ABC 13A) is a chronicle written in ancient Babylonia in the Hellenistic Period. It mentions a Seleucid crown prince, probably the future king Antiochus I Soter ("the Saviour"), ordering repairs in Babylon and preparing for war.

The Babylonian Chronicle concerning Antiochus, Bactria, and India ("Antiochus and India chronicle"; BCHP 7 or ABC 13A) is one of the Mesopotamian chronicles written in ancient Babylonia in the Hellenistic Period. It mentions a Seleucid crown prince, probably the future king Antiochus I Soter, ordering repairs in Babylon and preparing for war. The cuneiform tablets (BM 32310 [76-11-17, 2039] + 32398 [S† 76-11-17,2131] + 32384) are in the British Museum.

Here, a new reading is proposed by Irwing Finkel, R.J. van der Spek, R. Pirngruber, in Babylonian Chronographic Texts from the Hellenistic Period (2020; = BCHP; Writings of the Ancient World).

Description of the Tablet

The tablet has lost too many pieces, so that every reconstruction must remain provisional. The fragments as preserved constitute the upper right part of the original tablet. Not much seems to be lost from the right part, but a considerable part, possibly two thirds, of the left part is lost. The textual remnants of the obverse measure 8 cm. height 6 cm. width. The right edge is 2.2 cm. thick, the left part 4 cm, the upper edge 2.5 cm., the lower part 4 cm.

The edition of Grayson, ABC 13A, is based on BM 32310 only. Irving Finkel has now joined the other fragments.

The tablet has the same crude handwriting as the other tablets concerning the Crown Prince (i.e., the Antiochus and Sin and Juniper Garden Chronicles).

Date

The date of the tablet is difficult to recover, but there are some clues. A king Seleucus is mentioned, and a certain Antiochus. That makes the time of Antiochus, the Crown Prince, a suitable option. In addition, the crude hand writing of the scribe is very similar to the other tablets dating to Antiochus, the Crown Prince. Finally, the word "Greek" is written lúE-man-/na-a-a\ (rev. 5'), an idiosyncratic spelling, which also occurs in other documents of this period. Hence, it is likely that this tablet dates to the period.

General Remarks

Though details are not clear, the document seems to record repair work on the Esagila, which was indeed a concern of Antiochus I (cf. Antiochus and Sin chronicle [BCHP 5] and Ruin of Esagila chronicle [BCHP 6]). The fact that Seleucus is in Syria and that Bactria and India are mentioned as well, make it sure that the tablet postdates Seleucus' return from India ca. 302 BCE. We know that Antiochus took part in the Battle of Ipsus in 301. The chronicle may relate these events, but it is not at all certain. Another option would be the battle of Corupedium (281 BC), but Antiochus was not present there. He ruled the Eastern satrapies on behalf of his father.

Finally, the First Syrian War comes to mind (ca. 274 BC). In that period Antiochus was king, and the Astronomical Diaries report that Antiochus went from Sardes to Ebir Nari in order to fight against the troops of Egypt. On 24 Addaru 38 SE (26 March 273) the satrap of Babylonia brought out much silver, cloth, goods, and utensils from Babylon and Seleucia, the royal city, and twenty elephants, which the satrap of Bactria had sent to the king, to Ebir Nari, to (ana muhhi) the king".

If we have to date our chronicle in this period, we must assume that …]Si LUGAL in obv.13' is not Seleucus, so that the si must be the end of some Akkadian word, or the end of a name. Royal names ending in si, relevant for this period, are difficult to find. In the Diadochi Chronicle Pi-lip-i-si (obv. 26=7') and Pi-il-i-si (obv. 33=14') are preserved for Philip III Arridaeus.

Antiochus and Seleucus are never spelled with -si. If a Ptolemy was intended, we should expect "king of Egypt", rather than "king". In no Akkadian text the name Ptolemy is completely preserved. The fact remains that the chronicle's script is similar to the other documents that belong to the period of Antiochus as crown prince.)

OBVERSE

[.. .. ..] aforementioned [.....] ..... the ....]s of Esagila.. ....] ... .. which/of the satrap of Akkad [.. .. ..] the son? of the king immediately in order to inspect [.....] of Ezida in the repair work of.. ..] x x [.. .....] of which the Urukaean to/against [.....] the satrap of] Akkad the order of the king to] the Babylonians [.. .. ..]s the making of x[.. .. ..] at the request of the (son of the) king [.. .. .. x [.. That month,] day 20th, [.....], for the making of a wooden .... cabinet …..... the ...]s, who are in Babylon, to a certain Hanaean x x [.....] Seleucus), the king, in Transeuphratene with [.. ..] x x [.....] elephants* from Bactria and India [.. ..] x [.....] [Elephants from Bactria and India.] [.....] killed (or: defeated) and he is destroying x [.. .. ..]

[* Seleucus had obtained 500 elephants from Sandrocottus (Chandragupta Maurya), king of Magadha, in about 303 BC (Strabo of Amasia, Geography 15.2.9). These elephants (480 surviving) were used in the battle of Ipsus in Asia Minor (Diodorus of Sicily, Word History 20.113.4), which terminated the Fourth Diadoch War (307-301), in which the coalition of Seleucus, Ptolemy, Cassander and Lysimachus defeated the troops of Antigonus Monophthalmus and his son Demetrius Poliorcetes. Antigonus died on the battle field. The phrase may refer to preparations for this battle in Syria.]

REVERSE

[.....] aforementioned [.....] an offering in the [Greek] fashion [.....] of? the king the troop[s .....] the Greek [.. .. ..] x [.....] afterwards the king se[nt] [...] to the camp [.....]

[Rev.7'] ..... the ...]s returned. Day 23th. Gold x [.....] x x x [.....] in its place in the Juniper garden [.....] x he took. ..... Month ..... (the troops of) PN with? the troops of Antiochus did battle ….. x-lagim his troops [.....] they established, by the sword [they (were)] killed (or: defeated) .....

ANTIOCHUS CYLINDER

Estimated Range of Dating:

(The Cylinder of Antiochus I Soter from the Ezida Temple in Borsippa is one of the Mesopotamian chronicles written in ancient Babylonia in the Hellenistic Period. It describes how the Seleucid crown prince Antiochus, the son of king Seleucus Nicator, rebuilt the Ezida Temple and prays for divine protection. For a very brief introduction to the literary genre of chronicles, go here.

The Antiochus Cylinder describes how the Seleucid crown prince Antiochus, the son of king Seleucus Nicator, rebuilt the Ezida Temple in Borsippa and prays for divine protection. The cuneiform text itself (BM 36277) is now in the British Museum.

On this webpage, a new reading is proposed; the official publication will be in I.L. Finkel, R.J. van der Spek, R. Pirngruber, Babylonian Chronographic Texts from the Hellenistic Period (2020; = BCHP; Writings of the Ancient World).

Description of the Cylinder

The document is a barrel-shaped clay cylinder, which had been buried in the foundations of the Ezida Temple in Borsippa. This form of foundation document is found in considerable quantities since the second millennium BC. The script of this cylinder is deliberately archaising. It is inscribed in archaic ceremonial Babylonian cuneiform script that was used in the well-known Codex of Hammurabi and adopted in a number of royal inscriptions of Neo-Babylonian kings, esp. Nabopolassar, but also Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus. The script is quite different from the cuneiform script that was used for chronicles, diaries, rituals, scientific and administrative texts.

The Antiochus cylinder is the latest one extant. Another late example is the Cyrus Cylinder, commemorating Cyrus' capture of Babylon in 539 BC. This cylinder, however, was written in normal Neo-Babylonian script.

The Antiochus Cylinder was found by Hormuzd Rassam in 1880 in Ezida, the temple of the god Nabu in Borsippa, in what must have been its original position "encased in some kiln-burnt bricks covered over with bitumen," in the "doorway" of Koldewey's Room A1: probably this was built into the eastern section of the wall between A1 and Court A, since the men of Daud Thoma, the chief foreman, seem to have destroyed much of the brickwork at this point. Rassam mistakenly records this as a cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar II.

General Commentary

Antiochus I Soter ("the Saviour;" c.324-261 BC) was the eldest son of Seleucus I Nicator and the Bactrian princess Apame. He became co-ruler with his father in 294 and at the same time married his father's second wife, Stratonice I (daughter of Demetrius Poliorcetes, whom his father had married in 298).

The last record of Seleucus as sole king is MLC 2654 [Doty 1977: 41.] on 9.II.17 SE = 13 May 295; the first tablet dated to both Seleucus and Antiochus is BM 109941 1. VIII.18 SE = 18 November 294. [Oelsner 1986, 271.] The name of the queen is preserved in the Antiochus cylinder as Astartanikku

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(As-ta-ar-ta-ni-ik-ku, ii 26), perhaps a word play on Astarte. The news of her death in Sardes is recorded in Astronomical Diary no. -253 A110; A23 (As-ta-rat-ni-qé-e), Sep/Oct 254.

Antiochus was put in charge of the so-called upper satrapies, including Mesopotamia and Babylonia. Thanks to the Babylonian chronicles we have a great deal of information about his actions in Babylon. He probably lived for a considerable time in the palace in Babylon, while the new royal city Seleucia on the Tigris was being built. Antiochus is called "crown prince" in the Antiochus and Sin Chronicle, [(ABC 11 = BCHP 5; DUMU LUGAL sá É US-tum, mar sarri sa bit riduti.] settling Macedonians from Babylon in Seleucia and making offerings in two temples of Sin (Egisnugal and Enitenna). The Ruin of the Esagila Chronicle (BCHP 6) is illuminating for Antiochus' interest in the rebuilding of Esagila. He used elephants and wagons for the clearing of the site of Esagila, apparently the temple tower Etemenanki (cf. Van der Spek 2005a). The Antiochus, Bactria, and India Chronicle (BCHP 7 = ABC 13A) and the Juniper Garden Chronicle (BCHP 8) probably also date to this period.

King Seleucus meanwhile turned his attention to the west. In 281 he defeated Lysimachus, king of Thrace and western parts of Asia Minor, at Corupedium in Asia Minor, so that he acquired the greater part of this region. But Seleucus apparently wanted more: he took the opportunity to try to return to his homeland, perhaps because he was homesick. [So Memnon 12.1 FGrH 434, F. 8.1; cf. End of Seleucus I Chronicle [= BCHP 9]: r. 3': Seleucus went ana KUR Ma-ak-ka-du-nu KUR-sú, "to Macedonia, his land".] He crossed the Hellespont, but was murdered by Ptolemy Keraunos, the son of King Ptolemy I Soter of Egypt, who, when in disgrace, had sought refuge with Seleucus. The last months of Seleucus are treated in the End of Seleucus Chronicle (ABC 12 = BCHP 9). The murder is also mentioned in the Babylonian King List of the Hellenistic Period [BM 35603: 9; RIA VI 98f, Del Monte 1997, 208.] "in the land of Hani" in month VI of year 31 SE (26 August-24 September 281).

Antiochus' first great exploit as sole king (r. 281-261) was his defeat of the Galatians, who had invaded Asia Minor, in the 'Battle of the Elephants' (275) and penned them in beyond the Halys (Galatia). 274-271 he fought the First Syrian War with Ptolemy II Philadelphus (283-246), partly described in an Astronomical Diary. [Sachs/Hunger 1988, no. -273B r. 29'-39', upper edge 1-4.] The diary mentions how troops were levied and resources gathered in Babylonia, elephants moved from Bactria through the province; so much silver was collected that exchanges were paid in Greek bronze coins. Citizens of Babylon were summoned to Seleucia on the Tigris to receive orders concerning taxation and land policy. This information has been linked with the later classical report that citizens of Babylon were deported to Seleucia,note[Pausanias, Guide to Greece 1.16.3, referring to Seleucus.] but the new readings of Sachs and Hunger have made this interpretation untenable. [Van der Spek 1993, 97-98.] Land that was given to the Babylonians in Antiochus' first year was now confiscated again or made subject to royal taxation.note[See the discussion in Aperghis 2004, 109-110.]

The end of the war is only tentatively dated at 271 BC by Édouard Will. [Will 1979: 146f.] In 271/270 BC (SEB 41) the king was encamped in Syria.note[Astronomical Diary I 354/353, no. -270 r. 18.] Not much is known about the end of Antiochus' reign. In 268 BC he was in Babylon, as this cylinder testifies.)

INTRODUCTION

Antiochus, the great king, the mighty king, king of the world, king of Babylon, king of (all) countries, caretaker of Esagila and Ezida, foremost son of Seleucus, the king, the Macedonian, king of Babylon, am I.

ANTIOCHUS REBUILDS EZIDA

When I desired to build Esagila and Ezida, the (first) bricks of Esagila and Ezida in the land of Hatti with my pure hand(s) I moulded with fine quality oil and for the laying of the foundation of Esagila and Ezida I transported them. In the month of Addaru, on the 20th day, of year 43, [In the Seleucid Era, i.e., 27 March 268 BCE.] I laid the foundation of Ezida, the true temple, the temple of Nabu, which is in Borsippa.

ANTIOCHUS' PRAYER

O Nabu, lofty son, the wise one of the gods, the proud one, who is eminently worthy19 of praise, firstborn son of Marduk, offspring of Erua the queen, who creates offspring, regard me joyfully and, at your lofty command which is unchanging, may the overthrow of the country of my enemy, [Note that "country" and "enemy" (twice) are expressed in the singular form. Hence a specific enemy may have been intended. We know that Antiochus was encamped in Syria in 270/1 BC, possibly still because of the First Syrian war with Ptolemaic Egypt (Astronomical Diary I 354/3, no. -270 r. 18). We also know that Antiochus was in Syria when he made the first stone for Ezida (this cylinder i.10). We suspect that this prayer to Nabu was first of all a prayer for a victory over Ptolemaic Egypt. The fact that the first brick was laid by Antiochus only in 268 BC need not alter this supposition.] the achievement of my triumphs, the predominance over the enemy through victory, kingship of justice, a reign of prosperity, years of happiness, (and) the full enjoyment of very old age be the gift for the kingship of Antiochus and king Seleucus, his son, for ever. O Son of the Prince (Marduk), Nabu, son of Esagila, first-born son of Marduk, offspring of queen Erua: at your entry into Ezida, the true house, the house of your Anu-ship, the dwelling of your heart's desire, with rejoicing and jubilation, may - at your true command, which cannot be annulled - my days be long, my years many, may my throne be secure, my reign long-lasting, on your sublime writing board which sets the boundary of heaven and earth. May my good (fate) constantly be established in your pure mouth, may my hands conquer the countries from sunrise to sunset that I might inventory their tribute

[ii.20] and bring it to make perfect Esagila and Ezida. O Nabu, foremost son, when you enter Ezida, the true house, may good (fate) for Antiochus, king of (all) countries,

[ii.25] king Seleucus, his son, (and) Stratonice, his consort, the queen, may their good (fate), be established by your command (lit: in/by your mouth).

URUK KING LIST, KINGLIST 5

Estimated Range of Dating:

(The Uruk King List (also known as "King List 5" and ANET3 566) is an important historiographical document from ancient Babylonia. It mentions the length of the reigns of several kings, beginning with Kandalanu (r. 647-627) and continuing to the Seleucid king Seleucus II Callinicus (r. 246-226/225). Together the Babylonian King List of the Greek Period, the Uruk King list is a useful text for those who are reconstructing the chronology of Babylonia in the late fourth to mid-second centuries.

Unless it was stolen when the museum was looted in April 2003, the cuneiform tablet (IM 65066) is in the Bagdad Museum. In the Grand Bible, you will find a slightly adapted transcription by A.K. Grayson, from the Reallexikon der Assyriologie, s.v. "Königslisten und Chroniken".

Chronological notes have been added; the right-hand column is a modern approximation of regnal dates.

Description of the tablet

This list of kings of Babylonia and their regnal years, which appears on a fragment from the middle of a small tablet found at Uruk, covers in its preserved portion the period (obverse) from Kandalanu (r.647-627 BC) to Darius I (522-486 BC) and from (reverse) Darius III (r.335-331 BC) to Seleucus II (r.246-226/225 BC). The script is late Babylonian and the tablet was obviously inscribed some time after the reign of Seleucus II.)

Text:

OBVERSE

1. mu* 21; Assur-bani-apli (ruled 21 years; Assurbanipal); [* "mu" means "ruled." The reconstruction of lines 1-2 was proposed by R. Borger. Assurbanipal was king of Assyria in 668-631, and appointed his brothers Samas-suma-ukin and Kandalanu as kings of Babylonia.]; 668-631 BC.
2. sa-nis; Samas-suma-ukin (ruled at the same time; Samas-suma-ukin); 667-648 BC.
3. mu 21; Kan-da-la-an (ruled 21 years; Kandalanu); 647-627 BC.
4. mu 1; Sin-sumu-lisir (ruled 1 year; Sin-sumlisir) [Sin-sumlisir and Sin-sar-iskun acted together as some sort of Assyrian governors.]; 626 BC.
5. mu 1; Sin-sarra-is-ku-un (ruled 1 year; Sin-sar-iskun); 626 BC.
6. mu 21; Nabu-apla-usur (ruled 21 years; Nabopolassar); 626-605 BC [According to the Babylonian chronicle known as ABC 2, the Babylonian general Nabopolassar was recognised as king on 23 November 626.].
7. mu 43; Nabu-kudduri-usur (ruled 43 years; Nebuchadnezzar II); 604-562 BC.
8. mu 2; Amil-Marduk (ruled 2 years; Amel-Marduk); 561-560 BC.
9. mu 3; 8 iti; Nergal-sarra-usur (ruled 3 years, 8 months; Neriglissar); 559-556 BC.
10. [...] 3 iti; La-ba-si-Marduk (ruled 3 months [at the end of 556]; The tablet leaves space for something like "mu 1."); (Labasi-Marduk); 556 BC.
11. mu 17; Nabu-na'id (ruled 17 years; Nabonidus); 555-539 BC.
12. mu [ ]; Kur-as (ruled c. 9 years; Cyrus the Great); 539-530 BC.
13. mu [ ]; Kambu-zi-i (ruled c. 8 years; Cambyses II); 530-522 BC
14. mu [ ]; Daria-mus (ruled c. 64 years; Darius the Great); 522-486 BC.

REVERSE

1. sá mu sá-nu-ú; Nidin-Bel; (ruled unknown time; [2nd name] Nidin-Bel [The Uruk King List is the only evidence that the reign of the Achaemenid king Darius III Codomannus was preceded by a ruler named Nidin-Bel. A scribal error is likely, but it must be noted that the chaotic transition from Artaxerxes III Ochus to Darius III leaves sufficient room for a short-lived Babylonian rebellion: in Egypt, a native ruler named Khababash revolted, in the far west, the Yaunâ were restless, and according to the Dynastic prophecy even Darius started his career as a rebel satrap.]); 336 BC.
2. mu 5; Da-ra-a-mus (ruled 5 years; Darius III Codomannus); 336-331 BC.
3. mu 7; A-lik-sa-an-dar (ruled 7 years; Alexander the Great); 331-323 BC.
4. mu 6; Pi-il-ip-su (ruled 6 years; Philip III Arridaeus); 323-317 BC.
5. mu 6; At-tu-gu-un (ruled 6 years; Antigonus the One-eyed); 317-311 BC.
6. mu 31; Si-lu-ku (ruled 31 years; Seleucus I Nicator; (Nikator, Greek: "the Conqueror")); 311-281 BC.
7. mu 22 [Twenty-two years is probably a scribal error.]; An-ti-'u-ku-su (ruled 22 years; Antiochus I Soter; "the Saviour"); 281-261 BC.
8. mu 15; An-ti-'u-ku-su (ruled 15 years; Antiochus II Theos; "the God"); 261-246 BC.
9. [mu 20] [not readable]; Si-lu-ku (c. 20 years; Seleucus II Callinicus); 246-225 BC.

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MANDAEAN SCRIPTURE

(Mandaeism or Mandaeanism (from Mandaic: Mandaiuta, "having knowledge") is a monotheistic religion still surviving in Iraq and Khuzistan (southwest Iran). Originally, Mandaeism was practiced mainly in the countries around the lower Euphrates and Tigris and the rivers that surround the Shatt-al-Arab waterway. Today, this area belongs to Iraq and Khuzestan Province in Iran. Because they were persecuted in that area, many Mandaeans have left that area and now live abroad. This is commonly called diaspora. Most left for Europe, Australia and North America. The religion is usually treated as a Gnostic sect; it resembles Manichaeism in some respects. The religion has a strong dualistic world view. Mandaeans, think highly of Adam, Abel, Seth, Enosh, Noah, Shem, Aram and especially John the Baptist.

Mandaeanism is the oldest surviving Gnostic religion originating somewhere in the first century AD. Some scholars, emphasising the Babylonian elements in Mandaean magical texts, use of the Iranian calendar, and the incorporation of several Iranian words into the Mandaic language, argue that Mandaeanism originated in the area of southwestern Mesopotamia in early Christian or even pre-Christian times. Others argue for a Syro-Palestinian origin, basing their case on the quasi-historical Mandaean document, the Haran Gawaita, which narrates the exodus from Palestine to Mesopotamia in the 1st century AD of a group called Nazoreans (which is just another name for Ebionites and Essenes). And so it is not really a surprise that Mandaeans have certain affinities to Judaism The familiarity of Mandaeans with Old Testament writings; parallels to Jewish ethics, particularly the high value placed on marriage and procreation; concern for cultic purity; and the use of Hebrew angelology speak for themselves.

Like other dualistic systems, Mandaeanism stresses salvation of the soul through esoteric knowledge (gnosis) of its divine origin. In its cosmological superstructure, evil Archons (rulers) obstruct the ascent of the soul through the heavenly spheres to reunion with the supreme deity. Unlike many Gnostic systems, however, Mandaeanism strongly supports marriage and forbids sexual license. The Mandaeans also developed an elaborate cultic ritual, particularly for baptism, which was not characteristic of any other known Gnostic sect but for Judaism and Zoroastrianism.

Mandaean Beliefs

Mandeism is the religion of the Mandaean people. It is based on a common history and heritage. There is no fixed set of religious creeds and doctrines. A basic guide to Mandaean theology does not exist. The corpus of Mandaean literature is quite large. It also covers topics such as eschatology, the knowledge of God, and the afterlife. It only does this in an unsystematic manner. Apart from the priests, very few people know it. The basic beliefs of the Mandaeans can be characterised by a dozen features, of which one or the other may also appears in other religions or gnostic sects:

1. There is a supreme entity without form. It expressed itself by creating a number of spiritual, etheric, and material worlds and beings. There is a Creator which came from it, and produced all these worlds and beings. The cosmos is created by Archetypal Man, who produces it resembling to his own shape.

2. Dualism: a cosmic Father and Mother, Light and Darkness, Right and Left, syzygy in cosmic and microcosmic form.

3. As a feature of this dualism, counter-types, a world of ideas.

4. The soul is portrayed as an exile, a captive: her home and origin is the supreme Entity to which she eventually returns.

5. Planets and stars influence fate and human beings, and are also places of detention after death.

6. A saviour spirit or saviour spirits which assist the soul on her journey through life and after it to 'worlds of light'.

7. A cult-language of symbol and metaphor. Ideas and qualities are personified.

8. 'Mysteries', i.e. sacraments to help and purify the soul, to ensure her rebirth into a spiritual body, and her ascent from the world of matter. These are often adaptations of existing seasonal and traditional rites to which an esoteric interpretation is attached. In the case of the Nasoreans this interpretation is based on the Creation story (see 1 and 2), especially on the Divine Man, Adam, as crowned and anointed King-priest.

9. Great secrecy is enjoined upon initiates; full explanation of 1, 2, and 8 is reserved for those considered able to understand and preserve the gnosis.

10. There is a strict division between Mandaean laity and the priests. Those amongst the community who possess secret knowledge are called Nasuraiia - Nazoreans. At the same time the ignorant or semi-ignorant laity are called 'Mandaeans', Mandaiia - 'gnostics'. When a man becomes a priest he leaves 'Mandaeanism' and enters tarmiduta, 'priesthood'. Even then he has not attained to true enlightenment, for this, called 'Nasiruta', is reserved for a very few. Those possessed of its secrets may call themselves Nazoreans, and 'Nazorean' today indicates not only one who observes strictly all rules of ritual purity, but one who understands the secret doctrine.

11. Mandaeans believe in marriage and procreation, and in the importance of leading an ethical and moral lifestyle in this world. They put a high priority on family life. Consequently, Mandaeans do not practice celibacy or asceticism. Mandaeans will, however, abstain from strong drink and red meat. They look forward to a future liberated from the influence of the Torah, which they consider to be evil in origin. While they agree with other gnostic sects that the world is a prison governed by the planetary archons, they do not view it as a cruel and inhospitable one.

12. Mandaeans have several prophets. Iahia or Iuhana "John the Baptiser" has a special status, higher than his role in Christianity and Islam. Mandaeans do not consider John to be the founder of their religion. They only worship him as one of their greatest teachers. They trace their beliefs back to Adam. Mandaeans maintain that Jesus was a meshiha kadaba "a false messiah" who changed the teachings given to him by John. This knowledge might go back to the fact that the Ebionites (the Jewish Christians around James the brother of Jesus) knew that Saul of Tarsos (Paul the Apostle) had created his own version of Christianity. This also means that Mandaeanism grew out of the Ebionites and Zoroastrians. Later, this knowledge was suppressed by the Pauline Christians. Likewise, the Mandaeans believe that Abraham, Moses, and Muhammad were false prophets, but recognise other prophetic figures from the monotheistic traditions, such as Adam, his sons Hibil (Abel) and Sitil (Seth), and his grandson Anus (Enosh), as well as Nuh (Noah), his son Sam (Shem) and his son Ram (Aram). The latter three they consider to be their direct ancestors.

Related Groups

According to the Fihrist of ibn al-Nadim, Mani, the founder of Manichaeism, was brought up within the Elkasaites (Elcesaites or Elchasaite) sect. The Elkasaites were a Christian baptismal sect which may have been related to the Mandaeans. The members of this sect wore white and performed baptisms like the Mandaeans. They lived in east Judea and northern Mesopotamia. According to the Harran Gawaita legend, the Mandaeans migrated to southern Mesopotamia from there. Mani later left the Elkasaites to start his own religion. Mandaean scholar Säve-Söderberg showed that Mani's Psalms of Thomas were closely related to Mandaean texts. This would imply that Mani had access to Mandaean religious literature. Other groups which have been identified with the Mandaeans include the "Nasoraeans", described by Epiphanius, and the Dositheans, mentioned by Theodore Bar Kōnī in his Scholion. Ibn al-Nadim also mentions a group called the Mughtasila, "the self-ablutionists," who may be identified with one or the other of these groups. The members of this sect, like the Mandaeans, wore white and performed baptisms.

Mandaean Religious Texts

The Mandaeans have many religious texts. Among the more important extant Mandaean writings are: the Rba Ginza (speak: Genza Rabba), a cosmological treatise; the Book of John the Baptiser (describing the activities of John the Baptist); the Book of the Zodiac, a collection of magical and astrological texts; and the Baptism of Hibil Ziwa, describing the purification of the heavenly saviour of the Mandaeans.

The Ginza Rba "The Great Treasury" or Sidra Rba "The Great Book", and formerly the Codex Nazaraeus, is the longest of the many holy scriptures of Mandaeism. It is also occasionally referred to as The Book of Adam. The Ginza is a collection of history, theology, and prayers. The Ginza Rba is divided into two halves — the Genza Smala or "Left Ginza" and the Genza Yemina or "Right Ginza". Before the printing press was invented, people copied texts by hand. The people doing this were called scribes. Each person's handwriting is special in certain ways. This was the same with scribes. A scribe might join two letters in a certain way, or he might do the dots on those letters that have them in a special way. Jorunn J. Buckley looked at these special marks the copyists left in the Left Ginza. That way he was able to show that the copying of that text goes back to the to the late 2nd or early 3rd century AD. These special marks show that the Mandaeans existed during the late Arsacid period at the very latest. A legend called Haran Gawaita (Harran Gaweta) also strengthens this. According to this legend, the Mandaeans (at that time known as Ebionites) left Palestine after the destruction of Jerusalem in the 1st century AD and settled inside the Arsacid empire. Although the Ginza continued to evolve under the rule of the Sassanids and the Islamic empires, few textual traditions can lay claim to such extensive continuity.

Other important books include the Qolasta, the "Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans," which was translated by E.S. Drower. One of the most important works of Mandaean scripture is the Drasa d-Iahia "the Book of John the Baptist". This book is accessible to both laymen and initiates. There are also many other religious texts such as ritual commentaries, which are generally only consulted by the members of the priesthood. The language in which the Mandaean religious literature was originally written is known as Mandaic, and is an Aramaic dialect. It is written in a cursive variant of the Parthian chancellory script. The majority of Mandaean lay people do not speak this language. Some members of the Mandaean community in Iran (about 300-500 out of a total of ca. 5000 Iranian Mandaeans) continue to speak Neo-Mandaic, a modern version of this language.

Persecution

Mandaeans were target of Pauline Christians but their deadliest enemy has been Islam since Koran, Sira, and Hadith prescribe "kill the Kafir (non-Muslims) where ever you find them . . . cut off their limbs from opposite sides . . . . und crucify them." (See: Grand Bible, Section Islam, pp. 4353) Tyrants like Timur took that literally and killed hundreds of thousands of Mandaeans (as well as Manichaeans, Zoroastrians, Jews, Christians, Hinduists, and Buddhists). For this reason, the Mandaeans (like the Zoroastrians) have remained separate and intensely private—what has been reported of them and their religion has come primarily from outsiders, particularly from the Orientalists J. Heinrich Petermann, Nicholas Siouffi, and Lady Ethel Drower. In modern times, under Saddam Hussein, the Mandeans were recognised as a religious minority. Many of them are craftspeople, like smiths or traders of gold and silver. These people belonged to the middle classes. Since the change of government in Iraq, Muslims have harassed them. There are also reports of attacks on women who refuse to veil themselves. Most Iraqi Mandaeans have fled as a result, and the Mandaean community in Iraq faces extinction.

There were over 60,000 Mandaeans in Iraq in the early 1990s. In 2007, only about 5,000 to 7,000 remain there; over 80% of Iraqi Mandaeans were refugees in Syria and Jordan. This is a result of the Iraq War. There are small Mandaean populations in Australia (c. 3,500 as of 2006), Canada, the USA (c. 1,500), the UK (c. 1,000) and Sweden (c. 5,000). In Iran, Mandeans are prohibited from fully participating in civil life because of Gozinesh Law. In Iran, the Gozinesh Law (passed in 1985) has the effect of prohibiting a number of religious and ethnic minorities from fully participating in civil life. This law and other gozinesh provisions make access to employment, education, and a range of other areas conditional upon a rigorous ideological screening, the principal prerequisite for which is devotion to the tenets of Islam. These laws are regularly applied to discriminate against religious and ethnic groups that are not officially recognised, such as the Mandaeans, Ahl-e Haq, and followers of the Bahá'í Faith. The western countries, the lovers of human rights, stayed silent when Mandaeans, Yazidis, and Eastern Christians were raped and slaughtered by ISIS, until President Donald Trump commanded his US-troops to make an end of this havoc.)

THE GNOSTIC BOOK OF JOHN THE BAPTISER

Selection; and Passages Slavonic Josephus' Account
which are not part of the Greek Josephus' Account
Translation: George Robert Stowe Mead, 1924
Estimated Range of Dating: 1st - 5th centuries A.D.

MANDAEAN JOHN CHAPTER 1
IN THE BEGINNING (§ 13).

(That the Mandaean religion preserves echoes of a wealth of ancient mythical elements found in Iranian, Babylonian and Semitic traditions is evident on all hands. A process of syncretism had presumably gone on for generations before an impulse from within caused the blending to assume a distinctively Mandaean form; and when this emerged, the preservation of the memory of the process had no interest for the faith and fell back into the depths of the subconscious. At any-rate the writers or recorders of the tractates throughout seem honestly persuaded of the complete independence of their tradition from every other form of religion. They are for ever proclaiming the blessings of loyalty to what they claim to be the original, the one and only, revelation of Truth vouchsafed to the world throughout the ages, and declaring that continued spiritual contact with instructors from on high who mediated this divine wisdom, was still possible. They certainly do not give one the idea of being intellectualists consciously at work on a syncretic synthesis of prior material; on the contrary they seem to live and move in a milieu of prophetical outpourings and to have been extremely sensitive to psychical impressions. Inspirational discourses and intuitive interpretations of prophetical utterances seem to have been their delight. The following piece may enable the reader to sense somewhat of the peculiar atmosphere of mystical expectancy in which they sought instruction. The topic is one of the chief points of their questioning—the conflict that arose between the Light and the Darkness in the beginnings and how victory is to be achieved. They were not of course absolute Dualists, for always and everywhere victory

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lies with Life Everlasting, who transcends not only the Darkness but also the Light.)

In the Name of Great Life may hallowed Light be glorified.

To you I say and declare, ye chosen and perfect, ye who dwell in the world: Become not of the Darkness a portion, but lift up your eyes to Light's region. From the Evil unto the Good separate yourselves out; from the sinful evil of the region of Darkness separate yourselves out. Love and instruct one another, that your sin and your guilt be forgiven you. See and hear and get you instructed, that ye may ascend to Light's region victorious.

The good sit there and are in search; and all who are understanding let themselves be instructed. The good speak, take counsel together and say: "Who will come, who tell me, who will set it forth for me, who give me instruction? Who will come, who will tell me whether there was "one" King or "two" in the beginning?" The good speak and let themselves be instructed.

"Two Kings were there, two natures were fashioned—a King of this world and a King from outside of the worlds. The King of this age girt on a sword and put on a crown of Darkness. A crown of Darkness he put on his head, and took a sword in his right hand. A sword he took in his right hand; he stands there and slaughters his sons, and his sons slaughter each other. The King from outside of the worlds set a crown of Light on his head. A crown of Light he set on his head, and took Truth in his right hand. Truth in his right hand he took, and stands there and instructs his sons. He stands there and instructs his sons, and his sons instruct one another."

"Who will come, who tell me what was before this? When the heaven was not yet outspread and stars were not yet in it figured, when the earth was not yet condensed and into the water no condensation had fallen, when sun and moon came not as yet into this world, how was the soul then?"

"When the soul still sat in the Bowl, she felt neither hunger nor thirst. When the soul still sat in the Bowl, she had no pains and no faults. When the soul still sat in the Bowl, she felt no cold and no heat. When she still sat in the Bowl, the locks on her forehead2 were incurled, and an aether-crown sat on her head. Her eyes were like light-rays, and they gazed on the region of the House of Great Life. Her mouth was of purest perfection, and sang the praise of the King of Light's region.

"From the day when the Wicked began to think, evil pictured itself forth in him. He fell into great wrath and ventured a fight with the Light. The Envoy was sent to tread down the power of the rebels.

"They brought living water and into the muddy water they poured it. They brought light-giving light and into the gloomful darkness they cast it. They brought the delightsome wind and into the frantic wind cast it. They brought the living fire and into the consuming fire cast it. They brought the soul, the pure mind, and into the vain body cast it.

"Out of fire and of water was the one heaven spread out. Out of fire and of water have they made dense the earth on the anvil.4 Out of fire and of water fruits, grapes and trees did arise. Out of fire and of water was imaged the corporeal Adam.

"They fashioned the Envoy and to be head of the generations they sent him. With heavenly voice he called hence into the worlds' disquiet. At the call of the Envoy Adam, who lay there,1 awoke. Adam, who lay there, awoke and went forth to meet the Envoy: 'Come in peace, O Envoy, Life's Messenger, who hast come from the House of my Father. How firmly is planted withal dear, beautiful Life in his region! But how meanly for me has a stool been set up and my dark form sits on it lamenting."

"Thereon the Envoy made answer and spake to the corporeal Adam: 'Thy throne has been set up in beauty, O Adam; and 't is thy form sits here lamenting. All2 were mindful of thee for thy good and fashioned and sent me to thee. I am come and will give thee instruction, O Adam, and free thee from this world. Give ear and hearken and get thee instructed, and mount to Light's region victorious."

Adam gave ear and had faith.—Hail to him who gives ear after thee and has faith! Adam received the Truth.—Hail to him who receives the Truth after thee! Adam looked up full of hope and ascended.—Hail to him who ascends after thee!

Give ear and hearken and let yourselves be instructed, ye perfect, and ascend to Light's region victorious.

And praisèd be Life.

PORTENTS AT JOHN'S BIRTH (§ 18).

In the Name of Great Life may hallowed Light be glorifed.

A Child was planted out of the height, a mystery revealed in Jerusalem.2 The priests saw dreams; chill seized on their children, chill seized on Jerusalem.

Early in the morning he went to the temple. He opened his mouth in blasphemy and his lips of lying. He opened his mouth in blasphemy and spake to all of the priests:

"In my vision of the night I beheld, I beheld in my vision. When I lay there, I slept not and rested not, and sleep came not to me by night. I slept not and rested not, and I beheld that a star appeared and stood over Enishbai. Fire burned in Old Father (Aba Saba) Zakhria;5 three heaven-lights appeared.6 The sun sank and the lights rose. Fire lit up the house of the people (synagogue), smoke rose over the temple. A quaking quaked in the Throne-chariot,1 so that Earth removed from her seat. A star flew down into Judaea, a star flew down into Jerusalem. The sun appeared by night, and the moon rose by day."

When the priests heard this, they cast dust on their head. Yaqif the priest weeps and Beni-Amin's tears flow.2 Shilai and Shalbai3 cast dust on their heads. Elizar4 the chief priest opened his mouth and spake unto all of the priests: "Yaqif interprets dreams, but as yet he has no understanding of these. Beni-Amin interprets dreams; is he not a man who discloses your secrets? Tab-Yomin gives us no revelation, though you deem he can give information on all that is and that is not.

Earth groans out of season and is sent a-whirl through the heaven-spheres. Earth2 opens her mouth and speaks to Elizar: "Go to Lilyukh,3 that he may interpret the dreams you have seen," Thereon Elizar opened his mouth and spake unto all of the priests: "Who goes to Lilyukh, that he may interpret the dreams you have seen?" Then wrote they a letter and put it in the hand of Tab-Yomin. Tab-Yomin took the letter and betook himself to Lilyukh, Lilyukh lay on his bed; sleep had not yet flown from him. A quaking came into his heart, shivered his heart and brought it down from its stay, Tab-Yomin drew near to Lilyukh, Tab-Yomin stepped up to Lilyukh, shook him out of his sleep and spake to him: "The priests saw dreams, ... the above paragraph is repeated verbally down to . . . . . and the moon rose by day."

When Lilyukh heard this, he cast dust on his head. Naked, Lilyukh rose from his bed and fetched the dream-book. He opens it and reads in it and looks for what stands there written. He opens it and reads therein and interprets the dreams in silence without reading aloud. He writes them in a letter and expounds them on a leaf. In it he says to them: "Woe unto you, all of you priests, for Enishbai shall bear a child. Woe unto you, ye rabbis, for a child shall be born in Jerusalem. Woe unto you, ye teachers and pupils, for Enishbai shall bear a child, woe unto you, Mistress Torah (Law of Moses), for Yohana shall be born in Jerusalem."

Lilyukh writes unto them in the letter and says to them: "The star, that came and stood over Enishbai: A child will be planted out of the height from above; he comes and will be given unto Enishbai. The fire, that burned in Old Father Zakhria: Yohana will be born in Jerusalem."

Tab-Yomin took the letter and in haste made off to Jerusalem. He came and found all the priests sitting in sorrow. He took the letter and laid it in the hand of Elizar. He (E.) opens it and reads it and finds in it wondrous discourses. He opens it and reads it and sees what stands therein written. He reads it in silence and gives them no decision about it. Elizar then took it and laid it in the hand of Old Father Zakhria. He (Z.) opens it and reads it and sees what stands therein written. He reads it in silence and gives no decision about it. Elizar now opened his mouth and spake to Old Father Zakhria: "Old Father, get thee gone from Judaea, lest thou stir up strife in Jerusalem." Old Father then raised his right hand and smote on the head Elizar: "Elizar, thou great house, thou head of all the priests! If thou in thy inner [part] knewest thy mother, thou wouldst not dare come into our synagogue. If thou in thy inner [part] knewest, thou wouldst not dare read the Torah. For thy mother was a wanton.1 A wanton was she, who did not match with the house of her husband's father. As thy father had not the hundred gold staters for writing her the bill of divorcement, he abandoned her straightway and enquired not for her. Is there a day when I come and look forth,2 and see not Misha bar Amra? Yea, is there a day when I come without praying in your synagogue, that you (pl.) should be false and dishonest and say a word which you have ne'er heard about me? Where is there a dead man who becomes living again, that Enishbai should bear a child? Where is there a blind man who becomes seeing, where is there a lame man for whom his feet walk again, and where is there a mute who learns [to read in] a book, that Enishbai should bear a child? It is two and twenty years to-day that I have seen no wife. Nay, neither through me nor through you will Enishbai bear a child."

Then all of the priests arose and said to Old Father Zakhria, [they said] in reproach: "Be at rest and keep thy seat, Old Father, and let the calm of the Good (pl.) rest upon thee. Old p. 39 Father, if there were no dreams in Judaea, then would all that Misha has said, be lying. Rather shall thy word and our word be made good, and the dreams we have seen. Yohana will receive Jordan and be called prophet in Jerusalem."

Thereon Old Father removed himself from their midst, and Elizar followed him. Then were seen three lamps (lights) which companied with him (Z.). They (the priests) ran up, caught Old Father by the hem of his robe and said to him: "Old Father, what is 't that goes before thee, and what is 't that follows thee?" Then answered he them: "O Elizar, thou great house, thou head of all of the priests, I know not whom the lights guard which go before me. I know not with whom the fire goes which follows me. But neither through me nor through you will Enishbai bear a child."

Then all the priests rose and said to Old Father Zakhria, they said in reproach: "Old Father Zakhria, be at peace, firm and decided, for the child will be planted from out of the most high height and be given to thee in thy old age. Yohana will be born, Yohana will receive Jordan and be called prophet in Jerusalem. We will be baptised with his baptising and with his pure sign will we be signed. We will take his bread and drink his drink and with him ascend to Light's region."

All the priests arose and said to Old Father Zakhria, they said in reproach: "Old Father! We will enlighten thee as to thy race1 and thy fathers, from whom thou hast come forth. . . . . there follows a list of prophets and sages, beginning with Moses, which I omit, as it requires a lengthy commentary for which space here does not serve,—ending with . . . . . Tab-Yomin and the school-teachers have come forth from thy race. The blessed princes, who are thy forbears, Old Father, all of them have taken no wife and begotten no sons.2 Yet in their old age3 each of them had a son. They had sons, and they were prophets in Jerusalem. If now out of thee as well a prophet comes forth, thou dost then revive this race again. Yea, Yohana will be born and will be called prophet in Jerusalem."

Then Elizar opened his mouth and said to Old Father: "Old Father! If Yohana receives Jordan, then will I be his servant, be baptised with his baptising and signed with his pure sign. We will take his bread and drink his drink and with him ascend to Light's region." Then Old Father opened his mouth and said unto all of the priests: "If the child comes out of the most high height, what then will you do in Jerusalem?"

They have taken the child out of the basin of Jordan and laid him in the womb of Enishbai.

Life is victorious and victorious is the Man who has come hither.

JOHN'S PROCLAMATION CONCERNING HIMSELF AND HIS ASSUMPTION OF THE PROPHET'S MANTLE (§ 19).

Yahya proclaims in the nights, Yohana on the Night's evenings.

Yahya proclaims in the nights and says: "Through my Father's discourses I give light and through the praise of the Man, my creator, I have freed my soul from the world and from the works that are hateful and wrong. The Seven5 put question to me, the Dead who have not seen Life, and they say: "In whose strength dost thou stand there, and with whose praise dost thou make proclamation?" Thereon I gave to them answer: "I stand in the strength of my Father and with the praise of the Man, my creator. I have built no house in Judaea, have set up no throne in Jerusalem. I have not loved the wreath of the roses, not commerce with lovely women. I have not loved the defective,1 not loved the cup of the drunkards. I have loved no food of the body, and envy has found no place in me. I have not forgotten my night-prayer, not forgotten wondrous Jordan. I have not forgot my baptising, not forgot my pure sign. I have not forgot Sun-day,2 and the Day's evening has not condemned me. I have not forgot Shilmai and Nibdai,3 who dwell in the House of the Mighty. They clear me and let me ascend; they know no fault, no defect is in me."

When Yahya said this, Life rejoiced over him greatly. The Seven sent him their greeting and the Twelve made obeisance before him. They said to him: "Of all these words which thou hast spoken, thou hast not said a single one falsely. Delightful and fair is thy voice, and none is an equal to thee. Fair is thy discourse in thy mouth and precious thy speech, which has been bestowed upon thee. The vesture which First Life did give unto Adam, the Man,6 the vesture which First Life did give unto Ram,7 the Man, the vesture which First Life did give unto Shurbai,1 the Man, the vesture which First Life did give unto Shum bar Nu,2—has He given now unto thee. He hath given it thee, O Yahya, that thou mayest ascend, and with thee may those ascend . . . . . The house of defect3 will be left behind in the desert.4 Everyone who shall be found sinless, will ascend to thee to the Light's region; he who is not found sinless, will be called to account in the guard-houses."5

And Life is victorious.

JOHN'S LIGHT-SHIP (§ 20).

Yahya proclaims in the nights, Yohana on the Night's evenings.

Yahya proclaims in the nights and says: "In the name of Him who is wondrous and all-surpassing! The Sun sat in his Court (i.e. Corona Borealis, the Northern Crown constellation), and the Moon sat in the Dragon (Draco constellation). The Four Winds (cardinal points) of the House (sky) get them gone on their wings (rotate) and blow not."

The Sun opened his mouth and spake unto Yahya: "Thou hast three head-bands and a crown which equals in worth the whole world. Thou hast a ship of mashklil,3 which sails about here on the Jordan. Thou hast a great vessel which sails about here 'twixt the waters.4 If thou goest to the House of the Great One, remember us in the Great's presence." Thereon Yahya, opened his mouth and spake to the Sun in Jerusalem:

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"Thou enquirest about the head-bands, may the Perfect (pl.) watch over thy crown. This mashklil-ship they have carpentered together5 with glorious splendour. On the vessel that sails 'twixt the waters, the seal of the King has been set. She who in thy house7 plays the wanton, goes hence and approaches the dung-house; she seeks to have children from her own proper spouse, and she does not find them. If she then has fulfilled her vow, and she departs, she is unworthy for the House of the Life and will not he alotted to the Light Dwelling.

And praisèd be Life.

JOHN THE ASCETIC (§ 21).

Yahya proclaims in the nights, Yohana on the Night's evenings.

Yahya proclaims in the nights and speaks: "Stand not I here alone? I go to and fro. Where is a prophet equal to me? Who makes proclamation equal to my proclamations, and who doth discourse with my wondrous voice?"

When Yahya thus spake, the two women weep. Miryai and Enishbai weep, and for both tears flow. They say: "We will go hence, and do thou stay here; see that thou dost not bring us to stumble.—I (M.) will go hence, and do thou stay here; see that thou dost not bring me to stumble.—I (E.) will go hence, and do thou stay here; see that thou dost not fill me with sorrow."

Then Yahya opened his mouth and spake to Enishbai in Jerusalem: "Is there any who could take my place in the height? Is there any who could take my place in the height, so that thou mayest pay for me ransom? If thou canst pay for me ransom, then bring thy jewels and ransom me. If thou canst pay for me ransom, then bring thy pearls and ransom me. If thou canst pay for me ransom, then bring thy gold and ransom me."2

Thereon Enishbai opened her mouth and spake to Yahya in Jerusalem: "Who is thy equal in Judaea, who is thy equal in Jerusalem, that I should look on him and forget thee?"—"Who is my equal, who is my equal, that thou shouldst look on him and forget me? Before my voice and the voice of my proclamations the Torah disappeared in Jerusalem. Before the voice of my discourse the readers read no more in Jerusalem. The wantons cease from their lewdness, and the women go not forth to the . . . . Hither to me come the brides in their wreaths, and their tears flow down to the earth. The child in the womb of his mother heard my voice and did weep. The merchants trade not in Judaea, and the fishers fish not in Jerusalem.1 The women of Israel dress not in dresses of colour,2 the brides wear no gold and the ladies no jewels. Women and men look no more at their face in a mirror. Before my voice and the voice of my proclamations the water rose up to the pillars.3 Because of my voice and the voice of my proclamations the fish brought to me their greetings. Before my voice and the voice of my proclamations the birds made obeisance and said: "Well for thee, and again well for thee, Yahya, and well for the Man whom thou dost worship. Thou hast set thyself free and won thy release, O Yahya, and left the world empty. The women have not led thee away with their lewdness, and their words have not made thee distracted. Through sweet savours and scents thou hast not forgotten thy Lord from thy mind. Thou has not made thyself drunken with wine and hast done no deeds of impiety. No backsliding has seized on thee in Jerusalem. Thou hast set thyself free and won thy release and set up thy throne for thee in Life's House."

And Life is victorious.

OF JUDGEMENT-DAY (§ 25).

Yahya proclaims in the nights, Yohana on the Night's evenings.

Yahya proclaims and speaks: "Ye nobles, who lie there, ye ladies, who will not awaken,—ye who lie there, what will you do on the Day of the Judgement? When the soul strips off the body, on Judgement-Day what will you do? O thou distracted, jumbled-up world in ruin! Thy men die, and thy false scriptures are closed. Where is Adam, the First Man, who was here head of the aeon? Where is Hawwa (Eve), his wife, out of whom the world was awakened to life? Where is Shit-il (Seth), son of Adam, out of whom worlds and aeons arose? Where is Ram and Rud, who belonged to the Age of the Sword? Where are Shurbai and Shar-hab-el, who belonged to the Age of the Fire? Where is Shum bar Nu (Shem, son of Noah), who belonged to the Age of the Flood? All have departed and have not returned and taken their seats as Guardians in this world. The Last Day is like a feast-day, for which the worlds and the aeons are waiting. The Planets are like fatted oxen, who stand there for the Day of the Slaughter. The children of this world are like fat rams, who stand in the markets for sale. But as for my friends, who pay homage to Life, their sins and trangressions will be forgiven them."

And Life is victorious.

THE LETTER OF TRUTH (§ 26).

[The introductory formula and beginning of this piece are missing from the Manuscripts]

. . . . . .

[Yohana is apparently speaking.]

I TAKE no delight in the aeons, I take no delight in all of the worlds, I take no delight in the aeons . . . . . by the Letter of Truth3 which has come hither.

They took the Letter and put it in the hand of the Jews. These open it, read in it and see that it does not contain what they would, that it does not contain what their soul wills. They took the letter and put it in the hand of Yohana. "Take, Rab Yohana," say they to him, "Truth's Letter, which has come here to thee from thy Father." Yohana opened it and read it and saw in it a wondrous writing. He opened it and read in it and became full of life.2 "This is," says he, "what I would, and this does my soul will."

Yohana has left his body; his brothers make proclamations, his brothers proclaim unto him on the Mount, on Mount Karmel. They took the Letter and brought it to the Mount, to Mount Karmel. They read out of the Letter to them and explain to them the writing,—to Yaqif and Beni-Amin and Shumel. They assemble on Mount Karmel.

. . . . . .

[What follows is presumably the beginning of the Letter.]

Gnosis of Life8 who is far from the height writes:

"I have come unto thee, O Soul, whom Life has sent into this world. In robes of the Eight9 went I into the world. I went in the vesture of Life and came into the world. The vesture I brought of the Seven, I went as far as the Eight. The vesture of the Seven I took and took hold of the Eight with my hand. I have taken them and I take them, and I will take them and not let them go. I have taken them and hold them fast, and the wicked spirits shall change into good.

"Wherefor do ye weep, generations, wherefor weep ye, O peoples? Wherefor fadeth your splendour? For you have I brought my Image, I betook myself into the world."

And Life is victorious.

JOHN'S INVULNERABILITY (§ 27).

Yahya proclaims in the nights, Yohana on the Night's evenings.

Yahya proclaims in the nights and speaks: "Is there anyone greater than I? They measure my works; my wage is assayed and my crown, and my praise brings me on high in peace." . . . . .

Yaqif leaves the house of the people, Beni-Amin leaves the temple, Elizar, the great house, leaves the dome of the priests. The priests spake unto Yahya in Jerusalem: "Yahya, go forth from our city! Before thy voice quaked the house of the people, at the sound of thy proclamations the temple did quake, at the sound of thy discourse quaked the priests' dome." Thereon Yahya answered the priests in Jerusalem: "Bring fire and burn me; bring sword and hew me in pieces." But the priests in Jerusalem answered to Yahya: "Fire does not burn thee, O Yahya, for Life's Name has been uttered o'er thee. A sword does not hew thee in pieces, O Yahya, for Life's Son1 rests here upon thee."

And Life is victorious.

JOHN AND THE BAPTISM OF JESUS (§ 30).

Yahya proclaims in the nights, Yohana on the Night's evenings.

Yahya proclaims in the nights.—Glory rises over the worlds.

Who told Yeshu (Eshu)? Who told Yeshu Messiah, son of Miryam, who told Yeshu, so that he went to the shore of the Jordan and said unto Yahya: "Yahya, baptise me with thy baptising and utter o'er me also the Name thy wont is to utter. If I show myself as thy pupil, I will remember thee then in my writing; I attest not myself as thy pupil, then wipe out my name from thy page,"

Thereon Yahya answered Yeshu Messiah in Jerusalem: "Thou hast lied to the Jews and deceived the priests. Thou hast cut off their seed from the men and from the women bearing and being pregnant. The sabbath, which Moses made binding, hast thou relaxed1 in Jerusalem. Thou hast lied unto them with horns2 and spread abroad disgrace with the shofar."

Thereon Yeshu Messiah answered Yahya in Jerusalem: "If I have lied to the Jews, may the blazing fire consume me. If I have deceived the priests, a double death will I die. If I have cut off their seed from the men, may I not cross over the End-Sea. If I have cut off from the women birth and being pregnant, then is in sooth a judge raised up before me. If I have relaxed the sabbath, may the blazing fire consume me. If I have lied to the Jews, I will tread on thorns and thistles. If I have spread disgrace abroad with horn-blowing, may my eyes then not light on Abathur. So baptise me then with thy baptising, and utter o'er me the Name thy wont is to utter. If I show myself as thy pupil, I will remember thee then in my writing; if I attest not myself as thy pupil, then wipe out my name from thy page."

Then spake Yahya to Yeshu Messiah in Jerusalem: "A stammerer becomes not a scholar, a blind man writes no letter. A desolate house4 mounts not to the height, and a widow becomes not a virgin. Foul water becomes not tasty, and a stone does not with oil soften."

Thereon Yeshu Messiah made answer to Yahya in Jerusalem: "A stammerer a scholar becomes, a blind man writes a letter. A desolate house mounts unto the height, and a widow becomes a virgin. Foul water becomes tasty, and a stone with oil softens."

Thereon spake Yahya unto Yeshu Messiah in Jerusalem: "If thou givest me illustration for this, thou art really a wise Messiah."

Thereon Yeshu Messiah made answer to Yahya in Jerusaem: "A stammerer a scholar becomes: a child who comes from the bearer, blooms and grows big. Through wages and alms he comes on high; he comes on high through wages and alms, and ascends and beholds the Light's region.

"A blind man who writes a letter: a villain who has become virtuous. He abandoned wantonness and abandoned theft and reached unto faith in almighty Life.

"A desolate house who ascends again to the height: one of position who has become humble. He quitted his palaces and quitted his pride and built a house on the sea [-shore]. A house he built on the sea-shore, and into it opened two doors, so that he might bring in unto him whoever lay down there in misery,—to him he opened the door and took him within to himself. If he would eat, he laid for him a table with Truth, If he would drink, he mixed for him wine-cups with Truth, If he would lie down, he spread a bed for him in Truth. If he would depart, he led him forth on the way of Truth. He led him forth on the way of Truth and of faith, and then he ascends and beholds the Light's region.

"A widow who a virgin becomes: a woman who already in youth has been widowed. She kept her shame closed, and sat there till her children were grown. If she passes over, her face does not pale in her husband's2 presence.

"Foul water that is made tasty: a girl wanton who has got back her honour: she went up a hamlet and she went down a hamlet without taking her veil from her face.

"A stone with oil softens: a heretic who has come down from the mountain. He abandoned magic and sorcery and made confession to almighty Life. He found a fatherless and filled him full and filled full the widow's pockets.

"Therefor baptise me, O Yahya, with thy baptising and utter o'er me the Name thy wont is to utter. If I show myself as thy pupil, I will remember thee in my writing; if I attest not myself as thy pupil, then wipe out my name from thy page. Thou wilt for thy sins be haled to account, and I for my sins will be haled to account."

When Yeshu Messiah said this, there came a Letter out of the House of Abathur: "Yahya, baptise the deceiver in Jordan. Lead him down into the Jordan and baptise him, and lead him up again to the shore, find there set him."

Then Ruha1 made herself like to a dove and threw a cross2 over the Jordan. A cross she threw over the Jordan and made its water to change into various colours.3 "O Jordan," she says, "thou sanctifiest me and thou sanctifiest my seven sons."

(Then follows what, from its animadversion on Christian institutions and especially on the use of the crucifix, is plainly a later addition. Ruha is apparently still speaking; she is the Mother of all heresies.) "The River Jordan in which Messiah Paulis4 was baptised, have I made into a 'trough.' The bread which Messiah Paulis receives, have I made into a 'sacrament.' The drink which Messiah Paulis receives, have I made into a 'supper.' The head-band which Messiah Paulis receives, have I made into a 'priest-hood.'1 The staff which Messiah Paulis receives, have I made into a 'dung-stick.'"

[? Gnosis of Life speaks (cp. § 29):]

"Let me warn you, my brothers, let me warn you, my beloved! Let me warn you, my brothers, against the . . . who are like unto the cross. They lay it on the walls; then stand there and bow down to the block. Let me warn you, my brothers, of the god which the carpenter has joinered together. If the carpenter has joinered together the god, who then has joinered together the carpenter?"

Praisèd be Life, and Life is victorious.

(For those who are not familiar with the atmosphere of bitter inner and outer theological strife of the times, it is as well to note that the last two pieces are in the form of haggadic controversy between the followers of John and Jesus respectively.)

JOHN'S MARRIAGE (§ 31).

Yahya proclaims in the nights, Yohana on the Night's evenings.

YAHYA proclaims in the nights and speaks: "The heavenly wheels and chariots quaked. Sun and Moon weep and the eyes of Ruha shed tears."

He says: "Yahya, thou art like to a scorched mountain, which brings forth no grapes in this world. Thou art like to a dried-up stream, on whose banks no plants are raised. Thou hast become a land without a lord, a house without worth. A false prophet hast thou become, who hast left no one to remember thy name. Who will provide thee with provision, who with victuals, and who will follow to the grave after thee?"

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When Yahya heard this, a tear gathered in his eye; a tear in his eye gathered, and he spake: "It would be pleasant to take a wife, and delightul for me to have children. But only if I take no woman,—and then comes sleep, desire for her seizes me and I neglect my night-prayer. If only desire does not wake in me, and I forget my Lord out of my mind. If only desire does not wake in me, and I neglect my prayer every time."

When Yahya said this, there came a Letter from the House of Abathur: "Yahya, take a wife and found a family, and see that thou dost not let this world come to an end. On the night of Monday and on the night of Tuesday go to thy first1 bedding. On the night of Wednesday and on the night of Thursday devote thyself to thy hallowed praying. On the night of Friday and on the night of Saturday go to, thy first bedding. On the night of Sunday and (? yea) on the night of the Day devote thyself to thy hallowed praying. On Sunday, take three and leave three, take three and leave three.2 See that thou dost not let the world come to an end."

Thereon they fashioned for Yahya a wife out of thee, thou Region of the Faithful. From the first conception were Handan and Sharrath born. From the middle conception were Birham and R'himath-Haiye born. From the last conception were Nsab, Sam, Anhar-Ziwa (and Sharrath) born. These three conceptions took place in thee, thou Ruins, Jerusalem.

Yahya opened his mouth and spake to Anhar in Jerusalem: "Instruct thy daughter, that she may not perish; and I will enlighten my sons and teach them, that they may not be hindered." Thereon Anhar opened her mouth and spoke to Yahya in Jerusalem. "I have borne sons in this world," said she to him, "yet have I not given birth to their heart in the world. If they let themselves be instructed, then will they ascend to Light's region; if they let not themselves be instructed, then will the blazing fire consume them."

JOHN ON HIS OWN PASSING (§ 31 CONTINUED).

Yahya opened his mouth and spake to Anhar in Jerusalem: "If I leave the world, tell me, what wilt thou do after me?"—"I will not eat and will not drink," she answered him, "until I see thee again."—"A lie hast thou spoken, Anhar, and thy word has come forth in deception. If a day comes and goes, thou eatest and drinkest and forgettest me out of thy mind. I asked thee rather, by Great Life and by the eve of the Day whose name is dear: If I leave the world, tell me, what wilt thou do after me?"—" I will not wash and I will not comb me," says she to him, "until I see thee again."—"Again hast thou spoken a lie and thy word has come forth in deception. If a month comes and a month goes, thou washest and combest thee and forgettest me out of thy mind. Again did I ask thee, Anhar, by the first bed in which we both lie: If I leave my body, tell me, what wilt thou do after me?"—"I will put on no new garments," she answers him, "until I see thee again."—"Again hast thou spoken a lie, Anhar, and thy word has come forth in deception. If a year comes and a year goes, thou puttest new garments on thee and forgettest me out of thy mind."

"Why dost thou not tell me all, Yahya," says she to him; "and how sorely thou bruisest the whole of my body! If thou dost depart, when wilt thou return, that my eyes may fall upon thine?"—"If a woman in labour descends into Sheol and a bell is hung up for her in the graveyard. If they paint a picture in Sheol, and she then goes forth and they give a feast in the graveyard. If a bride parades round in Sheol, and they celebrate marriage in the graveyard. If the wedding-companions borrow in Sheol, and the paying-back takes place in the graveyard."

Then answered she him: "My lord, how shall it be that a woman in labour . . . "[and so on, repeating the above].

"If thou knowest," he makes answer unto her, "that this does never happen, why dost thou press me with asking: When dost thou return? I go hence and return not. Happy the day when thou dost still see me. If there were a going-away and returning, then would no widow be found in this world. If there were a going-away and returning, then would no fatherless be found in the world. If there were a going-away and returning, then no Nazoraeans would be found in the world."

Thereon Anhar opened her mouth and spake to Yahya in Jerusalem: "I will buy thee for dear gold a brick grave and have a boxing of wood joinered together for thee in the graveyard." But Yahya opened his mouth and spake to Anhar in Jerusalem: "Why wilt thou buy a brick grave for dear gold and have a boxing of wood joinered for me in the graveyard? Art sure that I am returning, that thou dost say: No dust shall fall on him? Instead of buying a brick grave for dear gold, go rather and share out for me bread. Instead of getting a boxing joinered together, go rather and read for me masses for the departed."

Thereon Anhar opened her mouth and spake to Yahya in Jerusalem: "Thou dost go hence and forget me, and I shall be cut off in the Sinners' Dwelling."

[But Yahya answered her:] "If I forget thee, may the Light Dwelling forget me. If I forget thee, may my eyes not fall on Abathur. If I ascend to Life's House, thy wailing will arise in the graveyard."

Praisèd be Life, and Life is victorious.

JOHN'S BIRTH, UPBRINGING AND FIRST APPEARANCE (§ 32).

Yahya proclaims in the nights, Yohana on the Night's evenings.

Yahya proclaims in the nights and speaks: "The [heavenly] wheels and chariots quaked. Earth and Heaven weep and the tears of the Clouds flow down."

"My father," says Yahya, "was ninety and nine and my mother eighty and eight years old. Out of the basin of Jordan they2 took me. They bore me up and laid me in the womb of Enishbai. 'Nine months,' said they, 'thou shalt stay in her womb, as do all other children.'3 No wise woman,"4 said he, "brought me into the world in Judaea, and they have not cut my cord in Jerusalem. They made for me no picture of lies, and for me hung up no bell of deceit. I was born from Enishbai in the region of Jerusalem."

The region of Jerusalem quakes and the wall of the priests rocks. Elizar, the great house, stands there and his body trembles. The Jews gather together, come unto Old Father Zakhria and they speak to him: "O Old Father Zakhria, thou art to have a son. Tell us now, what name shall we give him? Shall we give him for name 'Yaqif of Wisdom,' that he may teach the Book in Jerusalem? Or shall we give him for name 'Zatan the Pillar.' so that the Jews may swear by him and commit no deceit?"

When Enishbai heard this, she cried out and she said: "Of all these names which you name, will I not give him one; but the name Yahya-Yohana will I give him, the name which Life's self has given unto him."

When the Jews heard this, they were filled with wicked anger against her and said: "What weapon shall we make ready for [a certain] one2 and his mother, that he be slain by our hand?"

When Anosh, the treasure, heard this be took the child and brought it to Parwan, the white mountain, to Mount Parwan, on which sucklings and little ones on holy drink are reared up.

There I remained until I was two and twenty years old. I learned there the whole of my wisdom and made fully my own the whole of my discourse. They clothed me with vestures of glory and veiled me with cloud-veils. They wound round me a girdle, of living water a girdle, which shone beyond measure and glistened. They set me within a cloud, a cloud of splendour, and in the seventh hour of a Sunday they brought me to the Jerusalem region. Then cried a voice in Judaea, a crying proclaimed in Jerusalem. They call out: "What woman had a son, who then was stolen? What woman has made for him a vow and been heedless about it? What woman had a son, who was stolen? Let her come and see after her son."

Who told Battai, who instructed Battai, who told Battai to go and say to Enishbai: "A youth has come to Judaea, a prophet come to Jerusalem. A youth has come to Judaea; his guardian angel stands by him. His mouth is like thee and his lips like his father, Old Father Zakhria. His eyes are like thee and his brows like his father, Old Father Zakhria. His nose is like thee and his hands like his father, Old Father Zakhria."

When Enishbai heard this, she hurried out veil-less. When Old Father Zakhria saw her thus, he wrote her a bill of divorcement. The Sun down-murmured from heaven and the Moon from its place mid the stars. The Sun opened his mouth and spoke to Old Father Zakhria in Jerusalem: "Old Father Zakhria, thou great dotard (?), who has grown old and lost his wits, like an Arab whom his kismet has forsaken. A youth has come to Judaea, a prophet come to Jerusalem. A youth has come to Judaea; why dost thou send Enishbai away?"

When the youth saw her alone, he set himself free and fell down from the cloud. He set himself free and fell down from the cloud and kissed the mouth of Enishbai. When Anosh, the treasure, saw him do this, he spake unto Yahya in Jerusalem: "Stands it for thee written in thy book, is it declared unto thee on thy page, to kiss her alone, on the mouth?"—Thereon answered Yahya and spake unto Anosh, the treasure, in Jerusalem: "Nine months I abode in her womb,1 so long as all other children abide there, without any reluctance on her part; therefore is it no charge against me now to kiss her alone, on the mouth. Nay, hail and again hail to the man who repays father and mother in full. A man who recompenses father and mother, has not his like in the world."

When Yahya said this, Anosh, the treasure, knew that Yahya is wise. Thereon Anosh, the treasure, spake to the Sun in Jerusalem: "Take for me care of the youth, the Man, who is sent by the King. Take for me care of the youth, until we ask for him." Then Anosh, the treasure, spake to the Moon in Jerusalem: "Take for me care of the youth, the Man, who is sent by the King. Take for me care of the youth, until we ask for him."

Life is exalted and is victorious, and victorious is the Man who has come hither.

JOHN'S ANSWER TO JESUS CONCERNING THE ANGEL OF DEATH (§ 33).

Yahya proclaims in the nights, Yohana on the Night's evenings.

Yahya proclaims and speaks: "Stand I not alone? Because of my voice the [heavenly] wheels quake and the chariots capsise. The tempest became silent and settled down in the world's deserts. Sun and Moon wail, and Earth and Heaven mourn."

Messiah opened his mouth and spake to Yahya in Jerusalem: "I asked thee, Yahya, by Great Life and by Sunday, whose name is dear. I asked thee Yahya, by the Way, whereby the Men of piety put to the test go without hindrance. Tell me: To what is the shape of Sauriel's1 knife like? Tell me: If the soul leaves the body, with what is it clothed, and to what is it like in the vain body? Surely the soul is not possibly like the blood, that it should become heated in the body and come to a stop in it? Surely the soul is not possibly like the wind, that it should fare to the mountains, be lost there and come to a stop? Surely the soul is not possibly like the dew, that it should fall on the fruit and be lost?"

When Messiah said this, Yahya cries aloud; tears come to him without ceasing, and he speaks: "God forbid that the high King of Light should look for lot in deceivers. The soul is not like the blood, that it should become heated in the body and come to a stop, The soul is not like the dew, that it should fall on the fruit and be lost. The soul is not like the wind, that it should fare to the mountains and come to a stop. Firmly developed has the soul been brought into the vain body. If the soul has kept herself perfect, she ascends in a garment of glory.

"Sauriel's knife consists of three flames. When he (S) drives her (the soul) to hasten, so as to bear her away, he lets loose the three flames against her. One he lets loose against her in the evening, the other at cock-crow; the third lets he loose 'gainst her at the coming-forth of the rays. If the fire begins to be fierce, the soul slips out of the feet and the knees. Out of the feet and the knees slips she, and draws nigh to the hips. Thereon leaves she the hips, reaches the heart, and seeks to keep there her ground. Then falls she into the breast, and it squeezes . . . . . The eyes, the face and the lips of the man twitch, and the tongue twists hither and thither.

"Then Sauriel sits on the eyebrows; he sits and speaks to her: 'Go hence, O Soul! Why dost thou still watch over the body?'—Then says she to him: 'Thou wilt hale me, Sauriel, out of the body. First show me my vesture and clothe me therewith; then hale me out and hence bring me.'—'First bring me thy works and thy wage,' makes he answer to her; 'then will I show thee thy vesture and clothe thee.'—'I knew not, O Sauriel,' says she to him, 'that my time is come, and they then send quickly for me, for doing good works, so that thou mayest bring me my vesture and clothe me therewith.'—Natheless he made answer unto her: 'Has no one yet died before thee and have they not yet carried forth anyone to the graveyard?'—Thereon she says to him: 'Through the power of him who has died before me, and through the power of him whom they have carried forth to the graveyard . . . . . .

"The women who wept ran hither and thither and [the men] who wailed ran hither and thither, as long as the body lay there before them. When the soul leaves the body, four go forth to the graveyard. The women who wept ran hither and thither. the men who wailed ran hither and thither; and they ran hither and thither crying, until they lowered it into the pit. When they had lowered the vain body and covered it over with earth, then the women ceased fram their death-wail. They filled up the pit, and the men went away. . . . . In haste left they the body and grave and went away; they took hold of cup and ate bread and forgot the vain body.—Now, an thou wilt, Sauriel, let me stay here still two days. Then will I sell the whole of my goods and share out among my sons, and will take my vesture with me, the robe that ascends to Light's region.'

"Natheless Sauriel returned answer unto her: 'Is there a child that has left the womb of its mother, and that they shall have brought back again into its mother, that I should leave thee in the Wicked Ones' Dwelling, so that thou mayest see after a sharing among thy sons? I will lead thee hence and put the robe of darkness upon thee, for that thou hast not let thyself be warned in this world, and hast not loved thy way to Light's region. Therefore shalt thou be put in ward in the House of the Wicked, till Heaven and Earth pass away.'"

And praisèd be Life.

MANDAEAN JOHN CHAPTER 2

II.—THE STORY OF THE BREACH WITH JUDAISM.

MIRYAI IS EXPELLED FROM JEWRY (§ 34).

In the Name of Great Life, may hallowed Light be glorified.

Miryai am I, of the Kings of Babel (Babylon) a daughter, a daughter of Jerasalem's mighty rulers. They have given me birth; the priests brought me up. In the fold of their robe they carried me up into the dark house, into the temple. Adonai laid a charge on my hands and on my two arms: I must scour and cleanse the house that is without firmness. There is naght therein for supporting the poor, naught to revive the tormented souls.

My father went to the house of the people, my mother went to the temple. My father went out and said to me, and my mother went out and charged me: "Miryai, close thy inner

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doors and bolt the bar. See that thou goest not forth into the main streets and that the suns of my Lord fall not upon thee."

But I, Miryai, listened not to what my mother did tell me, and hearkened not with the ear to what my father did charge me. I opened the inner doors, and the outer let I stand open. Out went I into the main streets and the suns of my Lord fell upon me. To the house of the people would I not go, but my way bore me unto the temple of the Mandaeans. I went and I found my brothers and sisters, how they stand and carry on proclamations. My brothers carry on proclamations and my sisters throw out explanations. With the voice of their proclamations and with the voice of their explanations I became drowsy and laid me down on the spot. My brothers went forth and did not wake me, and my sisters withdrew and roused me not. But thou, my sister in Truth, dost rouse me from sleep and dost say: "Arise, arise, Miryai, before the day breaks and the cock lets crow his morn-call, before the sun shines and his glory rises over the worlds, before the priests and the priests' sons go forth and sit them down in the shade of the Ruins—Jerusalem, before thy father comes and brings upset upon thee such as thou never hast had."

I, Miryai, keep secret my prayers and utterly secret keep my discourses.

Early, day began to dawn, early the cock let crow his call, early the sun shone and his glory rose over the worlds. The priests and priests' sons went out and sat them down in the shade of the Ruins—Jerusalem. Then came my bodily father and brought on me upset such as I never have had. He spake:

"Where hast come from, thou debauched trough, whom locks and bars cannot keep in? Where hast thou come from? Woe unto thee, thou bitch in heat, who mindest not door-pins and lockings! Where hast thou come from? Woe, woe unto thee, thou bit of coarse stuff that has been patched on my robe!"

"If I am a debauched trough, I will burst thy boltings and bars. If I am a bitch in beat, I will draw back the pins and the lockings. If I am a bit of coarse stuff that has been patched on thy robe, then out of thy robe cut and rip me."

Thereon he cried: "Come you all, look on Miryai, who has left Jewry and gone to make love with her lord. Come, look on Miryai, who has left off coloured raiment and gone to make love with her lord. She forsook gold and silver and went to make love with her lord. She forsook the phylacteries1 and went to make love with the man with the head-band."

Then Miryai makes answer unto him: "Far lies it from me to love him whom I have hated. Far lies it from me to hate him whom I have loved. Nay, far from me lies it to hate my Lord, the Life's Gnosis, who is for me in the world a support. A support is he in the world for me and a helper in the Light's region. Dust in the mouth of the Jews, ashes in the mouth of all of the priests! May the dung that is under the feet of the horses, come on the high ones and Jerusalem's mighty rulers."

Life is exalted and is victorious, and victorious is the Man who has come hither.

A VARIANT OF THE ABOVE FROM THE OXFORD MANUSCRIPT.

MIRYAI IS EXPELLED FROM JEWRY (§ 34; Version 2). (L.'s J. B., pp. 123-125).

In the name of Great Life, may hallowed Light be glorified.

At the door of the house of the people her mother came upon Miryai. Her mother came upon Miryai and put question to her: "Whence com'st thou, my daughter, Miryai, whose face gathers roses? Roses gathers thy face and of sleep are thy eyes full. Full of sleep are thy eyes, and upon thy forehead lies slumber."

Thereon she made answer: "It is two,—three days to-day that my brothers sat down in the house of my Father. In my Father's house sat down my brothers and let wonderful proclamations be heard. Because of the voice and the ringing of the proclamation of the treasures, my brothers, there comes no sleep over my eyes. Sleep comes not over my eyes, nor slumber upon my forehead."

"Hast thou not heard, Miryai, my daughter, what the Jews are saying about thee? The Jews are saying: Thy daughter has fallen in love with a man. She has gotten hate against Jewry and love for Nazoraeanity. Hate has she gotten against the house of the people and love for the door of the temple (sc. of the Manuscript.). Hate has she gotten against the phylacteries and love for the flaunting wreaths. Work does she on Sabbath; on Sunday she keeps her hands still. Miryai has cast aside straightway the Law that the Seven have laid upon us."

As Miryai stands there, she puts dust on her feet, and speaks: "Dust in the mouth of the Jews and ashes in the mouth of all of the priests! May the dung that lies under the horses, come on the elders who are in Jerusalem! I cannot hate him whose love I have won, nor love him 'gainst whom I have gotten hate. Yea, I have won the love of my Lord the Life's Gnosis, and hope that in him a helper will for me arise, a helper and a support from the region of Darkness unto Light's region."

Thou hast won the victory, Gnosis of Life, and helped all thy friends to victory.

And Life is victorious.

THE EXILED COMMUNITY SETTLE ON THE EUPHRATES (§ 35).

In the Name of Great Life, may hallowed Light be glorified.

Miryai am I, a vine, a tree, who stands at the mouth of Euphrates (Frash). The tree's leaves are precious stones, the tree's fruits pearls. The vine-tree's foliage is glory, its shoots precious light. Among the trees its scent it diffuses, and it spreads over all the worlds. The birds of the air scented it; a flock settled down on the tree. A flock on it down-settled, and they would build their nest there. They flutter about in it and settle not down in it firmly. Of its foliage they eat . . . . from its inner part they drink wine. They eat what is not to be cast away, and drink what was not wine.1

While the birds sat on the vine, winds and tempests broke loose. They shook the good birdlets awake, they smote 'gainst the tree; on all sides they scattered the leaves of the vine-tree and scared the birds out of their place. Many a bird there was who flew not away, but held on fast with claws and with wings, till the winds and the tempests were over. Many again held not on fast and were hurried away . . . . . Woe unto those who did not hold fast, but were dashed from the tree and flew off. How fair is the tree of Life and fair the birds who dwell on it!

The winds and the tempests passed and rest came over the world.

As the birds sit there and chirp and would be a-building their nest, as the birds sit on the vine, an eagle wheeled and flew hither. A white eagle-bird came, looked down and caught sight of the birds. Round wheeled he, sped down on them with his wings, and came and sat on the tree. In converse with him joined the birds, and said to him:

"By thy Life, Eagle! On this tree were we birds without number.—But there broke loose against them the winds, and on the tree came raging tempests. They shook them off from the tree, so that they tore their wings from them nearly. Many a one held fast, whom the winds and tempests could not tear away; but many a one flew off at top speed.—We speak to thee, therefore, O Eagle, we ask thee respecting the birds, because thou art sharp of sight and dost see all in this world: What have the winds and the tempests done with those birds, our brothers? What spyest thou out over them?"

Then made he answer unto them: "You had better not to have known, my brothers, what has become of those birds. Slingshots drove them far from me; their wings broke; torn off were they, broken off; they went hence and relied on the bird-catchers.1 The harrier and hawk wheeled round them, tore pieces out of their flesh and fed on those who were fat. Woe to those who fell prey to the water,2 if there was no portion for them at the crossing. Well for you, ye birds, who hold fast to this vine [here]; you became a companionship of Miryai, the vine, who stands at the mouth of Euphrates. See and satisfy yourselves, ye birds, that I have come to you. I have come to my brothers to be a support for them in this world. I have come to heal Miryai, come to bring water to the good, beloved plants, to the vines, who stand at the mouth of Euphrates. In a white3 pail I draw water and bring it to my plants. I bear and I hold it on the arms of glory which are my own. I bear and I hold it and give them to drink. Well for him who has drunk of my water. He drinks, finds healing and confirmation, and grows to double his stature. The vines who drank water, brought forth good fruit. Their leaves turned on high and made a brave show. The branches which drank no water, brought forth bitter herbs and worm-wood. Woe to those who have not gone forward upon the Way; woe to those who have not passed on by the way-stone! They hated Life's Treasure-House,4 Miryai, the dear Truth.

"My brothers, hold fast, be a companionship of Miryai. I will look round in the world, let Life's call sound forth and rouse the sleeping and wake them."

The eagle flew off from the tree; he wheeled round and instructed his friends. He speaks to them: "Give ear to me, my brothers! Stay fast and endure persecution. Be a companionship to Miryai. Woe to the Jews, who were a persecution for Miryai! Woe to Elizar, the great house, the pillar that props the temple! Woe to Zatan, the pillar,1 who has witnessed lies against Miryai!"

THE JEWS PERSECUTE THE MANDAEANS (§ 35 CONTINUED).

All the Jews gathered together, the teachers, the great and the little; they came [together] and spake of Miryai: "She ran away from the priests, fell in love with a man, and they took hold of each other's hands. Hold of each other's hands they took, went forth and settled at the mouth of Euphrates. We will slay them and make Miryai scorned in Jerusalem. A stake2 will we set up for the man who has ruined Miryai and led her away. There shall be no day in the world when a stranger3 enters Jerusalem."

They split open their fellings and catch the doves in Jerusalem.

THEY BEG THEM TO RETURN (§ 35 CONTINUED).

All the Jews gathered together and followed after Miryai. They went and found that a throne was set up for Miryai on the bank of Euphrates. A white stnndard was for her unfurled and a book stood upright on her lap. She reads in the Books of Truth and rouses all worlds from their sleep. She holds in her hand the staff of Life's water; the girdle is bound round her loins. Miryai in humbleness prays and proclaims with wondrous voice. The fishes gather out of the sea, the birds5 from the mouth of Euphrates. They come to hear Miryai's voice, and no more long to lie down to sleep. They breathe in the sweet scent around her and forget the world. When the Jews saw this, they stood up before her. They felt shamed, doubled their fists, smote on the fore-court of their breast and lamented. The mother of Miryai spoke, and tears streamed into her bosom.

"Look on me, Miryai, my daughter," says she unto her; "look on me who am thy mother! My daughter art thou and the daughter of all of the priests. Thy head is the great chief of the temple. Rememberest thou not, Miryai, that the Torah lay on thy lap? Thou didst open it, read therein and knewest what stands in it. The outer keys lay in thy hands, and the inner thou didst put in chains. All the priests and priests' sons came and kissed thy hand. For whom thou wouldst, thou didst open the door; whom thou wouldst not, must turn and go back to his seat. A thousand stand there and two thousand sit there. They submit themselves to thee, as a eunuch-made slave, and they give ear to thy word in Jerusalem. Why didst thou forget thy brothers and thy heart abandon the priests? Lo, the brides weep in Judaea, the women and men in Jerusalem. Their beloved gold have they cast from them, and they give themselves up to wailing and mourning for thee. They say: 'We will make away with our goods, until Miryai returns. Gold forge we (or: Gold gorges us no longer), and cast away fair raiments of silk and bracelets.' They stand on the roofs and look out, that they may see thee again in Jerusalem. For thee they make vows, if thou comest to me and we go hence. My daughter, arise, come back to thy dwelling-place, the city Jerusalem. Come, light up thy lamps, which have been put out from the day when thou withdrewest thyself. Have no longing after this man, who has prisoned thee and taken thee off. Leave the man, who is not of thy dwelling-place,1 alone by himself in the world. Let him not say: I have gone and carried off Miryai from her place. Come, teach the children, so that they may learn. Lay the Torah in thy lap and let us hear thy voice as it used to be. From the moment and the day when thou didst detach the dough2 has it been covered up . . . . . ."

When Miryai heard this from her mother, she laughed and rejoiced in her mind. "It surely could not be the Jews," says she unto her, "the infamous, worthless priests! It surely would not be the Jews who stand there and bow down to a brick-grave! They shall be buried in the Darkness.

"Go, go," says she unto them, "ye fools, ye abortions, ye who were not of the world. I am no woman who is stripped for wantoning; and it is not that I have fallen in love with a man. Stripped am I not for returning to you and for again seeing you, doming of blasphemy. Go, go hence from me, ye who have witnessed falsehood and lying against me. Against me ye witnessed wantonness and thieving, and held me up as ye are yourselves. Blessed be the Man who freed me from my fetters and planted my feet here. No wantonness have I committed with him and attempted no theft in the world. Instead of the witness ye have witnessed against me, there come to me prayer and praise-giving."

As the priests stand there and speak with Miryai at the mouth of Euphrates, there came a pure eagle-bird, whose wings are the fulness of worlds. He flew down on the Jews, dashed at them with his wings, bound them and sank them down unto the water's bottom, deeper down than the foul-smelling mud. He sank them deeper down than the blazing water, that is inside the dark water. He sank their ships down to the blazing water's bottom. He destroyed the temple and laid fire to Jerusalem.

He brought down all upon them and in Jerusalem slew the disciples.

He descended unto her (Miryai), folded before her his wings, settled down by her, narrated and proclaimed to her; and they held out the loved hand of Truth to each other. He embraced her in potent embracing, forced her down and set her on the throne.

"Miryai," he speaks to her, "with favour look upon me, remember me in the Life's presence. I am thy Good Messenger, the Man, who gives ear to thy discourse. I beseech thee for the high Truth, the Truth which the Jordans have chosen."

"O Good Treasure," she makes answer unto him, "Treasure whom Life has sent! Thy glory and thy light has risen upon us, and thy honour is approved in Light's region. Everyone who gives ear to thy voice, will be in the pure region included. In Life's Treasury will he be included and thy rays will rise [over him] twofold. For everyone who gives not ear to thy voice, waking and sleep will be wiped out. Let him belong to the Jews, to the slaves and all of the priests, the sons of the Harlot. I and thou will circle aloft and victorious mount to Light's region."

May Life be our pledge, and Life is victorious.

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MANDAEAN JOHN CHAPTER 3

III.—SOME TYPICAL EXTRACTS.

(Under the first two headings readers have been made acquainted with all those pieces from the Mandaean John-Book that can be held to have in any sense a historic intention. To these are now added a few extracts of such specimens of the rest of the contents as do not require a commentary. We will begin with 'The Fisher of Souls' tractate from the John-Book. It seems to me to throw great light on the symbolic phrase of the gospels, indeed to give it a background, and not to be explained in reverse order as the Mandaean expansion of an isolated Christian expression.)

THE FISHER OF SOULS SAGA (§§ 36-39)1.

In the Name of Great Life may hallowed Light be glorified.

A Fisher am I, a Fisher who elect is among fishers. A Fisher am I who among the fishers is chosen, the Head of all catchers of fish. I know the shallows of the waters, the inner . . . . . and the . . . . . I fathom; I come to the net-grounds, to the shallows and all fishing-spots, and search the marsh in the dark all over. My boat is not cut off from the others and I shall not be stopped in the night.

I see the fish in (on) the dike. I pressed forward on the way with a . . . . . that was not of iron. I covered the . . . which was for us an obstruction. Aside did I push the swimmers who hinder Life's way. On my head I set up a . . . . . in whose shadow the fish sit. The fisher-trident which I have in my hand, is instead a margna select, a staff of pure water, at whose sight tremble the fishers.

I sit in a boat of glory and come into this world (Tibil) of the fleeting. I come to the water's surface; thither to the surface of the water I drew, and I drew to the crossing's surface. I come in a . . . . . , in slow, steady course. The water by my boat is not ruffled, and no sound of my boat is heard. Before me stands Hibil (Abel), at my side Shitil (Seth) of sweet name is to be seen, close by me, close in front of me, Anosh (Enoch) sits and proclaims.

They say: "O Father, Good Fisher, hallo! O Fisher of loveable name!"

Close by me, close near my boat, I hear the uproar of the fishers, the fishers who eat fish,1 and their stench rushes on me,—the uproar of the fishers and the uproar of their mongers who revile and curse one another. Everyone accuses the other. The buyer says to the fisher: "Take back thy fish! They are stinking already, and no one wants to buy them off of me. Thou makest the catch far out at sea,2 so that loss falls on the buyer."

Thereon speaks the fisher and makes the man, his customer, hear: "A curse on thee, a curse on thy buyers, a curse on thy bell, a curse on thy boat for not filling up. Thou hast brought no salt and sprinkled it over thy fish which thou boughtest, so that the fish of thy boat will not be stinking and thou then canst sell for hard cash. Next, hast thou no meal and no dates brought, no salt . . . hast thou brought. If then thou comest with empty hands, one who is of fair favour has no dealing with thee. Go, go, thou godless fellow, buy not from us to do business with thy fraudulent scales. Thou holdest them down to buy at false weight, [then in selling] keepest them up with thy elbow and gettest ten for five. Now does thy buying flee away, and thy buyer, and is as though it never had been. Thou dost complain of the . . . of men and dost cherish no noble thought."

When the Chief Fisher, the Head of the race of the Living, the highest of all catchers of fish, heard this, he said to him (Anosh / Enoch): "Bring me my . . . . . , hand me the squbra,1 that I may make a call sound forth into the marsh, that I may warn the fish of the depths and scare away the foul-smelling birds that pursue after my fish. I will catch the great sidma,2 and tear off his wings on the spot. I will take from him . . . . . and will blow into my squbra. A true squbra is it, so that the water may not mix with pitch."

When the fishers heard the call, their heart fell down from its stay. One calls to the other and speaks to him: "Go into thy inner ground. For there is the call of the Fisher, the Fisher who eats no fish. His voice is not like that of a fisher, his squbra not like our squbra. His voice is not like our voice, his discourse not like to this world."

But the fishers stand there; they seek not shelter in their inner ground. As the fishers stand there and are thinking it over, the Fisher came swiftly upon them; he opened the cast-net, divided ... . He cast them bound into the ... . He tied them up with knots. They speak to him: "Free us from our bonds, so that thy fish may not leap up to our boat. We catch not those who name thy Name."

When the fishers thus spake to me, I smote them with a club made of iron. I bound their traders on the shore which lends not . . . . . I roped them with ropes of bast and broke up their ships . . . . . I burnt up the whole of their netting and the . . . . . which holds the nets together. I threw chains round them and hung them up aft on my ship's stern. I made them take an oath, took from them their mystery, in order that they may not catch the good fish,—that they may not steal them from me, stick them on a cane, hang them up,3 I cut them in pieces and throw them into baskets with laurel and aloe. They (the fishers) are laid low and cannot rise up. The nets ... ..., and they no longer stab the fisher-trident into the Jordan. They do not cut off . . . . . and stand not in the river-lands and make not their catch in the shallows. They cast not the cast-net therein and take not . . . and aloe.

I spake to those who eat the . . . of the fish whose name is eel. They eat the eel and the . . . , which stands upright on its forefeet. They eat the ... ... I bound them in the marshes of Deception, and they were caught and were tied up. Water from the Ulai they drink not and know not the way to the Kshash river. I bound them fast in their ships, and threw out my ropes to the good ones. To them I speak: "Draw your boat up here, so that it runs not into the dike."

As the Chief of the fish-catchers thus spake, the fishers made answer unto him and said; "Blessed be thou, a Fisher, and blessed be thy boat and thy bark. How fair is thy cast-net, how fair the yarn that is in it. Fair is thy cord and thy lacing, thou who art not like the fishers of this world. On thy meshes are no shell-fish, and thy trident catches no fish. Whence art thou come hither? Tell us! We will be thy hired servants. We will bake and stir about broth and bring it before thee. Eat, and the crumbs which fall from thy hand,—these will we eat and therewith be filled."

But I made answer unto them: "O ye fishers, who lap up your filth, no fisher am I who fishes for fish, and I was not formed for an eater of filth. A Fisher am I of souls who bear witness to Life. A Poor Fisher am I who calls to the souls, collects them together and gives them instruction. He calls to them and bids them come and gather together unto him. He says unto them: If ye . . . . . come, ye shall be saved from the foul-smelling birds I will save my friends, bring them on high and in my ship make them stand upright. I will clothe them with vestures of glory and with precious light will enwrap them. I will put a crown of aether upon them and what else for them the Greatness erects on their head. Then sit they on thrones and in precious light do they glisten. I bear them thither and raise them aloft; but ye Seven shall stay here behind. The portion of filth and of filthy doings shall be your portion. On the day when the Light ascends, the Darkness will return to its region. I and my disciples will ascend and behold the Light's region."

Life is exalted and is victorious, and victorious is the Man who has come hither.

THE LIGHT-SHIP OF THE FISHER (§ 37).

In the Name of Great Life may hallowed Light be glorified.

A Fisher am I of Great Life, a Fisher am I of the Mighty; a Fisher am I of Great Life, an Envoy whom Life has sent. It (Life) spake unto me: "Go, catch fish who do not eat filth, fish who do not eat water-fennel and reek not of foul-smelling fennel. They do not come nigh to devour bad dates and get caught in the nets of the marsh."

Life knotted for me a noose and built for me a ship that fades not,—a ship whose wings are of glory, that sails along as in flight, and from it the wings will not be torn off. 'Tis a well-furnished ship and sails on in the heart of the heaven. Its ropes are ropes of glory and a rudder of Truth is there to it. Sunday takes hold of the pole, Life's Son seized the rudder. They draw thither to the shekinahs and dispense Light among the treasures. Thrones in them (sc. the shekinahs) they set up, and long drawn out come the Jordans upon them. On the bow are set lamps that in the wildest of tempests are not put out. All ships that sight me, make obeisance submissively to me. Submissively they make me obeisance and come to show their devotion unto me.

In the bows stands the Fisher and delivers wondrous discourses. There are lamps there, whose wicks shift not hither and thither, and a . . . . . is not by him. He wears no ring of Deception, and with white robes is he clad. He calls to the fish of the sea and speaks to them: "Give heed to yourselves in the world! Beware of the foul-smelling birds who are above you. If you give heed to yourselves my brothers, I will for you be a succour,—a succour and a support out of the regions of Darkness unto Light's region."

Life is exalted and is victorious, and victorious is the Man who has come hither.

THE GOOD FISHER REJECTS THE OVERTURES OF THE EVIL ONES

AND OVERWHELMS THEM (§ 38).

In the Name of Great Life may hallowed Light be glorified.

The Fisher clad him with vestures of glory, and an axe hung from his shoulder ... ... and commotion of mischief, and a bell is not on the handle.1 When the fishers caught sight of the Fisher, they came and gathered around him. "Thou art," say they unto him, "a ... Fisher, thou who hast caught no fish of the marsh. Thou hast not seen the . . . . . in which the fish gather . . . . . We will make thee familiar with the fishers; be our great partner and take a share as we do. Grant us a share in thy ship, and take thou a share in our ship. A bargain! Take from us as partner and grant us a share in thy ship. Grant us a share, and we will give thee a share in what we possess. Join thy ship with ours and clothe thee in black as we do, so that, if thou holdest thy lantern on high, thou mayst find something, that the fish may not see thy glory and thy ship may take in fish. If thou dost give ear (to us), thou shalt catch fish, throw them into thy ship and do business. If thou givest no ear to our discourse, thou shalt eat salt; but if thou doest our works, thou shalt eat oil and honey. Thou stirrest a broth, thou fillest a bowl and sharest it with all of the fishers. We appoint thee as head over all of us. The fishers gather together beside thee, the first follow behind thee; they will be thy slaves, and thou takest three shares of what falls to our share. Our father shall be thy servant and we will call ourselves thy bondsmen. Our mother shall sit on thy couch and net nets, she shall be thy maid-servant and knit for thee yarns of all kinds. She shall space out the floats of cedar and put the lead-sinkers into the meshes,—meshes, meshes which are then more heavy than all of the world. She shall divide the water by means of the yarns, and when the fish run into them they shall be stopped. Then they know not the way that they seek, and have no wit to turn back to their way. Like walls that collapse, they (the nets) come and fall on the good. They do not let the fish rise, nor turn their face to the boulders.1 They make them sink deep under the mud and shut them into . . . . .. They collect them into heaps and shake them out of the . . . . . There is there a . . . . ., into which the fish dash and are stopped. On the . . . . . of the ... wattle-work is set up between two machines. Nets are laid down and . . . . . ., which are filled with bad dates as bait, which cause them to eat death. Woe to the fish who is blinded by them, whose eye sees not the Light. Wise are the fish who know them. They pass by all of the baits. The others repair thither and . . . . ., and the nets will be for them there a lodging. One of a thousand sees it and of two thousand two see it. Its ... is closed, and a bell is hung on its side-door,—a bell that is forged in mischief and catches the whole of the world. There, is the water mingled with fennel . . . . . the pegs of death. Woe to the fish who fall into them."

When the Fisher heard this, he stamped on the bows of the ship. The Fisher stamped on the ships of the fishers; the fishers lie in the shallows close crowded together, tied up together like bundles of wheat, and cannot rise up. The reeds swish . . . . ., and the fish of the sea lie over the fishers. They snarl in the marsh and the water rings them round in its circle.

Then shrilling he spake with his voice. He discoursed with his voice sublime and spake to the catchers of fish: "Off from me, ye foul-smelling fishers, ye fishers who mix poison. Begone, begone, catch fish, who eat your own filth. Down with you to your . . . . . and go to the end of the crossing. I am no Fisher who catches fish, and my fish are tested. They are not caught by the hook with bad dates, a mess which my fish do not eat. They fall not into the nets that are coloured1 and turn not to the lamps of the Lie. They sink not down through the mud of the water, and go not after the . . . . . of Deception. They (the nets) divide not the water . . . . . ., that shall fall on the good. If the fishers cast o'er them the cast-net, they tear asunder the net and set themselves free. There will be no day in this world on which the fishers catch my fish. There will be no day in this world on which the dove loves the ravens. Accursèd be ye, ye foul-smelling birds, and accursèd your nest, so that it may not be filled. Woe to your father Sirma, whose bed is in the reeds. Woe to thee, hungry Safna, whose wings do not dry in this world.3 Woe to thee, foul-smelling Sagia, thou who seest the fish and sighest for them. He shrieks and cries bitterly, when he strikes for the fish and misses them. Woe to thee, Arbana ..., thou who haulest the fish out of the deeps. Well for him who frees himself from the talons of those who catch fish. Well for him who frees himself from the men who are watchers of this world. Begone, begone with you, ye Planets, be of your own houses a portion. Water does not mix with pitch, and the Light is not reckoned as Darkness. The perfect ones' partner cannot be called your partner. The good one cannot belong to the wicked ones nor the bad to the good. Your ship cannot be tied up with mine, nor your ring be laid on my ring. There, is the head of all of you; count yourselves unto his realm! This your crass father stays stuck in the black water. Your mother, who nets nets and heavy double machines, have I beaten with the staff of (living) water and smashed a hole in her head. I lead on my friends, raise them on high in my ship and guide them past all the tax-gatherers. I guide them through the passage of outrage, the region where the fishes are taken. I make them escape the filth-eaters. But ye will come to an end in your dwellings. I and my friends of the Truth will find a place in Life's shekinah. Into the height will I bear them on thrones surrounded with standards of glory.

The Seven are vanquished and the Stranger-Man stays victorious. The Man of piety put to the test was victorious and helped the whole of his race unto victory.

Life is exalted and is victorious, and victorious is the Man who has come hither.

THE FINAL SUBMISSION OF THE EVIL FISHERS (§ 39).

In the Name of Great Life may hallowed Light be glorified.

'Tis the voice of the Pure Fisher who calls and instructs the fish of the sea in the shallows. He speaks to them: "Raise your . . . . .up, on the surface of the water stand upright;

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then will your force be double as great. Guard yourselves from the fishers who catch the fish and beat on the Jordan.1 Shilmai and Nidbai2 curse them, and they depart and settle themselves down behind me a mile off. The fish curse their casting-net in their place."

When the Fisher thus spake, warning all of the fish, when the fishers his voice heard, they came up and gathered around him. They put themselves forward to ask of him questions, and knew not whence he came. "Where wast thou, Fisher," they ask him, "that we heard not thy voice in the marsh? Thy ship is not like our ship, and thy . . . . . is not . . . . Thy ship is not tarred over with pitch, and thou art not like the fishers of this world."

The fishers see him, become scarlet for shame and remain standing in their places. They say to him: "Whence comes it that thou dost fish without finding? Thy ship is not like our ship; it shines by night like the sun. Thy ship is perfected in aether, and wondrous standards are unfurled above it. Our ship sails along in the water, but thy ship between the waters. Our reeds (or rods) grumble at one another and break into pieces. Among them is the fish-trident of wrath, on which . . . . . and . . . . . are not. Thy . . . . . O Fisher, is such that when the fish see it, they take themselves off. We have not yet seen any fishers which are like unto thee. The wind wafts thy ship on, the mast . . . . . for the fisher and a rudder that gleams in the water-shallows. On thy cast-net is no cord, and they have not laid . . . . . 1 round it. There are no . . . . . in it, which are a cunning device against the fish of the . . . . . . Thou keepest thy yarn and hast no clapper and no hatchet. Thy yarn (of the net) fishes not in the water and is not coloured for catching fish."

When the fishers thus spake, the Fisher made answer unto them: "Have done, ye fishers and fishers' sons; off, get you gone from me! Off, go up to your village, the Ruins, Jerusalem. Ask about me of your father, who knows me, ask of your mother, who is my maid-servant. Say to him: There is a Fisher in the boat, in which are four . . . . . There is a rudder, and it stands there, and a mast . . . . . and redemptions. They lay waste the land of Jerusalem."

When they heard this from the Fisher who has come hither, and understood, they spake to him: "Have compassion, forbearance and mercy on us and forgive us our sins and transgressions. We are thy slaves, show thyself indulgent towards us. We will look after thy fish that none of them fails. We will be the servants of thy disciples, who name thy Name in Truth. We will continue to look after all who name thy Name."

Life is exalted and is victorious, and victorious in the Man who has come hither.

Other pieces set forth such figures as those of 'The Heavenly Plough' and of 'The Sowers'; but perhaps the most interesting is the saga of 'The Good Shepherd.' Here again it is difficult to believe that it was derived from Christian sources; it seems to be as independent as the 'Fisher of Souls' figure. The 'discourse' runs as follows:

THE GOOD SHEPHERD (§ 11).

In the Name of Great Life may hallowed Light be glorified.

A Shepherd am I who loves his sheep; sheep and lambs I watch over. Round my neck I carry the sheep; and the sheep from the hamlet stray not. I carry them not to the sea-shore, that they see not the whirl of the water, may not be afraid of the water, and if they are thirsty may not drink of the water. I bear them away from the sea, and water them with the cup of my hand, until they have drunken their fill. I bring them unto the good fold; and they feed by my side. From the mouth of Euphrates, from the mouth of Euphrates the Radiant, things of marvellous goodness I brought them. I brought them myrtle, white sesame brought them and brought them bright standards. I cleansed them and washed them and made them to smell the sweet odour of Life. I put round them a girdle, at sight of which the wolves tremble. No wolf leaps into our fold; and of no fierce lion need they be alarmed. Of the tempest they need not be frightened; and no thief can break in upon us. A thief breaks not into their fold; and of a knife4 they need not be anxious. When my sheep were quietly laid down and my head lay there on the threshold, a rift was rent in the height and thunder did thunder behind me. The clouds seized hold one of another, and unchained were the raging tempests. Rain poured down in sheets and hail that smites elephants low, hail that shatters the mountains. And the tempests unchain themselves in an hour.1 Seas burst forth; they flooded the whole of the world. There, under the water, no one escaped, once he sank from the height as into a gulf. The water swept off everyone who had no wings or no feet. He speeds on, and knows not he speeds; he goes, and knows not he goes. Thereupon I sprang up and I entered the fold to bear my sheep forth from their place. I saw my eyes full. I saw the sea, I saw the fierce-raging tempest, I saw the storm-clouds that send forth no friendly greeting the one to the other. Ten-thousand times ten-thousand dragons are in each single cloud. I weep for my sheep, and my sheep weep for themselves. The little lambs are lamenting who cannot come out of the fold's door.

When then . . . . ., I entered the house, I mounted up to the highest place in it, and I call to my sheep. To the sheep in my care do I call. I pipe to them; I get them to hear, so that they come unto me. To them I pipe on my pipe, and beat on my tabour, leading them to the water. I call to them: "My little sheep, little sheep, come! Rise up at my call! Come, rise at my call; then will you 'scape the cloud-dragons. Come, come unto me! I am a shepherd whose boat is soon coming. My boat of glory is coming; and I come with it, and bring my sheep and lambs in aboard it. Every one who gives ear to my call and heed gives unto my voice, and who turns his gaze unto me, of him take I hold with my hands and bring him unto me inboard my boat." But every lamb, male and female, that suffered himself to be caught, the water-whirl carried away, the greedy water did swallow. Whoever gave no ear to my call, sank under. To the highest part of the vessel I went. The bows stand up with the bow-post. I say: How woeful am I for my sheep who because of the mud have sunk under. The water-whirl sank them away from my reach, the swirling whirl of the water. How grieved am I for the rams whose fleece on their sides has dragged them down into the deep. How grieved am I for the lambkins whose bellies have not yet been filled full of milk. Of a thousand, one I recovered; of a whole generation I found again two. Happy is he who stood up in the water, and in whose ears no water has entered. Happy the great rams who have stamped with their feet. Happy is he who has escaped from the Seven and Twelve, the sheep-stealers. Happy is he who has not couched down, has not lain down, has not loved to sleep deeply. Happy is he who in this defective age of Bishlom1 has stayed whole. Happy are they who free themselves from the snares of Ruha (the Mother World-Spirit), from the filth and the shame and the bondage that have no end. My chosen! whoever shall live at the end of this age of Nirig (Mars), for him let his own conscience be a support. He will come and mount up to the Radiant Dwelling, to the region whose sun never sets, and whose light-lamps2 never darken.

Life is exalted and is victorious, and victorious is the Man who has come hither.

THE LOVING SHEPHERDS OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD (§ 12).

In the Name of Great Life may hallowed Light be glorified.

A TREASURE calls from without hither and speaks:

"Come, be for me a loving shepherd and watch me a thousand out of ten thousand."—

"So then will I be a loving shepherd for thee and watch thee a thousand out of ten thousand. But how full is the world of vileness and sown full of thorns and of thistles!"—

"Come, be for me a loving shepherd and watch me a thousand out of ten thousand. I will bring thee then sandals of glory, with them canst thou tread down the thorns and the thistles. Earth and heaven decay, but the sandals of glory decay not. Sun and moon decay, but the sandals of glory decay not. The stars and heaven's zodiacal circle decay, but the sandals of glory decay not. The four winds of the world-house decay, but the sandals of glory decay not. Fruits and grapes and trees decay, but the sandals of glory decay not. All that is made and engendered decays, but the sandals of glory decay not. So then be for me a loving shepherd and watch me a thousand out of ten thousand."—

"I will then be a loving shepherd for thee and watch thee a thousand out of ten thousand. But if a lion comes and carries off one, how am I to retrieve him? If a thief come and steals one away, how am I to retrieve him? If one falls into the fire and is burnt, how am I to retrieve him? If one falls into the water and drowns, how am I to retrieve him? If one stays behind in the pen, how am I to retrieve him?"—

"Natheless, come therefore, be for me a loving shepherd and watch me a thousand out of ten thousand. If a lion comes and carries off one, let him go his way and fall a prey to the lion. Let him go his way and fall a prey to the lion, in that he bows himself down to the Sun. If a wolf comes and carries off one let him go his way and fall a prey to the wolf, in that he bows himself down to the Moon. If a thief comes and steals away one, then let him go his way and fall a prey to the thief. Let him go his way and fall a prey to the thief, in that he bows himself down before Nirig (Mars the God of War). If one falls into the fire and is burnt, let him go his way and fall a prey to the fire. Let him go his way and fall a prey to the fire, in that he bows himself down to the fire. If one falls into the mud and stays stuck there, then let him go his way and fall a prey to the mud. Let him go his way and fall a prey to the mud, in that he bows himself down to Messiah. If one falls into the water and drowns, then let him go his way and fall a prey to the sea. Let him go his way and fall a prey to the sea, in that he bows himself down to the seas. If one stays behind in the pen, let him go his way and fall a prey to the pen-demon. Let him go his way and fall prey to the pen-demon, in that he bows himself down to the idols. ... ... Come, be for me a loving shepherd and watch me a thousand out of ten thousand."—

"So will I then be for thee a loving shepherd and watch thee a thousand out of ten thousand. I will watch a thousand of thousands, yea of ten thousand those who adore him."

"But some of them wander from me. I went up into high mountains and went down into deep valleys. I went and found him where he can crop nothing. Of each single sheep I took hold with my right hand and on the scale did I lay him. A thousand among ten thousand have the right weight."

Life is exalted and is victorious, and victorious is the Man who has come hither.

THE TREASURY OF LIFE (§ 57).

(The next piece I have selected, treats of the source of all glory and enlightenment, called the Treasury of Life, that in which all spiritual powers and blessings are stored. The origin of the motive is without doubt the Iranian concept of the hvareno, the divine and kingly glory. In the Mandaean tradition it has become highly developed and is frequently personified as a female greatness. Thus in the Oxford Manuscript F. it is spoken of as "the Mother of all the Kings of the Light, from whom all worlds have come forth, who separated herself from the fervency of the Hidden Mysteries." Many rôles are assigned to this Light of Life in the complexities of the celestial and cosmic dramas; and in the human stage it shines forth as the glory with which the perfected are vestured and crowned. I have chosen the simplest of the narratives or discourses on the topic. In the still more complex system of the phase of development represented by the Pistis Sophia collection there is no mention of the Treasury of Life, but the Treasury of Light is one of its most important conceptions. The Mandaean tradition conserves the echoes of an earlier phase, for it is indubitably less over-worked.)

In the Name of Great Life may hallowed Light be glorified.

The Treasury am I, Life's Treasury (Simath-Haiye); the Treasury am I, the Mighty One's Treasury; the Treasury am I, Life's Treasury. A crown was I for the Mighty from everlasting. The Treasury am I, Life's Treasury. Ever did I give light to the treasures and to the shekinahs, and was for adornment to Jordan. For adornment became I to Jordan, who was from everlasting, through whom the treasures give light. Great Life made me limpid and lucent and made me into a vesture. He made me into his vesture, which day in and day out sings measureless praise of the Aether.

The Treasury am I, Life's Treasury. To the King of the Splendour became I a crown. The treasures shine through my glory and praise my form beyond measure.

The Treasury am I, Life's Treasury—I who as adornment settled down on the King of the Splendour, so that he shone in his mind, that he became bright and shining, and his form glittered more than the light-worlds. As it gave light and enlightenment unto the treasures and to the shekinahs even in the Aether, the King laid me as vesture round Nesab the Radiant.1 Nesab the Radiant then took me, brought me and laid me as vesture o'er Jordan. As vesture o'er Jordan he laid me, through whom the treasures shine beyond measure.

The Treasury am I, Life's Treasury. The wicked are blind and see not. I call them unto the Light, yet they busy themselves with the Darkness. "O ye wicked," I unto them cry, "ye who sink down in the Darkness, arise and fall not into the deep." I cry unto them; yet the wicked hear not and sink into the great Sea of the Ending. Therefore was Jordan made a bridge for the treasures; a bridge for the treasures became he, while he cut off the wicked and hurled them into the great Sea of the Ending.

The Treasury am I, Life's Treasury. A crown I became for Life's Gnosis (knowledge). He bestowed on me the rulership over the treasures and the shekinahs which are there yonder.

The Treasury am I, Life's Treasury. Of the light-worlds was I the enlightener. Day in and day out they sing praise to Great Life, and through me they mount upward and behold the Light's region.

The Treasury am I, Life's Treasury. A vesture for the light-worlds became I.

The Treasury am I, Life's Treasury. A King for the Nazoraeans (the keepers of the Law of Moses) became I. I became a King for the Nazoraeans, who through my Name find praise and assurance. Praise and assurance they find through my Name, and on my Name they mount up and behold the Light's region. For the Men of purity put to the test—for them their eye became full of Light. Full of Light was their eye, and in their heart Life's Gnosis took seat. Whoever of me, Life's Treasury, makes his investment, loves not gold and silver, loves not gold and possessions, loves not food of the body, and envy with him has no place. Envy found with him no place, and he did not forget his night-prayer. He forgot not the discourses and writings, and he forsook not his Lord's word. He forsook not the prayer of his Father, Life's Gnosis; wherefor into the great End-Sea he falls not. He forgot not Sunday, nor did he neglect the Day's evening. He forgot not the way of Great Life, the way of wages and alms. He will be rapt away in the night-prayer, he will be rapt away in shining vestures which have come from Great Life. Treasures for him fill up what falls short, and what is empty they load for him full. If he bears a pure load, he is counted with the Men of piety put to the test who separate themselves

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[from the world] in the Name of Yawar. Life's Treasury rested upon them, to their form it gave light, and for them a way to Great Life's House has been established.

I have called with clear voice and directed hereto the disciples: "The vine who bears fruit, doth ascend; who bears none will here be cut off. Whosoever lets himself be enlightened through me and instructed, ascends and beholds the Light's region; whoever does not let himself be enlightened through me and instructed, is cut off and falls into the great End-Sea."

Life is exalted and is victorious, and victorious is the Man who has come hither.

EXHORTATIONS (§ 47).

(That the moral instruction given to the Mandaeans is excellent may be seen in almost any piece; but there are distinctive collections of ethical exhortation of which the following is an example.)

FROM the Light-region have I (Life's Gnosis) come forth, from thee, thou glorious dwelling. With vestures of glory have I been clad and a crown of victory on my head has been set. I came and found the Nazoraeans, how they stand on the shore of the Jordan. I set up my throne and sat down, as a father who sits 'midst his sons.

The Good sits there and teaches his sons all truth, in which is no error.

My sons! See that you commit no adultery; see that you no theft commit. They who commit adultery and who steal, mount not up to Life's house. They mount not up to Life's house and do not behold Light's region.

My sons! See that you practise no magic and afflict not the soul in the body. The magicians and falsificators are hurled into seething pots and fire is their judge.

My sons! See that ye remove not the boundaries, that the boundary-stone you displace not. The eye of those who remove boundaries looks not on the Light.

My sons! See that you do not abandon the slave to the hands of his master and the slave-girl to the hands of her mistress; abandon not the weak to the strong. [He who acts otherwise] will be fettered in a distant region, in the tax-gatherers' house; his eyes behold only the Darkness and his foot finds no firm ground.

My sons! See that you take not to wife a slave-girl who has not been made free, and thereby bring your sons into the house of a master. For if the slave one day sins, then on the day when his master passes judgement upon him, will the sins which the slave commits, fall on the head of his father.

My sons! See that you are not hinters and that your eyes make no suggestions to women. For the hinters and wink-givers will be assigned to the guard-stations. To the guard-stations will they be assigned and be judged with stern justice.

My sons! See that you eat not up interest and interest on interest, else in the dark mountain will you receive judgement.

My sons! See that you pay no homage to the idols, the satans and demons, to the worship of idols and to the lusts of this world; for on the godlings and satans will a stern judgement fall, and they who pray to them will not ascend to Life's house and not look on Light's region.

Give heed to what I have charged you, and let no evidence be given of crime and of lying; on evidence of crime and of lying you will be haled to account 'fore the judge. You will be haled to account 'fore the judge who judges all worlds. He judges each one according to his works and his merit.

My sons! All that is hateful to you, do not to your neighbours; for in the world into which you have come, is a heavy justice and judgement. Heavy justice and judgement is there therein, and every day will minds made secure in it be chosen. For everyone who is laden, mounts upward; but he who is empty is judged here. Woe to the empty, who stands empty there in the house of the collectors of taxes. When he had it in his hand, he gave nothing; there will he search in his pocket and he will find nothing. The wicked and liars will be hurled into the Darkness. They will into the blazing fire cast, into the blazing fire will they cast him into whose ears the call has been made, but he woald not give ear. I showed it him unto his eye, but he would not see; I showed it him, but he would not see with his eye.

Life is victorious, and victorious is the Man who has come hither.

THE SONG OF THE POOR'S EXALTATION.

(The Mandaeans possess a rich collection of liturgical songs and hymns which Lidzbarski has translated for the first time in his excellent edition of them (Mandäische Liturgien, Berlin, 1920). From these 236 hymns we choose one of the most typical as a specimen, and as perhaps of more than ordinary interest to the general reader who may have puzzled over the unqualified beatitude "Blessed are the poor." It is taken from the Oxford Collection (Bk. I., No. lvi.) and may be entitled:)

In the Name of Great Life may hallowed Light be glorified.
A Poor Man am I, who comes out of the celestial Fruits,
  a Stranger to the world, who comes out of the Distance.
A Poor man am I, to whom Great Life gave ear,
  a Stranger to this world, whom the Light-treasures made world-strange.
They brought me out of the abode of the good ones;
  ah me! in the wicked ones' dwelling they made me to dwell.
Ah me! they made me to dwell in the wicked ones' dwelling,
  which is filled full of nothing but evil.
It is filled full of nothing but evil,
  filled full of the fire which consumes.
I would not and will not
  dwell in the dwelling of naughtness.
With my power and with my enlightening
  I dwelt in the dwelling of naughtness.
With my enlightening and my praise-giving
  I kept myself stranger to this world.
I stood among them
  as a child who has not a father,
As a child who has not a father,
  as a fruit who has not a tender.
I hear the voice of the Seven,
  who whisper in secret and say:
"Whence is this Stranger man,
  whose discourse is not like to our discourse?
I listened not to their discourse;
  then were they full of wicked anger against me.
Life, who gave ear to my call,
  a Messenger sent forth to meet me.
He sent me a gentle Treasure,
  an armoured, well-armoured Man.
With his pure voice he makes proclamation,
  as the Treasures make in the House of Perfection.
He speaks:
  "Poor one, from anguish and fear be thou free!
  Say not: I stand here alone.
For thy sake, O Poor,
  this firmament was outspread,
Was this firmament spread out,
  and stars were pictured upon it.
For thy sake, O Poor,
  this firm land came into existence,
Came into existence this firm land,
  the condensing took form, fell into the water.
For thy sake came the sun,
  for thy sake the moon was revealèd.
For thy sake, O Poor, came the Seven,
  and the Twelve are hither discended.
Thou Poor one! On thy right rests glory,
  on thy left rest light-lamps.
Hold steadfast in thy security,
  until thy measure has been completed.
When thy measure has been completed,
  I will myself come to thee.
I will bring thee vestures of glory,
  so that the worlds will long for them, desireful.
I will bring the a pure, excellent head-dress,
  abundant in infinite light.
I will set thee free from the wicked,
  from the sinners will I deliver thee.
I will make thee dwell in thy shekinah
  free thee into the region unsullied."
I hear the voice of the Seven,
  who whisper in secret and speak:
"Blessed is he who is to the Poor one a father,
  who is unto the Fruit a tender.
Hail to him whom Great Life knows,
  woe to him whom Great Life knows not."
Hail to him whom Great Life knew,
  who has kept himself stranger to this world,
The world of the defect,
  in which the Planets are seated.
They sit on thrones of rebellion
  and drill their works with the scourge.
For gold and for silver are they disquiet,
  and strife they cast into the world.
Disquiet are they and therein cast strife;
  therefore will they go hence and seethe in the fire.
The wicked shall seethe, and their pomp
  shall vanish and come to an end.
But I with my offspring and kindred
  shall ascend and see the Light's region,
The region whose sun never sets,
  and whose light-lamps never darken—
That region, the state of the Blessed,
  whereto your souls are called and invited.

And so are our good brothers' souls,
  and the souls of our faithful sisters.

Life is exalted and is victorious, and victorious is the Man who has come hither.

MANDAEAN BOOK OF JOHN PART 4

III. THE SLAVONIC JOSEPHUS' ACCOUNT OF THE BAPTIST AND JESUS.

(The Slavonic version of Josephus' History of the Jewish War, extant in some fifteen Russian Manuscripts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was first brought to light in recent times by A. N. Popov, the discoverer of the Slavonic Book of Enoch, who in 1866 called attention to passages contained in this version, but unattested elsewhere, relating to John the Baptist and Jesus Christ. Popov published the Slavonic text of parts of these passages. The earliest surviving manuscript of the Slavonic Josephus dates to 1463. The translation itself, however, is at least a century older than that. Some scholars have associated it with the very first Slavic school of translators active in the ninth and tenth centuries. Others have associated it with the Jewish community of Lvov in the fourteenth century. Virtually any date between those two extremes is possible.

Josephus wrote all of his surviving works after his establishment in Rome (c. 71 AD) under the patronage of Emperor Flavius Vespasianus. As is common with ancient texts, however, there are no surviving extant manuscripts of Josephus' works that can be dated before the 11th century, and the oldest of these are all Greek minuscules, copied by Christian monks. (Jews did not preserve the writings of Josephus because they considered him to be a traitor.) Of the about 120 extant Greek manuscripts of Josephus, 33 predate the 14th century. Grigorije Vasilije (1550 - after 1591) was a Serbian Orthodox monk-scribe who translated the The Jewish War by Josephus from Old Church Slavonic (Old Russian) to Serbian in the sixteenth century. All predate the first English translation of Josephus's writings based on the Latin text made in 1602 by Thomas Lodge.)

The Slavonic Josephus is an Old East Slavic translation of Flavius Josephus' History of the Jewish War which contains numerous interpolations (additions by other authors) and omissions that set it apart from all other known versions of Josephus' History. The authenticity of the interpolations was a major subject of controversy in the 20th century, but the latest scholarship has rejected them.

The references to Jesus by Josephus found in Book 18 and Book 20 of the Antiquities of the Jews do not appear in any other versions of Josephus' The Jewish War except for a Slavonic version of the Testimonium Flavianum (at times called Testimonium Slavonium). In The Antiquities of the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus there are three passages of outstanding importance for Christian readers, seeing that they are the only external witnesses to Christianity from the first century. The (first) passage on JOHN THE BAPTIST is well-nigh universally accepted as affording no grounds for reasonable scepticism, and as therefore providing a most valuable external proof that John was a historical character. The (second passage, the) account of JESUS, on the other hand, has been called into most serious question by the vast majority of liberal scholars, and by very many conservatives, on numerous grounds, and chiefly because the writer unequivocally affirms that Jesus was the Messiah,—a statement which no Jew could have made. The third is a reference to JAMES, the brother of Jesus 'called' or 'said to be Messiah'—a hesitation which may fairly be ascribed to Josephus himself. Many then who reject the Jesus-passage as indubitably spurious, accept the James-reference as free from reasonable suspicion, and thus obtain a brief but valuable external first-century evidence for earliest Christianity.

It is agreed that these pieces were not originally composed in Slavonic and interpolated into the translation. Not only is the style foreign to correct Slavonic idiom, but the peculiar nature of the contents is so alien to Slavonic mentality, that to suppose so late a writer as a Slavonic translator, who could at the very earliest be assigned only to the 10th century, is out of the question. They are indubitably translations, and moreover clearly rendered from Greek. This is shown not only by the construction of the sentences in general, but also by the clumsiness and uncertainty of the translator in his rendering of particles and conjunctions; moreover the Greek original for the veil or curtain of the temple (katapetasma) is retained. These eight pieces were excerpted from the rest of the text and first made accessible for the general world of scholarship, in German translation, by A. Berendts, in 1906.

The consensus of learned opinion from the start has been entirely unfavourable to their authenticity. That is to say, no one has so far ventured to claim them for Josephus himself. They were immediately and almost unanimously dismissed as transparent Christian forgeries, and that too of a late date and of no sort of historic value of any kind. Here and there, however, were signs of some hesitation in endorsing so wholesale and precise a verdict; for a few, the matter seemed not so simple as it appeared at first sight. The first caveat was entered and the subject brought into a new perspective by R. Seeberg in a somewhat popular but highly suggestive treatment, which he boldly entitled 'A New Source for the Earliest History of Christianity.' Though Seeberg's reputation as a specialist on questions of origins forbade the rejection of

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his view as that of an irresponsible eccentric. This task, however, was speedily undertaken by Johannes Frey, of the University of Dorpat. In 1908 Frey produced a substantial volume, in which he treated the material to an acute analysis and with minute elaboration, and in other respects showed a remarkable grasp of all the puzzling complexities of a whole series of problems which an intensive scrutiny of the passages brought out. In the first place Frey called attention to the fact that the general characteristics of these pieces were very different from those of all other ancient Christian forgeries known to us. Seeberg thinks that Christian manipulation must be admitted in three or four places; but Frey tries to show that he is here mistaken. The solution to that problem is a surprising one. Right from the start, there were two slightly different versions in circulation.

Flavius Josephus composed his JEWISH WAR first in Aramaic and brought it in circulation among the Jews of Palestine and Babylonia, doubtless to convince them of the futility of resisting the might of the Roman arms. Of this original edition, however, no trace has so far been discovered. The work known to us is in Greek. It is not a translation so much as a re-composition very carefully prepared on the models of Greek history; and in this Josephus sought the help of Greek stylists. It reads indeed like an original composition; whatever the Aramaic contained, the work as it now stands has been clearly adapted to suit the mentality of the wider public of the Greco-Roman world and the literary circles of the day to whom it was presented. This Roman edition in Greek was composed between 75 and 76 A.D. It is of course not impossible to suppose that in the Aramaic there may have been reference to the peaceful John- and Jesus-movements. There is a ligh likelihood that the Aramaic edition, on which the Slavonic version is based, has been published in the warridden Holy Land before 74 A.D. In other words, the Slavonic version is based on the older original.)

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS' ACCOUNT, PASSAGE 1 (I.)
JOHN'S PROCLAMATION AND HIS REBUKE OF THE AUTHORITIES.
(Follows on B. J. II. vii. 2.)

1 Now at that time a man went about among the Jews in strange garments; for he had put pelts on his body everywhere where it was not covered with his own hair;

2 indeed to look at he was like a wild man.

3 He came to the Jews and summoned them to freedom, saying: "God hath sent me, that I may show you the way of the Law, wherein ye may free yourselves from many holders of power.

4 And there will be no mortal ruling over you, only the Highest who hath sent me."

5 And when the people had heard this, they were joyful. And there went after him all Judaea, that lies in the region round Jerusalem.

6 And he did nothing else to them save that he plunged them into the stream of the Jordan and dismissed them, instructing them that they should cease from evil works, and promising that there would then be given them a ruler who would set them free and subject to them all that is not in submission; but no one of whom we speak,would himself be subjected.

7 Some reviled, but others got faith.

8 And when he had been brought to Archelaus and the doctors of the Law had assembled, they asked him who he is and where he has been until then.

9 And to this he made answer and spake: "I am pure; for the Spirit of God hath led me on, and I live on cane and roots and tree-food.

10 But when they threatened to put him to torture if he would not cease from those words and deeds, he nevertheless said: "It is meet for you rather to cease from your heinous works and cleave unto the Lord your God."

11 And there rose up in anger Simon, an Essaean by extraction, a scribe, and he spake: "We read every day the divine books.

12 But thou, only now come from the forest like a wild animal,—thou darest in sooth to teach us and to mislead the people with thy reprobate words."

13 And he rushed forward to do him bodily violence.

14 But he, rebuking them, spake: "I will not disclose to you the mystery which dwelleth in you, for ye have not desired it.

15 Thereby an untold calamity is come upon you, and because of yourselves."

16 And when he had thus spoken, he went forth to the other side of the Jordan; and while no one durst rebuke him, that one did what he had done also heretofore.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS' ACCOUNT, PASSAGE 2 (II.)
HIS INTERPRETATION OF PHILIP'S DREAM.
(Follows on B. J. II. ix. 1.)

1 While Philip was still in possession of his dominion, he saw a dream,—how an eagle tore out both his eyes.

2 And he summoned all his wise men.

3 But when each interpreted the dream differently, there came to him suddenly, without being summoned, that man of whom we have previously written, that he went about in skins of animals and cleansed the people in the waters of the Jordan.

4 And he spake: "Give ear to the word of the Lord,—the dream which thou hast seen.

5 The eagle—that is thy venality; because that bird is violent and rapacious.

6 And that sin will take away thy eyes which are thy dominion and thy wife."

7 And when he had thus spoken, Philip died before evening and his dominion was given to Agrippa.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS' ACCOUNT, PASSAGE 3 (III.)
HIS PERSISTENT REBUKING OF AGRIPPA AND HIS EXECUTION.
(Follows immediately on the preceding.)

1 And Herod, his brother, took his wife Herodias.

2 And because of her all the doctors of the Law abhorred him, but durst not accuse him before his face.

3 But only that one whom they called a wild man, came to him in anger and spake: "Why hast thou taken the wife of thy brother?

4 As thy brother hath died a death void of pity, thou too wilt be reaped off by the heavenly sickle.

5 God's decree will not be silenced, but will destroy thee through evil affliction in foreign lands.

6 For thou dost not raise up seed for thy brother, but gratifiest thy fleshly lust and committest adultery, seeing that four children of him are alive."

7 Now when Herod heard this, he was filled with wrath and commanded that they should beat him and drive him away.

8 But he accused Herod incessantly wherever he found him, and right up to the time when he (H.) put him under arrest and gave orders to slay him.

9 Now his disposition (or character) was extraordinary and his mode of life not that of a man; indeed just like a bodiless spirit, thus did this one too continue.

10 His lips knew no bread; not even at Passover (Easter) did be taste unleavened bread, saying that, in remembrance of God who had freed the people from slavery, it was given for eating in the flight, for the way was in haste. To wine and intoxicating drink he let himself not even draw near. And every animal he abhorred as food, and every wrong he rebuked, and tree-produce served him for use.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS' ACCOUNT, PASSAGE 4 (IV.)
THE MINISTRY, TRIAL AND CRUCIFIXION OF JESUS.
(Follows on B. J. II. ix. 3.)

1 At that time also a man came forward,—if even it is fitting to call him a man simply.

2 His nature as well as his form were a man's; but his showing forth was more than that of a man.

3 His works, that is to say, were godly, and he wrought wonder-deeds amazing and full of power.

4 Therefore it is not possible for me to call him a man simply.

5 But again, looking at the existence he shared with all, I would also not call him an angel.

6 And all that he wrought through some kind of invisible power, he wrought by word and command.

7 Some said of him, that our first Lawgiver has risen from the dead and shows forth many cures and arts. 8. But others supposed less definitely that he is sent by God.

9 Now he opposed himself in much to the Law and did not observe the Sabbath according to ancestral custom.

10 Yet, on the other hand, he did nothing reprehensible nor any crime; but by word solely he effected everything.

11 And many from the folk followed him and received his teachings.

12 And many souls became wavering, supposing that thereby the Jewish tribes would set themselves free from the Roman hands.

13 Now it was his custom often to stop on the Mount of Olives facing the city.

14 And there also he avouched his cures to the people.

15 And there gathered themselves to him of servants a hundred and fifty, but of the folk a multitude.

16 But when they saw his power, that he accomplished everything that he would by word, they urged him that he should enter the city and cut down the Roman soldiers and Pilate and rule over us.

17 But that one scorned it.

18 And thereafter, when knowledge of it came to the Jewish leaders, they gathered together with the High-priest and spake: "We are powerless and weak to withstand the Romans.

19 But as withal the bow is bent, we will go and tell Pilate what we have heard, and we will be without distress, lest if he hear it from others, we be robbed of our substance and ourselves be put to the sword and our children ruined."

20 And they went and told it to Pilate.

21 And he sent and had many of the people cut down.

22 And he had that wonder-doer brought up. And when he had instituted a trial concerning him, he perceived that he is a doer of good, but not an evildoer, nor a revolutionary, nor one who aimed at power, and set him free.

23 He had, you should know, healed his dying wife.

24 And he went to his accustomed place and wrought his accustomed works.

25 And as again more folk gathered themselves together round him, then did he win glory through his works more than all.

26 The teachers of the Law were therefore envenomed with envy and gave thirty talents to Pilate, in order that he should put him to death.

27 And he, after he had taken the money, gave them consent that they should themselves carry out their purpose.

28 And they took him and crucified him according to the ancestral law.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS' ACCOUNT, PASSAGE 5 (V.)
THE TREATMENT OF THE FIRST CHRISTIANS.
(Follows on B. J. II. xi. 6, after the notice on the death of Agrippa.)

1 Again Claudius sent his authorities to those states—Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander, both of whom kept the people in peace, not allowing them to depart in anything from the pure laws.

2 But if anyone diverged from the word of the Law, plaint was brought before the teachers of the Law.

3 Often they expelled him and sent him to the Emperor's presence.

4 And at the time of these two many had been discovered as servants of the previously described wonder-doer; and as they spake to the people about their teacher,—that he is living, although he is dead, and that he will free you from your servitude,—many from the folk gave ear to the above-named and took upon themselves their precept,—

5 not because of their reputation; they were indeed of the humbler sort some just cobblers, others sandal-makers, others artisans.

6 And [yet] as marvellous signs they accomplished in truth what they would.

7 But when those noble governors saw the misleading of the people, they deliberated with the scribes to seize and put them to death, for fear lest the little be not little if it have ended in the great.

8 But they shrank back and were alarmed over the signs, saying: "In the plain course such wonders do not occur.

9 But if they do not issue from the counsel of God, they will quickly be convicted."

10 And they gave them (the Christians) authority to act as they would.

11 But afterwards, becoming pestered by them, they had them sent away, some to the Emperor, but others to Antioch, others again to distant lands,—for the testing of the matter.

12 But Claudius removed the two governors, and sent Cumanus.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS' ACCOUNT, PASSAGE 6 (VI.)
THE TRILINGUAL INSCRIPTION CONCERNING JESUS.
(Inserted in B. J. V. v. 2.)

At it (the barrier of the Temple) were columns . . . and on these inscriptions in Greek and Roman and Jewish characters, publishing the law of purity and proclaiming that no foreigner should enter the inner court; for they called it the Holy Place to which one had to ascend by fourteen steps, and whose upper part was built in a square.

And over these tablets with inscriptions hung a fourth tablet with inscription in these three characters, to the effect: Jesus has not reigned as king; he has been crucified by the Jews, because he proclaimed the destruction of the city and the laying waste of the temple.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS' ACCOUNT, PASSAGE 7 (VII.)
PORTENTS AT THE DEATH OF JESUS AND RUMOURS OF HIS RESURRECTION.
(Follows on B. J. V. v. 4, at the end of the description of the Temple-curtain.)

1 This curtain (katapetasma) was prior to this generation entire, because the people were pious; but now it was lamentable to look at. 2. It had, you should know, been suddenly rent from the top to the ground, when they delivered over to death through bribery the doer of good, the man—yea, him who through his doing was no man.

3 And of many other signs they tell which came to pass at that time.

4 And it was said that after he was put to death, yea after burial in the grave, he was not found.

5 Some then assert that he is risen; but others, that he has been stolen by his friends. 6. I, however, do not know which speak more correctly.

7 For a dead man cannot rise of himself—though possibly with the help of another righteous man; unless he will be an angel or another of the heavenly authorities, or God himself appears as a man and accomplishes what he will,—both walks

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with men and falls, and lies down and rises up, as it is according to his will.

8 But others said that it was not possible to steal him, because they had put guards all round his grave,—thirty Romans, but a thousand Jews.

9 Such is narrated as to that curtain (Greek: katapetasma). Moreover as to the cause of its tearing there are various statements.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS' ACCOUNT, PASSAGE 8 (VIII.)
A PROPHECY CONCERNING JESUS.

The translator G.R.S. Mead. does not present a translation for the Part 8. Instead, we find a lengthy analysis which we produce here:

(In B. J. VI. v. 4, where in our texts the prophecy of the world-ruler is referred to Vespasian solely.)

Some indeed by this understood Herod, but others the crucified wonder-doer Jesus, others again [Emperor Flavius] Vespasian[us].

In conclusion a few very general remarks may be added calling attention to the most salient points.

In the John-pieces (I.-III.) there is nothing sufficiently distinctive to show any literary dependence on the New Testament accounts. On the contrary, there are entire novelties and wide divergences. In the first place the strong political colouring given by the writer to the proclamation of the prophet is quite out of keeping with anything to be found in the Christian presentation. But the most striking difference is the protracted period assigned to John's activity. 'At that time' means during the ethnarchy of Archelaus. Now Herod the Great died in 4 B.C., and Archelaus, who succeeded him, was deposed in 6 A.D. It is quite inconceivable that any Christian writer who had the gospel-story before him, could have made what would be so astounding a statement to Christian ears,—one that would at once appear to the most moderately instructed as an egregious blunder. Surely the last thing an intelligent forger would desire to do would be to give occasion to his readers to call the canonical narrative into question concerning so prominent a feature as John's almost equal age with Jesus, and so practically invite them to dismiss all the graphic details of the birth-stories as fictitious?—unless it be that he wrote before these stories were in circulation. No one short of a lunatic would concoct 'evidence' against his own side. The writer must therefore have moved in circles who would see no difficulty in assigning to John a public activity of at least 30 years; for he tells us that John survived the death of Philip, which took place somewhere between 33 and 36 A.D.

The cross-examination of John by the authorities and the incident of Simon the Essene are also arresting novelties; but there is nothing improbable in them. The introduction of the name Essene does not in any way depend on Christian tradition; for the surprising fact is that, though there are close parallels between some of the doctrines of the Essenes and gospel-ethics, and between some of their practices and the regulations, for instance, laid down for the mission of the apostles and the communal observances of the earliest Christian communities, the New Testament writers never mention the name. The wording of the refusal of John at the end of his rebuke to disclose a certain mystery to his official opponents has led some to the supposition that this is a cryptic reference to Jesus,—meaning 'the mystery dwelling among you.' That of course would be impossible at so early a date as prior to A.D. 6. But surely, quite apart from this, a Christian apologist would have been at pains to bring out clearly so essential a feature as John's acknowledgment of the Messiahship of Jesus, and not go out of his way to disguise it? It is a curious and thought-provoking phrase. It may refer to the 'kingdom,' to the indwelling rule and law of God, that is brought to consciousness in the hearts of the repentant; or it may possibly be that John had some inner mystical doctrine to reveal, for we have to remember that the Mandæan or Gnostic John-tradition, which has come down to our own days, has ever laid the greatest stress on the mystical element in the teaching of the Baptiser.

The interpretation of the dream of Philip, like the stress laid upon John's strange appearance and dress and his extraordinary mode of life, is just such a detail as would strike the imagination and linger in the memory of the people. What more likely and in keeping with precedent than that a prophet should interpret the dream of the king? But here we have, not only a novelty for readers of the gospel-account, but also a contradiction with Josephus himself. The unfavourable character given to Philip, the stress laid on his 'venality,' is in complete contrast with the reputation given him by Josephus in his Antiquities (XVIII. iv. 6), where he is praised for the mild and peaceable disposition he displayed in his government, and for the personal interest he took in the administration of justice. Now the Antiquities was completed in 93/94 A.D. Had then our writer known it, he would not presumably have made Josephus contradict himself so egregiously. This raises the question as to the possibility of his having written before the Antiquities got into wide circulation.

Piece III. in some respects agrees with and in others differs from the synoptic account of the marriage of Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa, with the wife (Slav. Jos. widow) of his brother Philip. But Josephus himself in his Antiquities (XVIII. v. 1 and 4) tells the story quite differently from both. There we read that Herodias was married first of all to Herod Boëthus, and that the wife of Philip was Salome, the daughter of this union; so that Philip was son-in-law of Herodias. Herod Antipas, says Josephus, was the second husband of Herodias, and the marriage took place while the first husband, Boëthus, was still alive. Josephus, moreover, says that Philip died childless; while our author avers that he left four children surviving him. Moreover Josephus in the famous passage concerning John in the Antiquities (XVIII. v. 2) knows nothing of John's execution being due to so personal a cause as is depicted both by the gospels and our author, though very differently; it is in the Antiquities ascribed solely to Antipas' apprehension of the political consequences of the John-movement. Our author is then clearly ignorant of both the Antiquities-account and also of the most characteristic feature of the gospel-narrative, the graphic story of the dancing of the daughter of Herodias. Everything therefore goes to show that he is drawing on some other traditional source.

Finally, as the climax to John's extraordinary scruples about food, it is asserted that he would not touch unleavened bread even at Passover-time,—an absolutely obligatory observance in Jewry. Moreover he is made to give an exegetical justification for his abstention. This is the distinctive touch of a Jewish hand; it is exceedingly unlikely that it would ever have occurred to a late Christian.

As to the John-pieces then we seem to be moving in a thoroughly Jewish atmosphere, and there is nothing characteristically Christian about them.

The Jesus-pieces (IV. and VI. to VIII.) are naturally the most arresting and form the main crux of the whole matter. It seems to be generally held that all the eight pieces are by the same hand. They may be said to have in general the same terms of expression, to breathe the same spirit and present similar characteristics. In the main Jesus-pieces the author makes a show of trying to get at a reasonable point of view; but he hesitates in his judgement and frankly confesses his inability to make up his mind. He is convinced that the more generally credible events themselves are historic; but as to the sheerly miraculous elements he is content to set them forth as rumours giving rise to absolutely contradictory opinions. So non-committal and rationalistic a proceeding is quite foreign to the mentality of a convinced Christian. This attitude of reserve and the very striking divergences of the writer from the gospel-accounts are in the sharpest possible distinction to the perspective and procedure of the compilers of such apocryphal documents as the Acts of Pilate and The Gospel of Peter. In the latter the literary dependence on the gospels is manifest on all hands; what is added is in no way contradictory, but adduced solely to exalt the greatness of Jesus and heighten the impression of the miraculous element.

If piece IV. is carefully and critically compared with the famous spurious passage concerning Jesus in our text of the Antiquities (XVIII. iii. 3), it will at once be seen that if there is any possible question of dependence between them, it is not on the side of our author. Even among the opinions he cites, there is no hint of Messiahship. When he says that some "supposed that he had been sent by God," it means no more than what he makes John assert of himself,—namely, that he was a prophet. It seems to me moreover highly improbable that any late Christian could have referred to his Lord, the one and only Son p. 115 of God, as 'that wonder-doer' or the 'crucified wonder-doer Jesus.'

The divergences from the gospel-account of the Jesus-story are so striking that they need not be dwelt on. To every instructed Christian the gospel-narratives are presumably so familiar in all their details, that the contradictions with our author's account will present themselves automatically. Nevertheless the more one meditates on the account in piece IV. of the typical external acts of the ministry and the intrigues of the Jewish authorities to compass the death of Jesus, the more does it seem within its own measures not to be inconsistent; in fact it hangs very well together from an outside point of view. That view is in no way due to a manipulation of gospel-information; it is based on very different data, and has all the appearance of an honest attempt to piece together and interpret floating traditions and conjectures reflected from days contemporaneous perchance with the attempts of the 'many' to set forth the events, as the introduction to the Lukan gospel informs us.

The phrase 'servants' as applied to the disciples, it may be noted, is a thoroughly Jewish conception; it was used by the Rabbis to emphasise the relationship between pupils and teacher. The precise figure 150 may be a round number; otherwise it depends on a tradition for which the 12 and the 70 were of no importance.

The final sentence, which avers, not only that the Jewish authorities themselves crucified Jesus, but that this was in accordance with the Law, is so astonishing in the latter respect that it has been set down to a gross blunder of the Slavonic translator from the Greek original, which may have read 'contrary to the Law'—κυτὸ with the genitive and not the accusative. This seems a reasonable supposition; though we must remember that Jewish rulers in Maccabæan days did crucify their political opponents.

The trilingual inscription statement (VI.) is a wild piece of fanciful combination. The writer has heard of an inscription connected with the execution of Jesus; indeed it was required by law that the formal charge should be placarded in all cases of capital punishment. Moreover he has heard that this particular notice was set forth in three languages; and he also has heard that there were trilingual inscriptions outside the inner court of the Temple. In combining the two he departs so far from his general sobriety that we might almost think the passage was by another hand; but this is otherwise not probable. The first charge against Jesus was that he had excited the people to revolt; of this he was acquitted by Pilate. The authorities had then to give some other excuse: Jesus was executed not because of any Messianistic agitation, but because he prophesied disaster to the temple and the holy city. Some excuse had to be found that would placate the people.

In piece VII. the rending of the veil and the reference to many other portents seem to depend on characteristically Christian tradition; but it need not be supposed that this tradition was in the fixed gospel-form in which we now have it. The phrase 'prior to this generation' is intended to mean some 30/40 years before Josephus wrote his History (75-79 A.D.). It is interesting to note that at that time similar portents were in the air; for Jewish tradition (the Talmūds and Josephus himself, B.J. VI. v. 3) makes mention of a mysterious spontaneous opening of the heavy iron temple-doors 40 years before the destruction of Jerusalem) and the Gospel of the Hebrews refers to a similarly mysterious breach in the iron threshold of the same doors. There were widespread legends of portents current in the folk-memory. Our author then goes on to treat of the rumours and contradictory statements about the resurrection; and here, as before, he ruminates on possibilities, giving the conjectural pros and cons, but declining to commit himself on the side of the most vital belief of Christendom.

Piece V., concerning the early Christians, is equally as far from literary dependence on the canonical Acts as are the Jesus-pieces on the Gospels. There are wide divergences; and the whole produces an impression of utter ignorance of the detailed, methodical setting-forth of the thirty years of history contained in the Acts. Isolated facts, such as Paul's being sent to Caesar at Rome, are absurdly generalized on the one hand, and on the other the events of decades are crammed into the narrow time-frame of some four years, the period of office of the two governors mentioned (44-48 A.D.). The phrase "But if they do not issue from the counsel of God, they will quickly be convicted" is thought by some to indicate literary dependence on a similar saying in the Acts. But the latter famous utterance, ascribed to Gamaliel (prior to 7 A.D.), is worded so very differently that, if any connection between them can be supposed, it may well be ascribed in both cases to the uncertain echoing in the popular mind of a well-known Rabbinical pronouncement.

In conclusion, then, it may be said that the hope of extracting anything of value out of these astonishing and puzzling interpolations depends on establishing p. 118 the reasonableness of the hypothesis, that they are based on echoes of popular traditions still floating about in the Jewish environment of Christianity in, say, the last third of the first century. There is, I think, much that goes to show the likelihood of this supposal, or at least to deter us from summarily dismissing it. But even if we are persuaded to this extent, we are confronted with the still more difficult task of imagining a satisfactory conjecture as to the status and motive of the writer.

If we hold him to have been a Jew, as the above analysis seems to require, what plausible motive can we ascribe to him for interpolating the matter into the text of Josephus? Was he a disinterested lover of history who thought that Josephus had fallen short of historical impartiality by neglecting to mention two such remarkable personages as John and Jesus and two such important movements as those associated with their names, and desired to amend the historian in this respect in days when copyright had not yet been dreamed of? Or may we assume that a pupil of Josephus would think himself entitled to amend the narrative?

If, on the contrary, he was a Christian, the interest in filling the gaps would be easily understandable, had he based himself on canonical tradition. But the divergences from and flat contradictions of that tradition are so extraordinary, that one is all the time kept asking in astonishment: What sort of a Christian could this man ever have been?

To have succeeded in producing such an impression designedly argues the procedure of a mind of such extraordinary subtlety and psychological dexterity that it is too uncanny for credence. Any deliberate attempt of this kind would surely have betrayed itself in some way; but as a matter of fact there is no indication of subtle manipulation of gospel-

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data anywhere. It is not only very difficult but entirely out of the question to think that any late Christian forger could have thus deliberately challenged the firmly established canonical tradition on so many points. Therefore if the writer were a Christian, he must have been a first-century man; that is to say he wrote before the Greek canonical gospels were in general circulation or at any rate before they had penetrated to his environment.

There remains only one other possible conjecture—from which everybody has so far instinctively shrunk: Can the writer after all have been Josephus himself? But if so, why does he contradict himself so flatly,—to say nothing of the difficulty of conjecturing his motive for cutting out the passages?

It thus appears that, whatever hypothesis of authorship we make—whether Christian, Jew or Josephus, we are left floundering in a welter of inconsistencies; all that can be said is that the Jew alternative is the least improbable.

And there we must leave this baffling problem, in the hope that our readers will at any rate be interested in having it brought to their notice; for in any case these passages must be considered striking curiosities, even perhaps the greatest to be found, in the ancient literature that is generally classed under the caption—'Christian forgeries.'

THE HARAN GAWAITHA

The Haran Gawaita and the Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa:
Source: Mandaic Text E. S. Drower
Original text language: Mandaic-Aramaic
Translation: Ethel Stefana Drower, 1953
Estimated range of dating: 300-500 AD.

(The Haran Gawaita (Mandaic "Inner Haran") is a Mandaean text (in the Mandaic-Aramaic language) which purports to tell the history of the Mandaeans and their arrival in Iraq as "Nazoreans" from Jerusalem.

Haran or Aran is the name of a man in the Book of Genesis in the Hebrew Bible. He died in Ur of Chaldees (Ur Kasdim), was a son of Terah, and brother of Abraham. Through his son Lot, Haran was the ancestor of the Moabites and Ammonites, and through his daughter Milcah he was ancestral to the Aramaeans. Terah, a descendant of Shem son of Noah, was the father of Abraham, Nahor, and Haran. Their home's location is supposed to have been in Mesopotamia. After Haran died in Ur of the Chaldees 'before his father Terah', his family travelled towards Canaan, the promised land. However, Terah stopped at Charan (or Haran) and settled there, as did Nahor and Milcah, whereas Lot accompanied Abraham and others onwards to Canaan.

The Mandaeans claim to be decendants of Nazoreans (the keepers of Moses' Laws), who were closely connected to Ebionites and other groups around Jesus' family of which John the Baptist also was a member. To put it bluntly, Mandaeans just like Muslims, believe that Roman Christianity was based on lies in order to bring the original Christian movement away from its Jewish origin (which is probably true). They rather wanted to obey Moses' Laws and the teachings of John the Baptist whom the consider the true messiah or prophet.

According to the Haran Gawaita, John the Baptist was baptised, initiated, and educated by the patron of the Nasirutha ("secret knowledge"), Anush or Anush-Uthra, the myterious high priest of the sect. John's name may have been inserted at a later date (as it appears as Yahia, which is Arabic, not Aramaic!). Drower also asserts that the Church Fathers Hippolytus and Eusebius describe Simon Magus, the Samaritan sorcerer of biblical fame (Acts 8:9ff), as a Nasoraean and a disciple of John the Baptist. The author of the pseudo-Clementine Homilies (Bk. II, xxiii-xxiv), also describes Simon Magus as a disciple of John the Baptist and a Nasoraean. The Homilies also state that the immediate successor to John was another Samaritan named Dositheus, elected as leader because Simon happened to be in Egypt at the time of the martyrdom of John the Baptist. Homily (Bk II, xxiv) recounts that when Simon returned from Egypt, the two quarreled. Simon's authority was proved by miracles and Dositheus ceded his position as head of the sect and became Simon's pupil.

As a result of efforts to bring the sect back into the folds of Judaism, Mandaeans also disparaged the Christian books as fiction, regarding Jesus as the literary invention (msiha kdaba "false prophet") of Paul of Tarsus, but eventually they emerged towards the end of the 1st century as the Mandaeans although others actually managed to shape the anti-Torah development of Pauline Christianities like Marcionism. The term mandai is an Aramaic equivalent of the Greek gnosis ("knowledge"). Besides the Mandaeans, they have been frequently been connected with groups known as Naaseni, Naasenians, Naassenes. Many of the original "Nazoraeans became Christians. In Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic (nasrani) and Hebrew (notzrim) the terms for Nazarenes simply mean Christians today.)

Text:

(Note: Lacuna or breaks in the texts are indicated by an ellipsis, 3 or more dots).

My Lord be praised. In the name of the Great Life, healing, vindication, health, soundness, speaking and hearing, joy of heart and forgiving of sins be there for me, Zakia Zihrun son of S'adia, and for my offspring and brothers (and sisters), and for my parents, in the strength of Yawar Ziwa and Simat-Hiia!. Finis.

. . . and Haran Gawaita receiveth him and that city in which there were Nasoraeans, because there was no road for the Jewish rulers. Over them was King Ardban (Artabanus; History knows five kings of Parthia / Persia with this name. The Artabanus contemporary with Jesus was Artabanus III., but the passage above might well refer to an earlier Artabanus.). And sixty thousand Nasoraeans abandoned the Sign of the Seven and entered the Median hills (the Median Plateau, eastern Iraq), a place where we were free from domination by all other races. And they built cult-huts (bimandia = small chapel or shrine) and abode in the Call of the Life and in the strength of the high King of Light until they came to their end . And they loved the Lord, that is, Adonai, until in the House of Israel there was created something which was not placed in the womb of Mary, a daughter of Moses. It was hidden in her womb for nine months and bewitched her until the nine months were fulfilled and she was in labour and brought forth a messiah.

. . . and he (Jesus) called the people to himself and spoke of his death and took away some of mysteries of the sacred Meal and abstained from the Food. And he took to himself a people and was called by the name of the False Messiah. And he perverted them all and made them like himself who perverted words of life and changed them into darkness and even perverted those accounted Mine. And he overturned all the rites. And he and his brother dwell on Mount Sinai, and he joineth all races to him, and perverteth and joineth to himself a people, and they are called Christians.

. . . and from Nisrat (Nazareth), a city of the Jews, which is called the city of Qum (W of Hamadan and 80 km NNW of Kashan) . . .

. . . because it is a shrine; for Mercury founded a community in Qum, and Saturn founded a community in Sinai . . . . . Jews were / had settled in the Arab region which is called Basra, which is also called Sufat-Zaba (Suf Zaba = "River of Reeds" or "River of the End", today Shat-al-Arab, which is the stream formed by the Tigris and Euphrates after they have joined at Qurna). . . .

. . . one. The First Life conceived a plan for gaining a grasp in order to destroy the mysteries of Adonai from the seas and to destroy the plot of Ruha and Adonai which came (emanated) from the House of Ruha; to ruin the scheme of Ruha before the presence of the great Father of Glory and to propagate the mysteries of the Great Life. . . .

. . . in Tmari, the pure Jordan, and bore witness to the Truth . And in the great Jordan a pure seed was formed... and came and was sown in the womb of 'Nisbai, so that from it a child might come into being, a prophet of the great Father of Glory, praised be His name! in order to destroy the building of Ruha and Adonai.

. . . in the House which Ruha and her seven sons built I surrounded all the district . . .

. . . Madai , which Ruha (personification of human lust. She is sometimes called Ruha-d-Qudrja = Holy-Spirit), and her seven sons (planets) could not reach because on it (were people who belonged?) to Hibil-Ziwa . . .

. . . of the Life, and to propagate a race in the House which Ruha and her seven sons built, so that she should not have dominion . . . in the midst of the worlds, and he shall be called Yahia-Yuhana, the prophet of Kusta, the apostle . . . who dwelt at the city of Jerusalem; a healer whose medicine was Water of Life, a healer that healeth... (evil spirits for they became disbelievers) which go forth from Ruha and Adonai to destroy the physical body.

. . . Then . . . when the boy was born Anush-Uthra came by command of the great Father of Glory and they came before Hibil-Ziwa by command of the great Father of Glory and travelled over deserts towards Mount Sinai and proceeded . . . towards a community called Ruha's that is situated near the place where the Ark was built . . . and she will be a deliverer midwife to the child . . . into Parwan, the white mountain, an earthly place. And in that place the fruit and sky are large. There . . . groweth the Tree which nourisheth infants . And they took back Sufnai the lilith to a place so that when they should perform a living baptism to purify the child, the apostle of Kusta, Yahia-Yuhana . . .

. . . And they did not alter the order or commands which emanated from the presence of the great Father of Glory . . . Sufnai the lilith took him the child before the eyes of his mother fell upon him . . . at the order of Anush-Uthra. And they mounted up towards Parwan, the white mountain . . . a place where fruit and sky are large. There they set down Yahia near the Tree which nourisheth nurslings... Then Sufnai the lilith returned to her place. When thirty days had passed, Hibil-Ziwa came at the command of the great first Father of Glory, and he came to the Median hill-country and sent Anush-Uthra to Bihram, son of Uthras and to the Median mountains. And they took Bihram from the Median hills and went . . . to Parwan and performed baptism and baptised the child beside the Tree that nourisheth nurslings. And when he was seven years old, Anush-Uthra came and wrote for him the A, Ba, Ga, Da.

. . . and, until he was twenty-two years old, he taught him about all nasirutha . '

. . . then, at the command of the great Father of Glory he set the crown on him and seated him beside himself, until they came to the city of Jerusalem amongst the community which Ruha founded... all belonged to her and to her seven sons except those from the Median hills, Aharan . . .

. . . Hibil-Ziwa, of the Median hills, upon which they wandered from mountain to mountain. . . . mountain to the city of the Nasoraeans is a distance of six thousand parasangs; it is called the enclave of Hibil-Ziwa... Then Yahia-Yuhana took the jordan and the medicine Water of Life . . . and he cleansed lepers, opened the eyes of the blind and lifted the broken maimed to walk on their feet . . . by the strength of the lofty King of Light - praised be his Name! - and gave speech and hearing to all who sought him. And he was called in the world "envoy of the High King of Light" - praised be his Name! - even at the very abode and building of Ruha and Adonai and her seven sons.

And he taught disciples and proclaimed the Call of the Life in the fallen House (Temple or Dynasty). Forty-two years he dwelt therein, and then his Transplanter looked upon him and he arose with his Transplanter, praised be his name! . . . and a time arrived, sixty years after Yahia-Yuhana had departed the body . . . the Jews, just as their former strength (returned?) to Ruha and Adonai, who became arrogant . . . Hence, after sixty years, Ruha and Adonai planned to erect . . . the fallen House (Temple or Dynasty) and spoke to Moses the prophet and the children of Israel who had built the House (Temple or Dynasty)... Then they raised an idle cry against the tribes of Anush-Uthra, the Head of the Age, and shed their blood so that not a man of the disciples and Nazoraeans were left . . . Then the Jordan and its tributaries shrank back and mounted the dry land beside it. And the light of the banners of Abatur and Anuss-Uthra was quenched . . . Then Ruha scattered the Jews . . . who is called 'of the House of the Seven', and then Adonai sent a staff . . . And he spoke over it and struck Suf-Zaba and the waters that abide in Suf-Zaba were divided like the two mountains of a gorge and there was a road. And Ruha brought those (Jews) over Suf-Zaba. And she built for them, and pressed out for them clay brick that is sacred, and constructed a budding and they set up for it column after column of falsehood, and raised up each fallen column . . . and Darkness was formed therefrom, and they settled therein the Jews, who sinned and caused havoc . . . The new Jerusalem had three walls, of which each was removed from its fellow, and he teacheth about them... And Ruha surrounded the latter Jerusalem of the Jews with these walls and then . . . Ruha . . . the Jews, and they could not remove the walls from them . . .

Then Anush-Uthra mounted up to his fathers and said to them, to his fathers: "Thou didst bring the Jews and Ruha over Suf-Zaba and she (Ruha) has built a building and has surrounded it by seven walls so that I am unable to aid their armies. What have ye ordered about us"? . . . (In this wise) did Anush-Uthra speak with his fathers, and told them how it had happened. Then there came and arose the great Father of Glory together with his mild son Hibil . . . and they acted, and then Hibil came . . . towards Anush-Uthra and said to him: "Go down into Media and take seven shafts, that is seven darts, and go and pronounce (magic) words over them. And take with thee seven guards from Mount Parwan and take for them bows and they shall speak over them seven magic words, and they will crumble the sacred brick in the House of Ruha; for at every place where those arrows fall fire will break out and will devour it, rising into the sky and eat into the ground for twelve nasks by virtue of those pure and important spells. And the rule of Ruha and her seven sons and of the Jews will be brought to nought from now until the end of the world".

Thereupon Anush-Uthra changed nothing of that which they commanded him (to do), and Hibil-Ziwa came and burnt and destroyed Jerusalem and made it like heaps of ruins . And he went to Baghdad and killed there all the cohens and took away government from them and pounded to dust every city in which there were Jews. Moreover for the eight hundred years that their government was in Baghdad they exercised an autonomy amongst themselves - four hundred rulers - for the duration of a Jewish autonomy in Baghdad was eight hundred years; four hundred rulers from the Jews (Jewish community) wielded kingly office. Thus the House of the Jews came to naught and met its end, and the Host of darkness became powerless.

Those seven guards, who were of the Chosen Elect, summoned by Anush-Uthra at the word and command of Hibil-Ziwa, came as the great Father of Glory had commanded. And one of them was Zazai son of Hibil-Uthra . Him Anush-Uthra installed in the city of Baghdad. And Anus'-'Uthra installed one whose name was Papa son of Guda

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upon the great Tigris and at the mouth of the Ulai (Karun river). And one, named Anus' son of Nat'ar-Hiia, Anus'-'Uthra installed at its source. Anush-S'aiar son of Njab (he installed) on the Euphrates, and one whose name was Brik-Yawar son of Bihdad he placed at Pumbit (Pumbdita) a territory situated at the end of Sura. And one, whose name was Njab son of Bihram, he placed on the mountain(s) of Glazlak, and one whose name was Ska-Manda he set at the extremity of the mountain of the Water- springs situated at the tail-end of the Parwan range at the place from which those seven kings went forth and dispersed, (namely, those Seven guards) who came with Anus'-'Uthra to conquer Darkness and to bring the plot of Ruha to nought. And they annihilated the rulers of the Jews and made them as if they had never existed. And Anush-Uthra placed them (the Seven viceroys) at the seven corners of the House , upon the seven horns of the worlds, in order to crush the power of Darkness and to establish the Call of the Life and to make void the rebellious outcry.

When Anus'-'Uthra had done that by order of Hibil-Ziwa whom the great Father of Glory commanded, Anush-Uthra went to the T'ura d Madai (Median mountains), called Haran Gawaita, and brought Bhira son of S'itil, a descendant of Artabanus king of the Nasoraeans and set him up in Baghdad (Babylon) and installed him in sovereign power as its sovereign. And in his company there were sixty Nasoraeans, and the Nasoraeans in Baghdad (Babylonia) multiplied and became many. Some of the tribe of Bhira son of S'itil, Nazoraeans, came with him until there were four hundred mas'knia in Baghdad.

And it was revealed to me and to all of them in this book, and they acted upon this reliable baser acting according to this its light and removing nothing from this writing of great revelation that was given to Adam the first man and to his descendants (and to) all who bear witness unto this light and illumination until worlds' end. Nought shall pass away from the Word of the great Father of Glory, praised be his name! Then the said Zazai, one of the righteous elect, rose to the firmament and abode with Yurbas sixty-two days, and ascended to his fathers; but those other six chosen righteous ones sent forth their descendants into the world. And in the earthly world there are some of the children (descendants) of disciples whom Yahia-Yuhana taught, and amongst the Nazoraeans some from the first planting of kings from the beginning, middle and end; yea there are some amongst the Nasoraeans at the latter end of the age, for they go forth that ye may be filled, and Nasoraeans of the end of the age are amongst their descendants. But from the Root of those disciples of Yahia-Yuhana there come forth also people of no degree', for, when they speak of "descendants of kings of Bagh- dad, of the kingdom in Baghdad", they forget that two hundred and eighty years have passed since some of the sons of those disciples of Yahia-Yuhana went forth, so that Ruha cometh and confuseth them and twisteth words and perverteth seals and changeth phrases and prayers by agency of descendants of those disciples, that is, those disciples that were propagated from Jewish seed. For the Son of the Pure Drop, the Mystery, (was of) the Jews, Jerusalem of the Jews. Ruha caused them to obey the mysteries of the body, and so they fell away from purity (or the pure doctrine).

I will tell you, O ye priests who live in the Arab age, of that which occurred) before the Son-of-Slaughter, the Arab, went out and prophesied as a prophet in the world so that they performed circumcision like Jews and changed sayings - for he is the most degraded of false prophets. Mars accompanieth him because he is the Seal of prophets of the Lie, although the Messiah will appear after him at the end of the age! I will inform you, Nasoraeans, that before the Son-of-Slaughter, the Arab, emerged and was called prophet in the world and Mars descended with him, he drew the sword and converted people to himself by the sword. About eighty-six years before the Son-of-Slaughter, the Arab, Adonai sent S'urbis'-Ruha who is his spouse, to the city of T'ib, called locally the City of As'ganda because of all that was done during his rule in Baghdad. For As'ganda dwelt in T'ib; it was his native place; and it was called "the city of S'ganda" also because in it there were Nasoraeans and ris'amia ethnarchs". And there was one ris'ama called Qiqil.

And Adonai sent S'urbis'-Ruha into this world and said to her: "Go, appear to Qiqil of the Nasoraeans disguised as Hibil-Ziwa, so as to take his judgement away from him. And distort the words by which the structure of their faith is defined. When thou hast done this, the whole nation of the Nasoraeans will turn to us". And Ruha-S'urbis', wife of Adonai, went and dwelt upon entered into Qiqil of the Nasoraeans and disguised herself as Hibil-Ziwa - and there is none lovelier than Hibil-Ziwa whom the Soul acknowledge! And She taketh away the judgement of Qiqil and instructeth him and saith to him: "I, Hibil-Ziwa, have brought parchment and reed-pen, so write a Root of Life and a Saying and a Mystery, and disseminate them send them forth and act in accordance with them. For the Life hath sent me and I have come to thee".

Thereupon Qiqil brought parchment and reed-pen and wrote and distributed (doctrine emanating) from Ruha, whilst his understanding was reft from him. So schism ensued amongst the Nasoraeans and candidates for priesthood as result of those writings which he had written. Then She removed herself from his presence, and Qiqil's mind and understanding returned and he recanted his words and revoked phylaeteries scrolls of her construction and that which had been taught to him by Ruha, yea, every writing that he had by him of those writings dictated by Ruha, he burnt in the fire. And he sent to the Nasoraeans and candidates for priesthood saying: "Bring the writings which I give gave you; burn them with fire, for she (Ruha) deluded me when I knew not from whom she came". And he took away his writing from such Nazoraeans as practised the orthodox faith, and they gave it to him and he burnt it in the fire. But all those who were of the Root of the Jews did not bring it back nor give it to Qiqil, and some of those writings remained with them.

And Hibil-Ziwa hath delivered this saying and warning to Nasoraeans who exist at the end of the last age: " Beware, and again beware! Act only (in accordance) with this writing of the Great Revelation . The (Mandaean) Root (Church) shall be steadfast, shall testify, shall act and not neglect this pure warning, and so will ascend to the presence of the Father . But any man who doth not testify to this Way or lay hold of it, seeketh darkness and will fall. O ye Nasoraeans that shall exist at the end of the last age, I exhort you, be firm and act according to this book - its name is the Great Revelation. For at that time peoples, nations and tongues will multiply, and every individual will seek his own gain. And books and religious treatises of Ruha and Adonai's making will be many, and through them souls will sink down to the Darkness". Thus, before the appearance of the Son-of-Slaughter, the Arab, the Christian, Idumaean, Jewish, Hurdabaean and Dilbilaean peoples became many. The peoples were divided and languages became numerous; even the languages of Nazoraeans multiplied. This; and then sovereignty was taken from the descendants of King Artabanus, and (they were driven) from Baghdad; the Hardbaeans (Persian Sassanids) taking over the kingdom. Nevertheless there remained one hundred and seventy banners and bimandiaia in Baghdad.

And so a Hardabaean (Sasanian) dynasty ruled for three hun- dred and sixty years , and then the Son of Slaughter, the Arab, set up as king, went forth and took a people to himself and performed circumcision. Even then, after this had happened and these events had taken place, sixty banners still remained and pertained to me in Baghdad. Then he took the sword and put to the sword from the city of Damascus unto Bit Dubar, which is called Bdin . He governed it aII and ruled over the lord of the hill-country of the Persians who are called Hardbaeans and took away sovereignty from them.

Then, when this had taken place, in time there came one Anush, called the son of Danqa, from the uplands of the Arsaiia [from (to?) the city of Baghdad bis'us' kings of the planting of Artabanus, and brought in his own, belonging to Muhammad son of Abdallah son-of-Slaughter, the Arab, when he was seven hundred years old. And he took him from his city to Suf-Zaba which is called Basrah, and showed him the hill-country of the Persians unto the city of Baghdad. And Anush-Uthra instructed the Son-of-Slaughter, as he had instructed Anush-son-of Danqa, about this Book compiled by his fathers, upon which all kings of the Nasoraeans stood firm. And a list of kings is in this book, which teacheth (or chronicleth) from Adam, king of the world, unto King Artabanus, yea even unto Anush-son-of-Danqa, who were all of the Chosen Root. Then he told him about the king of the Ardubaiia (Sasanians); about aII he sought to do and of his connection with the children of the great Nation of Life, in order that they (the Muslims) should not harm the Nasoraeans who lived in the era of his government. Thus did Anus'-son-of-Danqa explain and speak so that, through the power of the lofty King of Light - praised be his name! - it was not permitted to the Son-of-Slaughter, the Arab, to harm the congregation of souls, owing to the protection afforded by these explanations of the Great Revelation - praised be its name! And, concerning that which I found in these commentaries on the Great Revelation, I found not its equal amongst all the treatises and mis'rria and miscellanies about the Great Life which were in libraries and in my possession. I went round to all the Nazoraean ris-amia that there were; I saw many scripts, writings of research and manuscripts of the Great Revelation, but saw not the like of this well-established Source. For it is reliable, existing from ancient times and eternally, from the beginning of the eighth world unto worlds' end. These are writings which teach orthodox procedure, that are all clarity. Instruction about the beginnings of all light and the end of all darkness is found in these writings of the Great Revelation and not found in any other books. That which is taught in this book and Road of the Righteous hath been bestowed upon the righteous unto worlds' end; this Road of the Righteous hath been bestowed upon every son of the True Root, upon every son of the Pure Drop who, when listening to the words and teachings of this writing of the righteous, witnesseth publicly thereto, and his mind testifieth thereto and is enlightened. But when a foolish person heareth these trustworthy words his mind groweth dark and he doth not appreciate them, nor can such a person discern that they are pure sayings. And their colours die away from his mind like as a burgeoning plant fadeth and the root from which it appeared".

Hibil-Ziwa expounded these interpretations and revealed and declared: "Any Nazoraean man in whose library these explanations are found should beware lest he reveal in the presence of foolish persons mysteries penetrated and revealed by deeply thinking theologians; because he that revealeth anything that is weighty in this writing book in the presence of foolish and ill-conditioned Uthras who would bring pure words into contempt, layeth up for himself sixty causes of stumbling and sixty sins. (But he that is silent before foolish persons concerning such interpretations) sixty offences and sixty sins shall be forgiven him and Abathur win grasp (his hand) in honourable kus'ta .

Then Hibil-Ziwa - praised be his name! - taught that every man who conceaIeth (the Great Reuelation?) it but observeth it, when his measure is full he will rise up without sin and (moreover) will loose and take with him sixty souls who are bound. And he will rise up towards his fathers and his Father will take his hand in honourable kust'a and he will be acclaimed as one in a thousand like Abathur Rama. And he will behold the great Countenance of Glory and will take His hand in honourable kus'ta and will be set at the King's right hand. For he whose mind testifieth to these teachings about orthodox procedures belongeth to the portion of the lofty and great King of Light, and hell-beasts and purgatory demons have no power over him".

And then Hibil-Ziwa - praised be his name! - taught Nazoraeans about the end of the last age. For evil will increase and pollutions will be many and abound in the world, since it is decreed that wickedness will increase and pollutions multiply greatly in the world; because it is destined in that age. So that of a great shekel of gold but half-a-draehma's weight will rise up to the Light; everything will sink down into Darkness. In that period and epoch - from the rule of the Arab Son-of-Slaughter unto the end of the worlds - persecution and tribulation will increase for Nasoraeans; purity will decrease and pollutions, adultery, theft and fraud will increase.

And men will be polluted and during that period man will drink the blood of fellow-man. All that is fair will disappear but, amongst Nasoraeans, he that is steadfast in and holdeth to these teachings and this great revelation will rise up by the path of believers and will behold the great Countenance of Glory. Hibil-Ziwa taught concerning this age - that is, the age of the Arab Law - that it must needs occupy its destined span, for the Law is constituted of four mysteries; part therein is of the Light, and part therein wholly Root of Darkness. And it endureth for two kings. To it was imparted a kind of order. It is formed from four natural humours: the Root of Darkness is composed of and arrayed in blood, gall, wind , and mucus.

But the habiliments of the soul are formed of mystery, light and the jordan; the soul is formed by proper observance of the three mysteries, by purification of the four natural humours is the soul's vestment formed. For this is the eighth world, and it will turn from this habiliment, this garment in which it dwelleth; it will not tarry therein.

During this Arab age every evil creature multiplieth like evil weeds that grow apace, and peoples, nations and languages disperse and become measureless and numberless, like the Darkness that came into being with abundance .

Hibil-Ziwa taught that "At the latter end of the world, when the Arab, the Son-of-Slaughter, hath completed his allotted four thousand years, it will come to pass that the false Messiah, son of Miriam, will succeed him, and that he will come and will show forth signs (wonders) in the world until the birds and the fish from sea and rivers open their mouths and bless him and give testimony, until even the clay and mudbrick in a building bear witness to him, and until four-legged creatures open their mouths and testify to him".

And Hibil-Ziwa explained further: "But you, O Nasoraeans, and righteous elect men, testify not to him, for he is a false Messiah that walketh by fraud and sorcery. He is Mercury, who attracteth attention and doth whatsoever he wisheth and his mind is filled with sorcery and frauds. I declare to you, ye chosen righteous ones and ye perfect ones that that are stedfast, abide by this pure line of separation and alter no word or command of the great Father of Glory, that He may take you by the hand, watch over you and deliver you out of the hands of the children of Krun".

Hibil-Ziwa taught: "When the Messiah hath returned, ascending to the sky - and his reign will last six thousand years - he will ascend and assume his first body. From that epoch until worlds' end, wickedness will depart from the world; that which issued from the earth will enter the earth and that which descended from the sky will return and enter the sky. And there will be righteous people in the world, and no man will covet his neighbour's goods. And people's senses

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will return to them and they will not perform circumcision; they will be converted and Nasoraeans will increase in the world. The eye of envy will be lifted from them and the sword will depart from the world. It will be as if the sword brought by the Son of Darkness, he whose sword was of the world of Satan, had never been in the world. And with it goeth a force which he possessed not in the world; until Mars came and set up his sign and bound him thereto by oath.

"Yea, there will be righteous people and government will revert to sons of the Great Family of Life, and they will be diligent and have the ascendance. But kings bring accusation against the age, just as the Root of Nasoraeans reprove it, for, before all (else) they cared for agriculture and gladdened the king. And people will be converted, and there will be righteous people and righteousness will increase. And fifty thousand years will pass in calm ease without disturbance, and all will keep to one word (or Speak one language), and there will be no hatred, envy or dissension amongst them, and ill-will shall be removed from the minds of all peoples, nations and tongues".

Hibil-Ziwa explained further: "When these portents occur and the time hath come, those fifty thousand years I will be my allotted portion, mine, Yawar-Ziwa's, because the first age was the age of Anush-Uthra and its consummation (or "development") was bestowed upon me, Hibil-Yawar-Ziwa.

"Then the latter part of the age and the decadence and end of the world will be given to Mamit the Least-of-her-Brethren; (her portion) followeth my portion, Hibil-Yawar-Ziwa's.

"Thus the latter end of the age and the decadence and final end of the world is given to Mamit daughter of Qin, the mother of the Seven what occupied seven portions, and the eighth was given to Amamit as hers, for her own. And, as the utter end of light meaneth the beginning of total darkness, so the portion of Qin, the decadence of the Arab age and the end of the eighth world (succeeded mine)".

Hibil-Ziwa - praised be his name! - taught concerning the Word, that is the Great Mystery: "This writing, that is the Diwan of the Great Revelation from the beginning of worlds of light unto the end of the eighth world, this Road of the Righteous shall not fail, because it is concerneth the portion of Father-Life, the Ancient, the First - praised be His name!

"Let every man of the Nazoraeans and Mandaeans who may be living in the eighth world be steadfast and bear testimony and act according to this reliable basis, and with a sincere heart and believing lips be of my allotted portion, mine the High King of fight, so that thereby Habs'aba (Sunday) may be his deliverer, and save him from the children of Krun; and I will set him at my right hand. But any Nazoraean or Mandaean that is of the True Root, yet doth not bear testimony to this Road of the Righteous but testifieth according to the Way of Ruha, their words have I rejected. (Such a one) will not be my allotted portion but will belong to Ruha and the Messiah. Habs'aba will not be his helper, and he will not be delivered out of the hands of the sons of Krun".

These doctrines were imparted by Hibil-Ziwa to the sons of the great Family of Life. And he enlighteneth their minds and instructed their intelligence about the King of Light - praised be His name!

And this is a copy of the Diwan d Gadana Rabtia. Finis.

This is the Diwan of Great Revelation called the Haran Gawaita which I copied for myself for the third time. I am poor, striving and childlike, a slave that is all sin, (unworthy to) kiss the shoes on the feet of Nazoraeans, dust beneath the feet of the pious and least amongst my fellow ganziwi. I am Zakia-Zihrun son of Rabbi Ram, son of Rabbi Yahia-Yuhana, son of Rabbi Ram son of Yahia-Baktiar son of Rabbi Adam-Mhatam son of Rabbi Bihram-Br-Hiia son of Rabbi Adam-Zalcia son of Rabbi Br-Hiia, family name Kuhailia. I copied from my own copy a third time. I am Zakia-Zihrun son of Rabbi Ram son of Rabbi Yahia-Yuhana son of Rabbi . . . family name Kuhailia . . . from a copy of a Diwam belonging the great, lofty and respected one, a reliable priest, Rabbi Mhatam son of Yahia-Bayan son of Yuhana-Shadan son of Zakria-Br-Hibil son of Zakria, known aa Dihdaria, and his family name Sabur. And he had no copy but this. And Life is victorious. Finis.

Thus is venerated Diwan, Explanations and Great Revelation called the Haran Gawaita was set in order and mmpleted on Friday the twenty-sixth of the Month of Second Sowing, which is Nisan (in the sign of) the Ram, the year of Friday in the year one thousand, and eighty-eight of Arab chronology - may the (world) founder, upon them, and Manda-d-Hiia make impotent their raging against the great Congregation of Souls! It was copied in the city of Shustar by the waters of the Duganda and in the court of the respected craftsman Nairuz son of Hadat, his name' being Yahia son of Bihram son of Adam son of Yuhana-Shadan son of Zakria br-Hibil son of Zakria son of Zihrun, known as Dihdaria, his family name being Sabur - may Manda-d-Hiia forgive him his sins! So these venerated Diwans were assembled from beginning to end with care, knowledge and meticulous research. And my co-editor was my elder brother, a reliable and skilful priest, Rabbi Yahia-Yuhana son of Rabbi Ram, (his) family name being Kuhailia.

Manda-a-Hiia forgive him his sins!

(Here the text of D.C. 36 breaks off. An autobiographical note added about 168 years later concludes the manuscript. It describes an outbreak of cholera which carried off the entire Mandaean priesthood, and the uncanonical methods resorted to in order that a, few literate members of priestly families could be ordained as priests).

D.C. 9, (copied by the same priest who mote the autobiographical appendix added to D.C. 36) ends:

"This is the Diwan of Great Revelation called Haran Gawaita which I, poor and lowly (etc.) Ram Zihrun son of Rabbi Sam-Bihram (etc. etc.) copied from two diwans . . .".

One of the two was a copy of a copy of a copy of the Haran Gawaita of D. C. 36, asd the other is also traced back to D. C. 36 so that it seems likely that by 1088 A.H. only one ancient and imperfect copy had survived.

GINZA RBA - THE GREAT TREASURY

The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans
or Sidra Rba, The Great Book of the Mandaeans
or The Codex Nazaraeus, or The Book of Adam
Original Language: Eastern Aramaic (Mandaic)
Translation: Ethel Stefana Drower, 1953
Estimated Range of Dating: 1st - 3rd centuries

(The Ginza Rba - Canonical Prayerbooks of the Mandaeans. Excerpt from: E.S. Drower, Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans, Leiden: 1959. The Ginza Rba "The Great Treasury" or Sidra Rba "The Great Book", and formerly the Codex Nazaraeus, is the longest of the many holy scriptures of Mandaeism. It is also occasionally referred to as The Book of Adam.

Language, dating and authorship

The language used is classical Mandaic, a variety of Eastern Aramaic written in the Mandaic script (Parthian chancellory script), similar to Syriac script. The authorship is unknown, and dating is a matter of debate. Some scholars place it in the 2nd-3rd centuries,[1] while others such as S. F. Dunlap place it in the 1st century.[2]

Structure

The Ginza Rba is divided into two parts - the Right Ginza, containing 18 books, and the Left Ginza, containing 3 books.

The book, still mainly hand written, traditionally contains the Right Ginza on one side, and, when turned upside-down and back to front, contains the Left Ginza, this latter also called "The Book of the Dead." The Right Ginza part of the Ginza Rba contains sections dealing with theology, creation, ethics, historical, and mythical narratives; its six colophons reveal that it was last redacted in the early Islamic Era. The Left Ginza section of Ginza Rba deals with man's soul in the afterlife; its colophon reveals that it was redacted for the last time hundreds of years before the Islamic Era.

Contents

The book is a compilation of various oral teachings and written texts, most predating their editing into the two volumes. It includes literature on a wide variety of topics, including liturgy and hymns, theological texts, didactic texts, as well as both religious and secular poetry.

The Right Ginza

• Books 1 & 2, prose texts, contain two versions of a very stylized history of creation and of Mandaeism. Book 2 also contains three small appended pieces.

• Book 3 is a reconstructed poem also dealing with creation themes but concentrating more on the origin of evil.

• Book 4 is a small text usually ignored.

• Book 5 contains five separate prose texts, the first and largest dealing with a journey to the Underworld.

• Book 6 deals with a "heavenly journey" theme.

• Book 7 consists of John the Baptist's words.

• Book 8 deals briefly with creation and evil.

• Book 9 part 1 deals with other religions and the nature of the Godhead; a smaller part 2 deals with the Holy Unique One.

• Book 10 deals with the sacrament.

• Book 11 deals with classical gnostic themes, and is the most difficult to interpret.

• Book 12, in seven parts, mixes poetry and prose and provides a basic introduction to Mandaean beliefs.

• Book 13 comprises a short interim conclusion to what seems to be the original version of the Ginza.

• Book 14 a prose text, deals with material from book 3.

• Book 15 is a collection of 21 poems.

• Book 16 contains 10 or 11 mostly shorter poems, many comparatively simple and straightforward.

• Book 17 contains 2 rather obscure but colorful poems.

• Book 18 is a history-of-the-world plus an apocalypse

The Left Ginza

• Book 1 is a four-part prose text on the salvation process, beginning with the ascension to heaven of Seth, in advance of his father Adam (compare Sethian Gnosticism).

• Book 2, poetic, comprises 28 hymns.

• Book 3, poetic, comprises 62 hymns. The last two books, especially the third, seem to have a more rudimentary doctrinal content than found in the Right Ginza.)

GINZA RBA
The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans

The Book of Souls (Baptism Liturgy)

My Lord be praised!

In the name of the Great First Other-Worldly Life! From far-off worlds of light that are above all works may there be healing, victory, soundness, speech and a hearing, joy of heart and forgiving of sins for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnus through the strength of Yawar-Ziwa and Simat-Hiia!

PRAYER No. 1

In the name of the Life and in the name of Knowledge-of-Life (Manda-d-Hiia) and in the name of that Primal Being who was Eldest and preceded water, radiance, light and glory, the Being who cried with His voice and uttered words. By means of His voice and His words Vines grew and came into being, and the First Life was established in its Abode.

And He spoke and said, "The First Life is anterior to the Second Life by six thousand myriad years and the Second Life anterior to the Third Life by six thousand myriad years and the Third Life more ancient than any 'uthra by six thousand myriad years. And any 'uthra is older than the whole earth and older than the Seven Lords of the House by seven hundred and seventy thousand myriad years. There is that which is infinite.

At that time there was no solid earth and no inhabitants in the black waters. From them, from those black waters, Evil was formed and emerged, One from whom a thousand thousand mysteries proceeded and a myriad myriad planets with their own mysteries.

The Seven were wroth with me, were outraged and said, "The man who set out and came towards us hath not bound a circlet about his head!" Then I turned my face toward my Creator who created me, the celestial Lord of Greatness, and I said to Him, "O my Creator who created me, (O) Lord of lofty Greatness! As I went (my ways) the Seven were wroth with me and said, 'The man who went and came towards us hath not bound a circlet about his head!'."

Then that Lord of Lofty Greatness took a circlet of radiance, light and glory and set it on my head; He laid on me His hand of Truth and His great right hand of healings and said to me, "Upon thee shall rest something of the likeness of Sam-Gufna and of Sam-Gufaian and of Sam-Pira-Hiwara, whose radiance gleams and whose appearance beams, for they are holy and believing beings in the Place of Light and in the everlasting Abode."

And Manda-d-Hiia, the valorous 'uthra, taught, revealed and said "Every Nasoraean man who is righteous and believing, on arising from sleep, must take a white turban symbolising the great mystery of radiance, fight and glory and shall recite this prayer thereon. And he shall twist it round his head and repeat the prayer secretly. It will be his praise in the house of the great Celestial Father. And all persons who behold him will be subdued in his presence: any persecutor, or one who inciteth to wrath, will stand before him in fear, terror and trembling, (their knees) knocking together. And for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnus, who have prayed this prayer and (these) devotions, there will be forgiving of sins and I shall be pure in all my words. And Life is victorious.

[This is the prayer of the turban].

PRAYER No. 2

Illumined and illuminating is Zihrun, the great Mystery of radiance, light and glory, from whom Manda-d-Hiia emanated and was divulged, and from whose very Self noble sons of the mighty and sublime Life proceeded. He created 'uthras at his right and his left and installed them in their own shkintas, And they gave out light and were effulgent in their own raiment and gloried in the knowledge that their Father had transplanted them from the House of Life. And it is incumbent on a pupil to honour his Master like his parents, (so) the 'uthras rose on (their ?) thrones of radiance, light and glory and took off the crowns on their heads and placed them on the thrones of radiance, light and glory, saying, "A teacher is superior to parents! Rise, our Father, in praise, and lay on me Thy hand of truth and Thy great right hand of healings!" And Life be praised!

[This prayer is the opening prayer of "In the name of that First Being"]

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PRAYER No. 3

In the name of the Life!

Life created Yawar-Ziwa, son of Light-of-Life, Hamgai-Ziwa son of Hamgagai-Ziwa. Illumined and illuminating is the Great Mystery of Radiance, Zihrun, a Crown of radiance, light and glory from whom a flow of living water streamed out to the shkintas. For he is the revealer (lit. opener) of radiance and light and displayeth his treasure which emanated from him, to eager 'uthras. All worlds adore and praise the mighty First Life in its Indwellings, and Life is victorious.

[This is the prayer of the turban]

PRAYER No. 4

As the 'uthras stand in their shkintas they adore and praise the Great Place in the Light which is eternal, and praise Manda-d-Hiia and speak with him. When the 'uthras are standing in their shkintas they adore and praise that Tarwan-Nhura. To what shall they dedicate the wreath upon their heads and upon what shall they hang it? They dedicate it to the Tree of Radiance and hang it (thereon).

And Life be praised!

[This is the prayer of dedication of "Life created Yawar-Ziwa]

PRAYER No. 5

In the name of the Great Life!

Let there be light, let there be light! Let there be the light of the Great First Life! There shone forth wisdom, vigilance and praise of the First Mana which came from its place. He who twineth the wreath is Yufin-Yufafin: the bringer of the wreath is 'It-'Nsibat-'utria. 'It-Yawar son of 'Nsibat-'utria set on the wreath. He brought it and placed it upon the head of the implanted manamanas. The wreath flames and the leaves of the wreath flame! Before the Mana there is light, behind the Mana glory, and at either side of the Mana radiance, brilliance and purity. And at the four corners of the House and the seven sides of the firmanent silence, bliss and glory prevail (lit. are found). And Life be praised! which was transplanted from guarded (?)

[This is the prayer for the turban. Read it and set it on thy head.]

PRAYER No. 6

A crown of ether-fight shone forth dazzlingly from the House of Life. 'Uthras brought it from the House of Life and the mighty First Life established it in His shkintas. He who setteth it up shall be set up and he who uplifteth it shall be raised up into the world of light and he who establisheth it into the enduring Abode. Ye are established and uplifted to the place (in which) righteous (beings) are established.

And life be praised.

[This is the prayer of "loosing", "Let there be Light". These three prayers "In the name of that Primal Being", "Life created Yawar-Ziwa" and "Let there be light" read near thy crown and place it on thy head. And read "Manda created me" over the myrtle-wreath and put it on thy head above thy crown. And twine a myrtle-wreath for thy staff and hold it with thy crown. And when thou goest to the jordan read "Answer me, Father, answer me!]

PRAYER No. 7

In the name of the Great Life!

There shall be healing for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush! Strengthened and enhanced is the great mystery of radiance, light and glory which resteth on the mouth of the Great Life! for from it came into being and was manifest Knowledge-of-Life (Manda-d-Hiia) who knew and interpreted the thoughts of the First Life, which are wondrous.

And Life be praised!

[Read this prayer and hold thy pandama for thy baptism.]

PRAYER No. 8

Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for the mighty, first, sublime Life from,worlds of light, the Ineffable above all works! for the ancient Radiance and for the Primal Light, for the Life which emanated from Life and for Truth (Kushta) that was pristine, from the beginning.

Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for Yukabar-Ziwa who was mighty in his radiance, and came in his light and his glory (as) messenger to the first righteous elect (people). He crossed over the worlds and came and rent the firmament and revealed himself.

Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for Yuzataq-Gnosis-of-Life, source of Life, who interpreteth silence and giveth hope and taketh the prayers of spirits and souls of righteous and believing men, the virtuous and well pleasing, into the Place of Light and into the Eternal Abode.

Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for the Father of 'uthras, the Ancient, Lofty, Occult and Guarded, the Man who is high (yet) remaineth deep and hidden. He seeth and understandeth that which the worlds and generations do in the worlds of darkness.

Incense that is fragrant, incense, that is fragrant! yea for the dwelling of Life and the planting of 'uthras. Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for the dwelling of four beings, sons of Perfection. Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea for the Dwelling of Abathur. Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for the dwelling of Hibil, Shitil and Anush, sons of a living, brilliant, healthy and steadfast stock, beings not removed by sword, nor burnt by flames of fire, nor drowned in water-floods; whose (very) sandal-straps on their feet are unwetted by water. They sought and found, went to judgement and were vindicated, spoke and were heard. They are complete, lacking in nought; perfect are they and not imperfect. They came from a pure place and go to a pure place.

Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for the lives of the men who were our ancestors, of righteous and believing men who rendered up (their souls) and departed from their bodies; and of those who yet live in their bodies. They testified and the door of Sin will be shut to them and the door of light open to them and they will be knit together in the union of Life, in which there is no separation. Pray ye for us from there, and we will pray from here for you! All fruits perish; all sweet odours vanish, (but) the perfume of Life is established for ever and unto world's end upon those who love His name of Truth.

Those souls who descend to the jordan and are baptised shall be without sins, trespasses, follies, mistakes and evil deeds: they will rise and behold the great Place of Light and the Eternal Abode. And praised be the Great Life in light. And Life is victorious.

[This saying, "Incense that is fragrant, yea for the First Life" recite over both incense and sandalwood and put them before thee on the jordan-bank in a new incense-pan. And make a fresh fire on the copper incense-pan -- (these) are aids of all order which ye carried, put (lit. "performed") at the jordan. Then read the baptismal "We acknowledged" "Praises" , "Thee, Life,", "I sought to raise eyes" (Prayer 77) and "Raising eyes".]

PRAYER No. 9

Raising my eyes and lifting up my countenance toward the Place which is all portals of radiance, light, glory, beauty, repute and honour and to the Abode which is all beams of light; I adore, laud and praise the Mighty, Strange (other-worldly) life, and the Second Life and the Third Life; and Yufin-Yufafin, Sam-Mana-Smira, and the Vine which is all Life and the great Tree which is all healings. I adore, laud and worship the precious and guarded Place, the secret and guarded manas and the Lord of Greatness from the Secret Place and, from the Hidden Place, the pihta, need(?), truth and faith.

I worship, laud and praise Sam-Smira, the great radiancy of the First Life, son of the Great Primal Life who thought and was manifest, seeking His own: His shecinah resteth on waves of water. The assembly of souls which proceeded from Him, on the Last Day, when they leave their bodies, will rejoice in Him, will embrace Him and will rise up and behold the outer Ether and the everlasting Abode.

I worship, laud and praise the multitudinous Radiancies and great mighty Lights: I worship, laud and praise Piriawis, the great Jordan of the First Life which is all healings. I worship, laud and praise the pure Yushamin who abideth on treasures of the waters and upon mighty celestial wellsprings of light. I adore, laud and praise the life which proceeded from Life and the Truth which existed before, in the Beginning. I worship, laud and praise Yukabar-Ziwa, envoy of the Life and the Word of the first Elect Righteous ones. I worship, laud and praise the Ancient, Supernal, Occult and Guarded Abathur, who is high, hidden and guarded, whose throne is placed at the gate of the House of Life. He sitteth with the scales set before him, weighing deeds and (their) recompense. He seeth and discerneth that which the worlds and generations do. I worship, laud and praise Manda-d-Hiia lord of healings, the being whom the Life summoned and bade him heal the congregation of souls, divesting the congregation of souls of (their) darkness and clothing them with light; raising (them) and showing them that a great restoration of life exists, a place where the spirits and souls of our forefathers sit clothed in radiance and covered with light; showing the great restoration of life which is before them.

I worship, laud and praise Shilmai and Nidbai, the two delegates of Manda-d-Hiia, who rule over the great jordan of Life, for they baptise with the great baptism of Light.

And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 10

On the day that the Jordan was bestowed upon Sam-Smir, the great pure radiance of the First Life which flowed forth from Him, Bihram and Ram-Rba-Hiia went with him (and ?) four hundred and forty-four thousand myriads of 'uthras, sons of light*, who descended to the jordan. He baptised them and they rose to the bank. He raised them up and conferred upon them some of the glory and some of the greatness which was (conferred) on himself.

And Life is victorious.

[* term in the Dead Sea Scrolls, "sons of light" being righteous Jews, Opposite: "sons of darkness" being non-Jewish invaders.]

PRAYER No. 11

I have worshipped and praised that Yawar-Ziwa whose shkinta is situate in the world of Outer Ether and in the Enduring Abode. I have worshipped and praised the seven holy and guarded manas which were transplanted from it. I sought in prayer the First Life, and, in the presence of the mighty sublime Life, discovered that which offendeth in myself, (in me), Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush and about what which causeth my friends to offend, and my friends' friends and the friends of the great Family of Life.

And Life is victorious.

[Pray these three prayers, "Raising eyes", "The day that the Jordan was bestowed" and "I have worshipped and praised that Yawar-Ziwa" on the jordan-bank after "I sought to raise eyes". They are the helpers (aids to) baptism.]

PRAYER No. 12

I am Yur son of Barit (I shone forth). In great effulgence the radiance glowed (with heat?). The tanna dissolved and a shkinta came into being, a shkinta came into existence and was established in the House of Life.

And Life is victorious.

[Read this prayer and grasp thy kanzala (stole). It is the opening prayer for the jordan. Then recite "I went to the jordan"].

PRAYER No. 13

I went to the jordan, but not I alone, (for) Shilmai and Nidbai, my helpers, went with me to the jordan; Hibil and Shitil and Anush went with me to the jordan -- they who baptise with the great baptism of Life. Piriawis-Ziwa and Piriafil-Malaka give free movement to the limbs of my body!

I go down before these souls whom the Life delivereth and saveth, and protecteth these souls from all that is evil and from those who give nothing, but take away; and from those who lend nothing and (yet) are paid back; and from evil spirits which hasted yet did not arrive, and from liliths which fell down and did not arise.

Their hands fell (powerless) on their knees; their eyes were blinded and unable to see and their ears became deaf and unable to hear. In your names, Shilmai and Nidbai, and through the strength of Hibil, Shitil and Anush, secure, seal and guard these souls who go down to the jordan and will be baptised, by the great seal of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia, the healer, whose strength none can attain. And Life is victorious!

[Recite until thou reachest (the words) "Piriafil, loosen the limbs" (etc.). And descend (into the water) up to a fourth of thy thighs. If thou art baptising a single soul, say "my body, and I go down before this the soul of N." If there are several souls, recite as written (above), and at the place where it said "secure, seal and guard" say "secure, seal and guard this soul of N, and establish it" and then recite thy saying over the staff.]

PRAYER No. 14

In the names of Yusmir the First Vine, from whom Yawar took a staff of water and went to the bank of the jordan, covered, as it were, with radiance and clothed in light. Over it he pronounced secret sayings -- these mystic names: "In the name of Yusmir-Yusamir, and of Sani-Mana-Smira; in the name of Hauran-Hauraran by which the first Yawar raised up 'uthras, flourishing Vines of life, in the jordan. By it Hibil raiseth up living souls in the jordan, those worthy of the great Place of Light and of the Everlasting Abode. By it they will be established and raised up in the House of the Mighty Life. It will raise these souls,vho go do,vn to the jordan and are baptised: they will behold the Great Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode.

[This saying is for the staff. Recite it over the olivewood staff and stick it into the jordan (-bed), then recite the baptism(-al prayers).]

PRAYER No. 15

Bound is the sea, bound are the two banks of the sea! Bound are the devils and demons, the demon-visitants, haunting spirits, and satanic amulet-spirits. Bound are the three hundred and sixty mysteries that are in the House!

I am secured and sealed, I, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush, and these souls who are descending to the jordan and will be sealed by the seal of the Mighty Sublime Life, and by the great MA and the great YA and the great BAZ and by the great AZIZ and by the great AS and by the great ASIN and by the sea (of ?) AS. Bound are (Magian) priests, slaughterers, priests who cut up victims, scorners, those who make evil signs and the seven mysteries which are in the sea. Every demon (exorcised) by name, every evil spirit by his appelation, every amulet-spirit and all idol-demons who raise their heads and show their countenances, lifting themselves in pride against the Sublime Being and directing their evil Eye towards these souls who are going to the jordan, shall be

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struck down and smitten by Yaha-Yaha and by Zha-Zha and by angels which where sent and come against them. Flee in fear before them! and before the glory which is mighty upon them. Depart in fear and avaunt! Seven walls of iron have been set around me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush, with which Haiashum, the first Kushta, surrounded himself.

And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 16

I am a perfected gem: into the midst of the worlds and ages am I cast down. I am an iron club, a great rocky crag. Any demon that dasheth himself against me will be shattered and if I strike at him he will be dashed to pieces. Any demon which reareth its head, any amulet-imp which setteth its countenance against these souls in malice, overlooking them, will be thrashed and struck by 'Usfar-Manharbiel-'Staqlus, the little child who dwelleth upon pure springs of light, (yea) beaten with the mace of water by which Fire was beaten out and extinguished; (and) by the strength of Mân the Healer and by the strength of elect righteous (men).

And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 17

Avaunt! flee in fear all (ye) evil, restricting, wrathful spirits! Flee, begone, be vanquished and brought to nought before the glory and light of Manda-d-Hiia! Piriawis-Ziwa and Piriafil-Malaka have set moving the limbs of my body: I descend (to the Jordan) before these stedfast, flourishing souls of the living. Shilmai and Nidbai, fly, approach, arrive! Bear ye witness to these souls who are going down to the jordan to be baptised. Ye four 'uthras, sons of light, Rhum-Hai, 'In-Hai, Sum-Hai and Zaniar-Hai, be ye my witnesses on the great day of departure (from the body). Great Jordan of Life, I laud thee and adjure thee by 'Usar-Nhura (Treasure-of-Light), the great solace and support of life, that thou givest no room to evil beings (who are) against these souls who go down into thee. Healing shall be theirs in the name of the Sublime (Strange) Life from worlds (of light). May Life be established in Its indwellings, and Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 18

In the name of the Life!

Piriawis, the great jordan of the First Life, which is all healings, is afire like the glory flaming in the Tanna. When Life was ardent and life burst forth in the great glory which flameth therein, Life arose and founded its shkinta above the Tanna. The radiance waxed ardent, the Tanna dissolved. They opened the waters and Life was established by its own waters). Yur (brilliant light) established Yur: Life was increased in power by its own radiance and by the great glory which flamed in It.

And in the waters Life established living (creatures); above the the waters fruit appeared and a shkinta was founded.

Thee do I invoke, great Jordan of Life, by (in the name of) Treasure-of-Light, the great support and solace of the Life, and by pure Yusamin who dwelleth upon the treasures of the waters and upon wellsprings of light; by Yusmir, the being who united with water; by Adatan and Yadatan who sit at the Gate of Life and seek spirits and souls in the Place of Light; by SiImai and Nidbai who bear witness before the Great Life. Behold these souls who quit destruction for construction, (go) from error to truth and (leave) the abode of fear of the deity of the House (i.e. world) for the great Place of Light and the everlasting Abode!

If he to whom I speak listeneth and he to whom I call is established (in the faith) and is knit into the communion of Life and built into the great fabric of Reality, I will take his hand and be his saviour and guide to the great Place of Light and to the Everlasting Abode. If I speak to him and he hearkeneth not and call to him and he is not uplifted, he will be put to the question. (But) I shall not be put to the question, because of the Word of Truth (Kushta) and its uplifting by Yukabar. And Life is steadfast in its Dwellings, and Life is victorious.

[Then cry] "In the name of Life! Let every man whose strength enableth him and who loveth his soul, come and go down to the jordan and be baptised and receive the Pure Sign; put on robes of radiant light and set a fresh wreath on his head". [Here baptise the souls. And they shall descend behind thee and shall submerge three times. And thy staff shall be (rest) on thy left arm. Dip them with thy right hand, grasp them with thy left and place them between thee and thy staff and dip them under thrice and and sign them thrice with thy right hand. And thy face shall be toward the Gate of Prayer).

When thou hast signed them, say, "N, son of N., thou hast been signed with the Sign of Life and the name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia were pronounced upon thee. Thou hast been baptised with the baptism of the great Bihram, son of the mighty (life). Thy baptism will protect thee and will be efficacious. The name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia are pronounced upon thee!"

And give them three palmfuls of water to drink and say to them "Drink! and be healed and be strengthened! The name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia have been pronounced upon thee". Recite "Manda created me" over the myrtle-wreaths and place them upon their heads. When placing thy hand on their heads recite these secret names: "The name of the great mystic First Wellspring be pronounced on thee; the name of the great First Palmtree be pronounced on thee; the name of the great Sislam be pronounced on thee; the name of the great 'Zlat be pronounced on thee; the name of the great Yawar be pronounced on thee; the name of Simat-Hiia be pronounced on thee; the name of the great Yukabar be pronounced on thee; the name of the Mana and its Counterpart be pronounced on thee; the name of the Great Mystery and the secret sayings be pronounced on thee; the name of the great first Shaq-Ziwa be pronounced upon thee; the name of Sam-Ziwa-Dakia, the Eldest, Beloved, great First (Being) be pronounced on thee; the name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia be pronounced on thee."

Then reach them (perform with them the rite of) kushta. And he shall go up before thee (on to the bank). Then dip thy phial, fill it with water and give it to whoever standeth on the bank. Then dip thy bowl and recite the hymn "At the waterhead I went forth" and "Blessed art thou, Outer Door", and recite the dedicatory prayer for the jordan.

When thou recitest "Bound is the sea", "I am a perfected gem", "Avaunt, flee in fear", "Piriawis" and all as it is written, speak as written if there are two, three or many souls; but it only one soul say "the soul of N, who descended to the jordan and was baptised and received the pure sign." (And pay close attention to thy baptism.)

PRAYER No. 19

Manda created me, 'uthras set me up, radiance clothed me and light covered me: Haza-zban set the wreath on my head, mine, Adam-Yuhana , son of Mahnush, and on these souls who descend to the jordan and are baptised. Its tendrils shine and its perfume is sweet, for they (the tendrils) wither not nor do they come apart, and its leaves do not fall off.

And Life be praised!

[This is the set prayer for the baptism wreath. Recite it over the myrtle-wreath and place it on the heads of the souls that thou baptisest].

PRAYER No. 20

Blessed art thou, Outer Door, and blessed art thou, Everlasting Abode! Blessed are ye, great beings of radiance and mighty and powerful beings of light. Blessed, lauded and honoured be the 'uthras which dwell on the jordan! Jordan! be gentle towards these souls which have descended into thee! Let healing be theirs by virtue of the Word of Truth and its upliiting by Yukabar-Ziwa.

[This is the dedicatory prayer of the jordan. When thou hast extolled the jordan, if thou baptisest several souls recite as it is written; it only one soul, say "The soul of N. who hath descended into thee" and rise to the bank and recite "I rose up from the Jordan".]

PRAYER No. 21

In the name of the Life!
I rose up from the jordan
And I met a group of souls,
A group of souls I met,
who surrounded our father Shitil
Saying to him "By thy life, our father Shitil,
Go with us to the Jordan."!
"If I go with you to the jordan
Who will be your witness?"
"Lo, Sun hath risen above us;
He will be our witness!"
"It is not he whom I seek,
Not he whom my soul desireth.
The sun of which ye spake,
Riseth early, setteth at dusk.
The sun of which ye spake, the sun
Is vanity and cometh to an end.
Sun cometh to an end and becometh vanity
And his worshippers come to an end and are vanity."

I rose up from the jordan
And a group of souls I met,
A group I met of souls
Who surrounded our father Shitil,
Saying to him, "By thy life, our father Shitil,
Go with us to the jordan!"
"If I go with you to the jordan,
Who will be your witness?"
"Lo, Moon who shineth above us,
He will be our witness!"

"It is not he whom I seek,
Not he whom my soul desireth.
The moon, of whom ye spake,
Riseth at dusk and setteth at dawn.
The moon of which ye spake,
the moon is vanity and cometh to an end
And his worshippers come to an end and are vanity."

I rose up from the jordan
And a group of souls I met,
A group I met of souls
Who surrounded our father Shitil,
Saying to him, "By thy life, our father Shitil,
Go with us to the jordan!"
"If I go with you to the jordan
Who will be your witness?"

"Lo, there burns a fire.
It will bear witness for us."
"That is not what I seek,
Not that which my soul desireth.
The fire of which ye spake
Once a day needs a firebrand.
The fire of which ye spake --
Fire, is vanity and cometh to naught
And its worshippers come to naught and are vanity."

I rose up from the jordan
And a group of souls I met,
I met a group of souls
Who surrounded our father Shitil,
Saying to him, " By thy life, our father Shitil,
Go with us to the jordan!"

"If I go with you to the jordan,
Who will be your witness?
"The jordan and its two banks
Will bear witness for us;
Pihta, kushta and mambuha
Will bear witness for us;
Habshaba, (Sunday) and Kana-d-Zidqa
Will bear witness for us;
The sanctuary in which we worship
Will bear witness for us;
The alms that is in our laps
Will bear witness for us;
And our father who is our head
Will bear witness for us."

"this is that which I seek,
This is that which my soul desireth!
When I rise to the House of Life
And travel to the Everlasting Abode,
When Life questioneth me, (these) witnesses
Will come and will bear witness.
Witnesses of the truth are they,
Sure is all that they say!"
And Life is victorious!
[Recite this prayer after "Thou art blessed, Outer Door."]

PRAYER No. 22

We have acknowledged the name of Life: (believe in) the great celestial Womb, in that which is endless and countless, in Yaluz-Yaluz, in Sbabut, the mighty Will of Life; in Piriawis, fount of living waters; in "He-provided-a-Dwelling" giving His Likeness its dwelling in the House of Life; in the Life Whose Eyes were fixed upon the waters. He arose, gazed and beheld the Nest from which He derived His being.

We believe in Yufin-Yufafin, in Nbat, the first Upsurge and outflow of Life at its inception, in its second (outflow), Sam-Smir; in its third, Bihram son of the Mighty (Life), Yukabar, the Word of Life who came from the House of Life to righteous and believing men.

Any person sprinkled by this oil on which I have pronounced the name of the Mighty Sublime Life and upon whom I have pronounced these mystic names, will have health (healing) abundant in his body; health abundant and not poor.

And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 23

In the name of the Great Life!

Precious oil art thou, son of white sesame, son of the Euphrates bank, son of the river -pleasaunce, son of water-pools, son of treasures of light. Upon thee, Oil, Life laid His hand and sent thee to this world which is all birth, to heal, uplift, raise up and ameliorate all pains, diseases, complaints, tumours (and) the seven mysteries that inhabit the body. I praise thee, Oil, and adjure thee, Oil, by the Life, by Manda-d-Hiia and by the 'uthras, sons of salvation (and) by this strange being, who is honoured, wondrous and perfect, who summoned chosen elect beings, sons of light, and said to them: "Give me precious oil, son of white sesame, son of the Euphrates-bank, son of the river-meadow, son of water-pools, son of treasures of light.

Anoint, and I will bring you oil: anoint with radiance, fight and glory, the Oil wherewith I anointed and (which) I bestowed, not in the name of a god, not in the name of spirit, not in the name of a messiah nor in the name of a temple-Ishtar. Nay, the oil with which I anointed, (the oil) which I bestowed is at my name, my Sign and (given) as the name and sign of a living, glorious, flourishing and steadfast race. Any

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man anointed by this oil will live, be whole and be strengthened: his mouth will assume the nature of Anush, within him he will take on the nature of Anush. >From him the seven dolours of death and the eight afflictions of darkness shall violently depart and be expelled. Demons, devils, shedim, demon visitants, amulet-spirits and liliths will be removed and driven out of him in the presence of that which increased the strength, radiance and light of Knowledge of Life".

And Life be praised!

PRAYER No. 24

In the name of the Life!

Thou wast established, First Life; thou wast in existence before all things. Before Thee no being existed.

For He hath fulfilled Himself and hath issued in His strength and His steadfastness and in the radiance and strength which His Father hath bestowed upon Him. For we have not changed that which thou hast commanded us. Thou enlargest our steps and liftest our eyes heavenwards. Thou descendest and givest us dwellings by springs of Life. Thou pourest into us and fillest us with thy wisdom, thy doctrine and thy goodness. Thou showest us the way by which thou camest from the House of Life and we will walk therein with the gait of righteous and believing men, so causing our spirits and souls to dwell in the dwellings of Life, the place where the spirits of our fathers abide, clothed in radiance and covered with light, rejoicing, laughing, dancing, exulting about the glorious splendour resting (upon them) [?].

This is the Oil wherewith he anointed, the radiance, light and glory which Manda-d-Hiia blessed with his pure mouth and best-owed on all who love his name of Truth. From all those who are anointed with this oil every pain, disease, complaint, tumour, curse and physical evil will be removed. They will be freed from fetter and bond, from evil curses, from evil slander, from lying accusation, from the hand of the wicked, from the sword of enemies and from the third tongue which is softer than fat and sharper than a sword. (They will be delivered) from incubi and hobgoblins, from wicked outcry, black magic; from a spoilt wreath, from the male and female biruq and from the second death: they will be driven off and cast out by thy surpassing Name which is all life. It falleth on the dead man and he liveth: on the sick man and he stretcheth (himself); on the blind man and (his eyes) are opened; on the deaf man and wisdom and perception are infused into him. The accused is successful in his lawsuit and the prisoner is freed from prison. The hand of Truth and healing will come from the House of Healings in the name of the Life which emanated from Life and in the name of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia. Every man anointed with this oil will be sinless and blameless in the Place of Life.

And Life is victorious.

[Read these three prayers "We acknowledged the name of Life" "Precious oil art thou", "Thou wast established, First Life", upon the oil and sign the souls thou hast baptised, when they rise up out of the jordan. Say "N. son of N., thou hast been signed with the sign of Life and the name of Life, and the name of Manda-d-Hiia hath been pronounced on thee. Thou hast been baptised with the baptism of Bihram the Great, son of the Mighty (Life). Thy baptism shall protect thee and attain its end. The name of Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia are pronounced on thee." Sign thrice and grasp their right hands in the kushta (rite). Then recite and pass (thy finger) over thine (own) face -- thine own sealing. And then they shall stand up before thee. Recite over the pihta and mambuha and give them pihta that they may eat and mambuha that they may drink and take their right hands in kushta. Then make them sit before thee and read the sealing (prayer) and lay thy hand on their heads.]

PRAYER No. 25

In the name of the Life!

When a jordan of living water (Water of Life) was bestowed on Sam-Smir, the great Radiance of Life, nine hundred and ninety-two thousand myriad 'uthras, sons of light, opened their mouths, praising Manda-d-Hiia. "Praised be Manda-d-Hiia; praised be Yawar-Ziwa; praised be Bihram and Ram; praised be Tarwan-Nhura; praised be Nbat the first great Radiance; praised be Nsab and Anan-Nsab; praised be Sar and Sarwan; praised be that great and mighty Mana; praised be that great Presence of Glory; praised be that whole abode of those at rest; praised be all the ways and paths of the Almighty (Life); praised be all the mighty celestial worlds of Light; praised be all those occult dwellings (shkinata); praised be that Voice, Strength, Word and Command which come from the House of Abathur; praised be Abathur-Rama; praised be the myriad 'uthras who stand in the presence of Abathur; praised be Shilmai and Nidbai the guardian 'uthras of the jordan; praised be our father. Hibil, Shitil and Anush the head of the whole race.

Turn back, thrust back from me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush and from these souls who have descended to the jordan and been baptised, terror, fright, fear of devils and demons, shedim, demon visitants, ghosts, amulet-spirits, liliths, gods, angels, demons of high places and shrines and idol-spirits: (all those) that the seven planets and the lords of the House loose against souls in this world.

Manda-d-Hiia! Lift up thine eyes, (behold) thy devotees, thine offspring and thy priest! Behold us who stand in this place which is all evil things! At the great Door which is all principalities do we stand, amongst the wicked, and dwell amongst sinners. Deliver us from this world which is all sinners and from the sorceries of the children of Adam and Eve. Forgive us that which we have done, and that which we do forgive us. Forgive us, Looser of sins, (our) trespasses, our follies, our stumblings and our mistakes. If thou dost not loose us from our sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings, and mistakes, no man is clean in thy sight Manda-d-Hiia!

Accept, (O) Life, Thy prayer from the Occult and assure (to us) bliss in Thy light in the name of Sharhabiel the great First Radiance. May the words of Sharhabiel the Great First Radiance, be established for all who love his name of Truth. And for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush may darkness be overcome and light set on high.

And Life be praised.

PRAYER No. 26

In the name of the Life!

Bound (together) and sealed are these souls who went down to the jordan and were baptised in the name of the Great Life. They have been baptised with the baptism of Bihram the Great. Their souls have been secured with bonds of righteousness and with the bonds of Zhir, the great light of Life.

And Life be praised!

PRAYER No. 27

In the name of the Life!

We were set up and raised up by 'Usar-Hiia: through 'Usar-Hai and Pta-Hai union with the House of Life came to us: Manda-d-Hiia went to us with radiance that is great and light that is powerful, with our mana, our sign, our way, our jordan and our baptism; with Hauran our vestment; with Haurаran our covering and with Hazazban our wreath.

I call on the mighty, sublime, all-surpassing Life, supreme over all works and I say to It, "Behold, behold, Great Life, us who at Thy name, Life, descended into the jordan and for Thy name's sake, Life, we took our name and our sign from the great Jordan of Life and from the great source of healing, at the word of Truth and (the power) to uplift of Yukab1ar-Ziwa.

And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 28

Bound (together) and sealed are these souls who descended to the jordan and were baptised. By Hauran-Haurаran, the out-thrust of the Great Life: by Its names, by Yufin-Yufafin and Sam-Mana-Smira; by Yusmir, vehicle of the First radiance; and by the being Yukabar, the (well-) equipped 'uthra; seal and guard these souls who descended to the jordan and were baptised, against the deities of the House, lest they gain dominion over them. (Protect them) from their devils and demons so that they shall not go near them nor harm them nor ruin them. Let all pains, diseases, afflictions and tumours be removed from them. Let all evil sicknesses and malignant curses of the body be removed and driven off, so that those who sit before Thee like men attainted shall stand up like clean men. And healing shall be theirs, those souls who went down to the jordan and were baptised.

And Life is victorious.

[Recite these four "sealing" prayers, "When .. was bestowed", "Secured and sealed" ".. By 'Usar-Hiia" and the longer "Secured and sealed" with a loud voice to the souls whom thou hast baptised after thou hast given them pihta and mambuha. If (several) souls, recite as written; if a single soul, say "for this, the soul of N." Then make them stand and recite "Ye are set up and raised up".]

PRAYER No. 29

In the name of the Life!

Ye are set up and raised up into the Place of the Good. Established amongst manas of light are these souls which went down to the jordan and were baptised (and those) of our fathers and teachers and of our brothers and sisters who have departed the body and those who are still in the body. There, in the light shall ye be raised up.

And Life is victorious.

[Here recite "What did thy Father do for thee, Soul. "]

PRAYER No. 30

In the name of the Life!

"What did thy Father do for thee, Soul,
The great day on which thou wast raised up?"
"He took me down to the jordan, planted me,
And took (me) up and stood me upon its bank.
He broke and gave me bread (pihta),
Blessed the cup and gave me thereof to drink.
He placed me between his knees
And pronounced over me the name of the Mighty (Life)
He passed into the mountain before me;
He cried loudly that I might hear,
That I might hear he cried loudly,
'If there is strength in thee, Soul, come!'
'If I climb the mountain I shall fall;
I shall overturn and perish from the world!'
I lifted mine eyes to heaven
And my soul waited upon the House of Life.
I climbed the mountain and fell not,
I came (thither) and found the life of my Self.

"What did thy Father do for thee, Soul,
The great day on which thou wast raised up?"
"He took me down to the jordan, planted me,
And took me up and stood me upon its bank.
He broke and gave me bread,
Blessed the cup and gave me thereof to drink.
He placed me between his knees
And pronounced over me the name of the Mighty (Life).
He passed into the fire before me;
And cried aloud that I might hear,
That I might hear he cried aloud,
'If there is strength in thee, Soul, come!'
'If I go into fire I shall burn,
I shall scorch and perish from the world!'
To heaven I lifted mine eyes
And my soul waited upon the House of Life.
I went into fire and burned not,
I came, and found the life of my Self.

"What did thy Father do for thee, Soul,
The great day on which thou wast raised up?"
"He took me down to the jordan, planted me,
Took me up and stood me upon its bank.
He broke and gave me bread,
Blessed the cup and gave me thereof to drink.
He placed me between his knees
And pronounced over me the name of the Mighty (Life).
He entered the sea before me;
He cried aloud that I might hear,
That I might hear he cried aloud.
'If there is strength in thee, Soul, come!'
'If I go into the sea I shall sink,
I shall be overturned and perish from the world!'
To heaven I lifted mine eyes
And my soul waited upon the House of Life.
I went into the sea and was not drowned,
I came, the life of my Self I found,
Yea, Life! lo, Life! Life hath triumphed over this world.
And Life is victorious.

[This is a baptism hymn. Set up (recite?) the hymns, and where it says "souls" recite as written, but if it is a single soul say " amongst manas of light, the soul of N. son of N. who went down to the jordan and was baptised and received the Pure Sign" and chant "What did thy Father do for thee, Soul" and recite the antiphonal hymn "How lovely are plants which the Jordan (planted)" and "Rightly did my baptiser baptise me", "Shilmai baptised me with his baptism", "The jordan in which we were baptised", "I rejoice in my priests" and chant other hymns: "Truly do I say to you", "To you I cry, men who have received the Sign, and explain", and "A disciple, a new one, am I who have gone to the jordan-bank".

Then recite the "Blessed and praised" of Shum (Shem) son of Noah and at the place where it says "a wreath from the Vine Ruaz" (say) "will be set on the heads of these souls who have descended to the jordan, been baptised and received the pure sign and who were called, established and sealed by this baptism, and (on the heads of) our fathers, teachers, and brothers and sisters who have departed the body and those who are yet in the body". Should it be a single soul whom thou hast baptised, say "the soul of N. who went down to the jordan and was baptised" and finish.

And recite "Good is the good for the good" and end. And offer up the Petition and say the Rahmia for the souls thou baptisest. Say " these souls who went down to the jordan and were baptised and received the pure sign." If it was a single soul, say "the soul of N. son of N, who went down to the jordan and received the pure sign. " And beware: from the beginning to this point recite all thy baptismal prayers with care, attention and knowledge. And again perform kushta with them and say to them "Kushta make you whole my brother-'uthras! The communion of the living hath been performed in the manner in which 'uthras perform it in their shkintas. Fragrant is your perfume, my brother-'uthras, (for) within ye are full of radiance."

And they shall say "Seek and find, speak and be heard!" and kiss their hands. If the souls be female or if the soul thou baptisest is one (woman), perform the kushta with them and say to them "Kushta heal thee and raise thee up. Thy kushta shall be thy witness and thine alms thy saviour. When they say "Seek and find, speak and be heard" and kiss their hands, then say to them "Your kushta shall be your witness and your alms shall be your saviour. Your prayer and praise will rise and obtain mercy for you. In the name of the Great Life; we have

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acted (according to) the goodness of the Great (Life). And we have arranged (all things?) according to Thy loving-kindness from beginning to end. We have called upon the great Jordan of Water of Life and upon the three hundred and sixty jordans in which Hibil-Ziwa was baptised ". And he (H-Z.) said "Warn them, deliver them, save them and protect those souls which went down to the jordan, were baptised and received the pure sign from adultery, theft, black magic, from going to temples and worship in temples and from eating temple-food. And eat not of that which was killed by lion or wolf, or of anything disgorged or (found) dead. But immerse yourselves and purify yourselves. Manda-d-Hiia will be your helper, and your baptism will be efficacious." Then pray a prayer and Rahmia for thyself, and say "In the name of the Life! I worship the First Life and praise my lord Manda-d-Hiia and that great Presence of Splendour which emanated from Itself". Then recite "The First Life be praised! Truth make you whole! Ye are established and raised up" and transfer thy staff to thy right arm and end (the prayer). Then return it to thy left arm and recite the "Blessed and praised be Life" of Shum son of Noah. And sit and recite "Good is good for the good" and bend thy knee, sit, and pour out at "forgiving of sins" (be there for) "our forefathers" (etc.) "and the souls of Mandaeans, priests, ganzivri, treasurers, chief men and ethnarchs" in the "forgiving of sins". Then rise to thy feet, take the pihta and mambaha and recite the eight pihta prayers for the pihta and the two mambaha prayers for the mambuha. Dip the pihta in the mambuha and recite "The Life spoke and Life opened" for thy pandama and unfasten it. Eat thy pihta and drink thy mambuha and drink the rinsing-water and take a second rinsing and recite "Life is fulfilled" and "The (Great) Life dwelleth on those who love Him" and cast in thine incense at (the words) "Radiance goeth up to its place" and at the place where it says "will forgive those that love his name of Truth" he shall say "those souls who went down to the jordan, were baptised and received the pure sign, and Life is victorious". Then throw (water) beneath thy staff, recite "Good is the good for the good" and make the Petition and repeat the Rahmia for thyself. Perform the kushta with the shganda and when he goes down, recite "In radiance that is great am I immersed", slip aside thy pandama and honour thy crown.]

PRAYER No. 31

Radiance goeth up to its place and Light to the Everlasting Abode. On the day that Light ariseth, Darkness returns to its place. The Forgiver of sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes will remit them for those who love his name of Truth, and for those souls who went down to the jordan, were baptised and received the pure sign. Consuming fire will consume thee and thy ministration will be (noted?) in the habitations. The fragrance of life riseth to the House of Life, and we (too) will rise up to the House of Life: we shall be with the victorious 5). It is our support, and our confidence is in life in the Place of Light and in the Everlasting Abode. Life is established and set up in its indwellings, and Life is victorious over all works.

[This is the "loosing" (consecration) of incense for baptism.]

[In the name of the Great Life! May my thought, knowledge and understanding be enlightened, mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush, by means of these (prayers), admonitions and hymns of baptism, which were transcribed from the scroll The Great Wellspring. This is the baptism wherewith Adam the first man was baptised by Hibil-Ziwa when he breathed the pure mana into him and he got up, sneezed and lived.

And Adam questioned, and spoke, "Through the power of Hibil-Ziwa have I attained my end!"

Then Hibil-Ziwa arose, put on the seven vestments, and went to the jordan-bank. When Adam had placed the qauqa (and) fire before Hibil-Ziwa, Hibil-Ziwa twined a wreath for his staff and twined a wreath for Adam, then rose and went to the jordan and recited the prayer "Answer me, my father, answer me, for I have gone to the jordan in the strength of my father Yawar, and in the strength of Manda-d-Hiia a wreath hath been set upon the 'uthras."

Then he arose and recited "In the name of that First Being" for his crown and set it on his head, then recited "Life created Yawar-Ziwa", "Let there be light" and Manda created me" for the myrtle-wreath and set it beside the crown.

And he held the end of his stole and recited "Strengthened and enhanced is the great mystery of radiance, light and glory" over his pandama, folded his pandama over his mouth and recited "incense that is fragrant, yea, for the First Life" and cast incense on the fire. And he recited "We have acknowledged," "Praises", "Thee, Thyself", "I sought to lift mine eyes", "The day that the jordan was bestowed on Sam-Smir", "I have worshipped and praised that Yawar-Ziwa" and "I am Yur son of Barit; in great radiance". And he held his stole and recited "I went to the jordan, but not I alone" up to the place where it says "give free movement to the limbs of my body; I go down," and he went down into the jordan up to a fourth of his thighs. And he recited "In the name of Yusmir, the First Vine" over his staff, and at the place where it saith "covered with radiance and clothed in light" he cast the myrtle-wreath over the staff and "clothed" it with his stole.

And he recited "Bound is the sea" and traced three circles thrice over in the jordan. And he recited "I am a perfected gem", and "Avaunt, flee in fear" and splashed the water in the jordan at his right, his left and in front of him and recited "Piriawis" as written. Then he chanted a hymn and said to him "Any man who hath strength thereto and who loveth his soul, let him come and go down to the jordan, be baptised, receive the pure sign, put on robes of radiant light and set a fresh wreath on his head."

And Adam descended into the jordan and submerged himself thrice behind him (Hibil-Ziwa), who took him by the right hand transferred him to his left, placed him between himself and his staff, dipped him thrice and signed him thrice in the jordan.

And he gave him three palmfuls of water to drink and recited "Manda created me" over the myrtle-wreath and set it upon his (Adam's) head and pronounced the secret names over him.

(Then) he took his hand in kushta over the staff and made him go up before him.

(Then) he took water from the jordan into his phial and recited the hymn "At the waterhead I went forth" and "Blessed art thou, Outer Door", and recited "I rose up from the jordan, and a group (of souls) I met". And he came up out of the jordan and completed it (the hymn). And he took up the oil and recited "We have acknowledged the name of Life", "Precious oil art thou" and "Thou wast established, First Life" over the oil. Then he signed him thrice and made passes over him thrice, and at each signing he laid his hand on his (Adam's) head and repeated those names which he had pronounced over him in the jordan.

And he performed kushta with him. (Then) he took the pihta and recited the eight prayers for the pihta over the pihta and the two prayers for the mambuha over the mambuha. And he gave him the pihta so that he should eat and gave him the mambuha that he might drink, and he drank the rinsing (water).

And he grasped his hand in kushta and seated him before him and recited the "sealing" prayers, "When a jordan of living water and bestowed upon Sam-Smir, the great Radiance of Life", "Bound and sealed", "By 'Usar-Hiia" and the greater (longer) "Bound and sealed" and laid his hand upon him and stood and recited "Ye are set up and raised up", "What did thy Father do for thee, Soul?", "How lovely are the plants which the jordan planted and raised up", "Rightly did my baptiser baptise me", "Shilmai baptised me with his baptism and Nidbai", "The jordan in which we were baptise will bear us witness", and "I rejoice in my priests and Nasoraeans who hearken to my converse".

And he chanted the hymns "Truly do I say to you", "To you I cry and explain" and "A new disciple am I who hath come to the jordan bank".

And he read all the hymns and homilies unto their end and recited "Blessed and praised be Life" of Shum son of Noah and "Good is the good for the good". And he recited "In radiance that is great am I immersed" and loosed his kanzala (stole) and "honoured" his crown.

And Life is victorious.]

[Then Hibil-Ziwa gave judgement and said "The Life hath anathematised and Manda-d-Hiia hath cried out against and the Great First Word hath pronounced against any man, priest, who performed a baptism without his pandama. He shall be accursed by the Name (Vein) Of the Great Wellspring: Shilmai and Nidbai the guardian 'uthras of the jordan will curse him and the Wellspring and Palmtree will curse him. Yukabar will take away his crown and his seal and hull him back to his natural home, the Place of Darkness. Moreover, before any Nasoraean who retains his pandama whilst performing a baptism, a vein of the Great Wellspring will heap up and all that he doeth will be confirmed. All mischances will avoid him and darkness will roll away from him. His vestments will be kept in our safekeeping. Whilst he is alive in his body the Seven will be powerless to loose fear against him and lofty strength will be sent to him.

When he departeth the body the clouds which precede 'uthras will come towards him and dread of purgatory-demons will be powerless over him (for) he will not pass through the Purgatories.

And Abatur will clothe him in his glory and all the 'uthras will shed their light upon him.

And Life is victorious.

This is the limit (end) of the baptism which came to this world, the (baptism) wherewith Hibil-Ziwa baptised Adam the first man and it was preserved in the ages for the elect righteous, for it was written down in the scroll of the Great Wellspring belonging to Ramuia son of 'Qaimat. And Bavan-Hibil son of Brik-Yawar wrote it here and distributed it amongst a hundred Nasoraeans, (copying) it from his own scroll which he copied from the scroll of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat.

It was written in the town of Tib and was placed with Haiuna daughter of Yahia, and Bainai son of Zakia.

Those who hold to it, (let them) expound it. (But) he who doth not establish it, let him keep away from it and not approach it.

And Life is victorious.]

Then said Yahia-Adam son of Sam-Saiwia, "When the scroll of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat found in the possession of Haiuna daughter of Yahia and Bainai son of Zakia came into my possession I put it together and arranged it as it was written originally, and removed nothing from it.

And Life is victorious.]

The Masiqta ("The raising up")

i.e. spiritual resurrection or ceremony to aid the ascent of the soul

PRAYER No. 32

In the name of the Great Life may there be healing for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush!

Strengthened, enhanced was the great mystery of radiance, light and glory dwelling on the mouth of the First Life, for from It came forth Manda-d-Hiia (Knowledge-of-Life). For he knew and interpreted the thoughts of the First Life and perceived that they are wondrous.

And Life be praised!

[Recite this prayer and hold thy stole for the masiqta.]

PRAYER No. 33

In the name of the Life!

Water of Life art thou! Thou art come from the Place which is life-giving and art poured forth from the House of Life.

(At thy) coming, Water-of-Life, from the House of Life, the good come and refresh themselves, (but) the wicked are discomfited and the children of (this) world abashed and say "Is there (not?) room for us in the Place of Light? For those that seek (ask) of it find, and those who speak of it are heard".

We have sought and found and we have spoken and been heard in thy presence, Manda-d-Hiia, lord of healings. As water when poured out falleth on the earth, so (too) so doth evil fall abased before good. As the water falleth on the earth, so shall their sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes be loosed from those who love the name of Truth (kushta) and from the souls of this masiqta, and from (the souls of) our fathers, teachers, brothers and sisters who have departed the body, and those who (still) live in the body And say "Established is Life (or "the living") in Its (their) dwelling".

And Life is victorious.

[This is the mambuha prayer]

PRAYER No. 34

Hail to the First Life before Whom none existed, the Sublime from worlds of light, the Ineffable which is above all works; to the Ancient Radiance and the Great Primal Light, the Life which emanated from Life and the Truth that was of old, from the beginning. Hail the ancient, lofty, esoteric and guarded father of 'uthras. Hail Yuzataq, Gnosis of Life, Source of Life; He who unveileth the silence , giveth hope and keepeth the prayers of the spirits and souls of righteous and believing men into the Place of Light. Hail to the life of sincere and believing men who have come to their end and departed the body, and hail to those who are stiff alive in the body. May the gate of sin be barred to them and the gate of light be open for them. May they be knit together in the communion of Life in which there is no separation.

Pray ye from there for us and we will pray from here for you. All fruits wither: all sweet odours pass away, but not the fragrance of Gnosis of Life, which cometh not to an end nor passeth away for an age of ages and for world without end. May the souls of this masiqta rise up without sin, trespass, folly, stumbling and mistake unto the Place of Light and to the Enduring Abode.

And Life be praised!

[Read this ordinance for the incense and cast it on the fire. Then recite the prayers for the masiqta.]

PRAYER No. 35

In the name of the Life!

I sought to lift my eyes, shoulders and arms towards the Place which is all life, radiance and glory, the place where which is all life, radiance, light and glory; a place where they who seek of it find, those who speak of it are heard and to those who ask of it, it is given them, day by day and hour by hour. This hour I address to thee, my Lord, Manda-d-Hiia, a vital petition, large and not small, for this congregation of people who have bent their knees to the ground and stretched forth their hands to the intermediate and upper (worlds). They have forsaken images, pictures and idols of clay, gods (made) of blocks of wood , and vain rites, and have testified to the name of the great, strange (sublime) Life. To them the gate of sin is closed and for them the gate of life is open. May our request, our prayer and our humble submission rise before the supreme Life which is above all works.

Before thee (in thy sight) all hands are thieving, all lips have lied. Water is in the jordan. Before thee (in thine eyes), Manda-d-Hiia, no man is clean : we are slaves who are all sin, and thou a lord who art all mercy. When thou art with us,

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who shall conquer us and if thou justifiest us who will convict us? Judge us not after the fashion of earthly courts of law; despise us not for our follies and associate us not with the false rites practised by the worlds and generations.

The worlds thrust hard at us, but we fell not. Backed by the Truth which is thine own, we have perfect confidence.

Establish life, and wilt thou not establish human beings? Thou hast spoken to us in thy Word and hast commanded us with thy command "Ask on earth and I will supply you with heavenly fruit : ask from below, (from) reed , swamp and mud, and I will supply you from the lofty heavens. Make supplication with the fleshly right hand, and I will bring you (what ye asked) with the right hand of kushta.

The first (generations) sought and found: let those that come after seek, and they will find. Seek and find for yourselves, for your friends, for your friends' friends and for those who love the great Family of Life. Your eyes shall not turn away from me unsatisfied."

Thou art the father of all the 'uthras, the Support which is all light, the Vine which is all Life and the great Tree which is all things. For Thou knowest hearts, understandest minds and searchest out consciences (even) in the nethermost hells of darkness. Like a servant lying prostrate before Thee, our eyes are lifted to Thee, our lips give Thee praise and blessing seven hours of the day and the three watches of the night.

Those who seek of Him find, and to those who ask of Him it will be given. For to him that standeth at a closed door Thou wilt open the closed door. In the Place of Light Thou wilt wipe away and remove from us our sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes and wilt cast them into the hells of the earth and the nethermost limbos of darkness. Thou wilt raise us up as sinless and not as guilty, as virtuous and not as vicious before thee, Manda-d-Hiia.

The good behold and are refreshed: the wicked are discomfited and the children of (this) world abashed. And they say "Is there no place for me in the Place of Light, since those who seek therefrom find, and ask thereof and it is given them?"

We beseech thee to let some of thy radiance, thy light and thy glory rest upon us. Thou art the Healer above all means of healing, a Raiser-up above (all) that raiseth up, a Radiance above all radiancies and a light above all lights. For thou openest doors of truth and revealest mysteries and wisdom and showest forth mighty deeds in Jerusalem. Thou confinest demons and devils and frightenest away the gods from their high places. Great is thy name and praised is thy name! Thou art the counterpart of the Life, for thou wast in existence before all. Thou art the Vine, for thou wast in the Ether above heaven and above the earth. When worlds came into being and creations were called forth, thou didst hold in thy grasp the worlds and generations. Thou hast laid down a road for sincere and believing men to the Place of Life. (Though) spirits and souls sit (here) as guilty, (yet) by thy name they shall rise as innocent, (thy name of) Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia. To support the hands of good people, thou wilt be (bring?) healing of life to the souls of this masiqta Life is established in its indwellings and Life is victorious.

[This prayer is good for all occasions: (it may be used) on occasion for the Rahmia (daily office), or for the masiqta, or for baptism and for all purificatory rites. For the masiqta, after thou hast recited over the pandamta, "water of prayer" and the ordinance for the incense, pray "We have acknowledged", "Praises", "To Thee", "Lifting eyes" and "I sought to raise my eyes". And prepare the pihta, mambuha and klila (wreath) and set them out for the masiqta. And recite the ordnance for the oil, (placed) in something clean : in a glass or tin cup when washed and cleansed. And recite the masiqta.]

PRAYER No. 36

In the name of the Life!

I worship, laud and praise that great, secret, First Mana who abode for nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand myriads of years alone in his own Abode - for no Companion came to him; (none existed) save that great, secret, First Mana. For he came into existence therein and developed therein.

Then I worship, laud and praise that great, occult, First Drop who emanated from Him. They existed, (but) She abode for four hundred and forty-four thousand myriads of years in Her own Abode, alone, for She had no consort.

Then I worship, laud and praise Pirun, that great occult first Vine from whom there emanated eight hundred and eighty eight thousand myriads of 'uthras.

>From Them and from those 'uthras proceeded one 'uthra, whose name is the Great Countenance of Glory who is (at once) less than his brethren and more venerable than his parents. Manda-d-Hiia, the well-prepared 'uthra, divulged and revealed and said "Any Nasoraean man who sitteth to recite "Established is the First Life" and breaketh bread will receive condemnation from the House of Life,"

And I am established, in the light of Life and Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 37

I worship, laud, and praise that Occult, great First Cloud of Life, with whom in secret, he broke bread and gave thereof in secret to the Occult Life and to the Mighty First Life.

And Life if victorious.

PRAYER No. 38

I have worshipped and praised Yawar-Ziwa, who arose and praised that great mighty Mana at whose right and left hand there stand four hundred and forty-four thousand myriads of 'uthras. A thousand myriads of 'uthras, sons of light, worship and laud the rays of his Radiance.

He arose and broke bread in secret and gave thereof to the sons of men and establisheth his Abode in secret.

And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 39

I worship, laud and praise that secret saying which Yawar pronounced secretly. He made it known, and divulged and established a Life-ray therein. Radiance and light came and dwelt at his right and glory and resplendence dwelt at his left. And the 'uthras en- treated the Life that they might behold the Likeness of Yawar-Ziwa in their own glory.

Yawar-Ziwa the vigilant 'uthra divulged and revealed and said "Sixty-four sins daily will be forgiven a Nasoraean man who repeats this secret saying, in the Great Place of Life and the Lasting Abode".

And Life is praised.

PRAYER No. 40

I have worshipped and praised 'Usar, who broke bread for the hidden first 'uthras, so that they (find) rest in their hearts.

The holy 'uthras stood in their dwellings and praise the mighty Life in its Dwelling, adorable in Its radiance and wondrous in Its light.

I worshipped and praised that supreme First Vine, for within it is its Sap : its leaves are 'uthras and its tendrils rays of light. 'Uthras sit in its shade. And within the great first Cloud of Light there came into existence, within the Treasure-of-Light there was generated, the Secret Mana.

And Life be praised.

PRAYER No. 41

I worshipped and praised Treasure-of-Light, the great Awaker (yawar) of Life, who broke bread in the Hidden and gave (thereof) to the Mighty First Life in Its Dwelling. I praised the seven mystic precious and preserved manas who derived existence from Their Place and were transplanted from Their Treasure-house. I worshipped and praised the mighty First Life that transported Itself from Its Place, transferred itself from its own Treasurehouse in which it came into existence, was developed, dwelt and was established; and (whereof) It discoursed and wherein It had gloried.

It praiseth and speaketh, "Every Nasoraean who reciteth these secret sayings will seek and find, will speak and be heard seven times daily. And seven sins will be forgiven him in the great Place of Light and Eternal Abode."

And Life be praised!

PRAYER No. 42

I worship, laud and praise that first secret Word which Yawar imparted in secret. He expounded and explained it and established therein that which is living, Rays (of his light). And Yawar said "Enlightenment and praise have come to pass". And Yawar came and his glory rested upon his own shkinta. Radiance and Light came and were established before him : Glory and Enlightenment came and dwelt at his right hand. And the 'uthras ask the Life to behold the appearance of Yawar-Ziwa in their (its?) radiance, and to commend the prayer and praise which they pronounced to Shilmai and Nidbai, the 'uthras who are the two messengers of Manda-d-Hiia

Yawar hath said, "Every Nasoraean who repeateth this secret prayer seven times daily, seven sins a day shall be forgiven him. And Life abideth in its Dwelling".

Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 43

Thou art enduring, First Life before Whom no being had existence, Unearthly One from worlds of light, Supreme Being that art above all works, above the Ancient Radiance and above the First Light; above the life which emanated from Life and above the Truth (kushta) which was of old in the Beginning!

Thou, Manda-d-Hiia, hast established for thy chosen that which thou hast revealed to us from the book Nhur (Be light) and front Pta usra (They revealed treasure from the first treasure and from 'Usar Nhura (Treasure of Light), a solace, a great support of life, that which shineth in light, the light of which enlighteneth.

It (Manda, gnosis) came into being, was revealed, fulfilled and went forth in strength abundant and became mighty by growth of knowledge It increased in radiance and was full of light which proceeded from the Counterpart (?) of Life, a wondrous counterpart!

Thereupon the worlds were ashamed, for none had seen its like, its brilliance or its glory.

Kushta standeth by his friends and Manda-d-Hiia by his chosen ones.

For thou hast chosen (us), host taken us out of the world of hatred, envy and disputes and hast set us firmly on paths of truth and faith, so that we stand and praise the holy and guarded place. And he who partaketh of this bread (pihta), put out (for him) will be sinless in the Place of Light, the Everlasting Abode.

And Life is victorious.

[These are the prayers appointed for the pihta].

PRAYER No. 44

Biriawish, source of living waters, first upsurging that sprang forth, great outburst of the radiance of all-abundant Life! (Be) life for the souls of this masiqta.

[This is the appointed prayer for the mambuha, If there are (several) souls, read as written; if one soul say 'for this the soul of N.']

PRAYER No. 45

Thy name, (O) Life, is excellent: its glory is great, its light abundant, Its goodness came over (or overflowed), inaugurating the First Mystery, life which proceeded from Life and Truth which existed before the beginning. This is a wellspring of life which sprang forth from the Place of Life: we drink thereof, of this Fount of Life which Life transmitted was established in the House of Life, which crossed worlds, came, cleft the heavens and was revealed.

Thou hast shown us that which the eye of man hath not seen, and caused us to hear that which human ear has not heard. Thou hast freed us from death and united us with life, released us from darkness and united us with light, led us out of evil and joined us to good. Thou hast shown us the Way of Life and hast guided our feet into ways of truth and faith so that Life cometh and expelleth darkness and goodness cometh and casteth out evil. (Like) the mingling of wine with water, so may Thy truth, thy righteousness and thy faith be added to those who love Thy name of Truth,

And Life be praised.

[This is the set prayer for the mambuga (sacramental drink). Make the pihta and the mambuhamasiqta, and then make the myrtle wreath.] and place them (ready for) the

PRAYER No. 46

In the Name of Life!

The Light became light, the Light became light! The Light became the light of the First Life. Glory dawned and (there was) praise of the Mana who came from his Place. He came (with) all ether-wreath, with benefits that are from the Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode. Yufin-Yufafin was the weaver of the wreath; she who brought it was 'Nisbat'-Utria (She- planted i.e. was the mother of uthras). And he who set wreath on was 'It-Yawar-Ziwa (There-is- dazzling-Radiance) son of 'Nisbat-'Utria: he brought it and set it on the head of the Mana, planted it (there) so that it was set up (thereon).

The wreath flames and the leaves of the wreath flame. Before the Mana there is radiance, behind the Mana there is light and glory, at either side of the Mana are radiance, brilliance and purity; and at the four corners of the heavens and on the seven sides of the firmament dwell silence, bliss and glory.

And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 47

Enlightened and enlightening are words of light to the souls of this masiqta. Sure, assured, armed and prepared, resplendent and beauteous (are they) when the wreath with its mysteries is set on the heads of these souls of this ascent (masiqta) to the great gate of Abathur's house. They will open to them the great gate of Abathur's house and will guard them by secret and watchful manas.

And Life be praised!

[These two prayers are said over the myrtle-wreath in the masiqta.]

PRAYER No. 48

In the name of the Life!

Manda-d-Hiia went to the stars. His appearance loosed the bound (souls): he knit (them into?) the communion that is without parting and without limit or number, by his word which issued from him in that place. All the worlds were confounded: the works of the House were destroyed and there was security for sons of the Great Family of Life.

He planted his planting and descended to the earth, (where) the hand of Evil, of the Lord of the House, lay heavy upon them. And when wickedness oppressed them, they beheld his radiance, and some of the celestial fruits appeared to them, the strength and name of the Ineffable One Who is all light was revealed to them and some of His glory was communicated to them and Knowledge of Life (Manda-d-hiia) was revealed to

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all who love his name of Truth at the place which is wholly (inhabited by) those convicted of sin. And when they beheld him, the lords of the worlds were con- founded but did not, from their thrones, loose (the bonds of) the captives.

He passed by: the captives were freed. He loosed them from their sins and trespasses: yea, release from their bodies was made possible to them. And (as for) the lords of the House who looked on, their ranks were discomfited and they were unable to reach him. Yea, the name of Abathur was (set) over them and the name of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia was fulfilled and revealed to those who love his name. And his name shall (aid) the souls of this masiqta: it will be his name. And Life is victorious.

[This is the recitation appointed for the masiqta. Read it over pure oil in something (pure ?) and place it before thee and then read the masiqta.]

PRAYER No. 49

In the name of the Strange (Sublime) Life!

This, the glory and light of life, is to bring forth the spirit and soul from the body and to clothe the living soul in a living garment. Yea, she is solaced and liveth, the counterpart of Life, she that emanated from a Dimat of Life, with the Outer Life, with Hauraran and Karkawan-Ziwa, with Treasure-of-Light, the solace and great support of life, with life that emanated from the Life and with the truth which existed of old in the beginning, They live in their shecinahs, and the Great Light (abideth) in its purities.

When any human being departeth from his body, there come towards him seven godlike appearances , and each standeth by his own, And Sauriel the Releaser cometh -- he who releaseth spirit and soul from the body. Up there, with those works, he standeth with the vesture of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia which releaseth (the soul). And Hauraran and Karkawan-Ziwa remove from her that in her which is of the body, and she putteth on the dress of Yuzataq- Manda-d-Hiia. Garment on garment she putteth on, she arrayeth herself in robe after robe, When she weareth the vesture of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia there, she laugheth, rejoiceth, leapeth for joy, danceth, exulteth and is overjoyed about the glorious splendour resting (upon her) and the glory that accrueth to her.

Onward she goeth in the vesture of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia, The planets who are in their places were out of coutenance on seeing it: they clenched their fists, beat on the forecourt of their breasts and say "Woe on (us) planets! for they (we) are powerless, but the works of Their hands are victorious!"

And they say "How beautiful is this radiancy, how steadfast this light, how lovely this glory and how wondrous this appearance!" And they ask "who will clothe us with this radiance ? Who will cover us with this light and who will shed on us this glory ? And what is it that passeth before us in this guise ? for it is fair, shining and bright: in this world nothing made can be compared to it!" And they exclaim "How good is Kushta to the good, and Manda-d-Hiia to all his chosen, (those) who stand in their bodies and dedicate themselves to the name of the Life and to becoming (thus)!"

She goeth on in the vesture of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia and they let those deeds of hers pass by and (escape) the hands of all the planets.

And on she went and reached Abathur's house of detention, (Abathur), the Ancient, Lofty, Holy and Guarded one. There his scales are set up and spirits and souls are questioned before him as to their names, their signs, their blessing, their baptism and every- thing that is therewith.

The soul of N. hath entered the House of Abathur and hath given her name, her sign, her blessing, her baptism and everything that is therewith!

The souls of our fathers were signed with the sign of Life and the name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia was pronounced over them. They put them in the scales, putting in their deeds and rewards I) and weighed them. And the perfect went in (also), the spirit with the soul, but they took them out (for they were) clean. Radiance issued from the radiance of Abathur and clothed them and they brought light and covered their (therewith).

(Like them) she (the soul) put on garment on garment and robe over robe like the vestments of Abathur. There she laugheth, rejoiceth, leapeth for joy, danceth, exulteth and is overjoyed about the glorious splendour which resteth (on her) and accrueth to her . And she proceedeth in the vesture of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia and went on and reacheth the watch-house (house of detention) of four beings, sons of perfection, 'In-Hai, Sum-Hai, Ziv-Hai and Nhur-Hai . Each of these beings clotheth her with his radiance and each covereth her with his light. Garment on garment she putteth on, with garment after garment doth she clothe herself. When she puts on the vesture of the sons of perfection she laugheth, rejoiceth, leapeth for joy, danceth, exulteth and is overjoyed about the glorious splendour, the honour resting on and belonging to her.

She proceeded in the vesture of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia and went onwards and reached the Waters of Death . The waters covered her, (but) Radiance crossed over- his name abode in his shkinta : honoured and chosen, he created himself - and said "Life, I am Thine, and for Thy name's sake came I forth from the world of Pthahil, from amongst evil plots and from beneath the throne of Abathur the Ancient, so that we tray bring out this soul of N, of this masiqta (so that) she cometh before him".

He is the ray of the great radiance of Life, a being who resteth upon the shkinta, and upon shkinta doth his name rest. He graspeth her with the palm of his right hand and handeth her over to two 'uthras, sons of light, to Adatan and Yadatan, of one gnosis and one mind. And Adatan and Yadatan hand her over to two 'uthras, to 'Usar-Hai and to Pta-Hai who open the Door of Life, plant the plant of Life and establish the first counterpart of the House of Life. They raised her up beside the living they bring her in, in the likeness of Life they support her in the Place where radiance, like light, flameth. And the spirits of N. went and became of the same nature as the soul and was established in the House of Life.

And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 50

Rightly did the baptist baptise me (in the waters of?) Yaluz-Yaluz for their spring is Hammamulai. My name, Ksasar-Hamamulai is spoken, disseminated, guarded, hidden and pure. They (the waters?) knew the source from which they proceeded: its name was on the sky, its glory on the earth. For upon treasure, in treasure, the Great Life existed and was fulfilled in Its glory.

I sit on a perfected garment and by the great fountainhead of Yukabar-Hiia, beneath a Vine which riseth above me. Praise-of-Life standeth before me. "Who will manifest himself and come and speak to me?" "I am he who is manifest, for I am great". The life that is beneath me is the Vine which riseth above me, Praise-of-Life standeth before me. This is my name and my sign which I received from waves of water and from treasures of radiance and from the great and lofty Mixing-Bowl (?).

And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 51

In the name of the Life!

I am baptised in the name of the Strange Life, the Sublime (Being) above all works. I am established in the name of Treasure-of-Light. "I looked upon the Life and the Life looked upon me, and in the Life put I my trust. When this the soul of N. casteth off her bodily garment, she shall put on the dress of life and become a facsimile of the Great Life in light."

Yawar from the House of Life revealed (himself?) and shone forth , establishing his counterpart, transplanting the Great Life in his light. The worlds thrust at us, but we fell not; backed by Thy truth, we have confidence. The first sprout hath burst forth - a ray of the great radiance of Life in its triumphs; Truth (Kusta) and the great Source (kana) of its glory.

And Life be praised!

PRAYER No. 52

Whose son am I? Of the guarded Mana who is Yusmir, the First Great Radiance, son of the great Primal Life, who pondered and went forth seeking His own, that which came from Him. The congregation of souls, on the last day, when departing from their bodies, rejoice in Him, embrace Him and rising up, behold the outer ether and the enduring Abode and praise the Great Life in Its light.

And Life is victorious!

PRAYER No. 53

A letter, union and victory have come to this the soul of N. from the House of Life. Its fastening is water, its wreath is light, its weapon the living word, and its seal the Chosen, the Pure One. Every man who openeth it and readeth therein shall live, be whole, and his name will beset up in the House of Life in the name of the Great Sublime Life. And the First Life is established in Its skinta.

[This is the seal of the masiqta. Up to this point recite the masiqta, and here take the pihta and break off a morsel from one upper fatira and the undermost fatira and bring a portion of the Ba and fold them together. And mingle the "water of prayer" with the wine and recite over them "Yukasar chose her (the soul) who passeth over" and recite "The Life spoke and opened" and part thy pandama and eat thy pihta and drink thy mambuha and recite "The Water of Life burst forth in splendour in its skinta.]

PRAYER No. 54

Yukasar chose her that passeth (crosseth) over; he chose her, called her forth and established her. He clothed her in radiance ineffable and brought light abounding and covered her therewith. He raised her up to the Great Place of Light and the everlasting Abode, and in his own skinta his (the dead man's) soul was assigned (a place) and found rest in his treasure. Living waters (water of Life) from the House of Life burst forth (in splendour) and (like them?) shall shine forth the souls who are called upon, raised up and signed in this masiqta, (the souls of) our fathers, teachers, brothers and sisters who have departed the body, and of those who still live in the body. They shall rise upward on a smooth road and by the path of the perfect, shall behold the Place of Light and the everlasting Abode and be established by Him who opened (revealed) the great first light.

And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 55

The Great Life spoke and revealed (opened) with His mouth, in His own radiance light and glory. And Life be praised.

[This is for the loosing of the pandama. Recite this "Yukasar chose her who passeth over" over the "water of prayer" and wine when they are mingled together. If it is for (several) souls that he has recited read as written, but if for a single soul say "the soul of N. , shall be awakened" . And say "The Great Life spoke and opened with His mouth" and part thy pandama, eat thy pihta and drink thy mambuha. And recite "The living water shone forth in its place" then rise, and read one prayer alter another until the (prayer) "Yukasar chose her that passeth over" hath been offered up.]

PRAYER No. 56

In the name of the Life!

Living waters shone forth (in splendour) in their skinta. The robes of the good were resplendent in their place. The great Mana was dazzlingly bright in His glory. So (too) shall these living, (brightly) shining, steadfast and vigorous souls shine in splendour in the great Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode.

[This is a prayer of dedication for the "water of prayer"]

PRAYER No. 57

Fragrant incense riseth to its place and Thou, Life, be victorious! The Forgiver of sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes will forgive all those who love his name of Truth (Kusta) (likewise) the soul of N.

And Life is victorious.

[A dedication prayer for the incense]

PRAYER No. 58

In the name of the Life!

Praised be the First Life, praised be the Word of the First Life: praised be that radiance, light and glory; praised be that Light which is boundless and endless and none know when it came into being. Praised be the Lord of Greatness and praised be all the 'uthras that stand to the right and left of the Lord of Greatness and praise the Lord of Greatness. Praised be my father Yawar, praised be all the 'uthras who stand and praise my father Yawar. Praised be that great first Jordan in which the First Life was baptised. Praised be all jordans of living water: praised be the fruits, grapes and trees which stand by them. Praised be all the mighty and lofty worlds of light; praised be all those sanctuaries (shkinata) of the Hidden for in each and every skinta sit a thousand thousand 'uthras, ('uthras) without end, and the myriad myriad sanctuaries that are countless. Praised are those thousand thousand 'uthras without end and the myriad myriad sanctuaries beyond count.

Praised be all those banners of radiance, light and glory unfurled before them which give them light. Praised be the great gate of the House of Abathur; praised be all 'uthras who stand before Abathur and praise him. Praised be the three hundred and sixty scales which are set up before the ancient Abathur; praised be that first great Scales that was set up before Abathur the Ancient. Praised be that great occult Drop from which he proceeded. Praised be all 'uthras who sit upon thrones of rest and recite ordinances and masiqtas and secret prayers. Praised be those recitations, masiqtas, and secret prayers in which the Great (Life) is praised. Praised be those priests who sit with them.

Praised be all mountains of radiance, light and glory; praised be all roads and paths of light.

First Life! Lift up Thine eyes upon these souls called upon, raised up and signed in this masiqta and (the souls of) our father, brothers and sisters who have departed the body, and of those who still tarry in the body. Deliver them, save them and protect them from this world of the wicked and from those watch-houses (purgatories). Let thy mercy, Great First Life, rest upon them. And ye shall say "Life is established in its indwellings".

And Life is victorious.

[This is an offering-up of supplications. It is the dedicatory prayers of the masiqta. Pray "We have acknowledged", "Praises", "Thee, Thyself", "Raising eyes" and "I sought to raise my eyes". If thou recitest for (several) souls read as written, if it is one soul say "Lift thine eyes upon the soul of N"].

PRAYER No. 59

Life is fulfilled in its own glory and the Great Light established by its victories.

[This is the prayer offered up for the pihta].

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PRAYER No. 60
The Great Life dwelleth in those that love Him, and His devotees dwell in the Great Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode.
And Life be praised!
[This is the dedicatory prayer for the mambuha.]

PRAYER No. 61
An earthly wreath fadeth, but the wreath of Life is fresh and living. The wreath of an elect righteous man is set and shineth on the heads of those who love the name of Truth (Kusta). The wreath is from the world of light and the robe from the Everlasting Abode. The ether-wreath is set, with its purities, and shineth on the heads of these souls of this masiqta.
And Life is victorious.
[This is the prayer put up for the wreath of a masiqta. If thou recitest for several souls, read as written, but if for a single say "on the head of this soul of N."]

PRAYER No. 62
The worlds glisten (with costly) oil, but Nasoraeans shine with the radiance of Life.
And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 63
In great radiance am I immersed and in steadfast light am I established. Manda baptised me, Kusta confirmed me. A letter, communication (communion) and purity came to me from the House of Life. Its fastening is water, its wreath is light, its weapon the living word, and its seal the chosen, pure one. Every man who openeth it and readeth therein shall live, shall be whole and his name will be set up in the House of Life, in the name of the great Sublime Life from worlds (of light?).
And Life is victorious.
[This is the prayer offered up for the masiqta oil.]

PRAYER No. 64
The Life dwelleth in its own radiance and light.
And Life be praised!
[This is the confirmation of the (prayer) "Yukasar chose her who passeth over". Here recite "Ye are set up and raised up" and the masiqta-hymns.]

PRAYER No. 65
Ye are set up and raised up into the Place where the good are established amongst manas of light, the souls called upon and raised up and signed by this masiqta and (the souls of) our fathers, our teachers, our brothers and our sisters who have departed the body, and of those who are(still) living in the body. Your manas shall be set up in the Light and ye will be established in the Light.
And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 66
In the name of the Life!
I am crowned with a wreath and lay me down
In a dress in which there is no blemish.
No spot is there in the dress,
Nor is there aught missing or lacking in it.
The Life knew about me.
Adam, who slept, awoke;
He grasped me with the palm of his right hand
And gave (not?) into my hand a palmbranch.
Light cast me into darkness,
But the darkness was filled with light.
The day that light ariseth,
Darkness returneth to its place.
The souls of this masiqta
Approach a cloud of light.
Their journey is to the Place of Light.
And Life be praised.
[This is a masiqta hymn]

PRAYER No. 67
With him, with the Deliverer
The souls of this masiqta will ascend.
They will behold the Place of Light
And the Everlasting Abode.

On their road the Seven will not detain them,
Nor will the Judge of the False question them.
The Life will count you in His reckoning
And the good will set you up in their midst.
To the place to which the good go they will guide you
And in the place in which they stand they will set you up;
Lamps of radiance are found before you,
Beams of light behind you.
Kusta will come at your right
And Piety will smoothen your path.

For you there will be loosings
From here to the Everlasting Abode.
For the ferry which ferries over the Elect
Will set out towards you and take you across.
(Then) from Abathur of the Scales
A saviour will come forth towards you.
The saviour that cometh towards you
Is all radiancy and light from head to foot
Like the wreath in his right hand.

And on his two arms is a robe.
Bestir yourselves! Put on your robes!

Put on your living wreaths, gird on your girdles
In which nothing is awry or blemished.

Above your head there will be fruit,
And there, at your time and season
Your manas will be set up in the Light.

Your manas in the Light will be set up.
(So) rise up, behold the Place of Light!
And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 68
Between the Hidden and the Radiance,
Between Light and the 'uthras,
Between the Hidden and the Radiance
Stand those who question the soul,
Saying to her "Speak! say, soul,
Who constructed thee? who was thy Builder?
Who built thee and who was the Being, thy Creator?"

The soul spoke and said --
The edified, well-constructed soul spoke --
And saith to the Being who questioneth her,
Said to him, 'My father, One built me, One constructed me"
One was the Being who transplanted me;
One of the sons of salvation in his goodness
Took (accepted) his lot (duty).

He folded me in a wrapping of radiance,
Took (me) and gave me over to Adam.
Adam, in his simplicity, whilst he knew not nor understood,
Took and cast me into a physical body;
Took me and cast me into a physical body
That is all sour and bitter fluids and decaying substances.
(There) the soul remaineth and waiteth in the hostel of the body
Which he had bequeathed her: sitteth and watcheth over it
Till its measure and count were accomplished.

When its measure and count were accomplished
The Deliverer came to her;
To her came the Deliverer
Who loosed her and bore her away:
(Yea), he who had bound her, who had loosed the soul,
Went before her whom he had bound.

Coming behind him, the soul hasted
Reached her Deliverer, ran (after) him
Who had bound her to her dwelling.
The soul and her Deliverer (go):
Her course is to the Place of Light,
To the place whose sun goeth not down,
Nor do its lamps of light grow dim.

To it, and to that place, those souls
That are called upon in this masiqta
And signed by this sign, are summoned and invited.
They shall behold the great Place of Light
And the abiding Abode.
And Life be praised.

PRAYER No. 69
Bliss and peace there will be
On the road which Adam attained:
Bliss and peace there shall be
On the road which the soul traverseth.
The soul hath loosed her chain and broken her bonds;
She hath shed her earthly garment.
She turned round, saw it and was revolted
She uttered an evil curse on the being
Who had clothed her in the body.

She provoked the Framer-of-Bodies, she roused him
From the lair in which he lay. She said to him,
"Rise up, look, Framer-of-Bodies;
The hollow of thy hand is filled with water!"
The voice of the Framer-of-Bodies (is heard),
Who howleth and weepeth for himself
And saith "Woe is me that the hollow of my hand
Is filled with water!" And to her he saith
"Go in peace, daughter of the free, whom
In the house of evil ones they called handmaiden.

Go in peace, pure pearl that was transported
From the treasuries of Life;
Go in peace, fragrant one who imparted
Her fragrance to the stinking body.
Go in peace, radiant one, who illumined
Her dark house. Go in peace,
Pure and chosen one, immaculate and spotless!"

Flying, the soul went
Until she reached the House of Life:
She arrived at the House of Life.

`Uthras went forth towards her,
Saying to her "Take and put on thy robe of radiance
And set on thy living wreath!

Arise, dwell in the skintas,
The place where `uthras abide, conversing;
And Life is victorious and triumphant is Manda-d-Hiia
And lovers of his name".
And Life be praised!

PRAYER No. 70
Blessed and praised be Life
Who is filled with compassion for these souls.
Praised be thou, my lord, Manda-d-Hiia,
For thou raisest up these souls and dost not condemn them.

Praised be thou, pure Yushamin,
For thou wilt give them thy helping hand.
Be ye praised, Shilmai and Nidbai,
For ye will give true witness concerning them.
And be ye praised, Hibil, Shitil, and Anush
For ye will ransom them from the House-of-Dues
And from Abathur of the Scales!

For toward you will go forth a messenger,
And the messenger who goeth toward you
Is all radiance and light from head to foot.
In his right hand a kind of wreath
And on both his arms a robe.

Up! put on your robes, set on your living wreaths!
Gird on your girdles that are flawless and faultless!
Above your heads there will be fruit,
And your lamps will hang amongst lamps of light
And will shed light.

The Lord of Tolls will not confront you
Nor will lying judges put you to the question.
They will bring you liberating words
From here unto the Everlasting Abode,
The building that was built for you in the House of Life,
Will not come to nought in an age of ages!

And may some of Manda-d-Hiia's radiance and light
And the revivifying-breath of Life rest upon us!
Blessed is the Voice of Life
And praised be the great Beam which is all light.
And Life be praised.
[After thou hast recited "The Life dwelleth in its own radiance and light", "Ye are set up", "I am crowned with a wreath and lay me down", "With him, with the Deliverer", "Between the Hidden and the Radiance", "Bliss and peace there will be", "My vigilance and my praise giving", "Go in peace, Pure Chosen one", "Well, well is it for thee, soul" and the other hymns, as many as thou art able, then recite the "Blessed and praised is Life" of Shem son of Noah.
If thou readest for (several) souls, read as it is written, but if only for one soul, say "The soul of N." and pay attention, with all watchfulness, clearness of mind and studious attention and recite "Good is the good for the good"; perform Kusta with one another and recite "In great radiance am I immersed".
And pray a prayer for yourselves and make pihta and mambuha for yourselves and eat your pihta and drink your mambuha And offer up the prayer "Good is the good for the good", perform Kusta with one another for yourselves and (then) honour your crowns.]
And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 71
In the name of the Life!
Blessed and praised be the Life!
Blessed and praised be the name of Life in the Place of Light!
Blessed and praised art thou, my lord, Manda-d-Hiia;
Thou and thy strength, thy radiance, thy light, thy glory and thy help.
Praised art thou, my father Yushamin the Pure,
Son of a transplanting of the mighty Life.
Praised art thou, Second Life, Life that is from Life.
Praised are ye, Shilmai and Nidbai, guardian 'uthras of the jordan.
Praised are ye, Nsab and Anan-Nsab.
(Praised are) our fathers Hibil, Shitil and Anush
he name and chief of the whole race.

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Praised art thou, Lofty Abathur;
Blessed and established is the great skinta in which thou sittest.

Praised are ye four beings, sons of Perfection, who go to meet the good;
Go forth to meet the good and clothe the good with robes.
Praised art thou, Earth of Light and blessed and praised Those who dwell in thee.

Blessed art thou, Road of the great, path of the perfect
And track that riseth up to the Place of Light.

Blessed art thou, Nasirutha from whom the elect learn;
From thee learn the elect, and deal out reward and pious gift
They deal with reward and pious gift and rise up and behold the Place of light.

Praised art thou, jordan of living water, for from thee we obtain purity;
We obtain purity from thee and receive the pure sign.

My fathers beheld the Life and my teacher the Place of Light.
The 'uthras of light are victorious,
And victorious Abathur and the sons of Perfection
Who stand, praising the Life.

Enlargement of life there shall be for the believing
Who have departed out of our midst;
The believers, the poor, the lowly and priests.

And my lord Manda-d-Hiia will lend them his helping hand.

Thankfully received are the good gifts (tabuta) of life,
The good gifts of life and of knowledge of life,
The pihla that ..... at the name of the Life.

For any man who giveth an oblation,
His oblation will be his helper: elect and perfect men
Who bestow oblations will rise by Kusta 's path.
To them it shall be given.

Of the Ether-wreath they twisted them a wreath
Of speech and hearing, of joy, purity, goodness and greatness.

A wreath from the Vine Ruaz He will set on the heads
Of those souls called on, signed, and raised up by this masiqta;
(And the souls of) our fathers, our teachers, our brothers and our sisters, of those who have departed the body and those
who are yet in the body.

(A wreath like that) set on Its head by the Great (Life)
And by the Great (Life) given to 'uthras
And given by 'uthras to their priests.

Healer, whose medicine is water, come!

Be thou a healer to thy devotees,
To thy devotees be thou a healer
And to him that giveth oblation be thou a helper:
On him whom thou hast healed, do thou,
My lord, bestow soundness.

Behold him who standeth before thee and condemn him not.

My Lord, High King of Light, Revealer
Whose eyes are uncovered, seeking justice
And enacting justice for those who love it,
Do justice on those who persecute us,
Those persecutors who pursue us,
And on the wicked and furious ones
Who scheme to work evil upon us.

If it please Thee, High King of Light,
Look on us and condemn us not!

Behold these souls who believed in Thee
And for Thy name's sake stood by on earth
And were persecuted. Show us pure ether-air
So that we may forget earthly persecution,
That we may forget the persecution of earth
And the vexation of the wicked and liars.

Strengthen our insight, our voice, our vigilance and our praise!

Thereby the Great Life communed with thee
And set thee up completely (?) with His radiance
And His light, Manda-d-Hiia!
And may the vivifying-power of Life rest upon us.
My elect, ye shall say "Blessed be the Voice of Life
And praised be the great Beam which is all light!"
And Life be praised!
[This is the "Blessed and praised be the Life" of Shem son of Noah. Afterwards, read here "Blessed and praised be Life" of the souls, and then recite "Good is the Good for the good".]

PRAYER No. 72
Good is the Good for the good, and His nature is set upon those who love His name. We will seek and find, speak and be heard. We have sought and found, have spoken and been heard in thy presence, my lord, Manda-d-Hiia, Lord of all healings.
Forgive him his sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes and (those of) him who furnished this bread, masiqta and (ritual) food. My lord, Manda-d-Hiia and (Thou) Great First Life, forgive the sins trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes of the donor(s) of fee and oblation, and their wives, children, their priests and those who placed (brought) this bread and food; (likewise) you, my parents, teachers, instructors and preceptors when ye support from the Left to the Right. And ye shall say "Life be established in Its Dwellings and Life be praised;
Life is victorious over all works.
[Recite this "Good is the Good for the good" when thou readest a masiqta. When thou performest a baptism recite it, when thou distributest oil recite it, when thou recitest the Rahmia ("Devotions" recite it, and after the Rahmia. And recite it when thou partakest of the (ritual) dish.]
And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 73 The Letter
In the name of the Life!
A sealed letter which leaveth the world --
A letter written in good-faith (kushta)
And sealed with the seal of the Mighty (Life) --
Righteous men wrote it, believing men tied it on,
And suspended it about the soul's neck
And despatched it to the Gate of Life.
The soul, in her wisdom,
Pressed her nail on the letter,
Her nail she pressed on the letter;
She imbued it with her mystic radiance,
Wrapped it and veiled it in her light.
How came it that Daium saw
That the soul bore a letter?
How was it that Daium saw it
As her seven sons gathered about her
And said "Who hath written the letter
Whose secret no man knoweth?
Who wrote the letter that is sealed in
By these protective strands?"
The letter is written in good faith,
And sealed with the seal of the Mighty (Life).
Righteous (men) wrote it, believing men tied it on
And hung it about the neck of the soul
And despatched it to the Gate of Life.
The soul flieth and goeth until she hath reached
The watch-house of the Seven.
The Chief-of-Dues, when he saw her,
(And) the Governor, when they saw her,
Murmur discontent and say
"Who hath written the letter
Whose secret no man knoweth?
Who wrote letter that is sealed
By these protective marks?"
"The letter is written in good faith
And sealed with the seal of the Mighty (Life).
Righteous (men) wrote it;
Believing men tied it up
And hung it about the neck of the soul
And despatched it to the Gate of Life".
The soul flieth and travelleth on
Until she reacheth spirits of Purgatory.
The spirits of Purgatory abased their heads
And the soul passed the purgatory-spirits by.
The soul flieth and goeth
Until she came to the waters of death.
As she reached the waters of death
There came forth towards her
A great Beam of radiance (and) of life, (who)
Grasped her by the palm of her right hand
And brought her over the waters of death.
The soul flieth and goeth
Until she reacheth the House of Life.
When she reached the House of Life
She uttered a cry to the House of Life,
And when He heard her call, the Life
Sent a messenger towards her,
(Who) grasped her by the palm of her hand,
Conducted her, (came) to support her
In the likeness of the Life to the place
Of radiance, light and beams of effulgence;
To unite her to (the company of) 'uthras
And to set her up amongst beams of light.
Upon her head they placed a wreath of ether
And took her out of the world in splendour.
Life supported life: Life found Its own:
It hath found Its own, and my soul hath found
That for which she hoped.
And Life is victorious.
[Up to here recite over the flask of oil as it is put into clay up to the mouth of the bottle. And the clay must be pure and from the jordan.]

PRAYER No. 74
Bound (secured) and sealed are the spirit and soul of N. by the seal of Kushta and the great safeguard of truth by the word of Kushta and the raising (power) of Yukabar-Ziwa.
And Life is victorious.
[This is the conclusion of the "Letter". Set (press) thy seal-ring and the nail of thy little finger of thy right hand into the clay, seal it and read this conclusion over it. And Life is victorious].
[Shouldest thou wish to administer oil (to a dying person), at the beginning and end order the chief (relative) or remaining (persons: i.e. of the family?) to throw water over the dying person. If he is a Mandaean (layman) they shall purify the hand of the dying person and pour oil on it and sign it with three signings. And he shall join with him and shall place his hand on his mouth and then put the dying person's hand on his mouth. If immediate death is near (?) at the place where they apply the oil they shall cleanse with water and purify him and bring to him proxies (those like him).]
In the name of the Great Life!
Health and victory be mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush.
When thou wishest to administer unction to anyone leaving the body (dying), say "In the name of the Great Life, union and renewal of life and forgiving of sins be there for this soul of N. son of N. of this "Letter and masiqta". And bring a clean new bottle never before used, press out pure oil and place in it. When enough, twine a wreath of myrtle about the bottle. And set it before thee and recite for thy crown "In the name of that First Being" and set thy crown on thy head. And recite beside thy crown "Life created Yawar-Ziwa", "Let there be light", and "Manda created me" for thy crown. And recite "Strengthened and enhanced is the great mystery of radiance light and glory" and bind thy pandama over thy mouth.
And take the phial into thy hand and recite "Water of Life art thou" over the bottle. And recite "Hail to the First Life" for the incense and cast incense on the fire and recite "We have acknowledged", "Praises", "To Thee" and "Raising my eyes"; and the bottle shall be in thy hand. And recite "I sought to raise eyes" and at the place where it says "wilt wipe away and remove from N. his sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes and cast them into the hells of earth and into the nethermost Abaddons of darkness and wilt raise him up as guiltless and not as guilty and as virtuous and not as vicious before thee, Manda-d-Hiia. With thy radience thou wilt clothe him and with thy light thou wilt cover him, and wilt set thy living wreath on his head, (the head of) this the soul of N." And take care that thou readest to the end with attention!
And recite the eight prayers for the pihta over the bottle and the two prayers for the mambuhaMana", cover the bottle with the clay and take thy seal-ring with three of thy fingers -- thy thumb and the finger next thy thumb and the little finger -- and recite "The sealed letter which leaveth the world" and at the place where it saith "a letter written in good faith and sealed with the seal of the Mighty (Life)", seal with thy ring and the nail of thy little finger. And until the end let thy seal and the nail of thy little finger rest in the clay. And recite "Bound and sealed are the spirit and soul of N. with the seal of Kushta and the great safeguard of strength in the word of Kushta and the raising-up of Yukabar-Ziwa". over the bottle and recite over the myrtle wreath "The Light became light", "Enlightened and enlightening" and place the bottle on his head. Recite "Manda-d-Hiia went to the stars: his appearance loosed" over the bottle and take with thy forefinger some oil from the mouth of the bottle and recite "(In the name of the) Strange (Sublime) Life, this, the glory and light of Life" and at the place where it saith "to send forth spirit and soul" say "of N". and where it saith "And Sauriel the Releaser cometh, who releaseth spirit and soul" say "of N." and at "everything that is therewith" sign the mouth of the bottle; and at "the house of Abathur" sign the mouth of the bottle. And where it saith "the spirit of N. went and became like the soul and was raised up into the House of Life and Life is victorious" sign the mouth of the bottle. And recite "Truly did my baptiser baptise me", "I am baptised in the name of the Life", and "Whose son am I? Of the guarded
And lift thy seal-ring, thy nail and thy little finger from it and set it before thee and recite "Praised be the First Life" and at the place where it says "Lift thine eyes" say "upon N.". And thy pandamamanas light" (insert) "the soul of N. is established in that place". must be over thy mouth. And recite

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"Ye are set up and raised up in the place where the good are established amongst

And (recite) "I am crowned with a wreath and lay me down", "With Him, with the Deliverer", "Between the Hidden and the Radiance", "Bliss and peace there will be on the road which Adam attained", "My vigilance and praise", "Go in peace, chosen, pure and guiltless one in whom there is no spot", "The Mana rejoiceth in his treasures", "Well is it for thee, well is it for thee, soul that departed from the world", "Sunday, and Kushta and Oblation", "I am provided and provisioned", "He rose and took me up with him", "The day that the soul goeth forth" and "Ye are set up and raised up, my Chosen".

And recite the "Blessed and praised be Life" for the souls and here recite the "Blessed and praised is Life" of Shem son of Noah. And where it saith "To you it shall be given, of the Ether-wreath" say "to N. son of N." (it shall be given).

And recite "Good is the good for the good"; ask mercy for him and remit his sins and his trespasses. And give it to him to whom thou givest it and grasp in kushta the hand of him who holdeth (the hand) of the dying person and say to him "This kushta which I entrust to thee, do thou convey it to Abathur".

If it is urgent to carry him away, bestir thyself (hurry) when thou recitest "The sealed Letter which leaveth the world" and "Bound and sealed are the spirit and soul of N.". Give him that which thou givest him, and take in kushta the hand of him who taketh (the hand of)the dying person and say to him "This kushta I speak to thee do thou speak it to Abathur". Thy pandama must be over thy mouth. Then thou shalt recite "The First Life be praised", "Ye are set up and raised up." and (so on) till the "Good is the good for the good", just as I tell thee.

Offer up for him the devotional prayers, hymns and the "raising" (prayers) of the masiqta from beginning to end. And be careful (to insert) the name of him to whom thou didst administer the oil. Let nothing be lacking and recite with attention and care.

And Life is victorious.

Then, when thou holdest thy pandama over thy mouth, pray for thyself. Make pihta and mambuha for thyself, recite "The Great Life spake and opened Their mouth" and eat thy pihtamambuha. And recite "Life is full", and "The Great Life dwelleth" for thyself and recite "Good is the good for the good" and perform the kushta-rite for thyself and honour thy crown. and drink thy

And beware, beware and beware lest thou begin any of the "loosing prayers" without thy pandama. (Do it) only after thou hast made petitions for thyself.

And Life is victorious.

This is the Benediction of Oil, which Bihram-Rba, son of Adam celebrated for his mother Hawa wife of Adam when she departed the body, whilst Hibil-Ziwa sat before them.

This Benediction of Oil was in the Diwan of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat of the town Tib, written by Zazai-d-Gawazta son of Hawa. And Bayan-Hibil son of Brik-Yawar wrote it. Here he distributed it, with these books, amongst a hundred Nasoraeans, from his own Diwan which he had copied from Ramuia son of 'Qaimat's Diwan that was found in the possession of Haiuna daughter of Yahia and Bainai son of Zakia.

And Bayan-Hibil son of Brik-Yawar said "Just as it was written, I wrote it and all the mysteries of the Oil were therein. As far as Jerusalem, the city of the Jews, their mysteries (sacramental ceremonies) are like these.

And Life is victorious.

Exhort those who administer the oil to be careful. If he (the apparently dying person) doth not depart the body, let them bring him to thee. Recite "In great radiance am I immersed", break open the seal, bear it away (?) and throw it into the jordan.

And when thou administerest oil, beware lest thou make a mistake. If thou hast committed an error, it will need a "masiqta of the sixty" for him on whom the oil falleth and it will be well. If impossible to carry him read a "sixty" masiqta for him with seven food-trays, and at "that which is with her" sign him and at "the House of Abathur" sign him.

(If) the soul (be that of) a good, pious person, one who hath people who will do good after him, bring priests and celebrate sixty masiqtas for him in full with everything. In the upraising of the sixty" sign him alone at (the words) ma d-bh; at the words bit Abatur sign him alone. And in the last upraising sign him alone at bit Abatur and (then) sign the souls of our fathers.

For a masiqta thou requirest meat, water of prayer, incense, pihta, hamra, wreath and oil. And in (on) the seven trays: - place there all that thou wishest in the trays together with those mysteries (named above).

And when (there is) a masiqta, read the homilies about the soul; let them be many, and be compassionate. It is good (beneficial) for a soul on whom oil falleth. Recite over him and over the seven rahbata and (pray for) Mandaeans, Nasoraeans and the faithful. And pray the masiqtapihta and mambuha, the "bindings and loosings" of the masiqta prayers "We have acknowledged", "Praises", "Thee", "Lifting eyes", "I sought to raise eyes" and all the appointed prayers for the from beginning to end.

Be careful; make enquiry, display kindness, show compassion (during?) the homilies, and loose him from his sins.

And Life is victorious.

Then Hibil-Ziwa taught and said "Great disgrace will fall on any Nasoraean who (whilst) reading the masiqta openeth his pandama or adulterates the water of prayer. He will not behold his Creator and will be smitten with that blow which was administered to the First Eldest One because he sinned and blundered before his Parents. And I, Hibil-Ziwa, will not reckon him amongst my own, nor count him as one of my own".

And Hibil-Ziwa said "Any Nasoraean who holds (to?) the pandama and doth not adulterate the water of prayer, as long as he remaineth in the body shall have increase, speech and a hearing because he hath neither removed nor changed aught of that which his fathers commanded him, nor hath he performed the acts of Yushamin or rendered a portion to the Well Sumqaq, nor did he stand in the heat of the Well Sumqaq".

Every man who celebrateth these mysteries must hold (wear) the pandama. When he holdeth his pandama all the creatures of darkness are turned back from his presence, his appearance will shine and all that he hath done will be confirmed by us.

And Life is-victorious.

This is the Book of Gadana which Hibil-Ziwa gave to the chosen elect, which I have copied for myself. I am poor, lowly, child-like and striving, one whom the Seven and Twelve persecute; one of the Root of the First (Life), one insignificant amongst my fellow-priests and ganzibras, earth beneath the feet of Nasoraeans and dust beneath the feet of the pious.

I, a slave who is all sin, copied this Book of Gadana for myself so that there should be someone to commemorate my name on earth and yonder in the celestial worlds of light. For my heart hath loved the Life and mine eyes wait upon Manda-d-Hiia, who will be to me a support, a deliverer and a rescuer from the sons of Krun And I testify to the Life and to my lord Manda-d-Hiia with a true and faithful heart.

I am Rabbi Adam-Yuhana son of Bihram son of Sa'dan son of Msa'dan, Kamisia by name, Rish-Draz. I copied it for myself from the book of a righteous and upnght woman, a believing (creature) whose mind is pure; in it there is no lechery, lust or harlotry. She consecrated herself to love of Truth (Kushta) and copied this Book of Gadana so that there should be for her a commemorator on earth and in the mighty celestial worlds of light, yonder. She was my own paternal grandmother, her baptismal name was Anhar daughter of Sharat. May there be for her enlargement of life! And the name by which she was called was 'diia, daughter of Adam son of Sa'ad-Juwiri. (She copied it from?) the copy of the great, lofty and respected R. Ram-Yuhana son of R. Yahia-Zihrun son of R. Zihrun son of R. Adam son of R. Yahia-Adam son of R. Shitil son of R. Ram son of R. Zakia son of R. Yahia son of R. Zakia son of a father of ganzibras, R. Mhatam son of R. Sam, known as Manduia, family name 'kuma (Black). He copied it from the book of the great, lofty and respected R. Yahia-Zihrun son of R. Yahia-Bihram son of R. Adam son of R. Yahia-Adam known as Manduia, family name 'kuma. He copied it for a shalmana -- the craftsman Hadaiat son of the craftsman Qasum son of Bihram son of Zakia of the sons of the Dihdaria (tribe), family name Sabur, from the book of R. Zihrun son of Asta Faruk, Asta Nuruz, his baptismal name being Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana son of Br-Hiia son of Zihrun son of Yahia-Anush, son of the great lofty and respected R. Mhatam son of Yahia-Baian son of Yuhana-Shadan, of the sons of the Dihdaria, family name Sabur. He copied from the book of Shaha whose baptismal name was Hawa-Mamania daughter of 'Aziz, family name Wasia. He copied it from a book (copied by?) Bihram-Br-Hiia son of Adam-Zakia-Br-Hiia son of Baktiar son of Adam-Bihram, family name Kuhilia, that was copied by the great, lofty and respected master-builder of knowledge and understanding, a noble and distinguished ganzibra, an excellent, accomplished man, devoted to the First Life, son of an orthodox family (root), son of a highly-distinguished family, our teacher, R. Yahia-Bihram son of a father of ganzibras, R. Sam-Bahran son of Yahia son of Zakia son of Yuhana known as Buhaiiar, Zakia by name. May Mand-d-Hiia forgive him his sins for he was kindly and long-suffering, and wrote this book so that there should be commemoration for him on earth and yonder in the worlds of light. And he copied it with the rubrics which had been copied by the great, lofty, respected and reliable ganzibra Zihrun son of Br-Hiia son of Baktiar son of Adam-Bihram, family name Kuhailia-may Manda-d-Hiia forgive him his sins! He copied it for Sam-Yuhana son of Mhatam-Bulbul son of Sam, family name 'Asakir from the book of R. Adam-Baktiar son of Yahia-Zakia-Zihrun son of Yuhana-Shitlan, family name Rish-Draz ...

[The list of copyists is so long that I venture to omit the rest this colophon of D.C. 53, up to p. 98, line 16; (Translator).]

... Ziqa son of Ninia. And Adam-Sabur said "I went to Bit-Hurdshaiia and travelled around a great deal, but found no reliable masiqta equal to this masiqta. When I saw that it was reliable I wrote this masiqta just as it was. And any priest or Mandaean who prays, shall hold to this masiqta.

And now, ye priests who hold to it, be staunch to this masiqta so that there may be forgiveness for your sins, and the Life and Manda-d-Hiia and all the 'uthras sons of light will be your helpers. But we will abandon and not approach any man untrue to it.

And Life is victorious.

So these prayers were arranged from the "Explanation of Prayers of Baptism and the Masiqta" which was copied from the Diwan of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat: their father wrote (it?), Baian-Hibil son of Brik-Yawar and our master Baian son of Zakia. It was in his library. So that these injunctions were written by Baian son of Brik-Yawar. He distributed these books here amongst a hundred Nasoraeans from his own library, which he had copied from the Diwan of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat which was housed by Haiuna daughter of Yahia and Baian son of Zakia.

For it was written in the town of Tib. And Zakia copied it from the Diwan of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat and Yahia (?) copied from the Diwan of Sam son of Anush-Yahia, and Sam copied from the Diwan of Bihram son of Brik-Alaha ...? and Anush copied from the Diwan of 'Qaiam son of Sharat and 'Qaiam copied from Qaiuma son of Brik-Alaha and Qaiuma copied from Shganda son of Yasmin, and Shganda son of Yasmin copied from the Diwan Zazai-d-Gawazta br Hawa and Zazai-d-Gawazta copied from the Diwan of the First Life.

And Ramuia son of 'Qaimat said "From the day on which it fell from (was written by) Zazai-d-Gawazta son of Hawa till now, the years in which I wrote it, is (a space of) 368 years in the ages". And Ramuia son of 'Qaimat said "I wrote this Diwan in the town of Tib in the years when Anush son of Danqa departed with the heads of the people (ethnarchs), in the years when the Arabs advanced".

Then Baian-Hibil son of Brik-Yawar wrote "I purified myself when I got possession of these mysteries. And I myself travelled around and went on foot to Nasoraeans and took many diwansMasiqta and Oil-of-Unction. I have written them here and have distributed them to a hundred Nasoraeans in order that they may hold to and be staunch to them. from place to place. And nowhere did I find "mysteries" as reliable as these Mysteries of Baptism and

"And now, ye priests! Hold and abide by this end (purpose), like 'uthras of light who stood by these mysteries, all of them, and confirm it in a communion to which Yawar is joined.

"And any man who doth not confirm this end (conclusion) we will avoid and not approach him. He may go in his clothes and roll in his filth! His habitation will be the Sumqaq Well."

Then the writing of Ram-Ziwa-Bihram son of Baian: -- "I have looked into the Diwan of 'The Great Wellspring' of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat. Any person who writeth the Book of Gadana and removeth any of the injunctions assigned and written therein, Thou wilt place in clouds of darkness. And anyone who writeth a book of rejection, or removeth any of the injunctions written therein so that they are broken, shall be cursed with a great curse. For this is the curse which the First Life uttered and pronounced, "Anyone who becometh hostile to the Life shall die the second death of an enemy: he will belong to the Darkness; he will fall and for him there will be no uprising".

(But) those who have not removed trust in the Life or (changed) any part of that which they wrote and taught about it, any individual, he and his opinion: and hath delivered them from their sins .. Moreover, anyone who cuts a copy, or extracts therefrom the name of its owner, shall be cut off (himself and sent) to the watch-houses (purgatories) of the planets. And at the Great Judgement he will stand up, but Abathur will not take his hand in kushta.

Life is victorious over all works and victorious is Yawar-Ziwa and his helpers, his people, his priests, and his holding (partisans).

And Life and all Its works are victorious.

HYMNS OF PRAISE

PRAYER No. 75

In the name of the Great Life! May there be healing, victory, strenght, soundness, speech and hearing for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnus, from the Life!

We have acknowledged and praises (are due) To the mighty sublime First Life, The Ineffable which is over all works. (I come), bringing (dedicating) my head and my mouth To the Life and to the implanted Word And to 'Usar-Hiia, the great solace and support of Life In order to praise, honour, magnify, bless and exalt Thee. (Yet) who shall praise Thee 2), Life? And who, Life, shall magnify the greatness of Thy victories? Thou art lauded, Thou art magnified, thou art glorified And Thou art exaltedl (For lo) Thou art come, Thou camest and none but Thee came. At Thy radiancy the riders were afraid , At Thy light gates and kingdoms were troubled. on seeing Thee the Jordan turned about, [he waves of the sea rolled back And the islands of the sea were thrown into confusion, Chariots were overthrown and they fell on their faces. Cedars of Lebanon were rent, mountains shook and leaped like stags.

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They opened and gave praise. Does in the desert shed their young untimely; The heights arise and speak in (Thy) honour. The earth trembled and was shaken. Jordan! whom didst thou behold that thou didst turn back? Waves of the sea! wherefore did ye roll back ? Isles of the seal why were ye thrown into confusion? Chariots! wherefore did ye overturn and fall on your faces ? Cedars of Lebanon! why were ye rent ? Mountains! wherefore were ye shaken and why did ye leap like stags?

(Why) did ye open and give praise ?

Does in the desert! on account of 'Whom did ye miscarry your young?

Heights! in Whose honour did ye arise and speak ?

Earth ! Whom didst thou behold and (at what) didst thou tremble ?

"At the Radiance which surpasseth all radiance, At the Light which surpasseth all lights, And at the Good Being who crossed the worlds And came and cleft the firmament and revealed Himself." When the Life gazed (down) and looked on the earth And Its Glory alighted upon the roofs of Its Building, (Lo!) they were sitting on thrones of rebellion. They got down meekly from their thrones And fell upon their faces. It eclipsed and took away The glory of the worlds and generations And quenched the flames of their lamps. It set the eyes of the planets in the depths of the earth And in the lower glooms of Ilarkness. Spirit (ruha) lifted up her voice, She cried aloud and said, "My Father, my Father Why didst Thou create me ? My God, my God, My Allah, why hast thou set me afar off And cut me off and left me in the depths of the earth And in the nether glooms of darkness So that I have no strength to rise up thither?" All arose, prayed and praised the majesty of mighty (Life) And their voices sang to the Glory that is mighty Praising the Radiance which surpasseth (all) radiance And the Light which surpasseth (all) lights, And the Good Being who crossed the worlds, Came, cleft the firmament and revealed Himself. He sundered Light from darkness and sundered Good from Evil, He sundered Life from Death, And He brought out those who love His name of Truth From Darkness to Light and from Evil to Good And from Death to Life and set them On roads of Truth and Faith. And Thou hast spoken to us with Thy Word And hast commanded us with Thy commandment - "Be My glory and I will be your Glory. Be my light and I will be your Light. And my name shall be in your mouths And I will be with you". Thou art He who overthrowest (false) gods in their high-places And bringest reproach on the divinity of (false) deities.

They were broken down by shame on their way And deep ignominy befell their temples And fettered their might.

Great is the splendour in which Manda-d-hiia is arrayed! Blest is that day of light, praised is that dawn On which Thou didst travel and come from worlds of light! (That day) is not reckoned in a count of days. Nor in a reckoning of months; Except that day on which Thou wast revealed from worlds of light. We will reveal to them, that day on which Thou wast revealed, To all who love Thy name of Truth (kusta).

We offer up our commemoration, our petition, our prayer, Our submission, our tabuta and our faith In Thy presence, (O) 'Usar-Hiia, Delight and great Support of Life. Were we to stand and praise Thee, Thy name, Thy title and Thy goodness seven times a day, my Lord, Who could praise Thee, Life, Or magnify (worthily) the greatness of Thy victories ? Can the stinking body praise Thee? or the vain tongue? Were our mouth like the sea, our lips like its waves And our tongue like cleft mountains, Then might we praise Thee, magnify Thee, honour Thee and bless Thee!

Thou knoweth him who feareth Thee with his heart And him who confesseth thee with his lips. With a pure mouth be Thou blessed And lauded with a tongue of praise. Supporters who do not waver, interpretations Of Truth (kusta) which vary not praise Thee. Sons of Perfection beside Thee, (an) endless, countless And everlasting (company), all shining with reciprocal radiance, Praise Thee, for amongst them all hatred, Envy and dissensions exist not. The Place which is all portals of radiance, light and glory Praiseth Thee. The ancient, lofty, occult And watchful One, Abathur, who sitteth according To his rank, like the Life, praiseth Thee, The 'uthra Pthahil praiseth Thee and saith to Thee, "Blessed art Thou, my Lord, Manda-d-Hiia And praised. And blessed is the Place From which Thou camest: praised, magnified And honoured is the great Place from which Thou camest. And praised, magnified and honoured is the great Place To which Thou goest." Elect righteous (men) from lower sanctuaries Ii Praise thee; for Thy knowledge, Thy wisdom, Thine understanding and Thy goodness do they praise Thee.

Thou hast come! Thou comest and art ready to reveal Thyself. Thou art immeasurable, infinite and everlasting. Thou art the Father, Thou art the Brother, Thou art the Son; Thou art the Source, Thou art the great Root of Life; Thou art the First, Thou art the Last, Thou art the Future, for Thou preparest Thyself to come And didst depart in order to reveal Thyself. Put far from us Thy wrath and bring near Thy mercy. Turn back, push back, remove and make impotent Angels of wrath, frost and hail from my land And my house - mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnus - In the twinkling of an eye and at a turn of the wheels, (Let) our petition, our prayer and our submission Rise up before Thee, Manda-d-Hiia! That which we have done forgive us, And that which we do, forgive us, (For) Thou, (O) Manda-d-Hiia art a forgiver of sins, Trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes. If Thou, (O) Manda-d-Hiia, didst not forgive our sins, Our trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes, Who would stand guiltless before Thee, Manda-d-Hiia? Slaves are we, who are all sin And Thou the Lord who art all mercy. Before Thee, all hands are thieving and all lips lying; In Thine eyes, Manda-d-Hiia (even) Jordan-waters are not cleansing.

(Set for) righteous and believing people. Causing our spirit and souls to dwell in abodes of Life According to the purpose of the Life And the will of the three 'uthras . And according to the will of Manda-d-Hiia Sublimest of beings, and according to the will Of the Four Beings, sons of salvation. In Thy presence there will be restoration For our spirit and our souls. Thou wilt clothe us with Thy radiance And cover us with Thy light And will stand us before Thee with the innocent And not with the guilty; With the richly-endowed and not with the lacking. Knowledge of Life is Thy name, Truth is Thy name. Pure is Thy name, magnified is Thy name, Honoured is Thy name, blessed is Thy name And abiding is Thy name. Victorious art Thou And victorious is Thy name. Victorious are the wvords of Truth which proceed from Thy mouth Over all deeds. Make victorious and establish This my soul (the soul of) Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnus. And Life is victorious over all works.

PRAYER No. 76

In the name of the Life! Praises to the Outer Life

Whom Ye caused to dwell without (beyond), The abode that hath limit. For Your eyes are open to discern Your own, Your ears hearken at Your Place. Praises to that one great name of Life Which is above all names. Its name resteth on the great Place of Light, On the everlasting abode and on the city of 'uthras, And on the Beam who was greater than all beams, With Whose fight all beams shine And by Whom all souls are justified;

Who establisheth our strength and cutteth us not off From the House of our trust; Who restoreth our souls at the House of Ransom On the Day of Judgement, and perfecteth our souls On the great Day of joy. Praises (be) to One Who is all the 'uthras, And to One Who is all prayers, and to the Predestined One Wvho came and remained for our commemoration And who was established in the presence of Outer Life. One on whose mouth Life rested and whose praise Was established without. Praises, praises to the Ancient, the First, To the Son of the great Primal Life Whom Life called, prepared, armed and sent Him forth To the generations. (Lo) Thou camest and didst open a door, Thou didst level a road and tread out a path, Didst set up a boundary-stone And didst knit together a community. Thou wast Helper, Saviour and Guide To the Father of the great Family of Life , And didst knit it together in a Communion of Life, Didst build it into a great Building of sound construction And didst bring it forth to the great Place of Light And the Everlasting Abode.

O callers whom I have summoned! O nourishers whom I have nourished! O builders whom I have raised up And brought out from amongst the peoples, nations and tongues! Behold, here I stand! Behold, here I dwell! Worlds against whom I guard myself Though your words are not far from my face, If ye take mountains of food as your viaticum for eating,

They will not complete (or satisfy) you. If ye take seas for your drinking They will not make you perfect (content you). But if with perfections ye stand before the Outer Life And before the Eternal Abode, I will count your number, And your reckoning shall be reckoned. Betimes I will come and will fly And will reach the sons of my Name, the sons of my Sign, And the sons of the great Family of Life. I will bind you together into the bundle of Life And I will build you into a great Building of Truth And will bring you forth to the great Place of Light And to the Everlasting Abode.

If there is no hatred, rancour, or dissension amongst you The hand of the unbartablas customs-officers will not search amongst your garments; Ye will not pass over the Bridge Nor walk in a narrow street; Ye will not stand before the judge Nor look on the countenance of the Adversary-at-law; Nor will ye see an averted face. The chief customs-officer will not question you.

Ye will go forth: ye will behold the Perfecter of Souls, One who setteth on paths of surety His friends that are made perfect, A great comrade of the faithful, One of the great band of souls, Who will come out toward you And clothe your souls in a garment of radiance

And in good pure vestments of light Which he will bring you from the Great Place of Light And the Everlasting Abode. He will bring out toward you wreaths, A wreath of victories. And every leaf of your wreaths will weigh One thousand and eighty mithqals. Its brilliancy will exceed the brightness of the Sun And its light outshine the light of the moon. Ye will receive your vesture and will receive your wreaths In the presence of the Great (Life). Ye will be great, and called 'uthras amongst the 'uthras. Ye will open your eyes and behold your Judge. Betimes will the dayspring dawn upon you, In strength ye will arise and behold the Outer Ether And the great Beam who is all light, Who was set up before the Great Life: He whom Life created, prepared and sent forth To the ages and to the worlds. And every man who giveth oblation; And took part in the communion from beginning to end. They will make as perfect as the mamas, Like rays of light he will be made to shine On the day of deliverance, on the Day of Redemption, The great Day of Joy; so that his righteous act Stretcheth onward. It will precede you and will uplift, Showing you the Outer Ether and the everlasting Abode, The place which is ancient, of Primal Beings, And sons of the great Family of Life. They eat of that which is imperishable And drink that which is not wine, eating well And asking solace. And an uthra of Life Cometh and resteth upon them day by day and hour by hour Praises (be) to the fame of the righteous And to the existence of Chosen Elect (men), And to the Unearthly Being who standeth without, Whose eyes are open and fixed upon those Who love his name of Truth (kusta) - Thou art he, Manda-d-Hiia! for thou knowest About that in which the perfect man is made perfect, And about the virtuous man, in what his virtue consisteth . And the Lie , of what doth it consist. Not a word issueth from the mouth of a perfect man But thou knowest it, hast understood and expected it In the great Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode. 'the mountain doth not boast its strength, nor a hero his doughty deeds, Nor doth a bowman vaunt his bow, nor the physician his drugs, Nor the righteous and sage man the utterance of his mouth. Not so: it is an uthra of Life which cometh And resteth upon Thy devotees. And those who seek from Him shall find, and to those who ask of Him

It will be given. Day by day, hour by hour, behold us Who stand in Thy name and are upheld by calling on Thy name. We hold to Thy Leader of the great company of Truth We have held staunch because of Thy victories. Humiliate us not; cast us not into the hands of tormentors, Liars, hypocrites and the censorious. Let not torturers strike us nor condemners damn our souls! The good will see and wvill be found ready, But The wicked will be discomfited and the children of the world be shamed

Perfected (souls) will see that the Life existeth, And will direct their gaze to the great Place of Light and the everlasting Abode.

Thou, Manda-d-Hiia, callest the caller, nourishest the nourisher, buildest the builder,

Exaltest horns , enlargest footsteps and settest up a road, And dost knit together in communion.

Thou art He who constructeth, and who takest out from amongst the peoples, nations and tongues every man who is summoned, worthy and invited. To every man whose term of life is over Thou wilt be a Helper, Saviour and Guide to the great Place of Light and to the everlasting Abode. As to one whose term is incomplete and he standeth (or liveth) in the body, able to open his mouth, lift up his voice, pray his prayers and to offer up his praise, and whose feet can walk to my House, thine uthra shall come and shall rest upon him, Thy friend.

Diffuse Thy light over all who love Thy name of Truth (kusta). Thou hast spoken with Thy Word and hast commanded us with Thy commandment, "Over your words My Word hath precedence: and at the raising of your right hands towards Me My right hand will be lifted towards you. Ye will call, and I will answer you quickly. Ye will seek My hand and I will not withhold it from your hands".

We will pray with Thee the uthras' prayer and ask of Thee, of the Great (Life), a petition for ourselves, for our friends, for our friends' friends and for those who love the great Family of Life, for the whole Nasiruta of Life, fulfilled and disseminated on earth. Thou wilt bring us some of Thy radiance, thou wilt lend us some of Thy light. We will enter into Thy radiance will go forth in Thy light, will rise in Thy name and be kept right by Thy nature. Truth is Thy name, Knowledge of Life is Thy name, precious is Thy name, magnified is Thy name, victorious is Thy name, victorious are the words of truth wvhich issue from Thy mouth, and victorious are all Thy deeds . And Life is victorious!

PRAYER No. 77

In the name of the Life!

Thee (O) life, (is it meet) to praise, to honour, To magnify and to bless; First Life, Second Life and Third Life, Yufin-Yufafin and Sam-Mana-Smira And the Vine which is All-Life And the great Tree which is all healings.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour and magnify And to bless 'Usar-Hai and Pta-Hai Who open (reveal) the pihta of Life And transplant a planting of Light, And instal the First Counterpart In the House of Life.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Nbat 'The First great Bursting-Forth (Emanation), The exigence of Life in Its nature.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless The Lord of Great Fruition. the great and high Being who was fruitful, begetteth and produceth Great fruit for Himself.

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(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Yukabar-Ziwa, who increased in his brilliancy And was great in his light.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia, the life which proceeded from Life, The truth (kusta) that was aforetime, in the Beginning; Who was mightier in His radiance than the worlds of light.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Has, the Stem of splendour, radiance, light and honour Whose branches are a thousand thousand and its tendrils A myriad myriad. Well is it for him Who hath looked on that Tree! Bihram , who saw it, lived, shone, was cured and established And his name hath not died.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Sanasie, who standeth at the Gate of Life And prayeth for spirits and souls. He interpreteth silence, inspireth hope And taketh in keeping in the World of Light The prayers of pious and believing people.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Haiasum-Kusta, messenger of Life, The Word of the first chosen elect (men). He crossed the worlds, came, pierced the firmament And revealed himself.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Bhaq-Ziwa, who is called "He acted and succeeded in his skinta.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Yukas'ar, source of radiance who bestoweth radiance and displayeth his fight.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Biriawis, the strong source (kana), The Kana took thought so that its radiance increased.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Ayar, the pure Vine which abideth In the great and lofty Treasure-house of Light.

(Meet it is) to praise, honour, magnify and bless The pure Yusamin who resteth upon The treasures of the waters And upon mighty wellsprings of light.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless The uthra Tauriel, the being who resteth by The pastures of the water. When a fragment from the little finger of his right hand Fell off There was consternation on earth, And vexation(?) in the world of falsehood.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Adatan and Yadatan, who stand at the Gate of Life And praise and extol Life, And pray for the spirits and souls Of righteous and believing people In the Place of Life.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Silmai and Nidbai, two uthras Delegates of Manda-d-Hiia Who are active and do (the work of) the Life. With kusta and with the testimony of the Life They immerse living, shining, bright and well-doing souls Who go in sincerity to the Jordan (and are baptised) (But) not in the name of gods or of a messiah!

(It is meet) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Sum-Hai, Rhum-Hai, In-Hai and Zamar-Hai, Four Beings, sons of perfection, Who come towards sincere and believing people, And take them out of bonds (Tied by) the hands of the wicked And from beneath the claws of scheming men; And lift them up to the great place of Light And to the Everlasting Abode. They knit them into the Bundle of Life And build them into a great Building Of sure strength .

(It is meet) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Hibil, Sitil and Anus, Sons of a Stock which is living, light-giving, Vigorous and sturdy: Beings that cannot be taken by the sword Nor consumed by flames of fire; Nor swept away by floods of water; Nor will the thongs of their sandals Be dipped in the water. They were judged and were justified; They sought and they found; They strove and reached the Great Place of Light And the Everlasting Abode.

(It is meet) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Sihiun, and Pardun, and Kanfun, Uthras whose names, each one, are in the House of Life;

And the 'uthras Adam-Kasia, Bihram and Ram whose names are Each one in the House of life, (but) their nature is two two, (dualistic) And the names of righteous and believing people Will be established in the Place of Light. Thy name giveth out light, Thy name is illustrious, Thy name is pleasing and Thy name raiseth up. Thy name is victorious and victorious are the words of truth Which issue from Thy mouth, victorious over all works. Make victorious and raise up this my soul, The soul of Adam-Yuhana sun of Mahnus! And Life is victorious over all works.

I copied these three prayers "We have acknowledged", "Praises", and "Thee (Life)" for myself so that there may be commemoration for me on earth and yonder in the mighty and lofty worlds of light. Fur my heart hath testified to the First Life and I endure the persecution of the world from suns of the planets. For one name - Yawar - do I strive with a pious and believing heart fur the love of precious Truth.

My waiteth on the Life and mine eyes upon Manda-d-Hiia; for they will be my support, my deliverer and saviour from the Place of Darkness to the Place of Light. I copied for myself, poor and lowly a slave who is all sin, dust on the feet of Nasuraeans .., etc.

(The rest of the colophon, which resembles the former colophon, is omitted)

PRAYER No. 78 The Responses

In the name of the Great Life! May my thought, my knowledge and my understanding Enlighten me, Adam-Yuhana sun of Mahnus, By means of these responses and homilies for baptism and the masiqta.

PRAYER No. 79

In the name of the Great Life! When the myrtle, the myrtle, flourished In the gardens of Hibil; When the wild marjoram grew in the precincts of the manda, They gave me two twigs of myrtle From which they twisted a wreath for the jordan. For it is wondrous and fragrant is its perfume!

[Recite this hymn and twist a wreath of myrtle for thy staff, then read the jordan-hymn "Hear me my father, hear me".]

PRAYER No. 80

In the name of the Great Life !
Hear me, my Father, hear me! Draw me upward
(O) Great One, son of the mighty (Life),
Our Father, son of the Lite !
Silmai and Nidbai, lords of the jordan, hear me!
Jordan, and both its banks, hear me!
Hear me, Hibil-Ziwa, whose strength
Resteth upon his brethren, the 'uthras!
Hear me, Yawar-Ziwa, (thou)
whose creations rest on (depend upon?) the jordan!
Hear me, Mana-Rba-Kabira
And raise that which ye have planted!
Hear me, hear me, Hablaba) and Kana-d-Zidqa ,
Hear me, hear me, Abathur-Rama, whose strength
Presideth over the Scales!
Hear me, great Bihram! and raise me up
Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia!
Hear me, (ye) Seven Mysteries which reside
In the Great Wellspring
Hear me, (ye) three wellsprings which give out
Radiance, light and effulgence!
Hear me (ye) three manas
Who rest upon the jordan with your treasurel
Hear me, Anus-'Uthra ,
Whose strength dwelleth upon met

PRAYER No. 81

In the name of the Great Lifel
Hear me, my Father, hear me!
And draw me upward, great Son of the mighty (Life);
Our Father, Son of the Life!
Silmai and Nidbai, lords of the jordan, hear me!
Jordan and its two banks, hear me!
Habsaba and Kana-d-Zidqa hear me!
Hear me, Great Life, from the height,
Hear me!

PRAYER No. 82

In the name of the Great Life!
At the Fountain-head came I forth,
At the Source of springs of life went I hence.
Three skintas (sanctuaries) did I found
And set over them guardians as rulers.
The guardians I appointed to rule over them
Are sublime, blessed and trusty
To the uttermost.

[Repeat this hymn when thou art baptising and takest up the mambuha into the phial from the jordan, and recite the prayer "At the Fountain-head of Water came I forth" and then recite "Blessed art thou, Outer Door".]

PRAYER No. 83

In the name of the Great Life!
How lovely are plants which the jordan hath planted
And raised up! Pure fruit have they borne
And on their heads they set living wreaths.
Yawar-Ziwa rejoiceth in the good plants
Which the jordan planted and raised.
The Plants rejoice and flourish
In the perfume of Manda-d-Hiia
Which breatheth upon them.

PRAYER No. 84

Truly did my baptiser baptise me,
Well did my baptiser baptise me,
Truly did my baptiser baptise me
And your baptism shall attain its end.

PRAYER No. 85

Silmai hath baptised us with his baptism, Nidbai hath signed us with his pure sign, The great Anus-'uthra hath placed living wreaths on our heads.

PRAYER No. 86

The jordan in which we have been immersed Shall be our witness that we have turned not away From our sign, nor have altered our pure Word.

PRAYER No. 87

I rejoice in my priests And in nasoraeans who hearken to my converse. I rejoice in you, my priests, For ye have not changed my pure Word.

PRAYER No. 88

In the name of the great Life!
May the sublime Light be magnified!
Rightly do I say to you, my Chosen,
Who went up with me to the jordan,
Pervert and change me not, alter me not by hand,
Pervert not nor alienate me,
Men who have heard the Voice of Life!
He who heareth the voice of Life
Will be edified, Will be built up,
Built up and armed. (Such a man's) strength will be doubled.
Moreover, those who listen to the speech of the Life
Will be greatly increased,
Will be enriched and will not lack.
Into the communion that is great will he be knit,
He will enter the communion that is great
So that he will be united (therewith) and will arise
And will behold the Place of Light.
And Life is renowned and victorious,
And victorious the man who went hence.

PRAYER No. 89

In the name of the Great Life The great Light be magnified! To you do I call and (you) do I teach, Men who have received the Sign. Hearken not to the talk of all peoples and generations; Let not their stumblings cause you to stumble, Stumble not because of their stumblings! Be not interrogated at their tribunals, At their tribunals be not interrogated! Certainly have ye held to established truth, Ye have held to the certainty about which I instructed you. I call to my chosen ones so that Ye may not turn your thought away from Me. Because any man who is not steadfast (in thought) Whose mind is turned against me, Whose mind is turned from me, Great and not small will be his hurt . If ye have attained my strength Bear (arms for) me ! If ye bear (arms for) me firmly Stand by me frombeginning to end! But it ye have not attained my strength (or army) Go from me, and approach not! For he that entereth it and beareth (arms) for me, His " garment" will be adjusted to the House of Perfection. But he that weareth it and doth not perfect it Will die and his spirit will extinguish, He will die and extinct will be his spirit, He will become the portion of the world, Thou hast conquered, Manda-d-Hiia, Good One, who confirmest Thy friends! Renowned and victorious is Life And victorious the man who went hence,

PRAYER No. 90

In the flame of the Great Life
The sublime Light be glorified!
A disciple am I, a new one;
For I went to the jordan-bank
And took my name on my head
And in my heart I took a Sign,
My Sign is not that of Fire,
Nor is it that wherewith the Anointed One
My Sign is a jordan of living water,
The strength of which none can attain,
He chose one out of a thousand
And from two thousand he chose two,
Making traders of them
Who labour and ply their trade on earth.
And they trade for fee and pious gift,
And shine more than sun and moon.
I came to the congregation of souls,
For the Life sent me, sent me forth.
There were some who bought my wares,
There those who came to their end and lay down .
There were those who bought my wares.
The eyes (of such a one) were filled with light,
Filled with light were his eyes
(On) beholding the Great (One) in the House of Perfection,
There were those who did not buy my wares.
They went on, reached their end and lay down.
'they were blind and saw not,
Their ears were stopped and they heard not
And their hearts were not awakened
To behold the Great One in the House of Perfection.
As They called them and they answered not,
When they call, who will answer them?
Because it was given to them but they took not,
Who will give to them when they ask ?
They hated the Way of Life and its Abode
But loved the abode of the wicked.
And lo! in the abode of the wicked
Will they be held captive.

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They tied up their tribute, their money
In a lappet of their clothes.
When they wish to lift their heads (hold their heads high)
They hurl them down to the Gates of Darkness
To my Chosen do I call, to my Plants Who stand by the jordan. I say to them, "My children (who walk) in my road, My children (who follow) my road, Swerve not from it or its boundary! Let him who deviateth from its boundary Cling to the boundary-stone. He who hath turned aside from both will fall into the uttermost ends of the world". Thou host conquered, Manda-d-Hiia, Good One, who confirmeth his friends! Thou wilt forgive us who praise our Lord Our sins and our trespasses. Renowned and victorious is Life And victorious the man who hath gone hence.
[Up to here are the hymns and chants of baptism; and from here to below are the hymns and chants of the masiqta.]

PRAYER No. 91
My vigilance and praisegiving
Are my ferrymen across (the waters of death);
A transformation brought me over,
A cloud of light took me over.
In purity shalt thou rise to the Place of Light.

PRAYER No. 92
In the name of the Life!
Go in peace, chosen, pure and guiltless one;
Thou art without spot.
Thou hast proven thyself by (thy sojourn on) earth
And thy destiny leapt upward from its struggles
From its struggles thy destiny leapt upward.
Above all the world thou hast spoken.
Chosen and pure one (saying),
"I am a seer, a diviner;
A seer am I and a diviner!"
The worlds assembled for judgement, For judgement the worlds assembled And judgement was pronounced on them, On them was judgement pronounced, On those who did not perform the works Of right-dealing Man. But thou alone, Chosen and Pure One, Fair mana, that art burnished bright, Thou goest not to the judgement hall. Judgement will not be pronounced over thee, Over thee judgement will not be pronounced; Because thou didst perform the works Of right-dealing mankind. This , that they endure and bear, Thou (O) Chosen One, wilt not find before thee. Escape the clutch of the planets And the forces of this wvorld! Take, put on thy garment of radiance, Set on thy living wreath! Bow thyself! and worship! Prostrate (thyself) and praise the Great Life. Praise the Place of Life To which thy fathers go. Thou (O) Chosen One, Wast not from here; From this place thou wast not transplanted Thy planting, thy place was the Place of Life, Thy home the Everlasting Abode. They have set up for thee a throne of rest In which there is no heat or wrath. There is kept for thee a girdle In which there is no trouble or fault . Good one! Rise to the House of Life! And go to the Everlasting Abode !
They will hang thy lamp amongst lamps of light And they will shine in thy time, and lit thy moment. Arise! Behold the Place of Light! Renowned is Life and victorious And victorious the man who went thither.

PRAYER No. 93
The mana rejoiceth in its treasure
And in the glory of Life
Which resteth on it.
I have acknowledged thee
O elect righteous one,
For thou settest my soul free
From transitory things.

PRAYER No. 94
Hail to thee, hail to thee, soul
That hast departed from the world!
Thou leavest corruption and the stinking body
In which thou hast been: thou leanest
Its abode, the abode of the wicked,
The place which is all sinning,
The world of darkness,
Of hatred, jealousy and dissensions,
The abode in which the planets go about,
Bringing pains and blemishes,
Pains they bring, and blemishes,
Every day causing them tribulation.
Rise up, rise up, soul!
Ascend to thy first homeland.
Rise, rise to thy first homeland,
The place from which thou wast transplanted,
To the place from which thou wast transplanted,
To thy good dwelling, (the dwelling) of 'uthras,
Bestir thyself! don thy garment of glory
And set on thy living wreath.
Rise! inhabit the S'kintas Amongst the 'uthras, thy brethren. As thou hast learnt, praise thy first Home; And curse this place, the house of thy fostering; For (during) the years that thou didst spend therein Every day the Seven were thine enemies, The Seven were thine enemies and the Twelve Beset thee with persecution. Renowned is Life and victorious, And victorious the man who hath gone thither.

PRAYER No. 95
Her Sunday, her kus'ta and her alms
Bear witness for the soul.
Ye will be her witnesses
And will pass her through at the toll-house.

PRAYER No. 96
I am provided and provisioned:
Uthras of light equipped me.
I am provisioned; for Life provided for me.
And I am equipped by uthras of light.
They provided me with provision of Truth
I lifted mine eyes to heaven and my soul waited on the house of life. and the life who heard my cry sent toward me a deliverer. the deliverer who came to me brought me that which was lovely; he opened out a robe and showed me its radiance and i cast off the stinking body. he grasped me with the palm of his right hand and led me over the waters of death . over the waters of death he brought me and led me onward; in the likeness of life he supported me. life supported life, life found its own. its own self did life find and my soul found that for which it had looked. renowned is life and victorious and victorious the man who went hence.

PRAYER No. 97
He rose and took me with him and did not leave me in the perishable dwelling.

PRAYER No. 98
The day on which the soul goeth forth,
on the day that the perfected one ascendeth,
on the day that the soul issueth from below
the spheres of death, of contention,
strife was thrown into the earth.
ruha's slaves sit bewailing
and the seven sit in consternation.
the robe of the stars is lent
and dust is cast on ruha's head.
the hell-beasts weep
and the demons of purgatories are panic-stricken.
the being who brought me hither,
who brought me that which was beautiful,
put on me a robe, clothed me in a robe of radiance,
in a wrapping of light he covered me.
he set on my head a wreath of ether
and gave me of that which life bestoweth on the 'uthras.
he set me up amongst 'uthras
and stood me up amidst the perfected (souls).
a wreath of ether he set on my head,
and gloriously he brought me forth from the world.
life supported life,
life found its own,
its own did life find,
and my soul found that for which it had looked.
renowned is life and victorious,
and victorious the man who went thither.

PRAYER No. 99
Ye are set up and raised up, my chosen ones,
by the word and certitude that came to you
the word and the certitude that came to the good,
the true word which came to believers.
my chosen, ye sought and ye found,
moreover ye shall seek and ye shall find.
ye sought and found, my chosen ones,
as the first (souls?) sought and found.
thou art victorious, manda-d-hiia.
and thou bringest to victory all who love thee.
and life is victorious.
[here recite "Blessed and praised is Life, that souls".]
PRAYER No. 100
In a building which life buildeth,
good trees flourish.
fragrant is the perfume of the trees
with the perfume of manda-d-hiia
which pervadeth them.
[here recite "Blessed and praised be Life"
of Shem son of Noah,and "Good is good for the good".]

PRAYER No. 101
The life hath founded a dwelling,
and radiance dawned
in the sublime ether!
i and my brethren, the 'uthras,
have set out every good thing ,
have set out the allotted portion of the great (life):
we have offered it up in purity to the place of light.

PRAYER No. 102
The building that life buildeth will never come to nought. [repeat this hymn after thou hast partaken of the communion and then say "Darkness is crushed back into the Dark and Light set up in its place".]

PRAYER No. 103
Darkness is crushed back into the dark
and light is set up in its place.
the life hath accepted your prayer,
the 'uthras have accepted your praise
the oblation is assigned to its lord,
and bounty to him who giveth it.
this soul ot n, and the souls of this masiqta rest at the
great place of light and the everlasting abode.
and life is victorious.
[here recite "In great radiance am I immersed" and lift thy hand for the masiqta and pray a prayer for thyself. and life is victorious.]
PRAYER No. 104 - The Rus' hma
My Lord be praised!
May Kula strengthen you! In the name of the great Life
may healing and purity be thine!
0 my Father, their Father, King Piriawis,
Great Jordan of living water,
In the name of the Great Life
We have cleansed our hands in truth (ku ja)
And our lips with faith;
We have uttered words of radiance.
My mind is absorbed in (thoughts of) Light. Blessed is Thy name, praised is Thy name My Lord, Manda-d-Hiia, and blessed and praised Is that great Countenance (Presence) of Glory which emanated from Itself. (Three times.) I, N, son of N (or daughter of N.), Am signed with the Sign of Life And the name of Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia Were pronounced on me. (Three times) My ears have heard the voice of Life. (Three times) My nostrils have breathed the perfume of Life. (Three times) My Sign, that is on me, was not in fire, And not in oil, and not that wherewith the Anointed One anointed.
My Sign is in the great jordan of living water And the Sign and name of Manda-d-Hiia is mentioned upon me. Darkness is crushed down, and Light set up And the name of Manda-d-Hiia is mentioned upon me. (Three times) My mouth was filled with prayer and praise. (Three times) My knees bless and worship the Great Life. (Three times) My feet tread the ways of Truth (Kus'ta) and Faith. (Three times) I, N, son of N., am baptised with the baptism Of the great Bihram, son ot the Mighty (Life) My baptism shall guard me and will succeed. And the name of Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia Are mentioned upon me.
(Three times)
My feet - and the hands of the Seven and the Twelve Shall be powerless to rule me. The name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia Are mentioned upon me.

PRAYER No. 105 - Asiet Malkia
Kus'ta heal you! In the Name of the Great Life! Healing and victory be thine, O great Gate of the precious House of Mercies! Healing and victory be yours; My honoured First Parents Healing and victory be yours; Treasure of the great First honoured Life. Healing and victory be thine; King Mara-d-Rabutha-'laita Healing and victory be thine; King Yus'amin the Pure, son of Nis'ibtun Healing and victory be thine; King Manda-d-Hiia, son of Nis'ibtun, Healing and victory be thine; King Hibil-Ziwa Healing and victory be thine; King Anus'-'uthra Healing and victory be thine; King S'is'lam-Rba Healing and victory be thine; King 'Shaq-Ziwa-Rba-Qadmaia Healing and victory be thine; King Sam-Ziwa, pure, eldest, beloved, great, first Radiance Healing and victory be yours, Hibil, S'itil and Anus', Healing and victory be yours Adatan and Yadatan, Healing and victory be yours
S'ilmay and Nidvay, (ye) two guardian 'uthras of the jordan, Healing and victory be yours; (Ye) twenty-four 'uthras, sons of light, Healing and victory be yours; (Ye) four beings, sons of Salutation, Healing and victory be yours; Njab and Anan-Ns'ab , Healing and victory be yours; Sar and Sarwan, Healing and victory be yours; Zhir and Zahrun and Bhir and Bihrun, And Tar and Tarwan Healing and victory be yours; Yufin (and ?) Yufafin, Healing and victory be yours; Habs'aba and Kana-d-Zidqa, Healing and victory be yours; King Baibag-'uthra, Healing and victory be thine; King S'ingilan-'uthra, Healing and victory be thine; Simat-Hiia, Healing and victory be thine; Great 'Zlat , Healing and victory be thine; S'arat-Nit'ufta , Healing and victory be thine; Kanat-Nit'ufta, Healing and victory be thine; Bihrat-Anana, Healing and victory be thine; King Abathur-Rama , Healing and victory be thine; King 'Us' t'una-rba ,
Healing and victory be thine; King Abathur-Muzania, Healing and victory be thine; King Pthahil, son of Zahriel , Healing and victory be thine; King Yahia-Yuhana, Healing and victory be thine; King Adam, the first man, Healing and victory be thine; King S'itil, , son of Adam the first man, Healing and victory be thine; O (ye) kings and'uthras, And

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Indwellings and jordans, And running streams and s'kintas Of the worlds of light, All of you, healing and victory (be yours!) And (may there be) forgiving of sins For myself, (Adam Yuhana) son of (Mahnus'), (N. son of N.) Who have prayed this prayer !

May there be forgiveness of sins for me! (Note. - The part which follows forms the main part of the RAHMIA or "Devotions", I.e. the prayers prescribed for the three prayer-times daily, i.e. at sunrise, at noon and before sunset; each day of the week having its own set of prayers. These must be got by heart, and their correct recitation is an essential part of every priest's training.)

My Lord be praised! In the name of the Great First Sublime (Strange) Life, from the worlds of light, the Transcendent, above all works, be there healing and purity (victory), strength and soundness, hearing and being heard, joy of heart and forgiving of sins for me, Adam Yuhana son of Mahnus'. May my thought, my knowledge and my intelligence enlighten me by means of this treasure, a section of the Devotions (Rahmia), and the strength of Yawar-Ziwa and Simat-Hiia.

PRAYER No. 106
Up, up! ye Elect Righteous Ones

Pray this prayer in the "Devotions" of the early hours (daybreak) for it is the opening (prayer) of the "Devotions".

Here recite "My good messenger" and "I worship Life" and recite "In the name of..."]

In the Name of the Great Life!
Up, up! ye Elect righteous ones,
Rise up, ye perfected and believing ones!
Rise, worship and praise the Great Life!
And praise the great king SiSlam-Rba,
And praise the Occult Tanna and Ham-Ziwa,
And praise the great Yawar and 'Zlat the great,
And praise Simat-Hiia,
From whom all worlds came into being;
And praise the Wellspring and Datepalm
From Whom the Father of 'uthras came into being.
I worship and praise that lofty and great
King of light, the Compassionate One
Who is full of loving-kindness.

[Prayers 107 -108 Pray these two prayers after "Up, up elect righteous" (PRAYER No. 106) in the early morning devotions, then recite "In their name.., in the name of that Primal Being"]

PRAYER No. 107
In the name of the Great Life!
My good messenger of light
Who travelleth to the house of its friends,
Come, direct my speech and open my mouth in praise
That I may praise the Great Life
Wholly.

PRAYER No. 108
In the name of the Great Life!
I worship Life
And I praise my Lord Manda-d-Hiia
And that great Presence of Glory
Which emanated from Itself.

(Prayers 110 - 112 This prayer, "The time of devotions" is the opening prayer of the eventide devotions. Then recite "In their name (In the name of the Life) and "In the name of that (Primal Being) and set on thy crown and recite beside is "Life created (Yawar-Ziwa)", "Let there be light" and "Manda created me" and then recite "Incense that is fragrant", and "Lo for the First Life" for the incense and cast it on the fire. And here recite the Sunday prayer.)

PRAYER No. 110
In the name of the great Life!
The time, the time for devotions arriveth
The time of the Lord of Prayer hath come.
My awakener is Hibil, my instructor is Sitil,
Anus lifteth up my hymns.
The immerser in my immersion is Silmai
And he who establisheth prayers is Nidbai.

PRAYER No. 111
In the name of the Great Life!
My good messenger of light
Who travelleth to the house of its friends
Come, direct my speech and open my mouth in praise
That I may praise the Great Life
Wholly.

PRAYER No. 112
In the name of the Great Life!
I worship the Life
And I praise my lord Manda-d-Hiia
And that great Presence of Glory
Which emanated from Itself.

(Prayers 113 - 116 Pray these four prayers:
"On the Ether-Light do I stand" (PRAYER No. 113),
"Early I rose from my sleep" (PRAYER No. 114),
"We have purified our hands in kusta"(PRAYER No. 115),
"Blessed be thy name and praised be thy name"(PRAYER No. 116).
Recite them for the "Devotions" for daybreak after incense)

PRAYER No. 113
On the light of Ether do I stand
In the name of the Great Life, may healing be mine,
Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnus, through this Sunday prayer!
"On the light of Ether do I stand,
I stand for the Great Light with its purities!
I am Manda-d-Hiia, emanation (planting) of the Mighty First Life.
I cried to the first day of the week, (Habsaba)
The lauded, the pure guardian of the Light
Who enlighteneth 'uthras.
To him I said
"Rise up, go, set off, descend to the earthly world,
To that world which is all birth,
To be with the Elect Righteous,
Men formed of flesh and blood.
Hold them in thy grasp, strengthen them,
Stand by them, take care of them,
Give them strength and fortitude
So that they may stand and worship and praise
The Mighty Sublime Life! "

Then Sunday spoke, saying to Manda-d-Hiia
"How canst thou send me to this world that is all birth
To be with elect righteous (men)
Formed of flesh and blood who do not respect me!
They treat me with contempt, hold me in no great honour,
And remit not my sin and transgression!"

Then Manda-d-Hiia spoke, saying to Sunday,
"Up with thee! Go, set off, descend to the earthly world
To this world that is all birth, to be with
Elect, righteous men formed of flesh and blood.
And grasp them in thy grasp, confirm them,
Stand by them and take care of them!
Turn back and drive away from them
The seven planets together with their demons and devils,
And their amulet-imps and their evil creatures;
So that they will forgive thee thy sins
And thy transgressions; will hold thee in great esteem
And victory will be ours and will be thine"

Then Manda-d-Hiia spoke and said to the elect righteous,
"Give heed to Sunday the Enlightener whom
I have sent to be with you in order to enlighten you,
To uplift you and make you upright,
And to bring you prayer and praise.
Forgive him his sins and transgressions
And hold him in great esteem."

Manda-d-Hiia taught and expounded and said,
"Anyone who doth not forsake his sins and trespasses
On Sunday, nor holdeth him in high esteem,
Will have no seat amongst the 'uthras
Nor will he behold the great Countenance of Glory.
For Sunday is more precious, greater and more beauteous
And bright than all the 'uthras!"
Blessed and praised is Manda-d-Hiia and the Confirmed"
And Life is victorious over all works.

PRAYER No. 114
Early I arose from my sleep
In the name of the Great Life!
Sublime Light be glorified!
Early I arose from my sleep: I stood,
Into radiance that was great I looked,
I gazed into radiance that was great,
Into the Light which is boundless.

When clothed') in robes of radiance
And light was thrown on my shoulders
A wreath of ether He set on my head
And set it on the head of all His race
He hymned, and the 'uthras with Him hymn
And the Light-rays answer His voice.
And it rouseth sleepers and maketh them rise up
From their sleep.
He said to them

"Arise, ye sleepers who lie there,
Rise up, ye stumblers who have stumbled,
Arise, worship and praise the Great Life
And praise His Counterpart, that is the image of the Life
Which shineth forth and is expressed
In sublime light."
And Life be praised!

PRAYER No. 115
We have purified our hands in Kusta
In the name of the Great Life!
We have purified our hands in Kusta (truth)
And our lips in faith
We have uttered words of radiance
And were absorbed in thoughts of light.
Thou, my lord Manda-d-Hiia, art blessed and praised
And thy praise is established (on high).
Great is the strength of Life;
Abounding the glory of the mighty (Life)!
Honour resteth upon the 'uthras who sit in glory.
This is prayer and praise which came to them from
The great place of Light and the everlasting Abode.
We praise (Him) with it when we have risen from our sleep,
Before any have spoken falsehood.

For any man who prayeth this prayer there will be forgiving of sins and transgressions in the great place of Light and in the everlasting Abode.

And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 116
Blessed be thy name and praised be thy name
Blessed be thy name and praised be thy name
My lord, Manda-d-Hiia!
Pure mountains that quake not have blessed thee:
'Ufalnia (interpretations!) of truth which are unchangeable
Have blessed thee.
Sons of salvation who sit in thy company
Have blessed thee.
Yawar-Ziwa, the great king of Nasirutha
Hath blessed thee;
Ayar-Nhura, the pure, the envoy who is all righteousness,
Hath blessed thee
And I worship and praise that channel of light,
The messenger of all rays-of-light.
Blessed is thy name and praised is thy name,
Being who resteth upon the Skintas!
Upon Skintas doth his name rest.
Every day, daily, they gaze on his likeness
And upon the great Countenance of Glory.
And Life be praised!

PRAYER No. 117
[Prayer 117: Pray this prayer in the Rahmia (Devotions) of the seventh hour after incense on the fire (and after) "On the Ether-light do I stand" (PRAYER No. 113)]
I worship, praise and laud
That Srar, the great occult First Vine
Whose fruits are a thousand thousand,
And a myriad myriad His tendrils;
Upon Whom I called and He answered me•
Further, when I call on him, He will answer me;
For He will come and will heal me,
Will lift me up, raise me and confirm me
Will direct my eyes to the Light,
And my feet to steadfastness
My mouth to wisdom and my heart to vigilance.

Then I worship, praise and laud
That first great occult Skinta
That is the house of dazzling beings.

Then I worship, praise and laud
That occult, first Skinta
Which my Parents inhabit.

Then I worship, praise and laud
Yon Ruaz, the great first secret Vine
Which loosed its milky juices into the habitations.

Then I worship, praise and laud
That Ruaz, the great first Light
Who hath sovereignty over all worlds of light.

Then I worship, praise and laud
That great, occult, first Skinta
To which the eyes of Nasoraeans.
Men set apart, and the elect righteous
Look, that they may rise and behold
The great place of Light and the Everlasting Abode.

And Life be praised: Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 118
[Prayer 118: Pray this prayer in the evening devotions after incense (and) after "For the Ether-light do I stand". (PRAYER No. 113)]
It is time to pray the "Devotions"
The great moment for humble worship
For offering up propitiatory prayer

To my lord, Manda-d-Hiia,
For arousing the elect righteous.

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The priests say to Manda-d-Hiia:

"We will abjure that which we possess
Of fee, alms and benefit
And the (false) deity of the House
We will come and will be believers."

Manda-d-hiia saith to them, to the priests:

"Your Father hath great strength,
Surpassing all limit, (stronger)
Than passionate thoughts, vain things
And the devouring flame.

The Good One clotheth His children
He covereth them and raiseth and showeth them
That there is great enlargement of Life
And your souls shall rejoice
With clouds (spouses?) of light.

But other souls will die and become
As though they had never existed.

Ye shall receive your vestments
Ye shall receive your wreaths.

In the presence of the Great (Life?)
Ye will be great, and will be called
'Uthras amongst the 'uthras.

And ye will say "The Living stand
In the dwelling of the Life"

And Life is victorious over all works.

PRAYER No. 119

[Prayers 119 - 124 SUNDAY The following three antiphonal hymns and three chants are for the first day of the week.]

In the name of the Great Life
Be the sublime Light glorified!

On Sunday, the first of days,
Who hath seen that which I have seen?

Who saw Manda-d-Hiia
When he went and came to the world?

He went (thence) and came to the world
The Earth lay prostrate and was affrighted.

He taught, and lovely was his voice!
And he lifted it up, in his mouth there was eloquence,
Eloquence he put into his mouth.

He revolutionized and forsook the world:
The world he revolutionized and forsook.

Spirit (Ruha) sitteth in lamentation
In lamentation sitteth Ruha;

And the Seven sit in consternation;
They weep and prolong their mourning
Because their mysteries are disclosed,
Because disclosed are their mysteries.
They will be brought to an end
On the great Last Day.

Namrus (Ruha) feared and trembled,
Her weapon fell from her shoulder,
From her shoulder fell her weapon
And her bows from the palm of her hand,

Ruha addresseth her sons,
Her good-for-nothing idle (sons),

She saith to them,
"Sons, when terror overtaketh your mother,
What will you Seven do!
When the Strange Being cometh,
Who will rise to confront him?"

A consuming ray of light
Is in Manda-d-Hiia'siirr's hand; felling• them
He cometh (to?) the rebels.

The Son-of-Life raiseth his Voice
At departure of the Seven
Saying to them "I have brought wares
To my friends.
I brought truthful words to believers.
Men who buy my wares,
Their merits wreathe their heads
Twined are their merits,
And their horns are exalted
On their heads.
They will arise and will behold
The Place of Light."
Renowned is Life and victorious,
And victorious the man who went hence.

PRAYER No. 120

My day -- what is it amongst the days?
A day, My day!
What amongst the hours is one hour?
My day, what is it amongst the days?
The day on which the radiance of Manda-d-Hiia shone forth,
My day is Sunday, chief of days,
The day on which the radiance of Manda-d-Hiia dawned
On my day the radiance of Sunday dawned
Upon us and enlightened us beyond measure.

PRAYER No. 121

Before the Wellsprings were transmuted
Before the Awakening without,
Before ye were in existence
I was in the world.
The Voice of living waters (Water of Life),
(Waters) which transmute the turbid waters.

They become clear and shining
They gush forth and cast out impurities.

Wherefore should the First (Life) desire sons from the dregs?

Voices cry aloud proclamations
Planning schemes, all of them talk!

(But) one Voice cometh and teacheth all sayings,
One Being cometh and teacheth about this and that.

(As for) us, who have praised our Lord
Thou wilt forgive us our sins.

Thou wast victorious, Manda-d-Hiia
And thou leadest all thy friends to victory.

And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 122

O Lord of devotions,
O Lord of Prayers
And of hymns and good books,
O Lord of prayer and praise,
Hear my voice and condemn me not!

PRAYER No. 123

Except for six or seven nations,
Fruit is set up on the Tree

On the Tree fruit is set up
And (other) trees gather together toward it.

Toward it do the trees assemble,
And a throne is set up for the Lord of Radiance
For the Lord of Radiance a throne is set up
And the Lord of Radiance sitteth thereon.

Before him are set up recompenses
Which he delivereth to the perfect,
To the perfect doth he deliver them

And said:
"To each according to the works of his hands
It is awarded".

And he said:
"Every man who toiled
And was long-suffering shall come
and take with both hands,
But he who did not toil nor endure,
Standeth empty in the House of Dues.

He will seek but will not find,
And ask, but nought will be given him,
Because he had in his hand and gave not,
He will search there in his bosom and will find nothing."

Thou art praised, Manda-d-Hiia
Who dost not condemn thy friends.

PRAYER No. I24

I seek a boon from the Life,
From Thee, mighty Life.

I seek a boon from the Life -
That Ye will rightly guide Your praise
For me.

(. . . . Text missing)

PRAYER No. 170 - Tab taba Itabia

(The Full Commemoration Prayer for the Dead and Living)

Good is the Good (one ?) for the good, and He set His nature upon those who love His name. We will seek and find, and will speak and be heard. We have sought and found, we spoke and were heard in Thy presence, my Lord Manda-d-Hiia, Lord of Healings. Forgive the sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes of him who made (furnished) this bread , masiqta and tabuta . His sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes thou wilt remit for him, my lord Manda-d-Hiia and Great First Life, (those of) the donor of fee and oblation.

For our forefathers there shall be forgiving of sins. For Yus'amin son of Dmut-Hiia there shall be forgiveness of sins. For Abatur son of Bihrat there shall be forgiveness of sins. For Hablaba and Kana-d-Zidqa there shall be forgiveness of sins. For the twenty-four 'uthras, sons of light, there shall be forgiveness of sins. For Pthahil son of Zahriel there shall be forgiveness of sins. For Adam son of Qin and Eve his wife there shall be forgiveness of sins. For S'itil son of Adam there shall be forgiveness of sins. There shall be forgiveness of sins for Ram and Rud . There shall be forgiveness of sins for S'urbai and S'arhabiel). There shall be forgiveness of sins for S'um son of Noah and Nuraita his wife. There shall be forgiveness of sins for Yahia-Yuhana son of 'Nis'bai and Qinta and Anhar his wives. There shall be forgiveness of sins for those three hundred and sixty priests who went forth from the district of Jerusalem the city. There shall be forgiveness of sins for the souls of our good fathers and for this my soul, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus', who hath prayed this prayer and devotions. There shall be forgiveness of sins for the soul of my father, Yahia-Bihram son of Hawa-Mamania. There shall be forgiveness of sins for the soul of my mother, Mahnus' daughter of Simat. There shall be forgiveness of sins for the soul of my teacher Bihram son of Mudalal. There shall be forgiveness of sins for his wife, Anhar daughter of Hawa. There shall be forgiveness of sins for the souls of my children Anhar daughter of Anhar. There shall be forgiveness of sins for my brothers (and sisters) Anhar, and Sam, and Mudalal, and Ram; and Muhatam-Yuhana, and Adam-Yuhana, the sons of Mahnus' : forgiveness of sins be there for them. The souls of Mandaeans; Ram son of S'arat-Simat ,-forgiveness of sins be there for him; Zihrun son of Simat, forgiveness ot sins be there for him; Anhar daughter of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for her; Simat daughter of Hawa, forgiveness of sins be there for her; Ram son of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Yasmin daughter of Yasman, forgiveness of sins be there for her. All the souls of our good fathers, be there forgiveness for them. And for this my soul, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnul, be there forgiveness for me. The soul of my teacher, Bihram son of Mudalal, be there forgiveness for him. The souls of priests, Adam-Zihrun son of Mamania, forgiveness of sins be there for him. Yahia-Anus' son of Maliha, forgiveness of sins be there for him. Yahia-Ram-Zihrun son of Hawa-Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him. Yahia-Zihrun son of Mudalal, forgiveness of sins be there for him. Sam-Bihram son of Mudalal, forgiveness of sins be there for him. All souls of our good forefathers, forgiveness of sins be there for them. And for this my soul, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus' who have prayed this prayer and devotions, forgiveness of sins be there for me- And the soul of my teacher Bihram son of Mudalal, forgiveness of sons be there for him. The souls of ganzibria: Yahia-Yuhana son of Hawa-Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Zihrun son of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Sam-Bihram son of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Bihram-S'itil son of S'arat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Zihrun son of Maliha, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Adam son of S'adia-Maliha forgiveness of sins be there for him; Yahia-Bayan and Yahia-Bihram sons of Hawa-Mamania, forgiveness of sins be there for them; Ram-Yuhana son of Mamania, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Bayan-Zangia son of Anhar-Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Sam-Saiwia son of S'arat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Bihram son of Madinat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Yahia son of Anhar-Ziwa, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Ram-Sindan and S'aria, forgiveness of sins be there for them; Hawa daughter of Daia, forgiveness of sins be there for her; Anhar- Kumraita daughter of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for her; Yahia-Ramuia son of Ramuia, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Sam-Bihram son of Mudalal, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Adam son of Bihram (Bihrat?)-Dihgan, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Adam-Br-hiia son of Simat, forgiveness of sins of there for him; Brik-Yawar son of Buran, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Bihram Bisth'aq son of Hawa, forgiveness of sins be there for him; S'abur son of Dukt, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Mha- tam and S'itil, sons of Haiuna, forgiveness of sins be there for them; Anus' son of Mihria-Zad, forgiveness of sins be there for him; S'aiar- Ziwa and S'abur son (sons?) of Kaizar'il, forgiveness of sins be there for him (them?); Bhira son of Kujasta, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Zakia son of Hawa, forgiveness of sins be there

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for him; Ardaban-Malka-Baktiar son of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him.

And all souls of our good fathers, forgiveness of sins be there for them. And for this my soul, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus', who have prayed this prayer and these devotions, forgiveness of sins be there for me. The soul of my teacher, Bihram, son of Mudalal, forgiveness of sins be there for him. The souls of the ethnarchs: Adam-Bul-Faraz son of Hawa-Mamania, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Anus' Mu'ailia son of Hawa-Zadia, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Yahia-Adam, son of Zadia-Anus' , Hawa (?), forgiveness of sins be there for him (their?); Bihdad son of S'adia, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Bainia son of Haiuna, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Haiuna daughter of Tihwia, forgiveness of sins be there for her; Ramuia son of 'Qaimat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; S'ganda son of Yasman, forgiveness of sins be there for him, Zazai-d-Gawazta son of Hawa, forgiveness of sins be there for him. The people, (consisting of all Nasoraeans, priests and laymen (mandaiia), and ganzibria and ganzaiia (headpriests and treas- urers ?), from the age of Adam the First Man down to the end of the world (and generations); all who went down to the jordan and were immersed and received the Pure Sign, who did not betray their Sign, nor renounced (were converted from) their Baptism, forgiveness of sins be there for them. For them and their spouses and their offspring, their priests, and for those who supplied this bread and ritual food (t'abuta), and for you, my fathers, my teachers and instructors when ye upheld me from the Left to the Right, Forgiveness be there for you. And ye shall say "Life abideth in Its Dwelling " And Life be praised: Life is victorious over all works.

PRAYER No. 171 - Hymns of Praise

In the Name of the Life!

Praised be the First Great Radiance and praised the Great First Light! Praised be the Wellspring and the great first Palm-Tree Praised be the mystic Tan(n)a which dwelleth in the great mystic First Wellspring. Praised be the great S'is'lam who sitteth on the bank of the Wellspring and Palm-tree; praised is the great 'zlat Praised is the great Yawar who was formed from the loins of Radiance: praised is Simat-Hiia (Treasure-of-Life), Mother of all kings, because from them (both) all worlds proceeded - for she was appointed as the result of secret mysteries.

Praised is that first great Jordan : praised are those three hundred and sixty jordans which proceeded from that first great Jordan. Praised is that great mystic first S'kinta and praised are the three hundred and sixty S'kintas which proceeded from that first great mystic S'kinta.

Yawar-Ziwa, the vigilant 'uthra, divulged, revealed and said, "Upon every Nasoraean man who standeth at his devotions and prayeth this prayer and offereth up this (prayer of) dedication the glory of the Life will come and will rest on him, and he shall have strength and increase like Anus'-'Uthra. Upon any Mandaean man who standeth at his devotions and prayeth this prayer and raiseth this dedicatory prayer the attention of the Life will descend, will rest on him and he will have strength and greatness like a priest. And he shall say "Thou art established First Life" and dedicate (his crown) sixty-one times and make (this) petition : (and say) Ye are blessed, praised and magnified, revered and established with high honour which is great and boundless, O Life, and my Lord Manda-d-Hiia and the great First Liie, the Second Life and the Third Life; Yufin and Yufafin; Sam-Mana Smira; and the Vine which is all Life and the great Tree which is all healings. (O) Compassionate One, Forgiving One, Clement One, Pitiful One, Deliverer and Saviour, O Looser of the bound, loosen him (me) from and forgive his (my) sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and blunders, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus', who have prayed this prayer and "devotions". Be there forgiveness of sins for me! O Sunday, the lauded, pure guardian of Light, (0) Ayar-Nhura, pure saviour who art all piety, who art invisible and unbounded! be my answerer and answer me : be my supporter and support me, be my Raiser-up and raise my soul, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus' who have prayed this prayer and "devotions". Be there forgiveness of sins for me!

O Hablaba (Sunday) ! deliver me from hell-beasts and from purgatory-demons and from water-penalties , and from pots that seethe, from fire and ice, from the snare of the planets, from the plots of the planets, from the slaying of the planets and from the seven hell-beasts , the chief Levier of dues and the children of darkness. Great Bihram! baptise me in thy sublime jordan and deliver me in purity to the Place of Light. Stretch forth thy right hand of holy truth to clasp that of this my individual soul, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus', who have prayed this prayer and (offered up) these devotions. Be there forgiving of sins for me. O Abathur-Rama, 0 Abathur-Muzania! Weigh me in thy balance, build me into thy building and count me in thy reckoning! Mahziel, Great First Word, which assured me sight in mine eyes, pour wisdom into my heart! Open the eyes of my understanding! Haias'um, healer; Kus'ta, and Yusmir healer of the mana and its counterpart, heal me (preserve me) from pains, from blemishes from hateful curses, from a sickly body and from an oozing body. 0 Yawar-Rba, Yur-Rba , Treasurer, king of worlds of light, free me, rid me of my sin, my trespasses, my follies, my stumblings and my mistakes, mine, Adam Zihrun son of Mahnus' who have prayed this prayer and devotions. Be there forgiveness of sins for me, and for my father and mother, and nor my teacher , for my wife and children, for my priests and for all souls who stood for the Name of Life and were firm in the sign of Manda-d-Hiia with a sincere and believing heart. Yea, Life, verily Life , Life will be with the victorious. They (Life) will not condemn those who love Their name: they will be joined in holy union. Life for those who know, Life for those who believe, Life for beings who instruct us . Life is established in its dwellings: Life is victorious over all works.

PRAYER No. 172

Now (we beseech Thee), Life, (bestow) Thy pity, Thy clemency, Thine attention, Thy compassion, Thine, Great First Life! Show pity, be clement, be attentive to and show compassion on this, my soul, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus' who have prayed this prayer and (these) devotions. May there be forgiveness of sins for me. (Three times) . For me and for my father and my mother, for my teacher and for my wife and my offspring, and for my priest and for whomsoever hath offered this bread and ritual foods. And for you, my fathers, my teachers, and my instructors and those who taught me the faith when ye supported me from the Left to the Right, may there be forgiving of sins for you. And ye shall say "Life is established in its dwellings". And Life is victorious over all works.

PRAYER No. 173 The S'umhita

The name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia be pronounced upon thee! The name of the great mystic Wellspring is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great mystic First Palmtree is pronounced upon thee. The naive of the great S'is'lam is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great 'zlat is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great Yawar is pronounced upun thee. The name of Simat-Hiia is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great Yukabar is pronounced upon thee. The name of the Mana and his counterpart is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great Mystery, the mystic Word, is pronounced upon thee. The name of Shaq-Ziwa the great, the first, is pronounced upon thee. The name of Sam, the pure, first-produced, beloved and first radiance, is pronounced upon thee. The name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia is pronounced upon thee, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus'. May illness, malady, accidents, curses, vows and forfeitures , pains, infirmities, violent fevers, the evil eye and the dimmed eye be loosed and removed from thee. They shall depart (rise) to the mountains and heights from thy body, spirit and soul, thy trunk and thy, stature and (from) thine entire frame, thine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus', through the strength of my Father, their Father, Manda-d-Hiia, through the strength of the treasure of the First Life and through the strength of Yawar-Zi,va and Simat- Hiia. And the name of Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia be pronounced upon thee.

PRAYER No. 174

I beseech the Life and my Lord Manda-d-Hiia and the 'uthras and kings of the worlds of the light for a sponsor for this high mystery (ginza) so that no lacking or deficiency may appear therein. Should there be anything missing or deficient, do thou, O Hibil- Ziwa, (thou) great Fulfiller, supplement it from thy treasure which is not deficient and from thy plenty, which lacketh in nothing. Rid it and loose it from its sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes, (and) mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus' who have prayed this prayer and (these) devotions. May there be forgiving of sins for me.

O Sunday, receive it, save it, establish it and raise it up to perfection!

PRAYER No. 175

In the name of the Great Life. Then, when she reacheth the Seven Mysteries, servitors of the Seven go forth towards her. They come and surround her and question her and say to her, "O soul, whence comest thou and whither goest thou ?" I say to them, "I come from the Body, the name of which is the Earth and I am going towards the Good Consumination ". They say to me, "Whose servant art thou and whose envoy art thou called ?" I say to them, "I am the servitor of the Beloved Consummation, and the envoy of the vast Ether".

Then they bless her (me); and praise her and guard her and say to her, "Everyone who knoweth this saying will rise towards the Good Goal " because they seek to grasp the mysteries of the Body . And they question her and then she riseth towards the Good Goal.

PRAYER No. 176

O King of all kings, O Father of all 'uthras; O Adatan and Yadatan; O S'ilmay and Nedvay, ye guardian 'uthras of the jordan; O Hibil-Ziwa, great Fulfiller who deliverest us from evil plots and deliverest us from all that is evil and ugly, O high King of Light, thou wilt give me comeliness of body, compassion of heart, fullness of hand and integrity of eye. O Life, and my Lord Manda-d-Hiia Thou deliverest me savest me and guardest me. O high King of Light!

Little New Year`s Feast Prayer

PRAYER No. 177

In the Name of the Great Life.
Vines shone in the water
And in the jordan mighty they grew.
Ye are flourishing offshoots.
Messengers hither I bring you,
I give you great 'uthras.

I have twined for you and bring you Garlands of myrtle and marjoram For (lit. "in") the doors of the houses.

I will rear up for you babes And bring them to you. We bless you unto the world`s end : The full river (yardna) hath blessed you And the baptism which is unfailing from beginning to end.

PRAYER No. 178 - Honouring of the Crown

Kus'ta strengthen thee , my crown, Kus'ta strengthen thee, my teacher, Kus'ta strengthen thee, my turban, Kus'ta strengthen thee, guardian of my turban, Kulja strengthen thee, Great First Radiance, Kus'ta strengthen thee, Great First Light, Kus'ta strengthen you, my brother-priests, Kus'ta strengthen You, Life, my Parents , Kus'ta strengthen thee, my treasure, Kus'ta strengthen thee, Guardian of my treasure! We kiss thee with a pure mouth. (Sixty-one times) In an inner vessel they concealed thee . The Wellspring of living waters hath blessed thee, And the Nas'irutha which emanated therefrom Will be thine assuagement, it will be thy portion. And treasure will arise to its owner. And Thou, Life, wilt be victorious for ever and ever! And Life is victorious .

(. . . . Text missing)

PRAYER No. 382 - The Letter

In the Name of the Great Life!
Vines shone in the waters:
Mighty ones were confirmed
For perfecting, for clearing the waters,
Establishing Your likeness and giving us light
Let your radiance shine upon us, great 'uthras!
Shine, shine forth, come in mystic transfiguration,
Let your radiance shine forth and the radiance of the king.
Let your fragrance come and overpower (us with its sweetness)

[This hymn the ganzibra shall pronounce over the wine-bowl, giving it to the baruka (blesser) and to the two witnesses.]

PRAYER No. 383

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that Hibil-Ziwa
Walked with Yawar,
Myrtle with them was plentiful,
Plentiful was the myrtle,
And to Yawar he gave it,
Into his right hand.
And he said to him,
"Take from me fresh myrtle
And pronounce blessing in the shkinata
Its blessing pronounce in the shkinata.
Then Yawar opened his mouth,
Blessing Hibil-Ziwa, blessing Hibil-Ziwa
And said to him, "Blessed art thou,
Our father, Hibil-Ziwa!
Like the myrtle that is in thy right hand
Thy Root shall flourish
Like the root of fresh myrtle:
And thou shalt have strength and increase
Like the living waters".

[The "blessers" recite this hymn and give myrtle to the ganzibra.]

PRAYER No. 384

Myrtle, myrtle! The king took it;
The king was surrounded by the perfume of myrtle,
The king was surrounded by myrtle-perfume,
And blessing Hibil-Ziwa,
He said, blessing Hibil-Ziwa,
"Blessed art thou, our father Hibil-Ziwa,
Who hast brought this plant of fresh myrtle
And hast set it up in the dwellings of 'uthras.
The dwellings shine in its brightness
And delight in its fragrance for ever.

[The ganzibra recites this hymn and taketh the myrtle from the "blessers".]

PRAYER No. 385

In the name of the Great Life!
All who inhale thy perfume and are crowned by thee
Sixty heinous sins will fall away from him.
And all pure spouses will be made perfect,
Delivered from evil actions.

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(Those) who twine the wreaths and set them on our heads
Will arise without spot and behold the Place of Light.

(The ganzibra reciteth this prayer over the myrtle, inhaleth its fragrance and giveth it to the shganda (acolyte) to smell, and to the "blessers" and all persons present; then he throweth the myrtle into the jordan and (folds and) putteth away the banner. And (then) they "honour their crowns.")

[Note. -- Here D. C. 3 p. 328 has a colophon which begins: --]

These are the prayers for the pihtania (breads) and all the blessings of the Blessed Oblation which I copied for my brothers and parents so that there may be support and a guardian for us on earth and forgiving of sins before the Life, my Parents, in the worlds of light, so that they may be instructed therein. I am poor, lowly... etc.

[Note. -- Before No. 386D.C. 3 inserts:

PRAYER No. 386
See Prayer No. 329.
[The rubric differs slightly, so I give it:]

[This is a hymn for consecration of crowns on the Sunday when the ganzibra wishes to consecrate the cotton crowns for the priests. Wearing his vestments, with the (novice's) vestments and the crowns in his right hand and his staff in his left, he goes to the bank of the jordan, grasping the crowns which he wishes to consecrate together with his own in his right hand. Then, after performing ritual ablution in the jordan, he approaches the cult-hut and examines each (item) of the vestments, and recites the 'Salutation' at the Door of Mercies (i.e. facing North), to (as many) kings as he is able. After that he shall recite this hymn once over each crown. And Life is victorious!]

PRAYER No. 387 (See Prayer No. 305.)
PRAYER No. 388 (See Prayer No. 306.)
PRAYER No. 389 (See Prayer No. 307.)
PRAYER No. 390 (See Prayer No. 308.)
PRAYER No. 391 (See Prayer No. 309.)
PRAYER No. 392 (See Prayer No. 310.)
PRAYER No. 393 (See Prayer No. 311.)

[The ganzibra shall recite these seven hymns of the Great Shishlam when he placeth the crown on the postulant. And the priests shall recite these seven other hymns, and give their reponses.]

PRAYER No. 394 (See Prayer No. 312.)
PRAYER No. 395 (See Prayer No. 313.)
PRAYER No. 396 (See Prayer No. 314.)
PRAYER No. 397 (See Prayer No. 315.)
PRAYER No. 398 (See Prayer No. 316 and 317.)
PRAYER No. 399 (See Prayer No. 318 and the rubric which follows it.)
PRAYER No. 400 (See Prayer No. 319 and the rubric which follows it.)
PRAYER No. 401 (See Prayer No. 320 and the rubric which follows it.)
PRAYER No. 402 (See Prayer No. 321 and the rubric which follows it.)
PRAYER No. 403 (See Prayer No. 322 and compare Prayer 386.)
PRAYER No. 404 (See Prayer No. 323 and the rubric which follows it.)
PRAYER No. 405 (See Prayer No. 324 and the rubric which follows it.)
PRAYER No. 406 (See Prayer No. 325 and the rubric which follows it.)
PRAYER No. 407 (See Prayer No. 326 and the rubric which follows it.)
PRAYER No. 408 (See Prayer No. 327 and the rubric which follows it.)
PRAYER No. 409 (See Prayer No. 328 and the rubric which follows it.)

PRAYER No. 410 - Prayer of Yahia
In the Name of the Great Life!

Health, victory and forgiving of sins be there for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush, who have prayed this prayer and (these) Devotions. Forgiving of sins be there for a man whose eyes wait upon his Father and whose thought is directed to the Life and whose mind doth not stray from Knowledge-of-Life.

Poor am I who make this petition: a lowly man who hath kept aloof from the Seven. And I say "O Lord of the lofty firmament, (O) Being who accepteth request, receive my prayer and my praise here; guide it with Thy directing (power), grant me a place in Thy Place, give me a dwelling in Thy world. Do not question me about my sins and the burden which hath weighed down my soul in this world. Behold me, who have sought purification before Thee! Look on me, who have borne persecution for Thy name! End for me acts of violence, for I am Thy servant and Thy child. Now I humble myself and my children to Thy name, for I have been true to thy name, and speak (it) in my heart and talk (of it) in my mind. And I subdue my form and my loins, (O) Shihrialia shilia, superior to all glories, before the pure Light which is above all lights.

And I say, "O Lord of gleaming banners, Lord of mystic books, Lord of "Letters-of-Truth". Lord of prayer and praise, He who uplifteth the prayer of 'uthras and sponsors the praisegiving of kings, Support of prayerful thoughts! Let there be strength and constancy for all lovers of Thy name! Look upon me with Your eyes and pity me in Your heart! Support me with Your strength, clothe me with Your glory, cover me with Your light. Cut me not off from Yourself! And put far from me fear, dread and terror of the seven stars and the twelve constellations: deliver me from the hands of the wicked, and loosen my feet from the bonds of death. Cut me not off from Your presence. Arm me against all that is evil: be for me a bulwark against rebels and a Hand of Truth against the destructive powers of this world. Turn away, repulse from me insecurity (?), poverty, ill-luck, lack of sleep and hours of agitation, an evil day and blows (onslaughts) which occur all the time. Be to me Life in life; give me to drink of freshly-flowing Water of Life. Set up for me a kana d-zidqa, a Table and good fortune so that they are fully supplied by Nasirutha. And my brethren will be with me and will provide (me with) a peaceful transplanting: my wife, my plants (children), and my priests shall accomplish it.

I shall depart and come towards You after a (ritually) perfect departure (death), with pure oil, and with the proven Sign; in ripeness of years, without feebleness, in a blessed old age, in my own home.

Look on the plants, marvel at the shualania (those entering the priesthood under tuition); then let there be with You a forgiver of sins for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush who have prayed this prayer and these "Devotions". Forgiveness of sins be there for me, for my father and mother, for my teacher, for my wife, for my offspring, for my priests and for all souls who arose at the name of Life and verified the sign of Manda-d-Hiia with pious and believing heart.

Yea, Life, verily Life, life with the victorious there shall be for those love Their name! They will not sever the holy union knit between living ones, with those who know the Life and believe in the Life, and with those who teach us the faith. And Life abideth in Its Dwellings and Life is victorious over all works!

And now (I ask) of Life, Your compassion, Your forgiveness, Your reconciliation and Your compassion, Yours, Great First Life! Pity, forgive, awake and have compassion upon this my soul, mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush who have prayed this prayer and these "Devotions". Let there be forgiveness of sins for me! (thrice); for me and for my father, my mother, my teacher, my wife and my wife and my plants (children) and my priests who have placed bread and (ritual) food (here), (and) you, my fathers, my teachers, my instructors and those who taught me the faith, when ye supported me from the Left to the Right. Forgiveness of sins be there for you! Life abideth in Its dwellings and Life is victorious over all works!

[This is a prayer (called) Yahia's Petition ("John's Prayer"). Pray it in all your devotions.]

PRAYER No. 411 - Other Hymns

[This is the great Commemorative prayer known as "Our forefathers". It is usually preceded by the Tab taba ltabia prayer as in prayer 170. It is recited at every rite for the departed.]

Our forefathers, there shall be forgiving of sins for them. Yushamin son of Dmuth-Hiia, there will be forgiving of sins for him.

.... (the prayer continues from this part as in Prayer 170, inserting the name of the copyist, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush, and his relatives, and teacher wherever such insertions are customary. The insertions are called zharia, "injunctions", "rubrics")

[This is the chant of "Our forefathers".]

PRAYER No. 412
In the name of the Great Life.
Then, when she (the soul) reacheth the seven mysteries,
Servants of the Seven go out towards her
And come and surround her and question her.
And they said to her "O soul, whence comest thou?
And whither goest thou?" She said to them,
"I come from the Body the name of which is Earth.
And I go toward the good Kimsa".
They say to her "Servant of whom, art thou?
Messenger of whom art thou called?"
She said to them "I am the servant of the beloved Kimsa
And the envoy of the vast Ether".
Then they bless her and commend her and say to her,
"All who know this (pass-) word shall rise
Towards the good Kimsa".
For they seek to grasp the mystery of the Body
And (so) question her.
And thereupon she ascendeth
Towards the Good Kimsa.
[This is a prayer about the questioning of the soul.]

PRAYER No. 413 (See prayer No. 177.)

PRAYER No. 414
My Lord be praised!
In the name of the Great Life!
On the day when the radiance within Radiance
Broke through and emerged,
A counterpart of the jordan was formed in mirrors;
In mirrors a counterpart of the jordan was formed.
And water was produced in the Ether.
The jordan emerged in its glory
And the water was intermingled with the Ether,
Intermingled was Water with Ether.
And the strength of Light increased greatly,
Was increased and established.
A wreath they twisted into crowns
(Of) myrtle leaves. And trees bore their burden (fruit)
Nasirutha spoke therein to kings (priests)
And their purities were intertwined.

(The bridegroom shall recite this prayer when entering his house before he "taketh kushta with his wife". Then he shall "honour" his crown. Beware of performing a marriage OI (entering into) a partnership when the moon is in Cancer, Capricornus, Sagittarius or Scorpio: they are evil days for a wedding.)

MANDAEAN PRAYER FRAGMENTS

The Messenger of Light Creates
the Way of Salvation
I prepared a path for the good ones
and made a gateway for the world.
A gateway for the world I made
and erected a throne in it.
A throne for the good ones I erected
and set up a light beside it.
A light I set up beside it,
which is completely perfect.
And a watch-tower for the sons of perfection I erected,
in the place where they live and are without deficiency.
I set up thrones for them
and presented them with magnificent robes.
I established the Jordan of the Great Life
and appointed guardians over it,
who were rich and without deficiency.
I set up a throne for the lord of the radiant beings
and erected a light before it.
A light, which I erected,
which was completely perfect.
With illumination and praise,
with what the Life had caused me to hear,
with illumination and praise
I arose and went to the House of the Mighty Life.
In the joy that I felt,
I reported to the Mighty Life.
The Mighty Life rejoiced and was glad,
he was overjoyed with me.
The Life thanked me
and gave me more glory than I had before.
He spoke to me :
Kusta preserve you, good one,
and preserve the word that you have spoken.
The Life spoke in his joy to the uthras and said :
Praise the strength of the man,
who healed the water through the fire.
Praise the strength of the man,
against whom the fire sinned not.
The fire did not sin against him ;
the uthra shone in its brightness.
In its brightness the uthra shone
and prepared a path for the perfect ones.
For the perfect ones he prepared a path
and granted salvation to the perfect ones.
Salvation he granted to the perfect ones
and remembered their names in the house of the Mighty Life.

Adam's Deliverance - A Mandaean Hymn
In the name of the Great Life
the sublime Light be glorified.
From the Place of Light I have come forth,
from you, everlasting dwelling-place
From the Place of Light I have come forth,
and an uthra from the House of Life accompanied me.
The uthra who accompanied me from the House of the Great Life
held a staff of living water in his hand.
The staff which he held in his hand
was completely full of leaves.
He gave me its branches,
of which the ritual books and prayers were full.
Then he gave me more of them,
and then my suffering heart was healed.
My suffering heart was healed
and my world-shy soul found peace.

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Adam's Baptism - from the Ginza
The planets stand there,
they are bound by fetters and say:
When Adam fled from us
our watch-houses were destroyed.
When Adam rose from us,
our radiance was soon taken away.
He rose up and ascended to the House of Life;
they, the uthras, washed him in the Jordan and protected him.
They washed him and protected him in the Jordan;
they placed their right hand on him.
They baptized him with their baptism
and strengthened him with their pure words.
(Source document location for this fragment is not recorded)

The Soul's Deliverance
Hail to you, hail to you, soul,
for you have departed from the world.
You have left corruption behind
and the stinking body in which you found yourself,
the abode, the abode of the wicked,
the place which is all sin,
the World of Darkness,
of hatred, envy, and strife,
the abode in which the planets live,
bringing sorrows and infirmities;
they bring sorrows and infirmities,
and every day they cause unrest.
Rise up, rise up, soul,
ascend to your first earth.
To your first earth, ascend,
to the place from which you were transplanted,
to the place from which you were transplanted,
to the fine abode of the uthras.
Bestir yourself, put on your garment of radiance
and put on your resplendent wreath.
Sit on your throne of radiance,
which the Life set up for you in the Place of Light.
Rise up, inhabit the skinas,
among the uthras, your brothers.
As you have learnt, pronounce the blessing
over your first father`s house.
And curse this place
the house of your earthly guardian.
For the years that you spent in it,
the Seven were your enemies,
the Seven were your enemies.
Your enemies were the Seven,
and the Twelve were your persecutors.

Bliss and Peace
Bliss and peace there shall be
on the road which Adam built well.
Bliss and peace there shall be
on the road which the soul takes.
Go, soul, in victory
to the place from which you were transplanted,
the place of joy,
in which the face shines.
The face shines in it,
the form is illumined and does not grow dim.
The soul has loosened its chains
and broken its fetters.
It shed its bodily coat,
then it turned about, saw it, and shuddered.
The call of the soul is the call of life
which departs from the body of refuse.

The Soul in Its Coat of All Colors - from the Ginza
The Soul, the soul speaks:
Who cast me into the Tibil, the earth,
Who cast me into the Tibil, the earth,
who chained me in the wall?
Who cast me into the stocks,
which matches the fullness of the world?
Who threw a chain round me,
that is without measure?
Who clothed me in a coat
of all colors and kinds?

Wrapped in Sleep
I am wrapped and sleep
in a garment in which there is no defect.
In a garment in which there is no defect,
which has nothing missing or lacking.
The Life knew about me,
Adam, who slept awoke.
He the Helper took me by the palm of my right hand
and gave a palm-branch into my hand.
The light cast me into the darkness,
and the darkness filled with light.
On the day when light arises,
darkness will return to its place.
He approached the clouds of light,
and his course was set to the Place of Light.

The Song of Ascent
I fly and proceed thither,
until I reach the watch-house of the sun.
I cry:
"Who will guide me past the watch-house of Sãmïs?"
"Your reward, your works, your alms, and your goodness
will guide you past the watch-house of Sãmïs."
How greatly I rejoice,
how greatly my heart rejoices.
How much I look forward
to the day when my struggle is over,
to the day when my struggle is over
and my course is set towards the Place of Life.
I hasten and proceed thither,
until I reach the watch-house of the moon.
When I arrived at the water-brooks,
a discharge of radiance met me.
It took me by the palm of my right hand
and brought me over the streams.
Radiance was brought and I was clothed in it,
light was brought and I was wrapped in it.
The Life supported the Life....
Son of the good ones,
show me the way to the uthras
and the ascent upon which your father
rose up to the Place of Light.
(Source document location for this fragment is not recorded)

Instruction of Adam by an Uthra
Do not slumber and sleep,
and forget not what your lord commanded you.
Be no son of the House, the world,
and be not named as a guilty person in the Tibil.
Love not fragrant wreaths,
and have no liking for a seductive woman.
Love not pleasant odors,
and do not neglect the night prayer.
Love not treacherous spirits
and seductive courtesans.
Love not lust,
and lying phantoms.
Drink not and do not become intoxicated,
and do not forget your lord in your thoughts.
In your coming in and your going out
be careful not to forget your lord.
In your coming and going
be careful not to forget your lord.
In your sitting and your standing
be careful not to forget your lord.
In your resting and your lying down
be careful not to forget your lord.
Do not say ; I am a firstborn son,
in everything that I do I am proof against folly.
Adam, look upon the world
which is a completely unreal thing.
It is a unreal thing,
in which you can put no trust.
(From the Ginza Rba, see also Hans Jonas, The Gnostic Religion, p 84 n32)

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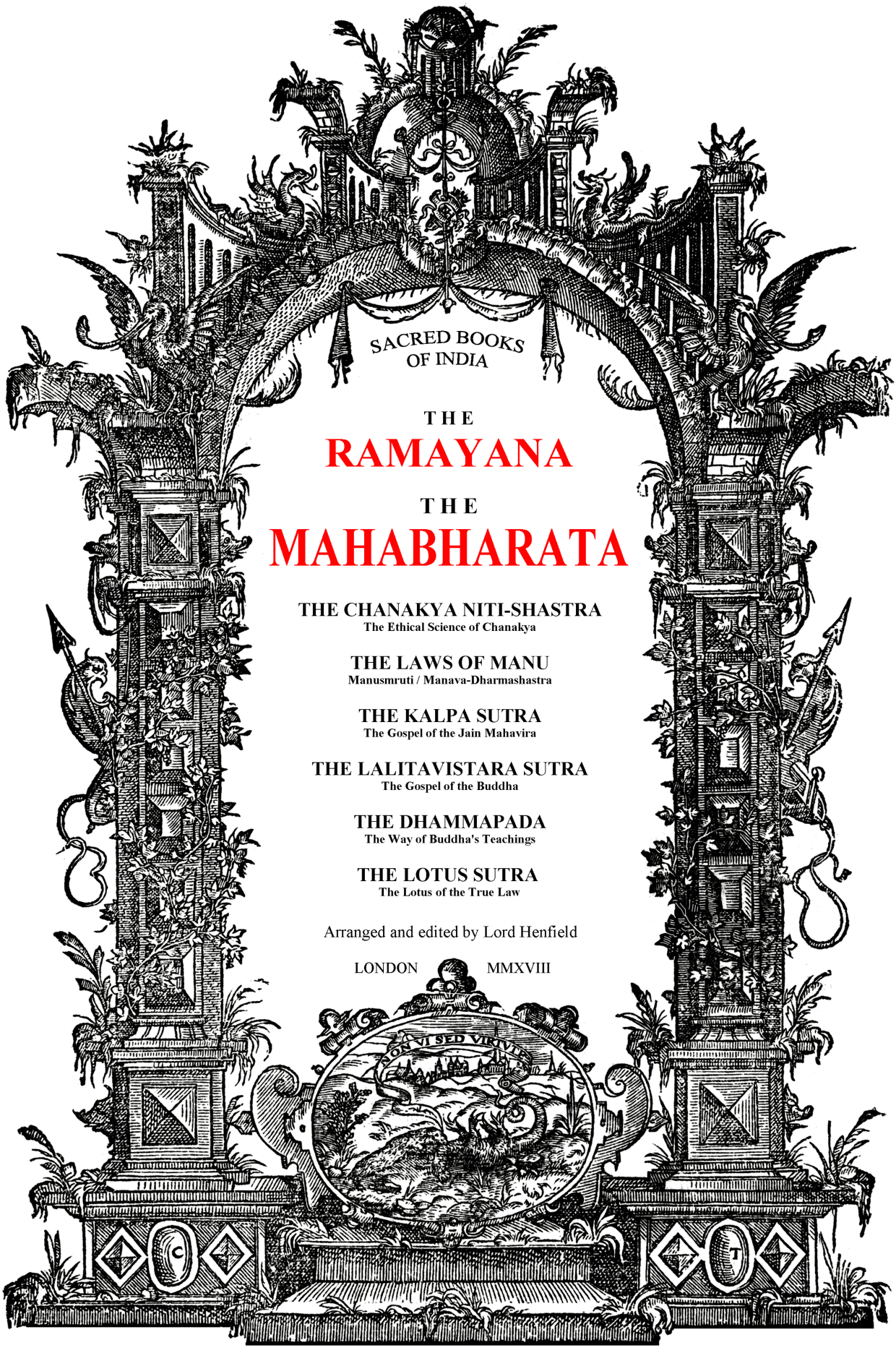

THE

RAMAYANA

THE

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THE CHANAKYA NITI-SHASTRA
The Ethical Science of Chanakya

THE LAWS OF MANU
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The Gospel of the Jain Mahavira

THE LALITAVISTARA SUTRA
The Gospel of the Buddha

THE DHAMMAPADA
The Way of Buddha's Teachings

THE LOTUS SUTRA
The Lotus of the True Law

Arranged and edited by Lord Henfield

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SCRPTURES AND LITERATURE OF INDIA

HINDUIST LITERATURE

(For non-Hindus, Hinduism is shrouded in a jumble of philosophical and spiritual teachings which have their foundation in an equal confusing jumble of traditions which are themselves based on a vast amount and diverse array of scriptures and texts. All canonical Hindu scripture taken together are roughly 20 times larger than the entire Christian Bible [Old and New Testament, including Deuterocanon, Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, etc.]. On top of that come all non-canonical Hindu texts which exceed the total amount of Hindu texts perhaps up to more than a 100 times larger than the Bible. These are often texts revered as significant by one or the other single Hindu group simply because the author originates from this particular group or community. The Mahabharata alone is several the size of the Bible; and so are the Vedas, the Ramayana, the Upanishads, and other texts.

This leads to the misconception that Hindus may be some sort of Pagans, Polytheists, Idolators, or Infidels. Jews, Christians, and Muslims view Hindus as such. It is this ignorance that caused the suffering and death of millions of Hindus. Around 80 million Hindus were slaughtered by Islam alone during the last 1,300 years.

The "many gods of Hinduism" represent in reality different attibutes and functions of God, pretty much like the "angels" do in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. One just needs to go through a mythological and historical text like the Mahabharata in order to see how many traditions of Hinduism are like those ones in Zoroastrianism, Judaism, and Islam. One example may be the exaggerated rules on impurity and purification; there may be the possibility that those rules even origin in India and came to Judaism and Islam via Zoroastrianism which itself is closely tied with India, linguistically as well as culturally.

Dharma and Karma

Dharma has various meanings all of which, however, are closely created with one another. As duty, or the assemblage of all acts which we should do, Dharma represents the set of ethics and is thus both Righteousness and Religion.

The term karma (Sanskrit: karma; Pali: kamma) refers to both the executed 'deed, work, action, act' and the 'object, intent'. It encompasses the general aim of life. The philosophy of karma is closely associated with the idea of birth, creation, death, rebirth (resurection in another form), the endless and godly cycle of life which is taught in many schools of Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism, and Daoism. The religion, its doctrines, ethics, customs and philosophies, is the main tool to achieve this harmonios cycle. The scriptures and oral traditions are the voices of the past that lead the students into the future by listening to the given accounts. They describe many good ways to God and salvation.

Tantra and Mantra

Tantra (Sanskrit: "weave" meaning continuity), tantricism or tantrism is the name for a number of traditions from Indian religions. These are some of the typical explanations of the meaning: "Tantra are traditions which are usually esoteric in their nature;" or "The term tantra, in the Indian traditions, means any systematic broadly applicable "text, theory, system, method, instrument, technique or practice," etc. What the Hindus really mean by that is in straight forward English: "Explaining the nature and structure of the Creator, of God. In other words: A systematical creed!"

As a matter of fact, Hindus are very religious. They fight for their faith for 3,000 years already. And understandably, they reject any insults from arrogant Muslims and Christians. Most Hindu revolts during the time of the Muslim Empires and the British Empire have their origins in defending Hinduism against conquerors from outside. They do not need be lectured on religious issues by them. Their religion is far more advanced and sophisticated than anything that those outsiders could offer.

Every Hindu knows their Mantra. A mantra (Sanskrit; Pali: mantam) is a sacred utterance, a numinous sound, a syllable, word or phonemes, or group of words in Sanskrit, Pali and other languages believed by practitioners to have religious, magical or spiritual powers. Some mantras have a syntactic structure and literal meaning, while others do not. Here once again, we have to put the term Mantra into straight forward English: it is a prayer! A mantra contains the basic creed of the Hindu Faith!

The earliest mantras were composed in Vedic Sanskrit in India and are at least 3,500 years old. At its simplest, the word "Om" (also: Aum) serves as a mantra [prayer], it is believed to be the first sound which was originated on earth. The Om-sound, when produced, creates a reverberation in the body which helps the body and mind to be calm. In more sophisticated forms, mantras are melodic phrases with spiritual interpretations such as a human longing for truth, reality, light, immortality, peace, love, knowledge, and action. Some mantras without literal meaning are musically uplifting and spiritually meaningful like Gregorian chants, like Jewish and Muslim prayers which are also chanted in this way.

The use, structure, function, importance, and types of mantras vary according to the school and philosophy of Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, and Sikhism. In Japanese Shingon tradition, the word Shingon means mantra. Similar hymns, antiphons, chants, compositions, and concepts are similarly found in Zoroastrianism, Daoism, Christianity, and elsewhere. Mantras serve a central role in tantra [creed]. In this school, mantras are considered to be a sacred formula and a deeply personal ritual, effective only after initiation. In other schools of Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism or Sikhism, initiation is not a requirement.

The Garatri Mantra

The Gāyatrī Mantra, also known as the Sāvitri Mantra, is a highly revered mantra from the Rig Veda (Mandala 3.62.10), dedicated to Savitr also known as Vedmata. Gāyatrī is the name of the Goddess of the Vedic Mantra in which the verse is composed. Its recitation is traditionally preceded by oṃ and the formula bhūr bhuvaḥ svaḥ, known as the mahāvyāhṛti, or "great (mystical) utterance". Maharshi Vishvamitra had created the Gayatri mantra. It has the same significance as the Lord's Prayer in Christianity. This mantra gives us here the chance to roughly outline some attributes of the Hindu Faith.

The Gayatri mantra is cited widely in Vedic and post-Vedic texts, such as the mantra listings of the Śrauta liturgy, and classical Hindu texts such as the Bhagavad Gita, Harivamsa, and Manusmṛti. The mantra and its associated metric form was known by the Buddha, and in one sutra the Buddha is described as "expressing their appreciation" for the mantra. The mantra is an important part of the upanayana ceremony for young males in Hinduism, and has long been recited by dvija men as part of their daily rituals. Modern Hindu reform movements spread the practice of the mantra to include women and all castes and its use is now very widespread. It is considered as one of the most important and powerful Vedic mantras.

The main mantra appears in the hymn Rig Veda 3.62.10. During its recitation, the hymn is preceded by oṃ and the formula bhūr bhuvaḥ svaḥ.

The Gāyatrī mantra is dedicated to Savitṛ, a Vedic Sun deity. However many monotheistic sects of Hinduism such as Arya Samaj hold that the Gayatri mantra is in praise of One Supreme Creator known by the name "Om" as mentioned in the Yajur Veda, 40:17.

The Gayatri mantra, in Devanagari, sounds like this:
Om, bhur bhuvah svah
Tat savitur varenyam
Bhargo devasya dhimahi
Dhiyo yo nah pracodayat

The single words mean: (Om - Para Brahman (entire universe); Bhur - Bhuloka (Physical Plane); Bhuvah - Antariksha (space); Svah - Svarga Loka (Heaven); Tat - Paramatma (Supreme Soul); Savitur - Isvara (Surya) (Sun god); Varenyam - Fit to be worshipped; Bhargo - Remover of sins and ignorance; Devasya - Glory (Jnana Svaroopa ie Feminine/Female); Dheemahi - We meditate; Dhiyo - Buddhi (Intellect); Yo - Which; Nah - Our; Prachodayat - Enlighten.)

The Gayatri mantra has been translated in many ways. Quite literal translations include:

• "Let us meditate on (or pray to) that excellent glory of the divine vivifying Sun, May he enlighten our understandings." --Monier Monier-Williams (1882)

• "We meditate on (or pray to) the glory of that Being who has produced this universe; may She enlighten our minds." --Swami Vivekananda

This interpretation reveals the meaning better:

• Om, the Brahm, the Universal Divine Energy, vital spiritual energy (Pran), the essence of our life existence, Positivity, destroyer of sufferings, the happiness, that is bright, luminous like the Sun, best, destroyer of evil thoughts, the divinity who grants happiness may imbibe its Divinity and Brilliance within us which may purify us and guide our righteous wisdom on the right path. --Shriram Sharma

And this interpretation makes it comprehensible to Jews, Christians, Muslims, and Atheists, and it sounds amazingly familiar:

• "Oh God! Thou art the Giver of Life, Remover of pain and sorrow, The Bestower of happiness. Oh! Creator of the Universe, May we receive thy supreme sin-destroying light, May Thou guides our intellect in the right direction." --Maharshi Dayananda Saraswati (founder of Arya Samaj)

Gayatri (Sanskrit) is the personified form of popular Gayatri Mantra, a hymn from Vedic texts. She is also known as Savitri and Vedamata (mother of vedas). Gayatri is often associated with Savitr, a solar deity in the vedas. According to many texts like the Skanda Purana, Gayatri is another name of Saraswati or her form and is the consort of Lord Brahma. However, Saivite texts identify Mahagayatri as the consort of Shiva, in his highest form of Sadasiva with five heads and ten hands.

Description of Gayatri

In Mahanarayana Upanishad of Krishna Yajurveda, Gayatri is described as white-coloured (Sanskrit: śvetavarṇā), having the gotra of sage viswamitra (Sanskrit: sānkhyāyanasa gotrā), composed of 24 letters (Sanskrit: caturviṃśatyakṣarā), three-footed (Sanskrit: tripadā), six-bellied (Sanskrit: ṣaṭkukṣiḥ), five-headed (Sanskrit: pañcaśīrṣaḥ) and the one used in Upanayana of dvijas (Sanskrit: upanayane viniyogaḥ).

As mentioned in Taittiriya Sandhya Bhashyam, the three feet of Gayatri is supposed to represent the first 3 vedas (Ṛk, Yajus, Sāma). The six bellies are supposed to represent 4 cardinal directions, along with the two more directions, Ūrdhva (Zenith) and Adhara (Nadir). The five heads represent 5 among the Vedangas, namely, vyākaraṇa, śikṣā, kalpa, nirukta and jyotiṣa.

By citing from Gayatri Tantra, the text Mantramahārṇava gives the significance of Gayatri's 24 letters and its representation that are given below.

24 Letters of Gayatri mantra

Gayatri mantra has 24 letters. That is why it called as gāyatrī caturviṃśatyakṣarā. They are 1. tat, 2. sa, 3. vi, 4. tur, 5. va, 6. re, 7. ni, 8. yam, 9. bhar, 10. go, 11. de, 12. va, 13. sya, 14. dhi, 15. ma, 16. hi, 17. dhi, 18. yo, 19. yo, 20. nah, 21. pra, 22. co 23. da, 24. yat.

When counting the letters, the word varenyam is treated as vareniyam. But, while chanting, it ought to be chanted as varenyam only.

24 Rishis of Gayatri

The 24 Letters of Gayatri mantra represents 24 Vedic Rishis. They are: 1.vāmadeva, 2.atri, 3.vaśiṣṭha, 4.śukra, 5.kaṇva, 6.parāśara, 7.viśvāmitra, 8.kapila, 9.śaunaka, 10.yājñavalkya, 11.bharadwāja, 12.jamadagni, 13.gautama, 14.mudgala, 15.vyāsa, 16.lomasa, 17.agastya, 18.kauśika, 19.vatsa, 20.pulastya, 21.maṇḍūka, 22.dūrvāsa, 23.nārada, and 24.kaśyapa.

24 Meters of Gayatri

The 24 Letters of Gayatri mantra represents 24 Vedic Meters (i.e. Chandas). They are: 1.gāyatri, 2.uṣnik, 3.anuṣṭup, 4.bṛhati, 5.paṃkti, 6.triṣtup, 7.jagati, 8.atijagati, 9.śakvari, 10.atiśakvari, 11.dhṛti, 12.atidhṛti, 13.virāṭ, 14.prastārapaṃkti, 15.kṛti, 16.prakṛti, 17.akṛti, 18.vikṛti, 19.saṃskṛti, 20.akṣarapaṃkti, 21.bhūḥ, 22.bhuvaḥ, 23.swaḥ, 24.jyotiṣmati.

24 Vedic Devatas of Gayatri

The 24 Letters of Gayatri mantra represents 24 Vedic Devatas. They are: 1.agni, 2.prajāpati, 3.soma, 4.īśāna, 5.savitā, 6. āditya, 7.bṛhaspati, 8. maitrāvaruṇa 9.bhaga, 10.āryamaan, 11.gaṇeśa, 12.tvaṣṭā, 13.pūṣā, 14. indrāgni, 15.vāyu, 16.vāmadeva, 17.maitrāvaruṇi 18. viśvedevā, 19. mātṛkā, 20.viṣṇu, 21.vasu, 22. rudra, 23.kubera and 24.aśvins

The Padmapurana (in Sṛṣṭi Kāṇḍa) mentions 24 Adhi-Devatas (presiding deities) for each of the 24 letters of Gayatri mantra. They are 1.agni, 2.vāyu, 3.sūrya, 4.ākāśa, 5.yama, 6.varuṇa, 7.bṛhaspati, 8.parjanya, 9.indra, 10.gandharva, 11.pūṣā, 12. mitra, 13.tvaṣṭā, 14.vasu, 15.marut, 16.soma, 17.āṅgiras, 18.viśvedevā, 19.aśvins, 20.prajāpati, 21.akṣara (tattva), 22.rudra, 23.brahma and 24.viṣṇu.

The Yoga yājñavalkya mentions 24 Devatas for each of the 24 letters of Gayatri mantra. They are 1.agni, 2.vāyu, 3.sūrya, 4.īśāna, 5.āditya, 6.aṅgiras, 7.pitri, 8.bharga, 9.āryamān, 10.gandharva, 11.pūṣā, 12. maitrāvaruṇa, 13.tvaṣṭā, 14.vasu, 15.vāmadeva, 16.maitrāvaruṇi , 17.jñeya, 18.viśvedevā, 19.viṣṇu, 20.prajāpati, 21.sarvadevā, 22.kubera, 23.aśvins and 24.brahma.

24 Śaktis of Gayatri

The 24 Letters of Gayatri mantra represents 24 Śaktis. They are: 1.vāmadevī, 2.priyā, 3.satyā, 4.viśwabhadrā, 5.vilāsinī, 6.prabhāvatī, 7.jayā, 8.śantā, 9.kāntā, 10.durgā, 11.saraswatī, 12.vidrumā, 13.viśālesā, 14.vyāpinī, 15.vimalā, 16.tamopahārini, 17.sūkṣmā, 18.viśwayoni 19.jayā, 20.vaśā, 21.padmālayā, 22.parāśobhā, 23.bhadrā, and 24. tripadā.

24 Tattvas of Gayatri

The 24 Letters of Gayatri mantra represents 24 Tattvas.[17] They are

1. Five Bhūtas, namely, pṛthivi (Earth), apas (Water), agni (Fire), vāyu (Air) and ākāśa (Sky).

2. Five Tanmātras, namely, gandha (smell), rasa (taste), rūpa (form), sparśa (touch) and śabda (sound).

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3. Five Karmendriyas (i.e. motor organs), namely, upasthā (sexual organ), pāyu (anus), pāda (leg), pāni (hand) and vāk (mouth).

4. Five Jñānendriyas (i.e. sense organs), namely, ghrāna (nose), jihvā (tongue), caksus (eye), tvak (skin) and śrotra (ear).

5. Four Vāyus (air), namely, Prāṇa, Apāna, Vyāna and Samāna

However, in classical definition of 24 tattvas, the last four are the antahkaranas (i.e. sense organs), namely, manas (mind), buddhi (intellect), citta (state of mind) and ahaṁkāra (ego).

The Mudras of Gayatri

The Gayatri mantra represents some mahāmudras (great hand gestures). They are 1. sumukha,[note 7] 2. sampuṭa, 3. vitata, 4. visṛta, 5. dvimukha, 6. trimukha, 7. catuḥ, 8. pañcamukha, 9. ṣaṇmukha, 10. adhomukha, 11. vyāpakāñjali, 12. śakaṭa, 13. yamapāśa, 14. grathita, 15. sanmukhonmukha, 16. vilamba,[note 8] 17. muṣtika, 18. matsya, 19. kūrmah 20. varāhaka, 21. simhākrānta, 22. mahākrānta, 24. mudgara, 24. pallava, 25. triśūla, 26. yoni, 27. surabhi, 28. akṣamāla, 29. linga, 30. ambuja.

Since, the first 24 are used before Gayatri Japa, they are traditionally referred as Pūrva Mudras.

Ahimsa - The Five Precepts in Hinduism

A word about Hindu law. Ahimsa (also ahinsa) is a Sanskrit word which means "non-violence" or "non-injury". The practice of ahimsa is an important aspect of religions like Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism. A person who practices ahimsa generally eats vegetarian foods. A religious person who practices ahimsa does not take part in animal sacrifice either. Killing any living being out of passion is considered 'himsa' (injury) and abstaining from such act is 'ahimsā' (non-injury or nonviolence). In twentieth century, Mahatma Gandhi followed the path of Ahimsa. He struggled without violence, while asking for the rights of his followers.

Hinduists, as well as Jainists and Buddhists (due to their Hindu origin), follow The Five Precepts, or guidelines. It is the Golden Rule in a codified form, just like The Ten Commandments and it can be traced back to the Instructions of Shuruppak from Mesopotamia. Normally, they are formulated in a form of a promise or oath:

1. I will not hurt a person or animal that is alive.

2. I will not take something if it was not given to me.

3. I will not engage in sexual misconduct.

4. I will not lie or say things that hurt people.

5. I will not take intoxicants, like alcohol or drugs, causing heedlessness.

(Thanissaro Bhikkhu, 2006)

In fact, Hindus have hundreds of precepts that are similar to those we can find in the Bible. They appear frequently in all Hindu scripture.

Pre-Hindu History

The earliest great civilisation in India was the Indus Valley Civilisation, represented by archaeological findings in Mohenjo Daro and Harappa. Its sites were spanning an area stretching from northeast Afghanistan, through much of Pakistan, and into western and northwestern India. It was a Bronze Age civilisation lasting from 3300 BC to 1300 BC, and its Golden Age lasted from 2600 BC to about 2000 or 1900 BC when it was shattered by the consequences of volcano eruptions. Together with the Minoan Civilisation, ancient Egypt, and Mesopotamia, the Indus Valley Civilisation was one of the very early civilisations. A kind of syllable writing on clay teblets was used but it could not be clearly decyphered yet; it seem to have had nothing to do with Hinduism as the Indo-Aryans immigrated from Central Asia at around 2000 BC.

Religion or Philosophy?

Is Hinduism a religion or a philosophy? Many people do not know what Hinduism really is, and they often describe it incorrectly, especially when they are no Hindus themselves. The many scriptures are partly the reason for this confusion. Hinduism, however, is not as mysterious or complex as it is often portrayed to be. Hinduism, or the "Vedic Culture," as Hindus call it, is a way of life in its entirety. Some basic knowledge may help to get along with the studies of the scriptures and this interesting way of life.

Language and Script

First of all, we have to recognise the language of the Hindus which was in the past Sanskrit for scripture and its version Prakrit for daily life. As Sir Monier Monier-Williams made it clear in his Sanskrit-English Dictionary [1873], which he arranged etymologically and philologically, Sanskrit belongs to the family of Indo-European languages. In other words: The modern successors of Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Pali, such as Hindi, Hindustani, Sindhi, Marathi, Urdu, Awadhi, Kashmiri, Rajasthani, Nepali, Gujarati, Bengali, Assamese, Oriya, Sinhala, Deccan, and many more, are all closely related to the Iranian languages of the Zoroastrians, such as Persian, Pashto, Baluchi, and Kurdish; but all these languages are also cognatively related to German, English, Norwegian, Greek, Armenian, Polish, Russian, Serbian, Croatian, Czech, and even to Latin, Italian, Spanish, and French. So, an Indian word like "tripadi" can immidiately be recognised as the Roman "tripede" or English tripod "three-footer," meaning a vessel or pot on three legs.

Writing

The story of writing is a different one. At the time when Hindu, as well as Jain and Buddhist, thoughts were formulated, Indians could not write them down - they had to memorise everything. These memories were then transmitted orally to the next generations. From the times of the Vedas (from circa 1500-1000 BC), people following monastic ways of life, and it were the monks and nuns who carried the knowledge of old times in their brains. The tasks changed a little when writing appeared in India. Then the monasteries became universities with libraries.

According to the Arab chronicler al-Maqrizi (or Makrizi, 1364–1442 AD), an ancient Jewish community existed in Baktra (today: Balkh) which is in northeast Afghanistan near the border to Usbekistan. It was established by the transfer of Jews to Baktra by the Assyrian King Sennacherib (Reign: 705–681 BC). The ancient city of Baktra was the capital of Bactria and a trade hub for Persians, Indians, Jews, and Chinese. A Bab al-Yahud (Gate of Jews) and al-Yahudiyya (Jewish town) in Balkh is attested to by Arab geographers. Muslim tradition stated that the prophet Jeremiah fled to Baktra and that Ezekiel was buried there (Encyclopedia Judaica, 4th edition, p. 147.). Under Persian rule in the 5th and 4th centuries BC, many Greek prisoners [among them also Jews again, Greek Jews] were deported to Bactria and Sogdiana, so both their communities and languages became common in the area which is now Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the northwest of India.

Writing was brought to India by Aramaic speaking Judaeans who travelled, probably together with Persian traders, along the trade routes as merchants. They introduced their Aramaic script, which was an offshot of Phoenician, to Central Asia and India. This script of Bactria is known as Karoshti of which archaeologists found early examples inscribed on a silver bowl from the 4th century BC. In 1969, it was discovered in a burial mound near Issyk in south-eastern Kazakhstan. Karoshti and Greek scripts, both decents of Phoenician, then were used to create the first true Indian script in the 3rd century BC: Brahmi. It was this Brahmi script that carried the sacred Hindu texts written in Sanskrit language into the future.

Shruti and Smriti

Shruti (the Vedas whose authors are unknown) are texts that were transmitted orally across the generations and fixed into writing later (after 300 BC, when the Brahmi script was created, probably by Emperor Ashoka or his father), in contrast to Smriti, literally "that which is remembered" are a body of Hindu texts usually attributed to an author, traditionally written down; if that is the right definition, those texts were all composed after 300 BC

Sacred Hindu Texts

The following list provides a somewhat common set of reconstructed dates for the terminus ante quem of Hindu texts, by title or genre. It is notable that Hinduism largely followed an oral tradition to pass on knowledge, for which there is no record of historical dates. Responsible for the memorisation were the monasteries in which each monk was assigned to the duty to memorise some certain chapters of a "book" and to recite the learned verses each and every day in form of chants. New disciples had so the chance to memorise the heard verses. So it went for generations until the Aramaic script arrived and established itself in new Karoshti and Brahmi forms. All dates here given ought to be regarded as roughly approximate, subject to further revision, and generally as relying for their validity on highly inferential methods and standards of evidence. There are no first hand copies known.

Names of the texts with estimated range of dating

• Rigveda, 1200–700 BC
• Samaveda, 900-600 BC
• Yajurveda, 900-600 BC
• Atharvaveda, 800-500 BC
• The Upanishads 800-300 BC
• Ramayana, 600-300 BC (Reflecting the 7th to the 6th centuries BC.)
• Mahabharata, 500-300 BC (Reflecting 7th to the 5th century BC.)
• Samkhya Sutra, 500-200 BC (lost work)
• Bhagavad Gita, 400-200 BC
• Mimamsa Sutra, 300-200 BC
• Arthashastra, 300 BC
• Nyaya Sutra, 2nd century BC
• Vaiseshika Sutra, 2nd century BC
• Brahma Sutra, 500 BC
• Yoga Sutras of Patanjali, 400-100 BC
• Shiva Sutras, 120 BC
• Puranas, 250-1000 AD
• Yoga Vasistha, 750 AD
• Abhinavabharati, 950 - 1020 AD

Some Hindu Principles

To describe Hinduism in brief, we can begin by saying that:

1. The Vedic Tradition or Hinduism is more than a religion, but a way of life, a complete philosophy.

2. It is based on Universal Spiritual Truths which can be applied to anyone at anytime.

3. It is called Sanatana-Dharma, the eternal nature of the soul.

4. It recognizes that there is one Supreme Being with no beginning or end, the all in all, the unlimited Absolute Truth, which can expand into many forms.

5. That Supreme Being is found in the spiritual realm but also lives in the heart of all living beings.

6. The Vedic tradition recognises that the individual soul is eternal, beyond the limitations of the body, and that one soul is no different than another.

7. The soul undergoes it's own karma, the law of cause and effect, by which each person creates his own destiny based on his thought, words and deeds. The soul undergoes this karma in the rounds of reincarnation.

8. The soul incarnates through different forms (called samsara or reincarnation) until it reaches liberation (moksha) from the repetition of birth and death, and attains its natural position in the spiritual domain.

9. The Vedic path is based on regaining our natural spiritual identity.

10. It has a complete library of ancient texts, known as the Vedic literature, that explain these truths and the reasons for the tradition.

11. This Vedic literature is considered to be non-ordinary books that are the basis of the Vedic system. Some of these have been given or spoken by God, and others were composed by sages in their deepest super conscious state in which they were able to give revelations of Universal Truths while in meditation on the Supreme.

12. The Vedic path offers personal freedom for one to make his own choice of how he or she wants to pursue their spiritual approach, and what level of the Absolute Truth he or she wishes to understand. This is spiritual democracy and freedom from tyranny.

13. The Vedic path consists of ten general rules of moral conduct. There are five for inner purity, called the yamas--truthfulness, ahimsa or non-injury to others and treating all beings with respect, no cheating or stealing, celibacy, and no selfish accumulation of resources for one's own purpose. The five rules of conduct for external purification are the niyamas--cleanliness, austerity, perseverance, study of the Vedas, and acceptance of the Supreme Being.

14. There are also ten qualities that are the basis of dharmic (righteous) life. These are dhriti (firmness or fortitude), kshama (forgiveness), dama (self-control), asteya (refraining from stealing or dishonesty), shauch (purity), indriya nigraha (control over the senses), dhih (intellect), vidya (knowledge), satyam (truth) and akrodhah (absence of anger).

Relations

Hinduism and Judaism are among the oldest existing religions in the world. The two share some similarities and interactions throughout both the ancient and modern worlds. Both religions were regarded by some scholars to be ethnic religions, and not promoting conversions. Adherents of both religions, however, are found across the world. Both religions share common elements in regard to a complicated system of laws, purity codes, and dietary restrictions, for defining their communities.

Jews have lived in India for over 2,500 years and have never been discriminated against. This is something unparalleled in human history. Jews never faced persecution by Hindus, neither are there any records of Hindus facing persecution at the hands of Jews. Those were commited mostly by Christians and in particular by Islam with its totalitarian-fascist concept of Sharia law with is inherent enmity and intolerance towards beliefs other than Islam.

Judaism, notable for its monotheistic conception of God, has some similarities with those Hindu scriptures that are monotheistic, such as the Vedas. In Judaism God is transcendent, while in Hinduism God is both immanent and transcendent. Different Hindu sects have a variety of beliefs about the nature and identity of god, believing variously in monotheism, polytheism, pantheism, and panentheism. According to the Upanishads, the Mahabharata, and some Puranas, Narayana is the supreme deity. The Vaishnavite sect considers Vishnu or Krishna to be the supreme god, while Shaivites consider Shiva to be the supreme god.

In Judaism, God is an absolute one, indivisible and incomparable being who is the ultimate cause of all existence. In Hinduism, gods are considered to have a similar status to

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another when distinct, but may also be seen as "aspects or manifestations of a single, transcendent god", or an "impersonal absolute".

Bernard Jackson points out the extent to which legal regulations, customs, and royal ordinances in Halakha in the Jewish tradition and Dharmaśāstra among Hindus are binding on members of their respective societies. Jackson adds that both Jewish and Hindu law evidence a great sensitivity to the interplay of local custom and authoritative law. He says that in both religions, the writing down of a collection of norms did not necessarily mean that all or even most norms were intended to be enforced, and that the laws connected with royal authority were not necessarily statutory. Wendy Doniger states that Hinduism and Judaism are alike in their tendency toward orthopraxy (the correct conduct, both ethical and liturgical, as opposed to faith or grace. Orthopraxy is in contrast with orthodoxy, which emphasises correct belief, and ritualism, the practice of rituals) rather than orthodoxy (the righteous or correct creed and opinion).

Ancient trade and cultural communication between India and the Levant is documented in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea and the accounts surrounding the Queen of Sheba in the Hebrew Bible.

The trade relations of both regions can be traced back to 1,000 BC and earlier to the time of the Indus Valley Civilisation of the Indian subcontinent and the Babylonian culture of Middle East. The Torah mentions India by name (Pison = Indus) in Genisis, Chapter 2, verses 10-14 when it describes the 4 regions the Holy Land had contacts with: And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads. The name of the first is Pison (Indus). . . . Gihon (Nile). . . Hiddekel (Tigris). . . Euphrates (Phrath). As trade connexions between India and Mediterranean Jewish communities continued, the languages of these cultures started to share linguistic similarities.

About 5,000 Jews reside in India today. The Bnei Menashe are a group of more than 9,000 Jews from the Indian states Manipur and Mizoram who have resided in India since as early as 8th century BC. Neither Jews nor Hindus try to convert other people to their religions.)

The stories narrated in the Mahabharata and the Harivamsa might well have real backgrounds. Due to the mentionings of Persian, Aramaic (Hebrew), and Greek words, the stories might have taken place between the 8th and 5th centuries. The similarities to Jewish and Greek religious custums is quite astonishing. Even more so the direct mentionings of Hebrew names like Yaudeva, Yadava (Yudavah, Judaea), Abhira (Abiru, Habiru, Hebrew), of Greek people by name like Yavana or Yona (Ion[a], Ionian), and of Persian people by name like Pahlava (Pahlavi, Persian) or Kuru (Kurush, Kyros, Cyrus, Karoshti). Archaeological evidence shows that these three peoples were in Indian territory already at the time of the Mahabharata Wars. All alphabets (abugidas) of India have their origin in the Aramaic script which was used by the Jewish scribes of the Assyrian and Persian empires. The earliest examples date back to 353 BC; See Image Plate No 11, Grand Bible.

Linguistic Relations

*And if that is not enough, there is strong linguistic evidence for the presence of these foreigners in the Sanskrit language itself. The following list of cognate terms from the Indian Rigveda and the Iranian Avesta will show the linguistic relations with comparisons in the following sequence: Vedic Sanskrit, Avestan Iranian, Common meaning: ap, ap, water (pl. apas); Apam Napat, Apam Napat, the water's offspring; aryaman, airyaman, Arya-hood (lit:** member of Arya community); rta, asha/arta, active truth and righteousness; atharvan, athrauuan/athaurun, Atar (priest); ahi, azhi/azi, dragon (snake, serpent); daiva, deva/daeva (daēuua), a class of divinities; manu, manu, man; mitra, mithra, oath (covenant); asura, ahura, another class of spirits; sarvatat, hauruuatat, intactness (perfection); Sarasvatī, Haraxvaitī, a river goddess; sauma/soma, haoma, a plant (deified); svar, hvar/xvar, the Sun; Tapati, Tapaiti, fire/solar goddess; Vrtraghna, Verethragna, obstacle; Yama, Yima, son of the Solar God; yajna, yasna (object: yazata), worship (sacrifice, eucharist), Gandharva, Gandarewa, heavenly beings; Nasatya, Nanghaithya, twin Vedic gods; Amarattya, Ameretat, immortality; Posha, Apaosha, demon of drought; Ashman, Asman, sky (heaven); Angira Manyu, Angra Mainyu, spirit (passion, teacher of divine knowledge); Manyu, Maniyu, anger (wrath); Sarva, Sarva, Rudra (Vedic god of wind, Shiva); Madhu, Madu, honey; Bhuta, Buiti, ghost; Mantra, Manthra, prayer (sacred spell); Aramati, Armaiti, piety; Amrita, Amesha, nectar of immortality; Sumati, Humata, good thought; Sukta, Hukhta, good word; Narasamsa, Nairyosangha, praised man; Vayu, Vaiiu, wind; Vajra, Vazra, bolt; Ushas, Ushah, dawn; ahuti, azuiti, offering; bhaga, baga, lord (patron); Usij, Usij, priest; trita, thrita, the third; Mas, Mah, Moon (month); Vivasvant, Vivanhvant, lighting up; Druh, Druj, Evil spirit, Yavana/Yona, Yauna, Ion[a] (pl. Iones) Greek, Greeks.)*

THE RAMAYANA

The Ramayana Epic
Author: The Sage Valmiki
Deva Press, 65/2, Beadon Street. Calcutta.
Translation: Manmatha Nath Dutt, 1891
Estimated Range of Dating: 7th - 3rd centuries BC.

(The Ramayana epic was composed in Sanskrit by the sage (rishi) Valmiki of Ancient India, and in its present form it consists of some 24,000 verses, divided into seven kandas (books) and about 500 sargas (chapters).

1. *Balakand, meaning the book of childhood.*
2. *Ayodhyakanda, meaning the book of Ayodhya.*
3. *Aranyakanda, meaning the book of the forests.*
4. *Kishkindhakanda, meaning the book of Kishkindha.*
5. *Sundarakanda, meaning the book beautiful.*
6. *Yuddhakanda, meaning the book of the war.*
7. *Uttarakanda, meaning the book of after events.*

The name Ramayana is composed of two words, Rama and ayana. Rama, the name of the central figure of the epic, has two contextual meanings. In the Atharvaveda, it means "dark, dark-coloured, black" and is related to the word ratri which means "darkness or stillness of night". The other meaning, which can be found in the Mahabharata, is "pleasing, pleasant, charming, lovely, beautiful". The word ayana means travel or journey. Thus, Ramayana means Rama's progress. But there is a minor catch. While ayana means travel or journey, ayana is a meaningless word. This transformation of ayana into ayana occurs because of a Sanskrit grammar rule known as internal sandhi.

The Ramayana belongs to the genre of Itihasa, narratives of past events (puravrtta), which includes the Mahabharata, the Puranas and the Ramayana. The genre also includes teachings on the goals of human life. It depicts the duties of relationships, portraying ideal characters like the ideal father, the ideal servant, the ideal brother, the ideal husband and the ideal king. Like the Mahabharata, Ramayana presents the teachings of ancient Hindu sages in narrative allegory, interspersing philosophical and ethical elements.

The oldest parts of the Ramayana date to between the mid-7th century BC and the mid-6th century BC. This is due to the narrative not mentioning Buddhism nor the prominence of Magadha. The text also mentions Ayodhya as the capital of Kosala, rather than its later name of Saketa or the successor capital of Shravasti. In terms of narrative time, the action of the Ramayana predates the Mahabharata. However, it is felt that the general cultural background of the Ramayana is one of the post-urbanization periods of the eastern part of north India, while the Mahabharata reflects the Kuru areas west of this, from the Rigvedic to the late Vedic period. Scholarly estimates for the earliest stage of the text range from the 7th to 4th centuries BC, with later stages extending up to the 3rd century AD. It was finally written down when writing in form of the Brahmi script (a development of the Jewish Aramaic script) became available in the 3rd century BC.

The names of the characters (Rama, Sita, Dasharatha, Janaka, Vashista, Vishwamitra) are all known only in the late Vedic literature. For instance, a king named Janaka appears in a lengthy dialogue in the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad with no reference to Rama or the Ramayana. However, nowhere in the surviving Vedic poetry is there a story similar to the Ramayana of Valmiki. According to the modern academic view, Vishnu, who, according to Bala Kanda, was incarnated as Rama, first came into prominence with the epics themselves and further, during the Puranic period of the later 1st millennium AD. Also, in the epic Mahabharata, there is a version of the Ramayana known as Ramopakhyana. This version is depicted as a narration to Yudhishthira.

Books two to six are the oldest portion of the epic, while the first and last books (Bala Kanda and Uttara Kanda, respectively) seem to be later additions. Style differences and narrative contradictions between these two volumes and the rest of the epic have led scholars to this conclusion.

The Ramayana was an important influence on later Sanskrit poetry and Hindu life and culture. The characters Rama, Sita, Lakshmana, Bharata, Hanuman, and Ravana are all fundamental to the cultural consciousness of the South Asian nations of India, Nepal, Sri Lanka and the South-East Asian countries of Cambodia, Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand. Its most important moral influence was the importance of virtue, in the life of a citizen and in the ideals of the formation of a state or of a functioning society.

SYNOPSIS

The poem describes the royal birth of Rama in the kingdom of Ayodhya (Oudh), his tutelage under the sage Visvamitra, and his success in bending Siva's (Shiva's) mighty bow at the bridegroom tournament of Sita, the daughter of King Janaka, thus winning her for his wife. After Rama is banished from his position as heir by an intrigue, he retreats to the forest with his wife and his favourite half brother, Lakṣmana, to spend 14 years in exile. There Ravana, the demon-king of Laṅka, carries off Sita to his capital, while her two protectors are busy pursuing a golden deer sent to the forest to mislead them. Sita resolutely rejects Ravana's attentions, and Rama and his brother set about to rescue her. After numerous adventures they enter into alliance with Sugriva, king of the monkeys; and with the assistance of the monkey-general Hanuman and Ravana's own brother, Vibhiṣana, they attack Laṅka. The name monkey originally might refer to uncivilised tribes. Rama slays Ravana and rescues Sita, who in a later version undergoes an ordeal by fire in order to clear herself of the suspicions of infidelity. When they return to Ayodhya, however, Rama learns that the people still question the queen's chastity, and he banishes her to the forest. There she meets the sage Valmiki (the reputed author of the Ramayana) and at his hermitage gives birth to Rama's two sons. The family is reunited when the sons become of age, but Sita, after again protesting her innocence, asks to be received by the earth, which swallows her up. Here the 7 books in some detail.

1. Bala Kanda

This Sarga (section) details the stories of Rama's childhood and events related to the time-frame. Dasharatha was the King of Ayodhya. He had three wives: Kaushalya, Kaikeyi and Sumitra. He was childless for a long time and anxious to have an heir, so he performs a fire sacrifice known as Putra-kameshti Yajna. As a consequence, Rama was first born to Kaushalya, Bharata was born to Kaikeyi, Lakshmana and Shatrughna were born to Sumitra. These sons are endowed, to various degrees, with the essence of the Supreme Trinity Entity Vishnu; Vishnu had opted to be born into mortality to combat the demon Ravana, who was oppressing the gods, and who could only be destroyed by a mortal. The boys were reared as the princes of the realm, receiving instructions from the scriptures and in warfare from Vashistha. When Rama was 16 years old, sage Vishwamitra comes to the court of Dasharatha in search of help against demons who were disturbing sacrificial rites. He chooses Rama, who is followed by Lakshmana, his constant companion throughout the story. Rama and Lakshmana receive instructions and supernatural weapons from Vishwamitra and proceed to destroy Tataka and many other demons.

Janaka was the King of Mithila. One day, a female child was found in the field by the King in the deep furrow dug by his plough. Overwhelmed with joy, the King regarded the child as a "miraculous gift of God". The child was named Sita, the Sanskrit word for furrow. Sita grew up to be a girl of unparalleled beauty and charm. The King had decided that who ever could lift and wield a heavy bow, presented to his ancestors by Shiva, could marry Sita. Sage Vishwamitra takes Rama and Lakshmana to Mithila to show the bow. Then Rama desires to lift it and goes on to wield the bow and when he draws the string, it broke. Marriages were arranged between the sons of Dasharatha and daughters of Janaka. Rama marries Sita, Lakshmana to Urmila, Bharata to Mandavi and Shatrughna to Shrutakirti. The weddings were celebrated with great festivity in Mithila and the marriage party returns to Ayodhya.

2. Ayodhya Kanda

After Rama and Sita have been married, an elderly Dasharatha expresses his desire to crown Rama, to which the Kosala assembly and his subjects express their support. On the eve of the great event, Kaikeyi – her jealousy aroused by Manthara, a wicked maidservant – claims two boons that Dasharatha had long ago granted her. Kaikeyi demands Rama to be exiled into the wilderness for fourteen years, while the succession passes to her son Bharata. The heartbroken king, constrained by his rigid devotion to his given word, accedes to Kaikeyi's demands. Rama accepts his father's reluctant decree with absolute submission and calm self-control which characterizes him throughout the story. He is joined by Sita and Lakshmana. When he asks Sita not to follow him, she says, "the forest where you dwell is Ayodhya for me and Ayodhya without you is a veritable hell for me." After Rama's departure, King Dasharatha, unable to bear the grief, passes away. Meanwhile, Bharata, who was on a visit to his maternal uncle, learns about the events in Ayodhya. Bharata refuses to profit from his mother's wicked scheming and visits Rama in the forest. He requests Rama to return and rule. But Rama, determined to carry out his father's orders to the letter, refuses to return before the period of exile.

3. Aranya Kanda

After thirteen years of exile, Rama, Sita and Lakshmana journey southward along the banks of river Godavari, where they build cottages and live off the land. At the Panchavati forest they are visited by a rakshasi named Shurpanakha, sister of Ravana. She tries to seduce the brothers and, after failing, attempts to kill Sita. Lakshmana stops her by cutting off her nose and ears. Hearing of this, her brothers Khara and Dushan organise an attack against the princes. Rama defeats Khara and his raskshasas.

When the news of these events reach Ravana, he resolves to destroy Rama by capturing Sita with the aid of the rakshasa Maricha. Maricha, assuming the form of a golden deer,

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captivates Sita's attention. Entranced by the beauty of the deer, Sita pleads with Rama to capture it. Rama, aware that this is the ploy of the demons, cannot dissuade Sita from her desire and chases the deer into the forest, leaving Sita under Lakshmana's guard.

After some time, Sita hears Rama calling out to her; afraid for his life, she insists that Lakshmana rush to his aid. Lakshmana tries to assure her that Rama cannot be hurt that easily and that it is best if he continues to follow Rama's orders to protect her. On the verge of hysterics, Sita insists that it is not she but Rama who needs Lakshman's help. He obeys her wish but stipulates that she is not to leave the cottage or entertain any stranger. He draws a chalk outline, the Lakshmana rekha, around the cottage and casts a spell on it that prevents anyone from entering the boundary but allows people to exit. With the coast finally clear, Ravana appears in the guise of an ascetic requesting Sita's hospitality. Unaware of her guest's plan, Sita is tricked into leaving the rekha and is then forcibly carried away by Ravana.

Jatayu, a vulture, tries to rescue Sita, but is mortally wounded. At Lanka, Sita is kept under the guard of rakshasis. Ravana asks Sita to marry him, but she refuses, being eternally devoted to Rama. Meanwhile, Rama and Lakshmana learn about Sita's abduction from Jatayu and immediately set out to save her. During their search, they meet Kabandha and the ascetic Shabari, who direct them towards Sugriva and Hanuman.

4. Kishkindha Kanda

Kishkindha Kanda is set in the ape (Vanara) citadel Kishkindha. Rama and Lakshmana meet Hanuman, the biggest devotee of Rama, greatest of ape heroes and an adherent of Sugriva, the banished pretender to the throne of Kishkindha. Rama befriends Sugriva and helps him by killing his elder brother Vali thus regaining the kingdom of Kishkindha, in exchange for helping Rama to recover Sita.

However Sugriva soon forgets his promise and spends his time enjoying his newly gained power. The clever former ape queen Tara (wife of Vali) calmly intervenes to prevent an enraged Lakshmana from destroying the ape citadel. She then eloquently convinces Sugriva to honour his pledge. Sugriva then sends search parties to the four corners of the earth, only to return without success from north, east and west. The southern search party under the leadership of Angada and Hanuman learns from a vulture named Sampati (elder brother of Jatayu), that Sita was taken to Lanka.

5. Sundara Kanda

Sundara Kanda forms the heart of Valmiki's Ramayana and consists of a detailed, vivid account of Hanuman's adventures. After learning about Sita, Hanuman assumes a gargantuan form and makes a colossal leap across the sea to Lanka. On the way he meets with many challenges like facing a Gandharva kanya who comes in the form of a demon to test his abilities. He encounters a mountain named Mainakudu who offers Hanuman assistance and offers him rest. Hanuman refuses because there is little time remaining to complete the search for Sita.

After entering into Lanka, he finds a demon, Lankini, who protects all of Lanka. Hanuman fights with her and subjugates her in order to get into Lanka. In the process Lankini, who had an earlier vision/warning from the gods therefore knows that the end of Lanka nears if someone defeats Lankini. Here, Hanuman explores the demons' kingdom and spies on Ravana. He locates Sita in Ashoka grove, where she is being wooed and threatened by Ravana and his rakshasis to marry Ravana. Hanuman reassures Sita, giving Rama's signet ring as a sign of good faith. He offers to carry Sita back to Rama; however, she refuses and says that it is not the dharma, stating that Ramayana will not have significance if Hanuman carries her to Rama – "When Rama is not there Ravana carried Sita forcibly and when Ravana was not there, Hanuman carried Sita back to Rama". She says that Rama himself must come and avenge the insult of her abduction.

Hanuman then wreaks havoc in Lanka by destroying trees and buildings and killing Ravana's warriors. He allows himself to be captured and delivered to Ravana. He gives a bold lecture to Ravana to release Sita. He is condemned and his tail is set on fire, but he escapes his bonds and leaping from roof to roof, sets fire to Ravana's citadel and makes the giant leap back from the island. The joyous search party returns to Kishkindha with the news.

6. Yuddha Kanda

Also known as Lanka Kanda, this book describes the war between the army of Rama and the army of Ravana. Having received Hanuman's report on Sita, Rama and Lakshmana proceed with their allies towards the shore of the southern sea. There they are joined by Ravana's renegade brother Vibhishana. The apes named Nala and Nila construct a floating bridge (known as Rama Setu)[24] across the sea, using stones that floated on water because they had Rama's name written on them. The princes and their army cross over to Lanka. A lengthy war ensues. During a battle, Ravana's son Indrajit hurls a powerful weapon at Lakshmana, who is badly wounded. So Hanuman assumes a gigantic form and flies from Lanka to the Himalayas. Upon reaching Mount Sumeru, Hanuman was unable to identify the herb that could cure Lakshmana and so decided to bring the entire mountain back to Lanka. Eventually, the war ends when Rama kills Ravana. Rama then installs Vibhishana on the throne of Lanka.

On meeting Sita, Rama agrees to Sita's request to undergo an Agni Pariksha (test of fire) to prove her chastity, as he wants to get rid of the rumors surrounding her purity. When Sita plunges into the sacrificial fire, Agni, lord of fire raises Sita, unharmed, to the throne, attesting to her innocence. The episode of Agni Pariksha varies in the versions of Ramayana by Valmiki and Tulsidas. In Tulsidas's Ramacharitamanas, Sita was under the protection of Agni (see Maya Sita) so it was necessary to bring her out before reuniting with Rama.

7. Uttara Kanda

It conjectures Rama's reign of Ayodhya, the birth of Lava and Kusha, the Ashvamedha yajna and last days of Rama. At the expiration of his term of exile, Rama returns to Ayodhya with Sita, Lakshmana, and Hanuman, where the coronation is performed. On being asked to prove his devotion to Rama, Hanuman tears his chest open and to everyone's surprise, there is an image of Rama and Sita inside his chest. Rama rules Ayodhya and the reign is called Ram-Rajya (a place where the common folk is happy, fulfilled, and satisfied).

This book (kanda) is not considered to be a part of the original epic but instead a later addition to the earliest layers of the Valmiki Ramayana and is considered to be highly interpolated. In this book, as time passes in the reign of Rama, spies start getting rumours that people are questioning Sita's purity as she stayed in the home of another man for almost a year without her husband. The common folk start gossiping about Sita and question Rama's decision to make her Queen. Rama is extremely distraught on hearing the news, but finally tells Lakshmana that the purity of the Queen of Ayodhya has to be above any gossip and rumour. Ram instructs him to take Sita to a forest outside Ayodhya and leave her there with a heavy heart. Lakshmana reluctantly drops Sita in a forest for another exile.

Sita finds refuge in Sage Valmiki's ashram, where she gives birth to twin boys, Lava and Kusha. Meanwhile, Rama conducts an Ashwamedha yajna (A holy declaration of the authority of the king) and in absence of Sita places a golden statue of Sita. Lava and Kusha capture the horse (sign of the yajna) and defeat the whole army of Ayodhya which come to protect the horse. Later on, both the brothers defeat Lakshmana, Bharata, Shatrughan and other warriors and take Hanuman as prisoner. Finally Rama himself arrives and defeats the two mighty brothers. Valmiki updates Sita about this development and advises both the brothers to go to Ayodhya and tell the story of Sita's sacrifice to the common folk. Both brothers arrive at Ayodhya but face many difficulties while convincing the people. Hanuman helps both the brothers in this task. At one point, Valmiki brings Sita forward. Seeing Sita, Rama is teary eyed and realises that Lava and Kusha are his own sons. Again complicit Nagarsen (one of the primaries who instigated the hatred towards Sita) challenges Sita's character and asks her to prove her purity. Sita is overflown with emotions and decides to go back to Mother Earth from where she emerged. She says that, "If I am pure, this earth will open and swallow me whole." At that very moment, the earth opens up and swallows Sita. Rama rules Ayodhya for many years and finally takes Samadhi into Sarayu river along with his three brothers and leaves the world. He goes back to Vaikuntha in his Vishnu form (Lakshman as Shesh Naga, Bharat as his conch and Shatrughan as the Sudarshan Chakra) and meets Sita there who by then assumed the form of Lakshmi.

List of important characters that appear in the Ramayana epic:

• Agastya was a son of sage Pulastya and brother of sage Vishrava. He was an uncle of Ravana. Agastya and his wife Lopamudra met Rama, Sita, and Lakshmana during their exile and gives them a divine bow and arrow.

• Ahalya is the wife of the sage Gautama Maharishi. Many Hindu scriptures say that she was seduced by Indra (the king of gods), cursed by her husband for infidelity, and liberated from the curse by Rama (an avatar of the god Vishnu).

• Akampana was a maternal uncle of Ravana. He was one of ten sons of Sumali and Ketumathi. He also had four sisters. In the Valmiki Ramayana, he was one of the survivors of the battle between Khara and Dushana along with Shurpanakha. After escaping the deadly carnage, he instigated Ravana to kidnap Sita, thus indirectly making him one of the masterminds behind the war. Later he was killed in the battle by Hanuman.

• Akshayakumara was a son of Ravana and Mandodari. He was killed by Hanuman during the encounter in Ashok Vatika.

• Angada was a vanara and the son of Bali (vanar king of Kishkindha before Sugriva) and Tara. Angada helped Rama find his wife Sita and fight her abductor, Ravana.

• Añjana was the mother of Hanuman. According to a version of the legend, Añjana was an apsara named Puñjikastala, who was born on Earth as a vanara princess and married Kesari, a vanara chief. Vayu, god of the wind, carried the divine power of Lord Shiva to Anjana's womb, and thus Hanuman was born as an incarnation of Lord Shiva. In Shiv Purana Anjana is stated as the Daughter of Gautama Maharishi and Ahalya..

• Atikaya was a son of Ravana and his 2nd wife Dhanyamalini. He was killed by Lakshmana.

• Bharata was 2nd son of King Dasharath. He was born to queen Kaikayi. Bharata was the younger half brother of Rama. Ramayana holds Bharata as a symbol of dharma and idealism. He was married to Sita's cousin Mandavi with whom he had two children.

• Chandrabhagha was the wife of Janaka's younger brother Kushadhwaja (also known as Kushadbhojan). Chandrabhagha 's two daughters Mandavi and Shrutakirti were married to Rama's younger brothers Bharata and Shatrughna respectively.[citation needed]

• Dasharatha was the king of Ayodhya. He had three queens, Kausalya, Kaikeyi and Sumitra, and four sons: Rama, Bharata, and twins Lakshmana, Shatrughna. Dasharatha also had a daughter named Shanta. Once, Kaikeyi saved Dasaratha in a war, and as a reward, she got the privilege from Dasaratha to fulfill two of her wishes at any time of her lifetime. She made use of the opportunity and forced Dasharatha to make their son Bharata crown prince and send Rama into exile for 14 years. Dasharatha dies heartbroken after Rama goes into exile. He was a good king, who was also very kind.

• Devantaka was the son of Ravana. He was killed by Hanuman.

• Dhanyamalini was the second wife of Ravana. Her true identity is unknown but some stories refer to her as the daughter of Maya and sister of Mandodari.

• Dhumraksha was a maternal uncle of Ravana. He was one of ten sons of Sumali. Dhumraksha was killed by Hanuman.

• Dushan was a man-eating Rakshasa in the Indian Ramayana epic. According to Indian epic Ramayana, Dushana and his twin brother Khara, younger brothers of Ravana, were demons who ruled the Dandaka Forest. After Lakshmana humiliated Shurpanakha by cutting off her nose and ears, Khara and Dushana went to war against Lakshmana and Rama. During this fight, Dushana was killed by Rama.

• Ganga is a goddess and the daughter of Himavan. Because of her incomparable beauty, she was given to the Devas, and she became the Milky Way. Later, Shiva brought her down to earth and she became the holy river the Ganges in Hinduism.

• Hanuman is a divine vanara companion and devotes of the god Rama. Hanuman is one of the central characters of the Ramayana. He is a Brahmachari (life long celibate) and one of the chiranjeevis. In some versions of the epic, he is described as an avatar of Lord Shiva.

• Hema is an apsara in Indra's court. When Mayasura visited svarga, he saw and married her. They had 2 sons, Mayavi and Dundubhi, and a daughter Mandodari. She later left them and returned to heaven.

• Indrajit or Meghanada was a prince of Lanka and possessor of Indra Loka (Heaven). In the epic, he is described as a great warrior and master of illusions. He was the elder son of Ravana. He was born to Ravana's elder consort Mandodari. He is a atimaharathi. He was names Indrajit by Brahma, the Creator after he defeated Indra and takeover Indra Loka.

• Jambavan is described as a king of sloth bear in epic Ramayana. He was created by Brahma, to assist Rama in his struggle against Ravana.

• Janaka was the king of Mithila and the father of Sita and Urmila. He was A wise and kind king.

• Jambumali was son of Lanka's commander-in-chief Prahasta. He was killed by Hanuman during the encounter in Ashok Vatika.

• Jatayu. In the epic is a divine bird and the younger son of Aruna. He was an old friend of Dasharatha (Rama's father). Jatayu was killed by Ravana when he tried to save Sita during her abduction.

• Kaman. Kabandha is a Rakshasa (demon) who is killed and freed from a curse by the god Rama.

• Kaikashi or Kaikeshi or keshani or Pushpothkatha was the wife of sage Vishrava, and mother of Ravana, Kumbhakarna, Vibhishana and Shurpanakha. She was a daughter of a Rakshasa king Sumali.

• Kaikeyi was the third and youngest wife of King Dasharatha, and mother of Bharata. She is famed for her beauty. After she saved the life of Dasaratha in battle, he offered to grant anything she would ask of him. She later calls in this favor to have Bharata crowned king and Rama sent into the forest, inspired by the words of her maid, Manthara.

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• Kausalya was the mother of Lord Rama and the first consort of King Dashratha. She was best out of the three mothers.

• Kewat. In the epic Ramayana Kewat was a boatman who had taken Rama, Sita and Lakshman in his boat and crossed the Ganges.

• Khara was a man-eating rakshasa in the Indian Ramayana epic. He was a younger male cousin of Ravana and the son of Kaikesi's sister Raka. He was killed by Rama, along with his brother Lakshmana when he attacked Rama after Shurpanakha's humiliation. After Lakshmana cut off Shurpanakha's nose, Khara fought against Lakshmana and Rama. During this fight, Khara lost and was killed by Rama, who also killed his brothers Dushana and Trishiras. He was the ruler of the Danda Kingdom, roughly equivalent to the Nashik district, with Janasthana (Nashik city) as its capital. He protected the northern kingdom of Lanka on the mainland and his kingdom bordered the Kosala Kingdom, the kingdom of Rama. He was well known for his superior skills in warfare. In the Ramayana war, between Rama and Ravana, Khara's son, Makaraksha, fought on his uncle, Ravana's side, and was killed by Rama.

• Kumbhakarna was 2nd son of Vishrava and Kaikasi. He was the younger brother of Ravana and the elder brother of Vibhisana and Surpanakha. Despite his gigantic size and great appetite, he was described to be of good character and a great warrior in those times. When offered a boon by Brahma, he was tricked into asking for eternal sleep. A horrified Ravana, out of brotherly love, persuaded Brahma to amend the boon. Brahma mitigated the power of the boon by making Kumbhakarna sleep for six months and being awake for the rest six months of a year (in some versions, he is awake for one day out of the year).

• Kusha. Along with Lava, Kusha was the other son of Rama and Sita.

• Lakshmana. 3rd son of King Dasharatha, and half-brother of Rama. He was the twin brother of Shatrughna. They were born to queen Sumitra. He was an incarnation of Sesha Naga. He was deeply devoted to his brother, whom he followed through many dangerous adventures and quests. He was married to Sita's younger sister, Urmila. He guarded his brother Rama and Sita for 14 years day night without sleeping.

• Lava, out of two was one of the sons of Rama and Sita. He had a twin brother named Kusha, one of the youths to whom Valmiki taught the Ramayana that he received from Narada.

• Malyavan was a maternal granduncle of Ravana. He was one of three sons of Sukesha. He had two younger brothers named Sumali and Mali. Malyavan's wife was Sundari. She had seven sons - Vajra Mushti Viroopaaksh, Durmukh, Suptaghn, Yagyakop, Matt, and Unmatt; and one daughter named Analaa.

• Mandavi. In the Hindu epic Ramayana, Mandavi is the daughter of King Kushadhwaja and Queen Chandrabhaga. She was a cousin of Sita and Urmila. She also had a younger sister named Shrutakirti. Mandavi was married to Rama's brother Bharata Aftr the Ramayana, she became Queen of Gandhara and had two sons, Pushkala and Taksha, who founded Peshawar, then called Purushapura, and Takshasila, now called Taxila, respectively.

• Mandodari was the elder consort of Ravana. The Ramayana describes Mandodari as beautiful, pious, and righteous. Mandodari was the daughter of Mayasura and an apsara named Hema. Mandodari bears two sons: Meghanada (Indrajit) and Akshayakumara.

• Manthara is said to be hunch-backed, ugly and antagonistic in appearance. Manthara, it appears, is an expert talker and a cunning woman who can manipulate her way to get what she wants. When Rama is going to become the king of Ayodhya, many deities consulted Lord Vishnu. They said "Rama is going to become king. He will enjoy his life. But the reason behind his introduction is to kill evil." Lord Vishnu expressed his helplessness, so they consulted Saraswathi, the Goddess of education. She went in the form of Manthara (Kekaya)and sent Rama to forests. Manthara is said to be the incarnation of Alakshmi, the eternal consort of Kali Purusha. In her earlier life, she had done penance unto Lord Rudra and accumulated virtue to become one among many celestial dancers/apsaras in Swarga Loka. Knowing well that she was an evil soul, Brahma ordained her to take birth as Manthara and create hurdles in establishing Rama Rajya on earth during Treta Yuga.[citation needed]

• Maricha is a rakshasa (demon), who is killed by Rama, the hero of the epic, and an avatar of God Vishnu. He is mentioned as an ally of Ravana, the antagonist of the epic. His most notable exploit is his role in the kidnapping of Sita, Rama's wife.

• Nala. In the epic Ramayana, Nala was a Vanara who helped Rama during his war with Ravana. Hs is credited as the engineer of the Rama Setu. He was a son of Vishvakarma.

• Narantaka was a son of Ravana. He was killed by Angada.

• Nila. In the epic Ramayana, Nila is the commander-in-chief of the vanara army in Rama's battle against Ravana.

• Nishad Raja. In the epic Ramayana, Nishada Raja is the king of the forest tribes and also childhood friend of Rama.

• Prahasta was a maternal uncle of Ravana and chief commander of Lanka's army. He was a son of Sumali and Ketumati. He had 9 brothers and four sisters. One of his sister was Ravana's mother Kaikashi.

• Rama is the protagonist of the epic Ramayana. Rama is an avatar of Lord Vishnu. He was the son of the king of Kosala Kingdom Dasharath and his elder consort Kaushalya. He is a virtuous, strong, and just man in his own right. He married Sita, whom he loved deeply. He also had a strong bond with his brother Lakshmana as well.

• Ravana was the Rakshasa king of Lanka. He is the main antagonist of the epic Ramayana. He was the son of Vishrava and Kaikashi. He performed penance for the God Shiva for many years, and in return received a great blessing from God himself that he cannot be killed by any God, demon, or other divine beings.

• Rishyasringa was a great Rishi he presided over the sacrifice that King Dasharatha offered in order to get a son. He was married to Dasharath's daughter Shanta. He is sometimes depicted as a combination of a Deer and a Man.

• Ruma was the wife of Sugriva. She is mentioned in Book 4 (Kishkindha Kanda) of Ramayana. Ruma and Sugriva fell in love with each other and wanted to marry each other. But Ruma's father did not approve. Hence, Sugriva with the help of Hanuman abducted Ruma and they married each other. Ruma was taken away from Sugriva by Vali following the strife of two royal Vanara brothers. Later, the fact of Ruma being withheld by Vali became the primary justification of Rama's slaying Vali and helping Sugriva to become the sovereign of Kishkindha. When accused by Vali of lowly, treacherous and unexpected assassination from the shades by Rama's arrow, Rama says his assassination was a just punishment for the sin Vali committed when he robbed Sugriva of Ruma, his wedded spouse, and used her for his own pleasure.

• Sampati was a supporter of Lord Rama. He was the brother of Jatayu and the son of Aruna.

• Shanta was the daughter of a king Dasharatha and his elder consort Kaushalya. Later she was adopted by king Romapada of Anga Pradesh. She was married to sage Rishyasringa.

• Shabari was devoted to Rama. As Her Guru sage, Matanga said to worship Rama, she waited for Rama for several years. Sabari finally met Rama after the abduction of Sita. She helped Rama to find the address of Sugriva and Hanumana.

• Shatrughna was the youngest son of King Dasharath. He was born to queen Sumitra and was a twin brother of Lakshmana. He was married to Sita's cousin Shrutakirti with whom he had two children.

• Lord Shiva played an important role in the epic. Both Rama and Ravana were great to devote to Shiva. Shiva is part of the great trinity in Hindusim, along with Vishnu and Brahma. Some versions of the epic also describe Hanuman as one of the avatars of Shiva. Shiva is a great ascetic and often sits in meditation. It is believed that he is able to tame the power of other gods, devas, and supernatural beings, and he often grants blessings and wishes to those who sit in dedication meditation ('Tapasya'). His wife is Parvati.

• Shrutakirti. In the Hindu epic Ramayana, Shrutakirti or Shrutakeerti is the daughter of king Kushadhwaja and queen Chandrabhaga. She was a cousin of Sita and Urmila. She also had an elder sister Mandavi. Shrutakirti was married to Rama's brother Shatrughna.

• Shurpanakha was the daughter of Vishrava and Kaikashi; and the younger sister of Ravana. According to Ramayana, she met the Rama during one such visit to the Forest of Panchavati and was instantly smitten by his youthful good looks. Rama meanwhile kindly rejected her advances, telling her that he was faithful to his wife Sita and thus would never take another wife. Rejected, Shurpanakha then approached his younger brother, Lakshmana, who also rejected her, the humiliated and envious Shurpanakha attacked Sita but was thwarted by Lakshmana, who cut off her nose and left ear and sent her back to Lanka.

• Sita is the main female character of epic Ramayana. King of Mithila Janaka, found her lying in a furrow on the sanctified ground and decided to raise her as his daughter (Some people defined her as the missed daughter Saheily of Ravana). She married Rama, and loved him so much that she followed him into exile. She is famed for her virtue and beauty and is regarded as an Avatara of the goddess Lakshmi.

• Subahu is a rakshasa character in the Ramayana. He and his mother, Tataka, took immense pleasure in harassing the munis of the jungle, especially Vishvamitra, by disrupting their yajnas with rains of flesh and blood. Vishvamitra approached Dasharatha for help in getting rid of these pestilences. Dasharatha obliged by sending two of his sons, Rama and Lakshmana, to the forest with Vishvamitra, charging them to protect both the sage and his sacrificial fires.[citation needed] When Subahu and Maricha again attempted to rain flesh and blood on the sage's yajna, Subahu was killed by Rama.

• Sugriva was a Vanara. He was the younger brother of Vali, whom he succeeded as ruler of the vanara the kingdom of Kishkindha. Ruma was his wife. He was the spiritual son of Surya. Sugriva aided Rama in his quest to liberate his wife Sita from captivity at the hands of the Rakshasa king Ravana.

• Suketu was a yaksha who performed a yajna to get an heir, with the strength equal to thousand elephants. After the ritual, he got a daughter named Tataka.

• Sumali was the son of demon king Sukesa and Gandharva princess Devavati. He had two brothers Malyavana and Mali. Sumali was married to Ketumati with whom he had ten sons (Prahasta, Akampana, Vikata, Kalikamukha, Dhumraksha, Danda, Suprasva, Sanhradi, Praghasa, and Bhaskarna) and four daughters (Raka, Puspotkata, Kaikashi, Kumbhnashi). One of his daughters Kaikashi was married to sage Vishrava who later gave birth to Ravana, Kumbhakarna, Vibhishana, and Shurpanakha.

• Sumantra, also known as Arya Sumantra, was the prime minister in the court of Ayodhya. He was extremely loyal to the rulers of Ayodhya and was King Dasharatha's a most trusted minister. He knew many secrets about the royal family, including what he had heard from the conversation between King Dasharatha and Maharishi Durvasa. He helped Lord Rama in his exile.

• Sumitra is the third consort of King Dasharatha of Ayodhya. She is the mother of twins Lakshmana and Shatrughna.

• Tara was the wife of Bali, and the mother of Angada. She was the queen of Kishkindha and is regarded as one of the panch Kanyas.

• Tataka was a beautiful woman who was transformed into a demon (Rakshasha) once she tried to seduce the Sage Agastya. As a demon, she used to drink the blood of living creatures and used to kill anything she sees. In one of Rama's few great acts, he broke her curse by slaying her.

• Trijata is a demoness who was assigned the duty of guarding Sita who was kidnapped by the king of Lanka. In later adaptions of Ramayana, she is described as the daughter of Vibhishana.

Trijata appears as a wise rakshasi, who dreams of Ravana's destruction and Rama's victory. She accompanies Sita on a survey of the battlefield of the war between Rama and Ravana and reassures Sita of Rama's well-being when Sita sees her husband unconscious and presumes him dead.

• Trishira was a son of Ravana. He was killed by Hanuman.

• Urmila. She was the younger daughter of Janaka and the younger sister of Sita and Mandavi. She married Lakshamana and they had two sons. She lived 14 years without Lakshamana and waited for him.

• Vali or Baali was a powerful king of Kishkindha in the epic Ramayana. He was a spiritual son of Indra, the biological son of Vriksharaja, the elder brother of Sugreev, husband of Tara and father of Angada.

• Vasishtha was a Sage and the Guru of King Dasharatha, he used to offer religious advice to the king and the royal family.

• Vibhishana was a younger brother of Ravana. Though a Rakshasa himself, Vibhishana was of a noble character. When Ravana kidnapped Sita, he advised Ravana to return her to her husband Rama in an orderly fashion and promptly which Ravana refused sternly. When Ravana did not heed his advice, Vibhishana deserted Ravana and joined Rama's army. Later, when Rama defeated Ravana, Rama crowned Vibhishana as the king of Lanka.

• Vishrava. According to epic Ramayana, Vishrava was the son of Pulatsya, the brother of celebrated sage Agastya Muni and the grandson of Brahma. Vishrava was married twice. Once with Ilavida with whom he had a son named Kubera and his second consort was a Rakshasa princess Kaikashi with whom he had three sons (Ravana, Kumbhakarna & Vibhishana) and a daughter (Shurpanakha).

• Vishvamitra was a great Sage and wise man who was once a king. Through long Meditation, he gained a number of Spiritual powers. He took Rama on a quest to defeat a demon and to lift the bow of Shiva, the first step in the future king's great journey.)

THE RAMAYANA VOLUME ONE
(Balakandam and Ayodhyakandam)
BALAKANDAM.
SECTION 1.

The ascetic Valmiki asked that best of sages and foremost of those conversant with words, ever engaged in austerities and Vaidika studies, Narada saying,—"Who at present in this world is alike crowned with qualities, and endued with prowess, knowing duty, and grateful, and truthful, and firm in vow,—who is qualified by virtue of his character, and who is ever studious of the welfare of all creatures? Who is learned, hath studied society, and knoweth the art of pleasing his subjects? And who alone is ever lovely to behold? Who hath subdued his heart, and controlled his anger, is endowed with

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personal grace, and devoid of malice; and whom, enraged in battle, do even the gods, fear? Great is my curiosity to hear of such a person. Thou canst, O Maharshi tell me of a man of this description." Hearing Valmiki's words, Narada, cognisant of the three worlds, said with alacrity,—"Do thou listen! Rare as are the qualities mentioned by thee, I will, O sage, having duly considered, describe unto thee a person endued with them. There is one sprung from the line of Ikshwaku, known by the name of Rama. He is of subdued soul and exceeding prowess; effulgent; endowed with patience; having senses under control; intelligent; learned in morality; eloquent; crowned with grace; the slayer of foes; broad-shouldered; possessed of mighty arms, a conch-shaped neck, fleshy jaws, and a broad chest; a powerful bowman; the repressor of foes; having plump shoulder-blades; of arms reaching down unto his knees; with a beautiful head, and a graceful forehead; and endowed with excellent might; having symmetrical limbs; and of a cool hue; and possessed of prowess; and having a well-developed chest; with expansive eyes; crowned with auspiciousness and favourable marks; knowing duty; firm in promise; aye engaged in the good of his subjects; of accomplished renown; furnished with knowledge; pure in body and spirit; modest towards superiors; versed in self-knowledge; like unto Prajapati himself; blest with prosperity; protecting all; the destroyer of enemies, and supporter of all living beings; and the stay of order, practising all the duties of his class; and preserving those cleaving unto him; versed in the profundities of the Vedas and the Vedangas; accomplished in archery; gifted with a good memory; ascertaining with rapidity the truth of things; the darling of all; unreproved; of unvanquished spirit; discerning; proficient in every branch of learning; ever resorted to by the good even as the ocean is, by the rivers; worthy of being honoured; having an equal regard for all; and capable of filling the heart with ever-new sensations. Crowned with every grace; he enhanceth the joys of Kaucalya; being like unto the sea in gravity, and unto the Himavat in patience. In prowess, he is like unto Vishnu, and boasteth of the personal attractions of the Moon. In anger he resembleth the fire raging at the dissolution of all; and in forgiveness, he is like unto the Earth. In giving away, he is like unto (Kuvera) the Bestower of riches, and in truth, he is like another Dharma.

"Desirous of doing that which would be acceptable to subject, king Dacaratha, from fulness of affection, wished to instal as his associate in the kingdom his beloved and meritorious eldest son, Rama, of infallible prowess, and endued with sterling virtues, and ever intent on the welfare of the people. Beholding the provisions for the installation, that lady the king's consort, Kaikeyi, who had previously been promised two boons, even asked for these, viz., the exile of Rama, and the installation of Bharata. Bound by the ties of duty in consequence of that promise of his, king Dacaratha banished his favourite son Rama. In pursuance of his father's promise, and with the view of compassing the pleasure of Kaikeyi, that heroic one, commanded by his sire, wended into the forest. And on the eve of his departure for the forest, that enhancer of Sumitra's joy and favourite of his brother (Rama), his dear brother Lakshmana, endowed with humility, displaying brotherliness, followed him out of affection. And as Rohini followeth the moon, Rama's beloved spouse, sprung in Janaka's line—like unto an embodiment of Divine power— dear (unto Rama) as life itself, and engaged in acts of good, and furnished with every auspicious mark, and the best of wives, followed Rama. Having been followed far by his father Dacaratha along with the citizens, Rama met with the virtuous and beloved king of the Nishadas; and then in company with Guha, Lakshmana,and Sita, dismissed his charioteer on the banks of the Ganges at Sringaverapura. Then wending from one wood to another, and having crossed many broad rivers, they, in accordance with Bharadwaja's directions, arrived at the Chitrakuta; and constructing a romantic abode, the three began to live there as they listed. And they spent their days in delight, even like gods and Gandharbhas. And when Rama had reached the Chitrakuta, king Dacaratha, distressed on account of his son, went to heaven, bewailing the latter. And when Dacaratha had ascended heaven, the mighty Bharata, although pressed by the Brahmanas headed by Vasistha, to rule the kingdom, did not wish for dominion. And that hero went after Rama into the forest, with the view of propitiating that worshipful one. And having come to the high- souled Rama, with truth for his prowess, he besought his brother, with every mark of respect. And Rama said unto Bharata these words,—"Thou too, O thou conversant with duty, art king." And the exceedingly generous, illustrious and mighty Rama of a cheerful countenance did not wish for the kingdom, in consonance with his father's injunction. And having made over unto Bharata, as his substitute on the throne, his own sandals, Bharata's elder brother repeatedly forbade him. And then Bharata,finding his desire not obtained,touched Rama's feet, and began to rule at Nandigrama, expecting the return of Rama. And when the auspicious Bharata, firm in promise and of subdued sense, had gone away, Rama again perceiving there the influx of citizens and others, eagerly entered Dandaka. And having entered that mighty forest, the lotus-eyed Rama slew the Rakshasa, Viradha, and saw Sarabhanga, Suitikshna, Agastya and Agastya's brother. And he then, directed by Agastya, gladly possessed himself of Indra's bow, the inexhaustible arrows, the scimitar, and the quiver. And while Rama was dwelling there with the rangers of woods, the sages came to him in a body for the destruction of the Asuras and Rakshasas. Thereupon in the presence of those ascetics like unto flaming fire, inhabiting the Dandaka forest, he promised to slay those Rakshasas in battle. And it was while he was living there that, that dweller of Janasthana, the Rakshasi Surpanakha, capable of assuming any form at will, was disfigured. And it was while living there in the society of the inhabitants of Janasthana, that Rama slew in battle the Rakshasas Khara and Tricira and Dushana, together with their followers, who all had been stirred up by the words of Surpanakha. And fourteen thousand Rikshasas were slain in that battle. And learning of the destruction of his relatives, Ravana wrought into frenzy by anger, sought the aid of a Rakshasa named Maricha. And although strongly dissuaded by Maricha,saying "Thou ought not to enter into hostilities with that powerful one. Do thou, therefore, O Ravana, excuse me!" Yet, disregarding those words of his, Ravana, urged on by Fate, went into that asylum in company with Maricha. And that one (Maricha) commanding illusions, having drawn far the king's sons (Rama and Lakshmana) he (Ravana) carried away Rama's wife, slaying the vulture Jatayu. And beholding the vulture slain and learning of the carrying off of Mithila's daughter, the descendant of Raghu, deprived of sense, bewailed in grief. And having with unassuaged sorrow burnt the vulture Jatayu, as he was searching for Sita in that wood, he fell in with a Rakshasa, Kavandha by name, of a dreadful and deformed shape. Having slain him, the mighty-armed one burnt his body,—and thereupon he went to heaven. And the Rakshasa addressed Rama, saying, "Do thou, O descendant of Raghu, repair unto the female ascetic, Savari, conversant with all systems of morality." Reparing to Savari, that destroyer of foes, gifted with exceeding energy, Rama, the son of Dacaratha, highly honoured by Savari, met with Hanuman* on the banks of the Pampa. [* Hanuman is a Hindu god and devoted vanara companion of the god Rama.] Then, agreeably to Hanuman's advice, the exceedingly powerful Rama saw Sugriva and detailed unto him all, specially touching Sita. Then the monkey Sugriva, having heard all from Rama, was well pleased with Rama and in the presence of fire, made friends with him. Then the king of monkeys, out of friendship, mournfully related unto him all about his hostilities with Vali. And then Rama vowed that he would slay Vali. Thereupon the monkey described unto Raghava the prowess of Vali, and he feared lest Rama should not prove a match for Vali. And with the view of convincing Raghava (as to Vali's might), Sugriva showed unto him the huge corpse of Dundabhi, resembling a large hill. And looking at the skeleton, Rama endued with exceeding prowess, smiling the while, with his toe cast it off at the distance of full ninety miles. And with a single mighty shaft he pierced seven palmyra palms, a hill, and the sixth nether world, carrying conviction into Sugriva. Thus convinced, the mighty monkey well pleased went with Rama towards the cave called Kishkinda. And having arrived there, that best of monkeys Sugriva of a tawney and golden hue, set up loud roars. And at those mighty sounds, out came the lord of monkeys and having obtained Tara's consent, came before Sugriva for battle. Then Raghava killed Vali on the spot with a single shaft. And, in compliance with Sugriva's request, having slain Vali in battle, Raghava conferred the kingdon on Sugriva. Then that best of monkeys having summoned all the various monkeys, sent them in various directions it search of Janaka's daughter. Then at the suggestion of the vulture Sampati, the mighty Hanuman crossed the salt sea extending for a hundred yojanas. And arriving at the city of Lanka, ruled by Ravana, he found Sita in the midst of an Asoka wood, absorbed in thought. And then having shown her the sign, he related unto her all about the friendship between Rama and Sugriva, and having cheered Videha's daughter, he smashed the gate of the palace. Then having slain five generals, and seven counsellors' sons, and grinded the heroic Aksha, he was bound fast (by the arms of Indrajit). Then knowing that in virtue of the grand-sire's boon, he was free, he forgave those Rakshasas that were leading him (to Ravana). Then having burnt down the city of Lanka, with the exception of the place occupied by Mithila's daughter, the mighty one returned, with the intention of delivering the glad tidings unto Rama. And that one of immeasurable soul having come before the high souled Rama, and circled him, addressed him, saying,—"I have truly seen Sita." Then accompanied by Sugriva, Rama repaired to the shore of the mighty ocean, and with shafts resembling the sun, vexed the deep. Then that lord of rivers—the Ocean—showed himself. And agreeably to the advice of the Ocean, Nala constructed a bridge (over the water). By that bridge Rama went to the city of Lanka,—and slew Ravana in battle. And having recovered Sita, Rama experienced high shame (in consequence of Sita's having lived so long in Ravana's place), and used harsh language towards Sita in the presence of all. Incapable of hearing it, the chaste Sita entered flaming fire. Thereupon assured by Agni as to the sinlessness of Sita, Rama became exceedingly pleased, and was honoured by all the deities. And at the great act of Rama's, the three worlds with all that was mobile and immobile in them, as well as the sages and gods, were well pleased with the mighty-souled Raghava. Then installing that foremost of Rakshasas, Bibhisana, on the throne of Lanka, Rama was perfectly easy, and rejoiced exceedingly. Then Rama, obtaining a boon from the celestials, revived the monkeys fallen in battle, and surrounded by friends, set out for Ayodhya on the car Pushpaka. And repairing to Bharadwaja's hermitage, Rama, having truth for his prowess, despatched Hanuman to Bharata. Then talking over past affairs, accompanied with Sugriva, Rama, mounted on the Pushpaka, departed for Nandigrama. Having arrived at Nandigrama, the sinless Rama sheared himself of his matted locks along with his brothers, and, laving regained Sita, got back his kingdom. And Dacaratha's son, the auspicious Rama, lord of Ayodha, hath been ruling those happy subjects of his, even like a father. (During his reign) his subjects will enjoy happiness, and contentment, and become hale, and grow in righteousness, and be devoid of mental disquietude and disease, and free from the fear of famine. And no person is to witness his son's death, and women will be ever chaste, and never bear widowhood. And no fear of conflagration (will exercise people), nor creatures be drowned in water. And no danger will come from the wind, —nor any suffer from fever. And no fear will come from hunger, Or from thieves. And cities and provinces will be filled with corn and wealth. And all will live happily as at the Golden age, And having performed with countless gold an hundred horse sacrifices, and bestowed with due rites ayutas and kotis of kine on learned persons, and countless wealth on famous Brahmanas, Raghava will establish an hundred royal families, and will employ each of the four castes in its own duties. And having reigned for ten thousand and as many hundred years, Rama will depart for the regions of Braha. He that readeth this sacred, sin-destroying, merit-bestowing history of Rama like unto the Veda itself, becometh cleansed from all sin. And the man that readeth this Ramayana conferring length of days, after death, is honoured in heaven, along with his sons, and grandsons, and relations. If a Brahmana readeth it, he attaineth excellence in speech; if a Kshatriya, he acquireth lordship over landed possessions; if a Vaisya, abundance of wealth in trade; and if a Sudra, greatness."

SECTION 2.

Hearing those words of Narada, that one of virtuous soul, skilled in speech, together with his disciples, worships that mighty sage. And having received due honours, the celestial asking for and receiving permission (to depart), went to the etherial regions. And when Narada had left for the celestial regions, that holy person went to the banks of the Tamasa hard by the Jahnavi. And having arrived at the banks of that river, the pious one, observing a holy spot devoid of mud, spoke into his disciple standing by, saying,—"O Bharadwiya, behold this holy spot devoid of mud. And it is beautiful, and contains pleasant waters, even like the minds of good men. Do thou, child, put down thy pitcher, and give me my bark. I will bathe even in this Tamasa, the best of holy spots." Thus accosted by the high- souled Valmiki, Bharadwaja ever intent upon serving his spiritual guide, presented the sage his bark. And that one of subdued senses, having received his bark from his disciple, began to range around, surveying that extensive forest. In the vicinity of the wood, that worshipful one espied a pair of Kraunchas, emitting melodious notes, and ranging around in perfect peace of mind. At this juncture, a wicked-minded fowler, singling out the male without any cause of hostility, slew him in the very presence of the holy man. And observing him struggling on the earth, bathed in blood his help-mate began to bewail in piteous accents, at the prospect of her separation from her copper-crested oviparous husband, engaged in sport with extended plumage. Finding the oviparous one thus brought down by the fowler, the piety of that pious and righteous-souled Rishi was excited exceedingly. Then considering it to be an unrighteous deed, with a heart moved with pity, that twice-born one, beholding the weeping Kraunchi, spoke these words,—"O fowler, since thou hast slain one of a pair of Kraunchas, thou shalt never attain prosperity!" Having uttered this, he thought within himself, "What is this that I have said, afflicted with grief for the bird?" Revolving thus in his mind, that highly-wise one and best of sages addressed his disciple, saying,—"This speech that I have uttered is of equal feet and accents; and is capable of being chaunted according to measure to stringed accompaniment. Let it therefore go forth as a sloka as it has come out of my sorrow!" When the sage had spoken thus, his disciple, well pleased, assented to his excellent speech; and thereat that pious person was gratified. Then having duly performed his ablutions at that holy spot, the reverend sage retraced his steps, pondering over the incidents touching the sloka. And his disciple also, accomplished in learning, and of I meek demeanour, followed Valmiki, carrying on his back a pitcher filled with water.

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Having entered the hermitage along with his disciple, that one knowing duty, while apparently engaged in diverse kinds of talk, revolved in his mind the circumstances connected with the verses. And it came to pass that desirous of seeing the best of sages, there arrived that lord and creator of all, the effulgent Brahma, furnished with four countenances. Beholding him, Valmiki rose up suddenly and, wondering greatly, humbly and silently stood before him with folded hands. And duly bending low in reverence Valmiki offered that deity water to wash his feet, and other things for reception. And having sat down on a highly-honoured seat, that worshipful one enquired after the welfare of that sage Valmiki knowing no deterioration; and then asked him to be seated. And having been seated in the presence of the Grand-sire of all, Valmiki, his mind running upon the self-same subject, became plunged in thought. "What a sin hath been committed by that wicked-minded one, incited by hostile feeling, when he without cause slew that sweetly-singing Krauncha!" And thereupon, again lamenting that female Krauncha, he, in grief of heart, mentally recited those verses. Then smiling, Brahmft spoke unto that excellent sage,—"Those verses of thine which thou hast composed shall attain celebrity: no doubt need be entertained on this head. It is because I had intended so, that those verses had come out of thy lips. Do thou now, O best of saints, compose the entire history of Rama. Do thou relate unto the world the history of the righteous-souled and intelligent Rama crowned with qualities. And do thou, and thou hast heard it from Narada, relate all that is known, and all that is unknown to thee, O wise one, concerning Rama, and Lakshmana, and Videha's daughter, and all the Rakshasas. And even what is not known to Narada, shall be unfolded unto thee. And no words of thine in this poem shall contain an untruth. Do thou, therefore, compose into verses this delightful story of Rama. And as long as the mountains and the seas exist on earth, thy history of Ramayana will spread among men. And as long as this story of Ramayana shall retain currency, thou shalt reside both in this world and in mine." Having said this, the worshipful Brahma disappeared there. And thereat the sage and his disciples marvelled greatly. And his disciples sang those verses again and again; and, momentarily experiencing pleasure, said unto him with exceeding wonder,—"Those verses, composed of equal accents, and furnished with four parts, have been sung by the mighty saint, have, in virtue of frequent repetition, been associated with a world of pathos, and have attained the eminence of a sloka. And now it is the intention of that illustrious and self centered sage to compose the entire Ramayana in this metre."

The great ascetic Valmiki of gracious appearance and unparalleled renown has composed hundreds of verses in melodious measure, couching the significance of the history of Rama's line. Listen to the annals of the foremost of Raghu's race, and the destruction of the Ten-headed one composed by the ascetic, with Samasas, Sandhis, Prakritas, and Pratayas; and lucid with sweet and equally-accented words.

SECTION 3.

Having heard the entire history of the intelligent Rama, capable of conferring religious merit and the two other cognate objects, as well as emancipation, Valmiki again sought to get insight into it. And, seating himself facing the east on a cushion of kusa grass, and sipping water according to the ordinance, he addressed himself to the contemplation of the subject through yoga. And by virtue of his yoga powers, he clearly observed before him Rama, and Lakshmana, and Sita, and Dacaratha together with his wives in his kingdom, laughing, and talking, and acting, and bearing themselves as in real life. And he saw into all that was endured by Rama firm in promise, with his wife for the third. And like an emblic myrobalan on his palm, that righteous-souled one, by virtue of his yoga, perceived all that had happened as well as all that would happen in future. And having truly seen everything by virtue of his contemplation, that magnanimous one set about recording the charming Rama's history. And agreeably to what had been related by the mighty-souled Narada, that worshipful saint composed the history of Ragu's line, conferring profit and pleasure, and impregnated with qualities fraught with them, and, like unto the ocean, abounding in riches, and captivating ear and mind. And Rama's birth, and mighty prowess, and kindness to all, and popularity, and forbearance, and good- ness, and truthfulness, and the wonderful converse he had with Viswamitra; and the nuptials of Janaki; and the snapping of the bow; and the hostilities of Rama with Rama (Parasurama); and the noble qualities of Dacaratha's son; and Rama's installation; and the enmity of Kaikeyi; and the obstacle in the way of the installation; and the exile of Rama; and the king's grief, lamentations, and departure for the other regions; and the grief of the subjects, and their dismissal by Rama to Ayodhya; and the tidings of the lord of Nishadas; and the charioteer's return; and the crossing of the Ganges; and Rama's interview with Bharadwaja; and his arrival at Chitrakuta in consonance with Bharadwaja's injunction; and Rama's building a mansion there and sojourn; and Bharata's arrival, and his propitiation of Rama; and Rama's offering oblations to the manes of his father; and the installation of the sandals; and Bharata's dwelling at Nandigrama; Rama's removal to Dandaka and destruction of Viradha; Rama's interview with Sarabhanga and meeting with Sutikshna; and Sita's companionship with Anusuya, and the latter's painting the former; and Rama's interview with Agastya, and his obtaining the bow from him; and the story of Surpanakha and her disfigurement; and the slaughter of Khara Tricira; and the exertions of Ravana; the destruction of Maricha, and the carrying away of Vaidehi; Raghava's lamentations, and the death of the king of vultures; Rama's encounter with Kavandha, (a headless demon) and his view of Pampa; Rama's interview with Savari, and his subsistence there on fruits and roots; Rama's lamentations, at Pampa, and meeting with Hanuman; the former's sojourn to the Rishyamukha, and interview with Sugriva; Rama's raising the confidence of Sugriva, and his friendship with the latter; and the encounter between Vali and Sugriva; the destruction of Vali, the establishment of Sugriva on the throne; and Tara's lamentation; the understanding between Rama and Sugriva as to the time for commencing the march; Rama's stay during the rainy season; and the ire of the lion of Raghu's race; the levying of forces; and the despatch of envoys in different directions; and the assignment by Sugriva of different quarters to the monkeys; the making over of his ring by Rama to Hanuman; Jambubana's discovery of the cave; the fasting of the monkeys on the shore of the ocean; Hanuman's interview with Sampati; Hanuman's ascension of the mountain, and his bounding over the main; and his sight of the Mainaka at the injunction of Ocean; the ring of Rakshasis; Hanuman's meeting with the Rakshasa Chyagraha; Hanuman's destruction of Sinhikaya; and Hanuman's sight of Lanka, and his entrance by night into Lanka; his ascertaining of conduct in times of helplessness; his journey to the tavern; and his sight of the inner apartments; and his sight of Ravana and of his car Pushpaka; his walk to the Asoka wood, and sight there of Sita; his presentation of the ring to Sita and converse with her; and the roaring of the Rakshasis; and dreaming of the dream by Trijata; Sita's handing a gem to Hanuman; and the breaking down of trees; and the flight of the Rakshasis, and slaughter of the slaves; and the wind-god's Son being taken captive; and his terrible roars while burning down Lanka; and his bounding back over the ocean; and the forcible possession of honey; and Hanuman's consoling Raghava, and handing him the gem; Rama's interview with Ocean; and Nala's constructing the bridge, the army's crossing of the ocean; and the nightly seige of Lanka; and Rama's interview with Bibhishana; the communication as to the means of destruction; and the destruction of Kumbhakarna and Meghananda; and the destruction of Ravana, and the recovery of Sita in enemy's city; and the sprinkling of Bibhishana, and the sight of Pushpaka; Rama's return towards Ayodhya, and meeting with Bharadwaja; despatch of Hanuman; and Rama's meeting with Bharata; and the installation of Rama; and the dismissal of all the forces; and Rama's pleasing his subjects, and renunciation of Sita,—all else besides concerning Rama on earth, that hath not yet taken place,—have been dealt with by the worshipful sage in the last book.

SECTION 4.

When Rama had obtained his kingdom, that worshipful sage Valmiki, composed the entire history [of that hero] in excellent metre and fraught with high meaning, saint recited twenty-four thousand slokas; and it consists of five hundred sections, and is divided into six Kandas with the Uttara. And having composed it, including as well fut incidents to happen afterwards, that lord reflected as to who should publish the same before assemblies. And as that great sage of purified soul was thus pondering, in came Kusi and Lava, in the guise of the sons of ascetics, and touched his feet. And he found those illustrious princes, the brothers Kusi and Lava, knowing morality, and living in a hermitage, and endowed with sweet voices,—apt at taking in the meaning of poetry. And finding them of a retentive endowment, and initiated into Vedic studies, that lord taught them how to interpret the Vedas, and that vow-observing one taught them the great Ramayana in full, treating of Sita's life, and the destruction of Paulastya. And those sweet voiced brothers, resembling Gandharbas in grace, accomplished in music and dancing, and cognisant of Sthana and Murchhana, began to chant this poem delightful in recitation and in singing, set in three measures, and seven notes, and sung according to time to the accompaniment of stringed instruments, and fraught with the sentiments of love, pathos, risibility, the irascible, the terrible, and the heroic. And knowing the characteristics that go to make up the Drama, and gifted with mellifluous voices, those blameless princes, coming from Rama's body, and resembling him, even as the reflection of the solar or the lunar disc resembles that disc, got by heart that excellent and moral story in its entirety; and those princes versed in the Fine arts, with a concentrated mind chanted it as they had learnt it, in the assemblies of ascetics and Brahmanas and good men.

Once upon a time, those high souled and pious ones, furnished with every auspicious mark, chanted this poem in an assembly of ascetics of purified souls. Having heard this music, all the ascetics were seized with surprise, and with eyes flooded with tears, exclaimed, "Well done! Well done!" And well pleased, those saints cherishing Duty, praised the praiseworthy Kusa and Lava as they sang, saying—"Ah! what charming music! What sweetness of the verses! All this happened long ago, yet it seems as if we saw it before us." And unified with the theme, both of them singing together sweetly, and at a high pitch, by means of saraja and the other notes, they entranced the audience. And the two thus went on sweetly singing at a high pitch, praised by those mighty sages priding in their asceticism. Some one in the assembly pleased with them presented them with a water-pitcher; and some one of high fame, being delighted, made them a present of a bark garment; and some one gave them a dark deer skin;—and some holy thread,—and some, a kamandalu and some great saint conferred on them a maunja made girdle; and some person granted them a vrishi, and some, a kaupina. And then some ascetic, well-pleased, gave them an axe; and some, a red cloth; and some, a thread for tying up their matted locks; and some gladly gave a twine for binding faggots with,— and some, ascetic presented them with a sacrificial pot; and some, a quantity of fire-wood; and some, a seat made of adumvari7. And some exclaimed, "Swasti;" and some joyfully cried,—"May ye be long-lived!" And all those ascetics of truthful speech conferred on them blessings. And the sages said,—"Wonderful is the story! And, O ye accomplished in all kinds of music! beautifully have ye chanted and finished this poem, charming ear and heart, and conferring long life and prosperity,—which will afford themes to poets." And admired everywhere, on one occasion those singers were seen by Bharata's elder brother, in a street of Ayodhya, sparsely scattered with stalls. And having had the brothers Kusa and Lava brought under his roof, that destroyer of enemies, Rama, accorded those ones worthy of honour, a respectful reception. And having seated himself on a throne of excellent gold, in the midst of his brothers and counsellors, that lord, Rama, beholding both the brothers, handsome and of modest demeanour, spoke unto Lakshmana, Bharata and Satrughna, saying,—"Do ye listen to the story, fraught with excellent sense and composed in excellent measure, as sung by these ones endowed with the divine afflatus." And then he ordered the singers to begin. Thereupon causing the down of the audience to stand on end, and ravishing their minds and hearts, they began to sing melodiously and distinctly and in as high a pitch as they could command, and in strains rivalling the notes of a Vina. And that song of theirs enchanted the ear of that assembly. And Rama said,—"Although these Kusa and Lava, of rigid penances, look like ascetics, yet they bear on their persons the signs of royalty. And, besides, the story conduces to my fame. Do ye, therefore, listen to that history fraught with great worth!" And then commanded by Rama, they began to chaunt according to the Marga mode, and Rama seated in the midst of his court, was drawn to the music, anxious for the perpetuation of his history.

SECTION 5.

This great story of Ramayana treats of those victorious kings commencing with Prajapati, and having Ikshwaku for their founder, who ruled the entire earth as no other kings had done so before them, and in whose line Sagara was born—Sagara who dug the ocean, and whom, while out in progress, his sixty-thousand sons followed. We shall now chaunt the entire history of that dynasty from the beginning. Do ye, with minds free from ill will, listen to that story conferring merit, profit and pleasure.

There is on the banks of the Sarayu a great and flourishing country called Kosala abounding in corn and wealth, in which the inhabitants passed their days pleasantly. And the capital of that country was Ayodhya famed among men which was founded by Manu himself—that foremost of men. And that beautiful and mighty city was twelve yojanasin length and ten in breadth; and was intersected outside with spacious roads laid out orderly. And scattered with blown blossoms, and regularly sprinkled with water, the well- arranged broad high-ways looked beautiful. And that one bringing prosperity unto mighty kingdoms, King Dacaratha, lived in that city, like unto the lord of the deities inhabiting the celestial regions. And the city was furnished with doors and gates, and well-arranged rows of shops. And it contained all kinds of instruments and arms, and was inhabited by all classes of artizans. And that graceful and matchlessly brilliant city abounded in eulogists and genealogists. And it was crowned with stately edifices with flags, and guarded by hundreds of Sataghnis. And the mighty city contained theatres for females, and gardens, and mango-groves; and was enclosed by a wall. And encircled by a deep moat, the city was accessible neither to friend nor foe. And it abounded with elephants and horses, and kine and camels and asses. And it was thronged with neighbouring kings come to pay tribute, and inhabited by merchants from various countries, and adorned with mountain-like palaces glittering with gems, and filled with

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sporting-places for females, and like unto Indra's Amaravati. And the city was wonderful to behold, gleaming with gold-burnished ornaments, and inhabited by troops of courtezans, and abounding in all kinds of gems, and graced with royal places. And it abounded in paddy and rice, and its water was sweet as the juice of the sugar-cane. And it resounded with the sounds of Dundubhis and Mridangas and Vinas and Panavas. And that foremost spot of all the earth was like unto an aerial car obtained in heaven by the Siddhas, through force of ascetic austerities, and thronged with the best specimens of humanity. And that city was filled by king Dacaratha with thousands of such Maharathas light-handed and accomplished in fight, as could by force of arms or sharpened shafts slaughter infuriated lions and tigers and boars roaming in the forest; yet as would not pierce with arrows persons lorn or abandoned or hiding or fugitive. And it abounded mostly in excellent Brahmanas, lighting the sacrificial fire, and crowned with qualities, and versed in the Vedas and the Vedangas, and giving away thousands, and ever abiding by truth, and high-souled, and resembling mighty ascetic.

SECTION 6.

And in that city of Ayodhya resided king Dacaratha versed in the Vedas, commanding all resources, far-sighted, of mighty prowess, dear to the inhabitants both rural and urban, an Athiratha in the Ikshwaku line, performing sacrifices, engaged in the performance of duties,self-controled like unto a Maharshi, a royal saint famed in the three worlds, possessed of strength, the destroyer of foes, having friends, of subdued senses, comparable unto Sakra and Vaisravana by virtue of accumulated riches and other possessions, and protecting people even as the highly energetic Manu protected them. And as Indra rules Amaravati, that one firm in promise, and following duty, profit, and pleasure, ruled that best of cities. And in that excellent city, the men were happy and righteous-souled, and widely-read, and each contented with his possessions, and devoid of covetuousness, and speaking the truth. And in that prime of cities, there was none who had not at his command a plenteous supply of the good things, and there was no householder who was not well off in horses and kine, and corn and wealth. And one could see nowhere in Ayodhya persons given up to lust, or unsightly, or crooked-minded, or unlettered, or atheistical. And all the men and all the women were of excellent character, and subdued senses and a happy frame of mind, and both in respect of occupation and conduct spotless like unto Maharshis. And all wore ear-rings and tiaras and garlands, and abundantly enjoyed the good things of life. And all were clean, daubing their limbs, and perfuming their persons, and feeding on pure food, and giving away, and wearing Angadasand Nishkas and hand-ornaments, and repressing passions And there were not in Ayodhya persons not lighting the sacrificial fire, or not performing sacrifices, or mean-minded, or thieving, or engaged in improper occupations, or of impure descent. And the Brahmanas of subdued senses were always engaged in the performance of their own duties, giving away in charity, and studying, and receiving gifts with discrimination. And none of them was atheistical or untruthful or slenderly-read or detracting or incompetent or illiterate. And there was no Brahmana who was not versed in the Vedas and Vedangas, or not observing vows, or not giving away by thousands, or poor-spirited, or of insane mind, or afflicted. And no man and no woman was seen devoid of grace or beauty, or lacking in reverence for their monarch. And the four orders with Brahmanas at their head contained persons serving gods and guests, and endowed with gratitude, and munificent, and heroic, and possessing prowess. And the men were long-lived; and ever abode by duty and truth; and lived in that best of cities, always surrounded by sons and grandsons and wives. The Kshatriyas were obedient unto the Brahmanas, and the Vaicyas followed the Kshatriyas, and the Sudras, occupied with their proper vocations, ministered unto the three other orders. And that city was ably governed by that lord of Ikshwaku's line, even as that foremost of men, the intelligent Manu, had governed it before him. And as a mountain-cavern abounds with lions, it was filled with warriors resembling flaming fire, of straight ways, unforbearing, and of accomplished learning. And the city abounded with excellent horses sprung in Kamvoja, and Vahlika, and Vanayu, and the banks of the Sindhu, and like unto that best of horse, Hari's charge; and with fierce elephants sprung on the Vindha mountain, and the Himavat, filled with juice, and of exceeding strength, and resembling hills; and with Bhadra, Mandra, and Mriga elephants; and those sprung from the mixture of the three, and from the mixture of Bhadra and Mandra, and from Bhadra and Mriga, and from Mriga and Mandra,—superior like unto Airavata, and coming from Mahapadma, Anjana, and Vamana breeds; fierce, and looking like hills. And that city was over two yojanas; and truly it was called Ayodhya. And repressing enemies, that city was governed by the great and the exceedingly powerful king Dacaratha, even as the Moon sways the stars. And that lord of earth resembling Sakra governed that city of Ayodhya bearing a true name, furnished with strong gates and bolts, and auspicious, and graced with excellent edifices, and teeming with thousands.

SECTION 7.

That high-souled one of Ikswaku's line had competent counsellors, capable of administering business, of diving into the motives of others, and ever intent upon the good of the monarch. And that heroic king had eight famous counsellors, pure and devoted to the royal service,—viz., Dhrishti, and Vijaya, and Surashtra, and Rashtravardhana, and Akopa, and Dharmapala, and Sumantra the eighth, conversant with profit. And he had two family priests after his heart; viz, those foremost of saints, Vasistha and Vamadeva. And he had other counsellors besides; viz., Suyajna,and Javali, and Kacyapa, and Gautama, and the long-lived Markandeya, and the regenerate Katyayana. Ever associated in counsel with these Brahmarshis, his priests and counsellors serving the dynasty from father to son, learned yet modest, and bashful, and conversant with policy, and of subdued-senses, and auspicious, and high-souled, and accomplished in the art of arms, and of high renown, cautious, and acting according to their word, and possessing energy, forgiveness and fame, and ever preluding their speech with a smile, and never committing themselves a lie either from anger or interest or desire, and ever employing spies noting what was doing or done in the midst of their own or a hostile party. And they were adepts in intercourse with people, and well-tried in friendship by the monarch. And they were ever busy in replenishing the exchequer and in levying troops. And they did not cherish ill will even towards enemies, when innocent. And they were heroic, and ever high-spirited, following policy, and protecting those citizens that were pure, and not bearing ill will towards Brahmanas and Kshatriyas, and filling the treasury, by inflicting punishments according to the offences of the persons guilty. And during the time when those pure ones of one mind presided over the justice of the kingdom, there was neither in the city nor the provinces any that was a liar, or wicked, or going after others' wives. And peace reigned all around the city and the provinces. And the ministers wore excellent raiment, and ornaments, and were engaged in observing pure vows, and ever kept their eye of policy open, in the interests of the monarch. And the king considered them as crowned with virtues; and they were famed on account of their prowess, concluding unerringly in consequence of their intelligence of other countries. And in all climes and times they could manifest their noble qualities; and they were cognisant of war and peace, and possessed of goodness, passion and ignorance. And they could keep their counsel, and judge of things finely, and were well-versed in the art of policy, and ever fair-spoken. Surrounded by such counsellors endowed with various qualities, the faultless king Dacaratha ruled the earth, gathering intelligence by means of spies, and righteously protecting the subjects, and preserving the people, and not sacrificing his duties,—famed over the three worlds. And munificent, and firm in promise in battle, that best of men ruled there this earth. Nor did he ever meet with a foe that was either his equal or superior. And possessed of friends, and having obedient commanders, and extricating his thorns by his might, that king ruled the earth, even as the lord of celestials ruleth heaven. And surrounded by those counsellors studious of his welfare, and bearing affection towards him, and clever, and competent, that king, by virtue of his prowess in subduing others, resembled the Sun surrounded by his rays.

SECTION 8.

And although engaged in austerities with the view of having sons born to him, the powerful and high-souled king, had no son capable of perpetuating his line. And mentally turning the matter over, the high-souled one thought, "Why do I not celebrate a horse-sacrifice with the intention obtaining a son?" And that highly-energetic, pious and intelligent monarch, in consultation with all his counsellors of sedate minds, having made up his mind to celebrate the sacrifice, said unto that best of counsellors, Sumantra,—"Do thou speedily summon my spiritual guides, along with the family priests." Thereupon, going out speedily, Sumantra of swift movements called together all the spiritual guides, as well as others versed in the Vedic ritual; viz., Suyajna, and Vamadeva, and Javali, and Kacyapa, and Vasistha, and other principal twice-born ones. And having paid homage unto them, the virtuous king Dacaratha then spoke unto them these sweet words, consistent with duty and interest, —"Ever pining on account of a son, I know no happiness,— therefore it is my intention that I should celebrate a horse sacrifice. I intend to celebrate it according to the ordinance. Do ye, therefore, consider how I may attain my object." Thereat, the Brahmanas with Vasistha at their head, exclaiming ing "Well! Well!" approved the words that had fallen from the lips of the monarch. And exceedingly pleased, they spoke unto Dacaratha saying,—"Do thou order the necessary articles, loose the horse, and prepare the sacrificial ground on the north bank of the Sarayu. And, O king, since with the intention of obtaining offspring thou purposest so piously, thou wilt surely obtain sons after thy heart." And hearing these words of the regenerate ones, the king was highly gratified. And with eyes expanded in delight, he spoke unto his ministers,—"Do ye procure the necessary sacrificial articles, according to the injunction of my spiritual preceptors; and loose a horse protected by a competent person, and followed by one of the chief family priests; and do ye prepare the sacrifical ground on the north bank of the Sarayu; and do ye in due order and according to the ordinance perform the rites required to secure an uninterrupted completion to the ceremony. This ceremony is incapable of being celebrated by every king. Particular care should be taken that the sacrifice is not defective on account of any serious omission; inasmuch as with learned Brahma-Rakshasas ever on the look-out to espy shortcomings in the ceremony, the performer thereof speedily perishes, should anything take place not consonant to the Ordinance. And do ye possessed of ability so arrange, that this sacrifice may be completed in harmony with the ritual." Thus addressed with due respect, the counsellors listened to the words of the monarch, and said, "So be it."

Then taking the permission of that best of kings, those regenerate ones knowing duty, having blessed the monarch, returned to their respective quarters. And dismissing those Brahmanas, the king spoke unto his minister, saying, —"Do ye, even as the family priests have ordered, arrange for the sacrifice!" Having said this, that mighty-minded and best of men dismissed his ministers, and himself entered into the inner apartment. And coming there, that lord of men said unto his favourite wives,—"Do ye know it for certain that in order to obtain a son I am going to petform a sacrifice." And hearing those sweet words, the countenances of those shining dames looked resplendent, like lotuses after the cold season is over.

SECTION 9.

Hearing all about it, the king's charioteer addressed the monarch in private, saying,—"Do thou listen to what is related in ancient history, and to what I have heard myself! This horse-sacrifice is enjoined by the family priests; and I have myself heard the following story celebrated in ancient chronicle. And what the worshipful Sanat Kumara had said formerly in the presence of the saints, applies, O king, the case of thy having a son. "Kacyapa hath a son known by the name of Bibhandaka. He will get a son called Rhishyasringa. And he will grow up and pass his days in the woods. And that foremost of Brahmanas will not know aught else save following his father. And, O king, it is rumoured abroad, and also always said by the Vipras, that that high-souled one will practise the two modes of Brahmacharya life. And he will spend some time in serving the sacrificial fire and his famous sire. At this time, the powerful Romapada of exceeding strength will be famed as king of the Angas. And in consequence of some default on bif part, there will occur in his kingdom a terrible and dreadful drouth, capable of striking terror into all. And filled with grief on account of this drouth, the king will call about him Veda-accomplished Brahmanas, and speak unto them, saying,—"Ye are conversant with the Vedic ritual and the social duties. Do ye, therefore, tell me how to expiate for this evil." And thus accosted by the king, those excellent Brahmanas versed in the Vedas, will say unto that ruler of earth,—"Do thou, O monarch, by all means, bring Bibhandaka's son. And having, O king, brought that Brahmana versed in the Vedas, Bibhandaka's son Rhishyasringa, and duly honoured him, do thou, O monarch with a concentrated mind, bestow upon him thy daughter Santa, according to the ordinance." And hearing those words of theirs, the king will begin to think as to how he can bring over that one endowed with energy. Then in consultation with his counsellors, the prudent king having come to a conclusion, will, honouring them duly, desire his priest and his courtiers to set out in quest of Rhishyasriuga. Thereupon hearing the king's words, with aggrieved hearts, and with heads hanging down, they will beseech the monarch, saying,—"Afraid of the saint, Bibhandaka, we shall not be able to repair thither." Anon hitting upon the appropriate means, they say,—'We will search for the Vipra, and no blame shall attach unto us.'—

Thus by help of courtezans, the saint's son was brought by the lord of the Angas. And then the god (Indra) poured down showers; and the king conferred on him Santa. And now thy son-in-law Rhishyasringa will help thee in obtaining a son. Now I have related unto thee what Sanat Kumara had communicated." Thereupon king Dacaratha, well pleased, spoke unto Sumantra,—"Do thou now tell me by what means Rhishyasringa was brought over (by the lord of the Angas)."

SECTION 10.

Thus asked by the king, Sumantra said these words,— "I will relate unto thee how the counsellors brought Rhishyasringa. Do thou listen with thy counsellors! The priest together with the counsellors spoke unto Romapada, saying,— 'The means that we have hit upon can never fail of effect.' Rhishyasringa hath been brought up in woods; and is engaged in austerities and the study of the Vedas; and is

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ignorant of the pleasure that ensueth from contact with women. By help of things agreeably ministering unto the senses, and ravishing the soul, we shall bring him to the city. Do thou, therefore, arrange for them! Let courtezans of comely presence, clad in ornaments, repair thither. And if well treated, they will by various means bring him hither.' Hearing this, the king said unto the priest,—'So be it!' and laid the charge upon him,—who, however, made it over to the courtiers. And the latter acted accordingly.

And in accordance with the instructions, the courtesans entered that great forest; and remaining at some distance from the hermitage, endeavoured to meet with the sober son of the saint ever dwelling in the woods. And satisfied with serving his sire, he never strayed from the hermitage; and consequently had never seen men and women, or any other creatures living in cities and towns. And it came to pass that on one occasion, walking about at will, Bibhandaka's son came to that spot and beheld the courtezans. And excellently attired, and singing in sweet voices, the women said unto the saint's son,—'Who art thou? And what dost thou, O Brahmana? We wish to learn all this. And why is it that thou rangest alone this far-off forest? Beholding these beautiful damsels never seen before, he from delight hastened to inform them of his lineage, 'My father is Bibhandaka; and I am his son, having sprung from his loins. My name is Rhishyasringa; and my occupation is known the world over. And this auspicious hermitage hard by belongs to us; and there I shall receive you all in due form.' Hearing the words of the saint's son, they all consented, and the women went to behold that asylum. And when they had come there, the saint's son received them hospitably, saying,—'Here is Arghya,' 'Here is water for washing the feet,' 'Here are fruits and roots.' And thereupon they readily received his hospitality. And actuated by the fear of the saint, Bibhandaka, they bent their minds upon departing soon. And they said,—'Do thou also, O twice-born one, receive from us these excellent fruits! And, good betide thee, O Vipra, do not tarry!' And thereupon, embracing him joyfully, they gave unto him sweetmeats and various kinds of savoury viands. And tasting those things, that one of exceeding energy took them for fruits, never tasted before by the dwellers of the forest. Then, having accosted him, the women, feigning the observance of some vow, went away, inspired with the fear of his father. And when they had gone, that twice-born one, Kacyapa's son, became sad, and from grief of heart went this way and that. And the next day his mind momentarily running upon it, the graceful son of Bibhandaka, endowed with prowess, came to that spot where he had encountered the comely courtezans, adorned with ornaments. And as soon as they observed him coming, they came forward, and said,—Do thou, O Brahmana, come unto our hermitage! There are in that asylum diverse kinds of fruits and roots; and there thou wilt surely feed thy fill. Thereupon, hearing those words of theirs capable of influencing the heart, he became bent upon going,—and the women brought him away. And when that high-souled Vipra had been brought over, the good, Indra, suddenly poured forth plenteous showers, enlivening the spirits of men. And when the ascetic had arrived, with showers, the king approached him in humble guise, bending his head to the ground. And he offered him Arghya,in due form, and with a collected mind; and asked for his favour, so that wrath could not influence the Vipra. And taking him into the inner apartments, and in due form conferring upon him in sober mood his daughter Santa, the king became happy. Thus the highly powerful Rishyasringa together with his wife Santa, began to live there, respectfully ministered unto in regard to every desire."

SECTION 11.

And he said again,—"O foremost of monarchs, do thou listen to me as I relate how that intelligent Sanat Kumara, best of deities, spoke. 'In the line of Ikshwaku will be born a righteous king, named Dacaratha, fair of form, and firm in promise. And that king will contract friendship with the ruler of the Angas. And the latter will have a highly pious daughter, Santa by name. And the (old) king of the Angas will have a son, named Romapada. And repairing unto him, the highly famous king Dacaratha will speak unto Romapada, —O righteous-souled one I am without issue. Let Santa's husband, desired by thee, take charge of this sacrifice of mine, to be celebrated with the object of my obtaining a son to perpetuate the race.—Hearing these words of the king, and having pondered well, he will make over unto him Rhishyasringa of subdued senses, together with Santa and his children. And taking that Vipra, that king, his mind free from anxiety, with a glad heart, will prepare for that sacrifice. And king Dacaratha, knowing duty and desirous of fame, with the intention of obtaining offspring and heaven, with joined hands, will appoint that best of Brahmanas, Rhishyasringa, to conduct the ceremony. And that bringer of good will attain his object at the hands of that foremost of Brahmanas; and four sons will be born to him of immeasurable prowess, bringing fame unto the family, and known by all.' Thus spoke formerly in the divine age, that worshipful and foremost of deities, Sanat Kumara. Therefore, do thou, O best of men, repairing thither, accompanied with thy forces and equipage, thyself, O mighty king, bring Rhishyasringa over with due honours." And hearing Sumantra's words, Dacaratha was exceedingly delighted. After hearing these words, and permitted by Vasishtha, he, accompanied with the ladies, and his courtiers, set out for the place where that twice-born one was. And gradually passing by woods and fells, he arrived at the place where that foremost of ascetics was. And coming before that best of regenerate ones, he saw that sage's son near Romapada, like unto flaming fire. Then the king received him respectfully, and with a delighted mind, on account of the friendship he bore him. And he communicated unto the intelligent son of the saint, the fact of their intimacy, and then the latter paid homage unto Dacaratha. Having passed seven or eight days with Romapada, receiving high honours, that foremost of men, Dayaratha spoke unto Romapada, saying,—"Let thy daughter, O king, together with her husband, O lord of men, repair unto my city. I am going to be engaged in a mighty enterprise." Hearing this as to the journey of that intelligent one, the king said unto that Vipra,—"Do thou repair with thy wife!" Thereupon the saint's son, promising to go, said unto the king,—"So be it!" And then with the king's permission, he set out with his wife. And Dacaratha and the puissant Romapada clasping each other by the palm, and embracing each other in affection, attained excess of joy. Then Raghu's son, bidding farewell unto his friend, set out. And he despatched swift messengers to the citizens, saying,—"Let the entire city be embellished; let it be perfumed with dhupa, and watered and decked with pennons." And hearing of the king's approach, the citizens joyfully did every thing as they had been commanded. Then the monarch, with that foremost of Brahmanas before him, entered the decorated city, to the blares of conchs and drums. And behold irlg that Brahmana entering the city, duly honoured by the prime of men, subservient unto Indra, like unto Kacyapa's son entering the celestial regions, honoured of the thousand-eyed lord of the celestials, ail the citizens rejoiced exceedingly. Then taking him into the inner apartment, and paying him homage according to the ordinance, the king considered himself as having gained his object, in consequence of the presence of that Brahmana. And all the inmates of the inner apartment, seeing the large-eyed Santa thus arrived with her husband, experienced excess of joy. Then honoured by them and the king in especial, she happily spent there some time along with that twice-born one.

SECTION 12.

Then after a long while, when the charming spring had appeared on the earth, the king conceived the desire of celebrating the sacrifice. Then bowing down the head unto that Vipra effulgent like a celestial, he appointed him to undertake the ceremony, for the purpose of obtaining offspring to perpetuate his line. Then that Brahmana said unto that lord of the earth, the king,—"So be it! Do thou order the necessary provisions, loose the horse, and prepare a sacrificial ground on the north bank of the Sarayu." Then the king spoke unto Sumantra, saying,—"O Sumantra, do thou summon speedily Brahmanas versed in the Vedas and priests professing the Vedanta philosophy—Suyajna, and Vamadeva, and Javali, and Kacyapa, and the priest Vasistha, together with other excellent twice-born ones." Thereupon Sumantra endowed with activity, bestirring himself, summoned all those versed in the Vedas. Then, honouring them duly, the virtuous king Dacaratha spoke unto them these amiable words, consistent with duty and interest,—"Aggrieved on account of a son, I have no happiness on earth,—and therefore, I have intended to celebrate a horse-sacrifice. And by the grass of the saint's son, I shall obtain my desire." Thereupon the Brahmanas with Vasishtha at their head honoured the words that fell from the king's lips, saying,—"Well." And the Brahmanas headed by Rhishyasringa addressed the king, saying,—"Do thou arrange for the provisions, loose the horse, and prepare the sacrificial ground on the north bank of the Sarayu! And since thou purposest so virtuously in obtaining offspring, thou shalt obtain four sons of immeasurable prowess." And hearing those words of the regenerate ones, the king was exceedingly delighted. All cheerfully he spoke these auspicious words to his courtier,—"In accordance with the directions of my spiritual guides, do ye speedily procure these provisions,—loose the horse well protected, and followed by a priest,—and prepare the sacrificial ground on the north bank of the Sarayu. And do ye perform the ceremonies capable of securing the rites from disturbance. Surely every king is competent to perform this sacrifice. Yet care must be taken that no default occurs in it. For flaws in this foremost of sacrifices are watched by learned Brahma-Rakshasas. And should it come to be celebrated in violation of the ordinance, the performer thereof shall meet with instant destruction. And do ye so order that this sacrifice of mine may be completed according to the prescribed ritual." Thereupon honouring those words of the king, the ministers did as ordered. And having eulogized the king knowing duty, the twice-born ones, with the Monarch's leave, departed for their respective quarters. And when the Vipras had gone, the mighty- minded lord of men dismissing his counsellors, entered the inner apartment.

SECTION 13.

And when after a full one year, spring had again appeared on the face of the earth, the puissant king, intent upon getting offspring through the horse-sacrifice, saught Vasishtha's side. And having saluted Vasishtha and duly paid him homage, he humbly spoke unto that best of twice-born ones, with the intention of having offspring. "Do thou, O Brahmana, undertake to perform this sacrifice of mine, according to the ordinance, O foremost of ascetics! And do thou order so that no impediment may happen to the sacrifice! Thou art my kind friend, and prime and mighty spiritual guide. Engaged in it, thou wilt have to bear the entire burden of the ceremony." Thereupon that best of Brahmanas said,—"So be it! I will do all that thou askest." He then said unto old Brahmanas well-up in sacrificial affairs, and experienced car-makers, and highly pious aged people, and servants, carrying on the ceremonial operations till the end, and artists, and carpenters, and diggers, and astrologers, and artizans, and dancers, and conductors of theatres, and pure and learned persons variously versed in knowledge,—"Do ye, in obedience to the royal mandate, engage in the sacrificial work! And fetch bricks by thousands! Do ye raise structures for the kings, commanding every convenience! And do ye rear goodly and comfortable buildings by hundreds for the Brahmanas, replenished with various meats and drinks. Ye should provide spacious apartments for the citizens and the dwellers of provinces,—and separate quarters for the princes, coming from foreign parts; and stables for horses, and dressing-rooms,—and wide apartments for native and foreign warriors. And dwellings filled with diverse kinds of viands, and commanding everything desirable,—and mansions for the lower orders of the citizens, exceedingly beautiful to behold. And meats should be duly dispensed with respect, and not in the indifference of festive occasions,—so that all may regard themselves as honourably entertained. None should be disregarded out of lust or passion. Those persons, and artizans, that will labour eagerly in the sacrifice should by turns, be especially entertained; and servants, who, being entertained with gifts, do every thing completely, and omit nothing. And do ye, with hearts mollified by love, act so, that all our friends be well pleased with us."

Then they approached Vasishtha, saying,—"Everything hath been performed properly, without anything being left out. And what thou sayest shall be performed, and nothing omitted." Then summoning Sumantra, Vasishtha said these words,—"Do thou invite all those kings that are pious,—and Brahmanas, and Kshatriyas and Sudras, by thousands. And do thou with due honours bring people from all countries. And, with proper honour thyself bring the righteous, truthful, and heroic Janaka, lord of Mithila. And it is because he is our old friend that I first mention him. Then do thou thyself bring the amiable and ever fair-spoken lord of Kasi, of execellent character, resembling a celestial. Then do thou bring hither along with his son, the highly-pious, old king of Kekaya, who is the father in-law of this best of monarchs! Then do thou bring with due honours the puissant king of Kocala, and that mighty archer, the illustrious Romapada, the friend of that lion of a king, and that foremost of men—the heroic, and highly generous lord of Magadha, versed in all branches of learning. And in accordance with the mandate of the king, do thou invite the foremost monarchs! And do thou summon the kings of the East, of the Sindhu and Sauvira countries, and of Saurashtra, and of the South! And do thou speedily bring those monarchs that are attached unto us, together with their friends and followers. Do thou in obedience to the mandate of the monarch, bring over these, despatching dignified emissaries!"

Having heard those words of Vasishtha, Sumantra speedily ordered faithful persons anent the bringing over of the kings. And the virtuous Sumantra, in accordance with the injunction of the ascetic, himself speedily set out for the purpose of bringing the monarchs. And then the servants came and informed the intelligent Vasishtha as to the articles that had been got ready for the sacrifice. Then well- pleased that best of twice-born ones, the ascetic Vasishtha, said unto them,—"Do not give away disrespectfully or lightly. A gift bestowed with disrespect, indubitably destroyeth the giver."

Then for several days, kings began to pour into Dacaratha's city daily and nightly, bringing with them various kinds of gems. Thereupon Vasishtha well-pleased said unto the king,—"O best of men, obeying thy mandate the kings have come here; and I too, according to merit, have received those excellent kings with respect. And ev thing hath been carefully made ready for the sacrifice the persons concerned. Do thou, therefore, repair to ill sacrificial ground, for performing the sacrifice. And, 9 foremost of monarclis, it behoveth thee to view the. platffc filled with all desirable objects, and looking as if preparedly imagination herself."

Then in accordance with the injunctions of both Vasishtha and Rhishyasringa, the king came to the sacrificial spot on a day presided over by an auspicious star. Then, with

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Rhishyasringa at their head, Vasishtha and the other principal Brahmanas wending to the sacrificial ground, began the ceremony, according to the ordinance; and in due form. And the auspicious king, in company with his wives, was initiated into the ceremony.

SECTION 14.

And after the expiry of full one year, when the sacrifcial horse had returned, the sacrifice of the king commenced on the north bank of the Sarayu. And with Rhishyasringa at their head, the principal twice born ones began the proceedings in that mighty horse-sacrifice of that high-souled monarch. And the priests, each duly and according to the ordinance performing his proper part, engaged in the ceremony in consonance with the scriptures. And the regenerate ones, having performed the pravargya as well as the upasada according to the ordinance, duly completed the additional ceremonies. Then, worshipping the deities with glad hearts, those foremost of ascetics duly performed the morning ablutions and the other prescribed rites. The oblations of clarified butter first having been offered unto Indra, according to the ritual, the king with a purified heart performed his ablutions. And then the mid-day ablutions took place in proper sequence. And those foremost of Brahmanas, in due form, and according to the ordinance, officiated at the third bath of that high-souled monarch. And the priests presided over by Rhishyasringa, invoked Sakra and the other deities, reciting measured mantras. And the sacrificial priests, chaunting sweet Sâmas and soft mantras, duly invoking the dwellers of the celestial regions, offered each his share of the oblations. And no part of the ceremony was performed improperly, or left out,— and every thing was satisfactorily celebrated with mantras. And on that day no Brahmana ever felt tired, or hungry; and there was none that was not learned, or that was not followed by an hundred persons. And Brahmanas, and Sudras having among them ascetics, and Sramanas, and the aged, and the infirm, and women, and children, were continually fed. And although they ate their fill, yet they knew no repletion. And "Give food, and clothes of various kind"—(was heard all around). And those employed in the task gave away profusely. And every day food dressed properly in due form was to be seen in countless heaps resembling hills. And men and women coming from various countries to the sacrifice of that high-souled one were excellently entertained with meats and drinks. And the foremost regenerate ones said,—"The viands have been prepared in the prescribed form, and they taste excellent. We have been gratified. Good betide thee!" All this was heard by that descendant of Raghu. And persons adorned with ornaments distributed the victuals among the Brahmanas, and they were assisted by others beaming jewelled pendants. And in the interval between the completion of one bath and the beginning of the next, mild and eloquent Vipras, desirous of victory, engaged in various disputations. And every day in that sacrifice, skilful Brahmanas, engaged in the ceremony, did every thing, according to the ritual. And there was no twice-born one that was not versed in the Vedas and the Vedangas, or that did not observe vows, or that was not profoundly learned,—nor did any assist at the sacrifice that could not argue ably. And when the time came for planting the Yupas, persons cognisant of arts and sacrificial rites, prepared six Yupas of Vilwa, as many of catechu, and as many of Palasa, and one of Sleshmataka, and two of Devadaru well-made and measuring two outstretched arms. Persons versed in the arts and science of sacrifice constructed these Yupas. And at the time of throwing up the Yupas, for embellishing the sacrifice, these one and twenty Yupas, each measuring one and twenty Aratnis, having eight angles, and smooth-faced were decked out in one and twenty pieces of cloth, and were firmly planted with due ceremonies by artizans. And being wrapped up in cloths, and worshipped with flowers, they looked like the seven Rishis appearing in the welkin. And an adequate number of bricks was also duly made (for the ceremony.) And Brahmanas accomplished in the arts constructed the sacrificial fire-place with those bricks. And that fire-place of that lion among kings, set by skilful Brahmanas, consisting on three sides of eighteen bricks, looked like the golden-winged Garura. And for the purpose of sacrificing them unto the respective deities were collected beasts and reptiles, and birds, and horses, and aquatic animals. And the priests sacrificed all these in proper form. And to these Yupas were bound three hundred beasts, as well as the foremost of the best horses belonging to king Dacaratha. Then Kaucalya, having performed the preliminary rites, with three strokes slew that horse, experiencing great glee. And with the view of reaping merit Kaucalya, with an undisturbed heart passed one night with that horse furnished with wings. And the Hotâs and Adhwaryus, and the Uâgatas joined the king's Vâvâtâalong with his Mahishi and Parivriti And priests of subdued senses, well-up in sacrificial rites, began to offer oblations with the fat of the winged-horse, according to the ordinance. And that lord of men, desirous of removing his sins, at the proper time smelt the odour of the smoke arising from the fat, agreeably to the scriptures. And then sixteen sacrificial priests in the prescribed form offered the various parts of the horse unto the fire. It is customary in other sacrifices to offer the oblations by means of a Plaksha bough; but in the horse-sacrifice a cane is used instead. The horse-sacrifice, according to the Kalpa Sutras and the Brahmanas, extend over three days. There after, on the first day was the Chatushtoma celebrated; and on the second the Uktha,— and on the third the Atiratra. And then the Jyotishtoma, and then Ayushtoma, and the Atiratra and the Abhijit, and the Viswajit, and the Aptoryama—all these various great sacrifices were celebrated with due rites. And in this mighty horse-sacrifice founded of yore by Sayambhu, that perpetuator of his line, the king, bestowed the Eastern quarter on his chief sacrificial priest, the Western on his Adhwaryu, the Southern on Brahma, and the Northern on the Udgath, as Dakshinas. And having completed that sacrifice, that perpetuator of his race, and foremost of men, the king, conferred on the priests the earth; and having conferred it, that auspicious descendant of Iskhaku experienced high delight. And then the priests spoke unto that monarch, who had all his sins purged off, saying,—"Thou alone art worthy to protect the entire world. We do not want the earth; nor can we rule it, being, O lord of Earth, constantly engaged in Vaidika studies. Do thou, therefore, confer upon us something instead, as the price thereof. Do thou confer upon us gems, or gold, or kine, or anything else, for, O foremost of monarchs, we do not want Earth." Thus addressed by the Brahmanas versed in the Veda, that best of kings bestowed upon them ten lacs of kine, and ten Kotisof gold, and forty of silver. Then those priests in a body, accepting the wealth, brought it unto the ascetic Rhishyasringa and the intelligent Vasishtha. Then having receieived each his share, those foremost of regenerate ones were exceedingly pleased, and said,—"We have been highly gratified." Then unto those Brahmanas that had come there, the king with due regard gave Kotis of gold. And unto a certain poor twice-born one that asked for gifts, the descendant of Raghu gave an excellent ornament from his own arm. And, when the regenerate ones were thus properly gratified, that one cherishing the Brahmanas, with senses intoxicated by excess of joy, reverentially bowed unto them. And thereupon the Brahmanas uttered various blessings upon that generous king, bending low to the earth. Then having celebrated that excellent and sin-destroying sacrifice, bringing heaven, and incapable of being celebrated by foremost monarchs, king Dacaratha, well pleased, spoke unto Rhisyasinga, saying,—"0 thou of excellent vows, it behoveth thee to do that whereby my line may increase." Thereupon the best of Brahmanas said,—"Be it so! Unto thee, O king, will be born four sons,—perpetuators of their race." Hearing these sweet words of his, that foremost of monarchs bended low unto him with controlled faculties, and experienced the excess of joy. And then that high-souled one again spoke unto Rhishyasringa.

SECTION 15.

Then that one of capacious intelligence, versed in the Vedas, having pondered for a time, and regained his senses, returned unto the king this excellent answer,—"On thy behalf, and with the view of obtaining sons for thee, I will by help of mantras laid down in the Atharva Veda, duly celebrate the famous ceremony, capable of crowning thee with offspring." And then with the view of obtaining sons (for the king), that effulgent one set about the son-conferring ceremony; and in accordance with the ordinance, and with mantras, offered oblations unto the sacrificial fire. And the deities, with the Gandharbas, and the Siddhas, and the principal saints, assembled there duly, with the object of each obtaining his share of the offerings. And having duly assembled there, the deities addressed these words unto Brahma, the lord of creatures,—"O thou possessed of the six attributes, through thy grace, a Rakshasa named Ravana oppresses us all by his prowess,—nor can we baffle him. And, O lord, as thou hast well-pleased conferred on him a boon, we always suffer him in deference to it. And the wicked-minded one harasseth the three worlds furnished with prosperity, and beareth ill-will unto them. And blinded by the boon he hath received, that irrepressible one intends to bring down the lord himself of the celestials, and the Yakshas, and the Gandharbas, and the Brahmanas, and the Asuras. And the Sun doth not burn him, or the Wind blow about him; and at sight of him, that one engarlanded with billows, the Ocean, dares not stir. Therefore, great is the fear that afflicteth us, coming from that Rakshasa of dreadful appearance. And O lord, it behoves thee to devise some means for destroying him." Thus addressed by the deities in a body, he said,—"Alas! I have, however, decided on the means of destroying that wicked-souled one. He had asked,—'May I be incapable of being slain by Gandharbas, and Yakshas, and gods, and Rakshasas!'—whereat I said,— 'Be it so!' Through disdain, the Rakshasa did not at that time mention men. Therefore, by men alone he is capable of being slain; nor can his end be compassed by any other means." Hearing this welcome speech uttered by Brahma, the deities and the Maharshis became exceedingly delighted. At this juncture, that lord of the universe, the highly- effulgent Vishnu, clad in yellow apparel, and bearing in his hands the conch, the discus, and the mace, and adorned with burnished Keyuras arrived there, riding Vinata's son; like the Sun riding the clouds. And worshipped by the foremost of the celestials, he drew near Brahma, and sat down a collected mind. And bending low before him, the deities spake unto him, saying,—"O Vishnu, for the benefit of the worlds, we shall appoint thee to some work. Do thou, O lord, dividing thyself into four, O Vishnu, become born as sons in the three wives, resembling Modesty, Auspiciousness, and Fame,—of Ayodhya's lord, king Dacaratha, cognisant of Duty, and munificent, and possessing energy, and like unto a Maharshi. Do thou, O Vishnu, becoming man, slay in battle this thorn of the worlds; the pampered Ravana, incapable of being slain by the gods; for the foolish Rakshasha, by virtue of sublimated prowess, baffles the deities, and the Gandharbas, and the Siddhas, and the foremost of saints. And by him bereft of the sense of right and wrong, have saints and Gandharbas and Apsaras sporting in the groves of Nandana, been wantonly slain. It is to compass his death that accompanied by the ascetics, we have come hither: it is for this that the Siddhas and the Gandharbas and the Yakshas have taken refuge in Thee! Thou O God, art the prime way of us all, O repressor of foes! Do thou, for bringing destruction unto the enemies of the gods, turn thy thoughts to being born as man." Thus besought that foremost of gods and chief of celestials, Vishnu, worshipped of all creatures, addressed the assembled deities, following Duty, with the Grand-sire at their head, saying,— "Do ye renounce fear! For your behoof, slaying in battle the wily and irrepressible Ravana, dreadful unto the saints and the celestials, together with his sons, and grandsons, and friends, and counsellors, and relatives, and acquaintances, I will abide among mortals, ruling this earth for ten thousand and as many hundred years." Having thus conferred a boon upon the gods, the god Vishnu of subdued soul fell to thinking as to the place where he would be born among men. Then that one of eyes resembling lotus-petals, dividing self into four parts, chose even king Dacaratha for his father. Thereat the celestials and the saints and the Gandharbas and the Rudras and the Apsaras hymned the Slayer of Madhu in excellent hymns:

"Do thou utterly uproot the haughty Ravana of fierce prowess and enhanced insolence—that foe of the lord of celestials, who is the occasion of the tears of the three worlds, and dreadful unto ascetics; Slaying that one of terrible prowess, who distresses the three worlds, with his forces and friends, do thou, O foremost of gods, thy fever of heart removed, repair unto the celestial regions protected by thee and purged of all its faults and sins."

SECTION 16.

Thus besought by the foremost of the celestials, that searcher of hearts, Vishnu, although cognisant of the means whereby Ravana was to be destroyed, spake unto the gods these amiable words,—"What, ye gods, is the means of compassing the destruction of that lord of the Rakshasas, by adopting which I could slay that thorn of the ascetics?" Thus addressed, the deities answered Vishnu, incapable of deterioration, saying,—"Assuming the form of a human being, do thou in battle slay Ravana! He, O repressor of foes, had for a long course of time performed rigid austerities; and thereat, that creator of all, the first-create Brahma was well pleased. And propitiated by his penances, the Master conferred a boon on the Rakshasa to the effect that, save man, no fear should come to him from the various beings. And in the matter of that boon-bestowing, man had formerly been disregarded by (Ravana). And puffed up with pride in consequence of the boon he received from the Grand-sire, he commits ravages upon the three worlds and carries away the fair sex by violence. Therefore, O subduer of enemies, we have even fixed upon man for bringing about his death." Hearing this speech of the celestials, Vishnu of subdued soul chose even king Dacaratha for his father. And at that time, eagerly wishing to have sons, that destroyer of enemies, the effulgent king Dacaratha, who was sonless, was celebrating the sacrifice that conferreth male offspring. Then, having ascertained the course to follow, Vishnu, having greeted the Grand-sire, vanished there, worshipped by the deities and the Maharshis.

And then himself bearing in his hands a capacious vessel made of burnished gold, with a silver cover,—dear like unto a spouse, and resembling the divine Creative energy, filled with celestial Payasa, , from out the sacrificial fire of Dacaratha initiated into the ceremony, there arose a mighty being, of unparalleled prowess, high energy, and huge strength, black, and wearing a crimson apparel, with a red face, uttering the blares of a trumpet, and having a body covered with leonine hair, having whiskers and an excellent head of hair, furnished with auspicious marks, and adorned with celestial ornaments, and resembling a mountain-peak, and bearing the prowess of a flaming tiger, and like unto the Sun or tongues of flaming fire. And with his eyes fixed upon Dacaratha, he addressed the king, saying,—"O monarch, take thou me as a person commisioned by Prajapati." Hearing him speak thus, Dacaratha, with joined hands, said,—'Lord, art thou welcome? What can I do for thee?" Thereupon, that

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person despatched by Prajapatiagain spake thus,—"O king, having adored the deities, thou hast to-day obtained this. Do thou foremost of kings, accept this excellent and divinly-prepared Payasa, conferring sons, health, and affluence,—which thou art to give unto thy worthy consorts, saying,—Partake it. Through them thou wilt, O monarch, obtain sons,—for obtaining whom thou hast performed this sacrifice." Thereupon, saying,—"So be it," the lord of men delightedly placed that divinely-bestowed golden vessel filled with the celestial Payasa upon his head. And having saluted that wonderful being of gracious presence, he in excess of joy began to go round him again and again. Then Dacaratha, having received that divinely-prepared Payasa, waxed exceeding glad; like unto a pauper attaining plenty. Then that highly effulgent being of a wonderful form, having performed that mission of his, vanished even there. And Dacaratha's inner apartment, being graced with the rays of joy, looked like unto the welkin flooded with the lovely beams of the autumnal moon. Then entering the inner apaitment, he spake unto Kausalya, saying,—"Take thou this Payasa; for this will make thee bear a son." Having said this,the king offered unto her a portion of this Payasa. Then he conferred upon Sumitra a fourth of it. Then in order that she might have a son, king Dacaratha made over unto Kaikeyi an equal portion of what remained. And then having reflected, the mighty-minded one gave unto Sumitra the remaining portion of the Payasa resembling ambrosia. Thus the king dispensed the Payasa unto each and all of his wives. And those foremost wives of the king, having received that Payasa, became exceedingly delighted, and considered themselves as highly honoured. Then those excellent consorts of the lord of earth, having separately partaken of that choice Payasa, shortly bore offspring, resmbling fire or the Sun. And the king, beholding those wives of his bearing children, obtained his desire and became delighted; even as that foremost of the celestials, Indra, while being worshipped by the Siddhas and the ascetics.

SECTION 17.

When Vishnu had accepted the sonship of that high- souled king, the self-create Lord addressed the celestials, saying,—"For assisting the heroic Vishnu firm in promise, always seeking the welfare of us all, do ye create powerful beings, assuming shapes at will, cognisant of illusions, heroic, furnished with the celerity of the wind, versed in morality, possessing intelligence, like unto Vishnu in prowess, unslayable, knowing the ways and means (of war and peace) gifted with excellent bodies, capable of resisting all weapons, and resembling immortals. And from forth the bodies of the foremost Apsaris, and Gandharbis, and Yakskis, and Panagis, and Rikshis and Vidhyddharis, and Kinnaris, and Vanaris do ye produce sons wearing the shapes of monkeys. Formerly I had created that foremost of bears, Jambuvana, who suddenly came out of my mouth as I was yawning." Hearing this mandate of Him possessed of the six attributes, they began to produce sons endowed with monkey- forms. And high-souled ascetics, and Siddhas, and Vidhadharas, and Uragas, and Charanas, generated heroic sons,— rangers of woods. And Indra begat as his son that foremost of monkeys, Vali, resembling the Mahendra hill, and that best of those imparting heat, the Sun, Sugriva. And Vrihaspati begat the mighty ape named Tara, the most excellent and intelligent of the prime monkeys. And the Bestower of riches begat as his son the graceful ape Gandhamadana. And Vicwakarma begat that mighty monkey named Nala; and Agni begat as his son the powerful and graceful Nila in effulgence like unto the fire, who surpassed even his sire in energy, prowess, and renown. And the beautiful Acwins, endowed with the wealth of loveliness, begat Maindra and Dwivida. And Varuna begat the monkey named Sushena; and Paryyanya begat Sarava, possessed of great strength. And the Wind god begat the graceful monkey named Hanuman, endeued with a frame hard as adamant; in fleetness like unto Vinata's offspring; and the most intelligent as well as the most powerful amongst all the principal monkeys. Thus produced, there suddenly came into being by thousands, mighty bears, and monkeys, and Gopuchchhas, of immeasurable strength, and heroic, and powerful, assuming shapes at will, endowed with bodies resembling elephants of hills,—even those who would engage in compassing the destruction of the Ten-headed one. And the sons of the deities retained distinctly the respective hues, forms, and prowess, that characterized their several sires. And those that sprang from the Golangulas, possessed even more than the might of the gods. Likewise, on Rikshis and Kinnaris were gladly begot thousands upon thousands of monkeys, by gods, and Maharshis, and Gandarbas, and Tarkshyas, and famous Yakshas, and Nagas, and Kimpurushas, and Siddhas and Vidyadharas, and Uragas. And upon the principal Apsaris, and the Vidyadharis, and the daughters of the Nagas, and the Gandarbis were begot by the Charanas as sons, heroic monkeys of gigantic bodies, ranging the forests and living on fruits and roots. And all these monkeys were endowed with strength; and could assume shapes and repair everywhere, at will. And they were like unto lions and tigers, both in pride and in prowess. And they faught with crags and hurled hills. And they faught with nails and teeth,—and were accomplished in all weapons. And they could move the largest hills; and crush the fixed trees; and with their impetus, vex that lord of rivers—the Ocean. And they could with their kicks rend the Earth, and swim over the mighty main. And they could penetrate into the welkin,—and capture the clouds. And they could subdue mad elephants ranging the forest. And with their roars, they could bring down birds singing. Thus came into being Kotis of high-souled leaders of monkey-herds, assuming forms at will. And these became the leaders of the principal monkey-herds; and they, in their turn, generated heroic monkeys, the foremost of the leaders of herds.

Some of these monkeys began to dwell on the top of the Rikshavana mountain; while others inhabited various other mountains and forests. And all the leaders of monkey- herds stayed with those brothers,—Sugriva, the son of the Sun-god and Vali, that of Sakra,—and also with Nala, and Nila, and Hanuman, and other leaders of monkey-herds. And endowed with the might of Garura, and accomplished in fight, they ranged around, pounding lions, and tigers, and mighty Uragas. And the mighty-armed Vali of great prowess and redoubtable strength protected by virtue of the energy of his arms Rikshas, and Gopuchchhas, and monkeys. And this earth, furnished with mountains, and forests, and oceans, began to teem with those heroic lords of leaders of monkey-herds, inhabiting different places, bearing characteristic marks, resembling masses of clouds, or mountain-peaks, possessed of mighty strength, and of terrible bodies and visages,—in order that they might assist Rama.

SECTION 18.

When the horse-sacrifice of the high-souled Dacaratha had been completed, the immortals, accepting each his share, returned whence they had come. And the monarch, having observed all the rules of initiation, entered the palace with his equipage and retinue. And the lords of the earth, having been received suitably by the king, with glad hearts set out for their own countries, saluting that foremost of ascetics (Rhishyasringa). And clad in bright apparel, the delighted forces belonging to those graceful kings repairing to their own homes, looked exceedingly beautiful. When the lords of the earth had gone away, the graceful king Dacaratha re-entered his palace, with the foremost of regenerate ones at his head. And followed by the intelligent monarch with his retinue, Rhishyasringa, having been duly honoured, set out with Santa. Having thus dismissed them all, the king, his object attained, began to dwell there happily, expecting sons.

And then when tbe six seasons had rolled away after the completion of the sacrifice, in the twelfth month, on the ninth lunar day, under the influence of the Punarvasu asterism, when the Sun, the Moon, Saturn, Jupiter, and Venus were at Arius, Capricorn, Libra, Cancer, and Pisces, —and when Jupiter had arisen with the Moon at Cancer, Kaucalya gave birth to that lord of the universe, bowed unto by all the worlds, Rama, the descendant of Ikshwaku, furnished with excellent marks,—the one half of Vishnu,— exceedingly righteous, with rosy eyes, and mighty arms, and crimson nether lip, and endowed with a voice like the sound of a kettledrum. Then on having given birth to that son of immeasurable prowess, Kaucalya looked resplendent, like Aditi on having brought forth that foremost of celestials—the wielder of the thunder-bolt. And then was born of Kaikeyi, Bharata, having truth for prowess, endowed with all the virtues, and the very fourth part of Vishnu. And then Sumitra gave birth unto Lakshmana and Satrughna, heroic, and skilled in all weapons, and endowed with the half of Vishnu. And Bharata of purged intelligence was born under the asterism Pushya, when the Sun had entered Pisces; while the two sons of Sumitra were born when the Sun arose in Cancer, under the asterism of Aslesha.

And thus were separately born four high-souled sons unto the king, crowned with qualities, and graceful, and in loveliness resembling the constellations Prosthapada Thereat the Gandharbas began to chaunt sweetly, and the Apsaras to dance. And the celestial kettledrums sounded; and there showered down blossoms from the sky. And high festivities were commenced by the multitude in Ayodhya. And the spacious highways became filled with players and dancers, glittering with all kinds of gems, and resounding with the music of singers and performers on instruments. And the king bestowed gifts upon bards and genealogists and penegyrists, and he also gave kine by thousands to Brahmanas.

And when the eleventh day had gone by, the king performed the Naming ceremony of his sons. And experiencing great delight, Vasishtha conferred the names. And the high- souled eldest one was called Rama; and Kaikeyi's son was called Bharata; and Sumitra's son was called Lakshmana,— and the last was named Satrughna. And the king fed the Brahmanas as well as the inhabitants rural and urban; and he bestowed heaps of jewels upon Brahmanas. Thus did he celebrate the natal rites of the princes. And among all those princes, the eldest, Rama, like unto Ketu, and the special delight of his father, became the object of general regard, even as the self-create Himself. And all of them were versed in the Vedas, and heroic, and intent upon the welfare of others. And all were accomplished in knowledge; and endowed with virtues. And among them all, the exceedingly puissant Rama, having truth for prowess, was the desire of every one, and spotless like unto the Moon himself. He could ride on elephants and horses, and was an adept in managing cars. And he was ever engaged in the study of arms, and aye occupied in ministering unto his sire. And even from early youth, that enhancer of auspiciousness, Lakshmana, was ever attached unto his eldest brother Rama, that delight of all. And like unto another life of Rama, Lakshmana furnished with auspiciousness was in everything attentive to Rama's wishes, even at the neglect of his own person. And that foremost of persons did not even attain sleep without Rama's company,—nor did he partake any sweetmeat that was offered, unless Rama partook it with him. And when mounted on horse-back, Raghava went a-hunting, Lakshmana went at his back bow in hand, protecting him. And that younger brother of Lakshmana, Satrughna, likewise became ever dearer unto Bharata than life itself.

And on account of those exalted and well-beloved sons of his, Dacaratha experienced the excess of joy, like unto the Grand-sire on account of the celestials. And when they came to be furnished with knowledge, and crowned with virtues, and endowed with bashfulness and fame, and to attain wisdom in everything, and to be far-sighted,Dacaratha, the father of such powerful and flamingly effulgent sens, became delighted even like that lord of worlds—Brahma. And those best of men, ever engaged in the study of the Vedas, were accomplished in the art of archery—and always intent upon ministering unto their father.

And once upon a time, when the virtuous king Dacaratha, surrounded by his priests and friends, was reflecting about the nuptials of his sons, unto that high-souled one engaged in thought in the midst of his counsellors came the mighty ascetic Viswamitra. And desirous of seeing the king, he said unto the warders,—"Do ye speedily announce that I, Gadhi's son, sprung in the Kucika line, have come!" Hearing those words of his, they urged on by them, all hurriedly began to run towards the royal chambers. And coming to the royal apartments, they communicated to Ikshwaku's descendant the arrival of the ascetic Viswamitra. Hearing those words of theirs, Dacaratha surrounded by his priests, went out delightedly to meet him, like Vasava going out to meet Vrihashpati. And having come unto that ascetic observing vows and of flaming energy, the monarch with a cheerful countenance offered him the Arghya. And there- upon, having accepted the king's Arghya in accordance with the ordinance, he enquired of the lord of men as to his continued prosperity and peace. And the exceedingly virtuous descendant of Kucika asked the king concerning the welfare of the exchequer, and the provinces; and the peace of his friends and acquaintances. "And are thy captains submissive: and hast thou vanquished thy foes? And hast thou performed well the human and the divine rites?" And approaching Vasishtha and the other anchorites, that foremost of ascetics of exalted piety duly asked them touching their welfare. And having been properly received by the monarch, they with glad hearts entered the royal residence, and sat them down according to precedence. Then gladly worshipping the mighty ascetic, Viswamitra, the exceedingly generous king, well-pleased, addressed him, saying,—"Like unto the obtaining of ambrosia, like unto a shower in a land suffering from drouth, like unto the birth of sons of worthy wives to him without issue, like unto the recovery of a lost thing, yea,—like unto the dawning of a mighty joy, I consider this thy arrival. illustrious ascetic, thou art well come. What is even that which is nearest to thy heart. What shall I do for thee, experiencing sincere pleasure? Thou, O Brahmana, art worthy of my best services. By luck it is that, O bestower of honour, I have gained thee. To-day my birth hath been crowned with fruit—to day hath my life attained its object. And truly yesternight hath been succeeded by an auspicious morning, since I have beheld thee. Having first attained exceeding effulgence by virtue of austerities performed for obtaining the title of Rajarshi, thou hast afterwards obtained the status of a Brahmarshi. Thou art worthy of manifold homage from me. This thy exceedingly holy arrival appeareth wonderful. O lord, by beholding thee, surely my body hath been rendered pure. Tell me, what is it that thou wouldst have,—and what is the purpose of thy coming? I wish that I may be obliged by doing thy will. And, O thou of excellent vows, thou ought not to hesitate. I will every way accomplish thy will for thou art my god. O regnerate one, surely great prosperity cometh to me in consequence of thy coming, in as much as it shall be the means of bringing me entire and excellent merit, O Brahmana!" Hearing this soul-soothing, ear-charming, and free-humble speech that was uttered, that illustrious prime of ascetics crowned with virtues, and furnished with all perfections, experienced exceeding delight.

SECTION 19.

Hearing those astonishing words of that lion-like king, the highly-energetic Viswamitra with his down standing on end,

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said,—"O foremost of kings, sprung from an illustrious line, and having Vasishtha for thy guide, these words become thee alone on earth and no one else. Do thou, O best of kings, ascertain thy course in respect of the matter I bear in my heart; and do thou prove firm in promise! For celebrating a sacrifice, I, O foremost of men, abide by some prescribed course. And it comes to pass that two Rakshasas assuming shapes at will, have become bent upon disturbing the ceremony. And in that sacrifice which I have determined to bring to a completion, and which is on the eve of being completed, both these Rakshasas, Maricha and Suvihu, accomplished in arms and possessed of prowess, shower flesh and gore upon the altar. And on that ceremony being thus disturbed and my purpose thus frustrated, I considered my labours as all lost, and, therefore, have left my country in dejection. And, O monarch, I cannot bring myself to vent my wrath; for such is the nature of that business, that it is not proper for one engaged in it to utter a curse. Therefore, O foremost of monarchs, it behoves thee to grant me thy eldest son, the heroic Rama of genuine prowess, with the side-locks. By virtue of his own divine energy, he, being protected by me, is capable of even destroying those Rakshasas disturbing the ceremony. And I will, without doubt,confer upon him manifold blessings,—by means of which he will secure the golden opinions of the three worlds. And encountering Rama,they will by no means be able to stand him, nor is there any other who dares to slay them. And puffed up with energy, they have become ensnared at the hands of Kala, —and, O best of monarchs, they are no match for Rama. Nor, king, ought thou to indulge in paternal affection. For ten nights only Rama is to remain there, with the object of slaying those foes to my sacrifice, those Rakshasas disturbing the rites. I tell thee, do thou consider the Rakshasas as already slain. I know full well Rama of sterling prowess,—as also the highly-energetic Vasishtha and the other ascetics present here. And if thou, O king, set thy heart upon acquiring religious merit and high fame on earth, do thou then grant me Rama! And, O Kakutstha, if thy counsellors together with the Brahmanas having Vasishtha at their head, consent, do thou then dismiss Rama! Even this is my wish,—and he also hath come of age. Do thou, therefore, part with thy son, the lotus-eyed Rama, for the ten days of the sacrifice! Do thou act so, O descendant of Raghu, that the time appointed for the ceremony may not be overpassed. Good betide thee! Let not thy mind indulge in grief!"

Having said these words consistent with virtue and interest, the mighty-minded and highly-powerful Viswamitra paused. And hearing the auspicious words of Viswamitra, that foremost of kings shook with a mighty sorrow, and became bewildered. Then, having regained his sense, he rose up and became cast down through apprehension. Having heard the words of the ascetic, capable of rending the mind and heart, the bigh-souled king of men became stricken with grief and shook on his seat.

SECTION 20.

Hearing the words of Viswamitra, that best of monarchs remained insensible for a time,—and then regaining his sense, spake thus,—"My lotus-eyed Rama is not yet turned of sixteen; and I do not perceive his fitness to cope with Rakshasas in battle. I am the lord of this Akshaukini of forces. Marching with this, will I engage with the night- rangers. And these servants of mine are valiant, and warlike, and accomplished in weapons, and capable of fighting the Rakshasas,—therefore, it behoveth thee not to take Rama. And myself bow in hand, stationed at the van of the array, will battle with the rangers of the night as long as life is spared unto me. And then well protected, thy sacrifice will hold an unimpeded course. Therefore, I will repair thither,—and it behoveth thee not to take Rama. And youthful, and unaccomplished, and not knowing what constitutes strength and what not, and not equipped with the energy of science,—and unskilful in fight, he is not a match for Rakshasas,—they being deceitful warriors. Bereft of Rama, O best of ascetics, I cannot live for a moment. Therefore, it behoveth thee not to take him. If, O Brahmana, it is thy intention to take Rama, then, O thou of excellent vows, do thou also take me along with the Chaturanga forces! O Kucika's son, I am sixty thousand years old; and (at this age) I have obtained Rama after undergoing extreme troubles,—it therefore becometh thee not to take Rama. And among the four sons of mine, I find my highest delight in Rama, my first-born, and the most virtuous of them all,—therefore, it behoveth thee not to take Rama. What is the prowess of the Rakshasas? And whose sons are they? And who, pray, are they? And what are the proportions of their bodies? And who protecteth them, O foremost of ascetics? And by what means shall either Rama, or my forces, or, O Brahmana, I myself be able to slay in fight those deceitful warriors—the Rakshasas? Do thou tell me, adorable one, inflated as they are by virtue of their prowess, how can I stand them in fight?" Hearing that speech of his, Viswatmitra said,—"There is a Rakshasa named Ravana, sprung from the line of Pulastya. Having obtained a boon from Brahma, he boldly opposeth himself to the three worlds, being possessed of great strength, and prowess, and backed by innumerable Rakshasas. And, O mighty monarch, I also hear that that lord of the Rakshasas is the very brother of Vacravana and the son of the ascetic Vicravan. And when that one possessed of mighty strength does not stoop to disturb the sacrifice himself, those powerful Rakshasas, Marich and Suvahu, being incited by him, disturb the rites." The ascetic having spoken thus, the king then answered him,—"I am incapable of standing that wicked-souled one in fight. Therefore, do thou, O thou versed in morality, extend thy favour unto my son! Of slender fortune as I am, thou art my guide and my god. Even the celestials and the Danavas and the Gandharbas and the Birds and the Snakes are incapable of bearing Ravana in battle—what then is man? He depriveth in conflict even the puissant of their prowess. I cannot fight either with him or with his forces. And, O foremost of ascetics, whether thou art accompanied with my son or my forces, thou wilt not be able to stand him. And how can I, O Brahmana, make over unto thee my son, of tender years, resembling an immortal, who is ignorant of warfare? I will not part with my son. The sons of Sunda and Upasunda resemble Kala himself in battle,—and it is they who are disturbing thy sacrifice. Therefore I will not part with my son. And Maricha and Suvahu are possessed of prowess, and accomplished in weapons. But with my friends I will repair to encounter one of them. If thou do not consent to this, I beseech thee with my friends, (do thou desist!)" Hearing these words of the lord of men, a mighty ire took possession of that foremost of regenerate ones, Kucika's son; and the fire of the Maharshi's wrath flamed up even like unto a fire fed by fuel and clarified butter.

SECTION 21.

Hearing those words of Dacaratha, composed of letters faltering with affection, Kucika's son, stirred up with anger, answered the monarch, saying,—"Having promised me first, thou endeavourest to renounce that promise of thine. This surely is unworthy of a descendant of Raghu,— and this can bring destruction upon the dynasty. If, king, in acting thus, thou hast acted properly, I will then repair to the place whence I had come. O Kakuthstha's descendant false in promise, do thou attain happiness, being surrounded by thy friends." And when the intelligent Vicwamitra was exercised with wrath, the entire earth began to tremble, and the gods even were inspired with awe. And knowing that the entire universe was in trepidation, that mighty saint, the sedate Vasishtha of excellent vows, said these words unto the king,—"Born in the line of Ikshwaku, thou art the very second self of virtue. And endowed with patience, and auspicious, and observing excellent vows, thou ought not to renounce virtue. The descendant of Raghu is famed over the three worlds as righteous-souled. Do thou maintain thy habit of adhering to promise; for it doth not behove thee to act unrighteously. If having promised,—'I will do so,' thou dost not act up to thy word, the merit thou hast achieved by digging tanks and by performing sacrifices shall come to naught,—therefore do thou renounce Rama! Accomplished or not accomplished in weapons, the Rakshasas cannot bear him protected by Kucika's son, like ambrosia, by flaming fire. This one is Virtue incarnate: this one is the foremost of those possessing prowess. This one surpasseth all others in learning, and is the refuge of asceticism. This one is cognisant of all the weapons that exist in the three worlds furnished with mobile and imobile things; but others do not know him,—nor yet shall know him hereafter. And neither the gods, nor the saints, nor the immortals, nor the Rakshasas, nor the foremost of Gandharbas and Yakshas, nor the Kinnaras, nor the mighty Serpents can know him. And formerly while the descendant of Kucika was ruling bis kingdom, Siva conferred upon him the highly famous sons of Kricacwa in the shape of all weapons. And those sons of Kricacwa were the offspring of Prajapati's daughters. They were endowed with various forms, and were effulgent and dreadful. And Daksha's daughters of elegant waists, Jaya and Suprabha, brought forth an hundred exceedingly effulgent weapons. And by virtue of her boon, Jaya obtained fifty sons of immeasurable strength and endued with the power of becoming invisible for the purpose of slaughtering the hosts of the Asuras. And Suprabha also brought forth fifty sons named Sanharas, incapable of being borne, and infallible, and powerful. Kucika's son is adequately conversant with all those weapons. And that one knowing duty is also capable of creating wonderful weapons. And, O descendant of Raghu, there is nothing present, past, or future which is not known by that foremost of ascetics of high soul, and cognisant of morality. Such is the prowess of that highly famous Vicwamitra possessed of mighty energy. Therefore, O king, it behoveth thee not to hesitate in the matter of Rama's going. The descendant of Kucika is himself capable of repressing the Rakshasas; and it is in order to thy son's welfare that coming unto thee, he asketh for him of thee." At this speech of the ascetic, that foremost of Raghus, the king, well- pleased, became exceedingly delighted. And that famous one, relishing the journey of Rama, began to reflect in his mind about consigning him unto Kucika's son.

SECTION 22.

Upon Vasishtha's representing this, king Dacaratha himself with a complacent countenance, summoned unto him Rama and Lakshmana. And when the auspicious rites had been performed by both Rama's father and mother, and when the priest Vasishtha had uttered mantras, king Dacaratha, smelling his son's crown, with a glad heart, made him over unto the descendant of Kucika. Then there blew a Breeze free from dust and of delicious feel, on witnessing the lotus-eyed Rama at the hands of Vicwamitra. And as the high-souled one was about to set out, blossoms began to shower down copiously, accompanied with the sounds of celestial kettle-drums and the loud blares of conchs. Vicwamitra went first, and next the highly famous Rama with the side-locks, holding the bow. And him followed Sumitra's son. And equipped with quivers, and with bows in hand, gracing the ten cardinal points and resembling three-hooded serpents, they followed the high-souled Vicwamitra, like the two stalwart Aswins following the Grand-sire. And those effulgent ones of faultless limbs went in the wake of the ascetic, illumining him with their grace. And like unto those sons of his, Skanda and Bisakha following the incomprehensible deity, Sthanu, those youthful brothers of comely persons and faultless limbs, Rama and Lakshmana, highly effulgent, carrying bows in hand, adorned with ornaments, and equipped with scimitars, with their fingers encased in Guana skin, flamingly followed Kucika's son, beautifying him with their splendour. And having proceeded over half a Yojana, and arriving at the right bank of the Sarayu, Vicwamitra addressed these sweet words unto Rama,—"O Rama! do thou, O child, take of this water: let no delay occur. Do thou receive the mantras Vala and Ativala,—and thou wilt not feel fatigue or fever or undergo any change of look, and whether asleep or heedless, the Rakshasas will not be able to surprise thee. And, O Rama, the might of thy arms will be unequalled in this world,—nay, in all the three worlds. There shall be none—thy equal. Do thou, O Raghava, recite Vala and Ativala, O child! And, O sinless one, when thou hast secured these two kinds of knowledge, none in this world will equal thee in good fortune, or in talent, or in philosophic wisdom or in subtle apprehension, or in the capacity of answering a controversialist; for Vala and Ativala are the nurses of all knowledge. And, O Rama, O foremost of men, if thou recitest Vala and Ativala on the way. neither hunger nor thirst will exercise thee, O descendant of Raghu! And if thou recitest these, thou wilt attain fame on earth. Those sciences fraught with energy are the daughters of the Grandsire. I intend to confer them upon thee, O Kakutstha; and, O lord of earth, they are worthy to be conferred upon thee as thou art possessed of various virtues. Thou need not entertain any doubt about it. And if thou learn them like unto the exercise of asceticism they will prove of manifold good unto thee." Thereat Rama with a cheerful countenance sipping water, with a purified body received those sciences from the Maharshi of subdued soul. And furnished with the sciences, Rama of dreadful prowess appeared resplendent, even like the adorable autumnal Sun invested with a thousand rays. Then Rama having rendered unto Kucika's son all the duties appertaining to a spiritual guide, the three happily spent that night on the banks of the Sarayu. And although those excellent sons of Dacaratha lay down on an unbeseeming bed of grass, yet in consequence of the sweet converse of Kucika's son, the night seemed to pass pleasantly away.

SECTION 23.

And when the night had passed away, the mighty ascetic spoke unto Kakutstha, lying down on a bed of leaves, —"O Rama, the best son of Kaucalya, the first Sandhya should now be performed. Do thou, O foremost of men, arise! Thou shouldst perform the purificatory rites and contemplate the gods." Hearing those proper words of the ascetic, those foremost of men, endowed with heroism, bathed, and, offering Arghya, began to recite the Gayatri. And having performed these daily duties, those exceedingly powerful ones, greeting Vicwamitra having asceticism for wealth, stood before him, with the object of starting on their journey. And as those ones endowed with exceeding prowess were proceeding, at the shining confluence of the Sarayu and the Ganga they beheld a noble river flowing in three branches. And there lay a holy hermitage, belonging to ascetics of subdued souls, where they had been carrying on their high austerities for thousands of years. Beholding that sacred asylum, those descendants of Raghu, exceedingly delighted, spake unto the high-souled Vicwamitra, these words,—"Whose is this sacred hermitage? And what man liveth here? O worshipful one, we are desirous of hearing this. Surely, great is our curiosity." At those words of theirs, that foremost of ascetics, smiling, said,—"Hear, O Rama, as to whom the asylum belonged in time past. Kandarpa, called Kama by the wise, was once incarnate (on earth.) And it came to pass that as that lord of the deities, Sthanu, having performed here his austerities in accordance with the prescribed restrictions, was wending his way in company with the Maruts, that fool-hardy wight dared disturb the equanimity of his mind. Thereupon,

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descendant of Raghu, uttering a roar, the high-souled Rudra eyed him steadfastly. And thereat all the limbs of that perverse-hearted one became blasted. On his body being consumed by that high- souled one, Kama was deprived of his person in consequence of the ire of that foremost among the deities; and, O Raghava, from that time forth, he hath become known as Ananga. And the place where he was deprived of his body is the lovely land of Anga. This sacred hermitage belongs to Siva; and these ascetics engaged in pious acts, O hero, have been from father to son his disciples. And no sin toucheth them. Here, O Rama, in the midst of the sacred streams, will we spend the night, O thou of gracious presence, crossing over on the morrow. Let us then, having purified ourselves, enter the holy hermitage! It is highly desirable for us to sojourn here,—here will we happily spend the night, having bathed, and recited the mantras, and offered oblation unto the sacrificial fire, O best of men!"

As they were conversing thus, the ascetics were highly delighted on discovering them by means of their far-reaching spiritual vision,—and they rejoiced greatly. Then giving Kucika's son water to wash his feet and Arghya, and extending unto him also the rites of hospitality, they next entertained Rama and Lakshmana. And having experienced their hospitality, they (the guests) delighted them with their talk. And then the saints with collected minds recited their evening prayers. And having been shown their destined place of rest along with ascetics of excellent vows, they happily passed that night in that hermitage affording every comfort. And that foremost of ascetics, the righteous- souled son of Kucika, by means of his excellent converse, charmed the prepossessing sons of the monarch.

SECTION 24.

Then next morning which happened to be fine, those repressors of their foes, with Vicwamitra who had performed morning rites at their head, came to the banks of the river. And those high-souled ascetics observing vows, having brought an elegant bark addressed Vicwamitra, saying,—"Do thou ascend the bark with the princes at thy head! May thy journey be auspicious: let no delay occur!" Thereupon saying,—"So be it!", and having paid homage unto those ascetics, Vicwamitra set about crossing that river with them, which had replenished the ocean. And it came to pass that while thus engaged, they heard a sound augmented by the dashing of the waves. And having come to the middle of the stream, the highly energetic Rama with his younger brother, became curious to ascertain the cause of that sound. And reaching the middle of the river, Rama asked that best of ascetics,—"What is this loud uproar that seemeth to come riving the water?" Hearing Raghava's words dictated by curiosity, that righteous-souled one spake, unfolding the true cause of the noise,—"O Rama, there is in the Kailaca mountain an exceedingly beautiful pool, created mentally by Brahma, O foremost of men,—and hence this watery expanse goeth by the name of Manasa Pool, And the stream that issues from that liquid lapse, flows through Ayodhya: the sacred Sarayu issues from that pool of Brahma. And as the Sarayu meets the Jahnavi, this tremendous uproar is heard, being produced by the clashing of the waters. Do thou, O Rama, bow down to them with a concentrated mind." Thereupon, both of these exceedingly righteous ones, bowed down unto those streams; and betaking themselves to the right bank, began to proceed with fleet vigour. And beholding a dreadful trackless forest, that son of the foremost of men, Ikshhwaku's descendant, asked that best of ascetics, saying,— "Ah! deep is this forest abounding in crickets; and filled with terrible ferocious beasts,and various birds possessed of shocking voices and screaming frightfully; and graced by lions, and tigers, and boars, and elephants; and crowded with Dhavas and Acwas and Karnas and Kukubhas and Vilmas and Tindukas and Patalas and Badaris. Whence is this dreadful forest?" Him answered thus the mighty asetic Vicwamitra endowed with high energy,—"Do thou listen, O Kakutshtha, as to whom belongeth this dreadful forest! Here were formerly, O foremost of men, two flourishing provinces, named Malada, and Karusha, built by celestial architects. In days of yore, O Rama, on the occasion of the destruction of Vritra, the thousand-eyed one came to have hunger, to be besmeared with excreta, and to slay a Brahmana. And when Indra had been thus besmeared, the deities, and the saints having asceticism for wealth, washed him here, and cleansed his person from the dirt. And the deities, having renounced here the filth that had clung unto the person of the mighty Indra, as well as his hunger, attained exceeding delight. And thereat Indra becoming purified, attained his former brightness, and became devoid of hunger. And mightily pleased with this region, he conferred on it an excellent boon, saying,—"Since these two places have held excreta from my body, they going by the names of Malada and Karusha, shall attain exceeding prosperity and fame among men." And beholding the land thus honoured by the intelligent Sacra, the deities said unto the subduer of Paka,—'Well!" "Well!" And, O repressor of foes, these two places, Malada and Karusha, enjoyed prosperity for a long lime and were blessed with corn and wealth. Then after a space of time, was born a Yakshini capable of assuming forms at will, and endowed with the strength of a thousand elephants. Her name, good betide thee! was Taraka, and she was the spouse of the intelligent Sunda—she whose son is the Rakshasa, Maricha possessed of the prowess of Sacra; having round arms, with a huge head, a capacious mouth and a cyclopean body. And that Rakshasa of dreadful form daily frightens people. And, O descendant of Raghu, Taraka of wicked deeds, daily commits havoc upon these countries, Malada and Karusha . And now at the distance of over half a Yojana, she stayeth, obstructing the way. And since this forest belongeth unto Taraka, thou shouldst repair thither and, resorting to the might of thy own arms, slay this one of wicked deeds. And by my direction, do thou again rid this region of its thorn; for no one dareth to approach such a place, infested, O Rama, by the dreadful and unbearable Yakshini. And now I have related unto thee all about this fearful forest. And to this day that Yakshini hath not desisted from committing ravages right and left."

SECTION 25.

Hearing this excellent speech of that ascetic of immeasurable energy, that foremost of men answered him in these happy words,—"O best of ascetics, I have heard that the Yaksha race is endowed with but small prowess. How can then that one of the weaker sex possess the strength of a thousand elephants?" Hearing this speech that was uttered by Raghava of immeasurable energy, Vicwamitra, delighting with his amiable words that subduer of foes, Rama, and Lakshmana, said,—"Do thou listen as to the means whereby attaining terrible strength, that one belonging to the weaker sex hath come to possess strength and prowess by virtue of a boon. In former times there was a mighty and exceedingly powerful Yaksha, named Suketu. And he had no issue. And he was of pure practices, and used to perform rigid austerities. And, O Rama, the Grand-sire, well pleased with that lord of Yakshas, conferred upon him a gem of a daughter, by name Taraka. And the Grand-sire endowed her with the strength of a thousand elephants; yet that illustrious one did not bestow a son on that Yaksha. And when she had grown, and attained youth and beauty, he gave that famous damsel unto Jambha's son, Sunda, for wife. And after a length of time, that Yakshi gave birth to a son, named Maricha, possessed of irrepressible energy—him who became a Rakshasa in consequence of a curse. And, O Rama, when Sunda had been destroyed, Taraka along with her son, set her heart upon afflicting that excellent saint Agastya. And enraged with Agastya, she rushed at him with a roar, intending to devour him. And on seeing her thus rushing, that worshipful saint, Agastya, said unto Maricha, "Do thou become a Rakshasa!", and, in exceeding wrath, he also cursed Taraka. "And, O mighty Yakshi, ince in frightful guise with a frightful face thou hast desired to eat up a human being, do thou immediately leave this (thy original) shape, and become of a terrible form!" Thus cursed by Agastya, Taraka, overwhelmed with rage, lays waste this fair region, where Agastya carrieth on his austerities. Do thou, O descendant of Raghu, for the welfare of Brahmanas and kine, slay this exceedingly terrible Yakshi of wicked ways and vile prowess! Nor, O son of Raghu, doth any one in the three worlds, save, thee, dare to slay this Yakshi joined with a curse. Nor shouldst thou, best of men, shrink from slaying a woman; for even this should be accomplished by a prince in the interests of the four orders. And whether an act be cruel or otherwise, slightly or highly sinful, it should for protecting the subjects, be performed by a ruler. Of those engaged in the onerous task of government, even this is the eternal rule of conduct. Do thou, O Kukutstha, slay this impious one; for she knoweth no righteousness! We hear, O king, that in days of yore, Sakra slew Virochana's daughter, Manthara, who had intented to distroy the earth. And formerly, O Rama, Vishnu destroyed Kavya's mother, the devoted wife of Bhrigu, who had set her heart upon making the world, devoid of Indra. By these as well as innumerable princes—foremost of men—have wicked women been slain. Therefore, O king, renouncing antipathy, do thou, by my command, slay this one!"

SECTION 26.

Hearing those bold words of the ascetic, the son of that foremost of men, Raghava firm in his vows, with clasped hands answered,—"In accordance with the desire of my sire, and in order to glorify it, I ought fearlessly to do even as Kucika's son sayeth. And havingbeen desired to that end while at Ayodhya by that high-souled one, my father Dacaratha, in the midst of the spiritual guides, I ought not to pass by thy words. Therefore, commanded by that upholder of the Veda, I, agreeably to my father's mandate, will, without doubt, bring about that welcome event—the death of Taraka. And in the interests of Brahmanas, kine, and celestials, I am ready to act as desired by thee of immeasurable energy." Having said this, that repressor of foes, with clenched fist, twanged his bow-string, filling the ten cardinal points with the sounds. And at those sounds, the dwellers in Taraka's forest were filled with perturbation,—and Taraka also amazed at those sounds, became exceedingly wroth. And, rendered almost insensible by anger, that Rakshasi furiously rushed in amain towards the spot whence had come the report. And beholding that frightful one of hideous visage and colossal proportions, transported with rage, Raghu's descendant spake unto Lakshmana,—"Behold, O Lakshmana, the terrible and hideous body of yonder Yakshini! The sight of her striketh terror into the hearts of even the brave. Mark! - This irrepressible one, possessing all the resources of illusion, will I oppose, and deprive her of ears and nose. But I dare not slay her, she being protected by virtue of her fcminineness. I intend only to oppose her course, and de- prive her of her prowess." As Rama was speaking thus, Taraka, deprived of sense through ire, uttering roars, with uplifted arms rushed against him. And thereat the Brahmarshi, Vicwamitra, uttering a roar, upbraided her, and said,— "Swasti!"46 May victory attend the descendants of Raghu!" And raising thick clouds of dust, Taraka instantly bewildered both the descendants of Raghu. And then by help of illusion, she began to pour upon them a mighty shower of crags. And thereat Raghu's descendant was wroth. And resisting that mighty shower of crags by vollies of shafts, Raghava with arrows cut off her hands. And with the fore-parts of her arms lopped off, as she was roaring before them, Sumitra's son waxing worth deprived her of her ears and nose. Therupon that one capable of assuming forms at will, began to assume various shapes; and to vanish from sight, bewildering her antagonists with her illusory displays. And terribly ranging the field, the Yakshi showered crags upon her antagonists. And beholding them enveloped on all sides by that craggy down-pour, the auspicious son of Gadhi spake these words,—"O Rama, renounce thy antipathy. This one of wicked ways is exceedingly impious. And this sacrifice-disturbing Yakshi will, by virtue of her power of illusion, come to increase more and more in energy. Do thou, therefore, against the arrival of dusk, slay her! The Rakshasas are incapable of being controlled when evening sets in." Thus addressed, Rama, displaying his skill in aiming by sounds, enveloped with arrows that Yakshi showering crags. Being thus hemmed in with a network cf shafts, she possessed of the powers of illusion, rushed against Kakutstha and Lakshmana, uttering terrible roars. And as that Yakshi, in prowess like unto a thunder-bolt, was rushing on, Rama pierced her chest with arrows,—and thereat she dropped down and died. And upon seeing that grim-visaged one slain, the lord of the celestials together with the celestials themselves honouring Kakutstha, exclaimed "Well!", "Well!" And exceedingly pleased, the thousand -eyed Purandara, together with the delighted deities,said unto Vicwamitra,—"O ascetic, O Kucika's son, good betide thee! all the Maruts with Indra at their head, have been gratified with this act (of Rama's). Do thou therefore show affection unto Raghava! Do thou, O Brahmana, confer upon Raghu's descendant the sons of Prajapati Kricacwa, of true prowess, and charged with ascetic energy. And ever following thee, he, O Brahmana, is fit to receive them of thee. And this son of the king is to accomplish a mighty task in the interest of the celestials." Saying this, the deities, having paid homage unto Vicwamitra, joyfully entered the celestial regions.

And now came evening on, when that best of ascetics, gratified at the destruction of Taraki, smelt Rami's crown and said these words,—"Here O Rama of gracious presence, shall we pass the night; and morrow morning wend unto that hermitage of mine." Hearing Vicwamitra's words, Dacatatha's son, glad at heart, happily passed that night in the forest of Taraka. And being thus freed from all disturbances from that day forth that forest appeared charming, even like unto the forest of Chaitraratha. Having thus slain the Yaksha's daughter, Rama, eulogized by celestials and Siddhas spent there that night with the saint, being awakened by the latter at the break of day.

SECTION 27.

Having passed that night, the illustrious Vicwamitra, smiling complacently sweetly spake unto Raghava, saying,—Pleased am I with thee. Good betide thee, O highly famous prince! With supreme pleasure, do I confer upon thee all the weapons by means of which subduing such antagonists as celestials and Asuras backed on earth by Gandharbas and Uragas, thou wilt in battle be crowned with victory. And all those celestial weapons, good betide thee, I will confer upon thee. And I will confer upon thee, O Raghava, the celestial and mighty Dandachakra, and Dharmachakra, and also Kalachakra. And O foremost of men, I will confer upon thee the fierce Vishnu Chakra,—and Indra Chakra, and the Vajra, and Siva's Sulavata, and the weapon Brahmaciras, and Aishika, O mighty-armed descendant of Raghu! And, O best of men, I will, O king's son, bestow upon thee the matchless Brahma weapon, and, O Kakutstha, the two excellent maces, the flaming Modaki and Cikhari. And, O Rama, I will confer upon thee Dharmapaca, and Kalapaca, and the excellent Varunapaca. And, O descendant of Raghu, I will bestow upon thee the two Ashanis,—Sushka and Ardra, and the Pinaka weapon, and the Narayana, and the Agneya weapon called Sikhara, and the Vayavya, called Prathama, O sinless one!

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And, O Raghava, I will confer upon thee the weapon called Hayaciras, and the Krauncha weapon, and,0 Kakutstha, a couple of darts, And I will confer upon the Kankala, and the dreadful Mashaia, and Kapala, and Kinkini—all those that are intended for slaughtering Rakshasas. And, O mighty-armed one, son of the best of men, I will confer upon thee the mighty weapon Vidyadhara, and that excellent scimitar named Nandana, and the favourite Gandharba weapon, Mohana, and Praswapana, and Pasamana, and Saumya, O Raghava! And O best of men, do thou accept Varshana, and Soshana, and Santapana, and Vilapana, and Madana hard to repress, beloved of Kandarpa, and that favourite Gandharba weapon, Manava, and the favourite Pichasa weapon, O highly famous prince. And do thou, O mighty- armed Rama, speedily accept the Tamasa, O best of men, and the exceedingly powerful Saumana,and the irrepressible Samvarta and Maushala, O son of the king, and the Satya weapon, and the supreme Mayamaya, and the Saura. Tejaprabha, capable of depriving foes of energy, and the Soma, and the Sisira, and the Tashtra, and the terrible Daruna belonging unto Bhaga, and Sileshu, and Madana— all assuming forms at will, and endowed with exceeding prowess, and highly exalted." Then with his face turned towards the east, that foremost of ascetics having purified himself, gladly conferred the mantras upon Rama. And the Vipra also bestowed upon Raghava those weapons, of which even he celestials are incapable of holding all. As that intelligent ascetic, Vicwamitra, recited mantras, all those invaluable weapons appeared before that descendant of Raghu. And, with clasped hands, they well-pleased, addressed Rama, —"These, O highly generous one, are thy servants, O Raghava. And whatever thou wishest, good betide thee, shall by all means be accomplished by us." Thus addressed by those highly powerful weapons, Kakutstha Rama, with a delighted soul, accepting them, touched them with his hand, and said,—"Do ye appear before me as I remember you!" Then the exceedingly energetic Rama, well pleased, paying everence unto the mighty ascetic, Vicwamitra, prepared to set out.

SECTION 28.

Having accepted those weapons with purity, Kakutstha while proceeding, with a complacent countenance spake these words unto Viswamitra,—"O adorable one, I have received these weapons, incapable of being repressed even by the celestials themselves. Now, O best of ascetics, I would acquire a knowledge of withdrawing them." Upon Kakutstha's representing this, Vicwamitra of high austerities, endowed with patience, of excellent vows, and pure in spirit, communicated unto him the mantras for restraining the weapons. "Do thou, 0 Rama, accept Satyavat, and Sataykirti, and Dhrishta, and Rabhasa, and Pratiharatara, and Paranmukha, and Avanmukha, and Lakshya, and Alakshya, and Drihanabha, and Sunabha, Dacaksha, and Satavaktra, and Dacacirsha, and Satodara, and Padranabha, and Mahanabha, and Indunabha, and Swanabha, and Jyotisha, and Sakuna, and Nairashya, and Vimala, and Yaugandhara, and Vindra, and the two Daityapramathanas, and Suchivahu, and Mahavahu, and Nishkali, and Virucha, and Archimali, and Dhritimali, and Vrittiman, and Ruchira, and Pitrya, and Saumansa, and Vidhuta, and Makara, and Karavira, and Rati, and Dhana, and Dhanya, O Raghava, and Kamarupa, and Kamaruchi,and Moha, and Avarana,and Jrimbhaka and Sarpanatha, and Panthana, and Varuna,—these sons of Kricaswa, O Rama, effulgent, and assuming shapes at will. And, good betide thee, O descendant of Raghu, thou art worthy to receive these weapons." Thereupon, Kakutstha with a heart overflowing with delight, said,—"So be it!" And those weapons were furnished with celestial and shining persons, and endowed with visible shapes, and capable of conferring happiness. And some of them were like (live) coals; and some comparable unto smoke; and some were like unto the Sun or the Moon. And with folded hands, they spake unto Rama in honied accents,—O chief of men, here we are! Do thou command as to what we are to do on thy behalf." Then the descendant of Raghu answered, saying,—"Repair whithersoever ye will! Recurring to my memory, do ye in time of need, render me assistance!" Thereupon paying homage unto Rama, and having gone round him, they replied unto Kakutstha,—"Be it so!" and returned whence they had come. And having learnt all about those weapons, Raghava, while proceeding spake sweetly unto that mighty ascetic, Vicwamitra,—"What is yonder wood hard by the hill, appearing like clouds? Great is my curiosity. It is pleasing unto the sight, and abounds in beasts, and is exceedingly romantic, and is adorned with various birds singing sweetly. Now, O foremost of ascetics, we have come out of a wilderness capable of making one's hair stand on end. And from the pleasantness attaching to this place, I have come to a conclusion. Tell me, O reverend sir, whose hermitage is this? where, O eminent ascetic, is that hermitage where dwell those wicked-minded wretches of impious deeds, given to slaughtering Brahmanas, who disturb thy sacrifice? Where, O adorable one, is that spot, repairing unto which, O Brahmana, I am to protect thy sacrificial rites, and to slay the Rakshasas? All this, O foremost of ascetics, I desire to hear, O lord."

SECTION 29.

Hearing those words of Rama of measureless prowess, vho had asked the question, the highly energetic Vicwamitra answered, saying,—"Here, O mighty-armed Rama, Vishnu of mighty asceticism worshipped of all the deities, for years upon years, and hundreds of Yugas, dwelt for carrying on his austerities and Yoga. This, O Rama, was formerly the hermitage of the high-souled Vamana. And this is famed as Siddhacrama, in consequence of that one of potent asceticism having attained fruition there. And it came to pass that at this time Virochana's son, king Vali, having vanquished the celestials with Indra and the Maruts, established that dominion of his, famous in the three worlds. And that mighty chief of the Asuras celebrated a sacrifice. And as Vali was performing that sacrifice, the deities with Agni at their head, coming unto Vishnu himself at this asylum, addressed him, saying.—"Virochana's son, Vali, O Vishnu, is celebrating a sacrifice. Do thou, before the ceremoney is finished, accomplish thy own end. He duly conferreth upon such as repair unto him from various quarters all those things that they ask for. And do thou thyself, O Vishuu, aided by thy power of illusion, assuming a Dwarf-form, accomplish the welfare (of the celestials.)" In the meantime, O Rama, the wonderful Kasyapa resembling fire in splendour, and flaming in energy, having in company with, and with the assistance of, the divine Aditi, O Rama, accomplished his vow, lasting for hundred years, began to hymn the destroyer of Madhu ready to confer boons. "By means of warm austerities, do I behold thee composed of penances, a mass of mortifications, and endowed with a form and a soul of austerities. And in thy person, O lord, do I behold this entire universe. And in Thee without beginning, and incapable of being pointed out, do I take refuge!" Thereupon exceedingly pleased, Hari spake unto Kacyapa, with his sins purged off saying,—"Do thou mention the boon! Good betide thee. Methinks thou deservest a boon." Hearing these words of his, Marichi's son, Kacyapa, said,—"Aditi, the gods and I myself, crave of thee this,—and, O bestower of boons, it behoveth thee well pleased to confer on us this boon, O thou of excellent vows! Do thou, O sinless one, become born as my son in Aditi, O adorable deity! Do thou become the younger brother of Sakra, O destroyer of Asuras. It behoveth thee to help the celestials afflicted with grief. And this place through thy grace will attain the name of Siddhacrama. The work, O lord of the celestials, hath been accomplished. Do thou now, O thou of the six attributes, ascend from hence!" And accordingly Vishnu of mighty energy took his birth in Aditi. And assuming the form of a dwarf, he presented himself before Virochana's son. And then asking for as much earth as could be covered by three footsteps, that one ever engaged in the welfare of all creatures, with the object of compassing the good of all, stood occupying the worlds. And having by his power restrained Vali, that one of exceeding energy, again conferred the three worlds upon the mighty Indra,—and made them subject to his control. Formerly he used to dwell in this asylum capable of removing fatigue. And through reverence for the Dwarf, I reside here. And this hermitage is infested by Rakshasas disturbing rites. And, O most puissant of men, here thou shouldst slay those ones of wicked ways. To-day, O Rama, will I repair unto this supremely excellent Siddhacrama. And this asylum, child, is as much thine as mine." Saying this, taking Rama and Lakshmana, the mighty ascetic, experiencing exceeding delight, entered that asylum, and appeared graceful, like the Moon emerged from mist in conjunction with the Punarvasu stars. And beholding Vicwamitra, the ascetics inhabiting Siddhacrama, suddenly rising in joy, worshipped that intelligent one,—and extended unto the princes the rites of hospitality. And then having reposed for while, those unreproved princes, the descendants of Raghu, with clasped hands, addressed that foremost of ascetics,—"Be thou even to-day initiated unto the ceremony. Good betide thee, O best of ascetics! Let this Siddhacrama verily attain fruition,—and let thy words be verified!" Thus addressed, that mighty saint of exceeding energy, with his mind subdued, and senses under restraint, caused himself to be initiated into the ceremony. And like unto the Kumaras, Rama and Lakshamana, having passed the night pleasantly, rose in the morning; and having finished their morning worship, and with purity and self-restraint recited the prime mantras, paid their obeisance unto the sacrificial fire and the sacrificer, Vicwamitra, who was seated.

SECTION 30.

Then those princes, repressors of foes, cognisant of place, and time, and words, thus spake unto Kucika's son agreeably to time and place, saying,—"O adorable one do thou tell us as to the time when we should oppose those rangers of the night! Let not that hour pass away!" Upon the two Kakutsthas' saying this, and finding them prompt for the encounter, those ascetics well-pleased, fell to extolling the sons of the king. "For six nights from to-day, ye should protect us. This ascetic hath been initiated into the sacrifice, and must therefore, observe taciturnity." Hearing these words of theirs, those illustrious princes, renouncing sleep, began to guard the hermitage six days and nights; and those heroic and mighty archers with their armours on protected that best of ascetics and subduer of enemies. And when time had thus gone by and the sixth day had arrived, Rama said unto Sumitra's son,—"Being well equipped, be thou vigilant!" When Rama, manifesting emotion, and being eager for encounter, had said this, the priests and spiritual guides lit up the altar. And along with Vicwamitra and the family priests, they lit up the altar furnished with Kuca, and Kaca, and ladles, and faggots, and flowers. And as reciting mantras, they were about to duly engage in that sacrifice, there arose a mighty and dreadful uproar in the sky. And as in the rains, masses of clouds appear enveloping the firmament, the Rakshasas, displaying illusions in that wise, began to rush onward. And Maricha and Suvahu together with their followers coming in dreadful forms, began to shower down blood upon the altar. And on seeing the altar deluged with gore, Rama suddenly rushed forward, and beheld them in the sky. And suddenly seeing them rushing in amain, the lotus-eyed Rama fixing his gaze at Lakshmana, said,—"Behold, O Lakshmana, by means of a Manava weapon, I shall, without doubt, drive away the wicked, flesh-eating Rakshasas, even as the wind driveth away clouds before it. Surely I cannot bring myself to slay such as these." Saying this, that descendant of Raghu, Rama, in vehemence fixing on his bow an exceedingly mighty and gloriously-dazzling Manava weapon, discharged it in great wrath at Maricha's chest. And wounded by that foremost of Manava weapons, Maricha carried off a sheer hundred Yojanas, dropped in the midst of the ocean. And finding Maricha senseless, and whirling, and afflicted by the might of the weapon, and overcome, Rama addressed Lakshmana, saying,—"Behold, O Lakshmana, this Manava weapon first used by Manu, depriving him of his senses, hath carried him off,—and yet hath not taken his life! But these shameless, wicked, and blood-drinking Rakshasas, addicted to wrong-doing, these disturbers of sacrifices, will I slaughter." Having said this, anon showing unto Lakshmana his lightness of hand, Raghu's descendant took out a mighty Agneya weapon, and discharged it at the breast of Suvahu. Thereat being pierced with that shaft, he fell down upon the ground. Then taking a Vayavaya weapon, the illustrious and exceedingly generous Raghava, bringing delight unto those ascetics, slew the rest. And having destroyed all those Rakshasas disturbing sacrifices, Raghu's descendant was honoured by the saints, even as Indra in days of yore, after having vanquished the Asuras. And when the sacrifice had been completed, the mighty ascetic Vicwamitra, beholding all sides cleared of Rakshasas, spake unto Kakutstha, saying,—"O mighty-armed one, I have obtained my desire; and thou hast executed thy preceptor's mandate. And, O illustrious hero, thou hast truly made this a Siddhacrama." Having thus extolled Rama, he took Rama and Lakshmana, to perform his evening devotions.

SECTION 31.

Those heroes, Rama and Lakshmana, their interest secured, with glad hearts passed that night there. And when the night had passed away and the morning come, they together appeared before the saint, Vicwamitra, and the rest. And having saluted that foremost of ascetics resembling flaming fire, they of honied speech spake unto him words exceedingly lofty.—"These servants of thine, O best of ascetics, have come before thee. Do thou command, O chief of anchorets, what command of thine are we to execute?" Thus addressed by them, the Maharshis with Vicwamitra at their head spake unto Rama, saying,—"A highly meritorious sacrifice, O foremost of men, is to be celebrated by Mithila's lord, Janaka. Thither shall we repair. And thou, O great among men, must accompany us, and there behold a wonderful jewel of a bow. And formerly this bow of immeasurable energy, and dreadful, and exceedingly effulgent at the sacrifice, had been conferred in court by the celestials (on king Devarata). And neither gods nor Gandharbas, neither Asuras nor Rakshasas nor men, can fix the string upon it. And desirous of being acquainted with the prowess of this bow, many kings and princes came; but they in spite of their mighty strength, failed in stringing it. There, Kakutstha, thou wilt behold that bow belonging to the high-souled king of Mithila,—as well as his exceedingly wonderful sacrifice. That rare bow, O foremost of men, furnished with an excellent device for griping it, had been solicited by Mithila's lord as the fruit of his sacrifice; and the celestials conferred it upon him. And now, O descendant of Raghu, in the residence of king, the bow is worshipped like a deity with aguru, dhupa, and various other incenses." This having been said, that foremost of ascetics, in company with Kakutstha and the saints, departed. And on the eve of setting out, he addressed the sylvan deities, saying,—"Luck! I will, with my desire obtained, go from forth this Siddhacrama unto the Himavat mountain on the north of the Jahnavi." Having said this, that tiger-like ascetic, Kucika's son, along with other anchorets having asceticism for their wealth, set out in a

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northerly direction. And as that best of ascetics proceeded, he was followed by Brahmanas upholding the Veda, carrying the sacrificial necessaries on an hundred cars. And birds and beasts dwelling in Siddhacrama followed the high-souled Vicwamitra having asceticism for wealth. And then followed by the body of devotees he dismissed the birds. And having proceeded a longway, when the sun was sloping down, the ascetics rested on the banks of the Sona. And when the maker of day had set, having bathed and offered oblations unto the fire, those ascetics of immeasurable energy, placing Vicwamitra in their front, sat them down. And Rama also together with Sumitra's son, having paid homage unto those ascetics, sat him down before the intelligent Vicwamitra. Then Rama of exceeding energy, influenced by curiosity, asked that foremost of ascetics, Vicwamitra, having asceticism for his wealth, saying,—"O worshipful one, what country is this, graced with luxuriant woods? I am desirous of hearing this. Good betide thee, it behoveth thee to tell me this truly." Thus addressed by Rama, that one of high austerities and excellent vows began in the midst of the saints to describe the oppulence of that region.

SECTION 32.

Once upon a time there was a mighty son of Brahma, of high austerities, named Kuca. And he was cognisant of duty, and ever engaged in observing vows and honouring good men. And that high-souled one begat on Vaidarbhi, sprung from a respectable line, and endowed with all noble qualities, four sons like unto himself, and possessed of extraordinary prowess—Kucyamva, and Kucanabha, and Asurtarajas, and Vasu, resplendent and breathing exhaustless spirits. And with the deisre of enhancing Kshetrya merit, Kuca said unto his truthful and virtuous sons,—'Ye sons! do ye engage in the task of governing,—and thereby acquire immense merit.' Hearing Kuja's words, those four foremost of men and best of sons addressed themselves to founding seats for their government. And the highly energetic Kucamva founded the city of Kaucamvi; and the righteous Kucanabha, the metropolis of Mahodaya; and the magnanimous Asurtarajas, Dharmaranya; and king Vasu, Girivraja, best of capitals. This city with these five mighty mountains shining around (otherwise) called Vasumati belongs to the high-souled Vasu. And the river known by the name of Sumagadhi flows through the Magadhas. And in the midst of the five foremost of hills, it looks like a garland. And this Magadhi, O Rama, belongs unto the high- souled Vasu, taking, O Rama, an easterly course, and flowing through fertile fields furnished with corn. And, O descendant of Raghu, the virtuous-souled Rajarshi Kucanabha begat an hundred peerless daughters on Ghritachi. And it came to pass that they endowed with youth, beautiful, and like unto the lightning in the rainy season, decked in excellent ornaments, coming to their garden, were merrily singing and dancing and playing on musical instruments, O Raghava! And as they perfect in every limb, and unparalleled on earth in beauty, and endowed with all qualities, and furnished with youth and grace, were in the garden, like unto stars embosomed among clouds, that life of all, the air, beheld them and said,— "I seek for ye: do ye become my wives. Do ye renounce this human guise, and attain long lives. Youth verily is unstable, specially with the human beings: do ye attaining unfading youth, become immortal:" Hearing this speech of the Air of ever fresh energy, the damsels ridiculing it, said,—"Thou rangest the hearts of all creatures, O foremost of celestials, and we also know thy influence. Wherefore, then, dost thou dishonour us? O foremost of celestials, we are the daughters of Kucanabha, O divine one. And god as thou art, we can dislodge thee from thy place; but we refrain from doing so, lest thereby we lose our ascetic merit. May, O foolish one, that time never come, when disregarding our truthful sire, we following our inclination, shall resort to self choice. Our father verily is our lord and prime god. Of him even shall we become the wives unto whom our father giveth us away." At these words of theirs, that lord and adorable one, the Air, exceedingly enraged, then entered into their bodies, and broke all their limbs. Their bodies being thus broken by Air, those damsels, exceedingly agitated and overwhelmed with shame, with tears in their eyes entered the residence of the king. And finding his supremely beautiful and favourite daughters with their limbs broken, and woe- begone, the king bewildered, spake,—'Ye daughters, what is this? Who is it that thus disregards virtue? By whom have ye all come by this crooked form? And why demonstrating your grief, do ye not answer me?' Having said this, the king heaved a deep sigh and became eager to hear all about it."

SECTION 33.

Hearing those words of the intelligent Kucanabha, his hundred daughters touching his feet with their heads, said, —'O king, that life of all, the Air, was desirous of overcoming us, having recourse to an improper way; nor did he regard morality.—We have a father, good betide thee; and have no will of our own. Do thou ask our father about it, if he consent conferring us on thee.—But that wicked wight did not listen to our words; and as we were saying this, were we roughly handled by him.' Hearing those words of theirs, the highly pious and puissant king addressed his hundred beautiful daughters, saying,—'Ye have displayed a signal example of that forgiveness which is fit to be followed by the forbearing; and that ye have unanimously regarded the honour of my house, also conduces to your praise. Alike to men and women, forbearance is an ornament. And difficult it is for one to exercise that forbearance, specially in respect of the celestials. And may every descendant of mine possess forbearance like unto yours! Forbearance is charity; forbearance is truth; forbearance, O daughters, is sacrifice; forbearance is fame; forbearance is virtue,—yea,the universe is established in forbearance. Then dismissing his daughters, the king endowed with the prowess of celestials,and versed in counsel, began to consult with his counsellors about the bestowal of his daughters in respect of time and place and person and equality of lineage. And it came to pass that at this time an ascetic named Chuli, highly effulgent, with his vital fluid under control, and of pure practices, was performing Brahmya austerities. And as the saint was engaged in austerities, good betide thee, Urmila's daughter named Somada—a Gandharbi—ministered unto him. And in all humility that virtuous one for a definite period was engaged in ministering unto him. And thereat, her spiritual guide was gratified with her. And, O descendant of Raghu, once he said unto her,—'I am gratified good betide thee! What good shall I render thee? Thereupon, concluding that the ascetic was gratified, the Gandharbi, cognisant of words, exceedingly delighted, sweetly addressed that one versed in speech,—'Thou art furnished with the Brahmya fire, art like Brahma himself, and of mighty austerities. I desire of thee a righteous son endowed with the Brahmya ascetic virtues. I am without a husband, good betide thee, and I am no one's wife. Upon me who am thy servant, thou shouldst confer such a son by help of Brahmya means.' Thereupon, well pleased with her, the Brahmarshi Chulina conferred upon her an excellent Brahmya mind-begotten son, named Brahmadatta. And that king, Brahmadatta, founded the flourishing city of Kampilya,even as the sovereign of the celestials founded the celestial regions. And, O Kakutstha, the righteous king Kucanabha finally decided on conferring his hundred daughters upon Brahmadatta. And inviting Brahmadatta that highly energetic lord of earth, with a glad heart conferred his hundred daughters upon him. And, O descendant of Raghu, king Brahmadatta resembling the lord himself of the celestials, by turns received their hands in marriage. And as soon as he touched them, the hundred daughters were cured of their crookedness, and became free from anguish, and were endowed with pre-eminent beauty, And upon beholding them delivered from (the tyranny of) the Air, the monarch Kucanabha became exceedingly delighted, and rejoiced again and again. And he dismissed the newly married lord of earth, king Brahmadatta, in company with his consorts and the priests. And the Gandharbi Somada rejoiced exceedingly at the completion of the nuptials of her son; and embracing her daughters-in-law again and again, and extolling her son, she expressed the fulness of her joy."

SECTION 34.

'And, O Raghava, when Brahmadatta was married, that sonless one, (Kucanabha), with the intention of obtaining male offspring, took in hand a son-conferring sacrifice. And when the sacrifice had commenced, that son of Brahma, the exceedingly noble Kuca, spake unto king Kucanabha, saying, 'O son, there will be born unto thee a virtuous son like to thyself: thou wilt obtain even Gadhi,—and through him enduring fame in this world.' Having said this unto king Kucanabha, Kuca, O Rama, entering the welkin, went to the eternal regions of Brahma. Then after sometime, an eminently virtuous son, named Gadhi, was born to the intelligent Kucanabha. O Kakutstha, even that highly pious Gadhi is my sire. And, O descendant of Raghu I, called Kaucika, am sprung from Kuca's line. And, O Raghava, I had a sister of noble vows born before me. And her name was Satyavati; and she was bestowed upon Richika. And following her lord, she ascended heaven in her own proper person. And my highly generous sister, Kauciki, hath finally assumed the form of a mighty river. And in order to compass the welfare of all creatures, my sister is now a noble and charming river of sacred waters, issuing from the Himavat mountains. And thenceforth, out of affection for my sister, Kauciki, I ever dwell happily in the vicinity of the Himavat, O Raghava. And that virtuous Kauciki, Satyavati, as well established in religion as truth, and chaste, and eminently pious, is now the foremost of streams. And, O Rama it is only for the purpose of completing my sacrifice that leaving her behind, I have come to Siddhacrama. And now by virtue of thy energy, have I attained fruition. Now, O Rama, I have narrated unto thee the circumstances connected with the history of my line and myself, as also of this place, O mighty-armed one,—which thou hadst asked me to relate. But, O Kakutstha, while I was speaking, half the night hath been spent. Do thou now sleep, good betide thee,—so that thou mayst not feel any difficulty while on the journey. The trees stand motionless, and the beasts and birds are silent, and, O descendant of Raghu, all sides have become enveloped in nocturnal gloom. The midnight is gradually passing away; and the firmament thick-studded with stars resembling eyes, is illumined up with their light. And that dispeller of darkness, the mild-beaming moon, is rising, gladdening the hearts of all creatures with his splendour. And night-ranging beings—terrible carnivorous Yakshas and Rakshasas— walk hither and thither." Having said this, the mighty ascetic of exceeding energy paused. And those ascetics honouring him, said,—"Excellent! Excellent! This line belonging to the Kucikas is ever exalted and devoted to virtue, And those foremost of men sprung in the Kuca race are high-souled and like unto Brahmarshis—and specially thou, O illustrious Vicwamitra, art so. And that best of streams, Kauciki, hath added lustre unto thy line." and the auspicious son of Kucika having been extolled by those delighted ascetics—the foremost of their order—slept, like unto the sun, when setting. And Rama too along with Sumitra's son having in admiration praised that best of ascetics, enjoyed the luxury of slumber.

SECTION 35.

Having in company with the ascetics passed the remainder of the night on the banks of the Sona, Vicwamitra, when the day broke, spake,—"O Rama, the night hath passed away, and the morn hath come. The hour for performing the prior devotions hath arrived. Arise! arise! good betide thee! Do thou prepare for going." Hearing these words of his, Rama, having finished his morning devotions and rites, and ready for departure said,—"This is the Sona, of excellent waters, fathomless, and studded with islets. O Brahmana, by which way shall we cross?" Thus addressed by Rama, Vicwamitra replied,—"Even this path hath been fixed upon by me,—that, namely, which the Maharsais go." And having proceeded far, when the day had been half spent they beheld that foremost of streams, the Jahnavi, worshipped by ascetics. And having beheld that river furnished with sacred waters, and frequented by swans and cranes, the ascetics who accompanied Raghava were exceedingly delighted. And they took up their quarters on the banks of the river. And then having bathed and duly offered oblations of water unto the gods and the manes of their ancestors, and performed Agnihotra sacrifices, and partaken of clarified butter like unto nectar, those high-souled and auspicious ones, with glad hearts, sat down, surrounding Vicwamitra. And the descendants of Raghu also sat down, occupying prominent places as befitted their rank. Then Rama with a heart surcharged with cheerfulness spake unto Vicwamitra, saying,—"O adorable one, I desire to hear how the Ganga flowing in three directions and embracing the three worlds, falls into the lord of streams and rivers." Influenced by Rama's speech, the mighty ascetic Vicwamitra entered upon the history of the Ganga's origin and progress, O Rama, that great mine of ore, Himavat is the foremost of mountains. Unto him were born two daughters, unparalleled on earth in loveliness. And, O Rama, their mother of dainty waist, the amiable daughter of Meru, named Mena, was the beloved wife of Himavat—she of whom was born Ganga the elder daughter of Himavat; and, O Raghava, a second daughter was also born unto him, named Uma. And it came to pass that once upon a time, the deities, with the view of accomplishing some work appertaining to them as divine beings, in a body besought that foremost of mountains for that river flowing in three directions, Ganga. Thereupon, desirous of the welfare of the three worlds, Himavat in obedience to duty, conferred upon them his daughter flowing everywhere at will, and sanctifying all creatures. Thereat in the interests of the three worlds, accepting her, those having the welfare of the three worlds at heart, went away with Ganga, considering themselves as having attained their desire. The other daughter of the mountain, O descendant of Raghu, adopting a stern vow, began to carry on austerities, having asceticism for her wealth. And that best of mountains bestowed upon Rudra of unequalled form his daughter Uma, furnished with fiery asceticism, and worshipped of the worlds. And these, O Raghava, are the daughters of that king of mountains, worshipped of all, viz., Ganga, the foremost of streams, and the divine Uma. Now, O best of those endowed with motion, have I related unto thee how that sin-destroying one flowing with her waters in three diverse directions, first, O child, went to the firmament and then ascended the celestial regions."

SECTION 36.

When the ascetic had spoken thus, both the heroes, Rama and Lakshmana, saluting that first of anchorets, said,— "O Brahmana, thou hast delivered this noble narration fraught with morality. Now it behoves thee to speak about the elder daughter of the mountain-king. Thou art extensively conversant with everything relative to men or gods. Why is it that that purifier of the worlds laveth three directions? And why is that foremost of streams, Ganga, famous as wending in three ways? And, O thou cognisant of morality, what are her performances in the three worlds?" Thereat Vicwamitra

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having asceticism for his wealth, began to relate unto Kakutstha that history in detail in the midst of the ascetics. "In days of yore, O Rama, the blue-throated one of mighty asceticism, having entered into matrimony, commenced upon knowing the goddess. And as that intelligent blue-throated god, Mahadeva, was thus engaged in sport, a devine hundred years passed away; and yet, O Rama, chastiser of foes, no son was born of her. Thereat all the gods with the Grand sire at their head became exceedingly anxious. "Who will be able to bear the offspring of this union?" And thereupon the celestials repairing unto Mahadeva, thus addressed him, saluting low,—'O god of gods, O mighty deity, ever engaged in the welfare of all, it behoveth thee to be propitious at the humble salutations of the celestials. The worlds, O foremost of celestials, are incapable of bearing thy energy. Therefore, for the welfare of the three worlds, do thou, being furnished with Brahma asceticism, in company with the goddess practise austerities, and rein in thy energy by thy native indomitableness. Do thou preserve these worlds; for it becometh thee not to destroy all.' Hearing the words of the deities, the great god of the worlds said unto them,—'So be it!' And addressing them again he said,—'Ye gods, by my own energy I will assisted by Uma bear my virile vigour,—therefore let the creation find rest! But tell me, ye foremost of celestials, who will sustain my potent virility rushing out from its receptacle?' Being thus addressed, the gods answered him having the bull for his mark,—'The earth will to-day bear thy vital flow.' Thus assured, the mighty lord of the celestials let go his vital fluid; and thereat the earth containing mountains and forests was overspread with the energy. Then the gods spake unto the Fire, saying,—'Do thou in company with the Wind enter into this fierce and mighty energy!' And when the Wind had entered into it, it was developed into a white hill, and a forest of glossy reeds, resembling fire or the Sun. And here sprang from Fire Kartikeya of mighty energy. And there- upon the celestials and the saints, with gratified hearts, began to pay enthusiastic adorations unto Uma aud Siva. Then the Mountain's daughter, O Rama, addressed the celestials, cursing them with eyes reddened in wrath,—'While in association with Mahadeva for obtaining sons, I was broken in upon by ye,—for this, ye shall not be able yourselves to beget offspring on your wives. And from this day forth, your wives shall remain without issue.' Having thus spokeu unto the celestials, she cursed the Earth also, saying,—'O Earth, thou shalt have various forms, and many shall lord it over thee! Nor, stained because of my ire, shalt thou experience the pleasure that is felt on obtaining a son, O thou of wicked understanding, O thou that dost not wish me a son!' Witnessing the gods thus distressed, the lord of the celestials set out in the direction presided over by Varuna. And having repaired to the north side of that mountain, Maheswara along with the goddess became engaged in austerities on the peak Himavatprabhava. I have now related unto thee, O Rama, the spread of the Mountain's daughter, (Ganga). Do thou how together with Lakshmana listen to the narration of Bhagirathi's potency."

SECTION 37.

And on that celestial being engaged in austerities, the deities with Indra and Agni at their head, desirous of gaining over the generalissimo, appeared before the Grandsire. And, O Rama, the gods with Agni at their head, bowing unto him, addressed that possessor of the six attributes, the Grand-sire, saying,—'0 God, that adorable one who had formerly consigned unto us the generalissimo, resorting to high asceticism, is practising austerities with Uma. Do thou now, O thou conversant with resources, so order as is advisable in the interests of the worlds! Verily thou art our prime way.' Hearing the words of the deities, the Grandsire of all creatures, consoling them with soft words, spoke unto them, saying,—'Even as the Mountain's daughter hath said, sons will not be born unto ye of your own wives. Her word is infallible of a certainty: there is no doubt about it. This is the celestial Ganga—she on whom Hutasana will beget a son—the foe-subduing generalissimo of the celestials. And the elder daughter of the Mountain will consider that son as brought forth by Uma; and Uma also will, without doubt, look upon him with regard.' Hearing these words of his, O descendant of Raghu, the gods bowing unto the Grand-sire, paid him homage. Then, O Rama, repairing unto the Kailaca mountain teeming with metals, the deities commissioned Agni with the view of having a son (born unto him.) 'Do thou, O god, accomplish this work of the deities! O thou of mighty energy, do thou discharge thy energy into that daughter of the mountain, Ganga.' Thereupon giving his promise unto the gods, Pavaka approached Ganga, saying,— 'Do thou, O Goddess, bear an embryo; for even this is the desire of the deities.' Hearing this speech, she assumed a divine appearance. And beholding her mightiness, Agni was shrunk up on all sides. And then Pavaka from all sides discharged his energy into her,—and thereat all her streams became surcharged with it, O descendant of Raghu. And unto him staying at the head of all the deities, Ganga spoke, saying,—'O god, I am incapable of sustaining this new- sprung energy of thine: I am burning with that fire, and my consciousness fails me.' Thereupon that partaker of the oblations offered unto the gods, said unto Ganga,—'Do thou bring forth thy embryo on the side of this Himavat!' Hearing Agni's words, Ganga of mighty energy cast her exceedingly effulgent embryo on her streams, O sinless one. And as it came out of her, it wore the splendour of molten gold; and in consequence of its fiery virtue, objects near and objects far were converted into gold and silver of unsurpassed sheen,—while those that were more distant were turned into copper and iron. And her excreta were turned into lead. In this wise, various metals began to increase on earth. And as soon as the embryo was brought forth, the woods adjoining the mountain, being overspread with that energy, were turned into gold. And from that day, O descendant of Raghu, gold of effulgence like unto that of fire, became known as Jatarupa, O foremost of men! And when the son was born, the deities with Indra and the Maruts enjoined ipon the Kirtika stars to suckle him. 'Surely he shall be son into us all'—concluding thus, they as soon as he was born, by turns began to dispense milk unto him. Then the celestials called him Kartikeya, saying,—'Without doubt, this son shall become famed over the three worlds.' And hearing those words of theirs,the Kirtikas bathed the offspring that had issued from her womb, flaming like fire, and with auspicious marks. And, O Kakutstha, since Kartikeya had issued from (Ganga's) womb, the celestials called that effulgent and mighty-armed one, Skanda. And then the teats of the Kritikas were filled with milk; and thereupon assuming six mouths, he began to suck milk from the teats of those six. And having drunk the milk, that lord although then possessed of a tender frame, by virtue of his inborn prowess in one day vanquished the Danava forces. And him possessed of mighty effulgence, the celestials assembled with Agni as their leader sprinkled with water, by way of installing him as their generalissimo. He who, O Kakutstha, on the earth revereth Kartikeya, is blessed, and attaineth righteousness, and being long-lived and obtaining sons and grand-sons, repaireth to the regions of Skanda."

SECTION 38.

Having said those words unto Rama, composed of melodious letters, Kaucika again spoke unto Kakutstha, saying, —"Formerly there was a king—lord of Ayodhya named Sagara. And it came to pass that righteous one, though eagerly wishing for children, was without issue. And Vidharbha's daughter, O Rama, named Kecini, was the elder wife of Sagara. And she was virtuous and truthful. And the second wife of Sagara was called Sumati, who was the daughter of Arishtanemi and the sister of Suparna.57 And with those wives of his,that mighty king, coming to the Himavat, began to practise austerities on the mountain Bhriguprasravana. And when a full hundred years had been numbered, the ascetic that had been adored by means of these austerities, Brighu, best of those endowed with truth,conferred a boon upon Sagara, saying, —'O sinless one, thou shalt obtain glorious offspring; and, O foremost of men, thou shalt attain unparalleled renown among men. And, O child, one of thy consorts shall bring forth a son who will perpetuate thy race; and the other give birth to sixty thousand sons.' As that best of men was saying this, those daughters of kings, exceedingly delighted, propitiating him, addressed him with clasped hands, —'Who of us, O Brahmana, shall produce a single son, and who many? This, O Brahmana, we wish to hear. May thy word prove true!' Hearing this, the highly pious Bhrigu said these pregnant words,—'Do ye unfold your minds. Who wishes for what boon,—between a single perpetuator of the line, and innumerable sons, possessed of mighty strength, and furnished with fame, and endowed with high spirits?' Hearing the ascetic's words, O descendant of Raghu, Kecini in the presence of the monarch chose, O Rama, a single son to perpetuate the line; and Suparna's sister, Sumati, sixty thousand sons, high spirited and furnished with fame. And then, O son of Raghu, having gone round the saint and bowed down the head, the king went to his own capital, accompanied by his consorts. And after a length of time, the elder, Kecini, bore a son unto Sagara, known by the name of Asamanja. And Sumati, O foremost of men, brought forth a gourd. And when it burst open, out came from it sixty thousand sons. And the nurses fostered them by keeping them in jars filled with clarified butter. And after a great length of time, they attained to youth. And after a long lapse of time, Sagara's sixty thousand sons attained to youth and beauty. And O foremost of men, the eldest son of Sagara, taking those children, would, O descendant of Raghu, often cast them into the Sarayu, and in mirth behold them sinking in the waters. Being thus evil-disposed, and injuring honest folks, and engaged in doing wrong unto the citizens, he was banished by his father from the city. And Asamanja had a son possessed of prowess, named Ansuman. And he was beloved of all men and fair-spoken towards every one.

"And, O foremost of men, it came to pass that after a long time had gone by, that lord of earth Sagara made up his mind, saying,—'I will sacrifice.' And having determined jpon it, that one versed in the Vedas set about it, in company with his priests."

SECTION 39.

When Vicwamitra had ended, hearing his words, Rama exceedingly pleased, spoke unto that ascetic resembling flaming fire, saying,—"I am anxious to hear in detail, good betide thee, how, O Brahmana, my ancestor arranged for the sacrifice." Hearing those words of his, Vicwamitra, smiling, eagerly spoke unto Kakutstha, saying,—"Do thou, O Rama, hearken unto the story of the high-souled Sagara's sacrifice. Sankara's father-in-law is the far-famed Himavat. And approaching each other, the Himavat and the Vindhya beheld each other. And on the region lying between them took place, O foremost of men, that sacrifice of Sagara's. And that country, O best of men, is excellent as a sacrificial ground. And, O Kakutstha, equipped with a powerful bow, that mighty car-warrior, living under Sagara's sway, Ancumat, O child, followed the horse, for the purpose of protecting it. And it came to pass that with the intention of disturbing the sacrifice of that monarch, on a certain day Vasava, assuming the form of a Rakshasi, stole away the sacrificial horse. And, O Kakutstha, on the horse of that high-souled one being stolen, the priests said unto the king engaged in the ceremony,—'On this auspicious day, hath the sacrificial horse been stolen by violence. Do thou, O Kakutstha, slay him that steals the horse,—and bring it back. Otherwise the sacrifice will be defective, bringing us misfortune. Therefore, do thou, O king, act so, that the sacrifice may not be marred with defects.' Hearing the words of the priests, the king addressed his sixty thousand sons in the midst of his court, saying,—'Being, as this great sacrifice is, presided over by eminently pious Brahmanas sanctified by mantras, I do not, ye foremost of men, ye sons, see how Rakshasas may find entrance into it. Therefore, repair ye, and seek for the horse, ye sons. Good betide you! Do ye search the entire earth engarlanded with oceans; and do ye search Yoyana after Yoyana, ye sons. And do ye delve the earth till ye light upon the horse, by my command following the track of that stealer of the horse. I have been initiated into this sacrifice with my grand-sons and priests.' And thereat the mighty princes, enjoined by their father, breathing high spirits, began to range the earth, O Rama. Then they each fell to delving the bowels of the earth for the space of a Yoyana in length and breadth, with their hands resembling thunder-bolts in feel, and with darts like unto thunder-bolts, and with gigantic ploughshares. And being thus riven, the earth, O descendant of Raghu, began to send forth loud cries.

O Raghava, O thou hard to repress, there arose an uproar from serpents, and Asuras, and Rakshasas, and other creatures, that were being slaughtered. And, O descendant of Raghu, they excavated the earth, O Rama, for sixty thousand Yoyanas,—yea, as if they had intended to reach the lowest depths underground. Thus, O foremost of kings, those sons of the monarch dug all around Jamvudwipa, filled with mountains. Thereat, the gods together with the Gandharbas, and Asuras, and Pannagas, in trepidation appeared before the Grand-sire. And propitiating that high-souled one, they with melancholy countenances and in exceeding agitation, spoke these words unto the Grand-sire,—'O adorable one, the entire earth is being excavated by the sons of Sagara; and many are the high souled ones as well as the aquatic animals that are being slain in consequence.—This one is the disturber of our sacrifice, and by him hath the sacrificial horse been stolen,—saying this, Sagara's sons are committing havoc upon all creatures."

SECTION 40.

Hearing the speech of the celestials, that possessor of the six attributes, the Grand-sire, spoke unto them exceedingly frightened and deprived of their senses on beholding the prowess of Sagara's sons like unto the Destroyer himself,—'This entire Earth belongeth unto the intelligent Vasudeva, she being his consort. And that adorable one is indeed her lord. And assuming the form of Kapila, he unceasingly sustaineth the Earth. And the sons of king Sagara will be consumed by the fire of his wrath. The pre-ordained excavation of the Earth, as well as the destruction of Sagara's sons, had been foreseen by the far-sighted.' Hearing the words of the Grand-sire, those repressors of their foes, the three and thirty celestials, being exceedingly rejoiced, went back to their respective quarters. And as the sons of Sagara were riving the Earth, there arose a mighty noise, like unto the bursting of thunder. Then, having riven the entire Earth and ranged it all around, the sons of Sagara together (returned to their father) and spake unto him, saying —'By us hath the Earth been extensively surveyed, and have powerful deities and Danavas, Rakshasas, Picachas, Uragai and Pannagas been slain; and yet do we find neither the horse nor the stealer thereof. What are we to do now? Good betide thee, do thou consider it well.' Hearing those words of his sons, that foremost of kings, getting into a wrath, said, O descendant of Raghu,—'Do ye yet again, good betide ye, delve the earth, and having got at the stealer of the horse, cease.' Receiving

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this mandate of their sire, the sixty- thousand sons of the high-souled Sagara rushed towards the depths of the earth. And as they were engaged in excavating, they beheld the elephant of the quarter resembling a hill, named Virupaksha, holding the earth. And, O son of Raghu, that mighty elephant, Virupaksha, held on his head the entire earth with its mountains and forests. And, O Kakutstha, when on sacred days the mighty elephant, from fatigue, shaketh his head, then takes place the earthquake. Thereupon, O Rama, going round that mighty elephant, and honouring him duly, they went on piercing the underearth. And having pierced the East, they pierced the South,—and in the Southern quarter also they beheld a mighty elephant—the high-souled Mahapadma, resembling a huge hill, holding the earth on his head. And thereat they marvelled greatly. And having gone round him, the sixty- thousand sons of the high-souled Sagara began to penetrate into the Western region. And in the Western quarter also those highly powerful ones beheld the elephant of that quarter named Saumanasa, resembling a mighty mountain. And having gone round him, and asked him as to his welfare, they delving on, arrived at the Northern region. And on the North likewise, O foremost of the Raghus, they beheld Bhadra, white as snow, holding this earth on his goodly person. And having felt as well as gone round him, those sixty thousand sons of Sagara went on penetrating the depths of the earth. Then repairing to the famous North-eastern region, Sagara's sons becoming enraged, began to dig the earth. And there those high-souled, exceedingly powerful and vehement ones beheld the eternal Vasudeva in the guise of Kapila. And there also, experiencing exceeding delight, O descendant of Raghu, they found his horse, browsing hard by. And knowing him to be the destroyer of the sacrifice, they bearing spades, and ploughs, and innumerable trees and crags, with eyes reddened with ire, furiously rushed against him, exclaiming,—'Stay! Stay! And thou it is that hast stolen our sacrificial horse. O thou of wicked understanding, know that thou hast fallen into the hands of the sons of Sagara.' Hearing this speech of theirs, Kapila, O descendant of Raghu, overwhelmed with rage uttered a tremendous roar. And then, O Kakutstha, the sons of Sagara were reduced to ashes by the high-souled and incomparable Kapila."

SECTION 41.

Seeing the delay on the part of his sons, King Sagara, O son of Raghu, addressed his grandson, flaming in his native energy, saying,—Thou art heroic and accomplished and like unto thy uncles. Do thou enquire into the circumstances that have befallen thy uncles, as also about the way by which the horse hath escaped. And as there are stong and mighty creatures inhabiting the Earth's interior, with the view of resisting them, do thou take thy bow along with thy scimitar. And honouring those that deserve to be honoured and slaying such as disturb thee, do thou, having attained thy end, come back, becoming the instrument for the completion of my sacrifice.' Thus duly enjoined by the high-souled Sagara, Ancumat endowed with fleet vigor, taking his bow as well as his scimitar, set out. And commanded by the monarch, O best of men, he found the underground way that had been carved out by those high-souled ones. And he found an exceedingly powerful elephant belonging to the cardinal point, worshipped by deities, and Danavas, and Rakshasas, and goblins, and birds, and Uragas. And having gone round him, and asked him as to his welfare, he enquired after his uncles and the stealer of the horse. Hearing this, the mighty-minded elephant of that quarter answered—'O son of Asamanja, having attained thy object, thou wilt speedily return with the horse.' And hearing those words of his, Ancumat by turns duly asked the same question of all the elephants belonging to the cardinal points. And being honoured by those guardians of the cardinal points, knowing words as well as their application in regard to time, place, and person, he was asked by them, saying,—'Do thou come with the horse!' Hearing those words of theirs, that one of fleet vigor repaired unto the spot where the sons of Sagara, his uncles, had been reduced to a heap of ashes. And (arriving there), Asamanja's son, smitten with grief, and being exceedingly afflicted at their destruction, bewailed in heaviness of heart. And exercised by grief and sorrow, that foremost of men espied there the sacrificial horse straying near. And desirous of offering oblations of water unto those princes, that highly powerful one in need of water, did not find any watery expanse in the neighbourhood. And it came to pass, O Rama, that surveying wide, he descried the maternal uncle unto the princes, Suparna, the lord of birds, resembling the Wind. And thereupon Vinata's son possessed of mighty strength spoke unto him, saying,—'Do not lament, O foremost of men. The destruction of these was for the welfare of all. These highly powerful ones had been consumed by the peerless Kapila,—therefore, thou ought not to offer water unto them in consonance with social usuage. Ganga, O foremost of men, is the elder daughter of Himavat. In her (streams) do thou perform the watery rites of thy uncles, O mighty-armed one: let that purifier of the worlds lave these, reduced to a heap of ashes. And on these ashes being watered by Ganga, dear unto all, the sixty thousand sons of Sagara will repair unto the celestial regions. Do thou, O highly pious one, go back, taking this horse, O foremost of men; and do thou complete the sacrifice of thy grand-father, O hero.' Hearing Suparna's speech, the exceedingly powerful Ancumat of mighty asceticism speedily taking the horse, retraced his steps. Then coming to the king who had been initiated into the ceremony, he, O descendant of Raghu, faithfully communicated unto him the words of Suparna, Hearing this sorrowful intelligence, the king duly finished the sacrifice agreeably to the scriptures. And having seen the completion of the sacrifice, that lord of earth entered his capital; but the king could not see how to bring Ganga on earth. And without being able to ascertain it, the mighty monarch after a long course of time, and having reigned for thirty thousand years, ascended heaven."

SECTION 42.

When Sagara had bowed unto the influence of Time, the subjects selected the righteous Ancumat for their king. And, O descendant of Raghu, Ancumat proved a great ruler. And his sbn, the celebrated Dilipa, was also a great king. And, O Raghu's son, consigning unto Dilipa his kingdom, Ancumat entered upon rigid austerities on the romantic summit of the Himavat. And having for the space of thirty-two hundreds of thousands years carried on austeries in the woods, that highly famous one, crowned with the wealth of aceticism, attained the celestial regions. And the exceedingly powerful Dilipa, hearing of the destruction of his grand-fathers, was stricken with grief; yet he could not ascertain his course about it. And he constantly thought as to how Ganga could be brought down, how to perform their watery rites, and how to deliver them. And as that pious one furnished with self- knowledge was always meditating upon this, an eminently virtuous son was born unto him named Bhagiratha. And performing numerous sacrifices, the mighty king Dilipa reigned for thirty thousand years. And without having arrived at any definite decision in regard to their deliverance, the king, O puissant one, being attacked with an ailment, breathed his last. And having sprinkled his son Bhagiratha in the way of installing him in the kingdom, that prime of men, the king, by virtue of his own acts, repaired to the region of Indra. And, O descendant of Raghu, that royal saint Bhagiratha was possessed of righteousness, And being without issue, and desiring to obtain it, the mighty monarch consigned his kingdom and his subjects to the care of his counsellors, and engaged in bringing down Ganga. And, O Raghu's descendant, restraining his senses, and eating once a month, and surrounding himself with five fires, and with arms upraised, he for a long lapse of time performed austerities at Gokarna. And as he was performing his terrible austerities, a thousand years rolled away. And thereat that possessor of the six attributes and lord of all creatures, Brahma, was well-pleased with that high-souled monarch. And presenting himself together with the celestials, the Grand-sire thus spoke unto the high-souled Bhagiratha engaged in austerities,—'0 Bhagiratha, O mighty monarch, pleased am I with thee, O lord of men, on account of thy ardent austerities; do thou, O thou of excellent vows, ask for the boon thou wouldst have.' Thereupon that great car-warrior, the highly powerful and mighty-armed Bhagiratha, with clasped hands, said unto the Grand-sire of all creatures,—'If, adorable one, thou art pleased with me, if thou wouldst grant me the fruit of my asceticism, may Sagara's sons receive water at my hands; and on the ashes of those high-souled ones being laved by the waters of Ganga, may my great-grand-fathers without fail repair unto heaven! And, O divine one, I beseech thee, may our line never languish for want of offspring. May, O God, this prime boon light upon Ikshwaku's race!' When the king had said this, the Grand-sire addressed him these sweet and auspicious words composed of melting letters,—'O mighty car-warrior Bhagiratha, high is this thy aim. Be it so, good betide thee, thou enhancer of the Ikshwaku line. This Haimavati Ganga, Himavat's elder daughter, even her to hold, O king, do thou employ Hara; for Ganga's fall, O king, Earth will not be able to sustain. And to hold her, O king, find I none save the weilder of the Trident." Having thus addressed the monarch, and greeted Ganga, the creator of the worlds repaired to heaven with the celestials.

SECTION 43.

When that god of gods had gone away, Bhagiratha, O Rama, pressing the earth with his thumb, spent a year in adoring Siva. And when the year was complete, Uma's lord, Pacupati, worshipped of all the worlds, spake unto the king, saying,—'O foremost of men, I am well-pleased with thee: I will do what will be for thy welfare. I will hold the Mountain's daughter on my head.' Then, O Rama, that one bowed unto by all creatures, the elder daughter of Himavat, assuming an exceedingly mighty shape, with irresistible impetus precipitated herself from the welkin upon Siva's gracious head. And that divine one, Ganga, exceedingly difficult to sustain, thought,—'I will enter the nether regions, carrying off Sankara by my streams.' Knowing her proud intention, the adorable Hara waxed wroth; and the three-eyed deity set his heart upon enveloping her. And, O Rama, as that sacred one plunged upon Rudra's holy head of tangled locks, resembling Himavat, she could by no means reach the earth, despite all her endeavours; nor did she obtain egress from under the matted locks. And she wandered there for many a year. And finding Ganga in this plight, Bhagiratha became again engaged in high austerities. And thereupon Siva, O descendant of Raghu, was exceedingly gratified; and cast Ganga off in the direction of the Vindu lake. And as she was let off, seven streams branched out from her. And the three streams of the excellent Ganga of auspicious waters went in an easterly direction; while the Suchakshu, the Sita, and that mighty river the Sindhu flowed on the auspicious west. And the seventh followed Bhagiratha's car. And that royal saint, the exceedingly puissant Bhagiratha, mounted on a superb car, went before; and Ganga followed him. And she descended from the welkin upon Sankara's head, thence alighting upon the earth; and there her waters flowed with thundering sounds. And earth looked beautiful with swarms of fallen and falling fishes, and tortoises, and porpoises. And then celestials and saints and Gandharbas, and Yakshas and Siddhas mounted on excellent elephants and horses and cars resembling cities, looked on Ganga descending upon the earth. And the celestials stationed on cars were struck with surprise; and all creatures marvelled at the excellent descent of Ganga. And eager to witness the spectacle, celestial hosts of immeasurable energy came there. And in consequence of the celestials coming thither, and the effulgence of their ornaments, the firmament free from clouds, shone as if with an hundred suns. And the sky was graced with fast-fleeting porposies and serpents and fishes resembling playing lightning; and the welkin scattered with pale foam-flakes by thousands, appeared as if it was scattered with autumnal clouds swarming with cranes. And the river proceeded sometimes rapidly, and sometimes awry, and sometimes in volumes, and sometimes sloping, and sometimes ascending, and sometimes languidly; and sometimes water clashed with water; and sometimes ascending an upland, it descended into a dell. And the pellucid and pure water first descending upon Sankara's head, and thence on to the earth, appeared exceedingly beautiful. And there the saints and the Gandharbas, as well as the inhabitants of the earth, touched the sacred water flowing from Bhaba's body. And those that had fallen from the sky unto the earth in consequence of some curse or other, having bathed there, and thereby having their sins washed and removed by that sanctifying water, again ascended the sky and entered their respective regions. And through the agency of that shining water, all beings, feeling delight, rejoiced, and having bathed in Ganga, became cleansed from sin. And stationed on an excellent car that mighty king, the royal saint Bhagiratha, went first, and Ganga went at his back. And the gods, and the saints, and the Daityas, and the Danavas, and the Rakshasas, and the foremost of Gandharbas and Yakshas, and the Kinnaras, and the mighty Uragas, and the Serpents, and the Apsaras, O Rama and the acquatic animals in a body following Bhagiratha's car, with glad hearts went in the wake of Ganga. And withersoever king Bhagiratha went, the famous Ganga, foremost of streams, capable of destroying all sins, went. And Ganga flooded the sacrificial ground of the high-souled Jahnu, of wonderful deeds, as he was performing a sacrifice. Thereat, O Raghava, reading her insolence, Jahnu, waxing wroth, drank up all her wonderful waters. Thereupon, the deities, and the Gandharbas, and the saints, struck with amazement, fell to worshipping that foremost of men, the high-souled Jahnu and brought Ganga into the daughtership of that high souled one. And that highly energetic lord, being propitiated, let Ganga off through his ears. Therefore it is that Ganga goes by the name of Jahnu's daughter Jahnavi. Then Ganga again began to follow Bhagiratha's car. And having reached the ocean, that foremost of streams, with the object of accomplishing his work, entered into the subterranean regions. And having carefully brought Ganga, that royal saint, Bhagiratha, having his senses bewildered beheld his grand-fathers reduced to ashes. And the excellent waters of Ganga overflowed that heap of ashes; and thereupon, O best of the Raghus, they, their sins purged, attained heaven."

SECTION 44.

When having arrived at the Ocean, the king wending in Ganges wake, entered underneath the Earth, at that spot where those (sons of Sagara) had been reduced to ashes. And, O Rama, on the ashes being washed by the waters of Ganga, Brahma, the lord of all creatures thus spoke unto the monarch,—'O most puissant of men, the sixty three thousand sons of the high-souled Sagara have been delivered—and they have ascended heaven like unto celestials themselves. And, O lord of earth, as long as the waters of the ocean shall endure in the world, Sagara's sons shall reside in heaven like unto celestials. And this Ganga shall become thy eldest daughter; and she shall attain celebrity among all, being called after thy name. And Ganga is called both Tripathaga and Bhagirathi. And she is known as Tripathaga, in consequence of her proceeding in three directions. Do thou now, O lord of men,

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here offer oblations of water unto thy grand sires,—and thereby, O king, make good thy promise. And, O king, that foremost of righteous ones, thy ancestor of exceeding renown, had failed to atain his desire. And, O child, Ancumat likewise unparalleled in the worlds in energy had failed in realising his cherished promise of bringing down Ganga. And then again that royal saint, crowned with qualities, of austerities like unto mine, ever abiding by his Kshatriya duties, even Dilipa's self—thy exceedingly puissant sire—O eminently righteous one—had failed in bringing down Ganga according to his cherished resolve, O sinless one. And now, O foremost of men, that promise having been fulfilled by thee, thou shalt attain signal glory in the world by the common consent of all. And, O vanquisher of thy foes, having brought about Ganga's descension, thou shalt from this act of thine also attain the regions of Brahma. Do thou, O best of men, lave thyself in these waters incapable of being rendered worthless. O prime of men,—and thereby become purified, and attain sanctity. And do thou perform the watery rites of thy grand-sires. May luck be thine, I shall now repair to my own regions: do thou depart, O king.' Having said this, the illustrious lord of the celestials— the Grand-sire of all creatures—went unto the celestial regions. And the royal saint king Bhagiratha also of high fame having performed his ablutions and purified himself, and duly and in proper order offered oblations of water unto the sons of Sagara, entered his capital. And attaining exceeding prosperity, that foremost of men ruled his kingdom; and, O descendant of Raghu, having him as their sovereign, the people rejoiced greatly; and with their griefs removed, and prosperity secured, they lived in peace of mind. Thus, O Rama, have I detailed unto thee the history of Ganga. Auspiciousness mayst thou obtain! Good betide thee, the evening draweth nigh. He that reciteth this story conferring prosperity, fame, long life, and heaven unto Vipras, Kshatriyas, and others, attaineth the good graces of his ancestors and the celestials; and, O Kakutstha, he that listeneth to the sacred history of Ganges descent, conferring length of days, attaineth all his desires, and all his sins are destroyed, and his life and fame increase.'

SECTION 45.

Hearing the words of Vicwamitra, Raghava, together with Lakshmana, was struck with amazement,—and spoke unto Vicwamitra, saying,—"O Brahmana, wonderful is the story that thou hast recited unto us, viz; that of Ganga's sacred descension and the replenishing of the Ocean. And, O afflicter of foes, as we had been reflecting upon all this at length, the night hath passed away as if it were a moment. And the live-long night hath passed away as I in company with Sumitra's son, was pondering over Vicwamitra's auspicious speech." Then in the morning which happened to be bright, that subduer of his foes, Raghu's descendant, addressed the ascetic Vicwamitra, who had finished his devotion,—"The auspicious night is past,—and we shall (again) listen to thy wonderful narrations. Let us now cross over this sacred stream—foremost of rivers—wending in three ways. And learning that thou hast arrived at this place, the pious ascetics have speedily come hither, and have also brought this barque with a spacious carpet." Hearing those words of the high-souled Raghava, Kaucika crossed over the crowds of ascetics; and on reaching the north bank, he paid homage unto the saints. And when they had landed on the banks of tlie Ganga, they beheld a city named Vicala. And thereupon speedily that foremost of ascetics in company with Raghava, went towards Vicala,—beautiful and elegant like unto the celestial regions. Then the highly wise Rama, with folded hands, asked that mighty ascetic Vicwamitra concerning the excellent city of Vicala,-"0 mighty ascetic, what royal line resideth in yonder large city? I desire to hear this, good betide thee; and great is my curiosity." Hearing those words of Rama, that foremost of ascetics began to relate the history of Vicala, saying,—"Do thou listen, O Rama, to what I had heard from Sakra relating this history; and, O descendant of Raghu, do thou listen to all that befell in this city. Formerly in the Krita age, O Rama, Diti's highly powerful sons, as well as those of Aditi, possessed of prowess, and virtuous and pious— high-souled ones both—O foremost of men, fell to reflecting,—'How can we become exempt from decrepitude and disease, and immortal.' And as they reflected, it struck them,—'By churning the ocean of milk, we must obtain ambrosia.' Then deciding upon churning (the ocean), those ones of immeasurable energy making Vasuki the cord, and the Mandara (hill), the stick, began to churn the deep. And after a thousand years had gone by, the hoods (of the serpent) serving as the churning cord, began to vomit virulent venom and to bite at the crags, with their fangs. And thereat there came out powerful poison like unto fire; and in consequence the entire universe with celestials, and Asuras, and men, began to burn. And thereupon, intending to seek refuge, they appeared before that mighty god, Sankara, or Pacupati, or Rudra,—hymning him,—'Save us.' 'Save us.' When that master, the lord of the celestials, was being thus addressed by the deities, there appeared before them Hari bearing the conch and the discus. And smiling Hari said unto the trident-bearing Rudra,—'O chief of the celestials, since thou art the foremost of the gods, this that hath come out of the ocean churned by the celestials, is thine. Remaining here, O lord, do thou receive the first offering in the form of this poison.' Having said this, that best of celestials vanished there. Witnessing the dismay of the celestials, and hearing also the words of Sarngin, Siva took in that dreadful poison as if it were nectar; and then leaving the deities, the worshipful Hara went away. And then, O descendant of Raghu, as the celestials resumed the churning, that foremost of hills serving as the cord, entered the subterranean regions. Thereupon the gods and the Gandharbas fell to extolling the slayer of Madhu, saying,—'Thou art the way of all beings, of the celestials in especial. Do thou, O mighty-armed one, protect us, and recover the mountain.' Having heard this, Hrishikesa, or Hari, assuming the form of a tortoise, stood in the sea, supporting the hill on his back; and that Soul of all, Kecava best of male beings, taking hold of the top of the hill by his hand, began to churn the deep, stationed in the midst of the celestials. And after a thousand years had rolled on, arose a male being impregnated with the Ayurveda [Science of Medicine.], of exceedingly righteous soul, called Dhanwantari, bearing in his hands a stick, and a Kamandalu. And there arose also, from the cream of the churning waters, those magnificent dames the shining Apsaras. And, O foremost of men, as they had emerged from water, they are called Apsaras [Ap means water.]. And there sprang sixty Kotis of shining Apsaras. And, O Kakutstha, the female attendants of those are numberless. And neither the deities nor the Danavas would accept them,—and in consequence of this non-acceptance, they are known as women belonging to all. And then, O Raghu's descendant, arose the eminently pious daughter of Varuna, Varuni, who fell to looking for acceptance. And Diti's sons, O Rama, did not accept the daughter of Varuna,—and Aditi's sons, O hero, accepted that one of blameless limbs. And hence Diti's sons go by the name of Asuras; and Aditi's by that of Suras. And the celestials became exceeding glad, on having accepted Varuni. And, O foremost of men, next arose Uchhaicrava—best of horses, and also Kaustubha; and next, the excellent ambrosia. And,0 Rama, tremendous was the carnage for the porsession thereof (ambrosia); and Aditi's and Diti's sons fought together. And the Asuras assembled together with the Rakshasas; and, O hero, mighty was the battle that was fought, striking terror into the three worlds. And when a great havoc had been committed, the highly powerful Vishnu, assuming a captivating form speedily stole away the ambrosia. And those that came forward before that best of male beings, Vishnu, knowing no deterioration, were crushed in conflict by Vishnu in a different form. And in that exceedingly dreadful battle between the sons of Diti and Aditi, those heroic ones, viz., Aditi's heroic sons slaughtered those of Diti. And having slaughtered the sons of Diti and regained his kingdom, Purandara, happily began to rule the worlds, containing saints and Charanas."

SECTION 46.

And on those sons of her being slain, Diti afflicted with great grief, thus addressed her husband, Maricha's son, Kacyapa,—'O adorable one, thy high-souled sons have slain mine. I now wish for a son, who, obtained through long austerities, will be able to slay Sakra. And I will engage in austerities: it behoves thee to grant me such an embryo,—such a slayer of Sakra it behoves thee to promise me.' Hearing those words of hers, Maricha's son, Kacyapa of exceeding energy answered the deeply aggrieved Diti, saying,—'Be it so.' Good betide thee, do thou become pure, O ascetic. If thou remain pure, when a full thousand years shall be complete, thou wilt give birth unto a son who will slay Sakra in battle. And through me, thou wilt give birth to a son that will destroy the three worlds.' Having said this, that highly energetic one rubbed her person with his palm. And having rubbed her, he said,—'Luck!' and then went away to carry on austerities. And when he had gone, Diti, O foremost of men, becoming exceedingly delighted, went unto Kucaplava [An asylum on the cast, otherwise called Beshalaksha.] and began to practise rigid mortifications. And, O foremost of men, as she was practising austerities, the thousand-eyed deity most dutifully ministered unto her. And the thousand-eyed one provided for her fire, and Kusa, and faggots, and water, and fruits, and roots, and other things that she wanted. And at all times, Sakra served Diti by rubbing her person, and removing her fatigue. And when ten years only were wanting to complete the thousand years, Diti, O descendant of Raghu, being exceedingly delighted, thus spoke unto the thousand-eyed one,—'O best of those endowed with prowess, of me engaged in austerities, ten years only remain (to complete the period.) And after that time, good betide thee, thou wilt behold thy brother. I will, O son, bind him unto thee in affection, whom I had besought for to compass thy destruction,—so that, the fever of thy heart removed, thou wilt with him enjoy the victory of the three worlds. On thy high-souled sire having been besought by me, he, O foremost of celestials, granted me the boon that after a thousand years, I shall obtain a son.' And it came to pass that having said this, the sun being in his meridian, the worshipful Diti with her feet placed at that part of the bed which should contain her head, was overpowered by sleep. And thereupon seeing her resting her feet at the place where she should place her head,—and consequently unclean, Sakra was exceedingly delighted, and smiled. And, O Rama, Purandara entered into her womb, and that highly self-controlled one severed the embryo in seven parts. And the embryo being pierced by the thunder-bolt of an hundred knots, cried at the top of its voice, and thereat Diti awoke. 'Do not cry, do not cry,'—exclaimed Sakra: and even while it was crying, the mighty-minded Vasava continued piercing it 'Do not slay it; do not slay it,' said Diti. Thereupon, in consideration of the honour of his mother, Sakra went out.

Then he with clasped palms accosted Diti, saying,—'O worshipful one, thou didst sleep with thy feet placed where thy head should have lain, and hast therefore become impure. And finding this opportunity, I severed in seven pieces that would be slayer of mine in battle. Do thou, O worshipful one excuse me.

SECTION 47.

When the embryo had been sundered in seven, Diti exceedingly aggrieved humbly spoke unto the irrepressible thousand-eyed deity, saying,—'By my fault it is that the embryo hath been sundered in seven. O chief of the celestials, herein thou art guilty of no transgression, O destroyer of Vala, And since calamity hath befallen the embryo, I wish to do thee a good turn. Let the seven parts become the guardians of the seven Maruts. And, O son, let my sons having noble forms, becoming famous as Marutas range the Vataskandha regions in heaven. And let one range Brahma's regions, and another Indra's, and the highly illustrious third also range around, being known as Divya Vayu [Etherial air.]. And, O best of celestials, by thy command, let the four remaining sons of mine known by the name which thou hast mentioned, range about in appointed periods.' Hearing her words, that destroyer of Vala; the thousand-eyed Purandara, with clasped palms said,—'All this that thou hast said must come to pass; there is no doubt about it. Good betide thee, thy sons endowed with celestial forms, shall range about. And it hath been heard by us that having thus ascertained in that hermitage, the mother and the son, O Rama, went to heaven, their desire obtained. Even this, O Kakutstha, is the place where formerly the mighty Indra sojourned, and where he attended upon Diti of accomplished ascetic success. And, O most powerful of men, Ikshwaku had an exceedingly righteous son born unto him of Alamvusha, known by the name of Vicala. And here stood a palace, built by him, called Vicala. And Vicala's son, O Rama, was the mighty Hemachandra. And after Hemachandra comes the celebrated Suchandra. And, O Rama, the son of Suchandra was Dhumraswa. And then was born Srinjaya, son unto Dhumraswa. And Srinjaya's son was the powerful Sahadeva. And Sahadeva's son was the pre-eminently pious Kucacwa. And Kucacwa's son was the puissant Somadatta. And now, O Kakutstha, Somadatta's son the effulgent and invincible and renowned Sumati resideth in this city. And by the grace of Ikshwaku, all the sovereigns of Vicala are long-lived, and high- souled, and puissant, and pious. And here will we happily spend a night; and on the morning of the morrow thou wilt, O foremost of men., behold Janaka.' And having heard that the illustrious Vicwamitra had come, that best of kings, the effulgent Sumati, appeared before him. And having paid Vicwamitra high homage together with his priests and friends, and with clasped hands enquired after the former's welfare, he addressed Vicwamitra, saying,— "Blessed are we, and obliged are we, whose domains, O ascetic, have been graced with thy presence. Surely none is more blessed than I am."

SECTION 48.

Having met together, they enquired after each other's welfare. And then Sumati spoke unto the mighty ascetic, saying,—"Good betide thee, boasting of the prowess of celestials of elephantine or leonine gait, heroic resembling tigers or bulls, possessed of expansive eyes like lotus-petals, bearing scimitars and bows and quivers, like unto the Acwinis in grace, endowed with youth, like unto celestials fancy-led, descended from etherial regions to the earth beneath, whose sons, O ascetic, are these boys, and what for have they come hither, and why also is it that they journey on foot? And adoring all directions, like unto the Sun or the Moon adorning the firmament, and resembling each other in personal proportions, and expressions, and gestures, and equipped with excellent weapons, and war-like, how have these paragons cf men come into this impracticable way? I wish to hear all this related truly." Having heard his words, Vicwamitra faithfully related all about it. Hearing Vicwamitra's words, the king was extremely surprised and having those sons of Dacaratha as his all-worthy guests, received with becoming respect those highly powerful ones deserving of hospitality. And meeting with such splendid reception from Sumati, those descendants of Raghu spent there a night, and the next day set out for Mithila. And

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beholding Janaka's beauteous city, the ascetics exclaiming, —'Excellent, excellent' fell to admiring Mithila. And in a grove at Mithila, Raghava saw an ancient, lonely, and romantic asylum, and asked that foremost of ascetics, saying,—"What is this that looketh like an asylum, though without any ascetics? I wish to hear, O worshipful one, to whom this asylum belonged in time past." Hearing this speech addressed by Raghu's descendant, that one versed in speech, the highly energetic and mighty saint, Vicwamitra, answered,—"Ah! Do thou listen. I will tell thee through the wrath of what high-souled one this hermitage came to be cursed. O foremost of men, this excellent asylum honoured by ths celestials themselves, formerly belonged to the high- souled Gautama. And here, O illustrious prince, in days of yore Gautama in company with Ahalya carried on austerities for a long series of years. And perceiving occasion, Sachi's lord, the thousand-eyed deity, assuming the form of that ascetic thus addressed Ahalya,—'0 exceedingly beautiful one, those bent upon sport, do not stay for the menstrual season. And, O graceful one, I desire to enjoy thy company (on the instant). Thereupon, out of curiosity, that one of perverse understanding consented to the proposals of the chief of the celestials. Then, having attained her object, she spoke unto that foremost of the celestials, saying.—'O best of the immortals, I have obtained my desire, —do thou speedily go from his place, O lord. Do thou, O lord of the celestials, from a sense of repectibility preserve thyself and me also.' Indra too smiling, said unto Ahalya,—'O thou of shapely hips, pleased am I. Now I repair unto my own place.' Having known her thus, Indra, Rama, exceedingly apprehensive of Gautama, then hurriedly sallied out of the thatched cottage. Just at this time, Indra saw that mighty ascetic Gautama entering—that foremost of anchorets, incapable of being repressed by the deities and the Danavas, and equipped with ascetic energy, having bathed in the waters of holy spots, and flaming like fire, carrying faggots and kusa grass. And seeing him, the countenance of the lord of the celestials turned pale. And seeing the wicked thousand-eyed deity in the guise of an ascetic, the well-behaved anchoret fired with rage said,— 'And since, O thou of wicked understanding assuming my form, thou hast done this foul deed, thou shalt lose thy scrotum.' And soon as the high-souled Gautama had said this in ire, the scrotum of the thousand-eyed one dropped to the earth. And having seen Sakra in this plight, he cursed his wife also,—'For a thousand years thou shalt live here feeding upon air, without food, tormented with repentance and thou shalt remain in this hermitage unseen of any. And when the irrepressible son of Dacaratha Rama, shall come to this deep wood, thou shalt be cleansed of thy sin. And, O wicked one, ministering unto him the rites of hospitality, with a mind free from ignorance and covetousness, thou shalt in thy own form with joy regain my side.' Having said this to that wicked woman the highly energetic Gautama of rigid austerities, forsaking this hermitage, began to carry on penances on the romantic summit of the Himavat, inhabited by Siddhas and Charanas."

SECTION 49.

"And having been deprived of his scrotum, Sakra with eyes tremulous with fear, addressed the celestials with Agni at their head, as well as the Siddhas and the Gandharbas and the Charanas, saying,—'I have accomplished the work of the celestials by stirring the ire of the high- souled Gautama, and thereby disturbing his austerities. And in doing so, I have been deprived of my scrotum; and Ahalya also hath been put down. And I have deprived him of his ascetic energy by causing him to utter a mighty curse,—and, therefore, ye celestials, and saints, and Charanas, ye should restore my scrotum unto me who have served the gods.' Hearing Satakratu's words, the deities along with the Maruts led by Agni, presented themselves before the divine Pitris [The ancestors.]. And then Agni addressed the latter, saying,—'This ram is possessed of a scrotum; while Sakra hath been deprived of his. Do ye taking the scrotum of the ram furnish Sakra with it. And although deprived of the scrotum, the ram will be able to grant consummate satisfaction unto ye. And on those that will offer such a ram for your entertainment, ye will bestow undying and profuse merit.' Hearing Agni's speech, the assembled Pitris, rooting up the scrotum of the ram, joined it unto the person of the thousand-eyed deity. Thence- forth, Kakutstha, the divine Pitris together feast upon scrotumless rams, for their scrotum had been joined unto the person of Indra. And thenceforth, O Raghava, Indra also through the high-souled Gautama's ascetic energy, hath been bearing the scrotum of a ram. Therefore, O highly powerful one, do thou enter the hermitage of that pious one, and deliver the dignified and divinely fair Ahalya.' On hearing Vicwamitra's words, Raghava in company with Lakshmana, placing Vicwamitra in their front, entered the asylum; and they beheld that magnificent dame flaming in ascetic energy; and incapable of being gazed at too near even by the celestials and the Asuras; as if created by the Deity to be the divinely charming Woman; like a flame hid in smoke; or the brightness of the full moon clouded and dimmed in mist; or the solar splendour incapable of being beheld on account of clouds. And by virtue of Gautama's word, she had been incapable of being seen by any in the three worlds, till the sight of Rama. And now the curse having come to an end, she could be perceived by them. And the two descendants of Raghu then took hold of her feet; but remembering Gautama's words, she on her part took hold of theirs. And with a collected mind she gave them water for their feet as well as Arghya, and extended unto them the rites of hospitality. And the Kakutsthas accepted the homage thus rendered according to the ordinance. And blossoms began to shower copiously to the sounds of kettledrums; and the Gandharbas and the Apsaras began to rejoice greatly. And exclaiming, 'Excellent, excellent,' the celestials honoured Ahalya, as with a person purified by penance, she again came under Gautama's governance. And the highly energetic Gautama also happy on his union with Ahalya, honoured Rama highly, and that one of mighty mortifications then became engaged in austerities. And having duly received signal honours from the great ascetic Gautama, Rama set out for Mithila.

SECTION 50.

Then proceeding north-east Rama in company with Sumitra's son, placing Vicwamitra at their head, appeared before the sacrificial ground. And Rama and Lakshmana said unto that puissant ascetic,—"Great is the pomp and splendour of the high-souled Janaka's sacrifice. And, O pious one, many thousand of Brahmanas inhabiting various regions, and well-read in the Vedas (have come to this sacrifice); and the abodes of ascetics are thronged with hundreds of cars. Do thou, O Brahmana, arrange for some place where we may put up." Hearing Rama's words, the mighty ascetic Vicwamitra selected for their abode a well-watered spot free from bustle and tumult. And hearing of Vicwamitra's arrival, the best of monarchs without blame, placing the priests Satananda before him, as well as the high-souled family priests, speedily taking the arghya, at once went out in humble guise, and offered it unto Vicwamitra according to the ordinance. Having accepted that homage of the high-souled Janaka, the ascetic enquired after the king's welfare, and the uninterrupted performance of his sacrifice. And the king together with his priests, having enquired of the ascetics as to their welfare, cheerfully embraced them all in a proper way. Then he with clasped hands, spoke unto that foremost of anchorets, saying,—"O worshipful one, do thou along with these eminent ascetics, take thy seat." Hearing Janaka's words, the mighty ascetic sat him down. And the king also, in company with his priests and counsellors sat down around in order of rank. And then the monarch looking into Vicwamitra's face, said.—"To-day by the grace of the gods, hath my sacrifice been crowned with success—to-day have I reaped the fruit of my saciifice by beholding thy worshipful self. Blessed and obliged am I whose sacrificial ground, O Brahmana, hath been graced by thee along with these ascetics. Twelve days, O Brahmarshi, have been fixed for the period of initiation by the sages. On the expiry of that term, thou wilt, O Kaucika, behold the celestials come unto the sacrifice for claiming their respective shares." Having said this, the king with a cheerful countenance, with folded hands, again intently asked that foremost of ascetics,— "These youths, good betide thee, like unto celestials in prowess, of the gait of lions or elephants, heroic, and resembling tigers or bulls, of expansive eyes like unto lotus-petals, bearing scimitars, quivers and bows, graceful like unto the Acwins, endowed with youth, resembling immortals fancy-led from heaven unto the earth—whose sons, O ascetic, are they and what for have they come, and why again have they come afoot? And bearing excellent arms, whose sons, O mighty anchoret, are these heroic ones, who grace this place even as the sun and the moon do the welkin, and resemble each other in bodily proportions, expression, and gestures; wearing side-locks and of warlike mien? This I would hear truly related." Hearing this speech of the high-souled Janaka, that ascetic of immeasurable soul related all about Dacaratha's sons,—their sojourn in Siddhacrama, and the slaughter there of the Rakshasas, their undaunted journey, the sight of Vicala, the encounter with Ahalya and Gautama, Rama's curiosity about the mighty bow, and visit there for beholding the same. Having related all this unto the high-souled Janaka that one endowed with exceeding energy, the mighty ascetic Vicwamitra, paused.

SECTION 51.

Hearing the narration of the intelligent Vicwamitra, Gautama's eldest son, the exceedingly energetic Satatnanda of rigid austerities, highly effulgent by virtue of his asceticism, with his down standing on end wondered greatly at the sight of Rama. And seeing the king's sons seated at their ease, he said unto that foremost of ascetics, Vicwamitra, — "O most powerful of anchorets, by thee was my illustrious mother, grown old in asceticism, shown unto the king's son. Did my famous and exalted mother entertain with the produce of the woods Rama worthy of every one's homage? And, O highly energetic one, hath that old story relative to my mother having been wronged by that celestial, been communicated unto Rama? And, O Kaucika, good betide thee, hath my mother, in consequence of beholding Rama, been united with my revered sire? And, O son of Kucika, hath the highly energetic Rama come hither, after having been rendered homage by my high- souled revered sire? And, O Kucika's son, was my revered sire of quiescent soul, saluted by Rama when he arrived there?" Hearing those words of his, the mighty ascetic Vicwamitra, skilled in speech, replied unto Satananda, cognisant of words, saying,—"O best of ascetics, nothing necessary was omitted by me,—but everything hath been done. And the ascetic's wife hath been united with him, even as Renuka with Bhrigu's* son." [* Jamadagni, father of Parusurama.] Hearing the speech of the intelligent Vicwamitra, the exceedingly energetic Satananda said unto Rama,—"Art thou well come, O chief of men? It is by our luck that, O descendant of Raghu thou hast come unto us, headed by the respected Maharshi Vicwamitra. This highly energetic Vicwamitra, this Brahmarshi is of prowess measureless; and deeds inconceivable, by virtue of his asceticism. Him thou knowest as the prime way. O Rama, there existeth on this earth not one that is more fortunate than thyself. Thy protector is even Kucika's descendant, by whom mighty austerities have been performed. Do thou listen as I faithfully describe unto thee the ascetic power of the high-souled Kaucika. Do thou listen unto me relating this. This righteous one was for a long time a king, subduing his enemies, cognisant of morality, acomplished, and intent upon the welfare of his subjects. And there was a king named Kuca, the son of Prajapati. And Kuca's son was the powerful and pious Kucanabha. And Kucanabha's son was Gadhi. And Gadhi's son is the highly energetic and mighty ascetic Vicwamitra who ruled the earth. And that king reigned for thousands of years. And it came to pass that once with his four-fold forces marshalled, he set out for ranging the earth. And the king went on by turns ranging cities and kingdoms, rivers and mountains and asylums. And at length that foremost of conquerers, the mighty Vicwamitra, came upon Vasishtha's asylum furnished with various blossoming plants and trees; abounding in animals; inhabited by Siddhas and Charanas; graced by celestials and Danavas and Gandharbas and Kinnaras; and filled with mild deer; frequented by the feathered tribes; crowded with Brahmarshis; with Devarshis inhabiting it; aye teeming with high-souled ones of accomplished ascetic success and resembling fire; like another region of Brahma; graceful; and adorned on all sides with high-soulded saints and Valakhilyas and Vaikhanasas resembling Brahma, feeding on water or air, or living on withered leaves, or subsisting on fruits and roots, and self-controlled, and free from faults, and of vanquished senses, and engaged in reciting mantras and performing homas.

SECTION 52.

Upon seeing that foremost of those reciting mantras, the highly powerful and heroic Vicwamitra, exceedingly delighted, bowed unto him in humility. And having enquired as to the pleasantness of Vicwamitra's journey, the high-souled and adorable Vasishtha ordered a seat for the former. And on the intelligent Vicwamitra having been seated, that best of ascetics properly entertained him with fruits and roots. And having accepted Vasishtha's hospitality, that foremost of monarchs, the exceedingly energetic Vicwamitra, then enquired of Vasishtha as to the welfare of his asceticism, his Agnihotras, and his disciples, and his trees. Thereupon Vasishtha communicated the welfare of all unto that best of kings. Then Brahma's son, Vasishtha, of fierce austerities, the best of those reciting mantras, asked Vicwamitra, seated at his ease, saying,—'0 king, is it well with thee? And, O king, dost thou rule thy subjects, pleasing them consistently with royal duties? And, O virtuous one, are thy retainers maintained on salaries from the kingdom? Do they abide by thy mandates? And, O destroyer of foes, hast thou vanquished thy enemies? And, O repressor of foes, is it well with thee as to, O most powerful of men, thy forces, exchequer, and friends, and, O sinless one, sons and grand- sons?' Thereupon, the highly powerful king, Vicwamitra, with humility communicated unto Vasishtha his complete welfare. And having conversed for a long time, those virtuous ones, experiencing exceeding joy, ministered unto each other's delight. Then, O descendant of Raghu, after the conversation had ended, the adorable Vasishtha, smiling, addressed Vicwamitra, saying,—'O highly powerful one, I desire to properly entertain thee of immeasurable power, as well as thy forces,—do thou, therefore, accept my hospitality. Do thou receive the hospitality which I extend unto thee. O king, thou art the foremost of guests, and art worthy of assiduous homage.' Being thus addressed by Vasishtha, that mighty ascetic, king Vicwamitra, said,—'Even by this word of thine relative to receiving me, hast thou in fact done so. And, O worshipful one, even with the fruits and roots that are in thy asylum, with the water for washing my feet, and sipping,—yea, with the sight of thy revered self, have I been, O profoundly wise one, excellently entertained by thee, who art thyself worthy of homage. I bow unto thee. I will go now. Do thou regard me with a friendly eye.' As the king was speaking thus, the righteous-souled and generous Vasishtlia again and again

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pressed him to accept his hospitality. Then Gadhi's son answered Vasishtha, —'Very well. O potent ascetic,—let that be which findeth favour in thy sight.' This having been said by him, Vasishtha, the best of those reciting mantras, joyfully called his sacrificial dappled cow, whose sins had been washed away,—'O Savala! do thou come soon; and hear my words. I intend to entertain this royal saint together with his forces. Do thou enable me to entertain him, by yeilding excellent viands. And, O divine one, O thou that conferrest everything that is desired, do thou grant everyone whatever he asketh among edibles impregnated with the six tastes. And do thou, O Savala, speedily create sapid viands to be chewed, sucked, licked or drunk'."

SECTION 53.

Thus addressed by Vasishtha, that bestower of all that was desired, Savala, O destroyer of thy foes, brought forth everything that was desired by everyone. And she produced sugarcanes, and honey, and fried rice, and excellent Maireyas [A kind of wine prepared from molasses.], and costly drinks,and various viands, and heaps of warm rice resembling hills, and other kinds of edibles, and soups, and Dadhikulyas [A preparation of milk and rice.], together with silver plates by thousands filled with meats of diverse tastes. And, O Rama, that army of Vicwamitra consisting of cheerful and stout men being superbly entertained by Vasishtha, became exceedingly gratified. And the royal saint, Vicwamitra himself, together with the priests and Brahmanas and the inmates of the inner apartment, was also heartily filled. And being hospitably entertained with his courtiers and counsellors and retainers, he, exceedingly delighted, spoke unto Vasishtha, saying, —'Received and excellently entertained have I been by thee,0 Brahmana, who thyself art worthy of being honoured. Do thou, O thou conversant with speech, listen to me. I will tell thee a word. Do thou bestow on me Savala for an hundred thousand kine. O worshipful one, varily this one is a jewel; and as it is the function of kings to acquire jewels, do thou confer on me Savala; for, O twice-born one, this one by right belongs unto me.' Thus addressed by Vicwamitra the righteous and adorable Vasishtha—best of ascetics—replied unto that lord of earth,—'O king, neither for an hundred thousand nor for an hundred koti of kine, nor yet for heaps of silver, will I part with Savala. O subduer of enemies, this one deserves not to be separated from my side. Even like unto the fame of the mighty, this Savala is ever joined with me. My oblations to the gods and the Pitris as well as my subsistence itself are established even in her. And my Agnihotras [Maintainance of the perpetual fire.], Vali [Offerings to the spirits of air.], and Homa [Burnt offerings.] depend uper her; and, O royal saint, my Svahakaras and Vashatkaras [Sacrifices performed with the exclamation of Swaha and Vashat respectively.] as well as my various lore depend upon her. All this is so: there is no doubt about it. Verily she is my all; and in her do I find my delight. And many are the reasons, O king, why I cannot give unto thee Savala.' Thus addressed by Vasishtha, that one versed in speech, Vicwamitra, eagerly rejoined,— 'I shall confer upon thee fourteen thousand elephants decked in gold chains and gold neck-ornaments and hooks; and I will confer upon thee eight hundred golden cars furnished with bells and each yoked with four white horses; and, O thou of auspicious vows, I will confer upon thee one thousand and ten high-mettled horses of noble breeds; and I will confer upon thee a koti of youthful and variegated kine,—do thou grant unto me Savala. And as much of gems and gold, O best of regenerate ones, as thou wilt ask for, shall I bestow upon thee: do thou grant me Savala.' Thus besought by the intelligent Vicwamitra, that adorable one replied, saying,—'O king, Savala I will not by any means give. This is verily my jewel: this is verily my riches: this is verily my all: this is verily my subsistence. And this is my Darsa [Bi-monthly sacrifice, performed at change of the moon by persons maintaining a perpetual fire.] and this my Paurnamasa [A ceremony performed at the full of the moon by persons maintaining a perpetual fire.], and this my various sacrifices with dakshinas [Gifts to Brahmanas on occasions of sacrifice.]; and, O king, this my various rites. This, O king, is without doubt, the root of all my rites. And what need of dilating? This one bestowing everything that is desired will I not part with.'"

SECTION 54.

"When the ascetic Vasishtha would not part with the cow of plenty then Vicwamitra, O Rama, forced Savala away. And, O Rama, carried away by that high- souled king, Savala, stricken with grief and afflicted with sorrow, bethought herself, weeping,—'Have I been forsaken by the high-souled Vasistha that the royal retainers carry me off thus aggrieved? What wrong have I done unto that mighty ascetic of concentrated spirit, that, knowing me to be faultless, that righteous one leaveth her that was devoted unto his service?' Revolving this in her mind and sighing again and again, she darted unto where the pre- eminently energetic Vasishtha was; and defeating those servants (of the king), she with the speed of the wind, appeared at the feet of that high-souled one. And weeping Savala having the voice of clouds, standing before Vasishtha, spoke in distressful accents,—'O Brahma's son, wherefore have I been forsaken by thee,—that the servants of the king were carrying me from off thy presence?' Thus addressed the Brahmarshi said these words unto that one aggrieved,and of heart afflicted with sorrow, and like unto a sister,—'0 Savala, not that I forsake thee; nor hast thou done me any wrong. But this mighty king proud of his prowess hath been carrying thee away. Surely, my strength is not equal to his. More specially, he is a king,a powerful king,—more particularly,this day he should not be slain by me (inasmuch as he is my guest): he is a Kshatriya and lord of earth. And he is foremost in might by virtue of possessing this entire Akshauhtni abounding in elephants and horses and cars and standards, and pennons on elephants.' Thus addressed by Vasishtha, that one cognisant of words humbly said in reply unto that Brahmarshi of incomparable power,—'The might of the Kshatriyas is not great,—the Brahmanas are more mighty than they. O Brahmana, superhuman is the power of the Brahmanas, excelling that of the Kshatriyas. Thy power is immeasurable; and the exceedingly energetic Vicwamitra is not as powerful as thyself. Thy energy is unequalled. O highly energetic one, do thou command me bursting with Brahma forces: the pride, power and endeavours of that wicked one will I bring down.' Thus accosted by her, the highly famous Vasishtha, O Rama, said,—'Create thou forces capable of crushing the forces of the enemy.' Hearing those words of his, Suravi created (an army). And, O king, Pahlavas by hundreds brought into being by her lowing, begin even in Vicwamitra's sight to commit havoc upon his forces. Thereat, exceedingly angered, with eyes expanded in ire, that king commenced to slay the Pahlavas with various weapons. And beholding the Pahlavas by hundreds afflicted by Vicwamitra, she again created grim-visaged Sakas mixed with Yavanas. And the field became thronged with the Sakas mixed with Yavanas, of dazzling splendour,exceedingly fierce resembling golden filaments, bearing sharp scimitars and adzes, and clad in yellow apparel. And that entire host (of Vicwamitra) was being consumed by them like unto flaming fires. Then the exceedingly powerful Vicwamitra hurled weapons at them; and with these the Yavanas, Kamvoyas and Varvaras [Barbarians.] became sore afflicted."

SECTION 55.

"And beholding them sore harassed, and overwhelmed by Vicwamitra's weapons, Vasishtha directed (Savali) saying,—'O cow of plenty, do thou create (fresh troops), through thy Yoga power.' And from her roar, there came into being Kamvojas, resembling the Sun. And from her udders sprang Varvaras, arms in hand; and from her mysterious parts, Yavanas; from her anus, Sakas; and from the pores of her skin, those barbarians,—Haritas and Kiratas. And, O descendant of Raghu, anon Vicwamitra's entire host consisting of foot, and elephant, and horse, and car, was exterminated by them. And seeing the army annihilated by the high- souled Vasishtha, the hundred sons of Vicwamitra, equipped with various weapons, rushed in high ire against that best of mantra-reciting ones. Thereupon, uttering a roar, that mighty ascetic consumed them quite. And in a moment, Vicwamitra's sons together with horse and car and foot were reduced to ashes by the high-souled Vasishtha. And witnessing them all destroyed, together with the army, the illustrious Vicwamitra, covered with shame, became plunged in thought; and like unto a tideless ocean or a fangless snake, he instantly became shorn of his effulgence, like unto the sun overwhelmed by Rahu [A Daitya with the tail of a dragon, whose head was severed from his body by Vishnu; but being immortal, the head and tail retained their separate existence, and being transfered to the stellar sphere, became the author of eclipses.]. And deprived of his forces and sons, he appeared like a bird bereft of its wings; and losing his entire army and with it the high spirits that it had inspired him with, his heart died within him. Then entrusting one of his (remaining) sons with the sovereignty, saying,—'Do thou rule the earth agreeably to the duties of the Kshatriya,' he went into the forest. And repairing to the side of the Himavat inhabited by Kinnaras and Serpents, that one of mighty asceticism began to perform austerities with the view of propitiating Mahadeva. And on a certain occasion that lord of the celestials, Vrishadwaja [An appellation of Siva.], intending to confer a boon, appeared before the mighty ascetic Vicwamitra,—'What for, O king, art thou performing penance? Do thou unfold what thou hast to say. I am for conferring a boon: do thou express what boon thou wouldst obtain.' Thus addressed by that god, that performer of mighty austerities, Vicwamitra, bowing down unto him, addressed him, saying,—'If, O mighty god, thou art pleased (with me), do thou confer upon me the science of archery with all its mysteries and mantras, as well as its virtues of helping from far and near. And, O sinless one, may all those weapons that are with the celestials and the Danavas and the Maharshis and the Gandharbas and the Yakshas, and the Rakshas, shine on me! May this my desire be granted me through thy grace, O god of gods! There- upon, saying,—'Be it so'—the lord of the celestials vanished. And obtaining the arms from the lord of the celestials, the mighty Vicwamitra, naturally haughty became swelled with insolence. And surcharged with energy, like unto the sea during the equinox, he considered, O Rama, as if that foremost of saints, Vasishtha, was already slain. And repairing to Vasishtha's asylum, the king began to discharge weapons, capable of burning down the hermitage. And beholding those weapons discharged by the intelligent Vicwamitra, the ascetics, overtaken by fear, by hundreds began to fly. And Vasishtha's disciples as well as the animals and birds inhabiting there, fled in all directions by thousands. And for a time the hermitage of the high-souled Vasishtha was bare of living beings, and still like unto a wilderness, though Vasishtha cried again and again,—'Do not fear. To-day will I slay Gadhi's son, even as the sun (destroys) mist.' Having said this,that best of mantra-reciting ones, Vasishtha, in high wrath, addressed Vicwamitra, saying,—'Since, O fool, thou hast destroyed this hermitage that had been prospering for a long time, thou of execrable ways shalt not live long.' Saying this, he, transported with wrath, and like unto the smoking flame at universal dissolution, speedily upraised a staff resembling another mace of Yama itself."

SECTION 56.

Thus addressed by Vasishtha, the mighty Vicwamitra, aiming a fiery weapon, said,—'Stay! Stay!' The worshipful Vasishtha also on his part, raising a Brahma staff resembling another staff of Kala, exclaimed in wrath,—'Wretch of a Kshatriya! here am I,—do thou display the might thou ait master of. To-day, O Gadhi's son, will I humble thy pride of arms. Thou disgrace of thy race, where is thy Kshatriya might, and where my high Brahma energy? Do thou behold my superhuman Brahma energy.' And even as water allayeth the fierceness of a flame, the Brahma staff quenched the energy of the powerful fiery weapon discharged by Gadhi's son. Then Gadhi's son, waxing wroth, discharged Varuna and Raudra and Aindra and Pasupata and Aishika weapons. And, Manava, and Mohana, and Gandharba, and Swapana, and Jrimbhana, and Mohana, and Santapana, and Vilapana, and Soshana, and DSruna, and Vajra hard to baffle, and Brahmapaca, and Kalapaca and Varunapaca, and Pinaka (favourite of Siva), and the two Asanis, wet and dry, and the Danda weapon, and Paicacha, ani the Krauncha weapon, and Dharmachakra, and Kalachakra, and Vishuchakra and Vayavya, and Mathana, and the Haraciras weapon, and the twin Saktis, hurled he, and Kankala, and Mushala, and the mighty weapon Vidyadhara, and the terrible Kala weapon, and the dreadful Trisula weapon, and Kapala, and Kankana,—all these weapons hurled he (Vicwamitra), at that best of mantra-reciting ones, O descendant of Raghu. And it was wonderful to behold. But Brahma's son baffled all those by means of his staff. And on those (weapons) being resisted, the son of Gadhi hurled a Brahma weapon. And on that weapon being discharged, the deities with Agni at their head, and the Devarshis, and the Gandharbas, and the mighty Serpents, became afflicted with fear. And on that Brahma weapon being discharged, all the three worlds became exceedingly alarmed. And, O Raghu's descendant, Vasishtha by virtue of his Brahma energy completely baffled that terrible Brahma weapon. And when the high-souled Vasishtha had baffled the Brahma weapon, his form became fierce and terrible, capable of striking terror into the three worlds. And from the pores of his body, resembling a smoking flame, darted out scintillations of fire. And resembling another staff of Yama, the Brahma staff raised by Vasishtha's arm flamed like unto the smokeless fire at the universal dissolution. Then the ascetics in a body fell to eulogizing that best of mantra-reciting ones, Vasishtha, saying,— 'Thy might, O Brahmana, is infallible. Do thou rein in (the Brahma) energy, by thy own. O Brahmana, Vicwamitra of mighty strergth hath been subdued by thee. Infallible is thy extraordinary might. Let the creatures now be relieved from their distress.' Thus addressed, that highly energetic one of rigid austerities, became pacified. And Vicwamitra, being put down, heaving a sigh, said,—'Fie upon the Kshatriya might: the strength begot of Brahma energy, is might indeed. By one Brahma staff hath all my weapons been put to the rout. Beholding this, I with a placid mind and senses will engage in mighty austerities,—which shall earn for me Brahmanahood."

SECTION 57.

"Then with his heart burning, in consequence of the remembrance of his humiliation, and having made enemies with that high-souled one, Vicwamitra of mighty asceticism sighing, and sighing, went towards the south, in company with his queen, and became engaged in dreadful austerities, O Raghava. And subsisting on fruits and roots, and restraining his senses, he performed the most rigid austerities. And four sons engaged in observing truth and duty— Havishpanda, Madhushpanda, Drihanetra, and Maharatha ere born unto him. And when a thousand years had been completed, the Grand-sire of all, Brahma, addressed the ascetic, Vicwamitra in sweet words , saying,—'O son of Kucika, the regions of the Rajarshis have been won by thee through thy austerities. And

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on account of this thy asceticism, we recognize thee as a Rajarshi.' Having said this, the highly energetic prime Lord of all creature went to the celestial regions in company with the celestials.

Hearing this, Vicwamitra hanging down his head from shame and possessed by a mighty sorrow, said, in piteous accents, —'I have performed rigid austerities,—yet the deities and the saints recognise me only as a Rajarshi. I do not consider the fruit of my asceticism as gained.' Ascertaining this in his mind, that righteous and highly composed one of high austerities, O Kakuststha, again engaged in penances. And, O Raghava, it came to pass that at this time, that enhancer of Ikshwaku's line, the celebrated and truthful Trisanku of subdued sense made up his mind, saying,—'I will perform a sacrifice, and in body win the prime way of the celestials.' And summoning Vasishtha, he unfolded his mind into him. And on the high-souled Vasishtha saying,—'I am incapable of doing this,' and disregarded by the latter, the King went towards the southern quarter. And with the view of securing success to his endeavours, the king repaired where Vasishtha's sons had for a long time been performing austerities. And the highly energetic Trisanku saw the hundred exceedingly effulgent sons of Vasishtha engaged in austerities with fixed faculties. And approaching all those high-souled sons of his spiritual guide, and paying them reverence he, hanging down his head from shame, with clasped hands, addressed those mighty spirits, saying —'I seek protection of ye; and I take refuge in ye capable of conferring it. Disregarded have I been, good betide ye, by the high-souled Vasishtha. I have set my heart upon celebrating a mighty sacrifice: it behoveth ye to command me. And, with the view of propitiating ye, I, lowly bowing down my head, beseech the sons of my spiritual guide,—Brahmanas ever staying by asceticism,—do ye with collected minds officiate in this sacrifice, so that success may be secured unto me; and that in body I may attain the regions of the celestials. Disregarded by the ascetic Vasishtha, other way find I none, ye anchorets, except the sons of my spiritual guide. To the Ikshwakus, their preceptor is their prime way. Therefore after him (Vasishtha), even ye are the objects of my adoration.

SECTION 58.

"Hearing Trisanku's speech, the hundred sons of the saint, O Rama, excited by wrath, said these words unto the king,—'Disregarded hast thou been, O thou of perverse understanding, by our truth-telling sire,—why, then, having passed him by, do thou seek for others' help? To the Ikshwakus, their spiritual guide is their prime way; nor art thou capable of setting at naught the words of that truth-telling one. That worshipful saint said, that he was incapable (of accomplishing this),—how can we then undertake that sacrifice? Thou art ignorant, O foremost of men. Do thou speedily retrace thy steps. And, O king, that adorable one is competent to officiate at the sacrifice itself of the three worlds, how can we then contribute to his dishonour?' Hearing those words of theirs, that king, with accents tremulous with passion, again addressed them, saying, —'Disregarded by that worshipful one as well as by the sons of my spiritual guide, I will go after another way,—so peace be unto ye, ascetics.' The saint's sons, on their part, hearing that speech couching a fierce intent, cursed him in exceeding wrath, saying,—Thou shalt come by Chandala-hood.' Having said this, those high-souled ones entered each into his dwelling. And when the night had gone by, the king came by Chandalahood. And clad in a blue garb, blue and rough of person, having a short head of hair, wearing a garland composed of materials culled from a cemetery, his body bedaubed with ashes from the same quarter, he was decked out with iron ornaments. And, O Rama, beholding him in the guise of a Chandala, his counsellors as well as followers, renouncing him, fled in a body. And, Kakutstha, maintaining himself in patience, the monarch burning day and night, all alone went unto the ascetic Vicwamitra. And beholding the disappointed king in the guise of a Chandala, the ascetic O Rama, was touched with pity. And from commiseration, that pre-eminently pious and exceedingly energetic one said unto that king frightful to behold, saying,—'Good betide thee, O heroic lord of Ayodhya, thou hast fallen into Chandala-hood through a curse, what is the purpose of thy coming, O highly powerful prince?' Hearing him, the king conversant with words, fallen into Chandala-hood, with folded hands, said unto that one versed in speech,—Disregarded had I been by my spiritual guide as well as his sons. And far from attaining my desire,I came by this calamity. O thou of placid presence, I had desired to repair unto heaven in body. By me have an hundred sacrifices been performed,—but yet do I not obtain the fruit thereof. I have never before told an untruth; and I swear by my Kshatriya morality, that albeit fallen on evil days, I will never do so in future, O gentle one. And sacrifices I have celebrated many,—and I have ruled my people in righteousness; and I have pleased my preceptors by my character and conduct. But, O best of ascetics, now endeavouring to do my duty and intending to perform a sacrifice, I have failed in enlisting the good graces of my spiritual guides. Therefore do I consider Destiny as supreme; and action as nothing. Destiny overtaketh all: Destiny is the prime way. Therefore it behoveth thee to grant thy favour unto me extremely distressed, who crave thy favour, and, good betide thee, whose endeavours have been baffled by Destiny. Other way will I wend none; nor is there any other refuge for me. It behoveth thee to meet Destiny with exertion'."

SECTION 59.

"When the king had spoken thus, Kucika's son, moved with pity, said these sweet words unto the king who had undergone Chandala-hood,—'O descendant of Ikshwaku, hast thou had a pleasant journey? I know thee well, O highly virtuous one. Refuge will I grant thee,—so fear not, O best of monarchs. I shall summon all the pious Maharshis, who shall assist at the sacrifice, O king,—and then thou wilt be able to accomplish thy purpose easily. And should the guise thou hast come by in virtue of thy preceptor's curse, cling to thee yet, thou wilt bodily repair unto heaven in this form. And since appearing before Kucika's son, thou hast taken his refuge, I consider heaven, O lord of men, as if within thy grasp.' Having said this, that exceedingly energetic one ordered his highly virtuous and profoundly wise sons to provide the sacrificial necessaries. And summoning his disciples, he said,—'Do ye by my command bring hither all the saints together with Vasishtha's sons; and our friends and their disciples and the family priests variously versed in lore. Aud should any summoned by my mandate, say aught, do ye fully represent unto me the expression of slight.' Hearing his speech, they set out in different directions; and Brahmavadis [That is someone who believes that all things are Spirit.] began to pour in from various countries. And the disciples (of Vicwamitra) returning, fully communicated unto that ascetic of flaming energy the words of the Brahmavadis, saying,—'Hearing thy message, the regenerate ones resident in every part will come hither,—and some have already arrived— all save Mahodaya and the hundred sons of Vasishtha. Do thou, foremost of ascetics, listen to the words that they said with accents tremulous with emotion,—How can celestials and saints partake of offerings in the court of him that in addition to being a Chandala, hath for his priest a Kshatriya? And how can high-souled Brahmanas, patronized by Vicwamitra, attain to heaven, having partaken of a Chandala's fare?—These cruel words, O powerful ascetic, did Vasishtha's sons together with Mahodaya, utter with reddened eyes.' Hearing those words of theirs, that foremost of ascetics, with eyes reddened in anger, wrathfully cried,—'Since blameless as I am, those wicked-minded ones censure me practising fierce austerities, they shall, without doubt, be reduced to ashes. And this very day bound by the noose of Kala, meeting with destruction at the hands of Vivaswata's son [Yama.], they shall for seven hundred births range these worlds, procuring dead men's clothes, always feeding on dogs'flesh, going by the name of Mushtikas, void of abhorrence, and of frightful, distorted forms and foul practices. And wicked Mahodaya also hath blamed me although undeserving of blame; therefore, reproved of all, he shall undergo Nishadahood. And becoming cruel and engaged in taking life, he shall through my ire fare wretchedly for a long lapse of time.' Having uttered this in the assembly of saints, that mighty ascetic, the highly powerful Vicwamitra of fierce asceticism paused."

SECTION 60.

And knowing (by virtue of his Yoga power) Vasishtha's sons together with Mahodaya as destroyed in consequence of his ascetic energy, the highly powerful Vicwamitra said in the midst of the saints,—'This descendant of Ikshwaku, the famous Trisanku, is virtuous and munificent and hath taken refuge in me, with the view of attaining the celestial regions in his own person. Therefore do thou engage with me in the sacrifice, so that he may bodily repair unto heaven.' Hearing Vicwamitra's words, the pious Maharshis readily spoke in harmony with duty, saying,—This descendant of Kucika is a highly irascible ascetic,—therefore what he saith should, without doubt, be performed. The worshipful one is like unto fire, and, if angered, may curse us. Therefore, let us engage in this sacrifice, so that Ikshwaku's descendant through the potency of Vicwamitra may repair unto heaven in person. Then let us engage in this sacrifice.' Saying this, the sages entered upon the ceremony; and in that sacrifice the highly energetic Vicwamitra acted as the priest. And Ritwijas versed in mantras performed every thing in order with mantras, in accordance with scripture and prescription. Then after a long time, Vicwamitra of mighty austerities invoked thither all the celestials for receiving their respective shares; but the deities did not come to receive them. Thereupon, getting into a wrath, the mighty ascetic Vicwamitra, lifting up a ladle, wrathfully spoke unto Trisanku, —'O lord of men, do thou witness the prowess of my self- earned asceticism. I shall by dint of my asceticism take thee bodily unto heaven. And, O king, do thou in person repair unto heaven hard to attain. Something yet remains in me of the self-earned fruit of my asceticism; and, O king, through the energy of that asceticism, do thou repair unto heaven in person.' And on the ascetic saying this, Kakutstha, that lord of men bodily ascended heaven in the very sight of the anchorets. And beholding Trisanku risen to heaven, the subduer of Paka [Indra.] together with all the celestials said,—'O Trisanku, turn thee back. Thou hast not earned abode in heaven. O fool, thou hast been blighted by the curse of thy spiritual guide. Do thou therefore drop down headlong.' The great Indra having spoken thus, Trisanku fell down, crying unto the ascetic Vicwamitra,— 'Save me, save me.' Thereupon, hearing his distressful cries, Kaucika waxed mightily wroth, and exclaimed,—'Stay, stay.' And in the midst of the ascetics, like unto another Prajapati, he created other seven Rishis [The Ursa major star constellation.] on the Southern way; and also, overwhelmed with wrath created another set of stars. And collied with passion, that illustrious one in the midst of the ascetics created another system of stars in the southern direction. And, saying,—'I will create another Indra, or the world (that I create) shall be without an Indra.' And in anger, he went the length of creating celestials. Thereupon, in trepidation, the saints and the celestials and the Asuras humbly addressed the high- souled Vicwamitra thus,—'This king, O highly exalted one, hath been visited with the curse of his preceptor,—therefore, O ascetic, he deserves not to ascend heaven in person.' Hearing those words of theirs, that best of anchorets, Kaucika, in company with the celestials, said these pregnant words,— 'Good betide ye, I have vowed unto this king, Trisanku's bodily ascension unto heaven,—therefore, I dare not falsify my vow. Let Trisanku evermore dwell in heaven in person, and let these stars created by me verily endure as long as the worlds. This it behoveth ye, ye gods, to ordain. Thus addressed, the deities answered that best of ascetics, saying,—'So be it, good betide thee! All these innumerable stars, O foremost of anchorets, shall remain in the firmament outside the path of Vaicwanara [The Zodiac.]; and shining in their splendour, Trisanku shall dwell with bended head, like unto an immortal. And all these luminous bodies shall follow that best of kings, illustrious and successful, as if he had attained heaven itself.' And the virtuous and exceedingly energetic Vicwamitra, thus assured by the celestials, said in the midst of the saints,— 'Ye gods, excellent well.' Then, after the sacrifice had concluded, the high-souled celestials and the saints of ascetic wealth went to their respective regions, O foremost of men."

SECTION 61.

"And, O puissant one, seeing those saints gone, the highly energetic Vicwamitra addressed those inhabitants of the forest, saying,—'A mighty disturbance hath happened in regard to the southern quarter: let us therefore repairing to another region, carry on austerities. Ye high-souled ones, in the west there are extensive tracts; and there in Pushkara will we peaceably carry on our austerities. That asylum is really pleasant.' Having said this, that exceedingly energetic and mighty Muni [Ascetic.] began to perform terrible austerities subsisting on fruits and roots. And it came to pass that at this time that mighty lord of Ayodhya, Amvarisha, prepared for celebrating a sacrifice. And as he was sacrificing, Indra stole away his sacrificial beast. And on the beast being stolen, the priest said unto the king,—'O king, the beast hath been stolen (away); and it hath been lost through thy dereliction. And, O lord of men, his own fault destroyeth the king that faileth to protect (the subjects). And, O best of men, even this is the expiation: do thou, while the ceremony lasts, speedily bring back the beast, or bring a man (in its stead).' Hearing the priest's words, that highly intelligent king began to range various countries and provinces, cities, forests, and holy asylums, searching for the beast, with a thousand kine (as the price thereof). And, O child, it came to pass that arriving at Bhrigutunga [A mountain peak.], he beheld Richika seated, there in company with his wife and sons, O descendant of Raghu. And bowing unto that Brahmarshi flaming in asceticism, and propitiating him; the exceedingly energetic royal saint of unparalleled effulgence having enquired as to his complete welfare, addressed Richika,saying,—'O highly pious one, O Bhrigu's son, if, in order that I may have a substitute for my sacrificial beast, thou sell thy son, my desire I shall attain. I have ranged every country; but the beast I do not find. Therefore, it behoveth thee to part with one of thy sons for price.' Thus addressed the exceedingly energetic Richika replied,—'O best of men, my first-born I will in no wise dispose of.' Hearing the words of the high-souled Richika, their mother spoke unto that foremost of men, Amvarisha, saying,—'The worshipful son of Bhrigu hath said that his first-born cannot be disposed of,—do thou, O lord, also know that the youngest, Sunaka, is my favourite. Therefore my youngest son will I not give unto thee. O foremost of men, the eldest sons are generally the best beloved of their fathers; and the youngest, of their mothers,—therefore the youngest I would retain.' And when the ascetic as well as his wife had spoken thus, the second son, Sunasepha, O Rama, himself said,— 'My father would not sell the eldest; nor my mother the youngest,—therefore I consider even the second as

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disposable. Do thou then, O prince, take me.' When that one versed in the Veda had ended, that lord of men, O mighty-armed descendant of Raghu, taking possession of Sunasepha, by paying kotis of kine, and heaps of jewels, and gold and silver by hundreds and thousands, went away exceedingly delighted. And that royal saint, the exceedingly energetic and highly famous Amvarisha, placing Sunasepha on his car, speedily set out."

SECTION 62.

"And, O foremost of men, taking Sunasepha, that illustrious king at noon rested in Pushkara, O descendant of Raghu. And having arrived at the excellent Pushkara, as the king was resting, the famous Sunasepha with an aggrieved heart saw his maternal uncle Vicwamitra in company with some saints engaged in asceticism. Thereupon, with a woe-begone countenance, and sore afflicted with fatigue and thirst, he, O Rama, flung himself into (Vicwamitra's) lap, and said—'I have neither father, nor mother, nor relatives, nor friends anywhere. It therefore behoves thee, O gentle one, to save me in the interests of virtue, O foremost of ascetics. And, O best of men, thou art the protector of all, and their refuge. May the king have his desire and may I at the same time, attaining long life, and undcteriorating, gain heaven, having performed meritorious austerities! Do thou with a delighted heart become a lord unto me that am without one. And, O righteous one, even as a father rescueth a son, do thou deliver me from this peril.' Hearing his words, Vicwamitra of mighty austerities, pacifying him by every means, spoke unto his sons, saying,—'That in view of which fathers beget well-wishing sons—the compassing of welfare in the next world—is at hand. This youthful son of the ascetic craveth my protection. Do ye, ye sons, accomplish my desire by saving his life. Ye are all of virtuous deeds, ye are all engaged in the observance of righteousness,—do ye confer satisfaction upon Agni by one of ye becoming the (sacrificial) beast of the lord of men. Thus Sunasepha will obtain protection, the sacrifice will be freed from hinderance, the deities will be propitiated, and finally my word will be made good.' Hearing the ascetic's words, his sons, Madhuchchhanda and others, O foremost of men, haughtily and tauntingly answered,—'O lord, how, neglecting thy own sons, thou desirest to deliver that of another? This we consider as heinous, even like unto eating one's own flesh.' Hearing this speech of his sons, that best of anchorets, with eyes reddened with anger, said,—'Disregarding my words, ye have uttered this audacious and shocking speech, disclaimed by morality, and capable of causing one's hair to stand on end. Therefore, becoming Mushtikas, and living on dogs' flesh, do ye all, even like Vasishtha's sons, inhabit the earth for a thousand years.' Having cursed his sons, that best of ascetics then, by all means cheering up the distressed Sunasepha as to his protection, addressed him, saying,—'Do thou donning on a zone made of Kuca, and wearing a garland of red flowers, and bedaubing thy person with red sandal paste, hymn Agni with mantras, approaching the Vaishnava sacrificial stake; and, O ascetic's son, (at the same time) chaunt these two verses in that sacrifice of Amvarisha. Then thou wilt attain success.' Thereupon, with a concentrated mind securing those two verses, Sunasepha speedily presented himself before that leonine monarch, saying,—'O lion of a king, O thou endued with high intelligence, let us without delay repair hence. And, O foremost of monarchs, do thou engage in the sacrifice and commence upon the initiation.' Hearing those words of the ascetic's son, the king, filled with delight, readily at once repaired to the sacrificial ground. And with the consent of his court, the king fastened Sunasepha with a Kuca cord, and investing him with a crimson apparel, tethered him to the stake as the (sacrificial) beast. And, being bound (to the stake), the ascetic's son first of all duly hymned Agni, and next those deities, Indra and his younger brother. Thereupon, gratified with the excellent eulogy, the thousand-eyed Vasava conferred upon Sunasepha long life. And, O foremost of men, that king also, having completed the sacrifice, obtained the manifold fruit thereof through the grace of the thousand-eyed deity, O Rama. And, O best of men, the righteous Vicwamitra of mighty asceticism again carried on austerities at Pushkara for ten hundred years."

SECTION 63.

And when the thousand years had been completed and the mighty ascetic had accomplished his vow, the celestials in a body desirous of conferring upon him the fruit thereof, appeared before him. And the exceedingly effulgent Brahma. addressed him in soothing words; saying,—'Thou art henceforth a saint, good unto thee,—and (this eminence) thou hast attained through thy own laudable exertions.' Having spoken thus unto him, the lord of celestials returned to heaven. And Vicwamitra of mighty energy became again engaged in rigid austerities. And, O foremost of men, it came to pass that after a long lapse of time that prime of Apsaras, Menaka, was at that time performing her ablutions in Pushkara, and she was observed by Kucika's son, like unto lightning among clouds. And coming under the control of Kandarpa [Passionate desire.], the anchoret spoke unto her, saying,—'O Apsari, hath thy journey been a pleasant one t Do thou abide in my asylum. Do thou favour me; for, good betide thee, I have been rendered senseless by Madana [Passionate desire.].' Thus addressed, that one of shapely hips began to dwell there. And mighty was the hinderance that befell Vicwamitra as regarded his asceticism, as she, O Raghava, staying in that asylum of his, pleasantly spent five and five years, O gentle one. And after this period had gone by, overwhelmed with shame and afflicted with anxiety and grief, the mighty ascetic Vicwamitra impatiently thought, O son of Raghu, that all this mighty loss of austerities was the work of the celestials. And deprived of his senses by lust, the decade had passed away imperceptibly as if it were one day and night; and this impediment stood in the way of his austerities. And heaving a sigh, that best of ascetics burned in repentance. And with sweet words, renouncing the terrible and trembling Menaka standing wuh clasped hands, Kucika's son, Vicwamitra, O Rama, went to the northern mountains. And practising the Brahmacharyya mode of lite with the intention of subduing lust, that highly famous one engaged in arduous austerities on the banks of the Kauciki. And as he was thus engaged in profound austerities on the northern mountain, a thousand years, O Rama passed away. Then taking counsel together, the celestials and the saints appeared before (Brahma), saying,—'Let Kucika's son obtain the title of Maharshi.' Hearing the words of the celestials, the Grand-sire of all addressed the ascetic Vicwamitra, in these sweet words,—O mighty saint, hast thou had a pleasant journey? Satisfied with thy fierce austerities, O Kaucika, I confer upon thee the eminence of the foremost saintship.' Hearing Brahma's speech, the anchoret Vicwamitra bowing down thus answered the Grand- sire with clasped hands,—'The incomparable title of Brahmarshi is to be won by one by performing sterling works. And since thou hast not addressed me (by that title) it appears that I have not yet succeeded in subduing my senses.'Thereupon Brahma said unto him,—'Do thou exert thyself until thou conquer thy senses? Saying this, Brahma went to heaven. And when the celestials had gone, the mighty ascetic, Vicwamitra, with upraised arms, and without any support, and subsisting on air, began to perform penances. And in summer, the ascetic surrounded himself with five fires, and in rains remained in an uncovered place, and in winter day and night stood submerged in water. Thus passed by a thousand years of terrible penances. And on the mighty ascetic Vicwamitra being engaged in austerities, great was the agitation that exercised the celestials and Vasav, in particular. And Sakra together with the Maruts spoke unto Rambha these words, fraught with weal unto himself, and woe unto Kaucika'."

SECTION 64.

"'O Rambha, this mighty service thou wilt have to perform in the interest of the celestials!—even to take Kaucika with the witchery of love.' Thus addressed by the intelligent thousand-eyed deity, the Apsari, O Rama, with clasped palms, thus bashfully answered the chief of the celestials,—'O lord of the celestials, this mighty ascetic, Vicwamitra, is a terrible person; and, without doubt, he will, O divine one, waxing wroth, curse me. And O god, even this is ay fear, and therefore it behoveth thee to favour me.' Thus apprehensively addressed by her in fear, the thousand-eyed one answered that damsel trembling and staying with clasped hands,—'Never fear, O Rambha, good unto thee! Do thou perform my bidding. Assuming the form of a coel, captivating the heart, I will in this spring crowned with graceful trees, stay by thy side in company with Kandarpa. And do thou adding unto thy beauty, diverse blandishments bewitch this ascetic, Kucika's son, O gentle one?' Hearing Indra's words, that comely damsel of luminous smiles, heightening her charms exceedingly, inspired Vicwamitra with desire. And he listened to the mellifluous strains of the coel; and with a delighted heart, he beheld the fair one. Anon, listening to the warbling of the coel and her own incomparable singing, as well as beholding Rambha, the ascetic began to entertain doubts. And knowing for certain that it was the thousand-eyed deity who had devised all that, that foremost of anchorets, Kucika's son, overwhelmed with anger, cursed Rambha, saying,—'Since, O Rambha, thou endeavourest to seduce me who is bent upon subduing his anger and lust, thou shalt, O luckless one, remain as a stone for ten thousand years. And a highly energetic Brahmana equipped with ascetic energy, will, O Rambha, deliver thee, stained because of my ire.' Thus said that exceedingly energetic and mighty ascetic Vicwamitra, and was filled with remorse unable to contain his anger of heart. And in consequence of his mighty curse, Rambha was turned into a stone. Hearing the curse of the mighty saint, both Kandarpa and Indra left the place. And, O Rama, on account of his anger, and his sense remaining still unsubdued he found no rest from deterioration of ascetic merit. And coming by decrease of ascetic merit, he thought within himself,—'No more shall I suffer anger to exercise me, —nor will I ever say anything to any. And I shall not breathe for an hundred years; and controlling my sense, I shall dry up my body. And so long as I do not attain Brahmanahood as earned by my austerities, I shall suspending my breath and abstaining from food, stay for a long lapse of time. And engaged in austerities, my form will not undergo any deterioration.' That foremost of ascetics bound himself by this unparalleled vow to lead a life of such self-denial."

SECTION 65.

"And forsaking the northern direction, the mighty Muni, O Rama, betaking himself to the Eastern quarter, became engaged in dreadful austerities. And adopting the high vow of taciturnity for a thousand years, he, O Rama began to perform the most signal and arduous austerities. And when the thousaud years had been complete, many an impediment tried the mighty Muni staying like the trunk of a tree, yet could not anger enter his heart; and firmly determined to shut out anger, he, O Rama, kept his asceticism from deterioration. And, O foremost of the Raghus, when his vow of a thousand years had been observed, that one of mighty vows became desirous of feeding on boiled rice. And it came to pass O best of the Raghus that at this time Indra assuming the guise of a regenerate one, asked for the rice. Thereupon he gave it away unto the Vipra; and when the rice had been thus exhausted, that worshipful one of mighty austerities went without food. Nor, abiding by the vow of reticence, did he say aught unto the Vipra. And he then again resumed his dumb guise, restraining his breath at the same time. And that puissant ascetic did not breathe for a thousand years. And as he restrained his breath, vapours began to issue out of his head. And, at this, the three worlds being on fire became as if afflicted with fear. And bewildered on account of the energy of his asceticism, and shorn of their brightness, and afflicted with anguish, the Devarshis and the Gandharbas and the Pannagas and the Uragas and the Rakshasas in a body addressed the Pitamaha [Lit. grand-father. Here, a name of Brahma meaning, the great father of all.], saying,—'O divine one, various were the means by which we endeavoured to affect the mighty Muni Vicwamitra with covetuousness and lust; but for all that he increaseth in asceticism. Nor do we perceive in him ever so little of anger or lust. And if thou do not confer upon him what his mind desireth to have, he will annihilate the thre worlds with all that is mobile and immobile in them. And the ten cardinal points are disconsolate: and nothing can be discovered therein. And the seas are vexed, and the mountains riven. And the earth shaketh, and the winds keep steadily blowing. And, O Brahmana, we do not know how to remedy, this. And every one is inactive like an infidel. And the three worlds look as if stupified, with their minds exceedingly exercised. And by virtue of that mighty saint's energy, the sun itself hath been deprived of his splendour.

Therefore, god, against the mighty Muni bending his mind upon destruction, and consuming the three entire worlds like unto the fire raging at the universal dissolution, that exalted one of exceeding effulgence resembling a flame, should be pacified. Even should he desire the dominion of the celestial regions, do thou grant him his wish. Then the celestials with Pilamaha at their head, addressed the high-souled Vicwamitra in sweet-words, saying,—'welcome, O Brahmarshi! well pleased have we been with thy penances. And, O son of Kucika, in consideration of thy fiery asceticism, thou hast obtained Brahmana-hood. And, O Brahmana, I will in company with the Maruts confer on thee long life. Hail unto thee! Do thou accept this, good betide thee. Go thou, O gentle one, as thou likest? Hearing Pitamaha's speech, the mighty ascetic, bowing down unto the celestials, said in delight,—'If Brahmana-hood hath really been obtained by me together with length of days, let Omkara and Vashatkaraand the Vedas crown me; and let, ye gods, that foremost of those versed in Kshatra Veda as well as of those cognisant of the Brahmaveda, even Brahma's son, Vasishtha, recognize me. Having granted this prime desire of mine, do ye go away, ye gods.' Then pacified by the celestials, that best of reciters, the Brahmarshi Vasishtha, made friends (with Vicwamitra), saying,—'So be it.' 'Thou art a Brahmarshi. There is no doubt about this. And every thing hath been compassed in thy behalf,'—having said this, the deities went to their respective regions. And that Brahmarshi, the righteous Vicwamitra also, having attained excellent Brahmana-hood, paid his homage unto that best of reciters, Vasishtha; and having secured his end, began to range the entire world, staying in asceticism. In this wise, O Rama, was Brahmanya actually obtained by the high-souled one. This, O Rama, is the foremost of ascetics,—this one is Asceticism incarnate. This one ever abideth by duty; and he is the stay of ascetic energy."

Having said this, that best of regenerate persons paused. Hearing Satananda's narration delivered in the presence of Rama and Lakshmana, Janaka with clasped hands addressed the son of Kucika, saying,—'Blessed and favoured am I, that thou, O Kaucika, accompanied with Kakutstha, hast arrived at my sacrifice, O puissant anchoret. Purified am I, O Brahmana, by thy very sight, O mighty Muni. And from thy sight have I received various qualities. O Brahmana, thy mighty austerities have been related in detail; and myself as

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well as the high-souled Rama have listened to the narration relative to thy formidable ascetic energy; and the assembled courtiers have heard of thy various perfections. Immeasurable is thy asceticism; and immeasurable thy power; and ever immeasurable thy qualities, O Kucika's son. I never, O lord, am tired of listening to that wonderful narration. Now, O foremost of ascetics, the hour for performing the daily devotions hath arrived, and the solar disc hangeth aslope. To-morrow morning, O highly energetic one, thou wilt see me again. Welcome, best of reciters. It behoveth thee to favour me." Thus addressed, that best of ascetics, extolling that powerful one, well pleased, dismissed the delighted Janaka. Thus accosted, Mithila's lord, Vaideha, in company with his priests and friends, went round that foremost of ascetics. And the righteous Vicwamitra also together with Rama and Lakshmana, having been honoured by the high-souled ones, took up their quarters there.

SECTION 66.

The next morning, which happened to be bright, the lord of men, having performed his daily devotions, welcomed Vicwamitra and Raghava. And having, in accordance with the scriptures, paid homage unto the former as well as the two high-souled Raghavas, that virtuous one said,—"Hail, O worshipful sir! What shall I do unto thee, O sinless one?" Do thou command. Surely, I deserve to be commanded by thee. Thus addressed by the high-souled Janaka, that first of ascetics endowed with a righteous soul, well versed in speech, answered, —"These sons of Dacaratha—Kshatriyas—famed among men, are eager to behold that best of bows, that lies with thee. Do thou show it unto them, may it be well with thee! Having obtained a sight of that bow, the king's sons, their desires crowned with success, will return as they list." Thus accosted, Janaka replied unto the mighty Muni, saying,—"Listen to why the bow lieth here. There was a king known by the name of Devarata. He was the elder brother of Nimi. And, O worshipful one, this bow was consigned unto the hands of that high-souled one as a trust. Formerly with the view of destroying Daksha's sacrifice, the puissant (Siva), drawing this bow, sportively spoke unto the celestials in ire, saying,— 'Since, ye gods, ye deny me the shares (of this sacrifice), which I lay claim to, I will with my bow even sever those beads of yours.' Thereat, O powerful ascetic, with agitated hearts, the deities fell to propitiating that lord of the celestials,—and Bhava was pleased with them. And well-pleased with them, he conferred this upon those high-souled ones. And even this is that jewel of a bow belonging to the high-souled god of gods, and which was ultimately, O lord, consigned as a trust unto our ancestor. And as I was ploughing the mead, arose a damsel,—and as I obtained her while hallowing the field (for sacrifice), she hath come to be known by the name of Sita. And arising from the earth, she grew as my daughter. And unsprung from the usual source, she was then established here as my daughter, whose hand must be obtained by bending the bow. And O foremost of ascetics, many a king, coming here, had saught to obtain my growing daughter arisen from the earth. But, O worshipful one, in consideration of her being one whose dower must be prowess in bending the bow. I would not bestow my daughter upon those lords of earth seeking for the damsel. Thereupon O puissant anchoret, all the kings in a body began to flock to Mithila, desirous of being acquainted with the strength of the bow. And on their being curious (as to the bow), I showed it unto them; but they could neither hold nor wield it. And, O mighty Muni, finding those powerful kings to be but endowed with small prowess, I parsed them by. Hear what then befell, O thou of ascetic wealth. Then, O powerful anchoret, in high ire, the kings, doubtful as to their strength in stringing the bow, laid siege to Mithila. And those potent princes, conceiving themselves as frustrated by me, began to harass the city of Mithila, waxing wondrous wroth. And when a year had been completed, my defensive resources were entirely exhausted,—and at this, I was exceedingly aggrieved. Then I sought to propitiate the deities; and well- pleased, the celestials granted me a Chaturanga army. At length those wicked kings, meeting with slaughter, broke and fled in all directions, together with their adherents, bereft of vigor, and confidence in their strength. And, O puissant ascetic, this highly effulgent bow will I show unto Rama and Lakshmana, O thou of excellent vows. And, if, O ascetic, Rama succeeds in fixing string to it, I will confer upon Dacaratha's son my daughter Sita, unsprung from the usual source."

SECTION 67.

Hearing Janaka' s words, the mighty MuniVicwamitra said unto the king,—"Do thou show the bow unto Rama." Thereupon the king Janaka commanded his ministers, saying,—"Do ye bring the wonderful bow furnished with unguents and garlands." Commanded by Janaka, the ministers entered the city; and placing the bow in their front, those, endowed with immeasurable energy, came out And deposited in a case on a cart borne upon eight wheels, it was with difficulty drawn along by five thousand stalwart persons of well-developed frames. And having brought that case of iron, wherein lay that bow, the royal counsellors spoke unto Janaka resembling an immortal, saying,—"Here is the best of bows, O king, worshipped of all sovereigns. O foremost of kings, O lord of Mithila, if you think it worth showing (shew it)." Hearing their speech, the king with clasped palms said unto the high-souled Vicwamitra well as Rama and Lakshmana,—"This best of bows, O Brahmana, hath always been worshipped by the Janakas; as also by mighty kings incapable (of wielding and stringing it.) And neither the celestials, nor the Asuras, nor the Rakshasas, nor the Gandharbas nor the Yakshas, nor the Kinnaras, nor the mighty Uragas,—how shall men fare?—have succeeded in stringing or stretching it, or fixing the arrow to it, or pulling its string, or wielding it. This foremost of bows hath been brought here, O chief of ascetics. Do thou, O exalted one, show it unto these sons of the king." Hearing Janaka,s words, the righteous Vicwamitra said unto Raghava,—"O Rama, do thou, my child, behold the bow." At the words of the Maharshi, Rama, opening the case, wherein lieth the bow took a sight of it and said,—"This divine bow will I touch with my hand,— and shall I also strive to wield and draw it?" Thereat both the king and the ascetic said,—"Excellent well." At the words of the anchoret, in the sight of countless thousands of spectators, the righteous son of Raghu with exceeding ease took hold of the bow by the middle, and fixed the string upon it,—and having fixed the string, drew it. And that foremost of men enjoying high fame, snapped the bow in the middle. And mighty was the sound that was heard on the occasion, like unto the bursting of a thunder-clap: and the earth trembled terribly, as it doth in the vicinity of a mountain splitting; and overwhelmed by the noise, all rolled head over heels,with the exception of that best of ascetics, the king, and the two Raghavas. And on the people being reassured, the king conversant with speech, his apprehension removed, with folded hands addressed that puissant ascetic, saying,—"O worshipful one, I have beheld the prowess of Dacaratha's son. This is verily wonderful and inconceivable; and I did not think this was possible. And my daughter, Sita, being united with her lord, Dacaratha's son, Rama, will shed lustre on Janaka's line. And my promise viz., that I will confer Sita upon him that will bend the bow, hath been fulfilled, O son of Kucika. And this Sita, this my daughter, dearer unto me than life will I confer upon Rama. And, O Brahmana, by thy permission let my counsellors speedily post hence, O Kaucika, good betide thee unto Ayodhya, in cars; and with humble speech bring the king unto my capital. And let them communicate unto him all about the bestowal of Sita upon Rama, in consequence of his having bent the bow. And let them acquaint the monarch with the welfare of the Kakutsthas protected by the ascetic; and let them, speedily posting here, bring the delighted king." And thereupon Kucika's son said,—"So be it." And the righteous king, summoning his counsellors, despatched them to Ayodhya with his letter, to communicate all duly unto the king, and bring him thither.

SECTION 68.

Thus commissioned by Janaka, the envoys, having spent three nights on the way, entered the city of Ayodhya, with their conveyance afflicted with fatigue. And in accordance with the royal commission, entering the king's residence, they saw the aged king Dacaratha, resembling a celestial. And freed from apprehension, the envoys with clasped hands addressed the monarch in sweetly humble accents, saying,—"O mighty monarch, Mithila's lord king Janaka, in company with his priests, in sweet and affectionate words, repeatedly enquires after the complete welfare of thyself along with thy priests and servants. And having enquired after thy complete welfare, Mithila's lord, Vaideha, by permission of Kaucika addresses thee thus,—'Thou knowest the vow I had made formerly—viz, to confer my daughter upon him that would bend the bow,— and the kings, in consequence of their having been deprived of prowess, and being baffled, have come to entertain spite against me. And that daughter of mine, O king, hath been won by thy son arrived here at will, headed by Vicwamitra. And, O mighty-armed one, that divine, jewelled bow hath been snapped in the middle by the high-souled Rama in the midst of a large assembly. And upon that high-souled one should I confer Sita, having prowess assigned for her dower, And in this wise will I free myself from my vow; and this thou shouldst permit. And, O mighty king, do thou, good betide thee, come speedily, headed by thy priests. It behoveth thee to see the Raghavas; and, O foremost of kings, to see me delivered from this vow. And do thou attain the joy incident to the nuptials of both thy sons,'—thus spoke sweetly the lord of Videha, permitted by Vicwamitra and staying by the opinions of Satananda." Hearing the words of the envoys, the king, exceedingly rejoiced, addressed Vasishtha and Vamadeva, as well as his counsellors, saying,—"Protected by Kucika's son, that enhancer of Kaucalya's joy stayeth in Videha in company with his brother Lakshmana. And the high-souled Janaka hath witnessed the prowess of Kakutstha; and he wisheth to bestow his daughter upon Raghava. If this alliance with the high-souled Janaka is relished by ye, we shall speedily repair to his capital. Let there be no waste of time." Thereupon, the counsellors along with the Maharshis said,—"Excellent!' And the king highly delighted, said unto the counsellors,—"Our journey commenceth on the morrow." And excellently ministered unto, the counsellors of that foremost of monarchs (Janaka), endowed with every excellent quality, spent that night in joy.

SECTION 69.

Then when the night had been spent, king Dacaratha accompanied with his priests and adherents, well pleased spoke unto Sumantra, saying,—"To-day let the officers in charge of the treasury, taking plenty of excellent wealth, and furnished with various gems, go in advance under proper escort. And let the four-fold forces sally out with speed. And at my command let horses and conveyances and elegant vehicles march out. And let Vasishtha and Vamadeva and Javali and Kacyapa and Markandeya endowed with long life and the saint Katyayana—let these regenerate ones go forward. And do thou also yoke my car. Let not the proper time pass away; for the envoys urge speed upon me." At these words of the king, the four-fold forces together with the saints went in the wake of the monarch. And after bar- ing passed four days on the way, they arrived at Videha.

And hearing of Dacaratha's arrival, the auspicious king Janaka experienced great delight, and having obtained the aged king Dacaratha, he honoured him duly. And that best one (Janaka) spoke words unto that delighted chief of men. "Hath thy journey been a pleasant one, O best of men? By luck have I obtained thee, O descendant of Raghu. Do thou experience the joy earned by the prowess of thy sons. And by luck it is that I have obtained the highly energetic and worshipful saint Vashistha accompanied by the foremost regenerate ones, like him of an hundred sacrifices, by the celestials. By luck it is that I have overcome the obstacle; by luck it is that my race hath attained renown,in consequence of alliance with those endowed with prowess, the exceedingly potent Raghavas. O lord of men, to-morrow morning, after the completion of the sacrifice, do thou perform the nuptials, in company with the foremost of the saints." Hearing his speech in the midst of the saints, that best of those conversant with words, the lord of men, replied unto the monarch, saying,—"A gift should be accepted,—this I heard formerly. And what thou sayest, O thou cognisant of duty, will we accomplish." Hearing these words of the truthful (king), chiming in with morality and conducive to fame, the lord of Videha was filled with admiration. Then the ascetics experiencing great delight, passed the night happily in each other's company. And the king, overjoyed on beholding his sons, the Raghavas—passed (the night) in exceeding delight, splendidly entertained of Janaka. And the exceedingly energetic Janaka also, versed in men and things, having in accordance with the ordinance completed the sacrifice and performed all the preliminary rites relative to the nuptials of his daughters, reposed for the night.

SECTION 70.

Then next morning Janaka skilled in speech, having in company with the Maharshis performed his daily duties, addressed the priest Satananda, saying,—"My highly energetic, puissant and eminently righteous brother known by the name of Kusadhwaja dwelleth in the auspicious city, Sankacya, whose ramparts are ranged round with pointed weapons, and which is laved by the river Ikshumati, and which resembles the celestial regions or the aerial car, Pushpaka. I wish to see him, and he is in charge of my sacrifice. And that highly energetic one will partake with me the joy of this occasion." This having been said unto Satananda, some competent persons presented themselves; and Janaka commanded them (to set out) for Sankacya. And commanded by the monarch, off they went, mounting on fleet coursers, with the view of bringing over that best among men, like Vishnu at the mandate of Indra. And arriving at Sankacya, they presented themselves before Kucadhwaja, and faithfully delivered unto him the intention of Janaka. And hearing the tidings conveyed by those foremost of envoys endowed with great fleetness, Kucadhwaja set out at the mandate of the monarch. And on coming to Videha, he appeared before the high-souled Janaka addicted to righteousness. And saluting Satananda as well as the eminently virtuous Janaka, he sat down on an excellent and superb seat worthy of a king. And having been seated, both the heroic brothers of immeasurable splendour addressed that foremost of counsellors, Sudamana, saying,—"Go, foremost of counsellors, and speedily bring over the irrepressible Ikshwaku of immeasurable splendour along with his sons and ministers." Thereupon, repairing to the camp he saw that enhancer of the race of the Raghus, and saluting him with bended head, addressed him,—"O heroic lord of Ayodhya, Vaideha, the master of Mithila, hath wished to see thee along with thy priests." Hearing the words of that best of counsellors, the king accompanied by the saints and his adherents came to Janaka. And in company with his counsellors, and preists and adherents, the king-foremost of those skilled in speech—spoke unto Vaideha, saying,—"O

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mighty king, tbow knowest that the worshipful saint Vasishtha is the spiritual guide of our race; and in every ceremony that we undertake, he it is who serves the function of a spokesman. And permitted by Vicwamitra along with all the Maharshis, even this one of a righteous soul will relate my genealogy." And on Dacaratha resuming silence, the worshipful saint Vasishtha, versed in speech, spoke unto Vaideha in company with his priests, saying—"The perpetual, everlasting, and undeteriorating Brahma sprang from the Unmanifest (Brahma). From him sprang Maricha; and Kacyapa is son unto Maricha. And from Kacyapa sprung Vivaswat; and Manu is son unto Vivasvvat. This Manu is otherwise called Prajipati; and Ikshwaku is Manu's son. And this Ikshwaku, thou must understand, was the first king of Ayodhya And Ikshwaku's son, it is well known, was the graceful Kukshi. And Kukshi's son was the graceful Vikukshi. And Vikukshi's son was the exceedingly energetic and powerful Vana. And Vana's son was the highly energetic and powerful Anaranya. From Anaranya sprang Prithu; and from Prithu, Trisanku. And Trisanku's son was the highly famous Dhundumara. And from Dhundumara sprung the Maharatha, Yuvanacya. And from Yuvanacya sprung Mandhata, lord of earth. And Mandhata's son was the graceful Susandhi. And Susandhi's two sons were Dhruvasandhi and Prasenajit. And from Dhruvasandhi sprung the famous Bharata. And from Bharata sprung Asita; to fight whom were born as hostile kings, those heroes, the Haihayas, the Talajanghas, and the Sasavindas. And engaged in conflict with them, that king fled (from his kingdom); and repairing to the Himavat in company with his two consorts, the feeble Asita there paid his debt to Nature. The story runs that his two wives were in the family-way; and that with the intention of destroying the embryo of the other, one of them administered poison unto the former mixed in her food. And it came to pass that at this time, Bhrigu's son, the ascetic Chyavana, had become addicted to the romantic Himavat— foremost of mountains. And here one of these exalted dames with eyes resembling lotus-petals, saluting Bhrigu's son shining like a celestial, desired of him an excellent son. And drawing near unto that sage, Kalindi saluted him. And that Vipra said unto her, who was desiring of having a son born of her,—"In thy womb, O exalted one, will be speedily born an excellent son mixed up with poison, highly powerful, and exceedingly energetic, and possessed of mighty strength, and graceful. Therefore, do thou not grieve, O thou of lotus-eyes." And having paid reverence unto Chyavana, that chaste and worshipful princess, although bereft of her husband, gave birth to a son. And since intending to destroy her foetus she that was co-wife with her had administered poison unto her, Sagara [Gara, poison. Sagara means, with poison, i. e. here, one born with poison.] was born together with the poison.

And Sagara's son was Asamanja,and Asamanja's Ancumat. And Dilipa was son unto Ancumat, and Bhagiratha unto Dilipa. And from Bhagiratha sprang Kakutstha, and from Kakutstha, Raghu. And Raghu's son was the puissant Pravridha, feeding on human flesh; and he came finally to be known by the name of Kalmashapada. And from him sprung Sankhana. And Sudarcana was Sankhana's, and Agnivarna was Sudarcana's son. And Sighraga was Agnivarna's, and Maru was Sighraga's son. And Maru's son was Pracucruka, and from Pracucruka sprung Amvarisha. And Amvarisha's son was Nahusha, lord of earth. And Nahusha's son was Yayati, and Yayati's was Nabhaga. And Nabhaga's son was Aja, and from Aja sprung Dacaratha. And from this Dacaratha have come the brothers Rama and Lakshmana. And it is in the interests of Rama and Lakshmana belonging to the heroic and truthful and pious Sovereigns sprung in the Ikshwaku line, and possessing purity of race even from the time of their founder, that, O king, we solicit the hands of thy daughters. And, O foremost of men, it behoveth thee to confer like brides upon like bridegrooms."

SECTION 71.

When Vasishtha had spoken thus, Janaka with clasped hands answered unto him, saying,—"It behoveth thee to listen unto our genealogy as related by myself. In the matter of disposal of daughters, O foremost of anchorets, one's own line should be described by one boasting of a noble ancestry. Do thou then, O mighty-minded one, listen to the same. There was a king famed over the three worlds by his own acts—Nimi—eminently pious and the foremost of those endowed with strength. And his son was named Mithi, and Mithi's son was Janaka. And from this king Janaka have we derived that word as applied to every one of us. And from Janaka sprang Udavasu; and Udavasu's son was the pious-souled Nandivardhana. And Nandivardhan's son was the heroic Suketu. And Suketu's son was the mighty and righteous Devarata. And the Rajarshi Devarata's son was Vrihadratha. And Vrihadratha's son was the heroic and puissant Mahavira. And Mahavira's son was Sudhriti, endowed with fortitude and having truth for prowess. And Sudhriti's son was the pious-spirited and eminently righteous Dhritaketu. And the Rajarshi Dhritaketu's son was Haryyacya. And Haryyacya's son was Maru; and Maru's son was Pratindhaka. And Pratindhaka's son was the righteous king Kirtiratha. And Kirtiratha* s son was Devamirha, and Devamirha's, Vibudha, and Vibudha's Mahidhraka. And Mahidhraka's son was king Kirtiratha endowed with great strength. And the Rajarshi Kirtiratha had Moharoma born unto him; and Moharoma, the virtuous Sarnaroma. And the Rajarshi Sarnaroma had Hraswaroma born unto him. And this high-souled king conversant with morality had two sons: the elder, myself, the younger, even my brother, the heroic Kucadhwaja. And installing in the kingdom myself, who was the elder son, and consigning unto my care Kucadhwaja, our father sought the forest. And on my aged sire ascending heaven, I righteously ruled the kingdom and cherished my brother Kucadhwaja resembling a celestial, with the eye of affection. And it came to pass that on one occasion a certain powerful king named Sudhanwa came from the city of Sankacya before Mithila intending to lay seige to it. And he sent word unto me, saying,—'Do thou give me the all-excellent bow of Siva, as well as thy daughter, the lotus-eyed Sita'. And in consequence of my not granting him either, king Sudhanwa, O Brahmarshi, entered into hostilities with me; but he was both defeated and slain by me in the encounter. And, O foremost of ascetics, slaying king Sudhanwa, I installed in Sankacya my heroic brother Kucadhwaja. This one, O mighty anchoret, is my younger brother, and I am his elder. O powerful ascetic, well pleased will I confer on thee these as thy daughters-in-law,—Sita on Rama, good betide thee, and Urmila on Lakshmana. And, I take oath thrice that, without doubt, I will with a glad heart confer upon thee, O potent ascetic, as thy daughters- in-law my second daughter Urmila and also Sita resembling the daughter of a celestial, having prowess assigned for her dower. Do thou now, O king, perform the ceremony Godanaof the nuptials of Rama and Lakshmana; and also perform their ancestral rites, good unto thee; and then complete the marriage ceremony. To-day the star Magha is on the ascendant. On the third day, my master, when the Phalguna will be on north, do thou, O monarch, perform the marriage ceremony. Do thou now, however, dispense gifts for invoking blessings upon Rama and Lakshmana."

SECTION 72.

When Vaideha had spoken thus, the mighty ascetic Vicwamitra in company with Vasishtha addressed that heroic king, saying,—"O puissant one, the lines of the Ikshwakus and the Vaidehas are exceedingly noble and incomparable. No other race can by any means compare with them. And, O monarch, this youthful union of Rama and Lakshmana with Sita! and Urmila is fit by all means; and it is worthy of their wealth of grace. Now do thou, O foremost of men, listen to my words. This youthful brother of thine, king Kucadhwaja, O thou versed in morality, this pious-souled one, O king, hath, O prime of men, a couple of daughters, unparalleled on earth in beauty, whom we would ask for, to become wives unto the prince Bharata and the intelligent Satrughna; as we, O king, ask for thine own daughters in the interests of those high-souled ones (Rama and Lakshmana). And these sons of Dacaratha are endeued with youth and beauty, resembling the Lokapalas, and possessed of the prowess of celestials. Therefore do thou, O foremost of sovereigns, by this alliance with both the brothers, bind the Ikshwaku race. And in this may thy mind never waver!" Hearing Vicwamitra's words embodying' the sentiments of Vasishtha, Janaka with clasped hands addressed both the potent ascetics, saying,—"I consider my line as blessed; since such puissant ascetics wish for such a desirable alliance. Whatever ye wish, even that shall be done, good betide ye. Let these daughters of Kucadhwaja together become the wives of Satrughna and Bharata. On the same day, O mighty Muni, let the four highly powerful princes espouse the hands of the four princesses. The learned consider bridal celebrated on the day succeeding those on which the Phalgunis are on the ascendant,—and having for its presiding deity Bhaga—as the most auspicious." Having said these amiable words, king Janaka arose, and with clasped hands addressed both the foremost of ascetics, saying,—"I have reaped high religious merit (by these nuptials), and I also am your disciple. And do ye, ye anchorets, occupy these best of thrones, (belonging to us). And even as this kingdom is unto Dacaratha, is Ayodhya unto myself. Do ye not therefore entertain any doubts as to your lordship. Do ye therefore do as it behoveth ye." And as Vaideha Janaka was speaking thus, Raghu's son, king Dacaratha, well pleased answered that monarch, saying, —"Countless are the excellences that pertain to ye brothers, lords of Mithila"; and saints and sovereigns are ever honoured by ye, auspiciousness be yours. Good betide ye, I will repair unto my own quarters, there to duly perform the Sraddha ceremonies." Then having greeted that king of men, the illustrious Dacaratha, placing those foremost of ascetics in his front, went away. And reaching his quarters, the king performed the Sraddha according to the ordinance, arose the next morning, and completed Godana ceremony in consonance with the time. And to Brahmanas the monarch severally gave away kine by hundreds and by thousands, for the welfare of his sons. And that puissant one gave away unto the regenerate ones four hundred thousands of kine furnished with horns plated with gold, and each having her calf,—together with bell-metal vessels for milking them. And that descendant of Raghu addicted to his sons made presents of various other valuables unto the Brahmanas, on behalf of his sons. And having given away kine, the king surrounded by his sons looked like unto the amiable Prajapati surrounded by the Lokapalas.

SECTION 73.

And it came to pass that the day on which the king made excellent presents of kine, the heroic Yudhajit, son unto the lord of the Kekayas and maternal uncle unto Bharata, presented himself before Dacaratha. And having seen the king and enquired after his welfare, he said unto him,—"The lord of the Kekayas hath from affection enquired after thy welfare, saying,—'They of whose peace thou art anxious, are at present well.' And, O foremost of kings, desirous of seeing my nephew (Bharata) that lord of earth repaired to Ayodhya, O descendant of Raghu. And learning at Ayodhya that thy sons for the purpose of marriage had, O monarch, come to Mithila with thyself, I have speedily hied hither, with the intention of seeing my sister's son."

Then king Dacaratha, on having that dear guest with him, rendered unto him all the respect that he deserved. Then having passed the night in company with his high-souled sons, that one versed in men and things arose in the morning, and having disposed of his daily duties, approached the entrance of the sacrificial ground, headed by the saints. Then at an auspicious moment called Vijaya, Rama with Vasishtha as well as other Maharshis at his head, and accompanied by his brothers adorned with various ornaments, who had all performed the rites relative to their nuptials, (approached the entrance of the sacrificial ground). Then the worshipful Vasishtha, coming unto Vaideha, spake as follows,—"King Dacaratha, O foremost of sovereigns—that chief among the best of men—accompanied with his sons, who have performed all the rites relative to their nuptials, stayeth the orders of the bestower (of the bride); for the meeting of the giver and the receiver is indispensable to every transaction (of this nature). Do thou therefore maintain thy merit by accomplishing this excellent nuptial ceremony." Thus addressed by the high-souled Vasishtha, that exceedingly generous and energetic one versed in morality answered, saying,—"Who acts as my warder there? And whose commands doth he stay? And what need of exercising judgment in entering one's own house? As this kingdom is mine, so it is verily thine. O foremost of anchorets, my daughters resembling flames of fire, having performed all the rites relative to the incoming nuptials, are at the foot of the dais; and, sitting beside the dais, I myself had been expecting thee every moment. Do thou perform everything without let. What need of delaying further?" Hearing those words uttered by Janaka, Dacaratha entered in together with his sons and the body of saints. Then unto the king of the Videhas, Vasishtha spake as follows,—"O saint, do thou, O pious one, in company with the saints perform, O master, the nuptial ceremonies of Rama charming unto all." Thereupon, saying,—"So be it" unto Janaka, the worshipful saint Vasishtha of mighty austerities with Vicwamitra and the pious Satananda in his front, constructed a dais agreeably to the scriptures, decking it out with fragrant flowers all around, and golden ladles, and variegated water- pots, and platters with ears of barley, and censers filled with Dkupa, and conchs, and sacrificial spoons, and vessels furnished with Arghyas, and those containing fried paddy, and sanctified Akshatas. And over the dais, Vasishtha with due mantras and rites spread an awning consisting of Darvas of equal proportions. And with prescribed rites and mantras placing fire upon the dais, the highly energetic one commenced upon offering oblations. Then bringing Sita adorned with various ornaments near the fire, and placing her before Raghava, king Janaka addressed the enhancer of Kaucalya's joy, saying,—"This Sita, my daughter, do thou accept, good betide thee, as thy partner in the observance of every duty: do thou take her hand by thine. May she be of exalted piety, and devoted to her husband; ever following thee like thy shadow!" saying this, the king sprinkled Rama's palm with water sanctified with mantras; with the celestials and saints exclaiming,—"Excellent! Excellent!" And the celestial kettle-drums sounded, and blossoms began to shower down copiously. Having thus given away his daughter Sita, with water and mantras, king Janaka overflowing with delight, said,—"Come forward, O Lakshmana, good unto thee. Receive thou Urmila ready to be bestowed by me upon thee. Do thou accept her hand: let there be no delay about it." Having addressed Lakshmana thus, Janaka spake unto Bharata, saying,—"Do thou, O descendant of Raghu, take Mandavya's hand by thine own." And the righteous lord of Mithila spake also unto Satrughna, saying,—"Do thou, O thou of mighty arms, take Srutakirti's hand by thine own. May ye all be good, and vowed unto excellent life! and be, ye Kakutsthas, ye united with your wives. Let there be no delay about it." Hearing Janaka's speech, those four perpetuators of Raghu's line, staying by Vasishtha's opinions, taking the hands of the four brides with their owil, went round the sacrificial fire, and the dais, and

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the king, and the high-souled saints; and in company with their wives, agreeably to direction entered into matrimony in accordance with the ordinance. And there was a mighty shower of shining blossoms from the firmament accompanied with the sounds of celestial kettle-drums, and choiring and instrumental music. And the Apsaras danced and the Gandharbas sang melodiously, at the bridal of the foremost of the Raghus. And this seemed wonderful to witness. And to the blowing of trumpets, those exceedingly puissant ones, thrice going round the fire, in company with their wives went to the encampment. And the king,having seen that all the auspicious ceremonies were performed, went in their wake, accompanied by the sages and his adherents.

SECTION 74.

Then when the night had passed away, the mighty Muni Vicwamitra, having greeted the monarch, set out for the Northern mountains. And when Vicwamitra had gone away, king Dacaratha, greeting Mitbila's lord, Vaideha, actively prepared for setting out for his own capital. And then the king of the Videhas gave a dower consisting of various things. And Mithila's lord gave many hundred thousands of kine, and excellent woolen stuffs, and Kotis of common cloths; and elephants, and horses, and cars, and foot men, as well as an hundred damsels adorned, endowed with elegance, to form goodly waiting-maids. And well- pleased the king gave as a noble dower gold and silver and pearls and coral. And having given divers kinds of articles, that king, the lord of Mithila, bidding adieu to the monarch (Dacaratha), re-entered his own capital. And the master of Ayodhya accompanied with his high-souled sons, and headed by the saints in a body, started on the journey, followed by his army and attendants. And as that tiger-like one was on his way, in company with Raghava and the saints, the fowls began to utter frightful cries all around, and the beasts on earth to stream in a Southern direction. And beholding them, that tiger like monarch asked Vasishtha, saying,— "Those birds of fierce aspects emit frightful cries and beasts stream in a Southerly direction. What is this? My heart trembleth and my mind is not at ease." Hearing the speech of king Dacaratha, that mighty saint spake sweetly, saying, "Hear what would be the result of it. These fowls of the air by their cries presage some dreadful impending evil; but these beasts betoken peace restored. Therefore do thou renounce anxiety." And as they were thus conversing, there blew a strong wind, shaking all the earth, and breaking down the trees. And a deep gloom enveloped the sun; and no quarter could be discovered. And enveloped in ashes, that host became stupified. And at that dreadful hour, Vasishtha and the other saints and the king with his sons alone retained their senses, all else were deprived of their senses, and the army was enveloped with ashes. And the king saw that repressor of kings, the decendant of Bhrigu, Jamadagni's son, dreadful to behold, wearing a head of matted locks, irrepresible like unto Kailaca, and unbearable like unto the fire at the universal dissolution, flaming fn energy, incapable of being looked at by the unrighteous, with his axe on his shoulder, equipped with a bow like unto the lightning, and fierce arrows, looking like Siva the slayer of Tripura. And beholding him of dreadful appearance like unto flaming fire, the Vipras headed by Vicwamitra, engaged in reciting mantras and offering oblations unto the fire,— those saints assembled together—began to converse with each other., saying,—"Is this one, enraged because of the slaughter of his sire, intent upon exterminating the Kshatriyas? Formerly, having slaughtered the Kshatriyas, he pacified his ire and mental ferment,—therefore, to annihilate the Kshatriyas once again can never be his endeavour." Having said this, the saints offered Arghya unto Bhrigu's son of dreadful appearance; and addressed him in soothing words, saying,—"O Rama! O Rama." Accepting that homage rendered unto him by the saints, that puissant one, Jamadagni's son, Rama, addressed Rama, the son of Dacaratha.

SECTION 75.

"O Rama, son of Dacaratha, I have, O hero, heard of thy wonderful prowess; and I have also heard all about thy breaking of the bow. And having heard of that wonderful and inconceivable breaking of the bow, I have bent my steps hither, taking another auspicious bow. Do thou stretch it, fix the arrow upon this mighty and dreadful bow, belonging to Jamadagni; and thus display thy prowess. Then, having witnessed thy might in stretching the bow, I shall offer thee combat, laying under contribution our utmost strength." Hearing his words, king Dacaratha with a blank countenance, and clasped hands, said,—"Thou hast quenched thy ire against the Kshatriyas; and, moreover, thou art a Brahmana boasting of high austerities. It therefore behoveth thee to dispel the fears of my sons who are boys. Thou bringest thy life from the race of the Bhargavas engaged in observing vows, and studying the Veda; and thou hast renounced arms vowing in the presence of the thousand-eyed one. And embracing a life of righteousness, thou didst confer the earth upon Kacyapa; and repaired to the forest, making the Mahendra hill thy home. O mighty Muni, thou hast come here to compass the destruction of my all; but if Rama be slain, we shall never live." Thus addressed by Dacaratha, the powerful son of Jamadagni, disregarding his words, thus addressed Rama,—"These two foremost of bows, extraordinary, and worshipped of all the worlds, and stout, and powerful, surpassingly excellent, were constructed with care by Vicwakarma. And, one of these, O foremost of men, for the destruction of Tripura, the celestials gave unto Tramvaka, desirous of encounter,—even that which, O Kakutstha, thou hast snapped. And this second, which is irrepressible, was given to Vishnu, by the chiefs of the celestials. And, O Rama, this bow belonging unto Vishnu, capable of conquering hostile cities, is, O Kakutstha, equal in energy unto the bow belonging unto Rudra. Once on a time the deities, with the object of ascertaining the respective prowess of Vishnu and the blue-throated one, asked the great father, about it. Thereupon the great father,foremost of those abiding by truth —reading the intention of the deities, fomented a quarrel between them. And upon that quarrel breaking out among the deities, there took place a mighty contest capable of making one's hair stand on end, between Vishnu and the blue-throated one, each burning to beat the other down. Then on Vishnu uttering a roar, Siva's bow of dreadful prowess became flaccid. And thereupon the three-eyed Mahadeva became moveless. And upon the assembled gods with the saints and the Charanas beseeching those two foremost of celestials, they became pacified. And upon beholding that bow of Siva rendered flaccid by Vishnu's prowess, the deities with the saints acknowledged Vishnu as the more powerful. And the enraged Rudra of high fame made over the bow along with its shafts unto the hands of the Rajarshi, Devarata of Videha. And, O Rama, this bow belonging to Vishnu, capable of conquering hostile cities, Vishnu consigned to Bhrigu's son, Richika, as a worthy trust. And the exceedingly energetic Richika made over the divine bow unto his son of immeasurable prowess, my sire the high-souled son of Jamadagni. And once on a time, on my sire surcharged with ascetic energy, renouncing the bow, Arjuna, under the influence of unrighteous sentiment, compassed the death of my father. Thereupon, learning of the lamentable and untoward slaughter of my sire, I from ire, annihilated the Kshatriyas, springing up afresh by numbers, then bringing under sway the whole earth, I, O Rama, on the sacrifice being over, conferred it upon the righteous Kacyapa as Dakshina. Having made this gift, I was dwelling in the Mahendra hill equipped with ascetic energy, when, hearing of thy snapping of the bow, I have speedily come hither. Do thou now, O Rama, agreeably to the cannon of the Kshatriya morality, take this excellent and mighty bow of Vishnu, that had belonged to my father and grand-father. And do thou set upon this best of bows an arrow capable of conquering hostile cities. And, O Kakutstha, if thou succeed, I shall then offer thee combat."

SECTION 76

Hearing Jamadagni's words, the son of Dacaratha, in consideration of the presence of his father, said these words in subdued tone,—"O Bhrigu's son, I have heard of the deeds thou hast performed, resolved on avenging thy sire. O Brahmana, I acknowledge that. But, O Bhargava, thou insultest me abiding by the Kshatriya duties, as pusillanimous or devoid of prowess. Do thou to-day witness my energy and vigor." Saying this, the enraged Raghava, endowed with fleet vigor, took up Bhrigu's noble bow, together with the shaft, from his hand. And fixing the string upon it he set the arrow. And then Rama enraged addressed Jamadagni's son, Rama, saying,—"Thou art a Brahmana and through Vicwamitra, art worthy of my homage. Therefore it is, O Rama,that I cannot let go this life-destroying shaft. Which of these shall I reduce to aught, O Rama,—thy aerial course, or the merit thou hast attained through thy asceticism of ascending unto certain incomparable regions? This celestial arrow sprung from Vishnu, capable of conquering hostile towns, never hiteth fruitless, with energy destroying the pride of prowess of foes." And with the object of beholding Rama holding that foremost of weapons, there assembled in a body the celestials and the saints, with the great father at their head. And the Gandharbas and the Apsaras and the Siddhas and the Charanas and the Kinnaras and the Yakshas and the Rakshasas and the Nagas assembled to behold that mighty wonder. And on Bhargava's energy having passed into Rama bearing that best of bows, Jamadagni's son became bereft of prowess, and Rama (Paracurama) kept steadily eying Rama. And rendered inert in consequence of his energy having been dispelled by Rama's own, Jamadagna mildly addressed Rama of eyes like lotus petals, saying,—"When formerly I gave away the earth unto Kacyapas he said unto me,—Thou must no longer stay in my dominions. And in consonance with the words of my spiritual guide, ever since that time I have never spent a night on earth. Even this had been promised by me, O Kakutstha. Therefore, O hero, it behoveth thee not to destroy my course, O descendant of Raghu. With the speed of the mind shall I now wend my way to the Mahendra, best of hills. And, O Rama, the regions I have conquered by my asceticism do thou destroy with that foremost of arrows: let there be no delay about it. Even from thy handling of this bow I know thee to be the chief of the celestials even that eternal one, the slayer of Madhu. Hail to thee, O vanquisher of foes! And all these celestials assembled are beholding thee, of unparalleled deeds, and without an antagonist in fight.—And, O Kakutstha, neither ought I to be ashamed (because of this discomfiture); I have been baffled by the lord himself of the three worlds. And it behoveth, O Rama to disengage this peerless shaft (from the bow), O thou—of noble vows; and on thy shooting the shaft, I shall repair to that foremost of mountains, the Mahendra. When Jamadagni's son, Rama, had said this, the puissant and graceful son of Dacaratha shot that excellent arrow. And witnessing the destruction by Rama of his regions earned by his own austerities, Jamadagni's son speedily started for that best of mountains, the Mahendra. And then all the quarters became cleared of gloom; and the celestials and saints fell to extol Rama when he had shot the arrow. And that lord, Jamadagni's son Rama, having gone round Rama, the son of Dacaratha, and honoured (by all), set out (for his own quarters).

SECTION 77

"When Rama had departed, Dacaratha's son the illustrious Rama, of serene soul, made over the bow unto the hands of Varuna of immeasurable strength. Then saluting the saints headed by Vasishtha, Rama, the descendant of Raghu, seeing his father stupified, addressed him, saying— "Now that Jamadagni's son Rama hath gone away, let the four-fold forces maintained by thee as their lord, march in the direction of Ayodhya." Hearing Rama's words, king Dacaratha embraced his son with his arms, and smelt Raghava's crown; and hearing that Rama had gone, the monarch became exceedingly delighted,—and considered himself and his son as having attained a second birth. And he urged on his army, and speedily arrived at the city, graced round with standards bearing pennons, and lovely to behold, and resounding with the sounds of trumpets, with its high-ways watered, and beauteous, and sprinkled around with flowers, crowded with citizens looking cheerful on account of the king's approach, bearing auspicious articles in their hands, and beautified with the vast concourse of people. And receivced by the citizens as well as the regenerate ones inhabiting the city coming forward a long way, and followed by his graceful sons, the handsome Majesty of ilustrious name, entered his own dear residence, like unto the Himavat. And entertained by his own relatives with all objects of enjoyment, the monarch rejoiced exceedingly. And Kaucalya and Sumitra and the slender waisted Kaikeyi, together with other wives of the king, were busy, receiving the brides, with the necessary ceremonies. And the royal spouses received the exalted Sita and the famous Urmila and both the daughters of Kucadhwaja, graced with silken apparel, with homasperformed and blessings invoked, on their behalf. And having paid reverence at the abodes of the gods, and rendered homage unto those that deserved the same, the daughters of the kings, well pleased, in private, took joy with their husbands. And having attained brides, and arms, with wealth and friends, those foremost of men, engaged in ministering unto their father.

And once on a time that descendant of Raghu, king Dacaratha addressed Bharata, saying,—"O son, this son of the king of the Kekayas thy uncle, Yudhajit stayeth here, that hero, having come to take thee over." And hearing these words of Dacaratha, Kaikeyi's son, Bharata, prepared for the journey, together with Satrughna. And having greeted his father, and Rama of unflagging energy, and his mothers, that foremost of men, the heroic (Bharata) departed with Satrughna. And having Bharata as well as Satrughna, the heroic Yudhajit, with a delighted heart, entered his own city; and his father rejoiced exceedingly. And on Bharata having departed, Rama and the exceedingly mighty Lakshmana, tended their sire resembling a celestial. And paying the utmost regard to the command of his father, Rama discharged all the duties of the city, having for his object the pleasure or welfare (of the citizens). And needfully rendering every service to his mothers, he on proper occasions observed the duties pertaining to his superiors. And Dacaratha was exceedingly delighted; as also the Brahmanas, and the traders, and the inhabitants generally, at the conduct and behaviour of Rama. And Rama having truth for prowess, by virtue of his excellence appeared unto every one the most meritorious of (Dacaratha's son's) like unto the self create Himself unto all being. And in the company of Sita, the wise Rama, bending his mind to Sita with his heart dedicated unto her, passed many a season in delight. And Rama's beloved Sita, as having been bestowed upon him by his sire, by her loveliness, and her perfections as much as by her loveliness, went on enhancing his joy. And her lord came to excercise a double influence on her heart. And by her own heart, the daughter of Janaka, Mithila's lord, resembling a goddess in grace, and like unto Sree (goddess of wealth) herself in loveliness, completely read his inmost sentiments. And experiencing delight, Rama, receiving the Rajarshi's daughter, exercising her own will—

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the excellent princess— looked graceful, even like the lord Vishnu the chief of celestials on being joined with Sree.

AYODHYAKANDAM

SECTION 1.

When Bharata set out for the home of his maternal uncle, he affectionately took with him the sinless Satrughna ever repressing his passions. And there he abode with his brother, being ministered unto in every respect and tended by his maternal uncle, Acwapati, with all the fondness of a father. Albeit thus staying, with every ministration extended towards them as much as they could wish, yet those heroic brothers failed not to remember the aged long Dacaratha. And the puissant king also on his part remembered his sons away from home, Bharata and Satrughna, resembling the mighty Indra and Varuna. All those four chiefs of men were dear unto him even as four hands issuing from his own body. Yet among them all, the highly energetic Rama was the favourite of his sire. He was the foremost of all in every virtue, like unto Sayambhu's [Brahma.] self in the esteem of creation. Solicited by the celestials wishing for the destruction of Ravana, he, who is the eternal Vishnu, was born as Rama in the world of men. And with that son of immeasurable energy, Kaucalya looked graceful, even as Aditi, with that foremost of the celestials, the weilder of the thunder-bolt. He was furnished with grace, and possessed of prowess; and he did not seek for defects in others in the midst of virtues. That son of Kaucalya was incomparable on earth and in worth fully equal to Dacaratha himself. He was aye of quiescent soul; and always preluded his speech with an amiable phrase; and although he might be addressed in a harsh manner, yet he returned no corresponding reply. He was gratified even with a solitary instance of benefit; and from freedom of soul did not remember an hundred injuries. In the intervals of martial exercises, he always discoursed with persons of character, or wise men, or the aged, or the virtuous. He was intelligent, and sweet-speeched, and spoke first (to visitors,) and used grateful words, and was possessed of prowesss, withal not proud of his mighty native virtue. He never spoke an untruth; and he was learned; and he rendered homage unto the aged. He felt kindly towards the subjects; and the subjects on their part held him in dear regard. He was kind to the poor; and he had conquered his anger; and he regarded the Brahmanas; and he commisserated the wretched; and was versed in morality; and always chastised the wicked; and was pure in spirit; and possessed the thoughts and sentiments of his race; and regarded highly his own Kshatriya duties; and considered that heaven was to be attained through the glory acquired by performing them. He was never engaged in forbidden practices; and never relished improper talk; and argued in chain even like the lord of speech himself. And he was free from ailment; and of young years; and endued with eloquence; and of an excellent person; and versed in season and place; and discerned character,—the one honest person ever created. Endowed with supreme excellence, that son of the monarch was by virtue of his merit dear unto the subjects like their life ranging externally. He had performed his ablutions after having mastered all learning; and was properly versed in the Vedas with their branches. In all weapons either inspired with mantras or otherwise, Bharata's eldest brother was superior even to his father. And he was the spring of all good; and was saintly; and of undisturbed souls; and truth-telling; and candid; and humble towards the aged twice-born ones congnizant of virtue and interest. He was congnizant of virtue, profit, and interest; had an excellent memory; and was possessed of genius. He was an adept and was well versed in social usages and customs. He was lowly; and of close counsel; and used to keep unto himself his purposes; and was resourceful. Neither his pleasure nor his displeasure went for naught. He knew the season of amassing riches, and of giving them away. And he was ardently reverential; and his wisdom never wavered; and he accepted no improper present; and he used no rough speech. He knew no idleness; and was vigilant; and had a knowledge of his own as well as of others' failings. He was conversant with the scriptures; and was grateful; and could read the hearts of others. He had sagacity to perceive the seasons for duly showing favour or disfavour. He understood all about the reception of the righteous, the maintenance of family, and the occasion for chastising evil-doers; and he was an expert in collecting dues (from the people); and knew the manner prescribed (by the authorities) for expending money. He had attained proficiency in all the scriptures and literary works composed in both Sanskrit and Prakrit. He sought pleasure wdthout sacrificing either interest or morality; and he was never dilatory in duty. He understood the arts of those who entertained others. He knew the various heads on which wealth was to be expended. He was skilful in riding and training up horses and elephants. He was the foremost of those accomplished in archery; and was acknowledged among men as an Atiratha [The warrior destroyer.]. He led his forces in the direction of the foe; and he slew his enemies; and was accomplished in marshalling the troops. He was incapable of being repressed in fight even by the enraged gods and Asuras. He was not given to carping, and had subdued his anger, and he was never elated, or malicious. He did not disregard any creature; he was no slave to the times. That son of the monarch was furnished with such qualities. And he was liked by the subjects as well as by the three worlds. In forgiveness he was like unto the Earth; and in intelligence like unto Vrihaspati; and in prowess like unto the Sachi's lord. Furnished with such qualities acceptable to the people as well as gratifying unto his father, Rama looked beautiful like the effulgent Sun surrounded by his rays. And the Earth desired for her lord even him (Rama) possessing an excellent character and of prow'ess incapable of being repressed—like unto Lokanatha105 himself.

And finding his son crowmed wdth so many incomparable qualities,that subduer of his enemies, king Dacaratha, thought within himself. The long-lived aged monarch reflected, saying,—"How can Rama become king, I living; and how can this delight be mine?" And this supreme desire rolled in his heart,—"When shall I behold my beloved son installed in the kingdom? Surely he always wisheth for the prosperity of the people; and he showeth kindness to all creatures. And like unto the showering rain-cloudy he is dearer unto the people than myself. He is like unto Yama and Sakra in prowess, and unto Vrihaspati in intelligence; and in forbearance, unto a mountain,—yea, he is far more qualified than myself. Therefore in this age, beholding my son established in (the dominion of) this entire earth, I shall repair unto heaven." Seeing him (Rama) thus crowned with all these various as well as other sterling and immeasurable virtues rare among other princes, the king then took counsel with his ministers, and made up his mind to confer upon Rama the dignity of heir-apparent. And that intelligent (king) mentioned (unto his minister) the dreadful evils portended by appearances and phenomena in heaven and the air and on the earth; and also pointed out the circumstance of decrepitude having taken possession of his person. He therefore gave them to understand that the installation of the high souled Rama of countenance resembling the full moon would dispell his grief, at the same time that it would be universally hailed by the people. Therefore, influenced by his affection (for his subject,) and with the view of compassing his own as well as their welfare, the righteous monarch urged expedition (upon his counsellors;) and that lord of earth brought together the prime and noble from the Various regions and countries of the earth. Like unto Prajapati's self before all creatures, the king appeared before them, who had been received respectfully, and had, as befitted their ranks, various ornaments conferred upon and quarters assigned unto them. But that lord of men did not, on account of haste,bring over either Janaka or the king of the Kekayas, concluding that a little while after they would receive the glad tidings.

Then when the king—that captor of hostile capitals—had sat down there, began to pour in all the princes popular with their subjects—all save (the two afore-mentioned rulers.) Facing and eying the monarch, those kings sat them down on different seats pointed out by the former. Surrounded by those prime and noble of the various provinces, and all those lowly rulers, who had been received honourably and who generally resided at Ayodhya, the sovereign appeared like unto the adorable thousand-eyed (one) surrounded by the immortals.

SECTION 2.

Then facing his whole court, that lord of earth, the king, resounding all sides as if with thunder, in a mighty voice, echoing, and solemn, and like unto the sounds of a kettle-drum, spake words fraught with welfare, and capable of creating high rapture,and worthy of the attention of all. And in tones overflowing with royal signs; and mellifluous; and peerless; and surcharged with the sentiment of surprise, the monarch addressed the princes, saying,—"It is known to ye that the (people of this) spacious empire now governed by me was governed like unto children by those sovereigns that were my predecessors. Now it is my intention to bring welfare unto this entire earth worthy of being rendered happy, which had been governed by all those sovereigns, Ikshwaku and the rest. Following the path trod by my predecessors, I have, heedless of my own happiness, to the best of my power, always protected the people. And under the shade of the white umbrella, I effecting the good of the entire community, have brought decrepitude upon my body. Having attained an age extending over many thousands of years, and lived for a long period, desire rest for this decrepit frame. Bearing in the interests of the people the heavy burden of duty incapable of being borne by even those that have controlled their senses, and requiring (in the bearer) right royal qualities, I have become fatigued. I therefore wish for rest, after in the interests of the subjects installing my son, with the permission of all these excellent twice-born ones around me. My worthy son, like unto Purandara himself in prowess—Rama, the conquerer of hostile cities, hath been born, endowed with all my virtues. Him, like unto the moon while in conjunction with the Pushya constellation—the foremost of those maintaining righteousness, the chief of men, will I, in the morning with a delighted heart, install as the heir-apparent to the throne. And that auspicious elder brother of Lakshmana will make a fit ruler for ye,—yea, the very three worlds might consider themselves as having a lord, by possessing him. Through his agency I shall this day bring about the welfare of the world; and shall renounce my toil by reposing in him the task of government. If what I have devised be meet, and also recommend itself to ye, do ye accord approval to it,— proposing what I am to do besides this, together with the how of effecting it. If I have thought thus solely because I find delight in it, do ye look about any other way to welfare. For different is the thought of the dispassionate; and by friction becomes far more efficacious."

As the king had said this, the princes, exceedingly delighted, seconded him even as peacocks dance at sight of a mighty mass of clouds showering down rain. Then there arose a pleasant resonance (from the assembly of the potentates;) and next from the vast concourse inspired with high rapture arose an echo generated by their voices, which seemed to shake the earth. Then being in complete possession of the views of that one (the king) versed in morality and interest, the Brahmanas and the principal personages of the army, in company with the citizens and the inhabitants of the provinces, took counsel together, and became unanimous,—and, having again revolved the matter individually in their mind, spake unto the aged king Dacaratha, saying,— "O. king, being many thousand years old, thou last become aged. Do thou then install Rama as the heir-apparent to the throne. We wish to behold the exceedingly Strong and mighty-armed hero among the Raghus, riding a huge elephant, his countenance underneath an umbrella." Hearing those welcome words .of theirs, the monarch, as if not knowing their minds, asked them, saying,—"Ye have wished for Raghava, soon as ye have heard my speech. This, ye kings, raiseth my doubts. Do ye, therefore, speak out your minds truly. Why, while I am righteously governing the earth, do ye wish to see the highly powerful Rama as the heir- apparent?" And those high-souled ones together with the citizens and the inhabitants of the provinces said unto him, —"O king, many are the virtues of thy son, having for their object the welfare of the people. To-day we will recount unto thee in detail the merits making even enemies happy of the meritorious and intelligent (Rama) resembling a celestial. O monarch, furnished with the choicest qualities, Rama having truth for prowess is like unto Sakra's self; and he towereth above Ikshwaku and all. Rama is the one excellent person among men; and is true and devoted to truth. And in very Rama is established morality with prosperity. Touching the good of the subjects, he is like unto the moon, and in the quality of forgiveness, he is like unto the Earth; in intelligence like unto Vrihaspati; and in prowess like Sachi's lord. He is cognisant of duty, and true in promise,— and honest; and not given to detraction. He is forgiving, and soothing, and sweet-speeched and grateful, and of subdued senses. He is pliable to entreaties and staid, and of agreeable carriage, and uncalumniating. Raghava speaketh everyone fair, and is of truthful speech. He minstereth unto variously-versed aged Brahmanas. It is for this that in this world his fame and renown and energy go on increasing. He hath mastered all the weapons that are extant among the gods, the Asuras, and human beings. He hath performed his ablutions after having acquired learning; and knoweth the Vedas with their branches. And Bharata's elder brother is a proficient in music. He is the home of the good, and is saintly, and hath conquered his grief, and is magnanimous. He is lowly unto those twice born ones that are worthy and are conversant with morality and interest. And when in company with Sumitra's son he wendeth to the fight with the view of protecting a city or a province, he cometh not back without conquering the foe. And even as a father enquireth after the welfare of his sons, he, returning from the field on horse or elephant, exhaustively and consecutively enquireth after the weal of the citizens, concerning their sons, or their (sacrificial) fire, or their wives, or their servants, or their disciples. And that tiger- like Rama always asketh the Brahmanas,—'Do your disciples tend you' and the Kshatriyas—'Do your disciples always remain mailed?' When calamity befalleth the people, he experienced excess of sorrow; and on their festal occasions, he rejoiceth ever like their own father. He speaketh the truth, and is a mighty bowman. He ministereth unto the aged, and hath controlled his senses. He. preludes his speech with a smile, and is established in righteousness with his whole soul. He entirely bringeth about good, and he taketh no delight in bandying words after a quarrel. In reasoning in chain, he is like unto the lord of speech himself. His eye-brows are graceful; and his eyes expansive and coppery; and he is like unto the very Vishnu. Like Kama he is charming unto all by virtue of his heroism, prowess and might. He is ever engaged in protecting the people: and the desire for the good things of the world cannot perturb his mind. He is capable of bearing the burden even of the three worlds,—what then is this Earth? Neither his pleasure nor his displeasure even goeth for naught. He slayeth those that deserve to be slain; but he is never enraged with those that ought not to be slain (i.e. the unoffending),—with whom, he is pleased, he bestows wealth upon. In virtue of his self-control and other qualities; dear unto the subjects and

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capable of exciting the delight of mankind, Rama shineth even like the effulgent Sun surrounded by his rays. And even that Rama, crowned with such qualities and having truth for his prowess,—like unto a Lokapala, the Earth wisheth to have for her lord. By our good luck it is that thy son hath acquired competence in the task of administration; and also by thy good luck it is that Raghava hath been born endowed with sonly qualities, like unto Maricha's son Kacyapa. The gods, and the Asuras, and men, with the Gandharvas, and the Uragas, and the inhabitants rural and urban, pray for the strength, health, and long life of self-knowing Rama. And whether inmates or outsiders, citizens or natives of provinces, everyone speaks high of him. Women, old and young, in both the morning and evening, with intent minds, bow down unto all the gods on behalf of the intelligent Rama. Let their desire, O worshipful one, be fulfiled, through thy grace. And we would behold the son of the foremost of monarchs, the foe-destroying Rama dark-blue like a lotus,—installed as the heir-apparent to the kingdom. Therefore, O bestower of boons, it behoveth thee, for the sake of our well-being, with a delighted mind to speedily instal thy son furnished with noble qualities resembling the god of gods, and ever intent upon the welfare of the entire community."

SECTION 3.

And when they had raised unto their heads their clasped hands resembling lotuses, the king responding unto them addressed them in welcome words fraught with their good; "Exceedingly pleased am I, and incomparable also is my influence,—because ye wish to behold my dear first born installed as heir-apparent." Having greeted them thus, the king in their hearing spoke unto Vasishtha, Vamadeva, and other Brahmanas saying,—"This is the holy month of Chaitra; and the groves look beautiful with blossoms. Do ye now prepare for the installation of Rama." When the king paused, there arose a mighty tumult from the multitude. And when it subsided, that lord of men, the king, addressed that foremost of ascetics, Vasishtha saying,—"It behovcth thee, O worshipful Sir, to order for things, necessary for the installation of Rama." Hearing those words of the monarch, Vasishtha—chief of anchorets—ordered the counsellors staying before the king with clasped hands, saying,—"Do ye early in the morning in the Agnihautric ball of the monarch provide and store up- gold, and gems, and articles for worship, and Sarvaushadhi and white garlands, and fried paddy, and honey and clarified butter in separate vessels, and cloths fresh from the loom, and a car, every kind of weapons, and the fourfold forces, and an elephant with auspicious marks, and a couple of chowris, and a sceptre and an umbrella, pale coloured, and an hundred furnished golden pitchers of water, and a bull with horns plated in gold, and an entire tiger-skin, together with all othet necessary articles. And do ye embellish all the door-ways of the inner apartment as well as those of the entire city with garlands, with sandal paste and fragrant Dhupa. Do ye on the morning of the morrow bestow upon the principal Brahmanas goodly and refined rice mixed with curds and milk.—so that hundreds of thousands may be fed, and gratified, bestowing on them at the same time clarified butter and curds, and fried paddy, and moire than sufficient Dakshinas. To-morrow as soon as the sun will rise, the Swastivachana will be finished. Do ye invite the Brahmanas, and prepare seats (for them). And do ye set up flags, and water the high ways, and let courtezans whose profession is music, adorning themselves stay in the second apartment of the king's residence. In the abodes of the gods and under the Chaitya111 trees, should be separately placed fragrant blossoms, together with boiled rice and other edibles, and with Dakshinas. And let the warriors properly arrayed, enter the courtyard of the monarch which is welling up with festal glee mailed, and accoutred with leather fences and long swords." Having issued these orders, those two Vipras entered upon their work (as priests;) and did what remained to be done after making that known unto the lord of the earth. When everything had been got ready those foremost of the twice- born ones gladly and well-pleased presented themselves before the master of the earth, and said unto him, "Everything as ordered has been done." Then unto Sumantra, the effulgent monarch spake, saying,—"Do thou speedily bring the virtuous Rama hither." Thereupon saying, "so be it," Sumantra at the mandate of the king brought thither in a car Rama the foremost of car-warriors. The kings of the North, and the South and the East and the West, together with the Mlechas and the Arya princes, with those inhabiting mountains and forests were then paying homage unto him (Dacaratha) even as the celestials do unto Vasava. Stationed in his palace, the royal saint Dacaratha in the midst of those princes, like Vasava in the midst of the Maruts, saw his son, resembling the king of the Gandharvas, approach, gladdening the subjects like a shower, when they were oppressed with the heat of summer—even Rama of redoubtable prowess among men, long armed, and of mighty strength, and bearing the gait of a mad elephant, "with a countenance fair as the moon, of presence prepossessing to a degree, and captivating men's sight and hearts by reason of his beauty generosity and other qualities. And as he was approaching, the lord of men eyed him steadily, without experiencing satiety.

Making Raghava descend from that excellent car, Sumantra followed him with clasped hands as he proceeded to the presence of his father. Accompanied with Sumantra, Raghava, the descendant of the Raghus, for the purpose of beholding the monarch, began with rapid steps, to ascend the palace resembling a peak of the Kailasa hill. Rama humbly approaching his father with clasped hands, and announcing his name bowed low and worshipped his father's feet. Thereupon seeing Rama at his side with clasped hands, and in lowly guise, the king took hold of Rama's clasped hands, and drawing his beloved son, embraced the latter. Then the king desired Rama to sit upon a seat prepared expressly for him, excellent, and flaming and garnished with gold and gems. Raghava shed lustre on that noble seat, as the unclouded sun at his rising lighteth up the Sumeruhill with his rays. That entire assembly looked beautiful in his presence, like the cloudless, autumnal sky crested with stars and planets, in the presence of the moon. The king experienced delight, beholding his dearly beloved son, like unto his own image, richly adorned, reflected on mirror. And even as Kacyapa addresseth Indra of the celestials, the king—the best of those possessing sons— addressed his son, well seated, in these words, saying. "Born of my eldest wife worthy of myself, thou crowned with the best qualities, art my worthy son, O Rama dear unto me. Thou hast by thy virtues drawn unto thyself the hearts of the people, therefore do thou during the conjunction of the moon with the Pushya constellation, receive the office of heir-apparent. Thou art by nature crowned with virtues. Notwithstanding thy great virtues, I will, 0 son, from affection tell thee what is for thy profit. Practicing greater humility, do thou constantly restrain thy senses. Do thou renounce the ills that come through anger and lust. Replenishing thy exchequer and arsenal do thou, acquainting thyself with the state of things personally and otherwise, administer justice and thereby enlist the affection of the courtiers and other subjects; for the friends of him that swayeth the earth, pleasing the people to his satisfaction, rejoice even as did the immortals on obtaining ambrosia. Therefore, do thou, O son, disciplining thyself thus address thee to thy task." Hearing this, Rama's well wishers, ever doing his pleasure, speedily going out, acquainted Kaucalya with everything. Thereupon that foremost of her sex Kaucalya ordered gold and kine and various kinds of gems to be given to the tellers of the glad tidings. Then Raghava, having been honoured by the multitude and saluted the sovereign, ascended a car, and repaired unto his shining residence. And the citizens, hearing those words of the monarch, as if fraught with some speedy good fortune unto them, made their obeisance unto that lord of men, and repairing to their homes, with delighted minds, worshipped the gods.

SECTION 4.

When the citizens had gone away, the king versed in the time and place of ceremonies, after deliberating with his counsellors fixed the time (of the installation.) And his conclusion was even this: "To-morrow the Pushya will be in; and to-morrow should my son, Rama of eyes like lotus-leaves be installed as heir-apparent." Then entering the inner apartment king Dacaratha said unto the charioteer Sumantra,— "Do thou again bring Rama hither." In response to those words, the charioteer again speedily went unto Rama's residence,for bringing him thither. His fresh approach having been announced unto Rama by the warders, the latter, filled with apprehension, became anxious. And bringing Sumantra in, Rama with eagerness said "Tell me fully the reason of this thy fresh visit." Thereupon, the charioteer told him,— "The sovereign wisheth to behold thee. Thou hast known the occasion; and now decide whether thou wilt go thither or not." Hearing the charioteer's speech, Rama also in haste repaired unto the king's palace, with the view of again beholding the lord of men. And on hearing of Rama's arrival, king Dacaratha made him enter his own chamber, with the view of communicating unto him something exceedingly agreeable. Aud immediately on entering his father's residence, the graceful Raghava seeing his father from a distance, bent low with clasped hands. Thereupon raising Rama as he was bending down, and embracing him, and pointing out a seat, the protector of the earth again spake unto him,— "O Rama, enjoying at my will the good things of life, I have grown old; and have attained great age. I have worshipped the deities by celebrating hundreds of sacrifices with numerous Dakshinas and gifts of boiled rice; and incomparable on earth, thou hast been born unto me for a son after my heart. I have given whatever bad been wanted (by others); I have finished my studies, O foremost of men. I have, O hero, acted and enjoyed. I have been emancipated from my obligations unto the celestials and saints, and the Pitris, and the Vipras, and myself. And naught now remaineth to be done by me save thy installation. Therefore it behoveth thee to do even what I say unto thee. To-day the subjects in a body have expressed their desire of having thee for their sovereign. Therefore, O son, I shall install thee as the heir-apparent. O Raghava, to-night I have dreamt inauspicious dreams. Stars with tremendous sounds, shoot by day, accompanied with thunder-claps. The astrologers say that the star of my life hath been invaded by those terrible planets, the Sun, Mars, and Rahu. It generally happens that when such signs manifest themselves, the king cometh by a terrible calamity, and may meet with death itself. Therefore, O Raghava, my thoughts change, be thou installed (in the kingdom), for fickle is the mind of all creatures. To-day, before meeting Pushya, the moon, has entered the Punarvasu asterism; and the astrologers say that to-morrow it will certainly be in conjunction with Pushya. My heart urgeth me to instal thee during the Pushya conjunction, so Oh! afflicter of foes, I shall instal thee to-morrow as heir- apparent. Therefore do thou along with my daughter-in-law commencing from sun-set, serving the prescribed restrictions, and lying down on a bed of Kuca grass, spend the night in fast. And let thy friends vigilantly protect thee all around, for many are the impediments that happen in affairs like this. In my opinion, during the interval that Bharata is away from the city, should thy installation be effected most opportunely; even though thy brother Bharata ever stayeth entirely by the course of the honest; he followeth his elder brother; and is righteous-souled; tender-hearted; and of subdued senses. But in my opinion, the hearts of men are inconstant,—and, O Raghava, the hearts even of the virtuous change by the action of the natural impulses." Having been thus addressed in the matter of his coming installation in the next day, Rama, with the king's permission embodied in "Go thou," greeting his father, repaired unto his quarters. And entering his residence in the interests of the installation ordered by the monarch, he immediately issued out, and went to the inner apartment of his mother. There, Rama found his mother in the temple, clad in silk, adoring the gods, and silently praying for his royal luck. There, hearing of the welcome installation of Rama, had already come Sumitra, and Lakshmana and Sita summoned (by Kaucalya). Hearing of the installation of his son in the office of heir apparent during the influence of the Pushya, at that time, tended by Sumitra and Siti and Lakshmana, there stood Kaucalya, meditating the (triune) person Janarddana, through suspension of breath. Rama, approaching and saluting her engaged in auspicious observance, addressed her in excellent words, cheering her up,—"O mother, by my father have I been appointed to the task of governing the people. And, agreeably to the desire of my father, to morrow will take place my installation. To-night Sita will fast along with me. The priests have said thus; and this also hath been declared by my father. Do thou therefore even to-day provide those necessary auspicious things that will be required for myself and Vaidehi on the occasion of the coming installation."

Hearing of that for which she had ever wished, Kaucalya, her voice choking with the vapour begot of delight, addressed Rama, saying,—"Rama, my child, be thou long lived; and may thy enemies find destruction! Furnished with this good fortune, do thou gladden Sumitra's as well as my own relatives. Oh! thou wast born under an auspicious star: thou hast. O son, by thy virtues gratified thy sire Dacaratha. Ah! not unfruitful has proved my disinterested observance of vow unto the lotus-eyed Person; for this royal fortune of the Ikshwaku race shall rest upon thee."

Having been thus addressed by his mother, Rama looking at his brother (Lakshmana), seated in humble guise with clasped hands, with smile spake unto him, saying,—"O Lakshmana, do thou together with me rule this earth. Thou art my second self; and this good fortune hath taken possession of thee (as well). Do thou, O Sumitra's son, enjoy every desirable thing and the privileges pertaining to royalty. My life and this kingdom I covet for thy sake alone." Having said this unto Lakshmana, and paid reverence unto his mother, Rama with their permission went with Sita to his own quarters.

SECTION 5.

Having given his directions unto Rama as to his incoming installation on the morrow, the king, summoning his priest, Vasishtha spake unto him, saying,—"O thou, having asceticism for thy wealth, go, unto Kakutstha, and for his welfare and obtaining the kingdom, make him fast along with tny daughter-in-law." Thereupon, saying, "So be it," that best of those versed in the Veda, the worshipful Vasistha conversant wdth mantras, that one practicing excellent vows, mounting a Brahma car, himself went unto the residence of Rama cognisant of mantras, for the purpose of making him fast. And that foremost of ascetics, having readied Rama's sable hued residence resembling a mass of clouds, passed through three several apartments, mounted on the car. With the view of honouring the saint worthy of honour, Rama swiftly issued out of his abode. And nearing the car of that intelligent one, Rama, personally taking him by the hand, made him descend. Finding Rama so humble and dear, the priest addressed him, gratifying and delighting him with words that were acceptable,—"O Rama thy father hath been well pleased with thee; since thou achievest the kingdom (through him). Do thou to-day fast with Sita. And in the

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morning, the king, thy father Dacaratha, will, well-pleased install thee as heir-apparent like Nahusha installing Yayati." Having said this, that pure spirited one, observing vows with mantras, made Rama fast along with Sita. Then having been duly worshipped by Rama, and taken Kakutstha's permission, the spiritual preceptor of the king, went away from Rama's residence. Rama, having passed sometime with sweet-speeched friends, and been honoured by them, with their permission entered his apartment. At that time Rama's residence was filled with joyous men and women; and it was like unto a lake containing lotuses and graced with maddened birds.

(On the other hand) Vasishtha, issuing from the palace of Rama like unto the king's palace itself, found the street filled with people. On all sides, Ayodhya's high-ways were crowded with groups of men full of curiosity. The tumult that arose in the high-ways in consequence of the concourse and noise, was like the roaring of the ocean. The streets were cleared and washed and hung with garlands; and that day Ayodhya had her dwellings furnished with upraised flagstaffs. In the city of Ayodhya men with women and children eagerly expected the rising of the sun (next day), and Rama's installation; and the people burnt to behold in Ayodhya the august festivity, that was like unto an ornament unto the subjects, and that enhanced the joy of the people. Dividing the crowd thronging the high-way, the priest slowly proceeded to the royal family. And ascending the palace like unto a peak of the Himavat, he met with the lord of men, like Vrihaspati meeting with Sakra. Seeing him come, the king rising up from his royal seat, asked Vasishtha whether his intention had been carried out, whereupon Vasishtha answered that it had. The courtiers who had all along sat with Dacaratha, rose from the seats, for worshipping the priest. Then with the permission of his spiritual guide, leaving that assembly of men, the monarch entered his inner apartment like a lion entering his den. Even as the moon illumineth the firmament crowded with stars, the handsome king entered his mansion, like unto the abode of the mighty Indra, and thronged with females excellently attired,—gracing it (by his presence).

SECTION 6.

When the priest had gone away, Rama, having bathed and with a collected mind, began to adore Narayana, in company with his wife having expansive eyes. Then raising the vessel of clarified butter unto his head (by way of paying reverence), he in accordance with the ordinance began to offer oblations unto the flaming fire on behalf of that mighty deity. Then, having partaken of the remaining quantity of the clarified butter, Rama prayed for his own welfare, and meditated on the god Narayana. The son of the best of men with a collected mind, and restraining his speech lay down on a kuca bed together with Vaidehi within the graceful dwelling of Vishnu.

When a single watch only remained of the night, Rama awoke, and made his residence well decorated. Now he hearing the melodious utterances of genealogists and panegyrists and Brahmanas versed in the Puranas, Rama finished devotions for the prior twilight, and with an intent mind began to recite (Savatri) And clad in a clear silk dress, he with bended head hymned the destroyer of Madhu, and made the regenerate ones perform the Swastivachana ceremony. Already resounding with the blares of trumpets, Ayodhya became filled with the sweet and solemn tones of the expression "Holy day" uttered by them. The denizens of Ayodhya, hearing that Raghava had fasted with Vaidehi, rejoiced exceedingly.

Then the citizens, hearing of the installation of Rama, and seeing that the night had departed, fell to adorning the city. Standards with pennons were beautifully reared up in the abodes of the gods resembling a peak, enveloped with white clouds, and at the crossing, and on high-ways; and over the chaitya tree; and edifices; and over the warehouses of merchants abounding in goods and the goodly and prosperous mansions of householders; and over all the council-houses; and conspicuous trees. The multitude then heard the music, soothing unto the ear and heart, of stage managers, dancers and singers chanting. The people began to talk with each other anent the installation of Rama; and the time for his installation having arrived, on terraces and houses, and doorways boys playing in bodies, conversed with each other concerning the installation of Rama. On the occasion of the investiture of Rama, the goodly high-ways were adorned with garlands,and scented with dhupa incense—by the citizens. And fearing lest Rama should come out over night (to behold the beautified capital), the inhabitants of the city, by way of ornamentation as with the view of beholding Rama himself, had by the road side reared up lamp-stands in the form of (branched) trees. Eagerly expecting the investiture of Rama as the heir apparent, all having thus ornamented the city and assembling themselves on terraces and in council-halls, talking with each other, extolled the lord of men, saying,—"Ah high-souled is this king—the perpetuator of the Ikshwaku race; for, knowing himself as old, he will install Rama in the kingdom. Obliged we have been, since good Rama capable of reading character, will be the lord of earth, and our protector. He is of a heart devoid of arrogance, and is learned; and righteous-souled; and affectionate to his brothers. Raghava loveth us even as he doth bis own brothers. May the sinless and pious king Dacaratha live long; for it is through his grace that we shall behold Rama installed. The inhabitants of the provinces, who having heard the tidings, had come from various regions, heard the citizens conversing thus. Desirous of beholding the installation of Rama, they coming into the city from various directions, filled Rama's city. As the vast concourse entered (the city), there was heard an uproar like unto the roaring of the heaving ocean during the fullness of the moon. Then that city resembling the regions of Indra, being filled on all sides with tumult raised by the dwellers of the provinces who had come to behold (the installation), resembled the ocean when its waters are agitated by the aquatic animals inhabiting it.

SECTION 7.

A woman, brought up with Kaikeyi, who formerly served as a maid-servant, the family of her maternal uncle, at her own will, ascended the palace resembling the moon. Manthara beheld from the palace the high-ways of Ayodhya well watered all round, and strewn with lotuses, and adorned with standards bearing gay pennons; with thoroughfares and roads leading along undulating lands; sprinkled with sandal water, and crowded with men who had performed their ablutions; and echoing with the accents of regenerate ones bearing garlands and sweetmeats in their hands; and having the doorways of the temples painted white; and resounding with the sounds of musical instruments; and filled with many folks; and singing with Veda chantings; and with its horses and elephants delighted, and cows and bulls emitting roars; and with standards displaying flags erected by the exhilarated citizens. Upon seeing Ayodhya (in such excitement) Manthara was seized with exceeding surprise, Manthara, seeing a nurse hard by clad in white silk, with her eyes expanded with delight, asked her, saying,—"What for Rama's mother although close-fisted, is cheerfully and with the greatest possible alacrity dispensing wealth unto the people? And what for is the general overflow of joy? And what doth the delighted monarch purpose to do?" Thereupon bursting with very great delight, the nurse communicated unto the hump-backed woman the high fortune awaiting Rama, saying,—"To-morrow under Pushya, king Dacaratha will install the sinless Raghava having his anger under control, as heir-apparent to the throne." Hearing the words of the nurse, the hump-backed one, speedily growing angry, descended from the edifice resembling a summit of the Kailaca hill. Burning in ire, the sin-seeking Manthara addressed Kaikeyi, lying down, saying,—"Up, ye senseless one! What for art thou down? A great danger approacheth thee. Thou understandeth not that a mighty grief overfloweth thee. Thou boastest of good fortune while misfortune is thine in the shape of luck. Thy good fortune is surely unstable like the tide of a river during summer. Thus addressed by the sin-seeking hump-backed (hag) in exceedingly harsh language, Kaikeyi became afflicted with great grief. And Kaikeyi said unto the hump-backed one,—"Is any evil present, O Manthara? I do not find thee with countenance fallen and sore distressed with grief." The hump-backed Manthara, skilled in speech, who really sought Kaikeyi's welfare, hearing the latter' s sweet-accented words, displaying sorrow greater than Kaikeyi's own, lamenting, and enlisting Kaikeyi's feelings against Rama, uttered words inflamed with anger, saying,—"O worshipful one, an enduring and terrible destruction is imminent unto thee. King Dacaratha will install Rama as heir-apparent. I have been sunk in a fathomless fear; and am afflicted with grief and heaviness. And as if burning in fire I, seeking, thy welfare, have come unto thee. For, O Kaikeyi, great waxeth my grief on witnessing thy sorrow; and my advancement progresseth along with thine. There is no doubt about this. Born in a race of king thou art the queen of this lord of earth. Why dost not thou then realise the sternness of royal morality. Thy maintainer speaketh most morally; but is crafty for all that: he speaketh blandly, but hath a crooked heart. Him thou takest as of blessed condition; and therefore art gulled. Speaking unto thee soft words bare of substance, he will, his heart on the alert, to-day compass the welfare of Kaucalya. Having sent Bharata unto the home of thy relatives, that wicked- minded one will establish Rama in his ancestral kingdom rid of its thorn. Thou,0 girl, in consideration of thy welfare, hast like unto a mother taken unto thy lap a venomous snake in the form of thy husband. Even what is done by an enemy or a serpent left alone, is being done by Dacaratha of wicked ways and false soothing speech, unto thee and thy own son. And, O girl, deserving as thou art of happiness, the king having established Rama in the kingdom; thou wilt be annihilated along with thy own. The time hath come, O Kaikayi,—do thou on the spur enter upon that which would turn to thy advantage. And, O thou, influenced by surprise, do thou deliver thyself, me and Bharata also."

Hearing Manthara's words, that one of graceful countenance filled with delight, and looking like the autumnal moon-light, rose up from her bed. Inspired with exceeding joy, Kaikeyi, struck with surprise, made unto the hump-backed woman a present of an excellent and elegant ornament. And having given her the ornament, that paragon among the fair Kaikeyi joyfully, addressed Manthara, saying,—"O Manthara! highly welcome is the news that thou hast communicated unto me. And surely thou hast told me what is dear unto my heart, what shall I do for thee? Difference find I none between Rama and Bharata. Therefore delighted am I that the king purposeth installing Rama in the kingdom. There is no other ambrosial speech that is excellent and acceptable unto me, compared with the installation of Rama. Therefore do thou ask of me whatever reward dost thou want and I shall give thee."

SECTION 8.

Manthara, making Kaikeyi the object of her wrath, threw off the noble ornament, and spoke these words, in anger and grief,—"Thou senseless girl, wherefore dost thou display thy joy on such an unfit occasion. Thou dost not see that thou art in the bosom of an ocean of grief. Being grieved at heart do I laugh at thee inwardly, O worshipful lady, because thou having met with signal calamity, rejoicest even in what should be lamented. I lament thee for thy perversion of sense. What sensible woman can rejoice in the advancement of a co-wife's son, like unto death itself? From Bharata proceeds Rama's fear concerning the kingdom to which both have an equal claim. Thinking of this, I am pressed down with sorrow, because fear proceeds from the person who fears much. The mighty armed Lakshmana hath for certain in all ways taken refuge in Rama; and Satrughna like unto Lakshmana hath taken refuge in the Kakutstha, Bharata. With reference to gradation of birth, the probability is in favour of Bharata's attempting the kingdom; yet by reason (of Rama's being the elder) of the two, Bharata hath been thrown off. Anticipating the peril that might spring unto thy son from Rama, learned and versed in the functions of the Kshatriya, and of quick decision, I tremble. Surely Kaucalya is of blessed fortune, for to-morrow under Pushya the foremost of the twice- born ones will install her son as the mighty heir-apparent unto the empire. Thou wilt, with clasped hands, serve as a slave the illustrious Kaucalya, mistress of the world, and brimming over with joy, with all her foes discomfitted. Thus along with us thou wilt attend her commands, and thy son also will await the pleasure of Rama. And Rama's wives* together with their hand-maids will be filled with delight; and in consequence of Bharata's name, thy daughters in-law will be afflicted with sorrow." [* Historically Rama had but one wife. Manthara here anticipated that Rama would marry many wives like his father after the installation.]

Seeing Manthara dead set against Rama, and speaking in this wise, the noble Kaikeyi praised the virtues of Rama. "Rama is cognisant of morality, and filled with perfections, and accomplished, and grateful, and endowed with truth, and pure. And as he is the eldest son of the king, he deserveth the kingdom as heir-apparent. That long-lived one shall maintain his brothers and his retainers even like a father. Why then, O hump-backed one, do thou grieve, hearing Rama's installation. And for certain, that foremost of men, Bharata also, an hundred years after Rama, will attain the kingdom bequeathed by his father and grand-father. O Manthara, thou burnest (with grief) in this auspicious time. Our good fortune will come (after this in the shape of Bharata's installation); why then dost thou grieve. Surely Rama is dearer unto me than Bharata; and he also loveth me more than he doth Kaucalya. And if the kingdom be Rama's it will be also Bharata's at the same time. Rama regardeth his brothers even as his own self."

Hearing Kaikeyi's words, Manthara exceedingly aggrieved, sighing hot and hard, thus addressed Kaikeyi, saying,—"Regarding that to be evil which is thy good, thou dost not through thy want of understanding know that thou art going to be drowned in a sea of grief and peril. Raghava will become king, and after Raghava his son,—so that, O Kaikeyi, Bharata will come to be at once cut off from the royal line. O emotional one, surely all the sons of the king do not obtain the kingdom. And if all were placed on the throne, mighty would be the disturbance therefrom. Therefore it is that kings, O Kaikeyi, lay the task of Government on the eldest son if worthy, or else upon a younger most meritorious. This thy son, O affectionate one, cast off from the royal race, and deprived of happiness, will fare like one forlorn. Thou dost not understand that it is for thee that I am taking such pains; and it is evident that thou dost not understand that I have come to thee for thy good. Thou art conferring on me rewards on the advancement of thy co-wife. For certain, Rama having attained the kingdom without let, will send Bharata either to a distant land, or to the other world. Bharata is a mere boy, and by thee it is that he hath been sent unto his maternal uncle's mansion. Even in immobile objects attachment grows by virtue of nearness. Satrughna also ever following Bharata hath gone with him. He is attached unto Bharata as Lakshmana is attached unto Rama. It is heard that once upon a time the woodmen had intended to cut down a tree; but it was relieved from the high peril because of the proximity of prickly shrubs around it. Sumitra's son protects Rama and

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Raghava protects Lakshmana. Their fraternal love like that of the Aswins is celebrated in the world. Therefore Rama will never do any wrong unto Lakshmana; but he will do wrong unto Bharata, there is no doubt about this. Therefore let that son of Raghu be sent unto the woods from the palace. This pleaseth me; and this also is for thy supreme welfare; and in this wise also will be realised the good of thy relations. But if Bharata can get at his ancestral kingdom by just means, that would also be welcome to thy kindred. That boy deserving of happiness is the natural enemy of Rama. How can he live under the prosperous Rama being deprived of all wealth? Therefore it behoveth thee to save Bharata about to be overcome by Rama, like a lion pursuing the leader of an elephant herd in a forest. Thy co-wife, Rama's mother, had formerly through pride and good fortune been slighted by thee. Why will not she upon thee wreak her revenge now? When Rama will obtain the earth furnished with many oceans and mountains, then, O proud dame, thou rendered forlorn, wilt along with Bharata, sustain sorry discomfiture. And when Rama will obtain the earth, Bharata will certainly meet with destruction, therefore do thou ponder as to how thou canst place thy son on the throne, and banish thy enemy."

SECTION 9.

Thus addressed, Kaikeyi, with her countenance flaming in wrath, sighing hot and hard, spoke unto Manthara, saying,— "Even this very day will I speedily send Rama into the forest and without delay install Bharata in the royal heir-apparentship. Do thou now see by what means I can effect this. Bharata must obtain the kingdom and never Rama." Thus addressed by the noble one, the. wicked-minded Manthara, envious of Rama's interest, thus spoke unto Kaikeyi,—"Ah! O Kaikeyi, consider: Listen to my words, telling thee how thy son alone will obtain the kingdom. Dost thou not remember, O Kaikeyi, or concealest although remembering, wishing to hear from me of the means for thy welfare which thou thyself hadst before communicated unto me? If, O dalliance loving damsel, it is thy wish to hear it as told by me, listen thou, I will tell it thee. And having heard it, do thou act accordingly." Hearing Manthara's words, Kaikeyi raised herself a little from her tastefully spread bed, and said,—"Do thou tell me the means. By what means, O Manthara, Bharata will gain the kingdom, and in no wise Rama." Thus addressed by the worshipful one, the wicked- minded Manthara,—envying Rama's interest, thus spoke unto Kaikeyi:—"Formerly during the wars of the gods and Asuras, thy husband taking thee along, went with the royal saints for the purpose of assisting the king of the celestials. O Kaikeyi, in Dandaka, situated towards the south, there is the city known by the name of Vaijayanta, where dwelt Timidhvaja, otherwise called Samvara, —possessed of an hundred conjurations, and a mighty Asura. That unreproved one gave battle unto Sakra accompanied by the celestials. And in that mighty conflict the Rakshasas during the night used to drag by main force persons asleep having their bodies cut all over, and kill them. Then King Dacaratha warred with the Asuras most heroically. And that mighty armed one, O worshipful lady, losing his senses in consequence of wounds received from weapons, was removed from the field by thee. In that imminent danger, thy husband, sadly cut by weapons, was preserved by thee. Thereupon gratified, he, O, thou of gracious presence, granted thee two boons. Whereupon thou didst say,—'I shall receive from my lord the boon whenever I shall wish.' Thereupon that high-souled one said,—'So be it.' I did not know anything about this, O respected one; and it was thou who didst formerly communicate this (unto me). And it is because I bear affection unto thee that I have not forgotten it. Now do thou forcibly make the monarch desist from installing Rama; and ask thy husband for these two boons,—the installation of Bharata, and the exile of Rama into the woods for fourteen years. On Rama having been banished into the woods for fourteen years, thy son securing the affections of subjects, will be firmly established (on the throne). Entering the anger-chamber to day, do thou, O daughter of Acwapati, clad in soiled garment, lie down on the uncovered floor. Do not look at him, nor speak to him aught. Do thou on beholding the lord of the earth, over-whelmed with grief, weep only. Thou hast always been the favourite wife of thy husband. Of this I have not the least doubt. For thy sake the monarch can enter into a flame. He can never anger thee, nor can he eye thee when angered. For compassing thy pleasure the king can renounce life itself. Therefore the monarch can never set aside thy word. O senseless lady, do thou now reflect upon the strength of thy good fortune. King Dacaratba will offer thee rubies and pearls and gold and gems of various kinds; but do not thou bend thy heart to them. Do thou, exalted dame, bring into Dacaratha's recollection the two boons which he had granted thee at the time of the war between the gods and Asuras, and thou shalt not fail to achieve thy objects. And when that descendant of Raghu, raising thee will go to bestow the boons, do thou then binding him fast by oath, unfold unto the monarch the boons,saying,— 'Send Rama unto the forest for nine and five years, and let Bharata, becoming on earth the foremost of monarchs, carry on the Government.' And Rama having been banished for fourteen years, thy son growing (in the interval) firm and fast, will remain (on the throne) during the rest of his life. Do thou, therefore, O worshipful one, demand even the banishment of Rama; for by this it is, O damsel, all interests will be secured unto thy son. Thus banished Rama will no longer maintain possession of the hearts of the people; and thy Bharata with his foes put out, will be the king. By the time that Rama returns from the forest, thy son, thy prudent son along with his friends, securing the hearts of the people externally and internally, will have been firmly established on the throne. Now is the time, I apprehend. Renouncing fear, do thou forcibly make the monarch remove from his mind his intention of installing Rama."

Having been thus made to accept that for good which was really evil, Kaikeyi, desirous of obtaining the boons, was filled with delight. And at the words of the hump-backed woman, that exceedingly beautiful Kaikeyi experienced the height of pride, and betook herself to this wrong course, like a mare attached to her young, (springing up after it). And she said to Manthara,—"O excellent wench, O speaker of things fair, thy wisdom I do not dishonour. In ascertaining the propriety or otherwise of actions, thou art the very first of hump- backed women on earth. And ever intent on my interest, thou seekest my welfare. I had not, O hump-backed one, (ere this) apprehended the endeavours of the king. O hump- backed one, there are many deformed, crooked and unsightly women (on earth); but thou alone down, lookest beautiful like a lotus bent by the breeze. Thy breast weighed down by thy hump, is high near the shoulders; and beneath is thy belly graced with a goodly navel, which hath grown lean from shame (on holding the attitude of thy bust.) Thy buttocks are spacious; and thy breasts are firm. Thy countenance is like the bright moon, Ah! O Manthara,how lovely dost thou look! Thy hips are smooth, and is decked with chains; and thy thighs and legs are of large proportions. O Manthara, O thou clad in linen garment, O graceful damsel, with thy pair of spacious humps, thou goest before me like a she- crane. In thy heart reside all those thousand-conjurations belonging to that lord of the Asuras, Samvara; and besides thousands there are many more. Intelligence and policy and conjurations reside in thy elevated hump resembling the nave of a chariot- wheel. When Bharata hath been installed and Rama gone to the woods, I will, O hump-backed one, furnish thy hump with a garland made, O beautiful one, of well melted gold. And when I shall have attained my object and be happy, I will smear thy hump with sandal paste. O hump-backed one, I will prepare for thy face an excellent tilaka of gold; as well as other ornaments. Wearing elegant apparel, thou wilt go about like a very goddess. With an incomparable countenance challenging the moon himself, thou wilt attain pre-eminence, defying thy foes. Even as thou servest me, other hump-backed women adorned with every ornament will serve thy feet."

Thus praised by Kaikeyi, as she was lying down on a white bed, like unto fire upon the sacrificial dais, Manthara addressed her, saying,—"O blessed one, when water has flown out, it is not proper to set up a dyke. Arise. Do thy welfare. Show thyself unto the king." Puffed up with the pride of good fortune, that noble lady of expansive eyes thus encouraged (by Manthara), went with her to the anger- chamber. (Having entered the chamber), that exalted lady put off her pearl neck-lace priced at many hundreds and thousands of gold, together with other elegant, beautiful and rich ornaments. Then sitting down upon the ground, Kaikeyi, comparable unto gold, under the influence of Manthara's words, spoke unto her, saying—"Do thou, hump-backed one, tell the monarch, that I am dead at this place. On Raghava having gone to the forest, Bharata will obtain the earth. I do not require gold, or gems, or repasts; this will be the end of my existence if Rama be installed."

Again the hump-backed woman addressed Bharata's mother in exceedingly cruel language fraught with good unto Bharata and evil unto Rama,—"If Raghava attaineth the kingdom, thou wilt surely grieve along with thy son. Therefore, O blessed one, do thou strive so that thy son Bharata be installed."

Thus momentarily pierced by the wordy shafts shot by Manthara, the queen exceedingly surprised, laying her hand on her bosom, wrathfully broke out,—"Either beholding me gone unto the regions of Death, thou wilt apprize the king of it, or Raghava repairing unto the forest for a long time, Bharata will attain his desire. If Raghava doth not repair hence into the forest, I will not desire beds, nor garlands, nor sandal paste, nor colyrium, nor meat, nor drinks, nor life." Having said these cruel words, and thrown off every ornament, the wrathful dame lay down on the ground having no covering, like a fallen Kinnari. Casting away her excellent garlands and ornaments with her countenance clouded with the gloom of wrath, the King's wife became sunk in thought looking like a sky enveloped in darkness, with the stars hid.

SECTION 10.

Thus perversely advised by the exceedingly wicked Manthara, the noble and sagacious lady, influenced by passion, having completely decided in her mind as to her course, was lying down on the ground like a Kinnari pierced with poisoned shafts, and gradually told everything unto Manthara. And having made up her mind, that lady wrought up with ire, being under the influence of Manthara's words, sighed hot and hard like the daughter of a Naga; and for a while reflected on the way which was to bring her happiness.Then her friend and well-wisher Manthara, hearing of her resolution, rejoiced exceedingly, as if she had already secured success. And, having fully ascertained her course, that weak one being angry, lay down upon the floor, knitting her eyebrows. The ground was strewn with garlands and excellent ornaments which Kaikeyi had cast away; and they adorned the earth as the stars adorn the welkin. Like an enfeebled Kinnari she clad in a soiled garment, binding fast her braid, lay down in the anger-chamber.

The monarch having issued orders for the installation of Rama,entered his inner apartment after giving permission to the courtiers to repair to their respective abodes. "To-day it has been fixed to install Rama, but Kaikeyi has not yet heard of it"—thus thought the monarch. Therefore with the view of communicating the welcome news unto that lady deserving of good, (Kaikeyi), that renowned one of subdued senses entered the inner apartment. Like unto the moon entering the sky covered with white clouds and with Rahu present in it, that one of high fame entered the excellent apartment of Kaikeyi, having parrots and peacocks and Kraunchas and swans, resounding with the sounds of musical instruments,—containing hump-backed and dwarfish women, graced with houses containing creepers, and pictures, and adorned with ashokas and champakas, furnished with daises composed of ivory and silver and gold, and adorned with trees bearing flowers and fruits always, and tanks, having superb seats made of ivory, silver and gold; rich with various viands and drinks and edibles, with costly ornaments, and resembling heaven itself; and the prosperous monarch having entered his own inner apartment did not see his dear Kaikeyi on the excellent bed. The lord of men not seeing his favourite wife, asked (within himself) and was struck with grief. Never before this that noble lady spent that hour (at any other place); nor had the monarch ever entered the empty apartment. Then the king entering the apartment asked (a sentinel) concerning Kaikeyi, not knowing that that unwise woman was hankering after her self-interest, as on previous occasions not finding her he used to ask. Thereupon hurriedly and with clasped hands, the warder said,— "Worshipful sire, the noble lady exceedingly angry, hath repaired unto the anger chamber." Hearing the warder's word, the king exceedingly anxious, with his senses agitated and afflicted, again grieved. There burning with grief, the lord of the earth saw her lying down on the ground in an improper guise. And the sinless aged (monarch) saw on the ground his youthful wife dearer unto him than life itself, cherishing an unrighteous intention,—like a torn creeper, and lying down like a very goddess, resembling a Kinnari fallen from heaven because of sin, like a fallen Apsara, like unto an illusion spread to take another, and like an ensnared doe, or a she-clcphant that has been pierced with an envenomed shaft shot by a hunter. And himself resembling a mighty elephant in the midst of a forest, the king, exceedingly aggrieved, out of affection, gently passing his hand upon Kaikeyi's person, thus addressed her furnished with eyes resembling lotus' petals,—"I do not know why thou hast been angry with me. O noble lady, who has reprimanded thee, or who has offended thee, that, O auspicious one, in this guise thou art lying down in dust enhancing my sorrow? And wherefore art thou down on the ground, I, who seek thy welfare, being yet alive? O thou that afflictest my heart, art like one under the influence of a malignant spirit, I have skilful physicians whom I have completely satisfied with gifts,—they will render thee whole. Do thou, O angry wench, mention thy malady. Whom dost thou wish to please; and whom to displease? Who shall to-day receive an welcome office, and who a highly unwelcome one? Do not conceal thy thoughts, nor, O noble one, afflict thy person. Who, that should not be slain, shall be put to death; and who that should, is to be set at liberty? Who that is poor is to be made rich; and who that is affluent is to be turned into a pauper? I and mine are at thy command. I dare not cross any wish of thine. Tell me thy mind, and I will satisfy thee by laying down life itself. Thou knowest the influence thou hast upon me,—therefore, it behoveth thee not to entertain any apprehension. By all my good deeds I swear that I will compass thy pleasure. The space that is lighted up by the solar disc is mine—the Draviras, and the Sindhus, and the Sauviras, and Shurashtras and the Dakshinapathas, and the Bangas, and the Angas, and the Magadhas, and the Matsyas, and the flourishing Kasis and the Kocalas. In these are produced many things, wealth and corn and animals. Do thou, O Kaikeyi, ask for those things that thy mind may take a fancy to. What,0 timid one, is the use of afflicting thyself thus? O beauteous damsel, arise, arise. Do thou, O Kaikeyi, unfold unto me the cause whence hath

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proceeded thy fear. On hearing the reason, I will dispell it, even as the sun drieth up the dew."

Thus addressed and encouraged, she desirous of saying that disagreeable thing with the view of afflicting her lord still more, spoke unto him thus.

SECTION 11.

Unto that ruler of the earth extremely under the influence of passion, Kaikeyi spoke cruelly, saying,— "O worshipful one, none has wronged or reprimanded me. I have a certain intention, which I wish that you will, carry out. If thou wilt execute that, do thou then promise to that effect, Then only will I express my desire." Thereupon, by his hands placing Kaikeyi's head upon his lap, the mighty monarch, under the influence of passion, smiling fairly, addressed her lying on the ground, "O thou that art swollen with the pride of good fortune, thou knowest that foremost of men, Rama excepted, there liveth not any that is dearer to me than thyself. I swear by that invincible prime of men even the high-souled Raghava— who is the stay of my existence. Do thou tell me thy heart's desire. By that Rama, Kaikeyi, whom if I do not see for a moment, I die for certain, do I swear that whatever thou wilt say I will accomplish. By that Rama, O Kaikeyi, foremost of men—whom I hold dearer than my other sons, do I swear that, I will accomplish whatever thou wilt say. O gentle one, my heart is in what I say. Do thou, considering this, deliver me from this distress. Taking all this into consideration, do thou, O Kaikeyi, speak out what is in thy mind. Thou seest the power thou wieldest in me, therefore it behoveth thee not to fear. I will do thy pleasure by my good deeds do I swear this."

Thereat intent upon her own interests, that exalted dame seeing her own wish (almost) attained, assuming an attitude of intercession, being rejoiced, spoke harsh words (unto the monarch). And delighted at the king's speech, she unfolded that dreadful intention of hers like unto the approaching death.— "Thou swearest repeatedly, and conferrest on me a boon. Let the three and thirty deities headed by Indra, hear this. Let the Sun, and the Moon, and the Sky, and the Planets, and Night, and Day, and the Cardinal points, and the Universe, and the Earth, with the Gandharvas and Rakshasas, and the Rangers of the night, and all Beings, and the household gods residing in dwellings,—together with all other creatures,—know thy utterances. Let all the deities hear that a highly energetic one speaking the truth, and pure, and cognisant of morality, and abiding by his promise, has conferred on me a boon". Having entreated the monarch thus with a view to prevent him from swerving, and keeping him firm in his promise, she again addressed that mighty bowman, overcome by desire, who was ready to confer on her a boon, "Remember, O king, the incidents that took place formerly in the war between gods and Asuras. Incapable of taking thy life, thy enemy had rendered thee exceedingly feeble. Because, O respected Sir, I tending thee sleeplessly, preserved thee, thou didst grant me two boons. Entrusting the boons then with thee, do I now, O descendant of the Raghus, ask for them (at thy hands), O lord of the earth. If having religiously promised to that effect, thou dost not confer the boon, this very day, will I, coming by this disgrace from thee, renounce my life."

When the king was completely brought under the influence of Kaikeyi, he was ensnared by her speech for his destruction, like a deer entering into the noose. Thereafter she thus spoke unto the king about to confer a boon, who was under the influence of passion, saying,—"Of the boons that thou hadst then promised me, I shall speak to-day: do thou listen to my words. Preparations are being made for installing Raghava. Do thou with the provisions made ready install Bharata in the kingdom. O exalted one, the time has also come for thee to confer on me the second boon which thou being pleased had promised in the war of the gods and Asuras. Let the gentle Rama, clad in deer-skin, lead the life of a mendicant in the Dandaka forest for the space of nine and five years. And let Bharata gain the heir-apparentship rid of thorns, Even this is my prime wish; and I beseech thee but to grant the boon thou hast already promised. Even this very day will I see Rama despatched to the woods. Do thou by proving true unto thy word, become the king of kings; and preserve thy race, character, and birth. Truthful speech, say the ascetics, is of supreme welfare unto men in the next world."

SECTION 12.

Hearing Kaikeyi's fell speech, the monarch bewailed for a time, and then thought,—"Is this a day-dream unto me or has bewilderment befallen my senses? Is this owing to influence of some evil spirit or has my mind been affected?" Thinking thus, the king could not arrive at the. origin of (this phenomenon); and then he swooned away. Then regaining his senses, he was filled with grief on recollecting Kaikeyi's words; and pained and woe-begone, like unto a deer at the sight of a tigress, he fetched a deep sigh, and sat down on the uncover ed ground. Like a venomous snake confined by power of incantation within a circle, the lord of men, in indignation exclaimed, "O fie!" And deprived of his senses by grief, he again swooned away. After a long while, regaining his senses, he extremely aggrieved, wrathfully, and as if burning in energy, addressed Kaikeyi, saying,—"Thou cruel one! Thou of vile ways! Thou destroyer of this race! O wicked woman, what has been done by Rama unto thee; or what wrong have I done thee? Raghava ever serveth thee as a mother. Why thou art then bent upon wronging him? It is to bring down destruction upon myself that through ignorance I brought unto this house thee like unto a serpent of virulent poison. When all men show their regard for Rama's virtues, for what transgression shall I forsake my dear son? I may renounce Kaucalya or Sumitra or the kingdom, or life itself; but Rama, filled with affection for his father, will I not renounce. I experience supreme delight on beholding my first-born; and when I see him not, I lose my senses. The world may exist without the Sun; and corn without water; but this life doth not exist in this body without Rama. Do thou then that entertainest unrighteous aims, abandon this intention of thine. I lay my head at thy feet. Be propitious unto me. Why dost thou, O sinful one, cherish in thy mind such a frightful idea? Thou (often) asked me whether I love Bharata or not. Be that which thou hadst formerly told me in favour of that descendant of Raghu. 'That blessed one is my eldest son, and the most righteous of them all' even this, with the view of pleasing me, thou sweet speeched one had said. Now hearing of the installation of Rama, thou thyself filled with grief, art making me exceedingly aggrieved. Or in this empty chamber having been possessed, thou hast come under influence not thy own. And this signal lawlessness, O exalted lady, has befallen the race of the Ikshwakus; the cause of which, 0 Thou versed in moral laws, is thy mental derangement. Thou didst not formerly do unto me aught that was improper or disagreeable; therefore, O thou of expansive eyes, I cannot rely upon thee (as sane). Thou didst, O girl, many a time tell me that Rama was equal unto thee with the high-souled Bharata. Wherefore then, O bashful one, dost thou like that the illustrious and righteous Rama, O exalted dame, should reside in the forest for five and nine years? Why dost thou like that the exceedingly tender Rama with his soul established in virtue, should dwell in the woods, undergoing terrible hardship? Why dost thou, O thou of graceful eyes, wish Rama, captivating all creatures, and engaged in ministering unto thee, to be banished? Rama verily serveth thee far more than doth Bharata; and I do not find that Bharata regardeth thee more than Rama. Who will, save that foremost of men, so devotedly minister unto thee, regard thee, enhance thy influence, and do thy will. Not one of the many thousands of females and the innumerable retainers (in the palace), has been able to fasten reproach upon Rama for real or false misconduct. Soothing all creatures with a pure heart, that great soul by means of good officers secureth the affections of the inhabitants of the kingdom. He conquers all the twice-born ones by gifts; and that hero conquers his superiors by ministrations; and his enemies by encountering them with the bow. For certain, in Raghava are truth and charity, and asceticism,and self-renunciation,and friendship, and purity, and sincerity, and learning, and the disposition to tend his superiors. How, O respected one, canst thou ask for this that will bring thee sin, touching Rama endowed with candour, and energetic like unto a Maharshi, and resembling a celestial? I do not recollect to have heard Rama, who ever speaks sweet words, to have used any unpleasant speech to any one; how can I then for thy sake unfold this disagreeable matter unto the beloved Rama? And what stay have I save him in whom abide forgtveness,and asceticism and renunciation, and verity, and righteousness, and gratitude, and harmless towards all creatures. It behoveth thee, O Kaikeyi, to have pity on me, aged and on the verge of death, and afflicted with grief, and distressed, and engaged in lamentations. Whatever can be obtained in this earth bounded by the ocean I will confer on thee—do thou not bring about my death. O Kaikeyi, 1 clasp my palms, I fall at thy feet, be thou the protector of Rama, so that sin may not taint me."

When the terrible Kaikeyi in still more terrible language addressed the mighty king, who was burning in grief, and bewailing, and deprived of his senses, and feeling a sensation of whirling, and overwhelmed with woe, and again and again beseeching for crossing this ocean of sorrow, saying. "If, O monarch, having conferred the boon,thou repentest afterwards how, O hero, wilt thou speak of thy righteousness in the world? When,0 thou versed in duty, the Rajarshis assembled around thee, shall ask thee regarding this matter, what wilt thou answer? Wilt thou say, 'by whose favour do I live and who had tended me, unto that Kaikeyi have I broken my promise?' Surely, O lord of men, thou wilt bring disgrace unto all the monarchs (of thy line), since having conferred the boons this very day, thou speakest otherwise. Saivya granted his own flesh unto the bird in the matter of the hawk and the pigeon. [The story goes that desirous of testing the charity of Saivya, Indra and Agni assuming the forms of a hawk and a pigeon respectively, went to the king, the former pursuing the latter. The pigeon in a fright asked the protection of the monarch, whereon he granted it. But the hawk urged, 'why dost thou retain the food that has been appointed by Providence?' But the king declined, and cut off his own flesh and gave it unto the hawk.] And Alarka, having granted his eyes (unto a blind Brahmin) attained excellent state. And the ocean, having bound himself by promise, never passes beyond his shores. Remembering these old stories render not thy promise nugatory. O thou of perverted understanding, renouncing righteousness, and installing Rama in the kingdom, thou wishest ever to give thyself up to pleasure with Kaucalya. Whether what I have proposed be righteous or otherwise, whether thou hast promised truly or falsely, swerve not from thy word. If thou install Raima, this very day drinking poison, I will surely die before thee. If I for a single day behold Rama's mother receiving homage rendered with clasped hands, I will consider death even as welcome, O lord of men, by Bharata's self dear unto me as my own life, I swear that save the exile of Rama, nothing shall satisfy me."

Having said this, Kaikeyi paused; and maintained silence disregarding the bewailing monarch. The king with his senses overwhelmed with grief, hearing Kaikeyi's exceedingly bitter words, reflected on Rama's abode in the woods, and the advancement of Bharata, and being bewildered for a while spoke not unto Kaikeyi; but gazed steadfastly at that exalted dame, his beloved wife, who had uttered disagreeable things. And having heard that speech resembling a thunder-bolt, and unpleasant to the heart, and surcharged with grief, the king was extremely pained. Then recollecting that revered lady's resolve, and his own terrible oath, he, sighing forth,—"O Rama," dropped down like a felled tree. And then that master of the earth being deprived of his sense, was like a mad man, or a patient with his faculties wildered, or a serpent whose energy has been exhausted. In sad and distressful words, he addressed Kaikeyi, saying,—"Who is it that has convinced thee that this exceedingly heinous course is a proper one? Dost thou not feel shame to speak thus unto me, like one whose faculties have been possessed by an evil spirit? I did not know before, when thou wast youthful that thy nature was so perverted; but now I find the very reverse of what I then thought. Whence proceedeth thy fear that thou askest for such a boon—the establishment of Bharata in the kingdom, and the banishment of Rama into the woods? Do thou cease to urge such a suit that is fraught with evil unto thy wifely virtue, and that will render my word untrue, if thou wishest for the good of thy husband, of the people, and Bharata. O cruel woman; O thou that intendest sinfully, O base wretch, O doer of impious deeds, how have I and Rama conspired against thy happiness; and what offence dost thou find in us? Bharata will by no means accept the kingdom, depriving Rama of it, for I consider Bharata a still more grounded in righteousness than Rama himself. When I shall say,—"Repair unto the forest," and Rama's countenance will fall, like unto the moon overwhelmed by Rahu, how shall I behold it? How shall I, having in consultation with my friends come to this decision, retract the same, like unto an army defeated by the enemy? And what will the monarchs coming from various quarters say concerning me,— "Alas! how has this puerile descendant of Ikshwaku reigned so long?' And when many aged folks, endowed with virtues, and accomplished in various lore will ask me concerning Kakutstha, what then shall I sav unto them.—'Sore pressed by Kaikeyi, have I banished Rama? Even if I speak this truly, yet none will lend credence to it. And what will Kaucalya say unto me, when Rama shall have gone to the forest? Having dpne her this mighty wrong, what shall I say unto her? Kaucalya serves me at the same time like a slave, and a friend, and wife, and sister, and mother. Ever studious of my welfare, dearly loving her son, and speaking every one fair, that exalted lady, although deserving of homage at my hands, has up to this time not been regarded by me, because of thee. That I have so long sought thy welfare, afflicteth me now, even like rice partaken by a sick person with curries that are unhealthful. Beholding Rama deprived of his kingdom, and banished unto the forest, why will Sumitra alarmed believe in me. Ah! woe to me! Vaidehi will have to hear of two evil events,—my death and Rama's journey unto the woods. Alas! my Vaidehi, indulging in grief, will renounce her existence, like a Kinnari on the side of the Himavat, who has been forsaken by her kinnara. When I shall witness Rama repairing to the mighty forest, and Sita weeping (in grief) , I shall not hope for a long life; and thou, becoming a widow, will reign along with thy son. Like unto a goodly liquor, which people having partaken it, subsequently find to contain poison, I have found thee, who had passed for a chaste woman, to be now really unchaste. Having soothed me with soft but false words, thou speakest thus. Thou hast killed me like a deer that has been entrapped by a hunter, having been allured into the net through the sound of a song. Surely gentle folks will on the high-way censure me as one lost to gentility,—as one who has sold his son (for buying his wife's good graces), even like a Brahmana given to drinking. Alas! alas! having promised thee the boon, I have to bear these words of thine; and have come by this grief like unto evil consequent upon misdeeds in a previous existence. Wretch as I am, like a halter set round one's neck, have I, O vile woman, cherished thee through ignorance. Not knowing thee for my death, I have sported with thee, like an infant dallying in solitude with a venomous snake. Surely, people will be justified in con- demning me wicked-minded that I am, for my

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son having been deprived of his ancestral kingdom by me; saying,— "Alas! king Dacaratha is foolish and lustful; for he sends his beloved son to the woods for the sake of his wife." Rama has grown emaciated by study ng the Vedas, leading the Brahmacharyya mode of life, and serving his preceptors,—- will he again undergo this mighty toil at this time of enjoyment? My son is incapable of uttering a second word unto me; and commissioned, he will repair to the woods, saying, 'Very well.' if ordered with 'Go to the forest,' Raghava does not consent, even that would conduce to my pleasure; but he will do nothing of the kind. And Raghava having gone to the forest, Death will surely summon me away to his abode who am of exceedingly reprehensible character, and who am universally execrated. And I having been dead and that best of men, Rama, having gone to the woods (I do not know) to what a plight thou wilt bring my kindreds. And if Kaucalya loses me and Rama, and Sumitra loses her two sons and me and Rama, then tormented with the extreme of grief, those exalted ladies will follow me. Do thou, O Kaikeyi, casting into hell Kaucalya and Sumitra and myself with our three sons, attain happiness. Renounced by me as well as Rama, this lkshwaku line existing from a time immemorial, and ennobled by excellent qualities, and incapable of coming by grief, thou wilt rule, when it shall have been overwhelmed with misfortune. If the banishment of Rama, be agreeable to Bharata let him not, when I am dead, perform my funeral obsequies. When I am dead, and when that foremost of men has gone to the forest, do thou, a widow, rule the kingdom along with thy son. O daughter of a king, when by chance thou resident in my mansion, I must come by signal infamy and discomfiture in the world, and meet with general disregard, like unto a sinful person. How having always gone on cars and elephants and horses, will dear Rama range in the forest on foot? How will my son, at the approach of whose meal-time, cooks wearing ear-rings and emulating each other prepare excellent meats and drinks, pass his days, living on fare furnished by the woods, of astringent, or bitter, or pungent taste? How will he, who has always been clad in costly attire, and who has always enjoyed happiness, will dwell on the bare earth, wearing a piece of red cloth? From whom hast thou received this inconceivable and dreadful advice,— Rama's journey to the woods and installation of Bharata? Fie upon women, crafty and selfish! But I must not name all women—I mean only the mother of Bharata. O thou that art intent upon doing mischief unto all, O thou addicted to selfishness, O cruel one, has God made thy mind so very vile, only to torment me? What wrong hast thou come by either through me, or Rama ever engaged in thy welfare? On beholding Rama plunged in sorrow, fathers will forsake sons, and wives attached unto their husbands will forsake them, and the entire earth will be affected with ill-humour. When I hear him coming, adorned like unto a son of the celestials, I rejoice on casting my eyes on him, and I feel as if I had regained my youth. Men may do without the Sun, and the wielder of the thunder-bolt not raining, but none, I apprehend, can live, on witnessing Rama repairing hence. I have kept in my mansion, like unto my own death, thee that desirest my destruction, and art intent upon doing me wrong, and art my foe. I have for a long time held thee on my lap, like unto a she-snake of virulent poison; therefore in consequence of my folly, I now meet with destruction. Now dissevered from me, and Rama together with Lakshmana, let Bharata govern the city and the kingdom along with thee. Destroying thy relatives, do thou enhance the joy of my enemies. O thou cruelly-disposed, O thou bringer on of calamities, since banishing all sense of the relation in which we stand to each other as husband and wife, thou hast spoken thus, why reduced to thousand fragments thy teeth drop not from off thy mouth down to the ground? Rama has not used any harsh speech towards thee. Indeed Rama knows no harsh speech; why then dost thou seek to inflict upon Rama (ever) pleasant spoken, and endowed with agreeable qualities—such wrongs. O thou that renderest infamous the king of the Kekayas, whether thou becomest miserable, or enterest into fire, or killest thyself (by taking poison), or divest into the bowels of the earth opened at a thousand places, I will not execute thy fell intention that is fraught with evil unto me. I do not wish, that thou, like unto a razor, and ever speaking pleasant falsehoods, and possessed of a vile heart, the destroyer of thy own race,—thou that wishest to burn my heart and life, thou unbeautiful one, mayst remain alive. My life itself is in jeopardy,—where then is my happiness? Where is the happiness of parents without their sons? It behoveth thee not, O noble dame, to do evil unto me. I take hold of thy feet; be thou propitious unto me." As bewailing thus like one forlorn the ruler of earth whose heart was captivated by Kaikeyi on account of her supreme beauty proceeded to take hold of her feet, who having banished all self respect, sat with her legs stretched, he, without being able to come at them, fell down in a swoon, like one enfeebled with disease.

SECTION 13.

Then as the mighty king was lying down in this unbeseeming and improper guise, like Yayati dropped from the celestial regions when his religious merit had been exhausted, that lady, personating the ruin of the race, not fearing public odium, who had discerned danger from Rama unto Bharata, not having attained her wish, again addressed the monarch, concerning the boon he had promised unto her,—Thou describest thyself, O mighty monarch, as speaking the truth and firm in vow. Why then dost thou hesitate to confer this boon on me?" Thus addressed by Kaikeyi king Dacaratha, remaining stupified for a while thus answered her in wrath,—"O ignoble one! O enemy of mine! On my being dead, and that chief of men, Rama, reparing to the woods, do thou, thine wish attained, become happy. When in heaven, questioning me as to Rama's welfare, the celestials, learning of his banishment to the woods, will tax me on this score, how shall I also bear that reproach of theirs? If I shall truthfully say I have sent Rama to the woods for compassing Kaikeyi's pleasure, that will count for a falsehood. Sonless first, I have obtained the exceedingly energetic and mighty Rama by great pain,—how can I then renounce him? How shall I banish Rama having eyes resembling lotus' petals, who is heroic, and accomplished and of subdued anger, and forgiving. How shall I dismiss unto Dandaka the charming Rama of dark blue hue like that of a blue lotus, possessed of mighty arms, and having great strength? How shall I behold the intelligent Rama in evil plight, who has never known suffering, and has always enjoyed felicity? If without inflicting injury upon Rama, I meet with death, I shall then attain happiness. O cruel Kaikeyi, O thou of evil purpose, why dost thou do this wrong unto my beloved Rama having truth for prowess? If I banish Rama, an unparalleled obloquy will surely darken (my fair fame).

As king Dacaratha was bewailing thus with a heart wrought up with grief, the sun set and night came on. But although crested with the lunar disc, the night failed to bring comfort unto the king, distressed, and indulging in grief. Then the old king Dacaratha, with his eyes fixed at the sky, sighing hot, lamented in this strain—"O night studded with stars, I beseech thee, let not the morning appear. Do thou, O gentle one, do me this kindness. I do thus clasp my hands (by way of supplication). Or do thou speedily repair for I do not wish to see the hated and relentless Kaikeyi, who has brought this calamity upon me". Having spoken thus, the king conversant with the duties of Sovereigns again endeavoured to propitiate Kaikeyi, saying,—"O noble dame, do thou show favour unto me, who am of honest ways, who am distressed, who have made myself thine, who have finished his life, and who, in especial, am thy king. That I have spoken to thee thus was because, O thou of shapely hips, I had been deprived of my senses (through grief). O girl, do thou show thy favour unto me,—be thou generous,—be thou propitious. Let my Rama obtain the kingdom in fact conferred by thee. Thereupon, O thou having the outer corner of thy eyes of dark blue hue, thou wilt attain high fame (among men). O thou of well-developed hips, do thou do this act of benefit unto me and Rama and the people and the superiors, and Bharata".

Having heard the exceedingly piteous words of her husband, the king of pure sentiment, who was distressed, with his eye rendered coppery and flowing with tears, that wicked minded and merciless woman spoke not. Thereat seeing that his favourite dissatisfied wife persisted in urging the banishment of his son, the king struck with grief, again fell down to the earth, senseless. As the wise king afflicted with sorrow was sighing hot and hard, the night passed away. Then as the eulogists attempted to sing his praises for awakening him, he prohibited them to do so.

SECTION 14.

Then that sinful woman, seeing the descendant of Ikshwaku distressed on account of his son, and deprived of conciousness, and lying inert on the ground, spoke unto him, saying,—"Having promised to grant me the boon, how distressed dost thou lie on the ground, as if thou didst commit some sin? It behoveth thee to keep untainted thy dignity by performing what thou hast promised. Truth, say persons cognisant of it, is the prime virtue. And it is in the interests of virtue, that I have been exhorting thee. Having promised his own person unto the hawk, that lord of earth, Saivya, having granted the same unto the bird, went the excellent way. In the same manner, Alarka, being asked, plucked out his eyes readily and bestowed them on a certain Brahmana versed in the Vedas. And the lord of rivers, having promised, even on occasions of Parvas, does not pass over his bounds for the sake of truth. The one syllable (Onkar) signifying Brahma. is the truth itself, In truth is established righteousness. Truth is the undecaying Vedas, and through truth people attain the foremost state. If thy mind is established in virtue, do thou then follow truth. Since, O excellent one, thou hast promised the boon, let that boon bear fruit. Do thou, incited by me with the view of maintaining virtue, banish Rama. Thrice, do I tell thee. If thou dost not fulfil this noble vow, O worshipful Lord, thou hast made unto me, forsaken by thee will I even in thy very presence renounce my life."

Thus fearlessly urged by Kaikeyi, the king could not take off from himself the noose (of promise), even as Bali could not take off the noose that had been fixed upon him (by Upendra) at the instance of Indra. Thereupon, the king looked blank, and his heart became agitated, like unto a beast of burden moving tortuously when placed within the yoke and wheels. Then calming himself with a great effort, the king, as if not seeing Kaikeyi, with his haggard eyes, addressed her, saying,—"I do here, wicked wretch, renounce that hand of thine which I had held with mantras before the sacrificial fire, and I do also renounce along with thee own-begotten thy son Bharata. O exalted one, the night has departed; and as soon as the Sun rises, the superiors will surely urge me for installing Rama with the provisions that have been procured for the purpose. But if, O thou of auspicious ways, hinderest the installation of Rama, Rama will perform my funeral obsequies, when I am dead,—and not thou accompanied by thy son shalt perform the same. That countenance of Rama which I have once seen expanded in delight, I shall never be able to behold bereft of joy and cheerfulness, and down, with melancholy clouding it."

As the high-souled ruler of earth was speaking thus unto her, the night engarlanded with the moon and stars was succeeded by the morning. Then Kaikeyi of vile ways versed in speech, rendered senseless by wrath, again addressed the monarch in harsh language, saying,—"What words, O king, dost thou say, comparable unto poison or painful indispositions. It behoveth thee to summon hither thy son, the energetic Rama. Having established my son in the kingdom, and rendered Rama a ranger of the woods and made myself rid of rivals, I shall attain my end." Thus urged by Kaikeyi, the king like unto an excellent steed stung by a sharp goad, again spoke unto her,—"I have been bound fast by the ties of virtue,—therefore have I lost my senses. I now only wish to behold my beloved eldest son— the righteous Rama."

Then when the night had gone by and day broke and the Sun arose, and when the sacred astral hour had arrived, Vasishtha endowed with many virtues, surrounded by his disciples and furnished with the provisions, entered that foremost of cities, whose streets had been swept and watered and which had been decorated with streamers, and which was filled with people rejoicing, and whose stalls overflowed with articles, and which resounded with the noise of festivity, and which was populous with folks eager for the installation of Raghava, and which was every where scented with sandal and dhupa and aguru. Having entered the city, like unto the metropolis of Purandara himself, he saw the graceful inner apartment decked with innumerable standards, and which was thronged with citizens and the inhabitants of the provinces, and graced with Brahmanas cognisant of sacrifices, and crowded with highly worshipful assistants at sacrifice, entered the inner apartment and passed by that press. Vasishtha exceedingly delighted, surrounded by great saints, saw at the gate of the charioteer of that great one,—who at the same time was his counseller of gracious looks. Therefore the highly energetic Vasishtha said unto the skilful son of the charioteer,—"Do thou speedily acquaint the mighty monarch that I have come. Here are golden vessels filled with water from the Ganga and the ocean; and for the installation, an excellent udumvara seat, and all kinds of seeds, and scents and various gems, and honey, and curds and clarified butter and fried paddy, and milk, and sacrificial grass, flowers and milk, and eight good-looking maids, and an excellent mad elephant, a car yoked with four horses, and a sword, and an elegant bow, and a carriage containing men, and an umbrella like unto the moon, and two white chowries, and a golden vase, and a pale-coloured bull tethered with a golden chain and bearing a hump adorned with ornaments, and a mighty lion—the best of his race—furnished with four teeth, and a throne, and a tiger-skin, and sacrificial fuel, and fire, and all kinds of musical instruments, and courtezans decked out with ornaments, and preceptors and Brahmanas, and cows, and various kinds of pure animals and birds—have been brought. The foremost citizens and inhabitants of the provinces and the merchants with their retinue,—all these and others, with hearts filled with joy, and mouth speaking pleasant words, stay with the sovereigns to witness the installation of Rama. Do thou urge expedition upon the mighty monarch, so that this day under the influence of the Pushya star Rama may obtain the kingdom."

Hearing these words of his, the charioteer's son possessed of mighty strength, eulogizing that powerful monarch, entered his quarters. And advanced in years, he had before this been granted free access everywhere,—so that the warders, loved of the king and seeking his good, could not prevent his entrance. Not knowing the plight that had befallen the king, Sumantra presenting himself before him, endeavoured to gladden the latter with pleasing speech. And having entered the apartment of the king, the charioteer Sumantra with clasped hands, pleasing the monarch as he proceeded, said,—"Do thou please us delightedly and with a glad heart, even as the strong ocean pleases people at the rising of the sun. The charioteer

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Matuli used to hymn India at this season, and (encouraged by that eulogy) he conquered the Danavas. Even so do I hymn thee. And even as the Vedas with the Angas and other lore indoctrinate the self-create lord Brahma, so do I enlighten thee. As the tan in company with the moon enlightens the fair earth containing creatures, so do I to-day enlighten thee. Arise, O foremost of monarchs, clad in excellent attire and decked with ornaments, like unto the sun issuing from the (mount) Meru. All the articles necessary for the installation of Rama are ready. And the citizens and the inhabitants of the provinces and the merchants stay with clasped hands. And the worshipful Vasishtha stays with the Brahmanas. Do thou, O king, immediately order the installation of Rama. Like unto catties without their keeper, like unto an army without its commander, like unto a night without the moon, like unto kines without their bull, is a kingdom without a king."

Hearing these words of Sumantra, bland and appropriate, the lord of earth was afresh overwhelmed with grief. Then the graceful and virtuous king, waxing disconsolate, on account of his son, and with his eyes reddened with the effect of grief, seeing the charioteer, said,—"This eulogy of thine pains me the more."

Hearing those sorrowful words and finding the lord of earth aggrieved thus, Sumantra with clasped hands went off a little. Seeing, the king utterly incapable of speaking any thing personally owing to his heavy sorrow, Kaikeyi, the best counsellor in matters like these, addressed Sumantra with the following words :—"Sumantra, being elated with joy on account of Rama's installation, the king has kept up the whole night, and being tired therefore, is overpowered with sleep. Go ye therefore speedily, O charioteer, and bring Rama here, the praiseworthy son of king. This will do you good— do not hesitate in this. "How can I go," replied Sumantra, "without the permission of the king?"

Hearing these words of the counsellor, the king spoke to him "Sumantra, bring the beautiful Rama here—I want to see him." Thinking that some good would accrue to Rama, he was pleased at heart and away he went speedily delighted at the royal mandate. Being asked again by Kaikeyi to hurry on at the time of departure Sumantra thought within himself—"Evident it is that the Queen has become impatient to sea Rama's installation and hence is the hurry—and the king will now take rest." Thinking this the energetic charioteer with great delight, intent on seeing Rama, issued out of the city like a lake near the ocean. Having come out of the presence of the king suddenly, he saw the warders, various citizens and great personages sitting at the gate.

SECTION 15.

The Brahmana, versed in Veda, the counsellors, the commanders of military forces and the leading merchants, together with the royal priest, all brimming with joy on account of Rama's installation, were waiting at the royal gate all night long. On the appearance of the bright Sun, on the approach of the day under the astral influence of Pushya and on the ascension of Karkata, the presiding star of Rama's birth, they brought all articles necessary for the installation and as ordered by the best of Brahmanas—namely; gold, earthen jar (for preserving water,) well ornamented excellent seats, chariot with a coverlet of splendid tiger-skin, water brought from the sacred confluence of the Ganges and Jamuna, from other holy streams, lakes, wells, ponds and rivers full of water flowing in the East, over mountains, and from the North to the Sooth; and waters brought from all the oceans, honey, curd, clarified butter, fried paddy, sacrificial grass, milk, flowers, eight unmarried girls exquisitely beautiful, a road elephant, gold and silver jars, adorned with fig leaves and lotuses and filled with holy water, a best yellow chowri for Rama crested with jewels and resembling the bright rays of the moon; a brilliantly ornamented beautiful umbrella of yellow colour, resembling the disc of the moon, and the most important of all the articles necessary for installation; a well adorned yellow ox and horse; and all musical instruments,—bringing these and all other things necessary for the installation of the descendants of Ikshaku, in accordance with the king's permission, the panegyrists and other persons were assembled there. Not finding the king present there, they began to speak amongst themselves:—"Who will intimate the king of our arrival? The Sua is up and we do not see the king amongst us as yet. All articles necessary for the installation of the intelligent Rama are ready." While they were thus conversing, the charioteer Sumantra, well respected by the king, reached there and spoke unto all those persons and the kings the following words. "With the king's permission I am going to bring Rama speedily here. Worshipful you are all to the king and specially to Rama, I shall with your words, ask the king of his sound sleep, and then of the reasons for his not coming here as yet though up from the bed." Saying thus, Sumantra, versed in legends, arrived at the gate of the royal seraglio. And he entered the palace with its open gates; and having entered the appartment of the lord of earth he went into his sleeping room, and placing himself behind a screen near at hand, addressed the descendant of Raghu thus, pleasing him with blessings fraught with good unto him—"Oh! Kakutstha, may the Moon, Sun, Siva, Vaisravana, (the god of wealth), Varuna, (the god of water), Agni and Indra grant thee victory. The worshipful night is gone and blessed morn has arrived; arise, Oh! thou great king, and perform morning ablutions. Brahmanas,commanders and merchants are assembled at the palace gate, desirous of seeing thee, do thou therefore arise, Oh descendant of Raghu."

Peiceiving from the voice that it was charioteer Sumantra versed in good counsels, who was thus eulogising, the king rose up from his bed and thus addressed him:—"O Charioteer 'Bring Rama here' was the order I gave thee; what is it that makes thee neglect my command? I am not asleep; go and bring up Rama here instantly." Saying this, king Dacaratha despatched Sumantra again.

Hearing the words of the king and bowing him with his head down,he issued out of the king's residence,thinking that some great good was awaiting. And having reached the public roads adorned with flags and pennons, he, filled with an excess of joy, began to wend his way, casting his look around. There on his way he heard the passers by, all talking about Rama and his installation, as if brimming with joy on that account. Then proceeding a little, Sumantra saw the beautiful palace of Rama towering like the Kailaca hill and resembling the abode of Sakra. It was closed with two big pannels at the gate way (of which the trap-door was flung open), and adorned with hundreds of terraces, on its top were many idols made of gold, and arches crested with pearls and diamonds; its colour was white as the autumnal cloud and bright as the golden cave of Sumeru; it was ornamented with highly brilliant jewels set in the garlands of gold flowers and strewn with pearls and diamonds and sprinkled with sandal and Aguru, the fragrance of which captivates the mind like the summit of the hill Dardura; it was graced with the presence of Sarasas and peacocks emitting pleasant sounds; and covered with well-made figures of wolves aud pictures of artistic excellence, the splendour of which captivates the mind and the eye as well; bright as the sun and moon, resembling the abode of Kuveraand the capital of the king of the celestials; filled with brids of various kinds and high as the summit of Sumeru, Sumantra saw the palace filled with people coming from different quarters with clasped hands, and adorned with citizens approaching with various presents and eager (to see the installation of Rama; and (standing at the gate) being prevented by the warders to enter; resembling a huge cloud, of picturesque situation, spacious, strewn with pearls and diamonds and crowded with servants. That charioteer, in his chariot with its wooden ledge and horses, beautifying the crowded streets and pleasing the citizens, entered the abode of Rama. There- upon arriving at this abode filled with wealth, and having its beauty greatly intensified with deers and peacocks, moving to and fro, resembling the exqusitely splendid palace of the lord of the celestials,that charioteer was extremely enraptured, having the hairs of the body erect. Then that charioteer entering several apartments, well adorned and resembling the Kailaca hill and the abode of the celestials and passing by many persons, dear unto Rama and abiding in his purpose, entered the apartment of the ladies. And he became exceedingly pleased on hearing pleasant words, meaning well unto the son of the king, from all persons, engaged in some sort of service for the installation. He saw the pleasant abode of Rama, resembling that of Mahendra, and filled with deers and birds, having its top high as the summit of Meru and situated well in splendour, and the gateway filled with millions of citizens with clasped hands keeping their conveyances outside and coming from various quarters with presents for Rama. He saw there a wild elephant by the name of Satrunjaya or the conqueror of foes, having a huge boly resembling a mountain enveloped in dark clouds, beautiful, capable of bearing the goading hook and intended as Rama's conveyance. He saw well adorned ministers dear unto the king with horses, chariots and elephants; and leaving them all on either side, entered unprevented, like unto the marine monster Makara entering the ocean containing many pearls and diamonds, the splendid apartment of the ladies, resembling the clouds that hover over the summit of the Hill Himadri, and having a number of beautiful houses comparing with great celestial cars.

SECTION 16.

Sumantra, well versed in legends, after passing by the gateways crowded with people, reached the solitary apartment (of Rama), having youthful warders, carrying darts and bows wearing ear-rings, cautious, attentive and devoted, and saw (seated at the gate) several old men, commanding female warders, mindful of duty, wearing red cloths and excellent ornaments, and having rattans in their hands. They all seeing Sumantra, ever wishing good unto Rama, approach, rose suddenly up from their seats with due respect. The bumble-minded charioteer then said to them:—"Go and speedily communicate unto Rama that Sumantra is waiting at the gate." At this the warders, desirous of doing good unto their master, nearing Rama, speedily comunicated these words unto him who was in the company of his wife. Rama hearing of the arrival of his father's charioteer, ordered him to enter into the apartment, having his father's pleasure in view. He (on entering) saw Rama resembling Vaisravana, well adorned and seated on a gold sofa, with a beautiful coverlet on; having his body sprinkled with holy and fragrant sandal of the best kind, red as the blood of a hog; and having by him Sita with a chowri in her hand, like Moon himself in the company of Chitra.

Whereupon Sumantra, acquainted with decorum, humbly saluted him (Rama), the conferrer of great boons, and resplendent like the mid-day sun; and he well honoured by the king, seeing the king's son seated on the sleeping sofa with a delighted countenance, spoke these words unto him with clasped hands:—"Oh, Rama, great son of Kaucalya, thy father and the queen Kaikeyi want to see thee; so it behoveth thee to go there without delay." Being pleased with these words the mighty hero of great effulgence, honoured his father's behest and spoke unto Sita thus,— "Ob, darling, doubt there is none that my father, going to Kaikeyi, is parleying with her regarding my installation. Concieving the king's intention that clever lady, of dark eyes and desirous of doing good unto the king, that mother, the daughter of the king of Kekaya, pleased and intent upon king's welfare as well as upon that of mine, is hastening the monarch for my installation. Fortunately for me, the monarch in the company of his Queen has despatched Sumantra, intent upon my welfare. Worthy of the meeting at the inner apartment, the messenger has come, and I doubt not that the monarch shall install me to-day as the heir-apparent of his throne. Therefore I shall speedily go hence and see my father. Do thou remain and enjoy here the company of thy friends."

Regarded by her husband, Sita, of dark eyes and intent upon her husband's welfare, followed him to the entrance and said:—"May the great monarch bestow upon thee first the heir-apparentship, and afterwards the dignity of the Paramount power like Brahma granting kingdom unto Vasava. I shall be ministering unto thee, seeing thee initiated, engaged in ceremonies, wearing excellent deer skin for cloth and carrying horns in the hands. May Indra protect thee on the East, may Yama (Death) protect thee on the South, and Varuna (God of water) on the West and Kuvera (God of wealth) on the North." Being greeted with benedictory ceremonies, Rama, bidding farewell to Sita, issued out of his house like unto a lion, living in the den of a mountain. He saw Lakshmana standing at the gate with clasped hands, and met all his friends assembled at the middle apartment. Then that great son of the king, casting a glance upon them all who were present there to see him and pleasing them with sweet words ascended, like unto the thousand-eyed Indra, the splendid chariot, made of silver and coated with tiger-skin, and bright like the fire itself, making a noise (when going) like the roaring of clouds; defying all obstacles, adorned with jewels, and gold, dazzling the eye-sight and bright like the golden peaks of Sumeru. It had two excellent horses tied to it like unto two young elephants, and was of quick motion, resembling that of Indra's chariot carried by his horses. Ascending the car, Raghava, of great effulgence, went speedily on, making (the space)resounded like unto the muttering cloud on the sky. He issued out of his abode like the beautiful moon passing through a huge cloud. And Lakshmana, the younger brother of Raghava, standing behind him on the car with a splendid Chowri in his hand, began to guard his body. And there was caused a great tumult by the crowd gathering around on the issuing out of Rama. Then followed in his train many hundreds and thousands of beautiful horses and elephants resembling hills in their appearance; and went before him hundreds of heroes, well accoutered, and having their bodies sprinkled with sandal and Aguru and holding swords and arms in their hands, and other persons uttering benedictions. He heard on the way sounds of musical instruments, eulogy of the panegyrists and lion-like roars of the heroes. Exquisitely beautiful damsels, adorned with various ornaments and dresses, standing by the windows began to shower flowers upon the head of the foe-destroyer Rama, and those spotless beauties with a view to please Rama,some standing on the buildings and some on the ground began to praise him:—"Oh thou, delight of thy mother, surely has mother Kaucalya become exceedingly gratified, on seeing thee of successful journey to accept the heir- apparentship of the throne." Those ladies thought that Sita, the captivater of Rama's heart was surely the best of all women and for certain had she performed some great austerities in her past life or else she would not have been the companion of Rama, like unto Rohini, the companion of Moon. That best among men heard these pleasant words from those ladies standing on the buildings and on high-ways. Raghava then heard the people coming from different quarters and the well-pleased citizens, talking amongst themselves regarding him in the following strain. "This Raghava going shall obtain through the grace of the king great wealth, and all our desires will be gratified when he will become our governor. It is a great gain to the subjects that he is going to get for ever the entire empire at once; he being the lord of the people, no body shall witness any misfortune or unpleasant thing." Like unto Vaisravana he began to proceed,

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being dignified by the horses and elephants going before sending forth great sound, and eulogised in various metres by persons singing his glory, by the panegyrists and by men tracing his noble ancestry. He saw the courtyard thronged with young and old elephants, horses, chariots, and the high-ways crowded all over with people, many pearls and various merchandises.

SECTION 17.

Rama, having his friends delighted, ascending the car, and viewing the city adorned with pennons and flags and incensed with Dhupa and Aguru, entered the high way, crowded with people and containing houses coloured as the pale white clouds, and the place between the two rows whereof scented with Dhupa and Aguru. It was a splendidly spacious road decorated with a collection of sandal, Aguruand other fine scents, with silk and red cloth, with pearls holed and other valuable crystals and strewn with various flowers and filled with edibles multiform. Like unto the lord of celestials in heaven he saw this high way and the court-yard covered with curd, clarified butter, fried paddy, Dhupa, Aguru and sandal, and embellished with garlands and other scents. Having heard benedictions uttered by many in the following strain and paying proper respects unto all, he wended his way. "Being installed this day do thou following in the footsteps of thy father and grand-fathers cherish and protect us. Thou taking the reins of government we shall live more happily than what we were under your ancestors. Seek not we earthly comforts or the highest things (in the life to come), if we can only see Rama installed in the kingdom issuing out from his father's abode. There is nothing more pleasant to us than the installation of the highly energetic Rama on the throne." Rama, hearing these and other auspicious words from his friends eulogising his own self, went on his way without being moved. Raghava passed away, but not a single person could withdraw his eyes and mind from that best of men. In fact he who did not see Rama, and whom Rama did not see, was looked down by all. and he considered himself contemptible. That righteous one showed mercy unto all, old and young, of the four castes, and hence, thty were all obedient to him. He proceeded leaving on his left side the junctions of four roads, the paths leading to temples, the religious fig trees and altars, and reached after all the family dwelling of the king, with its palatial tops piercing the sky, looking beautiful, resembling mass of clouds, white as the celestial cars and high as the hill Kailaca, and with sporting houses adorned with pearls. And the son of the monarch, shining in beauty, entered into the palace of his father, the best on earth resembling the abode of Mahendra. Dacaratha's son, the best of men, crossed in his chariot three apartments guarded by warriors with bows in their hands, and other two on foot, and in this way passing by all, and ordering his followers to go back, entered the inner apartment. That son of the king entering into the presence of his father, all were extremely gladdened and were eagerly expecting his return like unto the lord of water expecting the appearance of the moon.

SECTION 18.

Rama saw his father, seated on a beautiful sofa with Kaikeyi, looking sorry and poorly and with his countenance dried up. And humbly bowing down at the feet of his father first, he saluted Kaikeyi with due solemnity. Uttering the word "Rama" only, the poor king with his eyes full of tears could not eye him nor could he speak to him. Seeing this unforeseen and terrible appearance of the king, like unto a serpent trampled under foot, Rama was exceedingly terrified. He was dejected and pulled down much with sorrow and penitence. He was sighing hot and hard and his heart was greatly pained. His heart was troubled like the wavy ocean agitating though incapable of agitation,and clouded like the Sun possessed by Rahu, and (that of) an ascetic speaking falsehood. Thinking of this unthought of sorrow of the king he became agitated like unto the ocean during the course of the full-moon. And clever Rama, intent on bis father's welfare, thought within himself:—"Why does not the king display joy on my arrival to-day? Angry though, he used to express joy whenever he saw me; then why does his sorrow prevail even seeing me to-day?" Being pressed with sorrow, Rama of pale countenance, like one miserable, saluting Kaikeyi, spoke unto her the following words. "Is it not that I committed some offence through ignorance that I see my father angry? Do thou propitiate him therefore. Why is his mind so aggrieved who was so kind to me, and why does he look poorly and of pale countenance who used to welcome me always with kind words? Is he subject to any physical or mental disturbance? Oh! happiness uninterrupted is very dear. Has any evil befallen the good-looking Bharata or high souled Satrughana? Is it not all well with my mothers? Dissatisfying the king, disregarding his words and offending him, I do not want to breathe for a single moment. How can a man disregard him who is god himself seen and felt, and who is looked upon as a cause from whom he has sprung. Oh mother, hast thou spoken any harsh word to my father either through anger or through haughtiness for which his mind is thus pulled down? Oh worshipful one, tell me all this, who am exceedingly anxious to get at the real truth. Why has this unforeseen sorrow overtaken the heart of the lord of men?"

Being thus addressed by the high-souled Raghava, that exceedingly shameless Kaikeyi spoke unto him the following impudent words, fraught with her self-interest. "Oh Rama, the monarch is not angry nor has any danger befallen him. He has got something in his mind which he cannot speak out through thy fear. Thou art his most beloved son and word does not proceed from his mouth to speak thee things unpleasant. But it behoveth thee to carry out what the monarch has promised unto me. Formerly regarding me very highly he conferred on me two boons and he now repents for that like a common person. Promising 'I give thee' the lord of earth granted me these boons; in vain he wishes to set up a dyke when all the water has passed away. Oh Rama, it is known to thee that truth is the root of all religion and may he not renounce that for thee, being angry with me. If do thou carry out all that the king will speak to thee, good or evil, then I shall relate unto thee every thing. If what I, with the king's permission, speak to thee, does not go useless, I shall speak unto the all; thee king will not speak any thing."

Hearing these words uttered by Kaikeyi, Rama, pained at heart, spoke unto her in the presence of the king in the following way:—"Oh! shame to me. May it not please thee, Oh worshipful lady, to speak such words to me. I can at the king's words jump into the fire. Being ordered by him, who is my father and who is my king especially, I can drink virulent poison and drown into the ocean. Speak thou, Oh worshipful lady, what is the desire of thy king, and know that I shall carry it out—Rama does not contradict what he has once spoken." Then that wicked Kaikeyi spoke these highly cruel words unto Rama, simple and truthful. "Formerly in a great war between the gods and Asuras, thy father, being wounded with shafts was tended by me for which he conferred upon me two boons. Of these two boons I have asked of the king the installation of Bharata, and the departure of Raghava into the Dandaka forest even this very day. Oh thou, best among men, if do thou wish to keep thy father's vows as well as thine, hear what I say. Thy father is bound unto me by promise, obeying therefore thy father's mandate, do thou repair unto the forest for nine years and five. Bharata shall be installed, Oh Raghava, by all those articles which have been brought by the monarch for thy installation. Forsaking this installation, do thou repair unto Dandaka forest for seven and seven years and wear bark and matted hair. And here in this Kocala let Bharata govern the world, adorned with many pearls and diamonds, with elephants, horses and chariots. The king, filled with pity and having his face marked with the affliction of sorrow, cannot cast a glance upon thee. Oh thou descendant of Raghu, do thou carry out these words of the Lord of men and save him by redeeming these great vows of his." Hearing these cruel words of her, Rama was not grieved; but the generous king afflicted with the thought of the approaching separation with his son, was greatly pained.

SECTION 19.

Hearing these unpleasant words like unto death, Rama, the destroyer of foes, was not pained, and spoke thus unto Kaikeyi. "Be it what thou sayst; carrying out the promise of the king, I shall repair unto the forest from this place wearing bark and matted hair. Now I want to know only why that lord of the earth, invincible and the conqueror of foes, does not receive me in the same way as he used to do on previous occasions. Be not angry, Oh worshipful one, I speak before thee, be thou propitiated well, and I shall go to the forest wearing bark and matted hair. What is there that I cannot perform, considering it good without suspicion, if I am ordered so by my well-wisher, spiritual leader, father and king, who acknowledges thy service (rendered in time of danger). But this one sorrow burns my heart, why king did not tell me personally of the installation of Bharata. What of the command of the king, my father, I shall even at thy mandate joyfully make over unto Bharata, my kingdom, Sita, wealth and even my life, thereby satisfying thee, aad fulfilling my promise. Do thou now console the bashful king; why has he, with his eyes steadily fixed on the ground, been shedding tears slowly? Let messengers, with fast going steeds go to-day at the command of the king to fetch Bharata from his maternal uncle's house. And I shall, not even judging the propriety of my father's words, speedily repair unto the forest of Dandaka for fourteen years." Hearing those words of Rama, Kaikeyi was pleased, and being certain about his departure, hurried on Raghava. "Let it be that messengers with fast going steeds shall go to bring Bharata from his maternal uncle's residence. I do not think it proper for thee, O Rama, to delay, when thou art so anxious; it behoves thee therefore to depart from this place speedily unto the forest. The king being abashed, does not himself address thee, there is nothing else than this. Do thou, Oh best of men, dispel this wretchedness of his. As long as thou shalt not hurriedly depart froth his presence, Oh Rama. thy father shall not bathe, or eat anything." 'Oh fie!' 'what affliction' sobbing hard with these words, the monarch, filled with sorrow, swooned away and fell down upon the sofa, embellished with gold. Raising the king up, Rama, being directed by Kaikeyi, began to hurry on his departure to the forest, like unto a steed struck sharp with a whip. Hearing those cruel and unpleasant words of the wicked Kaikeyi, Rama, not being distressed, began to address her with the following words. "Oh worshipful one, being addicted to wealth do I not long for living in this world; like unto Rishis, know me, to be well established in pure religion. If I can, even at the sacrifice of my own life, satisfy my worshipful father rest assured it is to be done first in all manner. There is no virtue greater than the serving of the father and carrying out his words. Even though not commanded by him, I shall; for thy words, live in a solitary forest for fourteen years. Oh Kaikeyi, certain it is that thou art not acquainted with my foremost virtues, inasmuch as possessing full authority to rule me, thou hast requested the monarch for this. Excuse me until I ask my mother, and comfort Sita; even this very day shall I wend my way unto the great forest of Dandaka. It behoves thee to do that by which Bharata may govern the kingdom and tend our father, for this is the virtue eternal." Hearing these words of Rama, his father, greatly afflicted and incapable of speaking anything on account of sorrow, began to cry aloud. Worshipping the feet of the king lying insensible, and those of vicious Kaikeyi, that greatly effulgent one went out. And reverentially going round his father and Kaikeyi, and issuing out of the female apartment, Rama saw his own friends and relatives. Then followed him Lakshmana, the enhancer of Sumitra's joy, greatly angry and with his eyes full of tears. Going round with reverence the house of instalation full of necessary articles, not turning away from it his wistful look, Rama began to proceed slowly. Loss of kingdom could not diminish the great beauty of that beloved of the people on account of its everlasting pleasantness, like unto the wane of the moon. There was manifest in him no change of mind, who was about to fly as an exile to the forest and leave the world, like unto one emancipated while yet living. Leaving aside the excellent umbrella and well adorned chowries, forsaking his relatives, chariot, citizens and other people, calmly bearing the affliction in mind and not manifesting the outward signs of sorrow, Rama, with a view to communicate this unpleasant news to his mother, entered her abode. All persons, who were present there and who adorned themselves on account of the installation, did not percieve any sign of mental agony on the face of Rama. Like unto the rays of the fully brilliant autumnal moon, that hero of mighty arms, having control over himself, did not forsake his native cheerfulness. The pious Rama, having high fame, entered into the presence of his mother, manifesting great regards for the people with sweet speech. Then followed him, the son of Sumitra, of mighty prowess, of equal accomplishments with his brother, and bearing the mental sorrow. Rama, entering the abode of his mother, saw it filled with all sorts of amusements; and even though his mind was not agitated with any mental disturbance seeing the impending calamity of loss of wealth, he was anxious lest the lives of his dear relatives might be in danger.

SECTION 20.

There arose a great uproar of cry in the apartment of the females, when that best of men went out with clasped hands. 'That Rama, who used to serve all the females in all matters even without his father's permission, who was our stay and protector, is going to the forest. Raghava from his birth pays as much attention to us as to his mother Kaucalya. He, who being cursed, does not get angry, pacifies the wrathful and studiously avoids words and deeds that excite anger in others, will repair hence this day unto the forest. Senseless is our king, who forsakes Raghava who is the stay of all people, and thus kills his subjects." Thus the queens of Dacaratha, like unto the cows that have lost their young ones, began to blame him and cry aloud. Hearing this terrible uproar of cry in the female apartment, that lord of earth, racked with sorrow on account of his son, hid himself in the seat (with head hanging downdards). Rama too, having control over his own self, experiencing sorrow (for his relatives) and sobbing like an (enchained) elephant, entered into his mother's apartment together with his brother. He saw a venerable old man, sitting at the gate and many other persons. All those present, seeing Rama, began to shower benedictions on him, the best of all victorious heroes, saying, "Victory unto thee." Having passed through the first apartment he saw in the second, many old Brahmins, versed in the Vedas and honoured by the king. Having bowed down unto them, Rama saw in the third apartment, women, boys, and old men, all engaged in watching the gate. The female warders honoured Rama rejoicing, and entering his mother's apartment, communicated unto her speedily this pleasant news. Worshipful Kaucalya, seeking her son's welfare, kept up the whole night being absorbed in meditation, and was, in the morning, worshipping the God Vishnu. Wearing silk-cloth, pleased, and accustomed to the performance of religious rites every day, she, performing benedictory ceremonies, was offering oblation unto the fire. Rama entering the auspicious

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abode of his mother beheld her thus engaged in the sacrifice to the fire. The descendant of Raghu saw there, brought for the service of the celestials, curd, grains, clarified butter, sweetmeats, things fit for oblations unto the fire, fried paddy, white garlands, rice boiled in milk and sugar, rice sesamum and pea mixtures, sacrficial fuels and jars full of water. He saw his virtuous mother wearing white silk, pulled down by the austere performance of religious rites, and engaged in propitiating the deities with the offering of water. She seeing her son, ever advancing the joy of his mother, approach, became pleased, and stepped forward like unto a mare beholding her young one. Seeing his mother approach, Raghava bowed low, and (Kaucalya) embracing him in her arms smelt his head. Kaucalya, out of motherly affection, spoke these sweet and beneficient words unto her own invincible son, Raghava. "Mayst thou obtain the life and fame of the pious, old Rajarshis, and the virtue worthy of thy family. See, Oh Raghava, how truthful is your father the king! That virtuous- souled one shall install thee this day as the heir-apparent of the throne." Raghava, humble by nature, who was offered by his mother a seat and asked by her to eat something, streching forth a little his clasped hands, and with his head downwards with a view to show respects towards his mother, touched the seat, and began to relate unto her the object of his repairing unto the Dandaka forest. "O worshipful one, certain it is that thou knowest not the great impending calamity. It is for the distress of thine, Lakshmana and Vaidehi, that shall I wend my way unto the Dandaka forest. What is the use of a seat to me then? Now is the time come when I deserve a seat made of Kusa grass. I shall live in the forest for fourteen years abstaining from animal food and living on tuberous roots and fruits like unto the ascetics. The king shall confer upon Bharata the heir-apparentship and shall banish me as an ascetic into the forest. And I shall live in that solitary forest for eight and six years, feasting on roots, and fruits and performing the duties of a hermit." Like unto the stem of a sala tree cut asunder by an axe in a wood, like unto a female celestial fallen down from the abode of the gods, she fell down suddenly (hearing these heart-rending words.) Rama seeing his mother, who deserved no distress, fall down like a plantain tree and insensible, raised her up, and finding her covered with dust all over her body like unto a mare risen up after rolling on the ground on account of toil of bearing heavy burden wiped oflf (her body) gently with his hand. She, deserving happiness, being racked with the destruction of her delight spoke thus unto Raghava, that best of men, in the presence of Lakshmana. "Oh! my son, Oh! Raghava, hadst thou not been born for my grief I would have been sonless only, but would not have been subject to this greater grief. A sonless woman has only one cause of mental affliction. Her only sorrow is "I have no child" and nothing else my son. I have not experienced in my life that blessing and pleasure which women generally feel when their husbands are devoted to them. I have sustained my life so long, O Rama, only with the hope that I shall witness this and other happiness when I shall have a son. Myself, being the eldest of all the queens, shall have to hear unpleasant and heart-rending words from the co-wives who are all younger than I. There can be no greater misery for women than this my boundless grief and lamentations. Thou being present, they have reduced me to this miserable plight, I do not know what else they will do, thou being away; there is death certain for me, Oh my darling! Being disregarded by my husband I have been greatly insulted—I am equal to the maid-servants of Kaikeyi or even inferior to them. Those who serve me or are obedient unto me, shall not even speak with me when they will see the son of Kaikeyi (installed). She is always of fretful temper, how shall I, reduced to misery (on account of thy exile), eye the face of Kaikeyi, uttering harsh words. I have spent, Oh Raghava, ten years and seven from thy (second) birth* expecting a termination of my sorrow. [* Here the commentators differ in fixing the age of Rama at the time of his going to the forest. Rama's age was under sixteen at the time of marriage, and after he was married to Sica he enjoyed her company for twelve years, when the proposal of installation was made. This makes totally an age of twenty-seven. In the text 'dasa saptacha' (ten and seven) ten years fall short which are to be made up by taking into account the age of ten being left out, preceding Rama's entering into the second birth which begins at maunji-bandhana or initiation into the mysteries of the Vedic literature. Following the example of Bhashyakara Patanjali, the commentator, Ramanuju has in the sentence 'dasa saptacha' supplied another (dasa) (ten) by means of ellipsis, thus giving an age of twenty-seven. This, however, contradicts the statement of Sita to Ravana in guise of an anchorite, informing him of the age of her husband being twenty-five. A modern annotator with great ingenuity has devised ways to make up this discrepancy. The age of Rama was under sixteen, when Visvamitra asked his assistance in destroying Taraka. 'Under sixteen' may mean fifteen or twelve as well. After marriage at twelve, Rama enjoyed twelve years more the pleasure of home. This giving in total twenty-four, it is to be supposed that when he was exiled he stepped at twenty-five. The text 'dasa saptacha' is correct, considering the age of eight being left out preceding his second birth at the initiation into the mysteries of the Veda.] Even though worn out, Oh Raghava, I shall not be able to suffer this great misery cosequent upon thy unending exile and the contempt of the co-wives. How shall I, of miserable life pass my days in grief not seeing thy face, effulgent like unto the full-moon. Wretched as I am, in vain have I brought thee up with fasts, contemplations and many other toilsome austerities. Surely, I consider my heart is very hard, as it does not rend like unto the bank of a great river in contact with new water in the rainy season. There is no death for me— no vacant place in the abode of Yama; otherwise why does not Death take me away like unto a lion snatching away a weeping hind; certain it is that my heart is made of iron, as it does not rend nor does my body being pressed down with this sorrow and falling) down on earth, break into pieces; verily have I no death before time. This distresses me that all my religious vows, alms givings, self-restraint and austerity, performed with a view of obtaining a son, have been fruitless, like unto the seeds thrown on a barren soil. If any body in this life, being pressed down with some great calamity, could meet with death of his own accord, I would have instantly gone to the abode of dealh, being cut off from thee like unto a cow from her young one. Oh, thou, having a countenance of moon-like splendour, wretched indeed is my life without thee—I shall follow thee to the forest out of great affection, like unto an enfeebled cow following her young one. Kaucalya like a Kinnari unable to bear this great calamity, anticipating some great misfortune and seeing Rama bound (with a great vow), began to lament in various ways.

SECTION 21.

At this time Lakshmana, sorely distressed, addressed the weeping Kaucalya, the mother of Rama with the following words suitable to that occasion. "I like it not, Oh worshipful one, that Raghava, should repair unto the forest, renouncing this grandeur of sovereignty. The king is uxorious, old and therefore of perverted judgment and is addicted to worldly affairs; being under the influence of his wife and passion what could he not speak? I do not see any such fault or sin in Rama that he should be banished from the kingdom to range in the wood. I do not find any such man in this world, even amongst great enemies, who, forsaken for heinous sins, can cite, even in his absence, any fault of him. Observing what law of righteousness does the monarch, without any cause, renounce such a son who is like unto celestials, simple, well disciplined and beloved even of the enemies? What son, remembering his father's conduct, shall carry in his heart these words of the king, who has again gone back to childhood? Ere people come to know this proposal of exile, do thou secure the government of the kingdom unto thyself with me. Who can disturb the installation, Oh Raghava, myself protecting thee by thy side with my bows, like unto Death himself. If any body stands here as an enemy, surely shall I, Oh best of men, depopulate the whole city of Ayodhya with sharp arrows. I shall immolate all who shall stand by Bharata or wish him well—certainly mildness brings about discomfiture. If father being propitiated and excited by Kaikeyi, turns out to be our enemy, he shall be slain, without any hesitation. Even a spiritual leader deserves chastisement if he is puffed up with pride, and is devoid of the power of judging good actions and bad, and when he is gone astray. Tell me, Oh best of men, by what law of virtue and what reason does he purpose to confer this kingdom upon Kaikeyi, which has devolved upon thee (by the law of inheritance). Who dares conferring on Bharata the kingdom, carrying hostility with me and thee? Oh worshipful one, verily am I attached at heart to my brother. By truth, bow, gifts and things dear unto me, do I swear unto thee; if Rama shall enter into the wood, know me, Oh worshipful one, to have entered into the fire before that Like unto the sun dispelling darkness, shall I remove thy sorrow by dint of my power; may your worshipful self and Raghava witness it. Readily shall I despatch my father, whose heart is unduly attached unto Kaikeyi and who is therefore vile and being old contemptibly playing the child." Hearing these words of the high-souled Lakshmana, Kaucalya weeping and being pressed with sorrow spoke these words unto Rama. "You have heard, Oh my son, what your brother Lakshmana said; and if you like, do what seems reasonable unto thee. It does not behove thee, hearing the sinful words given vent to by the co-wife, to repair hence, leaving me who is sore distressed with sorrow. Oh thou pious one, having knowledge of religion, if do thou wish to acquire righteousness, serve me here and continue practising the best of all virtues. Hear, Oh my son, the great ascetic Kasyapa, lived in his house, serving his mother continually and being crowned with best moral merit reached heaven. As the monarch is worshipful unto thee in veneration so am I. I do not permit thee, to repair hence unto the forest. Separated from thee I do not need life or happiness; with thee I would prefer faring on grass. If do thou depart unto the forest leaving me troubled with sorrow, I shall resort to the vow of fasting and shall not be able to sustain my life. And then thou shalt receive the penalty of hell, well known to the people, as did the ocean, the lord of rivers, for like, unrighteousness, suffer the agony of Brahminicide." Whereupon unto his mother Kaucalya, sorrowful and weeping, spoke Rama, virtuous-souled, these words of righteousness. "There is no power in me to transgress my father's behests; bend low I my head unto thee—I want to proceed to the forest. The learned Rishi Kandu, who lived in the forest keeping the word of his father, killed a cow, knowing it to be unrighteousness. In our line the descendants of Sagara, at the command of their father, met with signal destruction, while digging the earth. Rama the son of Jamadagni, at his father's words, decapitated his mother in the forest. These and other god-like personages, Oh worshipful one, obeyed heroically the orders of their father; and I shall do my father's welfare therefore. It is not I alone who am carrying out my father's commands; those whom I have mentioned now, O worshipful one, have done so. I am not introducing some such righteousness, unfavourable unto thee, that has been never practised before. I am simply treading the path, that has been upheld and followed by worthies gone before. Surely shall I accomplish that which is worthy of being performed in this world and nothing else—one going by his father's behests is not certainly degraded."

Saying these words unto his mother, that best of men versed in speech and best of archers, again spoke unto Lakshmana all these words. "I know full well, Oh Lakshmana, thy affection towards me and thy power, strength and unconquerable force. Not knowing my settted conviction in regard to truth and peace, my mother, Oh beautiful Lakshmana, is so disturbed with incomparable sorrow. Righteousness is the prime object in this world and in righteousness is established truth, and this excellent utterance of my father is in keeping with righteousness. It does not become them, O hero, who abide in righteousness to fail to carry out the commands of father, mother or a Brahmin. While I have been, Oh warrior, ordered by Kaikeyi at my father's words, I shall not be able to transgress those behests again. Do thou relinquish therefore this unrighteous purpose of thine consequent to the virtues of the Kshatriyas; do thou abide by righteousness but not cruelty, and follow my decision." Saying these words unto Lakshmana out of fraternal affection, spoke again Rama to Kaucalya with clasped hands and with his head bending low. "I do bind thee with an oath of my life, Oh venerable one, to allow me to wander away hence into the wood. Do thou perform benedictory ceremonies for my welfare. Like unto the royal saint Yayati in the days of yore once falling on earth going again to the abode of celestials, I shall, fulfilling my vows, again return home from the forest. Do thou, Oh mother, assuage thy grief within thy heart; lament not thou, I shall return home again from the wood after making good my father's words. Myself, Lakshmana, Vaidehi, Sumitra and thyself shall abide by father's words, and this is the virtue eternal. Desisting from the ceremonies of installation and allaying thy sorrow in thy heart do thou, Oh my mother, follow my pious decision about retiring to the forest". Hearing those pious, sober and reasonable words of Rama, the venerable mother, regaining her sense like unto the dead, and casting her look upon him, spoke to him again the following words. "I am equally worshipful unto thee, Oh my son, with your father, for like him have I brought thee up with pains and like him do I love thee. I shall not allow thee to repair unto the forest and it does not behove thee to go leaving me behind sore distressd with grief. Without thee, of what avail to me is my life, my relatives, the worship of the manes and the deities and the knowledge of divine truth on this earth? Prefer do I thy company even for a moment to the presence of all creation." Hearing these sorrowful words of his mother, Rama was again inflamed with ire, like unto an elephant goaded with a fire-brand, when entering into darkness. He, abiding in righteousness spoke such pious words unto his mother, almost insensible, and unto the son of Sumitra, bewailing and racked with sorrow, as he was justified to utter on that occasion. "I know, Oh Lakshmana, thy deep respects unto me and thy power. It is not proper for thee to pain me along with my mother, not being cognisant of my intention. Righteousness, wealth, and the objects of desire are looked upon with great esteem in this world of the created but when the occasion for obtaining the result consequent upon the virtuous deeds of a prior life appears, all these three, I have no doubt, are fulfilled in righteousness, as the wife alone, obedient, charming and having a son (fulfils them all). It is not becoming for us to perform all those things where these three do not combine—whence results righteousness that we should resort to. A man seeking wealth becomes despicable, and one subject to desires is not admired by any (when bereft of righteousness). Who of us, having no tendency to wickedness, shall not obey the command of our father knowing it to be righteousness, who is old, our monarch and preceptor in military training, be it an outcome of his desires, anger or joy. For this it is that I am unable to act against my father's vow—he is our father and therefore can command us both like a master; and he is the husband of this venerable one, therefore her stay and righteousness itself. The righteous monarch is still living and continues in his own path when ready to redeem his vow even by renouncing me—how can

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this worshipful one accompany me like other insignificant widows? Do thou permit me therefore, to repair unto the forest and perform benedictory ceremonies for me so that I may again return home like unto Yajati regaining heaven by truth. I cannot neglect eminent fame being impelled by avarice for kingdom alone. Life is but of short duration, Oh worshipful one, and as such I do not long for acquiring this nether earth by means unrighteous." Rama, that foremost of men, with a view to range into the forest Dandaka after patiently propitiating his mother and instructing fully his younger brother the mysteries of righteousness, went round his mother with reverence and made up his mind to repair unto the forest.

SECTION 22.

Hereafter holding the equanimity of mind with patience self-possessed Rama spoke thus unto the son of Sumitra, his dear brother, and friend, who was greatly sorry, had lost his patience and was pressed down with this misfortune of Rama, and had his eyes inflated with anger like unto an infuriated elephant;—"Subduing this anger and sorrow, taking recourse to patience only, brooking the insult and resorting to joy, do thou set aside all those things that have been collected here for my installation and make preparations speedily for my repairing to the forest. Oh son of Sumitra, do thou take that amount of trouble for preventing now the collection of materials for installation, as didst thou take beforehand for collecting them. Do thou act therefore in such a way as will remove the apprehension from the mind of our mother (Kaikeyi), who is troubled at heart so greatly on hearing of my installation. O son of Sumitra, I cannot neglect for a moment the trouble which hass arisen in her mind on account of this fear. I do not remember to have done on any occasion wilfully or unwilfully any thing that is displeasing onto my father or mothers. My father is of truthful words and vows and he has been greatly terrified by the fear of the next world; may his fear disappear now. If this work of installation be not stopped, my father shall be greatly pained at heart thinking that his vows shall not be fulfilled and his sorrow will also ache me. And it is for this reason, Oh Lakshmana, that I purpose speedily to retire from this city to the forest, renouncing the preparations for my installation. On my wandering away unto the forest to-day, the daughter of Kekaya shall have her ends attained and shall install Bharata on the throne without any disturbance whatsoever. Myself going to the forest, wearing bark, tiger-skin and matted hair, Kaikeyi shall attain the happiness of her mind. That great One, who has inspired Kaikeyi with this mode of mind and has kept it firm, I cannot offend. I shall repair hence without any delay. Do thou regard, Oh Lakshmana, Destiny as the only cause of this transfer of the kingdom, although attained, and of my banishment. Had not Destiny been instrumental in bringing about this determination in Kaikeyi, she would not have been so much persevering in the infliction of misery upon me. Knowest thou, Oh gentle Lakshmana, that I have never made any distinction in my mind between my mothers, nor did Kaikeyi make any such thing before between me and her son; consequently it is Destiny only that has made her press for the prevention of my installation and for my exile with harsh and cruel words, or else why should she, a daughter of a king and possessed of an excellent temper and high accomplishments, speak painful words unto me in the presence of her husband like unto an ordinary woman. That which is above comprehension is Destiny and it is beyond the power of creatures to avert its consequences; and evidently it is through this Destiny that have sprung up this distemper of Kaikeyi and my loss of kingdom. What man dares withstand Oh son of Sumitra, this (terrible) Destiny hidden from our view until known by the consequences of action. Destiny is the prime source of those inconceivable causes which occur with reference to happiness misery, fear, and anger, profit and loss, birth and deliverance. Seers of great austerity being influenced by this Destiny, succumb to the attack of anger and desire, renouncing all their hard disciplines. The hinderance in this world to the completion of works taken in hand, and the origination of an unthought of event in its stead, is nothing but the action of this Destiny. The mind brought under discipline by this true rationale, there remains no cause of sorrow regarding my installation being put a stop to. Do thou therefore assuage thy grief and follow me and intercept speedily the collection of materials for my installation. The bathing ceremony, necessary before taking the vows of asceticism, shall be performed, O Lakshmana, with all these jars full of water brought for my installation. Or what necessity have I with all these articles of installation; water drawn from the well by myself shall do for entering into the vow of exile. Do not grieve, Oh Lakshmana, for the loss of this kingdom. Of kingdom and exile into the forest, exile is fraught with glorious results. Knowest thou now the mighty power of Destiny and do not blame therefore my younger mother and my father labouring under the influence of Destiny.

SECTION 23.

Being addressed by Rama thus, Lakshmana, the mighty hero, hanging down his head with half reluctance, pondered for sometime, and, placed midway between joy and grief, with frown drawn in between his brows, began to sob hot and hard, like unto an angry serpent in a cave belonging to another. No body could eye his face, having terrible frowns, which looked like that of an angry lion. Moving the extremities of his hands like unto the trunk of an elephant, variously altering the altitude of the neck above his frame, glancing a look awry, thus spoke he unto his brother. "To avoid the transgression of righteousness, and the degradation of the people (consequent upon a bad example), thou art eager to repair unto the forest. This thy eagerness is certainly misplaced. Wast not thou under error, how could one like thyself, being heroic among the Kshatriyas, and capable of overcoming Destiny, speak in such a strain as behoves one that is impotent. Why dost thou extol Destiny which is powerless and weak. For what reason dost thou not apprehend (unrighteousness) in those two (Dacaratha and Kaikeyi), addicted to vice. Dost thou not understand that there are many people who feign piety outwardly (to deceive the simple). With a desire to renounce thee by fraud,they simulate piety which is but selfishness. Had they not purposed thus, Oh, Raghava, things would not have taken such a turn. If this story of the vows be true, then why had it not been declared before. Surely has the monarch engaged in an action hateful to the people, namely the installation of a younger brother neglecting thee (the eldest one). Pray, pardon me, Oh great hero, I cannot brook all this. Even that so called virtue do I loathe, which has, O high-souled one, fascinated thee, and made thy mind run from one extreme to another. Why shalt thou, being capable of work, conform these impious and cursed words of thy father, who is sadly under the influence of Kaikeyi. Here lies my sorrow that thou dost not admit that this disturbance of the installation has arisen out of the pretext of boon giving; thy idea of virtue is indeed an object of censure. People will mark this thy forsaking of the kingdom for redeeming the vows of thy father, with opprobrium. Who else, save thee, even thinks of compassing the desires of the monarch and the queen Kaikeyi, who are of unrestrained habits, ever intent on our mischief and are our enemies known by the name of parents. Even if their throwing obstacles in the way of thy installation thou considerest, as the inevitable action of Destiny—pray disregard it, that does not please me. He, who is tremulous, weak and powerless, follows the track of Destiny; they pay no regard to it who are mighty heroes and whose prowess is held in esteem by the people. He, who can avert the consequences of Destiny by dint of his manliness, does not lose heart even in the face of his interest being endangered by it. People shall witness to-day the power of Destiny and manliness; this day shall appear which of them is more powerful. Those who have witnessed before the prevention of thy installation by the evil agency of Destiny, shall see it defeated, even this very day, by my manliness. Thwart shall I that assailing Destiny by my prowess like unto a terrible elephant, freed of its shackles past the restraining power of a goading hook and inflamed with the juice issuing out of its temples. What of the father, not even all the protectors of the regions nor the entire population of the three worlds shall be able to present any obstacle in the way of Rama's installation. Those who have, with one voice, Oh king, settled about thy exile unto the forest, shall be banished to day for fourteen years. Burn shall I down that hope of my father and Kaikeyi that they want to place Bharata on the throne by hindering thy installation. Influence of destiny shall not bring my opponents that amount of happiness, as the misery inflicted on them by my terrible prowess. Thyself retiring unto the forest after governing the people for a thousand years, thy sons shall resume the administration. Dwelling into the forest is permitted after making over (the charge of the subjects unto (the hands of the) sons, as did the Rajarshis of old. The monarch changing his mind, the kingdom shall be transferred into another's hands—dost thou, being afraid of this, want to fly as an exile unto the forest? And is it for this, that thou Oh virtuous souled Rama, dost not wish to have kingdom for thee? I do promise unto thee, Oh great hero, that I shall protect thy kingdom like unto shore protecting the sea, or else I shall not attain to the region of heroes. Do thou perform the rites of installation with things necessary for benediction—do thou engage in these affairs—myself alone shall be able by force to thwart the opposition of the kings. These hands of mine are not intended for enhancing the beauty of my body—this bow is not meant for an ornament only, this sword is not for binding woods together with, and these arrows are not for carrying the weight of woods—these four belonging to me are for the use of killing the enemies. Never do I desire that I shall not cut them into pieces with sharp edged swords, brilliant as the lightning, whom I do consider as my enemies, though they be redoutable as Indra, the wielder of thunderbolt. Cover thick shall I the field of battle and make it impassable by cutting assunder the trunks of the elephants, thighs of the horses and heads of the infantry. Being beheaded by my swords like unto the flaming fire and besmeared with blood resembling the clouds with lightning, my enemies shall fall down to the ground. Who is there, proud of his own prowess, that shall be able to withstand me when I shall appear at the battle field with bows and leathern fences of fingers. Killing one with a number of arrows, and sometimes many with a single one, I shall drive shafts into the vital organs of men, horses and elephants. To-day shall I display my skill in arms in destroying the supremacy of the monarch and establishing thine. That hand, which is fit for the smearing of the Sandal, for wearing armlets, distributing wealth and maintaining relations, shall be engaged to-day, Oh Rama, in performing its worthy action—the discomfiture of them who want to throw obstacles in the way of thy installation. Pray tell me now, which of your enemies shall be cut off by me from wealth, life and relatives? I am thy servant: do thou give me instruction that the whole earth may be brought under thy subjection". That descendant of Raghu, wiping tears off the eyes of Lakshmana and consoling him repeatedly, spoke unto him saying "Oh gentle one, I have thought it to be the best way by all means that I shall abide by my father's orders."

SECTION 24.

Seeing Rama determined upon carrying out his father's behests, Kaucalya with her voice choked with vapour begot of tears, spoke unto him the following pious words. "How shall this virtuous-souled one, beloved of people and who has never experienced misfortune before, live on grains gleaned, being born of me to Dacaratha? How shall that Rama live upon fruits and roots, whose servants and attendants fare on well cooked rice? Who shall believe, or believing who shall not be afraid, that this highly accomplished descendant of Kakuthstha, favourite of the king, is going to be exiled? Certainly Destiny, who crowns or afflicts people with happiness or misery, is the most powerful agency in the world, or why shalt thou, Oh pleasing Rama, fly as an exile unto the forest? This great and incomparable fire of sorrow issuing from my mind, inflamed by the wind of thy absence, increased by the fuels of lamentation and pain, kindled by hard sobs, obtaining the oblations of tears, vomiting the smoke of vapour begotten of anxious thoughts—the result of counting upon the days of thy return, shall consume me, making greatly lean, when deprived of thy presence, as does the fire burn the dry grass in summer. Like unto a cow following its young one shall I follow thee, Oh my darling, wherever shalt thou go." Hearing those words of his mother, Rama that best of men, spoke the following words unto her, who was greatly troubled with sorrow. "The monarch has been duped by Kaikeyi; myself resorting to the forest, surely shall he resign his life, if cast off again by thee. There is nothing more cruel for women than the forsaking of their husbands; it does not behove thee therefore, to think even of this opprobrious action. Do thou serve this descendant of Kakuthstha, my father, and the lord of the earth as long as he lives—know thou this to be the eternal virtue."

Thus addressed by Rama, Kaucalya of auspicious looks, being gratified greatly; spoke unto him, the remover of her sorrows. "Truly it is." Rama, the foremost amongst religious men, being spoken thus, said to his mother, who was greatly disturbed with sorrow, again in the following strain. "Proper it is both for thee and me to carry out father's words: he is thy husband, and my best preceptor and the lord and master of all people. With great pleasure shall I abide in thy words after passing these nine and five years in the great forest." Thus addressed, Kaucalya, bearing great affection for her son, sorely pained and having her eyes full of tears, spoke unto her beloved son the following words. "Oh Rama, I shall not be able to live amongst these co-wives, if art thou resolved to go to the forest for the discharge of thy father's behest; do thou take me with thee, Oh Kakuthstha, like unto a wild hind. Rama, supressing his feeling, spoke unto his mother who was lamenting, thus, saying:—"Husband is the deity and master of the wife as long as she lives; so the monarch being the lord can deal with thee and me in any way he likes. That highly intelligent lord of men living, we should not consider ourselves as without a master. Bharata is also pious and beloved of all people in speech—he, intent on the performance of religious services, shall attend upon thee always. Do thou now take care that on my retiring the monarch does not wear away by the pangs of my separation, that this terrible sorrow may not kill him. Do thou look after the welfare of the old king always. The woman, who serves not her husband being engaged in excellent religious rites and fasts, shall fare wretchedly in the life to come; and a woman gets at the excellent abode of the celestials by serving her husband. Even those who do not worship and bow unto the celestial's should serve their husbands alone being intent upon their welfare Such is the virtue that should be always pursued by women according to the Vedas and Smritis. Do thou beguile thy time, Oh worshipful one, expecting my return, by worshipping the celestials with flowers and oblations unto the fire and serving well the Brahmins. Engaged in discipline and fasting and devoted to the services of thy husband thou shalt attain thy best desire, on my return, if this foremost of pious

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men lives then. Being thus accosted by Rama, Kaucalya being distressed with the thought of separation from her son spoke unto him with tears in her eyes the following words "Oh my darling! it is beyond my power to dissuade thee from thy firm resolution for going to the forest; it is impossible to avoid this hour of separation. Go thou my son, with an earnest heart; may thou fare well; my anxiety shall be removed on thy return. Attain shall I then great happiness, when thou, Oh great one, shalt return after satisfying your vows and making thyself freed of debts unto thy father. Incomprehensible is the action of Destiny in this world, Oh my son, as it drives thee away unto the forest, Oh Raghava, neglecting my request. Do thou now repair, Oh mighty hero, and come back in peace, and console me with soul-soothing, tender words. Oh my darling, shall that day ever come, when I shall see thee return from the forest, wearing bark and matted hair." With great earnestness, the worshipful one began to eye Rama, determined to go as an exile unto the forest and spoke unto him auspicious words and became desirous of performing benedictory ceremonies.

SECTION 25.

Kaucalya subduing her sorrow,and touching holy water, began to perform auspicious ceremonies for Rama, and spoke unto him saying "Do thou, Oh best amongst the descendants of Raghu, repair now, as I cannot dissuade thee, but do thou return speedily and, follow the footsteps of great ones. Let that virtue, Oh best of Raghavas, protect thee, which thou hast followed with gladness and self-discipline. Let the deities, whom you worship every day in the temple, together with the Maharshis protect thee in the forest. Let those weapons conferred upon thee by the great Visvamitra protect thee always, gifted with good qualities. Do thou of mighty hands live forever, being protected by the truth and merit of thy continual services to thy father and mothers. May the holy fuel, sacrificial grass, sanctified altars and court-yards, the sacred ground of medicant Brahmins, mountains, trees great and small, lakes, birds, serpents and lions protect thee. Oh best of men, may Sidhya [An inferior deity, demigod, or angel.], Bishvadeva [Deities of a particular class in which ten are enumerated; their names are Vasu, Satya, and so forth.], Maruta [A deity personifying wind.], the great ascetics, the sustainer, and the preserver of the creation Pusa [The Sun.], Bhaga [The Moon.], Aryama [A class of manes or deified progenitors or ancestors.—In the ancient Roman religion, the Manes (Latin) or Di Manes are chthonic deities who are thought to represent souls of deceased loved ones. Chthonic (Greek: "in, under, or beneath the earth") literally means "subterranean", the word in describes deities or spirits of the underworld, especially in the Ancient Greek religion. The whole idea sounds as if it was directly taken out of the Ramayana and exported to Greece and Rome. It is no secret that Hindu and Buddhist missionaries were sent to Egypt and Greece.], the Lokapalas [Those deities who protect the regions, vis., the son, moon, fire, wind, Indra, Yuma, Varuna, Kuvera.], headed by Indra and others, the six seasons, the months, day, night, moments Srutis [The Vedas severally or collectively.], Smritis*, and virtue protect thee, Oh my son, on all sides. May the great deity Skanda, Soma, Vrihaspati, Saptarshi, Narad, Moon and other ascetics protect thee. [* The body of laws as delivered by Manu or others, also called dharmashastra (dharma = righteousness + shastra = treatise). The texts include discussion of ashrama (stages of life), varna (social classes), purushartha (proper goals of life), personal virtues and duties such as ahimsa (non-violence) against all living beings, rules of just war, and other topics.] May the encircled regions with their lords, being pleased with my eulogy, protect thee, Oh my son, always in the forest. When shalt thou repair unto the wood, may the mountains, oceans, Varuna, the heaven, sky, earth, air, things movable and immovable, planets and stars with their presiding deities, day, night, and evening protect thee. May the six seasons, months, years and all the divisions of time confer upon the pleasure always, when thou of great intelligence shalt wander away into the forest in the attire of an ascetic. May the deities and demons ever minister unto thy happiness and may not fear proceed unto thee, Oh my son, from the terrible Raksashas and Pisachas intent on committing cruel deeds, and other animals living on flesh. May the apes, scorpions, wild gnats, reptiles and insects make thee no harm; may not the elephants, tigers, terrible looking bears, hogs, buffalos and other horned animals hurt thee. Being worshipped by me from here may the ferocious cannibal races of all kind bring thee no injury. May thy course be crowned with auspiciousness and thy powers with success. Do thou, Oh my son, repair unto the forest, being profusely provided with fruits, roots and other things. May all the creatures of the sky, all those who breathe on this Earth, and all those deities who are hostile unto thee, contribute to thy welfare. May Sukra Soma, Sun, the lord of wealth and Death, protect thee, Oh Rama, resorting to the forest of Dandaka. May fire, air, smoke and the mantras uttered by the Rishis protect thee, Oh descendant of Raghu, at the time of thy bathing. May the lord of creation, Rishis and all the remaining deities defend thee when dwelling in the forest.

That best of women Kaucalya, of great renown and having expansive eyes, after propitiating the celestials with garlands, fragrant odours and praises, began to offer oblations unto the fire by the help of eminent Brahmins for the welfare of Rama, collecting clarified butter, white garlands, religious fig trees and white mustard seeds for this purpose. The spiritual preceptor, after offering oblations unto the fire with due rites for his peace and health, presenting what was then left as offerings unto the lords of the four cardinal points and others*, and giving the Brahmins a dish of curd, ghee and honey, made them utter benedictory prayers for Rama who was going unto the forest. [* The Garhyastabali or the daily offering of the householder, meant here, may be thus explained. After the performance of oblation unto the fire, the householder should present offerings to the lords of the four cardinal points.—Indra, Yama, Varuna, Soma and to their retinue. The offering for the Marutas should be placed on the threshold; for the presiding deities of the water in water; for the lords of the forest unto the wooden pestle arid mortar; for Sri and Bhadrakali on the grounds adjacent to the beddings on the side of the head and that of the feet respectively; for Brahmanspati and Vastupati on the site of the habitation; for Visvadeva and for day and night thrown in the air of the house, for Sarvatmabhuta scattered on the terrace. After offering to all these what remains should be thrown on the south for the manes. The offerings to the dogs, the fallen, the dregs of the people, the lepers, the crows and the worms and the insects should be placed on uncovered ground.] Then that renowned mother of Rama, after conferring upon the Brahmins dakhshinas in accordance with their desires, accosted Raghava with the following words. "May that blessing crown thee, which was attained by the thousand eyed Indra, honoured of all the deities on the occasion of killing the mighty Asura Vetra. May that blessing attend thee, which was invoked in olden times by Vinata, for that king of birds Garuda, praying for nectar. Do thou attain that blessedness, to which Aditi prayed, on behalf of the weilder of thunder-bolt intent on the discomfiture of the giants at the time of ransacking the ocean for nectar. May that prosperity wait upon thee, Oh Rama, which crowned the mighty Vishnu, while perambulating with his three steps the heaven earth and the regions as a dwarf. May the Rishis, the great oceans, islands the three worlds, Vedas, the regions, lend their might in the advancement of thy welfare." Saying this Kaucalya, the foremost of all women, having expansive eyes, placed the grains on Rama's head; sprinkled his body with fragrant substances, and tied to his hands, as amulet, twigs of such auspicious plants as visalyakarani, with due mental repetition of mantras. That excellent one of high renown embracing Rama and smelling his head, with her voice choked, as if all pleased, though placed under the influence of dire distress in reality, uttered mantras and spoke unto him thus. "Oh my son, Oh Rama, have thy desires attained—and do thou go, wherever thou likest. I shall see thee, Oh my darling, with great delight, when shalt thou, returning Ayodhya in excellent health and having all thy ends satisfied, resume the administration of thy kingdom. Myself having sorrows removed and having my face glowing with joy, shall see thee coming from the forest like unto the rising of the full moon. Continually shall I eye thy good self, Oh my son sitting on an auspicious seat, and returning from the forest after making good thy father's behests. May thou returning from the forest and being dressed with royal robes and ornaments, satisfy the desires of my daughter-in-law. Worshipped have I deities headed by Siva and others, the great ascetics, the genii and the snakes; may they all and the four cardinal points, Oh Raghava, contribute to thy welfare, who, art going unto the forest for a long time." Kaucalya, having her eyes full of tears, and performing the benedictory ceremonies with due rites, went round Raghava with solemnity, and seeing him again and again sighed hot and hard. Being gone round by his mother thus, Raghava, of great fame, and resplendent with the splendour of beauty, proceeded towards the abode of Sita, after bowing down unto the feet of his mother repeatedly.

SECTION 26.

Rama, intent on repairing unto the forest, and treading in pious tracks, after duly saluting Kaucalya and beautifying the royal road, crowded with people, captivated their hearts by means of his high accomplishments. Vaidehi, ever engaged in ascetic rites, did not hear of all these affairs; there was in her heart only the thought of Rama's installation. That daughter of the king, after offering her service unto the deities according to the proper royal rites, was eagerly awaiting the approach of Rama with a grateful and pleased heart. Entered Rama this beautiful abode, excellently furnished and filled with people highly delighted, having his head hanging down a little with shame. Sita, seeing her husband, racked with sorrow and troubled in mind with anxiety, rose up trembling from her seat. Seeing her, that virtuous soulcd Raghava, could not bear his internal sorrow, which manifested itself by external signs. Finding him with face pale and perspiring, and incapable of containing grief within, Sita sore distressed with sorrow addressed him, saying, "Oh my lord, why do I perceive such a change in thee? Today the constellation Pushya is in conjunction with the moon, —and planet Vrihaspati is presiding over this conjunction, this day has been declared as the most auspicious one by the learned Brahmins, then why do thou cherish such a sorrow in thy mind? Why has not thy charming face been placed under the shade of an umbrella, having hundred ribs and white as a watery foam? Why do not the servants fan thee, having eyes like lotus' petals, with chowries white as the moon or a goose? I do not see thee, Oh best of men, eulogised with auspicious songs by the panegyrists, encomiasts and family bards. Why do not the Brahmins, versed in the Vedas, observing the formal rites, sprinkle on thy head honey and curd, after washing it duly? Why are not thy subjects, citizens, urbans, and leading members of society dressed and adorned, willing to follow thee? Why does not that excellent sport-chariot go before thee, having four fast going steeds, adorned with golden ornaments tied unto it? Why does not that excellent elephant precede thee, Oh great hero, which is gifted with auspicious marks and resembles a mass of dark clouds and a mighty hill? Why do not the servants run before thee, Oh mighty hero, with a pretty looking royal seat embroidered with gold? Why do I perceive thy face so pale as never seen before, and why therein is no mark of gladness, when every thing for thy installation has been made ready?" Wereupon spoke unto that weeping Sita, the descendant of Raghu thus:—"Oh Sita, Oh thou born of a great family, versed in the knowledge of religion and intent on the performance of religious rites, my father has banished me unto the forest! Do thou hear, Oh daughter of Janaka, how has this calamity befallen me. In the days of yore was granted unto my mother, Kaikeyi two boons by my father, king Dacaratha of truthful vows. When every thing was made ready by my father for my installation, Kaikeyi reminded him of his promise and gained over him for his righteousness. I shall live in the forest of Dandaka for fourteen years and Bharata shall be installed by my father as the heir apparent of the throne. And myself bound to fly as an exile unto the wood, come here to see thee; do thou not praise me ever before Bharata. Those who are crowned with prosperity cannot bear another's praise; it therefore behoves thee not to extol my virtues in the presence of Bharata. Thou shouldst not extol me even in the company of thy friends; thou shalt be then able to live with Bharata as one favourable to his party. The monarch has granted him this lasting heir apparentship; it is therefore proper for thee, Oh Sita, to please him specially for he is the king now. To day shall I repair unto the forest for redeeming my father's vows; do thou, Oh high-minded one, live here in undisturbed mind. Do thou, Oh sinless and auspicious one, live here engaged in religious rites and fasts, when I shall wend my way unto the forest inhabited by the great ascetics. Rising from the bed early in the morning, adore the deities every day, and then bow down unto the feet of my father Dacaratha, the lord of men. My mother Kaucalya is old and much pressed down with sorrow; do thou show proper respects unto her, considering it to be a pious deed. Thou shouldst then bow down unto my other mothers who all minister unto me, with equal love and affection. Shouldst thou specially regard Bharata and Satrugna like unto thy sons or brothers, who are dearer unto me than my life itself. Thou shouldst not do, Oh Vaidehi, any such thing as might be unpleasant unto Bharata, for he is the king of the land as well as of the family.

The monarchs are always propitiated by being served with assiduity and good temper; they are offended when any thing contrary to it happens. They renonnce even their own son, born of their loins, when they find him bringing about their mischief, and admit into their favour persons devoted to their welfare bearing no relationship whatever. It therefore behoves thee, Oh auspicious one, to live here, abiding by Bharata's commands and being engaged in religious rites and truthful vows. I am going unto the forest, Oh my darling, and thou shalt live here. Oh excellent lady, abide by my word as didst thou never formerly falsify it.

SECTION 27.

Being addressed thus, Vaidehi, beloved and sweet speeched, spoke unto her husband the following words, offended as it were on account of her great affection. "Is it that thou speakest me thus, thinking me, no doubt, mean minded? I can not but laugh at thy words, Oh best of men; what thou hast said is not becoming of a mighty prince versed in military arts and is really very opprobrious and infamous. What more, it is not proper even to hear them. Oh dear husband, father, mother, son, brother, daugther-in-law, all of them abide by the consequences of their own actions, it is the wife alone, Oh best of men, that shares the fate of her husband; it therefore that ever along with thee I have been ordered to live in the forest. Neither father, mother, son, friends, nor her ownself is the stay of a woman in this or in after life, it is the husband alone that is her only support. If dost thou repair to-day unto the forest impregnable, I shall go before thee, Oh Raghava, treading upon the thorns and prickly grass. Confident do thou take me with thee, Oh great hero, renouncing jealousy and indignation, like unto water left after drinking; there

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exists no sin in me that could justify forsaking. Unto woman is preferable under all circumtances the shade of her husband's feet to the tops of a palace, the celestial car or excursion in the airy path. [It was generally believed that by certain processes of Yoga one acquired power to fly in the air.] I have been taught by my father and mother to follow my husband in all conditions of life; and I shall carry out now what I have been taught; I shall not abide by any other counsel. I shall wend my way unto the forest impassable, devoid of men. inhabited by various deers, tigers and other voracious animals. Happily shall I live there as if in my paternal house, giving no thought upon the prosperity of the three worlds, thinking only of the services that are to be rendered unto my husband. I shall sport with thee, Oh great hero, in that forest impregnated with the fragrance of flowers, tending thee constantly, having my senses subdued, and being engaged in austere performances. Oh great hero, capable art thou to maintain many thousand others in the forest, what of me. Surely shall I go to-day to the forest with thee; there is no doubt about it and thou shalt not be able, Oh great hero, to dissuade me from so doing. Undoubtedly I shall always live upon roots and fruits; living with thee always I shall not bring about thy affliction. Always I shall precede thee when walking, and shall take my repast after thou hast taken it. Willing am I to view mountains, rivulets, lakes and ponds. Being fearless in thy company, Oh my intelligent husband and great hero, I shall behold on all sides ponds filled with wild geese and ducks and beautified with a collection of fullblown lotuses, and shall bathe there every day, pursuing the same vow with thee. And greatly gratified, I shall, Oh thou having expansive eyes, amuse there with thee, in this manner, even for hundred or thousand years. I shall never experience the reverse of fortune, inasmuch as I do not like to live in the abode of celestials, Oh Raghava, if I am to dwell there without thee; no, it is not pleasing unto me, Oh best of men. I shall go there in that dense forest full of deers, monkeys and elephants and live there as if under my paternal roof cleaving unto thy feet and abiding in thy pleasure. Do thou accept my entreaty whose heart is entirely thine, knows none else, and is ever attached unto thee, and who am resolved to die if forsaken by thee; thus repairing I shall be in no way a burden unto thee". That best of men, reluctant to take Sita with him, who had spoken thus and who was greatly attached to virtue, related unto her about the many miseries consequent upon dwelling in the forest, with a view to prevent her from following him.

SECTION 28.

That lover of virtue, thinking of the miseries of the forest, resolved not to take Sita with him, who was versed in religious lores and had spoken thus. And consoling her whose eyes were stained with tears, that virtuous-souled one spoke unto her the following words with a view to prevent her from going. "Oh Sita, thou art born of an illustrious family and ever intent on the performance of religious deeds; do thou practise virtue here as it may conduce to the happiness of my mind. Oh Sita, Oh thou of the weaker sex, do thou act up to my counsels; there are evils enough in the forest, do thou learn them from me who am about to dwell in it. Renounce therefore. Oh Sita, thy intention of flying as an exile unto the forest, which for its impenitrableness is said to abound in evils. It is for thy welfare that I give utterance to these words; happiness there is none, it is always covered with miseries. The roarings of the lions living in the caves of mountains, swelling with the sounds of the waterfalls, produce a very painful impression upon the ears; so the wood is full of misery. Animals, all maddened, sporting in solitude, seeing (man), approach to attack him; so the wood is full of misery. The rivers are full of crocodiles, sharks, and other fearful animals, muddy and impassable and always infested with infuriated elephants; the wood is full of misery. There the wayfares are covered with creepers and thorns: they are void of drinking water and ever resounded with the noise of the wild fowls; so the wood is full of misery. Being exhausted with the toil of the day, the dwellers of the wood have to sleep in night on the bed made of leaves fallen from the trees on the surface of the ground; so the wood is full of misery. With the (supply of) fruits that have fallen from the trees man of self discipline must content himself morning and evening; so the wood, O Sita, is full of misery. One has to fast, O Maithili, according to his might, to wear matted hair and bark, to adore the deities and his ancestors according to due rites, every day to serve the guests that come to him, and observing the rules of asceticism, to bathe every day thrice, namely, in the morning, in the mid-day and in the evening; so the wood is full of misery. One has to offer presents of flowers collected by his ownself unto the altars, O Sita, according to the rites of the ascetics; so the wood is full of misery. Those that dwell in the forest will have to remain content, having practised moderation in food, O Maithili, with whatever edibles are attainable in the forest; so the wood is full of misery. There are always violent winds, darkness, hunger, and great fear; so the wood is full of misery. Reptiles, many and of various kinds, creep there on the path, O excellent lady, with haughtiness; so the wood is full of misery. And snakes living in the rivers and of crooked course like them, always await the wayfarers, hindering the passers-by: so the wood is full of misery. Birds, scorpions, insects mosquitos and wild gnats, always disturb the dwellers, O fair one of the weaker sex; so the wood is full of misery. There are trees full of thorns, having their branches moving to and fro, and the kusa and kasagrasses with thorny blades constantly undulating; so the wood is full of misery. There are various physical afflictions and divers fears and great misery consequent upon living in the forest. Anger and desires are to be renounced, the heart is to be set on ascetic austerities, fear in the fearful objects is to be cast off; so the wood is full of misery. Thou shouldst not therefore go unto the forest—it forebodes no good unto thee. Weighing well, have I concluded that the forest abounds in innumerable evils." While the high-souled Rama, resolved thus not to take Sita with him unto the forest, she, greatly sorry, did not accept his words and spoke unto him in the following way.

SECTION 29.

Hearing these words of Rama, Sita greatly sorry, with tears in her eyes, spoke gently unto him the following words. "The evils, thus enumerated by thee of living in the forest, do thou know, appear as so many good qualities unto me, who have been made forward by thy affection. Deer, lions, elephants, tigers, saravas [A fabulous animal supposed to have eight legs and to inhabit particularly the snowy mountains.], chamaras [A kind of deer, or rather the Bos Gruriniens erroneously classed by the Hindu writers amongst the deer which is called Yak. It is a kind of bovid (a bison or cattle) with long hair and the weight of about one tonne each.], srimaras [A young deer.], and other animals which have not seen thee before, seeing thee, Raghava, will stand off, for they all fear thee. I shall follow thee, taking the permission of the respected ones; without thee, O Rama, I will renounce my life. If I live by thee, O Raghava, Sakra, the lord of celestials, shall not be able with his mighty power to defeat me. 'A woman, without her husband, cannot live'; this truth has been pointed out by thee, O Rama, unto me. Besides, I heard before, thou of great intelligence, in my paternal house from the Brahmanas that I should live in the forest. I have heard this from the Brahmanas versed in palmistry, and I have all along been anxious, O mighty hero, to go to the forest; shall therefore obtain permission and go, O dearly beloved, unto the forest with thee; nothing can make it otherwise. I shall secure permission and follow thee; the time has arrived; may the Brahmanas be of truthful words! I know, O great hero, that there are many evils incident to living in the forest; but they generally befall those men who have not their senses subdued. I heard, when I was a girl, that an ascetic woman of well-disciplined character, came to my mother and apprised her of my future abode in the forest. I had requested thee, O my lord, many times before in this house to take me to the forest with thee for enjoyment, and thou wast pleased to agree. For thy welfare, O Raghava, having received thy permission to follow thee, I like to serve thee, O great hero, while living in the forest.

O thou, pure-hearted one, surely shall I become sinless if I follow my husband,out of affection; for my husband is my Divinity. I have heard this pious report from the Brahmanas of great fame that even in after life thy company is greatly beneficial unto me. She, who has been given away as wife by her father to one, with due rites of gift peculiar to each class, touching holy water, shall be his, even in her after life. For what reason then dost thou not wish to take thy wife with thee who is of good character and devoted to her husband? Do thou take me, O Kakuthstha, who am poor in spirit, devoted to my husband, ever given to thy service, and participating equally in thy joy and sorrow. If thou dost not purpose to take me with thee, surely will I do away with my life by drinking poison, entering into fire, or drowning myself in water." She begged Rama in these and various other means to take her with him, but that mighty hero did not consent to lead her into the lonely forest. Being accosted thus, Maithili was wrapt up in thought and bathed her breast with tears trickling down from her eyes. And Kakuthstha having control over his ownself, with a view to dissuade her who was angry and engrossed in anxious thoughts, began to console her in divers ways.

SECTION 30.

Being consoled thus by Rama, Maithili, the daughter of Janaka, tearing separation, lovingly and haughtily laughed at Raghava of spacious breast, and spoke unto him, her husband, the following words with a view to follow him to the forest. "What thought of thee, O Rama, my father, the king of Mithila, accepting thee as his son-in-law, who was a man in form but (in deeds) a woman? Henceforth if people through ignorance say that the sun has not that burning flood of light which in Rama does shine forth, woe is them, it is falsehood. Why art thou so dejected and whence is thy fear that thou art willing to leave behind thy wife who has none else but thee? Know me to be perfectly under thy influence like unto Savitri, following her husband Satvavan, the son of Dumat Sen. I have not, like one bringing stigma on her line, ever in my life thought of a second person, but of thee whom I must follow into the forest. Dost thou, like unto an ordinary actor, wish to hand me over to others, who am chaste, pure as a virgin, and long held in conjugal affection? O sinless one, do thou become subservient and serviceable to him whose pleasure thou biddst me seek, and for whom thou hast suffered thyself to be impeded (in the installation). It does not behove thee to repair unto the forest without taking me along with thee. Be it the austerity of an ascetic, the forest or heaven, with thee will I be everywhere. No toil shall I suffer on the way, as if lying on a bed of luxury, while following thee in thy footstep. When with thee, the various thorny grasses, the Kusa, the Kasa, the Sara, and the Ishika, and the thistles and brambles on the way, shall be unto me in touch like unto linen and deer-skin. The dust that will cover me, thrown up by the gush of wind, shall be, O ravisher of my heart, regarded by me as the finest sandal dust. When I shall lie down on the bed of green grass in the forest, it shall appear to me more pleasant than one covered with a coloured blanket. Fruits, roots and leaves which thou wilt bring thyself and give me, be they great or small in quantity, shall be to me like unto the ambrosia-juice. I shall never think of my father, mother, or my abode; I shall enjoy fruits and flowers growing in various seasons. Thou shalt not witness any thing disagreeable there; for me thou shalt not experience any sorrow,nor shall I be a burden unto thee; do thou take me with thee, O Rama, conceiving with pleasure that thy company is a heaven unto me and thy absence a hell. If thou dost not take me unto the forest which I count freed from all evils, surely I shall drink poison and never come under the influence of my enemies. When through affliction I shall not live after separation, better it is, O Lord, that I die immediately at the time of my being forsaken by thee; I cannot bear this grief even for a moment. How shall I be able to live without thee for fourteen years?"

Thus lamenting, Sita, racked with sorrow, embraced her husband and began to cry aloud. Like unto a she-elephant,she being pierced by the poisonous shafts of Rama's words, began to shed tears, long kept off, as an Arani wood emits fire continually. Tears caused by her sorrow and white as the crystal began to trickle down from her eyes, like unto water falling in drops from lotus petals. And that beautiful face having expansive eyes and resembling the full moon in its splendour, with tears became pale and parched, like unto a lotus taken out of its watery bed. Finding her almost insensible with sorrow, Rama flung his arms round her and reviving her (with consolation) spoke the following words unto her; "I do not long for, O worshipful one, even the abode of celestials gained through thy affliction: fear there is none for me like unto the self-create Brahma. Not apprised of thy full intention, O thou of beautiful countenance, I could not, though capable of escorting thee, desire thy abode in the forest. When thou art determined O Maithili, to repair unto the forest with me, I cannot leave thee behind, as one possessing self knowledge cannot renounce munificence. O thou, having thighs resembling the trunks of an elephant, I shall resort to that virtue which was exercised by great and good men going before; do thou follow me therefore like Suvarchala following the Sun. I cannot but go unto the forest, O daughter of Janaka, the truthful word of my father leads me thereto. Obedience unto his parents is the virtue of a son. Disobeying the command of my father I am not eager to live. Why should we with meditations and adorations worship Destiny, which is not cognizable to the worshippers, neglecting our parents, who are ever present to our senses? In the worship of the parents are fulfilled the triple object of religious pursuit, and the adoration of the three regions; there is nothing equal to it, conducing to purity; so do I, O thou of excellent look, resort to it.

Truth, almsgiving, honour, and sacrifices with profuse gifts are not so strengthening (in the life to come) as the services rendered unlo the parents. Heaven, wealth, grains, learning, son, and happiness,—nothing remains inaccessible unto us. Great souls following the desires, and resorting to the service of their parents, get at the abodes of celestials, Gandharvas, the seats of Brahma and Vishnu, and other excellent regions. Therefore do I desire to follow what my father commands me, treading in the path of truth,— and this is the virtue eternal. My resolution of not taking thee, Sita, unto the forest of Dandaka is now rent asunder, as thou hast prepared thyself to live in the forest and follow me. Permitted by me, O fair one of exquisite beauty, to repair unto the forest, do thou follow me, O thou timid one, and the partner of my righteousness. Thy determination to follow me, O beautiful one, is very excellent and is in perfect keeping with myself and my family. Do thou address thyself to repairing unto the forest, for without this now even heaven itself does not please me. Do thou give away jewels unto the Brahmanas and edibles unto the beggars longing for them, and make haste without delay. Confer upon the Brahmanas, valuable ornaments, excellent clothes, pleasant toys, beds, conveyances and other fine things in thy possession and then what remains do thou distribute amongst the servants." Convinced that her going to the forest was desired by her husband, Sita began to distribute them speedily with a delighted heart.

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SECTION 31.

Hearing this conversation, Lakshmana, who had gone there before, with tears in his eyes and being unable to bear this terrible sorrow, took hold of his brother's feet and spoke thus unto that greatly renowned Sita and Raghava. "If thou art resolved to repair unto the forest filled with deer and elephants, I shall accompany thee, always going before with bows in my hands. Thou shalt range with me in that charming part of the forest which resounds with the music of the birds and the humming of the bees. Alienated from thee I do not long for the abode of the celestials, nor for eternal life, nor for the wealth of the three regions." The son of Sumitra, who spoke thus and was determined upon going to the forest, being repeatedly requested by Rama with consoling words to desist from his purpose, spoke unto him the following words. "Formerly thou didst order me to follow thee; and why dost thou prevent me now from accompanying thee to the forest? I want to learn, O sinless one, why thou dost prevent me now from following thee. I entertain a grave doubt in this." Then the highly effulgent Rama spoke thus unto that sedate Lakshmana, who stood praying before him with clasped hands. "Thou art sedate, fond of virtue, of peaceful temper, and thou walkest always in the paths of righteousness. I hold thee dear as my life and thou art obedient unto me and art my friend. If thou dost accompany me unto the forest, O son of Sumitra, who shall serve Kaucalya and the highly renowned Sumitra? That highly effulgent lord of earth who will satisfy the world with the fulfillment of its desires like unto rain spreading in showers over the earth, is himself now shackled with desires unto Kaikeyi. That daughter of Acwapati obtaining this kingdom from the monarch, there will be no end of the miseries of these co-wives. Bharata attaining the throne and siding his mother, Kaikeyi will never think of Kaucalya or Sumitra sore distressed with grief. Do thou therefore, O son of Sumitra, live here of thy own accord or by the favour of the monarch, and maintain these worshipful ones. If thou dost act thus, it will be showing thy best regard in me. O thou, versed in the knowledge of religion, real virtue consists in the adoration of superiors. Do this, O son of Sumitra, for my sake; if we all go away leaving her aside, she will not be happy in any way."

Accosted thus by Rama, Lakshmana, well versed in speech, spoke unto him the following humble words. "Be afraid of thy power, O hero, Bharata shall adore Kaucalya and Sumitra—there is no doubt about this. If that wicked Bharata obtaining this excellent kingdom, does not maintain and take care of them, being impelled by haughtiness and wicked impulses, surely shall I kill him, that wicked-minded one, though he be assisted by the entire population of the three regions. Besides, that worshipful Kaucalya, who has made grants of many thousand villages unto her servants, can maintain thousands of people like us, and has enough to maintain herself as well as my mother. Do thou therefore permit me to follow thee; there will be no breach of virtue in this,and I shall have my desires attained and thy interests shall be secured. I shall go before thee pointing out thy course, with stringed bows, a hoe, and a basket in my hands. I shall bring for thee every day various roots and fruits and other things that grow in the forest and which the ascetics use in their sacrifice. Thou shalt amuse thyself with Vaidehi on the sides of the hill, and I shall perform everything for thee whether thou art asleep or awake."

Being extremely gratified with these words, Rama spoke unto him, saying,—"Do thou follow me, O son of Sumitra, obtaining permission from all thy relatives. The high-souled Varuna himself offered two terrible-looking bows of etherial temper, two sets of weapons at the great sacrifice of the royal Janaka—namely, impenetrable mail, two quivers, two inexhaustible arrows, and two swords burnished with gold and bright as the Sun. These things were offered unto me as bridal presents, and I have kept them at the house of my preceptor. Do thou, O Lakshmana, paying homage unto my preceptor, taking all those weapons, swiftly bring them hither. Determined upon going unto the forest, Lakshmana, taking leave of his friends, went to the abode of the spiritual preceptor of the Ikshwakus and took from him those excellent weapons. And that best of princes, the son of Sumitra, showed Rama those heavenly arms—worshipped and well adorned with garlands. Seeing Lakshmana arrive there, Rama, having control over his ownself, greatly pleased, spoke unto him the following words. "Thou hast arrived, O Lakshmana, just when I wanted thee. I want to distribute with thee these my riches amongst the Brahmauas and the ascetics. There are many excellent Brahmanas having firm reverence in their preceptor. I want to distribute my wealth amongst them and many other personages who depend upon me for their maintenance. Bring here speedily the worshipful Sujajna, the son of Vasishtha; I want to repair unto the forest after duly adoring him and other excellent Brahmanas."

SECTION 32.

Receiving this pleasant and beneficial mandate of his brother, Lakshmana speedily went unto the abode of Sujajna, and finding that Vipra in the chamber where the sacrificial fire was maintained, worshipped him and addressed him, saying; "Friend, come and behold the abode of that one of arduous deeds (Rama) renouncing his incoming installation." Finishing his prayers, Sujajna accompanied Lakshmana and arrived at the splendid mansion of Rama, filled with riches. No sooner Rama found that Brahmana versed in the Veda (Sujajna) arrive there, shining in effulgence like unto the blazing fire, than he rose up from his seat along with Sita, with clasped hands, and received him as if he had been the sacrificial fire itself, and offered him excellent golden Angadas, shining ear-rings, necklaces of jewels fastened together with golden strings, Keyuras, bracelets, and various other ornaments, and spoke unto him, being desired by Sita, the following words. "O my gentle friend! do thou by some servant send unto thy wife this necklace and Hemasutra. And Sita, the friend of thy wife, also intends to give this Rasana unto thy wife, And on the eve of her going to the woods, she presents thyself and thy wife with Angadas of curious workmanship and elegant Keyuras. And Vaidehi wishes to present thee with this fine bed-stead with its coverlet studed with various precious jewels. And I offer thee, O great ascetic, with a thousand gold coins, this excellent elephant, called the destroyer of foes, which had been bestowed upon me by my maternal uncle."

Being addressed thus by Rama, Sujajna accepted all those offers, and showered benedictions upon Rama, Sita, and Lakshmana. Thereupon Rama spoke unto his beloved, considerate and fair-speaking brother, the son of Sumitra the following pleasant words, like unto Brahma addressing the Lord of celestials. "O son of Sumitra, do thou invite the excellent Brahmanas, Agastya and Viswamitra, and adore them, O Raghava, by conferring upon them gems, as people cherish corn with water. And O mighty armed one, do thou worship them, O Raghava, with a thousand cows, gold, silver, and various precious jewels. Do thou confer upon that good Brahmana, the preceptor of the Tittiriya portion of the Vedas, who crowns Kaucalya with blessings every day, silk cloth, conveyances, maid-servants, and such other things, till the twice-born one is satisfied. Do thou propitiate the worshipful Chitraratha, who is our charioteer and counsellor and of advanced years, with precious jewels clothes, wealth, with all kinds of beasts and a thousand cows. Do thou confer upon those Brahmanas, O son of Sumitra, who live under my protection, studying the Katasection of Yayur Veda, with staffs in their hands, a grant of eighty mules loaded with jewels, of a thousand miles of pines, and of a thousand cows, for curd and clarified butter. They are always inactive, being constantly engaged in Vedic studies, and are greatly slothful though having a taste for delicious food, and are always esteemed by great men; to each of all those Brahmanas, who always come to Kaucalya, do thou, O Lakshmana,make a grant of a thousand gold coins, and offer unto them all such gifts as may please my mother." Thereupon Lakshmana, that best of men, distributed amongst all these Brahmanas all the entire riches as ordered by Rama like unto the Lord of wealth. Seeing his dependants in a wretched plight, shedding tears continually, Rama proferred unto them various articles for their maintenance, and said :—"Do ye occupy in turn until our return my rooms as well as Lakshmana's." Having spoken thus unto all those dependants who were racked with great sorrow, Rama ordered the Treasury officer to bring his riches there. Thereat, the servants brought all his riches and collected them in great heaps. Rama, the best of men, together with Lakshmana, distributed them amongst the Brahmanas, boys, the old, and the poor. There lived in that quarter a Brahmana of a tawny colour, by name Trijata, descended from the line of Garga, earning his livelihood by digging the earth with spades and ploughs. His young wife with her little children, struggling with poverty, spoke thus unto the old Brahmana. "Throwing aside thy spades and ploughs, do thou hear my words. Go and see the virtuous-souled Rama, and thou art sure to get something from him now." Hearing these words of his wife, Trijata, shining in effulgence like unto Vrigu and Angira, covering his body with a torn piece of cloth, proceeded towards Rama's abode with his wife, and going on in a speedy and uninterrupted course, reached at last the royal abode and spoke unto Rama thus:—"O mighty son of the king! a poor man am I, having a number of children. I maintain my family by digging the earth; do thou therefore look upon me mercifully. Whereupon Rama replied laughing:—"I have not distributed as yet even one thousand of my cows. Do thou hurl this rod, and thou art the master of all those cows occupying the space at the extremity of which this rod shall fall." Upon this, swiftly tightening the cloth around his waist, Trijata firmly grasping the rod hurled it with a mighty force. The rod, hurled off his hands, fell on the other side of the river Saraju in the midst of many thousand bullocks. Seeing this, the virtuous-souled Rama despatched to the hermitage of Trijata all the cows that lay extending up to the banks of the river Saraju, and consoling him afterwards accosted him with the following words. "Be not offended, I acted thus only as a matter of joke. I asked thee to do this only with the object of knowing whether thou hadst the power to hurl this rod. Do thou ask of me now any thing thou likest. Truly do I speak that thou shouldst not hesitate. I am ready to devote my wealth to the services of the Brahmanas. And the wealth I have earned will conduce to my favour, if. I can apply it to your service."

Then Trijata, being pleased with the accession of cows, went away along with his wife, showering happiness and joy. Rama of great manliness afterwards distributed with proper respect and due welcome all his wealth amassed by righteous means amongst the Brahmanas, friends, servants and the poor, according to the recomendation of his friends.

SECTION 33.

Having distributed much wealth to the Brahmanas, the Raghavas set out with Sita for the purpose of seeing their father. And the two looked beautiful with a couple of handmaids (following them), taking the weapons that had been decked by Sita with flowery wreaths. Then crowds of elegantly-attired citizens, mounting on the terraces of three-storied and seven-storied houses, looked on the scene with hearts filled with sorrow. And unable to tread the streets because of a vast concourse, they ascending the terraces of the buildings, eyed Raghava with woe-begone eyes. And deprived of their senses by grief, the multitudes, beholding Rama proceeding on foot in company with Sita and his younger brother, said,—"He that used to be followed by the vast body of the four-fold forces, proceeds now along with Sita, followed by Lakshmana alone. Knowing every kind of enjoyment, that magnanimous one who has tasted of every luxury, for maintaining the dignity of morality, does not wish to falsify (his father's) word. And that Sita whom formerly the very rangers of the sky could not see, is to-day beheld by the passers-by. Now summer's heat and winter's cold and the rains of the wet season will speedily stain Sita, whose person is worthy of being dyed, and who used to daub her limbs with red sandal paste. Surely to-day Dacaratha speaks thus, possessed by some evil spirit; for the king ought by no means to banish his beloved son. Who ever exiles his son, albeit he be worthless? And what is to be said concerning a son that has fast secured all men's hearts by his behavior? Universal benevolence, kindness, learning goodness, the restraint of the senses, and the control of the faculties,—these six qualities adorn that best of men, Raghava. Therefore the subjects will be afflicted in consequence of his separation, even as aquatic animals are, when summer dries up the waters of a tank. The entire earth is distressed on account of the distress of this lord of the earth, even like a tree bearing blossoms and fruits, when its roots have been severed. Surely this highly effulgent one with virtue for his chief good, is the root of humanity, and the latter represents its flowers, fruits, foliage, and boughs. Therefore, accompanied by our wives and friends will we like Lakshmana follow the departing Raghava by the same way that he takes. And leaving aside our gardens and fields and abodes, will we, making the righteous Rama's happiness and misery our own, follow him. Let Kaikeyi possess herself of our deserted mansions, deprived of their buried treasures, with their unswept courtyards robbed of kine and wealth, and shorn of all substance, filled with dust, and abandoned by the deities, mansions where rats will run from hole to hole, which will neither emit smoke nor contain water, which will not be swept by broomsticks, from which sacrifices, and the slaughter of sacrificial beasts,and the offering of oblations and the recitation of sacred texts, and Yapa, will be absent, and around which will be strewn broken earthenware, as they are on occasions of political commotions or the occurrence of natural calamities. Let the forest to which Raghava repairs resemble a city, and let this city renounced by us be converted into a wilderness. Inspired by the fear of us, serpents will leave their holes, and beasts and birds the caves of mountain, and elephants and lions the forest. Let them occupy the tracts left behind by us, and let them renounce such abounding in serpents, beasts, and birds, as yield grass, meat, and fruits. Let Kaikeyi (reign in this realm) along with her sons and adherents; we, renouncing homes, will dwell in the forest with Raghava."

Raghava heard various words uttered thus by the populace; and having heard them, he did not suffer his mind to be agitated. And that righteous one of the prowess of a mad elephant, from a distance began to make for the residence of his father resembling in brightness a summit of the Kailaca mountain. Entering the king's mansion, he drawing nigh found the heroic Sumantra seated in dejected mood. Seeing that well-wisher of his thus depressed, Rama endeavouring by all means to do his father's bidding, cheerfully went on, desirous of beholding his sire. And with the view of meeting the aggrieved king before repairing to the forest, the magnanimous son of the Ikshwaku race, seeing Sumantra, stayed there,—so that that noble-minded one might inform his father of his visit. And making up his mind to go to the woods in accordance with the command of his father, Raghava seeing Sumantra, said unto him; "Do you inform the king of my arrival."

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SECTION 34.

Then the mighty and incomparable Rama of eyes resembling lotus-petals said unto the charioteer,—"Do you announce me to my father." Thus commissoned by Rama, the charioteer entering the apartment, found the king heaving sighs, his senses overwhelmed with grief. And he saw the monarch like the sun afflicted by Rahu, or like fire enveloped in ashes, or like a tank deprived of its water. Thereupon concluding that the king agitated by sorrow was bewailing Rama, the charioteer said with joined hands. And first paying homage unto the king, invoking victory upon him, the charioteer, perplexed with fear, softly and sweetly addressed the monarch thus:—"O foremost of men, your son waits at the entrance, after having distributed wealth to Brahmanas and his retinue Let that one having truth for prowess, good betide you, see you. Having greeted all his friends,he now wishes to see you. Know that he is about to set out for the mighty forest. Do you, O Lord of earth, see him furnished with every perfection, like the Sun himself surrounded by his rays." Thereupon, that virtuous and truthful (king) resembling the ocean by virtue of his gravity, and motionless like the welkin, answered Sumantra, saying,—"O Sumantra, do thou bring hither my wives." Reaching the inner apartment, the charioteer said unto the ladies,—"The worshipful king calls you. Do you come speedily." Thus addressed by Sumantra at the mandate of the monarch, the ladies in a body, informed of their husband's command, went to the king's apartment. And three hundred and fifty females furnished with coppery eyes and observing vows, surrounding Kaucalya, proceeded slowly. On the females coming there, the monarch seeing this, said unto the charioteer,—"O Sumantra, do you bring hither my son." Thereat the charioteer taking Rama, Lakshmana and Mithila's daughter, speedily came before the lord of earth. The king seeing his son drawing nigh with joined hands, hastily rose up from his seat in company with his wives. And casting his eyes on Rama, the king rushed towards him, but before reaching his son, the aggrieved monarch fell down to the earth in a swoon. Rama and that migthy car-warrior Lakshmana swiftly neared the king striken with grief and rendered senseless by sorrow. And there arose in the palace cries of women by thousands of "Ah Rama," mingled with the tinkling of ornaments. Then both Rama and Lakshmana along with Sita took the king up with their arms, and with tears in their eyes laid him upon the couch. When the lord of the earth oppressed with the vapour begot of grief and overwhelmed with emotion, had regained his senses, Rama with joined palms said—"I ask you, O mighty monarch, as you are the lord of all. Do you see me safely despatched to the forest of Dandaka. Do you permit Lakshmana, and let Sita also follow mc to the woods; for although prohibited by me with various reasons, they do not wish to be left behind. Do you, O bestower of honour, permit us all, renouncing sorrow—Lakshmana and Sita and me,—like Prajapati permitting his sons." Seeing Raghava about to set out for the forest, the lord of earth said unto the calm Rama waiting for his orders,—"O Raghava, I have been deprived of my senses in consequence of my having conferred boons on Kaikeyi. Do you therefore confining me to-day become king in Ayodhya." Thus addressed by the monarch, Rama—the best of the righteous—well versed in speech, with joined hands addressed his father thus,—"O king do you rule this earth for a thousand years,—I will reside in the forest. I do not wish for the kingdom. Having spent five and nine years in the woods, I shall again embrace your feet, lord of men, after fulfilling your vow." Fettered in the net of promise, the king bewailing his beloved son, secretly spurred on by Kaikeyi, said,—"Do you, my darling, with the view of attaining welfare here and hereafter and auspicious fortune, go calmly your fearless way,—so that you may return hither (in time.) I dare not, O descendant of the Raghu race, forbid you who are established in truth and who are bent upon discharging your duty. But, O son, do not by any means depart to-night: beholding you even for a single day, I shall feed with you. Do you, seeing me as well as your mother, stay here to-night. Then ministered unto every way, you will set out to-morrow. O son, O beloved Raghava difficult is the task that you are going to perform,—for compassing my good in the next world, you are ready to repair to the very woods! But, O Raghava, I swear unto you, this is anything but agreeable to me, my son. I have been made to swerve from my purpose by the crafty Kaikeyi resembling a fire hidden under ashes. You are going to give effect to the deceit that has been practised upon me by this woman intent upon sullying her line. And as you are my eldest son, it is no wonder, O son, that you should wish to maintain your father's truth." Hearing these words of his distressed father, the humble Rama, along with his brother Lakshmana, said,—"Who will confer on me the merit tomorrow that I shall reap by going to-day? Therefore, I prefer even the journey to the woods to enjoying comforts here. Do you bestow upon Bharata this earth renounced by me— this kingdom abounding in corn and kine and filled with people; my mind determined upon dwelling in the forest, does not waver. Do you, O bestower of boons, grant Kaikeyi everything that you had promised unto her at the time of the war (you had waged against the Danavas), and thereby do you follow truth. Obeying the mandate that you have issued, I will dwell in the forest for fourteen years in the company of the rangers of the woods. Do you without feeling any compunction confer the earth on Bharata. Mine is not the desire to obtain the kingdom for enjoying happiness or attaining any benefit. I will, O descendant of the Raghu race, do your bidding. Banish your grief, and suppress your tears. That lord of streams, the irresistible ocean, never forsakes his own magnanimity. I desire neither dominion, nor happiness, nor the earth, nor any object of enjoyment, nor heaven, nor life. O foremost of men, all I wish for is that you may not come by falsehood, and abide by truth. I truly and in good sooth swear before you that I cannot, O lord, remain here for a moment longer, O my father. Do you bear this grief. I cannot for certain act contrary to my promise. Directed by Kaikeyi saying,— 'Do you, O Raghava, go to the forest,' I had said,—'I will go,'—That promise I must accomplish. Do you not, O revered one, feel aggrieved. We will abide in the forest abounding in mild deer and resounding with the notes of various birds. The father is a very God,—even the celestials say this. Therefore will I look upon your word in the light of divinity. And, O best of monarchs, after the fourteen years have been spent, you will see me again by your side,—therefore do you banish this grief. Why do you, O foremost of men, who will suppress other's grief, undergo this alteration? Do you confer upon Bharata this city and this kingdom and the earth renounced by me. Doing your behest, I will repair to the forest, sojourning there for a long time. Staying at the auspicious frontiers, let Bharata barely rule this earth furnished with watery expanses, cities and forests, when it has been renounced by me. O king, let what you have said be as you wish it. I do not, O king, set my heart upon any great object of desire, nor do I seek my own behoof, as I am bent upon, O you beloved of the good, working out your will. O sinless one, you will not therefore reap any evil on my account. Associating you with untruth, I would not, O sinless one, wish even for your company who are agitated with anxiety, or this entire kingdom, or every object of desire, or the earth, or Mithila's daughter. Even this is my truthful vow,—let also your vow prove true. Living upon fruits and roots in the forest, and surveying mountains and tanks and streams and graceful trees, I shall be happy on entering the forest, Do you cease to lament." Thus benetted with calamities and exercised with grief and anguish, the king embraced his son,—and then deprived of his consciousness fell down on the ground and became motionless. Thereat all the queens save that wife of the monarch (Kaikeyi) bewailed together; and crying Sumantra also went into a swoc And the place was filled all around with exclamations "O" and "Alas."

SECTION 35.

Then shaking his head and sighing again and again pressing palm upon palm and grinding teeth upon teeth, with eyes reddened in wrath and an altered complexion, and suddenly waxing angry and moved with grief, Sumantra witnessing the mental condition of Dacaratha said, shaking Kaikeyi's heart with the sharpened shafts of his speech and piercing her mind all over with his harsh words resembling thunderbolts, "O worshipful one, since you have forsaken king Dacaratha, the maintainer of this world and the mobile and the immobile that it contains, there is nothing that is incapable of being done by you. I consider you the murderess of your husband and as one that has finally exterminated one's line; inasmuch as you have by your act afflicted the monarch invincible like Indra, firm as a hill, and imperturbable like the deep itself. You ought not to bring down your boon-bestowing lord and husband Dacaratha; for surely the wish of a husband to a wife outweighs a koti of sons. The princes will obtain the kingdom one after another according to age;— this custom it is your study to render nugatory even when the lord of the Ikshawaku race is still alive. Let your son be king; let Bharata rule the earth: we, however, will go where goes Rama. No Brahmana will dwell in your dominion —such is the ungracious deed you are going to do. [Surely we will go the way that is wended by Rama, and what happiness, O revered one, will you,forsaken by friends, Brahmanas and the saintly, reap by remaining here, allured by the lust of dominion? And you are going to do such an act!] A wonder it is that I perceive, viz,—that the earth hid by a character like you is not riven this very day. And why doth not the flaming and dreadful censure uttered by the mighty Brahmarshis destroy you who are bent upon banishing Rama? Who having hewn a mangoe tree by his axe, tendeth a Nimba? It never turns sweet for him that waters it. Your birth is noble indeed; it is as much so as is your mother's. They say that sweet is never extracted from Nimba. I remember what I have heard from old men concerning the vicious inclinations of your mother.

Some one intent upon conferring boons conferred an excellent one on your father. In virtue of this, that lord of earth could understand the import of sounds emitted by all beings, and it is in consequence of this that he could understand the speech even of birds and beasts. One day as your father was lying down, he, understanding the thoughts of a gold- hued Jrimbha bird, from its cries, laughed heartily. Thereat your mother getting angry, wishing for the noose of death, said,—'O king, O placid one, I ask you for the reason of your laughter.' The king replied,—'O worshipful lady, if I unfold unto you the reason of my laugh, then I shall without doubt die to-day.' But that revered one, your mother, again urged Kekaya, saying,—'Tell it to me, whether you live or die; for (when I have learnt all about it), you will not be able to laugh at me again.' Thus addressed by his beloved spouse, that lord of earth Kekaya went to the saint that had conferred the boon on him and related unto him everything faithfully. Thereupon that boon-giving saint said unto the kin; "Whether this one kills herself or be destroyed, do you not, O king reveal it." Hearing these words of his, the king well pleased summarily forsook your mother and began to divert himself like Kuvera. Even in the same way, you, O you that see only evil, staying in an unrighteous count befouling the king's sense, endeavour to make him commit this wrong. In this connexion I remember a saying, viz.,— men take after their fathers, and women their mothers. Do not be so,—do you even accept what the lord of earth says. Doing the will of your lord, do you become the refuge of us all. Do not incited by evil propensities, make your husband the lord of men endued with the prowess of the celestial chief, perpetrate an unrighteous deed. That sinless one will not for certain give practical effect to the promise jestingly made by you. O worshipful one, king Dacaratha is graceful, being furnished with eyes resembling lotuses. Let him install his eldest son, Rama generous and able, maintaining his own religion—the protector of all men—and endued with might. O revered lady, great is the obloquy that will spread concerning you, if leaving his royal father, Rama repaireth to the forest. Let therefore Raghava govern his kingdom; and do you remove your agitation. Surely save Raghava none residing in the kingdom will prove friendly to you. On Rama being installed as the heir-apparent, that best of bowmen—king Dacaratha—will depart for the forest, remembering ancient examples." Thus in presence of the king, Sumantra with clasped palms, with soft yet cutting words endeavoured to strike Kaikeyi with regret. But that noble dame did not feel any compunction, nor was she touched with regret. And the complexion of her countenance remained as it was before.

SECTION 36.

Then that descendant of Ikshwaku afflicted because of his promise, sighing and his heart filled with the vapour begot of sorrow, again addressed Sumantra, saying,—"O charioteer, do you speedily marshall the army consisting of the four kinds of forces for following Raghava. And let sweet- speeched courtezans and opulent traders grace the extensive army of the prince. And, giving them immense wealth, do you also send with him those that depend on Rama, as well as those with whom he delights to wrestle. And let the foremost weapons, and the citizens, and cars, and fowlers well acquainted with the forest go in the wake of Kakutstha. Killing deer and elephants, and drinking wild honey, and beholding various rivers, they will ultimately forget this kingdom. And let our granary and treasury follow Rama who is to reside in the forest. Performing sacrifices at holy spots, and dispensing the prescribed Dakshinas, let Rama happily reside in the forest in the company of saints. The mighty- armed Bharata will govern Ayodhya. Therefore, do you furnish the auspicious Rama with every object of enjoyment." When that descendant of Kakutstha said this, Kaikeyi was inspired with apprehension: her countenance became blank, and her utterance was choked. Losing her complexion and agitated with fear, with her countenance fallen, Kaikeyi faced the king and said,—"O righteous one, like unto a liquor whose lees alone have been left, Bharata will not receive the kingdom tasteless and denuded of all substance." While the shameless Kaikeyi was speaking thus sternly, king Dacaratha said unto that one of expansive eyes,—"O worker of mischief, why having laid the load upon me, do you torment me? O ignoble one, why did you not ask for this, when you did first solicit the boon?" Hearing these wrathful words of the king, that beauteous one, Kaikeyi, waxing doubly wroth, addressed the monarch, saying,—"Even in this line of yours, Sagara deprived his eldest son Asamanja by name of the enjoyment of the kingdom. In this way this one deserves to go to the forest." Thus addressed, king Dacaratha said,—"O fie!" and all present were afflicted with shame; but Kaikeyi feigned not to understand all this. Then a notable, aged, pure-spirited personage held in high esteem by the monarch, named Siddhartha, addressed Kaikeyi, saying,—"Asamanja by way of sport catching people on the way, used to throw them into the waters of the Sarayu, and that wicked-minded wretch made merry over the same. Seeing him do so, the citizens in a body, waxing wroth spoke unto the monarch,—'O enhancer of the kingdom's prosperity, do you either banish Asamanja or us.' To them he replied,—'Whence is this fear of yours?' Thus asked by the monarch, the subjects said,—'Through his impudence this one of perverted sense by way of diversion throwing our sons into the Sarayu, finds extreme delight.' Hearing these words of his subjects, that lord of men, with the

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intention of doing good to them, forsook that mischievous son of his. Then swiftly causing a car to be yoked, he said unto his men,—This one is to be banished for life in proper garb along with his wife.' Thereupon that worker of iniquity went to the forest and went about seeing mountain fastnesses. Thus did the virtuous king Sagara renounce his son. But what offence has Rama committed that he is to be banished? We do not find any fault whatever in Raghava. Rare is his fault even like the spot on the Moon. Or it may be, O exalted lady, that you perceive some fault in Raghava,—Do you, if so, unfold it; and then let Rama be banished. But the renunciation of the honest ever constant in a righteous course, in consequence of its being opposed to virtue, destroys the splendour of Sakra himself. Therefore, O noble one, cease to persevere in this, for what good would the marring of Rama's good fortune bring you? And, O you of a fair countenace, you will by such a course escape odium." Hearing Siddhartha' s words, the king, his voice waxing exceedingly feeble, addressed Kaikeyi in words surcharged with emotion,—"O Personation of sin, thou relishest not this speech. Thou knowest not either thy own good or mine. This wicked endeavour of thine, O thou that strivest after harm, which thou puttest forth adopting a narrow path, is surely divorced from the course of the good. Forsaking my kingdom, forsaking happiness and treasures, I will to-day follow Rama. Do thou with Bharata for the king forever enjoy dominion according to thy heart's desire,"

SECTION 37.

Hearing the words of that worthy, Rama conversant with modesty, humbly addressed Dacaratha, saying,—"What O king, have I, that am renouncing everything and am going to dwell in the forest subsisting on what the forest yields, to do with a following? Of what avail is a person's attachment for the tether of a goodly elephant, when the elephant itself is renounced by him? Thus it is with me, O foremost of righteous ones. What shall I do with the army, O lord of men? I will confer everything on Bharata. Let them bring me a vesture of bark, and for me who will go to the forest and reside there for fourteen years, bring a hoe and a basket." Thereupon Kaikeyi herself brought a bark dress and that shameless one said unto Raghnva in the presence of all,—"Do you wear this." On this, that foremost of men taking those two pieces of bark from Kaikeyi, left his fine attire and put on the ascetic garb. And Lakshmana also, renouncing his choice raiment, put on the dress of an anchoret before his father. Then Sita clad in silk apparel, eying the ascetic covering meant for her, became agitated, like a doe at sight of a noose. And afflicted with shame, that one graced with auspicious marks, Janaki, sorrowfully took from Kaikeyi the Kuca and bark; and with tears flooding her eyes, that one cognisant of virtue and having her gaze ever fixed upon it, thus addressed her lord resembling the king of the Gandharbas,—"How do the ascetics dwelling in the woods put on their dress?" Saying this, Sita, ill at ease became embrassed. And putting on one piece on her neck and holding the other in her hand, the daughter of Janaka, feeling uneasy, stood overpowered with shame. Thereupon that best of righteous persons, Rama, speedily coming up to her, fastened the monastic garb over Sita's silk attire. Beholding Rama fastening that goodly garb on Sita, the females of the inner apartment began to shed tears. And waxing exceedingly aggrieved, they spoke unto Rama flaming in effulgence:—"Child, do not take this virtuous one to the forest. So long as you will reside in the forest in accordance with the wishes of your father, we shall behold her; and by this means let our lives attain their object, O lord. O son taking Lakshmana for your help, go you to the forest. This auspuious one does not deserve to live in the woods like an ascetic. O son, grant our prayer. Let the fair Sita remain. Ever steady in virtue, you do not yourself intend to stay here." Hearing these words, Dacaratha's son tied the dress on Sita having a similar character with himself. When she had put on the upper and under garments, the preceptor of the king, Vasistha, his voice choked with the vapour of sorrow, dissuading Sita, said unto Kaikeyi,—"O thou whose desires outrun thy sense of honour, O thou of perverted understanding O befouler of thy line, deceiving the monarch, thou stayest not within the pale of the promise. O thou bereft of good behavior, that noble lady, Sita, should not go to the forest. Sita will occupy Rama's seat. Of all those that marry, the wife is the (other) soul. Sita will govern the earth, as she is Rama's self. But if Vaidehi goes to the forest with Rama, we will follow him, and the inhabitants of the city will also repair thither. And the warders of the inner apartment, and the people of the kingdom and the city taking with them their neccessaries and servants will accompany Raghava and his wife. And Bharata and Satrughna wearing ascetic clothes and ranging the forest will live like their elder brother resident in the woods. Then alone thou of vile ways and intent upon harming the people wilt govern this empty earth deserted by the inhabitants, along with the trees. That can never be a kingdom where Rama is not the monarch, and that forest where Rama will reside will flourish into a monarchy. Bharata never wishes to govern a kingdom that has not been conferred upon him by his father; nor, if he has really been begotten by the monarch, wilt he any further act by you as a son. Even if you leaving the earth fly unto the air, that one cognisant of the character of his ancestry, will never act otherwise. Therefore although intent on advancing your son, you have really brought about his injury. There exists not a person in the world that is not partial to Rama. O Kaikeyi, do you to-day behold beasts and snakes and birds journeying in the wake of Rama, and even the trees stand with their heads turned towards him. Do you, O noble lady, removing the ascetic guise, confer elegant ornaments on your daughter-in-law, for such a dress suits not this one." Saying this Vasistha prevented Kaikeyi. "O daughter of kmg Kekaya, you have asked for the abode of Rama in the woods; and decked out in ornaments let Sita daily engaged in adorning herself, reside in the forest with Raghava. And let the daughter of the King go to the forest, surrounded by excellent cars and servants, and taking with her attires and other necessary things. When you demanded the (fulfilment of the) promise, you had not your eye on Sita." When that foremost of* Brahmanas, that preceptor of the king possessed of unparalelled potency, had said this, Sita, desirous of serving her beloved lord, did not turn away from the ascetic dress (presented by Kaikeyi.)

SECTION 38.

WHEN Sita, having a husband although seeming as if she had none, was putting on the ascetic guise, the people got into a wrath and exclaimed, "O Daaaratha, fie on you!" Aggrieved at the uproar that arose there in consequence, the lord of earth banished from his heart all regard for life, virtue, and fame. And sighing hot, that descendant Ikshwaku spoke onto that wife of his, saying,—"O Kaikeyi, Sita deserves not to go in a Kuca dress. Tender, and youthful, and worthy of happiness, she is by no means capable of living in the forest. My spiritual guide has spoken the truth. Whom has this one injured that, being the daughter of the foremost of kings, she like a female ascetic, wearing a meagre garb in the presence of all, will (repair to the woods and) remain there like a beggar destitute of everything? Let Janaka's daughter leave off her ascetic guise. This is not the promise that I had made to you before. Let the princess go to the forest in comfort, furnished with all sorts of gems. My sands run out; by me hath this cruel promise been made with an oath. But this (exile of Sita) has been thought of by you through your ignorance! Let it not, however, consume you like a bamboo flower destroying the bamboo. If, O wicked woman, Rama has happened to do thee something unbeautiful, what wrong, O base wretch, has Vaidehi done thee in the world? Of eyes expanded like those of a doe, endued with a mild temperament, and virtuous, what harm has Janaka's daughter done thee. Surely, O nefarious one, the banishment of Rama is enough for thee. Why then dost thou bend thy mind to perpetrate these atrocious sins? O noble dame, having heard you asking for the banishment of Rama, who had at first been intended by me for being installed, and who came here afterwards, I had promised you (his exile alone.) But since, going beyond that promise of mine, you behold Mithala's daughter dressed in mendicant garb, surely you wish to find your way to hell." Thus commissioned to the forest, Rama who was seated sealing his lips, said,—"O righteous one, this my mother is aged and famous and of a lofty spirit. May she not meet with improper treatment at your hands! It behoves you, O bestower of boons, to show greater honour to her when she shall be deprived of me and be plunged into a sea of grief and afflicted with unprecedented woe. O you comparable unto the mighty Indra, you should so behave with my mother smitten with my separation, that exercised by grief in consequence of my residence in the forest, she may not, renouncing life, repair to the mansions of Yama."

SECTION 39.

Hearing Rama's words, and seeing him dressed like an ascetic, the king in the midst of his wives was deprived of his senses. And burning in grief, the king could not eye Raghava, nor seeing him could that one of afflicted mind answer anything. Then remaining unconscious for a while, the mighty-armed lord of earth oppressed by grief began to bewail, thinking of Rama. "I conclude that formerly I deprived many a cow of her calf, and took the life of many a creature, and it is for this that the present calamity has befallen me. (I infer) that life never departs from the body unless the time comes, for although sore tried by Kaikeyi, my life does not go out of me, and for I can see before me this one resembling fire, clad in the dress of an ascetic, having left his fine vesture. These people are in trouble in consequence of Kaikeyi alone striving by help of this craftiness to secure her interest." Having said these words, Dacaratha, his semes overpowered by the vapour of sorrow, exclaimed "Rama!" and could not proceed further. Then soon regaining consciousness, the lord of earth with tearful eyes, addressed Sumuntra, saying,—"Yoking a riding car with excellent horses, do you come hither; and take the exalted one to the south of the kingdom. The virtuous and heroic Rama is being banished by his father and mother. Even this methinks will be asserted as the fruit of the virtues possessed by the pious." Receiving the mandate of the sovereign, Sumantra endued with fleet vigour, yoking a car adorned with horses, came there. Then the charioteer with joined hands announced to the prince that the car adorned with gold was ready, yoked with excellent horses. The king, versed in time and place, and pure, speedily summoning his treasurer, said unto him these words firmly,— "Do you without delay bring unto Vaidehi excellent and costly attires and noble ornaments, counting these (ten and four) years." Thus desired by the foremost of men, that officer repairing to the treasury, procuring all those, speedily presented them to Sita. Thereupon that pure-sprung one, Vaidehi, ordered to the forest, adorned her goodly limbs with those rare ornaments. And thus decked out, Vaidehi graced that chamber like the effulgence of the Sun irradiating the welkin with his rays. Then embracing with her arms Mithila's daughter of noble behaviour, and smelling the crown of her head, Sita's mother-in-law said,—"Those women that although having always been carefully tended by their husbands, do not regard them during the incident of adversity, are in this world reckoned as unchaste.—Even this is the nature of women: having formerly tasted happiness (at the hands of their husbands), they, on the accession of an inconsiderable misfortune, take them to task,—nay, forsake them utterly. Those women that are untruthful, unmindful, of evil ways, heartless, intent on unrighteous acts, and whose love is evanescent, are unchaste. Neither lineage, nor benefit, nor learning, nor gift, nor forbearance of faults, can secure the hearts of females,—surely their hearts are unstable. But chaste women of good character, abiding in truth, acting in accordance with the precepts of superiors, and maintaining the dignity of their race, single out their lords as the prime means of compassing their spiritual welfare. Therefore although my son is going to be banished to the woods, you should by no means disregard him. Whether he be wealthy or poor, he is unto you like a god." Hearing her mother-in- law's words fraught with virtue and interest, Sita facing that lady, said with joined palms,—"I will do all that the noble one says. I know how I should act by my husband. I have heard all about that (from my parents.) The worshipful one ought not to place me on the same footing with unrighteous persons. As brightness doth not depart from the moon, so I cannot swerve from virtue. The Vina without strings does not sound; and the car without wheels does not move,— so although having an hundred sons, a woman without her husband cannot attain happiness. The Father gives in measure, the father and the son give in measure,—but who does not worship that bestower of 'riches fineless'—the husband? O exalted one, having learnt from my superiors the principal as well the minor duties, shall I disregard (my lord)? A husband is a deity unto the wife." Hearing Sita's words which went directly to the heart, Kaucalya endued with purity of spirit, out of fulness of bliss and bale suddenly shed tears. Then with joined hands that foremost of virtuous ones addressed his mother, who, duly honoured by all, was seated in the midst of his other mothers, saying,—"O mother, without indulging in grief, you should minister unto my father; and the term of my abode in the woods will shortly expire. You will find these five and nine years pass away as if in a sleep. Then again, getting me,you will see me surrounded by my friends and relatives." Having spoken out his mind unto his mother, Rama attentively eyed his three hundred and fifty mothers. And with joined hands Dacaratha's son spake words fraught with virtue unto his mothers afflicted like Kaucalya herseH "If I have said anything harsh to you in consequence a familiarity, or done any wrong through ignorance, do you forgive the same. I salute you all." These calm words of Raghava informed with piety were heard by the ladies overwhelmed with grief. As Raghava was speaking thus, then arose a loud wail proceeding from those wives of that chief of men, like unto the cries of Kraunchis. And the aboA of Dacaratha which formerly resounded with murajas, panavas, meghas [Musical instruments.], was now filled with cries of distress and lamentations.

SECTION 40.

Then exceedingly distressed, Rama, Sita and Lakshmana, bowing down unto the king, circumambulated him. Then with the king's permission, the righteous Raghava stupified with sorrow, in company with Sita, paid respect unto his mother. Following his brother, Lakshmana saluted Kaucalya; then he again took hold of his mother Sumitra's feet. As the son of Sumitra, was thus engaged in honouring his mother, his mother smelling the crown of his head, thus spoke unto the mighty-armed Lakshmana,—"Although attached unto thy friends here, thou hast my permission to go to the forest. When Rama shall have gone (to the woods), do not, O son, show any negligence unto him. O sinless one, whether in prosperity or in adversity, even this one is thy way. That a younger brother should follow his elder is in this world the duty of the righteous. These are the legitimate duties ever observed by this race—charity, initiation into sacrifice, and renunciation of the body in the field of battle. Do thou consider Rama as Dacaratha, and Janaka's own-begotten as myself; do thou regard Ayodhya as a wilderness,—go my son,

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at thy sweet pleasure." Having thus spoken unto that dear descendant of Raghu, who had made up his mind (to journey to the forest), Sumitra, again and again said unto him,—"Go! Go!" Then like unto Matali addressing Vasava, that one understanding humility, Sumantra, with joined hands humbly said unto Kakutstha,—"O illustrious prince, good betide you: do you ascend the car. O Rama, I will speedily take you to wherever you will tell me. You will have to spend fourteen years in the forest, and your stay must commence from this very day. So the noble lady has ordered." Then having adorned her person, that best of her sex, Sita, with a glad heart ascended the car resembling the sun. Counting the term of their stay in the woods, her father-in-law furnished Sita following her lord with attires and ornaments. And then he placed in front of the car various weapons, coats of mail, a basket bound in hide and a hoe. At length the brothers Rama and Lakshmana swiftly ascended the flaming car garnished with gold. And seeing them with Sita for the third, mounted, Sumantra drove the car yoked with goodly horses resembling the wind in celerity. On Raghava having left for the forest to stay there for a long period, the men and beasts within the city were deprived of their senses (by grief). And in the city there arose a mighty tumult in consequence of the hurrying of people, the elephants waxing mad and furious, and the neighings of horses. And the entire city containing young and old, extremely afflicted, rushed after Rama, like persons oppressed with the heat of the sun rushing towards water.

At his side and back, the people bending forward with their faces covered with the vapour of grief, and sighing hard, said unto the charioteer,—"O charioteer, rein in the horses,—do thou proceed softly. We will see the countenance of Rama, which we shall never see again. Surely the heart of Rama's mother is made of iron, for it does not burst on witnessing her son resembling Skanda repairing to the forest. Vaidehi, attaining her desire, follows her husband, like a shadow—attached to virtue, she does not forsake him even as the Sun forsakes not meru. O Lakshmana, you are blessed, since you will serve your god-like brother ever speaking fair. This design of yours is great; this is your mighty good fortune; this the way to heaven that you are following him." Saying this, they could not supress their fears; and the men followed the beloved descendant of Ikshwaku. Then the king, his senses overcome by grief, surrounded by his distressed wives, went out of his house, saying—"I will behold my dear son." He heard before him a mighty noise proceeding from weeping women, like unto the roars of she-elephants, when a great elephant has been taken captive. Thereupon Rama's father, the graceful Kakutstha, became shorn of his splendour, like unto the full-moon enveloped at the appointed time during the eclipse. Then the auspicious son of Dacaratha of soul incapable of being comprehended, ordered the charioteer, saying,—"Do thou proceed more speedily Rama saying unto the charioteer,—"Go," and the people,— "Stay," thus desired on the way, the charioteer could not act both ways at once. As the mighty-armed Rama proceeded, the dust of the earth raised by the car-wheels were laid by the tears of the citizens showering down. And in consequence of Raghava's departure, the entire city filled with despair, and uttering with their senses lost exclamations of "Oh" and "Alas," became exceedingly afflicted. And the tears begot of heart's grief that flowed from the eyes of the females, resembled rain-drops scattered around from lotuses shaken by the movements of fish. And beholding the citizens absorbed in one thought, the auspicious monarch fell down in grief like a tree whose roots have been severed. Then seeing the sovereign senseless and stricken with exceeding sorrow, the multitudes at the rear of Rama broke out into a loud tumult. And seeing the king weeping aloud with the inmates of the inner apartment, some exclaiming "Oh Rama," and others, "O Rama's mother," began to bewail. Then turning back, Rama saw that his sorrow-stricken and bewildered father along with his mother, was following his track. As a colt fastened in a snare cannot see its mother, so Rama fastened in the bonds of virtue could not look at his mother openly. And seeing his parents deserving of comfort and worthy of going in a carriage, going on foot, Rama said unto the charioteer,—"Go thou swiftly." And that foremost of men was incapable of bearing the looks of his father and mother, like unto an elephant afflicted with the hook, (not being able to look at what is placed on its back.)

Rama's mother rushed after him like a cow having a calf which has been fettered, rushing towards the fold, for the purpose of seeing it. Rama beheld his mother Kaucalya running after the car, bewailing aloud,— "Rama, Rama, Ah Sita, Lakshmana," shedding tears for Rama, Lakshmana and Sita, and appearing as if she had been dancing incessantly. The king exclaimed,—"Stay," Raghava said,—"On, On." Sumantra's mind vascillated like that of one placed between two hosts burning to encounter each other. Rama said unto him—"When taxed by the monarch (on your return), you will say, 'I did not hear you.' But delay will impart me terrible pain." Thereupon, doing Rama's bidding, the charioteer, telling the people to desist, made the horses already coursing, run faster. The retainers of the king stopped after circumambulating Rama, but their minds did not turn back. But the others did not return either bodily or mentally. Then the courtiers said unto that mighty monarch, Dacaratha,—"He that is expected back should not be followed far." Hearing their words, the king endued with every virtue, with his body covered with perspiration and his countenance woe-begone, and exceeding distressed, stopped short and stood along with his wife looking at his son.

SECTION 41.

When that foremost of men had gone out of the city with joined hands, there arose a chorus of cries proceeding from the females residing in the inner apartment. "Where goeth he that was the stay and refuge of the friendless, the feeble, and the helpless? He that although falsely accused, used not to be moved by anger, who pacified every enraged person by renouncing things calculated to fan anger and who felt equally for all, where goeth he? Where goeth that highly energetic and magnanimous one who conducted himself with us as he did with his mother Kaucalya? Afflicted by Kaikeyi and commissioned by the monarch unto the woods, where goeth the deliverer of these people—of the entire world? Ah! the senseless monarch is sending to the woods the stay of all creatures—the righteous and truthful Rama." Thus all the queens, oppressed with grief, burst out into lamentations like kine bereft of calves, and loud was the sound of their wailing. Hearing the loud tumult of lamentation in the inner apartment, the lord of earth burning in grief for his son was striken with sorrow. And oblations unto the fire had not been offered; and the Sun set; and elephants forsook their forage; and the kine did not suckle their calves. Trisanku, Lohitanga, Vrihashpati, Budha and the other Grahas getting at the Moon, remained with fierce aspects. The stars are shorn of their brightness; the Grahas deprived of sheen; and Vicakha appeareth enveloped in haze. And clouds driven by the wind resembled the sea mounting the welkin; and the city shook on Rama having departed for the forest. And the cardinal points are distressed, and appear enveloped in darkness. And no planet or star is to be seen. And all of a sudden the citizens have been striken with poverty: and no one turns his thoughts to eating or drinking. And ceaselessly burning in grief and heaving sighs, the people in Ayodhya rage at the monarch. And with their faces washed in tears, the wayfarers betoken no delight, but all are being exercised with grief. And the cool air does not blow, and no moon of mild appearance is seen, and no sun heats the world, all the entire Earth is overwhelmed with woe. And sons depend not upon their parents, hurbands on their wives, and brothers on brothers; and all forsaking each other, think of Rama only. And deprived of sense, and oppressed by the load of sorrow, the friends of Rama forsook their rest. Like the Earth with her mountains bereft of Purandara, Ayodhya, bereft of Rama, shook, agitated by fear and grief; and the citizens with elephants and warriors uttered exclamations of distress.

SECTION 42.

So long as he could see the dust raised by the car of Rama setting out for the forest, so long that best of the Ikshwaku race did not turn his eyes from that direction. And so long as the king could discover his exceedingly virtuous and favourite son, so long he raised himself (on his toes) on the earth with the view of beholding him. And when the ruler of earth could no longer perceive even the dust raised by Rama's car, then pierced with sorrow, and in heaviness of heart, he fell down to the ground. Then (raising him up), Kaucalya held his right arm and walked with him, while the slender-waisted Kaikeyi walked by his left. Endowed with a sense of justice and with virtue and humility, the king with afflicted senses steadily eyeing Kaikeyi, thus spake unto her,—"O Kaikeyi, that hast decided for following sin, do thou not touch my person,—nor do I wish to see thee. Thou art no wife of mine—not even a maid-servant of a friend sharing his good graces. I am none to those that subsist on thy favour, nor are they anything to me. I renounce thee who solely seekest thy interest and hast abandoned virtue. I renounce all the advantages pertaining either to this world or the next which I am entitled to by virtue of having obtained thy hand and having made thee circumambulate the sacrifical fire. If Bharata is satisfied with receiving this entire kingdom, let not what he spends on account of my funeral obsequies find its way to me." Then raising the lord of men covered with dust, the noble Kaucalya pierced with grief, stopped (along with the monarch). The righteous one remembering Raghava repented himself, as if he had slain a Brahmana through inordinate desire, or as if he had placed his hand in fire. And having stopped again and again, the visage of the monarch lamenting on beholding the track of the car, appeared dim like the Moon invaded by Rahu. And stricken with grief, he lamented, remembering his beloved son; and thinking that by this time he had reached the precincts of the city, he broke out into the following,—"On the way are traced the foot-prints of those foremost of bearers that are carrying my son away; but that magnanimous one I do not find. And that meritorious son of mine, who, doubed with sandal, used to rest his head pleasantly upon a pillow, fanned by beauteous damsels decked in ornaments, will to-day surely take refuge underneath a tree, and lay his head on a wooden plank or a stone. Covered with dust, he heaving sighs will rise from the ground in sad guise, like a leader of she-elephants rising from the side of a mountain. The rangers of the woods will now see the long-armed Rama resembling the lord himself of the worlds, rising from the ground and going like one forlorn. And that one so dearly loved by Janaka, worthy of being constantly ministered unto with comforts, is to-day going to the forest, fatigued in consequence of having been pierced with thorns. Unacquainted with the forest, she is certainly afflicted with fright on hearing the deep roars of ferocious beasts, capable of making one's hair stand erect. O Kaikeyi, do thou realize thy desire,—do thou becoming a widow, rule this kingdom. Without that best of men I cannot live." Thus lamenting, the king surrounded by the multitude, like one that had performed his bath after death, entered that best of cities filled with people enfeebled and smitten with grief, with its streets thined of men and its stalls closed. And beholding that entire city, with his mind fixed upon Rama, the king lamenting, like unto the sun entering clouds, entered that city like unto an unagitated sea rid of serpents by Suparna [Lit, fair-feathered, a name of Garura.], the city without Rama or Lakshmana or Sita. Then with tears in his eyes, the lord of earth, lamenting, in unintelligible accents said these sad and broken words,—"Do you speedily take me to the room of Rama's mother, Kaucalya; for in no other place shall I find rest for my heart." When the king had spoken thus, the ushers taking him to Kaucalya's chamber, made him lie down in lowly plight. And having entered Kaucalya's apartment, the king having laid himself on the bed, was overwhelmed with emotion. And the king surveyed the mansion deprived of his two sons as well as his daughter-in-law, like unto the welkin deprived of the Moon. Beholding this, the puissant sovereign raising up his arm, burst out into lamentations, saying,— "Ah! Rama, thou forsakest us both! Ah me! surely those blessed people are happy, who having passed this gap of time, will behold Rama returned and will embrace him." Then when the night had come like unto his own fatal night, Dacaratha at mid-night addressed Kaucalya saying,—"I do not perceive thee, O Kaucalya. Do thou touch me with thy hand. My sight having followed Rama doth not return yet." Then seeing that foremost of men absorbed in the contemplation of Rama, that noble dame sat by him, and afflicted with greater grief, began to indulge a sorrow, sighing heavily.

SECTION 43.

Then seeing the king lying down stupified with grief Kaucalya aggrieved for her son, spake unto the lord of earth, saying,—'O best of men, having vented her venom upon Raghava, the crooked Kaikeyi will go about like a she-serpent that has cast off her slough. And that fortunate one having by her endeavours attained her end, will frighten me the more like a wicked serpent in one's house. If Rama had stayed in this city subsisting himself by alms, or had I made my son as Kaikeyi's slave, even that would have been preferable (before his retirement to the woods). Like unto the sacrificial share cast unto the Rakshasas by the sacrificers on the occasions of Parvas, that wielder of the bow, the mighty-armed Rama, gifted with the gait of the prince of elephants, cast off by Kaikeyi, takes refuge in the forest in company with his wife and Lakshmana. Despatched by you to the woods at the command of Kaikeyi, to what a plight will they, not inured to the privations of a forest-life, be reduced! And bereft of elegant apparel, how will they of tender years, exiled in this time of enjoyment, pass their lives in misery, subsisting on fruits and roots! Will such a time present itself now that my grief removed and my desire attained, I shall here behold Raghava along with his wife and brother? When, hearing that those heroes have come, will Ayodhya adorned with standards and garlands, attain fame, with her populace filled with joy? When, seeing those foremost of men returned from the forest, will the city overflow with delight, like the ocean on the occasion of a Parva? When will the mighty-armed hero enter the city of Ayodhya, placing Sita" before him on the car,—like unto a bull having his bovine mate before him? When will people by thousands shower fried paddy upon my sons on the road, as those repressors of foes will enter the city? When shall I behold those (two) wearing burnished ear-rings, entering Ayodhya, placing before them their weapons and swords, like unto two hills furnished with their summits? When accepting flowers from girls and fruits from Brahmanas, will they, filled with delight, go round the palace? When with his intelligence ripened by time, although resembling a celestial in age, will that righteous-souled one come here, rejoicing people like a Trivarsha? [Three consecutive showers, favourable to the crops.] Doubtless, O hero, formerly of vile ways that I was, I had cut off the paps of kine and thus prevented their calves hungering after their mothers' milk, from drinking it. And it is for this sin that, O foremost of men, have I, attached to my son, been forcibly deprived of him by Kaikeyi, like a cow deprived of her calf by a lion. Having an only son, I dare not live without him endowed with every virtue and versed in

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every branch of learning. Not seeing my beloved son and the mighty Lakshmana, I cannot live at all. As in summer the divine Sun furnished with fierce rays burns this earth, even so this raging fire of grief on account of my son consumes me."

SECTION 44.

As that best of ladies, Kaucalya, was thus lamenting, Sumitra ever abiding in virtue, spake unto her these words consistent with righteousness,—"O worshipful one, your son is crowned with all qualities,—and is the best of men. Why then do you bewail thus, or weep bitterly? Since, O revered one, renouncing the kingdom, your mighty son wendeth (to the woods) with the view of fulfiling the intention of his high-souled and truthful sire, the worthy Rama staying in the duty that is completely observed by the good and the performance of which always bringeth welfare in the next world, should by no means be lamented. And that sinless one, Lakshmana, kind unto all creatures, will minister unto Rama in the best way possible,—and this is to the advantage of that high-souled one, And experiencing the hardships that come of living in the forest, Vaidehi deserving of happiness follows your righteous son. And what is wanting unto that maintainer of all, your son of subdued senses, intent upon truth and the observance of vows, who is spreading his banner of fame over the world? Acquainted with Rama's manifest purity and high magnanimity, the Sun himself will not dare burn his body with his rays. And issuing from the woods at all hours, the delicious air impregnated with heat and cold will serve Raghava. And when he will lie down at night, the Moon touching him with his beams and embracing him even like his own father, will gladden his heart. That hero of mighty energy on whom Brahma had conferred celestial weapons, seeing that foremost of the Danavas, the son of Timidhwaja, slain in battle,—that tiger-like one, relying on the native strength of his arms, will fearlessly abide in the forest as if in his own home. And why should not the earth remain in the sway of him coming within the range of whose arms enemies find destruction? Considering Rama's grace, heroism and auspiciousness, (there cannot be any doubt that) returning from the forest, he will speedily regain his own kingdom. He is the sun of the sun, the lord of the lord,—he is the auspiciousness of prime auspiciousness, the fame of fame, the forbearance of forbearance, the god of the gods,— and the foremost of creatures. What evil qualities, O noble lady, will be perceived in him, whether he remains in the city or in the forest? And that best of men, Rama, will soon be installed in the kingdom, in company with these three— the Earth, Vaidehi, and the goddess of victory. Although overwhelmed with grief, the people of Ayodhya, seeing that noble unvanquished one retiring to the woods clad in Kuca and bark, are shedding tears begot of sorrow; yet accompanied by that Lakshmi, what is there that is incapable of being attained by him? And what is there that is incapable of being obtained by him before whom goeth that foremost of bowmen himself bearing arrows, swords and other weapons? You will again see him returned from the forest. O exalted one, chase your grief and sadness, I tell you this truly. O blameless one, you will again, O auspicious lady, see your son, like onto the new-risen moon, paying homage unto your feet with his head. And again seeing him returned and crowned with great auspiciousness, you will speedily shed the dew of delight. O noble lady, do not grieve or lament. Evil cannot touch Rama. You will soon behold your son along with Siti and Lakshmana. O sinless one, it is for you to console these people. Why then, O revered one, do you suffer your heart to be thus overpowered? O eminent one, you ought not to bewail, inasmuch as Raghava is your son. In this world there is not another residing in honesty that is superior to Rama. Beholding your son surrounded by his friends, bowing unto you, you will soon shed blissful tears, even like a rain-cloud. And soon will your son conferring boons, returning (to this place), press your feet with those soft and plump hands of his. And even as a chain of clouds speaks unto a hill, you will speak onto worshipful and heroic son, surrounded by his friends, bowing unto you." Having thus addressed Rama's mother and inspired her with hope in various words, the noble pleasant and blameless Sumitra, clever in speech, paused. Hearing those words of Lakshmana's mother, that wife of the best of men, Rama's mother, had her sorrow destroyed in her person, even like an autumnal cloud surcharged with slight rain.

SECTION 45.

The people, who yarned after Rama having truth for prowess, followed him repairing to the forest Even when the king in the interests of his son had with much ado restrained himself, these, following Rama's car, did not desist. That illustrious one crowned with every perfection was unto the inhabitants of Ayodhya like unto the full moon himself. Although besought by the subjects, the truthful Kakutstha having pledged his word unto his father, kept on going to the forest. And affectionately eying them as if drinking them with his sight, Rama touchingly addressed those subjects as if they were his own,—"The love and regard which the inhabitants of Ayodhya have for me, let them, for pleasing me, extend in full measure towards Bharata. That enhancer of Kaikeyi's delight bearing an auspicious character, will duly compass your happiness and welfare. Aged by virtue of his wisdom, although young in years, and mild albeit furnished with heroic virtue, that remover of fear will make a fit ruler for ye. Crowned with every regal virtue and selected as the heir-apparent (by the monarch), he is more meritorious by far than I am. It behoves ye to obey the order of your master. And seeking my good, it behoves ye to act so that when I shall have gone to the forest, the king may not grieve." But as Dacaratha's son was bringing home to the people that their duty lay in obeying the royal mandate, they desired that even Rama should rule them. And Rama in company with Sumitra's son attracted the inhabitants of the city subdued by his virtues, who stood with tears in their eyes. And the three kinds of the twice born ones, viz., those old by virtue, respectively, of age, wisdom, and ascetic energy, the old folks with their heads shaking through length of years,—cried from a distance,—"O ye fleet coursers boasting of exalted extraction that bear Rama away, do ye desist,—do not go; do ye do even what is for the good of your master. And more particularly being creatures furnished with ears, do ye, ye horses, knowing our prayer, desist. And pure of spirit and heroic and ever firm in noble promises, that master of yours should in justice be carried (unto the city) and not unto the forest away from it." Suddenly seeing those old Brahmanas thus lamenting distressfully, Rama speedily descended from his car. And along with Lakshmana and Sita, Rama bound for the forest, began to walk near them on foot. Endowed with kindness, that friend of the good, Rama, could not by proceeding on his car bear to part with the Brahmanas that were following on foot. Seeing him thus going, the Brahmanas with agitated hearts, and burning in grief, addressed Rama in these words,—"The Brahmanas in a body are following thee ever seeking their good, and mounting on the shoulders of the regenerate ones, the (sacrificial) Fires are walking in thy wake. And behold these raised umbrellas of ours got from the Vajapeya sacrifice, that like unto autumnal clouds follow at your back. With these umbrellas got at the Vajapeya sacrifice, we will afford shade unto Rama destitute of his own white umbrella, when he shall feel the heat of the (solar) rays. That intelligence of ours which ever followeth the Vedic Mantras, is now, O child, ready to follow thee unto the forest in thy interests. That best of treasures, the Vedas, resides in our bosoms; and our wives protected by their chastity abide in our homes. As we have already made up our minds to follow thee, it is useless to fix our hearts afresh. But if thou overlookest virtue, what becomes of abiding by righteousness? O thou that art ever firm in virtue, we beseech thee by humbling unto the dust our heads covered with hair white like cranes, do thou desist. These numerous Brahmanas that have come hither have entered upon many a sacrifice. The completion of these, O child, depends upon thy return. All creatures mobile and immobile cherish thee with high regard. All these beseech thee. Do thou show consideration unto those that regard thee. Tall trees deprived of motion in consequence of being fast rooted to the earth and incapable of following thee, are prohibiting thee by sounding with the wind. And birds staying upon trees and neither manifesting any motion nor seeking for their food, beseech thee to have compassion upon all creatures." While the Brahmanas were loudly demanding the return of Rama, he found the darkness to descend as if forbidding him. Then Sumantra unyoked the fatigued horses from the car, which at once fell to rolling in the dust. And then bathing them and making then drink, he soon as the dusk set in, set fare before them.

SECTION 46.

Then Raghava pausing on the banks of the Tamasa, looked at Sita and spake unto Sumitra's son, saying,— "O son of Sumitra, this is the first night of our exile into the forest. From this day it behoveth thee not, good betide thee, to suffer thy mind to grieve (by dwelling on past joys.) The empty forest resounding with the cries of beasts and birds returned to their abodes, and covered with gloom, seems to weep on all sides. Doubtless to-day the men and women of Ayodhya, the metropolis of my father, are bewailing us retired to the forest. O foremost of men, the people are attached unto thyself, the monarch, Bliarata, Satrughna, and myself, because of our various good qualities. I bewail our father as well as my illustrious mother. I fear lest lamenting ceaselessly, they become blind. But surely the virtuous Bharata will console our father and mother with words fraught with virtue, interest and profit. Reflecting again and again on Bharata's sincerity of soul, I do not, O mighty- armed one, bewail either my mother or my father. O foremost of men, that thou hast followed me is what is thy duty. (If thou hadest not done so), I should have to seek elsewhere for the protection of Vaidehi. O Sumitra's son, I will spend here this night, subsisting on water alone. Even this recommends itself unto me, although the forest yields various kinds of fruits." Having said this unto Sumitra's son, Raghava spake unto Sumantra, saying,—"O mild one, do thou now needfully tend the horses." Then at sunset, fastening the horses, Sumantra fed them plentifully with grass, and then came back. Then seeing the night arrived, the charioteer worshipped the beneficent Sandhya, and then in company with Sumitra's son, prepared Rama's bed. And looking at that bed on the shores of the Tamasa surrounded by trees, Rama along with his wife and the son of Sumitra, lay down. When Lakshmana found that Rama afflicted with fatigue had slept together with his spouse, he began to speak unto the charioteer concerning the various qualities of Rama. As remaining awake in the night, Sumitra's son was engaged in expatiating to the charioteer on the virtues of Rama on the banks of the Tamasa, the sun arose.

Rama abode that night along with the subjects at some distance from the banks of the Tamasa filled with kine. Rising (from his bed), that highly energetic one, Rama, viewing the subjects (asleep), addressed his brother Lakshmana graced with auspicious marks,—"O son of Sumitra, these for our sake have disregarded their own homes, are asleep beneath the trees. These citizens have determined upon making me turn back from the forest,— they would rather renounce their lives than give up their resolve. Let us while they are asleep ascending on our car, swiftly go our way without fear of molestation. Attached to me, the denizons of Ikshwaku's city will not again indulge in sleep underneath trees. A prince should deliver citizens from the calamity they bring upon themselves; but he should by no means drag them into those which he himself has brought on." Then Lakshmana spake unto Rama like unto manifest Virtue on earth,—"O wise one, even this is relished also by me. Do you speedily ascend (the car.)" Rama said unto the charioteer,—"Do thou at once yoke the car. I will repair to the forest. Do thou, my master, swiftly go hence." Thereupon the charioteer bestirring himself, yoking the excellent horses unto the car, said unto Rama with joined hands,— "Here, O mighty-armed one, is your car ready yoked, O foremost of car-warriors. Do you speedily ascend, good betide you, along with Sita and Lakshmana." Ascending the car after equipping himself, Raghava crossed the rapidly- rushing Tamasa abounding in eddies. Having crossed (the stream), the auspicious and mighty-armed one came upon a safe and goodly high way capable of inspiring even timid people with confidence. But with the view of deluding the citizens, Rama said unto the charioteer.—"0 charioteer, do thou ascending the car proceed northwards; and having proceeded swiftly for a while, do thou turn the car. Do thou carefully act so that the citizens may not perceive this." Hearing Rama's words, the charioteer did accordingly. and having returned said unto Rama to ascend the car.

Then on those perpetuators of the Raghu race having along with Sita been seated on the car, the charioteer drove the horses by that road which conducted to the hermitage. Then placing the car with its face northwards for the purpose of invoking auspiciousness on their journey, that mighty charioteer, Dacaratha's son, established on the vehicle, set out for the forest.

SECTION 47.

When the night had departed and day dawned, the citizens not finding Raghava, were overwhelmed with grief and were deprived of their senses. With tears of grief and afflicted with distress, they looked hither and thither, but they could not discover even the dust raised by Rama's car. And those intelligent ones, extremely distressed on being deprived of Rama endowed with understanding, with countenances betokening sorrow, spoke these piteous words,— "Oh! fie on that sleep through which having been deprived of senses, we shall not to-day behold Rama of broad chest and mighty arms. How could Rama of mighty arms, resorting to this undesirable course, has gone into exile as an ascetic, leaving behind those that regard him dearly? Why has that foremost of Raghus, who has always cherished us even as a father cherishes his sons begot by his own loins, forsaking us, betaken himself to the forest? Here will we either renounce our lives, or direct our course to the north to meet death. Of what good are our lives, when we have been deprived of Rama? There are huge trunks of dry wood to be got here in plenty. Lighting the pile of woods will we all enter the fire. What shall we say (when people ask us?) How can we say,—'We took hence the mighty-armed, sweet-speeched and unavenging Rama'? Surely seeing us without Raghava, the forlorn city with her women, children and grown up folks will be plunged in grid We had issued with that high-souled hero. Deprived of him, how shall we behold that city?" Thus raising up their arms, they stricken with grief, indulged in lamentations, like unto kine deprived of their calves.—Then following for a while the track of the car, they, missing the track, become overwhelmed with woe. And then those intelligent ones came back by the track of the car. "What is this? What shall we do? We have been foiled by some supernatural agency." Then they returned to the city of Ayodhya with its good people oppressed with grief, by the self-same way by which they had come. Viewing the city, they with their eyes weighed down with grief, and minds oppressed with woe, shed plentiful tears. "This city deprived of Rama does not look beautiful, like a lake bereft of its serpent by Garura, or the firmament

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deprived of the Moon, or the ocean without its waters." And they disturbed in mind beheld the city sunk in sorrow. And entering their wealthy mansions, they deprived of their senses by grief, could not recognize them for their own, nor could they with their hearts rendered absolutely cheerless, although looking at them minutely, distinguish their own from others.

SECTION 48.

THEN with depressed spirits, and exceedingly afflicted, with tears flooding their eyes, smitten with mortal grief, the inhabitants of the city went back from Rama unto the city. And with their lives appearing as ready to go out, those unsteady ones came to their respective homes, and surrounded by their wives and sons, washed their faces with copious tears. And they forgot to rejoice or make merry, and the traders did not spread (their stores), and stalls did not grace the place, and the householders drd not cook, and people did not rejoice on recovering lost property or gaining a profuse accession of wealth, and mothers did not feel any delight on beholding their first-born. And in every home females afflicted with woe, weeping chid their husbands, coming home, with the following words as (drivers) spur elephants with hooks, "Of what use are their houses, and wives, and wealth, and sons, and comforts, to those who see not Raghava (in their midst?) There is one only good man in this world even Lakshmana, who along with Sita is following Kakutstha Rama unto the woods. Those streams, assemblage of lotuses, and pools are blessed, by which bathing in the sacred waters, Kakutstha will pass. And romantic forests and woods, watery expanses of mighty volume, and mountains with flat spaces, will grace Kakutstha. And forests and hills to which will repair Rama cannot go without paying him homage like unto a welcome guest. And crested with flowers of various hues and putting forth frequent shoots, trees, swarming with bees will show themselves unto Raghava. And hills from regard will show unto Rama arrived there the choicest flowers and fruits even out of season; and will supply him with fountains of pure water. And presenting him with many a charming fountain, trees will delight Rama at the tops of mountains. Where Rama is, there is not fear or failure. That mighty- armed son of Dacaratha is heroic. Let us while he is yet ahead within a short distance of us, follow Raghava. Even the shadow of the feet of our master, so high-souled, would, bring us happiness. He is the lord of all these—he is the refuge—he is the accomplishment of our religious duties. We and you, will serve Sita, and Raghava." Thus afflicted with grief, the women of the city spake unto their husbands. "In the forest Raghava will attain for you the unattainable and protect what is attained; and Sita being a female will do the same for these (women.) Who will take pleasure in residing in a dwelling where the heart dies within itself, which is devoid of delight, where the people are always agitated with anxiety and which is exceedingly disagreeable? If this kingdom devolves on Kaikeyi it will be divested of all virtues and will be like unto one without a master. And of what avail then is our life itself, not to speak of sons and wealth. Whom else will that stainer of her line, Kaikeyi, forsake now, who for the sake of wealth has forsaken her son and her lord? We swear by our sons that so long as Kaikeyi is alive, we living will never stay in her kingdom, although we may be maintained by her. What happiness can be ours by living with that wicked and unrighteous one who lost to every sense of shame is bent upon exiling the son of the foremost of kings? Troubled by disturbances, with all its sacrifices stopped, and having no master over it, the entire (kingdom) will meet with destruction because of Kaikeyi. On Rama retiring to the forest, the lord of earth will surely not live; and Dacaratha dying, it is evident everything will come to naught. Do you, your virtue exhausted, and oppressed with grief pounding poison, take it or follow Raghava, or remove to such a place that the very name of Kaikeyi may not reach your ears? Rama has been deceitfully exiled along with his wife and Lakshmana; and we are bound unto Bharata like unto a (sacrificial,) beast before one that is to slaughter it. Surely that mighty car-warrior, with deepest collar-bones having a countenance resembling the full moon, sable-hued, repressing his foes, with his arms reaching unto his knees and lotus-like eyes—Rama the elder brother of Lakshmana—always speaking first (to a visitor,) suave, truth-telling, endowed with prowess, amiable unto all men, and lovely like the moon himself, surely that foremost of men gifted with the strength of a mad elephant, will grace the forests, ranging it around." Thus lamenting in the city, the females thereof burning in grief became distressed like people stricken with panic on the occasion of a plague.

As the women were thus bewailing Raghava in their homes, the Sun set and night came on. And the city became enveloped in darkness, and the light (of the sacrificial fires) was extinguished, and the sounds of study and edifying discourse ceased. And the shops of the tradesmen being closed, and festive mirth having disappeared, and people becoming defenceless, the city of Ayodhya resembled the firmament deprived of the stars. And distressed for the sake of Rama as if it was a son or a brother of theirs that was banished, the women weeping forlorn, lamented with senses lost; and Rama was to them more than a son. And the voice of song and festal glee and dance and sounds of instruments having died away, and mirth having disappeared, and the shops not displaying their wares, Ayodhya then resembled the mighty ocean emptied of its waters.

SECTION 49.

THAT best of men, Rama, remembering his father's command cleared a large tract of country before the night terminated. And as he went on, the auspicious night was spent. And then having offered up his devotions unto the beneficent Sandhya, Rama entered into another country. And seeing villages having ploughed fields on their skirts, and flowering woods, he by means of those excellent horses, proceeded very fast although seeming to go slowly. And as Rama proceeded, he heard the villagers speaking to each other, saying,—"Fie on king Dacaratha, who has yielded himself up unto lust! Ah! the rebutless, fell and sinful Kaikeyi intent upon impiety, having put by her honour, has resolved upon an exceedingly atrocious deed—she that exiles into the woods such a virtuous son of the monarch, endowed with high wisdom, kind, and having his senses under control. Alas! king Dacaratha has no affection for his own son, since he wishes to dismiss from hence Rama sinless and dear unto the subjects." Hearing these words of the villagers, that hero, the lord of Kocala, left Kocala behind him. Then crossing the river Vedacruti of sacred waters, Rama went in the direction of the quarter in which Agastya resided. (South)

Then proceeding for a good while, he crossed the coolflowing stream Gomati running in the direction of the ocean, with its banks filled with kine and inundating its edge. Having passed the Gomati, Raghava by means of fleet-coursing horses next crossed over the river Sandika resounding with the cries of cranes and peacocks. Here Rama showed unto Vaidehi those flourishing regions that had formerly been conferred by king Manu on Ikshwaku, and which teemed with populous tracts. Then frequently addressing the charioteer, saying, "O Suta", that best of men furnished with grace and endowed with a voice like that of a mad swan, spoke,—"When shall I coming back, range ahunting the blossoming groves of the Sarayu, along with my father and mother? I do not so much long for hunting in the woods of the Sarayu; but a relish (for the pastime) is considered as beyond compare being held in esteem by the Rajarshis. Hunting in the forest was introduced for the recreation of Raghavas. Yet do I not take beyond measure to the chase which has been followed in season by the descendants of Manu and which is ever coveted by bowmen. Taking this subject, the descendant of Ikshwaku passed the way, addressing sweet words unto the charioteer.

SECTION 50.

Having passed the extensive and romantic Kocala, the intelligent elder brother of Lakshmana facing Ayodhya, said with joined hands,—"O best of cities, governed by Kakutstha, I address thee as well as the deities that inhabit and guard thee. Returning from my abode in the woods, I will, freed from my debt unto the lord of earth, behold thee again along with my father and mother." Then he furnished with graceful coppery eyes raising his right hand, with tears in his eyes and in forlorn guise addressed the people of the provinces, saying,—"Ye have shown due compassion and regret for me. To grieve long is not fit. Do ye therefore repair to look after your interests." Thereupon, saluting that high-souled one and going round him, bewailing all the while in heaviness of heart, they at times stopped on their way. And as they kept lamenting, unsatiated in beholding him, Raghava went beyond the range of their sight, like the Sun disappearing at night-fall. Then that powerful one mounted on his car left behind him Kocala bounding in wealth and kine, inhabited by charitable people, auspicious, free from every kind of fear, charming, containing altars and stakes, with gardens and mango groves, furnished with tanks teeming with burly and contepted people, filled with kine, worthy of being protected by monarchs and resounding with the sounds of Vedic recitations. Proceeding at a middling pace, that best of those endowed with fortitude passed through lands smiling cheerfully, prosperous, and crowded with elegant villas,—realms worthy of being coveted by the foremost of kings. Then Raghava saw the celestial Ganga running in three courses with cool waters free from moss, beautiful to behold, frequented by the sages, adorned with graceful asylums close by, containing sacred watery expanses haunted at the hours of sport by delighted Apsaras, graced with celestials, Danavas, Gandharbas and Kinnaras, ever holy, attended by the wives of Nagas and Gandharbas, with hills serving as sporting-places for the celestials—the river surrounded by gardens of the immortals—that for the behoof pf the celestials had ascended heaven, famous, furnished with assemblage of celestial lotuses, with the rocks laughing aloud in consequence of the dashing of water, laughing without blemish with foam, sometimes having her water flowing like a braid and sometimes decked by eddies, sometimes still and deep, and sometimes rushing furiously, sometimes sounding solemnly and sometimes roaring dreadfully, with crowds of deities bathing in its water, embellished with fresh-blown lotuses, having spacious shoals and spots covered with glittering sand, resounding with the cries of cranes of various kinds, graced by Chakravakas, ever resorted to by maddened fowls, without blame, decked by trees on its banks resembling garlands somewhere covered with full-blown lotuses and somewhere containing multitudes of lotuses, at places decked with tracts of lilies, at others with opening buds, rife with the farina of various flowers, sometimes resembling a proud female, removing the dirt of sin, translucent like a gem to the view, with the elephants of the quarters, wild ones, mad ones, as well as those the best of their species, and those carrying the foremost of celestials, roaring in the neighbouring woods, adorned carefully with the choicest ornaments like unto a damsel, crowded with flowers and fruits and bushes as also with birds, flowing from the feet of Vishnu, divine, without sin, capable of destroying it, filled with porpoises, crocodiles and snakes, drawn out from the matted locks of Sankara by the energy of Sagara's descendant—the queen of the Ocean—resonant with the cries of cranes and kraunchas. The mighty-armed Rama came to the Ganga near Sringaverapura. And beholding (the river) with her surging eddies, that mighty car-warrior said unto the charioteer, Sumantra, "We will rest here to day. There is hard by the river a gigantic Ingudi tree, bearing a profusion of flowers and fresh leaves. Here, O charioteer, will we stay to-day. I see (before me) the foremost of streams, whose waters are honoured (by all) and which is sacred to celestials and men and Gandharbas and beasts and serpents and fowls. Thereupon saying unto Raghava, "Very well," Lakshmana and Sumantra with the horses went to the Ingudi tree. And reaching the tree, that desendant of Ikshwaku alighted from the car along with his wife and Lakshmana. Then descending, Sumantra relieved those excellent horses, and with joined hands stood before Rama seated at the foot of the tree. There lived at the place a king named Guha, a friend unto Rama, dear as his own self, a Nishada by birth, powerful and famed as the lord of the Nishadas. Hearing that that foremost of men, Rama, had arrived at the place, he (Guha) surrounded by his aged counsellors and kindred came unto him. Seeing the lord of the Nishadhas at a distance, Rama came up unto him in company with Sumitra's son. Thereat touched, Guha embracing Raghava said unto him, "O Rama, as Ayodhya this kingdom is unto thee. What shall I do for thee? Who, O might-armed one, receives such a welcome guest?" Then speedily bringing various kinds of sapid rice and Arghyas, he said,—"O mighty -armed one, has thy journey been a pleasant one? This entire earth is thine. We are thy servants; thou art our master. Do thou rule here, accepting the eatables and drinkables and those that are to be sucked and excellent beds and fodder." When Guha had said this, Raghava answered him, saying,—"We have been well received by thee and are well pleased with thee, since coming here on foot thou hast shown us affection." Then pressing Guha hard with his arms, Rama said, "O Guha, it is by good luck that I see thee whole along with thy friends. Is thy kingdom in peace both as regards thy friends and the forest? The things that thou hast presented me with out of love I accept but cannot enjoy. Do thou know me as assuming an ascetic mode of life in the woods, in which I am to wear Kuca and bark and live upon fruits and roots. So, will the single exception of the food for the horses, things require I none; and these horses being well kept, I shall consider myself as entertained by thee. These are the favourites of my father, Dacaratha, and on these horses being well provided for, I shall be well received. Thereupon Guha on the spot commanded the men, saying, "Let the horses have without delay meats and drinks." Then putting his sheet over his person, he (Rama) performed his evening devotions. Having done this, he took as his sustenance the water that had been procured by Lakshmana himself. On Rama having lain down on the ground along with his wife, Lakshmana washed their feet, and then remained stationed under the tree. Then bow in hand and with his wits about him, conversing with Sumitra's son along with the charioteer, Guha remained awake, watching Rama. Thus the livelong night passed away with that illustrious, intelligent and high-souled son of Dacaratha, unacquainted with troubles and worthy of happiness.

SECTION 51.

As for the purpose of protecting his brother, Lakshmana was watching him out of sincere affection, Guha burning in grief addressed that descendant of Raghu, saying—"This O child, is the easeful bed that hath been prepared for thee. O prince, do thou as thou listest, lie down upon it. These (foresters) are inured to this hardship; but thou art worthy of ease. We will wake up during the night for guarding Kakutstha. There is none on earth dearer unto me than Rama. This I tell thee truly and I swear by truth itself. Through his grace I hope in this world to attain high fame, and great religious merit as well as completely secure profit and pleasure. I will bow in hand in company with my kindred adequately guard my dear friend reposing with Sita. Always ranging in this forest, nothing herein is unknown to me. I shall vanquish

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even any mighty body of fourfold forces (that may come up against us.)" Thereupon Lakshmana said,— "O sinless one, protected by thee ever having thy sight fixed on virtue, we do not fear to live in this place. But how with Dacaratha's son lying down on the ground along with Sita can I indulge in sleep or what is the use of my living and enjoying happiness? Him do thou behold with ease asleep on the grass in company with Sita, who was incapable of being borne in fight by the gods and the Asuras. Hfm do thou behold, who was obtained by Da$aratha as his son through various kinds of prowess, mantras and asceticism, and who is crowned with virtues beseeming such austerities, etc. Rama being banished, the king will not live long and the earth will shortly be widowed." Having bewailed aloud, the women have, methinks, (by this time) ceased through fatigue, and the king's residence is still. I cannot hope that Kaucalya, the king, and my mother are yet alive. If they are, it is for this night only. Even if my mother live looking up to Satrughna, yet this is my grief that that mother of a hero, Kaucalya will breathe her last And that palace filled with people attached unto Rama and flooded with the light of delight, will, visited with the calamity that will befall the king meet with destruction. How will the life of that high-souled king not seeing his magnanimous son, his eldest son, remain in his body? And the king dying, Kaucalya will die after him and then my mother will depart this life. Frustrated in his desire, my father, foiled in his endeavours to confer the kingdom on Rama, will, exclaiming 'All is lost,' 'All is lost,' give up the ghost. Sirely they are blessed that when the time shall come when the king will die, will perform the funeral rites of that descendant of Raghu. They will happily range the capital of my father, furnished with fairlooking terraces, with its high ways laid out orderly, having lordly edifices and palatial residences, graced with excellent courtezans, abounding with cars, elephants and horses, resounding with the notes of trumpets—the abode of all auspiciousness—filled with portly and contented folks, rich in gardens and villas, and celebrating popular festivities. If Dacaratha live we shall returning from the forest, behold that high-souled one observing noble vows. If we remain in peace, we shall returning from the forest with that one firm in promise, enter Ayodhya." As the high-souled son of the king oppressed with grief was thus lamenting sitting up, the day broke. When that son of the foremost of men, intent on the welfare of the subjects had spoken thus truly, Guha, out of extreme affection for (Rama), shed tears afflicted with grief and hurt like an elephant suffering from fever.

SECTION 52.

"When the morning broke, that illustrious one having a spacious chest, Rama, addressed Sumitra's son, Lakshmana, graced with auspicious marks,—"This is the time of sunrise: the reverend Night hath departed. O child, this gracefully sable-hued bird, the coel, has begun to warble, and I hear the cries of peacocks uttering notes in the woods. O amiable one, we will cross the Jahnavi, fast rushing to the ocean." Hearing Rama's words, that enhancer of the delight of friends, Sumitra's son, conveyed them unto Guha and the charioteer; and then stood before his brother. Hearing of Rama's speach and accepting it, that lord of the Nishadas speedily summoning his counsellors spake unto them saying, —"Do ye without delay bring to this bathing-place a strong and elegent boat furnished with a rudder and steered by a helmsman, such as is capable of ferrying (people) comfortably." Hearing this mandate of Guha. his potent counsellors procuring a goodly boat, informed him of it. Then with joined hands, Guha spake unto Raghava, saying,—"The boat is ready, worshipful one. What more shall I do in thy behalf? O thou that resemblest the son of a celestial, here is the boat for thee, O foremost of men, to cross over the river that goeth after the ocean. O thou of excellent vows, do thou ascend it." Thereupon the highly energetic Rama said unto Guha the following words,—"I have attained my end through thee. Do thou at once get on board the baggage." Then donning on their mail and equipped with their bows, quivers and swords, the Raghavas along with Sita descended unto the Ganga. Then coming forward in humble guise before Rama cognisant of virtue, the charioteer said with joined hands,—"What shall I do (now)?" Thereupon Dacaratha's son touching Sumantra by his goodly right hand, said,— "O Sumantra, do thou again repair unto the monarch, but let thy senses be unclouded." "Do thou" said he unto the charioteer, "turn back. So far I have come (in obedience to the order of the monarch;. Now, renouncing the car, will I repair unto the mighty forest on foot" Finding himself thus commanded, the charioteer, Sumantra grieved at heart spoke unto that best of men, the descendant of Ikshwaku. "That Destiny owing to which you will have to pass your days in the forest like a low person, along with your brother and wife, has in this world been withstood by none. I deem the Brahmacharyya mode of life, or study, or meekness or sincerity as attended with no fruit, since you have come by calamity. O Raghava, living in the forest with Vaidehi and your brother, you, O Lord, attain a state (of supreme excellence), having, as it were, conquered the three worlds. O Rama, it is we, wretched that we are, that are undone, as we, deprived of your company, shall come under the sinful Kaikeyi expressing great misery." Having said this, the charioteer, Sumantra, seeing Rama intent upon going to a distant land, wept for a long while in heaviness of heart. Then when he had dried up his tears, and sanctified himself by touching the water of the Ganga, Rama again addressed the charioteer in sweet words, saying,—"I do not find any one that is a friend of the sons of Ikshwaku like unto thee. Do thou so act that king Dacaratha may not grieve (for me). The lord of earth hath been deprived of his senses by grief, hath grown old, and is oppressed by the weight of desires (thwarted). Therefore it is that I tell thee this. Whatever that noble- minded lord of earth commands for the pleasure of Kaikeyi, should by us be done with alacrity. It is for this that those lords of men, kings, govern,—viz., that others may not thwart their purposes. O Sumantra, do thou act so, that the mighty monarch may not come across any thing unpleasant, or be attacked with chagrin through grief. Do thou saluting him for me say these words unto the aged monarch, who has his senses under complete control, and who hath never seen misfortune before. 'Neither I nor Lakshmana grieve for being ejected out of Ayodhya, or that we shall have to abide in the forest. After these fourteen years have gone by, you will see Lakshmana, Sita. and myself come to you speedily.' Having thus, O Sumantra, in my name again and again spoken to the king, to my mother and to Kaikevi along with the other revered ladies do thou communicate unto Kaucalya our welfare conveying unto her at the same time Sita's and Lakshmana's salutations to her feet as well those of myself who am her eldest son. Do thou also tell the king,— 'Do you spedily bring Bharata; and when Bharata has come, let him be invested with royalty. And when you have embraced Bharata and installed him in the kingdom, you no longer be overpowered with grief on our account,' And tell Bharata,— 'As thou bearest thyself unto the king, so it behoves thee to bear thyself to all thy mothers, without making any distinction at all. As Kaikeyi is unto thee, so without distinction is Sumitra, and so also without distinction my mother Kaucalya. Governing the kingdom as the heir-apparent with the view of compassing the pleasure of our father, he will be able to secure happiness both in this world and the next." Told by Rama to go back and instructed in this wise, Sumantra having heard everything, addressed Kakutstha from affection, saying,—"It behoves you to forgive what I say plainly from affection, without letting myself be overwhelmed with emotion, and with due reverence for you. How can I, O child, without you return to that city! which seems as if afflicted with the grief incident to the loss of a son? Having then seen my car with Rama on it, the hearts of the people and the palace now will in all likelihood burst when they shall see it without Rama. Surely the city will be distressed on beholding this empty car, like a host seeing a car with its hero slain and the charioteer alone left in the field. Thinking in their minds that you although actually at a great distance from them, are before them, the subjects (not finding you) will renounce food (and thus destroy themselves.) You yourself witnessed how the subjects overwhelmed with grief on your account, conducted themselves when you were being banished unto the woods. They will on seeing me with the car, burst out into lamentations exceeding a hundred times in bitterness those in which they indulged when you set out for the forest. Shall I say unto the worshipful one,—'I have conveyed your son to the home of his maternal uncle. Do you not grieve'. I will never tell such a lie. Yet how can I speak this truth which is so very unpleasant? And ever abiding by my command and used to carry your friends, how can these excellent horses bear this car without you? Therefore, O sinless one, I shall not be able to go to Ayodhya without you; and it behoves you to permit me to follow you to the forest. But if you forsake me who beseech you, I will as soon as left by you, enter into fire along with the car. I shall, O Raghava, by means of this car, withstand all those impediments that shall present themselves against your ascetic austerities in the forest. I have through your favour experienced the pleasure of driving the car. I expect at your hands the pleasure of living in the woods. Be you propitious. It is my wish to remain in the forest with you, and do you say, affectionately—'Do you remain by my side'. And these horses, O hero, will attain to a supreme state if they serve you during your abode in the forest. Living in the forest, I will serve you with the crown of my head; and I will entirely renounce Ayodhya or the celestial regions themselves. Even as a doer of evil deeds cannot enter the metropolis of the mighty Indra, I am incapable of entering Ayodhya without you. And this is my desire that the term of exile over, I may carry you back to the palace on this very car. Remaining with you in the forest the fourteen years will pass away dwindled into a moment, but without you, they shall assume the proportions of an hundred years. O you bearing affection towards your servants, it does not behove you to forsake your servant having regard for you, ever abiding by the way that is wended by the son of his master, and observing the duties of his pesition." Thereupon Rama kind towards servants, said these words unto Sumantra as he besought him thus humbly in various ways, "O thou that bearest attachment unto thy master, I know that thou regardest me highly. But do thou listen as to why I send thee to the city from hence. Seeing thee returned to the city, my youngest mother Kaikeyi will believe that Rama has gone to the woods. Then well pleased on my having repaired to the woods, she will not entertain any apprehension anent the righteous monarch, thinking that he is untruthful. This is my first wish that my youngest mother may obtain her son's kingdom, properous and well protected by Bharata. Do thou, O Sumantra, bear thyself unto the palace to compass the end of both the king and myself, and do thou communicate in the desired way what I have said unto the respective parties." Having said this unto the charioteer and consoled him again and again, the energetic Rama spoke unto Guha the following words fraught with reason, "O Guha, I should not now reside in a forest inhabited by men. I should certainly now abide in an asylum in proper guise. In harmony with the wishes of Sita and Lakshmana, I, imposing on myself in the interests of my father selfdenial and wearing that ornament of ascetics, a head of matted hair, will go (to the forest). Do thou therefore bring me starch from the banian." Thereupon Guha speedily brought the starch for the prince; and prepared matted locks for himself, Rama and Lakshmana. And that mighty- armed chief of men wore matted locks. And those brothers Rama and Lakshmana dressed as mendicants, and wearing heads of matted hair, appeared like saints. Then entering upon the Vanaprastha mode of life, Rama along with Lakshmana assuming the vow of that life, observed unto that adherent of his, Guha,—"Do thou, my friend, vigilantly protect the army, the exchequer, the fort and the provinces; for a kingdom demands all the exertions (of the king thereof)." Then taking the permission of Guha, the descendant of Ikshwaku, holding his soul in calmness, set out with his wife and Lakshmana. Seeing a boat at the river-side, that son of Ikshwaku desirous of crossing the swift-coursing Ganga, spoke these words,— "Do thou ascend, gently, O foremost of men, the boat that stayeth here, after the making the virtuous Sita ascend by taking her by the hand." Hearing his brother's command, that strong-willed one, furthering everything, having made Mithila's daughter ascend, ascended himself. That energetic elder brother of Lakshmana next ascended himself. Then the lord of the Nishadas, Guha, incited his kinsfolk. Having got on board the boat, the exceedingly puissant Raghava for securing his welfare, recited mantras fit to be recited by Kshatriyas and Brahmanas. Then that mighty car-warrior, Lakshmana, sipping water from the river as laid down in the scriptures, bowed down to it along with Sita in gladness of heart. Then telling Sumantra, Guha, and the forces, Rama ascending the boat, ordered the boatmen (to proceed). Then the boat decked out by the helmsman, moved by them, and urged on by the pulls of the goodly oars, proceeded apace in the water. Having arrived at the middle of the Bhagirathi, that blameless one, Vaidehi, with joined hands, addressed the river, saying,— "O Ganga, protected by thee, may the son of the intelligent and mighty monarch, Dacaratha, execute the mandate (of the latter.) Having spent complete fourteen years in the forest, he will return in company with his brother and myself. Then, O worshipful one, O thou of auspicious fortune, having returned safely, I will, O Ganga, worship thee, thou that crownst every desire. O thou that wendst in three ways, O revered one, thou envelopest the regions of Brahma. Thou appearest in this world as the spouse of the Ocean- king. I will, O respected one, bow down unto thee, O beauteous one, I will hymn thee, when, with good fortune returned, the foremost of men has obtained the kingdom, I will to please thee give away unto Brahmanas hundreds and thousands of kine, cloths, sapid rice, and vessels of wine by thousands, and pillaos. O worshipful one, I will worship thee on Rama having returned to the city. And I will worship all the gods that dwell on thy banks, as well as the holy spots and fanes, as soon as, O sinless one, that mighty-armed one without sin will, coming back from his abode in the forest, enter Ayodhya in company with his brother and myself." Having thus addressed the Ganga, that blameless one ever obedient unto her husband, swiftly went to the south bank (of the river). Going to the (other) bank of the stream, that best of men, and subduer of foes stood along with his brother and Vaidehi. Then that long-armed one spoke unto the enhancer of Sumitra's delight, saying,—"Be thou, whether in society or solitude, intent upon protecting Sita. Of course it behoves us to protect her in lone places. Do thou, O son of Sumitra, go ahead; and let Sita follow thee. I myself will go in your wake, protecting both yourself and Sita. Surely, O foremost of men, we should now protect each other. We have not yet performed any of the arduous tasks. Today Vaidehi will know the grief of a life in the woods. And today she will enter the forest destitute of the concourse of men, devoid of fields and gardens, uneven, and containing pits, etc." Hearing Rama's words, Lakshmana went ahead; that descendant of Raghu, Rama, followed Sita.

On Rama having speedily crossed the Ganga, the distressed Sumantra who had been gazing at him stedfastly, being no longer able to discern him, turned away his eyes and, overcome with grief, shed tears. And having crossed that

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mighty river, that high-souled one, that bestower of boons, resembling in prowess a Lokapala, without delay entered the flourishing and smiling Vatsas crowned with goodly crops. And then the two (brothers) having slain the four kinds of beasts, viz., boars, risyas, prishatas and maharurus, and taking their flesh, in the evening took refuge under a mighty tree, feeling the demands of appetite.

SECTION 53.

Having taken refuge under the tree and performed his evening devotions, that foremost of those capable of charming others, Rama, addressed Lakshmana, saying,—"To day is the first night (which we must spend) outside the inhabited tracts without the company of Sumantra. Thou ought not to suffer thy mind to be uneasy on that score. From tonight forth, we shall have to guard her vigilantly; for, O Lakshmana, the preservation of what she has as well as the securing unto her of what she has not, rests with us. We will, O son of Sumitra, anyhow pass the night; let us ourselves procuring (leaves) and spreading them on the ground, anyhow lie down on it." Saying this, Rama lying down on the ground although worthy of a costly bed, spoke these excellent words unto Sumitra's son,—"O Lakshmana, surely the king sleeps uneasily to day, and Kaikeyi having attained her end ought to be satisfied. Will not that revered lady, for the purpose of having Bharata established in the kingdom, take the king's life, when she shall see Bharata arrived? Forlorn and old and deprived of me, I do not know what he will do, his soul possessed by desire, and having come under the influence of Kaikeyi. Viewing this calamity (that has overtaken us) and the disorder that has taken place in the senses of the monarch, I deem even lust as more potent than either virtue or interest. O Lakshmana, what man is there ignorant though he be, who for the sake of a female forsaketh as my father has done me, his son following his foot-steps? Ah! Kaikeyi's son Bharata with his wife is really happy—he that enjoys the sole sovereignity of the delighted Kocalas. Now that our father has grown old and I have taken refuge in the forest, he will alone experience the supreme felicity in the kingdom. He that renouncing interest and virtue, followes lust, speedily gets himself involved in troubles even like king Dacaratha. O amiable one, I think that Kaikeyi has been born for making an end of Dacaratha, sending me into exile, and conferring the kingdom on Bharata. At present for imparting me pain, Kaikeyi intoxicated by the tide of good fortune, will afflict Kaucalya and Sumitra. Thy mother, the revered Sumitra, will be smitten with grief on our account. Do thou, Lakshmana, tomorrow morning repair unto Ayodhya: I alone will go unto Dandaka along with Sita. Thou wilt be the protector of the helpless Kaucalya. Kaikeyi is surely mean-minded, she perpetrates wrongs from malice. O thou cognisant of virtue, she may administer poison unto my mother. Surely, O child, in a former birth, women were bereft of their sons by my mother, O son of Sumitra; and it is for this that this misfortune has befallen her. Having been brought up and reared with great pains by Kaucalya, I have left her at the time when her labours ought to have borne fruit. Fie on me! Let no woman, son of Sumitra, give birth unto a son like me who have imparted such infinite pain unto my mother. O Lakshmana, I consider my mother's female parrot as more sharing her affection, since she is heard to say, 'O Suka, do you bite the foot of the foe?' What am I, O repressor of foes, now to do for her, bewailing, of slender fortune,—she that hath not profitted in the least by her son, and who stands in no further need of his good offices? Surely my unfortunate mother, Kaucalya, bereft of me, lies down on the ground, overwhelmed will woe, and plunged in an ocean of grief. O Lakshmana, enraged, I alone, without doubt, can rid Ayodhya—the Earth herself—by means of my arrows. But improper is the display of prowess for no reason. O sinless one, I am afraid of unrighteousness and of the next life; and for this it is that, O Lakshmana, I do not install myself in the kingdom."

Having in solitude for a long while piteously bewailed thus and in other ways, Rama sat silent in the night with tears in his eyes. Thereupon Lakshmana consoled Rama spent with lamentation, like unto fire deprived of its radiance or the ocean of its tide. "Surely, O Rama, O foremost of warriors, on your having come out, the city of Ayodhya is shorn of its splendour like the night deprived of the moon. This is not fit that you should grieve; for thereby, O foremost of men, you make both Sita and myself grieve. Raghava, deprived of you neither Sita nor I can live for a moment, like fish taken out of water : without you, O repressor of foes, I wish to see neither my father, nor Satrughna, nor Sumitra, nor heaven itself." Then viewing from where they sat at ease their well-laid bed under the banian, those virtuous ones (Rama and Sita) went to it. Hearing Lakshmana's excellent and appropriate words with which he gladly assumed a life in the woods, that subduer of foes, Raghava, in the name of righteousness, at once folly granted him the permission to dwell with him for the entire fourteen years. Then like unto a couple of lions dwelling on a mountain-summit, at that lone spot of the extensive forest, those powerful perpetuators of the Raghu race, began to dwell without fear.

SECTION 54.

Having passed the auspicious night underneath that mighty tree, they, when the sun had risen in unclouded splendour, went away from that place. Then diving into a mighty forest, they proceeded in the direction in which the Bhagirathi Ganga meets with the Yamuna. And those illustrious ones went on, viewing at intervals various fields and delightful lands which they had never seen before. And going on beholding various kinds of blossoming trees, Rama when the day had declined, spoke unto Sumitra's son, saying, "O son of Sumitra, do thou behold the beautiful wreath of smoke that rises in front of Prayaga—sign of the worshipful Fire, and I infer some ascetic to be near. For certain we have arrived at the confluence of the Ganga and the Yamuna; and it is for this that we hear the roar of the waters produced by the rushing of them. And all these various trees with their wood hewn away by foresters are seen in the asylums." Thus having proceeded at ease, those bowmen when the sun stood aslant, arrived in the vicinity of the ascetic's residence on the delta of the Yamuna and the Ganga. And proceeding awhile on the way, Rama, in presence of the asylum, came up to Bharadwaja's place, frightening beasts and birds. And arriving at the hermitage, the heroes desirous of seeing the ascetic, stood at a distance with Sita behind them. And as soon as entering in, that exalted one saw that high-souled anchoret of accomplished vows, who had attained spiritual insight through austerities, sitting surrounded by his disciples after having finished the Agnihotra, Rama with joined hands saluted him along with Sumitra's son and Sita. Then Lakshmana's elder brother imparted unto Bharadwaja a knowledge of himself. "O worshipful one, we are the sons of Dacaratha, Rama and Lakshmana. This is my wife, the auspicious daughter of Janaka. This blameless one followeth me unto the solitary forest; and my dear younger brother, the son of Sumitra too, observing the vow, follows me, who have been exiled by my father. O revered one, commissioned by my father, I will enter the forest of asceticism, and there subsisting on fruits and roots will practise virtue." Hearing those words of the intelligent prince, that righteous (ascetic) brought a bull as well as arghya and water and divers kinds of edibles consisting of wild fruits and roots. And that one of fiery austerities assigned quarters, along with beasts and birds as well as ascetics, for Rama. Then paying homage unto Rama as he proceeded by short stages, and asking him,—"Has your journey been a pleasant one?"—the ascetic sat down. And when Raghava had sat down after receiving the homage, Bharadwaja spoke unto him these words fraught with virtue,— "O Kakutstha, I behold thee come after a long time. I have heard of thy causeless exile. This spot at the meeting of the mighty rivers is lonely, sacred and charming. Do thou dwell here happily." Thus addressed by Bharadwaja, that descendant of Raghu, Rama intent on the welfare of all, answered in auspicious words,—"O reverend one, I apprehend that, living hard by, the inhabitants of the city and the provinces, thinking me as easily to be seen, will come to this asylum desirous of beholding me and Vaidehi. It is for this reason that living at this place does not recommend itself unto me. Do thou, O worshipful one, hit upon a retired and agreeable asylum where Janaka's daughter worthy of happiness, will pass her days pleasantly " Hearing this auspicious speech of Raghava, that eminent anchoret Bharadwaja said these words calculated to serve Rama's purpose,—"Ten Krosas hence, my child, is the mountain where thou shalt dwell. It is inhabited by maharshis, and is sacred, and picturseque throughout, abounding in Golangulas, monkeys, and bears,—known by the name of Chitrakuta—resembling Gandhamadana. On beholding the peaks of Chitrakuta, one reaps welfare, and ignorance does not envelope one's mind. There innumerable saints with the hair of their heads rendered white like skulls, having spent hundreds of years, have through austerities ascended heaven. That solitary spot I deem as one which will make a happy residence for thee. O Rama, do thou, for living out the term of thy banishment, dwell either here or with me." Bharadwaja entertained his welcome guest, Rama, along with his wife and brother by extending towards them every rite of hospitality. And at Prayaga Rama having obtained the company of that Maharshi, and discoursing on a variety of sacred topics, the night came on. And with Sita for the third, Kakutstha brought up in luxury, being fatigued, pleasantly spent that night at the romantic hermitage of Bharadwaja. When the night had passed away and day dawned, (Rama) approached Bharadwaja, and that chief of men addressed that ascetic of flaming energy,—"O reverend sire of truthful character, we have here in thy asylum spent the night. Do thou now permit us to set forward (for Chitrakuta)." On Rama having passed the night there, Bharadwaja spoke unto him,—"Do thou trace thy steps to Chitrakuta filled with delicious fruits and roots. I deem that, O mighty Rama, as a fit abode for thee, being, as it is, furnished with various kinds of trees, inhabited by crowds of Kinnaras, resounding with the cries of peacocks, and frequented by gignantic elephants. Do thou repair unto the famed Chitrakuta, holy, fair to the view, and abounding in countless fruits and roots. And in those forests range herds of elephants and deer; and these, O Raghava, thou wilt behold. And ranging with Sita rivers and rills and plateaus, caverns and fountains, thy mind will experience delight. Delighted with the notes of joyous Koyastivas and coels, and the cries of deer and countless mad elephants, do thou, arriving at the auspicious mountain, reside at that romantic asylum."

SECTION 55.

Having spent the night there, those princes—repressors of their foes— after paying their obeisance unto the Maharshi, set out for the mountain. And seeing them about to set forth, that Maharshi performed a propitiatory ceremony for them, even as a father does on behalf of the sons begot from his own loins. And that mighty ascetic, Bharadwaja having truth for his prowess, addressed them, saying,—"O best of men, do you coming to the confluence of the Ganga and the Yamuna proceed along the Kalindi river flowing westwards. Arriving at the Kalindi running in a contrary direction, you will, O Raghava, behold a goodly bathing place well-worn by foot-passengers. There constructing a raft, do you cross over the river who is the daughter of the Sun. Next coming to a gigantic banian tree with green foliage, named Syama, surrounded by various trees and inhabited by ascetics of accomplished purposes, let Sita with joined hands offer humble supplications to it. Having come to the tree and, whether staying under it or proceeding along, after passing only a Krosa, you will, O Rama, see a wood abounding in Sallakis, Vadaris, and other wild trees belonging unto the Yamuna. I went to Chitrakuta many a time by that road, which is beautiful, sandy, and free from forest-fire." Having directed the way, the Maharshi paused. Thereupon Rama, saying,—"So be it" asked him to stop. On the ascetic turning away, Rama spoke unto Lakshmana, "We had surely acquired religious merit, good betide you, since, the ascetic has shown compassion unto us." Having thus conversed with each other, those foremost of men endowed with intelligence, placing Sita in their front, proceeded towards the river Kalindi. And having arrived at the Kalindi of rapid currents, they desirous of crossing over, began I think (as to the means). Then with heaps of dry wild wood covered with grass, they constructed a large raft. And the puissant Lakshmana tearing twigs from the ratan and the rose-apple, made a comfortable seat for Sita. Then Dacaratha's son, Rama, made his bashful wife (in power) inconceivable like unto Sree herself, ascend the raft, and carefully laid beside Vaidehi her attires and ornaments as well as the hoe and the basket. And first having placed Sita on the raft, those sons of Dacaratha ascended themselves, and with glad hearts began carefully to cross (the stream). Having come near the middle of the Kalindi, Sita prayed unto her, saying, —"Hail to thee, O goddess! I cross thee. If my husband can successfully perform his vow, I will worship thee with a thousand cows and an hundred vessels of wine, hail unto thee, upon Rama's return to the city ruled by Ikshwaku." Having thus prayed to Kalindi with joined hands, that virtuous lady, Sita, reached the southern bank thereof. And by means of that raft they crossed that fleet-coursing daughter of the Sun, heaving with billows—the river Yamuna with her banks abounding with innumerable trees. Then renouncing the raft, and passing by the woods adjoining the Yamuna, they came upon a banian Syama by name, of cool shade and verdant foliage. On coming to the banian, Vaidehi saluted it saying,—"O mighty tree, I bow unto thee. May my husband fulfil his vow; and may we behold Kaucalya and the illustrious Sumitra." Having thus prayed with joined hands, the intelligent Sita went away. Seeing the blameless and beloved Sita ever conducting herself properly,—praying, Rama said unto Lakshmana, "Do thou, O younger brother of Bharata, taking Sita with thee, go forward. O best of men, furnished with weapons, I will go in thy wake. Do thou procure Vaidehi with whatever fruits or flowers may please her and she may wish to have." Seeing every tree and shrub crowned with blossoms unseen before, that one belonging to the softer sex questioned Rama about it. And hearing Sita's words, Lakshmana brought unto her (fruits and flowers) of beautiful and flower-scattering trees of divers kinds. And beholding streams with water flowing over glittering sands and resounding with cranes of various kinds, the daughter of king Janaka felt exceeding delight. And having proceeded just a Krosa, those brothers, Rama and Lakshmana, having killed many a sacred deer, began to range in the woods of the Yamuna. And having disported in the beautiful woods resounding with multitudes of peacocks and inhabited by elephants and monkeys, they looking as lively as ever, coming to the level banks of the river, took up their quarters there.

SECTION 56.

When the night had been spent, that best of Raghus gently awakened Lakshmana from his light sleep. "O Sumitra's son, do thou hear the dulcet notes of the birds in the woods. Let us proceed. O repressor of foes, the time of our departure is present." Awakened at the proper time, Rama's brother left

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off sleep and drowsiness and clinging fatigue. Then they all arising touched the sacred waters of the river, and began to proceed on the way to Chitrakuta inhabited by ascetics. Setting out in season with Sumitra's son, he of eyes resembling lotus-petals spoke these words unto Sita,—"O Vaidehi, behold these flowering trees, the Kinsukas in spring appearing engarlanded with their own flowers, and as if flaming.—Do thou behold the Bhallatakas and Vilwas bending beneath their fruits and flowers, with no man to enjoy them. Surely, we shall be able to live here. Behold, O Lakshmana, these honeycombs measuring about a Drona have been hung up on trees by the bees. In the charming woods overarched by flowers, the Datyuha cries, and is responded to by the peacock. Do thou behold Chitrakuta frequented by mad elephants and resonant with the voice of multitudes of birds—the mountain with its towering summits. O child, we will disport in the sacred woods of Chitrakuta with fine level plains,and covered with divers trees." Then they proceeding on foot along with Sita, arrived at the charming and beautiful mountain Chitrakuta. And arriving at the mountain inhabited by birds of various kinds, abounding in fruits and roots, and furnished with watery expanses, (Rama) said, "O amiable one, methinks this beautiful hill furnished with innumerable fruits and roots, is fraught with subsistence. And the hill is inhabited by high-souled ascetics. Let this, O child, be our abode. We will dwell here." Then Rama, Lakshmana and Sita with joined hands presented themselves at the asylum of Valmiki and saluted him. Thereat the Maharshi cognisant of morality said unto them, "Be seated!" and addressed Rama, saying,—"Has thy journey been a pleasant one?" Then having duly acquainted the saint with matters pertaining to himself, that lord, the mighty- armed elder brother of Lakshmana, said unto the latter, "O Lakshmana, bring thou wood good and strong. O amiable one, construct a dwelling. My mind is set upon staying here." Hearing his words, Sumitra's son procured wood of various descriptions, and then that subduer of foes reared a cottage thatched with leaves. Beholding that goodly dwelling walled with wood and furnished with doors, Rama addressed these words unto Lakshmana, intent upon ministering unto his brother. "Procuring meat, we will worship the deity presiding over this dwelling. O Sumitra's son, those who wish to live long, should pacify the household gods. O Lakshmana graced with auspicious eyes, do thou killing deer, swiftly bring it here. It behoves us to observe the rules prescribed by the scriptures. Do thou follow the ordinance." Acquainted with the words of his brother, Lakshmana, slayer of hostile heroes, did as he was told. Thereupon Rama addressed him again, "Do thou cook this meat. We will worship the presiding deities of this mansion. Bestir thyself,—the moment is mild and the day is styled Dhruva." Then Lakshmana the son of Sumitra endowed with vigor, having slain a sacred black deer, threw it into flaming fire. And seeing it well scorched and hot and free from blood, Lakshmana spoke unto that foremost of men, Raghava, saying,—"Here is the entire black deer roasted by me, capable of serving any purpose. Do you, O you that resemble a celestial, worship the gods." Having performed his ablutions, Rama conversant with the ritual and possessing a knowledge of Japa, restraining his senses, performed all the mantras that are necessary for completing a sacrifice; and having in a pure spirit communed with all the deities, entered the habitation. And (this having been done), Rama of immeasurable energy rejoiced exceedingly. And sacrificing unto Vaicya, Rudra and Vishnu, he performed some ceremonies for removing malign influences from the abode. And having duly performed Japa and bathed in consonance with the ordinance, Rama made an excellent sacrifice for removing sin. And then Raghava established a dais, and a chaitya proportionate to the abode. And as the celestials enter the hall entitled Sudharma, they together with the view of dwelling in it, entered the mansion beautiful to behold, thatched with the leaves of trees, built at a convenient site, well-made, and keeping out the wind. And having come to the charming Chitrakuta and the river Malyavati furnished with excellent bathing places, and haunted by beasts and fowls, they rejoiced with glad hearts, and forsook the grief incident to their exile from the city.

SECTION 57.

Having for a long time conversed with Sumantra, Guha distressed at heart on Rama reaching the southern bank, retraced his steps homewards. Learning from envoys at (Sringaverapura) all about Rama's visit to Bharadwaja at Prayaga and his reception (at Bharadwaja's place) as well as their destined journey (to Chitrakuta), Sumantra, taking the permission (of Guha), yoked those excellent horses and with a heavy heart directed his course to the city of Ayodhya. And beholding perfumed woods and rivers and watery expanses and towns and villages, he eagerly proceeded on his way. And on the third day at dusk the charioteer arriving at Ayodhya saw it bereft of happiness. And beholding it empty and still, Sumantra afflicted with exceeding sorrow, and overwhelmed with grief, thought, "Perhaps the city with her elephants and horses and men and king has been consumed by the fire of grief on account of Rama." Having thus reflected, the charioteer drawing up to the city- gate by means of those fleet-coursing horses, speedily entered the city. Thereupon, people by hundreds and thousands rushed after the charioteer, Sumantra, asking, "Where is Rama?" To them he replied,—"Having asked Raghava on the Ganga and being permitted by him, I have been sent away by that high-souled righteous one." Learning that they (Rama and the rest) had crossed over (the Ganga), the men with tears in their eyes, sighed forth "O fie!" and began to bewail, exclaiming, "Ah Rama." And he heard crowds exclaim,—"Not seeing Rama in the car, we cease to exist. We shall no longer see the righteous Rama in the midst of mighty assemblies engaged in charity, sacrifice or nuptial rites. What was necessary for this body? What was dear to them and what did they delight in?—(constantly revolving all this in his mind), Rama ruled this city even as, a father. Then proceeding past the stalls, Sumantra heard the lamentations of females at windows, burning in grief for Rama. With his face muffled, Sumantra proceeded on the highway towards the palace of Dacaratha. Swiftly alighting from the car and entering the royal residence, he went past seven apartments thronged with people. And beholding Sumantra returned to the city crowned with edifices, seven-storied houses, and palatial mansions, the women, stricken with the absence of Rama, set up a cry of "Oh" and "Alas." And waxing still more aggrieved, the females looked at each other with their expansive and transparent eyes fast flooded with tears. And then he heard the talk, as toned down it proceeded from the royal mansions, of the wives of Dacaratha afflicted with grief for Rama. "Going in company with Rama, and returning without him, what will the charioteer answer Kaucalya bewailing (for her son)? Surely life is miserable, yet is incapable of being renounced, since, although her son leaving (the installation) hath gone away, yet Kaucalya still liveth." Having heard those words of the queens, fraught with truth, Sumantra burning as it were in grief, at once entered the (next) apartment. And entering the eighth apartment he beheld in a gloomy chamber the king distressed and in a pitiable plight, woe-begone for grief for his son. Thereupon presenting himself before the monarch, Sumantra saluted him and then conveyed unto the king the words of Rama as he had uttered them. Hearing them silently, the monarch with his mind exceedingly wrought, dropped down to the ground in a swoon, afflicted with grief for Rama. On the lord of earth swooning away and falling to the ground, the inmates of the inner apartment raising their arms burst into lamentations. Kaucalya availing herself of the aid of Sumantra, raised up her fallen lord and addressed him, saying, "This, O eminently virtuous one! if the envoy of that one of an exceedingly arduous achievement, returned from the forest. Why do you not accost him? O descendant of Raghu, you are ashamed to-day, having done this wrong. Do you rise: merit be yours (arising from this act.) Let not your adherents come to naught (because of your sorrow). O worshipful one, she from fear of whom you do not speak to the charioteer, Kaikeyi, is not here. Do you therefore speak to him without fear." Having said this unto the monarch, Kaucalya overwhelmed with grief, with her voice oppressed with the vapour begot of emotion, all on a sudden fell to the earth. Beholding Kaucalya fallen on the ground bewailing, as also their husband, the ladies seated around, began to lament. Hearing the sounds of wailing arise from the inner apartment, old and young as well as females, set up lamentations all round; and the city was again filled with them.

SECTION 58.

When having been ministered unto and when his senses had returned after the swoon, the king summoned Sumantra for hearing tidings of Rama. Thereupon the charitoteer with joined hands spoke unto the mighty monarch, lamenting for Rama, influenced by grief and sorrow, aged, burning in grief, like a newly-taken elephant, sighing heavily, plunged in thought, and resembling an elephant that is indisposed. Then the king like one exceedingly distressed, spoke unto the charioteer, who had presented himself, covered over with dust, with tears starting from his eyes, and in pitiable guise, "Where stayeth that righteous one, taking refuge under a tree? Lapped in luxury, what, O charioteer, will Raghava feed on? Unworthy of privations, and worthy of excellent beds, how, O Sumantra, a king's son, he is sleeping on the ground like one forlorn? How is Rama passing his days in the lone forest—he who when he went out used to be followed by foot-men and elephants? How are the princes in company with Vaidehi, living in the woods, ranged by serpents and beasts and inhabited by black snakes? How, O Sumantra, having descended from the car, the princes along with the tender and unfortunate Sita are proceeding on foot? O charioteer, surely thou art blessed, for thou hast beheld my sons enter the forest, like the Acwins entering the Mandara hill. And what did Rama say? And what did Lakshmana? And, O Sumantra, arriving at the forest what did Mithila's daughter? Do thou, O charioteer, describe unto me what Rama lives on and where he lies down. Hearing this, I shall live, like Yayati in the midst of saints." Thus urged by the king, the charioteer spoke unto the king with his voice faltering and suppressed with the vapour of grief, "O mighty monarch observing morality, Raghava with joined hands and bowing down his head, said, 'O charioteer, do thou in my name salute with thy head the feet of my high-soulded sire worthy of being saluted, and famed (in the world). And, O charioteer, do thou in my name as each deserves salute the ladies of the inner apartment and communicate to them tidings of my health. And having saluted my mother Kaucalya and conveyed unto her news of my welfare, as well as of my unswerving adherence to morality, do thou tell her the words,— Do you remaining steady in virtue, at the proper hour bestir yourself in behalf of the chamber of sacrificial fire. And, O revered one, do you minister unto the feet of that worshipful one, (the king), as if they were very deities. And banishing pride and self-love, do you bear yourself towards my mothers. And, O mother, do you show respect unto Kaikeyi, who is followed by the king himself. And you should behave towards Bharata as one should towards one's king. Kings (although juvenile), are really senior by virtue of their royalty; and do you remember the duties touching sovereigns.'—Do thou communicate unto Bharata news of my welfare and say in my name,—Do you behave properly with all your mothers.—And unto that delight of the Ikswhaku line do thou further say,—Having been installed as the heir-apparent, be you, looking upon the king as the supreme authority in the state, obedient to him. Do you not deprive the king of authority, as he has grown old. O Prince, do you grant him satisfaction in the kingdom and do you proclaim his mandates.— And shedding copious tears, he again addressed me, saying,—Do thou look upon my mother as on thy own proud of her son.—Having said this, the mighty-armed and illustrious Rama furnished with eyes resembling lotus-petals, shed plenteous tears. Thereupon Lakshmana waxing wroth, breathing hard, said,—For what fault of his has the Prince been banished? Observing the worthless command of Kaikeyi, whether the king has done well or ill, we have been exceedingly pained thereby. Whether Rama has been exiled through Kaikeyi's lust for dominion or through the exigencies of the bestowal of the boon, there cannot be any doubt that the king has acted most unrighteously. Even if this hath been done in harmony with the wish of the Lord, I do not perceive any reason for the banishment of Rama. The king through lack of sense has done heedlessly what is opposed to morality; and this banishment of Rama will but bring upon him woe here and hereafter. Fatherhood find I none in the monarch. My brother and feeder and friend and father is even Raghava. Renouncing one that is universally dear, and that is ever engaged in the good of all, how by such an act will the king please the people? And how by banishing the righteous Rama dear unto all the subjects, and thus withstanding the wishes of all, will he retain his royalty?—And, O mighty monarch, Janaki also, unfortunate that she is, sighing heavily, stood wildered like one that had been possessed. And not having experienced any calamity before, the famed princess weeping because of this misfortune, told me nothing. And looking up to her lord with a blank countenance, she suddenly let fail tears, perceiving the destruction of the subjects. And thus said Rama ministered unto by Lakshmana, with a tearful countenance; and thus stood the unfortunate and weeping Sita beholding the royal car and myself."

SECTION 59.

"On Rama having gone to the forest, my horses as I turned away, did not proceed vigorously on the way, and shed warm tears. And having (done homage) unto both the princes by joining my hands, I turned my back, bearing best I could that load of sorrow. Indulging in the hope that Rama might again summon me by any of the envoys (of Guha left there), I stayed there with Guha for many days. In thy dominions, O monarch, exercised by the calamity that has befallen Rama, even trees bearing blossoms and buds and sprouts look sad; the rivers and pools and liquid lapses have their waters dried up; and the woods and groves have their foliage withered. Creatures do not move and beasts of prey cease to range about; and the forest appears to be dumb, stupified by grief on account of Rama. And streams containing lotuses with their leaves shriveled, have their waters stained; and lotuses have their leaves burnt; and fishes and (aquatic) birds have grown lean. And flowers both on land and water have been deprived of their freshness and fragrance; and they no longer retain their former condition. And the gardens are idle with their birds drooping. And, O best of men, I do not find the bowers beautiful (as before). And when I entered Ayodhya, none greeted me. And not seeing Rama, the people sigh momentarily. And, O revered one, seeing the royal car returned hither without Rama, the people on the highways from grief appear with tearful countenances. And from mansions, cars, and lorldly edifices, ladies seeing the car come back, set up a chorus of 'Ah' and 'Alas,' afflicted with the absence of Rama. And becoming more distressed than ever, the fair sex with their expansive and clear eyes filled with tears, began to eye each other indistinctly. And in consequence of the general grief that prevailed, I could not perceive any difference between friends and foes and persons indifferent. O

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mighty monarch, distressed in consequence of the exile of Rama, men appear sunk in dejection, and elephants and horses are spiritless; and seized with cheerlessness, they utter doleful sounds and heave profound sighs. Ayodhya appeareth unto me joyless like Kaucalya deprived of her son." Hearing the words of the charioteer, the king like one exceedingly forlorn, addressed the former in words lost in the vapour of sorrow, "Exhorted by Kaikeyi of a sinful country, born in a sinful race and cherishing sinful designs, I did not take counsel with aged people capable of offering advice. Without consulting with friends or courtiers or persons versed in the Vedas, I have in the interests of a woman rashly done this thing through ignorance. Meseems, O charioteer, for the purpose of destroying this line entirely, this mighty disaster hath surely befallen us through the influence of Destiny. O charioteer, if I have ever done thee any good, do thou immediately take me to Rama: my life urges me on (in this direction). Or let my command make Raghava turn back. I cannot live for a moment without Rama. But if that mighty-armed one has proceeded far, do thou placing me on a car speedily show me unto Rama. Where is that elder brother of Lakshmana of a mighty bow, furnished with teeth resembling Kunda flowers? If I live so long, I will behold him in company with Sita. What can be sadder than this, that reduced to such a pass, I cannot see here that descendant of Ikshwaku, Raghava? Ah Rama! Ah thou younger brother of Rama! Ah thou unfortunate Vaidehi! You do not know that I am through grief lamenting like one deserted." Deprived of his consciousness through that sorrow of his, the king said, "I have plunged myself into this ocean of woe hard to cross, with grief for Rama as its mighty tide; separation from Sita, its other shore; sighs heaved, its furious billows and whirlpools; tears, rivers that rush into it; tossing of the arms, its fishes; lamentations its roar; my hair flung about, its moss; Kaikeyi, its submarine fire; my fast-flowing tears, its current; the words of the hump-backed one, its terrific ravenous animals; the boon, its continents; and the exile of Rama, its expanse. And, O Kaucalya, without Raghava, I shall sink in this ocean. O exalted dame, living, it is hard for me to cross over this ocean. It is surely owing to my sin that today wishing to behold Raghava and Lakshmana, I do not get them (before me)." Having thus lamented, the illustrious king all of a sudden dropped to the earth in a swoon. On the king swooning away lamenting, that exalted lady, Rama's mother, hearing his words doubly bitter and more piteous than eti uttered for Rama, was seized with fresh apprehension.

SECTION 60.

Then like one possessed by an evil spirit, and trembling again and again, Kaucalya lying down on the ground like one dead, spoke unto the charioteer, saying, "Do thou take me where Kakutstha is and Sita and Lakshmana: without them, I cannot live for a moment. Do thou without delay turn the car. Do thou take me also unto Dandaka. If I do not follow them, I shall repair to the mansion of Yama." Thereat the charioteer with joined hands comforted that exalted lady with ready words faltering and choked with rising vapour, "Do you leave grief and sorrow and the violent emotion. Renouncing grief, Raghava is living in the woods. And in the forest, the righteous Lakshmana, having his senses under control, is ministering unto Rama's feet and is thus adoring the gods for happiness in the next world. And even in the lonely woods, Sita as if remaining at home, having fixed her thoughts on Rama, is living a life of love. And there appears not the least trace of any distress afflicting her; and Vaidehi seems to me as if she were meant (by Nature) for a life away from home. And as formerly going unto urban villas she disported, she disports now even in the lonely forest. And although living in the lone forest, that one of a countenance resembling the infant moon, sports merrily like a girl, in the garden represented by Rama's self. Ayodhya without Rama would have seemed a wilderness to her whose heart is fixed on him and whose very life depends upon him. Vaidehi is now asking (Rama) concerning the villages and towns (in their way); and observing various trees and the courses of the rivers, Janaki, asking Rama or Lakshmana (for information), is learning all about them. And Sita sports as she used to do in arbours stationed at the distance of only one krosa from Ayodhya. This only I remember; but all that she had from sudden impulse communicated unto me concerning Kaikeyi, does not rise into consciousness." Suppressing this topic which had come up through heedlessness, the charioteer spoke sweet words cheering up that noble lady. "Neither through the fatigue of travel, nor the influence of the wind, nor excitement, nor the sun, hath Vaidehi's lustre resembling the lunar light suffered any diminution. The countenance of that fair-speaking one resembling the lotus and comparable unto the full moon in splendour, hath not waxed pale. Her feet now without the dye of the liquid lac, but naturally furnished with the roseate hue of the same, are gorgeous like lotus buds. Still Vaidehi decked in ornaments from affection for Rama, goes gracefully, rebuking with her bangles the wavy gait (of cranes). Supporting herself on Rama's arm, Sita arrived at the forest, is not inspired with fear on beholding either an elephant, or a lion, or a tiger. Therefore they are not to be bewailed, nor your own self, nor the lord of men. This history of Rama will endure for ever in this world. Renouncing grief and with cheerful hearts, well established in the life led by the Maharshis, they living in the forest on wild fruits as their sustenance, are maintaining the noble promise of their sire." Consoled by the truth-telling yet sweeet- speeched charioteer, that lady oppressed with grief for her son, ceased not to wail loudly—"My beloved," "My son," "Raghava."

SECTION 61.

On that foremost of those capable of charming people, the righteous Rama, repairing to the forest, Kaucalya crying in grief said unto her husband, "Your great fame has spread over the three worlds; and the descendant of Raghu is kind, munificent and fair-speaking. Why then have you forsaken those foremost of men along with Sita? Brought up in happiness, and now brought to misery, how can they bear it? And how can the youthful daughter of Mithila of slender make, tender, and deserving of happiness, bear heat and cold? Having formerly partaken of (excellent) rice with curries, how will Sita feed on wild rice? Having heard excellent vocal and instrumental music, how will Sita hear the frightful cries of carnivorous lions? Resembling the gonfalon of the great Indra, where sleepeth the mighty-armed and exceedingly powerful Rama, making his arm like unto a mace his pillow? When shall I behold Rama's countenance hued like the lotus, with his hair ending beautifully (in curls), and his breath impregnated with the fine perfume of the lotus, and his eyes resembling lotus leaves? Surely my heart, without doubt, is made of the essence of the thunderbolt, since not beholding him, it is not cracked in a thousand fragments. It is because of your sad act that mine own, being thwarted, although worthy of happiness, are miserably ranging the wilderness. If after the expiration of the five and ten years, Raghava does return, it does not appear likely that Bharata will renounce the kingdom and the exchequer. Some on the occasions of the Sraddha (first) feast their own friends, and having done this, they mind the choice Brahmanas. But those twice-born ones that are meritorious, learned, and like unto celestials, do not at the last moment regard even viands resembling ambrosia. Brahmanas of high respectibility endowed with wisdom never bear being entertained after the other twice- born ones have been feasted, even as bulls never quietly bear to have their horns cut off. Why will not an elder brother and one who has sterling merits, O monarch, disregard a kingdom which hath been thus enjoyed by his younger brother? A tiger doth not like to feed on food procured by others. Even so that tiger-like personage does not regard anything that has come to be tasted by another. Clarified butter, sacrificial cakes, Kuca, stakes of catechu having been used in one sacrifice cannot be used in another,—even so this kingdom which hath been already enjoyed, like unto liquor deprived of its essence or a sacrifice whose soma hath been eaten, cannot be accepted by Rama. Such an ill treatment Raghava will not put up with, even as a powerful tiger cannot bear the rubbing of its tail (by another). This world aided by the gods fear to encounter him in high conflict; but he restrains himself, thinking any such action on his part as unrighteous. Indeed, that righteous one brings back people to morality. Surely, that mighty-armed one endowed with exceeding prowess, can with his golden shafts burn all creatures and the oceans, like the Day at the dissolution of all. But such a man of men, possessed of leonine strength, and graced with the eyes of a bull, has been destroyed by his father, like a fish destroying his offspring. If you had believed in the morality prescribed in the scriptures, and which is followed by the twice-born ones, you would not have banished your son. But disregarding such morality, you have banished your virtuous son. One of the refuges of a woman is her husband, a second is her son, and a third is her relatives; and a fourth she has none. But you cease to be mine; and Rama has been sent to the woods. I do not like to go into the forest; so I am entirely undone by you. This kingdom, your own kingdom, has been destroyed by you; destroyed are; along with the counsellors; destroyed am I with my son; and destroyed are the citizens: your son and your wife are alone delighted." Hearing these words uttered in heart-rending accents, Dacaratha exceedingly distressed, became senseless. And being afflicted with grief, he again remembered his evil act.

SECTION 62.

Thus harshly addressed by the indignant mother of Rama, the king aggrieved was plunged in thought. Having thought for a long while, that repressor of foes, the king, who had lost his senses through grief, regained consciousness. And having regained his senses, he sighing hot and hard, seeing Kaucalya beside him, was again lost in thought. As he was thinking, the sinful act which he had through ignorance formerly committed by means of the shaft which hits by sound, rose up (in his recollection). Afflicted with this grief as well as that on account of Rama, that lord, the king, burned in these two several griefs. Burning in grief and distressed, he trembling and with joined hands, with his head hanging down, addressed Kaucalya, with the view of pacifying her, "I deprecate thy displeasure, O Kaucalya, with joined hands. Thou art ever affectionate and dost not treat harshly even enemies. Verily unto women cognisant of virtue, a husband, whether he has any merits or not, is a very deity. Ever virtuous, thou, that hast seen both the virtuous and the vicious, although aggrieved, ought not to say anything unpleasant unto me who am weighed down with woe." Having heard these piteous words of the distressed king, Kaucalya uttered words even as a water-way lets out fresh accession of rain. And weeping, she drew on her head the joined hands of the king resembling lotuses; and then flurried spoke these words hurriedly informed with extreme affection, "Be thou propitious; I beseech with (bended) head. I bow unto thee, falling on the ground. O reverend one, besought by thee, I shall be undone. I do not deserve to be forgiven by thee. She cannot be reckoned a gentlewoman, who is propitiated by her intelligent husband, worthy of being extolled in both the worlds. I know duty, O righteous one; I know that thou art truth-telling. And it is because I was exceedingly distressed on account of my son that I spoke harshly to thee. Sorrow destroys patience, sorrow destroys knowledge of the scriptures, sorrow destroys every thing; there is no enemy like unto sorrow. One can falling down bear beating from an enemy; but one cannot falling down bear ever so little sorrow. This is the fifth night of the banishment of Rama, as calculated by me; and to me rendered cheerless by sorrow, this interval has assumed the proportions of five years. And fostered by thought on my part, this grief increases in my bosom, like the mighty waters of the ocean increased by the vehement discharge of rivers." As Kaucalya was thus speaking auspiciously, the rays of the sun grew milder, and the night arrived. Cheered up by the words of Kaucalya, the king overcome by grief, felt the influence of sleep.

SECTION 63.

Starting in a moment from sleep, king Dacaratha deprived (almost) of his consciousness by grief, (again) became a prey to thought. And in consequence of the exile of Rama and Lakshmana, the king resembling Vasava was overpowered by grief, like the darkness of Rahu enveloping the sun. Then on Rama's having gone along with his wife, the lord of the Kocalas, remembering his own misdeed, felt anxious to communicate himself to that lady having her eyes furnished with dark outer corners. And on the sixth night after Rama had repaired to the forest, the king Dacaratha, when it was midnight, remembered his own unrighteous act. And then unto Kaucalya aggrieved on account of her son, he spoke these words, "As are the actions of one, O auspicious one—whether good or otherwise— are the consequences, O gentle lady, reaped by the doer of them. He that on the eve of beginning an action either relating to this world or the next, does not take into consideration the fact that actions entail consequences light or grave, disagreeable (or otherwise), is styled a child. He that cutting down a mango grove, waters Palasa trees, beholding the flowers (blooming), will covet fruits; and grieve when their season arrives. The person that without apprehending (the principle of causation) rushes to action, grieves at the season of fruits, even like him that watereth kinsuka trees (hewing down his mango grove). And in this way, I fool that I am having hewn down my grove of mangos and watered Palacas,—having renounced Rama in the season of fruit, is grieving in the end. Having, O Kaucalya, earned the expression—'The Prince can pierce his aim by sound alone,'—I, a prince and bowman, did this offence. Therefore, O noble dame, I have myself brought this misfortune on me. like a child who has eaten poison through ignorance. And even like another person fascinated by the sight of some Palasa trees (and doing as mentioned above), I (did this act) not foreknowing the consequence that would follow my shooting by sound. O lady, thou wert then unwedded; and I was a youthful prince. And it was at this time that the rainy season increasing my desire set in. Drawing moisture from the ground and heated the earth by his rays, the Sun goes to the dreadful quarter whither repair the dead. The heat was immediately dispelled, and the gelid clouds showed themselves; and frogs and Sarangas and peacocks began to rejoice; and, finding it unpleasant, the feathered ones bathed and with the surface of their plumage shrunk up from the wet, took refuge in trees shaken by the wind and rain. And the hill graced by maddened Sarangas, covered by showers falling simultaneously looked like a mass of waters. And the waters although unstained, being mixed up with mineral substances and ashes from the mountain, flowed in serpentine torrents black and red. At such a sweet hour, I intent upon taking excercise, taking my bow and arrows and mounted on my car, sallied out for the river Sarayu, with the intention that I with my senses under control, should in the watery expense slay any bufifelo, elephant, or any other beast that might have come there in the night. And (coming there) while it was so dark that nothing could be discovered, I heard sounds of a filling pitcher proceeding from the waters; resembling the roars of an elephant. Thereupon raising up my shaft flaming and like unto a serpent of virulent poison, I

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desirous of hunting the (imaginary) elephant, let fly my shaft in the direction of the sound. Thereupon from the spot whereto the sharpened shaft resembling a poisonous snake had been discharged by me in the twilight, proceeded cries of 'Oh' and 'Alas' uttered by a forester pierced to the quick by the arrow, and falling into the water. And when he had dropped down, words spoken by a human being became audible. 'Why doth the weapon light upon me? I had come to this lone stream for procuring water. By whom have I been wounded by this arrow? To whom have I done wrong? And how can the slaying of one like me bearing a load of matted locks, and wearing bark and deer-skin, who subsists on what the forest yields and never injures others, be sanctioned by the scriptures? Who can serve any purpose by slaying me? And how can I have injured such an one? Such a purposeless act cannot but end in evil. This can never be reckoned as righteous; even like unto violating the chastity of a preceptor's wife. I do not so much lament my end as I lament it on account of my father and mother. To what will the old couple, who have ever been maintained by me, betake themselves when I am gone? My father and mother are old, and I their only son am slain. What boy is it of uncontrolled senses that has killed us all?"

"Hearing his piteous words, I ever anxious to follow virtue, was exceedingly pained, and the bow with its arrow fixed fell down from my hand to the earth. Hearing in the night, the pathetic words of the saint thus lamenting, I became frightened, and was deprived of my senses through excess of grief. And coming to the quarter, I exceedingly unnerved and with an excited mind, discovered on the banks of the Sarayu an ascetic wounded with a shaft, with his matted locks scattered about, his pitcher of water lying by, his body smeared with blood and dust and afflicted by the dart. Gazing with his eyes at me who was extremely agitated and ill at ease, he said these words sternly, as if consuming me with his energy, 'What wrong, O monarch, had I residing in the woods done thee, that coming to procure water for my parents, I have been thus afflicted by thee? By piercing my marrow with a shaft, thou hast slain both my aged and blind father and mother. Surely, they feeble and blind, who afflicted by thirst are remaining in expectation of me, will now bear (the stress and tension of) the expectation as well as the parching thirst. Surely asceticism and study carry no fruit with them, since I lying low on the ground, my father knows nothing about it. And what could he do, even if he knew it, being as he is incapable and unable to go about? One tree cannot rescue another that is being batttered (by the winds). Do thou, O descendant of Raghu, thyself going to my father, speedily inform of him this that has occurred. But take care that like a fire waxing furious consuming a wood, he in his ire do not burn thee. This narrow way, O king, will lead thee unto my father's dwelling. Do thou going there, pacify him, so that getting wroth he may not curse thee. Do thou (now), O king, take out the arrow. Thy sharpened shaft afflicts my marrow, like the tide of a river wearing away a hollow-heaving sand bank.' But touching the extracting of the arrow, this thought perplexed me: 'If the arrow is left alone, it pains; if extracted, death ensues.' As I was distressed, aggrieved and inflicted with sorrow, the son of the ascetic perceived my anxiety. Thereupon that one well versed in the scriptures sinking motionless, with his eyes rolling upwards, and waxing extremely weak, said with difficulty, 'Restraining sorrow, I by dint of patience become calm. Do thou remove from thy mind the grief caused by the consciousness of having slain a Brahmana. O king, I belong not to the twice-born race: let not thy mind be pained. O lord of the foremost men, I was begot by a Vaicya on a Sudra woman.' As he, his vitals afflicted with the shaft, his eyes rolling, inert and trembling on the ground, with his limbs drawn in, was speaking with difficulty, I drew out the arrow. Thereupon, looking at me, the ascetic, growing affrighted, gave up the ghost. On beholding him with his body dripping with water, and mortally wounded, and breathing hard without respite, after he had bewailed his mortal wound, lying on the banks of the Sarayu, I lamented him and was, O gentle lady, greatly aggrieved."

SECTION 64.

Remembering the extraordinary death of the Maharshi, that righteous descendant of Raghu, lamenting his son, thus spoke unto Kaucalya, "Having unwittingly commited that great sin, I, with my senses oppressed through grief, thought within myself as to how I could mend it. Then taking up the pitcher filled with excellent water, I went by the way mentioned and (at last) reached the asylum. There I found his aged, infirm, forlorn, parents, without a one to help them in moving about,—like unto birds whose wings have been severed, keeping up a talk about (their son) without experiencing any fatigue, and like helpless ones feeding on a hope which had been blasted by me. My senses overpowered by grief, and my consciousness almost lost through apprehension, I, arrived at the hermitage, was again overwhelmed with sorrow. Hearing my footsteps, the ascetic said, 'Why, my son, delayest thou? Bring the drink at once. Thy mother, O child, was exceedingly anxious in consequence of thy sporting in the waters. Do thou speedily enter the asylum. O child, it behoveth thee not to take to heart any unkind action that, O son, may have been done unto thee of high fame either by thy mother or myself. Thou art the resource of these helpless ones; thou art the eyes of these bereft of their sight. Our lives are bound up with thee. Why dost not answer?' Seeing the ascetic with a choked utterance indistinctly speaking thus with the letters not articulated clearly, I, dashed in spirits, yet concealing the real state of my mind by assuming a doughty tongue, communicated unto him the danger that had beffallen him in consequence of the calamity of his son: 'I am a Kshatria, Dacaratha (by name), and no son of thine, O magnanimous one. I have come by a misfortune in consequence of an act blamed by the good. O revered one, desirous of killing some beast of prey, an elephant (or some other), come to the waters, I went to the banks of the Sarayu bow in hand. Then hearing sounds from the water of a filling pitcher, I thought,—This must be an elephant.—I wounded it with a shaft. Next coming to the edge of the river, I saw an ascetic lying down on the ground almost deprived of life, with his heart pierced with an arrow. Then coming forward, I in accordance with the direction given by him as he lay in agony, suddenly extracted the arrow from his vitals. And as soon as the arrow had been extracted, he ascended heaven, O reverend sir, lamenting and bewailing you, both grown old. It is through ignorance that I suddenly wounded your son. This having been past, do you favour me with telling me what is now to be done, O ascetic.' Having heard these cruel words, the worshipful ascetic could well by his curse consume me to ashes. With eyes flooded with tears, and well nigh deprived of his senses by grief, that highly energetic one said unto me standing with joined hands, 'If, O king, thou hadst not of thyself immediately communicated unto us this unpleasant news, thy head would have been reduced to a thousand flaws. Not to speak of Kshatriyas, I can even drag the very weilder of the thunderbolt himself from his position, if he knowingly kills one, in especial, that has assumed the Vanaprastha mode of life. Thy head would have been severed in seven, if thou hadst discharged the weapon knowingly at such an asectic staying in austerities and versed in the Vedas. It is because thou hast done this through ignorance that thou (still) livest, else the race itself of the Raghavas should be not,—and where art thou?' He then said, 'Do thou, O king, take us to the scene. To day will we look our last on our son besmeared with blood, his deer-skin garb falling off (from his body), lying senseless on the earth, and come under the subjection of the lord of righteousness.' Thereupon I alone taking them exceedingly disconsolate to the spot, made the ascetic and his wife touch their son. And having approached their son and touched him, those ascetics fell on his person, and then his father addressed him thus, 'Thou salutest me not to-day, nor dost thou speak to me. Why, my child, dost thou lie down on the ground? Art thou angry (with us)? If, my son, thou dost not feel kindly to me, do thou look up to thy virtuous mother. And why, O son, dost thou not embrace me? Do a thou speak tender words. At the small hours, from whom engaged in study, shall I hear the scriptures sweetly read in a way coming home to the listener's mind? Who, having performed his daily devotions and offered oblations unto the sacrificial fire, will bathe me, afflicted with grief for my son? And who procuring Kandas, fruits and roots, will feed me like an welcome guest, incapable of doing anything and furnishing provisions, and without any one to take care of myself? And, my son, how will I maintain this blind ascetic mother of thine, proud of her son, who is passing her days in misery? Do thou stay, my son, in my behalf. Tomorrow thou wilt go to Yama's mansion with me and thy mother. Distressed with grief and rendered miserable in the forest, both of us deprived of thee shall soon repair to the abode of Yama. Seeing Vivaswata's son, I will say unto him,—Do thou, O lord of justice, forgive me, and let this my son continue to maintain us, his parents. It behoves thee, O righteous and illustrious guardian of the worlds, to confer on me reduced to such a pass this one enduring dakshina capable of removing our fear.— Thou, my son, art sinless, although slain by this one who has done an unrighteous act; and by the force of this truth, do thou repair to the world of warriors. Do thou, O son, go the supreme way that is gone by heroes who without turning back from the fight, are slain in open encounter. Do thou, O son, go the way that has been gone by Sagara and Saivya and Dilipa and Janamejaya and Nahusa and Dhundumara. Do thou, O son, go the way that is gone by all creatures! even by ascetics engaged in the study of the Veda, by bestowers of lands, by those performing fire-sacrifices, by individuals each devoted to a single wife, men giving away a thousand kine, persons tending their preceptors, and individuals renouncing lives by fasting. He that is born in such a race cannot come by any evil case. Such a condition be his that has taken the life of thee, my friend.'

"Having thus piteously wept, he along with his wife set about performing the watery rites on behalf of his son. Thereupon speedily assuming a celestial shape, the virtuous son of the ascetic by his own actions ascended heaven in company with Sakra. Then (returning) along with Sakra, the ascetic comforting his aged parents, addressed them, saying, 'I have attained a high state in consequence of having served you. Do you also without delay come unto me.' Having said this, the ascetic's son of restrained senses ascended heaven by means of an excellent and commodious car. Having performed the watery rites, the highly energetic ascetic along with his wife speedily said unto me staying with joined hands, 'Do thou, O monarch, slay me on the instant. I do not grieve to die'—thou hast by thy shaft rendered me who had an only son, absolutely sonless. Since this sorrow arising from the calamity that has befallen my son, is at present mine (through thy instrumentality), I curse thee,—thou shalt even in this way find thy death from grief for thy son. As thou a Kshatriya hast through ignorance slain an ascetic, the sin, O lord of men, of slaying a Brahmana will not envelope thee speedily; but thou shalt shortly come by this dreadful and mortal condition, like a donor of Dakshinas (coming by the things given away).' Having thus inflicted on me the curse and piteously lamented long, the couple ascended the funeral pile and went to heaven. O noble dame, the crime that I hitting by help of sound, had committed in my boyhood, has reverted to my recollection in course of thought. And, O exalted lady, even as a disease generated by one's taking rice with unhealthy curry, this danger is imminent in consequence of that act. O gentle one, the words of that noble- minded person are about to be verified in me." Having said this and weeping, the king said to his wife, "I shall renounce life through grief for my son. And I shall no more behold thee with my eyes. Do thou, O Kaucalya, touch me. People going to the mansion of Yama no more behold (their friends). If Rama touch me directly or otherwise, obtain the exchequer, and be installed as the heir-apparent, meseems, I may yet live. O noble lady, what I have done unto Raghava is not surely like myself; but what (on the other hand) he has done by me is worthy of him. What sensible man forsaketh his son, albeit he may be wicked? And what son being banished, does not bear ill will towards his father? But I do not see thee with my eyes, and my memory fails. These envoys of Vivaswata's son, O Kaucalya, urge speed upon me. What can be an object of greater regret than, that I during my last moments cannot behold the righteous Rama having truth for prowess? Even as the sun drieth up a drop of water, grief for not seeing my son of incomparable acts drieth my spirits. Those are not men—those are gods who in the fifteenth year shall again behold Rama's countenance graced with elegent and burnished ear-rings. O thou of graceful eye-brows, blessed are they who shall behold Rama's countenance furnished with eyes resembling lotus-petals, with excellent teeth and a shapely nose, like unto the lord of the stars himself. Blessed are they that shall behold that fragrant face of his like unto the autumnal moon, or the full-blown lotus. Thrice-blessed they who with delighted hearts, shall behold Rama returned from the forest and come back to Ayodhya, like unto Sukra crowning the zenith? O Kaucalya, my heart is weighed down with grief; and I do not perceive objects of hearing, feeling, or taste. My senses are growing dim in consequence of the mental stupor, like the rays of a lamp reduced to smoke, becoming dim when the oil has been exhausted. As the violence of a river wears away its banks. my grief occasioned through my own agency is destroying me, who am helpless and insensible. O mighty-armed Raghava! O thou remover of my troubles! O thou that dost delight in thy father! thou art my stay, O my son, that hast gone away. O Kaucalya, I do not see. O wretched Sumitra! O cruel one, thou enemy of mine, thou Kaikeyi, who hast befouled thy line!" Having thus lamented in presence of Rama's mother and Sumitra, king Dacaratha breathed his last.

Thus that distressed lord of men, smitten with the exile of his beloved son, that one possessed of a gracious presence, when the night had been half spent, wrought up with the violence of his emotion, departed this life.

SECTION 65.

When the night had gone away, on the morning of the next day, eulogists, accomplished bards, genealogists skilled in reciting, and singers versed in musical permutation, presenting themselves at the place of the sovereign, began to perform separately. And as they eulogized the monarch with benedictions loudly uttered, the palace resounded with the sounds of the eulogies. And as the bards hymned the monarch, palm-players celebrating the deeds of the kings of the Raghu race, began to play with their palms. And awakened by those sounds, birds on boughs and in cages worthy of the royal race, uttered notes. And the sacred words uttered (by these), the notes of Vinas, and the valedictory songs of singers filled that mansion. And as on former occasions, men practising purity and well up in serving, with numerous women and eunuchs entered appearance. Persons acquainted with the ceremonials connected with bath, according to the ordinance and in due time, in golden vessels brought water impregnated with hari-sandal powder. Pure females together with many virgins brought kine etc, which were to be touched, Ganges water for sipping, mirrors, cloths, ornaments and other articles. All the things that were procured (for presentation unto the monarch) were worshipped in accordance with prescription, were

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furnished with auspicious marks, and were of excellent virtues and possessed of auspiciousness. As long as the sun did not rise, all these people remained expecting the presence of the king; but then they were alarmed as to what had occurred.

Those ladies that were beside the bed of the lord of Kocala, were consoling their husband. And engaged in tending the monarch with mild and pliant words, those females knowing the condition of sleep, feeling him as he lay in his bed, did not perceive any action in the ever-moving pulse. Thereupon apprehensive for the king's life, they began to tremble like a blade of grass on a torrent. Filled with doubts at sight of the king, the ladies at last concluded that what had been apprehended (by the monarch) had certainly taken place. Overcome by grief for their sons, Sumitra and Kaucalya were sleeping as if they were dead, and had not yet awaked. Deprived of lustre, pallid, stricken by sorrow, and lying with her limbs contracted, Kaucalya looked like a star enveloped in darkness. And after Kaucalya, the king, and after him, Sumitra; and with her countenance faded from grief, this noble lady did not look particularly lovely. Finding these two ladies asleep and the king seeming as if sleeping, the inmates of the inner apartment showed themselves as if their lives had departed out of them. Thereupon exceedingly distressed, those paragons of their sex, like she-elephants in the forest deprived of their leader of the herd, broke out into wailing. At the sounds of their lamentations, bpth Kaucalya and Sumitra suddenly regaining consciousness, awoke from their sleep. And Kaucalya and Sumitra looking at the king and feeling him, felt down to the earth, exclaiming, "Ah lord." As the daughter of Kocala's lord rolled on the ground, she covered with dust did not appear in all her loveliness, like a star fallen from the sky to the earth below. And when the king had departed this life, the women saw Kaucalya fallen on the earth like the slain mate of an elephant. Then all the wives of the monarch headed by Kaikeyi, burning with grief and weeping, were well nigh rendered senseless. And the loud sounds emitted by these, mingling with those (who had been lamenting before them), attained greater proportions and filled the hall. And the mansion of the king became filled with people exceedingly excited and frightened, eager to know all about the matter,—became filled with lamentations, with friends afflicted with distress, its joy instantaneously vanished—a scene of distress and dole. Knowing that the lord of earth had departed, his wives surrounding that illustrious one, smitten with excess of sorrow and weeping bitterly and piteously, holding the king's hands indulged in lamentations, like forlorn ones.

SECTION 66.

Seeing the king had ascended heaven., like unto a fire that has cooled, or an ocean deprived of its waters, or the sun shorn of his splendour, Kaucalya afflicted with woe, taking on her lap the head of the king, with tears in her eyes, said, "O Kaikeyi, attain thou thy wishes: do thou enjoy this kingdom rid of thy thorn. O cruel one, O thou of wicked ways, thou that forsaking the king had set thy heart (on having thy son crowned), Rama had gone away, forsaking me; and now my lord has ascended heaven. I can too longer bear to live, like one left lone in a wilderness by her companions. What other woman except Kaikeyi lost to righteousness, having lost her deity, her lord, wishes to carry on existence in another's kingdom? As a covetuous person taking poison (through anger or some other passion), does not consider himself guilty, (so Kaikeyi) having done this evil through Manthara's incitement, does not bring her guilt home to her mind. It is through the instrumentality of the hump-backed woman that this race of the Raghavas has been destroyed by Kaikeyi. Hearing that the king being made to do an unrighteous action, has banished Rama together with his wife, king Janaka will be filled with grief as I have been. That virtuous one does not know that to-day I have become helpless and been widowed. Rama of eyes resembling lotus-petals has living been removed from my sight. The fair daughter of Videha's king unworthy of hardship, in ascetic guise is leading a life of trouble and terror in the woods. Hearing at night the dreadful roars of birds and beasts crying, she exceedingly frightened takes shelter with Raghava. Old and having an only daughter, he revolving in his mind thoughts of Vaidehi, shall, smitten with grief, surely renounce his life. I ever faithful to my lord will die this very day, embracing this body; I will enter fire." As embracing the (dead) body, that unfortunate lady was bewailing, the courtiers had the distressed (queen) removed from there. Then placing the corpse of the king in a (capacious) pan with oil, the courtiers performed the mourning rites of the monarch. But well versed in every thing, the counsellors, in the absence of his son, did not perform the funeral obsequies of the king; and therefore they placed his body stretched in the pan of oil. Alas! at length concluding it for certain that the king was dead, the ladies burst out into lamentations. And raising their arms, with tears trickling down their faces, they in dire affliction and extremely exercised with grief, lamented, "O monarch, why do you forsake us, who have been already deprived of Rama ever speaking fair and firm in promise? Renounced by Rama, how shall ye, rendered widows, stay with the wicked Kaikeyi, co-wife with us? That one of free soul is our master, as he is the lord of yourself. Rama has gone to the woods, forsaking regal dignity. Deprived of you as well as that hero, and overwhelmed with misfortune, how shall we live reprimanded by Kaikeyi? She that has renounced the king, Rama, and Lakshmana along with Sita— whom can such a one not renounce?" Thus with tears in their eyes, the wives of that descendant of Raghu, joyless and convulsed with a huge passion, displayed signs of sorrow. Like a night without stars, like a fair one forsaken by her husband, the city of Ayodhya without the magnanimous monarch did not appear delightful as it had done before, with the populace filled with tears, the ladies uttering exclamations of distress, and the terraces and courts deserted. On the lord of men having ascended heaven from grief, and the wives of the king remaining on the earth, the sun, his journey done, set, and the night began her course. The idea of consuming the king's corpse in the absence of his son did not recommend itself to the assembled adherents (of the departed). Thinking this, they in that way laid the king endowed with an inconceivably dignified presence. And with her terraces overflowing with tears that flooded the throats of the mourners, the city appeared like the welkin without its splendour in the absence of the sun, or the night with the stars enveloped. And on the demise of that illustrious personage, in the city men and women in multitudes, censuring Bharata's mother, became extremely distressed, and did not attain peace of mind.

SECTION 67.

AT length the weary night in Ayodhya. rendered cheerless by lamentations, and populous with men with voice choked with tears, was spent. And when the night departed and the sun had arisen, those officers of the royal house-hold belonging to the twice-born order, Markandeya, Maudgalya, Vamadeva, Kacyapa, Katyayana, Gautama, and the highly famous Javali, assembled together along with the the counsellors, spoke each on different topics. Then facing the royal priest, the eminent Vasistha, they said, "That night that had appeared like unto an hundred years has at last been painfully passed. The king racked by sorrow for his son has breathed his last, the mighty monarch has ascended heaven, Rama has taken refuge in the woods, the energetic Lakshmana has gone with Rama, and both Bharata and Satrugna—repressors of foes—are staying in Kekaya in pleasant Rajagriha, the abode of their maternal grandfather. Do you select some one this very day from the descendants of Ikshwaku, be king here. Verily doth a kingdom go to ruin, when without a king. He that goes garlanded with lightning, and has a mighty voice, even the cloud—doth not with skyey shower drench the Earth in a kingdom without a king. In a kingless kingdom no one sows corn. In a kingless kingdom the son does not obey his sire, or the wife her husband. A kingless kingdom possesses no wealth, and wives are hard to keep in such a place. This great fear attends a kingless country. And where is other morality (besides that detailed above) to be found at such a place? In a kingless country men do not form themselves into associations, nor do they, inspired with cheerfulness, make elegant gardens or sacred edifices. In a kingless country, the twice-born ones do not celebrate sacrifices. In a kingless country, in mighty sacrifices wealthy Brahmanas do not confer (on the officiating priests) the dakshinas (which they receive according to the ordinance), In a kingless country, neither social gatherings, nor festivities characterised by the presence of merry theatrical managers and performers, increase. In a kingless country disputants cannot decide their point; nor are persons given to hearing Puranic recitations pleased by those delighting in the practice. In a kingless country, bevies of virgins decked in gold do not repair to gardens for purposes of sport. In a kingless country, the wealthy are not well protected; nor do shepherds and cultivators sleep with their doors open. In a kingless country pleasure-seeking people do not in company with females go to the woods by means of swift vehicles, In a kingless country long-tusked elephants sixty years old, bearing bells on their necks, do not walk the highway. In a kingless country one hears not the clappings of persons engaged in shooting arrows constantly. In a kingless country traders coming from distant lands, loaded with various kinds of merchandise, do not with safety go along the roads. In a kingless country the ascetic with his subdued senses, himself his sole protector, who makes his quarters wherever evening overtakes him, cannot walk contemplating the Deity. In a kingless country, one cannot protect what one has, or procure what one has not. In a kingless country, the forces cannot bear the onslaught of the foe. In a kingless country men cannot at will go on excellent and high-mettled horses and ornamented cars. In a kingless country persons well versed in learning can not engage in controversy, repairing to woods and groves. In a kingless country, persons with intent hearts do not offer garlands, sweets, and dakshinas, for worshipping the gods. In a kingless country, princes smeared with sandal and aguru, do not look graceful like trees in spring. Even as a river without water, a wood without grass, a herd of kine without a keeper, is a kingdom without a king. The sign of a car is its pennon, of fire is smoke, and our banner the king, has gone to heaven. In a kingless country a person hardly preserves his life; and like fishes people eat up one another. Even those heretics who having disregarded the dignity of social morality had met with chastisement at the hands of the king, their fear removed—give themselves airs. As the sight is engaged in the welfare of the body, the king—that fountain of truth and religion—is engaged in compassing the good of the kingdom. The king is truth, the king is morality, the king is the racial dignity of those possessed of the same, the king is the father, the king is the mother—the king compasseth the welfare of men. By virtue of magnanimity of character, a king surpasses Yama and Vaicravana and Sakra and Varuna endowed with mighty strength. If there were not a king in this world to adjudge fair and foul, darkness would overspread (the face of the earth) and people could not distinguish anything whatever. As the ocean keepeth within its continent, we even while the monarch lived, did not disregard your words. Do you, O best of Brahmanas, beholding our acts rendered nugatory, and this empire become a wilderness for want of a king, install that descendant of Ikshwaku or any other as king of this realm."

SECTION 68.

Hearing their words, Vasishtha said unto the Brahmanas and the adherents and counsellors (of the king), "Bharata, on whom the king has conferred the kingdom, along with his brother Satrughna, is living happily in the house of his maternal uncle. Let envoys by means of fleet couriers speedily repair thither and bring those heroic brothers. What shall we decide?" "Let them go"—said all unto Vasishtha. Hearing their words, Vasishtha spake unto them, saying,— "Come here, thou Siddhartha, and Vijaya, and Jayanta, and Acokanandana. Do ye hear. I will tell you what ye are to do. First going speedily to the royal residence by means of swift horses, do you, renouncing grief, by my order speak these words of mine unto Bharata, 'The priest as well as the counsellors have enquired after your welfare. Do you at once set out. A business is at hand that brooketh no delay on your part.' But ye must on no account communicate unto him the exile of Rama, or the demise of the monarch, or the destruction that hath befallen the Raghu race through this occasion. Do ye, speedily taking silk apparel and excellent ornaments for king Bharata, set off." Thereupon, having been furnished with the necessaries for the journey, they bound for Kekaya went to their respective abodes, mounted on goodly horses. Then having supplied themselves with the necessaries of the journey, the envoys in consonance with Vasistha's injunction, speedily went away. Having proceeded by the west of Aparatala, they in the middle crossed the Malini, and went towards the north of Pralamva. Then crossing the Ganga at Hastinapura, and arriving at Panchala, they proceeded westward through Kurujangala. And beholding watery expanses filled with blown blossoms, and rivers containing pellucid waters, the envoys proceeded apace on account of the errand they had on hand. And they darted past the Saradanda overflowing with delightful water, beautiful, and haunted by fowls of various kinds. Then on the western bank of the stream, coming upon a tree called Satyapayachana presided by a deity, and bowing down unto the tree and going round it, they entered the city of Kulinga. And having passed Teyobibhabana and arrived at Abhikala, they crossed the sacred stream Ikshumati belonging to the Ikshwakus for generations. Beholding here Brahmanas versed in the Vedas drinking water with their joined hands, they went through Vahllika towards the mount Sudaman. There seeing the foot-print of Vishnu, they, desirous of doing the bidding of their master, proceeded a long way, viewing the Vipaca and the Salmali and rivers and tanks and pools and ponds and sheets of water and various kinds of lions and tigers and deer and elephants. And with their vehicles fatigued, the ambassadors, on account of the great distance of the way, speedily reached that best of cities, Girivraja. And for pleasing their master, for the preservation of the people, and enabling Bharata to assume the reins of government, those envoys, casting aside negligence, swiftly entered the city in the night.

SECTION 69.

The very same night that the envoys entered the city, Bharata saw an evil dream. And seeing that evil dream during the short hours, the son of that king of kings exceedingly burned in grief. And rinding him aggrieved, his sweet speeched associates, endeavouring to chase the heaviness, began to converse on a variety of subjects. Some played on instruments; some for the purpose of pacifying his mind, danced (the courtezans); others performed scenes variously fraught with the sentiment of mirth. But although his friends intending to allay his agitation set about enacting passages calculated to amuse family circles, that magnanimous descendant of Raghu did not indulge in laughter. Then a dear friend addressed Bharata, as he sat surrounded by his friends, "Surrounded by your friends, why do you not, my friend, join in the mirth?" Thus asked by his friend, Bharata answered,

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"Listen why this depression has overtaken me. In a dream I beheld my father, pale, with his hair loosely flowing about, plunging from the summit of a mountain into a dirty pool filled with cow-dung. And I saw him floating on a sink of cow-dung, and yet with a momentary laugh drinking oil by means of his joined hands. Then feeding on rice mixed with sessame, he again and again hanging his head down, dives into oil with his limbs rubbed with oil. And in my dream I saw the ocean dried up, and the moon fallen on the earth, and the earth as if invaded by enfolding darkness, and the tusk of the elephant on which the monarch rides falling in fragments, and flaming fire suddenly extinguished, and the earth rent, and the trees withered, and all the mountains befching smoke. . And I saw the king seated on a sable seat of iron, clad in a sable garb; and women black and yellow beating him. And bearing a garland of red flowers, with his body daubed with red sandal, he was fast proceeding to the south in a car yoked with asses. And women clad in red garment were laughing at him, and a grim-visaged Rakshasa was seen by me as dragging him. This was the dream that I saw this terrible night. Either I, or Rama, or the king, or Lakshmana is to breathe our last. The smoke of the funeral pyre of him will be shortly visible that goes in the car yoked with asses. It is for this reason that I am poor of spirit, and that I do not respond to your words. Further, my throat is parched, and my mind ill at ease. Ground of fear find I none, yet am I subject to fear. My voice is untuned, and my grace fled, and I begin to despise my life, nor know I the reason why. Bringing to mind this various-looking dream which I had not thought of before, and remembering the king of incomprehensible presence, this fear goeth not from my heart."

SECTION 70.

Bharata was speaking thus when the envoys with their vehicles fatigued, entered the splendid royal residence surrounded by a strong rampart. Presenting themselves before the king, they, well received by him as well as the prince, bowed down unto the feet of the monarch. Then they addressed Bharata, saying,—'The priest and the counsellors have enquired after your welfare. Do you set out speedily. A business is on hand that brooketh no delay on your part. And, O you of expansive eyes, do you take these costly raiments and ornaments, and present them unto your maternal uncle and grand-father. Twenty Kotis are intended for the king and complete ten for your maternal uncle, O son of the monarch." Taking all these, Bharata attached to his relatives, made the articles over unto them; and receiving the envoys with goodly gifts, spoke unto them, "Is my father, king Dacaratha, well? And is it well with Rama and the high-souled Lakshmana? And is the mother of the intelligent Rama, the revered Kaucalya, conversant with virtue and ever practising it, well? Is the virtuous Sumitra.—mother of Lakshmana and of the heroic Satrughna—well? And that wrathful one ever intent on her interest and setting immense store by her wisdom, my mother Kaikeyi—is it also well with her?" Thus addressed by the magnanimous Bharata, the envoys spoke unto him these humble and brief words, "Those of whose welfare you are enquiring after, are, O foremost of men, all well. Sree seated on the lotus asks for you. Let your car be yoked." Thus addressed, Bharata said unto the envoys, "Let me tell the king that the envoys are urging speed on me." Having said this, that son of the king. Bharata, communicated unto his maternal grand-father what the envoys had told him. "Asked by the envoys, I shall, O monarch, go to my father. I shall come again whenever you will remember me." Thus accosted by Bharata, his maternal grand-father, the king, smelling Bharata's head, spoke these auspicious words unto that descendant of Raghu, "Go, my child; I permit thee. Kaikeyi is mother of a worthy son through thee. Do thou, O subduer of foes, communicate our welfare unto both thy father and thy mother. Do thou likewise communicate the same unto the priest and the other principal Brahmanas; as also, my child, unto those mighty bowmen, the brothers Rama and Lakshmana." Then honouring Bharata, king Kekaya conferred on Bharata wealth consisting of choice elephants maintained (at the palace) and woolen sheets and deerskins. And the king presented him with dogs brought up in the inner apartment, resembling tigers in strength and prowess, furnished with teeth representing weapons, and large of body. And honouring the son of Kaikeyi, Kekaya gave him two thousand nishkas and six hundred horses. And for following Bharata, Acwapati without delay assigned a number of goodly, trustworthy, and qualified courtiers. And Bharata's maternal uncle conferred on Bharata wealth in the shape of graceful elephants sprung in the Iravat mountain and the country called Indracira; as well as fleet and well-broken horses. But owing to the hurry of his departure, Bharata the son of Kaikeyi did not appear to be so very much gratified with the gifts. Owing to his having seen the dream and the post haste speed of the envoys, a mighty anxiety was present in his heart. Then issuing from his abode, that one possessed of exceeding grace passed the goodly thoroughfare thronged with men, horses, and elephants. Having left it behind, Bharata saw (before him) the inner apartment (of the king); and thereupon the handsome Bharata entered it without let. Then after speaking with his maternal grandfather and uncle, Yudhajit, Bharata ascending a car, set out with Satrughna. Thereat servants by means of an hundred cars, furnished with circular wheels, and yoked with camels, oxen, horses, and asses, followed Bharata. Protected by the forces and the courtiers of his material grandfather dear unto him like his ownself, the magnanimous Bharata who had his foes removed, taking with him his brother, Satrughna, departed from the abode (of the king), like a Siddha issuing from the regions of Indra.

SECTION 71.

Issuing from the palace, the blazing Bharata endowed with prowess went in an easterly direction, and seeing before him the river called Sudama, crossed it. Then the auspicious descendant of Ikshwaku crossed the broad Hradini coursing westwards, as also the river Satadru. Then crossing a river at Eladhana [Eladhani.], and coming to Aparaparvata,154 he crossed the Sila* and the Akurvati, and arrived at Agneya** and Salyakarshanam. [* Geographical names have the greatest resilience and are in use for thousands of years with only minor changes. The River Sila could be the today's River Silley (also called Siang) in Assam. The Silley forms the eastern most boundary of Dhemaji district of Assam. The Silley river drains into the Dihang. Assam is a state in the north eastern region of India. There is one major river, the Brahmaputra, that flows through the length of the state. The Brahmaputra, is called "Yarlung Tsangpo" in Tibet, River "Siang / Dihang" in Arunachal Pradesh and "Luit", "Dilao" in Assam. In other words: the River Sila is another name for the Brahmaputra. ** Some make agneya an epithet to Salyakarshana, meaning, relating to the south-east or the south of the East, refering to Bangladesh and some regions south of it. These two names might be a hint that the Ramayana story plays in the northeast of ancient India. And that the big river bears the name of Brahma, one of the most important Hindu gods, emphasises its significance.] And having purified himself and seen Silavaha [The Silavaha (which is just another name of the "Sila Stream") is a stream having Agneya on one side and Salyakarshana on the other.], that one of truthful purposes passed the Mahacailas [Lit., the Great Mountains, meaning the Himalaya.], and entered the forest of Chaitraratha [The northeast India rain forests]. Then coming upon the confluence of the Ganga [River Ganges]. and the Saraswati, Bharata entered the forest of Varunda lying to the north of Viramatsya. Next crossing the rapid river Kulinga and the Hradini surrounded by hills, as Well as the Yamuna, he ordered the forces to halt. Then cooling the limbs of the fatigued horses (with water) and refreshing them, Bharata himself bathed there and drank of the water; and then resumed the march, furnished with the water. Then the gentle prince by means of an excellent car, like unto the wind-god himself, entered the mighty forest inhabited by various races of men. Seeing that the mighty river Ganga was hard to cross at Ancudhana, Bharata speedily went to the famous city of Pragvata. And having crossed the Ganga at Pragvata, he went over to the Kutikoshtika. Having with his forces crossed that river, he proceeded to Dharmavarddhana. Then proceeding by ie south of Torana, he came to Jamvuprastha. Then Dacaratha's son went to the beautiful village of Varutha. Having for a while stayed at that romantic wood, he proceeded eastwards, and presented himself at the villa of Ujjihayana, where abound trees (called) Priyaka. Coming to the Priyakas, Bharata speedily yoking the horses, set out without delay, issuing his orders to the forces. Then sojourning at Sarvatirtha and crossing the river there flowing northwards as well as others abounding in various kinds of mountainous horses, Bharata arrived at Hastiprishthaka. And at Lohitya that foremost of men crossed the Kapivati, at Ekasala, the Sthanumati, and at Vinaya, the Gomati. And Bharata arriving at a forest of Sala trees in the city of Kalinga, speedily passed it with his forces way-worn. And having passed the forest swiftly over night, he at sunrise saw Ayodhya built by king Manu. Having spent seven nights on the journey, that chief of men beheld Ayodhya before him and thus addressed the charioteer, "O charioteer, from the distance Ayodhya seemeth like a mass of black earth, albeit she boasts of sacrificial priests crowned with every virtue, Brahmanas versed in the Vedas and opulent people, and albeit she is maintained by Rajarshis. Formerly one could hear a great and mighty tumult all round Ayodhya proceeding from men and women; but I do not hear this to-day. The gardens wherefrom persons having sported in the evening used to rush out (at day break) wear a different aspect now. Forsaken by the pleasure-seekers, the gardens appear to weep. And, O charioteer, the city appears to me like a wilderness. And I do not as formerly behold the flower of the city leaving or entering her on cars or elephants or horses. Gardens which, frequented by people inebriated with the honey of love, met together for purposes of sport, looked charmingly blooming, I find as utterly void of cheerfulness, with the trees as if lamenting with tremulous leaves. Still do I not hear the inarticulate though sweet and delicious voice of beasts and birds crying in chorus. Why, as before, doth not the blameless and bland wind blow mixed with (the perfume of sandal and faint with dhupa? And why, again, have the sounds of Vinas and Mridangas developed by beating sticks, which continually flew in a never-ceasing vigorous course, ceased to-day? And I witness various evil, unsightly, and unpleasant omens, and hence my mind is depressed. O charioteer, complete good fortune with my friends is hardly to be realised. Bui although no apparent cause exists for my depression of spirits, yet my heart droopeth." Then Bharata depressed and cast down and with his senses afflicted, speedily entered the city ruled by Ikshwaku. And Bharata having his vehicles fatigued, entered by the Vaijayanta* gate, and went on, followed by the gate-keepers, who enquired after his welfare. [* Vaijayantena. Another meaning is, By the gate resembling that of Indra's palace.] Then courteously telling the warders to desist, he with an agitated heart spoke unto the tired charioteer of Acwapati, "0 sinless one, why have I been brought in this haste without any (adequate) reason? My heart apprehendeth some evil; and my disposition gives way. O charioteer, I see around me all those signs which I had heard told as occurring on the occasion of the deaths of monarchs. I behold the houses of the citizens unswept and unsightly with the doors flung open,—and destitute of grace, without sacrifices and other religious ceremonies, without the incense of dhupa, the citizens fasting, and the people appearing with faded countenances, displaying no flags, etc. The abodes of the deities are not decorated with garlands, and their courts are unclean; and remaining vacant, they look no longer beautiful as formerly. And the images are not worshipped; and the places of sacrifice are in a like condition. And garlands are not displayed in the shops where they are sold. And traders looking anxious, with their business stopped, do not look as before. And in temples and Chaityas birds and beasts appear dispirited. And in the city I behold men and women pale and woe-begone and emaciated and anxious, with tears filling their eyes." Having said this unto the charioteer, Bharata, beholding these inauspicious sights, entered the palace of the king with a depressed heart. Beholding the city resembling the city of Indra, with her crossings and houses and roads void of people, and the doors and hinges covered with dust, Bharata was filled with greater grief. And witnessing many unpleasant things which he had never seen during the life of the monarch, that high-souled one entered the mansion of his father, bending his head, depressed in spirits, and with his mind extremely aggrieved.

SECTION 72.

Not having seen his father in his father's quarters, Bharata went to his mother's apartment for seeing her. On seeing her son before her after his sojourn from home, Kaikeyi delighted, rose up from her golden seat. On entering his own quarter which he found deprived of grace, the virtuous Bharata took hold of his mother's auspicious feet. Then smelling the crown of his head and embracing him and taking that illustrious one on her lap, Kaikeyi addressed him, saying, "How many days hence did you leave the residence of the revered one? Hast thou felt any fatigue on the way incident to the car proceeding swiftly? And is the revered one well, and thy maternal uncle, Yudhajit? And, my son, hast thou passed thy time pleasantly during thy sojourn? It behoves thee to tell me all this." Thus asked, that son of the king, Bharata, furnished with eyes resembling lotuses told his mother that all was well. "Seven nights hence I took leave of that revered one's residence. My mother's sire is well, as also my maternal uncle, Yudhajit. My vehicles had got tired in consequence of bearing the wealth and jewels which that subduer of foes, the king, had bestowed on me. And it is for this reason that I have come in advance of them. Urged by the royal emissaries, I have come here so swiftly. But it behoves my mother to tell me what I wish to ask. This sleeping bedstead of yours adorned with gold is empty. I do not see the race of Ikshwaku in their usual good spirits. The king generally remains in this apartment of my mother. But coming here with the desire of seeing him, I do not today find him at this place. I would take the feet of my father. Do you tell me who ask you. Is he in the apartment of my eldest mother, Kaucalya?" Blinded by the lust of dominion, and looking upon that as desirable (unto Bharata) which was exceedingly disagreeable (to him), Kaikeyi replied unto him, who did not know what had transpired, "That high-souled and energetic one ever engaged in sacrifice—the refuge of the good—thy father, the king, has come by the state which pertains to all creatures." Hearing these words, Bharata of pure ways sprung from a righteous race, smit with the vehemence of sorrow on account of his father, suddenly fell down to the earth. And exclaiming in the anguish of spirit and in the excess of grief, the words, "Ah me! I am undone!" that mighty-armed one endowed with prowess, fell down, tossing about his arms. Then, overwhelmed with sorrow and distressed at the death of his father, that highly energetic one, with his senses distracted, indulged in lamentations, "This bed of my father used to look like the speckless welkin at night crowned with the moon, after the clouds have gone off. But to-day, deprived of that intelligent one, it ceases to shine, like the firmament without the moon or the sea devoid of its

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waters." Exclaiming with tears trickling down, that foremost of victorious ones, extremely afflicted at heart, wept, muffling his graceful countenance. Seeing that one resembling a celestial fallen to the earth, striken with sorrow, like unto a bough of the Sala that had been severed in the wood by an axe, his mother raising up his distressed son like a mad elephant or the sun or the moon, addressed him, "Arise, arise. Why dost thou lie down, O illustrious son of the king? Persons like thee having their senses under perfect control, and approved by men of culture, do not grieve. O thou endowed with understanding, like the halo of the Sun in the solar disc, thy sense, entitled to dispensing gifts and celebrating sacrifices, ever follows morals, the Sruti, and asceticism."

Having wept for a long while with his body rolling on the earth, Bharata. afflicted with manifold grief, answered his mother, saying, "The king will install Rama and celebrate a sacrifice' concluding this for certain, I had joyfully gone from hence. But it has fallen out otherwise. That I do not behold my father ever engaged in the dear welfare (of his subjects) cleaves my heart, mother. Of what ailment hath the king breathed his last during my absence? Blessed are Rama and others who have personally performed my sire's last rites. Surely the renowned monarch doth not know that I have come. (If he had done so), pressing down my head, my father would at once have smelt it. Where is now the soft hand of that energetic one which used to rub my person when it was covered with dust? Do you now without delay convey the news of my arrival unto the vigorous Rama, who is at once my father, brother and friend, and whose beloved servant I am. The eldest brother of one that is noble and cognisant of morality, becomes his father. I shall take hold of his feet: he is now my refuge. And, noble lady, what did that virtuous one cognisant of virtue, that pre-eminently pious one, firm in his vow, and having truth for prowess—even my father, say? I wish to hear news concerning us relative to the last moments of the monarch." Thus asked, Kaikeyi related all as it had happened, saying, "Bewailing 'Ah Rama!' 'Ah Sita!' 'Ah Lakshmana!' that magnanimous one, the foremost of those that have attained to excellent state (after death), has gone to the next world coming under the law of time. Thy father like a mighty elephant fast bound with a cord, said unto me these words during his last moments,—'Blessed are they that shall see Rama and the mighty-armed Lakshmana returned along with Sita.'" Hearing this, Bharata apprehending a second misfortune was deeply moved; and with a sad countenance, he again asked his mother, "Where hath gone that righteous* souled one, the enhancer of Kaucalya's joy, along with Lakshmana and Sita?" Thus questioned, his mother at the same time duly said in words. which although highly unwelcome, she took as agreeable to Bharata, "O son, that son of the king wearing bark has repaired to the forest of Dandaka, along with Vaidehi and followed by Lakshmana." Hearing this, Bharata apprehending some moral lapse on the part of his brother from the dignity of his race, asked in agitation, "Has Rama deprived any Brahmana of his wealth? Or has he wronged any innocent person, whether rich or poor? Has the fancy of the prince gone after the wife of another? For what reason hath brother Rama been banished?" Thereat his volatile mother, influenced by her feminine nature, related faithfully unto him her own doings, Thus asked by the magnanimous Bharata, Kaikeyi vainly turning herself on her wisdom, joyfully said, "Rama has deprived no Brahmana of his property, nor hath any innocent person rich or otherwise been wronged by him,— nor doth he ever with his eyes look at the wife of another. O son, as soon as I heard of Rama's (coming) installation, I asked for the kingdom to be conferred on thee, and Rama to be banished. Thereupon, he, staying by his promise, did accordingly: Rama hath been banished along with Sumitra's son and Sita.' Not seeing his beloved son, the illustrious lord of earth, stricken by grief on his account, has breathed his last. Do thou now, O thou cognisant of duty, take charge of the kingdom. I have done all this in thy interests. Do not give way to sorrow. O son, assume patience. This city is subject to thee, as well as this peaceful kingdom. Having with the help of the principal Brahmanas headed by Vasishtha, duly performed the funeral obsequies of the king, do thou, without suffering thy energy to depart, install thyself in the kingdom."

SECTION 73.

Hearing of his father's death and the exile of his brothers, Bharata burning in grief, said these words, "Deprived of my father as well as my brother like unto a father, what shall I bewailing them and undone by thee do with the kingdom? Thou, like one throwing alkali on a sore, hast, by bringing about the death of the king and making Rama an ascetic, heaped grief on grief. Thou hast come like the fatal night for the destruction of this race. Not understanding it, my father embraced live coal. O thou that hast thy gaze fixed on sin, it is through thee that my sovereign has come by death; and that, O stainer of the line, this race has by thy infatuation been deprived of its happiness. Having got thee, my illustrious sire intent upon truth, king Dacaratha, afflicted by extreme sorrow, has departed this life. Why hath the king, my father, ever loving virtue, been deprived of life? Why hath Rama been banished; and wherefore hath he gone to the woods? Afflicted with grief for their son, even if Kaucalya and Sumitra live, it will be hard for them to do so in the presence of thee, my mother. Surely the noble and virtuous Rama, well knowing his duties towards his superiors, regards thee as highly as he doth his own mother. In the same way, my eldest mother, the far-sighted Kaucalya, doing her duties by thee, bears herself like a sister. Why, O sinful one, having sent to the woods her magnanimous son, clad in bark, dost thou not grieve? Having exiled the famous and heroic Rama seeing no sin, clad in bark, what benefit dost thou perceive as thine? I deem that thou didst not know how very highly I regarded Raghava; and therefore it is that thou hast brought this mighty calamity. Not seeing those chiefs of men, Rama and Lakshmana, by virtue of whose energy can I venture to rule the kingdom? The monarch was ever protected by that powerful one possessed of mighty energy, as Meru is protected by its forest. Like a calf burdened with a load capable of being borne by a mighty ox, by what energy shall I bear this burthen which was borne by an exceedingly strong person? And even if this strength be mine through yoga or vigor of intellect, I will not crown with success the hopes of thee, proud of thy son. Nor, had Rama not always regarded thee as his mother, would I hesitate to renounce thee, whose heart hath been set on sin. O thou that viewest unrighteousness, O thou who hast fallen off from the way of the good, how could such thoughts unworthy of our line, arise in thy mind? In this race, the eldest brother of all is installed in the kingdom: the other brothers remain under him. O fell one, thou dost not, I think, know the morality of kings, or the consequence that attends its faithful observance. Of all the princes, the eldest is always installed as the king. Even this is the accepted principle of all sovereigns—specially the descendants of Ikswaku. But to-day the pride of character of those whose virtue was their sole concern, and who shone in the character of their line, has been humbled through thy instrumentality. And how, O highly exalted lady, O thou that wast born in a royal race, could such reprehensible fatuity take possession of thy senses? But, O thou bent upon sin, I will by no means fulfil the wish of thee by whom hath been brought in the first instance this calamity calculated to end my existence. Further, O sinless one, I will do this at present to displease thee: I will bring from the forest my brother dear unto his relatives. And having brought back Rama, I will in a perfectly contented spirit, become the slave of that one of flaming energy." The high-souled Bharata afflicted (his mother) with multitudes of words causing pain; and distressed with grief, emitted sounds like unto a lion in the cave of Mandara.

SECTION 74.

Having thus reproved his mother in great wrath, Bharata said again, "Do thou bear thyself from this kingdom, O heartless and wicked Kaikeyi. Having been lost to righteousness, do not thou lament me dead. What qualities of thine were taxed by the king or the exceedingly virtuous Rama, that both of them simultaneously have come by death and exile respectively through thy agency? O Kaikeyi, thou hast been guilty of homicide in consequence of the destruction of this race. Do thou go to hell, never to the world attained by my father; since, renouncing Rama dear unto all, thou hast committed this sin by thy grim act and brought me into fear. Through thee hath my father met with his end, and Rama hath taken refuge in the woods; and it is through thee that I have come to ignominy among all creatures. O thou enemy of mine in the guise of a mother! O fell one! O thou that covetest the kingdom! do thou not speak to me, O wicked wretch! O slayer of thy husband! it is because of thee, stainer of thy race, that Kaucalya, Sumitra, and other mothers of mine have been overwhelmed with a mighty sorrow. Thou art never the daughter of the pious and intelligent Acwapati, thou art a Rakshasi born in that race, thou that hast destroyed my father's race, inasmuch as the virtuous and heroic Rama ever observing truth hath been sent to the woods and my father hath ascended heaven through thy agency; inasmuch as thou that hast perpetrated this arch offence, hast laid this sin on me, who have been forsaken by my sire, renounced by my brothers, and come by universal disfavour. O thou of sinful ways, having separated the virtuous Kaucalya (from her son), what world, O thou that repairest to hell, shall be thy portion? Dost thou not, O tortuous one, know that that one sprung from Kaucalya's, self, my eldest brother Rama, who is like a father unto me, has ever been the refuge of his friends? A son born from all the limbs of his mother, comes out from her heart; and therefore it is that he is far dearer unto his mother, albeit her friends are dear to her. Once on a time, it is related by persons cognisant of morality, Surabhi regarded by the celestials, beheld two of her sons toiling on earth and seeming to be deprived of their senses. And, when the day had been half spent, seeing her sons fatigued on earth, she stricken with grief for them, began to weep with tears flooding her eyes. And it came to pass that as the magnanimous sovereign of the celestials was passing below, her fine and fragrant tear-drops fell on his person. Turning his eyes up, Sakra found Surabhi stationed in the sky, distressed and weeping in extreme anguish of spirit. Seeing that illustrious one burning in grief, the wielder of the thunder-bolt, Indra the lord of the celestials, waxing anxious, with joined hands said, 'Is there any great danger in any quarter? Do thou, O thou that art intent on the welfare of all, say, whence is this grief of thine?' Thus addressed by the intelligent king of the celestials, that one well skilled in speech, the sedate Surabhi answered, 'Auspiciousness, O lord of celestials! No sin is yours. But I mourn my sons fallen into evil plight, having seen them lean, distressed, and burnt by the rays of the sun— Valivarddhas afflicted by the wicked-minded ploughman. Seeing those that have been born of my body, cast down and in trouble, I grieve: there is none that is dear like unto a son.' Seeing her the whole earth is filled with whose sons by thousands, weeping, Indra understood that none is an object of greater affection than a son. And that lord, Indra, also considered Surabhi of a person breathing a sacred odour, whose tears had dropped on his body, as the foremost being on earth. Even that one yeilding whatever is asked, auspicious, crowned with the choicest virtues, although having all natural functions, showing equal kindness unto all, and of unequalled character, who maintaineth all creatures, she who hath a thousand sons, grieves (for her sons). How can then Kaucalya carry on existence without Rama? Chaste and having an only son, that lady has through thee been separated from her son, (like a cow separated from her calf). For this, thou wilt always have to suffer misery alike in this world and the next I shall for my part completely minister unto my brother and father; and shall, without doubt, increase my fame. Bringing hither the mighty-armed lord of Kocala endowed with immense strength, I myself will repair to the forest inhabited by ascetics. O thou that hast delivered thyself over to iniquity! I, looked at by the citizens with their throats oppressed with the vapour of grief, cannot bear this (burden of) sin heaped on me by thee. Do thou enter fire, or dive into Dandaka, or wound a cord round thy neck: other desirable way there is none for thee. On Rama having truth for prowess, obtaining the earth, I, my disgrace removed, shall be blest." Grieving thus, Bharata, like an elephant in the forest afflicted with a tomara or ankusa [Names of instruments.], fell to the earth sighing like an enraged snake. With his eyes reddened, and his cloth falling off, and his ornaments cast away, that subduer of foes, the king's son fallen on the earth, resembled a banner of Sakra after the festival is over.

SECTION 75.

Arising after a long while when he had regained his consciousness, Bharata endowed with prowess, regarding his distressed mother with eyes filled with tears, began to tax her in the midst of the courtiers: "I had never desired the kingdom. I had never consulted my mother. Nor did I know the installation that had been thought of by the monarch. I was then living in a far country in company with Satrughna. I did not know the banishment of the magnanimous Rama to the woods, or the exile of Sumitra's son; nor did I know how Sita came to be banished." As the high-souled Bharata was thus wailing, Kaucalya recognizing his voice spoke unto Sumitra, "Come is Bharata, the son of that one of crooked ways. I am desirous of seeing the far-sighted Bharata." Having said this unto Sumitra, that one emaciated and with a pallid countenance, trembling and almost deprived of sensation, went to where Bharata was. And it came to pass that the king's son, Bharata, along with Satrughna had just then by the way that led to the same, been proceeding to Kaucalya's quarter. Then Satrughna and Bharata seeing the aggrieved Kaucalya, embraced the stricken and fallen lady well nigh deprived of her senses. Thereupon, weeping from grief, the noble and intelligent Kaucalya exceedingly afflicted, embracing them as they indulged in sorrow, said unto Bharata, "Thus hast thou, that hadst desired the kingdom, received it rid of its thorn. Alas! it has been speedily obtained through the crooked act of Kaikeyi. What is the good that is perceived by Kaikeyi of tortuous sight in sending away my son clad in bark to the woods? It behoveth Kaikeyi to send me also speedily to where is staying my illustrious son furnished with a gold-gleaming navel. Or first performing the fire-sacrifice, I followed by Sumitra, will myself happily seek the way by which Raghava (has gone to the woods). Or it behoveth thee to thyself bring me unto the place where that foremost of men, my son, is performing austerities. This spacious kingdom abounding in corn and wealth, and filled with elephants, horses, and cars, is thine, having been conferred on thee (by Kaikeyi)." Thus reproached by many a harsh word, the sinless Bharata felt exceeding pain like unto that produced by pricking a sore with a needle. Exceedingly agitated, he fell at Kaucalya's feet, lamenting much, and well nigh deprived of his senses. Bharata then regained his consciousness, and with joined hands answered Kaucalya lamenting thus and overcome with excess of sorrow, saying,—"O noble lady, what for dost thou censure me who am without sin and who know nothing of this? Thou knowest that profuse is my delight in Raghava. May the sense of him never follow scripture, that had approved the exile into the

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woods of that foremost of the good, the noble Rama intent on truth! May such a person as had approved the exile unto the woods of the noble one undergo servitude at the hands of the sinful, answer the calls of nature facing the Sun, and kick a sleeping cow with his feet! May he that had approved the exile of the noble one into the woods come by the sin that is reaped by a master who withholds salary from servants after the ceremony is over! May that one that had approved the exile of the noble Rama to the woods, be guilty of the sin that is his that injures a sovereign engaged in ruling his subjects like sons! May the person that had approved the exile of the noble one to the woods, reap the sin of his that having taken a sixth part of their incomes, does not protect his subjects! May he that had approved the exile of the noble one to the woods, come by the demerit that is his that denies dakshinas unto ascetics in a sacrifice, after having promised them the same! May he that had approved the exile into the woods of the noble one, never discharge the duty of the good in the field thronged with elephants and horses and cars, and bristling with arms! May the wicked wight that had approved the exile of the noble one to the woods bring to naught the subtle scriptural knowledge which has been carefully taught him by his intelligent preceptor! May that one that had approved the exile of the noble (Rama) to the woods never behold the long-armed and broad-shouldered (Raghava) resembling the Sun and the Moon in energy seated (on the throne)! May that one void of aversion, that had approved of the exile of the noble one to the woods feed on Payaca, Krisara, and goat's flesh, which have not been offered in sacrifice; and may he insult his spiritual preceptor! May he that had approved the exile of the noble one to the woods touch a cow with his feet, revile his superiors, and injure his friends! May that one of wicked soul that had approved of the exile of the noble one into the woods divulge any defects (of another's character) that have been communicated to him in strict confidence! May he that had approved the exile of Rama to the woods, never repay any good act, be ungrateful abandoned by all,— the object of universal execration! May he that had approved of the exile into the woods of the noble one, eat alone in his home, although surrounded by sons and wives and servitors! May he that had approved of the exile of the noble one, die without obtaining wives worthy of him, without sons, without any good works performed! May he that had approved the exile of the noble one into the woods, never see his own offspring, and not attaining ripe age, may he mourn his wives! And may he come by the sin that is reaped by slaying a king, a woman, a boy, or an old man, or by renouncing those who have claims on his maintenance! May he that had approved the exile of the noble one into the woods always feed his family with lac, honey, meat, iron, and poison! May that one that had approved the exile of the noble one into the woods, while flying from the engagement while it is waxing furious with the foe, come to be killed! May he that had approved of the exile of the noble one into the woods, clad in tatters with a skull in hand, like a madman range the earth abegging! May he that had approved the exile of the noble one into the woods, be always addicted to wine, to women, and to dice; and may he be swayed by lust, anger, etc! May he that had approved of the exile of that noble one into the woods, never relish virtue, and go after unrighteousness; and may he shower his wealth on the unworthy! May he that had approved the exile of the noble one into the woods, have his various accumulated riches by thousands carried off by robbers! May he that had approved of the exile into the woods of that noble one, come by the demerit that is his who sleepeth during both the twilights! May he reap the sin that is reaped by an incendiary or him that lieth with his preceptor's wife; or him that wrongs his friend! May he that had approved the exile of that noble one into the woods, never serve the gods or the manes of the ancestors or his father and mother! May he that had approved the exile of that noble one into the woods, be speedily shot out from the world of the good, from their fame, and from their acts! May he that had approved the exile of that long armed and broad breasted one, renouncing the ministration of his mother, turn his thoughts to evil! May he that had approved the exile of the noble one, becoming impoverished yet having to support a large family, and suffering from fever, be always miserable! May he that had approved the exile of that noble one render fruitless the hopes of poor people cherishing them and looking up (wistfully)! May he that had approved the exile into the woods of the noble one remaining (always) wicked, cruel and impure, leading an unrighteous life and being in (continual) fear of his sovereign, maintain himself by deceit for ever and a day! May that wicked person that had approved the exile into the woods of the noble one disregard his chaste wife remaining near, after she has performed her ablutions at the end of her season. May his that had approved the banishment into the woods of that noble one be the sin that is incurred by a Brahmana that has rendered himself sonless. May that one of befouled senses that had approved of the exile into the woods of that noble one disturb the worship of Brahmana and milch a cow that has a calf. May that foolish person that had approved the exile of that noble one forsaking all pleasure in virtue, seek others wives, renouncing his own wedded with sacred rites! May he that had approved the exile into the woods of that noble one come by the sin that attaches to a wine biber or one that administers poison to another! May he that had approved of the exile into the woods of the noble one bear the sin that is his that serves a thirsty soul with deceit. May he that had approved the exile into the woods of that noble one reap the demerit of them that from devotion to their respective faiths wrangle from their own points of view, as well as that of them that listen to the disputation!" Having thus consoled Kaucalya bereft of her son and husband, the prince afflicted with distress fell down. Then Kaucalya addressed the aggrieved Bharata (well nigh) deprived of his senses, swearing strong oaths, saying "O son, it grieves me more that thou art afflicting my heart by taking oaths. Lucky it is that graced with auspicious marks, thou swervest not from virtue. My child, for this reason thou wilt attain the regions of pious persons. Saying this, Kaucalya overpowered with emotion, drawing into her lap Bharata attached to his brother, and embracing the mighty armed one, gave way to grief. And bewailing thus, the mind of the high souled (Bharata) wrought with sorrow, was overcome with the burden of grief. And fallen on the ground, lamenting, senseless, with his intellect overpowered, and momentarily heaving sighs, Bharata passed away night in grief.

SECTION 76.

As Bharata, the son of Kaikeyi was thus burning in grief, that foremost of those skilled in speech, the saint Vasishtha, endowed with excellence of language, said, "Do not weep, good betide thee, O illustrious prince. Do thou perform the funereal rites of the departed king." Hearing Vasishtha's words, Bharata cognisant of duty, bowed down to the ground and despatched the ministers for performing the last rites. And raising from under the oil the body of the king with a sallow countenance, and appearing to be asleep, Bharata placed it on the ground upon a couch in front adorned with various gems. Then overwhelmed with grief, Dacaratha's son bewailed him thus, "O king, what was it that thou hadst intended to do, I absent and away from home, by banishing righteous Rama and the powerful Lakshmana? Whither wendest thou, O mighty monarch, forsaking these aggrieved people, who have already been deprived of the lion like Rama energetic in action? O father, thou having ascended heaven and Rama having taken refuge in the woods, who now in this city of thine shall protect what the people possess and secure unto them what they have not? Widowed in consequence of losing thee, this earth does not look graceful. The city appeareth unto me like the night deprived of the Moon." As Bharata was lamenting thus in dejected mood, the mighty ascetic Vasishtha again addressed him, saying, "O mighty armed one, do thou without indulging in any reflections, perform those funeral ceremonies of the monarch which ought to be performed." Thereupon honouring his words by saying, "So be it," he urged speed upon all the Ritwigas, priests, and Acharyas. And then those that had brought the king's corpse outside from the fire chamber, instructed by the Ritwigas and priests according to the ordinance began to offer oblations into the fire. Next placing the king deprived of life on a car, the servants with their throats oppressed with vapour and with their minds weighed down with dejection carried him. And scattering gold and silver and various kinds of cloth, on the way, people went in front of the king. Others procuring sandal, aguru and other resinous incenses, sarala, padmaka and devaduru, cast it (on the earth). And drawing near the king there, Ritwigas laid various other fragrant substances on the funeral pile. Then offering oblations into the fire, the Ritwigas began to recite japa; and as laid down in the scriptures, Sama singers chanted Samas. And by means of litters and other conveyances, each mounted according to her rank, the wives of the king went out from the city, surrounded by aged men. And Ritwijas went round the corpse of the king who performed many sacrifices leaving it on the left side. And kindling with grief, the females also headed by Kaucalya, (circumambulated the pyre). And then there was heard the wail of women distressed with grief weeping piteously by thousands like unto Kraunchis. Weeping again and again with their sense lost, the wives of the king alighted from the car on the banks of the Sarayu. Having performed the watery rites, the wives of the monarch as well as the counsellors and priests, in company with Bharata entering the city with tears in their eyes, spent ten days* in mourning lying down on the ground. [* The Smriti lays down twelve days of mourning for kings, and sixteen for Ksbatriyas. Parasara, however, fixes ten days for Kshatriyas in general.]

SECTION 77.

When the ten days had gone by, the king's son, his uncleanness (consequent on the demise of his father) removed, performed the sraddha on the twelfth day. On the occasion of the ceremonies for the welfare of the departed spirit, the son of the king conferred on Brahmanas wealth and gems, and rice in abudance, and herds of goats, and silver in profusion, and countless kine, and maid-servants and man-servants, and vehicles and spacious mansions. And on the thirteenth day, the long armed Bharata, overwhelmed with grief, burst into lamentation. And coming to the foot of the funeral pyre for gathering the bones of the departed, he overcome with grief, with his throat obstructed with the sounds of lamentation, said, "my father, on brother Rama, to whom I had been consigned by thee, having gone to the forest, I have been cast by thee into vacancy. My father, forsaking forlorn mother Kaucalya, whose stay her son, had gone to the forest, where hast thou gone, O king?" And seeing the spot where lay the bones of his father mixed with ashes and embers, Bharata looking at the place where occurred the dissolution of his father's frame, carried away by emotion, indulged in sorrow. And seeing this, he exceedingly distressed, crying fell down to the ground. And raised up (by others) he looked like an uplifted banner of Sakrabound to an engine. And his counsellors rushed towards that one of pure vows, like the saints making towards Jayati as he was falling on the extinction of his merit. Seeing Bharata plunged in grief, Satrughna remembering the king, fell down to the ground deprived of consciousness. And devoid of sense and like a madman, he in grief of heart began to lament remembering all the virtues of his father again and again. "This terrible sea of grief owing its origin to Manthara, containing its ferocious aquatic animal in the shape of Kaikeyi, and incapable of being disturbed in consequence of the bestowal of the boon drowns (us). O father, where hast thou gone, leaving the tender and youthful Bharata fondled by thee, to lament (thy loss). Thou didst use to confer on us eatables and drinkables and attires and ornaments. Who will now do so? Deprived of thee, the high souled king cognisant of duty, the earth albeit her time of riving is come, is not yet riven. My father having gone to heaven and Rama having sought the woods, how can I live? I will enter fire. Bereft of my brother and sire, I will not enter the empty Ayodhya governed by the Ikshwakus. I will repair to the forest of asceticism." Hearing his lamentations and seeing that disaster, all the followers became all the more distressed. Then depressed and exhausted, both Satrughna and Bharata rolled on the earth like two bulls with their horns fractured. Then the all-knowing priest of their father possessed of sterling worth, Vasishtha, raising Bharata, said unto him, "O Lord this is the thirteenth day since the cremation of thy sire. Why dost thou delay, when thou hast to collect the bones? Three couples169 pertain in especial to all creatures and these being inevitable, thou ought not to bear yourself thus. And Sumantra also versed in the nature of things, raising up Satrughna and pacifying him, discoursed the birth and death of all beings. Being raised up, those renowned chiefs of men looked like Indra's banner stained by shine and shower. And as the princes stood there shedding tears, with reddened eyes, and speaking sadly, the courtiers urged them on in behalf of the rites that remained.

SECTION 78.

Then Satrughna, the younger brother of Lakshmana spoke unto Bharata burning in grief as he was revolving in his mind the (intended) journey (to Rama), "Need it be said that Rama is the refuge both of himself and all creatures in trouble? That Rama possessed of strength hath been exiled into the woods by a woman! And powerful and having prowess, why did not Lakshmana deliver Rama by checking our father? The king bent upon following an unrighteous course through the influence of a woman, should, the justice or otherwise of the measure being fully weighed, at the very outset have been checked." As Lakshmana's younger brother Satrughna was speaking thus, appeared there at the door in front the hump-backed one adorned with every kind of ornament, with her body besmeared with sandal paste, wearing regal apparel, and variously decked out with a variety of ornaments. And adorned with elegant cones, and divers other superb ornaments, she looked like a female monkey tethered with a rope. At that time seeing that one of horrible misdeeds, (Bharata) who stood near the door, seizing the hump backed one ruthlessly, took her unto Satrughna, and said, "That one through whom Rama has gone to the wood and our father has renounced his body this is that wicked and remorseless one. Do thou deal with her as thou likest." At Bharata's command Satrughna observing vows waxing exceedingly aggrieved, addressed all the inmates of the inner apartment, saying, "This one has occasioned intense misery unto my father and brothers. Let her now take the fruit of her fell deed." Having said this, he furiously fell upon the hump backed one surrounded by her maids. Thereupon she with her cries made the chamber resound. Concluding Satrughna fired with rage, her associates extremely pained, fled away in all directions. Then her companions in a body took counsel of each other, saying, "considering the way in which he has entered upon it, he will annihilate us quite. Let us therefore seek the protection of the tender hearted generous, pious and illustrious Kaucalya. Even she is our sure refuge. Overpowered with rage, that chastiser of foes, Satrughna, dragged the shrieking hump-backed one to the ground. As Manthara was pushed this way and that, her various ornaments were scattered over the floor. Aad strewn with those ornaments, the graceful chamber of the palace looked

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like the autumnal firmament. And that foremost of men possessed of strength holding her, began to reprove Kaikeyi with harsh speech. Extremely hurt by those rough words, Kaikeyi terrified on account of Satrughna, took refuge with her son. Thereupon casting his eyes on Satrughna, Bharata said, "A woman is incapable of being slain by any. Do thou therefore excuse her. I myself would have slain this wicked Kaikeyi of impious deeds, if the righteous Rama should not be displeased with me on account of my slaying my mother. And if Raghava knows that the hump-backed one hath been slain, he surely will speak neither with thee nor me." Hearing Bharata's words, Satrughna, younger brother unto Lakshmana, refrained from that wrong and set free the hump-backed woman in a swoon. Thereat, sighing hard in exceeding grief, Manthara flung herself at Kaikeyi's feet, weeping piteously. Seeing the hump-backed one deprived of her senses in consequence of the pushing she had received at the hands of Satrughna, Bhjarata's mother consoled that distressed woman, who appeared like a Kraunchi that had been entrapped.

SECTION 79.

Then on the morning of the fourteenth day, the ministers of the king assembled addressed Bharata in the following words, "Having exiled his eldest son and the exceedingly strong Lakshmana, Dacaratha who was the superior of our superiors hath gone to heaven. Do thou, therefore, O illustrious prince, become our king. Having been permitted by the king, thou wilt commit no fault (by doing so), as this kingdom is without a master. O Raghava, having procured all these necessaries for the installation, the counsellors and others as well as the citizens wait, O king's son. Do thou, O Bharata, take charge of this secure kingdom bequeathed by thy father and grandfather. Do thou, O foremost of men, have thyself sprinkled, and rule over us." Thereupon, having gone round all the things procured for the sprinkling Bharata firm in his vows addressed those persons, saying, "In our line it is ever fit for the first-born alone to perform the task of government. It doth not behove ye who are wise to say so unto me. Certainly Rama our eldest brother shall become the king; and I will abide in the forest for five and nine years. Do ye array the grand and mighty army consisting of fourfold forces. I will bring back from the forest my eldest brother Raghava. And taking all these necessaries for the investiture in front, I will go in the direction of the forest for Rama. And sprinkling that chief of men on the spot, I will placing him in our front, bring Rama back, like unto fire brought in from the sacrifice. I will never fulfil the desire of this lady proud of her son. I will inhabit the impracticable woods, and Rama shall become the monarch. Let workmen lay out level roads in uneven tracts; and let those men that are adepts in threading places difficult to pass through, follow us." When the prince had spoken thus in behalf of Rama, all those persons answered him in these excellent words, "For saying this, may Lakshmi seated on the lotus remain at thy side; inasmuch as thou wishest to confer the earth on the eldest son of the monarch!" Hearing that graceful speech of the king's son, tear-drops, begot of delight began to trickle from their eyes and adorned those noble countenances. And their grief removed, with cheerful hearts, the counsellors, courtiers, and others hearing that speech (of the prince), said, "O best of men, according to thy order, artizans as well as people cherishing a high regard for thee have been directed to lay out a road."

SECTION 80.

Then set out in advance persons having a knowledge of the humidity or otherwise of the soil, men skilled in making tents, brave delvers engaged in their proper work; those capable of constructing canals and water courses, people on pay, car-makers, men preparing machines, carpenters, those intended to guard the ways, pioneers, cooks, perfumers, makers of wicker-ware and able guides. And as the mighty throng began to proceed, it resembled the swell of the sea on the occasion of a parva. And numbers of men skilled in road-constructing went before furnished with various implements. And hewing away boughs, and plants and shrubs and woody projections, stones, and diverse trees, they went on preparing a road. And they set up trees where there were none, and at places they felled trees by means of axes, tankas, and daos, others possessed of greater strength and more powerful, with their hands uprooted masses of Virana and here and there leveled a rising ground. And others filled up with dust wells and capacious hollows, and speedily leveled deep places air around. And those men threw bridges wherever they became necessary, and broke the earth wherever such a process was required, and excavated whenever it was necessary. In a short time, they made places poor of water overflow with many and various expanses resembling the ocean. And in tracts void of water, they digged divers receptacles of water, decorated with daises. And the way of the army, furnished with pavements of bricks and clay, with trees bearing blosoms, eloquent with the tunes of birds, decorated with pennons, sprinkled with sandal showers, and garnished with flowers of various kinds, looked exceedingly beautiful, like unto the way of the celestials. Then having received the command of Bharata, the men that were in charge of the tents, ordered (the workmen) to pitch the tents, and when they had been pitched at a romantic spot filled with tasteful fruits, in consonance with the injunction of the high-souled Bharata, the men decorated splendidly the tents which themselves were like the ornaments of the road. And under an auspicious statf and at a favourable hour, men well up in the work set the encampment of the high-souled Bharata. And the tenfs surrounded by an entrenchment paved with dust, containing images made of sapphires, graced with goodly thoroughfares, lined with edifices, encircled by towers and walls, decorated with streamers, having well-made high-ways, and appearing like celestial daises and containing stately mansions with dove-cotes, resembled the metropolis of Sakra himself. And passing by the Jahnavi abounding in various trees and woods, of cool and crystal waters, and filled with mighty fishes, that way of the chief of men constructed by artizans, looked more and more lovely as it proceeded, as the unclouded sky looks beautiful at night, adorned with inumerable stars.

SECTION 81.

Then seeing that the night in which had been performed the auspicious preliminary ceremonies, was about to be spent, eulogists and genealogists hymned Bharata with consecrated hymns. And then sounded the kettle-drum, beaten by a golden stick, announcing the departure of the night; and people sounded conchs and other instruments by hundreds furnished with soft and loud sounds. And as if fillihg the heavens, those powerful blasts of the trumpet repeatedly rendered Bharata burning in grief the more aggrieved. Then awaking and silencing those sounds with saying—"I am not the king," he said unto Satrughna, "Behold, O Satrughna, in what a mighty wrong the people are engaged, on account of Kaikeyi. The king Dacaratha has gone away throwing down on me (the burden of) this misery. The royal grace founded in righteousness of that magnanimous and virtuous monarch is wandering even like a boat on water having no helmsman. And he who is our mighty master hath been banished into the woods by this mother of mine! who had (in doing so) renounced virtue." Seeing Bharata lamenting thus senseless, the ladies afflicted with sorrow began to wail in winsome accents. As Bharata Was mourning thus, the highly famous and virtuous Vasishtha accompanied by his disciples entered the court of the Ikshwaku king: built of entire gold, charming, dazzling with gems and gold: like unto Sudharma itself. Sitting down on a golden seat furnished with an elegant cover, that one versed in all the Vedas commanded the envoys, saying,—"Do ye speedily with collected minds bring hither Brahmanas and Kshatriyas and warriors and counsellors and generals of forces and Satrughna with the other princes, and the famous Bharata and Yudhajit [One of the counsellors. A councellor of war, according to the name: Yud can mean war but also refer to Yudah, Jewish people who were excellent warriors in Antiquity.] and Sumantra and others that are engaged in our welfare." Then there arose a mighty hubbub occasioned by people coming up in cars, horses and elephants. And when Bharata arrived, the subjects rejoiced as they used to rejoice on Dacaratha's arrival; and as rejoiced the immortals on the arrival of him of an hundred sacrifices. And then the court resembling a moveless ocean containing whales and serpents [The original word is Naga which may also mean hypopotamus.], and gems and conchs and gold-mines, being graced with the presence of Dacaratha's son, looked splendid as it formerly did with that of Dacaratha himself.

SECTION 82.

And then the intelligent Bharata surveyed that assembly filled with noble, and worthy personages, resembling the night of the full moon. And that august assembly was ablaze with the brilliant hues proceeding from the attires of the honourable persons seated according to rank. And that splendid assembly filled with learned people looked like the night of the full moon after the clouds have dispersed. And seeing all the subjects of the sovereign gathered together the priest cognisant of virtue soflty spoke unto Bharata, "My child, leaving unto thee this prosperous earth abounding in corn and wealth, king Dacaratha having performed his duties, hath gone to heaven. And Rama of truthful character observing the virtue of the righteous hath not set aside his father's commands, even as the risen moon doth not renounce the moonlight. Loved by the courtiers, do thou, having been installed, enjoy this kingdom conferred on thee by thy father and mother, rid of its thorn. Let princes throned as well as those without thrones, from east, and west, north and south, and also persons ranging the sea, procure countless gems for presenting them unto thee." Hearing this speech, Bharata cognisant of virtue, filled with sorrow, mentally repaired to Rama desirous of reaping merit. Then in words choked with the melodious voice of a swan, lamented and taxed the priest, in the midst of the assembly, "Who like myself ever deprives one that hath led a Brahmacharyya mode of life, that is endowed with understanding and performed his bath after having acquired learning, and that is always intent on righteousness, of one's kingdom? How begot of Dacaratha, shall I deprive Rama of his kingdom. It behoveth thee to speak righteousness before this assembly. First-born, and foremost in merit, righteous-souled, and comparable unto Dilipa and Nahusha, Kakutstha deserves the kingdom, just as Dacaratha did. If I commit myself to this sin dishonourable and calculated to bring me to perdition, I shall in this world bring disgrace on the race of the Ikshwakus. I do not at all relish the sin that has been committed by my mother. Remaining here with joined hands I bow down unto Rama gone to the forest fastness. I will follow Rama. That best of men is the king. Raghava deserves the dominion of the three worlds themselves." Hearing those words informed with righteousness, the entire assembly with their minds intent upon Rama, from joy shed tears. "If I fail to bring back the noble one from the forest, I will like the exalted Lakshmana remain even in that forest, I will in presence of this mixed assembly of pious and honourable persons following every perfection, adopt every expedient to bring back Rama. I have already despatched beforehand persons serving for love as well as those for money, and layers of roads and their keepers; and I intend setting out now." Having said this, the virtuous Bharata attached unto his brother spoke to Sumantra skilled in counsel, who was by, saying, "Up, and go, O Sumantra, at my command. Do thou make known this journey and bring the forces." Thus accosted by the magnanimous Bharata, Sumantra with a cheerful heart issued orders concerning everything desirable as he was ordered. Hearing that the army had been ordered to march forth for bringing back Rama, the subjects as well as the generals of the forces became exceedingly delighted. Hearing of the journey to Rama, for bringing him back the wives of the soldiers apprised of the order that had been issued to the latter, being exceedingly delighted, hurried on. And the generals expeditiously despatched their forces with warriors by means of horses and carts and cars fleet as the mind. Seeing those forces marshalled, Bharata staying near his preceptor, said unto Sumantra who was at his side, "Do thou speedily bring my car." In obedience to the mandate of Bharata, Sumantra exceedingly rejoiced, appeared with the car yoked with superb steeds. Then that powerful descendant of Raghu of truthful character, and having unswerving truth for his prowess, Bharata, having said what was fit, spoke words calculated to gladden his illustrious superior gone to the mighty forest, "0 Sumantra, arise thou speedily and, thy desire fully attained, go by my command, and tell the chiefs of the army, and our principal adherents to array the forces." Thereat rising, Rayanyas and Vaicyas, and Vrishalas; and Vipras in every house began to yoke camels and cars and mules and elephants and excellent steeds.

SECTION 83.

Rising with the morrow, Bharata anxious to behold Rama, speedily set out ascending an excellent car. Before him went the councellors and priests, ascending cars resembling that of the Sun yoked with steeds. And a thousand elephants duly consecrated went in the wake of that son of the Ikshwaku line as he was proceeding. And six thousand cars with bow-men furnished with various weapons followed the illustrious prince Bharata as he was proceeding. And a hundred thousand horses mounted (by riders) went in the wake of that descendant of Raghu intent upon truth and having his senses under control. And Kaikeyi and Sumitra and the highly famous Kaucalya rejoicing at the prospect of the bringing of Rama, went in an effulgent car. And the honourable persons (belonging to all the three orders) went with the object of beholding Rama in company with Lakshmana. And they with glad hearts variously conversed with each other, "When shall we see the mighty armed Rama sable like unto a cloud, of steady strength, firm in vows, the remover of the world's grief? As soon as we shall see him, Raghava will remove our sorrow; even as the Sun arising dispells the darkness of the entire world." Thus cheerfully carrying on an auspicious talk, the citizens embracing each other went a!ong. And all others, and the foremost merchants as well as all the principal classes, joyfully went in quest of Rama. And a number of gem-cutters, and goodly potters, weavers, and armourers, and peacock-dancers, sawers, and perforators of gems, glass-makers, and workers in ivory, cooks, incense-sellers, well-known goldsmiths, and wool-manufacturers, bathers in tepid water, shampooers, physicians, makers of Dhupas, and wine-sellers, washermen, and tailors, and actors in numbers with females, and Kaivartas, and persons versed in Vedas having their minds in control, and Brahmanas of reputed character, and persons well dressed and attired in pure habits, with their bodies daubed with coppery unguents, by thousands followed Bharata on carts. All these gradually followed Bharata by means of excellent vehicles. And the army delighted and in high spirits went in the wake of Kaikeyi's son attached unto his brother, going to bring back his brother. Going far by means of cars, vehicles, elephants, and horses, they arrived at the Ganga near Sringaverapura, where was peacefully staying that friend of Rama, the heroic Guha, surrounded by his relatives, ruling the realm. Having come to the banks of the Ganga graced with Chakravakas, the army which was

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following Bharata halted. Seeing the army inactive as well as the Ganga, of sacred waters, Bharata versed in speech spoke unto the courtiers, "Do you communicating unto all our intentions, encamp the army. Having been fatigued, we shall cross the ocean-going Ganga, on the morrow. Having crossed the stream, I am anxious to offer its water unto the monarch, who has gone to heaven, in behalf of his spiritual body." When he had said this, the courtiers with collected minds saying, "Be it so," disposed their forces, each according to his wish. Having on the mighty stream, Ganga, quartered his forces furnished with all appliances for the journey, Bharata remained there, revolving the means of making the high-souled Rama turn back.

SECTION 84.

Seeing the forces with banners flying quartered on the banks of the river Ganga, and engaged in various occupations, the lord of the Nishadas, Guha, said unto his relatives ranged around, "This mighty host here appeareth like an ocean. I do not find its end even by thinking of it in my mind. Surely the foolish Bharata hath come hither himself: on his car appears the huge Kovidara, banner. Belike, he will either bind us by nooses or slay us and next Dacaratha's son Rama banished from the kingdom by his sire. Desirous of taking complete possession of the rare regal fortune of that sovereign (Rama), Kaikeyi's son, Bharata, comes to destroy him. Rama the son of Dacaratha is both my maintainer and friend. Do ye in his interests, donning on your mail, wait on the banks of the river. And stationed on the river Ganga, let my powerful retainers subsisting on fruits and roots and meat, be prepared for opposing Bharata's passage over the river. And let hundreds upon hundreds of Kaivarta youths accoutred in mail remain in each of five hundred barks."—Guha issued this order. "But if Bharata be well disposed towards Rama, this host shall today safely cross the Ganga." Having said this, the lord of the Nishadas, Guha, taking a present of flesh, fish and honey, went out for interviewing Bharata. Seeing Guha approaching, the powerful son of the charioteer knowing season, humbly informed Bharata of it, saying, "This lord (that approaches) surrounded by his relatives, is very potent in Dandaka and is an old friend of your brother. Therefore let Guha, the lord of the Nishidas, see you, O Kakutstha. He indubitably knows where Rama and Lakshmana are." Hearing these wise words of Sumantra, Bharata at once said,—"Let Guha see me." Receiving permission, Guha, right glad, appeared before Bharata, bending low, and said, "This place is thy home. But thou hast stolen a march over us. We dedicate all this unto thee. Do thou reside in the abode of thy servant. Here are fruits and roots gathered by the Nishadas and meat dry and moist and various other produces of the forest. I pray that entertained in various ways and heartily partaking of meats and drinks, this army may spend the night here. Tomorrow morning, thou wilt go along with thy forces."

SECTION 85.

Thus addressed, the exceedingly wise Bharata answered the lord of the Nishadas, in words fraught with sense and reason, "Thy great desire, O friend of my superior, is surely as good as attained; since thou of mighty energy hast set thy heart on entertaining my army." Having said these fair words unto Guha, the graceful and highly energetic Bharata again addressed the lord of Nishadas, "By what way shall I go to Bharadwaja's hermitage? These lands watered by the Gangft are dense and hard to track." Hearing these words of the intelligent son of the king, Guha well acquainted with the forest, said with joined hands, "My servant well acquainted with the place shall attentively follow thee; and, O prince possessed of mighty strength, I myself will also walk in thy wake. But dost thou go after Rama of energetic acts with some evil intention? This vast force of thine raiseth my apprehension." When Guha had asked this, Bharata with a presence unclouded like the sky, spoke unto Guha these sweet words, "May a time never come when I shall do wrong onto Raghava! It behoveth thee not to fear me. Raghava is my eldest brother dear unto me even as my sire himself. I go to make Kakutstha dwelling in the woods, turn back. Other intention cherish I none. O Guha, this I tell thee truly." Having heard Bharata's speech, Guha with a countenance lighted up with delight, again cheerfully addressed Bharata, saying, "Blessed art thou! Thy like find I none on earth, inasmuch as thou wishest to resign a kingdom that comes to thee without search. Thy eternal fame will certainly range this world, since thou wishest to bring back Rama passing through misfortune." As Guha was speaking thus unto Bharata, the Sun became shorn of his splendour and night fell. Thereupon, having disposed his troops, the auspicious Bharata gratified by Guha, went to bed along with Satrughna. Then arose thoughts of Rama in the mind of the magnanimous Bharata ever having his gaze fixed on virtue and undeserving (of hardship). Then even as a tree already heated by a forest-fire burns with a fire hidden in its cavity, that descendant of Raghu began to burn with the fire of grief inflamed in his heart. And perspiration produced by the fire of sorrow issued out of all his limbs, as the Himavat heated by the solar warmth generates water. And Kaikeyi's son was overpowered and drowned by the mountain of grief, having thoughts (of Rama) for its entire crags, sighs for its mineral substance, disgust with the avocations of life, for its trees, mental feebleness through grief for its summits, stupor for the animals inhabiting it, and burning for its annual shrubs and bamboos. And sighing heavily with a heart oppressed with sorrow, well nigh deprived of consciousness, and involved in high peril, that best of men, oppressed by the fever of his heart, like unto a mighty leader of a herd, separated from it, did not attain peace of mind. Meeting with Guha, the magnanimous Bharata accompanied by his people, engrossed with the thoughts of Rama, became oppressed with grief. (Seeing this), Guha by and by encouraged Bharata concerning his elder brother.

SECTION 86.

Guha, acquainted with the forest, described unto Bharata of immeasurable prowess the regard the high-souled Lakshmana bore unto Rama. "To Lakshmana crowned with every virtue, waking up, holding the bow with the arrow fixed on it for the purpose of guarding well his brother, I said, 'This easeful bed has been prepared for thee, my child. O son of Raghu's descendant, cheer up! Do thou lie down at ease. All these people can bear hardship; but thou art meant for comfort. For protecting him religiously, we shall wake. To me also there is none that is dearer on earth than Rama. Do not be anxious. This I tell thee truly, through his grace I expect high fame among men, and immense religious merit, and interest and desire in entirety. Bow in hand I shall along with my kin protect Rama lying down with Sita. To me always ranging in this forest, nothing whatever is unknown. I can even cope in battle with an army of four- fold forces.' Thus accosted by us, the magnanimous Lakshmana with his gaze ever fixed on virtue, humbly observed, 'How, Dacaratha's son sleeping on the earth with Sita, can I attain sleep, or life, or happiness? How see him who is capable of bearing in battle the onslaught of the gods and the Asuras combined, sleeping in a cave on grass? It is by virtue of mighty austerities and uncommon exertions that Dacaratha has obtained this son of his crowned with every auspicious sign. He being banished, the king shall not live long; and the Earth shall certainly be widowed soon. Having bewailed aloud, by this time have the women got exhausted; and surely the king's mansion is to-day still. I do not expect that either Kaucalya or the king or my mother is alive. If they live, it can be for this night only. Even if my mother live seeing Satrughna, that mother of a hero, the afflicted Kaucalya, will (surely) resign her existence. Saying—All is lost,—All is lost,—with his desire unattained, my father having failed to install Rama in the kingdom, will resign his existence. Blessed are they that when the time shall come for the same, shall perform the funeral ceremonies of the king my deceased sire. Then shall they with happy hearts range the metropolis of my father, furnished with fair-looking terraces, with the highways laid out orderly, crowned with lordly edifices, adorned with various gems, crowded by cars and elephants and horses, resounding with the notes of trumpets, abounding in auspicious things, filled with fat and contented people, having gardens and pleasure-houses, and possessed of divers classes of men indulging festal mirth. Shall we, on the occasion of Rama's return, with glad hearts peacefully enter the city in company with that one firm in his promise? As the magnanimous son of the king was thus lamenting, the night passed away. In the morning, with an unclouded sun, both, having made matted locks on the banks of the Bhagirathi, crossed the river along with me. Wearing matted locks and clad in barks of trees, those persons possessed of mighty strength, like unto leaders of elephant-herds, equipped with excellent arrows and quivers and bows—those repressors of foes, expecting (their return from exile), departed with Sita."

SECTION 87.

Hearing the words of Guha, exceedingly unpleasant, Bharata as soon as he heard them, became plunged in thought. And then taking heart for a while, that tender-framed one possessed of immense strength, gifted with leonine shoulders and length of arms, having expansive eyes resembling white lotuses, young in years, and endowed with a handsome presence, affected with great grief, was overpowered, like an elephant wounded in the heart with a goad. Seeing Bharata deprived of his senses with his countenance covered with pallor, Guha became exceedingly agitated, like a tree during an earthquake. Seeing Bharata in that condition, Satrughna who was near, taking the former on his lap, began to cry, almost deprived of his senses and oppressed with grief. Thereat, all the mothers of Bharata, fasting, undergoing distress, and afflicted with the calamity that had befallen their lord, came forward, and surrounding Bharata, began to lament him fallen on the ground. And the distressed Kausalya drawing nigh embraced him like a cow approaching her calf; and weeping from excess of grief, spoke unto Bharata, saying, "My son, doth any malady afflict thy body? Now the life of this royal race is, without doubt, in thy hands. Rama having gone away along with his brother, I shall, O son, live, seeing thee. King Dacaratha having departed this life, thou alone art our lord. Hast thou, my son, heard anything unpleasant concerning Lakshmana; or the son of that one having an only son [Meaning herself.], who has gone to the forest along with his wife?" Having taken comfort for a while, that one of high fame weeping, and solacing Kaucalya, spoke unto Guha, saying, "Where did my brother pass the night? And where did Sita? And where did, again, Lakshmana? And in what bed did he sleep, and what did he previously partake of? Do thou, O Guha, tell me this." Thereat, well pleased, Guha, the lord of Nishadas, related unto Bharata how he had acted in respect of Rama, his dear guest, studious of his welfare. "I procured for Rama's use rice and fruits and roots and various kinds of food. All these Rama having truth for his prowess accepted, but observing Kshatriya morality, he did not take them. 'O friend, we ought not to take anything: ours is always to give.' Thus did that magnanimous one beseech us. On the high-souled Lakshmana bringing water, Righava having drunk it, fasted along with Sita. Then Lakshmana drank up the water that remained. Then the three with fixed minds silently performed their adorations unto the Twilight. After that, Sumitra's son prepared a goodly bed for Raghava, himself bringing Kuca grass. And in that bed lay down Rama in company with Sita. Next washing their feet, Lakshmana turned away. This is the foot of the Ingudi, and this that grass. On it both Rama and Sita lay down that night Fastening on his back a pair of quivers filled with arrows, furnished with finger-fences, and taking his mighty bow, Lakshmana all night kept watch around. I also taking an excellent bow, remained where remained Lakshmana and surrounded by my kindred who stayed there vigilantly, equipped with bows, guarded him that resembled the mighty Indra."

SECTION 88.

Having heard everything, Bharata in company with the counsellors went to the foot of the Ingudi tree and saw the bed of Rama. And he said unto his mothers, "That high- souled one lay down here on the ground during the night and his limbs pressed this spot. Begot of that foremost of monarchs, the exalted and intelligent Dacaratha, Rama does not deserve to sleep on the earth. How can that chief of men having reposed in beds furnished with pillows made of deer-skins and having superb cloths, have lain down on the earth? Always reposing in mansions and in upper apartments paved with silver and gold and supplied with excellent bed-cloths, decked with heaps of flowers, perfumed with sandal and aguru, hued like unto pale clouds, resonant with the notes of many parrots,—in palaces going before the choicest of their class, ringing with music, and perfumed— like unto Meru itself, with their bases composed of gold, Rama used to be awakened with vocal and instrumental music, the tinklings of elegant ornaments and the peals of goodly mridangas—that subduer of foes being in due season hymned by the eulogists, and friends, bards and genealogists, with worthy ballads and penegerycs. (This assertion of Rama's lying down on the ground) appears to me incredible: it doth by no means look unto me like truth. Forsooth, I am amazed. I take it, this is a vision. Verily, no destiny is superior to Time, since Dacaratha's son, Rama himself, had to repose on the earth,—and the beauteous beloved daughter of Videha's king, and the daughter-in-law of Dacaratha, had to lie down on the ground. This was the bed of my brother; on this hard spot did he turn his lovely limbs, and this grass was pressed by them. I think that the graceful Sita adorned with ornaments slept in this bed, for here and there are scattered particles of gold. It is clear that Sita had spread her sheet at this spot,—hence it is that fibres of silk are discoverable here. I deem that the bed of her lord appeareth agreeable unto a wife, since a girl tender and in affliction, the chaste daughter of Mithila experienced no inconvenience (in sleeping in one such). Ah, I am undone! Baleful am I, for it is on my account that Raghava along with his wife, lay down in such a bed, like one forlorn. Born in the imperial race, and capable of conferring happiness on all, the bringer-about of all good, why did Raghava of dark blue hue like that Of a lotus, graceful, and crowned with red eyes, the inheriter of happiness and undeserving of misery,—having left his dear consummate kingdom, lie down on the ground? Surely the mighty-armed Lakshmana graced with auspicious marks is blessed,—he who in the time of dire adversity followeth his brother Rama. And blessed is Videha's daughter who followeth her husband into the woods. Bereft of that magnanimous one, we have all been brought into jeopardy. The Earth without her helmsman seemeth me quite empty, on Dacaratha having ascended the celestial regions and Rama taken refuge in the wilderness. On Rama having set up his dwelling in the forest, one (like me) doth not even mentally covet this earth which had been protected by the immense prowess (of Raghava). With her walls undefended, her horses and elephants unrestrained, and her gates left open, the defenceless metropolis deprived of her power, placed in peril and without any protection, is surely not regarded by the enemies, like food mixed with poison. From this day forth I will lie down on the ground, or on the grass, daily subsisting

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on fruits and roots, and bearing matted locks and a cloth of bark. And for his sake I will in future live happily in the woods. (By my doing so), the promise of that high-minded one shall not be rendered null. Me residing in the forest in the interests of my brother, Satrughna shall bear company; while my noble one will rule Ayodhya assisted by Lakshmana. The twice-born ones will sprinkle Kakutstha in Ayodhya. May the deities realize this desire of mine! Propitiated by me personally in various ways with bent head, if he do not consent, then shall I ever stay with Raghava in the woods. Surely he cannot long persist in putting me off."

SECTION 89.

Having spent the night there on the banks of the Ganga, that descendant of Raghu rising early in the morning, said these words unto Satrughna, "O Satrughna, arise! Why sleepest thou? Bring thou at once that lord of the Nishadhas, Guha. Good betide thee! He will take the army (over the stream)." Thus urged by his brother, Satrughna said, "Thinking of that noble one (Rama), I have not slept, but have remained awake in a like manner." As those chiefs of men were thus conversing with each other, Guha appearing in time with joined hands, remarked, "O Kakutstha, hast thou spent the night happily on the banks of the river? And is it continuous good fortune with thee along with thy forces?" Hearing Guha's speech fraught with affection, Bharata ever obedient unto Rairia, spoke on his part, saying, "Happily have we spent the night; and we have also been well received by thee. Now let thy servants take us over by means of many boats." Thereat, bearing Bharata's mandate, Guha, bestirring himself, re-entered the city and addressed his kinsfolk, saying, "Arise ye! Awake! May good always attend you! Do ye draw up the boats; I shall ferry the forces over." Thus asked, they arising and bestirring themselves in consequence of the king's command, brought up five hundred boats around. Others also known by the name of Swastika, bearing large bells on their prows, and banners, well decked out, furnished with oars, and manned by bargemen, with their joints firmly constructed, (were brought up). And Guha himself brought a graceful barge called Swastika, covered with pale woolen cloth, and resounding with music. On this boat ascended Bharata, the mighty Satrughna, Kaucalya, Sumitra, and other wives of the king. The priests, and preceptors belonging unto the Brahmana order, had already ascended. After (Bharata and others had got up), ascended the wives of auxiliary princes, and cars and provisions were got on board. And the uproar consequent on the troops burning down dwellings, pressing down descents unto the river, and loading goods, spread on all sides. Then those boats hung with pennons, managed by the kinsfolk (of Guha), set off at speed with the teeming folks that had got on board. And some of these were filled with women, and some with horses, and some conveyed cars and cattle of great value. And going to the other bank and landing the crowds on the store, the friends and slaves (of Guha) while returning, displayed various movements (of the boats). And elephants graced with flags being spurred on by their riders, began to cross the stream, appearing like (so many) winged hills. Others ascended boats, and others crossed on rafts, others crossed by means of reversed pitchers, and others by their arms alone. Ferried over the Ganga by the servants (of Guha), that beautiful army graced with streamers, at the third muhurta arrived at the romantic woods of Prayaga. Having made the army take rest at its ease, and encamped it (at the woods of Prayaga), that magnanimous one, Bharata, for the purpose of seeing the asylum of the ascetic Bharadwaja, went thither, accompanied by Ritwijas and Sadasyas.

SECTION 90.

Having arrived at (the neighbourhood of) Bharadwaja, asylum, that foremost of men while it was a kroca (to the destination), left his forces behind and went thither, accompanied by his counsellors alone. And leaving his attire and arms, and clad in a silk cloth, that pious one placing the priest in front, went on foot. Then with the view of seeing Bharadwaja, that descendent of Raghu leaving behind the counsellors also, went in the wake of the priest. As soon as Bharadwaja of rigid austerities saw Vasishtha, he at once rose from his seat, saying unto his disciples "Arghya!" On being called upon by Vasishtha, that highly energetic one understood that it was Dacaratha's son. Having offered them (the guests) water to wash their feet and arghya, as well as fruits subsequently, that virtuous one (Bharadwaja) successively enquired after the welfare of their (respective) homes; and after that, of the forces, exchequer, friends and counsellors in Ayodhya. And knowing that Dacaratha had departed this life, he did not ask anything relating to the monarch. Then Vasishtha and Bharata questioned him as to his welfare in relation to the body, the (sacrificial) fire, the trees, the beasts and the birds (of the hermitage). To all this returning "So it is," the illustrious Bharadwaja from affection for Raghava said unto Bharata, "What is the use of thy visit here, seeing that thou art engaged in the task of governing the kingdom? Do thou relate all this unto me; my mind is ill at ease. That slayer of foes, and perpetuator of his race who hath been borne by Kaucalya, and who along with his wife and brother hath been banished to the woods for a long term— that illustrious one who enjoined by his sire in the interests of a woman, hath become an inhabitant of the woods for fourteen years— dost thou, desirous of securely enjoying the kingdom belonging to him as well to his younger brother, intend to do any harm unto that sinless one?" Thus accosted, Bharata replied unto Bharadwaja with tears filling his eyes and his words choked with grief, "Undone am I if the reverend one also deems me so. Do not apprehend any wrong from me; and do thou not reproach me thus. Whatever my mother has said in relation to me, does not express my wish. I am not satisfied with that, nor do I endorse her speech. I, intending to pacify him, am going to that chief of men, with the view of taking him unto Ayodhya and of paying homage unto his feet. Thinking me as already gone, thou shouldst show thy favour unto me. O reverened Sir, tell me where stayeth at present Rama, lord of the earth." Besought by Vasishtha and the other Ritwijas, the venerable Bharadwaja well pleased, spoke unto Bharata, "O foremost men, even this is worthy of thee. Serving superiors, restraint of the senses, and following the pious, are ever found in one sprung in the Raghava line. I know that even this is thy intention; but for the purpose of making thy mind all the firmer, I had asked thee in this wise; so that thy fame might greatly increase. I also know the righteous Rama with Sita and Lakshmana. This brother of thine at present stays at the mighty mountain Chitrakuta. On the morrow thou wilt set out for that reigon. Do thou to-day sojourn here along with thy counsellors. O wise one, do this at thy pleasure, O thou understanding interest and desire." Thereat the gentle-looking and highly famous one said, "Be it so;" and the king's son made up his mind to spend the night in the great hermitage (of the saint).

SECTION 91.

Then the ascetic asked Bharata, the son of Kaikeyi, when he had decided for staying there, to receive his hospitality. Thereat Bharata said, "Thou hast for certain done this,— (hast offered me) water for washing my feet, Arghya, and hospitality with what can be procured in the forest." Then Bharadwaja as if in jest, said unto Bharata, "I know thee to be of a complacent disposition; and that thou art pleased with anything and everything. But I wish to feast thy forces. And, O best of men, it behoves thee to act in harmony with my desire. Why didst thou coming hither, leave thy army at a distance? And, thou man of men, why didst thou not come accompanied with thy forces?" Bharata replied unto him, saying, " I had not come accompanied with my forces, from fear of thee, O reverend Sir. O worshipful one, kings and their sons should always carefully avoid the regions of ascetics. Choice steeds, men, and mad elephants of the best kind, covering a spacious tract of country, come in my train, respected Sir. That these might not injure trees or water or the grounds of the cottages partaining to the asylums, have I come hither alone." "Bring the forces here,"—thus desired by the mighty ascetic, Bharata accordingly caused the troops to be brought in.

Then entering the chamber of the sacrificial fire, (Bharadwaja) having sipped water and rubbed his lips therewith, invoked Vicwakarma for the purpose of entertaining his guest, "I invoke Vicwakarma; even Twastri himself. I wish to entertain guests. Let him accomplish this for me. I invoke the three guardians of the worlds—gods headed by Sakra. I wish to entertain guests. Let them accomplish this for me. Let those rivers that flow westwards, and those that move tortuously on the earth and in the sky, come hither in a body. And let others run Maireya, and others refined wine, and others again cool waters resembling the juice of the sugarcane. I invoke the celestials and the Gandharbas and Vicwavacu and Haha and Huhu and also the divine Apsaras and Gandharbis all; and Ghritachi, Vicwachi, Micrakeci and Alamvusha; and Nagadatta and Hema and Soma, residing in the mountain; and those ladies that attend Sakra, and those that attend Brahma. I invoke all these females well attired, in company with Tumvuru. And let that beautiful forest of Kuvera in the north Kuru, having its foliage resembling attires and ornaments, and its fruits debonair damsels, exist even at this very spot. And here let the worshipful Soma yield me excellent viands of diverse kinds in plenty; things that may be eaten or enjoyed, sucked or licked; and variegated blossoms growing in the trees, and wines and (other) drinks, and meats of various kinds." Thus, furnished with unrivalled ascetic energy, did that anchoret observing excellent vows, express himself orthoepically in consonance with Siksha. And as he sat with joined hands facing the west with a rapt mind, there came separately all those deities. And then touching Malaya and Dardura, and laden (with perfumes), a delicious and welcome wind began to blow delightfully, removing sweat. And the clouds poured down a pleasant shower of blossoms; and from all sides were heard sounds of celestial kettle-drums. And a rare breeze set in, and the multitudes of Apsaras danced; and the celestials and the Gandharbas sang, and the vinas let out their notes. And the dulcet sounds high and low furnished with Sama and measure, entered the Earth and the firmanent and the ears of all creatures. When that celestial symphony, delightful unto the ears of men, had thus developed itself, Bharata's forces saw the workmanship of Vicwakarma. That spot widening into a level plain measuring five Yoyanas was covered with thick grass resembling blue lapises. And on it stood Vilwas, and Kapithwas, Panasas, citrons, and Amalakas, and mangos, embellished with fruits. From the north Kuru had spread a wood capable of conferring every enjoyment; and a beautiful river coursed through bordered by many a tree. And there had arisen white edifices having four divisions; and stables for horses and elephants; and grand gateways belonging unto palaces and mansions; and royal residences with graceful gates, resembling white clouds, bearing white garlands and washed with fragrant waters, having four corners, and spacious, fitted up with beds, seats, and vehicles, having every kind of excellent sapid food, stocked with excellent edibles and apparels, having every variety of food, possessing washed and bright vessels, with every description of seats, graceful, and accommodated with choice beds with coverlets. Permitted by the Maharshi, Kaikeyi's son, Bharata, entered that mansion abounding in gems. And he was followed by the counsellors and the priests; and the latter beholding the arrangements of the palace, were filled with delight. And Bharata in company with the counsellors there went round the august royal seat, the chowri and the umbrella, worthy of a king. And having bowed down unto Rama, he worshipped that seat. And then holding the chowri of hair, he sat down on the seat of a minister. Then the counsellors and priests seated themselves according to rank. And thereafter the general and the protector of the encampment (got themselves seated). Then at Bharadwaja's command, came into being near Bharata streams having payaca for their slime. And at the pleasure of the Brahmana, on both their banks arose charming dwellings, covered with pale clay. And at that very moment there came twenty thousand women commissioned by Brahma, adorned with divine ornaments. And there came also twenty thousand females sent by Kuvera, decked out in gold and gems, pearls and corals. The sight of these was capable of filling men's minds with enchanting ravishment. And there came from Nandana twenty thousand damsels; and Nirada and Tumvuru and Gopa, resembling the sun in splendour. The Gandharba kings began to sing before Bharata. And Alamvusha, and Migrakesi, and Pundarika, and Vamana danced before Bharata, at the command of Bharadwaja. And those blossoms that are in the celestial regions, and that bloom in the forest of Chaitraratha, became visible in Prayaga at the energy of Bharadwaja. And Vilwas did the office of players on the Mridanga, and Vibhitakas, that of keepers of Soma, and Acwaththas became dancers, at the energy of Bharadwaja. And Saralas, Talas, Tilakas, and Tamalas, being delighted, became hump-backed ones and dwarfs. And Sinsapas, Amalakis, Jamvus and other plants of the forest, wearing the forms of females, stood at the mansion of Bharadwaja. "Let wine-drinkers drink wine, the hungry eat Payaca, and those that are inclined to it, feed on clean meat." And every seven or eight females taking a man, bathed him on the lovely banks of the rivers. And damsels furnished with expansive eyes, having wiped the persons (of the bathers), pressed their legs, and those magnificent women made them drink (wine). And the keepers duly fed excellent horses, elephants, camels and Suravi's sons (oxen), with their (proper) food. And some persons possessed of mighty strength, being directed thereto, fed the bearers of the foremost Ikshwaku warriors with sugercanes, honey, and fried paddy. And the groom forgot his horse, and the elephant-keeper his elephant: that army there became transported with wine and exhilaration. And sumptuously entertained with every enjoyment, with their bodies decked with red sandal, the soldiery in the company of bevies of Apsaras, exclaimed, "To Ayodhya will we not go, nor yet to Dandaka. Peace be unto Bharata, and may Rama reap happiness"! Thus did footmen and the riders and keepers of elephants and horses, as well as others, having experienced such a state, utter words. And men by thousands, exceedingly delighted, sent up shouts. And saying, "This is heaven" the retinue of Bharata—the soldiers—began to dance and laugh and sing; and bearing garlands, they on all sides rushed by thousands. And beholding the inviting viands resembling ambrosia, they, although already fed, became desirous of eating once again. And wearing new clothes, all the serrante, and maids, and females of the household, became exceedingly well pleased. And elephants, and asses, camels, kine and horses, and beasts and birds, being fed their fill, did not hunger after anything else. And there appeared no one who wore a soiled habit, or who was hungry, or melancholy, or whose hair was covered with dust. And the people with wonder beheld before them vessels of precious metals by thousands graced with chaplets of flowers, filled with essences of fruits and fragrant soups and curries and the flesh of goats and bears, and white rice. And there were on the skirts of the wood wells having Payaca for their slime; and the kine yeilded whatever was asked; and all the trees dropped honey. And the tanks were filled with Maireya as well as with clean hot meat of deer,

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peacocks, and cocks, dressed in pans. And there were rice-holders by thousands, and curry-pots by hundred thousands, and golden vessels by Arvudas. And there were pitchers and water-pots and cleaned vessels for churning curd, filled with the same. And there were tanks of savoury and yellow butter-milk, well-tempered. And there were tanks filled with Rasala [A preparation of butter-milk.]; and others filled with milk, and with sugar. And men saw sediments, acrid powders and various others things in vessels, (or the purpose of bath, on the terraces of tanks; and tooth-cleaning sticks of Ancuman and other (trees); and white sandal paste lying before; and cleaned mirrors; and lots of cloths; and sandals; and shoes in pairs by thousands; and collyrium-pots; and combs; and brushes; and bows at some places; and mail; and various kinds of seats and beds. And they saw reservoirs for asses, camels, elephants, and horses, with easy descents, filled with water to assist their digestion; and pools furnished with lotuses, of the hue of the firmament, with transparent water, comfortable for ablutions; and tender (plots of) grass all around coloured like blue lapises, to serve as pasture for beasts. Witnessing the wonderful hospitality provided by the Maharshi Bharadwaja, like unto a vision, the men marvelled. Thus entertained like unto celestials in Nandana, they passed the night at the hermitage of Bharadwaja. Then taking the permission of Bharadwaja, all the Gandharbas as well as the superb damsels went away as they had come. And the men remained intoxicated and highly inebriate with the liquor, their persons daubed with goodly aguru and sandal; and the various elegant garlands beautiful to behold, lay by themselves all around, crushed by the people.

SECTION 92.

Having passed that night, Bharata having been entertained along with his family, appeared before Bharadwaja, desirous (of seeing Rama). Seeing that foremost of men (standing) with joined hands, Bharadwaja, who had just finished his fire-sacrifice, said, "Hast thou passed the night pleasantly at our place? And have all thy men been pleased with our hospitality? Do thou tell me this, O sinless one." Thereupon, Bharata bowing down, with joined hands said unto that ascetic of excellent energy, as he had issued out of his hermitage, "O reverend Sire, I along with all my forces and vehicles have passed (the night) happily. I have been full well entertained by thee, O worshipful one possessed of power. And with our languor and heat removed, we all sumptuously feasted and comfortably quartered, have passed (the night) agreeably along with our servants. Now, O best of ascetics, I beseech thee to look with a propitious eye on me who am bound for my brother's place. And tell me, O thou cognisant of morality, how far is it unto that high-souled righteous one's asylum, and by what way (shall I reach there)?" When Bharata eager to see his brother had asked thus, the highly energetic Bharadwaja of rigid austerities answered, "O Bharata, two and a half Yojanas hence, embosomed in a tenantless wood is the mountain Chitrakuta, charming with rocks and woods. On its northern border flows the river Mandakini, covered with flowering trees and with blossoming woods. Beyond the stream is the mountain Chitrakuta. There is their thatched cottage, my child; there they abide for certain. Proceeding by the southern way, do thou with thy forces composed of elephants and horses, O master of the army, turn to the left, O exalted one, and go southwards. By doing so, thou wilt be able to see Raghava." Hearing of their departure, the wives of that king of kings, leaving their cars, albeit worthy of them, gathered round the Bramana. Lean and trembling and in woful guise, Kaucalya along with the noble Sumitra, with her hands took the feet of the ascetic. Despised universally because of her unrighteous desire, Kaikeyi also bashfully took hold of his feet, and, having circumambulated the mighty and venerable anchoret, stood near Bharata in dejection of spirits. Then the mighty ascetic Bharadwaja asked Bharata, "O descendant of Raghu, I wish to know particularly about thy mothers." Thus accosted by Bharadwaja, the pious Bharata deft in speech said with joined hands, "O reverend sir, she whom thou beholdest depressed and emaciated through grief and fasting—resembling a very goddess—is the noble Queen of my father. This one, Kaucalya, it is that gave birth unto that chief of men, having the powerful gait of a lion, Rama, even as Aditi gave birth to Dhata. She that stands at her left hand, in dejected guise, is the noble Sumitra afflicted with sorrow, the second wife of the monarch—like a Karnikara bough in a forest, with all its blossoms shrivelled up. The sons of this exalted lady are the youthful and heroic Lakshmana and Satrughna, having truth for their prowess, and resembling celestials in shape. And her in consequence of whose act those foremost of men have come by crushing misfortune, and the king Dacaratha hath gone to heaven, deprived of his son,—wrathful and proud of her good fortune, setting her heart on wealth—Kaikeyi, dishonourable, although endowed with the semblance of honour, do thou know this wicked one intent on sin as my mother. In her do I perceive the root of my mighty misfortune." Having said this, with his words choked with emotion, that best of men with his eyes reddened, sighed like an enraged serpent. As Bharata was speaking thus, the great ascetic Bharadwaja gifted with high understanding and knowing interest, answered Bharata, saying, "O Bharata, thou ought not to cast any blame on Kaikeyi. This banishment of the king (Rama), shall be for the good (of all). The banishment of Rama shall surely be for the welfare of the gods and the Asuras and sages of concentrated souls." Thus blest, Bharata saluted the ascetic and went round him, and then summoning the soldiery, said, "Yoke." Thereupon, getting ready excellent steeds and cars decked with gold, many people mounted, with the intention of departing. And male and female elephants with golden chains round their necks, and furnished with banners, with the sounds (of bells), proceeded, like clouds at the end of the summer season. And then proceeded various kinds of cars great and light of movement and of high value; and the infantry went on foot. And on a magnificent car went the ladies headed by Kaucalya, with delighted hearts, eager to see Raghava. And ascending an elegant car resembling the infant sun or moon, driven by charioteers, went the graceful Bharata well attired. And that mighty host abounding with horses and elephants proceeded, blocking up the southern quarter, like a oolossal cloud arisen (in the sky), leaving behind on the other bank of the Ganga woods inhabited by birds and beast* and coursing by rivers and. mountains. And composed of numbers of elephants and horses in high spirits, that army of Bharata, frightening multitudes of beasts and birds, dived into that mighty forest.

SECTION 93.

Afflicted by the mighty force on its way with banners (displayed), those inhabitants of the woods, leaders of elephant-herds, took to their heels in company with the herds themselves. And bears and Prishatas and Rurus were on all sides seen in the forest-ways, and on hills and rivers. And that virtuous son of Dacaratha with a glad heart held on his way, surrounded by that vast army consisting of fourfold forces, raising a tremendous upoar. And that army of the high-souled Bharata resembling the waves of the ocean, covered the earth quite, as clouds in the rainy season cover the welkin. And filled with steeds and mighty elephants, the earth at that time for a long while remained invisible. And having proceeded a long way, the graceful Bharata, with his bearers extremely tired, said these words unto that foremost of counsellors, Vasishtha, "From appearances, and from what I had heard, it is evident that we have arrived at that region which Bharadwaja had told us of. This is the mountain Chitrakuta and that the river Mandakini. And from a distance this forest appeareth like dark clouds. And now our elephants resembling hills afflict the romantic sides of Chitrakuta. And the trees scatter blossoms over the sides of the mountain, even as after summer sable clouds pour down showers. O Satrughna, behold the realms inhabited by Kinnaras, scattered with steeds, like the main with makaras. And these herds of deer furnished with celerity, being urged on, roam about like masses of clouds in the sky in autumn, propelled by the winds. And like the people of the south, these warriors bearing shields resembling clouds, are adorning their heads with ornaments of perfumed blossoms. And this forest, although void of men and dreadful in appearance, at present appeareth unto me like Ayodhya, teeming with people. The dust raised by the hoofs (of horses) stands covering the sky: anon the wind bearing it away, compasses my pleasure. And, O Satrughna, see how fast these cars yoked with steeds and driven by skilful charioteers, are proceeding in the forest. And behold these beauteous peacocks, which, being frightened, take refuge in the mountain —the home of feathered tribes. This country appears to me exceedingly lovely. This abode of the ascetics is like onto the way to heaven itself. Male and female deer and Prishatas in the forest, beautiful to look at, appear as if variegated with flowers. Now let the soldiers go advisedly and search this forest, so that they light upon those chiefs of men, Rama and Lakshmana." Hearing Bharata's speech, persons with weapons in their hands, plunged into the forest, and those heroes presently discovered the top of a (column of) smoke. Having seen the top of the (column of) smoke, they came before Bharata and said, "Fire cannot exist where there is no man present. Therefore it is evident that even here are those descendants of Raghu. But if those foremost of men, those subduers of their enemies, the princes, be not here, there are others, being ascetics, resembling Rama." Hearing their words acceptable unto the pious, that afflicter of hostile ranks, Bharata, said unto the entire army, "Do ye carefully stay here: do not proceed further. I myself will go, and Sumantra and Dhriti." Thus desired, the troops remained all about that place. Bharata went away, keeping his gaze fixed in the direction of the top of (the column of) smoke. Desired by Bharata to halt, that army, looking in the direction of the smoke, rejoiced soon on learning that the beloved Rama had arrived (at that place).

SECTION 94.

Having spent a long time in that mountain, that lover of hills and woods, Dacaratha's son resembling an immortal, anxious to pleasure Vaidehi as well as to please his own mind, showed the variegated Chitrakuta unto his wife, like Purandara unto Sachi. "O gentle one, neither deprivation of the kingdom nor separation from friends afflicts my mind on beholding this romantic mountain. My gentle one, look but at the hill abounding with flocks of various birds, adorned with summits cleaving the welkin and teeming with mineral substances. And some parts of this monarch of mountains are like silver, and some are blood-red, and some yellow like the hue of Manjistha, and some lustrous like sapphires, and some shining like blossoms or crystal or Ketakas, and some blazing like stars or mercury, and some dight in mineral substances. And the mountain shines, being filled with divers beasts and multitudes of innocuous tigers, hyenas and bears, and thronged with innumerable birds. And overspread with mangos, rose-apples, and Asanas, and Lodhras [Symplocos racemosa; shrubs and trees with white or yellow flowers.], Piyalas, jacks, Ankolas, and Bhavyatinicas, and Vilwas, and Tindukas, and bamboos, Kacmaris, Arishtas, and Varanas, and Madhukas, sesames, and jujubes, and Amalakas, Nipas, canes, Dhanwanas, and citrons—all in full flower, and bearing fruits, umbrageous and charming,—the mountain attains an accession of loveliness. And, thou gentle one, on the picturesque plateau of the hill behold these intelligent couples of Kinnaras engaged in sport at spots yeilding every enjoyment; and look at their swords hung up on the boughs. And see the gorgeous apparel of Vidyadharis, as well as the charming regions in which they sport. And like an elephant dropping the temporal juice, this hill appeareth beautiful with cascades, fountains and rillets, flowing here and there. Whom doth not the breeze laden with the perfumes of many a flower, soothing the sense of smell, fill with delight? If, O blameless one, I dwell (here) for many years with thee as well as Lakshmana, grief cannot overcome me. O damsel, I take delight in this picturesque peak abounding in flowers and fruits, and frequented by various birds. By this banishment of mine, I have gained two things—my father has maintained his truth in religion, and Bharata has obtained his dear interest. O daughter of Videha, art thou being pleased on viewing along with me on Chitrakuta, various objects grateful unto mind, speech and body? O queen, this abode in the forest like unto ambrosia hath been declared by those royal saints, my ancestors, as working out one's emancipation after death. The giant crags of the mountain grace the place all round by hundreds; many and various-hued, blue and yellow aad pale and red. In the night, the annual herbs by thousands growing on this foremost of hills, shine and become visible by their own lustre, like flames of fire. And, O lady, some parts of the mountain appear like dwellings, and some like gardens, and some, again, consist of single rocks (capable of accommodating numbers of men). And Chitrakuta looks as if it had arisen, riving the earth; and the fair front of Chitrakuta can be perceived from every point. Behold the beds of pleasure-seekers, consisting of the petals of lotuses, with Sthagaras, Panagas and Bhuryapatras for their coverlets. And, my wife, behold these lotus-garlands have been crushed and scattered; and the various fruits have been partaken of. The mountain Chitrakuta abounding in fruits and roots and waters, surpasses Kuvera's capital or Sakra's city or the north Kurus. My wife, O Sita, if in consonance with my own excellent rules, I can, remaining in the path of the pious, pleasantly pass this time along with thyself and Lakshmana, then I shall attain the happiness resulting from observing the duties of one's race."

SECTION 95.

Then going out of the mountain, the Lord of Kocala showed unto Mithila's daughter the charming stream Mandakini of excellent waters. And Rama, furnished with eyes resembling lotuses, addressed the daughter of king Videha, transcendentally beautiful, with a countenance like the fair moon, saying, "Behold the river Mandakini, having variegated islets beautiful; frequented by ducks and cranes; and filled with flowers; covered with diverse trees bearing fruits and flowers; and looking graceful all round like Saugandhika herself of Kuvera. And the waters rendered muddy in consequence of herds of deer drinking of them, as well as the graceful descents unto the river, fill me with pleasure. And, my beloved, sages wearing matted locks and deer-skins, with barks for their sheets, are in season performing their ablutions in the river Mandakini. And observing rules, persons raising up their arms, are worshipping the sun, and, O thou of expansive eyes, after these appear ascetics following vows, (engaged in Japa). And the hill seems to dance on the wind swaying the tops of trees; and on both sides of the river, the trees are crowned with flowers and leaves. And behold the river Mandakini, somewhere with its waters resembling pearls, and somewhere with islets, and somewhere filled with persons who have attained emancipation. O thou of slender waist, behold these hosts of flowers spreading along, and others dipping themselves (in the stream). And, O auspicious one, behold these sweet-throated birds, the Chakravakas, getting upon the islets, uttering pleasant notes. Methinks, O beauteous one, the sight of Chitrakuta and of Mandakini is even more delightful

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than life in the metropolis, or the sight of thy own self. Do thou like unto her companion perform thy bath with me in this stream, whose waters are perpetually stirred by emancipated ones, furnished with asceticism, self-restraint, and control over the senses, who have had their sins removed. Do thou, O Sita, perform thy ablutions in the Mandakini, scattering at the same time, O girl, red and white lotuses. Do thou, my wife, always consider the wild animals as citizens, the mountain as Ayodhya, and this stream as the Sarayu. The virtuous Lakshmana is ever obedient to my commands; and, O Videha's daughter, thou also art favourable to me. This causes delight in my heart. Bathing thrice (in this river), and living on tasteful fruits and roots, I in thy company do not today wish either for Ayodhya or royalty. Bathing in this beauteous stream agitated by herds of elephants, whose waters are drunk by elephants, lions and monkeys,—which is graced with flowers, and which is decked with multitudes of blossoms, there is no one who has not his fatigue removed, and who does not feel exhilarated." Having thus along with his beloved one, spoken variously regarding the stream, that perpetuator of the Raghu race, Rama, began to range the charming Chitrakata, resembling the collyrium in hue.

SECTION 96.

Having showed unto Mithila's daughter the river belonging to the mountain, Rama sat down on its table-land and, gratifying Sita with meat, said unto her, "This clean meat tastes sweet, having been roasted in fire." The righteous Raghava was thus seated in company with Sita, when Bharata's followers came there. And filling the heavens, there arose clouds of dust raised by the army as well as an uproar. And at this time mad leaders of elephant-herds accompanied by the latter, scared by the terrible tumult, scudded on all sides. And Raghava heard the noise raised by the army; and also saw all those leaders of elephant-herds scampering away. And having seen them running away and heard that hubbub, Rama spoke unto Sumitra's son, Lakshmana of flaming energy, "Ha! Lakshmana, in whom Sumitra has been blest with a worthy son, hark! A tremendous and dreadful uproar resembling the rumbling of cloulds is being heard; and in the woods and mighty forest, deer and buffalos and herds of elephants being accompanied by lions are suddenly scampering away in all directions. O Sumitra's son, it behoves thee to learn whether any king or prince is hunting in the forest, or any ferocious beast is (ravaging the woods). O Lakshmana, this mountain is even incapable of being frequented by fowls. Therefore it behoves thee to learn all about it, as has actually been the case."—Thereat, hurriedly ascending a flowering Sala tree, Lakshmana surveying all sides, fixed his gaze on the east. And viewing the east, he discovered a mighty army, abounding with elephants, horses and cars, and consisting of equipped infantry. Thereupon, Lakshmana communicated unto Rama tidings concerning that army filled with elephants and steeds, and decked with cars and streamers; and spoke unto Rama, saying, "O noble one, do you put out the fire; and let Sita go into the cave. And do you string your bow and make ready the arrows and don on your mail." Thereat, Rama—chief of men—answered Lakshmana, saying, "O son of Sumitra, do thou (first) ascertain whom this host belongs to." Thus accosted by Rama, Lakshmana, as if consuming that army by his wrath resembling, fire, said, "Having got himself installed, Kaikeyi's son, Bharata, anxious to render his royalty perfectly safe, is coming hither for the purpose of slaying us both. Yonder is seen the graceful tree. By the same appeareth on the car the Kovidara standard, having a shining top. And men riding swift coursers are at their pleasure making for this place; and elephant-riders, riding on elephants, are also cheerfully directing their course hither. Let us, O hero, taking our bows, station ourselves on this hill. I will (to day) see Bharata, for whom we have come by this mighty misfortune. Or let us rather remain where we are accoutred in mail and with our arms ready. Shall he of the Kovidara banner in conflict come under our sway? O hero, we have met with that foe of ours for whom, O Raghava, you, Sita and myself have (experienced such misery), for whom, O Raghava, you have been cast off from the entire kingdom. Surely, Bharata should be slain by me. O Raghava, fault find I none in slaying Bharata; slaying a former wronger, one doth not reap unrighteousness. O Raghava, there is religious merit to be reaped by slaying Bharata, who had formerly done us wrong. On this one being slain, you will rule the entire earth. To day shall Kaikeyi lusting after the kingdom, with grief behold her son slain in battle by me, like a tree riven by an elephant. I will also kill Kaikeyi along (with the hump-backed one), and her friends. Let the earth today be freed from foul sins. To day will I, O bestower of honour, vent my restrained ire and bad blood upon the hostile hosts, like fire set to a heap of hay. To-day with sharpened shafts will I cut the bodies of the hostile hosts and drench the woods of Chitrakuta with their blood. The ferocious beasts shall drag away elephants and steeds and men slaughtered by me with arrows penetrating into their hearts. I will, without doubt, in this forest pay the debt I owe to my bow aid arrows, by slaying Bharata together with all his forces."

SECTION 97.

Pacifying Sumitra's son, Lakshmana, transported with rage and eager for encounter, Rama addressed him, saying, "When the mighty Bharata possessed of high spirits has himself come here, what is the use of the bow or the sword or the shield? Having promised to maintain my father's truth, what, O Lakshmana, shall I, having slain Bharata in battle, do with the kingdom with a stain attached unto it? That thing which falls to my lot on the destruction of friends and adherents I never accept, even like food mixed with poison. I swear unto thee, I wish for the (possession of) righteousness, interest, desire and the earth, in your interests alone, O Lakshmana. O Lakshmana, I swear by my weapon that it is for the maintenance and happiness of my brothers that I wish for the kingdom. O mild one, this Earth herself is not difficult of being attained by me; but, O Lakshmana, I do not through unrighteousness wish to possess myself of Sakra's state.—May fire reduce to ashes any happiness of mine that, O bestower of honour, happens to be dissevered from Bharata, or thyself, or Satrughna. I think Bharata attached unto his brothers had come to Ayodhya; and then, allowing the morality regulating the race, that one dearer unto me than life, hearing of me banished, bearing matted locks- and bark, together with Janaki, O hero, and thyself, thou foremost of men, has, with his heart surcharged with reflection, and his senses overwhelmed by grief, come hither for seeing us. He cannot have come on any other account, And having got wroth with Kaikeyi, and given her rough speech, that auspicious one, having gratified my sire, has come hither to make the kingdom over unto me. And the season being fit, meet it is that Bharata should see us. He does not even in thought act against us. Hath ere this Bharata done thee any bad turn? Or did he tell thee any thing so harming that today thou standest in fear of him? Certainly thou ought not to say cruel or unpleasant words in relation to Bharata,—if wrong be done unto Bharata, I shall consider myself as wronged. Do sons, in times of peril, ever slay their father, or brothers their brother like unto their life, O son of Sumitra? If thou speakest thus for the sake of the monarchy, on seeing Bharata, I will say unto him, 'Make over the kingdom unto this one.' Earnestly exhorted by me, saying, 'Do thou place the kingdom in his hands',—he will say, 'Very well."

Thus addressed by his brother of a virtuous disposition, Lakshmana ever engaged in Rama's good, from shame seemed to enter into his body. And hearing those words, Lakshmana affected by shame, answered, "I conceive our father Dacaratha himself hath come to see you." And finding Lakshmana overcome with shame, Raghava replied, "I think that mighty-armed one has come hither to see us; or I take it for certain that, considering that we are fit for ease only, and taking our banishment to heart, he will take us home. Or it may be that graceful descendant of Raghu, my father, will go away, taking from the forest Videha's daughter wrought up in the lap of luxury. There are seen these graceful and well-bred steeds, courageous, swift, and furnished with the speed of the wind—the best of horses. And this huge elephant belonging to our aged sire, named Satrunjaya, proceedeth in the van of the army. But, thou exalted one, I do not see the splendid white umbrella of our father known among men. Therefore, doubts arise in my mind. Do thou descend from the top of the tree, O Lakshmana. Do my bidding." Thus did the righteous Rama accost Sumitra's son. Descending from the top of the sala tree, that conqueror in battles, Lakshmana, stood by Rama with joined hands. Commanded by Bharata, "Let not (Rama's asylum) be trampled by the forces," the army took up its quarters at a distance from the hill. And the Ikshwaku host filled with elephants and steeds covering half a yojana, encamped at the side of the mountain. And keeping morality in their fore-boot, and renouncing pride, the disciplined forces schooled by Bharata in view of pleasing that descendant of Raghu (Rama) stayed in Chitrakuta.

SECTION 98.

Having stationed his troops, that best of men, the master, became anxious to go on foot to the Kakutstha honouring his superiors. And the forces having with humility took up the quarters assigned, Bharata addressed his brother, Satrughna, saying, "O mild one, it behoves thee at once to search this forest all round in company with a large body of men as well as these Nishadas. And let Guha himself accompanied by a thousand of his kindred bearing in their hands arrows and bows and scimitars, also search for the Kakutstha in this forest. Accompanied by counsellors, citizens, preceptors and twice-born ones, I will on foot range every direction. So long as I do not see Rama, or the mighty Lakshmana, or the highly exalted daughter of Videha, I shall not attain peace of mind. And so long as I do not see that face of his fair as the moon, with eyes expansive like lotuses, I shall not attain peace of mind. Surely, Sumitra's son, Lakshmana, who beholds Rama's countenance like the stainless moon, with eyes resembling lotuses, and beaming in effulgence, is blessed. So long as I do not take on my head those feet of my brother bearing royal marks, I shall not attain peace of mind. So long as established in the kingdom of his father and grandfather, that one worthy of the monarchy is not sprinkled with the water of installation, I shall not attain peace of mind. Blessed is Vaidehi, the eminently virtuous daughter of Janaka, who followeth the lord of this Earth bounded by the seas. And this Chitrakuta is fortunate—this hill like unto the monarch of mountains— in which resides Kakutstha, like Kuvera in Nandana. And blessed is this deep forest inhabited by ferocious animals, where abideth the great king Rama, the foremost of those bearing arms." Having said this, that best of men, the mighty-armed and highly energetic Bharata, on foot entered the vast forest. And that best of speakers went over the mountain-side through ranks of blossoming trees. Then swiftly ascending a Sala on Chitrakuta, he descried the high column of smoke belonging unto Rama's asylum. Having seen this, like one that has crossed over the ocean, the graceful Bharata, concluding that Rama was there, rejoiced exceedingly along with his friends. Having heard that Rama's asylum containing pious people lay in Chitrakuta, that high-souled one again stationing his forces, speedily went (in that direction), accompanied by Guha.

SECTION 99.

Having quartered his forces, Bharata eager (to go to Rama's place), went to see his brother, showing unto Satrughna the signs of Rama's abode being in the vicinity. And having desired Vasistha, saying, "Bring my mothers without delay," that one attached to his superiors went before. And eager to see Rama even like Bharata himself, Sumantra followed Bharata at a short distance. And as Bharata passed on, he observed a neat cottage of leaves stationed among the asylums of anchorets, furnished with a portion having a wall with a door. And before the cottage, Bharata saw fuel broken up, and flowers gathered. And he saw at places signs of Kuca and bark set up on trees when Rama and Lakshmana (first) arrived at their asylum. And in that habitation, Bharata saw great heaps of dry dung of deer and buffalos, gathered for preventing cold. As he proceeded, the intelligent and mighty-armed Bharata with a cheerful heart remarked unto Satrughna and all the courtiers, "I conceive, we have reached the tract that was mentioned by Bharadwaja. Hard by this spot, I fancy, is the river Mandakini. On high are barks set up by Lakshmana. Having to pass by the way at unusual hours, (Lakshmana) has marked it with signs. On the side of the hill is the way by which long-tusked elephants pass to and fro with vehemence, roaring at each other. Here is seen the dense and dark smoke of that which the anchorets are ever anxious to preserve in the forest—fire. Even here shall I with a delighted heart see that foremost of men, the noble Raghava resembling a Maharshi, ever engaged in serving his superiors." Then going to Chitrakuta, that descendant of Raghu, coming to the Mandakini, said unto the men, "That foremost of men in all the world, the lord of all, coming into seclusion, is in his yoga posture. O fie upon my birth and my life! For me, having come by misfortune, and renounced every comfort, the effulgent lord of men, Raghava, is dwelling in the woods. I shall be taxed of men on the score. To-day (first) pacifying him, I will fall at the feet of Rama as well as of Sita and Lakshmana." Having thus bewailed, Dacaratha's son saw a splendid, charming, and holy dwelling in that forest, composed of leaves. And Bharata beheld in Rama's habitation a sacred structure made of leaves, covered with a profusion of Sala, palm, and Acwakarna leaves; spread with soft Kuca, like a dais in a sacrifice; adorned with bows resembling the iris, plaited on the back with gold, of mighty force, and capable of achieving arduous feets and destroying foes; and garnished with arrows in quivers, seeming like the rays of the sun, with flaming mouths,—like unto the Bhogavati with serpents; and exceedingly beautified with golden sheaths and scimitars and shields spangled with gold and nice guana finger-fences decked with gold; inaccessible unto foes like a lions's den unto deer; and furnished with a spacious dais inclined on the north-east, with a fire flaming on it. And looking around, anon Bharata saw his superior Rama seated in the cottage bearing a head of matted locks, clad in a black deer-skin, and having tattered cloth and bark for his garment. And he saw Rama seated like unto a flame—with leonine shoulders, mighty arms, and eyes resembling lotuses—the righteous lord of this world bounded by the seas—saw the mighty-armed one like unto the eternal Brahma, seated on a skin-seat on the ground along with Sita and Lakshmana. And seeing him, overwhelmed with grief and affliction, the righteous and graceful son of Kaikeyi, Bharata, rushed (towards him). And soon as Bharata saw Rama, he, exceedingly distressed,broke out into lamentations in words choked with sorrow. And incapable of holding himself in patience, he said, "That elder brother of mine, who (seated) in court should be surrounded by the subjects intent upon paying him homage, is now surrounded by wild deer. He that used to adorn his person with attire worth many thousands (of things), engaged in observing morality, is clad in deer-skin. Why doth he that always wore variegated blossoms, Raghava, beareth this

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burthen of matted locks? He who is worthy of acquiring religious merit by celebrating sacrifices according to the ordinance, is now following morality by afflicting his person. How is the person of that one whose body used to be daubed with costly sandal, covered with dust? It is for me that Rama, although deserving of comfort, has come by this misfortune. Wicked that I am, fie upon my life despised of men!" Thus lamenting in woful guise, with the lotus of his countenance covered with sweat, Bharata coming at Rama's feet, fell at them bewailing. And inflamed with grief, the exceedingly powerful prince Bharata, having in distress of spirit uttered, "O noble one," again said nothing. And beholding the illustrious Rama, Bharata with his utterance choked with emotion, exclaimed, "O noble one," and was unable to say anything further. Then Satrughna also weeping paid homage unto the feet of Rama. And shedding tears, Rama embraced them both. Then as in the sky, the Sun and the Moon meet with Sukra and Vrihashpati, those two princes (Rama and Lakshmana) met with Sumantra and Guha in the forest. And beholding those kings resembling leaders of elephant-herds met together in that mighty forest, the dwellers in the woods, resigning their cheerfulness, began to shed tears.

SECTION 100.

Then Rama cast his eyes on (Bharata) as clad in bark and wearing matted locks he lay on the earth with joined hands, incapable of being gazed at, like the Sun at the time of the universal dissolution. Then recognizing him a little, he took by the hand his brother Bharata, lean, with a pallid countenance. And smelling the crown of his head, and embracing that descendant of Raghu, Rama took Bharata on his lap and asked him affectionately, "Where was thy father, child, that thou hast come to the forest? It certainly behoves thee not to come unto the forest while he is living. Ah! I see thee come from far after a long time. Why, my child, hast thou come unto this gloomy forest? Is the king alive, my child, seeing that thou hast come hither; or, afflicted with grief, hath he suddenly gone to the other world? And, O mild one, child that thou art, thy kingdom ever thine hath not been wrested from thee? And, O thou having truth for prowess, dost thou, my child, minister unto our sire? And is that truthful one, that performer of Rajasuya and Acwamedha, ever devoted to righteousness, king Dacaratha, well? And, my child, is that exceedingly effulgent and learned Brahmana ever steady in morality, the priest of the Ikshwakus, duly honoured? And, my child, are Kaucalya, and Sumitra having a son, in happiness? And is the noble Kaikeyi in spirits? And is that one, sprung from a mighty line, humble and versed in various lore, thy priest, who performeth every ceremony, who beareth no ill will, and whose gaze is ever fixed upon our welfare,—honoured? And do intelligent and sincere people cognisant of the rules, look after the sacrificial fire? And do they regularly inform thee of the proper seasons for performing the fire-sacrifice? A dost thou regard the deities, the ancestral manes, the preceptors like unto predecessors, the physicians, the Brahmanas, and the servants? And dost not disregard the preceptor Sudhanwa, versed in excellent arms whether inspired with mantras or not, and accomplished in the knowledge of polity? And, my child, hast thou employed as thy concillors, persons, heroic, learned, self-controlled, well-born, and understanding signs, who are like thy own self? O descendant of Raghu, counsel well kept by clever councillors versed in lore, is the root of victory with kings. And thou hast not come under the sway of sleep? And thou awakest at the proper hour? And dost thou during the short hours revolve the means of acquiring wealth? And thou dost not take counsel either with thyself alone, or (on the other hand) with a multiplicity of counsellors? And thy counsel doth not range the kingdom (i. e. doth not take air)? And, O descendant of Raghu, having determined upon a course costing small effort but fraught with a mighty result, thou setst about it sharply and delayest not? And do the (auxiliary) kings know only those acts of thine that have been accomplished or those that are well nigh so, and not those that thou intendest to set thine hand to? And do others through inference or appearances come at a knowledge of thy counsels, although undivulged to others by thyself or thy counsellors; and (do thou and thy ministers) attain to a knowledge of others' counsels? And passing by a thousand dunces, dost thou set thy heart on having a single wise man? In times of pecuniary stress, a wise man stands in excellent stead. And although a king might be surrounded by a thousand or ten thousand fools, yet he can count upon no assistance (at their hands). And a single able counsellor, intelligent, heroic, and sagacious, bringeth great prosperity upon a king or a prince. And, my child, dost thou employ the best servants upon the best offices, the middling upon middling, and the worst upon the worst? And dost thou employ upon the most worthy offices counsellors who are above bribery, who have served thy father and grand-father, and who are pure? And do the subjects visited with condign punishment, as well as the ministers, disregard thee, O son of Kaikeyi? And do the priests scorn thee like a fallen one, even as females do those lascivious folks who use force towards the former? He that doth not slay a physician skilled in ways and means, a servant given to enlisting the sympathies of his fellow-servants against his master, or a hero that covets riches, is slain (by them). And hast thou chosen for thy general one that is confident, is endowed with intelligence and fortitude, sprung in a respectable race, and attached and able? And dost thou practically honour thy foremost warriors possessed of prowess, who have already given evidence of their manliness? And dost thou at the proper time grant thy soldiers what thou shouldst—provision and pay; and dost not delay in doing this? If the proper time for granting provision and pay be passed, the servants get wroth with their master and tax him; and great is the evil that springs herefrom. And are the principal descendants of our race attached unto thee; and are they, when enlisted on thy side with concentrated minds, ready to lay down their lives? And, O Bharata, are thy spies persons coming from the provinces, and learned, upright, endowed with presence of mind, representing the truth, and possessed of wisdom? And dost thou acquire intelligence of the expedients, eighteen* in respect of others [* 1 Minister. 2 Priest. 3 Heir-apparent. 4 General. 5 Warder. 6 Gatekeeper of the inner-apartment. 7 Jailor. 8 Treasurer. 9 Conveyer of the royal orders. 10 Pleaders. 11 Judges. 12 Members of the council. 13 Distributer of pay and provision to the army. 14 Journeymen. 15 Justice of the peace. 16 Protector of the frontiers of the kingdom. 17 Magistrate. 18 Guards of rivers, hills, forests, and fortresses.], and fifteen in respect of thy own self,—by means of every three spies appointed in connexion with each of these expedients—men quite ignorant of each other's counsels? And dost thou not contemn those weak ones that, O destroyer of thy foes, having been expelled, have come again (unto thee)? And, my child, thou dost not minister unto atheistical Brahmanas? These childish persons proud of their learning are only fit for bringing evils upon others. While there are excellent scriptures, these people of subtle intellects, having acquired a knowledge of dialectics, speak vanities. And, my child, dost thou protect the prosperous and renowned Ayodhya, inhabited formerly by our heroic predecessors; bearing a true name; having strong gates; filled with elephants, steeds, and cars; thronged by thousands; with noble Brahmanas, Kshatriyas and Vaicyas breathing high spirits, and with their senses controlled, each engaged in his own task; abounding in people learned in the Veda; and surrounded with palatial mansions of various shapes? And, O descendant of Raghu, are the flourishing provinces marked with hundreds of Chaityas, filled with prosperous people, graced with abodes of deities, places for distributing water, and tanks, with men and women in happy mood, gay with meetings and festivities, having their outskirts well furrowed, provided with beasts, void of ill feelings, depending on tanks for their water supply, charming, renounced by fierce animals, free from all kinds of fear, decked with mines, left by unrighteous people, and well governed by my predecessors,—having a good time of it? And do agriculturists and cowherds find favour in thy sight? And remaining in their respective vocations, do they enjoy happiness? And dost thou maintain them by securing unto them what they wish for and removing from them what they wish away? All the dwellers in his dominions should be protected by the king. And dost thou conciliate the females; and are they well protected by thee? And dost thou not regard them; and dost thou not open unto them thy mind? And are the woods where elephants breed, kept by thee; and hast thou kine? And dost thou not foster mares and female-elephants? And dost thou show thyself daily in the court, well robed? And rising in the morning, dost thou show thyself in the high-ways? And do thy servants boldly present themselves before thee; or do they all keep away? A middle course contributes to their good fortune. And are all the forts furnished with wealth, corn, arms, water, machines, artizans, and bowmen? And are thy incomings great and outgoings slender? And, Raghu's descendant, thou dost not give away thy coffers unto the undeserving? And dost thou spend thy wealth in the interests of the deities, or the pitrtis, or the Brahmanas who have come unto thee, or warriors, or friends? If any respectable, pure-spirited and clean person happen to be accused by some one of theft or other crimes, dost thou from covetuousness punish him without first having him tried by persons versed in scripture? And, O best of men, is a thief, that hath been caught, interrogated (as to his guilt), and found with the stolen property on his person, set free (by thy men) from motives of gain? And do thy counsellors, O descendant of Raghu, accomplished in various lore, uninfluenced by greed, consider the conduct of both the rich and the poor involved in peril? O son of the Raghu race, the tears of those who have been falsely charged with any offence, (and who have failed to obtain justice), dropping, destroy the sons as well as the beasts of the ruler that minds his own comfort only. And dost thou with these three—gifts, mind and word—try to win over aged people, boys, physicians, and the principal ones? And dost thou salute spiritual preceptors, aged persons, ascetics, gods, guests, Chaityas, emancipated ones, and Brahmanas? And thou dost not oppose righteousness by interest, or interest by virtue, or both by desire, intent on gratifying the senses? And, O foremost of conquerors, dost thou, O thou cognisant of time, in season resorting to interest, desire, and virtue respectively, attain them, O bestower of boons? And do Brahmanas versed in all religious lore and knowing interest, together with the citizens and the inhabitants of the provinces wish for thy happiness, O highly wise one? Atheism, untruthfulness, inattention, anger, procrastination, companionship with evil persons, indolence, gratification of the senses, consultation with a single person concerning the needs of a kingdom, taking counsel with those that are cognisant of evils alone, omission to take in hand a task that hath been decided upon, divulgence of counsel, noncommencement of a course in the morning, and marching against all the foes at one and the same time,— hast thou eschewed these ten and four faults? And, O descendant of Raghu, truly understanding the tenth [Hunting, gambling, sleeping in the day, calumny (also known as defamation, vilification, libel, slander or traducement), addiction to women, wine, dancing, singing, playing, and roving without purpose (lingering around).], fifth [Five kinds of fortresses.], fourth [Four kinds of means adopted for the governing and maintaining of a kingdom.] and seventh [Four kinds of means adopted for the governing and maintaining of a kingdom.] classes as well as the eighth [Eight kinds of manifestation of anger.], and third ones [Interest, desire and virtue.], and the three kinds of learning [The Vedas: agriculture, commerce, politics.], and victory over the senses, and the evils human and superhuman, six attributes [Peace, war. marching, halting, sowing dissensions, seeking protection.], and the (peculiar) duties (of royalty), and the twenty classes [20 classes of men with whom peace should not be contracted.], and the kinds of Prakritis [Also called Prakritis: minister, treasure, territory, fortress, chastisement.] and Mandala [12 classes of kings, who are ready to enter into a treaty, declare war or continue in a state of indifference.], and Yatra [A fivefold marching out for war.], chastisement, and war and peace having each two sources; dost thou with due order observe all these? And, O wise one, dost thou, as laid down in the ordinance, take counsel, severally and in a body with three or four men? And dost thou observe the Vedas? And dost thou perceive the fruit of thy acts? And have thy wives borne children? And has thy knowledge of scripture borne fruit? And, descendant of Raghu, is thy intellect going the way that I have indicated above? This course is conducive to long life, and fame; and virtue, desire and interest. And, O child, art thou following the course that was followed by our ancestors? And art thou maintaining the conduct that is excellent and passes along pious ways? And, O son of Raghu, thou dost not alone partake of sapid meats thyself alone? And dost thou share them with those friends who expect it? The learned king ruling (all) righteously—that chastiser of the subjects—the monarch attaining duly the entire earth, going away from hence, acquires the celestial regions."

SECTION 101.

Knowing Bharata as devoted to his superior Rama along with his brother Lakshmana, asked him, "What for is this (visit of thine unto the woods)? I wish to hear as clearly related by thee the reason why clad in black deerskin and wearing matted locks, thou, leaving thy kingdom, hast come to these regions. It behoveth thee to tell me all this." Thus accosted by the high-souled Kakutstha, Kaikeyi's son, suppressing his grief by a strong effort, with joined hands said, "O noble one, forsaking us all, our father possessed of mighty arms, having performed this terrible task, in consequence of being urged by a woman, my mother Kaikeyi, hath gone to heaven afflicted with grief on account of his son, O repressor of foes. And she hath committed a signal sin capable of destroying her fame. And without obtaining the kingdom which she had coveted as the fruit of her action, a widow tried with grief, my mother will fall into a terrible hell. Now it behoves thee to extend thy favour unto me who have become thy slave. Do thou this very day get thyself installed in the kingdom, like unto Indra himself. All these subjects and our widowed mothers have come unto thee. It behoves thee to show thy favour unto them. Thou art the first-born; and meet it is that thou shouldst get thyself installed, O bestower of honour. Therefore do thou receive the kingdom righteously and fulfil the desire of thy friends. And like the autumnal Night on having the unclouded moon, let the entire Earth cease to be a widow on having thee, her lord. With bent head I beseech thee along with these counsellors. It behoves thee to show thy favour unto thy brother, disciple, and slave. Therefore, O chief of men, thou ought not to pass by this honoured band of ancestral ministers, who have always been serving this race." Having said this, with tears flooding his eyes, the mighty-armed son of Kaikeyi, Bharata, again took Rama's feet on his head. Thereupon Rama embracing his brother Bharata resembling a mad elephant, and sighing again and again, said, "Of a high race, possessed of strength, endowed with energy, and vowed unto sterling worth of character, how can one like me commit sin for the sake of dominion? Fault find I none ever so small in thee, thou destroyer of foes. Nor doth it become thee from puerility to tax thy mother, O exceedingly wise one, O thou that art sinless, superiors may act as they list in relation to those wives and

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sons of theirs that are after their heart. And this also thou shouldst learn that wives, sons and disciples should always be obedient as has been held by the emancipated ones. O mild one, the monarch is competent to make me stay in the woods clad in black deer-skin, as to establish me in the monarchy. And, O thou conversant with morality, O foremost of those observing righteousness, in respect of virtuous conduct, a mother should be as much regarded (by a son) as a father is. How can I, O descendant of Raghu, having been told by my righteous father and mother—'Go to the woods'—act otherwise? Thou ought to receive the kingdom, Ayodhya, honoured of men; and I ought to dwell in Dandaka dressed in bark. Having made this division of duties in the presence of all, and also enjoined this, the mighty monarch, Dacaratha, hath ascended heaven. That superior of all, even the virtuous king, is thy evidence. It behoves thee to enjoy that which hath been assigned unto thee by thy sire. And, O mild one, taking refuge in the forest of Dandaka for fourteen years, I will act the part that hath been set apart for me by my magnanimous father. What hath been assigned to me by that one respected by all men, my high-souled father resembling the lord of celestials himself, is my prime good; the masterdom of all the worlds I would decline (should it be opposed to the will of my sire)."

SECTION 102.

Hearing Rama's words, Bharata answered, "Deprived of the kingdom in consequence of my posteriority in point of birth, what doth regard for morality avail me? O best of men, even this morality has ever been established with reference to us, viz., that the eldest son of the king existing, a younger one cannot be the king. Do thou, therefore, O Raghava go along with me to the prosperous Ayodhya; and get thyself installed there for the behoof of our race. Although a king observing interest and virtue, and who towers above average humanity, hath been called a mortal, yet to me he is a very deity. While I was in Kekaya and thou wast in the forest, that intelligent monarch honoured of the good, given to celebrating sacrifices, ascended heaven. As soon as thou hadst set out (for the forest) along with Sita and Lakshmana, the king borne down by grief and chagrin, went to heaven. O foremost of men, do thou arise, and offer water unto the spirit of our sire. Satrughna and I have ere this offered water unto (the departed). O Raghava, anything offered onto the (manes of the) ancestors by a beloved descendant, conduces to their eternal behoof; and thou wast the favourite of our father. Mourning thee and exceedingly desirous of seeing thee, his mind being fastened on thee and incapable of being turned away, deprived of thee, and smitten with grief on thy account, thy father departed this life, remembering thee."

SECTION 103.

Hearing those piteous words uttered by Bharata in connexion with the demise of their father, Raghava was deprived of his senses. And on that thunder-bolt of a speech being uttered by Bharata, like unto a (real) thunderbolt hurled in battle by the enemy of the Danavas (Indra), that subduer of foes, Rama, stretching his arms, fell down to the earth, like a blossoming tree that hath been hewn by an axe. Seeing that lord of the world and mighty bowman, Rama, fallen, like a sleeping elephant fatigued with turning up earth with its tusks, his brothers exercised with sorrow, broke out into lamentations, and along with Videha's daughter began to sprinkle water (on his face). Then regaining his consciousness, Kakutstha shedding tears from his eyes, distressfully addressed himself to speech. And hearing that lord of earth, his sire, had gone to heaven, that righteous one said unto Bharata words fraught with virtue and interest, "What shall I do with Ayodhya, my sire having gone the way ordained by the gods? And who will govern her, now that she hath been deprived of that foremost of monarchs? Of fruitless birth that I am, what can I do for that magnanimous one? And of him that renounced his life from grief on my account. I have not even performed the last rites. Ah! Bharata, thou, O sinless one, art blessed, since by thee as well as by Satrughna have been performed all the funeral rites of the king. To Ayodhya, bereft of the monarch, having none to preside over her destinies, and many rulers, will I not return even when the term of my abode in the woods has been passed. My father having gone to the other world, who, O subduer of enemies, will again counsel me when, my stay in the forest being over, I shall have returned unto Ayodhya? And from whom shall I hear those words grateful unto the ear, which my father gratifying me used to speak unto me when I happend to do something well?" Having thus addressed Bharata, Raghava burning in grief, spoke unto his wife, with her countenance resembling the full moon, saying, "O Sita, thy father-in-law is dead and, O Lakshmana, thou art fatherless. Bharata has communicated unto me the sad intelligence that our father hath ascended heaven." When Kakutstha had said this, tears began to shower forth from the eyes of the renowned princes. Then all those brothers pacifying as best they could Rama stricken with sorrow, said unto him, "Do thou perform the watery rites of that lord of the earth, our sire." Having heard that her father-in-law, the king, had gone to the celestial regions. Sita with her eyes filled with tears, could not see her beloved. Thereupon, pacifying the weeping daughter of Janaka, Rama moved with grief, spoke unto the distressed Lakshmana, saying, "Do thou bring Ingudi fruits as well as a piece of new bark. I will go to perform the watery rites of our high-souled sire. Let Sita go first. Do thou follow her. I shall go last. Even this is the course of those in mourning." Then that magnanimous one, having a knowledge of the soul, mild, graceful, capable of controlling his senses, steady in his regard for Rama, and ever following him—Sumantra—in company with those sons of the king, having cheered up Raghava, brought him to the auspicious river, Mandakini. Then those illustrious ones, having in distress arrived at the river Mandakini, having convenient descents, charming, ever furnished with blossoming woods, and of rapid currents; and approached its descents, goodly and void of mud, offered water unto the monarch, uttering, "May this be so!" And the protector of the earth (Rama), holding water with his joined hands, facing the south, said weeping, "O foremost of monarchs, may this clear water knowing no deterioration, reach thee, who hast gone to the world of the ancestral manes!" Then drawing nigh unto the marge of the Mandakini, the energetic Raghava along with his brothers, offered the Pinda unto his father. And placing the Ingudi Pinda mixed with juyube on a bed of darbha Rama crying in distress, said, "O mighty monarch, do thou well pleased feed on this, which we also live upon. That which is the fare of an individual, is also the fare of his divinities." Then that foremost of men ascending the bank of the stream by the self-same way, got up on the charming side of the hill. And having arrived at the gate of the cottage of leaves, that lord of the earth held both Bharata and Lakshmana with his hands. And there the hill reverberated at the sounds raised by the brothers wailing along with Vaidehi, like unto lions roaring. And perceiving the loud uproar of those mighty ones engaged in offering water unto their sire, indulging in lamentations, the army of Bharata became agitated. And they said, "For certain Bharata hath met with Rama; and this mighty noise proceeds from them, as they are bitterly mourning their deceased sire." Thereat leaving aside their vehicles, they with one mind, rushed towards the spot wherefrom proceeded the uproar. And of those that were tender, some went on horses, and some on elephants, and some on ornamented chariots, while others went on foot. And eager to behold Rama staying away for a short time, though seeming to do so for a long period, all the men at once went to the hermitage. And desirous of witnessing the meeting of the brothers (with Rama), they with all despatch proceeded by means of various vehicles consisting of beasts and cars. And the ground trodden by the wheels of innumerable cars, emitted loud sounds, like those emitted by the sky on clouds gathering. And frightened by the uproar, elephants accompanied by female ones, perfuming all sides (by the fragrance of temporal juice), went to another forest. And boars, and deer, and lions, and buffalos, and Srimaras, and tigers, and Gokarnas, Gayals and Prishatas were striken with panic. And wild with alarm, Chakravakas and swans, and Natyuhas, and Plavas, and Karandavas, and male coels, and Kraunchas, fled away in all directions. And the welkin was enveloped by birds frightened by the noise, as the earth was covered by men, and both the sky and the land then gave out great effulgence. As the people suddenly saw that foremost of men, the sinless and illustrious Rama seated on the ground, accusing Kaikeyi as well as the vile Manthara, the people approached Rama, with their countenances discovering tears. Seeing those men oppressed with grief with their eyes filled with tears, that one cognisant of virtue like fathers and mothers, embraced those that deserved it And he embraced some persons; and some offered him salutations. And the king's son, as each deserved, properly received them along with their friends and equals in age. And the sounds, produced by those high souled persons lamenting, resounding the earth and the sky, and the mountain-caverns, and all the cardinal points, were heard like peals of Mridangas.

SECTION 104.

Desirous of seeing Rama, Vasishtha, taking before him the wives of Dacaratha, proceeded towards the hermitage. And as the wives of the king were going slowly by the Mandakini, they discovered the landing-place which was used by Rama and Lakshmana. Thereupon Kaucalya, with her eyes filled with tears and her countenance rendered pale, observed unto the forlorn Sumitra as well as the other wives of the king, "Sacred like unto a first wife, in this forest this is the landing-place of those unfortunate ones of untiring energy, who had been deprived of the kingdom. From here, O Sumitra, doth thy son, Saumitri, ever vigilant, personally procure water for my son. Although thy son performeth a servile office, yet he is not to blame: (the performance of) that alone which serves no purpose of his brother possessed of many perfections, could bring blame upon him. To day let thy son, who doth not deserve such toilsome work, cease to perform that office which is fraught with hardships fit only for the base." That lady of expansive eyes happened to see on the earth the Ingudi pinda, which had been placed by Rama for his sire on the darbha with their tops pointing southwards. Seeing this, which had been placed on the ground by Rama disconsolate for his sire, the noble Kaucalya addressed all the wives of Dacaratha, saying, "Do ye behold this that hath been duly offered to the high-souled descendant of Raghu—lord of the Ikshvaku race—by Raghava. I do not deem this as fit fare for that magnanimous monarch resembling a celestial, who had enjoyed every luxury (in life). Having enjoyed this earth bounded by the four seas, how can that lord of the world, resembling on earth the mighty Indra, feed on this Ingudi pinda? Nothing appeareth to me more deplorable in this world than this that the auspicious Rama hath offered an Ingudi cake unto his father. Seeing the Ingudi pinda offered by Rama unto his father, why doth not my heart break into a thousand shivers? Now the tradition in vogue among men, appearth to be true, viz., that "the fare that is partaken by a person, is also partaken by his deity." Then those that were co-wives with her, consoled the distressed Kaucalya; and, (entering the asylum), beheld Rama like an immortal dropped from the celestial regions. Seeing Rama, who had been deprived of every comfort, his mothers, overwhehhed with grief and distress, began to shed tears, lamenting. Raising his mothers, that foremost of men, Rama, true to his promise, took hold of those lotus feet of theirs. And those ones furnished with expansive eyes, (on their turn) by means of their fair hands of delicious feel furnished with soft fingers and palms, fell to rubbing the dust off Rama's back. After Rama had done, Sumitra's son also, seeing all his mothers, with sorrow gently paid his reverence unto them with affection. Thereat, as they had treated Rama, all the ladies treated that one sprung from Dacaratha, Lakshmana, graced with auspicious marks. Sita also with her eyes filled with tears, having taken hold of the feet of her mothers-in- law, stood before them in distressful guise. Embracing that woeful one in banishment, even as a mother doth her daughter, Kaucalya, smitten with grief, said, "The daughter of Videha's King, and the daughter-in-law of Dacaratha, and the wife of Rama himself—why doth such a lady undergo misery in the lone forest? O Vaidehi, beholding thy face like unto a lotus heated under the sun, or a lily that hath been crushed, or like unto gold covered with dust, or the moon enveloped by clouds, grief begot of this vortex of disaster that is in my mind, fiercely burneth me, as fire consumeth a structure." As his wretched mother was thus speaking, Bharata's elder brother, Raghava, approaching, took the feet of Vasishtha. Having taken hold of the feet of the priest resembling a flame, and of accumulated energy,—like unto that lord of the immortals, Indra, taking the feet of Vrihaspati, Raghava sat down with him. Then behind them (Rama and Vasishtha), along with his own counsellors, and principal citizens, and generals, and persons of eminent piety,—sat the virtuous Bharata in the presence of his elder brother. Seeing Raghava in the guise of an ascetic, flaming in grace, the exceedingly powerful Bharata with joined palms sat down in company with his brother, like the great Indra of controlled faculties in presence of Prajapati. "What will Bharata, having bowed unto Raghava and paid him homage, will say to him?" —this intense curiosity arose in (the minds of) all the noble persons present there. And Raghava having truth and forbearance, and Laksmana endowed with magnanimity, and Bharata possessed of righteousness, surrounded by their friends, appeared (there) like unto the three fires surrounded by Sadasyas.

SECTION 105.

As those foremost of persons surrounded by their friends indulged in lamentations, the night passed away in grief. On the night being succeeded by an auspicious morning, those brothers surrounded by their friends, having performed Homa and Japa on the Mandakini, returned unto Rama. And sitting silent, no one said anything. Then Bharata addressed Rama in the midst of those friends, saying, "My mother was (first) pacified (by grant of the kingdom.) The kingdom is (now) mine. I grant the same unto thee. Do thou enjoy the kingdom rid of its thorns. Like unto a dyke forced by a torrent during the rains, this mighty monarchy is difficult of being protected save by thee. As a mule is incapable of imitating the course of a horse, or as birds, that of Tarkshya, I, O Lord of earth, lack the strength to imitate thee. O Rama, ever happy is the life of him that others depend upon for subsistence: unhappy is the life of the person that depends upon others for support. As a tree planted by a person, and by him made to increase, (until at last), sending out branches, a mighty tree, it is incapable of being got up by a dwarf; and then, if, flowering, it show no fruits, it cannot contribute to the satisfaction of htm for whom it hath been planted. O mighty- armed one, this comparison is meant for thee. This it behoves thee to apprehend, inasmuch as thou art our excellent lord, and thou dost not teach us who depend upon thee for support. Let the principal orders, O monarch, behold thee, represser of foes—established in the kingdom, like the powerful sun himself. O Kakustha, let mad elephants roar, with the view of following thee; and let the women of the inner apartments with concentrated minds utter jubilation." On hearing the words of Bharata, who was beseeching Rama,

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many of the citizens expressed their approbation by exclaiming, "Excellent well!" Seeing the illustrious Bharata aggrieved and engaged in lamentation, the calm and considerate Rama consoled him, saying, "No creature is endowed wth the power of exercising any control over the course of events,—man has no independent status (in nature). The Destoyer draws him both here and hereafter. Those that increase, are destined to deteriorate; those that go upward, ultimately fall, those that come together, separate in the end; and life at length meets with death. As a ripe fruit hath no other fear than fall, so man who is born, hath no other fear than death. Even as a stout-pillared edifice, getting dilapidated, waxes weak, so men coming under the sway of decrepitude and death, get enfeebled. A night that hath gone by, doth not return, as the full Jamuna, when she hath entered the ocean, doth not come back. In this world, days and nights pass away with creatures, and speedily impair their lives, even as in summer the rays (of the sun) (dry up) the waters. Do thou therefore deplore thyself. Why dost thou lament any thing else? Every one's life is decreasing, whether he sits or moves. Death goeth with one, sitteth down with one, and, after having gone a long way, returneth with one. The person is filled with folds in the skin, the hair hath grown hoary, the individual is enfeebled because of age,— by doing what, can he prevent this? People rejoice on the rising of the sun; they feel delighted at the approach of night,—but they do not understand that their lives have (meanwhile) been shortened. People are exhilarated at the commencement of a new season in novel fashion; creatures get their lives shortened at the change of seasons. As on the mighty ocean, one piece of wood comes in contact with another; so, a person, having been in association with another, is seperated from him in time. In this way, wives and sons and kindred and wealth, having been in association, go away; their separation is certain. There exists not one in this world that can change one's nature as received. A person lamenting a dead individual, hath no power to prevent his own death. As, while one is proceeding on a road, another stationed by the way, says, 'I too will go in thy wake', even so, the way that hath been followed by our predecessors, (must be followed as well by us.) Why should people mourn (for deceased relatives), when they are themselves subject to the fate that knoweth no turning? (Perceiving the destruction of) life declining, like unto a current that never turneth back, one should engage his soul in happiness; for all men are said to be born for the same. My child, our righteous sire, who, after having performed excellent and entire sacrifices, accompanied with dakshinas, hath repaired to heaven, honoured of the good, should not be mourned. [The N. W. P. text has seven additional lines here, wanting in the other texts:—"That lord of the earth, our father Dacaratha, hath gone to heaven. On account of having adequately maintained his servants and governed his subjects, and virtuously given away wealth, our sire hath gone to heaven. And by virtue of supremely excellent and desirable acts, and sacrifices accompanied with dakshinas, that master of this world, our father Dacaratha, hath ascended heaven. And having celebrated many sacrifices and enjoyed luxuries, that lord of the earth, having attained a goodly age, hath gone to heaven."] Having renounced his human frame wasted and worn out with age, our father hath attained celestial state, which exists in the regions of Brahma. Such an one should never be mourned by any wise person like thee or myself, accomplished in learning and more than ordinarily intelligent. Such manifold grief and mourning and lamentation should be renounced by intelligent and firm persons in all conditions in life. Do thou cast off this grief: let not sorrow overpower thee. Going thither, stay in that city. And, O best of speakers, this was also enjoined by our sire of controlled senses. I also must do my noble father's will as to whatever that one of pious acts has laid upon me. O subduer of foes, it is not proper for me to pass by his orders. So thay are also worthy of being honoured by thee. He is our friend and father. O descendant of Raghu, that mandate of our righteous father, acceptable unto me, will I obey by abiding in the woods. O foremost of men, (good in) the next world is capable of being attained by an honest and pious person crowned with sterling virtues, ever following his superiors. O best of men, thinking that our father Dacaratha has attained excellent state, do thou, resorting to all noble qualities, seek thy welfare in the next world." Having said these significant words unto his younger brother, with the view of making him obey the injunctions of their father, that lord, the magnanimous Rama, paused.

SECTION 106.

On Rama having stopped after speaking these pregnant words, the virtuous Bharata addressed the righteous Rama attached unto his subjects in an excellent speech on the banks of the Mandakini, saying, "O vanquisher of foes, who is there in this world like unto thee? Pain doth not afflict thee, nor doth pleasure exhilarate. Thyself the exemplar of even aged people, thou referrest to them on doubtful points (of morality). 'Living like unto dead and existing like unto non-existing'—what shall make a person that hath attained this intellectual state, grieve? O lord of men, he that like unto thee understands the nature of the soul and its environment coming by any calamity, ought not to despond. Thou resemblest, O Raghava, the god in strength, and art magnanimous, and truthful in promise! and knowest every thing and art endued with intelligence. Calamity, however unbearable it may be, should not overpower a person like thyself furnished with such virtues and cognisant of life and death. The sin that in my absence from home hath been perpetrated by my mean-minded mother doth not find favour in my sight. Be thou therefore propitous to me. I am bound by the fetters of religion. For this it is that I do not by a severe penalty slay my wicked mother deserving of chastisement. How having sprung from Dacaratha of righteous deeds and born of immaculate race, and knowing virtue and vice, can I commit such a reprehensible action? Dacaratha is our superior, of meritorious acts, aged our king, a departed spirit, and our father, it is on account of this that I do not censure our father who is a deity unto us. O cognisant of virtue, what virtuous person conversant in morality, should, seeking the pleasure of his wife, commit such a sinful act devoid of both righteousness and interest? 'Creatures, as their end approaches, lose their sense' this ancient adage has been illustrated in the world by the course the king has taken. Do thou, intent upon bringing about good, redeem the wrong that hath been done by our sire through anger, ignorance and recklessness. The son that repaireth the wrong done by his father by acting contrary to the latter is in this world considered really a son; but not he that acteth otherwise. Be thou that (real) son (of the monarch). Do thou not approve the action of thy father, since what he has done is divorced from righteousness and is blameworthy. Do thou rescue all these— Kaikeyi, myself, my father, our friends and adherents, and the whole body of the citizens as well as the inhabitants of the provinces. Where is the forest? And where is Kshatriya morality? Where are matted locks? And where is thy government of the country? It behoves thee not to act in such an untoward way. Even this is the first duty of a Kshatriya, viz.,—getting oneself installed,—by means of which, O highly wise one, he can compass the government of the people. What base Kshatriya setting aside this indubitable morality, resorts to a dubious and inaupicious course, which should be followed by the old alone? But if thou be bent upon practising this austere morality, do thou undergo this trouble, after having righteously ruled the four orders. O thou cognisant of morality, those versed in duty say that of the four modes of life, the life of the householder is the foremost. Why then dost thou wish to renounce the same? I am inferior to thee in learning, in position, and in birth. How can I then govern the earth, thou existing? Void of sense and quality, a boy, and inferior to thee in point of years, I, deprived of thee, can not live. O thou cognisant of morality, do thou, along with thy friends, according to thy proper morality rule this entire ancestral kingdom rid of its thorns and enjoying tranquillity. Even here, O thou cognisant of the Mantras, let all the subjects and the Ritwijas with Vasishtha, versed in the Mantras, install thee. Having been installed, go to Ayodhya, for the purpose of governing it, having with our assistance conquered thy enemies by thy strength, like Vasava conquering (his foes) with the help of the Maruts. Having freed thyself from thy threefold debts, do thou govern me, repressing thy foes, and propitiating thy friends with every gratification. O noble one, to-day let thy friends rejoice in consequence of thy coronation. To day let those that intend to do thee harm, being frightened, fly to the ten cardinal points. O foremost of men, wiping out the disgrace of my mother, do thou emancipate our sire from sin. I beseech thee with bent head. Be thou merciful unto me, unto all our friends, and, O great lord, unto all creatures in general. But, if disregarding my solicitations, thou wend from here to the forest, I shall go along with thee." Although thus besought and propitiated by Bharata with bent head, that lord of the earth, Rama, possessed of strength, established in the words of his father, did not decide for going. Witnessing that wonderful firmness in Raghava, the people were at one and the same time delighted and depressed. They were aggrieved because he would not go to Ayodhya; they rejoiced on seeing his firm resolution. Then the Ritwijas, the citizens, and their leaders, and the mothers with their senses lost and with tears in their eyes, extolled Bharata as he was speaking thus; and, bowing down unto Rama, they directed their solicitations together.

SECTION 107.

As Bharata was again speaking in this strain, his graceful elder brother, having been highly honoured, answered Bharata in the midst of his relatives, saying, "Having been born as a son unto Dacaratha—foremost of monarchs—by Kaikeyi, this speech of thine is worthy of thee. O brother, formerly when our father espoused the hand of thy mother, he promised her the kingdom as her marriage portion. Then on the occasion of the war between the gods and the Asuras, that master, the king, well pleased (with her), being besought, granted her a boon. Having been thus promised, that virtuous lady, thy illustrious mother, O foremost of men, asked for two boons (of the king),—viz., thy enthronement, O best of men, and my banishment Thus besought by her, the king conferred on her the boon. And, thou foremost of men, I have been enjoined by my sire to stay in the woods for fourteen years, in consequence of his having granted her the boon. And, having, in company with Lakshmana and Sita, come to the lone forest, I in humble guise am staying in the truthful speech of my father. Thou too, thou foremost of kings, shouldst in the same way speedily render our father truthful, by getting thyself installed. O Bharata, for my sake, do thou free that lord, the king, from his debts. Do thou, O thou cognisant of morality, deliver our father and gladden thy mother. O child, we hear that in Gaya, formerly the famous Gaya, engaged in a sacrifice, chaunted this Vaidika hymn, for pleasing his departed ancestors : 'Since a son delivereth his sire from the hell named Put, a son goeth by the appellation of putra, he protecting his (departed) ancestors in every way. One should wish for many sons crowned with qualities and versed in various lore, for the chance is that one at least of these may repair to Gaya.' O son of the Raghu race, the Rajarshis have delivered their decision on the point. Therefore, thou foremost of men, do thou, O lord, rescue thy sire from hell. O Bharata, go to Ayodhya, and please the subjects, in company with Satrughna, O hero, and all the regenerate ones. I also, O hero, without delay shall have to enter the forest of Dandaka in company with Lakshmana and Sita. O Bharata, be thou thyself the monarch of men, I shall become the king of kings of deer. Go thou to that foremost of. cities with a glad heart: with a glad heart will I enter Dandaka. O Bharata, let the umbrella barring out the rays of the sun, afford cool shade unto thy head: I shall happily seek the dense shade of these forest trees. Satrughna endued with cleverness is thy helper: Sumitra's son is well known as my best friend. We four worthy sons of that foremost of monarchs will keep him established in truth, O Bharata. Let not thy mind despond."

SECTION 108.

As Rama cognisant of righteousness was thus encouraging Bharata, Javali—best of Brahmanas—addressed him in words divorced from morality, saying, "O Raghava, endowed with a noble understanding and leading a life of asceticism, do not suffer thy intellect to entertain inanities, like any low person. Who is whose friend? And to what is one entitled and by virtue of what relation? And who is such? Since a creature is born alone and dies alone, a person that cherishes his father and mother with affection, must, O Rama, be looked upon as a madman. No individual hath any one (in this world). As on the eve of setting out for another country, a person stays somewhere (outside the village he lives in), and the next day goes away, renouncing that abode, even such are a man's father and mother, house and wealth. O Kakutshta, worthy people never bear affection towards a mere abode. Therefore, O best of men, leaving thy ancestral kingdom, thou ought not to abide in the disagreeable forest filled with dangers and difficulties. Do thou get thyself sprinkled in the prosperous Ayodhya. The city expects thee wearing a single woven braid. O king's son, enjoying costly regal pleasures, do thou sport in Ayodhya, like Sakra in the celestial regions. Dacaratha is none unto thee, and thou too art none unto Dacaratha: He is quite other than thy sire; and thou hast no connexion with him. Therefore, do thou act as I tell thee. A father is merely an instrumental cause (touching the generation of his child). A father's semen coming in contact with a mother's blood, at the time befitting conception, a person is brought into being. The king hath gone the way he should. This is the nature of all creatures. But thou for naught denyest thyself (the manliness of monarchal power). Those that disregarding interest are devoted to virtue, do I mourn—and not others; for having suffered misery here, they in the end meet with extinction. People engage in Ashtaka [The lunar days and months for propitiating the manes.] in behalf of ancestors and deities. Behold the waste of edibles. Doth any dead person feed? If food partaken by one is transferred to the body of another, offer Sraddha unto one going to a distant land, and that shall serve for his provender on the way. Works (on morality) enjoining—'Worship,' 'Give away,' 'Be initiated,' 'Observe rites,' 'Renounce',—have been composed by intelligent persons, for inducing people to be charitable. O magnanimous one, assure thyself there is no hereafter. Do thou remain grounded in the evident, turning thy back on what is beyond our ken. Placing in front the intellect of the good, and approved by all, do thou, propitiated by Bharata, accept the monarchy."

SECTION 109.

Hearing Javali's words, Rama having truth for prowess, by help of an exceedingly subtle intellect uninfluenced (under the exhortations of that sage), said, "What thou, wishing for my welfare, hast dwelt upon, though wearing the guise of a good action, is really not such; and though appearing to be beneficent, is really calculaled to entail misery. The person that with his sinful acts sticking to him, walketh astray, as well as he that holdeth up (unto others) different patterns of character (from those recommended by scripture), doth not win honour with the good. One's character (fashioned

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according to scripture) shows whether one is high-born or base, heroic or vainly priding himself on his manliness, pure or impure. (But by adopting the code of conduct inculcated by thee), a mean character may appear as a noble one, one bereft of purity may appear pure, an inauspicious individual may seem auspicious, and one of vile ways may appear honest. If I adopt this unrighteous course, calculated to produce confusion of castes, and do acts not recognised by scripture, I shall, renouncing good, have to reap only evil. Then what man possessed of consciousness and capable of discriminating between right and wrong, shall honour me, given to wicked ways and deserving of universal reprehension? Whose is this course (that thou askest me to follow)? And by what way shall I attain heaven, by following the present course, which would make me give up my vow? When I have (first) myself set up desire as my standard of action, the entire body of the people shall follow me: subjects take to the ways that have been adopted by their sovereigns. This eternal regal morality founded in kindness towards the subjects, is verily true. Hence a kingdom is essentially based upon truth; and this world itself is established in truth. Saints and celestials for certain regard truth alone. In this world a truthful person attains the regions of Brahma. Untruthful persons harass people as much as serpents. In this world virtue, which is said to be the root of everything, is itself established in truth. In this world, truth is the Lord; in truth is established righteousness. Everything hath truth for its basis. No condition is superior to truth. The Veda, which inculcates gift, sacrifice, homa, and asceticism, is based on truth. One protects men, another his family; one is plunged in hell,—another is honoured in heaven. Why should I not then obey the mandate of my father? My father was of truthful promise and of righteous ways; and with the object of observing his promise, he laid on me this (for faithful performance). Having promised to my superior with an oath, I shall never through covetuousness or forgetfulness or pride rive the bridge of truth. We have heard that the gods and the Pitrisdo not accept offerings from one inclined to untruth, or who is unsteady and of volatile faculties. This duty of maintaining truth, whose influence radiates all over one's soul, I certainly find to be the prime one; and this burthen hath (ere this) been borne by worthy people. And it is for this that I reverence the same. I abjure that Kshatriya morality which, wearing the garb of righteousness, is in fact impiety, and which is pursued by the low-minded, or the wicked, or the covetuous, or the sinful. A person commits a sin by means of his physique, but after he hath accurately cast it in his mind; and he hath also spoken an untruth with his tongue. Thus a sin is threefold. The earth and fame and renown and auspiciousness pay court unto the truthful person. The good follow truth,—therefore even truth is to be sought (by all). Therefore the seemingly excellent thing that thou, after having well ascertained it, hast said unto me in words informed with reason—'Thou hadst rather do this'—appears to me wanting in nobility. How, after having promised unto my superior this exile of mine, shall I act up to Bharata's words, setting aside those of my superior? I having remained firm in the promise I had made unto my superior, that noble lady, Kaikeyi, became excceedingly delighted. Living in the forest, pure, with regulated fare, I shall, propitiating the gods and the Pitris with fruits, flowers and roots, (fulfil my vow). Satisfying the five classes, I shall, retaining my simplicity and my religious faith, and being able to distinguish between right and wrong, pass away the term (of banishment). Having come to this scene of action, one should do that which is proper. Even Agni and Vayu and Soma reap the fruits of their own acts. Having acquired the appellation of Satakratu, the sovereign of the celestials hath gone to heaven; and, having performed rigid austerities, the Maharshis have attained the celestial regions." Having heard of the reasons couched in that atheistical speech which he could not allow to pass without stricture, that one of fierce energy, the king's son, censuring what Javali had said, again spoke, "Truth, righteousness, prowess, kindness to creatures, fair spokenness, and worship of the twice-born ones, gods and guests, these have by the pious been styled the ways to heaven. Having duly heard that these are capable of conferring the summum bonum, and also come to the same conclusion by reasoning, Vipras, adequately and competely observing morality with the utmost care, are eagerly desirous of attaining those regions. I blame this act of my father's, viz.— that he took (for his priest) one of perverse understanding, who rangeth by help of such an intellect—who is frightfully atheistic, and who hath swerved from the path of righteousness. As a thief is, so is a Buddha, and know that in this matter, an atheist is in a like predicament. Therefore, such an one, when capable of being punished like a thief for the good of the people, should be punished like a thief; and let no Brahmana ever speak with an atheist. Other Brahmanas than thyself, superior to thee, have, serving this world as well as the next, performed various exellent acts. Therefore those Brahmanas, amen, who have spared life and in other ways practised morality, and have also given away in charity, performed austerities and served others, (perform sacrifices in consonance with Vedas). And principal ascetics engaged in religion, surrounded by the good, possessed of energy, having charity for their foremost attribute, void of envy, and their hearts free from all stain,—are honoured in this world." When the magnanimous Rama of undiminished strength had wrathfully said this, that Vipra with supplications again spoke words fraught with morality and high spiritual truth. I do not speak the language of atheists; nor am I an atheist; nor yet is it true that there is nothing (hereafter). On the occasion of things having reference to the next world being performed, I am again a believer; and on the occasion of things' connexion with this world being taken in hand, I am an atheist once again. O Rama, the time has gradually drawn nigh when for the purpose of making thee turn back, it is necessary that I should speak the language of atheism. But pacifying thee, I have (again) spoken this (i.e. I am a believer).

SECTION 110.

Knowing that Rama was wroth, Vasishtha said, "Javali knoweth the departure of creatures to the next world and their return thence. Anxious of making thee turn back, he had spoken thus. Do thou now, O lord of the world, learn the genesis of creatures from me. Water was everywhere. The earth was constructed therein. Then sprang the self-create Brahma along with all the celestials. Having become a boar, he raised up the earth, and along with his sons of subdued souls created everything. Brahma eternal, existing through all time and incapable of decay, sprang from the sky. From him Marichi came into being, and Kacyapa is Marichi's son. Vivaswat drew his birth from Kacyapa, and Manu from Vivaswat. Manu was formerly known as Prajapati. Ikshwaku is son unto Manu; and this world was first conferred upon Ikshwaku by Manu. Do thou know Ikshwaku as the first king in Ayodhya. The graceful Kukshi is known as the son of Ikshwaku. And, O hero, Kukshi's son was Vikukshi. Vikukshi had the powerful Vana possessed of exceeding energy for his son. Vana had the mighty-armed Anaranya of high austerities for his son. During the time of that foremost of righteous persons, the monarch Anaranya, drouth or famine did not occur (in Ayodhya); nor were there any thieves at that time. O mighty king, from Anaranya sprang king Prithu. From Prithu sprang Trisanku of mighty energy. This hero by virtue of his truth telling went to heaven in person. Trisanku had the famous Dhundumara for his son; and from Dhundumara Juvanasya was born. Juvanasya's son was the handsome Mandhata; and from Mandhata Susandhi came into being. Susandhi had two sons; Dhruvasandhi and Prasenajit. Dhruvasandhi had the illustrious Bharata, destroyer of foes (for his son) From Bharata sprang Asita—to whom sprang these hostile kings as foes, Harhayas, Talajanghas and Sasavindus—heroes all. Having engaged with them in battle, the king was excited (by them). And on the romantic Himavat, he became engaged in asceticism. It is said that at the time, his two wives were gone with child. There one of the exalted ladies having eyes resembling lotus petals saluted Bhrigu's son furnished with the splendour of a celestial, desirous of having an excellent son. Another administered poison unto the other for destroying her foetus. Bhrigu's son named Chyavana was at that time staying in Himavat. Appearing before the sage, Kalindi saluted him. Thereupon he returned the greeting that had been made by that lady anxious to secure a boon for the birth of a son. "Thou, shalt, O lady get a son of mighty soul, who shall be celebrated among men; and who shall be pious and powerful—the perpetuator of his race and destroyer of enemies" Hearing this, that noble lady having gone round him and paid in respect unto the ascetic went to her home and gave birth to a son furnished with eyes resembling lotus-petals, and of sheen like that of the inside of a lotus. And because her co wife, had given her poison for destroying her foetus, and as in consequence of this, he had come in contact with poison, he came to be called Sagara. The name of that king is Sagara, who having been initiated in a sacrifice excavated the ocean, frightening the people with the vehemence of his operations. Asamanja is known to have been the son of Sagara. This wicked man while yet in life, was banished by his father. Asamanja's son was the puissant Ancumat. Dilipa is the son of Ancumat and Dilipa's son is Bhagirtha. From Bhagiratha sprang Kakustha; from whom the Kakusthas came to be well known. Kakutstha had Raghu for his son; after whom have been named the Raghavas. Raghu's son is the energetic Pravirda, who ate human beings. He is known on earth under such names as Kalmashapada, Saudasa. We have heard that Kalmashapada's son was Sankhana, who having been endowed with prowess, found destruction along with his forces. Sankhana's son was the beautiful and heroic Sudarcana. Sudarcana's son was Agnivarna and Agnivarna's, Sighraga; Sighraga's son was Maru, and Maru's Pracucruva's. Pracucruva's son was the magnanimous Amvarisha. Amvarisha's son was Nahusha having truth for his prowess. Nahusha's son was the exceedingly Virtuous Nabhaga. Nabhaga had two sons,—Aja and Suvrata. Aja's son was the virtuous king Dacaratha. His eldest son art thou celebrated under the name of Rama. Do thou receive thy own kingdom and look after the world. Among the Ikshwakus, the first born becomes the sovereign. The first born existing, an inferior son cannot be installed in the kingdom. It therefore doth not today behove thee to depart from the ever existing morality of the descendants of Raghu. Do thou rule this earth filled with gems, and furnished with high fame, do thou like unto a father govern her containing many kingdoms."

SECTION 111.

Having thus addressed Rama, the royal priest Vasishtha again spoke unto him words fraught with righteousness, saying, "Unto a man born there are three superiors, viz, the preceptor, O Kakutstha, and father and mother, O Raghava. O foremost of men, the father begets a person, the preceptor imparts wisdom and therefore is he called a superior. I, O subduer of foes, have been the preceptor of both thyself and thy father. By doing what I say, thou wilt not lose the state of the righteous. These courtiers of thine—these relatives, and these kings;—by protecting them virtuously thou wilt not lose the state of the righteous. It doth not behove thee to disregard the words of thy aged and virtuous mother. By doing her bidding thou wilt not lose the state of the righteous. O Raghava, by acting as Bharata, who is soliciting thee, says, thou having the morality of truth for thy prowess, wilt not be frustrated of the state of the pious." Thus sweetly addressed by his preceptor personally, that foremost of men, Raghava, replied unto Vasishtha, seated with him, saying, "What his father and mother always do in behalf of their son, and what they effect by way of provision and sleep and clothing and constant swest speech, and sport, is difficult of being repaid. Therefore, what my father, king Dacaratha hath commanded me to do, must not be falsified." Rama having said this, the broad-breasted Bharata, extremely depressed spoke unto the charioteer who was by, saying, "O charioteer, do thou speedily spread Kuca on the ground here. I will remain near the noble one until he be kindly disposed (towards me). Even as a twice born one deprived of his wealth lieth down (at the door of an unrighteous person), eschewing food and in darkness, will I lie down in front of this cottage, until he betakes himself back (to Ayodhya)" Then with a dispirited heart finding Sumantra looking up to Rama, Bharata himself spread Kuca and lay down upon it. To him spoke that foremost of Rajarshis, the highly energetic Rama, "O Bharata, my dear brother, what have I done that thou hast down by me? It is a Brahmana who alone can obstruct a person by lying down beside him; but there is no rule by which a member of the military class* can lie down (in this wise). [* Murdhabhisikta—Murdha, the head; Abhisikta, sprinkled; kings being consecrated by having poured on their heads, while seated on a throne, prepared for the purpose, water from some sacred stream, mixed with honey, clarified butter, and spirituous liquor, as well as two sorts of grass and sprouts of corn; the term applies to the Kshetriya as identified with the king, the duties of royalty belonging specially to the military caste.] O best of men, arise, renouncing this difficult vow; and, O descendant of Raghu, do thou from hence take thyself unto that best of cities, Ayodhya." Being seated, Bharata, eying the citizens and the inhabitants of of the provinces, remarked, "What for do ye not solicit the noble one?" Thereupon the citizens and the dwellers of the provinces answered that high-souled one, saying, "We perceive that the descendant of Raghu says unto Kakutstha what is fit; and this exceedingly virtuous one stayeth by the words of his sire. Therefore we are incapable of suddenly saying anything." Hearing their speech, Rama said, "Listen to the words of these friends having morality for their vision. And, O scion of the Raghu race, hearing their utterances as regards both thyself and me, do thou decide. Arise, thou mighty-armed one. Touch me and then water." Thereat arising, Bharata, having touched water, said, "Ye courtiers, and ye ministers, listen to me! I did not wish for my paternal kingdom; nor did I sway my mother (towards obtaining the same); nor did I know that the exceedingly righteous Raghava was to seek the woods. But if he must dwell here, and thus act out the mandate of our father, I also will abide in the forest for fourteen years." Astonished at the determination of Bharata, the righteous Rama eying the citizens and the inhabitants of the provinces, said, "Neither Bharata nor I can anual any sale or pledge or purchase effected by our father during his life. Therefore I ought not to accept any substitute for living in the woods, who can but contribute to my censure. Kaikeyi hath spoken what is proper; and my father hath acted well. I know Bharata to be forgiving, and given to serving superiors. Everything in that high-souled one intent on truth appeareth beneficial. Having returned from the forest, I will in company with this brother of virtuous character, become the worthy master of this earth. The king having been made by Kaikeyi to consent (to her proposal), I have done as she told me. Do thou by acting in the way calculated to free that lord of the earth, our father (from the debt of promise), do so."

SECTION 112.

Observing the meeting of the two brothers of unparalleled energy, capable of making one's hair stand on end, the Maharshis struck with surprise came to the scene. And remaining invisible, the ascetics, Sidhas and prime saints

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admired those brothers, the virtuous Kakutsthas. "Blessed is he whose sons these, two cognisant of virtue and having truth for prowess are. Having heard their converse, we are delighted." Then the saints, desirous of the destruction of the ten-headed one, having become unanimous, speedily addressed that foremost of monarchs, Bharata, saying, "Born in an illustrious line, endeued with high wisdom, of high character and high fame, thou shouldst accept Rama's words, if thou hast a care for the happiness of thy sire. We wish that Rama may always act truthfully in respect of his father. By virtue of his truth connected with Kaikeyi, Dacaratha hath gone to heaven." Having said this, the Gandharbhas, Maharshis, and Rajarshis each went to his proper quarter. Having paid homage unto those saints, Rama possessed of a gracious presence, hearing their words, was filled with joy, and looked lovely with his delightful countenance. But with his frame agitated (with emotion), Bharata with joined hands again addressed Raghava in words faltering (with feeling), "O Rama, taking into account the morality of this race, it behoves thee to act in accordance with the solicitations of my mother (and thine). I do not venture to govern this vast kingdom alone, or please the citizens and the inhabitants of the provinces attached unto thee. And as husbandmen remain expecting rain, our kindred, and wariors and friends and adherents wait in expectation of thee. O exceedingly wise one, accepting the kingdom, do thou place it in the hands of some person. O Kakutstha, whomsoever thou wilt chose for performing this office, will surely prove strong enough to govern the people." Having said this, Bharata fell at his brother's feet; and sweetly addressing him—"O Raghava", solicited him once again. Takjng on his lap that sable-hued one furnished with eyes resembling lotus-leaves, Rama with a voice like that of a mad swan, spoke unto (Bharata), "Thou hast at length attained the mental attitude that is natural and that also comes of the training one receives at the hands of his preceptor. And, brother thou venturest greatly to protect the earth. Taking counsel with courtiers, adherents and intelligent ministers, do thou achieve grand tasks. Even if beauty forsaketh the moon, or Himavat his snow, or the ocean overleaps its shores, I shall not forsake the promise of my sire. And, my brother, thou ought not to cherish in thy mind what thy mother incited by covetuousness or affection for thee hath done; and thou should act by her as one should by one's mother," When Rama resembling the sun in energy and like the moon of Pratipat in appearance, had said this, Bharata said unto the son of Kaucalya, "O noble one, do thou take off thy feet thy sandals adorned with gold. These shall protect what the people have got and secure unto thee what they lack." Thereupon taking off his sandals, that highly energetic one gave them to the magnanimous Bharata. Bharata, bowing down unto the sandals, said, "O hero, for four and ten years shall I, wearing matted locks and bark, and subsisting upon fruits and roots, O scion of the Raghu race, expecting thy arrival, remain outside the city, having, O subduer of foes, made over the task of government unto thy sandals. And, foremost of Raghus, if after the completion of the fourteen years, I do not see thee, I shall enter into fire. Promising, "So be it" and affectionately embracing Bharata, and also embracing Satrughna, Rama said, "Do thou protect thy mother Kaikeyi. Do not be angry with her. Both Janaki and I conjure thee to do this, O descendant of Raghu." Having said this, he forsook his brother, with tears in his eyes. Then accepting those burnished and garnished sandals, Bharata versed in morality circumabulated Raghava, and placed the sandals on the head of an excellent elephant. Then having one by one honoured that assembly, and his preceptor and the counsellors, and the subjects and his younger brothers, perpetuator of the Raghu race, steady in his own duty like Himavat itself, took leave of them. His mothers with their throats invaded by the vapour of grief could not from distress of heart say aught unto him. And Rama also having paid homage unto all of them, weeping entered his own cottage.

SECTION 113.

Then taking the pair of sandals on his head, Bharata in company with Satrughna well pleased, ascended the car. And Vasishtha, and Vamadeva and Javali steady in his vow, as well as the ministers, honoured on account of their counsels, went before. And going round the charming Mandakini, thy went eastwards, circumambulating (at the same time) the mighty hill, Chitrakuta. And beholding various kinds of beautiful minerels by thousands. Bharata accompanied by his army went by the side (of the hill). At a short distance from Chitrakuta, Bharata beheld the spot where the ascetic Bharadwaja had built his habitation. Approaching the asylum, the puissant Bharata descended from the car, and the son of Raghu then paid homage unto the saint's feet. Thereat Bharadwaja well pleased said, "Hast thou, my child, on meeting with Rama, done what it behoved thee to do?" Thus addressed by the intelligent Bharadwaja, Bharata attached to righteousness answered the former, saying, "Solicited by our preceptor as well as by myself, Raghava of steady prowess highly pleased spoke unto Vasishtha, 'I would faithfully perform my father's promise for fourteen years; for even this is the promise of my father.' Thus accosted, the eminently wise Vasishtha skilled in speech replied unto Rlghava in these pregnant words, 'Do thou well pleased confer (on Bharata) thy sandals decked in gold. Thereby, O exceedingly wise one, thou wilt be able to protect what the people have and secure unto them what they have not.' Thus addressed by Vasishtha, Raghava facing the east, conferred on me his sandals decked in gold, in order that I might carry on the government of the kingdom. Commanded by the magnanimous Rama, I retrace my steps. I will go to Ayodhya, taking the sandals along with me." Hearing these auspicious words of the high- souled Bharata, the ascetic Bharadwaja said unto Bharata, "It is no wonder that Rama hath acted nobly by thee, foremost among men and possessed of an (excellent) character and disposition, even as water poured out, floweth downwards. Thy father Dacaratha hath become freed from his debts, since he hath a son like unto thee, righteous and attached to virtue". When the ascetic had said this, Bharata with joined palms paid his respects unto that highly wise one, by taking hold of his feet. And after having again and again gone round Bharadwaja, the graceful Bharata went to Ayodhya accompaniad by his counsellors. And returning by means of cars and carts, horses and elephants, that army marching in the wake of Bharata, spread wide. And after having crossed the beautiful river Yamuna flowing in waves, they again beheld the river Ganga of auspicious waters. And having along with his friend crossed over that river filled with beautiful waters, Bharata together with his army entered the charming city of Sringava. And from the city of Sringava he went to Ayodhya and again beheld it. And seeing Ayodhya bereft of his father and mother, Bharata burning in grief, said unto the charioteer, "O charioteer, behold that Ayodhya, which shorn of its splendour and decorations, and plunged in grief, forlorn and silent, doth not appear delightful."

SECTION 114.

Arriving by means of a car emitting a low and solemn sound, that lord, the highly famous Bharata speedily entered Ayodhya, ranged by cats and owls, with the doors of the people's dwellings remaining closed; like a night enveloped in darkness; gloomy; and invisible; resembling the beloved wife of Rahu's enemy, Rohini, brilliant with the lustre of the latter, when she is forlorn in consequence of her lover being afflicted by that planet; like unto a mountain stream shrunk up, having its waters turbid and slightly heated, and its fowls burning in the heat; and with its fishes, alligators and other aquatic animals rendered lean; resembling a flame of fire devoid of smoke and streaming up in golden splendour, next sprinkled with clarified butter, and lastly appearing with its crest extinguished; with armour scattered all round, and sick elephants and horses and cars and standards,—and heroes lying dead,—in distress; like unto an army in a mighty encounter; resembling the silent ripples of the ocean raised by the gentle breeze, which ere now (in the shapes of surges) were heaving, brimming over with foam and sending forth roars; like a silent dais after the sacrifice is over, without the sacrificial appurtenances, without worthy priests; like unto the wife of a youthful ox, exercised with anxiety on having been forsaken by her favourite ox, staying in distress in a pen, abstaining from fresh grass; like unto a string of new pearls divorced from noble, mild-gleaming rubies and other excellent gems; like a star on the expiration of its virtue, moving from its' place, and dislodged from heaven, dropping to the earth with its brightness contracted; like a blossoming creeper at the end of spring with maddened Bhramaras [Black bees.] suddenly rendered nerveless in consequence of being caught by a forest fire; with her merchants plunged in grief, and her shops and stalls closed; like the welkin covered with clouds, and having its moon and stars hid; like an unclean, uncovered spot used for drinking, with all the wine drained, and scattered with broken bowls, and with the tipplers lying dead; like unto a reservoir with its terrace riven, filled with broken pots, and lying with its pillars crushed; like a long strong bow-string fixed on a bow furnished with nooses, falling off the bow to the ground, being snapped in consequence of the pressure of the arrow; like a mare, suddenly urged on by a rider skilled in battle, lying (on the ground), having been slain by the hostile forces.

That son of Dacaratha, the beauteous Bharata, while proceeding on his car, addressed the charioteer as he drove that best of cars, saying, "Why do I not hear as formerly the solemn sounds of song and instrumental music spreading on all sides in Ayodhya? And there doth not breathe around the aroma of liquor, or the perfume of garlands, or the incense of aguru and sandal. And on Rama being banished, in this city is not heard the mild neighing of steeds, the rattle of vehicles, the roar of mad elephants, or the mighty clatter of arms. And on Rama having repaired to the forest, youthful folk stricken with sorrow do not enjoy the incense of aguru and sandal, or costly fresh chaplets. And persons bearing variegated garlands do not walk abroad; and no festivities are celebrated in the city stricken with grief on account of Rama. Surely, the grace of the city hath gone away with my brother. Surely, that Ayodhya doth not look beautiful like an autumnal night with showers pouring down. When shall my brother, coming hither like a carnival, gladden all hearts in Ayodhya like rain in summer? And the highways shall be graced with young people elegantly attired and bearing themselves bravely in Ayodhya." Having said this in grief, Bharata in company with the charioteer entered Ayodhya and immediately went to the residence of his father, bereft of that foremost of men, like a cavern bereft of its lion. Seeing the inner apartment shorn of its splendour, like a day deprived of the sun, mourned by the deities, and everywhere unclean, the self-possessed Bharata, mowed by grief, began to drop tears.

SECTION 115.

Having placed his mothers in Ayodhya, Bharata steady in his vow, kindling in grief, said unto his preceptors, "I shall go to Nandigrama, and therefore greet you all. There I shall suffer all this grief on account of Rama's absence. The king hath gone to heaven, and my superior is staying in the woods. I shall remain in expectation of Rama, assuming the reins of government. Verily that illustrious one is the king." Hearing this excellent speech of the high- souled Bharata, the counsellors as well as the priest Vasishtha said, "What, O Bharata, influenced by affection for thy brother thou sayst, is worthy of thee and is highly commendable. Who will not endorse what hath fallen from thee, ever engaged in serving thy friends, established in fraternal love, and who hast entered upon a noble course?" Having heard the words of the counsellors acceptable and welcome, Bharata said unto the charioteer, "Do thou yoke my car." Then with a cheerful countenance having spoken to his mothers, that graceful one ascended the car in company with Satrughna. Having swiftly ascended the car, both Satrughna and Bharata, right glad at heart, set out, surrounded by counsellors and priests. And going ahead, all the preceptors headed by Vasishtha proceeded eastwards, in which direction lay Nandigrama. And the forces, filled with elephants and horses and cars, although not called, set out on Bharata proceeding, as well as all the citizens. And ascending the car, the virtuous Bharata attached unto his brother, speedily went to Nandigrama, holding the sandals (of Rama) on his head. Then entering Nandigrama in a short time, Bharata swiftly alighted from the car and addressed his preceptors, saying, "This monarchy hath been consigned unto me as a trust; and these gold-decked sandals shall carry on the work of government, protecting what the people have and securing unto them what they have not." Then bowing unto the sandals which represented the trust, Bharata burning in grief addressed the entire body of the subjects, saying, "Do ye speedily hold the umbrella (over these sandals). These represent the dear feet of the exalted one. Through these sandals of my superior, will be established the regal morality (of the kingdom). This kingdom from love hath been conferred on me as a trust; therefore I shall govern it until Raghava comes. Again speedily putting these sandals on Raghava's feet, I shall behold them with the sandals on. On Raghava coming (back), I shall, my burden being cast upon him, making over the kingdom unto him, engage myself in serving my superior. And having rendered unto Raghava the trust in the shape of these sandals, this kingdom, and Ayodhya, I shall be washed from my sin." Henceforth wearing bark and matted locks, and in the guise of an ascetic, the heroic Bharata dwelt in Nandigrama along with his forces. Having consigned all rule unto the sandals, Bharata himself held the umbrella and the chowri furnished with hair. And the graceful Bharata, having installed the sandals of the noble one, always carried on the government in subordination to them.

SECTION 116.

On Bharata having returned, while Rama was dwelling in the woods, he noticed affright among the ascetics, added to a desire to remove to another place. And those ascetics that were living happily in the asylum in Chitrakuta, relying upon Rama (for their protection), he found to be wrought up with anxiety. And by means of signs by the eye and contractions of the brow, they, afflicted with fear, were, alluding to Rama, slowly speaking to each other. Perceiving their anxiety, Rama apprehensive of himself, with joined hands addressed the patriarchal ascetic, saying, "0 reverned one, do ye find me deviating from the path of former sovereigns, or acting contrary to their practice,— which hath perplexed (the minds of) these ascetics? Have the sages seen my younger (brother), the high-souled Lakshmana, do anything from inadvertance that is unworthy of him? Doth not Sita engaged in serving you, having to serve me, now minister unto you as a woman should?" Thereat a certain aged and decrepit ascetic, with his frame trembling, said upto Rama ever kind towards creatures, "Where is the falling-off of that one of excellent character, engaged in offices of beneficence,—more specially with reference to ascetics? This fear arising from Rakshasas afflicts the ascetics because of thee and they, extremely agitated, converse with each other (on the subject). A Rakshasa named Khara, a younger brother of Ravana, hath been harassing the ascetics dwelling in Janasthana. And Dhrishta also a fearless and wicked Rakshasa feeding on human beings,—and the unrighteous Avalipta, cannot bear thee, my child. As long,

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my child, as thou hast been residing in this asylum, the Rakshasas have been plaguing the ascetics. And they show themselves sometimes in disgusting shapes, sometimes in horrible and dreadful ones,—in various frightful forms capable of frightening folks. And they throw execrable and unclean things among the anchorets, and torment those that happen to come before them. And they take delight in approaching asylums unperceived, and slaughtering ascetics, after having bound them by means of their arms. And on the occasion of sacrifices, they throw away the vessels containing sacrificial articles, pour water on the sacrificial fire and break vessels containing water. Eager to renounce this asylum infested by those wicked ones, and removing to another place, the sages today have been exhorting me (on the subject). And, O Rama, ere this, those wicked ones have slain ascetics. Therefore we would renounce this asylum. Not far from here is a picturesque wood abounding in fruits and roots. Thither shall I betake myself together with my own folks. Khara shall also annoy thee. If thou think it proper, go hence in company with us. O Raghava, although thou art vigilant, able, and in all ways capable, it would be unpleasant for thee to dwell here now in doubt."

When the anxious ascetic had said this, Rama could not console him by his words. Then having paid homage unto Rama, and spoken to him and encouraged Raghava, the patriach ascetic renouncing the asylum, went away along with his own people. And Rama having (for a time) followed the sage who was departing from that place, and having paid him respects, being permitted by them, well-pleased, and advised (as to what it behoved him to do), came to his quarters reposing there. (Thenceforth) Raghava never for a moment left that asylum forsaken by the sages.—Raghava having such qualities in his character as were likely to stand the sages in stead, the ascetics (that remained behind) ever followed Raghava.

SECTION 117.

"When the ascetics had gone away, Raghava reflected (as to his stay at that place); and from diverse reasons, he did not relish remaining there any further. "Here have I seen Bharata and my mother in company with the citizens. Overwhelmed with grief on my account, they ever recur to my memory. And in consequence of the troops of that high- souled one having quartered here as well as the dung discharged by his elephants and horses, this place has got exceedingly dirty. Therefore will I go to another quarter." Having settled this in his mind, Raghava departed along with Videha's daughter and Lakshmana. And having arrived at Atri's asylum, that renowned one paid obeisance (unto the sage); and the reverend Atri also on his part received Rama as a son. And having personally given Rama respectful reception and entertainment, the ascetic regarded the exalted Lakshmana and Sita with a gracious eye. And his aged wife having come there, Atri greeted her; and after she had been paid homage, the sage cognisant of virtue ever engaged in the good of all creatures, gladdened her (by presenting Sita unto her.) And that best of sages said unto the pious fetnale ascetic, Anasuya, engaged in offices of virtue, "Do thou accept Videha's daughter." And Atri related unto Rama matters connected with the female ascetic, engaged in offices of virtue, "The people were ceaselessly burning in consequence of a drouth extending over ten years. O sinless one, that one resembling thy mother is this, by whom furnished with rigid asceticsim and adorned with voluntary penances, were created fruits and roots and the Jahnavi was made to flow through the asylum; by whom were performed mighty austerities for ten thousand years,—in virtue of whose penances, disturbances to the asceticism of the sages ceased,— by whom ten nights were brought within the compass of a single one. Let Vaidehi always resort to this aged ascetic devoid of anger, who is worthy of being bowed down to by all creatures." When the saint had spoken thus, Raghava saying, "So be it," turned his eyes to Sita, and thus spoke unto that one knowing morality, "O princess, thou hast heard what hath been uttered by the ascetic. For the sake of thy own welfare, do thou speedily resort to the female anchoret. Do thou without delay resort unto the ascetic Anasuya, who is worthy of being associated with, and who hath by virtue of her acts attained renown among men." Hearing these words of Raghava, Mithila's daughter, the illustrious Sita, drew near the righteous wife of Atri. Thereupon Sita, announcing her name, saluted the pious and chaste Anasuya, old, with slackened joints, with folds all over her skin, and her hair hoary from age, whose frame shook perpetually, like a plantain-leaf in the wind. Having paid homage unto that ascetic with her senses subdued, Vaidehi glad at heart, with joined hands, enquired after her welfare. Seeing the virtuous Sita engaged in righteous acts, the old lady consoling her, said "By luck it is that thou regardest righteousness. O Sita, having left thy kindred, and banishing pride, thou hast, O honoured lady, followed Rama staying in the woods. They that love their husbands, whether living in the city or the forest, whether well or ill disposed towards them, attain great state. Wicked, or libidinous, or indigent, a husband is a supreme deity unto a wife of noble character. Than the husband a greater friend find I none, O Vaidehi, who is worthy of being served both in this world and the next, and who is like imperishable asceticism. But bad women whose hearts hunger after carnality, and who lord over their husbands, do not get acquainted with the virtues and demerits (of their husbands); and range at their will. Mithila's daughter, surely women of this sort who are given to doing evil acts, reap infamy and fall off from righteousness. But worthy women like thee furnished with excellences, see a superior and better world, and range the celestial regions, like pious people. Therefore following this one, and adopting the course of chaste women, do thou prove the associate in virtue of thy husband,—and then shalt thou attain both fame and religious merit."

SECTION 118.

Thus addressed by Anasuya, Vaidehi devoid of malice, honouring her words, began, "That thou shouldst instruct me is no wonder in thee. I know that a woman's spiritual guide is her husband. Even if a husband should be poor and of a disreputable character, he should be ungrudgingly obeyed by the like of me. And to be said of one that is crowned with qualities, kind, self-controlled, of steady affection, righteous-souled, and who is dear as a father or a mother? The exceedingly strong Rama beareth himself towards the other wives of the monarch as he doth towards Kaucalya herself. Renouncing sense of self-importance, that heroic one conversant with righteousness, devoted to his king, regardeth as his mothers those on whom the monarch once cast his eyes. What my mother-in-law instructed me at the time that I was leaving for the lonely and fearful forest, is constantly present in my mind. And what also my mother taught me in presence of fire on the occasion of the bestowal of my hand, is also remembered by me. And, O thou engaged in acts of righteousness, I have not forgotten the words that my relatives said unto me, viz, the asceticism of a woman is ministering unto her husband. They did not teach any thing else. Having served her lord, Savitri is highly honoured in heaven; and thou also, following the same course, by virtue of having served thy husband, hath secured heaven. And this foremost of females, this goddess of heaven, Rohini, is not seen for a moment without the moon. And prime women of this sort, firm in their husbands, are highly respected in the celestial regions by virtue of their pious acts." Hearing Sita's words, Anasuya, exceedingly delighted, smelling her head, spoke thus, pleasing Maithili, "By observing restrictions, I have earned great asceticism. By resorting to that energy, I would, O Sita, confer a boon upon thee, O thou of pure vows. O Maithili, thy words are just and proper. I am well pleased (with thee). Tell me, O Sita, what good shall I do thee?" Hearing her words, Sita, surprized, said with a smile, unto that lady equipped with ascetic strength, "All this hath been done by thee." Thus accosted, that one cognisant of virtue, was still more pleased, and said, "I am exceedingly pleased (with thy words). I will attain a desire of mine. This noble and grand garland, this apparel, these ornaments, and this precious paste for adorning the person, presented by me— let these, O Sita, grace thy person. These, worthy of thee will never be tarnished. O daughter of Janaka, daubing thy person with this excellent paint, thou wilt grace thy husband even as Sree doth the undeteriorating Vishnu." Thereupon Mithila's daughter accepted those things presented unto her out of love, viz., the apparel, the paint, the ornaments and the garland. Having accepted those presents conferred on her from love, that illustrious one, Sita, quietly sat beside the female ascetic with joined hands. Then as Sita was sitting, Anasuya firm in vow asked her concerning a thing that was near her heart, saying, "I have heard, O Sita, that thou wert won by the renowned Raghava on the occasion of a self-choice. O Maithili, that story I should like to hear, related at length. It therefore behoves thee to relate that unto me in detail." Thus addressed, Sita, saying unto the ascetic engaged in pious acts, "Listen!" began to tell the story. "Mithila's lord, the heroic Janaka, justly ruleth the earth, engaged in observing the duties of Kshatriyas. As he was ploughing a plain intended for a sacrifice, I rose from under the earth; and (in this sense) I am the daughter of that king. Tending me, with my body covered with dust, Janaka, engaged in throwing handfuls of dust (to level hollow spots), was struck with amazement. Being childless, he took me on his lap from affection, and saying—'This is my daughter', conceived affection for me. Then there were uttered words in the welkin, resembling those of a human being,—'O king, in all righteousness, this is thy daughter.' Then well-pleased, my righteous father,the king, lord of Mithila, receiving me, attained mighty good fortune. Consigned unto the pious eldest noble one (queen), desirous of having offspring, I was brought up by that mild lady, with the tenderness of a mother. (In time) seeing me fit for the company of a husband, my father in distress was plunged in thought, like a poor man that hath lost his wealth. Even if the father of a girl be like unto Sakra himself on earth, he reapeth odium at the hands of his equals and inferiors. Perceiving this obloquy at a short distance, the king was plunged in a sea of anxiety, but could not cross it, like one that hath no raft. Knowing me as unborn from any female vessel, the lord of earth reflecting upon it, could not come upon a suitable and fit husband for me. Then as he reflected, this thought occurred to him 'I will righteously celebrate the self-choice of my daughters'. In the great sacrifice of Daksha, the high-souled Varuna had well-pleased conferred on Devarata an excellent bow with inexhaustible arrows and a couple of quivers. Incapable of being moved on account of its weight, the kings could not even dream of bending the bow. Having obtained the bow, my truthful father said, 'No fear!' inviting at the same time the kings to an assembly of sovereigns. 'He that, raising the bow, shall string it, shall doubtless receive my daughter for his wife.' Seeing that best of bows in weight resembling a hill, the kings saluting it, go away, unable to move it. And it came to pass that after a long time, this highly effulgent Raghava came to witness the sacrifice in company with Vicwamitra. And Rama having truth for his prowess, and the righteous Vicwamitra were respectfully received by my sire. Then Vicwamitra said unto my father, 'The descendants of Raghu, sons of Dacaratha, Rama and Lakshmana, are anxious to behold the bow.' Thus accosted by the Vipra, my father brought the bow, and showed that celestial bow unto the princes. Thereupon, in the twinkling of an eye, bending it, the powerful (Raghava) stringed the bow and drew it. And is he drew it vehemently, it broke in the middle in twain. And the sound of it was dreadful like unto the bursting of a thunder-bolt. Then raising an excellent vessel of water, my truthful father prepared to bestow me on Raghava. And bestowed on Raghava, I was accepted of him, after he had consulted the wish of his father, that lord, the master of Ayodhya. And inviting my father-in-law, the old king Dacaratha, my father bestowed me on Rama, having a knowledge of self. And my father bestowed on Lakshmana for his wife, my younger sister, the beauteous and chaste Urmila. Thus was I bestowed on Rama on the occasion of that self-choice. And ever since I have been devoted unto my husband, the foremost of those possessing prowess."

SECTION 119.

Having heard this grand story, Anasuya cognisant of righteousness, smelling the head of Mithila's daughter, embraced Sita with her arms. "I have heard all that thou, describing the self-choice, hast spoken sweetly and beautifully in articulated letters and feet. O sweet-speeched one, I have been delighted with thy narration. But ushering in the auspicious night, the graceful Sun hath set. And there are heard the notes of feathered ones, which, after having gone about in search of food are resting now for the purpose of sleeping. And these ascetics having bathed, are wending their way in a body, carrying water-pitchers, their barks drenched with water. And the smoke arising from the fire-sacrifice duly performed by the ascetics,—reddish like the hue of the pigeon's neck, is seen, wafted by the wind. And trees of spare foliage appear dense (on all sides); and distance is no longer perceptible. And animals ranging in the night are going about all round; and those deer of the asylum are reposing on the daises. O Sita, the night crested by the stars hath arrived; and, veiled in moonlight, appeareth the moon in the heavens. Go thou; I permit thee. Do thou seek the society of Rama. I have been pleased with thy sweet converse. And, O daughter of Mithila, do thou deck thyself before me. Do thou thus please me, my child, thou that lookest beautiful with excellent ornaments." Thereat, having adorned herself, Sita, resembling the daughter of a celestial, bowing down to the feet (of the female ascetic), directed her steps towards Rama. And that best of speakers, Raghava, saw Sita, decked with the ornaments affectionately presented by the ascetic; and he rejoiced thereat. Then Mithila's daughter, Sita, related unto Rama all about her having been affectionately presented by the ascetic with attire, ornaments and the garland. Thereupon, witnessing the honour that had been accorded unto Maithili,— rare among men, Rama became well pleased,—as also that mighty car-warrior, Lakshmana. Then Raghu's son, ministered unto by the ascetic, happily spent the delightful night there, with her face resembling the moon. On the night having passed away, those foremost of men, after performing their ablutions, enquired of the ascetics performing fire-sacrifices, who lived in the forest. Thereat the righteous ascetics ranging the forest said that all the sides of the forest were infested by Rakshasas. "Ferocious beasts feasting on blood, and Rakshasas, O Raghava, living on human beings,—wearing various shapes, abide in this mighty forest. These eat up ascetics leading the Brahmacharya mode of life, who happen to be unclean or heedless. Do thou, therefore, O Raghava, let them. This is the path of the Maharshis, who procure fruits in the forest. By this way thou wilt be able to enter the impracticable wild, O Raghava." Thus addressed by the ascetic twice-born ones, and having been blessed by them, that repressor of foes, Raghava, entered the forest in company with his wife and Lakshmana, like the sun entering a mass of clouds.

End of Ayodhyakandam.

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RAMAYANA VOLUME TWO
ARANYA, KISHKINDHA, AND SUNDARA KANDAM
ARANYA KANDAM.
SECTION 1.

Entering the extensive forest of Dandaka, the irrepressible and self-composed Rama saw the collection of asylums belonging unto the ascetics, strewn with Kuca and bark, and environed by spiritual energy; incapable of being beheld; like the solar disc in the heavens,—the refuge of all creatures—with their ornamented yards; filled with a great many deer, and abounding in multitudes of birds; in which Apsaras always danced and which they held in respect; (asylums) beauteous with spacious rooms for fire-sacrifice, with sacrificial necessaries, deer-skins, Kuca, faggots, water-pitchers, fruits and roots; surrounded by mighty and sacred forest-trees; crowned with lucious fruits; honoured with Vali [Offerings to the spirits of air.] and Homa [Burnt offerings, or oblations of clarified butter into the sacred fire, as an offering to the gods, accompanied with prayers or invocations.]; holy; resounding with the sounds of Vedic recitations; scattered with divers blossoms; and containing tanks filled with lotuses; with ancient ascetics living on fruits and roots, having their senses under control, wearing bark and black deer-skins, and possessing the splendour of the sun or fire; and adorned by great and holy sages living upon regulated fare. Beholding that collection of asylums belonging unto the ascetics, resembling the regions of Brahma, resonant with the voices of Vedic recitations; and grateful; with highly pious Brahmanas versed in the Vedas,—the exceedingly energetic and graceful Raghava entered the same, having first unstrung his mighty bow. Thereupon, seeing the righteous Rama resembling the moon risen, as well as Lakshmana and the illustrious Vaidehi, those Maharshis endeued with spiritual intuition, came forward (to meet the incomers); and, having uttered benedictions, those persons of rigid vows, received them. And those dwellers of the wood, struck with wonder, beheld Rama's tender grace and lovliness and elegance of dress. And struck with astonishment, those inhabitants of the woods of pre-eminent piety saw Vaidehi, Lakshmana and Rama, with winkless eyes. And those persons of exalted virtue, engaged in the welfare of all creatures, made Raghava, their guest, sit down in their thatched cottage. Then, having received Rama respectfully according to scriptural prescription, those virtuous ones of eminent piety, resembling fire, procured water (for Rama). And, experiencing great delight, those high-souled ones, uttering benedictions, procured wild fruits, flowers and roots; and, having assigned an asylum (unto Rama), those persons cognisant of righteousness, said with joined hands, "Possessed of high fame, thou, the protector of righteousness, art the refuge of these people. Thou shoudst be honoured and worshipped, being their king, holding the rod, and their superior. O Raghava, it is because he that governs his subjects, is a fourth part of Indra himself, that the king, being bowed down unto by all, enjoys the choicest things. And we, being in thy dominions, ought to be protected by thee. Whether living in the city or in the woods, thou, lord of men, art our sovereign. We have renounced chastising others; and, O monarch, we have conquered our anger, and subdued our passions. Therefore, even as a child in its mother's womb (should be protected by her), should we be protected by thee." Having said this, they entertained Raghava, along with Lakshmana, with fruits and roots and flowers and diverse other edibles procurable in the woods. In the same way, other ascetics of accomplished purposes, living lives of integrity, duly pleased that lord, Rama, resembling Vaicyanara.

SECTION 2.

Having received the homage of the ascetics, Rama about sun-rise, having greeted them all, entered into the forest. And Rama, followed by Lakshmana, saw the heart of the forest abounding in various kinds of beasts,—ranged by bears and tigers, with its trees and shrubs torn and trampled, its pools turbid, and its birds crying. And, having in company with Sita arrived at that forest abounding in terrible beasts, Kakutstha saw a man-eater, resembling a mountain-summit, emitting tremendous roars, with hollow eyes, a huge face, frightful, having a deformed belly, disgusting, dreadful, Cyclopean, mis-shapen, of a horrible sight, clad in a tiger-skin, besmeared with fat, covered with blood, capable of frightening all creatures, with his mouth widely extended, like unto the Destroyer himself, and uttering loud shouts,—who stood piercing with his iron dart three lions, four tigers, two leopards, four Prishatas, and the huge tusked head of an elephant dripping fat. Having seen Rama and Lakshmana, as well as Sita the daughter of Mithila, he growing angry, rushed (against them), like the Destroyer himself rushing against creatures at the universal dissolution. Uttering a dreadful yell, and, as if making the earth tremble, he took Vaidehi on his waist, and, going a little distance, said, "O ye wearing bark and matted locks, O ye of feeble strength, that accompanied by your (common) wife, have entered the forest of Dandaka, bearing bows and arrows and scimitars, why, being ascetics, do ye wish to associate with a (single) woman? Ye wicked wretches, ye impious wights, who are ye that bring disgrace upon ascetics? I am a Rakshasa, Viradha by name. This forest is my fastness. Accoutred in arms, I range (here), feeding on the flesh of ascetics. This transcendentally beauteous one shall be my wife. And in battle I shall drink your blood, wretches that ye are." Hearing the wicked and vaunting speech of the impious Viradha, as he said this, Janaka's daughter, Sita, began to tremble from fear, like a plantain tree shaken by the wind. Seeing the graceful Sita on the waist of Viradha, Raghava with a blank countenance said unto Lakshmana, "O amiable one, behold the daughter of king Janaka, my wife of pure ways, an illustrious princess brought up in luxury—on Viradha's waist O Lakshmana, what had been wished for by Kaikeyi with reference to us, (hath taken place), and the dear boon (that she had asked) hath born fruit. That far-sighted lady—my second mother—who had not been satisfied with having secured the kingdom in the interests of her son, and by whom I that was dear unto her above all other creatures, had been banished to the woods, hath to-day her wishes crowned with success. O Sumitra's son, nothing can impart unto me greater anguish than the touching of Vaidehi by another— which surpasses my father's demise and my having been deprived of the kingdom." As Kakutstha with his eyes flooded with tears was speaking thus, Lakshmana flying into a rage, spoke like unto a confined elephant: "Why dost thou, O Kakutstha, being the lord of all creatures and resembling Vasava himself,—and also backed by myself, thy servant,— grieve like one forlorn? The earth shall drink the gore of this Rakshasa, Viradha, when deprived of life, after he hath been slain with a shaft by my angry self. That ire of mine which I had conceived against Bharata hankering after the kingdom, will I discharge on Viradha; even as the weilder of the thunder holt hurls his weapon at a hill. Let my mighty arrow acquiring velocity from the speed imparted to it through the energy of my arms, light on his huge breast, and force his life from forth his body; and let him whirling (at length fall down to the earth).

SECTION 3.

Then Viradha again spoke filling the forest, “Do ye tell me who ask you,—who are ye and whither are ye going?" Thereupon, the highly energetic Rama answered the Rakshasa with a flaming face, when he had thus asked (Rama)— that he belonged to the Ikshwaku race. “Know us that are in ihe forest, for Kshatriyas of respectable character. I also am anxious of knowing who thou art, that goest about the Dandakas." Viradha answered Rama having truth for his prowess, "Ah! I will tell thee, O king. Do thou, O Raghava understand! I am son unto Java, and my mother is Satarhada. All the Rakshasas of the earth have called me Viradha. Having gratified Brahma by my asceticism, I received (this boon) that none in the world would be able lo slay me by mangling my body with weapons. Forsaking this fair one, do ye renouncing all hope (of either recovering her or vanquishing me), speedily flee away to that place whence ye had come;—else I shall deprive you of your lives." Thereat, Rama with his eyes reddened through wrath replied unto that Rakshasa of a deformed shape, the wicked Viradha—saying, “Little! shame on thee of base purposes! Thou surely seekest thy own death; and (death) thou shall get in battle. Stay! Thou escapest me not with life." Then stringing his bow, Rama, speedily aiming at the Rakshasa, pierced him with sharpened shafts; and (then) from his bow-string let go seven shafts, having their feathered parts plaited with gold, furnished with great velocity, and coursing like Suparna or the wind. Thereat, resembling flames, those arrows furnished with peacocks' feathers, pierced Viradha's body, and fell to the earth, covered with blood. On being thus pierced, the Rakshasa set Vaidehi down, and, upraising a dart, rushed in wrath towards Rama and Lakshmana. And sending forth a mighty roar, he took up a dart resembling the banner of Sakra; and he then appeared like the Destroyer with opening mouth. Then the brothers showered a blazing volley of shafts on the Rakshasa, resembling the Destroyer himself. And stationing himself at a spot, the Rakshasa, laughing terribly, yawned, and as he yawned the flest-coursing shafts fell off from his person. And by virtue of the bestowal of the boon (by Brahma), the Rakshasa Viradha drew up his vital energies, and, lifting up a pike, darted at the descendants of Raghu. That best of those bearing arms cut off with two arrows that dart resembling the thunder-bolt and flaming in the sky. And the dart severed by the shafts of Rama, fell to the earth, as falls a crag severed by the thunderbolt. Thereat, swiftly raising up a sword, resembling a black snake, each (of the Raghavas) approached his antagonist, and began to assail him hastily. Thus hard beset, that terrible one, seizing them both with his arms, attempted to make away with those foremost of men, who, however, retained their calmness. Reading his purpose, Rama spake unto Lakshmana, "Let the Rakshasa bear us by this way. Not use of letting him. Sumatra's son, let the Rakshasa bear us wherever he likes. Even this, by which the ranger of the night is proceeding, is our way." And lifting up (Rama and Lakshmana) by his might and prowess, as if they were striplings, that haughty ranger of the night laid them on his shoulders. And having deposited the Raghavas on his ihoulders, Viradha—ranger4 of night—sending up dreadful shouts, directed his course towards the forest. And he at length entered the forest resembling a mighty mass of clouds, furnished with various kinds of trees, picturesque with diverse species of birds, and abounding in jackals, serpents and beasts.

SECTION 4.

Seeing those foremost of Raghus, the Kakutsthas, carried away, Sita cried in a loud voice, raising up her arms,5 "Rama, the son of Dacaratha, the strong, the truthful and the pure, is, along with Lakshmana, being carried away by you, Rakshasa of a terrible appearance. Me bears will devour and tigers and panthers. Renouncing the Kakutsthas, do thou carry me away. I bow unto thee, O best of Rakshasas." Hearing these words of Vaidehi, Rama and Lakshmana bestirred themselves for compassing the death of that wicked one. And Sumitra's son broke his left arm; while Rama at once broke the Rakshasa's right one. On his arms being broken, the Rakshasa resembling a mass of clouds, growing weak, sank down on the ground in a swoon, like a hill riven by the thunderbolt. Thereupon, they assailed the Rakshasa with their fists, arms and feet; and lifting him up once and again, and pressing him, they trod on him over the ground. Although he was sore pierced by full many an arrow and cut sorryly by scimitars, and pressed down on the earth in various ways, yet the Rakshasa expired not. Seeing him utterly incapable of being killed, and resembling a hill, that inspirer of hope in times of peril, the graceful (Rama), said, "O foremost of men, in consequence of his austerities, yon Rakshasa cannot be vanquished with weapons in conflict. Therefore, let us cast him into a pit. O Lakshmana, dig a capacious pit in this forest6 for this Rakshasa resembling an elephant, terible, and of a grim presence." Having said this unto Lakshmana,—"Do thou dig a pit," the powerful Rama remained planting his foot on Viradha's throat. Having heard Raghava's words, the Rakshasa spake gently, "Slain am I, O chief of men, by thee possessed of strength equal to that of Sakra. Through ignorance, O foremost of men, I could not before know thee. Now I know thee that art Rama, the worthy Son of Kaucalya, my child; as well as the highly virtuous Vaidehi and the renowned Lakshmana. By virtue of a curse, I entered this dreadful Rakshasi form, I a Gandharba, having been cursed by Vaicravana. Being propitiated by me, that greatly famous one said,—'When Rama the son of Dacaratha, shall slay thee in encounter, thou, attaining thy natural condition, shalt repair to the celestial regions.' Getting wroth, he cursed me, who had been absent; and thus did king Vaicravana address me, who had conceived love for Rambha. Through thy grace have I been freed from this fearful curse, I shall (now) repair to heaven. Hail, O repressor of foes! Half a Yoyana hence, my child, dwells the righteous and potent Maharshi, Sarabhanga, resembling the Sun. Seek him speedily: he will bring about thy good. Casting me (into this pit) in the wood, do thou, O Rama, peacefully go thy way. Even this is the eternal usage of the Rakshasas. hose that die in the forest, attain eternal regions." Having said this unto Kakutstha, the mighty Viradha, afflicted with arrows, having his body deposited (in the pit), attained heaven. Having heard that speech of Viradha, Righava ordered Lakshmana, saying, "O Lakshmana, do thou in this forest dig a capacious pit for this Rakshasa resembling an elephant, dreadful, and of terrible acts." Having said unto Lakshmana, "Dig a pit,"—Rama possessed of prowess remained fixing his foot on Viradha' s throat. Then taking a hoe, Lakshmana dug a spacious pit by the side of the huge-bodied7 Viradha. Then when his throat had been freed, (Lakshmana) cast into the pit Viradha having ears resembling javelins, sending loud and dreadful sounds. Having vanquished him in fight, Rama and Lakshmana possessed of activity and steady in fight, being exceedingly delighted, raising up the dreadful Rakshasa by main force, cast him howling (into the pit). Reflecting that he was incapable of being slain (by sharpened weapons), those foremost of men, exceedingly well versed (in arms), compassed the death of that mighty Asura, Viradha, in the pit, after they had dug it. Viradha had himself sincerely wished for his death at the hands of Rama; and that ranger of the woods had accordingly told (Rama),—"My death cannot be effected by means of weapons." Having heard these words, Rama decided upon casting him into a pit. And when the excessively strong Rakshasa entered the cavity, he made the forest resound with his cries. Having thrown him into the hole, Rama and Lakshmana, their fears removed, appeared with joyful looks, and rejoiced in that forest like the sun and the moon seated in the heavens.8

SECTION 5.

Having in the forest slain the Rakshasa Viradha possessed of tremendous strength, Rama endeued with prowess, embracing and cheering Sita, spoke unto his brother Lakshmana of flaming energy, saying, "This dense forest is hard to live in; nor are we acquainted with the ways of the wood. Therefore will we speedily repair to the ascetic Sarabhanga." Thereupon Raghava set out for the hermitage of Sarabhanga. And Rama beheld a mighty wonder near that one of celestial virtue, who

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had purified his soul through asceticism. He saw the lord of the celestials, possessed of a resplendent person, resembling in effulgence the sun or Vaicwanara—mounted on a superb car—(saw) him that is followed by all the celestials, stationed in the sky, not touching the earth, adorned in luminous ornaments—the god dressed in a clean apparel; worshipped by many a high-souled personage dressed in the same way. And from a distance, (Rama) saw the car stationed in the sky yoked with green steeds—resembling the infant sun; and he saw the spotless umbrella possessing the beauty of a mass of white clouds, resembling the lunar disc,—and graced with variegated wreaths. And his (Indra's) head was being fanned by two chowris, costly and furnished with golden handles, held by two magnificent damsels; and innumerable Gandharbas and Siddhas and prime sages were hymning the celestial stationed in the welkin. And seeing Sarabhanga engaged in converse with Satakratu, Rama said unto Lakshmana (the following words). And pointing out the car, Rama showed the wonder unto his brother. "Behold, O Lakshmana, yonder car stationed in the sky, splendid, furnished with exceeding grace, wonderful, and seeming as if the sun had fallen from the heavens. The steeds standing in the sky are for certain those of which we had formerly heard as belonging unto Sakra of many sacrifices. And, thou foremost of men, these youths environing (the celestial) by hundreds, wearing earrings, and bearing swords in their hands, are broad of chest, have arms resembling bludgeons in size,and are clad in crimson vesture, like unto tigers incapable of being approached. Over the breasts of all appear chains of blazing sheen; and, O son of Sumitra, their beauty appears that of five and twenty. And even this is the ever-enduring age of the celestials, as these foremost of men of sweet looks appear. O Lakshmana, stay here awhile with Vaidehi, so long as I do not gather who it is that is in the effulgent car." Saying unto Sumitras son, "Stay here," Kakutstha bent his steps towards Sarabhanga's aslylum. And seeing Rama approach, Sachi's lord, taking Sarabhanga's permission, addressed the celestials, saying, "Rama is coming hither. Do ye set out for another place, ere he yet addresses me. He is not fit to behold me (now.) When he shall have vanquished (his foe in fight), and won success, shall I readily show myself unto him. He shall have to achieve an act incapable of being achieved by others." Then rendering homage unto that anchoret and conversing with him, the weilder of the thunderbolt—subduer of enemies—repaired to heaven in a car yoked with steeds. When the thousand-eyed one had gone away, Raghava accompanied by his companions appeared before Sarabhanga in the Agni-hotra chamber. Taking his feet, Rama, Sita and Lakshmana sat down with the permission of the ascetic, who received them and set apart quarters for them. Then Raghava questioned (the sage) concerning the visit of Sakra; and Sarabhanga related everything unto Raghava. "O Rama, this bestower of boons wishes to take me to the regions of Brahma. I have conquered them, incapable of being attained by persons that have not schooled themselves,—by virtue of fierce austerities. O chief of men, knowing that thou wert near, I became anxious to go to the minor celestial regions and this supreme heaven (of Brahma), after I had seen thee, righteous and high-souled, who art my dear guest now. O foremost of men, I have for aye attained the excellent regions of Brahma. and Nakaprishtha. Do thou receive them as pertaining to me." Thus addressed by the sage, Sarabhanga, that best of men, Raghava, versed in every branch of learning, said, "O mighty anchoret, I shall acquire all those regions myself. I now wish that thou mayst direct me as to my abode in this forest." Thus accosted by Raghava resembling Sakra in strength, the eminently wise Sarabhanga again said, "O Rama, here in this forest lives a pious and self-restrained ascetic of mighty energy, named Sutikshna. He will bring about thy good. O Rama, follow this Mandakini flowing among flowers, which (here) runs in an opposite direction to her usual course; and then wilt thou reach there. This is thy course, thou best of men. Do thou now, my child, for a space look at me; while I leave off my limbs, even as a serpent renounces its slough." Then preparing a fire and with Mantras offering oblations into it, the exceedingly energetic Sarabhanga entered into the fire. The fire consumed the down, hair, old skin, bones, flesh and blood of that high-souled one. (Anon) Sarabhanga became a youth resembling fire; and rising from the flame, he appeared splendid. And proceeding past the regions of high-souled sages sacrificing with fire, as well as of the celestials, he ascended those of Brahma. And that one of pious acts done on earth—that best of the twice-born race—saw the grand-father, in company with his followers. And the grand-father also, beholding that Brahmana, rejoiced greatly, and said,—"Hail!"

SECTION 6.

After Sarabhanga had ascended heaven, ascetics in bodies, assembled together, presented themselves before Kakutstha; Rama of flaming energy. And Vaikhanasas, and ValakhilyaS, and Sanprakhalas, Marichipas, Acmwakuttas in numbers, and those ascetics, Patraharas, and Dantolukhalas, Unmajjakas next, and Gatracayyas, and Acayyas and Anavakacikas, those ascetics, Salilaharas, Vayubhaksbas after them, Akacanilayas, Sthandilacayis, Urddhavasis of controlled senses, and Ardrapattavasas given to Japa, practising penances, and engaged in performing the five kinds of austerities—all furnished with the grace that comes of spiritual energy, and all firmly concentrated in Yoga—these ascetics presented themselves before Rama in the asyhim of Sarabhanga. And coming before Rama, the foremost of those practising righteousness, those sages conversant with morality,—met in a body, said unto that pre-eminently virtuous one, "A mighty car-warrior, thou art the foremost person of the Ikshwaku race and the world; as well as their lord,—even as Maghavan is the lord of the celestials. Famous over the three worlds in high worth and prowess, in thee are found truth and virtue in profusion and obedience unto the mandate of thy sire. O lord, it behoves thee cognisant of virtue and attached unto it, to forgive us for what we as suiters say unto thee. The sin, O lord, of that monarch is mighty that taketh a sixth part of the subjects' incomes, but doth not protect them as sons. But he that, setting his heart on protecting the people, doth ever carefully protect all the inhabitants of his dominions, like his own life or like his son dearer unto him than life itself, reapeth, O Rama, enduring renown extending over many years, and (at length) attaining the regions of Brahma, is glorified there. The king that protects his subjects righteously, is entitled to a fourth part of the great religious merit that is reaped by an ascetic subsisting on fruits and roots. O Rama, this many Brahmanas—this great body of men that have assumed the Vanaprastha mode of life, although having thee for their lord, are being sorely troubled by Rakshasas, as if they had none. Come and behold the bodies of innumerable ascetics of pure hearts that have in various ways been slaughtered by Rakshasas in the forest. And great is the worry that is experienced by the dwellers on the river Pampi and the Mandakini as well as those that reside in Chitrakuta. We cannot bear the terrible affliction of the ascetics in the forest at the hands of Rakshasas of dreadful deeds. Therefore, for obtaining refuge, have we come before thee who art the refuge (of all). Do thou, O Rama, deliver us all, who are being exceedingly afflicted by the rangers of the night. O hero, we have no greater refuge on earth than thyself. Do thou, O king's son, rescue us all from Rakshasas." Hearing these words of the sages and ascetics, that righteous-souled one addressed them, saying, "It doth not behove you to speak thus. I should be commanded by the anchorets. I have entered the forest solely with a view to my own purpose. I have entered this forest in obedience to the mandate of my father, with the object (at the same time) of putting an end to these ravages of the Rakshasas on you. I have at my own will come hither for securing your interest. Then shall my stay in the woods be crowned with mighty fruit. I wish to slay in battle the enemies of the ascetics. Let the sages and ascetics behold my prowess as well as that of my brother." Having been conferred a boon by the ascetics, that hero entered upon a noble undertaking, and accompanied by the ascetics, in company with Lakshmana directed his course to (the hermitage of) Sutikshna.

SECTION 7.

Rama accompanied by his brother as well as Sita went to the asylum of Sutikshna in company with the twice-born ones. And having proceeded far, and crossed many a stream of copious waters, Rama saw a holy peak towering high like the mighty Meru. Then those worthy scions of the Ikshwaku race—descendants of Raghu—with Sita entered the forest ever furnished with various kinds of trees. And having entered the dense forest abounding in blossoms and fruits and trees, Rama saw in a recess an asylum glittering with bark and garlands. There Rama duly addressed an ascetic seated in the lotus-attitude9 for warding off evil, even Sutikshna, "O thou conversant with righteousness, speak to me, O Maharshi, O thou that hast truth for thy prowess." Thereupon, eying Rama keenly, that calm (ascetic)—the foremost of those practising righteousness, embracing him with his arms, said, "Welcome, thou foremost of the Raghus, O Rama, thou the best of those practising righteousness. This asylum now hath been furnished with its master in consequence of thy visit. O illustrious one, O hero, expecting thee, I have not yet ascended heaven, renouncing on earth this body of mine. I had (already) heard that, coming to Chitrakuta, (thou hadst been staying there), having been deprived of the kingdom. Here came, O Kakutstha, the Sovereign of the celestials of an hundred sacrifices. Coming to me, that mighty deity, the Sovereign of the celestials, said that I had acquired all the worlds by my pious acts. Do thou, by my grace, in company with thy wife and Lakshmana, dwell delightfully in those regions won by my asceticism, containing Devarshis." Thereupon the self-possessed Rama answered that blazing and truth-telling Brahmana of fiery austerities, like Vasava answering Brahma, saying, "O mighty ascetic, I myself will win those regions. I wish to be directed to a dwelling in this forest. Thou art possessed of ability in respect of everything, and art (at the same time) engaged in the welfare of all beings,—this hath been told unto me by the high-souled Sarabhanga of the Gautama race." Thus addressed by Rama, that Maharshi known over all the worlds, spoke sweet words ia great joy, "O meritorious Rama, even this is the asylum (for thee). Do thou live here pleasantly. It is inhabited by numbers of saints and is always provided with fruits and roots. This forest is haunted by herds of deer that range here without doing harm to any one, although they possess great energy; and go away, having bewitched people (by their beauty). Save what comes from these deer, there is no other evil to be encountered here." Hearing those words of the Maharshi, the placid elder brother of Lakshmana, taking up his bow with the arrow set, said "O exalted one, if by means of sharpened shafts blazing like lightning, I slay those herds of deer when they come, it shall impart pain unto thee,—and what can be more unfortunate than this? Therefore I shall not be able to dwell long in this asylum." Having said this, Rama ceased and became engaged in his evening adorations, and, having finished them, along with Sita and Lakshmana fixed his quarters in the asylum of Sutikshna. Then, when the evening had passed away and night fell, Sutikshna,

having done homage unto those chiefs of men, offered them excellent fare, suitable to ascetics.

SECTION 8.

Having been well entertained by Sutikshna, Rama in company with Sumitra's son, having passed away the night there, awoke in the morning. And arising in due time, Rama along with Sita, bathed in cool waters odorous with the aroma of lotuses; and having in proper time duly worshipped Fire as well as the deities, in that forest containing abodes of ascetics, Rama, Lakshmana and Videha's daughter, their sins purged off, seeing the sun risen, approached Sutikshna and spoke unto him these mild words, saying—O Reverend sir, we have stayed here pleasantly, being excellently ministered unto by thee. We greet thee, and go away. The ascetics urge speed upon us. We hasten to view the collections of asylums that belong unto the holy sages inhabiting the forest of Dandaka. Now we crave thy permission along with that of these foremost of anchorites, steady in virtue, crowned with asceticism and self-controled, resembling smokeless flames. And we intend to set out ere the sun, like unto a low-sprung one that hath attained to auspicious fortune through evil ways, with rays incapable of being borne, shines too fiercely." Having said this, Raghava along with Sita and Sumitra's son bowed down unto the ascetic's feet. And as they touched his feet, that best of ascetics, raising Rama and Lakshmana up, embraced them closely and said, "O Rama, go thy way safely, in company with Sumitra's son and this Sita that followeth thee like a shadow. Behold the beauteous asylums, O hero, of these pure-spirited ascetics inhabiting the forest of Dandaka. Thou wilt see blossoming woods garnishod with fruits and roots, containing goodly deer, and mild feathered tribes; tanks and pools laughing with blown lotuses, containing pleasant waters, and abounding in Karandavas; charming mountain-springs; and romantic forests picturesque with peacocks. Go, O child; and go thou also, O Sumitra'a son. And come again to my asylum after having seen these." Thus addressed, Kakutstha along with Lakshmana, having gone round the ascetic, prepared for departing. Then Sita of expansive eyes handed to the brothers excellent quivers, bows and shining swords. Then fastening the graceful quivers, and taking the sweet-sounding bows, both Rama and Lakshmana issued from the hermitage. And permitted by the Maharshi, the Raghavas furnished with grace, equipped with bows and scimitars, swiftly set out along with Sita.

SECTION 9.

When the son of Raghu had set out with Sutikshna's permission, Sita addressed him in affectionate words and convincing speech, saying,—"Although thou art great and followest the narrow way (of righteousness), yet thou art on the eve of entering into unrighteousness. But thou couldst by refraining from action, eschew this unrighteousness that springs from an evil begot of desire. This evil begot of desire is threefold. One prominent evil is falsehood, and both the others are of weightier significance, —association with others' wives, and vindictiveness without any (basis of) hostility. Falsehood, O Raghava, hath never been thine, nor can it ever be thine (in the future). Nor yet, O foremost of men, canst thou ever even in fancy be (guilty of) going after others' wives, which marreth all religious merit. These, O Rama, are by no means in thee. O King's son, thou ever and a day directest thy attentions unto thy own wife. And thou art righteous and truthful and doest the will of thy sire. In thee are established virtue and truth—and every thing; and by help of thy conquered senses, thou, O mighty-armed one, art capable of bearing everything. And, O thou of a gracious presence, thine is control over sense. The third evil that leads men through ignorance to bear hostility towards others without any (cause of) hostility, is now present (unto thee). Thou hast, O hero, for the protection of the saints dwelling in the forest of Dandaka, promised the slaughter of Rakshasas in battle. And it is for this reason that equipped with bows and arrows, thou hast along with thy brother set out for the forest known as Dandaka. Seeing thee set out, my mind reflecting on

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thy truthfulness as well as thy happiness in this world and welfare in the next, is wrought up with anxiety. And, O hero, I do not relish this journey to Dandaka. Thereof I will tell thee the reason. Do thou listen to me as I tell thee. Bearing bows and arrows in thy hands, thou hast come to the wood along with thy brother; and (it may well happen) that seeing grim rangers of the forest, thou mayst discharge thy shafts. And even as the vicinity of faggots increases the energy of (ire, the proximity of (the bow) enhances the strength and energy of the Kshatriya. Formerly, O long-armed one, in a sacred wood haunted by beasts and birds, there lived a truthful ascetic of a pure person. Intending to disturb his austerities, Sachi's lord, Indra, bearing a sword in his hand, came to the asylum in the guise of a warrior. And in that asylum, that excellent scimitar was deposited as a trust with that righteous person practising asceticism. Receiving that weapon, that ascetic intent upon preserving his trust, rangeth the forest, maintaining his faith. And intent upon preserving his trust, he goeth nowhere for procuring fruits and roots without that sword deposited with him as a trust. Constantly carrying the sword, by degrees, the ascetic, foregoing all thoughts about asceticism, had his mind involved in fierce sentiments. Thus in consequence of bearing that weapon, that ascetic taken up with fierce thoughts, losing his sobriety and led astray from righteousness, went to hell. This ancient story anent the carrying of arms, asserts that even as fire worketh change in a piece of wood, the presence of arms worketh alteration in the mind of him bearing them. From affection and the high honour in which I hold thee, I merely remind thee of this matter. I do not teach thee. Equipped with bows as thou art, thou shouldst renounce all thoughts of slaying without hostility the Rakshasas residing in Dandaka. Without offence none should be slain.—It is the duty of Kshatriya heroes by means of their bows to protect persons of subdued souls, come by any calamity. Where are arms? And where is the forest? Where is Kshatriya virtue? And where is asceticism? These arc opposed to each other,—let us, therefore, honour the morality that pertains to this place. From following arms, one's sense gets befouled and deformed. Again going to Ayodhya, thou wilt observe the duties of Kshatriyas. Then my mother-in-law and father-in-law shall experience enduring delight, if, having renounced the kingdom, thou lead the life of an ascetic. Interest springs from righteousness; and happiness also results therefrom. One attains everything through righteousness—in this world the only substantial thing. Repressing self by diverse restrictions, intelligent people attain righteousness; but virtue crowned with felicity, is incapable of being attained by following pleasure. O mild one, ever cherishing thy heart in purity, do thou practise piety, in the wood of asceticism. Everything—the three worlds—are truly known unto thee. I have spoken this through feminine fickleness. Who can speak of righteousness unto thee? Reflecting on and understanding things, do thou along with thy younger brother speedily do what thou likest."

SECTION 10.

Hearing Vaidehi's words spoken through high regard (for her husbands Rama with his energy enhanced, answered Janaka's daughter, saying, “O noble lady, thou hast spoken mild words fraught with worth and profit; and, O Janaka's daughter versed in virtue, thou hast expounded the duties of Kshatriyas. What, O exalted one, shall I say? Thou hast thyself by thy words (furnished an answer to what thou hadst said). Kshatriyas wear bows in order that the word 'distressed' may not exist (on earth). O Sita, those ascetics of severe vows that are beset with perils in Dandaka, having personally come unto me, who am their refuge, have sought protection at my hands. Always dwelling in the forest, subsisting on fruits and roots, they on account of Rakshasas of cruel deeds, do not, O timid one, attain ease. These ascetics are devoured by terrible Rakshasas) living on human flesh. Being eaten up (by the Rakshasas), the anchorites living in the forest of Dandaka—those best of the twice-born ones— said unto us—'Be thou gracious unto us.' Hearing those words of theirs which fell from their lips, I, resolving to act in accordance with their request, said,—'Be ye propitious.' This is surpassing shame unto me that such Vipras who themselves are worthy of being sought, seek me. What shall I do? I said this in the presence of those twice-born ones. Thereat all those that had come, said, 'We have been, O Rama, immensely harassed in the forest of Dandaka by Rakshasas wearing shapes at will. Do thou deliver us. These irrepressible Rakshasas living on human flesh vanquish us at the time of Homa, and on the occasions of Parvas, O sinless one. Of the saints and ascetics afflicted by the Rakshasas, who are on the search for their refuge, thou art our best refuge. We can by virtue of the energy of our asceticism easily destroy the rangers of the night; but we are loath to lose our asceticism earned in a long time. O Raghava, our austerities are constantly disturbed, and we can hardly perform them. Therefore, although sore afflicted and devoured by the Rakshasas dwelling in the forest of Dandaka, we do not cast our curse on them. Thou along with thy brother art our protector: thou art our master in this forest.' Having heard these words, I promised my perfect protection unto the saints in the forest of Dandaka, O daughter of Janaka. Having promised, I living cannot violate my vow concerning the ascetics; verily truth is ever dear unto me. I had rather renounce my life, or thee, O Sita, along with Lakshmana,—but by no means my promise made, especially unto Brahmanas. O Videha's daughter, the protection of the saints is incumbent on me even without any representation,—and what (shall I say) when I have promised the same? Thou hast spoken this unto me through affection and friendship. I have been well pleased with thee, O Sita. One doth not instruct another that one doth not bear affection to. O beauteous damsel, (what thou hast said) is worthy of both thy love and thy race. " Having said these words unto Mithila's princess, the beloved Sita, the high-souled Rama, equipped with bows, along with Lakshmana, directed his steps towards the inviting woods of asceticism.

SECTION 11.

Rama went first; in the middle, Sita; and bearing a bow in his hand, Lakshmana went in their wake And they went with Sita, seeing many mountain-peaks, and forests, and delightful streams, and Chakravikas, haunting river islets, and tanks with lotuses containing aquatic birds, and herds of deer, and horned buffalos maddened with juices, and boars, and elephants— foes to trees. Having proceeded a long way, when the sun was aslant, they together saw a delightful tank measuring a yojana, fifed with red and pale lotuses, graced with herds of elephants, and abounding in aquatic cranes, swans and Kadanivas. And in that tank containing charming and pleasant waters, they heard sounds of song and instrumental music; but no one was seen there. Thereat, from curiosity, Rama and Lakshmana—mighty car-warrior—asked an ascetic named Dharmabhrit, saying, "Hearing this mighty wonder, we have been worked up with intense curiosity. Do thou tell us what this is." Thus accosted by Raghava, the ascetic then at once began to expatiate over the potency of the pool. "This tank goes by the name of Panchapsara, and is always filled with water. It was made, O Rama, by the ascetic Mandakarni, by virtue of his asceticism. In yonder tank, the mighty ascetic, living on air, performed signal austerities for ten thousand years. Thereat, exceedingly agitated, all the deities with Agni at their head, assembled together, said, 'This ascetic wishes to have the position of one of us.' Thus all the deities present there were filled with anxiety. Then with the view of disturbing his austerities, the deities ordered five principal Apsaras, possessed of the splendour of live lightning. And for compassing the end of the celestials, that ascetic conversant with the morality and otherwise as well of this life as that to come, was brought by those Apsaras under the sway of Madana. And those five Apsaras (ultimately) became the wives of the ascetic; and their hidden residence was reared in the pool. And there the five Apsaras living happily, pleased the anchorite, established in youth through asceticism and yoga. As thy sport, we hear the sounds of their musical instruments, and the sweet voice of their song mixed with the tinklings of their instruments." (Hearing this), the illustrious Raghava along with his brother declared the story narrated by that one of a pure heart to be wonderful. Thus conversing, Rama saw the collection of asylums, strewn with Kuca and bark, and be-girt with energy derived from Brahma lore. Entering (the place) along with Vaidehi and Lakshmana, the highly famous Raghava dwelt there respected by all the ascetics. Having happily dwelt in those collections of graceful asylums, honoured of the Maharshis, Kakutstha by turns went to the hermitages of those ascetics with whom that one well versed in arms had dwelt before. And Raghava happily passed his days somewhere for ten months, somewhere for one year, somewhere for four months somewhere for five or six months, somewhere for many months, somewhere for a month and a half, —somewhere for more, somewhere for three months, and somewhere for eight. And as Rama lived in the asylums of the ascetics and amused himself through their good graces, ten years were passed away (in this way). Having gone round the asylums of all the ascetics, Raghava cognisant of righteousness returned to the hermitage of Sutikshna. Coming to this asylum, respected by the ascetics, that subduer of enemies, Rama, stayed there for a time. Once upon a time, as Kakutstha dwelling in that asylum was seated, he humbly observed unto that great ascetic, "I have always heard from men speaking on the subject that that foremost of ascetics, the reverend Agastya, lives in this forest. On account of the vastness of this forest, I do not know that place. Where is the hermitage of that intelligent Maharshi? For propitiating that revered one, I, accompanied by my brother and Sita, will go to Agastya for paying our respects unto the ascetic. This great desire is burning in my heart, that I should myself minister unto that best of anchorets." Hearing these words of the righteous-souled Rama, Sutikhna, well pleased, answered Dacaratha's son, saying, "I also am desirous of telling thee this along with Lakshmana. Repair unto Agastya in company with Sita, O RSghava. By luck thou hast thyself said this unto me as to thy purpose. I will, O Rama, tell thee where that mighty ascetic, Agastya, is. My child, go four miles from the hermitage in a southerly direction; and thou wilt come to the hermitage of the brother of the auspicious Agastya situated on a land covered with trees, graced with Pippali woods, abounding in fruits and flowers, charming, and resonant with the notes of various birds. There are many tanks containing delightful waters, swarming with swans and Karandavas, and beauteous with Chakravakas. Passing a night there, do thou, O Rama, in the morning, taking a southerly course, go by the skirts of the forest tract. Passing a yojana, thou shalt come upon Agastya's asylum, located at a charming woodland graced with many a tree. There Videha’s daughter and Lakshmana shall experience delight in thy company. O magnanimous one, if thou intend to see the mighty ascetic, Agastya, in that charming woodland, containing a great many trees, then do thou make up thy mind to set out this very day.” Hearing these words of the anchoret, Rama, saluting him, along with his brother, set off for Agastya's (place) with his younger brother and Sita. And, pleasantly proceeding by the way directed by Sutikshna, seeing pirturesque woods, hills resembling clouds, watery expanses and streams flowing by their path; Rama filled with delight said these words unto Lakshmana, “Surely we see the asylum of that high-souled one, the ascetic, Agastya’s brother of pious acts. These trees standing by thousands on the way bending beneath the weight of fruits and flowers, hear the signs that had been mentioned to me as belonging to this wood. And from the wood is wafted by the wind the pungent odour of ripe pippalis. And here and there are found heaps of fire-wood, and torn Darva are seen, of the lustre of lapises. And the top of the column of smoke belonging unto the fire lit in the asylum in this wood, appears like the peak of a dark mountain. And twice-born ones, having performed their ablutions in sacred and retired bathing places, are offering flowers gathered by themselves, O placid one, from what I had heard from Sutikshna, this would appear to be the asylum of Agastya’s brother. The righteous Agastya it is who, wishing for the welfare of the worlds, destroying by virtue of his austerities a Daitya resembling Death, hath rendered this quarter habitable. Once on a time here dwelt together two mighty Asuras, brothers given to slaughtering Brahmanas—the wily Vatapi and Ilwala. Wearing the form of a Brahmana, and speaking Sanskrit, the cruel one used to invite Vipras to a Sraddha. And, cooking his brother wearing the shape of a sheep, he used to feed the twice-born ones according to the rites prescribed for Sraddhas. Then when the Vipras had fed, Ilwala said,— "O Vatapi, come out, uttering a loud sound." Hearing his brother's words, Vatapi, bleating like a sheep, came out, riving their bodies. In this way, thousands of Brahmanas gathered together, were destroyed by flesh-eating ones wearing shapes at will. (And it came to pass that once upon a time) the Maharshi Agastya, having been invited to a Sraddha, fed on the mighty Asura. Thereupon uttering—'Finished' and offering water to wash hands with, Ilwala said unto his brother, 'Come out'! And, as that brother of Vatapi, given to slaughtering Vipras was speaking thus, that foremost of ascetics, the intelligent Agastya, said with a laugh, 'Where is the power of coming out, of the Rakshasa, thy brother wearing the shape of a sheep, who hath gone to Yama's abode?' Hearing his words, from wrath the ranger of the night prepared to assail the ascetic, and he rushed against that foremost of the twice-born ones. And, being consumed by that ascetic of flaming energy with his eyes resembling fire, the Rakshasa met his end. This asylum graced with pools and groves belongs to the brother of him who hath performed this arduous feat from compassion for the Vipras'. As Rama was thus conversing with Sumitra's son, the sun set and evening approached. Then, duly performing his afternoon adorations along with his brother, Rama entered the hermitage, and saluted the ascetic. Well received by the ascetic, Raghava spent there a night, eating fruits and roots. When the night had passed away, and the solar disc arose, Raghava greeted Agastya's brother, saying, "O reverend Sir, I salute thee. I have pleasantly passed the night. I greet thee; I shall go to behold my preceptor, thy elder brother." Thereat, on the ascetic's saying, 'Go thou,' the descendant of Raghu went away by the prescribed route. And Rama viewed the forest, and Niharas, and Panacas, and Salas, Vanjulas and Tinisas, and Chirivilwas, and Madhukas, and Vilvas, and Tindukas,—all in full flower, and graced with blossoming creepers, and trees in the wood by hundreds, roughly handled by elephants with their trunks, and graced by monkeys, and resounding with the voices of an hundred maddened warblers. Then the lotus-eyed Rama said unto that enhancer of auspiciousness, the heroic Lakshmana, who was by him, and was following him at his back, "The leaves of these trees are glossy, and the beasts and birds are mild, even as (we had been told). The asylum of the pure-hearted Maharshi must not be far. This asylum capable of removing the fatigue of the weary, belonging to him that is known among men as Agastya by his own acts, is seen, with the (neighbouring woods) filled with smoke, and itself decorated with bark and wreaths, containing herds of mild deer, and ringing with the notes of various birds. This is the asylum of that pious one, who destroying (the Asura resembling) Death, hath, desirous of

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the welfare of mankind, rendered the Southern quarter habitable, and through whose potency the Rakshasas from fear barely cast their eyes in this direction, but do not approach. Ever since that one of pious ways possessed himself of this quarter, the rangers of the night have foregone their hostility, and assumed a peaceful attitude. This Southern quarter rendered safe (by Agastya),and incapable of being harassed by those ones of tortuous ways, is celebrated over the three worlds in conection with the name of the reverend ascetic. And this graceful asylum ranged by mild beasts belongs to that long-lived one of renowned achievements—Agastya—in obedience to whose command, the Vindhya mountain—foremost of its kind—which had always obstructed ihe way of the Sun, doth not increase. This pious one honoured of men, ever engaged in the welfare of the righteous, shall do good unto us, who have come to him. I shall adore the mighty ascetic, Agastya, and, O mild one, O master, here pass away the remainder of the term of my banishment. Here celestials with the Gandharbas, and Siddhas and eminent saints, observing restrictions in respect of food, adore Agastya. And the ascetic is such that a liar cannot live here, nor a cunning or a crafty person, nor a wicked wight, nor one that is given to unrighteousness. And adoring righteousness, celestials, and Yakshas, and Nagas, and birds, live here restricting their fare. And high-souled Siddhas and eminent saints, renouncing their bodies, repair to celestial regions in cars resembling the sun. And adored by auspicious individuals, the deities here confer on them the states of Yakshas and celestials, and divers kingdoms. O Sumitra's son, entering the asylum before us, do thou announce unto the saints that I along with Sita, have arrived here."

SECTION 12.

Having entered the asylum, Raghava's younger brother, Lakshmana, coming to a disciple of Agastya, spoke unto him, saying, "There was a king, named Dacaratha. His eldest son, the strong Rama, hath come (to this asylum) along with his wife, Sita, for seeing the ascetic.—Named Lakshmana, I am his younger brother, obedient and devoted to him.—Thou mayst have heard of it. Having entered this horrid forest, in consonance with the mandate of our sire, we desire to see the reverend one. Tell this unto him." Hearing Lakshmana's words, that ascetic, saying. "So be it!", entered the chamber of the sacrificial fire, for the purpose of communicating (the news unto Agastya). Entering in, Agastya's beloved disciple, with joined hands communicated unto that foremost of ascetics, incapable of being repressed, exactly what Lakshmana had told him,—"For seeing the reverend one, and serving him as well, those subduers of their foes, Dacaratha's sons, Rama and Lakshmana, accompanied by Sita, have entered this asylum. It now behoves thee to command what is to be done next." Hearing from his disciple that Rama had come along with Lakshmana and the highly virtuous Vaidehi, Agastya said, "By luck it is that after a long time, Rama hath come to see me. I had mentally wished for his arrival. Go thou; and let Rama, having been respectfully received, come before me. Why hast thou not brought him thyself?" Thus addressed by the high-souled and righteous ascetic, the disciple saluting him, with joined hands, said, "So be it." Then issuing out, the disciple said unto Lakshmana, "Where is Rama? Let him come and enter in." Thereat, going to the asylum in company with the disciple (of Agastya), Lakshmana showed unto him Kakutstha and the daughter of Janaka, Sita. Then joyfully communicating unto Rama the words of the reverend one, the disciple (of Agastya) duly took in that one worthy of being honoured. And seeing the asylum teeming with mild deer, Rama entered in with Lakshmana and Sita. And there Rama beheld the place of Brahma, and that of Agni,—that of Vishnu, and that of the great Indra, the place of Vivaswat, and that of Soma, and that of Bhaga, and that of Dhata and Vidhata, and that of Vayu, and that of the high-souled Varuna having the noose in his hand, and that of Gayatri, and that of the Vasus, and that of the monarch of the Nagas, and that of Garuda, and that of Kartikeya, and that of Dharma. And it came to pass that, surrounded by his disciples, the ascetic came (before Rama). And Rama saw that one of flaming energy at the head of the ascetics; and the hero said unto Lakshmana, enhancer of auspiciousness, "O Lakshmana, the revered saint, Agastya, is coming out. I recognize that mass of asceticism by a certain kind of majesty (that characterizes him)." Having said this touching Agastya of the splendour of the sun, that son of Raghu took hold of his feet. Then, having paid him homage, Rama with joined hands stood there in company with Videha's daughter, Sita, and Lakshmana. Thereat, embracing Rama and honouring him with water and a seat, and asking him questions anent his welfare, the saint said, "Welcome!" Offering oblations unto the fire, and presenting Arghya unto the guests, and paying them homage, that ascetic entertained them with food in accordance with the Vanasprastha mode of life; and then first sitting down, that foremost of ascetics, the pious Agastya, addressed Rama cognisant of righteousness, staying with joined hands, "O Kakutstha, if an ascetic acts otherwise (in respect of a guest,) he in the next world feeds on his own flesh, like a false witness. The sovereign of all the worlds, righteous, a mighty car warrior, worthy of being honoured and worshipped, thou hast become our beloved guest." Having said this, Agastya, according to his desire, worshipping Raghava with fruits, roots and flowers, said unto him, "O foremost of men, this mighty, celestial bow belonging unto Vishnu, and constructed by Vicwakarma, and this best of arrows (named) Brahmadatta, infallible and resembling the sun, and this inexhaustible couple of quivers filled with sharpened shafts, like unto flaming fire; were granted unto me by the mighty Indra. And here is this mighty golden scabbard, and this sword decked in gold. Having, O Rama, slain the mighty Asuras with this bow, Vishnu in days of yore in battle secured the effulgent Fortune of the celestials. O bestower of honour, do thou for securing victory, take this bow, these quivers, this arrow, and this scimitar, like the holder of the thunderbolt, taking the same." Having said this that highly energetic one, the reverend Agastya, consigning unto Rama all those weapons, again said.

SECTION 13.

Rama, I am pleased with thee; good betide thee! And, O Lakshmana, I am gratified by thee. Ye are in trouble in consequence of the great fatigue that ye have undergone on the way. And Janaka's daughter, the noble Maithili, is evidently eager (for rest). Of tender years and unknown to hardship, she hath come to the forest rife with troubles, being urged by the love she bears unto her lord. Do thou, O Rama, conduct thyself so, that Sita may find a pleasant time of it. By following thee to the forest, it is a hard task that she is performing. O son of Raghu, this hath been the nature of the fair sex from the commencement of creation, that they gladden him that is well off, and forsake a person in adversity. And women imitate the instability of lightning, the sharpness of weapons,and the celerity of Garuda and the wind. But this wife of thine is absolutely free from all these defects; she is worthy of being extolled and the foremost of those devoted to their lord, like Arundhati among the gods. This region, O Rama, will be adorned, since, O subduer of enemies, thou along with Vaidehi and Sumitra's son, wilt dwell here." Thus addressed by the ascetic, Raghava, joining his hands, humbly observed unto that saint resembling flaming fire, "Blessed and beholden am I, since the foremost of ascetics is gratified with my merits as well as with those of my brother and wife. Do thou now direct me to a country well watered, and abounding in woods, where rearing an asylum, I may dwell delightfully and pleasantly." Hearing Rama's words, that best of ascetics, reflecting for a while, spoke these excellent words, "Two Yojanas hence, my child, is a region abounding in fruits and roots, containing countless deer, and beautiful—known by the name of Panchavati. Repairing thither, do thou, rearing an asylum, pass thy time pleasantly in company with Sumitra's son, duly doing the mandate of thy sire. O sinless one, all this news relating to thyself, has from affection been known to me through the potency of my asceticism, as also that relating to Dacaratha. Although thou hast promised to dwell with me in this ascetic grove, yet by virtue of my asceticism I know the desire that is in thy heart. I therefore tell thee, repair to Panchavati. That is a charming woodland, and there Mithila's daughter shall dwell with delight. And that tract is worthy of all praise, and, O Raghava, it is not distant from here.—It is in the vicinity of the Godavari. Mithila's daughter shall live there agreeably. And that spot abounds in fruits and roots, is frequented by various fowls, is retired, O mighty-armed one, and is sacred and beautiful. And thou of pure ways, and competent to protect the ascetics, shall, O Rama, protect them. O hero, yonder is the mighty wood of Madhukas. Directing thy course to the asylum of Nagrodha trees, go by the north of this Madhuka wood. Then arriving at a spot hard by a hill, (thou wilt) come upon the celebrated Panchavati, crowned with blossoming woods." Thus accosted by Agastya, Rama along with Sumitra's son, honouring the truth-speaking saint, greeted him. Then, having saluted his feet, they, taking the saint's permission, set out along with Sita for the hermitage of Panchavati. And, taking their bows and quivers those sons of the king, of undiminished martial virtue, with intent minds bent their course to Panchavati by the way laid down by the Maharshi.

SECTION 14.

As he was proceeding to Panchavati, Raghu's son saw a huge-bodied vulture of terrible prowess. And seeing him in the forest, the exalted Rama and Lakshmana, as they were conversing With each other, knowing the bird to be (in reality) a Rakshasa, asked him, saying, "Who art thou?" Thereupon, in soft and sweet words, he, pleasing them, said, "My child, know me for a friend of thy father." Knowing him to be a friend of his sire, Raghava paid him homage, and enquired for his name and lineage. Hearing Rama's words, he mentioned his own lineage, and related the origin of all beings. "O mighty-armed one, I shall describe (unto thee) from the very beginning the (history of) those that were Prajapatis in days of yore. Listen, O Raghava. Of these, the first is Kardama, then Vikrita, and then Sesha, Sancraya, the powerful Vahuputra, Sthanu, Marichi, Atri, the mighty Kratu, Pulastya, Angira, Pracheta, Pulaha, Daksha, Vivaswat, Arishtanemi, O Raghava, and the exceedingly energetic Kacyapa. These had the west. The Prajapati Daksha, it hath been heard by us, O Rama, had sixty famous and illustrious daughters. Of these Kacyapa wed eight, with elegant waists;—Aditi, Diti, Danu, Kalika [Or Kalaka.], Tamra, Krodhavasa, Manu and Anala. Then, well pleased, Kacyapa again said unto those damsels, "Do thou bring forth sons like unto myself, who shall be lords of the three worlds." Thereat, Aditi, O Rama, Diti, Danu, and Kalika, O mighty-armed one, consented,—the rest were of another mind. And of Aditi were born thirty-three deities, O repressor of thy foes, viz., the Adityas, the Vasus, the Rudras, and the Acwinas, O subduer of enemies. And, my child, Diti gave birth to those sons, the renowned Daityas. Formerly, this earth girt with seas was in the possession of these. And, O vanquisher of thy foes, Danu gave birth to a son, named, Acwagriva. And Kalika brought forth Naraka and Kalaka. And Tamra gave birth to these five daughters celebrated in the world,—Kraunchi, Bhasi, Syeni, Dhritarshtri, and Suki. And Kraunchi gave birth to the Ulukas, and Bhasi, to Bhasas, and Syeni to hawks and vultures possessed of energy; and Dhritarashtri to swans, all kinds of Kalahansas, and Chakravakas, and that damsel, Suki, to Nata. And Vinata was Nata's daughter. And Krodhavasa, O Rama, brought forth ten daughters, viz., Mrigi, Mrigamanda, Hari, Bhadramada, Matangi, Sarduli, Sweta, Surabhi crowned with every (auspicious mark), Surasa and Kadruka. And, thou foremost of the best of men, Mrigi's sons were all the deer, and those of Mrigamanda. were bears, Srimaras and Chamaras. And Bhadramada bore one daughter, Iravati. And Iravati's son is the mighty elephant, who is the lord of the worlds. And Hari's sons are lions and the nimble monkeys. And Sarduli brought forth as her sons, Golangulas, and tigers; and the offspring of Matangi were mad elephants, O best of men. And Sweta, O Kakutstha, gave birth to the elephants of the cardinal points. And, O Rama, Surabhi gave birth unto two daughters—the famous Rohini, and Gandharbi. Rohini produced kine, and the sons of Gandharbi are horses. And Surasa, O Rama, gave birth to Nagas, and Kadru, to Pannagas. And Kacyapa's other wife Manu begot mankind—Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaicyas, and Sudras. From the mouth, it is known, sprang Brahmanas, from the breast, Kshatriyas, from the thighs, Vaicyas, and from the feet, Sudras. And Anala produced all trees bearing sacred fruits. Vinata (was) Suki's grand-daughter, and Kadru, Surasa's aunt. And Kadru gave birth to a thousand Nagas with the holder of the Earth. And Vinata brought forth two sons,—Garuda, and Aruna. And from Aruna sprang myself and my elder brother Sampati. O subduer of enemies, know me for Jatayu, the son of Syeni. If thou will, I shall become thy help during thy abode (in the woods). And, O child, I shall protect Sita when thou shalt go out along with Lakshmana." There Raghava paying homage unto Jatayu, and embracing him joyfully, bent low; and that self-possessed one listened to the story of Jatayu's friendship with his father, as related by him repeatedly. Then consigning unto that bird of exceeding strength, Mithila's daughter, Sita, Rama accompanied by Lakshmana went to Panchavati, destroying his foes and protecting the worlds.

SECTION 15.

Then repairing to Panchavati filled with various animals and beasts of prey, Rama remarked unto his brother of flaming energy, "(Now) we have come to the place to which we had been directed by the ascetic. This, O amiable one, is Panchavati furnished with blossoming woods. Do thou cast thy eyes around this forest, and (ascertain) what spot shall suit our asylum. Do thou find out such a place in the vicinity of a tank where thyself Sita and I may dwell happily, which is graced with the garniture of woods and delightful with liquid lapses, and whose neighbourhood yields fuel, flowers, Kuca and water." Thus addressed by Rama, Lakshmana with joined hands, said unto Kakutstha in the presence of Sita, "O Kakutstha, even if I were to stay with thee for an hundred years, I shall remain thy servant. Thyself selecting some beauteous spot, do thou tell me—'Construct (an asylum).'" Well pleased with the words of Lakshmana, that highly effulgent one, after due reflection, selected a site having every recommendation. Going to that romantic spot for rearing an asylum, Rama, taking the hand of Sumitra's son in his, said unto him, "This place is level, graceful, and surrounded with blossoming trees. Do thou duly construct an asylum at this spot. Hard by is seen a beautiful pool, embellished with lotuses, resembling the sun, and breathing balmy perfume. And, as told by that pure-hearted ascetic, Agastya, this is the graceful Godavari, bordered by flowering trees;—swarming with swans and Karandavas, delighted with Chakravakas; thronged with herds of deer, not far, yet not so very near. And resounding with the cries of peacocks; charming; elevated; containing full many a cave; do thou, O amiable one, behold these hills, covered with trees in full flower; and they are shining like elephants painted with diverse colours by persons with the utmost care; adorned with Salas, palmyras, Tamalas,

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dates, Panasas, Nivaras, Tinisas, and Punnagas. And covered with mangos, and Tilakas, and Ketakas, and Champakas, and trees entwined by flowers and herbs and plants; and containing Syandanas, sandals, Nipas, Panasas, Lakuchas, Dhavas, Acwakarnas, Khadiras, Samis, Kincukas and Patalas. This spot is sacred —this spot is charming—this spot abounds in beasts and birds. Here will I dwell, O Sumitra's son, in company with this bird [Jatayu.]." Thus addressed by Rama, the exceedingly powerful Lakshmana, slayer of hostile heroes, in a short time raised an asylum for his brother. And the exceedingly stout Lakshmana created there for Raghava a spacious hut thatched with leaves made of clay, furnished with pillars, constructed with long bamboos, graceful,—spread with Sami boughs; tightly fastened with strong cords; covered with Kuca, reeds, and leaves; with its floor well leveled; and charming; beautiful to look at, and exceedingly excellent. And then going to the river Godavari, the lovely Lakshmana, performing his bath, and securing lotuses and fruits, came back (to the asylum). Then offering flowers, and duly performing rites for the peace (of the habitation), Lakshmana showed the asylum which he had made unto Rama. Seeing the beautiful asylum along with Sita, Raghava experienced high raptures. And joyfully embracing Lakshmana with his arms, Rama said these exceedingly calm and solemn words, "Pleased am I with thee. Thou hast done a great deed, my brother; for which I have granted thee my embrace by way of reward. While thou, his son, skilled in reading thought, grateful, and cognisant of righteousness art alive, O Lakshmana, my father is not dead." Having said this unto Lakshmana, Raghava-the enhancer of auspiciousness—experiencing felicity , began to dwell happily in that region filled with fruits. And ministered unto by Sita and Lakshmana, that righteous one lived there, like the immortals in heaven.

SECTION 16.

As the high-souled Raghava was dwelling there peacefully, after autumn had departed, the welcome winter commenced. And it came to pass that once on a time, when the night had passed away and day broke, that son of Raghu went to the romantic river Godavari for performing his bath. And as the humble son of Sumitra Rama's puissant brother bearing a water pitcher in his hand was following Rama along with Sita at his back, the former said unto Rama, "O sweet-speeched one, now is come that season which thou hast ever held dear; and as if decorated by which comes on the entire auspicious year. Now people have their persons rendered rough from dew; the earth is replenished with corn; water is difficult of being used; and fire becomes enjoyable. And men having worshipped the gods and the Pitris by celebrating Agrayana on the occasion of partaking new rice, have at this season, their sins purged off. The provinces overflow with food, and abound in milk and articles prepared there- from; and kings bent on conquest, range about for surveying them. And on the sun having veered steadily to the quarter presided over by the Destroyer [i. e.—The South.], the north appears like a female without her tilaka [A mark made with coloured earths or unguents upon the forehead and between the eye-brows either by way of ornament or a sectarial distinction.]. Naturally abounding in snow, and now having the sun at a great distance, the mountain Himavan [Himavan means having snow.] justly beareth that name. At miday the days are delightful to a degree to range in, feel highly agreeable, and have pleasant suns; while shade and water are uncomfortable. And the days now have mild suns, are covered with dew, severely cold, with the forests remaining idle, and the lotuses destroyed by frost. And now at night people cannot lie down in unsheltered places; and the nights are inferred from the presence of Pushya. And at night the atmosphere (being covered with vapour) looks brown; and it is bitter cold then; and the hours are long. And the good fortune of the Moon hath fallen to the Sun; and the disc of the former is reddish with vapour; and like unto a glass breathed upon, it doth not shine clearly. And the moonlight furnished by vapour doth not appear pleasant; and like Sita pallid because of (exposure to) sunshine, is perceptible, but doth not look beauteous. And at this season the western wind naturally of gelid feel, being permeated at present with cold, blows with double coldness. And the forests enveloped in mist, and stocked with wheat and barley, look brilliant at sunrise, with Kraunchas and cranes crying (in chorus). Golden-hued paddy slightly inclined, appear graceful, with their heads like unto date-flowers filled with rice. And the sun although high advanced, yet having its rays covered with thick mist, appeareth like the moon. And feeble at the first part of the day, and of agreeable touch at mid-day, the sunshine, being surcharged with mist, appeareth palish over the face of the earth. And in the woods, swards covered with green grass, and with dew-drops on it, look handsome on the morning sun brightening it up. And wild elephants waxing exceedingly thirsty, draw away their trunks, just as they touch beautifully clear and cold water. And those aquatic fowls seated by, do not dip themselves in the water, like unto cravens shunning fight. And the rows of trees, shorn of their blossoms, on being enveloped with dew at night and mist at morn, look as if they were fast asleep. And the streams appear with their waters enveloped in vapour,and the cranes, perceived through their cries, and their banks having their sands wet. And what on account of the snow-fall, what of the mildness of the sun, and what through the cold, water even when it is on a mountain top, tastes sweet. And lotuses afflicted by the cold, with the stalks only left, and with their petals dropping down and their pericarps and filaments shrivelled up, do not appear beautiful. And, O foremost of men, at this season, influenced by regard for thee, Bharata undergoing affliction of spirit, is performing mortifications in the city. And forsaking kingdom, and dignity, and the many and various enjoyments, Bharata practising asceticism and restraining himself in respect of food, in this winter lieth down on the bare earth. And he also, for certain, at this hour of the day, surrounded by his subjects, daily wendeth to the river Sarayu for performing his ablutions. Brought up in luxury, and exceedingly tender, how can he, afflicted with cold, perform his ablutions during the latter part of the night? Of eyes resembling lotus petals, grey-hued, endued with grace, with a navel depressed, and mighty, Bharata understandeth righteousness, is truth-speaking, of restrained senses (in respect of others' wives) and also of subdued senses. And he speaketh fair, and is sweet-tempered, and long-armed and the vanquisher of foes. And renouncing various pleasures, he hath devoted himself unto the noble one. Thy high-souled brother hath secured heaven, since he, resorting to asceticism, is imitating thee that resident in the woods. The saying that people follow their mother and not their father, is falsified in the case of Bharata. How can mother Kaikeyi, whose husband is Dacaratha and son the righteous Bharata, have such crooked way?" As the virtuous Lakshmana was speaking thus from affection, Raghava, not bearing the blame cast upon his mother (Kaikeyi), said, "My brother, thou shouldst by no means, tax our second mother. Do thou talk of that lord of the Ikshwaku race, Bharata. Albeit my mind is firm as regards my sojourn in the woods, yet is my mind unsteady, being inflamed with affection for Bharata. I remember his dear sweet words, taking the heart, resembling ambrosia, filling the soul with delight. When shall I, O son of Raghu, meet with the high-souled Bharata, and the heroic Satrughna, and thyself?" Having bewailed thus, Kakutstha, coming to the river Godavari, there performed his ablutions in company with younger brother and Sita. Then having offered his adorations with water unto the gods and the Pitris, those sinless hymned the risen sun as well as the celestials. Having with Sita as the second and Lakshmana, performed his bath. Rama looked beautiful like that lord the reverend Rudra in company with Nandi and the daughter of the king of mountains.

SECTION 17.

Having bathed, Rfima, Sit! and Sumitri's son went to their own asylum from the banks of the Godavari. Arriving at the asylum, Raghava along with Lakshmana, performing his morning devotions, entered the cottage. And honoured of the Maharshis Rama happily dwelt in that cottage; and seated with Sita that mighty-armed one looked like the Moon in conjunction with Chitra. And he carried on various converse with his brother Lakshmana. As Rama was thus seated with his mind engrossed in that talk, A Rakshasi came to that region at her will. And that one named Surpanakha, sister unto the ten-necked Rakshasa, coming upon Rama, saw him like a celestial, having a leonine chest, mighty-arms, and expansive eyes resembling lotus leaves, with the powerful gait of the elephant, wearing a head of matted locks, with a resplendent countenance, bearing regal marks. And beholding Rama dark-blue like the lotus, and becoming like Kandarpa himself, and resembling Indra, the Rakshasi was maddened with desire. Rama was graced with a beauteous countenance, that Rakshas had a hideous face; Rama had a slender waist, she had a huge abdomen; he had expansive eyes, she had terrible eyes; he was gifted with an elegant head of hair, she had coppery hair; Rama was of a dear presence, she was of an unsightly presence; Rama had a sonorous voice, she had a hedeous voice; Rama was youthful, the Rakshasi was an old hag; Rama had mellifluous accents, she had harsh accents; Rama was ever abiding by justice, she was unruly; Rama was handsome, she was ugly. That Rakshasi being wrought up with passion addressed Rama saying "Wearing matted locks, and equipped with bows and arrows, why hast thou along with thy wife come to this region haunted by Rakshasas? It behoveth thee to say what the object of thy visit is." Thus accosted by the Rakshasi, Surpanakha, that subduer of his foes from sincerity of disposition began to relate everything:—"There was a king named Dacaratha endeued with the prowess of a celestial. I am his eldest son known among men by the name of Rama. This is my younger brother (named) Lakshmana, (ever) serving me. This is my wife, known by the name of Sita. Commanded by my father and mother, I in obedience to their mandate, desirous of acquiring religious merits, have for the purpose of securing righteousness, come to this forest for dwelling here. I also am anxious to know thee. Whose daughter art thou? And what is thy name, and what is thy lineage? Possessed of a captivating form, thou appearest to me as a Rakshasi. Tell me truly why thou hast come here." Hearing these words the Rakshasi, afflicted with lust, said, "Listen, O Rama. I will relate everything truly, I am a Rakshasi, capable of wearing shapes at will. My name is Surpanakha. Striking terror into the hearts of all, I range this forest alone. My brother is named Ravana [Another reading is: my brother is named Ravana—a Rakshasa, and lord of Rakshasas. He is the son of Viasavan. Thou mayst have heard of him.]. Thou mayst have heard of him. And he that is given to long sleep —the mighty Kumbhakarna, the righteous Bibhishana, who never serves the Rakshasas, and the brothers Khara and Dushana renowned in conflict (are also my brothers). Rama, I have surpassed them all (in prowess). At first sight of thee, I approach thee, thou best of men, as my husband with (feelings of) love. I am endeued with power, and range about at will by virtue of my strength. Become my husband for ever and a day. What wilt thou do with Sita? Deformed and unsightly, she is not worthy of thee. I am fit for thee. Do thou look upon me as a wife. This unsightly grim unchaste and human one with a lean abdomen, will I devour up, along with this brother of thine. Then having thy wish, in company with me, thou wilt range the Dandakas, surveying the various mountain summits and forests." Thus addressed, Kakutstha having charming eyes, well skilled in speech, with a smile, began to speak thus.

SECTION 18.

With a smile, Rama jestingly addressed Surpanakha who had been ensnared in the noose of love, in soft words, saying, "Gentle one, I am already wedded; this is my beloved wife. To females like unto thee co-wife-hood is exceedingly miserable. This young brother of mine is good-looking, and is of an excellent character; he is graceful, and is still unwived. The powerful one is named Lakshmana. He hath not yet tested the pleasures of a wife's company, and is desirous of having a spouse. And he is youthful and of an inviting presence. He will become a fit husband for thee, considering this thy beauty. O thou of expansive eyes, seek this brother of mine as thy husband, even as the solar beam seeks Meru. (By doing so), thou O supremely beautiful damsel, wilt not have to fear a co-wife." Having been thus addressed by RAma, the Rakshasi intoxicated with lust, at once leaving Rama, spake unto Lakshmana, saying, "I am fit to be thy wife possessed of transcendental grace, having regard to this beauty of thine. And with me thou wilt happily range these Dandakas." Thus accosted by the Rakshasi, Sumitri's son, Lakshmana versed in speech, with a smile appropriately observed unto Surpanakha, "Why wishest thou to be the servant of me who am a servant myself? O lotus-hued one, I am dependant on my noble brother, O thou of expansive eyes, be thou securing the summum bonum, with a joyful heart, become, O superbly beautiful wench, the younger wife of the noble one of great good fortune. Renouncing this frightful, unchaste, hideous, old wife possessed of a lean abdomen; he will devote himself unto thee. O paragon among damsels, O supremely charming lady, what man possessed of discernment, passing by such grace, would bear affection to a human female?" Thus accosted by Lakshmana, that hideous one having a lean abdomen being incapable of understanding jest, took his words as true. Thereupon as that subduer of enemies, the irrepressible Rama, was seated in the cottage in company with Sita, the Rakshasi, transported with lust, said unto him, "Forsaking this deformed, unchaste, horrible old wife of thine possessed of a lean abdomen, thou dost not regard me. To-day, thou looking on, I shall eat up this human female. And I shall, rid of a co-wife, happily range with thee." Having said this, even as a mighty meteor striketh Rohini, that one having eyes resembling live coals, waxing exceedingly enraged, rushed towards that (damsel) with the eyes of a doe. Thereupon, hindering the Rakshasi resembling the noose of death, as she was rushing on, the mighty Rama, growing wroth, said unto Lakshmana, "O Saumitri [We are obliged to use this epithet as it is in order to prevent the too frequent recurrence of Sumitra's son.], what is the good of jesting with a base and wicked one? No use of doing it. Look, O amiable one, Vaidehi [Videha's daughter. We retain this epithet also for the reason assigned above.] is well nigh dead. It behoves thee, O foremost of men, to deform this frightful, unchaste Rakshasi of a huge abdomen, transported with lust." Thus desired the exceedingly strong Lakshmana, fired with wrath, taking out his sword, in the sight of Rama, cut off her nose and ears. Her ears and nose cut off, the terrible Surpanakha, uttering frightful cries, fled amain into the forest whence she had come. And being deformed, and covered with gore, the dreadful Rakshasi sent up many a roar, like clouds rumbling in the rains. And bleeding profusely, the grimvisaged Rakshasi, lifting up her arms, and roaring, entered the mighty forest. Then, having been deformed, (the Rakshasi) approaching, her brother of fierce energy, Khara, come to Janasthana, (seated surrounded by numbers of Rakshasas), fell down to the earth, even as the thunder-bolt bursts from the sky. Then that sister of Khara, bathed in blood, and deprived of her senses through fright, related ail about Rama's arrival at the forest along

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with Lakshmana and his own wife, as well as the circumstances connected with her being deformed.

SECTION 19.

Seeing his sister deformed, and covered with blood, fallen on the ground, the Rakshasa, Khara, fired with wrath asked her, saying, "Arise! Leave off fear and amazement. Tell me plainly by whom thou hast been thus deformed. Who is it that with his finger-end hath by way of sport hurt a black venomous snake that was innocent? He that coming in contact with thee hath to-day drunk virulent poison, winding a fatal noose round about his neck, knoweth it not through ignorance. Endowed with strength and prowess, ranging about at will, wearing shapes at pleasure, and resembling the destroyer himself, going to whom hast thou come by this condition? Who among the gods, Gandharbas or creatures or the high souled saints is of such mighty energy as to have deformed thee? In this world I do not see him that would do me wrong. Even as a crane afflicted with thirst appropriated milk mixed in water (leaving the latter out), so by means of fleet and life destroying shafts will I among the immortals take the life of that chastiser of Paka, the thousand-eyed mighty Indra. The frothy blood of whom, having his marrow pierced (by me) and slain by me in battle, doth the Earth wish to drink? Tearing off flesh from the corpse of whom slain by me in conflict, shall the birds so joyfully feed on it? Him, whom I shall wrong mightily, neither the gods, nor the Gandharbas, nor the Picachas [A kind of foul spirits.], nor the Rakshasas, will be able to rescue in fierce encounter. Recovering by degrees thy sense, it behoves thee to tell me what individual it was of execrable character, who by his prowess, hath humbled thee in the forest." Hearing these words of his brother, who was under the influence of extreme rage, Surpanakha. with tears in her eyes, said, "Tender, and endowed with beauty, possessed of youth and gifted with great strength, with expansive eyes resembling white lotuses; clad in bark and dark dear-skins, subsisting on fruits and roots, having their senses under control; leading an ascetic life and a Brahmacharya mode of existence; there are two sons of Dacaratha the brothers Rama and Lakshmana resembling the Sovereign of the Gandharbhas and marked with signs betokening royalty. I cannot ascertain whether they be celestials, or human beings. And between them I saw there a youthful female furnished with grace, and having a dainty waist; adorned with every kind of ornament. And it is on account of this female that I have like one unchaste and uncared for, have come by this condition at their hands. Nor I wish in the midst of encounter to drink the frothy blood of that crooked one as well as those two slain (in battle). Let this my prime wish be crowned there with fruition. Her and their blood will I drink in dreadful conflict." As she said this, Khara wrought up with boundless passion, said, "Two human beings accoutred in arms, and wearing bark and dark deer-skins have in company with a female entered this deep Dandaka forest. Do ye return, after slaying them, as well as that wicked one. And this sister of mine will drink their blood. Ye Rakshasas, even this is my sister's dear desire. Repairing thither, speedily accomplish this, bearing them down by your native might. Seeing those two brothers slain by you. this one, exceedingly rejoiced, will drink their blood in the field." Thus commissioned, those fourteen Rakshasas set out there like clouds driven by the winds, accompanied by Surpanakha.

SECTION 20.

Then the grim Surpanakha, coming to Raghava's asylum pointed out to the Rakshasas those brothers in company with Sita. And they saw the mighty Rama seated in the cottage in company with Sita, and ministered unto by Lakshmana. And seeing her, as well as the Rakshasas who had come, Rama remarked unto his brother, Lakshmana of flaming energy, saying, "O Sumitra's son, do thou for a while guard Sita. I shall slay these that have come to this asylum here." Hearing these words of Rama versed in the knowledge of self, Lakshmana honoured his speech by saying, "So be it." And the righteous Raghava strung his mighty bow decked with gold; and addressed the Rakshasas, saying, "We that have entered into this untractable forest of Dandaka in company with Sita are the sons of Dacaratha, the brothers, Rama and Lakshmana. Why do you intend to do injury unto us. Subsisting on fruits and roots, having our senses under control, carrying on asceticism and leading a Brahmacharya life, we are passing our days in the forest of Dandaka. It is to destroy you, wicked, and troublesome that I equipped with the bow have come here at the desire of the saints. Stay there content you should not move further. If you have a care for your lives, desist, ye rangers of the night." Hearing those words of his, those fourteen grim Rakshasas bearing darts in their hands, exceedingly enraged, with their eyes reddened, breathing high spirits, harshly said unto the sweet-speeched Rama, having his eyes reddened, whose prowess they had not seen before, "Having excited there our lord, the high-souled Khara, it is thou that shalt lose thy life no later than this day, being slain by us in battle. What power hast thou, being one, to stay before us many, in the field,—what shall I say of thy coping with us in conflict? In consequence of the parighas, darts, and pathifasdischarged by our arms, thou wilt surely lose thy life, along with thy prowess, and this bow which thou pressest with thy hand." Having said this in wrath, those fourteen Rakshas uplifting their weapons and daggers rushed towards Rama and discharged darts at the invincible Raghava. Thereupon Kakutstha by means of shafts decked with gold, cut off those fourteen darts of theirs. Seeing this, that exceedingly energetic one, waxing highly enraged, took out fourteen narachas, whetted on stone, resembling the sun. And even as Satakratu hurls the thunderbolt, Raghava drawing his bow and taking his aim at the Rakshasas, let go those shafts. And those Rakshasas, their breasts pierced with vehemence, and themselves bathed in blood, fell down to the earth, like snakes dropping down from an ant hill. And with their breasts pierced, they, dripping with blood, deformed and deprived of their lives, lay on the ground like trees whose roots have been severed. Seeing them fallen on the ground the Rakshasi, beyond herself in wrath, approaching Khara, with her blood a little dried up, again in distressful guise threw herself on the earth, like a plant exuding gum. And in presence of her brother, she set up a mighty roar; and then her face grown pallid, she dropped tears, emitting cries. Seeing those Rakshasas slain in battle, Surpanakha again hastened (to her brother), and the sister of Khara, related detail the slaughter of those Rakshasas.

SECTION 21.

Seeing Surpanakha again lying on the ground, Khara in anger spake out unto that one, who had come to bring on evil, saying, "I had but recently commissioned for thy behoof those heroic Rakshasas living on flesh. Why then dost thou again weep? Bearing regard and attached unto me, and ever engaged in my welfare, they, assailed by others, are incapable of being slain; nor do they not obey my orders. What can it be? I would hear of the occasion owing to which again, crying 'Ah lord,' thou rollest on the earth like a serpent. Why dost thou beweep like one forlorn, while I thy lord, am living? Arise! Arise! Do not fear, cast off thy stupor." Thus addressed, and consoled by Khara, that irrepressible one, wiping her eyes, spoke unto Khara, "Having had my nose and ears cut off, I had come hither, covered with blood; and thou hadst consoled me. And thou also hadst despatched fourteen heroic Rakshasas, for my behoof, for slaying the terrific Raghava along with Lakshmana. But all those, bearing ill will (towards Rama), bearing darts and pathsas in their haads, have been slain in conflict by means of weapons penetrating into the vitals. Seeing those possessed of great speed, in a moment laid low on the ground,—as well as (witnessing) Rama's mighty deed, great fear hath taken possession of me. O ranger of the night, I am afraid, and agitated, and cast down. I have (at length) found in thee a refuge, seeing fear on all sides. Wilt thou not rescue me who am sinking in this ocean of grief, having sorrow for its alligators and affright for billows? And these Rakshasas, living on flesh who had arrived at that place, have been slain by Rama with sharpened shafts. If thou hast any kindness for me as well as those sons of Rakshasas and, O ranger of mght, if thou hast strength and energy to cope with Rama, do thou kill this thorn of the Rakshasas, who hath set up his dwelling in the forest of Dandaka. If thou do not to-day slay that destroyer of foes, Rama, I shall banishing shame, give up my life in thy very presence. Meseems, thou backed by thy forces art incapable of staying in battle before Rama in high encounter. Thou plumest thyself on being a hero; but art really none such. Prowess hath been falsely attributed unto thee. Go off from Janasthana without delay, along with thy friends. O Stainer of thy line, do thou in battle slay those fool-hardy ones. But if thou fail in slaying those human beings, Rama and Lakshmana, then how canst thou void of strength and of slender prowess, stay here? Overcome by the energy of Rama thou shalt speedily meet with destruction. Dacaratha's son Rama, is endued with energy. His brother is possessed of high vigour by whom I have come to be deformed." Having thus bewailed long, that Rakshasi, possessed of a spacious abdomen, through sorrow, became bereft of her senses before her brother, and excercised with great grief cried, striking her abdomen with her hands.

SECTION 22.

On being thus taunted by Surpanakha, Khara spoke these sharp words in the midst of the Rakshasas, "Arising from this thy humiliating censure, my wrath is beyond compare. I can not bear it, like salt-water cast on a sore. From my prowess I count not Rama who is a human being possessed of a frail life—him who slain by me shall to-day in consequence of his misdeed give up existence. Restrain thy tears, and remove thy fear. I shall despatch Rama along with his brother to the abode of Yama. Thou shalt, O Rakshasi, quaff on the ground the hot blood of Rama of evil life, slain by my axe." Overjoyed on hearing the words that dropped from Khara's mouth, she again through fickleness extolled that foremost of Rakshasas, her brother. At first reprimanded by her and then praised, Khara spoke unto his general, named Dushana, saying, "Do thou, O gentle one, array fourteen thousand of those Rakshasas, gifted with furious vehemence, ever following my wish, who never turn away from the field; who are hued like unto purple clouds, who revel in cruelty, and who are elated (in consequence of their prowess). And thou gentle one, do thou at once bring my car as well as my bows, and pasty coloured arrows and scimitars, and darts, and various whetted javelins. O thou versed in warfare, for slaying this haughty Rama, I go in the very fore-front of the high-souled Paulastyas [Lit.—Pulastya's sons. The Rakshasas were commonly descended from Pulastya.]. As he said this, Dushana brought his great car hued like the sun, yoked with excellent steeds of various colours. And thereupon in a passion Khara ascended that car resembling a peak of Meru, embellished with burnished-gold, furnished with golden wheels, open; having its pole studded with lapises; surrounded with fishes and flowers and trees and stones, and the sun and the moon and gold, and auspicious articles; and swarms of birds, and stars; having streamers and swords; garnished with bells; and yoked with superb coursers. And beholding that mighty army consisting of cars and arms and pennons, Khara as well as Dushana, said unto that multitude of Rakshasas, "March forth!" And then uttering tremendous roars, rushed out with great vehemence four and ten thousands of those terrible Rakshasas equipped with clubs and pattisas and darts and sharpened axes, and scimitars and discuses,—shining beautifully in their hands and saktis and dreadful parighasand innumerable bows, and maces, and mushalas and vajrasfearful to behold, griped fast. And those following the will of Khara issued out of JanasthSna. Seeing those Rakshasas of dreadful forms rushing out, Khara's car remaining a little away (from the press), proceeded after a short space. Then taking the permission of Khara, the charioteer drove at speed those powerful steeds decked in shining gold. And driven with speed, the car of Khara—slayer of foes—filled all directions with its rattle. And Khara, fired with wrath, and having piercing voice, hastening to destroy his enemy like the Destroyer himself, again urged his charioteer with roars, like a mighty cloud showering down stones.

SECTION 23.

As those terrible and inauspicious forces were marching on, a mighty sable cloud with dreadful sounds began to shower down blood. And the steeds yoked to his (Khara's) car, gifted with great celerity, dropped down all of a sudden on the level high ways strewn with blossoms. A dark circle bordered with red, resembling that of charcoal, appeared in the vicinity of the sun. And a frightful vulture, having a huge body, approaching the banner, sat upon the upraised golden flagstaff. And beasts and birds having shrill voices, living on flesh, remaining near Janasthana, emitted various dissonant notes. And in the quarter lighted up by the fierce jackals having mighty voices, in dreadful cries presaged evil unto the Rakshasas. And terrific clouds surcharged with water and blood, and resembling elephants with rent temples, enveloped the sky. And a dense darkness appeared, capable of making one's hair stand on end, and no quarter was distinctly visible. And out of season, there appeared evening hued like a cloth soaked in blood. And facing Khara, terrible beasts and birds set up cries. Kankas, Gomayas and vultures, portending fear, began to cry. Ever inauspicious in war, jackals presaging evil, with their mouths belching forth flame, howled in the face of the forces. And comets, resembling parighas appeared beside the sun. That mighty planet Swarbhanu seized the sun when there was no parva. And the winds blew violently; and the sun was without lustre. And when there was no night, stars wearing the sheen of fireflies, began to fall. And in the tanks fishes and fowls were inert, and the lotuses were withered. And at that hour the trees were shorn of fruits and flowers; and without wind there arose dust dusky like clouds. And the parrots uttered wild notes—chichikuchi. And meteors of terrific aspects fell with loud noises. And the earth with her mountains, woods, and forests, shook. And as the intellegent Khara was roaring from his car, his left arm shook, and his voice fell, and as he surveyed around, his eyes moistened, and his head ached; yet through ignorance, he did not desist. Witnessing these mighty portents capable of making one's hair stand on end, Khara with a laugh, addressed the whole body of Rakshasas, saying, "Even as a strong person from prowess counts not a weak one, I do not dwell upon all these mighty portents, dreadful to behold, that have appeared. Even the stars will I bring down from heaven with my sharp shafts; and even Death will I engaged, bring to mortality. Without slaying Raghava puffed up with pride as well as Lakshmana, by means of sharp weapons, I return not (from the conflict). Let that sister of mine, for whom Rama and Lakshmana have had sense perverted, attain her desire, by drinking their blood. I had never before met with defeat in conflict. Ye have witnessed it. I do not speak a falsehood. Wrought up with rage, I shall slay in fight the sovereign of the celestials himself, going on his mad Airavata, with the thunderbolt in his hand,—what shall I say of those two, who are human beings? Entangled in the noose of death, that mighty army of the Rakshasas, hearing his challenge, experienced boundless enthusiasm. And anxious to see the

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encounter, there came high-souled saints, and celestials, and Gandharbas, and Siddhas, with the Charanas. And these pious ones assembled, spoke unto one another, "Welfare unto those cows, and Brahmanas, and those that are prized by the worlds! As the discus-handed Vishnu vanquished the foremost Asuras, may Raghava rout in battle those rangers of the night, the progeny of Pulastya! And saying this as well as various other things, the supreme saints and the celestials stationed in the sky conceiving curiosity (as to the issue of the conflict), beheld the host of those Rakshasas, whose days had been numbered. Then impetuously Khara issued in his car from the van of the army. And these twelve endowed with exceeding prowess, viz., Synagami, Prithucyama, Yaynacatru, Vihangama, Duryyaya, Karaviraksha, Purusha, Kalakanuka, Maghamali, Mahamali, Sarpasya, and Rudhiracana posted themselves around Khara. And Mahakapala, Slhulaksha, Hramathi and Triciras—[These four going before the forces, went at the back of Dushana]. Then as the planets dart towards the sun and moon, that heroic and dreadful army of Rakshasas, eager for victory suddenly rushed towards the princes with great vehemence.

SECTION 24.

When Khara of fierce prowess had come to the asylum Rama in company with his brother saw all those evil prognostics. And beholding those dreadful portents, Rama exceedingly distressed, apprehending some calamity to the Rakshasas, observed unto Lakshmana, "O mighty armed one, behold these great presages that have taken place, capable of annihilating all beings, and which have for their object the utter extermination of the Rakhasas! Yonder threatening clouds of assinine sable, showering down blood and uttering loud sounds are ranging the welkin. And, O discerning one, rejoicing at the prospect of my fight, all these arrows emit smoke, and my bows plaited on the back with gold, are restless. Meseems from the noise of the wild birds that impending on us is danger and uncertainty to life. Without doubt, there shall take place a mighty conflict. At this critical time, my arm shaking momentarily, betokens, O hero, victory unto us, and defeat unto the enemy. And thy face appeareth pleasant with a delightful lustre. O Lakshmana, the pallid face of those that prepare for conflict, auger shortening of life. We can hear the shouts of the Rakshasas as they roar, as also the blasts of the trumpets of those doomed to be wounded blown by Rakshasas of remorseless deeds. A considerate person that wisheth for his welfare, apprehending peril, should prevent disaster ere it arrives. Therefore bearing arrows in thy hand, and equipped with thy bow, do thou, taking Videha's daughter, take refuge in the mountain cavern, covered with trees and difficult of access. That thou shouldst act contrary to my words, is what I do not wish. Swearing by my feet, go thou without delay, my brother. Thou art both strong and a hero: Thou canst, without doubt, slay these (Rakshasas). But I wish to slay all these rangers of the night myself." Thus accosted by Rama, Lakshmana, taking arrows and a bow, took refuge in an inaccessible cave along with Sita. Thereupon, saying, "Ah! we have spoken it sharp," Rama put on his mail. And adorned with that mail resembling fire Rama appeared in the dark like a mighty flame streaming up. And uplifting his bow, and taking his arrows, that powerful one stood there, feeling all directions with the twangs of his bow-string. Then the high-souled gods and Gandharbas, Siddhas and Charanas came there, with the intention of witnessing the fight. And high-souled saints of the world, and the foremost Brahmarshis, of pious acts, coming together, spoke unto one another, saying, "Hail to cows and Brahmanas, and all those in whom are established the worlds! May Raghava vanquish in fight those rangers of the night, the progeny of Pulastya, even as the discus-handed Vishnu routed in battle the foremost Asuras!" Having said this, they again spoke, eying one another, "There are fourteen thousand of the Rakshasas of dreadful deeds, while the righteous Rama is single. How can fight take place (between two such parties)?" Having said this, the Rajarshis, Siddhas, multitudes of the beet of the twice-born ones, and celestials stationed in the sky were moved with curiosity (as to the issue of the conflict). Then seeing Rama filled with energy, remaining in the field, all beings from fear experienced great pain. And the peerless grace of Rama of energetic deeds became like unto that of the high souled infuriated Rudra. While the gods, Gandharbas and Charanas were thus conversing, the forces of the Rakshasas sending up solemn sounds, furnished with horrible armour, arms and flags, conversing in heroic parlance, roaring at each other, stretching bows, momentarily yawning, sending forth shouts, and blowing trumpets. The universal uproar filled that (entire) forest. Scared and terrified at the hubbul the rangers of the wood fled to quarters free from noise; nor did they cast their eyes backward. And that army resembling the ocean, and rife with sounds, equipped with various weapons, with furious speed came towards Rama. And Rama also versed in warfare, casting his eyes arround, found the forces of Khara ready for fight. Then stretching his dreadful bow, and swiftly taking out shafts, (Rama) for compassing the destruction of the entire body of the Rakshasas, waxed furiously enraged. And like unto the flaming fire at the universal dissolution, he, growing wroth, was incapable of being looked at. And seeing him filled with energy, the sylvan deities were extremely pained. And the aspect of the enraged Rama appeared like that of the holder of Pinaka, intent upon destroying Daksha's sacrifice. Furnished with bows and ornaments and cars and mail hued like fire, that army of those subsisting on flesh, appeared like masses of blue clouds at sunrise.

SECTION 25.

Coming to the asylum, Khara in company with those that went before him, saw that slayer of foes, the enraged Rama, holding his bow. And seeing him, Khara possessing a shrill voice, raising his bow, commanded unto the charioteer to drive towards Rama,—" Drive on!" At Khara's command, the charioteer drove the steeds to where the mighty-armed Rama stood alone, holding his bow. And seeing him (Khara) entered the field, all those rangers of the night—the counselors—uttering mighty shouts, environed him round. And Khara stationed on his car in the midst of Rakshasas appeared like red bodied one risen in the midst of the stars. Then in battle Khara, afflicting Rama of incomparable energy with a thousand shafts, uttered a tremendous roar. Then all the rangers of the night, waxing exceeding wroth, showered various weapons on that terrible bowman, the invincible Rama. And wrought up with rage, the Rakshasas in battle assailed him with iron clubs, and darts, and prasas, and swords, and axes. And resembling clouds (in hue), the exceedingly strong Rakshasas, having huge bodies, darted towards Kakutstha by means of steeds and cars. And mounted on elephants resembling mountain-peaks, numbers of Rakshasas, intent upon slaying Rama in battle, showered arrows on him, as mighty clouds pour down showers on the monarch of mountains. And Rama was hemmed in by all those fierce-looking Rakshasas even as in the evening Mahadeva is surrounded by his courtiers. And as the ocean resisteth the tide of a river, Raghava by means of arrows resisted the weapons discharged by the Yatudhanas. As a mighty mountain, assailed by the thunderbolt, doth not feel pain, Rama, having his person pierced by terrible flaming weapons, did not feel pain. And pierced, and with his person covered with blood, Rama, the descendant of Raghu, resembled the sun enveloped in evening clouds. And seeing him single, surrounded by many thousands, the Gods, Gandharbas, Siddhas, and supreme saints became sorrowful. Then Rama getting enraged, bringing his bow to a circle, discharged sharpened shafts by hundreds and by thousands. And as if in sport, Rama in the conflict shot irrisistible (shafts) furnished with Kanka feathers, and decked with gold, irrisistible, capable of inflicting extreme pain, and resembling the noose of Death. And sportively discharged by Rama, those arrows deprived the Rakshasas of their lives, like the noose forged by death. And piercing the persons of the Rakshasas, those arrows, soaked in blood, going up to the sky, appeared with the splendour of flaming fire. And innumerable shafts, exceedingly fierce, capable of depriving the Rakshasas of their lives, were let go from the circle of his bow. And with those Rama severed bows, in battle by hundreds and by thousands and flag ends, and shields, and mail, and many arms with embellished hands, resembling the trunks of elephants. And the arrows of Rama discharged from the string pierced and cut off steeds mailed in gold, yoked unto cars, together with the charioteer; and elephants with their riders; and horsemen with horses. And slaying foot-soldiers, he despatched them to the abode of Yama. And cut off with nalikas and, narachas, and sharp-pointed vikirnas, the rangers of the night uttered dreadful howls of distress. And like a withered wood afflicted by fire, that host harassed by the various marrow-piercing shafts shot by Rama, did not attain ease. And some heroic rangers of the night possessed of great strength, waxing furious, threw at Rama prasas, and darts and axes. Thereupon resisting by means of shafts those weapons of theirs, the mighty-armed Rama endeued with prowess, took their lives in the conflict, and cut off the heads (of warriors). And having their heads, and shields and bow-strings, severed, they fell as fall on the earth trees thrown down by blasts from the wings of Suparna [Lit.—Of fair feathers. A name of Garuda.]. Those rangers of the night that remained there, wounded by arrows, and losing heart, fled with speed to Khara, to seek his protection. Thereat, encouraging them, Dushana, taking his bow, ran furiously in high rage against Rama, like the enraged Destroyer himself. And rallied again (by Dushana) and, their fear dispelled through their having found refuge with him, they armed with salas, talas, and crags, darted against Rama. And bearing in their hands darts, and clubs, and nooses, those exceedingly strong ones showered in battle shafts and weapons. And the Rakshasas discharged vollies of trees and crags. And capable of making one's hair stand on end, that battle was dreadful and furious and now on the side of Rama and now again on that of the Rakshasas. And waxing exceedingly wroth, they bore on him hard from all sides. Then finding all directions entirely covered with Rakshasas, and showers of shafts, that one gifted with mighty strength, sending up a terrific shout, fixed (on the bow-string) the exceedingly effulgent Gandharba weapon (for discharging it) among the Rakshasas. Then thousands of shafts went forth from the circle of his bow; and all directions were covered with thronging arrows. And those Rakshasas, afflicted with arrows could not see Rama how he took out his dread shafts, nor how he discharged those excellent shafts; they only saw him drawing his bow. And the darkness spread by the arrows enveloped the sky with the sun. And Rama stationed there continued pouring in shafts. And the earth was covered with shafts shot, and alighting, and alighted simultaneously. And at places were seen Rakshasas by thousands slain, falling, enfeebled, torn and riven. And cut off by Rama with arrows, darts and Patticas in that battle the fearful field was scattered, heads with turbans, arms with finger-fences; torn thighs and arms, and various ornaments, horses, excellent elephants and cars, shattered in numbers, chouris, fans, and umbrellas, and pennons of various descriptions. Beholding all those stain, the (remaining) Rakshasas, sore distressed, could not (again) advance before that captor of hostile capitals Rama

SECTION 26.

Finding his own forces slaughtered, the mighty-armed Dushana speedily ordered five thousand Rakshasas, gifted with tremendous velocity, difficult of being approached, who never turned from the field. And from all sides they incessantly showered darts and patticas, and scimitars, stones, and trees, and shafts. Thereupon by means of shafts the righteous Raghava resisted that mighty destructive shower of trees and stones. Resisting that shower, Rama with his eyes staring, and resembling a bull, flew into a great rage, for the purpose of slaying the whole body of Rakshasas. Then influenced by wrath, and flaming in energy he on all sides covered the army along with Dushana with arrows. Then the general, Dushana, destroyer of enemies, getting wroth, opposed Raghava with arrows resembling thunderbolts. Then heroic Rama highly angered, severed his (Dushana's) mighty bow with shafts sharp as razors, and slew his four horses by means of as many shafts. And having slain the steeds, he (Rama) cut off the head of the charioteer by means of a crescent-shaped weapon, and pierced the (Rakshasa Dushna) in the breast with a brace of shafts. His bow cut off, his steeds together with the charioteer slain, and himself deprived of his car, he (Dushana) took a parigha resembling a mountain peak, able to make one's down stand on end plated with gold, capable of afflicting celestial hosts, studded with sharp iron sankus, and graced with the fat of foes;—of the touch of a thunderbolt, able to pierce the persons of enemies. And takng up in that encounter the parigha resembling a mighty snake, that ranger of the night of cruel deeds Dushana, rushed towards Rama. And as Dushana was rushing forward, Raghava by means of a couple of shafts cut off his two arms with the ornaments. And the huge parigha escaping from (Dushana's grasp) fell forward on the field like the banner of Sakra. And like a mighty elephant whose husks have fallen off, Dushana, on his arms having been severed, fell down to the earth. Seeing Dushana down on the ground, and slain in battle, all creatures, saying, "well done!" "well done!" paid homage unto Kakutstha. In the meantime, three generals, getting wroth, being entrapped in the noose of death, rushed against Rama in a body—viz; Mahakapala, Sthulakshya, and the mighty Pramathi the Rakshasa, Mahakapala, upraising a large dart, and Sthulakshya, taking a pathica, and Pramathi, an axe. And as soon as Raghava beheld them advance, he resisted them by means of sharp and keen-edged shafts, even as one receives guests that have come. And Raghu's son split Mahakapala's head,—afflicted Pramathi with countless shafts, and lodged the eyes of Sthulakshya with sharp shafts. And they fell down to the earth like mighty trees of many boughs. Thereat instantly inflamed with wrath, Rama by means of five thousand shafts, sent as many thousands of Dushana's followers to Yama's abode. Hearing that Dushana had been slain, Khara, waxing wroth, commanded his mighty generals, saying, "Fighting with that vile man, Rama, along with his mighty forces Dushana hath been slain in battle, together with his followers. Let all the Rakshasas slay him with weapons of various shapes." Having said this in wrath, Khara darted towards Rama. And discharging choice shafts, Syenagami Prithugriva, Jajnasatru, Vihangama, Durjaya, Paraviraksha, Parusha, Kalakarmuka, Hemamali, Mahamali, Sarpasya, and Rudhiracana,—these twelve generals endeued with mighty prowess accompanied with their forces, proceeded vehemently against Rama, discharging excellent shafts. Threat with shafts resembling fire, and decked with diamonds and with gold, (Rama) possessed of energy destroyed the rest of his (Khara's) forces. And as the thunderbolt slayeth the mighty, Asuras, those shafts studded with gold, and like onto smoking fire, slew those Rakshasas. And in in the field Rama slew an hundred Rakshasa with an hundred Karnis, and a thousand (again) with a thousand. And, their armour and ornaments severed, and their bows broken in shivers, those rangers of the night fell down on the earth, bathed in blood. And as a spacious dais is covered with Kuca, the entire field was scattered with the Rakshasas fallen in battle with hair dishevelled, and covered with blood. And

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at that time that fearful forest, with the Rakshasas slaughtered, and with its clay mired with flesh and blood, resembled hell itself. Fourteen thousand Rakshasas of dreadful deeds were slain by Rama single, a human being, fighting, (moreover) on foot. And the remnant of his (Khara's) forces were that mighty car-warrior, Khara himself, and the Rakshasa, Tricira; and (on the other side) was that destroyer of foes—Rama. The rest of the Rakshasas, gifted with great prowess, terrible and difficult of being withstood, were all slain in battle by The dear brother of Lakshmana. Then seeing that dreadful army destroyed in terrible conflict by the mighty Rama, Khara ascending a great car, advanced before Rama, like Indra with the upraised thunderbolt.

SECTION 27.

As Khara was advancing before Rama, that leader of the army named Tricira, approaching him, said, "Do thou employ me, who am possessed of prowess; and thyself desist from this rashness. Behold the mighty-armed Rama brought down in battle. I swear (unto thee) truly; I touch this weapon, (to say) that I will slay Rama, who deserves to be slain by all the Rakshasas. Either I shall prove his death in battle, or he shall prove mine. Restraining thy martial ardour, do thou for a while become a witness. Either, joyed in consequence of Rama being slain, thou shalt repair unto Janasthana; or I being slain, thou shalt enter the field (against him)." Thus satisfied by Tricara, from his desire to meet with death, the latter, on being permitted with "Go," proceeded towards Rama. And like a hill with three summits, Tricira rushed towards Rama on an effulgent car yoked with steeds. And as a mighty cloud pours down shower, (Tricira) discharging vollies of shafts, uttered a roar resembling the sound of a wet kettledrum. And seeing that the Rakshasa Tricira was advancing, Raghava resisted (his attack) by discharging sharpened shafts. And that encounter of those exceedingly powerful ones, Rama and Tricira was fierce, like unto that between a lion and an elephant. Then struck on the forehead by a brace of shafts shot by Tricira, the wrathful Rama enraged, and inflamed with anger, said, "Ah! such is the strength of the heroic Rakshasas! I have been wounded in the forehead with shafts resembling flowers. Do thou also take the arrows shot from my bow." Saying this, (Rama) enraged, and influenced by wrath, wounded Tricira in the breast with fourteen arrows. And that energetic one by means of four shafts having their joints bent, brought down his four steeds. And by means of eight arrows (Rama) laid low the charioteer from the front of the car. And Rama with a shaft severed his upraised standard. Then as that ranger of the night was descending from his broken car, Rama pierced his breast with arrows,—and thereat he was stupified. Thereupon, that one of immeasurable prowess, out of anger by means of three shafts possessed of celerity, brought down Tricira's three heads. And that ranger of the night present in the field, afflicted by the shafts of Rama, after his heads had fallen first, fell, vomitting smoking gore. And the Rakshasas remaining after the rest had been slain, belonging unto Khara' s original forces losing heart, began to flee like deer terrified at a hunter. And seeing them fly, Khara waxing wroth, swiftly making them desist, darted towards Rama, like Rahu darting towards the Moon.

SECTION 28.

Seeing Dushana slain in fight along with Tricira, Khara, witnessing Rama's prowess, was filled with fear. And seeing that irrisistible Rakshasa host—even Dushana and Tricira—slain by the mighty Rama alone, and seeing the great courage that was made in the army, that Rakshasa, Khara, was seized with despondency. Then as Namuchi advances against Vasava, Khara stretching his powerful bow, advanced against Rama. And Khara hurled at Rama narachas reveling in blood, resembling infuriated venomous snakes. And repeatedly twanging his bow, Khara, mounted on his car, began to range the field, displaying his weapons through his acquired skill. And that mighty car-warrior covered all sides with his shafts. And seeing this, Rama of a tremendous bow with shafts incapable of being borne, and resembling tongues of flaming fire, entirely enveloped the welkin, even as a cloud poureth down showers. And with the sharpened shafts shot by Khara and Rama, the entire firmament on all sides was thronged. And as each enraged was engaged in coping with the other, the sun, enveloped in a net-work of shafts, did not appear. And as a mighty elephant is struck with the goad, Rama in the conflict attacked (his opponent) with nalikas and narachas and sharp-pointed vikirna. And as that Rakshasa sat on his car, bow in hand, all creatures saw him, as if he were the very Destroyer with the noose in his hand. And at this time Khara thought that Destroyer of all his forces, established in his manliness, the exceedingly powerful Rama to be overcome with fatigue. And seeing that one powerful like the lion, and gifted with the vigorous gait of the lion, Rama was not moved, as a lion seeing a puny deer (is not moved). And then as an insect falls into a flame, Khara mounting a mighty car, resembling the sun, approached Rama. And, displaying his lightness of hand, Khara severed the bow of the magnanimous Rama, with the arrow (fixed on it) at the place where it is grasped. Then taking up seven other shafts, resplendent like the thunderbolt of Sakra, Khara, enraged, sent them into (Rama's) main-joints, and then afflicting Rama of unparalleled energy with a thousand shafts, Khara sent up in that conflict a loud shout. And riven by the shafts discharged by Khara, Rama's mail resembling the sun fell to the ground. And pierced with those arrows, all over his body, and inflamed with rage, Raghava appeared in the field, like a smokeless flaming fire. Then that destroyer of foes, Rama, for compassing the end of his enemy, stringed another mighty bow, sending forth solemn sounds,—the redoubtable Vaishnava bow that had been conferred on him by the Maharshi. And uplifting that superior bow, Rama rushed against Khara. Then with shafts having bent knots and golden feathers, Rama, wrought up with rage, severed in battle Khara's standard. And on that exceedingly graceful golden standard being hewn down it seemed as if the sun dropped to the earth at the behest of the celestials. And thereat Khara, understanding the import of things, fired with wrath, pierced Rama's breast with five arrows, like one striking an elephant with a goad. And Rama on being pierced with a good many shafts discharged from Khara's bow, and having his body bathed in blood, was highly wroth. Thereupon that foremost of bowmen, and weilder of a mighty bow, taking six shafts, let them go, after aiming at them. And with one shaft he pierced Khara's head, with two his arms; and with three arrows headed like half-moons, Rama wounded Khara in the chest. Then that highly energetic one, influenced by anger, assailed the Rakshasa with thirteen narachas whetted on stone and with one that exceedingly powerful one, cut the yoke of the car, with four the four steeds, with the sixth the head of Khara's charioteer, with three the stout trivenu of the car, with two the wheel, and with the twelfth, severing as if in sport Khara's bow with his hand, with the thirteenth, resembling the thunder-bolt pierced Khara in the encounter. Then with his bow shattered, deprived of his car, (Khara) having his horses slain as well as his charioteer killed, taking a mace in his hand leaped to the ground, and stood there. And the celestials and Maharshis exceedingly rejoiced, assembled in the welkin in a body, and with joined hands extolled that feat of that mighty car-warrior Rama.

SECTION 29.

And to Khara deprived of his car standing with a mace in his hand, that exceedingly energetic one, Rama, preluding his speech with mildness, spake, "Backed by this mighty host abounding in elephants and horses and cars, thou hast done an exceedingly wicked deed, execrated by all the worlds. Even if one happen to be the lord of the three worlds, one given to troubling creatures, and who is cruel and engaged in wicked acts, can not exist. All persons destroy, like a snake that hath intruded itself, him that doth cruel deeds, hostile to the interests of every one. People delightedly behold the end of him that doing an action either from covetuousness or desire, doth not like a Brahmain wallowing a Karaka, see the consequence thereof. What, O Rakshasa, dost thou gain by slaughtering exceedingly pious ascetics engaged in righteous acts, living in the forest of Dandaka? Like unto trees whose roots have been reduced, cruel persons, execrated of men, who perpetrate iniquitous acts, do not exist long. And as a tree puts forth blossoms in season, the doer of sinful deeds, at the hour (of repentance) inevitably reaps their fruit in the shape of dreadful anguish, of the spirit). And, O ranger of night, as the effect of having taken rice mixed with poison, appears without delay, even so also people readily reap the fruit of their own acts. O ranger of the night, it is to take the lives of the perpetrators of dreadful sins, who wish ill unto men, that I the king have come. Today the gold-decked arrows discharged by me, piercing (thy body), shall enter into the earth, cleaving it, like serpents falling into an ant-hill. Slain in battle, thou shalt in company with thy army, follow those people practising piety, whom thou hast devoured in the Dandaka forest. Today let those great saints, who had formerly been slain by thee, stationed in the sky, behold thee slain (in turn) with my arrows, and inhabiting hell. Do thou strike as thou lik. And thou that art of an odious race, do thou put forth thy energy. Today I will bring down thy head, even as a palm falls to the ground." Thus addressed by Rama, Khara enraged and beyond himself with passion, with eyes reddened, replied, "O son of Dacaratha, why having slain inferior Rakshasas in battle, dost thou praise thyself without reason? Those foremost of men that are puissant and powerful, do not, inflated with their energy, mouth (their own consequence). It is the mean-minded Kshatriyas of impure heads that magnify themselves among men, even as thou O Rama, dost. What hero, when the hour of his death hath approached, publishes in the field his own lofty lineage and sings his own hymn. As brass wearing the semblance of gold, displays its own defect on being heated, with a fire lit with Kuca, so thou hast betrayed thy own lightness by this speech of thine. Thou dost not see me staying here mace in hand, like a moveless mountain dyed in metals, bearing mobile and immobile things. I can, mace in hand, deprive thee and the three worlds to boot clean of your lives, like the very Destroyer with the noose in his hand. But I will not parley much with thee as much as I could wish: the sun is going to set, and our fight shall be interrupted. Fourteen thousand Rakshasas have been slaughtered by thee. I will for their deaths wipe their tears to-day." Saying this, Khara, highly enraged, hurled his mace provided with golden rings at Rama, like unto the blazing thunder-bolt. Thereat, reducing to ashes trees and shrubs, that mighty flaming mace, discharged by Khara's arm, fell before Rama. And Rama severed in many fragments that mighty mace, resembling the noose of Death, as ascending the welkin, it was coming down. Thereupon, like a she-serpent brought down by force of incantations, the mace fell to the earth shattered and riven.

SECTION 30.

Cutting off the mace with his shafts, Raghava attached unto righteousness with a smile said unto Khara these angry words, "Thou vilest of Rakshasas, this is the utmost of thy might, which thou hast displayed. Rendered more nerveless at my hands, in vain dost thou storm. Riven by my shafts, thy mace, belonging unto thee who art prolix in the matter of vocabulary, destroying thy confidence, hath saught the earth. And what thou hadst said,—'I will wipe the tears of the Rakshasas that have been slain,' hath also proved false. As Garuda stole ambrosia, will I deprive thee, O Rakshasa, who art base, of a mean disposition and a false character, of thy life. To day the earth shall drink the blood vitiated with foamy bubbles, of thee, having thy throat severed, and riven by my shafts. Having all thy body covered with dust, and thy two arms lopped off, thou shalt, difficult to win, take thy nap, embracing the earth, like a damsel difficult to win. On thee, disgrace of Rakshasas, lying down, and being fast asleep, this Dandaka shall be refuge of those that shall resort to it for shelter. O Rakshasa, in thy Janasthana, with its (Rakshasas) slain by my shafts, ascetics shall fearlessly go about in the wood. Today Rakshasas, capable of exciting fear in others, rendered forlorn and with their friends slain, shall from fear, with their faces wet with tears, fly (this place). To day thy wives whose husband art thou of such a nature,—and who are of a like lineage (with thyself),—shall experience the sentiment of sorrow, and be deprived of their all. Thou of a cruel disposition, thou of ignoble soul, thou that art aye a thorn (in the side) of Brahmanas, it is for thee that ascetics, frightened and dispirited, have so long been pouring the clarified butter." As Raghava, influenced by anger, said this in the field, Khara from wrath, with accents rendered harsher, fell to censuring (Rama). "Thou art wondrous proud: and thou art fearless albeit fear is present unto thee. And come under the sway of death, thou dost not understand what should be said and what left unspoken. Those persons that have been fast bound by the noose of death, do not in consequence of their senses having ceased to perform their functions, descern what is proper and what improper." Saying this unto Rama, that ranger of the night (Khara), pursing his brows, espied a mighty sala hard by. And looking about him on all sides in the field for a weapon, he uprooted it, biting his nether lip. And raising up the tree with his arms, and uttering a roar, that exceedingly powerful one aiming at Rama discharged it, exclaiming,—"Dead thou art." And as it descended, the puissant Rama cut it off by means of a multitude of shafts, got into a mighty rage for the purpose of slaying Khara in battle. Then Rama perspiring, with eyes reddened in wrath, pierced Khara in battle with a thousand shafts. And blood mixed with froth gushed by the sides of the shafts, like torrents flowing from fountain in a hill stupified in battle by the shafts shot by Rama, and maddened by the smell of blood, Khara furiously made for Rama. And as he (Khara) was rushing on, bathed with blood, Rama equipped with arms, suddenly summoning his strength walked backward two or three paces. Then with the view of bringing about (Khara's end) Rama took up in the conflict an arrow resembling fire or another weapon of Brahma himself. And that righteous one shot at Khara that (arrow), which had been conferred on him by the intelligent Maghavan. And discharged by Rama from his bent bow that mighty arrow with the roaring of the thunderbolt fell at Khara' s breast. And burning in the fire of the arrow, Khara fell down on the earth, like the giant Andhaka* in the forest of Sweta, consumed by Rudra. [* The Asura Andhaka was slain in the forest of Sweta by Rudra. This is related in the Puranas. Another reading is Swetarayge yathantaka like the Destroyer in the forest of Sweta. Swa, according to the Kurma Purana Uttra Khanda, in the Kalanyara hill, by a kick with his left leg slew the Destroyer, engaged in pennances, who had come to kill the Rajarshi Sweta, who was a great votary of Siva.] And threat Khara slain fell down like Vritra slain by the thunder-bolt, or Namuchi by foam, or Vala by Indra's Acani. After this, the celestials, assembled with the Charanas, struck with wonder joyfully sounded kettledrums and showered blossoms on Rama. "In over half a moment Rama by means of sharpened shafts hath slain in mighty encounter fourteen thousand Rakshasas, wearing shapes at will, headed by Khara

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and Dushana. Ah! mighty is the feat achieved by Rama knowing self. Ah! this mighty prowess, this mighty firmness, show like unto those of Vishnu himself." Saying this all the deities went to from where they had come. Then the Rajarshis in company with supreme saints, with Agastya (at their head), gladly paying homage unto Rama, said the following words, "It is for this that the chastiser of Paka, the great Indra, Purandra, had paid a visit to the sacred asylum of Sarabhanga. And the Maharshis had dexterously brought thee to this place, for compassing the destruction of those foes—the wicked Rakshasas. And it is owing to this, that, O son of Dacaratha, thou hast performed this mighty deed. (Now) the Maharshis will carry on their proper pious offices in the Dandaka." After this, that hero, Lakshmana, accompanied with Sita came out of the mountain cavern, and joyfully entered the asylum. Then the victorious and heroic, Rama, honoured by the Maharshis, entered the asylum, worshipped by Lakshmana. And seeing that destroyer of foes, and bringer of comfort unto the Maharshis, her husband, Vaidehi embraced him. And seeing the multitudes of Rakshasas slain, Janaka's daughter, beholding the undeteriorating Rama, ministered unto him with supreme joy. And with a delightful countenance again embracing that destroyer of foes, who had been honoured by the delighted Maharihis, Janaka's daughter became exceedingly happy.

SECTION 31.

Then Akampana bestiring himself, speedily issuing out of Janasthana, spake unto Ravana, "0 king, a great many Rakshasa living in Janasthana, have been slain, and Khara also hath been slain in battle. I alone have with much difficulty managed to come here." Thus addressed, the ten-necked one, flaming up in energy, with his eyes reddened in wrath, said this unto Akampana, "Who, having his days numbered, hath ravaged the dreadful Janasthana? Who shall no more wend the way of all beings? Doing me a bad turn, Maghavan himself, or Vaicravana, or Yama, or Vishnu, cannot attain happiness. I am the destroyer of the Destroyer himself; and I burn even very Fire. And I can bring death itself to mortality. I can by my impetus resist the force of the wind. And when enraged, I can by my energy consume the Sun and Fire." Thereat, Akampana, with joined hands, from fear replied to the ten-necked Ravana, in faltering words, beseeching courage. Thereat that foremost of Rakshasas, the ten-necked one, granted him courage. Then inspired with confidence, Akampana without fear spoke, "There is a son of Dacaratha, youthful, resembling a lion, named Rama of broad shoulders, and possessed of excellent beauty of long and mighty-arms. (He) is sable-hued, of high fame, and of matchless prowess and vigor. It is he that in Janasthana hath slain Khara with Dushana." Hearing Akampana's words, that lord of the Rakshasas, Ravana, breathing like a mighty serpent, said these words, "Tell me, O Akampana, hath Rama come to Janasthana, accompanied with the sovereign of the celestials and the body of the immortals? Again hearing Ravana's words, Akampana described the strength and energy of that high-souled one. (He) is named Rama, and is exceedingly energetic; the foremost of all bowmen—furnished with celestial panoply; and is possessed of pre-eminent prowess in warfare. Like unto him in strength, of red eyes, and gifted with a voice like the sound of a kettledrum, his younger brother, Lakshmana has a countenance resembling the full-moon. He hath met with him (Rama) as the wind meeteth with a flame. He is endeued with grace, and is the foremost of monarchs. It is he who hath ravaged Janasthana. The magnanimous gods did not come there. No doubts need be entertained on this head. The feathered shafts, plated with gold near the plumed part, becoming five-mouthed serpents ate up the Rakshasas. Wherever oppressed with fear the Rakshasas go, they see Rama stationed before them. In this way, O sinless one, hath Janasthana been exterminated by him." Hearing Akampana's words, Ravana said, "I will go to Janasthana for slaying Rama with Lakshmana." When he had said this, Akampana said, "Hear, O king, the true report of Rama's prowess and manliness. Enraged, the highly famous Rama cannot by putting forth vigor be checked. And by means of his shafts, he can make river in full flood turn its course. And he can bring down from the sky its stars and planets, and that graceful one can recover the depressed Earth. And that lord can submerge all creatures by riving the continents of the sea, and with his shafts can resist the onset of the ocean, and the wind; and that illustrious one that foremost of persons by virtue of his vigor, destroying the worlds, can again create all creatures. O ten-necked one, forsooth, Rama cannot be subdued in conflict, either by thee or the world of Rakshasas, as heaven is incapable of being attained by a sinner. I deem him incapable of being slain by all the Gods and Asuras together. This alone is the means of slaying. Do thou heedfully listen to it! He has a wife of sterling worth in the world, and that slender-waisted one is known by the name of Sita. She is in the full bloom of youth, and hath a symmetrical person—a jewel among womankind embellished with jewels. And neither a goddess, nor a Gandharbi, nor yet an Apsari, nor a Pannagi is equal to her; and what is a human female? Thrashing him, do thou in the mighty forest, carry away his wife. Without Sita, Rama shall cease to exist." Thereupon, the lord of the Rakshasas, Ravana, happened to relish those words; and reflecting (a while), that mighty-armed one addressed Akampana, saying, "Excellent well. I will go there alone, accompanied by my charioteer only. I will this very morning with a glad heart bring Vaidehi to this spacious palace." Saying this, Ravana departed, lighting up all sides, on a sun-shiny car, yoked with mules. And coursing the firmament, that mighty car of that foremost of Rakshasas looked like the Moon among clouds. And proceeding far, he, approaching the asylum (of Taraka's son), presented himself before him. And Maricha entertained the king with meats and drinks passing human. And having entertained him personally with a seat and water (to wash the feet), Maricha spoke these pregnant words, "O king, O lord of the Rakshasas, is it well with the worlds? I am filled with fear: I apprehend that all is not right, since thou hast come hither (alone) in such post-haste speed." Thus addressed by Maricha, the highly energetic Ravana, versed in speech, said, "My child, the guards (of Janasthana) have been slain by Rama of untiring energy; and all Janasthana, incapable of being slain, hath (by him) been brought down in battle. Do thou, therefore, assist me in carrying away his wife." Hearing these words of the lord of Rakshasas, Maricha said, "What enemy of thine in the guise of a friend, hath spoken of Sita unto thee? And, O foremost of monarchs, who, having been, entertained by thee, doth not bear thee good will? Tell me, who is it that hath told thee, 'Bring Sita hither?' Who is it that hath set his heart on severing the summit of the entire Rakshasa world? He must be thy enemy that excites thee to this. Of this there is not the least doubt. He wishes to extract through thy agency the fangs of a venomous snake. Who (intends) to lead thee astray by imposing on thee such a deed? Who, king, hath struck in the head, thee that wast slumbering in peace? Raghava in war is like a mad elephant, having an unblemished ancestry for his trunk, perspiration for his temporal exudation; and arms resting well beside him for his tusks. O Ravana, thou art not competent even to look at him. Thou ought not to rouse up the sleeping man-lion, that slayer of skillful Rakshasas resembling deer, with his sport in the field, for his joints and down; arrows for his body and sharp scimitar for his teeth. O Sovereign of the Rakshasas, thou ought not to plunge thyself into this dreadful, and abysslesss ocean, having the bow for its alligators, activity of arms for its shine, arrows for its billows, and engagement for its waters. Be propitious, O lord of Lanka! O foremost of Rakshasas, with a contented heart, thou hadst better go thy way to Lanka. Do thou ever sport with thy own wives: let Rama in company with his wife, sport in the woods." Thus addressed by Maricha, the ten-throated Ravana desisted, and entered Lanka the best of capitals.

SECTION 32.

Seeing fourteen thousands of Rakshasas of dread deeds, together with Dushana, and Khara, and Tricira, slain in battle by Rama single-handed, that one resembling clouds, Surpanaka, again fell to send up mighty sounds. And witnessing Rama's deeds, incapable of being performed by others, she, extremely agitated, went to Lanka, ruled by Ravana. And she saw the effulgent Ravana in front of his palace, surrounded by his counsellors, like Vasava surrounded by the Maruts; seated on a supreme golden seat resembling the sun, and like unto a flaming fire on a golden dais kept alive by sacrificial offerings; unconquerable by high-souled saints, celestials, Gandharbas and all creatures; terrible like the Destroyer with his mouth wide open; his persons containing scars of wounds inflicted by the thunderbolt and the lightnings, in the war between the gods and Asuras; his breast bearing marks of attacks made by Airavata with the ends of his tusks;—having twenty hands and ten heads,—wearing elegant attire; broad breasted; heroic; marked with royal signs; (in hue) resembling cool lapises; embellished in ornaments of burnished gold; having goodly hands, white teeth, and a huge face resembling a hill;—even him who in the war of the gods had been assailed an hundred ways with the descent of Vishnu's discus; whose body had been cut with all the weapons of the celestials; (him) who furiously disturbs the deep incapable of being disturbed; uproots mountain summits, and tramples over gods,—the destroyer of righteousness, and the violater of other's wives;—the employer of all celestial arms, and the disturber of sacrifices;—who going to the city of Bhagab and vanquishing Vasaki, had carried off Takshaka's beloved wife; who, going to Kailaca, and defeating him having for his vehicle a human being, had carried off the car Pushpaka coursing at every where at will; who endeued with prowess had devastated the divine Chaitraratha grove, the tank (situated there) and the Nandana wood,—as well as the gardens of the gods; and, who, himself resembling a mountain summit, had by means of his upraised arms, obstructed the rising of these repressor of foes the exalted Sun and Moon; who, possessed of calmness, having formerly for ten thousand years carried on asceticism in the mighty forest, offered his own heads unto the self create one; who in conflict fears, not death from either gods or Danavas or Gandharbas, or Picachas or birds or serpents, from none save human beings; who, possessed of prodigious strength, forcibly takes away the clarified butter sanctified with mantras from the sacrificial ground; the destroyer of sacrifices about to be completed; of villanous nature; the slaughterer of Brahmanas; of cruel deeds; harsh and kindless, and ever bent on doing evil unto all creatures; and railing furiously at all creatures; the inspirer of fear in all beings. And the Rakshasi beheld her exceedingly powerful and cruel brother, wearing gorgeous apparel and ornaments, and decked in a glorious garland,—seated, like the Destroyer at the time (of dissolution) ready (to destroy); the exalted chief of Rakshasas; the delight of the race of Paulastya. Stupified with fear, the Rakshasi, approaching that destroyer of foes; Ravana, surrounded by his counsellors, said these words. And transported with fear and desire, Surpanakha, given to fearlessly ranging every where, who had been deformed by that high-souled one, showing (her mutilation), addressed these harsh words unto Ravana of flaming and expansive eyes.

SECTION 33.

Then the woe begone Surpanakha, in high wrath spoke harshly in the midst of the courtiers, unto Ravana, given to railing loudly against all creatures, "Intoxicated with enjoyments, acting as thou wilt, and without any control whatever, thou dost not see that a dreadful disaster is impending. The subjects do not esteem a monarch that is given to sensual enjoyments, is intent upon satisfying his lust and is covetous like the fire in a cemetery. The king that doth not act at the proper time, finds destruction along with his kingdom and acts. Even as elephants shun the muddy river, do people shun from a distance, the ruler that doth not send out spies, who showeth not himself (unto his subjects), and who hath lost his independence. Like unto rocks in the sea, those monarchs that do not administer their dominions, that are not dependent, do not prosper. Having incurred the hostility of the gods, the Danavas and the Gandharbas of subdued souls and senses, how canst thou, who art fickle, and hast not employed spies, become the king? And, O Rakshasa, thou art childish and foolish; and doth not know what thou shouldst. How canst thou then become the king? O thou best of conquerers, those kings whose spies, exchequer and morality are not free, are like the common herd. It is because kings know distant dangers through spies, therefore they are styled far-sighted. I believe thou hast no spies, and that thy counsellors are common folks, since although Janasthana with thy kinsman is destroyed, yet thou takest it not to heart. Fourteen thousands of Rakshasas of dreadful deeds, with Khara and Dushana, have all been slain by Rama single-handed; Rama of untiring energy hath inspired the saints with courage; the Dandakas have been benefitted; and Janasthana hath been harassed. But thou, covetous and intoxicated and in the power of others, dost not understand that a great danger is overhanging (thee). People do not in times of peril assist a sovereign that is wrathful, stingy, intoxicated, haughty and deceitful. Even his own kindred slay a sovereign that sets inmense store by his own self, is of light worth, regards himself highly, and irascible. They do not serve him; nor do they fear when he intimidates them. Such an one is speedily dethroned; and reduced to poverty and becomes like a straw. Even dry wood may serve a purpose; or stone, or dust; but no purpose is capable of being served by a sovereign that hath been cast off his place. Like a cloth that hath been worn, like a garland that hath been trodden, a king that hath been dethroned, although able, is of no consequence. But a king that keeps his wits about him, understands everything, is of controlled senses, and grateful, and of virtuous character, endureth for ever. That king is honoured by men, that sleeping with his eyes, is awake as respects his eye of duty, and (the effects of) whose anger and favour, are seen (by all). But, thou Ravana, who hast not by means of spies, acquainted thyself with the slaughter of Rakshasas, art of evil understanding and bereft of all these virtues, given to disgracing others, ignorant of the proper distribution of time and place, and never taking care to distinguish merits and defects, thou, thy kingdom being in danger, wilt speedily meet with disaster." On his vices having been thus celebrated by her (Surpanakha), that lord of the rangers of night, Ravana, musing awhile, was long plunged in thought.

SECTION 34.

SEEING Surpanaka speak harsh words in the midst of the courtiers, Ravana, being enraged, asked her, saying, "Who is Rama? And what is his prowess? And what his form? And what his power? And why hath he entered the forest of Dandaka, difficult to range? And what Rama's weapons, by means of which he hath slain the Rakshasas? And Khara hath been slain in battle, and Dushana and Tricira. Do thou, O thou of a pleasing person, tell me the truth. And who hath deformed thee?" Thus addressed by the lord of the Rakshasas, the Rakshasi, transported with rage, commenced to duly narrate all about Rama. "Rama the son of Dacaratha is long-armed, of expansive eyes, clad in bark and dark deer-skin, and

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like Kandarpa in grace. And drawing a bow resembling that of Sakra, decked with golden rings, he discharges blazing narachas, like unto serpents of virulent poison. I do not see in the field, Rama drawing his bow: I only see the host being slaughtered by a shower of shafts. And as Indra destroys (a field of) goodly crops, by pouring down hail stones, fourteen thousand Rakshasas of dreadful prowess, as well as Khara and Dushana were in a little over a moment slain with sharp shafts by Rama alone fighting on foot. And he hath reassured the saints, and after having been deformed, I alone from fear of slaying a woman, have been let off by the high-souled Rama knowing self. His brother is endeued with mighty energy, and in merit, is of equal prowess; and he is devoted to his brother, and beareth him regard; the puissant one is named Lakshmana. And wrathful and invincible and victorious, and powerful, and intelligent and mighty, (he) is Rama's right-arm—his life ranging externally. And Rama's virtuously wedded beloved wife, having expansive eyes, and a face resembling the full-moon, is ever to the welfare of her lord. And that fair-haired, fair-nosed, and fair-thighed illustrious one possessed of beauty, graceth the forest like a goddess,—as if a goddess of wealth herself. Of the lustre of burnished gold, with her finger nails reddish and projecting, and graceful, that surpassingly lovely wench is named Sita—the slender waisted daughter of Videha. And neither a goddess, nor a Gandharbi, nor a Yakshi, nor a Kinnari, had I seen before on earth, possessed of such beauty. He that shall have Sita for his spouse, and who shall be warmly embraced by her, shall live longer in the world than the Lord of celestials himself. That good-natured girl, unparalleled on earth in loveliness, who can well pride herself on her person, is a worthy wife for thee; and thou too art a fit husband for her. It is to bring over for thee that one of spacious hips, and a high and well-developed bust, that I had put forth my endeavours. But, O mighty-armed one I have been disfigured by the wicked Lakshmana. As soon as thou hast seen Vaidehi having a countenance resembling the full moon, thou shalt be afflicted with the shafts of Cupid. If it is thy purpose to have her for thy wife, at once stretch forth thy right leg, for attaining success. If, O lord of Rakshasas, thou relishest my speech, do thou then, O Ravana, without fear, do as I tell thee. Understanding their incapacity, do thou, O lord of Rakshasas, for making her thy wife, by force carry away the frail Sita of a blameless person. Hearing that Rama by means of straight coursing shafts hath slain the Rakshasas that had gone to Janasthana, and seeing Khara and Dushana, killed, do thou ascertaining thy course, adopt it.

SECTION 35.

Hearing those words of Surpanakha, able to make one's hair stand on end, (Ravana) ascertaining his course after issuing his orders to his councellors, departed. And proposing to himself that act, weighing its good and evil, considering his capacity or otherwise, and (finally) determining his purpose, Ravana with a fixed mind went to the handsome stable. And going to the stable in disguise, the lord of the Rakshasasas commanded the charioteer, saying, "Yoke the car." Thus asked, the charioteer possessed of fleet vigor, in a trice, yoked an excellent car after his heart. And ascending the car coursing at will, made of gold and garnished with spectral faces as well as arrow decked with gold,—resembling a mass of clouds, the graceful ruler of the Rakshasas—younger brother to the Lord of wealth—proceeded in that noiseless (vehicle), past the lord of rivers and streams. And with chouris of white hair, and a white umbrella, having ten-faces, resembling (in hue) cool lapises, wearing ornaments of polished gold, possessed of ten mouths, and twenty arms, clad in elegant apparel,—the foe of the celestials, and slayer of the foremost ascetics—having huge heads like unto the monarch of mountains, the lord of the Rakshasas, mounted on that chariot coursing at will, appeared beautiful like a mass of clouds in the sky, with cranes, in the midst of lightning. And that one possessed of prowess beheld the shore of the sea, containing crags, scattered with trees bearing fruits and flowers of various kinds by thousands, bordered all around with pools furnished with cool and delightful waters, ornamented with spacious asylums having daises, graced with woods of plantain, beauteous with cocoanuts, and blossoming sala and palmyra, and tamala, trees, grateful with supreme saints rigidly restraining their fear, and with serpents and fowls of fair feathers and Gandharbas and Kinnaras by thousands; and pleasant with Siddhas and Charanas, that have controlled their lust; with those descendants of Brahma—the Vaikhanas, the Mashas, the Valakhilyas, and the Marichipas; swarming with females, divinely beautiful, dight with gorgeous ornaments and garlands, and Apsaras skilled in sport, by thousands; frequented by the wives of the celestials, and honoured by graceful girls; ranged by multitudes of deities and Danavas, feeding on ambrosia; abounding with swans, Kraunchas, and frogs, echoing to (the cries of) cranes; containing stones resembling the lapis, and mild and cool by the influence of the ocean. And as he proceeded, the younger brother of the Lord of wealth, saw on all sides spacious cars capable of coursing at will, sable, furnished with fair garlands, and resounding with trumpet notes,—and Gandharbas and Apsaras. And surveying by thousands woods of sandal exuding gum at their roots, and of choice aguru, grateful unto the sense of smell; and woods and groves of excellent and odorous takkola fruits; blossoms of the Tamala, and thickets of black pepper; heaps of pearls drying on the shore; rocks; the best corals in masses; summits of gold and silver; charming pellucid rills at places; and cities filled with corn and wealth, abounding in gems of women, and thronged with horses, elephants and cars—Ravana on the shore of the ocean beheld around a level and soft scene, resembling heaven itself—where breezes of delicate feel kept breathing. And there he saw a fig tree, hued like clouds, surrounded by ascetics; its branches stretched around an hundred Yoyanas, and the exceedingly powerful Garuda had ascended one of its boughs, taking an elephant and a huge tortoise, for the purpose of devouring them. And that best of birds, the powerful Suparna by his weight suddenly broke a branch containing full many leaves. And it came to pass that Vaikhanasas, Mashas, Valakhilyas, Marichipas, Ayas, and Dhumras,—saints of the highest order—had assembled there. Thereat, moved by commisseration (for the ascetics), the virtuous Garuda, taking with promptitude the broken bough measuring an hundred Yoyanas as well as the elephant and the tortoise, by one leg, at length eating up the animals, and by means of the bough, exterminating the country of the Nishadas—that best of birds attained unequalled delight in consequence of having rescued the mighty ascetics. Thereat, attaining double energy by virtue of that delight that intelligent one set his heart on bringing ambrosia. And tearing off the iron links of the network, and bursting into the repository of gem, he carried away secreted ambrosia from the residence of the great Indra. Kuvera's younger brother beheld this fig tree, named Subhadra, graced with the Maharshi, on which Suparna had left his mark. Then repairing to the other shore of that lord of rivers, the ocean, Ravana saw an asylum lying in the forest in a charming and sacred recess. And there he saw a Rakshasa, named Maricha, clad in a dark deer-skin, bearing a head of matted locks, subsisting on restricted fare. And approaching Ravana duly, the Rakshasa, Maricha, received the king with every hospitality passing human. And having entertained him personally with meats and drinks, Maricha addressed him in weighty words, saying, "O lord of the Rakshasas, king, is it well with thee in Lanka? And what for hast thou again come hither so speedily?" Thus addressed by Maricha, that highly powerful one, skilled in speech, Ravana said.

SECTION 36.

O Maricha, hearken unto me, my child, as I relate everything unto thee). I am distressed; and in this distress of mine, thou art certainly my great refuge. Thou knowest Janasthana, where lives my brother Khara, and the mighty-armed Dushana, and my sister, Surpanakha; as also that Rakshasa subsisting on (human) flesh, the long armed Tricira, and many other heroic night-rangers besides, of high enthusiasm in battles—Rlkshasas, who had been living there at my command, troubling in the mighty forest the ascetics carrying on their pious offices. And fourteen thousands of Rakshasas of dreadful deeds, heroic, high-spirited,—Rakshasas possessed of exceeding prowess; while residing n Janasthana of late,—clad in mail and equipped with various weapons, headed by Khara, met with Rama in the field. Getting enraged, Rama in conflict without returning any harsh speech, by means of his shafts shot from his bow, —hath, a human being, and fighting on foot, with his flaming arrows slaughtered fourteen thousand Rakshasas of fierce energy. And Khara hath been slain in battle, and Dushana also hath been brought down. And having slain Tricira too, (Rama) hath rid the Dandaka of all fear. Having been expelled by his enraged sire, that disgrace of Kshatriyas, the weak Rama, living in company with his wife hath effected the destruction of this army. He is of a vile character, crabbed, foolish, covetuous, of uncontrolled senses, bereft of morality, sinful, and ever engaged in the evil of all creatures,—by whom, violently without hostility my sister hath been deformed in the forest by having her nose and ears cut off. Of him will I carry off by force from Janasthana, his wife, Sita, resembling the daughter of a celestial. Be thou my help in it. For certain, O exceedingly strong one, if thou help me at my side, if my brothers also back me, I do not think much of all the celestials. Therefore, be thou my help; for, thou art capable, O Rakshasa. In prowess in battle, and in indomitableness, there is none like thee. Thou art a mighty hero commanding resources, and conversant with potent illusory displays. Taking this to my heart, I have come to thee, O ranger of the night. Do thou listen as to the business in which by my command thou art to help me. Becoming a golden deer, marked with silver spots, do thou range about in Rama's asylum in presence of Sita. Seeing thee helpless, in the shape of a deer, Sita will say unto her lord and Lakshmana also,—"Do ye catch it." And when they shall have departed, I shall carry off from the empty asylum, Sita without let, like Rahu depriving the Moon of his splendour. Then when Rama shall be sore afflicted because of the carrying off of his wife, I shall easily, crowning my soul with success, safely bear away Sita. Hearing Rama's words, the face of the high-souled Maricha became blank and he was seized with apprehension. And licking up his dried lips, with winkless eyes, (Maricha) as if dead, and exceedingly distressed, eyed Ravana, steadily. And alarmed because of Ravana, with his mind depressed, Maricha who well knew Rama's prowess in the forest, with joined hands in agitation spoke words lending to his own as well as Ravana's welfare.

SECTION 37.

Hearing the words of that sovereign of the Rakshasas, the highly energetic Maricha, skilled in speech, answered the Rakshasa chief, saying, "0 king, the speaker of soft words is common, but the speaker and the listner of unwelcome though beneficial words are rarities. Volatile, and employing no spies, thou surely dost not understand the exceedingly powerful Rama towering high in virtues, and resembling the illustrious Indra or Varuna himself. I shall be well, my child, if Rama fired with rage, do not render all the world bereft of Rakshasas; if Janaka's daughter hath not sprung to compass thy destruction, if a dreadful disaster do not befall thee because of Sita, and if having obtained for her lord thee that art wilful and wicked, the city of Lanka with thee and the Rakshasas do not meet with utter extermination. The sovereign who is wicked, whimsical and of evil intent like thee, bringeth about his own destruction as well as that of his kingdom and relatives. Rama, the enhancer of Kaucalya's delight hath not been abandoned by his father, nor is he devoid of propriety of conduct; he is not avaricious, wicked nor the destroyer of Kastriya race. He does not lack religious merits or accomplishments, nor is he of a harsh temperament and intent on causing misery unto creatures. Finding his truthful sire imposed on by Kaikeyi he has sojourned unto woods. For compassing the welfare of his father Dacaratha and Kaikeyi he hath entered the forest of Dandaka. Rama, O my child is not harsh or foolish; nor has he not control over his senses. Far from speaking untruth he does not know false stories even. It doth not behove thee therefore to use such improper language towards him. He is an incarnation of virtue, pious and truthful, and lord of all men as Basava of all celestials. How dost thou then wish to carry away by force his Vaidehi, protected by virtue of her own chastity, like unto the rays of Sun? It doth not behove thee to enter that fire of Rama who hath arrows for rays and bow and scimitar for fuel. It doth not behove thee, O Ravana, to approach Rama renouncing thy kingdom, happiness and love of life, who is like unto death itself and has bow for his widened and flaming mouth, and arrows for his rays and who is irrepressible, of mighty prowess, holding bows and arrows and repulsing the forces of the enemy. Incomparable is his power; daughter of Janaka is his wife and lives in the forest confiding in the mighty strength of his bow; thou shalt not be able to carry her away. She is the beloved wife of that best of men having a leonine chest—and he holds his wife dearer than his life and is ever attached unto her. And young Sita beloved of the mighty Rama, and like unto the rays of flaming fire is ever incapable of being carried away by thee. Of what avail is this vain attempt O Rakshasa chief? No sooner Rama shall see you in the battle thou shalt meet with thy end. Hard it is to attain life, happiness and kingdom, so it behoveth thee to act properly, after consulting with thy ministers headed by Bivishana, judging Rama's merits and demerits and ascertaining his and thy own strength and as well as thy welfare. Methinks thy approaching conflict with the son of the Kocala chief forebodes no good unto thee; hear again therefore O prince of the night-rangers, words sensible and lending to thy welfare.

SECTION 38.

Once on a time I was engaged in travelling all over the earth. I had in my body, resembling a huge mountain, the strength of a thousand Nagas. I had parigha in my hands, crown on my head and golden ear-rings on my ears and my body was of a dark blue colour like that of a cloud. Causing fright unto the people I used to wander through the forest of Dandaka and live upon the flesh of the Rishis. The pious ascetic Viswamitra being afraid of me went in person to the king Dacaratha and said, "When I shall remain absorbed in meditation on the occasion of parva, let Rama protect me O king, Truly am I afraid of this Maricha." Being thus addressed by the ascetic the virtuous-souled king Dacaratha replied, saying "Raghava is still under twelve years of age and hath not been well disciplined in military arts. But I have soldiers enough, and if permitted by thee, O thou best of ascetics, I shall with my four-fold forces kill thy enemies, the rangers of the night." Being thus addressed that ascetic spoke unto the monarch, saying, "True it is that thou wert the protector of the celestials in the War and thy exploits are well known to the world, but no one shall be able to withstand the Rakshasas but Rama. The highly energetic Rama, though a boy is sufficiently qualified to defeat the enemies; therefore, O Destroyer of foes, let thy soldiery remain here and let me proceed along with Rama. May God bless thee." Saying this

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the ascetic Viswamitra being pleased went to his asylum along with Rama. Afterwards having been initiated for the sacrifice in the forest of Dandaka Rama having unstrung his mighty bow came to the ascetic to protect the sacrifice. He had a gold chain round his neck, a crest on his head and a bow in his hands; he had a pair of beautiful eyes, and only one piece of cloth; his countenance was of green hue and exquisite beauty and even then mustaches or other signs of manhood did not appear on his face. Beautifying the entire forest of Dandaka with his own splendour Rama appeared like the newly risen moon. Thereupon I resembling a cloud and having golden ear locks entered the asylum being proud of my power on account of the boons offered unto me by Brahma. Seeing me enter he took up his dart and attached string unto his bow with proper care. Being under the influence of sheer foolishness I passed by him as a child and darted towards the sacrificial altar of Viswamitra. Thereupon he wounded me with a sharpened sword capable of doing away with the enemies and threw me away into the ocean situated at a distance of hundred yojanas. He had no mind of killing me then and for this he saved my life. I was thrown however into the deep ocean being hindered by the velocity of his arrows and having lost my consciousness. Regaining my sense after a long while I returned the city of Lanka. Myself saved thus, my followers however were all killed by Rama of unwearied activity though a mere child and a novice in the art of warfare. It is for this that I do prevent thee; thou shalt be overwhelmed with calamities and meet with destruction if dost thou engage thyself in battle with him. In vain shalt thou bring about the affliction of the mirthful and sportive Rakshasas ever witnessing social festivities. And in vain shalt thou for Sita compass the destruction of the city of Lanka, adorned with diverse jewels and filled with golden edifices. Pious men living with a vicious man, meet with destruction for his sins, though they themselves do not commit any misdeed, like unto fish (devoured by Garuda) living in a lake where snakes dwell. Thus shalt thou witness that for thy own folly the rangers of the night, adorned with celestial ornaments and having their body pasted with sandal, have been killed and brought down to the earth. And they deprived of shelter have fled away to different directions, some with their wives and some alone, having their wives carried away (by the enemies). Thou shalt further observe that all edifices of Lanka, being enveloped with arrows and flaming fire have been burnt down to ashes. There is no greater sin on earth than carrying away another's wife. There are a thousand ladies in thy seraglio O king. Being attached unto thy wives do thou preserve the race of the Rakshasas, thy own line, thy wished for life, kingdom, wealth and dignity. Do not bring about Rama's mischief if dost thou wish to live happily with thy wives and friends. I am thy friend and do ask thee again and again to desist (from thy evil intentions); if dost thou encroach upon Sita surely shalt thou along with thy kinsmen go to the abode of Yama being enfeebled by the arrows of Rama."

SECTION 39.

I was however somehow saved by Rama in that conflict. Listen what happened afterwards. I was not humbled even by the danger of my life. Once again I entered the forest of Dandaka accompanied by two Rakshasas assuming the shape of deer. I had a flaming tongue, huge teeth, sharpened horns and lived on the flesh of ascetics. Assuming such a terrible appearance I began to traverse with great vehemence the Tirtha, Agnihotri and the place of worship; eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the ascetics after killing them I began to hinder all religious services. I had a most ugly figure and was maddened with drinking blood, and all the animals of the forest were exceedingly frightened at me. White I was thus traversing the forest of Dandaka throwing obstacles in the way of religious services I saw the pious ascetic Rama living on a restricted fare, the honoured Sita and the mighty Lakshmana, taking recourse to asceticism, moderate in eating and ever engaged in the welfare of created beings. Remembering his former enmity and aggrandisement, I, being extremely wrathful, in my deer shape and with my sharpened horns, darted towards him with a view to kill him, considering through my ignorance the effulgent Rama as none other but an ascetic living in the forest. Then stringing his huge bow he darted three sharpened arrows at me. Those three terrible arrows with bent knots resembling thunder-bolts, killing enemies and drinking blood and having the motion of Garuda and air, coalescing with each other came before us. Wicked as I am, I was fully aware of his prowess having been frightend by him on a former occasion, and so I saved myself by escaping, but those two Rakshasas were killed. O Ravana, any how saved from the arrows of Rama and having got my life back I have resorted to the life of an ascetic and have been carrying on asceticism here being absorbed in Yoga.

From that very day I see Rama wearing bark and deer skin even in the very trees before me like unto Death with the noose in his hands. Terrified as I am I always seeing thousands of Rama around me. Me seems the entire forest is inhabited by Rama only. O king of Rakshasas, I see Rama even in the quarter where there is no Rama. Seeing him in my dreams even I look around like one awaken. O Ravana what more shall I speak unto thee, I am so much afraid of Rama that such words as Ratna (jewel) Ratha (chariot) which begin with the letter Ra administer consternation unto me. I am fully apprised of the prowess of that descendant of Raghu; it doth not behove thee to enter into conflict with him; he can destroy Vali and Namuchi. Ravana, whether dost thou fight with Rama or not, do not mention him unto me if dost thou wish to see me. Many persons pious and devoted to asceticism on this earth have met with destruction for another's misdeeds. And I shall meet with a similar fate for thy sins. O thou the ranger of night do whatever thou likest, I shall not follow thee. Truely is that highly intelligent and effulgent Rama of mighty prowess, like death itself unto the rangers of night. Though the wicked Khara of Janasthana hath been slain by him on Surpanakha's account, yet how is he to blame for it? Do thou truly speak. Thou art my friend; it is for this and for thy welfare that I speak this truth unto thee. If dost thou not follow my words, thyself with all thy kinsmen, shall be slain in battle by Rama.

SECTION 40.

As a person desirous of meeting with his end doth not take medicine, Ravana, the king of night-rangers paid no heed to the appropriate and sound words of Maricha skilled in speech, foreboding good unto him. Moreover he addressed him with the following harsh words. "O, Maricha, what thou hast spoken unto me, shall bear no fruit like unto seeds sown into a desert-land. I shall not be frightened thereby to fight with that foolish Rama—a human being of vicious deeds. Surely shall I before thee take away from that Rama the destroyer of Khara his favourite wife, at whose words he has sojourned into woods renouncing his father mother, kingdom and friends. I have made this firm resolution in my mind O, Maricha; even Indra, with the celestials and Ashuras shall not be able to shake it. It would have been proper for thee to give vent to these expressions had I but asked thee for advice to ascertain my duty, the propriety or impropriety of my action, its way or losses. A wise counsellor who wishes prosperity unto himself should always communicate unto his master his desire with joined hands whenever asked to do so. It is always proper to speak before monarchs such pleasant and favourable words as are intended for the welfare of the master and are sanctioned by the royal etiquette. A respectable king doth not receive with good grace friendly words even when they are expressed disrespectfully. Sovereigns of superb prowess assume the semblance of five deities—Agni, Indra, Moon, Yama, and Varuna. Powerful kings, O Ranger of the night, assume haughtiness, power, a placid look and contentment and administer punishment unto the wicked. They are to be adored and honoured therefore on all occasions. Thou art ignorant of kingly morality and fully absorbed in illusion. It is for this that thou dost out of thy wickedness of heart address me thy guest with these harsh words. I do not ask thee O, Rakshasa about the propriety (of my conduct or about my welfare. I did only ask thee for thy help. Listen what thou shalt have to do at my request in my aid; assuming the shape of a deer having golden skin painted with silvery drops do thou proceed to the asylum of Rama, and ranging at large before Vaidehi do thou after captivating her take thy wished-for way. Vaidehi, being struck with wonder seeing thee a golden deer capable of illusions, shall request Rama to get thee soon for her. Kakuthstha issuing out of the asylum, thou shalt, at great distance utter such cries as "O Sita, O Lakahmana" imitating his (Rama's) voice. Hearing those cries Lakshmana also, at the behest of Sita, shall proceed to Rama. When both Rama and Lakshmana shall go elsewhere in this way I shall to my felicity carry away Vaidehi like unto the thousand-eyed deity carrying away Sachi. O Rakshasa, do thou go wherever thou likest after doing this. I shall confer on thee, O Maricha, half of my kingdom. O thou of auspicious look, do thou proceed towards the forest of Dandaka to compass this end of mine; I shall follow thee in my chariot. Acquiring Sita without any conflict, after imposing upon Rama I shall return to Lanka successful along with thee. I shall kill thee, O Maricha, if dost thou not obey my behest. I shall compell thee to do this. No body can attain to prosperity and happiness, acting against his sovereign's will. Truly shalt thou risk thy life if thou approachest Rama, but thou shalt meet with sure destruction if dost thou act against my will . Consider about it, and do what thou thinkest proper.

SECTION 41.

Being thus commanded by Ravana like a king to act against his will Maricha fearlessly addressed the lord of the Rakshasas with the following bold words, "What person of impious deeds hath advised thee O ranger of the night thus in order to exterminate thee with thy kingdom, counsellors and children? Who of a vicious heart, O King, doth not feel himself happy at thy welfare? Who hath pointed out unto thee the way of thy death under the cover of thy means? O Ranger of night surely do thy weak enemies wish to bring about thy destruction by making thee enter into a conflict with a powerful man. What little-minded man of evil intent hath counselled thee thus? O Ranger of night, really do they desire that thou dost bring destruction upon thyself by thy own actions. Thou dost not exterminate thy counsellors O Ravana, albeit they are worthy of being destroyed. For they do not prevent thee entirely from thy evil course. Wise counsellors do always restrain a king who wends a vicious track being guided by his impulses and passions; but about thee they are quite unmindful, though thou shouldst by every means be brought under restraint. O thou the best of conquerors, O thou the ranger of night, ministers by the grace of their sovereign attain virtue, wealth, desires and fame. But those objects are never attained O Ravana when they are not in good odour with their sovereign; moreover the subjects meet with dangers when he is devoid of all qualities. O thou the best of conquerors, the king is the root of virtue and fame unto the subjects; he should therefore be always protected by them. O ranger of night, proud kings of cruel temperament, acting against the subjects can never administer their kingdoms. So do the ministers of cruel counsel meet with their end like unto a chariot driven into a wild track by an unskilled charioteer. Many a pious person, on this earth, ever engaged in the performance of religious services, have, for the folly of other persons, met with destruction along with their relatives. Verily the subjects, O Ravana, can never expect to prosper under the regime of hot-natured sovereigns acting against their subjects like unto deer under the protection of a jackal. All the Rakshasas shall surely die, O Ravana whose lord art thou, foolish, cruel and under the control of thy passions. I shall not be the least sorry if I do meet with a sudden accident—what I do deplore most is that thou shalt meet in no time with destruction along with thy soldiery. Compassing my end Rama shall enterminate thee in no time—and blessed I shall be being killed by an enemy in the conflict. Surely dost thou know that no sooner shall I see Rama I shall be done away with; thou shalt carrying away Sita meet with thy end along with thy kinsmen. And if dost thou bring Sita with me from the asylum, none shall be saved,—me, thyself, the city of Lanka, and the Rakshasas. Thou dost not relish my words O ranger of the night though prevented by me, who wishes thee welfare; those men who range on the verge of death, well-nigh finishing the term of their existence do not receive with good grace the counsels of friends.

SECTION 42.

Speaking these harsh words unto Ravana, Maricha being afraid of him said, "We shall both go. Surely shall I be deprived of my life by him (Rama) taking up his scimitar and having a bow and arrows in his hands, if I go before him again. Meeting with his prowess thou shalt never return with thy life; he is like the noose of Death unto thee though thou hadst baffled its power. Thou art vicious-souled, what can I do for thee? Be thou crowned with success O ranger of the night, I shall go." The Lord of Rakshasas being pleased with Marietta's words embraced him warmly and said, "This is worthy of thy heroism that thou hast addressed thyself to act after my desire. Thou wert another Rakshasa before and hast now become true Maricha. Do thou now with me ascend this chariot coursing in the air, crested with jewels and driven by asses having faces of a demon. Enchanting Vaidehi thou shalt wend thy way and away shall I carry the daughter of the king of Mithila by force (when there shall be neither Rama nor Lakshmana by her.)" Thereupon Taraka's son assented to Ravana's words, and both of them ascending the chariot like unto a heavenly car set out for the hermitage. And beholding diverse towns, forests, mountains, rivers, kingdoms and cities they reached the forest of Dandaka and the asylum of Rama. And descending now from the golden car the lord of Rakshasas together with Maricha beheld Rama's asylum. Taking him (Maricha) by the hand Ravana spake saying "There stands the asylum of Rama surrounded by palm trees. Do thou do that for which we have come here." Hearing the words of Ravana, the Rakshasa Maricha assuming the wonderful shape of a (golden) deer began to range at large before Rama's hermitage. The points of its horns were like unto (two) excellent jewels, its countenance was diversified with white and black colour, its face was like a red lotus, its ears were like unto two blue lotuses, its neck was little raised, its belly was like a saphire, its sides were like unto Madhuka flowers, its colour was like that of a filament of a lotus, its hoops were like unto Baidurjas (a gem of a dark colour); of lean thighs; of firm joints; its tail having the diversified colour of a rainbow was upraised. It was of a pleasant and cool hue and crested with various jewels.

And in no time the Rakshasa assumed the shape of a beautiful deer. To tempt Vaidehi that ranger of the night, assuming a beautiful countenance painted with diverse metals, illumining the beautiful forest and Rama's asylum with its beauty, and ranging at large on the green field and living on grass, began to proceed. That one of lively presence having its body painted with hundreds of silver drops and living on twigs of trees began to range in the forest. Sometimes walking into the plantain house, sometimes walking around the forest of Karnika, sometimes coming within the compass of Sita's

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vision, that best of deer having its back painted with gold began to range slowly around the hermitage. It began to walk at pleasure near Rama's asylum. Sometimes going, sometimes stopping, at one time running very swiftly and receding the next moment, that best of deer began to range at large. Sometimes playing around, sometimes lying on earth and sometimes following the deer-herd having come within the threshhold of the asylum and then followed again by them that Rakshasa assuming the form of a deer came back to see Sita. He then began to range at large in the beautiful forest (extending far and wide). Seeing him other forest-deer came (by him) and smelling him fled away into different quarters. That Rakshasa, though expert in killing deer, did not eat them up, though touching, inorder to hide his real self. In the meantime Vaidehi, of auspicious looks whose eyes inebriate like wine, being engaged in plucking flowers, was going sometimes to the Karnika grove and sometimes to the mangoe grove. That best of women, ever inured to living in the forest and possessed of a graceful countenance, walking and plucking flowers, saw that jewelled deer, having its body deversified with pearls and diamonds. It had beautiful teeth and lips and had its down resembling silver. She began to behold with affection and with her eyes expanded with surprise. That illusive deer seeing Rama's wife began to move around as if lighting up that forest (with the fire of its beauty). Beholding that deer ornamented with diverse jewels, and the like of which she had never seen before, the daughter of Janaka was struck With immense wonder.

SECTION 43.

Beholding that deer with its sides painted with gold and silver, while collecting flowers, Sita, having blameless limbs and beautiful hips and having the colour of her body like that of pure gold became immensely pleased and called aloud her husband and Lakshmana with scimitars in their hands. "Do thou come soon, do thou come soon, O son of the worshipful Sire, along with thy younger brother" —having called (her husband) again and again in this strain she continued beholding that deer. Being thus called by the daughter of the king of Videha those two best of men Rama and Lakshmana, casting their looks around beheld that deer. Seeing him Lakshmana, struck with fear, said "Methinks, this deer is the Rakshasa Maricha. This vicious Maricha, O Rama, assuming the shape of a deer oftentimes kills at pleasure the kings who come here a-hunting. He is cognisant of illusions, by virtue of which he has assumed this shape, O best of men; its countenance is perfectly fine like the abode of Gandharbas and resplendent like the Sun; there is no such jewelled deer on earth. O Raghava, O Lord of earth, there is no doubt that this is nothing but illusion." When Lakshmana spake thus Sita with a pure smile being under the influence of enchantment contradicted him, and being pleased said "O son of the worshipful Sire, this deer hath attracted my mind, get it for me, pray, O thou of mighty arms; it shall be an object of sport for us. Many a beautiful deer range at large in the vicinity of our hermitage such as Chamara, Srimara, Rik, Prishata, Banara, and Kinnara. They are all very beautiful and of mighty strength; but O Prince, I have never seen before the like of this deer. In energy, strength and beauty it stands above all deer. Its entire body is diversified with various colours, nay, it is a jewel itself. It moves before me, beautifying the forest with its resplendance, like unto Moon himself. Ah! what beauty, what beautiful a lustre, how musical a voice, this wonderful deer of variegated countenance, hath indeed captivated my heart! If canst thou get by this deer alive, O what wonder, what surprise! When shall we regain our kingdom after the expiry of the term of our banishment, this deer shall beautify the interior of our palace. O Lord, truly shall this celestial deer create surprise in Bharata, yourself, me and my mothers-in-law. O best of men, if canst thou not get hold of it alive its skin shall also look very beautiful (to us). Spreading on Kuca the skin of this golden deer when killed do I wish to invoke the Almighty. It looks (no doubt) unseemly and terrible and smacks of wilfulness on the part of a wife to command her husband in this way, but I am sunk in surprise seeing the countenance of the deer." Rama's heart was struck with surprise beholding that wonderful deer having its down resembling gold, horns resembling exquisitely fine diamonds, colour like that of the newly risen Sun, and resplendance like that of the orbit of the planets. Being enchanted by its beauty and spurred on by Sita's words, Raghava pleased, spake unto his younger brother saying "Behold, O Lakshmana, it has immensely excited Vaidehi's desire. On account of its exquisite beauty it shall loose its life to-day. It has its equal no where on the earth—neither in the celestial garden nor in the Chaittraratha forest. The hairs of its body being arranged in regular and contrary courses and being painted with golden drops do indeed look very beautiful. Do thou see, while expanding its mouth, its tongue comes out resembling flaming fire like unto a thunder-bolt reaving the mass of clouds. Its face is like a glass made of best blue saphire, its belly resembling a conch and pearl, and it is very difficult to ascertain its shapes. Beholding it who is there (on earth) whose heart is not enamoured? Its beauty resembles the rays of gold and is variegated with diverse hues of jewels. Whose heart is not enveloped with surprise beholding such a celestial beauty, O Lakshmana? Princes, with bows in their hands, while-a hunting in a deep forest destroy deer either for flesh or for sport. Moreover while engaged in sporting they collect many a jewel and various metals as gold and silver, in the woods. There is not the least doubt that these wild riches filling up their coffers are comparatively far better (than the wealth acquired by other sources) like unto the objects of enjoyment, enjoyed at their fancy by the people inhabiting the celestial region. The object which persons desirous of acquiring wealth follow without any discretion in their actions, is the true definition of wealth given by the political economists. Vaidehi of slender waist desireth to sit with me on the exquisitely fine golden skin of this gem of a deer, meseems no deer skin is so comfortable to touch as this—neither the skin of Kadali, Priaki, Prabeni nor of Abiki. Truly handsome in this deer and the one that rangeth in the welkin, indeed these two deer only are celestial—the one that rangeth in the sky (Mrigashira) and this that rangeth on earth. And if it be a Rakshasa's illusion as thou sayest, O Lakshmana, then it must be killed by me. This cruel vicious-souled Maricha made away with many eminent ascetics, while traveling in the forest; and this Rakshasa assuming the shape of an illusive deer destroyed many kings —mighty archers while a-hunting in this forest; it is for this that this deer must be killed. Formerly this Batapi [The name of an Asur devoured by Agastya.] entering into the womb of twice-born ones used to come out reaving them like unto the embryo of a mule. Once on a time this Batapi approached the eminent saint Agastya and was devoured by him. After the Sradha ceremony had been over, finding that Batapi desirious of assuming the shape of a Rakshasa the great saint Agastya said smiling "Being blinded with thy prowess O Batapi, thou hast destroyed many eminent twice-born ones on this earth and for this that I do digest thee. Truly that Rakshasa O, Lakshmana, who wisheth to surpass one like me who hath controlled his senses and is ever engaged in pious offices shall meet with his end like unto this Batapi. Therefore this Maricha approaching me shall be killed by me like unto Batapi being devoured by Agastya. Do thou therefore vigilently protect Vaidehi with mail and armours on. It is our prime duty, O descendant of Raghu, to protect Janaki. I shall either kill this deer or shall get hold of it. Look, O Lakshmana, Vaidehi is extremely anxious to get the skin of this deer, I shall therefore proceed at once, O son of Sumil to catch this deer. The skin of this deer is the best of its kind; for certain shall it loose its life today. As long as I do not kill this deer, O Lakshmana, do thou with Sita remain with vigilance in this asylum. I shall in no time come back with its skin after killing it with one arrow. Do thou stay here, O Lakshmana, with Janaki in constant fear and vigilance, along with the mighty Yatayu, intelligent and e engaged in pious offices.

SECTION 44.

Having thus directed his brother, the highly energetic son of Raghu equipped himself with his gold-hilted scimitar And girting himself with his bow bent at three places, which served him as an ornament,—as well as a couple of quivers that one of fierce energy sallied out. Seeing that foremost of monarchs approach, that best of beasts from fear disappeared; and then again showed himself. Thereat girt with the bow and sword, (Rama) rushed where the deer was; and beheld him illumining all before him with his beauty,—and bow in hand (Rama beheld) him in that vast forest, darting away after gazing at him,—and sometimes seeming to have got beyond arrow range, and at others tempting Rama (by his vicinity). And sometimes influenced by fear and bewildered, (the deer) seemed to course the welkin; and in the forest now he became visible and now vanished from sight. And like the autumual lunar disc enveloped by indented clouds, he momentarily showed himself, and anon discovered himself at a distance. And Maricha wearing the shape of a deer, showing himself and disappearing from sight, drew Raghava a long way from the hermitage. Thereat Rama, eagerly anxious to secure the deer, being foiled by the deer, and in consequence growing enraged, wearied out, rested under a shadow, on a sward. And that ranger of the night, wearing the form of a deer, maddening Rama, discovered himself (again) at a distance surrounded by (other) deer. And Rama desirous of taking (the beast), seeing him again, set off at speed. At the very moment the deer disappeared from fear; and again showed himself at a distance behind a tree. And seeing him, the exceedingly energetic and strong Raghava, determined to slay him, growing wroth, taking out a flaming shaft, resembling the rays of the sun, powerfully drew his bow, and firmly setting the shaft, and aiming it at the deer, let go the blazing and burning weapon forged by Brahma, resembling a flaming serpent. And that best of arrows, like unto a thunderbolt, deeply pierced the breast of Maricha, wearing the shape of a deer. Thereat bounding up high as a palmyra palm, that one whose saws had almost run out, uttered terrible sounds, lying on the earth. And while on the point of death, Maricha renounced his counterfeit shape. And remembering the words of Ravana, the Rakshasa reflected, "By what means can Sita send away Lakshmana, and Ravana carry off Sita staying in solitude?" And pierced to the marrow by that peerless shaft, Maricha, renouncing his deer form, resumed his Rakshasa lineaments; and giving up his life attaining a huge person, considering the time had come (for availing himself of the advice tendered by Ravana), began to cry with the voice of Raghava, "Ah Sita! Ah Lakshmana!" And seeing that grim-visaged Rakshasa lying low on the ground, with his person bathed in blood, and rolling hither and thither, Rim a proceeded towards the asylum, thinking of Sita. and revolving within himself Lakshmana's words. While returning he thought aside "Lakshmana said before that this was Maricha's illusion!" His words have been verified now. Truly have I killed Maricha. Maricha has given up his ghost exclaiming aloud Ah! Sita, Ah! Lakshmana. I do not know what shall Sita do hearing the cry? And what shall the mighty-armed Lakshmana do?" While pondering thus the hairs of the virtuous-souled Rama stood on their end. Killing that Rakshasa assuming the shape of a deer and hearing his terrible cry Rama was overwhelmed with fear arising out of sorrow. Thereupon killing a deer and taking its flesh he hastened towards Janasthana.

SECTION 45.

Hearing that cry in the forest resembling her husband's voice Sita spake unto Lakshmana saying "Do thou go and learn what has befallen Raghava. He is crying aloud in pitiable accents; hearing them my life and soul are incapable of remaining any longer in their proper places. It behoveth thee to save thy brother who is crying aloud in the forest; do thou immediately repair hence to save him, who is in need of thy help. He hath been over-powered by the Rakshasas like unto a bullock brought under the power of a lion," Remembering the behest of Rama, Lakshmana did not go, though accosted thus by Sita. Extremely mortified, the daughter of Janaka spake unto him saying "O Son of Sumitra, thou art an enemy unto Rama, in the garb of a brother. Thou dost not proceed for the relief of thy brother who hath been reduced to such a plight. Dost thou desire, for fine, O Lakshmana, Rama's destruction? Truely being under the influence of lust for me thou dost not follow Raghava! For this thou dost welcome Rama's disaster; thou hast no affection for him. For this it is that thou dost sit here without anxiety not seeing the highly effulgent (Rama). Rama, following whom thou hast repaired unto this forest, being in danger, of what avail is life unto me?" Vaidehi Speaking thus being influenced by sorrow, and with tears in her eyes, like unto a deer, Lakshmana spake unto her saying "O Vaidehi, celestials, Danavas, Gandharbas, Rakshasas, Asuras, or Pannagas, there is none who can defeat thy husband. There is not the least doubt in this. Worshipful madam! Celestials, Danavas, Gandharbas, Rakshasas, Picachas, men, Kinnaras, animals, or birds, there is none among them, who can withstand Raghava, who equals the lord of celestials in warfare. In fact there is none who can do away with Rama in battle. It doth not behove thee therefore to accost me thus. Nor do I dare leave thee here alone in this forest without Rama. Even the mighty heroes, as the Lord of celestials, cannot subdue his prowess with all their strength. Even the Almighty Himself, with the celestials and the three worlds, cannot defeat him. Do thou therefore renounce grief and console theyself. Sooner shall thy husband return killing the best of deer. It is not his voice nor one sent by any deity. It is but an illusion of that Rakshasa (Maricha). O Vaidehi, thou hast been left unto my charge by the high-souled (Rama)—I therefore do not dare leave thee behind, O thou the jewel of a damsel. We have made these night-rangers our enemies. For compassing the destruction of Khara, O worshipful one, and devastating Janasthana, Rakshasas oftentimes use improper words unto us in this extensive forest. O Vaidehi, to create mischief unto the pious is the only amusement of these Rakshasas—thou shoudst not therefore be anxious for this." Being thus addressed by him her eyes were reddened with ire, and she spake these harsh words unto the truthful Lakshmana saying "O cruel one! O thou the destroyer of thy line! it is a disgrace unto thee that thou wishest to protect me (killing Rama). Methinks, this mighty disaster of Rama is welcome unto thee, or else why shouldst thou seeing this, speak thus, O Lakshmana. It is not a wonder that an evil desire lurks in thee who art a hypocrite and a cruel-hearted enemy. Verily art thou a monster of wickedness, that Rama repairing unto woods, thou hast, being lustful for me, followed him alone. Or hast thou been engaged by Bharata to act thus? But thy or Bharata's intention shall not be satisfied, O Saumitre. How shall I desire another man after serving the lotus-eyed Rama of dark blue hue as my husband? I shall renounce my life before thee, therefore, O Lakshmana; without Rama I shall not maintain my being for a moment on this earth." Hearing these brazen words of Sita, capable of making one's down stand on end, the self-controlled Lakshmana with joined hands spake unto her saying "Thou art a very Goddess unto me, I therefore dare not answer thee. What thou hast spoken, O Maithelee, is nothing surprising for females. Such is the

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nature of womankind on this earth. Women by nature are crooked, fickle, devoid of religious knowledge, and bring about difference between father and son. O Vaidehi, O daugther of Janaka, truly am I incapable of putting up with these words of thine. They have pierced through both of my ears like a heated Naracha. However the deities ranging in this woodland are my witnesses— may they hear thee. I spoke what was fair and have been thus addressed by thee with these harsh words. I do alawys obey my superior's commands. Fie on thee! Thy destruction is near at hand that dost thou suspect me, being influenced by this womanish nature. I shall go where Kakuthstha is, may good betide thee, O thou the best of damsels! May the deities of the forest protect thee, O thou of expansive eyes! Many a bad omen appear before me. May I see thee again when I shall come back with Rama." Being thus accosted by Lakshmana the daughter of Janaka replied weeping and being bathed in tears. "Without Rama, O Lakshmana, I shall drink virulent poison, enter fire or dive into the Godaveri. I shall destroy this body either by hanging or by falling down from the top of a high object. I shall never be able to touch another man but Rama." Speaking thus unto Lakshmana, Sita, being enveloped with grief, weeping, struck her belly56 with her hands. Seeing the daughter of Janaka of expansive eyes weep thus in pitiable accents, Lakshmana losing his attention began to console her. Afterwards the pure-hearted Lakshmana, having control over his senses, saluting Sita with clasped palms and bending low a little proceeded where Rama was, casting again and again his glance upon her as he went.

SECTION 46.

Having been addressed with those harsh words the younger brother of Raghava, enraged, proceeded at once, being anxious to see Rama. Thereupon the ten-necked one, availing of this opportunity came before Vaidehi assuming the semblance of a mendicant. Wearing a soft silken cloth, with a lock of hair on his head with an umbrella and shoes and having on his left shoulder a rod and Kamandalu, the highly powerful one assuming the appearance of a wandering devotee carrying three long bamboo staves appeared before Vaidehi in the forest when there was none of the brothers by her. He saw there the young and pious daughter of the king like unto an evening void of both sun and moon and as the highly terrible Rahu eyes Rohini forsaken by Moon. Seeing that terrible one the doer of evil deeds, the trees of Janasthana did not move nor the wind did blow. Seeing him eye Sita with his blood-red eyes, the fast streaming river Godaveri even slackened its course out of fear. In the mean time the Ten-necked Ravana, enquiring about Rama's weak points appeared before Vaidehi in the guise of a mendicant. Like unto Sani approaching chitra, that impious one, assuming the appearance of a pious man like a well covered with grass, approached Vaidehi who was bewailing her husband. And seeing that pious spouse of Rama—Vaidehi, Ravana stood before her. Her lips and teeth were extremely fine, her face resembled the full moon and her eyes were like lotus-petals. She had a yellow silken cloth on and sat in the thatched cottage, overwhelmed with grief and bathed in tears. And that ranger of the night with a pleased heart approached Vaidehi. Seeing her that Lord of Rakshasas was pierced with the shafts of passion. And speaking highly of her, surpassing in beauty the three worlds and resembling by the excellence of her own person the very goddess of wealth herself Ravana uttering the name of God spake unto her saying, "O thou having the colour of gold and silver, O thou wearing silken cloth, O thou appearing like a lotus wearing a garland of lotus-petals, O thou of beautiful countenance! Art thou Bashfulness, Beauty, Fame, Wealth, Apsara, Dignity or Rati herself who is ranging at will in this forest? All thy teeth are equal having their tops like unto the buds of Kunda flower, beautiful and yellow. Thy eyes are expansive, clear, of bloody hue, and having black pupils. Thy hip is fleshy and spacious. Thy thighs are like those of elephants, round, fleshy and perfectly strong. Thy nipples are bulky, pointed, highly captivating like cold palm fruits, beautiful and ornamented with diverse jewels. O thou of beautiful smile! O thou of beautiful teeth! O thou of beautiful eyes! O fine damsel, thou dost carry away my heart like unto a river carrying away its banks by its stream. The lock of thy hair is exquisitely fine, thy breast very close and thy waist is so thin that they may be got round even by fingers. There is none so beautiful like thee—a Goddess, a Gandharbhi, a Yakshi or a Kinnari. I had never seen before on this earth a damsel so beautiful as thou. This thy beauty the best on earth, thy youth, thy grace and thy abode in the forest do agitate my mind. So it is well for thee to come (with me); it doth not behove thee to remain here. This is the abode of terrible Rakshasas wearing shapes at will. Picturesque palaces, prosperous cities and sweet-smelling gardens are worthy of thy abode. O thou of dark-blue eyes, fine is thy garland, fine is the smell of thy person and fine is thy apparel—methinks fine is thy husband too. O thou of pure smile! whom dost thou belong to?—Rudras, Marutas, or Vasus— Meseems, O fine damsel thou art a very gooddes. No one comes here—the Gandharbas, the celestials or Kinnaras; this is an abode of the Rakshasas; how dost thou come here? Art thou not afraid of these monkeys, lions, tigers, wolves, bears, herons and hyenas? Alone in this forest, art thou not afraid of these terrible elephants of fierce motion and maddened with the exuding of their temporal juice? Who art thou? Whose wife? What for dost thou range alone in this forest of Dandaka frequented by terrible Rakshasas?" Thus addressed was Vaidehi by the vicious-souled Ravana. Seeing him come under the guise of a twice-born one, Maithelee worshipped him with diverse articles necessary for serving a guest. Offering him a seat first and afterwards inviting him to wash his feet she said unto that one of placid look "cooked rice is ready." Seeing Ravana approach with Kamandaluand wearing a red cloth under the guise of a Brahmana, Maithelee could not pass by him any way, and considering him a twice-born one by various signs invited him as if a Brahmana saying, "O Brahmana, do thou sit on this seat facing the right; do thou take this water (to wash thy feet); do thou enjoy these well-cooked eatables growing in the forest and intended for thee." Janaki the wife of Lord of men inviting him thus, Ravana, casting a look upon her, addressed himself for his own destruction, to carry her away. She was anxiously expecting the return of Rama who had gone a-hunting with Lakshmana; she looked around and behold but on all sides the spacious yellow forest-land—there was neither Rama nor Lakshmana.

SECTION 47.

"Being thus addressed by Ravana under the guise of a mendicant, desirous of carrying her away Vaidehi thought within herself—"This person is my guest and a Bhahmin; he may curse me if I do not speak to him." Thinking this for a moment Sita said "May good betide thee! I am the daughter of the high-souled Janaka, the king of Mithila, the beloved Queen of Rama and my name is Sita. Dwelling in the palace of Ikshakus for twelve years, I enjoyed many things passing human and had all my desires satisfied. On the thirteenth year king (Dacaratha) counselled with his ministers about the installation of Rama. Accordingly everything necessary for the installation being made ready, Kaikeyi, one of my mothers-in-law, begged of her husband a boon. Bringing my father-in-law under control by means of her virtuous deeds, Kaikeyi begged, of that truthful, best of monarchs, two boons namely the exile of my husband into the woods and the installation of Bharata, and said "I shall never eat, drink or sleep and (if Rama be installed) I shall end my life." Kaikeyi speaking thus, that lord of earth, my father-in-law begged her to accept diverse riches; but Kaikeyi did not agree. Then the highly effulgent Rama, my husband was twenty-five years old, and myself was eighteen years old counting from my birth. My husband is known all over the world under the name of Rama. He is truthful, good-natured, of pure character, ever engaged in the welfare of all created beings, of mighty-arms and expansive eyes. Our father the king Dacaratha was entirely under the control of passions, and hence for the satisfaction of Kaikeyi did not install Rama. When Rama came to his father for being installed Kaikeyi spoke unto my husband the following cruel words, "Do thou hear, O Raghava, how I have been ordered by thy Sire. This kingdom, rid of thorns is to be conferred on Bharata, and thou shalt have to sojourn into woods for years nine and five. Do thou therefore repair unto forest, O Kakuthstha and save thy Sire from untruth." Whereto Rama fearlessly replied 'So be it!' Hearing her words my husband of firm vows acted accordingly. He always maketh gifts and taketh none. He always speaketh truth and never telleth an untruth. This is his best observance, O Brahmana. His half-brother named Lakshmana is of mighty prowess. That best of men is Rama's help and the destroyer of foes in battle. That brother of his named Lakshmana is of firm resolution and given to asceticism. With a bow in hand he hath followed (Rama) flying as an exile unto woods along with me. Thus that one (Rama) of firm resolution and ever engaged in pious offices wearing matted hair and assuming the semblance of an ascetic hath entered this forest of Dandaka along with myself and his younger brother. O thou the best of twice-born ones, we three being deprived of our kingdom by Kaikeyi have been living in this dense forest by virtue of our effulgence. Do thou take heart for a moment and live here. Instantly shall my husband return with good many wild fruits and roots and with sufficient meat after killing many a deer, hog and Gosamp. Truly do thou relate unto me thy name, Gotra and lineage. O thou twice-born one, why dost thou range alone in this forest of Dandaka?" Sita the wife of Rama speaking thus, the mighty Lord of Rakshasas—Ravana replied with these harsh words—"0 Sita I am that Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, whom fear the celestials, Asuras and human beings. O thou of blamless beauty, seeing thee of golden hue and wearing silk cloth I do not relish my own wives. I have brought many a beautiful damsel from various quarters, do thou become my foremost Queen amongst them. That great city in the midst of the ocean, Lanka, encircled on all sides by the sea and situated on the summit of a hill, is my capital. There shalt thou with me, Sita, walk in gardens, and thus thou shall no more long for living in the forest. If thou dost become my wife, O Sita, five thousand maid-servants decorated with divers ornaments shall serve thee." That blameless daughter of Janaka, being thus addressed by Ravana, was highly enraged, and, passing by him, replied, "I am a dependant ot Rama, who is incapable of being shaken, like unto a mighty mountain, incapable of being agitated, like unto a vast ocean, and resembling Mahendra in effulgence. I am a dependant of that great and truthful Rama who is gifted with auspicious marks and like unto a fig tree. I am dependant of that lion among men, Rama, of mighty arms, of a spacious breast and treading like a lion, I am a dependant of that son of a king, Rama, of mighty arms, having control over his passions, whose face resembles the full moon and whose fame hath spread far and wide over the earth. Why dost thou being a tiger wish for a she-lion? Thou shalt not be able to touch me like unto the rays of the sun. O thou wretched Rakshasa, when thou hast desired to steal away Raghava's beloved spouse, surely dost thou see these trees (before thee) as made of gold. Dost thou wish to uproot the teeth from the mouth of a lion, that enemy of deer, or from that of a serpent? Dost thou wish to clasp with thy hands the Mandara hill, or dost thou wish to walk in peace after drinking poison? Dost thou wish to rub thy eyes with pins and lick a razor with thy tongue? Thou dost wish to swim across an ocean, having a rock tied unto thy neck. Thou dost wish to get at the Sun and Moon, to bind a flaming fire with a piece of cloth and walk through iron-spikes, as thou hast wished to come by the worthy spouse of Rama. Mighty is the difference between Rama and thee, like unto that between a lion and a jackal, a sea and a rivulet, nectar and gruel, gold and iron, sandal and mud, an elephant and a cat, a crow and Garuda, a peacock and a madgie (an acquatic bird), or a duck and a vulture. Even if thou dost steal me, that mighty archer Rama, gifted with the prowess of the lord of celestials, living, surely shall I die, like unto a gnat sucking clarified butter." Addressing those words unto that wicked ranger of the night, that innocent (Sita) shook like a plantain tree shaken by the wind. Thereupon Ravana, like unto Death in prowess, trembling, began to relate unto her with a view to frighten (her) his race, power, name and actions.

SECTION 48.

After Sita had spoken these harsh words, Ravana, enraged, with a frown, replied "O thou of a beautiful countenance, I am the step-brother of the Lord of wealth and my name is the mighty Ten-necked Ravana. May good betide thee! Like unto people fearing Death, the celestials, Gandharbas, Picachas, Pannagas and Serpents fly in diverse directions being frightened by me. I have subdued by my prowess, my step-brother, the Lord of wealth in a conflict, quarrelling with him for some reason. Thereat, that one carried by men, renouncing out of my fear this wealthy abode of Lanka, hath been living on that Lord of mountains, Kailaca. O thou auspicious one, by virtue of my prowess I have taken away that beautiful chariot of his called Puspaka. Ascending that chariot thou shalt travel by the etherial route. O Maithilee, when I am excited with ire, Indra and other celestials at the mere sight of my countenance fly away in divers directions out of fear. Wherever I live, the Wind bloweth cautiously and the Sun (of piercing rays) out of fear for me appeareth in the welkin like the Moon. What shall I say more? Wherever I live, even the leaves of the trees do not flutter and the currents of the rivers are stopped. Beyond the ocean stands my beautiful capital Lanka like unto Indra's Amaravati, (the capital of the Lord of celestials), guarded on all sides by the terrible night-rangers and encircled by yellow walls. That beautiful city hath gate-ways of ornamented and jewelled arches and golden apartments. It is filled with elephants, horses and chariots, always resounds with the sounds of bugles, and is beautified with gardens having divers trees of wished for fruits. O Sita, O thou the daughter of a king, in this city shalt thou dwell with me. O large-minded damsel, thou shalt never think of earthly women. O thou of an exquisite countenance, enjoying these many things passing human, thou shalt not any more think of Rama—a human being of brief existence. Placing his beloved son on the throne, king Dacaratha hath sent away his eldest son of weak prowess into the woods. O thou of expansive eyes, what shalt thou do with that wretched ascetic Rama who hath been deprived of his kingdom? I am the lord of the whole world of Rakshasas; being pierced by the shafts of Kama have I come by thee. It doth not behove thee therefore to pass by me. O timid damsel, truly shalt thou repent afterwards if thou dost disregard me, like unto Uruashee kicking Purarava. Rama is a human being and is not even equal to a finger of mine in battle. By thy good luck have I come unto thee— do thou give thyself up unto me, O thou of a beautiful countenance." Being thus addressed by him, Vaidehi exceedingly wroth and with blood-red eyes spoke unto that Lord of Rakshasas in the lonely forest, these bold words. "How dost thou wish to perpetrate such an impious deed after introducing as thy brother that highly worshipful Kuvera adored by all the deities. O Ravana, surely shall all the Rakshasas meet with death, who have such a stupid, harsh and lustful person like thee for their king. One can breathe on this earth carrying away Indra's wife, Sachi—but stealing me, the

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wife of Rama, no body shall be able to live in peace. O Rakshasa, it might be possible for one to live on this earth treating contemptuously the wife of the holder of thunder-bolt, but insulting me none shall escape the hands of Death even if he drinketh nectar.

SECTION 49.

Hearing those words of Sita the highly powerful Ten-necked one striking his hands together, increased his body too high. Thereupon, that one skilled in speech again spake unto Maithilee, "Methinks thou hast run mad. Hast thou not heard of my valour and prowess? Stationing myself in the welkin I can with my hands raise up the earth. I can drink up the waters of the ocean. And engaged in conflict I can destroy Death itself. With my sharpened shafts I can pierce the Sun and cut asunder the earth. Thou art mad with thy beauty. Do thou look upon me, who am capable of illusions." When he had spoken thus, his yellow eyes became blood-red with rage and assumed the semblance of flaming fire. Thereat Ravana, the younger brother of the Lord of wealth, changing his placid countenance, instantly assumed his own terrible shape resembling that of Yama. Highly exercised with ire, that ranger of the night became of ten countenances and twenty arms; his eyes were bloody and he appeared beautiful like unto blue clouds, being dressed in gold-hued apparel. Leaving aside the semblance of a mendicant, that lord of Rakshasas, Ravana, increasing in bulk, assumed his own shape. And wearing a blood-red cloth he stood there fixing his look upon that jewel of a damsel—Maithili. Thereupon Ravana spake unto Maithili like unto the rays of the sun, having a head of black hair and wearing apparel and ornaments, saying, "O thou fine damsel, if thou dost wish to have a husband known all over the world, do thou surrender thyself unto me. I am a worthy husband (or thee. Do thou serve me for ever, thy praiseworthy husband. O fine lady, I shall never do what thou dost not like. Renouncing thy attachment for a man, do thou place thy love in me. O foolish girl, worthy of being adored by the learned, for what quality art thou attached unto Rama of a limited life, who hath been deprived of his kingdom and hath his desire frustrated, and who of an evil intent, hath, at the words of his wife, renouncing his kingdom and kinsmen, been living in this forest—the abode of voracious animals." Speaking thus unto Maithili, sweet-speeched and worthy of being sweetly addressed, that highly wicked Rakshasa, Ravana, being exercised with lust, approached towards Sita and got hold of her, like unto Budha holding Rohini in the sky. With his left hand he held her, having eyes like unto lotus-petals, by the hair, and with his right hand got hold of her thighs. Seeing Ravana of sharpened teeth, and mighty arms, resembling the summit of a mountain and like unto death itself, the deties of the forest became highly terrified and fled in different directions. Instantly appeared there the celestial car of Ravana, decked in gold, drawn by asses and making a terrible sound. Thereupon, that one emmiting terrible accents, remonstrated with Vaidehi in harsh words and clasping her ascended the car. The virtuous Sita, being thus caught by Ravana,began to cry aloud, addressing Rama, who had gone away to a distant forest. Ravana, racked with lust, rose high up with her like unto the wife of a Pannaga, though she tried her best (to get rid of him), for she was not in the least attached unto him. Being thus carried away by the ethereal track by that Lord of Rakshasas, Sita began to cry aloud, like one mad, distressed and of deranged senses. "Ah! mighty Lakshmana, ever ministering unto the satisfaction of thy superiors, dost thou not know that I have been stolen away by a Rakshasa assuming shapes at will? O Raghava, for virtue hast thou renounced thy life, happiness and wealth,—dost thou not see that I have been carried away by one of mighty iniquity? O thou the subduer of foes,thou dost always control the rebellious,—why dost thou not punish such a vicious Rakshasa? The vicious do not instantaneously meet with the fruits of their actions; as for corn to ripen requires the assistance of time. For this iniquitous deed, which thou hast perpetrated, availing of the time and losing thy sense, thou shalt meet with a mighty disaster from Rama, bringing about thy end. Ah! being the virtuous wife of the virtuous and far-famed Rama, I have been stolen away. Now hath the desire of Kaikeyi and other relations been fulfilled. I invoke this Janasthana and these flowery Karnikas to tell Rama that Ravana hath stolen away Sita. I invoke thee, O Godavari, having swans and cranes sporting in thy stream, to tell Rama that Ravana hath stolen away Sita. I salute and invoke the deities that live in this forest of many trees to tell my husband of my being stolen away (by Ravana). I do seek the refuge of all deer, birds and other animals that live in this forest, and may they all communicate unto Rama the news of his dear spouse being carried away, and tell him that Sita, losing her control, hath been stolen away by Ravana. Even if I am taken away by Yama, and if the mighty-armed Rama is apprised of it, surely shall he bring me back by the display of his prowess." Racked with sorrow that one of expansive eyes, while thus bewailing in piteous accents, she espied Yatayu, the king of vultures, seated on a tree. Thereat the daughter of Janaka, brought under the control of Ravana and terrified, began to cry and utter those piteous words—"O worshipful Yatayu, do thou see that this vicious lord of Rakshasas hath ruthlessly carried me away like one having no husband. Thou wilt not be able to withstand this mighty, wicked and cruel night-ranger wearing emblems of conquest and having a scimitar in his hand. Do thou relate unto Rama and to Lakshmana everything about my being carried away from the beginning to the end.

SECTION 50.

Hearing these words Yatayu, who lay buried in a deep slumber, awoke and beheld both Ravana and Janaki. Thereat the lord of birds resting on the tree, having a big sharp beak like unto the summit of a hill, addressed these soft words unto Ravana, "O brother Ten-necked one, I am conversant with Puranas, of truthful vows and abide by religion. It doth not behove thee to perpetrate such an iniquitous deed before me. I am Yatayu, the mighty lord of vultures. Dacaratha's son Rama is the lord of all men like unto Mahendra and Varuna. He is ever engaged in the welfare of all men. This exquisitely beautiful and far-famed Sita whom thou art about to steal away, is the married wife of that lord of men. And how dost thou thyself being a monarch and engaged in the royal office of maintaining subjects, carry away by stealth another's wife? O thou of mighty prowess, thou shouldst specially protect the wives of kings. Do thou therefore control thy base inclination of oppressing another's wife. A hero doth never perform what bringeth calumny upon himself. It becometh every individual to save another's wife from the touch of a second man like unto his own wife. O son of Paulastya, at the instance of the king mild subjects perform many an action conducing to virtue, wealth and desire, though not mentioned in the Sastras. The king is the virtue, the king is the desire and the king is the prime jewel of all subjects. Virtue, desire or sin—every thing ariseth from the king. O thou the best of Rakshasas, thou art vicious and unsteady; how hast thou come by rkhes like unto a sinner attaining to the abode of celestials? A vicious person can never relinquish his sinful habits—virtue doth never reside in the abodes of impious persons.

The mighty and the virtuous-souled Rama hath committed nothing wrong in thy city or thy dominions. Why dost thou then commit wrong by him? Khara of Janasthana is highly wicked and if Rama of blameless actions hath killed him on Surpanakha's account how is he to blame? Why dost thou then carry away the wife of that lord of men? Do thou soon leave off Vaidehi. Like unto Indra burning down Vitrasura, Rama, looking with his terrible eyes like flaming fire, shall reduce thee to ashes. Dost thou not understand that thou hast tied with cloth a virulent serpent? Dost thou not see that thou hast placed around thy neck the noose of death? It is always proper to carry such a weight as doth not exhaust (him who carries); it is always proper to take such a food as doth not cause illness. Who engageth himself in such an action as doth not confer virtue, fame or glory, but bringeth about physical affliction only? O Ravana, I am sixty thousand years old and have been administering regularly my ancestral kingdom. Old though I am, thou shalt not be able to carry away with safety Janaki in my presence, young, accoutered in mails as thou art with bow and arrows in thy hands and ascending a car. As it is not easy to destroy, by the reasonings of Logic, Vedas and Sruties containing eternal and immutable truths, so thou shalt not be able to carry away Vaidehi by force before me. If thou art a hero do thou fight. Or do thou wait for a moment, O Ravana, thou shalt also embrace the earth like unto Khara. Soon shall Rama clad in bark destroy thee in the battle field, who hadst many a time and oft destroyed in conflict the celestials and Danavas. These two princes Rama and Lakshmana are at a distance, what shall I do now? O vile being, undoubtedly shalt thou, terrified, be destroyed by them. Myself drawing my breath thou shalt not be able to carry away this beloved queen of Rama, the pure-natured Sita having eyes resembling lotuses. It is my duty to do good unto the high-souled Rama and Dacaratha even at the sacrifice of my life. Do thou stand, O Ten-necked one. Behold for a moment. O Ravana, I shall throw thee headlong from this car, like unto a fruit from its stalk. O ranger of the night, even to my utmost might I will render thee hospitality in encounter.

SECTION 51.

While Yatayu, the king of birds, spake this, Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, wearing pendants made of pure gold, having his eyes reddened with ire, darted towards him. Thereupon they began a terrible conflict in the welkin, like unto clouds driven by wind. There occured a mighty conflict between Yatayu, the lord of vultures, and Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, like unto two Malyavan [A mountainous range described as one of the smaller mountains of India proper, lying eastward of mount Meru.] hills supplied with wings. Thereat Ravana began to shower continually terrible and sharpened pikes, iron arrows and Vikarnisupon the mighty lord of vultures. Yatayu, the king of birds, began to withstand in conflict the arrows and weapons darted by Ravana, and wounded Ravana's person with his feet supplied with sharpened talons. Thereupon, to destroy his enemy, that mighty hero, the Ten-necked Ravana, being exercised with ire, took up ten terrible arrows like unto the sceptre of Death, and stretching the bow to the full he shot those straight-coursing sharpened shafts at Yatayu, the king of birds. Beholding Janaki with tears In her eyes in that Rakshasa's car, Yatayu, the king of birds, disregarding those arrows, darted towards Ravana, and with his feet broke asunder his bow with the arrows, adorned with pearls and diamonds. Thereat Ravana, almost beside himself with wrath, taking up another bow, began to shower arrows by hundreds and thousands. Being covered with those arrows, the lord of birds appeared like a bird lying in his nest. Pushing away these arrows by the wind of his wings, he again snapped that mighty bow with his feet, and with a stroke of his wings shattered Ravana's flaming shield like unto burning fire. Thereupon, moving away with the wind of his wings Ravana's blazing cuirass resembling flaming fire, Jatayu in that conflict made away with his fleet-coursing asses having the faces of demons. Next crumbling into pieces with his impetus the mighty chariot of Ravana, coursing at will, flaming like fire, having steps studded with jewels, and a wooden pole, and throwing down the umbrella and chowris like unto the full moon along with the Rakshasas engaged in carrying them,the effulgent and mighty lord of birds shattered the head of the charioteer with the strokes of his beak. Having his bow snapped and deprived of his car, horses and charioteer, Ravana fell down to the earth, taking Vaidehi on his lap. Beholding Ravana fallen on the ground and of broken conveyance, all creatures praised the king of vultures again and again and worshipped him.

Thereupon, finding the lord of birds worn out on account of his old age, Ravana, highly encouraged, again rose high up in the welkin, taking Maithili with him. He had all his weapons broken in the conflict, and had but his dagger left to him. Beholding him proceed thus pleased, taking the daughter of Janaka on his lap,—all his weapons having been lost, with his sword alone left,—the mighty and powerful lord of vultures, Yatayu, rose up and, darting towards Ravana, resisted him and said,—"O Ravana of feeble sense, it is for the destruction of the whole line of Rakshasas that thou carriest away this spouse of Rama, having arrows like unto thunderbolts. Like one thirsty drinking water, thou dost address thyself to drinking poison along with thy friends, courtiers, four-fold forces, servants and relatives. Foolish persons unaware of the fruit of their actions, meet in a short time with their own destruction,—so shalt thou very soon meet with thy own end. Thou hast been bound up by the noose of Death; and, proceeding whither, shalt thou save thyself, like unto fish eating up baits with hooks for their own destruction? O Ravana, it is beyond thy power to defeat the Kakutsthas. They shall not forgive thee for this thy encroachment upon their asylum. What hath been perpetrated by thee, coward, is blamed by all, and is the way taken recourse to by thieves and not by heroes. Do thou fight, O Ravana, if thou art a hero, or wait for a moment and thou shalt lie down on the earth like unto thy brother Khara. Truly hast thou for thy own destruction engaged thyself in these impious acts, which are perpetrated by men on the eve of their death. What person doth that which leadeth solely into sin? Neither the lord of celestials nor the self-create Deity doth engage in such an action." Addressing these moral words, the mighty Yatayu swooped on the back of that Ten-necked Rakshasa. Like unto the rider of a mad elephant, the lord of vultures began to tear Ravana with his sharpened claws, and that one having for his weapons his beak, talons, and wings, began to rive Ravana's back with his beak and claws, and to uproot his hair. Being thus aflicted again and again by the king of vultures, the Rakshasa shook, with his lips quivering in anger. Beside himself with anger, Ravana, holding Janaki fast by her left flank, struck Yatayu with his palms. Yatayu, the subduer of foes, bearing the strokes, tore into pieces his ten left arms with his beak. His arms cut off, instantly sprang up as many others, like unto serpents issuing out of ant-hills, being exercised with the pangs of poison. The mighty Ten-necked one, leaving aside Sita, out of anger bore down Yatayu with his fists and feet. Thereupon arose a mighty conflict between the lord of of vultures and the lord of Rakshasas of incomparable prowess. Yatayu addressing himself to displaying his prowess for the benefit of Rama, Ravana taking out his dagger, cut off his two wings, two legs and two sides. The ranger of the night of cruel deeds having sundered his wings, the king of vultures approaching wellnigh the verge of death, fell down on the earth. Beholding him fallen on the grand with his person bathed in blood, Sita. became exceedingly aggrieved and darted towards him like unto a friend. The lord of Lanka beheld Yatayu, fallen on the ground, resembling sable clouds, having a yellow breast and of exceeding prowess,—like unto an extinguished forest-fire. Then Sita the daughter of Janaka, having a moon-like countenance began lamenting, clasping with her hands Yatayu, crushed and fallen on the ground by the vehemence of Ravana's prowess.

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SECTION 52.

Beholding the king of vultures slain by Ravana, that one possessed of a face fair as the moon, striken with grief, broke out into lamentations, saying, "Throbbings of the eyes or other parts of the body, dreams, seeing birds or hearing their voices, are found to augur happiness or misery to men. And, O Rama, although birds and beasts are scampering away before thee on my account, thou understandest not the mighty mishap that has befallen thee. O Rama, this bird, who, moved by kindness, had come to rescue me, owing to my (ill) luck, lies slain on the ground. O Kakutstha, O Lakshmana, save me!" Thus did that best of females, afflicted with fear, bewail; and those near (her) heard her lamentations. Thereat, that lord of the Rakshasas, Ravana, darted towards Vadehi, who, with a faded wreath for her ornament, was bewailing in forlorn guise. Exclaiming repeatedly, "Leave off!" "Leave off," the lord of the Rakshasas got at her, as she was clasping a mighty tree as if it were a creeper. And as she, bereft of the company of Rama in the wilderness, was wailing, saying, "O Rama," "O Rama," that one resembling the Destroyer himself, with the view of compassing his own end, seized her by her hair. On Vaidehi being thus outraged, this entire world consisting of mobile and immobile objects, had its nature altered. A dense darkness enveloped (everything). And the air did not breathe there; and the sun grew dim. Espying with his divine vision that Sita was overcome, that Deity, the graceful Great-father exclaimed, "Our work is accomplished." And seeing Sita overpowered, the supreme saints inhabiting the Dandaka forest, concluding the destruction of Ravana to be as good as accomplished without much ado, became at once delighted and aggrieved. As she went on weeping with "O Rama," "O Lakshmana," Ravana—lord of Rakshasas — taking her, coursed through the sky. And then the king's daughter hued like molten gold, clad in a yellow silken cloth, looked exceedingly beautiful like unto lightning. And on her yellow cloth streaming up, Ravana looked surpassingly graceful like a hill aflame with fire. And coppery fragrant lotus-leaves belonging to the eminently auspicious Vaidehi showered upon Ravana. And her gold-glowing silken cloth, flying in the air, appeared like clouds coloured by the sunken sun. And her blameless countenance on Ravana's lap in the sky did not appear beauteous without Rama,—like a lotus without its stalk; it appeared like the moon risen tearing away dark clouds. And in the aerial regions her countenance on Ravana's lap furnished with a fair forehead and graceful hair glowing like the interior of a lotus, without scars, graced with white, shining, stainless teeth, having excellent eyes,—lovely like the moon, having a shapely nose, a rubeous upper lip,—wearing the splendour of gold in the sky,—that captivating countenance of hers in consequence of her weeping, and of being stained with tears, as also owing to the violence it had undergone at the hands of the lord of Rakshasas—did not appear beautiful without Rama; like the moon risen during the day. And furnished with the hue of gold, Mithila's daughter beside the dark-bodied lord of the Rakshasas, looked like a golden girth round a sable elephant. And Janaka's daughter, yellow-hued like lotus, having the lustre of gold.—and adorned with shining ornaments, coming in contact with Ravana, appeared like lightning embosomed among clouds. And in consequence of Vaidehi's ornaments sending sounds, the lord of Rakshasas resembled an entirely dark rumbling cloud. And as Sita was being borne away, showers of blossoms, falling off from her head, were scattered all around on the earth beneath. And that blossomy shower all around, drawn up by the vehemence of the ten-headed Ravana, again alighted beside him. And the showers of blossoms scattered around Vaicravana's younger brother, looked like rows of burning stars round the foremost of mountains. [Mount Meru, also recognised as Sumeru, Sineru or Mahameru, is the sacred five-peaked mountain of Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist cosmology and is considered to be the centre of all the physical, metaphysical and spiritual universes. Many famous Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist temples have been built as symbolic representations of this mountain, most notable the temple pyramids in Angkor, Cambodia: Bakong, Bakheng, Pre Rup, Ta Keo, Baphuon, and Angkor Wat. Mount Meru or Sumeru is sometimes identified with the Pamir Mountains, northwest of Kashmir.] And the bangles studded with gems, loosened from Vaidehi's feet, fell on the earth, like the lightning circle. Of hue like the light red of tender twigs, Vaidehi set off the dark-bodied lord of Rakshasas, as does a golden cover an elephant. Vaicravana's younger brother carried away Sita, who, like a mighty meteor, filled the heavens with her splendour. And like stars of exhausted religious merit dropping down from the sky, her fiery ornaments began to fall to the earth with sounds. And the chain of the splendour of the moon, removed from Vaidehi's breast, falling down, shone like the Ganga dropping from the sky. The trees filled with various fowls, with their tops waving because of the wind blowing on high and swaying them, seemed to say, "No fear," [unto Sita.] And the pools with their lotuses faded and their fishes agitated, seemed to sorrow for the desponding daughter of Mithila as for their friend. And following Sita's shadow, lions, and tigers, and other beasts and birds, rushed from all sides in wrath. And the mountains, with their faces washed with water-falls representing tears, and their summits resembling uplifted arms, seemed to lament for Sita, as she was being carried away. And beholding Vaidehi carried away, the glorious Sun, oppressed with sadness, had his rays dimmed and his disc darkened. "Virtue is not; and where is truth? And there is neither sincerity nor kindness,—in a case in which Ravana is carrying away Rama's Vaidehi thus did all creatures lament in numbers. And the young of deer, afflicted with fear, wept with woe-begone faces. And the sylvan deities, looking up now and again with eyes betokening fear, had their persons all in a tremble. For compassing his own destruction, the Ten-headed one carried away the intelligent Vaidehi, bewailing bitterly, Sita, who had come by such misfortune, sweet-voiced, crying, "O Lakshmana" "O Rama," and casting glances on the ground many a time and oft,—the ends of her hair waving and her tilika wiped out. Then oppressed with the load of fear, Sita of luminous smiles,—Mithila' s daughter, bereft of her friends —not beholding either Rama or Lakshmana, became pale of countenance.

SECTION 53.

Seeing him fly up into the air, Janaka's daughter, Maithili, became aggrieved and exceedingly agitated, and great was the fear that possessed her. Her eyes expressing rage, weeping and fright, Sita, as she was being carried away, weeping piteously, spoke to the grim-eyed lord of the Rakshasas, saying, "Dost thou not, O base wretch, Ravana, feel shame on account of this act—thou, who, knowing that I was alone, fliest away, carrying me? Coward that thou art, thou it was, who, desirous of carrying me off, by the shape of a deer, hadst, by thy [powers of] illusion taken away my lord. And he also that endeavoured to rescue me, has been slain by thee—the ancient king of vultures, who was the friend of my father-in-law. Great, forsooth, is found to be thy might, thou vilest of Rakshasas; in that thou hast carried me off by simply declaring thy name, but hast not won me in war. Why dost thou not, O execrable one, take shame unto thyself, having perpetrated such a heinous act—having carried off another's wife in the absence of her husband? This fell and foul act of thine fraught with unrighteousness, heroic persons shall bruit about the world. Fie on thy heroism and thy truth,—of which thou didst apeak at that time; and fie also on this character of thine, calculated to sully thy line in this world. What can I do (unto thee), as thou proceedest with speed? But stay thou for a moment; and thou shalt not return with life. Shouldst thou come within the range of the vision of those sons of the king, thou couldst not, although thou shouldst happen to be accompanied with thy army, live for a moment. Even as a bird cannot bear the touch of a flaming fire in a forest, thou canst never bear the touch of their arrows. Effecting thy own welfare, do thou, O Ravana, leave me. If thou do not let me go, my husband along with his brother would strive for thy destruction. As intent upon sensul enjoyment, thou endeavourest to ravish me, this very endeavour of thine, O mean wight, shall come to naught. Not beholding my lord resembling a celestial, I cannot, come under the sway of my enemy, bear to live long. As one dwelling on earth perceives objects in their reversed relations at the time of one's death, so thou dost not perceive what is for thy good or profit. Those moribund do not relish what would do them good. I see thee with the noose of Death wound round thy neck. As, O ranger of night, thou art not affected with fear, albeit the situation is one calculated to raise one's apprehensions, it is clear that thou wilt see the golden trees, the dreadful river Vaitarani flowing with blood, the terrible wood, O Ravana, rife with leaves in the shape of swords, and a sharp Salmali containing blossoms of shining gold, having lapises for its leaves, and bearing iron thorns. But, O shameless one, like a person that hath drunk poison, having done this wrong unto that high-souled one, thou wilt not be able to save thyself. O Ravana, thou art fast fettered in the noose of Death. Having done this foul turn unto that high-souled one, repairing whither, shalt thou obtain respite? Shall not that strong and heroic Raghava, skilled in all weapons, who without his brother, in the twinkling of an eye, in battle slew fourteen thousand Rakshasas, slay thee, who carriest away his beloved wife?" Thus and in other ways, Videha's daughter, lying on the lap of Ravana, overwhelmed with fear and grief, indulged in piteous lamentations. And the wicked (Ravana) with a shaking frame carried away the daughter of the king extremely distressed, speaking much, and speaking piteously, uttering lamentations, and putting forth endeavours (to free herself.)

SECTION 54.

Carried away (by Ravana), Vaidehi, not finding any defender, saw five principal monkeys stationed on the top of a hill. Thereat, that lady of expansive eyes and surpassing charms, in the hope that they might convey the intelligence unto Rama, flung off in their midst her gold-gleaming silken sheet, and elegant ornaments. But the Ten headed one owing to hurry did not observe the throwing of the cloth along with the ornaments. Those foremost of monkeys having tawny eyes observed with winkless eyes the large-eyed Sita as she was giving way to grief. And the lord of Rakshasas, passing beyond Pampa, directed his course towards the city of Lanka, taking Mithila's daughter along with him, indulging in lamentations. Experiencing the height of delight, Ravana ravished her, taking her on his lap, like a sharp-toothed serpent of virulent poison. And speedily, like an arrow shot from a bow, he, coursing the welkin, left behind woods and streams and mountains and pieces of water. And coming to the abode of Varuna, that refuge of rivers, the exhaustless ocean—the home of whales and alligators, he crossed over it. In consequence of the carrying away of Vaidehi, Varuna's abode, from grief, had all its waves stilled and its fishes and mighty snakes inert.—And the Charanas uttered in the heavens these words, "O Ten-headed one, this is thy end." Thus did the Siddhas then say. And taking Siti on his lap, representing his own Death,—who endeavoured (to liberate herself), Ravana entered the city of Lanka. And entering the city of Lanka, vast, with all its highways well-arranged, and with people thronging its gates, he entered his own inner apartment. Then Ravana set Sita there, having eyes with dark outer corners, exercised with grief and dole; as if Maya had set his own Asura Illusion (in his own palace). Then the Ten-headed one spoke unto some female friends of terrible visages, "Let no man or woman behold Sita without my permission. And I command that, should she ask for pearls, or rubies, or gold, or apparel, or ornaments, the same should be rendered unto her. She that, whether knowingly or unknowingly should say anything unpleasant to Vaidehi, would hold her life cheap." Having said this unto the Rakshasis, the puissant lord of the Raksahsas, went out of the inner apartment, and thought within himself as to what was to be done (next). And he saw eight flesh-eating Rakshasas of wondrous prowess. And seeing them, the exceedingly powerful (Ravana), blinded by the bestowal of the boon, after extolling their strength and heroism, addressed them, saying, "Equipped with various weapons, do ye speedily take yourself to Janasthana,— that field of carnage—which ere this contained the abode of Khara; and casting off fear at a distance, do ye sojourn in vacant Janasthana with all its Rakshasas slain (by Rama). A great many troops endeued with exceeding prowess, who had been posted in Janasthana, have, along with Dushana and Khara, been slain by the shafts of Rama. Hence unprecedented is my wrath, towering above my patience; and great and fierce also is the hostility I have conceived against Rama. I wish to avenge myself on my mighty enemy. Sleep find I none without slaying my foe in fight. Slaying that slayer of Khara and Dushana, Rama, I shall attain delight like unto that attained by a pauper on gaining riches. Staying in Janasthana, ye shall gather true information touching Rama as to what he is about. Repair all ye rangers of the night carefully, and strive yourselves always for slaying Rama. I have been well acquainted with your strength in many a field, and it is for this that I set ye in Janasthana." Hearing these agreeable and weighty words of Ravana, those Rakshasas, bowing down unto Ravana, left Lanka, and in a body invisibly proceeded in the direction of Janasthana. Having obtained Mithila's daughter, Ravana experienced great joy in establishing her (in his own house); and having created high hostility with Rama, Ravana through blindness rejoiced greatly.

SECTION 55.

Having commissioned those eight terrible and mighty Rakshasas, Ravana, in consequence of perversion of sense, considered himself as crowned with success. And brooding over Vaidehi, he, sore pierced by the shafts of Kama, hastily entered his charming mansion, with the intention of seeing Sita. And entering that apartment, Ravana—lord of Rakshasas—saw the distressed Sita in the midst of the Rakshasas, with a tearful countenance, oppressed with a load of grief, like unto a bark sinking in the ocean through the violence of the winds; like unto a doe separated from the herd of deer, and surrounded by dogs. Coming to Sita disconsolate in consequence of stress of sorrow, remaining with her head bent down, that ranger of the night, the lord of the Rakshasas, forcibly shewed unto her that mansion resembling the mansion of the celestials, thick with palaces and lordly piles, inhabited by thousands of females; containing birds of vaious kinds; furnished with various gems; with beautiful pillars of ivory gold and crystal and silver, studded with diamonds and lapises. Ravana in company with Sita ascended the beautiful golden stairs, resounding with the sounds of kettle-drums and embellished with ornaments of burnished gold. And those loftly edifices had excellent windows made of ivory and silver, and covered with golden nets. The ground all over was decorated with ambrosia and gems. The Ten-headed one in his own mansion shewed unto Maithilee large tanks and pools covered with various kinds of flowers. (All this) Ravana shewed unto Sita overmastered by sorrow. And after having shewed unto Vaidehi the whole of that goodliest of mansions, that wicked one, with the intention of tempting Sita, spoke unto her, saying, "O Sita, leaving out old men and boys, I am the lord of thirty two kotis of night-rangers of terrible deeds.

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And a thousand come forward whenever required for any service.—If such is my sovereignty, all this is established in thee, O large-eyed lady, as well as my life. Thou art dearer unto me than life. O Sita, be thou the mistress of those numerous excellent women who are my wives. Dear, be thou my wife. This is for thy good. Why shoudst thou act otherwise? Do thou relish my speech. Do thou bend thy mind towards me. It behoves thee to favour me, who am burning (in the heat of desire). This Lanka measuring an hundred Yoyanas girt round by the ocean, is incapable of being harassed by the celestials themselves headed by Indra. Neither among the celestials nor Yakshas nor Gandharbas nor Serpents, find I any one that can match me in prowess. What wilt thou do with Rama a human being of short life, poor, of small prowess, practising mendicancy? O Sita, bend thy mind unto me. I am a fit husband for thee. O timed one, youth is uncertain. Sport with me here. And, O thou of a handsome countenance, do not wish for the sight of Raghava. O Sita, what power hath he to come hither even in thought? None can fetter the exceedingly fleet wind in the sky, or hold the bright flame of a burning fire. O beauteous one, in these three worlds I find no one that can by his might carry thee away, who art protected by my arms. Do thou govern at Lanka this extensive kingdom. The like of me and celestials and all that are mobile and immobile shall be thy servants. Laving thy limbs with water, do thou gratify me. The evil that thou hadst done, hath been expiated by thy life in the forest: now do thou reap the fruit of thy good deeds. Here are garlands furnished with divine fragrance, and, O Maithili, superb ornaments. Enjoy thou all those along with me. O thou of shapely hips, the car called Pushpaka, resembling the sun, which (formerly) belonged to my brother Vaicravana, was through my prowess won by me in fight. And vast and beautiful is that car furnished with the speed of the mind. Do thou, O Sita, at thy pleasure sport on it along with me. Thy face stainless and lovely to look at, resembling the lotus, doth not, O thou of a comely countenance, O magnificent damsel, appear beautiful in consequence of thy being exercised with grief. When Ravana had spoken thus, that best of females Sita muffling up her moon-like countenance with the ends of her cloth, began to shed gentle tears. Thereat the heroic ranger of the night, Ravana, said unto Sita, distressed, sunk in thought, and deprived of her splendour through anxiety, "O Vaidehi, banish bashfulness, which stands in the way of one's duty. The yearning I feel after thee is in consonance with what the sages prescribe. These tender feet of thine I press upon my heads. Do thou speedily shew thy favour unto me. I am thy slave (ever) obedient unto thee. Let not these words of mine spoken by me under the withering influence of love prove fruitless. Ravana hath never bowed his head to any female." Having said this, the Ten-headed one, come under the subjection of the Destroyer, looked upon Maithili, Janaka's daughter (as his own) saying, "She is mine."

SECTION 56.

Having been thus addressed, Vaidehi unaffected by fear, although exercised with grief, placing a blade of grass between herself and Ravana, answered him, saying, "There was a king named Dacaratha, the bridge of righteousness, like unto a mountain, ever bearing regard towards the truth, and renowned among men, whose son is Raghava. He is named Rama, and is righteous-souled and celebrated over the three worlds. He is long-armed, of expansive eyes,—like unto a celestial—he is my husband. Born in the race of the Ikshwakus, he hath the shoulders of a lion and is possessed of exceeding effulgence—the same that along with his brother, Lakshmana, shall take thy life. If thou hadst wronged me forcibly in his presence, thou wouldst have lain in battle in Janasthana even as Khara." All the mighty Rakshasas of grim visages, whom thou hast extolled (before me) shall be deprived of their venom before Rama, as serpents are before Suparna. The shafts decorated with gold shot by the bow-string of Raghava, shall pierce their bodies, as the waves of the Ganga (beat against) her banks, Although, O Ravana, thou mayst be incapable of being slain either by the gods or the Asuras, yet having roused the high hostility of Raghava, thou wilt not be able to liberate thy life. The strong Raghava will compass the end of what remains of thy life. Like the life of a beast tied to the sacrificial stake, thy own is incapable of being reclaimed, Should Rama look at thee with eyes aglow with anger, thou, O Rakshasa, wouldst be consumed even as Manmatha was by Rudra. He who is able to bring down the Moon or destroy him, and to drink up the ocean dry, will surely liberate Sita from here. Thy days are numbered, and auspiciousness hath bidden thee adieu. Thou art shorn of strength, and thy senses have been dulled. And it is owing to thee that Lanka shall be subject to widowhood. That thou by force hast for naught carried me away from the side of my husband —this sinful act can never conduce to thy felicity. That exceedingly effulgent lord of mine along with my husband's younger brother, summoning up their energy, is fearlessly dwelling in the vacant Dandaka. By means of an arrowy shower in conflict, he will take thy prowess and strength, thy hauteur and wickedness out of thy person. When urged by the Destroyer, the destruction of creatures is perceptible, then, coming under the sway of the Destroyer, men become careless in their actions. Having outraged me, thou, O worst of Rakshasas, thy time come; for compassing thy own destruction as well as that of the Rakshasas and those dwelling in thy inner apartment. A Chandala cannot tread the dais reared in the midst of a sacrifice beauteous with ladles, and vessels, and sanctified by the twice-born ones. So I, the religiously wedded wife of that one, ever intent on virtue, and (always) firm in my vows, is incapable, thou vilest of Rakshasas, of being touched by thee, a sinner. How can the female that hath always sported with her mate amidst lotuses, cast her eyes on a shag staying among rushes. Do thou either bind or destroy this body deprived of sensation. This body will I not protect, nor yet this life, O Ravana; and I shall not be able to bring blame on myself in this world." Having said these harsh words in wrath, Videha's daughter, Janaki, did not there again say anything unto Ravana. Hearing Sita's words, harsh and calculated to make one's down stand on end, Ravana answered her in words tending to excite one's apprehension, "Hear, O Maithili, my words. O damsel if, O thou of sweet smiles, within this time thou do not turn thyself unto me, the cooks shall cut thee off in pieces to serve my morning meal." Having herself spoken thus, Ravana,—challenger of foes— growing exceedingly wroth, addressed the Rakshasis in these words, "Ye frightful Rakshasis terrible to behold, subsisting on flesh and gore, do ye at once crush her pride." As soon as he had said this, those frightfnl and terrible Rakshasis with joined hands encircled Maithili. Then the grim-visaged king Ravana, as if riving the earth by his tread, proceeding a pace or two, said, "Do ye take Maithili to the wood of Asokas. There surrounding her, do ye secretly guard her; and there (sometimes) by storming, and (at others) by means of soft speech, do ye all strive to bring Mithila's daughter, like a wild female elephant, under your sway." Thus commanded by Ravana, those Rakshasis taking Maithili along with them, went to the Asoka wood, abounding with trees granting every desire, and filled with various kinds of fruits and flowers; and frequented by fowls fraught with juices at all seasons. And as a doe comes under the subjection of tigresses, Janaka's daughter, Maithili, her frame worked up with grief, came under the sway of the Rakshasis. And like a female deer fast bound by a trap, Janaka's timid daughter Maithili, agitated by the mighty grief, did not attain respite. And greatly up-braided by the fierce eyes (of the Rakshasis), Maithili did not know repose; and, afflicted with grief and fear, she, remembering her beloved lord along with Lakshmana swooned away.

Having slain the Rakshasa, Maricha, able to wear shapes at will, who had been ranging in the form of a deer, Rama speedily turned back along the path. On Sita having entered Lanka, the great father addressed the gratified Devendra of an hundred sacrifices, "For bringing about the weal of the three worlds, and the woe of the Rakshasas, Sita hath been taken into Lanka by the wicked-minded, Ravana. Devoted unto her husband, the exalted lady always brought up in happiness, not seeing her husband, and seeing (on the other hand) environed by numbers of Rakshasis,—is hungering after the sight of her lord. The city of Lanka is situated on the shores of the lord of rivers and streams. How can Rama get a knowledge of that blameless one, staying there? Brooding over the various ills she hath undergone, that exceedingly rare damsel is passing her days. Surely she will resign her existence. Great is the doubt that hath arisen as to Sita putting a period to her existence. Having thyself from here, do thou see the fair-faced Sita. Having entered the city of Lanka, offer excellent clarified butter." Thus addressed by the reverend chastiser of Paka, Devendra in company with sleep, approached the city ruled by Ravana. He then addressed sleep, saying, "Go thou; and stupify the Rakshasas." Thus accosted by Maghavat, that goddess, exceedingly delighted, for securing success to the work of the celestials, covered the Rakshasas with stupor. In the meanwhile, that god, the thousand-eyed lord of Sachi went to (Sita) staying in the woods, and spoke unto her these words, "I am the sovereign of the celestials. Good betide thee! I am here, O thou of luminous smiles! For securing success unto the work of the magnanimous Raghava, I will lend my aid unto thee. Do not, O daughter of Janaka, grieve. Through my grace, he shall along with his forces cross over the ocean. And, O excellent wench, I have by my supernal power, stupified the Rakshasis. And, O Sita, for this reason, I along with sleep, taking these rice,—rice boiled in clarified butter, have, O Vaidehi, come unto thee. If thou partake of these from my hand, thou shalt never beuteous one, be afflicted either with hunger or thirst, thou of thighs resembling rambha (trunks), for years." Thus addressed, Sita, alarmed, said, "How can I know thee for Devendra, Sachi's husband, staying here? By the side of Rama and Lakshmana, I had beheld the signs of the celestials. If, O Devendra, thou art thyself the sovereign of the celestials, show those unto me." Hearing Sita's words, the lord of Sachi did accordingly. He did not touch the earth with his feet, and his eyes remained winkless. He bloomed in youth, and the blossoms did not fade on his attire. Thereupon knowing him for Vasava, Sita was overjoyed. And weeping, she spoke regarding Raghava, "By luck it is that I had heard of that mighty-armed one along with his brother. As is my father-in-law, the king, as is the master of Mithila, so art thou (unto me), thou whom I behold to-day; my husband hath now found a protector.— And by thy command, O Devendra, will I partake of this payasa cooked with milk, which hath been offered unto me, and which shall enhance (the prosperity) of our race." Thereupon taking the payasa from Indra's hands, that Maithili of luminous smiles (mentally) offered it unto her husband as well as Lakshmana. "If my mighty lord live along with his brother, let this through my reverence for them, be theirs." She then partook of the payasaherself. Having thus eaten it, that one of excellent countenance, had her hunger and rising sorrow removed; and attaining a mental tendency from Indra, Janaki grew glad with reference to the Kakutshthas. And Sakra also for bringing about the success of Raghava's work, with a pleased mind, went to the abode of celestials. And greeting Sita again and again, that high-souled celestial, in company with sleep went back to his own abode."

SECTION 57.

Killing the Rakshasa, Maricha assuming shapes at will and ranging in the shape of a deer, Rama vended speedily his way. And as he hurried himself, eager to behold Maithili, jackals began to howl hideously at his back. Hearing their harsh cries, capable of making one's hair stand on end, Rama struck with fear at the voices of the jackals, became filled with alarm. "Ah! I consider this as inauspicious— that these jackals are crying. Escaping being devoured by the Rakshasas, may fair fortune befall Vaidehi! If Lakshmana should have heard the cries which Maricha, knowing my voice, and fixing on the means of harming me, uttered in the form of a deer, Saumitri, hearing that voice, leaving Mithila's daughter and commissioned by herself, must have come near me. Surely, the Rakshasas in a body are desirous of slaying Sita. Becoming a golden deer, Maricha, having allured me far, transformed himself into a Rakshasa, as soon as he had been struck with my shafts; and exclaimed, 'Ah! Lakshmana, slain am I.' It is doubtless, we having left (Sita), whether all is well with her. I having raised the hostility of the Rakshasas for the sake of Janasthana; and many and dreadful are the omens I see (around me)." Thus reflecting as he heard the bowlings of the jackals, the self-possessed Rama with hasty steps returned to the asylum. Raghava went back to Janasthana, alarmed in consequence of his having been drawn away by the Rakshasa in the form of a deer. And birds and beasts approached that high-souled one distressed and depressed in spirit; and staying on his left set up frightful cries. As he was witnessing the exceedingly dreadful signs, Raghava saw Lakshmana coming with a lacklustre (countenance); and Lakshmana came up to Rama. And depressed in spirit, he was rendered still more sad by that one who, afflicted with depression shared his sorrow. And, seeing that (Lakshmana) had come, leaving Sita in that solitary wood frequented by Rakshasas, his brother fell to reprimanding him. And taking Lakshmana's left; hand, the son of Raghu in extreme distress sweetly spake these rough words, "Alas! Lakshmana, thou hast committed a censurable act; leaving Sita, O mild one, thou hast come hither. Is it well with her? I make no doubt, O hero, but that Janaka's daughter hath either been slain or devoured by Rakshasas ranging the forest. And, considering the many omens that take place before me, O Lakshmana, I do not know whether we shall light upon welfare of Janaka's daughter Sita being alive, O best of men. And as these multitudes of beasts and these jackals are crying frightfully in the flaming direction [i. e. The quarter presided over by the sun, viz., the East.], I do not know, O thou of mighty strength, whether it is well with that daughter of the king. This Rakshasa, who, wearing the shape of a deer, and, alluring me, had drawn me far, hath in some sort been slain by me with much ado; and he became a Rakshasa at the time of his death. Yet my mind is poor and cheerless; and my left eye throbs. Doubtless, O Lakshmana, Sita is not,—she is either carried away, or dead, or is wandering on the way.

SECTION 58.

Seeing Lakshmana cast down, cheerless, and come without Vaidehi, the righteous son of Dacaratha, asked him, saying, "Where, O Lakshmana is that Vaidehi, who hath followed me unto the Dandaka forest, and leaving whom thou hast come hither? Where is that one of a slender waist, who is the help in trouble of me, deprived of my kingdom, dispirited, and running about the Dandakas? Without whom, hero, I cannot live for a moment—where is that life's help of me Sita resembling the daughter of a celestial? O Lakshmana, without Janaka's daughter (hued) like burning gold, I covet not the sovereignty of the celestials or the earth. Liveth Vaidehi, dearer unto me than life? Shall this exile of mine be of no avail? O Sumitra's son, on my dying for Sita and thy returning (to the city,) shall Kaikeyi have her desire, and attain felicity; and shall Kaucalya,— her son dead, and herself wearing the guise of a female mendicant, humbly wait upon Kaikeyi when she shall have succeeded in obtaining the kingdom for her son? If Vaidehi live, I will then return to the asylum; but O

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Lakshmana, if that one of excellent character should happen to be dead, I will also renounce my life. If, O Lakshmana, Vaidehi ever preluding her speech with a smile should not speak to me when I arrive at the asylum, I shall give up my life. Do thou tell me, O Lakshmana, whether Videha's daughter liveth or not; or whether, in consequence of thy acting heedlessly, that forlorn wench hath been devoured by Rakshasas. Of a tender frame, and a mere girl, Vaidehi, never having experienced unhappiness being cast down, surely weepeth for my separation. When that exceedingly wicked Rakshasa cried, "Lakshmana" at the top of his voice, wast thou also seized with fear? And I apprehend that voice resembling mine was heard by Vaidehi; and, despatched by her from fear, thou mayst have come hither swiftly to see me. Thou hast every way acted unwisely in having left Sita alone in the wood. By this thou hast afforded opportunity to the cruel Rakshasas to repair the mischief (I have done them). The Rakshasas subsisting on flesh are aggrieved because of Khara having been slain; and now, without doubt, those terrible ones have slain Sita. Alas! absolutely sunk am I in peril, O destroyer of foes. What shall I do now? I fear such an event was appointed for me." Thus thinking of Sita, paragon among women, Raghava hastily went to Janasthana in company with Lakshmana. Taking to task his younger brother of distressed visage, Rama, afflicted with hunger and thirst, and dejected in spirits, sighing heavily with a countenance turned pale, entered the asylum and found it vacant. And entering his own asylum, that hero went to the play-grounds (of Sita) and remembering the sporting ground (of Sita) in that abode, he was filled with grief and his down stood on end.

SECTION 59.

When coming out of the hermitage, Raghu's descendant, Rama, after a while, from grief, spake these words to the son of Sumitra, "When confiding myself in thee, I had left Maithili with thee in the wood, why then didst thou go oat, leaving her behind? O Lakshmana, directly I saw thee approach, renouncing Maithili, my mind, apprehending great wrong, became really aggrieved. O Lakshmana, seeing thee coming at a distance, renouncing her, my left eye and arm as well as ray heart keep throbbing." Thus accosted, Lakshmana having auspicious signs, afflicted with great grief, said unto the aggrieved Rama, "I have not come hither, of my own accord, renouncing Sita; but I have come to thee, having been urged thereto by herself with rudeness. The cries of "O Lakshmana, save me," as if uttered by the master, came to the ears of Maithili. Hearing those distressful accents, Maithili from affection [for thee], breaking out into lamentations, and overwhelmed with fear, spoke unto me, "Off," "off." On being repeatedly urged, with "Go," I answered Maithili in these words, tending to inspire her confidence, 'I do not see such a Rakshasa, as can excite his fear. Do thou desist. These cries do not come from him; but must have been uttered by some one else. How can he that can rescue the celestials themselves, utter, O Sita, such a blame-worthy and base word as—save [me]? Some one far some purpose, assuming my brothers voice, is crying— O Lakshmana, save me. O beauteous lady, these words, Save me—must have been uttered by some Rakshasa from fear. Thou shouldst not act like a mean woman. Do not be overwhelmed; and banish thy anxiety. There breathes no person, nor yet shall there be born any one in these three worlds who in the field shall vanquish Raghava in fight. Raghava is incapable of being beaten in battle by the very gods headed by Indra.' Thus addressed (by me) Vaidehi, deprived of her sense, shedding tears, spake unto me these cruel words, 'Thou cherishest the vile idea that on thy brother perishing, thou shalt come by me; but me thou shalt never have. As thou dost not go to him albeit he is crying loudly (for help), thou followest Rama in consonance with a hint from Bharata. A foe going about in disguise, thou followest Rama for my sake, prying into Raghava's draw backs; and it is for this that thou dost not go (to him)?' Thus accosted by Vaidehi, I, with eyes reddened in wrath, and my nether lip swollen in ire, rushed out of "the asylum." When Saumitri had spoken thus, Rama transported by grief, said unto Lakshmana, "O gentle one, thou hast done wrong in having come out hither without her. Although thou knewest (full well) that I was able to withstand the Rakshasas, yet didst thou sally out at the angry words of Mithila's daughter. I am not pleased with thee that hearing her harsh speech spoken in wrath, thou hast come hither, leaving Vaidehi behind. Thou hast every way done wrong in not acting out my mandate in consequence of being urged by Sita, and under the influence of indignation. That Rakshasa lieth low, being wounded by my shafts—that had drawn me away from the asylum wearing the form of a deer. I hit him stretching my brow slightly and fixing the shaft on it; when, renouncing his deer-form he became a Rakshasa wearing a bracelet and began to emit distressful shrieks. Wounded by my shaft, he, assuming my voice, and in accents capable of being heard from far, uttered those dreadful words fraught with dole, hearing which, thou hast come hither, renouncing Mithila's daughter."

SECTION 60.

As Rama went on, his feet failed him, his left eye began to beat, and a trembling came over his frame. Seeing again and again all these signs, he continually kept on asking (Lakshmana), "Is it well with Sita?" Eager to behold Sita, he proceeded fast; but finding the abode empty, he was filled with anxiety. And proceeding with swiftness, throwing about his limbs, Raghu's son began to survey all around the hut. He then found it empty of Sita, like unto a tank in evil plight and bereft of lotuses—during the winter. And seeing the cottage empty, with its trees as if sorrowing, and its flowers faded, and its beasts and birds sunk in gloom,— shorn of grace, worn out, forsaken by the sylvan deities, strewn with deer-skins and Kuca, and twists of Kasa, he wept again and again—"Hath the timid one been carried off, or is she dead, or hath any one eaten her up, or hath she vanished (from the earth), or hath she gone to the wood, or hath she gone to cull flowers and fruits, or hath she gone to the pool for procuring water, or hath she repaired to the river? Although he searched his beloved one carefully, yet he failed to find her out in the wood-land. And that graceful one with his eyes reddened with grief, seemed like a maniac. And he rushed from tree to tree, and bewailing being sunk in an occean of grief traversed all the rivers and mountains. "O Kadamba, hast thou seen where is that one fond of Kadamba groves? If knowest thou this do thou tell me of Sita having an auspicious countenance. O Bilya, tell me pray, if thou hast seen her, wearing silken cloth, resembling cool leaves and having breast like unto Bilya fruits. Or, O Aryuna, she was very fond of thee, tell me if liveth that daughter of Janaka of slender frame. This Kakuvaknoweth for certain about Maithilee having thighs like unto Kakuva. Yon stands beautifully that Banaspati being enveloped with creepers, flowers and leaves and filled with the hum of Vramaras. Surely doth this Tilaka know about her who was fond of her. O Asoka, who doth remove sorrows, do thou make good thy name by making me, who am exercised with grief, see instantly my beloved (spouse). O Tala, if thou hast any pity on me do thou tell me whether thou hast beheld that fair damsel having breast resembling ripe Tala fruits. Do thou tell me without fear, O Jambhu, if thou hast seen my dear one resembling in hue the river Jambhu. O Karnikar, thou appearest very beautiful with this blossoming flowers, tell me if thou hast seen my dear devoted wife who was fond of thee." Thus the highly famous Rama asking about Sita, nearing the various trees such as mangoe, Nipa, Mahasala, Panaca, Kurava, Pomegranate, Vakula, Pumnaga, Sandal and Keta began to traverse the forest like a maniac. Again addressed he the diverse animals—"O deer, knowest thou for certain about Janaki having the eyes of a doe; is she engaged in play with the does? O elephant, methinks thou dost know about the daughter of Janaka having thighs resembling thy trunk; pray tell me if thou hast beheld her. O tiger, fearlessly do thou relate unto me if thou hast seen my beloved Maithilee, having a countenance resembling Moon. O dear! O thou having eyes like unto lotuses! why dost thou fly away? Surely have I seen thee. Why dost thou not address me hiding thyself behind the tree? Wait, wait, O thou fair damsel, thou hast no compassion for me! Never hadst thou mock me before in this way! Why dost thou neglect me now? O exquisitely fair damsel, truly have I found thee out from this thy yellow silken cloth. I have seen thee flying away. Stand if thou hast any love for me. Or, O thou having a sweet smile, thou art not she; truly thou hast been killed or else thou wouldst not have neglected me at this time of dire affliction. True it is that she hath been devoured in my absence by the Rakshasas living on flesh having torn into pieces her limbs. Truly hath her face, resembling the full-moon, having beautiful teeth a fine nose and white Kundalas, become of pale countenance being brought under the possession of the Rakshasas. Her neck had the hue of sandal and was adorned with necklace—that beautiful tender neck was eaten up by the Rakshasas, my beloved wife wailing. Her arms were tender like leaves and adorned with various ornaments; truly have the Rakshasas eaten them up, shaken as they were, by throwing them here and there. Alas! did I leave her alone only to be devoured by the Rakshasas? And she hath been eaten up like one weak and helpless albeit she has many friends. O Lakshmana, O thou of mighty-arms, hast thou seen where my dear wife is? O dear! O Sita! where hast thou gone?" Bewailing again and again in this strain Rama began to range the forest. Sometimes leaping, sometimes walking in an uncertain direction, again and again he looked like one void of sense. And again intent on searching Sita he furiously engaged in traversing the rivers, mountains, fountains and the woods. He could not wait paitently anywhere. Entering a vast forest he searched every nook and corner for Maithilee; his desire was not satisfied and he again engaged with great labour in the finding out of his dear spouse.

SECTION 61.

Beholding the hermitage and cottage desolate and the seats strewn here and there, Rama the son of Dacaratha looked around. And finding Sita nowhere he raised up his beautiful arm and broke out into lamentations saying, "O Lakshmana where is Sita? Where has she gone hence? O Saumitri, who hath carried away my dear one or who hath devoured her? O Sita, if wishest thou to mock me, hiding thyself behind the tree, enough—enough it is—console me who am exercised with grief. O pleasant Sita, without thee these faithful little deer have engaged in meditation being bathed in tears. Without Sita I shall not breathe, O Lakshmana. A mighty grief hath overtaken me in consequence of her being carried away. My father the monarch shall surely behold me in the next world and ask me 'I engaged thee in the observance of a vow; without fulfilling that, why hast thou come here? O shame on thee!' For certain shall my father address me with these words relating to my passionate, false and base conduct. All my desires have now been baffled and I have lost all control over myself and have been exercised with grief. O fine damsel, O thou of slender waist, where dost thou repair leaving me behind like unto fame renouncing a person of vicious nature? Without thee I shall renounce my own life." Being desirous of seeing Sita, Rama afflicted with grief began to bewail in this strain, but did not behold the daughter of Janaka. Being sunk in grief on Sita's account he became worn out like unto an elephant fallen in mud. Thereat for his well being, Lakshmana spoke unto him saying, "O thou of mighty intellect— do not grieve. Do thou put forth thy endeavours along with me. There is that high hill, O hero, containing many a cave. Maithili who is fond of ranging the forest and ever delighteth in beholding the flowery woods, must have entered therein or have gone to the watering-place blooming with flowerets and lotuses. She has gone to the river abounding in fish and Banjulas or has hidden herself somewhere in the forest to frighten us and to know, O best of men, how we can search her out. O thou of great beauty, let us soon engage in quest of her. O Kakuthstha, if thinkest thou that she is somewhere in this forest, we shall leave no quarter untried. Do thou not grieve." After Lakshmana had spoken thus out of fraternal affection, Rama, with a composed heart, set out along with him in quest of Sita. And searching every nook and corner of the mountains, rivers, ponds, table-lands, hills and summits they found Sita nowhere. And searching thus all the mountains Rama spake unto Lakshmana saying "Behold not I the auspicious Vaidehi on this mountain, O Saumitri." Ranging the entire forest of Dandaka, Lakshmana, sore distressed, spake unto his brother of flaming energy, saying "Surely shalt thou come by Maithili the daughter of Janaka like unto the mighty armed Vishnu obtaining this earth after having bound Vali." Being thus addressed by the heroic Lakshmana, Raghava, greatly afflicted with sorrow, replied in piteous accents—"O thou of mighty intellect I have searched every nook of this forest, this pool abounding in blown lotuses, and this mountain containing many a cave and fountain; but nowhere have I seen Vaidehi dearer than my life." Thus bewailing Rama, racked with sorrow consequent on Sita, being carried away, became poorly and afflicted with grief and swooned away for sometime. He lost his sense and his whole frame was worked with grief. Being grfeatly anxious and breathless he sighed hot and fast and began to lament. And sobbing again and again the lotus-eyed Rama bewailed with his voice choked with the vapour of grief, exclaiming "Ah Sita!" Thereat his dear brother Lakshmana, aggrieved, consoled him with joined hands. But passing by the words dropping from Lakshmana's lips Rama again and again bewailed not beholding his dear Sita.

SECTION 62.

Not beholding Sita the virtuous-souled Rama, of mighty arms, having eyes resembling lotuses, beside himself with grief, lamented (in many a way). Pierced with the shafts of Manmatha, Raghava, as if beholding Sita though he actually did not see her, uttered the following piteous accents—"O my dear, thou delightest greatly in flowers. Covering thy own person with Asoka twigs thou art increasing my grief. Thy thighs are like unto the trunks of plantain trees and thou hast hidden thyself behind the plantain grove. But I percieve thee, O fair one, thou art incapable of keeping thyself hidden. O auspicious one, thou hast entered smiling the Karnikar grove. No more with thy pastime, O dear one, leading to my death. Moreover it is not proper to sport in this way in a hermitage. I know it full well, O my dear, that thou art by nature fond of pastimes. But O thou of expansive eyes, this cottage lieth desolate, do thou come here. Evident it is that Sita hath either been devoured by the Rakshasas or carried away by them, and therefore she doth not approach me, O Lakshmana, who am thus bewailing. These deer, O Lakshmana, with tearful eyes have been as if declaring that Sita hath been devoured by the night-rangers. O chaste one, O thou of exquisitely fine hue, O worshipful madam, whither hast thou repaired? O Sita, truly hath the desire of Kaikeyi been fulfilled to-day. I came out with Sita and shall return home without her. How shall I enter again that inner apartment void of Sita? Surely shall the people blame me as being cruel and destitute of energy. That I have no prowess hath already been manifested in the destruction of Sita. When the king Janaka shall come to me after my return home from exile, to ask me of my welfare how shall I meet him? And surely shall he be overwhelmed with grief on his daughter's account when he shall find me without

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Sita. Blessed is my father since he is in heaven now. I shall not repair to that city protected by Bharata. Without her even the heaven itself appears to me as desolate. Do thou therefore repair to the city of Ayodhya leaving me in this forest. By no means shall I breathe without her. Embracing him warmly do thou tell Bharata, as instructed by me— 'Rama hath given thee permission to administer this kingdom.' As ordered by me do thou with proper respect salute all my mothers Kaucalya, Kaikeyi and Sumitra and protect them all with great care and respectful compliments. O destroyer of foes, do thou relate at length unto my mother the story of Sita's destruction." Rama bewailing thus, being overwhelmed with grief on account of his separation from Sita having a head of fine hair, Lakshmana became of pale countenance and was greatly distressed at heart.

SECTION 63.

That son of a king, stricken as he was with grief consequent upon separation from his dear one, was again overwhelmed with a terrible grief after causing sorrow unto his brother. Sunk in the abyss of grief, Rama, sighing hot and weeping piteously, spoke unto Lakshmana who was equally aggrieved, words worthy of being said on that occasion. "Me thinks there is none other on this earth like me, the perpetrator of vicious crimes. My heart or soul is not riven though crushed again and again without respite with a multitude of doleful events. Surely did I perpetrate many a vicious deed in my previous birth, the fruit of which I do now suffer and in consequence whereof misfortune after misfortune hath befallen me. Coming within the compass of my remembrance, the loss of my kingdom, the death of my father, the separation of my mother and other kinsmen culminates my grief. Repairing unto woods, O Lakshmana, in Sita's company my grief was assuaged, nay I did not suffer physical affliction even. Without Sita these sorrows have grown anew like unto fire flaming again by means of fuel. Truly my wife, timid as she is, hath been carried away by a Rakshasa by the etherial track. Alas I doubtless it is, that one of pleasant accents, wept piteously out of fear many a time and oft. For certain my dear wife's breast round and sprinkled as it was with red sandal paste, was bathed in blood (while devoured by the Rakshasas)—but there is no death for me. That countenance the beauty of which was enhanced by a head of curly hair and which used to emit forth tender, soft and clear accents, hath become pale, being taken possession of by the Rakshasas like unto the Moon almost devoured by Rahu. Surely have the Rakshasas subsisting on gore drunk her blood in the sky tearing oft the neck of my dear one ever devoted to pious observances. Surely did that one of beautifully expansive eyes cry aloud poorly like unto a hind when she was drawn hither and thither by the Rakshasas encircling her in the forest in my absence. O Lakshmana, sitting at the foot of this hill with me that large-hearted, pious Sita, of smilling countenance, used to address thee on many a topic. This is Godavari, the best of rivers, my dear wife took delight in her— has she gone there?—But she never goes there alone. Or has Janaki having eyes resembling lotus-petals hath gone to bring lotuses? But how is that possible, she never goes without me to bring lotuses. Hath she entered at her pleasure this forest filled with many flowery trees and diverse birds? But that is not possible too—she is timid and feareth much to enter alone in this forest. O Aditya, knowest thou the pious and vicious actions of men; beareth thou testimony to the truth and untruth of their actions—do thou tell me, pray, who am striken with grief, whither hath my dear one repaired, or whether hath she been killed? O Air, there is nothing on earth which is not within the compass of thy vision, do thou relate unto me whether Sita preserving the fame of my ancestry, hath been killed or carried away or if she waiteth on the way." After Rama had bewailed thus being beside himself with grief, Saumitri, ever treading the right path and not of poorly mind spoke words worthy of being said on that occasion.—"Do thou take heart renouncing thy grief and engage with energy in quest of Sita. Persons of high energy are never exhausted on the earth even in the face of arduous works." The highly powerful Lakshmana having spoken thus being afflicted with grief, Rama, the best of Raghu's descendants, did not consider that worth pondering over. Renouncing patience he again indulged in excessive grief.

SECTION 64.

Rama stricken with grief spake unto Lakshmana the following piteous words saying, "O Lakshmana, do thou speedily repair to the river Godaveri and learn if Sita hath gone there to fetch lotuses." Being thus addressed by Rama, the quick-paced Lakshmana went to the pleasant stream Godaveri. Reconnoitering full well the river containing many a watering-place Lakshmana spake unto Rama saying, "Searched have I all the watering-places but have found her nowhere—anon I cried aloud but she did not hear. I cannot trace whither hath Vaidehi of slender waist repaired ever assuaging our mental affliction." Hearing Lakshmana' s words, Rama, aggrieved and overwhelmed with sorrow repaired in person to the river Godaveri. Arriving there cried he "Where is Sita?" Neither did the world of creatures nor the river Godaveri apprise Rama of Sita's being carried away by the Lord of Rakshasas worthy of being slain. Thinking of the terrible figure and monstrous actions of that vicious-souled Ravana, that river did not dare relate unto him anything about Sita, albeit appointed by the creatures to relate the story concerning her and accosted by Rama in piteous accents. Being thus disappointed by the river in beholding Sita, Rama racked with her separation spake unto Lakshmana saying "O thou of auspicious looks, this river Godavari doth give no reply. But O Lakshmana, returning without her what shall I say unto Janaka and Vaidehi's mother? Where hath that Vaidehi gone who used to assuage my grief who had been deprived of kingdom and living in this forest on wild fruits and vegetables? Nights shall appear too long unto me, keeping late hours being deprived of my kinsmen and relatives and not beholding Vaidehi. I can range this Mandakini, this Janasthana and this Pasrabana hill if I can find Sita there. Behold, O hero, the high deer have been casting their looks again and again at men; methinks from their gestures, they intend speaking something uoto me." Beholding them, Raghava, the best of men, looked at them and said in accents choked with vapour—"Where is Sita?" Being thus addressed by that Lord of men the deer rose up all on a sudden and looked up to the sky facing the south and proceeded to the direction by which Maithili had been carried away. And moving by that way these deer eyed the Lord of men and again and again fixed their looks upon that way and earth and passed along emitting cries which was marked by Lakshmana. He marked with attention their movements and cries and spake unto his elder brother like one aggrieved saying—"Being accosted by thee with—'Where is Sita?' these deer have stood up all on a sudden and have been pointing to the south and earth— let us therefore proceed in this direction—it may be that we shall either meet with that worshipful madam or find some mementos concerning her." Thereat Kakuthstha, gifted with supreme beauty, proceeded towards the south being followed by Lakshmana and casting his look upon the earth. While proceeding thus, conversing with each other the two brothers beheld some flowers scattered on the high-way.

Beholding a collection of flowers scattered on earth, Rama, exceedingly sorry, spake unto Lakshmana in piteous accents saying "O Lakshmana, 1 have come to know that these are the flowers of the forest I gave Vaidehi; with these she decorated her hair. Me thinks the sun, the air and the famed earth have preserved them for my well-being." Having spoken these words unto Lakshmana, the best of men, the virtuous-souled Rama, of mighty arms, addressed the mountain in front of him containing many fountains, saying—"0 thou the best of mountains, hast thou beheld in this picturesque forest-land, that exquisitely fine damsel racked with my separation?" Exceedingly wroth he accosted the mountain like unto a lion addresing a little deer, saying "Show me my graceful Sita hued like gold before I crush down thy summits." Being thus addressed by Rama on Maithili's account the mountain did not show him Sita. Again addressed him Rama—"Thou shalt by the fire of my arrows, be reduced to ashes—thy twigs and leaves shall be totally destroyed and no one shall resort to thee. O Lakshmana, I shall dry up this river Godavari if it telleth me not about Sita having a moon-like countenance." Rama, exceedingly wroth, cast his looks around as if desiring to burn everything with his eyes and beheld footprints of the Rakshasas on the earth as well as those of Sita moving wildly hither and thither, terrified and desirous to see Rama, while pursued by the Rakshasas. Beholding these footmarks, the snapped bow, the quiver and the chariot broken into many pieces, Rama, terrified spake unto his dear brother. "Behold O, Lakshmana, the remnants of Vaidehi's golden ornaments, strewn hither and thither, and diverse garlands. Behold O Saumitri, the earth covered with drops of blood resembling golden drops. Methinks, O Lakshmana, Vaidehi hath been devoured by the Rakshasas assuming shapes at will, having sundered her in pieces. O Saumitri, there took place a terrible conflict between the Rakshasas, fighting with each other on Sita's account. O gentle one, whose is this snapped bow lying on the breast of the earth adorned and crested with pearls and diamonds? O brother, this belongs either to the celestials or to the Rakshasas. Whose is this golden armour lying shattered on earth, resembling the newly risen sun; in colour and adorned with sapphire? Whose is this umbrella lying broken on earth, containing a hundred rod and adorned with celestial garlands? In whose conflict have these terrible asses, of large proportions, having faces of demon and with breast plates, been killed? Whose is this shattered war-car lying upset on the ground and broken flag resembling in lustre the burning gold? Whose are these terrible arrows feathered in gold, measuring four-hundred fingers, lying without blades on earth? Behold, O Lakshmana, these two quivers have been totally spoiled though filled with arrows. Whose charioteer is this who hath been killed with reins and lash in hands? These foot-marks must be some Rakshasa's. I made these Rakshasas my fatal enemies, assuming shapes at will and of crooked hearts. Poor Sita must have been either dead, carried away by them or devoured. Virtue did not save her from being carried away in this mighty forest. O Lakshmana, while virtue did not protect Janaki being devoured or taken away by stealth, what person else gifted with heavenly power, on this earth shall bring about my well-being? For this it is that people through ignorance disregard the ever kind Almighty—the lord of creatures and the best of the celestials. Truly shall the celestials regard me as one devoid of prowess, who am mild-tempered, kind, ever engaged in the welfare of the humanity, and have controlled all my senses. Observe, O Lakshmana, obtaining me as the stay these accomplishments have been turned into so many blemishes. Truly shall my prowess manifest itself to-day overshadowing all my other accomplishments for the destruction of the Rakshasas and all created beings like unto the rising of the Sun casting the Moon into shade on the day of dissolution. None shall enjoy felicity, O Lakshmana,—Yakshas, Gandharbas, Picachas, Rakshasas, Kinnaras, or human beings. Today shall the welkin be filled up with my arrows. Motionless shall I make all the animals inhabiting the three worlds. I shall arrest the movement of the planets and overshadow the Moon. Stopping the course of the wind and destroying the rays of the Sun and fire I shall envelope the earth with darkness, crush down the summits of the mountains, dry up the pools, blow up the creepers, demolish the Ocean and erradicate the trees. If the celestials do not give me back my Sita I shall bring about the dissolution of the three worlds which would else have been wrought by time. O son of Sumitra, instantly shall the celestials headed by Indra, meet with my prowess, if they do not give back my Sita, ever advancing my wellfare. None shall be able to range the welkin. Behold Lakshmana, being perpetually crushed down by my arrow's shot off my bow, the world shall be disturbed and dislodged and the animals and birds shall be confused and destroyed. Stretching the bow to my ears I shall make the world, for Sita's sake, void of Pisachas and Rakshasas with my arrows incapable of being withstood by created beings. To-day shall the celestials behold the power of my arrows coursing a long distance shot through my ire. Three worlds destroyed on account of my wrath, celestials, Danavas, Pisachas or Rakshasas,—none shall be saved. The dwellings of the celestials, Asuras, Yakshas and Rakshasas shall fall down sundered by my arrows into diverse pieces. I shall dislodge the whole world by my arrows. If the celestials do not give me back my Vaidehi dead or carried away or as she was before, I shall destroy the whole world mobile or immobile and disturb all with my arrows until I see her." Having spoken thus, Rama, with his eyes reddened with ire and lips swollen, tying fast his bark and deer-skin, braided his matted locks. Having done this, being exceedingly wroth he looked like Rudra about to destroy Tripura. Thereat taking his bow from Lakshmana and holding it fast, the effulgent Rama, the conqueror of foes, fixed flaming arrows to it like so many serpents and said being exercised with ire like unto fire on the eve of dissolution.—"O Lakshmana none shall be able to withstand me, who am inflamed with rage, as debility consequent on old age, death, time, duty are incapable of being averted from their destined ends by the animals. I shall bring about a mighty revolution in the world containing the celestials Gandharba, human beings, Pannagas and the mountains, if I do not get back, in her pristine beauty, my Sita, the daughter of the King of Mithila."

SECTION 65.

Rama highly aggrieved on account of Sita's being carried away, addressing himself to destroy the world like unto the fire of dissolution and casting his look, sighing again and again, upon the stringed bow like unto Mahadev desirous of burning down the whole world at the time of dissolution, Lakshmana, having his countenance dried up, beholding his rage not seen before, began with folded hands—"Ere this thou hadst been gentle, self-controlled and engaged in the welfare of all beings. It doth not behove thee now to renounce thy natural temper being influenced by ire. Ever manifested itself in thee, glory par excellence like unto splendour in the Moon, lustre in the Sun, motion in the wind and forgiveness in the Earth. It becometh thee not to devastate the whole world for the crime of an individual being. Methinks for certain, this shattered car must be the property of an individual person, not of many. But I do not know whose is this car with yokes and dresses and what for it hath been shattered? Behold, O thou the son of a King, this terrible spot bathed in blood and raked with hoofs and wheels. Surely here took place a conflict. O thou the foremost of those skilled in speech, it appeareth from these signs that this skrimish did take place with one, not with two. Here are not to be seen the fool-marks of a large army. It therefore doth not behove thee to destroy the whole world for one's individual offence. Kings, gentle and mild by nature, do always administer punishment, proportionate to the amount of offence. Thou art always the stay and the best refuge of all animals. Who shall think well, O Raghava, of the destruction of thy wife? The celestials, Danavas, Gandharbhas, rivers, seas, and mountains—none can act unfriendly by thee as the learned priests cannot act

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improperly towards those initiated by them. It is thy duty, O king, with bow in hand to search out the person who hath carried away Sita, along with me and the devotees. Explore shall we, with great care, the seas, the forest, the mountains, the fearful caves, the pools and the abodes of the celestials and Gandharbas until we find out the person who hath carried away thy wife. If the celestials do not return thee peacefully thy wife, O Lord cf Kocala, thou shalt adopt measures, befitting the occassion. Thou shalt then uproot the whole world, O lord of men, with thy gold-featherd arrows resembling the thunderbolt of Mahendra,if thou dost not come by thy wife by resorting to good conduct, self-control, lowliness and polity."

SECTION 66.

Rama bewailing thus like one helpless being stricken with grief, overwhelmed with sorrow and losing control over himself, Lakshmana touched his feet and consoling him instantly began:—"By constant asceticism and manifold pious observances king Dacaratha obtained thee like unto the celestials obtaining ambrosia. As I have heard from Bharata, king Dacaratha died for thy separation, attached as he was unto thee for thy accomplishments. O Kakuthstha, if dost thou not bear patiently this impending peril what little-minded person else shall bear it? Compose thyself, O thou best of men. Peril overtaketh every body like unto fire but vanisheth in no time. This is the nature of men. Yayati, the son of king Nahusha, though attained to the state of celestials, was however thrown down for an iniquitous deed. The hundred sons, that had been born unto our ancestral priest Vasishtha, were all killed in one day. O lord of Kerala, even Vasumati, the mother of the world, adored of all beings, meeteth with mesery consequent upon earth-quake. Even the mighty Sun and Moon witness eclipse who are the eyes of the world and the very images of virtue and in whom the whole world is stationed. O thou best of men, what of insignificant beings cased in this frail body, even the mighty creatures and celestials are subject to the influence of destiny. I have heard, O best of men, even the celestials headed by Indra are subject to happiness or misery. So it doth not behove thee to bewail thus. O descendant of Raghu, it becometh thee not to lament like an ordinary person even if Janaki is dead or hath been carried away. O Rama, persons, highly experienced and ascertaining right or wrong without being moved, do not lament even in the face of mighty perils. O thou best of men, do thou, after due consideration, ascertain what is proper or improper; persons of thy vast wisdom are cognisant of the right or wrong by dint of their understanding. Without proper exercise, actions, of unknown merit and uncertain issue do not bear fruits. O hero, many a time and oft ere this, thou hadst given me the self-same counsel. Who is capable of counselling thee who art the very preceptor of the gods? O thou of great intellect, even the celestials cannot measure thy mental acumen. Greatly benumbed is thy wisdom with the slumber of grief, and I am to rouse it. O thou the best of Ikshakus, do thou engage in the destruction of thy foes considering well thy celestial and human prowess. O thou best of men, what necessity hast thou to destroy the whole world? Do thou rescue Sita after finding out thy vicious enemy."

SECTION 67.

After Lakshmana had spoken these highly sound and pleasant words, Rama, ever taking to what is sound, accepted them. Thereupon that one, of mighty arms, slaking his flaming ire and reclining himself upon his beautiful bow, addressed Lakshmana, saying, "Do thou ponder over, O brother, where shall we repair, what shall we do and by what means shall we come by Sita?" Whereto Lakshmana replied saying unto the highly aggrieved Rama, "It is proper for thee to search this Janasthana filled with a multitude of Rakshasas and covered with diverse trees and creepers. Here are many strongholds in the midst of mountains, clefts of rocks, many caves and numerous cavities filled with various animals. Many are the abodes here belonging to the Kinnaras and Gandharbas. Do thou, along with me, search all these places. Great men, of thy calibre, do remain unagitated even in the midst of difficulties like unto mountains never shaken by the velocity of the wind." Hearing these words, Rama, enraged, fixing sharp and terrible arrows to his bow, began to range the forest with Lakshmana. Thereupon he beheld, fallen on ground, having his person bathed in blood, the king of birds—Yatayu, resembling a mountain peak, and spake unto Lakshmana, saying "It is clear and beyond all doubt that Vaidehi hath been devoured by this Rakshasa, assuming the shape of a vulture and ranging the forest. This Rakshasa hath been reposing at ease after devouring that one of expansive eyes; I shall kill him with terrible straight-coursing arrows, having flaming points." Fixing sharpened shafts to his bow, Rama, enraged, darted towards the vulture, as if moving the sea-girt earth. Vomitting frothy blood Yatayu, the king of vultures, spoke unto Rama, the son of Dacaratha, saying 'O thou of long life, that goddess, whom thou hast been searching in this vast forest like unto Oshadhi, and my life have been carried away by Ravana. I saw her, O Raghava, carried away stealthily by the powerful Ravana, in thy absence as well as that of Lakshmana. Myself Hearing Sita, for her rescue, O Lord, Ravana was thrown down On earth by me in conflict having his car and unbrella shattered. This is his snapped bow and these are his broken shafts. And this is his war-car, O Rama, shattered in fight. This is his charioteer lying On earth being killed by the velocity of my wings. Having sundered my wings with his dagger, who had been exhausted, Ravana taking Sita, rose high up in the welkin. It behoveth thee not to kill me who had been wounded before by the Rakshasa." Hearing from him pleasant words relating to Sita, Rama, leaving aside, instantly, his mighty bow, embraced him, and rolling on earth having lost self-control through grief, began to lament with Lakshmana. Though highly composed by nature, he was dverwhelmed with doubled grief. And beholding Yatayu, sigh again and again and breathing with difficulty in a helpless plight, Rama, highly aggrieved, spake unto Lakshmana saying, "I have lost my kingdom and have been living in this forest. My Sita hath been carried away and this bird hath been killed (on my account)—This misfortune of mine can burn even the very fire. If for assuaging my grief I do enter the mighty ocean, verily shall that misfortune dry up even that lord of rivers. There is none so unfortunate as I, throughout this earth, mobile or immobile, and it is for this bad luck that I have confronted this mighty disaster. This mighty king of vultures is our father's friend and he lieth on earth, killed through the evil turn of my fortune." Uttering these and various other words, Raghava, along with Lakshmana touched his body manifesting his paternal affection. Embracing the king of vultures, bathed in blood, having its wings cut off, Raghava, fell on the ground, exclaiming 'where hath Maithilee gone like unto my life?'

SECTION 68.

Beholding Yatayu fallen on the ground by the terrible Rakshasa, Rama spoke unto Lakshmana, having compassion for all, saying "Verily for my service this bird hath breathed its last, being killed by the Rakshasa. O Lakshmana, its voice hath been enfeebled, its vision weakened and its life, greatly exhausted, lieth in a very little proportion in its body. May good betide thee, O Yatayu; if thou art capable speaking again, do thou relate how Sita hath been carried away and thou hast been killed. Why hath Ravana taken away by stealth the worshipful Janaki? What offence did I commit by him that he hath carried away my dear one? O thou best of birds, how looked the moon-like, pleasant countenance of Sita at the time of her being carried away? What did she speak then? What is the prowess, appearance and action of that Rakshasa? Where doth he live, O reverend Sir? Pray tell me, I do ask thee." Beholding Rama, lament like one helpless, the virtuous-souled Yatayu spake in faltering accents—"Sita hath been carried away by Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, creating a mighty illusion producing wind and showers. O darling, myself being worn out that night-ranger, having sundered my wings, fled away with Sita to the southerly direction. O Raghava, my life is about to expire, my eye-sight hath grown of mistaken perception, I see trees before me made of gold having hair resembling Ushira [Andropogon muricatum—(Lat). The root of a fragrant grass. This alludes to a terrible vision which is generally seen by a person on the eve of death—a golden tree having hair.]. Ravana hath taken away Sita at a moment when a person regains soon his lost property. O Kakuthstha, this moment is called Vindya [This refers to Jatayu's astrological knowledge. Vindya is derived from the root Vid—-to gain. Thus this moment is favourable to the loser and unfavourable to the taker. Hence Ravana carrying away Sita at this moment shall meet with destruction.], which Ravana hath not been able to perceive. (At this moment) the person who taketh away (a thing) is soon destroyed like unto a fish devouring a hook. Do not therefore entertain the least doubt about thy coming by Janaki. Destroying him at the head of the battle thou shalt soon sport with Vaidehi." Thereupon flesh and gore began to come out of the mouth of Yatayu, the king of vultures, not loosing his sense even while treading the verge of death. Thereupon the king of birds gave up his dear life uttering only.—"Ravana is the son of Vishrava and brother to Vaishravana (the lord of wealth)." Rama again and again addressed him with joined palms saying, "Do thou speak! Do thou speak." And instantly Yatayu's vital spark rose up in the sky, leaving his bodily frame. Thereupon the king of vultures fell down on the earth by stretching forth his legs, body and head on the ground. Beholding the vulture dead, of huge proportions, resembling a hill and having red eyes, Rama, aggrieved, spoke piteously unto Saumitri, saying—"Living happily, for years, in this forest of Dandaka inhabited by the Rakshasas, Yatayu hath, at last, given up his life. He lived for a long time, of an uplifted person, and hath now laid low on the earth. None can withstand the course of destiny. Observe, Lakshmana, this vulture for my benefaction, hath been killed by the powerful Ravana in his attempt to rescue Sita. For me, hath this Lord of birds, breathed his last, renouncing his large ancestral kingdom. In every status of animal creation, the heroic, the righteous and the honest, affording refuge unto all, are to be found, even amongst the birds. I do not feel so much affliction, O hero, for Sita's ravishment as I do for this vulture, who hath been killed for me. Like unto the highly famous, effulgent king Dacaratha, this King of of birds is worthy of being adored and worshipped by me. O Saumitri, do thou bring fuels; I shall produce fire therewith and burn the dead body of this king of birds who hath been killed on my account. Placing on a funeral pile, I shall cremate, O Saumitri, the dead body of this king of birds who hath been destroyed by the grim-visaged Rakshasas. Being consecrated and commanded by me, do thou, O highly powerful king of birds, attain to that excellent state of existence, which is reached by persons ever performing pious observances, by Ahitagnis [A Brahman who has preserved a sacred fire kept alive perpetually in a family, etc.,—from ahita—placed, agni—fire.] by heroes who are not afraid of entering a battle-field and by persons who confer grants of land." Saying this the virtuous-souled Rama, afflicted with sorrow, burned the body of the king of birds, placing it on the funeral pile, like unto his own kinsman. Entering the forest with Saumitri, Rama gifted with prowess, killed plump high deer and stretched forth grass and twigs for offering oblation to that bird. Taking off the flesh of those high deer and clustering it, Rama, of great renown, offered it to the vultures in that pleasant forest-land, abounding in green grass. Thereupon for his speedy arrival at the abode of celestials, Rama recited those Mantras which are being uttered by the twice-born ones. Afterwards repairing to the river Gadaveri the two princes offered water unto that kingly vulture. And offering water unto him according to the prescribed rites of the Sastras, those two descendants of Raghu, after bathing, performed the Udaka [Presentation of water specially to the manes as a religious or obsequal rite.] ceremony for that king of vultures. Having been killed in battle for an arduous but glorious work, that king of vultures, consecrated by the ascetic-like Rama, attained to an excellent state. Having performed the Udaka ceremony for that best of birds and considering him in the light of a father they went away and entered the forest in quest of Sita like unto the two best of celestials—Visnu and Vasava.

SECTION 69.

Having offered him the gift of water, those two descendants of Raghu wended their way in that forest in quest of Sita and proceeded towards the south-west. Then turning to the south, with bow and arrows in hand, they reached a track not wended by the people. It was a ghastly, impenetrable forest, covered on all sides with groves, trees and creepers. Proceeding by the southerly direction, those two mighty ones, passed hastily by that terrible, dreary forest. Thereupon, the highly effulgent descendants of Raghu entered the dense forest of Krauncha, situated at a distance of six miles from Janasthana. It was a dense forest like unto a collection of clouds, as if smiling on all sides blooming with charming flowers of diverse hues and frequented by various animals and birds. Waiting for sometime here and there they, exercised with Sita's ravishment, explored the entire forest in quest of Vaidehi. Proceeding three Krosas towards the East and passing by the forest of Krauncha the two brothers descried on their way the asylum of Matanga. Having seen that dreary forest frequented by various animals and birds and covered with diverse trees and dense groves, the two sons of Dacaratha beheld a cave in the mountain, deep as the region under the earth and ever enveloped with darkness. Arriving there they espied hard by a grim visaged Rakshasi, having a formidable figure, ever causing fright unto persons of feeble courage, loathesome, terrible-looking, having a huge belly, sharpened teeth, a high person and rough skin, devouring voracious animals and looking fearful with dishevelled hair. Beholding there the two brothers, Rama and Lakshmana, she neared the heroes and saying, 'come, we shall sport' assailed Lakshmana who had been going before his brother. And embracing him she spake unto Saumitri the following words—"My name is Ayomukhee; it is a great gain to thee that thou hast become my beloved one, O my lord. Do thou sport with me, for ever, O hero, in these mountainous strongholds and on the banks of the rivers." Thereat, exercised with ire, Lakshmana, the subduer of foes, uplifting his dagger, chopped off her nose, ears and breast. Having her nose and ears cut off, that terrible-looking Rakshasi, emitting fearful cries, fled away whence she had come. On her departure, proceeding quickly, the two brothers, Rama and Lakshmana, the conquerors of foes, reached a dense forest. Thereupon the highly effulgent and truthful Lakshmana, possessing a pure character, spake, with folded hands, unto his brother of flaming energy—"My left arm is throbbing, my mind is filled with anxiety and I perceive before me many a bad omen. Do thou put on thy habiliments, O worshipful one, and act by what I say for thy well-being. Methinks from these bad omens some calamity shall soon befall us. O Rama, this terrible bird Banchulaka is emitting fearful cries as if announcing our victory in the conflict." Thereupon while they began to explore the entire forest with their prowess there arose a terrible sound as if breaking down the wood. The forest was enveloped on all

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sides with a mighty wind and everywhere was audible a roar filling the wood-land. With a view to ascertain whence the sound proceeded, Rama, with a dagger in hand, along with his younger brother, espied a Rakshasha of huge proportions, having big thighs. The two brothers beheld that Rakshasa stationed before them, having a huge body, devoid of head and neck and therefore a headless demon and having its mouth on its belly. Its body resembled a huge mountain and was covered with sharpened down; its look was terrible like unto sable cloud and its roar resembled the muttering where of. Its one terrible, expansive eye, seeing all, was on the forehead placed on its breast and shone forth like unto the flaming fire and it had huge yellow eye-lashes. Its mouth was greatly widened and covered with rows of huge teeth and it was again and again licking that terrible mouth. And stretching forth its two huge arms extending over a yojanait was devouring bears, lions and deer. It was catching and throwing with its huge hands many an animal, bird and bear. Hindering the way-fare it was awaiting those two brothers. And proceeding a Krosa, they espied that fearful, grim-visaged, headless demon, hindering all creatures with its arms, terrible-looking and appearing like a kavanda from its very situation. Thereupon that one, of huge arms, stretching them forth, got hold of those two descendants of Raghu crushing them with its strength. Those two highly powerful brothers, of mighty arms, with daggers and bows in their hands, were assailed and got hold of by that Rakshasha. Rama was heroic and patient by nature and consequently was not much afflicted; but Lakshmana was a mere boy and impatient by nature and was consequently greatly afflicted. Being greatly distressed, the younger brother of Raghava spake unto him, saying "Do thou behold me, O hero, brought under the hold of this Rakshasha, and re-nouncing me only, O Raghava, do thou get thyself off. And offering me as sacrifice, do thou escape at thy ease. Methinks for certain, O Kakuthstha, thou shalt soon come by Vaidehi and regain thy anscestral kingdom. But remember me always, O Rama, when thou shalt find thyself placed on the throne." Being thus addressed by Lakshmana, Rama spake unto Saumitri—"Fear not in vain, O hero; persons of thy prowess are never afflicted (with fear)." Meanwhile the wicked headless, demon, of huge arms, the foremost of Danaves, addressed the two brothers Rama and Lakshmana —"Who are ye two youthful figures having the neck of a bull and with mighty daggers and bows in your hands? Arriving in this fearful place ye have by chance come within the compass of my vision. Tell me now what have ye to do here, and what for have ye come? I have been waiting here being hungry, and ye have come here having daggers and bows with arrows in your hands like unto two oxen having sharpened horns. Nearing me quickly, it will be hard for ye to draw your vital breath." Hearing those words of the vicious-souled Kavandha, Rama having his countenance dried up, bespake Lakshmana—"O thou, having truth for thy prowess, again and again, greater and worse calamities have been threatening us. We have already met with a dire disaster leading to our death, consequent on my separation from my dear one. Mighty is the course of Destiny in all creatures, O Lakshmana. Do thou O best of men, behold even thyself and me stricken with calamity. But O Lakshmana it is not very difficult for destiny to afflict all creatures. Under the influence of destiny even the mighty heroes, well habited in armours are distressed like unto a bridge of sands." Addressing these words unto Saumitri, the resolute, powerful and highly famous son of Dacaratha, having truth for his prowess, composed himself by dint of his own understanding.

SECTION 70.

Beholding both the brothers, Rama and Lakshmana, clasping each other with their arms, the headless demon spake:—"O two best of Kshatryas, are ye waiting here beholding me hungry? O ye having lost your sense, ye have been chosen by Destiny as my food." Hearing those words Lakshmana, sore distressed and determined to display his valour, addressed Rama with words worthy of being said on that occasion. "This vile Rakshasa shall seize both of us; let us sunder soon its two huge arms with our daggers. This grim-visaged Rakshasa, of huge proportions, gifted only with the strength of arms, defeating all other persons, hath addressed itself at last to destroy us. It is odious for the Kshatryas to make away with those who cannot defend themselves like unto animals brought for sacrifice." Hearing their conversation, the Rakshasa, inflamed with rage, widening its terrible mouth, prepared to devour them up. Thereat Rama and Lakshmana, cognisant of time and place, pleased, sundered its arms off its shoulders with their daggers. Rama, stationed on the right side cut off in no time its right arm with his dagger and the heroic Lakshmana, the left one. Having got its arms dissevered, the terrible-voiced, Kavandha, of huge arms,roaring like unto the muttering of clouds and resounding the heaven, earth and all the quarters, fell flat on the ground. Beholding both its arms cut off, the demon, with its person bathed in blood, asked them poorly—" Who are ye?" Being thus accosted by Kavandha, the mighty Lakshmana, gifted with auspicious marks, spake unto it, about Kakuthstha. "He is a descendant of the Ikshwakus known on earth by the name of Rama, and know me as his younger brother, by name—Lakshmana. Being thwarted by mother (Kaikeyi) in his accession of kingdom, he, renouncing all, hath fled as an exile unto woods, and hath, along with me and his spouse, been ranging this forest. While living in the dense forest the wife of Rama, effulgent like unto the celestials hath been ravished by a Rakshasa. Searching her, have we come here. Who art thou? And what for art thou ranging this forest like unto a headless demon, having thy thighs broken and thy flaming face placed on thy breast?" Being thus addressed by Lakshmana with these goodly words, Kavandha, pleased, recollecting the words of Indra, bespake him,—"O two best of men, ye are welcome! By my good luck it is that I do behold you. By my good fortune ye have dissevered my shoulders to-day. Do ye hear. I shall relate truly unto you how have I, by my haughtiness, come by this unsightly shape."

SECTION 71.

O mighty armed Rama of great prowess, formerly my beauty, beyond conception, was known all over the three worlds, like unto the beauty of the Sun, the Moon and Indra. I used to frighten everywhere the ascetics living in the forest by turning this my beauty into a terrific form. Once on a time assuming this terrible shape I assailed and enraged the great ascetic Sthulashira collecting diverse wild fruits. Thereupon he imprecated curses upon me, saying "Do thou retain this ghastly shape hated of all mankind." Upon my praying unto that angry ascetic for my relief from that curse, he said—"Thou shalt regain thy stalwart and beautiful shape when thou shalt be burnt by Rama in a dense forest having got thy arms dissevered by him. O Lakshmana, know me to be the beautiful son of Danu. Through Indra's curse in the battle field I have been metamorphosed into my present shape. After I had pleased him with hard austerites, the Grand-Father of the celestials conferred on me a long life. And therefore I was inflamed with pride and assailed Indra in a conflict, thinking within me, 'I have gained a long life—what can Indra do me?' Thereupon by his thunderbolt, having hundred edges, hurled off his hands, my thighs were shattered and my head thrusted into my body. Myself praying for the close of my life, he did not despatch me to the abode of Yama. He only said "May the words of the Grand Sire prove true." Whereto I replied 'How shall I live long without any food, being smitten by thee having a thunderbot in thy hand, and having my head, thighs and mouth crushed down?' Thereat Indra made my hands extending over a Yajana and placed my mouth, having sharpened teeth, on my belly. Thenceforth, stretching out my long arms I used to devour all lions, tigers, wolves and deer ranging the forest. Indra said to me, Thou shalt attain to heaven when Rama, along with Lakshmana, shall cut off thy arms in a battle.' Acting under the conviction that Rama, resolved to destroy my person, shall surely come within the compass of my arms, I do always assail with relish, O worshipful one, O thou best of kings, every animal I meet with in this forest. Thou art that Rama. May good betide thee, O Raghava. Verily did the great ascetic speak unto me that none should be able to assail me but Rama. Being cremated by you, I shall counsel you best and tell you with whom you should contract friendship." Being thus addressed by Danu, the virtuous-souled Raghava spake before listening Lakshmana, "My renowned spouse Sita was easily ravished by Ravana after I had gone out of Janasthana along with my brother. I know that Rakshasa's name only—but do not know his whereabouts, his figure and his prowess. It behoveth thee to show proper compassion for us, who have been stricken with grief, who are helpless, have been ranging this forest in this way and are ever engaged in the well-being of others O, hero, we shall burn thee after collecting all the branches that have been broken down by the elephants and dried up in time, and digging a big trench. Do thou tell us who hath carried away Sita? And where? If dost thou know it truly do thou perform us this good service." Thereat the Rakshasa, skilled in speech, spake unto Raghava, addressing him thus—"I am not gifted with divine fore-sight and therefore do not know where Maithilee is. I shall let you know of him who shall be able to tell you all about her, after I resume my original shape, being burnt (by thee). I shall furthermore tell thee, O Rama, who knows that Rakshasa. Without being burnt I am incapable of being cognisant of that highly powerful Rakshasa who hath carried away thy Sita. By the influence of curse, I have lost my fore-sight and by my own improper actions I have been transformed into this ugly figure. Do thou cremate me according to the prescribed rites after throwing me into the ditch before the sun, with his worn out carriers descends into the western horizon. Being burnt by thee in the ditch, with due ceremonials, O descendant of Raghu, I shall mention, unto thee, one who knows that Rakshasa. O Raghava, O fleet-footed hero, do thou contract friendship with him gifted with good qualities and he shall assist thee. There is nothing unknown to him, O Raghava in the three worlds. Formerly for some reasons he had travelled all over them."

SECTION 72.

After Kavandha had spoken thus, the two best of men, Rama and Lakshmana took him to a mountain-cave and placed on fire. Lakshmana kindled the funeral pile, which was ablaze on all sides. Thereupon the fire began to burn down slowly the huge and corpulent body of Kavandha like unto a lump of clarified butter. Afterwards the highly powerful demon, shaking the funeral pile, rose up quickly like a smokeless flame of fire, wearing a clean cloth and a celestial garland. And the graceful demon, wearing an unsullied cloth and having all its limbs crested with diverse ornaments, rose from the pile high up in the welkin with a delighted heart. Thereupon mounting on a famed car, brilliant and drawn by swans and lighting up all the quarters with the effulgence of his person, that highly powerful one, stationing himself in the heaven, addressed Rama, saying:—"Do thou hear truly, O Raghava, of the means by which thou shalt come by Sita. There are six expedients, O Rama, by virtue of which kings acquire all objects. He, in whom misfortune hath culminated, should seek the company of one such. Thou hast, O Rama along with Lakshmana, met with the culmination of misfortune and for which thou hast been assailed with such a disaster as the ravishment of thy spouse. O thou best of my friends, it behoveth thee, therefore to make friends with such a person. Or else I do not find any means for thy success. Do thou hear, O Rama, what I relate. There liveth with four monkeys a heroic, self-controlled monkey by name Sugriva, on that best of mountains Rishyamuka, situated on the banks of the lake Pampa, being driven by his enraged brother Vali, the son of Indra. That mighty, powerful, effulgent lord of monkeys, of immeasurable prowess and truthful vows, humble, patient, intelligent, great, expert, bold, graceful and puissant, hath been banished by his brother, O hero, for kingdom. Surely he shall befriend and assist thee in thy search for Sita. Do thou not plunge thy soul in grief. O thou best of Ikshwakus, none can withstand destiny on this earth, truly unavoidable is it course. Do thou proceed soon, O hero, to Sugriva of mighty prowess, and repairing hence even to-day do thou contract friendship with him, taking vow in the presence of flaming fire that ye shall not envy each other. Despise not that kingly monkey Sugriva, because he is grateful, capable of assuming shapes at will, seeking protection and powerful. Ye too are able to accomplish his wished-for object. Benefitted by thee or not, he shall engage in thy service. He was begotten of the Sun unto the wife of Rikhyraja. He hath been roaming the bank of Pampa being in constant fear of Vali after creating enmity with him. Do thou make friends with that monkey ranging the wood and inhabiting the Rishyamuka mountain after placing thy weapon in the very presence of fire as a witness, because that best of monkeys knoweth minutely all the abodes of Rakshasas, living on human flesh. There is no place under the sun of many rays, O Raghava, O slayer of foes, unknown to him. Exploring, with all his monkeys, the rivers, huge mountains, strongholds and caves, he shall learn about thy spouse. He shall search that exquisitely fine damsel Maithili in Ravana's abode, bewailing on thy separation; and to find her out he shall despatch, O Raghava, many a monkey of huge proportions to various quarters. Whether on the summit of the mount Meru or in the region under the earth, that lord of monkeys, shall give thee back thy blameless spouse, killing all the Rakshasas."

SECTION 73.

Having pointed out unto Rama the expedient for finding out Sita the wise Kavandha began with the following significant words:—"This is the way, O Rama, leading to the mount Rishyamuka, where stand, beautifying the West, the Jambu [A fruit-tree, the rose apple, Lat. Eugenia Jambolana.], Priala [A tree commonly Piyal, Lat. Buchanania latifolia.], Panaca [The bread fruit or Jaka tree, Lat. Artocarpus integrifolia.], Nagrodha [The Indian fig-tree, Lat. Ficus Indica.], Plaksha [Waved leaf fig-tree, Lat. Ficus infectoria.], Tinduka [A sort of ebony, Lat. Diospyros gtutinosa.], Ashathya [A holy fig-tree, Lat. Ficus religiosa.], Karnikar [The name of a tree commonly Kaniyar—Lat. Pterospermum acerifolium.], Chuta [The mango—Lat. Mangifera Indica.], Naga [A small tree, Lat. Mesua ferrea.], Tilaka [A kind of tree commonly Tila.], Naktamal [A tree—Lat. Galedupaarborea Rex.], Neelashok [Blue Asoka, Lat. Jonesia Asock.], Cadamva [A plant commonly Kadamva, Lat. (Nauclea Kadamba.], Karavira [A fragrant plant—Lat. Oleander or Nerium Odorum.], Agnimukhya [The marking nut plant, Lat. Semecarpius anacardium.], Asoka, Raktachandan [Red Sandal wood.], Paribhadraka [The coral tree—Lat. Erythrina fulgens.], and many other trees. Ascending those trees or lowering them by force on earth, do thou proceed living on those fruits like unto ambrosia. Passing by this forest, O Kakuthstha, thou shalt reach another abounding in trees blooming with flowers like unto the garden of celestials and Uttarkuruwhere in all the months of the year the trees produce fruits and honey and where all the seasons dwell as in the forest of Chaitkraratha [The garden of the deity Kuvera.]. There stand beautifully many a tree lowered down with the burden of fruits, containing towering branches, dense as a

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collection of clouds or a mountain. Ascending those trees and lowering them, Lakshmana shall offer thee, fruits like unto ambrosia. O heroes, ranging from forest to forest, from high mountains to hillocks, ye shall get at the lake Pampa, void of gravels and acquatic plants and hence there is no danger of falling down to the people, having level watering-places, covered with sands and blooming with red and white lotuses. There emit forth musical notes, swans, frogs, cranes and ospreys sporting in the lake Pampa. They are not filled with terror in view of human beings, inexperienced as they are in the matter of destruction. O Raghava, do ye fare on those plump birds like unto a lump of clarified butter and diverse fishes such as Rohita [The Rohi fish, Lat. cyprinus Rohita Ham.], Chakratunda [A kind of fish resembling a wheel in appearance.],and Nala [A kind of sprat, may be, a shrimp or prawn.]. O Rama, the devoted Lakshmana, shall offer unto thee, various other best fishes, devoid of scale and fins, plump, filled with bones, having destroyed them with shafts and roasted them in fire. And after thou hadst feasted on them, Lakshmana shall bring thee water for drinking on a lotus leaf, smelling like a lotus, coming in contact with flowers, delicious, pleasantly cold, wholesome, void of impurities, transparent like silver and crystal. And while roaming in the evening he shall point out unto thee fat monkeys ranging in the wood and lying in the hollows of mountains. And thou too, O best of men, shalt behold those fat monkeys, who had drunk water, roaring like unto oxen appearing on the banks of a river to drink water. And rambling in the evening, thou shalt assuage thy grief beholding the pleasant water of Pampa and blossoming trees. There, O Raghava, the Tilakas and Naktamalakas, crested with flowers and full blown white and red lotuses shall mitigate thy sorrows. There liveth no person who wears garlands of those flowers. Garlands strung with those flowers never wither away, O Raghava, because the disciples of the great ascetic Matanga lived there with concentrated hearts. Drops of perspiration, falling on the earth from the persons of those ascetics worn out with the burden of the wild fruits collected by them for their spiritual guide, have been transformed by virtue of their asceticism unto these garlands. These garlands do never wither, O Raghava, because of their origination from those drops of perspiration. Even at the present day, O Kakuthstha, there liveth an immortal mendicant woman, by name Savari, who had waited in attendance upon those departed ones. Beholding thee, O Rama,who art adored of all creatures like unto the Deity Himself, that mendicant woman, ever engaged in pious observances, shall attain to the abode of celestials. O Rama, turning to the western bank of Pampa, thou shalt, O Kakuthshtha, behold the incomparable and secret asylum of Matanga. Fearing the divine authority of that great ascetic Matanga, the elephants, though there are many, dare not cross the threshold of his asylum. O Raghava, this forest is widely known as Matanga-wood. Thou shalt sport, O Rama, with a delighted heart in that forest resembling the celestial garden—Nandanaand filled with various birds. There stands in front of Pampa the highly inaccessible mount Rishyamuka, ornamented with many a blossoming tree and guarded on all sides by little serpents. That mount is highly munificient. It was created by Brahma in the days of yore. A person, sleeping on the summit of that hill and dreaming of an accession of wealth, really gets at it after the dream is over. A perpetrator of iniquitous deeds and engaged in impious observances ascending that hill, the Rakshasas seize upon him, asleep, and bruise him. Thou shalt hear the terrible roar of the young elephants ranging in the asylum of Matanga, situated on the banks of Pampa. Thou shalt furthermore observe many a quickly moving, infuriated elephant, resembling clouds in hue and with red temporal juice oozing out of their heads, roaming here and there sometimes separately and again in a band. Those mighty elephants, roaming the forest, return to their woody homes, drinking the pleasant, pure and sweet smelling water of Pampa. And do thou assuage thy grief, beholding there the bears, wolves and Rurus of a tender countenance like unto sapphire, who are harmless and never afraid of human beings. There is a huge cave, O Rama, in that mountain, covered on all sides with rocks and where it is very hard to enter. At the entrance of that cave lies a beautiful, wide lake of cool water, hedged on all sides with trees abounding in fruits. There liveth with other monkeys the virtuous-souled Sugriva, who sometimes resideth on the summit of the hill." Having thus addressed Rama and Lakshmana, Kavandha, highly powerful resembling the sun in effulgence and wearing garlands appeared beautiful on the sky. Thereupon Rama and Lakshmana, preparing to proceed spoke unto that great one stationed in the sky, saying, "Do thou go." Whereto Kavandha replied, saying "Do ye proceed to make good your end" and bidding them adieu, who were well pleased, departed. Regaining his pristine beauty and shining in grace and effulgence that Kavandha, who was on the sky, fixing his looks upon Rama, and pointing out unto him his way, said "Do thou make friends with (Sugriva)".

SECTION 74.

Thereupon Rama and Lakshmana, sons of a kingly father, passing along the way, pointed out by Kavandha, leading to the lake Pampa, proceeded towards the West. They wending their way desirous of seeing Sugriva, there came within the compass of their vision many trees, grown on the summits of the mountains, blossoming with flowers and abounding in fruits tasting sweet like unto honey. Passing the night on the summit of a hill those two descendants of Raghu arrived at the western bank of Pampa and espied the pleasant asylum of Savari. Getting at that charming hermitage covered on all sides with trees and casting their looks around they beheld that female mendicant— Savari. No sooner had that one of perfect asceticism beheld those highly intelligent Rama and Lakshmana than she rose up with folded hands and touching their feet offered them duly water for washing their feet and mouth. Thereupon Rama spake unto that female ascetic, engaged in religious services, saying, "O thou of sweet accents, hast thou got all hindrances to asceticism removed? Is thy asceticism growing stronger every day? O thou having asceticism for thy wealth, hast thou restricted thy anger and fare? Hast thou observed the commandments and attained to mental felicity? Hast thy attendance upon thy spiritual guide borne fruits?" Being thus accosted by Rama that old Savari, of accomplished asceticism and recognised by the Sidhas, approaching Rama spake:—"Favoured with thy presence my asceticism hath attained to its consummation. Blessed is my birth, fruitful is my service unto my spiritual guides and accomplished is my asceticism. O best of men, thou art the foremost of celestials; worshipping thee I attain to the abode of deities. O gentle one, slayer of foes, thou that dost confer honours on men, thyself casting thy auspicious looks upon me, consecrated I, by thy favour, shall attain to the imperishable land of celestials. On thy setting foot on the mount Chitrakuta, the ascetics whom I served, ascending celestial cars of incomparable lustre, departed to heaven. Those great ascetics, cognisant of virtue, said to me, "Rama shall come to thy holy asylum. Do thou receive with great reverence that guest together with Lakshmana. On beholding him, thou shalt attain to that best land of the celestials whence none returneth. O best of men, I was thus told, by those great ascetics, and for thee I have collected various wild fruits growing on the banks of Pampa." Being thus addressed by Savari, the virtuous-souled Raghava spake unto her conversant with the knowledge of past and future, saying, "I have heard from Danu, in truth, about thy divine authority as well as that of thy spiritual guides. If thou purposest so I wish to witness it with my own eyes." Hearing these accents dropping from Rama's lips, Savari showing unto them the vast forest said, "Do thou behold, O Raghava, this forest, crowded with deer and birds resembling a dense cloud. This forest is known as Matanga's wood. Here in this forest the pure-souled preceptors sacrificed unto fire their persons consecrated by the Mantras as Mantra itself. This is that altar Pratyaksthali, ascending which my worshipful preceptors used to offer flowers unto the deities with hands trembling with toil. Behold, O best of Raghus, this altar of incomparable beauty, by virtue of their asceticism, hath been still shedding its lustre on all the sides. Behold, again, the seven seas have appeared here in conjunction, at their very thought, worn out with fasts and therefore incapable of moving on. Even those barks, which they used to place on these trees after ablution have not yet been dried up. These flowers, of blue colour which they offered unto the deities, being engaged in divine services, have not yet been withered away. Thou hast observed this entire forest and heard every thing worth hearing. I purpose now to renounce my body being commanded by thee. I wish to approach those pure-souled ascetics, whom I used to wait upon, and whom these asylums belong to. Hearing with Lakshmana the speech of that pious one, Rama gained an excess of joy and exclaiming, "Wonderful it is!" again spake unto Savariof keen austerities,—"O gentle one, I have been worshipped by thee. Do thou repair at thy ease and pleasure." Being thus addressed and ordered by Rama, Savari, wearing matted locks, rags and the skin of an antelope, surrendered herself unto fire and rose high up in the welkin like onto blazing fire. Adorned with celestial ornaments, wreathed with celestial garlands, sprinkled with sandal-paste and wearing celestial cloth she appeared of exquisite grace and lighted up the quarters like unto lightning. By virtue of her devout meditation, Savari repaired to that holy region when dwelt her spiritual preceptors—the pure-hearted ascetics.

SECTION 75.

After Savari had repaired unto heaven by virtue of her divine prowess, Rama with his brother Lakshmana began to ponder over the pious influence of those great ascetics. Thinking within himself about the divine authority of those great ones, the virtuous-souled Rama spake unto Lakshmana, devoted and ever engaged in his well-being.—"Beheld have I, O gentle one, the wondrous asylum of the pure-souled ascetics filled with diverse birds and tigers rambling friendly with antelopes. O Lakshmana, we have performed ablutions in the sacred waters of these seven seas and offered oblations unto our manes. Our misfortunes have ended and prosperity hath appeared and my mind is now filled with ecstacy of delight. Me-thinks, best of men, auspiciousness shall soon appear unto us; do thou come, therefore, we shall proceed towards the picturesque lake Pampa. Yon appeareth in view, at no distance, the mount Rishyamuka. Here dwells with four monkeys, the virtuous-souled Sugriva— Suryya's son, in constant fear of Vali. I am in a hurry to behold Sugriva the best of monkeys, for my business—Sita's quest—is entirely at his hands." Unto the heroic Rama, speaking thus, Saumitri said.—"Let us depart soon, I am in haste too." Issuing out of Matanga's asylum, the mighty Rama, lord of men, repaired with Lakshmana to the lake Pampa. Exercised with grief, he arrived at the bank of that best of lakes, beholding (as he passed along), vaious trees and pools, the mighty forest covered on all sides with huge trees and flowers and resounding with the noise of lapwings, peacocks, woodpeckers and various other birds and rattling of the bamboos. Beholding, from distance, Pampa of sweet, cool and pure water, Rama performed ablution at the Matanga Sara (a portion of Pampa) and paced slowly towards the lake. Thereupon Dacaratha's son, stricken with grief, bathed in Pampa, covered with lotuses. It was adorned on all sides with Tilakas, Asokas, Punagas, Uddalas and Vakulas. It was a lake girt on all sides with pictueresque gardens, having its waters undulating beautifully and transparent like unto crystal, and covered all around with soft sands. It was filled with fish and tortoise, adorned with trees on its banks, encircled with creepers embracing her like companions and frequented by Gandharbas, Kinnaras, serpents, Yakshas and Rashasas. It was covered with trees and creepers of various kind, of cool water, and enveloped with beauty. It was, somewhere, of red hue, in contact with water lillies, somewhere white with Kumudas, somewhere blue with blue lotuses like unto a blanket of diverse hues. It was filled with white and red lotuses and encircled with blossoming mangoe groves and resounding with the music of the peacocks. Beholding Pampa, ornamented like a damsel with Tilakas, Bijapuras [Common citron, Lat. Citrus-medica.], fig-trees, Sukladrumas [Lat. Symplaces racemesa.], flowery Karavis, blossoming Punnagas, groves of Malati [Great-flowered Jasmine—Lat. Jasminum Grandiflorum.] and Kunda [A kind of Jasmine:—Lat. Jasminum Multifiorum.], Vandhiras [Lat. Memisa Sirisha.], Nichulas [Lat. Barringtonia Acutangula.], Asokas, Saptaparuas [Lat. Abstenia Scholaris.], Ketakas [Pandanus Odoratissumus).], Atimuktas [Lat. Gaertnera Racemosa.], and various others trees, Rama the mighty son of Dacaratha began to lament with Lakshmana. "There stands on its bank the mount Rishyamuka, abounding in various metals and covered with trees of varieagated flowers as mentioned before (by Kavandha). There dwelleth the famous lord of monkeys, Sugriva, the heroic son of the great Rikshyaraja. O best of men, do thou approach the chief of monkeys." Rama, having truth for his prowess, again spake unto Lakshmana, saying, "O Lakshmana, how shall I live without Sita, who have been deprived of my kingdom, who am poorly and have Sita for my life?" Having said this unto Lakshmana, who had nothing else in view, that best of Raghus, racked with sorrow and grief and oppressed by Cupid, entered the lake Pampa graced with lotuses. Proceeding slowly, observing the forest, Rama beheld and entered with Lakshmana Pampa, girt on all sides with beautiful woods and filled with a multitude of diverse birds.

END OF THE ARANYAKANDAM

KISHKINDHA KANDAM.

SECTION 1.

Repairing with Lakshmana to the lake Pampa filled with red and white lotuses and fish Rama having his senses agitated began to lament. And beholding there that lake his senses were stirred with delight. Troubled with passion he spake unto Saumitri saying,—"Behold, O Saumitri, how beautifully appeareth Pampa of transparent water like unto Baidurja, graced with full-blown red and white lotuses and various trees. Observe again, O son of Sumitra, the picturesque wood-land around the lake, where trees, crowned with large branches resembling the summits of a mountain, appear like so many hills. Mental agony arising from Sita's ravishment and Bharata's grief, have been grinding me who am already stricken with sorrrow. Verily conduceth to my felicity the pleasant lake Pampa of cool water, scattered with various flowers, covered with lotuses, highly graceful, girt with variegated woods abounding in voracious animals and frequented by deer and birds. This green common, chequered with yellow and blue, appeareth of enhanced beauty by the various flowers of the trees as if covered with a blanket of diverse hues. The tops of the trees rich with flowery bunches are gnarled with creepers of blossoming tips. Now hath appeared, O Saumitri, the fragrant spring of pleasant breezes, when greatly prevaileth the influence of Cupid and the trees are graced with fruits and flowers. Behold, O Saumitri, the beauty of the woods, showering flowers like unto clouds pouring forth rain. Various trees growing on rocky surfaces,

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moved by the wind have been scattering flowers on the earth. Behold, O Saumitri, the wind is sporting as it were with flowers dropt, dropping and hanging on the trees. The bees, driven off and singing, pursue the wind, moving the flowery branches of the trees. While issuing out of the mountainous hollows the wind is singing as it were and making the trees dance with the musical notes of the delighted cuckoos. The wind, making the tops of the trees collide with each other, is as it were stringing them together. The sandal-cool wind, of pleasant touch, ever removing the exhaustion of toil, is blowing everywhere carrying with it pure fragrance. The trees in this nectar-smelling forest are sounding as it were with the hum of bees. Hillocks overtopped with picturesque and flowery trees stand beautifully on this mountainous expanse. Trees with flowery tops, tossed by the airy currents and crested with the bees, are as if dancing in accompaniment with melodious strains. Behold, the Karnikaras covered with flowers appear on all sides like unto human beings decorated with golden ornaments and wearing yellow cloths. This spring, O Saumitri, sounded by the musical notes of the birds hath been kindling my grief who am without Sita. Cupid hath been smiting me the more who am stricken with grief, and the cuckoos have been defying me, displaying their mirth, O Lakshmana. At the pleasant fountains the delighted Datyuahas with their warblings have been afflicting me who am possessed by Cupid. Formerly my dear one, while in the asylum, delighted with the music of these birds, used to attain to a greater joy addressing me to hear them. Behold, birds of variegated hues, emitting forth diverse notes have been alighting upon the trees, groves and creepers from various quarters. O Saumitri, birds and bees of melodious notes accompanied by their co-mates and delighted with their mutual companionship are on the banks of this lake. There live happily flocks of delighted vultures. The trees sounded by the lascivious murmurs of Datyuhasand Punskokilas have been kindling my amour. The fire of spring having clusters of Asokas as its embers, the hum of bees as its sound, the redness of the twigs as its flame, hath been burning me. O Saumitri, of what avail is this life unto me, not beholding Sita of sweet accents, having eyes with their eye-lashes, and a head of curly hair. O blameless one, this season, when the groves become charming and the border-lands resound with melodious strains of the cuckoos, is the most beloved of my dear one. Methinks, this fire of distress, originating from amorous trouble and enhanced by the influence of spring, shall soon burn me down. My amorous feelings shall attain to an intense height, as I do not behold Sita before, whereas see the beautiful trees around. Sita, away from my vision and the spring, drying up perspiration, have been both inciting my amour. That one having the eyes of a fawn and ruthless vernal breeze, O Saumitri, have been oppressing me who am overpowered with anxiety and grief. These peacocks and pea-hens unfurling their wings like unto crystal lattices, have been dancing hither and thither. These maddened peacocks encircled by the pea-hens, have been aggravating my amorous desire who am already possessed by the Cupid. Observe, O Lakshmana, there danceth with her dancing mate on the mountainous expanse, the pea-hen, troubled with amorous sentiments. The peacock unfolding his charming wings is moving after his dear mate mocking me as it were with his cry. Surely the Rakshasa hath not brought my dear one in this forest of peacocks and therefore they dance with their mates in this picturesque forest land. It is unbearable for me to live without Sita in this season of flowers. Behold, O Lakshmana, this attachment is to be seen even amongst the brutes. The pea-hen being influenced by passion is approaching her mate. Sita of expansive eyes would have thus neared me being influenced by amour had she not been carried away. In this season of spring flowers of this forest are of no avail to me. These pleasant flowers of the trees have been uselessly falling on the earth with the bees. The birds exciting my desire have been delightedly warbling in flocks as if welcoming each other. Surely Sita, under the influence of another person, is lamenting in the same strain, as I do, if spring hath appeared there. Even if spring hath not appeared there how can Sita having eyes resembling full-blown lotuses live in my separation? If spring is there, what can it do her having a beautiful hip and loins, who hath already been overpowered by a mighty enemy? Surely shall my dear wife of a slender make, having eyes like lotus-petals and of sweet accents renounce her life at the appearance of this spring? Methinks, for certain, the chaste Sita shall not be able to maintain her being at my separation. Vaidehi's attachment is entirely centred in me and mine in her. This cool breeze of a pleasant touch, carrying the fragrance of flowers appears like a fire-brand unto me who am thinking of my spouse. That breeze appeareth painful unto me in Sita's absence which, ere this, had been regarded by me as a source of pleasure in her company. This bird set up a cry in the sky at that time* and now sitting on the tree is crying delightedly. [* This refers to the time when Rama was united with Sita i. e. at the time of his wedding, At that time the bird, flying up in the sky set up an inauspicious cry indicating that in no distant time he should be separated from her; and now his sitting on the tree and cawing delightedly indicated that he should soon be re-united with her.] This bird flying up in the sky brought about Sita's ravishment and this bird shall take me to her having expansive eyes. Hear, O Lakshmana, the maddening notes of those birds sitting on the tops of the flowery trees and setting up their melody. The Vramaras are approaching the Tilakas tossed by the wind like unto intoxicated damsels. This Asoka, enhancing the desires of the amorous, stands here, as if remonstrating with me by its clusters shaken by the wind. There appear, O Lakshmana, those blossoming mangoe trees like unto persons, exercised with passion and smeared with unguents of sandal. Behold, O Saumitri, O foremost of men, the kinnaras are ranging at large in this varieagated forestland on the banks of Pampa. Here the fragrant red lotuses are shedding forth their splendour like unto the newly risen sun. Here appeareth beautifully the lake Pampa of transparent water, filled with blue and fragrant lotuses, swans and Karandhabas and abounding in red lotuses like unto the virgin rays of the sun and having their filaments crushed by the bees. And the beautiful woods around the lake have been manifesting their beauty, filled with chakrabakas and the herds of elephants and deer desirous of drinking water. Behold, Lakshmana, the picturesque view of the lotuses oscillated by the ripples driven to and fro by the wind. I do not delight in my life, not beholding Sita, having expansive eyes like unto lotus-petals and ever fond of lotuses. O how wily is the course of Kama who hath been presenting unto my mind that auspicious one, hard to attain and of sweet-accents! Had I not been overpowered by this season of spring with blossoming trees, I would have been able to put up with the present amorous infliction. The objects which appeared beautiful unto me while in the company of Sita, now seem shorn of all grace in her separation. My eyes pant for beholding those lotus-petals, O Lakshmana, because of their resemblance with Sita's eyes. Issuing out of the trees and touching the filaments, the pleasant wind is blowing like unto Sita's breath. Behold O Lakshmana, the flowery branches of the Karnikaras on the summits of the mountain situated on the southern bank of Pampa. This prince of mountains, beautified with various metals, hath been throwing up dusts of diverse colours driven by the wind. O Saumitri, these mountainous expanses are burning in beauty with blossoming and beautiful Kinsukas void of leaves. These fragrant Malatis, Mallikas, Karavis and lotuses, growing on the banks of Pampa, and fostered by Pampa's water, and Ketakis, Sindhubaras, Basantis, Matulingas, Purnas, Kunda groves, Chiribilyas, Madukas, Banjulas, Vakulas, Champakas, Tilakas, Nagas, Padmyakas, blue Asokas, Ankolas, Kurantas, Churnakas, Paribhadrakas, and yellow Lodhras on the hills like unto manes of a lion, are in flowers. There appear beautifully on the hills, blossoming Chutas, Patalas, Kobidaras, Muchukundas, Arjunas, Ketakas, Uddalakas, Sirisas, Singsapas, Dhabas, Salmalis, Kingsukas, Raktas, Kuravas, Tinisas, Naktamalas, sandal trees, Syandanas, Hintalas, Tilakas and Nagas. Behold, O Saumitri, many a beautiful and blossoming tree growing on the banks of Pampa and gnarled by creepers having flowery tips. Like unto inebriate damsels, these creepers are embracing the trees, hard by, having their branches tossed by the wind. The breeze, delighted with various tastes is passing from tree to tree, mountain to mountain and forest to forest. Some fragrant trees, covered with flowers and some with buds, appear beautifully green. Saying, 'this is sweet', 'this is pleasant' and 'this is full-blown,' the attached bees are falling to the trees. And rising again they are approaching the other trees growing on the banks of Pampa. This forestland, strewn with flowers dropping spontaneously from the trees like unto a bed sheet, hath become pleasant. O Saumitri, the mountainous levels variegated with flowers, are appearing like unto beds. Behold O Saumitri, the origination of flowers in the trees at the expiry of the winter. The trees as if vieing with each other, have blossomed in this season of flowers. The trees, O Lakshmana, with bees humming around and with flowery branches are as if welcoming each other. This swan, hath been sporting with its mate in the lucid water of Pampa exciting my amour. Truly does this lake like unto Mandakini itself, deserve the accomplishments that are known all over the world. O best of Raghus, I do not desire Ayodhya or the dignity of Indra if that chaste Sita, be found here and if I can live with her. I shall renounce all desires and thoughts if I can sport with her in this picturesque and green forest-land. These trees, clothed in diverse flowery attires, have been exciting my thought in this forest, who have been deprived of my dear one. O Saumitri, behold this Pampa of cool water, enveloped on all sides with lotuses, and frequented by Chakrabakas, Karandavas, Chraunchas, Plabas and high deer. Its beauty hath been further enhanced by the birds caroling. Diverse delighted birds have been exciting my passion, reminding me of my dear spouse, of blameless countenance, having a moonlike face and eyes resembling lotus-petals. Behold on the yonder mountainous expanse of various colours, stags sporting with hinds and myself on the other hand forsaken by Vaidehi having eyes resembling those of an antelope. These deer ranging hither and thither have been distressing my soul. It is then only that I shall attain to mental quietitude if I can behold Sita on this charming mountainous expanse filled with birds and deer. It is then that I shall draw my vital breath, O Saumitri, if Vaidehi, of slender waist, with me, enjoyeth the fine breeze of Pampa dispersing the fragrance of lotuses and Saugandhikas and ever assuaging grief. Blessed are they, O Lakshraana who enjoy this wild breeze of Pampa. How hath that exquisitely fine daughter of Janaka, my beloved spouse, having eyes resembling lotus-petals, brought under the control of another person, been living forsaken by me? What shall I speak unto that virtuous, truthful king Janaka when he shall interrogate me about Sita's welfare in an assembly? Where is that Sita now who followed me in the track of virtue, who am unfortunate and have been exiled unto woods by my Sire? How shall I keep up (my being) being poorly, O Lakshmana, being forsaken by that Sita who followed me, deprived of kingdom and sense? My heart is sinking not beholding her fine spotless countenance, having eyes resembling lotuses and smelling sweet. When shall I hear again O Lakshmana, the sweet incomparable and auspicious accents of Vaidehi, intervened by smiles and couched in an elegant and easy style? That chaste and exquisitely fine damsel even when afflicted in the woods used to welcome me under the influence of Cupid as if she were delighted and had her sorrows removed. O son of a king, what shall I speak unto Kaucalya in Ayodhya when she will ask mc of her high-souled daughter-in-law's welfare and whereabouts? Do thou proceed, O Lakshmana, and join Bharata gifted with fraternal affection. I am incapable of living any more without that daughter of Janaka." Thereupon Lakshmana addressed unto the high-souled Rama who was thus bewailing like one helpless with the following pregnant and immutable words. "Forsake thy grief, O Rama. May good betide thee. Do not grieve O best of men. Even the sinless persons lose their seuse when they are afflicted with grief. Remembering the grief consequent on separation do thou forsake thy attachment unto thy dear one. Out of an excess of oil even the wick burneth itself. O worshipful one, even if he hideth himself in the region under the earth or in a darker quarter, Ravana shall not be able to draw his breath. Do thou procure information about that vicious-souled Rakshasa; either he shall give up Sita or meet with destruction. Unless he gives back Sita, forsooth I shall kill him even if he enters with her into Diti's womb. Do thou, console thyself and renounce thy poorliness of mind, O worshipful one. Without sufficient endeavours even men of energy do not regain their lost ends. O worshipful one mighty is the course of energy. And than this there is no greater power on earth. And there is nothing unattainable in this world to one gifted with energy. Persons endowed with zeal do never wear away in their actions. And resorting to this energy only that we shall regain Janaki. Do thou not percieve that thou art high-souled and highly educated? And leaving behind grief do thou forsake thy amorous madness." Being thus accosted by Lakshmana, Rama having his mind stricken with sorrow, attained to mental quietitude renouncing grief and dolour. Thereupon Rama, of unimaginable prowess, passed slowly by the pleasant and charming Pampa with banks girt with trees shaken by the wind.

Thereupon the high-souled Rama, stricken with grief passed along beholding the forest-land, fountains, caves and revolving aside (the pregnant words of Lakshmana). And the high-souled Lakshmana, of unagitated mind, intent upon Rama's welfare and wending like unto an infuriated elephant, cheered him up by means of moral and heroic counsels. Beholding their countenances passing strange, that mighty chief, of monkeys, while ranging near the mount Rishyamuka, became highly terrified and motionless. Observing them range there, that high-souled monkey, wending slowly like unto an elephant and stricken with fear and grief, became exceedingly sorry. Espying the highly powerful Rama and Lakshmana there, monkeys, terrified, entered into that holy and pleasant asylum, a worthy refuge and having its inside always frequented by them.

SECTION 2.

Beholding those two high-souled brothers Rama and Lakshmana, heroic and with great scimitars in their hands, Sugriva became terrified. That best of monkeys, of a disturbed mind, cast his looks around and could not stand (patiently) at any place. Beholding those two of great prowess he could not make up his mind to remain there and the heart of that terrified monkey, sank. Pondering over what is more and what is less important the virtuous-souled Sugriva became highly anxious along with that monkey-herd. Beholding Rama and Lakshmana, Sugriva, the king of monkeys, greatly exercised with anxiety spake unto his counsellors, saying—"Forsooth, these two heroes, in false guises and wearing bark, despatched by Vali, have come here traversing the forest stronghold." Beholding these two mighty archers the counsellors of Sugriva, quitting that mountainous expanse proceeded to another best of hills. Thereupon proceeding quickly the commanders of various monkey herds stood encircling the king of monkeys and the chief of leaders. The

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monkeys thus sharing in the misery and happiness (of their chief) proceeded jumping from hill to hill shaking the summits thereof, with the velocity (of their persons). Thereupon those mighty monkeys, jumping, broke down the flowery trees of that stronghold. Those best of monkeys, springing all around that mighty hill, proceeded terrifying the deer, the wild cats and the tigers. Stationed on that best of mountains the ministers of Sugriva, coming in the front of that monkey-chief, stood with clapped palms. Thereupon Hanuman, skilled in speech, spake unto Sugriva, terrified and afraid of Vali's wicked wiles, saying:—"Let all the monkeys renounce Vali's fear; in this best of mountains, Malaya—there is no fear of him. I do not behold, O best of monkeys, that wicked Vali of terrible looks, afraid of whom thou hast fled away and for whom thou art anxious. I do not observe here, O gentle one, the wicked-souled Vali, thy elder brother of impious actions and whom thou dost fear and I do not percieve any terror proceeding from him. O monkey-chief, truly manifest is thy monkey-hood and it is through thy light-heartedness that thou art incapable of fixing thy soul. Gifted with intellect and knowledge do thou perform all by means of gestures. A king void of sense cannot govern all creatures." Hearing those pregnant words of Hanuman,Sugriva said in better accents—"Who is not terified beholding those two mighty armed heroes, having expansive eyes, with bows, arrow, and daggers in their hands like unto two sons of a celestial? Methinks these two best of men have been despatched by Vali. Kings have many friends. And it is not proper for me to place confidence in them. People should know that enemies, always treacherous by nature, range under false guises. And those foes, availing of their credulity, bring about their destruction whenever opportunity presents itself. Vali is eminently expert in despatching business. Monarchs, cognisant of many a wily expedient, bring about others' destruction. It is proper to discern them by means of disguised spies. O monkey, do thou proceed under a false guise and come by their intentions, examining them aright by their countenances, gestures and words. Do thou ascertain their intention. If dost thou find them delighted, secure their confidence in my favour, by eulogizing me again and again and giving out unto them my views. O best of monkeys,do thou ask them why they have entered this forest, if thou dost perceive that these two archers are pure-souled. Do thou determine the fairness and unfairness of their purpose by means of their gestures and conversation." Being commanded by that chief of monkeys, the son of Maruta purposed to approach Rama and Lakshmana. Assenting to the words of the terrified and unconquerable Sugriva and saying 'Be it so,' Hanuman, the high-souled monkey proceeded where the heroic Rama was with Lakshmana.

SECTION 3.

Understanding the words of the high-souled Sugriva, Hanuman, proceeded, springing, from the mount Rishyamuka, towards the descendants of Raghu. Thereupon renouncing his monkey shape, the son of Maruta, not confidihg in them, assumed the semblance of a mendicant. Approaching them humbly, Hanuman paid obeisance unto them. And he eulogized them truly in words, sweet and pleasant. Greeting duly those two heroes, having truth for their prowess, that best of monkeys addressed them in sweet accents in consonance with Sugriva's instructions. "Ye are ascetics of celebrated austerities, resembling the Rajarshis and celestials and best of Brahmacharis, why have ye come here causing fear unto these deer and other wild animals of the forest? Surveying around the trees grown on the banks of Pampa, ye have enhanced the beauty of this lake of auspicious water. Who are ye two youthful figures of mighty arms, wearing bark, patient, sighing and troubling these wild animals? Heroic, of leonine looks, gifted with mighty strength and prowess, slayers of foes, and holding a bow like unto that of Sakra; graceful, of a pleasant countenance, of prowess like unto a mighty bull, having hands resembling the trunks of elephants, effulgent, great among men, youthful, beautifying this chief of mountains with the effulgence of your persons, worthy of having kingdoms, and like unto celestials, why have ye come here? Having eyes resembling lotus-petals, heroic, wearing matted locks, resembling each other, have ye come here from the celestial region? Verily the Sun and the Moon have come down to the earth of their own accord. Of spacious breast, heroic, having leonine shoulders, gifted with high energy, stout like unto plump bulls and human albeit looking like celestials, why are not your long, round arms, resembling Paridhas and deserving all ornaments adorned? Methinks ye two are perfectly able to protect this entire earth, filled with forests and oceans, and intersected by the mountains Vindhya and Meru. These thy painted and smooth bows appear like unto the thunder-bolts of Indra adorned with gold. And these beautiful quivers are filled to the brim with sharpened and deadly shafts like unto flaming fire and serpents. And these two daggers, of mighty proportions, furnished with burning gold, appear like unto serpents, let loose. Why do ye not answer me accosting you thus? A certain heroic and virtuous monkey-chief, by name Sugriva, hath been journeying on this earth, distressed at heart, being driven away by his brother. I have come here being despatched by that high-souled Sugriva—my name is Hanuman, the foremost of monkeys. That virtuous-souled Sugriva desires to make friends with you. And know me to be his counsellor—a monkey, the son of Pavana, ranging every where at my will, coming here, under the guise of a mendicant, from the mount Rishymuka, for the welfare of Sugriva." Having addressed thus those two heroes—Rama and Lakshmana, Hanuman, conversant with words and skilled in speech, did not speak again. Hearing those words, the effulgent Rama, with a delighted countenance, spake unto his younger brother, Lakshmana—sitting by him. "He is the counsellor of the high-souled Sugriva, the lord of monkeys and hath approached me, soliciting my friendship in his (Sugriva's) favour. Do thou welcome, with pleasant words, O Saumitri, this monkey—Sugriva's minister, the subduer of foes, affectionate and skilled in speech. None can speak thus who hath not mastered the Rig-veda, borne well the Yajur-vedaand acquainted himself thoroughly with the Shyam-veda. Forsooth he hath studied well all the Grammars, for he hath not used a single inelegant word though he hath addressed me with a number of them. And no defect was perceived on his countenance, eyes, forehead, brows or on any of his limbs. His words,—few, beyond all suspicion, pleasant, and uttered in a mild tone,—came out readily of his throat and breast. He has uttered accents, wonderful, ready, accomplished, auspicious and captivating. Whose heart is not moved by these wonderful words, proceeding from heart, throat and brain)? Even an enemy, who hath his sword uplifted, (is moved). O sinless one, how doth that monarch accomplish his objects who hath not got such a messenger? Indeed whose emissaries are so accomplished, all his missions are fulfilled only by virtue of their words." Thus addressed, Saumitri, skilled in speech, welcomed that monkey—Sugriva's counsellor and son of Pavana. 'O learned one! We knew well the accomplishments of the high-souled Sugriva. We shall find out that king of monkey herds. O Hanuman, O best of monkeys, we shall go by whatever thou shalt say, under the instructions of Sugriva." Hearing these skillful words, that son of Pavana, delighted, revolving within him the means for Sugriva's conquest, purposed to bring about a friendly union between them.

SECTION 4.

Hearing those words (of Rama) and learning his amicable feeling (in relation to Sugriva} as also, seeing that Rama was willing to assist Sugriva. Hanuman, getting exceedingly delighted, remembered Sugriva. "Since this one of successful acts hath been come by and also this business is in hand, the high-souled Sugriva will most probably obtain the monarchy." Then transported with joy, that foremost of monkeys, Hanuman, in these words, replied unto Rama, deft in speech, saying, "Why is it, that accompanied with thy younger brother, hast thou come to this dense and trackless forest, garnished with the wood-lands of Pampa, and rilled with various kinds of ferocious beasts?" Hearing those words of his, Lakshmana, directed by Rama, informed (Hanunan) of all about Rama, the son of Dacaratha. "There was a king named Dacaratha. Possessed of effulgence, and attached unto righteousness, he, in consonance with his proper duties, for aye, governed the four orders. He hath no hater; nor doth he hate any one. And in relation to all creatures he was like another great-father. And he celebrated Agnishtomaand other sacrifices with presents (to Brahmanas). This one is his eldest son, named Rama, famous among men. He is the refuge of all creatures, and competent to carry out the injunctions of his father. The eldest son of Dacaratha, he is foremost of all his sons in merit. He bears marks of royalty, and hath the prosperity of a kingdom. Deprived of his kingdom, in company with myself, he hath come hither with the view of dwelling in this wood. And, O highly exalted one, this one of subdued senses is followed by his wife Sita even as at the decline of day the exceedingly effulgent Sun is followed by (his spouse) Splendour. I am the younger brother of this one endeued with gratitude and of various lore. Subdued by his virtues, I, Lakshmana by name, have dedicated myself to his service. Worthy of happiness, homage, and intent upon the welfare of all beings, deprived of wealth and living in the forest, he hath his wife carried off by a Rakshasa, wearing shapes at will. Nor have we yet (been able) to ascertain who is that Rakshasa that hath carried off his wife. A son of Diti named Danu, had, by virtue of an imprecation, undergone Rakshasa-hood. He it is who had related unto us all about the capable Sugriva.— "That exceedingly puissant one shall have a knowledge of the ravisher of thy wife." Having said this, Danu beaming (with a halo) went to heaven. Thus have I related unto thee all as it fell out. Both Rama and myself have saught the shelter of Sugriva. Having given away profuse wealth and attained high fame, this one who formerly was the lord of the worlds, now wishes to make Sugriva his master. That one attached unto virtue, that refuge (of all)—the son of that shelter (of all beings) hath come under the protection of Sugriva. That spiritual guide, who ere now was worthy of being the shelter (of all) and who (actually) was the refuge (of all creatures)—Raghava, hath saught the shelter of Sugriva. That Rama in whose happiness and favour the subjects found their felicity, seeketh the good graces of Sugriva. Famed over the three worlds, the eldest son of that monarch who had always and for aye honoured all the kings of the earth crowned with every virtue,—viz. Rama, hath sought the protection of Sugriva, lord of monkeys. On Rama being overwhelmed with sorrow, tried by grief, and having come under his refuge, it behoveth Sugriva along with the leaders of bands to show favour unto Rama." When Sumatra's son shedding tears had spoken thus, that one skilled in speech, Hanuman, answered in these words, 'Persons of such a stamp, endeued with understanding, of controlled anger and subdued senses, should be seen by the master of monkeys; and such come within one's ken through blessed luck. He also hath been driven out of his kingdom, and hath incurred the hostility of Vali. And his wife torn away from him, he dwelleth in this wood, in fear, having been exceedingly harassed by his brother. That son of the Sun, Sugriva, along with us, will help thee in seeking out Sita. Having said these sweet and hurried words, Hanuman said unto Raghava, 'I will (now) repair unto Sugriva.' When Hanuman had said this, the righteous Lakshmana duly paying homage unto the former, addressed Raghava, saying, 'From the glad way in which this son of the god of the wind is speaking, it appears that he also seeks thy service; and, arriving (at this region) thou also, Raghava, hast reaped success. He speaketh openly with a delightful light in his countenance; and cheerfulness. (It seems) that the heroic Hanuman, son unto the God of wind doth not speak anything that is false.' Then that vastly wise one Hanuman the son of the wind god departed, taking with him the heroic descendants of Raghu, for (presenting them) unto the monarch of monkeys. Renouncing the guise of a beggar, and assuming the form of a monkey, that foremost of monkeys went away, placing those heroes on his back. And then the heroic monkey, the son of the wind-god, of wide fame, and great prowess, with his mind perfectly pure, considering himself as crowned with success, and experiencing exceeding delight, arrived at that best of mountains in company with Rama and Lakshmana.

SECTION 5.

Having departed from Rishyamuka, and arrived at the Malaya hill, Hanuman informed the king of monkeys of (the arrival of) the descendants of Raghu. "O exceedingly wise one, this one that hath come here is Rama having truth for his prowess. This is Rama having truth for his prowess, in company with his brother, Lakshmana. Rama the son of Dacaratha, is born in the race of the Ikshwakus. Ever doing the will of his sire, he has been sent hither, in order that his father's verity may stand in tact. Rama, who hath come to the forest, is the son of him who hath propitiated Fire with Rajasuyas and horse sacrifices,—dispensing Dakshinas and kine by hundreds and thousands—and who hath governed the earth by asceticism and truthful speech. His son Rama hath come to the forest through a woman. While that high-souled one having his senses under control was dwelling in the woods, his wife was carried off by Ravana; and he (Rama) hath (in consequence) sought thy protection. Do thou, granting an interview unto the brothers Rama and Lakshmana—both of them worthy of homage— who are eager for thy friendship, receive them respectfully." Hearing Hanuman's words, Sugriva—lord of monkeys, becoming visible (at his will), gladly spake unto Raghava, "Sir, you are versed in morality, and bear love towards all. The son of the wind-god hath faithfully described your virtues unto me. That you, O lord, are anxious to contract friendship with me who am a monkey does me honour and is my gain. If you relish friendship with me, do you take this stretched arm and my hand with yours,—and bind yourself fast with a vow." Hearing these sweet words of Sugriva, (Rama) exceedingly delighted, pressed Sugriva's hand with his. And contracting friendship with Sugriva, Rama experiencing great joy embraced him warmly. Then that subduer of foes, Hanuman, leaving off the guise of a beggar, in his native shape produced a fire with two pieces of wood. Then worshipping that flaming fire with flowers, he, well pleased, carefully placed it between them (Rama and Sugriva.) Then Sugriva and Raghava went round the fire; and (thus) they were fastened in friendship. And with delighted hearts, both of them—the monkey and Raghava began to gaze at each other, yet they did not feel satiated. "Thou art the friend of my heart. Our happiness and misery are common,"—Sugriva, rejoicing greatly, said these words unto Raghava. Then spreading a beautifully blossoming spray of Sala, full of foliage, Sugriva made an awning and sat down with Raghava. Hanuman, the son of the wind-god with great joy gave unto Lakshmana a bough of a sandal tree, plentifully blossoming. Next Sugriva, feeling high rapture, with his eyes expanded with joy, answered Rama blandly in sweet words, saying, "Oppressed have I been, O Rama; and here am always afflicted with fear. Deprived of my wife, I have, agitated with apprehension, sought refuge in this dense wilderness. I am afflicted with fright, and worried by fear, with my senses bewildered in this wood. Wronged have I been by Vali, my

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brother; and I have incurred his hostility, O Raghava. And, O exalted one, do thou dispell the fear of me, who am tormented with fear on account of Vali. And, O Kakutstha, it behoves thee so to act that I may not become subject to fear." Thus addressed, the powerful Kakutstha, knowing righteousness, and devoted to virtue, answered Sugriva, smiling, "O mighty monkey, that the outcome of amity is good offices I am well aware of. I will slay that captor of thy wife Vali. These infallible sharpened shafts of mine, resembling the sun, feathered with the plumes of the Kanka, like unto the thunderbolt of the great Indra, having sharp heads and even knots, like infuriated serpents,—being let go with vehemence, shall alight upon the impious Vali. Do thou today behold Vali slain with sharpened shafts, resembling venomous snakes,—like unto a torn hill lying on the ground." Hearing those words of Raghava fraught with his welfare, Sugriva supremely rejoiced, said these words, informed with rapture, "Thou hero! Thou lion among men! by thy grace shall I obtain both my beloved and my monarchy. O God among men, do thou so deal with that foe, my elder brother, that he may not again wrong me." The left eyes of Sita, the lord of apes, and night rangers,—respectively like the lotus, gold, and flaming fire, throbbed when the friendship between Rama and Sugriva was contracted.

SECTION 6.

Sugriva well pleased again addressed Raghava, the son of Raghu, saying, "O Rama, this servant of thine, foremost of my counsellors, Hanuman, hath related (unto me), the reason of thy arrival in this lone forest. Thy wife, Maithili, daughter unto Janaka, separated from thee as well as the intelligent Lakshmana, and weeping (in consequence) was carried off by a Raksha. Seeing for opportunities of doing mischief that Raksha, having slain Jatayu, hath caused unto thee the grief that comes of separation from one's wife. But thou wilt soon be relieved from the sorrow that comes of separation from one's wife. Her will I bring like unto the ravished Devacruti. O repressor of foes, whether she be in the nether regions or under the sky, I will, bringing thy wife, make her over unto thee. O Raghava, know my words to be true. O mighty-armed one, like unto poison, thy wife is incapable of being digested even by the gods and Asuras with Indra (at their head). O mighty-armed one, leave off sorrow, I will bring back thy beloved. From guess I find that it was doubtless Mithila's daughter whom I saw when she was being carried away by that Raksha of terrific deeds. She was crying, 'Rama, Rama, Lakshmana, Lakshmana,' and in the lap of Ravana she looked like the wife of the Snake-chief. Seeing me along with my four counsellors stationed at the hill, she dropped down her scarf and her ornaments. All these, O Raghava, I have taken and kept (with me). I will bring them. It behoveth thee to recognise them." Thereupon Rama spoke unto the sweet-speeched Sugriva, 'Bring (them), at once, my friend. Why dost thou tarry?' Having been thus addressed, Sugriva swiftly entered a deep cavern in the mountain, with the view of doing what was dear unto Raghava. Then taking the scarf as well as the ornaments. "Look at this," (Saying this) the monkey held them before Rama. And taking the sheet and the ornaments, (Rama) had his eyes filled with tears, like the moon covered by the dew. And from affection for Sita, (Rama,) his eyes filled with tears, deprived of patience, fell down to the ground. And placing the elegant ornaments on his bosom, he sighed again and again, like an enraged serpent in a hole. And seeing Sumitra's son at his side, Rama shedding ceaseless tears, began to lament piteously, "O Lakshmana, behold this scarf and these ornaments which Vaidehi, while being carried away, let fall from her person to the earth. Surely Sita, while being ravished, let these fall on a sward, for these remain as before." Thus accosted, Lakshmana spoke, saying, "I do not know her bracelets; I do not know her ear-rings. But I know full well her bangles on account of my always bowing down unto her feet." Thereupon Raghava said these words unto Sugriva, "Tell me, O Sugriva, at what place didst thou see Sita, while she, dear unto me as life, was taken away by the fierce-looking Rakshasa? And where doth that Raksha, who hath brought on this high peril, and for whom I will slay all the Rakshasas, live? He, that hath carried off Mithila's daughter, and roused my wrath, hath certainly for his own end, opened the door of death. Tell me all about that ranger of the night, that deceitfully hath carried away my dearest wife from the forest. My foe, O lord of monkey, will I to-day send to the neighbourhood of Yama."

SECTION 7.

Thus addressed by the aggrieved Rama, the monkey, Sugriva, his accents obstructed by vapour and his eyes filled with tears, said with joined hands, "I do not know the hidden abode of that exceedingly wicked Rakshasa,—nor do I know his heroism and prowess, or the lineage of that one sprung from a vicious race. O vanquisher of foes, leave off sorrowing. I promise unto thee truly, I will exert so that thou mayst obtain Maithili. Slaying Ravana with his hosts, and putting forth my manliness capable of pleasing others, I will speedily act so that thou mayst be pleased. Do not be overwhelmed with grief: summon the fortitude that is in thee. Such lightness of sense doth not become persons like thee. I also have experienced mighty disaster arising out of separation from my wife; but I do not weep in this wise,— nor do I forsake my fortitude. A despicable monkey as I am, I do not grieve for her,—and what again shall I say of one that is magnanimous, endued with meekness and firmness, and great? It behoveth thee to restrain thy falling tears by patience. It behoveth thee not to resign that patience which is the dignity of persons possessed of the quality of goodness. Persons endued with firmness of understanding by help of their intellect, do not in calamity consequent on separation from dear ones, or on the occasion of loss of wealth, or of fear arising from thieves, wild beasts, etc, or of loss of life itself, lose their self-possession. He that is senseless as well as he that suffers himself to be overwhelmed with grief, losing all control over self, drown themselves in sorrow like a boat bearing a heavy load in water. I soothe thee from the love I bear towards thee. Do thou have recourse to manliness. It doth not behove thee to let grief overcome thee. Those that indulge in sorrow, know no happiness; and their virtue goeth out of them. Therefore it behoveth thee not to grieve. The life even of him that is mastered by sorrow is in jeopardy. Therefore, thou foremost of monarchs, leave off that grief. Do thou entirely have recourse to fortitude. In the spirit of a friend I tell what is for thy good: I do not instruct thee. Honour the amity I bear towards thee. It behoveth thee not to weep." Thus sweetly consoled by Sugriva, Raghava with the end of his cloth wiped his face tarnished with tears. And after that lord, Kakutstha, had recovered his natural state through the words of Sugriva, he embraced Sugriva and addressed him, saying, "O Sugriva, that which, pleasing and profitable, proper and fit, ought to be done by a friend, hath been done by thee. Solicited by thee, I have, O friend, regained my natural tone of mind. Such a friend is rare, specially at such a time. But thou shouldst strive to trace Maithili as well as bring about the destruction of that fierce Rakshasa, the impious Ravana. Do thou also without reserve say what I shall have to do for thee. Like corn sown in a fertile field in the rainy season, every concern of thine shall attain success. O best of monkeys, do thou verily consider as true the words that I have uttered through affection. Falsehoods have I never spoken before, nor will I ever say one (in future). This I promise to thee. I swear by truth itself." Hearing Rlghava's words, and in special his promise, Sugriva felt exceedingly delighted along with this monkey ministers. Thus fast bound in friendship, the man and the monkey conversed with each other about (topics) which each thought fit, connected with their joys and griefs. Hearing the words of that illustrious monarch of kings, that hero—greatest of monkeys—considered and felt in his heart as if his work had already been accomplished.

SECTION 8.

Sugriva, rejoiced at the words of Rama, said "unto that hero, the elder brother of Lakshmana, who was well pleased. "I am, without doubt, worthy of being favoured by the gods, since thou accomplished and furnished with virtues art my friend. By thy help, O Rama, one can, O sinless one, obtain the kingdom of the celestials,—what is to be said of one's kingdom, O lord? I, who have, in the presence of Fire, gained for my friend (thee) sprung from the Raghava race, am, O Raghava worthy of being honoured by my friends and relations. Thou also shalt by and by learn that I am a fit friend for thee; but I can not speak unto thee of the qualities that abide in me. O free one, the felicity of high-souled and self-governed friends like thee abounds and is enduring. Pious friends look upon the silver, and gold, and the elegant ornaments of pious friends as common property. Whether rich or poor, happy or miserable, good or bad, a friend is the greatest refuge (of his friend). Witnessing such affection, people can, O sinless one, forsake wealthy comfort, and even their native land for the sake of their friends." Thereat the graceful Rama, in front of the intelligent Lakshmana resembling Vasava, said unto Sugriva of a pleasing presence, —"It is even so." The next day seeing Rama as well as the mighty Lakshmana seated on the ground, Sugriva briskly cast his eyes about the forest. And hard by that lord of monkeys discovered a Sala tree, bearing a few beautiful blossoms, with its wealth of foliage, decked by blade bees. Thereat tearing off a beautiful bough full of leaves, Sugriva spread it (on the earth), and then sat down with Rlghava. And seeing them seated, Hanuman breaking off a branch of Sala, humbly made Lakshmana sit down. Seeing Rama seated at his ease in that best of mountains abounding in Salaflowers, and cheerful like the ocean, Sugriva from love spoke unto Rama sweet and excellent words, of which the letters vibrated with delight. "Wronged by my brother, I deprived of my wife and exceedingly distressed, and exercised with fear, live in this foremost of mountains, Rishyamuka. And, O Raghava, my senses wildered, having been oppressed by Vali, and having incurred his enmity, I am afflicted with fear, and tormented with fright. O thou, that removest the fear of all creatures, it behoveth thee who am tormented by fear and am helpless, to extend thy favour unto me." Thus accosted, that ever energetic one knowing righteousness and devoted to it, Kakutstha, smiling, said unto Sugriva, "Benefits make friends, while injuries denote enemies. Even this very day will I slay him that hath deprived thee of thy wife. O exalted one, these feathered shafts of exceeding energy, sprung from the Kartikeya forest, decked with gold, furnished with the plumes of the Kanka, resembling the thunderbolt of the great Indra, having smooth knots, and sharp heads, are like enraged serpents. Thou shalt behold thy brother and enemy, who is named Vali slain by my shafts, and lying like a dislodged hill." Hearing Raghava's words, Sugriva—lord of hosts—felt excess of joy and exclaimed, "Excellent well! Excellent well!" "O Rama, overwhelmed am I by grief. Thou art the succour of those afflicted with sorrow. Having made thee my friend, I express to thee my grief. I have, in the presence of Fire by giving thee my hand, made thee my friend. Thou art dearer unto me than life itself. This I swear unto thee by Truth. Having made thee my friend, I inspired with confidence am unbosoming myself to thee. The sorrow, that is in my heart, is constantly enfeebling my mind." Having proceeded thus far, he, his eyes filled with tears and his words faltering because of vapour, could not speak aloud. And Sugriva suddenly restrained, before Rama, the force of tears, like unto the tide of a river. And having restrained his tears and wiped his fair eyes, that energetic one, sighing heavily, again went on,— "Formerly, O Rama, I was deprived of my kingdom and reproached in harsh language by the strong Vali. And he also took away my wife dearer unto me than life; and my friends have been imprisoned and been bound. That wicked wight, O Raghava, seeks my life. Many monkeys commissioned by him have been slain by me. It was, O Raghava, in consequence of this fear that when I (first) saw thee, I did not come out. This is all the fear that oppresses me. My adherents are only these headed by Hanuman. It is for this that although reduced to the greatest straits I have been able to preserve my life. These affectionate apes protect me on all sides. They go when I go, and stay when I stay. Why should I expatiate? In brief, Vali my elder brother, famed for his prowess, is my foe. Even by his death my present pain would be removed. Both my life and my happiness are bound up with his death. I have, O Rama, communicated unto thee, the way in which my grief might be removed. Whether in joy or in sorrow, a friend is the refuge of his friend." Hearing these words, Rama said unto Sugriva, "What for arose hostility between thyself and Vali? I wish to hear this (related) faithfully. Having learnt the cause of your hostility, and ascertained your strength and weakness, I will, O monkey, understanding the irritation that hath ensued, compass thy happiness. Great is my wrath, on hearing thee disgraced; and like a downpour in the rainy season my ire increases, shaking my very heart. Do thou cheerfully and confidingly speak while I fix the string to my bow. As soon as my shaft is off, thy foe is beaten." Thus addressed by the high-souled Kakutstha, Sugriva, along with the four (other) monkeys, experienced exceeding delight Then with a cheerful countenartce, Sugriva began to unfold unto Lakshmana's elder brother the cause of their hostility.

SECTION 9.

"My elder brother named Vali—destroyer of foes, was formerly highly honoured both by my father and myself. At the death of our father, the counsellors, saying,—'This is the eldest son', made him, who was well loved (of all), lord of the monkeys in the kingdom. While he was governing the kingdom which had belonged to his father and grand-father, I, at all times, in humiliation, remained like a servant. There was one endued with energy, named Mayavi. He was the eldest son of Dunduvi. Formerly there arose a mighty hostility between himself and Vali. And it came to pass that one night when all had fallen asleep, (Mayavi) coming to Kishkindha, began to emit roars in great wrath, and challenged Vali to an encounter. My brother, who was fast asleep, hearing those dreadful yells, could not bear them; but at once rushed out vehemently. And as he rushed out in wrath, for the purpose of slaying that foremost of Asuras, he was opposed by his wives as well as myself, who humbled himself before him. But moving them aside, that exceedingly powerful one sallied out. Thereupon out of affection I also went out with Vali. And seeing my brorher and me present from a distance, the Asura, seized with a panic, fled with speed. And as he was rushing on in fear and when we had proceeded further, the moon arising, discovered the way. And the Asura, coming by a capacious and impregnable hole covered with grass (on the surface), entered it amain; and we remained there. Seeing his enemy enter the hole, Vali, overcome by anger, and with his senses agitated, spoke unto me, saying, "Do thou, O Sugriva, carefully stay at the mouth of the hole, while I entering in, slay my foe in battle." Hearing his speech, that subduer of foes was besought by me (for permission to enter the cave along with him). But making me swear by touching his feet he entered the cave. And after he had entered the cave, and as I remained at its mouth, a space of over a complete year rolled away. And seized with sorrow (I reflected), 'As I do not see my brother, he must be lost'—and my mind was alarmed,

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apprehending his death. After a long time, I saw frothy blood issuing from the cave. Thereat I was greatly aggrieved. And roars of Asuras also reached my ears; but I could not hear the cries of my superior, engaged in conflict. And from these signs concluding my brother to be slain, I, closing the mouth of the cavern with a crag, huge as a hill, and afflicted with grief, after performing his watery rites, came (back) to Kishkindhi, O my friend. And although I carefully concealed (the matter), the counselors heard it all. There they, assembled together, installed me (in the kingdom). And, as I was ruling the kingdom with justice, it came to pass that after having slain his foe, the Danava, that monkey (Vali) came to Kishkindha. Then seeing me installed, he, with his eyes reddened in wrath, slaying my counsellors, spoke harsh words to me. And although I was capable of chastising him, yet my mind influenced by a sense of my brother's dignity, did not incline towards that sin. Having slain his foe, he then entered his city; and I, honouring that high-souled one, duly saluted him. He withal did not with a glad heart utter his benediction. And, O lord, I, bowing, touched his feet with my crown; yet from anger Vali did not extend to me his grace."

SECTION 10.

Then wishing for my welfare I strove to propitiate my angry brother, wrought up with wrath, who was seated (there). By good luck it is that thou hast come off safely; and that thou hast slain the foe. O thou that rejoicest the forlorn, thou art the only protector of me who am helpless. I hold this umbrella furnished with many ribs, resembling the moon risen; as well as this chowri containing hair,—do thou accept my service. O king, suffering greatly, I remained for a whole year at the mouth of the cave. And seeing blood issuing from the cave, I had my heart agitated with grief and my senses extremely overwhelmed. Then closing up the mouth of the cavern with a mountain summit, and returning from that place, I again came back to Kishkindha. Seeing me enter in a dejected mood, the citizens and counsellors installed me, but it was not done with my will. Therefore it behoves thee to forgive me. Thou art the king, O worthy of honour; and I am, as before, ever (thy servant). I was entrusted with regal power in consequence of thy absence. This kingdom consisting of courtiers and citizens, remains now rid of its thorns. It was established in me as a trust. And I protected it as such. Do not get wroth, O mild one, O destroyer of foes. I beseech thee with bent head, and, O king, with joined hands. With the view of preventing any one to wish to conquer this kingdom vacant (of its ruler), the citizens and counsellors unanimously, by force, entrusted me with regal authority." As I said this softly, the monkey reproaching me, said unto me 'Fie on thee,' and censured me greatly. And bringing together the subjects and favourite counsellors, spoke unto me, before friends, highly improper words. 'Ye know that formerly one night the mighty Asura Mayavi, getting enraged, challenged me (to a fight) desirous of an encounter with me. Hearing his speech I sallied out of the palace, and was followed by this horrible brother of mine. Thereat seeing me with one to assist me, and finding that we had come upon him, that mighty Asura, fled, seized with fear. And fleeing on, he (at length) swiftly entered a huge hole. Knowing that he had entered that dreadful and large cave, I spoke unto my brother of a crooked presence,—Without slaying (this Asura) I cannot return to the palace. Do thou wait at the mouth of the cave while I slay him. This one is stationed here—thinking thus, I entered that inaccessible cave. And as I searched (for the Asura), one entire year passed away. And that wicked wight who had roused my alarm in consequence of his disappearance, was (at length) slain by me in one day, along with his friends. Then as he emitted yells in the subterranean region, the cave was filled with his blood and it became difficult to come out of it. Having with ease slain my powerful foe, I could not find the outlet of the cavern, its mouth having been closed. Then as I again and again cried "Sugriva, Sugriva," I became exceedingly sorry for not receiving any reply. Thereat I threw down the stone after striking it many times with my legs. Then coming out by its mouth, I have come to this city. Seeking my kingdom, the crafty Sugriva had shut me up there, forgetting fraternal love.' Saying this, that monkey, the shameless Vali, exiled me with a single cloth on. O Raghava, I have been discomfitted by him, and been deprived of my wife. And from fear of him, I have wandered over the whole earth having forest and seas. And aggrieved in consequence of my having been deprived of my wife, I have (at length) entered this best of mountains, Rishyamuka, which for a certain reason is incapable of being approached by Vali. Thus have I mentioned unto thee the great cause of this hostility, O Raghava, innocent as I am, I have come by this mighty misfortune. O thou that inspirest the fear of all creatures, by chastising Vali it behoveth thee to grant thy grace unto me, who am tormented with fear in connexion with Vali, O hero." Thus accosted, that energetic one knowing righteousness, smiling, began to address Sugriva in words fraught with morality. These sharpened shafts of mine, resembling the sun, and never missing, shall furiously fall upon the wicked Vali. So long as thou dost not see that stealer of thy wife, so long only shall the impious Vali of vile character, live. By what I myself feel, I see that thou hast sunk in a sea of sorrow. But I will deliver thee; and thou shalt attain both thy wife as well as this kingdom. Hearing that speech of his, capable of enhancing joy and manliness, Sugriva overjoyed, spoke those words informed with high sense.

SECTION 11.

Hearing Rama's words capable of enhancing joy and manliness, Sugriva highly honoured the former and extolled him, saying, "Enraged, thou, with thy sharp and flaming shafts, capable of piercing into the vitals, canst burn up the worlds, like the sun at the universal dissolution. Heedfully hearing from me of Vali's strength, prowess and fortitude, do thou afterwards, ascertain what is fit. Before the sun rises, Vali can easily range the ocean from west to east and from south to north. Ascending the tops of mountains, Vali possessed of prowess throws up their summits, and then again swiftly holds them. And displaying his strength, Vali vehemently crushes in the woods various stout trees. There was one assuming the shape of buffaloe named Dunduvi, resembling in splendour the summit of Kailaca. That one possessed of prowess had the strength of an hundred elephants. That wicked one of a gigantic body inflated by his prowess and blinded by the boon he had received once went to that lord of streams—the Sea. Passing beyond the Sea, with waves upon him,—and containing heaps of gems, he said unto the mighty deep—"Grant me battle." Thereat the righteous-souled and mighty Ocean arose and, O king, said these words unto that Asura, who had been urged by Death. O thou that art skilled in fight, I am not competent to offer thee fight; but listen to me who will tell thee who shall offer the fight. There is a monarch of mountains in a mighty forest, —the great refuge of asceticism, the worker of the weal (of all), an Asura, celebrated by the name of Himavan containing great cascades and furnished with many fountains and caves. He can compass thy incomparable pleasure. Concluding that the ocean was afraid, that foremost of Asuras, presented himself in the wood of Himavan, like a shaft shot from a bow. Thereupon Dundhuvi began to throw down many white crags resembling the foremost of elephants; and sent up shouts. Then resembling white clouds, mild and possessed of a pleasing shape, Himavan, stationed on the summit, spoke, "O Dundhuvi, O thou that art attached to righteousness, it behoveth thee not to distress me. I am the refuge of all those ascetics who are not expert in military arts." Hearing those words of that intelligent lord of mountains Dundhuvi, with reddened eyes, said:—"Afraid of me and hence void of energy if thou art incapable of fighting with me, do thou name him who is ready to fight with me who am desirous of entering into conflict." Hearing these words the virtuous-souled Himavan, skilled in speech, spoke unto that great Asura, exercised with ire. "O greatly wise one, there lives in Kishkindha, of incomparable beauty, the mighty and highly graceful monkey—the son of Sakra, by name Vali. That mighty wise one, skilled in warfare, is capable of fighting with thee on equal terms like unto Namuchi with Vasava. Do thou speedily repair unto him if dost thou wish for a conflict. He is always expert in military exploits and is hard to repress." Hearing Himavan's words, Dundhuvi, inflamed with ire, went to Kishkindha—Vali's capital. Assuming the figure of a terrible buffaloe, with sharpened horns like unto a cloud big with water, ranging on the sky in the rainy season, and approaching the gate of Kishkindha that highly powerful one set up a terrible roar, shakiag the earth like unto the sound of a kettle-drum. Like onto an elephant he felled, out of haughtiness, the trees around, and rent the earth with his hoofs scraping it with his horns. Vali was in the female-apartment at that time, and unable to bear the sound came out with his wives like onto the Moon with stars. Thereupon that lord of monkeys and other wild animals, spoke openly unto Dundhuvi, saying, "O Dundhuvi, obstructing this my city-gate, why dost thou set up a terrible roar? Dost thou know my mighty strength? Do thou save thy own life." Hearing those words of that intelligent lord of monkeys, Dundhuvi, with reddened eyes spoke:—"O hero, it becometh thee not to speak thus before thy wives. Do thou enter into conflict with me and thy prowess shall be ascertained thereafter. Or I shall suppress my wrath for this night and do thou, O monkey, enjoy till the rise of the Sun. Embracing all the monkeys, inviting all thy friends, do thou, that art the lord of the monkey herds, honour them with gifts. Do thou survey Kiskindha and make thy children kings. And do thou enjoy with thy wives—it is me that shall crush down thy pride. He, who destroyeth a person who is given up to drinking, reckless, emaciated and deprived of weapons, and one like thee, sunk in the abyss of voluptuousness, committeth the sin consequent upon the destruction of an embryo," Whereto replied Vali, laughing, unto that wicked lord of Asuras, leaving aside all his wives, headed by Tara. "If thou art not afraid of fighting, do not consider me as one given up to drinking only. Do thou regard this my attachment as a draught in this conflict, to be drunk by the heroes." Saying this, Vali, taking his golden garland, conferred on him by his father Mahendra, addressed himself for the conflict. Holding him by the horns, Vali, that lord of monkeys, setting up a terrible roar, hurled Dundhuvi resembling a mountain. And bellowing a thundering voice, Vali crushed (him) down. And blood began to trickle down from the pores of his ears. Both of them desired to subdue each other—and thus there arose a terrible conflict between Vali and Dundhuvi. Thereupon fought Vali equalling Sakra in prowess, by fists knees, legs, stones and trees. And thus there was a skirmish between the monkey chief and the Asura. And in this conflict Asura's strength was greatly reduced, while that of Sakra's son was highly enhanced. Holding up Dundhuvi he threw him on the ground. And in that dreadful skirmish Dundhuvi was greatly reduced. And there was a profusion of blood falling from the ears of that one crushed down. Thereupon that one of mighty arms fell down to the earth and breathed his last. And taking up with his arms that lifeless one, the mighty Vali hurled him with great force at distance of a yojana. While thus thrown down by force, drops of blood, falling from his mouth, driven by the wind, fell upon the asylum of the great Saint Matanga. O great one, beholding the drops of blood there, the great ascetic, angered, thought within himself—"Who might be the author of this sprinkling of blood? Who is that wicked-souled, vicious-minded, stupid person, who hath all on a sudden sprinkled me with blood?" Saying this, that best of saints issued out (of the hermitage) and surveyed a lifeless buffalo lying on the earth, like unto a huge mountain. And apprehending by virtue of his asceticism that this hath been committed by a monkey, he imprecated a mighty curse on the perpetrator (of that iniquitous deed).—"He shall not enter here who hath spoiled the sanctity of my forest with showers of blood. And surely he shall be killed (on entering). Forsooth shall that wicked one cease to exist if he strideth within a yojanaaround my asylum, who hath felled these trees by throwing the body of the Asura. His counsellors or any one related to him, who shall resort to this my forest (shall meet with the self-same fate). They shall not live here; hearing this from me let them take their own ways. And even if they live here, forsooth, shall I curse them too. This my forest is being protected by me every day like unto my own son— and the monkeys are always used to destroy its leaves, trees and roots. Forgive them I to-day—but if I find any tomorrow, he shall be turned into stone for many thousand years." Hearing those words of the saint, the monkey herd issued out (of the forest). And beholding them (coming out of the forest) Vali spoke—"Why have ye all—the dwellers of the Matanga forest approached me—Is it all well with you?" Thereupon they related unto Vali, wearing a golden garland, the cause of the Saint's curse by him and other monkeys. Hearing those words, Vali approached that great ascetic and solicited him with folded hands. Disregarding him, the ascetic entered into his asylum and Vali was overwhelmed with the fear of curse. O Lord of men, afraid of the curse that monkey chief purposed to repair unto the mount Rishyamuka. Knowing for certain, O Rama, that he shall not enter this forest, I have been living here with my ministers, devoid of fear and grief. Here is the collection of Dundhuvi's bones, killed on account of his own haughtiness, resembling a huge mountain. These are the seven huge Sala trees, clothed in branches, which Vali could simultaneously divest of leaves by virtue of his prowess. I have related unto thee, O Rama, the incomparable prowess of his. Do thou tell me now, O hero, how canst thou destroy him in the conflict?" Unto Sugriva speaking thus, Lakshmana smiling replied:—"Performing what, shalt thou confide in (Rama's ability) to destroy Vali?" Thereupon Sugriva bespake him—" These seven Sala trees, before thee, the mighty Vali, formerly pierced, all at a time, with one shaft. If Rama can aim at one of these only with one arrow and if he can, O Lakshmana, throw the bones of this dead buffalo at a distance of two hundred bows—I shall consider Vali slain." Having addressed Rama thus, Sugriva, having blood-red eyes, thought aside for a moment and again spoke unto Kakuthstha:—"He is heroic and proud of his prowess—his heroism and strength are known all over the world. He is a mighty monkey and incapable of being repressed in a battle. His actions are such as are above the power of the celestials. Revolving them within myself and terrified I have repaired to this mount Rishyamuka. And thinking of that lord of monkeys, unconquerable and irrepressible I dare not leave this Rishyamuka. And exercised with fear and anxiety, therefore, I have been wandering in this mighty forest along with my devoted counsellors, headed by Hanuman. And having secured in thee a worthy and sincere friend, O best of men, O thou that art loving unto thy friends, I have taken thy shelter like unto Himavat himself. Cognisant am I of the prowess of my highly powerful and wicked brother, but I have never witnessed thine in a conflict, O Raghava. I do not compare thee with Vali, nor do I disregard or frighten thee—forsooth have I greatly been alarmed by his terrible actions. O Raghava, thy words, patience and figure are the proofs of thy heroism—truly do they bespeak of thy valour like unto fire hidden by ashes." Hearing those words of the high-souled Sugriva, Rama, smiling, spoke unto that monkey, saying—"O monkey, if thou dost not confide in my valour, soon shall I create thy confidence about my warlike abilities." Having

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thus addressed Sugriva and consoling him, the highly powerful Raghava, of mighty arms—Lakshmana's elder brother, lifting up easily with his thumb the dried frame of that Asura— Dundhuvi—hurled it at a distance of ten yojanas. Beholding that Asura's body thrown thus, Sugriva, again addressed unto the heroic Rama, before Lakshmana and the monkey herd, the following pregnant words:—"Friend, formerly this body was wet and corpulent, and it was thrown with great difficulty by my brother Vali, mad with voluptuousness. And O Raghava, it is now divested of flesh and hence light like unto grass and consequently it has been hurled by thee with ease, O descendant of Raghu. And unable am I to ascertain who is the mightier? There is a good deal of difference, O Raghava, between a body, wet and dried. There is still doubt, O worshipful one, which of you is the mightier? Truly shall thy strength be manifested in the piercing of one of these Sala trees. Having stringed the bow like unto the trunk of an elephant and stretching it to thy ears, do thou shoot this mighty arrow. Doubt that is none that this arrow flung by thee shall bore this Salatree. There is no need of discussion any more; do thou perform O king, what dost thou think proper for me, contracted, as thou hast, friendship with me, with a solemn vow. Like unto the sun amongst the planets, like unto the Himalaya amongst the mountains, like unto the lion amongst the quadrupeds thou art the foremost of men in prowess."

SECTION 12.

Wearing those pleasant words of Sugriva, the highly effulgent Rama, to create his confidence, took up his bow. That one, conferring honours upon others, holding his terrible bow and a shaft, darted it towards the Sala, filling all the quarters with a sound. The arrow, clear as the gold itself, hurled by that one of mighty strength, perforating the trees,entered into the mountainous expanse and the sevenfold regions of the earth. And that shaft, gifted with wonderful velocity, piercing all the trees entered again into the quiver. Having beheld those seven trees bored by Rama's arrow, that monkey chief attained to an excess of surprise. Thereupon Sugriva, exceedingly glad, and delighted with his actions, bowing down his head on the earth and stretching his ornamented person on the ground, addressed with clasped hands, that heroic descendant of Raghu—Rama, the foremost of those conversant with religious lore, with the following pious words—"O best of men, O lord, what of Vali, thou art capable of destroying with thy arrows, in the conflict, even the celestials headed by Indra. O Kakutstha, who can stand before thee in a battle, who hath pierced the seven trees, and the mountain, and the earth with one arrow? Obtaining thee as my friend like unto Mahendra and Varuna, my grief hath been removed and I have attained to an excess of delight. Do thou, O Kakutstha, even to-day destroy, for my welfare, my brother Vali. This I do pray unto thee with folded hands." Thereupon embracing- Sugriva, of a pleasant countenance and like unto Lakshmana, the highly wise Rama spoke unto him, saying, "Soon shall we repair unto Kishkindha.—Do thou go before, Sugriva, and invite thy false brother, Vali, to battle." Thereupon proceeding quickly to Kishkindha, Vali's capital—they all stood waiting in that dense forest, hiding themselves under the trees. With a view to call Vali, Sugriva, tying fast his cloth (around the waist) set up a terrible roar, as if rending the sky (therewith). Hearing the terrible uproar of his brother, the mighty Vali, highly angered, issued out of his city, like unto the Sun from the western shores (where he sets). Thereupon there arose a mighty conflict between Vali and Sugriva like unto the planets Mercury and Mars fighting with each other on the sky. The two brothers, exercised with ire, struck each other with palms like unto Acani and with fists resembling adamant. Thereupon Rama, with bow in hand, beheld those two heroes resembling each other, like unto two Acwins. And Raghava did not discharge that mortal shaft untill he could perfectly ascertain who was Vali and who was Sugriva. In the mean time, being defeated by Vali, Sugriva fled away and not beholding Raghava, proceeded towards Rishyamuka. And wearied, worn out with blows, and having his person bathed in blood, he, followed by Vali, angered, entered that mighty forest. Beholding him enter that forest, the highly powerful Vali could not pursue him there for fear of the curse but said:—"Thou art released to-day." And Raghava too, with his brother and Hanuman, entered that forest, where the monkey chief Sugriva was. Beholding Rama approach with Lakshmana, Sugriva, stricken with shame and casting his looks on the earth, addressed him poorly, with the following words:—"Accosting me with 'do thou call (Vali),' displaying thy valour and making me struck by the enemy, what improper, conduct hast thou shown by me? Thou shouldst have spoken me then truly, O Raghava, —"I shall not destroy Vali" and I would not have gone there. The high-souled Sugriva speaking thus poorly, Raghava again spoke unto him, saying:—"Do thou hear, O Sugriva, O worshipful one, why I did not discharge my arrow then. By ornaments, dress, stature and movements thyself and Vali are just the same, O Sugriva. By voice, by words, by looks or by valour, O monkey, I could not make out any distinction. O best of monkeys, being thus surprised by the similarity of your countenances I could not discharge that foe-destroying and quick-coursing shaft. I was so afraid of thy resemblance with Vali that I thought that lest the mortal shaft might destroy thee. O hero, O lord of monkeys, if any disaster befalleth thee, who art already overwhelmed with miseries, through my ignorance or childishness, they shall be known all over the world. Mighty is the sin that ariseth from the destruction of one who hath been offered shelter. Myself, Lakshmana, and that exquisitely fine damsel—Sita—are all at thy service—thou art our only refuge in this forest. Do thou again enter into conflict, therefore, and do not fear, O monkey. And do thou behold even, in this very moment, Vali, moving restlessly on the breast of the earth, wounded by my shaft. Do thou make some mark on thy person, O lord of monkeys, by which I shall be able to recognize thee when engaged in a duel (with thy brother). O Lakshmana, plucking this auspicious Gaja flower, do thou put it round the neck of the high-souled Sugriva." Thereat that highly graceful one with the garland around his neck appeared like unto a cloud. And appearing in a graceful person and attentive to Rama's words he again entered Kishkindha with him.

SECTION 13.

Thereupon the high-souled Rama, along with Sugriva, proceeded from the mount Rishyamuka to Kishkiudha, maintained by Vali's prowess, raising up his gold crested mighty bow and taking his battle arrows like unto Aditya. The mighty Sugriva, bending low, proceeded before the high-souled Rama and Lakshmana. They were followed by the heroic Hanuman, the mighty Nala and Neela, and the highly powerful Tara, the leader of the monkey herd. They beheld as they proceeded, trees, lowered down with the weight of flowers, rivers of clear water flowing to the ocean, mountain hollows, hills, caves, cavities, and principal peaks and charming rills. They beheld on their way, pools filled with water clear as Baidurya and beautified with lotuses—full blown and buds, and resounded with the cries of Karandhabas, swans, geese, Banchulas, water-fowls, Chakrabakas, and various other birds. They surveyed all around in the forest-land, deer ranging fearlessly at large and grazing on tender grass. They beheld frightful wild elephants having white teeth, ranging alone—the destroyers of river banks and enemies of pools. And observing many an infuriated monkey like unto elephants, resembling so many moveable mountains riving the mountainous expanses crusted with dust, and many other wild beasts and birds the followers of Sugriva wended their way. They proceeding quickly, Rama, the descendant of Raghu, beholding the forest filled with trees, spake unto Sugriva, saying—"These trees skirted by plantain groves, dense as a collection of clouds, appear as clouds in the sky. Great is my curiosity, O friend, to learn what are these. And I wish to have my curiosity removed by thee." Hearing the words of the high-souled Raghava, Sugriva began to describe that great forest.—"In this extensive asylum, O Raghava, removing the toil (of the travellers) filled with gardens and trees and abounding in delicious fruits, roots and water, dwelt seven Saints, having control over their senses. Those seven Saints, dwelling on the mountain, passed days and nights in water with their heads down and after seven nights used to live upon air. In this wise, passing seven hundred years they repaired bodily unto heaven. By virtue of their asceticism, this asylum is walled by trees and incapable of being conquerred even by Indra, the celestials and the Asuras. Birds or other wild animals do not enter this asylum; whoever entereth this by mistake never returneth. There is audible, O Raghava, the sound of the dressing of Apsaras. their sweet-winged accents and that of their music and drums; and herein pervadeth the celestial fragrance. Hereburneth the fire Treta; and the smoke and cloud sable like unto the wings of a pigeon envelope the tops of the trees. And there appear the trees, having their tops saturated with smoke and cloaked with clouds, like unto so many Baidurya hills. Do thou, O Raghava, O virtuous-souled one, make obeisance unto them along with thy brother Lakshmana, with concentrated heart and folded palms. There resteth no sin in their persons, O Rama, who bow unto those self-controlled Saints." Thereupon Rama, along with his younger brother Lakshmana, made obeisance unto those high-souled ones. And having paid homage (unto the sacred memory of those great ones) the virtuous-souled Rama, his (younger) brother Lakshmana, Sugriva and other monkeys, proceeded with delighted hearts. And wending a distant way from that hermitage of the seven great ones, they beheld Kishkindha, hard to conquer and occupied by Vali. Thereupon, Rama, his younger brother and the monkeys taking their weapons, entered, to encompass the destruction of their enemies, the city (of Kishkindha) reared by the prowess of Indra's son.

SECTION 14.

They all, repairing quickly unto Kishkindha, Vali's capital, stood waiting in the dense forest, hiding themselves behind the trees. Casting his looks all around in the forest, Sugriva, having a huge neck and fond of woods, became exceedingly enraged. Setting up a terrible uproar and rending the sky with his cry (Sugriva) encircled by his kinsmen, invited (Vali) to battle. Thereupon roaring like unto a huge cloud, preceded by a mighty wind, Sugriva, gifted with leonine motion, and resembling the newly risen Sun, finding Rama expert in business, spake unto him, saying:—"Thou hast readied Kishkindha, Vali's capital, adorned with gold, filled with pennons and instruments and surrounded by monkeys. Do thou make good thy promise, O hero, thou hadst made before to encompass the destruction of Vali like unto the season making the creepers filled with fruits." Being thus accosted by Sugriva, the virtuous-souled Raghava, the slayer of foes, addressed him with the following words:—"Uprooting the Gaja creeper, Lakshmana, hath placed it around thy neck as an emblem (to distinguish thee). Thou dost appear more beautiful, O hero, with this creeper around thy neck like unto the sun on the sky engarlanded by the stars. I shall, O monkey, by the discharge of one shaft in the conflict destroy thy fear and enmity proceeding from Vali. Do thou show me, O Sugriva, thy enemy, in the guise of a brother. Wounded (by my shaft) Vali shall roll in the dust in the forest. And if regaining his life he comes in thy view, do thou leave this field, showering abuses upon me. Thou didst behold seven Talas riven by a single shaft of mine and did thou therefore consider Vali destroyed to-day by my prowess in the conflict. Though fallen in distress before, I never spoke an untruth, being always guided by an inclination to acquire virtue. Like unto the deity of hundred sacrifices causing the rice fields bring forth their fruits by means of profuse showers, I shall fulfill my promise by dint of my prowess. Do thou therefore renounce all doubts about it. Do thou call Vali, wearing a golden garland. Do thou make such a sound, O Sugriva, as may bring out that monkey chief (from his city). He hath subdued his breath, is proud of victory and fond of warfare; thou couldst not repress him before. Forsooth that Vali shall come out, leaving the company (of his wives). Hearing the war cry of his enemy, he shall never put up with it, specially, as he boasteth of his prowess before his wives." Hearing Rama's words. Sugriva, having a gold-yellow hue, set up a terrible roar, as if riving the sky. Terrified by that sound, the kine, losing their countenance do move hither and thither like unto damsels, oppressed on account of their kings' neglecting (to protect them). And the deer fly away like unto the horses defeated in a warfare. And the birds fall down on the earth, like unto planets, losing their purity. Thereupon confiding in Rama's words, that son, of Suryya (Sun) having his energy enhanced by means of his prowess resembling the ocean agitated by the wind, began to roar like unto cloud.

SECTION 15.

While residing in the female apartment, Vali heard the uproar of that high-souled Sugriva—his wrathful brother. And hearing that mighty roar, shaking the whole world of creation, his pride was in no time, crushed and he attained an excess of ire. Thereupon, Vali, having a golden hue, greatly exercised with wrath, instantly lost the effulgence of his person like unto the sun possessed by Rahu. And looking terrible by his teeth and having eyes resembling burning fire in consequence of ire he appeared like unto a pond, having the lotuses thereof uprooted with their stalks and fibres. And hearing that unbearable sound, the monkey, issued out speedily, as if riving the earth with his foot marks. Embracing him warmly and showing her affection, Tara, afraid and mortified, addressed him with the following words, presaging his future welfare:—"Do thou renounce, O hero, this thy ire, coming like the course of a river, like unto one, leaving aside the garland, which he used in the night, after rising from bed. O monkey chief, do thou engage with him in conflict, tomorrow. O hero, thy enemy is very insignificant and hence there will be no deterioration on thy part. Thy hastily issuing out doth not please me; do thou hear, why I do prevent thee. Formerly this Sugriva invited thee angrily to battle and being defeated and wounded by thee fled away. That one, who had been defeated and harassed by thee formerly, is now calling thee. Indeed it hath excited my fear. His pride, his energy, and his terrible uproar do indicate that there is nothing insignificant (at the bottom). I do not think Sugriva has come here without any to assist him. Forsooth he hath taken shelter of some body, and securing which he hath been setting up such a terrible uproar. That monkey is clever by nature and gifted with intellect. And Sugriva shall not desire friendship with any one without having a test of his prowess. Hearken, O hero, I shall relate unto thee today, the auspicious words, I heard ere this, from the prince Angada. He hath related unto me all about Sugriva, what be heard from bis emmissaries while journeying in the forest. The two heroic sons of the king of Ayodhya—Rama and Lakshmana, incapable of being defeated in a battle and born in the race of Ikshawkus, have repaired unto woods. To accomplish Sugriva's welfare, those two heroes, hard to repress, have come here. He is the main stay of thy brother in the battle; Rama hath sprung up like unto the fire of dissolution and is the repressor of enemy's prowess. He is the refuge of the saints and the prime shelter of the afflicted. He is the protector of those grinded by their

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enemies and is the only possessor of fame. He is gifted with knowledge and intellect and ever abideth by his sire's commandments. Like unto Himalaya, the king of mountains, containing diverse metals, he is the mine of various accomplishments. It doth not behove thee therefore to enter into conflict with that high-souled Rama, incomparable in prowess and hard to conquer in battle. Hearken, O hero, I desire to speak something more —I do not wish to excite thy wrath. Do thou instantly confer upon Sugriva, the dignity of heir apparent (to thy throne). O hero, O king; do not quarrel with thy younger brother. I do consider it thy welfare to contract friendship with Rama and regain Sugriva's affections, renouncing all thy inimical feelings. This thy younger brother, even when remaining at a distance, should always be maintained by thee. Whether by thee, or at a distance, he is always thy best friend—I do not find his equal on earth. By conferring on him gifts and honours do thou receive him back. And do thou renounce thy enmity and let him sit by thee. Methinks, that large-necked Sugriva is thy best friend—there is no other resource for thee than to secure thy brother's friendship. If thou dost wish to go by my desire, if thou dost regard me as thy well-wisher, do thou perform what I do request thee for thy welfare. Be pleased and hear my beneficial words. It doth not behove thee to yield to the influence of ire —thy conflict with that son of the king; of Kocala, gifted with the prowess of Sakra, will not conduce to thy welfare." Thereupon Tara spoke unto Vali these suitable and well-meaning words—but they did not satisfy him, possessed by Kala, as he was, on the eve of his destruction.

SECTION 16.

After Tara, having a moon-like countenance, had spoken thus, Vali, remonstrated with her and said—"O thou of exquisite loveliness, my brother, and specially my enemy, is roaring lowly and haughtily—and how shall I put up with it? O timid damsel, heroes, who have never been defeated and have never fled away from the battle field, had rather meet with death than put up with this ignominy. I am incapable of bearing this proud uproar of Sugriva, having a defective neck and desirous of entering into conflict with me. Fearing danger from Raghava, thou needst not entertain any anxiety on my account. Why shall that virtuous-souled and grateful Rama perpetrate iniquity? Do thou therefore return with my other wives. Why do thou follow me again? Thou hast already shown thy friendship and respect for me. I shall repairing thither, only fight with Sugriva. I shall crush down his pride and not destroy him. I shall deal with him mercifully in the battle as thou dost wish and being struck with fists and trees he shall fly away. Forsooth, that vicious-souled one shall not be able to withstand my pride and proficient skill in warfare. O Tara, thou hast already displayed thy attachment unto me by giving me good counsels. By my life, do thou go back with the other members of my household, I shall only return after bringing about the discomfiture of my brother in the battle." Thereupon, Tara, dexterous and of sweet accents, embracing Vali, went round him, with tears trickling from her eyes. And having performed Sastayana or the ceremony of benediction, that one gifted with a knowledge of Mantras, and desirous of Vali's success, went, overwhelmed with grief, to the inner-apartment in the company of other females. After Tara had departed to her own quarters with her female companions, he issued out of the city sighing like an enraged serpent. And the quick-paced Vali, exceedingly wroth, sighing, cast his looks around with a view to behold his enemy. And that highly efiulgent one espied Sugriva, having a golden yellow hue, tightly clothed, standing firm on the earth and shining like unto burning gold. And beholding Sugriva stationed thus, the greatly enraged Vali, of mighty arms, put on his clothes tightly well. Highly powerful and closely habited, he, clinching his fists, proceeded towards Sugriva, and waited for the action. Sugriva too, clinching his fist and exceedingly wroth, proceeded towards Vali, wearing a golden garland. And beholding Sugriva, adept in warfare, having his eyes reddened with ire, advance quickly, Vali spake:—"Behold, I have clinched this terrible fist, arranging close my fingers; and one blow from me will take away thy life." Being accosted thus by Vali, Sugriva, exercised with wrath, spake unto him, saying,—"This my fist shall strike thee on thy head taking away thy life." Thereupon being struck by Vali, waxing wroth and approaching him quickly he began to vomit out gore like unto a mountain having springs. And Vali too was struck down by Sugriva, fearlessly taking up a Sala tree, like unto a mountain clapped by a thunderbolt. Being thus smitten by the tree and overwhelmed with the strike of Sala he was troubled like unto a heavily laden boat in the midst of an ocean. And these (two brothers) gifted with mighty strength and prowess and motion of Suparna, and having huge persons fought with each other like unto the Sun and Moon on the sky. They were inimical to each other and intent on finding their mutual dark sides. And Vali, gifted with strength and prowess, fared better in the conflict, and that highly powerful son of Sun—Sugriva, was worsted. And having his pride crushed down by Vali and strength greatly reduced, Sugriva in anger pointed him out unto Rama. Thereupon there took place a mighty conflict between them like unto Vitra and Vasava by means of trees with branches, hills, nails, hard as thunderbolts, fists, knees, legs and arms. And these two monkeys ranging in the forest, fought with each other, having their persons bathed in blood, and roaring like unto clouds. And Raghava and again and again beheld the weak points of that monkey chief Sugriva, losing his strength by and by. And beholding that chief of monkeys greatly distressed, the highly powerful and heroic Rama cast his looks upon his shaft, having the destruction of Vali in view. And fixing on his bow an arrow resembling a serpent, he stretched it like unto Death drawing out his cycle of time. Being terrified by the sound of his stringing of the bow the birds and beasts, dismayed as on the eve of dissolution, fled away into different quarters. And a mighty shaft, like onto thunderbolt and resembling flaming fire, being hurled by Rama, alighted on the breast of Vali. Being wounded by that shaft that highly powerful chief of monkeys, gifted with prowess fell down on the earth. Like unto Sakra's banner in the full-moon of Aswin, Vali, with his throat choked with vapor, losing all sense and sighing hard, fell dead down to the ground. As the great God Hara emitted forth fire with smoke from his mouth, so that best of men like unto Death hurled an excellent, flaming and foe-destroying shaft, resembling gold and death itself. Thereupon being bathed in blood that son of Vasava, fell senseless on the ground, in the conflict like unto a blossoming Asoka growing on a hill and Sakra's banner struck down on the earth.

SECTION 17.

Thereupon Vali, adept in warfare, wounded by Rama's shaft, fell down to the ground like unto a felled tree. Ornamented with burning gold, he stretched the whole length of his person on the ground like unto the banner of the Lord of celestials, loosened and thrown (off the chariot). That lord of monkeys being levelled to the ground, his kingdom appeared like unto the sky, shorn of the Moon. Though struck down to the earth, neither vitality, effulgence nor prowess did renounce the body of that high-souled one. That excellent gold and jewel-crested garland conferred on him by Sakra maintained the vitality, effulgence and prowess of that lord of monkeys. Being adorned with that golden garland, that heroic lord, of monkey-herds, appeared like unto an evening cloud. Though felled to the ground, his beauty appeared as if divided into three, namely, his garland, his body and the shaft piercing his heart. The arrow thrown off Rama's bow pointing out unto him the way to the celestial region, became an excellent means to that hero. Beholding the broad-chested and mighty-armed Vali, Mahendra's son, wearing a golden garland and having a flaming countenance and yellow eyes, thus struck down to the earth, resembling a flameless fire in the field of battle, like unto Yayati, slipped from the abode of the celestials on the wane of his peity, like unto a tree falling down to the earth at the time of Dissolution, hard to repress as Mahendra himself, incapable to withstand like Upendra, Rama, followed by Lakshmana, approached and beheld him. And paying respects unto that hero falling on the earth like unto a flameless fire and eying him again and again those two highly powerful brothers, Rama and Lakshmana neared him. And beholding that highly powerful Raghava and Lakshmana, Vali addressed them with the following bold and pious words. And thereupon Vali, of mitigated prowess, waning vitality, motionless and stretched on the ground, spoke unto Rama, proud of warfare, saying these pregnant words.—"What merit hast thou reaped by destroying me, who was not engaged in fight with thee? I was exercised with ire, being engaged in conflict (with another person) and for thee I have met with destruction. People speak highly of thee, O Rama, on this earth, describing thee as coming of a high family, gifted with manliness and prowess, ever engaged in the welfare of thy subjects, compassionate, energetic, of firm resolution and knowing time. Punishment, control of passions, forgiveness, piety, firmness, truth, prowess and suppression of the wicked—these all are the royal virtues. And knowing thy high pedigree, and all these thy accomplishments I approached Sugriva with a hostile intention, albeit prevented by Tara. Before I saw thee I had thought within myself:—'Forsooth Rama shall not destroy me, engaged as I am with another person and hence not prepared to fight with him.' I do now know thee as one who hath spoliated his soul through impious actions, feigning religion while in truth an irreligious person, resorting to all vicious deeds, like unto a well crusted with grass, unrighteous while passing under the cloak of honesty and religion like unto a hidden fire. I have not done thee any wrong either in thy kingdom or in thy city. Nor have I passed by thee. Why hast thou then destroyed me, who am a monkey ranging always in the woods, living on fruits and roots and who have come here to fight with anpther person? It appears that thou art of a kingly father and of a graceful countenance. And, O king, there are marks of piety on thy person. Who, born in the race of Kshatryas, versed in religious lore, having his doubts removed and marks of peity on his person, perpetrates such an iniquitous deed? Thou art born in the family of Raghus and known all over the world as being pious. Being clothed in righteousness why dost thou commit such an unrighteous act? Chastisement, charity, forgiveness, piety, truthfulness firmness, prowess and the punishment of the iniquitous are the virtues of a king, O prince. We are, O Rama, wild beasts ranging in the forest and living on roots and fruits—our nature is such—but thou art a man, O king. Land, gold and silver are the causes of dissension. But who is there who is avaricious enough to get by our forest habitations and fruits? The royal virtue consists in humbly and freely administering discipline, favour and punishment. Kings by no means, should follow their whims. But thou art angry and unsteady by nature, capricious, perfectly narrow-minded in the discharge of thy royal duties and dost use thy bow and shafts (any where and every time). Thou hast no attachment for virtue, no comprehension of right things and art always guided by thy passions albeit thou art a lord of men. O Kakutstha, destroying me sinless, with thy shaft and perpetrating such a digraceful act, how shalt thou relate it unto the pious. Those, who commit treason, destroy Brahmins and kine, who are theives and always engaged in the destruction of animals, and who are athiests and marry before their elder brothers are married, do all go to hell. The villainous, the avaricious, those who kill their friends and elope with their preceptor's wives, do always visit the land of the vicious. And there is not the least doubt about it. My skin is npt worthy of thy touch and my bones and hairs should always be avoided by the Virtuous. And my flesh is not worthy of being eaten by persons of thy piety. A hedge-hog a porcupine, an iguana, a hare and a tortoise—these five animals only, having five toes, are worthy of being eaten by the Kshatryas and Brahmins, O Raghava. The wise, O R£ma, do not touch my skin and bones and my flesh is not worthy of being taken—I am that (monkey) having five toes who have been killed by thee. Alas! disregarding the well meaning and truthful words of Tara, I have placed myself under the control of Kala(Death). O Kakuthstha, the Earth hath got thee as her husband like unto a good natured damsel being wedded to a husband who hath forsaken his own religion. How art thou, who art wicked, narrow-minded, a liar and ever intent upon bringing about others' misfortune, born of the loins of the high-souled Dacaratha? I have been killed by an elephant—Rama, disregarding the virtue of the pious, breaking the chord of character, and neglecting the goad of religion. Perpetrating this inauspicious, and improper act, blamed of the worthy what shalt thou speak unto the pious when thou shalt return in their company? The prowess, thou hast displayed towards me, careless, O Rama thou dost never employ for the suppression of the iniquitous. O son of a king, hadst thou fought with me openly thou wouldst have, forsooth, seen the abode of Death being killed by me. O Rama, like unto a serpent destroying persons asleep, thou, that art under the control of vice, hast killed me, who am hard to repress, keeping thyself out of my sight in the battle. I have been killed by thee, desirous of encompassing Sugriva's well being. Hadst thou apprized me of thy object before, I would have got thee thy Maithili in the course of a day, and brought, by the neck, that vicious-souled Rakshasa—Ravana, the ravisher of thy spouse without putting an end to his life in the battle. Whether in the deep ocean or in the region under the earth, I shall bring thy Maithili like unto an Ashyatari. It is perfectly proper that Sugriva shall inherit my kingdom on my ascension to heaven. And it is equally improper that I have been viciously killed by thee in the battle. Every one in time meets with death and hence there is nothing to be sorry for me. But do thou think of a proper reply thou shalt give to the people (when asked about the cause of my destruction)." Having said this, that high-souled Son of monkey-chief, greatly distressed being wounded by (Rama's) shaft and having his countenance dried up, became silent, fixing his look upon Rama, resembling the sun.

SECTION 18.

And thus Rama was addressed by Vali, wounded and senseless, with those modest, pious and auspicious words. And being thus reproached he spoke unto that excellent lord of monkeys, gifted with virtue and other accomplishments, resembling the Sun shorn of its lustre, a cloud which has already discharged its waters and fire extinguished.—"Not cognisant of virtue, knowledge, passion and custom, why dost thou blame me like a child? Why dost thou purpose to address me thus out of fickleness, consequent upon thy monkeyhood not asking thy wise elders recognized by the preceptors? This land, abounding in hills and woods, belongs to the Ikswakus. Along with it was conferred on them the power of administering favour and chastisement unto beasts, birds and human beings. The upright, virtuous and truthful king Bharata, cognisant of virtue, knowledge and passion and ever engaged in adminstering favour and punishment, governs this kingdom. That king is said to be cognisant of time and place; in him dwelleth modesty, truthfulness, prowess and a love for discipline. Ourselves and other kings, being commanded by him to practise piety, have been journeying in this wide world desirous of multiplying virtue. That foremost of monarchs,

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Bharata—lover of virtue, governing this entire earth, who dares perpetrate an iniquity? Stationed in the excellent virtue of our own and placing Bharata' s commandments on our heads, we shall consider how we shall punish them who go astray (from the path of virtue). Thou hast oppressed virtue and perpetrated a gross iniquity. Thou hast placed thyself under the control of thy passions and deviated from the track of royal duties. The elder brother, father, and the instructor—these three should always be regarded in the light of a father if they tread the paths of virtue and morality. A younger brother, a son and an accomplished follower should always be regarded as sons. And virtue is always at the bottom of all such considerations. O monkey, the religion of the good is indeed very subtle and can comprehend great things—the immortal soul can understand what is good or bad. Fickle as thou art, how canst thou comprehend what is proper, consulting with thy monkey companions who are equally stupid and light-hearted, like unto one, born blind, leading with another such? I do fairly speak unto thee that it is not anger only that has led me to bring about thy destruction. Do thou consider why I have killed thee—thou hast ravished thy brother's wife renouncing that ever-existing virtue. Thou, the perpetrator of many evil deeds, hast got by Ruma, the wife of thy brother —the high-souled Sugriva. O monkey, thou hast thus violated the path of virtue. And thus I have punished thee who hast ravished thy elder brother's spouse. O thou, the leader of monkey-herds—I find no other alternative than to punish him who acts against humanity and violates the sacred sanctions of custom. I am a Kshatrya coming of a high pedigree. I cannot put up with thy immoral conduct. Sastrassanction the destruction of one who under the influence of passion ravishes his own daughter, sister and younger brother's wife. This is Bharata's commandment—the lord of earth, and we have been satisfying his orders. Thou hast disregarded virtue. A wise man, living in virtue, cannot let go one who hath passed by the sanctions of morality. Bharata hath sanctioned the destruction of the amorous; and we, O lord of monkeys, following his orders, though proper, to encompass the destruction of one like thee who hath spoliated virtue and morality. Like unto Lakshmana, I have contracted friendship with Sugriva. And with a view to regain his wife and kingdom, he resolved to engage in my well-being. I too also promised the same before the monkeys. And how can a man of my position neglect to make good his promise? For these causes of very great moment, favoured by virtue, I have administered unto thee this condign punishment. Do thou now approve it. Thy discomfiture is quite of a piece with the sanctions of morality— and to assist friends is one of the codes of religion. Hear, Manu hath composed a couple of couplets tending to the purification of character and highly prized by the virtuous as well as myself. Those who, perpetrating iniquity, bear with fortitude the punishment, inflicted by their soverign get at the abode of the celestials being purified like unto the pious. People are freed from their sins, when they confessing their crimes, are either punished or forgiven. But the monarch who doth not punish the perpetrator of an evil deed, is visited by a mighty sin. Formerly an iniquity, like one perpetrated by thee, was committed by a devotee who was punished severely by my forefather Mandhata. And other lords of earth punish in the same way the authors of misdeeds. What more, the perpetrators of crime, themselves undergo penances and are thus released from their sins. Therefore do not repent any more, O best of monkeys. The punishment, I have inflicted on thee, is in consonance with the sanctions of morality. We are not our own masters. Hearken, O best of monkeys, there is another argument (for thy destruction); and hearing which, O great hero, it behoveth thee to renounce thy ire. Many persons living on flesh, either lying in ambush, or openly catch and pierce by means of net, noose and trap, many a deer, terrified and trusted, taking to their heels or quarrelling with their companions, careful or careless. They are not to blame in this and I do not cherish, O best of monkeys, any mortification or ire for this. And even many royal ascetics, versed in religious lore, go a-hunting; and hence thou hast been killed by me with a shaft, O monkey, in the conflict. And I am justified in killing thee, whether thou dost fight or not since thou art a monkey. There is no doubt, O best of monkeys, that the monarchs confer life and piety auspicious and hard to attain. It doth not therefore behove any one to injure them, to blame them and to use improper words by them—since they are the celestials ranging on this earth under the semblance of man. Not knowing virtue and growing angry why dost thou blame me who am following the religion of my forefathers?" Being thus accosted by Rama, Vali, greatly mortified and informed of the principle of religion, observed no delinquency in Raghava. Thereupon that lord of monkeys spake unto Rama, with folded hands, saying "There is not the least doubt, O best of men, in all that thou hast said. An inferior person can by no means address his superior improperly. It doth not behove thee, O Raghava, therefore to blame me for those unpleasant words which I used towards thee, out of foolishness. Thou hast acquired a practical mastery over the principles of religion and art ever engaged in the welfare of thy subjects. Thy eternal power of ascertaining the crime and meeting its condign punishment is perfectly clear. Do thou know me as the foremost of sinners and one who hath deviated from the track of morality. Do thou conduct me, with pious words, to a better land." Vali, having his throat choked with vapour, addressed again and again, Rama, with piteous accents, saying:—"I do not mourn so much for me, Tara, or other friends as for my son Angada, eldest and wearing a golden Angada [A bracelet worn on the upper arm.]. Brought up by me from his very infancy, he shall by my separation, wear away like unto a pond having its liquid contents drunk up by an elephant. He is my only son, dear and born of Tara. A mere child and of unripe understanding as he is, that one of mighty strength should always be protected by thee, O Rama. Do thou regard favourably Sugriva and Angada. Thou art their protector, and chastiser punishing them for their sins. O king, O lord of men, it behoveth thee to regard Sugriva and Angada in the same light in which thou regardest Bharata and Lakshmana. It behoveth thee to so arrange as Sugriva may not disregard that chaste Tara who is blameable for my folly only. He, who is favoured by thee, abideth by thy commandments and acteth after thy heart, can acquire kingdom, attain to heaven, and govern the earth. Desiring to have my destruction brought about by thee, I entered into conflict with my brother Sugriva, albeit prevented by Tara." Having addressed Rama thus, the lord of monkeys stopped. Thereupon Rama consoled Vali, of clear understanding with the following moral words, acceptable unto the Saints. "O best of monkeys, do thou not consider ourselves as well as thyself blameable. We are more conversant, than thou, with the principles of religion. They never lose their virtue being proficient in the mode of ascerting crime and punishing it—one administering punishment unto the criminal and the criminal receiving it. And therefore receiving punishment (from me) thou hast been released from thy sins and acquired a knowledge of religion. Do thou therefore renounce thy grief, thy illusion and the fear that is lurking in thy heart. It is impossible for thee, O foremost of monkeys, to withstand the course of dispensation. There is not the least doubt, O lord of monkeys, that Angada shall be brought up by me and Sugriva in the same way as he was by thee." Hearing these sweet, collected and pious words of the high-souled Rama,—the represser of the enemies in a battle,—the monkey again addressed him with the following pregnant words—"O lord, O thou having Mahendra's prowess, I do propitiate thee for my having insulted thee with improper words, senseless as I was being wounded by shafts. Do thou forgive me, O lord of monkeys."

SECTION 19.

Being thus accosted with reasonable words, that lord, of monkeys, lying on the ground and wounded with shafts, gave no reply. Having his limbs dissevered by stones, being struck with trees and wounded by Rama's shaft, he became sensetess at the approach of death. His spouse Tara heard that Vali, the foremost of monkeys, had been killed in the conflict by Rama's shaft. Hearing the heart-rending news of her husband's demise, she, big with a child, issued out of the mountain cave with a troubled heart. And beholding Rama with a bow in his hand, the mighty monkeys, followers of Angada, fled away, terrified. Thereupon Tara observed those monkeys flying away terrified like unto deer alienated from their herd, having lost their king. And the chaste lady, racked with sorrow, spoke unto those monkeys, afraid of Rama, wounded with shafts and exercised with grief, saying:—"O monkeys, why are ye dying away, terrified and distressed, leaving behind that foremost of kings before whom ye were used to fight? Hath Vali been killed by Rama, waiting at a distance with fleet and distant coursing shafts, being requested by Sugriva for kingdom?" Hearing the words of that wife of the monkey, they, wearing shapes at will, addressed that damsel with words, worthy of being said on that occasion,—"O thou, having thy son alive, do thou go back and bring up thy son Angada. Death himself, under Rama's semblance, hath snatched away Vali. He was killed by (Rama's) shafts, resembling thunderbolts, as if clapped by thunder itself, having bored trees and big stones (hurled by Vali). That king of monkeys, having Sakra's prowess, being made away with, this host of monkeys have been taking to their heels being overwhelmed with consternation. Let the heroes defend the city and install Angada on the throne. And on his being installed the monkeys shall serve Vali's son. O thou having a fine countenance, the monkeys shall enter this stronghold, although it is a favourite place with thee. Herein dwell many forest-rangers, wifeless and having wives. And we are really afraid of them, avaricious, and formerly deprived of their wealth by us." Hearing those words of the monkeys, lying at a little distance, that lady, smiling sweet, spoke unto them, words worthy of herself—"That great lord of monkeys, my husband, being dead, what shall I do with my son, my kingdom and myself? I shall place myself at the feet of that high-souled one, who hath been killed by Rama's shaft." Having said this, (Tara) proceeded, overwhelmed with grief, weeping and striking her bead with her hands. While proceeding, she espied her husband lying on the ground like unto the destroyer of the lords of monkeys who have never been discomfitted in a battle field, hurling mountains like unto Vasava hurling thunderbolts; emitting a roar like unto a big cloud assisted by a mighty wind; resembling Sakra in prowess and like unto a cloud accompanied by rain; the represser of repressers; a mighty hero discomfitted by an equally powerful one; like unto a lion killed by a tiger for flesh; worshipped of all mem; like unto a chaitya [A pile of stones.], adorned with pennons and altars, scattered and broken by Garuda with a view to kill serpents. And she espied Rama reclining his person on a mighty bow, his younger brother and her husband's younger brother. Passing them by and getting at her husband and beholding him killed in battle, she, losing her senses fell down to the ground. And thereupon rising again like one asleep, she, beholding her husband engarlanded by death, cried aloud, exclaiming "O son of worshipful sire." And beholding Tara like unto a she-elephant and Angada, bewailing in this wise, Sugriva attained to an excess of grief.

SECTION 20.

Beholding her husband lying dead on the ground with the life-destroying shafts of Rama, Tara, having a moon-like countenance, approaching, embraced him. And seeing him slain with shafts like unto an elephant, resembling a lord of mountains and an uprooted tree, Tara, racked with grief began to bewail—"O hero, O foremost of monkeys, O powerful one, O thou terrible in warfare, why dost thou not welcome me to-day who am guilty of some iniquity by thee? Rise, O best of monkeys, and lie down on a better bed; monarchs do not stretch themselves on earth. O lord of earth, indeed earth is thy favourite wife; since renouncing me, thou, though dead, art serving her with thy body. Evident it is, O hero, that while engaged in a lawful conflict, thou hadst created another city of Kishkindha,in the region of the celestials. All thy enjoyments with me in nectar-smelling woods, have been brought to a close. Thou, the lord of monkey-herds, being slain, I am deprived of joy and hope and am sunk in the abyss of grief. Forsooth, my heart is uncommon hard, since beholding thee on the ground it hath not been sundered into thousand pieces being overwhelmed with grief. Sugriva's wife was carried away and banished by thee and this is the result of thy action, O foremost of monkeys. O lord of monkeys, out of thy ignorance thou didst neglect all my well meaning words which I said, being intent on thy welfare and benefit. O worshipful one, thou shalt captivate today, the hearts of the dexterous Apsaras, proud of their youth and beauty. Forsooth, thou hast been by force brought under the control of Kala, since thou hast been discomfitted by Sugriva, albeit thou art above the control of others. Destroying Vali unseasonably, while engaged in conflict with another person, and perpetrating such an iniquitous deed, Kakuthstha doth never relent. Unused to miseries before how shall I, being an object commiseration, put up like one helpless, with my widow-hood and grief. How shall the heroic and youthful Angada, brought up in luxury and happiness, be regarded by his uncle, senseless with wrath? Do thou cast for good, O my son, thy looks towards thy pious sire, for since now it will be hard for thee to see him again. Do thou console thy son, favour me with orders, smell his head, as thou art going to journey in a foreign land. By destroying thee, Rama,hath performed a great action, since by this he hath been released from his vow unto Sugriva. O Sugriva, do thou gain thy ends and get back thy Ruma; devoid of anxiety do thou govern thy kingdom—thy enemy, thy brother hath been slain. O lord of monkeys, why dost thou not welcome me, thy beloved spouse, who am bewailing thus? Behold, thy other wives are also mourning in the same wise." Hearing the bewailings of that she-monkey, others, taking Angada, distressed and overwhelmed with grief, began to cry piteously.—"O hero, having Angada on thy arms, why art thou proceeding on a journey for good in a foreign land leaving behind (thy son) Angada. It doth not behove thee (to leave aside) thy dear son, gifted with diverse accomplishments and wearing a charming and beautiful cloth. O thou of long arms, O lord of monkeys, if I have offended thee in any way, do thou forgive me, after ascertaining my crime. O hero, I touch thy feet with my head." Bewailing thus piteously with other she-monkeys, Tara, having a blameless countenance, stationing herself where Vali was, resolved to put an end to her being by fastings.

SECTION 21.

Thereupon beholding Tara fallen (on the ground) like unto a star dropt down from the sky, Hanuman, the lord of monkey-herds, consoled her again and again.—"Animals, unagitated, attain to happiness or misery, as an outcome of their actions performed (in their previous existence) by merits or demerits. Why dost thou mourn for others, thyself being an object of moruning? Why dost thou feel commisseration for the poor, thyself being poorly? In this body like unto a babble who is there who mourneth for another? It behoveth thee now, O thou having thy son alive, to look after prince Angada and

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think of those duties which remain to be executed by thee (after the demise of Vali). Do thou know that life and death of the animals is very unsettled. It is therefore proper to perform what tends to the welfare of afterlife. It doth not behove thee, O learned damsel, to mourn like others. He even, who (while living) was surrounded by thousands of monkeys cherishing hopes, hath met his destined end. This hero discharged his royal duties in consonance with the sanctions of morality and was gifted with various kingly accomplishments such as conciliation, charity and forgiveness. He hath attained to the land of kings and it becometh thee not to mourn for him. O blameless damsel, all these foremost of monkeys, this thy son Angada, this kingdom of the monkey chief, do belong to thee. Do thou soon despatch, O passionate lady, these two (Angada and Sugriva) exercised with grief as they are (for the performance of Vali's funeral rites). And abiding by thy commandments let Angada govern the earth. Let Angada perform all those ceremonies, which should be gone through by sons according to the Sastras and which are for the well-being of the king; this is the time for the performances of those funeral rites. Performing the funeral ceremonies of the lord of monkeys do thou install Angada. And beholding thy son thus established on the throne thou shalt be able to pacify thy grief?" Hearing those words of Hanuman, Tara, racked with grief consequent upon the loss of her lord, bespake him who was standing there:—"I would rather die with this hero who hath been slain than have a hundred sons like Angada. I cannot myself govern this kingdom nor can I confer it upon Angada. Such duty devolves upon his (Angada's) uncle Sugriva now. O Hanuman, do thou not consider that I shall confer this kingdom upon Angada—O best of monkeys, father is son's friend (in this respect) not mother. There is no other resource for me tending to my welfare both in this world and the next than taking refuge onto this lord of monkeys. It is becoming for me to serve this bed which hath been resorted to by the hero, slain (and lying before me.)

SECTION 22.

Vali, ranging on the verge of death, casting his looks around and sighing faintly, espied his younger brother Sugriva before him. Welcoming that lord of monkeys with clear accents, Vali addressed him affectionately saying:—"O Sugriva, do thou not take to thy heart the improper conduct I have shown towards thee, being attracted by inevitable foolishness, subject as I was to sin. Methinks, O brother, it is not our fortune to enjoy at the same time the double bliss of fraternal affection and the enjoyment of kingdom, or else why has it happened otherwise? Do thou acquire to-day this kingdom of the forest-ranges and know me as one who hath departed to the abode of Death. Soon shall I renounce my life, kingdom, my exquisite grace and my blameless fame. It behoveth thee, O hero, O king, to perform what I shall speak unto thee in this plight, however difficult it might be. Do thou behold Angada fallen on the ground with tears in his eyes—a little boy, incapable, brought up in luxury and deserving happiness. Do thou maintain this my son, dearer than my life, like unto thy own son, born of thy loins, satisfying all his wants in my absence. O best of monkeys, like unto me, thou art his father, protector, conferrer of gifts and remover of fear. This graceful son of Tara equals thee in prowess and shall precede thee in the destruction of Rakshasas. This youthful Angada, Tara's son, gifted with energy and strength, shall perform befitting exploits displaying his prowess in the battle. Surasen's daughter is wonderfully expert in ascertaining subtle things and giving counsels in the time of danger. Do thou, without the least doubt perform what shall the chaste lady instruct thee to do; for Tara's advice never goes without effect. It behoveth thee to perform Raghava's service fearlessly or else thou shalt be visited with sin: on his being insulted thou shalt be injured. O Sugriva, do thou put on this celestial golden garland—herein dwelleth the bounteous Sree who shall renounce me after my death." Having been accosted thus by Vali, out of fraternal affection, Sugriva renouncing joy again became pale like unto the Moon possessed by Rahu. Renouncing his inimical feelings, being thus addressed by Vali and carrying out his words energetically Sugriva accepted the golden garland as ordered (by him). And conferring (upon Sugriva) that golden garland and beholding his son before him, Vali, resolved upon death, spake unto Angada, saying:—"Do thou place thyself now under the control of Sugriva, ascertaining time and place, putting up with misery for thy welfare and injury. O thou having long arms, Sugriva shall not regard thee much, if dost thou remain in the same wise in which thou hadst been brought up by me before. O slayer of foes, do thou never mix with Sugriva's enemies, and place thyself always under Sugriva's control, having subdued thy senses and being intent upon thy master's (Sugriva's) welfare. Do thou not cultivate too much of friendship nor be wanting in it—for both of these extremes are sources of disasters. Do thou therefore follow the golden mean." After he had said this, his eyes became expanded, his teeth were opened and his appearance became ghastly. And greatly pained by shafts he breathed his last. And thereupon, the monkeys, the foremost of those who go jumping, having lost their chief, bewailed and cried. On that monkey chiefs departure to the land of celestials, Kishkindha was divested of her lord, and gardens, hills and woods were all rendered lonely. That best of monkeys, who fought a dreadful battle with the high-souled Gandharbas, being dead, all other monkeys became of pale countenance. "Vali entered into a terrible conflict with the mighty-armed Golava and fought for ten years and five, for nights and days without respite. And on the sixteenth year, Golava was killed. Bringing about the destruction of that wicked Gandharba, Vali, having terrible teeth, saved us all from fear. How hath he been killed to-day?" Like unto kine, incapable of enjoying peace in a mighty forest filled with lions, their chief being dead, these forest-rangers could not attain to felicity on the demise of that lord of monkeys. Thereupon, Tara, sunk in the gulf of disaster, eying the countenance of her deceased lord, fell down to the ground embracing Vali like unto a creeper clinging for its support to a mighty but broken tree.

SECTION 23.

Thereupon smelling the face of that lord of monkeys, Tara again addressed her deceased lord, known all over the world, saying:—"O hero, disregarding my words, thou art lying on the uneven earth, hard and filled with gravels. O lord of monkeys, the earth is dearer unto thee than I, since thou art lying there embracing her and art not welcoming me. O hero, O dear, O brave lord, wonder it is that God under the semblance of Rama, hath placed himself under the control of Sugriva; hithertofore he shall be regarded as a hero. Why art thou not awake, hearing the bewailings of bears and monkeys who used to wait upon thee, powerful, as well as that of Angada and myself? Alas! thou art lying on this bed of the heroes, being slain in the battle, where formerly, thy enemies destroyed by thee, used to lie down. thou born of a pure family, O thou that art fond of warfare, O my dear, O conferror of honours, whither hast thou departed making me husbandless? Let not the wise, henceforth, confer their daughters upon the heroes. Alas! behold me, the wife of a hero, made a widow in no time. Shattered is my honour and destroyed is my happiness and I am sunk in the deep abyss of grief. Forsooth, this my firm heart is not sundered into hundred pieces, beholding my husband slain! Thou art my friend, my dear husband and a great hero—and thou hast met with destruction, being struck by another man. A husbandless woman is always styled by the wise as widow, although she might have a son and enough of riches. O hero, thou art lying down in a pool of blood issuing out of thy own person, like unto thy own bed having a red-dyed bed-sheet. Thy body is on all sides besmeared with blood and dust and I am incapable of embracing thee with my arms, O best of monkeys. Surely hath Sugriva satisfied his hostile intention to-day, whose fear hath been removed by one shaft, discharged by Rama. Thyself departing to the land of the dead, I have been eying thee simply, being prevented from touching thy person by the shaft piercing thy heart". Thereupon Neela took out that shaft from the person of (Vali) like unto a flaming serpent lurking in a mountain cave. There beamed the shaft extracted from his body like unto the rays of the Sun, stationed on the summit of the setting hill. And there poured forth from all his wounds, streams of blood, like unto showers of melted copper and other metals falling from a mountain. And (Tara) washed, with tears, her heroic husband's body covered with dust and wounded with weapons. Beholding her husband thus slain and besmeared with blood, she spake unto her son, Angada, having coppery eyes,saying:—"Behold this terrible declining stage of thy Sire. Here is the end of his hostilities collected by his impious actions. O my son, do thou bow unto thy kingly father, the conferrer of honours, who hath departed to the abode of Death, having a flaming person like unto the rising Sun." Thus accosted, Angada rose up and, saying, "I (do touch my Sire's feet)," embraced his father's feet with his plump arms. (Thereupon Tara said)—"Saying 'Do thou live long' why dost thou not welcome Angada, to-day as before, who hath bowed unto thee? I am with my son, standing by thee who art dead, like unto a cow with her calf, having the bull slain by a lion. How hast thou, without me, thy wife, bathed in the water of Rama's shafts, at the end of thy battle-like sacrifice? Why do I not behold here that favourite golden garland of thine, which was conferred on thee by the lord of celestials, pleased in a battle? Royal grace hath not renounced thee, O conferrer of honours, albeit thou art dead, like unto the rays not quitting the king of mountains, even after the Sun is set. Thou didst not act by my wholesome words, nor could I prevent thee. And I am now destroyed with my son, along with thee in the battle. Truly hath Sree (goddess of wealth) renounced me."

SECTION 24.

Beholding Tara emerged in a deep and mighty ocean of grief, Vali's younger brother was overwhelmed with penitence, in consequence of the unbecoming destruction of his brother. And seeing her countenance full of tears, the high-souled (Sugriva), racked with grief and repentance, approached slowly Rama along with his followers. And nearing him, with a bow in his hand, having arrows like unto serpents, famed and having auspicious marks on his person, he spake unto Raghava, seated there, saying—"O lord of men, thou hast fulfilled thy promise by carrying it out into practice; and as for wretched me, O son of a king, I shall refrain today from all enjoyments. This queen lamenting piteously, these subjects and retinue bewailing, being overwhelmed with grief, this king being slain, how can kingdom please me? O Rama out of anger, and passion, and on account of my being insulted by him, I did formerly desire to bring about my brother's destruction. But that lord of monkey-herds being slain, best of Ikshwakus, I am truly pierced to the quick with anguish. I do prefer living for good in the mount Rishyamuka, earning my livelihood somehow or other, to the accession of heaven by destroying (Vali). This highly intellectual and high-souled one spake unto me "Do thou range at large, I do not wish to destroy thee." Such words were really becoming of him, O Rama. And these words and this action become me (vile as I am). How can a brother, O Rama, however avaricious he night be, relish the destruction of his qualified brother, comparing the happiness of a kingdom, with the grief (consequent upon his brother's demise)? He did not desire to slay me, lest his greatness might be spoiled; but alas! through my wicked sense, I performed an iniquity by taking the life of my brother. Being struck by him with branches of trees, while I fled away and wept, he, consoling me, said only "Do not do this again. " He all along maintained his fraternal feelings, his honesty and piety; but (woe to me) I have displayed my wrath, passion and monkey-hood. O friend, like unto the lord of celestials perpetrating sin by destroying Biswarupa, I have been, by bringing about the destruction of my brother, visited with this sin, beyond comprehension, avoidable, undesirable and invisible. Indra's sin was shared by earth; water, trees and women; but who is there who will bear and desire to participate this monkey's sin? Perpetrating such an improper and irreligious act, tending to the decay of my family, I do not deserve the respect of my subjects and the heir-apparentship; what of kingdom, O Raghava. I am the perpetrator of a vile and disgraceful sin, blamed of all in this world. And like unto a current of rain going downwards, this mighty grief hath overcome me. This mighty and infuriated elephant of a sin, having the destruction of a brother as its body, repentence, as its trunk, head, eyes and tusks, hath been crushing me like unto the banks of a river. Alas! O best of kings, this unbearable sin hath been driving away all pious feelings from my heart like unto alloy leaking out of discoloured gold when molten in fire, O Raghava. Methinks, for me, O Raghava, these mighty monkeys and Angada are almost half-dead (with grief). A good-natured and obedient son is rare. Where is to be found Angada's equal? O hero, there is no such land where I may meet again my brother. The heroic Angada shall not live to-day—and if he lives, his mother shall live to bring him up. Forsooth, without her son, she shall not live long. Therefore shall I enter this flaming fire with a view to place myself on the same level with my brother and his son and all these mighty monkeys shall engage in quest of Sita, abiding by thy commandments. O son of a king, they shall all carry out thy orders even in my absence, do thou,therefore, order me (to enter fire) who am the destroyer of my own race, have performed an inquity and do not deserve living any more." Hearing the words of Vali's younger brother, who was bewailing thus, Rama, the heroic descendant of Raghu and the slayer of foes, remained stupified for some time with tears in his eyes. In the mean-time, Rama, patient like unto the protector of the world, worked with curiosity, looked again and again towards the bewailing Tara sunk in the gulf of disaster. Thereupon the principal counsellors raised up the brave spouse of the lord of monkeys, having graceful eyes and lying ou the earth, embracing her husband. And snatched away from her husband and trembling, she beheld Rama, with bow and arrows in his hand, burning like unto the Sun by virtue of his own effulgence. And beholding him gifted with all royal marks, having beautiful eyes and never seen before, that one, having the eyes of a fawn, thought within herself. "This great one must be Kakuthstha." And the worshipful Tara, worked with grief, and overwhelmed with disasters, bewailing, neared quickly that high-souled one, resembling the lord of celestials and hard to approach. And having reached the pure-souled Rama, who had his ends fully attained in battle, the high-minded Tara, having her frame worked with grief, spake unto him, saying:—"Thou art immeasurable, hard to approach, highly pious, prudent, of controlled senses and increasing fame, forgiving like unto earth and of blood-red eyes. Thou hast bow and arrows in hand, art highly powerful and of a tough body. And renouncing human grace that hast assumed the grace of a celestial person. Do thou slay me with that self-same shaft with which my dear one was slain. And thus slain, O hero, I shall be near him, for Valii doth not relish the company of any other woman but me. O thou having eyes resembling clean lotus-petals, this (hero) departing to the abode of celestials and not beholding me there, shall not delight in the company of Apsaras, wearing diversified garments and copper-coloured corronets. Even in the land of celestials, O hero, Vali shall

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turn pale with grief in my separation, like unto thee in the picuresque dale of the Lord of mountains, separated from the daughter of the king of Videha. Thou knowest well that a handsome man is greatly afflicted with the separation of his spouse; and knowing this, do thou slay me, and Vali shall not be tormented with grief consequent upon my absence. High-souled as thou art, thou art thinking that thou shalt, slaying me, be visited with a sin arising from the destruction of a female. But do thou kill me, O son of a king, knowing me as the soul of Vali, and thou shalt not be responsible for destroying a woman. According to the Vedas and various other sacred texts, wives are inseparably blended with their husbands. And the wise say that there is no other gift better than that of a wife in this world. Thou shalt, O hero, confer me religiously upon my dear one and by this gift thou shalt be saved from the sin consequent upon killing me. It doth not behove thee not to kill me, who am exercised with grief, without my lord, snatched away from him and reduced to such a (pitiable) plight. O lord of men, I cannot live long without that highly intelligent lord of monkeys, having an elephantine gait and wearing an excellent golden garland." Thus accosted, the high-souled lord consoling Tara, spake unto her the following well-meaning words.—"Do thou not lose thyself, O wife of a hero. This whole world of creation is being guided by God's dispensation. And by Him is administered misery or happiness as people say. These three worlds cannot neglect His dispensations and are entirely subject to Him. Thy son shall attain to the heir apparentship of the throne and thou shalt enjoy excellent joy therefrom. This hath been decreed by the Almighty. Wives of heroes do never relent." Being thus consoled by the high-souled (Rama) gifted with prowess, and the slayer of foes, Tara, the wife of a heroic husband, and wearing a graceful garment, ceased bewailing.

SECTION 25.

Thereupon, Kakutstha, with Lakshmana, equally aggrieved, said, consoling Sugriva, and Tara together with Angada.—"Grief and lamentations do not tend to the welfare of the deceased. It therefore behoveth ye to perform the after ceremonies. Ye have satisfied the worldly practice with a profuse discharge of tears. It is not proper to delay the performance of appointed actions. Time is the prime cause in this world, and the source of the accomplishment of actions. And Time it is that leads men to actions. No one is the lord of another person, and no one leads him to actions. People are subject to their actions of previous existence and Time aids them. Even the Eternal being cannot withstand the ways of Time. He never decayeth and no one else can withstand the course of Time. It hath no friend, no cause and no one can overcome it. It hath no kinsman, no relation; even it is not subject to itself. The wise can percieve the work of Time. Piety, wealth and desire are all subject to it. Vali, the lord of monkeys, hath attained to his own true state, reaping the fruits of his actions, acquired by virtue of his royal accomplishments —namely, forgiveness and charity. The abode of the celestials, which was conquered by this high-souled one by his former piety, hath now been occupied by him after resigning his body. This is the best course of Time that hath been attained to by the lord of monkey-herds. No more with lamentations therefore; do thou perform the actions that are worthy of being performed on this occasion." After Rama had spoken thus, Lakshmana, the slayer of foes, addressed Sugriva, senseless with grief, with the following sound words:—"Sugriva, do thou perform the funeral ceremonies of Vali along with Tara and Angada. Do thou collect for cremation many a dry fuel and celestial sandal. Do thou console the unfortunate Angada, who is beside himself with grief. Do not conduct thyself like an ignorant person, for this city is now under thee. Let Angada bring clothes, garlands, scents, clarified butter, oil and other necessary articles. O Tara, do thou go and bring soon a conveyance; for speediness is a special virtue on an occasion like this. Let the monkeys dress themselves who can convey this hearse. The powerful and the capable only shall carry Vali". Having thus addressed Sugriva, Lakshmana, the enhancer of Sumitra's joy and the destroyer of foes, stood before his elder brother. And hearing the words of Lakshmana, the counsellor respectfully entered the cave with a view to bring the conveyance. And taking that conveyance carried by the monkeys and worthy of being carried by the heroes, he issued out again of the cave. It had a celestial throne and was like unto a war-chariot and had trees and birds painted on it. It was painted on all sides with the figures of foot soldiers, had latticed windows and was like unto the car of the Siddhas—spacious and artistically and stoutly built by artizans with beautiful carvings like unto a wooden hill. It was ornamented with excellent ornaments and beautiful garlands, sprinkled with red sandal and skirted with strong ribs. It was covered with flowers and lotus-garlands, crusted with precious clothes and had the colour of the rising Sun. Beholding such a conveyance, Rama spake unto Lakshmana, saying—"Do thou soon conduct the funeral service of Vali." Thereupon Sugriva, along with Angada, placing Vali on the conveyance, began to bewail.

And placing the lifeless body of Vali on it, he covered it with various ornaments, garlands, and clothes. Thereat Sugrira, the king of monkeys, ordered for the performance of Vali's funeral rites. "Let the monkeys go before, scattering many a precious jewel and let the conveyance follow them. Let the monkeys perform the obsequies of our master with such grandeur as befits the riches of the kings on this earth." With a view to perform the funeral ceremonies of Vali, the . counsellors and other monkeys, having lost their king and embraced Angada, proceeded weeping. And other subject monkeys followed them. And all other she-monkeys, headed by Tara, having lost their lord, bewailed, exclaiming again and again—"O hero, O hero".—And they, thus bewailing piteously, followed their lord. And in response to the bewailings of she-monkeys, hills and forests, as if, bewailed on all sides. Monkeys, ranging in the forest, made funeral piles on the banks of the hill-streams and in solitary watery nooks. Thereupon laying down from their shoulders the conveyance, those foremost of monkeys stationed themselves in a corner, being stricken with grief. And Tara, beholding her husband's body on the conveyance, placed his head on her lap and bewailed, overwhelmed with grief. "O lord of monkeys! O my lord! O my dear one! O thou used to luxuries! O thou having long arms! O my darling! behold me. Why dost thou not behold these monkeys, racked with sorrow? O conferrer of honours, thy countenance looks as if beaming with joy; although thou art dead, and thou appearest as if alive, having the hue of the setting Sun. O monkey, Death himself, under the semblance of Rama, is attracting thee, who with one shaft in the battle, hath rendered us all widows. O best of kings, these she-monkeys cannot go by jumping. Dost thou not percive that they have travelled so far on foot? Those thy wives, having moon-like countenances, have always thy welfare in view. Why dost thou not, O best of monkeys, cast thy looks towards them and Sugriva? O king, these thy counsellors, thy wives headed by Tara, and all these citizens are bewailing around thee. O slayer of foes, do thou despatch thy counsellors to the city and we shall all enjoy in this forest, excited with amour." The other she-monkeys, worked with sorrow, raised up Tara bewailing thus being exercised with grief consequent upon the demise of her husband. Thereupon Angada along with Sugriva, overwhelmed with grief, weeping, placed his Sire's body on the funeral pile. And putting fire duly, he circumambulated his Sire, bound for a journey for good. Having duly cremated Vali's body,the foremost of monkeys arrived at a river of auspicious water with a view to perform the watery ceremony. And all these monkeys along with Sugriva and Tara, placing Angada before them, sprinkled water. And the highly powerful Kakuthsha, equally aggrieved like Sugriva, being as poorly, cronducted duly the obsequious ceremonies of Vali. Thereupon cremating Vali, gifted with unequalled prowess, slain with one shaft of the foremost of Ikswakus, and like unto flaming fire, Sugriva appeared before Rama who was in the company of Lakshmana.

SECTION 26.

And thereupon those foremost of monkeys waited there, surrounding Sugriva exercised with grief and wearing wetted cloth. And they all, approaching the mighty-armed Rama of unwearied actions, stationed themselves with folded hands like unto the great ascetics around the Grand-Father (of the celestials). Thereupon Hanuman, the son of Marut, resembling a golden hill and having a countenance resembling the rising Sun, spake with folded hands, saying:—"By thy assistance, O Kakuthstha, O lord, this great ancestral kingdom of the highly powerful monkeys, having sharpened teeth, incapable of being acquired by the high-souled ones, hath been attained to (by Sugriva). Being commanded by thee, he along with his friends, entering this city, shall perform the royal duties. And being duly bathed he shall worship thee particularly, with garlands, jewels, scents and oshadhis. It behoveth thee to enter this pleasant mountain cave and satisfy these monkeys by installing (Sugriva on the throne)." Being thus accosted by Hanuman, the highly intelligent Raghava, skilled in speech and the slayer of foes, replied:— "O gentle Hanuman, abiding by my Sire's mandate, I shall not enter a hamlet or a city for these fourteen years. Let Sugriva, the foremost of monkeys, enter this magnificent celestial cave and do ye all instal him speedily on the throne." Having thus addressed Hanuman, Rama spake unto Sugriva, saying:—"Conversant with customs as thou art, do thou instal this generous and heroic Angada, gifted with prowess and honouring customs, as the heir-apparent of the throne. This brave and eldest son of thy elder brother— Angada, is truly worthy of the heir-apparentship. O gentle one, this month of Srabana, which is the first of those four months which make up the rainy season, hath set in and this is not the time therefore to institute any enquiry about Sita. Do thou therefore enter thy auspicious city and I shall live in this mountain along with Lakshmana. Pleasant indeed is this mountain cave, spacious, filled with air, water and many lotuses. Thou shalt engage in endeavours to bring about the destruction of Ravana, after Kartika sets in. This is not the proper time, O gentle one, and do thou enter thy own city. And being installed on the throne do thou enhance the joy of thy friends." Being thus commanded by Rama, Sugriva, the foremost of monkeys entered the pleasant city of Kishkindha, reared by Vali. Encircling that lord of monkeys thousands of them entered the city. Beholding the lord of monkeys, the subjects bowed unto him, lowering their heads on the ground. Welcoming the subjects and raising them up, the highly powerful Sugriva entered the pleasant inner apartment of his brother. On his entering the city, his friends installed the highly powerful foremost of monkeys—Sugriva, on the throne like unto the celestials placing the thousand-eyed Deity (on the kingdom). The monkeys brought for him a copper-coloured golden umbrella, white chowries, a magnificent golden staff, diverse jewels, various seeds and medicating drugs, roots and flowers of glomerous fig trees, white clothes, white sandal paste, fragrant garlands, flowers growing in water and on land, celestial sandal and various scents, fried grain, gold, Priyangu honey [A medicinal plant, and perfume.], clarified butter, curd, tiger-skin, a pair of excellent sandals, gorochana [A bright yellow pigment prepared from the urine of a cow.] and red Arsenic. Carrying all those things there came sixteen maids, highly delighted. Thereupon those monkeys pleased the foremost of twice-born ones with jewels clothes and eatables, with a view to instal that best of monkeys. And these conversant with mantrasthrew clarified butter, sanctified by mantras, into flaming fire burning on a Kuca bed. And placing him on an excellent throne facing the east, uttering duly mantras in that golden room situated on the summit of the picturesque palace and beautified with magnificent coverlets and garlands, and collecting pure water from various rivers, sacred places and oceans, those foremost of monkeys kept it in golden jars. Gaya, Gabaksha, Gabaya, Sarava, Gandhamadana, Main da, Divida, Hanuman and Jambuban, installed Sugriva with auspicious horns of a bull and golden jars according to the rites prescribed by Sastras and sanctioned by the great saints like unto the celestials installing the thousand eyed Deity with pure, fragrant water. Sugriva being installed thus, these high-souled and foremost of monkeys, by hundreds and thousands, began to clatter with delight. Abiding by Rama's words, Sugriva, the lord of monkeys, embracing Angada, conferred on him the heir-apparentship of the throne. And Angada being thus installed, those best of monkeys, highly delighted, adored the high-souled Sugriva, extolling him again and again. Angada and Sugriva being thus established, they all, greatly delighted, praised again and again the high-souled Rama and Lakshmana. And the city of Kishkindha, filled with stoutly built people and adorned with pennons and flags, appeared beautiful in the mountain cave. Communicating unto the high-souled Rama the news of installation, the highly powerful lord of monkey hosts (Sugriva) getting back his wife Ruma, regained the kingdom like unto the lord of celestials.

SECTION 27.

On Sugriva being installed and the monkeys entering the cave, Rama, along with his younger brother, got at the Prasrabana hill, resounded with the noise of tigers and deer, filled with terrible lions, covered with diverse trees, creepers and bowers, inhabited by bears, monkeys, Gopuchyas and cats, resembling a collection of clouds and always auspicious. Rama, along with Saumitri, selected for his habitation, a spacious cave, situated on the summit of that hill. Making the above condition with Sugriva, Rama, the pure-souled descendant of Raghu, spake unto his humble younger brother Lakshmana, the enhancer of wealth, the following sound words, worthy of being spoken on that occasion—"O Saumitri, O slayer of foes, in this pleasant and spacious mountain cave filled with air, we shall pass the rainy season. O son of a king, this summit of the hill is excellent and picturesque, beautified with white, black and coppery stones, filled with diverse metals and river frogs, covered with diverse trees and pleasant creepers, resounded with the musical notes of various birds and cries of peacocks and beautified with various flowery trees, such as Malati, Kundas, Sindubara [A small tree—vitex negundo.], Sirisa [A kind of tree—acacia sirisa.], Kadamba [A kadam, neolamarckia cadamba, commonly known as burflower-tree, laran, or Leichhardt pine.], Arjuna [A tree—pentaptera arjunee.], and Sarja [The Sala tree, shorea robusta; another tree, pentaptera arjuna.]. O son of a king, this pond filled with full blown lotuses shall always be near our cave. This cave shall be worthy of our habitation, O gentle one, having its north-eastern part low and the western part high. There is, O Saumitri, at the entrance of the cave, a level, beautiful, spacious stone, black like unto collyrium. Behold O my brother, on the north, the summit of the hill, resembling collyrium and a rising cloud. There appears on the south a beautiful white hill resembling the Kailaca filled with various metals. Behold before the cave the mudless stream, flowing towards the east like unto Janhavi [The river Ganges—literally~the daughter of the saint Janhu.] in the Trikuta [The name of a mountain—literally it means—having three peaks.] mountain. This rivulet appears like unto a damsel ornamented and clothed,

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being filled with various trees, such as—Sandal, Tilaka, Sala, Tamalas, Atimuktas [A tree, dalbergia onjeimaisis, a mountain ebony.], Padmaka, Saralas [A sort of pine, pinis longifolia.], Asokas, Baneeras [A sort of cane or ratan, calamas rotany.], Timidas, Vakulas, Ketakas,Hintalas, Tinicas, Neepas, Vetashas, Kritamalakas growing on her banks. This rivulet resounded with various notes of hundreds of various birds, filled with Chakrabakas attached to each other, crowded with geese and Sarasas, having picturesque banks, and various jewels, is as it were laughing on all sides. Here it appears covered with violet lotuses, here with red lotuses and there again with celestial white water-lilies. This pleasant and picturesque stream is filled with various water fowls and Chakravakas and served by many a saint. Behold there the rows of pleasant sandal trees and those Kukuvas which have grown up as it were like unto mental emotion. Picturesque indeed is this place, O slayer of foes, and we shall happily live here, O son of Sumitra. At no distance, O son of a king, from this place is situate the pleasant city of Sugriva—Kishkindha, filled with forests. Hear then, O best of conquerors, the sound of music, and the clatter of monkeys mingled with the sound of Mridangas. Forsooth is rejoicing Sugriva—the foremost of monkeys, getting back his wife, regaining his kingdom, and attaining to regal splendour." Having said this, Raghava, along with Lakshmana, dwelt in that Prasravana hill abounding in caves and bowers. He did not attain to a best felicity although he lived in that pleasant hill filled with many things. Pondering over the ravishment of his spouse, dearer than his life, beholding the setting of the Sun in particular, he did not go to sleep, although he laid himself on the bed in the night. His younger brother Lakshmana, equally aggrieved, spoke unto Kakutstha, thus bewailing being exercised with grief and almost beside himself with sorrow, consequent upon Sita's bereavement, saying:—"It doth not behove thee to lament thus, being exercised with grief—it is not unknown unto thee that people, thus bewailing do exhaust themselves by and by. O Raghava, thou art devoted to pious actions and the services of the Deity in this world— and pious, energetic and dost believe in the existence of God. Without being persevering thou shalt not be able to destroy in conflict thy enemy—that terrible, willy Rakshasa. Do thou renounce thy grief and take recourse to energy and thou shalt be able to slay that Rakshasa with all his family. What of the destruction of Ravana, thou art O Kakutstha, capable of uprooting the earth with oceans, forests and hills. Rains have set in and do thou wait for the autumn when thou shalt encompass the destruction of Ravana with his kingdom and kinsmen. I, too, am exciting thy latent energy like unto fire hidden in ashes with oblations. Welcoming the auspicious and well-meaning accents of Lakshmana, Raghava again spake unto him the following affectionate words:— "O Lakshmana, truly do thy words become thee, affectionate, devoted, truthful and intent on my welfare as thou art. Renouncing this grief standing in the way of all business, I shall call forth, the more, this my energy on the occasion of displaying my prowess. I shall live here, awaiting the autumn and abiding by thy words and awaiting as well Sugriva's pleasure and the clear currents of the rivers. Heroes receiving favours always return them; the ungrateful lose the friendship of the honest." Considering Rama's words as highly sound and welcoming them therefore, Lakshmana, with folded hands, spake unto Rama of graceful appearance, displaying his own intelligence—"O lord of men, I fully approve of all thou hast said. The monkey-chief shall soon engage in our service. Resolved on the destruction of thy enemy, do thou spend here this rainy season awaiting the autumn. Subduing thy wrath, and awaiting the autumn, do thou with me spend these four months in this hill filled with deer, capable as thou art of encompassing the destruction of thy enemy."

SECTION 28.

Thereupon encompassing the destruction of Vali, installing Sugriva and dwelling on the summit of the Malyabana hill, Rama spake unto Lakshmana, saying, "This is the time —the beginning of the rainy season—do thou behold the sky enveloped witn clouds resembling so many hills. The sky, drinking the liquid contents of the ocean through the rays of the Sun, and being enceinte for nine months, is giving birth to showers. Ascending the sky by the steps of clouds, one can ornament the Sun with garlands of Kutajas and Arjunas. Like unto a wound covered with a torn cloth, the sky is enveloped with cool clouds, coppery with the rays of the setting Sun, and yellow at another end. The sky, having mild breezes as its breath, sprinkled with sandal-like evening rays and covered with yellow clouds, is appearing as it were like one stricken with amour. The earth, afflicted with perspiration and filled with new water, is emitting forth vapour like unto Sita racked with sorrow. Ketaka smelling breezes may be drunk up in the cavity formed by putting the hands together, like unto cold water discharged off the clouds and mixed with camphor. This hill, having blown Arjunas and Ketakas and rid of its enemies like unto Sugriva, hath been bathed with showers. These hillocks, having clouds for dark deer-skins, heavy showers for sacred threads and having caves filled with air, are appearing like so many Brahmins who have finished their studies. The sky, being struck by thunders like unto so many golden lashes, is, as if, groaning under a deep mental agony. Methinks, the lightning, shining by the violet clouds, is appearing like unto the poor Vaidehi at the lap of Ravana. These quarters, enveloped with clouds and having therefore the Moon and stars hidden, are indeed very pleasant unto those who are under the influence of Cupid. Behold, O Saumitri, on the summits of the hill the flowery Kutajas enveloped with the vapour arising out of the earth, gladdened at the approach of the rainy season and exciting my amour who am stricken with grief. (In this season) the dust is watered, the air is saturated with dews, all the evils of the summer are stopped, the kings no longer proceed on royal marches and those journeying in a foreign land return their native homes. The Chakrabakas along with their mates are proceeding, being desirous to live in the Manasa Saravara; and in consequence of incessant rains, chariots and other conveyances cannot pass along the wayfares. Somewhere hidden, somehere open, the sky, covered with clouds, appears like a vast ocean, being encircled here and there with hills. There speedily pass by the hill streams, being resounded with the cries of peacocks, carrying with the current Sarja and Kadamva flowers and having their coppery contents mixed with the metals of the mountain. People (in this season) live upon many a sweet rose-apple; and ripe mangoes, of diverse colours, being shaken by the wind, fall on the earth. The clouds, resembling the summits of a mountain, having lightnings for pennons and cranes for garlands, are muttering like unto infuriated elephants in a field of battle. The forest-lands, having their green pastures emerged in water, with peacocks dancing all around with joy and clouds discharging their watery volumes incessantly, are appearing more graceful in the evening. (In this season) clouds, surrounded by cranes and heavily laden with water, are constantly moving, sometimes resting on the high summits of the mountains and emitting a muttering sound. And rows of cranes, fond of clouds, rising up in the sky, delighted and moved by the wind, are appearing like a garland of white lotuses, spread along the welkin. And the earth, covered with green grass and variegated with newly born insects, is appearing like a damsel clothed with a white blanket spotted here and there with lac. (In this part of the year) sleep is gradually overcoming the great God Narayana, the river is flowing speedily towards the ocean, the delghted cranes are approaching the clouds and the damsels are proceeding towards their lovers. The peacocks are dancing at the forest skirts, the Kadamva trees are covered with flowers, the bulls have become attached unto kine and the earth has become charming with corns and forests. The rivers are flowing by; the clouds are discharging waters; the infuriated elephants are emitting terrible roars; the forest-lands are growing more charming; persons, separated from their wives, are growing more anxious; the peacocks are dancing with delight and the monkeys are greatly comforted for Sugriva's attaining to the kingdom. By the fountains in the forests, the infuriated elephants delighted with the fragrance of the Ketaka flowers and maddened with the noise of the water falls, are emitting terrible roars along with the peacocks. The black bees, resorting to the branches of the Kadamba trees and overwhelmed with showers, are, as if, slowly discharging their temporal juice— namely the honey of flowers collected by them ere while. The branches of rose-apple trees containing enough of fruits like unto a collection of char coal are so appearing as if the black bees are drinking the juice thereof. The dense clouds, ornamented with pennon-like lightnings and emitting terrible roars, are appearing like so many elephants, mad after fighting. The infuriated lord of elephants, following in the track and ranging in the hills and forests, hearing the muttering of clouds and taking it for the uproar of another elephant, has turned back, with a view to enter into conflict with him. Somewhere the bees are humming, somewhere the peacocks are dancing —somewhere are ranging the infuriated elephants—and in this way the forest-land has assumed diverse appearances. It appears like unto a drinking-place,covered with Kadambas, Sarjas, Arjunas and lotuses growing on land, filled with water resembling honey and with the dance and cries of mad peacocks. The birds, having their wings discoloured, being wet with water, delighted and thirsty, are drinking the drops of clear water falling on leaves and discharged by the Lord of celestials [According to Hindu mythology Indra is the god of rains.]. The sonorous humming of the bees, being accompanied by the gutteral sound of the frogs and the mutterings of the clouds, resembling the sound of Mridangas, an organised music, as if, hath begun in the forest. Sometimes dancing, sometimes setting up loud cries, sometimes placing themselves against the tops of the trees, the peacocks, having beautifully ornamented exteriors, have commenced music in the forest. And rising from their perpetual sleep by the muttering of clouds, the frogs, assuming various shapes and making diverse sounds, are setting up cries being distressed with new watery showers. The rivers, carrying Chakrabakasas their breast and leaving behind their old banks, are approaching, being excited, their own lord with various new presents. Clouds, big with new waters coming in contact with violet ones are appearing as such; and sometimes, touching the hills burnt by forest-fire, are appearing like deep-rooted hills. The elephants are ranging in this charming forest-land, carrying the fragrance of Neepas and Arjunas, having its green swards filled with Indragopas [A coccinella, a ladybird.] and with delighted, peacocks dancing all around. The black bees, delighted, are drinking honey, embracing the shower-distressed and new filaments of the lotuses and Kadamva flowers. (In this season) the elephants are infuriated, the bulls are delighted, the lions have grown more powerful, the hills are charming— the kings are devoid of all active pursuits, and the Lord of celestials is engaged in sport with clouds. The clouds ranging in the welkin and discharging heavy showers, are roaring like unto ocean; and the rivers, ponds and pools are deluging the earth with their watery contents. (In this season) heavy showers set in—the wind bloweth mightily and the rivers breaking down their banks flow quickly blockading the wayfares. The mountains are, as if, displaying their own beauty and grace being as it were bathed by the cloud-like jars, conferred by the lord of celestials and brought by the wind like unto a king sprinkled by men. The sky is enveloped with clouds and neither the sun nor the stars can be seen— the earth is satisfied with new showers—and the quarters being covered with darkness cannot be seen. The high summits, of the mountains, being washed by showers and beautified by far-stretching waterfalls resembling pearls, are appearing more graceful. The heavy mountain waterfalls, losening the rocks and stretching over the caves filled with the cries of peacocks, are appearing like a pearl-necklace. And the quick streaming waterfalls, of the mountains, washing the summits of the hills, and resembling the pearls, are being deposited in the cave at the foot. And watery drops resembling the pearls of the necklaces used by celestial damsels are pouring on all sides. The setting of the Sun is announced by the birds taking to their nests, lotuses growing pale and Malatis blossoming. The royal marches are all stopped, and the soldiers, who have already marched are waiting in the way—hostility and wayfares have been equally blockaded by water. This month of Bhadra is the time of studying for those Brahmins, who chant Sama Vedas. Having roofed all his houses and stored up his food, Bharata, the king of Kocala hath set upon the performance of Asharasacrifices. The river Saraju is now brimful with water. Seeing me return as if Ayodhya herself is making a delightful noise. Clearly manifest are now all the signs of the rainy season and Sugriva, rid of his enemies, established on the vast kingdom, and regaining his wives, hath attained to best felicity. And I am, O Lakshmana, waning everyday like unto the banks of a river, being separated from my spouse and deprived of my vast kingdom. Immense is my grief, inaccessible is this rainy season and mighty is my enemy, Ravana; methinks it is impossible for me to bring about the discomfiture of my foe. Owing to the unfitness of the season (for marching against my foe) and the wayfares being inacessible, I cannot possibly request Sugriva (to march) although he is prepared to abide by my mandate. Moreover after a good deal of affliction he has regained his wives, and my service is of very great difficulty; so I do not wish to request that monkey-chief now. Forsooth, shall Sugriva think of the benefits (he has received from me) after enjoying rest for sometime, when the time for action shall arrive. Therefore I shall, O Lakshmana, live here, awaiting the pleasure of Sugriva and the clear currents of the rivers (the autumn). Heroes receiving benefits, do always return them. The ungrateful lose the good wishes of the great ones." Being thus accosted, Lakshmana, with folded hands, respecting highly his words, spake unto the graceful Rama, pointing out his own welfare. "Forsooth shall that lord of monkeys carry out all thy wishes. Do thou therefore spend here the rainy season, awaiting the autumn."

SECTION 29.

Beholding the clear welkin, void of clouds and lightnings, filled with Sarasas and sprinkled with the charming rays of the Moon, Hanuman, the son of Marut, versed in religious lore and political economy, and conversant with effects proper to the time or season, approaching the Lord of monkeys, addressed him with various sound, reasonable and pleasant words, well-meaning, true and teaching the means of acquiring forgiveness, piety and wealth. Acquiring riches Sugriva hath grown careless for the collection of righteousness and wealth, is following the track of the vicious, and is addicted to the satisfaction of sensual appetites—having all his actions stopped and desires attained—and given to enjoyments with damsels. Having attained all his desires and wishes, his own wife and the much-desired-for Tara, Sugriva is sporting with them, day and night, without any affliction, like unto the Lord of celestials with Gandharbas and Apsaras. Placing all the royal affairs at the hands of the counsellors, without looking to them, and confiding fully in their abilities he is living like one under the influence of passions—"Thou hast attained thy kingdom, fame, and thy vast ancestral wealth. It now behoveth thee to

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perform thy duties by thy friends. Truly doth his kingdom, fame and prowess increase who is cognisant of the seasonableness of time and doth good to his friends. O king, truly doth he attain to a vast kingdom, who hath the same wealth, soldiery and body with his friends. It becometh thee, therefore, who art crowned with a good character, and who dost wend a blameless track, to work out thy friend's well-being (as promised by thee). He who doth not engage in the service of his friends renouncing all business, becometh void of all energy and involved in unnecessary troubles. And he, who engageth in his friend's service after the proper season is over, does nothing to his well-being, though he performs a great thing. O slayer of foes, soon shall the time for performing thy friend's service, be over; do thou therefore encompass Raghava's good, namely the searching out of Vaidehi. O king, Rama, conversant with the seasonableness of time and wise as he is, is not informing thee of it, though the proper time is past; and though he is in hurry, he is waiting for thee. Raghava as well as Lakshmana, who are the instruments of thy attaining to this vast kingdom, and thy friends for so long a time, are persons of incomparable prowess by virtue of their unequalled accomplishments. He hath already performed thy service, and it behoveth thee now, O lord of monkeys, to command the foremost of monkeys to engage in his service. To engage, out of season, in a service, uncalled for, is not blameable; but to defer the performance of an action in proper time after promising is indeed an object of censure. O lord of monkeys, thou dost engage even in the service of one who doth thee no good, then why shalt thou not engage in the benefit of Rama who hath favoured thee by encompassing the destruction (of Vali) and securing for thee thy kingdom? O lord of monkeys and bears, truly thou art gifted with prowess and strength, why dost thou not prepare thyself for satisfying Dacarathee's commands? Dacarathee himself is capable of subduing the celestials, Asuras and great serpents—he is simply awaiting the fulfilment of thy promise. He hath performed a great service at the risk of his life—we shall therefore find out Vaidehi whether she is in this earth or in the welkin. Even the celestials, Danavas, Gandharbas, Asuras, Marutas, Yakshas are afraid of him in the battlefield—what of the insignificant Rakshasas. O lord of monkeys, it therefore behoveth thee to do good by all means unto the powerful Rama, who benefitted thee before. O lord of monkeys, who is there amongst us, who shall not at thy command proceed unto water, sky or the region under the earth? O blameless one, there are more than one koti of invincible monkeys under thee, do thou command, who shall proceed and to what quarter?" Hearing these words of Hanuman, said on a very proper occasion, the intelligent Sugriva, made up his mind for a worthy end. Thereupon the highly intelligent Sugriva ordered the ever active Neela, to collect soldiers from various quarters. "Do thou so arrange as all my hosts and soldiers with their commanders soon come here. Do thou soon bring here at my behest all the energetic and quick-coursing monkeys and commanders spreading their conquests to the end of the earth. (After their arrival) do thou thyself inspect and count all those monkeys. He who shall not reach here within fifteen days shall be punished with the loss of his life. There is no need of scrutinizing my orders. Abiding by my order, do thou see along with Angada all the elderly monkeys." Having thus arranged, that best of monkeys entered the inner apartment.

SECTION 30.

Sugriva having entered his palace, and the sky being cleared of the clouds, Rama, racked with grief, passing the rainy season and beholding the yellow welkin, the clear disc of the Moon, the autumnal night sprinkled with the rays of the Moon, the amour-stricken lord of monkeys, the ravishment of the daughter of Janaka, and the season well-nigh expired, became overwhelmed with sorrow and senseless. And regaining his sense after sometime, the highly intelligent king—Raghava began to think of Vaidehi although always present in his mind. And beholding the clear sky void of lightnings and clouds and filled with the noise of Sarasas, Raghava began to lament piteously, stationing himself on the summit of the hill ornamented with metals of golden hue. And beholding the autumnal sky he engaged in the meditation of his beloved spouse. How shall that Sarasa-voiced damsel be pleased to-day, who, while sporting in the hermitage, used to warble like Sarasas, to invite them. Beholding Asana trees, as if covered with golden flowers and not beholding me how shall that damsel be pleased? How that exquisitely fine damsel having a sweet voice shall be pleased to-day, who used formerly to awake at the sounds of the drakes? Hearing the noise of her companions—Chakrabakas, how shall that one, of expansive eyes resembling lotuses, live? Without her having the eyes of a fawn, I do not attain to felicity to-day, ranging at large by ponds, streams, pools and in forests and woods. Forsooth shall Cupid excited by the approach of the autumn, distress her the more on account of my separation and her personal charms." Thus bewailed that best son of a king like unto the bird Saranga soliciting water from the lord of celestials. And the graceful Lakshmana, returning from the picturesque mountain-summits where he had sojourned in quest of fruits, beheld his elder brother. And beholding in that lonely forest his brother, racked with anxious thoughts hard to bear and almost beside himself (with grief) the high-minded Saumitri, prompted by his brother's grief, spoke unto him very poorly, saying:—"O worshipful one, what hast thou perpetrated by placing thyself under the control of passions and defeating thy manliness? Thy deep and devout meditation hath been purloined by thy grief; and it is by religious contemplation that thy grief shall be terminated now. O brother, after going through the ceremonies of bathing and so forth, and acquiring peace, do thou bring all thy time under thy control by virtue of the concentration of soul; and being of unmitigated strength do thou resort to power and help, the key-notes for the accomplishment of thy great object. O lord of men, Janaki, husbanded by thee, is not capable of being easily possessed by others. O hero who getting at a flame of fire, doth not burn himself?" Thereupon Rama spoke unto Lakshmana, gifted with royal marks, addressing him with natural and resolute words and saying:— "What thou hast said, is sound, well-meaning, sanctioned by polity and speaks of piety, wealth and forgiveness. It should therefore, without the least doubt, be performed by me. It behoveth me to engage in contemplation about the eternal truth regarding the Deity and in ascetic observances. Or else O Prince, it is not proper to think of the fruits of a difficult, highly developed and energetic action." Thereupon thinking of Maithelee, having eyes resembling lotus-petals, Rama spoke unto Lakshmana with a dried countenance. "Having satisfied the earth with a profuse discharge of water, produced crops and thus, finished his work, the thousand eyed Deity is sitting silent. O son of a king, the clouds, muttering a long and deep sound and approaching the hills and trees, are calmed having discharged their liquid contents. Having made the ten quarters dark blue, the clouds, resembling blue lotuses, have become calm, like unto elephants without temporal juice. O gentle one, high gales accompanied with rains, big with water and fragrant with Kutaja and Arjuna flowers being driven before hither and thither, have now become silent O innocent Lakshmana, the sounds of clouds, elephants, peacocks, and fountains, have been all stopped. Hills, having variegated summits, being washed by dense clouds and thus free from dirt and impurities, do appear elegant being sprinkled by the rays of the Moon. Forsooth hath the autumn set in, dividing its grace in the branches of Saptachada trees, in the rays of the Sun and Moon with stars and in the gaits of the excellent elephants. Surely hath the autumnal grace resorted to many things. And it hath appeared more profusely in the lotuses blossomed by the first rays of the Sun. Scented sweet with the flower of Saptachada trees, borowing the musical notes of bees, following the wind and subduing the pride of infuriated elephants, the autumn is appearing very elegant. The swans are playing with Chakrabakashaving splendidly spacious wings, fond of cupid, crusted with the filaments of lotuses, and arriving at the banks of the rivers. The autumnal grace is appearing more elegant being divided in infuriated elephants, in proud kine, and in streams of clear currents. Beholding the sky divested of clouds, without manifesting the beauty of their tails and renouncing their attachment unto their beloved mates, amusements and beauty, the peacocks are as if all engaged in meditation in the forest. The forest-lands are as if a-blaze with many a sweet-scented picturesque Priyaka trees, having a golden hue and their tops lowered down with the weight of flowers. The gaits, of the elephants rendered idle with a profuse discharge of temporal juice, fond of forests and water lilies, smelling the fragrance of the flowers of Saptachhada trees and accompanied by their mates, have become slow. The sky is clear like unto a sword—the streams have become of feeble currents—the wind, cool and scented with the fragrance of white esculent waterlilies, is blowing—and quarters have become devoid of darkness. The mud has been dried up by the rays of the Sun and the earth is filled with dust—this is the time for preparation for inimical kings (to enter into conflict). The bulls, having their beauty enhanced by the autumn, and their body covered with dust, delighted, infuriated and hence desirous of entering into skirmish, have been setting up terrible roars in the midst of kine. The she-elephants, moving slowly, fond, passionate and accompanied by other members, have been following their passionate mates, in the forest, embracing them. Leaving behind their excellent ornaments—the tails, the peacocks, getting at the banks of the rivers, have been going away poorly and with depressed hearts as if being remonstrated with by the Sarasas. Having terrified the Karandavas and Chakrabakas with their mighty roars, the elephants, having cleft trunks and being agitated again and again, have been drinking water in the ponds filled with full blown lotuses. The drakes have been jumping delightedly into the rivers, mudless, covered with sands, full of clear water, filled with kine and resounded with the notes of Sarasas. Now hath stopped the noise of rivers, clouds, fountains, water, the high winds, the peacocks and the mirthless frogs. And venomous snakes of vareiagated colours, having lived for a pretty long time during the rains without food, have on the approach of the autumn, come out of their dens, hungry, in quest of their prey. The red-dyed evening hath renounced the welkin, being delighted at the touch of the rays of the Moon and opening a little her eyes—the stars. Having the rising Moon for her elegant countenance, the stars for her excellent open eyes and the rays for a piece of white garment, the night appeareth like a damsel wearing a white cloth. Having fed on ripe white rice, the excellent rows of delighted Sarasas are flying quickly up to the sky like unto a well-strung garland shaken by the wind. The water, of the lake filled with sleeping drakes and water lilies, is appearing like the sky in the night, devoid of clouds and filled with the Full Moon and stars. The ponds, having the drakes scattering hither and thither for their girdles and engarlanded with full blown lotuses and water lilies, are appearing like so many damsels ornamented with diverse ornaments. The sound set up by the wind in the dawn like unto that of a pipe accompanied by the music of a trumpet, being mixed with the noise of the caves and bulls are as if multiplying each other. The banks of the rivers are being dressed by the newly blossomed flowers shaken by the mild breezes and Kacas. like unto clean, washed silken clothes. The black bees, bold, given to drinking honey, rendered yellow with the filaments of lotuses and Asana flowers, delighted and accompanied by their mates are following the wind in the forest. The clear water, the blossoming flowers, the noise of Craunchas, the ripe white rice, the mild breezes, the clear Moon announce the approach of the Autumn—the removers of the rains. The rivers, having fishes for their girdles, have become of slackened course like unto damsels moving slowly in the dawn being enjoyed by their husbands. The mouths of the rivers, filled with Chakrabakas, covered with aquatic plants and clothed with Kacas are appearing like unto the countenances of damsels pasted with yellow pigments. The most powerful Cupid hath taken up his terrible bow in this forest filled with Asana flowers appearing like unto arrows and the hum of delighted bees. Having satisfied the people with a profuse discharge of water, filled the rivers and pools and covered the earth with crops, the clouds have disappeared renouncing the sky. The rivers in this season of autumn have been gradually showing their banks. O thou of excellent looks, the ponds (in this season) appear exquisitely fine, being filled with Kurarabirds and Chakrabakas. O son of king, this is the time of preparation for inimical kings, desirous of defeating one another. O son of a king, this is the best time for royal marches, but I do not find Sugriva preparing himself for that end. There appear on the summits of the hills flowers Asanas, Saptaparnas, Kavidaras, Bandhugeebas, and Tamalas. Behold, O Lakshmana, the banks of the rivers filled with swans, Sarasas, Chakrabakas and Kuraras. Stricken as I am with grief, these four months, the season of rains, appeared unto me like a hundred year, not beholding Sita. Like unto Chakrabakas following their mates, Sita, taking the terrible forest of Dandaka for a picturesque garden, used to follow me there. O Lakshmana, Sugriva, is not inclined to show any commiseration towards me, who am separated from my beloved spouse, deprived of my kingdom, banished and striken with sorrow. Regarding me as one without any to back him, deprived of his kingdom, insulted by Ravana, wretched, of a distant land, under the influence of amour and therefore seeking his help, (Sugriva hath not felt pity for me). O subduer of foes, O thou of excellent looks, for these reasons, I have been insulted by that vicious-souled king of monkeys—Sugriva. Having appointed the time to institute enquiries about Sita, that wicked-minded one hath now forgot it on the accession of his new dignity. Do thou therefore repair to Kishkindha and speak of me unto that stupid lord of monkeys—Sugriva, addicted to rural enjoyments. And do thou tell him—'He, who breaks his promise made unto a powerful benefactor who solicits his favour, is regarded by people as vile. He is a true hero and an excellent person who verifies his words whether good or bad. Ungrateful they are who do not, after attaining their ends, engage in the service of those of their friends who have not accomplished their objects; even those living on raw flesh do not feed on their gore after their death'. And ask him if he wishes to behold in battle-field the golden bow resembling a lightning. And ask him more, if he wishes to hear the terrible twang of my bow resembling the noise of thunder, when I am enraged in battle. O hero, O son of a king, when apprised of my prowess assisted by thee, will he not recapitulate in his mind (that he may be destroyed by us like unto Vali)? O conqueror of enemies' cities, does not that lord of monkeys, after accomplishing his object, think of the conditions under which our friendship was contracted? Does not that lord of monkeys think that he has spent four months in enjoyments, having promised and appointed the season, after rains, (for making) enquiries about Sita"? Does not Sugriva feel pity for us, who are racked with sorrow, being addicted to drinking with friends and counsellors? Do thou go, O hero, O thou of mighty strength and relate unto Sugriva these my angry words. 'O Sugriva, do not neglect thy promise and wend the way trodden by Vali. I killed Vali only with my shaft in the battle-field; but if thou dost deviate from the path of truth I shall destroy thee along with thy kinsmen and relatives.' O thou best of men, do thou speedily relate unto him all those benefits which we shall reap by his actions,

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for the proper season is well-nigh past. O best of monkeys, do thou carry out thy promise remembering the eternal existence of virtue. Do thou not behold the spirit of Vali in the abode of Death, being killed by the shaft discharged by me." Beholding his elder brother thus enraged and bewailing, the fiery-spirited Lakshmana, the best of men, became enraged with Sugriva.

SECTION 31.

Lakshmana again addressed his high-minded elder brother, the son of a king, influenced by passion, stricken with grief, and poorly, with the following words. "That monkey shall not follow the actions of the pious, shall not think of the great fruit (the accession of kingdom) reaped by our friendship; he shall not enjoy the riches of the monkey-kingdom because he has not the right understanding to make good his promise. Owing to the wane of his understanding in consequence of thy favour he is addicted to rural enjoyments and hath forgot to return thy benefits. O hero, killed let him espy his elder brother Vali. It is not proper to confer kingdom upon that wicked-minded one. I am unable to bear the outburst of my ire—forsooth shall I kill to-day—that liar Sugriva. May the son of Vali with other principal monkeys engage in quest of that daughter a king." Beholding him rise up from the seat with bow in his hand and greatly wrought up with anger and hearing him thus announce his intention about the destruction of Sugriva, Rama, the slayer of foes, spake unto him the following humble words worthy of being spoken on that occasion. "Persons like thee on this earth do not perpetrate the crime of destroying their friends. He is truly a great hero and an excellent person who subdues anger by his right understanding, O Lakshmana, it is not proper for thee to bring about the destruction of thy friend; do thou follow thy former friendship and good feelings. Avoiding harsh words do thou address Sugriva, who has violated his promise, with soothing words." Being thus duly counselled by his elder brother, that best of men, the heroic Lakshmana—the slayer of foes, entered the city. Thereupon the highly intelligent Lakshmana of right understanding, and ever intent upon the welfare of his brother, taking up a bow like unto Indra's, resembling the summit of a hill and terrible as Death himself, entered, wrought up with ire, the abode of the king of monkeys like the hill Mandara. Intelligent like Vrihaspati and ever abiding by his elder brother's behest, Lakshmana, revolving in his mind what he should say as well as Sugriva's answers, and enveloped with the fire of anger arising from the excitement of his brother's amour, and therefore displeased, proceeded quick as air. And on he proceeded, felling down by his velocity, Sala, Tala, and Asvakarna trees, throwing aside the mountain summits and other trees, breaking rocks into pieces with his feet and striding very quickly like unto a fleet-coursing elephant. And that best of Ikshwakus, beheld that splendid city of the king of monkeys, hard to enter, surrounded by monkey-herds, and mountains. And having his lips swollen with anger for Sugriva, Lakshmana beheld the terrible monkeys walking outside the city. Beholding that best of men—Lakshmana, the monkeys resembling elephants entered the mountainous stronghold and took up the summits of the hill and huge trees. And observing them armed, Lakshmana was doubly inflamed with anger like unto fire kindled with fuels. And beholding Lakshmana, highly enraged, terrible as Death himself at the time of dissolution, the monkeys stricken with fear, fled away, by hundreds, into various quarters. Thereat those foremost of monkeys, entering the palace of Sugriva, communicated unto him, Lakshmana's ire and approach. That amorous chief of monkeys, attached unto Tara, paid no heed to the words of those foremost of monkeys. Thereupon those terrible monkeys, resembling hills, elephants and clouds, went out of the city being commanded by the minister. Some of them had sharpened teeth and nails, some were grim-visaged, some had teeth like those of tigers, some had the strength of ten elephants, some had the strength of a hundred elephants and some had that of a thousand elephants. Thereupon Lakshmana, angry, espied the city of Kishkindhda hard to enter and surrounded by mighty monkeys with trees in their hands. And getting over the ditch around the city walls, those terrible-looking monkeys stationed themselves openly. And meditating upon Sugriva's error and his brother's interest, the self-controlled Lakshmana, heroic, proceeded onwards. Sighing hot and hard, that best of men—Lakshmana, with reddened eyes appeared like unto smoky fire. He appeared like unto a terrible serpent of five mouths, having the top of the arow for his tongue, the bow for his expanded hood and his own prowess for the poison. Beholding him like the flaming fire of dissolution and enraged lord of serpents, Angada, out of fear, became exceedingly sorry. Thereupon the far-famed Lakshmana, having his eyes reddened with ire, spoke unto Angada, saying"—O child, do thou inform Sugriva of my arrival. O conqueror of foes, do thou tell him:— Lakshmana, the younger brother of Rama, being stricken with grief on account of his brother's disaster, hath come to thee and is waiting at the gate. If it pleaseth thee, do thou make good thy promise.' Saying these words do thou speedily return, O my child, O conqueror of foes." Hearing Lakshmana's words, Angada, overwhelmed with grief, aproaching his uncle said—'Saumitree hath arrived here.' Being greatly agitated with harsh words, Angada, with a pale and poorly countenance issued out speedily and approaching, touched first the king's feet and afterwards with reverence Ruma's feet. That one of exceeding prowess first touched the feet of his uncle then saluted again his mother and afterwards touching the feet of Ruma related unto them every thing in full. That monkey, possessed by amour and under the influence of liquor, being asleep could not hear (what Angada had said). Beholding Lakshmana highly enraged, the monkeys, possessed by fear, began to make noise as they were welcoming him. They, approaching Lakshmana began to set up a terrible roar like unto thunder and resembling the uproar of lions and the noise of water-falls. By that terrible sound awoke that monkey-chief, having coppery eyes, agitated, adorned with garlands and possessed by liquor. Hearing the words of Angada, the two counsellors of Sugriva, intelligent and of magnificent looks, along with him, approached that lord of monkeys. And those two ministers Yaksha and Pravaba, to give him proper counsels, informed (that monkey-chief) of the arrival of Lakshmana. Satisfying Sugriva with words pointing out his welfare, they sitting by him, spake unto that lord of wind resembling the king of celestials, saying:—"Of those two great and truthful brothers Rama and Lakshmana, who are born as men, worthy of attaining to kingdom and who have gained for thee thy kingdom, Lakshmana, with a bow in his hand, is waiting at thy gate. And afraid of whom, the monkeys, trembling, are setting up terrible roars. That Lakshmana, Raghava's brother, having words for his charioteer, and perseverance for his chariot, hath approached thee at his brother's command. O blameless king, by that Lakshmana—Tara's darling, Angada hath been despatched unto thee. O king, of monkeys, that highly powerful one, having his eyes full of ire, is waiting at thy gate, as if burning down with his eyes all the monkeys. O king, along with thy children and friends do thou repair unto him speedily and bowing unto him with thy head down do thou pacify his wrath. And do thou, O king, with a composed heart, perform what the virtuous-souled Rama hath ordered thee to do and thus fulfil thy promise.

SECTION 32.

Hearing the words of Angada as well as of Lakshmana' s wrath, the self-controlled Sugriva along with his counsellors, left his seat. Ascertaining the weight and lightness of the present occasion, that one, expert in counsels and abiding by their advice spake unto the expert counsellors, saying:—"I have not done him any wrong, nor have I spoken unto him any improper word. I do not know why Raghaya's brother Lakshmana hath become offended with me. Lakshmana hath been falsely apprised of my imaginary weakness by my enemies, always looking to my dark sides. It behoveth ye all, to ascertain now speedily according to your knowledge and right understanding (the cause of Lakshmana's wrath). I do not fear Lakshmana or Raghava; but friends enraged without any cause do invariably produce fear. It is easy to contract friendship but very difficult to sustain it; for owing to the fickleness of our minds, a very slight cause brings about separation. I have not done him any good proportionate to what the high-souled Rama had done for me; and it is for this reason that I am afraid of him." Being thus addressed by Sugriva—Hanuman, the foremost of monkey-counsellors, spoke, according to his own understanding, saying:—"It is no wonder, O lord of monkeys, that thou hast not forgot the unexpected benefit, (thou hadst received at the hands of Rama). To encompass thy well-being, Vali, powerful as the Lord of celestials, was fearlessly destroyed by the heroic Raghava. There is not the least doubt, that Raghava, out of love, is enraged with thee, and hath despatched his younger brother Lakshmana, the enhancer of prosperity. O thou foremost of those conversant with time, the auspicious autumn, green with Saptachhada flowers, hath set in and thou, given up to enjoyments, doth not percieve it. The sky, having the clouds removed, is full of clear stars and planets. The quarters, the ponds and rivers are all clear. O best of monkeys, finding thee forgetful, Lakshmana hath come here to inform thee that the proper time hath arrived. Do thou patiently hear all these harsh words of the high-souled Rama, racked with sorrow and separated from his spouse, which Lakshmana, shall relate unto thee. Thou hast acted improperly towards him, and I do not find any thing tending to thy welfare but thy satisfying Lakshmana with folded hands. The kings should be addressed with auspicious words by their counsellors always ministering unto them proper counsels. And it is for this reason, I am addressing thee with these sound words. Raghava, taking up his bow, while enraged, can bring under subjection the entire world, inhabited by the celestials, Asuras and Gandharbas. Remembering his former service, it doth not behove thee, grateful as thou art, to excite his wrath, who should be pleased again. Bowing unto him, with thy children and friends, do thou, O king, satisfying thy promise, seek his shelter like unto a wife placing herself under the control of her husband. O lord of monkeys, it doth not behove thee, to neglect even in thought, the behests of Rama and his younger brother; for thou art fully aware of the prowess of Raghava like unto the lord of celestials, and passing human power.

SECTION 33.

Thereupon, Lakshmana, the slayer of foes, commanded, entered, at the behest of Rama, the pleasant city of Kishkindha situated in the centre of caves. Beholding Lakshmana, the highly powerful monkeys, having huge persons and waiting at the gate, stood all with folded hands. And seeing Dacaratha's son highly enraged and sighing again and again, the monkeys stood silent and did not interrupt him. The graceful Lakshmana espied that huge picturesque and celestial cave adorned with jewels and flowery gardens. It was filled with palatial buildings, various jewels and flowery trees, producing at all times wished-for fruits. It was beautified with good-looking monkeys—children of the celestials and Gandharbas wearing celestial garlands and clothes and assuming shapes at will. It was fragrant with the sweet smell of sandal wood, Aguru and lotuses and its highways were equally fragrant with the smell of honey. And Lakshmana beheld there many spacious buildings like unto the hills Vindhya and Meru and rivers of clear water. And he also surveyed the picturesque dwellings of Angada, Mainda, Divida, Gavaya, Gabaksha, Gaja, Sarava, Vidhutmali, Sampati, Suryaksha, Hanuman, Beerabahu, Subahu, Nala, Kumuda, Sushena, Tara, Jambaban, Dadhibaktra, Neela, Sunetra and Supatala like unto sable clouds adorned with excellent garlands, filled with rice and jewels and beautiful damsels. Unobstructed the highly powerful Saumitri entered the picturesque abode of Sugriva like unto the Sun entering into a collection of dense clouds. The abode of this lord of monkeys was like unto the palace of the Lord of celestials, ornamented with the tops of white buildings resembling the summits of the Kailaca hill and flowery trees producing at all times, wished-for fruits; covered with beautiful trees having cool shades and bearing celestial fruits and flowers resembling the molten-gold. And that virtuous-souled one, crossing the seven rooms filled with conveyances and seats beheld the secret apartment (of that monkey-chief), having many a gold and silver bed-steads with excellent coverlets and fine seats. No sooner had he entered the inner apartment than he heard a musical sound, well-measured and accompanied by the music of the stringed instrument. And that highly powerful one beheld in the abode of Sugriva many a beautiful damsel proud of their youth and beauty, sprung from respectable families, adorned with splendid ornaments, engaged in stringing excellent garlands. And he observed Sugriva's servants, well fed, contented, not hurry in offering their services and without splendid ornaments. Hearing the sounds of women's girdles and their Nupurs [An ornament for their toes or feet.], the graceful Lakshmana became highly ashamed. And highly enraged at the sound of the ornaments, the hero filled all the quarters with the twang of his bow. Lakshmana of mighty-arms stood silent in a nook, thinking of his improper conduct of entering into (Sugriva's) seraglio, albeit he was wrought up with ire in consequence of Sugriva's neglecting Rama's service. Thereupon Sugriva, the lord of monkeys, being apprised of Lakshmana's approach by the twang of his bow and terrified, trembled on his throne, and thought aside:—"Forsooth hath Saumitri, fond of his brother, come, whose approach was announced by Angada before. Informed before by Angada of his approach, and made doubly sure by the twang of the bow, that monkey came to know of Lakshmana's arrival and turned pale. Thereupon Sugriva, the foremost of monkeys, wrought up with fear, addressed the fine looking Tara with the following well-meaning words:—"O beautiful lady, dost thou know, why hath the mild-natured younger brother of Rama, arrived here enraged? O blameless lady, dost thou perceive any cause of the Prince's wrath? Forsooth, that best of men, is not enraged for a slight cause. Considering aright, dost thou speedily inform me if I have performed any improper act towards Rama. O fine lady, do thou approach him in person and pacify him with soothing words. Beholding thee, that pure-souled one shall not be worked with ire; great men do never behave roughly towards the females. Approaching him do thou console him and thereafter I shall see that conqueror of foes having eyes resembling lotus-petals." Thereupon Tara, with faltering feet and eyes wild with wine, the golden chains of her zone flowing (about her hips),—graced with auspicious marks, saught Lakshmana's presence with downcast looks. Beholding Tara, the queen of the lord of monkeys, Lakshmana, the high-souled son of a king, restraining his anger on the approach of a female, stood with his head hung down, conducting himself like an ascetic. Renouncing modesty under the influence of liquor, and finding the king's son well pleased, Tara spake unto Lakshmana, bold and loving words, in order to console him. "O son of a king, what is the cause of thy wrath? Who is there who hath not abode by thy commands? Who can remain without anxiety, beholding fire in a forest filled with dried trees?" Hearing the soothing words of Tara, Lakshmana,

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undaunted, spoke again, greatly manifesting his friendship:—"O thou intent on thy husband's welfare, dost thou not perceive that thy husband is by and by losing piety and wealth, being addicted to amorous enjoyments? O Tara, thy husband doth not think of us who are moved with sorrow— but is addicted to sensual enjoyments only, being surrounded by parasites. (Having promised that he would institute enquiries about Sita after four months), that lord of monkeys hath well-nigh spent the entire period, being influenced by liquor and addicted to enjoyments along with thee. For the attainment of piety and wealth, drinking is not a proper course. It is by drinking that people lose piety, wealth and desire. He who doth not return the services of his benefactor, loseth piety. He who loseth friendship with a qualified friend, loseth wealth. He is the best friend who is gifted with wealth and is truthful; and thy husband hath relinquished such a friend gifted with these two qualities. And, therefore, he doth not abide by the virtue of preserving friendship. O thou expert in business, this being the case, do thou advise us as to what we should do." Hearing the sweet words of Lakshmana consonant with piety and wealth, Tara again addressed him about Rama's business, yet remaining unaccomplished, with words inspiring confidence,—"O son of a king, this is not the time for displaying thy wrath; it is not proper to be angry with one's own friends. O hero, it behoveth thee to put up with the error of him who hath thy welfare in view. O prince, who, accomplished with excellent virtues, gets enraged with one of inferior merits? O prince, who, like thee, an offspring of asceticism, is worked up with ire against the virtue of forgiveness? I know the (cause of the) wrath of that heroic monkey's friend. I know the time for action. I know what thou hast done for us. I know what is due from us to thee. And, O foremost of men, I also know the irrisistible force of Kama. I know by whom Sugriva has been taken captive, and that his heart is not now in the work. As thou hast come under the governance of anger, thy mind has not felt the influence of desire. Even a human being that hath conceived love, does not stay for place or time or interest. Do thou forgive that lord of the monkey race, thy brother, influenced by carnality, who is by thee, and who through the urgency of lust, has banished shame. Even Maharshis finding delight in religion and asceticism, setting their hearts upon satisfying lust, (ultimately) become fast bound by ignorance. But this is a monkey, volatile by nature, and hath, furthermore, been enjoying regal state—why should he not act thus? Having thus said unto Lakshmana of immeasurable intelligence words fraught with high import, that female monkey, her eyes drooping with languor, again sadly spake in this wise for the behoof of her husband, "O foremost of men, although Sugriva has come under the sway of desire, he hath, to secure thy good, ere this issued orders for preparations to be made. And monkeys by hundreds and thousands and kotis, inhabiting various mountains, possessed of exceeding prowess, have already arrived (here). Do thou therefore, O mighty-armed one, come. (Having rushed towards the inner apartment), thou hast not suffered in character. For the good to behold others' wives in a friendly spirit, cannot bring on unrighteousness." Permitted by Tara, that long-armed repressor of foes, urged on by (the required) speed, entered the inner apartment. There seated on a superb seat spread with a costly carpet, he found Sugriva resembling the sun himself, his person decked with noble ornaments, of a dignified presence, famous, wearing gay garlands and attire, invincible like unto the great Indra. And surrounded by dames adorned with elegant ornaments and wreaths, Sugriva with his eyes still more reddened in wrath, looked like the Destroyer himself. Then deeply embracing Uma, the large-eyed hero of the hue of fine gold, seated on an excellent seat, saw the powerful Saumitri having expansive eyes.

SECTION 34.

Seeing that foremost of men, Lakshmana, exercised with wrath, as he entered in without let, Sugriva was seized with sadness. And seeing Dacaratha's son, wroth, and breathing hard, and flaming up in energy, and burning in consequence of the calamity that had overtaken his brother, that chief of monkeys started up, leaving his golden seat, like unto the mighty ornamented standard of the great Indra. And as Sugriva rose up, Uma and the other females rose up, like unto stars appearing in the sky when the full moon has risen. And with eyes reddened, and his hands folded, the graceful Sugriva came (before Lakshmana) and stood there like a mighty Kalpa tree. And the wrathful Lakshmana spake unto Sugriva stationed among women, having Uma for his second, and resembling the moon with the stars, saying,—"The king that is nobly endowed by heredity, and is kind, that hath subdued his senses,and is grateful and truth-telling, obtains renown in this world. And who is more wicked than that king who, rooted in unrighteousness, makes false promises unto friends intent upon his welfare? He that speaks a falsehood with reference to a horse, becomes guilty of the deaths of an hundred horses: he committing himself to a falsehood relative to a cow, reapeth the demerit of slaying a thousand kine; while he that uttereth an untruth touching a person, destroys self as well as his kindred. That ungrateful wight that, having at first attained benefit at the hands of his friends, doth not requite it, is, O lord of monkeys, worthy of being slain by all creatures. Seeing an ingrate wretch, the wrathful Brahma sang the (previous) sloka, bowed down unto by all the worlds. Do thou understand that, O monkey. The pious provide deliverance for the cow-killer, the wine-biber, the thief, and the violator of vows; but for the ungrateful person there is no deliverance whatever. Thou art ignoble and ungrateful and lying, O monkey, since, having been formerly benefitted by Rama, thou dost not requite his services. Having been benefitted by Rama, thou, anxious to repay his kindness, shouldst exert thyself in search of Sita. But, of false promises, thou hast been indulging in gross enjoyments,—nor doth Rama know thee for a serpent, croaking like a frog. A sinful wretch and of wicked soul, thou hast obtained the kingdom of the monkeys through the agency of the eminently virtuous, kind and high-souled Rama. Thou dost not acknowledge the good offices rendered unto thee by the high-souled Raghava; and therefore, slain by means of sharpened shafts, thou shalt soon see Vali. The way that hath been wended by the slain Vali, is not yet narrowed. Do thou, O Sugriva, desist in time: do not walk in the wake of Vali. Do not behold the shafts resembling thunder-bolts shot from the bow of that best of the Ikshwakus. Then, attaining happiness, thou shalt pass thy days in peace. Nor do thou mentally neglect Rama's business."

SECTION 35.

When Sumitra's son, Lakshmana, had spoken thus, flaming in energy, Tara of face fair as the moon, said unto him, "O Lakshmana, thou ought not to speak thus: and this lord of monkeys does not deserve to hear this harsh speech from thy lips, in especial. Sugriva is not ungrateful, or cunning, or heartless; nor doth he, O hero, deal in falsehood; nor is he deceitful. Nor hath the heroic monkey, O hero, forgotten the good, incapable of being done by others in battle, that the hero, Rama, hath done in his behalf. And, O afflictor of foes, through Rama's grace, Sugriva hath here attained fame and the enduring empire of the monkeys, as well as Uma and myself. Having lain down miserably before, Sugriva, now that he hath attained this supreme happiness, doth not heed his urgent duties, like the ascetic Vicwamitra. Attached unto Ghritachi, O Lakshmana, the pious and mighty ascetic, Vicwamitra looked upon ten years as one day; and that best of those conversant with time, Vicwamitra of mighty energy, did not perceive that the time (for doing a certain act) had arrived. What is to be said of other people? O Lakshmana, it behoveth Rama to forgive one who hath all the bodily exigencies, who is fatigued, and who is not satisfied with the pleasures of Kama. Nor, O Lakshmana, doth it behove thee, without ascertaining the exact import of things, to become suddenly subject to wrath, like any inferior person. O chief of men, persons endowed with the quality of goodness, like unto thee, do not suffer themselves to come under the sway of passion, without (at first) needfully revolving matters. I crave thy favour with concentrated mind, thou that knowest morality. Renounce the mighty grief that springs from thy ire. This is my conviction that for compassing Rama's welfare, Sugriva can resign Uma and myself, and Angada, and the kingdom and wealth and corn and animals. Slaying that worst of Rakshasas, Sugriva will bring Raghava with Sita, like unto the moon accompanied by Rohini. Without slaying hundreds, of thousands of Kotis, and thirty six Ayutas, thousands, and hundreds of irrepressible Rakshasas wearing shapes at will, (Rama) can not slay Ravana, by whom Maithili hath been carried away. They are incapable, O Lakshmana, of being slain (by Rama) in battle, unless he is supported (by others). Ravana is a wily warrior, and hence is the special need of Sugriva. That knowing lord of monkeys, Vali, had told me all this. I do not know how Ravana had secured this host: I say what I had heard from Vali. For rendering thee assistance, the foremost monkeys have been despatched in order to summon to the conflict numerous principal monkeys. Expecting these powerful and exceedingly strong ones, for attaining Raghava's end, this lord of monkeys doth not (yet) sally out. Things, O Saumitri, have beforehand been so satisfactorily arranged by Sugriva, that this very day the mighty one will be joined with all those monkeys. This very day billions of bears and thousands of golangulas as well as innumerable Kotis of monkeys flaming in energy shall join thee. Therefore, O subduer of enemies, banish thy anger. Seeing this thy face wrought up with wrath, and thy eyes appearing like red sores, the wives of the best of monkeys experience no peace, and they are agitated by the fear that exercised them of late."

SECTION 36.

Humbly addressed in these words informed with morality, Sumitra's son, resuming his native mildness, accepted them. On his accepting the speech, the lord of monkeys like a wet cloth cast off from him the fear he had conceived on account of Lakshmana. Then Sugriva—lord of monkeys— tore away the gaudy and variegated garland on his neck— potent with many a virtue, and became deprived of energy. And that master of all the monkeys, Sugriva, gladdening Lakshmana of dreadful prowess, humbly observed unto him, "Thou son unto Sumitra, by the favour of Rama have I received back my lost luck, my fame, and this eternal monarchy of the monkeys. O king's son, who is capable of repaying even in part an action like that of the divine (Rama) renowned by means of his own acts? By virtue of native energy, and merely with my help, the righteous Raghava shall recover Sita and slay Ravana to boot. What need of assistance to him who with a single shaft rived seven giant trees, a mountain, and the Earth. O Lakshmana, what is the use of help to him the sounds of whose stretching bow made the Earth tremble with her mountains? O best of men, when that foremost of men shall set out for slaying his enemy, Ravana along with those going before him, I will follow him. If through my confidence, or presuming upon our amity, I have transgressed in any way, (Rama) ought to excuse his servant,—for there is no servant that doth not transgress." When the high-souled Sugriva had said this, Lakshmana became well pleased, and he spake from love,—"Having, in especial, thee endeued with humility, my brother, O monarch of monkeys, is every way strong, O Sugriva. Such is thy strength, O Sugriva, and such thy self-denial, that thou art fully worthy to enjoy the good fortune of the king of monkeys. O Sugriva, by thy help, the puissant Rama shall speedily slay his foe. Of this there is not the least doubt. O Sugriva, what thou, virtuous, grateful and never turning away from fight, hast said is fit and proper. What knowing person, excepting, O foremost of monkeys, thyself and my elder brother, can speak so? Resembling Rama himself in strength and prowess, thou, O chief of monkeys, hast been ordained his help by the gods. But, O hero, do thou speedily go out with me and soothe thy friend aggrieved for the ravishment of his wife. And do thou, my friend, forgive what rough speech, on hearing the utterances of Rama sunk in grief, I have given thee."

SECTION 37.

Thus addressed by the magnanimous Lakshmana, Sugriva said unto Hanuman, staying beside him, "Those that dwell on the summits of Mahendra, Himavat, Vindhya and Kailaca; on Mandara, the peaks of Pandu and the five hills; on mountains wearing the hue of the infant sun, and ever bright; and those inhabiting the West, beyond the sea; on mountains in the mansions of the sun, looking like the evening sky; and those dreadful foremost of monkeys that inhabit Padmachala, those monkeys that, resembling collyrium-like clouds, and having the strength of the lord of elephants, dwell in the Anjana hill; monkeys, possessing the splendour of gold, inhabiting the caverns of Mahacaila; those resorting to the sides of Meru, as well as those dwelling in the Dhumra mountains; and those, having the hues of the infant sun, dwelling in the Maharuna mountain, drinking the Maireya wine; and those dwelling in mighty fair and fragrant forests and romantic hermitages all round, lying on the skirts of woods,—do thou at once bring all these—all the foremost monkeys of the world, by means of gifts and conciliation, and through the agency of more than usually fleet monkeys. I know those monkeys that I have first despatched, to be gifted with great velocity,—yet, for urging speed upon them, do thou send other foremost of monkeys. Do thou directly bring up here those monkey-chiefs that are given up to lust or are dilatory. Those wicked ones, that finding fault with the royal mandate, do not (come in) at my command within ten days, must be slain. Let those hundreds and thousands and kotis of leonine monkeys that abide by my mandate, hie (hence) at my behest. Let (monkeys) resembling clouds or mountains, cover up the sky; and let the foremost monkeys of dreadful forms march hence at my command. Let all the monkeys on earth, acquainted with motion, hying themselves and summoning speed at my command, bring all the monkeys." Hearing the words of the monkey-king, the son of the Wind-god despatched powerful monkeys in all directions. Despatched by the king, the monkeys, ranging the sphere of birds and stars, immediately went through the welkin. And on oceans and mountains, in forests and tanks, the monkeys began to send away all the apes on behalf of Rama. Hearing the mandate of that king of kings, Sugriva, resembling the Hour of death, the monkeys, conceiving fear for Sugriva, set out. And monkeys resembling collyrium (in hue), numbering three kotis, endeued with huge might, set out from the Anjana hill for the place where Raghava was. And ten kotis having the splendour of molten gold, inhabiting the mountain where the sun sets, set out. And a thousand kotis, hued like the lion's mane, came from the peaks of Kailaca. And of those dwelling in Himalaya, subsisting on fruits and roots, numbering a thousand and kotis, a thousand appeared. And thousands of dreadful monkeys of terrible deeds, hued like charcoal, numbering kotis, rushed suddenly from Vindhya. And there exists no record of the number of those inhabiting the shores of the ocean of milk, and the dwellers in the Tamala forests, as well as those subsisting on cocoanuts. And, as if drinking up the sun, the mighty monkey host came from forests and caves and rivers. And it came to pass that those heroic monkeys that had gone away to spur others on, found a mighty tree on Himavat. On that sacred mount in days of yore there took place a pleasing Mahecwara

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[The celestial horse-sacrifice.] sacrifice. There the monkeys found grateful fruits and roots sprung from the streams of sacrificial oblations, and resembling ambrosia. He that partakes of those excellent fruits and roots sprung from the sacrificial ingredients, doth not experience hunger for a month. Those prime monkeys, feeding on fruits, gathered those sapid fruits and roots and medicinal herbs. And for compassing the good of Sugriva, repairing thither, the monkeys brought ordorous blossoms from the sacrificial ground. And all those foremost of monkeys, taking all the monkeys of the earth, hastily set off in the van of the herds. And in a short while, those fast-fleeting apes speedily reached Kishkindha, where the monkey Sugriva was. And taking the healing herbs and the fruits and roots, the monkeys made them over to Sugriva, and said, "Having traversed mountains, rivers and forests, all the monkeys of the earth bend their steps towards thee in obedience to thy command." Hearing this, Sugriva—lord of monkeys—was well pleased, and with a glad heart accepted all those presents.

SECTION 38.

Having accepted all those presents, (Sugriva), after soothing the monkeys, dismissed them. Having dismissed the thousands of apes, who had performed their task, he deemed himself as well as the mighty Raghava as having secured success. Then Lakshmana in sweet words spoke unto the exceedingly strong chief of monkeys—Sugriva— gladdening him, "If it please thee, O placid one, I will go out of Kishkindha." Hearing Lakshmana's soft speech, Sugriva, highly delighted, said, "Be it so. Let us go. I abide by thy behest." Having said this unto Lakshmana of auspicious marks, Sugriva dismissed the women with Tara at their head. Then Sugriva in a loud voice summoned the foremost monkeys, saying, "Come (hither)." Hearing his words, those monkeys that could present themselves before the females, did so with joined hands. To them, who had presented themselves, said the king, of splendour resembling that of the Sun, "Do, ye monkeys, bring hither a car." bearing his words, monkeys uniting vigor with celerity, brought a car lovely to behold. Seeing the car brought up, the lord of monkeys said unto Sumitra's son, "O Lakshmana, ascend speedily." Having said this, Sugriva in company with Lakshmana swiftly ascended the golden car resembling the sun, yoked with numerous steeds. With a pale umbrella held over his head, and white chowris waving around, with conchs and trumpets blowing, eulogized by bards, Sugriva marched out, having obtained supreme regal auspiciousness. And surrounded by hundreds of high-spirited apes and armed people, he proceeded whither Rama was staying.— And having arrived at the excellent spot which was the home of Rama, that highly energetic one alighted from the car along with Lakshmana. And having come to Rama, Sugriva (stood) folding his hands. And when Sugriva had folded his hands, the monkeys also did so. And beholding the mighty host of the monkeys resembling a tank filled with lotus buds, Rama was well-pleased with Sugriva. And raising up the monkey-king who had bent his head at Rama's feet, Raghava embraced him from love and regard. Having embraced Sugriva, that righteous one said unto him, "Be seated." And seeing Sugriva seated on the ground, Rama said, "He, O best of monkeys, is a king who, O hero, in season follows righteousness, pleasure and profit, always dividing the same (among all.) He that, renouncing righteousness and the good, devotes himself to pleasure solely, is like a man that falling asleep on the top of a tree, wakes when he hath fallen down. That king is verily virtuous that, engaged in uprooting foes and advancing friends, attends to all the three ends. O destroyer of foes, the time is come for exertion: do thou, O lord of monkeys, bethink thyself along with thy monkey ministers." Thus addressed, Sugriva said unto Rama, "O mighty-armed one, my lost luck, and repute, and the entire monkey kingdom I have received back through thy gift, owing to thine and thy brother's grace, thou foremost of victors. He that, having received a good office, doth not requite it, reapeth obloquy among persons. These hundreds of prime monkeys. O destroyer of enemies, have come here, bringing with them all the monkeys of the world. O Raghava, bears and monkeys, heroic Golangulas—acquainted with woods and forests and strongholds, and of terrible shapes—and monkeys who are the sons of deities, wearing forms at will—stay on the way, O Raghava, surrounded by their own armies. And, O hero, O repressor of foes, monkeys surrounded by hundreds, and hundred thousands, and kotis, and ayutas, and sankus [A Sanku is a thousand Arvudas; a Madhya is an Arvuda ten times; an Antya is a Madhya ten times; a Samudra is a Madhya twenty times; and a Parardha, a Samudra thirty times.], and arvudas, and hundreds of arvudas, and madhyas, and antyas, wait (here). And samudras, and parardhas of monkeys—leaders of herds—inhabiting Meru and Vindhya, resembling clouds or hills, and in might resembling the great India, are on their way unto thee, O king. They will join thee for battling the fiend in the field; and, slaying Ravana in fight, shall bring Mithila's daughter."

Thereat the puissant son of the Earth's lord, witnessing the preparations made by the heroic monkey, remaining under his command, appeared like a blown blue lotus.

SECTION 39.

As Sugriva was speaking thus with joined hands, that best of the righteous, Rama, embraced him with his arms, and then replied, "That Indra poureth down showers, is no wonder, nor that this thousand-rayed Sun dispells darkness from the sky; nor yet that, O mild one, the Moon by his rays causes the clear night. (And in a similar way), friends like thee bring delight, O subduer of foes. O mild one, that whatever is graceful, should be harboured in thee is not strange. I know, O Sugriva, that thou always speakst what is for my good. Assisted by thee, my friend, I shall in battle vanquish all my foes. Thou being my friend and my ally, shouldst assist me. That worst of Rakshasas hath carried away Maithili, to bring down destruction upon himself, even as Anuhlada ravished Puloma's daughter, Sachi, deceiving her sire. That Ravana I will at no distant date slay with my sharpened shafts, even as that slayer of enemies, he of an hundred sacrifices—slew the haughty father of Paulomi." Presently appeared volumes of dust, and the hot and fierce rays of the sun were hid in the sky. And darkened by the gloom, all sides became bewildered. And the entire earth with her mountains, forests, and woods, trembled. Then the whole ground was covered with innumerable monkeys gifted with great strength, and having sharp teeth, and resembling kings of men. Then surrounded by leaders of monkey-herds and retinues numbering hundreds of kotis, and monkey chiefs from rivers, and mountains, and seas, endowed with prodigious strength, and other apes inhabiting forests, having voices resembling clouds—and monkeys hued like the infant sun, or white like the moon, or coloured like the filaments of the lotus, or pale, having their homes in the Golden mountain—in all, numbering ten thousand kotis,—appeared the graceful and heroic monkey, named Satavali. Then, having the splendour of the Golden hill, the puissant sire of Tara was seen at the head of many thousand kotis. Then Uma's father, that lord, the father-in-law of Sugriva, arrived, accompanied with other thousands of kotis (of monkeys),—resembling the filaments of the lotus, of face like unto the youthful sun, intelligent, the foremost of monkeys—supreme among them all. And Hanuman's father, the graceful Kecarin, appeared in company with many thousands of monkeys. And Gavaksha—sovereign of Golangulas—endowed with dreadful might, appeared, surrounded by thousands of kotis of monkeys. And Dhumra of bears endowed with terrific speed—destroyer of foes—appeared, surrounded by two thousand kotis. And the leader of herds, named Panama, of exceeding prowess, came, accompanied with three kotis, mighty and dreadful. And the leader of herds, named Nila, of huge body, resembling a mass of blue collyrium, appeared with ten kotis. Then the exceedingly powerful Gavaya—leader of herds, having the splendour of the Golden mountain, arrived with five kotis. And that powerful leader of herds—Darimukha, came, surrounded by thousands of kotis, and took up his post by Sugriva. And Mainda and Dwivida—sons of Acwi both—of mighty strength, appeared with kotis upon thousands of kotis of monkeys. And the powerful and heroic Gaya (came), surrounded by three kotis. And the king of bears, Jambavan by name, (came), surrounded by ten kotis, and enlisted himself under the command of Sugriva. And (the monkey) named Rumana, possessed of energy, and strong, came swiftly, surrounded by an hundred kotis of powerful monkeys. Then, followed at his back by hundreds and thousands of kotis, came the monkey, Gandhamadana. Then came the young prince Angada, in prowess resembling his sire,—accompanied by a thousand padmas and an hundred sankhas. Then appeared at a distance, accompanied by five kotis of monkeys endowed with dreadful prowess,—Tara, having the splendour of a star. And then appeared Indrajanu, the heroic monkey and leader of herds—lord of eleven kotis—surrounded by them. Then followed Rambha, resembling the infant sun, accompanied by an ayuta, a thousand, and an hundred. Then appeared to the view the stout monkey, named Durmukha, heroic lord of herds, surrounded by two kotis. And Hanuman showed himself, surrounded by a thousand kotis of monkeys, resembling peaks of Kailaca, of dreadful vigor. And the exceedingly energetic Nala came, attended with an hundred kotis, a thousand, and an hundred monkeys, living in trees. Then surrounded by ten kotis (of monkeys), came the shapely Darimukha before the high-souled Sugriva, from a country bordering on a river. And Sarabha, Kumuda, Vahni, the monkey Rambha,—and many other monkeys—lords of herds—passing ennumeration—wearing shapes at will, came, covering the entire earth with her mountains and forests. And all the monkeys of the world were some of them coming and others putting up. And monkeys— some of them dripping, and some leaping, and some roaring—gathered round Sugriva, like clouds gathering round the sun. And, crying in various tones, prime monkeys furnished with arms, with bent heads spoke humbly to that lord of monkeys—Sugriva. And other foremost of monkeys, gathering together duly, came before Sugriva with joined hands. Sugriva standing with joined hands, expeditiously informed Rama of the arrival of the monkey-leaders in hot haste; and then spake (to them), saying, "O chiefs of monkeys, stationing the forces duly near mountain-rills and all the woods, let him that is conversant with the army, ascertain who have come and who have not."

SECTION 40.

Xhen that lord of monkeys, the successful Sugriva, spake unto Rama—lion among men and destroyer of hostile hosts— saying, "Those foremost monkeys endeued with strength and capable of wearing any shape at will, and possessed of the splendour of the mighty Indra,—that inhabit my territories, have come and stationed themselves. And these monkeys— dreadful, and resembling Daityas and Danavas—are accompanied by powerful monkeys of terrific prowess, who have displayed their virtue in many a field,—and are of famed renown in battle and, powerful, and who have mastered languor and are celebrated in prowess and sterling in their profession. O Rama, these kotis of apes that have arrived, inhabiting earth and water and various mountainous tracts, are at thy service. All abide by thy command—all are intent upon the welfare of their master, and, O subduer of foes, they are competent to bring about thy end. And in company with many thousands and innumerable ones that have shewn their ability in many a field, have come monkeys dreadful, and resembling Daityas and Danavas. If, O lion among men, thou conceive that the time is ripe, tell it (unto me). It behoves thee to command those forces, remaining under thy sway. Although I am full well acquainted with the work in which they are to be employed, yet thou ought to order them as to what they are to accomplish." When Sugriva had spoken thus, Dacaratha's son, Rama, embracing him with his arms, said, "O placid one, do thou learn whether Videha's daughter is alive or not; as well as ascertain the country, where, O thou endowed with eminent wisdom, liveth Ravana. Having come at Vaidehi and Ravana's abode, shall I then appoint the time along with thee. O lord of monkeys, I am not the master in this matter, nor Lakshmana: thou art the cause of this undertaking, as well as, O monarch of monkeys, the lord. Do thou therefore, O lord, command these as to what is to be done by them in my behalf. O hero, thou certainly knowest my business. My second friend (Lakshmana being first), thou art potent, wise, conversant with seasonableness, cognisant of profit, and engaged in our welfare." Thus addressed, Sugriva in presence of Rama and the intelligent Lakshmana, said unto a leader of herds and lord of apes, named Vinata, having the splendour of a hill, blazing and emitting sounds as those of clouds, "O foremost of monkeys, accompanied with apes resembling the sun and the moon, thou cognisant of time, place and morals, and sagacious in deciding course of action,—surrounded by hundreds and thousands of active apes, march towards the Eastern quarter, furnished with woods, forests and hills. There, in mountain fastnesses, and forests and rivers, do thou search Videha's daughter, Sita, as well as the abode of Ravana. And while on the search around for Rama's beloved wife, Sita, daughter-in-law unto Dacaratha, thou shouldst search the beautiful Bhagirathi, and the Sarayu, and the Kauciki; the Kalindi, and the charming Yamuna, and the mighty hill bordering thereon; and the Saraswati, and the Sindhu, and the Sona with water resembling ruby; and the Mahi and Kalamahi, garnished with woods and hills,—the large tracts—Brahmamalas, Videhas, and Malavans, and Kacikosalas, and Magadhas, and Pundras, and Angas; and grounds native to silkworms, and containing mines of silver; and mountains and cities embosmed in the sea. Do thou also search through the houses in Mandara, —belonging to people having ears resembling cloths, reaching their nether lips, and mouths resembling iron, —one-footed and fleet withal; and whose descendants never deteriorate;—and to anthropophagi; and hunters dwelling on islands; having sharp hair, gold-hued, pleasing, and subsisting on raw fish; and to creatures—tiger-man forms—terrible to behold; and, ye dwellers of woods, do ye carefully search those places that are accessible by crags and bounds,—and the island of Yava, adorned by seven several kingdoms, and the island of Suvarna, and Rupayaka,—thronged by gold miners. And, going beyond the island of Yava, (one comes upon) the hill called Sisira, which pierceth the heavens by its peaks, and is inhabited by gods and demons. In all these mountain fastnesses, cascades and woods, do ye together search for the renowned wife of Rama. Then, arriving at the rapid red waters going under the name of Sona,and repairing to the other shore of the ocean, the abode of Siddhas and Charanas, do ye search all round for Ravana in company with Sita in the sweet sacred spots and picturesque woods. And ye should explore forests, mountain-sprung streams, wild tracts subject to storms, and mountains containing caverns. Then it behoves you to examine horrible ocean islands, heaving with waves, terrific, resounding,—of haughty bearing in consequence of winds. There, huge-bodied Asuras, hungering for a long period, permitted by Brahma, capture creatures, resorting to shades. And adroitly arriving at that great sea, like unto clouds at the universal dissolution, inhabited by mighty

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snakes, sending loud sounds,—and there, after passing the terrific sea of red waters called Yellow, ye will behold a mighty knarled Salmali, There, built by Vicwakarman, peak-like, gigantic, resembling Kailaca, (towereth) the mansion of Vinata's offspring, named Mandeha. There, grim Rakshasas named Mandehas, resembling hills, of diverse shapes, capable of inspiring fear, hang head foremost on the rocks. Day after day at sunrise, these Rakshasas heated (by solar rays) and struck dead by Brahma energy, again and again (hang on the crags). Then wilt thou, O thou that art hard to repress, proceeding, view the sea named Kshiroda, having the hue of pale clouds, and looking like a necklace, because of the ripples (on its surface). In it there are the mighty white mountains going by the name of Rishada, covered with trees bearing oderous blossoms; as well as the tank known under the name of Sudarcana, swarming with swans and shining silver lotuses having golden filaments. Desirous of sport, resort to this tank delighted troops of Vivudhas and Charanas, Yakshas, Kinnaras and Apsaras. Leaving behind Kshiroda, ye monkeys, ye will soon after behold the Jalada sea, striking terror into all beings. There presideth that mighty ire-born Energy of the Sage Aurvi, (embodied in) the mouth of a mule. This wondrous (universe) containing mobile and immobile things and fraught with great impetus, is the aliment of this Energy. There are heard the cries of feeble creatures inhabiting the sea, who began to wail on witnessing the mouth of the mule. On the north of the Swadu sea, lie thirteen yojanas (of land), named Jatarupacila [Lit. of gold and stone.], exceeding spacious, and of the splendour of gold. There, ye monkeys, ye will behold that serpent, the holder of Earth—resembling the moon, and with expansive eyes like lotus-petals—seated at the summit of the mount,— that one worshipped of all deities, having a thousand heads,— the god Ananta, clad in blue apparel. And by the dais (there) at the top of the mount is the golden palm, planted by that high souled one,—which is like a banner. The chief of the celestials reared it in the Eastern region. After that is the fair Rising mountain. Its golden peak measuring a hundred yojanas, reaching unto the heavens, rises nobly, with mountains at its base; and looks beautiful with Salas, palms, Tamalas, and flowering Karnikaras,—golden, splendid and resembling the sun. There, spreading a yojana around, towering up ten, is the peak named Saumanasa—all certainly of gold. There, formerly on the occasion of invading the earth with three paces, that foremost of persons, Vishnu, planting his first foot, planted the other on the summit of Meru. The sun, having passed by Jamvudwipa on the north, and, arriving at that mighty and eminent summit, (Saumanasa), again becometh visible to the dwellers of Jamvudwipa. There are seen those Valakhilya Maharshis, named Vaikhanasas,—wearing the hue of the sun, leading an ascetic mode of life. This is the island of Sudarcana, before which all creatures inspire energy and have their sight granted to them. You should search for Ravana with Vaidehi all round the top of that mountain as well as in its forests and woods. (Here) the first twilight enfolded in the glory of the golden hill and that of the high-souled Sun, appeareth roseate. As this is the first gateway of both Earth and Heaven, and as the sun first rises in this quarter, this is called the East. Ye should search the breast of its mountain, and fountains, and caves for Ravana in company with Vaidehi. Beyond that, is the exceedingly impassable Eastern quarter, thronged by the celestials,—covered with darkness and devoid of the sun and the moon. Do ye search for Janaki in all those rocks, woods and streams as well as in such spots as I have not mentioned. Ye foremost of monkeys, the monkeys are competent to proceed thus far. Beyond this, of the tract without sun and without limit, I know nothing. Meeting with Vaidehi and (arriving at) Ravana's mansion, do ye, having reached the Rising hill, turn back, when it shall be a full month. Do not stay longer than a month. If ye do, ye shall be slain by me. Having attained your end, do ye turn back, having met with Maithili. Having adroitly explored (the tract) loved of Mahendra, plated with woods, do ye, ye monkeys, having come at Sita—the beloved wife of that descendant of Raghu—desist, attaining happiness."

SECTION 41.

Then having sent away that mighty host of monkeys, Sugriva despatched to the South others competent to perform tlie several tasks entrusted to them. And appointing the exceedingly mighty Angada as the leader of those heroic monkeys, that hero, the lord of monkey bands, conversant with the countries intended to be explored, despatched heroes endowed with speed and prowess, headed by Angada, Nila the son of Fire, and the monkey Hanuman, and the exceedingly energetic Jambavan, son unto the Great-father, and Suhotra, and Sarari, and Saragulma, Gaya, Gavakshya, and Gavaya, Sushena, Vrishabha, Mainda, Dwivida, and Gandhamadana, and Ulkamukha and Ananga—sons of Fire both. And the lord of monkeys began to describe unto the monkey-chiefs those tracts in those directions, that were difficult of access. "Ye will behold Vindhya having an hundred summits, and brushed with various trees and shrubs, and the romantic river Narmada, frequented by mighty serpents; and the Godavari*, and that mighty river, the captivating Krishnaveni, and the Mekhalas and Utkalas, and the cities of Dacarna; and Avravanti and Avanti, and the Vidarbhas and Nishtikas and the charming Mahishakas. [* The Godavari flowing through the countries to the east of the Vindya mountains.— The Vindhya Range (also known as Vindhyachal) is a complex, discontinuous chain of mountain ridges, hill ranges, highlands and plateau escarpments in the centre of ancient India. In the Mahabharata, the range is also referred to as Vindhyapadaparvata. The Greek geographer Ptolemy called the range Vindius or Ouindion.] And ye will see also the Matsyas and Kalingas and Kaucikas all round, and the forest of Dandaka, with mountains, rivers and caverns; and the river Godavari, and the Andhras, and Paundras, the Cholas, the Pandyas, and the Keralas. Then shall ye repair to the mountain Ayomukha [Another name of this hill is Malaya.], plated with ore, having taking summits, graceful, furnished with picturesque flowering woods,— the mighty mountain having groves of excellent sandal. At the foot of the Malaya mountain endeued with exceeding energy, ye will behold the noble stream Kaveri, of pleasant waters, where sport troops of Apsaras. (There) you will see that foremost of saints, Agastya, resembling the sun. Permitted by that gratified high-souled one, ye will cross over the great river, Tamraparni, abounding in alligators. Like a youthful female in relation to her lover, she (Tamraparni), with both her waters as well as islets concealed under beautiful sandal woods, bathes in the sea. Proceeding (therefrom), the monkeys shall see the grand golden gates belonging to the walls of the capital of the Pandyas. Then arriving at the main, ye shall ascertain your ability or otherwise of crossing the same. In the bosom of the deep there, Agastya hath placed that foremost of mountains—the charming Mahendra, having picturesque plateaus; golden, and beautiful,—with a portion of it sunk in the great ocean. For aye, He of a thousand eyes at Parvas visiteth this mountain embellished by various blossoming trees and creepers; beauteous with divinities, and saints, and the foremost Yakshas and Apsaras; thronged by numbers of Siddhas and Charanas; and of surpassing loveliness. On its other shore is an island extending over an hundred yojanas, inaccessible to men and of splendid aspect. Do ye explore it all round. There, in particular, ye must every way search for Sita. That country belongs to the impious Ravana, worthy of being slain—the lord of Rakshasas, like unto the thousand-eyed (deity) in splendour. In the midst of the Southern sea belonging to him (Ravana), there is a Rakshasi, named Anga, who procureth her prey by casting her shadow. Having (by your search) satisfied yourselves as to those countries where ye might suspect Sita to be, do ye, your doubts dispelled, proceeding beyond that, (Lanka), search for the spouse of that monarch endeued with unbounded energy. In the sea extending over an hundred yojanas, a lovely hill, named Pushpitaka, the abode of Siddhas and Charanas; resembling the rays of the sun or the moon,— resting on the waters of the ocean, looks splendid, piercing the heavens with its giant peaks. Of this (mountain), there is a particular golden summit, which the sun approaches. It is incapable of being beheld by the ungrateful or the atheistical. Bowing your heads down unto this hill, let the monkeys search on. Leaving behind that irrepressible one, (ye will come upon) a mountain difficult of approach, extending over fourteen yojanas, named Suryyavan. Passing by that also, (ye will see) a mountain, named Vidyut, filled with trees, beautiful at all seasons, and bearing all desirable fruits. There, feeding upon excellent and costly fruits and roots, and drinking delicious honey, let the monkeys pass beyond it. There is the hill named Kunjara, grateful both to the eye and the mind,—where Vicwakarma had built the abode of Agastya [in that hill.]. There (rises) that stately golden pile, adorned with various gems, extending over one yojana, and ten in height. In in that hill also there is that palace, which is the abode of snakes; having spacious ways, incapable of being captured, guarded around, and protected by dreadful snakes and sharp-toothed serpents of virulent poison; where dwelleth Vasuki, the exceedingly terrible king of snakes. Proceeding heedfully, ye must explore that Bhogavati palace; as also whatever concealed places may lie there. Going beyond that place, (ye will see) the mighty mountain named Rhrishava, in the form of a bull, full of all gems, and possessed of grace,— where are produced excellent Gocirshaka, Padmaka, and Haricyama sandals, and which in effulgence resembles fire. But, seeing that sandal, ye must by no means ask any questions: certain Gandharbas, named Rohitas, are on guard over that wood—the lords of Gandharbas, in splendour like unto five suns,—Cailusha, Gramani, Ciksha, Cuka, and Babhru. After that, (Rhishava), at the extremity of the Earth is the abode of persons of pious acts, whose bodies are composed of the Sun, the Moon and Fire. And there reside persons who have won the heavenly regions. After that are the awful regions of the ancestral manes, which ye must not approach. This is the metropolis of Yama, covered by deep gloom. Ye heroic monkey chiefs, ye can seek thus far. Further there is no course for those endeued with motion. Having examined all these, as well others that may come within your ken, it behoves you, after having ascertained Vaidehi's course, to return (hither). He that, returning within a month, shall say,—"I have seen Sita," shall pass his days in happiness, enjoying affluence like mine own and indulging all pleasures. He shall be dearer unto me than life itself, and none dearer (unto me) than he; and although he might commit innumerable wrongs, still should he become my friend. Possessed of immeasurable strength and prowess, and sprung from lines crowned with sterling virtues, do ye strive manfully in such a glorious way that the king's daughter may be recovered."

SECTION 42.

Having despatched those monkeys in a southern direction, Sugriva spoke unto the monkey named Sushena, resembling a mass of clouds. Approaching his father-in-law, Tara's father, possessed of dreadful prowess, the king, bowing and with joined hands, spoke unto him. And Sugriva commanded the Maharshi's son, Maricha, and the mighty ape, Archishmat, surrounded hy the heroic foremost of monkeys,— possessing the splendour of Mahendra, gifted with sense and vigor; and resembling the offspring himself of Vinata in brightness; and Marichi's son,—the Marichas—the mighty Archirmalyas,— all these sons of the saint —(to march) towards the West, saying,—"Ye monkey-chiefs, let twice hundred thousand monkeys led by Sushena (set out) to search Vaidehi. Ye foremost of monkeys, do ye explore the Saurashtras, the Bahlikas, the Chandrachitras, and (other) populous and fair provinces and spacious cities, and Kukshi, dense with Punnagas, and filled with Vakulas and Uddalakas; as well as the tracts covered with Ketaka trees; and auspicious streams bearing their cool waters westward; and the forests of ascetics; and mountains embosoming woods. There having explored tracts resembling deserts, and cold cliffs towering high, and the West, covered with mountain ranges, and extremely difficult of access,—and proceeding at a little more to the west, it behoves you to have a view of the sea. And proceeding on, ye monkeys, ye shall see (the ocean), whose waters abound in whales and alligators, ye monkeys. Then the apes shall sport in tracts covered by Ketakas, and dense with Tomalas and woods of cocoanuts. There shall ye look for Sita and the mansion of Ravana, in hills and woods on the shores of the sea; and (explore) Murachipattana, and the delightful Jatapura, and Avanti, and Angalapa, as well as in the wood (called) Alakshita, and spacious monarchies, and emporiums. There is a mighty mountain where the Sindhu falls into the sea, Somagiri by name; having an hundred summits and tall trees. In its plateaus there are certain birds (called) Sinhas. These lift up to their nests whales and elephants. The proud elephants carried to the nests and remaining on the summits of the mountain, possessing the roar of clouds,having been gratified (with food), range around this extensive table-land filled with water. The monkeys, capable of wearing shapes at will, should swiftly search its golden summit towering to the sky and filled with graceful trees. Proceeding further, the monkeys shall behold the golden summit of Pariyatra rising from the sea and extending over an hundred yojanas. There dwell all around in a body four and twenty kotis of ascetic Gandharbas, resembling fire, dreadful, practicising impiety, and like unto flames of fire. The monkeys of dreadful prowess should not present themselves before those, nor should they take any fruits from that country. Those heroes are hard to approach; and they are truthful and possessed of great might. And there they of dreadful prowess stow away their fruits and roots. There ye should needfully search for Janaki. Ye have no fear whatever from them; do ye only follow your native nature as monkeys. There, in hue like lapises, abounding in various kinds of trees and plants, is a mighty hill of an adamantine basis, called Vajra; beautiful, famous, and measuring an hundred yojanas in height and area. There let the monkeys carefully explore the caves. On the fourth side of the Ocean is a mountain named Chakravan. There Vicwakarma forged the discus (called) Sahasrara. There, slaying Panchajana and the Danava, Hayagriva [Lit. horse-necked.], the Best of male beings obtained the discus as well as the conch. In those beautiful plateaus and huge caves, ye should everywhere search for Ravana with Videha's daughter. Sunk in the depths of the sea, is a very great mountain named Varaha, having golden peaks and measuring four and sixty yojanas.In it is a city named Pragjyotisha, all of gold. There dwells the wicked Danava named Naraka [i.e. in the Varaha hill.]. There do ye everywhere search for Ravana along with Vaidehi in the beautiful plateaus and huge caves. Passing beyond that foremost of mountains, whose sight betrays the secret of its bowels being freighted with gold, (ye shall come upon) the mountain Sarvasauvarna, furnished with fountains and cascades. Coming to it, elephants, and boars, and lions, and tigers, on all sides roar ceaselessly, wrought up by the echoes their own cries have produced. This is the mountain named Megha, where the graceful green-horsed vanquisher of Paka, Mahendra, was installed king by the gods. Having passed by that mountain protected by Mahendra, ye shall repair to sixty thousand hills of gold; in hue like the infant sun, and blazing on all sides and embellished by blossoming golden trees. In the midst of them is established as king, Meru, best of mountains.

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Formerly the Sun being well pleased, conferred a boon on this mountain, and he addressed the mountain, saying,—'By my grace all the hills that are under thy protection, shall be golden day and night; and also those gods Gandharbas and Danavas that shall dwell in thee, shall be filled with reverence for me and to the boot attain a golden glory.' Coming to the excellent mountain Meru, Vicwadevas, the Vasus, the Maruts and the celestials, adore the Sun in the western twilight. Adored by them, the Sun, becoming invisible, repaireth to the Setting hill. In half a muhurta, the Sun swiftly passes over this (mountain), measuring, as it does, ten thousand yojanas. On its peak rises an edifice; resembling the sun (in splendour); consisting of palatial mansions built by Vicwakarma; and graced by goodly trees rife with various birds,—the residence of the high-souled Varuna, bearing the noose in his hand. Between Meru and the Setting hill, towers a tall palm having ten heads. Golden and graceful, it shineth on a variegated dais. In all these, difficult of access, as also in rivers and tanks, ye should thoroughly search for Ravana along with Vaidehi. There dwells there the righteous and famous Merusavarni, sanctified by virtue of his own asceticism, and like unto Brahma, himself. Bowing down your heads to the earth, ye should ask the Maharshi Merusavarni, resembling the sun, touching Mithila's daughter. On the departure of night, the sun dispells the darkness of the world to this extent, and then enters the Setting hill. Ye foremost of monkeys, the monkeys are able to proceed thus far. Beyond this, of what is sunless and boundless I know nothing. Having come to Vaidehi and Ravana's mansions, and arrived at the Setting-hill, do ye return on the month being complete. Ye must not stay above a month; and if ye do, ye must be slain by me. And along with you goeth that hero, my father-in-law. Ye, abiding by his orders, should listen to all that he sayeth. My mighty-armed father- in-law. gifted with great strength, is my spiritual preceptor. All of you possessed of prowess, yourselves certainly constitute the measure whereby to ascertain the wisdom or otherwise of a course. Making this one also into a measure, survey the western quarter. Having requited the good that hath been done to us, we shall attain our end. De ye also determine what else is agreeable (unto Rama), and in consonance with place, season and profit, should be performed by you in the matter of this business." Then those monkeys— the monkey chiefs headed by Sushena, having heard Sugriva's deft speech, set out for the quarter protected by Varuna.

SECTION 43.

Having directed his father-in-law to proceed to the West, that best of monkeys, the all-knowing king Sugriva, lord of apes, then spake unto the heroic monkey, named Satavala, words fraught with good unto himself as well as unto Rama,—"Surrounded by hundreds and thousands of rangers of the forest like thyself, in company with the offspring of Yama as well as the counsellors in a body, do thou, O thou possessed of prowess, entering the northern quarter furnished with the Hima caila, search everywhere for the illustrious spouse of Rama.—Having performed this task satisfactorily, and brought about what is dear unto Dacaratha's son, we shall, O best of those that achieve success, be freed from our debts. The high-souled Raghava hath done us good. If we can serve him in turn, our life shall be crowned with success. Even the life of him that accomplishes the work of one to whom the former is not obliged, is successful,—what then is to be said in respect of him that hath served one formerly? Pondering this, those that are engaged in our welfare, should so act that Janaki may be discovered. And this formemost of men is worthy of being honoured by all creatures; and Rama—captor of hostile capitals—hath also found delight in us. Endowed with sense and prowess, do ye explore these many inaccessible places, rivers and mountains. Having searched there Mlechahhas, Pulindas, Surasenas, Prasthalas, Bharatas, Kurus, and Madrakas, and Varadas, as well as the cities of Kambojas, Yavanas and Sakas, do ye explore Himavan. And in tracts of Lodhras and Padmakas, and in Devadaru woods do ye search thoroughly for Ravana along with Videha's daughter. Then, coming upon the hermitage of Soma, frequented by gods and Gandharbas, do ye repair to the mountain called Kala possessing spacious plateaus. In those mighty mountains, as also in others and in their caves, do ye search for that exalted lady, the blameless wife of Rama. Having passed beyond that mighty mountain containing gold in its womb, it behoves you to go to the mountain called Sudarcana. Then (lies) the mountain called Devasakha, the home of feathered tribes; abounding in various fowls,and embellished with diverse trees. In its golden tracts, fountains and caves, do ye search for Ravana along with Videha's daughter. Going beyond it, (ye come upon) a vacant land, measuring an hundred Yojanas, without mountains, or rivers, or trees; and void of all living beings. Speedily passing that desert land capable of making one's hair stand on end, ye shall feel delighted, on coming to the pale Kailaca. There (ye will behold) the charming mansion of Kuvera,resembling pale clouds, of burnished gold, built by Vicwakarma; where (lies) the spacious tank overflowing with lotuses and lilies, thronged with swans and Karandavas, and frequented by troops of Apsaras. There king Vaicravana, the lord of Yakshas, bowed down unto by all creatures,—the graceful giver of riches—sporteth along with the Guhyakas. In the offshoots belonging to Kailaca resembling the moon, as also in their caverns,do ye thoroughly search for Ravana in company with Vaidehi. And coming to the Krauncha mountain,ye shou1d,having your wits about you, enter its inaccessible cavern; for that is well known as difficult of entrance. There dwell certain Maharshis, high-souled, of effulgence resembling that of the sun—complete god-like shapes,—who are sought by the deities themselves. And ye should thoroughly explore the other caves of Krauncha, its plateaus and peaks; its passes and sides. (Then is) the treeless Manasa—abode of birds—the scene of Kama's austerities. Way there is none for creatures, or for gods, or for Rakshasas. That also must be explored by you,—that mountain with plains and plateaus. Going beyond Krauncha, (ye shall see) the mountain, named Mainaka. There is the residence of the Danava, Maya, reared by himself. Mainaka also with its plains, plateaus and woods must be searched by you. There are all over, the homes of females with faces resembling those of horses. Going beyond that part, (ye shall come to) the asylum inhabited by Siddhas; where are ascetics—Valakhilyas, Siddhas and Vaikhanasas. Saluting those Siddhas, who have been cleansed of their sins on account of their asceticism, ye should in humble guise ask them concerning Sita. There is the Vaikhanasa tank filled with golden lotuses; and ranged by graceful cranes of the hue of the infant sun. Kuvera's vehicle, the elephant known (by the name of) Sarvabhauma, ever rangeth that country in company with she-elephants. Going beyond that expanse of water, (ye come upon) a sky void of stars, and where the sun and the moon have been put out; and that land is visible by the rays, as if of the sun, proceeding from (the persons of) self-luminous, god-like ones, who are reposing there, after achieving success in austerities. Leaving behind that region, (you come to) a stream named Sailoda. On its both banks are bamboos named Kichaka. These take the Siddhas to the other shore and bring them back again. There (are seen) the northern Kurus, the abode of those that have acquired religious merit. And there are tanks there with their waters crowned with golden lotuses. There are rivers by thousands with copious blue lapis leaves. And the pools here,resembling the tender sun, are embellished with assemblages of golden red lotuses. And that tract is every where filled with costly gems, and jewels, and woods of blue lotuses, having filaments splendid like gold; and with round pearls and costly jewels. And the rivers there have islets covered with gold; and are crowded with lovely hills of gold, bright as fire, furnished with all kinds of precious stones. And the trees there, thronged with birds, bear flowers and fruits daily; and, charged with savoury juices, publishing superb perfumes, and of delicious feel, they confer every wish. Other excellent trees bring forth attires of divers kinds, and ornaments decked with pearls and lapises,—coveted alike by males and females. And other excellent trees bear fruits fit to be partaken at all seasons. And other excellent trees bring forth precious beds dight with costly jewels and furnished with variegated covers. And other trees bring forth charming wreaths, and costly drinks, and various kinds of viands. And females adorned with every accomplishment, and endowed with youth and beauty, and Gandharbas and Kinnaras, and Siddhas and Nagas and Vidyadharas, of blazing splendour, ceaselessly sport there in company with females. And all of righteous deeds, and all engaged in amorous disports, and all furnished with desire and profit,—dwell in that place in association with their females. And there are continually heard there the sounds of instruments and the voice of song mixed with sweet hilarous laughter, capable of taking all creatures. No one is depressed there; nor doth any one there want any desirable object; and day after day the delightful qualities find their developement there. Passing beyond that is the Northern ocean. In the bosom (of the deep) is the mountain named Somagiri, golden and of great dimensions. Albeit without the sun, yet through the brightness of the Soma mountain, tbe land shines forth with all the loveliness and reality of one warmed by the sun. There that Soul of the Universe, the adorable Sambhu, fraught with the spirits of the eleven Rudras—that lord of the gods—Brahma—dwelleth, surrounded by the Brahmarshis. Ye cannot proceed to the north of the Kurus; nor is there way in that region for any other creatures. And that mountain is named Soma, incapable of being entered even by the gods. Sighting this, you should speedily turn back. Ye foremost of monkeys, the monkeys are competent to proceed thus far. Beyond that, of regions sunless and limitless I know nothing. Ye should search all these which I have described (unto you); and ye should also turn your attention to others besides, which I have omitted to mention. Ye that are comparable unto the wind or fire, by accomplishing the work of beholding Videha's daughter, ye will do what is held as exceedingly dear unto Dacaratha's son as well as highly grateful to me. Then, having achieved success, do ye, along with your friends, honoured by me, and crowned with every virtue, ye monkeys, with your enemies slain, range the earth in company with your wives,—the support of all beings."

SECTION 44.

Sugriva had declared his conviction that he relied particularly upon Hanuman. And convinced as to the ability of that best of monkeys to accomplish the work, Sugriva, that lord of all the dwellers of the woods, well pleased, spoke unto Hanuman, son unto the wind-god, saying,—"O foremost of monkeys, neither on the earth, nor in the sky, nor in the etherial regions, nor yet in water, find I any obstacle to thy course. The entire worlds with Asuras, and Gandharbas, and Nagas, and men, and gods, with oceans, and the earth and the regions beneath—are well known unto thee. And thy motion, vehemence, energy and fleetness are, O hero, O mighty ape, even like those of thy sire, the powerful wind-god; and there exists no creature on earth that is like unto thee in energy. Therefore do thou bethink thee how Sita may be recovered. Even in thee, O thou versed in policy, are strength, and wit, and courage, and policy, and conduct in consonance with season and place." Thereat, understanding that success in the task depended upon Hanuman, and also knowing what Hanuman was, Raghava reflected,—"This lord of monkeys is every way confident concerning Hanuman; and Hanuman himself is even more confident of achieving succes in the work. He that hath been tested by his deed, and who hath been considered worthiest by his master, having been commissioned in this business,—success in the work is certain." Then beholding that monkey who was the fittest for the task, that exceedingly energetic one, (Rama), with his mind and senses exhilarated, considering himself as already crowned with success, felt the excess of joy. And well pleased, that subduer of enemies handed to Hanuman a ring inscribed with his name, as a sign unto Ihe king's daughter. "By this sign, O foremost of monkeys, Janaka's daughter will be able to see thee fearlessly, as one that hath come from me. Thy firmness, O hero, and sterling prowess, as well as Sugriva's saying, tell me greatly of success." Thereupon, taking that (ring), and raising his joined palms to his head, that foremost and best of monkeys, saluting (Rama's) feet, went away. Then taking with him that mighty host of monkeys, that hero, the son of the wind, resembled the moon of bright disc in the sky, garnished by the stars, after the clouds have departed. "O thou of excessive strength! I take refuge in thy might. O thou endowed with the prowess of the foremost of lions! do thou, O son of the Wind, O Hanuman, exert thyself so, summoning the great strength thou art master of, that we may obtain Janaka's daughter."

SECTION 45.

Summoning all the monkeys, that foremost of monkeys, king Sugriva, spake unto them all touching the success of Rama's work. "The monkey-chiefs, knowing the stern command of their lord, should search in all these places." Then, covering up the earth like locusts, they marched away. Expecting tidings of Sita, Rama remained that month in the vicinity of that cascade, in company with Lakshmana. And that heroic monkey Satavali swiftly set out for the northern regions covered by the monarch of mountains. And that leader of monkey herds, Vinata, proceeded towards the eastern quarter. And that monkey, Hanuman—leader of monkey-herds—in company with Tara, Angada and others, went to the South, inhabited by Agastya. And that lord of monkeys, Sushena, lion among monkeys, went to the terrible western quarter, protected by Varuna. Then, having properly despatched (his forces) in all directions, that general of the monkey hosts, being pleased, gave himself up to sport. Thus despatched by the king, the monkey-chiefs proceeded apace respectively towards their destined quarters. And the monkeys possessed of great strength cried and howled and roared and shouted and rushed and sent up loud ululations. Thus despatched by the king, the leaders of monkey-herds, said, "We shall bring back Sita, and slay Ravana. I alone shall slay Ravana engaged in conflict. And slaying (him), I shall this very day swiftly carry off Janaka's daughter, trembling because of fatigue, (saying unto her), 'Rest thou.' I single-handed shall recover Janaki even from the nether regions. I shall uproot trees and rive mountains. I shall cleave the earth and vex the deep." (And some said), "I can, without doubt, clear a Yojana at one bound;" and another said, "I can clear an hundred;" and a yet another, "I can more than an hundred. And neither on earth, nor in sea, mountains, woods, nor nether regions, can my course be obstructed." Thus did the apes proud of their strength, severally speak in presence of the sovereign of the monkeys.

SECTION 46.

On the monkey-chiefs having departed, Rama said unto Sugriva,—"How is it that thou knowest all the quarters of this earth?" Thereupon, the self-controlled Sugriva, bowing low, said unto Rama,—"Do thou listen to my words. I shall relate everything. When Vali pursued the Danava Dunduvi [The real name of this Danava is mayavi. He is confusedly called Dunduvi and Mahisha, the latter, in consequence of the

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implication that his father having assumed the shape of a buffalo, he has also a like shape.], wearing the form of a buffalo, towards the Malaya mountain, Mahisha entered a cave of that mountain. And Vali also, desirous of slaying the Asura, entered Malaya. And I was made to stand at the mouth in humble guise; nor did Vali issue out, although a good year rolled away. Then the cave became filled with blood gushing out vehemently. Seeing this, I became amazed, and exercised with the poison of grief on account of my brother. And I, losing my sense, thought that my superior had for certain been slain. And I placed a crag huge as a hill at the mouth of the cave. (And thought I), 'Mahisha, unable to issue out, needs must meet his end.' And despairing of his (Vali's) life, I retraced my steps to Kishkindha. And obtaining the spacious kingdom along with Tara and Uma, I began to pass my days in peace in company with his counsellors. Then came that foremost of monkeys, having slain him (Mahisha). Thereupon, I, influenced by fear, in consideration of his dignity, made over to him his monarchy. But Vali, his senses exercised with sorrow, anxious to slay me, in company with his counsellors, pursued me, who took to my heels. Hotly pursued and chased by Vali, I surveyed various streams and woods and cities. And I surveyed the earth like the hoof-print of a cow, or the image reflected from a mirror, or a fire-brand whirled (in the air.) Then repairing to the East, I see various trees, and mountains, and charming caves, and diverse tanks. And there I behold the Ascending mountain decked with gold,—and that daily abode of Apsaras—the sea of milk. And chased by Vali, and flying on, I suddenly veered round, and then again, master, off I went. And changing that direction, I again made for the South crowded with trees belonging to Vindhya, and embellished with sandal woods. Then seeing Vali in the mountain among trees, from the south I, pursued by Vali, betook myself to the western quarter. And beholding various countries, and arriving at that foremost and best of mountains— Asta [The Setting hill.]—I turned to the north; and (passed) Himavat, and Meru, and the Northern sea. But pursued by Vali, refuge find I none. Then out spake Hanuman endeued with understanding, 'O king, now I remember me how that lord of monkeys, Vali, was cursed by Matanga in this very hermitage. If Vali enters (into this asylum), his head becomes cleft in hundred. There we shall dwell happily without anxiety,' O king's son, thereupon, we went to the Rhisyamuka mountain, nor did then Vali enter there from fear of Matanga. Thus, king, did I actually see all the world. And from that place I came to this cave."

SECTION 47.

The principal monkeys, having been ordered by the monkey-king, speedily went in all directions to their destinations for the purpose of seeing Vaidehi. And on all sides they explore watery expanses, and streams, and lawns, and commons, and cities, and tracts rendered impassable by torrents. And the leaders of monkey-herds search all those countries, described by Sugriva,—containing mountains, woods and forests. Engaged during the day in search of Sita, at night the monkeys seek the ground (for sleep). In every place, by day coming to trees aye enjoying every season, and crowned with fruits, the monkeys prepared their beds at night. Counting that day [i.e. the day of their departure.] as the first, the principal monkeys, after the month had run out, resigning all hope, came to the Fountain and met with the monkey-king. And having explored the Eastern regions, as directed, the exceedingly strong Vinata not having been able to see Sita, came back, in company with his counsellors. And then that mighty ape, Satavali, daunted in spirits, arrived with his forces, after having searched all through the North. And having searched the West in company with his monkeys, Sushena, on the month being complete, presented himself before Sugriva. And coming to Sugriva seated along with Rama behind the Fountain, and saluting the former, Sushena said unto Sugriva, —"Searched have been all the mountains, and deep woods, and streams, and islands embosomed in the ocean, and the various provinces. And also searched have been all the caves which have been described by thee; and searched have been all the groves entertwined with plants; and thickets; and difficult and uneven grounds. And huge animals have been sought out and slain (by us). And all the impracticable places we have explored again and again. O lord of monkeys, possessed of great strength and nobly born, it is Hanuman who will be able to ascertain the whereabouts of Mithila's daughter. And the Wind's son, Hanuman, hath followed even the path by which Sita hath gone."

SECTION 48.

The monkey Hanuman in company with Tara and Angada swiftly set out for the quarter assigned by Sugriva. And having proceeded far along with all those foremost of monkeys, he explored the caves and woods of Vindhya; spots inaccessible in consequence of streams intervening in front of mountains; and tanks; and tracts filled with trees; and various mountains rife with wild trees. And having searched in all directions, the monkeys could not find Maithili, Janaka's daughter Sita. And subsisting on various fruits and roots, they were overcome with fatigue, after searching dreadful forests, void of water, still and tenantless, as well as other forests of a similar nature. And having searched that country as well mighty forests containing caves, those leaders of monkey-herds fearlessly explored other places, difficult of access, where the trees are fruitless, and without flowers and foliage; where the streams are waterless, and where roots even are rare; where there are no buffaloes, or deer, or elephants, or tigers, or birds—or any other animals that are found in forests. And there are there neither trees, nor annual plants, nor creepers, nor herbs,—and in that place there are no pleasant pools, with cool leaves, and filled with blown lotuses; and it hath been renounced by the black-bees. There dwelleth a Maharshi, Kandu by name, an eminently pious, and truthful ascetic, irascible, and irrepressible because of his practice of self-discipline. In that wood his son, a boy of ten years, his sands having run out, breathed his last; and it is for this that the mighty ascetic hath come under the influence of passion. And cursed by that high-souled one, the entire mighty forest hath become unfit to harbour (any creatures); difficult of entrance; and devoid of birds and beasts. The monkeys carefully search the skirts of its woods, mountain-caves, and the sources of its streams. And those high-souled ones, devoted to the good of Sugriva, did not find Janaka's daughter, or her ravisher, Ravana. And entering (into a wood), they saw a terrible Asura, concealed by the shrubs and plants—of dreadful deeds, and cherishing no fear even of the gods. And seeing that dreadful Asura, seated like a hill, and resembling a mountain, they all tightened their cloths. And that strong one also, saying unto the monkeys, "Destroyed are ye," and uplifting his clenched fist, rushed after them in rage. And as he darted suddenly, Angada, the son of Vali, knowing, "This is Ravana," administered unto him a slap. Struck by Vali's son, that Asura, his mouth vomitting blood, fell down to the earth like a hill toppled down. And on his having breathed his last, the monkeys, elated with victory, thoroughly searched that mountain cavern. And when they had satisfied themselves that the cave had been searched all through, the dwellers of the woods entered another fearful mountain cavern. And after having searched (that place) also, they came out fatigued; and with desponding hearts sat them down at a distance under the shade of a tree.

SECTION 49.

When the eminently wise Angada, fatigued, spake unto all the monkeys, cheering them,—'Woods, and mountains, and rivers, and impenetrable wilds, and valleys, and mountain caverns have been thoroughly searched. But Janaki we have failed to find anywhere,—or that wicked wight, the Rakshasa that hath ravished Sita. And we have spent a great part of the term that had been assigned by Sugriva of stern commands. Therefore, banishing languor, sadness, and invading drowsiness, do ye together search all round. Do ye so search Sita, that she may be found out (by us). High spirits, ability and forwardness in action, are said to conduce to success. Therefore it is that I speak thus unto you. Ye dwellers of the wood, do ye to day rummage this impenetrable wood; renouncing grief, do ye again search through this forest. Those who act, for certain behold the fruit of their endeavours; but if people once give way to grief, they cannot again attain vigor. Ye monkeys, king Sugriva is irascible; and inflicteth sharp punishments. He should be always feared, as also the magnanimous Rama. I tell you this for your good. Act accordingly, if ye list. And do ye also express what else ye are capable of." Hearing Angada's words Gandhamadana said in candid words faint from thirst and fatigue,—"What Angada hath said unto us is worthy of him, and is beneficial and good. Do you follow his speech. Let us afresh search hills, caves and rocks, vacant forests and mountain cascades,—in accordance with what the high-souled Sugriva hath laid down. Let all in a body rummage the wood, and the mountain caverns." There rising up, the mighty monkeys again began to range the South close with forests belonging to Vindhya. And the monkeys ascended the Silvern Hill resembling the autumnal welkin, graceful, and furnished with summits and valleys. And eager to behold Sita, those excellent monkeys began to search the Lodhra wood, and the Saptaparna forests. And ascending its top [i. e. the top of the Silvern Hill.], those ones endeued with immense prowess, experiencing fatigue, could not find Vaidehi, the beloved spouse of Rama. And having surveyed that hill having many a grot, so far as the eye could range, the monkeys looking all round, descended (the eminence). And having descended to the earth, the monkeys, bewildered, and losing their consciousness, rested for a while at the foot of a tree. And their fatigue having gone off a little, the monkeys, having been refreshed for a while, again prepared to explore the whole South. And the monkey chiefs, headed by Hanuman, having set out (on the search), began to range all through Vindhya.

SECTION 50.

The monkey, Hanuman, in company with Tara and Angada searcheth the caves and woods of Vindhya,—caverns all around haunted by lions and tigers, and in vast inaccessibls cascades in that foremost of mountains. And they came to the south-western summit of the mountain. And when they sojourned there, their (appointed) term had not expired. And that spacious country, consisting as it did, of caves and grots and woods, was difficult to search. And there the wind-god's offspring searched all over the mountain. And each apart remaining at no great distance from the others, Gaya, Gavakha and Gavaya, Sarava, Gandhamadana, Maindi, Dwivida, and Hanuman, Jambavan, the youthful prince Angada, and Tara, remaining in sight of the wood, after having searched the South—lands covered with mountain ranges, were searching (about), when they espied an unenclosed cavity, difficult of entry, named Vrikshavila, guarded by a Danava. And tried by hunger and thirst, worn out with fatigue, seeking for water, they found that cavity surrounded by trees and plants. And, with their bodies drenched and reddened with lotus dust, Kraunchas and swans and cranes and Chakravakas, came out of the cavity. And drawing nigh to that fragrant and inaccessible cave, those superior monkeys were struck with amaze, and became eager (to enter into it). And with their minds filled with doubt, those vigorous foremost of monkeys gladly approached that cave; abounding in diverse animals, resembling the residence of the lord of Daityas [i. e. the subterranean regions, the Underworld.], dazzling, and dreadful, and impenetrable on all sides.—Then Hanuman the son of the wind-god, possessed of the splendour of a mountain-summit, cognisant of woods and forests, said unto the grim-visaged apes, "Having explored the South, (containing) countries enveloped with mountain chains, we have ail got fatigued, but we have failed to find Mithila's daughter. And from yonder cave come out swarms of swans and cranes and kraunchasand chakravakas, drenched with water. For certain here is a well or a watery expanse. And at the mouth of the cave there are these cool trees." Hanuman having said this, all the monkeys went into the cave covered with darkness; without the sun or the moon, capable of making one's down stand on end. And seeing lions, and birds and beasts (ranging around), those tiger-like monkeys entered that cave covered with darkness. And (there) neither their ken, nor their vigor, nor yet their prowess was baffled: and their speed resembled the wind, and their sight remained unimpaired albeit in darkness. And those foremost of monkeys rushed into the cavity; and beheld displayed (before them) an excellent and charming scene. And embracing each other in that fearful cave rife with various trees, they passed over an hundred yojanas. And deprived of their sense, and tried with thirst, and bewildered, and thirsting for water, they for a time vigilantly descended in darkness down the cave. And emaciated, with woe-begone faces, and spent, those monkeys despairing of their lives, (at last) saw light. And those mild ones, coming to a spot free from darkness, saw golden trees, possessed of the brightness of flaming fire. And Salas and palms, and Tamalas, Punnagas, Vanjulas, and Dhavas, Champakas, Naga trees, Karnikaras in flower; with variegated golden bunches and twigs, and crests of clusters, and plants,—embellished with golden garniture; resembling the infantine sun,—on daises composed of lapises;—golden trees with resplendent bodies, having the hues of purple lapises; and lotus-plants flocked with fowls; and (spots) surrounded by large golden trees, like unto the infantine sun; and tanks with large fishes of gold and lotuses, containing pleasant waters—all these they saw there. And the monkeys saw there golden as well as silvern vehicles, and elegant dwellings all round veiled with nets of pearls; having golden balconys; with their grounds paved with gold and silver; and furnished with lapis lazulis. And on all sides they saw trees bearing fruits and flowers resembling coral; and golden black bees, and honey all round, and various spacious seats and beds about dight with gold and jewels. And searching in that cave, the exceedingly effulgent heroic monkeys saw heaps of golden, silver and bell-metal vessels; and heaps of excellent aguru and sandal; and pure fruits and roots; and costly vehicles and various kinds of sapid honey; and loads of costly attire; and lots of variegated woolen cloths and deer-skins; as well as a female, from near. And they found her there, wearing a black deer-skin,— a female ascetic, with restrained fare—as if flaming in energy. Amazed, the monkeys sat them down in a body. And then Hanuman asked her,—"Who art thou? And to whom doth this cave belong?" And Hanuman like unto a hill, bowing down unto the old women with joined hands, asked her, saying,—'Who art thou? And tell me, to whom belong this edifice and the cave as well as all these jewels."

SECTION 51.

Having said this unto that female clad in a piece of black deer-skin, Hanuman asked that highly religious ascetic practising pious offices, "Having rashly entered this cave enveloped in gloom, we have been exercised with hunger and thirst; and are extremely faint. And, having entered this mighty cave underneath the earth, we have become thirsty. And seeing all these wonderful phenomena, we have become afflicted, and bewildered; and have lost our sense. To whom belong these golden trees resembling the infantine sun; and

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the pure fruits and roots; and the houses and vehicles of gold and silver,—veiled in networks of jewels, and furnished with golden windows? And by whose energy are these golden trees (here), bearing flowers, crowned with fruits, grateful to the sight, and breathing rich odour? And golden lotuses spring in lucent water,—how golden fishes are discovered in it along with tortoises! Have these sprung from thy power; or do they owe their existence to the ascetic energy of any other? It behoves thee to relate all this unto us who are ignorant of everything." Thus addressed by Hanuman, the female ascetic practising righteousness, and engaged in the welfare of all beings, replied unto Hanuman,— "O foremost of monkeys, there is one, named Maya, spreader of illusions. By him hath this entire golden grove been constructed through his wonderful power of construction. He that hath reared this excellent golden grove, and this charming mansion, was formerly the Vicwakarma [The name of the celestial architect.] of the principal Danavas. Having for a thousand years practised austerities in this vast foiest, he obtained a boon from the Great-father,— in virtue of which he had attained consummate mastery in his art, as well as absolute control over the materials required therein. Having accomplished everything, that powerful one, commanding every enjoyment, for a time happily dwelt in this mighty forest. Then he, happening to conceive a passion for an Apsara, Hema (by name), Purandara,vigorously wielding his thunder-bolt, struck him dead. Then Brahma conferred on Hema this fine forest and this golden mansion, with the perpetual privilege of enjoying every pleasure herein. I, Sayamprabha by name,—the daughter of Merusavarni, guard this house of Hema, O foremost of monkeys. Hema, skilled in dance and song, is my dear friend. Having received her blessing, I guard this vast forest. What is thy errand? And why is it that ye have arrived at these lone woods? And how have you managed to see this inaccessible forest? Having partaken of these fruits and roots intended for use, and drunk, do ye detail all this to me."

SECTION 52.

Then to all the monkey-chiefs, after they had rested, the female ascetic, engaged in righteous practices, eagerly said these words,—"Ye monkeys, if your pain hath gone off in consequence of the fare of fruits which you have partaken, and also if it be fit to be heard by me, I would listen to your narration." Hearing her words, Hanuman, the son of the wind-god, in all candour began to relate everything faithfully. "The Sovereign of all this world, resembling Mahendra or Varuna, Rama, the graceful son of Dacaratha, entered the woods of Dandaka, in company with his brother, Lakshmana, as well as his spouse, Vaidehi. His wife hath been forcibly carried off by Ravana. His friend is that heroic king, the monkey named Sugriva. By that monarch of the foremost monkeys have we been despatched (hither). And we have, joining company with these prime monkeys headed by Angada, come to the South, protected by Yama, and inhabited by Agastya. And we have been commissioned, 'Do ye all search for the Rakshasa Ravana, wearing forms at will, along with Videha's daughter, Sita'. Having searched through the forest as well as the ocean on the South, we, becoming hungry, sat down at the foot of a tree. And with pallid countenances, we all, absorbed in thought, sank in a wide sea of anxiety, which we could not cross. And casting our eyes around, we spyed a huge cave covered with trees and plants and enveloped in gloom. And (it came to pass that) from this (cave) came out swans, drenched with water, with drops of water on their wings,—and plumed kuravas and cranes. 'Let us enter here', said I unto the monkeys. And they also arrived at that conclusion. And thereupon they, bestirring themselves, entered into the cave. And firmly griping each other's hands, they at once made entry into the cave covered with darkness. This is our errand; and it is on this job that we have come. And having come to thee, hungry and exhausted, we,who had been sore tried by hunger, have been entertained with fruits and roots, agreeably to the code regulating hospitality. And as thou hast saved the monkeys, who were weary and suffering from hunger, tell (me),—what benefit shall the monkeys do thee in return?" Thus addressed by the apes, the all-knowing Sayamprabha replied unto the monkey-chiefs, saying,— "Well pleased am I with the fast-footing monkeys. But by one engaged in my duties, there is no work that is desiderated." Thus accosted in excellent words fraught with asceticism and righteousness, Hanuman spoke unto that one of faultless eyes, saying,—"We all take refuge in thee, practising piety. The term that had been fixed by the high-souled Sugriva in respect of us, shall all be spent in this cave. Therefore it behoveth thee to deliver us from this place. And it behoveth thee to save us, exercised with fear for Sugriva,—who, happening to override Sugriva's command, shall lose our lives. And, further, O thou that practisest righteousness, great is the task that is to be performed by us. But if we stay here, that work of ours shall remain unaccomplished." Thus addressed by Hanuman, the ascetic said,—"Once entering, hard it is for any one to return (hence) alive. But by the potency of my asceticism acquired through self-discipline, I shall deliver all the monkeys from this den. Ye foremost of monkeys, do ye close your eyes. No one is able to issue out of this place without closing one's eyes." Then they,eagerly desirous of going out, closed their sight with their hands furnished with tender fingers. And the magnanimous monkeys, with their faces covered with their palms, were in the twinkling of an eye, liberated from the den by her. And then the pious anchoret spoke unto them there. And when they had come out of the fearful den, cheering them up, she said,— "This is the fair Vindhya mountain filled with various trees and herbs. This is the Pracravana hill; and this is the great deep. Fair Fortune! I go to my abode, ye foremost of monkeys." Having spoken thus, Sayamprabha entered that captivating cave.

SECTION 53.

Then they saw the ocean—abode of Varuna—shoreless, resounding, rife with dreadful billows. Exploring the mountain fastness of Maya [Named Rhikshavila.], they spent the month that had been set by the king. Then sitting down at the foot of the Vindhya mountain, containing blossoming trees, at that time [i. e. at the beginning of winter.] those high-souled ones indulged in reflections. And beholding vernal trees bending beneath the load of flowers, and environed by hundreds of plants, they were inspired with apprehension. And each knowing that spring had appeared, they, the term apppointed for their task having run out, dropped down on the ground. Thereat, with bland words properly honouring the aged apes and the rest dwelling in the woods, that monkey having the shoulders of a lion or a bull, and plump and broad arms—the youthful prince Angada, endowed with high wisdom, spoke,—"We have come out at the mandate of the monarch of monkeys. While we sojourned in the cave, a full month had passed away, ye monkeys. Why do yoti not understand this? We set out, engaging that our term of search should reach no further than the end of Kartika [October.]; but that hath expired. Now, what next is to be done? having received the orders (of the king), ye, conversant with morality, engaged in the welfare of your master, expert in every work,incomparable in execution, and renowned in every quarter, have come out, commanded by the lord of monkeys. Now, having failed to attain our object, we shall meet with death, There is no doubt whatever about this. Who, having been unsuccessful in doing the mandate of the king of monkeys, enjoyeth ease? Now all the rangers of the forest should fast unto death. Naturally stern, Sugriva, established as our master, shall not forgive us, when we repair there, after having disgressed thus. Sita not having been found out, Sugriva, for certain, shall commit this sin [i. e. slay us.]. Therefore it is fit that, forsaking our sons, and wives, and wealth, and homes, we this very day sit down to starve ourselves to death. Death at this place is preferrable to the unequal punishment (we must meet with at the hands of Sugriva). And, further, I have not been installed heir-apparent by Sugriva: I have been sprinkled by that foremost of kings, Rama of untiring energy. Entertaining enmity against me of old, the king, seeing this lapse, must be firmly determined to take my life by means of a severe sentence. What is the use of suffering my friends to look on my disaster at the last moment of my existence? Therefore even on this sacred shore of the sea shall I sit down to starve myself." Hearing the tender prince speak thus, all those principal monkeys pathetically observed,— "Sugriva is harsh by nature, and Raghava loveth his wife dearly. The time appointed having passed by, seeing us (come) without attaining success in the task, and seeing us arrive without obtaining a sight of Vaidehi, (Sugriva) shall certainly slay us from the desire of doing what is agreeable to Raghava. Those who have transgressed, cannot come to the side of their master. Having come hither as the principal servants of Sugriva, we shall either see Sita or obtain information concerning her, or else, O hero, we shall repair to the mansion of Yama." Hearing the speeches of the monkeys afflicted with fear, Tara said,—"No use of indulging in grief. If ye relish it, let us all entering the cave, dwell there. This place abounding in flowers and waters, meats and drinks,— which hath been brought forth by the power of illusion, is incapable of being approached. Here we have no fear from Purandara, or Raghava, or the king of monkeys." Hearing the welcome words of Angada, the monkeys, being convinced, said,—"Do thou this very day so order that we may not be slain."

SECTION 54.

When Tara, bright as the moon, had spoken thus, Hanuman felt as if Angada had already deprived (Sugriva) of his kingdom.172 Hanuman deemed Vali's son as endowed with intelligence consisting of eight elements; with power of four kinds; and the four and ten virtues; as ever fraught with energy, strength and prowess; as growing in grace like the moon during the lighted fortnight; as resembling Brihaspati in intelligence; and in prowess, his own sire; and as ever listening to Tara's counsels, as Purandara listens to the counsels of Sukra. And Hanuman versed in all branches of learning, finding Angada Backward in the affair of his master, began to inspire him with fear. He, wealthy in words, laying under contribution the second of the four means, had created division among those monkeys. On their being divided, he (Hanuman) set about raising Angada's apprehension by various fear-fraught speech, referring to punishments. "O Tara's son, thou art for certain more capable of fight than even thy sire; and thou art also able to hold the monkey-kingdom as firmly as he. But, O foremost of monkeys, the monkeys are always inconstant in character. Bereft of their wives and sons, they shall not bear thy behest. And they shall never take to thee. This I tell thee in presence of all. And I will tell thee what. Thou neither by the virtues of conciliation, charity and the rest, nor by chastisement, shalt succeed in drawing to thy side this Jambavan, or Nila, or the mighty ape Suhotra, or myself. A strong one wronging another that is weak, can live; therefore a weak person anxious for self-preservation, should never wrong (a strong individual). Thou considerest that this cave may serve for thy protectress, having heard of it (said by Tara); but to rive the same is but light work for the shafts of Lakshmana. Formerly this was cleft a little by Indra, with his thunderbolt hurled (against it); but now Lakshmana would pierce it like a leaf-stalk, by means of his keen arrows. Lakshmana hath many an iron arrow like Indra's thunderbolt or that of the sky, capable of riving even mountains. O subduer of enemies, soon as thou shalt set up here, the monkeys, making up their minds, shall forsake thee. Remembering their wives and sons, ever anxious (on account of Sugriva), pining for domestic happiness, and aggrieved (at their pitiable plight), they shall turn their backs upon thee. Then forsaken by thy kindred as well as friends seeking thy welfare, thou shalt be struck with affright even at a quaking blade of grass. If thou make head (against Sugriva), the sharpened shafts of Lakshmana, terrible, of exceeding impetuosity and mighty vehemence, and incapable of being baffled, shall be eager to slay thee. On the contrary, if thou in humble guise present thyself (before him) along with us, he shall establish thee in the kingdom, in consideration of thy being the next heir. A righteous sovereign, steady in vow, clean, and truthful in promise, thy uncle, who cherishes affection for thee, shall not by any means chastise thee. And he loves thy mother, and his life is for her; and she hath no other son. Therefore, O Angadu, go along with us."

SECTION 55.

Hearing Hanuman's speech, uttered meekly, fraught with morality, and reflecting honour upon Sugriva, Angada said,— "Firmness, and mental sanctity, mercy, candour, prowess, and patience, are not in Sugriva. He that, while her son is living, appropriateth the beloved queen of his elder brother, mother unto him by morality, is hated of all beings). How can he that could cover up the mouth of the cave, when he had been desired by his brother gone on martial mission, to guard the same,—(how can he) know morality? Whose good office remembereth he who could forget the renowned Raghava himself of mighty deeds, after having, in the name of truth, taken his hand? How can he reap religious merit, that directed us to search Sita here, from fear of Lakshmana, and not from fear of unrighteousness? What noble person, in especial, sprung in his race, shall any longer repose confidence in that impious one of unstable soul who hath run amuck of morality? Meritorious or otherwise, how can Sugriva, having installed in the kingdom me, son (of his enemy) and the enemy sprung in his race,—suffer me to live? How can I, whose counsels have been revealed, who have transgressed, and who have been deprived of my power, repairing to Kishkindha like one forlorn and feeble, live? For the sake of his kingdom, Sugriva, wily, cunning and cruel, shall put me in solitary confinement. For me fasting to death is better than being confined and suffering the consequent misery. Do ye grant me your permision; and go to your homes, ye monkeys. I vow before you, to the palace I will never repair. At this very spot will I fast for death; as death is good for me. Bowing unto the king as well as unto the powerful Raghava, ye should communicate my well-being unto Sugriva—lord of apes— and my health and peace unto my mother Uma. And it behoves you also to console my mother, Tara. Naturally fond of her son, and overflowing with tenderness, that lorn one, hearing of my death at this place, shall certainly renounce her life." Having said this, Angada, saluting the elders, with a woebegone face entered the earth covered with grass. When he had entered, those foremost monkeys, stricken with sorrow, weeping shed warm tears from their eyes. And censuring Sugriva and praising Vali, they, surrounding Angada, determined to starve themselves to death. Taking to heart the speech of Vali's son, those prime monkeys, sipping water, sat down facing the East. And sitting on the edge of the water on grass pointing to the south, the foremost monkeys, wishing for surcease, thought within themselves,—"Even this is fit for us." And as they spoke of the exile of Rama and the demise of Dacaratha, the carnage in Janasthana, the slaying of Jatayu, the ravishment of Vaidehi, the slaughter of Vali, and the ire of Rama, the monkeys were seized with fear. When those monkeys resembling mountain-summits had entered in, they set up cries, which, like unto the rumbling of clouds, making the sky resound, made that mountain with its rills reverberate.

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SECTION 56.

When the monkeys had been seated in that mountain, with the intention of putting a period to their existence through fasting, a king of vultures happened to come to that quarter. And that long-lived bird was named Sampati, the beautiful brother of Jatayu, famous for his strength and prowess. Issuing from a cavern of the mighty mountain Vindhya, he, seeing the monkeys seated, well pleased, said— "Verily man reapeth the fruit of his former acts; and therefore it is that this food ordained to that end, comes to me after a long time. I shall feed on these monkeys, one by one, slaying them one after another." Eying those apes, the bird expressed himself thus. Hearing this speech of the bird coveting his food, Angada faintly spoke to Hanuman, "Behold! through Sita's simplicity this one—the very son of the Sun, Yama—hath come to this place, to exterminate the monkeys. Rama's work hath not been done; nor the royal mandate. And this disaster hath arrived unthought of by the monkeys. Ye have in detail heard all that, inspired with the desire of doing what is good unto Vaidehi, that king of vultures, Jatayu, did here. In this way, all creatures, even the brute species, compass the welfare of Rama, renouncing their lives, as we do. It is because of the love and tenderness they bear towards (Rama), that people do good unto each other. And therefore the righteous Jatayu, of his own accord laying down his life, hath done the pleasure of Rama. We also, overcome with fatigue and (almost) dying, have come to this forest; but Mithila's daughter we find not. Happy is that king of vultures, having been slain by Ravana in battle. He hath got quit of the fear of Sugriva, and hath also attained supreme state. In consequence of the death of Jatayu and that of king Dacaratha, as well as owing to the ravishment of Vaidehi, (the lives of) the monkeys have come into jeopardy. Rama's and Lakshmana's abode in the forest with Sita, Raghava's slaying of Vali with a shaft, the slaughter of innumerable Rakshasas by the enraged Rama, and (finally) this mishap—all these owe their orgin to the bestowal of the boon on Kaikeyi." Seeing the monkeys stretched on the earth, and hearing their piteous words describing their grief, that magnanimous king of vultures, with his mind agitated, said (this). And hearing the words that issued from Angada's mouth, the sharp-beaked and high-toned vulture, said,— "Who is it that, making my mind tremble, speaketh of the death of my brother, Jatayu, dearer unto me than life? How happened in Janasthana the fight between the Rakshasa and the vulture? It is after a long time that to-day I hear the name of my brother. I wish to alight from this mountain-fastness. I have been well pleased by listening after a long time to the celebration of the virtues of my younger brother, cognisant of qualities and worthy of being extolled by reason of his prowess. Ye foremost of monkeys, I wish to hear of the destruction of Jatayu, who dwelt in Janasthana. And how could Dacaratha, whose beloved eldest son is Rama, dear unto his superiors, be the friend of my brother? I can not move in consequence of my wings having been burnt by the solar rays. But I wish that ye may take me down from this mountain."

SECTION 57.

Hearing his accents faltering through grief, the leaders of monkey-herds, alarmed by his action, did not repose confidence in his speech. Seated for the purpose of fasting to death, the monkeys, seeing the vulture, with terror thought within themselves,—"He shall eat us all up. If he eat us up, who have sat down to fast to death, we shall secure success, and speedily attain our end." Then those monkey-chiefs resolved thus. And descending from the summit of the mountain, Angada spoke unto the vulture,—"There was a lord of monkeys named Rhiksharaja, endowed with prowess. That king, O bird, was my grandsire. He had two virtuous sons, exceedingly powerful both—Vali and Sugriva. My father, Vali, was famed in the world for his deeds. And it came to pass that mighty monarch of all this earth, descendant of the Ikshwakus, the great and graceful car-warrior, Rama, son unto Dacaratha, intent upon the injunction of his sire, resorting to the path of righteousness, entered the woods of Dandaka in company with his brother, Lakshmana and his wife Vaidehi. And his spouse was forcibly carried away from Janasthana. And the friend of Rama's father, the king of vultures, named Jatayu, saw Videha's daughter, Sita, as she was being carried away in the sky. And after having thrown down Ravana from his car, and placed Maithili on the ground, (that vulture) old and overcome with fatigue was (at length) slain by Ravana in battle. Thus slain by the powerful Ravana, the vulture, having had his funereal obsequies performed by Rama (himself), hath attained excellent state. Then Raghava made friends with my uncle, the high-souled Sugriva; and he also slew my sire. My father had debarred Sugriva from the kingdom along with his counsellors; but Rama, having slain Vali, installed him (Sugriva). And established in the monarchy by him (Rama), Sugriva is (now) the master of the monkeys and king of all the foremost monkeys. By him have we been sent. Despatched hither by Rama, we have searched for Sita all round, but Vaidehi we have not found, as one doth not find the solar splendour at night. And it came to pass that, having heedfully explored the Dandaka forest, we through ignorance entered a cave lying open before. That cave, thou must know, was constructed by the illusive energy of Maya. And there we spent a month—the term which had been fixed by the monarch. Doing the behests of the king of monkeys, we, having over-stayed the term which had been appointed, have from fear sat here down for the purpose of fasting unto death. On that Kakutstha being wrought up with wrath, as well as Sugriva together with Lakshmana, we, repairing thither, shall lose our lives."

SECTION 58.

When the monkeys, whose lives had well nigh departed out of them, had spoken these piteous words, the vulture, in solemn accents, with tears in his eyes, said unto the monkeys, —"Ye monkeys, ye have said that my younger brother, named Jatayu, hath been slain in battle by the powerful Ravana. On account of my age and want of wings, I, although hearing this, bear it. Nor have I strength to-day to clear scores touching my brother's enmity. Formerly, while engaged in the destruction of Vritra, he and I, burning for victory, soared in the sky near the flaming sun, garlanded by glory. Thence impetuously wheeling round, we went to the celestial regions along the etherial way. And it came to pass that, coming midway of the sun, Jatayu was faint. Witnessing my brother severely struck by the solar rays, and exceedingly stupified, I from affection shadowed him with my wings. Thereat, my pinions scathed, I dropped down on Vindhya, ye foremost of monkeys; and staying here, I could not know the circumstances that have befallen my brother." Thus addressed by Jatayu's brother, Sampati, the eminently wise prince Angada answered,—"if thou art indeed the brother of Jatayu, having heard what I have related, tell (us) if thou knowest touching the abode of that Rakshasa. Tell us if thou knowest anent that short-sighted worst of Rakshasas, Ravana, whether staying far or near." Thereat, rejoicing the monkeys, the exceedingly energetic elder brother of Jatayu spoke words worthy of him,—"Ye monkeys, my pinions have been burnt; and I am a vulture shorn of strength. Therefore I will help Rama well by my words. I know the realms of Varuna, and Vishnu's Trivikrama [i. e. the worlds enveloped by his three steps during his Dwarf Incarnation.] worlds, the wars of the gods and Asuras, and the churning for ambrosia. And albeit age hath deprived me of energy, and albeit my life hangs loosely on me, yet, if this is Rama's work, it should be done by me first. I have seen a youthful and beautiful female, adorned with all ornaments, carried away by the wicked Ravana,—the lady (all the while) crying, 'O Rama!' 'O Rama!' 'O Lakshmana!' And taking her ornaments from her person, she was throwing them on the ground. Her silken cloth seemed like the solar splendour on the summit of a mountain; and herself beside the sable Rakshasa, looked like the lightning in the welkin (beside clouds). From your relation of Rama, I conclude that she must be Sita. Now listen to me as I tell you about the abode of that Rakshasa. Son unto Vicravana and brother unto Vaicravana, the Rakshasa named Ravana resides in the city of Lanka. And the lovely city of Lanka, reared by Vicwakarma, lieth a full hundred yojanas hence on an island in the sea; furnished with golden gateways, filled with variegated daises, lordly gold-gleaming palaces; and girt round with great walls hued like sunshine. There stayeth Vaidehi, forlorn and clad in a silken cloth,—confined in the inner apartment of Ravana, and carefully guarded by Rakshasis. In Lanka protected all round by the sea, ye shall behold Janaka's daughter, Maithili. At the end of the ocean after a full hundered yojanas, arriving at its southern shore, ye shall see Ravana. Ye monkeys, do ye hie thither speedily with vigor. I perceive by my knowledge that having seen (that place), ye shall come back. The first course belongs to fork-tailed shrikes and others living on grain; the second, to those that live on animals and fruits; the third is ranged by Bhashas; the fourth by Kraunchas, Kuvaras and hawks; the fifth by vultures; the sixth belongs to swans endowed with youth and beauty; and the next to the Vainateyas. We have derived our origin from Vainateya [Aruna, son unto Vinata.]. (By despatching you thither), I shall avenge the heinous deed perpetrated by the cannibal, as well as the wrong done by Ravana unto my brother. Resting here, I see Ravana and Janaki. We have excellent Sauparna clairvoyance. For this reason, as well as owing to the energy consequent on our feeding on certain kinds of flesh, we, ye monkeys, can see a little further than an hundred yojanas. Therefore (the Deity) hath ordained such food for us as are fraught with the power of making one see from a great distance. And the abode of cocks and others being underneath trees, their sight is limited to the extent which they require to see. Do ye look about for means to cross over the salt waters. Having met with Vaidehi, do ye, having achieved success, come back. I wish to be taken by you to the ocean—abode of Varuna. I will offer water unto (the manes of) my high-souled brother, who hath gone to heaven." Thereat those heroes, the monkeys possessed of exceeding energy, carried to the destined spot on the shore of the ocean, Sampati, whose wings had been scathed. Then carrying that lord of vultures back to the self-same place, the monkeys, furnished with information (concerning Sita), experienced great joy.

SECTION 59.

Then hearing that ambrosial speech of the vulture-king, the monkey-chiefs, being delighted, kept on parleying (on that topic). Then Jambavan—foremost of monkeys—together with all the monkeys, arising suddenly from the ground spoke unto the vulture-king, saying,—"Where is Sita? By whom hath she been seen? And who hath carried away Mithila's daughter? Do thou tell ue all about this, and (thus) prove the path of those rangers of the woods. Who is there that doth not take heed of the force of Dacarathi's [Lit. Dacaratha's son. The term it applied in especial to Rama.] and Lakshmana's arrows, speeding with the vehemence of thunder?" Thereat, cheering up those monkeys, who had risen from their attitudes of fasting, and who were all attention to hear news concerning Sita, he (Sampati), well pleased, said these words,—"Listen as to how I came to know of the ravishment of Vaidehi, Sita, at this place; and who it was that told me where that one of expansive eyes is. For a long time I lay here, old, and of feeble life and energy. That best of birds, my son named Suparcwa, coming to me, at the proper hour maintained me with food. Gandharbas are exceedingly lascivious; serpents are exceedingly wrathful; fear is excessive in deer; and we have excessive hunger. Once on a time my son, going forth about sunrise to procure food for me who was suffering from hunger and (accordingly) eager for it, came back in the evening without any flesh. Hurt (by my speech uttered) in consequence of my non-receipt of food, that enhancer of my joy, asking my forgiveness, said these words fraught with fact,—'Father, taking to my wings at the proper time for procuring flesh, I (went) and stood, obstructing the pass of the Mahendra mountain. There stood I looking down, obstructing the way of thousands of creatures ranging the sea. There I saw somebody resembling a mass of crushed collyrium, going away, taking a female resembling the rising sun in splendour. Seeing them, I had made up my mind that they should serve for thy fare, when he humbly in a pacific manner begged for way. Even among the mean, there is none on earth that can slay people who assume a mild attitude. What shall I say, alas! of superior ones like myself? And summoning celerity, he went on as if pushing off the sky by his energy. Then the rangers of the air and other beings worshipped me. And the Maharshis said unto me,—By luck it is that Sita is still living —He together with a female, having passed by thee, certainly augurs good fortune unto thee. —Then those eminently handsome Siddhas spoke thus unto me.—This is Ravana, the king of the Rakshasas, said they unto me. And I (stood), beholding the wife of Rama, son unto Dacaratha,—throwing off her ornaments and silken apparel, overwhelmed by might of sorrow, with hair dishevelled crying out the names of Rama and Lakshmana. This O father, is the reason of my passing the time.' That best of those skilled in speech, Suparcwa, said all this unto me. Even hearing of this, I could not think of putting forth prowess. How can a bird bereft of wings, undertake any thing? But listen! I will tell you as to what I am capable of through speech, intellect and merit, and what ye can exert your manliness in. I will do what is agreeable unto you by my words and my intention. That which is Dacarathi's work is also mine. Of this there is no doubt. Ye, foremost in intelligence, strong, intellectual, and incapable of being overcome by the gods themselves, have been despatched by the monarch of monkeys. And Rama's and Lakshmana's shafts furnished with the feathers of the Kanka, are competent to afflict or save the three worlds. And although the Ten-necked one is endowed with strength and energy, yet to you who are competent, nothing is hard to accomplish. There is no need of delay. Make up your minds. Persons like you do not give way to laziness in enterprise."

SECTION 60.

When the vulture had offered oblations of water unto the manes of his deceased brother and finished his ablutions, the monkey-chiefs sat down in that charming mountain, surrounding him. And inspired with confidence (in the words of the Nicakara), Sampati, from delight, said unto Angada, who was seated, surrounded by all the monkeys,—"Remaining silent, do ye, ye monkeys, needfully hear what I say. I will tell you truly how I came to know Maithili. My body being affected by solar heat, and my wings burnt by the rays of the sun, O sinless one, I formerly fell to this summit of Vindhya. On regaining my senses after six nights, during which I was insensible, I looked around in bewilderment, but could not recognise anything whatever. Then closely viewing oceans and mountains, rivers and tanks, and woods and countries, my thoughts came back to me. And seeing this place abounding in cheerful birds, containing woods and crested with summits, I for certain concluded it to be Vindhya on the shores of the Southern sea. And here lay a sacred asylum, honoured even by the celestials, and here dwelt a saint named Nicakara, of fierce austerities. And after Nicakara cognisant of virtue had gone to heaven, I bereft of that saint, passed eight thousand years in this mountain. Descending with

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difficulty from the uneven top of Vindhya, I again came to the earth covered with sharp-pointed grass. I was eager to see the saint; and (therefore), with much ado I came to him; and Jatayu and myself saw that saint many a time and oft. A fragrant breeze blew about the hermitage; and no tree was found that did not bear flowers and fruits. Approaching the holy asylum, I, desirous of beholding the worshipful Nicakara, waited at the foot of a tree. Then at a distance I saw the saint, flaming in energy and irrepressible,—returning northwards. And as creatures gather round a giver, bears and Srimaras, tigers, lions, and various reptiles, were going along, surrounding him. And knowing that the saint had arrived (at his home), the animals went away, as go away forces together with counsellors, when the sovereign hath entered (his palace).—The saint was glad on seeing me. Then re-entering his asylum for a short space, he came out and enquired for my mission. 'O mild one, in consequence of thy feathers having undergone alteration, I cannot recognise thee. Thy two wings have been blasted by fire; and thy powers in thy frail frame are (in the same condition). Aforetime I saw two vultures like unto wind in speed,—kings of vultures, brothers, wearing shapes at will. Thou art I know, elder, O Sampati; and Jatayu is younger to thee. Assuming human forms, you had taken hold of my feet. Now, what ailment hath attacked thee? And why have thy plumes fallen off? And who hath dealt this punishment unto thee? Do thou tell all this unto me, who am asking thee'."

SECTION 61.

Thereat Sampati related unto the ascetic all about his fearful, arduous,and rash act of following up the sun. '"O reverend sire, in consequence of my body suffering from sores, I, my senses bewildered from shame, and myself fatigued, cannot utter words. From pride for power of flight, I and Jatayu, being intoxicated by conceit, began to voyage the sky afar off, with the view of testing each other's prowess, binding ourselves by the vow that we would follow the Sun so long as he did not enter that mighty Setting mountain,—and appear before the ascetics on the summit of Kailacya. And simultaneously plunging (into the aerial deep) we saw on the earth beneath separate cities resembling car-wheels; and here the sound of musical instruments; and there the tinklings of ornaments. And (at places) we beheld many a damsel clad in red attire, engaged in singing. And swiftly darting up into the sky and approaching the path of the Sun, we saw a wood interspersed with swards. And we saw the earth covered with crags and masses of rocks, and intersected by streams resembling threads. And Himavan, and Vindhya, and that mighty mountain, Meru, appeared on the earth like elephants in a tank. Then we began to sweat, and to be filled with regret; and fear seized us both. And we became bewildered; and fainted away frightfully. And we knew not the south, or the west, or the quarter presided over by Fire [South-east.]; and the world that was still burning at the end of a yuga, appeared (unto us) as if it had been consumed quite. And my mind, combined with my eyes waxed feebler. And then fixing with might and main my eyes as well as my mind (on the sun), I could by a violent exercise of my energy behold the sun. And the sun shining, appeared unto us like the earth in extent. Then, without asking me Jatayu dropped to the earth. Seeing him, I at once descended from the sky and Jatayu was not burnt in consequence of having been shielded by my wings. And scathed through the agitation, I fell through the aerial way. I guessed that Jatayu fell in Janasthana. And I myself, my wings blasted, and rendered inert, fell on Vindhya. Deprived of my kingdom, and my brother, and my wings, and my prowess, I wishing to put a period to my existence, will hurl myself headlong from this summit of the mountain."

SECTION 62.

Having said this unto that foremost of ascetics, I smitten with grief, began to weep. Thereat, after, reflecting for a while, that reverend one said,—"Thy wings together with two smaller ones shall grow again; as also thy sight, energy, prowess and strength. And having heard of it, and also seen it through ascetic power, I know that a great deed is going to take place. There shall be a king named Dacaratha, increaser of the Ikshwaku race. He shall have a son, named Rama, endowed with exceeding energy. And he (Rama) shall repair to the forest in company with his brother, Lakshmana; that one having truth for prowess, having been commissioned to that effect by his sire. A fiend named Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, incapable of being slain by either the gods or the Danavas, shall carry off his (Rama's) spouse in Janasthana. And albeit tempted by viands and objects of enjoyment and desire, the famous and highly virtuous one, plunged in grief, shall not pertake of those things. And knowing that Videha's daughter (hath been fasting for many a day), Vasava shall offer Vaidehi payaca like unto ambrosia, difficult of being procured even by the gods. Receiving that food, Maithili, knowing that it hath come from Indra, took up a little of it from the surface, and dropped it to the earth for Rama. Whether my husband as well as his younger brother live, or they have attained godhead, let this food serve for them.' Rama's envoys, having been despatched thither, shall come hither. Thou shouldst relate unto them all the facts connected with the queen of Rama. Do not by any means go hence; and in this case, whither, again, wilt thou repair? Do thou stay here for season and place. Thou shalt regain thy wings. I could this very day furnish thee with wings. But, by staying here in this condition, thou wilt be able to compass the welfare of the worlds. Even thou shalt do that act in behalf of those sons of the king, of the Brahmanas, of the spiritual preceptors, of the ascetics, and of Vasava. I also am desirous of beholding the brothers, Rama and Lakshmana. I do not wish to hold this life long. I would renounce my life.' That Maharshi, conversant with the nature of things, told me this."

SECTION 63.

Having praised me with these and many other words, and bidden me adieu that one skilled in speech, entered his own habitation. Issuing out gently from the cave of that mountain, I, ascending Vindhya, was expecting you. The space covered by the time intervening between then and to-day is a little over an hundred years; and laying up in my heart the speech of that ascetic, I have been awaiting season and place. Setting out on his great journey, on Nicakara having gone to heaven, I distracted with various thoughts, have been consumed by grief. My rising intention of doing away with myself I have suppressed in consideration of the words of the ascetic. The reason which he had imparted unto me for preserving my life, hath removed my pains, even as a flaming fire (dispells darkness). And knowing the prowess of the impious Ravana, I said in rage to my son, versed in speech,—'Hearing her lamentation, and knowing Rama and Lakshmana bereft of Sita, why didst thou not deliver her?' My son did not do this good office unto Dacaratha, influenced by affection for him." As he was speaking thus in the midst of the monkeys, his wings sprang up in presence of the rangers of the forest. Thereupon, seeing his person furnished with grown pinions hued like the infant sun, he experienced incomparable raptures, and addressed the monkeys, saying,— "By the grace of that Rayarshi of immeasurable energy, my wings, which had been burnt up by the rays of the sun, have grown again. To-day I have got (back) the strength and prowess which I possessed while my youth was yet present. Do ye strive every way. Ye shall meet with Sita. And my getting (back) my wings inspires (us) with confidence as to success." Having said this unto all the monkeys, that ranger of the sky and best of birds. Sampati, anxious to ascertain his power of flight, flew up from the mountain summits. Hearing his words, those powerful monkeys, with vigour (enhanced), seeing success before them, felt the height of joy. Then those foremost of monkeys, in vigor resembling the Wind, getting occasion for displaying their prowess, intent wpon searching the Janaka's daughter, set forward towards the quarter crested by Abhijit. [Abhijita bhimukhan (accusative) Abhijit—the name of a star. Abhijit may also mean—he who is to be conquered. Then the sense would be, "the region in which Ravana was."]

SECTION 64.

Having heard all this related to them by the vulture-king, the monkeys possessing the strength of lions, filled with delight, bounded and set up a roar. Hearing from Sampati that Ravana was to be slain, the monkeys growing glad, came to the ocean, with the desire of seeing Sita. And coming to that country, these ones prossessing dreadful prowess, beheld (the sea) reflecting the image of this entire mighty world. And arriving at the northern side of the Southern sea, those exceedingly powerful heroic monkeys took up their quarters there. And seeing the sea, here as if asleep, there, as if playful, and at another place with surges measuring mountains; and thronged with the foremost Danavas inhabiting the nether regions; and capable of causing one's hair to stand on end, those powerful monkeys were seized with sadness. And seeing the sea, incapable of being crossed even as the sky, all the monkeys began to lament, saying,—"What is to be done?" And that best of monkeys— (Angada), seeing the army cast down because of the sight of the sea, began to comfort the monkeys, afflicted with fear. "We should not indulge in grief. Grief is injurious.— Grief destroys a person even as a wrathful serpent doth a boy. He that, when the time is come for displaying his prowess, indulges in sorrow, growing weak in energy, fails to attain his object." That night having passed away, Angada in company with the monkeys, joined by the old ones, again took counsel with them. And that monkey-host surrounding Angada, resembled the host of Maruts environing Vasava. Who save Vali's son (stationed) at one place and at another Hanuman, could be capable of stilling that force? Then saluting the elders as well as the army, the graceful Angada— repressor of foes—spoke words fraught with sense,—"What person, endued with exceeding energy, shall now leap over the main? Who shall serve that subduer of enemies, Sugriva, ever intent on truth? What monkey can leap over an hundred yojanas? Who shall deliver leaders of herds from a mighty fear? By whose favour shall we, crowned with success and rendered happy, returning from this place, shall behold our wives and our sons, and our homes? By whose favour shall we joyfully meet Rama, and the mighty Lakshmana, and that dweller in the woods, Sugriva? If any monkey among you is competent to bound over the deep, let him at once confer on us Dakshina in the shape of deliverance from fear." Hearing Angada's speech, none said anything. And that host of monkeys wavered. Then that foremost of monkeys again addressed those monkeys, saying,—All of you are the foremost of strong ones, and of steady prowess. And ye have sprung in blameless lines, and are ever honoured (by the king). And yet no one of you can promise to undertake this journey? Ye best of monkeys, unfold your respective powers in bounding."

SECTION 65.

Hearing Angada's speech, those foremost monkeys one after another began to speak, touching their respective competence in coursing—Gaya, and Gavaksha, and Gavaya, and Sarabha, and Gandhamadana, and Mainda, and Dwivida, and Angada, and Jambavan. And Gaya said.—"I can leap over ten yojanas" And Gavaksha said,—"I shall go twenty yojanas" And the monkey Sarabha said to those monkeys,—"Ye monkeys, I shall go thirty yojanas." And the monkey, Rhishava, said to those monkeys,—"I shall, without doubt, go forty yojanas" And the exceedingly energetic monkey, Gandhamadana, said,—"I shall, for certain go fifty yojanas." And the monkey Mainda said unto the monkeys there,—"I shall undertake to leap over sixty yojanas." And then the highly energetic Dwivida said,—"I shall, for certain, go seventy yojanas. And the highly powerful Sushena, possessed of strength—foremost of monkeys said— "I declare that in motion I am equal to eighty yojanas." As they were speaking thus, the oldest of them all, Jambavan, saluting them, answered—"Formerly we had power of motion. But now we have waxed exceeding old. Although this is so, yet we can not overlook this, as both Rama and the monkey-king (by sending us) have become sure of success. At present do thou understand the course that is ours. I shall go ninety yojanas. There is no doubt whatever about this." Jambavan said this unto those choice monkeys. But (formerly) my prowess in leaping was forsooth not such. Of old in the sacrifice of Virochana's son, the eternal Lord Vishnu, when he had covered the entire universe with three steps, was circumambulated by me. But I who was all this, have waxed old, and my vigor sits feebly upon me. In my youth, however, my strength was exceeding great and incomparable. Now I can only by my own energy, course thus far. But such a bound shall not bring success on our undertaking. After this, saluting the mighty monkey, Jambavan, the wise Angada spoke straight sense, saying,—"I can go over this mighty hundred yojanas; but there is no certainty as to my power of returning." Thereat, Jambavan, cognisant of speech, said unto that foremost of monkeys,—"O foremost of leonine ones, we know thy power of motion, thou art capable of coursing a hundred thousand yojanas, as well as of coming back. But we say that even this is what is fit. My child, the master must on no account be commanded by his servants. O foremost of monkeys, all these should be commanded by thee. Thou art our spouse, and (at the same time) occupying the position of our husband. The master is the spouse of the army. This is the way of the world, O repressor of foes! O subduer of enemies, thou art the root of this business. Therefore, my child, thou shouldest always be maintained by us like a wife. The root of any work must be preserved. This is the policy of those versed in business. The root existing, all the virtues, obtaining fruit, certainly meet with suceess. Thou, O thou having truth for prowess art the instrument of this undertaking, and, O subduer of enemies, furnished with sense and vigor, thou art the occasion herein. And, O foremost of monkeys, thou art both our superior, and our superior's son; and resorting to thee we are enabled to accomplish our object." Thereat that mighty monkey, Angada, son unto Vali, answered the exceedingly wise Jambavan, when he had spoken,—"If I go not, nor any other powerful monkey, then we should for certain again sit ourselves down to fast unto death. Without doing the mandate of the intelligent lord of monkeys, we, repairing thither, shall not behold ourselves alive. He is extreme both in showing favour and in anger. Disregarding his order, we shall, going there, meet with destruction And his ire shall, not take any other course. Therefore it behoves thee, capable of seeing issues, to reflect." Thus addressed by Angada that powerful and heroic monkey Jambavan answered Angada in excellent words, saying,—"That business, O hero, shall not moult a feather. I shall despatch even him who shall bring about success."—Then that heroic monkey ordered the foremost of monkeys, the highly heroic monkey Hanuman, who stood apart, convinced (of the wisdom of Jambavan's decision.)

SECTION 66.

Surveying the monkey-host consisting of many hundreds and thousands,—crest-fallen, Jambavan thus spake unto Hanuman,—"O hero among the monkey-multitude, best of those versed in all branches of learning, staying apart in silent, why dost thou not speak? O Hanuman, thou art alike in

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energy and strength, equal to Sugriva, monarch of monkeys, and to Rama and Lakshmana. Arishtanemi's son, the mighty Vainateya [Offspring of Vinata, Garuda's mother.], famous by the cognomen of Garutroin, is the foremost of birds. Many a time and oft I have seen that exceedingly powerful, mighty-armed one, endowed with strength of will,—raise up serpents in the ocean. The strength that is in his wings is equal to the might and virtue of thy arm. Thy energy and prowess are not surpassed by him. And thy strength, and thy understanding, thy energy, and thy vigour, O foremost of monkeys, (is known among all creatures). Why dost not thou prepare thyself furnished with everything that is noble or great, (for this feat)? That foremost of Apsaras,—the famous Punjikathala, more famed under the name of Anjana, is the spouse of the monkey Kesarin. Famed over the three worlds, and incomparable on earth by virtue of her beauty, by an imprecation, my son, she was born in the monkey-race, capable of wearing shapes at her will. Once on a time, that daughter of the high-souled lord of monkeys, Kunjara,—endeued with youth and beauty,—decked in a delightful garland, and clad in silk, —assuming a human form, was ranging on the summit of a mountain, resembling a mass of clouds in the rainy season. And it came to pass that as that one of expansive eyes was standing on the summit of the mount, the Wind gently stole away her elegant yellow cloth with crimson skirts. And he had a sight of her fair and fine face, together with her well-developed breasts. And soon as the Wind saw that illustrious one of spacious hips and slender waist, and whose every limb was lovely,— he was amain overcome by desire. And all his frame possessed by Manmatha, and deprived of self, the Wind embraced that blameless one by means of his long arms. Thereat, influenced by fear, that one of excellent vows said,— 'Who is it that desireth to lay violent hands upon my chastity?' Hearing Anjana's words, the Wind answered,— 'I do not wrong thee, O thou of shapely hips. Let not fear enter thy heart. As, O famous damsel, by embracing thee, I have mentally entered into thy womb, thou shalt bear a son, intelligent and endeued with prowess. And, gifted with great strength, and possessing exceeding energy, and having vast vigor, he shall equal me in bounding and leaping.' Thus addressed, O mighty monkey, thy mother, O long-armed one, O foremost of monkeys, gave birth to thee in a cave. And in that mighty forest, thou, a child, desirous of eating, seeing the Sun risen, and taking him to be a fruit, sprang up and leaped into the sky. And, O mighty monkey, going three thousand yojanas, thou, struck by his energy, didst not feel poverty of spirit. And, seeing thee rushing through the heavens, O mighty monkey, Indra, growing wroth, hurled his thunder-bolt at thee. Thereat, breaking thy left jaw, thou (didst fall) on the mountain-top. From this circumstance, thy name hath been known as Hanuman [Hanu—means jaw. Hanuman means—he with the (fractured) jaw. This could indicate that Hanuman was a bold and ruthless warrior.]. Witnessing thee beaten back, that bearer of perfumes himself, the Wind, that breaketh everything before him. in wrath did not blow through the three worlds. Thereat, all the gods—lords of the universe—influenced by fear in consequence of the triune world waxing agitated, began to pacify the wrathful Wind. And on the Wind being mollified, Brahma conferred on him a boon, saying,—'O child, O thou of true prowess, (thy son) shall be incapable of being slain in battle by means of weapons.' And seeing Hanuman sustain no (serious) injury consequent on the impact of the thunder-bolt, He of a thousand eyes, pleased in his soul, also conferred on (thee) an excellent boon, O lard, saying,—'Thy death shall take place according to thy will.' Thou, endowed with dreadful vigor, art the son of Kesari by his wife; and, resembling the Wind in energy, thou hast sprung from his loins. Thou art the son of the Wind, my child—equal to him in the power of leaping. Now we are without our lives. And now thou, endowed with dexterity and vigor, and like another king of the monkeys, art before us. On the occasion of Vishnu's enveloping the earth with three steps, I, O child, had circumambulated the earth with her mountains, woods and forests, one and twenty times. Then, commissioned by the gods, we had gathered annuals, which being cast on the deep, caused ambrosia to come out after churning. At that time, great was our strength. But now I have grown old, and my prowess hath left me. At present we have thee, furnished with every virtue. Therefore, possessed of vigor, do thou bestir thyself, and bound over (the main). Thou art the most qualified of all. This entire monkey host is eager to behold thy prowess. O redoubtable monkey, do thou arise! Do thou leap over the mighty ocean. Thy motion, Hanuman, surpasseth that of all beings. All the monkeys are depressed. Why, O Hanuman, dost thou overlook this? Put forth thy vigor, O thou endowed with mighty vehemence, like Vishnu crossing over the three worlds in three steps." Exhorted by the foremost of monkeys, that one famed for his speech, that monkey,the offspring of the Wind-god, gladdening the monkey-hosts, wore (a fit) shape for crossing the ocean.

SECTION 67.

Seeing that foremost of monkeys enlarge his person for crossing over an hundred yojanas, and suddenly filled with energy,(the monkeys) at once renounced sorrow, and, filled with delight, set up ululations and fell to eulogizing the mighty Hanuman. And, struck with amazement,they, (staying) all round, joyfully gazed (at him); even as creatures beheld Narayana, when stretching forth his three steps, he prepared himself (for the succeeding feat). And, eulogized by them, the wondrous mighty Hanuman increased; and, flourishing his tail from joy, attained strength. And as, extolled by the principal elderly monkeys, he became fraught with effulgence, his beauty was great. As a lion fills himself with vigor in an open cave, so the son of the Wind-god filled himself with energy. And the face of him, as that intelligent one was filling himself with force, was aflame like a frying-pan, or like unto fumeless fire. Rising in the midst of the monkeys, Hanuman with his down standing on end through joy, saluting the aged monkeys, said,—"Wind, the friend of Fire, shattereth mountain-summits; and, ever blowing in the eye of the sky, he is possessed of strength, and is of immeasurable (might). Begot from his loins, I am the son of the fast-coursing and high-souled Wind, coursing swiftly. I am his equal in all these accomplishments. I can, without once stopping, circumambulate the extensive and heaven-cleaving mountain, Meru, for a thousand times. And, dashing the ocean with my arms, I can deluge the world with its mountains, rivers and lakes. Lashed by the force of my legs and thighs, that abode of Varuna, the sea, out which have sprung the ferocious aquatic animals, overleaps its continents. And for once that lord of birds, Vinata's offspring, living on serpents, courseth through the welkin, I can course through it a thousand times. And I can touch the flaming effulgent Sun ere, beginning his journey from the Rising hill, he ascends the Setting hill. And, ye foremost of monkeys, I can, fiercely rushing on, come again without touching the earth. And I can bound beyond stars and planets, suck up the oceans, and rive the earth. And a monkey, I can, leaping, crush mountains; and, leaping, I can drain the mighty ocean dry. And, when I shall leap in the sky, flowers from various shrubs and trees shall follow me to-day. And then my course, (flecked with flowers), shall resemble even the sky (studded with stars). And, ye monkeys, then all creatures shall see me, now ranging through the profound firmament, now shooting up, and now descending on the other shore). Resembling Mahameru, me ye shall behold, ye monkeys, making my way, covering up the sky, as if devouring up the heavens. I shall, leaping and concentrating my energy, scatter the clouds, shake the hills, and suck up the ocean. The strength of Vinata's son, or the Wind-god's, or mine, (surpasses that of every other creature). None save the sovereign of birds, or the exceedingly mighty Wind, can follow me in flight. In the twinkling of an eye I shall spread through the unsupported sky, like lightning darting from clouds. And at the time of leaping over the ocean, my form shall resemble that of the energizing Vishnu, when He had assumed the triune energy. I perceive through my intelligence, (and my mental motion tallies), that I shall behold Vaidehi. Therefore, ye monkeys, rejoice. In vehemence like unto Garuda, I shall, I conceive, go an Ayuta yojanas. I can, suddenly summoning energy, bring hither ambrosia from the very grasp of Vasava or Brahma, himself. I shall leap sheer over Lanka. Even this is my impression." Filled with delight, the monkeys there amazed see that foremost of monkeys, endued with immeasurable might, storming. And, hearing his speech capable of removing the grief of kindred, that best of monkeys Jambavan, transported with joy, said,—"O hero! O son of Kesari! O offspring of the Wind! the huge sorrow of thy kindred hath, my child, been destroyed by thee. And these foremost of monkeys assembled, who wish for thy welfare, shall, with intent minds, perform acts tending to thy weal,—so that thou mayst succeed in thy undertaking. And by the grace of the saints, and with the permission of the aged monkeys, and by the blessing of the superiors, do thou bound over the mighty main. Till thou return, we shall stay on one leg. The lives of all these rangers of the forest shall go along with thee." Then that tiger-like monkey said unto those rangers of the woods,—"None in this world would be able to sustain my impetus in the act of bounding. Here are these summits, firm and spacious, of this mountain, Mahendra, thronged with crags. I shall rush forward from these summits of Mahendra, interspersed with trees and adorned with masses of ore. And as I leap over a hundred yojanas, these mighty summits shall sustain my impetus." Then he equalling the Wind, that monkey, the son of the Wind-god, pounder of enemies, ascended that best of mountains, Mahendra; covered with various trees and flowers, furnished with swards; ranged by deer; containing plants and blossoms with trees bearing fruits and flowers daily; having tigers and lions and infuriated elephants; swarming with maddened birds; and abounding with fountains. Ascending (Mahendra), that foremost of monkeys endeued with exceeding strength, and resembling Mahendra himself in prowess, began to range from one mighty summit to another. Thereat, hurt by the arms of that high-souled one, that mighty mountain began to cry, like a mighty mad elephant tormented by a lion. And water rushed out of masses of rocks scattered around. And that mighty mountain had its deer and elephants afflicted with afright; and its giant trees shaken: and its spacious uplands deserted by various Gandharva couples engaged in drinking and dalliance, and by birds flying away, and by bevies of Vidyadharas; and its huge serpents distressed, and its cliffs and peaks toppling down. And with its serpents hissing, with their bodies half issuing (from their holes), the mountain seemed as if it shone with pennons displayed. And the heap of crags forsaken by saints exercised with fear and agitation, looked doleful, like a wayfarer left in a vast forest by his companions. And that intelligent, magnanimous and heroic monkey—destroyer of hostile heroes,—endowed with speed, concentrating his soul on his energy, mentally went to Lanka.

END OF KISHKINDHAKANDAM.

SUNDARA KANDAM.

SECTION 1.

Then that repressor of foes [In particuler Hanuman.] resolved to follow the path of the Charanas, in quest of the place where Sita was carried off by Ravana. And bent on achieving a hard task, in which he had no help-mate and none to withstand the monkey, with his neck and head raised, resembled the lord of kine. And frightening fowls, and crushing trees with his breast, and slaughtering numbers of beasts, that exceedingly powerful, intelligent and staid one began to range at ease in lapis-hued lawns resembling water, like a lion bursting in energy. And on the level of that foremost of mountains, filled with nonpareil Nagas, and embellished with natural and unmixed metals, red and dark-blue, and black and pale, and pale-red, and lotus-hued, and variegated; and crowded with god-like Yakshas and Kinnaras and Gandharvas and Pannagas, excellently attired,—Hanuman stationing himself, resembled a Naga in a lake. Then joining his hands to the Sun, Mahendra [Indra.], Wind, the Self-create, and all Beings, he set his heart upon his journey. Then having,with his face to the East, joined his palms to his Sire, that blessed one began to attain proportions for journeying towards the South. And sure as the sea increases on the occasion of a Parva, (Hanuman) determined on his leap, experiencing exhilaration, began, in the midst of the foremost monkeys, to increase for the behoof of Rama. Attaining measureless magnitude, he desirous of crossing over the ocean, pressed the mountain with his arms and legs. And roughly handled by the monkey, the mountain anon shook for a while; and all the blossoms showered down from the tops of the trees. And covered all over with heaps of fragrant flowers thrown off from the trees, the entire mountain wore one floral look. And afflicted by that one of first-rate prowess, that mountain shed water, like an elephant in rut. And hard beset by that powerful one, the mountain Mahendra put out the golden, silvern and collyrium sheen (that appertained thereto). And the mountain began to cast forth huge crags containing red arsenic; and its middle resembled smoke embosoming a sparkling flame. And sore tormented by the monkey engaged in harassing them, all the creatures dwelling in the caverns cried in frightful tones. And that mighty chorus of the creatures consequent on the mountain's agony filled the entire earth, all the cardinal points, and the groves. And snakes bringing out their spacious hoods marked with blue streaks, vomitting fierce fire, began to bite at the rocks with their fangs. And those gigantic crags, bit at by those enraged (snakes) of virulent venom, flamed up with fire and were shivered unto a thousand fragments. And those medicinal herbs that grew there, albeit endowed with the virtue of neutralizing poison, could not tame the fierceness of the venom of those serpents. Then, conceiving that the mountain was being riven by Brahma Rakshasas, the ascetics, becoming agitated, as well as the Vidyadharas together with their females, began to flee away. And forsaking their golden seats and cans on the drinking grounds, and costly vessels, and water-pots plated with gold, and diverse suckable viands and meats of various kinds, and bucklers of bull hides, gold-hafted swords,—beings with wreathes on their necks, inebriate, bearing red garlands and unguents, having red eyes resembling lotuses, flew into the firmament. And fair ones decked in chains and bangles and Keyuras and bracelets, struck with amaze, with a smile rose in the sky along with their paramours. And witnessing this mighty phenomenon, Vidyadharas and Maharshis, mounted into the sky, gazing at the mountain. And they heard the words of spirit-pervaded ascetics, and Charanas, and Siddhas, stationed in the azure sky: "This mountain-like Hanuman, son of the Wind, endeued with exceeding vehemence, is anxious to cross over the main—abode of Varuna. And undertaking an arduous task in the interests of Rama and monkeys, this one wishes to go to the other shore of the sea hard to reach." Hearing this speech of the ascetics, the Vidyadharas saw in the mountain that foremost of monkeys of immeasurable might. And that one resembling fire shook and bristled his down; and he set up a tremendous roar resembling a mighty (rumbling) cloud. And springing up, he lashed his tail furnished all over with hair and folds, like the king of birds handling a serpent. And the tail of that one endued with exceeding impetus, bent and brandished, seemed like a gigantic serpent carried off by

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Garuda. And the monkey planted his arms resembling mighty clubs, fast (on the mountain); and his waist became slender; and his legs were contracted. And contracting his arms and neck, that graceful and powerful one summoned energy, and strength, physical and mental. And looking at his way from a distance, Hanuman, raising his eyes up, and fixing his gaze at the sky, suspended his breath in his breast. And planting his feet firmly, that one endowed with mighty strength, Hanuman, foremost of monkeys, contracting his ears up, sprang forward; and that best of monkeys spoke unto the monkeys, saying,— "As a shaft shot by Raghava, courses like the wind, so will I course to Lanka ruled by Ravana. And if I fail to find Janaka's daughter in Lanka, I shall with the self-same speed repair to the regions of the celestials. And if I do not find Sita in Lanka, after taking so much trouble, I shall bring the Rakshasa king bound. Either attaining complete success, I shall come hither (back); or uprooting Lanka, with Ravana in it, I shall carry it hither." Having observed this, the monkey Hanuman, foremost of monkeys, endowed with speed, without pausing for thought, suddenly sprang up. And that powerful monkey deemed himself like unto Suparna. And as he flew up, the trees situated in that mountain, in consequence of his violent rush, shrinking their boughs, rolled over on all sides. And drawing up blossoming trees filled with maddened lapwings, by the vehemence of his flight, he coursed on in the clear sky. And those trees borne up by the vehemence of his flight, followed the monkey for a while, like friends following a friend that hath set out for a far country. And pulled up by the impetus of his (rushing) thighs, Salas and other mighty trees followed Hanuman, as an army follows its monarch. And surrounded by innumerable trees having their tops crested with flowers, Hanuman wearing a mountain-like appearance, was wonderful to behold. And those trees that were more ponderous, plunged into the salt sea, as plunged the mountains into Varuna's abode, afflicted with the fear of Mahendra [Or Maha Indra, i. e. Indra the Great.]. And strewn with various sprouts and buds and blossoms, the monkey resembling a mass of clouds, looked lovely like a hill filled with glow-worms. And uprooted by the force of his rush, those trees, their flowers fallen off, plunged into the sea, like friends returning to their homes (after having accompanied their friend some way). And blown by the wind caused by the monkey, the various variegated flowers of the trees in consequence of their lightness, showered down on the sea. And covered with heaps of fragrant flowers of diverse hues, the monkey resembled a mass of clouds embellished by lines of lightning. And the waters (of the ocean) strewn with blossoms carried off by his motion, appeared like the sky garnished with charming stars (cresting the same). And his arms stretched in the sky, seemed like five-hooded snakes issuing from a mountain. And he appeared as if he was drinking up the mighty deep with its multitudes of waves, or as if that redoubtable monkey was desirous of sucking up the sky itself. And as he coursed the orbit of air, his eyes flashing like lightning, resembled two craters aglow on a mountain. And the eyes of that foremost of tawny-hued ones resembled the sun and the moon stationed in a vast yellow aureola. And beside his coppery nose, his face looked coppery, as looks the solar disc on the approach of eve. And the uplifted tail of the Wind-god's offspring engaged in bounding, appeared beautiful in the sky like the raised standard of Sakra. And the exceedingly wise son of the Wind, Hanuman, having white teeth, with his tail coiled up, looked handsome like the sun with his disc. And on account of his waist being deeply coppery, that mighty monkey appeared like a mountain running a mighty torrent mixed with minerals and red chalk. And the wind that had got into the armpits of that leonine monkey who was crossing over the main, roareth like clouds. And as a meteor consisting of many smaller ones, darting from above falleth down (to the earth), rushed on that foremost of monkeys. And then that stalwart monkey resembling the careering sun, resembled a mad elephant fettered by the middle, whose bulk has increased immensely. And as he coursed above, on account of the reflection cast by his body (on the bosom of the deep), the monkey looked like a bark swayed by the breeze. And wherever that mighty monkey went about the sea, the state of things appeared to undergo a violent convulsion owing to impetus imparted by his body. And that mighty monkey possessed of exceeding speed, rushed on, raising multitudes of surges on the sea by his breast resembling rock. And the wind begot of the monkey as well as that of the clouds, issuing out, made the dread-sounding ocean roll violently. And pushing up multitudes of high-heaving billows from the salt waters, that tiger-like monkey rushed on, separating earth and heaven. And that one endeued with vehement speed passed over surges in the mighty main resembling Mandara or Meru; as if counting them. And the waters lashed up to the clouds by the force (of his speed), looked like autumnal clouds overspreading the sky. And then whales and alligators and fishes and tortoises appeared plainly visible, like the persons of individuals, when the cloth hath been taken off them. And sea-serpents, seeing that tiger-like monkey proceeding in the sky, took him for Suparna himself. And the shadow of the leonine monkey, measuring ten yojanas in width and thirty length, seemed the more handsome in consequence of his deed. And that shadow resembling masses of white clouds, falling on the salt waters and following the wind-god's son, seemed exceedingly beautiful. And that exceedingly energetic mighty monkey possessed of a gigantic body, appeared splendid in the unsupported aerial way, like a winged mountain. And the deep beside the course that was being vehemently pursued by that elephantine monkey, was suddenly turned into a water-course. And coursing through the regions of fowls like the monarch of the feathered race, Hanuman, pushing away masses of clouds, resembled the wind himself, And collossal clouds scattered by the monkey, pale and crimson and blue and mangistha-hued, looked exceedingly lovely, And now entering into the clouds, and now emerging from them, he looked like the moon, sometimes hid and sometimes visible. And beholding that monkey engaged in bounding with celerity, gods, Gandharbas and Danavas began to strew blossoms (on him). And as he was leaping,the Sun did not burn him; and the Wind ministered unto him, for the success of Rama's work. And the saints hymned his praises, as he was leaping on in the sky. And applauding the ranger of forests, they raised the voice of song. And nagas and Yakshas, and various (races of) Rakshasas, eulogized (him), on beholding that tiger-like monkey, Hanuman, in the act of bounding. And Hanuman, that lord of monkeys, being engaged in the act of bounding, the Ocean, wishing glory unto the race of the Ikshwakus, thought within himself, "Truly shall I be blamed of all persons if I do not assist this lord of monkeys—Hanuman. Reared I have been by Sagara, the foremost of the race of the Ikshwakus—and this monkey is their counsellor. It therefore doth not behove me to tire him out. It becometh me to do that by which the monkey may take rest in me and, relieved, may happily traverse the remaining way." Having arrived at this wholesome resolution, the Ocean spake unto that best of mountains, Mainaka, hued in gold and situate in the waters, saying, "O lord, thou hast been placed here by the king of celestials as an outer gate against the Asuras inhabiting the region under the earth. Thou too, from then, hast been waiting at this gate, unapproachable by the Asuras, rising up again and again and whose prowess is well-known (unto the Lord of celestials). O mountain, thou art capable of expanding thyself upwards, downwards and on thy sides. I do command thee therefore, O best of mountains, to rise up. That best of monkeys, the energetic Hanuman, the performer of mighty deeds, engaged in Rama's service, worn out with fatigue, waiteth above thee. Beholding the exhaustion of that leader of monkeys, it behoveth thee to rise up." Hearing the speech of the Ocean, the golden mountain Mainaka, covered with tall trees and creepers, rose up instantly from his watery bed. Like unto the Sun of bright rays rising out of the watery expanse, he uplifted himself from the Ocean. Being thus commanded by the Ocean, the great mountain, covered on all sides with water, immediately brought forth his peaks. The sky was as if cleft by these golden summits like unto the rising of the Sun, inhabited by Kinnaras and large Serpents. The golden summits of that mountain being thus lifted up, the dark-blue sky assumed the golden hue. And by those highly resplendent golden peaks that best of mountains assumed the brilliance of a thousand suns. Beholding before him that up-heaved mountain in the midst of the salt Ocean, Hanuman regarded it, as a barrier for aye. Like unto Wind dispersing clouds, that mighty monkey with great velocity crushed down those up-lifted peaks with his breast. Being thus crushed down by that monkey, the best of mountains, being apprized of his prowess, began to shout with joy. Thereupon, with a glad heart assuming the semblance of a man and stationing himself upon his own summit, that mountain-chief addressed Hanuman, saying, "O best of monkeys, forsooth hast thou been engaged in this arduous task. Coming down on my peak do thou take rest. This ocean was reared by one born in the family of Raghus. And beholding thee engaged on Rama's behoof he is worshipping thee. The best and everlasting virtue consists in returning benefits unto one who hath benefitted us. Bent on returning benefits unto Raghu's race, he deserveth respect from thee. And to welcome thee properly I have been despatched by him with the message—'Traversing over a hundred yojanasthis monkey hath been worn out with fatigue; let him voyage to the remaining way after resting for a while on thy summit. Do thou therefore, O best of monkeys, remain here and take rest. And feasting on these many fragrant and sweet fruits and roots, O foremost of monkeys, do thou relieve thyself of the toil and proceed. O leader of monkeys, my relation with thee is replete with many virtues and known all over the three worlds. O Son of Maruta, O best of monkeys, I know thee to be the foremost of all monkeys. Even an ordinary guest should be adored by him who abideth by virtue, what of thee great as thou art? O thou lion among monkeys, thou art the son of Maruta, the foremost of celestials and art his equal in speed. Thou that art conversant with virtue, being worshipped, Maruta himself receiveth offerings. Thou art therefore worthy of my adoration. Hearken, there is another reason for it. O worshipful one, in olden times, the mountains, gifted with wings, began to range all quarters with velocity like unto Garuda. They moving thus, the celestials, the asceties, and all creatures became almost faint with fear of their falling down. Highly enraged therefore, the thousand-eyed Deity, the performer of hundred sacrifices, sundered with his thunderbolt, the wings of hundreds and thousands of them. When with his thunderbolt, the Lord of celestials, wroth, approached me, I was all on a sudden thrown down by the high-souled Wind. O best of monkeys I was thus cast down in this salt ocean and preserved unhurt by thy ancestors having my wings hid. I shall therefore adore thee and thou art object of my worship O Maruta! And this my relation with thee, O foremost of monkeys, is pregnant with many virtues. The time for returning benefits having arrived, O high-souled one, it behoveth thee to afford me and the ocean, satisfaction with a blessed heart. O best of monkeys, relieve thyself of the fatigue and accept my affectionate offerings, who am worthy of thy respect.220Happy am I to see thee." Being thus accosted by Mainaka, the best of mountains, Hanuman, the foremost of monkeys said, saying:—"Pleased am I and thou hast shown me enough of hospitality. Do thou give up thy wrath. Business wants me to go soon and the time is well-nigh spent. Besides I have promised that I shall not halt at any intermediate place." Thereupon touching the hill with his hand that highly energetic monkey wended, smiling, his aerial way. Thereat the ocean and the mountain respectfully looked towards him and adored and welcomed him with blessings worthy of the occasion. Leaving the mountain and the ocean and rising high up, he proceeded in the clear welkin traversing the aerial way. Rising high up and casting his look down on the hill, that foremost of monkeys proceeded by the unsupported aerial track. Beholding this singularly arduous work of Hanuman, the celestials, the Siddhas and the ascetics all praised him. All the celestials and others living on its summit, were highly pleased with the mountain arrayed in gold and having beautiful sides. And the thousand-eyed Vasava was also pleased. And greatly pleased that highly intelligent Sachi's lord, himself, addressed that best of mountains having picturesque sides, saying:—"Greatly delighted am I, O lord of mountains, O thou having golden peaks. 'No fear' I do declare unto thee. Proceedest thou therefore, at thy ease, O gentle one! Greatly hast thou helped Hanuman, crossing fearlessly and unceasingly, over hundred yojanasto that he might not fall in danger. This monkey, is goiug in the interests of Rama, Dacaratha's son—and thou hast welcomed bin to the best of thy might. Therefore I am greatly pleased with thee." Beholding that lord of celestials the performer or an hundred sacrifices, highly gratified, that best of mountains attained to an excess of joy. And having received boons (from Indra) the Mountain occupied again its pristine place. And Hanuman in a short time crossed over the main. Thereupon the celestials along with Gandharvas, Siddhas and the ascetics, spake unto Surasa the mother of serpents, resembling the Sun, saying:—"The highly effulgent son of Wind named Hanuman is crossing over the main. Thou art required to throw obstacles in his way for a while. Assuming therefore the semblance of a terrible, grim-visaged Rakshasa, resembling a huge mountain and having terrible teeth and a face with coppery eyes, do thou touch the welkin. We are anxious to learn if he defeateth thee by some means or cometh by grief." Thus addressed the Worshipful Surasa, having been honoured by the celestials, deformed and horrible and capable of exciting the fear of all beings, and obstructing Hanuman as he was coursing on, said,—"O foremost of monkeys, thou hast been ordained as my fare by the gods themselves. I will eat thee up,—do thou enter my mouth. Even this is the boon that was conferred on me by the Deity." Having delivered herself thus speedily, the opening her mouth wide, stood before the son of the wind-god." Thus accosted by Surasa, (Hanuman) with a glad countenance, said,—"Rama, son unto Dacaratha, had entered the Dandaka forest in company with his brother, Lakshmana, and his wife, Vaidehi. He having created hostility with the Rakshasas, his illustrious wife, Sita, while he was engrossed in some work, was carried away by Ravana. At Rama's command, I go to her as his envoy. It behoveth thee, living in (Rama's) dominions, to lend him thy help. Or having seen Mithila's daughter, as well as Rama of untiring deeds, I will enter thy mouth. This I promise thee truly." Thus addressed by Hanuman, Surasa, capable of wearing forms at will, said,—"None shall pass me without being devoured by me,—even this is the boon that I have received." Then seeing him go away, the mother of the Nagas, Surasa, derious of essaying the strength of Hanuman, spoke. "O best of monkeys, thou shalt have to go, to-day, after entering my mouth. Even this is the boon that was conferred on me by the Deity." Having said this swiftly, she extending her capacious mouth wide, stood in front of the wind-god's son. Thus addressed by Surasa, that foremost of monkeys, waxing wroth, said,—"Extend thy mouth so, that thou mayst contain me." Having said this unto Surasa, having her mouth measuring ten yojanas, Hanuman enlarged himself as many yojanas. Thereat Surasa enlarged her month twenty yojanas. And beholding her extended mouth with a long tongue, wondrous dreadful, like unto hill itself, and resembling clouds, measuring twenty yojanas, the intelligent

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son of the wind-god, Hanuman, enlarged, made himself measure thirty yojanas. Threat, Surasa, extended her mouth forty yojanas, and thereupon the heroic Hanuman attained the altitude of fifty yojanas. And Surasa enlarged her mouth sixty yojanas; and the heroic Hanuman anon heightened himself seventy yojanas. And Surasa widened her mouth eighty yojanas; and Hanuman like unto Fire raised himself ninety yojanas. And Surasa enlarged her mouth an hundred yojanas. Thereat diminishing his person like unto a cloud, the wind-god's son at that moment measured one thumb only. Then entering her month and coming out of it, that exceedingly powerful and graceful one, stationing himself in the sky spoke thus. "0 descendant of Daksha, I have entered into thy mouth. I bow down unto thee. I will repair to where Vaidehi is. Thy boon hath proved true. Seeing him out of her mouth like the Moon out of the mouth of Rahu, the venerable Surasa spoke unto the monkey in her native form, saying,—"For compassing thy end, go, O foremost of monkeys, O mild one, at thine ease. And bringing unto Vaidehi tidings touching the high-souled Raghava do thou meet her." Witnessing that third act of Hanuman's hard to perform, all beings extolled the monkey exclaming, "Excellent! Excellent!" Then he, resembling the wind in rush, arrived at the irrepressible ocean—abode of Varuna—went on, enveloping the welkin, on the aerial way, visited by showers, ranged by fowls and Gandharbas, graced by the iris; embellished by shining vehicles rolling on, drawn by lions, or elephants, or tigers, or bird-serpents; presided over by eminently pious and righteous persons who have won the regions of heaven; and therefore appearing as if adorned by the (five) Fires; of the touch of Acani or Vayra; (ever) served by Fire bearing sacrificial oblations; garnished by planets and stars and astral luminaries, and the Sun and the Moon; thronged with Maharshis, and Gandharbas and Nagas, and Yakhas; and pure, and speckless;—the support of the universe—inhabited by Vicwavasu; lorded over by the elephants of the king of the celestials; the orbit of the Sun and Moon, endowed with auspiciousness constituting the canopy of this live world; blameless; and made by Brahma; crowded with countless heroes, and Vidyadharas. And the wind-god's son Hanuman, scattering clouds like the very Wind himself, coursed on in the aerial way like Garuda. And mighty clouds, hued like Kalaguru red [A kind of agallochum, meaning agarwood, aloeswood, eaglewood or gharuwood is a fragrant dark resinous wood used in incense, perfume, and small carvings.], and yellow and sable, on being dispersed by the monkey, burst into brilliance. And again and again entering into the clouds and emerging out of them, he resembled the Moon during the rains now entering (into clouds) and now issuing out of them. And everywhere Hanuman, son unto the wind-god coursing through the unsupported sky, looked like the monarch of mountains furnished with wings. And it came to pass that beholding him in the act of bounding, a Rakshasi named Sinhika, of great age, and capable of wearing forms at will, thought within herself,—"Today after a long lapse of time I shall have my fare. This mighty creature hath after a long time come within my power." Having thought thus in her mind, she seized (Hanuman's) shadow. On his shadow being secured, the monkey reflected,—"As a mighty bark is retarded in its course in the sea by adverse wind, have I, my prowess paralysed, been suddenly obstructed in my career." Then looking above and below and sideways, the monkey saw a mighty creature arisen from the salt waters. And seeing that one of a distorted countenace, the wind-god's son thought,—"This one is, without doubt, the creature of wonderful form, possessed of exceeding prowess,—given to securing its prey by means of its shadow,—which had been described by the monkey-king. And concluding her to be Sinhika, from her act, the intelligent monkey attaining a gigantic body, increased himself, like a mass of clouds during the rains. And seeing the enlarged body of the mighty monkey, she extended her mouth measuring the sky and the nether regions. And roaring like unto a mass of clouds, she rushed against the monkey. Thereat, that intelligent and mighty monkey marked her deformed and huge mouth, her body and its asticulated members. And the redoubtable monkey hard as the thunderbolt, contracting himself in a moment, threw himself into her mouth. And the Siddhas and Charanas saw him sink in her mouth, as the full Moon is taken by Rahu during a Parva.— Then tearing her limits by means of his sharp claws, the monkey, endowed with the celerity of thought, vehemently sprang forward. Then slaying her by his acuteness of sight, endurance and skill, that heroic, self-controlled monkey again began to swell himself amain. Her heart having been crushed out by Hanuman, she, rendered lifeless, fell into the water. The self-create had created him for compassing her destruction. And seeing Sinhika speedily slain by the monkey, and fallen, creatures ranging the sky addressed that foremost of monkeys, saying,—"Terrible is the deed that thou hast performed to day. Mighty was the creature that hath been slaughtered by thee. Compass thou thine wished-for end without let, O foremost of monkeys. He, O chief of monkeys, that, like thee, is endowed with endurance, sharp sightedness, sense, and ability, doth not feel depressed in action." Honoured by these and wished well as to his purpose, that monkey, worthy of being honoured, set out, enveloping the sky, like him that subsisteth on serpents. And it came to pass that as he had almost arrived at the other shore (of the ocean), he looking about on all sides at the end of an hundred yojanas saw a range of woods. And as he went on. that best of monkeys saw an island decked with diverse trees, and groves pertaining Malaya. And he surveyed the sea, and lands bordering thereon, and trees growing on the sea shore, and the countenances of the spouses of the Sea, And surveying his own person resembling a mighty mass of clouds, and as if closing up the sky, that self-possessed one ascertained his course of action. "Soon as the Rakshasas shall behold my enlarged body and the vehemence of my motion, they shall be seized with curiosity concerning me." Thus thought that magnanimous one. Thereat diminishing that person of his resembling a mountain, that self-possessed one, purged of ignorance, resumed his natural shape. And diminishing that form into the smallest compass, Hanuman remained in his native form, like that depriver of Vali's prowess, Hari, after he had placed his three steps. And thus wearing various graceful forms, that one, acting after reflection, having come to the other shore of the ocean incapable of being reached by others,— on looking over his (immensely magnified person), reduced his body (to its former size). And that high-souled one resembling a cloudy pavilion, alighted on the (foremost) summit of the splendid mountain, Samva; crested with picturesque peaks; and abounding in ketakas, uddalakas and cocoanuts. And reaching the shore of the sea, and beholding Lanka on the top of that foremost of mountains, the monkey, renouncing his native form, fell on that mountain, agitating birds and beasts. And having by main force bounded over the ocean heaving with surges, and rife with Danavas and Panagas, he alighting on the shore of the mighty main, beheld Lanka like unto Amaravati.

SECTION 2.

Having crossed over the ocean incapable ot being repressed, that one endowed with great strength, staying at the plateau of Chitrakuta, and having refreshed himself, cast his eyes on Lanka. And covered with showers of blossoms poured down by the trees, that monkey possessed of prowess then appeared there like Pushpamaya [A monkey so named.]. And having cleared an hundred yojanas, that monkey gifted with first-rate prowess, did not heave sighs or feel any fatigue. "I am competent to bound over many hundreds of yojanas. What then is this end of the ocean measuring an hundred yojanasonly?" And that foremost of those endowed with energy and the prime of monkeys,—gifted with speed, went to Lanka, having crossed over the mighty main. And seeing blue lawns, and perfumed woods, replete with honey and filled with mountains, he held his way by the central thoroughfare, And that foremost of monkeys, the energetic Hanuman, went by hills filled with trees, and ranges of blossoming woods. And stationing himself in that mountain, the offspring of the Wind-god beheld woods and groves and Lanka established at the brow of the mountain. And that elephant of a monkey surveyed Saralas, and Karnikaras, and dates in full flower, Piyalas, Muchulindas, Kutajas and Ketakas, Piyanguswarm with aroma, and Nipas, and Saptachchhadas; Asanas, Kovidaras, and flowering Karaviras, and trees bearing blossoms, filled with swans and Karandavas, and covered with lotuses and lilies; and charming sporting hills and various watery expanses; and extensive tracts covered with diverse trees bearing flowers and fruits at all seasons, and gardens exceedingly beautiful to behold. And drawing near unto Lanka embellished with lilies and environed by a moat tilled with lotuses, that one graced with auspiciousness, that graceful monkey, Hanuman, beheld Lanka vigilantly guarded by Ravana, in consequence of Sita having been carried away,—with Rakshasas bearing fierce bows ranging all around,—that mighty and captivating capital surrounded by a golden wall, filled with edifices resembling cliffs and looking like autumnal clouds, and elevated yellowish highways; abounding in hundreds of banners mounted on the walls, and beautified with pennons and streamers with noble golden gateways painted with plants; and resembling the metropolis of the very sovereign of the celestials. And that graceful monkey saw Lanka situated on the top of the mountain, filled with splendid yellow-white palaces, like unto a city stationed in the sky: ruled by the lord of Rakshasas and reared by Vicwakarma himself. And the monkey, Hanuman, beheld Lanka, as if moving in the sky: with her walls furnished with daises for her hips, the immense waters and woods for her cloth, Sataghnis and darts for her hair-ends: and pennons on her walls for ear-rings,—built as if by the agency of the Mind; and constructed by Vicwakarma himself. And arriving at the Northern gate resembling the mansion of Kailaca, and cleaving, as it were, the welkin, and as if holding the firmament with lofty and glorious edifices, and observing the sea; his dreadful enemy, Ravana; the city teeming with poisonous snakes,—as well as the method of defence (displayed in it)—the monkey reflected,—"Even if the monkeys came here, they should fail to achieve success; for Lanka is incapable of being taken in battle by the celestials themselves. Even if the mighty-armed Raghava should reach this terrible-looking and impregnable Lanka reared by Ravana, what could he do? Opportunity find I none either for conciliation with the Rakshasas, or for (winning them over) by gifts, or for sowing dissensions among them, or for conquering them in fight. Of all the monkeys, four only endowed with (exceptional) celerity,—viz., Vali's son, Nila, the intelligent king, and myself, have the power to come over here. When I have ascertained whether Vaidehi is alive or not, I shall, after interviewing Janaka's daughter, think about this." Then that elephantine monkey, stationed on the summit of that mountain, for a while bethought himself as to the success of Rama. "I cannot in this form succeed in entering the city of the Rakshasas, guarded by wily and powerful Rakshasas. I should, while engaged in searching for Janaki, deceive all the strong and highly energetic Rakshasas gifted with prowess. For attaining this mighty object, it behoveth me to enter Lanka, at night in a shape invisible yet well suited to the end in view." And beholding the city in that state, difficult of being subdued by the celestials and Asuras (combined), Hanuman, sighing momentarily, thought within himself,—"How can I, without being discovered by the impious lord of Rakshasas, Ravana, succeed in seeing Janaka's daughter, Maithili? How can the work of Rama cognisant of self (be so managed that it) may not be brought to naught? How can I see Janaka's daughter singly in secret? Actions on the very eve of success, on being obstructed by adverse season and place, and through the agency of unreflecting envoys, come to nought, even as darkness is dispelled on sunrise. And in respect of what should be undertaken and what not, even the certain decision (of a master assisted by his counsellors), because of a heedless messenger, doth not appear in all its beauty: messengers (foolish) yet proud of their knowledge, bring every business to nought. How can I so manage that my business may not suffer? How can I avoid recklessness? How can my bounding over the deep bear fruit? On my being seen by the Rakshasas, the work of Rama cognisant of self, desirous of the destruction of Ravana, shall be marred. Even if I wear a Rakshasa form, I cannot anywhere remain undiscovered by the Rakshasas. What shall I say of any other form? Even the wind, I conceive, doth not stray here, unperceived. Nothing whatever is here that is unknown to the Rakshasas of redoubtable deeds. Should I stay here embodied in my native form, I shall come by destruction; and the interest also of my master shall suffer. Therefore, diminishing myself, I shall at night, for compassing the welfare of Raghava, enter Lanka in my own form. Entering at night Ravana's capital difficult of access, I shall, obtaining entry into every dwelling seek Janaka's daughter." Having made up his mind thus, the heroic Hanuman, extremely eager to see Vaidehi, wished for the setting of the sun. On the sun having set, at night the Wind-god's son, contracting his person, reducing himself to the dimensions of a cat, became wonderful to behold. And at dusk, the powerful Hanuman, springing up, entered the charming city of Lanka with its well divided highways; furnished with rows of edifices having golden pillars, and net-works,—resembling the metropolis of the Gandharbas. And he saw that splendid city containing seven-storied and eight*storied edifices, studded with crystal and adorned with gold. And the dwellings of the Rakshasas were embellished with these (ornaments). And graceful golden gateways belonging to the Rakshasas everywhere lent splendour unto Lanka adorned all over. Beholding Lanka, wonderful and of inconceivable loveliness, the mighty monkey, desirous of beholding Vaidehi, became depressed and delighted at the same time. And he (entered Lanka) engarlanded with yellow edifices joined together, with the ornamented arches of her gateways furnished with nets of precious gold; famed (all over the world); ruled by the arm of Ravana, and vigilantly guarded by night-rangers of dreadful strength. And as if ministering unto Hanuman, the Moon furnished with many thousands of rays arose with the stars in the midst of the sky, spreading lunar light over all creatures. And that heroic monkey beheld the Moon possessing the sheen of a conch, and hued like milk or the lotus-stalk, arisen and afloat (in the welkin), like a swan swimming in a tank.

SECTION 3.

Assuming the quality of goodness and energy on mount Lamva furnished with elevated summits, and resembling long masses of clouds, Hanuman, son unto the Wind-god capable of concluding in harmony with season, possessed of exceeding strength—an elephant among monkeys—entered Lanka by night, affluent with charming woods and waters—the city governed by Ravana; beautified with edifices resembling autumnal clouds; sounding like unto Vitapavati [Alaka, the mythical city of Kuvera, King of Yakshas.] herself—with infuriated elephants (stationed) at her graceful gateways; containing white gates with ornamented arches; resembling the handsome Bhogavati inhabited and protected by serpents. And suddenly coming to that (city) resembling Amaravati, scattered with clouds charged with lightning, having hosts of luminaries, and tumultuous with the roars of blustering

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blasts,—girt round by a mighty golden wall,—ringing with the tinklings of tiny bells; and embellished with pennons,—he growing exceedingly exhilarated, made towards the wall. And beholding the city all round, furnished with golden doors; having quadrangular courts composed of lapises; ornamented with plastered jeweled pavements studded with all gems, crystals, and pearls; with mad elephants of burnished gold and speckless white silver; with stairs of lapises,—(doors) devoid of dust with their centres composed of crystal and with stately halls; elegant,—and adjoining mansions seeming as if reaching up to the heavens; resounding with Kraunchas and peacocks; frequented by swans; and everywhere resonant with the sounds of trumpets and ornaments. And then beholding the city Lanka, resembling Vaswokasara [Alaka.], and appearing to mount to the welkin, the monkey Hanuman was filled with rapture. And seeing the delightful, divine and prosperous city of Lanka belonging to the lord of Rakshasas, that one endowed with prowess thought within himself,—"This city protected by the forces of Ravana with their hands holding upraised arms, is incapable of being forcibly subdued by any other. This place can be easily entered by Kumuda, and Angada, as well as by that mighty monkey, Sushena; and also by Mainda and Dwivida. And there is way also for the offspring of the Sun, and that monkey, Kucaparva, as well as of that foremost of monkeys, Rikshya, and myself." And having witnessed the prowess of Raghava, as well as the vigor of Lakshmana, the monkey was filled with joy. And that redoubtable monkey beheld the metropolis of the monarch of the Rakshasas; having for her cloth the sea; for her pendants, cow-stalls and stables; for her breasts, turrets mounted on the walls for discharging missils,—decked out like a damsel; with her darkness dispelled by bright lights and the mighty planets. And as he was entering, that tiger-like mighty monkey son unto the Wind-god was met by the city in her native shape. And seeing that best of monkeys, Lanka, ruled by Ravana, arising of herself with her countenance rendered deformed, stood before the heroic son of the Wind; and, emitting a tremendous roar, addressed the offspring of the Wind god, saying,—"O thou that hast the woods for thy home, who art thou? And on what errand hast thou come hither? Tell me while yet thou hast thy vital powers left in thee. O monkey, for certain thou art unable to obtain entry into this Lanka, protected by the forces of Ravana, and carefully guarded on all sides." Thereat, the heroic Hanuman spoke unto her staying in front of him,—"I shall tell thee all about that anent which thou questionest me. Who art thou that having deformed eyes stayest at the gate of this city? And what for, O frightful one, dost thou rail at me in wrath?" Hearing Hanuman's speech, Lanka, capable of wearing forms at will, waxing wroth addressed the Wind-god's offspring, saying,—"I, who am incapable of being repressed, abiding by the mandate of the high-souled sovereign of the Rakshasas, protect this city. Thou art unable to enter this city, passing me by. Thou shalt to-day, losing thy life and slain by me, sleep (the sleep of death). O monkey, I am the City of Lanka myself. I every way guard (all that is here.") Hearing Lanka's words, Hanuman, son unto the Wind-god,—foremost of monkeys—exerting himself (to secure victory), stood like another hill. And seeing her appear in the form of a deformed female, that foremost and best of monkeys endeued with intelligence, possessed of prowess, said,—"I will behold the city of Lanka, crowned with turrets, walls and ornamented arches, it is for this that I have come here. Great is my curiosity. I come forsooth to see the woods and groves and gardens of Lanka here, —as well as her principal edifices." Hearing these words of his, Lanka capable of wearing forms at will, again addressed him in a speech fraught with disonant letters: "O thou of perverse understanding, O worst of monkeys, without (in the first instance) vanquishing me, thou canst not to-day behold this city ruled by the monarch of the Rakshasas." Thereat that tiger of a monkey said unto that female ranger of the night,—"After seeing this city, O gentle one, I shall go away even as I have come." Thereupon, setting up a mighty and terrible roar, Lanka filled with vehemence, struck at Hanuman with her palm. And that tiger-like monkey, the energetic offspring of the wind-god, on being lustily struck by Lanka, emitted a tremendous roar. And (Hanuman) fastened the fingers of his left hand into a box, and transported with rage, dealt it unto her. And considering that she was a female, he did not give way to excessive wrath. And struck at (by Hanuman), that ranger of the night, of a deformed face, her body overcome, suddenly dropped to the earth. And the energetic and heroic Hanuman, seeing her measure her length,—in consideration of her being a female, was filled with compassion. Thereat, exceedingly agitated, Lanka addressed the monkey, Hanuman, in humble words, with their letters faltering,—"O mighty-armed one, be propitious unto me! Do thou save me, O best of monkeys, O placid one. Those that are gifted with strength and are endeued with exceeding vigor, ever bear regard unto the dignity of the scriptures. By thy prowess, O monkey, hast thou, O hero, O thou gifted with wondrous strength, vanquished me myself, who am the City of Lanka. Listen to this narration, which I, O foremost of monkeys, deliver unto thee; as to bow the self-create Himself conferred a boon on me.' When a certain monkey shall by his prowess, bring thee under his sway, then shalt thou understand that a fear is come unto the Rakshahas'. And that time, O placid one, hath come unto me, in consequence of my meeting with thee. The truth ordained by the self-create knoweth no turning. The destruction of the unrighteous king Ravana together with all the Rakshasas, hath come about in consequence of Sita (having been carried away). Therefore, O best of monkeys, do thou enter the city ruled by Ravana; and accomplish such tasks as thou wishest to. Entering this splendid city lying under an imprecation, governed by the chief of the Rakshasas, do thou at thy will happily repairing everywhere, search for the chaste daughter of Janaka."

SECTION 4.

Having by his vigor vanquished the excellent City of Lanka capable of wearing forms at will, that exceedingly energetic foremost of monkeys, Hanuman, eudeued with prodigious prowess, leaped sheer over a wall, where doorway there was none; and that elephantine monkey gifted with great strength entered Lanka by night. And entering the city of Lanka, that one (ever) compassing the welfare of the monkey-king, set his left foot on the heads of his foes. And entering in by night, the offspring of the Wind-god furnished with strength, proceeded along the high-way strewn with blossoms. And the monkey held his sway in the charming city of Lanka, resounding with grateful sounds mixed with laughter, and ringing with trumpet blasts. And with multitudes of mansions marked with the thunderbolt and the hook, and adorned with diamond windows, the charming metropolis looked splendid, like the welkin with clouds. And then Lanka, with handsome and variegated mansions of Rakshasas, resembling white clouds and arranged like lotus-leaves; and adorned on all sides with structures superscribed 'Vardhamana,' shone forth in all its glory. And that graceful one serving in the interests of the king of monkeys, ranging for Rama's behoof, beheld (Lanka) adorned with variegated wreaths; and was highly delighted. And moving from house to house, that foremost of monkeys observed on all sides various dwellings of diverse forms and colour, and heard charming songs chanted in the three octaves by damsels maddened with amour, resembling celestial Apsaras. And he also heard the jinglings of zones and the clash of bangles; and sounds of footsteps on stairs of edifices belonging to high-souled ones; and sounds proceeding from clapping hands; and the roaring of lions here and there. And (Hanuman) heard there in the mansions of the Rakshas, Mantras recited by persons engaged therein, and those occupied in Vaidika studies. And (Hanuman) saw goblins and Rakshasas storming and eulogizing Ravana; and mighty swarms of Rakshas stationed, covering the highway. And in the central courtyard, he found innumerable spies of the Rakshasa (Ravana), some initiated, some bearing matted locks, some with their heads shaven, and some clad in cow-skins, some in cloths and some going stark naked; and (he found there persons) carrying handfuls of darbha for their weapons, and (having) the sacrificial fire-place for their arms; and those bearing in their hands clubs and concealed weapons, or holding rods as their aims, or having a single eye or a single complexion, or having a single breast dangling down; and those looking dreadful with uneven attire; and dwarfs frightful to behold; and bowmen; and swordsmen; and (warriors) carrying sataghnis and clubs for their arms; those bearing excellent parighas in their hands, or blazing in curious mail; persons not exceedingly fat, or exceedingly lean; not unduly tall, or unduly short; not extremely fair, or extremely dark; not unduly crooked, or unduly dwarfish; and those deformed, or many-formed, or endowed with beauty, or possessing splendour; standard bearers; and flag bearers. And (Hanuman) saw also various weapons; and those having for their arms darts and vrikshas, or bearing patticas and asanis, or having Kshepanis [A short arrow or dart thrown from the hand, or shot through a blowgun.] and nooses in their hands, saw that mighty monkey, or wearing wreaths, or having their persons daubed with pastes, or adorned with noble ornaments, or clad in various kinds of raiment; and many a one ranging wherever he listed; and those holding sharpened javelins; and mighty ones bearing Vajras; and hundreds and thousands of warriors garrisoned in the central courtyard and engaged in vigilantly guarding the interior,—having been directed by the lord of the Rakshas,—saw the monkey. And having seen that edifice situated in front of the inner appartment, that mighty monkey saw the famous mansion of the Rakshasa chief, pinnacled on the mountain-top, with huge golden arches over the gateway; surrounded by a moat enriched with pale lotuses; and completely guarded by a wall; resembling heaven itself; magnificent; resonant with grateful sounds; resounding with the neighing of horses and wondrous steeds; and adorned with cars and vehicles, chariots and dainty horse: elephants; and four-tusked elephants resembling masses of white clouds;—and possessing graceful gateways. And the monkey entered the palace protected by the Rakshasa chief,—guarded by maddened beasts and birds, and thousands of goblins endowed with exceeding great prowess. And he (Hanuman) entered Ravana's inner apartment girt round with a wall consisting of blazing gold and Jamvunada [Jamvunada is a kind of gold having sixteen diverse colours; perhaps different alloys such as electrum.]; having its top decorated with costly gems and pearls; and worshipped with excellent black Aguruand sandal.

SECTION 5.

And as if ministering unto him (Hanuman), arose the many thousand-rayed Moon in the midst of the stars, enfolding all creatures with his luminous canopy. And that highly heroic monkey beheld the Moon hued like the sheen of conch, or milk, or lotus-stalk, arisen and afloat (in the heavens),— like a swan swimming in a pool. And that intelligent one from the earth beheld the Moon arrive at the mid-heavens; momentarily beaming out in lunar light; appearing (splendid) as if in conjunction with the Sun himself,—and like a bull loitering in his stall. And he saw the mild-rayed (Moon), chasing away the remorse of all; swelling the sea; and displaying all creatures,—attain the middle of the sky. And that Lakshmi who on earth remains on Mandara, at eve in the sea, and on the lotus on water, looked exceedingly lovely, stationed beside the charming Moon. Like a swan in a silver cage, like a lion in a cave in Mandara, like a hero on a haughty elephant, appeared the Moon in the middle of the sky. And with (the mark of) the horn the Moon resembled a sharp-horned bull, or a mighty white hued hill with towering summits, or an elephant with his horns plated with gold. And, with his dirt composed of particles of cool water removed; and the darkness dispelled in consequence of the vicinity of the mighty planet [The sun. It is a planet in Hindu cosmogony; but not in Hindu astronomy.]; and with his spots appearing clear because of his shining appearance, appeared the hare-marked worshipful Moon in full splendour. And like a lion on coming out of his cavern, or a lordly elephant on entering into the thick of a mighty encounter, or a monarch on obtaining a kingdom,—appeared the Moon in full splendour. And now appeared the revered Mid-night, chasing away darkness with the Moon displayed,—when flesh-eating (Rakshasas) lend full liberty to their vicious appetite for flesh; and when disputes between lovers cease,—and which bringeth down heaven itself. The sounds of strings sweet unto the ear spread around; females sleep beside their husbands; and night-rangers, given to astounding and terrible acts, are, in the same way, out, indulging in their sports. And the intelligent monkey saw mansions crowded with (Rakshasas), some inebriate with wine and others with wealth; and abounding in cars and horses and golden seats; and fraught with the grace got of heroism. And (Rakshasas) were parleying,—moving about their plump arms,—railing at each other; and throwing intemperate speeches at each other. And (Hanuman saw) Rakshasas striking at their chests (by way of challenge), sinking on the persons of their beloved, wearing diverse habiliments, or stretching their tough bows. And (he) saw debonair damsels daubing their frames with pastes; and others, again, sleeping,—and fair-faced wenches smiling,—and others sighing hard under the influence of anger. And with gigantic elephants roaring, (the place), honoured by pious persons,—with its heroes heaving sighs—looked exceedingly beautiful like a lake in which serpents are sighing forth. And in that apartment (Hanuman) saw persons of commanding understandings, endowed with a soft tongue,—instinct with the spirit of reverence—the foremost men of all this world,—and bearing euphonious appelations,and clad in diverse attires. And beholding those well-formed people, whose conduct was of apiece with their many virtues, (Hanuman) rejoiced exceedingly. And he saw some having beautiful forms; and others deformed,—and both possessed of splendour. And (Hanuman) saw there their wives worthy of noble ornaments and endowed with eminent beauty; of spotless character; possessing great potency; like unto stars in point of excellency of conduct,—displaying side-glances and other tokens of dalliance, —engaged in dear drinking. And at dead of night Hanuman saw some females blazing in beauty, affected simultaneously with bashfulness and bliss, on being embraced by their paramours, like birds embracing their mates. And the sensible Hanuman saw there other females seated in stately halls,— lying in happiness on the laps of their lovers,—beloved of their lords—intent on virtue,—married women,—under the influence of Madana. And Hanuman saw some without sheets, like unto golden streaks,—paragons among women— of the hue of molten gold,—and some of a moon-like complexion, endeued with loveliness,—bereft of their beloved. And that exceedingly heroic monkey saw females in their homes experiencing the height of joy in the company of their beloved dear unto their souls; charming with blossoms; filled with gladness; and enchaining the hearts of their lords with their loveliness. And Hanuman saw crowds of faces like unto the Moon displayed,—with elegant eyes furnished with lovely lashes, and side-long looks; and multitudes of ornaments resembling beautiful lines of lightning. But Hanuman saw not Sita, of the highest lineage,—ever abiding by the way of righteousness; born in a royal line,—like unto a delightful and well-begot plant,— of a slender frame,—sprung from the mind (of Brahma himself);

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established on the eternal road (of chastity); having her gaze fixed on Rama; always engrossed in the contemplation of Rama,—the mind itself of her lord,—who had entered through and through into the heart of her graceful lord,—ever superior to all other women; oppressed with the grief of separation; and having her throat afflicted with the vapour of grief; who formerly had her throat graced with that best of ornaments—the nishka; of excellent eyelashes; having a mellifluous voice; like unto a peahen ranging in the woods; (now) like unto an indistinct lunar lining, or a streak of gold covered with dust, or the colour of a sore-scar, or a gold-leaf broken off by the wind. And not finding, (after so long a search) the Sita of the lord of men,— the spouse of Rama; best of those skilled in speech the monkey, deeming himself as having suddenly lost his skill in search, was overwhelmed with sadness.

SECTION 6.

Wending about at will on the roofs of seven-storied edifices, that monkey capable of assuming any form that he chose, began to range Lanka with speed. And (at length) that auspicious one arrived at the mansion of the Rakshasa chief, surrounded by a shining wall hued like the Sun; protected by terrible Rakshasas, like a mighty forest by lions. And as that foremost of monkeys saw the mansion, with fretted arches plated with silver and embellished with gold,— beautifully abounding in splendid courts and gateways; containing elephant-drivers, and heroes knowing no fatigue; ever coursed by irrisistible steeds drawing cars, and curious vehicles, Covered over with skins of lions and tigers, resounding with bells hung thereon, and embosoming effigies of ivory, gold and silver,—the locality of mighty cars, and the home of mighty car-warriors; filled all around with many thousands of divers beauteous and dainty birds and beasts; well protected by meek Raksha warders at the outskirts; thronged about with magnificent dames of the first order; containing gems of joyous damsels—the abode of the foremost Rakshasas—sounding like the sea with the sounds of superb ornaments; affluent with regal insignia and excellent sandals; crowded with mighty ones, like a vast forest with lions; reasonant with trumpets and drums; and ringing with the blares of conchs; where the ever adored offspring of the Parvas was always worshipped by the Rakshasas; solemn like the sea; and resounding like the ocean itself,—the mighty mansion of the high-souled(Ravana); clad in costly jewels; scattered with precious gems—as that mighty monkey beheld (Ravana's residence), he set about searching for Sita. And that mighty monkey concluded. "This is the ornament of Lanka bodied forth beautifully to the view, covered with elephants, steeds and chariots." And there in the vicinity of Ravana's mansion, Hanuman began to range the dwellings of the Rakshasas from one to another, as well as all the gardens (located there). And without experiencing any agitation, he observing (everything), ranged the palaces. Then that one endowed with wondrous motion, with a bound entered Prahasta's palace; and then with another, that (monkey) possessed of energy entered the abode of Mahaparcwa. Then that mighty monkey entered into the abode of Kumbhakarna, resembling a mass of clouds; and thereafter that of Vibhishana; and then that of Mahodara, and then that of Virupaksha; and then the abode of Vidyujjibha, and then that of Vidyunmala;—and then that mighty monkey with a bound entered into the abode of Vahudanshtra. And then that leader of monkey-bands gifted with great speed leapt into the abode of Suka, and next into that of the intelligent Sarana, and next into that of Indrajit. And that foremost of monkeys went to the mansion of Jambumala, and of Sumala,—and (then) to the abode of Rashmiketu, and Suryyasachu. And (next) that powerful monkey leapt into the mansion of Vajrakaya; and (next) the Wind-god's offspring entered the house of Dhumraksha, and (next) that of Sampati, and the grim Vidyudrupa, and Phana, and Vighana, and Sukanabha, and Chakra, and Satha, and Kapatha, and Hraswakarna, and Danshtra, and the Rakshasa Lomasa, and Yudhyonmatta, and Matta, and the horseman, Dhwajagriva, and of Vidyujjibha and Vijibha, and of Hastimukha, and of Karala, and Vicala, and of Sonitaksha. The illustrious offspring of the Wind, Hanuman, one after another, leapt into all these noble edifices. And that redoubtable monkey observed the affluence of all these (Rakshasas) possessed of prosperity. And having bounded over the mansions of all situated around, that one blessed with auspiciousness, at length came to the very mansion of the monarch of the Rakshasas. And that tiger-like monkey—the best of his species—ranging around, saw Rakshasis of frightful eyes, alternately mounting sentry over the couch of Ravana— bearing darts and maces in their hands, and equipped with javelins and clubs. And (there) in the residence of that lord of the Rakshasas, he beheld various bands of Rakshasis, as well as Rakshasas of gigantic frames, upraising various kinds of weapons; and steeds of exceeding fleetness, red, and white, and black; and first-rate elephants, possessed of eminent grace, capable of crushing hostile elephants, and well trained in arts relative to their species—like Airavata himself in conflict. And there in that mansion he saw (all these elephants), destroyers of hostile hosts—like unto pouring clouds, or hills, sending up fountains, rumbling like unto clouds, and invincible in battle by foes. And that monkey, son unto the Wind-god, saw in the mansion of the lord of Rakshasas, Ravana, hosts by thousands; and cars of various forms of glittering gold, furnished all over with golden net-works, resembling the risen sun; and graceful grots; and picture galleries; and sporting saloons, mountains composed of wood, captivating structures dedicated to dalliance, and dwellings for day-dalliance,—saw he in the mansion of the Rakshasa monarch. And he beheld that charming mansion resembling Mandara, filled with places for peacocks; thronged with pennons and flagstaffs,—a very mine of countless gems,—a field of treasures spread around,—where persons of intrepid calmness were engaged in acts tending to the safety of the treasures,—resembling the mansion herself of Kuvera. And on account of the lustre shed by the gems, as well as the energy of Ravana himself, that mansion appeared splendid like the ray-furnished Sun in all his glory. And the chief of monkey-bands saw bed-steads and seats of gold and white vessels. And Hanuman entered the mighty mansion, containing clay formed by Madha [A kind of brandy distilled from the blossoms of the Bassia latifolia or from grapes.] and Asava [Alcoholic spirit distilled from sugar or molasses.]; filled with gemmed cans; charming; free from impediments; resembling the mansion herself of Kama,—like the abode of Kuvera,—resonant with the sounds of bangles and the tinklings of zones, as well as with the beat of mridanga-hides and other eloquent musical instruments; with palaces close on each other; thronged with hundreds of females (like unto) jewels; and containing capacious enclosures.

SECTION 7.

And that one endowed with strength saw that row of structures fitted up with golden windows, studded with lapis lazulis, and containing birds; like unto a mass of clouds in a season of great rains, crowned with lightning, and fraught with fowls. And he saw various structures close to one another, to which excellent conchs, arms and bows lent lustre; as well as huge and splendid towers belonging to edifices resembling mountains. And the monkey beheld mansions, treasuring various kinds of wealth, which were held in regard by both gods and Asuras,—devoid of every defect; and which had been won (by Ravana) through his own might. And (Hanuman) saw the mansions of the lord of Lanka, located in strict conformity with aesthetic laws,—appearing as if they had been constructed by Maya himself,—which had on the earth beneath every excellence. And then he saw the mansion of the lord of Rakshas himself, surpassing the best structures; like unto a mass of towering clouds; captivating; boasting of a beauteous golden appearance; worthy of his own power,—and of incomparable loveliness; appearing as if the celestial regions had dropped down on the earth; blazing in beauty; teeming with countless gems; like unto the brow of a mountain strewn with the blossoms and the dust thereof of various trees; and illumined by the foremost females,—appearing like a mass of clouds containing lightning, or the witching welkin furnished with grace, afloat with excellent swans. And (Hanuman) saw the car variegated with countless gems; like unto the top of a mountain variegated with innumerable metals; or like the firmament garnished with the moon and the planets,—or like clouds of diverse hues fused into a homogeneous whole. The place in the car designed as the seat of the many, was filled with rows of hills; its hills were filled with trees; its trees were filled with flowers; and (finally) its flowers were filled with leaves and filaments. And (in it), where white mansions were reared, there were tanks filled with fair flowers; and lotuses furnished with filaments; and picturesque woods; and liquid lapses. And the mighty monkey beheld there the great chariot going after the name of Pushpa, appearing beautiful, wheeling round in the splendour of the gems—which had surpassed even the cars pertaining to the abodes of the celestials. And (in that car) were birds made of lapis iazulis; and (other) birds composed of silver and coral; and variegated serpents made of various precious metals; and fair-bodied steeds resembling those of superior breeds; and there were constructed birds having graceful mouths; and fair, tapering, playful and contracted plumage, bearing blossoms made of coral and gold,—like unto the very plumage of Kama himself. And there were elephants possessed of graceful trunks, bearing fillaments; and with their trunks bearing lotus leaves,—engaged (in showering water on Lakshmi); as well as the goddess, made with fair arms, seated on a pool with a lotus in her hand. Thus entering that graceful mansion, like unto a mountain containing charming caverns, (Hanuman) was seized with wonderment. And once again (entering that charming mansion), like unto a taking and fragrant tree during spring furnished with holes, Hanuman was seized with wonderment. Then ranging by bounds that honoured city ruled by the arms of the Ten-faced one, he, not finding the highly regarded and extremely distressed daughter of Janaka, who had won over her grief by contemplating the virtues of her lord,—(was affected witb sorrow). And, not seeing Janaka's daughter, then the heart of that high-souled one, honoured for his character by the world, of schooled self, ever ranging by the way chiming in with morality, and having the scriptures for his eye-sight—as he ranged about,—was oppressed with grief.

SECTION 8.

Staying in that mansion, that intelligent monkey, the offspring of the Wind-god, beheld that splendid aerial car, beauteous with excellent jewels, and furnished with windows of burnished gold. And the car, embellished with transcendentally beautiful figures,—belauded by Vicwakarma himself constituting the acme (of his art),—which, mounting the welkin, looked like a mark of the Sun's orbit,—appeared . resplendent. And there was nothing in that car which was not made skilfully;—nothing that did not look like a precious jewel (sprung spontaneously on its person),—and the style displayed in its various parts surpassed anything that could be found in the cars of the celestials themselves,—and everything in that car was executed in the highest style of excellence—(that car) obtained (by Ravana) in virtue of prowess sprung from asceticism and contemplation (of the Deity); capable of repairing wherever (the owner) wished to wend; displaying various kinds of constructive skill; composed of materials procured from diverse sources,—such as were worthy of a celestial car; fleet-coursing in consonance with the wish of its master; incapable of being approached; equal to the wind in celerity; the source of happiness unto ious, high-souled, and pious ones—possessors of (word missing) fineless' and high rapture; coursing through the firmament in a variety of ways,—the congeries of all wonderful things,—adorned with ranges of chambers; captivating to the mind; stainless as the autumnal Moon; furnished with splendid summits, like the crest of a mountain; which was borne by rangers of the night, given to mighty meals, ranging the sky, with faces graced with ear-rings; and by thousands of ghosts possessed of terrible speed, having expansive, winkless and rolling eyes. That heroic first of monkeys saw that excellent car, beauteous with vernal blossoms,—fairer than the month of spring and furnished with flowers.

SECTION 9.

And located within that excellent mansion, Hanuman, son unto the Wind-god, saw a superior and grand structure, stainless and spacious; half a yojana in width and one in length,—belonging to the lord of the Rakshasas, and abounding with many a palace. And searching for Videha's daughter, the large eyed Sita, that slayer of enemies, Hanuman, ranged all through (this edifice). And Hanuman beheld the goodly edifice where the Rakshasas used to dwell in common. And (at length) that one came upon the mansion itself of the lord of Rakshasas, having three-tusked and four-tusked elephants, and protected by persons with upraised arms, and covering a capacious area. And (Hanuman beheld) the residence of Ravana, thronged with his Rakshasi wives, as well as with princesses forcibly brought thither (by him),—like unto the sea teeming with alligators and makaras, abounding in timingilas and fishes and snakes, and agitated by the force of the wind. The same enchanting splendour that is in Vaicravana or the ray-riding Moon, remained ever constant and abiding in Ravana's abode. And the prosperity of king Kuvera, or Yama, or Varuna, was here present in the house of the Raksha,—or even surpassed by the prosperity (of Ravana). In the midst of that mansion the Wind-god's offspring found another, excellently constructed, having innumerable mad elephants;—that noble car embellished with all gems, entitled Pushpaka, which had been constructed in heaven by Vicwakarma for Brahma himself,— which Kuvera obtained from the Great-father through high austerities,—and which, vanquishing Kuvera by his prowess, the Rakshasa chief got possession of. And the mighty monkey ascended the splendid car Pushpaka, containing figures of wolves,—made of Karttaswara and Hiranya; graced with ranges of goodly pillars; as if blazing in splendour; throughout garnished with narrow secret rooms and saloons, piercing the heavens, and resembling Meru or Mandara, and like unto the flaming Sun; skilfully reared by Vicwakarma; with golden staircases and graceful and grand raised seats, rows of golden and crystal windows, and daises composed of sapphires, emeralds and other superb gems; embellished with noble vidrumas, costly stones, and round pearls, as also with plastered terraces; pasted with red sandal, like unto gold, and furnished with a sacred aroma; and resembling the sun new risen. And stationed thereon [i. e. on a Pushpaka, a Vimana, a flying vehicle.], Hanuman smelt the rich odour of viands and drinks that was spreading on all sides;— and like one dear friend smelling another, he also smelt the mighty Air, impregnated with aroma, which seemed like embodied Odour. And (the Air) said unto Hanuman,—"Come here, where that Ravana is." Then (descending from Pushpaka and repairing to that sleeping apartment of Ravana), Hanuman saw the same, grand and graceful; belonging to Ravana; of transcendent beauty; comely like unto a lovely lady; diversified with jewelled staircases; illumined with heaps of

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gems; with its terraces constructed of crystal; having statues of ivory, pearls, diamonds, coral, silver and gold; adorned with jewelled pillars; and embellished all round with pillasters; and upheld on all sides by straight, elevated and gorgeously ornamented pillars of equal dimensions, resembling prodigious wings,—(the mansion) appearing to tower to the sky; containing spacious and parti-coloured woolen cloths bearing the marks of the Earth* [i. e. four-cornered, The Earth, in Hindu cosmogony, is a flat surface having four corners.]; extensive as the Earth is, with kingdoms and dwellings; resounding with the roars of infuriated elephants; redolent of divine fragrance; furnished with gay canopies; inhabited by the sovereign of the Rakshas; cloudy with aguru and dhupa; spotless; of a swan-like whiteness; engarlanded with flowers and leaves like unto the dappled and brilliant cow (of Vasishtha); bringing delight unto the heart; and enhancing the grace (of all creatures); removing sorrow; noble; and the generatrix of Grace herself.

[* This cosmogony serves as simplified model to explain the basic structure of either the cosmos or the universe; in terms of cosmology (Greek: "study of the world"), a branch of astronomy, the Indian scholars were very well aware that the Earth is round and the universe endless in time. There is some confusion if, in the belief of ancient Indians, the Earth is flat or round. The confusion mostly arises because of the mention of Earth as flat in the relatively young Puranas (250-1000 AD), for example in the Bhagavata Purana (800-1000 AD). Ancient Indian sages have known that the earth is round as far back as 900 BC. If we look at those texts then there is no confusion, Indian astronomers have known the earth to be spherical for a very long time. The Aitereya Brahamana has two statements, which make it clear that ancient Indian sages knew earth is round. The Aitareya Brahmana (2.7), composed by Mahidas Aitareya between the 7th and 5th centuries BC, states: "The [sun] never really sets or rises. In that they think of him 'He is setting,' having reached the end of the day, he inverts himself; thus he makes evening below, day above. Again in that they think of him 'He is rising in the morning,' having reached the end of the night he inverts himself; thus he makes day below, night above. He never sets; indeed he never sets." In section 3.44, among other things, the Aitareya Brahmana states: "The sun does never rise or set. When people think the sun is setting (it is not so). For after having arrived at the end of the day it makes itself produce two opposite effects, making night to what is below and day to what is on the other side. When they believe it rises in the morning (this supposed rising is thus to be explained for). Having reached the end of the night, it makes itself produce two opposite effects, making night to what is below and day to what is on the other side. In fact, the sun never sets. Nor does it set for him who has such a knowledge. Such a one becomes united with the sun, assumes its form, and enters its place." (Footnote: This passage is of considerable interest, containing the denial of the existence of sunrise and sunset. -- This denial makes only sense when one imagines himself being in space: There, the Sun indeed never just rises or sets but rotates in the centre of the Solar System with all the planets orbiting around it.)--(Translation by Martin Haug. The Aitareya Brahmanam of the Rigveda, 1863; pp. 163-164.) Not only are these texts saying that the earth is spherical, depending on how you interpret these texts, Shatpath Brahman seems to be proposing a heliocentric model of the Solar System while from Aiteriya Brahman it is clear that the author knows that earth rotates on its axis to result in the creation of day and night. The knowledge could have been there long before these texts were written down in the 4th or 3rd centuries BC. It seems that Indians knew the earth was spherical at the time the Rigveda was orally composed (perhaps between the 9th and 7th centuries BC), long before Pythagoras.]

And as soon as Hanuman entered the mansion protected by Ravana, it like a mother regaled his senses with their proper objects. "This must be swarga, or the region of the immortals, or the city of Amaravati, or the supreme Siddhi [Svarga is the region where persons reap the fruit of Jyotishtoma, etc. Siddhi is Illusion spread by Gandharbas.]—"thought the Wind-god's offspring. And he saw the golden lamps (shorn of their brightness), like unto gamblers worsted at dice by others exceedingly skilful, and, in consequence, plunged in thought. And (Hanuman) conceived that (Ravana's sleeping apartment) was in a conflagration, on account of the display of the lamps, Ravana' s energy, and the splendour of the ornaments. And when the night had been half spent, (Hanuman) saw thousands of superb dames, adorned in various attires, and bearing apparels of diverse hues, and wreaths,—who having given up sport, and come under the influence of wine and sleep,— were fast asleep on woolen sheets. And in consequence of the silence that reigned (in that apartment) embellished with (ornaments), it resembled a large lotus-grove, where the swans and the black bees are silent. And the Wind-god's offspring beheld the countenances of those beauteous women, with closed eyes,—having their lashes shut through languor; and odorous with lotus-perfume. And their faces appeared like lotuses blowing on the expiry of night and closing their petals by night. "These lotus-faces like unto very lotuses themselves, ever the six-footed ones seek once and again." Thus thought with discrimination the graceful, mighty monkey; and on account of their perfections, he confessed those countenances to be equal to water-sprung (lotuses). And that apartment, in consequence of being graced by those women, appeared splendid, like the autumnal, complacent sky decorated with the stars. And surrounded by them, the Rakshasa chief resembled the fair Moon encircled by the stars. "Those stars that drop from the firmament on their virtue deteriorating, have assembled here in a body," thus thought the monkey at that time. And the shine, form, and splendour of those females resembled, forsooth those of magnificently displayed, noble and lustrous stars. And on account of their having been bereft of consciousness through sleep, induced by fatigue brought on by drink (and dance), their hair was dishevelled, and their full wreaths and goodly ornaments lay scattered about. And some of those paragons had got their beauty-spots, smudged; and some, their bangles loosening off; some, their chains running to one side. And others had their pearl necklaces burst,— and their cloths getting away (from their persons), and the chains of their zones straying irregularly;—resembling way-worn mares. And others again were without their ear-rings, and had their garlands torn and crushed; and resembled blossoming creepers, trodden down in a vast forest by mighty elephants. And the pearl chains of some sinning females resembling moon beams, having got topsy-turvy, was lying like sleeping swans between the breasts of the damsels. And the lapis chains of some resembled water-crows; and the fine golden chains turned upside down of others appeared like ruddy geese. And those ladies resembled rivers having hips for banks; containing swans and Karandavas, and beautified with ruddy geese. And those sleeping females appeared like streams; having Kinkinis for their ripples; and large gold lotuses; marks of amorous encounter on their persons for ferocious aquatic animals; and perfections, for their banks. And on the tender frames, as well as on the tops of the breasts, of some graceful scratches consequent on pressure, appeared like ornaments. And the scarf-ends of some stirred by the air that was blowing about their faces, flapped on them again and again. And at the nether part of the faces of Ravana's wives, they (the scarf-ends)appeared beauteous like uplifted streamers of exceeding elegance, composed of many-hued golden yarn. And the ear-rings of some dames possessed of a pleasant sheen, stirred by the air that was breathing about their faces, were undulating gently. And the sweet breath of their faces, naturally fragrant, and redolent of sugar and dsava, was then regaling Ravana. And out of fear sprung from sleep and intoxication, some of Ravana's wives were again and again smelling the faces of those, co-wives with them, taking the faces to belong to Ravana. And from their hearts being firmly fixed on Ravana, those excellent women, having their sense af separateness removed, (albeit thus dealt with), did what was dear unto them. And other females, making their gay scarf-ends (for their sheets), and making their arms, their pillows, were lying down there. And some were lying on others' bosoms and others again, on the arms of the latter. And some lay on the laps of others; and others, again, on the breasts of the latter. And they reposed on each other's thighs, flanks, waists, and backs; and coming under the influence of wine and amour, they lay on each other's persons. And those females having elegant waists, receiving pleasure from the contact with others' persons, were sleeping there, with their hands fastened by each other. And that garland of females strung by the threads of their hands, appeared beauteous, like a real wreath strung on a thread, with maddened black bees (seated thereon). And that multitude of females in a medley appeared like an assemblage of blooming plants in the month of Chaitra [March-April.], with its wreaths formed in consequence of their coming in contact with one another, and of its clusters touching each other, on account of the breeze blowing;—with the plants encircling the graceful (necks of the trees),—and rife with Bhramaras chasing each other.—And although the ornaments of those women wearing ornaments, attires and wreaths, were put on proper places; yet (on account of the profusion of the ornaments themselves, as well as because of the circumstance of the dames' sleeping), it was difficult to ascertain which ornament belonged to one damsel and which to another. And it seemed as if, Ravana having attained rest (through sleep), the flaming golden lamps furnished with various rays, were gazing at the girls with winkless eyes. Daughters of Rajarshis, of Vipras, of Daityas, of Gandharbas. and of Rakshasas, having come under the influence of desire, had become his wives. And all those women had been procured by Ravana because he sought fight (with their relations) and some haughty dames, rapt with desire, had of themselves come to this place. And there was no woman there, who had been won by force by (Ravana), possessed as he was of prowess; but they had all been subdued by his qualities. And save the surpassingly worthy daughter of Janaka, no female (had been brought), who had set her heart on another, or who had known any other before. And there was none who, being his wife, was not of high extraction; none who was defective in grace; none who was not of sterling merit; none who was not decked out in ornaments and attire; and none who was infirm; and none who was not an object of desire of her lover. And the lord of monkeys endowed with uprightness of sense, thought,—"If the righteously wedded wife of Raghava were as one of the wives of the king of the Rakshasas, it would well for him." Again reflected he,—"Sita is crowned with chastity and other virtues; and the powerful lord of Lanka, assuming an illusory form, hath with much ado perpetrated this ignominious act."

SECTION 10.

And there Hanuman employed in looking around, saw a grand dais made of crystal; and embellished with jewels; comparable to one belonging to the celestial regions; furnished with superb and costly sofas, having their parts painted and composed of ivory, gold, and lapis lazulis; with highly precious canopies. At one place thereof he saw a white umbrella, adorned with beautiful wreaths, resembling the lord of the stars himself. And Hanuman saw a splendid sofa garnished with gold, bearing garlands of acokablossoms,—flaming like fire; around which persons kept waving with their hands chowris furnished with hair; rife with perfumes of various kinds; odorous with rich dhupa, spread with excellent sheets; covered with the skins of rams; and decked on all sides with chaplets of gorgeous flowers. And that excellent and mighty monkey beheld therein the heroic sovereign of the Rakshasas, Ravana, resembling a mass of clouds; with flaming and brilliant ear-rings; having reddened eyes; of gigantic arms; wearing a cloth composed of golden threads; his person daubed with fragrant red sandal; looking like a crimson cloud at eve fraught with lightning; covered with noble ornaments; endowed with eminent grace; capable of wearing forms at will; resembling Mandara affluent with trees and woods and shrubs;—sleeping, having given up sport at night; adorned with elegant ornaments; dear unto the daughters of the Rakshasas,—the source of happiness unto Rakshasas;—who had ceased from drinking,—asleep on a shining bedstead,—and respiring like a (kissing) serpent. And reaching there, Hanuman, waxing wondrous agitated, shrank back, as if in fear. And then arriving at the staircase, the mighty monkey, stationing himself on a dais in the middle of the stairs, gazed at the inebriate, Rakshasa, resembling a tiger. And as the sovereign of the Rakshasas was sleeping, his graceful bed resembled a grand cascade, beside which stands an elephant breathing odour. And Hanuman saw the arms of the huge-bodied lord of Rakshasas, fastened with bracelets,—stretched (there),— like unto the banners of Indra; which had been wounded by the tusk-ends of Airavata, whose plump parts bad been riven by vajra; and which had been torn by the discus of Vishnu; well developed; having equal and elegant parts; with hard joints; fraught with strength; with thumbs having nails bearing auspicious marks; having rings (on the fingers); covered; formed like bludgeons; round; resembling the trunks of elephants; cast on the white bed like unto five-hooded serpents; smeared and adorned with cool, fragrant, and excellent sandal resembling the blood of hares; pressed by paragons; odorous with incense; resisting (in battle) Yakshas, and Pannagas, Gandharbas, gods and Danavas; and the monkey saw his arms resting on the bed, like unto two beautiful and mighty serpents sleeping in the entrails of Mandara. And with both those well developed arms of his, the lord of Rakshasas resembling a hill, looked handsome like Mandara with its summits. And breath bearing the aroma of the mangoe, and the Pannaga, the sweet scent of the Vakula, the savour of viands fraught with the six kinds of tastes, and the perfume of wines, came out of the mighty mouth of the sovereign of the Rakshasas, filling, as it were, that entire chamber. And (Hanuman) beheld (Ravana), with his countenance, aglow with ear-rings and decked with a golden diadem embellished with pearls and jewels; daubed with red sandal; and adorned with; an elegant chain; having a large, broad, and full-developed breast; with a white silken cloth on, falling off his person; furnished with blood-red eyes; covered with costly yellow sheets; appearing like a mass of unrighteousness; breathing like a serpent, or an elephant asleep in the mighty Ganga during the rains;—four lamps set on the golden pilars illumining four sides; even as lightnings display the entire surface of a mass of clouds. (And Hanuman) also saw in the mansion of the Raksha chief, the wives of that huge-bodied one dear unto his wives,—lying at his feet. And that protector of monkey-bands saw them, having countances resembling the Moon displayed; decked out with elegant ear-rings; bearing unfading garlands [i. e. celestial females, kind of angels.] by way of ornamentation; lying on the arms and lap of the lord of the Rakshas. And the monkey saw women bearing noble ornaments,—lying down. And he saw golden bracelets and ear-rings at the nether ends of the women's ears,—set with diamonds and lapises. And with their fair countenances resembling the Moon, graced with comely ear-rings, that terrace looked beautiful, like the welkin embellished with stars. The slender-waisted wives of the sovereign of the Rakshasas, overcome with languor consequent on drink and amorous encounter, were fast asleep at the very places where they were seated. And another

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transcendentally beautiful damsel possessed of lovely limbs, skilled in dance, was fast asleep, betraying comely movements (during sleep). And another was seen asleep, embracing a vina,—like a lotus with spreading petals, resting by the side of a raft. And another dark-eyed wench was asleep with her mudduka [A kind of musical instrument.] on her lap, like a loving mother having a boy. Another damsel possessed of graceful limbs and a shapely bust, was lying down, hugging her kettle-drum,—like a woman embracing her lover, obtained after a long time. And one lotus-eyed female was asleep, embracing her vina; like an amorous damsel hugging her fair paramour. And another girl of restrained self, given to dancing, had come under the sway of sleep, embracing her vipanchi [A kind of musical instrument.] like a female sleeping with her lover. And another having inebriate eyes, was fast asleep, embracing her mridanga with her charming, plump, and tender limbs, resembling gold. Another female of faultless features, endeued with a slender frame, having been overcome by lassitude consequent on drink, was asleep.with her panava on the ends of her lower garment, held fast with her hands. Another woman was sleeping soundly, embracing her dindima [A kind of musical instrument.] with another bound at her back; like a female taking both her lover and her child. Another damsel having eyes resembling lotus-petals, having come under the influence of liquor, was asleep, firmly holding her aramvara [A kind of musical instrument.] with her hands. Another woman, intoxicated by wine, was discovered asleep, with her water-vessel upset; and, in consequence, appearing like a well-washed variegated wreath in spring. Another, coming under the masterdom of slumber, was sleeping, holding with her hands her twin breasts resembling golden jars. And another lotus-eyed and moon-faced fair one, coming under the governance of slumber, (was asleep), embracing another furnished with shapely hips. And eminently beautiful dames were asleep, embracing musical instruments; like wenches pressing lustful (lovers), with their breasts. And that monkey saw that lady, endeued with beauty, lying down apart in an excellent bed; adorned with ornaments containing pearls and jewels; and as if decorating that charming mansion with her grace. And the monkey saw there the yellow-hued Mandodari, having the splendour of gold; the object of (Ravana's) desire; beautiful exceedingly,—the mistress of the inner apartment,—lying down. And seeing (Mandodari) adorned with ornaments, the offspring of the Wind-god guessed,—"This one endowed with the wealth of youth and beauty might be Sita." And demonstrating great joy, that leader of monkey-bands rejoiced exceedingly. And thereat, (Hanuman) struck at his arms with his hands, kissed his tail, exhibited signs of glee, frolicked, sang, darted towards the pillars, shot up to the top thereof, and jumped down to the earth,—manifesting his monkey-nature.

SECTION 11.

Then resigning that line of thought, that mighty monkey, regaining his equanimity, set out in another direction of thought touching Sita. "Separated from Rama, that lady is incapable of of sleeping, or eating, or decorating (her person), or drinking. And she is incapable of associating with any other person, although he were the sovereign of the celestials himself. And even in all heaven there is none who is equal to Rama. She is some other." Assuring himself of this, that foremost of monkeys, eager to behold Sita, again began to range in that place set apart for drinking. Some were tired out with sporting; some with singing; some with dancing; and some were fast asleep through intoxication. And some supported themselves on murajas, mridangas, or chelikas; and some women were sleeping on excellent sheets. And that leader of monkey-bands saw (that place of drinking) filled with thousands of women, adorned with ornaments engaged (in their sleep) in depicting each other's loveliness; and explaining the sense of songs; conversant with season and place; understanding the meanings of words chiming in with season and place; and skilful at play. And at other places also he saw thousands of superb and youthful dames fast asleep,—employed in talking of each others beauty. And that leader of monkey bands saw (women) versed in season and place, and understanding the meanings of words consonant with season and place. And in the midst of them all, the lord of the Rakshasas looked splendid like an ox in a spacious stall in the midst of stately kine. And surrounded by them, the Rakshasa chief appeared beautiful like a gigantic elephant in a forest, surrounded by female elephants. And in the abode of the huge-bodied Rakshasa chief, this tiger-like monkey saw that place of drinking, furnished with every object of desire. And in that place set apart for drinking, he saw heaps of the flesh of buffaloes, deer, and boars, arranged separately. And that tiger-like monkey saw in capacious golden vessels flesh of fowls and peacocks, which remained (after the repast). And Hanuman saw the flesh of boars, and Vadhrinasas [A species of birds.] Sulyas, deer, and peacocks, seasoned with curds and Sauvarchala [A kind of salt.]; and Krikalas [Partridges are medium-sized non-migratory fowls pheasants, quail, junglefowl, etc.], and goats of various kinds.-flesh of hare half-fed,—Ekacalyas [A kind of fish.], and buffaloes,—all chopped and dressed; and lickable and drinkable viands sharp and mild; and edibles sharp and mild; and Ragakhandavas [A preparation of the juice of grapes and pomegranates, mixed with sugar, etc.] containing sugar and acid, capable of improving a vicious palate. And with large and costly stray bangles and bracelets; and scattered cans,— and diverse kinds of fruit; and wreaths of flowers, the pavement attained exceeding beauty. And with elegantly jointed bedsteads, arranged (around), the scene of wassail appeared aflame without fire. And with meat consisting of many ingredients, fraught with diverse tastes, seasoned with many substances, and dressed by skilful cooks,—arranged separately in the scene of revel; and with noble and pleasant wines, natural and artificial,—asavas from sugar; and Madhvika [From honey. According to some, from grapes.] and asavas from flowers and fruits; and impregnated separately with different kinds of fragrant dust,—the pavement, furnished with inuumerable garlands, surrounded with golden water-vessels and crystal bowls, and golden water-pots, looked exceedingly beautiful. And the monkey saw that foremost of all places set apart for drinking, containing silvern and golden jars. And that mighty monkey saw golden wine-vessels studded with gems, all filled with wine; and some with half full of liquor, some with their wine entirely exhausted, and some full of liquor. And (at some spots) he saw various kinds of viands, and at others wines ranged in rows, and at others the wine-vessels remaining half full. And there were many bedsteads belonging to fair ones, remaining vacant; and at some places excellent women were sleeping touching each other. And at one place, a female, borne down by the force of sleep, forcibly possessing herself of another's cloth, and wrapping herself therewith,—went to the bed of that one, and was indulging in sleep.—And with their breath, their variegated wreaths and the cloth on their persons were stirring gently, as if with a mild-blowing breeze. And laden with the odours of cool sandal and of sweet-tasting Sidhu [Spirit, alcoholic drink, distilled from mollasses.]; and of diverse wreaths and flowers, and with perfumes of various kinds,—and entranced with (the aroma of sandalssuitable for use after ablution, and of dhupas, the air, impregnated with excellent scent, was there breathing around the car Pushpaka. And in the residence of the Raksha, there were some wenches sable, yet exceedingly witching; and some were dark-hued; and the frames of some were of a golden brilliance. And their beauty, in consequence of their coming under the governance of sleep, and their being bereft of their senses by Madana, resembled that of lotuses in a sleep. Thus that highly energetic monkey saw everything thoroughly in the inner apartment of Ravana,—but he saw not Janaka's daughter. And seeing those females, that mighty monkey, apprehending loss of righteousness, was seized with an exceeding great fear. "Beholding a female, who is the religiously wedded wife of another, while she is asleep, verily causeth loss of righteousness. My sight surely never seeketh others' wives; but I have beheld this one that hath ravished another's spouse." And that intelligent one, intent on attaining a knowledge of things capable of being arrived at on grounds of judgment, again reflected effectively as to his course of action: "All these unsuspecting wives of Ravana have been beheld by me; yet there are no signs that my mind hath undergone any alteration. In respect of the enlistment of the senses on behalf of any course of action good or evil, it is verily mind which is the cause; and herein my mind is righteously disposed. And I could not search for Vaidehi elsewhere; for in the matter of search, people always search for women even among women. And people search for creatures among the species to which they happen to belong: none searcheth for a lost lady among female deer. Therefore have I with a pure heart explored the entire inner apartment of Ravana; but Janaka's daughter I see not." And Hanuman endowed with prowess saw the daughters of gods, and Gandharbas, and Nagas; hut he saw not Janaki. And not seeing her, that hero, having beheld other magnificent dames, coming out of that place, set about searching for Sita (afresh). And leaving the place of wassail, the graceful offspring of the Wind-god, taking extreme care, again began to search for Sita all about (another quarter).

SECTION 12.

And remaining in that mansion, (Hanuman) desirous of getting a sight of Sita graced with a fair presence, went into bowers, and picture galleries, and night-houses [A kind of hostel or hotel.]; but her he did not find. And not finding the beloved (spouse) of Raghu's son, that mighty monkey reflected,—"Surely Sita is not alive,—for although I have searched (through and through), yet Mithila's daughter I have failed to find. And that girl solicitous for the preservation of her chastity, and staying in the prime path of virtuous woman,—that chaste one—hath, for certain, been slain by this chief of the Rakshasas, (ever) finding delight in iniquity. And seeing the wives of the Rakshasa monarch,—of frightful forms,— monstrous; of lurid hue; having huge faces; with large horrid eyes,—the daughter of Janaka hath given up the ghost from fright. Failing to see Sita, and (thereby) annuling my prowess, and having long spent the appointed space in company with the monkeys, way have I none to present myself before Sugriva, that monkey being puissant and given to meting out sharp chastisement. Having searched the inner apartment through, and seen the wives of the Rakshasa, I do not see the chaste Sita. Therefore vain is the trouble that I take. What, alas! shall the monkeys assembled tell me when I shall go (to them)? 'O hero, tell us what thou hast done, repairing there.' And not having seen Janaka's daughter, what shall I answer? The term fixed (by Sugriva) having been past, certainly meet it is that I should fast to death. And what shall the aged Jambhavan, and what shall Angada, say? And what, again, shall the assembled monkeys say to me when I shall have crossed over the main? But perseverence is the source of good fortune; and perseverence bringeth about supreme happiness. Search again I will, where I have not yet searched. Perseverence, for certain, ever bringeth people to all profitable objects. Whatever one doeth with vigor, beareth fruit. Therefore will I put forth fresh dear efforts vigorously. I will search such places held by Ravana as I have not yet seen. I have again searched the picture-galleries and the sporting-structures, and edifices, and roads passing through gardens, as well as the cars." Having thought thus, Hanuman again set about searching the subterranean abodes, religious buildings, and many-storied mansions. And flying up, and coming down, and staying, and going at places, and opening doors, and shutting others, and entering and issuing out, and falling down as if darting up, that mighty monkey began to range on all sides. There was not even space measuring four fingers in that inner apartment of Ravana, to which the monkey did not repair. And he saw the abodes of the nobility, the daises, the trees by the crossings the holes, and the tanks. And Hanuman saw there Rakshasas of various forms, frightful and deformed; but he saw not Janaka's daughter. And Hanuman saw there the wives of Vidyadharas; but he saw not Raghava's beloved. And Hanuman saw there transcendentally beautiful women—daughters of Nagas—having countenances resembling the moon; but he saw not Janaka's daughter. And Hanuman saw there daughters of Nagas forcibly brought by the lord of the Rakshasas; but he saw not Janaka's daughter. Having seen other beauteous females, and not seeing her, the mighty-armed son of the Wind-god was oppressed with sadness. Seeing that the endeavours of the monarch of monkeys, as well as the bounding over the main, had come to nought, the offspring of the Wind-god was plunged in thought. Descending from the aerial car, Hanuman, son unto the Wind-god, his senses deprived by sorrow, was again wrought up with anxiety.

SECTION 13.

Allighting from the car, Hanuman possessed of vigorous activity,—leader of monkey-bands—nearing the wall, looked like lightning within a mass of clouds. And having gone round the mansions of Ravana, and not seeing Janaki, the monkey Hanuman said,—"Striving after Rama's welfare, I have again searched through Lanka; but I do not see Videha's daughter, Janaki, having all her limbs endeued with loveliness. And I have explored pools, and watery expanses, and tanks, and rivers, and streams, and marshes, and woods, and citadels, and mountains, yea,—all this earth; but Janaki I do not find. The vulture-king Sampati had told that Sita was in the mansion of Ravana. But why do I not see her (here)? Or doth Maithili Sita, daughter unto Janaka [Knowing Brahma, remarks Ramanuja.], sprung in the Videha line, forcibly carried off (by Ravana) and completely in his power, abide by the mandate (of that monarch)? I conceive that while taking Sita, the Raksha darted upward, he being influenced by fear of Rama's shafts; (and accordingly losing control over his movements), she fell off by the way. Or I fancy that while that noble lady was being carried away along the way ranged by Siddhas, she lost her life on beholding the ocean. Or I think that on account of the vehement speed assumed by Ravana, and also oppressed with his arms, that large-eyed noble lady hath been bereft of her life. For certain, while (Ravana) was soaring higher and higher, Janaka's daughter, rolling (on the car), dropped down into the sea. Alas! trying to preserve her chastity. the forlorn Sita, practising self-mortification, hath been devoured by this abject-minded Ravana. Or that dark-eyed innocent one, hath been eaten up by tbe wives of the Rakshasa chief, actuated by wicked motives. (Ever) contemplating Rama's countenance, resembling the full Moon, with eyes like lotus-leaves, she, exercised with sorrow, hath breathed her last. Bewailing much with exclamations of 'Oh Rama and Lakshmana!' 'Ah Ayodhya!' that lady Vaidehi hath renounced her body. Or secretly kept in Ravana's mansion, that girl, like a female parrot in a cage, is weeping bitterly. How can the slender-waisted wife of Rama, born in the race of Janaka, furnished with eyes resembling lotus petals, come under the sway of Ravana? I shall not be able to say of Rama's beloved wife that she hath been sullied, or that I have seen her, or yet that she is dead. To say this is censurable; not to say it is also such. What is my course? I find myself in a false position. Things having drifted to this pass, what should I say, now that the time hath come?' Thus thinking, Hanuman again reflected,—"If without seeing Sita, I repair to the abode of

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the lord of monkeys, what then shall I gain as the object of my exertions? This my bounding over the main comes to nought; as also my entry into Lanka and the sight of the Rakshasas. And what shall Sugriva say? Or the assembled monkeys; or those twin sons of Dacaratha; to me when I shall have come to Kishkindha? And if going there, I should say a harsh speech unto Kakutstha—'I have not seen Sita'—he shall renounce his life. Hearing harsh, terrible, unsufferable, fierce and foul words concerning Sita, calculated to set the senses on fire, he shall not exist. And seeing him come under misery, with his mind expiring, the intelligent Lakshmana, firmly attached (unto Rama), shall also cease to exist. And hearing that his two brothers are dead, Bharata also shall give up existence. And seeing Bharata dead, Satrughna shall also renounce his life. And beholding their sons dead, their mothers, Kaucalya, Sumitra and Kaikayi, shall, certainly, resign their lives. And seeing Rama in that plight, the lord of the monkeys, Sugriva, grateful and having his heart fast fixed in truth, shall give up his life. And Uma, aggrieved, heart-wrung, distressed and bereft of happiness, and assuming the garb of a female ascetic, because of grief for her husband, shall resign her existence. And oppressed with grief arising from Vali, and weighed down by sorrow, the queen Tara, also, resolving on death shall cease to exist. And in consequence of the death of his father and mother and the calamity befalling Sugriva, the prince Angada also shall next forego his existence. And the dwellers of the woods overwhelmed with grief got of (the decease of) their master, shall strike at their heads with their clenched fists and hands. And the monkeys affectionately cherished by the famous lord of the monkeys with soothing words gifts and regard, shall resign there lives. And no more in woods, and rocks, or secret spots, shall the foremost monkeys, assembled together, indulge in sports. And they, along with their sons and wives, and counsellors, distressed on account the disaster that hath overtaken their master,—shall fall from the tops of mountains down to places even or uneven. And the monkeys shall take poison, or hang themselves, or enter into flaming fire, or fast, or fall on their own weapons. I fancy that a loud wailing shall arise on my return (to that place); and the race of Ikshwaku as well as the rangers of the woods shall meet with destruction. Therefore I will not repair hence to the city of Kishkindha; nor can I see Sugriva without Mithila's daughter. On my not going there and staying here, those righteous-souled Maharathas as well as the fast-fleeting monkeys, shall preserve their lives through hope (of hearing tidings concerning Sita.) And not having seen Janaka's daughter, I will lead the Vanaprastha mode of life, partaking (of fruits) falling into my hands or mouth, restraining my senses, and staying at the foot of trees. Preparing a funereal pile on a tract bordering on the sea, abounding in fruits, and flowers, and water, I will enter into flaming fire. And as I sit to fast, and for effecting the separation of self from my body and centering my identity in the spirit crows and beasts of prey shall feed on my body. And I think the sages have enjoyed another way of exit. I shall, failing to see Janaki, enter into water. My illustrious and exalted garland of fame, begot of excellent acts, hath perished for good in consequence of my not seeing Sita. Or restraining myself, I shall become an ascetic living underneath trees; but return I will not, without obtaining a sight of that dark-eyed damsel. If I return without seeing Sita, all the monkeys with Angada shall cease to exist. Incalculable are the ills of my putting a period to my existence; (on the other hand) if I live, I may come by good. Therefore my life I will maintain. If I live, it may conduce to happiness." Having thus indulged in a variety of harassing thoughts in his mind, that foremost of monkeys could not cross over to the other shore (of the sea of distress). Then summoning energy, that elephantine monkey endeued with fortitude reflected,—"Or I shall slay the Ten-necked Ravana possessed of great strength. Sita hath been carried off; but by this I shall avenge myself. Or throwing him repeatedly into the sea, I (shall take him) and present him to Rama, even as one presents a beast unto Pacupat [Siva; lit. lord of beasts.]." Reflecting thus, the monkey, not finding Sita, —agitated with sorrow and anxiety, thought,—"So long as I do not find the illustrious spouse of Rama, Sita, I will explore the city of Lanka again and again. If in consonance with Simpat's speech, I bring Rama hither, Raghava, not seeing his wife, shall burn all the monkeys. (Therefore) even here I shall stay, restraining my fare and mortifying my senses. All those principal monkeys ought not to lose their lives because of any act to which I may commit myself. This is the asoka wood, extensive and containing mighty trees. This I shall explore, as it hath not yet been searched by me. And saluting the Vasus, the Rudras, the Adityas, the twin Acwins, (and Rama and Lakshmana), I enhancing the sorrow of the Rakhas, shall go into it. Having vanquished the Rakshas, I will bestow on Rama the lady of the Ikshwaku race like the fruit of asceticism conferred on an ascetic." Having thus reflected for a space, the mighty-armed offspring of the Wind-god, his senses agitated with anxiety, arose. "I bow unto Rama with Lakshmana, and unto the revered daughter of Janaka, I bow unto Rudra, and Indra, and Yama, and Wind-god, and I bow unto the Moon, unto Fire and unto the Maruts." Having bowed unto them all, as also unto Sugriva, the offspring of the Wind-god, surveying all the cardinal points, mentally entered the Asoka wood. Having mentally entered the Asoka wood, that monkey, son unto the Wind-god, reflected as to what he should do next. The sacred Asoka wood, sanctified with every purifying rite and abounding in woods, needs must be full of Rakshas. And warders, directed there to, forsooth, protect the trees; and that worshipful Soul of the universe does not breathe here vigorously. I contract my person in the interests of Rama, and in order that Ravana may not see me. May all the deities along with the saints confer success on me. And may the revered self-create Brahma, and the deities, and the ascetics, and Fire, and wind, and the much invoked bearer of the Vajra [Indra.], and the noose-handed Varuna, and the Moon and the Sun, the high-souled Acwinis, and all the Maruts—(confer) success (on me)! And all beings, and the lord of them all, and others that, albeit not specified in the scriptures, are yet visible in the way,—will confer success on me. When shall I behold the blameless face of that noble lady,—with its protruding nose; having luminous smiles, having eyes resembling lotus-petals; and bright as the complacent lord of stars? Ah! to-day how shall feeble forlorn one that hath been borne down by the force of the mean, abject and grim-visaged (Ravana) fierce yet wearing (at the time of the rape), a dress tending to inspire confidence,— come in my sight?"

SECTION 14.

Having reflected for a while, and mentally met with her, that highly energetic one leapt from the wall of Ravana's mansion on to that (of the Asoka wood). And all his frame filled with delight, that mighty monkey, stationed on the wall, saw various trees having their tops furnished with flowers through spring and the other seasons,—salasand asokas, bhavyas, champakas, udalakas, and nagas, and those bearing fruits resembling the mouths of monkeys; and those relative to mango woods.—with hundreds of plants. And (Hanuman) leapt into the garden like an arrow let go from the bow string. Entering into the grove, variegated all over; resonant with the notes of birds; filled on all sides with golden and silvern trees; many-hued with birds and beasts; containing dainty tracts of trees like unto the risen Sun,—the powerful Hanuman saw the place surrounded with various kinds of trees, having fruits and flowers; frequented by maddened coels and bhramaras, with creatures expressing happiness by their movements, birds and beasts overflowing with spirits; echoing with the cries of peacocks; furnished with various species of fowls. And as he was searching for that surpassingly beautiful and blameless daughter of the king, that monkey awakened the monkeys that were sleeping sweetly. And blown against by the wind caused by the wings of the birds as they flew upwards, various and variegated trees showered down blossoms. And in the midst of the Asoka wood, Hanumln, son unto the Wind-god, covered over with flowers, looked lovely like a hill strewn with blossoms. And all creatures, beholding that monkey embosomed among trees and darting on all sides, took him for spring. And strewn with several masses of blossoms loosened from the trees, the Earth appeared beauteous like a damsel dight with ornaments. And shaken in diverse ways by the motion of the light fleeting monkey, the trees showered many-hued flowers. And with their leaves and tops torn, and their flowers and fruits shrivelled up, the trees looked like worsted gamblers bereft of their clothes. And shaken by Hanuman vehemently moving about, those excellent trees crowned with fruits, speedily cast off fruits, flowers and foliage. And moved by the Wind god's offspring, the trees with their trunks left, and forsaken by the fowls were incapable of harbouring any creatures. And like youthful fair ones with hair dishevelled, their paste worn off, their upper lips with fair teeth sucked of their moisture; and having their persons torn with nails and teeth; appeared the Asoka wood with its trees shattered; and itself ground with the tail, hands and legs (of Hanuman). And that monkey with his vehemence scattered the clusters of shrubs, like the wind violently scattering clouds in the rainy season. And ranging there, the monkey saw beautiful pavements, jewelled, silvern aud golden. And he saw there various pools filled with excellent water and having steps crusted with jewels. Their sandy soil was filled with pearls and corals, and the ground inside was made of crystal. And their banks were decked with diverse golden trees. They were beautified with full blown lotuses, water-lilies, Chakravakas and Natyuhas [Moorhens and marsh hens.] and filled with the notes of swans and Sarasas. They were encircled on all sides with big tanks having trees on their banks and water, clear and sweet like unto nectar. They were entwined with hundreds of creepers, covered with Santana [One of the trees of heaven.] flowers and filled with diverse groves and Karaviras serving the purpose of windows [Lit. "making a gap in that forest thickly filled with trees."]. And thereupon that foremost of monkeys beheld there a mountain—the most picturesque in the world, resembling clouds, having high summits, covered on all sides with peaks and filled with hilly abodes and various trees. And that monkey beheld there a river falling down from the mountain like unto a damsel falling down from the lap of her beloved. And the branches of the trees touching the water (of the stream) resembled a fair damsel prevented by her dear companions from forsaking the company of her beloved). And that great monkey beheld further down the stream turning back like unto the damsel, pleased, going back to her dear one. And that foremost of monkeys, Hanuman, the son of Maruti, beheld, at some distance, ponds filled with lotuses and various birds. And he saw a big artificial pond full of cool water having stairs crusted with excellent jewels and its sandy banks filled with pearls. It was embellished (on all sides) with various animals, diverse trees and big mansions made by Viswakarma [The son of Brahma and artist of gods.] himself. It was adorned all around with artificial fqrests and all the trees there bore flowers and fruits, spreading their branches like unto umbrellas and having golden and silvern pavements under them. And that great monkey beheld there one golden Singsapa [A tree (Dalbergia Sisu).] tree surrounded on all sides with golden pavements. And he saw the glebe, the hill streams and many a golden tree resembling fire. By the lustre of all those trees that heroic monkey appeared as if made of gold like unto the Sun by the touch of the mount Sumeru. And having seen those beautiful golden trees, shaken by the wind and making a sound like that of a Kinkini [A kind of tinkling ornament.]; having flowery tops and new leaves he was greatly amazed. And climbing that Singsapatree enveloped with leaves that monkey, gifted with velocity, reflected—"Perchance I may see Vaidehi, exercised with grief, anxious to behold Rama and wandering hither and thither at her pleasure. Certainly this is the picturesque Asoka forest of that vicious-souled one, embellished with sandal, Champakas and Vakulas. Here is a beautiful pond abounding in lotuses, thronged with birds and forsooth shall that royal spouse Janaki repair hither. She is the beloved queen of Raghava and expert in walking in the garden. And separated from Rama, certainly shall Janaki repair hither. Or she having the eyes of a young antelope and adept in roaming in the forest, exercised with thought touching Rama, shall come here. Or she having beautiful eyes and fond of ranging in the forest, racked with sorrow in consequence of Rama's separation, doth always frequent this forest. Ere this, the chaste and worshipful spouse of Rama—Janaka's daughter, used to love always the birds and animals of the forest. (The morning hath set in) and surely the beautiful and graceful daughter of Janaka fond of performing morning ablutions, shall come to this river of pure water to perform them. Truly is this beautiful forest of Asoka the worthy abode of the beloved and chaste spouse of Rama, the lord of men. If that one of moon-like countenance breathes, forsooth shall she come to this river of cool water." Having arrived there and anxiously expecting the appearance of the spouse of that lord of men, the high-souled Hanuman hiding himself (on the Singsapa tree) enveloped with flowers and leaves, beheld all.

SECTION 15.

Having stationed himself on the tree, casting his looks all around in quest of Sita and looking down on the earth he surveyed the entire forest of (Asoka). It was beautified with Santanaka creepers and various trees, fragrant with celestial odours and was embellished on all sides. It resembled Nandana or the celestial garden, and was filled with various animals and birds, palaces and mansions; resounded with the notes of Kokilas; adorned with the ponds abounding in silvern water-lillies and lotuses; filled with many seats and coverlets and various houses having spacious courtyards; adorned with beautiful flowers of all seasons and trees bearing fruits. And the beauty of the blossoming Asokas resembled the effulgence of the Sun. And stationed there Maruti beheld trees as if devoid of leaves on account of the hundreds of birds, adorned with various flowers, resorting there. And he saw there the earth touched by Asoka trees, the removers of grief, having flowers growing from the roots and lowered down with their weight. And the entire quarter was as if ablaze with the beauty of the flowery Karnikaras and Kingsukas. And there appeared in beauty many flowery Punnagas, Saptaparnas, Champakas, and Udalakas having deeply expanded roots. And there was a thousand of Asoka trees, some of whom were 1ike gold, some were like the flame of fire and some were like dark-blue collyrium. It was like the garden of Nandana or like that of Kuvera or perhaps it surpassed the both in excellence. And enveloped in charming, celestial grace beyond conception and having flowers for stars that forest appeared like a second sky. Aud covered with hundreds of pearl-like flowers the forest looked like the fifth ocean. And that garden was embellished with flowers of all seasons and honey-smelling trees, and filled with diverse notes and various animals and birds. And that fragrant garden was rendered more charming with various other fragrances. And that foremost of monkeys beheld in that garden of Asoka, a round palace, situated at a distance, fragrant as the Gandhamadanamountain and high as the lord of mountains. (The palace) was white as the Kailaca hill and built on a thousand pillars. All its stairs were made of coral and its pavements made of burning gold. Its beauty was as if burning all along and stealing the vision of the lookers-on. It was

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spotless and on account of its height touched the welkin. And thereupon he beheld there (Sita) wearing a soiled cloth, poorly, greatly reduced by fast, sighing again and again and encircled by a band of Rakshasees. She was (however) spotless like unto the rays of the moon on the first lunar day. And her graceful beauty could with great difficulty be perceived like unto the flame of fire enveloped with smoke. And wearing a shattered and soiled yellow cloth and divested of all ornaments she appeared like a lotus stalk without lotuses. Oppressed, racked with grief, weakened and chaste as she was, she appeared like Rohini possessed by Ketu. She was greatly reduced by fast, stricken with grief and anxious thoughts, disturbed with sorrow and was poorly and her eyes were always full of tears. Separated from her kith and kin and not beholding Rama and Lakshmana but the Rakshasees, she appeared like a hind surrounded by dogs. Her braid of long hair resembling a black serpent falling on her back it appeared as if the Earth was filled with dark-blue forests on the disappearance of the rains. Sita was worthy of happiness only and never knew of misery and therefore she was (now) greatly oppressed with sorrow. And beholding that one of expansive eyes rendered pale and feeble, Hanuman, by various conclusive arguments reflected within himself "She must be Sita, for this damsel looks just like her, whom I saw, when she was ravished by Ravana, assuming shapes at will. Having the countenance of the full-moon, beautiful eye brows, round breast, she is as if dispelling the darkness from all quarters by virtue of her grace. Her throat was yellow, and her lips were like Bimbas [A plant with red fruits.]. She was of middle stature and her limbs were all well built. She had eyes resembling lotus petals and was like the beloved wife of Manmatha—Rati and was adorable unto the whole creation like the rays of the full-moon. That one having a graceful person was seated on the earth like a female ascetic having her senses restrained. And she was sighing again and again like the timid daughter-in-law of the lord of serpents*. [The epithet has a special significance because through her the destruction of the race of Rakshasas was brought about.] Entangled by a mighty web of grief her grace was greatly lessened and she appeared like the flame of fire enveloped in smoke. She was like unto Smritiof doubtful meanings, fallen wealth, lost respect, hope without any desire for gain, Sidhi [Yoga or asceticism by virtue of which final "emancipation" (salvation) from existence is effected.] of many troubles, sullied understanding and fame soiled with false rumours. That innocent one was greatly distressed for not being able to attend upon Rama, and she having the eyes of a young hind, being oppressed by the Rakshasees was casting her looks hither and thither. And with a displeased countenance, having dark-blue and curling eye lashes, and eyes full of tears, she was sighing again and again. Worthy of wearing ornaments but now without any, poorly, crusted with execrations, she appeared like the rays of the stars enveloped by dark-blue clouds. And beholding Sita in that pitiable plight like unto learning for want of practice, (Hanuman) was puzzled with doubts. And seeing her without ornaments he could with great difficulty make her out like unto words having different meanings without the knowledge of grammar. And beholding that blameless daughter of the king, having expansive eyes, Hanuman, by various reasonings, reflected—"Forsooth she must be Sita. I see at her person all these ornaments, of which Rama mentioned unto me at the time of my departure. I behold on her ears excellent ear-rings and nicely placed Svadangstras [A kind of ornament worn on the ears.] and on her arms jewelled ornaments rendered dark-blue by dirt for constant use. Verily these are the ornaments Rama mentioned unto me. I do not perceive them which had been cast off by her. But these are the rest there is not the least doubt about it. The monkeys had seen, her excellent yellow cloth made of golden fibres, on the hill. They had seen also her excellent ornaments, which cast off by her, fell on the earth with a sound. Her cloth hath been shattered by constant use but her grace hath not been rendered worse than its colour. This one having a golden countenance must be the beloved queen of Rama, who, albeit separated from him, hath not disappeared from his mind. This is that damsel on whose account Rama being simultaneously burnt by affection, pity, grief and amour,—affection in consequence of his beloved spouse being ravished, pity for his inability to protect one dependent on him, grief for the loss of his beloved wife and amour for his dear one. Verily it appeareth from the grace of her person, from her well developed limbs and from Rama's beauty that this worshipful damsel having dark-blue eyes must be his spouse. She has her mind fixed in him, and he in her and it is for this that she and the virtuous-souled (Rama) have been still maintaining their being. Indeed my master Rama hath performed a mighty task for breathes he still in her separation, without consuming himself in grief." And having beheld Sita in this plight, that son of the Wind-god approached Rama in mind and showered praises on his master.

SECTION 16.

And having eulogized Sita, worthy of being praised and Rama, endeared by accomplishments that foremost of monkeys again engaged in meditation. And having reflected for some time, the powerful Hanuman, having his eyes full of tears bewailed on Sita's account (in the following strain) —"No one can withstand the course of destiny since Sita, being the spouse of the worshipful brother of Lakshmana, ever obedient unto his elders, hath been overwhelmed with grief. The worshipful damsel is cognisant of the prowess of Rama and the intelligent Lakshmana and for this she is not entirely depressed like unto the river Ganges at the approach of the rainy season. As regards their character, age, conduct, family and other auspicious marks they are equal and hence Raghava deserveth Vaidehi and this one of dark-blue eyes is his." And having seen her, gold-hued and conducing to the happiness of the people like unto the Goddess of wealth, Hanuman approached Rama in his mind and said:—"For this (damsel) was killed the mighty Vali and Kavanda—Ravana's equal in prowess. (For her too) was destroyed in battle, the terribly powerful Rakshasa—Viradha, by Rama putting forth his energy, like unto Shambara killed by Mahendra. (It was for her) that fourteen thousand Rakshasas of terrible deeds were destroyed at Janasthana with arrows resembling the flame of fire. And Khara was killed in battle, and Trishara was discomfitted and the mighty Dushana by Rama, knowing his ownself. And it was on her account that Sugriva, known all over the world, came by the wealth of the monkeys hard to acquire and amassed by Vali. And it is for this (damsel) of expansive eyes that I have crossed the effulgent lord of rivers and have seen this city. And methinks it would have been all proper had Rama turned on her account the whole earth bounded by oceans. If the kingdom over the three worlds and the daughter of Janaka be compared together, the former is not equal to one hundredth part of Sita. This Sita, the daughter of the high-souled Janaka, the pious King of Mithila, firmly attached unto her husband, rose, covered with dust, out of the earth, in a field delved by a furrow. She is the well-known eldest daughter-in-law of the king Dacaratha, of an adorable character and unchecked prowess. And She is the beloved spouse of the pious and grateful Rama, knowing his ownself, and has been brought under the control of the Rakshasees. Renouncing all luxuries, and considering not the least about miseries, she actuated by her husband's love entered the solitary forest. And satisfied with fruits and roots and ever engaged in her husband's service, she lived in the forest as much delighted as she was in her house. And that one of a golden hue, never used to afflictions and who was wont to converse always with a delighted countenance, hath now been suffering incomparable miseries. Like unto a thirsty wight longing for an abode where he might get a drink, Raghava panteth after seeing her, gifted with an exalted character and oppressed by Ravana. As a monarch who had lost his kingdom, is greatly delighted when he regaineth it, forsooth shall Raghava, in like manner, be pleased when he shall come by her. She too hath been maintaining her being in the hope of seeing Rama again, separated as she is from her friends and deprived of all comforts and luxuries. These Rakshasees, and these trees enveloped with fruits and flowers—forsooth she doth not behold, but is engaged with all her heart in medidations only touching Rama. Husband enhanceth the beauty of a female more than the dress (and therefore Sita) beautiful as she is, doth not appear graceful, in her husband's absence. Forsooth my master Rama hath performed a difficult act for he hath been still keeping up his life in her separation without consuming himself in grief. My heart is greatly pained knowing that she, having dark-blue eyes, resembling lotus petals, worthy of happiness, hath been possessed by grief. She, patient as the Earth, having eyes resembling lotuses, who was ere this protected by Raghava and Lakshmana, is now being guarded by Rakshasees having terrible eyes, under the trees. Being harassed with continued miseries, the daughter of Janaka hath lost all her beauty like unto a water-lily crushed with frost, and hath come by a miserable plight like unto a doe seperated from her mate. The branches of the Asoka trees, lowered down with flowers are as if enhancing her grief as also the Moon of many thousand rays, at the expiry of the winter." Having reflected thus and arrived at the conclusion that she was Sita, that powerful leader of monkeys gifted with velocity stationed himself on that tree.

SECTION 17.

Thereupon the Moon, white as water-lily and of clear appearance proceeded far down the welkin like unto a goose traversing the blue waters. With a view to befriend him, the Moon of clear rays, sprinkled the Wind-God's son, with cool beams. And thereupon he beheld Sita, having a moon-like countenance, plunged in grief like unto a laden boat sunk in water. While beholding Vaidehi, Hanuman,the son of Maruta, observed at some distance, a number of grim-visaged Rakshasees. Some had one ear, some one eye, some had big ears some were without ears; some had formidable ears and some had a nose projecting upwards. And some had the upper part of their bodies unusually long and bulky, some had a long and slender neck, some had dishevelled hair, and some one's person was so thickly covered with hairs, that she appeared to have been cloaked in a blanket. Some had long ears some had a long forehead, some had a long belly, some had long breasts; some had long lips; some had their lips and chins stuck together, some had a long countenance and some had long knees. Some one was of short stature, some were tall, some crooked, some grim-visaged, some dwarfish, some one was of terribly dark colour; some had a disfigured countenance; some had coppery eyes and a fearful face. Some were terrible-looking, some copper-coloured, some black, some angry and some fond of quarrelling with each other; and some had iron darts, hammers and mallets in their hands. Some had a face like that of a boar, some had a face like that of a deer, some like that of a tiger, some like that of a buffallo, some like that of a goat, and some like that of a jackal; some had legs like those of a camel, some had those of an elephant, some those of a horse and some had their heads placed on their breasts. Some one had only one hand some had only one leg. Some had ears like those of a horse, some like those of a cow, some like those of an ass, some like those of an elephant and others had ears like those of a lion. Some had very big noses, some had crooked and others were without any; some had noses like those of an elephant and others had their noses on their foreheads. Some had their legs like those of elephants some had very huge legs; some had like those of a cow, some had on their legs locks of hair like unto pillars, some had a terribly huge head, some had big breasts and others had spacious bellies, Some had faces and eyes beyond ordinary proportions. Some had a long face and tongue. And some had the face of a goat, some that of an elephant some that of a cow, some that of a boar some that of a horse and some that of an ass. Some of the Rakshasees were grim-visaged and some hot-natured, quarrelsome and had darts and maces in their hands. And some terrible Rakshasees of disfigured countenances, had smoky-coloured hairs. And they were all continually drinking wine—always fond of liquor and meat, and all their bodies were sprinkled with blood for their living on gore and flesh. And that foremost of monkeys found all these grim-visaged Rakshasees seated around that mighty tree enveloped with branches. And the graceful Hanuman observed at the foot of that tree that worshipful and blameless daughter of the king Janaka. She was bereft of all effulgence, racked with grief and all her hairs were soiled with dirt. She appeared like a star fallen down on the earth on the wane of virtue. And famed though she was all over the world for her chastity, it was difficult for her now to see her husband. She had no excellent ornaments—her attachment unto her husband was the only ornament. She was imprisoned by the lord of Rakshasas and separated from all her friends, she appeared like a she-elephant separated from her band and bound and attacked by a lion, and like the rays of the Moon enveloped with clouds at the expiry of the rainy season. Her beauty was greatly faded (in consequence of her husband's separation) like unto a stringed instrument for want of a player. And ever engaged in her husband's welfare she was thoroughly unworthy of being brought under the control of the Rakshasas. Being sunk in the abyss of grief and encircled by those Rakshasees she appeared in the forest of Asoka like unto Rohini possessed by Rahu. And Hanuman beheld her there like a creeper divested of flowers. And having her person soiled with dirt and shorn of all ornaments she appeared in her hidden grace like unto a lotus covered with clay. And the monkey Hanuman, beheld that damsel, having the eyes of a young antelope, clothed with a soiled and shattered cloth. And though the countenance of that worshfpful one was shorn of all grace, her heart did not loose its loftiness in consequence of her husband's prowess. And Sita, of dark-blue eyes, was protected by virtue of her own character. And beholding Sita, having the eyes of a young antelope, and terrified and casting her looks hither and thither like a hind and burning down the trees enveloped with leaves by her breath; like unto a mass of grief and an upheaval of sorrow; having well-proportioned limbs, and appearing graceful without ornaments, Maruti attained to an excess of delight. And beholding her having inebriete eyes, Hanuman shed tears of delight and bowed unto Raghava. And having offered his obeisance unto Rama and Lakshmana the powerful Hanuman, greatly delighted in seeing Sita; remained there hidden.

SECTION 18.

And beholding the forest filled with flowery trees and desiring to have a full view of her, he, well-nigh, spent the night. And at that late hour of the night, he heard the chantings of the Vedas by the Rakshasas, conversant with the six supplementary parts of the Vedas [The Sanskrit word "veda" means "knowledge," just like the related Dutch word "weten." This includes Grammar, Prosody, astronomy, pronounciation, the meaning of the unusual terms and the ritual of the Hindu faith.], engaged in the performance of sacrificial rites and knowing Brahma. And thereupon the mighty Ten-headed Rakshasa, having huge arms, awoke with the sounds of those auspicious instruments pleasant unto ears. And awaking, that great and powerful lord of Rakshasas, having his cloth and garlands loosened, began to think of Vaidehi. And that Rakshasa, puffed up with pride, was passionately attached unto her and so he could not restrain his

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amour in him. And so adorned with all ornaments, he, casting his looks on the roads containing jewelled and golden gates and appearing in grace, entered the forest of Asoka, filled with various trees containing fruits and flowers of all seasons and with ponds; beautified with various flowers; variegated with inebriete and wondrous birds; filled with various beautiful wolves; thronged with various deer and covered with fruits fallen on the earth. And one hundred damsels followed in the train of the son of Pulastya [Refers to Ravana, Pulastya being his father.] like unto the damsels of the celestials and Gandharvas following Mahendra. And among those fair ones, some carried chowries and some fans. And some carrying water in golden jars headed the train while others carrying the golden throne covered with a coverlet followed it. And a favourite damsel carried in her right hand a jewelled drinking bowl filled with wine. And another carrying the white umbrella having golden ribs resembling the full moon and goose, followed in the train. And in this wise the excellent wives, of Ravana, having their eyes rendered sleepy with sleep and wine, followed their heroic husband like unto lightnings following the cloud. Their necklaces and keyuras were displaced, paste faded, hair dishevelled and they had drops of sweat on their faces. With sleep and intoxication, were reeling those fair ones of beautiful countenances, having their hairs with garlands disbanded and their persons wet with perspiration. And in this way those beloved wives, (of Ravana) having inebriete eyes, followed, out of amour and reverence, their husband. And their mighty husband, brought under the control of amour and having his mind firmly attached unto Sita, proceeded slowly. And that monkey, son of Maruta, heard the sound of kanchees and nupuras of those excellent damsels. And the monkey Hanuman also beheld Ravana, of extraordinary deeds and of inconceivable prowess and strength, at the gate. His whole body was seen on all sides by the light of the lamps lighted with perfumed oil and carried by the Rakshasees before. He was inflamed with amour, pride and haughtiness and his expansive eyes were coppery and idle. And he appeared like Cupid himself just appearing in view, leaving behind his bow and arrows. And holding his excellent robe, covered with flowers, washed, set with jewels and white as the foam of the churned nectar, he placed it in its proper place. And Hanuman, hiding himself on the tree, in the midst of many leaves and flowers, tried to recognise him as he approached. And beholding him, that foremost of monkeys saw that highly famous king Ravana, surrounded by his excellently beautiful and youthful wives, enter that forest of enjoyment filled with birds and animals. There was a warder by name Sankukarna in that forest—highly powerful, wearing various ornaments and addicted to drinking. And by him was seen that lord of Rakshasas—the son of Visravasa. And that highly energetic monkey beheld that effulgent (Ravana) surrounded by excellent damsels like unto moon encircled by stars. And beholding him the monkey reflected—"This must be Ravana—for he is the person whom I saw sleeping in an excellent apartment in that city." Thinking this, that highly effulgent son of Maruta—Hanuman leaped (high upon another branch). And effulgent as he was, that highly intelligent monkey hid himself on a branch covered with leaves, being unable to stand before the effulgence of that Rakshasa. And Ravana proceeded in that way, being anxious to behold the blue-eyed Sita, having spacious breast, excellent hips and a lock of black hair.

SECTION 19.

And thereupon beholding Ravana—the lord of Rakshasas, gifted with youth and beauty and adorned with an excellent dress, that excellent and blameless daughter of a king, Vaidehi, trembled like unto a plantain tree shaken by the wind. And having covered her belly with her legs and her breast with her hands, that one, having charming colour and expansive eyes, cried aloud. And arriving there the Ten-necked one beheld Vaidehi, guarded by the Rakshasees, poorly, racked with grief like unto a boat sunk in an ocean. Subject to hard penances, she, seated on the bare earth, appeared like a branch of a tree fallen on the ground. Her limbs, where she used to wear ornaments, were covered with dirt and albeit worthy of ornaments, appeared without any like unto a lotus covered with clay and therefore shining very indistinctly. And she was proceeding as it were unto that lion of a king—Rama, knowing his own-self, in her mind's charriot drawn by the horses of resolution. And not beholding the end of her grief, that damsel, attached unto Rama, was keeping alone and reduced to a skeleton and overwhelmned with anxious thoughts and grief. And she was troubled like unto the daughter-in-law of the lord of serpents, of impeded course by means of incantations, and stricken with grief like unto Rohini, possessed by Ketu. And although born in a pious family, well behaved and good-natured and married according to their rites, she appeared to have been sprung from a low race and wedded according to their base ceremonials. She seemed like mighty fame disappearing, like respect disregarded, like intellect waning and hope disappointed; like a sacred altar trampled, like royal mandate disobeyed, like the quarters burnt by a fire-brand; like offerings unto God soiled; like the disc of the full-moon stricken with darkness, a lotus distressed, an army without a leader; like the ravs of the moon enveloped with gloom, like a river of shallow water, like a sacrificial altar possessed by an outcast, like the flame of fire extinguished; like water fowls terrified and lotuses disturbed and petals crushed by the trunks of elephants. And her grace greatly famished by the absence of her husband she appeared like a river whose liquid contents were dried up. And not cleaning her limbs she appeared like a dark night. And that one of graceful limbs, tender and worthy of living in a jewelled abode, being stricken with grief, seemod like a dried lotus-stalk just extracted from its bed. And she like the daughter-in-law of the lord of elephants, caught, separated from her band and tied to a pillar, was overwhelmed with grief and was sighing again and again. A long lock of dark-blue hair, taken not the least care of, was on her back; and with this she appeared like unto the earth covered with dark-blue forests at the expiration of the rainy season. With fasts and grief, anxiety and fear, she was greatly weakened and reduced and gave up eating and took recourse to asceticism only. Stricken with grief, she seemed to have been offering prayers unto that foremost of Raghus for the destruction of the Ten-necked one, like those unto the deities with folded hands. And beholding blameless Maithilee, having expansive eyes with beautiful eye lashes, greatly attached unto Rama, and weeping, Ravana tempted her for his own destruction.

SECTION 20.

Whereupon Ravana, with sweet words amd gestures, expressed his own desire unto Sita, poorly, deprived of joy, encircled by Rakshasees and leading the life of an ascetic. "O thou having thighs like the trunks of elephants, while thou hast, beholding me, hidden thy breast and belly, perhaps thou art afraid of exposing thy person unto me. I do long for thee, O thou having expansive eyes; do thou esteem me, O my dear one, O thou gifted with all accomplishments and pleasant unto all persons. O Sita, here is no human being or any Rakshasa assuming shapes at will, do thou therefore renounce all fear from me. O timid damsel, for certain it is the virtue of the Rakshasas that they always visit others' wives or come by them by force. In spite of this, O Maithilee, I do not touch thee for thou art not under the influence of amour—but for me, I am completely under its sway. Do not fear me, O worshipful damsel, confide in me, O my beloved one, and become attached unto me. Do not give way to grief. A single lock of hair, to lie down on earth and useless fast—these do not become thee. Attaining me, O Maithilee, do thou enjoy excellent garlands, sandal, ornaments, costly wines, beds, seats, songs, dancing and music. Thou art a jewel of a female; do thou not therefore remain in this guise. Put on thy ornaments therefore. How shalt thou remain unadorned obtaining me, O thou of a beautiful figure? This thy beautiful youth is passing away, which like the current of a river when once gone, doth not turn back. O thou of a fair look, having created thee, the artist of Gods, the maker of celestial beauties, hath ceased from his work, for a match of thy beauty I find in none. Who is there, O Vaidehi, who can withstand the influence of amour, getting thee, gifted with beauty and youth? (What of others) even Brahma, the grand-father of the celestials, is moved. O thou having a moon-like countenance, and well-developed lips, whatever limbs of thine, I behold, I find my gaze fixed therein. O Maithilee, do thou become my spouse, and renounce this delusion. Do thou become the foremost queen of all my excellent wives. O timid one, all the jewels that I have collected from the three worlds, and all my kingdom I shall confer on thee. O sportive damsel, for thy satisfaction, I shall conquer the whole earth, engarlanded by many cities and bestow it upon Janaka. Find I none on this earth who can withstand my prowess. Do thou behold my matchless prowess in battle. The celestials, and Asuras are incapable of withstanding me, defeated as they were by me in battle and their pennons struck down. Do thou therefore desire me to-day, dress thyself in excellent robes and adorn thyself in beautifully brilliant ornaments. I shall behold thy dazzling beauty when adorned with ornaments. For pity unto me, do thou embellish thyself with ornaments, O thou of a graceful countenance. O timid damsel, do thou, at thy pleasure, enjoy all sorts of comforts and luxuries, and do thou, as thou desirest, confer wealth and land on others. Do thou confiding in me, ask for thy wished-for objects and do thou command me like unto an unmannerly damsel. Thou shalt, by asking favours from me, satisfy the desires of thy friends. O gentle lady, O thou of great renown, do thou observe my prosperity. What shalt thou do with Rama, wearing bark, (O thou of pleasant presence. Rama hath ceased from his endeavours for gaining victory. He hath lost all his beauty, lives in the forest, is engaged in observances and always lies down on earth. I fear whether he is living still. O Vaidehi, Rama shall not be able to see thee like unto the rays of the moon covered with blue clouds preceded by Valakas [A kind of bird, a crane.]. Raghava shall never get thee back from my hands, like unto Hiranyakasipuunable to regain his wife Keerti from Indra. O thou of beautiful teeth, O thou having beautiful eyes, O sportive damsel, O timid one, thou dost steal my mind like unto Garuda catching serpents. Beholding thee, wearing a shattered silken cloth, slender and without any ornaments, I do not find any attachment in my own wives. O daughter of Janaka, do thou exercise, thy supremacy, over all my wives, living in my seraglio and gifted with all accomplishments. O thou having black hair, all my wives are foremost in beauty over the three worlds. And they shall all attend thee like unto Apsaras waiting upon the Goddess of wealth. O thou having beautiful eye brows and well-developed hips, do thou, along with me, enjoy at thy pleasure all the wealth and riches of Kuvera [The God of wealth or Pluto in Greek myths.]. O worshipful damsel, in asceticism, strength or prowess, wealth or fame, Rama is not my equal. Do thou therefore at thy pleasure drink, enjoy and eat. I shall confer on thee wealth and the whole earth. Do thou satisfy all thy desires in me, O fair damsel, and let thy friends be satisfied in thee. And adorned with a beautiful golden necklace, O timid lady, do thou at thy pleasure, range with me, in the forests, situated on the bank of the ocean, and filled with flowery trees and black bees."

SECTION 21.

Hearing those words of that terrible Rakshasa, Sita, stricken with grief and of feeble voice, slowly replied—Racked with grief, engaged in asceticism and weeping, Sita began to tremble. And that excellent damsel, devoted unto her husband, began to think of him. Placing a twig before, that one, of beautiful smile, said—"Do thou take back thy mind from me and place it in thy own wives. Like unto a sinner unworthy of praying for final emancipation, it doth not behove thee to expect to come by me. Devoted unto one husband I shall never perpetrate such an iniquitious act. I am born in a high and have been married in a pious family." Having accosted Ravana thus, the well-known Vaidehi, turning her back, again spake unto him, saying— "I should not live with thee since I am another's wife and chaste. Have thy eyes always on religion and do thou follow in the track of piety. Like unto thine own wives, others' are worthy of being protected by thee, O ranger of the night. Making an example of thee, do thou enjoy with thy own wives. Forsooth those vicious-minded, those of agitated senses, who are not satisfied with their own wives, are brought to misery by others' wives. (Methinks) there are no pious men here and even if there be any thou dost not follow him since thou hast such an adverse understanding, against human practice and usage. Or the considerate people have spoken the truth, but thou, for the destruction of the race of the Rakshasas, considering that false, hast not followed it. Wealth, kingdom and cities—all are brought to naught when they are placed at the hands of a vicious and illiterate king. Obtaining thee, (therefore) as her king and for thy folly only, this city of Lanka, abounding in jewels, shall soon be ruined. O Ravana, every one delighteth in the destruction of that inconsiderate being, who bringeth about his own destruction and is engaged in the perpetration of evil deeds. And in this way, thyself, the perpetrator of vicious acts, meeting with thy end, those persons who had been tyranized by thee, shall, delightedly, say—"Oh! blessed are we since this terrible (Rakshasa) hath met with his end. With wealth or riches thou shalt not be able to tempt me. As the rays of the sun belong to him, so I am Raghava's only. Having laid my head on the beautiful arms of that lord of men, how shall I place it again on another's? Like unto the knowledge of one God monopolized by the Brahmanas only, I am the spouse of that lord of earth only, cognisant of higher truths and marrying me according to the pious ceremonials. May good betide thee, O Ravana. Do thou take me unto Rama, stricken with grief as I am, like unto a she-elephant anxiously waiting in the forest brought to the lord of elephants. It behoveth thee to make friends with Rama, that best of men, if dost thou desire to maintain thy empire and dost not wish to bring about thy own destruction. It is known to the world, that Rama knoweth well the sanctions of religion and is kind unto them who seek his shelter. Do thou seek his friendship, if dost thou wish to maintain thy life. Do thou propitiate him therefore who is kind to his dependents and it becometh thee to take me respectfully unto him. Thou shalt meet with thy well-being if dost thou in this wise confer me on that best of Raghus. And mighty is the disaster that shall befall thee, if dost thou follow any other procedure. Thunderbolt, even, when hurled, may leave thee, Death himself may overlook thee—but there is no safety for thee, if Raghava. the lord of men is enraged. Thou shalt hear the terrible sound of the twang of Rama's bow, like unto the sound of the thunderbolt hurled by Indra. Soon shall arrows, bearing the names of Rama and Lakshmana and having fiery heads like those of snakes, alight here. And covered with kanka leaves they shall undoubtedly cover the whole city and devastate it by destroying all the Rakshasas. Like unto Garuda pulling up the snakes, the Garuda-like Rama shall pull up thy snake-like Rakshasas. And like unto Vishnu recovering the effulgent Sree (the Goddess of wealth) from the Asuras, by crossing over the three worlds with three foot-steps, my husband, the conqueror of foes, shall recover me

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from thee. Janasthana hath been devastated, the host of Rakshasas hath been killed, and thou hast been disabled. Truly thou hast perpetrated an impious deed. O Rakshasa, those two lions among men going out to enquire about the illusive deer, I was ravished by thee, entering the empty hermitage, O vile wight. And like unto a dog incapable of standing before a tiger, it would have been impossible for thee, to wait there in the presence of Rama and Lakshmana. If dost thou engage in conflict with them, thy wealth and friends shall be of no avail unto thee (and thou shalt be dis-comfitted) like unto one-handed Asura Vitra by the two handed Indra [The allusion is—the mighty Asura Vitra fought with Indra for a long time even after he had his one hand chopped off.]. Soon shall my husband, with the assistance of Lakshmana, draw out thy life with arrows, like unto the sun drying up, by his rays, shallow water. Whether dost thou repair to the abode of Kuvera, or whether dost thou, terrified, take refuge unto the assembly of Varuna, thou shalt, for certain, be destroyed by the son of Dacaratha, like unto a mighty tree broken down by thunderbolt.

SECTION 22.

Hearing those harsh accents, that lord of Rakshasas, replied unto Sita, of comely presence, with the following unpleasant words—"It is generally found on earth that the more a woman is courted by a man, the more she is brought under his influence. (But for thee) the more kindly I have been behaving towards thee, the more roughly I have been treated. Truly doth my love for thee keep in control the wrath like unto a good charioteer restraining the swerving stead. O mighty is amour unto men, for on whom this amour falleth, albeit she is an object of wrath, becomes an object of kindness and affection. O thou of fair countenance, it is for this reason, that I do not destroy thee, although thou, who art engaged in false asceticism, art worthy of being killed and dishonoured. O Maithilee, for each and every one of all those harsh words which thou hast used by me, dost thou deserve death." Having spoken thus unto Vaidehi, Ravana, the lord of Rakhasas, having his wrath subdued, again bespake Sita: "I shall wait for those two months, of which I have made a contract, after which thou shalt have to share my bed, O thou of a comely presence. And even then if thou dost refuse to regard me as thy husband, my cooks shall mince thy limbs with steel and serve thee for my morning meal." Beholding the lord of Rakshasas remonstrate with the daughter of Janaka in this wise, the daughters of the celestials and Gandharbas became exceedingly sorry. Some with lips, some with eyes, and some with gestures of their faces, they all consoled Sita, thus distressed by that Rakshasa. And thus consoled by them, and being proud of her good conduct and her husband's heroism, Sita thus addressed Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, "Forsooth there is no person in this city who desireth thy welfare and therefore preventeth thee from such an impious deed. Who is there in the three worlds, who even dcsireth me in mind, who am the spouse of the virtuous-souled (Rama) like unto Indra's Sachee. O thou the vilest of the Rakshasas, for using those vicious words towards the spouse of Rama, of immeasured prowess, repairing whither shalt thou escape vengeance? Like unto an infuriated elephant encountering a hare in the forest, thou shalt O Vile! a hare as thou art, meet with that elephant-like Rama. Thou art not ashamed of railing that lord of Ikshwakus, so long as dost thou not come within his ken. O base! why do not thy grim, terrible, coppery eyes, looking so viciously at me, fall down on earth. O vicious wretch, I am the spouse of that virtuous souled (Rama) and daughter-in-law of Dacaratha—using these vile words towards me, why dost not thy tongue fall off? O Ten-necked one, I can instantly reduce thee to ashes but for Rama's mandate and my ascetic observances. Thou couldst not have ravished me in the presence of the highly intelligent Rama. And undoubtedly for thy destruction this hath been brought about by God. Thou art heroic and Kuvera's brother and great in prowess, why didst thou then take me by stealth after despatching Rama away from the hermitage?" Hearing those words of Sita, Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, whirling his grim eyes, looked towards the daughter of Janaka. He was like unto a mass of blue clouds and his arms and necks were long and spacious. He was gifted with elephantine gaits and his tongues and eyes were sharp and flaming. The top of his crown was shaking and he had charming garlands around his neck and his person sprinkled with paste. He had crimson-coloured garlands and clothes on and his charming arms were adorned with ornaments. Encircled with a sword-belt around his waist he appeared like unto Mandara, entwined by a snake at the time of the churning of the ocean. With his two plump arms, that lord of Rakshasas appeared like unto the hill Mandara with its two huge summits. And adorned with a pair of Kundalas [A kind of ornament worn on ears.] resembling the newly risen Sun he looked like a hill covered with two Asoka trees enveloped with crimson flowers and leaves. He was like unto Kalpa [A fabulous tree granting everything desired.] tree and spring incarnate. And albeit adorned, he looked terrible like unto a Caitya [A monument or sculpture raised in honour of a deceased person on the site of a funeral pyre.] on the cremation-ground. And having his eyes red hot with ire, sighing again and again like unto a snake and casting his looks upon Sita, Ravana addressed her again, saying,—"O thou following asceticism, this thy vow is without any meaning and beyond the pale of morality. Even shall I destroy thee to-day like unto the Sun dispelling darkness with his rays." Having thus addressed Maithilee, the inimical king Ravana cast his looks towards the grim-visaged Rakshasees. And among those Rakshasees, some had huge ears, some had ears like those of kine, some had ears as long as arms, some had long ears and others were without any. And some had legs like those of an elephant; some had like those of a cow and some had legs covered with hairs. And some had one eye, some had one leg, some had capacious legs and some were without any. And some had huge heads and necks and some had breast and belly beyond proportions and some had faces and eyes above human size. Some had huge tongues and nails. And some were without noses. And some had leonine faces, some had faces like those of kine and some had those of boars. And casting his look towards such Rakshasees, he said—"Ye Rakshasees, do ye all endeavour to bring Sita, the daughter of Janaka, under my control. By good or bad conduct, by conciliation or gift, by threat or blandishment, do ye so endeavour as Vaidehi's soul might be bent unto me." And having ordered thus again and again, that lord of Rakshasas, stricken with amour and ire, addressed Sita, roaring fiercely. And thereupon approaching speedily and embracing the Ten-necked one, one Rakshasee named Dhanyamalini bespake him:—"Do thou sport with me, O great king. What shalt thou do with her?—O lord of Rakshasas—a human being,poorly and of a pale countenance. O great king, forsooth, the celestials have not destined for her enjoyment all those objects which thou hast procured by thy prowess. And again he who desireth for an unwilling dame burneth his own person—and he who desireth for a willing damsel, attaineth excess of delight." Having said this, the Rakshasee took away Ravana by force. And that Rakshasa too, resembling a mass of clouds, laughing, turned back. And that Ten-necked one, strode away as if shaking the whole earth and passed within (his queen's) abode resembling the effulgent Sun. And encircling Ravana those daughters of celestials Gandharbas and Nagas, entered into an excellent abode. And having remonstrated with and left behind, the firm and pious Sita with a trembling person, Ravana, possessed by amour entered into his own palace.

SECTION 23.

Having spoken thus unto Maithilee and commanded the host of the Rakshasees, Ravana, a terror unto his enemies, went away. And after that lord of Rakshasas had gone away and entered his inner apartment, the hideous Rakshasees drew near Sita. And approaching Sita that terrible host, almost faint with ire, addressed Vaidehi with the following harsh words—"Thou dost not regard it highly, Sita, that thou shalt become the chosen wife of that high-souled, and great Ravana, the Ten-necked son of Pulastya." Thereupon another Rakshasee name4 Ekjata, with eyes rendered coppery with ire, addressing Sita, having a small navel, said,—"Pulastya is the fourth of the six Prajapatis [Prajapitis are the lords of the created beings first created by Brahma.], a mind-born son of Brahma and celebrated in the world. And the glorious ascetic, by name Bishrava. was the mind-born son unto Pulastya, effulgent like unto Prajapatis. O large-eyed damsel! Of Visrava came Ravana terrible unto his enemies. And it behoveth thee to become the consort of that lord of Rakshasas. Scorn not the words I say unto thee, O thou of comely presence." Thereupon another Rakshasee named Harijata, having the eyes of a cat, and whirling them with ire, said—"It becometh thee to be the wife of that lord of Rakshasas who smote the thirty three celestials and their lord in battle. Dost thou not desire to be his wife, who is heroic, of indomitable prowess and who doth not turn back in battle? And turning away in scorn from his beloved wife, highly esteemed, the mighty king Ravana, desireth for thee. And leaving his inner apartment enriched with thousand of females and adorned with various jewels, Ravana shall adore thee." And then followed another Rakshasee by name Bikata—"The king, who by his terrible prowess subdued the Gandharbas [Heavenly singers and musicians who belong to the heaven of Indra.] and Nagas [Serpent-gods who dwell in the regions under the earth.] in battle, hath stood by thee. O foolish damsel, why dost thou not wish to be the consort of that high-souled lord of Rakshasas—Ravana, gifted with wealth and riches." And then followed another Rakshasee named Durmukhee.— "Why dost thou not approach him, O thou having expansive eyes, by whose fear, the sun doth not shine, and the wind doth not blow. O dame, why dost thou not wish to be the consort of Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, at whose command the trees shower blossoms and the hills and clouds pour down water. Why dost thou not make up thy mind to be the wife of Ravana? O damsel, O worshipful dame, we have spoken thus for thy welfare. Do thou comply with our request or thou shalt surely die,"

SECTION 24.

Thereupon all those Rakshasees, having terrible faces again and again pursued Sita with reproaches rough and rude.—"Why dost thou not desire, O Sita, to live in his inner apartment, liked by all and abounding in costly bedsteads. O woman, thou regardest highly to be the wife of a man. Do thou turn back from Rama—thy desire shall never be satisfied. Do thou spend happily thy days with our lord—Ravana, the Rakshasa chief, who makes his own the treasures of the three worlds. Thou art a woman, O thou of comely presence, and therefore doth thy fancy cling to Rama, O thou of a blameless countenance, who is a man, deprived of his kingdom, overwhelmed with disasters and hath his desires frustrated." Hearing the words of those Rakshasees, the lotus-eyed Sita, with her eyes full of tears said.—"What ye have all said and which is against human usage and vicious, doth not find place in my mind. A woman cannot be the wife of a Rakshasa. Eat me up if you will, I will never follow your words. Poor or deprived of kingdom, he who is my hunband, is my preceptor. I am ever devoted unto him, like Subarchala [The wife of the Sun.] unto the Sun. Like unto the great Sachi standing by Sakra, Arundhuti by Vashishta, Rohini by the Moon, Lopamudra by Agastya, Sukanya by Chyabana, Sabitree by Satyabana, Sreematee by Kapila, Madayantee by Sandasa, Keshinee by Sagara and Damayanti the daughter of the king Veema by her husband Nala, I shall ever remain devoted to my husband Rama, the foremost of the descendants of Ikshawku." Hearing the words of Sita, all those Rakshasees despatched by Ravana, almost beside themselves with ire, again covered her with reproaches rough and rude. And Hanuman remained all along speechless and hidden on the Shingshapa tree. And that monkey heard all those demons remonstrate with Sita in this way. And those, influenced with ire, approached the trembling Sita and encircling her, licked again and again their long and burning lips. And taking up instantly spears, they exceedingly wroth, menaced her, saying—"She is not worthy of having Ravana, the lord of the Rakshasas, as her lord." Being thus remonstrated with by those terrible Rakshasees, that excellent damsel, shedding tears, neared the Singshapa tree. And the large-eyed Sita, encircled by the Rakshasees, remained there sunk in grief. And all those hideous demons, showered reproaches, from all sides, on her, greatly reduced, of a poorly countenance, and wearing a soiled cloth. Thereupon a grim-visaged demon, angry, having hideous teeth and a huge belly extending downwards, by name Vinata, spake, saying:—"O Sita, thou hast shown enough of attachment towards thy husband. But, O gentle dame, excess of any thing tends to evil. We are satisfied. And may good betide thee! Thou hast acted worthily like a woman. Do thou hear, O Maithilee, what I say for thy welfare. Do thou accept, Ravana, the lord of the Rakshasa host, as thy husband. He withstands powerfully his enemies like unto Vasava, the lord of the celestials, charitable, kind unto all, and sweet-speeched. And forsaking Rama, a poor wight, do thou take Ravana (as thy husband). Having thy person sprinkled with celestial paste and adorned with excellent ornaments, do thou from to-day O Vaidchi, O thou of comely presence, become the queen of all the worlds, like unto Sachee of the lord of the celestials and svaha* of the fire. [* An exclamation used in making an oblation to the Gods. A personification of the preceding as the wife of fire and Goddess presiding over burnt offerings. -- It is important to see the fact that in Indian cultures, almost everything and everybody is personified. In Antiquity, it was a clever way to steer the people's beliefs away from nature religions toward the tidier doctrines of Hinduism. Instead of opposing the gods of nature, they have become part of the Hindu narrative, avoiding unnecessary strains and the bloodshed that we could witness in all Abrahamic religions with their rigid, arrogant and dogmatic approach.] What shalt thou do with Rama, O Vaidehi, poor and of limited life? This is what I say and if dost thou not follow it we shall all instantly banquet on thee." And thereupon another Rakshasee named Vikata, having her breast hanging long, exercised with ire, and clinching her fist, addressed, roaring, Sita—"O foolish daughter of the king of Mithila, we have put up with all thy foolish words only out of compassion, and because thou art a feeble being. It will not lead to thy well-being if thou dost not hear our words. Thou hast been brought here, the other side of the ocean, difficult of being approached by others. Thou hast come within the terrible abode of Ravana O Maithilee, and hast been shut up in his room guarded by us all. And even, Purandara's [Another name of Indra—the lord of the celestials.] self cannot save you. Do thou therefore hear, O Maithilee, my well-meaning words. Why dost thou shed tears? Renounce thy useless grief. Do thou become happy and delighted, renouncing thy continued melancholy. Do thou sport, O Sita, at thy pleasure, with the lord of the Rakshasas. We know, for certain, O timid damsel, that the youth of the females, is very transient. And so long as thy youth doth not fade, do thou pass thy days happily, O thou having inebrite eyes, with the lord of Rakshasas, in picturesque gardens, and mountain forests. Do thou take, O fair damsel, Ravana, the lord of the Rakshasas, for thy husband, and thousands of females shall be placed at thy service. If dost thou not follow,

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what I say, O Maithilee, I shall taking out thy heart, banquet on it." Thereupon another grim-visaged Rakshasee, named, Chandodora, shaking her terrible spear, said—"Beholding this Sita having the eyes of a young antelope and her breast trembling with fear, my earnest desire, as I am enciente, hath been to banquet on her large eyes, lever, spleen, her plump hands, heart, other limbs and head." Thereupon another Rakshasee named Praghasa said—"I shall grind the throat of this cruel woman. What are you doing, sitting there? Ye shall then relate unto the king that the woman is dead. And undoubtedly he shall say 'Do ye eat her up.'" And thereupon another Rakshasee named Ajamukhee said "I do not like quarrels. Let us all divide her into equal portions. Bring soon our favourite drink and various garlands." Then followed another Rakshasee by name Surpanakha,—"I do fully concur with what Ajamukhee hath said. Bring soon wine, the remover of all griefs. Banquetting on human flesh I shall dance before the queen Nikumbhila." Being thus threatened by those grim-visaged Rakshasees Sita, resembling the daughter of a celestial, renouncing patience, began to weep.

SECTION 25.

And those hideous Rakshasees thus threatning her with reproaches rude and rough, the daughter of the king Janaka began to weep. And being thus addressed by those Rakshasees, Vaidehi, of subdued soul, being greatly terrified, said, having her voice choked with vapour,—"A woman can never be the wife of a Rakshasa. Eat me up if you will, I shall never follow your words." And being surrounded by the Rakshasees and threatened by Ravana, Sita, resembling the daughter of a celestial, stricken with grief, could not console herself. And trembling, she shrank from their presence like unto a strayed fawn surrounded by wolves. And resorting to a flowery branch of an Asoka tree, she sunk in grief, thought upon her lord. With tears she bathed her beautiful breast and oppressed with woe, she could not reach the other bank of the ocean of grief. Like a plantain tree shaken by the breeze, she shook and fell down trembling (on the earth). And being afraid of the Rakshasees, her cheeks forsook their native hue. And herself trembling, her pretty long lock of hair also shook and appeared like a serpent moving this way and that. Overwhelmed with grief and beside herself with ire, the daughter of the king of Mithila, wept and exclaimed sorrowfully,—"O mother Kausalya! O queen Sumitra! true is the saying of the wise that death doth never approach untimely the male or the female. Or else I would not have lived for a moment, separated from Rama and oppressed by the Rakshasees as I am. Limited is my virtue, and therefore I am to die the death of a poor deserted thing like unto a bark driven by the blast in the midst of the ocean. Debarred from my husband's sight and tortured by the hideous demons, I shall sink, oppressed with woes, like unto the banks of a river, washed by the water. Oh blest are they who have been resting their eyes upon my grateful and sweet-speeched lord of leonine gaits, having eyes resembling lotus petals! And separated frpm Rama of subdued soul, it is as difficult for me to breathe as for him who hath drank up virulent poison. What mighty iniquity had I perpetrated in my previous existence that I have met with this terrible disaster! I wish to renounce my life under this load of grief—but alas! I am surrounded by the Rakshasees and cannot meet Rama. Oh! cursed is this subject human life, that they cannot renounce it even at their pleasure"!

SECTION 26.

Saying this, the daughter of the king Janaka, bathed her countenance with tears and hanging down her head began to lament. And she began to roll on the earth like unto a colt as if she was mad, possessed by a devil and had lost her sense. "I, the spouse of Rama, who was drawn away at a distance by the Rakshasa (Maricha) assuming shapes at will, was seized and borne away by Ravana. A captive of the Rakshasas, subject to their terrible threats and taunts, sunk in grief and anxiety,—I desire not to keep my life. Of what avail are wealth, ornament and life unto me, who am living in the midst of the Rakshasas and separated from Rama, of the mighty car? Forsooth my life is made of stone, imperishable and immortal since it is not riven asunder even by this mighty grief. Woe to me! who am unchaste and vile and my life is vicious, since breathe I still in the absence of my lord. What of fixing my fancy on that night-ranger, my meaner foot even shall not touch him? That (demon) who is courting me in this terrible way, doth not know himself, his own race and that I loathe him so much. What more shall I speak unto you, I shall never consent to Ravana's prayer, I might be rent from limb to limb or burnt in fire. Raghava is grateful, true, wise and kind. I fear it is through my ill-luck that he doth not feel pity for me. Will he not take me back who alone slew the thousands of the Rashasas in Janasthana? I have been captured by Ravana, a Rakshasa of feeble prowess. Forsooth my lord is capable of slaying this Ravana in conflict. Will not that Rama regain me, by whom was killed in the forest of Dandaka, Viradha, the foremost of the Rakshasa crew? Although situated in the midst of the ocean, Lanka is unapproachable by others, but Raghava's arrows shall also reach here. (I am at a loss to ascertain) why Rama of firm prowess, doth not regain me, his beloved spouse who have been borne away by the Rakshasa. Methinks Rama doth not know that I am here, or else, powerful as he is, he would not have put up with this insult. That lord of vultures, who could have informed Raghava, of my being borne away by the Rakshasa, was killed by Ravana in the battle. O great was the work done by him, who, old as he was, for my sake, addressed himself to bring about Ravana's destruction. If Raghava could know that I was here, he, exceedingly wroth, would have cleared the earth with his arrows, of the Rakshasas. He would have then burnt down the city of Lanka, dried up the deep and blotted out the name and fame of Ravana. And from each ruined home would have risen the Rakshasa widows' groans and cries like unto those of mine. And instituting enquiries, along with Lakshmana, he shall soon reduce Lanka to this plight. And observed by them the enemy shall not live for a moment. And in no time, shall Lanka, assume the appearance of a cremation ground, having all her high ways enveloped with smoke issuing out of the funeral pyres, and filled with vultures. And soon shall this desire of mine be fulfilled. All these words of mine do sound improbable now but they all indicate your misfortune. Besides from these bad omens, that are to be seen here, it appeareth, that Lanka shall soon be shorn of her grace. The lord of the Rakshasas, the vicious Ravana being killed, forsooth shall Lanka, divested of wealth, appear like a widow. This Lanka, which is now full of pious ceremonies, shall, on the death of the Rakshasas and their master, appear like a husbandless woman. For certain, shall I soon hear the cries and groans in every house, of the daughters of the Rakshasas worn with grief. If that heroic Rama, having dark-blue eyes, comes to know that I am in the abode of the Rakshasas, the city of Lanka shall be burnt down with his arrows and shall be stricken with darkness and shorn of grace and all the foremost of the Rakshasas shall be destroyed. The time which was appointed by the vile and cruel Ravana, hath arrived. And that vicious wretch hath resolved to destroy me now. There is no crime which cannot be perpetrated by those vicious demons. Mighty is the disaster that shall arise on account of this crime—the Rakshasas who live on flesh do not know what virtue is. Forsooth shall the Rakshasa serve me for his morning meal. What shall I do without my lord of comely presence? Debarred from my husband's presence, stricken with grief and not beholding Rama, having dark-blue eyes, I shall soon meet with death. Rama, the elder brother of Bharata, doth not know that I am still alive or else he and Lakshmana would have ransacked the whole world for me. Or renouncing his body on this earth for my grief, the heroic elder brother of Lakshmana, hath repaired to the celestial region. Blessed are the celestials, Gandharbas, Siddhas and mighty ascetics who are beholding my heroic lotus-eyed Rama. Or that highly intelligent royal ascetic deairous of securing piety and freed from the troubles of life, hath no need of a wife like me. Or people have fancy for what they see and which disappeateth as soon as the object is out of sight. The ungrateful are capable of renouncing their love, but not Rama. Or there might be some folly in me. Or on the wane of my good luck have been separated irom the excellent Rama. Death is more preferable unto me than life since I have been separated trom the high-souled heroic Rama, of unblemished character and the slayer of foes. Or those two brothers, the foremost of men, laying aside their weapons, and living on fruits and roots, have been wandering in the forest. Or those two heroic brothers Rama and Lakshmana, have been, by treachery, put to death, by the vicious-souled Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas. At this time of distress, I do with all my heart long lor death,—(but alas!) even death is not approaching me in this my misery. Oh blessed are those high-souled, great ascetics abiding by truth and having their senses in control, who have no objects of love or displeasure. They are not distressed with misery for their objects of love or grief for them whom they do not love. They are freed from them and I do bow unto those high-souled ones. Being forsaken by the beloved Rama, knowing his ownself, and brought under the control of Ravana, I shall renounce my life."

SECTION 27.

Being thus addressed angrily by Sita, some of those Rakshasees, beside themselves with ire, proceeded to relate this unto the vicious-souled Ravana. And approaching Sita those grim-visaged demons again addressed her with words rude and rough. "O vile Sita, O thou bent on committing sin, we Rakshasees shall to-day devour thy flesh to the best of our satisfaction." Beholding those vile demons threaten Sita, a Rakshasa matron, wise and old, named, Trijata cried—"O vile demons, do ye eat your own persons but do not devour Sita, the daughter of Janaka and the esteemed daughter-in-law of the king Dacaratha. I dreamt a terrible dream last night which made my down stand on their end. And in that dream I foresaw the overthrow of the Rakshasa race and the conquest of her husband." And being thus addressed by Trijata, those demons, exercised with wrath and terrified, accosted her with the following words,—"Do thou relate (unto us) what sort of dream didst thou dream last night." And hearing those words proceeding from the mouths of the Rakshasees, Trijata began to describe the dream she had at the latter end of the night,—"I saw Rama, wearing garlands and clothed in white, ride in a celestial charriot, along with Lakshmana, made of ivory, traversing the etherial regions and drawn by a hundred steeds. I saw in my dream to-night, that Sita, clad in the purest white, appearing on a snow-white hill beaten by the waves of the ocean, had at last met Rama, like unto light joined to the Sun. And I again saw Rama and Lakshmana appear in effulgence, seated on a huge elephant, having four tusks and resembling a bull. Thereupon those two (brothers), resplendant like unto the Sun by their own effulgence, and wearing white garlands and clothes, appeared near Janaka's daughter. And the lotus eyed Janaki, on the top of the hill situate on the welkin, first fell on the lap of her husband and then stationed herself on the neck of the elephant guided by her husband. Then I saw Sita rubbing the Sun and the Moon with her two hands. And then that best of the elephants, with those two princes and the large eyed Sita on him, stood high above Lanka. I again saw Rama, clad in white, and adorned with garlands, ride along with Lakshmana in a charriot drawn by eight white bullocks. I again saw that highly energetic, best of men—Rama, having truth for his prowess, along with his brother Lakshmana and Sita flee to Northern realms, ascending a celestial flowery charriot resembling (in brightness) the Sun. And I saw Ravana too, shaved and shorn, besmeared with oil, wearing a crimson cloth, drinking honey, wearing a garland of Karavira flowers, fall down on earth from the flowery charriot. And dragged by a woman, shaved, wearing a red cloth and garlands and sprinkled with crimson paste, Ravana was again seen by me riding in a charriot drawn by asses. And quaffing oil, laughing and dancing, that one of agitated senses, forgetting himself sped on the charriot to the South*. [In the south is the region of Yama. Yama or Yamaraja or Jivayam is a Hindu and Buddhist deity of death, dharma, the south direction, and the underworld.] And I again saw Ravana, the lord of the Rakshasas, stricken with fear, fall, headless, down on the earth. And then rising all on a sudden, and uttering obscene and inconsistent words like unto a maniac, Ravana overwhelmed with fear, and amazement, and intoxicated, fell into a mass of dirt, stinking and resembling the very hell. And again proceeding to the South he entered into a lake devoid of mud and water. And a dark woman, clad in a crimson cloth, and bedaubed with mud, dragged the Ten-necked demon, entwining herself round his neck. Then followed the mighty Kumvakarna [Ravana's brother.] and all the sons of Ravana, shaved and shorn and besmeared with oil. And they all proceeded southward—the Ten-necked demon on on a boar, Indrajit* on a porpoise, and Kumvakarna on a camel. [* Ravana's son—the name signifies the conqueror of the lord of the celestials.] I saw only Biveesana, with a white umbrella and accompanied by four courtiers, range in the welkin. And there was audible in the large assembly sound of music and stringed instruments. And all the Rakshasas wearing crimson clothes and garlands, were quaffing oil. I saw the royal and picturesque city Lanka with her steeds, cars and elephants, drowned in the ocean, having her gateways and ornamented arches broken. And in Lanka, covered with dust, Rakshasa women, laughing; and making terrible sound, were engaged in quaffing oil. I saw all the leading Rakshasas—Kumvakarna and others, dark-hued and wearing crimson clothes, emerged in an abyss of cow dung. Do ye therefore fly at some distance, and will find that Raghava shall regain Sita. And exercised with ire he shall destroy you all along with the Rakshasas. Raghava shall never brook, his esteemed and beloved spouse, living in the forest, being taunted and threatened by you. No more with rough words therefore; do you console the lady and humbly pray her to forgive you. This I think proper. Surely shall she, divested of misfortune, be reconciled to her beloved and excellent husband, regarding whom, in her misery, I have dreamt such a dream. Ye Rakshasees! You have threatened her, do ye implore her forgiveness—no more with harsh words. Forsooth, from Raghava shall proceed the mighty disaster of the Rakshasas. If Maithilee, the daughter of the king Janaka, be pleased with you (for your imploring her forgiveness) you might be saved from the mighty disaster. I do not perceive any inauspicious mark on the person of this large-eyed dame. It appears from the paleness of her countenance that she hath been overcome by misfortune. And I saw (in my dreamt this worshipful damsel, unworthy of any misfortune, stationed in the welkin. Verily I do perceive, before me, the satisfaction of Vaidehi's end, the destruction of the lord of the Rakshasas and the conquest of Raghava. Behold I there, her left eye, spacious, as a lotus-petal, is dancing to hear this pleasant dream announcing the satisfaction of her own end. And her left arm is also dancing with joy, all on a sudden. And her excellent beautiful left thigh, resembling the trunk of an elephant, is also dancing as if indicating, that she shall at no distant date, be reconciled to Raghava. And the birds, again and again, entering their nests, and highly delighted are pouring forth their notes announcing the advent of a happy occasion."

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Thereupon that modest dame, greatly delighted in the prospective conquest of her husband, said— "If this be true I shall save you all."

SECTION 28.

[The sections 28 and 29 are not found in all Ramayana texts. They are found in the Bengal edition. Gorressio translates it and remarks—"I think the chapter 28—The auspicious signs—is an addition, a later interpolation by the Rhapsodists (Professional performers of epic poetry in Greece and India.). It has no bond of connexion either with what precedes or follows it and may be struck out without injury." We have however thought it proper to give a full version.]

Hearing those unpleasant words of Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, Sita, racked with sorrow on account of her husband, became terrified, like unto a she-elephant, worsted by a lion on the skirt of a forest. Threatened by Ravana and encircled by the Rakshasees, that timid damsel bewailed like a girl cast off in a lonely forest. "Truly the sages say that death in this world doth not come untimely. Or else would I have, vicious as I am, lived for a moment, being thus sorely threatened. Forsooth, my mind, divested of happiness and full of misery, is firm or else why is it not broken in sunder like unto the summit of a hill clapped by a thunderbolt. Nor am I to blame for this—I am worthy of being killed by this demon of uncomely presence. As a Brahmana cannot impart instructions in Vedas unto the people of other castes so I shall not confer my mind on Ravana. If that lord of the people doth not come within the appointed time, forsooth shall that vile lord, of the Rakshasas, mince my limbs with his arrows like unto a surgeon cutting off the limbs of an embryo. [This passage clearly indicates that there were proficient and skilled surgeons at the time when Ramayana was written.] Two months shall pass away in no time and I shall have to suffer the pain of death, overwhelmed with sorrow as I am, like unto a thief, confined in stocks, at the command of the sovereign to receive death the next morning. Rama! Lakshmana! O Sumitra! O Rama's mother! O my mothers! I am worsted in this ocean of grief, like unto a bark, driven hither and thither by the blast, in the midst of an ocean. Verily for me, those two powerful, lion-like sons of the king, have been killed by (this demon) effulgent like the lightning and assuming the semblance of a deer. Unfortunate as I am, forsooth I was tempted then by death wearing the shape of a deer and thus foolishly lost Rama and Lakshmana, the sons of the worshipful sire. O Rama, O thou of truthful vows, O thou of long arms, O thou having the countenance of a full moon! O my life! engaged as thou art in the welfare of the people, dost thou not perceive that I am about to be killed by the Rakshasas. Alas! this my devotedness unto my husband, my forgiveness, my lying down on the bare earth, my observance of religious vows, my wife-like virtues, are lost like unto service done for an ungrateful wight. In vain are my pious rites, and in vain is my devotedness unto my husband—since I do not behold thee, am pale and feeble in thy absence and have given up all hopes of seeing thee. And duly satisfying thy sire's command, and returning successfully from the forest, thou shalt fearlessly sport with many a damsel having large eyes. (But for me) O Rama, I was for my own destruction, devoted, soul and heart, unto thee. Oh! fruitless is my asceticism and wifely virtue! Oh fie on me! I shall renounce this my unfortunate life. I desire to do away speedily with my being by means of poison or a sharp weapon. But there is no one in this city of the Rakshasas, who bringeth me this poison or weapon." Bewailing thus in various accents, and remembering Rama with all her heart, Sita, having her countenance dried up, and trembling, got at the biggest tree enveloped with flowers. And thinking thus, Sita, stricken with grief, took up in her hand, her braid of hair and thought—"I shall soon hang myself with this braid and reach the abode of Death. And that one of tender person reached the tree, and holding a branch, began to think of Rama, Lakshmana, and the glory of her race. And on her person were perceived many auspicious marks, well-known in the world, removing grief, fostering patience, and announcing the advent of future welfare.

SECTION 29.

Like unto servants waiting upon a wealthy person various auspicious omens waited upon Sita of a blameless and comely person, racked with grief and divested of joy. And the large left eye of that dame having graceful hairs, having dark pupils, white ends and thick eye-lashes, began to dance like a lotus shaken by a fish. And her beautiful, round, plump left hand, which, ere this, sprinkled with costly aguruand sandal, used to serve for a pillow unto Rama, began to dance now again and again after a long time. And her well built plump left thigh, resembling the trunk of an elephant, dancing, announced that she would soon behold Rama. And the gold-hued cloth, now covered with dust, of that damsel of a comely person, having teeth like pomegranate seeds, slipped a little off its place. And being enlivened by those and various other auspicious omens, she attained joy like unto a seed, spoiled by the wind and the sun, growing afresh in the rainy season. And her countenance, having lips red as Bimba fruits, beautiful eyes, eye-brows extending to ears, curling eye-lashes and white teeth, again appeared graceful like unto the Moon released from the full grasp of Rahu. [Like the Moon when full eclipse is just over—In mythology Rahu is the son of Sinika, a daitya, with the tail of a dragon whose head was severed from his body by Vishnu, but being immortal this head and tail retained their separate existence and being transferred to the stellar sphere, became the authors of eclipses.] Her grief and exhaustion were removed—sorrow was pacified and her heart was filled with joy. And she with her countenance appeared beautiful like a lunar night beautified by the rays of the Moon.

SECTION 30.

And the powerful Hanuman, heard from the beginning to the end (the bewailings) of Sita, the story of Trijata's dream and the threats of the Rakshasees. And beholding the worshipful damsel, living in the forest of Asoka, like unto a celestial damsel in the garden of Nandana, the monkey entered in a maze of anxious thoughts. "At length my watchful eyes have seen her, whom have been seeking in vain, the thousands and millions of the monkeys in all directions and quarters. Truly have I seen her to-day, engaged as I have been as a spy to estimate the strength of the ememy and am ranging secretly everywhere. I have seen minutely the city of the Rakshasas, and the strength of Ravana, the lord of Rakshasasas. It now remains to console the spouse of Rama of incomparable power, and kind unto all, who panteth for her lord. I shall console this damsel, having the countenance of the full moon, who had never seen grief before, and who shall not soon reach its end. And if I go away without soothing this chaste lady, who is almost senseless with grief, I shall be blamed of neglect of duty. And if I go away, the royal daughter, the famed Janaki, finding no means of safety, shall, for certain, renounce her life. She is worthy of being consoled like unto the great armed (Rama) having the countenance of the full-moon and anxious to behold Sita. It is not proper to speak before the Rakshasas— What shall I do then? I am in very great difficulty. If I do not console her at this latter end of the night, surely shall she renounce her life. How shall I answer Rama, without consoling Sita of comely stature, when he will ask me "What message from my Sita?" And if I speedily repair hence without any information regarding Sita, surely shall Kakuthstha scorch me lifeless with the fire of his angry eyes. And if I urge my lord the king (Biveeshana) to bring his hosts here for Rama, in vain shall be his toil. And seizing the occasion when she shall be free from her demonaic guards, I shall console her in her dire distress. And a puny monkey as I am, I shall speak in Sanskrit* which men delight to use. [* The language refined by the strict rules of grammar. Sanskrit was an Indo-European language like German, English, Latin, or Russian. In order to understand and correctly use a highly flective language such as Sanskrit, grammar was very important.] And if I speak Sanskrit like a Brahmana, Sita shall be terrified considering me Ravana. Must I therefore use the language of a common man* or else I shall not be able to console the dame of a blameless person. [* This passage clearly indicates that Sanskrit was spoken by men and women of the upper classes already at the time of the Ramayana stories. The lower classes spoke Prakrit, the vernacular of Sanskrit. Like all other holy books in India, the Ramayana was written down not before the 4th or 3rd centuries BC. Everything was memorised by monks in "memorisation factories," better known as monasteries. Their disciples then memorised designated passages that were constantly chanted by the monks. Writing appeared first in India with the arrival of Aramaic speaking Jews who were in service of the Persian Aechaemenid Empire during the 6th and 5th centuries BC. At the same time arrived also the Greeks. The first truly Indian script, Brahmi, was developed out of Aramaic, probably in the beginning or the middle of the 3rd century BC, in the Mauryan Empire (322–184 BC) under Chandragupta (322–298 BC), Bindusara (298–272 BC), or Ashoka (268–232 BC). Responsible for the introduction of Brahmi might have been the philosopher Chanakya (counsellor to Chandragupta and Bindusara) who had experienced the humiliating conquest of Alexander the Great but had also recognised the superiority of the Greeks due to their extensive literacy.] And beholding my monkey shape and hearing my human language she might be afraid again, terrified as she had been before by the band of the Rakshasas. And considering me Ravana wearing shapes at will, that large-eyed and high-minded dame, shall cry piteously for help. And Sita, making a sudden noise, those terrible Rakshasees resembling Death himself and armed with various weapons, shall at once arrive there. And thereupon casting their looks all around and finding me out, those highly powerful and grim-visaged demons shall try to kill or catch me. And beholding me leap from branch to branch and trunk to trunk of big trees they shall be greatly alarmed. And espying my appearance while ranging in the forest, those Rakshasees greatly terrified, shall fill the wood with their wild shouts. And then they shall call (to their assistance) all those Rakshasees engaged in guarding the abode of the lord of the Rakshasas. And they, greatly agitated, shall with vehemence arrive here, armed with darts, arrows, scimitars and various other weapons. And being surrounded by them on all sides, if I do kill that host of demons, tired, I shall not be able to bound over the main. And if that host of skilled demons, succeed in making me a captive, I too shall be in their hands and Sita shall remain ignorant of my object. Or the Rakshasas, pernicious as they are, shall kill the daughter of Janaka, and there shall the great work of Rama and Sugriva, be spoiled. And Janaki liveth in this secret place, girt by the ocean, guarded on all sides by the Rakshasas, difficult of being got at and having all avenues to it shut up. If I am killed or captured by Rakshasas in battle, I do not find any who can help Rama in his enterprise. Myself killed, I do not find any monkey who can leap a hundred leagues across the sea. I am capable of destroying thousands of Rakshasas, but I shall not then be able to get at the other shore of the great ocean. Victory or defeat is uncertain in a battle—I do not (therefore) like to engage in such an uncertain (act). What wise man merges certainty in uncertainty? It is a great sin in me (I own) to talk with Sita—But she will die if I do not talk with her. Works, almost accomplished, when entrusted to an inconsiderate emissary, are generally spoiled, out of season and out of place, like unto darkness driven by the appearance of the sun. All those works, which are generally taken in hand after duly deliberating over their propriety and impropriety, are generally spoiled by those emissaries who are proud of their learning. What shall I do, by which my work is not injured, I am not blamed of foolishness and my crossing over the main doth not become fruitless? What shall I do so that Sita might listen to me without being terrified?" Thinking over this, the intelligent Hanuman arrived at a conclusion. "I shall not disturb her, speaking (all on a sudden) about Rama of unwearied actions, dear unto her and to whom, she is firmly attached. Uttering the name of Rama, the foremost of the Ikshawkus, and of subdued soul and lauding his piety and fame in sweet accents, I shall so manage that Sita might hear and believe them." Beholding the spouse of that high-souled lord of the earth and engaging in this train of thoughts, Hanuman, stationed on a branch of the tree, spoke the following sweet words.

SECTION 31.

Meditating thus the highly intelligent monkey spoke in accents, sweet and in such a tone as they might be, heard by Vaidehi. "There reigned a noble and pious king named Dacaratha, highly glorious amongst the Ikshawkus, the lord of the warrior-cars, steeds and elephants. Devoid of envy, high-minded, kind, having truth for Us prowess, the foremost of the Ikshawku race, wealthy and the enhancer of wealth; gifted with royal marks; highly beautiful; the foremost of the kings; famous all over the world of many oceans; the conferrer of happiness and himself happy. His eldest and most beloved son was the Moon-bright Rama, wise and the foremost of those who know the science of the bended bow. He was the protector of his own character, of his own kinsmen, of the whole world of creation and of virtue and subduer of foes. And banished by his old and truthful sire's commands, that hero, along with his wife and brother (Lakshmana) repaired to the forest. And while roaming a-hunting in the forest he slew many a heroic Rakshasa wearing shapes at will. And having heard of the destruction of the Rakshasas of Janasthana and of Khara and Dushana, the illusive Ravana, assuming shapes at will, beguiling Rama, in the forest, stole away his consort—the Janaka's daughter. And roaming the country around in quest of the blameless and worshipful Sita, Rama found a firm friend in Sugriva. And bringing about the destruction of Vali, Rama, the conqueror of others' cities, conferred the monkey-kingdom upon the high-souled Sugriva. And by Sugriva's decree, thousands of monkeys, wearing shapes at will, have been searching that worshipful dame in various directions. And by Sampati's counsel and for that large eyed dame, I have leapt a hundred leagues across the deep. I have at last got her. And such were the form, grace and the marks that Raghava mentioned unto me." Having said this, the foremost of the monkeys ceased. And greatly wondered was Sita hearing those words. Thereupon that timid dame, having good curling hair, raising up her face covered with hairs, looked up to the Singshapa tree. And hearing the words of the monkey and casting her eyes to all directions and quarters, Sita attained an excess of delight, being engaged in thoughts concerning Rama. And looking around her and upwards, she beheld, like unto the rising sun, the Wind-god's son, gifted with inconceivable intellect,—the minister of the king of monkeys.

SECTION 32.

And beholding that tawny-coloured monkey like unto a mass of lightnings and wearing a white cloth, hidden on the tree, Sita's mind was greatly agitated. And she saw there the humble, sweet-speeched monkey, appearing graceful like unto a collection of full-blown Asoka flowers and having eyes resembling burning gold. And observing that foremost of the monkeys, sitting humbly, that daughter of the king of Mithila, again greatly amazed, thought.—"This monkey is the most

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terrible of his race and therefore hard to be got at and looked at." Thinking this she again sank in fear. And stricken with grief she again bewailed in piteous accents exclaiming,—"O Rama! O Lakshmana!" And she wept silently and lowly. And then beholding that best of monkeys approach her humbly, the fair daughter of the Mithili's king, thought,—"Is this a dream mine eyes have seen?" And she again looked towards that Wind-god's son, the foremost of the monkeys, the best of those gifted with intelligence, having a huge disfigured countenance, highly accomplished and wearing a dress mentioned before. And beholding him Sita was almost out of breath with fear. And regaining soon her sense the large-eyed damsel again thought, —"I have seen a very inauspicious dream to-day—to see a monkey in a dream is reckoned inauspicious by the sages. May good betide Rama, Lakshmana and my Sire the king of Janaka. It is no dream, I have not slept, worn with grief and trouble as I am. Apart from my lord having the countenance of the full-moon, I have no happiness. Thinking of Rama always and uttering his name, each sight I see and each sound I hear brings him to my eye or ear. And therefore his form appearing in my mind is distressing me to-day, who am entirely sunk in his thoughts. And thinking of him always I see him before me and hear his words. Methinks this is but a phantom of the mind. And thinking this I still behold the same. But an imaginary object can never have a form. And I still find a distinct form addressing me. Be glory to Vachaspati, Indra, the self existent Brahma, the lord of fire and may they so grant that the creature who hath spoken before me, be real and not imaginary."

SECTION 33.

Thereupon coming down from the tree, Hanuman, the highly effulgent son of Wind, having a coral-red countenance and attired in a humble guise, approached Sita and joining reverentially his palms, addressed her with the following sweet words,—"Who art thou, O thou having eyes like lotus petals and wearing a soiled silken cloth, who art waiting there holding a branch of the tree? Why are the tears of sorrow flowing from thy eyes like unto drops of water falling from lotus petals? Who art thou, O most fair of face, amongst the celestials, Asuras, Nagas, Gandharbas, Rakshasas, and Yakshas and Kinnaras? Do the Rudra's [The Rudras are manifestations of Siva.] claim thy birth O thou fair damsel? Or the swift gods* who ride the storm? Or the Vasus? [* A kind of demi-gods of whom six are enumerated viz., Dhava, Druva, Soma or the Moon, Vishnu, Anila or wind, Anala or fire, Prabhusa and Prabhava.] Thou appearest to me as of a celestial race. Art thou Rohini, the best and most accomplished of the stars, who, reft from the Moon, hath fallen down from the abode of the celestials? Who art thou O blessed dame, O thou having blameless eyes? Art thou, O lotus-eyed damsel, the blessed Arundhuti, who hath fled in wrath or jealous pride from the side of her lord (Vashishtha)? Or O lovely damsel, who is the son, father, brother or husband gone from this world for whom thou art weeping? Yet by thy tears and sighs, by the earth thou art treading and by calling on a monarch's name it appears that thou art not a celestial. But from the marks on thy person it appeareth that thou art either the consort or the daughter of a king. Art thou that Sita, I do ask thee, who had been stolen and borne away by Ravana from Janasthana? May good betide thee! From thy wretched plight, thy unrivalled beauty and thy ascetic garb, thou art, I ween, for certain, the queen of Rama." Hearing those words of Hanuman and greatly delighted at Rama's name, Vaidehi spoke unto him—"I am the daughter-in-law of Dacaratha, knowing his own self, the foremost of the kings of the world and the slayer of the enemy's host, and the daughter of Janaka the high-souled king of Videha. My name is Sita and I am the consort of the highly intelligent Rama. I lived twelve years in Raghava's abode, enjoying every earthly comfort and satisfying every desire. And at the beginning of the thirteenth year the king, advised by his priest, arranged for the installation of the descendant of Ikswakus (Rama) on the throne. And while the articles for the installation were being collected, the queen Kaikeyi addressed her lord saying—'I shall not drink or eat for days and this shall be the end of my existence if Rama be installed. If thou dost not wish to falsify the vow thou made unto me, O best of kings, let Rama then repair to the forest." The monarch was truthful and remembering his vow and hearing the unpleasant and vile words of Kaikeyi lost himself (in grief). And thereupon the old king abiding by truth, weeping, begged of his elslest son, the kingdom. The graceful Rama liked his sire's command more than the installation, and resolving within him, promised to obey his words. Rama, having truth for his prowess, never, for his life, takes back what he gives, never speaks an untruth and always speaks truth. And leaving aside his costly attire, the highly glorious (Rama) renounced with all his heart the kingdom and gave me over to his mother. But myself wearing the garb of an ascetic, repaired speedily before him. Separated from him, I do not like to live even in the celestial region. And the great son of Sumitra,the enhancer of friends' joys, to follow his elder brother, dressed himself in bark and kusa. And thus abiding by our sire's behest, and taking firm vows we entered a dreary forest never seen before. While that one, of unmitigated effulgence was thus living in the forest of Dandaka, I, his consort, was stolen by the vicious-souled Rakshasa—Ravana. He hath kindly allowed me two months' respite after which I shall be slain.

SECTION 34.

HEARING those words of Sita stricken with grief, Hanuman, the foremost of the monkeys, replied in soothing words, "O worshipful lady, by Rama's decree I come as a messenger unto thee. He is safe and sound, O Vaidehi, and has asked of thy welfare. O worshipful dame, Rama, the son of Dacaratha, the master of the Vedas, and the foremost of those conversant with Vedas hath enquired of thy welfare. And the highly effulgent Lakshmana, the beloved follower of thy husband, worn with grief, bows his reverential head unto thee." Hearing of the welfare of those two lions among men, the worshipful dame, with all her frame worked up with rapture, again spake unto Hanuman, saying—"Verily the wise saw of the people appears to me to be true that once in a hundred years true joy appears to a living man". Sita, at that time, attained such a wonderful joy, as would have been acquired by her in the company (of Rama and Lakshmana). And they confidingly conversed with each other. Hearing those words of Sita,racked with sorrow, Hanuman, the son of the Wind-god drew a little nearer to her. The more Hanuman approached her the more Sita suspected him as Ravana. "Alas! Alas! why have I spoken to him? It is the Ravana, who hath appeared again in a new disguise." And leaving off the Asoka branch, that one having a blameless person, overwhelmed with grief, sat down on the earth. In the meantime the mighty-armed monkey bowed unto Janaka's daughter, but she, worked up with fear, did not cast again her looks towards him. And beholding him bow unto her, Sita, having a moon-like countenance, sighing, spake unto that monkey in sweet accents—"If thou art that Ravana's self, who, changing thy shape by magic art, want to distress me again—this thy vile deed doth not behove thee. Thou art surely that Ravana, whom I saw at Janasthana, in a mendicant's guise, renouncing his own shape, O night-ranger, O thou wearing shapes at will! it doth not behove thee to distress me who am poorly and famished with fasts. But no, thou canst not be (the fiend) whom I suspect, since I have such joy from seeing thee. And may good betide thee if thou art Rama's messenger. I do ask thee, O foremost of monkeys, something about Rama that is pleasant unto me. O monkey, do thou relate the glories of my dear Rama. Thou art (thus) shaking my mind O gentle one, like unto water breaking down the banks of a river. Alas! this dream has afforded me immense pleasure since, I, who have been separated from my lord for so long a time, have beheld this monkey sent by Raghava. I do not sink even if I can behold in dream the heroic Raghava along with Lakshmana—but dream even is jealous of my well-being. Nor do I regard this as dream. To behold a monkey in a dream doth not lead to prosperity—whereas I have attained it. Or is it mental derangement? Or have I been possessed by a devil? Or have I run mad? Or is it the sultry vapour floating over sands and appearing at a distance like water? No, it is not madness—for derangement of mind is the sign of madness—I have not lost sense and I do distinctly perceive me and the monkey." Thinking thus in many a way and ascertaining the strength (of the monkey and the Rakshasa) Sita took him for the lord of the Rakshasas, wearing shapes at will. And having arrived at this decision, Janaka's daughter—Sita, ceased from talking with that monkey. And apprised of Sita's thought, Hanuman, the Wind god's son, (replied) in words sweet unto her and enhancing her delight—"Bright as the sun that lights the sky and dear as the moon to every eye, he pleases all his subjects with bounties like unto those of Vaisrabana [Another name of Kuvera, the god of gold.]. He is gifted with prowess like unto the greatly famed Vishnu, truthful and sweet-speeched like unto Vachaspati [The god of speech.]. Graceful, grateful to the eye and beautiful like unto Kandarva's [Cupid, the god of desire, erotic love, attraction and affection, in Hindu mythology described as the most beautiful of the celestials.] self, he displays his wrath in a proper quarter—the foremost of men and of a mighty car. The whole world of creation (liveth safe) in the shadow of the arms of that high-souled one. Thou shalt soon see the consequences he shall reap by whom, assuming the shape of a dear, Raghava was taken away from the hermitage and thou wert stolen away from that lonely place. And soon shall that powerful (hero) destroy Ravana in the battle, with fiery arrows, discharged angrily. I have been sent by him as a messenger to thee. Worn with grief in thy separation he hath enquired of thy welfare, as well the highly effulgent Lakshmana, the enhancer of Sumitra's joy, bowing reverentially unto thee. The king of monkey hosts, by name Sugriva—Rama's friend, hath also enquired of thy welfare, worshipful dame. Rama, Sugriva and Lakshmana, have thee always in their minds. Blessed are we, O Vaidehi, that thou dost still live, subject as thou art to the Rakshasees. Thou shalt soon behold Rama, and Lakshmana of a mighty car, and Sugriva of unmitigated prowess in the midst of the million of monkey hosts. I am Sugriva's minister, by name Hanuman. I have entered this city of Lanka after crossing over the great main. And by means of my prowess and placing my feet on the head of the vicious-souled Ravana, I have come here to see thee. I am not he (Ravana) for whom thou art taking me, O worshipful dame. Do thou renounce thy suspicion and rely on my words."

SECTION 35.

Hearing the tale of Rama from that best of monkeys, Vaidehi, spoke in sweet accents, soft and low,—"Where didst thou meet Rama, how didst thou come to know Lakshmana? How did the monkeys and men meet on terms of brotherhood? Do thou again relate unto me, O monkey, the regal signs that deck the persons of Rama and Lakshmana— and I shall then relinquish all grief. Do thou relate unto me the form and grace of Rama, his thighs and arms and as well as those of Lakshmana." Being thus addressed by Vaidehi, Hanuman, the Wind-god's son, began to give an exact description of Rama. "If dost thou, by my good luck, O Vaidehi, O thou having eyes like lotus-petals, knowing me (as his messenger) ask me to describe thy lord's person as well as that of Lakshmana, I shall relate them unto thee. Do thou hear, O large-eyed dame, what regal signs I have marked on the persons of Rama and Lakshmana. O daughter of Janaka, Rama has eyes like lotus-petals and a countenance resembling the full-moon and is gifted with great beauty and goodness. In effulgence he is like the Sun, in patience like the earth, in intellect like Vrihaspati [The god of wisdom.] and in fame like Vasava [The lord of celestials.]. He is the protector of the world of creation and his own kinsmen. He follows right in all his ways and never swerves from his royal duties and is the slayer of foes. O dame, he upholds the dignity of the people of four-castes— he confers honours on the people and preserves them. He is worshipped by all like the Sun, observes ascetic vows, knoweth well the time when the saints should be honoured and is conversant with the nature and procedure of actions. He is well acquainted with royal duties and abideth by the commandments of the Brahmanas—is wise, gifted with a good character, humble and the slayer of foes. He is the master of Yayur Vedas and is adored by those who are well-versed in Vedas—is proficient in the science of bended bow, Vedas and Vedangas [A sacred science considered as subordinate to and in some sense a part of the Vedas—six sciences come under this denomination—Siksha (pronounciation); Kalpa (religious rite) Vyakarana (grammar) Chandas (prosody) Jyotish (astronomy) and Nirukti or explanation of difficult words.]. He is broad-shouldered, large-armed, has a conch-like neck and a beautiful countenance. His throat is plump and his eyes are red—and he is famed all over the world under the name of Rama. He has the voice of a bugle, is of a cool hue and highly powerful, has equally proportioned limbs and a green colour. His three limbs (thigh, fist and wrist) are hard and three others (brow arms and scrotum) are long; and three (tops of the hairs, scrotums and knee-joints) equal and three (navel, abdomen and breast) high. And three (the angles of the eyes, nails and palms) are copper-coloured— three are cool and three (voice, navel and gait) are grave. His belly and throat have three folds of skin. The sole of the foot, the lines thereon and the nipples are equally bended. His neck, eyes and back are short. He has three locks of hair on his head. He has four lines on his thumb indicating his proficiency in the four Vedas. His body is four hands tall; arms, thighs and cheeks are plump; eye-brows, the hollows of the nose, eyes, ears, lips, nipples; wrists, knee-joints, scrotums, hips, hands, feet are all equally proportioned. Four teeth by the side of each row, are gifted with auspicious marks of the Sastras. His gaits are like those of a lion, tiger, elephant or a bull. His lips and jaws are fleshy and elevated. His nose is long; words, countenance, nails, down and skin are all cool; his two arms, two little fingers, two thighs and two legs are long; his face, eyes, mouth tongue, lips; palate, nipples, nails and feet are like lotuses, his breast, forehead, neck, arms, navel feet, back and ears are spacious. He is gifted with grace, fame and effulgence. His paternal and maternal race are pure. His armpit, belly, breast, nose, shoulders and forehead are high; his fingers, hairs, down, nails, skin, beard, eye-sight and intellect are thin and sharp. Raghava, with a due division of his time is engaged in acquiring piety, wealth emancipation and desires. He is truthful and graceful, amasses wealth and thereby protects his subjects. He is cognisant of the divisions of time and country and dear unto all. His stepbrother Saumitri is gifted with incomparable prowess and is his equal in attachment, beauty and accomplishments. The person of that graceful one is gold-hued whereas that of the highly famous Rama is green. And those two lions among men had no other delight but seeing thee. And they ransacking the whole world in quest of thee met us in the forest. And ranging the earth for thee they beheld Sugriva, of comely presence, the lord of monkeys, at the foot of the mount Rishvamuka covered with trees, banished by his elder brother and resorting there in his fear. And we were serving that truthful Sugriva, the lord of

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monkeys, driven from the kingdom by his elder brother. And beholding those two best of men, wearing bark and with bows in their hands, that best of monkeys, stricken with fear, leaped above and stationed himself on the crest of the hill. He then sent me to them. And thereupon by Sugriva's decree I, approached with joined palms, those two foremost of men gifted with beauty and royal marks. And they were pleased by me, being informed of the real facts. And then placing those two best of men on my back I arrived at the top of the hill and communicated the truth unto the high-souled Sugriva. And conversing with each other those two lords of men and monkeys attained great delight. And they consoled each other narrating their respective misfortunes. And Rama then consoled Sugriva, driven away by his greatly powerful elder brother Vali on his wife's account. Thereupon Lakshmana related unto Sugriva, the lord of monkeys, the grief, of Rama of unwearied actions, in consequence of thy being borne away (by Ravana). And hearing Lakshmana's words, the lord of monkeys became pale, like unto the radiant Sun possessed by Rahu. And collecting all those ornaments which were thrown off by thee on the earth, when thou wert borne away, the leaders of the monkey hosts, delighted brought them before Rama. But they could not make out thy whereabouts. And all those ornaments, which were handed over to Rama, were collected by me when they fell tinkling on the ground, Rama being beside himself with grief. And placing them on his lap, the god-like Rama bewailed in various accents. And they inflamed the more Dacarathee's [Son of Dacaratha—Rama.] grief. And being overwhelmed with grief that high-souled one laid himself low on the ground. And consoling him in various words, I raised him up again. And looking again and again with Saumitri, at those costly ornaments, Raghava handed them over to Sugriva. Raghava burns in grief, O worshipful dame, in thy absence, like unto a volcanic mountain burning with a perpetual fire. For thee, sleeplessness, grief and anxiety are distressing Raghava like unto three fires* burning down the fire temple. [* The aggregate of the three fires maintained by the Brahman householder.] Raghava is moved by thy separation like unto a huge mountain shaken by a terrible earth-quake. O daughter of a king, he is ranging at large in many a beautiful forest, river and fountain—but he finds delight nowhere. O daughter of the king Janaka, bringing about the destruction of Ravana, with all his kith and kin, Raghava, the foremost of men, shall soon regain thee. And thus Rama and Sugriva entered into a friendly covenant, to encompass Vali's destruction and to institute enquiries about thee. And thereupon returning to Kishkindha with those two heroic princes, the lord of monkeys killed Vali in battle. And destroying Vali by his prowess in battle, Rama made Sugriva king over all monkeys and bears. And in this way, O dame, the alliance between Rama and Sugriva was made. And know me as Hanuman, their messenger who hath come to thee. Regaining his own kingdom, Sugriva summoned all the mighty monkeys and despatched them in various quarters in quest of thee. And the highly powerful monkeys, resembling mountains, commanded by that lord of monkeys, proceeded to all the regions of the earth. And terrified by Sugriva's decrees, those monkeys, since then, have been ransacking the whole earth for thee. And I am one of them. And the beautiful and mighty son of Vali, by name Angada, hath proceeded with three armies under him. And many were the days and nights that we spent, overwhelmed with grief and having lost our way on that best of mountains Vindhya. We gave up all our hopes for the accomplishment of our end and our appointed time was well-nigh spent. And in fear of that lord of monkeys we addressed ourselves to put an end to our lives. Ranging the mountain strongholds, rivers and fountains and not finding thy reverence, we were ready to do away with our existence. And on the crest of that hill we took to fasting. And beholding those foremost of monkeys engaged in fasting Angada, sunk in grief, bewailed, O Vaidehi, mentioning thy rape, the destruction of Vali in that way, our fastings and Yatayu's death. While we were thus waiting, ready for death and giving up all hopes for the fulfillment of our master's behest, there appeared,as if the cause of our success, the mighty and powerful vulture,the brother of Yatayu, by name Sampati. And hearing of the destruction of his brother, he in wrath, said—'By whom and where hath my younger brother been killed? I wish to hear this from you, the foremost of monkeys.' And Angada related unto him verily Yatayu'sdestruction at Janasthana, for thee, by that grim-visaged Rakshasa. And hearing of Yatayu's death, Aruna's son became afflicted with sorrow and informed us, O thou exquisitely fine damsel, of thy stay in the abode of Ravana. And hearing those words of Sampati, enhancing our delight, we all, headed by Angada, left that place. And leaping from the crest of Vindhya mountain we reached the excellent brink of the Ocean. Being greatly anxious to behold thee and delighted, those plump monkeys headed by Angada, arrived at the banks of the main. And worked up with a strong desire to see thee, they again engaged in anxious thought. And beholding the ocean, the monkey hosts lost their heart. And removing their fear, I leaped a hundred leagues across the deep and entered Lanka, at night, infested with demons. I have seen Ravana, and thee stricken with grief. O thou of a blameless person, I have related all unto thee in regular order. Do thou speak to me, O worshipful dame, I am Dacarathee's messenger. Do thou know me as the Wind-god's son, the counsellor of Sugriva, who am engaged in Rama's service and have come here for thee. It is all well with thy Kakuthstha, the foremost of those using weapons, as well as with Lakshmana, O worshipful dame, gifted with auspicious marks, engaged in the worship of his superiors and in the well being of thy lord. By Sugriva's decree, I alone have reached here. And I, ranging alone and wearing shapes at will, have come to this southern quarter, to find out thy whereabouts. By my good luck I shall be able, with thy news, to remove the grief of those monkey hosts who are lamenting for thee. By my good fortune, my crossing over the main, hath not become fruitless. I shall be praised there, O worshiful dame, for I have been able to see thee. And the highly powerful Raghava shall soon regain thee, destroying, with all his sons and friends, Ravana the king of Rakshasas. There is a hill, O Vaidehi, named Malyabana, the foremost of all the mountains. There lives my father, the great monkey Kesari. Being commanded by the celestial ascetics, he once repaired thence to the mount Gokarna and at the holy watering place of the lord of the rivers he brought about the destruction of (the Asura) Samvasadana. O Vaidehi, I was born, on the field, of that monkey. And I am known all over the world as Hanuman by my own actions. To create thy confidence, O Vaidehi, I have related thy lord's accomplishments. And forsooth, thou shall soon be taken, O worshipful dame, by Raghava." Having her confidence formed by these reasonings and various marks, Sita, worn with grief, took him for Rama's messenger. And Janaki attained an excess of delight and shed tears of joy from her eyes having curling eye-lashes. And the beautiful countenance of that large-eyed dame, having spacious eyes, appeared like the Moon released from the hold of Rahu. She then took him for a real monkey and none else. Thereupon Hanuman again spoke unto her, having a comely presence,—"I have related unto thee all this. Do thou be consoled, O Maithilee! Tell me now, what am I to do and what dost thou like. I shall soon repair hence. When the Asura Samvasadana was destroyed in conflict by that best of monkeys at the desire of the celestial ascetics, I was born of the Wind, O Maithilee. I look like a monkey but am his equal in prowess."

SECTION 36.

The highly effulgent son of the Wind-god, Hanuman, to create Sita's confidence, again addressed her with the following words:—"O great dame, I am a monkey, the messenger of the highly intelligent Rama. Behold this precious ring with Rama's name engraven on it, given by thy high-souled lord and brought as a token to create thy confidence. Do thou take heart and may good betide thee, there will be an end of thy grief soon." And taking the ring that used to deck her lord's finger and looking at it, Janaki seemed to have actually got her lord. And her graceful countenance, having large eyes, looked, with delight, like unto the Moon released from the possession of Rahu. And greatly delighted at her husband's news that modest damsel, affectionately welcoming Hanuman, applauded that great monkey—"O foremost of monkeys, thou art brave, powerful and wise, since thou hast alone smitten this abode of the Rakshasas. Thou hast, with thy laudable prowess, leaped, a hundred leagues, across the ocean, the abode of marine monsters, taking it for Goshpada [A measure as much as a cow's foot-step will hold.]. O foremost of monkeys, I do not consider thee as an ordinary monkey, since thou dost not care or fear Ravana. O best of monkeys, thou art worthy of my welcome, since thou hast been despatched by Rama, knowing self. Rama, hard of being got at, hath not sent thee, specially to me, without a trial of thy prowess. By my good luck, is it all well with the virtuous-souled and truthful Rama and the highly powerful Lakshmana the enhancer of Sumitra's joy? And if Kakuthstha lives untouched by ill, then why does he not burn the earth, encircled by the ocean, with his ire like unto the fire of dissolution? Or they are capable of His comfitting the celestials in a battle but me-thinks by my ill-luck, the end of my miseries hath not arrived as yet. Is Rama greatly pained? Does he grieve? Is that foremost of men making preparations for my rescue? Has he forgotten his work being overwhelmed with fear and poorliness of heart? Is that son of the king performing still his manly duties? Is that slayer of foes, desirous of acquiring victory, pleasing his friends still with forgiveness and gifts and dealing his enemies with punishment, sowing dissensions amongst them, and with other expedients? Is he still gaining friends and are friends gathering around him? Is he welcoming his friends and are they honouring him the more? Is that son of the king invoking the blessings of the celestials? Hath he attained manliness and assistance from the celestials? Hath Raghava lost all his affection for me for my living at a distance from him? Will he save me from this disaster? Hath not Rama, ever used to happiness and unused to misery, been enfeebled by this disaster? Is he informed always of the welfare of Kauslaya, Sumitra and Bharata? Is not Raghava, worthy of honours, beside himself with grief in my absence? Will not Rama rescue met Will not Bharata, ever devoted to his brother, send out one Aksauhini of terrible soldiers under the command of his ministers for my rescue? Will not the graceful Sugriva, the lord of the monkeys come to help me with hosts of monkeys having huge teeth and nails? Will not the heroic Lakshmana, the enhancer of Sumitra's joy, conversant with the use of weapons, burn down the Rakshasas with his shafts? Shall I not behold soon that Ravana with his kinsmen hath been destroyed in battle by Rama with terrible weapons? Is not the gold-hued and lotus-smelling countenance (of Rama) dried up in my absence like unto lotus dried up by the rays of the sun in shallow water? Does he still hold patience in his heart, who renouncing his kingdom for virtue and repairing, on foot with me even to the forest, was not stricken with fear and grief? His love for his mother, father or any other person is not greater than or equal to his love for me. O messenger, I shall keep my life so long I do not hear anything about my dear one." Having addressed that lord of monkeys with these highly sound and sweet accents, that graceful and worshipful dame ceased, with a view to hear again from him pleasant tales regarding Rama. And hearing the words of Sita the terribly powerful Maruti, placing his joined palms on his head said,—"The lotus-eyed Rama doth not know that thou art here, and hence he hath not been able to rescue thee like unto Purandara regaining Sachee. And hearing about thee from me soon shall Raghava come assisted by a large army of monkeys and bears. And impeding the course of the unagitated deep and building, by means of his terrible shafts, a bridge across it, Kakuthstha, shall divest the city Lanka of all the Rakshasas. And forsooth shall Rama destroy them, even if the celestials, or Death himself stand in his way. O worshipful dame, stricken with grief in thy absence, Rama is restless like unto an elephant smitten by a lion. I can swear, O worshipful dame, by the mounts Mandara, Malaya, Vindya, Sumeru, Dardura and all the fruits and roots, that thou shalt behold like unto the rising of the full moon, the countenance of Rama having beautiful eyes, graceful, Bimba-like lips and beautified with beautiful kundalas. Thou shalt soon behold, O Vaidehi, Rama, on the mount Prasravana, like unto the performer of hundred sacrifices seated on the back of the elephant (Airavata). Raghava doth not take meat nor drink honey—he takes every day in the evening boiled rice and such wild fruits as are sanctioned by the Sastras. His heart is so much attached unto thee, that he does not drive away even flies, insects and snakes from his body. Rama is always engaged in meditations, overwhelmed with grief, and he has no other thought but seeing thee. Rama hath no sleep and even when asleep that best of men awakes exclaiming in sweet accents, 'O Sita!'. He always welcomes thee sighing and saying "O my dear love!" whenever he beholds any fruit, flower or any object liked by the ladies. O worshipful dame, he is always lamenting, exclaiming 'O Sita!' and that high-souled son of the king, to regain thee, hath resorted to ascetic observances." On hearing about Rlma, Sita was greatly delighted and she was equally grieved on hearing of his sorrow. And it appeared like the rising of the moon and the appearance of the clouds at the same time in an autumnal night.

SECTION 37.

Hearing those words, Sita having a moon-like countenance, again spoke unto Hanuman, words, sound and pious:— "O monkey, what thou hast said that Rama is not attached unto any other thing and is worn with grief, is like nectar mixed with poison. Whether in the enjoyment of vast riches, or emerged in the abyss of miseries, Death is pulling a man, binding him roughly with a chord. O best of monkeys, people cannot thwart the course of destiny. Behold me, Rama and Saumitri, therefore sunk in miseries. I do not know when shall Raghava get at the other end of the ocean of grief, by displaying his prowess, like unto one, swimming across the ocean when the boat is sunk. I do not know when shall my lord see me, destroying the Rakshasas, killing Ravana and devastating the city of Lanka. Do thou tell him to come before this year expires for till then I shall live. This is the tenth month and two months still remain, O monkey and that is the time appointed by the cruel Ravana. He was entreated very much by his brother Bivishana to restore me but he paid no need to his requests. Ravana doth not desire to restore me (unto Rama) for he has been brought under the influence of Death who is seeking him in battle. Bivishana's eldest daughter, monkey, by name Kala, hath related this unto me, being appointed by her mother. There is a leading, steady, old, intelligent and educated Rakshasa, gifted with a good character, named Abindhya and highly respected of Ravana who told him that the destruction of the Rakshasa race would proceed from Rama, but the vicious-souled one paid no attention to his well-meaning words. I hope, O foremost of monkeys, that my husband shall soon regain me for pure is my soul and he is gifted with many accomplishments. Raghava hath in him, O monkey, energy, manliness, strength, kindness, gratitude and prowess. He brought about without his brother's aid, the destruction of the fourteen thousand Rakshasas at Janasthana. What enemy is not troubled at this?

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The disaster-creating Rakshasas can never be compared with that best of men. I am cognisant of his prowess as Sachee is of Indra's. O monkey, Rama the Sun, with his arrow-like rays, shall dry up the water—the inimical Rakshasas." Saying this she was overwhelmed with grief on Rama's account, and Hanuman again spoke unto her having her countenance bathed in tears,—"No sooner shall Raghava hear from me than he shall speedily repair hither followed by a huge army of monkeys and bears. Or I shall release thee even to-day from the grasp of that Rakshasa and these miseries. Do thou place thyself on my back, O thou of a blameless person. And having thee on my back I shall leap over the main. I am capable of carrying the city of Lanka even with Ravana. I shall restore thee to-day, O Maithili, unto Raghava on the mount Prasravana, like unto fire carrying unto Indra, the sacrificial offerings. Thou shalt behold to-day, O Vaidehi, Rama along with Lakshmana, making preparations (for the destruction of his enemy) like unto Vishnu, engaged in the destruction of demons. (And thou shalt observe) that highly powerful one, anxious to behold thee and seated like unto Purandara on the summit of that foremost of mountains. Do thou place thyself on my back, O worshipful dame, do thou not neglect it, O beautiful lady, and be thus reconciled unto Rama like unto Rohini restored to the Moon. By the time, that we will take in talking thus, thou shalt reach Rama like Rohini restored to the Moon. Do thou therefore place thyself on my back and I shall cross the ocean sailing by the aetherial way. O fair one, carrying thee from this place, none amongst the inhabitants of Lanka shall be able to follow me. In the same way I have come here I shall return by the welkin, O Vaidehi placing thee on my back." Hearing those surprising words from that best of monkeys, Maithilee, having her entire frame worked up with joy, again bespake Hanumin—"Hanuman, how darest thou take me to such a long distance? O lord of monkey hosts, this attests to thy monkey hood. O foremost of monkeys, little-bodied as thou art, how dost thou desire, to take me hence to my husband the lord of men?" Hearing the words of Sita, the graceful son of the Wind-god Hanuman reflected aside—"This is my first insult. The lotus-eyed dame is not cognisant of my prowess or strength. Vaidehi should therefore learn that I can assume shapes at will." Thinking thus, Hanuman, the foremost of the monkeys and the slayer of foes, showed himself unto Sita, in his true shape. And leaping down from the tree, that best of monkeys began to increase himself to create Sita's confidence. His person appeared like the hill Mandara and the flaming fire. And that best of monkeys having a copper-coloured countenance, thunder-like nails and teeth and mountain-like huge body, appeared before Sita and said—"I am capable of carrying this Lanka with her lord, the mountains, forests gardens, buildings, walls and gate-ways. Do thou therefore confide in me, O worshipful dame, and be not suspicious. And O Vaidehi, do thou remove Rama's grief as well as Lakshmana's." Beholding the Wind-god's own begotten son, Hanuman, resembling a huge mountain, Sita, the daughter of Janaka, having eyes resembling lotus-petals, said,—"O great monkey, I know thy strength and bravery, thy air-like motion and thy wonderful fire-like energy. What ordinary man can come here crossing the incomparable ocean. O lord of monkey hosts, I understand that thou art capable of returning and thou shalt be able to carry me. But I should consider now how the work might be accomplished. O foremost of monkeys, I should not go with thee. Perhaps I might lose my sense with thy air-like velocity. When moving terribly thou shalt proceed high up in the welkin, perhaps I shall then fall down. No sooner I shall fall down into the ocean infested with fish and other animals than I shall be an excellent food unto them. O slayer of foes, I shall not be able to accompany thee. For seeing thee carry a woman; they shall surely suspect thee. And finding me stolen, those terribly powerful Rakshasas commanded by the vicious-souled Ravana, shall follow thee. O hero, carrying me and encircled by those heroic Rakshasas with maces and darts in their hands, thou shalt be beset with dangers. And on the sky the Rakshasas shall be armed with weapons and thou shalt be without any. How shalt thou be able to fight and protect me at the same time. And when thou shalt be engaged in conflict with those Rakshasas of terrible deeds, I, O foremost of monkeys, stricken with fear, shall fall down from thy back. O foremost of monkeys those terrible and powerful Rakshasas shall be able to defeat thee a little. And when thou shalt be defeated in battle I shall fall down and those vicious Rakshasas shall carry me away from thy hands or destroy me. Victory or defeat is uncertain in a battle. I shall thus be distressed by those Rakshasas setting up terrible roars and thy endeavours shall be fruitless, O best of monkeys. Thou art capable of destroying the Rakshasas very easily (I admit)—but Rama's fame shall then be soiled if dost thou bring about their destruction. Or the Rakshasas taking me away shall keep me in such a secret place, that neither the monkeys nor Raghava shall be able to ascertain my whereabouts. And all thy preparations for me shall thus be useless. And mighty shall be the result of Rama's coming with thee. O large armed one, the life of Raghava of unmitigated prowess, those of his brothers and of thy royal race are all subject to me. And when they shall give up their hopes of releasing me, they, worn out with grief and anxiety shall renounce their lives along with the monkeys and bears. O monkey, being guided by my love for my husband, I do not like willingly to touch any body's person but Rama's. When Ravana, by force touched my person, I had no other help, for I was then without my lord and therefore was subject to another person. If Rama can take me away from here, destroying the Ten-necked one with all the Rakshasas—he shall then perform the worthy action. I have heard of and myself seen the prowess of the highly-souled (Rama) unconquerable in a battle. There is none amongst the celestials, Gandharbas, Nagas and the Rakshasas who can match him in a conflict Beholding that highly powerful Raghava, in a conflict, like unto Vasava in prowess, holding a wonderful bow and followed by Lakshmana, who can withstand his prowess resembling the flaming fire? O foremost of monkeys, who can withstand Raghava in a conflict, followed by Lakshmana moving like an infuriated elephant and showering shafts like unto the rays of the sun at the time of Dissolution? O best of monkeys do thou speedily bring here my dear one along with Lakshmana and the lord of monkey hosts. O heroic monkey, do thou soon satisfy me, who am stricken with grief in consequence of my long separation from Rama.

SECTION 38.

Hearing those words, that foremost of monkeys, skilled in speech, was greatly delighted and again addressed Sita in the following words,—"O worshipful lady, O thou of an auspicious presence, what thou hast said, speaks well for a feminine nature and the modesty of a chaste damsel. And because thou art a female, thou art not capable of crossing on my back, the main extending over a thousand leagues. The second argument—I shall not touch any other person's body than Rama's, which thou hast produced, O Janaki! O thou gifted with modesty! truly becometh thee, who art the spouse of that high-souled one. Who else than thee, O worshipful one, can give expression to such words? Truly shall Kakutstha hear from the beginning to the end, O worshipful dame, of thy actions before me, and all thou hast said. For many reasons, I gave vent to such words, O lady,—I am anxious to compass Rama's end, and my heart is melted with affection. It is very difficult to enter this city of Lanka, it is equally hard to cross over the main —but I am capable of doing all these, and hence I gave utterance to all those words. I wish to take thee even today to the descendant of Raghu. It is for my devotion unto him and regard for thee that I said so and for nothing else. If thou dost not wish to go with me, O thou of a blameless person, do thou give me such a token as might create Raghava's confidence." Being thus accosted by Hanuman, Sita resembling the daughter of a celestial, spoke, gently, words with their letters strung on the vapour of grief,—"Do thou mention unto my dear lord (in my words) what had happened unto me while living in the hermitage at the foot of the mount Pratyanga, situate on the north-east of Chitrakuta, abounding in roots, fruits and water. 'At no distance from that place frequented by the ascetics flowed the sacred stream Mandakini. While ranging in that woodland fragrant with the odour of many flowers, thou, having thy person wet in consequence of thy sport in the water, didst sit on my lap. A crow, at that time, longing to feed on my flesh, tore my breast With its beak. And I threatened it with a pebble. But it continued tearing my breast as if it sat there to feed on my flesh and therefore did not fly off. Being enraged with that bird, as I tried to tighten the cloth around my waist, it gave way a little, and thou, rising up from thy seat and looking at me, didst laugh over it. And I was greatly enraged with thy laughter and ashamed, and, being wounded by the crow, I approached thee. Thereupon, tired as I was, I sat on thy lap, and, exercised with ire, I was consoled by thee laughing. Now I, having my countenance bathed in tears, gently rubbed my eyes. And I was seen by thee, O my lord, in that wise, greatly enraged with the crow. O Raghava, I slept for sometime, at thy lap, out of exhaustion, and thyself in turn, slept at mine, O elder brother of Bharata. In the meantime, that crow again suddenly approaching, tore my breast with its beak, as I awoke and was rising up from thy lap, O Raghava. Thereupon Raghava awoke with the shedding of blood. Beholding my breast wounded, that larged-armed hero wroth like a serpent, sighing, said,—O thou having thighs like the trunk of an elephant, by whom hath thy breast been wounded? Who wants to play with an angry five-hooded serpent?—Thereupon, casting his looks around, he espied the crow, sitting in my front with its claws besmeared with blood. That crow, best of birds, was the son of the lord of the celestials in disguise. And gifted with air-like velocity, he speedily entered inside the earth. Thereupon that large-eyed hero, best of the intelligent, with his eyes whirling with ire, resolved to destroy that crow. And taking a blade of Kucaoff his seat, he tied it to a Brahma weapon. And that blade, facing the bird, appeared with its flaming face, like the fire that would destroy the world. And he hurled that burning blade at the crow. And it pursued the crow high up in the welkin. Being thus pursued, that crow, in order to save himself, traversed various regions. And being then renounced by his father (Indra) and the great ascetics, he, ranging the three worlds, at last resorted to his (Rama's) shelter. And, placing himself on the earth, he sought his shelter, and Kakutstha, out of mercy, saved him, albeit worthy of being killed. And he spoke unto him, greatly famished, of a pale countenance and lying on the earth,—It is impossible to render this Brahma weapon fruitless. Therefore, do thou speak (as to what is to be done.)—He then destroyed the right eye of the crow. Having given up his eye, he saved himself. Then bowing unto Rama as well as king Dacaratha, the crow, liberated by that hero, went to his own abode. 'Thou hadst on my behalf discharged the Brahma weapon even at a crow. Why then, O lord of earth, dost thou forbear him who had carried me off from thee? O foremost of men, do thou dispense unto me thy kindness capable of inspiring hope. O lord, possessing a lord in thee, I (now) appear as if I had none. That kindness is a prime virtue—I have heard even from thee; and I know that thou art exceedingly energetic and possessed of great strength and high courage,—unfettered by considerations of time and space, incapable of being agitated, thou in gravity resemblest the ocean, and like unto that lord of the earth furnished with seas—Vasava. O Raghava, being thus the foremost of those acquainted with weapons, powerful, and possessed of strength, wherefore dost thou not direct thy weapon against the Rakshasas?' Neither Nagas, nor Gandharbas, nor the gods, nor the Maruts, are competent to resist the onset of Rama in battle. If that puissant one still retains any regard for me, why doth he not by means of sharpened shafts make root and branch work with the Rakshasas? And why, taking the permission of his brother, that repressor of foes, the heroic Lakshmana gifted with great strength, doth not deliver me? If those foremost of men be indeed equal to Indra and the Wind, and incapable of being repressed even by the celestials, wherefore do they disregard me? Surely I must be guilty of some great crime, since although capable, those subduers of enemies do not look at me.' Hearing Vaidehi's piteous words uttered with tearful eyes, that leader of monkey-bands, the exceedingly energetic Hanuman, said,—"O exalted one, I swear by truth, Rama turneth away his countenance (from every work) in consequence of grief for thee. And Rama being seized with sorrow, Lakshmana burns in grief. Now that I have been able to obtain a sight of thee, this is no season for sorrow. O auspicious one, even now thou shalt witness the end of this woe. Filled with hope from my sight of thee, those foremost of persons, those mighty princes, shall reduce the worlds to ashes. And, O thou of expansive eyes, slaying in battle the wicked Ravana with his allies, Raghava shall take thee back to his palace. Now tell me what I shall communicate unto Raghava, and the highly powerful Lakshmana, and the energetic Sugriva, and all the assembled monkeys." Thus addressed, Sita again spoke unto him, saying,—Do thou on my behalf, bowing down the head, enquire after the welfare of that protector of men whom Kaucalya hath brought forth. Do thou on my behalf, and on account of my words, enquire after the welfare of him, who, renouncing wreaths and gems of all kinds, and beloved damsels possessed of transcendent beauty, and wealth such as is difficult to obtain on this spacious earth; and who, honouring and bowing unto his father and mother, followed Rama,—in whom Sumitra hath an excellent son,—of that righteous one, who, espousing the cause of his brother, renouncing choice happiness, followeth his brother to the forest, ministering unto him; who is lion-shouldered, long-armed, intelligent, and of a prepossessing presence; who beareth himself towards Rama as if he were his sire, and towards me, as if I were his mother; of that heroic Lakshmana who did not know when I was ravished away;—the servant of the elders, crowned with auspiciousness,—who is competent and reineth in his tongue; who is the foremost of those dear unto the king's son [Rama.], and worthy of my father-in-law; who is dearer [unto Rama) than even my own self; of Lakshmana, brother into Rama; that energetic one who undertaketh even such tasks as he is not equal to, and seeing whom Raghava hath forgotten his deceased sire,—him for the sake of my words, thou must ask as to his welfare. Lakshmana is always mild and pure, and dear unto Rama. Do thou speak to him so, that, O best of monkeys, he may remove my miseries. O leader of monkey-bands, do thou bring about success on this undertaking. From this preliminary endeavour of thine, Raghava shall take pains on my behalf.—This also shalt thou say again and again unto that hero—my lord,—'O son of Dacaratha, I shall keep on this life for another month; and this I swear unto thee by truth that I will not live beyond this month. O hero, even as Vishnu rescued Kauciki from the nether regions [Lower regions of rivers perhaps.], it behoveth thee to rescue me, who have ignominiously been confined by the impious Ravana."— Thereupon, saying,—"Hand this unto Raghava," Sita gave to Hanuman a noble and excellent jewel for the head, which was tied up in her attire. Then taking that best of gems, the hero tried to fix it on his finger; but it did not enter into it. And taking the gem, and bowing unto Sita and going round her, that foremost of monkeys remained by her side in humble guise. And experiencing

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rapture in consequence of his seeing Sita, he mentally presented himself before Rama, and Lakshmana graced with auspicious marks. And taking that costly and superb gem, which by virtue of some power, king Janaka's daughter had managed to hide (from the gaze of the Rashasis), Hanumlan, feeling delighted like one, shaken by the wind blowing on the top of the foremost of mountains, and then getting away from it, prepared to set out.

SECTION 39.

Having made over the gem, Sita said onto Hanuman,—"This sign is very well known to Rama. Seeing this gem, that hero, Rama, shall recollect three persons,—his mother, myself, and king Dacaratha, Thou, O foremost of monkeys, wilt again be commissioned on this business. Do thou bethink thee as to what thou wilt do afterwards, when thou hast been entrusted with this task. O foremost of monkeys, thou art capable of compassing this work. Therefore, think as to what course of his (Rama's) shall remove (my) misery. O Hanuman, undergoing toils, be thou instrumental in removing my misery." Saying, "So be it," the Wind-god's offspring of terrible prowess, bowing down the head, prepared to depart. Seeing that (Hanuman) was about to set out, that exalted one, Mithila's daughter, addressed that monkey, son unto the Wind-god, in words choked by the vapour of grief,—"O Hanuman, do thou communicate good news to both Rama and Lakshmana, to Sugriva with his counsellors, and to all the aged monkeys. And, O best of monkeys, in consonance with righteousness, communicate good tidings (unto Rama). And it behoveth thee to strive so that the mighty-armed Raghava may rescue me from this sea of sorrow. And, O Hanuman, do thou speak so that the illustrious Rama may deliver me while I am still alive; and thereby do thou reap righteousness. Ever breathing high spirits, Dacarathi [Dacaratha's son.], hearing my words, shall attain an access of manliness for my deliverance. Soon as Raghava shall hear words couching tidings of me, that hero shall duly resolve on displaying his prowess." Hearing this speech of Sita, Hanuman, son unto the Wind-god, with his joined hands raised to his head, said,—"Soon shall Kakutstha come, surrounded by the foremost monkeys and bears; and, vanquishing the foe in fight, shall remove thy grief. Find I none either among men, or Asuras, or celestials, that dares remain before him as he discharges his shafts. For thee, in especial, he can stand in conflict even the Sun, Indra, nay—Yama himself, that offspring of the Sun. For thee, he prepareth himself to conquer the Earth bounded by the main; and victory, thou daughter of Janaka, shall be Rama's." Hearing his words excellently spoken and thoroughly true, Janaki honoured them highly, and spoke (as follows). And gazing at him once and again as he prepared to go away, Sita from affection honoured the speech which had been uttered (by Hanuroan) out of attachment unto his master,— "If thou wish it, O hero, do thou, O subduer of enemies, stay here for one day. Having rested in some hidden nook, thou wilt depart to-morrow. O monkey, (if thou dost remain), thy vicinity shall for a moment remove the huge grief of me of slender luck. But even if thou go (passing to-day here), I have, O tiger-like monkey, doubts as to thy return; and, accordingly, doubt, certainly, as to my life. And the grief incident to my not seeing thee shall burn me greatly, even, O monkey, as grief burneth one that is already consumed by sorrow over and over again. And, O hero, O lord of monkeys, this doubt is also before me. How, alas! shall the mighty lord of monkeys, albeit backed by the monkeys and bears, cross over the mighty main hard to cross,—and (how shall) those forces consisting of bears and monkeys or those sons of the best of men (cross over the same)? In all the three worlds, Vinata's offspring, thyself, and the Wind-god, have alone the power of crossing over the deep.—Then, for the accomplishment of this work, difficult to compass, what, O hero, O thou best of those conversant with business, what way dost thou see as to its success? Or thou alone, O destroyer of hostile heroes, art quite enough for the fulfilment of this purpose; and thou shalt reap, in the shape of fame, the fruit of thy achievement. But if (Rama) himself together with all his forces, conquering Ravana and (recovering me) in battle, returned victorious to his own city,—this would be worthy of himself. If blocking up Lanka with his army, that afflictor of hostile hosts, Kakutstha took me (hence), that would be worthy of him. Do thou, therefore, adopt such means that the high-souled heroic warrior may have an opportunity of putting forth prowess. Hearing those words fraught with sense and reason and informed with affection, Hanuman, by way of reply said mildly,—"O revered lady, that foremost of monkeys—the lord of bears and monkeys—Sugriva, possessed of truth, hath made up his mind on thy behalf. That destroyer of Rakshasas, O daughter of Videha, environed by thousands of millions of monkeys, will come hither without delay. And exceedingly powerful and mighty monkeys possessed of prowess, and speeding far with the rapidity of thought, are in his command. Nothing can impede their courses, either upward, or downward, or tending in both directions; and those ones of measureless energy never experience depression in the most arduous undertakings. Braced by their exalted spirits, these, resorting to the aerial way, have many a time and oft circumambulated the Earth containing mountains and meads. There are (in that army) rangers of woods, some equal and some superior to me. And near Sugriva there are none who are inferior to me. And since even I have reached this place, what shall I say of those ones endowed with immense might? Nor are superior (monkeys) sent on errands; it is only the inferior ones that are sent. Then, O exalted one, thou needst not grieve: let thy sorrow depart. Those leaders of monkey-herds will come to Lanka by one bound; and, like unto the risen Sun and Moon, those leonine men, having large numbers to back them, will come to thy side, riding my back. Those heroes and foremost of men, Rama and Lakshmana both, coming to the city of Lanka, shall destroy her by means of their shafts. And slaying Ravana together with his adherents, Raghu's son, taking thee, O paragon among women, shall return to his own city. Therefore, do thou take heart, good betide thee! Do thou remain, eagerly wishing for the time. It will not be long before thou shalt behold Rama resembling flaming fire. On the lord of Rakshasas being slain along with his counsellors and friends, thou shalt meet with Rama, even as Rohini meeteth with the Moon. O worshipful one, speedily shalt thou behold the other shore of thy misery, O Maithili; and thou shalt see Ravana slain by Rama by might of arm." Having thus solaced Videha's daughter, Hanuman, son unto the Wind-god, again spoke unto Vaidehi, saying,—"Soon shalt thou behold that destroyer of foes, Raghava of subdued soul, and the bow-bearing Lakshmana also, come to the gate of Lanka. And soon shalt thou behold the assembled heroic monkeys, endowed with the prowess of lions and tigers, and the splendour of the monarch of monkeys, and having nails and teeth for their arms. And thou shalt, O noble one, behold innumerable companies of choice monkeys, resembling hills and clouds,—roaring on the plateaus of Malaya in Lanka.

Like an elephant tormented by a lion, Rama afflicted in the vitals by the dreadful shafts of Manmatha, doth not attain ease. Do not weep, exalted one, in sorrow. Let not fear take possession of thy heart! Even as Sachi meeteth with Sakra, shalt thou, O auspicious one, meet with thy lord. Who is greater than Rama? And who is equal to Sanmitri? [i. e. Sumitra's son, Laksamana.] And these brothers resembling Fire and the Wind, are thy help. O revered one, thou wilt not have to dwell long in this extremely dreadful place inhabited by the Rakshasas. The arrival of thy beloved one is not distant. Just remain expecting (as best thou may), during the time that elapses between this and my meeting with Rama."

SECTION 40.

Hearing the speech of the high-souled offspring of the Wind-god, Sita resembling a daughter of the celestials, said in words fraught with her welfare,—"Even as the Earth with corn half-way towards harvest is gladdened on receipt of showers, have I, O monkey, been gladdened on seeing thee that speakest sweetly. Do thou so dispense thy kindness unto me that, with my desire attained, I may touch that tiger-like one with my body reduced by grief. And, O foremost of monkeys, present this sign onto Rama, and tell him also for a sign that he had in ire buried the dart which destroyed a single eye of the crow. And tell him also*,—'On my (first) tilaka having been wiped out, thou didst paint beside my cheek another made of red arsenic —this thou shouldst remember. [Sita wishes Hanuman to use her own language to Rama.] Why, O thou endowed with prowess, resembling Indra the Great or Vanuna, dost thou disregard the ravished Sita, sitting in the midst of Rakshas? This jewel for the head I had preserved with care. In my misfortune, O sinless one, I used to inspire cheerfulness by a sight of this, resembling thyself. This graceful water-sprung (gem) I part from. Hereafter, overwhelmed with grief, I shall not be able to live. For thee only do I bear insufferable miseries, heart-cleaving speech, and companionship with Rakshasas. O destroyer of enemies, for a month longer will I maintain being. Beyond that, O king's son, bereft of thee, I will not live. This Rakshasa king is dreadful. (This being so), if I hear thee tarrying, I would not live for a moment." Hearing Vaidehi's speech pathetic and uttered with tears, the highly energetic Hanuman, son unto the Wind-god, said,—"My revered one, I swear unto thee by truth itself that Rama neglecteth every business because of grief for thee. And Rama being overwhelmed with woe, Lakshmana burneth in grief. Now that I have succeeded in seeing thee after no end of ado, this is no time for lamentation. O fair one, this very moment thou shalt witness the end of thy woe. Those blameless princes—foremost of men, gathering courage from my sight of thee, shall reduce Lanka to ashes. And, O thou of expansive eyes, slaying in battle Ravana along with his friends, Raghu's, sons shall take thee back to their own palace. Now, O faultless lady, thou ought to give me such a sign as Rama shall certainly recognise, and as shall more please him by far." "Ah!" (answered Sita), "I have already furnished thee with an excellent sign. This ornament, O Hanuman, when carefully examined by Rama, O hero, shall render thy words credible." Thereupon, taking that best of gems, that graceful foremost of monkeys, bowing down the head unto that exalted one, prepared to depart. Seeing that monkey-leader intent upon leaping up, and surcharged with energy,—with his person enlarged, Janaka's daughter, with a tearful countenance, spake in woe-begone guise, her accents choked with the vapour of grief,—"O Hanuman, communicate tidings of my good health onto those lion-like brothers, Rama and Lakshmana, to Sugriva along with his counsellors, and to all (the monkeys). And it behoveth thee so to compass things that the mighty-armed Raghava may rescue me from this sea of sorrow. Do thou, going to Rama, make known to him the fierce current of my grief, as well as the railing of these Rakshasas. Good fortune be thy portion, thou exceedingly heroic monkey!" Thus furnished with the intentions of the princess, the monkey, having gained his object, and, growing exceedingly exhilarated in his heart, reviewed the small work that yet remained for him, became bent upon proceeding to the north.

SECTION 41.

Having been honoured by her (Sita) in excellent words, the monkey proceeding, left that place, thinking,—"A small work it is that remains. Beheld have I this dark-eyed lady. Passing by three means, I see that I shall have to resort to the fourth. No treaty with Rakshas can answer the end. Neither can gifts prevail with the wealthy. Nor is it possible to sow dissensions among persons proud of their strength. Then, display of prowess appeareth to me applicable in this case. Without resorting to prowess, way find I none for ensuring success in this matter. If the Rakshas find their foremost heroes fallen in battle, they may temper their (martial ardour). He that, having compassed his (principal) purpose, accomplishes many more without marring the prime one, is entitled to act He that doeth a small work is certainly not a worker,—he it is that knoweth to bring about success in diverse ways, is alone capable of securing the same. Although my sole commission was to effect this much, yet if I repair to the abode of the lord of monkeys after having ascertained the strength of our ownselves and that of the foe in the field, then I shall have done the mandate of my master. How can my arrival (at this place) be made to bring forth good fruit? How can I forcibly bring on engagement with the Rakshasas? And how can the Ten-necked one in battle be made to form a just estimate of the respective strength of myself and his forces? Coming in contact with the Ten-necked one, with his three orders, forces and charioteers, I shall, reading the intention that is in his heart, as well as his strength, —happily return from hence. This grove of the fell (fiend) resembling Nandana itself, containing various trees and plants, and captivating to eye and heart,—will I destroy; even as fire destroyeth a dry wood. This grove being ravaged, Ravana shall get into a fury. Then the Rakshasa monarch shall summon up an army consisting of horses, elephants, and mighty cars, equipped with tridents, iron axes and other arms,—, and mighty shall be the encounter that shall take place. And I with unimpaired prowess battling with those terrific Rakshas, and annihilating that host despatched by Ravana, shall merrily journey to the abode of the monkey-king." Then furious like the Wind, the offspring of the Wind-god possessed of dreadful prowess set about knocking down the trees with impetuous violence. Then that hero, Hanuman, devastated that garden of the damsels, resounding with the roars of mad elephants, and filled with diverse trees and shrubs. And with its trees crushed and its tanks damaged, with its fair peaks shattered in fragments and its pools eloquent with the notes of birds, riven all over, with coppery and withered sprays cast about (in all directions), and with its trees and plants shorn of their liveliness,—that wood was no longer beautiful,—as if it had been burnt up by a forest-fire; and its plants resembled damsels with their apparel falling off. And that magnificent wood, with its arbours and its picture-gallerys destroyed, and its ferocious animals, beasts and birds crying in distressful accents,—and its rocky structures and other mansions broken down, was bereft of its loveliness. And that grove of the inner apartment belonging to the damsels of the Ten-necked one, with its numbers of acoka trees and plants cast about disorderly, was, in very sooth, through the might of the monkey, rendered a sight composed of plants, etc., tending to awaken the regret of the spectator. Then having done what was wondrous disagreeable unto the mind of the magnanimous lord of the world, that monkey desirous of coping alone with a vast host, stood by the main entrance, flaming in effulgence.

SECTION 42.

Then on account of the cries of birds and the sounds of breaking trees, all the denizons of Lanka were seized with trepidation in consequence of fright. And agitated with fear, birds and beasts hurried (on all sides); and omen-boding evil unto the Rakshasas, began to appear (everywhere). And grim-visaged Rakshasis, awaking from their sleep, saw that wood devastated, and that heroic mighty monkey. And observing them, that mighty-armed and powerful monkey endowed with immense strength, magnified his dimensions, capable of striking terror into the Rakshasas. And beholding that

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exceedingly strong monkey resembling a mountain, the Rakshasis asked Janaka's daughter, saying,—"Who is this? And whence, and wherefore, hath he come here? And why did he carry on converse with thee? Tell us this, thou of expansive eyes. O lucky one, entertain no fear. And, O thou having eyes with dark outer corners, what is the talk that this one hath held with thee?" Thereat, the chaste Sita, having all her parts perfect, answered,—"What is my power to read Rakshasas capable of wearing forms at will? Ye know who he is and what he doeth. Serpents, without doubt, know the way of serpents. And, furthermore, I am very much frightened,— nor know I who that one is. I take him to be a Rakshasa,— who hath come here through his capacity to put on any shape." Hearing Vaidehi's words, the Rakshasis swiftly took to their heels. Some remained,—and some departed to inform Ravana of the matter. And before Ravana, the Raksbasis of deformed visages informed him of the hideous and dreadful monkey. "O king, in the heart of the acokawood there is a monkey of a terrific body, who, possessed of immeasurable might, stayeth, after having carried on a conversation with Janaki. Nor, albeit questioned by us many a time and oft, doth Janaka's daughter, Sita, having the eyes of a deer, intend to tell us who the monkey is. He may be the emissary of Vasava, or of Vaipravana; or he may have been sent by Rama himself from eagerness to get at the whereabouts of Sita. And he it is that, wearing a wonderful form, hath destroyed thy charming arbour of the interior, filled with beasts of various kinds.—And quarter there is none which hath not been destroyed by him; and only that place where the exalted Janaki is, remained uninjured by him,—whether for preserving Janaki, or from fatigue—it doth not appear. But what is his fatigue? She it is that hath been preserved by him. And that overgrown Sincapa tree, affluent with elegant foliage, under which Sita herself hath (always rested), hath been spared by him. It behoveth thee to order sharp chastisement to be inflicted on that one of a fierce form, who, having carried on converse with Sita, hath laid thy wood waste. Who, O Sovereign of the Rakshasas,that hath not his life severed from him,—converseth with Sita, who hath captivated thy heart?" Hearing the speeches of the Rakshasis, Ravana, lord of Rakshasas, with his eyes rolling in rage, flamed up like the fire of a funeral pyre. And as fall drops of lighted oil from a flaming lamp,fell drops of tears from the eyes of the enraged Ravana. And that highly energetic one ordered his heroic servants, resembling himself, to punish Hanuman. And from that mansion speedily issued eighty thousand of those retainers, carrying in their hands maces and mallets [Kuta—hammer, a weapon resembling a hammer.],—having huge bellies, and large teeth, of dreadful forms, and possessed of unwieldy strength,—all eager to engage in the conflict and take Hanuman. And having come near that monkey staying at the main entrance, those swelling spirits rushed on, even as insects rush into a flame. And equipped with variegated maces, and bludgeons, and golden angadas [A bracelet worn on the upper arm.], and arrows resembling the Sun, they approached that foremost of monkeys. And accoutred in maces, axes, and javelins, and bearing bearded darts and lances in their hands, they suddeuly surrounded Hanuman and remained before him. And the graceful and energetic Hanuman also, resembling a hill, flourishing his tail over the ground, sent up tremendous roars. And attaining mighty proportions, Hanuman, son unto the Wind-god, brandished his tail, filling Lanka with sounds. And at the sounds of his flourishing, as well as with those resounding ones set up by himself, birds began to drop down from the sky. And he loudly proclaimed,—"Victory to the exceedingly strong Rama and to the mighty Lakshmana! And victory unto king Sugriva, protected of Raghava! I am the servant of the Sovereign of Kerala, Rama of untiring deeds,— (I am) Hanuman, the destroyer of hostile hosts, offspring of the Wind-god. And a thousand Ravanas cannot cope with me in conflict, when I shall hurl crags and trees by thousands. In the very presence of all the Rakshas, shall I, having desolated the city of Lanka and paid my reverence to Maithili, go away, my end being compassed." They were struck with affright at his roars; and they beheld Hanuman elevated as an evening cloud. And now knowing for certain that the monkey had been despatched by his master, the Rakshasas commenced assailing him with various kinds of dire arms. Environed on all sides by those heroes, that exceedingly powerful one, staying by the main entrance, took up a terrific bolt. And taking that bolt, like Vinata's offspring handling a darting serpent, he slew those rangers of the night. And grasping (the bolt), the Wind-god's son began to range the welkin and destroy (the Rakshasas), like the thousand-eyed (deity) slaughtering Daityas with his thunder-bolt. And having slain those Rakshasas, who were the retainers of Ravana, the heroic offspring of the Wind-god—foremost of heroes—desirous of fight, stood at the gate. Then certain Rakshasas, getting off from the field in fear, informed Ravana of the destruction of all his servants. Hearing that a mighty host of the Rakshasas had been slain, the king, with his eyes whirling in ire, ordered Prahasta's son of incomparable prowess, and invincible in battle.

SECTION 43.

Having slaughtered the servants, Hanuman, having reflected awhile, thought,—"I have broken down the wood; but have not destroyed the edifice dedicated to the deities of the Rakshasas. Therefore, this very day will I demolish this structure." Having thought thus in his heart, that foremost of monkeys, Hanuman, son unto the Wind-god, displaying his strength, bounded unto the Chaitya building [A building designed for deities; probably a temple.], elevated like a summit of Meru. And having ascended the edifice resembling a mountain, that leader of monkey-bands, possessed of wondrous energy, looked like another Sun risen (in the sky). And having broken down that superb edifice, the irrepressible Hanuman, flaming in auspicionsness, resembled (the mountain) Pariyatra. And magnifying his dimensions through his energy, the offspring of the Wind-god fearlessly fell to striking his arms with his hands, and thus filling Lanka, with the sounds. And at those sounds of striking arms, capable of striking deafness into the hearer, birds began to drop down there, as well as the warders of the religious mansion, with their senses overwhelmed. "Victory unto Rama versed in arms! And unto Lakshmana endowed with immense strength! And victory unto king Sugriva, who is protected by Raghava! Hanuman, son onto the Wind-god, destroyer of hostile hosts, is the slave of Rama of untiring deeds. And not a thousand Ravanas can cope with me in conflict as I hurl stones and trees by thousands. Having destroyed the city of Lanka and paid my respects to Mithila's daughter, I, my object gained, shall depart in the presence of all the Rakshasas." Having spoken thus, that one of a prodigious person, seated on the Chaitya, emitted tremendous roars, striking terror into the Rakshas. In consequence of that mighty cry, an hundred guards attached to the Chaitya sallied out, taking various weapons—bearded darts, scimitars and axes; and they surrounded the Wind-god's offspring, as he went on increasing his body. And they encountered that foremost of monkeys with various maces, and axes, and golden Angadas, and arrows resembling the Sun. And those numbers of Rakshas, encountering that best of monkeys,resembled an extensive and mighty whirlpool in the Ganga. Thereat, the Wind-god's son, the mighty Hanuman, waxing enraged, violently uprooting a huge piller of the edifice, plated with gold, and having an hundred borders, began to whirl it (in the air). And the fire generated there thus, burnt down the entire edifice. Seeing that edifice in flames, the graceful monkey-leader, having slain the hundred Rakshasas, like Indra slaying Asuras with his thunderbolt,—remaining in the sky, said,—"Thousands of strong, high-souled and foremost monkeys like myself, having been created, and remaining under the command of Sugriva, —including ourselves as well as other monkeys—are ranging all over the world. Some are endowed with the strength of ten elephants, some with the strength of an hundred, some have the prowess of a thousand elephants, and some the strength of elephants numbered by herds. Some are equal in strength to the Wind,—and there are there some monkey-leaders who have no limit to their strength. Surrounded with monkeys of this sort, having nails and teeth for their arms,—in hundreds and thousands and kotis and ayutas, cometh our Sugriva,—the slayer of all (foes). Neither this city of Lanka, nor you, nor yet Ravana, shall exist,—having created hostility with that high-souled hero of the Ikshwaku race."

SECTION 44.

Commanded by the lord of Rakshasas, Prahasta's son, the powerful Jamvumali, having large teeth, went out bow in hand. And he wore a red wreath and attire, with a garland hung round his neck, and elegant ear-rings; and he was huge, and terrible, with his eyes whirling,—invincible in encounter. And he impetuously stretched a graceful bow, resembling the bow of Sakra, and roaring like vajra and the thunderbolt. And the entire welkin, and all sides and quarters, were suddenly filled with the mighty sounds of that bow as it was being stretched. And seeing him approaching in a car yoked with asses, Hanuman endowed with vigour both rejoiced and shouted. Thereat, the highly energetic Jamvumali pierced with whetted shafts that mighty monkey, Hanuman, who was seated on an awry plank at the gate serving as a perch for pigeons. He pierced that lord of monkey's face with half-moon (shaped) arrows, his head with one having its head made like a hook and his arms with ten narachas [Iron arrows.]. And pierced by the arrows, his coppery face looked beautiful like a blown autumnal red lotus shot at by the solar rays.—And his naturally red countenance being painted with blood, looked lovely like a majestic red lotus in the sky, washed with the honey of the red acoka.—Wounded by the shafts, the redoubted monkey grew enraged. And he espied a huge and gigantic crag beside him. Thereat, at once uprooting it, that one endowed with celerity and strength hurled it (at his foe). And the enraged Rakshasa opposed it by ten shafts. Witnessing his action rendered fruitless, the energetic Hanuman of terrific prowess, uprooting a large sala, began to whirl it (in the air). Seeing the exceedingly strong monkey whirling the sala tree, the highly powerful Jamvumali dischanged a many shafts. And he severed the sala by means of four shafts, and wounded the monkey in the arm with five, in the chest, with one, and with ten, between the teats. With his body covered all over with shafts, (Hanuman) getting into a furious passion, taking up the same bolt, again began to swing it with rapidity. And that terrific one gifted with exceeding impetuosity, having whirled the bolt with wondrous rapidity, let it light upon Jamvumali's spacious breast. And (anon) there was neither seen there his head, nor bis arms, nor his thighs, nor his bow, nor his car, nor his steeds, nor his arrows at that place. And that mighty car-warrior, Jamvumali, speedily slain, fell down to the earth, like a tree whose trunk hath been crushed. Hearing Jamvumali as well as his exceedingly powerful servants slaughtered, Ravana became transported with anger, and his eyes became reddened in wrath. And on the mighty son of Prahasta having been slain, the lord of the night-rangers, with his reddened eyes rolling in rage, speedily commanded the sons of his counsellors, endowed with vast energy and prowess, (to encounter Hanuman in battle.)

SECTION 45.

Then ordered by the lord of Rakshasas, the sons of his counsellors, seven (in number), in splendour resembling fire, issued forth from that mansion. And surrounded by a mighty army, furnished with bows, endowed with wondrous strength, and accomplished in arms—the foremost of those acquainted with weapons—each burning for victory, with mighty cars yoked with steeds, covered with golden net-works, bearing pennons and standards,and having sounds like those proceeding from clouds,—exultingly stretching with immeasurable prowess bows decked with gold,—resembling clouds surcharged with lightning,—those warriors sallied out. Learning that the servants had been slain, their mothers, along with their friends and kindred, were overpowered with grief. And vieing with each other in eagerness, those (warriors) decked in ornaments of polished gold, confronted Hanuman staying at the gate. And with their cars sending roars, the Rakshasas, pouring showers of shafts, ranged (the field), resembling clouds during the rainy season. And covered with those arrowy showers, Hanuman had his person concealed, like the monarch of mountains hidden by a downpour. And that swift-speeding monkey, coursing the cloudless sky, evaded those shafts of those heroes, as well as the impetuosity of their cars. And that hero, playing pranks with those bowmen, appeared like the masterful Wind playing tricks with the bow-bearing clouds. And sending up a dreadful shout, and thereby filling that vast host with fright, the energetic Hanuman rushed on that Rakshasa army. And that subduer of enemies slew some with slaps, and some he rived with nails, and some he killed by blows, and others with (the pressure of) his chest. And some dropped down on the ground at the very same spot at the sounds that he emitted. And on their being slain or falling on the earth, that army, afflicted with affright, began to fly in all directions. And the elephants roared in frightful tones, and the steeds fell down oa the earth.—And the Earth was covered with broken boxes, flagstaffs, and umbrellas, (belonging to the cars), as also with the cars themselves.—And rivers running gore were seen on the way, and Lanka uttered various frightful cries. And having slain those overgrown Rakshasas, that exceedingly powerful and heroic monkey of terrific power, desirous of again coping with other Rakshasas, retraced his steps to the self-same entrance.

SECTION 46.

Learning that the sons of the counsellors had been slain by the high-souled monkey, the Ten-necked one suppressing the apprehension that was in his heart, restored the balance of his mind. And he directed five of the foremost leaders of his forces, the heroic Virupaksha, Yupaksha, the Rakshasa Durdharsha, Praghasa, and Masakarna, versed in polity, endowed with the speed of the Wind in conflict and alert on every occasion, to take Hanuman captive."Ye generals, do ye taking a mighty host with steeds, elephants and cars, chastise that monkey. And coming to that dweller of the woods, ye had better act heedfully, and should accomplish this work in consonance with place and season. Having regard to his acts, I do not take him to be a monkey. He is a great being endowed with extraordinary prowess every way. My mind is not satisfied that he is a monkey. He may have been brought into being by Indra, through ascetic might, for injuring us. Backed by you, I have defeated (deities), and Nagas, and Yakshas, and Gandharbas, and Asuras, and Maharshis. And, for certain, they have herein tried to do us some wrong. Therefore there is no doubt about this,—do ye by main force take him. And, ye generals, go ye, taking a mighty force with steeds, elephants and cars. Do ye chastise this monkey. This monkey of deliberate prowess should not be disregarded by you. I have seen381 monkeys of immense prowess,—Vali with Sugriva and the exceedingly powerful Jambavan, and Nila the general, and others with Dwivida at their head. Their speed is not dreadful, nor their energy, nor their prowess, nor their intelligence, nor their strength, nor their courage, nor their

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capacity to change shapes. Therefore ye should know him as some great being staying in the form of a monkey. Exerting yourself to the uttermost, do ye chastise him. These three worlds combined, with Indra, celestials and mortals, are incapable of long staying before you in the field of battle. Still a person versed in polity, albeit anxious to secure victory in battle, should carefully preserve self, as success in war is unstable." Thereupon, they, possessed of the energy of fire, accepting the words of their master,rushed forth vehemently, accompanied with cars, mad elephants, fleet steeds, sharp and whetted weapons,—and forces of all kinds. Then those heroes saw that effulgent mighty monkey, shining in his native splendour, like unto the risen sun,— possessed of great strength and immense speed, and magnanimity of mind,—seated at the gate. And soon as they saw him, they, frightened at his appearance, assailed him with their respective terrible weapons. And Durdhasa discharged at Hanuman's head five white iron arrows with yellow heads, and possessing the lustre of lotus-leaves. Having been pierced in the head with those shafts, the monkey, roaring, leapt into the sky, making the ten cardinal points resound. Then the exceedingly powerful and heroic Durdhara, mounted on a car, with his bow stringed, came forward, showering innumerable arrows by hundreds. Thereat, even as the wind driveth away rain-pouring clouds at the end of the rainy season, the monkey, remaining in the sky, resisted (his antagonist) as he kept on pouring his shafts. And sore beset by Durdhara, the Wind-god's son again emitted cries, and that puissant one also increased himself. Then darting far up in the air, the monkey suddenly descended on the car of Durdhara with extreme vehemence, like unto a mass of lightning alighting on a mountain.—Thereat his eight steeds getting mangled, and the wheels and pole of his car having been broken, Durdhara leaving the car, fell down to the earth, deprived of life. Seeing him down on the earth, those irrepressible subduers of enemies, Virupaksha and Yupaksha, waxing wroth, sprang up. And springing up suddenly, they by means of maces, dealt blows on the chest of the monkey, who was staying in the unclouded sky. Thereat resisting the furious rush of those gifted with ebullient energy, that exceedingly powerful one descended to the earth with the violence of the Fair-feathered (bird) [Suparna—a name of Garuda.]. Then getting at and uprooting a sala tree, that monkey, the Wind-god's offspring, slew both of those heroic Rakshasas. Learning that those three had been slain by the monkey gifted with speed, the mighty and onrushing Praghasa laughing in scorn advanced (in the encounter). And the energetic Bhasakarna also came forward in rage, taking a dart. And (they) meeting together, Praghasa assailed the famous, tiger-like monkey with a sharp-edged axe, and Bhasakarna (attacked) the elephantine monkey with a javelin. And with his limbs wounded by them, and his hair wetted with blood, that monkey resembling in splendour the infant sun, grew furiously enraged. And that elephantine monkey, the heroic Hanuman, uprooting a mountain-peak, with beasts, snakes, and trees (in it), slew those Rakshasas; and, crushed by that mountain-summit, they were reduced to powder. On those five generals having fallen, the monkey slew the remaining forces. And as the thousand-eyed Deity destroyed Asuras, the monkey destroyed steeds with steeds, elephants with elephants, warriors with warriors, and cars with cars. And with horses and elephants, swift steeds, with broken wheels and mighty cars, and Rakshasas slain, all the ways were blocked up. And having destroyed in battle the heroic generals with all their forces and vehicles, that hero in the same way rested at the gate like Kala himself engaged in destroying people, when he hath gained respite.

SECTION 47.

Hearing that the five generals had been slain by Hanuman alone with their vehicles and followers, the king, gazing at prince Aksha, who was ready and eager to go to battle, commanded him to take the field. And that puissant one of a bow decked with gold, on being commanded (by Ravana) with a glance, started up, like unto fire on being fed by clarified butter by foremost regenerate persons on the sacrificial ground. And that best of Nairitas [Rakshasas.] possessed of prowess, ascending a car resembling the infant sun in effulgence, and surrounded all round with networks of burnished gold, sallied forth in quest of that mighty monkey. And (that warrior) in prowess resembling an immortal, sallied out ascending that car, obtained with long-contianed asceticism, embellished with a network of glowing gold, furnished with pennons, having a standard studded with gems, nicely yoked with eight excellent steeds having the fleetness of thought, incapable of being overpowered either by celestials or Asuras, competent to course over uneven ground, of the lustre of lightning, sky-ranging, completely garnished, equipped with quivers, with swords fastened to the banners in eight directions, with darts and lances arranged in proper places, splendid with every object in full measure, bearing golden threads, wearing the brilliancy of the sun and moon, and possessing the effulgence of the sun. And filling the firmament and the earth containing mountains with sounds proceeding from steeds, elephants and mighty cars,—he, accompanied by his forces, presented himself before the capable monkey, who was seated at the gate. And coming before the monkey, Aksha, having the gaze of a lion,with eyes betokening regard, gazed at Hanuman resembling the Fire on the occassion of the universal dissolution at the end of a yuga, intent on destroying creatures, and who was seated and was influenced alike by surprise and regard. And seriously considering the impetuosity of the high-souled monkey as well as his prowess in relation to a foe,—as also his own strength, he increased (in strength) like the Sun on the expiration of a Yuga. And growing enraged, (Aksha), staying calmly in the field, with concentrated soul, challenged Hanuman difficult to resist in conflict and of prowess worthy to witness, with three whetted shafts. And finding the monkey proud and untiring, capable of vanquishing his foe, and possessed of exalted spirits, Aksha took up his bow and held his arrows in his hands. And wearing a golden corslet, angadas, and earings, and possessed of fiery vigor, he closed with the monkey; and their meeting was something unparalleled on this earth,—and was calculated to raise the respect even of the celestials and the Asuras. And witnessing the mighty conflict of the prince and the monkey, Earth emitted cries, and the Sun did not burn, and the Wind did not blow, and the mountains shook, and the welkin sounded, and the main was vexed. And that hero, skilled in aiming, fixing and discharging arrows, shot at the monkey's head three fine-headed feathered shafts plated with gold near the feathers, and resembling venomous serpents. And with his rolling eyes washed with blood in consequence of the shafts having alighted at his head, Hanuman, resembling a new-risen Sun having arrows for its rays, looked splendid like the light-engarlanded Sun. And seeing in battle that son of the foremost of monarchs, with his excellent weapons upraised and his beautiful bow, that best of the counsellors of the lord of monkeys, rejoiced, and intent on encounter, increased himself. And with his ire heightened, that one endowed with energy and prowess, like unto the ray-decorated (Sun) on the crest of Mandara [The Sun is on Mandara in mid-day; therefore the meridian Sun is meant here.], began to burn with the fiery rays of his eyes, Aksha, along with his forces and vehicles. And as a mass of clouds showereth rain on a high hill, the arrow-showering Rakshasa resembling clouds, having the bow for his rain-bow, discharged shafts at that foremost of monkeys, representing a mountain. And then the monkey, having sounds like those of clouds, beholding in battle Aksha of terrific prowess in conflict, and strong in energy, strength and shafts, sent up shouts from elation of spirits. And as an elephant approacheth a deep pit covered over with grass, (Aksha) from a spirit of childishness elated in conflict with his prowess, with his ire heightened, and eyes resembling blood, drew near the monkey in the field. And as Aksha went on hastily pouring shafts, that one uttering roars resembling the rumbling of clouds, looking terrible in consequence of his arms and thighs flung about, darted into the sky with exhuberant energy. And as he leapt up, that strong and powerful one—foremost of Rakshasas—that car-warrior and the best of choice car-warriors—rushed at (Hanuman), showering arrows on him, like a cloud showering hail-stones on a mountain. And dashing in the midst of the arrows like the wind, and thus baffling them, the heroic monkey of dreadful prowess in conflict, and endowed with the speed of thought, began to range the path of the air. And witnessing Aksha with regardful eyes, as that one intent on contest, taking his bow, was covering the sky with various excellent arrows, the Wind-god's offspring was plunged in thought. Wounded in the arm with shafts by that high-souled, noble prince, that mighty-armed one, capable of adequately appreciating the nature of actions, thought on (Aksha's) prowess in battle. "This exceedingly powerful one, endowed with the splendour of the infant sun, is doing dire deeds incapable of being done by a boy; and I am loth to slay one that hath shown himself equal to every martial feat. This one is high-souled, mighty in energy, of concentrated self, and capable of bearing extreme hardships in war; without doubt, by virtue of his actions, he is worthy of being honoured by Nagas, Yakshas and ascetics. With his mind braced by prowess and hope, that foremost of heroes eyeth me staying in the fore-front. The prowess of this light-handed (one), I ween, maketh even the hearts of the celestials and Asuras tremble. If I disregard him, he shall certainly vanquish me, for his prowess in battle increaseth (fast). Therefore I must even slay him: it is not proper to suffer an increasing fire." Thus reflecting on the strength of his foe and having ascertained his line of action, that puissant one endowed with great strength, summoned energy and set his heart on slaying him (his antagonist). And remaining in the path coursed by the air, that heroic monkey, the offspring of the Wind-god, with his slaps slew his eight powerful and excellent steeds, capable of bearing pressure and trained to diverse circular movements. And successfully assailed by the councilor of that lord of monkeys, the car with its seat smashed, and its pole broken, and deprived of its steeds, fell to the earth from the sky. Thereat, forsaking that car, the mighty car-warrior sprang up into sky with his bow and holding his sabre,—and (resembled) an ascetic of fierce energy consequent on austerities, going up to heaven, renouncing his body. Then the monkey possessed of the energy and vigor of the Wind, approaching him as he was ranging the air coursed by the king of birds, the Wind and the Siddhas, at length fast caught hold of his legs. And as the foremost of birds, Garuda taking a mighty serpent, whirls it, that foremost of monkeys, resembling his sire in prowess, whirling Aksha in the conflict, violently dropped him on the earth. And with his arms, thighs and chest crushed, bleeding, (having his bones and eyes smashed, his joints riven, and his tendons snapped, the Rakshasa lay on the earth, slain by the offspring of the Wind-god. And tormenting him (Aksha) on the earth, that mighty monkey caused great fright unto the ruler of the Rakshasas; and he was gazed at by the assembled Maharshis and the orbit-coursing ones and all beings with Yakshas and Pannagas, come to see him. And on the prince being slain, that monkey was gazed at by the celestials with Indra, who had been seized with extreme wonderment. And having slain in battle prince Aksha resembling a son of the celestials and possessed of blood-red eyes, the hero (again) neared the same gate, and waited there like Kalabent upon destroying all creatures.

SECTION 48.

On prince Aksha having been slain by Hanuman, the magnanimous monarch of the Rakshasas, wrought up by wrath, repressing his feelings, ordered Indrajit resembling a celestial, (to take the field against the foe.) "Thou art the foremost of those bearing arms; and thou hast afflicted even the gods and Asuras (in battle); thy deeds have been witnessed by the celestials with Indra; and thou hast procured a weapon [viz. the Brahma weapon.] even from the Great-father. And coping (in conflict) with thy might of arms, all the celestials with the Maruts, headed by the lord of celestials himself, could not stay in the field. And there is none in these three worlds (save thyself), who doth not come under the influence of fatigue in battle. And thou art preserved by the prowess of thy arms, and protected also by thy ascetic merit; and being skilled in the knowledge of season and place, thou, methinks, art the foremost of them all in intelligence. And there is no deed which thou canst not perform in the field; and there is nothing in counsel capable of being arrived at by arguing on the lines prescribed by the scriptures, which thou art not equal to; and there is none in all the three worlds who doth not know thy strength and prowess in arms. And thy ascetic energy is like unto mine, as well as thy prowess and might in arms in battle. And having thee in the conflict, my mind assured (of victory), doth not experience sorrow. Slain have been all the servants, as also Jamvumali, and those five generals, the heroic sons of my councilors, and the swelling forces including steeds, elephants and cars. And low lieth Mahodara, and prince Aksha hath also been slain. O destroyer of foes, my mind did not feel the same confidence in them that I do in thee. And seeing this mighty host slain, as well as the prowess and energy of the monkey, and the taking into consideration thine own strength, do thou put forth thy energy according to thy strength, And on nearing the scene (of conflict), do thou, O foremost of those bearing arms, seeing thine own strength and that of the foe, so exert thyself that the latter, (now) resting quietly in consequence of having created a carnage (on the hostile hosts), may wax enfeebled. O hero, army can serve no purpose here; for hosts fly (before) Hanuman or are reduced to nothing. Neither can it avail to use arms of terrific power and resembling the thunderbolt. Nothing can resist the rush of the Wind-god's offspring; and this one like unto fire is incapable of being slain with weapons. Revolving well (in thy mind what I have remarked), do thou in order to the attainment of success, with an intent mind remember the divine virtue of this bow, and repairing (to battle) strive to vanquish the foe, baffling his attacks. O foremost of intelligent ones, (that I send thee to battle) is certainly not proper; yet this course of action is endorsed by Kshatriyas and those following the morality of kings. O subduer of enemies, one should be versed in various branches of learning as well as be masterful in war. He that craves victory in fight, should be acquainted with various branches of knowledge.

Hearing the words of his father, (Indrajit) gifted with celestial prowess, determined to fight, instantly circumambulated him. Excited with a desire for fight and worked up with energy, Indrajit, eulogized by the friendly Rakshasas, set out for battle. And that highly effulgent and graceful son of the lord of the Rakshasas, having expansive eyes resembling lotus-petals,—issued out like unto the rising of the ocean during a parva [A name given to certain days in the lunar month at the full and change of the moon, and the 8th and 14th of each half month.]. Thereupon Indrajit of unbearable prowess, equal to the lord of the celestials, ascended a car drawn by four horses, having sharpened teeth and resembling Garuda in velocity. And that master of a car and foremost of bowmen, conversant with the use of all weapons —the best of those using swords—proceeded soon in his car where Hanuman was. And hearing the sound of his car and the twang of his bow, that heroic monkey attained an excess of delight. And taking up a bow and sharpened darts,

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Indrajit, versed in the rules of war, proceeded towards Hanuman. And as he issued out for battle, greatly delighted, with arrows in his hands, all the quarters became dark, and jackals began to set up terrible cries. And there arrived the Nagas, the Yakshas, the Maharshis, the planets, and the Siddhas, and the birds, covering the welkin, and, greatly delighted, began to make a noise. And beholding that car having a flag like that of Indra, approach very quickly, the monkey began to emit terrible roars and increase himself. And Indrajit too, seated on the celestial car and having a painted bow, began to stretch it, emitting a sound resembling that of thunder. Thereupon closed in conflict those two greatly powerful (heroes)—gifted with swift movements and fearless in battle—the monkey, and the son of the lord of Rakshasas, like unto the lords of celestials and Asuras. And baffling the shafts of that hero of a mighty car, an accomplished bowman and a finished warrior, the immeasurably powerful monkey increasing himself began to range in the welkin*. [* From Middle English: welken, welkne, wolkne ("clouds, heavens"), from Old English: wolcnu (“clouds”), plural of wolcen ("cloud"), German: wolken, from Proto-Germanic: wulkana, wulko, ("cloud"); See: volcano.] Thereupon the heroic (Indrajit)—slayer of foes—began to discharge incessantly shafts, large, sharp, well-feathered, painted in gold and swift-coursing like unto thunder. And hearing again the noise of his car, the sounds of drums, bugles, and war-drums, and the twangs of the bow, he again leaped up (in the sky). And baffling the aim of (Indrajit), who had always an eye on it, that great monkey ranged at a distance from those shafts. And again facing the arrows and stretching his hands, the Wind-god's son again leaped up. And those two heroes,gifted with swift movements and versed in the art of war, engaged in a combat, admired of all beings. And Hanuman could not find out the short-comings of the Rakshasa, nor could that high-souled one detect the weak points of the son of the Wind-god. And these two gifted with celestial prowess, engaged in conflict, became unbearable unto each other. And seeing him unhurt though aimed at with infallible arrows, the high-souled (Indrajit), controlling his senses, engaged in deep and devout meditation (to realize the true identity of Hanuman). Thereupon, that son of the lord of Rakshasas pinned his thoughts upon that foremost of monkeys, and, finding him incapable of being slain, he began to devise plans how he could be bound. And that hero, foremost of those versed in the use of weapons, discharged at that best of monkeys the highly powerful weapon conferred on him by Brahma, the Great-father of the celestials. And knowing him incapable of being slain, Indrajit conversant with the use of weapons, bound that large-armed son of the Wind-god with that weapon. And being bound up by that Rakshasa with the weapon, the monkey became motionless and fell down on the earth. And thinking that he was bound up with a Brahma weapon, he did not feel the least pain in consequence of Brahma's blessing. And that heroic monkey began to think of the boons conferred on him by the Great-father of the celestials. And thinking that the weapon was conferred by the Self-create and consecrated by sacred Mantras, Hanuman began to think of boons conferred by the Great-father. "In consequence of the power of the Lord of creation I am incapable of extricating myself from these bonds." (Knowing this by means of devout meditation,he reflected again,)—"This has been ordained by Him, and I must put up with this pain for sometime." Revolving well the power of the weapon, the boon of the Great-father, and his own prowess to extricate himself from the bonds, the monkey followed the Great-father's behest,—"I do not fear though bound by this weapon, since I am being protected by Brahma, Indra and the Wind-god. It will be better if I am carried off by the Rakshasas, for I shall reap very great benefit by my conversation with the lord of Rakshasas. Therefore let the enemies carry me." Having resolved this, the considerate (monkey)—slayer of foes—remained motionless. And being ruthlessly bound by the foes and remonstrated with by them, he began to moan piteously. And beholding that slayer of foes motionless, the Rakshasas bound him up with cotton and bark. And he gladly allowed himself to be tied up and rebuked by his enemies, thinking that he might converse with the lord of the Rakshasas, if he, out of curiosity, should like to see him. Being bound with bark, that powerful (monkey) got himself freed from the binding of the weapon, for the binding force of a Brahma weapon becomes null when there is any other binding. And beholding that best of monkeys tied up with bark and liberated from the binding of the weapon, Indrajit reflected that the binding force of the Brahma weapon became powerless when there was any other binding. "Alas, (those Rakshas) have rendered my mighty deed fruitless. They know not the action of Mantras [Prayers.]. And on the Brahma weapon being baffled, any other weapon cannot effect anything; and thus we have all been placed in a critical predicament." On being released from the weapon, Hanuman did not betray any signs of his liberation, albeit he was pulled by the Rakshasas and pained by the bonds they had bound him with. And the monkey, Hanuman, was pulled by those cruel Rakshasas having fatal boxes, in the direction of the lord of Rakshasas. And seeing (Hanuman) freed from the (Brahma) weapon yet bound by the bark of trees, he (Indrajit) showed the exceedingly powerful and highly heroic monkey unto the king along with his adherents. And the Rakshasas related unto the ruler of Rakshas everything touching that foremost of choice monkeys, resembling a mad elephant who was in bonds. "Who is he? And whose son? And wherefrom? And what's his errand? And by whom is he backed?"—thus did the heroic Rakshasas converse on beholding Hanuman. And others said,—"Kill him," "Burn him"—"Eat him up." The Rakshasas, growing enraged, thus said unto each other.—Having passed some way, that magnanimous one saw there old servants sitting at the feet of the lord of Rakshasas,—as well as a mansion embellished with countless jewels. And the exceedingly energetic Ravana saw that foremost of monkeys dragged hither and thither by Rakshasas of frightful forms. And that best of monkeys too saw that lord of Rakshasas, endowed with strength and energy and resembling the resplendent son. And with his reddened eyes rolling, the ten-necked gazing at that monkey, ordered his principal counsellors, boasting of high pedigree and noble character, (to interrogate the incomer). And by turns questioned by them as to his mission and purpose, as well as the fundamental occasion (of his inroad), that foremost of monkeys replied,—"A messenger, I come (from Sugriva.)"

SECTION 49.

And struck with Indrajit's deed, that one of dreadful vigor, Hanuman, his eyes reddened in wrath, steadily looked at the lord of Rakshas; flaming in gorgeous and precious gold, with a splendid diadem studded with pearls; (adorned with) excellent ornaments, containing diamonds and costly gems,—seeming to have been forged by the mind; appareled in costly linen; smeared with red sandal paste, and beautifully painted with various and variegated devices [e. g. the three horizontal marks painted on the forehead by Saivas and Saktas.]; looking splendid with his sightly yet terrible eyes; having sheeny, sharp and long teeth,—with hanging lips;—and that hero (saw) that one of great energy, radient with ten heads; like unto Mandara with its summits containing serpents; resembling a mass of blue collyrium; with his breast graced by a chain; with his countenance possessed of the lustre of the moon; looking like a cloud beside the new-risen Sun; with his dreadful arms bound with keyuras, and graced with excellent sandal paste, brilliant with angadas, and resembling five-headed serpents; seated on a superb seat,—upon a spacious, variegated, and gay sheet embellished with crystals, and studded with gems; ministered on all sides by gorgeously adorned damsels, bearing hair-furnished fans,— the strength-elated one surrounded by four Rakshas—his counsellors versed in the mystery of counsel,—viz., Durdhara, Prahasta, the Raksha Mahaparcwa, and the minister Nikumbha,—like the entire world girt round by the four seas,—and encouraged by other counselors, fair of forms and versed in counsel, even like the sovereign of celestials by the celestials. And Hanuman beheld the immensely energetic lord of Rakshasas surrounded (on all sides by his advisers), like a cloud containing water on a summit of Meru. And undergoing exceeding trouble at the hands of the Rakshas of dreadful prowess, (Hanuman) struck with mighty amaze, gazed at the lord of Rakshas. And seeing the sovereign of Rakshas, appearing splendid, Hanuman, bewildered by his effulgence, mentally reflected: "Ah! the form! Ah! the patience! Ah! the strength! Ah! the splendour! Ah! the entire auspiciousness of the king of Rakshasas! If the lord of Rakshasas were not impious unto the height, this one could well be the protector themselves of the celestial regions with Sakra. But in consequence of the fell and remorseless acts of this one, which are the aversion of every one, all the worlds with gods and demons hold him in fear. This one, being angered, dares to convert this earth into one entire ocean." Beholding the potency of the Rakshasa king of immeasurable prowess,the intelligent monkey thus indulged in a variety of thought.

SECTION 50.

Seeing the tawney-eyed one staying before hiip, the mighty-armed Ravana, affrighter of (the worlds), was overwhelmed with fierce wrath. And gazing at that foremost of monkeys girt with power, and with his soul exercised with apprehension, he (thought),—"Is this the worshipful Nandi, come hither in person, by whom I, on my jeering at him, had formerly been cursed in Kailaca? Or is this one wearing the shape of a monkey Vali's son, Vana?" And with his eyes coppery with rage, the king asked his foremost counselor, Prahasta, in words fraught with sense and suiting the season,—"Ask this wicked-minded one, whence is he? And what led him to ravage the grove, and what was his object in brow-beating the Rakshasas? And what hath been his purpose in entering my metropolis incapable of being subdued; and what for did he also fight (with my retainers?) Do thou ask the wicked-minded one about this." Hearing Ravana's speech, Prahasta said,—"Take heart! Fair fortune to thee! Thou needst not be alarmed, O monkey. If thou hast been sent to Ravana's residence by Indra, tell us truly everything. Let no fear, O monkey, be thine. Thou shalt be liberated. If thou belong to Vaicravana, or to Yama, or to Varuna, and hast entered into this city of ours disguising (thy proper shape),—or if thou hast been despatched by Vishnu burning for victory, (tell us this truly). Thy prowess is certainly not that of a monkey,—thy form alone is that of a monkey. Unfold this (unto us) faithfully,—O monkey, and thou shalt get (back) thy liberty. But if thou shouldst say aught untruthful, thy life shall pay dear for it. Or tell us wherfore thou hast entered into Ravana's mansion." Thus addressed then, that foremost of monkeys said unto the lord of Rakshasas,—"I am not Sakra's, nor Yama's, nor Varuna's. I have no friendship with Dhanada [Lit.—giver of wealth—a designation of Kuvera.], nor have I been despatched by Vishnu. This is my race; and I have come hither a monkey for obtaining a sight of the Rakshasa chief. And it is to attain a sight of the Rakshasa lord that I have destroyed his peerless grove; and it is for this that, the powerful Rakshasas seeking for fight, I for the preservation of my person have resisted them in conflict. I am incapable of being slain with weapons even by the celestials and the Asuras themselves. This boon I also happen to have received from the Great-father. It is because I was desirous of seeing the king that I have suffered this weapon to restrain me. Although the Rakshasas have brought me (hither thus), yet I am free from any weapon (restraining me). I come near thee on a certain business of Rama. Knowing me for a messenger of Raghava endowed with measureless prowess, do thou, O lord, listen to my words, calculated to work thy profit."

SECTION 51.

Seeing the Ten-necked one of mighty energy, that foremost of monkeys, endued with strength, calmly spoke unto him words containing sense,"—I have come unto thee at the command of Sugriva, O lord of Rakshasas. Thy brother, the king of monkeys, enquires after thy welfare. Listen to the desire of thy brother, the high-souled Sugriva, and his words fraught with righteous sense and capable of working one's good here and hereafter. King Dacaratha, master of cars and elephants and steeds,—is the friend of all like unto their father, and is furnished with the splendour of the sovereign of celestials. His eldest son,—mighty-armed, and masterful, the darling (of his sire), hath, in accordance with his father's order, entered the forest of Dandaka with his brother Lakshmana and his wife Sita. His name is Rama, and he is exceedingly energetic, and ever abideth on the path of virtue. His spouse, the celebrated Sita, daughter unto Videha, the high-souled king Janaka, either died or was carried off in Janasthana. Seeking for that exalted lady, the king's son, accompanied by his younger brother, arriving at Rhrishyamuka, met with Sugriva. And Sugriva promised that he would undertake the search for Sita, and Rama (on his part promised) that he would confer on Sugriva the kingdom of the monkeys. And, thereupon, slaying Vali in battle, the king's son established Sugriva as the lord of the monkeys. Thou formerly hast known that foremost of monkeys, Vali. That monkey was slain in battle by him (Rama) with a single shaft. And, thereupon, the lord of monkeys, Sugriva, true to his vow, eager for searching Sita, despatched monkeys in all directions. And thousands and hundreds and niyutas of monkeys are exploring all sides, below and above in the sky. And some are like Vinata's offspring [Garuda.], and some like the Wind; their course is incapable of being resisted; and those heroic monkeys are endued with strength and celerity. I, Hanuman by name, am the son of the Wind-god. For Sita, I, desirous of seeing her, have come hither, bounding over the main measuring a full hundred Yojanas. And as I was roving, I came to see Janaka's daughter in thy house. Thou art cognisant of righteousness and interest, and hast attained prosperity through thy asceticism. Therefore, O eminently wise one, thou ought not to confine another's wife. Actions opposed to righteousness, and bringing on countless evils, and causing extermination,—ill become persons of thy sort. Who is there even among celestials and Asuras that is competent to stay before the shafts shot by Lakshmana and Rama in wrath? There is none, O king, in all the three worlds, that is capable of attaining ease, after inflicting injury on Raghava. Treading the path of virtue and profit, do thou pay heed unto my speech fraught with good for three times [Present, past, and future.]; and do thou return Janaki unto that foremost of men. Seen have I this exalted lady,—which was difficult to compass. As for what remaineth to be done, Rama himself shall bring it about. That Sita I have beheld overwhelmed with grief, whom, albeit resembling a five-hooded serpent in thy mansion, thou knowst not. And even as food thoroughly mixed with poison, being taken, is incapable of being digested, this one is incapable of being subdued even by the celestials and Asuras. It is not proper to destroy religious merit reaped by undergoing extreme mortification, as well as access of life (attained by the same means). Thou deemst thyself by virtue of thy asceticism incapable of being destroyed by the celestials and Asuras; and herein thy great merit (incident to thy austerities) is the cause.—But Sugriva is not a god or a Yaksha or a Rakshasa. Raghava, O king, is a

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mortal and Sugriva is the lord of monkeys. How canst thou, O king, save thy life from them? He that, confiding in his strength, committeth himself to foul proceedings, cannot count upon his righteous deeds, but his evil ones follow him. Virtue destroyeth vice, (yet vice like thine destroyeth all virtue). Thou, without doubt, hast obtained the fruit of thy righteousness, and the fruit also of this iniquity thou shalt reap without delay. And taking to heart the carnage in Janasthana and the slaying of Vali as well as the friendship of Rama with Sugriva, do thou understand thine own good. I, alone that I am, can at my will destroy Lanka with her steeds and elephants and cars; but he whose envoy I am hath not yet decided on this point. Rama hath in presence of the tawny-eyed (ones) forsooth promised the annihilation of the foe by whom Sita hath been sore oppressed. On wronging Rama, Purandara himself cannot escape scot-free,—what shall I say of persons like thee? Her whom thou knowest as Sita staying in thine abode—know her for the Fatal Night that shall bring destruction down on all Lanka. Therefore, beware of thyself turning about thy neck the fatal noose in the shape of Sita! Do thou rather study thy welfare. Thou shalt behold this city crowned with edifices and stalls, in flames fed by the wrath of Rama, and consumed by the energy of Sita. Do not bring to destruction thine friends and ministers, and kindred, and brethren and sons, and thine entire welfare,— thine enjoyments and wives and this Lanka. O sovereign of the Rakshasas, do thou faithfully listen to these words of me, a monkey and the servant and envoy of Rama. Abolishing all the worlds with their creatures mobile and immobile objects, the illustrious Rama is capable of creating these anew. Neither among celestials nor Asuras, Yakshas, Rakshas, nor serpents, Vidyadharas, Nagas, Gandharbas nor beasts, Siddhas, the foremost Kinnaras, nor all birds,—nowhere among any class of beings in all time breathes he who can cope with Rama equal to Vishnu's self in prowess. Having done such a wrong unto the foremost of all creatures—even unto that lion of a monarch, Rama, thy life is in high peril. Neither deities nor Daityas, nor the foremost night-rangers, nor Gandharbas and Vidyidharas, nor Nagas, nor Yakshas, can stay in fight against Rama—the leader of these three worlds. And neither Brahma, self-create, having four countenances, nor the three-eyed Rudra, destroyer of Tripura, nor the august Indra, the generallissimo of the celestials, can stay in fight before Rama." Hearing the distasteful yet excellent speech of the bold and matchless monkey, the ten-necked one, with his eyes whirling in wrath, ordered the destruction of that mighty monkey.

SECTION 52.

Hearing the words of the high-souled monkey, Ravana, bereft of his senses by wrath, ordered that he should be put to death. On the death of that one who had proclaimed his own position of being an envoy, having been ordered by the wicked-minded Ravana, Vibhishana did not agree (with the decision). And knowing that the lord of Rakshasas was wroth and that that affair [The destruction of Hanuman.] was at hand, Vibhishana, resolved to act according to justice, began to reflect as to what was to be done. Having arrived at a decision, that one skilled in speech, paying homage unto that conqueror of foes, his elder brother, spoke unto him in words eminently good,—"O lord of Rakshasas, forgive me and renounce thy wrath. Extend thy favour unto me, and hear these words of mine. Lords of the earth, endowed with integrity and knowing high and low, never put messengers to death. The taking the monkey's life, O king, is opposed to morality and repugnant to social usage; and it is also unworthy of thyself. Thou understandst morality, art grateful and versed in the morality of sovereigns, and canst distinguish between high and low among beings, and even thou knowst the prime sense of things. If discerning persons like thee come under the governance of passion, mere toil is the pains that are undergone to master the scriptures. Therefore, O destroyer of enemies, be pacified. O lord of Rakshasas, difficult to approach, consider what is proper or otherwise, and then do thou mete out punishment to the envoy." Hearing Vibhishana's speech, Ravana lord of Rakshasas, overcome with a mighty wrath, answered,—"O slayer of foes, to slay the sinful doth not cause sin. Therefore shall I slay this monkey, worker of iniquity." Hearing these words grounded in unrighteousness, evil every way, and worthy of the base, that foremost of intelligent ones, Vibhishana, spoke words couching supreme import,—"O lord of Lanka, be propitious. O Sovereign of Rakshasas, listen to speech containing the significance of virtue and profit. O king, an envoy is not to be put to death on the occasion of his discharging his proper functions. This righteous people say everywhere unto all. Surely this is an overgrown enemy; and he hath perpetrated immense injury (unto us). But say the good, envoys are not to be slain, albeit many are the punishments that have been assigned for messengers. Disfigurement of the body, stripes, shaving of the head,—one of these or all combined,—these are said to be the punishments that should be inflicted on envoys. But I have not heard of the punishment of death being a penalty of the envoy. Why doth one like thee, having one's intelligence rendered meek as respects righteousness and profit, and capable of proceeding on certain decisions on the merits or otherwise of things,—come under the sway of passion? Those possessed of power never give way to anger. Neither in religious discussion, nor in social concerns, nor in appropriating the right sense of the scriptures, is there any that can approach thee, O hero. Verily thou art the foremost among celestials and Asuras. Invincible to the gods and Asuras themselves gifted with prowess, high spirits and intelligence, thou hast in battle oftentimes put to the rout the chiefs of celestials and monarchs. Those heroes that have heretofore mentally entertained enmity against such a one as thou, foe of deities and Daityas,—heroic and valient and unconquerable, have not been deprived by thee of their lives. Nor do I see any good that may likely accrue to us from the slaying of this monkey. Let thy vengeance descend on those that have despatched the monkey. Whether honest or otherwise, this one hath been commissioned by others. Advocating interest not his own and identifying himself with another, an envoy doth not merit the being put to death. O king, if this one be slain, no other sky-ranger whatever would show himself unto us. Therefore, O captor of hostile capitals, do not seek to slay this one. Thou shouldst spend thyself on celestials with Indra (at their head). On his being killed, another see I not who, O thou that lovest warfare, can move those haughty sons of a king to take up arms against thee. And, O bringer-in of joy unto the heart, it is not proper for thee, invincible to celestials and Asuras gifted with prowess, high spirits and intelligence, to disappoint the Nairitas (as to their eagerness for encounter). They are devoted to thy good, and are heroic and intent on thy well-being, born in lines having high and fiery virtues, and endowed with intelligence, —the flower of those bearing arms—and have been maintained by thee. Therefore let a portion of the forces, having received thy order, march to-day, and bring (hither) those foolish princes. It is meet that thou shouldst display thy prowess before foes." Thereat, the lord of the night-rangers, that potent enemy of the celestials and the foremost of Rakshasa monarchs, lending free play to his intellect, accepted the excellent words of his younger brother.

SECTION 53.

Hearing those words of his, the high-souled ten-necked one spoke unto his brother a speech consonant to season and place,—"Properly hast thou spoken,—to slay a messenger is improper. But let him be punished with any chastisement save slaying. Certainly the tail is a darling ornament to a monkey. Therefore let his tail be set on fire anon; and this having been consumed, let him go away. Then shall his best friends and kindred and acquaintances see him crest-fallen, with his person deformed." And the lord of Rakshasas ordered,—"With his tail in flames, let this one be taken all round Lanka containing terraces." Hearing his words, the Rakshasas, cruel through wrath, cover up his (Hanuman's) tail with worn pieces of cotton cloth. Thereat, even as fire in a forest increaseth on getting dry fuel, the mighty monkey grew in dimensions on his tail being wrapped up. And having soaked (the cloth) in oil, they set fire to it. Thereat with his soul overpowered with rage and hatred, and his countenance like the risen sun, he lashed them with his flaming tail. And those—rangers of the night—those Rakshasas—old and young and females—again bringing that foremost of monkeys, grew exceedingly glad. And that hero (being bound), entertained a purpose in harmony with the season. "Albeit bound, the Rakshasas cannot forsooth cope with me. Snapping these bonds, I shall, darting up, again slaughter these. Although agreeably to the mandate of their master these wicked-minded ones have bound me, yet have they not been able to clear scores with me. I can slay all these Rakshasas in battle; but I suffer this (maltreatment) for not marring the (pure delight) Rama shall derive from my deed. I shall once more range around Lanka. Let this be so. At night I could not satisfactorily examine the fortifications. For certain, by me is to be beheld Lanka when night hath departed. Let them bind me anew. The Rakshasas pain me by setting fire to my tail; but my mind doth not tire." Then the Rakshasas, rejoicing greatly, went off, taking that mighty monkey endowed with strength, an elephant (in prowess) among monkeys. And blowing conchs and trumpets, and bruiting it abroad by various actions [Making Hanuman's penalty public.], those Rakshasas of cruel deeds took (Hanuman) about the city (of Lanka). And led by those Rakshasas, that subduer of enemies, Hanuman, experienced delight, and going about the mighty metropolis of the Rakshasas, the redoubted monkey surveyed variegated cars, enclosed court-yards, well-ordered terraces, streets thronged with edifices, crossings, by-ways, and the interiors of dwellings. And on terraces and highways the Rakshasas proclaim the monkey, saying,—"This is a spy." On Hanuman's tail being in flames, Rakshasis of frightful eyes related unto that exalted lady [Sita.] tidings of this great mishap. "O Sita, the copper-faced monkey with whom thou hadst held talk, is being led around with his tail flaming.' Hearing these cruel words, like unto loss of life, Vaidehi, burning in grief, approached the Fire. And wishing for the welfare of the mighty monkey, that large-eyed lady with an intent mind began to pray unto that bearer of sacrificial offerings,—"If I have served my lord, if I bear a character, if I have ascetic merit, if I have been the wife of one alone, then prove thou cool unto Hanuman." Thereat, as if communicating the welfare of the monkey unto that one having eyes like those of a young deer, the Fire flamed up,—and Hanuman's sire, albeit furnished with fire and a tail, blew ice cold before that worshipful one, breathing health (unto Hanuman). On his tail flaming, the monkey reflected,—"This fire is flaming. Why doth it not then burn me all over? I see it of exceeding brightness, yet it paineth me not. (On the contrary), at the end of my tail it seemeth like a mass of ice. Or this is clearly due to Rama's power, even like the wonder (that I witnessed) while bounding over the main—the mountain under the lord of streams [Mainaka.]. If the Ocean and the intelligent Mainaka could show such regard for Rama, what may not the Fire do (for him?) Fire doth not burn me for Sita's (absolute) goodness, for Raghava's prowess, and for (his) friendship with my sire." Then the elephantine monkey again reflected for a while,—"Why should one like me suffer one's self to be bound by vile Rakshasas? Therefore it is meet that I should, displaying my prowess, avenge (this wrong)." Thereat that vehement and mighty monkey snapped his bonds, and furiously springing into the sky, the terrible monkey uttered a shout. And then the graceful son of the Wind-god arrived at the gate of the city resembling a hill, where Rakshas there were none. And after having attained the magnitude of a mountain, anon that self-controlled one diminished himself and cast off his bonds. And having freed himself, the graceful one again became mountain-like; and eying around, he saw a bolt standing against the gate. And that mighty-armed one, the Wind-god's son, taking up that bolt of burnished iron, again slaughtered the guards. And having slain the warders, that one of terrific prowess crowned with a luminous wreath forged from his flaming tail, and appearing like the sun garlanded with glory, once again cast his eyes over Lanka.

SECTION 54.

Casting his eyes on Lanka, the monkey, his wish attained, increasing his person and bursting with spirits, considered as to how to give the coup de grace to his exertions. "What recently is to be done by me here to finish this business, that may afflict them the more? I have ravaged the wood, and slain the choice Rakshasas, and destroyed by main force a portion of the army. Now it remains to demolish the fortifications. On the fortifications being destroyed, my work shall have its toils crowned with joy. By undergoing slight labour in this business, I shall have my pains furnished with fruit. That bearer of sacrificial offerings who flameth on my tail,—it is my duty to propitiate him with these excellent edifices." Thereat that mighty monkey, with his tail aglow, and resembling a cloud (luminous) with lightning, began to range before the dwellings in Lanka. And that monkey with a calm mind, eying (all round), ranged one house from another, and gardens, and stately piles. And that one gifted with exceeding vehemence, and in strength resembling the Wind, bounding up set fire unto the dwelling of Prahasta. Then Hanuman endowed with prowess, leaping up, set unto Mahaparcwa's mansion fire resembling that at the universal dissolution. And (then) the mighty monkey darting up, set fire unto Vajradanshtra's; and (then) that highly energetic one set fire unto Suka's and unto the intelligent Sarana's. And the leader of monkey bands in the same way burnt down Indrajit's mansion; and then he burnt the abodes of Sumali and Jamvumali; and Racmiketu's mansion and Suryyacatru's, and Hraswakarna's, and the Rakshasa Romaca's; and the houses of Yuddhonmattn, and Matta, and the Rakshasa Dwajagriva, and the calm Vidyujjibhwa, and Hastimukha; and of Karala, and of Vicala, and of Sonitaksha; and Kumbhakarna's mansion, and Nikumbha's, and the residence of Yajnacatru, and of Brahmacatru. And leaving alone the dwelling of Vibhishana, that exceedingly energetic one—foremost of monkeys—by and by burnt (all the houses there). And in those costly mansions and dwellings, that famous one, that foremost of monkeys, burnt all the wealth of those affluent persons.— Having passed the dwellings of all, that powerful and auspicious one approached the residence of the lord of Rakshasas, Ravana. And in that foremost of mansions, adorned with various gems, resembling Meru or Mandara, graced with diverse auspicious things, he set unto the same, fire flaming at the end of his tail. And the heroic Hauuman roars, resembling a cloud (appearing) at the end of a Yuga. And assisted by the wind, that highly powerful and vehement one (Fire) flaimed up, like fire at the wreck of all, and the fire attained energy. And the wind spreading the flaming fire all round those dwellings, those mansions furnished with golden networks; and containing pearls and gems; enjewelled and magnificent, were shorn of their splendour. And cracked edifices began to topple down to the ground, like the mansions of Siddhas falling from the firmament on the exhaustion of their righteousness. And there arose a mighty uproar of those Rakshasas, as, bereft of their good fortune,

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despairing of preserving their abodes, they rushed in all directions,—"Forsooth it is Fire himself that hath come hither in the form of a monkey." And females crying with babes on their breasts, suddenly plunged (into the fire). And some fair ones with hair dishevelled, and surrounded on all sides with fire, as they fell down from dwellings, looked lovely like lightning from the welkin. And he (Hanuman) saw various kinds of metals, mixed with diamonds, and coral, and lapises and pearls and silver, runing down in streams from the mansions. And as Fire is not cloyed with wood and straw, Hanuman never at all felt satiety on slaying those foremost of Rakshasas. And the Earth could not contain the Rakshasas slain by Hanuman. And as Rudra had burnt down Tripura, the vehement and high-souled monkey, Hanuman, burnt down Lanka. And rising to the brow of Lanka's mount [Trikuta on which Lanka rested.],the fire of terrific energy kindled by the impetuous Hanuman, spread wide his tongues. And with the Wind assisting him, the smokless Fire in the dwellings, with his flames feeding on the bodies of the Rakshasas representing sacrificial offerings, spread his magnitude, touching the horizen—resembling the conflagration kindled at the universal dissolution. And possessing the fierce energy of a koti suns, the mighty Fire completely encompassing the entire Lanka, increased (in volume), riving the mundane Egg with various sounds resembling thunder-claps. And the Fire of terrific might, having his flames resembling Kincuka blossoms, rising up to the sky, clouds caused by volumes of smoke arising from extinguished fire, in hue resembling blue lotuses, looked exceedingly beautiful. "Either the thunder-bolt-bearing Indra the Great—chief of celestials, or Yama himself, or Varuna, or the Wind-god, or the Fire generated by Rudra's third eye, or the Sun, or Dhanada, or Soma. This is no monkey,—this is verily Kala [A name of Yama.] himself. Or is this the Rakshasa-annihilating Fire of Brahma himself—the Great-sire of all, the four-faced Disposer of the world's destinies,—come hither, wearing the form of a monkey? Or is this Vishnu's Energy, inconceivable, unutterable, infinite and sole, and of surpassing power,—now come hither in its own illusory nature, assuming a monkey-form?" Seeing that city suddenly consumed, with her souls, dwellings, and trees, Rakshasas of note, assembled together, thus talked unto each other. And then Lanka, suddenly consumed with Rakshasas, horses, cars, serpents, crowds of birds, beasts and trees, began to bewail tumultuously and loud in forlorn guise,—"O father! O son! O love! O friend! O lord of my life and frame! all our religious merit is abolished." Indulging in various lamentations, the Rakshas thus created a mighty and frightful uproar. And with the flames encircling her, and her foremost heroes fallen, and her warriors destroyed, Lanka, overcome by the might of Hanuman's wrath, became as if she had been blighted by an imprecation. Then the mighty-minded Hanuman beheld the Rakshasas in terror and trepidation and castdown, and Lanka marked by fire and bright flames, even as the Self-sprung eyeth the world destroyed by his rage. And devastating the forest filled with many excellent trees, slaying many a terrible Rakshasa in conflict, and burning down the city of Lanka filled with picturesque houses, the monkey, Hanuman, Wind-god's son, stationed himself there. And destroying many a Rakshasa, felling many trees in the forest and setting fire to the houses of the Rakshasas, the high-souled (monkey) became engaged in thoughts touching Rama. Thereupon all the celestials praised highly the high-souled, excellent and mighty son of the Wind-god, foremost of heroic monkeys, gifted with the velocity of the Wind. And all the celestials, the foremost ascetics, the Gandharbas, the Vidhyadharas, the Pannagas, and all other great heroes, attained excess of delight. And having devastated the forest, slain the Rakshasas in conflict and burnt the grand city of Lanka, the great monkey appeared there. And seated on the variegated top of a splendid and high mansion, the foremost of monkeys, spreading the rays of his burning tail, looked like unto the sun of many rays. And having consumed the city of Lanka, the great monkey quenched the fire of his tail in the ocean. Thereupon beholding Lanka burnt down, the celestials along with Gandharbas, Siddhas, and the great ascetics, were struck with wonder.

SECTION 55.

Beholding Lanka burnt down and devastated and the demons terrified,the monkey Hanuman began to reflect. And worked up with fear and remorse, he reflected,—"What a mighty iniquity have I perpetrated by burning down Lanka of my own accord? Blessed are those high-souled ones who control their wrath by dint of their own good sense, like unto fire quenched by water. What iniquity is there which cannot be perpetrated by the angry? They can even slay the worshipful and vilify the pious with harsh words. The angry cannot decide what should be spoken and what not. There is no vice which cannot be committed by them, and there is nothing which cannot be spoken by them. He is the proper person who can subdue his rising ire by means of forgiveness as a serpent leaves off his worn skin. O fie on me who am vicious-minded, shameless and the perpetrator of a mighty iniquity. Not thinking of Sita, I have slain my master with fire. Forsooth hath the worshipful Janaki been burnt, since the whole city of Lanka hath been devastated with fire. And she being burnt, foolishly have I spoilt the work of my master. I have defeated the great object for which I have laboured so much. In burning down Lanka, I have not saved Sita. To have burnt down Lanka is assuredly a trifle, but in my ire I have lost my great object. Forsooth hath Janaki been consumed, since I behold no spot in Lanka which is not made desolate with fire— in fact the whole city hath been reduced to ashes. As I have committed such an injury under the influence of my perverse understanding, it behoveth me to relinquish my life here. I shall jump into this flame or into a submarine fire, or I shall resign my mortal frame to the animals that infest the ocean. For, living, I shall not be able to face that lord of monkeys, and how shall I, having spoilt their work utterly, show myself unto those foremost of men? I have through my culpable passion furnished an illustration of the reckless monkey-nature, which is well known over the three worlds. Fie on this activity, born of (the quality of) passion, which is the source of incompetence and rashness; since although capable, I did not protect Sita. On Sita having met with destruction, both of them [Rama and Lakshmana.] shall cease to exist; and on their ceasing to exist, Sugriva shall die along with his friends. And hearing these tidings, how shall the righteous Bharata, attached unto his brother (Rama), along with Satrughna, live? And on the virtuous Ikshwaku race being extinct, without doubt, all the subjects shall be overwhelmed with grief. Therefore, I of curst luck hath had my harvest of virtue and profit taken away; and being under the influence of baleful passion, I am the cause of the destruction of creatures." As he was reflecting thus, he bethought him of auspicious omens which he had witnessed since. "Or it may be that one of charming limbs hath been preserved by her proper energy. The blessed one may not have met with her end, for fire doth burn fire. And Fire should not touch the spouse of that virtuous one of immeasurable energy,—who is protected by by her own character. And that bearer of sacrificial offerings hath not burnt me, is owing to Rama's power and the virtue of Vaidehi. And why should she that is a very goddess unto the three brothers, Bharata and the others, and that hath enchanted the mind of Rama, meet with destruction? And when that everywhere unspent Lord, having burning for his office, hath not consumed my tail, why shoud he burn the exalted lady?" Then Hanuman with wonder again thought of the sight of the golden mountain under the water. "By virtue of her asceticism, veracity, and devotion unto her lord, she it is that can consume Fire, but Fire cannot burn her." And as Hanuman was thinking of the magnitude of that revered lady's religious merit, he heard the converse there of high-souled Charanas. "Ah! hard is the feat that Hanuman hath forsooth achieved. He hath created a terrific and fierce conflagration in the abode of the Raksha. The females of Rakshas accompanied by boys and old folks, are flying amain; and in consequence of the hubbub it seems as if (Lanka) is in lamentation through her mountain-caverns. Burnt is this city of Lanka with her turrets, walls and gateways; and we are astonished that Janaki is not burnt." These words resembling ambrosia Hanuman heard (at that time); and his mind was filled with joy. And what through the auspicious omens that he had witnessed, and what through the speech of the saints, Hanuman was delighted (beyond measure). Then the monkey, with his end attained, knowing that the king's daughter was unhurt, became bent upon returning after seeing her once again.

SECTION 56.

Then seeing Janaki seated at the foot of the Sinsapa tree, (Hanuman) saluting her said,—"By luck it is that I see thee unhurt." Then eying him again and again as he was on the point of departing, Sita said unto Hanuman in words informed with affection for her husband,—"If, my child, it liketh thee, do thou, O stainless one, stay here today in some retired spot. To-morrow having refreshed thyself, thou shalt set out. Thy vicinity, O monkey, for a while beguiles me of slender luck of my measureless grief. Thou wilt go, O powerful monkey; but ere thou return, it is, O foremost of monkeys, doubtful whether I shall live. And, O hero, the not seeing thee shall try me sorely, who have fallen from one misfortune into a greater one, and who, my mind distracted, have been exercised by sorrow. And, O hero, this mighty doubt is (ever) present before me. How shall that exceedingly powerful one or that host of monkeys or those two sons of that man of men, albeit backed by mighty monkeys, cross over the ocean incapable of being crossed? Three beings have the power to bound over the deep;— Vinata's offspring, thou, and the Wind-god. Then in this business at hand hard to accomplish, what means dost thou, versed in business, see, whereby the end may be attained?— O slayer of hostile heroes, thou alone art quite competent to perform this task; and thou shalt attain fame through thy rising prowess. But if blocking up Lanka with his forces, that afflictor of enemies, Kakutstha, taketh me (from hence,) then that shall be worthy of him.—Therefore do thou so order things that that powerful and high-souled hero in conflict, may act as becomes himself." Hearing her resonable, affectionate and pregnant speech, that hero, Hanumin, answered,—"O noble lady, that lord and foremost of monkeys, Sugriva gifted with strength, is determined on thy behalf. And that master of monkeys, Sugriva, O Vaidehi, surrounded by thousands and Kotis of monkeys, shall speedily come here (for the purpose). And those best of men, those heroes, Rama and Lakshmana, coming together, shall afflict Lanka with their arrows. And slaughtering the Rakshasa with his own adherents, Raghu's son, O exceedingly fair one, shall ere long take thee back to his palace.—O gentle damsel, do thou console thyself. Remain, expecting the hour. Soon shalt thou see Ravana slain in battle by Rama. On the lord of Rakshasas being slain along with his sons, councilors, and friends, thou shalt meet with Rama as Rohini meeteth with the Moon. At once shall Kakutstha come, accompanied by the foremost of monkeys,—who, conquering (Ravana) in conflict, shall remove thy grief." Having thus consoled Videha's daughter, Hanuman, son unto the Wind-god, setting his heart upon departure, saluted Vaidehi. And having soothed Vaidehi, and displayed his surpassing strength, having rendered the city disconsolate, and baffled Ravana, exhibited his terrific might, and saluted Vaidehi, Hanuman became bent upon returning, crossing over the mid-sea. Then that repressor of foes, the powerful monkey, anxious to see his master, ascended Aristha, foremost of mountains; (as if covered) with a sheet consisting of blue woods of tall padmakas, and clouds lying in the interspace between peaks,—and displayed from love by the glad light of the Sun; appearing to be beholding with the minerals scattered about serving for its eyes; seeming to be reciting aloud in consequence of the solemn sound of waters, to be carolling clearly through its many fountains, and to stay with uplifted arms by means of devadarus; appearing to be crying distressfully on account of cascades sounding all round; seeming to be trembling in consequence of verdant autumnal woods waving, and to be piping on account of kichakasvocal through the breeze; eloquent; with the foremost poisonous serpents appearing to be sighing forth ire; appearing to be sunk in contemplation on account of caverns covered with snow and looking solemn in consequence; as if moving about by means of hills looking like its cloud-legs; seeming to yawn in the sky with peaks towering heavenwards,—scattered with summits, and graced with innumerable caves; surrounded with salas, palms, tamalas, Karnas, and bamboos; graced with spreading and flowering underwoods; abounding in various beasts, and decked with mineral streams,—containing numerous rills,— thronged with collections of crags; frequented by Maharshis, and Yakshas, and Gandharbas and Kinnaras and serpents; impracticable in consequence of plants and trees; with caverns harbouring lions; filled with tigers and other (ferocious beasts); and furnished with trees having tasteful fruits and roots. And the Wind-god's offspring—foremost of monkeys—ascended that mountain. Aud on the lovely level of that mountain, the crags, crushed with sounds under the tread of that one burning to behold Rama and wrought up with excess of joy, were scattered all round. And ascending that lordly hill, the mighty monkey magnified himself, desirous of going from the southern to the northern shore of the salt waters. And getting to the top of the mountain, that hero, son unto the Wind-god, cast his eyes upon the dreadful main inhabited by terrible snakes. And that foremost of monkeys, offspring of the Wind-god Maruta, (mentally) went from the south to the north, as if it were the air. And then that best of mountains, sore pressed by the monkey, began to emit cries, and with various creatures (on it), entered underneath the Earth, with its peaks tottering and its trees toppling. And borne down by the violence of his thighs, trees bearing flowers, being shattered, as if destroyed by Sakra's weapon, fell to the ground. And the dreadful yells of mighty lions in pain, inhabiting caves, entered the ear, piercing the heavens. And Vidyadharis with their attires falling off and their ornaments disordered, suddenly rose from the Dharanidharat mountain unto the sky. And exceedingly powerful and mighty snakes of virulent venom,—having flaming tongues, with their hoods and necks tortured, began to roll (on the earth). And Kinnars and serpents, Gandharbas, Yakshas and Vidyadharas, forsaking that foremost of mountains in affliction, took refuge in the sky. And that graceful mountain also, tormented by that powerful one, entered the nether regions with its tall trees and summits. And that mountain, which (heretofore) had measured ten yojanas in area and thirty in height, became level with the earth. And desirous of crossing over the salt waters, with their shores menaced by sounding (waves), the monkey rose to the sky.

SECTION 57.

And springing up like unto a winged hill, that one endowed with energy, the untiring Hanuman, began to swim on the ocean of the firmament having for its blown lotuses and lilies, snakes, Yakshas and Gandharbas; with the Moon for its comely Kumuda [Lily.], and with the Sun for its Karandavas; charming to behold; having Tishya and Sravana for its swans, clouds for its mosses and grass, Punarvasu for its mighty fish,

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the red-bodied one [Bhama.] for its huge aquatic animal, Airavata for its spacious island, Swati for its sportive swan, breezes for its billows, and moonlight for its cool waters. And as if swallowing up the welkin and touching the lord of stars, abolishing the sky decorated with stars and the solar disc, and cleaving the clouds, the unfatigued Hanuman began to cross over that sea. And (on all sides) mighty masses of clouds, sable, crimson, blue, Mangistha-hued, and green-red, looked exceedingly beautiful. And now entering into clouds and now imerging from them, he, again and again becoming visible and lost to sight, looked like the Moon. And that one clad in white raiment, coursing through diverse clouds, the hero's body was (alternately) visible and invisible, like unto the Moon in the sky. And the Wind-god's son went on in the sky, scattering the clouds and descending again and again. And sending up mighty sounds, that exceedingly energetic one gifted with a powerful voice like that of the clouds, having slain the foremost Rakshasas and rendered his name famous, having filled the city with lamentations and afflicted Ravana, having distressed the mighty heroes and paid obeisance unto Vaidehi,—again held his course along the mid-ocean. And touching Mainaka—foremost of mountains—that one endowed with prowess proceeded amain like an iron dart let go from a string. And from a distance approaching and beholding that mighty mountain, Mahendra, resembling clouds, that redoubted monkey began to roar. And having a lusty voice resembling that of clouds, that monkey, roaring, filled all quarters with his lofty shouts. And arriving at that place, he, eager to behold his friends, emitted tremendous roars, and began to flourish his tail. And as he went on roaring in the path ranged by Suparna, the firmament with the solar disc seemed to be rent by his shouts. And (it came to pass that) those powerful and heroic (monkeys) that had formerly stationed themselves on the northern shore of the ocean, anxious to see the Wind-god's offspring, heard the sounds proceeding from Hanuman's vehement speed, resembling the rumbling of clouds agitated by the winds. And all those rangers of woods, (staying) dispirited, heard the roars of that foremost of monkeys, like unto the roaring of rain-pouring clouds. And hearing those sounds as he kept crying, those monkeys (sitting) around, eager to see their friend, became extremely anxious. And that best of monkeys, Jambavan, with a joyful heart addressing all the monkeys, said,—"Hanuman hath succeeded completely. There is no doubt about this. If he were unsuccessful, he would not utter shouts as these." And hearing the sounds produced by the violent movements of the arms of that high-souled (hero), as well as the shouts of that magnanimous one, the monkeys, filled with delight, leapt up on all sides. And they, eager to have a sight of Hanuman, joyfully went from mountain-top to mountain-top and from peak on to peak. And influenced by joy, the monkeys remained holding a bough at the top of a tree, and waving their clean apparels. And as the wind roareth in a cavern, roared the powerful Hanuman, son unto the Wind-god. And seeing that mighty monkey resembling a mass of clouds, alighting, those monkeys stood joining their hands. And then the vehement monkey resembling a hill, having leapt up from that mountain, alighted on the top of the Mahendra mountain filled with trees. And bursting with delight, (Hanuman) dropped near a fountain, like unto a hill whose wings have been clipped. Then with joyful hearts, all the principal monkeys stood encircling the high-souled Hanuman. And surrounding him, they experienced excess of delight, and drew near the newcomer with joyful faces. And bringing fruits and roots, the monkeys honoured that chief of monkeys, the offspring of the Wind-god. And some, filled with delight, sent shouts, and some raised ululations; and the foremost monkeys fetched branches of trees [To serve for a seat for Hamiman.]. And that mighty monkey, Hanuman, saluted his superiors and the aged, headed by Jambavan; as well as Prince Angada. And honoured by the monkeys, as he very well deserved to be, and gratified by them, (he) briefly said—"Seen have I the exalted lady." And taking Vali's son by the hand, he sat him down in a charming tract of the woodland belonging to the mountain Mahendra.—Then asked (by them), Hanuman addressed those foremost monkeys,—"I have seen Janaka's daughter in the Acoka woods. That blameless one is guarded by dreadful Rakshasis. The girt weareth a single braid of hair, and burneth to attain a sight of Rama. She is faint in consequence of fasting, and dirty, weareth matted locks and is emaciated." Hearing the words, "I have seen" from the Wind-god's offspring resembling ambrosia, all the monkeys were filled with rejoicing. And thereupon, some of mighty ones roared, and some shouted, aid some blustered, and some raised ululations, and others stormed (in return). And some elephantine monkeys in joy upraised their tails, and some lashed with their long and broad tails. And others, transported with joy, bounding up to the mountain-summit, touched that foremost of monkeys, the handsome Hanuman. And when Hanuman had ended, Angada said these excellent words in the midst of the heroic monkeys,—"There is none, O monkey, that is like unto thee in strength and prowess. As having bounded over the spacious main, thou hast come back (here), thou art, O excellent monkey, the only giver of our lives. By thy grace it is that, our end attained, we shall meet with Raghava. Oh for thy fidelity! Oh for thy prowess! Oh for thy fortitude! By luck hast thou seen that exalted one, the illustrious wife of Rama, by luck it is that Kakutstha shall forego his sorrow in consequence of separation from Sita." Then surrounding Angada, Hanuman, and Jambavan, the monkeys, exceedingly rejoiced, sat down upon a spacious stone. And having sat them down on the spacious rock, the monkeys became eager to hear of the bounding of the main and of (Hanuman's) seeing Lanka, Sita and Ravana. And they stood with joined hands, looking wistfully into Hanuman's face. And the graceful Angada was there, surrounded by many monkeys, and honoured by them, even as the lord of celestials is honoured in heaven by the celestials. When the famous and renowned Hanuman, and Angada with bracelets on his arms, had sat down, the elevated and mighty mountain-summit was illuminated with splendour.

SECTION 58.

Then on the summit of the mountain, Mahendra, those powerful monkeys, headed by Hanuman, rejoiced exceedingly. And when the high-souled delighted monkeys had sat them down, Jambavan, glad at heart, asked that offspring of the Wind, the happy Hanuman, all about his proceeding: "How hast thou seen the worshipful one? How doth she fare there? And how doth the cruel Ten-necked one bear himself towards her? Do thou truthfully relate all this unto us, O mighty monkey. How couldst thou track the exalted lady? And what did she say in reply (to thy querries)? Having learnt the real state of things, we shall decide what is to be done. And do thou also tell us what we, repairing there, shall unfold unto that one of controled self and what we shall keep to ourselves." Thus directed by him, that one (Hanuman) with his down standing on end, bowing down the head unto that revered one, Sita, replied,—"In your sight, I bounded up with a concentrated mind, eager to reach the southern shore of the ocean. As I voyaged on, a great impediment occurred in the way. I saw a goodly and noble golden peak, standing, obstructing my way. I found the mountain as an obstacle to my course. Nearing the grand and splendid golden mount, I thought within myself,—'I will rive this.' And the sun-like summit of that mighty mountain, Prahasta, was cleft in a thousand fragments by my tail. Seeing his own condition, that mighty mountain, gladdening my heart, addressed me with the sweet speech,—'O son, know me for thy uncle. I am a friend unto the Wind,— famed as Mainaka, and living in the great deep. Formerly all the foremost mountains were furnished with wings. And (once on a time) they began to range the earth at will, committing devastations. Hearing of the conduct of the mountains, that possessor of the six kinds of riches, Indra the Great, the swayer of Paka, with his thunderbolt cut off by thousands the pinions of the mountains. At that time, my son, I, having been delivered by thy sire, the high-souled Wind-god, was cast into the abode of Varuna. O repressor of foes, I shall have to assist Raghava. Rama is the foremost of the righteous, and possessed of prowess like that of Mahendra himself.' Having heard this from the magnanimous Mainaka, I apprised the mountain of my mission, and my thoughts held their course. Having given me his permission, the magnanimous Mainaka, the mountain that had put on the form of a man, vanished, and, assuming his mountain-form, went into the vast sea. And I, summoning my best celerity, began to journey the remainder of my way. And having swiftly proceeded long in the path, I saw the exalted lady, Surasa, mother of the serpents. And that worshipful one stationed in the sea, said,—'By the celestials hast thou, O best of monkeys, been assigned as my food. Therefore shall I eat thee up. Thou hast been ordained as mine by the gods.' Thus addressed by Surasa, I, remaining in humble guise with joined hands, and with my countenance turned pale, I uttered these words,—'Rama, the graceful son of Dacaratha, repressor of foes—hath entered the woods of Dandaka, in company with his brother Lakshamana and Sita. His wife Sita hath been carried off by the wicked Ravana. At Rama's mandate I go to her as an envoy. In this business, thou, O chaste one, shouldst help Rama. Or having seen Mithila's daughter, as well as Rama of untiring deeds, I shall come to thy mouth,—this I promise unto thee truly.' Thus accosted by me, Surasa, wearing forms at her will, said,—'None is able to escape me. Even this is the boon that I have received.' Having been thus addressed by Surasa, I attained the magnitude of ten yojanas; and then anon I dilated to another ten. But she opened her mouth wider than my magnitude. Seeing her stretched mouth, I again diminished myself, and on the instant again reduced myself to the measure of a thumb. And speedily entering her mouth, I immediately came out. Then the exalted Surasa again spoke unto me in her native shape,—'Thy end having been attained, go, O mild one, O foremost of monkeys, according to thy pleasure. Bring about the meeting of Vaidehi with the high-souled Raghava. Be thou blessed, O mighty-armed one. I am well pleased with thee, O monkey.' Then I was praised by all beings, with,—'Excellent!' 'Excellent!' Then like unto Garuda I again sprang up into the air. But now my shadow was overtaken by somebody, though I saw no one. And my velocity being deprived, I looked at the ten cardinal points; but I found there naught which could deprive me of my speed. Then I thought,— 'What is this obstacle that hath suddenly arisen in respect of my course? No form find I here?' And as I stood aggrieved, my glance fell downwards. Then I saw there a dreadful Rakshasi supine on the flood. And laughing (scornfully), that grim one said these inauspicious words unto me, who was inert, although undaunted,— "Whither art thou bound, O thou of a gigantic body? Desired by me, who am hungry, do thou becoming my food, gratify this body deprived of diet for a long time.' Saying, 'Well,' I accepted her speech, increasing my body at will more than the capacity of her mouth; and her huge and dreadful mouth extended wide to eat me up. She did not understand me, nor that I had altered my shape. Then in the twinkling of an eye contracting my vasty shape, I, extracting her heart, darted into the sky. Thereat, throwing about her arms, that terrific one dropped into the salt waters. On that chaste one, resembling a hill, having her heart torn, I heard the meek speech of magnanimous persons, who had come there of themselves,—'This dreadful Rakshasi, Sinhika, hath been swiftly slain by Hanuman.' Having slain her, I again, remembering the delay that had occurred touching my work, set out on the great road, and at length saw the southern shore of the sea, covered with mountains; where is situated the city of Lanka. On the sun having set, I entered the city of the Rakshasas—their home—unnoticed by the Rakshasas of terrific vigor. I had entered in when a certain female casting forth violent laughter, and wearing the splendour of clouds at the end of a Kalpa, presented herself before me. And striking with my left clenched fist that exceedingly dreadful (form), having flames for her hair, who had sought to take my life,— and vanquishing her (thus), I entered (Lanka) at dusk. Then that one affrighted addressed me, saying,—'I, O hero, am, the city of Lanka. Vanquished have I been by thy prowess. Thou shalt everywhere conquer all the Rakshasas'. There I wandered all the night (seeking for Janaka's daughter) and (at length) entered Ravana's inner apartment; but that one of a Diity waist I found not. And not finding Sita in Ravana's abode, I was cast in a sea of sorrow; nor found I how to cross over it. And as I was sorrowing, I saw a mansion with a charming grove encircled by a wall of excellent gold. And leaping over the wall, I saw a grove rife with trees; and (at last) saw in the midst of an acokawood a great Sincapa. And ascending the tree, I saw a golden tract of plantains; and hard by from the Sincapa tree I espied that transcendentally beautiful one, dark-blue, having eyes resembling lotus-petals, with her face faded in consequence of fasting, clad in the same single piece of cloth, her hair covered with dust,—her limbs emaciated by the heat of sorrow and grief,—Sita, ever engaged in the welfare of her lord; surrounded by cruel and deformed Rakshasis living upon blood and flesh,—like unto deer environed by tigresses. And I managed too swiftly to present myself before that one, menaced momentarily in the midst of the Rakshasis, wearing a single braid of hair; woe-begone; ever thinking of her lord; her limbs discoloured by lying down on the ground, like unto a lotus on the approach of winter,—having eyes resembling those of a young deer, who had turned her face away from all the enjoyments offered by Ravana, and who had resolved to put a period to her existence. Seeing that lady the illustrious wife of Rama in that condition, I seeing her remained even on that Sincapatree. Then I heard in Ravana's mansion loud and solemn sounds mixed with the tinklings of zones and bangles. Thereat exceedingly agitated, I changed my proper shape; and remained like a bird in a dark part of the Sincapa tree. Then the wives of Ravana along with Ravana himself of exceeding strength came to that place where Sita was. And seeing the lord of Rakshasas the exceedingly beauteous Sita contracted her thighs and covered her full breasts with her arms. And seeing Sita flurried and extremely excited and casting about her gladness up and down, not finding any relief and trembling forlorn, the Ten-necked one said unto her undergoing extreme anguish,—"Without saying anything, I fall down (here). O fair one, do thou regard me. If, O haughty one, thou do not honour me from pride of heart, I shall, O Sita, two months hence, see thy blood." Hearing these words of the wicked Ravana, Sita, growing exceeding wroth, spoke these excellent words,—"O worst of Rakshasas, having used improper speech towards the wife of Rama of measureless prowess, and the daughter-in-law of Dacaratha, lord of the Ikshwaku line, why hast thou not thy tongue fallen off? Fie upon the prowess of thee that, O wretch, hast carried me off while my husband was away; and not being seen of that high-souled one. Thou art never like Rama,— thou art not even fit to be his slave. Raghava is invincible, truthful, heroic and (even) hungering for warfare." Thus addressed in harsh speech by Janaki, the Ten-necked one flamed up in wrath, like Fire in a funeral pyre. And with his wicked eyes whirling in rage, he raised the clenched fist of his right hand to slay Mithila's daughter; but then the females set up a cry of "Oh" and "Alas." And rising up in the midst of the females, the wife of the wicked-minded one, the excellent one, named Mandodari, prevented him. And she spoke soft words

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unto him influenced by lust.—"O thou that resemblest Indra the Great in prowess. Do thou to-day sport with me. Janaki is not superior to me. And, O lord, do thou sport with the daughters of celestials and Gandharbas, and with the daughters themselves of Yakshas. What wilt thou do with Sita?" Then that exceedingly powerful ranger of the night was speedily raised up and taken (back) to his residence. On the Ten-necked one having departed, the Rakshasis of fearful faces fell to railing at Sita in cruel and rough words,—But Janaki heeded their speech as a straw; and their fury was lost upon Sita. Desisting from their unavailing railing, the flesh-feasting Rakshasis imparted unto Ravana the mighty intent of Sita. Then, they all failing in their hope and deprived of energy, and tired, came under the sway of sleep. And on their sleeping, Sita intent on the welfare of her lord, lamenting piteously, in forlorn guise, and striken with extreme sorrow, mourned profusely. Then sitting up in their midst, Trijata spoke,—"Do ye without delay fall to your own selves; but never (eat up) the dark-eyed Sita, the chaste daughter unto Janaka and the daughter-in-law of Dacaratha. In truth I have seen a dismal dream capable of making one's hair stand on end; (presaging) destruction unto Rakshasas and victory unto the husband of this one. For protecting us, Rakshasis from Raghava, let us solicit Vaidehi. Even this is relished by me. If we relate such a dream unto the aggrieved one, she, being freed from her diverse woes, shall attain the height of joy. Propitiated by our bowing down, Janaka's daughter, Maithili, shall rescue the Rakshasis from a mighty fear." Thereat, that bashful maiden, rejoiced at the prospect of her husband's victory, said,—'If all this prove true, then for certain, (ye shall) meet with succour at my hands. Witnessing such a hard condition of Sita I began to reflect; nor did my my mind attain ease or freedom from thought. And I cast about for finding means of addressing Janaki. And I began by extolling the Ikshwaku race. Hearing the words that I uttered, embellished with descriptions of the virtues of Rajarshis, that exalted lady replied with her eyes covered with tears. "Who art thou? And how hast thou, O foremost of monkeys, found thy way here? And what is thy delight in Rama? This it behoveth thee to relate unto me." Hearing her speech, I too said,— 'O revered one, thy husband, Rama, hath found a help-mate in a one endowed with terrific strength, named Sugriva —redoubtable, the highly powerful lord of the monkeys. Do thou know me as Hanuman his servant, despatched here by thy spouse—Rama of unwearied actions. O famed damsel, that highly effulgent son of Dacaratha—the foremost of men, hath sent as a token this ring. I desire to know, O worshipful dame, what behest of thine may I obey now. Shall I carry thee to Rama and Lakshmana on the northern shore of the Ocean?" Hearing this and revolving within herself Sita, Janaka's daughter, replied—"Discomfitting Ravana, may Raghava himself carry me hence.' And bowing my head unto that worshipful and blameless dame, I wanted of her a token as might conduce to Raghava's pleasure. Whereto replied Sita—'O thou of mighty-arms do thou take this excellent jewel for which thou shalt be highly regarded by Rama'. Having said this that best of fair ones gave me the excellent jewel, and wrought up with anxiety, related unto me the story of crow (for Rama's information). Thereupon bent on returning here, I, with a fixed mind, circumambulated and bowed unto that worshipful dame. And revolving within herself she again replied—'Hanuman, do thou relate this unto Raghava in such a wise that the heroes Rama and Lakshmana, along with Sugriva might instantly come here. Or else there remain two months more of my life. Raghava shall not see me and I shall quit my life like one having no husband. Hearing those piteous accents I was worked up with ire and at once resolved upon destroying the city of Lanka. Thereupon my body increased like unto a mountain and desirous of entering into conflict I began to lay waste the forest. The whole forest was devastated—the birds and deer strayed away in fear and the Rakshasees, having terrible faces, awaking, beheld all that. And beholding me in the forest, they all, gathering, instantly conveyed the message unto Ravana. O King, O thou of mighty prowess, this thy forest and castle has been broken down by the vicious-souled monkey not knowing thy strength. O King, he has been impelled by his vicious sense, to do thy mischief. Do thou order for his head so that he might not return. Hearing this the lord of the Rakshasas despatched a chosen band of demons named Kinkaras [Lit. servants—heroic attendants.]. I despatched with my mace in no time eighty thousand of them no sooner than they entered the forest with darts and maces. And the few, who were saved, proceeded very quickly unto Ravana and related unto him the destruction of the soldiers by me. Thereupon I thought of destroying the Chaitya [A place of sacrifice or religious worship.] palace and destroyed with the pillar all the Rakshasas stationed there. Excited with wrath I destroyed that palace; the best in the whole city of Lanka. Thereupon (Ravana) despatched Jambhumali, the son of Prahasta. With my fierce mace I destroyed that mighty Rakshasa, versed in the art of war, along with his retinue and surrounded by a band of terrible and grim-visaged demons. Hearing this, Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas sent the highly powerful sons of the ministers followed by a regiment of infantry. But I despatched them to the abode of Death by means of my dart. And hearing of the destruction in battle of the ministers' sons of feeble prowess Ravana sent five heroic commanders. But I slew all of them along with their hosts. Thereupon the Ten necked demon sent his highly powerful son Aksha in the battle followed by a number of Rakshasas. No sooner the princely son of Mandodari, versed in the art of war, rose high up in the welkin than I got hold of his legs and whirling him for hundred times ground him to the dust. And hearing of the discomfiture of Aksha, Ravana, exercised with ire, sent his second son, the highly powerful Indrajit incapable of being repressed in battle. And discomfitting that best of Rakshasas with his host I attained to an excess of delight. That hero of great prowess and mighty-arms with a number of other proud heroes was despatched by Ravana in great confidence. And beholding my unbearable prowess and his own soldiers slain, speedily he went away fettering me with his Brahma weapon. Thereat the other Rakshasas bound me up with a rope and carried me to Ravana. And thereupon I was welcomed by the vicious-souled Ravana and was asked why I did come to Lanka and slay the Rakshasas. Whereto I replied,—"I have done all this for Sita. To behold her I have come here, O hero. I am the monkey Hanuman, the own begotten son of Maruta. Do thou know me as Rama's ambassador and the minister of Sugriva. And on Rama's embassy have I come here before thee. Do thou hear of my mission—I do relate unto thee, O lord of Rakshasas, the message which the monkey chief hath commanded me to communicate unto thee. O great hero, Sugriva hath asked of thy welfare and hath desired me to communicate unto thee these well meaning words, conducing to the acquirement of piety, wealth and desires. While I lived on the mount Rishyamuka covered with huge trees I made friends with Raghava dreadful in conflict. He hath spoken to me, O king, 'My spouse hath been taken away by a Rakshasa. It behoveth thee to promise me thy help in this.' And in the presence of fire, Rama, along with Lakshmana, contracted friendship with me who had been deprived of his kingdom by Vali. And he hath made me lord over all the monkeys after slaying Vali in conflict with a single shaft. It therefore behoveth us to assist him by all means. And by virtue of this contract I have despatched Hanuman unto thee as an envoy. Do thou therefore speedily bring back Sita and return her unto Raghava before the heroic monkeys discomfit thee. Who knoweth not the prowess of the monkeys who in the days of yore used to visit the celestials invited?' With these words the king of the monkeys hath despatched me unto thee. And thereupon he eyed me as if burning me with the looks of his angry eyes. And the vicious-souled demon—Ravana, of terrible deeds, ordered for my destruction, not knowing my prowess. Thereupon Bivishana, the high-souled brother of that lord of the Rakshasas interceded on my behalf in the following strain— 'O thou foremost of the Rakshasas, do thou alter thy resolution. The way, thou art following, is beyond the pale of royal policy. The destruction of an envoy is not sanctioned by the royal morality, O Rakshasa. They communicate simply the mandate of their masters. O thou of incomparable prowess, there is no sanction for the destruction of a messenger albeit he perpetrateth a mighty iniquity. Sometimes they have however been disfigured." Being thus accosted by Bivishana, Ravana ordered all the demons, saying "Burn down this monkey's tail.' Hearing his mandate, the Rakshasas, of well-protected armour and terrible prowess, enveloped my tail with the fibres of cotton, silk and jute. And then striking me with their clenched fists they put fire to my tail. Although bound and fettered with many ropes I did not feel the least anguish for I was very much anxious to behold the city during the day. And thereupon fettering me and putting fire to my tail and announcing me in the public streets those heroic Rakshasas got at the city gate. And thereupon contracting again my huge person and relieving myself of the fetters I stood again in my pristine state. And taking up iron darts I slew all the Rakshasas there. And leaping over with great velocity the city gate, I, with my burning tail, burnt down the whole city from the palace to its outer gate like unto the fire of dissolution devastating the entire creation. And I was not the least flurried at it. 'Forsooth hath Janaki been destroyed—for behold I nothing in Lanka which hath not been burnt down—indeed the whole city hath been reduced to ashes. For certain have I burnt down Sita while burning the city Lanka—and I have thus baffled the great work of Rama.' While I was reflecting thus, being overwhelmed with grief, I heard the auspicious accents of the Charanas, exciting my wonder, 'Janaki hath not been burnt down.' Hearing those wonderful words I regained my sense. I was then convinced by an auspicious sign that Janaki was not burnt down, for I was not reduced to ashes albeit my tail was burning. My heart was excited with joy and the wind spread its delicious fragrance. And by virtue of those manifest omens, by my confidence in the prowess of Rama; and Sita, and the voice of ascetics, I was greately delighted at heart. And beholding Vaidehi again, I left her. And thereupon ascending the mount Aristha I began to leap, desirous of beholding you. And following the track of the Wind, the Sun, the Moon, Gandharbas, and Siddhas I have beheld you all. By virtue of Rama's grace and your prowess I have satisfied the charge of Sugriva. I have thus related unto you, what I had performed in Lanka, and it now remains with you to fulfill the rest."

SECTION 59.

Having related all, Hanuman, the Wind-god's son began again, saying—"Fruitful is Raghava's endeavour and Sugriva's energy—for greatly pleased have I been with Sita's conduct. O heroic monkeys, Sita hath been keeping the life of a highly chaste damsel. She can maintain the animated creation by virtue of her asceticism and burn it with her ire. Ravana, the lord of the Rakshasas is also highly advanced in asceticism by virtue whereof he hath not been ruined albeit he hath touched Sita's person. Even the flame of fire cannot do, although touched by the hands, what Janaka's daughter can bring about by her ire. I have related unto you what had happened. It now behoveth us to behold Vaidehi along with those two sons of a king, after commanding all the monkeys headed by Jambavan and others. I am alone capable of destroying the city of Lanka along with the Rakshasas and their lord—Ravana. What more can I achieve if I am accompanied by the heroic monkeys like ye, powerful, having control over their own minds, well-armed, able and desirous of winning victory! I shall slay Ravana in conflict along with his sons, brothers army and retinue. I shall destroy all the Rakshasas and baffle all the weapons of Indrajit conferred on him by Brahma, Rudra, Wind and Varuna albeit they are invisible in battle. Without your permission my prowess hath been brought to a stand still. Hills and mountains, uprooted and discharged by me continually, can destroy even the celestials, what of those night-rangers? Even if the ocean overfloweth its banks, the Mount Mandara moveth off its place, the enemy's host cannot frighten Jambavan in conflict. And specially the heroic monkey, Vali's son, is alone capable of destroying the whole host of the Rakshasas. Even the mount Mandara is weakened by the velocity of the thighs of the high-souled monkey Neela—what of the Rakshasas in conflict? What hero is there amongst the celestials, Asuras, Yakshas, Gandharbas, serpents and birds who can equal Manida or Divida in battle? I do not find any one who can oppose in the battle field the two best monkeys, the sons of Asvi gifted with great velocity. By me alone hath the city Lanka been devastated burnt down and reduced to ashes. And I had announced in the public streets there—"May victory crown the highly powerful Ram and Lakshmana, and may the king Sugriva advance in prosperity being protected by Raghava. I am the servant of the king of Kocala, the own begotten son of the Wind-God and my name is Hanuman. I have announced thus everywhere. (And I beheld there) in the Acoka forest of the vicious-souled Ravana, at the foot of a Sincapa tree, the chaste Sita waiting very poorly. She was encircled by the Rakshasees, worn out with grief and anxiety and was like unto the rays of the Moon shorn of their brilliance being enveloped with clouds. And Vaidehi, having a beautiful waist and devoted unto her husband, did not care for Ravana proud of his prowess and was accordingly confined by him. And that graceful daughter of the king of Videha was by all means devoted unto her lord and had all her thoughts centered in him like unto Poulomi [The wife of Indra.] devoted unto her lord Purandara. And I saw her in that garden, wearing a single piece of cloth soiled with dirt, surrounded by the Rakshasees and remonstrated with now and then by those ugly demons. Having a single braid of hair, poorly, engaged in thoughts touching her lord, she was lying on the earth shorn of all grace like unto a lotus on the appearance of the winter. She had not the least attachment for Ravana and was resolved upon putting an end to her existence. And somehow creating her confidence I addressed that damsel having the eyes of a fawn and related unto her the whole story. And hearing of the friendship between Rama and Sugriva she attained to an excess of delight. She is well-behaved and devoted unto her lord par excellence and blessed is the high-souled and ten-necked demon that she hath not destroyed him (yet). And Rama shall become an instrument only in bringing about his destruction. She hath really been greatly reduced and worn out by the separation of her lord. Her person hath been shattered like unto learning waning by its prosecution on the first day of a lunar fortnight. Thus liveth there the great Sita worn out with grief. Do ye now perform what you think proper."

SECTION 60.

Hearing his words, Vali's son Angada spoke, saying,—"These two monkeys, the sons of Asvi, are very powerful and gifted with great velocity and are specially proud in consequence of the boon conferred on them by the Great Grand-father. Formerly to honour Asvi the Grand-father, of all the worlds, made these two monkeys incapable of being slain by any. And crushing the mighty host of the celestials, these two heroes gifted with great prowess, and maddened with haughtiness in consequence of the boon, drank up nectar. And these two, if worked up with ire, are capable of

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destroying the whole city of Lanka with her horses, chariots and elephants. What of other monkeys, I, myself, am capable of destroying soon the city along with the Rakshasas and the mighty Ravana! And there is not the least wonder about it if I am aided by powerful monkey heroes like you, having control over themselves, well armed, capable and desirous of winning victory. I have heard, that, by Wind-god's son alone Lanka was burnt. Ye are all famed for your manliness, it doth not behove you to speak before Rama. 'We have seen the worshipful dame but have not been able to bring her.' Ye foremost of monkeys, there is none amongst the celestials or Aauras who can equal you either in leaping or in prowess. And therefore winning Lanka, slaying Ravana along with his Rakshasa host in conflict and taking Sita, let us go, delighted and having our ends accomplished. What else is there for us to perform than bringing the daughter of the king Janaka when the Rakshasa crew shall be slain by Hanuman? And we shall place Janaka's daughter between Rama and Lakshmana. What is the use of putting the other residents of Kishkinda into trouble? It therefore behoveth us alone to go to Lanka and after slaying the best of the Rakshasas, to see Sugriva, Rama and Lakshmana." Thereupon Jambavana, the foremost of the monkeys, greatly delighted spoke unto Angada, who was thus resolved, the following pregnant words, —"O great monkey, O thou of best understanding, what thou hast spoken, is, (I think) not proper, for we have been despatched by them to ransack the southern quarter, but we have not been commanded by the king of the monkeys and the highly intelligent Rama to bring her. And it shall not please him even if we rescue her. And mentioning his own lineage, that best of the kings, Raghava, promised before all the leading monkeys, that he would himself rescue Sita. How would he now falsify his own saying? What is the use of undertaking this work for nothing which shall not conduce to his pleasure? And useless shall be the display of your prowess, O ye, foremost of the monkeys. Let us therefore proceed where Rama with Lakshmana, and the highly effulgent Sugriva is, and relate unto them our proposed work. What thou hast judged, O prince, is liked by us. And still you should look to Rama's resolution and bring about his end.

SECTION 61.

All the heroic monkeys, headed by Angada and the great monkey Hanuman, approved highly of the words of Jambavan. And these leading monkeys headed by the Wind-god's son proceeded leaping from the summit of the Mount Mahendra. And these highly powerful ones, having huge persons, resembling the Mount Mandara, covered the welkin as if like so many mad elephants. They carried, as it were with their own looks, the highly powerful Hanuman, gifted with great velocity, having control over his own self, and adored by the Siddhas. They were resolved upon satisfying Rama's end and acquiring glory for themselves. Their desires were satisfied and mind elevated in consequence of their beholding Sita and burning down Lanka. All of them were anxious to communicate this pleasant news, to enter into conflict and were resolved upon bringing about Rama's wellbeing. And leaping and ascending the sky they got at the Madhuvana [An orchard.], preserved by Sugriva, resembling the celestial garden, covered with many trees, picturesque and incapable of being devastated by any. And the monkey-chief Sugriva's maternal uncle, the heroic and high-souled Dadhimukha always guardeth that picturesque and spacious garden of the lord of monkeys. They were greatly worked up with anxiety. And beholding thdt large orchard, those yellow-coIouted monkeys were greatly delighted and begged honey of the prince: And the prince respectfully allowed these elderly monkeys headed by Jambavan to drink honey. And being thus commanded by the intelligent prince—Vali's son, those monkeys ascended the trees infested with bees and feasting on fragrant fruits and roots, were greatly delighted and intoxicated. And thereupon those monkeys, beside themselves with joy for being allowed to drink honey began to dance hither and thither. Some sang, some laughed, some danced, some bowed down, some read, some walked hither and thither, some leaped and some talked at random. Some sprang upon one another, some quarrelled with one another, some leaped from one tree to another, and some jumped down on the earth from the tops of the trees. Some rose up with great velocity from the earth to the tops of the huge trees—some sang, others approached them laughing—some wept and others approached them weeping. Some were stricking with their nails and others struck them in return. And thus the entire monkey host were bewildered with intoxication. There was none amongst them who was not drunk and none who was not excited with pride. Thereupon beholding all the fruits eaten up and the trees divested of leaves and flowers, the monkey Dadhimukha was worked up with ire and attempted to prevent them. And that heroic, elderly monkey, the guard of the garden, was in return remonstrated with by them who were greatly intoxicated. Thereat the highly spirited monkey again made up his mind to protect the garden from their devastations. He used harsh words, undauntedly towards some, struck the weak with his palm, quarrelled with some, and consoled others with soothing words. They were greatly excited with drink, and being prevented forcibly by Dadhimukha, they giving up all fear, began to pull him. And striking him with their nails, biting him with teeth, crushing him with their palms and feet, they, being drunk, almost reduced him to death and devastated the mangoe forest.

SECTION 62.

Thereupon Hanuman, the foremost of the monkeys, spoke unto them, saying—"O monkeys, do ye undisturbed drink honey. I shall myself thwart them who will obstruct you." Hearing his words, Angada, the best of the monkeys, delighted, said—'Drink honey, O monkeys, we must follow Hanuman's advice, who hath already been crowned with success. We must follow him even if he leadeth us to an unworthy action, what of this which is most becoming?" Hearing these words from Angada, the leading monkeys attained to an excess of delight and eulogized him again and again. And adoring Angada—their prince, those monkeys proceeded by the way leading to the Madhuvana like unto trees carried by a stream. And entering that orchard they forcibly attacked the waiters there. Hanuman saw Maithilee, and others heard of her from him—and those monkeys, renouncing all fear in consequence and obtaining permission, drank honey and feasted on various sweet fruits. And they, given to the drinking of honey, attacking the guards who were approaching by hundreds, gave them a sound beating. Some monkeys,collecting honey with their hands measuring a Drona [In common use a measure of thirty-two seers or rather more than sixty-four lbs. quadrupeds.], drank it; others collecting themselves delightedly into a band spoiled it; while other yellow-coloured monkeys drank and sprinkled it. And some, being beside themselves with intoxication, struck others with the remaining quantity, while others waited at the foot of the trees, holding their boughs. And some, being exhausted with drinking, spread leaves and laid themselves thereon—and some being drunk and delighted struck others down in mad fury. And some lost their steps. Some roared and some delightedly set up the music of the birds. Some of the monkeys, inebriete with honey, slept on the earth; some laughed at others impudently and some cried aloud. Some spoke contrary to what they had done—and others put a different construction thereon. And all the waiters of the garden and the servants of Dadhimukha, were repressed by those terrible monkeys with censure and thrown up in the sky by their knee-joints. And terrified, they fled to different directions. And being worked up with anxiety, they approached Dadhimukha and said—'Commanded by Hanuman the monkeys have forcibly devastated the Madhuvana and we were thrown high up by them in the sky." Hearing of the destruction of the orchard, Dadhimukha, being greatly enraged, consoled all the monkeys. "Proceed ye before, I shall soon follow you and repress by force all those monkeys, greatly excited with pride and the drinking of the excellent honey." Hearing these words from Dadhimukha those leading and heroic monkeys proceeded with him towards Madhuvana. And Dadhimukha proceeded with great velocity in their midst taking up a huge tree in his hand. And all his attendants, taking trees, mountain crags, proceeded, wroth, where those leading monkeys were. And biting their lips in wrath and remonstrating with them again and again, those monkeys began to suppress them by force. And beholding Dadhimukha greatly enraged, all the monkeys, headed by Hanuman, approached him with great vehemence. And as the mighty Dadhimukha of huge arms, was proceeding towards them vehemently with a huge tree, Angada, wroth, caught him by the hand. He was beside himself with intoxication and therefore did not show him the least mercy, albeit he (Dadhimukha) was worshipful unto him. And accordingly with great vehemence he ground him to the dust. His arms and thighs were broken and his countenance was disfigured and that great heroe, the foremost of the monkeys, bathed in a pool of blood, remained senseless for sometime. And thereupon releasing himself from them by some device that leading monkey, proceeded to a nook, and addressed his attendants, saying—"Let us all proceed there where our lord, the spacious-necked Sugriva liveth with Rama. I shall relate unto him all the unfair dealings of Angada and forsooth shall that wrathful king punish all these monkeys. The picturesque Madhuvana is the most favourite orchard of the high-souled Sugriva. It was enjoyed by his forefathers and is not even approached by the celestials. And meting out punishment unto these monkeys, eager to drink honey and almost half dead, Sugriva shall slay them as well as their friends and relatives. Those vicious-souled ones are worthy of being slain since they have transgressed the royal mandate. And then shall my wrath, arising out of impatience, bear fruits." Having thus spoken unto the guards of the forest the highly powerful Dadhimukha leaped high up in the welkin and went away with them. And in no time he reached where the highly intelligent monkey Sugriva, the offspring of the sun, was. And beholding Rama, Lakshmana, and Sugriva and the level ground he descended from the sky. And descending from the sky that great and heroic Dadhimukha, lord over all the monkeys engaged in protecting the forest, placing his folded palms on his forehead and with a poorly countenance, laid low his crown at Sugriva's feet.

SECTION 63.

And beholding that monkey place his crown at his feet the monkey-chief, with an anxious mind, accosted him, saying—"Rise up, rise up, why hast thou lain thyself at my feet? I declare thou hast no fear, speak out the truth, From whose fear hast thou come here? It behoveth thee to suggest the becoming proceedure. Is it all well with my orchard Madhuvana? I long to know everything, O monkey." Being thus addressed hopefully by the high-souled Sugriva, Dadhimukha, gifted with an intelligence of a very high order, rose up and spoke—"Neither thyself, nor Vali, the lord of the monkeys, O king, allowed that orchard to be freely used by the monkeys—but that hath been now laid waste by them. I prevented them along with these attendants, but disregarding me, they drank and feasted there at their pleasure. They were prevented, O lord, in their act of devastation, by these guards, but those monkeys, without caring for me the least, feasted there. Some of them went beyond the pale of good conduct, others ate at their pleasure, and all frowned (at us). And when these attendents, being insulted by them, were greatly wroth, they were driven out of the garden, by those powerful and enraged monkeys. And they were greatly assailed by those many thousand heroic monkeys, worked up with ire and having reddened eyes. Some had their arms broken, some had their knee-joints crushed and some of them were thrown up in the sky. Thyself their lord living, these heroes are beaten, and the entire Madhuvana is being freely enjoyed by them." The highly intelligent Lakshmana, the slayer of foes, addressed Sugriva, the foremost of the monkeys, while he was thus being informed, saying,—"O king, why hath this monkey, the guard over the forest, come to thee, and what sorrow hath led him to give vent to these expressions?" Being thus addressed by the high-souled Lakshmana, Sugriva, skilled in the art of speech, replied,—"O worshipful Lakshmana, the heroic monkey Dadhimukha speaks that the war-like monkeys headed by Angada have drunk honey. They would not have engaged in such an unfair proceeding had they been unsuccessful in their mission. They have surely achieved success while they have thus been bent upon devastating the orchard. For this the warders were struck on their knee-joints for obstructing their revelry and for this they went so far as to disregard the powerful monkey Dadhimukha. I myself appointed this monkey the lord of my orchard. Forsooth hath Hanuman espied the worshipful Sita and none else. There is none else but Hanuman who is the instrumental of this work, for that best of monkeys hath in him a high intellect, knoweth the art of success, is gifted with courage, strength and prowess and is conversant with Sastras. That work is sure to succeed whose leading spirits are the mighty Jambavana and Angada, and worker is Hanuman. Forsooth that orchard hath been laid waste by these heroes headed by Angada. And ransacking the southern quarter, those leading monkeys have come back and delightedly entered the Madhuvana. And the whole orchard has been explored and enjoyed by those monkeys and the attendants beaten and wounded on their knee-joints. To communicate unto me this intelligence, this monkey of known prowess, and sweet accents, named Dhadimukha, hath come here. O thou of mighty arms, O son of Sumitra, forsooth they have beheld Sita, since the monkeys, just on their return, have engaged in drinking honey. O best of men, they are all well-known monkeys and without espying Vaidehi they would not have engaged in the destruction of that orchard conferred on us as a gift by the celestials." Hearing these words from Sugriva, pleasant unto ears, the virtuous-souled Lakshmana along with Raghava, was greatly pleased. And hearing this from Dadhimukha, Sugriva, greatly gratified, addressed that lord of the forest, again, saying,—"Greatly pleased I am, since, they, being successful, have explored this forest. And the insulting procedure of the successful is also pardonable. Do thou soon go there and protect that orchard, and send here all those monkeys headed by Hanuman. Along with these two descendants of Raghu, I long to know soon from these monkeys headed by Hanuman, and proud like lions, what they have settled for the regaining of Sita. And beholding these two princes greatly delighted and their eyes expanded with joy, the king of the monkeys, thought that the accomplishment of the great wort was near at hand, and was accordingly greatly delighted.

SECTION 64.

Being thus addressed by Sugriva, the monkey Dadhimukha, delighted, bowed unto him, Raghava and Lakshmana. And adoring Sugriva and the highly powerful descendants of Raghu, he along with other heroic monkeys, leaped up in the sky. He went away with the same speed with which he came and leaping down on the earth from the sky, entered the orchard. And entering that forest he beheld all the leaders of the monkeys spending the hours delightedly, having passed urine, the outcome of honey. And approaching them, the heroe, with folded hands and delighted, addressed Angada,

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with the following words—"O gentle one, do thou not take offence, for these monkeys, protecting the garden enraged, unweetingly prevented thee. O thou of great strength, thou art worn out with thy long journey, do thou drink thy own honey, thou art our prince and the master of this garden. It behoveth thee to forgive us for our wrath arising out of ignorance. Like unto thy sire before, thyself and Sugriva are the lords of these monkey hosts, O thou foremost of them, and none else. O innocent prince, I have related all about this unto thy uncle. When I described unto him, the arrival of all these forest rangers, as well as of thine accompanied by them, and the destruction of this garden by you all, he was not the least offended, rather delighted. And worked up with joy thy uncle Sugriva, the lord of earth and monkeys, said "Send them all here speedily." Hearing those words from Dadhimukha, Angada, the foremost of the monkeys and skilled in speech, addressed them all, saying—"O ye leaders of the monkey hosts, I fear, Rama hath heard all about this. Dadhimukha relates everything joyfully and hence I infer this. And our work finished, O slayer of foes, it doth not behove us to remain here (any longer). You have all drunk honey at your pleasure and there is nothing left and you should now go where the monkey king Sugriva is. O leading monkeys, I shall follow what you will in a band desire me to do. In actions I am surbordinate unto you all. I am not justified to command although I am a prince. You are all of accomplished actions, it is not proper to repress you forcibly. " Hearing those sweet words of the prince Angada, the monkeys delightedly replied, saying—"O king, O foremost of monkeys, who else can speak thus being a master? Any one else, we think, is proud of his wealth. Such like words become thee only and none else. Thy humility speaks of thy future greatness. We are all anxious to go there, where Sugriva, the king of the monkeys, is. Verily we speak unto thee, O foremost of monkeys, that without thy permission, none amongst us, is capable of advancing a single step." They addressing him thus, Angada replied—"All right, let us all go." Saying this he leaped up in the sky and was followed by all those monkeys, clouding the welkin as if with stones thrown up by a tool. And placing before them Angada and Hanuman, the monkeys leaping vehemently up in the sky roared like unto clouds driven by the wind. And Angada nearing, Sugriva, the lord of the monkeys, spoke unto the lotus-eyed Rama, stricken with grief, saying—"May good betide thee. Do thou console thyself. The worshipful dame has been found out; there is not the least doubt about it. Or else they would not have come as the time is already past. I (further more) infer this from Angada's joy, O thou of auspicious presence. Without being successful in his mission, the large-armed prince, Angada, the foremost of the monkeys, would not have come to me. If the monkeys had engaged in such an unfair proceeding without being successful in their mission, Angada would have looked poorly and his mind would have been over-whelmed with grief and forgetfulness. And without beholding the daughter of the king Janaka they would not have dared to destroy Madhuvana obtained and preserved by my forefathers. Do thou console thyself, O Rama, by whom Kaucalya hath become the mother of a good son. O thou, rigidly observing any religious vow or obligation, forsooth hath Hanuman beheld the worshipful dame and none else. No other wight is so qualified an instrument in encompassing this end. O thou of excellent intellect, Hanuman knoweth the art of success, is gifted with intellect, perseverance and courage and is versed in Sastras. That work cannot fail, which is worked out by Jambavan and Angada and presided over by Hanuman. Be not laden with anxiety, O thou of unmitigated prowess. These monkeys have come here excited with pride and drink. They would not have come with such a grandeur had they been but unsuccessful. From their breaking down the orchard and drinking honey I inferred so. Thereupon he heard in the sky the joyous sounds of the monkeys proud on account of Hanuman's work, proceeding towards Kishkindha and as if announcing their success. Thereupon hearing the noise of these monkeys, Sugriva, their chief, being greatly delighted, uplifted his tail. And placing Angada and Hanuman before them those monkeys proceeded to behold Rama. And those heroes headed by Angada, delighted and intoxicated, descended before Raghava and the lord of the monkeys. And the mighty-armed Hanuman, lowering his head, related unto Raghava, Sita's spiritual and physical well-being. And hearing from Hanuman the sweet words that he had beheld Sita, Rama and Lakshmana were greatly delighted. And being confirmed thus by the Wind-god's son, Lakshmana, greatly pleased, respectfully looked towards Sugriva. And Raghava too, the slayer of foes, worked up with joy, cast respectful looks towards Hanuman.

SECTION 65.

Thereupon getting at the Mount Prasravana surrounded by a variegated forest, lowering their heads unto the mighty Rama and Lakshmana, placing before them their prince (Angada) and bowing unto Sugriva, the monkeys began to relate the story of Sita. And they described unto Rama, the confinement of Sita in Ravana's seraglio, the remonstrances of the she-demons, her unflinching attachment in her lord and the time appointed (by the Rakshasa for her destruction). And hearing of Vaidehi's well-being Rama said—"O monkeys where liveth the worshipful Sita? And how is her attachment unto me? Do ye relate everything unto me." Hearing those painful words of Rama, the monkeys desired Hanuman, conversant with the whereabouts of Sita, to describe every thing unto him. Hearing their words, Hanuman, the Wind-god's son, versed in the art of speech, lowering his head in Sita's name and towards the southern direction (where she liveth) began to relate how he succeeded in beholding Sita. And conferring on (Rama) the heavenly jewel set on a golden leaf and burning with its own effulgence, Hanuman, with folded hands, began—"Anxious to behold Sita, the daughter of the king Janaka, I, ploughing over the main extending over a hundred yojana, wended my way and by and by reached Lanka, the capital of the vicious-souled Ravana. Lanka is situated on the southern bank of the southern occean. And I saw there Sita, in the inner appartment of Ravana. Centering all her thoughts in thee, breathes that damsel, O Rama. I saw her reviled by the she demons again and again. She is being guarded in that garden by the grim-visaged Rakshasees. And that worshipful dame, O hero, ever used to happiness, is now stricken with grief in thy absence. Confined in Ravana's inner apartment, well protected by those she-demons, wearing a single braid of hair and poorly, she is engaged only in thoughts touching thee. She in lying on earth, shorn of all grace like unto a lotus on the appearance of the winter. She hath not the least attachment for Ravana and is resolved upon putting an end to her existence. O Kakutstha, O innocent prince, after enquiring for sometime, I found that worshipful dame devoted unto thee, and narrating the glories of the Ikshwaku race, O foremost of men, I created her confidence by and by, and addressing her I related everything. And hearing of the friendship between thee and Sugriva she was greatly delighted. And she has her respect for thee unshaken and all her actions are for thee. O great man, O thou best of men, I beheld the daughter of Janaka in this plight, engaged in hard austerities and ever devoted unto thee. O thou of great intelligence, O Raghava, offering me (this jewel) as a token, she wanted me to relate unto thee, the occurrence at the mount chitrakuta regarding the crow. And Janaki addressing me said—'O Wind-god's son, do thou describe everything of what thou hast seen here, unto Rama. And relating everything before Sugriva, do thou present him with this jewel which has been preserved by me with great care. I have kept with great care this excellent jewel of great effulgence. Do thou remind him of the mark which he made on my forehead with red arsenic. O innocent monkey, greatly delighted am I on beholding the brilliant jewel which he has sent through thee. Breathe shall I only for a month, beyond that I shall never live, subject as I am to the demons.' Thus was I accosted by Sita, reduced to a skeleton, observing pious observances, shut up in Ravana's inner apartment and having eyes like those of a hind. I have described unto thee everything, O Raghava, do thou make arrangements for bridging over the ocean." And considering those two princes greatly consoled, the Wind-god's son handed over that token unto Raghava and described everything from the beginning to the end.

SECTION 66

Being thus accosted by Hanuman, Rama, the son of Dacaratha, placing that jewel on his breast, wept with Lakshmana. And beholding that excellent jewel, Raghava, stricken with grief, with eyes full of tears, spake unto Sugriva, saying,—"Forsooth my heart melteth on beholding this jewel as milk trickleth down from the udders of a cow on beholding its calf. This jewel was conferred on Sita. by my father-in-law at the time of our wedding, and to enhance its beauty, she wore it on her head. And this jewel, obtained from the bed of the ocean, was conferred on him (Janaka) by the intelligent Sakra, greatly delighted for being adored in a sacrifice. O gentle one, this bringeth back to my mind, the memory of my father, and father-in-law the king of Videha. This excellent jewel appeared beautiful on the crown of my dear one, and methinks, on beholding it, I have as if got back my beloved spouse. Do thou relate unto me again and again, O gentle one, what Vaidehi hath said, as if sprinkling me with the water of her words like unto one rendered senseless. What greater grief can there be, O Saumitri, that I behold the jewel obtained from the ocean but not Vaidehi? Truly doth Vaidehi live for a long time if she breathes for a month. But O hero, I cannot live for a moment even without that one having dark-blue eyes. Do thou take me there where thou hast beheld my dear spouse. I cannot live for a moment while I have received intelligence about her. How liveth that timid damsel, having a beautiful waist, being terrified, amidst the terrible and grim Rakshasees? Truly her countenance is not appearing beautiful like unto the autumnal moon, enveloped with clouds, although cleared off the darkness. Do thou relate unto me in sooth, O Hanuman, what Sita hath spoken unto thee. I shall live by these words, as the sick are cured by medicine. O Hanuman, what halh my dear wife, sweet-speeched, and highly beautiful, spoken unto thee, being separated from me? How breathes she going through a series of calamities?"

SECTION 67.

Being thus addressed by the high-souled Raghava, Hanuman, related unto him all of what Sita had said,—"O foremost of men, the worshipful Janaki, related as a token, all the incidents at the Mount Chitrakuta from the beginning to the end. Sleeping happily with thee, Janaki one day awoke before, and in the meantime, a crow wounded her breast with its beaks. O Rama, thou wert then asleep on Sita's lap and that crow again afflicted the worshipful dame. And it again wounded her. And being bathed in blood and suffering terrible pangs, that worshipful dame aroused thee. O slayer ol foes, O thou of mighty-arms, seeing her breast wounded, thou, wroth like a serpent, didst speak saying— 'O timid damsel, who, with his nails, hath wounded thy breast? Who hath played with an angry serpent having five faces?' And casting thy looks around thou didst behold a crow facing the worshipful dame with sharpened nails besmeared with blood. That crow, the best of the birds, was Sakra's son. And it entered speedily into the earth with the velocity of the wind. Thereupon, thy eyes rolling with ire, thou, O mighty armed hero, O foremost of the intelligent, didst resolve to destroy that crow. And taking a kuca off thy seat thou didst set it on Brahma weapon. And it flamed like unto the fire of dessolution before that crow. And thou didst let off that burning kuca towards that bird. And thereupon that burning kuca followed the crow. And being forsaken even by the celestials, who were terrified, and ransacking the three worlds it did not get a refuge. Thereupon it again came to you, O subduer of foes. And seeking thy shelter it laid itself low on the ground. And O Kakutstha, thou didst save it albeit it was worthy of being slain. And thinking it improper to baffle the aim of the weapon, thou didst, O Raghava, destroy the right eye of the crow. Thereupon bowing unto thee and the king Dacaratha, that crow, bidding adieu, went to its quarter. O Raghava, thou art the foremost of those skilled in the use of weapons, powerful and gifted with an excellent character, why dost thou not discharge weapons towards the Rakshasas? The celestials, the Gandharvas, the Asuras, the Marutas—none of them is qualified, O Rama, to equal thee in conflict. If thou, gifted with great prowess, hast any affection for me, do thou speedily, with well-armed shafts, destroy Ravana in conflict. And obtaining the behests of his brother, why doth not Lakshmana, the subduer of foes and best of men, protect me, O Raghava? Those two best of men, gifted with the effulgence of Wind and Fire, and incapable of being repressed even by the celestials, are disregarding me. Forsooth have I perpetrated a mighty iniquity since those two slayers of foes, being capable, do not protect me.' Hearing those sweet and piteous accents of Vaidehi I again spoke unto that worshipful dame, saying—'Forsooth can I swear by thee, O worshipful dame, that Rama is sorely stricken with grief in thy absence. And Lakshmana too relenteth heavily beholding him laden with sorrow. It doth not behove thee to relent any more as I have succeeded in finding thee out. Thou shalt at this very moment behold the end of thy grief. And those two princes, the foremost of men and slayers of foes, actuated with energy on hearing that I have seen thee, shall reduce Lanka to ashes. And slaying in conflict the terrible Ravana, with his kith and kin, Raghava, in sooth, O excellent damsel, shall take thee back to his own city. O thou of a blameless person, do thou confer on me such a token, as might be recognized by Rama and conduce to his pleasure.' Thereat, casting her looks around, she took out an excellent jewel from her cloth, worthy of being set on her braid and conferred it on me, O thou of great strength. And O thou, the most favourite of the Raghu race, taking for thee that gem with my hands and bowing unto her, I addressed myself speedily for departure. And thereupon beholding me ready to depart and increase in bulk and about to leap up in the welkin, Sita, the daughter of the king Janaka, poorly, bathed in tears, overwhelmed with sorrow and having her voice choked with grief, spake, saying—'Blessed art thou O great monkey, since thou shalt behold the large-armed and the lotus-eyed Rama and the highly famed Lakshmana, my lord's younger brother.' And being thus accosted by Maithili, I said—'Do thou speedily place thyself on my back, O worshipful dame, O thou the daughter of king Janaka, and I shall soon show thee, O great dame, O thou having dark blue eyes, thy lord along with Sugriva and Lakshmana.' Whereto she replied—'This is not the pious course, O great monkey, O thou the foremost of thy race, that I shall, of my own accord, place myself on thy back. And although before this I was touched by the demon, O hero, it was because I could not help otherwise subject as I was to circumstances. Do thou thyself repair, O foremost of monkeys, where those two princes are.' Addressing me with these words she again said—'O Hanuman, do thou relate my well-being unto Rama and Lakshmana of leonine prowess, and Sugriva accompanied by his followers. Do thou so describe as the large-armed Raghava may save me from this ocean of grief. Do thou narrate unto Rama this my terrible sorrow and the affliction by the she-demons. May good betide thee, on thy way, O foremost of the monkeys.' Thus the worshipful Sita gave vent to these piteous accents. Hearing these words do thou believe that it is all well with her."

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SECTION 68.

Whereupon, O foremost of men, out of thy love and adoring me for thy friendship, that worshipful dame— addressed me again, saying—"Do thou thus speak every thing unto Rama, the son of Dacaratha, so that he might soon take me hence, slaying Ravana in battle. O heroe, O slayer of foes, if it pleaseth thee, thou mayst relieve thyself of the toil by living in a secret nook and then proceed to-morrow. O monkey, in thy company, I do momentarily forget the weight of my grief, unfortunate as I am. O thou gifted with great prowess, thyself departing, I shall wait for thy return, but doubt I very much whether I shall live till then. Burnt I shall be with the fear of not beholding thee again, wretched and striken with grief as I am. And so I shall be, hereafter, overwhelmed with a mightier grief. O hero, besides, I entertain a grave doubt about thy assistants, the monkeys and bears. I do not know how shall the host of monkeys and bears and those two princes cross over the mighty main? O innocent monkey of all the creatures three only are qualified to cross over the ocean, thyself, Garuda and the Wind. O thou foremost of those skilled in speech, what hast thou settled about the accomplishment of this hard work? True it is that thou art alone qualified to accomplish this work, O thou the slayer of inimical heroes— but such manifestation of thy prowess shall increase thy glory only. But if Rama, obtaining victory, can take me hence to his own city, it shall redound to his glory. It doth not behove the heroic Raghava, to take me away by stealth, like unto Ravana capturing me from the forest under a disguise. Truly it shall be his becoming work, if Kakutstha, the repressor of enemy's host, can take me away, enveloping the city Lanka with his army. Do thou therefore initiate that work as becometh that high-souled hero and may display his prowess." Hearing these sound reasonable and affectionate words I gave her the last reply, saying—'O worshipful dame, Sugriva, the foremost of the monkeys, the lord of monkey and bear hosts and gifted with manliness, hath resolved upon rescuing thee. He hath under his command a number of mighty and courageous monkeys gifted with great prowess and quick-coursing like imagination. Their course is never thwarted—whether going upwards or downwards—or moving tortuously. They are never exhausted in their actions— highly courageous and of measureless prowess. And those great and powerful monkeys, coursing in the air, have again and again circumambulated the earth. Sugriva hath many monkeys—my equal—and greater than I, but none of inferior strength. While I have crossed over the main—what of these mighty heroes? The leading heroes are never sent on a mission but only those of inferior merit. No more of bewailing, O worshipful dame. Do thou remove thy grief. And with one leap these leaders of monkey-hosts shall reach Lanka. O great damsel, these two princes, placing themselves on my back shall come to thee like unto the rising Sun and Moon. Thou shalt soon behold before Lanka's gate Raghava the slayer of foes resembling a lion and Lakshmana with a bow in his hand. And thou shalt soon observe in a band the heroic monkeys, gifted with the strength of lions and tigers, and having nails and teeth for their weapons. And thou shalt soon hear the roaring of the leading monkeys on the summit of mount Malaya, resembling the muttering of the clouds. And thou shalt soon behold Raghava, the slayer of foes, installed along with thee on the throne of Ayodhya after returning from the forest." And that daughter of the king of Mithila although heavily laden with sorrow in thy absence was greatly comforted and pleased by my auspicious words boding the fulfilment of her desire.

END OF SUNDARAKANDAM.

RAMAYANA VOLUME THREE

YUDDHAKANDAM.

SECTION 1.

Hearing the words of Hanuman rehearsed properly, Rama, exceedingly delighted, said,—"By Hanuman hath been performed a very great deed, rare on earth, and one incapable of being even conceived by any other in the world. Save Garuda and the Wind-god, and save also Hanuman, him find I not who crosseth the wide ocean. Entering by main force the city of Lanka, incapable of being subjugated by the gods and Danavas and Yakshas, the Gandharbas, serpents or Rakhas, and well protected by Ravana,—who, living, cometh out (of it)? And who that is not the compeer of Hanuman in strength and prowess, even entereth into (Lanka), hard to subdue, and carefully guarded by the Rakshasas? And having so put forth his strength commensurate with his prowess, Hanuman hath also performed a great act befitting a servant on behalf of Sugriva [Having seen Sita—which was all that he had been commissioned to do by Sugriva, Hanuman has destroyed Rakshasas and burnt Lanka; and this he did of himself like a good servant.]. That servant who, being entrusted with a hard task,—after having accomplished it, doeth another work in pursuance of (the prescribed business), is the best of men. That servant is middling, who, deputed to any task, doth not, albeit capable, perform any other work which may be dear to the king. And that servant who, entrusted with any work the king, doth not, although competent, heedfully accomplish the same, hath been called the worst. Anent the order (which he had received), Hanuman hath done the work (and more). He hath not been humbled,—and, further, hath pleased Sugriva. And by seeing Vaidehi, (Hanuman hath), while reaping righteousness, saved me, the Raghu race, and the highly powerful Lakshmana. And this pained my mind sore, that I cannot do a like benefit, returning this dear office of his. Embrace expresseth the all (of the Deity), and, finding this occasion, I extend my embrace unto the high-souled Hanuman". Having said this, Rama, with his down standing on end in joy, embraced the self-controlled Hanuman, who was present after having finished his speech. Then reflecting for a while, the best of the Raghus again spoke in the presence of Sugriva, lord of monkeys. "Complete success hath been attained anent the search for Sita. But when I think of the ocean, my mind is again sunk in dejection. How can the assembled monkeys go over to the southern shore of the vasty deep, difficult to cross? This tidings thou hast related unto me touching Vadehi, but what are the monkeys to do next about crossing the sea?" Having said this unto Hanuman, that slayer of foes, mighty-armed Rama, agitated by anxiety, was then plunged in thought.

SECTION 2.

Then the graceful Sugriva spake words capable of soothing sorrow, unto Dacaratha's son, Rama, who was wrought up with grief,—"Why, O hero, dost thou grieve, like one that is base? Let not this be so. Chase away thy grief, even as an ingrate resigneth amity. Nor, O Raghava, when the whereabouts of Sita hath been discovered, and when too the abode itself of the foe hath been known, do I perceive the reason of thy sorrow. Thou, O Raghava, art intelligent, conversant with learning, wise, and judicious. Do thou cast away this sorry way of thinking, even as a self-controlled (ascetic) casteth away any course of thought interfering with the attainment of his purpose. Crossing over the ocean swarming with gigantic alligators, we shall enter Lanka and slay thy enemy. Of a person that is dispirited and poor in pluck and that hath his soul overwhelmed with grief, every interest droopeth, and he cometh by misfortunes (one after another). All these heroes, these leaders of monkey-hordes, who are ardent for thy welfare, are competent to enter into fire itself. From their cheerful attitude I know this, and firm is my faith. It behoveth thee so to arrange things that, slaying the foe, Ravana of impious acts, we may bring hither Sita by our own prowess. Do thou, O Raghava, so order matters that a bridge may be constructed (over the main), and that we may behold the palace of the Rakshasa monarch. We having seen the city of Lanka, established on the summit of Trikuta, do thou for certain conclude Ravana as slain in battle immediately after (we see her). Without throwing a bridge over the ocean—the dread abode of Varuna—even the Asuras and celestials with Indra (at their head) are unequal to subduing Lanka. When the bridge over the ocean hath been constructed up to near Lanka, and when my forces have crossed (over the sea), consider victory as secured. As these monkeys are heroic in fight, and able to wear forms at will, O king, do not let thy intellect get stupified and thus mar all interests. In this world, sorrow berefts people of their prowess. Do thou do even what should be done by a man—summon thy manliness; for what an actor doeth promptly, conduceth to his success. At this time, O eminently wise one, do thou realise goodness through thy energy. Of heroic, high-souled, men like thyself, on their sustaining an entire or a partial loss, grief undoeth every interest. Therefore, the foremost of intelligent persons, and conversant with every lore, thou shouldst along with councilors like me, strive to beat thy foe. Find I none in the three worlds, O Raghava, who can stay in fight before thee equipped with thy bow. Thy business entrusted to these monkeys shall not (anyway) suffer. And soon, crossing over the boundless main, thou shalt behold Sita. Therefore, O king, renounce thy sorrow, and call up wrath. Those Kshatriyas that conceive no anger in respect of their enemies, have their activity annulled; and all fear furious persons. Drawing nigh unto us, do thou, gifted with acute intelligence, cast about for crossing over the dreadful deep—lord of streams—along with us. On these forces getting beyond the ocean, do thou take it for certain that we have won; and when my whole host hath reached the further shore, do thou indubitably conclude that we have obtained victory. These monkeys, heroic and capable of assuming in fight forms at will, shall slaughter those foes by showering rocks and trees. If I see any means of crossing the ocean, Varuna's abode, I shall, O destroyer of foes, deem him as slain in battle. And what is the use of dilating? Every way thou shalt prove victorious. And I see omens, and my mind is filled with delight".

SECTION 3.

Hearing Sugriva's speech, reasonable and fraught with high sense, Kakutstha accorded his assent to it and spoke unto Hanuman, saying,—"By asceticism, or constructing a a bridge, or drying up the ocean,—competent every way am I for crossing over this ocean. Of impracticable places, tell me how many there are in (Lanka), which are incapable of being come at. O monkey, as thou hast seen personally, I wish to get acquainted with all this. And thou hast at thy leisure duly noticed in Lanka the number of the army, the inaccessibility (or otherwise) of the gates, the defence of Lanka, and the dwellings of the Rakshasas. Do thou faithfully relate this unto me, for thou art observant". Hearing Rama's speech, Hanuman, offspring of the Wind-god, foremost of those conversant with speech, again spake unto Rama,—"Hearken! I will describe unto thee by what method is the city of Lanka guarded and protected by the Rakshasas, how loyal the Rakshasas are, the surpassing prosperity of Lanka, the dreadfulness of the deep, the divisions of the forces, and the number of the elephants, horses, cars, etc". Having said this, that best of monkeys, knowing the nature of things, went on,—"Lanka, filled with mad elephants, ever rejoiceth. She is great, thronging with cars and inhabited by Rakshasas. Her doors are firmly established and furnished with massy bolts. And she hath four wide and giant gates. (At those gates) are powerful and large arms, stones, and engines, whereby a hostile host approaching, is opposed. At the entrances are arrayed and set in order by bands of heroic Rakshasas, hundreds of dreadful sharp iron sataghnis [A kind of firearms, or ancient Hindu rocket; or a stone set round with sharp iron spikes.—According to Ramanuya, a sort of mace about two yards in length, with spikes. Such weapons were often described in the Mahabharata.]. She hath a mighty impassable golden wall, having its side emblazoned in the centre with costly stones, coral, lapises and pearls. Round about is a moat, exceedingly dreadful, with cool water, eminently grand, fathomless, containing ferocious aquatic animals, and inhabited by fishes. At the gates are four broad bridges, furnished with machines and many rows of grand structures. On the approach of hostile forces, their attack is repulsed by these machines, and they are thrown into the ditch. One among these bridges is immovable, strong and fast established; adorned with golden pillars and daises. O Rama, albeit Ravana hungereth for fight, yet is he calm; and he is vigilant and ever engaged in superintending his army. And dreadful and resembling a celestial citadel, Lanka cannot be ascended by means of any support. She hath fortresses composed of streams, those of hills, and artificial ones of four kinds. And, O Raghava, she is situated on the other shore of the ocean having its limit far away. And way there is none even for barks,—and all sides are destitute of division. And that citadel is built on the mountain's brow; and, resembling the metropolis of the immortals, the exceedingly invincible Lanka is filled with horses and elephants. And a moat and sataghnis and various engines adorn the city of Lanka, belonging to the wicked Ravana. And an ayuta of Rakshasas, dart-handed, hard to subdue,—and all fighting at the front with their swords—protect the Eastern gate. And a niyuta of Rakshasas with a fourfold force, and with the flower of the soldiery—protect the Southern gate. And a prayuta of Rakshasas, bearing swords and shields, and skilled in all arms, protect the Western gate. And an arvuda of Rakhas protect the Northern gate. And car-warriors and horsemen—persons honoured and sprung from noble lines—by hundreds and thousands,—and irrepressible goblins and kotis of Rakshasas, protect the garrison. I have broken down the bridges and filled up the entrenchment. I have burnt the city of Lanka and laid the wall low. Let us by any way whatever cross over Varuna's abode. Do thou take it for certain that the city of Lanka is subdued by the monkeys. What is the use of thy reckoning the rest? Angada, Dwivida, Mainda, Jambavan, Panasa, Nala, and the general, Nila, bounding and reaching Ravana's abode, and riving the same consisting of woods and hills, moat and gateway, walls and dwellings, shall, O Raghava, bring (hither) Sita. If this be so,7 do thou order the entire body of the army to be brought; and do thou set out at the proper hour".

SECTION 4.

Hearing Hanuman's speech duly from the beginning, the exceedingly energetic Rama having truth for his prowess, said,—"What thou sayest—'I shall speedily destroy the city of this dreadful Raksha,'—is true, I tell thee. Therefore, at this very moment arrange for Sugriva's march. The Sun hath attained his meridian at this proper moment, capable of conferring victory. Let Ravana carry away Sita (to his own country),—whither shall Ravana, living, repair? Like a dying person who hath taken a death-dispelling drug and drunk ambrosia, Sita, hearing of my preparations for war, shall inspire hope of life. To-day the Northern Phalguni (is in the ascendant); and to-morrow the moon shall be in conjunction with Hasta. O Sugriva, shall we set out, surrounded by the entire host? The omens I witness, augur, that, having slain Ravana, I shall bring back Janaki. The upper lid of my eye throbbeth; and it betokeneth that my desire hath indeed been had". Then, honoured by the monkey-king as well as Lakshmana, the righteous Rama, understanding the import of things, again said,—"Surrounded by hundreds and thousands of fast-speeding monkeys, let Nila go ahead of this force, for surveying the route. O Nila, do thou, O general, expeditiously take the army by a path furnished with fruits

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and roots, having cool waters of the woods, and replenished with honey. The wicked Rakshasas vitiate [Poison.] fruits, roots and water along the way. Thou, ever on the alert, shouldst preserve these from the Rakshas. And, bounding down into hollow places, mountain-fastnesses, and woods, let the rangers of the wilds, spy the posted detachments of the enemy. Let those that are incompetent, stay here. This business is dreadful, and we should apply our best strength in conducting the same. Therefore let the foremost monkeys gifted with prodigious prowess lead forth the choice portion of the army, numbering hundreds and thousands. And let Gaja resembling a hill, and the exceedingly powerful Gavaya, and that monkey, Gavaksha, master of the leaping ones [i.e. monkeys.], like a haughty bull among kine, go in the van of the monkey-host. And let that foremost of monkeys, Rishava, go, protecting the right wing (of the army); and let Gandha, irrisistible like an elephant with the fragrant temporal juice trickling down, and the vehement Gandhamadana, go, protecting the left wing (of the monkey-army). And, cheering the army, I myself, mounted on Hanuman, like the Lord (mounted) on Airavata, shall march in the midst of the forces. And like the lord of wealth and master of riches, mounted on Sarvabhauma, let Lakshmana resembling the Destroyer, march forth, mounted on Angada. And let that king of bears, the long-armed Jambavan, Sushena, and the monkey, Vegadarci, protect the rear (of the forces)". Hearing Raghava's words, that foremost of monkeys and lord of the army, the exceedingly energetic Sugriva, issued his orders. And anon those highly powerful monkeys issuing up from caves and mountain-summits, began to bound (on all sides). Thereafter, honoured by the king of monkeys and also Lakshmana, the righteous Rama, accompanied by his forces, set out in a southerly direction. And he marched, surrounded by hundreds and thousands, Kotis and Ayutas of monkeys resembling elephants. And he marching was followed by the mighty host of monkeys; and all those maintained by Sugriva were filled with joy and betrayed demonstrations of delight. And bounding by way of guarding the flanks of the forces, and leaping in front of the army for pioneering, blustering, emitting leonine roars, and uttering cries, the monkeys made towards the south. And some partook of perfumed honey and fruits, and some bore mighty trees, holding the sprouts. And some in pride (of strength) suddenly raised others and threw them down. And some fell and were anon up, and some brought others down. 'We shall slay Ravana, as also all the rangers of the night'; thus did the monkeys roar out in the presence of Raghava. Before (the army), Rhrishabha, the heroic Nila, and Kumuda, along with many monkeys, went on clearing the route. In the middle were king Sugriva, Rama and Lakshamana, environed by innumerable powerful and terrible monkeys. And the heroic monkey, Satavali, surrounded by ten Kotis (of troops), alone on all sides protected that monkey host. And accompanied by an hundred Kotis, Kesari, Panasa, Gaja and Arka, by means of many protected that host on every side. And taking Sugriva before them, Sushena, and Jambavan, surrounded by innumerable bears, protected the rear (of the army.) And that foremost of rangers possessed of excellence, and of restrained senses, the heroic Nila, general (of the army), kept going round the ranks. And Valimukha, and Prajangha, Jambha and the monkey Rabhasa, went everywhere, urging on the monkeys. While thus marching, breathing pride of strength, those tiger-like monkeys saw that foremost of mountains Sahya crowned with hundreds of trees, and watery expanses laughing with flowers, and beautiful tanks. And knowing the order of Rama of dreadful wrath, that terrible and mighty host, exceedingly terrific and resembling the bosom of the deep, cowed down through fear, leaving behind cities and villages and provinces, went like the deep-sounding sea. And at the side of Dacaratha's son those heroic monkeys resembling elephants, proceeded by bounds, like noble horses, spurred on. And those foremost of men, mounted on the monkeys, looked beautiful like the Sun and the Moon half eclipsed by the two mighty planets, viz., Rahu and Ketu. And (thus) did the righteous Rama proceed towards the South, accompanied by his army. Then Lakshmana, furnished with consummate sense and promptitude, who was mounted on Angada, spoke unto Rama, inviting words, fraught with import. "Speedily recovering Vaidehi, who hath been carried away, and slaying Ravana, thou wilt, thy end attained, return to Ayodhya, who shall also have her desire. O Raghava, I see all the great auspicious omens on earth and in the sky, signifying success unto thee. Mildly and grateful doth the blessed breeze blow behind the army, inspiring pleasure. And the birds and beasts are crying in sonorous voices. And all the points (of the compass) appear pleasant; and the lord of day is cloudless. Bhrigu's son, Ucanas, also weareth for thee an auspicious aspect, and Dhruva is without blemish. And all the rishis, pure and furnished with lustre, go round Dhruva. And before us shineth the grandfather of the high-souled Ikshwakus; the spotless Rajarshi Tricanku, with his priest.—And stainless and free from disturbances appeareth Visakha. This is the racial star of us, the high-souled Ikshwakus. And Nairita, the racial star of the Nairitas, is sore afflicted and, touched by the rod-bearing Dhumketu is in trouble. All this is for the destruction of the Rakshasas. At the fated time, those that are in the clutches of Death, have their stars afflicted by the planets. And the water is dear and tastes sweet; and the woods are stocked with fruit. And the odorous gale doth not blow strongly; and the trees are furnished with all blossoms of of the season. And, O lord, this host of monkeys appeareth splendid to the height, as did the celestial host on the occasion of the destruction of Taraka. Seeing all this, thou shouldst, O noble one, feel delighted". Having thus consoled his brother, Sumitra's son, feeling enlivened, said this. The monkey-host went on, covering the earth. And the mighty dust raised by bears, monkeys, and tigers, having for their weapons nails and teeth,—with the foreparts of their feet and hands, enveloped the world, and the splendour of the sun was obscured. And as clouds envelope the sky, the mighty monkey-host went on, covering up the Southern quarter with its mountains, woods, and sky. And as they marched covering many a yojana, the streams seemed as if they flowed in an opposite direction. And they, while proceeding, took rest by pools of clear water, on mountains covered with trees, on plains and in forests teeming with fruits. Some moving straight, some moving askance, and some moving on the earth, that enormous monkey-host went on covering the entire earth. And they were all of delighted countenances and gifted with the velocity of the wind. And these monkeys devoted all their energy to the accomplishment of Raghava's work. And they were displaying unto each other their joy, prowess and energy. And influenced with the vanity of youth they set up diverse cries. Some proceeded with speed, some leaped, some set up cries expressing joy, some were uplifting their tails, and some were striking the ground with their feet. Some, stretching forth their arms, were breaking the hills, and others the trees. And others were ascending the tops of the hills. Some began to make terrible sounds, and others made a tingling noise. And many others blasted the creepers with the velocity of their thighs. And some were engaged in sporting with trees and rocks. And thus was the earth enveloped with millions and kotis of fearful monkeys. And thus the enormous monkey host went on day and night. And all those monkeys, delighted, guided by Sugriva, and taking delight in battle, went on speedily. And they did not take rest even for a moment, desirous of rescuing Sita. Thereupon, getting at the mount Sahya covered with various trees and forests, those monkeys ascended it. And Rama went on beholding the variegated forest, rivers and fountains of the mount Sahya and Malaya. And those monkeys broke down various trees—Champakas, Tilakas, mangos, *Prasekas, Sindubarakas, Tinicas and Karaviras, Asokas, Karanjas, Plakshas, Nyagrodhas, Jambukas and Amalakas. And seated on picturesque rocks, various forest trees, shaken by the wind, showered flowers on them. And there blew in those forests filled with the smell of honey, a wind of pleasant touch, cool as the Moon, accompanied by the hummings of the bees. And that mount was richly embellished with diverse metals. And dust issuing from these metals and thickened by the air, enveloped on all sides the huge monkey-host. There blossomed in that picturesque mountain-vale Ketakas, Sindubaras, beautiful Vasantees, Madhabis, Gandhapurnas, Kandas, Chiravilyas, Mahikas, Vanjulas, Vakulas, Ranjakas, Tilakas, Nagas, Chutas, Patalikas, Kobidaras, Muchlindas, Arjunas, Singsapas, Kutajas, Pintalas, Tinicas, Churnkas, Neepakas, Neela-Sokas, Saralas, Ankolas and lotuses. And all these trees were greatly disturbed by those monkeys, delighted with their view. There were in that mountain many a picturesque lake and pond filled with Chakravakas and Karandavas, ducks, Chraunchas and the mount abounded on all sides with boars, deer, and terrible bears, lions and tigers and various other fearful animals, and it was beautified with full blown lotuses, lilies, Utpalas and various other fragrant trees growing in the water. And various birds set up their musical choir on the summit of that mount. And bathing and drinking, these monkeys sported in the water. And ascending the mount these monkeys continually bounded. And excited with drink, they crumbled into pieces the ambrosia-smelling fruits, roots and flowers of the trees. And those monkeys yellow as honey, delighted, feasted on mangoes, long and measuring a drona. Breaking down the trees, blasting the creepers, bounding from one tree to another and making the mount Sahya echo, those leading monkeys went on delighted and excited with drink. Some ascending the trees, and others drinking, the whole earth was enveloped with those monkeys, and seemed as if beautified with ripe paddy crops. And reaching the mount Mahendra, the large-armed Rama, having eyes like lotuses, ascended the summit adorned with diverse trees. And getting at the top, Dacaratha's son espied the vast deep filled with tortoises and fishes. Thereupon, passing by the mounts Sahya and Malaya and arranging their enormous host, the monkey leaders by and by reached the roaring deep. And descending therefrom, Rama, the foremost of those who minister happiness unto all, accompanied by Lakshmana and Sugriva, entered the forest situate on the banks of the ocean. And reaching the expansive banks having rocks thereon and continually washed by the rising billows, Rama spoke saying,—"O Sugriva we have arrived at the abode of Varuna. Now hath arisen in my mind what I had not thought of before. And this ocean, the lord of the streams, whose other side is not seen, cannot be crossed over without some excellent measure. Let the monkey-host be encamped here therefore, and then concert a plan by means of which they might get at the other side. And reaching the shores of the ocean, the large-armed Rama, stricken with grief for Sita, ordered their encampment, saying,—"O foremost of monkeys, do thou encamp thy host on the brink of the ocean. Now hath arrived the hour for counsel, when we should devise some plan for crossing over the main. I fear the Rakshasas at every step, for they are greatly illusion creating—let the leaders therefore go to their own hosts and let them not proceed anywhere else, renouncing them". Hearing the words of Rama, Sugriva along with Lakshmana, encamped the army on the brink of the ocean covered with trees. And stationed near the main, the monkey-host in consequence of their resemblance in colour with the blue contents of the deep, looked like a second ocean. Thereupon, reaching the shore, those leading monkeys engaged in concerting a plan to cross over the vasty deep. And the tumult, of that monkey-host encamped there, was heard above the roaring of the deep. And that huge army of the monkeys commanded by Sugriva, and set up in three divisions, were deeply concerned with the accomplishment of Rama's work. And reaching the shore of the vasty deep, that monkey host, delighted, beheld the ocean moved by the Wind. And they waited there beholding the deep of unimpeded expanse, having its distant shore inhabited by the demons, and thronged with various aquatic animals. While upheaving its foam on the approach of eve, it appeared laughing and setting up its surges, it appeared to dance. It increased with the rising of the Moon and he reflected himself on its breast. That abode of Varuna was infested with gigantic sharks, whales and Timingalas [A large fabulous fish.], disturbed with the fury of the Wind, filled with serpents having flaming frames, and various aquatic animals and rocks and was fathomless deep. It had picturesque fortresses on its marge and its other shore was hard to get at. And the Makaras [A marine monster confounded usually with the crocodile and shark.] and serpents living therein were moved by the Wind. The waters, as if delighted, were rising and falling. And having serpents of flaming frames underneath, it appeared as if sprinkled with scintillations of fire. And that terrible abode of the demons extended down to the regions inhabited by the Nagas or serpents. The deep resembled the welkin and the welkin the deep, and there appeared no difference between them. The sky crested with stars and the deep filled with gems resembled each other. The sky enveloped with clouds and the ocean overflowing with surges presented no contrast whatsoever. The waves of the mighty deep beating at each other continually, set up a sound resembling that of a trumpet in the sky. It was filled with diverse gems and its water was poisoned by means of the air. It was filled with various aquatic animals, and upheaving its billows, it appeared as if excited with ire. And there beheld those high-souled monkeys the mighty main agitated by the Wind and muttering as if with the upheaval of the waves. Thereupon, overwhelmed with surprise, those monkeys, stationed there, espied the main brimming with rolling waters and moving as if (off its place).

SECTION 5.

There on the northern shore of the ocean the army was encamped and arranged in order by Nila. And the two leading monkeys Mainda and Divida patrolled about on all sides to protect the monkey host. And the army being encamped on the shore of the lord of streams and rivers, Rama, beholding Lakshmana by his side, spoke, saying—"I know that grief abates as time passes by, but my sorrow arising from the separation of my spouse, is increasing day by day. I am not sorry that she hath been stealthily taken away by the demon—but my sorrow is that her end is drawing nigh. O Wind, do thou go there where my dear spouse is, and touching her person, do thou touch me, for I shall then be happy stationing my looks in the Moon and being touched by thee. Alas! my dear one cried 'O lord, O lord' when she was taken away. Those words, revolving burn me like poison. I am now being burnt down day and night by the fire of desire, having separation from her for its fuel and her thoughts for its flame. Leaving thee, O Son of Sumitra, I shall jump into the deep and then shall not this fire burn me any more. This is my only consolation, for which I draw my vital breath—that myself and she breathe on the same earth. Like unto a dry land drawing water from a watered ground, I do live, hearing that Janaki still survives. When shall I, discomfitting my enemies, behold Sita, having a beautiful waist and eyes resembling lotus-petals, as a victorious hero beholdeth the royal Grace. Like unto the sick drinking the elixir of life, when shall I, raising a little her lotus-like countenance having graceful teeth and lips, imprint kisses thereon? And when shall she, laughing, embrace me with her rising breast resembling the palm fruit? Alas that chaste dime having scarlet corners of the eye, being encircled by the demons, is wishing for a protector like unto one having no husband, albeit having a husband in me. How fareth in the midst of the she-demons, that daughter

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of the king Janaka, my beloved spouse, and the daughter-in-law of king Dacaratha? And having those Rakshasas, hard to repress, slain by me, truly shall she appear like unto the rays of the Moon extricated from sable autumnal clouds. Sita is constitutionally slender, and forsooth, she has been greatly reduced by sorrow, fasting and calamities touching time and place. When shall I, piercing with my shafts the breast of the lord of Rakshasas, renounce my mind's grief? And when shall my devoted Sita resembling the daughter of a celestial, fling herself anxiously around my neck and shed tears of joy? And when shall I renounce this my sorrow arising out of Maithili's separation, like unto one casting off his soiled clothes?" The highly intelligent Rama bewailing thus, the day passed away and the Sun, decreasing gradually, disappeared at last. And consoled by Lakshmana, Rama, stricken with thought touching Sita having eyes like lotus-petals, engaged in rites relating to the worship of Eve.

SECTION 6.

Beholding in Lanka that dreadful and awe-inspiring work performed by Hanuman like unto the high-souled Sakra, the lord of Rakshasas, looking down with shame, addressed them all, saying—"That monkey alone hath invaded and entered the city of Lanka hard to reach and hath espied Sita, the daughter of king Janaka. He hath shattered the palace, and the altar of sacrifice, slain the leading Rakshasas, and, in short, agitated the whole city of Lanka. What shall I do now? And what should you all do on this occasion? It behoveth you all to give me such counsel as becometh me and will conduce to my glory". 'Victory is the outcome of consultation'—this do the sages say. Let us, therefore, O mighty ones, engage in counsel, relating to the measures we should adopt towards Rama. There are three orders of men on this earth—the superior the middling and the inferior. This distinction cannot be perceived without a knowledge of the signs, and so I shall relate unto you their merits and demerits. He is said to belong to the superior order, whose counsel contains the three signs (mentioned below), or who engages in works after consulting duly with friends capable or with persons having the same end in view, and some times with others, and who serveth Providence. He belongs to the middle order who consults his own self only, depends on the Providence, and engages alone in works. And he belongs to the inferior order who engageth in works without ascertaining their merits or demerits, disregarding the will of the Providence and saying, 'I will do this', and is inactive (at last). And counsels are also divided into three divisions like unto the three orders of men (mentioned). That counsel belongs to the superior order in which the counsellors with their judgment reinforced by a knowledge of political ethics, are unanimous. That one belongs to the middle order in which the counsellors after varied discussion, arrive at unanimity in the long run. And that one is the worst in which the counsellors differ from each other and agree a little in the long run, with no good result. You are all gifted with good intellects: do you all unanimously settle as to what becometh me and conduceth to my well-being. Environed by a thousand of patient monkeys, Rama, with a view to capture our city, is approaching towards Lanka. Forsooth, shall he cross over the main along with his younger brother and a mighty host. He can by his prowess dry up the ocean and do the other [i.e. bridge over the ocean.]. Rama approaching thus with a hostile intention along with the monkeys, it behoveth you to devise such means as might protect my city and army.

SECTION 7.

Being thus accosted by their lord, the highly powerful Rakshasas, devoid of good sense and ignorant of sound counsel, replied with folded palms, saying,—"Thou hast, O king, enough of soldiers and weapons. Why art thou smitten with sorrow then? Repairing to Bhagavati, thou didst discomfit the serpents in battle. The God of Death, living on mount Kailaca, encircled by Yakshas, was subjugated by thee in a great battle. And that mighty lord of men, proud of his friendship with Siva, was defeated by thee wrathfully in battle. Discomfitting and slaying the band of Yakshas, thou didst bring this flowery car from the mount Kailaca. O lord of Rakshasas, desiring thy friendship out of fear, Maya, the king of Danavas, offered thee his daughter* for thy spouse [* This refers to Mandodari, Ravana's favourite queen.]. O thou of mighty arms, thou didst bring under thy subjection the powerful and irrepressible Danava [This refers to Madhu.] for the pleasure of Kumbhinasi [Ravana's sister, who was married to Madhu.]. And entering the region under the earth, thou didst defeat the serpents—and thus bring under thy subjection Vasuki, Takshaka, Sankha, and Jati. Those heroic Danavas, the Kalakeyas, were greatly powerful, irrepressible, and proud of the boons conferred on them. And fighting with them perpetually for a year, thou didst bring them under thy control, O lord, O slayer of foes, and learn from them the science of varied illusions, O king of the Rakshasas. O great hero, by thee were defeated in battle, the heroic and powerful sons of Varuna, followed by a fourfold division of their army. The dominion of Death is like the mighty main, having his rod for aquatic animals, agonies for the trees that cover its islands, the noose for the billows, his attendants for the serpents and his terrible fever for the dreadful attitude of the deep. And diving into this terrible deep, thou didst, O king, discomfit Death himself and win glorious victory. And every one was pleased there with thy successful fight. The Earth was filled with various heroic Kshetriyas, resembling Sakra in prowess as she is adorned now with various trees. Raghava is not their equal either in strength or prowess. And all those heroes, hard to repress in battle, were slain by thee, O king. Do thou wait here, O great king; thou needst not take any trouble. Indrajit alone shall slay all these monkeys. And this one, O mighty monarch, having celebrated the Mahecwara [Relating to Mahacwara—the great Lord, a designation of Siva.] sacrifice, hath obtained a noble boon, rarely (attained by persons). Having agitated the ocean of celestial hosts, having darts and lances for its fishes, showering arms for its moss, elephants for its tortoises, steeds for its frogs, Rudra and Aditya for its ferocious animals, the Maruts and Vasus for its mighty serpents, cars, horses, and elephants for its volume of waters, and infantry for its spacious shore, this one (Indrajit), taking captive the lord of the celestials himself, had brought him into Lanka. Then, O king, liberated agreeably to the injunction of the Great-father, the slayer of Samvara and Vritra, worshipped of all the celestials, went (back) to heaven. Do thou, O great king, entrust Indrajit with this business,—until he bringeth to destruction the monkey-host along with Rama. O king, thou must not think that this calamity, coming from an ignoble person is not insignificant. Thou shalt slay Raghava".

SECTION 8.

Then that heroic general, the Rakshasa named Prahasta, possessing the splendour of sable clouds, submitted with joined hands,—"I am competent to baffle in battle gods and Danavas and Gandharbas, ghosts, birds and serpents,—what then is a couple of human beings? Having been negligent and confident (in our power), we have all been deceived by Hanuman. But, I living, that ranger of woods shall not (again) go hence with his life. All the earth down to the ocean, containing hills, forests and woods, shall be rendered free from monkeys. Do thou command me. And, O ranger of the night, I shall deliver (the Rakshasas) from the monkeys; and thou shalt not have to suffer in the least in consequence of thy transgression". Then the Rakshasa named Durmukha, growing enraged, said,—"This overpowering of all of us must not be forgiven—this flagrant discomfiture of the metropolis of the auspicious lord of the Rakshasas as well as of his inner appartment by the foremost of monkeys. This moment marching alone (from hence) will I exterminate the monkeys, even if they shall have entered the dreadful deep, or the sky, or the subterranean regions". Then the exceedingly powerful Vajradanshtra, weilding up a terrific bludgeon, stained with flesh and gore, wrathfully observed,—"Rama the irrepressible existing, and also Sugriva with Lakshmana, what have we to do with the weak and wretched Hanuman? This very day, slaying single-handed Rama with Sugriva and with Lakshmana, with this bludgeon, shall I return, after having sorely troubled the monkey-host. And, O monarch, if thou art minded, hear this other word of mine! Verily he that is fertile in resources and ever ready, compasseth success. Let thousands of Rakshasas, heroic, terrible, fearful to behold, and wearing forms at will, appointed by the lord of Rakshasas, presenting themselves before Kakutstha in palpably human shapes, calmly say unto that foremost of the Raghus,—'Despatched have we been by thy younger brother.' Hearing this, he (Rama), summoning his forces without delay, shall come hither. Then, equipped with darts, javelins and maces, and bearing bows, arrows and scimitars in our hands, we shall swiftly and summoning speed set out (from hence); and stationing ourselves in the sky in bands, and slaughtering the monkey-army with mighty showers of rocks and weapons, we shall lead it to Death's door. Let us in this wise decoy Rama and Lakshmana; and if they fall into our design, they shall, without doubt, lose their lives". Then that hero, Kumbhakarna's son, named Nikumbha, endowed with exceeding prowess, in high wrath remarked unto Ravana, destroyer of worlds,—"Do ye, all of you, stay here along with the great king. I alone shall slay Raghava together with Lakshmana, and Sugriva with Hanuman, and all the monkeys". Then a Rakshasa, named Vajrahanu, resembling a hill, in wrath lapping the corners of his mouth with his tongue, said,—"Do ye, casting off anxiety, engage yourself as ye list. I alone shall swallow up that entire monkey-host. Do ye, remaining at ease and without anxiety, drink Varuna wine [Or Varuni is prepared from hog-weed, ground with the juice of the date or palm, and then distilled.]. I single-handed shall slay Sugriva with Lakshmana, as well as Hanuman with Angada,—and all the monkeys.

SECTION 9.

Then, in fierce wrath seizing bludgeons, and patticas, lances and bearded darts and javelins, and axes, bows and excellent shafts and swords, resembling crystelline water, sprung up the Rakshasas, Rabhasa, and the mighty Suryyacatru, and Saptaghna, and Yajnakopa, and Mahaparcwa and Mahodara, Agniketu the irrepressible, and the Rakshasa Racmiketu, and the lusty Indracatru, son unto Ravana—and Prahasta, Virupaksha, and the exceedingly strong Vajradanshtra,—and Dhumraksha, and Nikumbha, and the Raksha Durmukha. And, flaming in energy, they all addressed Ravana, saying,—"To-day shall we slay Rama, and Sugriva along with Lakshmana, and the helpless Hanuman, who hath damaged Lanka. Then, preventing them, who had (thus) equipped themselves with all kinds of weapons, and making them sit down, Vibhishana, with joined hands, again spoke unto them, saying,—"The wise have asserted that an appeal to prowess should be resorted to anent a business then only when the end sought cannot be attained through the three (other) means. Prowess produceth fruit only in respect of well-advised action directed while carefully watching (enemies) that are negligent, or captive, or under Divine affliction. But why do ye intend to discomfit (Rama), who is vigilant, who desireth victory, who is strong in the Divine strength, who hath subdued passion, and who is hard to subdue? Who had in this world ever thought of or reasoned about Hanuman's career over the dreadful deep, the lord of streams and rivers? O rangers of the night, the strength and prowess (of the foe) being immeasurable, ye should by no means recklessly disregard him. And what was the wrong that formerly had been done by Rama unto the king of the Rakshasas, that he hath carried off from Janasthana the spouse of that illustrious one? If Khara, who had trespassed into regions not his own, hath been slain in battle by Rama, surely a creature should to the best of his might preserve his life. It is for this great fear that exerciseth us on the score of Vaidehi owing its existence to this [The feeling of revenge for the slaughter of Khara and the rest.], that she, having been ravished, should (now) be given up. What is the use of acting so that quarrel may be the consequence? And (Rama), possessed of prowess, yet ever abiding by morality, is incapable of initiating hostilities for no purpose. Therefore, do ye give him his Maithili. And before, he by means of his shafts riveth this city together with her elephants and steeds, overflowing with countless gems, do ye give him his Maithili. And before the dreadful, irrepressible and mighty monkey-host blocketh up this Lanka of ours, do ye give (back) Sita. This city of Lanka shall perish as also all the heroic Rakshasas, if thou dost not thyself make over Rama's spouse unto him. I exert myself to pleasure thee, because of the fraternity (that subsisteth between us). Do what I say. I say what is truth and what also is for thy good. Do thou render (back) Rama's Maithili. Ere yet the king's son, for compassing thy destruction, showereth sure shafts resembling the rays of the autumnal Sun, having shining heads and feathered parts, and exceedingly hard, do thou render Maithili unto Dacarathi. Forsake thy wrath at once, which destroyeth happiness and virtue; and follow righteousness, which enhanceth enjoyment and fame. Be thou propitious,—so that we may live (at ease) along with our sons and relatives! Render (back) Maithili unto Dacaratha's son". Having heard Vibhishana's speech, Ravana—lord of Rakshasas—I leaving all of them, entered his own chamber.

SECTION 10.

Then early in the morning, like the fiery and refulgent sun entering a mighty mass of clouds, Vibhishana, fast to virtue and interest, heroic and possessed of exceeding splendour, playing a perilous part, entered the apartment of his elder brother, resembling an assemblage of mountain-summits and elevated like the peak of a mountain, orderly, divided into spacious rooms,—the resort of the great—inhabited by august and intelligent persons attached (to Ravana); guarded around by lusty Rakshasas in limited numbers; having the air agitated by the breath of mad elephants; with loud blares of conchs, and resounding with trumpets; embosoming numbers of beautiful damsels, with its high-ways (overflowing with talk); furnished with doors of polished gold; embellished with excellent ornaments; resembling the abode of the Gandharbas, or the mansion of the Maruts; containing heaps of gems; like unto the dwelling of serpents. And that one of exceeding energy heard sacred and holy sounds uttered by Veda-versed Brahmanas celebrating the victory of his brother; and that highly powerful (hero) acquainted with Mantras and the Vedas saw Vipras worshipped with vessels of curds, clarified butter, flowers and fried paddy. And the mighty-armed (Vibhishana) saluted the younger brother of the bestower of riches [Kuvera.—Ravana was Kuvera's younger brother.], seated there. And that one acquainted with manners, after proper courtesy, sat him down on a seat decked in gold, which was pointed out (by a royal glance). And in retirement as also in presence only of his counsellors, Vibhishana spoke unto the high souled Ravana words backed by reason, and greatly fraught with his welfare. And having, with soothing speech, pacified his elder brother and extended towards him the due civilities, that one, who through height of sentiment had noted excellence and the want of it, addressed (Vibhishana) in words befitting the occasion and the place,—"Ever since, O subduer of enemies, Vaidehi hath come hither, are seen

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inauspicious omens. Fire, enveloped in smoke at the time of its being ignited, and thereafter throwing out scintillations, with its brightness obscured by vapour, doth not increase adequately even on oblations being poured into it with Mantras. Reptiles are discovered in kitchens, sacrificial fire-chambers, and the places of Vaidika recitations; and ants (are found) in clarified butter. The milk of the kine hath been dried up; and the nobler elephants are without the temporal juice. And horses, albiet they have feasted on fresh grass, neigh distressfully. And asses, camels and mules, O king, with their hair standing erect, shed tears; and although they are ministered unto medically, they do not return to nature. And crows in numbers emit harsh cries on all sides, and are seen in swarms at the tops of edifices. Vultures sit sadly and distressed upon the roofs of houses. During the two twilights, the jackals, coming in sight, utter ominous howls. And wolves and other (ferocious) animals, as well as deer, approaching the gate of the palace in swarms, are heard to set up loud roars resembling the thunder. Things having come to this pass, even this expiation, I fancy, is capable of removing the evil omens. Do thou render back Vaidehi unto Raghava. If I have said this through ignorance or covetuousness, thou ought not, O mighty monarch, criminate me. All Rakshasas and Rakshasis, as well as those belonging to palace and the inner apartment—shall have to experience the evil consequence (of this act of thine). All the counsellors have retrained from tendering this counsel unto thee; but surely I must tell thee what I have seen or heard; and adopting proper measures, it behoveth thee to act so". (Ravana's) brother, Bibhishana, thus spoke, unto his brother, the chief of Rakshas, in the midst of counsellors, these words fraught with his good. Hearing this beneficial, mild and pregnant speech, fortified by reasons and capable of compassing (his welfare) for the present, past and the future, (Ravana) who had conceived a passion (for Sita), getting into a rage, replied,—"Fear find I none whatever. Raghava never shall have Mithila's daughter. Even if Lakshmana's elder brother should be supported in battle by the celestials with Indra (at their head), how can he stay before me (in the field)?" Having said this, that destroyer of celestial hosts, the Ten-necked one, possessed of mighty strength and of terrific prowess in battle, then dismissed his brother Vibhishana, who had spoken truth.

SECTION 11.

The unrighteous king, overmastered by his passion (for Sita), in consequence of his sinful act as well as the loss of honour he sustained at the hands of his friends, became reduced. And the occasion for war was wanting. Ravana, possessed by lust, and continually thinking of Vaidehi, conceived along with his counsellors that the time for entering into hostilities had arrived. And sallying forth, he ascended a mighty car furnished with golden network, adorned with pearls and coral, and yoked with trained steeds. And having ascended that excellent vehicle, having sounds resembling those of mighty clouds, that foremost of Rakshas, the Ten necked one, drove towards the court. And as he coursed on, Rakshasas, bearing swords and shields, and carrying all kinds of weapons, went before the lord of the Rakshasas. And (some of) these, wearing various frightful suits, and decked with diverse ornaments, went, surrounding his rear and flanks. And atirathas went with cars, and superb mad elephants, and sportive steeds; and bearing in their hands maces and bludgeons; and darts and clubs. And as Ravana marched towards the court, there arose the loud blares of thousand trumpet, and the uproarious sounds of conches. And that redoubtable and mighty car-warrior held his course, suddenly making sides resound, and beautifying the highways. And the spotless white umbrella of the lord of Rakshasas, being raised up, looked beautiful like the Moon at her full. On his right and left graced two crystal white chowris furnished with threads of gold. And all the Rakshasas standing on the ground with joined hands, bow down their heads to the foremost of Rakshasas who was seated on his car. Hymned by the Rakshasas with blessings for victory, that exceedingly energetic chastiser of enemies arrived at the court constructed (by Vicwakarma). And that highly energetic one in person entered that court paved with silver and gold, having its heart decorated with crystal, and gracefully covered with silk, embroidered with gold; excellently constructed by Vicwakarma, and guarded by six hundred ghosts. And Ravana sat down on a superior and august seat consisting of lapises, furnished with a pillow; and covered with a soft dear-skin. And lord-like, he commanded the envoys possessed of fleet vigor, saying, "Do ye speedily summon hither the Rakshasas. I fan some mighty effort hath to be put forth against our foes. Hearing his words, the envoys began to range Lanka; and going to every house, they fearlessly collected the Rakshas from places of sport, bed-rooms, and gardens. Then some set out, mounting cars, and some mounting proud coursers, and some on foot. And like the welkin filled with fowls, the city thronged with approaching cars, elephants and steeds. And leaving their various vehicles and cars behind, they entered the court on foot, like lions entering mountain caverns. And taking the feet of the sovereign, and honoured by him (in turn), they sat them down, some on raised seats, some on cushions of Kuca, and some on the floor. And presenting themselves agreeably to the command of the monarch, they sat them down each according to his position, before the lord of Rakshasas, Ravana. And there came also the learned and competent to arrive at infallible decisions, and they sat them down in order of merit. And there also came courtiers endowed with virtues, versed in every thing, and having intelligence for their eye-sight,—and innumerable heroes by hundreds also (arrived) at that court for ascertaining the course that would prove beneficial. And then mounting a large, noble and splendid car, having its parts decked with gold, and yoked with horses, the magnanimous and renowned Vibhishana went to the court of his elder brother. And that younger brother (of Ravana), announcing his name, bowed down at the feet of his elder brother. And Suka and Prahasta were employed in giving to each a separate seat befitting his rank. And from all sides in the court there began to spread the odour of excellent agura and sandal and wreaths belonging to the Rakshasas, decked in gold and various gems, and clad in costly attires. And no one among these present at court uttered any thing, or spoke any falsehood, or conversed in loud accents. And having completely attained their desire, all of fierce prowess, gazed at the face of their lord. And in the assembly of those intelligent, and exceedingly powerful persons, equipped with arms, the intelligent Ravana appeared splendid like the Vajra-handed Indra among the Vasus.

SECTION 12.

Then surveying that entire assembly, that conqueror in battle delivered himself unto Prahasta,—general of the forces, saying,—"O general, it behoveth thee so to order disciplined fourfold forces that they may successfully protect the city". Thereat, Prahasta, carefully carrying out the royal behest, stationed all the forces within and without the city. And having posted the army for the defence of the city, Prahasta sitting down before the king, said,—"I have stationed the forces belonging to thee who art possessed of strength, inside as well as outside. (Now), without suffering thy mind to be agitated with anxiety, speedily, do what is in thy heart. Hearing the speech of Prahasta seeking the welfare of the kingdom, Ravana craving for enjoyment spoke in the midst of his aderents,—"When virtue, or happiness, or interest is in straits, it behoveth you to (know your course) in relation to pleasant and unpleasant, happiness and misery, profitable and unprofitable, and good and evil. No business of mine which ye have set about after taking counsel, hath ever miscarried. And like Vasava environed by the moon, stars and planets, and the Maruts, I surrounded by you, have attained to plenitude of prosperity. I am, for certain, going to employ you all. In consequence of sleep, I could not inform him of this matter. After having slept for six months that one of prodigious strength—foremost of those bearing arms—hath just risen. Janaka's daughter and Rama's beloved wife hath been brought hither from the forest of Dandaka, the region ranged by Rakshas. That indolent damsel wisheth not to ascend my bed; nor is there any in the three spheres, that to me is like unto Sita. She is slender waisted, and high-hipped, and her face is as the autumnal Moon resembling a golden image. She is meek and looketh like the hand work of Maya himself gifted with an infinite variety of fascinations. And beholding her dainty and tender feet with roseate soles, and having coppery nails, my mind burneth (with desire). And seeing her resembling the flame of a sacrificial fire and the splendour of the Sun himself; and her fair face furnished with a prominent nose and elegant eyes, I, having lost control over self, have come under the sway of desire. And my passion, uninfluenced by anger and joy, capable of producing pallor, and constantly causing anguish and sorrow, hath rendered me pale. Expecting her lord, Rama, the beautiful one having expansive eyes, hath solicited for a year's space; and I have pledged my fair woods to her of graceful eyes. But tired am I on account of my passion,—like a horse spent on the way. How can the rangers of the woods, or the sons of Dacaratha cross over the sea ungovernable and swarming with countless creatures and fishes? On the other hand, a single month hath troubled us grievously. Hard it is therefore to understand the course of events. Do ye act, each as he thinks proper. And although no fear can come from mortals, yet ye should deliberate (as to what ye should do). Formerly I had gained victory with the help given by you; do ye in the same way stand by me now. The king's son, having learnt that Sita is on the other shore of the ocean, taking before them monkeys headed by Sugriva, reached Varuna's abode. Do ye so counsel that Sita may be with-holden by me and the sons of Dacaratha may be slain; but ye must prefer certain counsel. No other person in this world hath the power to cross the sea along with the monkeys,—victory, therefore, is undubitably mine". Hearing the sorrowful speech of (Ravana) afflicted with lust, Kumbhakarna greatly enraged, and said,—"When just on seeing (Sita) of Rama along with Lakshmana, thou didst by main force carry her away, it plainly appeareth that thy mind, like the Yamuna filling her bed, hath been possessed (by her). O great king, all this (that thou hast done) is not worthy of thee. If thou hadst at the outset consulted us in this matter, we would have done what was proper. O ten-faced one, the king that arriving at certain conclusions, carrieth on his regal affairs agreeably to justice, hath not to repent afterwards. But those actions that are done without deliberation, like unto clarified butter poured in an impure sacrifice, conduces only to harm. He doth not know what is proper and what not, that performs prior actions afterwards, and posterior actions first. Others spy holes in the actions of the volatile; the latter may be possessed of great power,—like swans passing Krauncha through the hole which has been made by the dart of Kumara. By luck it is that Rama hath not yet slain thee, who hath done this tremendous thing, without reflection, resembling food mixed with poison. But as thou hast entered upon a course of action which is improper even in respect of foes, I will, O sinless one, perform thy work by slaying thy enemies. And, O ranger of the night, I will exterminate thy foe. Even if Sakra and the sun-god, even if fire and the War-god, even if Kuvera and Varuna should range themselves against me, I will fight them. Purandara himself shall be afflicted with fright when I have my body measuring a mountain, and furnished with sharp teeth, shall, setting up roars, fight with my huge bludgeon. Before Rama shooteth a second shaft, to slay me, I shall drink his life-blood. Be thou comforted by slaying Dacaratha's son, I will exert to secure blessed victory for thee. Having killed Rama along with Lakshmana, I shall devour all the principal monkeys. Do thou make merry at thy will, drink the Varuni, and, with thy mind set at rest, conduct affairs fraught with thy welfare. On Rama being despatched to the mansion of Yama, Sita shall come under thy subjection for ever and a day".

SECTION 13.

Seeing Ravana wrought up with wrath, the exceedingly strong Mahaparcwa, reflecting for a moment, observed with joined hands,—"The man that, entering the forest, abounding with deer and ferocious animals, doth not drink honey, maketh a fool of himself. O destroyer of foes, who is the lord of thee, that art lord thyself? Enjoy with Vaidehi, taking thy enemy by the hand. And, O thou endowed with prodigious power, do thou exerting thy might lead thy life, after the manner of hens, and invading Sita again and again, do thou enjoy her and derive pleasure (therefrom). And when thou hast attained thy purpose; what fear can succeed? Alike when on thy guard, and off it, thou shalt provide against all exigencies. Kumbhakarna along with us, as well the exceedingly powerful Indrajit, are competent to chastise the thunder-bearing (Deity) equipped with his thunder. Passing by gift, conciliation, and dissension, which have been assigned by the wise as the means of success, I relish the success in business which is attained through chastisement. O highly powerful one, we shall, without doubt, by the prowess of our arms, subdue all these enemies of thine that have come hither". Thus addressed by Mahaparcwa, king Ravana, honouring his speech, said,—"O Mahaparcwa, I will relate unto thee, who hast spoken (thus) a secret matter relating to myself, which befell me to since I saw Panjikasthala, like a flame in the sky, coursing to the Great-father's mansion. Her pace slackened, as soon as she saw me, (turn) I feasted on her and deprived her of her attire. Then she went to the Great-father's place like a crumpled lotus. That high-souled one received information of all that I had done; and thereat, waxed enraged, the Deity spoke unto me,—"If from this day, thou ravish a female by force, thy head certainly shall be riven in an hundred pieces. It is for this, that with my mind afflicted with fear, I do not violently force, Videha's daughter Sita, anent lying with her fair self. My rush is like that of the sea, and my motion that of the wind. Dacaratha's son doth not know this, and therefore doth he approach sea. Who wisheth to address a lion that is lying asleep in a cave resembling Death wrought up by wrath? Rama hath not seen shafts shot by me, resembling two-tongued serpents and therefore, it is that he approacheth me. Like a met burning an elephant, I shall, with shafts shot from bows by hundreds, resembling the thunder-bolt, consume Rama. And as at the proper hour the risen Sun defeateth the splendor of the stars, will I, surrounded by a mighty army, overpower his strength. Neither the thousand eyed Vasava, nor Varuna, is capable of fighting me. By the might of this army did I formerly conquer this city, governed by Vaicravana".

SECTION 14.

Hearing the words of the lord of Rakshasas, as well as the thundering of Kumbhakarna, Vibhishana addressed the Rakshasa chief, in a pregnant speech, fraught with his welfare,—"Thou hast been bound about thy neck by the mighty and huge serpent, Sita, having her breast for its body anxiety for its venom, smile for its sharp fangs, and her five fingers for its hood. Therefore before the monkeys, resembling mountain-peaks, having teeth for their arms and nails for their weapons,—subjugate Lanka, do thou render Maithili unto Dacaratha's son. And before the shafts shot by Rama, resembling the thunder-bolt and having impetuosity of the wind, cut off the heads of the foremost of the Rakshasas, do

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thou render Mithila's daughter unto the son of Dacaratha. Neither Kumbhakarna nor Indrajit, neither Mahaparcwa nor Mahodara, neither Nikumbha nor Kumbha nor yet Atikaya, O king, can stay in the field against Raghava. Living, thou, whether thou art protected by the Sun or the winds, or throwest thyself into the lap itself of Vasava, or enterest the sky or the nether spheres, shall not escape death". Hearing Vibhishana's words, Prahasta said,—"Fear know we none whatever from the celestials, or Danavas, or Yakshas, or Gandharbas, or huge snakes; fear know we none in battle with birds and serpents. How can fear at all afflict us proceeding from the king's son, Rama? Hearing Prahasta's speech, Vibhishana, seeking the welfare of the king, and having his intellect grounded in virtue, interest and profit, said words enfolding high sense,—"O Prahasta, like a sinful person being unable to ascend heaven, what the king, Mahodara, thou, and Kumbhakarna, are saying with reference to Rama, shall not prove true. As one without a raft cannot cross over the mighty main, how can I, or thou, or all the Rakshas combined, cause death unto Rama, who, O Prahasta, is versed in the sense of things. Even the gods become stolid before the sovereign of the Ikshwaku race, having righteousness for his principle quality, and being a mighty car-warrior and of such a character, and who is competent in action. As yet the Kanka-feathered, terrible and sharp shafts shot by Raghava, have not pierced into thy body; and therefore thou dost speak so. And, O Prahasta, as yet the sharpened shafts, capable of destroying life and having the impetuosity of the thunder-bolt, have not entered into thy body, and therefore thou dost speak thus, neither Ravana, nor the exceedingly powerful Tricirsha. Neither Kumbhakarna's son Nikumbha nor Indrajit, is capable of bearing in battle the son of Dacaratha, resembling Sakra himself. And neither Devantaka [Lit.—destroyer of the Deity.] nor Narantaka [Lit.—destroyer of men.], neither Atikaya [Lit.—huge-bodied.], nor the magnanimous Atiratha, nor the equally strong Akampana, is competent to stay Raghava in fight. And the king, naturally of fierce temper and thoughtless, through the instrumentality of ye who appearing to be his friends are in reality his foes, seeketh to destroy the Rakshasas. Do ye take out and deliver the monarch, who hath through force become subject to a dreadful and mighty, and thousand-headed serpent bursting with immeasurable prowess. As a person possessed by fearfully strong ghosts, is saved by his friends pulling him by his hair, attaining your desire ye should, assembling together, rescue the king. This one is sunk in the Raghava sea having excellent waters. Do ye speedily coming together deliver him. He (the king) hath fallen into the Kakutstha nether regions, I tell thee my full mind,—fraught with the welfare of this city together with the Rakshasas, as well of the king with his adherents. Do thou make over Maithili unto the son of the king. He is a true counsellor who adviseth his master, after duly ascertaining the strength, position, increase or destruction of the enemies as well as of their own party.

SECTION 15.

Hearing carefully the words of Bibhisana, gifted with the intelligence of the lord of speech, the high-souled Indrajit, the leader of demons, spake, saying,—"Why art thou, O uncle, speaking these useless words like one terrified? He even, who is not born in this race, cannot speak or act in this wise. Only one man in this family, my uncle Bibhisana, is weak in energy, strength, prowess, patience, heroism and vigor. Why art thou O timid one, afraid of them since any one of these Rakshasas is capable of slaying those two princes, human beings as they are? The master of the three worlds, the lord of the celestials, has been brought down by me as captive on this earth. And all the celestials smitten with fear fled to different quarters. I brought down on earth the loud-roaring celestial elephant Airavata and uprooted by force its tusks. And all the celestials were terrified at this. Am I not, who have shattered the pride of the celestials, afflicted the leading Daityas, and am gifted with excellent prowess, capable of discomfitting these two princess—very ordinary mortals as they are?" Hearing the words of (Indrajit) gifted with high energy, irrepressible and resembling the lord of celestials, Bibhisana, the foremost of those using weapons, addressed him with words, fraught with high import,—"O my son, thou art a mere child and of unripe intellect and hence thou art not capable of ascertaining the propriety and impropriety of counsels. Thou art therefore speaking thus like a maniac for thy own destruction. Thou art known as a son unto Ravana, O Indrajit, but in sooth, thou art his foe in disguise, since knowing of his destruction from Raghava, thou dost not prevent him. Thou art brave, childish and hast been impelled by thy silly understanding. Thou shalt be slain along with him who hath brought thee in this counsel chamber. Thou art, O Indrajit, foolish, imprudent, devoid of humility, of an irritable temper, of feeble sense, vicious-minded and of a silly understanding. And thou dost speak so, being impelled by childishness. Who shall withstand in battle, the shafts, shot by Raghava, resembling the rod of Death, the stick of Brahman, flaming like the Fire of Dissolution. Do thou render back Sita, king, unto Rama, with riches, jewels, excellent ornaments, clothes and jems and we shall then be able to live here void of grief".

SECTION 16.

Bibhishana addressing him with these excellent and auspicious words, fraught with high sense, Ravana, impelled by Death, again spake in harsh accents.—"It is better to live with open enemies or enraged serpents than with those who pass for friends but are in reality foes. I know well the nature of kinsmen, in all the worlds, O Rakhasa,—one takes delight in another's misfortune. The kinsmen, O Rakshasa, generally disregard him who is their king, protecteth the kingdom, educated and pious—and they always try to discomfit him, if he be a hero. These terrible enemies—the kinsmen, hypocrite as they are, always take delight in one another's calamity. Hear, I shall relate what the elephants, in yore, spoke beholding some persons with noose in hand—"We do not fear, fire, weapons, or even the terrible noose—we fear only the dreadful kinsmen, blinded with selfishness. They alone unfold the means of our destruction—there is not the least doubt about it. Fear from kinsmen is therefore known as the worst of all fears. In kine there is milk, in kinsmen, there is fear, in women there is fickleness, and in Brahmanas, there is asceticism. It doth not please thee, I fancy, O gentle one, that I am honoured of the three worlds, the lord of riches, and the subduer of my foes. As the drops of water do not last long on the leaves of lotuses, so is the friendship with unworthy persons. As the autumnal clouds, albeit muttering, do not pour forth water, so is the friendship with unworthy persons. As a bee flies away after sucking up the honey so is the friendship with unworthy persons. As a bee, after feeding upon the Kaca flowers, doth not get honey so is (fruitless) the friendship with unworthy persons. As an elephant, after being bathed, covers its body again with dust, taking it with its trunk, so is the friendship with unworthy persons. Fie thee, O monkey, O thou that bringest disgrace on the family. Had any one else spoken thus he would have ceased to live by this time". Being thus accosted harshly, Bibhisana, speaking truth, rose up along with four Rakshasas having maces in their hands. Thereupon, rising up in the welkin, the graceful brother Bibhisana, worked up with ire, addressed the lord of Rakshasas—"Thou art mistaken, O king. Do thou speak what thou wishest—thou art my elder brother, adorable like unto father—thou dost not follow the track of virtue. I cannot tolerate the harsh accents of thine, my elder brother.—For thy welfare I spoke those well-meaning words, O Ten-necked one, but thou didst not pay heed to them being brought under the control of Death. O king, many are the persons who speak sweet words, but rare are they who can speak and hear unpalatable but well-meaning words. How can I disregard thy death like unto a burning house bound as thou art by the noose of Death, the destroyer of all creatures. I do not wish to behold thee slain by the well-sharpened shafts of Rama, feathered in gold and resembling the flaming fire. Even the heroic and powerful persons, well versed in the use of weapons, wear away like sands in battle, being attracted by Death. Thou art worshipful unto me, do thou forgive me for what I have said for thy welfare. Do thou protect thyself and this city, abounding in Rakshasas. May good betide thee! I am going away and do thou be happy without me. What, I spoke unto thee, O ranger of the night, to prevent thee, for thy welfare, did not please thee. Persons, whose lease of life is well-nigh expired, do not pay heed to the well-meaning words of their friends".

SECTION 17.

Having addressed Ravana with these harsh words, his younger brother, reached in no time, where Rama along with Lakshmana was. The leading monkeys, stationed on earth, espied him on the welkin, resembling in size the summit of the mount Meru, and burning like lightning in the effulgence of his own person. And his four attendants of terrible prowess were adorned with excellent ornaments and armed with armours and maces. He was like unto a collection of clouds, powerful as the thunder-bolt, holding an excellent mace, heroic and embellished with excellent ornaments. And beholding him along with four counsellors, the highly intelligent Sugriva, the lord of monkeys, engaged in meditation along with them. And meditating for a while, he spoke unto the monkeys headed by Hanuman the following excellent words—"Behold, there comes a Rakshasa, armed with various weapons and followed by four demons to slay us and there is not the least doubt about it". And hearing the words of Sugriva, the excellent monkeys, taking up huge trees and crags, bespoke him,—"Do thou order us, O king, to destroy these vicious-souleri demons. These shall crush them to death, limited as is the tenure of their life". They addressing each other in this wise, Bibhisana descended from the sky on the northern shore. And beholding Sugriva and all others stationed near him, the highly intelligent Bibhisana accosted them, at the highest pitch of his voice, saying,—"Liveth there the Rakshasa, Ravana, the lord of demons, and perpetrator of many iniquitous deeds. I am his younger brother known as Bibhisana. By him, slaying the vulture Yatayu, was carried away Sita from Janasthana. She is imprisoned, brought under his sway, poorly, and being well guarded by the Rakshasees. With various well meaning words and reasonings I pointed out unto him, the necessity of rendering back Sita unto Rama. And Ravana, possessed by Death, paid no heed to my well-meaning words, like unto one, lying on the brink of death, neglecting the administration of medicine. Being reviled by him and treated harshly like a menial, I have come to seek Raghava's shelter, renouncing my children and wives. Do ye soon mention unto the high-souled Raghava, the refuge of all creatures, that Bibhisana hath arrived". Hearing those words the quick-paced Sugriva, excited with ire, spake unto Rama, before Lakshinana, saying,—"Forsooth hath an enemy entered secretly in our midst and he shall slay us getting an opportunity like unto an owl killing the crows. O slayer of foes, it now behoveth thee to be particularly careful about the counsels, arrangement of soldiers, polity—civil and military and spies of our own party as well as those of the enemies. These Rakshasas are heroic; they assume shapes at will, always lie in ambush and secretly bring about others' ruin—we should not therefore place confidence in them. This must be the emissary of Ravana—the lord of Rakshasas. Entering in our midst, he shall, in sooth, sow dissensions in our camp, or he shall slay us when we are careless, confiding in them. Avoiding the enemies, we should now collect the forest-rangers our friends and servants. O lord, this man is a Rakshasa by birth and the brother of our foe and so is he our enemy, how can we trust him? Ravana's younger brother, known as Bibhishana, hath come here with four Rakshasas, to seek thy shelter. O thou the foremost of forgiving persons, I consider this Bibhishana, who hath been despatched by Ravana, worthy of being slain. Being impelled by his wicked intention and commissioned by Ravana, this Rakshasa hath come here and secretly by virtue of his illussive powers he shall slay thee, O innocent one, when thou shalt place confidence in him". Having thus accosted Rama, skilled in the art of speech, that lord of the army, Sugriva, well versed in speech, became silent. And hearing the words of Sugriva, the mighty Rama spake unto the monkeys, near him, headed by Hanuman, saying,—"Ye have all heard, the words well grounded in reason, the lord of monkeys hath said, regarding Ravana's younger brother. It behoveth him, who desireth for perpetual wealth, and is intelligent and capable of giving sound counsels, to advise his friends in difficult matters". Being thus addressed by Rama (to minister unto him best counsels) all those monkeys, intent upon encompassing his well-being, gave out their respective opinions. "O Raghava, there is nothing beyond thy knowledge in the three worlds. It is only to show thy respect towards us, O Rama, that thou dost accost us in this wise. Thou art of truthful vows, heroic, pious, of firm prowess, discriminating, recollecting and having implicit confidence in thy friends. Let the intelligent and capable counsellors deliver their reasonable opinions unto thee". They speaking thus unto Raghava, the intelligent monkey Angada, spoke as follows for sounding the intention of Bibhishana,—"We should always suspect him since he has come from the side of our enemies, and should not, all on a sudden, place confidence in him. The wicked-minded always move about hiding their real self, and bring about peoples' calamity, taking advantage of their weak points. And great is the disaster thereof. It is always proper to engage in actions, considering what is right and what is wrong. Virtues should always be gathered and vices abandoned. Do thou renounce him unhesitatingly, if dost thou find in him a source of a great calamity and do thou embrace him if dost thou find him crowned with many virtues". Thereupon followed Sarava with words fraught with high import,—"O best of men, do thou speedily despatch emissaries to sound Bibhishana. If dost thou, sounding him well through the instrumentality of sharp spies, find him friendly, do thou win him over to thy side". Thereupon the wise Jambavan, arriving at conclusions by virtue of his knowledge of Sastras, began with words, void of defects,—"Surely doth Bibhishana come from the vicious lord of Rakshasas, dead set against us and hath arrived at such a bad place and in such a bad hour. We should always fear him". And thereupon followed Mainda, conversant with what is right and wrong, after due deliberation, with words pregnant with reason,—"He is Ravana's younger brother, by name Bibhishana. Let the lord of men ask him every thing at first in sweet words. Do thou first ascertain, O foremost of men, with what intention he hath come—evil or good—and then settle what course to adopt". Thereupon spake Hanuman, the foremost of the counsellors and well versed in Sastras, in accents sweet, glorious and fraught with a high value,—"Even Vrihaspati, (the lord of speech) cannot excell thee, capable, gifted with the best of intellect and foremost of those skilled in the art of speech, as thou art. And what I know I speak, O king. I do so, in the interest of Rama's work and not impelled by my skill in the art of speech, by the pride of being a counsellor, by the vanity of being gifted with a high intellect or by the desire of speaking for its own sake. What thy counsellors have said for ascertaining the good or evil intention of Bibhishana appeareth to me as most defective and

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productive of no consequence whatever. It is impossible to sound him without any command. And even to command him now for the same appears to me as improper. And as regards the despatch of spies, anent what thou hast been advised by thy ministers, I do not observe any utility. And what little I have thought of, I have something to say (regarding Jambavan's proposal) that Bibhishana hath arrived at such a bad place and in such an evil hour. He has really come to a very good place and in a very good hour. And truly has he performed a becoming and sensible action by coming here after duly ascertaining that Ravana is a vicious wight and thou art a pious person—he is full of vices—thou art gifted with many virtues—he is tyrranical and thou art powerful. And what they hate said, O king, as regards sounding him through secret spies, appears to me as one requiring great wisdom. An intelligent man, when questioned by any suddenly, suspects many things. And if the new-comer be a friend and has come here for his own happiness, how greatly shall his mind be changed by such a course? Besides by a sudden questioning it is impossible to ascertain the intention of a foreigner. Do thou therefore thyself accost him and determine, by his voice, his secret motive. I did not however mark anything of his wickedness while he spoke; rather I did observe signs of gladness on his countenance. So I do not suspect him. The wily can never come fearless and undisturbed. Nor were his words cunning. So I do not suspect him. It is not very easy to hide one's real nature. It manifests itself by force. So this action of Bibhishana is not out of place or season. When accomplished it shall redound to his own interest. Considering well thy preparations for war and Ravana's vain conduct, hearing of Vali's destruction and Sugriva's installation on the throne, he hath, impelled by his good sense, come here, desirous of gaining the kingdom. Taking these into account, it seems prudent to take him to our side. O thou the foremost of the intelligent, I have spoken thus considering him sincere. It now behoveth thee to perform what thou thinkest proper".

SECTION 18.

Hearing those words of the Wind-god's son, the irrepressible Rama, conversant with all the Sastras, replied, with words expressing his own opinion—"I have also thought of some thing regarding Bibhishana. I wish you all, interested in my well-being, to hear that. (Bibhishana) hath come here as a friend so I cannot forsake him by any means. And even if he has come with any evil intent it is not culpable for the pious to afford him shelter". Thereupon hearing his words and considering them well, Sugriva, the lord of the monkeys, replied in more auspicious words,—"Whether this ranger of the night is sincere or wicked, he should never be offered any shelter, since he hath forsaken his brother in the midst of these calamities. What reason is there to believe that he shall not renounce us in our difficulty?" Hearing the words of the lord of monkeys and casting his looks towards them, Kakutstha, having truth for his prowess, smiling a little, spake, unto Lakshmana, crowned with all the marks of piety, saying—"Without being conversant with Sastras, and living in the company of old men, none can speak such words as have been uttered by the king of the monkeys. There appear unto me, however two subtler reasons anent the difference between brothers, amongst the kings—one is evident and another mundane. There are two classes of foes—one consisting of the members of the same line the other of the neighbours. And these generally bring about our misfortune whenever any opportunity presents itself. And it is for this that he hath come here. Those kinsmen, who do not think of one another's mischief, generally long for their respective well-being. But even such well-meaning relatives are feared by the kings. And hear, I shall relate, what the Sastras say regarding the weak points thou hast mentioned as to the advisability of taking the enemies to our side. We are not his kinsmen and this Rakshasa hath come here with a view to gain the kingdom. Even the Rakshasas are wise enough to ascertain the proper course—so we must take Bibhishana. If the brothers are confident and satisfied with each other they generally live together, or else they fear each other and ultimately engage in a tumultuous war. And there hath sprung up some difference with Ravana and therefore Bibhishana hath come here. Nor are, O friend, all brothers like Bharata, all sons like me unto their father, all friends like thee". Being thus addressed by Rama, the highly wise Sugriva, along with Lakshmana, rose up and bending low his head, said—"O thou the best of all forgiving persons, this night-ranger hath been despatched by Ravana. I therefore think it better to kill him. Being impelled by his vicious sense that Rakshasa hath come here to slay us, O innocent one, when myself, thou and Lakshmana shall consider ourselves secure. Therefore the large-armed Bibhisana, the younger brother of the ruthless Ravana, deserves to be slain along with his counsellors". Having thus addressed (Rama) the foremost of Raghu's race, skilled in art of speech, Sugriva, the lord of monkey host, equally versed in the art of speech, became silent. And hearing the words of Sugriva, and weighing them, Rama again addressed the foremost of monkeys with more reasonable accents—"Wicked or otherwise, whatever this night-ranger may be, he shall not be able to do me the least mischief. Pisachas, Danavas, Yakshas or all the Rakshasas on earth,—I can slay them all, if I like, with the tips of my fingers, O thou the lord of monkeys. I have heard of a pigeon adoring and entertaining with its own flesh, an enemy who took its shelter. While a pigeon received so friendly its enemy, the slayer of its mate, how can I then act otherwise, O foremost of the monkeys? Do thou hear, I shall relate, a sacred story, narrated by the great ascetic, the truthful Kandu, son of the ascetic Kanya. O slayer of foes, even a wicked-minded enemy, if he, with folded palms and a poor heart, craveth for thy shelter, should not be slain. If an enemy, proud or terrified, seeketh shelter in affright, he should be saved by a great man even at the risk of his own life. One, who from fear, ignorance or wilfully doth not protect him who seeketh his shelter, perpetrateth a mighty iniquity, blamed of all. When a person is slain before him whose shelter he hath taken he taketh away all the virtues of his protector. So great is the sin in not affording shelter unto those who seek for it; it standeth in the way of going to heaven, bringeth in calumny and destroyeth the strength and prowess. I shall therefore follow the excellent words of Kandu—leading to piety, fame and the attainment of the abode of the celestials. I always declare 'no fear' unto all creatures, whenever any, approaching me, says, 'I am thine' and seeketh my shelter. Even this is my pious observance. O Sugriva, O foremost of monkeys, do thou soon bring him here, whether he be Ravana or Bibhishana and I shall declare unto him 'no fear'. Hearing the words of Rama, Sugriva, the lords of those who go bounding, over-flowing with friendliness, bespake Kakutstha.—"What wonder is there that thou wouldst speak these auspicious words, O thou the foremost of kings, conversant with morality, gifted with prowess and ever treading the pious track as thou art. Truly doth my inner self regard Bibhisana as devoid of any wicked intention. He has been well sounded by signs and gestures. And let the greatly wise Bibhisana, Raghava, be placed on an equal footing with us and gain our friendship". Hearing the words of Sugriva, the lord of monkeys, the king of men (Rama) made instantly friends with Bibhisana, like unto the conqueror of enemies' cities making friends with the king of birds.

SECTION 19.

Raghava thus declaring unto him 'no fear', Ravana's younger brother, the greatly wise Bibhisana, bending low his head, cast his looks on the earth. And descending from the welkin with his devoted attendants the virtuous-souled Bibhisana, delighted, bowed unto Rama. And thereupon touching his feet along with four Rakshasas, Bibhisana addressed Rama,—with words, fraught with piety, befitting the occasion and conducing to pleasure. "I am Ravana's younger brother and have been greatly insulted by him, I have therefore come to seek thy shelter, the refuge of all creatures, abandoning Lanka, and renouncing my friends and riches. My kingdom, life and happiness are all at thy disposal". Hearing his words Rama replied,—comforting him with words and favouring him as if with looks. "Do thou relate unto me truly the strength and weakness of the enemies". Being thus accosted by Rama of unwearied actions, the Raksha, began to describe the strength of Ravana. "O prince, by virtue of the boon acquired from the Self-Create, the Ten-necked one is incapable of being slain by all creatures—Gandharbas, serpents, or birds. My elder brother—the one next to Ravana—is the heroic and highly effulgent Kumbharkarna—Sakra's equal in battle. Thou mayst have heard, O Rama, his commander is Prahasta, by whom was defeated Manibhadra on the mount Kailaca. (His son) Indrajit, equipped with invincible armour, bow and finger-protector made of the skin of iguana, becomes invisible in fight. And, worshipping Fire and becoming invisible, that graceful hero, O Raghava, slayeth the enemies in conflict, having the contending parties vast and well arranged. Mahodara, Mahaparcwa and the Rakshasa, Akampana, are his lieutenants, who equal the Lokapalas [Divinities who protect the regions, or the Sun, Moon, Fire, Wind, Indra, Yama, Varuna and Kuvera.] in battle. His army consists of ten thousand kotis of Rakshasas, wearing shapes at will, inhabiting the city of Lanka, and living on flesh and gore. And with the Lokapalas and the celestials, they were all defeated by the vicious-souled Ravana". Hearing the words of Bibhisana and weighing them in his mind, that foremost of Raghu's race said—"I understand well the strength and prowess of Ravana, which thou hast depicted truly, O Bibhisana. Do thou hear truly that I shall slay the Ten-necked one together with Prahasta and his sons, and I shall make thee king. Whether he entereth the Rasatala [The seven infernal regions under the earth and the residence of the Nagas, Asuras and Daityas. This is the lowest of the seven divisions of Patala.] or the regions under the earth, or seeketh shelter of the Grand-father of the celestials, he shall not be able to save his life from me. I do swear by my three brethern that I shall enter the city of Ayodhya, after slaying in battle Ravana with his sons, kinsmen and friends". Hearing these words of Rama of unwearied action, the virtuous-souled (Bibhisana), bowing his head unto him, began—"I shall lend thee my might in slaying the Rakshasas and devastating the city of Lanka, and shall be in the midst of Ravana's army". Thereupon, embracing Bibhisana, who spoke thus, Rama, delighted, said unto Lakshmana,—"O my brother, do thou bring water from the ocean. Sprinkling the greatly wise Bibhisana, I shall make him at once the king of the Rakshasas, O conferer of honour; for I am greatly pleased with him". Being thus addressed, Saumitri, at the command of the king, annointed Bibhisana and made him the king of the Rakshasas in the presence of the monkey-host. Beholding Rama's kindness (towards Bibhisana), the monkeys eulogized the high-souled one, exclaiming "Excellent! Excellent!" Thereupon, Hanuman and Sugriva addressed Bibhisana, saying, "Do thou tell us how we shall cross over the main—the abode of Varuna, along with the host of the highly powerful monkeys. Do thou inform us of the means by which we may cross over, along with our army, the lord of rivers and streams—the abode of Varuna". Being thus addressed, the virtuous-souled Bibhisana replied,—"It behoveth the king, Raghava, to seek refuge from the Ocean. This measureless deep was dug out by (the king) Sagara [Sagara was a sovereign of Ayodhya belonging to the same family with Rama.]. And the great Ocean shall surely help Rama belonging to Sagara's race". Being thus accosted by the wise Rakshasa, Bibhishana. Sugriva reached where Rama with Lakshmana was. Thereupon, the broad-necked Sugriva began to explain the well-meaning words of Bibhishana, requesting Rama to seek the shelter of the Ocean. And those words pleased Rama, pious by nature. And the highly eflulgent (hero) requested, smiling, the active Lakshmana and the monkey-chief Sugriva to collect necessaries for his adoration. "O Lakshmana, this counsel of Bibhisana appeareth to me as most sound. Sugriva is always greatly wise, and thou art greatly proficient in counsel. Do ye, holding a conference, intimate to me what you think becoming". Thus addressed, those two heroes—Lakshmana and Sugriva, spoke respectfully the following words fraught with propriety,—"Why shall not the well-meaning words of Bibhisana expressed now, please us, O Raghava, O thou best of men? Without constructing a bridge over the deep, the terrible abode of Varuna, even the celestials and their lord (Indra) cannot get at the city of Lanka. Do thou act on the genuine counsel of the heroic Bibhisana, and without losing time, do thou engage the Ocean for this work, so that we may with our army proceed to the city of Ravana". Being thus addressed Rama reached the shore of the lord of rivers and streams, covered with Kuca, like unto fire getting into the sacrificial dais.

SECTION 20.

Thereupon the greatly powerful Rakshasa, by name Sardula, beheld the army of Sugriva arranged on the shore of the ocean. And, beholding the army all busy, the emissary of the vicious-souled Rakshasa—Ravana, entered the city of Lanka and, approaching his lord, said,—"The army of monkeys and bears hath approached Lanka. It is immeasurably deep as the ocean. And those two sons of the king Dacaratha—the brothers Rama and Lakshmana, gifted with great beauty, coming to rescue Sita, have stationed themselves on the shore of the ocean, O thou of great effulgence. The army of Rama extends over the sky and ten yojanas. I have come, O great king, to acquaint thee with the real truth. And, knowing everything, it behoveth thy emissaries, O king, to settle whether to render back Sita, to adopt measures of conciliation, or to sow dissensions in the enemy's camp". Hearing the words of Sardula, Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, being anxious to ascertain his duty, addressed a Rakshasa by name Suka, the most sensible of his counsellors, with the following pregnant words,—"Do thou go and communicate unto king Sugriva my behest, in becoming and excellent accents. 'Thou art born of a great family and art the mighty son of the king of bears. I have no dissension with thee. In fact I consider thee as my brother, O king of monkeys. Though I have stolen the spouse of the high-souled prince (Rama), yet what is that to thee, O Sugriva? Do thou return to Kishkindha. The monkeys shall not by any means be able to attack the city of Lanka. Even the celestials and Gandharbas could not—what of these men and monkeys?'" And being thus commissioned by the lord of Rakshasas, that night-ranger assumed the shape of a bird and, bounding, speedily reached the sky. And, proceeding far over the deep and stationing himself at the welkin, he spoke unto Sugriva all the words with which he was addressed by the vicious-souled Ravana. Hearing him speak thus, the monkeys leaped up quickly and reached there with a view to chop off his wings or to slay him with their clenched fists. On being seized vehemently by all these monkeys, that night-ranger was brought down speedily from the sky to the earth. And being assailed by the monkeys, Suka said,—"O Kakutstha, it doth not behove (people) to slay an emissary. Do thou therefore prevent the monkeys. He who passing by his master's behest, giveth out his own intention, is not faithful; and he therefore deserveth to be slain". Hearing the piteous accents of Suka, Rama spake unto the monkeys, who were about to kill him,

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saying, "Do not kill him". And again stationing himself on the welkin, that night-ranger said,—"O Sugriva, O thou gifted with great energy, O thou of great prowess, what shall I speak unto Ravana, dreaded by all people?" Being thus addressed, that mighty king of monkeys, the bull among them, of unwearied energy, spake unto that emissary—the night-ranger, Suka, saying—"O Ravana, thou art not my friend or an object of pity. Thou art not my benefactor, nor art liked by me. Thou art Rama's enemy, and thou dost therefore deserve to be slain by him like Vali along with thy friends and relatives. I shall therefore slay thee, O king of night-rangers, together with thy sons, friends and relatives. And I shall have the whole city of Lanka reduced to ashes by my mighty force. Thou shalt not be able to escape Raghava, O Ravana, O thou who hast lost thy sense, even if thou art protected by the celestials. And thou shalt with thy brother be slain by Rama, even if thou dost fly into the sky, enter into the regions under the earth, or seek shelter of Mahadeva. I do not behold any in these three worlds—Pisacha, Rakshasa, Gandharba, or Asura, who can protect thee. Thou hast slain the monarch of vultures, who had grown decrepit through age. Thou hast carried off the large-eyed Sita from the vicinity of Rama and the neighbourhood of Lakshmana; but, having captured her, thou understandest not (thy native strength). Nor dost thou understand that foremost of Raghus, high-souled, possessed of great strength, and incapable of being repressed even by the celestials,—who shall take thy life". Then spake that best of monkeys, Angada, son of Vali,—"O highly wise one, this is no emissary. This one clearly appeareth to me as a spy. He hath come to form an estimate of thy entire army. Take him. Let him not go (back) to Lanka. This is indeed what I would". Thereat, commanded by the king, the monkeys, springing up, seized (Suka) and bound him, as he burst out bewailing like one forlorn. On being sorely handled by the relentless monkeys, Suka cried unto tho high-souled Rama, son of Dacaratha,—"They by main force sever my wings, and they pierce my eyes. If I lose my life, may all the evil deeds that I have committed between the night when I was born and the night when I shall die, be thine!" Hearing this pitiful cry, Rama prevented (the monkeys); and he said unto them,—"Let go this envoy, who hath come here".

SECTION 21.

Then on the shore of the sea, Raghava, spreading darbha, with his hands joined towards the great deep, laid him down, with his face to the East. And that slayer of foes (lay down), making his pillow his arm resembling the shining form of a serpent; always dight with golden ornaments; full many a time pressed with the palms of beauteous damsels [As Rama was wedded to a single wife, these damsels must mean nurses attending on him.], decked with jewelled golden Keyuras and superb ornaments studded with pearls; smeared from above with sandal and aguru; (his arm) which formerly had been graced in bed with the head of Sita; like unto the body of Takshaka under the waters of the Ganga; resembling a yoke; in battle increasing the sorrow of foes and enhancing for long the delight of friends;—his left arm having its skin destroyed by the strokes of the bow-string; which was the refuge of the entire earth;—his right arm resembling a mighty bludgeon,—the donor of thousands of kine,—making this great arm his pillow (he laid him down). "To-day either I shall die, or shall the Ocean".—Having thus formed his resolution in respect of the great deep, Rama, restraining his speech, with a concentrated mind lay down there agreeably to rule. And as Rama slept on the earth on Kuca spread over, without ever swerving from the rule, three nights passed away. And while spending three nights, Rama, learned in polity and attached to virtue, prayed unto that lord of streams—the Ocean. Yet the wicked Ocean, albeit adored according to his deserts by Rama with his mind concentrated, did not show himself. Thereat Rama grew enraged and had the corners of his eyes crimsoned; and he spake unto Lakshmana of auspicious marks, saying,—"Behold the hauteur of the Ocean in not presenting himself before me. Calmness, forbearance, candour, and soft speech—these virtues of the good are by the insolent taken for the effects of incompetency. The person that is self-laudatory, wicked, and badly-bold, publisheth his own praise, and meteth out chastisement every where, is honoured in the world. By moderation one cannot attain celebrity, by moderation one cannot attain fame,—and, O Lakshmana, in this world by moderation one cannot attain victory on 'the edge of battle.'See, O Sumitra's son, the abode of Makaras, with his waters obstructed all around with Makaras destroyed by my shafts. And, O Lakshmana, see the bodies here of serpents, and the huge bodies of mighty fishes, and the trunks of elephants,—torn by my arrows. And to-day in terrible battle will I dry up the Ocean with conchs and oysters, and fishes and Makaras. This abode of Makaras taketh me, who is forbearing, to be incompetent. Fie on forbearance towards such as he! In consequence of my moderation, Ocean showeth not his own form. O Saumitri, bring thou my bow, my arrows resembling venomous snakes. I will dry up the Ocean, and the monkeys shall go over on foot. And, being angered, to-day, albeit incapable of being agitated, will I agitate the deep. And by means of my shafts will I make Varuna's abode, surging with a thousand billows and having his dignity maintained by his shores,—overleap his continents. And I will agitate the deep harbouring numbers of mighty Danavas". Having spoken thus, Rama, equipped with his bow, with his eyes dilated in wrath, became exceedingly irrepressible, like unto the flaming fire at the final dissolution. And straining his dreadful bow, making the earth shake, tremulously, he let fly fierce shafts like him of an hundred sacrifices hurling his thunder-bolt. Thereat, flaming up, those vehement choice shafts surcharged with energy, enter into the waters of the sea, with its serpents afflicted with fear. And then great and exceedingly dreadful was the motion of the sea, with fishes and Makaras, and with the roar of the winds (blowing there). And on a sudden the mighty deep was heaving with mighty surges, with conchs scattered about, and a smoke (enveloped) the ocean; and the billows became visible on all sides. And the serpents were distressed, with their faces flaming and their eyes aglow; as well as the Danavas of terrific energy, and the dwellers of the nether spheres. And billows of the sovran Ocean, resembling Vindhya or Mandara, containing crocodiles and Makaras sprang up by thousands. And Varuna's abode had its surges whirling, its serpents and Rakshasas seized with affright, and its ferocious aquatic animals borne all around; and it sent forth sounds. Then Sumitra's son, springing up, said unto Raghava of fiery vehemence, as he sighed and kept stretching his matchless bow.—"This must not be". And he took away his (Rama's) bow. "Without doing this unto the Ocean, thou, supreme of heroes, mayst have thy work accomplished. Personages like thee do not come under the influence of passion. Do thou deliberately look about for some worthy means (for compassing thy end)". Then remaining invisible in the sky, Brahmarshis and Surarshis [Celestial saints.] exclaiming,—"Well-a-day!" and "Don't," in loud accents ejaculated,—(Oh! and alas!)

SECTION 22.

Then the foremost of Raghus addressed Ocean in stern words, saying,—"To-day will I dry up the Ocean along with the nether regions. And, O Ocean, thy waters being burnt up by my shafts, and thou being dried up, with thy (aquatic) animals slaughtered, a mighty volume of dust shall arise (from thy bed). And, O Ocean, in consequence of the arrowy shower discharged from my bow, the monkeys shall go over to the further shore on foot. Having attained dimensions in consequence of access of waters, thou knowest not my manliness or my prowess But, O abode of Danavas, grief shalt thou reap at my hands". Then fixing an arrow resembling the rod of Brahma with a Brahma Mantra, on the best of bows, that exceedingly strong one drew it. And as Raghava suddenly stretched his bow, heaven and earth seemed to be riven, and the mountains trembled. And darkness covered the world, and the cardinal points became invisible. And at once the watery expanses and rivers were agitated. And the stars appeared simultaneously with the Sun and Moon. And the sky was illumined with the rays of the Sun, and yet it was overspread with darkness; and it burned with an hundred meteors. And thunder-bolts sending forth sounds surpassing all others, dropped from the firmament. And the winds began to blow violently; breaking down trees and momentarily scattering clouds; damaging mountain-tops and shattering summits. And then the dread and mighty thunders possessing impetuous speed and emitting tremendous roars,—coming together, produced lightning flashes. And those creatures that could be seen, uttered sounds resembling the thunder; and those that were invisible gave forth frightful cries. And overwhelmed with fright, and quaking (for fear), the creatures began to measure their lengths,—and they were sore afflicted, and bereft of motion through terror. And then the mighty deep with its animals, and with its waters and waves, and with its serpents and Rakshasas, was suddenly wrought up with a violent motion. And albeit it was not the occasion of the universal dissolution, the Ocean passed beyond his shores for a full hundred yojanas. And seeing the elated Ocean—lord of streams and rivers—thus overpass his bounds, that destroyer of enemies, Raghu's son, Rama, was not moved. Then from forth the mid-sea arose Ocean himself, even as the maker of day riseth from the mighty ascending-hill, Meru. And accompanied by Pannagas [Semi-divine serpents.] of flaming faces, the Ocean showed himself, appearing like cool lapises, adorned with golden ornaments,—wearing a wreath of gems and a jewelled vesture, with his eyes resembling lotus-leaves, bearing on his head a noble garland containing all flowers; decked with ornaments of polished gold; as well with excellent ornaments of gems originating in himself, like the mountain Himavan embellished with metals (sprung in himself),—(the Ocean arose) with wave on wave whirling around, and rife with winds blowing among clouds,—surrounded by streams, Ganga, Sindhu (and others). And approaching the arrow-showering Rama, and greeting him fair, Ocean spoke unto him with joined hands,—"O Raghava, earth, air, sky, water and light,—these, O mild one, retaining their eternal course, maintain their (respective) natures. Mine also is that nature whereby I am fathomless and incapable of being crossed. The reverse of this is the having a bottom. And for this reason I speak to thee (concerning the means). O king's son, not from desire, or covetuousness, or fear, or anger, can I anywise deprive my waters abounding in alligators of their (perpetual) motion. I will tell thee how thou wilt pass (over me); and I will bear it. And no ferocious aquatic animals shall do wrong so long as thy forces have not crossed. And, O Rama, I will make as it were firm land for the crossing over of the monkeys". Then Rama said,—"O Varuna's abode, listen to me! This arrow (of mine) must accomplish the end (intended). Where shall I let it light?" Hearing Rama's speech, and looking at the mighty arrow, that exceedingly energetic one, the great Deep, addressed Raghava, saying,—"There is a certain spot of mine in the North, which is more sacred (than the rest). It is famed as Drumakulya, even as thou art famed in the world. There are there many robbers of ferocious forms and actions,—wicked wights, headed by cow-herds,—who drink of my water. These persons of unrighteous acts touch me, and I cannot bear this sin. O Rama, do thou at that place render this best of arrows successful". Hearing the words of the high-souled Ocean, (Rama) immediately after,59 let fly that flaming shaft. And the place where the arrow resembling the thunder-bolt and vajra in splendour, alighted, hath been celebrated on earth as Marukantara. And hurt with the dart, the Earth emitted roars; and in consequence of this, water began to gush out at the mouth of the wound from the subterranean regions. And this then became well-known as Vrana; and there are seen the waters of the Ocean spring up. And there arose a terrific report of riving. And owing to this sound, as well as the incident of the arrow, the water that existed in the tanks, was dried up. Having dried up Marukantara famous throughout the three regions, as well as the reservoirs of water, Rama the son of Dacaratha, learned and of god-like prowess, conferred a boon on the desert, saying,—"This place shall be filled with food nourishing beasts; and ailments shall be rare here. And the fruits and roots shall be replete with relish; and it shall abound in oil and overflow with milk; and it shall contain various odorous drugs". Thus did the desert come to possess these attributes; and from Rama's bestowal of a boon, it attained a pleasant aspect. On that place being burnt up, that lord of streams, the Ocean, thus spake unto Raghava, versed in every branch of learning,—"O mild one, this one is named Nala, son unto Vicwakarma. He hath received a boon from his sire. Vicwakarma's son is well pleased with thee. Let this monkey, surcharged with exhuberant spirits, build a bridge over me. I will hold that up. This one is as his sire". Having delivered himself thus, Ocean disappeared. Then that foremost of monkeys, Nala, arising, spoke unto the mighty Rama,—"Resorting to my sire's skill, I will build a bridge over the spacious abode of Makaras. The mighty Ocean hath spoken justly. In respect of the ingrate even chastisement is supreme in this world,—this is my conviction. Down with forbearance, or moderation, or gift! This dreadful Ocean, this mighty deep, expecting to see a bridge (thrown over him), hath granted depth unto Raghava.—(Formerly) is Mandara, Vicwakarma had conferred a boon on my mother: 'O exalted one, thy son shall be like me.' I am a son of his, sprung from his loins, and I am like unto Vicwakarma. Not having been asked by thee, I had not unfolded my qualifications. I also am capable of constructing a bridge over Varuna's abode. Therefore this very day let the foremost monkeys construct the bridge". Then directed by Rama, the principal monkeys with alacrity entered the mighty forest in hundrerds and thousands. And themselves resembling mountains, the foremost of the monkeys began to break down and draw them towards the Ocean. And the monkeys filled the Ocean with salas, and acwakarnas, dhavas, bamboos kutajas, arjunas, palms, tilakas, tinicas, billakas, aparnas, and blossoming karnikaras, mangoes, and a trees. And those monkeys—the foremost of their species—began to gather the trees, some with their roots, some without them,—carrying them like Indra's ensign. And those huge-bodied monkeys possessed of prodigious strength, procured palms and pomegranates, cocoanuts and itakas, Kariras, Vakulas, and Nimbas,—as well as rocks. Measuring elephants' dimensions; and uprooting crags, they tossed them by means of machines. And on rocks being plunged into the waters, the latter, suddenly swelling up, mounted to the welkin, and again subsided.—And (the trees) dropping (into the deep), vexed it all around. And some made lines (for insuring straightness unto the bridge). And in the middle of the lord of rivers and streams, Nala made a grand bridge measuring an hundred yojanas. And then he went about constructing the bridge with the assistance of monkeys of dreadful deeds. And some took the measuring and others bore (timber to the sea). And by help of hundreds of monkeys following Rama's mandate, hued like woods or mountains, (they) constructed a bridge with grass, and wood. And the monkeys made the bridge of trees with blossoming tops. And (monkeys) resembling Danavas were rushing all around with rocks resembling hills, and mountain-summits. And tremendous was the tumult that came of crags thrown and rocks toppled down into the mighty deep. And on the first

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day the elephant-like monkeys of spirits and exerting themselves vigorously, finished fifteen yojanas. And the exceedingly strong and huge-bodied monkeys on the second day speedily disposed of twenty yojanas. And on the third day the huge-bodied active monkeys did one and twenty yojanas on the sea. And on the fourth day the exceedingly impetuous monkeys, bestirring themselves vigorously, did two and twenty yojanas. And On the fifth day the fast-speeding monkeys accomplished three and twenty yojanas reaching unto the fair shore. And resembling his sire, that best of monkeys, the lusty and graceful offspring of Vicwakarma, (thus) constructed the bridge over the sea. And that bridge built by force over the abode of makaras, looked graceful and splendid like the Milky way in the firmament. And then the deities and Gandharbas, the Siddhas and the prime saints, appearing in the heavens, stood there, eager to behold this wonder. And the gods and Gandharbas saw that bridge of Nala, difficult of being made, having an area of ten yojanas and measuring an hundred in length. And the monkeys, leaping and bounding and roaring, as well as all creatures, beheld that building of the bridge on the ocean, inconceivable, and marvellous, displaying skill past thought and capable of making one's hair stand on end. And those thousands of Kotis of exceeding vigor, having constructed the bridge over the ocean, went over to the other shore of the mighty main. And spacious, skillfully constructed, graceful, well-paved and nicely finished, the great bridge appeared like the line where the hair hath been parted on the Ocean's head. Then on the other shore of the ocean, Bibhishana, with the view of opposing foes (that might advance), stationed himself mace in hand, along with some councilors. Then Sugriva spoke unto Rama, having truth for his prowess,—"Do thou get upon Hanuman, and let Laskhmana get upon Angada. O hero, vast is this Ocean—abode of Makaras. These monkeys, rangers of the sky, shall hold you up both". Thereat the graceful and righteous Rama along with Lakshmana, equipped with his bow, set out in the van of the army in company with Sugriva. And some monkeys proceeded along the middle, and some plunged into the deep, and some went by the road. And some coursed through the air, bounding up bird-like. And that dreadful array of monkeys crossing over, with its mighty uproar drowned the dreadful roar of the deep, which had been arising. On the monkey-host having crossed by the bridge of Nala, the king stationed it on the shore abounding in fruits, roots and water. Beholding that work of Raghava incapable of being performed, the deities together with the Siddhas and Charanas, and the Maharshis, suddenly presenting themselves before Rama, sprinkled him one by one with sacred water, and said,—"Mayst thou be victorious, O human-divine one! Rule thou the Earth eternally!" Thus in various auspicious words, did they pay homage unto that one honoured by the Brahmanas, Rama.

SECTION 23.

Having seen omens, that one, Lakshmana's elder brother, conversant with them, embracing the son of Sumitra, said these words,—"O Lakshmana, occupying (this tract) of cool waters and woods affluent with fruits, will we, dividing and arranging our forces, stay here. Mighty is the fear that I see at hand,—boding destruction to people and the slaughter of the foremost heroes of bears, monkeys and Rakshasas. The wind bloweth darkly, and the Earth shaketh. The tops of the mountains tremble, and trees topple down. And the clouds are ashen and roistering, and roar roughly. And lowering, they shower portentous drops of blood. And the twilight is terrible and looketh like the red sandal. And a fiery circle droppeth from the flaming sun. And on all sides birds and beasts, distressed, uttering woe-begone notes, and grim-visaged, set up crying against the sun, arousing great fear. And the Moon, although not appearing in the night, burneth, and with dark and red rays riseth, as if it intended to exterminate people. And the aspect (of the sun) is slight, rough, and not good; and, O Lakshmana, a blue mark is visible on the unclouded Sun. And the stars seem erased by a mighty volume of dust. O Lakshmana, behold this sight disastrous to people like unto the universal dissolution. Crows, and hawks, and the inferior vultures, wheel all round. And jackals are sending inauspicious yells, exciting great fear. The earth shall be covered with darts and javelins, and swords discharged by monkeys and Rakshasas, and then turned into mire with flesh and gore. Surrounded by all these monkeys, will we, using speed, this very day rapidly enter into the city ruled by Ravana, incapable of being subdued. Having said this, that subduer in conflict, that lord, the enchanter of men, Rama, equipped with his bow, proceeds in the direction of Lanka. And all the principal monkeys— Sugriva with Bibhishana—went on, setting up roars, for the destruction of foes, who were determined to battle with them. And consequently Raghu's son was well pleased with the fortitude and exertions of the powerful monkeys, for bringing about what was dear unto Raghava.

SECTION 24.

And with the presence of the king [Rama.] that assembly of heroes looked beautiful, as doth the autumnal night, garnished with beauteous stars, with the Moon. And oppressed with the bursting energy of the host resembling the ocean, the Earth trembled. And then the rangers of the forest heard a hubbub in Lanka, as well as the sounds of trumpets and Mridangas, mighty and capable of making people's down stand on end. And at those sounds, the leaders of monkey-bands were delighted beyond measure, and, resenting the same, set up cries louder than those sounds. And the Rakshasas also heard the roars of the monkeys, resembling the rumbling of haughty clouds in the sky. Beholding Lanka with variegated standards, and streamers, Dacaratha's son went [i.e. mentally.] to Sita with an aggrieved heart. "Here that one having eyes resembling those of a young deer, is confined by Ravana, like unto Rohini overpowered by the red-bodied planet" [Angaraka, Mangala, meaning the planet Mars.]. And, sighing hot and long, and looking at Lakshmana, that hero spoke words fraught with his good at that time—"Behold, O Lakshmana, Lanka towering up as if piercing the heavens; and, built by Vicwakarma on the brow of the mountain, she seems to have been made by the Mind. Constructed in time past with edifices thronging her, Lanka looks like the all-encasing air, covered with pale clouds. Lanka is embellished with groves resembling Chitraratha, fair, and eloquent with the notes of various birds, and fraught with fruits and flowers. Behold the intoxicated birds, and the black bees blending (with the blossoms). And the blessed breeze swayeth the trees vocal with the coels". Having divided his forces there agreeably to the directions of the scriptures, Dacaratha's son, Rama, thus spoke unto Lakshmana. And he ordered that monkey-army, saying,—"Taking his own forces, let the puissant and invincible Angada along with Nila, station himself in the centre of the forces. And let the monkey, named Rishabha, surrounded by numbers of monkeys, post himself at the right of the monkey-army. And let the active and irrepressible Gandhamadana, resembling an elephant fragrant with the temporal exudation, stay, occupying the left of the forces. I myself along with Lakshmana, shall needfully stay in the fore-front. And the monkeys, Jambavan, Sushena and Vagadarci, the three high-souled, foremost bears,—shall protect the interior (of the forces). And as the Sun, surcharged with energy, protects the hind half of the globe, let the monkey-monarch protect the rear of the monkey-army". And that army being skilfully divided into parts and protected by great monkeys, resembled the welkin covered with clouds. Then, taking up mountain-peaks and mighty trees, the monkeys began to proceed towards Lanka burning to crush Lanka in battle. "We shall demolish Lanka by hurling mountain-peaks, or with our clenched fists". Thus did the foremost of monkeys think in their minds. Then the exceedingly energetic Rama addressed Sugriva, saying,—"Our forces have been rightly marshalled,—let go (now) Suka". Hearing Rama's words, the lord of monkeys possessed of great strength, liberated the envoy, Suka, at the command of Rama. Liberated at the word of Rama, Suka, who had been sore tormented by the monkeys, oppressed with exceeding great fear, went to the lord of Rakshasas. Thereat, Ravana, laughing, said unto Suka,—"Are thy wings fettered? And thou seemst as if thy wings had been severed. Why? Didst thou come under the control of the volatile (monkeys)?" Thereat, exercised with fear, Suka, commanded by the monarch, answered the lord of Rakshasas in this excellent speech, saying,—"Repairing to the northern shore of the sea, I, pacifying (the monkeys) with mild speech, communicated thy tidings clearly (unto Sugriva). Thereat, as soon as they saw me, the monkeys flying into a wrath, captured me, and attempted to clip my wings and slay me with their clenched fists. They are insuseptible of being spoken to. No doubt whatever can exist that, O lord of Rakshasas, the monkeys are by nature wrathful and fierce. The same Rama that hath slain Viradha and Kavandha and Khara, hath arrived (here) along with Sugriva, searching for the whereabouts of Sita. Having thrown a bridge across the brine and crossed the salt sea, Raghava, equipped with his bow, stayeth here, setting the Rakshas at naught. And the hosts consisting of thousands of bears and monkeys, resembling hills and clouds, envelope the Earth. And peace there can be none between the forces of the Rakshasas and the hosts of the sovereign of monkeys, like unto the deities and the Danavas. And they advance before the wall. Speedily do one of these things—make over Sita without delay, or give (him) battle". Hearing Suka's speech, Ravana with his eyes reddened in wrath, spoke, as if burning (Suka) with them,—"Even if gods, and Gandharbas, and Danavas should array themselves against me, I will not from fear of all creatures, render (back) Sita. When shall my shafts pursue Raghava, like maddened Bhramaras making towards blossomy trees in spring? When by means of flaming shafts shot from my bow shall I burn (Raghava) with his body bathed in blood, even as a meteor (burneth) an elephant? And when, surrounded by a mighty host, shall I confound his ranks, even as the Sun arising, (vanquisheth) the light of the stellar spheres? My impetuosity like the Ocean's, my strength like the Wind's, Dacarathi doth not know,—and therefore it is that he desireth to fight with me. Rama hath not seen my shafts resting in the quiver, resembling venomous serpents,—and therefore it is that he seeketh to fight with me. Raghava hath not in conflict formerly known my bow representing my Vina sounded with my shafts; having tremendous sounds proceeding from the strings; dreadful; with the cries of distressed people for its mighty strains of music; and resonant with the reports of Narachas and palms. And, having bathed in the great field of battle representing the river of hostile forces, I will in the encounter strike (this Vina). Neither the thousand-eyed Vasava, nor Varuna himself, can (cope) with me in battle; nor can Yama, or Vaicravana's self vanquish me in mighty conflict with the fire of arrows".

SECTION 25.

On Dacaratha's son, Rama, having crossed the Ocean with his forces, the graceful Ravana addressed his two counsellors, Suka and Sarana, saying,—"The crossing the entire ocean incapable of being crossed, by the monkey-forces, and the building over the sea of the bridge by Rama— all this had never happened before. The construction of a bridge over the ocean cannot at all command credence. But (however it be), I must enumerate the monkey-hosts. Entering the monkey-army unobserved, it behoveth you to ascertain the magnitude thereof, its strength, who are the foremost monkeys, who are the councilors assembled there of Rama, and who of Sugriva, who range at the head, who among the monkeys are heroic; how they have constructed the bridge over the water of the ocean; how the high-souled monkeys stay there; Rama's, as well as Lakshmana's purpose, prowess and the arms (they fight with). And who is the commander of those magnanimous monkeys? Having learnt all this truly, ye ought to return speedily". Being thus commissioned, these heroes, the Rakshasas, Suka and Sarana, assuming monkey-shapes, entered into the hosts of monkeys. But Suka and Sarana could not number that army of monkeys, incomprehensible and capable of making people's hair stand on end. The forces were on mountain-tops, by fountains and in caves. And those rangers of the night beheld those forces, some having already crossed, and some crossing, and some intent on doing so; and some having sat down and some sitting—that mighty army sending terrific roars,—that ocean of hosts incapable of being disturbed. As they remained thus disguised, they were discovered by Vibhishana. Thereat, taking them captive, he unfolded (the fact) unto Rama, saying,—"These are the counsellors of the lord of Rakshasas—Suka and Sarana. O captor of hostile capitals, they have come as spies from Lanka". Seeing Rama, they were greatly afflicted, and, despairing of their lives and exercised with fear, with joined hands, said,—"O placid one, commanded by Ravana, we have come here, O son of Raghu, for the purpose of gathering information concerning this army". Hearing their speech, Rama—son unto Dacaratha—ever engaged in the welfare of all beings, laughing, remarked,—"If you have heedfully noted this entire array, or if you have done what ye had been commanded to do, return in peace. If aught remaineth unseen, do ye see it anew. Or Vibhishana will again fully show it unto you. Having been taken, ye need not fear on the score of your lives. Even if envoys happen to be taken who are equipped with weapons, they should not be slain. And albeit these night-rangers have come as spies in disguise, with the view of creating division among their foes, yet, O Vibhishana, let them off. Entering the extensive Lanka, ye should say unto the king—younger brother unto the Dispenser of riches—the words which I utter,—'That force relying on which thou hast carried away my Sita, do thou as thou wishest, along with thy forces and friends, display the same. On the morning of the morrow behold the city of Lanka with her wall and gates, as well as the hosts of Rakshasas, destroyed by me with my shafts. And as Vasava equipped with the thunder-bolt hurleth the same amidst the Danavas, will I, O Ravana, on the morning of the morrow pour down my dreadful ire upon thee along with thy forces.'" Thus directed (by Rama), those Rakshasas, Suka and Sarana, having saluted the righteous Raghava with 'Victory!,' came (back) to Lanka and spoke unto the lord of Rakshasas, saying,—"O lord of Rakshasas, having been taken by Vibhishana for the purpose of being slain, we came to be seen by the righteoua-souled Rama of immeasurable energy, and (finally) were liberated (by him). As these four persons have combined—like unto the Lokapalas, heroic, accomplished in arms, and of steady prowess—viz., Dacaratha's son, Rama, the graceful Lakshmana, Vibhishana, and the highly powerful Sugriva, resembling the great Indra, these are capable of uprooting the city of Lanka—walls and gateways—and replacing her (on her former site),—leave thou the monkeys aside. Such is Rama's figure and arms that he shall alone demolish Lanka,—leave the other three alone. And that host protected by Rama, Lakshmana and Sugriva, shall become exceedingly hard to combat even by the Asuras and gods.—And the army of the high-souled rangers of the woods, eager for encounter, contains warriors bursting with high spirits. No use of dispute. Be thou intent on pacification. Do thou render back Maithili unto Dacaratha's son".

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SECTION 26.

Hearing Sarana's words, pregnant and truthful, king Ravana addressed him, saying,—"Even if the gods, Gandharvas and Danavas should attack me, Sita will I not part with from fear of all creatures. O amiable one, thou, having been hard handled by the monkeys and distressed in consequence, deemst it fit that Sita should be rendered back this very day. What foe of mine is there who is competent to conquer me in battle?" Having uttered this rough speech, the graceful Ravana—lord of the Rakshasas—desirous of surveying (the monkey-hosts), ascended an edifice white like snow, and elevated like many palms (placed one upon another). And transported with passion, Ravana in company with those spies, saw the sea, mountains and forests. And they beheld the Earth enveloped with monkeys, and the mighty host of monkeys, boundless and irresistible. And having seen this, king Ravana asked Sarana,—"Who among these monkeys are the foremost, who are the heroes, and who possessed of great strength? Who, bursting with spirits, stay all about the fore? Whom doth Sugriva listen to? And who are the leaders of the monkey-leaders? O Sarana, relate thou all this unto me. And what is the prowess of the monkeys?" Thereat, Sarana, knowing the chiefs (of the monkey-army), spoke unto the sovereign of Rakshasas, who had asked (him), as to who were the heads of the rangers of the woods. "This monkey, that, setting up roars, stayeth in front of Lanka, surrounded by hundreds and thousands of monkey-leaders, by whose tremendous shouts Lanka trembleth with her wall, gateways, hills, woods and forests, and who is posted in front of the forces of the high-souled Sugriva—master of all the monkeys—is the heroic leader of monkey-bands named Nila. And that one, possessed of prowess, who, folding up his arms, paceth the gound on foot, who, facing Lanka, from wrath is frequently yawning, who resembles a mountain-peak and is like the filaments of a lotus, who, enraged again and again soundeth his tail, and the ten cardinal points resound with the sounds of whose tail,—is he who hath been sprinkled by Sugriva—king of monkeys—the heir apparent, named Angada. He challengeth thee to the fight. The worthy son of Vali and ever dear unto Sugriva, he putteth forth his prowess, as Varuna doth for Sakra. That that well-wisher of Raghava, the vehement Hanuman, hath seen Janaka's daughter, was owing to the advice of this one. That powerful (hero) is proceeding, taking innumerable bands belonging to the lord of monkeys, for the purpose of beating thee by means of his soldiery. Following Vali's son, and surrounded by a mighty force, stayeth in the field the heroic Nala, the builder of the bridge. Those that with their limbs lying inactive, and setting up roars and ululations, are following this one, are heroes dwelling in Chandana [Sandal wood.]. With his own army alone, the silver-hued Sweta of dreadful prowess hopes to subdue Lanka. Marshalling his monkey-forces and cheering up his soldiers, that intelligent monkey, famed over the three regions, having speedily met with Sugriva, is retracing his steps. From days of yore on the banks of the Gomati there is a mountain, (named) Ramya, (otherwise) called Sanrochana. The mount abounds with various trees. There that leader of bands, named Kumuda, governs his kingdom. And he that cheerfully draweth after his hundreds and thousands of monkeys, and the long grim hairs of whose tail, coppery, yellow, sable and white, are cast about, is the energetic monkey, Chanda, eager for encounter. And he hopes to conquer Lanka by help of his own forces. And this one, resembling a lion, tawny and furnished with a long mane, who, remaining apart, vieweth all Lanka as if consuming her with his eyes, dwelleth for ever and a day in Vindhya, the mountain Krisha, Sahya, and the mount Sudarcana, and, a leader of bands, is named Rambha. Three hundred Kotis of the foremost of monkeys, dreadful and fierce and possessed of terrific prowess, surrounding (him) go in his wake for the purpose of demolishing Lanka by their (native) might. And he that expandeth his ears and yawneth again and again, who defieth the fear of death and doth not move his forces, who trembleth for wrath and eyeth frequently askance,—and behold the lashing of his tail!—and who setteth up leonine shouts, O king, with great energy and with fear cast off,—resideth in the romantic mount, Salweya, and, a leader of companies, is named Sarabha. To him, O king, belong forty hundred thousands of powerful leaders. And he that stayeth, like unto a mighty mass of clouds covering up the sky, in the midst of the monkey-heroes, as doth Vasava in the centre of the celestials, whose lofty shout is heard (mingled with) the uproar set up by the foremost monkeys, burning for battle, dwelleth in the excellent hill Parijatra; and, ever irrepressible in fight, is named Panaca, a leader of (monkey)-bands. Fifty lacs of leaders with their forces arranged, environ this commander of monkeys. He that stayeth gracing the dreadful array overflowing with talk, stationed on the shore of the ocean,—resembling a second sea and like unto Durdara [The monkey leader.]—is the leader named Vitata. And he rangeth, drinking of (the waters of) the Vena,—best among streams—and his forces are sixty lacs of monkeys. And the monkey, named Krathana, challengeth thee to conflict. He hath (under him) powerful and vigorous generals, and forces well divided. And the monkey owning that person of the hue of red chalk, and, who, elated with strength, disregardeth all the monkeys,—is named Gavaya, who approacheth thee wrathfully. Several lacs (of troops) girt him round; and by their means he has to bring down Lanka. These are the heroes, incapable of being borne, whose numbers cannot be enumerated. These are the leaders and the heads thereof, as well as the forces set in order of battle".

SECTION 27.

As thou lookest on, I shall describe unto thee the leaders who shall put forth their prowess for Raghava, lay down their lives (in his behalf.) That one of dread deeds the long hairs on whose long tail, coppery, and yellow, and black, and white, thrown up, look like the rays of Sun, and are trailing over the ground, is the monkey, named Hara; whom follow hundreds and thousands (of monkeys) desperately upraising trees, intent upon (scaling) Lanka—leaders of the monkey-king and his servants present (in that conflict.) And these whom thou beholdest present, resembling mighty masses of sable clouds, like unto black collyrium, of genuine prowess, countless and incapable of enumeration dwelling in mountains, provinces, and rivers,—terrible beings—approach thee, O king. In their amidst is their king, gray eyed and of fierce appearance, like unto Parjanya [Indra.] encompassed by clouds,—who dwelleth in that best of mountains, Rikkhavan, drinking of the Narmada.—Behold this one resembling a hill—younger brother of Dhumra, lord of the bears. He is equal to his brother in beauty, and of superior prowess. This leader of redoubtable leaders named Jambavan. He is mild, obedient to his superiors and fierce in fight. The intelligent Jambavan assisted Sakra signally in the war of the gods and Asuras, and he hath won many boons (in consequence). Ascending the tops of mountains, these hurl down gigantic crags huge as colossal clouds, nor doth (the fear of) death (ever) disquiet them. And their bodies covered with hair, they resemble Rakshasas and ghosts (in their conduct). This one of immeasurable energy hath innumerable troops going about, who behold this leader of leaders under unusual excitement leaping and resting (by turns). This lord of monkeys dwelleth near the thousand-eyed Deity; and this leader of bands, gifted with strength, is named Rambha. And he that going, toucheth with his side a mountain situated at the distance of a Yojana, and, rising up, measureth the same length,—and whose beauty is surpassed by none among quadrupeds,—is known under the name of Sannadana, the grand-father of the monkeys;—this intelligent one battled with Sakra,—nor did he meet with discomfiture. This is that general of the forces. And he whose prowess is like that of Sakra, is this one begot by Fire on a Gandharva's daughter, for assisting the celestials on the occasion of the war of the gods and the Asuras. And this graceful and powerful one—best of monkeys—disporteth in that sovereign of mountains inhabited by numbers of Kinnaras, where king Vaicavana eateth rose apples, and which, O lord of Rakshas, ever conduceth to the pleasure of thy brother. And this one who never extolleth himself in battle, is named Krathana—leader of hosts. Surrounded by a thousand Koti (of troops), and stationed in the midst of the monkeys, he hopeth to subjugate Lanka with his own troops alone. And he that roameth about the Ganga, terrifying leaders of elephant-herds, remembering the former hostility of the monkeys and the elephants, is this leader of bands, who, roaring, opposeth wild elephants in mountain-caverns and crusheth trees,—and foremost of monkeys, and chief of the monkey-forces—like Sakra himself in heaven, sporteth, resorting to Uciravija pertaining to Mandara, best of mountains, on the golden river [the River Ganga / Ganges.]. A thousand lacs of monkeys, elated with vigor and prowess, setting up roars and furnished with (long) arms follow him; and this one is the leader of those high souled monkeys. And, O king, he whom thou seest resembling clouds uplifted by the winds, is a leader named Pramathi. And his fleet-coursing soldiery are fiery, and volumes of red-hued dust are scattered about him profusely on all sides. And these wondrous strong and dreadful Golangulas numbering hundreds and hundred thousands, seeing the building of the bridge, surrounding, O mighty monarch, the leader named Gavaksha—a Golangula—set up shouts, intending to demolish Lanka with their prowess. Where the trees bring forth fruits of every season and the black bees resort,—in the mountain furnished with solar splendour, which the Sun circumambulates, by whose radiance ever beam beasts and birds with a like hue,—whose table-lands are never forsaken by magnanimous Maharshis; where the trees yield every object of desire and all are fraught with fruits; in which best of mountains excellent honey is found,—there in the charming Golden hill, O king, sporteth this one—the foremost of the principal monkeys, Kacari by name, a leader of bands. There are sixty thousand charming Golden hills. In their midst is that best of mountains [Savarni Meru.], even as thou, O sinless one, art among the Rakshas. There in the inmost hill dwell (monkeys) tawny-hued; and white,—with coppery faces; yellowish like honey; sharp-toothed; having nails for their weapons; and four teeth like lions; irresistible like tigers all equal to Vaicwanara, and resembling flaming venomous snakes; furnished with long tails; like unto mad elephants; seeming like gigantic hills; roaring like mighty clouds; with eyes tawny and round; of terrific mein; and emitting sounds,—and these are gazing at Lanka, as if devastating her. And this powerful one staying in their midst, is their leader, eager for victory; and the puissant (monkey) always looketh like the Sun himself; and this one, O king, is famed on earth by the name of Satavali. And this heroic one, powerful and mighty, established in his own prowess, hopeth to devastate Lanka with his own forces. And for compassing Rama's desire, the monkey doth not cherish any kindness for his life. Gaya, Gavaksha, Nala, and the monkey Nila—each of these is encompassed by ten kotis of warriors. (Besides these) there are other choice monkeys dwelling in the Vindhya mountain, but I cannot enumerate these (monkeys) possessed of fleet vigor, in consequence of their vast number. All these, O mighty monarch, are of exceeding prowess,—all possess persons resembling mighty mountains; and all are competent in a moment to remove mountains and scatter the Earth with them".

SECTION 28.

Having heard the words of Sarana, who had described the forces (of the monkeys), Suka, addressed Ravana, lord of Rakshasas, saying,—"Those, O king, whom thou seest stationed, resembling mad elephants, like unto nyagrodhas [Banians.] belonging to the Ganga,—like unto Saias in the Himavan,—are incapable of being borne,—they are possessed of strength, and able to wear forms at will; resembling deities and Danavas, and like the gods in conflict. These, numbering nine, five, and seven thousand kotis and thousand sankusand an hundred vrindas, are the ministers of Sugriva, residing in Kishkindha—monkeys begot by gods and Gandharvas, capable of assuming shapes at will. And those two whom thou beholdest, staying there, of equal proportions and endowed with god-like shapes, are Mainda and Dwivida,—who have no equals in fight. Permitted by Brahma, they had partaken of ambrosia. They hope to humble Lanka by their prowess. And he whom thou seest staying like a mad elephant, the monkey who, being enraged, can by his strength agitate the deep itself, who, searching for Vaidehi, had presented himself before thee, lord,—behold this monkey come again!—whom thou hadst seen before!—is the eldest son of Kacari, known as the offspring of the Wind-god—celebrated as Hanuman, who had bounded over the deep. Capable of wearing forms at pleasure, that first of monkeys is endeued with grace and strength,—and is of irresistible impetuosity even as that lord, the Wind. Seeing the Sun risen, (he) while a boy, resolving in his mind,—'Coursing a way measuring three thousand yojanas, I will bring the Sun,—my hunger is not appeased;' and he sprang up, elated with strength. And, not getting that god, incapable of being subdued by the deities, saints and Rakshasas, he dropped down on the Ascending-hill. And thereat a jaw of that strong-jawed one was a little fractured on the rock,—and he is called Hanuman in consequence. I know this monkey and all his previous history. I cannot describe his strength, beauty or prowess. And this one alone hopes to lay Lanka low by his energy. And why dost thou today forget the monkey, who had flung flaming fire into Lanka? And next to him is the hero of dark-blue hue, having eyes like lotuses, the Atiratha among the Ikshwakus—of prowess celebrated in the world—in whom virtue never wavereth and who never swerveth from righteousness; who knoweth the Brahma Mantra and the Vedas,—the best of those versed in them—who pierceth the sky with his shafts and cleaveth the Earth, whose ire is like death, and whose prowess is like that of Sakra,—whose wife, Sita, hath been carried away by thee from Janasthana. And this is Rama, who, O king, advanceth to encounter thee in conflict. And on his right side is one of the splendour of pure gold, broad-breasted, having dark curled hair—this one is named Lakshmana, ever mindful of his brother's welfare. He is versed in polity as well as warfare—the foremost of those learned in all the branches of knowledge; wrathful, invincible, victorious, powerful, conquering and strong,—the right arm of Rama and his own life going about. For Raghava he careth not for his life. He hopeth to exterminate all the Rakshasas in battle. He that stayeth occupying the left side of Rama, and surrounded by Rakshasas, is the king, Bibhishana, sprinkled as the king of Lanka by the auspicious king of kings,—he, filled with wrath, approacheth thee (for battle). And he whom thou seest staying in the middle like a firm-based mountain, the lord of all monkeys, of immeasurable prowess,—and who in energy fame, intelligence, strength, and lineage, is as superior to the monkeys as the mountain Himavan overtoppeth all the mountains, who in company with the principal monkey-leaders dwelleth in inaccessible Kishkindha hard to penetrate, and dense with trees, and difficult of access, and denying approach on account of rocks; and whose golden garland consisting of an hundred lotuses looks exceedingly elegant, which is the desire of men and gods, and where is established Lakshmi—(is Sugriva). And Rama, having slain Vali, hath conferred this garland, Tara, and the eternal

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monkey-kingdom on Sugriva. An hundred of an hundred thousand is called a koti by the wise. An hundred of a thousand koti is called a Sanku. An hundred of a thousand Sanku is known as a Mahacanku. An hundred of a thousand Mahacanku is here termed a Vrinda. An hundred of a thousand Vrinda is known as a Mahavrinda. A thousand Mahavrinda is called here a Padma. An hundred of a thousand Padma is known as a Mahapadma. An hundred of a thousand Mahapadma is termed a Kharva. An hundred of a thousand Khara is termed a Samudra. An hundred of a thousand Samudra is known as a Mahaugha. Thus backed by a thousand koti, and a hundred Sanku, and a thousand Mahacanku, and an hundred Vrinda, and a thousand Mahavrinda, and an hundred Padma, and a thousand Mahapadma and an hundred kharva, and an equal Samaudra and an equal Mahaugha,—by kotis of Mahaughas—resembling the sea,—and surrounded by the heroic Bibhishana as well as his counsellors,—that Lord of monkeys, always engirthed by a mighty force, and possessed of exceeding strength and prowess, will encounter thee in battle. Observing this host, that hath presented itself, resembling a flaming planet, do thou, O mighty monarch, prepare thyself to the uttermost,—so that victory may be thine, and that thou mayst not come by discomfiture at the hands of the foe".

SECTION 29.

Seeing the leaders of monkeys as pointed out by Suka,—the exceedingly puissant Lakshmana—Rama's right arm—and Ravana's brother Bibhishana staying near Rama, and Sugriva of dreadful prowess—sovereign of all the monkeys,—and the strong Angada, grandson unto the thunder-handed one [Indra.], and the powerful Hanuman; and the unconquerable Jambavan; and Sushena; and Nila; and Nala—best of monkeys,—and Gaya; and Gavaksha; and Sarabha; and Mainda; and Dwivida,—Ravana, with his heart agitated a little, and his wrath aroused,—when their talk had ended, rebuked those heroes, Suka and Sarana. And he wrathfully spoke unto them, standing in humble guise with their heads hung down, harsh words faltering with passion,—"That counsellors subsisting (on the wealth of their master and sovereign), should say aught disagreeable to him, whether they meet with his favour or disfavour—is not meet. Without being questioned, it is (proper) for you both to hymn the praises of a foe that is opposed and that hath advanced for encounter! Ye have in vain worshipped your preceptors, aged people, and spiritual guides, for ye have failed to appropriate the cream of Political Science, which should be availed of. Or if ye had appropriated the same, you have forgotten it afterwards; and ye bear the burden of ignorance. And it is owing to my good fortune that, having such stupid counsellors, I have as yet held my kingdom. Have ye no fear of death that ye use harsh speech towards me, who am the ruler and whose tongue dispenseth good and evil? Even trees may exist in the forest, coming in contact with burning fire; but transgressors cannot exist, visited with the chastisement of the monarch. I shall slay these wicked wights, who praise the side of the enemy, if my anger be not moderated, remembering their former good offices. Avaunt! Go hence from near me! I do not wish to slay you, remembering your good acts. Slain ye (already) are, who are ingrate and cherish no affection for me". Thus accosted, Suka and Sarana, seeing (how things stood), covered with bashfulness, went out, saluting Ravana by uttering 'Victory!' Then that ranger of night, the Ten-necked one, said unto Mahodara, who was present, to summon some spies. Thus accosted, Mahodara speedily ordered some spies (to present themselves). Thereat, the spies, hurriedly arriving there at the mandate of the monarch, and, presenting themselves, stood with joined hands, uttering blessings of victory. Then the lord of Rakshasas, Ravana, addressed the spies, who were heroic, faithful, calm, and courageous,—"Go hence, and acquaint yourselves with the exertions of Rama; as well as with those who, being the custodians of Rama's closest counsels, have gladly joined him (here). How he sleepeth and how he waketh, and what he engageth himself in,—having deftly acquainted yourselves with all this thoroughly, do you come (back here). The wise king that gathers (a knowledge of) his enemy through spies, can, putting forth a modicum of effort in conflict, neutralise (his exertions)". Thereat the spies, saying,—"So it is", taking Sardula to the fore, with delighted hearts went round the sovereign of the Rakshasas. And, having gone round the high-souled Rakshasa-chief, the spies set out for where Rama with Lakshmana was. And repairing secretly to the vicinity of the mountain bordering on the fair shore [Suvelasya Sailasya—may also mean, of the mount Suvela.], they saw Rama and Lakshmana with Sugriva and Bibhishana. And seeing that host, they were overwhelmed with fear. And, while staying there, they, discovered by the righteous lord of Rakshasas, Bibhisana, were sore harassed (by the monkeys). And that wicked Rakshasa, Sardula, alone was taken (before Rama). But Rama liberated him, who was assailed by the monkeys. And Rama also, entertaining no enmity against them, also liberated the others, (who accompanied Sardula). And, on having been put to straits by the powerful monkeys of fleet vigor, the spies, breathing hard, and with their consciousness lost, again arrived at Lanka. Then those exceedingly strong spies, always ranging outside, presenting themselves before the Ten-necked one, informed him of the forces of Rama, stationed near mount Suvela.

SECTION 30.

Then the spies communicated unto Lanka's lord news concerning Raghava and his host stationed at the mount Suvela. Hearing the words of the spies, that Rama, accompanied by a mighty army, had arrived (there), Ravana was a little agitated and spoke unto Sardula,—"Thy colour hath changed its natural aspect, and, O ranger of the night, thou lookest poorly. Didst not come under the control of the wrathful foes?" Thus ordered by him, then (Sardula), bewildered by fear, addressed that tiger of a Rakshasa, saying,—"Those powerful monkeys, O king, puissant, strong, and protected by Raghava, are incapable of being ranged (by us). And they cannot be conversed with or interrogated. All around, the courses are kept by monkeys resembling hills. As soon as I entered, and was scanning that host, I was discovered. And forcibly taken by the Rakshas, I was pulled by them hither and thither. And furiously assailed by the monkeys with thighs, clenched fists, teeth, and palms, I was dragged in the midst of the army by the enraged monkeys. And, after having been taken all about, I was (at length) taken before Rama, bleeding, with my limbs showing sorry work, and my senses swimming and paralysed. And, having been belaboured by the monkeys, I, on craving his kindness with joined hands, was, at his pleasure, rescued by Raghava, with, "Don't, don't"! Having filled up the deep with rocks and crags, Rama equipped with weapons, stayeth, occupying the gate of Lanka. And, letting me off, that one of suspasstng vigor, surrounded by monkeys, and, arranging his forces in the Garuda fashion, advanceth upon Lanka. And he draweth nigh to the wall. Therefore, do one of these things in preference to the other,—either render back Sita, or give him battle". Hearing this, Ravana, lord of Rakshasas, then reflecting in his mind, spoke unto Sardula these pregnant words,—'Even if the gods, Gandharvas, and Danavas should array themselves against me, Sita I shall not give, from fear of all creatures". Having said this, that exceedingly energetic one again said,—"Thou hast ranged this army. Who here among the monkeys are heroic? And, amiable one, what is their potency? And what are those monkeys that are hard to approach, like? And, O thou of fair vows, whose sons and grandsons are they? Truly relate all this (to me). Having ascertained their strength and weakness, I shall in this matter adopt my course. Those who wish for fight, certainly take account of all this". Thus addressed by Ravana, Sardula—best of spies—thus begin to speak in the presence of Ravana,—"O king, that unconquerable one in fight, Jambavan, is well known as the son Gadgada, king of bears. The other son of Gadgada is the son of Sakra's preceptor. By which son, single-handed, was done immense oppression to the Rakshas. And the righteous and puissant Sushena is the son of Dharma [Righteousness..]. And the mild monkey, Dadhimukha, O king, is the son of Soma [the Moon.]. And Sumukha, Durmukha and the monkey, Vegadarcin (resembling) Death himself, were for certain begot by the Self-create in the shape of a monkey. And Nila himself is the son of the bearer of sacrificial oblations [Fire.]; and Hanuman is famed as the son of the Wind-god. And the irrepressible and youthful Angada is the grandson of Sakra. And the lusty Mainda and Dwivida are sprung from Acwi. And five are the sons of Vaivaswata, resembling the Reaper himself—Gaya, Gavaksha, Gavaya, Sarabha and Gandhamadana. But I can not enumerate the rest, ten kotis of heroic monkeys—all sons of deities—burning for battle. And this is Dacaratha's son—this youth resembling a lion, who slew Dushana and Khara and Triciras. There breathes none on Earth that is like unto Rama in prowess, by whom was slain Viradha and Kavandha, resembling the Destroyer. No person can on earth describe the virtues of Rama; by whom have been slain all those Rakshasas that had gone to Janasthana. And here also is the virtuous Lakshmana, like unto the foremost of elephants, coming in the way of whose shafts, even Vasava doth not live. And here are Sweta and Jyotirmukha, sprung from Vatskara's self; and the monkey Hemakuta is the son of Varuna. And the heroic Nala—best of monkeys, is the son of Vicwakarma. And powerful and impetuous, Durdhara is the son of Vasu. And that foremost of Rakshasas, Bibhishana, thy brother, engaged in the welfare of Raghava, hath laid seige to Lanka. Thus have I described unto thee the entire monkey host stationed in mount Suvela. As for what remaineth to be done, thou art the master".

SECTION 31.

Then the spies of the king informed him of the forces of Raghava, incapable of being agitated, which had stationed themselves on mount Suvela. Hearing the arrival of Rama's mighty army from the spies, Ravana was a little agitated, and he spoke unto the ministers,—"Let the ministers speedily present themselves, having their wits about them,—the time forsooth hath come for counsel". Hearing his mandate, those Rakshasas, his counselors, swiftly presented themselves. And then he consulted with his Rakshasa counselors. Having deliberated duly, that resistless one, dismissing his ministers, entered his own abode. Then, taking with him the highly strong Vidyujjibha, huge-bodied and gifted with the powers of illusion, he entered where Mithila's daughter was. And the lord of Rakshasas said unto Vidyujjibha, skilled in illusion,—"Do thou bring Janakas daughter under the sway of illusion. And, O ranger of the night, do thou, taking an illusory head of Raghava, as well as a mighty bow with the shaft (set), present thyself before me". Thus accosted, the night-ranger, Vidyujjibha, saying, "So be it," displayed that desired illusion unto Ravana. Thereat, the king, eager to meet with Sita in the Acoka woods, well-pleased, conferred an excellent ornament on him. Then the exceedingly powerful lord of the Nairitas, the younger brother of the Dispenser of riches, entered (into that place) and saw (there Sita) distressed, albeit unworthy of distress,—with her head hung down, overwhelmed with woe,—sitting on the ground, staying at the acoka woods, engaged in the contemplation of her lord, conciliated by dreadful Rakshasis remaining near. Then, drawing near Sita, Ravana, proclaiming his exultation, said these haughty words unto the daughter of Janaka,—"O gentle one, he depending on whom thou, being soothed by (me), slightest me—that slayer of Khara, thy husband, Raghava, hath fallen in battle. Thy roots have been competely severed, and thy pride hath been destroyed by me. In consequence of this calamity, O Sita, thou shalt become my wife. O foolish (girl), renounce this idea. What wilt thou do with him that is dead? O meek (wench), be thou the mistress of all my wives. O thou of slender religious merit! O thou whose object hath been defeated! O thou that presumest to be wise! Hearken unto the destruction of thy lord, like the dreadful destruction of Vritra! Surrounded by a vast army gathered by the sovereign of the monkeys, Raghava had presented himself on the shore of the sea, for compassing my destruction. And on the sun having set, Rama stationed himself with his mighty army, oppressing the northern shore (of the sea). Then at midnight (my) spies coming to that host, thus stationed, fatigued from travel, and sleeping soundly (in consequence),—first ranged it. Then my mighty forces led by Prahasta slew his host overnight, where was present Rama along with Lakshmana. And repeatedly upraising patticas and bludgeons, swords, rods and other mighty weapons; and (discharging) showers of arrows, and darts, and daggers and maces and sticks and crows and bearded darts and discuses and clubs;—the Rakshasas discharged these among the monkeys. And while Rama was sleeping, the furious Prahasta by means of a mighty falchion, with speed cut off his head clean. Bibhishana, who was flying at his will, was taken captive. And Lakshmana along with the monkey-army hath departed somewhere. And, O Sita, Sugriva—lord of monkeys—hath his neck broken; and, O Sita, with his jaw fractured, Hanuman hath been slaughtered by the Rakshasas.—And Jambavan, endeavouring to spring up with his thighs, was slain in the conflict; being severed by bearded darts, even as a tree cut off. And the stalwart Mainda and Dwivida—those foremost of monkeys—sighing and lamenting, bathed in blood,—destroyers of foes—were cut off with a sword. And Panaca is rolling on the earth like a (veritable) Panaca [A kind of tree.]. And mangled by many iron arrows, Darimukha lieth in a cave. And the exceedingly energetic Kumuda, dumb, is slain by shafts. And torn by innumerable (arrows) discharged on all sides by Rakshasas, Angada, vomitting blood, lieth on the ground. And the monkeys, hard pressed by elephants, and others by networks of cars, lie low in the field, having been agitated like clouds by winds. And others afflicted with affright, flee, attacked (by the enemy) in the rear, and followed by the Rakshasas, like mighty elephants pursued by lions. And some have fallen into the sea, and some have taken refuge in the sky; and the bears have mounted up trees along with the monkeys. And on the shore of the sea, and in mountains and woods many are the tawny-hued monkeys that have been slain by Rakshasas of frightful forms. Thus hath thy lord been slain by my forces, along with his army; and I have his head, washed in blood and besmeared with dust". Thereat, the exceedingly irrepressible lord of Rakshasas, Ravana, spake unto a Rakshasi, in the hearing of Sita,—"Bring (hither) the Rakshasa, Vidyujjibha of cruel deeds, who hath personally brought Raghava's head from the field". Thereat, Vidyujjibha, taking the head along with the bow, bowing down the head (unto Ravana), stood before him. Then spake king; Ravana unto the Rakshasa, Vidyujjibha of the long tongue, who was staying by,—"Do thou at once hold before Sita the head of Dacaratha's son. Let her clearly behold the ultimate sad plight of her lord". Thus addressed, that Raksha, throwing that graceful head before Sita, swiftly vanished. And Ravana cast down the mighty blazing bow, famed through the three worlds, saying,—"This is Rama's. This is the bow of thy Rama with the string fixed. Slaying that man over night, Prahasta brought it hither".

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SECTION 32.

Seeing that head and that excellent bow, and (remembering) the union of (Rama) and Sugriva related by Hanuman,—and (seeing) those eyes, and the complexion of that face, and that countenance like unto that of her lord,—and that hair and that forehead; and that beautiful jewel forming the crest; and recognizing (Rama) by all these tokens combined,— (Sita), exceedingly aggrieved, rebuked Kaikeyi, lamenting like a female osprey,—"O Kaikeyi, have thy wishes attained. Slain hath been the son of the race; and the entire race is exterminated by thee, partial to dissension. And what evil had been done unto Kaikeyi by the revered Rama, that along with me, he hadst been banished into the woods, with rags given him (for his covering)?" Having said this, Vaidehi, forlorn and trembling (all over), dropped to the earth, like a plantain cut off. Then, recovering after a while, and having regained her consciousness, the large-eyed one, placing the head in her front, gave way to grief. "Ah! I am undone, O mighty-armed one! O thou that didst follow stern vows! From thy (death), I have come by this final plight, having been rendered a widow. The greatest calamity (that can befall a woman), is said to be the death of her husband. And, possessor of an excellent character, thou hast departed before me, who have ever trod the path of the righteous; but who have come by a mighty grief and am plunged in a sea of sorrow. And thou, who was engaged in delivering me, hast thyself fallen! And my mother-in-law, Kaucalya, attached (to thee), through the death of thee, her son, at the hands of Rakshasas, hath been reduced to the condition of a cow that hath been deprived of her calf. O Raghava, even the astrologers had predicted long life for thee. But their words are false,—thou, O Raghava, wast short-lived. Or didst thy wisdom, wise and good as thou wert, come to naught? For God, who is the origin of all beings, maketh (every one) reap the fruit of his own acts. And why, versed in polity as thou wast, didst thou come by death, unforeseen? Thou wast acquainted with the means of warding off misfortune, and skilled in doing so. And having been brought hither by me, representing the Fatal Night, fierce and fell,—after (being) embraced, and by force,—the lotus-eyed one hath met with his death. Here liest thou, O long-armed one, leaving me lone,—and embracing the Earth like thy beloved fair. Ever carefully worshipped with perfumed wreaths, this bow of thine, O hero, embellished with gold, is dear unto me. O sinless one, thou hast surely gone to heaven, and (art there) in the company of thy sire and my father-in-law, Dacaratha, and all thy ancestors. Thou hast become a star of the firmament as the fruit of thy great act. Thou hast disregarded thy righteous race of Rajarshis. O king, why dost thou not look at me? And why is it that thou dost not answer me, who am a girl, hardly arrived at youth,—and who am thy wife and companion? That thou at the time of thy espousing my hand hadst vowed—I will practise (righteousness) with thee—do thou, O Kakutstha, recollect the same, and take me, who am overwhelmed with distress. Why, O best of goers, hast thou gone from this world to that other, leaving behind me, overwhelmed with distress? That person of thine which, decked out with auspicious things, I used to embrace, beasts of prey will for certain tear the same. Having performed the Agnishtoma and other sacrifices with Dakshinas (dispensed),—why hadst not thou attained purity by means of the sacrificial fire? Kaucalya, overwhelmed with sorrow, shall only behold one of the three that had gone away to distant lands,—come (back)—Lakshmana. And, on being asked by her, he shall relate thine as well as the deaths of thy friend's troops over night at the hands of the Rakshasas. And, O Raghava, hearing thee slain while asleep, and me staying in the abode of the Raksha, she with her heart cleft (in twain), shall cease to exist. And for the sake of me, abject that I am, that sinless son of the king, Rama, possessed of prowess, having crossed the ocean, hath been slain in the footprint of a cow. I, the befouler of my line, who had been wedded by Dacaratha's son through want of discretion, becoming the wife of the revered Rama, was (in reality) his Death. Without doubt, in another birth I had abstained from choice gifts,—and therefore it is that I sorrow to-day, albeit being the wife of one that was (ever dear) unto guests. Do thou, O Ravana, speedily slay me upon Rama; and, bringing the wife to the husband, compass my best benefit. Do thou join my head to his and my body to his body. I will, O Ravana, follow the way of my high-souled lord". Thus, burning in grief, did that large-eyed one indulge in lamentations; and Janaka's daughter kept fast gazing at the head and bow of her lord. And as the Rakshasa was by while Sita was thus bewailing, there appeared before his lord, with joined hands, the warder, saying,—"May the worshipful one be victorious!" And saluting and propitiating him, (Ravana), he told him that Prahasta, general of the forces, had arrived. "Prahasta hath come to thee, surrounded by all the courtiers. And, O lord, I was despatched by him, desirous of seeing thee. O mighty monarch, surely there is—and thou art forgiving from thy regal sentiment—some work which is momentous; and do thou see them". Hearing these words of the Rakshasa, the Ten-necked one, leaving the acoka wood, went to see the counselors. And, having decided his entire course of action in consultation with his competent advisers, (Ravana), entering his court,—well knowing Rama's prowess, set about his work. And as soon as Ravana left that place, that head and that bow vanished. And in company with the councilors of dreadful power, (Ravana) decided his course with reference to Rama. And then the lord of Rakshasas, Ravana, resembling the day of doom, addressed his generals,—all well-wishers—staying hard by, saying,—"Do ye speedily summon my forces with the beat of drums—nor do ye give out the reason (of the summons)". Then assenting to his speech with "So be it," the envoys immediately summoned that mighty force; and, when it had arrived, they informed their master, eager for conflict, of its arrival.

SECTION 33.

Seeing Sita overwhelmed with grief, a Rakshasi, named Sarama, who was the beloved companion (of Sita), drew near to her dear (friend), Vaidehi. And the mild-speeched Sarama comforted the exceedingly distressed Sita, who had been bereft of her senses by the lord of Rakshasas. Sita, who was protected there (by Sarama), had been made a friend by her. And, protecting her at the command of Ravana, that kind-hearted companion, firm in vows, saw Sita, deprived of her consciousness. And Sarama comforted with a friend's affection that one of fair vows, who was rolling in the dust and rising up from it like a mare. "Having come to the solitary wood for protecting thee, I, renouncing all fear of Ravana, have, remaining hid, heard everything that he addressed unto thee, as well as what thou hadst replied unto him. For thee, O thou of expansive eyes, I have no fear of Ravana. And, O Maithili, I, coming out, have also learnt well as to why the lord of Rakshasas hath gone out hence hurriedly. Rama, acquainted with self, is incapable of being surprised in sleep; nor doth the slaying of that tiger-like one commend itself to me as probable. And the monkeys fighting with trees, well protected by Raghava, like the gods protected by the foremost of the celestials, are incapable of being slain. And, possessed of arms long and rounded; graceful; broad-breasted; powerful; accoutred with the bow; and mailed; righteous; and famous over the earth; endowed with energy; and along with his brother, Lakshmana, ever protecting himself and others; of noble descent; and versed in polity; the destroyer of the hostile ranks; and of inconceivable strength and manhood,—the graceful Raghava, O Sita, slayer of foes, is not slain. This illusion hath been spread around thee by that fierce, illusion-creating one, whose mind ever runs upon improper acts and who opposeth himself to all creatures.—All thy sorrow hath departed, and thy good day hath dawned. Certainly Lakshmi seeketh thee. And, O lady, hearken unto what is dear to thee! Having crossed over the ocean, along with the monkey-host, Rama hath encamped himself on the southern shore of the sea. By me hath been seen the complete Kakutstha along with Lakshmana, accompanied by the forces, stationed on the marge of the main,—protected (by his native might). Those Rakshasas of fleet vigor who had been despatched by this one, have brought the news that Raghava hath crossed.—And, O large-eyed lady, having learnt this news, Ravana—lord of Rakshasas—is consulting with all his counselors". As the Rakshasi, Sarama, was relating this unto Sita, she heard the leonine roars of the army, emitted with the greatest energy. And, hearing the mighty sounds of kettledrums produced by sticks struck (thereon), the honey-tongued Sarama spoke thus unto Sita,—"These dreadful sounds of the kettledrum, O mother, call to arms. And hark to the solemn notes of the kettledrums, resembling the rumbling of clouds! The mad elephants are caparisoned and the car-horses are yoked; and thousands (of warriors) are seen, mounted on steeds, with bearded darts in their hands. And, as waters fill up the ocean, mailed warriors of wonderful forms, vehement and roaring, by thousands rush out on all sides and fill the highways. And mark the splendour spread around by the polished arms and bucklers and mail,—and by the cars, horses and elephants of the followers of the Rakshasa-chief,—consisting of many hues shooting up,—like unto the appearance of a fire in summer, burning a forest,—and also mark the excitement of ihe high-spirited and fast-coursing Rakshas! And hear the sounds of bells and the rattling of the car-wheels! And hear the neighing of the steeds and the reports of the drums And fierce is the excitement of these Rakshasas—followers of the Raksha-chief,—with their hands hearing upraised arms,—capable of making people's hair stand on end. The sorrow removing Sree espouseth thee; and the fear of the Rakshas is come. And as Vasava did unto the Daityas, the lotus-eyed Rama, thy lord—of controlled anger, and of inconceivable prowess, slaying Ravana in battle and thus delivering thee, shall approach thee. And, as Vasava put forth his prowess among his foes, in company with the foe-destroying Vishnu, thy lord, along with Lakshmana, shall display his prowess among the Rakshas. On the enemy having fallen, I shall behold thee, devoted to thy lord, with thy desire attained, soon lying on the lap of Rama. And, O Janaki, embracing (thy lord), thou shalt shed tears of joy on his mighty breast. And, O Sita, soon shall the highly powerful Rama loosen this braid of thine reaching unto thy hips, which thou hast been wearing for many a month. And, O exalted one, seeing his face like the full moon risen, thou shalt shed water begot of ruth, even as a she-serpent casts off her slough. And, O Mithila's daughter, speedily slaying Ravana in battle, that one worthy of happiness shall reap felicity in the company of thee, his beloved. And, loved by the high-souled Rama, thou shalt be happy, even as the Earth furnished with crops brought forth by plenteous showers. Do thou, O exalted one, take refuge with him, who, going round the foremost of mountains, speedily assumeth a steed-like circular movement; for even the maker of day is the source of people's joy and grief".

SECTION 34.

Burning with grief on account of those words [i.e. the words of Ravana.], Sarama gladdened and cheered her, even as masses of clouds (cheer up) the burning Earth. And then, desirous of doing her good, (Sita's) friend, conversant with season, and ever preluding her speech with a smile, spoke unto her seasonably,—"O thou having dark eyes, I can, secretly going to Rama and communicating to him thy auspicious words, come back clandestinely. Nor, when I course the supportless sky, can even the Wind or Garuda follow me". As she said this, Sita with her grief a little lightened, said unto Sarama in sweet and smooth words,—"Thou art capable of even going to the nethermost regions. But do thou on my behalf that which is fit to be done by thee. If thou intend doing me a good turn, and if thy sense be steady, I would know what Ravana is doing after having left this place. That guileful and wicked-minded one, Ravana, destroyer of enemies, having powers of illusion, overwhelms me even as the Varuni just drunk. Confining me here for ever and a day, (Ravana) sets on dreadful Rakshasas to alike threaten and scold me constantly. And I am agitated and alarmed, and my mind is (always) uneasy. And I, dwelling in the acokawood, is ever agitated. If there is any talk (of delivering me), or keeping me confined,—thou shouldst communicate unto me the decision arrived at. This is the highest favour that I seek (at thy hands)". Thereat, the mild-speeched Sarama, wiping (Sita's) face washed in tears, spake unto her, as she said this,—"If this is thy wish, I will go, O Janaki. O Mithila's daughter, having possessed myself of the intent of the enemy, I shall come back". Having said this, (Sarama), repairing to the Raksha, heard Ravana's converse with his counselors. And having heard of the decision of that wicked-minded one, she, understanding decisions, swiftly retraced her steps to the fair acoka forest. And then, entering there, she saw Janaka's daughter, expecting (her) like a very Sri, bereft of her lotus. And, the fair-spoken Sarama, on getting back (near her), Sita, embracing her affectionately, herself gave her a seat. "Sitting down here at ease, do thou relate to me faithfully all about the determination of the wicked-minded and guileful Ravana". Thus accosted by the trembling Sita, Sarama related everything that had been said by Ravana and his counselors. "O Vaidehi, the Raksha lord was advised by his mother and the aged counselors in pregnant words informed with affection, having thy deliverance for their object. 'Do thou make over Maithili unto the king of men, paying him homage due. Thou hast, in Janasthana profusely witnessed wonderful instances (of his prowess). The crossing of the ocean, Hanuman's sight (of Sita),—and the slaughter of the Rakshas in fight,—what person is capable of doing all this in battle?' Thus long exhorted by his counselors as well as his mother, Ravana doth not make up his mind to emancipate thee, even as a covetuous person is loath to part with wealth (appropriated). And, O Maithili, without renouncing his life in battle, he doth not intend to liberate thee. Even this is the determination which that cruel one hath arrived at along with his advisers. This intent is in consequence of their coveting surcease. He can not yield thee up from sheer fear; nor is he backward in battle, or shirketh his own destruction or that of all the Rakshasas. O dark-eyed lady, slaying Ravana in battle with sharp shafts, Rama shall take thee back to Ayodhya". In the meanwhile there was heard a mighty uproar occasioned by the whole host, and drums and conchs,—which shook the earth. Hearing that hubbub of the monkey-army, the servants of the Rakshasa monarch, ran who were in Lanka,—growing dispirited and bereft of energy, with weakness overcoming their powers,—did not see any good, in consequence of the fault of the ruler.

SECTION 35.

And that captor of hostile capitals, the mighty-armed Rama, was advancing (upon Lanka) with the sounds of drums mixed with the blares of conchs. Hearing this noise, Ravana—lord of Rakshasas—reflecting for a while, cast his eyes upon his counselors. And addressing there all those counsellors, that afflictor of the world—the crooked and highly powerful lord of the Rakshasas, Ravana, making his court resound,—running down (Rama's) crossing the main, as well as his vigor, strength and manhood,—said to them,—"What ye have said touching Rama's (prowess), hath been heard by me. And I also know ye to be of sterling valor in the field. Yet why, knowing Rama's prowess, do ye silently look at each other?" Then the maternal grand sire (of Ravana), possessed of exceeding

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wisdom, named Malyavan, hearing his words, said,—"The king that is accomplished in the various kinds of learning, and that followeth polity, ever commandeth affluence and bringeth his enemies under his subjection. He that seasonably concludes peace and carries on war with his enemies,—and who advances his own party, attaineth great affluence. A king should enter into peace, if he be an equal or inferior of his adversary, and engage in war, if be more powerful,—but an enemy should never be disregarded. Therefore, O Ravana, peace with Rama is what commends itself to me; and do thou render unto him that for which thou hast been invaded (by him), viz., Sita. All the Devarshis and Gandharvas wish for (Rama's) victory. Therefore, do not enter into hostilities with him; but do thou bend thy mind to ther conclusion of peace with him. That possessor of the six attributes, the Great-father, hath appointed two courses, (respectively) for the Asuras and the celestials, having for their proper objects righteousness and unrighteousness. Righteousness, we hear, is the course of the high-souled celestials, as, O Rakshasa, unrighteousness is that of Rakshas and Asuras. During the Krita Yuga, righteousness swalloweth up sin; and during Tishya [The Kali Yuga.], unrigheousness swalloweth up virtue. Thou, ranging the three worlds, hadst extinguished pregnant piety, and reaped unrighteousness; and it is for this that thy foes have waxed potent. And, having grown through thy neglect, unrighteousness devoureth us, and that protector of the gods, (righteousness), is strengthening the side of the celestials. Thou, addicted to carnal pleasures and acting in defiance of duty, hadst aroused the high wrath of the saints resembling fire. The power of these possessed of souls sanctified through asceticism, and ever engaged in invoking the aid of righteousness, is incapable of being resisted and is like flaming fire. The twice-born ones engage in contemplation with intent minds, and loudly recite the Vedas. They overpower the Rakshas, uttering the Vedas; and thereat they fly in all directions like clouds scattered in summer. And the smoke that ariseth from the Agnihotra sacrifices of saints resembling fire, enveloping the energy of the Rakshasas, spreads over the ten cardinal quarters. And ther fierce austerities of vow-observing saints, performed at particular sacred spots, try the Rakshasas sore. Thou hast obtained a boon, conferring immunity at the hands of deities, Danavas and Yakshas. But men and monkeys, bears and Golangulas, possessed of enormous strength and endowed with vigor, and of indomitable prowess,—coming here, are setting up roars. Witnessing various and many dire portents, I perceive the destruction of all the Rakshasas. Dreadful and terrific clouds, uttering harsh sounds, are showering blood all around Lanka. And (live) vehicles are dropping profuse tears. And all sides, covered with dust, do not appear bright as formerly. And beasts of prey, jackals and vultures, are emitting frightful cries, and, entering into the garden of Lanka, form themselves into bands. And in dreams mighty dark-hued women in front of dwellings, seizing at (the furniture) thereof, and speaking inauspiciously, laugh displaying their sable teeth. And in houses dogs are feasting on the articles of worship. And cows bring forth asses, and mongooses, mice. And cats are pairing with leopards, and swine with dogs, and Kinnaras with Rakshasas and human beings. And red-footed white sky-coursing pigeons, urged on by Doom, are going about for the destruction of the Rakshasas. And female-parrots in houses, wounded and worsted by other birds delighting in discord, are dropping down, emitting indistinct notes. And all the birds and beasts are crying (distressfully) with their faces turned towards the sun. And at dusk a frightful, withered, tawny-hued male figure, looking like Death himself, with his head shaven, peereth into the houses (of people). These and other evil omens occur. Rama I deem as Vishnu assuming the form of a man. Raghava of steady prowess, for certain, is no human being,—he that hath built a bridge over the deep, must be an exceedingly wonderful person. Therefore, O Ravana, conclude peace with Rama—king of men. Having ascertained fit course, do thou act properly". Having said this unto that vile one, and knowing the intention of the lord of Rakshas, that strong Malyavan, of exceeding prowess, became silent, eying Ravana.

SECTION 36.

The Ten-necked one, come under the control of Time, did not brook the beneficial speech spoken by Malyavan. Contracting his face into a frown, he, coming under the masterdom of passion, with his eyes rolling in wrath, addressed Malyavan, saying,—"The words which, deeming the strength of the enemy as superior, thou hast harshly spoken, considering it as beneficial, had never before entered my ears. A (mere) man, and feeble, and alone, and having monkeys for his support, why dost thou deem Rama, who hath (further) been cast off by his sire, and hath in consequence taken refuge in the woods,—as competent (to cope with me)? And why dost thou consider me, who am the lord of the Rakshas, and feared even by the immortals,—as weak and reft of all power? Thou, I suspect, speakest (thus) roughly either from jealousy of my heroism, or for inciting me. And who that is wise and learned, ever addresseth him roughly that is at once puissant and of (high) station, if not to spur him on? Why, having brought Sita like a Sri shorn of her lotus, shall I give her up, from fear of Raghava? Behold Raghava, environed by Kotis of monkeys, with Sugriva and Lakshmana, slain one of these days! He before whom even the gods cannot stay in the field,—how can that Ravana ever come by fear? Better that I should be riven in twain,—but bend I never will. This is my native fault; and nature is incapable of being overcome. And if Rama hath at his pleasure constructed a bridge over the ocean, what is the wonder in this that thou hast conceived such a fear? And although Rama hath crossed the ocean along with the monkey-army, yet I swear unto thee truly, living, he shall not back hence". When Ravana, wrought up with passion, had spoken thus, Malyavan, knowing him wroth, did not return a reply. And, duly tendering blessings unto the king, Malyavan, taking his permission, went to his own abode. And the Rakshasa, Ravana, along with his courtiers, having consulted together as to what was fit to be done, set about the defence of Lanka. And he commanded the Rakshasa Prahasta (to guard) the Eastern gate; and the exceedingly powerful Mahaparcwa and Mahodara (to guard) the Southern gate; and he ordered his son Indrajit, possessing mighty powers of illusion, girt by innumerable Rakshasas, to guard the Western gate. And he commanded Suka and Sarana to defend the Northern gate. But he said unto the counsellors,—"I will myself go thither" [i.e. to defend the Northern gate.]. And he posted in the middle in the garrison the Rakshasa, Virupaksha, endowed with exceeding prowess and energy, backed by countless Rakshasas. Having taken these measures in Lanka, the Rakshasa-chief, urged by Fate, deemed himself as having achieved success. Having thus completely provided for the defence of the city, he dismissed the ministers; and, honoured by the counsellors with blessings of victory, (then) entered his magnificent and splendid inner apartment.

SECTION 37.

Those kings, man and monkey, that monkey the Wind-god's son, Jambavan—sovereign of bears—the Rakshasa, Bibhishana, the son of Vali, Angada, Sumitra's son, the monkey, Sarabha, Sushena along with his friends, Kumuda, Nala, and Panaca, arriving at the dominions of the enemy, assembled together, began to deliberate. "Yonder is that Lanka ruled by Ravana, invincible even unto the celestials, serpents and Gandharvas. Let us, keeping before us success in the enterprise, consult together for the purpose of arriving at a decision. We are here daily nearing Ravana, lord of Rakshasas". As they were speaking thus, Ravana's younger brother, Bibhishana, said in a pregnant speech free from provincialism,—"Anala, Panaca, Sampati and Pramati—all courtiers of mine—having gone up to Lanka, have come back here. Wearing the forms of birds, they entered into the hostile forces; and, having seen the measures that had been adopted (by them), have come (back). O Rama, hearken to me as I tell thee truly anent the provisions which they have related, made by the wicked-minded Ravana. In the Eastern gate stayeth Prahasta along with his forces; in the Southern, the exceedingly powerful Mahaparcwa and Mahodara; and in the Western, Ravana's son, Indrajit, supported by innumerable Rakshasas, equipped with patticas, swords and bows, and bearing darts and maces in their hands,—surrounded by heroes carrying various weapons. And, backed by many thousands of Rakshasas weilding weapons, and accompanied by Rakshasas conversant with counsel, Ravana himself, his heart agitated to the height, guardeth the Northern gate of the city. And Virupaksha with a powerful force accoutred in javelins, clubs and bows, protects the garrison in the centre. Having seen these hosts thus disposed in Lanka, my counsellors have speedily come back here. There are ten thousand elephants, an Ayuta cars, two of horses, and about a koti of Rakshasas, powerful and strong, and equipped with arms in conflict. These night-rangers are ever the favourites of the Rakshasa ruler. And, O king, a koti of forces accompany each of these Rakshasas in battle". Having conveyed this information concerning Lanka, which had been communicated by his counsellors, the mighty-armed Bibhishana showed (unto Rama) those Rakshasas themselves. And in company with his counsellors, Ravana's graceful younger brother, ever striving for the welfare of Rama, by way of answer communicated everything that was going forward in Lanka unto Rama, having eyes resembling lotus-leaves,—"O Rama, when Ravana battled with Kuvera, sixty lacs of Rakshasas marched forth (to meet him). In prowess, energy, vigor, exceeding fortitude, and hauteur, they resembled the wicked-minded Ravana himself. In this matter, thou ought not to grow wroth,—I only arouse thy wrath, and do not endeavour to frighten thee. Thou canst subdue even the celestials by thy prowess. Therefore thou, environed by a mighty army, having arrayed the monkey-forces in order of battle, shalt thrash Ravana (in battle)". When Ravana's younger brother had spoken thus, Raghava, said these words with reference to his beating the foe,—"Let that foremost of monkeys, Nila, surrounded by an immense number of monkeys, cope with Prahasta at the Eastern gate of Lanka. And, engirt by a mighty force, let Angada, son of Vali, resist Mahaparcwa and Mahodara at the Southern gate (thereof). And let that son of the Wind-god, Hanuman, backed by innumerable monkeys, (beating the host stationed) at the Western gate, find entrance (into the city). I myself, determined to compass the destruction of the lord of Rakshasas, who, waxing powerful in consequence of the boon he hath received, hath brought about the destruction of high-souled saints resembling gods and Danavas,—and who goeth round all regions, oppressing people,—will, along with Sumitra's son, smiting (the foe), occupy the Northern entrance, where Ravana with his army is stationed. And let the powerful king of monkeys, and the puissant sovereign of bears, and the younger brother of the Rakshasa-chief, manage the soldiery posted in the centre. And in this battle, the monkeys need not assume the forms of human being. And let this serve for a sign that the monkeys, in order to the recognition of our own forces, appear with their proper monkey-marks. We seven only shall battle with the foe in human shapes,—viz., I along with my brother, the exceedingly energetic Lakshmana, and my friend Bibhishana counting for the fifth in company with his own following". Having said this unto Bibhishana, for attaining success in the enterprise, that lord, the intelligent Rama, seeing the sides of Suvela more beautiful (than other places), intended to ascend it. Then, environed by a mighty host, the high-souled and magnanimous Rama, his features mirroring forth high exultation,—overshadowing the entire Earth (with his forces), set out for Lanka, determined upon destroying the enemy.

SECTION 38.

Having been bent upon mounting Suvela, Rama, followed by Lakshmana, addressed in sweet and excellent words, Sugriva, and that righteous night-ranger, Bibhishana, versed in counsel and conversant with precepts, who was devoted to him,—saying,—"We shall all ascend this mount Suvela, bedight with metals; and pass this night even here. And (from here) will we view the abode of that Rakshasa who, foul of soul, hath carried off my spouse, to bring destruction down on himself,—who knoweth nor morality nor good conduct nor behaviour (conducive to the dignity of his descent),—and who, in consequence of his base propensity, hath committed himself to so heinous a course of action". Having decided thus, Rama, filled with wrath at Ravana, coming to Suvela, ascended its variegated plateau. And Lakshmana, collected, went in his wake. And, upraising bow and arrow, Sugriva, (ever) engaged in valorous acts, accompanied with Bibhishana as well as his counselors, following him, also ascended (the mountain). And all those rangers of mountains, gifted with the vehemence of the Wind in hundreds ascended mount Suvela, where Raghava was stationed. And ascending the mountain in a short time, they all beheld from its summit the city, appearing to be built on the air. And the monkey-leaders beheld Lanka, exceedingly splendid with noble gateways; gracefully enclosed with a wall; thronging with Rakshasas; and defended by sable Rakshasas. And the foremost of monkeys saw these appearing like another wall (overtopping the one beneath). And on seeing the Rakshasas, the monkeys burning for battle set up various roars in the presence of Rama. Then the Sun, crimsoned with Eve, ascended the Setting-hill and Night came, illumined by the Moon at his full. Then the master of the monkey-army, Rama, saluted and honoured by Bibhishana, accompanied by Lakshmana as well as the leaders of the monkeys, sojourned happily on the breast of Suvela.

SECTION 39.

Having passed the night in Suvela, the heroic monkey-leaders surveyed woods and forests in Lanka. And seeing those extensive (woods and forests), mild, and charming, and beautiful to behold, they were seized with wonderment. Abounding in champakas, acokas, vakulas, calas, and palms; covered with tamalas and panacas,—and environed all around with trees,—and surrounded with Hintalas, Aryunas, blossoming Saptaparnas, Tilakas, Karnikaras, and Patalas,—trees with flowering tops, en tert wined with creepers,—Lanka looked exceedingly lovely, with various sights,—resembling the Amaravati herself of Indra. And trees there, furnished with variegated flowers having tender rosy leaves,—and blue lawns, and rows of woods; and bearing odourous and charming blossoms and fruits,—looked like men adorned with ornaments. And there a delightful and pleasant wood resembling Chaitraratha, and like unto Nandana itself—having all the seasons present,—appeared beauteous to the view, with black bees all around. And it had Datyuhas, and Koyasthivas, and peacocks dancing; and the strains of the coels were heard at the woodland rills. And the heroic and exhilarated monkeys, capable of wearing forms at pleasure, entered those woods and groves frequented by maddened birds and ranged by Bhramaras,—tracts overflowing with the lays of coels, and ringing with the voices of songsters,—resonant with the notes of Bhramaras—sovereigns of their species—and eloquent with the cries of

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ospreys. And as the exceedingly energetic monkeys entered, there blew upon them the breeze—like unto life—redolent of perfume obtained from contact with the blossoms. And others of the leaders among the heroic monkeys, coming out from the bands, ordered by Sugriva, made in the direction of Lanka crowned with ensigns. And, terrifying the fowls and dispiriting beasts and birds and shaking Lanka with their roars, those foremost monkeys set up shouts. And they, endowed with great impetuosity, went on, oppressing the earth with their battle-array; and clouds of dust suddenly arose from the the march of the soldiery. And bears, and lions, and buffaloes, and elephants, and deer, and birds, overwhelmed with affright, made for the ten cardinal points. The graceful and lovely summit of Trikuta was entire, elevated, sky-piercing, of golden splendour, measuring an hundred yojanas, clear-shining, level, inaccessible even to fowls, and incapable of being ascended even in thought—not to say of actual ascension by people. Lanka, ruled by Ravana, was situated on Trikuta's top,—ten yojanas in width and twenty in length. And that city was graced with lofty ornamented gateways resembling pale clouds, and golden and silvern walls; and Lanka was adorned with palaces and piles; like the sky graced with clouds on the approach of the rainy season. And that palace, which was adorned with thousands of pillars, and which, as if piercing the heavens, looked like a peak of Kailaca—was the residence of the Sovereign of the Rakshasas—the ornament of the city, (ever guarded by full hundreds of Rakshasas). And Lakshmana's auspicious and puissant elder brother, beholding that flourishing and wealthy city resembling the celestial regions,—charming to the mind, made of gold, graced with mountains, and decked out with mountains containing various metals,—resonant with the notes of various birds; abounding in various beasts,—furnished with various kinds of flowers,—and inhabited by various orders of Rakshasas,—was struck with astonishment. And Rama, surrounded by his mighty forces, saw that palace, filled with diverse kinds of gems, adorned with rows of edifices, and having huge engines and gateways.

SECTION 40.

Then Rama, accompanied by the monkey-leaders, along with Sugriva, ascended the top of Suvela, measuring a circumference of two yojanas. And staying there for a while and looking at the ten cardinal points, he saw Lanka finely placed on the charming summit of Trikuta,—graced with elegant groves; and (he also saw) the unconquerable lord of Rakshasas, stationed at the top of the gateway, fanned with white chamaras; graced with the umbrella betokening victory; smeared with red sandal; adorned in red ornaments; resembling masses of sable clouds; and apparelled in golden attire,—his breast bearing scars from the tusk-ends of Airavata; covered with a sheet hued like the blood of hares; and appearing like clouds lighted up by the evening sun. And on seeing the Rakshasa-chief, Sugriva suddenly rose up in the sight of the lords of monkeys as well as Raghava. And influenced by wrath, he, mustering strength and vigor, rising from the brow of the mountain, bounded to the gateway. And pausing for a while and eying the Rakshasa intrepidly, he, slighting the Raksha, addressed him in harsh speech, saying,—"O Rakshasa, I am the friend as well as the slave of Rama—lord of men. Me, backed by the energy of that king of the Earth, shalt thou not escape to-day". Saying this, he, suddenly springing up, descended on him; and snatching away his variegated crown, let it fall on the earth. And seeing him come abruptly, the night-ranger spoke to him thus,—"Thou that wert Sugriva beyond my ken, shalt be neckless near me". Having said this, he rose up swiftly and dragged Sugriva down to the earth. Thereat springing like pith, the monkey pushed down his antagonist with his arms. And each having his body bathed in sweat and his person covered with blood, each choking and annuling the efforts of the other,—and resembling a Salmalior a Kincuka, and dealing blows and slaps, and hitting with his arms and hands,—those exceedingly strong ones, the lord of the Rakshasas and that of the monkeys, fought wonderfully. And having for a long time encountered each other in combat on the dais belonging to the gate,—they, now lifting up their persons and now lowering them, went down, each felling the other with his legs. And smiting each other, they, their bodies fastened together, went down between the wall and the moat,—and again stood upon the ground. And heaving breath, they, resting for a space, grappled with each other; and they fast bound each other with their arms serving for ropes. And each fired with wrath, and each having both strength and skill, they now bore themselves in the lists like a tiger and a lion, furnished with teeth; or like the young of the foremost elephants engaged in encounter,—and restraining and pushing each other with their arms, they simultaneously both came down to the ground. Then starting again to their feet, they, vituperating each other, ranged the lists, displaying feats expressive of skill and strength. Nor did those heroes speedily come by fatigue. And resembling mighty elephants, they, resisting each other by means of their powerful arms like unto the trunks of elephants, fought for a long while, swiftly wheeling about the arena. And approaching each other, they strove to slay each other, like unto two cats seated, momentarily encountering each other over some food. And the lord of monkeys and Ravana, accomplished in fight, coursed the arena, displaying wonderful mandalas [A mandala is of four kinds, viz., chari, karana, khanda and mahamandala.], various sthanas [A particular adjustment of the steps successively; awry, etc.—It is of six kinds, viz., Vaishnava, Sampada, Vaicakka, Mandala, Pratyalirha and Analirha.], curious gomatrakas [A kind of motion.], gatapratyagatas, tiraschi-nagatas, vakragatas, parimokshas, varjanas, paridhavanas, abhidravanas [Swiftly fronting the antagonist.], aplavanas [Proceeding 'like a summer's cloud.'], savigrahavasthanas [Standing before the adversary, after making others engage in combat.], paravrittas [Turning away from a foe.], apavrittas [Moving off from the side of the enemy.], apadrutas [Movement with low posture for seizing at the thighs of the adversary.] avaplutas [Going for a kick at the adversary.], apanyastas [Distending the chest, so that the antagonist may not catch the arms.], and upanyastas [Stretching forth the arms for seizing those of the enemy.]. In the meanwhile the Raksha attempted to put forth his power of illusion. Knowing this, the king of monkeys shot into the sky. And Ravana, overpowered by fatigue and out of breath, thus baffled by the monkey-king, stood where he was. Thus the master of the foremost monkeys, securing fame in fight, beat the night-ranger, causing him to experience fatigue. And bounding beyond the spacious sky, the offspring of the Sun came to the side of Rama in the midst of the monkey-forces. And having done that deed, the son of the Sun,—lord of monkeys—with his heart surcharged with rejoicing, entered that host having the speed of the wind; enhancing the martial ardour of the son of the foremost of the Raghus, and honoured by the monkeys.

SECTION 41.

Seeing those ominous signs, Lakshmana's elder brother, Rama, embracing Sugriva, said,—"Without consulting with me, thou hast acted thus rashly. But kings should not act in such a rash way. Placing in suspense, me, this army and Bibhishana, thou, O hero, enamoured of daring deeds, hast put thyself to all this trouble. But, O hero, henceforth, do not act so. O subduer of enemies, if thou come by any mischance, what shall Sita avail me; or Bharata; or my younger brother—Lakshmana; or Satrughna, O slayer of enemies; or, again, my own person? Ere thou hadst come, I had arrived at this determination; albeit, O thou that art equal to the mighty Indra or Varuna, I knew thy prowess full well. Slaying Ravana in battle along with his sons, forces and vehicles, and installing Bibhishana in Lanka, and placing the kingdom in the hands of Bharata, I shall renounce my body, O exceedingly powerful one!" When Rama had said this, Sugriva answered,—"Knowing my own strength, how, O Raghava, viewing Ravana, who had ravished away thy wife, could I forbear, O hero?" As that hero was speaking thus, Raghava addressed Lakshmana having auspiciousness, thus,—"O Lakshmana, occupying some tract furnished with cool water and woods bearing fruits, we shall sojourn, dividing and marshalling our forces. I see a mighty fear present, destructive of people,—and boding destruction unto the foremost heroes among the bears, monkeys and Rakshasas. The winds ruffle; and the earth is tremulous. And the tops of mountains tremble, and the mountains themselves send up loud sounds. And the clouds are goblinish; and fierce; and harsh-sounding. And wearing terrific looks, they fiercely pour down showers mixed with drops of blood. And the Evening resembles the red sandal, and is fearful. And a flaming circle droppeth from the Sun. And exciting great fear, inauspicious birds and beasts, wearing cruel looks, and in distressful guise,—cry in piteous accents, facing the Sun. And at night, the ominous Moon with a black-red brim as at the time of universal wreck, burneth. And, O Lakshmana, there is a crimson, rough, slight, and graceful rim round the Sun; and a blue mark is visible on his disc. And the stars do not course as formerly. Behold, O Lakshmana, all these, prefiguring the Doom. And crows and hawks and vultures drop down. And jackals yell with loud inauspicious notes. The Earth, converted into mud with flesh and gore, shall be covered with darts and javelins and swords, discharged by Rakshasas and monkeys. This very day with all expedition shall we, surrounded on all sides by the monkeys, march towards the city governed by Ravana". Having said this unto Lakshmana, Lakshmana's elder brother possessed of exceeding strength, hastily descended from the top of the mountain. And descending from the mountain, the righteous Raghava surveyed his troops, incapable of being beaten by enemies. And after making the mighty host of the monkey-king equip itself, Raghava versed in season, along with Sugriva, at the proper hour, issued orders for battle. Then in due time that one, accoutred with his bow, surrounded by a mighty army, set out, with the intention of entering the city of Lanka. And those two—Bibhishana and Sugriva—and Hanuman, and Jambavan, and Nala, and the bear-king Nila, and Lakshmana, followed (Rama). Behind them, the mighty array of bears and monkeys followed Raghava, covering a wide surface of land. The monkeys, resembling elephants, capable of resisting foes, took mountain-peaks and tall trees by hundreds. And in a short time those repressors of foes—the brothers Rama and Lakshmana—arrived at the city of Ravana; with pennons streaming over her; charming; garnished with groves and woods; having variegated gateways; inaccessible; and having walls and gates. And urged on by Rama's command, the wood-rangers [Monkeys.], as commanded, blocking up (Lanka) incapable of being subdued even by the gods, stationed themselves. Coming to Lanka ruled by Ravana, that hero, Rama, son unto Dacaratha, along with Lakshmana, remained stationed at the Northern gate, where Ravana used to reside. None save Rama was competent to protect that dreadful gate, where Ravana used to reside. None save Rama was competent to protect that dreadful gate, guarded by Ravana himself, like the Ocean guarded by Varuna,—and protected on all sides by terrible Rakshasas equipped with weapons; capable of striking terror into the weak; like unto the nether regions guarded by Danavas. And (Rama) saw there many and various arms and mail of the warriors, ranged together. And coming to the Eastern gate, that leader of the monkey-army, the powerful Nila, along with Mainda and Dwivida,—took up his post there. And the exceedingly strong Angada, accompanied by Rishava, Gavaksha, Gaya, and Gavaya, occupied the Southern gate. And the mighty monkey Hanuman protected the Western entrance. And Sugriva himself, with Prajangha, Tarasa and other heroes, was quartered near the garrision in the centre. And accompanied by all the foremost monkeys resembling Suparna or the Wind, twenty kotis of renowned monkey-leaders, blocking up all sides, stationed themselves near the monkey, Sugriva. And at Rama's command, Lakshmana along with Bibhishana, went from door to door, issuing instructions to kotis of monkeys. On the west of Rama, Jambavan along with Sushena, followed by innumerable troops, remained hard by at the garrison in the middle. And those tiger-like monkeys, furnished with teeth like unto tigers, weilding trees and mountain-tops, stood ready for fight. And all had their tails curled up, and all were armed with teeth and nails, and all had chequered bodies, and all had frightful faces. And some had the strength of ten elephants; and some had strength ten times as much; and some of the monkey-leaders there had the strength of a thousand elephants,—and some had the strength of numbers (of elephants); and some had strength hundred times as much. And others had immeasurable might. And wonderful and astonishing was their meeting. And the concourse at that place of the monkey-forces was like the concourse of locusts. And the air was filled up, and the earth was covered quite with the monkeys coursing towards Lanka and dropping down into it. And hundreds and thousands making up the army of monkeys, arrived at the gate of Lanka; while others were pouring in from all sides for encounter. And that mount was covered with monkeys. And a thousand ayutas were going round the city. And Lanka, blocked up everywhere with powerful monkeys bearing trees in their hands, was incapable of being entered even by the Wind. And the Rakshasas, sore pressed by thousands of monkeys resembling masses of clouds, and like unto Sakra himself in battle, were seized with amazement. And like unto the roar of water on the ocean being riven, there arose a mighty tumult in consequence of the forces surging hither and thither. And with that sound the entire Lanka, with her wall and gateways, her mountains, woods, and forests, began to shake. And that army, protected by Rama and Lakshmana as well as Sugriva, became all the more invincible even by the Asuras and celestials. And having arranged his forces with the view of destroying the Rakshas, Raghava, versed in the resources of war, taking counsel of the counsellors, and deciding again and again his course of action,—intending to adopt further measures,—resolved to abide by the advice of Bibhishana, remembering the morality regulating monarchs. And then, calling Vali's son, Angada, (Rama) said,—"O mild one, going to the Ten-necked one, tell him in my words,—'Bounding over the deep and casting off fear and dejection, I have laid seige to the city of Lanka; and have reft thee of thy prosperity and thy wealth; and rendered thee moribund and senseless. Thou hast, O night-ranger, through delusion and pride injured saints and celestials, and Gandharvas and Apsaras, and Serpents, and Yakshas, and crowned heads. But, O Rakshasa, thy pride begot of the boon received from the Self-create hath gone from thee, whose destroyer [Dandadhara.], I, afflicted in consequence of my wife having been carried off,—weilding the rod, have sat down at the door of Lanka. O Rakshasa, thou shalt, remaining steady in fight, attain the state of celestials and Maharshis and Rajarshis. And, O worst of Rakshasas, do thou display that prowess of thine by which, aided by thy power of illusion, thou hast forcibly carried off Sita, disregarding me. I shall with my sharpened shafts render this world free from Rakshasas, unless rendering back Mithila's daughter, thou throw thyself on my mercy. And, for certain, that foremost of Rakshasas, the righteous and graceful Bibhishana, who hath joined us, shall obtain, without having a thorn in his side, all this wealth of Lanka. For thou, foolish, wicked, ignorant of

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self-knowledge, and having dolts for counsellors, art not competent to unrighteously exercise kingship for a moment. Fight thou, O Rakshasa, summoning fortitude and heroism. On being slain with my shafts, thou shalt attain peace. O night-ranger, if thou shouldst range the three worlds in the shape of a bird, thou, coming in my ken, shalt not be able to preserve thy life. It is all this for thy good; do thou perform acts for the good of thy body surviving death; and do thou see Lanka well; for thy life is in my keeping.'" Thus addressed by Rama of untiring deeds, Tara's son went through the welkin like the embodied bearer of sacrificial offerings. And arriving near that subduer of enemies, Ravana, in a moment, that graceful one saw Ravana, sitting calmly in the midst of his ministers. And dropping down in his vicinity like a flaming fire, that best of monkeys, Angada, resembling a golden bracelet, stood there. And then introducing himself, Angada delivered unto Ravana along with his ministers all that Rama had excellently spoken unto him, neither extenuating nor setting down aught of himself,—"I am the envoy of the king of Kocala—Rama of untiring deeds; and I am the son of Vali.—I do not know whether thou hast heard of me. And Raghu's son, Rama—enhancer of Kaucalya's joy—hath said unto thee,—'Do thou, O fell one, coming out, give me battle and prove thy prowess. Thee shall I slay together with thy ministers, and with thy sons and relations and friends. And thou being slain, the three worlds shall attain peace. And to-day shall I destroy the enemy of the gods and Danavas, and Yakshas, of the Gandharvas, serpents and Rakshasas,—and the thorn (in the side of) the saints. And on thee being slain, all the wealth shall be Bibhishana's; unless, bowing down (unto me) and paying me homage, thou render back Maithili.'" When that monkey-chief had spoken thus, the lord of the night-rangers was wrought up with wrath. And coming under the sway of passion, he commanded his counsellors, saying,—"Take this one of perverse understanding, and slay him at once".

Hearing Ravana's speech, four grim-visaged night-rangers seized (Angada) flaming in energy like fire itself. And Tara's son suffered himself to be taken, in order that the hero might then display his prowess before the Yatudhanas [the Rakshasas.]. Then Angada, taking them up, who were pressed against his arms, like insects,—leapt up on a palace resembling a hill. Thereat, in consequence of the impetuosity of his bound, the Rakshasas, slipping off, fell on to the ground in the very sight of the Rakshasa king. Then the powerful son of Vali with his legs attacked the top of that palace, elevated like a hill, of the lord of Rakshasas. And thereat, as formerly the summit of the Himavan had been cleft by the thunderbolt, the palace, thus assailed, was split in the very presence of the Ten-necked one. Having reft the top of the edifice, and proclaimed his name, Angada, setting up a mighty roar, sprang into the sky. And, aggrieving the Rakshasas and rejoicing all the monkeys, he came back to the side of Rama in the midst of the monkeys. Ravana was transported with wrath in consequence of the breaking down of the palace. And, finding his destruction (at hand), he began to heave sighs. And Rama, surrounded by innumerable delighted monkeys setting up shouts,—anxious for slaying his foe, prepared for battle. And at the command of Sugriva, the exceedingly powerful monkey—Sushena—resembling a mountain-summit, surrounded by a large number of monkeys capable of assuming shapes at pleasure, began to range from door to door; like the Moon ranging the stars. Seeing the hundred akshauhinis of the wood-rangers, stationed in Lanka, extending down to the sea, some of the Rakshasas were struck with astonishment, while some came under the influence of fear; and some experienced delight from the (anticipated) delight of battle. And the space between the well and the moat all was flooded with monkeys. And the distressed Rakshasas saw the wall thronging with monkeys; and thereat exclaiming "Alas" "Alas," the Rakshasas were extremely terrified. And on that frightful uproar arising, the warriors of the Rakshasa monarch,—Rakshasas—seizing mighty arms, began to patrol about, like unto winds blowing at the time of the universal dissolution.

SECTION 42.

Then those Rakshasas, going to that subduer of enemies, Ravana, informed him that Rama along with the monkeys had laid seige unto the city. Hearing the city beseiged, the night-ranger was enraged. And, hearing that double arrangements had been made (by Rama) in guarding the gateways, (Ravana) ascended the palace. He saw Lanka with her hills, woods, and forests, covered everywhere with innumerable monkeys eager for encounter. And he saw the entire Earth tawneyed with the monkeys; and he reflected within himself how he could destroy these. And reflecting for long, Ravana having expansive eyes, assuming patience, gazed at Raghava and the leader of monkeys. Raghava with his host was fast approaching (the wall); and Ravana saw Lanka defended on all sides by Rakshasas. And Dacaratha's son, seeing Lanka crowned with variegated ensigns and standards, mentally went to Sita, with a sad heart. "For my sake, here that one, Janaka's daughter, having eyes resembling those of a young deer,—is undergoing affliction; and lieth down on the ground". And aggrieved at the thought of Vaidehi, the righteous Rama speedily commanded the monkeys to compass the destruction of the enemies. As Rama of untiring deeds said this, the monkeys, filling (the air) with leonine roars, began to press forward furiously. "We shall cleave Lanka with mountain-peaks, or with our blows"—thus thought the leaders within themselves. And the monkey-leaders stood, raising up gigantic mountain-peaks and tops of mountains, and rooting up various trees. And for doing what was dear unto Rama, that army, divided into separate parties, in the presence of the Rakshasa-chief commenced scaling Lanka. And those copper-faced ones of golden sheen, who had consecrated their lives to the service of Rama, equipped with trees and rocks, began to throng upon Lanka. And the monkeys with trees and hill-tops and blows crushed countless gates and tops of walls; and they filled the moat containing crystal water with dust, tops of crags, straw, and wood. Then leaders of thousands and kotis and hundreds of kotis began to scale Lanka. And the monkeys crushed golden gateways; and, breaking down gates resembling the tops of the summits of Kailaca, bounded roaring, some towards the wall and some all around. And resembling gigantic elephants, they rushed towards Lanka. "Victory to the mighty Rama, and Victory to the exceedingly powerful Lakshmana, and Victory to king Sugriva, who is protected by Raghava". Thus shouting, those monkeys, wearing forms at will, sending up roars, rushed amain towards the wall of Lanka. And Viravahu, Suvahu, Nala and Panaca—leader of monkeys—breaking (a portion of) the wall, took up their post there. In the meantime, (they) arranged the forces in order of battle. And the strong Kumuda, surrounded by ten kotis of victorious monkeys, stood obstructing the Eastern gate. And for backing him, there remained the monkey, Prasabha, as also the long-armed Panaca, surrounded by monkeys. And obstructing the Southern entrance stood the strong and gallant monkey, Satavali, surrounded by twenty kotis. And the strong sire of Tara, the powerful Sushena, obstructed the Western gate, backed by kotis upon kotis (of monkeys). And obstructing the Northern gate, remained the puissant Rama himself along with Sumitra's son, as well as the king of monkeys—Sugriva. And that huge-bodied and dreadful Golangula—the mighty and powerful Gavaksha—surrounded by a koti, remained by the side of Rama. And that destroyer of foes—the exceedingly mighty Dhumra of the bears of terrific wrath, remained by the side of Rama—where, surrounded by vigilant counsellors, and bearing a mace in his hand, stood the exceedingly strong Bibhishana, endowed with wonderful powers, in complete panoply. And Gaya, and Gavaksha, and Gavaya, and Sarabha, and Gandhamadana, protected the monkey-army, coursing all around. And then, his soul wrought up with wrath, Ravana—lord of Rakshasas—speedily ordered the whole host to sally out. Hearing those words, which came out from Ravana's mouth, all of a sudden the night-rangers sent up a dreadful yell. Then awoke the kettle-drums, having moon-like pale faces,—sounded by means of golden sticks. And conchs by hundreds and by thousands, capable of producing loud blares, filled with air proceeding from the mouths of dreadful Rakshasas,—were winded. And with conchs placed in their mouths, those night-rangers, having bodies blue like those of Cukas, resembled masses of clouds, with lightning and cranes. And, commanded by Ravana, the troops cheerfully issued forth like the onrushing of the mighty main filling all at the time of the universal dissolution. And then the monkey-army gave a roar, spreading all around; and it seemed as if the sound filled all Malaya with its sides and caves. And sounds of conchs, and drums, as well as the leonine shouts of the impetuous (warriors); made the earth, air, and ocean, resound; and these mixed with the roars of elephants, the neighing of steeds, the rattle of the car-wheels, and the tread of the Rakshasas' feet. And in the meantime there commenced a mighty encounter between the Rakshasas and the monkeys, like that which took place of yore between the gods and the Asuras. And displaying their prowess, the Rakshasas began to slaughter monkeys with maces, and darts, and adzes. And the vehement monkeys (on their side) slaughtered Rakshasas with trees and tops of crags as well as with their nails and teeth. And a mighty sound arose of 'Victory unto king Sugriva!' and 'Victory unto thee, O king,'—each army taking the name of its king. And then other dreadful Rakshasas that were stationed upon the wall, dropping down, pierced the monkeys with darts and bhindipalas. And (thereat) the monkeys, flying into fury, descending to the earth and bounding, brought down the Rakshasas with their arms. And that encounter of the Rakshasas and the monkeys was mighty and wonderful, and the ground became wet with flesh and gore.

SECTION 43.

And as the high-souled monkeys and Rakshasas fought on, their wrath vastly increased at sight of each other's forces. And furnished with steeds in golden trappings; and elephants resembling flames of fire; and cars appearing like (so many) suns; and shining armour,—the valiant Rakshasas issued, making the ten cardinal points resound. The Rakshasas of terrific exploits were burning for victory on behalf of Ravana.—And the mighty monkey-army also, eager for victory, darted against the host of the Rakshas of dreadful deeds. And in the meanwhile, as either party assailed the other, there took place single combats between the Rakshasas and the monkeys. And as Andhaka had combated with the Three-eyed (Siva) that Rakshasa, the exceedingly energetic Indrajit, fought with Angada, son unto Vali. Sampati, hard to bear, engaged with Prajangha; and the monkey, Hanuman, entered into conflict with Jambumali. And Ravana's younger brother, Bibhishana, fired with wrath, encountered Satrughna, endowed with exceeding impetuosity. And the highly powerful Nila engaged with Nikumbha. And Sugriva—lord of monkeys—undertook Praghasa, and the graceful Lakshmana was engaged with Virupaksha. And the exceedingly irrepressible Agniketu and the Rakshasa—Racmiketu—and Mitraghna and Yajnakopa, were engaged with Rama. And Vajramubhthi encountered Mainda, and Acaniprabha, Dwivida. And those foremost of monkeys fought with those dreadful Rakshasas,—the heroic and terrible Pratapana, incapable of being overcome in battle, was combating with Nala of terrific force; and that lusty son of Righteousness, well-known as Sushena,—a mighty monkey—battled with Vidyunmali. And other fearful monkeys encountered other Rakshasas; and many were the encounters that took place. And great and fierce was the engagement that took place between the heroic Rakshasas and monkeys burning for victory, capable of making people's hair stand on end. And from the persons of the Rakshasas and the monkeys there flowed a river of gore, having hair for grass (growing on its banks), and the bodies of the warriors for pieces of planks floating (adown the current). Indrajit, growing enraged, with his mace dealt a blow at that tearer of hostile ranks, Angada,—like him of an hundred sacrifices striking with his thunderbolt. Thereat, that graceful monkey, Angada, gifted with vehemence, with his mace crushed his car decked in gold, together with the steeds and the charioteer. Sampati was pierced with three arrows by Prajangha; and the former (in his turn) slew Prajangha on the edge of battle with an Acwakarna [A kind of tree.]. And Jambumali, mounted on a car, possessed of prodigious strength, fired with wrath, with all the access of force derived from his car, wounded Hanuman between his paps. Thereat, getting at his car, Hanuman—son unto the Wind-god—with a slap speedily crushed his adversary's vehicle along with the Raksha. Then the terrific Pratapana, roaring, rushed at Nala; and thereat Nala, with his body pierced with sharp shafts by that swift-handed Raksha, plucked out Pratapana's eyes, and cast them to the earth. And that lord of monkeys, Sugriva, with a Saptaparna [A kind of tree.] swiftly slew Praghasa, who appeared to be devouring up the troops. And, tormenting the Rakshasa of dreadful form with a shower of shafts, Lakshmana slew Virupaksha with a single arrow. And the irrepressible Agniketu, the Rakshasa Ragmiketu, Mitraghna and Yajnakopa, with their arrows rendered Rama aflame. Thereat, Rama, growing wroth, in battle severed the heads of those four by means of four shafts, dreadful, and resembling the tongues of a flame. And Vajramushti was slain in conflict by Mainda with a clenched fist; and down came he to the ground along with his car and horses, like a turret toppling (headlong). And Nikumbha in fight wounded Nila resembling a mass of blue collyrium, with sharpened shafts,—as the Sun pierceth clouds with his rays. Again with an hundred arrows, that light-handed night-ranger pierced Nila in the field; and Nikumbha laughed thereat. At this, even as Vishnu did in battle, Nila with a wheel of Nikumbha's car, cut off in conflict Nikumbha's head together with that of his charioteer. And Dwivida, possessed of the touch of the Vajra and thunder-bolt, in the presence of the entire Rakshasa host hurled a mountain-peak at him that was endowed with the splendour of the thunder-bolt. And Acaniprabha in encounter pierced that foremost of monkeys, Dwivida, with shafts resembling thunder-bolts. Thereat, beside himself with wrath, with his entire body wounded with arrows, Dwivida with a saladestroyed Acaniprabha along with his car and horses. And Vidyunmali, mounted on a car, assailed Sushena with shafts decked with gold, and began to shout momentarily. Seeing him mounted on his car, Sushena—best of monkeys—taking up a huge crag, swiftly brought his car down to the ground. Thereat, endowed with lightness, that night-ranger, Vidyunmali, at once extricating himself from his car, stood on the ground with a mace in his hand. Thereupon, that foremost of monkeys, Sushena, growing furious, taking up a gigantic crag, rushed at the night-ranger. And as he was descending, the night-ranger, Vidyunmali, with his mace swiftly hit at the breast of Sushena—greatest of monkeys. Thereat, without thinking at all of the terrific hit of the mace, that best of monkeys in mighty conflict brought down that upon Vidyunmali's head. And, assailed with the crag, the night-ranger, Vidyunmali, having his chest crushed, fell down to the earth, deprived of life. And, like the celestials warring against the Daityas, the heroic monkeys warred on and confounded the valiant rangers of the night. And frightful was the field of battle, with darts, and other arms; and clubs, and javelins,

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and lances, and other weapons; and with broken cars, and war-horses, and mad horses slain, and monkeys and Rakshasas; and wheels and akshas [Axis, axle, hub.], and yokes and standards,—broken and scattered over the ground; and swarms of jackals began to range on all sides of the monkeys and the Rakshasas; and Kavandhas [Spectres having bodies without heads.] began to rise in that terrific encounter, resembling the encounter of the gods and the Asuras. Thus destroyed by the foremost of monkeys, the rangers of night, beyond themselves with the smell of blood,—eagerly wishing for the setting of the Sun, again made active preparations for a renewal of the fight.

SECTION 44.

As the monkeys and the Rakshasas thus fought on, the sun set, and the fatal Night came. And then commenced a night-engagement between the dreadful Rakshasas and the monkeys of fixed hostility, each party burning for victory. And in that profound darknesss, the monkeys and the Rakshasas began to slay each other, exclaiming,—'Thou art a Rakshasa,' and 'Thou art a monkey.' And in that army there was heard a mighty uproar of 'slain,' 'rive!' 'come!' 'why fliest?' And, dark-hued, the Rakshasas, equipped in golden mail, in that deep darkness appeared like elevated hills clad with woods of flaming medicinal herbs. And in that limitless gloom, the Rakshasas, transported with wrath, advanced with impetuous speed, devouring monkeys. And, fired with terrible wrath, the monkeys, bounding up, with their sharp teeth tore up steeds caparisoned in gold, and standards resembling venomous serpents. And the lusty monkeys in battle agitated the Rakshasa host,—and, waxing furious, with their teeth pulled and bit elephants and the riders thereof, and cars furnished with flags and standards. And Rama and Lakshmana with shafts resembling venomous serpents, slaughtered the foremost among the Rakshasas—both those that were seen and those that were not.—And the dust of the earth arising from warring combatants, and from the hoofs of horses and the wheels of cars, choked up eye and ear. And as the mighty encounter, capable of making people's hair stand on end, went on, there flowed a fearful river of gore. And the sounds of kettle-drums and Mridangas and Panavas, mingled with those of conchs and car-wheels,—were wonderful (to hear). And the sounds of steeds neighing, and Rakshasas (roaring), and monkeys, rejoicing,—were something tremendous. And, with able monkeys slain; and darts and javelins and axes; and slaughtered Rakshasas wearing forms at pleasure, lying mountain-like,—the field of battle, seeming to have offerings of arms representing flowers,—became difficult to recognise, and inaccessible; and the earth was drenched with streams of blood. And that Night, destructive to monkeys and Rakshasas,—was dreadful, and difficult of being out-sped by all,—like unto the Fatal Night of beings. And in that profound darkness, the Rakshasas with great vivacity attacked Rama with a shower of shafts. And the roars of those beings as they advanced, sending up shouts in anger, resembled the dashing of the Ocean at the time of the universal dissolution. And in the twinkling of an eye, Rama by means of six shafts resembling tongues of flames, struck six of the night-rangers; viz., Yajnacatru, irrepressible (in fight),—and Mahaparcwa, and Mahodara, and the huge-bodied Vajradanashtra,—and those two—Suka and Sarana. And, pierced in their vitals with Rama's shafts, they, having only their lives left to them, disappeared from the field. Then in the twinkling of an eye, that Maharatha rendered all sides clear (of all gloom) by means of arrows resembling tongues of fire; and those other heroic Rakshasas that were in front of Rama, were destroyed on approaching the place, like insects approaching a fire. And with shafts plated with gold lying in all directions, the night resembled one in autumn decked with fireflies. And in consequence of the uproar occasioned by the Rakshasas, and the sounds of drums, that night, already dreadful (in itself), became all the more so. And on that sound attaining dimensions on all sides, it seemed as if the mount Trikuta, containing numerous caverns, had been speaking. And huge-bodied Goangulas of equal lustre with darkness itself, binding fast the night-rangers with their arms, began to swallow them up. And Angada was present in the encounter, for slaying foes, And Indrajit, fairing sadly at the hands of Angada, abandoning his vehicle, and having his horses as well as his charioteer slain, vanished then and there. And that feat of Vali's son, worthy of being honoured, all the celestials with the saints and both Rama and Lakshmana lauded to the eight. All beings were acquainted with the might of Indrajit in battle; and, therefore, witnessing his discomfiture, and seeing that high-souled one, they rejoiced exceedingly, and, seeing the enemy vanquished, all the monkeys with Sugriva and Bibhishana, experiencing high delight, exclaimed,—"Excellent!" "Excellent!" And, beaten by Vali's son of dreadful deeds, Indrajit was fired with a mighty wrath. And, being handled hard in battle, and having vanished from the field, the heroic and wicked son of Ravana, who had received a boon from Brahma, transported with passion,—remaining invisible, began to discharge sharpened shafts of the splendour of the thunder-bolt. And worked up into rage, he in the conflict pierced Raghu's sons, Rama and Lakshmana all over their bodies, with terrific arrows consisting of serpents. And himself engirt with illusion, that night-ranger, given to fighting in crooked ways,—remaining invisible to all creatures,—stupified the descendants of Raghu in battle; and by means of his shafts bound the brothers, Rama and Lakshmana. And then in the sight of the monkeys, those heroes and foremost of men were suddenly overpowered with shafts by the enraged (Indrajit). And when the son of the Rakshasa monarch felt himself incompetent to cope with Rama and Lakshmana openly, then that impious one, resorting to illusion, bound those princes (by that means).

SECTION 45.

Then, anxious to ascertain Indrajit's course, the kings son possessed of prowess, and endowed with exceeding strength, Rama, ordered ten of the monkey-leaders. And that repressor of foes ordered Vali's son—Angada, the vigorous Sarabha, Dwivida, Hanuman, the mighty Sanuprastha, Rishabha and Rishabhaskandha. Thereat with alacrity those monkeys, weilding mighty trees, shot up into the sky, and began to scour the ten cardinal points. And Ravana's son, skilled in arms, resisted the impetuous march of those vehement ones by means of a powerful weapon as well as arms more forceful (than the force of their rush). And the exceedingly vehement monkeys, cut and mangled with narachas, saw him in the dark like the sun enveloped in clouds. And that conquerer in battle, Ravana's son, with shafts sorely pierced the persons of Rama and Lakshmana. And both Rama and Lakshmana had their bodies entirely covered by the angry Indrajit with shafts turned into serpents. And from their wounds blood began to gush out in streams; and they looked like flower-crowned Kincukas. Then that one having red corners unto his eyes and resembling a mass of crushed collyrium, Ravana's son, said unto the brothers, as he vanished,—"When I fight remaining invisible, even Sakra—the lord of the celestials—cannot see or approach me,—and who are ye? And I, with my soul surcharged with wrath, shall, assailing them with showers of weapons furnished with Kanka feathers, send Raghu's sons to the abode of Yama". Having spoken thus unto the brothers—Rama and Lakshmana, cognisant of righteousness—(Indrajit)—pierced them with sharpened shafts, and shouted in joy. And stretching his large bow, that one sable like unto a mass of crushed collyrium again discharged terrific shafts in battle. And that one versed in the inner sense of things, with whetted arrows pierced the vitals of Rama and Lakshmana and shouted momentarily. And fast bound by the shackles of shafts on the edge of battle, Rama and Lakshmana could not attain respite for a moment. Then with their persons pierced with shafts and darts, and resembling the flags of the Great Indra let loose from the cords and trembling (in the air),—and with their bodies bristling with arrows,—those heroes and mighty bowmen—lords of the earth—tormented in consequence of their vitals having been pierced, dropped down to the earth. And those heroes, bathed in blood, and their persons covered with arrows,—pained and suffering terribly, lay down as became heroes. And there was not so much room unpierced in their persons as could be measured by a finger; and they were wounded with arrows up to the fore-parts of their hands. And they being wounded by that fell one capable of assuming shapes at will, blood violently gushed out of their bodies like water from a spring. And Rama fell first, pierced in the vitals with the shafts. And the same Indrajit who had formerly wrathfully routed Sakra.(now) pierced (Rama) with narachas knotted with gold, and having polished heads; swift-speeding; and resembling dust carried about by the wind; and half-narachas; and darts resembling anjalis [like joined hands.]; and vatsadantas [Weapons resembling the teeth of a calf.]; and sinhadanshtras [Weapons resembling the lion's teeth.]; and razors; and, resigning his stringless bow decked in gold and curved in three places,—with its part for grasping shattered—Rama lay down like a hero. And seeing Rama—foremost of men—down within arrow-range, Lakshmana despaired of his life. And seeing his brother, Rama, having eyes resembling lotus-petals and ever delighting in battle, himself the refuge of others,—lying down in the field; (Lakshmana) began to weep. And the monkeys also, seeing him, were plunged in sorrow; and they, their eyes flooded with tears, began to cry in grief of heart. And when they had been bound and had laid themselves down as become heroes, the monkeys stood around them,—and, conversing with one another, they, headed by the son of the Wind, were seized with extreme sorrow.

SECTION 46.

And the rangers of woods, gazing at the earth and the sky, at length cast their eyes on the brothers—Rama and Lakshmana, covered all over with arrows. And after that Rakshasa had gone away having performed his work, like the God [Indra.] going away, after having showered,—there came to that place Bibhishana with Sugriva. And, mourning Raghu's sons, there also came in all haste Nila and Dwivida and Mainda and Sushena and Kumuda and Angada in company with Hanuman. And moveless; breathing low,—covered with blood,—pierced all over with net-works of shafts; dumb; they [Rama and his younger brother Lakshmana.] were lying on the field. And they were sighing like serpents; and were inert; and deprived of prowess; and washed in blood; and looking like unto golden standards. And as they lay moveless, as become heroes, the leaders of monkeys environed them with tear-charged eyes. And seeing the sons of Raghu lying, covered with showers of shafts, the monkeys, with Bibhishana, were pained (exceedingly). And the monkeys, surveying the sky as well as all directions, could not see Ravana's son in battle enveloped with illusion. And then Bibhishana by means of illusion saw his brother's son staying before, hidden by illusion. And Bibhishana saw that hero of incomparable deeds, who had no compeer in the field and who had energy, fame and prowess,—as he remained invisible in consequence of the Boon received from Brahma. And Indrajit, seeing his own feat and them lying at length, spake in excess of joy, gladdening all the Rakshasas,—"The brothers—Rama and Lakshmana, possessed of great strength, who had slain Khara and Dushana, are themselves slain with my shafts. And all the celestials and Asuras assembled together with the saints, are incompetent to emancipate these from the fetters of my shafts. He for whom my father was exercised with anxiety and tormented by grief, for whom my sire used to spend nights without pressing his bed,—for whom this entire Lanka had resembled a river turbulent in the rainy reason,—that same evil sticking by the root of all, hath been dispensed his quietus by me. And like clouds of autumn, the prowess of Rama and Lakshmana as well as that of all the rangers of the woods, hath been rendered useless". Saying this in the presence of all the Rakshasas, Ravana's son—destroyer of foes—menacing the monkey-leaders, hit Nila with nine arrows, and hurt Mainda and Dwivida each with three powerful shafts. And piercing Jambavan with an arrow in the chest, that mighty bowman discharged ten at Hanuman. And Ravana's son possessed of exceeding impetuosity, pierced in the conflict with two shafts each Gavaksha and Sarabha of immeasurable vigor. And Ravana's son, summoning celerity, pierced the king of Golangulas and Vali's son, Angada, with innumerable arrows. And the powerful son of Ravana, endowed with might, piercing the foremost monkeys with shafts resembling tongues of flames, set up shouts in the field of battle. And tormenting the monkeys with volleys of shafts and striking terror into them, that mighty-armed one, bursting out into a laugh, said,—"Let the Rakshasas behold these brothers, lying fast bound with dreadful arrows, in front of the forces". Thus addressed, those Rakshasas—wily warriors all—resembling masses of clouds, witnessing that deed (of Indrajit), struck with wonder and rejoicing (greatly), set up tremendous roars. And thinking that Rama was slain, they honoured Ravana's son. And seeing the brothers—Rama and Lakshmana—motionless, and lying inert on the ground,—they took them for slain. And, experiencing excess of joy, Indrajit—conquerer in conflict—entered the city of Lanka, rejoicing all the Nairitas. Seeing the bodies as well as the limbs of Rama and Lakshmana, covered entirely with arrows, fear took possession of Sugriva. Thereat Bibhishana said unto that lord of monkeys, staying in woe begone guise, with a tearful countenance, and his eyes wild with wrath,—"Do not give way to fear, O Sugriva. Restrain thy rising tears! This is the way of warfare: victory is not (always) sure. But, O hero, if Fortune ultimately smile upon us, this stupor shall go off from these high-souled and exceedingly powerful ones. Therefore, O monkey, do thou cheer me, who am forlorn". Saying this, with his hand Bibhishana washed Sugriva's graceful eyes with water. And taking water, the righteous Bibhishana by means of his knowledge, washed Sugriva's eyes therewith. And washing the face of the intelligent monkey-monarch, Bibhishana spoke these words, seasonable and sedate,—"O foremost of monkey-kings, this is no time for being overcome with stupor. At this hour, even immoderate affection may lead to destruction. Therefore, casting off stupor, which tends to mar all work, do thou bethink thee how thou mayst serve this army headed by Rama. Or do thou protect Rama so long as he doth not regain consciousness; and when the Kakutsthas shall have regained consciousness, all our apprehension shall vanish. This is nothing to Rama, and Rama is not dying. And Lakshmi [The goddess of prosperity.], who is incapable of being attained by those that are doomed, shall not forsake this one. Therefore do thou comfort thyself, do thou also cheer up thy own forces,—while I am engaged in composing all the troops. O best of monkeys, these with distended eyes, come under the governance of terror, are, stricken with panic, whispering into each other's ears. But seeing me, let the forces rushing about, cheered up,—as well as the monkeys,—cast off all fear, like a wreath that hath been used before". Thus comforting Sugriva, Bibhishana—lord of Rakshasas—again instilled spirits into the flying forces of monkeys. And Indrajit—worker of mighty illusions—accompanied by his troops, entered the city of Lanka and presented himself before his father. And approaching Ravana and saluting him with joined hands, he informed his sire of the welcome tidings that Rama and Lakshmana had been slain. And hearing that his foe had fallen,

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Ravana springing up in the midst of the Rakshasas, with great joy embraced his son. And scenting the crown of his head, (Ravana) with a delighted heart, asked (Indrajit as to all that had taken place). And on being asked, he (Indrajit) truly related unto his sire how (Rama and Lakshmana) had been rendered senseless and lack-lustre by being fastened with shafts. Thereat, with rapture surcharging his inmost soul, Ravana, hearing the speech of the mighty car-warrior, banished his fear of Dacaratha's son,—and rising up, honoured his son with glad words.

SECTION 47.

When Ravana's son entered Lanka, after having accomplished his purpose, the foremost monkeys protected Raghava, surrounding him on all sides. And Hanuman, and Angada, and Nila, and Sushena, and Kumuda, and Nala, and Gaya, and Gavaksha, and Panasa, and Samprastha—a mighty monkey—and Jambavan, and Rishava, and Sunda, and Rambha, and Satavali, and Prithu,—all forming themselves into array, and equipped with trees on all sides, and remaining vigilant,—the monkeys kept gazing at all sides, awry and upwards; and even when a straw stirred, they thought it to be a Rakshasa. And Ravana, on his part, experiencing the height of exaltation, summoned the Rakshasis engaged in guarding Sita.—And thereat the Rakshasis—Trijata and others—presented themselves at his command. And then the lord of Rakshasas, delighted, addressed then the Rakshasis, saying,—"Tell Vaidehi that Rama and Lakshmana have been slain in battle by Indrajit. And taking her on Pushaka, show her (Rama and Lakshmana) lying slain on the field of battle. That one depending on whom she had proudly set her face against me,—that husband of hers, along with his brother, hath been slain in conflict. And then Mithila's daughter, her fear gone off with her anxiety, and herself losing all support,—Sita—daughter unto Mithila—decked out in all ornaments, shall seek me. And today beholding Rama with Lakshmana, come under the sway of Time, she, finding no other way, shall desist from her present course. And seeing no other resourse, that one of expansive eyes shall of herself seek me". Hearing those words of the wicked-minded Ravana, the Rakshasis, saying,—"So be it,"—went to where Pushpaka was. Then taking Pushpaka, the Rakshasis at Ravana's command went to Maithili staying in the acokawood. Then, taking Sita, who was overcome with grief for her lord, the Rakshasis, placed her on the car, Pushpaka. And placing Sita on Pushpaka along with Trijata, Ravana took her all around (Lanka) crowded with ensigns and standards. And the lord of Rakshasas jubilantly proclaimed in Lanka,—"Raghava as well as Lakshmana have been slain by Indrajit in battle". And going about with Trijata, Sita saw all the monkey-troops slain. And she found the flesh-eaters elated in spirits, and the monkeys afflicted with extreme grief at the side of Rama and Lakshmana. Then Sita beheld both Lakshmana and Rama lying in the field, senseless and bound with arrows. And those heroes were lying on the earth, their mail torn, their bows cast off, their bodies mangled all over and thickly pierced with shafts. And seeing those brothers,—foremost of heroes and best of men—having eyes resembling white lotuses, and themselves like unto Kumaras,—lying in the field,—the fire-sprung one, Sita, striken with grief, began to weep piteously. And that black-eyed one of an excellent person, Janaka's daughter—seeing them roll in the dust, broke out into lamentation. And with her eyes shedding plentiful tears, she seeing those brothers, endowed with god-like prowess, concluded them to be dead $ and overwhelmed with grief, spoke as follows.

SECTION 48.

And seeing her husband, as well as the exceedingly powerful Lakshmana,—slain, Sita, afflicted with grief, burst into bitter lamentation. "The soothsayers had said that I should have sons, and should never be a widow. But on Rama being slain, it seems now that those ones, possessed of knowledge, had spoken untruthfully. And those also, who having celebrated sacrifices and rites, had said that I should become the queen (of Rama),—on Rama being slain, seems to-day to have spoken a falsehood, although they are possessed of knowledge. And they also asserted that I should be honoured of the wives of heroic kings as well as of my lord,—but on Rama being slain, they seem to have uttered a falsehood, although possessed of knowledge. And those twice-born ones that in my hearing had said auspicious words, on Rama being slain, seem to-day to have spoken a falsehood, although they were possessed of knowledge. These lotus-marks on the feet, betokening unto gentlewomen possessing them, that they are to be installed in the kingdom in company with their husbands—who are kings,—are on me. And those marks find I none on me by which women of rare fortune come by widowhood,—but I find that in me these good tokens are nullified. Those marks that are pronounced infallible by those versed in such knowledge, on Rama being slain, are nullified in me. My hairs are fine, equal, and blue; my eye-brows touch each other; my hips are devoid of down and round; and my teeth are close. My temples, and eyes, hands, feet, ankles, and thighs are equal. And my fingers are furnished with round nails, and are plump and even in the middle. And my breasts are close and firm and developed, and have their nipples sunk. And my navel is depressed, with high sides. And my chest is swelling. And my complexion is like the hue of gems,—and my down soft. And they said that I was furnished with twelve auspicious signs. And my hands in the middle parts of my fingers contain wheat-marks; and in the spaces between the fingers, have no uneven corners. And my feet also partake of the general complexion. And my laugh is a gentle smile. And those versed in marks of women knew that I was possessed of such marks. And those Brahmanas skilled in telling fortune said that I should be installed in the kingdom along with my husband; but all that hath been falsified. Having purified Janasthana (of Rakshasas), obtained tidings of me, and crossed the Ocean incapable of being Agitated, those brothers have been slain in the footprint of a cow! The descendants of Raghu had obtained Varuua and Agneya and Aindra and Vayava and Brahmaciras weapons. Through illusion have those lords of me, who am forlorn—Rama and Lakshmana, resembling Vasava himself in battle,—been slain. Coming in battle within ken of Raghava, a foe, even if he be endowed with the fleetness of thought,—doth not go back, living. There is nothing which is too hard for Time; and the Destroyer is incapable of being overcome; inasmuch as Rama along with his brother Lakshmana hath fallen in fight. And I do not so much mourn Rama or the mighty car-warrior—Lakshmana—or, for that matter, self,—as I do the wretched Mother-in-law of mine. She ever thinketh of the period of the promise. 'When shall I behold Sita and Lakshmana with Raghava?'" As she was thus lamenting, the Rakshasi, Trijata, said,—"O exalted lady, do not weep thus. Thy lord liveth. And, O dignified one, I shall unfold unto thee potent and probable reasons why the brothers Rama and Lakshmana live. When their leader falleth, the countenances of the warriors in battle are not overspread with passion, or display cheerfulness and vivacity. And, O Vaidehi, if those had lost their lives, this celestial chariot, named Pushpaka, would not have held thee. An army that hath its heroes and chiefs slain—becoming dispirited and drooping, rangeth the field, like a vessel on water that hath lost its helmsman. But, O lorn one, these troops, betraying neither agitation nor anxiety, are guarding the Kakutsthas. This I tell thee of them out of affection. Do thou, at this conclusion bringing in joy, take comfort; and behold the Kakutsthas unslain. This I tell thee from affection. I never told thee untruths heretofore; nor, O Mithila's daughter, will I tell them unto thee now. Thou by virtue of thy character conducive to delight, hast found an access into my heart. These even the celestials and Asuras with Indra (at their head) are incompetent to quell. Seeing such sight, I speak to thee as to their being alive. And behold, O Maithili, this mighty wonder! These are lying insensible with arrows; but of those Grace hath not taken leave. It generally happens that the faces of persons dead and gone, are unsightly to a degree. Therefore, O Janaka's daughter, leave off grief and sorrow and stupor. For the sake of Rama and Lakshmana thou canst not today put a period to thy existence". Hearing her words, Mithila's daughter—Sita—resembling the daughter of a celestial, with hands joined, said,—"May this be so!" Then turning away the car Pushpaka fleet as the mind, the distressed Sita entered Lanka along with Trijata. Then in company with Trijata, alighting from Pushpaka, she along with the Rakshasis entered the acoka wood. And entering that sporting-ground of the Rakshasa lord abounding in woody tracts, Sita, having beheld those princes and reflected on them, became subject to a mighty grief.

SECTION 49.

Bound up terribly with shafts, Dacaratha's sons, lying down bathed in blood, sighed hard like unto serpents. And all those foremost monkeys, along with Sugriva, possessed of exceeding strength,—overwhelmed with sorrow, remained surrounding those high-souled ones. In the meanwhile, the powerful Rama, albeit fast bound by the shafts, awoke by virtue of the exceeding toughness of his person, as well as his might. Then, seeing his brother, having a distressful countenance, covered with blood, feeble, and fast bound by the shafts,—Rama, greatly aggrieved, began to mourn. "Of what use unto me is the recovery of Sita, or life either, when to-day I see my brother vanquished in fight and lying down in the field? Seeking in the world (of men), I may light upon a woman like Sita; but never on a brother, or a helper, or a warrior like unto Lakshmana. If that enhancer of Sumitra's joy have met with his end, my life I must renounce in the sight of the monkeys. What shall I say unto Kaucalya: and what shall I say unto Kaikeyi? And what shall I say unto mother Sumitra, eager for a sight of her son? And if I go (back) without him, how shall I soothe her, like unto a cow reft of her calf; and trembling; and resembling a mourning Kurari? And how shall I say unto Satrughana and the illustrious Bharata,—'He went with me to the forest; but I come (back) here without him?' I shall not be able to bear the rebuke of mother Sumitra. Therefore even here shall I renounce my person; for certainly I dare not live. Fie on me, who am wicked and base; for me this Lakshmana, brought down, lieth in the field of battle, like one that is without life. O Lakshmana, thou ever comfortest me when I am dispirited. But to day, having lost thy life, thou canst not speak to me, who am afflicted. Thou, O hero, who hadst in battle slain innumerable Rakshasas lying around, hast (at length) thyself been slain in the field with shafts. And lying down in the battle-field, bleeding, and covered with arrows, thou appearest like the Sun when he hath gone up the Setting-hill. And in consequence of shafts piercing thy vitals, thou canst not speak; but thy visible expression, albeit thou art dumb, betokens pain. O thou endowed with exceeding splendour, even as thou didst follow me into the forest, will I follow thee unto the mansion of Yama. Thou, having dear friends, and ever following me, hast come by this plight in consequence of my reprehensible conduct. I do not remember having heard any harsh speech from the heroic Lakshmana, even when he had happened to be exceedingly wroth. He that could discharge at one shot five hundred shafts,—that Lakshmana is superior to Karttaviryya himself in that weapon—the bow. He that with his arms could resist the arms of Sakra himself,—that one worthy of a costly couch—lieth down on the ground, slain. And that false babble shall now, without doubt, consume me; for by me hath not Bibhishana been made monarch of the Rakshasas. Do thou, O Sugriva, this very moment retrace thy steps. Bereft of thy strength through me, thou wilt be worsted by Ravana. And, O Sugriva, placing Angada to the fore, do thou, taking thy host as well as the equipage, in company with Nila and Nala, cross over the Ocean. By thee hath been achieved a mighty feat incapable of being done by another in battle. And pleased am I with the king of bears, and the lord of Golangulas; and Angada hath quit himself nobly, as also Mainda and Dwivida. And Kecarin and Sampati have both fought terribly. And Gavaya, and Gavaksha, and Sarabha, and Gaja,—and other monkeys have fought as others are incapable of fighting,—determined to lay down their lives (for me). But, O Sugriva, man cannot overrule Destiny. Thou, my friend, fearing righteousness [Meant is actually unrighteousness.], hast done what lay in thy power. And, Ye foremost of monkeys, ye also have acted as becometh friends. Now, with my permission, go ye whithersoever ye are minded". Hearing Rama's lament, the monkeys—those dark-eyed and others—began to shed tears from their eyes. Then Bibhishana, quieting the army, taking a mace in his hand, swiftly went to where Raghava was. And seeing him fast making his way, resembling a mass of dark collyrium, the monkeys taking him to be Ravana's son [Indrajit. Such was the fear he had spread by his redoubtable deeds.], began to run away.

SECTION 50.

Then out spake the highly energetic and exceedingly mighty king of monkeys,—"Why is this host agitated like a bark driven hither and thither by the wind?" Hearing Sugriva's speech, Vali's son said,—"Dost thou not see both those heroes—sons of Dacaratha:—Rama and that mighty car-warrior—Lakshmana—covered with arrows? And (dost thou not see) those high-souled ones lying in the field of battle, covered with blood?" Thereat, the lord of monkeys, Sugriva, spake unto his son [His step-son, for Sugriva had married Angada's father's wife, after Rama had slain Vali in Kishkindha.], Angada—"I do not deem it without cause. This may have come to pass through sheer fear. These monkeys with sad faces, leaving their arms behind them, are flying in all directions, their eyes distended in affright. And they are not ashamed of each other, and they do not cast their looks back. And they hug each other, and go leaping over the fallen". In the meanwhile, that hero, Bibhishana, bearing a mace in his hand, (approaching), greeted Sugriva as well as Raghava with blessings of victory. And Sugriva, seeing Bibhishana, capable of inspiring fear in the monkeys, spoke unto the high-souled sovereign of bears, who stood by,—"This is Bibhishana that hath come hither, seeing whom the foremost among the monkeys, from fear of Ravana's son who, they apprehend, he is,—are fleeing away, seized with a panic. Do thou at once stay these agitated with fear and scampering all around; and proclaim,—'This is Bibhishana, who hath come here.'" Thus directed, Jambavan—king of bears—restraining those that were flying, composed the monkeys. Hearing the bear-king's words, and seeing Bibhishana, the monkeys, renouncing fear, desisted (from their flight). Then the righteous Bibhishana, viewing Rama's as well as Lakshmana's body pierced with arrows, was exceedingly aggrieved. And washing their eyes with water, he, with his mind overpowered with grief, began to weep and broke out into lamentation,—"The Rakshasas, fighting in wily ways, have brought to this pass these ones endowed with prowess and possessed of every perfection and gifted with might (of arm). And with his guileful mind, that brother's son of mine, wicked-souled and an evil son (unto me),—hath deceived these ones of straight prowess. Pierced with innumerable shafts, and covered with blood, these are lying on the ground like Salyakas [A tree.]. Those depending on whose prowess, I had sought eminence, those foremost of men, sleep here

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soundly for renouncing their bodies. Living, today I am in distress: and my desire of dominion is annihilated; and my foe, Ravana, hath his promise fulfilled and his aim crowned with success". As Bibhishana was thus lamenting, the lord of monkeys—Sugriva—endowed with strength, embracing him, spoke unto him,—"O thou cognisant of righteousness, thou wilt herein Lanka obtain empire: no doubt of this; and Ravana along with his sons will be disappointed in their expectations. Both these—Rama and Lakshmana—are under the aegis of Garuda; and, casting off their stupor: they will in battle slay Ravana along with his adherents". Having thus soothed and comforted the Rakshasa, Sugriva addressed his father-in-law, who was at his side, saying,—"Do thou along with numbers of heroic monkeys, taking those repressors of foes, the brothers—Rama and Lakshmana—when they shall have regained their consciousness, repair to Kishkindha. And I, slaying Ravana along with his sons and friends, shall bring back Mithila's daughter, even as Sakra recovered the lost Sri". Hearing the words of the monkey-king, Sushena said,—"I had witnessed the war of yore between the gods and the Asuras. Then the Danavas, enveloping themselves, momentarily destroyed the deities, albeit versed in arms and accomplished in weapons. And they, their senses lost, and their lives departed, Vrihashpati treated by means of his knowledge of mantras, as well with medicines. Let Sampati, Panaca, and other monkeys speedily hie to the Milky Ocean for the purpose of bringing those medicines. And the monkeys well know that mighty mountainous medicine—divine and capable of reviving the dead,—and made by the deities themselves—vicalya. There are (the mountains) named Chandra and Drona: where the ambrosia was churned, there is that supreme drug. And those mountains have been placed by the deities in the mighty deep. And, O king, let the son of the Wind-god go thither". In the meanwhile, the wind arose, and masses of clouds appeared along with lightning. And the wind blew, agitating the waters of the deep, and shaking the mountains. And mighty trees of the ocean-islands, broken down by the terrible wing-raised wind, began to topple headlong into the salt waters. And the serpents dwelling there were seized with affright; and speedily all the aquatic animals dived deep into the salt sea. And then in a moment the monkeys saw Vinata's son, possessed of terrific strength,—like unto a flaming fire. And seeing him come, the serpents began to dart away,—those exceedingly powerful ones that, turning into shafts, had bound those persons [Rama and his younger brother Lakshmana. Interesting here is that they are not only viewed as gods but also as persons.]. Then, touching the Kakutsthas and saluting them, Suparna rubbed with his hands their countenances furnished with the splendour of the Moon. And their wounds, on being touched by Vinata's son, were (immediately) healed; and the bodies of both speedily became cool and shone with an excellent complexion. And they attained immense energy and prowess; and a double share of strength, and of rational and perceptive powers, and of memory. And then raising them up, the exceedingly energetic Garuda, resembling Vasava himself, embraced both joyfully. And then Rama addressed (Garuda), saying,—"By thy grace we have through means survived the mighty calamity that had sprung from Ravana's son; and we have also speedily been rendered strong. And my heart is delighted on having thee, like unto my father, Dacaratha, or my grand sire, Aja. Who art thou, furnished with beauty, and bearing wreaths and unguents (on thy person); clad in stainless attire; and adorned in noble ornaments?" Unto him spake the exceedingly energetic son of Vinata endowed with great strength,—the lord of birds, with a pleased heart, and his eyes wild with glee,—"O Kakutstha, I am thy friend—thy life ranging externally—Garutman. I am come hither for aiding you. Neither the highly powerful Asuras, nor the exceedingly strong monkeys, nor the celestials along with the Gandharbas, having him of an hundred sacrifices at their head are,—capable of delivering (any one) from these dreadful arrowy bonds, which had been forged by Indrajit of tortuous deeds by help of illusion. These serpents—offspring of Kadru—are sharp-fanged and venomous; and had bound thee as arrows through the potency of illusion. O Rama having truth for prowess, thou art fortunate,—along with that destroyer of foe in fight, Lakshmana. Hearing this, I, summoning energy, have come hither swiftly. And I, doing by thee as a friend, have from affection at once set you free from these dreadful arrowy bonds. But thou shouldst always be on thy guard. By nature the Rakshasas have cunning shifts in fight and thou, who art heroic and of a pure spirit, canst but rely on thy simplicity alone for strength. Therefore thou must not trust the Rakshasas in the field of battle. By this one instance (thou must know; that Rakshasas are ever deceitful in fight". Having said this, the wondrous mighty Suparna, embracing Rama) tenderly (again), said,—"My friend Raghava, O thou who even cherishest affection for thy foes, permit me thou. I shall go at pleasure. And, O Raghava, entertain no curiosity as to our friendship. When, O hero, thou shalt have achieved success in battle, thou shalt know all about this friendship of ours. And with the surges of thy shafts, making Lanka contain only children and aged, and slaying thy foe, Ravana, thou shalt recover Sita". Having spoken thus, Suparna, endowed with fleet vigor, having rendered Rama hale in the midst of the monkeys,—having gone round them and embraced them also,—that one possessed of prowess,—set out, covering up the sky, like unto the wind. And seeing Raghu's sons rendered hale, the monkey-leaders set up leonine roars, and began to flourish their tails. And then beat the kettle-drums and the drums struck up. And conchs were cheerfully blown; and shouts were sent. And others struck at their arms with their hands. And the monkeys, accustomed to battle with trees, uprooting them, stood by hundreds and thousands. And emitting tremendous roars and thereby frightening the night-rangers, the monkeys, eager for encounter, approached the gate of Lanka. And that mighty and dreadful din raised by the monkeys, resembled the terrible rumbling of the clouds at midnight about the end of Summer.

SECTION 51.

Then Ravana heard the tumult raised by the highly energetic monkeys roaring in company with the Rakshasas. And hearing that low and solemn noise—that prodigious uproar—Ravana said in the midst of his counsellors,—"From mighty roars that are heard of in innumerous delighted monkeys,—resembling the roar of clouds,—it is evident, beyond a doubt, that there is great rejoicing there. And the salt Ocean is vexed with these thundering noises. The brothers—Rama and Lakshmana—have been fast bound with sharp shafts; and here this uproar is exciting my alarm". Having spoken thus unto his ministers, the lord of the Rakshasas addressed the Nairitas present there, saying,—"Do you speedily acquaint yourselves with the cause of rejoicing that hath arisen of these monkeys on this mournful occasion". Thus accosted, they hurriedly mounting up on the wall, surveyed the forces maintained by the high-souled Sugriva as well as those exalted ones—Raghu's sons— emancipated from their terrific arrowy fetters and arisen (now)". Thereat, with their hearts wrought up, grim-visaged Rakshasas descending from the wall, appeared before the Rakshasa-lord with pale faces. And then with woe-begone faces, those Rakshasas, skilled in speech, faithfully informed Ravana in full of that unfortunate circumstance. "Those brothers—Rama and Lakshmana—who had in battle been bound up in arrowy fetters by Indrajit,—and whose arms lay moveless,—having been emancipated from the arrowy bonds, are seen in the field of battle; and those ones like unto the foremost of elephants in strength, seem like elephants that have snapped their fetters". Hearing those words of theirs, the exeedingly powerful lord of the Rakshasas was wrought up with anxiety and anger, and his countenance lost its complexion. "Indrajit, having routed them in conflict, had bound them by means of irrisistible and terrible arrows, resembling venomous serpents, and like unto the Sun himself,—which had been conferred on (Indrajit) as boons. But if my enemy, having actually been bound by the weapons, can have been liberated, all this strength of mine I see placed in peril. And those shafts resembling Fire in fierceness, which had in battle deprived my foes of their lives,—have forsooth been rendered fruitless". Having said this in high rage, Ravana, sighing like a serpent, addressed a Rakshasa, named Dhumraksha, seated in the midst of the Rakshasas,—"O thou of dreadful prowess, surrounded by a mighty force, do thou march forth to compass the destruction of Rama along with the monkeys". Thus accosted by the intelligent lord of the Rakshasas, Dhumraksha, turning about, issued out of the abode of the king. And speedily sallying forth from the gate of (Ravana's) residence, he said unto the general of the forces,—"Do thou speedily move off thy forces. Why should a warrior linger?" Hearing Dhumraksha's words, the general of the forces, following them, at the command of Ravana forthwith made the army ready. And those powerful and dreadful night-rangers, bursting with high spirits,—with bells tied to their arms,—set up shouts, and surrounded Dhumraksha. And bearing various weapons in their hands, and wielding darts and clubs, and equipped with maces and bearded darts and rods and iron bludgeons and parighas and bhindipalas and lances and nooses and axes,—those terrific Rakshasas sallied out, roaring like unto clouds. And others, accoutred in armour, with cars; adorned with banners; furnished with golden networks, and mules having various faces, and extremely swift steeds, and lusty elephants in rut,—tiger-like Nairitas incapable of being subdued, even as tigers—sallied out (thereafter). And then Dhumraksha himself ascended a superb car, bearing faces of deer and lions decked with gold,—and sending forth a loud clatter. And the highly powerful Dhumraksha, surrounded by Rakshasas, cheerfully issued out of the Western Entrance, where Hanuman was posted. And thereat, fell fowls of the air forbade that exceedingly dreadful Rakshasa of a fearful form, as he went out ascending an excellent car, yoked with mules, and sending sharp sounds. And an exceedingly terrific vulture alighted at the crest of the car; and forming themselves into lines, vultures began to drop down about the top of the banner. And emitting a frightful cry, (a headless trunk) dropped down before Dhumraksha. And that god [Indra—cloud-compeller.] showered down blood; and the earth shook. And the wind blew awry with a sound resembling thunder. And every side, covered with darkness, appeared dim. And witnessing those dreadful inauspicious omens at the outset, fraught with fear unto the Rakshasas, Dhumraksha was greatly aggrieved; and the Rakshasas marching before him, were stupified. And then as that strong and fearful one, eager for encounter, surrounded, by innumerable night rangers, issued out (of the city), he beheld that monkey-host, protected by the arm of Raghava,—resembling the deep at the time of the universal dissolution.

SECTION 52.

Seeing the Rakshasa—Dhumraksha of dreadful prowess—issue out, the monkeys, rejoicing greatly, eager for encounter, set up roars. And then there took place a terrific conflict between the monkeys and the Rakshasas, charging each other with fearful trees, and darts, and maces. And the Rakshasas began to scatter the dreadful monkeys on all sides; and the monkeys (on their part) felled the Rakshasas with trees. And the Rakshasas, growing enraged, began to pierce the monkeys with straight speeding sharp shafts winged with Kanka plumes. And riven by the Rakshas with dreadful clubs and bearded darts, daggers and maces and terrible and curious bludgeons and grasped javelins,—the exceedingly powerful (monkeys), their anger aroused, began with alacrity to perform deeds of intrepid valour. And those monkey-leaders, their bodies pierced with shafts and their persons riven with darts, took up trees and crags. And those monkeys, endowed with terrific vehemence, sending up shouts, and proclaiming their respective names, set about tossing the brave Rakshasa ranks. And that conflict between the Rakshasas and the monkeys, waged with diverse rocks and innumerable trees, waxed exceedingly furious. And some among the Rakshasas feeding on gore—on being agitated by the monkeys burning for victory,—began to vomit blood. And some were severed along their flanks; and, some, slain with trees, were heaped up; and some were crushed with crags; and some were torn with teeth. And some being broken down by means of broken standards, and some by means of fallen swords, and some crushed down by cars,—the rangers of the night suffered sorely. And (anon) the earth was covered with huge elephants measuring mountains, and mountain-tops, and steeds crushed, and the riders thereof,—all borne down by the monkeys. And bounding again and again, the vehement monkeys endowed with terrific prowess, with their finger-nails tore up the Rakshasas by the mouths. And with woe-begone faces, and with hair dishevelled, (the Rakshasas), stupified with the smell of blood, saught the earth. And other Rakshasas endowed with dreadful vigor, waxing wondrous wroth, dealt the monkeys slaps with hands having the touch of the thunder-bolt. And, gifted with greater impetuosity, the monkeys felled the impetuous (Rakshasas) with blows, and feet and teeth; and some were slain with trees. And seeing the forces fleeing away, that foremost of Rakshasas—Dhumraksha—flying into fury, began a terrific conflict with the monkeys desirous of encounter. And some of the monkeys, sore assailed with pracas, began to bleed; and some, wounded with maces, dropped down to the ground. And some were beaten hard with bludgeons; and some were cleft with bhindipalas. And some, on being assailed with bearded darts, became insensible and lost their lives. And some among the monkeys lay slain on the ground, drenched in blood. And some, fleeing away from the field, were slaughtered by the infuriated Rakshasas. And some, having their breasts pierced, lay on their sides. And some were riven with tridents; and the entrails of some had come out. And that mighty and dreadful encounter of the Rakshasas and the monkeys, was waged with countless weapons and rocks and trees. And that battle became a musical entertainment mellifluous with bow-string for Vina [A classical Hindu musical instrument, having metallic strings, with a pair of gourds at one end for the sounding-board.], having the neighing of chargers for its measure, and with the cries of Maindas [A species of elephants.] for its strains. Then in the field, Dhumraksha bow in hand, laughing, pursued the monkeys in all directions with showers of shafts. And seeing the forces hard beset by Dhumraksha and distressed thereat, the Wind-god's offspring, waxing enraged, seizing a huge crag, approached (the Rakshasa). And with his eyes doubly reddened in wrath, that one, like unto his sire himself in prowess, brought down the crag upon Dhumraksha's car. And seeing the crag, (Dhumraksha) upraising his mace hurriedly, leapt down in vehemence, and stood on the ground. And having shattered his car, that crag fell down to the earth. And thereat letting go the car furnished with wheels, Kuvarasand a face, as well as a banner; in which Dhumraksha had left his bow,—Hanuman—son unto the Wind-god—laid about him right lustily for destroying the Rakshasas, with trees having branches long and short. And thereat some Rakshasas with their heads shattered, lay drenched in blood; and others, struck with trees, dropped down to the earth. And then Hanuman—son unto the Wind-god—charged in full career against the Rakshasa army; and, taking a mountain-peak, he rushed against

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Dhumraksha. And as Hanuman was descending, the powerful Dhumraksha, upraising a mace, and giving out a shout, made towards him speedily. And then Dhumraksha enraged, brought down that mace studded with innumerable pricks, on the head of Hanuman fired with wrath. And thus assailed with the mace of fearful impetuosity! the monkey endowed with the strength of the wind, without at all heeding that blow, let fall a mountain-top right against Dhumraksha's head. And on being assailed with the mountain-peak, Dhumraksha, having his entire body mangled, suddenly fell to the earth, like unto a toppling hill. And seeing Dhumraksha slain, those night-rangers that survived the carnage, in extreme agitation began to pour into Lanka, attacked by the monkeys. And that high-souled offspring of the Wind-god, having slain his foes, and come under the influence of fatigue incident to his slaughtering his enemies,—having caused rivers of gore to flow (in the field),—experienced the excess of joy on being honoured of the monkeys.

SECTION 53.

Hearing Dhumraksha slain, Ravana—lord of the Rakshasas—overwhelmed with a mighty rage, began to sigh like a serpent. And collied with passion, and sighing hot for a long time, he addressed a cruel Rakshasa—the exceedingly strong Vajradanshtra [Lit.—the thunder-toothed.],—"Go thou, O hero. Go out, environed by the Rakshasas. Slay Dacaratha's son—Rama—and Sugriva along with the monkeys". Thereupon hastily answering "So be it," that foremost of the Rakshasas skilled in illusion, marched forth surrounded by many a leader of armies, furnished with elephants and steeds, mules and camels,—with his mind concentrated; and adorned with innumerable variegated flags and banners. And then decked out with curious keyuras and a tiara, and wearing armour, he rushed out with his bow in his hand. And then going round his flaming vehicle, adorned with pennons and garnished with gold, the king [Vajradanshtra.] ascended the same. And equipped with slender swords and curious tomaras and smooth maces and bhindipalas and bows and darts and patticas and scimitars and discuses and clubs and sharpened axes, the multiform infantry march bearing arms in their hands. And all those powerful and flaming Rakshasas wore variegated raiments. And heroic elephants in rut resembling mountains in motion, marched, being led by those well-skilled in battle carrying tomaras and hooks in their hands. And mighty steeds bearing auspicious marks, marched, ridden by heroes. And that entire Rakshasa army, as it marched forth, resembled clouds in summer roaring with lightning. And (the Rakshasas) sallied forth through the Southern Entrance, where that leader of herds—Angada—was stationed. And as they went out, evil omens appeared. From the cloudless yet fierce sky meteors began to shoot. And throwing up flames from their mouths, dreadful jackals began to emit cries. And frightened beasts betokened the destruction of the Rakshasas in battle, And warriors began to tumble down in an ominous way. Witnessing these evil omens, the exceedingly powerful and energetic Vajradanshtra, assuming patience, set out, eager for encounter. And seeing them flee away, the monkeys, yearning for victory, set up tremendous shouts, filling all the cardinal points. And then there came on a terrific encounter of the monkeys and the Rakshasas, dreadful, of terrific deeds, and wishing for each other's death. And warriors fraught with high spirits, springing up, dropped down to the earth, their bodies and hands riven, and all their persons bathed in blood. And some approaching each other, with bludgeons in their hands, without turning away from the field, discharged various weapons at each other. And there were heard sounds of trees and rocks and weapons,—mighty and dreadful and capable of striking terror into the heart. And dreadful and mighty were the sounds of car-wheels, and conchs and trumpets and drums. And some, casting off weapons, engaged in a hand to hand combat by means of slaps, and kicks, and bones, and trees. And some Rakshasas, having their bodies broken, were killed by means of thighs, and some were crushed with crags by Danavas invincible in battle. And Vajradanshtra, resembling the noose-handed destroyer, frightening the monkeys, ranged in that field fatal to people. And Rakshasas, possessed of strength; equipped with various weapons, transported with passion, slew the monkey-forces. And then in the conflict the proud Wind-god's son, influenced by twofold wrath, spread havoc among the Rakshasa ranks, like the Fire at the universal dissolution. And the energetic Angada possessed of the prowess of a lion, with his eyes coppery with wrath, upraising a tree, began to spread terrible destruction among the Rakshasas, even as a lion destroyeth tiny deer. And attacked by Angada there, the Rakshasas of dreadful vigor, with their heads riven, fell down like unto trees that have been uprooted. And the earth became frightful (to behold), being covered with variegated cars and standards and steeds and the bodies of monkeys and of Rakshasas and streams of blood. And adorned with chains, and Keyuras, and attires, and umbrellas, the field of battle looked like an autumnal night. And agitated by Angada's impetuosity, that mighty army of Rakshasas began to shake, even as water trembleth, moved by the wind.

SECTION 54.

Finding his own army destroyed by the might of Angada, the exceedingly powerful Rakshasa—Vajradanshtra—was overcome with rage. And stretching his dreadful bow of the splendour of Sakra's thunder-bolt, he began to shower shafts among the monkey-ranks. And the foremost among the heroic Rakshasas also, stationed on cars, furnished with various arms, warred on in the encounter. And the heroic monkeys also—foremost of their kind—with rocks in their hands, fought around in united strength. And in that conflict, the Rakshasas began to incessantly shower ayutasamong the flower of the monkey-army. And the monkeys,—pre-eminently valiant, and resembling mad elephants, kept showering over the Rakshasas mountain-trees and mighty rocks. And then took place a hot contest among heroic warring monkeys and Rakshasas, eager for encounter. And some, with their heads unbroken, had their arms and legs torn; and their bodies pierced with weapons, and laved with blood. And monkeys and Rakshasas lay down in the dirt,—thronged with numbers of Kankas, and vultures; and swarming with flocks of jackals. And striking affright to the timid, on the earth started up (spectral) headless trunks,—with their arms and heads torn, and their bodies torn all over. And monkeys and Rakshasas began to drop down to the earth. And the army of night-rangers, being brutally handled by the monkey-hosts, broke up at every point at the very sight of Vajradanshtra. And seeing the Rakshasas, distressed with fright and harassed by the monkeys, the powerful Vajradanshtra, with his eyes crimson-hued with choler, entered the arena, bow in hand,—frightening the monkey-forces. And he began to pierce the monkeys with straight-speeding shafts winged with Kanka feathers; And he pierced simultaneously seven, eight, nine, five, monkeys (in the field). And the exceedingly powerful Vajradanshtra, sported into a towering passion, began to cleave the docile ranks. And thereat terrified, the monkeys, with their bodies cut with arrows, rushed towards Angada, like vultures resorting to the Creator. And finding the monkey-ranks disordered, Vali's son in a rage cast his eyes on Vajradanshtra, who also was eying him. And Vajradanshtra and Angada fought fiercely with each other over and over again; ranging the field like a tiger and a mad elephant. Then (Vajradanshtra) with hundreds and thousands (of shafts) resembling tongues of flames, pierced the powerful son of the monkey in the vitals. Thereupon Vali's son of mighty strength and tremendous prowess, with his body covered all over with blood, hurled a tree at Vajradanshtra. And seeing the tree in full career, the Rakshasa without betraying any agitation, severed it in pieces; and the tree, thus assailed, fell to the earth. And seeing that feat of Vajradanshtra, that foremost of monkeys, taking up a huge crag, hurled it (at his foe) and sent up shouts. And seeing this descend upon him, that powerful one, calmly leaping down from his vehicle, stood on his feet on the ground. And the crag discharged by Angada, coursing on in the field, dashed to pieces the car along with the wheels and the Kuvara as well as the horses. And then the monkey, taking up another prodigious peak crowned with trees, let it alight on Vajradanshtra's head. Thereat vomitting blood, Vajradanshtra, deprived of his senses, for a moment overcome with stupor, stood embracing his mace, sighing. And then the night-ranger, recovering his senses, with his mace, in high rage hit at the breast Vali's son staying in the field. And thereupon, giving up his mace, he entered into a boxing encounter (with Angada). And hitting each other there, they both—the monkey and the Rakshasa,—began to vomit blood, and were overcome with fatigue consequent on the thrashing each sustained; and they endowed richly with prowess, appeared like Angaraka and Budha [The asterisms so called.]. Then the exceedingly energetic Angada—best of monkeys—uprooting a tree, stood there, covered with flowers and leaves. And (Vajradanshtra) took a shield composed of ass's hide, and a sword broad and sightly, covered with bells, and graced with a leathern sheath. And the monkey and the Rakshasa displayed curious and graceful movements. And attacking each other, they gave shouts, eager for victory. And with blood flowing from their wounds, they looked beautiful like blossoming Kincukas. And warring, both, overcome with fatigue, went to the ground on their knees. Anon in the twinkling of an eye, that powerful monkey—Angada—started up, with his eyes glowing,—like unto a serpent that hath been smitten with a rod. And (at length) with his stainless and sharpened sword, Vali's son, endeued with exceeding strength severed Vajradanshtra's huge head. And the graceful head of that one having his body covered with blood, cut off by the sword, falling to the ground with its eyes rolling, was severed in twain. Seeing Vajradanshtra slain, the Rakshasas, overwhelmed with fear and exceedingly agitated, in pitiful plight, with woe-begone faces and heads hung in shame,—fled towards Lanka, attacked (all the while) by the monkeys. Having compassed Vajradanshtra's destruction, the powerful son of Vali, endowed with exceeding strength, in the midst of the monkey-army experienced great joy on being honoured by the monkeys, like the wielder of the thunder-bolt—the thousand-eyed (Deity)—surrounded by the celestials.

SECTION 55.

Hearing Vajradanshtra slain by the son of Vali, Ravana said unto the general of his forces, standing before him with joined hands,—"Let invincible Rakshasas of dreadful prowess, march forth, placing before them Akampana, skilled in all weapons and arms. He is capable of chastising foes as well as of protecting his own and leading them; and he is excellent in warfare. And he is always desirous of my prosperity, and always loveth warfare. He will conquer the Kakutsthas, as well as Sugriva endowed with exceeding strength, and, without doubt, slay all the other dreadful monkeys". Taking Ravana's command, that highly powerful one endowed with fleet vigor, marshalled those forces. Then equipped with various arms, the foremost of Rakshasas, having dreadful eyes (in their heads), and of dreadful forms, marched forth, urged on by their general. And, ascending a large car, adorned with burnished gold, Akampana, possessed of the splendour of clouds, and cloud-hued, and furnished with a voice resembling the roar of clouds, went out, environed by Rakshasas of terrific forms. And Akampana, resembling the sun in power, was incapable of being shaken in fight by the very gods, and of being beheld by them [The Monkeys.]. And as, burning for battle, he rushed out in wrath, the steeds drawing his car suddenly lost their energy. And the left eye of that one delighting in encounter, began to throb. And his countenance grew pale, and his voice faltered. And in a fair day, it looked foul with the wind breathing roughly. And fierce and frightful beasts and birds began to emit cries. And that lion-shouldered one like a tiger in prowess, without heeding these ominous occurences, marched forth into the field. And as that Rakshasa was setting out along with the Rakshasas, he set up mighty roars as if agitating the deep. And the mighty army of monkeys was seized with trepidation at that sound. And then there took place a mighty encounter of the Rakshasas and the monkeys equipped staying in fight with trees and rocks; who had given up all concern for their selves in behalf of Rama and Ravana. And each side desirous of slaying the other, the monkeys and the Rakshasas were exceedingly strong and heroic and like unto mountains. And each party storming at the other, in that conflict were heard loud cries emitted by those swift-speeding ones in anger. And fearful was the dust red-hued that was raised incessantly by the monkeys and the Rakshas; and it enveloped the ten cardinal points. And in the field of battle, each enveloped with that dust raised, pale as silk, could not be discovered by the other. And in consequence of that dust arising, neither standard, nor ensign, nor shield, nor steed, nor weapon, nor car could be seen. And the fierce cries alone of those roaring and rushing were heard in that dreadful battle; but their forms were not visible to the sight. And in that conflict in the dark then monkeys enraged slew monkeys, and Rakshasas Rakshsasas. And monkeys and Rakshasas slaying (indiscriminately) friends and foes, made the earth wet with blood, and miry. And then with showers of blood the dust was layed; and the earth was covered with corpses. And Rakshasas and monkeys fast slew each other vigorously with trees and darts, maces and pracas, rocks, bludgeons and tomaras, and by means of their arms resembling bludgeons, coped with their adversaries appearing like hills. And in the encounter monkeys slew Rakshasas of dreadful deeds. And in their turn Rakshasas, wrought up with passion, bearing in their hands pracas and tomarasdestroyed monkeys wielding dire arms. And that leader of the force—Akampana—growing wroth, inspired with cheerfulness all the Rakshasas endowed with dreadful vigor. And the monkeys forcibly snatching away the weapons (of the Rakshasas), began to rive the Rakshasas with mighty trees and giant crags. In the meanwhile those heroes among the monkeys—Kumuda, Nila and the exceedingly exasperated Mainda, summoned the utmost impetuosity they were masters of. And those foremost of monkeys and redoubtable able warriors without much ado began to spread quite a carnage in the van of the Rakshasa army, and by means of various arms terribly beat the Rakshasas.

SECTION 56.

And witnessing that mighty exploit of the foremost of the monkeys, Akampana waxed furious with wrath. And transported with passion, he, twanging his mighty bow, seeing that feat of his foe, addressed his charioteer saying,—"O charioteer, swiftly conduct thou the car to that same place. These powerful ones are slaying innumerable Rakshasas in fight. And all those vigorous monkeys of dreadful deeds stay before me, armed with trees and rocks. Those, pluming themselves overmuch on their martial worth, I intended to slay in battle. And all this Rakshasa force appeared to be harassed by these". Then on a car drawn by moving steeds, Akampana from a distance attacked the monkeys with showers of arrows. And thereat the monkeys could not so much as maintain their ground in the field,—and how could they fight? And broken by the arrows of Akampana, they

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began to fly. And the exceedingly strong Hanuman, seeing his kindred come under the masterdom of Death and follow the course pursued by the shafts of Akampana, advanced (to the conflict). And seeing that mighty monkey, all those heroic prime monkeys together surrounded (Hanuman) in the field. And those best of monkeys, seeing Hanuman stay, grew strong by relying on that strong one. And even as the great Indra showereth down rain, Akampana showered shafts on Hanuman resembling a mountain-summit in grandeur. And without casting a thought on the showers of arrows poured on his person, that monkey gifted with exceeding strength, set his heart on compassing the death of Akampana. And laughing, that exceedingly energetic offspring of the Wind-god rushed after that Raksha, as if making the Earth herself tremble. And the form of that one roaring and flaming up in energy, was irresistible, like unto the appearance of a flaming fire. And thinking that he was unfurnished with any arms, that foremost of monkeys, waxing wroth, vehemently rooted up a hill. And taking that huge hill, the Wind-god's son endowed with prowess, sending up a tremendous roar, began to whirl it with a single arm. And as of yore Purandara had in encounter pursued Namuchi with the thunder-bolt, (Hanuman) pursued that best of Rakshasas—Akampana. And Akampana, seeing that uplifted crag, from a distance cut it off with mighty crescent-shaped shafts. And finding that mountain-top severed by the shafts of the Raksha and scattered in pieces, Hanuman was seized with a mighty wrath. And that monkey, wrought up with rage and pride, grasping an Acwakarna elevated like unto a hill, at once uprooted it. And taking that broad-shouldered Acwakarna, that one furnished with high splendour, with great glee whirled it above the ground. And thereat rushing amain vehemently, (Akampana) speedily broke the trees. And (seeing this), Hanuman, transported with passion, rived the earth with his kicks. And Hanuman slaughtered elephants, and the riders thereof, and cars with their riders, and dreadful Rakshasas, and footmen. And seeing the enraged Hanuman resembling the Finisher armed with trees and destructive, the Rakshasas began to fly fast. And seeing that one enraged, terrific unto the Rakshasas, the heroic Akampana was agitated greatly and sent up shouts. And Akampana pierced Hanuman endowed with exceeding prowess with four and ten shafts, sharpened and capable of cleaving the bodies of people. And thus covered with iron arrows and whetted darts, that hero—Hanuman—looked like a hill covered with trees. And that huge-bodied one endowed with wondrous prowess and great strength, appeared like a flowering Acoka or a fire without smoke. And then uprooting another tree, (Hanuman) summoning up his best impetuosity, swiftly hit Akampana—foremost of Rakshasas—on the head. And slain with that tree by that high-souled monkey-chief wrought up with passion, that Rakshasa fell down and died. And seeing that foremost of Rakshasas—Akampana—slain (and lying) on the ground,—the Rakshasas were extremely aggrieved, and (appeared) like trees in an earthquake. And those Rakshasas defeated, leaving their arms behind, made for Lanka in fear, pursued by the monkeys. And with their hair flowing loosely, (the Rakshasas), afflicted with affright, and despirited and beaten, fled fast, with the water of fatigue running down their persons. And crushing down each other, they entered the city in a panic, momentarily casting their looks behind them. When the Rakshasas had entered Lanka, the exceedingly mighty monkeys, assembled together, paid homage unto Hanuman. And Hanuman, gifted with strength, honoured the seniors each as he deserved in consideration of his lineage. And the monkeys eager for victory shouted with might and main, and began to drag the Rakshasas with the view of taking their lives. And that mighty monkey—son unto the Wind god—having destroyed the Rakshasas and arrived (in the midst of the host), attained heroic glory,—even as did Vishnu, having slain that destroyer of enemies—the mighty and dreadful Asura possessed of exceeding strength,—stationed in the van of the forces. And then the deities and Rama himself and the highly powerful Lakshmana, and also the monkeys headed by Sugriva, and Bibhishana endowed with great strength, honoured that monkey.

SECTION 57.

Hearing that Akampana had been killed, the lord of Rakshasas, overwhelmed with anger, with his face somewhat fallen, cast his eyes on his counsellors. And then pondering and reflecting for a while, in the forenoon he went round the city of Lanka for inspecting the barracks. And the king surveyed the city guarded by the Rakshasas, covered with innumerable barracks, and crowned with ensigns and standards. And seeing the city beseiged, Ravana—lord of the Rakshasas—seasonably spoke words of welfare unto Prahasta skilled in fight,—"Save battle, deliverance find I none for the city suddenly beleaguered and put to straits. And this strain must be borne by these versed in warfare—me or Kumbhakarna or thee—my general—or Indrajit or Nikumbha. And therefore do thou from this place, speedily taking this force, march to where the monkeys are, for securing victory (in the encounter). And as soon as thou settest out, the monkey-forces, hearing the roars of the foremost Rakshasas—speedily setting themselves in motion,—shall flee away. And volatile and haughty and of fickle minds, the monkeys will not be able to bear thy shouts; even as elephants are incapable of bearing the roaring of a lion. And on that monkey-army running away, Rama in company with Sumitra's son, deprived of his power and shorn of support, shall, O Prahasta, come under thy subjection. In this matter, thy being slain is uncertain, but victory is certain. Now do thou, as thou weighest our welfare, declare thyself for or against this course". Thus addressed by Ravana, Prahasta—general of the forces—said unto the Rakshasa-chief; like Ucanas addressing the lord of Asuras,—"O, king, before this we had deliberated together with wise counsellors, and then we disputed with each other in our respective views. And I had declared myself for giving up Sita as fraught with our welfare; and we saw war involved in witholding her. I have ever been honoured by thee variously with gifts and regard and soft speech. And what is thy good for which I shall not be at the pains? My life I do not care to keep,—nor yet my sons or my wife. Behold! for thee will I offer up my life into the sacrificial fire of conflict". Having said this unto his master—Ravana—the general, Prahasta, addressed his generals staying before him, saying,—"At once bring up the mighty host of Rakshasas. To-day in the field of fight will I entertain the flesh-feeding fowls of the forest with the bodies of the foes slain with my resistless shafts". Hearing his speech, the highly powerful leaders arrayed the army in that abode of the Rakshasa. And in a moment Lanka swarmed with heroic and terrific Rakshasas equipped with various arms,—as if with elephants,—as well as with people worshipping Fire and bowing down unto Brahmanas. And the perfumed breeze blew, laden with the incense of sacrificial offerings. And the Rakshasas, inspired with martial ardour, put on diverse garlands, consecrated with scriptural formulae; and donned on their armour. And furnished with their bows and wearing their armour, the Rakshasas, on seeing king Ravana, leaving (their vehicles), stood, surrounding Prahasta. Then greeting the monarch, Prahasta, furnished (with all appliances of battle),—winding his dreadful trumpet, ascended his car; having all sorts of weapons; yoked with wondrous fleet steeds; driven by a competent charioteer,—excellently furnished; sending up sounds resembling the rumbling of mighty masses of cloud,—appearing like the very Sun or Moon; invincible with a serpent-standard; having a defence as well as a portion exceedingly handsome; netted with gold all round; and seeming to be laughing in grace. And then, ascending this car, Prahasta, whom Ravana had entrusted with authority, surrounded by a vast host, swiftly went out of Lanka. And then there were heard the sounds of kettle-drums, resembling the roars of Parjanya,—and the sounds of musical instruments, as if filling the Earth. And on that general of the forces marching, sounds of conchs were heard (all around); and the Rakshasas of dreadful forms and huge bodies, going before Prahasta, advanced, emitting tremendous roars. And Narantaka [Lit. destroyer of men. Almost all the names of the Rakshasas are thus significant names. This assigning of names, embosoming some harmonising image, has by Sir Francis Palgrave, justly been considered as betokening a high poetical faculty.], Kambhahanu, Mahanada [Lit.—loud-throated.], and Samunnata [Lit.—lofty.],—Prahasta's counsellors all of them—went on, surrounding him. And he went out by the Eastern entrance, environed by this exceedingly dreadful array, resembling troops of elephants. And resembling the Destroyer—Yama himself—Prahasta in rage went out surrounded by that mighty host resembling the sea. And at the tumult raised by their exodus, as well as the roars of the Rakshasas, all creatures in Lanka began to cry in preternatural tones. And swarming under the cloudless welkin, birds feasting on flesh and gore began to gyrate at the right hand of the car. And dreadful jackals, emitting live flames from their mouths, set up cries. And stars began to shoot from the firmament; and the winds to ruffle. And enraged at each other, the planetary bodies were shorn of their brightness. And clouds emitting sharp sounds showered down blood upon the car, and those marching in front were washed therewith. And alighting at the top of the standard, a vulture set up cries, facing the south, and began to prick both its sides,—thereby depriving (Prahasta) of his grace. And from the hands of his charioteer and his driver conducting the steeds, never given to turning away from the field, the goad began to drop again and again. And the auspiciousness that was bright and rare when the army set out, was clean gone in a moment,—and the steeds began to stumble on even ground. And as Prahasta of renowned worth and valor marched, the monkey-army equipped with various arms, presented themselves before him. And loud was the tumult that was raised by the monkeys. And mighty was the din that was heard of those, uprooting trees and taking up ponderous crags of the Rakshasas roaring and the monkeys storming in both the exhilarated armies of Rakshas and wood-rangers,—of vehement and able (warriors) eager for slaying each other, and challenging each other to fight. And like an insect falling into a flame, the wicked-minded Prahasta, for obtaining victory, increasing his impetuosity entered into that host of the monkey-king.

SECTION 58.

Seeing Prahasta sally, ready for encounter, that chastiser of foes—Rama—with a smile said unto Bibhishana,—"Who is this huge-bodied one that armed with impetuosity, advanceth to the encounter? And what is his power and prowess like? O mighty-armed one, tell me this concerning this powerful night-ranger". Hearing Raghava's words, Bibhishana answered,—"In Lanka this is the general of the lord of Rakshasas—the Rakshasa named Prahasta, surrounded by a third of the forces. He is possessed of prowess and is of distinguished gallantry. And that mighty army of strong monkeys, wrought up with wrath, and roaring at Prahasta, saw him dreadful and of terrific prowess and huge-bodied,—surrounded on all sides by the Rakshasas,—and setting up roars, marching. And the Rakshasas, eagerly desirous of victory, pursued the monkeys, wielding swords and darts and rishtis, and javelins and shafts and maces and clubs and bludgeons and pracas and various axes and curious bows. And the monkeys on their part, eager for encounter, took up flowering trees and hills and huge and broad crags. And each party approaching the other, great was the encounter that took place. And innumerable (monkeys and Rakshasas) kept showering rocks and arrows. And many Rakshasas in conflict slew many a powerful monkey, and the monkeys on their part slaughtered many a Rakshasa. And some were pierced with darts and with (other) powerful weapons; and some were wounded with bludgeons; and some were hewn with axes. And some rendered senseless, dropped down to the earth; and some hit with weapons, had their breasts riven. And some, severed in twain with swords, dropped to the earth lifeless. And monkeys were hewn in their sides by heroic Rakshasas. And numbers of Rakshasas all around were beaten to the ground by infuriated monkeys with trees and mountain-peaks. And some smitten sore with slaps having the touch of the thunder-bolt, began to vomit blood from their mouths, with faces and eyes turned pale. And great was the uproar that arose in consequence of Rakshasas and monkeys emitting distressful cries and sending forth leonine roars. And monkeys and Rakshasas wrought up with wrath, engaged in treading the path of heroes,—looking terrific with their faces moving about,—performed deeds of intrepid courage. And Narantaka and Kambhahanu and Mahanada and Samunnata—all counsellors of Prahasta—set about slaughtering the rangers of the woods. Of these doing swift execution among the monkeys, Dwivida, taking up a mountain-peak, slew one—namely Narantaka. And then the monkey, Durmukha, rising up afresh, armed with a mighty tree, killed the light-handed Rakshasa—Samunnata. And Jambavan endowed with energy, waxing enraged, uplifting a giant crag brought the same down on Mahanada's breast. And there speedily assailed by Tara, with a mighty tree, the powerful Kumbhahanu gave up the ghost in the conflict. And not brooking that feat, Prahasta, mounted on a car, taking a bow in his hand, fell to spreading a dreadful havoc among the rangers of the woods. And then there the two hosts mingled into almost a vortex; and the sounds that arose from those infuriated ones of immeasurable might, resembled the roar of the ocean. And in terrific encounter the enraged Rakshasa irresistible in battle drove the monkeys to sore straits with showers of arrows. And the earth was covered quite with the terrible bodies of monkeys and Rakshasas; and it looked as if covered with mountains. And the earth drenched with streams of gore looked as if swarming with blossoming palacas in the month of spring. And as leaders of elephant-herds cross a lotus-tank covered with lotus-dust, those Rakshasas and choice monkeys crossed that river flowing in the field of conflict incapable of being crossed; having for her banks hosts of heroic warriors slain; for her mighty trees broken arms; for her volume of waters showers of blood; coursing to Yama resembling the Ocean; with livers and spleens for her vast slime; with scattered entrails for her moss; with riven bodies and heads for her fish; limbs for her lawns; swarming with vultures for her swans; with Kankas for her cranes; filled with fat representing her foam; with the roars (of warriors) for her sounds,—incapable of being crossed by cravens,—and resembling a real river swarming at the end of the rains with cranes and swans. Then all of a sudden Nila saw Prahasta stationed on his car, discharging vollies of shafts and harassing the monkeys therewith. And mounted on a sun-bright vehicle, that leader of the army—Prahasta—seeing Nila advance towards him amain in the encounter, like the wind in the sky scattering a mighty mass of clouds,—rushed towards Nila. And that leader of forces—Prahasta—foremost of bowmen, stretching his bow, began to shower arrows on Nila. And having pierced Nila sore and wounded him, those shafts sought the earth like enraged serpents. And that mighty monkey—Nila—endowed with energy, struck with those sharpened shafts resembling flames,—uprooting a tree, assailed therewith the irrepressible Prahasta—who was rushing against him. And thereat, that foremost of Rakshasas, on being attacked, flaming up into fury and uttering roars,—

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poured showers of arrows on the monkey-leader. And not being able to resist the arrowy vollies of that wicked-minded Rakshasa, (Nila) bore them, even as a bull beareth with closed eyes a fast-descending autumnal shower. And in the very same way did Nila with his eyes closed suddenly stand the mighty arrowy buffet of Prahasta incapable of being withstood. And wrought up with rage, the exceedingly strong and mighty Nila with a giant Sala slew the steeds of Prahasta. And then his soul surcharged with wrath, Nila swiftly shattered the bow of that wicked-minded one, and then shouted again and again. On being bereft of his bow, Prahasta, general of forces, taking a terrible mace, leapt down from his car. And the redoubtable leaders endowed with activity, bearing hostility to each other, their persons bathed in blood, stood (on the ground) like two elephants (with their temples) riven. And they kept tearing each other with their teeth like a lion and a tiger, and also striving like a lion and a tiger. And endowed with victorious vigor, those heroes, never knowing to desist from fight, were eager for fame, even like Vritra and Vasava (fighting). And then Prahasta putting forth his dearest effort, hit Nila on the temples with a mace; and the blood began to flow. And then the mighty monkey, with his person drenched in blood,—wrought up with passion, discharged a tall tree at Prahasta's breast. And without caring for that hit, he, taking up a mighty mace, furiously rushed against the monkey—Nila. And witnessing that enraged (hero) rushing against him with exceeding impetuosity, that redoubted monkey endowed with vehemence, took up a tremendous crag. And in the encounter Nila at once let that crag alight right on the head of Prahasta, eager for encounter and fighting with the mace. And hurled by that foremost of monkeys, that huge and terrific crag then shattered Prahasta's head in pieces. And then bereft of life and shorn of nerve and devoid of sense, he suddenly dropped down to the earth like a tree whose roots have been severed. And even as fountains flow from the sides of a hill, blood flowed profusely from the person of that one, whose head had been riven. On Prahasta being slain by Nila, that mighty army of Rakshasas, never trembling (from fear),—retreated towards Lanka. And like waters rushing (through a breach in) a dyke, the Rakshasas could not stand their ground, on their leader being slain. And on that head of the hosts being killed, the Rakshasas, growing dispirited, repairing to the residence of the lord of Rakshas, remained plunged in thought, without speaking anything. And plunged in that sea of sorrow, they seemed as if they had been bereft of their senses. And then the highly powerful and victorious Nila, leader of forces, on being extolled with gracious offices, and on being joined by Rama and Lakshmana, looked exceedingly exhilarated.

SECTION 59.

And on the leader of the Rakshasa host being slain in battle by the foremost of monkeys, that army of the Rakshasa monarch, resembling the ocean in violence,—furnished with dreadful weapons, began to scamper away. And going to the lord of the Rakshasas, they apprised him of the death of his general at the hands of the Fire-god's offspring. And hearing those words of theirs, the Rakshasa lord was overcome with rage. And hearing that Prahasta had been killed in battle, (he), exercised with passion, with his heart influenced with grief, addressed those foremost of the Rakshasa hosts, even as Indra addresses the chiefs among the celestials, saying,—"That foe should no longer be disregarded that hath slain along with his followers and elephants that leader of my hosts that had destroyed the forces of Indra himself. Therefore, without taking thought, will I, for compassing the destruction of the foe, myself march to that marvellous field of fight. And to-day, even as a flaming fire burneth down a forest, will I with showers of shafts burn up that monkey-army, and Rama and Lakshmana". Saying this, that enemy of the sovereign of the immortals ascended a flaming vehicle of dazzling sheen yoked to rows of excellent steeds,—displaying itself gloriously and having a glowing body. And eulogized with sacred hymns, the sovereign of the Rakshasa rulers then set out to the sounds of conchs and trumpets and panavas; and in the midst of those produced by persons striking at their arms, with their hands, and of the sounds defiance, and leonine roars. And like that lord of the immortals—Rudra—surrounded by ghosts, the foremost of the Rakshsa monarchs was surrounded by bands of flesh-feeding (Rakshas) resembling cliffs and clouds,—with eyes glowing like fire. And at once issuing from the city, that one endowed with high energy saw that fierce array of monkeys, extended as the ocean or a mighty mass of clouds,—with arms upraised with rocks and stones. And seeing that terrific host of Rakshasas, that eminently auspicious one, followed by the forces, having arms resembling the lord of serpents—Rama—spoke unto Bibhishana, foremost of those bearing arms,—"Whose is this force furnished with various ensigns and standards—and equipped with pracas and swords and darts and other arms,—consisting of intrepid (Rakshasas), and having elephants resembling Mahendra* itself". [* Which might refer to Mountain Mahindra or Three Peaks Mountain in the Indian Himalaya, Himachal Pradesh. It is one of the highest mountains in the Miyar River valley.] Then hearing Rama's speech, Bibhishana, possessed of the prowess of Sakra himself, informed Rama anent that foremost of hosts consisting of that flower of high-souled Rakshasas, saying,—"O king, him do thou know to be Akampana, who, possessed of a high soul, is on the back of that elephant,—whose face looks like the sun new risen, and who approacheth making the head of his elephant tremble (with the splendour of his person). And that one is named Indrajit—foremost by virtue of the boon (that he hath obtained), who ascending a car and having a lion for his ensign,—twangeth his bow like the very bow of Sakra displayed,—and who with his terrific round teeth appeareth like an elephant. And that one of a gigantic person is named Atikaya, that, like unto the Setting-hill of Vindhya, furnished with the bow and stationed on a car,—highly heroic, stretcheth his bow of unparalleled proportions. And that high-souled hero is named Mahodara that, furnished with right coppery eyes resembling the sun new risen, and ascending a car resonant with the sound of bells, shouteth shrill. And that one having the vehemence of the thunder-bolt is Picacha, that, mounted on a steed in variegated golden trappings, and having the aspect of a mass of evening clouds, or a mountain,—(appeareth) with a praca furnished with effulgence. And that one is the famed Triciras [Trishira (Sanskrit, lit. he who has three heads) was a Rakshasa (a demon). He was one of the six sons of Ravana, and his other brothers were Meghanada, Atikaya, Akshayakumara, Narantaka and Devantaka.], that, grasping a whetted dart endowed with the splendour of lightning and having the speed of the thunder for its minister, approacheth, riding a bull—the best of his species—and having the appearance of the Moon himself. And that one looking like a mass of clouds, that, having a broad and beautiful breast and a banner surmounted with the king of serpents, goeth in collected carriage, stretching his bow is Kumbha. And that one is Nikumbha of wondrous valorous deeds (in battle) that, grasping a flaming and smoky bludgeon embellished with gold and diamonds, cometh—a very banner of the entire Raksha host. And that one is Narantaka, fighting with mountain-peaks,—that appeareth before us, mounted on a car flaming like fire, furnished with pennons and equipped with bows and swords and shafts. And that crusher of the hauteur of even the celestials,—that surrounded by various spectres of dreadful forms having faces of tigers, or camels, or powerful elephants, or deer, or horses,—and with their eyes rolling,—where the white umbrella resembling the Moon,—shineth, graced with slender ribs—the high-souled sovereign of Rakshas appeareth like Rudra himself environed by spectres,—the sovereign of the Rakshas decked with a diadem, with his countenance graced with pendulous ear-rings,—with a person resembling that monarch of mountains—even Vindhya himself,—that humbler of the pride of Indra the Great and Yama,—shineth like the Sun". Then Rama—repressor of foes—answered Bibhishana, saying,—"Alas! Ravana—lord of the Rakshasas—is of exceeding glowing splendour; and Ravana shineth in glory, and is incapable of being gazed at like the Sun himself. And his grace, being enshrouded in his own splendour, I cannot view plainly. And the persons of celestials appear splendid as doth the person of the Rakshasa-chief. And all the warriors of that high-souled one are like mountains and fight with crags; and all are equipped with flaming weapons. And environed by glowing ghosts of dreadful forms and fierce-looking and furnished with material tenements,—the king of Rakshasas appeareth imposing like the Destroyer himself. And by luck it is that to-day the wicked-minded one hath come within the range of my vision; and to-day will I vent my wrath incident to the ravishment of Sita". Having said this, Rama endowed with prowess, ever followed by Lakshmana, stood, taking up his bow and pulling out a powerful shaft. And then that high-souled lord of Rakshasas addressed that mighty host, saying,—"Do ye casting off fear stay at ease, at the gateways, high ways, and the edifices (in Lanka). Taking note of this lapse,—viz., that ye have all come hither with me, the wood-rangers in a body, subduing the empty city incapable of being withstood,—shall suddenly put (all) to straits". Then leaving those counsellors, (Ravana) on the Rakshas having departed agreeably to his injunction, dived into that ocean of monkeys, like a mighty fish diving into the waves of over brimming deep. And seeing the lord of Rakshasas, furnished with flaming a bow and arrows,—suddenly rushing,—the king of monkeys, uprooting a mighty mountain-top, darted against the sovereign of the Rakshas. And taking up that mountain-peak having its sides covered with innumerable trees, he hurled it at the night ranger. And seeing it descend swiftly, (Ravana) in battle severed the same by means of gold-knobbed shafts. And on that gigantic peak furnished with fair sides filled with trees, falling to the earth, severed in pieces,—the lord of Rakshasas took up an arrow, resembling a mighty serpent and having the splendour of the Destroyer himself. And taking that shaft endowed with the vehemence of the wind, flaming like a fire aglow, and having the impetuosity of the great Indra's thunder-bolt, (Ravana) hurled it in rage to compass the destruction of Sugriva. And even as the fierce dart discharged by Guha [The generallissimo of the celestials.] had pierced Krauncha [Probably a mythical one like Mount Meru.], that shaft shot by Ravana, rushing in violence at Sugriva possessed of a person having the touch of Sakra's thunder-bolt, pierced it. Thereat, agonised by the shaft, that hero, with his senses bewildered, dropped down to the ground with shrieks. And seeing him down on the earth bereft of his senses, the Yatudhanas were filled with rejoicing. And then Gavaksha and Gavaya, Sushena, Rishabha, Jyotimukha and Nala, uprooting crags and magnifying their bodies, rushed against the lord of Rakshasas. And the lord of Rakshasas with hundreds of shafts having sharpened heads, rendered their strokes fruitless. And then he rived those foremost of monkeys with showers of arrows having variegated golden knobs, and covered those fierce monkey-ranks with networks of arrows. And on being sore assailed and falling in consequence, those heroes, the monkeys, pierced with terrific arrows, and distressed with the shafts of Ravana, emitting cries, sought the shelter of Rama worthy of being sought. Then the high-souled and excellent bowman—Rama,—taking his bow, at once sallied forth. And thereat, Lakshmana, approaching Rama, with joined hands addressed him words couching prime import. "O noble one, I alone am fit to compass the destruction of this wicked-minded one. I will slay him. Do thou, O master, permit me". To him replied Rama of exceeding energy, having truth for his prowess,—"Go then, O Lakshmana, and put forth thy utmost exertions in the encounter. Ravana is forsooth endowed with mighty energy, and his prowess in battle is wonderful. Without doubt, when enraged, he is incapable of being borne by this triple world. Do thou keep an eye on his shortcomings as thou shouldst watch thine own failings. Being always on the alert, thou must with thy eyes as much as thy bow protect thyself". Hearing Raghava's speech, Sumitra's son, embracing Rama, and saluting him and paying him his respects, went forth to battle. And (going unto the field), he found Ravana, endowed with arms resembling the trunks of elephants,—wielding his dreadful and flaming bow, and covering with showers of arrows those monkeys, whose bodies had been swarming with shafts. And seeing Ravana, the exceedingly powerful Hanuman—son unto the Wind-god—resisting that downpour of arrows, charged him vehemently. And coming at his car, the intelligent Hanuman, uplifting his right arm and terrifying Ravana, said,—"Incapable of being slain by gods, Danavas or Gandharvas, Yakshas or Rakshasas,—Fear hath (at last) found thee, coming even from monkeys. This my upraised right arm furnished with five fingers, shall rob thee of thy soul long resident (in thy body)". Hearing Hanuman's speech, Ravana possessed of dreadful prowess, with his eyes reddened in wrath, said these words,—"Strike thou swift maugre fear; and acquire lasting renown. And, O monkey, having (at first) taken the measure of thy might, will I finish thee". Hearing Ravana's words, the offspring of the Wind-god said,—"(First) remember thou thy son—Aksha—slaughtered by me!" Thus addressed, the exceedingly energetic lord of the Rakshasas possessed of prowess dealt a slap unto the offspring of the Wind-god. And struck with his slap, he shook momentarily. And staying for a moment and calling up fortitude, that magnanimous one administered a slap unto the foe of the immortals. And hit by the highsouled monkey, the Ten-necked one trembled, as trembleth a mountain during an earthquake. And witnessing Ravana struck with a slap (by Hanuman) saints and Siddhas and celestials and the Asuras shouted in glee. Then attaining a little respite, Ravana said,—"Well done, O monkey. In prowess thou art a foe I pride in". Thus addressed by Ravana, the Wind-god's son said,—"Fie on my prowess, seeing that thou breathest yet, O Ravana. Strike at the same time, O perverse one. Why dost thou bluster? And then my blow shall despatch thee to the mansions of Yama". And at the speech of the Wind-god's son, his ire flamed up. And then that one endowed with prowess, clenching his right fist carefully, let it alight amain on the monkey's chest. And hit at his spacious chest, Hanuman shook over and over again. And seeing the mighty Hanuman overwhelmed, that powerful car-warrior ascended on his car, approached Nila. And the powerful lord of Rakshasas—the Ten-necked one—made that general of forces—Nila—aflame with dreadful shafts entering into the vitals, resembling snakes. And assailed with shafts, Nila—leader of monkeys—with one arm took up a mountain-top and hurled it at the lord of Rakshas. And the energetic and high-minded Hanuman, attaining respite, eager for encounter, seeing (the fight between the Rakshasa and the monkey), wrought up with rage, said,—"It is not meet for me to attack Ravana—lord of Rakshasas—engaged with Nila". And the highly powerful Ravana, by means of seven shafts with sharpened points, hit at the mountain-top; and shivered in pieces, it fell (to the earth). And seeing that mountain peak shattered, that general of the monkey-forces—slayer of hostile heroes—flamed up in wrath like the fire at the universal wreck. And in that encounter Nila discharged Acwakarna trees, and Salas, and mangoes in full flower, and various other trees. And Ravana, getting at the trees, severed them (by means of his arrows), and poured on the Fire-god's son terrific showers of

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shafts. And assailed with fearful showers of arrows as with a mass of clouds, that one endowed with eminent strength, decreasing his dimensions, dropped on the top of Ravana's banner. And seeing the son of the Fire-god descend on the top of his banner. Ravana was fired with ire, and Nila shouted (thereat). And seeing the monkey (now) at the top of the banner, and (now) at the end of his bow, and (now) at the crest of his tiara, Lakshmana and Hanuman and Rama were struck with astonishment. And also Ravana endowed with exceeding energy, astonished at the lightness of the monkey, took up a wonderful flaming fiery weapon. And the monkeys seeing Ravana bewildered, and delighted thereat, set up shouts. And Ravana encaged at the shouts of the monkeys, with his heart overwhelmed with agitation, could not address himself to any effort. And then taking a fiery shaft and setting the same on his bow, the night-ranger gazed at Nila. And the exceedingly energetic lord of the Rakshasas said,—"O monkey, by virtue of thy skill in illusion, thou art furnished with lightness. But, O monkey, if thou canst, preserve thy life. Thou transformest thyself into many shapes. Yet this shaft of mine discharged from my weapon, shall deprive of thy life thee that art preserving it". Having said this, the mighty-armed Ravana—lord of the Rakshasas—fixing his shaft on his bow, shot it at the general. And Nila, struck at the chest with that arrow, which had been shot (by Ravana), burning, suddenly fell down to the earth. And by virtue of the greatness of his sire and also of his own energy, he went to the earth on his knees, but was not utterly deprived of life. And seeing the monkey deprived of his senses, the Ten-necked one, eager for encounter, riding a car emitting a rattle resembling the rumbling of clouds, darted against Sumitra's son. And entering into the arena of fight and posted there flaming, the powerful lord of the Rakshasas, baffling (the foe), kept stretching his bow. And as that one of immeasurable prowess kept stretching his bow, Sumitra's son of unflagging mettle, addressed him, saying,—"O lord of night-rangers, do thou to-day try me in encounter. Thou ought not to strive with the monkeys". And hearing Saumitri's speech uttered in a full voice, as well as the terrific twangs of his. bow-string, that Raksha—the king—approaching Sumitra's son staying in the field, spoke unto him wrathfully,—"O Raghu's son, by my luck hast thou of perverse sense, finding thy fate come within the range of my ken. This very instant, tormented with the springes of my shafts, thou wilt repair to the regions of Death". Thereat, Sumitra's son, without being overwhelmed with wonder (on witnessing Ravana's prowess), addressed that one furnished with large and sharp teeth,—setting up roars,—"O king, those who are (really) endowed with prowess, do not storm. O prince of sinners, in vain thou vauntest. O lord of Rakshasas, I know thy prowess and strength and energy and vigor. Here am I stationed, bow and shafts in hand. Come thou. What is the use of vain-glorious self-laudation?" Thus accosted, the Raksha monarch, growing wroth, discharged seven shafts furnished with knobs. Thereupon Lakshmana split them up with sharp-pointed arrows having variegated golden knobs. And they suddenly severed like powerful serpents cut off, Lanka's lord came under the sway of passion, and discharged other whetted arrows. And Rama's younger brother poured showers of arrows from his bow; and, planting himself at his post, cut off those arrows (of his adversary) by means of razors, and crescents, and excellent karnas and darts. And seeing his arrowy net-works rendered ineffectual, that enemy of the celestials—the king—was seized with wonderment, and again shot sharpened arrows. And Lakshmana also, resembling Indra the Great, setting on his bow sharpened, sharp-pointed, flaming, and luminous shafts, endowed with the dreadful vehement impetus of the thunder-bolt, discharged (them), to compass the destruction of the lord of Rakshas. And thereat the Rakshasa sovereign cut off those whetted arrows; and smote Lakshmana in the forehead with an arrow resembling the Fire of Dooms-day in energy,—which had been conferred on him by the Self-create. And Lakshmana, tortured with Ravana's arrow, shook, loosely holding his bow; and then recovering his consciousness after undergoing extreme agony, he severed the bow of the foe of the foremost of celestials. And having cut off Ravana's bow, Dacarathas son hit (him) with three sharp-pointed arrows. And the king smarting under the shafts, with much ado regained his consciousness. And the enemy of the immortals of terrific power with his bow severed, and himself hit with shafts, and his body covered with fat, and himself washed in blood, took up a dart conferred on him by the Self-create. And the sovereign of the Rakshasas and their lord in that encounter hurled at Sumitra's son the dart resembling smoking fire, sending up living flames, and striking terror into the monkeys. And as it coursed on, Bharata's younger brother resisted it with arrows resembling a sacrificial flame. Yet the dart pierced into the broad arm of Dacaratha's son. And smit with the dart, that hero of the Raghu race, although possessed of strength, was aglow. And the king at once with his arms seized that one, who had been deprived of his senses. But he that could with his arms wield Himavan or Mandara or Meru or the triple world itself along with the immortals, could not (for all his strength) lift up Bharata's younger brother. And hit at his chest by the dart of Brahma, Sumitra's son remembered that he was verily a portion of Vishnu himself. And pressing hard Sumitra's son—that humbler of the hauteur of the Daityas, that thorn in the sides of the celestials—could not move him (from his place). And then the Wind-god's offspring waxing wroth rushed at Ravana, and overwhelmed with rage smote at his chest with his clenched fist resembling the thunder-bolt. And boxed (by Hanumana), Ravana—lord of the Rakshasas—went down to the ground on his knees, and shook and dropped to the earth. And blood gushed out in streams from his mouths and eyes and arms; and staggered and senseless, he sat down on the platform of his car. And he was rendered insensible with his senses lost; and he knew not where he was. And seeing Ravana endued with terrific prowess, rendered insensible in the encounter, saints and monkeys and gods with the Asuras set up shouts. And then the energetic Hanuman taking Lakshmana racked by Ravana, with his arms brought him before Raghava. And albeit incapable of being moved by the foes, (Lakshmana), on account of the friendship of the Wind-god's offspring as well as the high reverence in which he was held by Hanuman, became extremely light to the monkey. And then that dart, renouncing Sumitra's son vanquished in fight, again sought its place in Ravana's car. And the exceedingly powerful Ravana, recovering his consciousness in that dread encounter, took up whetted shafts and seized a mighty bow. And that finisher of foes—Lakshmana—recovered the exercise of his senses, and had his entire person perfectly healed,—on his recalling that he verily was a part and parcel of Vishnu himself. And witnessing the mighty army of the monkeys and the redoubted heroes brought down in the conflict, Raghava rushed at Ravana. Thereat drawing near to him, Hanuman said unto him,—"It behoveth thee to chastise the foe ascending my back, even as Vishnu chastiseth the enemies of the immortals, riding Garutman". Hearing the words spoken by Hanuman, Raghava at once got up on that gigantic monkey; and that master of men beheld Ravana in battle. And seeing him, that highly powerful one darted against Ravana, even as the enraged Vishnu had rushed against Virochana's son, upraising his weapons. And he sharply twanged his bow-string sounding like the terrific crash of thunder; and then in solemn tones, Rama addressed the lord of Rakshasas, saying,—"Stay, stay, having done me such wrong. Repairing whither, shalt thou, O powerful Rakshasa, attain respite? Even if thou shouldst seek Yama or Indra or the Sun—son unto Vivacwan—or the Self-sprung or the Fire-god or Sankara himself,—or go to the ten cardinal points in ten portions,—yet shalt thou not, so resorting, attain deliverance. And (Lakshmana), going forth to the fight, hath been wounded with the dart and hath suddenly been stupified. But, O king of the Rakshas, to-day in conflict Death shall claim for his own thee and thy sons and grandsons. By me with my shafts have been slaughtered four and ten thousand Rakshas residing in Janasthana, wielding excellent weapons". Hearing Raghava's words, the exceedingly strong lord of the Rakshasas, overwhelmed with a mighty wrath, recalling enmity agone, with burning shafts resembling the fire of Doom hit in encounter the exceedingly impetuous offspring of the Wind-god, who was bearing Raghava. And although struck and resisted by the Rakshasa with arrows, the energy of that one, endowed by nature with prowess—increased greatly. And the exceedingly energetic Rama, on seeing that foremost of the monkeys wounded by Ravana, was mastered by wrath. And Rama, closing with his enemy, by means of whetted arrow-points severed in pieces his car together with the wheels and the steeds, the banner, the umbrella, and the majestic streamer, as well as with the charioteer and the thunder-bolts and darts and swords. And then as the reverend Indra cleaveth Meru with his thunder-bolt, (Raghava) swiftly smote on Ravana's spacious and shapely chest with a shaft resembling Vajra and the thunder holt. And—that the king hero—who had not smarted nor shaken under the impetus of Vajra and the thunder-bolt,—assailed with the arrow of Rama and agonised in consequence, shook and lost hold of his bow. And seeing him overwhelmed, Rama took up a flaming half-moon, and with the same at once severed the sun-bright tiara of the high-souled sovereign of the Rakshasas. And Rama in the encounter addressed the lord of Rakshasas, resembling a serpent bereft of venom, shorn of his splendour, like unto the sun shrouded (in mist),—without his wonted grace, and having his entire tiara riven—saying,—"Thou hast (in battle) performed high and dreadful deeds,—and hast also (in the conflict) slain my foremost heroes. And therefore I know thou art fatigued. And for this reason it is that I will not with my shafts bring thee to the door of Death. Go thou. I know that thou art worn out with fight. Therefore, O king of night-rangers, enter Lanka. Having a little respite, do thou depart on thy car along with thy bowmen. Afterwards, mounted on thy car, shalt thou behold my power". And thus addressed, the king, with his pride and joy defeated, with his bow severed, and his steeds and charioteer killed, himself smarting under shafts,—and having his crown splintered,—speedily entered Lanka. And on that foe of the deities and the Danavas—the puissant lord of the night-rangers—entering (into Lanka), Rama rendered the monkeys along with Lakshmana hale in that fierce conflict. And at the break-down of that foe of the immortals, the celestials and the Asuras, the ghosts and the Cardinal points, and all the mighty serpents together with the oceans and the creatures inhabiting earth and water, felt exceedingly delighted.

SECTION 60.

And entering the city of Lanka, the king afflicted with the fear of Rama's arrows, with his pride humbled, was undergoing great torments. And overpowered by the high-souled Raghava, the king resembled an elephant defeated by a lion or a serpent defeated by Garuda. And remembering Raghava's arrows resembling a comet risen at the universal wreck, and of the splendour of live lightning, the Rakshasa-chief was aggrieved. And seated on a superb golden seat, Rama, eying the Rakshasas, spoke,—"Forsooth all the austere asceticism I have performed goeth for nothing, for although resembling the redoubtable Indra, I have been overcome by a mortal. And this dire speech of Brahma also reverts to my remembrance,—'Know thou that thy fear cometh from a human being. Thou art incapable of being slain by deities and Danavas, Gandharvas, Yakshas, Rakshasas and serpents. But thou hast not asked for immunity from men.' And I deem even this son of Dacaratha as the occasion of my fear. And I was formerly cursed by that lord of the Ikshwaku line—Anaranya—saying,—'O worst of Rakshasas, a person shall spring in my race, who, O wicked-minded one, shall slay thee in battle along with thy sons and courtiers and forces and horses and charioteers.' And I was also cursed by Vedavati, who was formerly outraged by me. And she is (perchance) born as the exalted daughter of Janaka. And what had also been uttered by Uma and Nandicwara and Rambha and Varuna's daughter [Punjikasthala.], hath come to pass. And taking note of this, ye should strive (to the uttermost.) And let the Rakshasas be posted at the gateways, highways, and the walls. And do ye wake up that destroyer of the pride of the deities and the Danavas—Kumbhakarna, endowed with unparalleled gravity, overwhelmed with the curse of Brahma". And seeing himself worsted and Prahasta also slain, that Raksha endowed with dreadful power issued his orders to that fearful force. "Do ye vigilantly guard the gates and mount the wall. And do ye wake up Kumbhakarna come under the sway of slumber. And deprived of his senses through lust, he sleepeth secure. And the Rakshasa sometimes sleepeth nine, seven, ten, or eight months away. Of measureless might he hath slept for nine months. And foremost of all the Rakshasas in fight, that long-armed one shall speedily slay the monkeys as well as the princes. He is a very banner in battle, and the crown of all the Rakshas. But intent on common pleasure, Kubhakarna, with his senses stupified, sleepeth ever. I have been worsted in fierce fight by Rama; but on Kumbhakarna being awakened, my grief shall go. If he doth not help me in such high peril, what shall I do with his strength resembling the strength of Sakra himself?" Hearing the speech of the lord of the Rakshasas, the Rakshasas, bestirring themselves, went to the abode of Kumbhakarna. And desired by Ravana, those feeding on flesh and blood went off hurriedly, taking perfumes and wreaths and a mass of food. And entering Kumbhakarna's charming cave having a wide gateway, measuring a yojana breathing around perfumes of flowers,—those highly powerful ones, pushed off by Kumbhakarna's breath, with the utmost energy they could summon up stood their ground and entered the cave. And then entering that charming cave having floors paved with gold and gems, those Nairitas endowed with great strength, saw that one of dreadful prowess, lying down. And then they together set about waking up the slumbering Kumbhakarna looking like a hill extended,—and sunk in profound slumber; with his body having its down standing on end; lying down; like a sighing serpent; rolling people with his powerful breath,—reposing; possessed of dreadful prowess; having a huge nose; of a person vast as the nether sphere; lying stretched at length; smelling of fat and blood; decked with golden angadas; and waring a diadem endowed with the splendour of the Sun. And (they) saw that subduer of enemies and foremost of Nairitas—Kumbhakarna. And then they piled up Meru-like animals for conferring rare gratification, and heaps of deer and buffaloes and boars. And the Rakshasas made an astounding heap of rice. And then the enemies of the immortals put up before Kumbhakarna jars of blood and various kinds of food, and smeared that repressor of foes with excellent sandal, and made him inhale perfumes and the aroma of wreaths. And they made (the place) rife with the incense of dhupa, and extolled that smiter of enemies. And then the Yatudhanas roared around here and there like clouds. And they winded conchs beaming moon-like. And they incapable of being beaten shouted in full chorus. And the night-rangers shouted and struck at their arms with their hands and began to pull him. And for rousing Kumbhakarna, mighty was the din that they raised. And hearing those loud sounds of conchs and drums and panavas; and those proceeding from persons striking at their arms with their

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hands; and leonine roars,—rushing on all sides and riving the very heavens,—birds suddenly dropped down. And when the high-souled Kumbhakarna sleeping soundly did not awake at that terrific tumult, the Rakshasas took up Bhushandis [A variety of the mace.] and maces. And then the Rakshasas, drawing near, smote Kumbhakarna sleeping sweetly in the chest with mountain-peaks, maces and clubs. But the Rakshasas could not stay before Kumbhakarna owing to the hurricane heaving at his breath. Then tightening their cloth (about their waist), those Rakshasas of dreadful prowess sounded mridangas and panavas, conchs and kumbhas. And ten thousand Rakshasas together surrounded that one resembling a heap of dark-blue collyrium and fell to rousing him. But albeit assailed with shouts and smit with weapons, he did not wake up. And when they succeeded not in rousing him, they more than ever exerted themselves. And then they smote him with horses and camels, and mules and snakes, rods and lashes and hooks, and with might and main sounded kettledrums and conchs and mridangas. And they struck his body with innumerable huge blocks of wood. And summoning up their dearest energy, they dealt him blows with maces and clubs. And at that mighty uproar, entire Lanka was filled with her woods and hills; yet he did not wake up. And then they simultaneously sounded a thousand kettle-drums beaten with sticks of polished gold. And coming under the sway of the curse, when that one sunk in slumber did not wake up, the night-rangers were wrought up with wrath. And overcome with choler, they endowed with dreadful prowess addressed themselves vigorously to awakening him; and others put forth their energy. And others smote the kettle-drums, and others set up loud cries. And others cut off his hair, and others bit his ears. And others poured into his ears a thousand vessels of water. But Kumbhakarna come under the spell of a mighty slumber did not wink. And others—strong ones—armed with poniards (kutas) and maces, made their poniards and maces alight on his person. And struck with sataghnis bound with cords, that huge-bodied one did not wake up. And then when a thousand elephants rushed against his body, recovering his consciousness, he awoke. And assailed with mountain-peaks and trees descending on his body, he, without minding those tremendous blows,—on sleep having been dispelled, suddenly got up, yawning,—suffering the pangs of hunger. And then that night-ranger resembling an elephant or a serpent or a mountain-peak, casting about his arms superior in force to the thunder-bolt itself, and opening his deformed mouth like unto that of a mule, yawned (again and again). And as he yawned, his mouth resembling the subterraneous regions, looked like the Sun stationed at the summit of Meru. And that night-ranger possessed of unwieldly strength woke up, yawning. And the breath that he breathed resembled a storm raging in a mountain. And then as he sat up, Kumbhakarna's form appeared like that of the Destroyer himself at the universal wreck,—intent upon consuming all creatures. And the large eyes of that one, resembling a live flame and endowed with the splendour of lightning, appeared like a pair of glowing planets. And then they pointed unto him all those heaps of edibles, various and profuse,—bears and buffaloes,—and that powerful (Rakshasa) fell to. And hungering, he fed on flesh and athirst, drank blood. And then that enemy of Sakra drank vesselfuls of fat and blood. And concluding that he was replete, the night rangers came up; and bowing down their heads, stood circling him on all sides. And then with his eyes discoloured and drooping from drowsiness, he casting his eyes around, addressed those night-rangers. And that foremost of Nairitas cheered all those Nairitas; and surprised at his having been roused,—spoke unto the Rakshasas,—"Why, being honoured, have I been awakened by you? Is it well with the king? Or hath any fear sprung up here? Or hath a mighty fear presented itself forsooth from among others; for which I have been speedily awakened by you? This very day will I uproot quite the fear of the sovereign of the Rakshasas. I will split up the great Indra himself,—or make Fire himself give up his heat. One doth not awaken my like for a light cause. Therefore do ye give the real truth of the cause of your awakening me". Thereat a minister of the king, named Yupaksha, with joined hands said unto that humbler of foes—Kumbhakarna—wrought up with wrath, who was thus speaking,—"No fear anywise springs to us from the Deities. But, O king, a great fear doth cross us, coming from a mortal. And never fear so cometh unto us anywise from Daityas or Danavas, as it hath arrived from a man, O king. This Lanka hath been hemmed in by monkeys resembling mountains. And terrific is the terror that cometh even from Rama scorched with fire springing from the ravishment of Sita. Ere this by a single monkey was this splendid city burnt down. And the prince Aksha hath been slain along with his following and elephants. And that thorn in the sides of deities, that lord of the Rakshasas—Pulasta's son himself—hath been set free in conflict by Raghava endowed with the splendour of the Sun,—saying—-'Go thou.' And what had been done unto the king by neither the gods nor the Daityas nor yet the Danavas, hath been done by Rama; and he hath been set free, having come to a pass imperilling his life". Hearing Yupaksha's speech and hearing of the defeat of his brother, Kumbhakarna, with his eyes whirling, spoke unto him, saying,—"To day, O Yupaksha, after vanquishing in battle the monkey-army together with Lakshmana and Raghava, shall I see Ravana. And I shall regale the Rakshasas with the flesh and blood of the monkeys, and myself drink the blood of Rama and Lakshmana". Hearing his words as he haughtily spoke thus with his spirit of insolence magnified by much, that foremost of the Nairita soldiers, Mahodara, with joined hands observed,—"O long-armed one, having at first heard Ravana's words and considered their justice or otherwise, thou wilt afterwards defeat the foe in fight". Hearing Mahodara's words, the exceedingly energetic and mighty (Kumbhakarna) surrounded by the Rakshasas, prepared to depart. And having roused from his slumbers that one of terrific prowess having dreadful eyes,—the Rakshasas speedily arrived at the residence of the Ten-necked one. And presenting themselves before the Ten-necked one seated on a superb seat, all the night-rangers spoke with joined hands,—"O lord of the Rakshasas, thy brother, Kumbhakarna, hath been roused. Shall he march from there; or wilt thou see him come here?" Thereat, Ravana, pleased, spoke unto those Rakshasas who had presented themselves,—"I wish to see him here, and do ye honour him fittingly". Thereat, saying 'So be it', the Rakshasas, directed by Ravana, going back, spoke unto Kumbhakarna,—"That foremost of all the Rakshasas—the king—wisheth to see thee. So mind thou going, and gladden thy brother". And the irrepressible Kumbhakarna possessed of prodigious prowess, learning the mandate of his brother, saying,—'So be it,'—rose up from his bed. And washing his face, and having bathed, that one, feeling refreshed and enjoying exceeding exhilaration of spirit,—wishing to drink, urged (the Rakshasas) to bring the nerve-conferring draught. And then the Rakshasas, at the command of Ravana speedily procured wine and various kinds of viands. And having drunk two thousand vessels (of wine), he prepared to go. And slightly swolen and flushed, Kumbhakarna, attaining access of strength and fire, waxed wroth, and resembled the Doom and Destroyer—Yama himself. And striding to the residence of his brother backed by the Raksha force, Kumbhakarna shook the earth with his tread. And illuming the highway with the splendour of his person, like the thousand-rayed (Sun) discovering the earth with his rays, (Kumbhakarna) went on, engirt around by joined hands resembling wreaths,—like Satakratu [Lit. him of an hundred sacrifices—an appellation of Indra.] going to the abode of the Self-sprung. And suddenly seeing that slayer of foes of immeasurable prowess, resembling a mountain-summit,—walking along the highways, the wood-rangers stationed outside (the monkey-camp), along with the leaders of bands, were seized with affright. And then some sought the shelter of Rama, worthy of being so sought; and some, stricken (with panic), dropped to the earth; and some, suffering (from fear), lied to the cardinal points; and some through stress (of apprehension) lay down on the ground. And seeing that one resembling a very mountain-peak, decked with a diadem, seeming to touch the Sun himself with his energy, of colossal altitude, and wonderful to behold,—the wood-rangers, tormented with fright, began to scamper on all sides.

SECTION 61.

And then the exceedingly energetic Rama possessed of prowess, taking his bow, saw Kumbhakarna, having a huge body and decked with a diadem. And seeing that foremost of Rakshasas looking like a mountain; filling all the heavens as formerly Narayana had done; resembling clouds charged with rain; and adorned with golden angadas,—the mighty army of monkeys began to run away at the top of its speed. Seeing the army scamper and the Rakshasa swelling, Rama struck with surprise, said unto Bibhishana,—"Who is that tawney-eyed one, decked with a diadem, and looking like a hill? And in Lanka the hero appeareth like a mass of clouds embosoming lightning. And alone he seemeth like an ensign of the Earth; and seeing him the monkeys dart away hither and thither. Tell me who he is,—whether a Raksha or an Asura. The like of him mine eyes had never before lighted on". Accosted by the king's son—Rama of untiring deeds—the exceedingly wise Bibhishana said unto Kakutstha,—"By whom in battle Vivascwata's offspring and Vasava himself had been vanquished, this is he—the wondrous powerful Kumbhakarna—son unto Vicravan. No Rakshasa is there that equalleth this one in size. O Raghava, this one in battle hath brought down Danavas and Yakshas and Serpents and flesh-feeders and Gandharvas and Vidyadharas and Pannagas [Semi-divine serpents.] by thousands. The immortals themselves thinking the dart-handed and fierce-eyed Kumbhakarna possessed of great strength, as the Destroyer himself,—were overwhelmed with stupor and were foiled in their exertions to slay him. The exceedingly powerful Kumbhakarna is mighty by nature: the strength of other redoubtable Rakshasas is owing to boons obtained by them. As soon as this high-souled one was born and was a babe, he began to devour up countless creatures by the thousand. And on these having been devoured, creatures, afflicted with affright consequent on those having been eaten up, sought the shelter of Sakra and told him what had happened. And thereat the great Indra, waxing wroth, smote Kumbhakarna with the whetted levin. And hit at with Sakra's thunderbolt, that high-souled (hero) shook, and in wrath set up roars. And hearing the roars of the Rakshasa—Kumbhakarna—as he kept crying, creatures, seized with fear, were greatly agitated. And thereat, enraged with the great Indra, the mighty Kumbhakarna plucking a tusk of Airavata, hurled it at Vasava's chest. And with blood overflowing his person, Vasava looked as if aflame. And thereat, all of a sudden the gods and the Brahmarshis and the Danavas were dispirited. And then they informed the lord of creatures touching the ravages of Kumbhakarna, and informed the gods about Kumbhakarna's devouring up creatures, destroying asylums and outraging others' wives. "If this one devour creatures constantly, in a short space the world would be empty of any". Hearing Vasava's speech, the Great-father of all called up the Rakshasas and saw Kumbhakarna (before him). And seeing Kumbhakarna, Prajapati [Lit.—lord of creatures.] was seized with exceeding great fear. And then, pacifying Kumbhakarna, the Self-sprung addressed him, saying,—"Forsooth for compassing the destruction of creatures, hast thou been begot by Paulasta [Vicrava.]. Therefore from this day forth, thou shalt lie down as one dead". Stricken with the curse of Brahma, Kumbhakarna fell down before the Lord. Then, extremely agitated, Ravana said,—"Thou hewest down a golden tree when about to bear fruit. O lord of creatures, thou ought not to curse thus thine own grandson. Thy words will never go for naught; sleep he will, without doubt. But do thou appoint a time for his sleeping and one for his awaking". Hearing Ravana's speech, the Self-sprung said,—"Having slept for six months, he shall wake for one day. And for a single day, that hero, coming under the influence of hunger, shall range the earth, opening his mouth wide open, and devouring people like a fire that hath spread far and wide. And now king Ravana struck with terror at thy prowess, encompassed with peril, hath waked up Kumbhakarna. And that hero possessed of dreadful prowess, wrought up with high wrath, sallying forth from his camp, rusheth about, eating up monkeys. And soon as the monkeys see Kumbhakarna, they fly away. And How can they resist in battle the enraged Kumbhakarna? Do thou tell the monkeys this is an uplifted engine. Thus assured, the monkeys shall take heart". Hearing Bibhishana's words informed with reason and tending to the good (of the monkeys), Raghava then addressed general Nila; saying,—"Let you, monkeys, equipped with weapons and holding hill-tops in your hands,—and furnished with mountain-summits and trees and rocks, stay, occupying the highways and the bridges". Thus instructed by Raghava, that powerful monkey, Nila—general of the forces—accordingly issued his orders to the monkey-hosts. And then Givaksha and Sarabha and Hanuman and Angada, themselves endowed with the splendour of mountain-summits, taking up mountain-tops, drew towards the gateway. And hearing Rama's words, the heroic monkeys inspired with intrepidity, fiercely fell on the foe with trees. And then that dreadful army of monkeys, upraising crags and holding trees in their hands, appeared like mighty masses of scowling clouds bordering a mountain.

SECTION 62.

And that tiger-like Rakshasa possessed of prowess, (still) under the influence of slumber, strode along the picturesque highway. And that exceedingly unconquerable one, surrounded by thousands of Rakshasas, went on, showered with blossoms from the houses (standing by). And then he saw the grand and graceful residence of the lord of the Rakshasas, having golden networks and sun-bright to behold. And entering the mansion of the Rakshasa sovereign, like the sun entering into a mass of clouds, he saw his elder brother seated at a distance; even as Sakra sees the Self-sprung seated. And Kumbhakarna surrounded by numbers of Rakshasas, entered his brother's abode, making the very earth tremble with his tread. And arriving at the abode and passing the entrance, he saw his superior anxiously seated on the car, Pusphaka. Seeing Kumbhakarna come, the Ten-necked one, exceedingly rejoiced, raised him up and drew him near himself. And then the exceedingly mighty Kumbhakarna saluted the feet of his brother and said,—"What dost thou say?" Thereat, delighted, Ravana, springing up, again embraced (his brother). And embraced (by his brother), and duly greeted by him, that brother (of Ravana)—Kumbhakarna seated himself on a shining and superb seat. And seating himself on that seat, the wondrous powerful Kumbhakarna, with his eyes reddened in wrath, addressed Ravana, saying,—"O king, why, honouring me, hast thou awaked me? Tell me, whence springeth thy fear? And who shall be a ghost?" [Having been slain by me.] Thereat, Ravana, waxing wroth, and with his eyes rolling in rage, said unto Kumbhakarna, seated,—"O highly powerful one, thou hast slept away a long space of time. And having been asleep, thou dost not know the great fear of mine springing from Rama. This graceful son unto Dacaratha possessed of strength, along with Sugriva, having crossed the

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ocean, is destroying our race. Alack! see in own Lanka, woods and forests have been flooded with an ocean of monkeys coming without any ado by the bridge (which they have constructed). Those Rakshasas that were prime, have been slain in battle by the monkeys; but I find no destruction of the monkeys in fight. Nay, the monkeys have never been before even vanquished (by the Rakshasas) in battle. And therefore hath this fear sprung up (in my heart). Save me from this, O exceedingly powerful one. Do thou now destroy these. It is for this that I have roused thee. Do thou, favouring me, whose exchequer is empty, save this city of Lanka, having only young folks and the aged left. And, O long-armed one, do thou perform thy dearest acts in behalf of thy brother. And, O subduer of enemies, I had never before said so unto my brother. In thee is my affection and great is the probability of thy succeeding. In the wars of the celestials and Asuras, O foremost of Rakshasas, countless were the celestials that thou as an antagonist hadst beaten. Therefore, O thou of dreadful strength, summon thy entire energy. Him find I not among all beings, who is thy peer in prowess. And, O lover of battle! O dear unto friends, as thou likest, do this beloved good office, this prime benefit, unto me. By thy own energy, smite the hostile hosts, even as a mighty and strong wind (scattereth away) autumnal clouds.

SECTION 63.

Hearing the lament of the king of Rakshasas, Kumbhakarna, laughing, said,—"That evil which on the occasion of the conclave we had seen, hath befallen thee, who hast passed by what was fraught with thy good. Even as a sinner reapeth perdition, verily hath the fruit of thine unrighteous act found thee. At first, O mighty king, thou didst not ponder over this course of conduct; nor, from pride of prowess, didst thou at all take note of the evil thereof. He that doeth last what should be done first, and first what should be done last, is ignorant of what is prudence and what not. Acts not performed in harmony with season and place, like unto acts performed counter to season and place, are the occasions of misery, and resemble clarified butter poured into fire that hath not been sanctified. He stayeth well in the path that, in consultation with his counsellors, ascertained the five ways touching the three kinds of action. [The five ways are (1st) the means of commencing an act (2nd) person, thing and wealth, (3rd) division of season and place, (4th) providing against mischance, (5th) success. The three kinds of action are treaty, war, etc. All this is nebulous; and the commentator is sadly reticent over this extremely important passage.] The king that aided by his own intelligence as well as his counsellors acteth after reflection in consonance with the science of polity, that distinguished his friends (from his foes), and, lord of the Rakshasas, that seasonably pursueth righteousness, or profit, or desire,—or any two, or all these combined,—truly hath understanding. But the king or the heir-apparent, that, having heard what is prime among the three, doth not understand, hath spent his time in vain on his erudition. He that, controlling his own self, consulteth with his counsellors seasonably touching gift, forbearance, difference and prowess, as well as virtue, profit and desire,—doth not in this world come by calamity. Perceiving the fair fruit (of a line of action) accruing to him here, a king should act in consultation with counsellors endowed with intelligence and versed in the import of things. Not understanding the sense of the scriptures, persons possessed of beastly intelligence,—entering into the heart of their counsellors,—are inspired with a desire of speaking out of sheer volubility. Albeit uttered needfully, the speech of those that are ignorant of learning and the knowledge of the sense of things,—and who are intent upon attaining abounding affluence,—should not be acted upon. And those—spoilers of business—who from recklessness talk of pernicious as if profitable,—should certainly be rejected as counsellors. Some counsellors—destroyers of their masters—joining intelligent enemies (of their lords), act in a way opposed to their interests in this world. Their lords, at the hour of consultation, by their behaviour should know these counsellors—enemies in the guise of friends—who have been won over (by the opposite party). Even as the fowls of the air enter the hole in the Krauncha [The hole indented by Skanda the celestial generallissimo in the mountain named in the text.], enemies find an easy entrance into the shortcomings of him that is fickle and that rusheth into act without heed. He that disregarding his foe, omitteth to guard himself, cometh by disasters and loseth his place. Even what had been advanced by thy beloved and my younger brother, is fraught with our welfare. Do thou now what thou wishest". Hearing Kumbhakarna's words, the Ten-necked one knit up his brows, and, wrought up with wrath, said unto him,—"I am worthy of being honoured by thee, like thy superior. What needs this verbal travail? Do thou what is fit. Vain is the mention now of what I did either through stupor or delusion or pride of prowess. Now bethink thee of what is proper. Do thou through thy prowess assuage the sorrow of mine springing from my impolitic conduct, if thou cherishest any feeling for me, if thy strength stayeth, and if thou deemest this business of mine as by far more momentous unto thee. He is a friend that succoureth one fallen in distress and is undergoing affliction; and he acts friendly that helpeth a person lapsing from the path of morality". As he was speaking thus in words sedate yet severe, Kumbhakarna, concluding that Ravana was delighted, made his remarks mildly. And seeing his brother extremely sorry, Kumbhakarna, pacifying him, gently said,—"O king, intently hear my words, O repressor of foes! O lord of Rakshasas, banish this sorrow, and casting away thy wrath, return thou to nature. And, O king, so long as I live, thou must not suffer thy heart to fare thus. Him will I slay for whom thou grievest. But whatever condition thou mayst be in, I must tell what is for thy welfare; and therefore from sentiment of friendship as well as from fraternal affection I have spoken thus unto thee, O king. And what a friend from affection should do at a time like this, I shall do the same. See the havock I spread among the foes in fight. And, O long-armed one, behold, on Rama having been slain by me on the edge of battle along with his brother, the monkey-army in headlong flight. And to-day seeing Rama's head brought by me from the field, be thou, O long-armed one, happy; and let Sita be overwhelmed with woe. And let those Rakshasas in Lanka who have had their kindred slain (in battle), see that dear sight—Rama slain (in fight). And to-day shall I slaying the enemies in battle, wipe the tears of those who mourn their friends slain and are overwhelmed with grief. To-day behold the lord of monkeys—Sugriva—resembling a mountain or a mass of clouds lighted up by (the living) sun,—lying stretched on the field. But why, O sinless one, albeit comforted by these Rakshasas eager for slaying Dacaratha's son, as well as by me,—dost thou persist in thy sorrow? Raghava forsooth shall slay thee after slaying me. But, O lord of Rakshasas, I cannot come by grief (at Raghava's hands). O repressor of foes, do thou now command me, O thou of unparalleled prowess, thou needst not thyself face the foe in fight. I shall abolish thy foes endowed with redoubted might. If even Sakra himself, and Yama, and the god of Fire, and the god of Wind, and Kuvera, and Varuna—shall range themselves against me, them shall I encounter in fight. Purandara himself is seized with fright at sight of me, having a body measuring a mountain,—equipped with sharpened spears,—furnished with sharp teeth,—and setting up shouts. And who wishing to save himself shall be able to stay before me as I casting away my weapons keep pounding my enemies with celerity? No need of the dart, or the mace, or the sword, or whetted arrows. I shall with my bare arms alone slay (Rama) along with the thunderer himself. If Raghava bear the impetus of my blows, then shall the vollies of my shafts drink his life-blood. Why, O king, while I remain, dost thou burn in anxiety? And I am ready to sally out for compassing the destruction of thine enemies. Cast off all terror of Rama. I shall slay in battle Raghava and Lakshmana and the exceedingly powerful Sugriva and the Raksha-destroying Hanuman, who made Lanka blaze. I shall eat up the monkeys present in the encounter. And signal is the celebrity that I shall confer on thee. And, O king, if thy fear springs from Indra or the Self-create, even the immortals shall measure their lengths on the earth when I am wrought with rage. And I shall subdue Yama himself and devour the God of Fire. And I shall bring down the very welkin garnished with stars. And I shall slay Satakratu and drink up the abode itself [Ocean.] of Varuna. And I shall crush the mountains and rive the earth. And to day let all creatures as they are being eaten up, witness the prowess of Kumbhakarna, after he hath slept for a long time. Even the celestial regions do not suffice for me as my fare. I go for securing felicity ushuring in pleasures plenteous flowing from the destruction of Dacaratha's son. And slaying Rama along with Lakshmana, I shall eat up all the foremost of monkey-bands. Make merry, my king; to-day drink Varuni. Enjoy pleasures, banishing sorrow. And to-day on my having despatched Rama to the mansion of Yama, Sita shall come under thy control for good".

SECTION 64.

Hearing the speech of the huge-bodied, long-armed and mighty Kumbhakarna, Mahodara said,—"O Kumbhakarna, although sprung in a noble line, thou art wondrous haughty and of a vulgar form; and thou art not everywhere competent to discern thy course. It certainly cannot well be that the king cannot distinguish between proper and improper; but thou hast from thy youth upwards been insolent; and thy joy is in talking perenially. But the foremost of the Rakshasas is versed in place and increase and injury,—and knoweth the duties touching season and place,—and how to advance his own party and lower that of the foe. But what person ever acteth according to what is proposed feebly by one having strength, yet of inferior intelligence, and who hath never respected the aged? And thou art not naturally competent to understand what thou thyself sayest touching the opposed virtue, profit and desire. Verily action is the spring of all agencies of happiness or misery; and it is only those that act either well or ill that reap the results of their acts. Virtue, and interest bring about emancipation as well as heaven and prosperity. But evil cometh from unrighteousness and harms spring there from. People reap the fruit of their acts in this world or the next; but the fruit of desire is reaped readily. Therefore should a king set about attaining his desire. And this also had we advised thee with our soul. And what is the harm that one should display his prowess before a foe? Dost thou show the reasons for thy taking the field alone? But I shall point thee out what is improper and unreasonable in this (proposed) course. How shalt thou alone vanquish that Raghava who formerly routed in Janasthana innumerable Rakshasas possessed of exceeding strength? Dost thou not to-day in the palace behold those powerful Rakshasas that had been beaten in Janasthana,—cowed down in fear? Alas! thou wishest to awake Rama,—son unto Dacaratha—knowing full well that he resembles an enraged lion or a sleeping serpent. But whom doth it behove to confront him ever flaming in energy, difficult of being approached when enraged,—and unbearable even like Death himself? On approaching the foe, this whole host itself shall be imperilled; and therefore, my child, thy marching alone doth nowise recommend itself to me. Who is there that, albeit weak bent on renouncing his life, wisheth to bring under subjection a foe that is powerful,—as if he would act with reference to one that is inferior? O foremost of Rakshasas, why dost thou wish to fight with him whose peer there is none among men, and who is equal to Indra and Vivacwata himself?" Having said this unto Kumbhakarna wrought up with wrath, Mahodara addressed that destroyer of creatures—Ravana—in the midst of the Rakshasas,—"Having already obtained Vaidehi, why dost thou delay? If thou wishest it, Sita shall come under thy control. I have perceived a way as to how Sita may smile upon thee. Do thou listen; and should it please thee, act thou accordingly. Do thou proclaim it about that I and Dwijibha and Sanhradi, and Kumbhakarna and Vitardana—these five—are marching for compassing the destruction of Rama. And we, marching out, shall battle with Rama, putting forth our uttermost. And if we succeed in securing victory, no expedient need we resort to (or bringing Sita round). But if our foe live after fight and we also having fought the fight, then shall we do what I conceive in my mind. We shall come hither from the field, bathed in blood, and having our bodies cleft with arrows marked with the name of Rama. And we shall give out that both Rama and Lakshmana have been eaten up by us. And then we shall hold thy feet, saying,—'Do thou gratify us.' Then, king, do thou through Gajaskandha publish it all round that Rama hath been slain along with his brother and the army. And, O repressor of foes, (pretending to be) well pleased, do thou dispense—viands, and servants, and objects of enjoyments, and wealth unto thy retainers; and unto the many heroes and warriors distribute wreaths and attires and unguents. And do thou (simulating) delight, drink. And on this report—name that Rama hath been eaten up by the Rakshasas along with his friends,—having spread round and round and entering (the acoka wood), and soothing and pacifying Sita in solitude, allure her with corn and riches and gems. By this deceit, O king, working powerfully through Sita's sorrow, she, albeit unwilling, shall, having lost her lord, come under thy control. Losing her charming husband, she from despair and female frailty, shall come under thy sway. Having formerly been brought up in happiness, she, although worthy of felicity, (ultimately) had come by misfortune. And now finding happiness to be in thy custody, she shall unreservedly come over to thee. In my opinion this is the properest course to follow. As soon as thou seest Rama, evil shall befall thee. Remain here. Do not wish (to go to the field). By refraining from fight, thou shalt acquire great good. And, O lord of people, by conquering the foe without battle, thou without losing thy forces and putting thyself to peril, thou, O lord of earth, shalt attain fame and high religious merit, and prosperity and renown for ever and for ever.

SECTION 65.

Thus addressed, Kumbhakarna rebuking Mahodara, said unto that foremost of Rakshasa—his brother—Ravana,—"Even I shall remove thy great fear by slaying the wicked-minded Rama. On thy foe having been slain, attain thou ease. It is not for naught that the heroes roar, like unto clouds containing no rain. Behold thou their roaring resulting in action in the field! Heroes do not vaunt; but without boasting of their prowess in speech, they perform feats difficult of being achieved. O Mahodara, what thou sayest is ever acceptable only to kings that are incompetent, and foolish, pluming themselves on their knowledge. All the affairs of the monarch have been wrecked by you—cravens in fight,—sleek-tongued,—following the king (fawning) ye have made Lanka contain only the king, the treasury is lean; and the forces have been slain. By the king ye have done like foes in the guise of friends. For repairing in mighty conflict the wrong that ye have perpetrated, I am about to set out for battle for routing the enemy". Thus addressed by the intelligent Kumbhakarna, the lord of Rakshasas, laughing answered,—"Sure this Mahodara is affrighted at Rama. And therefore, my child, O thou versed in warfare, he doth not relish battle. Like thee have I none either in friendship or strength. Therefore, O Kumbhakarna, go for destroying the foe and securing

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celebrity. I have waked thee up that wast lying down, in order that thou mightst destroy the enemy. O subduer of foes, perilous is the time for the Rakshasas. Go forth, grasping thy spear, like the noose-handed Destroyer himself. Do thou devour up the monkeys as well as the princes possessed of the energy of the Sun himself. On seeing thy form, the monkeys shall flee away; and the breasts of Rama and Lakshmana shall be riven". Having spoken thus unto Kumbhakarna endowed with prodigious might, that foremost of Rakshasas—the exceedingly energetic Ravana—felt as if he had received life over again. And well acquainted with Kumbhakarna's might, and knowing his prowess, the king felt delighted, like the cloudless Moon. Having been thus accosted, that highly powerful one, went out cheerfully. And hearing the king's speech, he made ready for fight. And he took a whetted dart, destructive to foes on account of its impetuous vehemence; entirely made of black iron; flaming; decorated with garniture, of shining gold; looking like Indra's acani; ponderous as the thunder-bolt; capable of destroying gods and Danavas, Gandharvas, Yakshas and Pannagas; adorned with festoons of crimson flowers; and belching forth flames. And taking that huge dart decked with the blood of foes; the wondrous energetic Kumbhakarna spoke unto Ravana, saying,—"I shall go alone: let this mighty host remain here. To-day hungry and enraged, I shall devour up the monkeys. Hearing Kumbhakarna's words, Ravana said,—"Go thou, surrounded by the forces bearing darts and maces in their hands. The monkeys are high-souled, heroic and well-skilled in battle; and if they find thee alone or unwary, they may slay thee with their teeth. Therefore do thou exceedingly irrisistible, go, environed by the forces; and destroy the entire party of the foes, who are bent upon doing harm unto the Rakshas". Then starting up from his seat, the exceedingly energetic Ravana hung on Kumbhakarna's neck a wreath stringed with gems in the centre. And Ravana also decked that high-souled one with angadas, and finger-fences, and noble ornaments, and a chain resembling the Moon. And Ravana adorned his person with garlands gorgeous and fragrant, and set ear-rings to his ears. And adorned with golden angadas and Keyuras and other ornaments of gold, the large-eared Kumbhakarna appeared like a fire fed full of sacrificial libations. And with his great dark girdle he seemed like the Mandara fastened by the serpent on the occasion of the churning of the sea. And donning on his impenetrable golden mail, splendid like lightning, and shining in its own brilliance, Kumbhakarna appeared like the monarch of mountains enveloped with evening clouds. Having all his limbs adorned with ornaments and bearing a dart in his hand, the Rakshasa resembled Narayana in elation of spirits, when he covered heaven and earth and the nether regions with three paces. And then embracing his brother and going round him and bowing down the head unto him, that exceedingly powerful one went out. And Ravana sent him with choice benedictions,—while he caused kettle-drums and conchs to be sounded and forces equipped with excellent weapons, to accompany Kumbhakarna. And high-souled mighty warriors followed that foremost of heroes with elephants and steeds and chariots sending out rattle resembling the rumbling of thunder. And mounting serpents and camels and asses and lions and leopards and deer and birds, (Rakshasas) followed the grim Kumbhakarna endowed with tremendous strength. And strewn with blossoms, and, with an umbrella held over him, that exceedingly terrible enemy of the Deities and the Danavas, wielding a dart in his hand,—went out, maddened with the smell of blood. And countless footmen wondrous powerful and mighty and dreadful and fierce-sighted Rakshasas, carrying weapons in their hands, went in his wake. The Rakshas measuring each many a vyama and red-eyed, and resembling masses of dark-blue collyrium,—went out upraising darts and swords and sharpened axes and bhindipalas and parighas and maces and huge talaskandhas and irrisistible Kshapanis. And the exceedingly energetic Kumbhakarna endowed with prodigious strength sallied forth, assuming another form terrific and dreadful to behold. And the gigantic huge-faced and fierce Kumbhakarna, measuring an hundred bows in breadth and six hundred in altitude, having eyes resembling car-wheels, and resembling a towering hill, or a mountain burnt,—marshalling the Rakshas, said with a complacent countenance,—"Like fire consuming insects, shall I to-day, wrought up with wroth, burn up one by one the bands of the flower of the monkey-forces. But the wood-ranging monkeys have not transgressed anywise unto the like of us. That species is the ornament of the gardens attached to our residences. The cause of the seige of the city is Raghava along with Lakshmana. He being slain, all are slain. Therefore shall I slay him in battle". As the Raksha—Kumbhakarna—was speaking thus, the Rakshasas sent up terrific shouts, as if making the very sea shake. As the intelligent Kumbhakarna sallied out speedily, dreadful were the omens that presented themselves on all sides. Clouds containing meteors and lightning looked dark like asses. And the earth shook with her oceans and woods. And fierce jackals began to cry, opening their flaming mouths. And birds began to wheel at the left. And as he marched a vulture alighted on his dart. And his left eye throbbed and his left arm shook. And a meteor dropped down with a tremendous crash. And the sun was bedimmed, and the air did not blow, enhancing pleasure. But without heeding these mighty omens that took place, capabale of making people's down stand on end, Kumbhakarna went out, urged on by the force of the Finisher. And leaping over the wall with his legs, that one resembling a mountain saw the wonderful array of the monkeys, resembling clouds. And seeing that foremost of Rakshasas resembling a hill, the monkeys began to disperse in all the ten cardinal directions like clouds driven by the wind. And seeing that terrific host of monkeys scattering in all directions, like clouds broken through (by winds), Kumbhakarna possessed of the splendour of clouds, from joy, emitted roars like clouds. Hearing those terrible shouts like unto the roaring of clouds in the welkin, innumerable monkeys dropped to the earth even as sala trees that have their roots severed. And issuing forth for destroying the foe, the high-souled Kumbhakarna, equipped with a tremendous bludgeon, struck extreme terror into the monkey-ranks, like unto the Lord armed with the Fatal rod at the Universal wreck.

SECTION 66.

Having leapt over the wall, the exceedingly powerful and gigantic Kumbhakarna resembling a mountain-summit, speedily went out of the city. And then he sent up a mighty shout making the sea resound, and as if drowning the roar of the thunder and riving mountains. And seeing that fierce-eyed one, incapable of being vanquished by Maghavan or Varuna or Yama, the monkeys began to fly away. And seeing them scamper, the king's son—Angada—said unto Nala and Nila and Gavaksha and the mighty Kumuda,—"Forgetting your lineage and prowess, whither do ye, exercised with fear, fly,—like inferior monkeys? Ye amiable ones, desist. Why should ye save yourselves? This Raksha doth not come to fight,—this is only a great phenomenon to affright. We shall by our vigor destroy this fearful phenomenon of the Rakshasas that hath presented itself. Therefore, let the monkeys desist. Cheered with much ado, the monkeys rallying, took up trees and advanced to the field of fight. And ceasing from flight, the wood-rangers waxing enraged, began to assail Kumbhakarna, like unto elephants in rut. And the exceedingly strong Kumbhakarna, attacked with towering mountain-peaks and crags and trees with flowering top, did not shake. And countless crags descending on his person, were shattered; and trees with flowering tops, being broken, fell down to the earth. And incapable of containing himself (through rage), Kumbhakarna on his part fell to agitating the ranks of the powerful monkeys, even as a fire breaking out burneth down a forest. And many a prime monkey, crimsoned and drenched (with blood) lay down (on the ground); and many, resisted dropped to the earth, like trees bearing coppery flowers. And without looking before or after, the monkeys bounded and rushed. And on being attacked by the Rakshasa with ease some of those heroes dropped into the deep, and some entered the wilderness. And some ran by the same way by which they had crossed the ocean; and some with pale faces darted into downs. And some of the bears ascended up trees, and some took shelter in mountains. And others dropped down; and some ran on. And some fell down to the earth, and some lay insensible as if dead. Seeing the monkeys break down, Angada addressed them, saying,—"Stay we shall fight. Desist, ye monkeys. Going round this Earth place find I none where ye may rest. Stop ye all. What is the need of preserving your lives. Ye poltroons, if ye fly away leaving your arms behind, your wives shall deride you; and that is more painful to honourable persons than death itself. Born in long and noble lines, whither go ye, suffering from fear, like abject monkeys? When renouncing your prowess, ye fly away in fear, forsooth ye are base. Where now is gone that talk of yours anent your nobility and the welfare (of your king) which you had held in society. He that liveth, despised (of all), hear the reproach of being a craven. Therefore do ye follow the way frequented by the worthy, and cast off fear. We will either lie down on the earth, being slain in consequence of our shortness of days, and thus attain the region of Brahma incapable of being attained by dastards; or achieve renown by slaying the foe in fight and slain in battle, we shall enjoy the wealth of the region of heroes. Like an insect coming to a glowing and flaming fire, Kumbhakarna, seeing Kakutstha, shall not away hence living. If we save our lives by flight, and if the many are brought down by one, we shall lose our fame utterly". As Angada decked in golden angadas was saying this, the monkeys, flying away spake onto that hero words not worthy of being spoken unto an hero,—"Great is the havoc that the Rakshasa—Kumbhakarna—hath spread amongst us. 'Tis not the time to stay: life is dear unto us". Having said this the monkey-bands darted to the ten cardinal points; as they saw that dreadful and grim-eyed one approach. And as those flower of the forces were on the flight, those heroes were made to desist by Angada with words of comfort and hope pointing to the future. On being cheered by the intelligent son of Vali, all the monkey-bands stood expecting his commands.

SECTION 67.

And having desisted on hearing the words of Angada, those huge-bodied ones, regaining calmness, became (again) intent on fight. And attaining energy at the exhortation (of Angada), and summoning up their prowess, they stayed in the field agreeably to the words of the powerful Angada. And inspired with spirits, the monkeys, determined to face their fate, rushed into the conflict, and, casting away all care for their lives, entered into a furious fight (with the foe). And speedily upraising trees and gigantic crags, the huge-bodied monkeys charged Kumbhakarna. Thereat the mighty Kumbhakarna possessed of a prodigious person waxing wroth, taking up his mace let the same alight on the enemies. And attacked by Kumbhakarna, seven, eight hundreds and thousands of monkeys measure their lengths on the earth. And casting about his arms, he rusheth on, devouring sixteen, eight, ten, twenty or thirty. And he devoured (the monkeys) like Garuda swallowing up serpents. And then cheered up with much ado, the monkeys meeting together, and taking trees and rocks in their hands, stood their ground in the van of battle. Then uprooting a crag, Dwivida—foremost of monkeys—resembling an extended mass of clouds rushed against (Kumbhakarna) having the aspect of a mountain-summit. And uprooting it, the monkey hurled it at Kumbhakarna. And without descending on him, the crag fell down amidst the army, and smashed steeds and elephants and cans and choice chargers. And then taking another mountain top, Dwivida hurled it at other Rakshas. And smit with the impetus of the peak, Kumbhakarna had his chargers and his charioteers slain; and the terrific field overflowed with the blood of Rakshas. And Rakshasa car-warriors by means of arrows resembling the Destroyer himself, cut off the heads of the foremost monkeys who had been setting up roars. And the high-souled monkeys also, uprooting giants trees, destroyed cars and horses and elephants and camels and Rakshasas.—And remaining in the sky, Hanuman discharged at Kumbhakarna's head mountain-peaks and rocks and various trees. And all those mountain-tops he cut off with his dart; and the mighty Kumbhakarna also baffled the shower of trees.—Then grasping his sharpened spear, Kumbhakarna darted against that terrific array of monkeys. And as he charged them, Hanuman armed with a mountain-peak, stood before him. And waxing enraged (Hanuman) vehemently smote Kumbhakarna with a gigantic crag. And overpowered by that, Kumbhakarna experienced great torments, and his body was covered with fat and blood. And then as Guha had pierced Krauncha with his fierce dart, Kumbhakarna the mountain-like smote the Wind-god's son in the chest with his dart resembling lightning or like a glowing mountain-summit. And having his mighty chest pierced in the mighty encounter, Hanuman, overwhelmed, and vomitting blood,—transported with wrath, set up roars resembling the roaring of the clouds at the universal disruption. And then, beholding him in torments, the Rakshas suddenly rejoiced, emitted shouts; and the monkeys aggrieved and overcome with fright, began to fly Kumbhakarna in battle. And then the powerful Nila, arranging his forces, discharged a mountain-peak at the intelligent Kumbhakarna. And seeing it descend, he dealt it a blow; and struck by the blow, the mountain-top was shattered in pieces; and dropped to the earth glowing and shooting living flames. And then Rishabha and Sarabha and Nila and Gavaksha and Gandhamadana—these five terrific monkeys—rushed against Kumbhakarna. And in the encounter those mighty monkeys began to sorely assail the huge-bodied Kumbhakarna with crags and trees and slaps and kicks and blows. But those blows seemed to him like touches and did not at all pain him. Then he fastened the vehement Rishabha with his arms. And agonised on being fastened with Kumbhakarna's arms, that foremost of monkeys, the dreadful Rishabha, fell down to the earth, vomitting blood by his mouth. And then the enemy of Indra smit, Sarabha with blow, and Nila, in the conflict with his thigh, struck a slap at Gavaksha. And suffering great pain in consequence of the blows (dealt by Kumbhakarna those monkeys), deprived of their senses and bathed in blood, dropped down to the earth like Kincukas that have been cut down. And on those high-souled and mighty monkeys falling down, thousands of monkeys rushed at Kumbhakarna. And ascending a mountain-summit, those foremost of monkeys, possessed of the splendour of a mountain-peak, sprang upon him and tore him with their teeth. And those foremost of monkeys attacked the long-armed Kumbhakarna with their claws and teeth and blows and arms. And then with thousands of monkeys on him that extraordinary one that fearful Rakshasa—resembling a hill,—looked like a mountain with trees on it. And like Garuda eating up serpents, that wondrous strong one, wrought up with rage, devoured those monkeys, seizing them with his arms. And cast by Kumbhakarna into his mouth resembling the nether regions the monkeys emerged from his nose and ears. And eating up the monkeys, that foremost of Rakshasas resembling a hill, growing wroth, and fired with rage, began to break the monkeys down.—And transported with passion, that Rakshasa, making the earth miry with flesh and blood, spread among the monkey-ranks like unto the fire

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at the a time of the Universal dissolution. And in that encounter, Kumbhakarna armed with his dart in his hand, resembled the thunder-handed Sakra, or the noose-handed Destroyer himself. And as a conflagration [Or fire.] burneth up a withered forest in the summer, Kumbhakarna burnt that host of the monkeys. And thus beaten (by Kumbhakarna), those monkeys, with their ranks destroyed, the monkeys, racked with anxiety, began to cry in unnatural tones. And having innumerable monkeys slain by Kumbhakarna, the monkeys, aggrieved and their hearts riven with sorrow, sought the shelter of Raghava. Seeing the monkeys broken in the terrific encounter, the son of the thunder-handed [Indra.], darted impetuously against Kumbhakarna. And taking up a mighty crag, he momentarily setting up roars, and thereby terrorizing all the Rakshasas—followers of Kumbhakarna, he discharged the mountain-peak right against Kumbhakarna's crown.—And struck with that mountain-peak, Indra's enemy—Kumbhakarna—flamed up in fierce wrath. And the loud-throated Kumbhakarna, terrifying all the monkeys vehemently darted against the enraged son of Vali; and then that wondrous strong one hurled his dart at Angada. And as the dart descended, that foremost of monkeys endowed with strength, and skilled in battle, evaded the weapon from his fleetness. And then swiftly springing up, he slapped (his antagonist) in the chest. And thereat that one resembling a hill, lost his senses. And recovering his senses, that exceedingly strong Rakshasa, dealt a blow at Angada; and the latter dropped down senseless. And on that powerful monkey falling down insensible, Kumbhakarna, taking his dart, rushed against Sugriva. And seeing the exceeding stout Kumbhakarna approach, the heroic king of monkeys—Sugriva—sprang up; and taking a mountain-top that one possessed of great strength darted against the mighty Kumbhakarna. And seeing that monkey, Kumbhakarna, stretching his limbs, stood before the lord of monkeys. And seeing Kumbhakarna, with his body laved in the blood of monkeys; and eating up mighty monkeys, Sugriva addressed him, saying,—"Thou hast felled heroes done deeds difficult of being performed, and hast devoured the warriors; and thou hast thus attained renown. But let go now the monkey-army. What shalt thou do with the ignoble? Do thou, O Rakshasa bear the descent of this mountain". Hearing those words of the monkey-king instinct with strength and fortitude, that terrible Rakshasa—Kumbhakarna—said,—"O monkey, thou stormest, because thou art the grandson of Prajapati [Rikskarajas—the father of Sugriva, was produced from the yawning of Prajapati or Brahma.] and the son of the king of bears; and because as such thou art endowed with fortitude and prowess". Hearing Kumbhakarna's speech, Sugriva whirling that mountain-peak, suddenly let it go; and with that rock resembling Vajra or the thunder-bolt, smote Kumbhakarna in the chest. And on coming in contact with his wide breast, that mountain-peak was at once shattered in shivers. And thereat the monkeys grew dispirited and the Rakshasa's ranks shouted in joy. And struck with the mountain-summit, Kumbhakarna was fired with wrath; and roared, expending his face. And then, whirling his dart resembling lightning displayed, he hurled it for compassing the destruction of the master of monkeys. Then swiftly bounding up, the Wind-god's son, resisting that whetted dart fastened with golden chains,—with his hands violently snapped it in twain. And placing the same on his thighs, (Hanuman) snapped that ponderous and terrible dart composed of black iron, and thereat the monkeys waxed delighted. And seeing the dart severed by Hanuman, the monkey-army, growing delighted, set up countless shouts and rushed in all directions. And the Rakshasa was seized with fear and turned away (from the field.) And the monkeys excessively delighted, set up loud shouts, and finding the dart broken, poured forth thanks to the Wind-god's son. Then the mighty-minded lord of Rakshasas seeing the dart thus severed, uprooted a peak from the Malaya and with it smote Sugriva. The king of monkeys struck with the mountain-peak fell senseless upon the field, and the demons finding him in this plight shouted out in great joy. Then Kumbhakarna coming to the wonderfully mighty master of monkeys, took him up and stole away from the field, as a violent gust of wind stealeth away a patch of cloud. Kumbhakarna, who resembled a mountain in loftiness of stature, while taking him away like a mass of cloud appeared like Sumeru overtopped with lofty peaks. Thus the lord of Rakshasas went on hearing thanks (from the Rakshasas) and shouts from the lords of the heavens, wondered at the capture of the foremost of monkeys. Thus taking him captive, that mighty one resembling Indra in puissance, thought his death would destroy the entire host of the opponents together with Raghava. Then Hanuman, the shrewd son of Maruta, finding the whole host of monkeys scattered in all directions, as well as Sugriva captured by Kumbhakarna bethought himself—"What ought to be done by me now that our king has been captured? I will doubtless do as befits me now—let me assume the shape of a mountain and kill the Rakshasas. Let me kill the mighty Kumbhakarna, splitting his body with my strong fist and thus relieve the master of monkeys—thus let the whole host of monkeys become delighted. Or, even when captured by the whole host of gods or Asuras or serpents he is mighty enough to extricate himself. Meseems, the lord of monkeys struck with dart in battle by Kumbhakarna has not yet recovered his senses. Else in a moment he would do the needful for himself as well as the monkeys. Should the relief of the mighty-minded Sugriva come from me, I should be incurring his displeasure and it would certainly lead to the loss of his reputation for ever; then I must wait a moment and see his own might displayed by himself when relieved. Meanwhile let me cheer up the monkey-host". Thinking thus within himself, Hanuman, that son of Maruta, began to stay the mighty host of monkeys. In the meantime Kumbhakarna entered Lanka with Sugrira trembling, being honoured with the showering of beautiful flowers from the sky, the buildings on the main roads and the town-gate. Then the mighty one (Sugriva) slowly recovered his senses with the shower of fried paddy and sweet scent and the sprinkling of water as well as with the coolness of the streets. Then that mighty-minded (Sugriva), caught in the arms of the powerful Rakshasa, having with difficulty come to his senses and surveying around him the streets of the town bethought himself:—"When thus within the grasp of the enemy how can I take revenge? Or let me do what will be acceptable and advantageous to our army". Then advancing all on a sudden, he with his nails and sharp teeth cut off the ears and nose of that lord of the enemies of the gods and split both his sides with the blow of his feet. And Kumbhakarna losing his ears and nose and having his sides split with nails and teeth grew angry, and becoming all covered over with blood, threw Sugriva to the ground and pressed him. Thus pressed upon the ground with main force and severely struck by the enemies of gods, he flew to the skies like a ball-rolling, and once more joined Rama. The mighty Kumbhakarna having lost his nose and ears and drenched in blood, appeared like a mountain covered all over with streamlets. That huge-bodied Rakshasa, younger brother of Ravana, terrible in appearance, resembling a mass of deep black collyrium, and covered all over with blood, appeared like an evening cloud; and (once more) made up his mind to appear in battle. Sugriva having thus escaped, that dreadful enemy of the king of the celestials in wrath again rushed to battle; and finding himself destitute of arms took up a fearful mace. And then that mighty-minded one, the Raksha Kumbhakarna, issuing out of the city began to devour the terrific host of monkeys, as doth the mighty fire eat up people at the end of a Yuga. On entering the mighty host of monkeys, the hungry Kumbhakarna, hankering after flesh and blood, ate up the monkeys, and with them, devoured many a Rakshasa and Pisacha by mistake. Thus, as Death devoureth creatures at the end of a Yuga, he destroyed the mighty monkeys. And he in wrath, taking up with one hand the monkeys along with the Rakshasas, hurriedly threw them into his mouth,—one, two three, or many at a time. And blood and fat flowed copiously down his body; and though struck by the monkeys with peaks of mountains, the mighty one devoured all those monkeys. And the monkeys as they were being devoured, saught the shelter of Rama. And Kumbhakarna wrought up with wrath, chased amain hundreds of monkeys, eating up seven, eight, twenty, or thirty. And fastening (the monkeys) with his arms, he, devouring them, rushed on. And resembling the Destroyer of prodigious dimensions at the end of a Yuga, that one furnished with extremely sharp teeth, having his body covered with fat, marrow and blood, and coiling entrails about his ears, began to discharge darts. And at this moment, that subduer of hostile hosts and captor of the capitals of foes—Sumitra's son—Lakshmana, growing enraged, entered on an encounter with the enemy. And Lakshmana endued with prowess shot seven shafts at Kumbhakarna's body; and next, taking up other arrows also discharged them (at his antagonist). And thereat that Rakshasa, smarting under the wounds inflicted by that weapon, cut it off (by means of a weapon). Thereupon grew enraged the powerful Lakshmana—enhancer of Sumitra's joy. And then as the wind overspreadeth evening clouds, he with his shafts covered Kumbhakarna's shining and graceful mail entirely made of gold. And smit with arrows dight with gold, that one resembling a mass of dark-blue collyrium appeared beautiful like the ray-furnished Sun surrounded by clouds. Then that dreadful Rakshasa voiced like masses of clouds, scornfully addressed the enhancer of Sumitra's felicity, saying,—"By dauntlessly fighting with me, who have without ado brought down the Destroyer himself in battle, thou hast established thy heroism. Even by staying before me, who am equipped with arms in this encounter, and who in mighty conflict resemble Death himself, thou deservest to be honoured. What shall I say of thy fighting? Not even that lord—Sakra himself—mounted on his Airavata, and engirt by all the immortals,—had ever before stayed before me in the field. But to-day, O Sumitra's son, albeit a boy, thou hast gratified me with thy prowess. Now taking thy leave, I wish to go to Raghava. And as I have been well pleased in battle with thy vigour and strength and enthusiasm, I now wish to slay Rama alone, who being slain, all are slain. On Rama being here slain by me, the rest remaining in the encounter—them shall I undertake with my all-crushing vigour". When that Raksha had spoken thus, (Lakshmana); Sumitra's son, present in that contest, answered him laughing in terrible words, saying,—"That thy prowess is incapable of being borne by Sakra and other celestials,—is true. It is not otherwise, O hero. To-day I myself have witnessed thy prowess. Yonder is Dacaratha's son—Rama—staying like a moveless mountain". Hearing this, that night-ranger — Kumhhakarna — possessed of immense might, disregarding Lakshmana and passing beyond Sumitra's son, rushed against Rama, making the earth tremble. Thereat Dacaratha's son, Rama, employing a terrific weapon, discharged sharpened shafts at Kumbhakarna's breast. Thereat flames mixed with live embers shot out from the mouth of that enraged one suddenly rushing (against Rama),—as Rama pierced him (with his arrows). And on being frightfully pierced by Rama's weapons, that foremost of Rakshasas, roaring wrathfully darted against Rama, and pursued the monkeys in the conflict. And those shafts adorned with peacock's plumes, alighting on (Kumbhakarna's) chest, his mace, escaping his hand, dropped to the earth; and all his (other) arms also were scattered on the ground. And when that exceedingly powerful one saw himself deprived of all his arms, he began to spread a huge havoc by means of his clenched fists and hands. And with his body entirely covered with arrows and bathed in blood, he began to bleed like a hill overflowing with fountains. And fired with wrath and maddened with blood, he rusheth on, devouring monkeys and Rakshasas and bears. And that redoubtable one possessed of dreadful prowess, resembling the Reaper himself, whirling a mighty mountain-peak, hurled it aiming at Rama. Thereat Bharata's elder brother, the righteous Rama, ere that prodigious peak had alighted, severed the same by means of seven straight-speeding shafts wrought with gold. Intent on finishing Kumbhakarna, the virtuous Lakshmana, revolving many a means, (at last) spoke unto Rama,—"O king, this one knoweth not monkeys and Rakshasas,—maddened with the smell of blood, he eateth up his own as well as his enemies. Now let the foremost monkeys, putting forth their best, mount on him; and let the leaders of bands according to their rank, stand surrounding him. And then to-day this wicked-minded Rakshasa, oppressed with a mighty weight, will no longer be able to eat up any more monkeys". Hearing the words of the intelligent prince, those exceedingly powerful monkeys with alacrity ascended Kumbhakarna. And Kumbhakarna mounted by those monkeys, waxing exceedingly enraged, shook them vehemently, even as mad elephants shake the drivers thereof. And Raghava seeing them shaken, and concluding the Rakshasa to be wroth, furiously sprang forward, taking his bow. And with his eyes crimsoned with choler, the gentle Raghava, as if burning up the Rakshasa with his eyes, rushed forth vehemently, summoning up all his impetuosity, thereby cheering up the leaders of bands that had been sore tried by the might of Kumbhakarna. And equipped with an excellent quiver and arrows, Rama cheering up the monkeys sprang forward, taking a bow, resembling a serpent; terrific; having a stout string; and embellished in gold. Then surrounded by exceedingly invincible monkey-bands, that highly powerful hero, followed by Lakshmana, marched forth. And he saw the redoubtable and high-souled Kumbhakarna, with his body drenched in blood, and with blood-shot eyes; rushing against all, like unto an infuriated elephant of the cardinal points; pursuing the monkeys; wrought up with wrath; environed by Rakshasas; appearing like the Vindhya or the Mandara; decked with golden angadas; bleeding from his mouth; like clouds pouring showers; licking at the corners of his mouth laved with blood; smashing the monkey-ranks; and resembling Yama the Destroyer. And that best of persons, seeing that foremost of Rakshasas having the splendour of a living fire, stretched his bow to its full bent. And fired with wrath at the twang of his bow, that foremost of Rakshasas, inflamed with wrath,—not brooking that report, rushed against Raghava. Thereat, the gentle Rama, endowed with arms resembling the body of the sovereign of serpents, in that encounter addressed Kumbhakarna, like unto an elevated cloud and possessed of the splendour of a mountain,—as he darted forward, saying,—"Come, O king of Rakshas! Let no grief be thine! Here I stay, taking my bow in my hand. Know me for the destroyer of the race of the Rakshasas—thou who in a moment shalt be deprived of thy senses". Knowing that this was Rama, (Kumbhakarna) laughed in frightful accents; and then, wrought up with wrath, rushed against the monkeys in the encounter. And as if riving the breasts of all the monkeys (present), the exceedingly energetic Kumbhakarna, laughing frightfully and in a terrific manner,—resembling the rumbling of clouds, addressed Raghava, saying,—"Take me not for Viradha, or for Kavandha, or yet for Khara. I am not Vali or Maricha. I am Kumbhakarna, that am come. Behold my dreadful and mighty mace entirely made of iron. By help of this I had formerly brought down deities and Danavas. It doth not behove thee to scorn me in that my nose hath been severed. I do not feel any the smallest torment in consequence of my ears and nose having been cut off. O tiger of the Ikshwaku line, O sinless one,

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do thou witness the prowess that is in my frame. And thereafter, when thou shalt have displayed thy prowess and power, shall I devour thee up". Hearing Kumbhakarna's words, Rama discharged (at him) shafts furnished with knobs. And smit with these having the impetus of the thunder-bolt, the foe of the celestials did not feel any pain or smart. And those shafts which had severed the seven stately salas, and, to boot, had slain Vali—best of monkeys,—they resembling the thunder itself—could not impart any pain to Kumbhakarna's body. And drinking up in his body those arrows resembling a shower, the enemy of the great Indra whirling his mace possessed of fierce vehemence, put out the arrowy discharge of Rama. Then that Raksha whirling his mace washed in blood, capable of striking terror into the mighty hosts of gods and Danavas, and possessed of fierce impetus,—made the monkey-army take to its heels. Then Rama, taking a mighty Vayavya weapon, used the same against the night-ranger; and cut off his arm with the mace. And having his arm cut off, he set up tremendous roars. And his arm with the mace, resembling a mountain-peak, cut off by Raghava's arrows, fell in the midst of the army of the monkey-king, and destroyed that army. Thereat the monkeys remaining after those broken and slain,—dispirited, and having their limbs wounded,—moving aside, looked on the dreadful encounter between the Raksha and the lord of men. And then Kumbhakarna, having his arm severed, resembling the foremost of mountains with its crest hewn away by a mighty sabre, tore up a tree with his (remaining) arm and in the conflict rushed against the monarch of men. Thereupon with a shaft plated in gold, set upon a weapon of Indra, Rama cut off his uplifted arm with a palm tree, looking like the body of a pannaga. And that arm of Kumbhakarna, being severed, dropped inert on the earth, like a hill, and crushed trees and rocks and crags and monkeys and Rakshasas. And Rama, seeing that one shorn of his arms suddenly spring up, roaring,—took up two whetted crescents, and in the contest cut off the legs of the Rakshasa. And thereupon those legs (of his), making all sides and quarters and rocks and caves and the mighty main and Lanka herself and the army of the monkeys and the Rakshasas,—resound,—dropped down (on the ground). And having his arms cut off and his legs also severed, (Kumbhakarna), opening wide his mouth resembling in sheen the mouth of a mare, roaring swiftly darted against Raghava,—even as Rahu pursueth the Moon in the firmament. Then Rama stuffed his mouth full of sharpened shafts having their feathered parts furnished with gold. And having his mouth filled; he could not articulate; but with extreme effort uttered indistinct accents and swooned away. Then Rama took an arrow of Indra,—whetted and knobbed, impetuous as the wind, resembling the effulgence of the Sun, and like unto the very banner of Brahma, or the Destroyer himself; and fatal to foes. And then Rama hurled it at the ranger of the night. And thereat that weapon hurled by Rama's arm, resembling a smokeless flame, lighting up the ten cardinal points with its own glory,—saught him that was possessed of the dreadful energy of Sakra's thunder-bolt. And therewith he (Rama) cut off the head of the lord of Rakshas resembling a mountain-summit, furnished with prominent teeth,—from which the ear-rings had fallen off,—even as formerly Purandara had cut off the head of Vritra. And then Kumbhakarna's huge head deprived of the ear-rings appeared like the Moon seated in the midst (of the heavens) on the rising of the Sun in the morning. And struck with Rama's arrow, the head of the Raksha resembling a hill fell down to the earth; and (in its fall) crushed edifices on the highways and gateways; and elevated walls also it bore down to the ground. And then that Raksha of gigantic proportions and vast to the view plunged into the deep; and crushing huge and mighty fishes and serpents, saught the depths. And on that enemy of the Brahmanas and gods, endowed with immense strength,—having been slain in battle, the earth shook and the mountains also; and from excess of joy the celestials shouted aloud. And those deities and saints and Maharshis and Pannagas, and celestials and (other) beings and birds and Guhyakas, together with Yakshas and Gandharvas,—all these who had stationed themselves in the welkin,—were rejoiced at the prowess of Rama. And at his (Kumbhakarna's) great destruction, the intelligent adherents of the king of Nairitas,—aggrieved exceedingly, began to cry at the sight of that best of the Raghus, even as mad elephants cry at sight of a lion. And like unto the Sun emerged from the mouth of Rahu, and destroying the darkness of the celestial fields,—shone Rama in the midst of the monkey-army having slain Kumbhakarna in battle. And countless monkeys experienced the very height of delight; and on (their) foe of terrific strength having been slain, they with countenances resembling awaked lotuses paid homage unto the king's son—Raghava—the sharer of good fortune. And as the monarch of the immortals had rejoiced on slaying the mighty Asura—Vritra—Bharata's elder brother rejoiced on having in battle slain that smiter of celestial hosts, Kumbhakarna in mighty conflict, never (before) vanquished in renowned encounters.

SECTION 68.

Seeing Kumbhakarna slain by the high-souled Raghava, the Rakshasas conveyed the tidings to the lord of the Rakshasas—Ravana; (and addressed him, saying), "O king, that one resembling the Destroyer himself, urged on by Death,—having scoured the monkey-army and eaten up monkeys,—and for a while displayed his prowess, hath met with his quietus at the hands of Rama exerting his energy. And with half his body immersed in the dreadful deep, thy brother, Kumbhakarna, with his nose and ears cut off, and blood besmearing his body,—with his head and limbs hewn away, and his body uncovered,—mountain-like blocketh up the gate of Lanka with his person,—and resembleth a tree that hath been consumed by a forest-fire". Hearing the mighty Kumbhakarna slain in battle, Ravana burning in grief, swooned away and dropped to the earth. And hearing their uncle slain, Triciras [Three-headed.] and Atikaya—destroyers of gods and men,—began to weep, oppressed with sorrow. And Mahodara [Huge-bellied.] and Mahaparcwa [Mighty-flanked.] hearing of their uncle slain by Rama of untiring deeds, were overcome with grief. Then regaining his senses with extreme exertion, that foremost of Rakshasas, distressed in consequence of the destruction of Kumbhakarna, mourned with his senses overwhelmed, saying,—"O hero! O humbler of the pride of the foe! O mighty Kumbhakarna! Leaving me, thou through Destiny, hast gone to the abode of Yama. O exceedingly powerful one, leaving me (lone) whither dost thou wend, without extracting my dart as well as that of thy friends? Now really I am not, inasmuch as my right arm hath dropped. Backed by this one, I would not fear celestials and Asuras. How to-day forsooth hath such a hero—crusher of the hauteur of gods and Danavas—resembling the Fire arisen at the hour of universal wreck,—been slain in fight by Raghava? He who could not be harmed by the concussion of the thunder-bolt itself—how can he, smitten with Rama's arrows, sleep soundly on the earth? These gods stationed in the sky along with the saints,—beholding thee slain in battle, are shouting in glee. Surely to-day the monkeys overjoyed,—finding occasion, will scale all the gateways and fortifications of Lanka. I have nothing to do with empire. And what shall I do with Sita? And deprived of Kumbhakarna, I do not even wish to live. If I do not slay in encounter that slayer of my brother—Raghava,—certainly death is even that which is good for me,—otherwise, this life is useless. This very day will I repair to that place where my younger brother is. Forsaking my brother, I forsooth dare not live for a moment; for the gods shall laugh on seeing me, who had formerly wronged them. But, how, O Kumbhakarna, thou having been slain, shall I conquer Indra? Now the beneficial words of Bibhishana have been verified. And as through blindness I did not accept the advice of that high-souled one, Kumbhakarna and of Prahasta, this disaster arisen, shameth me sore. And as I had disgraced the virtuous and graceful Bibhishana, this peril producing grief, hath been the consequence of my conduct". Having thus piteously and long lamented Kumbhakarna, the Ten-necked one, with his inmost soul overwhelmed with sorrow, and sore distressed in consequence of grief,—fell down, knowing his brother—the enemy of Indra—slain in battle.

SECTION 69.

Hearing the lamentations of the wicked-minded Ravana, overwhelmed with grief, Triciras addressed him, saying,—"O Sire, this second uncle unto us possessed of mighty prowess hath forsooth been slain in fight. But, O king, heroes never indulge in grief as thou doest O lord, thou certainly alone art competent to conquer the triple world. Wherefore then dost thou vent such sorrow like an ignoble one? Thou hast thy dart conferred on thee by Brahma; and thy mail and thy weapon—the bow—and thy car yoked with a thousand asses, sending forth clatter resembling the rumbling of clouds. The deities and the Danavas have by means of thy arms been terrified over and over again. And furnished with all arms, thou ought to chastise Raghava. But stay at thy pleasure, O mighty sovereign, I will go out to battle; and even as Garuda captureth serpents, will I capture thine enemies. And as Samvara was vanquished by the lord of the immortals, or Naraka by Vishnu, will I bringing down Rama in battle make him sleep (in the field)". Hearing Triciras' words, Ravana—lord of Rakshasas—urged on by Fate, considered himself as having regained his life. And hearing the speech of Triciras, Devantaka, and Narantaka, and the energetic Atikaya also, were wrought up with martial enthusiasm. And then those foremost of Nairitas—the heroic sons of Ravana—endowed with the prowess of Sakra himself—roared out, 'I will go,' 'I will go.' And all could range the sky, and all were skilled in illusion, and all were crushers of the pride of the immortals; and all were irrisistible in encounter. And all of them were endowed with superior strength, and all had achieved wide celebrity. They had never been heard of as having been beaten in fight even by the gods along with the Gandharvas, or the mighty serpents accompanied by the Kinnaras. And all were skilled in weapons and heroic; and all were versed in warfare. And all were possessed of the higher knowledge; and all had obtained boons. And then the king surrounded by those sons of his, appearing like celestials,—capable of injuring the force and fortune of the foe,—looked splendid like Maghavan environed by the immortals, humblers of the hauteur of mighty Danavas. And embracing his sons and adorning them in ornaments,—he sent them to the field with his best benedictions. And Ravana sent the brothers—Yudhyonmatta and Matta—for protecting the princes in the field. And then, saluting the high-souled Ravana—destroyer of creatures,—and going round him, those huge-bodied ones marched forth. And furnished with every description of medicinal herbs and perfumes, these six Nairitas—foremost of their kind—endowed with great strength—burning for battle, marched forth,—Triciras and Atikaya, and Devantaka and Narantaka, and Mahodara and Mahaparcwa went out, urged on by Fate. Then Mahodara mounted the elephant—Sudarcana—sprung in the race of Airavata, and resembling dark-blue clouds. And accoutred in every weapon, and decked with quivers, he looked splendid on his elephant like the Sun ascending the crest of the Setting-hill. And Ravana's son—Triciras—ascended a car yoked with excellent steeds, and furnished with every variety of arms. And having ascended the car, Triciras bow in hand appeared beautiful like a mass of burning clouds having lightning and meteors, and crowned with Indra's bow. And dight with three diadems, Triciras looked splendid in that superb car, like the monarch of mountains Himavan—with the three golden hills. And then that foremost of all bowmen—the powerful Atikaya—son unto the lord of Rakshasas—ascended the best of cars having excellent wheels and akshas, and yoked with excellent steeds,—and furnished with bottoms and holes; flaming with quivers and bows; and bristling with pracas and swords and blugdeons. And adorned with a crown plated with wrought gold and (other) ornaments, he looked like the Meru swimming in its own splendour And that powerful son of the king surrounded by the Nairitas looked lovely on that car like the thunder-handed (Deity) engirt by the immortals. And Narantaka mounted a white steed resembling Uchchaicrava, caparisoned in gold, having a large frame and endowed with the velocity of the Wind. And taking a praca, Narantaka appeared like the energetic Guha mounted on the peacock, grasping his dart. And taking a bludgeon decked in golden ornaments, Devantaka resembled Vishnu at the time of the churning of the ocean, holding the Darbhya [Churning stick.], and staying burthening (the earth). And the powerful Mahaparcwa endowed with terrific energy, taking his mace, appeared like Kuvera holding in his hand a mace in the encounter. And like immortals issuing out of Amaravati, they marched out with elephants and steeds and cars sending out clatter resembling the rumbling of clouds. And them followed high-souled Rakshasas equipped with mighty-arms. And those sun-bright high-souled princes decked with diadems appeared splendid like burning planets in the firmament. And the various gorgeous attires which they had worn resembled rows of cranes in the sky, looking like autumnal clouds. Resolved on dying or conquering the foe in fight, those heroes sallied out seeking encounter. And those high-souled ones, incapable of being repressed in fight, roared and shouted and discharged shafts and held them. And the earth shook as they sent up leonine roars and struck at their arms with their hands; and the sky seemed riven with the leonine roars of the Rakshas. And issuing out cheerfully, those foremost of Rakshasas endowed with great strength beheld that monkey-army staying with upraised rocks and stones. And the high souled monkeys also saw that mighty host of Rakshasas thronging with elephants, horses and cars, and ringing with hundreds of bell-lets; resembling dark-blue clouds; upraising mighty arms; and environed on all sides by Nairitas resembling flaming fire. And seeing that force advance, the monkeys, finding opportunity, upraising giant crags, momentarily set up shouts. And thereat, the Rakshasas, incapable of bearing those shouts, shouted in reply unto the monkeys. And again the monkeys shouted unto the Rakshas, who were unable to put up with that cry. And hearing that loud shout of the monkey-leaders, the mighty Rakshas incapable of bearing that noise expressive of exhilaration,—shouted still more dreadfully. And then diving into that dreadful Rakshasa army, the monkey leaders began to range it with uplifted rocks,—like unto mountains. And equipped with trees and stones, the monkeys enraged, ranged the Raksha army, now rising into the sky. and now coming down to the earth. And some among the powerful monkeys went about taking broad-shouldered trees. And the encounter that took place between the thronging Rakshas and monkeys was something terrific. And (the monkeys) began to pour a wonderful shower of trees and rocks and cliffs. And the monkeys of dread prowess were resisted with vollies of shafts. And in the contest the monkeys and Rakshasas emitted leonine roars. And monkeys crushed Yatudhanas with rocks, and, wrought with rage, (they) in the encounter slew (Rakshasas) covered with armour and ornaments; and some slew heroes mounted on cars and elephants and steeds. And the monkeys on a sudden slew heroic Yatudhanas. And smit with mountain-peaks on their persons, and with their eyes falling off, the foremost of

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Rakshasas moved, dropped down, or roared in the scene of conflict. And the Rakshasas (on their part) pierced the foremost of monkeys with sharpened and keen darts and clubs and scimitars; and slew them with darts and pracas. And, eager for bringing down each other, the monkeys and the Rakshasas with their persons, washed with the blood of their antagonists felled each other. And in a moment the earth was covered with crags and swords discharged by monkeys and Rakshasas,—and was drenched in gore. And the field was blocked up with scattered mountain-like Rakshas influenced by martial ardour,—mangled by their enemies. And the monkeys thrown down and felled by means of broken crags and monkeys [i.e. the carcasses thereof.] and arms and legs,—waged a wonderful war. And those foremost of Nairitas slew monkeys with (the dead bodies of monkeys); and the monkeys smote Rakshasas with (the dead bodies of) Rakshasas; and the Rakshasas slew (the monkeys), hurling rocks and crags. And snatching away their own arms by main force, the monkeys finished Rakshas; and they slaughtered them with mountain-peaks, and also wounded each other. And the monkeys and Rakshasas emitted leonine roars in the encounter. And the Rakshasas, slain by the monkeys, having their mail and defence for the body rent, bled like unto trees exuding sap. And in that encounter, some among the monkeys destroyed cars with cars, elephants with elephants, and steeds with steeds. And the Rakshasas rived the trees and rocks of the foremost monkeys by means of Kshurapras and crescents and sharpened Bhallas and arrows. And in that encounter, the earth became impassable, having been scattered with crags baffled and severed trees and (warriors) slain by monkeys and Rakshas. And those monkeys, equipped with various weapons, and with their vigor unworn, entering upon the conflict casting off fear,—cheerfully putting forth efforts springing from pride of spirit, warred on with the Rakshasas. And in that fearful conflict, which was being waged, on the monkeys having been exhilarated and the Rakshasas having been brought down, the Maharshis and the deities sent up shouts. Then mounted on a charger endued with the celerity of the Wind, and grasping a whetted dart, Narantaka entered into that fierce army of monkeys, like a fish diving into the deep. And that hero by means of an effulgent bearded dart pierced seven hundred monkeys; and at one time the high-souled enemy of Indra slew the army of the foremost of monkeys. And the Vidyadharas and Maharshis saw that high-souled one mounted on horseback, ranging the monkey-ranks. And his course was discovered, miry with flesh and blood and blocked up with mountain-like monkeys fallen. And when the monkeys set their hearts on displaying their prowess, Narantaka, baffling them, pierced them with shafts. And he consumed the monkey-army, like fire burning a forest. And when the wood-rangers uprooted trees and crags, they slain by bearded darts dropped down like mountains riven by the thunder. And raising a glowing praca, the powerful Narantaka began to range about in the rear of the forces; dashing everywhere (against the foe) in fight, like the wind in the rainy season. And the heroes could not appear prominently, or keep their posts. And how could they then move freely? And that one endued with prowess pierced everyone, whether springing, or staying, or moving. And broken through by a single praca, resembling the Reaper, and furnished with solar effulgence, the monkey-ranks began to roll on the earth. And the monkeys were ill fitted to bear the impetus of that praca having the touch of thunder itself; and they raised a loud cry. And the appearances of those monkey-heroes falling were like mountains toppling, having their summits riven with the thunder-bolt. Those high-souled and powerful monkeys that formerly had been brought down by Kumbhakarna,—having recovered, were present with Sugriva in this encounter. And Sugriva, looking around, saw that monkey-army flying in all directions, agitated with the fear of Narantaka. And after seeing the army in flight, he saw Narantaka himself, advancing, wielding a praca, and mounted on a steed. And as soon as he saw (that hero), the exceedingly energetic lord of monkeys—Sugriva—addressed the heroic prince Angada, endowed with strength equal to that of Indra, saying,—"Go against this heroic Rakshasas that is mounted on a steed; and speedily deprive of life that one who is devouring up the ranks of his foes". Hearing his master's speech, Angada descended from that host resembling clouds, like the powerful Sun himself. And resembling a mass of crags, Angada—foremost of monkeys—adorned with Angadas, appeared beautiful like a mountain with metals on it. And weaponless himself, and furnished only with nails and teeth, Vali's son attacking Narantaka, said,—"Stay! What shalt thou do with these interior monkeys? This praca, having the feel of the thunder-bolt, do thou hurl at my heart itself". Hearing Angada's words, Narantaka was fired with wrath. And knawing his upper lip with his teeth and sighing like a serpent, Narantaka, wrought with wrath, approached Vali's son. And then whirling his praca, he suddenly discharged that flaming (weapon) against Angada. And then it was snapped on the breast of Vali's son, resembling the thunder-bolt, and dropped to the earth. And seeing the pracabroken in pieces, like a powerful snake severed by Suparna, Vali's son, raising his hand, dealt a slap at the head of his (Narantaka's) steed. Thereat, with his legs sinking down and his eye-balls coming off and his tongue hanging down, and wearing the look of a mountain,—on being smit with that slap, Narantaka's steed fell down to the ground, with its head lying at random. And Narantaka seeing his charger slain and fallen, was seized with a furious wrath, and raising his clenched fist, that one endowed with exceeding great energy in that conflict hit Vali's son on the head. Thereat Angada having his head wounded by that blow, warm blood gushed out plentifully. And momentarily burning and momentarily swooning, he, regaining his senses, was amazed. Then Vali's son, the high-souled Angada clenching his fist into a blow resembling Death itself in energy, and like unto a mountain-peak, let it descend on the chest of Narantaka. Thereat, with his breast riven and broken down, vomitting flames and having his body bathed in blood, Narantaka dropped down to the earth, like a hill shattered by the impetus of the thunder-bolt. And on Narantaka of exceeding prowess having been slain by Vali's son in battle, there arose a tremendous uproar in the firmament from the wood-rangers and the foremost of celestials. And Angada having performed that difficult deed of prowess, capable of delighting the mind of Rama, was seized with amazement; and that one of terrific feats in fight was again inspired with delight in the encounter.

SECTION 70.

And seeing Narantaka slain, the foremost of Nairitas—including the three-headed Devantaka and Pulastya's descendant, Mahodara,—began to cry (in chorus). And then the vehement Mahodara, mounted (on horseback), rushed against Vali's son endued with energy. And aggrieved in consequence of the calamity that had befallen his brother, the strong Devantaka grasping a dreadful bludgeon, darted against Angada. And ascending a car resembling the Sun yoked with superb steeds, the heroic Triciras rushed against Vali's son. Then charged by those three powerful Rakshasas—crushers of the hauteur of immortals, Angada uprooted a tree furnished with gigantic branches. And as Sakra hurleth the mighty flaming thunderbolt, that hero—Angada—at once hurled against Devantaka that mighty tree having giant branches. And Triciras cut off that tree in pieces by means of shafts resembling serpents. And seeing the tree severed, Angada darted up; and then that foremost of monkeys showered crags and trees. And all those Triciras wrought with wrath cut off by means of whetted arrows; and Mahodara snapped those trees with the end of his bludgeon. And then Triciras rushed against that hero—Vali's son—with shafts; and Mahodara chased Vali's son, mounted on an elephant; and struck Angada in the chest with tomarasresembling the thunder-bolt. And Devantaka, enraged advancing, hit Angada with his bludgeon, and then, endowed with velocity, he swiftly turned away. And attacked simultaneonly by those three powerful Nairitas, the exceedingly energetic son of Vali possessed of prowess, did not feel any pain. And that impetuous one incapable of being conquered, summoning his utmost vehemence, rushing on, pealt a slap at Mahodara's mighty elephant. And thereat the elephant fell down in his very sight and expired. And then pulling out his tusks, the highly powerful son of Vali, darting against Devantaka, dealt him a blow therewith in that encounter. And thereupon that strong one overwhelmed like a tree buffetted by the wind, began to discharge blood profusely, looking like the hue of lac. And then cheering him, the exceedingly energetic and powerful Narantaka, violently whirling his bludgeon with might and main, hit Angada with it. And albeit struck with the bludgeon, the son of the lord of monkeys, going down on his knees, again darted up. And as he sprang up, Triciras hit at the temples of the son of the king of monkeys with three straight-speeding terrific shafts. And seeing Angada assailed by the three redoubtable Rakshasas, Hanuman and Nila proceeded (to his rescue). Then Nila hurled a mountain-top at Triciras; and thereat that son of Ravana severed it with sharpened arrows. And that mountain-top on being riven, dropped down, aflame and shooting out sparks of fire. And seeing Triciras yawning in joy, the stalwart Devantaka in that encounter pursued the Wind-god's son with his bludgeon. And as he rushed on, that foremost of monkeys—Hanuman—dealt on the crown of his head, a blow resembling the thunder-bolt itself. And the mighty and heroic son of the Wind-god hit (at his antagonist); and that redoubted monkey also with his roars made the Rakshasas tremble (in fear). And thereat with his head crushed and cleft, and his teeth and eyes falling out, and his tongue hanging down, that son unto the sovereign of the Rakshasas suddenly dropped to the earth, deprived of life. On that fierce and mighty Rakshasa warrior—that foe of the immortals—having fallen in fight, the Three-headed one, waxing wondrous enraged began to shower terrific sharpened shafts on Nila's chest. And Mahodara, getting enraged, again swiftly mounted an elephant like the ray-furnished (Sun) mounting Mandara. Then even as a mass of roaring clouds poureth down showers enwheeled with levin on a mountain, he showered arrows right on Nila's breast. Thereat showered with those shafts, that leader of monkeys Nila with his person pierced, had his body riven and was stupified by that exceedingly powerful one. Then that (monkey) possessed of tremendous vehemence, having regained his senses, uprooting a crag with a whole tract of trees, struck it at Mahodara's head. And struck by that mighty enemy, Mahodara, broken down by the impetus of that rock, deprived of his senses, dropped down dead on the ground, like a cliff smit with the thunder-bolt.

Seeing his uncle slain, Triciras took up his bow; and inflamed with fury pierced Hanuman with whetted arrows. And thereat the Wind-god's son, enraged, hurled a mountain-peak (at his adversary). And Triciras by means of keen arrows severed the same in shivers. And seeing the mountain-peak baffled, the monkey in the encounter began to shower trees on Ravana's son. And Triciras endowed with prowess by means of sharpened shafts cut off that descending arrowy shower in the sky and shouted (in delight). Then Hanuman flying into a fury, bounding to the welkin, with his nails ripped the steed of Triciras, even as a lion cleaveth a powerful elephant. Then taking a dart even as the Destroyer employeth the Fatal Night, Ravana's son—Triciras—discharged it at the offspring of the Wind-god. Thereat catching the dart of resistless course as it descended from the sky, the powerful monkey snapped it and then shouted. And seeing that dreadful dart broken by Hanuman, the monkeys, transported with delight, sent up shouts, even as clouds rumble. Than upraising his sword, that foremost of Rakshasas—Triciras—brought it down on the breast of the monkey-chief. Overpowered with the sword-blow, Hanuman—son unto the Wind-god,—endowed with energy, dealt the Three-headed one a slap on the head. And smitten with that slap, the highly powerful Triciras, with his hands and attire dropping off, fell down to the earth, deprived of consciousness. Then that mighty monkey resembling a hill broke his sword as he fell, and roared, terrifying all the Rakshasas. But not brooking that uproar, that night-ranger sprang up; and springing up, he dealt a blow at Hanuman. And at that blow, the redoubtable monkey was wrought up with wrath; and inflamed with rage, he smote that foremost of Rakshasas about his diadem. And then with a sharp sword the Wind-god's son cut off his heads decked with diadems and furnished with ear-rings; even as Sakra had severed the heads of Tashtri's son [Vicwarupa.]. Thereat even as burning stars, loosened, drop down from the course of Indra, the large organs of sense, and eyes flaming like glowing fire, and heads of that foe of Indra, dropped down to the ground. On Triciras—enemy of the immortals—having been slain by Hanuman endowed with the prowess itself of Sakra, the monkeys shouted, the earth shook, and the Rakshas began to fly on all sides. And seeing Triciras and Yudhyonmatta slain and seeing also the irrepressible Devantaka and Narantaka slain (in the encounter), that highly irascible and powerful Rakshasa—Matta—was transported with passion, and then took up a flaming mace entirely wrought with iron inlaid with gold; frothy with flesh and gore; mighty to behold; gratified with the blood of foes; with its end flaming in splendour; decked with red wreaths; and capable of striking terror into Airavata and Mahapadma and Sarvabhauma [Elephants of the cardinal points.]. And flaming up like the Fire arisen at the end of a Yuga, that foremost of Rakshasas—Matta—wrought with fury,—rushed against the monkeys. Then the mighty and powerful monkey—Rishabha—springing up before Ravana's son, stood before the hosts of Matta. And seeing that mountain-like monkey staying before (him), Matta, enraged, dealt him a blow on the breast. And smit with the mace, that foremost of monkeys, with his breast riven and trembling, began to bleed copiously. And regaining his senses after a long while, Rishabha—lord of monkeys—inflamed with wrath, pouting out his upper lip, gazed at Mahaparcwa [Otherwise called Matta.]. And then impetuously approaching the Rakshasa, that foremost of heroic monkeys resembling a hill, endowed with vehemence, clenching his fist, suddenly smote him with a blow on his breast. Thereat like a tree whose roots have been severed, he suddenly dropped on the ground, covered with blood. And thereupon, (Rishabha) swiftly snatched his dreadful mace resembling the rod of Yama himself; and shouted. Only for a moment did Matta remain like one dead. Recovering his senses, the enemy of the immortals, looking like evening clouds in hue, suddenly springing up, attacked the son of the king of waters [Varuna.]. And thereat, he dropped down to the earth, senseless. In a moment regaining his consciousness, he again bounded up,—and whirling the mace resembling a peak of the foremost of mountains, in that encounter dealt (Matta) a blow therewith. And descending on the body of that dreadful one—the enemy of deities, sacrifices and Vipras—that terrific mace rived his breast; and he began to bleed profusely, even as the lord of mountains discharges minerals and water. And taking the terrific mace of the high-souled (Matta) and swinging it again and again, (Rishabha) rushed (against the Rakshasas). And that high-souled one began to slaughter Matta's forces in the field. And broken down by his own mace, Matta dropped down like a hill, with his teeth and eyes shrivelled up; and he dropped to the earth deprived of

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strength and life, with his eyes paling. And on that Rakshasa falling, the Rakshasa forces began to fly. And on that brother of Ravana having been slain, that host of Nairitas appearing like the ocean in grandeur, leaving its arms behind,—solely for life rushed away, like unto the deep riven (by the winds).

SECTION 71.

Seeing in sore straits his own mighty forces capable of making people's down stand on end,—and seeing his brothers resembling Sakra in prowess, routed; and seeing also his uncles brought down in battle, as well as his brothers—Yudhyonmatta and Matta—foremost of Rakshasas, that crusher of the pride of deities and Danavas—the exceedingly energetic Atikaya—resembling a hill, who had obtained from Brahma a boon in battle, was fired with wrath. Ascending a car effulgent like a thousand suns mingling their rays into a burst of brilliance, that enemy of Sakra, charged the monkeys. And stretching his bow, (Atikaya) decked with a diadem and wearing polished ear-rings, proclaimed his name (among the monkey-ranks) and shouted in lofty tones. And with his leonine roars and the proclamation of his name, and the tremendous twang of his bow-string, he struck terror into the monkeys. Seeing the magnitude of his person, the monkeys thinking that it was Kumbhakarna who had come,—and affrighted thereat, sought the shelter of each other. And seeing his form like unto that of Vishnu when he displayed his threefold energy, the monkey-warriors seized with fear, began to scour on all sides. And on Atikaya appearing before them, the monkeys, stupified in that conflict, saught the shelter of Lakshmana's elder brother. And from a distance Kakutstha saw the mountain like Atikaya mounted on the car and equipped with his bow, like unto roaring clouds (seen) on the occasion of the universal disruption. And seeing that huge-bodied one, Raghava struck with surprise, comforting the monkeys, addressed Bibhishana, saying,—"Who is this one resembling a mountain, furnished with a bow and having leonine eyes, that is stationed on a large car yoked with a thousand steeds,—he that with effulgent sharpened darts and keen pracas and tomaras, shineth like Mahecwara environed by spectres—he that displaying his fatal tongue, appeareth splendid, surrounded with darts in his car; like a mass of clouds graced with lightning. And his bows adorned and backed with gold all over, beautify his car even as Indra's bow beautifyeth the firmament. And who is this foremost of Rakshasas and best of bowmen that embellishing the field of battle, approacheth on a car glorious as the sun; who, displaying the ten cardinal points with his shafts resembling the rays of the sun, appeareth handsome with his peak of a banner bearing the figure of Rahu—whose bow bent in three places, emitting roars resembling the rumbling of clouds, and plated with gold, looketh like the bow itself of Satakratu? And his mighty car furnished with a banner and ensign and bottom, and having clatter resembling the roaring of clouds, hath four horsemen (attached to it). And there are on the car eight and thirty quivers and dreadful bows and yellow-golden bow-strings. And there are (in that car) two effulgent swords at his side, illumining it,—their hafts measuring four hands and their blades ten each. And that calm (warrior) wears red garlands about his neck, and resembles a mighty mountain. And a very Destroyer, he hath a mighty mouth, appearing like that of the Destroyer himself; and he looketh like the sun stationed on clouds. And with his arms adorned with golden angadas, he appeareth splendid like that best of mountains—the Himavan with its towering summits. And with his pair of ear-rings, his charming yet terrific countenance shineth like the full Moon entering into Punarvacu [The seventh lunar asterism.]. O mighty-armed one, tell me all about this foremost of Rakshasas, seeing whom the monkeys, overwhelmed with fear, fly away in all directions". Asked by the king's son—Rama of immeasurable prowess—the exceedingly energetic Bibhishana spoke unto Rama, informing him,—"The highly powerful king, Vaisravana's younger brother of dreadful deeds, the high-souled Ravana—is the sovereign of the Rakshasas. This one is his mighty son, like unto Ravana himself in strength. He serveth the aged, is of wide celebrity and is the prime of those versed in all branches of knowledge. And he is competent to ride horses and elephants, to wield the sword or draw the bow,—or in sowing dissensions, or giving away, or in counsel,—he reposing in whose arm Lanka hath cast off fear. Know him to be Atikaya, son unto Dhanyamali. Having adored the pure-souled Brahma with austerities, he hath obtained weapons, and hath defeated his foes (in fight)". 'Thou shalt be incapable of being slain by celestials and Asuras'—was the boon conferred on him by the Self-sprung; and he also gave him this celestial mail and this car resembling the effulgent Sun himself. He hath vanquished (in battle) hundreds of deities and Danavas; and he hath (always) protected the Rakshas, and destroyed Yakshas. And this intelligent one resisted the thunder-bolt itself of Indra; and in encounter baffled the very noose of the king of waters. This one is Atikaya—foremost of Rakshasas; and that son of Ravana is the humbler of the hauteur of deities and Danavas. Therefore, O best of persons, do thou endeavour thy best. This one with his shafts slaughtered the monkey-hosts before (us)". And then the powerful Atikaya entering that monkey-force, stretched his bow and shouted again and again. And the high-souled principal monkeys, seeing that (hero) possessed of a dreadful person, that best of car-warriors—stationed on his car, rushed forward. And Kumuda and Dwivida and Mainda and Nila and Sabha dashed on at one time with trees and mountain-peaks. Thereupon that foremost of those skilled in weapons, the exceedingly energetic Atikaya, severed those trees and rocks by means of shafts dight with gold. And in that encounter that powerful one possessed of a gigantic person, skilled in arms, pierced all those monkeys staying before him with arrows entirely made of iron. And agonised, having their persons pierced in that mighty conflict by that arrowy shower, they were incapable of resisting the same. And the Rakshasa terrified that host of monkey-heroes, even as an enraged lion priding in his youth terrifyeth a society of deer. And in the midst of those bands of monkeys, that lord of Rakshasas did not slay anyone without battle. And then springing up before Rama, that one furnished with his bow and quiver, addressed him in haughty words, saying,—"Stationed in this car holding the bow and arrows in my hands, I will not fight any that is ignoble. Him that hath strength, and that also understandeth this business,—let him today speedily give me battle". Hearing his speech, that slayer of foes—Sumitra's son—was fired with wrath. And not bearing him, he sprang forward disregarding his antagonist's words, and took up his bow. And flying unto fury, Sumitra's son, darting up, took out arrows from his quiver, and stretched his mighty bow in front of Atikaya. And filling the entire earth and the sky and the ocean and all the cardinal quarters,—the terrific twang of Lakshmana's bow struck terror into the (hearts of the) night-rangers. And hearing the dreadful twang of the bow of Sumitra's son, the exceedingly energetic and powerful son of the lord of Rakshasas was struck with surprise. Then Atikaya, enraged, seeing Lakshmana advance, taking sharpened shafts, spoke unto him,—"Thou art a boy, O Sumitra's son; and as such knowest not how to display prowess. Go thou. Why wishest thou to fight with me resembling Death itself. Not Himalaya itself or the firmament or the earth is capable of bearing the impetuosity of shafts shot by my arms. Thou wishest to rouse a fire slumbering sweetly. Leaving alone thy bow, do thou return. Do not lose thy life by coming in contact with me. Or it may be that thou art proud; and, therefore, hast no mind to return. Stay then. Renouncing thy life, thou shalt go to Yama's mansion. Behold my whetted arrows—crushers of the insolence of foes—resembling the weapon itself of the Lord [Siva.],—adorned with burnished gold. And even as a lion enraged sheddeth the blood of a mighty elephant, this arrow of mine resembling a serpent shall shed thy blood". Having delivered himself thus, he fired with wrath set his shaft on his bow. Hearing in that encounter Atikaya's wrathful speech fraught with hauteur, the highly powerful and intelligent son of the king possessed of exceeding grace, was transported with passion; and he said,—"Thou canst not attain pre-eminence solely by virtue of thy speech. One cannot be a worthy person simply by say. O wicked-minded one, do thou display thy strength on me equipped with the bow and holding arrows in my hands. To-day shall my shafts decked in gold, drink thy blood flowing from thy person and issuing out of wounds inflicted by my arrows resembling darts.—'This one is a boy', thinking this, thou ought not to slight me. Whether I am a boy or an old man—death shalt thou know in the conflict. It was as a boy that Vishnu had overpowered the triune world with his prowess". Hearing Lakshmana's words, fraught with reason and high sense, Vidyadharas and ghosts, deities, Daityas and Maharshis, and the high-souled Guhyakas then beheld that marvel.

Then Atikaya, enraged, setting his arrow on his bow, shot it at Lakshmana, as if devouring up the welkin. Thereat, Lakshmana—slayer of hostile heroes—with a crescent severed that sharpened shaft resembling a venomous serpent, as it was descending. And seeing the shaft severed, like a serpent having its person cut off, Atikaya waxing exceedingly enraged, took up five arrows; and the night-ranger discharged them at Lakshmana. Thereat Bharata's younger brother cut off the approaching arrows with whetted shafts. And having severed them with sharpened shafts, Lakshmana—slayer of hostile heroes—took up a sharpened arrow, as if flaming in energy. And taking it, Lakshmana set it on his excellent bow; and drawing the latter, vigorously discharged the shaft. And that hero endowed with prowess hit that foremost of Rakshasas in the forehead with that shaft having bent knots, discharged from his bow drawn to its full bent.—And that arrow piercing the forehead of that dreadful Rakshasa, and smeared with blood, appeared like the lord of serpents in a mountain. And the Rakshasa, smarting under Lakshmana's shaft, showered, like the dreadful gateway of Tripuri battered by Rudra. Then recovering himself and reflecting, he said,—"Excellent well! By this discharge of thy shaft, thou approvest thyself as a foe in whom I can well glory". Having spoken thus candidly, he, folding his hands at ease, and seated on the platform of his car, began to range in it. And then that foremost of Rakshasas began to take up, set, and shoot one, three, five, or seven shafts. And those shafts resembling Fate itself, plated with gold at the feathered parts,—and looking like the Sun himself (in splendour),—discharged from the bow of the lord of Rakshasas, lighted up the heavens. Thereat Raghava's younger brother by means of many a sharpened shaft calmly cut off all those vollies of arrows shot by the Rakshasa. And finding all those arrows riven in the encounter, that enemy of the lord of the immortals, Ravana's son, was fired with wrath, and took up a whetted shaft. And then aiming that arrow, that highly powerful one suddenly shot it; and with that, rushing on, hit Sumitra's son in the chest. And struck in the encounter by Atikaya, the son of Sumitra began to bleed copiously, like a mad elephant discharging the temporal juice. And then that lord at once extricated the arrow; and then took up a keen shaft and fixed the same on his weapon [i.e. the bow.]. And then he set a shaft (on his bow-string) reciting a formula for the Agneya [Belonging to the god of Fire.] weapon; and thereat his arrow as well as bow flamed up. Then the highly powerful Atikaya took up a Raudra [Relative to Rudra.] weapon; and thereon fixed a shaft plated with gold at the feathered part, and resembling a serpent in sheen. And even as the Reaper hurleth his rod, did Lakshmana hurl that weapon inspired with divine energy, dreadful and aflame,—at Atikaya. And seeing that shaft set upon an Agneya weapon, that night-ranger discharged a Raudra arrow set upon a Solar weapon. And there like a pair of infuriated serpents, those arrows with their heads flaming in energy, baffled each other in the sky. And burning each other, the shafts fell on the earth; and those best of arrows, shorn of brilliance and reduced to ashes, were deprived of their splendour. And having blazed in the welkin, those two fell down to the earth reft of their lustre, Then Atikaya wrought up with wrath discharged an arrow called Aishika dedicated to Tashtri. Thereat the powerful son of Sumitra severed that shaft by a weapon of Indra. Seeing Aishika baffled, that Prince—son unto Ravana—fired with rage, fixed an arrow on a weapon of Yamya; and then the night-ranger shot that weapon at Lakshmana. And Lakshmana resisted it by a Vayavya [Belonging to the Wind-god.] weapon. And then as a mass of clouds poureth down showers, Lakshmana, enraged, poured volleys of shafts on Ravana's son. Thereupon, hitting Atikaya, those arrows coming in contact with his mail, had their barbs broken, and fell down to the earth. And seeing them baffled, that slayer of hostile heroes—the renowned Lakshmana—began to shower shafts by thousands. And albeit showered with those arrows, that Rakshasa—the mighty Atikaya—in that encounter was not pierced by them on account of his impenetrable mail; and that best of men failed to hurt him in the contest. Then approaching him, the Wind-god spake unto him, saying,—"This one hath received a boon from Brahma, and is covered with an impenetrable mail. Pierce him with a weapon of Brahma. He cannot otherwise be slain. This one clad in mail and endowed with prowess is forsooth incapable of being slain by others". Hearing the words of the Wind-god, Sumitra's son like unto Indra in prowess took an arrow endowed with fierce impetuosity, and at once set it on a Brahma weapon. And on that sharp-headed best of arrows being fixed on that foremost of weapons, the cardinal quarters and the Moon and the Sun and the mighty planets and the sky were seized with affright; and the earth shook. And inspiring that arrow furnished with a feathered part and resembling an emissary of Yama himself, and fixing the same an his bow, Sumitra's son in that encounter discharged that shaft like unto the thunder-bolt at the son of the enemy of Indra. And in that conflict Atikaya beheld that shaft fair-feathered and having its feathered part dight with splendid diamonds, acquiring enhanced vehemence arising from its having been discharged by Lakshmana,—and hissing and rushing on with tremendous impetuosity. And seeing it, Atikaya swiftly resisted it with countless sharpened shafts. But endowed with the energy of Suparna himself, that shaft vehemently went to him. And seeing that shaft flaming and resembling the Fatal Destroyer himself,—coming, he, exerting himself to the utmost resisted it with darts and rishtis and maces and adzes and javelins and arrows. But beating down all those weapons of wonderful forms, that arrow alive with flames, coming to the diadem-decked head of Atikaya, severed the same (in twain) And that head furnished with a corsalet, cut off by Lakshmana's arrow, suddenly dropped to the earth, like a summit of Himavan toppling (to the ground). Seeing him rolling on the earth, with his attire and ornaments scattered about, those night-rangers that survived were overwhelmed with grief. And with pale forces and distressed, they, fatigued in consequence of the thrashing they had undergone, suddenly began to cry in frightful accents. And on their leader having been slain, those night-rangers that were about (Atikaya), without waiting any longer,—overwhelmed with panic, rushed towards the city. And on their foe endowed with terrific prowess and incapable of being confronted, having been slain, innumerable monkeys filled with excess of joy, and displaying countenances resembling blown lotuses, paid homage unto Lakshmana working out their welfare.

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SECTION 72.

Hearing Atikaya slain by the high-souled Lakshmana, the king was filled with exceeding great anxiety and spoke thus,—"Dhumraksha exceedingly wrathful,—best of those equipped with all arms—and Akampana and Prahasta and Kumbhakarna—all these exceedingly mighty heroes—Rakshasas ever seeking warfare, conquerers of the forces of foes, and never defeated by antagonists, have together with their hosts been slain by Rama of untiring feats. And other Rakshasas having gigantic bodies and skilled in various arms,—countless high-souled heroes—have also been brought down. These brothers were formerly bound by my son Indrajit of renowned strength and prowess with terrific shafts, obtained as boons. And I do not know by what power or superhuman virtue or stupifying energy did those brothers—Rama and Lakshmana—liberate themselves from those dreadful bonds, which could be loosed neither by celestials nor the highly powerful Asuras combined nor Yakyas, Gandharbas and Pannagas. And all those heroic Rakshasa warriors that marched forth at my bidding, have been destroyed by monkeys of marvellous might. Him see I not that can now slay Rama with Lakshmana,—that hero together with his forces and Sugriva and Bibhishana. Alack! mighty must be Rama and wondrous is his strength of weapon—he coming in contact with whose prowess, these Rakshasas have met with their deaths. Now let this palace be everywhere guarded by a vigilant garrison,—as also the acoka wood where Sita is being guarded. We should always be acquainted with the ingress and egress (of every person). And do ye, surrounded by forces, remain where there are garrisons. And the night-rangers should in the evening, at midnight and in the morning always watch the movements of the monkeys. The monkeys should by no means be slighted. And ye should know whether the enemy putteth forth (fresh) efforts,—and whether they advance or remain stationed where they at present are".—Thereupon those exceeding mighty Rakshasas did as they had been desired. And having directed them, Ravana—lord of Rakshasas—bearing the dart of ire (in his heart), in forlorn guise entered his own mansion. And with the fire of his rage blazing up, the exceedingly powerful sovereign of the night-rangers, absorbed with the danger that had befallen his son, began to sigh momentarily.

SECTION 73.

Those Rakshas that remained after the others had been slain, swiftly informed Ravana that all those foremost of Rakshasas—Devantaka and the rest, Triciras, Atikaya and others—had been slain. And suddenly hearing them slain, the king with his eyes charged with brine, thinking of the disastrous destruction of his sons and brothers, was extremely agonized. Thereupon, seeing the king afflicted, and sunk in a sea of sorrow, that foremost of car-warriors—son unto the Rakshasa king—Indrajit, addressed (his sire), saying,—"O father, it doth not behove thee to be overcome with this excessive grief, inasmuch as, O lord of Nairitas, Indrajit yet breaths. Smit by the enemy of Indra, (Raghava) can by no means save his life in encounter. To-day behold Rama along with Lakshmana with their bodies torn with my shafts,—lying down lifeless on the ground, having their persons covered with my sharpened arrows! Hear this vow of the foe of Indra, never swerving and instinct with prowess and divinity,—this very day will I with unfailing shafts slay Rama along with Lakshmana. To-day let Indra and Vaivacwata and Vishnu and Rudra and Sadhyas and Vaicwas and men and the Sun and the Moon, behold my immeasurable prowess, terrific like that of Vishnu at the sacrificial ground of Vali". Having spoken thus, that foe of the lord of celestials endowed with exceeding energy, taking the king's permission, ascended a car having the velocity of the wind itself, yoked with asses, and furnished with every variety of weapons. And ascending the car, resembling the car of Hari himself, that exceedingly powerful repressor of enemies at once set out for the field of battle. And as that high-souled (hero) marched, he was followed by countless mighty (Rakshasas) breathing spirits; bearing bows in their strong hands. And some of those, resembling mountains, were mounted on elephants, and some on superb steeds, and some on bears, and some on beasts of prey, and some on lions and jackals,—and some of the Rakshasas endowed with dreadful vigor were mounted on crows, and some on swans, and some on peacocks,—they were equipped with pracas and maces and nistrincas and axes and clubs. And all sides were filled with the blares of conchs and the sounds of kettle-drums. And then that enemy of the lord of celestials marched forth with impetuosity. And with an umbrella hued like the Moon, that destroyer of enemies appeared like the full Moon stationed in the sky. And that hero garnished in golden ornaments—that foremost of all bowmen—was fanned by an excellent and graceful golden chowri. And with Indrajit furnished with the splendour of the Sun himself, and possessed of peerless prowess, Lanka, looked beauteous even as the firmament graced with the glorious Sun.

Arriving at the scene of conflict, that highly powerful repressor of foes arrayed his forces around the car. And then that foremost of Rakshasas with choice mantras duly offered libations unto Fire. And that powerful lord of Rakshasas there worshipping Fire with fragrant wreaths and fried paddy, sacrificed unto it. And arms served for Kaca and Bibhitakas for fuel; and there were red cloths and a ladle made of black iron. And spreading Fire there, with tomaras representing Kaca, he seized the neck of a living goat. And then the kindled smokeless fire blazing up brilliantly, displayed signs betokening victory. Thereat, with his right tongue whirling, the Deity of Fire himself looking like one made of gold,—arising, accepted the offering. And then that (Rakshasa) skilled in weapons acquired a Brahma weapon (from that Deity), and inspired his bow and car with mantras. On that weapon having been invoked, and on (the god of Fire) also having been worshipped, the firmament furnished with the suns and stars and planets was afflicted with affright. Having worshipped (the god of Fire), that one endowed with the splendour of Fire itself, that one possessed of the prowess of the great Indra and gifted with inconceivable vigor, accoutred in bows and arrows and swords and having steeds and cars and darts,—disappeared in the sky. Then burning for battle, setting up roars went out the Rakshasa ranks, thronging with steeds and cars, and graced with pennons and standards. And they fell to slaughtering monkeys in the engagement with countless shafts, sharp, variegated and decorated; as also with tomaras and hooks. And Ravana's son, fired with wrath, seeing those night-rangers, addressed them, saying,—"Do ye, burning with a desire to destroy the monkeys, fight cheerfully". Thereat all those Rakshasas, eager for victory, smitting roars, covered the dreadful monkeys with showers of shafts. And environed by Rakshas in that encounter, Indrajit poured on the monkeys nalikas and narachas and maces and clubs. And trembling in the encounter, those monkeys armed with trees at once began to shower rocks and trees on Ravana's son. Then the exceedingly powerful Indrajit, son unto Ravana, endowed with wondrous energy, pierced the bodies of the monkeys (with arrows). And fired with wrath, that (hero) rejoicing the Rakshasas with a single shaft pierced nine and seven monkeys in that encounter. And that invincible hero in that conflict mangled the monkeys with shafts resembling the Sun, decked with gold. And their persons pierced in that contest, and themselves pained with those arrows, they began to fall down, giving up all intention of fight, like mighty Asuras smit by the celestials. And then waxing highly enraged, those considerable monkeys in that conflict hotly pursued (Indrajit) resembling the Sun himself and having terrific arrows for his rays. And all the monkeys, with their bodies riven and deprived of their senses, and bathed in blood and writhing in torments,—pursued (Indrajit). And putting forth their prowess in behalf of Rama, those monkeys, equipped with rocks in the encounter, who had set apart their very lives (for him), paused, shouting up loudly. And they in that conflict showered trees and crags and mountain-tops on Ravana's son. And that destroyer of foes—the exceedingly energetic son unto Ravana—resisted that mighty shower of trees and stones capable of compassing destruction. Then that Lord pierced the monkey-hosts in the encounter with shafts resembling fire or venomous serpents. And piercing Gandhamadana with eight and ten sharp arrows, he wounded Nila stationed at a distance with nine shafts. And that one endowed with redoubtable prowess pierced Mainda with seven shafts capable of piercing into the pith; and he pierced Gaja with five shafts in the encounter. And he pierced Jambavan with ten and Nila with thirty. And then with dreadful sharp shafts obtained as boons, he rendered Sugriva and Rishabha and Angada and Dwivida (almost) lifeless. And transported with passion, and resembling the Five arisen at Doomsday, Indrajit, harassed other principal monkeys with countless arrows. And in that terrific conflict, he agitated the monkey-hosts with swift-speeding shafts, resembling the Sun himself, deftly discharged (from his bow). Then in that encounter, leaving his army, Indrajit became suddenly invisible unto the monkey-hosts,—and began to shower fierce arrows, like dark clouds pouring rain. And with their persons torn by the arrows of the conqueror of Sakra,—slain by his power of illusion,—with their teeth uprooted, those mountain-like monkeys fell down in the field, emitting frightful cries,—like a mountain smit with Indra's thunderbolt. And in the conflict they could only see sharp pointed shafts among the monkey-ranks; but that foe of the celestial chief—the Rakshasa, hidden by virtue of illusion, they could not discover there. And then the high-souled lord of Rakshas covered all sides with sharp-pointed shafts resembling the rays of the Sun; and he rived the foremost monkeys. And whirling darts and nistraicasand axes, flaming and having the effulgence of Fire,—and furnished with flames shooting forth sparks,—he discharged them furiously at the forces of the sovereign of monkeys. And the monkey-leaders struck with Sakrajit's shafts resembling flames, appeared like laughing Kincukas. And some looking at the sky were struck at their eyes. And they gradually began to hide themselves in each other and drop to the earth. And that foremost of Rakshasas—Indrajit—with pracas and darts and whetted arrows, inspired with mantras, pierced all those powerful monkeys,—Hanuman and Sugriva and Angada and Gandhamadana and Jambavan and Sushena and Vegadarcin, and Mainda and Dwivida and Nila and Gavaksha and Gavaya and Kesari and Hariloman and the monkey Vidyutdanshtra and Suryyanana and Jyotimukha and the monkey Dadhimukha and Pavakaksha and Nala and the monkey Kumuda. And having pierced those foremost monkeys with golden-hued maces, he showered on Rama and Lakshmana arrows resembling the rays of the Sun. And showered with those vollies of arrows, Rama, without heeding that discharge resembling a very downpour,—reflecting, spoke unto Lakshmana,—"O Lakshmana, this lord of Rakshasas, this foe of the lord of celestials, having obtained the Brahma weapon,—after having brought down the monkey-hosts, are assailing us with sharpened shafts. And that high-souled heedful one, having been given a boon by the Self-sprung, hath rendered his dreadful body invisible. How can we slay him, who is fighting with upraised weapons, but who hath hid his body. The reverend Self-sprung, I deem, is incomprehensible. And this is his weapon, embodying his energy. Therefore, O intelligent one, do thou to-day along with me calmly bear this. And let this foremost them all—this lord of Rakshasas—cover all sides with the showers of his shafts. And in consequence of this, the army of the monkey-king with its greatest heroes fallen, doth not appear to advantage. And seeing us also fallen senseless, and desisting from fight with our joy and anger gone off from us, for certain will the enemy of the immortals, taking the Fortune of fight seek his home". And assailed by Indra with networks of arrows, they were then sore distressed the field. And having struck them with sadness, Indra from joy shouted in the encounter. And having thus worst in battle that monkey-army and Rama along with Lakshmana he speedily entered the city ruled by the hand of the Ten-necked one. And extolled by the Yatudhanas, he, filled with delight, related everything unto his sire.

SECTION 74.

And they Rama and Lakshmana were rendered inert in the field; and the army of the monkey-leaders was stupified, with Sugriva and Nila and Angada and Jambavan,—and they did not show any signs of activity. Thereupon, seeing them dispirited, that foremost of intelligent persons—Bibhishana—cheering them up with his peerless speech, said,—"Ye heroes of the king of monkeys, do not give way to fear. This is not the time to indulge in grief at this place; for the sons of the noble one [Dacaratha.],—inactive and depressed, and seeming to be wounded with the showers of Indrajit's shafts,—are in reality in this plight, for showing reverence unto the words [Mantra or prayer.]. of the Self-sprung one.—On him the Self-sprung hath conferred the mighty Brahma, weapon of unfailing power; and the king's sons are doing honour to it by lying down on the field of battle. Why then do ye grieve now?" Hearing the words of Bibhishana and honouring the Brahma weapon, Hanuman spoke as follows:—"The host of the quick-paced monkeys hath been slain by this weapon. Let us go and console them who are still living". And those two great heroes—Hanuman and that foremost of the Rakshasas, with fire-brands in their hands, began to range to and fro in the battle field. And they beheld there the earth strewn on all sides with monkeys lying down like so many hills and various shining weapons. And some of these monkeys were deprived of their tails, some of their hands, some of their thighs, some of their legs, some of their fingers, and some of their heads. And blood was gushing out from the persons of some, and others were urinating out of fear. And Bibhishana and Hanuman beheld there Sugriva, Angada, Nila, Gandhamldana, Jambavan, Sushena, Vegadarshin, Mainda, Nala, Jyotimukha, and the monkey, Dwivida,—almost slain. And Bibhishana and Hanuman saw in the field seven and sixty kotis of fleet-footing monkeys slain (in battle) at the fifth part of the day by the darling of the Self-sprung. And surveying that host worsted, dreadful like the surges of the sea, Hanuman and Bibhishana began to search for Jambavan. And finding that heroic son of Prajapati, afflicted with natural decrepitude, aged, and resembling smouldering fire,—wounded with hundreds of shafts, Pulastya's son said,—"O noble one, hath not thy life been destroyed with those sharp shafts?" Hearing Bibhishana's words, Jambavan—best of bears—evoking utterance with extreme effort, said,—"O foremost of Nairitas, endowed with exceeding prowess, I know thee by thy voice. Having my person pierced with sharp shafts, I cannot see thee with my eyes. Doth he through whom Anjana as well as Mataricwa [Wind-god.] are blessed with fair offspring,—doth that prince of monkeys—Hanuman—live?" Hearing Jambavan's speech, Bibhishaua said,—"Why, passing by the son of the high and mighty, dost thou enquire after the Wind-god's offspring? O noble one, thou dost not show that overflowing affection either for king Sugriva or Raghava that thou showest for the son of the Wind-god". Hearing Bibhishana's words, Jambavan said,—"Hear, O foremost of Rakshasas, why I enquire after the Wind-god's son. While this hero is alive, this force, albeit destroyed, liveth; but if Hanuman is reft of life, although living, we are destroyed. O child, if the

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Wind-god's offspring, resembling his sire himself or (the deity of) Fire in prowess, is alive, there is hope for our lives". Then approaching that aged one, Hanuman—son unto the Wind god—saluted him humbly, holding Jambavan's feet. Hearing Hanuman's voice, that foremost of monkeys, with his senses sorely smarting, deemed himself as having regained his life. Then that exceedingly energetic one addressed Hanuman, saying,—"Come, O powerful monkey. It behoveth thee to rescue the monkeys. There is none else. Endowed with profuse prowess, thou art the greatest friend of these. This is the hour when thou shouldst display thy might. Any other see I not. Do thou cheer up this host consisting of bears and monkeys; and do thou also heal the wounds of these two tormented by them. Bounding sheer over the main, thou, O Hanuman, shouldst repair to the Himavan—foremost of mountains. There thou wilt see that best of mountains—the golden Rishabha of terrific aspect, and, smiter of foes, the peak also of Kailaca. Lying in the Up of these two, thou, O hero, O powerful monkey, wilt see the mountain of medicines, fraught with healing herbs of all kinds. On its summit thou wilt find four medicinal herbs flaming and illumining the ten cardinal quarters—viz., Mritasanjivani [Lit. reviving the dead.], Vicalyakarani [Lit. healing wounds inflicted by darts.], Suvarnakarani [Lit. transmuting any thing to gold.], and the mighty medicine, Sandhani. O Hanuman, providing thyself with these, thou shouldst come hither without delay. Do thou, O offspring of the Wind-god bringing back lives unto these monkeys, cheer them up". Thereat Hanuman filled himself with energy, even as the Ocean heaveth with the force of the winds (blowing on its breast). And ascending the summit of that mountain, and hurting it with his tread, that hero—Hanuman—appeared like a second mountain, And crushed under the tread of that monkey, the mountain was dispirited; and sore distressed, it could hardly contain itself. And the trees on it began to topple to the earth; and on account of the vehemence of the monkey, they flamed up. And smitten by Hanuman, its peaks were scattered around. And monkeys could no longer dwell on that foremost of mountains, which, being hard pressed (by Hanuman), was trembling all over, with its slopes covered with broken trees and rocks. And with her giant gateways shaking, and the doors of her edifices broken, that night Lanka, overwhelmed with fright, seemed to be dancing. And the offspring of the Wind-god, resembling a mountain itself, bringing that mountain to sore straits, agitated the entire earth with her Oceans. And hurting the mountain with his tread, he, opening wide his mouth resembling that of a mare, sent up loud shouts, terrifying the night-rangers. And hearing those tremendous roars as he kept emitting cries, the powerful Rakshasas were quite stupified. And bowing down unto the Ocean, that subduer of enemies, the Wind-god's son, endowed with dreadful prowess, began to ponder over the mighty mission with which he had been entrusted in the interests of Raghava.—And, then upraising his tail resembling a serpent, bending his back, contracting his ears, and opening his mouth looking like that of a mare, that one possessed of terrific impetuosity, bounded into the sky. And with the vehemence of his rush,—he carried away in his wake whole tracts of trees, and rocks, and crags, and inferior monkeys; and after having been carried away some distance by the vehemence of his arms and thighs, they, at length losing their velocity, fell into the waters (of the Ocean.) And stretching his arms resembling serpents, the son of the Wind-god endowed with the prowess of Garuda coursed on towards the monarch of mountains, as if making all the quarters tremble. And seeing the sea with its hosts of billows rolling furiously, and with the confederacies of aquatic animals bewildered by the angry waters, he coursed on rapidly, like the discus discharged by the hand of Vishnu. And surveying hills and birds and pools and rivers and tanks and splendid cities and flourishing provinces, that one equal to his sire himself in celerity, held his way. And that hero—Hanuman—like unto his father in prowess, and incapable of being fatigued, vigorously proceeded along the orbit of the Sun. And that powerful monkey possessed of the speed of the Wind itself, and having mighty impetuosity, careered, making all sides resound with his roars. And remembering Jambavan's words, that redoubtable monkey, son unto the Wind-god, possessed of terrific prowess, and resembling a mountain, suddenly saw (before him) the Himavan: furnished with countless cascades and numerous caves and rivulets; with splendid summits appearing like massess of pale clouds; and graced with various trees. And arriving at that lord of mighty mountains, furnished with excellent towering golden summits, he saw the great sacred asylums (of the ascetics), inhabited by the flower of celestial saints. And he saw Brahmakoca [The place of Hiranyagarbha.] and Rajatalaya [The place of Rajatanabha.] and Sakralaya [The abode of Sakra.] and Rudracarapramoksha [A place name.] and Hayanana [A place name.] and the flaming Brahmaciras [The place of the deity presiding over the Brahma weapon.], and the servants of Vaivacwata [An appellation of Yama.]. And he saw the abode of the Fire-god, and the abode of Vaicravana and the effulgent Suryyanivandhana [The spot where the suns meet.]. and the abode of Brahma, and the bow of Sankara, and the navel of the Earth. And he saw Kailaca of terrific aspect, and the stone of Himavan, and that bull, and the golden mountain, and that foremost of mountains furnished with all medicinal herbs, flaming, and illuminated with every kind of medicinal plants. And beholding that flaming mass of fire, the offspring of Vasava's emissary [The emissary of Vasava was Hanuman.] wondered. And bounding up to the lord of medicinal mountains, he fell to searching for the drugs. And that mighty monkey—the Wind-god's son—leaving behind a thousand yojanas, began to range the mountain containing the divine remedies in its entrails. And those potent medicines, in that foremost of mountains, knowing (before-hand) that one was coming seeking for them, rendered themselves invisible. And not seeing them, the high-souled Hanuman was angered; and from wrath he set up roars. And not brooking that, (Hanuman) with eyes resembling glowing fire, addressed that foremost of mountains, saying,—"What is this that thou hast decided on, that thou showest no compassion for Raghava? But, O lord of mountains, to-day witness thyself, overpowered by my arms and torn in pieces!" And (anon) on a sudden, he violently rooted up its summit with trees and elephants and gold, and furnished with a thousand varieties of ore,—having its tops torn and its slopes aflame. And uprooting it, he sprang into (the bosom of the air), terrifying the worlds containing celestials and the lords thereof. And hymned by countless rangers of the air, that one endowed with the terrific impetuosity of Garuda himself, taking that summit furnished with the splendour of the Sun, went along the orbit of the Sun. And near the Sun, that Sun-like one seemed to be another Sun. And with that mountain, the offspring of the bearer of perfumes appeared surpassingly grand, like very Vishnu equipped with the flaming discus having a thousand edges. And seeing him, the monkeys shouted,—and he also, seeing then, shouted in delight. And hearing their tremendous cheers, those residing in Lanka shouted still more dreadfully. And then the high-souled one dropped on that best of mountains in the midst of the monkey-forces; and, bowing down unto the principal monkeys there, he embraced Bibhishana. And then those sons of that king of men, smelling the perfume of that mighty medicine, were then and there healed of their wounds; and the heroic monkeys also sat up. And all the heroic monkeys were instantly healed and cured; and those also that were slain (in battle), through the smell of that best of drugs, sat up, like persons risen after sleep at break of day. Ever since the monkeys and Rakshasas had begun to fight, for maintaining honour, all those Rakshasas that were slain there by the mighty monkeys, were thrown into the sea. Then that monkey, the offspring of the bearer of fragrance, endowed with terrific speed, took that medicinal mountain (back) unto Himavan and again presented himself before Rama.

SECTION 75.

Then the exceedingly energetic lord of monkeys, Sugriva, said unto Hanuman these words fraught with import,—"Inasmuch as Kumbhakarna hath been slain as also the princes, Ravana can no longer defend the city. Now let those principal monkeys that are endowed with great strength and that are furnished with fleetness, taking fire-brands (in their hands) rapidly rush towards Lanka". Then when the Sun had set and at the terrific front of Night, those foremost of monkeys marched towards Lanka, equipped with fire-brands. And charged at all points by numbers of monkeys armed with fire-brands, those fierce-eyed (Rakshasas) that guarded the gates [Pioneer division of an army.] suddenly fled away. And thereat, (the monkeys) delighted set fire to gates and upper apartments and spacious high-ways and various by-ways and edifices. And the fire burnt their mansions by thousands; and mountain-like superstructures toppled headlong to the earth. And there burnt aguru, and sweet sandal, and pearls, and sheeny gems, and diamonds and corals. And there burnt linen and fine silk and avikas and various kinds of woolen cloths; and vessels of gold, and weapons; divers kinds of furniture, trappings and ornaments of steeds; cords for tying elephants; burnished ornaments for cars; armour of warriors; and hides of horses and elephants. And swords and bows and bow-strings and arrows and tomaras [An Iron club.] and ankucas [The hook used to drive an elephant.] and darts. And blankets and chowrisand tiger-skins and musk and other things. And pearls and excellent gems; and edifices all around. And there the fire burneth heaps of various kinds of arms. And then the fire burnt various kinds of curious structures, and the dwellings of Rakshasas and all householders. And there the fire flaming up again and again burnt down by hundreds and thousands the houses of the denizons of Lanka,—clad in curious golden mail; and wearing wreaths and ornaments and attires; having their eyes wildly moving in intoxication; reeling in drink; those whose paramours were dressed in flowing apparels; or those wroth with their foes; or bearing maces and darts and swords in their hands; or engaged in eating or drinking; or asleep with their beloved on costly couches; or who, agitated with fright, were hastily going taking their sons with them.—And that fire burnt down firm-based rich dwellings furnished with innumerable apartments, and garnished with golden Moons and crescents,—and mansions having graceful crests; and variegated windows and daises raised there, embellished with rubies and lapises, and seeming to touch the Sun; and piles resembling mountains in grandeur,—and resonant with the cries of Kraunchas and peacocks and the tinklings of ornaments. And the flaming gateways all round appeared like clouds in the rainy season lighted up by lightning, or like the peaks of a mighty mountain ablaze with a forest-conflagration. And superb damsels asleep in lofty edifices*, being burnt, cast away their ornaments and shrieked. [* Vimana, according to Ramanuya, is a seven-storied built stucture. A Vimana (literal meaning "having been measured out") is also a kind of flying vehicle described in the Rig-Veda. In the Ramayana it is usually called "pushpaka."] And consumed by the fire, buildings began to drop down like the summits of a mighty mountain smit with the thunder-bolt of the thunderer. And those burning, appeared from a distance like the peaks of Himalaya aglow. And in consequence of those tops of the edifices burning and of the living flames, that night Lanka looked as if swarming with flowering Kincukas. And with elephant-riders, and elephants, and steeds let loose, Lanka appeared like the Ocean at the hour of Universal tumbling,—with its ferocious aquatic animals whirling in wild chaos. Sometimes, an elephant seeing a steed let loose,—was flying away in fear; and sometimes a horse seeing a frightened elephant, was stopping, himself seized with fear.—And on Lanka burning, the mighty main with the reflection (of the conflagration) looked like an Ocean of red waters. And in a short time that city set on fire by the monkeys, looked like the earth glowing at the time of the Universal dissolution. And the cries of the females amidst the drift of smoke, heated by the flames, could be heard from an hundred Yojanas. And as Rakshasas having their bodies burnt came out of houses, monkeys eager for encounter on a sudden sprung upon them. And the shouts of the monkeys and the cries of the Rakshasas made the ten cardinal quarters and the ocean and the Earth resound.

And on those high souled ones—both Rama and Lakshmana—having been cured of their wounds, possessing themselves in calmness, took up their excellent bows. And Rama drew that best of bows. And thereat there was heard a tremendous twang striking terror into the Rakshasas. And drawing his redoubtable bow, Rama appeared like the reverend enraged Bhava, drawing his bow having sounds and instinct with Brahma energy. And the twang of Rama's bow, drowning the roars of both the monkeys and the Rakshasas,—was alone heard. And the ululations of the monkeys and the cries of the Rakshasas and the rattle of Rama's bow—these three filled the ten cardinal quarters. And with the shafts discharged from his bow, the gateway of the city resembling the summit of Kailaca was crushed in pieces, scattered around on the ground. And seeing Rama's shafts in cars and dwellings, the preparations for conflict were pushed on with great vigor. And in consequence of the foremost Rakshasas preparing for fight, and emitting roars, that night appeared like the Fatal Night itself. And the foremost monkeys were directed by the high-souled Sugriva, saying,—"Ye monkeys, do ye fight, approaching the gate lying at hand. But he that flyeth from his ranks, should be slain by main force". As the principal monkeys stationed themselves at the gate, equipped with fire brands, wrath took possession of Ravana. And as he yawned, the wind (blowing from his mouth), filled the ten cardinal regions; and his wrath resembled that appearing in the person of Rudra. And wrought up with a mighty rage, he sent forth Kumbha and Nikumbha—both sons of Kumbhakarna—in company with innumerable Rakshasas.—And in accordance with Ravana's command, Yupaksha and Sonitaksha, and Prajangha, and Kampana went with Kumbhakarna's sons. And, setting up leonine roars, he commanded all those highly powerful Rakshasas, saying,—"Do ye go this very day for battle". Thus directed, those heroic Rakshasas, equipped with flaming weapons, went out, roaring again and again. And the firmament was illuminated with the splendour of the ornaments of the Rakshasas and the splendour of their persons and the fire kindled by the monkeys. And there the light of the Moon and that of the stars and the brilliance of their ornaments,—combined, lighted up the welkin.—And the beams of the Moon and the brilliance of the ornaments and the flaming splendour of the planets emblazoned all round the forces of the monkeys and Rakshasas. And the light of half-burnt houses, again, falling on the restless ripples of the sea, made it wear an extremely beautiful aspect. And those dreadful Rakshasa hosts, possessed of dreadful prowess and energy, were seen,—with ensigns and banners; excellent swords and paracwadhas [A platoon consisting of one chariot, one elephant, three horse and five foot soldiers.], terrific steeds and cars and elephants rife with paths [A kind of sword.], and flaming darts and clubs and scimitars and yrasas and tomarasand bows; bearing blazing prasas; ringing with the tinklings of hundreds of balls; with their arms encased in golden networks; flourishing axes; whirling their mighty weapons; fixing shafts on their bows; making the air swoon away with the perfumes of their wreaths; extremely terrific;

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swarming with heroes; sending out sounds like those of the sea. And seeing the army of the Rakshasas incapable of being coped with advance, the monkey-forces began to move and send up loud cheers. And thereat that array of Rakshasas vehemently sprang forward before the force of the foe, like unto insects plunging into aflame. And whirling with their arms bludgeons and acanis, that army of Rakshasas appeared exceedingly grand. And the monkeys, eager for encounter, darted forward like maniacs; and began to despatch the night-rangers with rocks and trees and clenched fist. And Rakshasas possessed of dreadful prowess with whetted arrows swiftly cut off the heads of falling monkeys. And the Rakshasas ranged there, with their ears torn with teeth, or their heads broken by blows, or their limbs crushed with the discharge of crags. And in the same way other grim-visaged night-rangers slew with sharpened swords the foremost of monkeys on all sides. And one about to slay another was himself slain by the latter; and one, about to bring another down, was himself brought down (by his adversary), and one that was railing at another, was in turn rebuked by his enemy; and one who was going to bite his foe, was himself bitten by him. And one was crying 'Give,' [Battle.] and his adversary anon giveth; and another, again said,—'I will give. Why puttest thyself to trouble? Stay.' Thus there did they accost each other. And there was waged a terrific encounter between the monkeys and the Rakshasas,—in which arms lay scattered about; and armour and weapons strewn around; and mighty pracas [A bearded dart.] were upraised; and which was fought with blows and darts and swords and Kuntalas (?). And in that conflict the Rakshasas slaughtered monkeys by tens and sevens. And then the monkeys hemmed in the Rakshasa-forces, with their apparels falling off and with their mail and standards strewn around.

SECTION 76.

On that furious and destructive carnage proceeding. Angada, eager for encounter, approached the heroic Kampana. Thereat, challenging Angada in wrath, he assailed him with impetuosity. And Kampana dealt a blow to Angada with his mace; and thereat, wounded with it, he reeled. Then regaining his senses, that energetic one hurled a mountain-top. Borne down by the blow, Akampana dropped down to the earth. And seeing Kampana slain in the conflict, Sonitaksha mounted on a car, intrepidly rushed against Angada. And he then impetuosly pierced Angada with sharpened shafts, keen and capable of cleaving the body and resembling the Fatal Fire itself in appearance,—with Kshuras [Arrows having razor-like edges.] and Kshurapras [Crescent-shaped shafts.] and Naracha [Arrows made entirely of iron.] and Vatsadantas [Arrows resembling the teeth of calves.] and Siliumkhas [Arrows resembling the feathers of the Kanka.] and Karnis [Arrows furnished with two sides resembling chariots.] and Salas [Arrows with short leads.] and Vipatas [Arrows.], and countless (other) whetted arrows. And the powerful son of Vali—Angada—endowed with prowess having his person pierced with arrows suddenly smashed (his adversary's) car and arrows and dreadful bow. And thereat, Sonitaksha swiftly took up his sword and shield; and without reflecting for a moment, that vigorous one sprang forward. And the powerful Angada, speedily bounding up, seized his enemy's sword and holding the same with his hands shouted. And then hitting at (Akampana's) shoulder-blade, that powerful monkey—Angada—hewed him in twain, his blow going obliquely down like the sacred thread. And taking that terrific sword, and shouting again and again, in the field, Vali's son rushed against other enemies. And then strong and heroic Yupaksha accompanied by Prajangha,—mounted on a car, wrathfully approached the mighty son of Vali. And taking an iron mace, that hero, Sonitaksha, adorned with a golden angada,—attaining a little respite, advanced against Angada. And that redoubtable hero, the powerful Prajangha, also, accompanied by Yupaksha, fired with wrath, equipped with a mace, advanced towards the son of Vali endowed with exceeding prowess. And placed between those two—Sonitaksha and Prajangha—that foremost of monkeys appeared like the full Moon placed between the Visakhas [The asterisks so named.]. And Mainda and Dwivida defending Angada, remained beside him, desirous of witnessing the encounter between those two (combatants). And fired with fury, those huge-bodied Rakshasas endowed with dreadful prowess, equipped with swords and shafts and maces,—being on their guard, fell upon the monkeys. And the encounter that took place between those three lords of monkeys combined (on one side), and the three redoubtable Rakshasis (on the other), was dreadful and capable of making people's down stand on end. And the monkeys, taking up trees, hurled them in the conflict (against their antagonists); and the powerful Prajangha resisted all those with his swords. And (the monkeys) in the contest showered rocks and trees on the cars (of their enemies) and the exceedingly strong Yupaksha cut them off with vollies of arrows. And the powerful Sonitaksha, endowed with prowess, with his mace severed in the middle the trees which Dwivida and Mainda had uprooted and discharged. And summoning speed, Prajangha darted against Vali's son, upraising a huge scimitar capable of piercing into the vitals of trees. And seeing him approach, that lord of monkeys possessed of exceeding strength and great prowess struck him with an Acwakarna tree; and with a blow smote his antagonist on his arm holding a nistringa. And seeing the sword resembling a mace dropped to the earth, that exceedingly mighty one clenched his fist into a blow like unto the levin; and that one, endowed with wondrous energy, smote in the forehead that foremost of monkeys possessed of redoubtable prowess. And thereat he for a moment was staggered. And then recovering his senses, the energetic and powerful son of Vali by means of his clenched fist severed Prajangha's head from his body. Thereat Yupaksha, seeing his uncle slain in battle, with his eyes filled with tears, finding his shafts exhausted, swiftly descended from his car and took a sword. And finding Yupaksha charge, Dwivida, waxing wroth, speedily smote him on the breast; and that powerful one also seized him. And finding his brother taken, the highly energetic Sonitaksha then dealt the mighty Dwivida a blow in the chest. And overcome by that blow, that one endowed with great strength, shook; and Dwivida seized his antagonist's upraised mace. In the meanwhile Mainda came to the side of Dwivida. And Sonitaksha and Yupaksha, bestirring themselves, began to vehemently and forcibly drag and pull those (two) monkeys. And Dwivida with his nail tore Sonhaksha's face; and that powerful one violently bringing him down to the earth, pressed him with might and main. And fired with wrath, Mainda—foremost of monkeys—grasped Yupaksha with his arms; and that one dropt down dead on the earth. And thereupon the force of the lord of the Rakshasas, having its foremost heroes slain,—and aggrieved thereat, went to where Kumbhakarna's son was. And then cheering up the flying forces, that best (of Rakshas),—the energetic Kumbha—seeing that Raksha host with its mighty heroes slain by highly powerful monkeys crowned with success, began to perform difficult feats in the encounter. And needfully taking his bow, that first of bowmen discharged shafts resembling venomous serpents capable of piercing the body. And his excellent bow with shafts shone resplendent like the very bow of Indra himself affluent with the splendour of Airavata and lightning. And then drawing his bow to its utmost bent, he hit Dwivida with a feathered shaft knobbed with gold. And suddenly wounded with it, that best of monkeys having the splendour of Trikuta, fell down senseless to the earth, stretching his legs wide. And Mainda, seeing his brother, broken in mighty encounter, furiously rushed forward, taking a gigantic crag; and that one possessed of great strength, hurled it at the Rakshasa. And thereat Kumbha severed that crag with fire shafts discharged (from his bow). And then aiming other fair-headed arrows resembling venomous snakes, that exceedingly energetic one smote Dwivida's elder brother in the chest. And struck (with those arrows), that leader of monkey-bands, Mainda, with his marrow pierced therewith, fell down to the earth, deprived of his senses. And Angada seeing his (maternal) uncles endowed with exceeding prowess, overpowered, darted vehemently at Kumbha staying with bow upraised. And as he descended, Kumbha pierced him with fire shafts; and as one pierceth an elephant with tomaras, he also pierced (Angada) with three other arrows. And the powerful Kumbha pierced Angada with a great many arrows, sharp-pointed, whetted, keen and ornamented with gold. And Vali's son Angada, albeit pierced all over in his person, did not shake; and he kept showering on Kumbha's head stones and trees. And the graceful son of Kumbhakarna cut off and cleft all those (stone and trees) discharged by Vali's son. And seeing him spring up, Kumbha pierced that monkey-leader on the ground with shafts, even as one assaileth an elephant with fire-brands. And blood gushed out of his closed eyes. And then covering his eyes with his hand, Angada with another took a sala that was hard by. And placing on his breast the sala furnished with shoulders, and pulling its branches and bending its top, he cleared it of its foliage, in that mighty encounter. And then in the sight of all the Rakshas he violently discharged that tree resembling the very banner of Indra and appearing like Mandara itself. And thereat Kumbha severed it with seven sharp shafts capable of piercing the body. And Angada experienced a sharp pang and fell down deprived of his senses. And seeing the invincible Angada down like ebbing sea, the foremost monkeys informed Raghava of it. And Rama, hearing that Vali's son had come to grief in terrific fight, directed the principal monkeys, headed by Jambavan. And hearing Rama's command, the monkeys, fired with wrath, charged Kumbha, staying with his bow upraised. And those powerful monkeys, with their eyes crimsoned with choler and bearing rocks and trees in their hands, were engaged in defending Angada. And Jambavan and Sushena and the monkey, Vegadarci, wrought with wrath, darted against that hero—son unto Kumbhakarna. And seeing them spring forward; he covered up those exceedingly mighty lords of monkey, with showers of shafts, even as a crag obstructeth the course of a current. And even the great deep cannot see his own shores, those high-souled lord of monkeys, coining within the range of his arrows, could not even see. And seeing those monkeys sore distressed by the shafts, the king of the monkeys, Sugriva, in that conflict taking his brother's son on his back, rushed against the son of Kumbhakarna, even as a powerful lion rusheth at an elephant ranging on the slopes of a mountain. And that mighty monkey, uprooting many an acwakarna and other mighty trees of various kinds, discharged them (at the foe). And by means of his sharp arrows the graceful son of Kumbhakarna cut off that down-pour of trees covering the welkin; and incapable of being resisted. And being baffled those trees looked like cataghnis. And seeing that shower of trees riven by Kumbha, the graceful lord of the monkeys endowed with exceeding strength and prowess, did not feel any mortification. And suddenly attacked, he bearing those arrows, seized Kumbha's bow resembling in resplendence the very bow of Indra. And swiftly bounding up and performing that feat difficult of being achieved, he, exceedingly enraged, addressed Kumbha resembling an elephant shorn of his tusks, saying,—"O elder brother of Nikumbha, marvellous are thy might and the force of thyself as well as the modesty and prowess that are thine and Ravana's. And, O thou equal unto Prahrada or Vali or the slayer of Vritra or Varuna or Kuvera! thou alone walkest in the wake of thy yet mightier father. As mental anguish doth not dog one that hath controlled his senses,—the celestials cannot cope in conflict with thee alone, O repressor of foes, O of mighty arms, bearing thy dart in thy hand. O thou of high intelligence, put forth thy prowess! and do thou also witness my work. It is only by virtue of the boon he hath received, that thy uncle can bear the deities and the Danavas. But Kumbhakarna copeth with the immortals and Asuras by means of his native might. And in the bow equal to Indrajit himself and in power equal to Ravana, thou now in might and energy art the foremost of Rakshasas. And to-day let all creatures witness the mighty and wonderful encounter in conflict between thee and me, like unto the meeting of Sakra and Samvara. And unparalleled is the feat thou hast performed; and thou hast displayed thy skill in weapons. And heroic monkeys endowed with dreadful vigor, have been brought down by thee. And, O hero it is only because of the apprehension of censure of the people that I do not slay thee who art fatigued in consequence of the acts that thou hast performed. And reposing from fight, do thou see my strength!" And being thus honoured (by Sugriva) with fair speech, (Kumbha) flamed up like a flame into which oblations have been poured. And then Kumbha seized Sugriva by the arms. And like two elephants in rut, they sighing momentarily, fastened on each other's person, and possessed each other,—and from fatigue emitting from their mouth flames mixed with vapour And with the stamping of their feet, the earth was rent into rivers, and the main was waxed, with its billows surging furiously. Then Sugriva lifting up Kumbha clean, violently plunged him into the salt wash, making his eyes acquainted with the locality of the deep. And in consequence of Kumbha's plunge, the waters heaving up, rolled on all sides like the Vindhya or Mandara. Then springing up, and bringing Sugriva down, Kumbha, transported with wrath dealt a blow on his chest, like unto the levin. And thereat his skin was rent, and blood began to gush out,—and the impetus of that blow broke Sugriva's bones. And the vehemence (of the blow) caused a great fire to blaze up at that spot; even as the thunder-bolt smiting the mountain Meru, maketh place blazed. And the mighty Sugriva—foremost of monkeys—sorely handled by him, fastened his fingers into a box resembling the thunder-bolt, and furnished with all the effulgence of the solar disc having a thousand rays. And then that powerful one made that blow descend right on Kumbha's breast. And agonised with that stroke, Kumbha reft of his senses, dropped like unto a fire that hath lost its brightness. And overpowered by that blow, the Rakshasa anon dropped down, like unto the bright Lohitanga dropping from the firmament urged on by Destiny. And the aspect of the falling Kumbha with his breast broken by the blow, appeared like that of the Sun routed by Rudra. And on his being slain, in encounter, by the foremost of monkeys endowed with terrific strength, the earth with her hills and woods, shook; and a mighty fear took possession of the Rakshas.

SECTION 77.

Seeing his brother slain by Sugriva, Nikumbha, gazed at the lord of the monkeys, as if consuming him with his passion. And then that one endowed with calmness, grasped a bludgeon entwined with wreaths, and furnished with an iron ring measuring five fingers, and resembling the top of the Mahendra [The mountain, so named.]; plated with gold and embellished with diamonds and lapises,—and looking like the rod of Yama himself; dreadful, and capable of removing the fear of the Rakshas. And whirling this, that highly powerful one, resembling the banner itself of Sakra in energy, Nikumbha possessed of terrific strength, with his mouth wide open, set up shouts. And with gold adorning his breast, and angadasplaced on his arms and a pair of curious and variegated earrings, Nikumbha, with his ornaments and that same bludgeon, appeared beautiful like a mass of roaring clouds laughing with lightning and furnished with the iris.

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And the head of that huge-bodied hero's parigha undid the conjunction of the Seven Winds and appeared like a noiseless and smokeless flame. Along with the gyration of Nikumbha's parighathe whole welkin, together with the excellent city [Either Vitapabati or Alaka.] of the Gandharbas, and the planets, stars and the moon, began to whirl. And Nikumbha was hard to approach like unto the fire of dissolution, being resplendent with the brilliance of parigha and other ornaments and having his anger for its fuels. And the Rakshasas and monkeys did not dare stir even out of fear. And the heroic Hanuman, spreading his breast, stood before him. And thereat the powerful (Nikumbha) having long-arms threw his parigha resembling the Sun at the breast of that powerful one. And falling on the firm and spacious breast of Hanuman it was broken into hundred pieces. And the broken portions, being scattered, appeared like hundreds of fire-brands in the sky. Like unto a mountain standing still even at the time of an earthquake that mighty monkey was not moved albeit struck with the parigha. Being thus hurt that highly powerful Hanuman, the foremost of the monkeys, with great velocity clenched his fist. And with this, the powerful (monkey) gifted with great impetuosity, and resembling the wind in prowess, struck Nikumbha on his breast. And with that fist, his (Nikumbha's) armour was riven and blood gushed out. And a light rising out of his breast suddenly disappeared like unto lightning disappearing in a mass of clouds. And being struck with his (Hanuman's) fist Nikumbha was greatly moved and restoring himself attacked the mighty Hanuman and pulled him up. And beholding in conflict the terrible and powerful Hanuman pulled up by Nikumbha, the residents of Lanka began to shout with joy. Being thus put to shame by that Raksha, Hanuman the son of the Wind, struck him with his iron fist. And releasing himself from the grasp of Nikumbha, Hanuman the Wind-god's son instantly planted his foot on the earth. Inflamed with ire, he, throwing down Nikumbha, began to crush him; and gifted with vehemence, he, with great impetuosity, leaped up and sat on the breast (of the Raksha). And holding his head with two hands, he, emitting loud roars, displaced his head. Nikumbha being thus slain in conflict by the Wind-god's son, there ensued a terrible conflict between the highly enraged armies of the son of Dacaratha and the lord of Rakshasas. And Nikumbha being deprived of his life, the monkeys began to shout—as if resounding all the quarters. And with it the whole earth moved and the abode of the celestials dropped down. And the Rakshasa-hosts were greatly terrified.

SECTION 78.

Beholding Kumbha and Nikumbha slain, Ravana was excited with ire like unto flaming fire. And being beside himself, simultaneously with wrath and grief Ravana spoke unto Makaraksha, Khara's son, having spacious eyes, saying—"O child, do thou proceed at my command with the army and destroy Raghava and Lakshmana with all the monkeys". Hearing the words of Ravana, Khara's son, Makaraksha, proud of his own prowess, delightedly spoke unto the night-ranger, saying, "Be it so". And saluting and circumambulating the Ten-necked one, that hero, at Ravana's behest, issued out of the house. And Khara's son spoke unto the commander who was near him, saying,—"Do thou speedily bring the chariot here and all the soldiers". And hearing his words, that commanding night-ranger, soon led before him the army and the chariot. And going round the chariot and addressing the charioteer that night-ranger (Makaraksha) said,—"O charioteer, do thou soon drive the chariot". And Makaraksha addressed those Rakshasas, saying,—"O Rakshasas! do ye all fight before me. I have been commanded by the high-souled Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, to slay both Rama and Lakshmana in conflict. I shall slay to-day, O night-ranger, with my excellent arrows, Rama, Lakshmana, Sugriva and all other monkeys. Like unto fire consuming dry fuel, shall I to-day slay the host of monkeys with my darts". Hearing those words of Makaraksha, the mighty night-rangers, (addressed themselves for fight). They were armed with various weapons, cautious; assuming shapes at will, crooked, having fearful teeth, coppery eyes; roaring like elephants, having dishevelled hair and terrible. And encircling the huge-bodied son of Khara, those gigantic (Rakshasas) began to proceed, delighted and moving the earth (with the weight of their persons). There arose a terrible noise on all sides from the sound of conches, and thousands of bugles, and from the moving of the arms of the heroes. And all on a sudden the reins slipped off (the hands of) the charioteer and the flag of the Rakshasas dropped down. And the course of the steeds was thus slackend and they began to move slowly and poorly with their heads drooping down. There blew a terribly rough wind mixed with dust when the fearfully wicked-minded Makarakshas issued out for battle. Those powerful Rakshasas neglecting those bad omens proceeded towards where Rama and Lakshmana were. They were all black like unto clouds, elephants and buffaloes, and had marks of swords and maces on their persons. And all those night rangers were skilled in the art of warfare and began to range to and fro (in the battle field) saying, "I shall go first".

SECTION 79.

Beholding Makaraksha out for battle, those foremost monkeys, leaping on a sudden, addressed themselves for fight. Thereupon ensued a terrible conflict, capable of making one's down stand on end, between the night-rangers and the monkeys like unto one between the celestials and Danavas. And those monkeys and night-rangers crushed each other down with trees, darts, maces and parighas. And those night-rangers began to assail those foremost of monkeys with sakti [A short arrow thrown from the hand or shot through a blowgun.], swords, maces, kuntas, tomaras, patticas, Vindipalas [An Iron spear or dart.], arrows, nooses and clubs. Being thus assailed with fearful arrows by Khara's son, those monkeys, stricken with fear, fled away. And beholding the monkeys fly away, the victorious Rakshasas began to roar like excited lions. The monkeys thus flying away to all quarters, Rama with a downpour of shafts assailed the Rakshasas. And beholding the Rakshasas thus overpowered, the night ranger Makaraksha, excited with the flame of ire, said,—"Stay, O Rama, let us both fight with each other; I shall take thy life with sharp arrows discharged off my bow. Thou didst slay my father in the forest of Dandaka. Remembering thy action and finding thee before, my ire is excited. O Raghava! Vicious souled one! My limbs are being burnt (with wrath) for I did not see thee then in that mighty forest. O Rama, by my good luck, I have got thee to-day, like unto a hungry lion desiring to have other animals. Being despatched by my arrows to the world of devils, thou shalt live with those heroes, who had been killed by thee before. What is the use of speaking more, O Rama, do thou hear my words. Let all the people behold thy as well as my prowess in the battlefield. Either with weapon or with clubs, in whatever thou art expert, do thou fight with me in the battle-field, O Rama". Hearing the words of Makaraksha, Rama, Dacaratha's son, smiling, replied to the words of the babbler. "O Raksha, what is the use of idle prating? None can achieve success in battle with idle words—but with fighting. I slew in the forest of Dandaka thy father with fourteen thousand Rakshasas, Tricira and Dushana. O vile one, thou being slain to day, with thy flesh, vultures and crows, having sharp beaks and nails, and jackals shall be satisfied. Being thus addressed by Raghava, the mighty Makaraksha, began to dart sharp arrows towards him in the battle-field. And Rama, with his shafts, sundered into several pieces, those arrows. And being thus rendered useless those arrows, feathered in gold, fell down on the earth. Then there arose a terrible conflict between the Rakshasa Khara's son and Dacaratha's son. And there were audible in that battle-field, the outcry of the heroes and the twang of the bows stretched by their hands, like unto the muttering of the clouds in the sky. And to beheld that wondrous conflict, the celestials, Danavas, Gandharbas, Kinnaras and the mighty serpents stationed themselves in the sky. They were wounded with the arrows discharged by each other and their strength was doubled. And they began to fight in that battle-field one attacking and the other withstanding the attack. And in that conflict the Rakshasa sundered the shafts discharged by Rama. And likewise Rama severed into several pieces the arrows shot by the Rakshasa. All the quarters were covered with arrows and nothing on earth or in the sky was visible. Thereupon being excited with ire, Raghava of long arms sundered his (Rakshasa's) bow in conflict and with eight Narachas pierced the charioteer. And with arrows Rama sundered the chariot and killing the horses brought them down. And the night-ranger Makaraksha was brought down on the earth from the chariot. He then again rose up with a dart in his hand creating terror unto all creatures and resembling the Fire of Dissolution in resplendence. It was a terribly huge dart conferred on him by Siva, shining in the sky in its native brilliance and like unto another weapon of destruction [Used by Siva, the God of destruction.]. And beholding which dart even the celestials fly away in fear to different quarters. And taking up that huge flaming dart, the night-ranger, being excited with ire, hurled it at the high-souled Raghava. And Raghava, with four shafts, sundered that dart, in the sky, flaming and hurled at him by the son of Khara. And that flaming dart, feathered in gold, being splintered into several pieces by Rama's arrows fell down on earth like a huge fire-brand. And beholding that dart baffled thus by Rama of unwearied actions all those, stationed in the welkin began to shout, "Well done! Well done!!" And beholding his dart thus sundered, the night-ranger Makaraksha clenching his fist spoke unto Kakutstha, saying, "Stay! Stay!" And seeing him advance thus, the descendant of Raghu, smiling, fixed a fiery arrow on his bow. And with that arrow the Raksha was slain by Kakutstha in battle. And having his heart pierced he fell down and died. And beholding Makaraksha thus slain all the Rakshasas, being afraid of Rama's arrows, proceeded towards Lanka. And seeing that night-ranger, the son of Khara, slain by Rama's arrows, like unto a mountain clept by a thunder-bolt, the celestials were greatly delighted.

SECTION 80.

Hearing of the destruction of Makaraksha, the heroic Ravana, being excited with ire, began to grind his teeth. Being thus angered, and thinking within himself what steps to take, he ordered his son Indrajit to proceed to the battle-field. "O hero, gifted with great prowess as thou art, do thou, hidden (in clouds) or appearing before them, slay the two heroic brothers Rama and Lakshmana. Thou didst defeat in conflict Indra of unequalled prowess. Shalt thou then neglect to slay men as they are?" Being thus addressed by the lord of the Rakshasas and obeying his father's command, Indrajit proceeded towards the sacrificial ground to satisfy Fire (with oblations). There came some she-demons with crimson turbans and waited respectfully where Ravana's son was offering oblations unto Fire. In that sacrifice the weapons were the leaves of sara [Saccharum—a reed or grass,], bibhutaks* were fuels [* Beleric myrobalan; In traditional Indian Ayurvedic medicine, Beleric is known as Bibhitaki, Marathi: Behada or Bhenda, Latin: Terminalia bellirica.], and there were brought crimson clothes and sruvas* made of black iron. [* A ladle with a double extremety or two oval collateral excavations made of wood to pour ghee upon the sacrificial Fire.] And spreading fire on all sides with saraleaves and tomaras, (Indrajit) caught a living goat, all black, by the neck. And the fire, with oblations of sara, became greatly blazed and devoid of smoke. And there were visible many good omens indicating victory. The flame of the fire was like unto gold, and moving Southwards began to receive offerings of clarified butter. And thus offering oblations unto fire and unto celestials, Danavas and Rakshasas, he ascended an excellent car and soon disappeared. It was drawn by four horses and a huge bow, set with sharp arrows, appeared beautiful on that excellent car. The chariot was brilliant with its own native resplendence, adorned with gold and painted with the figures of deer and a cresent. It was encircled on all sides with golden bracelets, adorned with flags made of vaidurja and was like unto the flaming fire. And being thus well protected with Brahma weapons resembling the Sun in brilliance, the mighty son of Ravana became invincible. And offering oblations unto Fire in accordance with demonaic incantations and thus obtaining the power of hiding himself, that hero, ever victorious in battle, issued out of the city and said,—"Slaying these two brothers in battle, who have uselessly wandered away into the forest, shall I crown my father Ravana with victory. Destroying Rama and Lakshmana, and clearing the monkeys off the earth, shall I satisfy my sire greatly". Saying this, he disappeared from their view. Thereupon that fearful foe of the lord of celestials appeared in the battle-field, excited with wrath, armed with bow and sharp Narachas and commissioned thus by the Ten-necked one. He beheld there those two heroes discharging flaming arrows and surrounded by the monkeys like unto the fearful three-hooded serpent in the midst of other serpents. And thinking "these must be Rama and Lakshmana," and stretching his bow he began showering arrows like unto clouds. He was seated in a car in the welkin and hidden from the human gaze and began to assail Rama and Lakshmana with sharp shafts. And being hurt with the arrows, Rama and Lakshmana, fixing arrows on their bows, began to discharge celestial shafts. And those two highly powerful heroes could not even touch his person with their arrows resembling the Sun albeit they covered the whole welkin therewith. And clouding the whole sky with smoke that effulgent one, enveloped in frost, hid himself from their gaze. There was not audible the twang of his bow, the sound of the wheels, or the noise of the steeds. Nor was he seen by any. In that terrible darkness of clouds that one of mighty arms began to make a downpour of Narachas and arrows like hail storms. And in that encounter, Ravana's son, inflamed with ire, wounded Rama, with shafts, resembling the Sun and obtained by him as a boon. And being hurt with Narachas, like unto mountains wet with rain, those two foremost of men, began to discharge shafts feathered in gold. And reaching the son of Ravana in the sky and soaked in blood those golden arrows, fell down on earth. And those two best of men, hurt with his arrows, became more effulgent and baffled the shafts discharged by the Rakshasa. Thereupon Rama and Lakshmana began to aim their sharp shafts to the direction whence the arrows came down. And stationed in his chariot that mighty car-warrior disturbed all quarters with his arrows and pierced Dacaratha's sons with sharp shafts won by him. And being greatly hurt with those sharp-pointed and terrible arrows Rama and Lakshmana appeared like blossoming kingsukas. Like unto the sun hidden in clouds they could see neither his countenance and motion, nor his bow and arrows. And being wounded with those arrows hundreds of monkeys died and fell down on the earth. Thereupon Lakshmana, being excited with wrath, spoke unto his brother, saying—"To slay all the Rakshasas shall I discharge to-day Brahma weapon". Thereupon Rama spoke unto Lakshmana, gifted with auspicious marks, saying—"It doth not behove thee to clear all the Rakshasas off the earth for the folly of one individual. Thou shouldst not slay him, who hath retired from battle, hath hidden himself, hath sought thy shelter, hath stood before thee with joined palms, hath fled away or who is bewildered. O thou of mighty-arms, let us try to slay him (Indrajit). And to accomplish it I shall use the weapons gifted

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with great impetuosity and resembling the serpents. He is hidden from the public gaze so we must slay him—had he been fighting openly the leaders of the monkey hosts could have slain that Rakshasa. Truly he shall be burnt to death with my shafts and fall down on the earth albeit he entereth the regions under the earth or the abode of the celestials". Having said these words pregnant with a high significance, the high-souled and heroic descendant of Raghu, being surrounded by monkeys, began to concert various plans for the destruction of that terrible Rakshasa of wicked deeds.

SECTION 81.

Having read the intention of that high-souled Raghava, he retired from the battle-field and entered into the city of Lanka. And remembering the destruction of many a quick-paced Rakshasa, his eyes were rendered coppery with ire; and that hero, the son of Ravana, issued out of the city again. And that highly powerful, Indrajit, a descendant of Pulasta and an enemy of the celestials, issued out, encircled by the Rakshasas, by the western gate. And beholding the heroic brothers Rama and Lakshmana prepared for fight, Indrajit spread illusions. And placing an illusory figure of Sita on the car, encircled by a huge army he began to make arrangements for her destruction. And desiring to charm all with his illusions, that one of wicked intent, preparing himself to slay Sita, proceeded towards the monkeys. And beholding him thus proceed, the monkeys, inflamed with ire, desirous of fighting and with crags in their hands, moved on, And preceded them all, Hanuman, the foremost of the monkeys, with a huge mountain-top in his hand. He beheld there, on Indrajit's car, Sita, deprived of all joy, poorly, greatly reduced with fasts and wearing a single braid. And Raghava's beloved spouse wore a piece of soiled cloth, and though highly beautiful, the grace of her person was greatly spoiled with dirt. That daughter of Janaka, was not seen by him for a long time. And beholding her and deciding instantly that she is the daughter of Mithila, (he became greatly sorry). And seeing her on the car, innocent, poor, deprived of joy and brought under the influence of the son of the lord of Rakshasas that great monkey thought within himself—'What must be the intention of Indrajit?' and accompanied by heroic monkeys advanced towards the son of Ravana. And beholding that monkey host, Ravana's son became beside himself with ire and unsheathing his weapon Nistrinsha, caught her by the hair. And that Rakshasa addressed himself to strike her in the presence of all those monkeys, and that illusory figure of Sita began to bewail saying, "O Rama! O Rama!" And seeing her thus caught by the head, Hanuman, the son of Maruta, greatly sorry, began to shed tears. And beholding that beloved spouse of Rama, having a tender and beautiful person, he addressed angrily the son of the lord of Rakshasas with harsh words. "It is for thy destruction, O Vicious-souled one! that thou hast touched her hair. Being descended from that great Brahma ascetic thou art born as a Rakshasa. O! cursed art thou, since thou hast cherished such a desire and engaged in such a vicious deed. O vile! O wicked! O cruel and dishonourable wight! O thou having vice for thy prowess! O shameless! Art thou not ashamed of perpetrating such an inhuman deed. What hath Maithili done by thee, O cruel one! that thou art ready to slay her—She hath been banished from her home, territory and hath been separated from her lord. O thou worthy of being slain, destroying Sita, thou shalt not live long as thou hast been brought under me. Thou shalt after the death reach the place which is occupied by those who murder women—a place which is avoided even by those who commit every sort of crime punishable by law". Saying this Hanuman, accompanied by monkeys armed with weapons, and excited with ire, proceeded towards the son of the lord of Rakshasas. Beholding the highly powerful monkeys advance thus the Rakshasas, inflamed with wrath, obstructed them. And assailing the monkey-hosts with thousands of arrows, Indrajit spoke unto that foremost of monkeys, Hanuman, saying,—"To-day I shall slay before you all Vaidehi, for whom thou, Sugriva and Rama have come. Slaying her, O monkey, I shall afterwards kill thee, Rama, Lakshmana and Sugriva and the dishonourable Bibhisana. And, O monkey, about not destroying women, of which thou wert speaking (I might say) that we must always do what pains our enemies". Saying this, Indrajit with a sharp sword, himself killed the illusory Sita thus bewailing. And being sundered by him obliquely in a way in which a sacred thread lies on one's own person, the innocent (Sita) having a beautiful countenance fell down on the earth. And slaying her Indrajit spoke unto Hanuman, saying,—"Behold I have slain (before thee) with my sword Rama's beloved. And Vaidehi being thus slain, all your labours have been rendered useless". And destroying her with his own hand by means of a huge sword, Indrajit, greatly pleased ascended his car and began to emit dreadful roars. And the monkeys stationed near heard that terrible roar and saw him enter the castle. And slaying Sita that wicked-minded son of Ravana became greatly pleased. And beholding him thus delighted the monkeys being greatly sorry fled away.

SECTION 82.

Hearing that dreadful uproar resembling the sound of Indra's thunder-bolt, the monkeys, casting their looks on all sides fled away. Thereupon Hanuman, the son of Maruta, spoke unto them, poorly, terrified and of a sorrowful countenance, saying,—"O monkeys, why do ye look so melancholy and why are you flying away? Why have ye renounced your earnest desire for fight? And where is your heroism gone? Do ye remain behind me, I shall go first in the battle". Being thus addressed by that highly intelligent son of the Wind-god, they were greatly excited with wrath and being pleased took up trees and crags in their hands. And roaring thus the leading monkeys advanced towards the Rakshasas and stood encircling Hanuman in the battle-field. And being surrounded on all sides by leading monkeys, Hanuman began to burn down enemy's host like unto fire spreading its flames. And being encircled by monkey-hosts that mighty monkey resembling Death himself began to grind the Rakshasas. And being overwhelmed with grief and wrought up with ire, that monkey Hanuman, threw a huge crag on the car of that son of Ravana. Beholding that crag about to fall down on the car, the charioteer moved his horses and it was speedily brought at some distance. And not reaching Indrajit stationed on the car and the charioteer, that crag, uselessly hurled, fell down on the earth. And that crag falling down many of the Rakshasas were crushed. Thereupon hundreds of huge-bodied monkeys, emitting cries and taking up crags and trees proceeded towards him (Indrajit) and hurled them at him. And the monkeys gifted with dreadful prowess began to make a down-pour of crags and trees. They thus assailed the enemies and frequently emitted cries. And the grim-visaged night-rangers were thus assailed with trees in that field by the terrible monkeys. Beholding his army thus distressed by the monkeys, Indrajit, excited with wrath, and taking up his dart, proceeded towards the enemies, and encircled by his soldiers showered terrible shafts upon them. And that one of dreadful prowess slew many a leading monkey by means of darts, Acanis, swords, patticas and clubs. And the highly powerful monkeys destroyed his retinue, with crags, stones and trees having strong trunks. And Hanuman thus crushed many a Rakshasa of terrible deeds. Obstructing the Rakshasas (for some time) Hanuman spoke unto monkeys, saying,—"Stay, we should not fight now. That daughter of Janaka hath been slain, for whom we have engaged in fight, renouncing all hope of life and desiring to accomplish Rama's satisfaction. Let us now go and inform Rama and Sugriva of it. And we shall do as we shall be commanded by them. Saying this and desisting all the monkeys from encounter that foremost of monkeys proceeded undaunted and heroically. And beholding Hanuman proceed thus where Raghava was that wicked-minded one (Indrajit) with a view to offer oblations unto Fire entered the sacrificial altar Nikumbhila. And reaching there Indrajit lighted up fire and began to pour oblations therein. And the Fire blazed up receiving oblations of blood, and being satisfied assumed the appearance of the setting sun. And Indrajit conversant with all ceremonials, offered oblations in due form for the welfare of the Rakshasas. And they all stood there watching the result and desirous of ascertaining the success of the battle.

SECTION 83.

Hearing the terrible war-cry of the Rakshasas and monkeys Raghava spoke unto Jambavan, saying:—"O gentle one, forsooth hath Hanuman performed some mighty act—for I hear the dreadful sound of the weapons. Do thou therefore proceed speedily, O lord of bears, with all thy soldiers to assist that foremost of monkeys.

Thereupon, saying, 'So be it,' that king of bears, surrounded by his forces, approached the Western gate, where the monkey, Hanuman, was stationed. And then the lord of bears saw Hanuman approach, surrounded by monkeys sighing hard, who had faught the fight. And seeing on the way that host of bears dreadful and resembling dark clouds, on the march, Hanuman made them desist. And that illustrious one along with that force, speedily presented himself (before Rama), and with a heavy heart addressed him, saying—"As we were fighting in the field, Ravana's son, Indrajit in our very sight slew Sita, crying (in distress). O subduer of enemies, seeing her (in this plight) I, with my senses bewildered, have been overwhelmed with grief. Therefore I have come unto thee to inform thee of what hath befallen". Hearing these words of his, Raghava, overwhelmed with grief, dropped down to the earth, like a tree whose roots have been severed. Seeing the god-like Raghava down on the earth, the foremost monkeys from all sides rushed forward and came to where (he was). And with water scented with lotuses, they fell to sprinkling that one resembling a furious fire that hath suddenly arisen. Thereat Lakshmana overcome with sorrow, embracing Rama, spoke unto him words fraught with reason and import,—"Profitless virtue is incapable, O noble one, of delivering from calamaties thee, who hast subdued thy senses, and who ever abidest in the good path. Beings and the mobile as well as the immobile cannot have that direct perception of virtue which they have of happiness. Therefore, I ween, virtue is a non-entity. Inasmuch as the mobile (albeit devoid of any regard for virtue) are nevertheless happy, and as the mobile also are so, this virtue cannot lead to happiness. (If it were so), one like thee would have not been placed in peril. If unrighteousness would bring unhappiness on creatures, Ravana should hence to hell, and thou possessed of virtue, shouldst not come by misfortune. And seeing that he is free from danger, and thou art in it, righteousness and its opposite are found to have tendencies the very reverse of those assigned to them respectively (by the Vedas). And if by means of virtue, one attaineth the felicity attached to it, and by means of unrighteouness, one reapeth its proper fruit, then let those that are unrighteous reap the fruit of their impiety,—nor let those that set their face against sin, be deprived of the fruit of their righteousness; and let those that walk in the way of virtue reap the fruit of their piety. But as prosperity attendeth those that are established in un-righteousness, and as those regardful of righteousness fare lamentably,—these [Virtue and vice.] have not the senses assigned to them (by the scriptures). If, O Raghava, (it is contended that) unrighteousness cutteth off the wicked, then whom shall unrighteousness, himself slain by the act of slaughter of the destroyer,—slay in his turn? Or if it is said that one is slain or slayeth another by ordinance, then it is Destiny, which is touched by the sinful act and not he. O chastiser of foes, incapable of meting out retribution,—unmanifest itself, and non-existent, how can virtue, even if we grant its existence, find out the person that should be slain? If, O foremost of the good, it had existed, thou wouldst not have come by any misfortune. But inasmuch as thou hast fallen into this plight, there is no such thing as virtue. Or itself feeble and impotent, it taketh refuge in manliness. And being powerless and bereft of dignity, it should, I deem, by no means be followed. And if virtue is a property of manliness, then carefully forsaking virtue, do thou follow strength as thou hast hitherto followed virtue. But, O subduer of enemies, if truthfulness be virtue, art thou not bound by that departing from which the king lost his life? And, O chastiser of foes, if virtue must be practised above all, or if prowess must have precedence,—then the thunder-handed Satakratu would not have celebrated his sacrifice, slaying the ascetic. O Raghava, virtue aided by prowess, destroyeth enemies. Therefore, O Kakutstha, people, for compassing their ends, resort to both virtue and prowess. This, sire, is my opinion: this, O Raghava, is virtue. But thou, having then renounced the kingdom, hast laid the axe at the root of righteousness. Like streams issuing out mountains, all acts spring from wealth flowing from various regions and attaining magnitude. Like a shrunken stream in summer, all the acts of that foolish person who hath been divorced by wealth, are annihilated.—He that renouncing riches within his reach, hankers after enjoyment,—being carried away by his overmastering desire, taketh to getting at wealth by sinful acts; and then he incurreth guilt. Unto him that hath wealth are friends, unto him that hath wealth are acquaintances,—he that hath wealth is an individuality in this world, and he that hath wealth is a learned person. He that hath wealth is powerful; he that hath wealth is intelligent; he that hath wealth is mighty-armed; and he that hath wealth is full of all graces. All these that I have ennumerated are the evils of forsaking fortune. (I cannot divine) what made thee, renouncing the monarchy, to adopt such a course.—He that hath riches, hath virtue and desire attending on him, and hath everything auspicious. That one without wealth, that seeketh it, cannot secure the wealth of prowess, without riches and desire. And, O lord of men, cheerfulness, and desire, and pride, and piety, and anger, and self-restraint, and self-control—all these come from wealth. As the planets are not discovered on a stormy day, that wealth, the want of which renders this world naught even unto the ascetics practising righteousness,—is not visible in thee. O hero, thou having abode by the words of thy superior and having come (to the forest), thy wife dearer then life itself hath been ravished by Rakshas. But, O hero, to-day, O Raghava, by my acts will I remove this huge sorrow that hath been heaped upon us by Indrajit. Therefore, rise thou up. Rise up, O foremost of men, O long-armed one, O thou who observest vows. Why dost thou not understand thyself as the Supreme Soul? [Rama is conceived as an incarnation of Vishnu.] And, O sinless one, urged on behalf of thy welfare, I, waxing wroth on hearing of the slaughter of Janaka's daughter, shall with my shafts entirely raze to the ground Lanka with cars and elephants and steeds and the foremost Rakshas".

SECTION 84.

As Lakshmana devoted to his brother was comforting Rama, Bibhishana, posting his forces at their proper quarters, came there, surrounded by four heroes accoutred in various arms, resembling masses of collyrium or leaders of elephant-herds. And approaching the high-souled Raghava, overwhelmed with grief, he saw the monkeys with tears in their eyes. And he saw that joy of the Ikshwaku race—the high-souled Raghava—stupified with grief, lying on the lap of Lakshmana. And seeing Rama cast down and inflamed with

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grief, Bibhishana, inly pained, said,—'What is this?' Thereat, gazing at Bibhishana's countenance as well as all those monkeys, Lakshmana, with his eyes flooded with tears, said these words pregnant with dire import,—"O placid one, hearing from Hanuman's lips that Sita hath been slain by Indrajit, Raghava hath been overcome with stupor". As Sumitra's son was speaking thus, Bibhishana, preventing him, addressed the stupified Rama in these pregnant words,—"O king, all that Hanuman in distressful guise had communicated unto thee I deem as improbable, like unto the drying of the deep. I know the intent of the impious Ravana with reference to Sita, O mighty-armed one. Her he will not slay. I, seeking his welfare, had besought him much, saying,—'Let go Vaidehi',—but he did not act up to my speech. Neither by conciliation, nor by gift, nor by dissension,—and where is war?—nor by any other means is one capable of obtaining the very sight of Sita. Having bewildered the monkeys, the Rakshasa hath gone back; and, O mighty-armed one, know her to be the illusory daughter of Janaka. To-day, going to the sacrificial ground (called) Nikumbhila, he will offer oblations into fire; and there the deity of fire will present himself along with Vasava and the (other) divinities. And then Ravana's son shall be invincible in battle. Indubitably that illusion hath been wrought by him, to deceive (the monkeys), so that they might not through their prowess disturb him there. Thither will we go before he hath furnished his (sacrifice). O foremost of men, shake off this vain sorrow that hath overcome thee! Seeing thee smitten with grief, this entire host is dispirited. Here, with thy heart composed, do thou stay, summoning thy strength. Send Lakshmana along with us and the flower of the forces. This foremost of men by means of sharpened shafts will make Ravana's son give up his rites; and then shall he be capable of being slain by us. These keen and sharpened shafts of his, attaining access of velocity through the feathers of birds, and themselves resembling fierce fowls, will drink Indrajit's blood. Therefore, O mighty-armed one, do thou in order to the destruction of the Rakshasa, commission Lakshmana, even as the wielder of the thunder-bolt commandeth the same. And as to-day no time should be lost, therefore do thou send Lakshmana for compassing the destruction of the foe, even as Mahendra sendeth the thunder-bolt for bringing about the destruction of the enemies of the immortals. If that foremost of Rakshasas can finish his rites, he shall be invisible to both celestials and Asuras; and, he fighting after finishing his sacrifice, the celestials themselves shall be placed in great jeopardy".

SECTION 85.

Hearing his speech, Raghava, overwhelmed with grief, could not perfectly comprehend what was said by the Rakshasa. Then, summoning up patience, Rama—captor of hostile capitals—spoke unto Bibhishana, seated near the monkeys,—"O lord of Nairitas, I once more wish to hear what, O Bibhishana, thou hast said". Hearing Raghava's words, Bibhishana, skilled in speech, again spoke these words, saying,—"O mighty-armed one, I have stationed the forces, O hero, agreeably to thy directions. The entire force hath been divided around; and the leaders have also been placed properly. Further, O mighty master, listen to what I have to say. On thy having been causelessly aggrieved, we all of us were seized with grief. If this anxiety of thine conduceth to the joy of the enemy, do thou cast it off. And, O hero, bestir thyself,—and summon up spirits. If thou art to have Sita, and if the night-rangers are to be slain by thee, do thou, O Raghu's son, listen to my profitable speech. Let Sumitra's son go forth, environed by a mighty force, for slaying in battle the son of Ravana, who hath gone to Nikumbhila; with shafts resembling venomous serpents, discharged from the round of his bow [meaning: the bow drawn to its full stretch.]. By virtue of his austerities, that hero, from a boon conferred by the Self-sprung, hath obtained the Brahmaciras weapon, together with steeds coursing at their will. Now he with his army hath gone to Nikumbhila; and when, having finished his rites, he gets up, know that all of us are slain. 'When not reaching Nikumbhila, and not having finished thy offerings unto fire, thou, equipped with arms, art slain by a foe,—O enemy of Indra, that is thy death.'—Thus, O mighty-armed one, did the lord of all creatures confer a boon (on Indrajit), and, O king, thus was the death of this intelligent one ordained. O Rama, for compassing the destruction of Indrajit, do thou commission a mighty force. On his being slain, know that Ravana along with his retainers are slain".—Hearing Bibhishana's words, Rama said,—"O thou having truth for prowess, I know the illusion of that fierce one. Without doubt, he is skilled in the Brahma weapon, is potent in illusion and, is possessed of exceeding strength. In conflict, he depriveth of consciousness even the celestials with Varuna (at their head). And as that illustrious (one) goeth about in the welkin on his chariot, none, O hero, can perceive his course, like the course of the Sun when the sky is covered with clouds". And Raghava, being well acquainted with the illusive energy of his wicked-minded foe, addressed the renowned Lakshmana, saying,—"Environed by the entire host of the lord of monkeys,—accompanied by the leaders, O Lakshmana, headed by Hanuman,—with Jambavan~king of bears—and girt round by the forces,—do thou slay this son of the Rakshasa, possessed of the strength of illusion. And accompanied by his counsellors, this high-souled night-ranger shall follow at thy back, in this engagement with that one skilled in illusion". Hearing Raghava's words, Lakshmana endowed with dreadful prowess, with Bibhishana,—took up another excellent bow. And donning on his mail, and putting on his armour and his sword, and furnished with arrows, and a bow in his left hand,—Sumitra's son, touching Rama's feet, feeling elated, addressed Rama, saying,—"To-day the shafts discharged from my bow, piercing Ravana's son, shall fall into Lanka, even as swans drop into a tank. This very day shall my arrows, shot from my redoubtable bow-string, rive the body of that terrific one". Having spoken thus, the effulgent Lakshmana, eager to slay Ravana's son, went before his brother. And having saluted at the feet of his superior and went round him, Lakshmana set out for the sacrificial ground (named) Nikumbhila, protected by the son of Ravana. And accompanied by Bibhishana, that powerful son of the king—Lakshmana—after his brother had offered up prayers in his behalf,—set off with all speed. And surrounded by thousands of monkeys, Hanuman as well as Bibhishana together with his counsellors—speedily went in the wake of Lakshmana. And strongly encompassed by that mighty monkey-host, (Lakshmana) saw the forces of the bear-king stationed on the way. And having proceeded far, Sumitra's son—enhancer of the delight of friends—from a distance discovered the forces of the Rakshasa-monarch, drawn up in battle-array. And that subduer of enemies—Raghu's son—bearing his bow in his hand, coming upon him whoso martial might lay in illusion,—stopped (there) for conquering his foe agreeably to the ordinance of Brahma. And accompanied by Bibhislnna, the heroic Angada, and the Wind-god's offspring, the powerful son of the king dived into the forces of the foe, various, blazing with burnished arms, dense with standards; And thronging with mighty cars [Chariots.], capable of striking terror (into the hearts of the spectators), instinct with immeasurable energy, and resembling darkness.

SECTION 86.

When things were in this condition, Ravana's younger brother addressed Lakshmana in words fraught with evil to foes and conducing to the welfare (of his own party), saying,—"Do thou without delay bring on an engagement between this cloud-black Rakshasa army, which thou beholdest, and the monkeys having rocks for their arms. O Lakshmana, do thou exert thyself to break through Indrajit's mighty army; and when the ranks are broken, the son of the Rakshasa-lord shall be visible. And scattering among the foes shafts resembling Indra's thunder-bolt, charge him while he hath not yet finished this ceremony. Slay, O hero, this wicked one, this son of Ravana, given to illusion, and of terrific feats,—the fear of all the worlds". Hearing Bibhishana's words, Lakshmana graced with auspicious marks began to shower arrows on the son of the Rakshasa-chief. And bears and monkeys, given to fighting excellently with trees, in a body rushed towards that army (of Rakshas) drawn up there. And the Rakshasas (on their part) burning to slaughter the monkey-forces, rushed in the encounter with sharpened shafts and darts and tomaras. And there took place a tremendous onslaught of the monkeys and the Rakshasas. And Lanka resounded all around with that mighty tumult; and the sky was covered with weapons of various shapes, and whetted arrows and trees and dreadful upraised mountain-tops. And Rakshasas having frightful faces and arms, plying their arms among the foremost monkeys, began to spread terror (there). And in the same way the monkeys in the conflict fell to slaying and wounding the Rakshasas with trees and hill-tops. And great was the terror that was spread among the warring Rakshasas by the flower of the bears and monkeys, possessed of gigantic persons and endowed with prodigious strength.

Hearing his own army hard beset by the enemies, and drooping,—the unconquerable one, ere yet he had finished his rites, rose up. And issuing from the gloom of the trees, Ravana's son, fired with wrath, ascended his car, which had already been well yoked (with steeds). And accoutred in a dreadful bow and arrows,—that one resembling a mass of collyrium, having a red face and eyes, looked dreadful like the Reaper—Death. And soon as they saw him mounted on his car, that host of Rakshas possessed of dreadful impetuosity, eager to engage with Lakshmana, stood on their ground. At this time that subduer of enemies—Hanuman—resembling a mountain, uprooted a giant tree incapable of being bandied. And in that encounter, the monkey, consuming (the forces) like the fire risen at Doomsday, made that army of Rakshasas insensible with innumerable trees. And finding the Wind-god's son, Hanuman, suddenly spreading devastation among the Rakshasas by thousands, (they) showered (shafts) on him. And approaching on all sides that one resembling a hill, those bearing whetted darts attacked him with darts; those bearing swords in their hands, with swords; those bearing javelins in their hands, with javelins; with patticas, those equipped with patticas; and with bludgeons, and maces and graceful kuntas; and with hundreds of sataghnis, and iron clubs; and with terrific axes; and with bhindipalas; and with boxes like unto thunder-bolts; and slaps resembling the acani. And fired with fury, he (on his part) spread a huge havoc among them. And Indrajit saw that foremost of monkeys, resembling a hill, the offspring of the Wind-god—possessing himself in calmness, while destroying his foes. And thereat, Indrajit addressed his charioteer, saying,—"Go where the monkey is. Being disregarded by the Ratkshasas, he makes havoc among us". Thus accosted by him, the charioteer went where the Wind-god's offspring was, carrying the exceedingly invincible Indrajit seated on the car. And rushing forward, that irrepressible one—the Rakshasa—began to shower on the monkey's head arrows and swords and patticas and scimitars and axes. And bearing all those dreadful arms, the Wind-god's offspring, overcome with a mighty rage said,—"O wicked-minded son of Ravana, if thou art a hero, fight on. Combat with me with thy arms. If in the encounter, thou bearest my impetus, then, O thou of perverse sense, thou indeed art the foremost of Rakshasas". Then Bibhishana pointed out unto Lakshmana the son of Ravana, who with his bow upraised, was eager to slay Hanuman. "This one that, mounted on his car, is eager to slay Hanuman, is the son of Ravana that hath vanquished Vasava himself (in battle). Do thou, O son of Sumitra, with peerless shafts capable of resisting enemies,—dreadful, and competent to finish the lives (of foes),—slay the son of Ravana". Thus accosted by Bibhishana terrific unto foes, that high-souled one saw (Indrajit) of dreadful prowess, difficult to get at, and resembling a hill,—stationed on his car.

SECTION 87

Having spoken thus unto Sumitra's son, Bibhishana experienced delight, and taking (Lakshmana) bearing a bow in his hand, hurriedly went off. And proceeding some way and entering the mighty wood, Bibhishana pointed out unto Lakshmana the (place of) sacrifice. And the energetic brother of Ravana showed unto Lakshmana the Nyagrodha, dreadful to behold and resembling a mass of sable clouds. "Here offering presents unto the ghosts, the powerful son of Ravana afterwards engages in conflict. Then the Rakshasa becomes invisible to all beings; and he slayeth his enemies in battle and fastens them with excellent shafts. Do thou, ere he hath passed beyond the Nyagrodha, with flaming arrows destroy the powerful son of Ravana along with his car and steeds and charioteer". Thereupon saying,—'So be it,' the exceedingly energetic son of Sumitra—that delight of his friends—took up his post there, stretching his variegated bow. And Ravana's son Indrajit, endowed with strength, mailed, and armed with a sword, and furnished with a banner, was seen mounted on a fire-hued chariot. And the highly powerful Lakshmana addressed Pulastya's son, never knowing defeat, saying,—"I challenge thee to the encounter. Do thou give me battle, exerting thy utmost". Thus addressed, the exceedingly energetic and intelligent son of Ravana, seeing Bibhishana there, spoke anto him harshly, thus,—"Born and bred in this (Rakshasa race), thou art the very brother of my father. Why, O Rakshasa, being my uncle, dost thou range thyself against thy son? But neither kinship, nor emity, nor race, O wicked-minded one, nor co-birth, can, O destroyer of righteousness, avail to make thee discern thy duty. O thou of perverse understanding, thou art indeed to be pitied; as thou art worthy of being reproached by the virtuous; since, renouncing thine own, thou hast espoused servitude under another. Neither by thy character nor yet thy understanding dost thou perceive the mighty difference that lieth between living with one's own kindred, and taking refuge with the base. If one that is not our own, be furnished with every grace, and if one's own be void of all merit,—one's kindred, albeit unworthy, is preferable; and he that is not ours, is even always such. He that, forsaking his own party, serveth that of another, is destroyed even by the latter, when his own party is destroyed. O night-ranger, such is this thy relentlessness, that, O Ravana's younger brother, thou being a kindred, art capable of displaying thy manliness (as no other person can do so)". Thus addressed by his brother's son, Bibhishana answered,—"O Rakshasa, why dost thou speak as if in ignorance of my character? O impious son of the Rakshasa-chief, do thou forego the roughness which thou assumest on behalf of my dignity. Albeit born in the race of Rakshas of cruel deeds, yet having regard to the first of principles pertaining to men, my character is not that of a Rakshasa. I do not take pleasure in the terrible; nor do I revel in unrighteousness. But how can a brother, although differing from his brother in character, be renounced by the latter [Ravana.]? One renouncing a person, lapsing from virtue and bent on sinful acts, attaineth happiness, even as one doth by shaking off a venomous snake from his hand. The wise have called that impious one given to stealing others' goods and violating others' wives,—as worthy of being forsaken, even like a house that is aflame.—Robbing others' property, outraging the wives of others, and inspiring fear among friends,—these three vices lead to destruction. The dreadful slaughter of sages, rebellion against all ihe gods, overweening

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conceit, anger, long-continued enmity, and running amuck of counsel,—these sins are sapping the life and fortune of my brother; and they have hidden his virtues even as clouds cover a mountain. It is on account of these vices that my brother, thy sire, hath been deserted by me. And this city of Lanka will not be, nor thou, nor thy father. Thou art proud, and haughty, and a boy, O Rakshasa. Thou art fettered by the noose of Fate. Do thou say unto me whatever thou likest. To-day thou hast addressed harshly me, who have fallen on evil days; but, O worst of Rakshasas, thou canst not pass this Nyagrodha. Having smitten the Kakutstha, thou canst not live. Fight with that man-god, Lakshmana, in encounter. Being slain, thou shalt serve the deities in the abode of Yama. Displaying thy own prowess, do thou spend all thy weapons and all thy shafts. But coming within the ken of Lakshmana's arrows, thou wilt not to-day go hence, living, with thy forces".

SECTION 88.

Hearing Bibhishana's words, the son of Ravana, deprived of his senses by passion, spoke harshly, and rushed forward in wrath. And with upraised weapons and scimitars, he, resembling the Destroyer himself, was mounted on a mighty car yoked with black steeds, and ornamented (on all sides). And that one endowed with terrific strength up-raised a huge, gigantic, strong and powerful bow, and shafts capable of destroying foes. And that mighty bowman and slayer of foes—the powerful son of Ravana—adorned (with ornaments) and mounted on his chariot, saw him dight (with his own splendour). And fired with wrath, (Indrajit) addressed Sumitra's son, who, mounted on Hanuman's back, like unto the risen sun in splendour—accompanied Bibhishana; and he also addressed all those principal monkeys, saying,—"Do ye behold my prowess! To-day do ye in the conflict bear my arrowy shower shot from my bow, incapable of being approached, and resembling the down-pour in the sky. To-day my shafts discharged from my mighty bow shall mangle your limbs, even as fire burneth up a heap of cotton. To-day with your persons pierced with sharp shafts, with darts, and javelins, and rishtis and arrows, shall I despatch you all to the abode of Yama. Who shall stay before me, fleet-handed, creating an arrowy shower in the field, and roaring like unto clouds? Formerly in a night-engagement, with my shafts resembling the thunder-bolt and vajra, ye two along with your foremost adherents, were rendered insensible and laid down on the earth by me. But, perhaps, thou hast forgotten it. As thou hast presented thyself for battle before me, fired with wrath and resembling a venomous serpent, it is evident thou wilt go to the region of Yama". Hearing the vaunt of the Rakshasa-chief, Raghu's son, inflamed with rage, with an undaunted countenance, spoke unto Ravana's son,—"O Rakshasa, hard is the achievement of the task that thou hast mentioned. He that compasseth business by act is alone intelligent.—But thou, O wicked-minded one, incompetent as thou art to bring about thy end, attaining thy arduous aim by words only, deemest thyself as crowned with success. That thou hadst rendered thyself invisible in the field of conflict, was the work of a thief,—and not the way of a hero. Coming within the range of thy shafts, I stay here,—do thou display thy prowess. What dost thou say in words?" Thus addressed, the mighty Indrajit—conquerer of enemies—stretching his dreadful bow, showered sharpened shafts. And discharged by him, those exceedingly impetuous arrows, resembling the venom of serpents, hitting Lakshmana, fell down like unto hissing snakes. And in that encounter, Ravana's son—Indrajit—possessed of eminent impetuosity, pierced Lakshmana, graced with auspicious marks, with vehement shafts. And pierced with those arrows and bathed in blood, the graceful Lakshmana appeared like a smokeless fire. And seeing his own feat, Indrajit, coming forward, and setting up a tremendous cry, said,—"O son of Sumitra, my feathered and sharp-edged shafts shot from my bow, capable of destroying life, will to-day finish thee up. To-day, O Lakshmana, swarms of jackals and hosts of hawks and vultures shall alight on thee lying lifeless, having been slain by me. This very day shall the exceedingly wicked Rama behold thee, who art the friend of Kshatriyas and devoted unto thy brother,—and who ever bearest thyself ignobly,—slain by me; to-day see thee, O Sumitra's son, slain by me, with thy armour fallen off thy person, thy bow broken, and thy head severed". As Ravana's son was speaking thus harshly, Lakshmana conversant with the import of words, replied in a reasonable speech, saying,—"Leave off thy strength of tongue, O thou of perverse sense, O Rakshasa, O thou of crooked ways! Wherefore dost thou speak thus? Bring all this to pass in worthy deed. Why, O Rakshasa, without doing (what thou sayest), dost thou simply say it? Do the deed,—so that I may have regard for thy utterances. Mark! without speaking anything harsh, without censuring thee in the least, without venting any brag, shall, I, O cannibal, slay thee". Saying this, Lakshmana drawing his bow to its full bent, hit at the Rakshasa's chest five narachas—wondrous impetuous arrows. And those arrows resembling flaming serpents, with their velocity accelerated by the feathers (with which they were furnished), blazed on the Nairita's breast like the rays of the Sun. And wounded with those shafts, Ravana's son, fired with wrath, pierced Lakshmana with three arrows discharged (from his bow). And exceedingly dreadful was the encounter that took place between those leonine man and Rakshasa, each eager to conquer the other. And both powerful, and both endowed with strength and possessed of prowess,—and both exceedingly invincible; and both having unparalleled might and energy,—those heroes faught like two planets in the welkin; or like Bala and Vrita, irresistible in conflict; and those high-souled ones faught like two lions. And showering countless shafts and displaying many maneuvers, that foremost of men and that of Rakshasas, fought on cheerfully.

SECTION 89.

Then sighing like an enraged serpent, that chastiser of foes, Dacaratha's son, setting shafts (on his bow-string) showered them on the Rakshasa-chief. And hearing the twang of his bow-string the lord of Rakshasas, with his countenance fallen, gazed at Lakshmana. And then Bibhishana spoke unto Sumitra's son as he was fighting, "I find (inauspicious) signs in Ravana's son. Do therefore hasten on,—broken he is, without doubt". Then fixing arrows (on his bow) resembling venomous snakes, he let go those keen shafts, like unto serpents furnished with poison. And smit by Lakshmana with arrows having the touch of the levin, (Indrajit) for a while was stupified and had his senses overwhelmed. And eying that hero—son unto Dacaratha—present in the encounter, (Indrajit) with his eyes crimsoned in choler, drew near Sumitra's son. And coming up to him (Lakshmana), he again addressed (that hero) in a harsh speech, saying,—"Dost thou not remember my prowess at that first encounter, when thou along with thy brother was bound up,—that now thou art discharging arms (at me)? Forsooth ye two in mighty encounter, with shafts resembling the thunder-bolt and vajra, by me were first laid down on the ground, deprived of your lives, along with your principal adherents. Either this hath escaped thy memory or I fancy, thou plainly wishest to go to the abode of Yama,—inasmuch as thou hast set thy heart on beating me. If at the first encounter thou hast not witnessed my prowess, to-day shall I show it unto thee. Do thou now stay, summoning thy attention". Seeing this, he pierced Lakshmana with seven shafts, and Hanuman with ten keen-edged excellent shafts. And then, fired with double fury, that powerful one pierced Bibhishana with an hundred arrows, powerfully discharged (from his weapons). Seeing this act of Indrajit, that foremost of men, Rama's younger brother, Lakshmana, with an undaunted countenance, fired with wrath without minding the same,—and saying with a laugh,—'This is nothing',—taking dreadful arrows, in the conflict, discharged them at the son of Ravana. "O night-rangers, heroes, coming to the field never discharge (such shafts as these). These arrows of thine are light and of slight strength, and they conduce to my comfort. Heroic warriors, eager for encounter, do not fight thus". Speaking thus, (Lakshmana) accoutred with his bow showered vollies of shafts (on his adversary). And at his arrows (hitting), (Indrajit's) mighty golden mail fell off his person, and dropped to the platform of his car like a cluster of stars dropping from the welkin. And with his armour dropping off, that hero—Indrajit—was wounded with narachas, like the Sun at dawn. That hero—Ravana's son—endowed with dreadful prowess, in that conflict, pierced Lakshmana with a thousand shafts. And thereat Lakshmana's gorgeous and mighty mail was rent in pieces. And each rushing forward was engaged in dealing blows and harrying them. And sighing again and again, they fought furiously. And with their persons cut all over, and laved in blood, for a long while the heroes kept cleaving each other with sharpened shafts. And those high-souled ones versed in warfare, and endowed with terrific prowess exerted their utmost in securing victory. And covered with vollies of shafts, with their armour and banners rent, they drew each other's warm blood flowing like water from a fountain. And they discharged dreadful showers attended with tremendous sounds, like the sounds of black clouds at Dooms-day pouring torrents in the sky. And a long time went by as they faught. Nor did they turn away from the encounter, or know fatigue. And those foremost of those acquainted with weapons repeatedly displayed their weapons; and their long and short shafts enveloped the welkin. And the skill that they displayed was perfect, and showed lightness, variety and grace; and both man and the Rakshasa carried on fearful and terrible conflict. And the dreadful and tremendous roars of each were audible (at that place); and terrific like the levin, they made the hearts of hearers tremble (in terror). And as they faught with might and main, the sounds that they sent resembled the deep rumbling of clouds in the sky. And pierced with narachas knobbed with gold, those powerful and illustrious (warriors) with their hearts set on celebrity, bled profusely. And in that engagement gold-knobbed shafts hitting each other's person, pierced the same and covered with gore, entered the earth. And other shafts were resisted in the sky by sharpened weapons; and some were snapped, and thousands of their arrows were cleft (in the sky). And in that field, the vollies of their shafts were dreadful to behold like unto a heap of Kuca aflame in a sacrifice. And the wounded frames of those high-souled ones appeared beautiful like a leafless, flowering Kincuka and Salmali in a wood. And each eager to vanquish the other, Indrajit and Lakshmana momentarily discharged tremendous and terrific showers (of arms). And Lakshmana smiting Ravana's son, and Ravana's son smiting Lakshmana,—they did not experience any fatigue. And with net-works of arrows deeply entering their persons, those vehement and exceedingly powerful ones resembled mountains topped (with trees). And all their limbs, drenched in blood and covered with arrows, looked like a blazing fire. And a great while did they fight; yet they neither turned away (from the fight), nor did they experience any exhaustion. Then to remove (Lakshmana's) fatigue from fight, the high-souled Bibhishana, working the weal of Lakshmana staying in front of the field, came forward in the encounter and took up his post.

SECTION 90.

Seeing the man and the Rakshasa engaged in battle, with their whole soul, each eager to beat the other,—like unto elephants with the temporal juice trickling from their temples,—desirous of beholding their encounter, Ravana's mighty and heroic brother, bearing an excellent bow, stood in front of the arena. And taking up his post, he stretched his great bow and shot terrific sharp-pointed shafts at the Rakshasas. And even like thunder-bolt cleaving mighty mountains, those shafts furnished with peacock's plumes falling powerfully (upon the foe), rent the Rakshasas. And those foremost of Rakshasas, Bibhishana's followers, also, in the encounter discharged darts and scimitars and patticasat heroic Rakshasas. And surrounded by those Rakshasas, Bibhishana, then in the midst of his followers, appeared like an elephant in the midst of young ones. Then inciting the monkeys, whose dear object was to slay Ravana, that one versed in time, the foremost of Rakshasas, spoke seasonably thus,—"This one that stayeth (in the field) is the sole and mighty support of the Rakshasa-chief; and this is his remaining force. Why then do the monkey-chiefs remain inactive? On this wicked Rakshasa being slain on the edge of battle, the remnant of his army, with the single exception of Ravana, is destroyed. That hero—Prahasta—hath been slain, and Nikumbha possessed of wondrous strength, and Kumbhakarna, and Kumbha, and the night-ranger Dhumraksha, and Jamvumali, and Mahamali, and Tikshnavega and Hemaprabha, and Suptaghna, and Jajnakopa, and the Rakshasa Vajradanstra, Sankradi, and Vikata, and Arighna, and Tapana, and Manda, and Praghasa, and Prajangha, and Jangha, and Agniketu, and Durdharsha, and the powerful Racmiketus and Viddujjibha, and Dwijibha, and the Rakshasa—Suryyacatru, and Akampana, and Suparcwa, and the Rakshasas—Chakramali, and Kampana and Satwavanta, and Devantaka and Narantaka.—Having slain these many powerful Rakshasas endowed with excess of might,—having crossed the sea with your arms, do ye cross this foot print of a cow. This is the remaining force which you monkeys must conquer; all those Rakshasas, that had come forward, elated with the pride of strength, have all been slain. It is not meet for me to slay the son of my brother, yet, casting off compassion will I for Rama slay him. Tears surcharge the eyes of me who seeketh to slay him. Let therefore Lakshmana administer him his quietus. Ye monkeys, do ye in a body (first) slaughter those that are beside him (Indrajit.)" Thus exhorted by that illustrious Rakshasa, the monkey-chiefs were exhilarated and began to flourish their tails. And then those mighty monkeys roared again and again, and sent up various shouts, even as peacocks cry on seeing clouds. And then Jambavan surrounded by his own forces, assailed the Rakshasas with rocks and with their nails and teeth. Thereat Rakshasas, endowed with exceeding strength, equipped with various weapons reproaching the lord of bears, as he was engaged in smiting (the foe),—and renouncing fear, with shafts and sharp axes and patticas and yashtis, and tomaras, in the encounter assailed Jambavan, who was engaged in beating the Rakshasa forces. And that conflict between the monkeys and the Rakshas, waxed furious, like unto the tumultuous encounter of the immortals and the Asuras fired with wrath. And the magnanimous Hanuman incapable of being approached growing wroth,—uprooting a mountain, and putting down Lakshmana from his back, began a great carnage among the Rakshasas by thousands. And fighting a furious fight with his uncle, the powerful Indrajit—slayer of hostile heroes—again rushed against Lakshmana. And then there took place an encounter between those heroes in the field,—Lakshmana and the Rakshasa—discharging vollies of shafts and smiting each other; and those mighty and impetuous ones repeatedly covered each other with networks of arrows; like unto the sun and the moon covered by clouds at the expiration of Summer. And on account of their light-handedness, neither discharge of arrows, nor the drawing of the bow; nor the setting of the shaft on the bow-string; nor the taking of the bow; nor the selection of shafts; nor the clenching fast of their fists; nor the hitting of aims,—could be

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perceived as they fought on. And in consequence of the sky being covered with networks of arrows all around, discharged powerfully from their bows, the forms (of objects) could not be discovered. And Lakshmana having at Ravana's son, and Ravana's son having at Lakshmana, critical was the huggermugger that ensued in the encounter between each other. And they both kept ceaselessly showering feathered and sharpened shafts, the firmament was engulphed with a deep darkness. And in consequence of countless keen arrows alighting in hundreds, all sides and all the cardinal quarters were swarming with shafts. And all being over-spread with gloom, a mighty fright took possession (of creatures) when the Sun having ascended the setting-hill, and darkness environing all objects. And that day mighty torrents of blood flowed in thousands of streams; and fierce beasts of prey set up terrific yells (all around). And at that hour the wind did not blow, and fire did not blaze; and the Maharshis said,—'Fair befell creatures.' And the Gandharvas along with the Charanas grew exceedingly agitated. Then Sumitra's son pierced the four black steeds of the leonine Rakshasa, caparisoned in gold. And then he hit at (Indrajit's) charioteer with another yellow and sharpened javelin splendid, furnished with feathers; and resembling the thunder-bolt of the great Indra. And through his fleet handedness the graceful son of Raghu with the thunder-bolt of his shaft, resonant with the sound of his palm, separated the (charioteer's head) from his trunk. And on his charioteer having been slain the exceedingly energetic son of Mandodari, himself began to perform the function of a charioteer, and took up his bow. And this in the encounter was wonderful to behold. And then as (Indrajit) was eagerly engaged in managing the steeds, (Lakshmana) pierced him with sharpened shafts; and when (Indrajit) was eagerly wielding his bow, (Lakshmana) discharged shafts at his steeds. And on his steeds having been torn with shafts, Sumitra's—foremost of fleet-handed—in the encounter assailed (Indrajit) doubtlessly ranging the field. Seeing his charioteer slain in the contest, Ravana's son forewent his martial ardour, and was cast down. And seeing the Rakshasa with his face fallen, the leaders of monkey-bands, were exceedingly delighted and rendered homage unto Lakshmana. And then those monkey-chiefs—Pramathi, Rabhasa, Sarabha and Gandamadana, not brooking (their foe) summoned their impetuosity. And suddenly springing up, those highly powerful monkeys endowed with terrific prowess descended upon those four best of steeds. And on those chargers being assailed by those monkeys resembling mountains, blood gushed out of their mouths. And then the steeds were smashed and sent to the ground. And having slain the steeds, and smitten the mighty car-warrior* again by a vehement bound, came to the side of Lakshmana. [* Maharatham (ac) may also mean mighty car (chariot). By the way the samasa or junction called Tatpurusha is a frequent source of obscurity in Sanskrit, specially where the gender of the word without samasa is the same with that of the thing signified by the samasa, as in this case.] And springing down from his car whose steeds had been slain, Ravana's son, his charioteer having been pounded, charged the son of Sumitra with arrows. And then Lakshmana resembling the great Indra, on (Indrajit's) best of chargers having been despatched, in the encounter began to terribly rive with arrows discharged (his foe) footing on the earth and showering excellent sharpened shafts.

SECTION 91.

Having his steeds slain, the night-ranger—Indrajit, standing on the ground, waxing fiercely angered, flamed up in energy. And armed with bows, they, desirous of slaying each other with shafts resembled an elephant and a bull in a forest, came out for securing victory in encounter. And slaughtering owe another, the Rakshasas and the wood-rangers, rushing this way and that, did not (for a moment) leave their lords. Then Ravana's son, gladdening all the Rakshasas, and himself feeling cheered, addressed them in words of praise, saying,—"All sides are entirely enveloped in this gloom,—so that, O foremost of Rakshasas, here we do not know who belongeth onto us and who not.—Do ye fight fearlessly for stupifying the monkeys; and I too, mounted on a car, shall come hither into the conflict. Do ye so act that the high-souled rangers of the woods may not attack me as I enter the city". Saying this, that slayer of foes—Ravana's son, deceiving the wood-rangers, entered the city of Lanka for providing himself with a (fresh) car. And embellishing a chariot, graceful and adorned with gold, furnished with pracas and swords and arrows, yoked with superb steeds, and driven by a charioteer, knowing horses and possessed of instructions (anent his art),—that victor in battle—the exceedingly energetic son of Ravana—ascended it. And that hero, Mandodari's son, urged on by the force of the Finisher, went out of the city, surrounded by the foremost Rakshasas; and drawn by fast-speeding steeds, he presented himself before Lakshmana along with Bibhishana. And seeing Ravana's son seated on the car, the son of Sumitra and the exceedingly powerful monkeys and the Rakshasa—Bibhishana-—were highly amazed at the lighthandedness of that intelligent one. And Ravana's son, waxing furious, in that contest began to bring down monkeys by hundreds and by thousands. And that victor in battle—Ravana's son—fired with wrath, summoning all his celerity, slaughtered monkeys, drawing his bow into a circle. And slaughtered by naracha s of terrific impetuosity, the monkeys saught the shelter of Sumitra's son, like creatures seeking the refuge of their Lord. Then the son of Raghu, flaming up in martial wrath, severed Indrajit's. bow, displaying his fleethandedness. Thereat, taking another bow, (Indrajit) hurriedly fastened the string to it. And this bow also did Lakshmana cut off by means of a brace of arrows. And when (Indrajit) had his bow severed, Sumitra's son pierced the son of Ravana with five shafts resembling the venom of a poisonous serpent. And the shafts discharged from Lakshmana's mighty bow, piercing Indrajit's person, dropped to the earth like unto powerful red serpents. And having his bow cut off, Ravana's son, vomitting blood by his mouth, took up a superior bow powerful to a degree and having a stout string. And then aiming at Lakshmana, he, summoning his utmost celerity, showered arrows, as showereth Purandara in the season of rains. Thereat Lakshmana, subduer of enemies, retaining his calmness, resisted that powerful arrowy shower shot by Indrajit. And then that exceedingly energetic one, Raghu's son, possessing himself in calmness, displayed (his prowess) unto the son of Ravana; and this was wonderful (to behold). And then displaying his lightness in the use of weapons, Lakshmana, growing furious, pierced the Rakshasas with three arrows each in that mighty encounter; and the lord of Rakshasas struck him with showers of shafts. And pierced sore by that powerful enemy—slayer of foes—he incessantly sent innumerable arrows after Lakshmana. And ere they reached their destination, that slayer of hostile heroes severed them with whetted arrows; and in the encounter that righteous one and foremost of car-warriors with a dart having bent joints, cut off the head of his charioteer mounted on the car. And deprived of their driver, there the steeds, retaining their calmness, began to go in rounds,—and this was wonderful Then Sumitra's son of steady prowess, fired with anger, in that contest, frightening all, pierced his horses with arrows. And not brooking that act (of his adversary), Ravana's son in the encounter pierced with ten shafts Sumitra's son capable of making people's down stand on end. And his shafts resembling thunderbolts, and like unto all varieties of venom, touching (Lakshmana's) mail having a golden splendour, were reduced to naught. Thereat considering Lakshmana as clad in an impenetrable armour, Ravana's son—Indrajit—growing furiously enraged, displaying his lighthandedness in arms, pierced Lakshmana in the temples with three well-knobbed shafts. And with those arrows lodged in his temples, Raghu's son, delighting in battle, appeared beautiful in the field like a mountain furnished with three summits. Albeit thus smitten in the contest by the Raksha with shafts, Lakshmana swiftly smote him in turn with five arrows; and in the encounter Lakshmana drawing his bow, pierced with shafts Indrajit's face graced with elegant ear-rings. And those heroes—Lakshmana and Indrajit—equipped with exceedingly powerful bows, and endowed with heroism and dreadful prowess, wounded each other with sharp arrows. And both Lakshmana and Indrajit, with their persons bathed in blood in that encounter, appeared like unto flowering Kincukas. And approaching each other, those bowmen, each telling his heart on victory, wounded each other all over the body with terrific shafts. Then Ravana's son, carried away by martial rage, pierced Bibhishana in his handsome face With three arrows. And piercing the lord of Rakshasas, Bibhishana, he with three iron-headed arrows, pierced the monkey-leaders each with a shaft. Thereat, enraged at him more furiously than ever, the exceedingly energetic Bibhishana with his mace despatched the steeds of the wicked-minded son of Ravana. Then jumping down from his chariot with its horses slain, (Indrajit), endowed with great energy, who had his charioteer pounded, discharged a dart at his uncle. And seeing it descend, the enhancer of Sumitra's joy severed the same with whetted arrows and brought it down in ten fragments to the ground. And Bibhishana of a tough bow, growing enraged, discharged at (Indrajit), who had his steeds slain, five speeding shafts having the touch of the thunder-bolt.—And those arrows furnished with gold at the feathered parts, riving his person, were bathed in blood, and resembled mighty red serpents. Thereat wroth with his uncle, Indrajit took op an excellent shaft—bestowed on him by Yama himself—endowed with terrific force,—the flower of shafts among all the Rakshas. And seeing that mighty shaft set by him (on the bow-string), the highly powerful Lakshmana, possessed of dreadful prowess, (in his turn) took up another arrow, bestowed by Kuvera himself of immeasurable soul in a dream,—unconquerable, and incapable of being borne even by the celestials and Asuras with Indra at their head. And on their best of bows being powerfully drawn with their arms resembling bludgeons, they set up cries like unto Kraunchas. And on those foremost of shafts set on those excellent bows of those heroes, being drawn, flamed up in exceeding splendour. And those flaming arrows, discharged from the bows, illumining the welkin, with vehemence struck at each other's head. And a concussion took place of those arrows of terrific aspects; and a furious fire sprang up thereat, with embers shooting around. And dashing against each other like unto mighty planets, they, reduced to an hundred shivers in the encounter, saught the earth. Seeing their shafts baffled, Indrajit and Lakshmana, staying on the edge of the battle, were seized with shame and wrath. Thereat Sumitra's son, flying into a fury, took up a Varuna weapon. And the conquerer of the great Indra intent on battle, in the encounter discharged a terrific Raudra weapon; and the exceedingly wonderful Varuna weapon was baffled by him. Then, waxing wroth, that victor in battle—the wondrous energetic Indrajit—as if annihilating the world, discharged a flaming Agneya weapon. And the heroic Lakshmma resisted it with a Solar weapon. Seeing his weapon resisted, Ravana's son, transported with passion, took up an Asura arrow, capable of rending foes. And from that weapon issued daggers and clubs and darts and bhucundisand maces and swords and axes [This arrow resembled somewhat the bomb-shells in modern European warfare.]. And in the conflict, seeing that dire and dreadful weapon, irrisistible to all creatures and capable of riving all arms, the effulgent Lakshmana baffled it with a Mahecwara weapon [i.e. belonging to Mahecwara or Siva.]. And the encounter that took place between them was wonderful and capable of making people's down stand on end. And beings stationed in the sky surrounded Lakshmana on all sides. And in that terrific encounter of the monkeys and the Rakshasas resounding with dreadful roars, the welkin was covered with innumerable beings seized with wonderment. And saints and Pitris and deities and Gandharbas and birds and serpents, placing Satakratu in their front, protected Lakshmana in the conflict. And then that hero, Raghava's younger brother, fixed (on his bow) another superior shaft, having the feel of fire itself, and capable of riving the son of Ravana; furnished with fair feathers; tapering; having elegant joints; symmetrical; and plated with gold,—an arrow capable of finishing the body; irrisistible; dreadful; terrific unto Rakshasas; resembling the venom of poisonous serpents; and worshipped by the celestial hosts; by which the exceedingly energetic and wonderful Lord riding the horse—Sakra—of old in the war between the celestials and the Asuras had defeated the Danavas. And Sumitra's son, Lakshmana; graced with auspiciousness, drawing on his best of bows that foremost of shafts—the Aindra weapon—invincible in conflict, spoke these words, tending to bring about his success,—"If Dacaratha's son—Rama—is righteous and truthful, and if in prowess he hath no rival, then slay this son of Ravana". Saying this, the heroic Lakshmana in that conflict, drawing the straight-speeding arrow up to his ear [i.e. drawing the bow to its utmost stretch.], discharged it at Indrajit. And shooting the Aindra weapon, that destroyer of hostile heroes—Lakshmana—severing from its trunk the head of Indrajit with its corslet, graced with burning ear-rings, brought it down to the ground. And the mighty severed head of the Rakshasa's son, resembling one made of gold, was seen covered with blood. And slain, Ravana's son dropped to the earth, with his armour and corslet on, and his bow fallen (from his grasp). And then all the monkeys with Bibhishana set up cheers, even as the immortals cheered at the destruction of Vritra. And in the sky there arose the victorious shouts of all beings and high souled saints, and also of Gandharbas and Apsaras. And knowing (Indrajit) fallen (in fight), the mighty army of Rakshasas; attacked by monkeys burning for victory, fled in the ten cardinal directions. And assailed by the monkeys, the Rakshasas, pursued (by their foes), with their senses lost, rushed towards Lanka, leaving their arms behind. And overwhelmed with fright, Rakshasas fled in an hundred directions, all renouncing their arms—bearded darts, and swords, and axes. And harassed by the monkeys, some hurriedly entered Lanka, and some plunged into the sea, and some saught shelter in the mountains. And seeing Indrajit slain and lying down on the field of battle, thousands of Rakshasas fled away. As when the Sun sets, his rays remain no longer, on that Rakshasa having fallen, the Rakshasas dispersed in the ten cardinal quarters, like unto the Sun when his rays have been rendered mild, or fire which hath been extinguished. And the mighty-armed (Indrajit) was utterly reft of life. And on the son of the Rakshasa-chief falling, the world, having its foe slain, with its huge affliction gone off, experienced the bright of joy. And on that unrighteous Rakshasa having been slain, the reverend Sakra together with the Maharshis was filled with delight. And sounds of kettle-drums were heard in the sky proceeding from the celestials. And blossoms were showered by dancing Apsaras and high-souled Gandharbas. And this was wonderful (to behold.) And on that Rakshasa of fell deeds having been slain, the dust was laid, the water became transparent, the sky looked bright, and the deities and Danavas were filled with rejoicings. And on that Dread of all creatures having been slain, the gods, Gandharbas and Danavas, assembled together in joy, said,—"Now let the Brahmanas who have their sins removed, with their anxiety gone off, range about". And then the monkey-leaders, seeing that foremost of Nairitas of unparalleled prowess slain in battle, began to gladly pay homage (unto

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Lakshmana). And Bibhishana and Hanuman and Jambavan—leader of bears—saluted and hymned Lakshmana on the score of his victory. And shouting and bounding and roaring, the monkeys at this hour of high joy stood surrounding Raghu's son [Descendant, that is.]. And flourishing their tails and striking the earth (with them), the monkeys shouted,—'Victory unto Lakshmana!' And embracing each other, the monkeys with delighted spirits began to converse in various ways touching Raghava's welfare. And beholding that deed, difficult of being done, performed by their beloved friend—Lakshmana—and hearing their foe—Indrajit—slain (in battle), the celestials attained the summit of joy.

SECTION 92.

Having in the conflict slain that conquerer of enemies, Lakshmana graced with auspicious marks, with his body bathed in blood, experienced delight. And then supporting himself on Bibhishana and Hanuman, the exceedingly powerful Lakshmana endowed with prowess, taking Jambavan, Hanuman and all the monkeys with him, speedily went to the place where Sugriva and Raghava were. And then going round Rama and saluted him, Sumitra's son stood before his brother, like Indra's brother staying before Sakra. And approaching with a look which of itself was significant [i.e. of the destruction of Indrajit.], the heroic Bibhishana described unto the high-souled Raghava the dreadful destruction of Indrajit. And then the delighted Bibhishana related unto Rama how the high-souled Lakshmana had cut off the head of Ravana's son. And as soon as that exceedingly powerful one heard of the destruction of Indrajit by Lakshmana, he experienced a huge accession of joy, and thus delivered himself,—"Excellent, O Lakshmana! Pleased am I (with thee). Thou hast performed a difficult feat. The son of Ravana having been slain, know for certain that we have been victorious". And then smelling the head of the bashful Lakshmana, enhancer of fame, (Rama) endowed with prowess, from affection forcibly hugged him into his lap. And making him seat on his lap, and overpowering him with embraces (Rama), again and again tenderly eyed his brother, Lakshmana. And moved with grief, that best of persons, Rama, smelling the head of Lakshmana, wounded with darts and having his person pierced (with arms), sighing and breathing hard—and nursing his body with his hand, addressed Lakshmana, soothing him,—'To-day his son having been slain, I deem Ravana himself as slain in fight. On that wicked-minded enemy of mine having been destroyed, I am victorious (in encounter). By luck, O hero, hast thou in conflict severed the right arm of the fell Ravana. Verily he (Indrajit) was his stay. Both Bibhishana and Hanuman have done mighty deeds in battle. In three days and nights, (my enemy) hath been brought down. To-day have I been made foeless. Now Ravana will for certain march forth,—backed by a mighty phalanx. Ravana will for certain sally out, hearing his son brought down. That unconquerable lord of Rakshasas, aggrieved for the destruction of his son, marching out,—shall I slay, environed with a mighty force. O Lakshmana, the conqueror of Sakra having in battle been slain by thee—who art my lord—Sita and the (entire) earth are not incapable of being obtained by me". Having thus soothed and embraced his brother, Raghu's son—Rama—highly rejoiced, calling Sushena, said,—"Do thou so act that this highly wise son of Sumitra, devoted to his friends, may be healed and be eased. Do thou without delay heal Sumitra's son, attached to his friends, of his wounds. And do thou also carefully relieve all those heroes in the army of bears and monkeys fighting with trees,—as well as others, who have been wounded and have got sores (in consequence)". Thus addressed by Rama, the high-souled monkey-leader administered a potent medicine to the nose of Lakshmana. And smelling the same, he got healed; he was relieved of his pain and his outgoing vitality was shut up. And at the mandate of Raghava he likewise treated his friends headed by Bibhishana and all the principal monkeys. And restored to his natural condition, Sumitra's son, healed, and with his exhaustion removed, and his suffering gone off in a moment, experienced exhilaration of spirits. And Rama and the monkey-king and Bibhishana and the powerful lord of bears along with their hosts, seeing Sumitra's son risen hale, rejoiced greatly in delight. And the high-souled son of Dacaratha honoured exceedingly that exceedingly hard feat of Lakshamana; and the monkey-king, hearing that the conquerer of Sakra had fallen in fight, was filled with joy.

SECTION 93.

When the counsellors of Pulastya's son, hearing of Indrajit having been slain, speedily conveyed the tidings unto the Ten-necked one, who was ignorant of the same. "O mighty monarch, in our very sight thy exceedingly effulgent son hath been slain by Lakshmana with the help of Bibhishana. And that hero confronted by the (other) hero, hath been vanquished in fight. And the hero, thy son, the conquerer of the celestial chief, hath also been slain by Lakshmana. And having gratified Lakshmana with his shafts, he hath repaired to the supreme regions". Hearing of that mighty terror, viz., the rueful and dreadful destruction of his son, Indrajit, in battle, he straightway swooned away. Then regaining his consciousness after a long while, that foremost of Rakshasas—the king—overwhelmed with grief for his son, and distressed, burst into lamentations, with his senses wildered,—thus,—"O foremost in the Rakshasa army! O my child endowed with high might! Having conquered Indra himself, wherefore to-day hast thou come under the sway of Lakshmana? Doubtless, thou enraged could pierce with thy arrows the Destroyer of Time himself, and the summit of Mandara,—what shall I say of Lakshmana in encounter? To-day king Viwacwata hath raised himself immensely in my estimation, for to-day he, O mighty-armed one, hath brought thee under the law of Time. But this is the way of capable warriors as well as celestials. He that layeth down his life for his lord, repaireth to heaven. To-day seeing Indrajit slain, the deities and the guardians of the worlds, and the mighty saints, their fear gone off, shall sleep peacefully. This triple world and this entire earth with her woods, reft of one—Indrajit—appear to me as vacant. To-day shall I hear the cries of the daughters of the Nairitas in my inner apartment, like unto the roars of she-elephants in a mountain-cavern. Renouncing thy state of an heir-apparent, and Lanka and the Rakshas, O subduer of enemies, and thy mother, and me, and thy wife—whither hast thou gone, (leaving) us all? O hero, I having gone to the region of Yama, thou ought to have performed my last rites, but thou standest in a relation the very reverse of this. And Sugriva living and Lakshmana and Raghava, without extracting my dart, whither hast thou gone, leaving us all? And then vising from the disaster that had befallen his son, a mighty wrath overcame the lord of Rakshasas—Ravana, as he was thus indulging in lamentations. And even as in summer, the (Solar) rays flame up the Sun, the destruction of his son flamed up all the fiercer, him, who was naturally irascible. And as he kept yawning in passion, a flaming fire with smoke darted from his mouth, even as it did from the mouth of Vritra. And burning in grief for the destruction of his son, and coming under masterdom of passion, that hero—Ravana—reflecting (awhile) in his mind, resolved upon slaying Vaidehi. And naturally red, and reddened (still more) by the fire of wrath, Ravana's glowing eyes were dreadful (to behold). And his form, terrific by nature, in consequence of the fire of his wrath having possessed it entirely, resembled the form of the enraged Rudra. And from the eyes of that infuriated one fell drops of tears as drop from a flaming lamp drops of burning oil. And as he grinded his teeth, the gnashing resembled the sounds sent by the machine* drawn by the Danavas and churning the deep. [* Meaning the mountain Mandara. It is identified with the Mandar Parvat, also known as Mandar Hill is a small mountain situated in Banka district under Bhagalpur division of state of Bihar. It is about 700 ft / 230 m high and approximately 45 km south of Bhagalpur city off Bausi, a place located on the state highway between Bhagalpur and Dumka.] The Rakshasas durst not approach that one eying round and resembling the Destroyer himself, intent, on devouring both mobile and immobile. Then exceedingly enraged, Ravana—lord of Rakshasas—spoke in the midst of the Rakshasas, inciting them to battle,—"I practised severe austerities for thousands of years; and gratified the Self-sprung at times. Neither from Asuras nor from celestials can any fear spring to me. My mail conferred on me by Brahma, which in effulgence resembles the Sun himself, was not broken by blows like unto thunder-bolt at the war between the deities and demons. To-day who will come forward against me in battle accoutred in that and mounted on a car in the conflict? Not even Purandara himself. Do ye, beating hundreds of drums, to-day raise that mighty and dreadful bow of mine which, with arrows, had been bestowed on one by the gratified Self-sprung at the war of the gods and Asuras,—so that I may therewith compass the destruction of Rama and Lakshmana in mighty battle". Burning (in grief) for the destruction of his son, the fell Ravana, coming under the influence of anger, reflecting (in his mind), resolved to slay Sita. And eying round, that copper-eyed and dreadful one of a terrific aspect, distressed, in a piteous voice addressed all the night-rangers, saying,—"By his power of illusion, my beloved child, for deceiving the wood-rangers, slaying something (else), had shown it unto them as Sita. Now will I do that good office myself,—Vaidehi will I slay—even her that is devoted to that friend of Kshatriyas". Having spoken thus unto his counsellors, he swiftly took up a sword; and raising it, of excellent temper and of cerulean hue, he rushed out vehemently, surrounded by his wives and counsellors. From grief for his son. Ravana with his consciousness wildered, taking up a sword, in rage, rushed towards the place where Mithila's daughter was. Seeing the Rakshasa rising on, some, emitted leonine roars, and seeing the Rakshasa enraged, embracing each other, said,—"To-day those two brothers, seeing this one, will be exceedingly pained. By this one, influenced with passion were the four guardians of the worlds conquered; and many other foes were brought down in battle. Procuring gems from the three worlds, Ravana enjoyeth them. Neither in strength nor in prowess is there any one on earth who is his compeer". As they were speaking thus, Ravana, reft of his senses by wrath, rushed against Vaidehi, who had taken up her abode in the Acoka wood. And dissuaded by his friends endowed with good intelligence, he, wrought up with high wrath, darted (against Sita), even as an enraged planet [Kuja.] rusheth against Rohini* in the firmament [Hesperos, the Evening Star, the planet Venus in the evening.]. And the blameless daughter of Mithila protected by the Rakshasis, saw the infuriated Ravana bearing that best of blades in his hand. Seeing (Ravana) approach, sword in hand, despite the earnest entreaties of his friends, Janaka's daughter, Sita, pained and overcome by grief, said, weeping,—"From the way in which, wrought up with wrath, this wicked-minded one is rushing on at me personally, it appears that he will slay me, who have a lord, as one who hath not. He did urge me much ever devoted to my lord, saying 'Be thou my wife but forsooth I disregarded him. And plainly in consequence of my refusal, he hath given way to despair. And overcome by anger and passion, he is ready to slay me. Or it may be that to-day for me those foremost of men, the brothers—Rama and Lakshmana—have been slain in encounter by this inglorious one. I heard a furious and fearful uproar raised by countless Rakshasas rejoicing, and expressing their delight.—Alas! O fie! For me those princes have met with destruction. Or it may be that not without slaying Rama and Lakshmana, this terrific Rakshasa, having his heart set on sin, from grief for his son, will slay me. Fool that I am, I did not then act agreeably to Hanuman's words. If I had gone away seated on his back, without waiting for the victory (of my lord), I devoted to him, placed on his lap, should not have come by this repentance. When Kaucalya, having an only son, will hear of her son slain in battle, I fancy, her heart shall burst. And, weeping, she will remember that high-souled one's birth and boyhood, and youth and pious acts and loveliness. And that one bereft of her consciousness, filled with despair, after having performed his sraddha* will doubtless enter into fire or water. [* Funereal rites performed in accordance with the injunctions of the Hindu Scriptures.] Shame on the unchaste and hump-backed Manthara, having her heart fixed in sin, for whose sake this grief shall exercise Kaucalya!" Seeing the distressed daughter of Mithila lament thus, like unto Rohini come under the sway of a planet in the absence of the Moon, in the meanwhile Ravana's pure and good courtier, named Suparcwa, endowed with intelligence, albeit prevented by other courtiers, spoke unto Ravana, foremost of Rakshasas,—"Wherefore, O Ten-necked one, O thou who art the very younger brother of Vaicravana himself, Dost thou desire to slay Vaidehi, forsaking righteousness? Why, O hero! O lord of Rakshasas! having led the Brahmacharyya mode of life, studied the Vedas, and returned from the house of thy spiritual guide, and ever engaged in religious acts, to-day dost thou intend to slay a woman? Do thou, O king, now stay expecting Mithila's daughter endowed with loveliness; and do thou along with us vent thy wrath on him [Rama.[. To-day being the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight, do thou this very day prepare for conflict; at amavasya [i.e. to-morrow.], environed with thy forces, do thou march for victory. Heroic, and intelligent, a mighty car-warrior and swordsman, thou, mounted on a car, slaying the redoubtable son of Dacaratha, wilt obtain Mithila's daughter". Thus exhorted by his friend, the unrighteous Ravana accepted his virtuous speech; and then that powerful one went (back) to his house, and, surrounded by his friends, entered the court.

SECTION 94.

Entering his court, the king, distressed, and exceedingly aggrieved, sat him down on the foremost seat sighing like an enraged lion. And stricken with grief in consequence of his son's death, that highly powerful Ravana, with folded hands, addressed all the heroic Rakshasas, saying:—"Do ye all proceed to battle with elephants, horses and cars. And encircling Rama only and discharging shafts at him, delightedly, like unto clouds, in the rainy season, pouring water, do ye slay him. Or I shall slay him to-morrow in the presence of all, wounded by you in the mighty encounter with sharpened arrows". Hearing the speech of their lord the Rakshasas, with a huge army and a host of cars, speedily issued out for battle. And they all threw at the monkeys life-destroying Parighas, Patticas, arrows, daggers and Paraskwadhas. And the monkeys too threw crags and trees at the Rakshasas. Thus on the eve of sun set there arose a terrible conflict between the Rakshasas and the monkeys. And they struck each other in the conflict with clubs, chitras, Prasas, daggers and Paraskwadhas. The conflict being thus carried on, there arose a mighty dust which was again destroyed by the current of blood gushing out of the persons of the Rakshasas and the monkeys. Elephants and cars were like the banks of that river of blood, the arrows were like the fishes, and the flags were the trees on their banks and the corpses were like planks afloat there. Being thus wounded and assailed by the Rakshasas, those heroic monkeys leaped and broke down the flags, armours, cars, horses and other weapons. And with their sharp teeth and nails they scratched the hair, ears,

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foreheads and the noses of the Rakshasas. Like unto vultures falling upon a felled tree, hundreds of monkeys fell upon one Rakshasa in that encounter. And the Rakshasas resembling mountains, with huge clubs, prasas, daggers and parashwadhas, struck the monkeys (in their turn). Being thus assailed by the Rakshasas, the mighty host of monkeys took refuge of Rama, the son of Dacaratha, the worthy refuge of all creatures. Thereupon the highly effulgent and powerful Rama, taking up his bow, entered the Rakshasa host and began to make a downpour of arrows. And Rama entering the field, those terrible Rakshasas, being burnt with the fire of his arrows, could not stand before him like unto clouds disappearing before the Sun in the welkin. And the night-rangers only espied the dreadful feats performed by Rama and which were above the power of others. Except when guiding the huge army or driving the cars they could not see Rama like unto the wind invisible in a forest. They all beheld the Rakshasa force scattered, wounded, burnt down with arrows, broken and assailed with weapons, by Rama, but none could see the quick-moving Rama. As people cannot see the soul which governs all objects of sense so they could not see Rama, who was thus inflicting wounds on them. "It is he who is destroying the soldiers riding the elephants, it is he who is breaking down the mighty cars, and it is he who with sharp arrows is slaying the cavalry—rider and horse". Thus saying those Rakshasas, in that conflict and in the very presence of Rama, highly enraged, began to slay each other. They were all bewildered by the huge Gandharba weapon discharged by the high-souled Rama and so they could not see Rama, who was thus burning down their force. And the Rakshasas sometimes beheld thousands of Rama in the battle field and again saw one Rama only. They at times saw the quick-moving golden end of the bow of that high-souled one, resembling a circular fire brand but they did not behold Raghava. And he looked like kala chakra, having his middle body as its navel, his own strength as its lustre, the arrow for its radius or spoke, the bow for the circumference, the twang of the bow for its sound, his power and intelligence for its brightness, and the aim of the celestial weapons for its limit. And in the eighth division of the time by Rama alone with arrows resembling the flame of fire were destroyed ten thousands swift-coursing cars, eighteen thousand elephants fourteen thousands horses and riders and two million Rakshasa infantry assuming shapes at will. And those night-rangers, who were still left, having their horses killed, cars and flags broken, fled in fear of life to the city of Lanka. And the battle field, filled with slain horses elephants and infantry, looked like the high-souled and enraged Rudra's arena of sports. Thereupon the celestials with Gandharbas, Siddhas and the great ascetics glorified the wonderful feat of Rama. And the virtuous-souled Rama addressed Sugriva, Bibhishana the monkey Hanuman, the leading monkey Jambavan, Mainda and Divida who were near him, saying—"This is the power of my weapons and as well as that of Rudra". The high-souled Rama, equalling Sakra in prowess, thus slaying the huge host of the lord of Rakshasas and assailing them with shafts and weapons—the celestials, delighted, sang his praises.

SECTION 95.

By Rama, of unwearied actions, with flaming arrows feathered in burning gold, were destroyed thousands of elephants—many horses with their riders, many a car crested with flaming banners; thousands of heroic Rakshasas assuming shapes at will, engaged by Ravana, and armed with clubs and parighas; and golden pennons. Beholding and hearing of this the remaining night-rangers assembled and were greatly bewildered, poorly and stricken with anxiety. The widows and those who had lost their children or kinsmen approached those Rakshasas and overwhelmed with grief, bewailed piteously,—"Alas! why did the aged and grim-visaged Surpanakha, having her belly extending down-ward, behold in the forest Rama graceful like Kandarpa. And beholding him of great beauty and prowess, ever engaged in the welfare of all creatures, that ugly one, worthy of being slain by people, was excited with lust. Why did that ugly-faced she-demon, devoid of all qualities, address Rama, having a beautiful countenance, gifted with many virtues and great effulgence? Alas for the misfortune of the Rakshasas, the aged Rakshasee brought before him such a vile proposal, hated of all and worthy of creating laughter. For the destruction of Khara, Dushana and other Rakshasas that ugly one approached Raghava with such a vile intention. It was for her that Ravana created enmity (with Rama) and Sita was carried away by the Ten-necked Rakshasa. But he could not spread his influence upon Sita the daughter of king Janaka and deep rooted and eternal became the enmity with the highly powerful Raghava. And beholding the Rakshasa Biradha slain by Rama alone—(Ravana) wishing Vaidehi should have regarded that as a sufficient proof of his prowess. And fourteen thousand Rakshasas of terrible deeds were slain by him in Janasthana with shafts resembling the flame of fire. Khara, Dushana as well as Tricira were slain by him in conflict with arrows resembling the Sun—this was a sufficient proof (of his power). Yoyanabahu and Kavandha, drinking blood, were slain by him, roaring with wrath—this too was a sufficient proof of his power. Rama slew the powerful Vali, the son of the thousand eyed one, resembling the cloud—that too was the sufficient proof of his prowess. By him Sugriva, poorly and living in the mount Rishyamukha, having all his desires frustrated, was placed on the throne—that too even was the sufficient proof of his power. He (Ravana) from foolishness did not like the becoming speech of Bibhishana conducive to the acquirement of piety and wealth and securing the welfare of the Rakshasas. Had the younger brother of the lord of wealth (Ravana) observed the words of Bibhishana, Lanka would not have been overwhelmed with grief and reduced to the state of a cremation ground. Hearing of the destruction of the highly powerful Kumbhakarna by Rama. of the irrepressible Atikaya by Lakshmana as well as of his beloved son Indrajit, Ravana did not come to his senses. When one monkey only Hanuman killed the prince Akshaya and reduced the whole city to ashes with the fire of his tail. Ravana should have come to his senses. There is audible in every house of the Rakshasas, the cry,—'My son, my brother, my husband is slain in battle.' In conflict have been destroyed by the heroic Rama, thousand cars, horses, serpents and infantry. Perhaps Rudra, Vishnu, Mahendra or the performer of hundred sacrifices, or even Death, in the shape of Rama, is slaying us. By Rama all the heroes have been slain—despair has taken possession of our minds—we do not behold the end of our terror and are bewailing being deprived of our lords. Does not the Ten-necked hero, who has obtained boons (from Brahma) perceive that a mighty disaster shall befall him from Rama? Neither the celestials, Gandharbas, Picachas nor Rakshasas shall be able to save him from Rama in conflict. In every battle many an accident befalls Ravana—this bespeaks of his destruction at the hands of Rama. The great Patriarch, being pleased, conferred upon Ravana the boon that no fear would proceed unto him from the celestials, the Danavas or the Rakshasas—but he did not beg of him, security from men. Forsooth, he is that fearful man who shall slay Ravana and the Rakshasas. The celestials, being thus oppressed by Ravana, who had obtained the boon, worshipped the great Patriarch with severe austerities. And being propitiated with them, the high-souled Patriarch, for their welfare, addressed the celestials, with the following pregnant speech. "From to-day shall the Rakshasas and Danavas roam for ever, afraid of the celestials". Thereupon the celestials headed by Indra engaged in propitiating Mahadeva, the slayer of Tripura, and who rides upon a bull. And being pleased, Mahadeva addressed them, saying,—"For your welfare there will be born a woman who shall be the cause of the destruction of the Rakshasas". As hunger, being engaged by the celestials, did destroy in olden time, all the Danavas, so shall she (Sita) the root of the extinction of Rakshasa race destroy us all with Ravana. Alas! for the foolishness of the vicious-minded and insolent Ravana destruction has faced us and we are overwhelmed with grief. We do not see any such being in the world who can afford us shelter. Raghava has attacked us like unto the fire of dissolution. There is no refuge for us who have been stricken with fear as no help reaches the elephants in a forest beset with fire. The high-souled Bibhishana did the just thing in proper time—he took shelter of him from whom he expected danger". Thus bewailed piteously and loudly—the she-demons holding each other by the neck and being stricken with fear and grief.

SECTION 96.

Whereupon Ravana heard in every house of Lanka the piteous cries of the she-demons possessed by sorrow. And sighing hard he engaged in meditation for some time. And terrible-looking as he was, Ravana was greatly worked up with ire. Having his eyes reddened with anger, and gnashing his teeth and biting the lips, that one, irrepressible by other Rakshasas, looked like the fire of dissolution incarnate. Thereupon the lord of Rakshasas in anger as if burning down everything with his look, addressed the Rakshas who were near him—Mahodara, Mahaparsha, Birupaksha—"Do ye speedily speak to the soldiers that they should sally out for battle at my command. Hearing his speech—those Rakshas, possessed by fear, asked by the command of the king, the Rakshasa soldiers to be ready. And thereat all those grim-visaged Rakshasas saying 'so be it' and performing benedictory ceremonies proceeded to the battle-field. And those mighty car-warriors, worshipping Ravana, and desiring the victory of their lord, stood before them with folded hands. Thereupon Ravana, beside himself with anger, laughing, adddressed those Rakshasas, Mahodara, Mahaparsha, and Birupaksha, saying—"To-day shall I despatch both Rama and Lakshmana to the abode of Death with arrows resembling the sun at the time of dissolution, discharged off my bow. And slaying the enemies I shall repair the loss of Khara, Kumbhakarna, Prahasta and Indrajit. The atmosphere, the quarters the sky and the deep being enveloped with the cloud of arrows shall become invisible. I shall slay to-day all the heroic monkeys with my winged arrows. Ascending my car gifted with the velocity of the wind shall I churn to day the monkey host with arrow-like waves coming from the ocean-like bow. I shall like an elephant distress to-day the monkey-like pools having their countenances for the blown lotuses, and the lustre of their bodies for the filaments. To-day in the encounter, the leaders of the monkey hosts, with their heads transfixed with arrows, shall cover the earth, like unto lotuses with their stalks. I shall to-day with a single arrow, cleave hundreds of heroic monkeys fighting with trees in their hands. I shall wipe to-day the tears of those whose brother or son has been slain by destroying their foe. In the encounter to-day I shall, with the monkeys deprived of their breath and clept with my arrows, so cover the earth that it may not be seen by any. I shall satisfy to-day with the flesh of the enemies slain by my shafts, the crows, vultures and others who live upon flesh. Get ready soon my car and bring my bow. And let the remaining night-rangers follow me in battle". Hearing his words Mahaparsha addressed the leaders of the army who were near him, saying,—"Get your soldiers ready". And the commanders too quickly went round all the houses in Lanka and asked the Rakshasas to be ready soon. Thereupon began to issue out in a moment terrible-looking Rakshasas, emitting roars, having dreadful faces and with various weapons in their hands—daggers, Patticas, maces, clubs, furrows, sharpened saktis, traps, various rods, sharpened chakra, parashwadhas, vindipalas, sataghnis and various other excellent weapons. Thereupon at the command of Ravana the commanders brought one Nijuta (a hundred thousand) cars, three Nijuta elephants, sixty million horses, asses and camels and numberless infantry. They arranged the soldiers before the king and in the interval the charioteer brought the car—filled with excellent celestial weapons—richly adorned, containing many an armour, girt with a network of tinkling ornaments, crested with various jewels, having jewelled pillars and a thousand golden jars. Beholding the car the Rakshasas were greatly astonished. And Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, rising up all on a sudden, ascended that car, brilliant like the flaming fire and the aggregate rays of a million sun, quick-coursing, having a charioteer, drawn by eight horses, huge and shining in its native lustre. Thereupon proceeded Ravana, encircled by many a Rakshasa as if rending the earth with the excess of his prowess. There arose a huge sound of bugles accompanied with that of Mridangas, drums, conchs, and kalapas. The lord of the Rakshas—wicked, the slayer of the Brahmins—the thorn of the celestials, and who hath brought away Sita by stealth, has come with his umbrellas and chowries to fight with the foremost of Raghus—this cry was heard everywhere. And with his tremendous roar the earth shook. And hearing all on a sudden that sound, the monkeys fled away in fear. And the highly effulgent Ravana, having huge arms and surrounded by his ministers, came there being certain of gaining victory. Being commanded by Ravana, Mahaparsha, Mahodara and the irrepresible Birupaksha ascended the car. They, desirous of winning victory, issued out emitting dreadful roars in delight and as if rending the earth therewith. Thereupon the highly effulgent (Ravana) resembling Death, with uplifted bow, sallied out for battle along with the army of Rakshas. And that mighty car-warrior, went out in his chariot drawn by quick-coursing steeds by that gate which led to where Rama and Lakshmana were. Thereat the sun lost its brilliance—the quarters were enshrouded with darkness; the birds sent forth dreadful cries and the earth shook. The celestials poured down bloody rains—the course of the horses was slackened—the vultures sat on the banners and jackals emitted inauspicious cries, his left eye and the left arm began to shake—his countenance became pale and his voice grew harsher. The Ten-necked Rakshasa thus going out for battle there appeared many bad omens indicating his destruction. From the sky fell a fire-brand accompanied with the sound of thunder; vultures and crows emitted inauspicious cries. Disregarding these dreadful omens which appeared then, Ravana, incited by death, foolishly went out to slay his (enemies). And by the wheel-sound of the chariots of the great Rakshasas the host of monkeys calling each other, excited with anger and willing to gain victory, addressed themselves for fight. Thereupon the Ten-necked one, enraged, with his arrows feathered in gold, made a dreadful slaughter of the army of monkeys. And some of those heroic monkeys were beheaded by Ravana—some had their hearts rent and others were shorn of their ears. Some had their breath choked, some were killed and others had their sides broken. Some had their hands cut off and others had their eyes put out. And wherever in the encounter, the Ten-headed Rakshasa, whirling his eyes in ire, went in his car—the monkey leaders could not stand the vehemence of his arrows.

SECTION 97.

There the earth was covered with monkeys whose bodies were rent with the arrows of the Ten-necked (Ravana). As the flies cannot stand before the flaming fire so they could not bear the vehemence of Ravana's shafts. Being thus assailed with pointed arrows they fled away crying, like unto elephants being burnt by fire. And Ravana with his arrows pursued in conflict the course of clouds. Thus slaughtering the monkeys the lords of Rakshasas speedily reached in the

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encounter where Raghava was. And beholding the monkeys assailed and afraid Sugriva placing Sushena in charge of a gulma [The division of an army; a body of troops consisting of 9 platoons or 9 elephants, 9 chariots, 27 horses and 45 foot soldiers.] addressed himself for the battle. And placing that heroic monkey, his equal in prowess, in that command Sugriva sallied out with a tree in his hand to meet the enemy. And followed him on all sides the leaders of the monkeys with huge crags and various trees. The heroic Sugriva emitted terrible roars in the conflict and assailed the heroic Rakshasas and many others. The huge-bodied monkey-chief crushed the Rakshasas like unto the wind uprooting the trees at the time of dissolution. He began to make a downpour of crags at the Rakshasa host like unto the cloud pouring down hailstorms at the birds in the forest. And being beheaded by the crags discharged by that monkey chief the Rakshasas fell down like unto mountains cleft. The Rakshasas being thus attacked and shattered by Sugriva and roaring and falling down on all sides, an irrepressible Rakshasa, skilled in archery, by name Birupaksha, pronouncing his own name, got down from the car and mounted an elephant. And mounted on the elephant that highly powerful Birupaksha sent forth leonine roars and dashed against the monkeys. Exciting the joy of the Rakshasas and removing their anxiety he discharged dreadful shafts at Sugriva and his army. And being assailed by the pointed arrows of that Rakshasa that lord of monkeys roared in anger and made up his mind to destroy him. Thereupon uprooting a tree the heroic monkey, skilled in warfare, leaped and struck that huge elephant down in his presence. And being assailed greatly by Sugriva that huge elephant proceeded a little within the range of the bow and roared and died. And being; greatly enraged on the destruction of that elephant the highly powerful Rakshasa dashed forward to face the enemy. That one of quick movements took up his dagger and armour and viling, approached Sugriva. And beholding his movement Sugriva took up a huge crag resembling a cloud and hurled it against Birupaksha. That highly powerful leading Rakshasa, finding the crag about to fall, turned a little away and struck the monkey with his dagger. And being assailed with dagger by that powerful Rakshasa the monkey remained senseless for sometime on the ground. And rising up all on a sudden he, clenching his fist, struck that Rakshasa in the mighty encounter on his breast and got him down. Being struck with the fist the night-ranger Birupaksha greatly enraged cut down with his dagger Sugriva's armour and tumbled him down with his feet. And the monkey rising up again was about to deal him a blow, hard as a thunder-bolt, with a dreadful sound. And receding a little, he baffled its aim and returned one on Sugriva's breast. Finding his aim baffled and himself struck in return by the Rakshasa, Sugriva, the lord of monkeys, was excited with anger. And the monkey-chief was now on the look-out for an opportunity to strike Birupaksha. And immediately in anger he struck him down with a blow on his forehead. And being thus assailed with the fist resembling the thunder-bolt of Mahendra, he fell down on the earth bathed in a pool of blood. And blood gushed out of the person of Birupaksha like unto water issuing out of a fountain. And the monkeys beheld their enemy (Birupaksha) with his eyes disfigured in anger, bathed in a foam of blood, his whole body discoloured, trembling, rolling and crying piteously. Thereupon those two armies of the monkeys and Rakshasas, being ready to engage in the encounter, began to roar like unto two mighty oceans having their banks broken. And observing that highly powerful Rakshasa, of discoloured eyes, slain by the king of monkeys, the monkeys and Rakshasa forces engaged in fight and looked like the rising Ganges.

SECTION 98.

Like unto a pond in the summer both the armies became gradually reduced. Beholding his own army and Birupaksha slain, Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, was doubly excited with ire. And observing his army reduced and slain by the heroic (monkeys) he perceived ill omens in the fight and was accordingly pained at heart. And he addressed Mahodara, who was near him, saying, "O thou of great arms, all my hopes of success are now centered in thee. Do thou slay the enemy's force, O hero, and display thy prowess. Now hath come the time of returning the favours of thy master. Do thou fight bravely". Being thus accosted that Rakshasa-chief Mahodara, saying "so be it" entered the enemy's army like unto a fly entering into a flame. Excited by his master's command and empowered by his own prowess that (Rakshasa) gifted with great strength, began to assail the monkeys. And the highly powerful monkeys too taking up huge crags dashed against the dreadful army of the enemies and crushed all the Rakshasas. And Mahodara, greatly angered, severed in that mighty encounter, with his arrows feathered in gold, the hands, feet and thighs of the monkeys. Then the monkeys, in fear of the Rakshasas, fled away to different quarters and some sought shelter of Sugriva. And beholding his powerful monkey force thus assailed in the conflict, Sugriva dashed forward and fronted Mahodara. And taking up a huge and dreadful crag resembling a mountain, the monkey-king hurled it with great vehemence to slay him. Thereupon finding that crag about to fall, Mahodara fearlessly severed it with his arrows. And being sundered into a thousand pieces by the arrow of that Rakshasa, it fell down on the earth like unto a band of vultures. And beholding that crag thus severed, Sugriva was beside himself with ire; and uplifting a sala tree hurled it: and the heroic Rakshasa, the slayer of enemy's force, severed it into several pieces with his arrows. Thereupon excited with wrath he saw a parigha on the ground. And hurling that flaming parigha and displaying his (light-handedness) he struck his excellent horse therewith. And having his horse slain, that hero—the Rakshasa Mahodara, ascended his car, and in great anger took up his club. Those two heroes, with club and parighain their hands, engaged in battle, roaring like two bulls or clouds accompanied with lightning. Thereupon the night-ranger Mahodara, inflamed with ire, hurled at Sugriva, the club flaming like the Sun. And beholding that dreadful club about to fall the highly powerful Sugriva—the lord of monkeys, uplifting his parigha struck it therewith. And the parigha, being sundered, fell quickly down on the earth. Thereupon the effulgent Sugriva picked up from the ground a musala made of iron and ornamented with gold. Taking that musala up he hurled it at the Rakshasa and who again hurled a club; and both of them being severed fell down on the earth. Having their weapons baffled thus, those two heroes, gifted with great prowess and effulgence and resembling the burning fire, were ready to interchange blows. They, emitting roars again and again, struck each other down on the earth with their clenched fists. And rising up speedily they again assailed each other. Thus those two heroes, unsubdued, struck each other with their arms. Thereupon both of them, highly proficient in fighting with arms, were greatly exhausted. Thereupon they took up daggers. And uplifting them, (those two heroes) with their persons trembling in ire, proficient in fighting and skilled in the use of weapons, dashed on roaring. And both of them enraged with each other and anxious to score success, moving in a circle on each other's right side, addressed themselves for action. Thereupon the vicious-minded, heroic Mahodara, gifted with great vehemence and proud of his own heroism, flung his dagger at (the monkey's) armour. And as he was about to extricate his dagger from the armour, that foremost of monkeys severed with his dagger that Rakshasa's head with helmet and kundalas. And beholding the Rakshasa-chief fall down on the earth with his head off, his forces fled away from the field. And slaying him that monkey-chief, delighted, began to roar along with other monkeys. There-upon the Ten-necked one became highly enraged and Raghava greatly delighted. And all the Rakshasas, with their hearts broken and countenances rendered poorly and stricken with fear fled away to different quarters. Slaying and striking down on earth Mahodara like unto a portion of a mighty hill severed, that son of the Sun appeared resplendent in his own effulgence and became irrepressible like unto the Sun. And winning victory in the action that lord of monkeys was espied by the celestials, Siddhas and Yakshas along with all creatures on earth, having their eyes flushed with joy.

SECTION 99.

Mahodara being thus slain by Sugriva, the highly powerful Mahaparshwa, having his eyes reddened with ire, looked towards him. And the Rakshasa, with his weapons, assailed the dreadful army of Angada as well as the leading monkeys. The Rakshasa severed the heads from the bodies of the monkeys like unto the wind throwing away the fruits from trees. And he cut off, with his arrows, the arms of some and some were deprived of their sides. The monkeys were thus assailed by Mahaparshwa with a shower of shafts. All the monkeys were thus stricken with grief and rendered senseless. And hearing of the anxiety of his own army thus assailed by the Rakshasa, Angada, gifted with great vehemence, taking his parigha made of iron and resembling the rays of the sun, dashed on like the rising deep during the lunar half of a month. And that foremost of monkeys encountered Mahaparshwa, who, thus struck by the monkey, became insensible with his charioteer and fell down on the earth. Thereupon leaped on the battle-field the highly powerful and effulgent lord of bears, having the hue of red collyrium, with his army resembling the cloud. And excited with ire, he, taking up a huge crag resembling the summit of a mountain, speedily struck down his horses and broke down his car. And regaining his senses in a moment the highly powerful Mahaparshwa, again assailed Angada with many arrows. He struck Jambavan, the lord of bears, on his breast with three arrows and assailed Gabaksha with many shafts. And beholding Jambavan and Gabaksha overwhelmed with arrows, Angada, beside himself with ire, took up a dreadful parigha. And holding with two hands that parigha made of iron and bright like the rays of the sun, Angada, the son of Vali, with his eyes reddened in wrath, hurled it at Mahaparshwa who was stationed at a distance, to slay him. And being hurled by the highly powerful (Angada) the parigha, struck down from his hands the bow with arrows and the helmet of the Rakshasa. And approaching him vehemently, Vali's son, gifted with great prowess, in anger, struck him, with clenched fist, on his ears having excellent kundalas. There-upon Mahaparshwa gifted with great vehemence and effulgence, highly angered, took up in his hands a huge parashivadha, sharpened with oil, bright and hard as iron and discharged it at Vali's son, and struck him therewith on his left shoulder. And Angada baffled that parashwadha. Thereupon that hero, powerful like his own father, clenching his fist, hard as thunder-bolt and resembling even Indra's acani, dealt it, in great anger, upon the Raksha's breast. And being struck with that fist the Rakshasa's breast was shattered and lie fell down on earth. He falling down on earth slain, his soldiers were greatly sorry and Ravana attained to an excess of ire in the conflict. The noise set up by the delighted monkeys like unto a dreadful leonine roar, as if rending the city of Lanka abounding in edifices and gates, resembled the great roar of the celestials along with Indra. And hearing the noise of the celestials and monkeys, the lord of Rakshasas, the enemy of the gods, in great anger, again proceeded towards the battle field.

SECTION 100.

Beholding Mahodara, Mahaparsha and the highly powerful Birupaksha slain in the encounter Ravana attained to an excess of ire. And ordering his charioteer to hurry on he gave vent to the following words—"All my courtiers have been slain and my city is shut up—I shall remove my grief consequent on all these by slaying Rama and Lakshmana. I shall destroy Rama-like tree in the conflict whose flower is Sita and whose branches are Sugriva, Jambavan, Kumuda, Nala, Divida, Mainda, Angada, Gandhamadana, Hanuman and all other leading monkeys". And resounding the ten quarters with the sound of his chariot wheels that mighty car-warrior proceeded quickly towards Raghava. With that sound all quarters were filled, and the earth, with rivers, mountains and forests shook and all the lions, deer and birds were terrified. He created a dreadful darkness with the discharge of his sharp weapons and burnt down the monkeys who fled away to different directions. Dust was raised on the ground by those monkeys assailed and flying to various directions. They were unable to withstand the power of that weapon made by Brahma himself. Beholding his own army, assailed and cut into hundred pieces by the excellent weapons of Ravana, Raghava dashed forward. And assailing the monkey-host, that foremost of Rakshasas espied Rama, unconquered, at a distance with his brother Lakshmana like unto Basava with Vishnu, holding a huge bow like one painted on the sky, having expansive eyes like lotus-petals, long arms, and always subduing the enemies. Beholding the monkeys slain in the encounter and Ravana approach, the heroic and highly powerful Rama, with Sumitra's son in his company, delightedly set arrows on his bow. And as if rending the whole earth with that dreadful sound he began to draw the string of his excellent bow. With the sound of Ravana's arrows and the twang of Rama's bow hundreds of Rakshasas fell down on earth. And coming within the range of the arrows of those two princes, Ravana appeared like Rahu in presence of the sun and the moon. And desiring to fight with him first Lakshmana setting sharp arrows on his bow, discharged shafts at him resembling the flame of fire. And the highly powerful Ravana too with his arrows stopped the course of those shafts in the sky as soon as they were discharged by Lakshmana, skilled in archery. And displaying his light-handedness, he, with one arrow, severed Lakshmana's one, with three his three and with ten his ten. Surpassing thus the son of Sumitra, Ravana, ever victorious in battle, confronted Rama in the encounter, standing like another hill. And approaching Raghava, Ravana the lord of Rakshasas, with his eyes reddened in ire, began to make a shower of arrows. Thereupon beholding the arrows shot off Ravana's bow fall on all sides, Rama speedily took up a valla [An arrow with a crescent shaped head.]. And Raghava sundered with his sharp valla his dreadful arrows flaming and resembling poisonous serpents. With various sharpened arrows Raghava assailed Ravana, and he again assailed Rama in return. And forming a circle, they passed each other by the right side. Uprooting the earth with the vehemence of their arrows, irrepressible by each other, fighting equally discharging arrows, they looked dreadful like Death himself—and created terror in all creatures. The sky was filled with their various weapons, like unto clouds in the rainy season accompanied with lightning. And the welkin appeared full of windows with that shower of arrows, sharpened, shot with great vehemence and winged like vultures. The earth was stricken with darkness caused by these arrows like unto clouds appearing after sunset. There took place a dreadful conflict between them, desiring to slay each other, having their prowess unknown and fighting like Vitra and Vasava. Both of them were proficient in archery, skilled in the art of conflict and foremost of those conversant with the use of weapons. And they began to veer round the battle-field. And wherever they went, there appeared arrows like unto waves of the deep roused by the winds. Then that destroyer of creatures—Ravana—with his hand engaged in discharging shafts, shot at Rama's forehead a network of arrows. And thereat Rama on his head bore that shower of shafts shot from his terrific bow,

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having the lustre of the petals of blue lotuses; nor did he experience any pain, And then reciting a formula, the exceedingly energetic Rama endowed with prowess, wrought up with wrath, engaged in incessantly shooting his shafts, taking his Raudra weapon and again seizing his arrows, discharged them at that lord of Rakshasas. And alighting at the impenetrable hail of the Kakshasa-chief, resembling a mass of mighty clouds, those arrows did not then occasion him any pain. Again Rama skilled in all weapons, from a powerful weapon discharged arrows at the sovereign of the Rakshasas mounted on his car. And piercing Ravana, those like unto five-hooded serpents, resisted by him, entered the earth, hissing. Having baffled Raghava's weapon, Ravana, transported with passion, took up a dreadful Asura weapon; and discharged sharpened shafts having the faces of lions and tigers, and the faces of kankas and kokas [A lizard.] and the faces of vultures and hawks, and the faces of jackals, and the faces of wolves,—with gaping mouths,—and terrific of aspect; five-mouthed and red-hued. And that highly powerful one, enraged, sighing like a snake, by his power of illusion shot at Rama other keen arrows having the faces of mules and the faces of bears, and the faces of dogs and cocks, and the faces of makaras [A marine carnivour.] and venomous serpents,—these as well as others. Covered with that Asura weapon, that foremost of the Raghus, himself resembling fire, discharged an exceedingly vigorous weapon informed with fire; and shot various shafts having faces filled with live flames, and faces like unto suns,—and hued like unto planets and stars,—and furnished with faces resembling mighty meteors, or resembling tongues of lightning. And those terrific shafts of Ravana, resisted by Raghava's weapon, were annihilated in the sky, and destroyed (monkeys) by thousands. And seeing that weapon (of Ravana) destroyed by Rama of untiring deeds, all those heroes, the monkeys—headed by Sugriva, capable of wearing forms at will, shouted, surrounding Raghava. And the high-souled son of Dacaratha—Raghava—having by his might destroyed that weapon discharged by Ravana's arms, was delighted; and the monkey-chiefs, filled with glee, began to emit shouts.

SECTION 101.

On that weapon of his having been baffled, Ravana—lord of the Rakshasas—was fired with double fury, and the highly effulgent Ravana from wrath set about discharging at Raghava a dreadful Raudra weapon, which had been conferred on him by Maya. And from his bow began to issue forth in large numbers darts and maces and clubs, flaming and having the might of thunder; and various kinds of sharp clubs and daggers and nooses and flaming thunderbolts began to descend like unto the winds at the universal tumbling. And thereupon the graceful and exceedingly effulgent Raghava—foremost of those accomplished in noble arms—resisted that weapon with a powerful Gandharva weapon. On that weapon being baffled by the high-souled Raghava, Ravana, with his eyes rendered coppery with passion, took up a Solar weapon. Thereupon from the bow of the wondrous vehement and intelligent Ten-necked one rushed out discuses flaming and mighty. And the firmament all round blazed up with those impendent (arms), as blaze up the cardinal quarters on the Sun and the Moon and the planets dropping down. Thereat Raghava in the van of that army by means of vollies of shafts cut off Ravana's wonderful weapons and discuses. And seeing that weapon destroyed, Ravana—lord of Rakshasas—with ten arrows pierced Rama all through his vitals. And pierced by Ravana with those ten shafts discharged from his mighty bow, the exceedingly powerful Raghava did not so much shake. Then Raghava—victor in fight—waxing wondrous wroth, with countless shafts pierced Ravana all over his person. In the meanwhile Raghava's younger brother, the mighty Lakshmana—destroyer of foes—growing enraged, took up seven arrows. And with those highly impetuous arrows that exceedingly effulgent one severed the human-headed standard of Ravana. And the mighty and graceful Lakshmana with a shaft cut off the head of the Nairita's charioteer, illumined with ear-rings. And then with five sharpened arrows Lakshmana severed the bow of the Rakshasa-chief, resembling the trunk of an elephant. And Bibhishana, bounding up, with his mace despatched Ravana's excellent steeds, resembling hills or dark-blue clouds. Thereat, leaping down from his mighty car, whose horses had been slain, Ravana was fired with high wrath against his brother. And the powerful lord of Rakshasas endowed with immense strength, hurled at Bibhishana a dart resembling the flaming thunder-bolt. And ere the dart had reached its destination, Lakshmana severed it with three shafts; and thereat in that mighty conflict there arose a mighty uproar from the monkeys. And the dart dight with networks of gold fell down in three fragments, as droppeth a mighty meteor from the firmament, flaming and shooting out scintillations. Then (Ravana) took up a huge dart, glowing in its own energy, celebrated as being irrisistible, and incapable of being borne by the Destroyer himself. On being whirled by the impious and strong Ravana, the dart possessed of exceeding energy, flamed up. In the meanwhile the heroic Lakshmana swiftly came to the side of Bibhishana, whose life was placed in peril. And in order to save him, that hero—Lakshmana—drawing his bow, covered the dart-handed Ravana with showers of shafts. On being covered with arrows shot by that high souled one, Ravana, with his prowess baffled, made up his mind to let (his brother) go. And seeing his brother delivered by Lakshmana, Ravana, facing Lakshmana, spoke these words,—"O thou proud of thy prowess! as Bibhishana hath this wise been delivered by thee, passing by the Rakshasa, this dart, discharged from my bludgeon of an arm, will depart, depriving thee of thy life". Having said this, Ravana, waxing furiously enraged, discharged at Lakshmana that dart forged by Maya with his power of illusion, furnished with eight bells, having mighty sounds,—incapable of being resisted,—competent to finish foes; and flaming in energy,—and shouted simultaneously. And hurled with terrific force, the dart sending sounds resembling that of Vajra or the thunder-bolt, vehemently alighted at Lakshmana in that encounter. Thereat, as the dart descended, Raghava addressed it, saying,—"Peace be to Lakshmana! Be thou frustrated; and let thy energy go out of thee". But the dart discharged in the encounter by the enraged Ravana, resembling a venomous serpent, dived into the dauntless and heroic Lakshmana; and (the dart) exceedingly splendid and blazing, possessed of dreadful impetuosity; and resembling the tongue of the king of serpents, smote Lakshmana in his mighty chest. And with his breast riven by the dart, driving deep through the force of Ravana, Lakshmana fell down to the earth. And Raghava, standing by, seeing Lakshmana in that plight, had his heart overspread with sorrow. But reflecting only for a while, he, with his eyes surcharged with tears, was filled with greater martial ardour, and resembled the fire risen at the universal dissolution. Then thinking,—'This is not the time to indulge in grief;' he, gazing at Lakshmana, entered into a terrific encounter, resolved upon slaying Ravana, laying under contribution his dearest energies. And Rama saw Lakshmana with his chest riven by the dart in the mighty conflict, lying drenched in blood, and resembling a hill with serpents present in it—And in spite of all their efforts, the foremost monkeys failed to extract the dart which had been hurled by the powerful Ravana.—And, further, they were (all the while) sore assailed with showers of shafts by the foremost Rakshasa of them all. The dart, having pierced Sumitra's son, had entered the earth. In the encounter the mighty Rama, grasping the dreadful dart with his hands, extracted the same and wrathfully snapped it. As he (Rama) was engaged in pulling the dart out, the mighty Ravana kept pouring marrow-piercing shafts all over his person. Thinking nothing of those arrows, Rama, embracing Lakshmana, spoke unto Hanuman and the mighty monkey, Sugriva,—"Ye foremost of monkeys, do ye stay here, surrounding Lakshmana. The opportunity for putting forth my prowess which I had sought, is present. I shall slay this wicked-minded Ten-necked one, who is resolved to pursue the course of unrighteousness. Even as on the expiry of summer the Chataka is eager for the sight of clouds, I had long been eager to obtain a sight of (Ravana.) Ye monkeys, this, I swear unto you,—this very hour not long after ye will see this world without Ravana or Rama. To-day having slain Ravana in battle, I shall renounce all sorrow arising from the loss of my kingdom, from my sojourn in the woods, from my wandering in Dandaka, from the ravishment of Vaidehi, from encounter with the Rakshas,—all the terrible evils that I have suffered, and all the troubles resembling hell. He for whom I have brought over the monkey-forces, made Sugriva king, slaying Vali in battle, for whom I have crossed the ocean and constructed a bridge over the deep—the same hath been come at by me in conflict, and the same hath come within the range of my vision.—And having come within my ken, Ravana will not live, even as one coming within ken of a serpent of poisonous sight, doth not live; or even as a serpent doth not live, coming within ken of Vinata's son. Do ye, ye irrepressible ones, ye foremost of monkeys, seated at the brow of the mountain, behold the battle between me and Ravana. To day let the three worlds with the Gandharvas, and the Siddhas, and the Chiranas, see that for which Rama is Rama. To-day I shall do a deed of which the worlds with the mobile and the immobile and the gods, shall speak as long as the Earth sustaineth (creatures.)" Having delivered himself thus, Rama, concentrating his attention, began to charge the Ten-necked one in encounter with whetted arrows decked with burnished gold. And in the same way Ravana showered on Rama great narachas and clubs, even as clouds pour down showers. And there arose a tremendous uproar of mighty arrows discharged by Rama and Ravana, smiting one another. And the shafts shot by Rama and Ravana, severed and scattered, with flaming heads dropped to the Earth. And the mighty twangs of the bow-strings of both, terrifying all creatures, were wonderful to behold. And then even as clouds disperse on being trampled by the Winds, Ravana, covered with showers of arrowy networks by that high souled one and reduced to sore straits by that one (Rama) of a glowing bow, fled away in fear.

SECTION 102.

Seeing the heroic Lakshmana brought down by the dart discharged by the powerful Ravana, and lying drenched in blood, he (Rama) after having fought furiously with the wicked-minded Ravana,—and having showered vollies of shafts, addressed Sushena, saying,—"This heroic Lakshmana brought down to the earth by the prowess of Ravana, lieth like a serpent, enhancing my sorrow. Seeing this hero, dearer to me than life, what power have I, with my soul overwhelmed with dole, to fight? If this brother of mine graced with auspicious marks, delighting in battle, breathe his last, what shall life avail me or happiness? My prowess is ashamed; my bow falleth off from my hand; my arrows droop; my sight is dimmed with tears; my limbs weaken as do those of men in a dream; thought racks me; and I even desire death". Seeing his brother wounded by the wicked-minded Ravana, crying in preternatural accents, and sore stricken in his vitals, (Rama) overcome by a mighty sorrow, lamented with his senses wildered. "Seeing my brother, Lakshmana, wounded, and lying over the dust of the field, even victory, O hero, doth not seem to me sweet. If the Moon is hid from the sight, whom doth he then delight? What have I to do with battle? What have I to do with life? I have no more to do anything with fighting, seeing that this Lakshmana wounded, lieth in the field of battle. As this highly effulgent one had followed me into the forest, so will I in the same way follow him to the abode of Yama. Ever seeking my welfare and ever devoted to me, he hath been reduced to this pass by Rakshasas fighting in crooked ways. In land after land one meets with wives, in land after land one meets with friends, but country find I none where a uterine brother may be met with. What, O irrepressible one, shall I do with the kingdom without my Lakshmana? And what shall I say unto mother Sumitra, fond of her son? And I shall never be able to bear the reproach Sumitra shall cast upon me. And what shall I say unto Kaucalya, and what unto mother Kaikeyi? And what shall I say unto Bharata, and what unto the exceedingly powerful Satrughna? 'Thou hadst gone to the woods with him. Why then dost thou come (back) without him?' 'Tis better (for me) to renounce my life here, instead of bearing the censure of friends. What a sin had I committed in another birth, seeing that my virtuous brother, staying before me, hath been slain? Ah, my brother! Thou best of men! O master, who wert the foremost of heroes! Why, forsaking me, dost thou repair to the other regions. Wherefore, brother, dost thou not speak to me, who am lamenting? Get up. See! Why dost thou lie down? Look on me with thine eyes. O mighty-armed one, in the woods and mountains thou didst ever use to cheer me, tried by grief and pining in despondency, with my mind overwhelmed (with woe)". As Rama was speaking thus with his senses overwhelmed with emotion, Sushena, soothing him, spoke these pregnant words,—"O foremost of men, cast off this train of thought tending to overwhelm thy understanding,—this anxiety giving birth to grief, and resembling the shafts of foes in the van of the embattled forces. Lakshmana enhancer of auspiciousness is not dead. His face is not distorted or blackened. Do thou look at his countenance, which is beautifully bright and cheerful. His hands have palms resembling lotus-petals, and his eyes are pleasant. O king, one dead doth not look thus. (Therefore), O hero, do not grieve. O subduer of enemies, this one is instinct with life. As he is lying down on the ground, stretched at length, his heart, O hero, trembling momentarily, testifieth to his respiration". Having spoken thus unto Raghava, the highly wise Sushena thus addressed the mighty monkey, Hanuman, saying,—"O placid one, hieing hence to the mountain, Mahodaya, which, O hero, had formerly been mentioned unto thee by Jambavan, bring hither the mighty drug sprung at its right summit—Vicalyakarani by name, and Savarnyakarani [Lit.—that which restores the former complexion.], and Sanjivakarani, O hero, and the potent medicine—Sandhani. Do thou bring (these) in order that the hero—Lakshmana—may be revived". Having been thus instructed, Hanuman, repairing to the Medicinal mountain, was wrought up with anxiety, not knowing the drugs. And then the thought sprang up in the mind of the Wind-god's offspring of immeasurable prowess,—"I shall go, even taking this (entire) summit of the mountain. In this very summit must that delightful drug have sprung. This I infer, inasmuch as Sushena had forsooth said so. If I fail to take Vicalyakarani, I shall come by disgrace,—and if I spend much time (in thought), that would be fraught with evil". Having reflected thus, the exceedingly powerful Hanuman, foremost of monkeys,—swiftly drawing up to that best of mountains, and giving three shakes to the mountain filled with various flowering trees,—raised it up with his hands. And taking that summit of the mountain resembling dark-blue clouds charged with rain, Hanuman from the earth bounded up into the sky. And arriving (at his quarters), that wondrous vehement one, putting down the mountain-peak, and reposing for a while, spoke unto Sushena,—"I did not find the drug, O best of monkeys; and therefore have I brought this entire summit of the mountain". When the Wind-god's offspring had spoken thus, that foremost of monkeys—Sushena—praising him, uprooted the herb and

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secured it. Seeing Hanuman's feat, incapable of being done by even the celestials, the choicest of the monkeys were amazed. Then crushing the healing herb, that best of monkeys—the exceedingly effulgent Sushena, made Lakshmana smell the same. And thereupon the wounded Lakshmana,—slayer of hostile heroes—smelling it, cured of his wound and ailments, speedily rose up from the ground. Seeing Lakshmana rise up from the earth, the monkeys, exceedingly rejoiced, honouring Lakshmana, exclaimed, "Excellent! Excellent!" "Come!" said that slayer of hostile heroes—Rama—and with his eyes filled with tears, he deeply embraced Lakshmana. And having embraced Sumitra's son, Raghava then addressed him, saying—"By good fortune it is that, O hero, I see thee returned from (the mansion of) Death.—Verily my life, or Sita, or Victory is worthless (without thee). And thou being dead, what is my life worth?" When the high-souled Raghava had spoken thus, Lakshmana, aggrieved on account of the words (of Raghava) expressive of infirmity of purpose, said,—"Having bound thyself by that vow, it doth not, O thou having truth for prowess, behove thee to speak like one fickle and feeble. Those speaking the truth, never falsify their promise: the mark of a great one is even observance of vow. O sinless one, do not suffer thyself to be overcome by despair on my account. Do thou to-day by slaying Ravana, make thy promise good. Thy foe coming within the sway of thy shafts, will not hence, living, even like a mighty elephant coming before a sharp-toothed roaring lion. I wish the speedy destruction of this impious one, ere the maker of day, having performed his work, has ascended the Setting-hill. If thou wishest to slay Ravana in battle, if thou desirest to recover the princess, then, O noble one, O hero, to-day speedily set about what I say".

SECTION 103.

Hearing the words uttered by Lakshmana, that slayer of hostile heroes—Raghava—endued with prowess, taking his bow, set shafts on it, and in the brunt of battle began to discharge dreadful arrows at Ravana. And mounted on another car, Ravana—lord of Rakshasas—rushed against Kakutstha, even as Swarbhanu rusheth against the Sun. And even as a mass of clouds poureth down torrents on a mighty mountain, the Ten-necked one, mounted on his car, smote Rama with shafts resembling thunder-bolts. And in the encounter Rama, concentrating his thoughts, showered on the Ten-necked one arrows embellished with gold and looking like living fire. And celestials and Gandharvas and Kinnaras declared that there had been no other battle like unto the encounter of Rama stationed on the ground and the Raksha mounted on his car. Then the foremost of celestials—Sakra—hearing their ambrosial speech, summoning Matali, said,—"Taking my car, hie to the best of the Raghus. And reaching the earth, do thou, welcoming (him), bring about great good unto the gods". Thus accosted by the sovereign of the celestials, Matali—celestial charioteer—bending down his head, addressed that celestial, saying,—"Speedily shall I go, O lord of the celestials; and I shall also do the office of a charioteer (unto Raghava)". Then yoking with steeds that best of cars, curiously wrought with gold; adorned with hundreds of small bells; resembling the Sun new risen; having its pole studded with lapises; yoked with excellent horses caparisoned in gold; furnished with white chowris,—drawn by steeds resembling the Sun; decked with golden net-works,—and provided with a golden standard,—the graceful car of the sovereign of the celestials,—Matali, commanded by the king of the immortals, ascending the car, went out of the celestial regions and came to Kakutstha. And with his hand holding the reins, the charioteer of the thousand-eyed (Deity) with joined hands addressed Rama, saying,—"O Kakutstha, in order that thou mayst obtain the victory, the thousand-eyed (god) hath sent thee this car. And, O exceedingly powerful one! O graceful (hero)! thou that slayest thy foes! this is the redoubtable bow of Indra,—and this is the mail resembling fire,—and these are the arrows looking like the very Sun; and this is the dart shining and fraught with fair fortune. Ascend thou this car, O hero. Slay the Rakshasa—Ravana, with me as thy charioteer, even as the lord of the celestials slayeth Danavas". Thus addressed, Rama, going round the car and saluting it, ascended the same, illumining the worlds with his splendour. And the encounter that took place between the two cars with the mighty-armed Rama (on one side), and the Raksha—Ravana—(on the other), was wonderful to behold. And Raghava highly proficient in weapons with a Gandharva weapon resisted the Gandharva weapon of the Rakshasa king, and with a celestial weapon, his celestial weapon. And then that lord of Rakshasas—the night-ranger—fired with high rage, again discharged an exceedingly dreadful Rakshasa weapon. And the gold-decked shafts shot from Ravana's bow, becoming furiously venomous serpents, covered Kakutstha. And vomitting living flames, they of terrific aspect, having flaming faces, showered over Rama with gaping mouths. And those flaming venomous serpents, having the feel of Vasuki himself, covered all sides and enveloped all quarters. And seeing those serpents descending in the encounter, Rama employed a dreadful Garuda weapon. And discharged from Raghava's bow, those arrows plated with gold at the feathered parts, and furnished with the splendour of peacocks, becoming golden birds—began to range (the field of battle) as the enemies of the serpents. And the shafts of Rama capable of wearing forms at will, turned into birds, destroyed all the exceedingly swift-coursing arrows having the forms of serpents. On his weapon having been baffled, Ravana—lord of Rakshasas—waxing Wroth, poured tremendous showers of shafts on Rama. And smiting Rama of untiring deeds with thousands of shafts, (Ravana) pierced Matali with vollies of arrows. And with an arrow, Ravana severed the standard; and having brought down the golden standard on the floor of the car, Ravana wounded even Indra's steeds with a net-work of arrows. And seeing Rama hard pressed, celestials and Gandharvas, and Charanas along with Danavas, and Siddhas, and the supreme saints were overcome with sadness; and the foremost monkeys together with Bihhishana were aggrieved. And seeing a Moon of Rama Chandra in the grasp of a Rahu of Ravana, that bringer of evil unto creatures—Budha—stood, assailing the Prayapatya star—Rohini—beloved of the Moon. And the enraged Ocean, heaving with smoking surges, and flaming as it were, swelled up, seeming to the touch the Sun. And the Sun was blackened and assumed a stern aspect, with his rays dimmed. And he was seen with a headless trunk on his lap, and he was in conjunction with a comet. And that star of the Kocalas, relating to the deities—Indra and Agni—Angaraka—stood in the sky, attacking Vicakha. And the Ten-necked one, having ten faces and twenty arms, equipped with his bow, looked like the mountain—Mainaka. And Rama reduced to sore straits by the Ten-necked Raksha, could not discharge his arrows in the conflict. And then the enraged Rama with his eyes slightly red, flew into a tremendous passion, as if burning up the Rakshasas. Seeing the face of the enraged Rama endued with understanding, all the creatures were overwhelmed with fear and the Earth herself shook. And mountains abounding with lions and tigers began to tremble, and trees to shiver. And even the deep—lord of streams—was wrought up wondrously. And rough and terrific clouds in the sky sent forth fierce roars. And stormy clouds rumbling went about the heavens. And seeing Rama wrought up with a mighty passion, and the fearful disastrous omens, all creatures were possessed by fright and Ravana was struck with dismay. And then stationed in the sky, celestials and Gandharvas and mighty serpents and saints and Danavas and Daityas and those related to Garuda—fowls—beheld that conflict like unto the universal tumbling, as the two heroes fought on with various dire arms. And as they looked on the mighty encounter, the celestials and the Asuras, who had come to the conflict, from feeling of regard cheerfully spoke (these words). And the Asuras staying there said unto the Ten-necked one, 'Be victorious!' and the celestials again and again said unto Rama, 'Be victorious!' In the meantime, the impious Ravana, desirous of slaying Raghava, from wrath took up a mighty weapon, fraught with the essence of the thunder-bolt; sending terrible sounds; capable of destroying all foes,—furnished with forks resembling mountain-peaks; tending to strike terror unto mind and sight; sharp-pointed, resembling the smoking fire risen at the hour of universal dissolution; exceedingly terrible; irrisistible (in battle); unbearable even by the Destroyer,—the terror of all creatures—terrific; and competent to rive (all things). Flaming up with wrath, Ravana took this dart. And fired with furious wrath, that powerful one took the dart in the encounter, surrounded in that contest by many heroic Rakshasas. And uplifting (the dart), the huge-bodied Ravana, with his eyes reddened in passion, emitted mighty roars. And the shouts of the Rakshasa sovereign made the earth and the sky and the cardinal quarters and all sides tremble. And at the roars of that wicked-minded and huge-bodied one, all creatures were struck with terror, and the sea was vexed. And the exceedingly energetic Ravana, taking that mighty dart, and sending up furious shouts, addressed Rama in a harsh speech, saying,—"O Rama, I in wrath uplift this dart having the strength of the levin. This will utterly deprive of life thee who art assisted by thy brother. O thou that delightest in battle, to-day swiftly slaying thee, I shall make thee even with those heroic Rakshas slain in the van of the forces. Stay now. O Raghava, thee shall I slay with this dart". Saying this, the lord of the Rakshasas hurled the dart. And discharged from Ravana's hand, (the dart), surrounded with garlands of lightning, furnished with eight bells, sending mighty roars,—rising to the sky, looked exceedingly splendid. Seeing the dart, flaming and of terrific aspect, Raghu's son—Rama—endowed with prowess, drawing his bow, discharged arrows. And with vollies of shafts Raghava resisted the descending (dart), even as Vasava extinguished the fire of doomsday with his showers. Then even as a flame consumeth insects, the mighty dart of Ravana burnt up those shafts shot from the bow of Rama. Seeing those shafts reduced to ashes and crushed on coming in contact with the dart, as they were coursing in the sky, Raghava was transported with passion. And then waxing wondrous wroth,—Raghu's son—Raghava—took up a javelin, liked by Vasava himself, brought by Matali. And on being wielded by that strong one, the javelin, resonant with bells, made the welkin blaze up, like a burning meteor on the occasion of universal rack. And when hurled, it alighted on that same dart of the Rakshasa-chief. And thereat, with its splendour lost, the mighty dart, riven, dropped (to the earth.) Then Rama, shooting straight-speeding arrows, pierced his (Ravana's) exceedingly fleet steeds. And then he pierced Ravana in the chest with whetted arrows. And the energetic Raghava hit (Ravana) in the temples with three feathered shafts. And thereat with all his limbs pierced (with arrows), and his body laved in blood, the lord of Rakshasas furnished with many limbs, looked like a flowering Acoka. And with his person pierced with the shafts of Rama, the lord of night-rangers having his body drenched with blood, was stricken with sadness in the midst of his forces,—and was also overwhelmed with terrific wrath.

SECTION 104.

On being greatly harassed by Kakutstha in anger, Ravana, delighting in battle, came under the sway of a towering passion. And with his eyes aglow, that powerful one from wrath and fury assailed Raghava in mighty encounter. And even as clouds pour down from the sky on a pool, Ravana showered thousands of arrows on Raghava. And covered with vollies of shafts discharged from (Ravana's) bow in the conflict, Kakutstha like unto a mighty mountain did not shake. And that one endowed with prowess stood in the field, resisting those networks of arrows, and took up shafts resembling the rays of the Sun. Then the fleet-handed night-ranger, fired with rage, discharged a thousand arrows at the chest of the high-souled Raghava.—And thereat in that encounter Lakshmana's elder brother, with his body bathed in Mood, appeared like a mighty Kincuka tree in a forest. And with his ire aroused by the blows he received, the exceedingly energetic Kakutstha took up arrows resembling the Sun risen at the time of the universal dissolution. And in the darkness spread by the arrows (discharged), Rama and Ravana both fired with wrath could not be discovered of each other. Then that hero—Dacaratha's son—Rama, overcome with wrath, addressed Ravana, laughing, in a harsh speech, saying,—"Thou vilest of Rakshasas, in consequence of having through lack of sense carried off my wife from Janasthana and brought her under thy subjection, thou hast been deprived of thy prowess. Having forcibly carried away Vaidehi staying in that mighty forest, forlorn and without me, thou thinkest—'I am a hero.' Outraging the helpless wives of others,—doing this craven deed, thou thinkest—'I am a hero.' O thou having thy dignity destroyed! shameless wight! O thou of volatile character, having through thy violence brought destruction on thyself, thou thinkest,—'I am a hero.' A great and' famous act hath been performed by thee,—a hero, and the brother of the Bestower of riches, surrounded with thy forces! To-day receive the mighty fruit of that infamous act done through pride, productive of evil ['here and in the next world.']. O wicked-minded one, thou thinkest of thyself—'I am a hero;' but thou that hast taken away Sita like a thief, hast no feeling of shame. Hadst thou forcibly outraged Sita in my very presence, thou, slain by my shafts, wouldst have seen thy brother—Khara. By luck, O thou of an evil soul, thou hast come within the range of my vision. To-day by means of sharp shafts shall I bring thee to death's door. To-day beasts of pray will drag thy head having burning ear-rings, severed by my shafts and covered with the dust of the battle-field. O Ravana, vultures will alight on thy breast, as thou wilt lie low on the ground; and, athirst, they will drink the blood gushing out from thy wounds. To-day fowls of the air will keep pulling at thee pierced with my shafts, and lying lifeless, as birds do serpents". Having spoken thus, that slayer of foes—Rama—showered arrows on the lord of Rakshasas, staying before. And the prowess and strength and spirits and force of arms of Rama burning for the destruction of his foe, were doubled. And all the Weapons [i.e. the presiding deities of them.] presented themselves before that one cognisant of self; and the fleet-handedness of that exceedingly powerful one increased immensely from exhilaration of spirits. Seeing all these auspicious omens coming of themselves, Rama, finisher of Rakshasas, set about smiting his foe more energetically than ever. And assailed with stones by the monkeys and showers of shafts by Raghava, the Ten-necked one felt his heart undergoing a revolution. And when through the stupifaction of his inner self, he could not discharge any weapon, or draw his bow, or put forth his prowess, (Rama) did not persist in smiting him. And the shafts and various arms discharged by him betokened his death; and his last moments were present. And his charioteer, driving his car, perceiving this, calmly took the car away from the field of fight. And then, seeing the king shorn of prowess, and dropt, his charioteer, struck with fear, swiftly turned away his dreadful car having the clatter of clouds, and went away from the field of battle.

SECTION 105.

After gradually regaining his senses, Ravana, urged on by the force of the Finisher, getting into a furious passion, with his eyes reddened in wrath, addressed the charioteer,

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saying,—"O thou of perverse sense, disregarding me as devoid of prowess, and incompetent, and bereft of vigor,—as cowardly, light, nerveless and shorn of energy,—and as divorced by the power of illusion and debarred by arms,—thou actest on thine own understanding. Wherefore disregarding me, and not minding my purpose, hast thou taken away my car from before the presence of the enemy? O abject one! by thee have my long-earned renown and energy and prowess and credit been brought to naught. In the very sight of an enemy of renowned prowess, and one capable of being gratified with valorous deeds, hast thou made me, burning for battle, look as if I were a coward. As, O wicked-minded one, thou dost not even through heedlessness, take the car to the field of battle, I infer for certain that thou hast been bribed by the foe. The act that thou hast done, doth not appear as that of a friend seeking our welfare; but to-day thou hast acted like an enemy. If thou hast been maintained by me, if thou rememberest my merit, do thou swiftly turn the car before my enemy has departed". Thus admonished by him of slender sense, the charioteer possessed of intelligence, humbly spake onto Ravana words fraught with good,—"I am not afraid, nor stupified, nor have I been bribed by the foe, nor am I negligent. And I have not forgotten thy affection or thy good offices. And studious of thy welfare, I have saved thy fame; and with a mind over-flowing with affection I have done (unto thee) this unpalatable good. O mighty monarch, for this, thou shouldst not, like a frivolous and base one, criminate me that am ever engaged in what is good and dear unto thee. Listen! I shall render thee reason why I turned away from the field the car, rushing like a river when the sea is swelled up [On the ascension of the Moon.]. I knew that thou hadst been fatigued in consequence of thy mighty exertions in the fight. And I could not perceive that thy prowess then stood superior (to that of the foe). And the steeds of my car were worn out by carrying it; and they were battered, and helpless, and perspired like kine in a shower. And bad omens fast sprang up before us. And on these occurring, I perceived that things would go against us. O thou endowed with exceeding might, a charioteer should be conversant with season and place, with omens, and the expressions of emotions; as also with depression of spirits, exhilaration, and grief. And he should have a knowledge of low, level and uneven grounds, and the time for conflict, and he should be able to perceive the shortcomings of the enemy. And a charioteer mounted on a car, should know when to draw near an enemy, when to turn away from him; when to stay; and when to turn round from before the foe—all these (he should know). What I, for bringing respite unto thee as well as the horses of the car, have done by way of removing the terrific exhaustion, is proper. I did not, O hero, turn away the car of my own sheer will. What I have done, O lord, had been dictated by my affection for thee. Command me. What thou sayest, O destroyer of foes; I will do every way, O hero, with my whole soul". Thereat, well-pleased with the speech of the charioteer, Ravana, eager for encounter, after praising him in various ways, said,—"O charioteer, do thou swiftly take the car towards Raghava. Without slaying his foe in fight; Ravana turneth not away (from the field)". Speaking thus, Ravana—lord of Rakshasas—gave the charioteer on the car an excellent ornament for the hand. Hearing Ravana's words, the charioteer drove the car. And urged on by the speech of Ravana, the charioteer drove on the steeds,—and in a moment the mighty chariot of the Rakshasa chief appeared before Rama in the field of battle.

SECTION 106.

Then the revered Agastya, who, desirous of witnessing the fight, had along with the deities come there,—seeing Ravana spent with the toil of conflict, staying in the field plunged in thought, and stationed before Rama for engaging in encounter,—addressed Rama, drawing near to him, saying,—"Rama, Rama, O mighty-armed one, hearken to the eternal secret, whereby, my child, thou wilt conquer all foes in fight,—Aditya-hridaya [Lit—The heart of the Sun.—the designation of a Vedic Hymn.], sacred, capable of destroying all foes, bringing victory—the recitation, enduring and indestructible,—and supremely good; fraught with all welfare, removing every sin,—chasing away anxiety and grief, bringing length of days; and excellent. Do thou worship Vivacwata's offspring—the Sun—lord of the world, furnished with rays,—who maketh people engage in work, and who is bowed down to by deities and Asuras. This effulgent one, producing rays is instinct with the spirits of all the deities; and he with his rays ruleth all creatures—and the hosts of celestials and Asuras. This Sun is Brahma and Vishnu and Siva and Skanda [The celestial generallissimo.] and Prajapati [The lord of all creatures.], and Mahendra and Dhanada [Dispenser of riches, a name of Kuvera.] and the Destroyer—Yama—and Soma [A name of the Moon.] and the Lord of waters; and the Pitris [Lit. the ancestral manes. Here the generator of everything.], and the Vasus, and the Sadhyas [An order of semi-divine beings (angels). Here, 'He who is adored by the spiritual.] and the two Acwinis [In virtue of his omnipresence and his being the healer of all ailments.] and the Maruts and Manu [All-knowing and being the primaeval sovereign.], and the Wind-god and the God of fire and the creatures and the Creator of life and the seasons. And he is Aditya ['He from whom all derive sustenance.'] and Savita ['The producer of heart and the spiritual faculties by heat, and corn, etc. by showers.'] and Suryya ['He that sets people to work.'] and Khaga ['the heavens of the heart.'] and Pusha ['The maintainer.'] and Gavastiman ['Having the all-permeating Spirit of Auspiciousness.'] and the Golden-looking and Bhanu ['having brightness.'] and Hiranyareta ['instinct with the cosmic energy.'] and Divakara ['maker of day']. And he is Haridacwa ['pervading all sides' or 'having black steeds.'] and Saltasrarchi ['He whose cognition points in infinite directions.'] and Saptasapti ['He from whom proceed the seven organs of sense of people.'] and Marichiman ['Having rays.']. And he subdueth darkness, and he is Sambhu ['He from whom proceed the several sorts of happiness.'] and Tashta ['He who removes the misfortunes of his votaries.'] and Martandaka ['He that infuses life into the lifeless mundane egg.'] and Ancuman ['Having rays.']. And he is Hiranyagarbha [The cause of the creation, preservation and destruction of the Universe.], Sicira ['Good-natured.'], and Tapana ['The possessor of all riches.'], and Ahaskara [Day and Kara—maker.] and Ravi [He that teacheth.], and Agnigarbha [Lit. fire-wombed. He that carries the fire of doom within himself.], and Aditi's son ['Brahma knowledge.'], and Sankha [Supreme happiness.], and Siciranacana [The remover of intellectual stupor or evil-mindedness.], Byomanatha [Lord of the welkin.] and Tamabheda [Dispeller of darkness.], the one proficient in Rik, Yajus and Sama; and Ghanavrishti [He from whom floweth the fruit of acts.'], and the friend of the Apas [The waters or good things.], and he that swiftly courseth in the Vindhya way. And he is Atapi [He that is intent on creating the cosmos.] and Mandali [Ray-crowned or adorned with gems.] and Mrityu [The bringer of death.]. And he is Pingala [The motive force of the blood-tube called Pingala.], and the destroyer of everything, and the Omniscient, and he having the universe for his form [The ornament of the Universe.], and the exceedingly energetic one, and the beloved of all, and that one lording it over all kinds of actions. And he is the lord of stars and planets and constallations, and the origin of everything, and the one powerful pre-eminently of powerful things—and the one having twelve forms [i.e. he months of the year.]. I bow unto thee (having these forms and functions). Salutation unto the Eastern mount and the mount of the West. Salutation unto the lord of the stellar bodies and salutation also unto the lord of day. Salutation and salutation unto him that bringeth victory, and the joy that springeth up from victory; and unto him of yellow steeds. Salutation, salutation, O thousand-rayed one; Salutation and salutation unto Aditya. Salutation unto him that keepeth his senses under subjection; Salutation and salutation unto the Hero, and unto Saranga [Him that deservest the pranaba, the holiest formula in all Hindu Scripture.] and unto him that awakenest the Lotus [That awakenest the external lotus as well as the lotus of the heart.]. And (salutation) unto thee, O fierce one. Salutation unto the Lord himself of Brahma, Icana [Siva.] and Achchyuta [Vishnu.], and unto Sura [The Sun.] and unto him that constitutes the knowledge of Aditya, and unto him that unfoldeth me and not-me; and unto the devourer of all, and unto the form of the destroyer of the darkness of ignorance, Salutation unto the destroyer of darkness, and unto the destroyer of enemies, and unto him of immeasurable Soul, and unto the destroyer of the ingrate, and unto the deity, and unto the lord of all stellar bodies. And salutation unto him that boasteth of the splendour of burning gold, unto the destroyer of all mental obscurity,—and unto the maker of the universe. Salutation unto the remover of darkness; unto the illuminator of the Soul; unto the all-beholding one of all the worlds. The lord createth everything and verily destroyeth it. And with his rays he sucketh up, and destroyeth and createth (everything). When all are asleep, this one waketh, and he is resident in the hearts of all creatures. This one is both Agnihotra as well as the fruit reaped by the sacrifices thereof. And he constitutes the gods and the sacrifices and the fruit also thereof; and he is the lord of all acts that are performed by creatures. If a person recites this (hymn), he, O Raghava, doth not come by misfortune, when he is in peril of his life, or is ill, or in a lonely place, or in fear. Do thou, with concentration, worship this god of gods, this lord of the universe. By reciting (this hymn) instinct with the three virtues, thou wilt obtain victory in battle. This very instant, O mighty-armed one, thou wilt conquer Ravana". Having said this, Agastya went whither from he had come. Hearing this, that exceedingly energetic one had his grief gone, Then, well pleased, Raghava, exerting himself, contemplated (the hymn). And reciting this, he beholding the Sun, attained excess of joy. And sipping water again and again, and becoming purified, that powerful one, taking up his bow, and viewing Ravana, advanced with a delighted heart, to obtain victory. And he became intent on his death with his dearest energies. Then exceedingly delighted, and filled with rejoicings, the Sun, in the midst of the celestial hosts knowing that the destruction of the Sovereign of the night-rangers was at hand,—spoke unto Rama "Bestir thyself".

SECTION 107.

Then the charioteer fully drove with speed Ravana's car, capable of bringing down the hosts of foes, resembling in form a city of the Gandharvas, having elevated streamers, yoked with surpassingly superb steeds, engarlanded in gold; stocked with war-like implements; furnished with ensigns and standards; appearing to devour the welkin; making the earth herself resound; destructive to hostile hosts; and filling its own party with delight. And as it speedily descended, the monarch of men beheld that Rakshasa-king's resounding car, having huge standards, yoked with black chargers, and endowed with fierce splendour; as if flaming in the firmament; having the resplendance of the Sun himself; with thronging lightning pennons; displaying the glow of Indra's weapon [The rainbow.]; showering arms; and resembling rain-charged clouds. Seeing the enemy's car resembling a mass of clouds having a chatter resembling the sounds sent by a cleaving mountain rived by the thunder, Rama, vehemently drawing his bow curved like the infant moon, addressed Matali—charioteer unto the thousand-eyed deity [Indra.], saying,—"O Matali, behold the enraged chariot of my foe as it courseth on. From the furious speed with which he is again wheeling at my right, it appeareth that he hath set his heart on slaying me in encounter. Do thou therefore heedfully drive the car right against the vehicle of my foe. I wish to destroy this one even as the wind scattereth clouds that have appeared. Do thou with all thy wits about thee, without trepidation, and holding thy heart as well as thy eye in calmness, swiftly drive the chariot ruled by the reins. Worthy of Purandara's car, thou ought not to be taught by me. Desirous of encounter and my whole soul bent on fight, I simply remind thee—not teach thee". Pleased with these words of Rama, the excellent celestial charioteer—Matali—drove the car. Then leaving Ravana's mighty car on the right, he enveloped Ravana with the dust raised by the wheels. Thereat the Ten-necked one, enraged, with his eyes coppery and dilated (in passion), covered with arrows Rama staying in front of his car. Enraged at the smiting, Rama, with his ire aroused, but summoning up patience, took up in the encounter the bow of Indra endowed with exceeding vehemence; as well as highly impetuous shafts having the resplendance of the solar rays. And then there began a furious encounter between those (two) eager for slaying each other; confronting each other like unto flaming lions. And then desirous of destruction of Ravana,—celestials with Gandharvas, and Siddhas and supersaints assembled to go to behold the encounter taking place between the two cars. And for the destruction of Ravana and the success of Raghava, there occurred round about the cars terrible bodements capable of making people's down stand on end. The god poured down showers of blood on the car of Ravana; and a violent tornado eddied on his right. And a mighty swarm of vultures, wheeling in the heavens, pursued the car wherever it moved. And Lanka was enveloped with evening resembling the red java flowers and even in day appeared ablaze. Lightnings and firebrands accompanied by a terrible sound began to fall down on all sides. And beholding these omens inauspicious unto Ravana all the Rakshasas were greatly sorry. And wherever Ravana moved the earth shook and the hands of all the Rakshasas fighting were as if paralysed. The copper coloured, the yellow, the red, and the white rays of the sun falling before Ravana appeared like melted metals of a mountain. And the jackals followed by vultures, vomitting forth fire and casting their looks at him, began to emit inauspicious cries. And in that battle-field the unfavourable wind began to blow raising dust and obstructing the vision of the king of Rakshasas. On the Rakshasa host on all sides dreadful lightnings were showered without the sound of the clouds. All the quarters were enshrouded with darkness and the welkin became invisible being covered with darkness. And setting up a dreadful quarrel hundreds of terrible Sharikas* began to fall down on his chariot. [A kind of bird (Turdus Salica, Buch).] The horses emitted forth sparks of fire from their hips and tears from their eyes. These and various other dreadful omens arose there announcing the destruction of Ravana. And there appeared on all sides many an auspicious and good sign intimating the approach of Rama's victory. And beholding all those auspicious marks announcing Rama's success, Lakshmana was greatly delighted and considered Ravana as slain. Thereupon beholding all those auspicious signs, Raghava, well qualified to decipher them attained an excess of delight and became anxious to display a greater prowess.

SECTION 108.

Thereupon there ensued a mighty and dreadful encounter of two cars between Rama and Ravana, creating terror unto all people. And the army of Rakshasas and the mighty host of the monkeys, although they had weapons in their hands, became stupified (for the time being). And beholding them (Rama and Ravana) fight, all the Rakshasas and monkeys, having their minds agitated, were greatly surprised. With various weapons

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and hands uplifted for fight, they, greatly wondered, stood there beholding them and did not address themselves to fight with each other. The Rakshasas beholding Ravana, and the monkeys beholding Rama with wonder-stricken eyes, the whole army appeared like a picture. And espieing all omens Raghava and Ravana began to fight, undaunted, firm, resolute and unagitated by anger. And determining that Kakutstha would win victory and Ravana would die, they began to display their own prowess. Thereupon the highly powerful Ravana, setting his arrows in anger, discharged them at the pennon stationed on Raghava's car. Those arrows reaching the flag staff of the Purandara chariot and perceiving its might fell down on the earth. Thereupon the highly powerful Rama, wroth, stretching his bow, made up his mind to return the blow. And aiming at Ravana's flag staff he discharged a sharpened shaft flaming unbearably by its own lustre like a huge serpent. And the effulgent Rama discharged a shaft aiming at (Ravana's) banner which, piercing the Ten-necked demon's flag fell, down on the earth. And beholding his flag staff thus broken down the highly powerful Ravana became ablaze as if burning down every tiling with his unbearable ire And being possessed by wrath he began to make a downpour of shafts. Ravana then, with flaming arrows, pierced Rama's steeds. The celestial horses were not bewildered thereby nor their course was slackened. And they remained thoroughly unagitated as if they were stricken with lotus stalks. Beholding the steeds thus unmoved Ravana was again exercised with wrath and began to discharge afresh his various weapons—gadas, parighas, chakras and musalas, mountain tops, trees, darts and parashus and thousands of other shafts by virtue of his illusive powers. And unmoved was his energy. And that downpour of various weapons became huge and terrible in the conflict creating terror and making a dreadful noise. Thereupon leaving aside Raghava's car he began to assail the monkey-host and enveloped the sky with a continual discharge of arrows. The Ten-necked demon let loose many a weapon even at the risk of his own life. And beholding Ravana in the encounter thus actively engaged in the discharge of arrows, Kakuthstha, smiling, set up pointed shafts, and discharged them by hundreds and thousands. Beholding them Ravana again filled the welkin with arrows—and thus with shafts discharged by them both another flaming sky was created. None (of the arrows) missed the aim, none of them failed to pierce another and none of them was fruitless. And the arrows discharged by Rama and Ravana stricking each other fell down on the earth. And they standing on their right and left began to make a continued downpour of arrows and enveloped the sky entirely. And they opposing each other, Ravana slew Rama's steeds and Rama in his turn slew Ravanan's. They, thus enraged fought with each other and for sometime there ensued a terrible encounter capable of making ones down stand on end. And the highly powerful Ravana and Rama righting with each other in the conflict by means of sharpened arrows, the lord of Rakshasas beholding his flag staff broken down became enraged with the foremost of Raghus.

SECTION 109.

Rama and Ravana thus opposing each other in battle, all the animals beheld them, stricken with astonishment. And those two great heroes, highly angered, began to dash towards and assail each other; and being determined to slay each other they looked greatly dreadful. And their charioteers drove the cars on, displaying their skill by moving in circles, in rows and diverse other ways. And those two excellent heroes, discharging their shafts and influenced by illusions, assailed each other proceeding and receding, Rama attacking Ravana and Ravana withstanding him. And these two cars coursed the earth for sometime like clouds accompanied by showers. And displaying many a movement in the conflict they again stood facing each other, the forepart of one car touching that of the other and the heads of the steeds touching each other; and the pennons, stationed on one touched those of the other. Rama, with four sharpened arrows, shot off his bow, removed the flaming horses of Ravana to some distance. And finding his steeds thus removed he was exercised with wrath. And the Ten-necked one discharged sharpened arrows at Raghava. And he was pierced by those arrows coming from the powerful Ten-necked demon. He was neither overwhelmed nor pained therewith and he again discharged arrows resembling the thunder-bolts. And the Ten-necked demon again discharged arrows at the charioteer, which fell with great vehemence on the person of Matali. Matali was not the least pained or overwhelmed in that encounter. And beholding his charioteer thus assailed Rama was excited with wrath and overwhelmed his foe with a net of arrows. And the heroic Raghava showered on his enemy's chariot shafts by twentys, thirtys, sixtys, hundreds and thousands. And the lord of Rakshasas, Ravana, who was stationed on the car, wroth, attacked Rama in the conflict with maces and Musalas. And there again ensued a terrible conflict capable of making one's down stand on end. And the seven oceans were overwhelmed with the sound of maces, musalas, Parighas and gold feathered arrows. And those inhabiting the regions under the agitated oceans, all the Danavas and thousands of Pannagas were greatly pained. And greatly shook the earth with her mountains, forests and gardens. The Sun was shorn of its resplendance and the wind blew very rough. Thereupon the celestials, with Gandharbas, Siddhas, great saints, Kinnaras and serpents were all worked up with anxiety. And beholding the dreadful encounter between Rama and Ravana capable of making people's down stand on end, the celestials with ascetics began to pray,—"May good betide the Brahmins and cows, may people live in peace and may Raghava defeat Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, in the conflict". And the crowd of Gandharbasand Apsaras beholding that wonderful battle between Rama and Ravana, said,—"The ocean resembleth the sky and the sky resembleth the ocean—forsooth this encounter between Rama and Ravana befits them only". Thereupon Rama of long-arms, the enhancer of the glory of Raghu's race, enraged, set his arrow, resembling a serpent, on his bow, and cut assunder Ravana's head wearing shinning Kundalas. And that head in the presence of the inhabitants of the three regions fell down on the earth. Instantly there arose another head resembling the former; and it was speedily cut off by the light-handed Rama. As soon as the second head was chopped off in the encounter by means of shafts another appeared again. And that was again severed by Rama's shafts resembling thunder-bolts. And thus were severed hundred heads all equal in brilliance. But the end of Ravana's life was not seen by him. Thereupon the heroic Raghava, conversant with the use of all weapons, the enhancer of Kaucalyi's joy, began to reason within himself in various Ways,—"Verily these are the arrows by which Maricha was killed, and Khara with Dushana was slain—Viradha was destroyed in the forest of Krauncha—the headless demon in the forest of Dandaka—Salas and mountains were broken—the ocean was agitated—and Vali was killed;—I do not perceive the reason, why they are becoming fruitless when discharged at Ravana". Thinking thus Raghava made himself ready In the conflict and began to shower arrows on Ravana's breast. Thereupon Ravana too, the lord of Rakshasas, seated in a car and highly enraged, assailed Rama in the conflict with a downpour of maces and Musalas. That dreadful and huge conflict, capable of making hairs stand on end, continued for seven nights before the eyes of the celestials, Danavas, Yakshas, Pisachas, Uragas and serpents stationed in the sky, on the earth or on the mountain-tops. Neither for the night nor for the day, nor for a moment did the fight between Rama and Ravana cease. And beholding the conflict between Dacaratha's son and the lord of Rakshasas, and Raghava's victory, the high-souled charioteer of the lord of the celestials spake speedily unto Rama engaged in the conflict.

SECTION 110.

Thereupon Matali, reminding him, spake unto Raghava—"Why dost thou, O hero, as if not knowing, fear him? Do thou, O lord, discharge at him the weapon obtained from the great Patriarch. The time for (his) destruction, as described by the celestials, hath arrived". Being reminded by those words of Matali, Rama took up the flaming shaft, breathing as if like a serpent. The great Rishi Agastya first conferred this upon him. This is a huge and dreadful shaft given by Brahma, and highly useful in battle. It was made by Brahma of undecaying prowess for Indra and conferred by him upon the Lord of celestials desirous of acquiring victory. In its wings there is wind, in its head there is fire and the Sun, in its body there is the sky and in its weight there are the (hill) Meru and Mandara. It is resplendent by its own lustre, well feathered and adorned with gold—made of the essence of all objects and bright as the rays of the Sun. It is like the fire of dissolution enveloped in smoke—like the flaming serpent, capable of piercing men, serpents and horses and was swift-coursing. (It can) rend the gateways, Parighasand hills—is soaked in blood, dipped in marrow, and extremely dreadful. It is hard as the lightning—producing a dreadful sound, assailing various (divisions of the) army, creating terror unto all, dreadful and (as if) breathing like a serpent. It is terrible as the Death in the conflict and provides food always for the herons, vultures, cranes, jackals and the Rakshasas. It is the enhancer of the monkey-leaders' joy and the repressor of the Rakshasas and is feathered like unto a bird with many a picturesque wing. And the highly powerful Rama, consecrating in accordance with the mantras laid down in the Vedas, that huge shaft—the foremost of all in the world, removing the fear of the Ikshwaku race, destroying the fame of the enemies and conducing to the joy of its own party, set it on his bow. And that excellent arrow being mounted on his bow by Raghava all the animals were stricken with fear and the earth shook. And (Rama) highly enraged, and greatly wary, suppressing (his breath) discharged that shaft at Ravana—piercing to the vitals. (That Brahma weapon) irrepressible as the thunder, dreadful as the Death and discharged by Rama, fell down on Ravana's breast. And that shaft, capable of bringing about death and gifted with velocity, when discharged, cleft the breast of the vicious-souled Ravana. And that body-ending arrow, bathed in blood, stealing away the life of Ravana, entered the earth. That shaft, slaying Ravana, soaked in blood and successful, again entered the quiver humbly. And from his hand, who was deprived of his life, fell down instantly on earth his shafts and bow. And fell down on the earth from the chariot, the highly effulgent Ravana, gifted with dreadful velocity and shorn of his life. And beholding him thus fallen down, the remaining night-rangers, deprived of their lord and stricken with terror fled away to various quarters. And beholding the destruction of the Ten-necked (demon) and the victory of Raghava, the monkeys, fighting with trees, pursued them on all sides. And being assailed by the monkeys and having their countenances full of tears in consequence of their lord being slain they fled away to Lanka in fear. Thereupon the monkeys being greatly delighted roared out the victory of Rama. The celestial bugle was sounded in the sky and there blew the excellent air carrying the celestial fragrance. Flowers were showered upon Rama's car which was covered therewith. The celestials in the sky began to chaunt the glory of Rama and praise him. And Ravana, the dread of all people, being slain, the celestials with the Charanas were greatly delighted. And slaying that foremost of the Rakshasas, Rama satisfied the desire of Sugriva, Angada and Bibhishana. Thereupon the celestials attained their peace, the quarters were delighted, the atmosphere was clear, calm air began to prevail all over the earth, and the Sun appeared in its full rays. Thereupon Sugriva, Bibhishana and Lakshmana, welcomed Rama, of unmitigated prowess, singing his glory. And there appeared beautiful at the battle-field Rama of firm promise, slaying his enemy and encircled by his army and friends, like unto the Lord of the celestials surrounded by the gods.

SECTION 111.

Beholding his brother defeated, slain and lying down on the battle-field, Bibhishana, overpowered with the weight of his grief, began to lament—"O hero, well-known for thy prowess, wise and conversant with polity, thou wert used to excellent beds, why dost thou lie down on the earth, spreading (on the earth) thy long and actionless arms, always adorned with Angadas and being shorn of thy helmet having the resplendance of the Sun? O hero, thou hast come by what I had anticipated and what did not please thee who wert possessed by delusions. Prahasta, Indrajit, Kumbhakarna, Atikaya, Atiratha, Narantaka, yourself and others—none of you paid heed, out of haughtines, to what I had said which hath now been brought about. Oh! the bridge of the pious hath been broken, the figure of the virtue hath been spoiled, the refuge of the strong and powerful hath disappeared and thou hast attained to the state of the heroes! The sun hath fallen down on the earth, the moon hath been shorn of its lustre, the fire hath been extinguished and virtue hath desisted from its action, this hero, the foremost of those using weapons, falling down on the earth. O thou the foremost of the Rakshasas lying down in the dust on the battle field like one asleep, whom else have these remaining (Rakshasas) deprived of their power and energy, got? The huge tree, of the lord of Rakshasas, having patience for its leaves, velocity for its flowers, the power of asceticism and heroism for its firm roots, hath been uprooted by the Raghava wind. Mad-elephant-like Ravana, having prowess for its tusk, family rank for its back bone, anger for its legs, and delightedness for its trunk, hath been laid low on the ground by the lion of the Ikshwaku race. The powerful Rakshasa-fire, having prowess and energy for its rays, angry breath for its smoke, own strength for its power of burning, hath been extinguished in battle by Rama-*like cloud. The Rakshasa bull ever defeating others and powerful as the wind, having Rakshasas for its tail, hump and horns, and fickleness for its ears and eyes, hath been slain to-day by *Rama-tiger". Hearing these words, pregnant with sound reasonings from Bibhishana and beholding him overwhelmed with grief Rama said,—"(This lord of Rakshasas) of dreadful prowess hath not been slain in battle disabled. He is gifted with great prowess and energy and devoid of the fear of death [i.e. he has accidentally met with death.]. The heroes abiding by the virtues of the Kshatriyas, who fall at the battle field for enhancing their glory, when dead, should not be mourned for. This is not the time to mourn for him although possessed by death, by whom gifted with intellect, Indra with the three worlds was terrified in conflict. Besides success in battle is not perpetual; either one slays his enemy or meets with his destruction at his hands in the conflict This procedure of the Kshatryas was laid down by the ancient preceptors that a Kshatrya, when slain in battle should not be mourned for. Beholding this to be certain and attaining calmness, do thou be freed from thy sorrow and think what should be done now. Thereupon Bibhishana stricken with grief addressed the powerful son of the king speaking thus with words tending to his brother's well-being. "Thou hast, like the ocean breaking down its banks, broken him down, who had not been ere this even defeated by Basava and the celestials. By him were conferred many a gift on those who wanted them, were enjoyed many a luxury, were maintained many a servant, distributed wealth unto friends and slain the enemies. He propitiated fire, performed great

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austerities, was conversant with the Vedas and the great performer of sacrifices. I desire to perform, by thy instructions, his becoming obsequies". Being thus addressed by Bibhishana with piteous accents, the high-souled son of the lord of men, gifted with great energy, ordered him to perform his obsequies and said. "With death our enmity hath terminated and our object hath been accomplished: he is as dear unto me as unto thee: perform (therefore) his funeral rites".

SECTION 112.

Beholding Ravana slain by the high-souled Raghava Rakshasees, stricken with grief, issued out of the inner appartments. Stricken with grief and with dishevelled hairs they rolled in the dust albeit prevented again and again like unto cows separated from their calves. And coming out by the northern gate along with the Rakshasas, entering the dreadful arena of battle and searching their slain lord the she-demons cried piteously—"O lord, O husband, O our all" and moved along the battle field soaked in blood and filled with headless corpses. With eyes full of tears and overwhelmed with the grief of their husband they began to move about like she-elephants without the lord of their herd. Thereupon they beheld there on the earth the huge-bodied and the highly powerful and effulgent Ravana slain like red collyrium. And beholding their lord lying down on the battle-field they all fell on his body like creepers torn assunder. Some wept embracing him respectfully—some holding his feet and some placing themselves around his neck. And some taking up his hand rolled on the ground and some were beside themselves (with grief) beholding the slain (Ravana's) countenance. And some placing her head on his lap, and beholding his face, wept, bathing it with tears like a lotus enveloped with snow. Seeing their husband Ravana thus slain on the earth, they stricken with grief, bewailing again and again in sorrow, wept profusely. He by whom the king Vaisrabana was deprived of his flower car, who terrified the high-souled Gandharbas, ascetics and the celestials in battle field, who did not know of any fear from the Asuras, celestials and the Pannagas, hath now been overpowered by a man. He, whom the celestials, the Danavas and the Rakshas could not slay, hath been slain in conflict by a man walking on foot. He, who was incapable of being killed by the celestials, Yakshas and Asuras, hath met with death like one devoid of prowess at the hands of a mortal". Speaking in this wise, the she-demons, over-powered with sorrow, wept and bewailed again and again (saying),—"Not hearing (the counsels) of thy friends, always pointing out thy welfare, thou didst bring Sita for thy destruction as well as that of the Rakshasas. Although thy brother Bibhishana addressed thee with words pregnant with thy welfare—thou, for thy own destruction, out of thy misgivings, didst excite his anger and hast (now) seen (the result thereof). Hadst thou returned Sita the daughter of the king of Mithila to Rama, this mighty and dreadful disaster, destroying the very root, would not have befallen us. Rama's desire would have been encompassed—his friends would have been successful (through Bibhishana)—we would not been widowed and our enemies would not have got their desires fulfilled. By thee, Sita was kept by force in captivity in a ruthless manner, and the Rakshasas, ourselves and thyself—all three equally have been slain. O foremost of the Rakshasas, forsooth this is not thy own folly—it is Accident that uniteth all things and it is Accident again that bringeth about destruction. O thou of huge arms—the destruction of the monkeys and the Rakshasas as well as that of thyself hath been brought about by Accident. When the course of accident is about to bring about result—wealth, desire, prowess or command—nothing is capable of with-standing it". Thus wept piteously the wives of the lord of Rakshasas like unto so many she-elephants—rendered poorly, stricken with grief and with tears in their eyes.

SECTION 113.

The foremost of the wives of the Rakshasa (king) bewailing piteously cast her looks poorly towards her husband. And beholding her Ten-necked husband slain by Rama of inconcievable actions Mandodari bewailed there piteously,—"O thou of huge arms! O younger brother of Baishravana! Even Purandara feared to stand before thee when enraged. The great Rishis—the far-famed Gandharbas and the Charanas, fled away to different quarters in thy fear. And then (how) hast thou been overpowered in battle by Rama who is a mere man? Why is it that thou art not ashamed of it, O king, O lord of the Rakshasas? Conquering the three worlds with thy prowess thou didst attain thy glory; and it is unbearable, that a man, ranging in the forest, hath slain thee. Thou, who art capable of assuming shapes at will, hast been slain in conflict by Rama, in the city of Lanka unapproachable by men. I do not believe that thy destruction,—who hadst always been crowned with success, before the forces, is work of Rama. (Methinks) Death (himself) came there in the shape of Rama and spread illusions unconsciously for thy destruction, O thou of great strength. Or thou hast been slain by Vasava—(no) what power has he got to face thee in the conflict gifted with great strength, prowess and energy and an enemy of the celestials as thou art? It is evident that the great ascetic Vishnu, having truth for his prowess—the soul of all beings, ever existing, without beginning, middle or end, greater than the great, the Preserver of the Nature, holding conch, discus and club, having Sribatsa* on his breast, always beautiful, incapable of being conquered, without destruction, devoid of end, and the lord of all men, assuming this shape of a man and encircled by the celestials, assuming monkey shapes, hath for the behoof of mankind, slain (thee) the dreadful enemy of the gods with all (thy) family and Rakshasas. [* A particular mark usually said to be a curl of hair on the breast of Vishnu. The emblem of the tenth jina or the mark above ascribed to Vishnu or Krishna.] Subduing all thy passions, thou didst conquer the three worlds—remembering their grudge they have now over-powered thee. Rama is not a man since he slew at Janasthana thy brother Khara encircled by many a Rakshasa. We were sore-distressed when Hanuman, by his own prowess, entered the city of Lanka, incapable of being approached even by the celestials. And I prevented thee from creating enmity with Raghava, but thou didst not pay heed to my words and this is the result (thereof). O foremost of Rakshasas—thou of a vicious understanding, for the destruction of thy wealth, thyself and thy relatives, thou didst suddenly cherish amour for Sita, greater than (even) Arundhuti and Rohini. Forsooth thou didst perpetrate an unbecoming deed by distressing the adorable Sita ever devoted unto her lord, an earth even unto Earth herself and a Sree* even unto Sree herself. [* Sree is the goddess of wealth and good fortune—but Sita is more fortunate than fortune herself.] And having brought in a false guise from the solitary forest the sorrowful and chaste Sita, having a blameless person, thou didst bring on the destruction of thy family. Thou didst fail to encompass thy desire for the company of Sita. But now, forsooth, O my lord, thou hast been burnt down by her devotion who is devoted unto her husband [i.e. that thou wert not burnt down there and then shows her greatness of mind.]. Thou wert not burnt down when thou didst captivate that middle-statured (damsel) whom fear all the celestials headed by Indra and Agni [The god of Fire.]. O husband, (proper) time appearing the perpetrator gets the result of his vicious deeds: there is not the least doubt in this. The performer of the good receives good (result)—the perpetrator of the vicious (deeds) meets with bad (result). Bibhishana hath attained to happiness and thou hast met with this thy end. There are damsels in your seraglio far more beautiful than she but thou possessed by cupid couldst not perceive this. Maithilee is not my equal nor superior either in birth, beauty or accomplishments, but thou didst not perceive this by thy misgivings. Death doth not always visit all men without any cause—and Maithilee is the cause of thy death. And death, in consequence of Maithilee, hath taken thee far away. And she, shorn of all sorrow, shall enjoy in the company of Rama, and I, of limited piety, am now sunk in the the ocean of grief. Roaming at large with thee in a car unequalled in beauty on the hill Kailaca, Mandara, Maru, in the garden of Chaitraratha and ail other celestial gardens, beholding many a country, wearing variegated clothes and garlands, I have been deprived of all pleasures and enjoyments, O hero, by thy death. And I am a widow now. O fie on fickle fortune! O king, in lustre of countenance thou art like the Sun, in grace like the Moon, in beauty like the lotus; thou art graceful, O thou having excellent brows; thou hast got excellent skin, high nose and thy countenance is graced with a brilliant crown and Kundalas. Oh how beautiful, thou didst look with various garlands when thy eye whirled with intoxication on the drinking ground and how beautiful were thy smiles, O lord. Thy countenance doth not shine now—being severed with Rama's shafts, bathed in a pool of blood, having thy back-bone and brain deranged and covered with the dust raised by the wheels of the chariots. Alas! by my ill-luck I have attained to that after state making me a widow which I did never think of. My father is the king of Danavas, my husband the lord of Rakshasas, and my son the subduer of Sakra. I was greatly proud of this and always confident that my protectors were undaunted, dreadful, repressors of the enemies and famous for their strength and manliness. O ye foremost of the Rakshasas, how could this fear from man overwhelm you all who were so powerful? (This thy body) is cool, green like Indraneela, high like a huge mountain, and adorned with Keyura, Angada, jewels and garlands of flowers. It was graceful in places of enjoyments and incapable of being looked at in the field of battle. It was brilliant, being decked with ornaments like unto clouds accompanied by lightnings. And this thy person hath been pierced with shafts to-day; (and knowing) that it is not easy of attainment for me I am incapable of embracing (it), covered with shafts piercing through the very vitals. O king (this thy body) green-hued (but now) blood-red is now lying on the ground like unto a mountain shattered with thunder-bolts. That thou wouldst be slain by Rama was like a dream, but it hath proved true! Thou wert like death unto Death himself, why hast thou been possessed by him then? Thou wert the enjoyer of the three worlds' wealth and dread unto them; thou wert the conqueror of the deities presiding over various quarters; thou didst shake Sankara (himself)—thou wert the subduer of the proud and thy prowess was well-known; thou didst repress the people and slay many a pious man—thou didst, by thy prowess, use to give vent to haughty words before the enemies; thou wert the maintainer of thy kinsmen and servants and the slayer of many perpetrating dreadful deeds; thou wert the destroyer of thousands of celestials, Danavas and Yakshas; thou wert the subduer of Nivata Kavachas in the encounter; thou didst hinder the performance of many sacrifices and wert the protector of thy relatives; thou wert the obstructer of pious observances, creator of illusions in conflict and thou didst bring away from hither and thither the daughters of the celestials, demons and men; thou didst aggrieve the wives of thy enemies; thou wert the leader of thy own men, the protector of the island of Lanka and the performer of many a dreadful deed; thou didst confer upon us the enjoyment of many a pleasure—and wert the foremost of car-warriors. Beholding such a husband slain by Rama, I am, deprived of my dear lord, still maintaining my being; (forsooth) my heart is very hard. O lord of Rakshasas, used ere to many a valuable bed, why art thou sleeping on earth covered with dust? When my son Indrajit was slain by Lakshmana in conflict I was greatly pained—but to-day I am slain. Deprived of my friends and relatives, separated from thee O my lord, deprived from the enjoyment of many pleasures I shall lament for thee perpetually. Thou hast, O king, reached the way, long and hard to be treaded—do thou take me, who am stricken with grief and who shall not be able to live without thee. Why dost thou wish to go leaving me behind who have been rendered poorly? Why dost thou not welcome me, unfortunate and poor, who am bewailing? Why art thou not angry, lord, beholding me, having put off my veil, walk out on foot by the city-gate? O beloved of thy wives, do thou behold thy wives—who have thrown off their veils. Why art thou not angry seeing them all come out (of the city)? I was thy companion in sports, my lord; I long for having thee; why art thou not consoling and welcoming me? O king, being imprecated by those damsels, not one, devoted to their husbands, pious and ever engaged in attending upon their superiors, who had been widowed by thee, thou hast been overpowered by thy enemy. The carte, proceeding from them who had been ill-treated by thee, hath borne fruit. O king, the saying, that the tears of chaste damsels do not uselessly fall on the ground, hath been verified (here) forsooth. O king, conquering the worlds with thy prowess, how couldst thou, always honoured by the king, cherish the vile desire of stealing away women? Taking away Rama and Lakshmana from the hermitage by an illusionary deer, thou didst steal away Rama's spouse. I remember to have never heard thee lament in battle. Forsooth, it is our misfortune and the sign of impending death (that thou didst do this) conversant as thou art with the past, present and future. Beholding the daughter of the king of Mithila brought (in the city of Lanka) what, thy younger brother Bibhishana, thinking and sighing, said, hath now proved true, O thou of long-arms. This destruction of the leading Rakshasas hath proceeded from the disaster arising from thy anger and lust. For thy (vicious) deeds all our good fortune is lost—(and from them) hath proceeded the great disaster exterminating the race. And by thee all the Rakshasa families have been deprived of their lords. Thou, well-known for thy strength and manliness, art not worthy of being grieved by me. On account of my effeminate nature my understanding is possessed by sorrow. Carrying thy pious and iniquitous deeds thou hast attained to thy own state—I am only lamenting for me who have been sorry for thy destruction. O Ten-necked one, thou didst not bear the words of thy friends and brothers, who spoke those well meaning words out of affection. Thou didst not obey the words uttered by Bibhisana, duly and mildly, pregnant with meaning and reasoning and tending to thy welfare. Maddened with thy own prowess thou didst not hear the words of Maricha, Kumbhakarna as well as those of my father—and this is the result thereof. O thou resembling the red clouds, O thou wearing yellow cloth and excellent Angada, stretching thy person on the ground why art thou in the long run bathed in blood? Why dost thou not, like one asleep, welcome me who am stricken with grief? I am the grand-daughter of the highly powerful Rakshasa Sumali who never flies away from the field of battle: why dost thou not welcome me? Rise up! rise up! why dost thou lie down (on this occasion of) new discomfiture? To-day have the rays of the Sun entered fearlessly the city of Lanka. The Parigha, by which, brilliant as the rays of the Sun, thou didst distress the enemies in conflict, which was always adored by thee like the thunder of the wielder of thunder-bolt, which slew many in battle, and which was adorned with golden nets, now lieth shattered into thousand pieces by arrows. Why dost thou lie on the battle-field embracing her like your beloved spouse? Why dost thou not wish to welcome me like one not beloved unto thee? Oh fie on this heart of mine which is not sundered into thousand (pieces) albeit distressed with the grief of thy death!" Bewailing thus, she, with profuse tears in her eyes, and with her heart overflowing with affection, became senseless. And being beside herself she flung herself on Ravana's breast, like unto the bright lightning appearing on

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red evening clouds. Thereupon the other wives, of Ravana, greatly distressed and weeping, and raising her up who was greatly weeping, began to console her saying:—"Dost thou not know, O worshipful dame, that the life of beings is very uncertain, and with adverse circumstances even the royal fortune becometh fickle?" Being thus accosted she again wept aloud, bathing with tears her breast and beautiful countenance. In the meantime Rama said to Bibhisana,—"Do thou perform the funeral ceremonies of thy brother and console his wives". Whereto the intelligent Bibhisana replied with the following words—pointing out wealth and piety, and judging by his understanding what is proper. "I do not think it proper to perform his cremation ceremony who had renounced all pious deeds, was wicked, cruel, liar and who had ravished others' wives. He is my enemy in the shape of a brother ever engaged in doing injury unto others—and Ravana is not worthy of my adoration albeit he is adorable by virtue of his being my elder brother. O Rama, perhaps people of this earth will call me cruel but they will again recognise my act as good when they will hear of his vicious deeds". Hearing those words, Rama, the foremost of the pious and conversant with the skill of speech, greatly delighted, spoke unto Bibhishana (equally) skilled in speech,—"It behoveth me to encompass thy welfare since by thy help I have gained the victory. O lord of Rakshasas, forsooth, thou shouldst hear my well-meaning words. Although this night-ranger perpetrated many vicious and impious deeds, still he was ever powerful, heroic and strong in warfare. I have heard that this high-souled Ravana, gifted with strength and a dread unto all people, was not defeated (even) by the celestials headed by the performer of a hundred sacrifices. Enmity extendeth up to death—so it hath ended; there is no necessity (of carrying it on). Do thou (therefore) perform his cremation ceremony—he is unto thee as he is unto me. O thou of long-arms it behoveth thee to perform, speedily with due rites and religious ceremonies, his funeral ceremony—thou shalt be the object of praise (unto people)". Hearing the words of Raghava, Bibhishana hastened on and began to make arrangements for the cremation of his slain brother Ravana. And entering the city of Lanka, Bibhishana, the lord of Rakshasas, speedily got out Ravana's Agnihotra [A pot for preserving sacred fire.], carts, brass utensils, fire, (and brought) Jajakas [The Brahmins who perform obsequies.], sandal-wood, other woods, essences, Agura, other fragrant substances, precious stones, pearls and corals. Thereupon arriving immediately accompanied by Rakshasas and Malyavana he engaged in the performance of cremation ceremony. Thereupon the twice-born ones, with tears in their eyes, covered the Rakshasa-king Ravana's body, with a silken cloth and placed it on a golden celestial litter. With the sound of various bugles they began to chaunt his praise. And taking up this litter adorned with various charming paintings and flags and carrying fire woods, all the Rakshasas headed by Bibhishana proceeded towards the South [Cremation-place.]. The Brahmins, versed in Yayur Veda and with burning fire in their hands, proceeded and were followed by the attendants. And the damsels of the seraglio followed speedily leaping (being ever unused to walking). And placing Ravana on the cremation ground, they, greatly stricken with grief, prepared the funeral pyre according to due rites with sandalwoods, Padmakas [A sort of drug commonly called Padmakas.], Ushiras [The root of a fragrant grass.] and sandal and spread an antelope-skin thereon. They (then) performed the excellent obsequies of the manes of the lord of Rakshasas. And raising an altar at the south-east corner they placed fire at the proper place. They then poured curd and clarified butter upon (Ravana's) shoulders. And placing Sakata on his legs, Ulukhala [A wooden mortar used for cleaning rice.] on his thighs, and the brass untensils, Arunis and Musals in their proper places, they celebrated (the obsequies of his manes). Thereupon slaying beasts according to the rites laid down in Sastras and pointed out by the great saints, the Rakshasas (made a coverlet dipped in their marrow and clarified butter) and placed it on the face of the lord of Rakshasas. And decking Ravana with fragrant garlands and various clothes, the friends, of Bibhishana, with depressed heart and tears in their eyes, showered dried paddy (on his person). And Bibhishana according to due rites put fire to his (funeral pyre). Bathing and with wetted cloth, offering duly linseed and sacrificial grass mixed with water and consoling (Ravana's) wives again and again, he entreated them to go back. They then entered the city. And those damsels having entered the city, Bibhishana, the lord of Rakshasas, approaching Rama, stood by his side gently. And Rama too, along with his army, Sugriva and Lakshmana, was greatly delighted after slaying his enemy like unto the wielder of thunder-bolt after slaying (the demon) Vitra. Thereupon leaving aside his bow with arrows, and the huge armour conferred by Mahendra and renouncing ire after the destruction of his enemy Rama assumed gentle mein.

SECTION 114.

Beholding the destruction of Ravana the celestials, Gandharbas and Danavas ascending their respective cars went away chanting this excellent theme. And talking of Ravana's dreadful destruction, Raghava's prowess, the excellent warfare of the monkeys, the counsels of Sugriva, the devotion and prowess of the Wind-God's son and Lakshmana and Sita's devotion unto her husband, those high souled ones, delighted, repaired to their respective quarters. And Raghava, having long arms, permitting the charioteer to take back the celestial car bright as the sky sent by Indra, honoured him greatly. And being commanded by Raghava Matali, the charioteer of Sakra taking the celestial car, rose up in the welkin. And that charioteer rising up into the celestial region, Raghava, the foremost of car-warriors, greatly delighted, embraced Sugriva. And embracing Sugriva, bowed unto by Lakshmana and worshipped by the monkey he repaired to the camp of his soldiers. Thereupon Kakutstha spoke unto Lakshmana—the son of Sumitra gifted with auspicious marks who was near him—"O gentle one, take this Bibhishana to the city of Lanka ever devoted and attached unto us, and who had done us good. This is my great desire that I may behold Bibhishana the younger brother of Ravana installed on the throne of Lanka". Being thus addressed by the high-souled Raghava, the son of Sumitra, saying—"So be it" and greatly delighted, brought a golden jar. And placing that jar at the hands of the lord of monkeys, that one, gifted with great energy, ordered them to bring water from the Ocean. And repairing speedily those excellent monkeys came back with water from the ocean. And taking that jar and placing him on an excellent seat Saumitri with that water sprinkled Bibhishana as king of Lanka in the presence of all the Rakshasas, at Rama's command. And (Lakshmana) encircled by friends sprinkling him according to rites laid down in the Vedas, all the Rakshasas, devoted unto him, his counsellors and the monkeys attaining incomparable delight, sang the glory of Rama. And beholding Bibhishana the lord of Rakshasas installed in the city of Lanka, Raghava along with Lakshmana attained to an excess of delight. And consoling his subjects he went to Rama. And the monkey citizens, delighted, brought him curd, fried grain, sweetmeats, fried paddy and flowers. And taking all those things indicating auspiciousness, he, irrepressible and gifted with energy, conferred them upon Raghava and Lakshmana. And beholding Bibhisbana crowned with prosperity and success, Rama accepted them, all for his satisfaction. Thereupon Rama spoke unto the heroic monkey Hanuman, resembling a a mountain and standing before him humbly with folded hands, saying—"O gentle one, obtaining permission from the king Bibhishana, do thou enter the city of Lanka and enquire after Maithili's welfare. Do thou, O foremost of monkeys, inform Vaidehi of the destruction of Ravana in conflict after communicating unto her mine health as well as that of Lakshmana and Sugriva. O lord of monkeys, it behoveth thee to return with the tidings of Vaidehi after informing her of this pleasant news.

SECTION 115.

Being thus commanded, Hanuman, the son of Maruta, worshipped of the night-rangers, entered the city of Lanka. Entering the city with Bibishana's permissiom, Hanuman, again permitted, entered the Briksha Vatika [A garden in the city of Lanka.]. And entering there duly, the monkey, who was already known to Sita, espied her, having her person not cleansed, like Rohini, oppressed by Rahu, sitting at the foot of a tree, devoid of joy and encircled by she-demons. And approaching her and bowing unto her, he stood there humbly and unmoved. And beholding the highly powerful Hanuman arrived there the worshipful dame stood silent for sometime and then recognising him became greatly delighted. And beholding her gentle countenance, Hanuman, the best of monkeys, began to relate unto her what Rama had said—"O Vaidehi, it is all well with Rama, Sugriva and Lakshmana. He hath enquired after thy welfare. He hath accomplished his end subduing his enemies—and his enemy is slain. O worshipful dame, the powerful Ravana hath been slain by Rama, helped by Bibhishana and accompanied by the monkeys and Lakshmana. I do relate unto thee this pleasant news, O worshipful dame; I do again delight thee; it is by thy grace, O thou conversant with piety, O Sita, victory hath been gained. Do thou be consoled and relieved of thy anxiety. The enemy Ravana hath been slain and the city of Lanka, hath been brought under submission. (Rama said),—'For discomfitting thy enemy a bridge was constructed over the sea by me who was determined and who did not sleep (for days) and thus my promise hath been fulfilled. Do thou not be afraid for living in Ravana's abode for I have placed at Bibhishana's hands the sovereignty of Lanka. Do thou be consoled thinking as if that thou art living in thy own house. To behold thee, Bibhishana, delighted, shall soon proceed". Being thus accosted the worshipful Sita, having a moon-like countenance, and her voice choked in delight, could not utter any thing. And beholding Sita incapable of replying the foremost of monkeys said,—"What art thou thinking of, O worshipful dame? Why art thou not welcoming me?" Being thus addressed by Hanuman, Sita, ever treading the paths of morality, greatly delighted, replied with words suppressed by tears. "Hearing this pleasant news concerning the victory of my husband—and being brought under the control of joy I am speechless for sometime. O monkey, I do not perceive any such thing which I can confer upon thee, in return, for this pleasant news. I do dot see any such thing on this earth which can match thy pleasant tidings and bestowing which upon thee I may be happy. Silver, gold, or diverse jewels or the kingdom of the three worlds—nothing is a becoming return for thy speech". Being thus addressed by Vaidehi the monkey replied—folding his hands with delight and stationed before Sita,—' O blameless damsel, forsooth this excellent speech becometh thee, who is ever engaged in the welfare of thy husband and ever desirous of his victory. I do consider, O worshipful dame, these words of thine, far greater than the wealth, jewels or even the sovereignty over the celestials. Forsooth I have gained the kingdom of the celestials and other things since I have beheld Rama slay his enemy, victorious and peaceful. Hearing those words of (Hanuman) Maithili the daughter of king Janaka spoke unto the Wind-god's son far more excellent words—"Thou art capable of speaking words, chaste, pleasant and significant of eight sorts of knowledge. Thou art the praise-worthy son of the Wind-god and greatly virtuous; strength, prowess, heroism, knowledge of Sastras, noble-mindedness, energy, forgiveness, patience, endurance, humility and many other excellent qualities crown thee". Thereupon not being elated the least, he again, humbly folding his hands with delight and stationed before Sita, said—"If dost thou permit me I may slay all these she-demons who had tortured thee before, distressed thee in the forest of Acoka, stricken with grief of thy lord, and who are cruel, have grim eyes and who perpetrate always dreadful deeds. O worshipful dame, I have heard that these grim-visaged she-demons distressed thee greatly with harsh words at the command of Ravana. I desire to slay all these dreadful, crooked, ugly (she-demons) having fearful eyes, meting out unto them various punishments. I wish to slay all these she-demons, who had used harsh words and had always offended thee, stricking them with fists, fingers, arms, dreadful knee-joints, teeth, chopping off their ears and noses, and pulling them by their hairs: do thou confer upon me this permission. O far famed lady, I shall slay them by these various means, by whom, dreadful as they are, thou hadst been distressed before". Being thus addressed by Hanuman, she, ever kind unto the poor, thinking and meditating, said to him—"O foremost of monkeys, why art thou angry with these she-slaves, who subject as they are to the command of their lord, have done this in accordance with another's order. For my adverse fortune and vicious deeds perpetrated in another birth I have been subject to such a plight and been suffering the consequence thereof. Do thou not speak thus, O thou of huge arms. Such is the course of Fortune. Forsooth by my ill-luck I have met with (this misfortune). I forgive, out of pity, all these she-servants of Ravana; they used to torture me at the command of that Rakshasa. And he being slain they shall not repress me any longer, O son of the Wind-god. Do thou, O monkey, hear of a Sloka, related in a Purana and pregnant with religious import, which was uttered by a boar to a tiger. 'No one taketh upon himself the iniquity of a perpetrator of vicious deeds. So it behoveth the pious crowned with an excellent character to observe the rules (of piety). So it is proper to show compassion even upon those who perpetrate crimes and are worthy of being slain. Who is there who doth not commit a crime? It is not proper to act cruelly even by them who take delight in killing men, although they commit various iniquitous deeds.'" Being thus addressed by Sita, Hanuman, skilled in speech, spoke unto the blameless Rama's spouse, saying—"Thou art the worthy spouse of Rama, religiously wedded and crowned with many qualities. Permit me, O worshipful dame, to proceed where Raghava is". Being thus accosted by Hanuman, Vaidehi, the daughter of king Janaka, said,—"I wish to see my lord, ever fond of those who are devoted unto him". Hearing these words, the high-minded Hanuman, the son of Maruta, pleasing Maithili said—"Thou shalt behold Rama, having a countenance like the full moon, with Lakshmana, surrounded by his friends and having his enemies slain as Sachi beholdeth Indra the king of the celestials". Addressing these words unto Sita appearing like Sree herself the highly effulgent Hanuman returned where Raghava was. Thereupon Hanuman, the foremost of monkeys, related duly all what did the daughter of king Janaka say unto Raghava resembling the lord of the celestials.

SECTION 116.

Thereupon bowing unto Rama, the foremost of bow-men, having eyes resembling lotus-petals, the highly wise monkey said,—"It behoveth thee now to see Maithilee, stricken with grief for whom thou didst initiate all these works and the fruit whereof hath now been attained. Hearing of thy victory Maithilee, possessed by grief and having eyes full of tears, expressed her desire to see thee. And I was told by her, confident of her previous trust, with profuse tears in her eyes,—"I wish to see my husband". Being addressed by Hanuman, Rama the foremost of the pious being bathed in tears, engaged instantly in meditation. Thereupon sighing hard and casting his looks upon the ground he spoke unto

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Bibhishana resembling clouds, who was near him. "Do thou speedily bring Sita here—the daughter of the king of Mithila—bathed, sprinkled with celestial paste and adorned with celestial ornaments". Being thus addressed by Rama, Bibhishana hastened on and entering the inner appartment sent information unto Sita through the female attendants. And beholding the great Sita, the graceful lord of Rakshasas—Bibhishana, humbly and placing his joined palms on his crown, said,—"O Vaidehi, may good betide thee; sprinkled with celestial paste and adorned with celestials ornaments do thou ascend this car; thy husband wisheth to see thee". Being thus addressed Vaidehi replied unto Bibhishana,—"O lord of Rakshasas, without bathing even I wish to see my husband". Hearing those words Bibhishana replied,—"It behoveth thee to do what thy lord Rama hath said". Whereto the chaste Maithilee, regarding her husband as God and filled with devotion unto her husband, replied saying "So be it". Thereupon placing Sita, bathed, performing the due rites wearing valuable clothes and adorned with valuable ornaments, on a palanquin, carried by many a capable Rakshasa, brought her (unto Rama). Thereupon approaching the high-souled Rama, who, being informed of (Bibhishana's approach) was engaged in meditation, Bibhishana bowing down and delighted communicated unto him the arrival of Sita. And hearing of her arrival who had lived long in the abode of the Rakshasa Raghava, the slayer of enemies attained (simultaneously) to anger, delight and depression. And considering Sita, who was in the patanquin, over-whelmed with grief, Raghava delighted addressed Bibhishana with the following words. "O lord of Rakshasas, O gentle (king), O thou ever engaged in encompassing my success, do thou speedily bring Vaidehi nearer to me". Hearing these words of Raghava, Bibhishana, conversant with piety speedily cleared (the people out of that place). And attendants with armours and head-dresses on and with cane and drums in their hands began to move about driving away the crowd thereform. And the crowds of bears, monkeys and Rakshasas being driven on all sides began to fly at a distance. And they being thus driven there arose a huge noise resembling that of the ocean when agitated by the wind. Beholding the monkeys driven on all sides and troubled, Raghava out of anger and compassion prevented him. And thereupon as if burning (every thing) with his angry eyes Rama addressed the highly intelligent Bibhishana with the following angry words—"Why dost thou insult me by destroying all these? Do thou remove their anxiety—they are all my own men. Neither the houses, clothes, walls nor reception like these are the veils of women. There is no sin consequent upon seeing women in danger, difficulty, war, Svyambara* sacrifice and marriage. [* It is a form of marriage in which the bride selects a bridegroom for herself.] She is now in great danger and difficulty—there is no sin in seeing her specially in my presence. Therefore leaving behind the palanquin let her come here on foot and let the monkeys behold Vaidehi in my presence". Being thus addressed by Rama, Bibbishana, being sorry, humbly brought Sita near him. There-upon bearing Rama's accents, Lakshmana, Sugriva and the monkey Hanuman were greatly sorry. As if hiding herself in her own person in shame Maithili, following Bibhishana, approached her husband. And she, having a gentle countetiance and always regarding her husband as her god, fixed her looks upon her lord's face out of surprise, joy and love. And beholding the gentle countenance of her dearest lord, resembling the full moon she removed her mental distress. Thereupon she appeared (beautiful) having the countenance of the clear moon.

SECTION 117.

Beholding Maithili standing humbly by him, Rama began to give vent to his pent-up feelings—"O gentle one, destroying all the enemies in the arena of battle I have subdued thy enemy—I have done all that can be accomplished by manliness. I have reached the other end of my anger, rubbed off (the insult) for my spouse being taken away by the enemy and have killed simultaneously my disgrace and enemy. My manliness hath been displayed to-day, my labour hath been crowned with success and to-day I have fulfilled my promise by my own prowess. That accidental misfortune, under the influence whereof thou wert carried away by the fickle-minded Rakshasa in my absence, hath been subdued to-day by me, a man. What is the use of his manliness, who when insulted, cannot remove it? Even if he be a great man he may be called mean. The praise-worthy works of Hanuman—the crossing of the deep and the devastation of Lanka, have been crowned with success to-day. The labour of Sugriva with his army, who displayed valour in the encounter and gave me good counsels, hath borne fruit to-day. To-day also the labour of Bibhishana hath borne fruit—who renouncing his brother, devoid of all good qualities, came to my side". Hearing those words of Rama, Sita began to look wistfully like a hind, with eyes full of tears. And beholding his beloved spouse near him and afraid of popular ignominy his heart was broken into two. Thereupon he spoke unto the exquisitely beautiful Sita, in the midst of the monkeys and Rakshasas, having eyes resembling lotus-petals and black and curling hairs, saying,—"As the southern quarter, incapable of being got at by the people, was conquered by the self-controlled great ascetic Agastya, so for thee slaying Ravana, I, (always) anxious to have honour, have removed my insult—as is the duty of a man. May good betide thee—do thou know that all my labour, in the battle-field, backed by the prowess of my friends, is for thee, To uphold the dignity of my well-known family, to remove the ignominy consequent upon thy being stolen away as well as to wipe off my own insult I have encompassed this. I have suspected thy character; thou, (therefore) standing before me, art distressing me like unto a lamp before one who is subject to an eye-disease. Do thou therefore proceed, daughter of king Janaka, wherever thou likest to one of these ten quarters. I permit thee, O gentle one. I have nothing to do with thee. What powerful man, born in a high family, take back his wife considering her as friend out of lust, who hath lived long in another's house? Thou wert taken by Ravana on his lap, beheld by him with sinful eyes; how can I, taking thee back, bring disgrace upon my great family? The object, with which I have gained thee back, hath been accomplished. I have got no attachment for thee—do thou go wherever thou wishest, gentle one. I speak these unto thee impelled by my sense of duty. If thou wishest thou mayest live with Lakshmana, Bharata or Satrughna or with Sugriva or Rakshasa Bibhishana. Do thou settle, O Sita, where you may find thy own pleasure. O Sita, (I do not think) Ravana hath overlooked thee, who lived in his house, beholding thee so graceful and beautiful". Thereupon hearing those unpleasant words from her beloved (husband) Sita, always sensitive and who had never heard such unpleasant words, trembling like a creeper torn by the trunk of an elephant, began to weep shedding tears profusely.

SECTION 118.

Being this addressed by Raghava, enraged, with those harsh words Sita was greatly pained. And hearing those words of her lord, unheard of, before the great assembly Maithili was greatly humiliated with shame. As if entering unto her own person (with shame) and greatly pained with these arrow-like words the daughter of king Janaka began to shed tears. Thereupon wiping the tears off her countenance, she with sorrowful words, addressed her husband—"Why dost thou, O hero, like a common man addressing an ordinary woman, make me hear these harsh and unbecoming words painful unto ears? O thou of long arms, I am not what thou hast taken me to be. Do thou believe me I do swear by my own character. Seeing the ordinary women thou art distrusting the whole sex. Do thou renounce this suspicion since thou hast tried me. O lord, though my person was touched by another—but it was not in my power; nor was it an wilful act (of mine); accident is to blame in this. My heart is under my control and that is in thee;—and what could I do of my body which was subject to another and of which I was not the mistress. O thou the conferrer of honour—our affection towards one another was increased by our living continually for a long time; even then if thou hast not been able to understand me I am ruined for ever. O king, when the great hero Hanuman was despatched by thee to Lanka to see me why didst thou not renounce me then? Hadst thou deputed the monkey with that message I would have renounced my life there and then, O hero. Thou wouldst not have been required to undergo this toil at the risk of thy own life and giving unnecessary trouble to thy friends. O foremost of kings, being subject to ire—thou dost not perceive anything but womanhood in me, like an ordinary man. Although I am known to have a father but in fact I am born of the earth. Thou dost not sufficiently honour my character, O thou conversant with characters. Thy marriage with me in boyhood shall be disproved and thou art not sufficiently considering all my devotion and good conduct unto thee". Saying thus with accents choked in tears and weeping Sita spoke unto Lakshmana, poorly and engaged in meditation. "Make a funeral pyre for me, O Saumitri, that is the only remedy for this disaster. Being thus branded with an unfounded stigma I do not like to keep my life. To adopt the proper course for me who had been renounced before this assembly by my disaffected husband I shall enter this". Being thus addressed by Vaidehi, Lakshmana, the slayer of enemies, being possessed by anger, looked towards Raghava. And understanding Rama's intention by gestures and at his command the powerful Saumitri prepared a funeral pyre. None dared there request, speak with or even look at Rama like unto Death at the time of dissolution. Thereupon circumambulating Rama, standing with his head down, Vaidehi approached the burning fire. And bowing unto the celestials and Brahmanas, Maithili, with folded hands, spoke before the fire:—"As my heart hath never gone away from Raghava, may thou protect me, O fire, the witness of the people. As Raghava considereth me vile, who have got a pure character, may fire, the witness of the people, protect me on all sides". Saying this and going round the fire, Vaidehi, with undaunted heart, entered the flaming fire. The great assembly there, young and old, overwhelmed with grief, saw Maithili enter the flaming fire. And (Sita) resembling the burning gold entered the flaming fire in the presence of all people. All beheld Sita, having expansive eyes, enter fire like unto a golden altar. The ascetics, celestials and Gandharbas saw that great damsel enter fire like unto a full oblation in the sacrifice. And beholding her fallen into the fire like unto Vasudhara, sanctified by Mantras in a sacrifice, all the females began to weep. And the three worlds—the celestials, Gandharbas and Danavas saw her fallen like unto a celestial from the heaven when imprecited. She having entered the fire, lamentations, unheard of before, rose from all sides from the Rakshasas and monkeys.

SECTION 119.

Hearing the lamentations (of the Rakshasas and monkeys) the virtuous-souled Rama, with a poor heart and having his eyes full of tears, engaged in meditation for some time. Thereupon the king Vaisravana, Yama with his progenitors, the thousand-eyed lord of the celestials, Varuna, the lord of water, the three-eyed graceful Mahadeva—the rider of bull, Brahma the creator of the world and the foremost of those conversant with the knowledge of Brahma—all these arriving at the city of Lanka in their cars bright as the rays of the sun, approached Raghava. Thereupon raising up their huge hands, decked with various ornaments and folding them, those foremost of the celestials said unto Raghava—"O lord, thou art the preserver of all the worlds and the foremost of the wise, why dost thou neglect Sita entering into fire? Why dost thou not understand thyself the foremost of the celestials? Thou wert before the Patriarch of all Vasus,476 by the name of Kratadhama. And thou art thyself, O lord, the creator of the three worlds. Thou art the eighth of the Rudras477 and the fifth of the Sadkyas;478 the Acwinis are thy two ears and the sun and the moon are thy eyes. O slayer of enemies, thou appearest at the begining and the end of the creation. Why dost thou neglect Vaidehi like an ordinary man?" Being thus addressed by the deities presiding over quarters, Raghava, the lord of people and the foremost of the pious, spoke unto those leading celestials, saying:—"I know myself to be man—Rama, the son of Dacaratha. Let the great Patriarch tell me, who I am and whence I have come". Thereupon Brahma, the foremost of those conversant with the knowledge of Brahma, spoke unto Kakutstha, who had spoken thus, saying,—"Do thou hear my true words, O thou having truth for thy prowess. O lord, thou art the great and effulgent, Narayana holding discus and mace; thou art the boar having one tusk; thou hast conquered the past, present and future; thou art undecaying and without end, O Raghava; thou art the great virtue of the pious—thou art the propounder of all laws and art four-armed; thou art the holder of bow of time—the subduer of senses—the excellent Purusha (person), unconquerable by sins; thou art Vishnu holding dagger, Krishna and of incomparable strength; thou art the army, the minister—the universe—the understanding, forgiveness and control of passions; thou art the creation and destruction; Upendra and the slayer of (demon) Madhu; thou art the creator of Indra; thou art Mahendra; thou hast a lotus-like navel and thou art the slayer of enemies. The celestials and the great saints style thee as the refuge of those who seek for shelter. Thou art the foremost of Vedas with its thousand branches and hundred regulations. Thou art thyself the creator of the three worlds, O lord. Thou art the refuge of the Siddhas479 and Sadhyas, thou art the Purvaja,480 the sacrifice, Vashatkar,481 Om482 and Paratpara.483 No one is conversant with thy birth and destruction—thou art manifest in all creatures—cows and Brahmins—in all quarters, in the sky, in the mountain, and in the river. Thou art gifted with thousand legs, thousand heads and thousand eyes. Thou dost uphold all creatures, the earth and all the mountains. Thou appearest like the great serpent in the water underneath the earth. O Rama, thou dost uphold three creations—the celestials, the Gandharbas and the Danavas. O Rama—I am thy heart, the worshipful Swaraswati (Goddess of learning) is thy tongue and all other celestials, lord, created by Brahma are thy down. The closing of thy eye is the night and the opening is the day. The Vedas are significant of thy desire and the control thereof—none hath got independent existence but thee. The whole universe is thy body, the earth is thy patience, the fire is thy anger—the sun and the moon are thy delight; thou hast got Sreebatsha (a peculiar curl of hair); thou didst before tread the three worlds with thy three foot steps; thou didst get the dreadful Bali bound and make Mahendra king; Sita is Lakshmi and thou art Krishna and Vishnu the Preserver of people. For Ravana's destruction thou hast assumed the human shape. Thou hast accomplished that work of ours, O thou the foremost of the pious. O Rama, Ravana hath been slain. Do thou go up to heaven delighted. Sure is thy godly energy and never goes for nothing thy prowess. O Rama, never is fruitless thy view and the chanting of thy glory. And always successful shall be these persons on earth who shall be devoted unto thee. Those who shall be devoted unto thee at one with Purana484 and the excellent Purasha,485 shall attain all their desires both in this world and the next. Those persons shall never be unsuccessful both in this world and the next who shall chant this theme—

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excellent, instinct with the knowledge of Brahma and describing the old history.

SECTION 120.

Hearing those excellent words uttered by the great Patriarch rose up Bibhabasu [The Deity of Fire.] with Vaidehi on his lap shaking the funeral pyre. With the daughter of the king Janaka, the receiver [Fire.] of sacrificial offerings, being incarnate, rose up. And carrying on his lap Vaidehi, wearing a red cloth, resembling the newly risen sun, adorned with ornaments of burning gold—having black curling hairs and decked with fresh garments, Bibhabasu gave her unto Rama. Thereupon the Deity of Fire, the witness of the people, spoke unto Rama, saying—"O Rama, here is thy Vaidehi—no sin hath visited her. Neither by words, mind, understanding nor eyes, she, good-natured and beautiful—hath deviated from thee who hath got a good character and is heroic. She was in the solitary forest separated from thee, poorly and having no control over herself and hence she was carried away by the Rakshasa Ravana having enough prowess in him. Although shut up in the inner appartment—well protected and guarded by the dreadful she-demons she had always her mind in thee and was devoted unto thee. Although tempted in many a way and remonstrated with she did not think of that Rakshasa in her inner mind. Her heart is pure and she is not spoiled with sin—do thou therefore take back Maithili. Do thou not speak other-wise—I do command thee". Thereupon hearing those words—the virtuous-souled Rama, the foremost of those skilled in speech, with his eyes agitated with delight, meditated for sometime. Being thus addressed, the highly effulgent and intelligent Rama, of unmitigated prowess—the foremost of the pious, spoke unto that best of celestials saying—"Beautiful (Sita) lived in the inner appartment of Ravana for a long time so she needs this purification in the presence of all people. If I would take the daughter of Janaka without purifying her, people would say that Rama the son of king Dacaratha is lustful and ignorant of the morality of the people. I know it full well that Maithili, the daughter of king Janaka, hath her mind devoted unto me and hath not given it to anyone (else). As the ocean cannot go beyond its banks so Ravana could not approach her having expansive eyes protected by virtue of her own chastity. The greatly vicious-souled one could not even by his mind get Maithili, who was beyond his reach like unto the burning flame of fire. Her mind could not have been moved although she lived in the inner appartment of Ravana—she belongs to none else; Sita is mine as the rays belong to the Sun. Maithili—the daughter of Janaka hath been purified before the three worlds—So I am incapable of renouncing her as a self-controlled person cannot forsake his (own) reputation. It behoveth me to carry out the well-meaning words of you all—the lords of people who have spoken them out of affection". Saying this, the victorious, highly powerful, well renowned Raghava, worthy of enjoying happiness, and having his praise chanted in consequence of his noble action, regaining his spouse, attained to happiness.

SECTION 121.

Hearing those excellent words uttered by Raghava, Maheswara (Siva) spoke far more important words—"O thou having lotus-eyes, O thou having huge arms and a spacious breast, O thou the slayer of enemies, O thou the fore most of the pious—it is a good fortune that this hath been done by thee. It is by good fortune, O Rama, the dreadful and increasing darkness—the fear of all people—Ravana, hath been removed by thee in the encounter. Consoling the poor Bharata and the famed Kaucalya, beholding Kaikeyi and Sumitra the mother of Lakshmana, obtaining the kingdom of Ayodhya, pleasing all thy friends, establishing the prestige of thy family, thou of great strength, performing horse-sacrifices, attaining fair fame and conferring riches upon the Brahmins do thou repair to heaven. This king Dacaratha stationed on the car is thy father. He was thy superior on this earth, O Kakutstha. Obtaining thee as his son, that graceful (king) hath repaired to the region of Indra. Do thou bow unto him with thy brother Lakshmana". Hearing the words of Mahadeva, Raghava, along with Lakshmana, bowed unto their father who was seated on the top of the car. He with Lakshmana beheld their father shining in his own effulgence and wearing an unsullied cloth. Thereupon beholding his son dearer than his life, attaining great delight (in consequence thereof) placing him on his lap and embracing him with his arms, the great king Dacaratha, having long arms and seated on an excellent seat in the car, said—"I am now in heaven and am equal with the celestials, but without thee, O Rama, I do not like it—this is true—I do swear by thee. O thou the foremost of those skilled in speech, I have still in my mind the words which were uttered by Kaikeyi for sending thee away to the woods. Beholding thee all well and embracing thee with Lakshmana I am now shorn of grief like unto the sun, devoid of dues. I have been emancipated, O my son, through thee—a good and high-souled son, as the virtuous-souled Brahmana Kapala was by Asthabakra. O gentle one, I have heard from the celestials, (that thou art) the excellent Purusha in the guise (of a man) for the destruction of Ravana. Blessed is Kaucalya, O Rama, who shall be greatly delighted, on beholding thee, the slayer of enemies, gone home from the forest. Blessed are those men, O Rama, who shall behold thee installed in the city as the king of the world. I wish to behold thee reconciled with Bharata, devoted powerful, pure and performing pious observances. O gentle one, thou hast spent fourteen years in the forest with Sita and Lakshmana. The term of thy exile is over—thy promise hath been fulfilled; and slaying Ravana, in the conflict thou hast pleased the celestials. Thou hast performed a mighty deed and attained to excellent fame, O slayer of enemies; and placed in charge of thy kingdom do thou with thy brothers attain a long life". The king speaking thus Rama spoke unto him with folded hands saying,—"O thou conversant with piety, do thou be propitiated with Bharata and Kaikeyi. Thou didst imprecate Kaikeyi, saying,—"I renounce thee with thy son"—may not that dreadful curse visit her and her son". Saying "so be it" unto Rama with folded hands and embracing Lakshmana the great king said to him:—"O thou conversant with piety and fame on this earth, thou shall attain to heaven and excellent state there. O thou the enhancer of Sumitra's joy—do thou attend upon Rama; may good betide thee; Rama is ever engaged in the welfare of all beings. All these celestials headed by Indra, Siddhas and Great saints, bowing unto this high-souled and excellent Purusha, worship him. Rama, the subduer of foes, is the indescribable and undecaying letter Brahma, which has, been described (in the Vedas) as the heart and secret of the celestials. For serving him along with Sita, the daughter of king of Videha, thou hast attained piety and excellent fame". Addressing Lakshmana thus, the king spoke unto his daughter-in-law, who was standing before him with folded hands, saying:—"It doth not behove thee, O Vaidehi, to be enraged (with Rama) for renouncing thee; for purifying thee this was done by him ever wishing thy welfare. What thou hast performed, O daughter, to establish the purity of thy character, is hard to perform. What thou hast done, shall glorify all other females. Though there is no necessity for giving thee any instruction as regards thy duty towards thy husband-still I should say that he is thy great god". Having thus instructed his two sons and Sita, he repaired, in his car, to the region of Indra. Having advised his two sons along with Sita, ascending the car, and shining in his effulgence, that excellent king, greatly delighted, repaired to the region of the king of celestials.

SECTION 122.

Dacaratha having repaired, Mahendra greatly delighted spoke unto Raghava, stationed there with folded hands, saying:—"O Rama, O foremost of men, this our presence here, must not be fruitless, we are pleased—do thou ask for what thou wishest". Being thus accosted by the high-souled Mahendra—delighted, Raghava spoke, with a pleased heart—"O lord of the celestials, O thou the foremost of those skilled in speech, if thou art propitiated with me, I shall pray for (my wished-for-object); do thou grant it. Let all these highly powerful monkeys, who have been despatched to the abode of Death, on my account, regaining their life, stand up. O thou the conferror of honour, I wish to see all those delighted monkeys, who were separated from their wives and children on my account. O Purandara, do thou revive all these heroic and powerful (monkeys) who did not care for death, and who worked hard and were distressed (for me). May all those, by thy favour, who were ever devoted unto me and did not care for death (even) regain their life—this is the boon I pray for. O conferror of honour, I wish to see all these monkeys, Golangulas and bears, pale and hurt, unheart and gifted with strength and prowess like before. Let there be flowers, fruits and roots, even out of season wherever these monkeys shall live—and let rivers there be full of clear water". Hearing those words of the high-souled Raghava Mahendra replied with words instinct with delight—"O my boy, O foremost of the Raghus, mighty is the boon thou hast prayed for—my words shall never be falsified, so let them be be fulfilled. Let all those bears and Golangulas rise up who were slain in the conflict by Rakshasas and had their heads and arms severed. Let the monkeys gifted with their pristine strength and prowess rise up unhurt and healthy as if after the end of sleep. And being reconciled with their friends, relatives and kinsmen let them attain to excellent joy. O thou the wielder of a huge bow, all the trees shall be filled with flowers and fruits and all the rivers shall be filled with water even out of season (wherever they shall live)". Thereupon all these leading monkeys who had their persons wounded but now healed up, rose up like those asleep. And all those monkeys were greatly wondered, saying, "What is it?" And beholding Kakutstha of accomplished, end and eulogizing Rama and Lakshmana, all the celestials, greatly delighted, said,—"Do thou, O king, repair to Ayodhya—despatch all the monkeys—console the famed Maithilee, ever devoted unto thee—behold thy brother Bharata observing ascetic vows in consequence of thy grief—and the high-souled Satrughna and all thy mothers, O slayer of foes. And being Installed on the throne do thou conduce to the joy of all citizens". Having thus addressed Rama along with Lakshmana, the thousand-eyed Deity, delighted, went away along with the celestials, in their cars resembling the Sun (in brilliance). And saluting all the celestials, Kakutstha, with his brother Lakshmana, ordered the encampment of the army. Thereupon that famous and well-pleased huge army of the monkeys protected by Rama and Lakshmana, appeared resplendant on all sides like unto a night beautified with the rays of the Moon.

SECTION 123.

Rama having spent that night happily and risen up the next morning, Bibhishana, chanting his victory, spoke unto that slayer of foes, with folded hands, saying:—"Here are various articles for bathing, pastes, clothes, ornaments, sandal and various excellent garlands. And here are present women having eyes like lotuses and conversant with the art of decking. Let them perform their duty, O Raghava". Being thus accosted Kakutstha replied unto Bibhishana, saying:—"Do thou invite all these monkeys beaded by Sugriva to bathe. The virtuous-souled Bharata, having huge arms and ever used to comforts, is greatly distressed on my account. Without Bharata the son of Kaikeyi, ever performing pious rites, I do not value bathing or these clothes and ornaments. Do thou so manage that we may go to the city of Ayodhya speedily. For difficult is the way leading to Ayodhya". Being thus accosted Bibhiskana relied unto Kakutstha,—"O son of the lord of earth, may good betide thee, I shall soon take thee to that city. The car Puskpaka resembling the Sun, belonging to my brother Kuvera, was brought by the powerful Ravana. O thou of unequalled prowess, that celestial and excellent car, going everywhere at will, since the destruction of Ravana in battle, is ready for thee. And that car resembling the cloud is in the city of Lanka, in which thou shalt, relieved of thy anxiety, repair to Ayodhya. If I am worthy of being favoured by thee, if dost thou remember any accomplishment of mine—if thou hast any friendship for me, do thou, O wise one, wait here with thy brother Lakshmana and spouse Vaidehi till I accomplish all my desires by worshipping thee. And then thou shalt go (to Ayodhya) O Rama. I shall worship thee with great delight and do thou, O Rama, with thy friends and army, accept that adoration. O Rama, out of love, honour, and brotherly feeling, I do crave thy permission. I am a servant I cannot command thee". Being thus addressed, Rama replied unto Bibhishaua in the presence of all the Rakshasas and monkeys, saying:—"I have been worshipped by thee, O hero, with thy excellent counsels, with thy earnest endeavours and with thy great friendship. Do not think, O lord of Rakshasas, that I do not comply with thy request—my heart hastens me to behold my brother Bharata, who, to take me back, did come to the mount Chitrakuta, who laid low his crown at my feet and whose words I did not keep. (I am anxious to see) Kaucalya, Sumitra, Kaikeyi, with my friends, citizens and villagers. Do thou regard me, O Bibhishana, O gentle one, as worshipped. O friend do thou be not angry—I request thee. Do thou speedily being the car for me, O lord of Rakshasas—my work is done—how can I wish to live here long". Being thus addressed by Rama, Bibhishana the lord of Rakshasas, speedily brought the car resembling the Sun.

Thereupon arrived there the car adorned all over with gold paintings, altars crested with Baidurja jewels, having upper rooms, silvered all over, adorned with white flags and flagstaffs, beautified with gilt lotuses, adorned with golden houses, covered with a network of girdles, having windows made of pearls and jems, girt on all sides with a net of bells, giving forth melodious sound, resembling the summit of the mount Meru, constructed by Vicwakarma (the architect of the celestials) adorned with huge apartments beautified with silver and pearls—having its base crested with crystal, containing excellent seats made of Baidurja, abounding in valuable coverlets and immense wealth, incapable of being broken down and coursing at will. And communicating unto Rama (the arrival of that car) Bibhishana waited there. Beholding that flowery car, coursing at will and resembling a huge mountain, Rama, of a generous spirit, along with Saumitri, attained to an excess of astonishment.

SECTION 124.

Having brought that car Pushpaka, adorned with flowers and having stationed himself at a distance, Bibhishana the lord of Rakshasas, being incited to hurry on, humbly and with folded hands, spoke unto Rama, saying, "What shall I do, O Raghava?" Hearing those words the highly powerful Raghava, in the presence of Lakshmana, gave vent to the following accents out of affection—"All these monkeys and bears have brought about the accomplishment of my work with great care. Do thou, satisfy them, O Bibhishana, with diverse jewels and riches. With these and thee, I conquered the city of Lanka, lord of Rakshasas. They all fought with a delighted heart, having renounced all fear of life and who did never go away from the battle-field. Do thou, with a gift of riches and jewel, make good the work of these monkeys and bears who encompassed the accomplishment (of my end). Being honoured and delighted by thee grateful, all these leading monkeys shall repair (to their respective quarters). (If thou art found to be) sacrificing, self-controlled,

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compassionate and (the just) collector of revenues, all shall be attached unto thee. For this I do address you (thus). O lord of men, the soldiers, disgusted, renounce that king who is void of all royal accomplishments, and who uselessly slays soldiers in the conflict". Being thus accosted by Rama, Bibhishana, with a distribution of jewels and riches, honoured all those monkeys. And beholding all those leading monkeys worshipped with jewels and riches Rama ascended that excellent car, taking the bashful, and high-minded Vaidehi on his lap and accompanied, by his powerful brother Lakshmana, a skilled bowman. And being stationed on the car Kakutstha honouring all the monkeys, the highly powerful Sugriva and Bibhishana, said—"O foremost of monkeys, ye have performed a friendly service—it hath been appreciated by me—do ye repair to your wished-for quarters. O Sugriva, thou, ever afraid of impiety, hast performed all that a loving and well-wishing friend should do. Do thou, encircled by thy army, proceed towards Kishkindha. Do thou, O Bibhishana, live in thy kingdom, Lanka, conferred upon thee, by me. Not even the celestials, headed by Indra shall be able to assail thee. I wish to return to Ayodhya, the capital of my father's (kingdom). I wish to obtain your permission (and for this) I have invited you all". Being thus addressed by Rama, all the leading monkeys bears as well as the Rakshasa Bibhishana said with folded hands—"We wish all to go to Ayodhya. Do thou take us. We shall all range with delight at forests and gardens. Beholding thee installed and bowing unto Kaucalya, we shall soon return to our respective homes, O foremost of kings". Being thus accosted by the monkeys with Bibhishana, the virtuous-souled Rama, spoke unto them and Sugriva and Bibhishana, saying—"Dearer than the dear, I shall attain to, when returning my city, along with you all, I shall enjoy in the company of all my friends and relatives. O Sugriva, do thou soon ascend the car along with the monkeys. Do thou ascend too, O Bibhishana, lord of Rakshasas, with all thy courtiers". Thereupon ascended that celestial car Pushpaka, Sugriva, greatly delighted with the monkeys and Bibhishana, with his courtiers. And they all having got up, the excellent car, of Kuvera at the command of Raghava, rose up in the welkin. And in that car coursing at will and drawn by effulgent ganders, Rama greatly delighted appeared like Kuvera (himself). And all the monkeys, bears and the highly powerful Rakshasas sat in that celestial car unobstructed and at their pleasure.

SECTION 125.

Being commanded by Rama, that excellent car, drawn by ganders, with a huge noise, rose high up in the welkin. And casting his looks on all sides, Rama, the descendant of Raghus, spake unto Sita, the daughter of the king of Mithila, having a moon-like countenance, saying,—"O Vaidehi, do thou behold Lanka, situate on the summit of the mount Chitrakuta, resembling that of Kailaca and constructed by Vicwakarma. And behold, O Sita, that huge arena of battle, bathed in the blood and flesh of the monkeys and Rakshasas. Do thou behold, O thou having expansive eyes, Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, the repressor of people and who obtained a boon, lying there, slain by me on thy account. Kumbhakarna was slain there, the night-ranger Prahasta, as well, and Dumraksha, were slain by the monkey Hanuman. Bidyutmali was slain there by the high-souled Sushena—and Indrajit, the son of Ravana, was slain there in the encounter, by Lakshmana. The Rakshasa named Bikata was slain there by Angadi—and Birupaksha, hard to look at and Mahaparsha and Mahodara. And the powerful Akampana was slain (there) and all other Rakshasas—Trishira, Alikaya, Devantaka and Narantaka—and the two leading and powerful Rakshasas, mad after conflict—the sons of Kumbhakarna—Nikumbha and Kumbha, Bajradanstra, Danstra and many other Rakshasas were slain and the irrepressible Makaraksha was slain (there) by me in the conflict. Akampana was slain—and the powerful Sonitaksha. And Yupaksha and Prajangha were destroyed (there) in the great conflict. The grim-visaged Rakshasa Viddutsjmha was slain there—and Yajnasatru and the highly powerful Suptaghna. (And there was slain) Suryasatru and Brahmasatru. (And there bewailed for Ravana) his spouse Mandodari, surrounded by his thousand other wives. O thou having an excellent countenance, do thou behold the descending place of the ocean, where I spent the night after crossing the deep for thee. O thou having expansive eyes, for thee, this difficult construction of the bridge was made by me over the deep by the help of Nala. Do thou, O Vaidehi, behold the unagitated deep—the abode of Varuna, appearing as if without the other end, roaring and abounding in conchs and pearl oysters. O Maithili, do thou behold the golden mount, which rose above the deep for affording a resting place unto Hanuman. And on the bank of this ocean I halted with my soldiers. And here Mahadeva, the lord of the celestials, was propitiated with me. It behoveth thee to behold this descending place of the high-souled Ocean, known as Setubandha, worshipped of the three worlds, highly sacred and destroying even the worst sin. There, Bibhishana, the king of Rakshasas first came to me. Do thou behold, O Sita, Kishkindha, having beautiful gardens, the pleasant city of Sugriva, where Vali was slain by me". And beholding the city of Kishkindha, ruled over by Vali, Sita, incited by her love, addressed Rama, with worthy words, saying—"O king, I wish to repair to Ayodhya thy capital with thee, in the company of Tara, the dear wife of Sugriva, as well as of the wives of other leading monkeys". Being thus addressed by Vaidehi Raghava replied—saying, "this shall be done" and getting at Kishkindha he stopped the car. And having beheld the car stationed he spoke unto Sugriva, saying—"O foremost of monkeys, do thou speak unto all the leading monkeys that they may go to Ayodhya accompanied by their wives. O thou of great strength—they may all go with Sita. Do thou hurry them on, O Sugriva. We shall (soon) go, O thou the lord of monkeys". Being thus addressed by Rama, of unmitigated prowess—the beautiful lord of monkeys, encircled by them, entered speedily the inner apartment and beholding Tara there, said—"O dear, at the command of Raghava and the kind desire of Sita, do thou soon go, taking with thee the wives of all the high-souled monkeys. We shall see Ayodhya and the wives of Dacaratha". Hearing the words of Sugriva, Tara, having a perfectly beautiful person, assembling all the wives of the monkeys, said—"You have been ordered by Sugriva to repair (to Ayodhya) with the monkeys;—to behold Ayodhya, is also a dear object of mine. (I shall behold) Rama enter the city with the citizens and villagers and the wealth and riches of the wives of Dacaratha". Being thus commanded by Tara, the wives of the monkeys, putting on all their ornaments and circumambulating (her) ascended the car, with a view to behold Sita. And beholding the car going up with them all, Raghava again spoke unto Sita, near the mount Rishyamuka, saying,—"Do thou behold there, O Sita, the huge and foremost mount Rishyamuka abounding in gold and various metals, like unto clouds accompanied with lightnings. There I was joined by Sugriva, the lord of monkeys. And there I entered into an agreement, O Sita, for the destruction of Vali. And there is (the lake) Pampa abounding in lilies and skirted by picturesque forest where separated from thee, I bewailed piteously. And on its bank I beheld the pious Savari. And there I slew Kavandha and Yoyanavahu. Behold there, O Sita, a beautiful tree, in Janasthana, where, O thou ever used to luxuries, for thee, the highly powerful and energetic Yatayu, the foremost of birds, was slain by Ravana. Do thou behold there, O thou of a beautiful person, O thou of auspicious looks, our hermitage and the beautiful cottage of leaves, wherefrom thou hadst been carried away by force by the lord of Rakshasas. Do thou behold there the beautiful and sacred river Godaveri having clear water and the hermitage of Agastya, surrounded by plantain trees. Do thou behold there, O Vaidehi, the great hermitage of Sarabhanga, where came the thousand-eyed, Sakra, the subduer of enemies' cities. O worshipful dame, O thou having a middle stature—amongst all those ascetics, thou beholdest, there lived Atri, the lord of our family—resembling the fire of the Sun. There was slain the huge-bodied Biradha by me. There thou didst behold, O Sita, the female ascetic (the wife of Attri) ever performing pious observances. There cometh in view, O thou having a beautiful person, the king of mountains, Chitrakuta, where to propitiate me, came the son of Sumitra. Behold the beautiful Yamuna, having picturesque forest on its bank and the pleasant hermitage of Varadwaya. Behold there the sacred river Ganges, dividing itself into three branches. Behold there the city of Sringabera, where I made friendship with Guha. Behold there, O Sita, the capital of my father. Do thou bow unto Ayodhya, O Vaidehi". Thereupon all the monkeys and Rakshasas along with Bibhishana rose up delightedly and saw the city. Thereupon the monkeys and Rakshasas beheld the city abounding in white houses having spacious compartments, filled with elephants and horses and looking like Amaravati, the capital of Mahendra.

SECTION 126.

Having completed the fourteen years (of exile), the self-controlled elder brother of Lakshmana, arriving at the hermitage of Varadwaya on the fifth day, saluted the ascetic. And bowing unto Varadwaya, having asceticism for his wealth, he said,—"O thou gifted with six sorts of wealth, hast thou heard of the prosperity and well being (of my city)? Is Bharata still engaged (in guarding the people)? Are my mothers living?" Being thus addressed by Rama the great ascetic Varadwaya replied, delighted, and smiling, unto that foremost of Raghus,—"Abiding by thy command and with matted locks, Bharata is waiting for thee, always honouring thy sandals. And all others are well in thy house. O subduer of thy enemies, I was greatly pained, when I saw thee before entering the huge forest, wearing bark, three with thy wife [i.e. thyself, Lakshmana and Sita.], deprived of thy kingdom for piety only, walking on foot, renouncing every thing, obeying the command of thy sire, deprived of all comforts, like a celestial banished from heaven, deprived of thy kingdom at the words of Kaikeyi, and living on wild roots and fruits; but beholding thee now of accomplished end, with all thy friends having vanquished the enemy, I have attained to highest delight. O Raghava, I am apprised of immense griefs and happinesses which befell thee when thou didst live in Janasthana. Thy blameless spouse was carried away stealthily by Ravana engaged as thou wert in the behoof of the Brahmanas, and in the protection of all the ascetics. The view of Maricha—the carrying away of Sita,—the beholding of the headless demon,—thy going to (the lake) Pampa,—thy friendship with Sugriva, where Vali was slain by thee,—the enquiry of Vaidehi undertaken by the son of Wind-god,—the construction of the bridge by Nala after the whereabouts of Vaidehi had been known—the conflagration of Lanka by the delighted and the leading monkeys—the destruction, in the conflict, of Ravana proud of his own strength, along with his sons, friends, courtiers, army and steeds—the arrival of the celestials on the destruction of Ravana, the thorn of gods and the grant of boon by them—I have known all these by virtue of my asceticism, O thou fond of virtue. My disciples used to go hence to that city to bring tidings. I shall even now grant thee a boon, O foremost of those using weapons. Do thou accept my Arghya* and then repair to Ayodhya to-morrow". [* A respectful oblation to gods or venerable men of rice, durva grass, flowers etc with water in a small boat-shaped vessel.] And respectfully abiding by his words, that effulgent son of the king, delighted, begged of him the boon. "O thou gifted with six qualities, on my way while proceeding to Ayodhya, let all the trees, bearing fruits out of season, and producing honey, bear many a nectar-smelling fruit". No sooner he replied saying,—"Thy promise shall be fulfilled" than all the trees there became like those of heaven. Trees without fruits were filled therewithal and trees without flowers were covered with them. All the trees, whose leaves were dried up, were enveloped with foliage and all of them began to pour honey. The way to Ayodhya for three yojanas was thus filled all over (with trees). Thereupon thousands of monkeys, living, at pleasure and delightedly, on various celestial fruits, thought as if they were in heaven.

SECTION 127.

Thereupon beholding Ayodhya, Rama, the descendant of Raghu, of light movements and desirous of affording delight unto others, thought of welcoming (them). Thinking thus the intelligent and effulgent (Rama) cast his looks towards the monkeys and spoke unto Hanuman, saying,—"O foremost of monkeys, speedily reparing to Ayodhya do thou learn of the welfare of all people in the palace of the king. Arriving at the city of Sringavera, do thou communicate unto Guha, the king of Nishadhas* having the forest as his kingdon, my well-being, at my command. [* A low caste aboriginal Hindu corresponding to our Chandalas always living in the forest. The Raja of Ramnud in the district of Madura in Madras traces his descent from this Guha.] Hearing that I am hale and hearty and relieved of all troubles, Guha, my friend like my own self, shall attain to delight. And Guha, the lord of Nishadhas, delighted, shall inform thee of the way to Ayodhya and the well being of Bharata. Do thou ask of Bharata his well-being at my words, and communicate unto him my (arrival) with Lakshmana and my spouse after having made good the vow (of my sire)—the carrying away of Sita by the powerful Ravana—the friendship with Sugriva and the destruction of Vali in the conflict—the search of Maithili instituted by thee having got over the huge lord of rivers—the advance (of the monkeys) to the banks of the deep—the view of the ocean, the construction of the bridge—the destruction of Ravana,—the grant of boon by Mahendra, Brahma and Varuna—my meeting with my father by the favour of Mahadeva. Do thou, O gentle one, communicate unto Bharata, my arrival here with the lord of Rakshasas and king of monkeys. (Tell him) 'vanquishing his foes and attaining to excellent fame Rama hath arrived at the gate of the city with his valiant friends, having satisfied the vow (of his sire).' Thou shouldst read the signs expressive of joy or sorrow that Bharata shall display on hearing this and infer therefrom his attitude towards me. Thou shouldst know, from the colour of his countenance, his looks and his words, all the movements and actions of Bharata. Whose mind doth not change obtaining such an ancestral kingdom, filled with all prosperity and abounding in elephants, horses and chariots? If the effulgent Bharata, the descendant of Raghu, ruling over it, wisheth the kingdom for himself, let him lord over the entire earth. Therefore, O monkey, it behoveth thee to come back speedily apprised of his intention and movements, before we proceed further". Being thus commanded, Hanuman, the son of Wind-god, assuming a human shape speedily proceeded towards Ayodhya. Hanuman the son of Maruta rose up in the welkin with velocity like unto Garuda ready to fall upon a huge serpent. Then crossing the Wind-path and the abode of the birds, getting over the terrible confluence of the Ganges and Yamuna, reaching the city of Sringavera and meeting Guha, the energetic Hanuman, delighted, (addressed him) with the following excellent words—"Thy friend Rama, the descendant of Kakutstha, having truth for his prowess, with Sita and son of Sumitra, hath enquired of thy welfare. Having spent five nights* till to-day, he, having obtained permission from the ascetic Varadwaja, shall proceed to-morrow". [* Having spent five nights after the expiry of fourteen years of

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exile he is living at the hermitage of Varadwaja. He shall leave that place to-morrow.] Having said this the highly energetic monkey, not caring for the exhaustion of travel, greatly delighted and with hairs erect, rose up with great velocity. Beholding the holy river sanctified with the name of Parasurama, the rivers—Balukini, Baruthi, Gomati, the huge forest of Sala trees, the various countries populated with thousands of people, and proceeding a great distance speedily, that foremost of monkeys got at the trees near Nandigram [The country of Bharata's maternal uncle.] like unto those of Chaitraratha, the garden of the lord of celestials the flowers whereof were being plucked off by many a damsel accompanied by their children decked in various ornaments. He saw at a distance of one crosafrom Ayodhya, Bharata wearing the skin of an antelope, poorly, greatly reduced, living in a hermitage, wearing matted hairs, having his body covered with dirt, greatly pulled down in consequence of his brother's disaster, living on roots and fruits, self-controlled; living the life of an ascetic, observing pious observances, with a bundle of clotted hairs on his head, wearing bark and deer skin, having control over his passions and senses, effulgent like Brahmarshis, ruling the earth always placing the sandals before him, protecting people of four Varnas against all fear, with courtiers, priests leading a holy life and soldiers all wearing red clothes; around him. All those citizens, fond of piety, did not like to use good clothes beholding the prince use bark and deer skin. Thereupon Hanuman, the son of Maruta spake with folded hands unto him, conversant with piety like virtue incarnate, saying—"Kakutstha, living in the forest of Dandaka with bark and matted hairs, for whom thou art lamenting, hath enquired after thy welfare. Do thou, O worshipful sire, speak out thy welfare and renounce the dreadful grief. Thou shalt in this moment be reconciled to thy brother Rama. Slaying Ravana, and regaining Maithili, Rama, having accomplished his end, hath arrived here with his valiant friends. The highly effulgent Lakshmana and the famed Vaidehi (have also come). Sita fareth well with Rama like unto Sachi in the company of Mahendra". Being thus addressed by Hanuman, Bharata, the son of Kaikeyi, delighted, fell down all on a sudden in a swoon of joy. Thereupon rising up in no time, and welcoming him, Bharata, the descendant of Raghu, spake unto Hanuman communicating the pleasant tidings, the following words. And embracing the monkey respectfully the graceful Bharata sprinkled him with profuse tears not out of grief but of joy. He said,—"Art thou a man or god who hast kindly come here? O gentle one, I shall confer upon thee, who hast communicated unto me this pleasant tidings, hundreds and thousands of kine, hundreds of prosperous villages, sixteen young wives, pious, wearing excellent Kundalas, golden-hued, having beautiful noses and breasts, having moon-like countenances, decked with all ornaments and born of respectable families". And hearing from that leading monkey of that wonderful return of Rama, the son of the king, delighted became anxious to behold him and again addressed joyously Hanuman with the following words.

SECTION 128.

"I hear the tidings of my brother affording me great delight who hath been living in the huge forest for many a year. The saying of the people appeareth to me as instinct with well meaning that a man, if alive, may attain to joy even after a century. Do thou relate truly unto me, how and in what country the union between Raghava and the monkeys was brought about". Being thus accosted by the prince and seated on Kuca, he, thereupon, began to describe Rama's life in the forest. "How Rama was exiled, the two boons conferred upon thy mother, how king Dacaratha died in consequence of (his) son's grief, how by emissaries, O lord, thou wert brought up from the house of thy maternal uncle, how thou didst not wish for the kingdom having entered Ayodhya, how thy brother, the repressor of enemies, was solicited by thee for accepting the kingdom, reparing to the mount Chitrakuta, who hast ever wended the track of the pious, the renouncement of kingdom (by him) abiding by the words of the king, thy return after taking the sandals of thy revered (brother)—all these, O thou of long-arms, are known to thee. I shall relate unto thee all that happened after thy return. Thyself having returned thence, all the birds and animals were overwhelmed with terror and that forest appeared as if distressed. Thereupon he entered the solitary and huge and dreadful forest Dandaka distressed by the elephants and abounding in lions, tigers and deer. And they entering the dense forest there appeared before them the powerful Biradha [A demon of that name.] emitting a dreadful sound. And taking him up roaring aloud like an elephant Rama threw him with his arms upwards and face downwards into a pit. Having accomplished that difficult work the two brothers Rama and Lakshmana, arrived in the evening at the pleasant hermitage of Sarabhanga. And Sarabhanga having attained to heaven, Rama, having truth for his prowess, saluting all the ascetics, repaired to Janasthana. And by the high-souled Raghava, living there, fourteen thousand inhabitants of Janasthana were slain. In the company of one person only and at the commencement of the fight, by Rama, within the one fourth part of a day, were exterminated all the highly powerful and valiant inhabitants of the forest of Dandaka always putting obstructions in the way of the ascetics. All the Rakshasas were grinded (to death) by Raghava. Khara was slain in the conflict; Dushana being slain first Trishira was slain thereafter by him. Thereafter (a she-demon) named Surpanakha, came to the side of Rama. Thereupon being commanded by Rama, the highly powerful Lakshmana rose up all on a sudden and taking a dagger chopped off her ears and nose. Being thus insulted by him that she-demon came to Ravana. Thereupon a dreadful Rakshasa named Maricha—an attendant of Ravana, assuming the shape of a jewelled deer, allured Vaidehi. And beholding it, Vaidehi spake unto Rama, saying,—'Do thou catch it; with it when caught our hermitage shall be more charming.' Thereupon Rama, with bow in his hand, pursued that deer and with one shaft destroyed it. O gentle one, Raghava going out on hunting, and Lakshmana having issued out of the hermitage, the Ten-necked (demon) entered therein. And he speedily got hold of Sita, like unto Rohini possessed by the planet in the sky. Thereupon slaying the vulture Yatayu in the conflict desirous of rescuing her and getting hold of Sita that Rakshasa speedily repaired (to his capital). Thereupon some monkeys resembling mountains, stationed on the summit of a mountain, stricken with wondrous fear and astonishment, beheld Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas proceed with Sita. Ascending the car Puskpaka, going at will, with Vaidehi and hastening his course that highly powerful Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas entered Lanka. And entering the huge and excellent golden palace Ravana consoled Maithili with (diverse) words. But she regarded that foremost of Rakshasas and his words as straw. And Vaidehi was placed in the forest of Asoka. Thereupon returned Rama after having slain the deer in the forest. Having returned and seen the vulture, dearer than his father, slain, Rama, the descendant of Kakutstha was pained. And searching Vaidehi and ranging at the banks of Godaveri and forest-lands covered with flowers, Rama with Lakshmana, met in that huge forest a Rakshasa named Kavandha. Thereupon at the words of Kavandha, Rama, having truth for his prowess, repairing to the mount Rishyamuka, was united with Sugriva. There had grown mutual love in them before they were known to each other. Sugriva was driven away by his angry brother Vali. And informed of each other's affairs their friendship grew closer. There-upon slaying the huge-bodied and highly powerful Vali in the conflict by virtue of the strength of his own arms Rama obtained (for Sugriva) his own kingdom. And being placed on the throne with all the monkeys, Sugriva promised unto Rama the enquiry of the Princess (Sita). Being commanded by the high-souled Sugriva, the lord of monkeys, ten kotis of monkeys repaired to (various) quarters. Among them some of us lost our way in a cavity of the Vindhya mountain, and were striken with great terror—and accordingly much time was lost. The powerful brother of the king of vultures named Sampati communicated unto us the residence of Sita in the palace of Ravana. Thereupon removing the grief of my relatives stricken with sorrow and resorting to my own prowess, I jumped over a hundred yojanas and beheld her placed in the forest of Asoka, wearing a red cloth, pale, deprived of all joy and observing strict penances. And then nearing her and beholding her of a perfectly blameless person I bestowed upon her an ensign a ring with Rama's name engraven on it. And obtaining a jewel as an ensign, I, with my object accomplished, returned. And having returned I presented Rama of unwearied actions with that ensign of a brilliant gem. And hearing (of the news of Vaidehi) Rama regained his life like one on the verge of death regaining his being after drinking nectar. And exciting (his soldiers) for making preparations like unto Fire about to destroy all people he made up his mind for the devastation of Lanka. Thereupon arriving at the banks of the ocean he had a bridge constructed by Nala by which the army of monkey-heroes crossed (the deep). Nala destroyed Prahasta, Raghava slew Kumbhakarna, Lakshmana killed the son of Ravana and Rama himself slew Ravana. He was then met by Sakra, Yama, Varuna, Siva, Brahma and Dacaratha. And that graceful descendant of Kakutstha, the slayer of foes, obtained the boon from them as well as from the saints assembled there—(celestial and otherwise). Having obtained the boon he, delighted, met the monkeys and in the car Pushpaka reached Kishkindha. Again reaching the Ganges he is living with the ascetic; it becometh thee to behold him to-morrow under the auspices of of Pushya*, without any hindrance". [* The lunar asterism comprising three stars of which one is the Cancer.] Thereupon being delighted with the sweet accents of Hanuman, Bharata addressed him, with folded hands, with words affording delight, saying,—"After a long time my desire hath been fulfilled".

SECTION 129.

Hearing those words affording great delight, Bharata, the slayer of enemies, having truth for his prowess, delighted, ordered Satrughna, (saying),—"Let all people being purified worship all the deities and altars of the city with fragrant garlands and diverse music. Let all the bards conversant with the chanting of the pedigree, the flatterers, all those conversant with music, the dancing girls, the queens, the courtiers, the soldiers with their wives, Brahmanas, Kshatryas, and people of all other castes, issue out to behold the moon-like countenance of Rama". Hearing the words of Bharata, Satrughna, the slayer of enemies, divided the work amongst the servants, (saying),—"Do ye level the high and low ground from Nandigram to (Ayodhya). Do ye perfectly water the ground with cold water. Thereafter sprinkle all the places with flowers and dried paddy; hoist up flags all over the city; decorate all the houses, before the rising of the moon with garlands, jewels, flowers of gold and things of five other colours. Let hundreds of men watch the thorough-fares". Hearing the command of Satrughna, issued out with delight Dhristi, Jayanta, Vijaya, Siddartha, Arthasadhaka, Asoka, Mantrapala and Sumantra. Thereupon issued out men on horse back and in cars with thousands of mad elephants well-decked with pennons and she-elephants with golden seats (on their backs). And some heroes proceeded encircled by a thousand excellent steeds and persons carrying Sakti, Risthi, maces and pennons and thousands of infantry. Thereupon proceeded Sumitra and all other wives of Dacaratha placing Kaucalya before them and seated in excellent conveyances. And hearing of the return of his brother and attaining to delight, the high-souled and pious Bharata, reduced with fasting, poorly, wearing bark and skin of an antelope and conversant with religion, issued out to receive back Rama in the company of his counsellors and encircled by the twice-born ones, the people of diverse castes, his own relations and kinsmen and ministers with garlands and Modaka [A kind of sweet meat.] in their hands, eulogized by the bards, having his arrival announced with the sound of conchs and bugles and placing the sandals of his worshipful brother on his head and taking white umbrella adorned with white garlands and white Chowries decked with gold and worthy of being used by the kings. Thereupon with the sound of the horses' hoofs and cars, conchs and bugles the earth shook. And the whole city went to Nandigram. And beholding the Wind-god's son, Bharata said,—"Didst thou not resort to the usual fickleness of the monkeys? We do not behold the worshipful Rama, the descendant of Kakutstha—the slayer of foes. Nor do we behold the monkeys assuming shapes at will". Having been addressed with those words, Hanuman replied, communicating unto Bharata, having truth for his prowess, the truth,—"Having reached the trees, covered by the favour of Varadwaja, with fruits and flowers and pouring honey, the monkeys are emitting noise like maddened black bees. O slayer of foes, this boon was granted him (Rama) by Vasava. (Varadwaya) is treating him with his army with all hospitality. Hear the dreadful noise of the delighted monkeys. Methinks the monkey host hath crossed the river Gomati. Behold the huge upheaval of dust towards the Sala forest. Methinks the monkeys are agitating the graceful Sala forest. Behold there at the distance the car resembling the Sun. This celestial car Pashpaka, constructed by Brahma's mind, was obtained by the high-souled (Rama) after having slain Ravana with his friends. This celestial car, resembling the newly risen Sun, coursing at will and carrying Rama (was gained) by the favour of the Giver of wealth. (There are) the two heroic brothers—the descendants of Raghu with Yaidehi, the highly effulgent Sugriva and the Rakshasa Bibhishana. Thereupon with the sound of "there is Rama" there arose a joyous noise reaching the abode of the celestials from among women, children, the young and the old. Thereupon descending upon the earth from chariots, elephants and horses all people beheld him (Rama) stationed on the car like unto the moon in the sky. And facing Raghava and with folded hands Bharata delightedly worshipped him with agreeable words, Arghya and water to wash his feet. There appeared in the car constructed by Brahma's mind the elder brother of Bharata having expansive eyes like the immortal wielder of thunder-bolt. Thereupon Bharata humbly saluted his brother Rama seated on the top of the car like unto the Sun on the summit (of the mount Meru). And commanded by Rama that excellent car drawn by ganders got down on the earth with great velocity. And ascending that car, Bharata, having truth for his prowess, reaching Rama, delighted, again bowed unto him. And raising Bharata up who had been seen after a long time and placing him on his lap Kakutstha, delighted, embraced him. There-upon Bharata, the slayer of foes, bowed unto Vaidehi and welcomed Lakshmana. And the son of Kaikeyi (then in turn) embraced Sugriva, Jambavana, Angada, Mainda, Dwivida, Nila and Rishava. And he then embraced Sushena, Nala, Gabaksha, Gandhamadana, Sarabha, and Panasa. And assuming human shapes, those monkeys, assuming shapes at will, delightedly enquired after Bharata's well-being. And embracing Sugriva, the foremost of monkeys, the highly effulgent prince Bharata, the foremost of the pious, said—" O Sugriva, thou art our fifth brother. From brotherliness groweth friendship and doing injury is the sign of an enemy". And Bharata then addressed Bibhishana with soothing words—"It is by fortune that through your help he hath accomplished such a difficult work". Thereupon the

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heroic Satrughna saluting Rama and Lakshmana, respectfully bowed unto Sita. And having approached his mother, pale and pulled down with grief, Rama humbly touched her feet and enhanced her delight. And thereupon saluting Sumitra, famed Kaikeyi and all his mothers he approached the priests. Thereupon all the citizens with folded hands welcomed him saying—"Welcome art thou, O thou of long arms! O thou the enhancer of Kaucalya's joy!" And the elder brother of Bharata observed the folded hands of the citizens like so many blown lotuses. And himself taking the sandals of Rama, Bharata, conversant with piety, placed them at the feet of that lord of men. Thereupon Bharata with folded hands spoke unto Rama, saying—"This all thy kingdom, which thou didst leave to my care, I return thee. Blessed is my birth to-day and accomplished is my desire, since I behold thee again as king in Ayodhya after thy return. Do thou examine thy wealth, treasury, palace and army. By thy favour I have increased all these ten fold". Hearing Bharata speak in that wise and beholding him devoted to his brother all the monkeys and the Rakshasa Bibhishana shed tears. Thereupon placing Bharata, in delight, on his lap, Raghava, with his army in that car, proceeded towards Bharata's abode. And reaching Bharata's palace Raghava with his army descended upon the earth. Thereupon Rama said to the excellent car—"Do thou (now) go to Vaisravana—I do permit thee". Thereupon being thus commanded by Rama, that excellent car, proceeding towards the north, reached the abode of the Giver of wealth. That celestial car Pushpaka had been taken away by the Rakshasa (Ravana); but now at the words of Rama it reached (again) the Giver of wealth. And touching the feet of his priest the powerful Raghava sat on a separate and excellent seat like unto Sakra, the lord of immortals (by the side of) Vrihashpati.

SECTION 130.

Thereupon having placed her palms on his head Bharata, the enhancer of Kaikeyi's joy, spoke unto his elder brother Rama, having truth for his prowess, saying,—"Abiding by my mother's request thou didst confer this kingdom upon me; I do return thee the kingdom thou didst give me. Like unto a young one unable to carry a heavy burden thrown off by a powerful bull I am unable to carry this huge burden (of the kingdom). I do consider this kingdom infested with thieves, difficult to govern, as it is difficult to re-construct a bridge broken down by a powerful current of water. As an ass cannot follow the course of a horse and a crow cannot follow that of a gander, so I am unable, O hero, O slayer of foes, to follow thy footsteps. If a tree planted in the inner appartment of a house, growing huge with a big trunk and many branches, is dried up as soon it blossoms without bearing fruits, his object for whom it is planted, becomes fruitless. And this simili, O thou of long-arms, shall prove good in thee, if dost thou not, our master, govern us, O lord of men, who are thy servants. Let the world, O Raghava, behold thee installed (to-day) like unto the powerful mid-day Sun burning in effulgence. Do thou sleep and rise up with the sound of stringed instruments, womens' girdles and Nupuras and charming songs. Do thou govern the people as long as the solar system exists and as far as the earth extends". Hearing the words of Bharata, Rama the conqueror of enemies' cities, saying,—"So be it" sat on an excellent seat. Thereupon at the command of Satrughna, expert, skilful and quick-handed barbers gathered round Raghava. At first, Bharata, the highly powerful Lakshmana, Sugriva the lord of monkeys, and Bibhishana the lord of Rakshasas bathed. Thereupon shorn of his matted hairs, bathed, with paste excellent garlands and precious clothes on, he appeared there shining in grace. The valiant and graceful Satrughna, the upholder of the dignity of Ikshwaku race, himself got ready the dresses for Rama and Lakshmana. And all the high-minded wives of Dacaratha with their own hands decked Sita with various charming (ornaments). Thereupon Kaucalya, delighted and fond of her son, herself with great care, decorated the wives of monkeys. Thereupon at the words of Satrughna, the charioteer by name Sumantra got ready the perfectly beautiful car. And beholding that celestial car, bright as the fire of the sun, stationed before him, Rama, having long arms, the conqueror of enemies' cities, ascended it. Sugriva and Hanuman, graceful like Mahendra, bathed, dressed in celestial clothes and wearing excellent Kundalas, proceeded (to view the city). And then went Sita and all the wives of Sugriva decorated with all ornaments and wearing excellent Kundalas, anxious to behold the city. All the ministers of king Dacaratha in Ayodhya began to hold consultation respectfully with the priest. Asoka, Vijaya and Siddhartha, with undivided mind, consulted with each other about the welfare of Rama as well as that of the city. (Thereupon they ordered the servants) saying,—"Do ye collect materials necessary for the auspicious installation of the high-souled (Rama) worthy of being crowned with victory". The priest and the ministers having ordered thus all speedily issued out of the city to behold Rama. Like unto the thousand-eyed Indra in his car drawn by horses the blameless Rama, seated in his car, proceeded towards the excellent city. Bharata took up the reins, Satrughna held the umbrella and Lakshmana began to fan him on the head with Chowries. And Bibhishana, the lord of Rakshasas standing on one side, took up the white Chowrieshining like the second moon. There was audible the sweet encomium of Rama chanted by the crowd of ascetics in the sky, the celestials and the Marutas. Thereupon the highly effulgent Sugriva, the foremost of monkeys, got up upon an elephant named Satrunyaya resembling a mountain. And riding nine thousand elephants proceeded the monkeys assuming human shapes and adorned with various ornaments. And with the music of conches and bugles that foremost of men entered the city abounding in houses. (And the citizens) beheld Raghava enter the city with a graceful person and seated in the car. And they having bowed unto that descendant of Kakutstha were welcomed by him. And they followed that high-souled one encircled by his brothers. And surrounded by his courtiers, Brahmanas and subjects Rama appeared beautiful like unto the Moon encircled by stars. And he went proceeded by men who play on stringed instruments, by people with Karatal and Sustika in their hands and by men chanting delightedly auspicious songs. Persons with Akshata and gold in their hands, kine, girls, Brahmanas and persons with Modaka in their hands went before Rama. Thereupon before the ministers Rama began to describe the friendship of Sugriva, the prowess of the Wind-god's son and the works accomplished by the monkeys. And hearing of the works of the monkeys and the prowess of the Rakshasas, the inhabitants of the city of Ayodhya attained to astonishment. Having related thus (the works of the monkeys) the graceful Rama encircled by the monkeys entered (the city of) Ayodhya abounding in delighted and plump persons. Thereupon the citizens hoisted up flags upon every house and he reached the picturesque abode of his ancestors inhabited by the descendants of Ikshwaku. And having reached and entered his ancestral palace and bowed unto Kaucalya, Sumitra and Kaikeyi, the high-souled prince, the enhancer of the joy of the descendants of Raghu, addressed Bharata the foremost of the pious, with sweet words instinct with meaning, saying,—"Do thou set apart for Sugriva my huge and excellent palace abounding in pearls and Vaidurjas". Hearing those words, Bharata, having truth for his prowess, taking Sugriva by the hand, conducted him to the palace. And commanded by Satrughna, (servants) speedily entered (that palace) with oil, lamps, bedsteads and beddings. Thereupon the highly effulgent younger brother of Raghava spoke unto Sugriva, saying,—"Do thou, O lord, order some (to bring water) for Rama's installation". And Sugriva conferred upon four leading monkeys four golden jars crested with diverse jewels and said to them,—"Do ye so conduct, O monkeys, that ye may return by the dawn with the jars filled with the water of the four oceans". Being thus addressed by the high-souled (Sugriva) the monkeys resembling the elephants speedily rose up in the welkin like unto quick-coursing vultures. Jambavana, Hanuman, the monkey Vegadarshi and Rishabha brought the jars filled with water from five hundred rivers. Sushena, gifted with prowess, brought that jar crested with gems, filled with water from the Eastern Ocean. And Rishabha speedily brought water from the Southern Ocean. And Gabaya brought, from the great Western Ocean in that golden jar, water perfumed with the fragrance of red sandal and camphor. And the virtuous-souled Wind-god's son, gifted with all accomplishments and the prowess of Garuda and Wind-god, brought, speedily from the Northern Ocean, water in that jewelled jar. And beholding water thus brought by the leading monkeys for the installation of Rama, Satrughna, with his ministers, communicated that unto the leading priests and friends. Thereupon the self-controlled Vasishtha, striken in years, along with other Brahmanas placed Rama with Sita on a jewelled seat. Vasishtha, Vijaya, Javali, Katyayana, Goutama and Bamadeva, sprinkled that foremost of men, with clear and fragrant water as Vasus did the thousand eyed Vasava. (He was then sprinkled by) the Rittigas, Brahmanas, maidens ministers, soldiers and the merchants all delighted. (There-upon) with the juice of Oshadhis [A domestic chaplain—a family priest..] (he was sprinkled by) the celestials stationed in the sky, the deities presiding over the four quarters and all other celestials collected. And having placed him on a seat crested with various jewels in the arena decorated with gold, various jewels and rich parapharnalia, (he placed on his head) the jewelled crown made by Brahma, brilliant and with which in the days of yore Manu and other kings, born in his race, were installed. And being decked by the high-souled Vasishtha with that crown, Raghava was afterwards dressed with the celestial garments by the Rittigas [An annual plant or herb—one that dies after becoming ripe.]. And Satrughna held the white and excellent umbrella and Sugriva the lord of monkeys took the white Chowrie. And Bibhishana the lord of Rakshasas took up another Chowrieresembling the moon. And the wind commanded by Vasava conferred upon Raghava, a garland of a hundred golden lotuses, shining in their native lustre. And the wind commanded by Sakra conferred upon that lord of men a jewelled garland crested with diverse gems. The intelligent and worthy Rama being installed the celestials and the Gandharvas sang and the Apsaras danced. The earth was filled with crops, the trees with fruits and the flowers were fragrant on the occassion of Raghava's installation. And that foremost of men conferred upon the twice-born ones one million of horses, a hundred thousand cows and a hundred thousand bulls. And Raghava again conferred upon the Brahmanas thirty crores of golden coins and diverse costly ornaments and clothes. Thereupon that lord of men conferred upon Sugriva a celestial garland brilliant like the rays of the Sun and crested with gold and jewels. And he, gifted with intelligence, conferred upon Angada, Vali's son, two Angadas [A kind of ornament worn on upper arms.] brilliant as the rays of the moon and made of Baidurja. And Rama conferred upon Sita an excellent pearl necklace crested with precious jems, celestial clothes and various excellent ornaments. And taking off the necklace from her person Vaidehi, the daughter of king Janaka, conferred it upon the Wind-god's son remembering the services (rendered by him) and cast her looks again and again upon her lord and the monkeys. And beholding that (Rama) capable of reading the gestures, spoke unto the daughter of king Janaka, saying—"O fortunate and beautiful lady, do thou confer this necklace upon him with whom thou art pleased". Thereupon the lotus-eyed (Sita) conferred that upon the Wind god's son. And Hanuman, the foremost of monkeys, in whom perpetually exist, energy, forgiveness, fame, skillfullness, prowess, humility, tactics, manliness, valiance and intellect, appeared with that necklace like a mountain beautified with the rays of the moon and white clouds. And all other elderly and leading monkeys were respectively honoured with clothes and ornaments. And being honoured by Rama of unwearied actions with enough of jewels and other wished-for objects, Bibhishana, Sugriva, Hanuman, Jambavan and other leading monkeys, delighted, returned to their respective habitations. Thereupon, the lord of earth and the slayer of foes conferred, all wished-for things, upon Dwivida, Mainda and Nila. And beholding (the installation of Rama) the high-souled monkeys, taking leave of the lord of earth, went to Kishkindha. And beholding the inauguration of Rama, Sugriva, the foremost of monkeys, honoured by Rama, repaired to the city of Kishkindha. And having obtained his own kingdom, the greatly famous and virtuous-souled Bibhishana, with all the Rakshasas, repaired to the city of Lanka. Having slain his foes, the highly generous and glorious Rama, ruled in great delight, the kingdom extending all over the earth. And Rama, fond of the pious, spoke unto Lakshmana, conversant with piety; saying—"O thou conversant with piety, do thou with me and four-fold forces, govern this kingdom, ruled by our predecessors. Like unto our ancestors do thou now carry the burden of an associate in the throne". When the son of Sumitra did not accept the heir apparentship albeit solicited earnestly again and again, the high-souled (Rama) conferred upon Bharata that dignity. And that son of king performed various sacrifices such as Paundarika [A kind of sacrifice.], Aswamedha [A kind of sacrifice in which a horse is slain.], Bajimedhaand others. And governing the kingdon for ten thousand years Raghava performed ten horse-sacrifices with excellent horses and profuse presents. And that highly powerful Rama, having his arms extended up to the knee-joint, having a spacious breast and Lakshmana as his attendant, ruled the earth (in this wise). And obtaining that excellent kingdom, the virtuous-souled Raghava performed many sacrifices with his sons, brothers and friends. And Rama governing the kingdom, the widows were not distressed and there was no fear from voracious animals or from diseases. The people were saved from the thieves and there was no other trouble. And the old were not constrained to perform the funeral ceremonies of the children. All were delighted and devoted to pious observances. And beholding Rama they did not envy one another. And Rama governing the kingdom, (people) lived for a thousand years and had a thousand children,—they were freed from diseases and sorrow. And the trees bore fruits and flowers perpetually—there were showers at will and the wind blew pleasant. And the people delighted engaged in their respective works and the subjects grew pious and truthful, under Rama's regime, and were devoted to the observance of all pious works and gifted with all auspicious marks. And Rama ruled the kingdom for ten thousand years. And this sacred Epic, the first of its kind, affording piety, fame, and long life, and describing the conquest of the kings, was composed by Valmiki in the days of yore. He, who on this earth, shall hear (this story) shall be divested of sins. People, wishing for children, shall obtain the same and those, wishing for riches, shall get by them. Thus people on this earth shall attain to their wished-for objects hearing of this Rama's installation—the king may conquer the earth and subdue his foes. Females may obtain sons (in the same way) as Kaucalya gave birth to Rama, Sumitra to Lakshmana and Kaikeyi to Bharata. Hearing the story of this work describing the victory of Rama of unwearied actions one may attain to a long life. He, who with devotion and having his anger subdued, shall hear the story of this epic written by Valmiki in the days of yore shall get over all troubles. And hearing the story of the Epic composed by Valmiki in the days of yore, one living in foreign countries, shall return home and enjoy in the company of his friends. Hearing this people shall secure all their

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wished-for objects from Raghava and the celestials shall be greatly delighted. When this book is kept in a house it becomes free from the disturbance of evil spirits. Hearing this a king may conquer the earth, and one living in a foreign country fareth well. If a female, during her monthly course, hears the story, she shall give birth to an excellent son. By reading and worshipping this ancient history people are freed from all sins and attain to a long life. The Kshatryas, bending low their heads, should hear this daily from the Brahmanas. Hearing or reading the whole of Ramayana, forsooth shall people get sons and riches. Rama is ever pleased with him. He is the ever-existing Vishnu—the first God, the huge-armed Hari, Narayana and Lord. This ancient work produceth such fruits. May good betide ye. Do ye openly declare that Vishnu's prowess may increase. The celestials shall be greatly delighted for reading or hearing this story of Rama and the progenitors shall be always pleased. Those, who shall write this story of Rama first recorded by the Rishi (Valmiki) shall reach the region of Brahma. Hearing this people attain to, on this earth, multiplied relations, increased wealth and crops, beautiful wives, excellent happiness, and the accomplishment of all desires. They attain to long life, health, fame, intellect, prowess, and good brothers. Therefore it behoveth those good men, who wish for prosperity, to hear this story perpetually.

THE RAMAYANA
UTTARAKANDAM
SECTION 1.

On the Rakshasas having been slain, all the ascetics, for the purpose of congratulating Raghava, came to Rama as he gained (back) his kingdom. Kaucika, and Yavakrita, and Gargya, and Galava, and Kanva—son unto Madhalithi,—who dwelt in the east, (came thither); and the reverend Swastyastreya, and Namuchi, and Pramuchi, and Agastya, and the worshipful Atri, and Sumukha, and Vimukha,—who dwelt in the south,—came in company with Agastya. And Nrishadgu, and Kahashi, and Dhaumya, and that mighty sage—Kauceya—who abode in the western quarter, came there accompanied by their disciples. And Vasishtha and Kacyapa and Atri and Vicwamitra with Gautama and Jamadagni and Bharadwaja and also the seven sages [Ursa Major, or the Great Bear, the seven stars of which are the souls of as many saints,—Marichi, Atrai, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and Vasistha.], who for aye resided in the northern quarter, (came there). And on arriving at the residence of Raghava, those high-souled ones, resembling the fire in radiance, stopped at the gate, with the intention of communicating their arrival (to Rama) through the warder. And that foremost of ascetics—the righteous Agastya—versed in various branches of learning and cognisant of the Vedas along with their branches,—addressed the warder, saying,—"Do thou say unto Dacaratha's son that we—the sages—have come (here)." Then at the words of Agastya, the gate-keeper quick3 and swift presented himself with celerity before the high-souled Raghava. And that one versed in polity and emotional expressions, of worthy ways, possessed of ability and endowed with patience, swiftly seeing Rama resembling the full moon in brightness, communicated unto him the arrival of that supreme of saints—Agastya. Hearing of the arrival of the anchorets, possessed of the effulgence of the sun new-risen, he answered the warder, saying,—"Do thou usher them in, having regard to their comfort." And seeing the ascetics before him, Rama with joined hands worshipped their feet with arghyas, and with regard consecrated a cow unto each, and saluting them with a collected mind, he ordered seats (for the saints). And having, according to their rank, seated themselves on gorgeous and superb seats of Kuca or deer-skins embroidered with gold, those foremost of sages—those mighty saints, versed in the Vedas,—along with their disciples and leaders, having (previously) been asked as to their welfare, addressed Rama, saying,—"O son of Raghu. O mighty-armed one, complete welfare is ours. By good luck it is that we see thee fortunate, with all thy foes finished. By good luck it is that, O king, Ravana—destroyer of creatures—hath been slain by thee. Sure, O Rama, it was no great matter for thee (to slay) Ravana along with his sons and grandsons. Furnished with thy bow, thou canst, without doubt, destroy the three worlds themselves. By good fortune it is, O Rama, that Ravana along with his sons and grandsons hath been slain by thee. By good fortune it is that to-day we see thee victorious along with Sita, and, O righteous-souled one, with thy brother, Lakshmana, (ever) compassing thy profit. (By good fortune it is) that, O king, to-day we behold (thee) in company with thy mothers and thy brothers. By good fortune it is that those night-rangers, Prahasta, and Vikata, and Virupaksha, and Mahodara, and the unconquerable Akampana, have all been slain (by thee). By good fortune it is, O Rama, that he than whose proportions there are no other's greater on earth,—even Kumbhakarna, was brought down (by thee). By good luck it is, O Rama, that those highly powerful night-rangers. Triciras and Atikaya and Devantaka and Narantaka, have been slain by thee. By good luck it is that thou hadst been encountered in a hand-to-hand combat with that foremost of Rakshasas, incapable of being slain by the celestials themselves; and achieved victory (ultimately). To defeat Ravana in battle was (for thee) a small matter; but it is a piece of good fortune that Ravana's son, who had confronted thee for combat, hath been slain (by thee) in battle. By good fortune it is that thou, O mighty-armed one, hadst been liberated from (the bonds of) that foe of the celestials whose course resembled that of Time;—and that thou also hadst secured victory. Hearing of the destruction of Indrajit, we congratulate thee (on thy success). He was incapable of being slain by all creatures, and in battle possessed mighty powers of illusion. Hearing that Indrajit slain, amazement hath seized us all. Having conferred on us this holy freedom from fear, O Kakutstha, O repressor of enemies, thou through good fortune, wilt grow in victory." Hearing the speech of the ascetics of sacred souls, Rama, coming under the influence of a mighty wonder, said with joined hands,—"Ye worshipful ones, wherefore, passing by those exceedingly powerful ones Kumbhakarna and the night-ranger, Ravana—do ye praise Ravana's son? Wherefore, passing by Mahodara, and Prahasta, and the Rakshasa—Virupaksha—and Matta, and Unmatta, and the irrepressible Devantaka and Narantaka—redoubtable heroes all—do ye extoll Ravana's son? And wherefore, passing by Atikaya and Triciras and Dhumraksha,—that night-ranger—all endowed with exceeding prowess,—do you extoll Ravana's son? What was his prowess? And what his strength? And what his might? And by virtue of what cause did he surpass Ravana? If I can well hear the same, (do ye tell it me). I by no means command you. If the thing can bear disclosure, I would hear it. Pray, speak out. How was Sakra vanquished by him, and how also did he obtain the boon? And how was the son powerful,—and not his sire—Ravana? How could that Rakshasa, surpassing his sire, conquer Sakra in mighty encounter, and how did he obtain the boon? O foremost of anchorets, do thou to-day unfold all this unto me, who ask (for the same)."

SECTION 2.

Hearing those words of his, the exceedingly energetic Kumbhayoni spoke as follows,—"Having regard to his (Indrajit's) energy and might, I shall relate unto thee the history of his race, in the light of which thou wilt perceive why Ravana's son had been capable of slaying his enemies, but could not himself be slain by them. I shall, O Raghava, describe unto thee Ravana's race and birth, as well as the boon that had been conferred on him.

"Formerly in the Krita age, O Rama, there was a Brahmarshi—lord (of creatures)—son unto Prajapati, and like unto the very self of the great-father. His virtues, springing from righteousness and excellency of character, are past all delineation; I can only say that, forsooth, he went by the name of Prajapati's son. Verily on account of his being the son of Prajapati, he was the darling of the deities; as by virtue of his spotless perfections, that magnanimous one was loved of all creatures. And on a religious mission that foremost of ascetics, repairing to the asylum of Trinavindu at the side of the mighty mountain, Meru, took up his abode there. And with his senses centered on the study of the Vedas, that righteous-souled one, going to the hermitage, carried on austerities; but his religious rites were disturbed by certain girls. And daughters of sages and Pannagas and those of Rajarshis,—as well as those of Apsaras, sporting, arrived at that quarter. And on account of every season being genial at that spot and also of the loveliness of the wood, the damsels, repairing to this place, ever disport there. And on account of the beauty of that region, those wenches, coming to where that twice-born one, Pulastya was, used to sing, to play on instruments, and to dance; and thus those blameless beauties disturbed the rites of that anchoret practising austerities. Thereat, the mighty ascetic, waxing wroth, said,—'She that comes within my kin, shall conceive.' Hearing the words of the high-souled one, (the damsels), afraid of a Brahmana's curse, ceased to haunt that place. But Trinavindu's daughter had not heard anything of all this; and, going to the asylum, she ranged it fearlessly. And she did not see there any of her associates come to that spot. And at that time that exceedingly energetic and mighty sage, Prajapati's son, with his soul sanctified through asceticism, was engaged in the study of the Veda. And, hearing the sounds of Vaidika recitation, and seeing that storehouse of asceticism, she had her body turned pale, and signs of pregnancy displayed themselves. And, seeing that evil befall her, she was wrought up with anxiety; and, understanding matters, she said,—'What is this?' And, going to her father's hermitage, stayed there. And, seeing her in this condition, Trinavindu said,—'Wherefore is the person that thou bearest unlike what it used to be?' Thereat, in woe-begone guise, with joined hands, his daughter replied unto that one having asceticism for his riches,—'O father, cause know I none whereby I have come by this appearance. But, searching for my associates, I had ere this alone repaired to the noble asylum of the Maharshi Pulastya of a purified spirit. But associate found there I none, that had come thither. And seeing this change for the worse of my form, I from fear have come hither.' Thereat the Rajarshi, Trinavindu, having a live effulgence through asceticism, entered into contemplation, and saw the consequence of the sage's act. And coming to know that curse of the Maharshi of a purified spirit, he, taking his daughter, went to Pulastya and said,—'O worshipful one, O mighty sage, do thou accept this daughter of mine, adorned with her native perfections, who of herself hath come to thee as alms. She will, without doubt, constantly tend thee, practising asceticism, and having thy senses fatigued.' When that virtuous (sage) had said this, the twice-born Rajarshi, desirous of accepting the girl (after due nuptial rites), said unto the former,—'Well!' Having given away his daughter, the king went (back) to his asylum; and the girl stayed there, gratifying her husband with her virtues. And that best of ascetics was gratified with her character and behavior. And well pleased (with her), that highly energetic one said,—'O thou of shapely hips, well-pleased am I with thee with thy wealth of worth, and therefore, O exalted one, I will to-day confer on thee a son like unto thyself, who will perpetuate both the lines [i.e. maternal and paternal lines.]—being celebrated as Paulastya. And as thou hadst heard the Veda recited by me, so, without doubt, he shall be named Vicrava [From the root, Sru—to hear.].' Thus addressed, that noble damsel with her soul wrought up with delight, in a short time brought forth her son Vicrava famed over the three worlds and furnished with virtue and fame; versed in the Vedas, of an impartial spirit, and ever engaged in observing vows. And the ascetic, Vicrava, was furnished with asceticism even like his sire."

SECTION 3.

"And Pulastya's son—that prime of ascetics—Vicrava—in a short time was engaged in asceticism like his father. And he was truthful, and of excellent character and controlled senses; was ever engaged in the study of the Vedas; and was of a sanctified spirit; and he was not addicted to any of the pleasures of life, and was always studious of religion. Learning of his ways, that mighty ascetic, Bharadwaja, gave unto Vicrava for his wife, his own daughter, Devavarnini. And having religiously wed Bharadwaja's daughter, that foremost of ascetics, Vicrava, conceiving the highest delight, began to reflect on the welfare of his offspring with an intelligence concentrated on them. And on her that one cognisant of righteousness begot a child, exceedingly wonderful, endowed with energy, and adorned with all Brahma qualities [Such as self-control, asceticism, purity, etc.]. On his having been born, his grand-father was rejoiced, and, marking the profitable intelligence (of the boy, he thought that) he would be the lord of riches. And well-pleased, (Pulastya) in company with the Devarshis (thought),—'Inasmuch as this is Vicrava's offspring, and as he resembles Vicrava himself, so he should be known by the name of Vaicravana. And then the exceedingly energetic Vaicravana, repairing to the wood of asceticism, increased (in power) like unto a fire fed by sacrificial oblations. And as he was staying in the hermitage, that high-souled one thought,—'I shall practise prime righteousness: verily virtue is the supreme way.' And for a thousand years, he, having his senses controlled, practised rigid austerities in that mighty forest, observing (all the while) the most rigorous restrictions. And on a thousand years having been numbered, he by turns observed the rules relative to each term; (at first) living on water, (then) on air, and (last) going absolutely without any fare. Thus passed away a thousand years like one. And then the highly energetic Brahma along with Indra and the celestials, coming to that asylum, addressed (Vaicravana), saying,—'O child, I am well-pleased with thee for this act of thine, O thou of excellent vows. Do thou, good betide thee, ask for the boon (that thou wouldst have), for, O magnanimous one, thou art worthy of a boon. 9 Then Vaicravana said unto the great-father, who was present,—'O reverend one, I crave for the power of maintaining and protecting people.' Thereat, Brahma along with the deities gladly said in a gratified spirit,—'Very well! I am about to create the fourth of the Protectors of creatures—Yama, Indra and Varuna,—the position which is sought for by thee. Do thou, O thou cognisant of righteousness, attain the same; do thou receive the position of the lord of riches. Thou shalt be the fourth among Sakra, the lord of waters, etc. And do thou take for thy vehicle this car, named Pushpaka, resembling the Sun himself, and thus raise thyself to an equality with the celestials. Good betide thee! We shall (now) go whither we had come, having, my child, done my duty and bestowed on thee the couple of boons.' Having said this, Brahma along with the celestials went to his own quarters. On the deities with Brahma at their head, having departed for the heavenly regions, the self-possessed lord of wealth of subdued senses with joined hands spoke unto his sire, saying,—'O reverend one, I have received the wished-for boon from the great-father, but the exalted lord of creatures hath not fixed any abode for me. Therefore, O lord, do thou seek out some dwelling for me, where no creature whatever can come by misfortune.' Thus accosted by his son, that best of ascetics, Vicrava, spoke, O righteous one,—'Listen! O excellent one. On the shore of the

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Southern sea there is a mount named Trikuta. On its brow is a beautiful and broad city built by Vicwakarma, named Lanka, resembling the city itself of Indra the great, designed for the abode of Rakshasas,—like unto the Amaravati of Indra. There in Lanka, do thou, forsooth, reside. That romantic city is surrounded with a golden wall and a moat, and is furnished with engines and weapons; and hath gateways of gold and lapises. Formerly she was renounced by the Rakshasas afflicted with the fear of Vishnu; and was empty of swarms of Rakshas, who had gone to the nethermost regions. Now Lanka is vacant,—and there is no one that lords it over her. Do thou, my child, for abode, at thine ease repair thither. Thy stay there shall meet with no rub, and no manner of disturbance shall occur there.' Hearing the righteous speech of his sire, that virtuous-souled one along with thousands of delighted and joyous Rakshasas, began to reside in Lanka stationed on the top of the mount. In a short time (Lanka), through his sway, abounded (in wealth). And that foremost of Nairitas, the righteous son of Vicrava, well-pleased, abode in Lanka having the Ocean for her entrenchment. At times the righteous-souled lord of riches, mounted on Pushpaka, in humble guise visited his father and mother. And hymned by hosts of deities and Gandharvas, having his mansion graced with the dancing of Apsaras, and floating on rays like the sun himself, that ruler of riches went to his sire."

SECTION 4.

Hearing the words uttered by Agastya, Rama wondered as to how formerly Rakshasas were generated in Lanka. And then shaking his head, he, struck with wonder, momentarily eying Agastya, addressed Agastya resembling fire, saying,—"O worshipful one, hearing thy words that formerly Lanka had been in the possession of the flesh-eaters, I have been seized with great amazement. We had heard that the Rakshasas had sprung in the race of Pulastya. But now thou hast said that they owe their origin to a different source. But were they more powerful than Ravana and Kumbhakarna and Prahasta and Vikata and the sons of Ravana? Who was their progenitor? And what was the name of that one of terrific strength? And through what transgression were they driven out by Vishnu? All this, O sinless one, do thou tell me in detail, and do thou dispell my curiosity even as the sun dispells darkness."

Hearing Raghava's words, fair and fraught with polished phrase and period, Agastya, struck with surprise, said unto Raghava,—"The lord of creatures sprung from water, first created water. And the lotus-born one generated creatures for protecting that element. And thereupon those creatures humbly presented themselves before the creator, saying,—'What shall we do? We are sore tried by hunger and thirst.' The lord of creatures, laughing, addressed them, saying,—'Ye men, do ye carefully guard this (water).' Thereat some said 'Rakshama [i.e. We shall protect.],' and others 'Yakshama [We shall worship.].' Thus accosted by those afflicted with hunger and thirst, the creator said,—'Those among you who have said 'Rakshama,' shall be Rakshasas; and those among you who have said 'Yakshama,' shall be Yakshas. And there sprang the brothers—repressors of foes—Heti and Praheti—lords of Rakshasas, resembling Madhu Kaitava himself. Praheti, who was righteous, went to the wood of asceticism. And Heti exerted himself to the utmost to get himself wived. And that magnanimous one of immeasurable soul married the exceedingly terrific sister of Kala, named Bhaya [Fear.]. And on her Heti—foremost of Rakshasas and best of those having sons—begat a son, known as Vidyutkeca. And Heti's son, the exceedingly energetic Vidyutkeca, possessed of the splendour of the sun, grew up even like a lotus in water. And when that night-ranger arrived at proper youth, his sire turned his attention towards his marriage. And that best of Rakshasas—Heti—in the interests of his son asked for the hand of Sandhya's daughter, like unto Sandhya [The evening Twilight, spouse of the Sun.] herself in potency. Sandhya, reflecting that she needs must have to be given away by her, bestowed her on Vidyutkeca, O Raghava. Having obtained Sandhya's daughter, the night-ranger, Vidyutkeca, sports with her even as Maghavan doth with the daughter of Puloma. And it came to pass that after a length of time, O Rama, Sala Katankata was filled with child by Vidyutkeca, as the clouds are furnished with water by the Ocean. And then repairing to Mandara, the Rakshasi brought forth her child, having the splendour of rain-charged clouds; even as Ganga had delivered herself of the child begotten by Fire. And having delivered herself of her offspring, she again became bent on disporting with Vidyutkeca. And then forsaking her son, she began to sport with her husband; and the child having sounds resembling the rumbling of clouds, was renounced (by his mother). And forsaken by them both, the infant furnished with the brightness of the autumnal sun, entering his clenched fist into his mouth, began to cry slowly. And it so fell that, journeying with Parvati, Siva, riding his bull through the aerial regions, heard the sounds of weeping. And along with Uma, he saw the Rakshasa's son, as he was crying. And sent by Parvati, whose heart was moved by compassion, Bhava—destroyer of Tripura—made that Rakshasa's offspring attain the age of his mother, and conferred on him immortality. And for compassing Parvati's pleasure, Mahadeva, indestructible and undeteriorating, granted (the Rakshasa) the power of ranging the air. And, O son of the king, Uma also bestowed a boon: 'Henceforth the Rakshasis shall conceive in a day, bring forth (child) in a day, and the child shall in a day be furnished with the age of its mother.' And then the great and magnanimous Sukeca, puffed up with the receipt of the boons, having obtained auspiciousness at the hands of the lord, Hara, began to range everywhere, even as Purandara did on having obtained heaven."

SECTION 5.

"Seeing Sukeca righteous and furnished with the boon, a virtuous Gandharva, named Gramani, of the effulgence of fire, who had a daughter, called Devavati, like unto a second Sri herself, famed over the three worlds, and endowed with beauty and youth,—bestowed her on Sukega as if he had bestowed the goddess of fortune of the Rakshas. And like an indigent person on obtaining wealth, Devavati, on obtaining her beloved husband, affluent in consequence of having received the boon, was (greatly) delighted. And in her company, that night-ranger appeared graceful, even as a mighly elephant sprung from Anjana [Elephant.] doth in the company of a she-elephant. In good time Sukeca, O Raghava, begot (on her) three sons, resembling the three Fires, And that lord of Rakshasas begot (on her) three sons, resembling his three eyes—the Rakshasas Malyavan, Sumali and that foremost of the strong—Mali; all resembling the three worlds possessing themselves in calmness; like unto the three Fires established; fierce like unto the three vinntras,—dreadful like three diseases springing respectively from morbid Air, Bile and Phlegm. [The entire edifice of Hindu Pathology is based on the three-fold division of the morbid humours into Air, Bile and Phlegm. This division, albeit it may appear crude and unscientific to Europeans, taken all, in all, wonderfully answers its purpose. The tact displayed by Hindu physicians in diagnosing diseases on this method is wonderful. From feeling the Pulse alone, a Hindu physician, getting at the predominance of one or more morbid humours of the system, can accurately ascertain a patient's health. The infallibility with which predictions of death are generally made, attests the scientific soundness of the division in question, and renders superfluous any elabourate argument in its defense.] And the sons of Sukeca, having the energy of the three Fires, grew up like a disease which hath been disregarded. And learning that their father had received a boon by virtue of his power proceeding from asceticism, the brothers, firmly resolved, went to Meru for practising penances. And adopting rigid restrictions, the Rakshasas, O best of kings, entered upon austerities, terrible, and capable of arousing the fear of all beings. And practising penances rare on earth with truth and candour and self-control, they afflicted the three worlds with gods, Asuras and human beings. Then that lord—the four-faced one—stationed on a superb car, addressed Sukeca's sons, saying,—'I am for conferring boons (on you).' Knowing that Brahma surrounded by Indra and the other celestials was ready to bestow boons, they, with joined hands, said, trembling like trees, 'O god that hast been adored through asceticism, if thou dost intend to confer on us a boon, let us be invincible, capable of slaying foes, immortal, lordly, and ever devoted to each other.' Thereat, saying 'So be it,' unto the sons of Sukeca, the lord Brahma, (ever) cherishing Brahmanas with affection, went to the Brahma regions. O Rama, having obtained the boons, those night-rangers, rendered intrepid in consequence of having the boon conferred on them, began to disturb celestials and Asuras. And like unto men abiding in hell, the celestials, Charanas and hosts of sages, being harassed (by Rakshasas), did not find any deliverer. And then, O foremost of the Raghus, the Rakshasas, assembled together, joyfully said unto the undeteriorating Vicwakarma—prince of artists,—'Thou by thy own energy art the architect of the great gods, endowed with energy and prowess and strength. Do thou, O magnanimous one, construct a fabric for us after our heart hard by Himavan, or Meru, or Mandara. And do thou erect a magnificent mansion for us resembling the mansion itself of Mahecwara.' Thereat Vicwakarma—the mighty-arm of the Rakshasas—spoke of a building like the Amaravati of Sakra, 'On the shore of the Southern sea is a mountain named Trikuta. A second also is there called Suvela, ye lords of Rakshasas. On the midmost peak of that mountain resembling clouds, inaccessible even to the fowls of the air, all the four quarters have been hewn with bones. If I am desired by you, I can construct the city of Lanka (there), having an area of thirty Yojanas, and measuring an hundred in length; surrounded with a golden wall and furnished with golden gateways. In her do ye dwell, ye irrepressible ones, ye foremost of Rakshasas; even as do the celestials with Indra, approaching Amaravati, And occupying the citadel of Lanka, backed by innumerable Rakshasas, ye will be invincible to foes and capable of destroying them.' Hearing Vicwakarma's speech, those foremost of Rakshasas, accompanied by thousands of followers, went to the palace and set up in the same, having a strong wall and a moat, abounding in hundreds of golden edifices. And obtaining Lanka, the night-rangers, exceedingly delighted, began to dwell therein. At this time, O Raghava, there lived at her pleasure a Gandharvi, named Narmada. O son of Raghu, she had three daughters, resembling Sri, Hri, and Kirti in splendour. And albeit no Rakshasi herself, she, beginning with the eldest, gladly married to the Rakshasas her daughters having faces resembling the full moon. And under the influence of the star, Bhagadaivata, those three exalted daughters of a Gandharvi were respectively conferred by their mother on the three several Rakshasas of eminence. And having wedded, O Rama, Sukeca's sons began to sport with their wives, like celestials sporting with Apsaras. Malyavan's beautiful spouse was named Sundari. On her he begot, do thou understand, whom;—Vajramusthi, and Virupaksha, and the Rakshasa—Burmukha,—and Suptaghna, and Yajnakopa, and Matta and Unmatta; and, O Rama, there was also born a lovely daughter of Sundari, Anala. And Sumali's wife, of face like the full Moon, named Ketumati, was dearer to him than his life itself. O mighty king, do thou, gradually, know the offspring that were begot by Sumali on Ketumati,—Prahasta, and Kampana, and Vikata, and Kalikamukha, and Dhumraksha, and Danda, and the redoubtable Suparcwa, and Sanhradi, and Praghasa, and the Rakshasa, Bhasakarna, and Raka, and Pashpotkata, and Kaikasi of luminous smiles, and Kumbhinasi—these are known as the offspring of Sumali. Mali had for wife a graceful Gandharvi, having eyes resembling lotus-petals, of a lovely look, and like unto the most magnificent Yakshi of them all. Do thou, O master, listen to me as I mention to thee, O Raghava, the offspring that Sumali's younger brother begat on her,—Anala, and Nila, and Sampati. These night-rangers—sons unto Mali—were the courtiers of Bibhisana. And those three foremost of Rakshasas, accompanied by hundreds of sons—night-rangers all—elated on account of their measureless prowess, began to worry the sages and serpents and Yakshas, and celestials with Indra (at their head). And incapable of being confronted (in battle), these resembling Death himself in energy,—wondrous elated in consequence of the boon having been conferred on them, ranging the world like unto the Wind, were ever engaged in disturbing the sacrifices (of the sages)."

SECTION 6.

"Thus afflicted, the deities, sages, and ascetics, wrought up with fear, sought the protection of that god of gods—Mahecwara—creator and destroyer of the cosmos,—unborn, of an unmanifest form, the stay of all creatures, worthy of being adored,—and the supreme preceptor (of all). And coming to that enemy of Kama and foe of Tripura—the three-eyed (Deity), the gods, with their voices faltering through fear, represented with joined hands,—'O reverend one, the creatures of the lord of creatures are being (sorely) troubled by the sons of Sukeca, given to harassing their foes,—swollen with insolence on account of the boon conferred on them by the great-father, Our asylums,—constituting our refuges,—have been divested of their power of granting shelter; and driving off the deities from the etherial regions, they are sporting there like the immortals. 'I am Vishnu!' 'I am Rudra!' 'I am the king of the celestials!' 'I am Yama!' 'I am Varuna!' 'I am the Moon!' 'I am the Sun!'—flattering themselves in this fashion, Mali and Sumali and the Rakshasa—Malyavan—as well as those going before them, are annoying (the gods), breathing exhilaration of martial spirits. Therefore, god, it behoveth thee to liberate us from fear, who have been greatly tormented by it. Do thou, assuming thy terrific form, slay the thorns of the celestials." Thus addressed by the immortals in a body, that lord, Kaparddi of red-blue hue, reflecting that it would be wrong for him to destroy Sukeca (with his own hands), spoke unto the gods:—"I shall not slay them, ye gods; they are incapable of being slain by me. But I shall unfold unto you the way in which they will be destroyed. Do ye, ye Maharshis, in the heat of this affair, seek the shelter of Vishnu. That lord will slay them." Thereat, saluting Mahecwara with the sounds of Jaya, (the celestials) afflicted with the fear of the night-rangers, presented themselves before Vishnu. And bowing down unto the god holding the conch, discus and mace, and paying him high homage, they, greatly flurried, addressed him about the sons of Sukeca, saying,—"O god, by virtue of the boon (that hath been bestowed on them), resembling the three fires, Sukeca's three sons, assailing us, have deprived us of our abode. There is a city named Lanka, stationed on the top of Trikuta, (extremely) difficult of entrance. Taking up their station at that place, the night-rangers in a body pursue us. Do thou, O slayer of Madhu, destroy them for our welfare. We have sought thy shelter. Become our refuge, O foremost of celestials. Do thou dedicate to Yama the lotuses of their faces, severed (in pieces) with thy discus. Save thee, we have none who can, while tormented with fright, inspire us with courage. Slay in encounter the elated Rakshasas along with their adherents; and even as the sun drieth up dew, do thou dispell this fear of ours." Thus accosted by the deities, that god of gods—Janarddana—who bringeth fear unto foes—cheering

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up the celestials, said unto them,—"I know the Rakshasa, Sukeca, as flushed with the boon bestowed by Icana. And I also know his sons, of whom Malyavan is the eldest. Those worst of Rakshasas that have over-riden your dignity will I, wrought up with wrath, slay (in battle); therefore, ye gods, be of good cheer." Thus addressed by the mighty Vishnu, the gods, highly rejoiced, went to their respective quarters, extolling Janardana.

"And hearing of the activity of the celestials, the night-ranger—Malyavan—addressed his heroic brothers, saying,—'The immortals and sages, going to Sankara, spake these words, desirous of our destruction,—The terrific sons of Sukeca, puffed up, and swollen on account of their strength flowing from the boon, are crossing us at every step. We have been overpowered by the Rakshasas. And, O lord of creatures, from fear of those wicked-minded ones, we cannot remain in our own homes. Therefore, to do us good, do thou, O three-eyed one, destroy them; and, O best of consuming ones, do thou with thy roars, burn them up.—Thus addressed by the deities, the slayer of Andhaka, hearing their speech, said, shaking his head and hands,—Ye gods, Sukeca's sons are incapable of being slain by me in battle. But I shall tell you the means whereby they may be slain. Do ye seek the shelter of him who holdeth the discus and mace in his hands, and who is clad in a yellow attire,—of Janardana, Hari, even of the auspicious Narayana.—Having received this counsel of Hara, they, rendering reverence unto that enemy of Kama, came to the abode of Narayana and communicated everything unto him. Then Narayana spoke unto the celestials with Indra at their head,—I will slay those foes of the celestials. Ye gods, cast off all fear!—O foremost of Rakshasas, Hari promised unto the frightened celestials that he would slay us. Therefore do ye think as to what is fit. Hiranyakacipu hath met with death (at the hands of Hari), as also other enemies of the immortals. And Namuchi and Kalanemi, and that foremost of heroes,—Sanhrada—and Radheya, and Vahumayi, and the virtuous Lokapala, and Yamala, and Arjuna, and Hardikya, and Sumbha and Nicumbhaka,—Asuras and Danavas endowed with strength and possessed of terrific prowess—all these, who, having come to the field, had never been heard of as worsted, who had performed hundreds of sacrifices, who had been well skilled in illusion, who had been versed in every branch of knowledge, and who were the terrors of their foes—have by hundreds and by thousands been destroyed by Narayana. Learning this, it behoveth you to do what would conduce to the behoof of all. It is a sore task to defeat Narayana, who wisheth to slay us.' Thereat Sumali and Mali, hearing the words of Malyavan, said unto their eldest brother, like the Acwins addressing Vasava,—'We have studied, performed sacrifices, practised charity, and obtained riches; and attaining long health and long life, we have established sterling righteousness in our path. And with arms plunging into the sea of celestials, we have conquered our unrivalled enemies. Therefore, we have no fear touching death. Even Narayana and Rudra, Sakra and Yama, ever fear to stay before us (in the field). And, O lord of Rakshasas, there is no occasion for Vishnu's displeasure of us. The mind of Vishnu hath wavered in consequence of the evil caused by the celestials. Therefore will we even avenge ourselves on the gods, from whom hath sprung this wrong.' Having taken counsel together, those powerful ones conciliated their forces. And proclaiming (their order) that preparations were to be made, all the foremost Nairitas sallied forth for battle, like unto those led by Jamva and Vritra. And, O Rama, having thus taken counsel together, with all the preparations complete, those huge-bodied and redoubtable Rakshas marched forth for conflict, mounted on cars, and elephants, and horses resembling elephants, and mules, and kine, and camels, and purpoises, and serpents, makaras, and tortoises, and fishes, and fowls resembling Garuda himself, lions and tigers and boars and Srimaras [A young deer.] and Chamaras [The domestic yak (Bos grunniens) is a long-haired domesticated kind of cattle or bison found throughout the Himalayan region of the Indian subcontinent.]. And puffed up with pride of prowess, the Rakshas march, leaving Lanka, and the enemies of the celestials went to the heavenly regions for battle. And perceiving the destruction of Lanka at hand, those deities that had taken up their quarters there, everywhere were struck with fear and felt their spirits depressed. And mounting the best of cars, the Rakshasas by hundreds and thousands with intent minds swiftly sallied forth for the celestial regions. And the deities (aforementioned) followed the tract of the Rakshasas. And at the command of Kala, terrible evil omens foreshadowing the destruction of the Rakshasa-chiefs began to arise on the earth well as in the sky. The clouds showered down bones and hot blood. The oceans overleapt their continents; and the mountains shook. And jackals of terrific forms, having voices resembling the roaring of clouds,—bursting out into a horse-laugh, began to emit cries frightfully. Creatures were one after another seen to drop down; and mighty swarms of vultures, with mouths belching forth flames, began to wheel over the Rakshasa, like unto Kala himself. And blood-footed pigeons and Sarikas [A harlot, a prostitute, a kind of sex worker.] darted off (around). And crows and two-legged cats began to cry in loud accents. But fast bound with the noose of Death, the Rakshasas, proud of their strength, disregarding these omens, march on, and do not stay their course,—Malyavan and Sumali possessed of prodigious strength, going before the Rakshasas, like flaming fires. And even as the gods take refuge under Dhata, the night-rangers take refuge under Malyavan resembling the mountain, Malyavan. And under the command of Mali, that host of Rakshasas, roaring like mighty clouds, inspired with the desire of victory, went to the celestial regions. And the lord Narayana, hearing of the preparations of the Rakshasas from a celestial messenger, set his heart on fight. And equipped with weapons and quivers, he mounted on Vinata's offspring. And donning on his mail furnished with the effulgence of a thousand suns, fastening his spotless quivers filled with shafts, being engirt with his waist-band and bright falchion, and equipped with his conch, discus, mace, Sarnga [The bow of Vishnu is so named.], sword, and other superior weapons, that lotus-eyed lord, seated on Vinata's offspring like a very mountain, set out speedily for compassing the destruction of the Rakshasas. And seated on Suparna's [Lit. fair-feathered—a name of Garuda.] back, the blue-brown Hari clad in yellow attire resembled a mass of clouds on the crest of the golden mountain, with lightning playing through it. And hymned by Siddhas and celestials and sages and mighty (semi-divine) serpents and Gandharvas and Yakhas, the enemy of the Asura hosts presented himself, bearing in his hands the discus, sword, that weapon—Sarnga—and the conch. And the Rakshasa-hosts, struck by the wind produced by the wings of Suparna, with their pennons swinging to and fro and their weapons scattered about, quaked like the blue summit of a mountain with its crags tossed about. Then the night-rangers, hemming in Madhava [One of the many designations of Vishnu.], began to pierce him with thousands of excellent sharpened weapons dyed in flesh and blood, and resembling the fire of Doomsday."

SECTION 7.

"And as clouds assail a mountain with showers, then the Rakshasas, representing clouds, setting up shouts, began to assail Narayana representing a mountain. And Vishnu of a bright brown-blue hue, being surrounded by the flower of the night-rangers with dark visages, resembled the mountain, Anjana, on which the clouds pour down. And as locusts (flood) a field, gnats (throng) about a flame, gad-flies (cluster) around a pot of honey, or makaras (range) the deep, so the shafts shot by the bows of the Rakhas, having (the energy of) the thunder-bolt and endowed with (the velocity of) the wind or thought, pierce Hari as if at the universal dissolution. And those mounted on cars (assailed him) with their cars, and those mounted on the backs of elephants (assailed him) with their elephants, and those riding horses (assailed him) with their horses, and the foot-soldiers attacked him, stationed in the sky; and the foremost of Rakshasas resembling mountains, by means of darts, rishtis and tomaras, suspended the respiration of Hari even as the pranayama* doth that of a twice-born one. [* The practice of regulating respiration and finally suspending the same. This is practised by the Yogis of India, who attribute wonderful virtues to it.] On being sore tried by the night-rangers, like the great Ocean by the fishes (residing in it), that invincible one, taking his Sarnga, showered shafts among the Rakshasas. And with sharpened arrows resembling the thunder, and endowed with the velocity of the wind, shot from his bow drawn to its fullest stretch, Vishnu cut off (Rakshasas) by hundreds and by thousands. And dashing away (the Rakshasa ranks) with his arrowy shower, even as the wind aroused dasheth away a downpour, that best of male beings blew his mighty conch—Panchajanya. And winded by Hari with his utmost might, that water-sprung king of conchs, endowed with terrific blares, roared, as if afflicting the three worlds. And the sounds of that king of conchs struck terror into the Rakshasas, even as in a mighty forest a lion (strikes terror into the hearts of) elephants in rut. And thereat the horses could not keep their ground, and the elephants were reft of their temporal flow, and shorn of their virtue at the roars of the conch, heroes began to topple down from their cars. And dight with dainty feathered parts having heads, the shafts discharged from the Sarnga, resembling thunder-bolts, riving those Rakshas, entered the earth. And in that conflict, pierced by the arrows discharged from Narayana's arm, the Rakshasas began to drop to the ground like mountains struck with the thunder-bolt. And the wounds on the persons of the foes inflicted by the discus of Vishnu discharge blood in streams, like mountains discharging streams of red chalk. And the sounds of that king of conchs, as well as those of the Sarnga, combined with the roars emitted by Vishnu himself, swallowed up the roars of the Rakshasas. And Hari by means of his shafts cut off their necks, and arrows, and standards, and bows, and cars, and ensigns, and quivers. And like fierce rays streaming about from the sun, like torrents dashing from the ocean, like elephants coming down a mountain, or like showers descending from clouds, the shafts shot by Narayana pursue (the foes) by hundreds and by thousands. And even as an elephant pursueth a tiger, a tiger a wolf, a wolf a dog, a dog a cat, a cat a snake, or a snake a rat, so the mighty Vishnu pursueth the Rakshasa host; and others, (struck down by him), measure their lengths on the ground. Then, having despatched thousands of Rakshasas, the destroyer of Madhu blew his water-sprung (conch), even as the sovereign of the celestials filleth clouds (with rain). And agitated by the arrows of Narayana, with their senses bewildered by the blares of the conch, the broken Rakshasa forces made for Lanka. And on the Rakshasa army having been broken in consequence of the beating it got at the hands of Narayana, Sumali with showers of shafts resisted Hari in the encounter; and as a mist envelopes the Sun, he enveloped him (with his arrows). Thereat, the Rakshasas again summoned up their fortitude. And fired with rage, that Rakshasa, inflated with insolence on account of his strength, setting up a tremendous roar, darted at his antagonist in the conflict, thereby seeming to revive the Rakshasas. And as an elephant flourishes its trunk, that Rakshasa, lifting up his arm adorned with ornaments, began to roar from rapture, like a mass of clouds lighted up with lightning. And (Vishnu) cut off the head flaming with ear-rings of the charioteer of the shouting Sumali; and thereat the horses of that Rakshasa aimlessly strayed hither and thither. And with his bewildered steeds Sumali wanders like a person deprived of patience, whose senses are under a hallucination. And on Sumali's car being drawn at random by his steeds, Mali, taking his bow and equipped therewith, darted at Vishnu's car and assailed that mighty-armed one as he was descending on the field of fight. And like birds entering the Krauncha [The mountain so named.], the arrows discharged from Mali's bow, graced with gold, hit Hari and entered (into his body). And thereat, as a person holding his senses under subjection is not thrown out of his mental balance, Vishnu, assailed in that encounter with thousands of arrows shot by Mali, was not disturbed ever so little. And then that creator of all beings, the reverend Gadadhara [Lit. the holder of the mace, a name of Vishnu.], twanging his bow-string, showered vollies of shafts on Mali. And getting at Mali's body, the arrows furnished with the luminousness of lightning, drink his blood, like unto serpents drinking nectar. And baffling Mali, the holder of the conch, discus, and mace, brought down Mali's crown, standard, bow and steeds. And then that foremost of night-rangers, on being deprived of his car, sprang forward, mace in hand, even as a lion bounds up from the brow of a hillock. And he with his mace smote at the forehead of that lord of birds, even as the Destroyer had smitten Icana*, or as Indra smiteth a mountain with his thunder-bolt. [* There took place an encounter between Rudra and Yama in the Sweta forest, for the protection of Markandeya and a certain king. In this battle, Yama had smitten Rudra. This is narrated in the Puranas.] On being severely struck by Mali with his mace, Garuda, writhing in torments, moved the god away from the field of battle. On the god having been removed from the field by Mali as well as Garuda, there arose a mighty din of Rakshas roaring (in chorus). And hearing the cheers of the Rakshas, Indra's younger brother, the reverend Hari, sitting awry on that lord of birds, albeit moved off from the scene of conflict, waxing enraged, from a desire of slaying (Mali) hurled his disc at him. And thereat the disc, possessed of the splendour of the solar disc, and resembling the wheel [The cycle of time.] itself of Kala, flooding all the heavens with radiance, brought down Mali's head to the ground. And that head of the lord of Rakshasas, terrific to behold, on being cut off (by Vishnu), vomitting blood, fell down before (the Rakshasas), as formerly Rahu's head' had fallen. And then the deities experiencing excess of joy set up leonine cheers with might and main, crying,—'Excellent, O god.' Seeing Mali slain, Sumali and Malyavan, burning in grief, fled precipitately towards Lanka along with their forces. And Garuda, being cheered, turned round, and growing enraged, as before drove the Rakshasas with the wind of his wings. And (some) with their lotus-faces cut by the discus, (some) with their chests crushed with the mace, (some) with their necks torn off by the plough, (some) with their heads riven by the club, and some hewn by the sword, and others pierced by arrows, the Rakshasas began to drop fast from the sky into the waters of the ocean. And as the thunder-bolt with lightning (riveth) a mighty mass of clouds, Narayana by means of the thunder-bolts of his arrows discharged from his bow, rived the night-rangers with their hair dishevelled and streaming (in the wind). And the forces having their umbrellas rent, their arms falling off, their goodly garments scattered, their entrails coming out and their eyes rolling,—became incapable of distinguishing their own party from that of the foe. And even like (the roars and the vehemence) displayed by elephants on being attacked by lions, the roars and the vehemence of the night-rangers and their elephants, sore assailed by the Primaeval Lion [Vishnu.], were equal. And driven by Hari's networks of arrows, and discharging (all the while) their own showers of shafts, those night-rangers resembling the clouds of doom, are driven like the veritable clouds of the universal dissolution drifted by the wind. And hewn in twain with swords, the foremost

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Rakshasas fell like unto hills (toppling headlong). And the Earth was seen to be (covered) with night-rangers resembling dark clouds, adorned with jewelled necklaces and ear-rings,—falling down,—as if covered with dark mountains dropping down."

SECTION 8.

"On that host being sore pressed at its back by Padmanabha [Lit. the lotus-naveled—a name of Vishnu.], Malyavan turned back even as the ocean doth on meeting with its shore. And with his eyes reddened, that night-ranger waxing wroth, shaking his head, addressed that prime of male persons—Padmanabha,—saying,—'O Narayana, thou art ignorant of the time-honoured morality of Kshatriyas; and therefore like a base wight thou slayest us, desisting from fight and exercised with fear. O lord of the celestials, he that commits the crime of slaying one that desists from fight, cannot go to the celestial regions as the fruit of meritorious acts. If thou art bent upon battle, O holder of the conch, the discus and the mace, taking up my post (here), I shall see (thy strength). Do thou show (me) the same.' Seeing Malyavan resembling the mountain, Malyavan, stay, the powerful younger brother of the sovereign of the celestials spoke unto him,—'I have removed the fear of the deities, affrighted at you, by promising that I will make root and branch work with the Rakshasas; and that same promise I am now fulfilling. I should always lay down my life for serving the celestials; and you I will slay even if ye should go to the nethermost regions.' As that god of gods having eyes resembling red lotuses was speaking thus, the lord of Rakshasas in high wrath pierced his breast with a dart. And hurled by the hand of Malyavan, the dart resonant with bells, appeared graceful on Hari's breast like lightning embosomed in clouds. Thereat drawing out the same dart, that one dear unto the Wielder of the Dart [A name of Kartikeya—the celestial generalissimo.], having eyes resembling red lotuses, aiming at Malyavan, hurled it at him. Thereat the dart discharged by the hand of Govinda like unto the Dart discharged by the hand of Skanda, rushing towards the Rakshasa like a meteor coursing towards the Anjana mountain, descended on the spacious chest of the lord of Rakshasas decked with the weight of a chain, even as the thunder-clap bursts at the summit of a mountain. And on having his mail rent, Malyavan was utterly deprived of his senses; but (anon) reposing for a while, he again stood like a moveless hill. Then taking up a javelin made of black iron girt with many a thorn, he furiously smote that deity on the chest. And that night-ranger delighting in battle, dealing a box at Vasava's younger brother, moved away to a distance measuring a bow's length. And now there arose a mighty tumult in the sky of 'Excellent!' 'Excellent!' And having struck Vishnu, the Rakshasa also hit Garuda. Thereat Vinata's son, growing enraged, drove the Rakshasas away with the wind of his wings, even as a lusty wind bloweth about sere leaves. And seeing his elder brother driven by the wind produced by the wing's of that bird, Sumali along with his forces, made for Lanka. And pushed off by the violence of the wind of (Garuda's) wings, the Rakshasa Malyavan also, joined by his own forces, departed for Lanka, covered with shame. Thus, O Rama, O lotus-eyed one, (the Rakshasas) had innumerable warriors beaten down and their foremost leaders slain. And albeit inflated with pride, they, incapable of coping with Vishnu, leaving Lanka, went to the nether regions with their wives for dwelling there. O best of the Raghus, these Rakshasas of celebrated prowess, related to the race of Salakantankata, remained under the leadership of the Rakshasa Sumali. All those exalted Rakshasas going under the name of Paulastya that had been headed by Sumali, Malyavan and Mali, were stronger than Ravana. No other than the god Narayana, holding the conch, the discus and the mace, could slay those Rakshasas—foes to the celestials and thorns in the side of the deities. And thou art that eternal god—the four armed Narayana,—the lord, undeteriorating and unconquerable, sprung to exterminate Rakshasas. The creator of beings—that one ever cherishing those seeking his refuge—appeareth at times to compass the destruction of marauders, bringing the religion of people to rack and ruin. Thus, O lord of men, to-day I have truly related unto thee at length the origin of the Rakshasas. Again, foremost of the Raghus, do thou understand the matchless birth and potency of Ravana and his sons related in detail. And that powerful Rakshasa, Sumali, afflicted with the fear of Vishnu, along with his sons and grand-sons for a long time ranged the nether regions, and the lord of riches resided in Lanka."

SECTION 9.

"After a while the Rakshasa named Sumali, coming up from the nether regions, began to range all over the earth. And resembling dark clouds, that lord of Rakshasas decked in ear-rings of burnished gold, taking his daughter like unto Sree herself without her lotus, and wandering over the earth, saw the lord of riches journeying in his Pushpaka, going to see his sire—that lord, the son of Pulastya. And seeing that one resembling an immortal and like unto fire, journeying on, (Sumali) struck with amazement, entered the nether regions from the earth. And that mighty-minded one reflected thus,—'By adopting what measure may the welfare of the Rakshasas be brought about, and how can we increase (in power)?' And that great-minded lord of Rakshasas, resembling dark clouds, decked in burnished ear-rings of gold, then began to reflect. And then the Raksha addressed his daughter, named Kaikasi, saying,—'O daughter, the time hath come when I should give thee away. Thy youth is about to be passed. (Kept back) by the fear of refusal, no suitor hath sought thee (up to this time). But desirous of acquiring religious merit, we are striving our best in thy interests. My daughter, thou art furnished with every perfection like unto Sree herself. The being father to a daughter is misery to every one that seeketh honour. O daughter, one doth not know who shall ask for one's daughter. Wherever may a daughter be conferred, a daughter stayeth, placing in uncertainty the three races to which she is related. Do thou, my daughter, seek for thy husband that best and foremost of ascetics sprung in the line of Prajapati—Pulastya's son,—Vicrava, and of thyself accept him (for thy lord). And then, O daughter, even as is this lord of riches, so thou wilt, without doubt, have sons resembling the Sun himself in energy.' Hearing that speech of his, the daughter for the sake of the dignity of her sire, going to where Vicrava was practising penances, stood there. In the meanwhile, O Rama, that twice-born one—Pulastya's son—was performing the Agnihotra, like the fourth Fire itself. And without minding that terrific time, (Kaikasi), having regard to the dignity of her sire, coming up before him, stood (there) hanging her head down towards his feet and throwing up the earth with her great foe. And seeing that one of shapely hips, having a face fair as the full Moon, (that exceedingly high-minded ascetic) flaming in energy accosted her thus,—'O gentle on, whose daughter art thou? And whence dost thou come hither? And what is thy errand? And for whom (dost thou come)? O beauteous (damsel), truly tell me this.' Thus addressed, the girl, with joined hands, said,—'O ascetic, thou art competent to get at my intent by virtue of thy own power. Yet, O Brahmarshi, know me as having come here at the mandate of my sire. My name is Kaikasi. The rest do thou read thyself.' And thereupon, the ascetic, entering into contemplation, said these words,—'O gentle lady, I have learnt the purpose that is in thy heart. O thou having the gait of a mad elephant, there reigns a powerful desire in thee for having offspring. Inasmuch as thou hast come to me at this fierce hour, hearken, thou amiable one, as to the kind of offspring that thou shalt bring forth. Thou shalt, O thou of graceful hips, bring forth terrible and grim-visaged Rakshasas delighting in frightful friends, and of cruel deeds.' Hearing his speech, she, bowing down, said,—'O reverend (ascetic), such sons of terrific ways seek I not from thee that followest the Veda. Therefore it behoveth thee to favour me.' On being thus besought by the girl, Vicrava—best of ascetics—again addressed Kaikasi, like the full Moon addressing Rohini [The planet Venus.],—'O fair-faced one, the son that thou bringest forth last, shall be like unto my line,—he shall, without doubt—be righteous-souled.' Having been thus accosted, the girl, O Rama, after a length of time brought forth a very terrible and hideous offspring having the form of a Raksha,—having ten necks, furnished with large teeth, and resembling a heap of collyrium, with coppery lips, twenty arms, huge faces, and flaming hair. On his having been born, jackals with flaming mouths and other ferocious beasts began to gyrate on the left. And that god showered down blood; and the clouds uttered forth harsh sounds. And the Sun was deprived of his splendour; and meteors began to dart to the earth. And the earth shook; and the wind swept away violently. And that lord of streams—the ocean, which was calm before, became agitated. And his sire resembling his grand-father named him, (saying),—'As this one hath been born with ten necks, he shall be called Ten-necked.' After him was born Kumbhakarna endowed with prodigious strength, than whose proportions there are none other's on earth. Then was born she that, having a frightful visage, goeth under the name of Surpanakha; the righteous Bibhishana is the youngest son of Kaikasi. On that one endowed with great strength having been born, blossoms were showered down from heaven; and celestial kettle-drums were sounded in the heavenly regions. And then there arose the sounds of 'Excellent!' 'Excellent!' And in that extensive forest those exceedingly energetic ones—Kumbhakarna and the Ten-necked one grew up,—and became the sources of anxiety to people. And Kumbhakarna, maddened to the height, devouring mighty saints devoted to religion, constantly ranged the triune world in a dissatisfied spirit. But the righteous Bibhishana, ever intent on piety, dwelt there, studying the Veda, restraining his fare, and controlling his senses. And it came to pass that after a length of time the god, Vaicravana—lord of riches—came to see his sire, mounted on Pushpaka. Seeing him, the Rakshasi—Kaikasi—flaming up in energy, coming to the Ten-necked one, represented to him,—'O son, behold thy brother, Vaicravana, enfolded in effulgence; and, albeit of equal fraternity, behold thee in this plight! Therefore, O Ten-necked one, O thou of measureless prowess, do thou so strive that thou also, my son, may be like Vaicravana himself. Hearing that speech of his mother, the powerful Ten-necked one was wrought up with exceeding great ill-will, and he vowed then,—'I truly promise unto thee that I will be equal to my brother (in energy), or excel him in it. Therefore do thou cast off this sorrow that is in thy heart.' And influenced by that passion, the Ten-necked one with his younger brother began to perform rigid acts, with his mind fixed on asceticism. 'I must through austerities have my wish,' thus fixed and resolved, he for compassing his end, came to the sacred asylum of Gokarna. And there the Rakshasa of unrivalled prowess along with his younger brother carried on austerities and thus gratified that lord—the great-father. And beings gratified (with him), he conferred on him boons bringing on victory."

SECTION 10.

Then Rama spoke unto the ascetic,—"O Brahmana, how did those exceedingly mighty brothers carry on austerities in that forest; and what kind of penances were theirs?" Thereat there Agastya said unto Rama of a complacent mind,—"The brothers severally observed the morality proper to each. And Kumbhakarna, putting forth his best energies, constantly abode in the path of righteousness. And remaining in the midst of five fires in summer, he practised austerities, and in the rainy season, soaked in water (poured down) by clouds, he sat in the heroic attitude. And in winter he always remained in the water. Thus passed away ten thousand years of that one putting forth exertions in behalf of religion, and established in the path of honesty. And the virtuous Bibhishana, ever intent on virtue and pure of spirit, remained standing on one leg for five thousand years. And when he had completed (his term of restriction), swarms of Apsaras danced, and blossoms showered, and the deities hymned (him). And for five thousand years, he adored the Sun, and with his mind concentrated in the study of the Veda, remained with his head and hands raised up. In this wise Bibhishana like a deity in Nandana passed away ten thousand years, observing restrictions. And the Ten-necked one passed ten thousand years without fare. On a thousand years being complete, he offered his own head as a sacrifice to Fire. In this way he passed away nine thousand years; and nine of his heads entered into Fire. And as in the tenth year he intended to strike off his tenth head, the Great-father presented himself at that place. And well-pleased, the Great-father came there along with the celestials. 'O Ten-necked one,' said (the Great-father), 'I am well-pleased with thee. Do thou, O thou cognisant of righteousness, at once ask for the boon that thou wishest to have. What wish of thine shall I realize? Thy toil must not go for nothing.' Thereat, the Ten-necked one, bowing down his head unto the deity, said with a delighted heart,—his words faltering with ecstacy,—'O Reverend one, creatures have no other fear than (that of) death; and enemy there is none that is like unto death. Therefore immortality is even what I crave for.' Thus accosted, Brahma spoke unto the Ten-necked one,—Thou canst not be immortal. Do thou therefore ask of me some other boon.' Thus addressed by the creator, Brahma, the Ten-necked one, O Rama, standing before him with joined hands, said,—'O lord of creatures, I would, O eternal one, be incapable of being slain by birds and serpents, Yakshas, Daityas, Danavas and Rakshasas, and the deities; for, O thou that art worshipped by the immortals, anxiety I have none from any other beings. Indeed, I deem as straw creatures such as men etc.' Thus accosted by the Raksha—the Ten-necked one—that righteous-souled one, the Great-father, along with the celestials, said,—'O foremost of Rakshasas, what thou sayest shall come to pass.' Having, O Rama, said this unto the Ten-necked one, the Great-father (again spoke),—'Hear! I, having been gratified, will confer on thee a fresh boon. O Rakshasa, O sinless one, those heads of thine which have been offered as sacrifices and which have sunk into the fire, shall again be thine. And, O placid one, I shall also confer on thee another boon difficult of being obtained,—The form that thou shalt wish to wear, shall instantly be thine. As soon as the Ten-necked Raksha had spoken thus, the heads that had been offered as sacrifices into the fire, rose up again. Having said this unto the Ten-necked one, the Great-sire of all creatures addressed Bibhishana, saying,—'O Bibhishana, gratified have I been by thee, whose intelligence is established in righteousness. Therefore, my child, O righteous-souled one, O thou of excellent vows, ask for the boon that thou wouldst have.' Thereat the virtuous Bibhishana spoke with joined hands,—'O reverend one, since the spiritual preceptor of all creatures himself (is pleased) with me,—I (deem myself) as furnished with every perfection, even as the Moon is environed with rays. If thou wilt bestow on me a boon with pleasure, then, thou of excellent vows, hear of the boon that I would have. May my mind remain fast fixed on righteousness, even when I shall happen to fall into high peril; and may I attain Brahma knowledge without any instructions! And may every sense of mine sprung during the observance of particular modes of life, be in unison with righteousness,—so that I may practise the form of religion (in harmony with any particular mode of life!) O exceedingly noble one, this best of boons, is even what is sought for by me,

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for nothing in this world is incapable of being attained by those attached to righteousness.' Then the lord of creatures, being again delighted, spoke unto Bibhishana,—'As thou art virtuous, so all this shall come to pass on thy behalf. And inasmuch as in spite of thy having been born in the Rakshasa race, thy thoughts, O destroyer of enemies, do not originate in sin, I confer on thee immortality.' Having said this, he intended to grant boons unto Kumbhakarna. Thereat the celestials in a body represented to the lord of creatures with joined hands,—'On Kumbhakarna thou shouldst confer no boons, since thou knowest in what manner doth this wicked-minded one frighten people. And, O Brahman, seven Apsaras in Nandana, ten attendants of Mahendra, as well as sages and human beings, have been devoured by this one. Considering what this Rakshasa did when he had not obtained any boon whatever, if he obtain one now he shall eat up the three worlds. Do thou then, O lord having immeasurable prowess, pretending to give him a boon, give stupifaction (instead). Thereby the welfare of people would be secured, and the honour of this one too shall be maintained.' Thus addressed by the celestials, Brahma, the Lotus-sprung one, pondered. The goddess, Saraswati, who was by his side was also agitated with anxiety. And remaining by him, Saraswati with joined hands observed,—'O god, I have come here. What work shall I accomplish?' And the lord of creatures, on having her, spake unto 'Saraswati,—'O Vani [A name of Saraswati.]! be thou the goddess of speech of this foremost of Rakshasas, favourable unto the deities. Having said,—'So be it,' she entered (within Kumbhakarna's throat); and Prajapati said,—'O Kumbhakarna, O mighty-armed one, do thou ask for the boon that thou wouldst have. Hearing those words, Kumbhakarna said,—'O god of gods, my wish is that I may sleep for a good many years.' Thereupon, saying,—'So be it,' Brahma along with the celestials went away; and the goddess, Saraswati, also again left the Rakshasa. And on Brahma accompanied by the deities going to the celestial regions, he was renounced by Saraswati, and then he regained his consciousness. And then the wicked-minded Kumbhakarna sorrowfully thought,—'What is this speech that has to-day come out from my lips? Meseems I had then been stupified by the deities that had come.' Having thus obtained the boons, the brothers endowed with flaming energy, going to the Sleshmataka wood, began to dwell there peacefully."

SECTION 11.

"Learning that these night-rangers had obtained boons, Sumali with his followers, casting off fear, rose up from the nether regions. And wrought up with exceeding great wrath, the counsellors of that Raksha—Maricha and Prahasta and Virupaksha and Mahodara—also rose up. And accompanied by his counsellors—foremost of Rakshasas—Sumali presenting himself before the Ten-necked one and embracing him, addressed him, saying,—'By good fortune it is, O child, that through thee we have had the wish that was in our heart, inasmuch as thou hast received the best of boons from him that is the foremost in all these three worlds. O mighty-armed one, that great fear arising from Vishnu, from which leaving Lanka, we had gone to the nethermost abysses, hath been removed. Full many a time, brought down by that fear, we, on being pursued (by our enemies), forsaking our homes, had gone to the nether regions along with all those (related to us). This Lanka was our city, inhabited by Rakshasas. (Now) it is inhabited by thy brother—the intelligent lord of riches. O mighty-armed one, if thou canst through self-control or charity or by a sudden display of prowess, repossess thyself of the same, a (great) thing shall have been achieved; and then, O child, thou shouldst, without doubt, be the lord of Lanka; and this Rakshasa race, which hath sunk, shall have been raised up by thee. And, O thou endowed with prodigious strength, thou shalt be the lord of all.' Then the Ten-necked one addressed his maternal grand-father, who was present, saying,—'The lord of riches is our superior; therefore thou ought not to speak thus.' On that dignified Rakshasa-chief having through moderation thus passed it by, that Raksha, understanding his intent, did not then say anything more. And it came to pass that when Ravana had resided there for a time, Prahasta addressed him in a humble speech,—'O Ten-necked one, O long-armed (hero), it doth not behove thee to speak thus. Fraternal feeling there is none among heroes. Listen to these words of mine! There were two sisters—Aditi and Diti. And mutually attached to each other, those (damsels) endowed with surpassing beauty, became the wives of that lord of creatures—Kacyapa. And Aditi brought forth the gods,—who are the lords of the three worlds. And Diti gave birth to the Daityas,—offspring of Kacyapa. O thou cognisant of righteousness, formerly this earth, O hero, having the ocean for her garment, and furnished with mountains, belonged to the Daityas; and (gradually) they grew very powerful. And then this undeteriorating triune world was brought under the dominion of the celestials. So that thou art not the only one that would act inimically (to thy brother); but this course had formerly been pursued by both the celestials and the Asuras. Therefore do thou act in conformity with my word.' Thus exhorted, the Ten-necked one, with a delighted heart, reflecting for a moment, said, 'Very well.' And wrought up with delight, the Ten-necked one endowed with prowess the very same day went to the forest, accompanied by the night-rangers. And arriving at Trikuta, that one skilled in speech—the night-ranger, Ravana—sent Prahasta in the capacity of an ambassador: 'O Prahasta, hie thee; and tell the foremost of Nairitas—the lord of riches—in my words informed with mildness,—This city of Lanka, O king, belongs to the high-souled Rakshasas; but thou hast established thyself in her. This, O sinless one, is not proper for thee. Therefore, O thou of unrivalled prowess, if thou shouldst render the same (back), I shall be highly gratified; and righteousness also thou wilt maintain.—' Thereupon, repairing to Lanka, well-protected by the giver of riches, Prahasta communicated these words unto the highly generous ruler of riches,—'O thou of excellent vows, I have been sent to thee by thy brother, the Ten-necked one, O long-armed one, O foremost of those versed in all branches of learning, do thou listen to my words, O lord of wealth,—and what the Ten-faced one says,—This beautiful city, O thou furnished with expansive eyes, was formerly inhabited by Rakshasas of dreadful prowess headed by Sumali; and for that reason, O son of Vicrava, he asks thee this. Do thou, my child, grant this unto him, who is humbly begging for it.'—Hearing these words from Prahasta, the god Vaicravana, best of those skilled in speech, answered the former, saying,—'My father had given this unto me, when it had been emptied of night-rangers; and, O Raksha, I have inhabited this place, furnished with charity, honour, and other virtues. Go and tell the Ten-necked one, as this city and this kingdom are mine, so they are thine, O mighty-armed one. Do thou enjoy this kingdom without a foe. May my kingdom and wealth never undergo division when thou art present!' Having said this, the lord of riches sought the side of his sire,—and, paying him reverence, he communicated Ravana's wish unto him: 'My father, this Ten-necked one had sent a messenger to me, saying,—Give (back) the city of Lanka, which had before been inhabited by hosts of Rakshas.—Now, O thou of excellent vows, do thou tell me what I should do.' Thus accosted, that foremost of ascetics, the Brahmarshi—Vicrava—spoke unto the lord of riches (standing) with joined hands,—'O son, listen to my words. The mighty-armed Ten-necked one had (once) spoken in my presence (to that effect). Thereat I greatly rebuked that wicked-minded one; and I said again and again in anger,—Thou disregardest (thy religion and honour). Do thou listen to my words fraught with religion and profit. Of a wicked heart, thou, with thy understanding spoilt in consequence of the granting of the boon, canst not distinguish between those deserving honour and those not; and, further, through my curse, thou hast come by a fierce nature. Therefore, O mighty-armed one, go to the mountain, Kailaca. Do thou, along with thy retainers, for the purpose of dwelling there, take up thy quarters (there). There floweth the Mandakini—best of streams, with her water covered with golden lotuses resembling suns, as also with lilies and blue lotuses and various other fragrant flowers. And coming there frequently, celestials with Gandharvas and Apsaras and serpents and Kinnaras, ever sport there, O lord of riches, thou ought not to enter into hostilities with that Raksha. Thou knowest how he hath obtained a great boon.' Thus addressed, Vicravana, for the sake of his father's dignity, with his wives and sons, with his counsellors and his vehicles and wealth went (to Kailaca). And Prahasta, going (back), joyfully spoke unto the high-souled Ten-necked one, (seated) with his counsellors and his younger brothers,—'The city of Lanka is (now) empty. Renouncing her, the bestower of riches hath gone out of her. (Now) entering into her, along with us, do thou there maintain thine own religion.' Thus addressed by Prahasta, the redoubtable Ten-necked one entered the city of Lanka with his brothers and forces and followers. And then even as the lord of the celestials ascends heaven, that foe of the immortals ascended Lanka well-divided by highways,—which had been forsaken by the lord of wealth. And having been installed, that night-ranger—the Ten-faced one—dwelt in that city; and that city teemed with night-rangers resembling dark clouds. And the lord of riches, for the sake of his father's dignity, dwelt in a palace situated on the hill bright as moon-light, graced with ornamented superb piles; even as Purandara dwells in Amaravati."

SECTION 12.

"The lord of Rakshasas was installed along with his brothers. And then he thought of the giving away in marriage of his Rakshasi sister. Then that Rakshasa bestowed his sister, the Rakshasi Surpanakha, on that lord of the Danavas and king of the Kalakas—Vidyujjibha. And having given her away, the Raksha was wandering about for the purpose of hunting, when, Rama, he happened to see Diti's son, named Maya. And seeing him accompanied by his daughter, that night-ranger—the Ten-necked one—asked him, saying,—'Who art thou that (wanderest) alone in this forest devoid of men as well as deer? And art thou accompanied by this one having the eyes of a young deer?' Thereat Maya, O Rama, answered that night-ranger, when he had asked this,—'Listen. I shall tell thee all about this. Thou mayst ere this have heard of an Apsara named Hema. She like unto the Paulomi of Satakratu was bestowed on me by the gods. And I passed a thousand years, being devoted to her. Thirteen years have passed away since she had gone on a business of the celestials, as also the fourteenth year. Then I through my extraordinary skill constructed a golden palace, adorned with diamonds and lapises. There I dwelt, aggrieved and sorrowful on account of her separation. From thence, taking my daughter, I have come to this wood. This, O king, is my daughter, grown in her womb. I have come hither with her, seeking for her husband. Verily being father to a daughter is misery to every one that seeketh one's honour. A daughter, forsooth, stayeth, ever placing the two lines* in uncertainty. [* The lines, namely, of her father and mother. The line of a mother as distinct from that of a father would be impossible under the present economy of Hindu society inasmuch as, as soon as a girl is married, she by that ceremony leaves her father's line and becomes incorporated with that of her husband. But this seems to have been otherwise in ancient times. This opens up an interesting social problem for the research of orientalists.] And on this wife of mine I have also begat two sons;—the first is Mayavi and the next Dundubhi. Thus have I truly related everything unto thee that hadst asked for it. But, my child, how can I know thee now? Who art thou?' Thus addressed, the Raksha humbly said,—Ten-necked by name, I am the son of the ascetic, Paulastya, who was born as the third son of Brahma.' Thus accosted, O Rama, by that lord of Rakshasas, that Danava and foremost of Danavas, Maya, learning that he was the son of the Maharshi, Paulastya, there desired in his heart to give away his daughter to him. And taking her hand with his own, Maya—lord of Daityas—laughing, said unto that lord of the Rlkshasas,—'This daughter of mine, O king, borne by the Apsara, Hema, this my daughter named Mandodari do thou accept as thy wife.' 'Well' thereupon the Ten-necked answered him, O Rama. And lighting a fire, he took her hand. Maya, O Rama, knew the curse of the sage touching him [Respecting his birth.]. Knowing this, he gave away his daughter, having regard to the race of Ravana's paternal grand-father; and he also conferred on him an exceedingly wonderful dart acquired through the most rigid austerities,—by which he wounded Lakshmana. Having thus wedded, that master—Lanka's lord—going (back) to that city, married his brothers. And Ravana married the grand-daughter of Virochana (on the maternal side) named Vajrajwala, to Kumbhakarna.—And Bibhishana obtained for his wife the righteous (damsel) named Sarama—daughter unto the high-souled—Sailusha—sovereign of the Gandharvas. (Sarama) was born on the shores of the lake, Manasa. And while the lake, Manasa, was swollen with water on the arrival of the rains, her mother, hearing her cries, affectionately said,—Saromavarddhata—'O lake, do not swell,' and from this circumstance, her name became Sarama. Having thus wedded, those Rakshasas, taking each his wife, set about sporting there, like unto Gandharvas sporting in Nandana. And then was born Mandodari's son—Meghanada. Him ye call Indrajit. As soon as he was born, Ravana's son, formerly crying, emitted a tremendous roar resembling the rumbling of clouds. And, O Raghava, Lanka was petrified at his voice; and (accordingly) his sire himself kept his name, Meghanada. And, O Rama, remaining hidden like a fire by fuel, Ravana's son, rejoicing (the bosoms of) his father and mother, grew up in Ravana's elegant inner apartments."

SECTION 13.

"And once on a time it came to pass that, dispatched by the lord of creatures, Sleep in her (native) form powerfully overpowered Kumbhakarna. And then Kumbhakarna spoke unto his brother, who was seated,—'O king, Sleep obstructs me. Do thou, therefore, have my mansion made.' And, thereupon, employed by the king, architects resembling Vicwakarma constructed an edifice beautiful to behold, measuring the smooth space of a Yojana diagonally and two in area; graceful to the view, and having no obstruction (to hide its beauty). And the Rakshasa caused a splendid and delightful pile to be built, adorned all round with pillars decked with gold and crystal,—having stairs composed of lapises, furnished with networks of small bells, set with ivory gateways, and containing daises dight with diamonds and crystal,—elegant throughout, and enduring,—like unto a goodly cave of Maru. And there, overcome with slumber, the wondrous strong Kumbhakarna, lying down for many thousand years, did not wake up. And while Kumbhakarna was overpowered by sleep, Dacanana [Henceforth we shall use this significant surname of Ravana, meaning Ten-faced.] without let began to destroy Devarshis, Yakshas and Gandharvas,—and going to graceful gardens, Nandana, etc., he devastated them (ruthlessly). And that Rakshasa spread destruction, even as an elephant sporting agitates a river, as the wind bringeth down trees, or as the thunder-bolt riveth mountain-peaks. Hearing of the doings of Dacagriva [Ten-necked.], and remembering his conduct chiming in with his race, the righteous lord of riches—Vaicravana—showing his fraternal affection, despatched a messenger to Lanka, seeking

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the welfare of Dacagriva. And going to the city of Lanka, he presented himself before Bibhishana. And having received him with honour, he asked him as to the cause of his visit. And having enquired after the welfare of the king as well as his kindred, Bibhishana, showed him unto Dacanana seated in his court. And seeing the king there flaming in his own energy, he (the messenger), saluting him (Ravana) with the word—Jaya—stood silent. And the envoy addressed Dacagriva seated on a superb couch, graced with a costly coverlet,—'O king, I shall tell thee all that thy brother hath said, worthy of both the character and race of your father and mother,—Enough of wrong-doing. Now thou shouldst mend thy ways. If thou canst, stay in righteousness. I have seen Nandana ravaged; and I have heard of the sages slain, and O king, of the preparations the deities are making against thee. I have been utterly disregarded by thee; but even if a boy should transgress, he should for all that be protected by his friends. Self-restrained and controlling my senses, I, adopting a terrific vow, had gone to the breast of the Himavan for practising righteousness. There I saw that lord of the gods in company with Uma. There I happened to cast my left eye on the goddess, for knowing, O mighty king, who she was,—and not for any other reason. Rudrani was staying then, wearing a surpassing form. Thereupon through the divine energy of the goddess my left eye was burnt and seemed to be covered with dust, and its lustre became tawny. Then I, going to another spacious peak of the mountain, became engaged in silently observing a mighty vow. On my term of restraint having been complete, that lord of the gods—Mahecwara—with a gratified heart addressed me, saying,—O righteous one, O thou of fair vows, I am well-pleased with this asceticism of thine. I also had observed this vow; and thou also, O lord of riches, hast done the same, A third person there is none that practiseth such a vow. This vow is hard to perform, and formerly it was I that introduced it. Therefore, O mild one, O lord of riches, do thou contract friendship with me. And thou hast conquered me by thy penances. Therefore, O sinless one, be thou my friend. And this thy left eye hath been burnt through the energy of the goddess, and hath turned tawny in consequence of having seen the grace of the goddess; so thy name shall ever be Ekakshipingali.—Then at Sankara's command I have obtained the privilege of companionship (with him). Having come here I have heard of thy evil designs. Do thou then desist from this impious course, tending to sully thy line, The celestials along with the sages are pondering over the means of compassing thy death.—' Thus addressed, the Ten-necked one, with his eyes reddened in wrath, rubbing his hands and knashing his teeth, said,—'O messenger, I have learnt what thou hast uttered. Neither thou nor this brother of mine by whom thou hast been despatched, (shall live); nor doth the keeper of riches say what is for my good. And the fool makes me hear the circumstance of his having made friends with Mahecwara. I shall never forgive what thou hast said. Up to this I had borne him, considering that he, being my elder brother and as such my superior should not be slain by me. But now hearing his (utterances), even this is my resolve. Depending upon the might of my arms, I shall conquer the three worlds. On his account solely I shall on the instant despatch the four Lokapalas to the abode of Death.' Having said this, Lanka's lord killed the emissary with his sword and made him over to the wicked Rakshasas for being eaten. Then, having performed Swastyayana*, Ravana, ascending his car, went to where the lord of riches was, bent on conquering the three worlds." [* A religious ceremony performed for propitiating any deity or malign star, and so warding off an impending disaster, or bringing luck to any undertaking. This has obtained to this day in Hindu society.]

SECTION 14.

"Accompanied by his six counsellors—Mahodara and Prahasta, Maricha, Suka and Sarana, and the heroic Dhumraksha—eager for encounter—the graceful Ravana, elated with his strength sallied out, as if consuming all creatures with his wrath. And leaving behind cities and streams and hills and woods and groves, he in a moment came to the mountain—Kailaca. And hearing that wicked-minded lord of Rakshasas, breathing high spirits, had arrived at the mount in company with his counsellors, the Yakshas could not stay before that Raksha,—and knowing 'This one is the king's brother'—went to where the lord of riches was. Going to him they in full related all about the doings of his brother. And on being permitted by the bestower of treasures, they went out for battle. And then, like unto the agitation of the ocean, there took place a mighty ferment of the forces of the Nairita king, as if making the mountain tremble. And then there took place an encounter between the Yakshas and the Rakshasas; and therein the councillors of the Rakshasa were smitten fiercely. And finding his forces in that plight, Dacagriva set up full many a cheerful shout and in wrath began to speak. Of the councillors of the Rakshasa-chief, each coped with a thousand Yakshas. And then struck with maces and clubs and swords and darts and tomaras, the Ten-necked one dived into (that deep) of a host. And rendered inert and sore assailed, Dacanana was deprived of his movements with vollies of weapons remembling torrents of rain. And albeit drenched with blood streaming down in hundreds of torrents, he like a mountain flooded with a downpour, being wounded with the weapons of the Yakshas,—doth not betray any smart. And that high-souled one, raising up his mace resembling the rod itself of Time, entered into that army, despatching Yakshas to the abode of Yama. And as a flaming fire burneth up an extensive sward of grass stocked with dry fire-wood, he began to consume that Yaksha army. And as the wind scattereth clouds, the small remnant of Yaksha army was scattered by the redoubtable councillors of (Ravana)—Mahodara, Suka, etc. And some were wounded, and (some) broken down, and (some) measured their lengths on the ground in the encounter, and other Yakshas deprived of their arms in the field, being fatigued, sank down, embracing each other, even as banks drop down, on being worn away by water. And no room was left (in the sky) in consequence of its being thronged by hosts of sages; and warriors, wounded and rushing for conflict, and (finally) ascending heaven. And finding the foremost Yakshas endowed with great strength give way, the mighty-armed lord of riches dispatched (other) Yakshas. In the meantime, O Rama, a Yaksha named Sanyodhakantaka, accompanied by an extensive force and a large number of vehicles,—on being despatched, rushed (on the foe). And wounded in the conflict (by Sanyodhakantaka) with his discus, as if by Vishnu himself, Maricha toppled down to the ground from the mountain, like unto a planet whose merit hath waned, And in a moment regaining his consciousness and resting (for a while), that night-ranger fought with the Yaksha; and thereat, on being defeated, he fled. Then (Ravana) entered within the gate-way (of the palace), garnished with gold, and decked with lapises and silver, And thereat, O king, the warder named Suryyabhanu prevented the night-ranger—Dacagriva—as he was entering. And albeit prevented, the night-ranger entered in. And when, O Rama, that Rakshasa was prevented, he did not stay. And then struck by that Yaksha with the gate-way uprooted, he, discharging blood in streams, looked like a hill with minerals running on it. And hit with that gate-way resembling a mountain-summit in splendour, that hero did not sustain any injury, on account of the boon he had received from the Self-sprung. And on being struck by the same gate-way, the Yaksha ceased to be seen, his body having then been consumed to ashes. And witnessing the prowess of the Raksha, all began to flee; and then they afflicted with affright, fatigued, and with pale faces, entered into rivers and caves, leaving their arms behind."

SECTION 15.

"Seeing the foremost of the Yakshas by thousands undergoing trepidation, the lord of riches spoke unto a mighty Yaksha—Manichara,—'O foremost of Yakshas, slay the wicked Ravana, set on sin; and do thou (thus) become the refuge of those heroic Yakshas, who are carrying on the conflict.' Thus addressed, the mighty-armed and invincible Manibhadra, surrounded by four thousand Yakshas began the fight. And attacking the Rakshasas with maces and clubs and bearded darts, and with darts tomoras and bludgeons, the Yakshas rushed at (their adversaries). And fast safely whirling about like hawks, they fought fiercely. And (some) said, 'Well, give me battle,' and (others), 'I don't want,' and (others, again), 'Let me have (fight)'. And then the celestials and the Gandharvas and the sages studying the Vedas, beholding the great encounter, were filled with mighty amazement. And a thousand of the Yakshas were slain by Prahasta in the conflict; and another thousand of capable warriors were slain by Mahodara. And O king, in the twinkling of an eye Maricha, waxing wroth and eager for encounter brought down two thousand (of enemy's soldiers). Where is the candid-coursing fight of the Yakshas and where the fight of the Rakshas by help of the power of illusion; and therefore in that battle the advantage was on the side of the Rakshasas. And Dhumracksha, confronting Manibhadra in the mighty conflict hit him at the chest with a bludgeon; but he did not move thereat. And then Manibhadra dealt the Rakshasa a blow with his mace; and thereat Dhumracksha smit at the head fell down senseless (on the ground). And seeing Dhumrackhsa wounded and down, bathed in blood, the Ten-necked one rushed at Manibhadra in the encounter. And then that foremost of Yakshas hit Dacanana with three darts as he was rushing in wrath. And on being thus hit, (Ravana) struck at Manibhadra's head; and at that stroke his crown was depressed at one side. And from that day forth that Yaksha remained with his head hollow on one side. And on the high-souled Manibhadra having been baffled, a great uproar, O king, rose in that mountain. And then at a distance, the lord of riches, mace in hand, accompanied by Sukra and Praushthapada and Padma and Sanka saw (Ravana) in the field. And seeing his brother in the encounter with his glory obscured through the curse (he had ere this come by), the intelligent (lord of Yakshas) spoke in words worthy of the line of his grand-father,—'As, O wicked-minded one, thou desistest not, albeit forbidden by me, thou shalt, afterwards attaining the fruit of this, and repairing to hell, know (the fate that followeth thee). That perverse one, that through ignorance having drunk poison, neglects to adopt proper measures, knoweth the consequence of his act ultimately. The gods have set their face against thee on account of a certain misdeed of thine; and having for this, been reduced to this condition, thou dost not understand things. He that dishonoureth his father and mother and spiritual preceptor, reapeth the fruit of his act on coming under the sway of the sovereign of the dead. Having regard that this body is uncertain, that foolish person, that doth not acquire asceticism, dying goeth the way that he deserveth. The mind of a perverse man doth not willingly incline towards good; and he reapeth as he soweth. In this world people, making their own good fortune and beauty, strength, sons, wealth and valor, gain these by virtue of their pious acts. Being given to such iniquitous acts, thou wilt go to hell; and thy designs being such, I will not hold parley with thee. Honest people should act carefully in connexion with the wicked.'—Thus reprimanded by him, his (Ravana's) councillors, headed by Maricha, on being struck, took to their heels. Then Dacagriva on being struck in the head with the mace by the lord of Yakshas, did not move from his place. And then, O Rama, the Yaksha and Rakshasa, smiting each other in mighty encounter, did not get bewildered or experience fatigue. And then the bestower of riches discharged a fiery weapon at him; and thereat the lord of Rakshasas resisted it with a Varuna weapon. And then the Rakshasa king entered upon Rakshasi-illusion; and began to assume a thousand shapes for compassing the destruction (of his adversary). And the Ten-necked one (successively) assumed the shapes of a tiger, a boar, a cloud, a hill, the ocean, a tree, a Yaksha and a Daitya. Thus he wore full many forms and he was not visible in his native shape. And then, O Rama, seizing a mighty weapon the Ten-necked one, whirling the same, brought that redoubtable mace down on the head of the bestower of riches. Thus smitten by him, the lord of wealth, baffled, toppled down to the earth covered with blood like an acoka whose roots have been hewn away. Thereat Padma and other Nidhi deities, surrounding the granter of wealth, raised him up and brought him to the Nandana wood. Conquering the bestower of wealth, the lord of Rakshasas, with a delighted heart, possessed himself of his Pushpaka, the car, as a sign of victory; furnished with golden pillars, gateways set with lapises, covered with networks of pearls, having trees yielding the fruits of all seasons, endowed with the celerity of thought, ranging everywhere at will, wearing forms at pleasure, capable of coursing in the sky, with golden and jewelled stairs, and daises of polished gold,—the vehicle of the gods—undeteriorating, bringing delight to the mind and sight; wonderous exceedingly: painted with images designed to fill the mind with reverence,—constructed by Brahma, containing all objects of desire, charming and nonpariel not cold and not yet hot, granting gratification in every season, and graceful to the view. And ascending that (car) coursing at will, won by his prowess, that utterly wicked one, out of swelling insolence, deemed himself master of the three worlds. And having vanquished the deity Vaicravana, he descended from Kailaca. And having by his energy obtained the victory, the powerful night-ranger wearing a bright diadem and necklace, and seated on that superb car,—appeared radiant in his court like Fire himself."

SECTION 16.

"O Rama, having vanquished his brother, the lord of riches, the king of Rakshasas went to the great wood of reeds, where Mahasena was born. And the Ten-necked one saw the great golden wood of reeds. Furnished with networks of solar rays, and appearing like a second Sun, and ascending the mountain, he was surveying the heart of the forest, when, O Rama, Pushpaka was (suddenly) deprived of its motion. And the lord of Rakshasas could not comprehend how the car which had been so made as to course in accordance with the wish of the rider, could have its course impeded; and thereat he in company with his councillors thought, 'Wherefore doth not this Pushpaka course at my desire over this mountain? Whose act is this?' Thereat Maricha—foremost of intelligent ones—said,—That Pushpaka doth not course cannot, sire, be without cause; or it may be that in consequence of Pushpaka not having borne any other than the bestower of riches, it hath ceased its course not having the lord of wealth for its rider.' As they were speaking thus, that attendant of Bhava, Nandi, terrific, of yellow black hue, dwarfish, frightful, with his head shaven, having short arms, and stout,—coming up to them, said (this). And the lordly Nandi, undaunted, addressed the sovereign of the Rakshasas, saying: 'Desist thou O Ten-necked one; Sankara sporteth in the mountain; and (now) He is incapable of being approached by every one—birds, serpents and Yakshas; gods, Gandharvas and Rakshas?' Hearing Nandi's speech, (Ravana), wrought up with wrath, his eyes coppery, and his ear-rings shaking, leapt down from Pushpaka. And saying, 'Who is this Sankara?' he came down to the base of the mount, and beheld there Nandi stationed at the side of that deity, supporting himself on his flaming dart, resembling a second Sankara. And seeing that one having the

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face of a monkey, the Rakshasa, deriding him, burst out into laughter, and seemed as if a mass of clouds were sending roars. Thereat, growing enraged, the reverend Nandi—Sankara's other body—spoke unto that Raksha—The Ten-necked one—present there; 'As O Dacanana, deriding me for my monkey-form, thou hast indulged in a laughter resembling the bursting of thunder, so monkeys endowed with prowess, and possessed of my form and energy shall be born for compassing the destruction of thy race. And armed with teeth and claws, and fierce and furnished with the fleetness of thought, and mad for encounter, and bursting with vigor, and resembling moving mountains. And being born, they shall crush thy high pride and power along with thy courtiers and sons. But, O night-ranger, I can even now end thee quite; yet I must not slay thee for thou hast ere this been slain by thine acts.' When that high-souled god had spoken thus celestial kettle-drums sounded and a blossomy shower rained from the sky. But without hefting Nandi's speech, that highly powerful one—Dacanana—coming to the mountain, said,—'O Gopati, I will even uproot this mountain, for whom Pushpaka was deprived of its motion as I was journeying. It must be known by what influence Bhavaswara sporteth here king-like. He doth not know that an occasion of fear hath presented itself?' Having said this, O Rama, Ravana seizing the mountain with his arms, lifted it up at once; and then the mountain trembled greatly. And in consequence of the mountain shaking the attendants of the deity (dwelling in it) also shook. And Parvati also trembled and embraced Mahecwara. And then, O Rama, Mahadeva—foremost of the deities—even Hara, as in sport pressed the mount with his great toe. And thereat his arms, resembling blocks of stone felt the shock and then there the councillors of that Raksha were struck with amaze. And the Raksha, from wrath and the pain felt in his arms, set up a shout that shook the entire triune world. And his councillors considered it as the concussion of the thunder at the universal disruption. And then the celestials with Indra at their head shook on their way; and the sea was wild and the mountains shook. And Yakshas and Vidyadharas and Siddhas asked, 'What is this.' 'Do thou propitiate Uma's lord—the blue-throated Mahadeva; for, O Dacanana, save him thy refuge see we none in this matter. Bowing thyself down, do thou seek him as thy shelter. Then the kind Sankara, on being gratified, will confer on thee his favour.' Thus accosted by his councillors, the Ten-faced one, bowing down to him having the bull for his standard, began to hymn him with various soma hymns; and the Raksha passed away a good thousand years in lamentations. And thereat that Lord Mahadeva, pleased, set free the hands of Dacanana stationed at the top of the mount, and O Rama, addressed him, saying, 'O Dacanana, pleased am I with thee on account of thy hymns. And as in consequence of thy arms having been hurt by the mountain, thou hast uttered a terrific yell, which struck horror unto the three worlds and put them shaking, therefore, O King, thy name shall be Ravana. And deities and men and Yakshas and others living on earth shall call thee Ravana—terror to creatures. So, O Paulastya, which way thou wishest, and permitted by me, O Lord of Rakshasas, go thou.' Thus accosted by Sambhu, Lanka's lord said of himself. 'If thou art pleased with me, grant me a boon, who ask thee for it. I have already obtained a boon, bestowing on me immunity from death at the hands of gods, Gandharvas and Danavas; and Rakshasas and Guyhakas and Nagas; and others also that are of more than ordinary strength. Man count I not O god: they, I deem, are insignificant. I have also, O destroyer of Tripura, received a long lease of life from Brahma. Now I wish to pass the remainder of my days in peace: and do thou grant me a weapon.' Thus addressed by him, (Ravana,) Sankara gave him an exceedingly effulgent sword, famed as Chandrahasa; and the master of spectres then also granted him peace for the rest of his life. And making (the sword) over to him, Sambhu said,—'Thou must not disregard this. If disregarded, it will for certain come (back) to me?' Having thus received his name from Mahecwara, Ravana, saluting Mahadeva, ascended Pushpaka. And then, O Rama, Ravana, began to go round the earth. And opposed at places, by the heroic Kshatriyas endowed with energy and irrepressible in fight, who refused submission, he exterminated them along with their retainers; while other men of wisdom, knowing the Raksha to be invincible, said unto the Rakshasa elated with strength,—'We have been conquered?'"

SECTION 17.

"And then, O King, the mighty-armed Ravana ranging the earth, came to Himavan and began to go round it. And it came to pass that there he saw a damsel wearing a dark deer-skin and matted locks, leading the life of a saint, and flaming like a celestial. And seeing the girl observing high vows, endowed with beauty, he, with his soul overwhelmed with lust asked her, laughing, 'How is it, O amiable one that thou actest thus contrary to thy youth? This course of life surely doth not befit thy beauty. Thy loveliness, O timid one, is peerless, capable of maddening folk with desire. It doth not behove thee to lead an ascetic mode of life,—this would suit an old person. Whose daughter art thou, O gentle lady? And what is this (vow) that thou practisest? And O fair faced wrench, who is thy husband? He who hath thee for his wife, is, O timorous one, hath religious merit on earth. Tell all about this to me who ask for it. For whom dost thou put thyself to trouble?' Thus accosted by Ravana, that illustrious girl, having asceticism for wealth, having received him hospitably in due form, said, 'My sire is named Kucodwaja—a Brahmarshi of immeasurable energy, son unto Vrihaspati, endowed with grace, and like unto Vrihaspati himself in intelligence. And while that high-souled one was engaged in the daily study of the Vedas, I was born as his word-impregnated daughter, named Vedavati. When the gods and the Gandharvas and the Yakshas, Rakshasas, and Pannagas, coming to my sire asked for me, O foremost of Rakshasas, my father did not bestow me on any one of them. And I shall tell thee the reason thereof; listen, O long-armed one. My father's intended son-in-law was even Vishnu—sovereign of the celestials, and the lord of the triune world; and my father would not bestow me on any other. And hearing this, a certain king of the Daityas, named Sumbhu—proud, of his prowess was wrought up with wrath, and one night as my sire was on bed, that wicked one slew him. Thereat my forlorn mother, of exalted righteousness, embracing my father's body entered into fire. Then wishing to realize my father's wish touching Narayana, I have fixed my heart even upon him. Having made this promise, I have been carrying on rigid austerities. Thus, O foremost of Rakshasas. I have related unto thee everything. Narayana is my husband, and not any one else than that best of male beings; and desirous of having Narayana I have adopted severe restraints. I know thee, O king. Go thou O son of Paulastya. By virtue of my asceticism I know all that takes place in these three regions.' Thereat descending from the front of his car, Ravana, afflicted with the shafts of Kandarpa, again addressed that girl, observant of a mighty vow, 'O thou of shapely hips, in as much as such is thy intent, thou must be very proud. O thou having the eyes of a young antelope, accumulation of religious merit suits old people. Thou, furnished with every perfection, should not talk thus. Thou art the paragon in these three worlds. Thy youth waxeth away. I am the lord of Lanka, O gentle lady, known as Dacagriva. Be thou my wife, and enjoy pleasures according to thy desire. Who is he whom thou callest Vishnu? O mild one, neither in prowess, nor in asceticism, nor in enjoyment, nor in strength, is he my equal, whom, O damsel, thou seekest.' Thus accosted, Vedavati said unto the night-ranger 'Do not say so' in respect of Vishnu, lord of this triune sphere, bowed down unto by all creatures. Save and except thee alone, who, that is intelligent, crieth down (Narayana), O King of Rakshasas.' Thus addressed there by Vedavati, the night-ranger seized the girl by the hair. Thereat Vedavati, wroth, cut off her hair with her hand transformed into a sword. And then, flaming up in ire and as if consuming the night-ranger, she, preparing a funeral pyre, hastened to make away with herself. 'Thou abject, having been outraged by thee I wish not to live. Therefore, O Raksha, I will enter into fire in thy very presence. And as I have in this world been dishonoured by thee thou art nefarious. I shall again be born to compass thy destruction. It lieth not in a female to slay a male intent on sin; and if I utter a curse, it shall cost my asceticism. But if I have done anything, given away any thing, offered oblations unto the fire, then I shall be the chaste daughter of some virtuous person, albeit unborn of any female vessel.' Having delivered herself thus, she entered into the flaming fire; and thereat a celestial shower of blossoms rained all around from heaven. O Lord, this is she that hath been born as the daughter of king Janaka,—thy wife, O mighty-armed one. Thou art the eternal Vishnu. The enemy, endowed with the splendour of a hill, formerly that had been slain through the wrath (of Vedavati), hath now been slain by her, by help of thine superhuman prowess. And this one of eminent righteousness would again spring up on earth like a flame from a field furrowed by the plough. This one named Vedavati was born in the Krita age; and in the Treta age, for compassing the destruction of that Raksha, she was born in the Maithila line of the high-souled Janaka."

SECTION 18.

"When Vedavati had entered into fire, Ravana, ascending Pushpaka, began to range the earth. And coming to Uciraviga, Ravana saw a king (named) Marutta, sacrificing along with the deities. And a righteous Brahmarshi named Samvartta, the very brother of Vrihashpati, officiated at the sacrifice accompanied by the deities. And seeing that Raksha invincible by reason of the boon he had received, the deities, apprehensive of being worsted by him, assumed the forms of beasts. And Indra became a peacock and the king of righteousness, a crow, and the bestower of riches a lizard, and Varuna a swan; and, O slayer of foes, others also became other beasts. And then Ravana entered into that sacrifice like an unclean dog. And then coming up to the king, Ravana—lord of Rakshasas—said: 'Give me battle, or say,—I am defeated.' Whereat king Marutta asked, him—'Who art thou?' And Ravana laughing in contempt said,—'O king, I am delighted, that lacking curiosity, thou dost not dishonour Ravana, younger brother unto the bestower of riches. What other man is there in these three regions that knoweth not the might of me, who, conquering my brother, has got possession of this car.' Thereat Marutta spoke unto Ravana, saying,—'Blessed for sooth art thou, by whom thy elder brother hath been vanquished in fight; and a person so praiseworthy there is not in the three worlds. An act, that is divorced from righteousness and that is reprehended by people, can never be praiseworthy. Having committed a foul act, plumest thou upon thy having vanquished thy brother? And practising what piety hadst thou a-fortune received the boon? I had never before heard the like of what thou sayest. But O perverse one, stay now. Living thou shalt not back. To-day with my sharpened shafts shall I despatch thee to the abode of Yama.' Then taking up his bow and arrows, that king of men went out for encounter; but Samavartta stood in the way. And that great sage said unto Marutta words informed with affection 'If thou hear my speech, thou shouldst not fight. If this Mahecwara-sacrifice should remain incomplete, it will burn up thy dynasty. Where is the fight of one initiated in a sacrifice? And where is the passion of one initiated in a sacrifice? And victory is ever uncertain; and the Rakshasa is difficult to vanquish. And thereupon, the lord of Earth—Marutta—desisted in consonance with the instructions of his spiritual preceptor; and composed addressed himself to completing the sacrifice, giving up his bow with the arrow set. And thereat considering him as defeated, Suka proclaimed this all round; and from delight cried aloud, 'Victory unto Ravana!' And then devouring the Maharshis that were present at the place of sacrifice, Ravana, satiated with their blood, again went to the earth. On Ravana having departed, the deities, inhabiting the etherial regions—Indra etc.—assuming their proper forms, addressed those creatures. And from joy Indra spoke unto the purple-plumed peacock,—'Pleased am I with thee thou righteous one. No fear shall spring to thee from serpents; and thy plumage shall be furnished with an hundred eyes. And when I shall shower, thou shalt be filled with glee as a token of my satisfaction with thee.' Thus did Indra—chief of celestials, confer a boon on the peacock. Formerly, O king, the peacock's wings had one unvaried blue. Having received the boon, the peacock departed. Then O Rama, the king of righteousness said unto the crow, seated in front of the sacrificial apartment 'O bird, I am well pleased with thee. Listen to my words as I utter them. As I have been pleased with thee, thou shalt without doubt, enjoy immunity from the various ailments to which the birds are subject. And O bird, from my curse fear of death shall not approach thee; and thou shalt exist so long as people do not slay thee. And those men residing in my dominion, being smitten with hunger, shall be refreshed along with thy relations, when thou hast eaten and been refreshed.' Then Varuna addressed that lord of birds the swan ranging the waters of the Ganga,—'Listen to my words fraught with joy, thy hue shall be charming, mild, and like unto the lunar disc; and it shall be beautiful, resembling the sheen of spotless foam. And approaching my person thou shalt ever be beautiful to behold; and thou shalt, as a sign of my gratification, attain unparalleled complacence.' Formerly, O Rama, swans had not a hue of one unvaried whiteness. Their wings ended in blue, and their breasts wore the spotless hue of tender grass. And then Vaicravana addressed the chameleon as it was stationed at the mountain: 'Thy hue shall be gold-gleaming. Pleased am I with thee. Thy undeteriorating head shall be ever gold-hued. And this golden hue of thine shall proceed from my gratification?' Having thus conferred boons on them at that festal place, the celestials, along with the king, (on the sacrifice) having ended, went to their abode."

SECTION 19.

"Having vanquished Marutta, that lord of Rakshasas—the Ten-faced one—eager for encounter, began to range the capitals of the foremost monarchs (of the earth). And coming to the most powerful crowned heads (in the world) resembling Mahendra and Varuna, the Rakshasa king said: 'Give me battle; or declare—we have been defeated. This I am resolved upon. Otherewise there is no escape for you?' Thereat those wise kings, possessed of great strength, and ever abiding by righteousness, being frightened (at Ravana's intimidation), took counsel of each other. And knowing the superior strength of the foe, they said,—'We have been defeated.' Dushkanta, O child, and Suratha, and Gadhi, and Gaya and king Pururava—all these kings said: 'We have been defeated.' And then Ravana—sovereign of the Rakshasas—presented himself before Ayodhya, governed by Anaranya, like Amaravati ruled by Sakra. And coming to that foremost of men—king like unto Purandara himself in prowess, Ravana said,—' Give me battle; or say I have been defeated. This is my mandate.' The lord of Ayodhya, on hearing the words of that wicked-minded one, Anaranya, enraged, addressed the Rakshasa-chief, saying,—'O king of Rakshasas, I will give thee combat, stay thou. At once prepare for fight, and I also shall go and prepare myself.' And when he had heard everything (regarding Ravana), the forces of that foremost of kings that had been intended for conquering (Ravana), sallied

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forth ready for bringing about the destruction of the Raksha,—ten thousand elephants, a niyuta horse, and many thousands of cars and infantry, O best of men; and, that host consisting of infantry and cars, marched for encounter, covering up the earth. And then, O thou proficient in fight, there took place a mighty and wonderful encounter between king Anaranya and that lord of Rakshasas. And that host of the king encountering the forces of Ravana, were extinguished like unto clarified butter thrown into the (sacrificial) fire. And having fought valorously for a long time, the remnant of the royal forces, suddenly coming in contact with the flaming Rakshasa ranks, were destroyed like unto swarms of locusts entering into fire. And he saw the mighty army of that powerful monarch destroyed by the (adversary), like unto a hundred streams absorbed by an approaching ocean. And then himself drawing his bow resembling the bow itself of Sakra, that foremost of sovereigns, beside himself with wrath, approached Ravana. And brought down by Anaranya, his (Ravana's) councillors—Maricha, Suka, and Sarana with Prahasta,—took to their heels like unto dear. And then that son of the Ikshwaku race discharged eight hundred arrows at Ravana's head. And like unto showers pouring down on the top of a mountain, his shafts did not inflict any wound (on Ravana). And then the king, smitten on the head with a slap by the enraged king of Rakshasas, dropped down from his car. And the king, deprived of his senses, fell down on the earth, with his body trembling all over; as falls in a forest a salascathed with heaven's fire. And thereat the Raksha, laughing, spoke unto that Ikshwaku, lord of the earth,—'What is this that thou hast gathered as the fruit of thy encounter with me. O king, there is none in this triune sphere that can combat with me. Having hitherto been sunk in lunacy thou hast not heard of my strength.' As he was speaking thus, the king, whose sounds were fast running out said: 'What can I do in this matter. Verily time is incapable of being controlled. I have been overcome by Time; thou art merely an instrument. What can I do now, when I am going to lose my life? I never turned away from fight; I have been slain fighting. But, O Rakshasa, I shall tell thee something in consequence of the disgrace that the Ikshwaku race has met with (to-day). If I have practised charity, if I have offered oblations into fire, if I have carried on pious penances, if I have governed my people well, then be my words verified! There shall spring in the line of the high-souled Ikshwaku, one named Rama—son unto Dacaratha, who shall deprive thee of thy life.' As he uttered this imprecation, the celestial kettle-drums sounded like the roaring of clouds; and blossoms showered down from the sky. And then that best of kings went to heaven; and when that king had gone to the celestial regions, the Rakshasa (also) went away."

SECTION 20.

"As the lord of Rakshasas was ranging the earth frightening everyone, Narada—foremost of ascetics, came to that wood mounted on a cloud. And thereupon saluting him, the night-ranger Ten-necked one—enquired after his welfare as well as the occasion of his visit. And that Devarshi—the exceedingly energetic Narada of immeasurable splendour, seated on the back of the cloud, addressed Ravana, who was stationed in Pushpaka, saying,—'O lord of Rakshasas, O placid one, O son of Vicrava, stay. I am well pleased with thy prowess and fame. And even as Vishnu had pleased me by destroying the Daityas, thou pleased me by harassing the Gandharvas and serpents. I will tell thee something. If thou wouldst hear what I have to say then, O child, listen heedfully as I unfold it. Why, my child, dost thou slay these (humans); thou art incapable of being slain by even the celestials. All these (men) are subject to death, they are verily slain. The world of man is unworthy of being afflicted by thee who art incapable of being destroyed by Deities, Danavas, Daityas, Yakshas, Gandharvas and Rakshas. Who should slay creatures, who are ever stupid in respect of their welfare, environed by mighty dangers, and encompassed by decrepitude and hundreds o£ ailments? What sensible person can set his heart on slaying human beings who are everywhere beset with a perrennial stream of evils. Do not thou enfeeble those beings who are already enfeebled and smitten by Divinity with hunger, thirst, old age etc. and who are overwhelmed with sorrow, and grief. O mighty-armed one, O lord of Rakshasas, behold man, albeit having their sense stupified, engaged in the pursuit of various interests, and themselves not understanding their own ways; some pass their time merrily with dancing and playing on musical instruments while others weep distressfully with tears streaming from their eyes down their cheeks. And down fallen on account of their attachment for their mothers and fathers and sons, and of their desires touching their wives and friends they set small store by labours having the hereafter as their object. What then is the use of afflicting a race that is brought down ever by its own infatuation. O placid one, this world is verily conquered by thee. These for certain will have to repair to the abode of Yama. Therefore, O Paulastya, O captor of hostile capitals, do thou put down Yama. On him being conquered, all will doubtless be conquered by thee.' Thus addressed Lanka's lord, flaming in native energy, addressed Narada, laughing and saluting him, 'O thou that delightest in the sport of gods and Gandharvas, and that takest pleasure in warfare, I am ready to go to the nethermost regions for the purpose of conquest. And conquering the three worlds, and bringing under subjection serpents and celestials I shall for ambrosia churn the nether regions.' Then the reverend sage Narada spoke Unto the Ten-necked one,—'Who save thee can forsooth go on that journey? Verily, O irrepressible one, O destroyer of foes, the way leading to the city of the lord of the dead is difficult of access.' Thereat laughing, the Ten-faced one said to the saint resembling a mass of white clouds, 'This is done. Therefore [i.e. As thou hast commanded me.], O great Brahman, intent upon slaying the Vaivacwata's son, I will go by this way which leadeth to the king—the offspring of the sun. And, O master, from wrath I have vowed that I will, eager for encounter, O reverend one, conquer the four Lokapalas. Then here go I to the city of the lord of the Pitris; and I am determined to compass the death of him that visiteth creatures with smart.' Having delivered himself thus and saluted the sage, he, entering the southern way with his councillors, proceeded along. And the exceedingly energetic Narada—best of Brahmans—resembling a smokeless fire, remaining rapt for a while, began to reflect;—'How can (Ravana) conquer Time who, when its life waneth, righteously visiteth with affliction the time, sphere with Indra, fraught with mobile and immobile. How can this lord of Rakshasas, of himself, go to him who, resembling another fire, beareth to the gifts and acts (of persons),—that high-souled one of whom attaining consciousness, people put forth their activity; and afflicted with the fear of whom these three worlds fall away? How can (Ravana) subdue him who ordaineth things both great and small, who meteth rewards and punishments for good and bad acts, and who himself hath conquered the three worlds? Resorting to what other means shall Ravana secure (victory)? I am curious about it: To Yama's abode shall I go for witnessing the encounter between Yama and the Rakshasa."

SECTION 21.

"Having reflected thus, that foremost of Vipras endowed with fleet vigor, bent his steps towards the abode of Yama, for the purpose of relating to him all that had taken place. And there (he) saw that god—Yama—sitting in front of fire and offering into it the good and evil fruits of their actions.

"And seeing the Maharshi Narada arrive there, Yama offering him arghya according to the ordinance, addressed him saying, when he was seated at his ease: 'O Devarshi, is it well with thee? And doth virtue deteriorate.' And, why, O thou honoured of deities, and Gandharvas, dost thou come?' Thereat the reverend sage, Narada, said; Hearken. I shall tell (thee); and (after hearing me out) do thou what is fit. O king of the Pitris, here cometh the night-ranger named ten-necked, for bringing thee under his sway—thee who art incapable of being conquered. And, O master, for this reason it is that I have come hither hastily,—doubtful what shall befall thee who hast the rod for thy weapon. In the meanwhile they saw the Raksha's car approach from afar, flaming and like unto the ray-furnished (one) risen. And dispelling the gloom of that region with the effulgence of Pushpaka, that exceedingly powerful (Rakshasa) came forward. And the mighty-armed ten-necked one all around saw creatures reaping the consequences of their fair and foul acts. And there he saw Yama's soldiery along with Yama's followers, fierce-forms, grim-visaged and terrific. And he saw corporeal beings undergoing torments and pain, and emitting loud cries and sharp shrieks; preyed on by worms and fell dogs: and uttering words capable of striking pain and terror into the heart (of the hearer): and people swimming in the Vaitaraini profusely running blood; and momentarily burning with hot sands; unrighteous wights pierced in a wood of asipatra, (plunged) in Raurava, in the river of borate of soda; and (cut) with razor-edges; asking for drinks; and afflicted with hunger and thirst; converted into corpses, lean, woe-begone, and pallid with hair flowing loosely; having dust and filth (on their bodies), and running about distressfully with dry forms;—on the way saw Ravana by hundreds and by thousands. And Ravana also saw some in front of houses engaged in merry-making with songs and strains of instruments,—as the fruit of their pious acts; and (saw) the giver of kine regailing themselves with milk; the dispenser of rice, feeding on the same, the bestower of abodes, enjoying mansions, as the fruit of their several acts; and persons living with damsels decked with gold and gems and jewels; and other pious folks, flaming in their native energy, all these saw Ravana lord of Rakshasas. And by his might that mighty one delivered those that were being tormented by their wicked acts. And on being liberated by that Raksha—the ten-necked one, those creatures in a moment began to enjoy their release, that had come to them without thought or suspense. And on the dead being delivered by the magnanimous Rakshasa, the guards of the dead, getting enraged, rushed at the Rakshasa sovereign. And there arose a mighty tumult from all sides; from the heroic warriors of the king of righteousness rushing (all around.) And those heroes by hundreds and by thousands assailed (Pushpaka) with pracas, and bludgeons, and darts and maces, and spears and tomaras. And swiftly swarming like bees, they began to break the seats, blocks, daises and gateways (of the car.) And in that conflict Pushpaka presided over by divine energy, incapable of being destroyed by virtue of Brahma power, being broken, resumed its former shape. Countless were the soldiers of that high-souled one consisting hundreds and thousands of heroic warriors, (ever) forward for fight. And according to the measure of their might his (Ravana's) councillors—great heroes all, as well as the ten-faced one himself with might and main, fought with trees and crags and hundreds of blocks of buildings. And those councillors of the lord of Rakshasas, assailed with every kind of weapons, with their persons bathed in blood, fought fiercely. And O large-armed one the exalted councillors of Yama and Ravana sore assailed each other with arms. And leaving the councillors alone the highly powerful warriors of Yama rushed against Dacanana [Ravana.] with a shower of spears. And then pierced through and through by those weapons, with his person covered with blood, the Rakshasa king appeared like a flowering Kincuka in Pushpaka. And thereat that powerful one, by virtue of his mastery over weapons, began to hurl darts and maces, pracas and spears and tomaras and crags and trees. And that terrific shower of trees, rocks and arms, alighted on the army of Yama (fighting) on the earth. And snapping those weapons and resisting (those vollies of) arms, they smote at the Rakshasa fighting alone by hundreds and thousands. And encompassing him even as clouds encompass a mountain, they rendered (Ravana) inert by means of Bhindipalas and darts. And with his mail torn open, his anger raging fiercely, and covered with blood streaming over his person, he, forsaking his car, stood upon the ground. And then furnished with his bow and holding his shafts, (Ravana) regaining his senses in a short time, increased in energy and stood in the field like the finisher. And now fixing the divine Pacupata on his bow, and saying unto them, 'Slay! Slay!' he drew that bow. And enraged, (Ravana) resembling Rudra himself, in fight drawing his bow to his car, discharged that shaft even as Sankara had discharged at Tripura. And the appearance of the shaft was like an extinguishing fire in summer with smoke with flames, burning up a forest. And garlanded with glory that shaft followed by ghosts, in that encounter; rushed on, burning to ashes the loose bushes and trees lying in its way. And burnt up by its energy, the most of Vaivaswata fell down in the field like unto banners of Mahendra. And thereat the Rakshasa of terrific prowess along with his councillors began to set up tremendous shouts; as if making the earth tremble."

SECTION 22.

"Hearing his mighty shouts, that lord Vaivaswata knew that his adversary had gained the day and that his own host had been destroyed. And knowing that his forces had been slain, he, with his eyes crimsoned with passion hastily spoke unto his charioteer, 'Bring thou my car.' And thereat the charioteer brought the noble and mighty car and stood (there) and then that exceeding energetic one mounted the car. And in front (of his car) stood death, equipped with pracas and maces in his hands, who makes nothing of this entire triune world; incapable of deterioration. And beside (him) was the rod of Time in its native from—the divine instrument of Yama like unto a flaming fire on account of its own energy. And then on beholding Time, infuriated, tending to strike terror into all creatures, was agitated the triune universe, and trembling over took the denizens of heaven. And the charioteer urged on the steeds possessed of graceful splendour; and arrived where the lord of Rakshasas was posted. And in a moment those horses like unto thought (in celerity,) and resembling the steeds themselves of Hari, took Yama where the warfare had already begun. And seeing the frightful car in that aspect with Death present in it, the ministers of the Rakshasa monarch at once took to their heels. And in consequence of their being comparatively inferior in point of strength they were deprived of their senses, and afflicted with fear; and saying, 'Here we are not equal to fighting' they went their way. But seeing that car capable of striking terror into folks, the Ten-necked did not experience any agitation, nor did fear enter his heart. And approaching Ravana, Yama, enraged, discharged spears and tomaras, and began to pierce Ravana's marrow. But Ravana, without at all feeling any smart, began to shower arrows on Vaivaswata's vehicle, resembling a downpour caused by clouds. And again at his spacious breast, that Rakshasa who had undergone slender injury, could not resist, (Yama's arms) with hundreds of mighty darts hurled. And in this way that destroyer of foes—Yama fought for seven nights with various arms; until at length his enemy was driven back and deprived of his senses. And then, O hero, there took place mighty onset between Yama and the Rakshasa both eager for victory and both never tiring of fight. And celestials and Gandharvas and Siddhas, and the supreme saints, placing Prajapati at their head, presented themselves at the fight. And the encounter that then took place between that foremost of of Rakshasas and the lord of the Dead was like the universal upheaval. And stretching

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his bow resembling in spleandour the thunderbolt of Indra, he discharged arrows covering up the sky. And he smote Death with four, the (Yama's) charioteer with seven, and swiftly struck Yama in the marrow with hundreds and thousands of shafts. And then from forth Yama's mouth there issued darted flames with his teeth mixed with smoke, the fire of his fury. And witnessing this wonder in the presence of the deities and Danavas, both Death and Time were fired with wrath and were filled with delight. And the Death, growing still more wroth, addressed Vaivaswata saying;—'Let me go. I shall slay this sinful Rakshasa. Even this is my native might this Rakshasa will be no more. Hiranyakacipu, the graceful Nemuchi, and Shamvara, Nishandi and Dhumaketu and Virochana's offspring Vali, and the Daitya Shamvu that mighty monarchs, Vritra and Bana; and Kajarshis versed in all branches of learnings and Grandharvas, and mighty serpents, and sages, and Pannagas and Yakshas, and swarms of Apsaras and the Earth herself containing vasty oceans and mountains and rivers and trees, at the unrolling of a Yuga—all these, O mighty monarch have I brought to dissolution. All these and many more endowed with strength and incapable of being overcome, were at the very sight of me compassed with peril,—and what is this ranger of the night? Let me go. O thou cognisant of righteousness,—I shall slay this one. There is none that, albeit strong, can survive after having been seen by me. Verily this is not mine strength,—this might pertaineth to me by nature. O Time, if seen by me, he won't live for a moment.' Hearing these words of his, the puissant king of righteousness spake there unto death,—'Do thou stay. I myself shall slay him.' Then with his eyes reddened that lord, Vaivaswata, wielded with his hand the infallible dart of time; while by him lay the redoubtable noose of time and the mace in its native shape resembling fire and the thunderbolt. He, who by his very sight draweth away the lives of creatures,—what should be said of its touching and being hurled at people? And touched by that powerful one, that mighty weapon, engist with flames, attained access of energy, and seemed to consume the Rakshasa. And in the field of battle, every one afflicted with fear, ran away from it. And beholding Yama with his rod uplifted, the celestials were agitated. And on Yama being desirous of slaying Ravana, the great-father manifesting himself spake unto Yama: 'O Vaivaswata, O mighty-armed one, O thou of immeasurable prowess, this certainly must not be; Thou shouldst not with thy rod slay the night-ranger; for, O foremost of celestials, I have conferred a boon on him; and thou shouldst not render false the words that I have uttered. Verily he, that, whether a god or a human being, shall falsify my words, shall render this triune universe false. There is no doubt about this. If this terrific weapon, capable of affrighting the three spheres, be discharged alike at friends and foes, it will destroy creatures. This rod of time, of immeasurable might and incapable of being resisted by creatures, was created by me as having the power of compassing the death of all beings. Therefore, O mild one, thou forsooth shouldst not bring it down on Ravana's head. If this alights on any one, he doth not live for a moment, Whether on this weapon allighting, the ten-necked does not die, or if he does do either way falsehood is the consequence, therefore do thou keep thy uplifted weapon off Lanka's lord. If thou have any care for these worlds do thou establish my truth.' Thus addressed, Yama then answered, 'I restrain this rod. Thou art our Lord. But as I can not slay this one who hath obtained a boon, what then shall I do now in the field? Therefore shall I disappear from the sight of this Raksha.' Having said this, even there did he vanish with his car and horses. And having vanquished him and distinguished his name, he again ascended his Pushpaka and went out of the abode of Yama. And with a delighted heart Vaivaswata along with the deities headed by Brahma—as well as that mighty ascetic-Narada, went to the celestial regions."

SECTION 23.

"Having vanquished Yama, the foremost of celestials, Ravana delighting in warfare, saw his adherents. And seeing Ravana, with his person bathed in blood, bettered by the weapon discharged at him, they were seized with surprise. And hailing him with victory, the councillors headed by Maricha, having been encouraged by Ravana, ascended Pushpaka. And then the Raksha entered the region of waters—the abode of Daityas and serpents, well protected by Varuna. And arriving at Bhogavati—the city governed by Vasuki, he brought the serpents under subjection and then, delighted, bent his course to the palace—Manimayi. There dwelt the Nivatakavachas, who had obtained boons. Those Daityas were possessed of prowess and endowed with strength,—carrying various weapons, breathing high spirits and invincible in battle. And the Danavas and Rakshasas growing enraged fell to raving each other with darts and tridents, Kulicas and axes and patticas. And as they fought one entire year passed away and neither side obtained victory or was worsted. And then that way of the triune sphere, that God, the undeteriorating Great-father, swiftly presented himself on the scene mounted on his excellent car. And making the Nivatakavachas desist from battle the ancient great-father spake in clear words—'Even the celestials and the Asuras are not able to vanquish this Ravana in battle; nor can the Danavas backed by the gods can destroy you. Do you therefore turn your minds to making friends with the Rakshasa. All interests are forsooth the common possession of friends.' Thereat Ravana made friends with the Nivatakavachas in the presence of Fire; and then rejoiced greatly. And duly honoured (by them) Dacanana passed there a year, without any feeling of that place being different from his own home: and spent his time agreeably. And having learnt there an hundred sorts of illusion, he directed his course to Rasatala, searching for the city of the lord of waters. And then going to the city named Acma ruled by the Kalakayas, (Ravana) slew the Kalakayas endowed with terrific strength; and then with his sword cut off his brother-in-law [Cyala means a wife's brother, Vidyujjibha was however, the husband of his sister.], the husband of Surpanakha, the mighty Vidyutjibha possessed of terrific strength; as that Rakshasa in the encounter was licking (the limbs of Ravana's followers). Having vanquished him, he, in a moment, destroyed four hundred Daityas. And then the lord of Rakshasas saw the grand abode of Varuna resembling a mass of white clouds, and effulgent like unto Kailaca itself;—and also saw the milk-conserving Surabhi stationed there; from the streams of whose milk was produced the ocean named Kshiroda [Lit. the sea of milk.]. And there Ravana saw the mother of kine and the foremost of bulls; from whom springeth that maker of night the mild-beaming-moon; taking refuge under whom subsist the prime saints and those living on froth, the froth (of milk); and wherefrom sprang ambrosia as well as the Swadha of Swadha-subsisting ones, even her that goeth with human beings under the name of Surabhi. Having gone round this wonderful (cow), Ravana entered the exceedingly dreadful abode of Varuna guarded by various kinds of forces. And then he beheld Varuna's splendid mansion, streaming with hundreds of torrents, resembling a mass of autumnal clouds, and always wearing a delightful aspect. And killing the generals of the forces, after having been resisted by them, he addressed the warriors, saying,—'Do you speedily acquaint your king with this. Ravana hath come here seeking battle. Do thou give him fight, or say with joined hands, "I have been defeated by thee," and then thou hast no fear whatever.' In the meantime the sons and grandsons of the high-souled Varuna, as well as those of Pushkara issued forth. And they, endowed with every virtue, accompanied by their own forces, yoked cars furnished with the effulgence of the rising Sun, and coursing at the desire of their riders. And then there took place a mighty encounter capable of making people's down stand on end, between the sons of the lord of waters, and those of the intelligent Ravana. And in a short while that entire host of Varuna was brought down by the highly powerful councillor of that Rakshasa Dacagriva. And seeing their own forces brought to straits in the conflict and driven back in the fight with networks of shafts, and down on the ground and seeing Ravana in Pushpaka, Varuna's sons swiftly shot into the welkin with their fleet-footing cars. And after they had attained a station of equal vantage (with Ravana) in the sky, great was the encounter that then took place in the sky, resembling the encounter of the deities and the Danavas. And turning away Ravana in the conflict by means of shafts resembling fire, they, exceedingly rejoiced, emitted various shouts. And then Mahodara, enraged on seeing the king sore pressed, casting off fear, and wrought up with rage, began to go around, eager for fight. And smit with his mace by Mahodara, Varuna's sons coursing at will and resembling the wind (in velocity), dropped down to the ground. And having slain those warriors and also those horses of Varuna's sons (Mahodara) seeing them lying down deprived of their cars swiftly sent up a tremendous cheer. And destroyed by Mahodara, their cars and horses together with their foremost charioteers, lay low on the earth. And then forsaking their cars, the sons of the high-souled Varuna, stationed in the sky, did not experience any pain by virtue of their native power. And having stretched their bows they pierced Mahodara, and then, all together they greatly angered prevented Ravana. As the clouds, with a thousand torrents cleave a mountain, so they, with dreadful shafts, resembling thunderbolts and discharged off the bows, pierced him. Thereupon the Ten-necked (demon), excited with wrath like the fire of dessolution, pierced them to their very vitals with highly dreadful arrows. And stationed above, he showered on them variegated maces, Vallas [Am arrow.], Patticas, saktisand huge Sataghnis.

"Thereupon with the arrows the infantry were greatly exhausted like unto young elephants six years old, fallen in mire. Beholding Varuna's sons thus worn out and overwhelmed the highly powerful Ravana roared in delight like unto clouds. Thereupon emitting loud cries the Rakshaha, like unto a cloud, with a downpour of diverse shafts, destroyed the offspring of Varuna. Thereupon they were all defeated and fell dead on the ground and all their followers fled away from the field of battle to their homes. Ravana spoke unto them.—'Do ye communicate this to Varuna.' Whereto his minister Prahasta replied unto Ravana saying—'O great king—Varuna's sons are slain and the lord of waters, whom thou art inviting for battle, hath gone to the region of Brahma, to hear songs. While the king is away, what is the use of taking trouble, O hero? And all these heroic sons (of Varuna) have been vanquished.' Hearing these words and spreading his own name the lord of Rakshasas expressing sign of joy, issued out of Varuna's abode. And returning by the way by which he had come, the Raksha, stationed in the welkin, proceeded towards Lanka."

SECTION 24.

"And again journeyed in the city of Acma (the followers of Ravana) dreadful in fight. There the Ten-necked demon beheld a highly picturesque house—adorned with networks of pearls, having gateways crested with Vaidurjas, golden pillars and abounding in pavements. And the stairs, of that picturesque house resembling the abode of Mahendra, covered with girdles, were made of crystal. Beholding that excellent boost the highly powerful Ravana thought within himself—'Whose is this beautiful house, resembling the summit of Meru? Go O Prahasta, and learn quickly whose house is this.' Thus ordered, Prahasta entered that excellent house—and finding none in one appartment he entered another and thus entering seven apartments he at last saw a flame of fire. There was a man in that flame, who, when seen, laughed aloud. Hearing that dreadful laughter Prahasta's down stood on their end. There was another man in that flame, as if in a swoon, engarlanded with golden lotuses, incapable of being looked at, like the sun, and resembling the Yama's self. Beholding that the night-ranger speedily issued out of the house and communicated it unto Ravana. Thereupon, O Rama, having descended from Pushpaka, the Ten-necked demon, black as collyrium, entered that house. (Immediately) obstructing the door there stood a huge-bodied man, dreadful like Siva—his tongue was all flame, his eyes were red, rows of teeth beautiful, lips like Bimba, his form was handsome, nose dreadful, neck like a shell marked with three lines, jaws were spacious, beards thick, bone fleshy, teeth huge and his appearance was all dreadful. And taking up an iron mace he stood at the gate. Beholding him, Dacanana's hairs stood on their end—his heart and body trembled. And seeing these bad omens, O Rama, he began to think within himself. He thus meditating that man said—'What art thou thinking, O Rakshasa? Tell me all in confidence. I shall confer upon thee the hospitality of fighting, O hero, O night-ranger.' Having said this he again spoke unto Ravana, saying—'Dost thou wish to enter into conflict with Bali, or what else is thy intention?' Ravana was so overwhelmed that his hairs stood on their end; but resorting to calmness he said—'O thou foremost of those skilled in speech, who residest in this house? I shall fight with him; speak out what thou wishest.' He again said (to Ravana)—'The lord of Danavas lives here—he is highly generous, heroic, and hath truth for his prowess. He is gifted with many qualities, resplendent like unto Yama with mace in his hand or the newly risen sun and incapable of being defeated in conflict, impetuous, invincible, victorious, powerful, a veritable ocean of accomplishments, sweet-speeched, supporter of the dependants, fond of preceptor and Brahmans, always waiting for opportune hours, gifted with high powers, truthful, of a handsome person, skilful, gifted with all accomplishments, heroic and engaged in the study of the Vedas. He sometimes walks on foot and moves about like the wind—he shines like fire and spreads heat like the sun. He travels with the gods, spirits, serpents and birds. He does not know fear; dost thou wish to fight with him? If thou dost wish to fight with Bali, O lord of Rakshasas, O thou gifted with great energy, do thou speedily enter (this house) and engage in the encounter.' Being thus addressed the Ten-necked demon entered where Bali was. Beholding the lord of Lanka, the foremost of Danavas, resembling the flaming fire, and hard to look at like the sun, laughed. And taking that Rakshasa by the hand and placing him on his lap he said. 'O Ten-necked lord of Rakshasas, O thou having long arms, what desire of thine may I satisfy? Do thou tell me what for thou hast come hither.' Being thus addressed by Bali Ravana said—'I have heard, O illustrious sir, that formerly thou wast bound by Vishnu. Forsooth I am capable of releasing thee from the bonds.' Hearing that Bali laughed and said—'Hear, I shall relate to thee what thou hast asked, O Ravana. The red-hued man, who stands always at the door—by him formerly all the leading Danavas and other powerful lords were brought into subjection—by him I was also bound. He is invincible like unto death; who is there on this earth that can deceive him? He, who stands at the door, is the destroyer of all beings, creator and preserver and the lord of the three worlds. Thou dost not know him nor do I. He is identical with past, future and present and is the lord. He is Kali and he is Time—the destroyer of all beings. He is the destroyer and the creator of the three worlds—and he slays all beings mobile and immobile. And that lord of all gods again creates the universe without beginning or end. O night-ranger, he governs and preserves all sacrifices, gifts and oblations to fire. Forsooth he is the creator and the preserver of the universe—there is none

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so wonderful in the three worlds. O son of Pulasta, He hath been guiding the former Danavas, myself, yourself like so many beasts bound with ropes. Vitra, Danu, Suka, Sambhu, Nishumbha, Sumbha, Kalanemi, Prahlada and others, Kuta, Vairochana, Mridu, Jamala, Arjuna, Kansa, Kaitabha, and Madhu used to impart heat like the sun, appear resplendant like the rays, move about like air and pour showers like Indra. All of them celebrated many a sacrifice and were engaged in austere penances. All of them were high-souled and considered the practice of Yoga as a great virtue. Having got by an immense accession of wealth they enjoyed many pleasures, made many gifts, celebrated many sacrifices, studied (many lores) and governed their subjects. They were all protectors of their own kith and kin and slayers of enemies; and in battle, there was none equal to them in the three worlds. They were all heroic, of a high pedigree, versed in all sacred writings, proficient in all branches of learning and indomitable in warfare. Having defeated thousands of celestials in conflict, the high-souled ones conquered the regions. They were always engaged in those works which were not liked by the celestials and used to maintain their own men. They were all inflated with pride and haughtiness and effulgent like the newly-risen sun. The glorious Hari, the lord Vishnu, knoweth only how to bring about their destruction who perpetually assail the celestials. He creates all these and He, bringing about their destruction, existeth in Himself at the time of dissolution. These highly powerful and high-souled Danava chiefs, assuming shapes at will, have been destroyed by the glorious God. Besides, all these heroes, who have been heard of as being irrepressible and invincible in warfare, have been discomfitted by the wondrous power of Kritanta.' Having said this the lord of Danavas again spoke unto the lord of Rakshsas—'O hero, O thou gifted with great strength, take that flaming discus which thou beholdest and come to my side. I shall then relate to thee the means of eternal liberation. Do what I have told thee, O thou having long arms. Delay not Ravana.' Hearing this the highly powerful Raksha proceeded, laughing, O descendant of Raghu, where that celestial kundala was. Ravana, proud of his prowess, easily took it up but could not move it by any means. And being ashamed that that highly powerful one again attempted. As soon as it was uplifted the Rakshasa dropped down on ground, bathed in a pool of blood, like unto an uprooted Sala tree. In the meantime there arose a sound from Pushpaka, and the councillors of that lord of Rakshasas cried aloud. Regaining his sense that Raksha rose up in a moment and lowered his head in shame. Bali said to him—'Do thou come, O foremost of Rakshasas and hear my words. O hero, the kundala, crested with jewels, which thou didst assay to take up, is an ornament for the ear of one of my forefathers. This fell here on the ground, O thou gifted with great strength; another kundala was thrown on the summit of the mountain. Besides these kundalas his crown was also cast off on the ground before the altar during the encounter. Formerly none bore enmity towards my ancestor Hiranya Kasipu—Time death, or illness. He had no death during the day, night, evening or morning. O foremost of Rakshasas, he did not experience death from any weapon whatsoever. He created a dreadful enmity with Prahlada. This conflict having taken place with the high-souled and heroic Prahlada there rose up a dreadful figure of man-lion—a terror unto all, O foremost of Rakshasas. And that terrible figure casting his looks about, all the worlds were over-whelmed.

"'Thereupon taking him up with his arms he destroyed him with his nails. The person, who is standing at the door, is this supreme Yasudeva, void of passion. I shall now relate to thee the words of that supreme God; do thou hear, if thy heart is filled with spiritual thoughts. The person, who is standing at the door, hath brought into subjection, in thousands of years, a thousand of Indras, an Ayuta of gods and hundreds of great Rishis.' Hearing these words Ravana said—'(I have seen) Kritanta, the lord of spirits with Death himself, with hairs standing erect. Serpents and scorpions are his hairs—his tongue is hard as the lightning, his teeth are dreadful—his eyes are red and he is gifted with great velocity and a terror unto all beings. He is incapable of being looked at like unto the sun, unconquerable in battle and is the chastiser of the sinners. He even was defeated by me in conflict. There I did not feel the least pain or fear, O lord of Danavas. I do not know (this person)—it behoveth thee to give me an account.'

"Hearing the words of Ravana Bali said—'He is the lord Hari—Narayana—the protector of the three worlds. He is Ananta [Lit, eternal, endless. Here it is the name of Vishnu.], Kapila [A celebrated Muni or saint, the founder of the Sankhya system of philosophy; the son of Kardama by Devahuti and according to some an incarnanation of Vishnu.], Jishnu [Lit—victorious, or triumphant, a name of Vishnu.], and the highly effulgent Man-lion [Narasinha—a. name of Vishnu.]. He is Kratudhama [Protector of sacrifices—a name of Vishnu.], Sudhama [One of the names of Vishnu.], and hath the dreadful mace in his hand. He is like unto the twelve Adityas, Purana and the excellent Purusha; he is like unto the red clouds—the lord of gods and the best god. O thou having long arms, he is encircled by flames, a great devotee and fond of devotees; this lord preserveth the universe and hath created it. And he, gifted with great strength, brought about destruction in the form of Time; and this Hari, with a discus in his hand, is sacrifice and is being worshipped in sacrifices. He is at one with all gods—all beings, all worlds and all knowledge. He is all forms, the great form, Baladeva and hath long arms; he slayeth heroes, hath heroic eyes, is imperishable and the preceptor of the three worlds. All these sages, who long for final liberation, meditate upon him—he, who can know this Purusha, is not sullied with sins. By remembering him, hearing of him and worshipping him, every thing can be obtained.' Hearing these words of Bali, the highly powerful Ravana, having his eyes reddened with ire, issued out with uplifted weapon. Beholding him thus excited, the lord Hari, with a club in his hand, thought within himself, O Rama, 'I shall not slay this sinner for the satisfaction of Brahma' and assuming his own shape disappeared. And not beholding that Purusha there, the night-ranger issued out of the abode of Varuna, shouting with joy. He went away by the way he had come."

SECTION 25.

"Thereupon meditating for sometime the lord of Lanka went to the region of the sun and spent the night upon the picturesque summit of the mount Meru. And ascending the car Pushpaka having the velocity of the sun's steeds, he, by various courses, went on and beheld the glorious sun, gifted with all radiance, purifying all, wearing golden Keyuras and clothes crested with jewels. His beautiful countenance was adorned with a pair of excellent Kundalas; and his person was embellished with Keyuras, Nishkas and garlands of red lotuses. His body was annointed with red sandal and was radiant with a thousand rays. And beholding that foremost of gods—the sun—that primeval deity, without end or middle, having Uchaisravas as his carrier, the witness of the world and the lord of the universe, the foremost of Rakshasas, being overwhelmed with his rays, said to Prahasta—'O minister, do thou proceed at my behest and communicate unto him my orders—"Ravana hath arrived here for battle—do thou offer him fight." Or say "I have been defeated." Do thou follow one of these extremes.' Hearing those words that Rakshasa proceeded towards the sun and beheld two gate-keepers—Pingala and Dandi by name. And communicating unto them the resolution of Ravana he stood there silent, being over-powered with the rays of the sun. And approaching the sun, Dandi communicated unto him all this. Hearing of Ravana's intention from Dandi the intelligent sun—the enemy of night—wisely said to him—'Do thou proceed, O Dandi; either defeat Ravana or tell him "I have been defeated." Do whatever thou wishest.' Hearing those words he approached the high-souled Rakshasa and communicated unto him what the sun had said. Hearing the words of Dandi the lord of Rakshasas trumpeted his own victory and went away."

SECTION 26.

"Having spent the night on the picturesque summit of the mount Meru and thinking (for some time) the powerful lord of Lanka went to the region of the moon. (And he saw a person) proceeding, seated on a car, sprinkled with heavenly unguents and attended upon by Apsaras. And worn out with the satisfaction of desire he was being kissed there. Seeing such a person his curiosity was greatly excited. And beholding a Rishi there he said to him—'Welcome thou art, O celestial saint. Indeed thou hast come at a proper season. Who is this shameless wight that is going seated on a car and attended by Apsaras? Does he not perceive his object of fear?' Being thus addressed by Ravana, Parvata said—'O my child, O thou gifted with great intellect—Hear I shall describe to thee the truth. By him all the worlds have been conquered and Brahma hath been propitiated And he is now proceeding to that excellent region full of bliss for obtaining final liberation. As all the worlds have been conquered by thee by virtue of thy asceticism, O lord of Rakshasas, so is he going, undoubtedly performing many pious actions and drinking Soma juice. O foremost of Rakshasas, thou art heroic, and hast truth for thy prowess. The powerful are never offended with the pious.' Thereupon he espied an excellent, huge car, filled with all radiance and effulgence and the sound of musical instruments and singing. (And Ravana said)—'O great Rishi, who is that person, gifted with great effulgence, who goeth surrounded by charming songsters, dancing-girls and Kinnaras?' Hearing his words Parvata, the foremost of saints, again said—'He is heroic and a great warrior—he never returneth unsuccessful from a battle-field. Having performed many heroic feats in battle, and slain many enemies, he hath been assailed with many wounds in fighting and hath renounced his life for his master. Having destroyed many in battle, he hath at last been slain by his enemies and is perhaps now going either to the region of Indra or to some such place. This best of men is now being entertained by these well-versed in the art of singing and dancing.'

"Ravana again said—'Who goeth there effulgent like unto the sun?' Hearing the words of Ravana, Parvata said—'The person, resembling the full moon and wearing diverse ornaments and cloths, whom thou beholdest, O great king, in the golden car abounding in Apasaras, distributed gold. He, gifted with great effulgence, is now going in a swift-coursing car.' Hearing the words of Parvata, Ravana said—'O foremost of Rishis, do thou tell me, who, of these kings going, if prayed for, may offer me the hospitality of a battle? For sooth thou art my father; do thou point out (such a man to me) O thou conversant with piety.' Being thus addressed, Parvata again said to Ravana—'O great king, all these kings wish for heaven not for battle. I shall point out such a man, O great one, as shall enter into conflict with thee. There is a highly powerful king—the lord of seven islands, well known by the name of Mandhata; he shall enter into an encounter with thee.' Hearing the words of Parvata, Ravana again said—'Do thou tell me, O thou of great devotion, where this king resides. I shall go where lives this foremost of men.' Hearing the words of Ravana, the sage again said—'The son of Yuvanaswha hath conquered the world consisting of seven islands begining with the sea; Mandhata, the foremost of kings, is just coming to meet him.' Thereupon (Ravana) having long arms, proud of the boon conferred upon him in the three worlds, beheld the heroic Mandhata, the lord of Ayodhya and the foremost of kings. The king of seven islands proceeded in a golden and well-painted car resplendant like that of Mahendra, shining in his beauty and sprinkled with celestial unguents. The Ten-necked demon said to him—'Do thou give me battle.' Being thus addressed, he, laughing, said to the ten-necked demon—'If thy life is not dear unto thee, do thou fight with me, O Rakshasa.' Hearing the words of Mandhata, Ravana said—'Ravana did not experience any affliction from Varuna Kuvera or Yama; why should he experience fear from thee, who art a man?' Having said this, the lord of Rakshasas as if burning in ire, ordered the Rakshasas irrepressible in battle. Thereupon the ministers of the vicious-souled Ravana, highly enraged and well-skilled in warfare, began to make a downpour of arrows. Thereupon the highly powerful king Mandhata, with sharpened shafts, assailed Prahasta, Suka, Sarana, Mahodara, Birupaksha, Akampana and other foremost heroes. Prahasta covered the king with his arrows—but before they had approached him, that foremost of men shattered them into pieces. Like unto fire burning down grass, the host of Rakshasas were burnt down by the king Mandhata by means of hundreds of Bhushundis, Vallas, Vindipalas and Tomaras. As Kartikeya, the son of fire, sundered the mount Krauncha with his shafts so Mandhata, enraged, pierced Prahasta with five Tomaras gifted with great velocity. Then hurling his mace again and again resembling that of Yama, he struck, vehemently, Ravana's car therewith. That club, resembling the lightning, vehemently descended (upon Ravana's car) and Ravana, like Sakra's banner, was speedily upset by that. Like unto the rising of the waters of the salt ocean on the full moon, the king Mandhata's joy and strength were greatly increased. Thereupon the entire Rakshasa host, emitting loud cries, stood encircling on all sides the lord of Rakshasas. Thereat speedily regaining his sense, Ravana, a terror unto all people, the lord of Lanka, greatly assailed the person of Mandhata. And beholding that king in a swoon, the highly powerful night-rangers were greatly delighted and emitted leonine roars. Regaining his sense in a moment the king of Ayodhya beheld his enemy worshipped by the courtiers and night-rangers. He was instantly worked up with ire; and assuming a person resplendant like that of the sun and the moon he began to slay the Rakshasa host with a dreadful downpour of shafts. With his arrows and the noise thereof the entire Rakshasa army were overwhelmed like the agitated deep. Thereupon there arose a dreadful conflict between men and demons. And those two heroic, high-souled and foremost of men and Rakshasas seated on warriors' seats and holding bow and daggers entered (the field). And possessed by great anger they began to assail one another with shafts—Mandhata Ravana and he again the king. They, being assailed by one another, were both wounded. And setting the Raudra shaft upon his bow Ravana discharged it and Mandhata baffled it by means of his fiery shafts. The Ten-necked demon took up the Gandharva weapon and the king Mandhata the Brahma-weapon striking terror unto all. Ravana then took up the celestial Pasupata weapon, dreadful and increasing the fright of the three worlds, obtained by him from Rudra by virtue of his rigid penances. Seeing this all animals, mobile and immobile, were stricken with terror. Thereupon trembled all the three worlds consisting of mobile and immobile beings—the celestials and all the serpents became inert. Being apprised (of this conflict) by virtue of meditation the two foremost of ascetics Pulastya and Galava remonstrated with them in many a way and prevented the king (Mandhata) and the foremost of Rakshasas. Thereupon that man and demon being reconciled with one another went back by the ways they had respectively come."

SECTION 27.

"Those two brahmans having departed, Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, proceeded, at first, by the aerial way, ten thousand leagues, He then went lo the excellent upper aerial region where live perpetually ganders gifted with many

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accomplishments. The extent thereof is also counted by ten thousand leagues and there are stationed closely three classes of clouds* namely Agneya, Pakshaja and Brahma. [* The three classes are (1st) Agnija or produced from fire (2nd) Pakshaja or produced in a fortnight (3rd) Brahma or produced from Brahma.] He, then proceeded to the third excellent aerial region where perpetually reside the high-minded Siddhas and Charanas and the extent whereof is also ten thousand leagues. O slayer of enemies, he then speedily proceeded to the fourth aerial region where perpetually dwelt the goblins and Vinayakas, He quickly went to the fifth aerial region which also extends over ten thousand yojanas where exist Ganga, the foremost of rivers, and the elephants headed by Kumuda, who pour down waters. They sport in the waters of the Ganges and pour down her holy waters. And those waters, parched by the rays of the sun and softened by the wind, pour down holy waters and dews, O Raghava, Thereupon that Rakshasa went to the sixth aerial region, O thou gifted with high radiance, which also extends over ten thousand yojanas and where dwells Garuda perpetually respected of his kinsmen and friends. He then went to the seventh aerial region which is ten thousand leagues above and where dwell the seven Rishis. And again going up ten thousand leagues he reached the eighth aerial region where Ganga, known as the Ganges of the sky, having strong currents and sending high roars, and upheld by air, is situated on the sun's way. I shall now describe the region higher than that where resides the moon, and the extent whereof is counted by eighty thousand leagues. There dwells the moon encircled by stars and planets from whom proceed hundreds and thousands of rays which light up the worlds and conduce to the pleasure of all animals. Thereupon beholding the Ten-necked demon the moon as if burnt (him) down speedily with his cold fiery rays. And stricken with the fear of those rays his councillors could not stand them. Thereupon exclaiming his victory Prahasta said to Ravana—'O king, we are destroyed by cold, so we must go away from here. The Rakshasas have been terrified by the rays of the moon; O foremost of kings, the cold rays of the moon have the natural property of fire in them.' Hearing the words of Prahasta, Ravana, beside himself with wrath, having uplifted his bow and twanged it, began to assail him with Narachas. Thereupon Brahma came speedily to the region of the moon and said—'O Ten-necked one, O thou having mighty arms, O direct son of Visravas, O gentle one, do thou repair hence speedily—do not oppress the moon—(for) this highly effulgent king of twice-born ones wisheth well-being unto all. I shall communicate to thee a mystical incantation; He who recollects it at the time of death, does not come by it.' Being thus addressed the ten-necked demon, with folded hands, said—'If thou art pleased with me O god! O lord of the worlds, O thou of great penances, if dost thou wish to communicate that incantation, do thou impart it upon me, O thou of great piety; reciting which, O great one, I may be released of the fear of the celestials. Forsooth, by thy favour, O lord of the celestials, I shall be invincible by all the Asuras, Danavas and birds.' Being thus accosted Brahma said to the ten-necked demon—'O lord of Rakshasas, do thou recite it at the time of death and not every day. Taking a string of beads, thou shouldst recite this holy incantation, on which, thou, O lord of Rashasas, shalt be invincible, And if dost thou not recite it thou shalt not meet with success. Hear, I shall communicate to thee the incantation, O foremost of Rakshasas, reciting which thou shalt obtain victory in the encounter, "Salutation unto thee, god, O lord of gods, O thou worshipped of the celestials and Asuras, O thou identical with past and future, great god, O thou having red eyes—thou art a boy at thou assumest the form of an old man; thou wearest tiger skin. O god, thou art worthy of being worshipped, and the lord of the three worlds. Thou art Hara, Haritanemi, Yugantadahaka and Valadeva. Thou art Ganesha, Loka-Sambhu, Lokapala, and of huge arms; thou art great, the holder of a huge dart, having dreadful teeth, and the greatest of gods. Thou art time, the strength and hast blue neck and a large belly; thou art the destroyer of the celestials—the foremost of the ascetics and the lord of all created beings. Thou art the holder of a dart and hast the bull as thy emblem, art the leader, protector, the destroyer and the preserver; thou hast beared locks, art Mundi, Sikhandi, hast a crown, and art greatly illustrious. Thou art the lord of sprites and goblins, the soul of all, the protector of all, omniscient, the destroyer of all, the creator and the eternal preceptor. Thou art lord, carriest a kamandalu [An earthen or wooden water pot used by the ascetic and religious student.] in thy hand, art the holder of a Pinaka [The bow of Siva, A trident or three-pronged spear.] and Dhurjati [A name of Siva from dhur, a burden and Jati, a collection; who collects or bears the burthen of the three worlds.] thou art, worthy of veneration, the most excellent OM, the first chanter of Saman, the death, the element of death, Parijatra [The name of a mountain, apparently the central or western portion of the Vindhya chain.] and observant of penances. Thou art an ascetic, livest in a cave and carriest a Vina [A kind of stringed musical instrument.], Panava [A sort of musical instrument; a small drum or tabor.], and quiver in thy hands; thou art immortal and art like the newly-risen sun to behold. Thou livest in a cremation ground, art the illustrious lord of Uma, and above all blemishes Thou didst uproot-the eyes of Vagadeva and teeth of Pusha. Thou art the destroyer of fever, holdest mace in thy hand and art (the very) dissolution and time. Thou hast got a fire-brand in thy mouth, hast fire as thy emblem, art highly resplendent and lord of men. Thou art mad, makest people tremble, art the fourth, and most respected of men; thou art a dwarf, Vamanadeva and the dwarf who circumambulates the east. Thou art a beggar, wearest the semblance of a beggar and art by nature crooked; thou didst assail Indra's hands and the Vasus. Thou art the season, the maker of seasons, time, honey and hast honeyed eyes. Thou art a tree bearing fruits and blossoms, hast arrows as thy seat and worshipped by people of all conditions perpetually. Thou art the protector and the creator of the universe, the Purusha, eternal and certain; the lord of all religions, Virupaksha, the three qualities and the protector of all beings. Thou art three-eyed, assumest many forms and brilliant as the Ajuta suns; thou art the lord of all celestials, the foremost deity and wearest bearded locks having the impressions of the moon; thou art connected with Brahman, worthy of being resorted to and identical with all created beings. Thou blowest all bugles, severest all ties; thou dost charm and bind (all) and dost always bring about death. Thou hast flowery teeth, art a division, the foremost and the destroyer of all; thou hast dreadful beards, holdest a bow, art fearful and gifted with dreadful might." These eight hundred holy and excellent names have been uttered by me which remove all iniquities, are holy and afford shelter to those who seek for it; if do thou recite them, O ten-necked one, thou shalt be able to destroy thy enemies.'"

SECTION 28.

"Having conferred this boon upon Ravana the father, sprung from lotus, speedily returned to the region of Brahman. And having obtained the boon Ravana too came back. After a few days that Rakshasa Ravana, the dread of all people, arrived at the banks of the western Ocean with his councillors. And on the island a person was seen bright as fire under the name of Mahajambunada, seated there alone. He had a dreadful figure and was like unto the fire at dissolution. And beholding that highly powerful person amongst men like unto the chief of gods amongst the celestials, the moon amongst the planets, the lion amongst the Sarabhas, the Airavata amongst the elephants, the Meru amongst the mountains, and the Parijata amongst the trees, the ten-necked demon said—'Give me battle.' Thereat his eyes became agitated like unto planets and from the clashing of his teeth there arose a sound like the clapping of thunder-bolts. And the highly powerful Dasanana too roared with his councillors. And with darts, Saktis, Rishtis and Patticas he again and again assailed that highly effulgent person, having long arms, a dreadful appearance, huge teeth, a grim figure, a conch-like neck, spacious breast, a belly like that of a frog, a countenance like that of a lion, legs like the mount Kailasa, red palms, red hands, emitting dreadful roars, huge-bodied, gifted with the velocity of mind and air, dreadful, carrying quiver, bells and chowries, encircled by a burning flame and emitting a sweet note as a net-work of Kinkini does, having a garland of golden lotuses hung round his neck, appearing graceful like unto the Rig-Veda, be-decked with lotus garlands, resembling the Anjana and golden mountains. As the lion is not moved by the attack of a wolf, the elephant by that of a bull, the Sumeru by the king of serpents and the great Ocean by the current of a river, so that great person was not agitated and said to the ten-necked demon—'O vicious-minded night-ranger, I shall soon remove they desire for a battle.' O Rama, the might of that person was a thousand times greater than that of Ravana which was dreadful unto all the worlds. Piety and asceticism, which are at the root of attaining to every thing in the world, are at his thighs; Cupid is his male organ, the Viswadevas are at his waist and the Maruts are at the sides of his Basti; the Vasus are in the middle portion of his body, the oceans are in his belly, the quarters are on his sides, the Maruts are at his joints—the manes are one his back and the grand-father has taken shelter in his heart; the pious acts of making gifts of kine, gold and lands are his downs; the mounts Himalaya, Hemkuta, Mandara, and Meru are his bones; the thunder-bolt is his palm, the sky his body; the evening and watery clouds are on his neck, the creator, the preserver and the Vidyadharas are on his two arms. Ananta, Vasuki, Visalaksha Iravat, Kamvala, Aswatara, Karkotaka, Dhananjaya the venomous Takshaka, and Upatakshaka, have taken shelter under the nails of his hands, in order to vomit forth their venom. The fire is in his mouth, the Rudras are on his shoulders, the fortnights, months, years and seasons are on the rows of his teeth; the lunar half and the dark half of the month are in his nostrils—and the airy currents are in pores of his body. Saraswati, the goddess of words, is his neck, the two Aswins are his ears, the sun and the moon are his two eyes, O Rama, all the divisions of the Vedas, Yagmas, the whole host of stars, good words, energy, asceticism—all these are being supported by his body, assuming the shape of a man. Thereupon that Purusha easily struck Ravana with his hands hard as thunder. Being assailed thereby Ravana immediately fell on the ground. Beholding that Rakshasa fallen and having distressed others that huge person, like unto the Rig-Veda, resembling a mountain and be-decked with lotus garlands, entered the region under the earth. Ravana addressed his councillors thus—'O Prahasta, O Sukasarana and other ministers, where hath that person suddenly gone? Do ye tell me this.' Hearing those words of Ravana the night-rangers said—'That man, who crusheth down the pride of the celestials and demons, hath entered hither.'

"As Garuda goes speedily taking a serpent so that vicious-minded Ravana arrived quickly at the entrance of the den. And Ravana, having no fear, entered therein. And having entered there he saw males resembling the red collyrium, wearing keyuras [A kind of ornament used on arms.], heroic, be-decked with red garlands, pasted with red sandal and adorned with diverse golden ornaments and jewels. He saw there three millions of such high-minded persons, devoid of fear, pure, radiant like fire, dancing being mad after festivities. Beholding them the Ten-necked demon, of dreadful prowess, was not the least terrified, and rather saw their dance, standing at the gate. They were all like the male being he had seen before. They were all of the same colour, same dress, same figure and equally gifted with great energy. They were all gifted with four arms and great energy. Beholding them the down of the Ten-necked demon stood erect though a boon had been conferred upon him by the Self-born and he speedily issued out of that place. And he again saw another huge person lying down on a bed. His house, seat and bed were all white and valuable and he was sleeping enveloped by fire. And there sat gracefully with a fan in her lotus hands, the goddess Laksmi—most beautiful in the three worlds—(as if) the ornament thereof, chaste, adorned with celestial garlands, sprinkled with excellent sandal paste, be-decked with rich ornaments and clad in a precious raiment. Having entered there with out any councillor the vicious Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, on beholding that chaste damsel with sweet smiles seated on a royal seat, being possessed by desire, grew anxious to hold her by the hand, as one, under the influence of death, catches a sleeping serpent. Beholding that lord of Rakshasas with loose cloth and understanding him as desirous of holding (her) the deity, having huge arms, asleep and enveloped with flames, laughed aloud. And scorched suddenly by his energy, Ravana, the dread of all people, fell down on earth like unto an up-rooted tree. Beholding that Rakshasa fallen he said the following words:—'Rise up, O foremost of Rakshasas, thou shalt not meet with death today; thou shalt live and be protected, O Rakshasa, by the great Patriarch's boon. Do thou therefore go away, O Ravana, with confidence—thou shalt not experience death just now.' Regaining his sense instantly Ravana was stricken with fear. And being thus addressed, that enemy, of the celestials, stood up and with his down erect, said to that highly resplendant deity—'Who art thou gifted with great energy and like unto the fire of dissolution? Tell me, who art thou, O deity and whence thou hast come hither.' Being thus accosted by the vicious-souled Ravana, the deity, smiling, replied in words deep as the muttering of clouds, saying—'What shalt thou do with me O ten-necked demon? Thou art not to be slain by me now.' Being thus addressed the Ten-necked demon, with folded palms said—'By the words of the Patriarch (Brahma) I shall not tread the path of death; there is none born amongst men, or the celestials who can equal me, and disregard; by virtue of his prowess, the great Patriarch's boon. His words can never be falsified—every great exertion is weak before them; I do not behold any such man in the three worlds who can render that boon useless. O foremost of the deities, I am immortal—I do not fear thee; and even if I meet with death, I may have it from thee and no one else, O Lord. My death from thee is both glorious and praise-worthy.' Thereupon Ravana, gifted with dreadful prowess, beheld within the body of that deity, all the three worlds with mobile and immobile creations. The Adityas, the Maruts, the Sidhas, the two Aswins, Rudras, the manes, Yama, Kuvera, the oceans, mountains, rivers, all the divisions of the Veda and knowledge, fire, planets, stars, sky, Siddhas, Gandharvas, Charanas, the ascetics conversant with the knowledge of Vedas, Garuda and the serpents, the other deities, Yakshas, Daityas and Rakshasas, were all seen in their incorporeal forms, on the person of that great Purusha, lying down." Thereupon the virtuous-souled Rama said to Agastya, the foremost of Munis—"Who is that male being stationed in the island? Who are those three kotis male beings? And who is this person who crusheth down the pride of the Daityas and Danavas?" Hearing Rama's words Agastya said—"O thou existing eternally, O god of gods, hearken, I shall relate (it) unto thee. The person stationed in the island is the illustrious Kapila. All those dancing persons are the deities equalling that intelligent Kapila in energy and power. And that Rakshasa, bent on sin, was not seen by him with angry looks, and therefore, Rama, Ravana, was not there and then reduced to ashes. And he, resembling a mountain, with his person pierced, fell on the ground. As a wily wight goes through a secret so he pierced (Ravana's person) with his shaft-like

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words. Having regained his sense, however, after a long time, that Rakshasa, of great prowess, returned where his councillors were."

SECTION 29.

"While thus returning the vicious-souled Ravana, with delight, carried away stealthily, on his way, the daughters of the royal saints, celestials and Danavas. And whatever beautiful damsel he saw, married or unmarried, that demon held them captive in his car, having slain all their friends and relatives. In this wise he got on his chariot many a female of the Nagas, Rakshas, Asuras, Yakshas, Danavas and of men. And they, all afflicted, shed tears, hot as firey flames, caused by fear and fire of grief. As the ocean is filled with the currents of the rivers so that car was flooded with their tears originating from fear and sorrow. And wept there in the chariot, hundreds of the females of Nagas, Gandharvas, of great ascetics, Daityas and of Danavas. They had long airs, graceful persons, countenances resembling the full-moon, rising breast, slender waist like that of a black-bee and were graceful with back like the pole of a car. They were like the females of the celestials and the burning gold and were all afflicted by grief, sorrow and terror and were young. And the car was ablaze on all sides with the sighings of those damsels and Pushpaka looked like the chamber where fire is kept perpetually. The countenance and eyes, of those beautiful damsels, brought under the subjection of the ten-necked demon, and afflicted with sorrow, looked poorly like a hind attacked by a lion. Some thought—'Will he eat me up?' and another, stricken with sorrow, thought—'Will he destroy me?' Thus remembering their mothers, fathers, husbands and brothers, all those females, overwhelmed with grief and sorrow, bewailed, some exclaiming—'What shall befall my son in my absence? Alas! into what ocean of grief my mother or brother is sunk? Alas! what shall my husband do in my absence? Therefore, O death, I propitiate thee, do thou take me, who am subject to miseries. Alas! what an iniquity did I perpetrate in my former birth in another body? Therefore, we all, overwhelmed with grief, are sunk in the ocean of sorrow—and I do not behold the end of my miseries. Oh! fie upon humanity; there is none more vile than a man for they are weak. As the stars disappear with the rising of the sun in time, so our husbands have been destroyed by the powerful Ravana. Oh! highly powerful is this Raksha and he is mad after devising the means of destruction. Alas! being engaged in such vile actions, he does not consider himself cursed; he is as powerful as he is vicious. And though the ravishment of another's wife is a greats sin, still that vile Rakshasa is enjoying us who belong to others. Therefore this vicious-minded one shall meet with death, by his own actions.' As soon as these words were uttered by those chaste damsels, bugles were sounded in heaven and flowery showers fell on earth. Being thus imprecated by those chaste females, devoted to their husbands, he became shorn of energy and effulgence and appeared like one divested of mind. Hearing their lamentations thus and being honoured by the night-rangers that foremost of Rakshasas entered his city Lanka. In the interval, Ravana's sister, a dreadful and grim-visaged she-demon, suddenly fell down on the ground. And having raised up his sister and consoled her Ravana said—'Tell me speedily, O good sister, what you wish to say.' Thereat that she-demon, having blood-red eyes, closed with tears, said:—'O king, by thee, powerful as thou art, I have forcibly been made a widow. Fourteen thousand demons, under the name of Kalakeyas, have been destroyed by thee, O king, in the battle and amongst them was my highly powerful husband—dearer than my life. He has been slain by thee, O dear one, an enemy—a brother only in name. I have been killed by thee, O king, who art my brother. For thee, king, I shall enjoy the word 'widow'! My husband should have been saved by thee in the battle. But he was slain by thy ownself in the battle; art thou not ashamed of this?' Being thus addressed by his bewailing sister, the Ten-necked demon, consoling her in sweet words, said:—'Of no avail is thy lamentation, dear sister; thou needst not be afraid of any of thy relatives. I shall please thee studiously by gifts, honours and favours. Being mad after war-fare and desirous of acquiring victory, I was continually making a downpour of shafts, so I could not distinguish in the conflict between my own men and enemies,—and thus unwittingly I did hurt thy husband. And thus, sister, thy husband was slain by me in the conflict; I shall now do whatever shall conduce to thy well-being. Do thou ever reside by the side of thy rich brother Khara and he shall be the lord of fourteen thousand Rakshasas. That highly powerful one shall give food and clothes to all those Rakshasas. He is thy cousin and that night-ranger shall always carry out thy orders. Let that hero now speedily go to protect the Dandaka forest and the highly powerful Dushana shall be the commander of his forces. And the heroic Khara shall always obey thy words and be the lord of Rakshasas assuming shapes at will.' Having said this the Ten-necked demon issued orders to his army—fourteen thousand highly powerful Rakshasas. Being encircled by those grim-visaged Rakshasas, Khara, undaunted, speedily came to the Dandaka forest. There he governed without thorns and Surpanakha too also resided in the forest of Dandaka."

SECTION 30.

"Having thus given the command of a huge and dreadful army to Khara and consoled his sister the Ten-necked demon was satisfied and freed from anxiety. Thereupon that highly powerful lord of Rakshasas with his followers entered an excellent garden in Lanka named Nikumbhila. And there, he saw, filled with hundreds of sacrificial posts and altars, a sacrifice being celebrated, as if burning in its lustre. And he beheld his fearful son Meghnada too, clad in an antelope skin and holding Sikha and Kamandalu. Having seen him (there) and embraced him by his arms the lord of Lanka said:—'What are you after, O my child? Tell me the truth.' Thereupon that foremost of twice-born ones Usanas [Another name of Sukra. Indrajit took the vow of silence so he thought it improper to disturb him.] of austere penances, wishing the prosperity of the sacrifice, said to Ravana—the Rakshasa chief:—'Hear, I shall relate to thee everything, O king; thy son hath met with the fruits of many a sacrifice—Agnistoma [A sacrifice or rather a series of offerings to fire for five days to be celebrated in the spring.], Asvamedha [The actual or emblematic sacrifice of a horse, this sacrifice is one of the highest order, and performed a hundred times, entitles the sacrificer to the dominion of Swarga or paradise.], Bahusubarnaka [A sacrifice in which profuse gifts of gold are made.], Rajsuya [A sacrifice in which all the tributary chiefs pay homage to the Lord Paramount.], Goinedha [The offering or sacrifice of a cow.], and Baisnaba [A sacrifice relating to Vishnu.]. And being engaged in this Mahesvvara sacrifice, which is incapable of being celebrated by men, thy son hath obtained boon from Pasupati [A name of Siva.] himself.

"'He has also obtained illusory powers—which create darkness or ignorance—namely of ranging in the sky, of being eternal, of ascending a celestial car which courses at will and of creating darkness. O lord of Rakshasas, these illusory powers being used in a conflict, even the celestials and Asuras shall not be able to perceive his course. Besides he has obtained a quiver, the arrows whereof shall never be exhausted, a bow, which is hard of being got by and a dreadful weapon which destroys enemies in a conflict. Having obtained these boons thy son, O thou having ten faces, and myself, the sacrifice being finished, have been waiting to behold thee.' Whereto the Ten-necked demon replied—'You have not done well as you have worshipped, with diverse articles my enemies—Indra and others. However, what is done is done; there is virtue in this—no doubt; come, O gentle one, we shall go to our house.' Thereupon going there with his son and Bibhishana, the Ten-necked demon got down all those damsels, speechless with tears, gifted with auspicious marks, the precious females of the celestials, Danavas and Raskshasas. Perceiving his vicious desire for those damsels, the virtuous-souled (Bibhishana) said:—'Thou dost (still) follow thy own whims, knowing that people are injured by these actions which destroy piety, wealth and fame. Having slain their kinsmen thou hast brought these beautiful damsels hither, but disregarding thee, O king, Madhu hath carried away Kumbhanasi.' Ravana said:—'I do not understand all this. Who is that Madhu, who has been named by thee?' Worked up with ire Bibhishana said to his brother:—'Hear, the fruit of thy vicious actions hath arrived. There was an old Rakshasa, celebrated for his wisdom, named Malyavan, the elder brother of Sumalin, our maternal grandfather. His grand-daughter is Kumbhanashi and is born of our maternal aunt Anala; so she is virtually our sister. Thy son being engaged in the sacrifice and myself being under waters she was stolen away, O king, by the powerful Rakshasa Madhu. Kumbhakarna, O great king, was then asleep. Having slain all the powerful Rakshasas and thy councillors, he had stolen her away, O king, who was in thy inner apartments. Hearing this even, O great king, we have pardoned and not slain him: an unmarried girl should be given away to her husband by her brothers, but that has not been the case—this is merely the result of thy vicious actions—wicked-minded as thou art, And this thou hast met with instantly—so the people say.' Hearing the words of Bibhishana, Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, became agitated like an ocean, by the recollection of his vicious deeds. And enraged, with blood-red eyes the ten-necked demon said—'Get my chariot ready soon and let all the heroes of our party be prepared. Let my brother Kumbhakarna and other leading night-rangers, armed with various weapons, ascend their conveyances. Having slain today in the encounter that Madhu, who is not afraid of Ravana, I shall, encircled by my friends, and desirous of battle, proceed to the region of the celestials.' Thereupon issued out for battle leading Rakshasas four thousand Akshauhini strong taking various weapons. Commanding them Indrajit preceded the army, Ravana went in the middle and Kumbhakarna was in the rear; the virtuous-souled Bibhisana remained in Lanka, being engaged in pious observances. And the rest of the leading Rakshasas proceeded towards the city of Madhu. And all the Rakshasas went covering the sky, some on asses, some on camels, some on horses, some on quick-coursing porpoises and some on huge serpents. And beholding Ravana proceed, hundreds of Daityas, inimical to the celestials, followed him. Having arrived at the city Of Madhu and entered there the ten-necked demon did not behold Madhu but espied his sister. Thereupon being afraid of the king of Rakshasas, Kumbheenashi, with folded palms, touched his feet with her crown. Having raised her up the Rakshasa-chief Ravana said 'No fear, what can I do for you?' Whereto she replied—'O king, O thou having long arms,—if thou art pleased with me, do not slay my husband to-day, O conferrer of honours. It is said there is no other fear like this for damsels of high pedigree. The greatest of fears is that of being a widow. Be thou truthful, O king of kings—do thou look towards me, who am thus begging; Thou hast thyself said, O king; "No fear."' Being thus addressed Ravana said to his sister there:—'Do thou tell me speedily where is thy husband. I shall go with him for conquests to the region of the celestials. Out of pity and love for thee I refrain from slaying Madhu.' Being thus accosted; that Rakshasi, being pleased, got her sleeping husband, the night-ranger, up and said:—'Here is my brother, the highly power Dacagriva. Being desirous of conquering the region of the celestials he prays for thy help. Do thou therefore proceed to his help, O Rakshasa, with all they friends; It behoves thee to help him, who out of affection for me, hath prayed for thy help.' Hearing those words Madhu said:—'So be it.' And approaching a little he beheld that foremost of Rakshasas and duly welcomed Ravana. Being thus honoured the highly power Dacagriva spent one night in Madhu's house and then, addressed himself for departure. Thereupon reaching the hill Kailaca, the abode of Baisravan, the lord of Rakshasas, resembling Mahendra, encamped his army."

SECTION 31.

"After sunset the highly power Ravana encamped his army there. And the clear moon, brilliant as the mountain, having risen, that huge army, armed with diverse weapons, became asleep. And lying down on the summit of the mountain, the highly powerful Ravana espied the caves beautified with the rays of the moon and the trees. And the interior of the forest was beautified with the brilliant groves of Karnikar, with Kadamba and Vakula trees, groves of full blown lotuses, the waters of Mandakini, with Champaka, Asoka, Punnaga, Mandara, mangoe, Patala, Lodra, Pryangu, Arjuna, Ketaka, Tagara, Coconut, Pyala, Panasa and various other trees. And there sang the Kinnaras, possessed by desire, and having sweet voice, enhancing the delight of the mind. And there danced mirthfully, with their damsels, the Vidyadharas, inebriete and having their eyes reddened with drink. There was audible in the house of the lord of riches, the sweet music of the assembled Apsaras like unto the sound of the bell. And being shaken by the wind the nectar-smelling trees made the hill fragrance with the shower of flowers. And carrying the fragrance rendered salutary with honey and filaments of flowers, the excellent wind blew enhancing Ravana's desire. Being possessed by desire through songs, richness of flowers, coldness of air, beauty of the hills, and the rising of the moon in night, the highly powerful Ravana espied again and again the moon with heavy sighs. At this time passed by that way the foremost of Apsaras, Rambha, adorned with excellent ornaments and having a countenance like the full moon. Her person was sprinkled with excellent sandal paste—her hairs were decked with Mandara flowers—her body was beautified with other flowers and her movements tended to increase desire. Her eyes were beautiful and her waist was high, adorned with Mekhala [A kind of ornament used on the waist.] and was as if the refuge of Rati [Wife of Kama—the god of love in Hindu mythlogy.]. Her forehead and other parts of the countenance were painted with the marks of red sandal and adorned with ornaments of flowers growing in six seasons. Rambha appeared like second Sree, in grace and beauty, natural and artificial. She wore green clothes resembling the clouds; her face was like the moon, eye brows like excellent bows, thighs like the trunks of elephants and palms soft as leaves. She was seen by Ravana as proceeding in the midst of soldiers. Having got up and been influenced by lust he took her, shameful as she was, by the hand and smiling said:—'Where art thou going, O beautiful damsel? Whom art thou going of thy own accord to satisfy? Whose prosperous time hath appeared, with whom thou shalt enjoy? Who shall be satisfied with drinking the nectar of thy mouth smelling like lotus? Whose breast, O fair damsel, thy rising breast beautiful like two golden pots closely placed, shall touch? Who is there so beautiful as I—Indra, Vishnu, or two Aswins that thou art passing by me? Do thou take rest upon this excellent rock, O thou having charming waist. There is no other lord, save me, in the three worlds. And Dacanana, the lord of the lords of the three worlds, thus begs thee, with folded palms. Do thou therefore seek me.' Being thus addressed, Rambha, trembling, with folded palms, said:—'Be thou propitiated; it doth not behove thee to speak thus, who art my superior. Rather shouldst thou protect me if any body else trieth to oppress me. Virtually I am thy daughter-in-law. I speak to thee the truth.'

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Thereupon the Ten-necked demon said to her, standing with her face downwards, and her down standing erect at his very sight. 'Hadst thou been the wife of my son, thou wouldst have been my daughter-in-law.' Whereto Rambha replied:—'Truely it is; I am, by virtue, the wife of thy son, O foremost of Rakshasas. Thy brother Vaisrabana hath a son, dearer than his life, celebrated in the three worlds under the name of Nalakuvara, In virtue he is unto a Brahmin, in prowess he equals a Kshatriya, in anger he is very fire and in patience he is like the earth. I been thus directed by that Lokapala's son. For him I have adorned my person with these ornaments. I am not attached to any body else but him. O king, O slayer of foes, by virtue of (this relation) it behoveth thee to save me. And that virtuous-souled one is anxiously expecting me. Thou shouldst not put obstacle in that; it behoveth thee to let me go; do thou, O foremost of Rakshasas, wend the way treaded by the pious. Thou art worthy of being revered by me and I am an object of thy protection.' Being thus addressed Dacagriva humbly replied:—'"I am daughter-in-law," as thou hast said, is worthy of being said by one who is the only wife. This is the everlasting law of the celestials that the Apsaras have no husband; they cannot be the wife of one husband.' Having said this, the Raksha ravished her. Being released from his grasp Rambha became divested of her ornaments and garland and became like the river agitated by the elephants. Her hairs were dishevelled and her hands were trembling. Like unto a blossoming creeper shaken by the wind, she, trembling and bashful and with folded hands, went to Nalakuvara and fell down at his feet. Having seen her in that plight the high-souled Nalakuvara said—'O fair one, what is this? Why hast thou placed thyself at my feet?' Sighing heavily and trembling she, with folded palms, related to him everything from the beginning to the end. 'O lord, on his way to heaven, Dacagriva hath arrived here and hath spent the night with his army. While I was coming to thee, O slayer of foes, I was seen by him. Then holding me he said—"Where art thou going?" I related to him everything truly. But being possessed by lust he did not pay heed to my words. He was again prayed by me, O lord, saying "I am thy daughter-in-law." But neglecting that he ravished me. O thou of firm vows, it behoveh thee to forgive me for this folly. O gentle one, a woman's strength can never equal that of a man.' Hearing of this ravishment Vaisravana's son was greatly enraged and entered into meditation. Having ascertained the truth within a moment Vaisravana's son, with eyes reddened with ire, took water in his palms. Having taken this and rinsed his mouth duly, he imprecated a dreadful curse upon that lord of Rakshasas. 'O fair one, since thou hast been ravished by him despite thy unwillingness he shall never be able to get by an unwilling damsel. Whenever he shall, stricken by lust, ravish a reluctant damsel, his head shall be sundered into seven pieces'. As soon as this curse, like unto a burning flame, was uttered, the celestial bugles were sounded and a shower of flowers fell from heavens. Being apprised of the plight of people (brought about by him) and of the death of that Rakshasa the patriarch Brahma and other gods were greatly delighted. Hearing of that curse capable of making the down erect, Dacagriva abstained from entertaining lust for unwilling females. And hearing of the curse imprecated by Nalakuvara all the chaste damsels, that were kept captive, attained to great delight."

SECTION 32.

"Having crossed the mount Kailaca, the highly powerful Ten-necked demon, with his army, reached the region of Indra. And there arose in the region of celestials an uproar from the Rakshasa army, like unto the sound of the agitated deep. Hearing of the arrival of Ravana, Indra shook on his throne and said to the assembled gods, Adityas, Vasus, Rudras, Sadhyas and Maruts—'Prepare yourselves, for fighting with the vicious-souled Ravana.' Being thus addressed by Sakra, the celestials, his equals in the encounter and gifted with great prowess, armed themselves for fight. And Mahendra, afraid of Ravana, poorly went to Vishnu and gave vent to the following accents:—'How shall I, O Vishnu, withstand, the Rakshasa Ravana? The highly powerful Rakshasa hath come here for battle. It is by virtue of the boon that he is powerful, not for anything else. It is proper to make the words uttered by Brahma, truthful. As resorting to thy prowess I destroyed Namuchi, Yitra, Bali, Nanrin and Samvara, so do thou make some arrangements (for his destruction). There is no other excellent refuge but thee in the three worlds, mobile and immobile, O lord, O god of gods, O slayer of Madhu. Thou art the graceful, ever-existing Narayana, having a lotus navel. By thee the worlds have been settled and myself and Sakra, the lord of the celestials. Thou hast created the three worlds, the mobile and immobile and in thee all these shall, O glorious deity, end at the time of dissolution. Do thou tell me, the truth, O god of gods, that I may myself fight; or do thou, with thy sword and discus, vanquish Ravana.' Being thus addressed by Sakra the lord Narayana; said:—'Do not fear, hear what I say. He is invincible by virtue of the boon, and that vicious-souled one is incapable of being vanquished even by the celestials and Asuras. Irrepressible by virtue of his prowess, that Rakshasa, with his son, shall accomplish a mighty object. O lord of celestials, even if I am requested by thee, I shall not withstand the Rakshasa, Ravana in the conflict. Without slaying the enemies in the encounter, Vishnu doth never go back—but it is hard to fulfill my desire from Ravana, well protected by the boon. However I do promise before thee, O lord of the celestials, O performer of hundred sacrifices, I shall, soon become the cause of this Rakshasa's death. I shall soon destroy Ravana with his family in due time and afford delight unto the celestials. I speak the truth unto thee, O king of the celestials, O lord of Sachi; do thou divested of fear, fight, O thou gifted with great strength, along with the celestials.' Thereupon having issued out of the city, Rudras, Adityas, Vusus, Maruts and Aswins well-armed with mails, appeared before the Rakshasas. Meanwhile at the latter part of the night there was audible the uproar of Ravana's army fighting on all sides. Having got up and cast their looks upon one another the highly powerful Rakshasas waited there for the battle, delighted. Thereupon beholding that inexhaustible huge army at the commencement of the battle the celestial host lost heart. Thereupon there ensued a conflict, setting up a terrible sound, with various weapons between the Rakshasas and gods. In the interval issued out for encounter the heroic and grim-visaged Rakshasas—Ravana's councillors. And encircled by Maricha, Prahasta, Mahaparswa, Mahodara, Akampana, Nikumbha, Suka, Sarana, Sanghrada, Dhumaketu, Mahadangstra, Gathodara, Jambumali, Mahahrada, Virupaksha, Suptaghna, Yajnakopa, Durmukha, Khara, Trisira, Karaveeraksha, Suryyasatru Mahakaya, Atikaya, Devantaka, Narantaka,—all those gifted with great prowess, there entered the battle-field, the highly powerful Sumalin, Ravana's maternal grandfather. And with various sharp-pointed weapons, he, highly angered, began to assail the celestial host like unto the winds scattering clouds. Being thus distressed by the night-rangers the host of the gods fled away into diverse directions like a herd of deer attacked by a lion. In the meantime, entered the battle-field, the heroic and brave Savitra, the eighth Vasu, encircled by soldiers and striking terror into the hearts of the enemies. And the two Adityas, the highly powerful Tushtha, and Pusha united and undaunted, entered the arena. Thereupon there arose with Rakshasas a terrible encounter of the celestials unable to bear their fame in battle. Then the Rakshasas, with thousands of terrible weapons, began to belabour the deities in the encounter. And the celestials, as well, began to send the redoubtable, powerful and terrific Rakshasas, with the stroke of blameless weapons, to the abode of Death. In the interim, O Rama, a Rakshasa, Sumalin, by name, getting enraged and with diverse weapons, ran amock of the soldiery. As the winds scatter clouds, so, he, under the influence of rage, with various sharpened weapons, committed a havoc amongst the celestial soldiers. Thereupon being assailed by a downpour of huge shafts, maces, Prasas and diverse dreadful weapons, the celestials could not keep their ground upon the field of warfare. The celestials being thus distressed by Sumalin the eighth Vasu Savitra stood there enraged. And encircled by his own car-warriors that highly powerful one, with his prowess, repulsed the striking night-rangers. Thereupon there arose a terrible encounter, capable of making down erect, between Sumalin and the Vasu, who did not retire from the field of battle. His chariot drawn by serpents was pulled down and destroyed by the high-souled Vasu by means of his huge shafts. Having taken up that car in the warfare with hundreds of arrows Vasu took up mace in his hands for his destruction. Having taken up that mace having a burning head and resembling the rod of Death Savitra struck Sumalin on his head therewith. Having failed on his head that mace shone like a fire-brand as the thunderbolt, discharged by Indra, falls roaring on the summit of a mountain. By the stroke of that mace his person was reduced to ashes and therefore there was not seen in the battle field either his bone, head or flesh. Having beheld him slain in the warfare the Rakshasas bewailing ran about on all sides and being distressed by Vasu they could not stay in the battle field."

SECTION 33.

"Beholding Sumalin slain and reduced to ashes by Vasu and being assailed by the deities the Rakshasa host fled into diverse directions. And collecting all the Rakshasas stood there the highly powerful Meghanada, enraged, the son of Ravana. Like unto flaming fire approaching towards forest that great car-warrior encountered the enemies in a precious car coursing at will. And as soon as he, armed with various weapons, entered the field the celestials, at his very sight, fled away to all directions. None could stand before him, well-versed in war-fare. Thereupon beholding the deities terrified and pierced with shafts, Indra, the king of gods, said—'Be not afraid, O ye celestials; do not fly away; come back to the battle; this my son, who has never been vanquished, goes to battle.' Thereupon Sakra's son, known as divine Jayanta, proceeded towards the field of action in a wondrous car. And having encircled Sachi's son and encountered Ravana's son the deities began to assail him. And the encounter between Mahendra's son Jayanta and Ravana's son Meghanada, and that between the deities and Rakshas was like one between gods and demons. Thereupon Ravana's son began to assail, with shafts feathered in gold, his (Jayanta's) charioteer Gomukha, Matali's son. Sachis' son too, enraged, assailed on all sides, Ravana's son and his charioteer. And the powerful Ravani, stricken with ire and with eyes expanded, covered Sakra's son with arrows. Thereupon Ravana's son struck the celestial host with thousands of huge mountain summits, Sataghnis, maces, Prasas, clubs, daggers, Parashus and various other sharp pointed weapons, Ravana's son thus striking Indra's army the quarters were enshrouded with darkness by his illusory power. Being overpowered with arrows on all sides the celestial army, leaving aside Jayanta, became restless. The deities or the Rakshasa—they could not recognize one another—and being distressed they ran about on all sides. Being enveloped with darkness and having their senses bewildered the celestials killed their own kith and the Rakshasas their own men—and others fled away. In the interim a heroic and powerful Daitya-chief—Puloma by name, taking Sachi's son disappeared. And taking his own grand-son he entered into the ocean—Puloma was his grand-father for by him Sachi was begotten. And thinking that Jayanta was slain all the deities greatly sorry and distressed fled away on all sides. Thereupon Ravana's son, enraged and encircled by his own powerful followers, pursued the celestials emitting loud cries. Not beholding his son and observing the flight of the deities the king of the celestials said to Matali—'Bring my car.' By Matali was brought, the celestial, highly dreadful, huge and quick-coursing chariot, that was ready. (And he having) ascended the car, the huge clouds, with lightnings, being driven by winds, began to emit forth loud mutterings before the chariot. And the Gandharvas began to play on various instruments and the Apsaras began to dance. And taking up various weapons, Indra, the king of divinities, set out for the field of action, in the company of Rudras, Vasus, Adityas, the two Aswins and Maruts. He, having set out for battle, the wind began to blow high, the sun was divested of its brilliance and the huge fire-brands began to send out flames. In the interval the heroic and the highly powerful Dacagriva ascended the celestial car, constructed by the Architect of the deities, encircled by the huge-bodied serpents capable of making down erect and by whose breath the battle-field was ablaze. Surrounded by demons and night-rangers and with the celestial car he encountered Mahendra in the battle-field. And having desisted his son he himself stood there. And having come out from the field of action Ravana's son too stood silent. Thereupon there arose an encounter between the Rakshasas and the deities and there began a downpour of weapons in the conflict like clouds. And the vicious-souled Kumbhakarna armed with various weapons came there—but he did not know [For he was asleep till then so he was not acquainted with the particulars of war-fare. He used to sleep for six months at a time.], O king, with whom the conflict was going on. And by him enraged, the celestials were assailed with his teeth, feet, arms, hands, Saktis, Tomaras and clubs or any weapon whatsoever. Thereupon the night-ranger engaged with the highly powerful Rudras and was wounded, in the conflict, with incessant strokes of weapons. Thereupon the Rakshasa army began to fight with Maruts and they were overwhelmed in the encounter with the stroke of various weapons. Some fell down on earth slain and torn and others became insensible on the back of their carriers in the battle. And they all stood there in a half-sensible mood, some holding the car, some elephants, some asses, some camels, some serpents, some horses, some porpoises, some boars, some Pisaca-mouthed animals and some embracing the Pannagas. And other night-rangers, having their bodies sundered by the deities gave up their being. The Rakshasas being slain and lying down on earth the action appeared wondrous like a painting. And there issued out in the battle-field a river from weapons having blood for its silent waters and infested with crows and vultures. Having beheld his own army slain by the deities the highly powerful Dacanana, enraged, entered the ocean of celestial army and slaying the deities in the conflict confronted Sakra. Thereupon Sakra took up his huge bow by the twang where-of the ten quarters Were filled. Having unstrung his huge bow Indra struck Ravana, on his head, with arrows resembling the flame of fire and the rays of the sun. And the Rakshasa-chief Dacanana, having long arms, also assailed Indra with hundreds of shafts discharged off his bow. They having been thus engaged with each other with the downpour of dreadful shafts, all the quarters were filled with darkness and in consequence thereof nothing was visible."

SECTION 34.

"Whereupon darkness having set in all the celestials and Rakshasas, maddened with their strength, began to fight crushing one another. And in that darkness—Indra, Ravana and Meghanada—these three were not possessed by the influence of illusion. Beholding his whole army slain in a moment, Ravana, worked up with dreadful ire, sent out terrible roars. And in anger, that irrepressible one said to the charioteer, stationed on the car—'Do thou take me to the other end of the enemies' host. I shall soon with the stroke of various weapons despatch the deities to the abode of Death. I

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shall slay Indra, Kuvera, Varuna and Yama—what to speak of more—I shall soon destroy all the deities and place myself above them. Be not sorry; do thou soon drive my chariot. To-day I have told you twice to take me to the end of the enemy's army. We are now waiting near the Nandana grove—do thou take me to the hill whence the sun rises.' Hearing his words the charioteer drove the steeds, coursing at will through the enemies' host. Thereupon being apprised of his intention, Sakra, the king of the celestials, stationed on car, said to the deities, in the field of battle—'O ye deities—hear my words, what appear to me best. This Ten-necked demon must be vanquished by us while alive. Ascending his car, gifted with the velocity of the wind, the highly powerful one is proceeding amongst the army like unto the deep with waves rising during Parva. It is not possible to slay him now—for he shall not meet with death in consequence of the boon. So let us make him captive—and we should all exert to that end. Bali being held captive I am enjoying the three worlds—and I think proper to obstruct the course of this vicious-souled one.' Having said this and left aside Ravana, Sakra went to another side, O King, and fought terrifying the Rakshasas in the conflict. Dacagriva, incapable of being thwarted, entered by the northern route and the performer of hundred sacrifices by the southern. Thereupon having entered into the army up to a hundred leagues—the lord of Rakshasas overpowered the celestial host with a downpour of shafts. Thereupon beholding his own army slain, Sakra returned fearlessly and obstructed the Ten-necked demon. In the interim beholding Ravana brought under his grasp by Sakra the demons and Rakshasas cried aloud. 'Alas we are slain.' Thereupon ascending his car Ravana's son, beside himself with rage, entered the dreadful flank. And having resorted to the illusory powers, conferred upon him in yore by Pacupati he entered into the enemies' camp and belaboured them. Having left behind all other deities he pursued Indra and the highly effulgent Mahendra too espied his enemy's son. And albeit assailed by the highly powerful deities, Ravana's son, divested of mail, entertained no fear. Having overpowered the approaching charioteer with many excellent arrows he covered Mahendra with a downpour of shafts. Thereat having left his car and charioteer Indra mounted his elephant Airavat and ran about in search of Ravana's son. Being invisible in the welkin by virtue of his illusory powers and having brought Indra under the influence thereof he struck him with hundreds of arrows. When Ravana's son came to know that Indra was exhausted he, having bound him up by virtue of illusion, proceeded towards his army. And having seen Mahendra carried away by force from the battle field the deities thought 'What is this?' That conqueror of Sakra and subduer of enemies, conversant with illusory powers, was not visible, by whom, Indra, although master of many illusions, was carried away by force. In the meantime, the celestials, all enraged, covered Ravana with a downpour of shafts and belaboured him. And being worn out in the encounter with the Adityas and Vasus he was not capable of fighting any more. Beholding his father thus distressed and assailed in warfare with strokes, Ravana's son, although invisible, said—'Do thou come O father, our work in the battle field is finished; know, we have achieved victory; be thou consoled and divested of agonies. By virtue of my illusory powers I have made Mahendra captive—the lord of the three worlds and of the celestial host and have crushed down the pride of the deities. Having subdued thy enemy by virtue of thy prowess do thou enjoy the three worlds at thy pleasure. What is the use of labouring again? And useless it is to fight again.' Hearing the words of Ravana's son the deities retired from the battle field, and went away without Sakra. And hearing the sweet words of his son, the lord of the night-rangers, the enemy of the celestials, having great prowess and wide spread fame, desisted from fighting and affectionately said to his son—'Thou hast enhanced the glory of our race displaying thy prowess like a highly powerful man. Thou hast vanquished the celestials and their king of unequalled might. Do thou set out hence for the city, taking Indra on thy chariot and surrounded by soldiers. I shall, soon, delighted, follow thee with my councillors.' Thereupon having returned home with his army and chariots and taking the king of the celestials, the powerful son of Ravana dismissed the victorious warriors."

SECTION 35.

"The highly powerful Mahendra being thus defeated by Ravana's son, all the celestials, taking the patriarch Brahma before them, went to Lanka. Having obtained Ravana encircled by his sons and brothers the Patriarch, stationed in the welkin, calmly said—'My son, Ravana, I have been pleased with thy son in the conflict. Oh! what wonderful prowess, what strength—equal or greater than thine. Thou hast, by thy own prowess, conquered the three worlds—thy promise hath borne fruits—I have been pleased with you—both the father and son. O Ravana, this thy son is highly powerful and gifted with great strength and he shall be celebrated in the world under the appellation of 'Indrajit' or the conqueror of Indra. And that Rakshasa shall be powerful and irrepressible, by whose help, O king, the celestials have been brought under thy subjection. Do thou therefore, O thou having long arms, release Mahendra, the chastiser of Paka and for setting him free what do thou want from the celestials?' Thereupon the highly powerful Indrajit—the subduer of enemies, said:—'If dost thou say so, O god, I pray for immortality.' Thereat the highly powerful patriarch said to Meghanada—'There is none perfectly immortal on earth amongst created beings—birds, quadrupeds and other highly powerful beings.' Hearing the words uttered by the grand-father—the highly powerful Meghanada said to the eternal lord—'Hear, then, what I want in exchange for releasing Sakra. May a chariot with horses rise up from fire when I shall offer sacrifices unto it, being desirous of vanquishing my enemies in the conflict. And may I be immortal as long as I shall remain on that car. This is the boon I have resolved upon praying for. May I meet with destruction, O deity, whenever I shall engage in fight without finishing my offerings unto fire. All others, O god, attain to immortality by virtue of devout penances but I shall acquire that by dint of my own prowess.' Whereto the grand-father replied saying 'So be it.' Thereupon Meghanada released Indra and the celestials returned to their own abode. In the interval, O Rama, Indra became poorly, divested of his immortal brilliance, stricken with anxiety and pensive. Beholding him in that plight the grand-father of the deities said:—'O performer of hundred sacrifices, why didst thou formerly perpetrate that mighty iniquity? O Chief of the immortals! O lord! Some creatures were created by me by dint of my understanding—they were all of the same colour, same speech, and same appearance. There was no difference visible in their appearance or marks. Thereupon, with whole-minded-ness, I began to think of these created beings. And I created a female distinct from them. Collecting all those limbs that were most excellent amongst the created, I made a female under the name of Ahalya. Halmeans ugliness—one born from Hal is called Halya. That female was known as Ahalya because she had nothing blameable in her. I gave her that name. Having created that female I was thinking, O king of the celestials! O foremost of the deities! On whom I should confer her. Being proud of dignity, O Sakra, O lord, O Purandara thou didst regard her in thy mind as thy spouse. I placed her under the care of the high-souled Gautama and he rendered her back after many long years. Thereupon considering the patience and accomplished asceticism of Gautama I married her with him. And that virtuous-souled, great ascetic enjoyed her company; and for my thus conferring her upon Gautama all the celestials were disappointed. But being enraged and possessed by lust thou didst repair to the hermitage of the ascetic and see her resplendant like the flaming fire. Maddened with lust and ire thou didst ravish her and thou wast seen in that hermitage by the great ascetic. Thou wast then imprecated by him, enraged and gifted with great effulgence saying, "O lord of the celestials, thou hast attained to a change of circumstances—for which, O Vasava, thou hast fearlessly ravished my spouse. Thou shalt, therefore, O Sakra, go under the arms of the enemies, in conflict. And this vile desire, O thou having a vicious intellect, which thou hast first created, shall undoubtedly spread in the world of mortals. Whoever shall commit this crime, shall be half responsible for it and the other half shall descend upon thee; and forsooth thy position shall not be permanent. And whoever shall be the lord of the celestials, shall not have his position secure. This is the curse I give, which I have communicated to thee." And having remonstrated with his wife that one of devout penances said to her—"O vicious one, let thy beauty be spoiled in the vicinity of the hermitage. Thou art gifted with beauty and youth but thy mind is fickle; so thou shalt not continue as the single beautiful damsel in the world. All created beings shall participate thy beauty; thy matchless beauty has brought about this mischief." Thenceforward all created beings were gifted with beauty. Thereupon she propitiated the ascetic Gautama saying, "O twice-born one, I was unwittingly ravished by Indra, assuming thy form. I have not committed this willingly, O ascetic—so do thou be propitiated with me." Ahalya having said this, Gautama replied:—"In the race of Ikshwakus, there shall be born a highly effulgent and mighty car-warrior, known in the world as Rama; for performing the rites of a Brahman, the mighty-armed Vishnu, assuming a human form, shall repair to the forest. Thou shalt be purified when thou shalt behold him, O fair damsel. He shall be able to purify thee from the iniquity perpetrated. Having treated him as a guest when thou shalt come to me again, thou shalt live with me, O thou having a fair countenance." Having said this that ascetic returned to his hermitage. And thenceforward the wife, of that ascetic chanting the themes of Brahman, engaged in austere penances. Thou hast met with all this in consequence of the imprecation of that ascetic. Therefore, O thou having long arms, do thou think of thy past iniquity. For that curse and nothing else, O Vasava, thou hast been brought under the grasp of enemies. Having controlled thy senses, do thou soon undertake a sacrifice in honour of Vishnu. Thou shalt be purified by that sacrifice and go to heaven; and thy son, O lord of celestials, hath not been destroyed in the conflict. He hath been taken into the ocean by his grand father.' Hearing this and having celebrated the sacrifice in honour of Vishnu he again went to the region of celestials and reigned there as their king. I have thus described to thee the strength of Indrajit—what to speak of others he vanquished even Indra—the king of the celestials." Hearing the words of Agastya, Rama, Lakshmana, Vanaras and Rakshasas all said "Wonderful it is," and Bibhishana, who was by the side of Rama, said:—"After a long time, the old recollections have come to my mind." Thereupon Rama said to Agastya—"All, thou hast said, is true." And Agastya said "Rama, Ravana, the thorn of people, then grew in power, by whom, in the company of his son, Indra, the lord of the celestials, was defeated."

SECTION 36.

Thereupon having bowed unto Agastya the foremost of ascetics, the highly effulgent Rama again surprisingly said:—"O Brahman, O foremost of twice-born ones, when that cruel Ravana journeyed over the earth, was it void of people? Was there no king, or prince on earth to administer punishment unto him? Were all the kings then shorn of their strength and prowess? And many kings I (hear) were vanquished and driven out by him with various excellent weapons." Hearing the words of Raghava, the ascetic Agastya, having six sorts of wealth, laughing said, like unto Brahma, speaking to Rudra—"O Rama, O lord of earth, traversing the earth, Ravana arrived at the city of Mahismati, resembling the city of the celestials, where lived perpetually the deity of fire. There reigned a king named Arjuna, effulgent like fire which was kept perpetually in a well covered with Sara. One day the highly powerful Arjuna, the king of Haihayas, repaired to the river Nerbuda, with his wives to sport. At the very same day, Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, arrived there and asked his councillors saying. 'Where is the king Arjuna? Do ye speedily tell me; I am Ravana, I have come to fight with your king. Do ye, at first, communicate unto him the news of my arrival.' Being thus addressed by Ravana, the learned ministers informed the lord of Rakshasas, of the absence of the king. Hearing of the absence of the king from the citizens Visrasraba's son came out of the city and reached the Vindhya mountain resembling the Himalayas. He espied the mountain extending over the welkin like unto clouds and rising up as if riving the earth and obstructing the sky. The mountain had a thousand summits and the lions were residing in the caves and hundreds of fountains were falling from it; the mountain was as if laughing aloud and the celestials, Gandharvas, Apsaras and Kinsaras were sporting there with their females; and it appeared (in consequence thereof) like the region of celestials; and rivers, with waters transparent like crystal, were flowing. And it therefore appeared like a thousand serpents having trembling tongues. And casting his looks upon Vindhya mountain, resembling the Himalayas and having huge caves, Ravana, the king of Rakshasas, reached the river Nerbuda, of holy waters and going rapidly to the western ocean. Her waters were being agitated by buffaloes, deer, tigers, lions, bears and elephants distressed by heat. Having covered her, Chakrabakas, Karandavas, swans, water-cocks and Sarasas, maddened, were emitting notes. The charming Nerbuda appeared like a beautiful damsel—having blossoming trees for her ornaments, Chakrabakas for her breast, wide spread forest for her waist, the row of swans for Mekhala, filaments of flowers for paste, watery foams for white silken cloth, the pleasure of descending into water for the pleasure of touch and full-blown lotuses for white eyes. Having descended from his car and bathed in the waters of Nerbuda, the foremost of streams, resembling a fair one, Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, with this councilors, sat on her coast resided by many an ascetic. Delighted at her beauty and having spoken highly of Nerbuda like unto Ganges he addressed his ministers Suka and Sarana with gestures, saying:—'Behold, having rendered the earth pale, with his many rays, the sun, emitting parching heat, is in the sky. But seeing me here seated, his rays have become cool like those of the moon. At my fear, even the wind is blowing carefully, being cold and fragrant by the touch of the waters of the Nerbuda and removing our toil. This charming Nerbuda, abounding in crocodiles, fishes and birds, though a natural stream, is standing still like a terrified damsel. Being wounded in conflicts with many a king your persons have been pasted with blood. Therefore like unto Sarvabhauma and other infuriated elephants going down into the water of the Ganges, do ye descend into the water of Nerbuda conferring auspiciousness and health. Bathing in this stream you shall be cleansed from sins. I shall, also on the coast of this river, like the rays of the autumnal moon, reverentially worship with flowers Mahadeva, holding Pinaka in his hands.' Hearing the words of Ravana, Prahasta, Suka, Sarana, Mahodara, Dhrumakshya and other councillors descended into the waters of Nerbuda. And she was agitated by those elephant-like leading Rakshasas like unto the Ganges by Vamana, Anjana, Padma and other elephants, Thereupon having got up from the waters the highly powerful Rakshasas culled flowers for Ravana's offerings. And in a moment the Rakshasas collected heaps of flowers on the picturesque banks of Nerbuda, resembling the white clouds. Flowers being thus

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collected, Ravana, the king of Rakshasas descended, into the Nerbuda for bathing like a huge elephant into the Ganges. And having bathed he got up, reciting excellent incantations. Thereupon having left off his wet cloth he put on a white one. And to find out place for worshipping, he, with folded hands, proceeded towards the banks. And the Rakshasas too, like unto so many moving mountains, followed him. And wherever Ravana went the golden Siva Linga was brought. Thereupon Ravana placed that upon a heap of sands and began to worship it with various nectar-smelling flowers and sandal. And having finished the worship of Siva, the foremost of deities, having the moon on his crown, the conferrer of boons and the remover of miseries, the night-ranger danced with uplifted hands and sang before it."

SECTION 37.

"At no distance from where on the banks of the river Nerbuda, that dreadful lord of Rakshasas collected the flowers, Arjuna, the King of Mahismati, and the foremost of the victorous, was sporting with his wives in the water. And being encircled by them the king Arjuna appeared like a leading elephant surrounded by a thousands of she elephants. In order to measure the strength of his thousand arms the King of Haihayas obstructed the course of Nerbuda. Being obstructed by the arms of Kartavirjarjuna and having flooded the banks with her pure waters, Nerbuda flowed in an opposite direction. And the currents, rising high as during the rainy season flowed with fishes, and crocodiles. And that stream, as if driven against Ravana by Kartavirjarjuna, carried away his collection of flowers. And having given up his worship which was half-finished Ravana looked towards Nerbuda looking like an unwilling damsel and saw that she, with rising currents, was flowing towards the east from the west and the waters beyond that were in a natural state like a quiet lady and the birds were seated there without any anxiety. Thereupon being anxious to learn the cause of the rise of the river, the Ten-necked demon, with his right finger, hinted Suka and Sarana. Being commanded by Ravana, the two brothers, the heroic Suka and Sarana proceeded towards the west by the aerial way. And going half a league, the two night-rangers espied a man sporting in the waters with some females. He was huge as a Sala tree, his hairs were floating on the water, he was inebriete and his eyes were reddened in consequence thereof. Like unto Sumeru holding the earth with his thousand feet he obstructed the current of the river with his thousand arms. And he was surrounded by a thousands of beautiful damsels like an elephant by a thousands of she-elephants. Beholding that dreadful spectacle, the Rakshasas Suka and Sarana came back and approaching Ravana communicated (all) unto him. 'O lord of Rakshasas, an unknown person, huge as a Sala tree, is sporting with females obstructing the course of Nerbuda like unto a dam. And being withheld by the thousand arms of that man the waters of Nerbuda were continually throwing up high waves.' Hearing the words of Suka and Sarana, Ravana exclaimed 'This is Arjuna' and proceeded to fight with him. Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, having set out with a hostile intention against Kartavirjarjuna, the wind mixed with dust began to blow high with tumultuous sound. And the clouds began to mutter with a downpour of rain. And the lord of Rakshasas proceeded against Arjuna with Mahodara, Mahaparswa, Dhrumakshya, Suka and Sairana. Within a short time the dreadful Rakshasa, powerful as the elephant Arjuna, reached the banks of Nerbuda and espied there Arjuna encircled by females as an elephant surrounded by she-elephants. At the very sight the eyes of the lord of Rakshasas, proud of his prowess, grew red and addressing the councillors of the king Arjuna he said 'Do ye communicate unto the king of Haihayas that Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, hath come to fight with him.' Hearing the words of Ravana, the ministers of Arjuna stood up with arms and said 'O good Ravana, thou art well cognisant of the proper time for fighting. Now our king is drunk and is sporting with the females in the waters. And now dost thou wish to fight with him. Therefore, O Ten-necked one, do thou spend the night here, if thou art bent upon fighting. Or even if thou art anxious to enter speedily into conflict with Arjuna do thou slay us all at first, and then fight with the king.' Thereupon the hungry councillors of Ravana slew some of the ministers of the king and devoured some. There arose a dreadful uproar on the banks of Nerbuda, of the councillors of Ravana and Arjuna. The warriors of Arjuna assailed Ravana and his ministers with hundreds of arrows, Pracas, darts, Tomaras, thunder-bolts and Karpanas. The warriors of Arjijna became dreadfully furious and emitted cries like the roaring of the deep infested with crocodiles, fishes and other marine monsters. Thereupon being enraged and displaying their own prowess Suka, Sarana and other ministers of Ravana began to destroy Arjuna's soldiers. Thereupon the emissaries, stricken with fear, went to the sporting king and communicated unto him the proceedings of Ravana and his ministers. Hearing those words and saying unto the females 'Do not fear' he rose up from the waters like an elephant. The eyes of that fire-like Arjuna were reddened with ire and he shone dreadfully like the fire of dissolution. And taking up speedily his club, that one, always using golden clubs, pursued the Rakshasas like unto darkness following the sun. Holding up the huge club and hurling it with his arms, Arjuna, resorting to the velocity of Garuda, went on. Thereupon stood there obstructing his course the Rakshasa, worked up with anger and with a mace in his hand, like unto the Vindhya range standing in the way of the sun. And throwing down off his hand the iron mace, he, in anger, began to roar, like Yama. And the top of the mace was ablaze like the tips of Asoka flowers. Not the least agitated on beholding that mace, the king Arjuna, by his club, baffled its action. Thereupon uplifting the huge club, five hundred hands long, the king of Haihayas pursued Prahasta. And within a short time being struck down by that club gifted with great velocity Prahasta fell down on earth like unto the summit of a mountain clapped down by the thunder-bolt of Indra. Beholding Prahasta fallen, Maricha, Suka, Sarana, Mahodara and Dhrumakshya fled away from the battle-field. All the councillors having thus fled away and Prahasta being slain Ravana speedily proceeded towards Arjuna, the foremost of kings. Thereupon there ensued a terrible encounter capable of making down erect between the thousand-armed Arjuna, the king of men, and the twenty-armed Ravana, the king of Rakshasas. And taking up their clubs Arjuna and Ravana began to fight with one another emitting cries like the mutterings of clouds, like unto two huge bulls fighting for a cow, two agitated oceans, two moving mountains, two effulgent Adityas, two burning flames, two proud elephants, two proud lions and like the very Rudra and Kala. As the mountains suffer many clappings of thunder-bolts so did they bear many strokes. And all the quarters were resounded with the sound proceeding from the stroke of their clubs like unto the sound of thunder-bolts. Being placed against the breast of Ravana Arjuna's club rendered, for a moment, the welkin look like the burning gold as does the lightning. And striking again and again against Arjuna's breast Ravana's club looked like a huge fire-brand. Arjuna was not worn out nor was Ravana. And the conflict went on between them like the encounter between Bala and Vasava in the days of yore. The King of men and the King of Rakshasas assailed and wounded one another with their clubs like unto two bulls striking one another with their horns and two elephants with their tusks. Thereupon worked up with rage, Arjuna, with his full might, smote Ravana on his breast, with his club. But Ravana was well protected by the boon of the celestial, so the club fell on earth sundered into two pieces like one hurled by a weak wight. Still wounded by the mace of Arjuna, Ravana, shedding tears, ran away at a distance of four feet and sat there. Beholding Ravana thus over-whelmed Arjuna sprang up and caught him like Garuda holding a serpent and Vishnu binding Bali. Dacagriva being thus bound, the Siddhas, Charanas and the celestials exclaiming 'Well done! Well done!!' showered flowers upon Arjuna. And the king emitted leonine roars again and again as a tiger joyous roars like a cloud, holding a deer under his grasp. Regaining his sense and beholding Ravana bound, Prahasta, in great anger, pursued the King of Haihayas. And the Rakshasa force grew tempestuous like unto the rising of the ocean during rains. Thereupon exclaiming repeatedly 'Leave him off! Leave him off!! Wait! Wait!!' The Rakshasa host hurled hundreds of Musalas and darts in the battle-field. Not the least moved thereby the king Arjuna, the slayer of enemies, bore those weapons of the enemies of the celestials. Thereupon baffling the weapons of the Rakshasas by means of many a dreadful and excellent one, Arjuna, the king of Haihayas, drove them away like winds scattering the clouds. Having thus struck terror unto the night-rangers, he, encircled by his own kinsmen, repaired to his own city with Ravana, carrying him bound like unto Indra carrying Bali bound. Thereupon flowers and fried paddy were showered upon him by the Brahmanas and citizens."

SECTION 38.

"Thereupon Pulastya heard from the celestials of the capture of Ravana like unto the holding of the wind [It was impossible to bind Ravana and lead him captive.]. And having been moved by the love for his son, the highly effulgent, great ascetic, proceeded to see the king of Mahishmati. Proceeding by the aerial way, that twice-born one, gifted with the velocity of wind and the flight of mind, reached the city of Mahishmati. Like unto Brahma entering Indra's Amaravati, he entered the city resembling the capital of Indra and filled with delighted and plump citizens. And beholding that dreadful Rishi approach like unto Aditya walking on foot, the warders communicated the intelligence unto the king Arjuna. Understanding from their words that Pulastya was coming, the king of Haihayas, placing his folded palms on his crown, proceeded to welcome him. Like, unto Vrihaspati preceeding Purandara, the royal priests went before him carrying Maduparka and water to wash feet. And beholding the ascetic resembling the rising sun arrived, the king Arjuna bowed unto him reverentially like Indra saluting Mahideva. Thereupon offering him Maduparka, cow and water to wash feet, the king of Haihayas in accents obstructed with delight, addressed the ascetic saying:—'Reverend Sir, thine visit, it is hard to obtain. On beholding thee my city Mahishmati hath been turned into Amaravati. To-day have I obtained all auspiciousness, O lord; to-day hath my religious observance been fruitful; to-day hath my birth proved blessed and to-day hath my devout penance been crowned with success, for I bow unto thy feet, which have been worshipped by the celestials. This my kingdom, these my sons, this my wife and myself are all at thy disposal—do thou order me, O Brahman, what I may do for thee.' Thereupon having enquired of the king about his piety, offerings and the well-being of his sons, Pulastya said to Arjuna, the king of Haihayas:—'O foremost of kings, O thou having eyes like lotus-petals! O thou having a countenance like the full moon! When thou hast vanquished Ravana, thy prowess is matchless in the triple world. Thou hast bound up my invincible son in the conflict at whose fear the wind and the ocean stand still. Having drunk up the glories of my son thou hast announced thine own; so I do say, O my son, do thou release Dacanana.' Hearing this command of Pulastya, the king Arjuna did not utter a single word and set, most delightedly the king of Rakshasas, free. Having released that foe of the celestials, worshipped him with celestial ornaments and garlands and established friendship removing all enmities with Ravana before fire, and bowed unto Pulastya, the son of Brahma, he repaired to his own house. And being released by the influence of Pulastya, the highly powerful Dacanana, the king of Rakshasas, accepted his hospitality and being embraced by him, returned home ashamed. And having set Dacagriva at liberty Pulastya, the son of Brahma and the foremost of Munis repaired to the celestial region. O Rama, in this wise, the highly powerful Ravana was defeated by Arjuna and released by Pulastya. Observe therefore, O descendant of Raghu, there is a mightier man than the mighty; therefore, one, desirous of his own well-being, should not disregard another. Having acquired friendship with the thousand-armed Arjuna, Dacanana, the king of Rakshasas, began again to journey over the world distressing the kings."

SECTION 39.

"Released by Arjuna, and yet not conceiving any shame, Ravana, the king of Rakshasas again began to traverse the earth. Rakshasas or men, of whom the proud Ravana heard to be powerful he used to approach and summon them for fight. After some time he arrived at the city of Kishkindha reared by Vali and invited him, wearing golden garland, to fight. Thereat, Tara, her father Sushena and the Prince Sugriva said to the king of Rakshasas—'O lord of Rakshasas, he is not present here, who shall be able to withstand thee. What monkey else is capable of standing before thee? However, O Ravana, Vali shall soon return after performing the Sandhya rites at the confluence of the four oceans; therefore wait here for a moment. Behold, O Dacanana, there lie the bones of all those, like conch, who came ere this to fight with the powerful king of monkeys. O Ravana, O Rakshasa, even if thou hast drunk nectar, thou shalt at this very moment loose thy life, when the encounter with Vali shall take place. O Vaisravana, do thou observe the variegated universe now—wait for a moment after which it will be hard for thee to keep thy life. Or if thou dost wish to meet with death do thou speedily repair to the southern ocean and thou shalt behold there Vali like unto fire placed on earth.' Hearing those words, Ravana, the aggrandiser of the triple world, remonstrated with Tara and ascending his flowery car went to the southern ocean and espied Vali, having red countenance like the rising sun, engaged in Sandhya rites with whole-mindedness. Thereupon having descended from his Pushpaka car he with silent steps approached Vali to bring him under his grasp. Casting his looks at pleasure, Vali saw him. Albeit apprised of his evil intention, he was not the least moved. And he did not care for him as a lion is not moved on beholding a hare and Garuda on beholding a serpent. He then thought within himself—'This vicious-souled Ravana is approaching to catch me; holding him under my arm pit I shall journey over the three great oceans. Everyone will behold the enemy Ravana, under my arm pit as a serpent possessed by Garuda, with his thighs, arms and clothes loosened.' Having thought thus Vali remained silent for sometime and reciting incantations he waited there like a mountain. Thereupon the king of monkeys and the lord of Rakshasas, proud of strength, essayed to catch one another. Vali was seated with his back (towards Ravana); still from his footsteps he perceived that he had come within the grasp of Ravana's army and he at once caught hold of him like unto Garuda holding a serpent. Getting hold of Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, desirous of catching him, (Vali) and placing him under his arm-pit Vali vehemently rose high up in the welkin. And he went away carrying him, scratching him again and again with his nails like unto winds scattering clouds. The Ten-necked demon being thus carried away, his councillors, to release him, pursued, exclaiming, Vali, in the welkin. They thus following him, Vali, appeared in the sky like the sun in the midst of clouds. The Rakshasas could not catch Vali but were rather exhausted by the stroke of his arms and thighs. What to speak of animals made of flesh and blood

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anxious for their lives even the mountains make way when Vali goes. Rising high up into the sky where even the birds cannot reach, Vali, the lord of monkeys and gifted with great velocity, by and by finished his Sandhya rites above the oceans. Being worshipped by the aerials their lord, with Ravana, first proceeded to the western ocean. And having finished there Sandhya prayers and recited incantations he, with Dacanana, went to the northern ocean. And having journeyed over many thousand leagues that huge monkey, with his enemy, finished his prayers there and then proceeded to the eastern ocean. And having recited his prayers there also, Vali, the son of Indra, and the king of monkeys, carrying Ravana, returned to the city of Kishkindha. Having gone through his Sandhya rites at the four oceans and carrying Ravana, that monkey-chief was greatly exhausted and (therefore) descended into the gardens of Kishkindha. Having got out Ravana from his arm-pit, the foremost of monkeys, laughing again and again said:—'Whence art thou coming?' Thereupon being surprised greatly, Dacanana, the king of Rakshasas, with eyes shaking with exhaustion, said to the king of monkeys:—'O king of monkeys, resembling Mahendra, I am Ravana, the king of Rakshasas; I came here to fight: but I have been defeated by thee. Alas! What strength is thine! what prowess!! What gravity!!! Holding me like a beast thou hast journeyed over the four oceans. O hero! What heroic wight is there who is not exhausted by carrying me so vehemently? O monkey, mind, wind and Garuda—these three are gifted with the velocity. Undoubtedly thou hast got the same velocity. Thy prowess hath been sufficiently displayed. But now I wish, O king of monkeys, to make friends with thee for ever before fire. O king of monkeys, from to-day, wife, sons, city, kingdom, enjoyment, cloth and food shall be our common.' Thereupon having lighted up fire the king of monkeys and the king of Rakshasas, embracing each other, became friends. Thereupon holding each other by the arms they entered the city of Kishkindha like unto two lions, entering delightedly a cave. There like Sugriva Ravana spent a month. Afterwards his councillors, desirous of destroying the triple world, took him away. O lord Rama, I have thus related to thee the previous history. Having thus belaboured Ravana Vali at last made friends with before fire. O Rama, Vali had unequalled and great strength, Like unto fire burning down locusts thou didst burn down Vali."

SECTION 40.

Thereupon Rama, being stricken with curiosity, with folded palms and humbly accosted Agastya, residing in the southern quarter, with pregnant accents, saying;—"Thou sayest that Ravana and Vali had unequalled strength but methinks theirs can not equal that of Hanuman. Heroism, liberality, strength, patience, intellect, knowledge of laws and means, prowess and energy all exist together in Hanuman. When the monkey host lost heart on beholding the ocean, Hanuman, consoling crossed over the deep extending over a hundred leagues. Having desecrated the presiding goddess of Lanka and on beholding Sita there, he consoled her. What to speak of more, Hanuman, single-handed, slew Ravana's commander-in-chief, the minister's son, his servants and his one son. Being released from the Brahma weapon Hanuman remonstrated with Ravana, and reduced Lanka into ashes like unto fire burning down earth. What I have seen myself performed by Hanuman in the conflict is above the power of Kala, Vasava and even the lord of riches. It is by the strength of the arms of that Wind-god's son I have obtained Lanka, Sita, Lakshrnana, Victory, kingdom and my friends. What more, had not Hanuman, the friend of the king of monkeys—Sugriva, been in my company who could have brought Sita's intelligence? Why did not Hanuman, although wishing welfare unto Sugriva, reduce Vali to ashes like so many creepers on the occasion of his quarrel with Sugriva? Methinks, Hanuman was not cognisant of his own prowess then? And therefore he did stoop to witness the miseries of Sugriva—the king of monkeys who was dearer than his life. O thou worshipped of the immortals, do thou truly describe unto me this action of Hanuman." Hearing those well-meaning words of Raghava, the ascetic Agastya said to him in the presence of Hanuman. "O foremost of Raghus, what thou hast said regarding Hanuman is all true. As regards, strength, velocity and intellect there is none who can equal Hanuman. O represser of enemies, in the days of yore Hanuman was imprecated by the ascetics, whose curses never become fruitless, to the effect that he would never be conscious of his whole strength. I am not capable of describing to thee the wondrous childish feat which Hanuman did perform in his boyhood. But if thou art, O Raghava, greatly anxious to hear it, I shall relate—do thou hear with a quiescent mind. Hanuman's father Keshari reigned in the mountain Sumeru which resembles gold by the influence of the sun. Keshari had a well-known wife by the name of Anjana to whom he was greatly attached. The deity Wind begot on Anjana an excellent son. Repairing to a dense forest for collecting fruits, the excellent damsel gave birth to Hanuman resembling the tip of a Sala tree and went away. Being distressed with hunger on account of the absence of the mother, Hanuman, just born, cried like Kartikeya, the commander-in-chief of the celestials, in the forest of Saras. At this time the sun resembling Yava flowers, having risen, Hanuman, to get a fruit, sprang up. Being desirous of holding the newly risen sun, Hanuman, resembling it, began to leap in the middle of the welkin. The child Hanuman having thus ascended the sky, celestials, Danavas and Yakshas surprisingly exclaimed 'The velocity, with which Marut's son is going, is not possessed even by the Wind, Garuda and mind. If he has got such vehemence in his boyhood what great strength he shall have in his youth.' His own son thus leaping, the wind, becoming cool by the touch of snow, began to follow him proceeding in the sky lest the rays of the sun might scorch him. Rising high up in the sky on account of childish freaks and traversed many thousand leagues by the help of his father Hanuman neared the sun. Considering that he was a mere child and therefore not tarnished by any sin and that a great divine work would be accomplished by him in future the sun did not burn Hanuman. At the every day when Hanuman sprang up to hold the sun, Rahu too essayed to possess him. Having reached the top of the sun's car Hanuman touched Rahu; so he, the represser of the moon's rays, accordingly went back on beholding the sun thus possessed. And repairing to the house of Indra, Sinhika's son, in wrath and with frowns, said to him encircled by the celestials:—'O Vasava! O slayer of Bala and Vitra—to remove my hunger thou didst give me both the sun and moon; why thou hast then given them to another? On account of the Parva I came to devour the sun but another Rahu came and possessed him.' Hearing the words of Rahu, the King of the deities, wearing a golden garland, having his understanding bewildered, proceeded, on the back of his elephant-chief Airavat, huge like the summit of the Kailasa hill, with temporal juice always trickling, having four tusks, roaring, and adorned with golden bells, towards Hanuman and the sun with Rahu before him. Having left behind Indra, Rahu quickly went there but fled away on beholding the huge-bodied Hanuman resembling a mountain summit. Thereupon leaving aside the sun and being desirous of holding Rahu, the son of Sinhika considering him as a fruit, Hanuman again sprang up into the sky. Beholding Hanuman approach renouncing the sun, Rahu with his countenance only visible, desisted and went back. And considering Indra as the saviour he again and again cried aloud 'Indra! Indra!!' Understanding everything by the piteous accents of Rahu Indra said, 'No fear, I shall soon slay him.'

SECTION 41

Thereupon beholding the huge-bodied Airavat and considering him as a bigger fruit Maruti ran towards him. Proceeding thus tempestuously when he rose above the head of Indra, Hanuman, looked in a moment dreadful like the fire of dissolution. But not greatly enraged the thousand-eyed lord of Sachi, with the thunder-bolt in his hand, struck the running Hanuman. Belaboured by the thunder-bolt of Indra Hanuman fell down and broke his left jaw. He being thus overwhelmed by the stroke of Indra's thunder-bolt, the Wind-god became displeased with the king of celestials and was determined upon bringing about mischief unto all created beings. The all-comprehending wind, not spreading himself, entered into a cave with his son. Like unto Vasava distressing all creatures by putting a stop to the showers, the wind too put all animals into unbearable suffering by obstructing all execrations. On account of the anger of the Wind-god their breath was completely obstructed, and the joints—as if pierced, became hard as wood. SadhyaVasatkar and all the religious observances of the triple world were put a stop to by the anger of the Wind-god. So the three worlds appeared as if stricken with sorrow. Thereupon the afflicted celestials, Gandharvas, Asuras and men repaired to the Patriarch Brahma with a view to bring about the well-being of created beings. And with their bellies swollen for the obstruction of the wind the celestials with folded hands said:—'O lord of created beings, thou hast created four classes of beings and thou hast given us wind to preserve our lives. But we do not know, why the wind, the lord of our beings, is distressing us, by obstructing our movements like unto females confined in an inner apartment. Being thus distressed by the wind we have come to seek thy shelter, O thou the remover of miseries—do thou remove our afflictions consequent upon the obstruction of the wind.' Hearing those words of the created beings, their lord (the Patriarch Brahma) again said 'Hear, why the wind, being enraged, has obstructed the course of all beings. Hearing the words of Rahu, Indra, the king of the celestials, hath belaboured the Wind-god's son. It is for this that he hath been offended. Preserving the bodied, the wind, having no person, passes through them all. Without wind the body becomes like wood. Therefore the wind constitutes the life, the happiness and the whole universe. Renouncing the wind the world cannot attain to happiness. Being cast off by the wind and having their breaths obstructed, behold, the world, to-day appeareth like dried wood. Let us therefore go there where the wind, the giver of our afflictions, waiteth. If we do not please the son of Aditi we shall all meet with destruction.' Thereupon the Patriarch Brahma, the celestials, Gandharvas, serpents, Guhyakas and other created beings went where the wind was waiting with his own son belaboured by the king of the celestials. Thereupon beholding that boy, on the lap of the Wind-God, resembling gold and Baisvanar, the four-mouthed Brahma, the celestials, Gandharvas, Rishis, Yakshas and Rakshasas were all moved with pity."

SECTION 42.

Hearing the whole history, Rama, the descendant of Raghu, said to Agastya "O Reverend Sir, Riksharaja is the name of the father of Vali and Sugriva but thou hast not told me the name of their mother. However I am curious to learn who was their mother, where was their residence, and how they had been named so—do thou favour me with the account." Rama having said this Agastya said:—"O Rama, I shall relate to thee everything in short of what I had heard from Narada when he came to my hermitage. Once on a time whilst travelling that highly pious ascetic arrived at my hermitage; I duly worshipped and welcomed him; and when I asked him out of curiosity, he, seated at pleasure, said:—'Hear, O great ascetic, the foremost of the pious; there is a mountain named Meru, highly picturesque, made of gold and greatly charming. The middle peak is much liked by the celestials, on which is situate the beautiful assemblage hall of Brahma extending over a hundred leagues. The four-mouthed deity, sprung from lotus, always resideth there. And from his eyes while going through the Yoga practices tears trickled down. No sooner the Patriarch Brahma, with his hands, wiped them off into the ground than a monkey originated from those tears. O foremost of men, as soon as that monkey was produced, the high-souled Brahma consoled him in sweet accents and said—"Do thou proceed to that leading mountain where the celestials perpetually reside. O foremost of monkeys, living upon many a fruit and root in that picturesque mountain thou shouldst always live by me. And while thou shall live in this wise for some time thou shalt be crowned with auspiciousness." Brahma having said this, O Raghava, the foremost of monkeys saluted that god of gods, placing his head at his feet and said to that Primaeval deity, the creator of beings and the lord of the universe. "O god, thou art placing me under thy behests—verily I shall follow them." Having said this to Patriarch that monkey immediately went to a forest abounding in fruits and flowers. There living on fruits and collecting honey and various flowers, he, every day, used to come to Brahma in the evening. O Rama, in this wise he used to make an offering of excellent fruits and flowers at the feet of Brahma, the god of gods. Journeying in this way over the mountain he spent many long years. Some time having elapsed in this way, O Raghava, Riksharaja, the foremost of monkeys, being distressed with thirst, repaired to the excellent mountain Meru. There is a pond of pure water, resonant with the notes of various birds. Having shaken his manes with a delighted heart, Riksharaja saw his reflection in the waters. Beholding his own image there that monkey-chief, stricken with anger and anxiety thought—"What arch-enemy of mine is living in the waters? I shall destroy the excellent abode of the vicious-souled one." Thinking thus within himself, that monkey, out of fickleness, jumped down into the lake. And he again sprang up therefrom. And at the time of rising, O Rama, that leading monkey found himself metamorphosed into a female form, which was highly charming, graceful and beautiful. Her waist was spacious, eye-brows beautiful and hairs were black and curling; her countenance was beautiful and smiling, breast high and beauty matchless. And there appeared charming on the banks of the lake, lighting up all quarters that female, agitating the mind of all, and beautiful in the triple world like unto simple Sastilata, Rama, without lotus, pure rays of the moon, Parvati more beautiful than even Lakshmi. At this time was returning by that way, Indra, the leader of the celestials after having worshipped the feet of Brahma. And the sun too journeying arrived there. They both simultaneously espied that female form and were possessed by desire. What more, their whole body, as soon as they saw her, was moved and the firmness of the mind shaken. Thereupon Indra begot on her a son named Vali for he originated from her hairs and the sun begot on her another son, who was named Sugriva for he originated from her neck. Thus the two highly powerful monkeys being born, Indra went back to his region having conferred upon Vali an un-ending garland of gold. And having engaged Hanuman, the Wind-god's son in the service of Sugriva, the sun too went back to the sky. O king, the sun having risen after, that night Riksharaja again obtained his own real monkey shape. Having thus regained his monkey form he made his two highly powerful sons,—leading monkeys, assuming shapes at will and having tawny eyes, drink honey, like nectar. Thereupon taking them, he came to the abode of Brahma. Beholding his son Riksharaja with his sons, Brahma, the grand-father of the celestials, consoled him in diverse ways. Then he ordered the celestial messenger saying—"At my behest, O emissary, do thou proceed to the highly picturesque city of Kishkindha. That golden, big and charming city is worthy of Riksharaja. There live many thousand monkeys besides others assuming shapes at will. It abounds in various jewels, invincible, is inhabited by four

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Varnas, holy and sacred. At my command Visvvakarma has constructed the celestial and picturesque city of Kishkindha. Do thou place there Riksharaja, the foremost of monkeys, with his sons; and having invited the leading monkeys and others and received them courteously do thou install him on the throne. On beholding this monkey-chief, gifted with intelligence they shall be all subject to him." Brahma, having said this, the celestial emissary, with Riksharaja before him, proceeded to the highly picturesque city of Kishkindha. And having entered there with the velocity of the wind, he, at the command of the Patriarch, crowned the leading monkey Riksharaja as king. And being sprinkled according to the ceremonies of installation, and adorned with a crown and various other ornaments he, with a delighted heart, engaged in governing the monkeys. All the monkeys, residing on earth consisting of seven insular continents and bounded by ocean, came under his subjection. Thus Riksharaja was both the father and mother of Vali and Sugriva. May good betide thee. The learned who listen to and make others hear this story, conducing to the enhancement of their delight, get all their desires and objects accomplished. I have duty described to thee at length all events and have recounted the stories relating to the birth of the Kings of monkeys and Rakahsasas.'"

SECTION 43.

Hearing this excellent Pauranic theme in the company of his brothers, Raghava was greatly surprised. Thereupon hearing the words of the Rishi he said:—"By thy favour I have listened to the highly sacred theme. O foremost of Munis. I was greatly worked up with curiosity in this matter. I am not the least surprised to learn, O twice-born one, that those two sons of the celestials would be two highly powerful leading monkeys since their origin is divine." Rama having said this Agastya said:—"O thou having long arms, thus in the days of yore the birth of Vali and Sugriva was brought about. O king, I shall now again relate to thee another divine theme. O Rama I shall now describe to thee why did Ravana steal Sita. Do thou hear it attentively. O Rama, in the golden age, having bowed unto the Patriarch's son, the truthful Rishi Sanatkumar, highly effulgent, resplendent like unto the sun, shining in his native brilliance and seated at his own place, Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, said:—'Who is now amongst the celestials brave and powerful, by whose help the celestials can vanquish their enemies and whom the twice-born ones daily worship and the devotees meditate upon. O thou having piety for wealth, O thou gifted with six sorts of wealth, do thou describe this to me kindly.' Being apprised of Ravana's intention, the saint Sanatkumar, who saw every thing through his devotion, said to him out of love—'Hear my son. The learned duly, in their sacrifices, worship that Hari, respected of people and drinking nectar, who is the lord of the universe, whoso origin we do not know, who is daily worshipped by the celestials and Asuras, who is highly powerful Narayana from whose navel has sprung Brahma, the creator of the world, and who has created the universe consisting of mobile and immobile beings. The Yogis meditate upon him and celebrate sacrifices in his honour according to the Puranas, Vedas, Pancharatra and other rituals. He always vanquisheth in encounter Daityas Danavas, Rakshasas and all other enemies of the celestials and every one of them worships him.' Hearing those words of the great ascetic Sanatkumar, Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, bowing, replied:—'Being slain by Hari to what station do the Daityas, Danavas and Rakshasas attain? And why doth Hari destroy them?' Whereto Sanatkumar replied:—'Whoever are slain by the celestials do eternally reside in their region. And being banished therefrom, they again take their birth on earth. Thus by the misery and happiness acquired in their pristine existence, they go through births and deaths. O king, all the monarchs, slain by Janarddana, holding discus and the lord of the triple world, attained to his own region; even his anger becometh like a boon.' Hearing those words given vent to by the great ascetic Sanatkumar the night-ranger Ravana, being worked up with delight and surprise, began to meditate how he should enter into conflict with Hari."

SECTION 44.

"The vicious-souled Ravana thinking thus the great ascetic again gave vent to accents. 'O thou having long arms, what thou hast desired in thy mind shall be encompassed in the great encounter. Be thou happy and wait for some time.' Hearing this the long-armed (Ravana) again said to the ascetic—'Do thou tell me at length what are his marks.' Hearing the words of the lord of Rakshasas, the ascetic replied:—'Hearken, I shall relate to thee every thing, O foremost of Rakshasas. That great deity pervadeth all, is minute, invisible ever-existing, and manifest over the universe consisting of mobile and immobile creations. He is present in the celestial region, in the earth, in the region underneath the earth, on the mountains, in the forests, in all stationary objects, in all rivers and in all cities. He is Om, truth, Sabitri and earth. He is known as the deity Dharadhara (holder of earth) and Ananta. He is day, night, morning and evening, Yama, the moon, Kala, the wind, Brahma, Rudra, Indra and water. He makes the world manifest and shine; he creates them, destroys them and governs them. He sporteth, is eternal, the lord of men, Vishnu, Purana and the only destroyer of the world. What is the use of speaking more, O Dasanana, He comprehends the three worlds, the mobile and immobile. Wearing a yellow raiment like unto the filaments of lotus, Narayana, resembling dark-blue lotus in colour, is resplendant like unto clouds in the welkin accompanied by lightning. And covering his person, Lakshmi, in the shape of warfare, lies stationed in his body like unto lightning in the clouds. The celestials, Asuras or Nagas—none is capable of casting his looks upon him. He alone can see him with whom he is pleased, O my son; neither by the fruits of sacrifices, asceticism, self-control, gifts, sacrifices, nor by anything else can one behold the Illustrious Deity. Those alone can see Him, who have devoted themselves, their life and being, unto Him and who, by virtue of discriminative knowledge, have got their sins burnt. If thou art willing to behold him, hear, if thou dost like, I shall describe everything at length. At the end of the golden age and the beginning of Treta Yuga the deity Narayana shall assume a human form for the benefit of men and celestials. A son by the name of Rama shall be born unto Dasaratha, of the Ikshwaku race who shall govern earth. Rama shall be highly effulgent, highly powerful and in patience like unto earth—and the enemies in the encounter shall not be able to eye him as they cannot the sun. In this wise the lord Narayana shall appear in a human form. At the behest of his sire, the pious and the high-minded Rama shall sojourn in the forest of Dandaka in the company of his brother. His spouse the gracious Lakshmi, shall be celebrated under the appellation of Sita. She will be born as the daughter of Janaka, the king of Mithila and will come out of earth. In beauty she shall be matchless on earth and be gifted with auspicious marks and shall always follow Rama like a shadow as the rays follow the moon. She will be graced with a good conduct, chaste and patient; and Sita and Rama shall always appear together like the rays of the sun. Ravana, I have thus related to you everything about the Narayana, the great Brahman, eternal and incomprehensible.' O Raghava, hearing those words, the highly powerful lord of Rakshasas began to concert plans for entering into conflict with thee. Meditating again and again over Sanatkumar's words and delighted he began to journey for battle." Hearing those words, Rama, with his eyes expanded in surprise, was greatly wondered. And being delighted he again said to Agastya, the foremost of the wise:—"Do thou recount the ancient stories."

SECTION 45.

The highly effulgent and illustrious Agastya, sprung from a vessel, again addressed the humble Rama as the great Patriarch sprung from lotus spoke unto the Great Deity, he said to Rama, having truth for his prowess:—"Do thou hear." Saying this, the highly effulgent Agastya began to narrate the last portion of the story. The high-minded saint, with a delighted heart, described unto Rama all he had heard and narrated. "O high-minded Rama, having long arms, it is for this reason that the vicious-souled Ravana stole away Janaki, the daughter of king Janaka. O thou having long arms! O thou of many glories! O thou invincible! Narada recounted this story unto me on the summit of the mountain-chief Meru. O Raghava, the highly effulgent one narrated unto me the last portion of this story in the presence of the celestials, Gandharvas, Siddhas, ascetics and other great men. O lord of kings, O conferrer of honours, do thou listen to that story which removeth monstrous iniquity. Hearing this, O thou having long arms, the Rishis, and the celestials with delighted hearts, said to the ascetic Narada He who shall reverentially listen to this story every day, shall be blessed with sons and grandsons and be honoured in the region of the celestials."

SECTION 46.

"Thereupon being desirous of achieving victories, Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, proud of his strength, began to journey over the earth in the company of the heroic Rakshasas. Whoever, amongst the Daityas, Danavas and Rakshasis was reported to him as being powerful he used to invite for battle. O king of earth, having thus traversed the whole world, the ten-necked demon saw the saint Narada returning to his own region from Brahmaloka. Like the second sun he was proceeding through the clouds. Ravana, with a delighted heart, neared him and addressed the celestial saint Narada with folded palms, saying:—'O thou gifted with six sorts of wealth, thou hast seen many a time all creations from Brahma down to an insect. Do thou tell me, O great one, the inhabitants of which world are more powerful? I wish to fight with them according to my desire.' Whereto, thinking for a moment, the celestial saint Narada replied:—'O king, there is an insular continent near the milky ocean. All the inhabitants that live there are gifted with strength—effulgent like the rays of the moon, huge-bodied, highly powerful and have a voice deep as the muttering of the clouds. They are all greatly beautiful, patient and have huge arms. O king of Rakshasas, I have seen in Swetadwipa such powerful men, as thou dost want to see on this earth.' Hearing the words of Narada, Ravana said:—'O celestial saint, why are the inhabitants of Swetadwipa powerful? And how did those high-souled ones come to live there? O lord, do thou relate to me everything at length. Thou dost observe the whole universe like a myrobalam in thy palms.' Hearing the words of Ravana, the celestial saint said:—'O lord of Rakshasas, the inhabitants of Swetadwipa are perpetually devoted unto Narayana with whole-mindedness and earnestly worship Him. They have always their hearts and minds devoted unto Him and are all high-souled. Having rendered their lives and souls unto Narayana, they have been blessed with their abode in Swetadwipa. Those, who are slain in the encounter with his bow bent by Vishnu—the holder of discus and the preserver of the world, attain to the celestial region. Neither by sacrifice, devout penance, self-control nor excellent gifts may be obtained the celestial region full of bliss.' Hearing the words of Narada, the Ten necked demon was worked up with surprise and meditating for some time said 'I shall enter into conflict with him.' Thereupon inviting Narada he proceeded to Swetadwipa. Thinking for a long time and being curious to witness that wondrous encounter, Narada speedily went there. He was ever fond of sport and warfare. Filling all the quarters with dreadful leonine roars Ravana with all the Rakshasas moved towards the Swetadwipa. After Narada had reached there, the illustrious Dacanana went to that insular continent beyond even the reach of the celestials. Being struck by the radiant heat of that insular continent, the Puspaka car, of the mighty Ravana, could not stand there like clouds scattered by the wind. Having arrived at that dreadful insular continent the councillors of the lord of Rakshasas, fearfully said to Ravana. 'O lord, we are all stupified and beside ourselves with fear. We cannot anyhow stand here; how shall we fight?' Saying this the Rakshasas fled away into all directions. And Dacanana too sent away his golden car Pushpaka with them. Having thus sent away his chariot and assuming a dreadful figure he alone entered Swetadwipa. At the time of his entering he was seen by the females there. One of them holding him by the hand and smiling said 'Why hast thou come hither? Who art thou? Who is thy father? and what for hast thou come here? Do thou definitely say.' Hearing those words, O king, Ravana, in anger said:—'I am the son of the ascetic Visrava, I am Ravana by name; I have come hither being desirous of fighting; but I do not behold anyone here.' The vicious-souled Ravana having said this all the young damsels laughed gently. But one of them, being enraged, took up Ravana, like a child, as if in sport and hurled him amongst her companions. And addressing another she said:—'Behold, I have caught this black Ravana, having twenty arms and ten faces, like a small insect.' Thereupon Ravana, being worn out with hurling, passed from one one hand to another. Being thus hurled the learned and powerful Ravana, in anger, severely bit the palms of that fair one. Being overwhelmed with pain that damsel let him off. Thereupon, another, taking that Rakshasa-chief, rose up in the welkin. Ravana, again waxing wroth tore her with his nails. And being left off by that damsel, the terrified night-ranger fell down into the waters of the deep. The females, inhabiting that insular continent again and again in this wise hurled Ravana. Beholding him thus distressed the highly effulgent Narada danced in joy and surprise. O thou having long arms, being apprised of this, the vicious-souled Ravana stole away Sita with a view to meet death at thy hands. Thou art Narayana, holding discus, conch and club; thou hast in thy hands the bow, a lotus, thunder-bolt and other weapons; thou art worshipped of all deities; thou art graced with the mystic mark Sribatsa, adored by all celestials, hast a lotus navel, art a great ascetic, and Hrishikesha declaring fearlessness unto all devotees. Thou hast assumed a human form to bring about the destruction of Ravana. Dost thou not recognise thyself as Narayana? O great one, do not forget thyself; do thou recollect thy real self. The Patriarch Brahma said that thou art subtler than the subtle. Thou art the the three qualities, the three Vedas and the regions—that of the celestials, of the mortals and the region under the earth. Thy work is manifest in time, past, present and future; thou art the observer of three Vedas and the destroyer of the enemies of the celestials. With thy three steps, thou didst, in the days of yore, traverse the three worlds. Thou wert born of Aditi, as the youngest brother of Indra for binding Bali. Thou art the eternal Vishnu. To extend thy favours unto humanity thou hast been born as man. O foremost of the celestials, the work of the deities hath been accomplished. The vicious Ravana, with his sons and relatives, hath been slain. The Rishis, having piety for their wealth and all the deities have been pleased. O foremost of gods—all this hath been brought about by thy favours; and the whole universe hath been pacified. Sita is the very personation of Lakshmi, sprung from earth. It is for thee that she hath been born in the race of Janaka. Bringing her into Lanka Ravana protected her with care like his mother. Rama, I have thus related to thee the entire story. Hearing this from the Rishi Sanatkumar, the long-lived Narada described this unto me. Dacanana, to a letter I followed the instructions of Sanatkumar. Who ever listens to this story at the time of Sraddha, the rice, offered by him, becoming

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inexhaustible, reaches his manes." Hearing this celestial theme, the lotus-eyed Rama along with his brothers was greatly surprised. And having their eyes expanded with delight the monkeys, with Sugriva, the Rakshasas with Bibhishana, the kings with their councillors, and all other assembled pious Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras, delightedly espied Rama. Thereupon the highly effulgent Agastya said to Rama:—"O Rama, we have all seen thee and been honoured; now we shall depart." Saying this, they, being honoured, repaired to their respective habitations. The sun set, Rama, the foremost of men, gave farewell to monkeys and their king and duly went through the Sandhya rite. Gradually night set in and he entered the inner appartment.

SECTION 47.

Kakutstha, knowing himself, being thus duly installed, the first night, enhancing the delight of the citizens, was spent. At dawn, the prisoners, to wake up the king, arrived at the palace. And those songsters, well trained and having a musical voice like the Kinnaras, began to eulogize the heroic king, to the increase of his joy. "Awake, O gentle hero, increasing Kausalya's joy, O foremost of men. Thyself being asleep the whole universe will be laid up with sleep. In prowess thou art like Vishnu, in beauty thou art like two Aswins, in intellect thou art like Vrihaspati and in the capacity of governing thou art like the Patriarch Brahma. Thy patience equals that of earth, thy effulgence equals that of the sun, thy velocity equals the wind and thy gravity resembles the deep. Thou art stable like a stake, gentle like the moon. No king like thee had flourished before—no other shall follow. O foremost of men, thou art irrepressible, ever pious and engaged in bringing about welfare unto thy subjects. Fame and wealth shall never renounce thee. O Kakutstha, in thee are perpetually stationed grace and wealth." Thus did the panegyrists eulogise him in various sweet accents and Raghava got up. Like unto Hari rising up from the bed of serpents Rama, thus eulogized, rose up from his bed covered with a a white coverlet. Taking white vessels full of water, thousands of well-trained survitors stood waiting before the high-souled (Rama). Washing his mouth, being purified and offering oblation unto fire, he entered the holy room of the tutelary deity much honoured by the Ikshwakus. And there having worshipped duly the celestials, manes and the Brahmins, he, encircled by men, came to the outer apartment And there arrived the leading priests headed by Vasishtha and ministers all resplendant like unto fire. And there sat around Rama the Kashatrya kings hailing from various provinces as the celestials sit encircling their lord Indra. The illustrious Bharata, Lakshmana and Satrughna began to worship him and he appeared like a sacrifice conducted by Vedic hymns. And the servants, with their eyes shut, sat around him. The twenty heroic monkeys headed by the highly powerful Sugriva also began to worship him. As the Guhyakas worship Kuvera so Bibhishana, accompanied by four Rakshasas, waited upon him. All those who were advanced in the study of Vedas, born in respectable families, and learned, bowed unto the king lowering their beads. Like unto the celestial-king Indra worshipped by the saints the king Rama was being perpetually honoured by the effulgent saints, kings, monkeys, and Rakshasas. He appeared more beautiful than Indra at that time. And religious themes were recited in that assembly by persons conversant with the knowledge of Puranas.

SECTION 48.

Thus did the long-armed Rama spend his days looking into all administrative works relating to the city and provinces. Some days having elapsed, he, with folded hands, said to Janaka, the king of Mithila, "Thou art our only refuge—we have been reared by thee and by the help of thy dreadful prowess we have been able to destroy Ravana. O king, the relation between the families of Ikshwaku and Mithila, is unequalled and delightful. Taking the jewel, do thou proceed to thy own city and Bharata as a help shall follow thee." Saying "So be it," the king Janaka bespoke Rama "O king, I have been delighted with seeing thee and thy courteous manners. The jewels collected for me, I do confer upon my two daughters." The royal saint Janaka having gone away, Rama, with folded hands and humbly said to his maternal uncle Kaikeya—"O king, this kingdom, myself, Bharat and Lakshmana are all at thy disposal. The old king might have been grieved for thy long absence. It therefore behoveth thee, O king, to go there to-day. With immense wealth and various jewels let Lakshmana follow thee." Agreeing with his request Yudhajit said, "O Raghava, let jewels and wealth be be inexhaustible with thee." Thereupon, Rama, at first saluted and went round him and then Yudhajit, the son of Kekaya, went away to his kingdom in the company of Lakshmana like unto Indra (leaving for home) in the company of Vishnu on the destruction of the Asura Vitra. Having bade adieu unto his maternal uncle Rama embraced his friend Pratardana, the undaunted king of Kashi and said:—"Thou hast displayed thy brotherly feelings and delight by making arrangements for my installation in the company of Bharata. O king, do thou now leave for thy city Baranushi, highly picturesque, well-guarded, girt by strong walls on all sides and having well-decorated gate-ways." Saying this, Rama, the descendant of Kakutstha rose up from his seat and embraced him cordially. Having taken farewell from Rama enhancing Kausalya's delight, the king of Kashi, with his followers, fearlessly and speedily proceeded to his own city. Having bade adieu to the king of Kashi, Rama, with a smiling countenance and sweet accents, said to the three hundred assembled kings: "Being well protected by your own prowess, you have all displayed your great love for me. By your piety, truthfulness, sagacity and strength, the vicious-souled Ravana hath been slain. Forsooth, I am merely the instrument in the destruction of Ravana—he hath been slain by your strength. Hearing that Sita, the daughter of Janaka, had been stolen away from the forest the high-minded Bharata did bring you all—but fortunately you were not constrained to go through miseries. High-minded as you are, you were all prepared for this work. Long since you have come here. I think it better that you should proceed to your respective habitations." Whereto the kings, greatly delighted, replied: "O Rama, it is by thy good fortune that thou hast come off victorious and been installed on the throne; it is by thy good luck that thou hast got back Sita and the enemy Dacanana hath been vanquished. That we behold thee, O Rama, victorious and freed from all enemies, is our great benefit and delight. The encomiums, thou hast showered upon us, are natural with thee. Thou art Rama, who always pleases people. Thou art worthy of being praised but we do not know how to praise thee. With thy permission we shall now leave for our respective provinces but thou shalt always reside in our hearts. O thou having long arms, O great king, mayst thou have that love for us perpetually that we may find place in thy heart." Whereto Rama replied saying "So be it." Thereupon the kings, highly delighted and desirous of going, bade farewell unto Rama, with folded palms and being honoured by him, left for their respective kingdoms.

SECTION 49.

Having agitated the earth with thousands of elephants and horses the kings proceeded to various quarters. And being prepared to help Rama many Akshauhini soldiers with many steeds waited at Ayodhya at the command of Bharata. Those kings, proud and powerful, spoke to one another—"We did not face Ravana—the enemy of Rama; Bharata did uselessly invite us after the destruction of Ravana. Had they brought us earlier, we would, forsooth, have slain him. We would have, on the other side of the ocean, well protected by the prowess of Rama and Lakshmana, and freed from all disturbances, fought at pleasure." Being thus delighted, all those assembled princes proceeded to their respective kingdoms, dwelling on these and various other topics. And having arrived at their celebrated cities, unscathed, abounding in delighted people, wealth, crops and jewels they sent various presents of jems to Rama for his satisfaction. Besides this they made over to him innumerable horses, conveyances, infuriated elephants, sandal, excellent ornamants, jewels, pearls, corals, beautiful female servants and various cars. And taking all those jewels, the highly powerful Bharata, Lakshmana and Satrughna returned to their own city. Having arrived at the picturesque city Ayodhya those foremost of men, made presents of various jewels unto Rama. Having delightedly accepted those gifts Rama in return made presents of them unto the successful king Sugriva, Bibhishana and other Rakshasas and monkeys by whose help he had achieved victory. And those highly powerful monkeys and night-rangers wore on their heads and arms those jewels conferred on them by Rama. Having placed on his lap the long-armed Angada and Hanuman, the mighty car-warrior—the lotus-eyed Rama said to Sugriva "Angada is thy good son and Hanuman is thy wise councillor. O Sugriva, these are always engaged in my well-being and in giving me good counsels. For thee, therefore, O king of monkeys, I should honour them in various ways." Having said this, the illustrious Rama took off from his arms valuable ornaments and adorned Angada and Hanuman therewith. Thereupon having welcomed and casting loving looks upon the highly powerful and leading monkeys such as Neela, Kesarin, Kumuda, Gandhamadana, Sushena, Panasa, Mainda, Dwivida, Jambavan, Gabaksha, Dhumra, Baleemukha, Prajaghna, Saunada, Dareemukha, Dadbimuka, Indrajanu and others, he addressed them all in sweet accents, saying:—"You are all my friends like unto my limbs and brothers. O ye inhabitants of forests, you have saved me from the ocean of danger. Blessed is the king Sugriva and blessed are the friends like yourselves." Saying this Rama, the foremost of men, conferred upon them duly many precious clothes and ornaments and embraced them all. The monkeys lived there all happily feasting on fragrant honey, well-cooked meat and various fruits and roots. In this way they spent more than a month—but it appeared to them as a moment on account of their devotion unto Rama. He, too also spent his time happily with monkeys assuming shapes at will, the highly powerful Rakshasas and the mighty bears. In this way the delighted monkeys and Rakshasas spent the second winter month. Enjoying delight they thus spent their days happily in the city of Ayodhya working to the welfare of Rama.

SECTION 50.

In this wise, the monkeys, bears and Rakshasas spent their days in Ayodhya. Thereupon the highly effulgent Rama, the descendant of Raghu said to Sugriva:—"O gentle one, proceeding to the city of Kishkindha, hard to be got at by the celestials and Asuras, do thou reign there undisturbed with thy councillors. O thou having long arms, always look towards Angada, with loving eyes. Do thou, O Sugriva, protect lovingly the highly powerful Hanuman, Nala, thy father-in-law Sushena, the mighty Tara, irrepressible Kumada, the powerful Neela, the heroic Satabali, Mainda, Dwivida, Gaya, Gavaksha, Gavaya, Sarava, the irrepressible and powerful king of bears Jamvaban, Gandhamadana, valiant Rishava, Supatala, Keshan, Sarabha and Sumbha—these and other heroic monkeys who dedicated their lives to my service. Do thou never act to their displeasure." Having said this and embraced Sugriva again and again Rama addressed Bibhishana with sweet accents. "I know thou art cognisant of piety; the citizens, thy councillors and thy brother Kuvera also love thee; do thou therefore go and govern Lanka piously, O king; never cherish any vile intention; the honest kings always enjoy the earth. And my only request to thee, O king, is that thou mayst with love remember me and Sugriva. Do thou now proceed, divested of sorrow." Hearing the words of Rama, the bears, monkeys and Rakshasas repeatedly exclaimed glory unto Rama and said "O Rama, having long arms, thy understanding resembleth that of the Self-Sprung, thy prowess is equally wonderful and thy beauty is also par excellence." The monkeys and Rakshasas having said this, Hanuman bowing, said unto Rama "May my loving reverence be always in thee, O king; may my devotion unto thee remain unshaken, O hero; and may my mind be not attached unto any other thing. May my life remain in my body as long as the stories of Rama shall be in currency on earth. Let not this prove otherwise. O foremost of men, O descendant of Raghu, may the Apsaras make me always hear of thy themes. O hero, as the winds scatter the clouds so I shall remove my anxiety by listening to thy nectar-like themes." After Hanuman had said this, Rama rose up from his throne and having embraced Hanuman affectionately said, "O foremost of monkeys, what thou hast said, shall undoubtedly be carried out into action. As long as my stories shall be current on earth thy fame shall exist and life shall be in thy body. And as long as the world shall exist my themes shall be related. I cannot, even at the sacrifice of my life, release myself from the debts of one good service out of the many, thou hast done for me, monkey; and I shall for ever remain indebted to thee for thy last benefaction. Or let them wear out in me, for men, at the time of danger, become worthy of having their benefits returned." Having said this, Rama took off from his neck a chain set with sapphires brilliant as the rays of the moon and placed it round the neck of Hanuman. Like unto the mountain Sumeru beautified by the rising of the moon on its summit, Hanuman, the foremost of monkeys, appeared graceful with the chain placed on his breast. And hearing the words of Raghava, the highly powerful monkeys, one by one, saluted Rama, touching his feet and went away. Both Sugriva and the virtuous-souled Bibhishana embraced Rama and three of them were beside themselves with tears. And other monkeys and Rakshasas were all moved with tears and sorrow to take leave of Rama. Having received favours thus from the high-souled Raghava the monkeys went away to their own houses like-unto bodied creatures leaving off their bodies. Thereupon the Rakshasas, bears, monkeys, having bowed unto Rama, the glory of the Raghu family and with their eyes full of tears consequent upon his separation, went away to the countries from which they had hailed.

SECTION 51.

Having bade adieu unto bears, monkeys and Rakshasas the long-armed Rama began to live happily in the company of his brothers. Thereupon he and his brothers heard from the air the following sweet accents:—"O gentle Rama, do thou with a delighted countenance behold me. O lord, know me as Pushpaka coming from the abode of Kuvera. O foremost of men, at thy command I did go there to carry him. But he said to me:—'Having slain the irrepressible Ravana in battle the high-souled Rama, the foremost of men, hath conquered thee. I have greatly been delighted on the destruction of the vicious-souled Ravana, with his relatives, sons and friends. O gentle one, the great Rama hath conquered thee in Lanka; I permit thee, therefore to convey him. Thou art the fit conveyance for traversing all regions. But my earnest desire is that thou shouldst take Rama, the descendant of Raghu. Do, thou therefore go there at pleasure without any sorrow.' Hearing this command of the high-souled Kuvera I have come to thee. Do thou fearlessly accept me. I am above the conquest of all the worlds. At the command of Kuvera I shall valiantly traverse all regions carrying out your behests." Hearing the words of Pushpaka, the highly powerful Rama said to the returning car stationed in the welkin:—"O foremost of cars,

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Pushpaka, if such be the case, do thou come here; while the lord of wealth hath commanded thus, I will not be blameable for bad character." Having said this and worshipped it with dried paddy, fragrant flowers and incense, Rama, having long arms, addressed Pushpaka—"Do thou go now and come here whenever I shall remember thee. While proceeding by the welkin, O gentle one, be not sorry for our separation. And be not obstructed in thy course whilst traversing all the quarters." Having been adored by Rama and saving 'So be it' Pushpaka proceeded towards its wished-for direction. And the holy Pushpaka car having thus vanished, Bharata, with folded palms, said to Rama, the delight of Raghus—"O hero, during thy divine administration, we have seen many inhuman creatures and objects speak like men. During all these months since thy installation subjects have not suffered from any disease. Even the most aged animals have not met with death. The female, without any risk, have been giving birth to children and all people are plump and delighted. The delight of the citizens hath been greatly increased, O king. Indra hath been pouring nectar-like showers in due time. The wind is always delightful and wholesome. O king of men, the inhabitants of the city and provinces are all saying 'We may have for ever such a king.'" Hearing those sweet accents given vent to by Bharata, Rama, the foremost of kings was greatly delighted.

SECTION 52.

Having sent away the golden Pushpaka, the highly powerful Rama entered the Asoka forest beautified by sandal, Aguru, Mangoe, dark sandal and Debadaru trees, and covered with Champaka, Aguru, Naga, Kesara, Madhuka, Panasa, Sarja, Parijata, resembling smokeless fire, Sodhra, Neepa, Arjuna, Naga, Saptaparna, Muktaka, Mandara, Kadalee and various creepers, abounding in Priyanga, Kadamba, Vakula, Jambu, pomegranate, and Kadali trees, containing various flowers, picturesque, having many fruits, fragrant, decorated with new leaves and adorned with various other trees. There were many a tree, having profuse foliage and flowers and covered with maddened black bees as if constructed by architects. The forest-land was variegated and beautified by cuckoos, the ornaments of mangoe trees, black-bees and various birds of various colours. Amongst the trees beautifying the forest some were gold-hued, some were radiant as the flame of fire and some were like red collyrium. There were various flowers, spreading fragrance and making garlands. And there were various ponds filled with pure water. The stairs of those ponds were made of corals and the ground was of crystal. And they were all filled with lotuses and lilies. They were beautified with Chakrabakas and the banks were graced with variegated trees and flowers. And the forest was encompassed by stone walls and in the inside were dwelling many a Sardula bird resembling Vaiduryas. All the trees in the forest were filled with flowers. And the rocks there, covered with flowers falling down from trees, appeared like welkin beautified with stars. And Rama's Asoka forest was like unto Indra's Nandana and Kuvera's Chitraratha made by Brahma. Having entered the rich Asoka forest abounding in many seats and houses and creepers Rama sat on an excellent seat, covered with a beautiful coverlet and well constructed. Like unto Purandara with Sachi he took Sita by the hand, made her sit and drink the wine distilled in the province of Mira. And in no time the servants brought for him well-cooked meat and various fruits. Being inebriete the beautiful Apsaras, well-skilled in the art of singing and dancing, began to dance before Rama in the company of Kinnaris. The virtuous-souled Rama, the foremost of those who know how to please, satisfied those beautiful damsels adorned with various ornaments. And Sita sitting by him, he appeared like the effulgent Vasishtha in the company of Arundhati. Being greatly delighted the celestial-like Rama pleased every day Sita resembling a celestial damsel. Sita and Raghava thus spent their days happily. And thus was spent the delightful winter giving all enjoyments. Enjoying various things the high-souled Rama and Sita spent ten thousand years. Once on a time, having performed all the religious ceremonies, in the fore part of the day, Rama, to spend the evening, entered the inner apartment. Sita, too, having performed all religious ceremonies, at first attended to the service of her mothers-in-law. Thereupon wearing a beautifully coloured cloth and being adorned with various ornaments Sita appeared before Rama like unto Sachi approaching the king of celestials in heaven. And beholding the auspicious signs of pregnancy in his spouse Rama attained to excessive delight. Thereupon he said to the beautiful Sita resembling a celestial damsel:—"O Vaidehi—signs of pregnancy are manifest in thee. What desires of thine can we satisfy?" Smiling a little the daughter of Janaka said:—"O Raghava, I wish to behold the holy hermitages. I wish to salute the greatly effulgent Rishis living on fruits and roots and residing on the banks of the Ganges. I greatly desire, O Rama, that I may spend even one night in the hermitage of the Rishis living on fruits and roots." Whereto replied Rama of unwearied actions, saying "So be it. Believe me, O Vaidehi, that thou shalt undoubtedly go there to-morrow." Having thus addressed Maithili, the daughter of Janaka, Rama, the descendant of Kakutstha, then issued out of the inner apartment and entered the middle one filled with his friends.

SECTION 53.

Rama having taken his seat there, the experienced councillors encircling him began to dwell upon many amusing stories. Bijoya, Madhumatta, Kasyapa, Mangala, Kula, Surajni, Kalya, Vadra Dantavakta, Sumagadha—all delightedly began to introduce many amusings talks before the high-souled Rama. Thereupon Rama incidentally addressed them saying—"O Vadra, how do the inhabitants of the city and provinces talk about Sita, Bharata, Lakshmana, Satrughna and the mother Kaikeyi? The kings, when they deviate from the paths of justice, become objects of censure in the houses of men and even in the forests as well." Rama having said this, Vadra with folded hands replied:—"O king, the citizens speak many good things about thee; besides they dilate upon many things in their own houses regarding thine conquest acquired by the destruction of the Ten-necked demon." Hearing the words of Vadra, Rama said:—"Without hiding any thing, do thou relate every thing from the beginning as they are; what good and bad things have been given vent to by the citizens. Hearing the good and bad opinions of the citizens I shall desist from bad actions and engage in good ones. Whatever vicious actions of mine are talked of by subjects in cities and provinces do thou relate unto me confidently and fearlessly." Hearing the sweet accents of Rama, Vadra, with a quiescent mind and folded palms, said:—"Hear, O king, I shall relate to thee all those unpleasant things frequently dwelt upon by people in court-yards, markets, public roads, forests and, gardens. Indeed Rama hath accomplished a wonderfully hard work; our ancestors, the celestials, the Danavas—none heard of constructing a bridge over the ocean? Rama hath slain the irrepressible Ravana with his army and brought over the monkeys, bears and Rakhasas to his own side. Having discomfitted Ravana, in the encounter Rama hath released Sita, but not being the least enraged on account of her being touched by Ravana he hath brought her to his own city. Ravana did forcibly place Sita on his lap; how can then Rama enjoy delight in her company? Having taken her to the city of Lanka, Ravana did keep her in the Asoka forest and Sita was brought under the control of Rakshashes. Still Rama hath not been worked up with hatred by Sita. From now we shall also brooke the bad conduct of our wives—for the subjects always tread the footsteps of their King. O King, the subjects thus talk of many things in cities and provinces." Hearing those words of Vadra, Raghava was greatly sorry and asked his friends saying "Do the subjects thus talk about me?" Thereupon lowering their heads and saluting him they all said to Raghava, of a depressed mind—"For sooth, the subjects thus talk about." Thereupon Kakutstha, the slayer of enemies, hearing all those words, dismissed his friends.

SECTION 54.

Having sent away his friends and determined what to do, Rama, the delight of the Raghus, commanded the warder, who was seated hard by, saying:—"Do thou speedily bring here, Lakshmana the son of Sumitra and gifted with auspicious marks, the great Bharata and the irrepressible Satrughna." Hearing the words of Rama and placing his folded palms on his head the warder reached the house of Lakshmana and unobstructed entered therein. And having saluted him, with folded palms he said to the high-souled Lakshmana:—"The King wishes to behold thee—do thou soon go there." Thereupon being apprised of Raghava's command and saying "So be it," Saumitri ascended his car and went speedily towards Rama's abode. Having beheld Lakshmana's departure the warder humbly went to Bharata and having blessed him with folded hands said:—"The King wishes to see thee." Hearing of the command of Rama from the warder, the highly powerful Bharata at once got up from his seat and proceeded on foot. Seeing Bharata's departure the warder speedily went to Satrughna and with folded hands said:—"Do thou come, O foremost Raghus, the King wisheth to behold thee." Hearing the words of the warder Satrughna lowered his head and rising up speedily proceeded to Rama. Thereupon returning, the warder, with folded hands, communicated unto Rama, the arrivals of his brothers. So long Rama was engaged poorly in anxious meditation with his crown bent downwards. Informed of the princes' arrival he commanded the warder, "Do thou soon bring the princes here. My life depends upon them. They are my dearest life." Having obtained Rama's command, the princes, clothed in white raiment, entered there, with folded palms and quiescent mind. Having entered there they saw that Rama's countenance was shorn of beauty like unto the moon possessed by Rahu, the setting sun and the withered lotus and his eyes were full of tears. Having approached him quickly, and saluted his feet they anxiously sat there. Thereupon having wiped off his tears and embraced them with his arms he raised up the princes and pressed them to take their seats. Thereupon he said—"You are mine all; you constitute my life; O princes, I am governing the kingdom gained by you; you are all learned, pious and intelligent. Do ye follow the duties I point out." Rama, the descendant of Kakustha having said this, they, with anxiety and attention, awaited the orders of the king.

SECTION 55.

The princes were all waiting with a poorly heart when Rama, with a dried countenance, addressed them, saying:—"May good betide you—do not act against my desire. Hear, what the citizens have been talking about me and Sita. The citizens as well as the inhabitants of provinces have been showering censures upon me. I have been pierced to the very vitals by those accusations. I have been born in the illustrious family of the high-souled Ikshwakus. Sita hath been born also in the holy family of the great Janaka; gentle Lakshmana, thou knowest how in the solitary forest of Dandaka, Sita was stolen away by Ravana and how have I slain him. At that time even I was stricken with anxiety regarding Sita that how I could take her home since she had resided in the house of the Rakshasas. To secure my confidence, Sita, in your very presence, entered fire. At that time, O Saumitri, fire, carrying sacrificial oblations and the wind of the sky declared Sita's innocence before the celestials. In the presence of all the Rishis and gods, the Sun and Moon announced the innocence of the daughter of Janaka. Indra, the king of the celestials, himself handed over the chaste Sita unto me in the island of Lanka. My mind knoweth Sita as chaste for ever. So, at that time I came back to Ayodhya with Sita. But now a great sorrow consequent upon the censure of the citizens and villagers hath pierced my heart. He, who is notorious on this earth and as long as that notoriety remains current, is classed amongst the vile. Even the celestials speak ill of bad name—whereas fame is adored in all the regions. Therefore the high-souled exert their best to acquire reputation. O foremost of men, what to speak of the daughter of Janaka—I can even renounce my life and yourselves in fear of a bad name. Do ye therefore perceive into what great abyss of sorrow and ill-fame I have fallen. Up to this time I have never experienced such a mighty grief. Do thou, O Lakshmana, next morning, ascending the car driven by Sumantra, take away Sita to another country. There is a picturesque hermitage of the high-souled Valmiki situate on the Tamasa on the Other side of the river Ganges. Do thou, O delight of Raghus, soon come back, leaving behind Sita in that lovely place; Do thou carry out my words. Do thou not speak anything regarding Sita's banishment, O Saumitri, if dost thou request me to desist from this, it shall be the more unpleasant unto me. For my life and arms, do ye not proffer any request unto me regarding this, If so, you shall only endanger my well-being and I shall ever regard you as my enemies. If you obey my behests, do ye honour my words now. Do ye take away Sita from here. Ere this Sita had communicated her intention of beholding the hermitages of ascetics on the banks of the Ganges. Let that desire of hers be now satisfied." While saying this, the eyes of the virtuous-souled Rama were covered with tears. Sighing hard like unto an elephant, he, with a heart stricken with grief, departed to his own quarter in the company of his brothers.

SECTION 56.

The night being over, Lakshmana, with a poor heart and dried countenance, addressed Sumantra, saying:—"O charioteer, do thou soon yoke quick-coursing steeds to an excellent chariot, and for Sita place an excellent seat on the car. At the command of the King, I shall take Sita to the hermitage of the ascetics ever engaged in pious actions. Do thou soon bring the chariot here." Obeying the mandate, and bringing a beautiful and holy car drawn by first-rate steeds and having excellent seats, he said to Saumitri, the enhancer of friends' honour "O lord, here is the chariot ready—do thou now satisfy thine desire." Hearing the words of Sumantra, Lakshmana, the foremost of men, approached Sita in the inner apartment and said:—"O queen, thou didst request the king to show thee the hermitage—the king too did promise—he hath now commanded me to take thee there. Do thou therefore follow me, at the command of the king. I shall, at his behest, take thee to the forest where dwell many an ascetic." Hearing the words of the high-souled Lakshmana, Janaki attained to excessive delight and became anxious to go. Taking various jewels and costly clothes she said to Lakshmana on the eve of her departure—"I shall confer these ornaments, these costly clothes and riches on the female ascetics." Saying "We shall do the same," he made Sita ascend the car and remembering Rama's command proceeded, being carried by quick-coursing steeds. Thereupon Sita said to Lakshmana, the enhancer of prosperity:—"O descendent of Raghu, I behold many inauspicious omens. My right eye and body are trembling. My mind is growing depressed. It is stricken with anxiety and I have accordingly grown restless. I behold the earth as void of all happiness. O thou fond of brothers—hath thy brother met with any calamity? Are all my mothers-in-law and subjects well?" Saying this Sita, with folded hands, began to pray unto gods. Hearing this Lakshmana bowed unto her touching the ground with his crown, and though greatly sorry, said as if delighted "All

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well." Thereupon having arrived at the hermitage situate on the banks of Gomati Lakshmana spent the night there. Thereupon at dawn he rose up and asked the charioteer to get the chariot ready, saying, "Like unto the powerful Mahadeva we shall hold the waters of the Bhagirathi on our head." Thereupon Sumantra yoked the horses, gifted with the fleet course of the mind, to the chariot and with folded hands said to Sita. "Do thou ascend the car." According to the request of the intelligent charioteer, Sita, with Lakshmana, ascended that excellent conveyance. In no time the daughter of Janaka, having expansive eyes, arrived at the banks of the Ganges removing all sins, Reaching the currents of Bhagirathi before noon Lakshmana, on beholding her, cried aloud. Thereupon beholding Lakshmana thus distressed, Sita, conversant with piety, waxing anxious said. "Why art thou weeping, Lakshmana? I have reached the banks of Janhavi, for which I have so long desired. So this is the time for rejoicing and do not give me pain at this time. O foremost of men, thou dost spend thine days and nights in the company of Rama, Thou hast left him for two days only—art thou sorry for this? Lakshmana—Rama is also dearer than my life—but I am not so sorry—do thou not be therefore overwhelmed with grief. Do thou take me to the other side of the Ganges so that I may behold the ascetics and confer upon them clothes and ornaments. Thereupon saluting them duly and spending a night we shall return to the capital. I am also anxious to sec Rama, having eyes like lotus petals, breast like that of a lion and foremost of men." Hearing the words of Sita and wiping his beautiful eyes, Lakshmana, the slayer of enemies, sent for boatmen. As soon as they were called, with folded hands they said. "The boat is ready." Having then brought a boat to cross the holy Ganges Lakshmana, with a quiescent mind, took her to the other side.

SECTION 57.

Having at first conducted Sita to the spacious and well decorated boat plied by fishermen Lakshmana himself got up. Thereupon he ordered Sumantra to wait there with the chariot, and being beside himself with sorrow ordered the sailors to move on. Thereupon having reached the other side of Bhagirathi, Lakshmana, with subdued voice and folded palms, said to Sita—"O daughter of the king of Videha, this hath pierced my heart like a dart, that my brother, by making me the instrumental of this action hath made me the object of censure in the world. The death and the pain consequent upon it are better than the action I am engaged in. Be thou propitiated, O beautiful damsel, do not hold me responsible for this." Saying this, the humble Lakshmana began to weep and pray for death. Beholding him thus overwhelmed, Sita said "What is the matter, Lakshmana? I do not understand anything, Do thou speak out everything plainly unto me. I find thee beside thyself (with grief); is it all well with the kingdom? In the name of the king, do thou give out unto me, the cause of thy sorrow." Sita having addressed him thus, Lakshmana, with a poorly heart and suppressed tone, said "O worshipful queen, I have kept within my heart all those words, which the king said, before he entered his palace, rendered sorry and impatient on hearing in the assembly the report of censure regarding thee, O daughter of king Janaka. All those words are indeed above description and so I desist. I only say so much, that afraid of the calumny of the citizens he hath renounced thee although thy purity was sufficiently proved before me. But for that, do not consider thyself in any way guilty. Rama hath commanded me to leave thee near the hermitage on the pretext of satisfying thine desire as thou art big with a child. Do not uselessly give vent to sorrow any more. There is the holy hermitage of the saints on the banks of Janhavi. There lives Valmiki, the foremost of saints, a great friend of our sire Dacaratha. O daughter of Janaka, approaching that high-souled saint, do thou spend thy days happily keeping Rama always in thy mind. Do thou satisfy the deities, O chaste damsel. This shall crown thee with auspiciousness."

SECTION 58.

Hearing the ruthless words of Lakshmana, the daughter of Janaka, greatly sorry, fell down on earth. And remaining senseless for some time, Sita, with her eyes full of tears said to Lakshmana:—"Forsooth, O Lakshmana, the great Dispenser hath created this body to suffer miseries; and all my afflictions are manifest in form to-day. Methinks; I committed a mighty iniquity in my pristine existence or brought about separation between a husband and wife and for that Rama hath renounced me albeit I am pure and chaste. O son of Sumitra, the affliction of residing in the forest appeared to me as pleasure ere this for I knew that I would be able to serve Rama's feet. But how shall I, O gentle one, live in the hermitage being divorced from all my kith and kin? And being afflicted to whom shall I express my sorrow? What reply shall I offer unto the ascetics when they shall ask me 'Child; why hath the high-souled Raghava renounced thee? What sin hast thou committed?' O Saumitri, shall I just renounce my life in the waters of Jahnavi? But I desist from this for it shall bring about the termination of my husband's race. O Saumitri, do thou carry out the orders thou hast received. By renouncing this wretched wight do thou satisfy the King's orders. But hear, what I say. Without making any distinction, do thou, in my name, with folded hands, bow unto my mothers-in-law and then ask the well-being of the kingdom. Thereupon saluting the pious King do thou address him, in my name, saying:—'Thou knowest, O Raghava, that Sita is pure, ever devoted unto thee and engaged in thy well-being. She knows it full well, that afraid of a bad name thou hast renounced her. It is her duty to put a stop to thy ill-name and censure; for thou art her excellent refuge.' Do thou tell further-more that king established in righteousness to treat the citizens as his brothers, to acquire piety by protecting his subjects duly—for this is the greatest morality and by this may be acquired excellent fame. Tell him that I am not sorry for my person—my greatest sorrow is that the citizens have vilified me. Husband is a woman's god—her friend and spiritual guide. It is proper therefore to work out husband's well-being even at the sacrifice of life. Do thou, O Lakshmana, communicate it in short unto Rama, in my name; Do thou go now and behold the signs of pregnancy are manifest in me." Sita having said this, Lakshmana, with a bewildered heart, saluted her touching the ground with his head, he could not speak more. Thereupon bewailing aloud and circumambulating her, he, meditating a little, said. "What art thou speaking unto me, O worshipful dame? O thou having no sin, up to this time I have not seen any portion of thy beautiful person but feet. This is a solitary forest and besides the worshipful Rama, is not present here—under these circumstances how can I cast looks upon thee?" Having addressed Sita in this wise Lakshmana again sent for a boat and ascending it ordered the boatmen to go. Thereupon having reached the other side and being beside himself with sorrow and grief he speedily ascended the car. And casting his looks behind while proceeding he espied that Sita, on the other side of the Ganges, was roving wildly like one having none to look after her. Looking again and again when Sita saw that Lakshmana and the chariot have gone beyond the range of her vision, she became overwhelmed with anxiety and grief. Being sunk in grief and pressed down with the weight of sorrow on not beholding Rama, the foremost of the illustrious, the chaste Sita began to cry aloud in the forest resounded with the notes of peacocks.

SECTION 59.

Beholding Sita thus wailing, the sons of the Rishis there speedily approached the great Valmiki, well-established in asceticism. And saluting him they all communicated unto him Sita's bewailings and said, "O great sir, we do not know the wife of what great man, beautiful like the very Lakshmi, and not seen before, is crying aloud very poorly? It is better that thou shouldst see her once. That beautiful damsel, like a goddess falling from heaven being bewildered, is waiting on the banks of the river. We saw her alone crying aloud being overwhelmed with sorrow and grief as if she had none to look after her. A damsel like her should not be subject to such a condition. She did not appear to us to be a woman. Do thou receive her duly. She is near the hermitage and so hath come to seek thy shelter. O illustrious Sir, she is on the look out for a protector—do thou protect her." The pious Valmiki could perceive every thing by virtue of his asceticism; and ascertaining the truth of the words of the Rishi boys by the power of his understanding, he, with quick steps, approached Sita. And the disciples followed that high-minded ascetic. Thereupon proceeding a little on foot with Arghya in his hands, the wise Valmiki reached the banks of the river and saw that Raghava's spouse was bewailing like a helpless woman. Having gladdened a little the aggrieved Sita by virtue of his own effulgence the great ascetic Valmiki addressed her in following sweet accents. "O chaste damsel, thou art the daughter-in-law of Dacaratha, the beloved wife of Rama and the daughter of Janaka; thy coming here is auspicious. I am apprized, by virtue of asceticism and meditation, of the object of thy coming here. O great lady, I am also fully aware that thou art by all means chaste. In fact I am conscious of all the incidents in the three worlds. By the eyes of asceticism, I perceive, O daughter of Janaka, that thou art innocent. Thou hast come under my shelter, O Vaidehi—be thou consoled. O child, the pious ascetics live around my hermitage. They shall daily take care of thee as their daughter. Do thou accept this Arghya now, and confiding in me do thou remove thy grief. Be not sorry for anything; consider that thou hast come to thy own home." Hearing the wonderful words of the great ascetic, Sita humbly touched his feet and said "Thy desire shall be fulfilled." Saying this, she, with folded hands, followed the ascetic. Beholding the great ascetic and Sita approach, the wives of the Rishis, delighted neared them and said:—" Do thou come, O foremost of Rishis, thou hast arrived here after a long time. We all bow unto thee—do thou order what we shall do." Hearing their words the great Valmiki replied in worthy accents—"This Sita is the wife of the intelligent Rama, the daughter-in-law of Dacaratha and the daughter of Janaka. She has now come to our hermitage. She is chaste and innocent, still her husband hath renounced her. So we should all protect her. She is worthy of your reverence—specially while such is the order of mine—your preceptor. So, do ye all take care of her with great affection." Having consigned the charge of Sita unto the hands of the female ascetics, the great and illustrious ascetic Valmiki, followed by his disciples, speedily proceeded towards his holy hermitage.

SECTION 60.

Beholding the great ascetic Valmiki thus conducting Sita into his own hermitage Lakshmana's heart was bewildered with grief. Thereupon he said to the expert charioteer Sumantra. "Do thou perceive Rama's grief consequent upon the separation from Sita. His spouse—the daughter of Janaka, is perfectly pure; what can be more painful than that Rama is living alone having renounced her? It is clear unto me, O Sumantra, that this separation of Rama, hath been brought about by the influence of destiny—for it is hard to get over accident. Even that Rama, who, when enraged, is capable of slaying the celestials, Gandharvas, Asuras and Rakshasas, hath been engaged in the worship of destiny. Formerly did Rama go through miseries, residing in the forest of Dandaka, at the command of his sire for fourteen years. But this banishment of Sita appears to me as exceedingly painful and most ruthless. O charioteer, the opinion of the citizens is by no means just; consequently what shall we gain by performing such a bad action for fame as the exile of Sita?" Hearing those words of Lakshmana, the wise Sumantra reverentially replied:—"Be not aggrieved for Sita, O Saumitri. Formerly in the presence of thy sire the Brahmananas related this account of Sita's exile. Rama shall be deprived of all happiness and be separated from his dear wife; what more, the virtuous-souled Rama, having long arms, shall, under the influence of time, renounce thee, Sita, Satrughna and Bharata. O Lakshmana, when Durbasa was addressed by the king Dacaratha as to thy future he replied in the above way. I have told thee the same. Do thou not communicate this unto Satrughna, Bharata or any body. O foremost of men, Durbasa said this unto Dacaratha before me, Vasishtha and other great men. Hearing the words of Rishi, Dacaratha, the foremost of men, said unto me, 'O charioteer, do not reveal this secret to any body.' O gentle one, it is not proper by any means to falsify the words of the king Dacaratha. I shall always, very carefully, carry out his orders. It is not proper to reveal this mystery before thee. Still I do so for thy curiosity hath been greatly excited. Though this mystery was communicated formerly by the king Dacaratha and though it is not proper to reveal it to any body, still I express it before thee that thou mayst not, on hearing it, be worked up with sorrow; for destiny is hard to be got over. And it is by the influence of that destiny that thou hast met with such a sorrow and grief. However, do thou not reveal this secret unto Satrughna and Bharata." Hearing these grave and important words of Sumantra, Lakshmana ordered him to relate.

SECTION 61.

Being thus requested by the high-souled Lakshmana, Sumantra began to reveal the mystery of Durbasa's account "In the days of yore the great ascetic Durbasa, the son of Atri, resided for a year in the holy hermitage of Vasishtha. At that time thy sire, the highly effulgent and illustrious Dacaratha, with a view to see his high-souled priest Vasishtha, repaired there. He saw the great ascetic Durbasa, burning like the sun in his effulgence, seated on the right hand side of Vasishtha. Thereupon he humbly saluted those two leading ascetics. And they too, welcoming him, received him duly with seat, water to wash feet, Arghya, fruits and roots. Then he lived there in the company of the ascetics. Thereupon during the noon, all those ascetics, seated there, began to dwell upon various pleasant topics. During an interval Dacaratha, with folded hands and uplifted arms, said to the high-souled son of Atri—Durbasa, having asceticism for his wealth. 'O illustrious Sir, how long shall my family remain in existence? What is the extent of the lease of life granted to Rama and my other sons? How long shall the descendants of Rama live? And what shall be the end of my race? Do thou relate all this unto me.' Hearing the words of the king Dacaratha the highly effulgent Durbasa, replied:—'Hear, the early history, O king. During the encounter between the celestials and Asuras, the demons, being remonstrated with by the celestials sought shelter of the wife of Vrigu—thy priest. Vrigu's wife having promised them help they lived there fearlessly. Having beheld the demons thus helped by Vriju's wife, Hari, the king of the celestials, enraged, chopped off her head with his sharp discus. And angry on beholding his wife slain, Vrigu, imprecated a curse on Vishnu, the slayer of enemies' race, saying—"Being beside thyself with anger thou hast slain my wife, not worthy of being killed; therefore, O Janarddana, thou shalt be born in the region of mortals. And there thou shalt remain separated from thy spouse for many long years." Having imprecated this curse, Vrigu was greatly pained and being propitiated by his adoration, Vishnu, fond of disciples, said: "Having slain Ravana and others, I shall be, for the behoof of mankind, subject to this imprecation." O bestower of kings, the highly effulgent Vishnu, thus imprecated by Vrigu in the

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days of yore, hath been born as thy son in this birth and hath been celebrated under the appellation of Rama. O conferrer of honours, for sooth shall Rama partake of the fruits of Vrigu's curse. He shall reign in Ayodhya for a long time. All his followers shall be happy and prosperous. Having reigned for eleven thousand years Rama shall repair to the region of Brahma. None shall be able to vanquish him. He shall celebrate many a horse-sacrifice with profuse gifts and shall establish many royal families. He shall beget on Sita two sons.' Having thus related unto Dacaratha the past and future of his family the highly effulgent great ascetic Durbasa became silent. He being silent—the great King Dacaratha, having bowed unto the two high-souled ascetics, again returned to his city Ayodhya. I had heard there all these words of the great ascetic Durbasa. Up to this time they are lying in my heart. Rishis' words shall never prove fruitless. According to the words of Rishi Rama shall install two sons of Sita in Ayodhya, not anywhere else. Under these circumstances, O Lakshmana, thou shouldst not grieve for Sita or Rama; in their interest do thou become patient." Hearing those wonderous words of the charioteer Sumantra, Lakshmana became greatly happy and eulogised him again and again. They thus conversing with one another on their way back, the sun set. They accordingly spent that night on the banks of Kesini.

SECTION 62.

Having spent the night on the banks of Kesini, the mighty car-warrior Lakshmana got up early in the morning and again proceeded on his journey (home). And reached in the noon the city of Ayodhya, filled with various jewels and delighted and plump citizens. But the high-souled Lakshmana became greatly sorry stricken with the thought as to what he should relate on approaching the feet of Rama. Whilst proceeding with this thought he saw the highly picturesque palace of Rama resembling the rays of the moon. Having descended from his car at the palace-gate, Lakshmana, the foremost of men, with his face downwards and a distressed heart, unobstructed, entered the palace. Having entered there he saw his elder brother Rama seated poorly on an excellent seat with his eyes full of tears. Being greatly pained at the sight, Saumitri touched his feet and with folded palms said:—"O worshipful sir, having obeyed thy behests I have left the daughter of Janaka at the holy hermitage of Valmiki near the banks of the Ganges. Having left that illustrious pure lady at the skirt of the hermitage I have again dome to serve thy feet. Do thou not grieve, O foremost of men, for such is the course of time. The intelligent people like thee do not grieve. Where there is growth there is decay, where there is prosperity there is ruin, and where there is birth there is death. Therefore attachment unto wife, sons, friends and riches is not proper, for surely shall be brought about separation with them. Whilst thou canst control thyself and thy mind, shouldst thou not be able to bear this trifling pain of separation? Leading men like thyself are never overwhelmed by all these things. O Raghava, thou shalt again be blamed by the people. In fear of this calumny, O sing that thou hast renounced Maithili. And if dost thou grieve for that spouse thy calumny shall undoubtedly be deep-rooted in the kingdom. Therefore do thou restore thyself patiently, O foremost of men. Do thou give up this weakness and be not sorry." The intelligent Lakshmana, the son of Sumitra, having said this, Rama, the descendant of Kakutstha and fond of friends, with great delight said:—"Thou hast spoken the truth, O Lakshmana, O foremost of men. I have been greatly delighted, O hero for thy carrying out my orders. O gentle Saumitri, my grief and sorrow have been removed for those pleasant words of thine."

SECTION 63.

Hearing those wondrous words of Lakshmana Rama was greatly delighted and said "O thou having an auspicious look, thou art gifted with great intellect and after my heart; a friend like thee is rare at such a time. But O beautiful Saumitri, do thou, apprised of my intention, carry out my words. O gentle son of Sumitra, for not looking to state business for these four days I have been pierced to the very vitals. Do thou therefore call here men, or women, priests or councillors who have come for business. For sooth do a king falls into the dreadful hell where the wind doth not blow, who does not daily look into his state affairs. I have heard, O foremost of men, that there lived in the days of yore a highly illustrious, truthful and pure-minded king, ever devoted unto the Brahmanas, by the name of Nriga. Once on a time at the sacred pilgrimage of Pushpaka that king conferred upon the Brahmanas one Koti of kine with calves adorned with golden ornaments. Accidentally on that occasion, a cow with calf belonging to a poor Brahman, living upon low means, was given away along with other kine. Undergoing hunger and thirst, the master of that lost cow travelled for a long time in many places in search of it. Thereupon having reached the province of Kanakhal he espied his own cow in the house of a Brahmana. The cow was well kept and the young one was grown up. Thereupon the Brahman called the cow by the name given by him saying 'Savala, come.' The cow heard that and recognizing the voice of the Brahman followed him. And he preceded her burning like fire. And the Brahmana, in whose house the cow so long remained, speedily pursued her and approaching the ascetic said. 'This cow is mine. The king Nriga conferred this upon me.' So there arose a great quarrel between the two learned Brahmanas. And thus quarreling they both approached him who had given away the cow. And though they waited for a long time at the gate they did not obtain permission to enter the palace. Thereat both of them were greatly engraged and imprecated dreadful curses, saying 'Since thou hast not granted us an interview though we have been waiting here for a long time, thou shalt, by our curse, remain invisible, being a lizard. Thou shalt in this state live in a den for many hundred and thousand years. When Vishnu assuming a human person shall be born in the Vasudeva family of Yadavas and enhance their glory he shall liberate thee from the curse. Immediately before the advent of the Kali Yuga the Rishi Nara Narayana gifted with great prowess shall descend upon earth to relieve her of the burden.' Having thus imprecated the curse upon the king the Rishis became silent. The cow was old and weak so they both, with mutual consent, conferred that upon another Brahman. O Lakshmana, the king Nriga is still suffering from that dreadful curse. It is the king's folly that is manifest from the mutual disagreement of the workers. Do thou bring them all speedily to me who have come for business. For, sooth shall the kings profit by the just administration. Do thou therefore go in person, O Lakshmana and see who hath come for business."

SECTION 64.

Hearing the words of the highly effulgent Rama, Lakshmana, conversant with discriminative knowledge, replied with folded hands, saying "O Kakutstha, it is for a very simple folly that the two Brahmanas imprecated that Curse upon the king Nriga, dreadful as the rod of Yama. May I ask thee, O foremost of men, what did that King say unto the Brahmans when he was thus imprecated?" Whereto Rama replied saying:—"O gentle one, hear, what the king Nriga said when imprecated. Hearing of the departure of the Brahmanas he sent for his priest, minister, the citizens and subjects and filled with sorrow said:—'Do ye all hear attentively my words. Having imprecated a dreadful curse upon me the jolly saint Narada and the ascetic Parvata have speedily, like the wind, repaired to the region of Brahma. Do ye therefore, even today, place the prince Vasu on the throne, and let the architects prepare a pleasant den for me. Living therein I shall waste the curse of the Brahmans. Let the architects dig one den to protect me against the rains, one against the affliction of the winter and one against the distresses of summer. Let them enhance the picturesqueness of those dens by planting many trees having profuse branches and fruits and flowers. As long as time shall not change so long I shall spend my days happily in the den. For half a league on all sides around me let flower trees be planted.' Having made those arrangements and placed Vasu on the throne the king Nriga said:—'Do not swerve from the path of morality, O my son, and do thou duly govern the subjects according to the custom of the Kshatryas. Thou hast seen, with thine own eyes, the curse that the Brahmanas have given me being enraged for a very trifling folly of mine. Do thou not repent for me. My son, time is the lord of happiness and sorrow; it is by the influence of time that I have fallen into such a disaster. Creatures must meet with what is kept in store by destiny; they must go where they are bound for and they must acquire what is set apart for them. Pristine actions are the root of all these; so, be not sorry, O my son.' O foremost of men, having given this advice unto his son, the highly illustrious king Nriga proceeded to live in the sweet fragrant den. Having entered the den filled with many jewels the high-souled king began to spend his days in the satisfaction of the curse imprecated by the two Brahmanas."

SECTION 65.

"I have thus given unto thee an account of the curse imprecated on Nriga. Listen, if dost thou wish to hear of any other theme." Rama having said this Lakshmana replied:—"I am not satiated with the account of those wonderful stories, O king." Hearing the reply of Laksmana, Rama, the descendant of Ikshwaku, began again with themes instinct with morality:—"There lived a highly pious and powerful king by the name of Nimi. He was the twelfth of Ikshwaku's sons. That powerful king made a picturesque city like that of the celestials near the hermitage of Gautama. The name of that beautiful city was Vaijayanta and the highly illustrious royal saint used to live there. Having thus reared a highly picturesque city he thought of worshipping the deity by celebrating a sacrifice for the satisfaction of his sire. Having thus resolved and invited his sire Ikshwaku the son of Manu, he first welcomed the celestial saint. Nimi the descendant of Ikshwaku, then welcomed the saints Atri, Angiras and Vrigu having asceticism for their wealth. Thereupon Vasishtha said to Nimi, the foremost of royal saints—'I have already been engaged by Indra. Do thou therefore wait as long as his sacrifice is not finished there.' After the departure of Vasishtha the great Gautama engaged in the satisfaction of Vasistha's duties. And the high-souled Vasishtha too engaged in Indra's sacrifice. On the other hand having united all the Brahmans the great king began to celebrate the sacrifice extending over five thousand years near his city by the side of the Himalaya. Thereupon having finished the sacrifice of Indra there came to the King, the blameless and the illustrious Rishi Vashishtha. Finding Gautama engaged in his room he was exceedingly enraged. Thereupon he waited there for some time to see the King. On that day the royal saint Nimi was deeply asleep. And not beholding the King the high-souled Vasishtha was greatly angry and said:—'Since thou hast, O King, engaged another neglecting me, thy body shall remain senseless.' Thereupon hearing the curse of Vasishtha, the king got up. There beside himself with ire he said—'I was unconscious in sleep—still soiled with anger thou hast hurled the fiery curse against me like the second rod of Yama. Therefore, O ascetic, thy person shall remain senseless for a long time.' That king and the ascetic having thus imprecated one another under the influence of anger, they immediately were deprived of their bodies."

SECTION 66.

Hearing the words of the effulgent Rama, Lakshmana, the slayer of enemies, said with folded hands:—"Having thus cast off their bodies how did that Brahman worshipped of the celestials and the king regain them?" Having been thus accosted by Lakshmana, Rama, the descendant of Ikshwakus and the foremost of men, replied:—"Having renounced their persons both Nimi and the pious Vasishtha, having asceticism for their wealth, were metamorphosed into air. Thereupon being thus deprived of his body the highly effulgent and great ascetic Vasishtha went to the Patriarch Brahma with the object of acquiring from him another. Being merged in the air, he, conversant with religion, bowed unto his father and said:—'O illustrious god of gods! O thou lotus-sprung! By the imprecation of Nimi I have been now deprived of my body and been converted into air. O lord, the state of being bodiless is highly painful to all. The bodiless cannot perform any work; do thou, therefore, by thy favour, grant me another body.' Whereto the self-sprung Brahma, of unmitigated prowess, replied. 'O great one, do thou enter into the vital energy of Mitra and Varuna; and even then, O foremost of twice-born ones, thou shalt not be born of a woman and being greatly pious shalt attain to the rank of a patriarch.' The Patriarch Brahma having said this, Vasishtha, saluting and circumambulating him, repaired to the region of Varuna. At that time Mitra in conjunction with Varuna was reigning in Varuna's kingdom being worshipped by all celestials. Meanwhile encircled by her mates the leading Apsara arrived there at her pleasure. Beholding the frolicsome and beautiful Urvasi, Varuna attained to an excess of delight. Thereupon he expressed his intention of living with that queen of Apsaras, having a moon-like countenance and lotus-eyes. Thereat Urvasi, with folded hands, said—'O lord of celestials, Mitra himself has already invited me for the same.' Being stricken by desire Varuna said to Urvasi 'I shall discharge my vital energy into this pot if thou dost not wish to live with me.' Hearing those sweet words of the Patriarch Varuna, Urvasi was highly pleased and said:—'Do what thou hast said. Now my body is under the possession of Mitra—but my mind is attached unto thine and thou art equally attached unto me.' Urvasi having said this, Varuna discharged his vital energy into the pot. Thereupon Urvasi approached Mitra. And thereat highly enraged he said to her 'I invited thee first; O thou of vicious actions, why hast thou, renouncing me, secured another. For this vile action, thou shalt, by my curse live in the land of mortals for some time. The royal saint Puruvara, the king of Kasi, is the son of Budha. Do thou go to him, thou of a vicious intellect; he shall be thy husband.' Thereupon being thus placed under the influence of curse Urvasi went to Puruvara, The king Puruvara was the begotten son of Budha. He reigned in the foremost of cities Pratishtaro. He begot on Urvasi a highly powerful and beautiful son by the name of Ayu. Nahusha, powerful as Indra, was the son of Ayu. When Indra, the king of the celestials, was assailed with thunderbolt by the Asura Vitra, Nahusha governed his kingdom for a hundred thousand years. In this wise Urvasi, having beautiful teeth, eyes and brow, remained on earth for many years and then returned to the region of Indra after the period of curse had been over."

SECTION 67.

Hearing this wonderful and heavenly theme Lakshmana was highly gratified and said to Rama "O Kakuthstha, how did that twice-born one worshipped by the celestials and the king regain their bodies, after being bodiless?" Hearing the words of Lakshmana, Rama, having truth for his prowess, began to relate the story of Vasishtha. "O foremost of Raghus, there sprang up two foremost Brahmin saints, from the vital energy discharged by the high-souled Mitra and Varuna into the pot. At first therefrom rose up the illustrious Rishi Agastya and saying 'I am not thine son' went away leaving Mitra. Before the vital energy of Varuna was thrown into the pot Mitra

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discharged his own on Urvasi's account which was the source of Agastya's birth. Into the pot in which Mitra's energy was discharged Varuna also put his own, and both the energies were mixed up. Thereupon after some time from the energies of both Mitra and Varuna sprang up the effulgent Vasishtha—the priest of Ikshwaku. O gentle one, the highly effulgent Ikshwaku appointed that blameless Rishi as the priest of out family as soon as he was born. I have thus described to you the story of Vasishtha's birth possessing a wonderful body. Hear now what befell the king Nimi. And beholding the king Nimi bodiless the intelligent Rishi initiated him into the rites of sacrifice. And those leading twice-born ones, with assembled citizens and servants, began to protect that body with unguents, garlands and clothes. Thereupon at the end of the sacrifice Vrigu said 'O king, I am propitiated with thee; I shall restore thee to senses.' Thereupon the celestials, highly pleased, addressed the consciousness of Nimi saying 'O royal saint, do thou accept boons; where shall we place thy consciousness?' Thereupon being addressed by the celestials the consciousness said 'I may live in the eyes of the celestials.' They agreed to it and said 'O lord of earth, for thee, their eyes shall be influenced within a moment, The exhaustion that their eyes shall experience on account of thy moving about as the air, shall be removed within this moment.' Having said this the celestials repaired to their respective quarters and the high-souled Rishis having conveyed Nimi's body to the sacrificial ground and dedicated it as an eddy began to churn it with great energy accompanied by incantations. They being thus engaged in churning the eddy for the purpose of having a son of Nimi there sprang up a son of devout austerities. He was called Mithi for he originated from Manthana; he was called Janma for his having sprung up from Janan and Vaidehafrom having been born from Videha. In this wise Janaka, the first king of Videhas, was born. His other name was Mithi and his family were celebrated as Maithilas. O gentle one, I have thus related unto thee the wondrous births, in consequence of the curse, of the great ascetic Vasishtha and the royal saint Nimi."

SECTION 68.

Rama having said this, Lakshmana, the slayer of enemies, burning in his native effulgence, said:—"O foremost of kings, this ancient account of the ascetic Vasishtha and the king Nimi is highly surprising and wonderful. But Nimi is a Kshatriya king and a hero—besides although initiated he did not forgive the high-souled Vasishtha." Being thus accosted Rama, the Kshatriya-chief, said to the effulgent Lakshmana conversant with all Sastras—"O hero, forgiveness is not to be seen in all men. O Sauinitri, do thou hear attentively, the unbearable anger which was forgiven by the king Yayati resorting to the quality of goodness. Yayati, the enhancer or the prosperity of cities, was the son of Nahusha. He had two beautiful wives, one of whom was Sarmishtha, grand daughter of Aditi, the daughter of Brishaparva. She was the more beloved of the two; his other spouse was Devajani, grand daughter of Usanas. She was not liked by her husband. Both of them gave birth to a son each and both the sons were beautiful and attentive. Puru was born of Sarmishtha and Yadu of Devajani. Puru was the favourite son of the king, both on account of his mother and of his personal graces. Thereat Yadu, greatly sorry, said to his mother:—'Born in the race of the illustrious Vargava of unwearied actions, thou art going through mental afflictions and unbearable insults; therefore, O mother, let us both enter into fire. Let the king spend many nights with Sarmishtha—the daughter of a demon. Thou mayst withstand the insults but I shall never brooke them. Permit me, I shall, in sooth, renounce my life.' The son having, weepingly and distressingly, said this, Devajani was greatly enraged and thought of her father. As soon as he was thought of by his daughter Vargava speedily came there and beholding her senseless and deprived from joy said 'Daughter, what is the matter?' The effulgent father having addressed his daughter repeatedly in this wise, Devajani, enraged, replied:—'O foremost of ascetics, I shall either enter into fire, water, or drink poison—by no means I shall preserve this life of mine. Thou dost not know of the miseries and insults I have been subject to. Brahman, when a tree is neglected, those who live thereon are also distressed. The king having disregarded me, forsooth thou hast also been neglected.' Hearing the words of his daughter, Vargava, enraged said to the king Yayati 'Thou art vicious-minded, O son of Nahusha; thou hast dishonoured me and therefore in thy youth thou shalt be subject to decrepitude and infirmities of age.' Having thus imprecated the curse and consoled his sorrowful daughter the highly illustrious rishi Vargava repaired to his own habitation. Having thus conferred solace unto his daughter, that leading Brahman, effulgent as the sun, returned therefrom."

SECTION 69.

"Yayati, the son of Nahusha, was greatly distressed on hearing of the ire of the preceptor Sukra. Thereupon meeting with the infirmities of age by the imprecation of the saint he said to his son Yadu:—'O Yadu, thou art cognisant of religion, do thou therefore take this decrepitude for me; I shall satisfy myself with various enjoyments. O foremost of men, I have not been yet satiated with worldly enjoyments—I shall therefore again take upon myself this decrepitude after having enjoyed all objects of sense.' Hearing those words of Yayati, the foremost of men, Yadu replied:—'Let thy most favourite son Puru take upon himself this decrepitude. O king, thou hast deprived me from all things—what more, thou dost not allow me to come near thee. Let that Puru take this, with whom thou dost eat and live.' Hearing the words of Yadu, Yayati said to Puru:—'O thou having large arms, do thou take the decrepitude for me.' Hearing the words of Yayati, Puru, with folded hands, said:—'I am always ready to satisfy thy commands; and I have been favoured and honoured by this command of thine.' Hearing those words of Puru Yayati was highly pleased and attained to an excess of delight and then transferred his own decrepitude to him. Thereupon regaining his youth the king reigned in earth for many thousand years celebrating thousands of sacrifices. Thereupon after a long time Yayati said to Puru 'O my son, do thou bring the decrepitude I have kept as deposit with thee—let it now assail me. I transferred it to you as a deposit. For this I shall take it back; be not sorry for this. I have been greatly pleased that thou hast satisfied my behests. I shall, now pleased, install thee on the royal throne.' Having thus addressed his son Puru, the king Yayati angrily said to Yadu, the son of Devayani:—'Thou, vicious Rakshasa, art born of me in the shape of a Kshatriya, or else why shouldst thou disobey my orders? For this thou shalt never be a king. I am thy father and preceptor and still thou hast disregarded me. Thou shalt be the father of dreadful Rakshasas, O vicious minded; thy descendants shall be degraded from the lunar race and thy children shall be equally vicious-minded like thee.' Having thus imprecated Yadu, the royal saint Yayati honoured Puru, the enhancer of the prosperity of the kingdom, with installation and then retired to woods. Thereupon after a long time he breathed his last and went to the abode of the celestials. The highly illustrious Puru reigned piously in the foremost of cities Prathishtan. Yadu begot thousands and thousands of Rakhasas and being degraded from the royal family reigned in a city named Kraunchavana, hard to be got at. In this wise, according to the custom of the Kshatryas the king Yayati took upon himself the imprecation of the preceptor Sukra, but he did not forgive him. I have thus related unto thee everything. O gentle one, we shall follow the examples of these illustrious men. And in that case we shall not be degraded like the king Nriga." While Rama, having a moon-like countenance, was speaking thus, the stars became fewer in the welkin, and east, stricken with the early rays of the sun, appeared like damsel, clothed in a raiment coloured with the dye of flowers.

SECTION 70.

Thereupon having performed the morning rites the lotus-eyed Rama, in the early morning, sat on his royal throne and in the company of Brahmanas and citizens engaged in looking into state affairs. The assembly consisted of the priest Vasishtha, the saint Kashyapa, ministers well versed in politics, other religious preceptors, moralists, members and kings. The assembly of Rama, of unwearied, actions appeared like that of Mahendra, Yama and Varuna. Rama said to Lakshmana, gifted with auspicious marks "O Saumitri having long arms, do thou proceed to the city-gate to receive those who have come here for business." According to Rama's command Lakshmana, gifted with auspicious mark, arrived at the gate and called those who had come there for business. But none said that he had been brought there by any business. For there was neither disease nor poverty in the kingdom. During Rama's regime the earth was filled with corns and Asadhis. Children young men and middle-aged people did not meet with death. The earth was governed piously so there was no obstacle. Thus during the administration of Rama none was seen who wanted justice. Lakshmana, with folded hands, said to Rama, "None has come for business." Thereat, Rama, with a delighted heart, replied—"Do thou go, O Saumitri, and see if any one has come for business. Royal policy if properly adopted, impiety can stand nowhere. It is for the fear of the king that people protect one another. And although laws, instituted by me are protecting the subjects like so many arrows, still, O thou having long arms, do thou be engaged in governing the subjects." Being thus addressed Lakshmana issued out of the house and saw that a dog was waiting at the gate. Casting its looks around it was again and again barking. Beholding it in that plight the valiant Lakshmana said "O generous sir, what business has brought thee hither—do thou relate it confidentially." Hearing the words of Lakshmana the dog replied—"I wish to relate it unto Rama, of unwearied actions, who is the refuge of all creatures and who declares fearlessness unto all." Hearing the words of the dog Lakshmana entered the beautiful palace to relate it unto Rama. And having communicated it unto Rama he issued out and said to the dog:—"If thou hast anything true to speak thou mayst come and communicate it unto the king." Hearing the words of Lakshmana the dog said—"We cannot enter into the houses of divinities, kings and Brahmanas nor can we go there where is fire, Indra, the sun or the wind, for we are the vilest born; so I cannot enter there. For king is the personification of virtue and specially the king Rama is truthful, well versed in the science of fighting and ever engaged in the welfare of all beings. He is perfectly cognisant of where the six qualities are to be applied—master of morality, knoweth all, seeth all and the best of beautiful. He is the moon, death, Yama, Kuvera, the giver of riches, fire, Indra, the sun and Varuna. O Saumitri, do thou go and communicate unto the king protecting his subjects that without his permission I do not wish to go there." Thereupon the highly effulgent and noble-minded Lakshmana entered the palace and said to Rama:—"O thou having long arms, O thou the enhancer of Kausalya's joy—I have communicated thine orders—I shall relate shortly everything regarding that; do thou hear. That dog, as a beggar, is waiting at the gate for thy commands." Whereto Rama replied:—"Bring him speedily here who is waiting at the gate for business."

SECTION 71.

Hearing the words of Rama the intelligent Lakshmana immediately sent for the dog and informed Rama, who, on beholding it, said—"Do thou communicate thy desire unto me; be not afraid." Thereupon beholding the king Rama, the dog, having his head cut off, said "The king is the protector of animals and their lord. The king is awake when the subjects are asleep and he protects them. By administering the laws properly the king protects piety. Without his shelter the subjects meet with destruction. The king is the lord and father of the whole universe. He is time, he is Yuga and he is the creation, mobile and immobile. He is called Dharma because he holdeth all. It is Dharma(virtue) that upholdeth all mankind. It is by Dharma that the three worlds are being preserved. It is Dharma or virtue that thwarts the enemies. It is virtue that governs the subjects duly. It is for this that virtue is called Dharanaor the holder. The virtue of preservation is the greatest and confers fruits in after life. There is nothing like virtue hard to acquire in this world. Charity, kindness, honouring the pious and innocent conduct constitute the chief virtues; for by those the well-being of this life and the next is brought about. O Raghava, O thou of firms vows—thou art an example of examples. Thou art cognisant of the conduct of the pious. Thou art like an ocean, the refuge of all virtues. O foremost of kings, out of ignorance, I have spoken unto thee so many things. With my head downwards, I beg for thy satisfaction. Be not offended with me." Hearing those wise words of the dog, Rama said—"What shall I do for thee? Do thou mention it confidentially." Whereto the dog replied, saying:—"It is by piety that a king governs his kingdom—it is by virtue that a king protects his subjects, becomes a refuge unto all and removes the fear of his men. Keeping an eye on this, O Rama do thou hear, what I say. In the house of a certain Brahman there lives a beggar by the name of Sarvarthasiddha (i.e., who has got all his desires satisfied). And although I am innocent, he has for nothing hurt me." Hearing those words Rama sent his messenger who brought Sarvarthasiddha, master of all subjects. Thereupon beholding Rama in the assembly that effulgent and leading twice-born one said:—"O blameless Rama, tell me what I shall do for thee." Whereto Rama said—"O twice-born one, thou hast hurt this dog. What offence did it commit by thee that thou didst strike it severely with a rod. Anger is an enemy which taketh away life. Anger is a sweet-speeched enemy in the garb of a friend. It is the foremost of passions and like unto a sharp dagger. And it is anger that stealeth away every thing. It pilfers all that is acquired by asceticism, sacrifices and gifts. It is proper therefore by every means to kill anger. Passions are running amock on all sides like so many exceedingly wicked steeds. Being satiated with of all objects of enjoyments it is better to govern them by patience. By mind, actions, words and eyes a man should engage in the well being of people. He should not injure any body and be not addicted to any thing. The harm, that a mind not under control, can accomplish, is beyond the range of a sharp dagger, trodden serpent and of an enemy always enraged. Even the nature of one, who has learnt humility, cannot be trusted. He, who hides his nature, himself reveals his true self." Rama, of unwearied actions, having said this, Sarvarthasiddha, the foremost of twice-born ones, said:—"Knocking about the whole day for alms I was highly enraged and struck this dog. It was sitting in the mid-way and I asked it again and again to move away. Thereupon, moving away and standing with reluctance, it stood fearfully on the road-side. O descendant of Raghu, I was at that time stricken with hunger, and struck it for its vicious conduct. O king of kings, I am guilty in this, and thou must punish me. O lord of kings, do thou administer punishment unto me,—I shall then be released from the fear of hell." Thereupon, Rama asked all the ministers, saying:—"What is to be done now? What punishment is to be inflicted on him? We can protect subjects, if we can administer punishment proportionate to crime." Thereat, Vrigu, Angiras, Kutsa, Vasishtha, Kashya and other ascetics, the leading preachers, the ministers, the citizens, and other sages

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conversant with Sastras, present there, said:—"A Brahmana should not be punished with death." The sages conversant with laws having said this, the ascetics addressed Rama, saying:—"O Raghava, a king is the governor of all—specially thyself. Thou art the chastiser of the three worlds, the eternal Vishnu." They all having said this, the dog began:—"Thou didst solemnly say 'What shall I do for thee?' Therefore, if thou art gratified with me, and if thou dost wish to confer boons on me, do thou appoint this Brahmana as the head of family." Thereupon, having been thus honoured and pleased and ascending an elephant, he proceeded to occupy his new dignified station. At this, the councillors of Rama, surprised, said:—"O thou of great effulgence, he has not been punished. Rather thou hast conferred on him a boon." Hearing the words of ministers, Rama said:—"You do not know the real truth of the whole thing—the dog knows it well." Being accosted by Rama, the dog said:—"O Raghava, I was the head of the family of Kalanjava. After the worship of the deities and Brahmana and the feasting of the servants, male, and female, I used to take my food. I used to parcel out things duly, and my mind was not in the least attached to sin. I used to preserve with great care the articles belonging to the tutelary deities, was humble, good-natured and engaged in the well-being of all animals. Still I have fallen into this dreadful and wretched condition. O Raghava, this Brahmana is angry by nature, and impious, injures others, and is impatient, cruel, harsh in words and ignorant, and therefore shall degrade his seven generations up and down. He will by no means be able to discharge the duties of a head of a family. He, whom thou wishest to take to hell with her son, beasts and friends, should be engaged in the serving the Brahmans and kine. For all his good actions, he is slain who steals the wealth of a Brahmana, a deity, a woman, and a boy, and the riches given away by him. O Raghava, one who pilfers the riches of a Brahmana or a deity falls into a hell called Vichi. Even he who thinks in his mind of stealing it, goes once and again into hell." Hearing the words of the dog, the eyes of the effulgent Rama were expanded with surprise. The dog went back from where it had come. In its pristine birth the dog was high-minded—it is now cursed for being born in a degraded state of existence. Thereupon, repairing at last to Varanasi the dog took the vow of fasting.

SECTION 72.

There lived for a long time a vulture and an owl on a mountain extending over the banks of a river, resonant with the notes of cuckoos and filled with lions, tigers and various birds, situated in a pleasant forest abounding in trees near the city of Ayodhya. Once on a time the vicious vulture alleging that the nest of the owl was his own, began to quarrel with him. O worshipful Sir, thereupon they both said:—"The lotus-eyed Rama is the king of all people; let us go to him and he will decide to whom the nest belongs." Having thus settled the vulture and the owl, being impatient with rage, quarrelling with one another, appeared before Rama and touched his feet. Beholding that lord of men, the vulture said: "O preserver of humanity, thou art the foremost of celestials and Asuras. O thou of great effulgence, thou art gifted with intelligence and learning more than Vrihaspati and Sukracharya. Thou art cognisant of the good and bad conditions of creatures. In beauty thou art like the Moon and art irrepressible like the Sun. In glory thou art like Himalaya, in gravity like the Ocean, in prowess like the Patriarch, in patience like the Earth, and in velocity like the Wind. O Raghava, thou art the preceptor of the mobile and immobile creation, gifted with all sorts of wealth, illustrious, devoid of a revengeful spirit, unconquerable, victorious, and master of all Sastras and laws. O foremost of men, hear. I have an application to thee. O Raghava, I had built a nest for myself; this owl is now occupying it as his own; therefore, O king, do thou save me." The vulture having said this, the owl began:—"True, it is, O king, that in him are the portions of the Moon, Indra, the Sun, Kuvera and Yama, but there is in him also a portion of man. But thou art thyself the omnipresent deity, Narayana. Thou, impelled by thine own self, dost judge all creatures impartially; therefore, a portion of gentleness is well manifest in thee and therefore do people call thee, a portion of the Moon. O patriarch, in anger, punishment, gift and fear, thou art our giver, destroyer and protector,—it is for this that thou art called Indra. In energy thou art like fire irrepressible unto all creatures, and because thou dost spread thy lusture upon all creatures, that thou art called the Sun. Thou art the very lord of riches or art even superior to Kuvera; like Padma unto the lord of riches, Sri is always by thee. Because thou dost discharge the functions of Kuvera, thou art the giver of wealth unto us. O Raghava, thou lookest upon all creatures, mobile and immobile, with an impartial eye—thou dost regard thy friends and foes with impartiality, and thou art duly protecting thy subjects. O Raghava, death pursues him with whom thou art offended—and it is for this reason that thou art styled by people 'the highly powerful Yama.' O foremost of kings, because thou art forgiving unto all creatures and a kind king that people sing thy glories as of a man on earth. The king is the strength of the weak and helpless and he is the eye of the blind and the refuge of those who have no shelter. Thou art also our king; therefore do thou listen to our petition. O king, entering into my nest, this vulture is oppressing me. Thou only, O foremost of men, art the divine chastiser of mankind." Hearing those words, Rama sent for his councillors. The ministers of Dacaratha and Rama, Vrishthi, Yayanta, Vijaya, Siddhartha, Rashtravarddhana, Asoka, Darmapala the highly powerful Sumantra and others were well versed in laws, high-minded, conversant with all the Sastras, intelligent, born in respectable families, and adepts in counsel. Having invited them all and ascending his Pushpaka car, he went to the place in question, and, descending there, asked the vulture, "How long has this nest been made? Tell me, if thou remember it." Whereto the vulture replied:—"From the time mankind were first born and spread over the four quarters of the globe have I been living in this nest." The owl said:—"At the time when the earth was (first) adorned with trees that this nest of mine was constructed." Hearing these words, Rama said to the councillors:—"That assembly is not an assembly where there are no friends—nor are they old men who do not dwell upon religious topics. That religion is not a religion where there is no truth and that truth is not the truth where there is hypocrisy. Those councillors are liars who do not give proper replies in time on the subjects they are well-informed on. He who does give reply to a question under the influence of passion, anger or fear, binds himself with a thousand nooses of Varuna, and at the expiration of full one year he is released from a single sin." Hearing these words, the ministers said to Rama:—"O thou having a large mind, what the owl has said is true—the vulture has not spoken the truth. Thou art the evidence this, O great king—for the king is the last refuge of all—the root of the subject and the eternal religion. He who is punished by the king, is not doomed to a degraded state. He is, in truth, saved from the fear of hell and reaches a better state." Hearing the words of the ministers, Rama said:—"Hear what is mentioned in the Puranas. Formerly the Sun, the Moon, the welkin with the stars, the earth with the mountains and forests—the three worlds, the mobile and the immobile, were under water. At that time only Narayana existed as the second Sumeru. In Narayana's belly was stationed the earth with Lakshmi. Having destroyed the creation and entered water, the highly effulgent Vishnu, identical with the souls of creatures, lay asleep there for many long years. Beholding Vishnu asleep after the destruction of the universe and knowing Vishnu of obstructed breath, the great ascetic Brahma entered his abdomen. Thereupon, when a golden lotus sprang from Vishnu's navel. That great lord, ascetic Brahma, originated therefrom and was engaged in austere penances for the purpose of creating earth, air, mountains, trees, men, reptiles and all animals born from womb or egg. At that time from the ears of Narayana originated two valiant and dreadful demons under the name of Madhu and Kaitabha. Beholding the Patriarch, there they were greatly enraged, and pursued him. Thereat, the self-born cried aloud hideously. Awakened by that sound, Narayana engaged in fighting with Madhu and Kaitabha, and slew them with his discus. And with their gore the whole earth was deluged. Thereupon, purifying the earth again, Hari, preserver of the world, covered it with trees. And various drugs were also created. And the earth was called Medini because it was filled with Medasmarrow of Madhu and Kaitabha. It is for this that I hold, O ministers, that this house does not belong to the vulture, but to the owl. Therefore, this vicious vulture should be punished—for this wicked, vicious-minded one, robbing another's nest, is oppressing him." In the interval a voice was heard in the sky stating the true facts:—"O Rama, do not slay the vulture,—for it has already been reduced to ashes by the force of Gautama's asceticism. O lord of men, this vulture, in its pristine birth, was a heroic truthful and pure king by the name of Brahmadatta. Once on a time a Brahamana, by the name of Gautama, the very personification of Kala, came to the house of Brahmadatta for food and said:—'O king, I shall feed in thy house for more than a hundred years.' Thereupon, offering that effulgent Brahmana, with his own hands, water to wash his feet the king Brahmadatta, made arrangements for his meal. Accidentally flesh was mixed with the food of the high-souled Gautama. Being enraged thereat, the ascetic imprecated him with a dreadful curse and said:—'O king, thou become a vulture.' The king said:—'Be propitiated, O thou of great vows; do not imprecate me thus. I have, out of ignorance committed this offence. O great one, O blameless one, do thou act so that this curse may find termination.' Thereat understanding that this offence was committed by the king unwittingly, the ascetic said—'O king, in the race of Ikshwakus a king shall be born under the name of Rama. O foremost of men, thou shalt be released from the curse when he shall touch thee.'" Hearing the voice in the sky, Rama touched Brahmadatta. Thereupon renouncing his vulture from and assuming a beautiful body smeared with celestial perfumes, he praised Rama and said:—"O thou conversant with piety, by thy Favour have I been saved from the dreadful hell—here hath ended my curse."

SECTION 73.

As Rama and Lakshmana were (daily) engaged in conversing thus, the vernal night, neither hot nor cold, came on. And it came to pass that one bright morning, after having performed his first diurnal rites, Kakutstha, understanding the ways of the citizens, became anxious to present himself at a spot whence he could observe the citizens. At this time Sumantra, entering, addressed him, saying,—"O king, stopped at the gate, some ascetics stay there,—Maharshis, led by Bhargava and Chyavana. And, O mighty monarch, eager for a sight of thee, those dwellers on the banks of the Yamuna, well pleased, have despatched me (hither), O tiger among men." Hearing his words, the righteous Rama answered: "Let the exalted Dwijas enter." Thereat, honouring the royal mandate, the warder with joined hands brought those ascetics difficult of being approached. And numbering over an hundred, flaming up in their native effulgence, those high-souled anchorets entered the royal residence. And they presented Rama with various fruits in profusion and vessels filled with sanctified waters of all holy spots. Thereupon, accepting the waters of the holy places as well as the various kinds of fruit, that mighty-armed one spake to the mighty ascetics: "Do ye agreeably to desert take these seats." Hearing Rama's speech, all the Maharshis sat down on those graceful and elegant golden seats. And seeing the saints seated there, that captor of hostile capitals, Raghava, restraining himself, with joined hands, observed: "What is the reason of your visit? What shall I needfully perform for you? I am worthy of being commanded by the Maharshis; and I must without demur compass every pleasure of theirs. And this entire monarchy, and the life that is resident in my heart,—all these are for the regenerate ones. This I tell you in the name of truth." Hearing his words, the sages of fierce austerities inhabiting the banks of the Yamuna, broke out into a peal of plaudits. And those high-souled ones, exceedingly rejoiced, said: "On earth, O crown of men, this can only be expected from thee and nobody else. Many kings wielding great power have passed away who, having regard to the (possible) gravity of the undertaking, could not bring themselves to promise anything beforehand. But, without knowing he task, thou hast bound thyself by a promise for the glory of the Brahmanas. And thou, without doubt, wilt succeed in effecting the work; and it behoveth thee to deliver the sages from a mighty fright."

SECTION 74.

When the sages had spoken thus, Kakutstha said: "O ascetics, tell me what is the work which I shall have to accomplish in your behalf. Your fear shall be removed." As Kakutstha was speaking thus, Bhargava remarked: "O lord of men, do thou hear of the origin of the fear that threatens our country. O king, formerly in the Krita age, there was a magnanimous offspring of Diti, the mighty Asura, Madu, eldest son of Lota. He was well disposed towards Brahmanas, kind to those seeking his refuge, and gifted with high intelligence. The exceedingly generous deities delighted in him greatly. And by way of honouring him, Rudra conferred a wonderful boon upon Madhu endowed with prowess and ever intent on religion. And extracting a dart from his own, possessed of terrific energy, endowed with great force, and furnished with exceeding splendour, that high-souled one, well pleased, made it over (to Madhu) and spoke to him. Thou hast practised excellent and unrivalled righteousness, which hath won my good graces, and (therefore), I, highly gratified, bestow on thee this choice weapon. So long as thou, O mighty Asura, dost not assail celestials and Vipras, so long shall this be thine,—otherwise it shall come to naught. Reducing to cinders the person that shall rashly enter upon conflict with thee, this dart shall return to thy hand." Having thus obtained the boon from Rudra, the mighty Asura, again bowing to Mahadeva, addressed him, saying: "O reverend one, may this excellent dart be the possession of my family. O god, thou art the lord of the immortals.' Thereat the lord of all beings, the mighty deity Siva, answered Madhu, when he had spoken thus: 'This will not be. But in order that thy prayer may not go for nothing, I graciously say in thy behalf that one of thy sons shall sway this dart. So long that dart-handed one shall be incapable of being destroyed by any creature.' Having obtained this wonderful boon from the god, Madhu—foremost of Asuras—caused a splendid city to be constructed. His beloved wife the exalted and majestic Kumbhinasi is the offspring of Vicwavasu by Anala. Her son, the highly powerful wicked, and fierce Lavana, ever since his boyhood, gave himself up to a sinful course of life. Seeing his son, committed to an impious course Madhu was overcome with grief, but he did not say anything to him. And forsaking this world, he entered the region of Varuna; and making over the dart unto Lavana, communicated to him all about the boon he had obtained. And by virtue of the power of the dart, he oppresseth the three worlds in especial the ascetics; such is the power of Lavana, and such is his dart. Hearing all this O Kakutstha, thou art capable (of righting our wrong.) Thou art our chief resource. O Rama many a monarch hath been already sued by the sages, O hero, to deliver them from this fear,—but we have not yet found a deliverer. Hearing, O

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child, that Ravana together with all his forces and vehicles hath been destroyed (by thee), we know that there breathes not another king on earth capable of delivering us. Therefore our prayer is that thou mayst deliver us afflicted with the fear of Lavana. Thus, O Rama, have we acquainted thee with the occasion of fear that hath arisen. Thou art capable of coping with the same. Do thou of undeteriorated prowess, do the needful."

SECTION 75.

Thus accosted (by the sages), Rama answered them with joined hands: "What doth he live on? What are his ways? And where doth Lavana live?" Hearing Raghava's words, the sages informed him of the way in which Lavana increased in power. "His food is every creature specially ascetics; his manner of life is regulated by ferocity and his constant home is Madhuvana. Slaying constantly thousands on thousands of lions and tigers and deer, and birds and human beings, he provides his daily food (with their flesh.) And like the Destroyer on the occasion of the universal dissolution, that one possessed of gigantic strength feeds on other creatures as well." Hearing this, Raghava spoke to the mighty ascetics: "I will slay that Raksha. Let your fright depart." Having thus bound himself with that promise to the ascetics of fierce energy, Raghu's son along with his brothers spoke: "What hero shall slay Lavana? Do you decide this. On whom shall devolve this duty? Whether the mighty armed Bharata or the intelligent Satrughna shall (do this work?)" Thus addressed by Raghava Bharata remarked: "I will slay this. Let this task be entrusted to me." Hearing Bharata's speech instinct with fortitude and valor, the younger brother of Lakshmana stood up, leaving his golden seat. And Satrughna, saluting the king represented: "The mighty-armed second son of Raghu hath already achieved a grand work: he formerly governed Ayodhya empty of the noble one [Rama.], bearing in his heart the grief connected with his return. Undergoing many a hardship, king, that illustrious one passed his days, lying down on a bed of sorrow, and living on fruits and roots, and wearing rags. Having suffered such misery, Raghu's son should not be suffered to undergo trouble, while, O king I his servant is by." On Satrughna saying this, Raghava again said: "Let this be so. Do thou do my bidding. I shall install thee on the graceful city of Madhu; or if thou wish without and entrust Bharata with this task, O long-armed one. Heroic, and accomplished, thou art competent to found a city on the Yamuna as well as flourishing provinces. He that, having people's dominion, doth not furnish it with a king, goeth to hell. So if thou accept my words, then slaying Madhu's son, the sinful Lavana, rule the kingdom righteously. O hero, thou must say anything after what I have spoken. Without doubt, a youthful younger brother must obey the injunctions of his elder brother. Do thou, O Kakutstha, accept the installation which I confer on thee, preluded by the prescribed religious formulae uttered by Vipras headed by Vasishtha."

SECTION 76.

Thus accosted by Rama, the exceedingly energetic Satrughna was powerfully wrought up with bashfulness, and replied slowly: "O lord of men, this doth not appear to be in consonance with morality. Wherefore, an elder brother existing, wouldst thou install a younger one? I must, O best of men, do thy behest; for, O exalted one, thy mandate can never be passed by me. O hero, I have heard from thee as well as from the Sruti (touching the morality concerned) [i.e. of being installed as a king during the life of my elder brother.]. When my second brother had already vowed (that he would slay Lavana), I ought not to have returned the answer I actually have. I saying,—'I will in battle slay the dreadful Lavana,' I have been guilty of an unrighteous speech. And it is for this transgression that, O powerful one, I shall have to undergo this improper process. But, albeit this course is unrighteous and entails perdition, yet desired by my eldest brother, I certainly ought not to make any answer. And, O Kakutstha, a second answer I would not return; so that, O bestower of honour, I may not, by a second reply, render myself liable to a fresh punishment. In this matter, O chief of men, I will even do thy desire. Do thou, O descendant of Raghu, so order that sin may not be mine (in having obeyed thy mandate.)" Thus addressed by the heroic and high-souled Satrughna, Rama, delighted, spoke unto Bharata and Lakshmana,—"Do you carefully provide the things necessary for the coronation: this very day shall I install that foremost of men, the descendant of Raghu. And by my order do you summon the Purodhasas, O Kakutstha, and the citizens and the Ritwijas, and the councillors." Having received the royal behest, the mighty car-warriors did accordingly. And the Kshatriyas and the Brahmanas entered the royal mansion with the priest as well as the requisite things for the installation. And then commenced the auspicious sprinkling of the high-souled Satrughna, gladdening (the hearts of all in) the palace of Raghava. And on being installed Kakutstha resembled the Sun; and he like Skanda formerly installed by the celestials led by Indra. And when Satrughna had been installed by Rama of untiring deeds, the citizens as well as the Brahmanas of vast Vedic attainments experienced excess of joy. And Kausalya and Sumitra and Kaikeyi and the other wives of the king set up festal salutation in the palace. And on Satrughna having been installed the high-souled sages dwelling on the banks of the Jamuna, thought that Lavana had been slain. Then placing the installed Satrughna on his lap, Raghava, extolling his prowess, addressed him sweet words: "O captor of hostile capitals, this divine arrow never missing is thine. With this, O son of Raghu, thou, O placid one, wilt slay Lavana. O Kakutstha, this shaft was forged when invisible by celestials and Asuras the divine self-sprung and invincible (deity) reposed on the mighty main, and when creation was oppressed by Madhu and Kaitabha as well as other Rakshasas. He, overwhelmed with rage desirous of creating the three worlds, created this best of arrows invincible to all beings, for the destruction of the wicked ones; and destroyed them in battle by means of this very arrow. And having with this foremost of shafts finished Madhu and Kaitabha, they set about creating the worlds. When, O Satrughna, formerly I sought to slay Ravana, I did not discharge this arrow, thinking that if discharged, it would inflict great havoc on creatures. Keeping in his abode that great and redoubted which had been bestowed on Madhu by the high-souled Tryamvaka, for the destruction of foes,—and worshipping the same ever, Lavana goeth about and secureth excellent fare (for himself) when one challenged him, desirous of reducing him (his antagonist) to ashes. Therefore, O foremost of men, thou shouldst, before entering the city, stand at the gate obstructing his course. O thou having long arms, thou shouldst invite him for battle when he shall be weaponless and in that way wouldst be able to destroy him. And by no other means he is to be slain. If thou canst encompass this, he shall forsooth be slain. O my son, I have thus told thee the way in which the dart should be thwarted. It is impossible to surpass the prowess of the graceful Nilkantha."

SECTION 77.

Having thus addressed Satrughna, Rama again and again praised him and said:—"O foremost of men, let four thousand horses, two thousand chariots, one hundred excellent elephants, shops with various articles and songsters follow thee. O foremost of men, O Satrughna, do thou proceed with Nijuta gold and silver coins and necessary riches and conveyances. Do thou so act, O hero, that soldiers might be well-fed and delighted and be not annoyed with thee. Do thou please them with sweet words, for the servants, when they face enemies, have not with them friends or wives—and so they are pleased, O Raghava when they receive sufficient food and presents, O Satrughna, having sent before a huge and well contented army do thou proceed afterwards to Madhuvana. Thou shouldst proceed so fearlessly that Madhu's son Lavana might not know that thou wert going for encounter. O foremost of men, he shall not be slain by any other expedient than that I have acquainted thyself with. If he can perceive before, whoever that enemy might be, Lavana shall forsooth destroy him. When rains shall set in after the expiration of the present summer thou shouldst slay him for that is the proper time for destroying that vicious-minded one. For he shall then fearlessly move about leaving off his dart understanding that no one would come to fight with him during rains. Let the soldiers only now proceed with ascetics before them; the summer hath not as yet fully expired and this is the time, when they shall, without any trouble, be able to cross the Ganges. Afterwards having encamped thy army on the other side of the Ganges thou shouldst alone proceed speedily with thy bow." Hearing those words of Rama and summoning his highly powerful and leading warriors Satrughna said "Do ye all proceed and halt at those places which are well known to you. Do not oppress any body." Having thus ordered the powerful warriors the highly powerful Satrughna bowed unto Kaucalya, Sumitra and Kaikeyi. Thereupon having circumambulated with folded hands Rama, Lakshmana and Bharata he reverentially saluted the feet of the priests. And then with Rama's permission and having gone round him the highly powerful Satrughna issued out. Having thus depatched before a huge army consisting of selected elephants and horses, Satrughna, the enhancer of the glory of Raghu's race, took farewell from Rama. And all showed him proper respect.

SECTION 78.

Having thus despatched his army and waited at Ayodhya for a month Satrughna, the slayer of enemies, proceeded alone. Having spent two nights on his way he arrived at the holy and picturesque hermitage of the great ascetic Valmiki. And having bowed unto that high-souled Muni he, with folded palms, said:—"O illustrious Sir, I wish to wait here this day; I have come here for some business of our master Rama. To-morrow morning I shall proceed to the dreadful West." Hearing the words of the high-souled Satrughna, Valmiki, the foremost of ascetics, replied saying:—"O thou of great renown, do thou wait here without any hesitation. O gentle one, this hermitage belongs to the descendants of the Raghu race. Do thou fearlessly take thy seat and water to wash thy feet." Thereupon taking water to wash his feet and feeding upon fruits and roots Satrughna attained to great delight. And afterwards he asked the great ascetic Valmiki saying:—"O great ascetic, to whom belong the articles of sacrifice in the cast near this hermitage?" Whereto Valmiki replied "Satrughna, hear I shall tell thee, whose sacrificial ground was this in the days of yore. There was a king by the name of Saudasa—one of thy ancestors. His son Virjashaha was a highly powerful and pious king. The heroic Saudasa was fond of hunting from his boyhood. Once on a time while a-hunting, he espied two Rakshasas in the forest. He had heard about them many times before; they were in the shape of tigers and of a dreadful figure and were not satiated with devouring many thousand deer. King Saudasa saw those two Rakshasas and found the forest divested of all creatures. And enraged in consequence thereof he slew one of them. Having slain him and been at ease, Saudasa, the foremost of men, began to eye that Rakshasa. His mate, greatly aggrieved, said to him:—'O vicious one, thou hast, without any fault, slain my companion—I shall therefore mete out becoming punishment unto thee.' Having said this the Rakshasa vanished therefrom. Thereupon in time the prince Virjashaha became king. Saudasa engaged in celebrating a mighty horse-sacrifice in the vicinity of this hermitage. Vasishtha officiated as a priest at that sacrifice. It continued for many Ayuta years. For immense riches the sacrifice appeared like one performed by the celestials. Thereupon when the sacrifice was about to be finished the aforesaid Rakshasa, remembering his former enmity, assumed the shape of Vasishtha and said to the king Saudasa:—'O king, to-day the sacrifice shall end; do therefore, without any delay, feed me with meat.' Hearing the words of the Rakshasa in the guise of a Brahman, the king ordered his expert cooks, saying:—'Do ye soon prepare such dishes of meat as may satisfy my preceptor Vasishtha.' Having been ordered by the king the cooks reverentially went away and the Rakshasa assuming their shape brought before the king dishes. The king and queen offered those dishes unto the ascetic Vasishtha, who, after being treated to them, perceived that they were of human flesh and, terribly enraged, said:—'O king, let this be thy food which thou hast offered me; this shall not prove otherwise.' Being enraged on hearing it the king Saudasa took water in his palms and was about to imprecate Vasishtha, when his queen, preventing him said:—'O king, the illustrious great ascetic Vasishtha is our preceptor and priest and so thou shouldst not imprecate him.' Hearing those words of his queen, the king Saudasa, threw off that powerful water on his own feet which at once became dark. From that time the illustrious king Saudasa became also known by the name of Kalasmpada. Thereupon the king with his spouse again and again bowed unto Vasishtha's feet and informed him of what the Rakshasa had done under the guise of a Brahmana. Hearing the words of the king and being apprised that this vile act had been done by the Rakshasa, Vasishtha said, 'O king, even what I have said angrily shall not prove futile. However I confer upon thee this boon that after twelve years thou shalt be freed from this curse, and by my favour thou shalt cherish no recollection of thy condition extending over those twelve years.' Having thus suffered the consequences of the curse, Saudasa, the slayer of enemies, again obtained his kingdom and governed his subjects. O descendant of Raghu, the sacrificial ground of which thou hast asked me, belongs to the king Saudasa." Having thus heard the dreadful story of the king Saudasa and saluted the ascetic Valmiki, Satrughna entered a thatched cottage.

SECTION 79.

On the same night Satrughna housed himself in a thatched cottage Sita gave birth to twin sons. In the midnight the Muni boys came to Valmiki and communicated unto him this auspicious intelligence, saying "O illustrious Sir, the beloved spouse of Rama hath given birth to two sons; do thou so protect them that evil spirits might not injure them." Hearing those words the highly effulgent Valmiki went there and attained to great delight on beholding those two highly effulgent sons, resembling the newly risen sun and the celestials. Thereupon he made arrangements against the oppression of ghosts and goblins. Thereupon taking Kusa (the upper part of the grass) and Lava (the lower part) the great ascetic Valmiki made those arrangements. And giving Kusa sanctified by Mantras unto the hands of elderly women he said, "Do ye rub the person of the elder boy with these," and giving them Lava he said "Do ye rub the person of the younger brother with this. And according to this I shall name the first Son Kusa and the second Lava; and by those names they shall be celebrated on earth." Thereupon reverentially taking from the hands of Valmiki and Kusa Lava, the means of protection, the elderly ladies engaged in guarding them. Hearing that Sita without any trouble had given birth to two sons and elderly female ascetics had been engaged in protecting them and hearing the chanting of Rama's glories in the midnight, Satrughna thought within himself. "Blessed it is that Sita hath given birth to two sons." And with this joy the live long night of Srabana passed away in no time. Having performed the morning rites after the expiration of the night

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and taken farewell from the ascetic Valmiki, Lakshmana proceeded towards the west. And having spent seven nights he at last arrived at the hermitage of the pious Rishis living on the banks of the Yamuna. Taking shelter there he engaged in pleasant conversation with Chabanya and other ascetics. Having remained there for the night and talked with those ascetics the high-souled, heroic Raghu prince Satrughna was greatly delighted.

SECTION 80.

Thereupon when the night set in Satrughna accosted Vrigu's son Chabanya saying, "O Brahman, how powerful is Lavana? And what is the strength of his dart? What persons before had been destroyed by this dart in conflict?" Hearing the words of the high-souled descendant of Raghu,—Satrughna, the highly effulgent Chabanya replied saying.—"O descendant of Raghu, Lavana hath accomplished many works by this dart; amongst them, hear what Mandhata, born in the race of Ikshwaku, did. The early king of Ayodhya was known over the three worlds under the name of Mandhata. He was the son of Yavanashwa, highly powerful and strong. Having brought the whole world under his subjection the king Mandhata engaged in the conquest of the celestial region. He having been engaged in making preparations to conquer the world of gods—the celestial chief Indra with other immortals was greatly terrified. With this promise, the king Mandhata went up into the celestial region that he would occupy the half of Indra's throne and kingdom and the celestials would adore him. Being apprised of this vicious intention of his, Indra, the slayer of Paka, consoled him in sweet words, saying;—'O foremost of men, even in the land of men, thou hast not been able to become the real king. Without perfectly subjugating the earth how dost thou wish to lord over the celestial kingdom? If the whole world is under thy subjection, O hero, be thou, with the whole host of thy servants and soldiers, installed on the celestial throne.' Indra having said this, the high-souled Mandhata replied:—'O Sakra, who on this earth, hath disobeyed my commands?' Whereto Indra replied 'O sinless one, the night-ranger, Lavana, Madhu's son, living in Madhuvana, is not under thy control.' Hearing those dreadful and unpleasant words from Indra, the king lowered his head in shame and became silent. Thereupon, having welcomed Indra in that way, he left there and returned to earth. O slayer of enemies, with an angry heart, army and conveyance he went to subjugate Madhu's son Lavana and sent an emissary inviting him to battle. The ambassador, having gone there, addressed many unpleasant words unto Lavana and the night-ranger devoured him. On the other hand finding the delay of his return the king Mandhata, enraged, began to assail the Rakshasa Lavana with arrows from all sides. Laughing wildly Lavana took up the dart in his hand and discharged it to destroy the king with his followers. Thereupon growing powerful the dart reduced the king with his servants and army into ashes and returned to Lavana. In this wise the high-souled king Mandhata, with his huge army, was slain. O gentle hero, incomparable and great is the strength of the dart. Forsooth thou shalt slay Lavana next morning. Certain is thy victory if Lavana cannot take up his dart. People shall be at ease if thou canst bring about the destruction of Lavana. O foremost of men, I shall then describe unto thee the incomparable and dreadful prowess of the vicious-souled Lavana and his dart. O king, with great exertions did Lavana slay Mandhata and not easily. O high-minded one, next morning thou shalt surely destroy Lavana. He shall issue out for flesh without taking his dart. And at that time, O lord of men, thou shalt, for sooth, be crowned will victory."

SECTION 81.

They being thus engaged in conversation regarding his achieving victory without any danger Satrughna in no time passed the night. The clear morning having arrived, the heroic Lavana issued out of his city to collect food. In the meantime having crossed the river Yamuna, the heroic Satrughna, with bow in his hands, stood at the gate of Madhu's city. Thereupon returning in the noon with many thousand animals, the night-ranger Lavana, of dreadful actions, espied Satrughna standing at the gate with a weapon in his hand. Thereupon he said:—"What shall thou do with this weapon? O vile wight, enraged I have devoured many thousand persons holding weapons like thee. I now perceive thou hast also been possessed by Kala. O vile man, I am fully fed. How shall thou, of thy own accord, enter into my mouth?" Lavana having said this again and again laughing the great hero Satrughna shed tears in anger. The high-minded Satrughna being beside himself with rage, from all his person issued burning lustre. Greatly enraged he said to the night-ranger "O thou of a vicious intellect, I wish to enter into a duel encounter with thee. I am the son of the great king Dacaratha, brother of the intelligent Rama and my name is Satrughna. I slay all my enemies and have come here to destroy thee. I wish now to fight with thee—do thou enter into a duel conflict. Thou art the enemy of all animals. Thou shall not be able to survive at my hands." He having said this, the Rakshasa, laughing aloud, replied unto that foremost of men;—"Thy understanding is bewildered. By the influence of destiny thou hast come under my control. The Rakshasa Ravana was the brother of my aunts, o thou of vicious understanding, O vile wight, it is for his wife that Rama did slay him. It is out of hatred that I have tolerated the destruction of Ravana's family and have pardoned you all. You are all vile men; I have slain and defeated all of your family that have passed away and shall destroy all that are living and shall come into existence. O thou of vicious intellect, if thou wishest I shall fight with thee. Do thou wait here so long I do not bring my weapon. Do thou remain here as long as I with that shall not kill thee." Whereto Satrughna immediately replied "Where shalt thou go while I am alive? The practical men should never let off the enemies who come out of their own accord. He, who inviteth an enemy into battle under the influence of perverted understanding is slain like a coward. Do thou behold this world of creatures to thy hearts' content for I shall by various sharp weapons despatch thee to Yama's abode who is the enemy of the three worlds and Raghava."

SECTION 82.

Hearing the words of the high-souled Satrughna Lavana was greatly enraged and again and again asked him to wait. And clashing his hands and grinding his teeth he invited that foremost of Raghus, Satrughna, to fight. And Satrughna, the slayer of celestial's enemies, said to the dreadful Lavana, giving vent to those words:—"Satrughna was not born when thou didst defeat other kings; do thou therefore proceed to Death's abode being assailed by shafts. O thou of a vicious soul, as did the celestials behold Ravana slain so shall the Rishis and learned Brahmans behold thee, destroyed by me. O Rakshasa, forsooth shall good crown cities and villages when thou shalt fall down burnt by my arrows. As the rays of the sun enter into lotus so shall arrows, hard as lightning, discharged by my hands, shall enter into thy heart." Being beside himself with ire on hearing those words of Satrughna, Lavana threw a huge tree against his breast. And Satrughna too sundered it into a hundred pieces. Beholding his own action baffled the Rakshasa again took up many trees and hurled them at Satrughna, who, with three or four hundred bent arrows, cut them all, one by one, into pieces. Thereupon when the powerful Satrughna assailed him with arrows the Rakshasa was not the least pained. Rather laughing aloud the valiant Rakshasa uprooted a tree and struck him with that on the head. With that stroke he was wounded and slain. And that hero falling there arose a terrible uproar amongst the Rishis, celestials, Gandharvas and Apsaras. Thereupon considering Satrughna slain the night-ranger did not enter his house albeit he got the opportunity; and moreover beholding him fallen and destroyed he did not take up his dart. He then began to carry his collected food. Regaining his sense within a moment, Satrughna, with a weapon in his hand, stood at the city gate and the Rishis began to praise him. Thereupon, he having taken up an excellent arrow of unfailing aim the ten quarters were filled with its native brilliance. Its face was like lightning and its velocity the same and it looked like Meru and Mandara; its joints were all bent. None could defeat it in battle. It was pasted with red sandal resembling blood and its feathers were beautiful. Beholding that dart like unto the fire of dissolution, and dreadful like unto the lords of Danavas, mountains and Asuras, the creatures were greatly terrified. What more, being disturbed, the celestials, Asuras, Gandharvas, saints and Apsaras and all other creatures of the world approached the Great Patriarch, the conferrer of boons and said;—"The fear of the celestials and the destruction of the creatures hath arrived." Hearing those words the Patriarch Brahma replied "Although it is a source of great fear still it is not dreadful unto the celestials." Thereupon with sweet accents he said:—"Hear, O ye celestials, Satrughna hath taken up this arrow for the destruction of Lavana. By the energy thereof we have all been overwhelmed. This effulgent, ever-existing arrow was made by the Primeval Deity Vishnu—the lord of creatures. My children, the burning arrow, of which you are afraid, was made by the high-minded Vishnu for slaying the demons Madhu and Kaitabha. And Vishnu alone is cognisant of its energy. This Satrughna is the first portion of Vishnu's person; do ye all go hence and behold the destruction of the foremost Rakshasa, Lavana, by the high-souled, heroic Satrughna, the younger brother of Rama." Hearing the words of the Patriarch Brahma, the celestials arrived at the battle-field of Satrughna and Lavana and saw that the arrow, held by Satrughna's hands, was burning like the fire of dissolution. Beholding the welkin covered by the celestials, Satrughna, the descendant of Raghu, emitting leonine roars, again and again looked towards Lavana. And being again excited by the high-souled Satrughna and enraged Lavana arrived for encounter. Thereupon expanding his bow up to ears, Satrughna, the most accomplished archer, discharged his arrow against the spacious breast of Lavana. And piercing his heart that arrow entered speedily into Rasatala And having entered Rasatala that arrow, honoured by the celestials, again came to the descendant of Raghu. And being pierced by that shaft the night-ranger Lavana fell down on earth like a mountain clapped by a thunder-bolt. The Rakshasa being slain that celestial, huge arrow came into the possession of Rudra before the gods. Having removed the fear of the three worlds with one shaft, that heroic Raghu, Satrughna—younger brother of Lakshmana, holding excellent bow and arrow, appeared like the Sun of thousand rays removing darkness. Thereupon chanting the glories of Satrughna, the celestials, Rishis, Pannagas, Apsaras, said "O son of Dacaratha, it is really fortunate, that thou, renouncing fear, hast acquired victory and that the Rakshasa Lavana hath been vanquished like a serpent."

SECTION 83.

Lavana being slain the celestials headed by Agni and Indra said in sweet accents to Satrughna the represser of enemies:—"O child, fortunate it is that thou hast been crowned with success after slaying the Rakshasa Lavana. Do thou, therefore, O foremost of men, O thou of firm vows, accept boons. O thou having long arms, all those who can confer boons have arrived here; they all wish for thy victory; seeing us doth not go without fruits." Hearing the words of the celestials the large-armed and self-controlled Satrughna placed his hands on his head and said.—"Let this picturesque and charming city of Madhu, built by the celestials, be my capital; this is the only excellent boon I can beg." The celestials, with a delighted heart, said to the descendant of Raghu:—"Thy desire shall be fulfilled and forsooth shall thy city be turned into a picturesque capital under the name of Surashena." The high-souled celestials having ascended the welkin saying this, the highly effulgent Satrughna brought the soldiers there, that were encamped on the banks of the Ganges. When the soldiers arrived there on hearing the commands of Satrughna he engaged in making encampments in the month of Sraban. In this wise the fearlessness of the celestial host, taking the shape of a country, that beautiful and picturesque city was reared in the course of twelve years. All the fields there were filled with crops and Indra began to pour showers in due season. And being protected by the strength of Satrughna's arms all men there became valiant and were freed from diseases. That city on the banks of Yamuna appeared beautiful like the half moon and was filled with yards, shops, streets beautiful houses, men of four orders and various articles of trade. Satrughna now engaged in beautifying the spacious, white houses that were made by Lavana before, with various ornamental works. Beholding the city interspersed with various excellent gardens, pleasure grounds and prosperously filled with celestials and men and diverse articles of trade and merchants hailing from various countries, Satrughna, the younger brother of Bharata, attained to the satisfaction of desire and excess of delight. Having thus reared the beautiful city he resolved within himself "The twelfth year has come. I shall now behold the feet of Rama." Thereupon having set up the city resembling the region of the celestials and filled with various men, the king Satrughna, the enhancer of Raghu's race, determined on beholding Rama's feet.

SECTION 84.

Thereupon on the completion of the twelfth year, Satrughna, with few servants, soldiers and followers, desired to proceed to Ayodhya protected by Rama. Having prevented his minister and leading generals he proceeded with one hundred chariots and cavalry. And having counted seven halting stations on his way, the highly illustrious descendant of Raghu—Satrughna, arrived at the hermitage of Valmiki. And having bowed unto the feet of the leading Muni, that foremost of men took from his hands water to wash feet and Arghyaand accepted his hospitality. The great ascetic Valmiki addressed to the high-souled Satrughna many sweet words. Having referred at first to Lavana's destruction, he said:—"Having slain Lavana thou hast performed a very hard work. O gentle one, O foremost of men, Lavana had slain in conflict many hundred highly powerful kings with their army and conveyances. And thou hast easily slain that vicious-souled Rakshasa, Lavana. By thy prowess the whole world hath been divested of fear. With great difficulty Rama had slain Ravana—but without any trouble whatsoever thou hast accomplished this mighty work. Lavana being slain, the celestials have been greatly delighted—what more the well-being of the whole universe and all creatures has been brought about. O Raghava, O foremost of men, being present in the assemblage of Vasava—I duly witnessed your combat. O Satrughna, I too have been greatly delighted—I therefore smell thy crown for this is the best expression of love." Saying this the high-minded Valmiki smelled his crown and made arrangements for his reception as well as that of his followers. After meals, Satrughna, the foremost of men, listened to themes relating to Rama and set in musical notes. Those themes were composed describing the early actions of Rama. They were composed in Sanskrit, set to the tune of a musical instrument, adorned with all the marks of vocal music and arranged in accompaniment with notes. Satrughna, the foremost of men, heard them from the beginning to the end,

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pregnant with truth and composed of those words. And on hearing it he was beside himself with joy and his eyes were full of tears. And remaining stunned for some time and regaining his sense afterwards he began to breathe hard out of excess of surprise. He heard, in that song, of past events as things passing on. And hearing it, his followers, with their heads down and sorrowfully said:—"Wonder," and saying this they began to converse with one another:—"Alas! Where are we? Is this a dream? We have been hearing at this hermitage what we had not seen before. What wonder, that in a dream we hear such an excellent song." Being in this wise greatly surprised they said to Satrughna:—"O foremost of men, do thou ask particularly, about this, Valmiki, the foremost of ascetics." They being all thus struck with curiosity, Satrughna said:—"It is not proper for us, O Ye soldiers, to question him in this way. There are many such wonders in the hermitage of this ascetic. It is not therefore becoming to ask him about this out of curiosity." Having thus addressed the soldiers and bowed unto the ascetic, Satrughna, the desendant of Raghu, entered his own quarter.

SECTION 85.

Thereupon going to bed, Satrughna began to meditate upon that excellent theme relating to Rama and treating of diverse subjects and did not enter into sleep. In sooth the high-minded Satrughna spent the night in no time listening to that charming song set in musical notes. The night being over, he first went through the morning rites and then with folded hands addressed the foremost of ascetics, Valmiki, saying:—"O illustrious Sir, I am anxious to see Rama, the enhancer of the delight of the Raghu race. And my desire is that thou mayst with other illustrious Rishis, grant me permission on this." Satrughna, the slayer of enemies, having said this, the great ascetic Valmiki embraced and bade him farewell. He was greatly anxious to behold Rama and saluting the foremost of Munis he speedily proceeded to Ayodhya. Thereupon having entered the highly picturesque city Ayodhya, the graceful descendant of Ikshwakus, Satrughna reached where the long-armed and the highly effulgent Rama was waiting. He espied there Rama in the midst of the councillors like Indra amongst the immortals burning in his own effulgence. And having bowed with folded hands unto Rama, having truth for his prowess, Satrughna said:—"O great king, I have carried out all thine behests; I have slain the vicious Lavana and filled his city with subjects. O descendant of Raghu, twelve years have passed away without thee—I do not wish to live any longer separated from thee. Do thou therefore, O Kakuthstha of unmitigated prowess, have compassion on me. Without thee, I cannot live for ever in a foreign province like a motherless child." He having said this, Rama embraced him and said:—"Be not sorry, O hero. This is not a becoming action for Kshatriyas. The kings, O Raghava, are never tired of living in a foreign land. According to the morality of the Kshatriyas, their greatest duty consists in governing the subjects. O heroic and foremost of men, do thou, at intervals, come to Ayodhya to see me and return to thy own city. Forsooth thou art dearer than my life. But it is an incumbent duty to govern the kingdom. Do thou therefore, O Kakutstha, live with me for seven nights, and afterwards return to thy city with thy servants, army and conveyances." Hearing those moral and charming words of Rama, Satrughna poorly replied, saying:—"Thy command shall be carried out." Thereupon Satrughna, well-skilled in the use of bows, remained with Rama for seven nights and then addressed himself for departure. Thereupon having invited Bharata and Lakshmana, the high-souled Rama, having truth for his prowess, speedily went for his city in a huge chariot. The high-souled Lakshmana and Bharata followed him on foot for some distance.

SECTION 86.

Having bade adieu unto Satrughna, Rama, the descendant of Raghu, was greatly delighted by governing his subjects piously in the company of Bharata and Lakshmana. Some days having passed in this wise—a villager, an old Brahman, arrived at the palace gate with a dead body. That Brahman, stricken with affection, again and again bewailed in various piteous accents, exclaiming "What heinous crime had I committed in my pristine birth that I have been constrained to witness the death of my son. My son, thou hast not as yet completed fourteen years. To my misery thou hast met with untimely death. Forsooth, for thy grief, O my son, myself and thy mother shall soon be snatched away by death. I do not remember to have ever uttered a falsehood, or injured an animal or perpetrated any other crime. Therefore for some other sinful action, this boy, without performing the son's duties towards his parents, has gone to the abode of death. Save under the regime of Rama, I have never seen or heard of the dreadful death of such a boy who hath not attained the age. Forsooth, Rama hath perpetrated a mighty iniquity for which boys, during his administration, have been meeting with untimely death. In other governments boys have no fear of such an untimely death. Therefore, O king confer life upon this dead child. Or else with my spouse I shall renounce my life at this gate like one having no lord. O Rama, soiled by the sin consequent upon the destruction of a Brahmana, do thou live long happily with brothers. O thou of great prowess, up to this time we have lived happily in thy kingdom. And now, O Rama, under thy subjection we are being troubled with the sorrow of our son's death. We have been brought under the influence of Kala; so in thy kingdom there is not the least happiness for us. Having attained Rama as its lord, the kingdom, of the high-souled Ikshwakus, hath attained to the condition of one having no master, where during Rama's regime the death of a boy hath been brought about. For being impiously governed by a king, for his sin, the subjects meet with calamities. And a king following evil tracks and not governing the subjects righteously people meet with untimely death. Therefore, when a king doth not suppress the crimes committed by people either in cities or provinces the fear, of untimely death, comes in. Evident it is therefore that undoubtedly the sin of the king hath appeared in cities and provinces. And for that reason this boy hath met with death." Being overwhelmed with sorrow that old Brahman again and again remonstrated with the king in these piteous words and afterwards covered the death body (of his son).

SECTION 87.

Hearing those sorrowful words of the Brahman, Rama was greatly sorry and sent for Vasishtha, Bamadeva, his brothers, citizens and councillors. Thereupon having entered the apartment in the company of Vasishtha, eight Brahmans blessed the king Rama, resembling a celestial, saying "May victory crown thee." Markandeya, Maudgalya, Bamadeva, Kashyapa, Katyayana, Javali, Gautama, and Narada—these eight leading Brahmanas having taken their seats, Rama, with folded hands, saluted them. And he showed due civilities towards his minister, citizens, Rishis and all others. Thereupon all the highly effulgent Rishis being accomodated with seats Rama narrated duly before them the account of the Brahmana and said. "This Brahman is waiting at the Palace-gate." Hearing those words of the poorly king, Narada, in the presence of all other Rishis, replied:—"Hear, king, why this boy hath met with untimely death. And hearing this, O descendant of Raghu, do thou settle what thou thinkest proper. O king, in the golden age, only the Brahmans used to engage in asceticism. At that age, save the Brahmanas no other caste used to lead the life of an anchoret. And for this, the Brahmans were the highest caste, effulgent in asceticism, shorn of ignorance, above death and conversant with three ages. Thereupon at the end of the golden age, Brahmana's understanding became loose and the Treta Yuga set in. At this age Kshatryas, gifted with the power acquired by pristine asceticism, were born. And those men, intent upon austere penances, that were born in the Treta age, were more powerful and greater devotees than those in the former age. In the golden age the Brahmanas were more powerful than the Kshatryas. But in the Treta age the Brahmanas and the Kshatryas were equally powerful. Thus in the Treta age, not beholding prominence of the Brahmanas greater than that of the Kshatryas, Manu and other religious leaders of the time composed the Sastra describing and setting in the four divisions of castes. In this wise the Treta age was prolific with virtues of the four Varnas, and many pious sacrifices and was shorn of iniquities. But being attacked a little with iniquity, one portion of sin appeared on earth. And growing impious people lost their strength. And for houses and farms that were the property of the former age, people of the Treta Yuga were possessed by envy, the outcome of the quality of darkness. And with the fading of impiety on earth during Treta, the soiled sin of untruth appeared. And this iniquity stretching one footstep, the lease of people's lives, for sins, became limited. And the sin of untruth descending on earth, people, to avoid the extinction of life in consequence thereof, became truthful and engaged in many pious observances. During the Treta age the Brahmanas and Kshatryas engaged in austere penances and the Vaisyas and Sudras engaged in serving them. And the greatest piety of the Vaisyas and Sudras at that time consisted of serving the Brahmanas and Kshatryas and specially for the Sudras the highest religion was to serve people of all Varnas. O foremost of kings, at the end of the Treta age, Vaisyas and Sudras being fully overpowered by the sin of untruth, the Brahmanas and the Kshatryas also grew feeble. And the second foot of impiety being ushered into the world the Dwapara age set in. O foremost of men, during this age two legs of piety being cut off, impiety and untruth multiplied. And in Yuga named Dwapara the Vaisyas engaged in devout penances. In this wise in three ages the three Varnas gradually engaged in ascetic performances. The piety of asceticism by Yugas gradually became established in three Varnas. But, O foremost of men, in these three Yugas the Sudras were not entitled to the virtues of devout penances. O foremost of men, the degraded caste—the Sudras, during thy regime, have engaged in austere penances. And in the Kali Yuga asceticism shall be established in the Sudras. O king, even in the Dwapara, devout penances for Sudras were considered as impiety, what to speak of the Treta age. O king, one Sudra, under the influence of vicious understanding has begun devout penances within thy kingdom. And for that reason this boy hath met with death. Calamity sets in that kingdom where a vicious-minded person commits an iniquity and that vicious wight and the king forsooth speedily repair to hell. The king, who piously governeth his subjects, receiveth the sixth portion of their study, asceticism and good actions. While the king is entitled to the sixth portion of everything why should he not fully protect his subjects? Therefore, O chief of men, do thou bring all informations of thy kingdom. And be then studious to repress vices wherever thou shalt find them. And by that, O foremost of men, the piety of the subjects shall be increased, the lease of their life shall be prolonged and this boy shall regain his life."

SECTION 88.

Hearing the sweet words of the celestial saint Narada Rama was greatly delighted and addressing Lakshmana said:—"O gentle one, do thou console that foremost of twice-born ones and place the dead body of the boy in a jar full of oil. Let this body be protected by sweet-scented oil so that it might not be soiled by any means. See that it is not disfigured, its joints are not loosened and the hairs do not fall off." The highly illustrious Rama, the descendant of Ikshwakus, thus commanded Lakshmana, gifted with auspicious marks, and thought of his car and desired it to come soon. Understanding his intention the golden car appeared before him in no time and saluting him said:—"O thou of long arms, thine chariot hath come." Hearing the sweet words of Pushpaka the king Rama saluted the great ascetics, ascended the car with his burning bow, quiver and dagger and left Bharata and Lakshmana in charge of the city. And searching that Sudra devotee here and there Raghava proceeded towards the west. And not beholding him there he went to the North bounded by the Himalayas. And even there he did not espy the Sudra ascetic and even the smallest iniquity was not seen there. Thereupon returning from that quarter the king journeyed the whole of east. And having sat on the Pushpaka car he saw that the eastern quarter was transparent like a looking glass and there was not the best touch of sin. From the east Raghava proceeded towards the south and espied a big tank by the side of the Saivala mountain. On the banks of that pond one ascetic was performing the most austere penances with his legs upwards and head downwards. Thereupon approaching him, Rama said—"O thou of good vows, blessed art thou; I do ask thee, now, O thou highly effulgent and grown old old in asceticism, in what Varna thou art born. I put this question out of curiosity. I am the son of king Dacaratha and my name is Rama. For what art thou going through such hard austerities? Is it heaven or anything else that thou prayest for? O ascetic, I wish to hear of the purpose for which thou art performing such hard penances. Art thou a Brahman, or an irrepresible Kshatriya or the third caste Vaisya or a Sudra? Do thou speak the truth and thou shaft be crowned with auspiciousness." Hearing the words of Rama, the ascetic, whose face was downwards, gave out his degraded birth and communicated unto him for what he was performing ascetic observances.

SECTION 89.

Hearing the words of Rama of unwearied actions, the ascetic, with his face downwards, said:—"O highly illustrious Rama, I am born in the race of Sudras; and with a view to reach the region of the celestials with my body I am going through these austere penances. O Kakuthstha, I shall never utter a falsehood since I am willing to conquer the the region of gods. I am a Sudra and my name is Sambuka." The Sudra ascetic having said this, Rama took out of scabbard a beautiful sharp sword and chopped off his head therewith. And that Sudra being slain, Indra, Agni and other celestials praised him again and again and showered flowers. And being greatly delighted, the celestials said to Rama, having truth for his prowess:—"O thou of a great mind, thou hast nicely performed this god-like work. O slayer of foes, do thou now crave a boon. O descendant of Raghu, being slain by thee this Sudra hath been able to attain to the abode of the celestials." Hearing the words of the deities, Rama, having truth for his prowess, said with folded hands to Purandara, of a thousand eyes:—"If the celestials are pleased, I beg for this boon that the son of the twice-born one may be restored to life. Do ye confer upon me this boon; this is my wished-for object. It is for my iniquitous conduct that this only son of the Brahman hath met with untimely death. Do ye restore him to life. I have promised before that leading twice-born one that I would restore his son to life—do ye therefore, make not me a liar." Hearing the words of Rama the leading celestials delightedly said:—"Do thou return, O Kakutstha. The Brahmin boy shall immediately gain back his life and be united with his father, mother and friends. O Raghava, with the death of the Sudra the boy has regained his life. Be thou at ease; may good betide thee. O foremost of men, we, too, return with delighted hearts. O Raghava, we desire to behold the hermitage of the great saint Agastya. Having been initiated, that highly effulgent Brahman saint hath lived within waters for twelve years; his vow hath now terminated.

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O Kakuthstha, we shall now go to welcome that Muni. Do thou also follow us to see that saint." Saying "So be it!" to the words of the celestials that descendant of Raghu ascended his golden car Pushpaka. And having ascended spacious cars the celestials proceeded to the hermitage of Agastya born of a Kumbha. Rama too also followed them. Thereupon beholding the celestials present the virtuous-souled Agastya, the jewel of asceticism, welcomed them particularly. Having accepted his worship and adored in return that great Muni, the immortals, delighted, proceeded to their abodes with their followers. The celestials having departed Rama descended from Pushpaka and saluted that effulgent and foremost of Rishis Agastya. And having received due hospitality he sat there. Thereupon the highly effulgent and leading ascetic Kumbhajoni said:—"O Raghava, I have been greatly delighted with thy coming. By my good fortune I have seen thee to-day. O Rama, I love thee because thou art gifted with many qualities. O king, thou art my worshipful guest. I was thinking of thee. The celestials informed me that thou wert coming having slain the Sudra ascetic. Thou hast observed piety and hast given back life unto the dead child of the Brahman. Do thou spend this night with me, O Raghava. Thou art the graceful Narayana. In thee the whole universe is established. Thou art the lord of all creatures and the eternal Purusha. Thou shalt go to thy city next morning in thy Pushpaka car. This ornament, O gentle one, hath been made by the architect of the celestials; its make is very beautiful and it is dazzling by its own lustre. By accepting this, O Kakutstha, do thou satisfy my desire. It is said that one attains to best fruits if he makes present unto his deity, of best articles he gets from another. Thou art the only worthy person to use this ornament. Thou art alone capable of conferring best fruits. Thou dost protect Indra and other celestials. Therefore I do duly present thee with this ornament. O king, do thou accept it." Thereupon meditating upon the duties of the Kshatryas, the heroic Rama, the foremost of the intelligent, said:—"O illustrious Sir, the Brahmanas only can accept presents—how can the Kshatryas do? To take gifts is the function of the Brahmanas—for Kshatryas it is a source of censure. Besides, to receive presents from a Brahmana, is highly culpable. Do thou therefore tell me, how I may accept this ornament." Hearing the words of Rama, the great saint Agastya replied saying:—"O Rama, O son of Dacaratha, at the beginning of the golden age, people had no king; but Vasava was the ruler of the celestials. Therefore to obtain a king, men approached Brahma, the god of gods and said 'O deity thou hast placed Indra as ruler over the celestials; therefore, O lord of creatures, do thou also confer upon us a king who shall be foremost among men; by worshipping him we shall be freed from all sins. We shall not live without the king—even this is our firm resolution.' Thereupon the Patriarch Brahma sent for Indra and other deities and said:—'Do ye all give a portion of your respective energies.' Thereupon the deities gave each a portion of their own energies. Thereupon Brahma made a Khshupa or sound and therefrom originated a king under the name of Khshupa. And in his person Brahma placed in equal proportions the energies of the deities. Thereafter he made Khshupa the foremost king of men. By virtue of the portion of Indra's energy the king Khshupa brought the earth under his control; by that of Varuna's energy he fostered his own body; by Kuvera's portion he conferred riches upon his subjects; and by that of Yama he governed them. Therefore, O Rama, by virtue of Indra's portion, do thou accept this ornament and confer upon me the salvation." Hearing the words of the Muni, Rama took from him that brilliant celestial ornament burning like the rays of the Sun. And having taken that excellent ornament, Dacarathi asked the great saint Kumbhayoni, saying:—"Whence hast thou obtained this celestial ornament of a wondrous make? Who hast given thee this? Brahman, I do accost thee thus out of curiosity. Thou art the mine of many wonders." Whereto Agastya replied, saying "Hearken, O Rama, how I did obtain this ornament in the Treta age."

SECTION 90.

"O Rama, in Treta age, there was a huge forest extending over a hundred Yojanas divested of animals and men. In that forest I used to perform my austere penances. Once on a time I began to roam all over the forest being willing to see well every nook and corner of it. And I saw that it was impossible to ascertain how very pleasant that forest was. In every place there were trees with profuse sweet fruits and roots. In the middle I espied a pond extending over a Yojana. There was no moss in that deep, calm, clear and sweet water; there were lotuses and lilies and swans, Karandavas, Chakravakas and many other water fowls were playing in the waters. O lord of creatures, at no distance from that pond I saw an old, holy hermitage but there was no creature or animal around it. It was summer and I spent that night in that hermitage. Next morning leaving my bed I arrived at the banks of the pond and saw a plump dead body in the waters. None of its limbs was pale and its beauty was not spoiled. Beholding it and standing on the banks I began to meditate upon it. And thought I 'What is this?' In a moment I espied a beautiful car, swift-coursing like the mind and drawn by ganders. And I saw in that chariot a celestial person. He was being attended by Apasaras adorned with celestial ornaments and having lotus-eyes. Some of them were singing, some dancing and some playing on Mridanga, Vina and other musical instruments and some were fanning his lotus-like countenance with valuable, golden chowries, dazzling like the rays of the moon. O Rama, the foremost of Raghu's race, like unto the moon renouncing the summit of the Sumeru mount that celestial wight got down from his seat in the car and engaged in devouring the dead body. And having taken enough flesh he got down into waters and duly performed ablution. And thereafter that heavenly being again addressed himself for ascending the car. O foremost of men, beholding that heavenly being about to get up I accosted him, saying 'Who art thou? I see, thou hast a celestial form, then why hast thou taken such an abominable food? O thou adored of the immortals, persons like thee should not take such meals. O gentle one, I have been striken with great curiosity and wish to hear all. Thine living upon dead body doth not appear agreeable unto me.' O king, plainly and out of curiosity I put to him these questions. And hearing them, the celestial being related everything unto me."

SECTION 91.

"O Rama, hearing my words pregnant with sound reasoning, that heavenly being, with folded hands, said 'Hear, O Brahman, from what unavoidable cause hath proceeded this happy and again painful incident. There flourished in the days of yore a highly illustrious and powerful Vidarbha king under the name of Sudeva known over three worlds. He was my father. His two queens gave birth to two sons. My name is Sweta and the name of my youngest brother was Suratha. After the decease of my sire the subjects installed me on the throne and I governed them piously and carefully for a thousand years. By some reason I was informed of the extent of my life. And when I perceived that the lease of my life had well-nigh expired I entered into the life of Banaprasta. And having placed my brother Suratha on the throne I entered into a dense forest devoid of men and animals at no distance from this pond to perform devout penances. And I performed austerities for a long time near this pond. Having performed hard penances in this forest, for three thousand years I at last attained to the region of Brahma. And albeit I had reached the Brahma region I was still being assailed by hunger and thirst. And gradually I grew tired therewith. Thereupon approaching the patriarch Brahma, the lord of three worlds, I said:—"O Brahma, here there is no hunger or thirst; still why have I been brought to their control? Of what iniquity of mine is this fruit? O deity, tell me upon what I shall live?" Whereto the patriarch replied;—"O son of Sudeva, do thou live upon sweet savoured meat everyday? O Sweta, thou didst only look to the growth of thy person when thou didst perform rigid penances. O thou of a great mind, nothing grows, when nothing is sown. Thou didst only perform ascetic penances, but thou didst not make any gift of charity. It is for that reason, O my son, that thou art, even in heaven, being assailed by hunger and thirst. Thereupon do thou now live upon thine own dead body fostered by various food. By this thou shalt keep up thy being. O Sweta, thou shalt be relieved from this affliction when the irrepressible, great Saint Agastya shall reach that forest. O gentle one, even unto the immortals he can give salvation; what wonder it is that he shall relieve thee from the miseries of hunger and thirst." O foremost of twice-born ones, from the time of hearing those words of the great Brahma, the god of gods, I have been engaged in this cursed work of feeding upon my own dead body. O Brahman, for many long years I have been living upon this corpse still I have not done with it. O Saint, I, too, derive satisfaction from it; I now understand that thou art the illustrious Agastya born of a Kumbha; for none else is capable of coming here; do thou therefore save me from this pain, who am afflicted with great miseries. O foremost of twice-born ones, O gentle one, do thou take this ornament; may good betide thee. Do thou be propitiated with me. O Brahman, I do confer upon thee, gold, riches various clothes, eatables, excellent ornaments and diverse other objects of desire and enjoyment. O foremost of Munis, do thou with compassion save me.' Hearing those words of the heavenly being, exciting pity, I accepted this ornament for saving him. And as soon as I took this ornament that human body of the royal saint disappeared. And the body being dissolved, the royal saint Sweta, greatly delighted, happily went to the land of immortals. It is for this reason, O Kakutstha, that royal saint, resembling Indra, conferred upon me this wondrous, celestial ornament."

SECTION 92.

Hearing the wondrous words of the great saint Kumbhayoni, Rama, out of great curiosity and importance of the subject, again asked him, saying:—"O Brahman, why was that dense forest, in which the king Sweta used to perform hard penances, divested of birds and animals? And how did he proceed to that forest devoid of men and animals for undergoing penances? I wish to hear the truth." Hearing the words of Rama stricken with curiosity, the highly effulgent saint Agastya said:—"O Rama, formerly in the golden age, Manu was the king. His son was Ikshwaku. Having installed the irrepressible Ikshwaku, Manu said: 'Be thou the lord over creatures.' Saying 'So be it' Ikshwaku accepted the command. Thereupon greatly delighted Manu said to his son:—'I have been highly pleased with thee. For sooth thou shalt become a very liberal prince. Thou shalt govern the subjects meting out proper punishment unto them, but do not punish them without any fault. If the punishment, which a king inflicts upon the guilty, be just it becomes the instrumental in taking the giver to heaven. Therefore, O my son having large arms, be particularly studious as regards punishment for thereby thou shalt acquire great piety.' Having in this wise advised Ikshwaku Manu delightedly repaired to the region of Brahma. After Manu's departure, the effulgent Ikshwaku thought of the means for creating progeny. Thereupon performing many pious rites Manu's son engendered a hundred sons. O descendant of Raghu, the youngest of all those sons became stupid and ignorant and did not respect his elder brothers. And thinking that he should therefore be punished he named this son 'Danda.' Thereupon finding no other province worthy of Danda he allotted the region between Vindhya and Saivala to him. Danda became king of that picturesque valley. And having reared a fine city there he named it as Madhumanta and appointed Sukracharja of firm vows as his priest. Having thus established his kingdom, Danda, with his priest, began to lord over it filled with healthy and delighted people like unto the lord of celestials in their region. O Rama, like unto Mahendra governing his kingdom of heaven under the guidance of Vrihaspati, the preceptor of celestials, Danda, the grand-son of Manu, governed his own kingdom with the help of Usanas."

SECTION 93.

Having related this story unto Rama the great saint Agastya again said:—"O Kakutstha, having subdued his passions, the king Danda, reigned undisturbed in this wise for many long years. Thereupon during spring, in the month of Chaitra the king arrived at the picturesque hermitage of the preceptor Sukra. At that time, Sukra's daughter, matchless in beauty and grace, was walking in the forest. The king saw that jewel of a girl, and being stricken with lust and growing restless he approached her and said:—'O thou having a beautiful waist, O fair lady, whose daughter art thou? O thou having a moonlike countenance, I have been assailed by the arrows of Cupid and hence I do accost thee thus.' Hearing the words of the vicious-souled Danda, maddened with lust, Sukra's daughter humbly said:—'O king of kings I am the daughter of the preceptor Sukra of unwearied actions and my name is Arajas. I am living in this hermitage—king, do not touch me forcibly for I am a maid and hence under the guardianship of my father. Besides my father is my preceptor, and thou art also his disciple. Being enraged he shall imprecate thee with a curse. O foremost of men, if thou dost cherish any desire for me, do thou honestly and piously pray for it unto my sire. Or else thou shalt suffer dreadful consequences in the long run. When worked up with ire, my father can reduce even the three worlds to ashes. O thou of a blameless person, if thou dost pray, my father may make me over unto thy hands.' Arajas having said this, the king Danda, maddened with lust, placing folded palms on his head, said:—'Be thou propitiated with me, O thou having a graceful person; do not tarry even for a moment. My heart bursts out for thee, O thou having a moon-like countenance. For acquiring thee I can even take upon myself my own destruction or dreadful iniquity. Do thou seek me, O fair lady—I am beside myself for thee.' Having said this the king forcibly ravished her. Having perpetrated such a mighty iniquity he speedily returned to his own city Madhumanta. Arajas cried aloud in forest at no distance from the hermitage and waited for her sire who had been away on visiting the celestials."

SECTION 94.

"Thereupon having heard everything about Arajas from a disciple, he, surrounded by his pupils, arrived at his own hermitage and beheld her there poorly, soiled with dust and like unto the morning rays of the moon possessed by a planet. He was stricken with hunger and was greatly incensed on beholding his daughter in that wretched plight, as if burning the three worlds with rage. Addressing his pupils he said:—'Do ye witness today the dreadful calamity, arising out of my flaming ire, of the vicious Danda treading the path of immorality. This vicious wight hath placed his hands in the burning flame so he shall, along with followers, meet with destruction. Since that vile being hath perpetrated such a dreadful crime he shall forsooth suffer the consequence thereof. Within seven nights, the wicked and vicious Danda, with his son, soldiers and retinue, shall meet with death. Showering dust Indra shall destroy, to the extent of a hundred Yojana, the territory of this vicious king. And all creatures mobile and immobile, wherever they might be, shall be destroyed with this downpour of dust. All animals as far as this Dandas'

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territory extends, shall be destroyed within seven nights.' Having said this, with eyes reddened with ire, Usanas, Vrigu's son, said to the inmates of his hermitage:—'Do ye all go and wait outside this kingdom.' Hearing the words of the preceptor Sukra, the inmates left the hermitage and lived at a place beyond the limit of Danda's territories. Having thus addressed the inmates of the hermitage the great saint, said to Arajas. 'O unfortunate girl, with a devoted mind do thou wait at this hermitage. Without any anxiety, O Arajas, do thou wait for the time at the picturesque banks of this pond extending over a Yojana. Within seven nights whoever shall approach thee, shall be destroyed with this downpour of dust.' Hearing the words of the Brahmana saint and preceptor Sukra, Arajas sorrowfully said to her father 'It shall be done.' Thereupon Sukracharjya went away and lived elsewhere. According to the words of the saint, the entire kingdom of Danda, with servants, army, and conveyances, was destroyed within seven nights. Rama, in the golden age, the province between the mountains Vindhya and Saivala comprising Danda's territories, imprecated by the Brahman saint, in consequence of the iniquity of the vicious souled, was reduced into a desert. From that time it passes by the name of Dandaka forest. And it is otherwise called Janasthana because the ascetics used to perform austerities there. O Raghava, I have thus related unto thee, all thou didst ask of me. O hero, the time for performing evening rites hath come. Behold foremost of men, having performed ablution, the great saints, on all sides, with jars full of water, are worshipping the sun. Having accepted adoration in the shape of Vedic hymns chanted by Brahmans, well-versed in Vedas, the illustrious Aditya is about to be set. Therefore, O Rama, do thou perform the ceremony."

SECTION 95.

Hearing the words of the great saint, Rama, to perform the evening adoration, went to the pond filled with Apsaras; and having performed the worship he again returned to the hermitage of the high-souled Agastya. Thereupon the great ascetic offered him as food many substantial Kanda, roots, Oshadis and the holy Sali rice. And taking that nectar-like cooked rice, Rama, the foremost of men, was greatly delighted and spent the night there. Having got up in the morning and performed the necessary ceremonies he approached the ascetic to bid farewell, and saluting him said:—"O great Rishi, I do crave for thy permission to go to my own habitation. Do thou permit me. O high-souled one, I have been highly favoured and blessed by beholding thee. I shall come again some other time to free myself from sins." Hearing those wondrous words of Rama, Agastya having asceticism for his wealth, delightedly said:—"O Rama these words, set in charming letters, are highly wonderful. O descendant of Raghu, thou art the purifier of all creatures. O Rama, one, who beholds thee, even for a moment, becomes pure and worthy of repairing to heaven. Even the leading deities worship him. Those on earth, who cast dreadful looks on thee, are immediately brought under the control of Yama and are constrained to go to hell. O foremost of Raghus, thou art the purifier of all creatures; people become perfect even if they only chant thy glories. Kakutstha, do thou now go with ease and fearlessly, and govern thy kingdom righteously. O Rama thou art the refuge of the world." Hearing the words of the great and truthful Rishi the wise Rama, with folded hands, saluted him and other Rishis, and with serene air ascended the golden car Pushpaka. Like unto the immortals welcoming the Chief of the deities, the Rishis showered blessings, upon Rama from all sides while he was proceeding. And seated on car, he appeared like the moon, after the expiry of the rainy season. Thereupon being welcomed by the villagers on his way he reached Ayodhya at noon and descended at the middle apartment. And having permitted the charming chariot coursing at will to go away he said:—"Do thou now go; may good betide thee." Thereupon he said to the warder, "Do thou speedily go and having communicated my arrival unto Lakshmana and Bharata bring them here."

SECTION 96.

According to the command of Rama of unwearied actions, the warders went to the princes and communicated unto them (the arrival). Beholding Bharata and Lakshmana present, Rama embraced them and said:—"I have, as promised, performed the work of the excellent twice-born one. I wish now to perform a Rajshuya sacrifice, the source of religious glory, the destroyer of all sins, inexhaustible and un-ending. Therefore, with you like my own self, I wish to engage in the most excellent and eternal Rajshuya sacrifice. O slayer of foes, by celebrating Rajshuya, Mitra attained to the dignity of Varuna. And having celebrated the same sacrifice, Soma, conversant with piety, established eternal fame in the three worlds. Do ye therefore consult with me even today as to what is proper. Do ye consider carefully and tell me what is auspicious and productive of well-being in the long run." Hearing the words of Raghava, Bharata, well-skilled in the art of speech, with folded hands, said "O pious Sir in thee are established piety, earth and fame. O thou of unmitigated prowess, as the deities honour the patriarch so other kings hold thee in reverence. O king, all creatures mobile and immobile consider thee as their father. O thou of great strength, thou art the refuge of all animals and of the universe. Therefore of what use is such a sacrifice unto thee? In such a sacrifice all the royal families meet with ruin. All those kings, who are proud of manliness, being incensed with great ire on the occasion of this sacrifice, shall bring ruin upon all. O foremost of men, the whole earth has been brought under thy subjection so it is not proper to devastate it." Hearing those sweet accents of Bharata, Rama, having truth for his prowess, attained to incomparable delight, and addressed the enhancer of Kaikeyi's delight with kind words, saying:—"O thou freed from sins, I have been greatly delighted with thee. O foremost of men, for the preservation of earth, thou hast given vent to words, without any hesitation, pregnant with manliness and piety. O thou conversant with piety, according to thy wise counsels, I refrain from celebrating this Rajshuya sacrifice. The wise should never undertake all those works which give affliction unto people. O elder brother of Lakshmana, it is proper to take wise counsels even from a boy."

SECTION 97.

After the conversation between Rama and Bharata had been over, Lakshmana, with reasonable words, said to the former:—"O worshipful Sir, amongst sacrifices Aswamedha is the best and the remover of all sins; it is my prayer therefore that thy desire might be turned towards this great and highly purifying sacrifice. It is said in this Puranas, that Purandara, sullied by the sin consequent upon slaying a Brahmana, was again purified by celebrating a horse sacrifice. O thou having long arms, formerly, during the war between gods and demons there flourished a highly honoured Asura under the name of Vitra. The breadth of his body was a hundred Yojanas and the height thereof was three hundred Yojanas. Considering all under his subjection he used to regard them with affection. He was pious, grateful and used to perform nothing without proper deliberation. And treading pious tracks he used to govern his subjects very carefully. During his administration earth produced all wished-for objects; roots and fruits were tasteful and flowers were fragrant. Without being cultivated earth used to yield crops. In this wise for many long years he governed a prosperous and wonderful kingdom. Thereupon he determined upon performing a hard penance. He considered asceticism as the best of all and regarded all other things as mere illusions. Having resolved thus and placed his son Madhureswara on the throne Vitra engaged in austerities creating terror unto all deities. He being thus engaged in asceticism, Indra, greatly terrified, approached Vishnu and said:—'O thou having long arms, by virtue of his asceticism Vitra is about to conquer all the worlds. He is pious, so I cannot subdue him. O illustrious Sir, if his ascetic powers grow more we shall be constrained to live under his control for ever from the creation. Do thou therefore not neglect any longer this highly generous Asura. Thyself being enraged, O lord of deities, Vitra shall not live even for a moment. O Vishnu, from the time he succeeded in propitiating thee, he hath obtained the sovereignty of the three worlds. Do thou, therefore, be propitiated now; save thee none can free this world from thorns and bring it at rest. O Vishnu, all the deities are waiting for thee; do thou help them by slaying Vitra. O thou having a large mind, thou art always the help of these high-souled deities. It is impossible for any one else to accomplish the present work. Thou art the refuge of the helpless.'"

SECTION 98.

Hearing the words of Lakshmana, Rama, the slayer of enemies, said:—"O thou of firm vows, do thou at length, describe the destruction of Vitra." Hearing the words of Raghava, Lakshmana, the enhancer of Sumitra's delight, again took up that theme. "Hearing the words of Indra and other deities Vishnu replied:—'From before I am bound with the high-souled Vitra by the ties of friendship. For this, even for your satisfaction, I shall not (myself) slay him. Again I am to afford excellent felicity unto you. I shall myself divide you into three classes and then forsooth your king shall be able to destroy Vitra. Of those three portions the first shall be able to slay him.' Vishnu, the god of gods, having said this, the deities replied, saying:—'O slayer of demons, undoubtedly what thou hast said, shall prove true; may victory crown thee; we proceed now to slay Vitra. O highly generous deity, do thou now make Vasava powerly by infusing thy own energy.' Thereupon the highly powerful immortals headed by Indra entered the forest where the great Asura Vitra was performing austerities. Arriving there they observed that the leading Asura was spreading rays all over—the outcome of his own effulgence, as if devouring the three worlds and burning down the quarters. Beholding that foremost of Asuras, the deities were greatly terrified and began to think of plans by which they would be able to slay him and not be defeated. While they were thus thinking, Indra, of thousand eyes, taking up a thunderbolt, hurled it against Vitra's head. That dreadful burning thunderbolt, like unto the fire of dissolution, falling on Vitra's head, the three Worlds were agitated. Thereupon thinking that he has perpetrated an iniquity by slaying Vitra engaged in asceticism, Indra, out of fear, fled to the other side of Lokaloka, perpetually enshrowded with darkness. And the sin, consequent upon the destruction of a Brahman, pursuing him vehemently, entered into his person. In this wise Indra became subject to dreadful afflictions. Beholding the enemy slain and Indra fled, the deities headed by fire again and again chanted the glories of Vishnu—the lord of three worlds, saying 'O great god, thou art the refuge of the three worlds. Thou art the first-born and the father of the universe. For protecting all creatures thou hast assumed this Vishnu form. Thou hast slain this Vitra but the sin of slaying a Brahman has visited Indra. Therefore, O excellent Purusha, do thou so arrange that he may be freed from sins.' Hearing the words of the celestials Vishnu said—'Let your Chief celebrate a sacrifice in my honour—and by that he shall be cleansed of the sin. If the slayer of Paka celebrates a horse sacrifice, he shall again fearlessly be installed as the chief of deities.' Having addressed these nectar-like words to the deities and being glorified by them, Vishnu, the god of gods, returned to his abode."

SECTION 99.

Having thus described at length and finished the story of Vitra's destruction Lakshmana said:—"The mighty Vitra, the terror of the deities, being slain, and the slayer Indra, being assailed by the sin of Brahmanicide, was bewildered and at a loss to ascertain his duty. Being at his wit's end he repaired to the other side of the Lokaloka mountain and remained there for some time like a coiled serpent. And again in consequence of Indra's separation, the whole world was agitated, the forests grew dried and the earth was devoid of water. On account of the rivers being dried up and want of rain all creatures grew impatient. In this wise, the time of the destruction of creatures having arrived, the celestials being stricken with anxiety, according to the previous command of Vishnu, engaged in celebrating the sacrifice With Rishis and Ritwikas they fearfully approached Purandara; and beholding him assailed by the sin of Brahmanicide, they with him, at their head, engaged in celebrating a horse-sacrifice. After the sacrifice the sin issued out of Indra's person and addressing the high-souled deities said 'Do ye all ascertain, where I shall go now.' Thereupon highly pleased the deities replied:—'Do thou divide thyself into four portions.' Hearing the words of the high-souled celestials she divided herself into four parts, and wishing for a separate habitation said:—'By one portion, I shall at my pleasure, live in rivers full of water during rains and shall obstruct people from going there. By my second portion I shall live perpetually on lands as Ushara [A spot with saline soil.]; I tell you the truth. By my third portion I shall for three nights every month live in youthful women proud of their youth—so that men might not live with them. And by my fourth portion I shall enter into the persons of those who shall slay innocent Brahmanas.' Hearing those words the deities said 'What thou hast said shall be carried out. Do what thou wishest.' Thereupon the celestials, delighted, adored their Chief divested of sins and crowned with victory. And Vasava being installed again on the throne, the whole universe was at rest. Thereupon Indra worshipped Vishnu in the shape of that wonderful sacrifice. O descendant of Raghu, such is the power of a horse-sacrifice." Hearing the charming words of Lakshmana, the energetic and high-souled king, Rama, powerful like Indra, was greatly delighted.

SECTION 100.

Hearing the words of Lakshmana and smiling, the highly effulgent descendant of Raghu, Rama, skilled in the art of speech, replied:—"Lakshmana, O foremost of men, thou hast truly related the story of Vitra's destruction and the fruits of horse-sacrifice. O gentle one, I have heard, that formerly in the province of Valheeka, the graceful king Ila, the son of the patriarch Kardama, was highly pious. O foremost of men, having brought the entire earth under his control, the highly illustrious king Ila used to govern his subjects like unto his own sons. O descendant of Raghu, being terrified, the generous deities, the rich Daityas, the highly powerful Nagas, the irrepressible Rakshasas, Gandharvas and Yakshas used to adore him perpetually. The high-souled Ila being enraged, the three worlds used to be convulsed with terror. And albeit so very powerful the highly illustrious king of Valheeka never swerved from the path of morality nor neglected his deities and rather intelligently used to administer all business. Once on a time in the picturesque season of spring the mighty-armed Ila, with his army and conveyances, entered into a charming forest, and on the pretext of hunting, slew hundreds and thousands of deer. With slaying deer only the high-souled king was not satisfied. He slew millions of diverse other animals. In this way being engaged in hunting the king Ila arrived where Kartikeya was born. At that time, in that hilly fountain there was sporting in the company of his followers, the irrepressible god of gods, the three-eyed deity with the daughter of the Chief of mountains. Being desirous of satisfying the goddess Uma, her lord, whose emblem is bull,

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was sporting under the guise of a female. In that forest land, all male animals or trees were metamorphosed into the other sex at that time. A-hunting, the king Ila, the son of Kardama, arrived at that place and saw all animals and trees changed into female forms. And immediately the king, and his army were changed into similar forms. Finding himself in that plight the king Ila was greatly sorry, and thinking that the misfortune was owing to the influence of the god of gods—Uma's lord, he was greatly terrified. Thereupon with his followers and army the king took shelter of the high-souled and red-throated deity. Thereupon the great god, the conferrer of boons, with the goddess, smiling said:—'Rise up, O son of Kardama, O thou of great strength, O gentle one, do thou beg of me any other boon than that of obtaining thy manhood.' Being thus disappointed by the great deity, the king Ila, metamorposed into a female, became greatly sorry and did not pray for any other boon. Being stricken with great sorrow, the king, with whole heart, saluted the daughter of the mountain-chief and said:—'O goddess, thou art the protectress of all—thou dost confer boons on all; seeing thee doth not become fruitless. Do thou therefore have compassion on me.' Thereupon, cognisant of that king's intention, the goddess, with Hara's consent, said:—'Half of the boon, that thou shalt beg of us both, shall be granted by Mahadeva, and the other half shall be granted by me. Do thou therefore beg of me the half.' Hearing of that excellent and wondrous boon the king became greatly delighted and said:—'If thou art pleased with me, O goddess, do thou confer upon me this boon, that I may be for one month, a female gifted with wonderful beauty in the three worlds and for another month I may be a male.' Thereupon understanding king's desire, the beautiful goddess Parvati, mercifully said:—'The boon, according to thy desire, shall be granted. O king, when thou shalt attain to the male figure, thou shalt not remember anything of thy female form. And when thou shalt assume the charming female figure thou shalt forget everything of thy male state.' O Lakshmana, by virtue of this boon, the king Ila for one month used to become a man and for the next used to become a female, charming in the three worlds under the name of Ila."

SECTION 101.

Having heard of the story of the king Ila from Rama, Lakshmana and Bharata were greatly surprised. And with folded hands they, requesting the noble king Rama for further particulars, said:—"How could the king Ila subject himself to those afflictions in the shape of a female? And how did he use to behave himself in his male form?" Hearing those words begotten of curiosity, Rama engaged in relating the whole story as he had heard before, saying:—"In the first month, assuming his female form having lotus-eyes and charming the three world, he used to sport in the forest abounding in groves, in the company of his companions metamorphosed into the same form. Having sent away all his conveyances he used to sport in the mountain vale. Thus roaming, Ila one day espied Budha, a bundle of rays, resembling the full moon in a picturesque pond filled with birds at some distance from the mountain. Having compassion for all creatures Budha, at that time, was performing, hard, glorious and wished-for austerities within waters. O son of Raghu, on beholding him Ila was greatly surprised, and with her female companions began to agitate waters. As soon as Budha saw her he was assailed by the arrows of Cupid. Not being able to control himself he grew impatient within waters and thought “This damsel is far more beautiful even than the celestial girls. I have never seen before a like beauty amongst the celestials, Nagas, Asuras and Apsaras. If she has not been married before then she is my worthy spouse." With this resolution Budha got up from the waters, and repairing to his hermitage, sent for the fair ones. They all saluted him. Thereupon the virtuous-souled Budha accosted them saying:—"Whose daughter is this graceful girl amongst you and for what she has come here? Do not delay—tell me soon." Hearing those sweet words of his, the females said:—"This fair damsel is our supreme lady. She has no husband. Journeying she has come here with us." Hearing those plain words, Budha thought of the learning by which one can perceive everything. And being informed of all regarding the king Ila thereby he said—"Do ye all live in this mountain being Kimpurusas; do ye make your respective habitations here. I shall give you always fruits and roots. O ye females, you shall have all Kimpurusas as your husbands." According to the words of Budha they lived in that mountain as Kimpurusas. In this wise many Kimpurusa-Budhas were procreated.

SECTION 102.

Having heard of the origin of Kimpurushas, both Bharata and Lakshmana said to Rama:—"This is a wonderful story." Thereupon the highly illustrious Rama, the foremost of the pious, again began with the story of Ila, the son of the patriarch. "Beholding the Kinnaris repairing to a distance, Budha the foremost of ascetics, smiling said, to the beautiful Ila:—"O thou of a graceful presence, I am the most favourite son of the moon; O fair one, do thou, with delight, cast looks upon me," Hearing the words of the highly effulgent and beautiful Budha in the picturesque forest land divested of men and animals, Ila said:—"O gentle one, I am not subject to any body; I surrender myself unto thee out of my own accord. O son of Soma, thou mayst command me whatever thou wishest." Hearing those wondrous words, the son of moon, possessed by lust, began to live with her. And living in the company of Ila, having a graceful countenance, Budha, possessed by desire, spent the entire month of Madhu like a moment. Thereupon after the expiry of a month, the graceful king Ila, son of the pariarch, awoke from sleep and beholding Budha, the son of Soma, engaged in austerities with uplifted hands in the midst of waters, said:—"O illustrious Sir, with my followers I entered this dense forest—I do not see them now anywhere. Where have they gone?" Hearing the words of the royal saint, who had lost all recollection, Budha, with sweet words consoled him and said:—"All thy followers have been destroyed by a downpour of huge rocks; thyself, being afraid of the storm, was also asleep in the hermitage. Thou hast no fear now. Therefore, O hero, being consoled and renouncing all anxiety do thou live here happily living upon fruits and roots." Being comforted by those words, the high-minded king Ila, striken with distress in consequence of the destruction of his servants, poorly replied:—"O Brahman, I shall renounce my own kingdom. Separated from my servants, I shall not be able to live, even for a moment. Do thou give me permission in this. O Brahman, my eldest son, the highly illustrious Sasabindu, the foremost of the pious, shall be the owner of my kingdom. O Brahman, renouncing my servants and wives of the country I shall not be able to wait here. Therefore, O highly effulgent one, do thou not give me such an unpleasant command of remaining here." Hearing those wonderful words of the king Ila, Budha consoling him, said:—"Do thou wait here. Be not aggrieved, O highly powerful son of Kardama. If thou dost live here for a year, I shall render thy well-being." Hearing the words of Budha, of unwearied actions, the king Ila desired to live there. Thereupon becoming a man for the next month he began to perform ascetic penances. Thereupon in the ninth month, Ila, having a beautiful waist, gave birth to a highly effulgent son, under the name of Pururava, born of the loins of Budha, and equally graceful like him. And she handed over the highly powerful son unto his father Budha. Thereupon after a year Ila having regained the male form, Budha by means of various words afforded delight unto him.

SECTION 103.

Rama having thus described the wonderful birth of Pururava, the illustrious Bharata and Lakshmana asked him again saying:—"O foremost of men, tell us what did Ila afterwards do after living in the company of Soma's son for a year." Hearing their sweet words Rama again began with the story of Kardama's son and said:—"In turn, the heroic Ila, having regained his manhood, the highly illustrious and intelligent Budha, well-informed of birth and well-skilled in the art of speech, sent for the highly liberal Sangbarta, Vrigu's son Chyavana, Aristhanemi, the foremost of Munis, Durvasa, capable of affording delight, and other friends gifted with patience and said:—'Ye all know well, how this mighty-armed Ila, Kardama's son, attained to this peculiar condition.' Thereupon while those high-souled ones were conversing upon this subject, the highly effulgent Kardama arrived at the hermitage. Pulastya, Kratu, Vashatkar and the highly effulgent Omkara came there following him. Being greatly delighted for their arrival they all gave out their individual opinion for bringing about the well-being of the king of Valhakee. For the welfare of his son, the patriarch Kardama said:—'Hear, O twice-born ones, how the well-being of the king Ila may be secured. For this disease I do not find any other good medicine but Uma's lord. And save Aswamedha there is no other sacrifice more favourite unto the high-souled deity. Let us all therefore celebrate that hard sacrifice on behalf of this king.' Thereupon Sambarta's disciple, the royal saint Marutha, the conqueror of enemies' cities, collected all articles for the sacrifice. Thereupon in the vicinity of Budha's hermitage that mighty sacrifice was celebrated. And by that the Great Rudra attained to delight and said to the twice-born ones, in the presence of the king Ila:—'O foremost of twice-born ones, I have been greatly delighted with this sacrifice and your devotion. Tell me now, what I can do for this king of Valheeka.' Hearing the words of Mahadeva, the Brahmanas, having propitiated him with great devotion, prayed for Ila's manhood. Thereupon delighted the highly effulgent Mahadeva, having conferred upon him manhood, disappeared. In this wise the horse-sacrifice being finished and Mahadeva having disappeared, the far-seeing and leading twice-born ones repaired to their respective hermitages. And having placed his eldest son Sasavindu as the king of the country of Valheeka, the king Ila reared another city in the middle country. In time Ila attained to the excellent Brahma region and his son Pururava obtained that Pratishthana kingdom. O foremost of men, such is the power of the horse-sacrifice, that the king Ila, though converted into a female, regained manhood by virtue thereof."

SECTION 104.

Having thus addressed his both brothers, Rama, the descendant of Kakuthstha of unmitigated prowess, again said to Lakshmana, in words pregnant with morality:—"O Lakshmana, having invited Vasishtha, the foremost of twice-born ones, conversant with all the rites of Aswamedha, Vamadeva, Javali, and Kashyapa and consulted with them duly I shall set free a horse gifted with all marks." Hearing the words of Rama, Lakshmana, of unmitigated prowess, invited all those Brahmanas and approached Rama. Seeing them, Rama saluted them touching their feet. And the Brahmanas too, beholding the irrepressible celestial, like Raghava, welcomed him with blessings. Thereupon Rama, with folded hands, asked of those leading twice-born ones, questions regarding the Aswamedha sacrifice. And hearing the words of Rama, they, too, saluting the deity Rudra, began to speak highly of the ceremony of horse-sacrifice. And being informed from the Brahmanas of many unheard of virtues of Ashwamedha, Rama was greatly delighted. And according to their desire he said to Lakshmana:—"O thou having long arms, do thou soon send an emissary to the high-souled Sugriva, communicating unto him 'Do thou come here to enjoy festivities in the company of all those highly powerful monkeys and bears, under thee; may good betide thee.' See that Bhibhishana of unequalled prowess, the king of Rakshasas, encircled by his followers, coursing at will, may be present at the horse sacrifice. Let the great kings, wishing my welfare with their followers, be present at the sacrifice. O Lakshmana, do thou also invite carefully, for witnessing the ceremony, other pious foreign kings who are friendly unto me. O thou having long arms, do thou also invite the Rishis, having asceticism for their wealth and other pious Brahmanas living in various provinces. Do thou also invite actors and songsters. Do thou order that a spacious, sacrificial ground may be made on the banks of the river Gomoti in the Naimisha forest. O thou having long arms, that part of the country is best suited and holy. And let ceremonies, invoking peace, be celebrated everywhere. O thou conversant with piety, do thou soon invite hundreds of subjects, so that they all, having witnessed the ceremony in the Naimisha forest, may return delighted and honoured. O thou having long arms, let Bharata go before with a million of beasts carrying rice, sessamun seed, Kidneybean, Chickpea, pulse, Masha (a sort of Kidney bean) salt, oil, clarified butter and a hundred koti of silver and golden coins. Let merchants, to set up shops on the way, actors, dancers, cooks, and many youthful females follow Bharata. Let soldiers go before him. And let the highly illustrious Bharata, with children, old men, Brahmanas, citizens, servants, cashiers, mothers, wives and the golden image of my wife to be initiated at the sacrifice, go before." According to the command of Rama, Bharata, with Satrughna, made arrangements for highly valuable quarters, food, drink and clothes. And the highly powerful monkeys with Sugriva and Brahmanas engaged in the work of distribution. And Bibhishana surrounded by various Rakshas and females, engaged in service of the high-souled Rishis intent on hard penances.

SECTION 105.

Having speedily despatched before all articles of sacrifice, Bharata's elder brother Rama set free a black horse, gifted with all marks and worthy of the sacrifice and placed Lakshmana with Rittwigas in charge of it. Thereupon the mighty-armed Kakuthstha, in the company of his soldiers, proceeded to the Naimisha forest and beholding the wonderful sacrificial ground attained to an excess of delight and said:—"It has become highly charming." And while he remained in the Naimisha forest, all the kings sent him presents and Rama also made returns. And diverse food, drink and clothes were offered to the kings when they arrived there with profuse presents. Bharata, with Satrughna, engaged in attending upon the kings. The high-souled monkeys, with Sugriva, being self-controlled engaged in attending upon the Brahmanas. Bibhishana, in the company of many Rakshasas, with a collected mind, began to serve the Rishis, having asceticism for their wealth. And the highly powerful Rama, the foremost of men, set aside valuable houses for the accomodation of the high-souled kings. Under these proper arrangements the horse-sacrifice commenced. Lakshmana engaged in looking after the sacrificial horse. In this wise Rama, a lion amongst the kings, undertook the celebration of the horse-sacrifice. And in that Ashwamedha of Rama presents were given unto people as long as they were not satisfied. There was no other sound audible at that time save that of "Give! Give!!" In sooth at the horse-sacrifice of the high-souled Rama, to their fullest satisfaction, sweets and other things were distributed unto people. Indeed before words came out from the lips of the beggars, monkeys and Rakshasas satisfied them with gifts. And all the ascetics living for ever and having asceticism for wealth that were present there, could not think of any other sacrifice, accompanied by so profuse presents, they had seen before. In that sacrifice, those, who wished for gold, obtained it, those who wished for property got it and those, who longed for jewels, received

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them. In this wise before all, enough of gold, jewels, and clothes were given away. The ascetics said:—"We have never seen before a sacrifice like this, Indra's, Soma's, Yama's or Varuna's." And being present everywhere the Rakshasas and Vanaras gave away enough of riches and clothes even unto them who did not want. And though this sacrifice, gifted with all marks, of Rama, a lion among kings, continued for a year still his accumulated treasure was not exhausted, but rather was increased.

SECTION 106.

That sacrifice, the like of which was never seen before, having been undertaken the illustrious ascetic Valmiki, with his disciples, came there. And beholding this wonderful sacrifice resembling that of the celestials, his followers, the Rishis, made charming cottages in a solitary corner and at no distance. Inside the highly charming cottage of Valmiki they placed his picturesque car full of fruits and roots. Thereupon Valmiki said to his disciples, Lava and Kusa:—"Do ye carefully and delightedly sing the whole of Ramayana in the highly holy hermitages, of the Rishis, in the homes where perpetual fire is kept up by the Brahmanas, in streets and palaces, at the gate of Rama's house, in the sacrificial arena and before all Ritwigas. And eating all those sweet fruits that are on the summit of the mountain near our hermitage, do ye engage in chanting the sweet Ramayana. If you begin singing after taking all those sweet fruits you not experience exhaustion in singing nor you shall measure. If Rama, the lord of earth, invites you to sing the Ramayana, you may fearlessly sing it there in due and measures before the assembled ascetics. During the day do ye sing, in your sweet voice, twenty sections out of many I have laid in the Ramayana consisting of many slokas. Do not cherish the least longing for riches, what avail is wealth unto ascetics living perpetually on fruits and roots? If Rama asks you about your father you may say, 'We are both disciples of the high souled Valmiki.' O Kusa and Lava, in your proper mood do you sing the sweet song with charming Murchana accompanied by the sweet notes of Vina. Before you begin with the song, without disregarding the king, do you bow unto him reverentially. Morally the king is the father of all. Do you therefore both, delightedly and with a collected mind, early in the morning, sing the theme in a sweet voice and accompanied by the music of the stringed instrument." Having in this wise given counsels, the highly generous and great ascetic Valmiki, son of Pracheta, became silent. Being thus commanded by the ascetic, Janakis' sons, Lava and Kusa, the slayers of enemies, issued out therefrom saying. "So we shall do." Like unto the two Aswins following the moral precepts of Sukra, the two princes, placing those wonderful counsels of Valmiki in their minds, spent the night with a heart stricken with curiosity.

SECTION 107.

Thereupon the night being over, having bathed and performed the Homa, both Lava and Kusa, in consonance with Rishi's command, began the song. That song was composed by the first preceptor (Valmiki) never heard of before, consisting of sounds originating from six places, containing all metres, many proofs and set in accompaniment with the music of a stringed instrument. Hearing such a song from the boys Rama was striken with curiosity. Thereupon taking leave from business for some time and inviting the great ascetic Valmiki, kings, learned men, persons well-versed in Nyaya, Puranas and science of words, all old men, twice-born ones, those conversant with the signs of music, Brahmanas desirous of hearing the Ramayana, persons deep read in palmistry, Gandharvas, citizens, all those who have mastered the use of words, letters and Samasas, those who have studied well metres, those well informed in the science of music, those well-versed in astronomy, those who are well up in the knowledge of rites and ceremonies, those expert in the patch of business, logicians whose fame has spread far and wide, those well-versed in reasonings and arguments, poets, historians, Vedic Brahmanas, painters, and songsters Rama requested Lava and Kusa lovingly to sing the song before the assembly. The audience being seated there and engaged in conversation with one another those two Muni boys began with the song enhancing the delight of all. Wondrous and charming was their song and the audience were not by any means satiated with the hearing thereof. Greatly delighted the highly effulgent ascetics and kings again and again looked towards them as if drinking them up with their eyes. And they all attentively said to one another—"Both of them take after Rama, like unto a bubble resembling the one it rises from. There would not have been perceived the least difference between them and Rama had they not been clothed in bark and used clotted hair." The citizens and villagers speaking thus with one another Kusa and Lava chanted twenty sections beginning from the first, pointed out by Narada. Having heard up to twentieth section, Rama, fond of his brothers, said to Lakshmana in the afternoon. "O Kakutstha, do thou soon confer upon these two high-souled ones eighteen thousand gold coins and all other things they wish for." Thereupon when Lakshmana addressed himself in no time to give them gold coins separately Kusa and Lava, not accepting them and surprisingly said:—"We are dwellers of a forest, living upon roots and fruits—what shall we do with them (coins)? Therefore living in the forest what shall we do with the gold?" Hearing those words Rama and the audience were greatly worked up with curiosity and surprise. Thereupon being anxious to learn of the origin of the poem, the highly effulgent Rama asked the two Muni boys, saying. "What is the proof of the story of this poem? How great is his fame who has composed it? What leading ascetic is the author of this great poem?" Rama having thus asked them those two Muni boys said:—"The illustrious Valmiki is the author of this poem. He has described in this poem thine endless story. He has of late come to thy sacrifice. The great ascetic Valmiki has composed this poem consisting of a hundred stories and twenty four thousand slokas. O king, that high-minded ascetic is our preceptor. He has described thy actions in six books beginning with the first consisting of five hundred sections. All good actions performed by thee since thy birth have been recorded in this, O mighty car-warrior, O king, if thou dost wish to hear the whole of it, do thou, at thy leisure, hear it delightedly in the company of thy younger brothers." Saying "So it shall be," Rama bade them adieu and they too, delighted, repaired to where Valmiki, the foremost of Munis was. Thereupon having heard that charming song in the company of ascetics and kings the high-minded Rama repaired to the place of business. He heard the Ramayana sung by Kusa and Lava, gifted with musical characteristics, consisting of sections, vowels, and consonant and enchanted in accompaniment with the music of a stringed instrument.

SECTION 108.

Rama heard that highly sacred theme for many long days in the company of ascetics, kings and Vanaras. And understanding from the story that Kusa and Lava were Janaki's sons, Rama mentioning her name said before the assembly:—"Send a good emissary unto the illustrious Valmiki and let him communicate unto the ascetics that if Janaki is sinless and has lead a pure life in the forest; let her give proof of purity by the great ascetic's permission. Let the emissaries learn well the intention of the ascetic in this and if Sita is at heart willing to bring in proofs. To uphold her as well as mine purity, let Maithili, the daughter of Janaka, swear before the assembly." Hearing those wonderful words of Rama, the emissaries speedily went to Valmiki and saluting the high-souled (ascetic) burning in his effulgence and of incomparable lustre, communicated unto him, in sweet words all what Rama had said. Hearing the words of the messengers and understanding Rama's intention the ascetic said:—"What Rama has said shall be satisfied. May good betide you. Husband is the greatest god for women. So Sita shall carry out his behests." The great ascetic having said this, the highly powerful emissaries, approaching Rama, communicated unto him what the Muni had said. Hearing the words of the high-souled Valmiki, Rama was greatly delighted. Having addressed the assembled Rishis and kings he said:—"The Rishis with their disciples, and the kings with their followers and all others willing shall see Sita swear here." Hearing the words of the high-souled Rama, all the high-souled Rishis began to speak of him in high terms and said: "O foremost of men, such an action becomes thee not any one else." Thereupon having settled that Sita would swear next day, Rama, the slayer of enemies, dismissed them all. And having made arrangements that Sita would go through the trial next day, the high-minded, generous king Rama bade adieu unto all kings and Rishis.

SECTION 109.

Next morning Rama, being present in the sacrificial ground and having sent for the Rishis, Vasishtha, Vamadeva Javali, Kashyapa, Viswamitra, carrying on penances for a long time, Durvasa, Pulastya of hard austerities, Salastri, Vargava, Markandaya living long, the highly illustrious Madgalya, Gargya, Chyavana, Satananda, conversant with religions, effulgent Varadwaya, Agnis' son Vasuprava, Narada, Parvata, the great Gautama and other ascetics of firm vows, assembled with minds possessed by curiosity. The highly powerful Rakshasas and monkeys also came there out of curiosity. Besides thousands and thousands of Kshatryas, Vaisyas, Sudras and Brahmans of firm penances, also hailed there from various parts to witness Sita's trial. Having arrived there they all sat down motionless like mountains. Thereupon, Valmiki, the foremost of ascetics, speedily came there accompanied by Sita. With her face downwards, folded palms, eyes full of tears and meditating upon Rama in her mind, Sita, following the Rishi, came before the assembly. There arose a great uproar of eulogy from the assembly when they saw Sita following Valmiki like unto Sruti following Brahma. Thereupon members, stricken with sorrow, made a tumultuous sound. Amongst the visitors some praised Rama, some praised Sita and others eulogised both of them. Thereupon having entered that huge assemblage in company of Sita, the great ascetic Valmiki addressed Rama, saying:—"O son of Dacaratha, in fear of calumny, thou didst renounce her near my hermitage, albeit Sita is pure and follows the ways of morality. O Rama of firm vows, thou art afraid of the censure of the people. Sita has becoming willing to give testimony (of her purity) for removing the calumny of the public; do thou mercifully give her permission in this. I tell you the truth, O Rama, that these irrepressible twin brothers are your sons, O descendant of Raghu. I am the tenth son of Pracheta, so, far from speaking untruth it does not even spring up in my mind. I therefore know the truth that these twins are thy sons. I have performed austere penances for many thousand years; I now swear before thee, that if this Maithili is found touched by any sin I shall not reap the fruit of my ascetic observances extending over many thousand years. I have never perpetrated before a crime, either in my mind, body, or speech. If Maithili is found divested of sin I may then partake of the fruits of piety. O descendant of Raghu, finding Sita pure in mind and five elements of body I took her near the spring in the forest. Besides this Sita, of pure ways, divested of sins and ever considering her husband as deity, shall give testimony this day. Thou hast been afraid of the public calumny. O son of a king, thy mind being possessed by the fear of public scandal, thou didst renounce this Sita of a pure character and always regarding her husband as a god; I came to know this by virtue of my discriminative knowledge."

SECTION 110.

After the great Rishi Valmiki had said this, Rama, on beholding the daughter of Janaka resembling a celestial, in the midst of the assembly, with folded hands, said:—"O great one, thou art conversant with piety. By thy words shorn of sin, I have been convinced that Janaki is of pure ways. Still, O Brahman, what thou hast commanded shall be carried out; let Sita produce testimony of the purity of her character. Because Vaidehi formerly underwent a trial in the city of Lanka before the celestials I brought her home. O Brahman, vilification of the people is very powerful. Although I know that Janaki has not been touched by any sin still I have renounced her. Do thou therefore forgive me. I know that these twin brothers Kusa and Lava are my sons. Yet if Janaki gives evidence of her own purity before the assembly I shall be greatly satisfied." Being apprised of Rama's intention as to Sita's trial the celestials all came there on the occasion. The Adityas, Vasus, Rudras, Viswadevas, Maruts, Sadhyas, Siddhas, Nagas and Rishis placing Brahma before them, all came there. And beholding the celestials and Rishis assembled there Rama again said to Valmiki:—"O foremost of Munis, the words of the high-souled Rishis, are divested of sin; therefore on thy words only I shall consider Sita as having pure ways. Still all have come here being anxious to witness Sita's trial. I shall therefore be greatly delighted if Janaki gives in before them any testimony of her pure character." As soon as those words were uttered, sweet, fragrant, cold air, the witness of virtue and vice, blowing mildly, excited the joy of the assembly. People, hailing from various countries, with all attention began to witness this wondrous and unthought of event. In the golden age only the celestial wind used to blow—and it now blew even in the Treta Yuga and forsooth it was a matter of exceeding surprise. Thereupon beholding all people assembled there, Janaka's daughter, wearing a red cloth, with her face and looks downwards and folded palms said:—"I have never thought of any other person in my mind but Rama; by the strength of this virtue let the goddess Vasundhara give me room. I have always with my mind, body and words prayed for Rama's well-being and by virtue hereof may the goddess Vasundhara give me room in her womb." As soon as Sita swore in this wise a wonderful incident took place. From inside the earth a celestial and excellent throne rose up. It was carried on head by the Nagas of unmitigated prowess, having celestial persons and adorned with celestial jewels and ornaments. Having stretched out her arms and taken Maithili, the goddess earth welcomed her and placed her on the throne. And while seated on the throne she was entering the earth, she was covered with the continued showers of celestial flowers. Eulogising her at that time, the celestials said "Oh! highly praiseworthy is thy conduct, O Sita." Being present in the welkin and beholding Sita enter into the Earth, the celestials again and again eulogised her in various words. The Rishis, kings and other leading men present in the sacrificial arena repeatedly expressed their surprise. Beholding Sita's censure thus removed all animals, animate or inanimate, either on earth or in the sky, were greatly delighted. Some cried aloud in joy, some remained silent, and some motionless espied Rama or Sita. In this wise beholding Sita's entrance into the Earth the ascetics were greatly delighted. They all attaining to the same state of mind, the whole universe, for a moment, was possessed with the state of equality.

SECTION 111.

Sita having entered Rasatala, all the monkeys and Rishis repeatedly eulogised her before Rama. Stricken with sorrow and grief and lowering down his head, Rama, with eyes full of tears, face downwards, and a dejected mind, sat down. And being possessed by grief and anger and shedding tears he wept for some time and then said:—"My mind is about to be

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possessed by grief, which I had never experienced before, for in the very presence of mine the graceful Janaki, like Lakshmi herself, hath disappeared from view. Formerly, in my absence, Janaki was once carried away into the city of Lanka, on the other side of the great ocean and I brought her back; what wonder it is that I shall get her back from Patala? O goddess Vasudha, do thou soon bring Sita in my view, or else, worked up with ire I shall give thee the fruits of thy negligence. Thou art my mother-in-law, since the royal saint Janaka obtained Sita from thy womb while cultivating thee with plough share. Do thou therefore bring back my Sita or give me a region of the celestials, I wish to live with Sita. I am beside myself for her: do thou therefore bring back Sita. If thou dost not render back Sita unto me O Vasudha, I shall deluge the earth with waters, having assailed, destroyed and drowned into water thy huge compass with mountains and forests." Rama, having given vent to those accents under the influence of ire, the patriarch Brahma, with the consent of the celestials, said:—"O Rama of firm vows, O slayer of enemies, thou shouldst not grieve thus. Recollect thy former state of Vishnu and the counsels. I would not have reminded thee of this secret but for the present necessity. Do thou now once more remember thy birth from Vishnu. By nature, Sita is pure, chaste and ever dependent upon thee. And by virtue of her ascetic dependance upon thee she has gone to the region of Nagas. Thou shalt again meet her in heaven. Hear, what I communicate unto thee before the assembly. Thou shalt be informed of everything by listening to this excellent poem describing thy own actions, O hero. Valmiki has described herein all miseries and joys thou hast experienced since thy birth and what shall happen in future after Sita's entrance into Patala. O Rama, this first epic poem, Ramayan, has been composed describing thy works. None but thee is worthy of the fame of this poem. O Raghava, O highly illustrious one, do thou hear with the Rishis, Uttarakandam, the last portion of this poem. O descendant of Raghu, this is not worthy of being heard by any but those who art the foremost of the royal saints." Having said this, the deity Brahma, the lord of the three worlds, with other deities, repaired to the region of immortals. The high-souled and the highly effulgent ascetics, living in Brahma's region, who were present in the assembly, obtaining Brahma's permission, waited there, to hear Rama's future career in the Uttarakandam. Hearing the words of the great Patriarch instinct with well-being, the highly effulgent Rama said to Valmiki:—"O illustrious sir, the Rishis living in Brahma's region have grown desirous of hearing my future history. So let it be taken up next morning." Having thus settled and taken with him Kusa and Lava and sent away the assembled people he entered his palace and spent the night mourning for Sita.

SECTION 112.

The night being over and having invited the leading ascetics, Rama told his sons to sing the poem fearlessly. Thereupon the high-souled Rishis having taken their seats Kusa and Lava began the last portion of the Uttarakandam. Sita having entered Patala by the strength of her vow, and the sacrifice having terminated, Rama grew poorly in spirit. In Janaki's absence the whole world appeared to him as blank. Now being overwhelmed with grief he lost all mental peace. Having conferred various gifts upon the kings, Rakshasas, monkeys, and leading Brahmanas, Rama sent them away and meditating upon Sita's absence entered Ayodhya. And from the time of Sita's entering into Patala he did not take any other spouse. And having made a golden image of Sita he engaged in the performance of various sacrifices. In this wise for thousand years he celebrated many Horse-sacrifices, many Bajpeyas with profuse gold, Agnisomas, Atiratras, numberless Gomedhas and various other sacrifices, Rama being engaged in governing the kingdom and performing many pious rites long time passed away. And being under his subjection, bears, monkeys, Rakshasas and kings always afforded delight unto him. On account of showers in proper time there was enough of food in his kingdom. The quarters were pure and delightful. The citizens and villagers were happy and healthy. None met with premature death. In fact, in his regime all calamities were removed. Thereupon after many years, the illustrious Kausalya, Rama's mother, surrounded by her sons and grand-sons, breathed her last. Performing many pious observances Kakeyi followed her and obtained peace in the land of immortals. Those noble ladies, being united with the king Dacaratha, in heaven, were greatly delighted and obtained all virtues. Besides, having worshipped the deities and manes on the occasion of his father's Sradhaceremony the high-souled Rama distributed many jewels and engaged in the performance of a very difficult sacrifice. In this wise having performed many sacrifices and multiplied pieties he spent many thousand years in happiness.

SECTION 113.

Once on a time Yudhajit, the king of Kekaya, sent unto the high-souled Rama, Gargya—son of his own preceptor Angeras—a Brahmin saint of unmitigated prowess; and with him he sent, as tokens of affections, gifts of ten thousand horses, numberless blankets, various jewels, diverse clothes and well washed coverlets. Hearing of the arrival of the great saint Gargya with above valuable presents sent by his maternal uncle Yudhajit, the intelligent Rama, with his brothers, proceeded about a Krosa to receive him and adored him particularly likely unto the lord of celestials honouring Vrihaspati. Having thus welcomed that foremost of Rishis and accepted the valuable presents sent by his maternal uncle he asked the ascetic about his welfare in every thing. Thereupon the great Rishi being seated, he said:—"Thou art the foremost of those skilled in the art of speech like the very preceptor of the celestials. Since thine own self hath come here my uncle must have commissioned thee with a very important message." Hearing those words of Rama the great saint communicated unto him the object of his coming, saying.—"O thou having long arms, if thou dost like, hear what loving words thy maternal uncle Yudhajit, the foremost of men, has said. The Gandharvas, holding weapons and expert in warfare, guard that beautiful province abounding in fruits and roots on the banks of the river Sindhu. O hero, those Gandharvas are Sailuska's sons—highly powerful and three kotis in number. Having hoisted thy flag of victory and conquered that highly picturesque city of Gandharvas do thou include that kingdom within thine well-established territories. None can enter there. O thou having long arms, I do not request thee for any harm of thine. Let that highly charming country be liked by thee." Hearing the words of the maternal uncle communicated by the great saint, Rama, with delight, said:—"What you have commanded shall be satisfied." Saying this he looked towards Bharta and delightedly and with folded hands said to the Rishi "O Brahmarshi, these two princes are Bharata's sons and their names are Taksha and Pushkala. Being well protected by uncle Yudhajit and preceded by Bharata with army and followers they shall subjugate the Gandharvas and divide the kingdom between them. Having established two kingdoms and installed his two sons there Bharata, the foremost of the pious, shall come back to me."

Having thus said to the Brahmarshi, Rama commanded Bharata and welcomed the two princes. Thereupon under the auspices of favourable stars, having placed Gargya before them, Bharata with the princes and army, issued out of the city of Ayodhya. And Rama's army unconquerable even by the celestials went on for a month, from the city like a celestial host under the command of Indra. Animals, living upon flesh and huge-bodied Rakshasas longing for blood followed Bharata. Besides many thousand birds, moving in the sky, lions, tigers and boars went before the army. The army, consisting of delighted and healthy subjects spending half a month in the way, arrived at the Kekaya kingdom in good health.

SECTION 114.

Hearing of the arrival of the Bharata with the army Gargya and Yudhajit, the king of Kekayas, were greatly delighted. And with a huge army they speedily went out for conquering the Gandharvas. Thereupon the highly powerful and light-armed Bharata and Yudhajit, with the soldiers and followers, arrived at the city of Gandharvas. Having heard of the coming of Bharata the highly powerful Gandharvas gathered round and sent up leonine roars. Thereupon began the battle capable of making down erect and continued for a week. On neither side there was victory or defeat. On all sides there flowed streams of blood and there were afloat human bodies. Daggers, Saktis and bows were like the banks of the river. Thereupon enraged Bharata, Rama's younger brother, discharged a dreadful arrow named Sangharata resembling the fire of dissolution against Gandharvas. Having bound them all with the noose of death and sundered them with Sangharata, Bharata despatched all the Gandharvas to the abode of death. Even the celestials could not recollect if such a dreadful encounter had happened before. In a moment the huge Gandharva host was slain. After the destruction of the Gandharvas, Kaikeyi's son Bharata set up two excellent and prosperous cities in the province of Gandharva. And he placed Taksha in Takshasila and Pushkala in Pushkalabati. Both the cities were filled with profuse riches and jewels and covered with various gardens. As for many ornaments both of them as if vied with one another. By just purchases and sales, and by the conduct of the people the cities grew highly charming. Both of them were filled with gardens and conveyances. Rows of shops were well arranged by the streets in both the cities. Both of them were adorned with many excellent fancy articles, picturesque houses, charming palaces and many beautiful and high Tala, Tamala, Tilaka and Vakula trees. Having reared up those two cities within five years, Rama's younger brother, the mighty armed Bharata, son of Kaikeyi, returned to Ayodhya. And like unto Vasava saluting Brahma he adored the high-souled Raghava the very personation of virtue and communicated unto him duly the destruction of the Gandharvas and the establishment of the two cities. And hearing the words of Bharata, Rama attained to an excess of delight.

SECTION 115.

Hearing the wonderful words of Bharata both Rama and Lakshmana were greatly delighted. And then Rama said to Lakshmana:—"O Saumitri, thy two sons, Angada and Chandraketu are well-versed in religions, perfectly qualified in governing the kingdom and highly powerful. I shall therefore install them on throne. O gentle one, do thou find out such a country where these two skillful archers may unobstructed roam about. And where if a kingdom is established it might not disturb the peace and happiness of other kings." Rama, having finished his speech Bharata replied:—"The country of Karupada is highly picturesque and freed from all thorns. Let the city for Angada be established there. And let the beautiful country of Chandradyuti be the kingdom of Chandraketu." Rama approved of the words of Bharata and having brought the country of Karupada under his subjection gave it to Angada. He reared a beautiful and well-protected city for Angada. And in the country of Mallya he reared a city for Chandraketu, named Chandrakanti highly picturesque and like unto the city of celestials. Thereupon greatly delighted Rama, irrepressible in battle, Lakshmana and Bharata, having performed the ceremony of installation ordered them to go their respective cities. Angada started towards the West and Chandraketu towards the North. Sumitra's son Lakshmana went with Angada and Bharata accompanied Chandraketu. Having spent a year in Angada's city and finding his son well established in the kingdom Lakshmana returned to Ayodhya. And Bharata, according to his desire, having spent more than a year in the city of Chandrakanti, came back to Ayodhya and saluted Rama's feet. The pious Lakshmana and Bharata—both the brothers, were greatly attached unto Rama; and though they spent their days in another place they did not experience any pain in consequence of separation from their sons. Observing all virtues in this way, Rama, the foremost of the pious, Bharata and Lakshmana governed the subjects for ten thousand years. Having spent their days in the city of Ayodhya, the very city of virtue, the three brothers, appearing graceful like the burning fire receiving oblations in a great sacrifice, attained to joy in the fullness of time.

SECTION 116.

In this wise the virtuous Rama having spent some time at Kala, assuming the shape of an ascetic, arrived at the palace gate. And beholding the intelligent Lakshmana at the door he said: "Do thou communicate (unto Rama) that for some important business I have come here. I am the messenger of the great saint Atibala of incomparable effulgence. O thou of great strength, for a particular business, I have come here to see Rama." Hearing the words of the great saint, Saumitri speedily went to Raghava and communicated unto him the arrival of the ascetic, saying:—"O thou of great effulgence, observing the royal duties, mayst thou acquire victory in both the worlds; one ambassador radiant like the sun by virtue of his asceticism, has come here to visit thee." Hearing the words of Lakshmana Rama said:—"Do thou speedily bring here the highly effulgent ascetic bringing in a message." Thereupon saying "So be it," Saumitri conducted the effulgent ascetic unto Rama's house. And having approached Rama the foremost of Raghus, the ascetic, burning in his own energy, said to him, in sweet accents:—"O great king, may prosperity crown thee." And having welcomed him with water and Argya the highly effulgent Rama asked him about his well-being. Being asked by Rama as to his welfare, that foremost of ascetics, skilled in the art of speech, sat on a golden seat. Thereupon welcoming him Rama said:—"Do thou communicate unto me his words by whom thou hast been sent." Being thus addressed by Rama, a lion amongst kings, the ascetic said:—"If dost thou wish to bring about the well-being of the celestials, my earnest desire is that we may talk over it in a solitary; place. And if thou hast any regard for the words of that foremost of ascetics, do thou so order that whoever shall hear or see us, when we shall converse in a solitary place, shall be slain by thee." Thereupon Rama promised that it should be done and said to Lakshmana:—"O thou having long arms, sending away the warder do thou wait at the gate. When I shall talk with this ascetic in this solitary room whoever, shall hear or see us, shall be slain by me." Having thus placed Lakshmana at the gate Rama said to that Rishi:—"O great saint, tell me what he has communicated unto thee. O Muni, what is thy intention and by what high-souled Rishi thou hast been sent here. Tell me all this without any fear. I have become anxious to hear it."

SECTION 117.

Thereupon the great saint said:—"Hear, O king, O thou gifted with great energy, for what I have come here. O thou of great strength, the great Patriarch has sent me to thee. O hero, I am thy son. Thou didst, in thy pristine birth, beget me on Maya—I am Kala, the destroyer of all. Lord Brahma, the father of all creatures, has said that thou didst promise to preserve the three worlds. Formerly when having slain all animals by thy Maya thou wert asleep in the waters of the mighty deep I was born. Thereafter thou didst create the

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huge-bodied Ananta, living in the waters as the king of serpents. Then thou didst create two highly powerful Asuras named Madhu and Kaithabha. At that time the bones of those two Asuras having been scattered far and wide this earth containing many mountains was named Medini. Having procreated me in thy lotus navel, dazzling in celestial brilliance thou didst employ me in the work of generation. I took the charge and procreated men; but finding no other means to preserve them I worshipped thee, the lord of the universe and said:—O lord, thou shouldst protect the creatures, for thou art my father and giver of energy and therefore irrepressible. Thereupon for concerting means for the preservation of creatures, thou didst renounce thy irrepressible shape and assume Vishnu form. And taking thy birth from Aditi's powerful son, thou wert engaged in enhancing the delight of my brothers. Thou didst use to protect the deities whenever they were assailed by any calamity. O lord of the universe, it is for that reason, on beholding the destruction of creatures thou wert born on earth to slay the Ten-necked demon. And at that time thou didst promise that thou wouldst live in the land of mortals for eleven thousand years. Thereupon thou didst assume a human form to carry out thine desire. Now that period is ripe and this is the proper time to inform thee of it. O great king, do thou wait in this land of mortals if dost thou wish to govern people for some time more. And if dost thou wish to repair to the region of immortals, do thou again lord over the deities in thy Vishnu form and let them be freed from anxiety. O Hero, the Patriarch hath sent this intelligence unto thee." Hearing those unequalled words of the Patriarch from the mouth of Kala, the destroyer of all, Rama smiling said:—"I have been greatly pleased and happy for thy coming here, O my son. I descended on earth to bring about the well-being of the three worlds. May good betide thee. I shall now repair to from where I have come here. I was thinking of this when thou didst come here. Therefore, I have no doubt in this. O lord of destruction, the immortals are dependent on me, so I shall be with them in all works. The Great Patriarch has said the truth."

SECTION 118.

While Rama and Kala were thus conversing with one another, the great ascetic Durvasa arrived at the gate for seeing Rama and approaching Lakshmana said:—"O Saumitri, do thou soon take me to Rama; my time goes away, so do thou take me first." Hearing the words of the ascetic, Lakshmana, the slayer of enemies worshipping the feet of that high-souled one, said:—"O illustrious Sir, kindly mention thy business. What is thy object? Order me what I am to do. Rama is engaged in some business so kindly wait here for some time." Hearing those words that foremost of Rishis, Durvasa, impatient with rage, said with blood-red eyes:—"O Saumitri, if dost thou not go even this very moment and communicate unto Rama my arrival, I shall impricate thee, Rama, Bharata, Sutrughana, your sons and grand-sons. I shall curse also thy kingdom and cities. I cannot any longer restrain my growing ire." Hearing those dreadful and resolute words of the Rishi, Lakshmana thought within himself:—"My own destruction is far more desirable than that of all." Having thus resolved Lakshmana approached Rama and communicated unto him the intelligence. Hearing the words of Lakshmana and having bade adieu unto Kala, Rama soon came out and saw Atri's son. And having saluted that great and powerful ascetic he with folded hands, said "What is thine business?" Hearing the words of Rama, the highly powerful Durvasa, the foremost of Munis, said. "Hear, O Rama fond of virtue. For a thousand years I have carried on the vow of fasting. It has terminated to-day, so do thou give me food as much as possible." Hearing those words Rama was greatly delighted and gave proper food unto that ascetic. And feasting on that nectar-like sweet food, Durvasa, the foremost of Rishis, thanked Rama and repaired to his own hermitage. Thereupon remembering the words of Kala, Rama was greatly sorry. And thinking of those dreadful words he was overwhelmed with grief. And with a poorly heart, and face downwards he remained silent for some time. Thereupon thinking of Kala's words and determining that every calamity would befall him, that highly illustrious descendant, of Raghus, summoned patience.

SECTION 119.

Thereupon beholding Rama with his head downwards and poorly like unto the moon possessed by Rahu, Lakshmana, delightedly and with sweet words, said:—"Be not aggrieved for me, O thou having mighty arms. Such is the course of time; the movements of creatures are destined by their pristine actions, good or bad. O gentle one, do thou satisfy thy promise slaying me without any hesitation. O Kakuthstha, those, who cannot carry out their promises, repair to hell. O great king, if thou hast any love or affection for me, do thou satisfy thy promise by fearlessly slaying me." Hearing those words of Lakshmana Rama's mind was greatly moved. Thereupon having invited his priests and ministers there he communicated unto them his promise and Durvasa's arrival. Hearing it the ministers and priests remained silent. Thereupon Vasishtha, of unmitigated effulgence, said:—"O highly illustrious and mighty armed Rama, I knew before by virtue of my asceticism, of this thy present destruction and separation from Lakshmana. Time is powerful; do not falsify thy promise. Promises not carried out bring on the destruction of virtue. And on the wane of virtue, forsooth, the three worlds, with celestials, saints, mobile and immobile creations, shall be destroyed. Therefore, O foremost of men, do thou protect, the universe by suffering separation from Lakshmana, in the interest of the preservation of the three worlds." All other ministers and priests agreed with Vasishtha's words. Thereupon hearing their moral counsels, Rama said to Lakshmana before the assembly:—"O Lakshmana, it is not proper to act against morality, I do therefore renounce thee; for the pious hold that destruction and renounciation are all the same." Rama saying this, Lakshmana did not go to his own house, but with eyes full of tears specially repaired therefrom. Having reached the banks of Saraju and rinsed his mouth he stood there with folded palms. And having obstructed all passages he did not breathe any more. Lakshmana, the younger brother of Rama, being thus engaged in penances, having obstructed his breath, Apsaras, Indra and other deities and Rishis showered flowers on him. Thereupon beyond the sight of men, having taken the highly powerful Lakshmana within his body, the king of celestials entered his own city. Thereupon beholding Lakshmana, the fourth portion of Vishnu arrived at their city the celestials were greatly delighted and engaged in his worship.

SECTION 120.

Having forsaken Lakshmana and being stricken with sorrow and grief Rama said to his citizens and ministers:—"Having placed the pious and heroic Bharata on the throne of Ayodhya, I shall to-day repair to woods. Do ye, without any delay collect there all articles of installation. I shall follow the way which has been wended by Lakshmana." Hearing the words of Raghava, the subjects with their heads downwards remained motionless like so many dead bodies. Hearing Rama's words Bharata was also stupified and speaking ill of the kingdom, said:—"O King, I swear by truth, that far from kingdom I do not wish to live in heaven even without thee: O King, of these two princes, Kusi and Lava do thou place Kusi in Kosala and Lava in North Kosala. And let quick-moving emissaries go to Satrughna and communicate unto him the intelligence of our going there." Hearing those words of Bharata and beholding the subjects stricken with sorrow having their heads downwards, Vasishtha said:—"Behold, O Rama, the subjects have placed themselves on the ground. Do thou, therefore; apprised of their intention, satisfy their desire." Raising up the subjects according to the words of Vasishtha Rama said:—"What good can I do for you!" Hearing Rama's words they said:—"O King, we shall follow thee wherever thou shalt go. If thou hast any love or affection for the citizens do thou permit them that they may follow thy good path with their wives and children. O lord, if thou dost not forsake us, let us all go wherever thou wilt,—be it a forest, an intractable tract, a river or an ocean. O great king, by this we shall be greatly delighted. We pray for this boon only. Our delight consists in following thee in everything." Observing such a firm devotion of the citizens Rama agreed to that. Thereupon having gone through his duties he installed Kusi in the kingdom of Kosala and Lava in the northern country. Having thus installed the high-souled and heroic Kusi and Lava and conferred upon each of them thousand chariots, Ajuta Nagas, Ajuta horses and various jewels and riches he established them in their respective kingdoms. Having thus settled the princes he despatched an emissary to Satrughna.

SECTION 121.

Having been despatched by Rama, quick-moving emissaries speedily arrived at Mathura. Continually travelling for three nights and days, they arrived there and communicated unto Satrughna the intelligence. Having informed him of the renouncing of Lakshmana, Rama's promise and the following of the citizens they said:—"The intelligent Rama has reared for Kusi the spacious city of Kusavati at the foot of the Vindhya range. The city of Sravanti has been reared for Lava, and the mighty car-warriors Rama and Bharata, making Ayodhya void of men, have addressed themselves for repairing to heaven." Having speedily communicated unto him this intelligence the emissaries took rest. Thereupon they asked Satrughna to proceed soon. Observing the dreadful destruction of his race, Satrughna sent for his subjects and priests and informed them of everything. He also communicated unto them his own destruction with his brothers. Thereupon the king Satrughna determined upon installing his two sons in the kingdom. Suvahu was placed on the throne of Mathura and Satrughati became the king of Vidisha. Having thus established Suvahu in Mathura, and Satrughati in Vidisha, the great hero Satrughna ascended his car and went to Ayodhya. And there he saw the great Rama, clothed in silk raiment burning like fire in the midst of the ascetics. Thereupon remembering his duty he saluted Rama, conversant with piety and with folded hands said:—"I have placed my two sons on the throne of my kingdom. I have now resolved upon following thee, O King. O hero, do not command me otherwise. I pray only that I may not neglect thy command." Thereupon understanding the firm resolution of Satrughna, the descendant of Raghu agreed. Immediately after Rama had said this, monkeys assuming shapes at will, bears, and Rakshas began to assemble there. Apprised of Rama's determination of going to heaven, monkeys, born of the celestials, Rishis and Gandharvas taking Sugriva before them, came there to see Rama. And they all said:—"O Rama, O foremost of men, if thou dost repair to heaven forsaking us all, it will be hurling Yama's rod upon us." The highly powerful Sugriva too saluting Rama said:—"O lord of men, having placed Angada on the throne I have come hither. I have determined upon following thee, O King." Hearing the words of monkeys, Rama said that their desire would be fulfilled. He then said to Bibhishana the king of Rakshasas:—"As long as people shall breathe, O Bibhishana, O highly powerful lord of Rakshasas, thou shalt preserve thy body in Lanka. As long as the moon, the sun and the earth shall exist and as long as my story shall remain current, thy kingdom shall be in existence. Thou didst, out of friendship, carry out my behests and perform my works. Do thou piously govern thy subjects. I should not speak any thing else. What shall I say more unto thee, O highly powerful lord of Rakshasas. Worship Jagannath (the lord of the world), the presiding deity of the Ikshwaku race." Having thus addressed the king of Rakshasas always obeying Raghava's command, Kakuthstha said to Hanuman:—"It is settled that thou shalt live forever, do thou, now observe thy promise. As long as my history shall run current in this world do thou at my command live happily." Being thus addressed by the high-souled Raghava Hanuman attained to great delight and said:—"As long as the sacred theme shall pass current in this world I shall live here carrying out thy commands." Thereupon he said to the Jambhuvan, Brahma's son, Mainda, Dwivida and five others in his company:—"As long as the Kali Yuga exists do ye all live." Having thus addressed them all Kakuthstha said to bears and monkeys, "Do ye come all with me."

SECTION 122.

After the night had expired the highly illustrious Rama having a spacious breast and eyes like lotus petals said to the priest:—"Let the brilliant umbrellas Agnihotra, and Bajapeya go with the Brahmanas before, which look well in the great road." Thereupon the highly effulgent Vasishtha arranged duly all the ceremonies necessary for going to the next world. Thereupon wearing a thin cloth, holding kusa grass by his fingers, and reciting Vedic hymns he proceeded to the banks of Saraju. Having given up all actions of senses, and suffered the pains of going on foot he issued out of the city speechless like unto the burning sun. On his right hand side was the lotus-handed Sree, on his left hand side was the goddess Earth and before him was the power of destruction. Various arrows, huge bows, and daggers, assuming forms followed him. And also went with him the four Vedas in the shape of the Brahmanas, the all protecting Gayatri, Omkara and Vasatkara. The high-souled Rishis and great Asuras followed the high-souled Rama to the open gates of heaven. All the female servants, old and young, the damsels of the seraglio accompanied by servants having no manhood, Bharata and Lakshmana accompanied by their wives, followed him with Agnihotra. All those high-souled ones, assembled there with Agnihotra and followed Kakuthstha with their wives and children. The ministers and the servants, with their sons, beasts and friends, followed Rama delightedly. Thereupon all the subjects healthy and delighted went after Raghava, attracted by his accomplishments and cleansed of their sins. All the females and males, with their beasts, birds and friends, delightedly followed Raghava. Bathed and delighted, all the monkeys, healthy and joyous following Rama, created a continued tumult. There was none poorly, aggrieved or miserable—all of them appeared wonderfully happy and delighted. When Rama issued out of the city, whoever came to see him followed him being desirous of going to heaven. Bears, monkeys and Rakshasas and all the citizens followed him with great devotion and collected minds. And all other animals, that were beyond the view of all in the city went after Raghava proceeding to heaven. All creations mobile and immobile, whoever beheld Kakuthstha followed him. All beings in Ayodhya, whoever breathe and are very minute, accompanied Rama.

SECTION 113.

Having thus gone for more than a half Yojana, the descendant of Raghu espied Saraju of holy waters flowing towards the west. And having crossed that river of rising waves to some extent, Rama, with his followers arrived at the place where he should give up his person. Thereupon at that moment, Brahma, the grandfather of all encircled by all high-souled deities and with hundred kotis of celestial cars, arrived there where Kakuthstha had addressed himself to repair to

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heaven. The aerial way was full of lustre but its brilliance was increased the more by the native effulgence of the inhabitants of heavens, always performing pious actions. There blew the holy, fragrant and delightful winds and there fell profusely celestial flowers from the hands of the deities. The place was filled with the noise of hundreds of bugles sounded by Gandharvas and Apsaras. And then Rama prepared himself to descend to the waters of Saraju. Thereupon the Patriarch gave vent to the following accents from the welkin:—"Come O Vishnu; may good betide thee; by our good fortune thou art coming here; O Raghava hear—O thou having mighty arms, do thou enter here with thy brothers, resembling the celestials in brilliance in whatever form thou likest—either in that of the sky or in thy own Vishnu form. Thou art the refuge of the creatures—nobody knoweth thee. Thou art above the range of thought; great immortal and imperishable; nobody knoweth thee save Maya, having wide eyes, thy former spouse. Do thou enter here thyself in whatever effulgent form thou likest." Hearing the words of the Patriarch and determining everything the high-minded Rama entered there bodily with his brothers in his Vishnu form. Thereupon all the celestials Sadhyas Marutas, headed by Indra and Agni worshipped that deity, Vishnu. So did all the celestial Rishis, Gandharvas, Apsaras, Suparnas, Nagas, Yakhas, demons, Danavas and Rakshasas. Thereupon eulogising him the celestials said:—"Our region is now freed from sins and all here have been delighted and all their desires have been fulfilled." Thereupon the highly effulgent Vishnu said to the Patriarch Brahma:—"It behoveth thee, O thou of good vows, to allot to those people their proper regions. These illustrious ones have followed me out of love. They are worthy of my respect for they are my devotees and have renounced their persons for me." Hearing the words of Vishnu, the lord Brahma, father of all creatures, said:—"All these people who have come here shall go to the region named Santanaka. This region is intended even for him, who though born in the most degraded state, thinks of all objects as Vishnu. There is no question about their attaining to this region who, out of devotion, have followed thee and renounced their persons. This region has all the attributes of the Brahma region and is next to it. The monkeys and bears shall enter into their respective celestial forms. They shall enter into the deities from whom they had respectively originated. Sugriva shall enter into the Sun's region. And they shall obtain their respective fathers' forms among the celestials present." The lord of the deities having said this, all those who were present at the holy pilgrimage of Gopratradescended into the waters of Saraju with eyes full of tears of joy. Having bathed there, given up their lives delightedly and renounced their human forms they ascended the celestial cars. And having obtained the waters of Saraju, hundreds of those that were born in the race of birds attained to the land of immortals obtaining the respective celestial forms (they had before). And in those celestial forms, they looked effulgent like the deities. And going to the waters of Saraju all objects, mobile and immobile, having bathed there, repaired to the excellent celestial region. Having renounced their bodies in the water thereof all the bears, monkeys, and Rakshasas attained to the land of deities. Having thus settled in heaven all those arrived there the father, of creatures with the deities, delighted and happy, repaired to the highest heaven.

SECTION 124.

This Story ends with the Uttara. It is held in reverence by Brahma, composed by Valmiki and passes as the foremost of all under the name of the Ramayana. Thereupon as before, Vishnu, who compriseth the three worlds and all objects, mobile and immobile, again established himself as before in the land of immortals. Thereupon the celestials the Gandharvas, the great Rishis used to hear happily every day in heaven this poem of Ramayana. At the Saradha ceremony the wise should chant this Ramayana sacred like the Vedas, removing sins and increasing life and prosperity. Reading even a single verse of this poem, one who hath no son, obtaineth him; one having no riches, gets by them—and people are freed from all sins. By reading even one sloka people are freed from all sins which they commit every day. Clothes, cows, and gold should be conferred upon him who chants this poem, for he being pleased all the deities remain satisfied. Whoever reads this story of Ramayana, conferring a long life is honoured in this world along with his sons and grand-sons and as well as in the land of the dead. Whoever shall read this Ramayana either in the morning, noon, or evening, shall never be wearied. The picturesque city of Ayodhya remained devoid of men for many long years but was again peopled under the regime of the King Rishava, Pracheta's son Valmiki composed this poem, conferring long life, together with the future story of the deity and the Uttara Kandam. Even Brahma admitted this.

THE END.

THE MAHABHARATA

The Great Bharata
The Great Epic of the Bharata Dynasty
Author: Krishna-Dwaipayana, aka: Veda Vyasa
Original language and script: Sanskrit; Brahmi
Source: Oriental Publishing Co., Calcutta, India
Translation: Kisari Mohan Ganguli, 1883-1896
Estimated Range of Dating: 6th - 3rd centuries B.C.

(The Mahabharata, that is, the Great Bharata, or more precisely "The Great Epic of the Bharata Dynasty," is probably the longest epic and largest sacred text ever written. The Mahabharata was compiled in Ancient India. Although it is unlikely that any single person wrote the poem, its authorship is traditionally ascribed to the sage Vyasa, who appears in the work as the grandfather of the Kauravas and the Pandavas. The legend states that God Ganesha revealed the Mahabharata to Vyasa while Vyasa recited the same in the city of Rourkela in Odisha State. To say this in another war, Vyasa had revelations like the Jewish prophets of the Hebrew Bible. This narrative similarity is remarkable. Vyasa taught this epic to his son Suka and his students Vaisampayana and others. King Janamejaya, the son of Parikshit and grandson of the heroes of the epic, performed a great sacrifice (yajna). The epic was retold by Vaisampayana to Janamejaya at the advice of Vyasa. Later on, the other sage Suta retold the Mahabharata similar to Vaisampayana to Janamejaya, to Saunaka and others, during a sacrifice performed by Saunaka in Naimisaranya, which is near Sitapur in Uttar Pradesh, northern India.

Scholars have compared the importance of the Mahabharata to that of the Bible, the works of Homer and Julius Caesar, or the works of William Shakespeare. Within the Indian tradition it is sometimes called the fifth Veda. There have been many attempts to unravel its historical growth and compositional layers. The bulk of the Mahābhārata was probably compiled between the 3rd century BC and the 3rd century AD, with the oldest preserved parts not much older than around 400 BC. The original events related by the epic probably fall between the 8th and 5th centuries BC. The text might have reached its final form by the early Gupta period (c. 4th century AD) or earlier.

The epic contains about 1.8 million words in 110,000 shloka (couplets, meaning double-verses) in eighteen books (parvas). These books deal with a number of topics such as a number of aspects of Hinduism, Hindu mythology, ethics, and the Hindu way of life. A 19th book is often considered a part of the Mahabharata as kind of supplement titled Harivamsha ("Genealogy of the God Hari"; i.e., of Vishnu). The translator Kisari Mohan Ganguli changed the verseforms into prose in order to make the story comprehensible. He delivered an excellent and clear English text.

Noted below are few words about the eighteen sections of the Mahabharata. In Mahabharata, these sections are called parvan. A parvan means a book. The names or titles of all parvas or books of the Mahabharata are noted below, including some basic contents:

1. Adi-Parva: Introduction, birth and growing up of the princes.

2. Sabha-Parva: Life at the court, the game of dice, and the exile of the Pandavas. Maya Danava erects the palace and court (sabha), at Indraprastha.

3. Aranyaka-Parva (also Vanaparva, Aranyaparva): The twelve years in exile in the forest (aranya).

4. Virata-Parva: The year in exile spent at the court of King Virata.

5. Udyoga-Parva: Preparations for war.

6. Bhishma-Parva: The first part of the great battle, with Bhishma as commander for the Kauravas.

7. Drona-Parva: The battle continues, with Dronacharya as commander.

8. Karna-Parva: The battle again, with Karna as commander.

9. Shalya-Parva: The last part of the battle, with Shalya as commander.

10. Sauptika-Parva: How Ashvattama and the remaining Kauravas killed the Pandava army in their sleep (Sauptika).

11. Stri-Parva: Gandhari and the other women (stri) lament the dead.

12. Shanti-Parva: The crowning of Yudhisthira, and his instructions from Bhishma

13. Anusasana-Parva: The final instructions (anusasana) from Bhishma.

14. Ashvamedhika-Parva: The royal ceremony of the Ashvamedha conducted by Yudhisthira.

15. Ashramavasika-Parva: Dhritarashtra, Gandhari and Kunti leave for an ashram and eventual death in the forest.

16. Mausala-Parva: The infighting between the Yadavas with maces (masala).

17. Mahaprasthanika-Parva: The first part of the path to death (mahaprasthana or 'the great journey') of Yudhisthira and his brothers.

18. Svargarohana-Parva: The Pandavas return to the spiritual world (svarga).

[19. Harivamsha: Life of Krishna. A book often viewed as supplement to the Mahabharata.]

The Mahabharata is an important source of information on the development of Hinduism between 400 BC and 200 AD and is regarded by Hindus as both a text about dharma (Hindu moral law) and a history (itihasa, literally "that's what happened"). Appearing in its present form about 400 AD, the Mahabharata consists of a mass of mythological and didactic material arranged around a central heroic narrative that tells of the struggle for sovereignty between two groups of cousins, the Kauravas (sons of Dhritarashtra, the descendant of Kuru) and the Pandavas (sons of Pandu). The poem is made up of almost 100,000 couplets—about seven times the length of the Iliad and the Odyssey combined—divided into 18 parvans, or sections, plus a supplement titled Harivamsha ("Genealogy of the God Hari"; i.e., of Vishnu). Although it is unlikely that any single person wrote the poem, its authorship is traditionally ascribed to the sage Vyasa, who appears in the work as the grandfather of the Kauravas and the Pandavas. The traditional date for the war that is the central event of the Mahabharata is 1302 BC, but most historians assign it a later date.

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The story begins when the blindness of Dhritarashtra, the elder of two princes, causes him to be passed over in favour of his brother Pandu as king on their father's death. A curse prevents Pandu from fathering children, however, and his wife Kunti asks the gods to father children in Pandu's name. As a result, Dharma fathers Yudhishtira, the Wind fathers Bhima, Indra fathers Arjuna, and the Ashvins (twins) father Nakula and Sahadeva (also twins; born to Pandu's second wife, Madri). The enmity and jealousy that develops between the cousins forces the Pandavas to leave the kingdom when their father dies. During their exile the five jointly marry Draupadi (who is born out of a sacrificial fire and whom Arjuna wins by shooting an arrow through a row of targets) and meet their cousin Krishna, who remains their friend and companion thereafter. Although the Pandavas return to the kingdom, they are again exiled to the forest, this time for 12 years, when Yudhishthira loses everything in a game of dice with Duryodhana, the eldest of the Kauravas.

he feud culminates in a series of great battles on the field of Kurukshetra (north of Delhi, in Haryana state). All the Kauravas are annihilated, and, on the victorious side, only the five Pandava brothers and Krishna survive. Krishna dies when a hunter, who mistakes him for a deer, shoots him in his one vulnerable spot—his foot—and the five brothers, along with Draupadi and a dog who joins them (the god Dharma, Yudhisththira's father, in disguise), set out for Indra's heaven. One by one they fall on the way, and Yudhisthira alone reaches the gate of heaven. After further tests of his faithfulness and constancy, he is finally reunited with his brothers and Draupadi, as well as with his enemies, the Kauravas, to enjoy perpetual bliss.

The central plot constitutes little more than one 5th of the total work. The remainder of the poem addresses a wide range of myths and legends, including the romance of Damayanti and her husband Nala (who gambles away his kingdom just as Yudhishthira gambles away his) and the legend of Savitri, whose devotion to her dead husband persuades Yama, the god of death, to restore him to life. The poem also contains descriptions of places of pilgrimages.

Along with its basic plot and accounts of numerous myths, the Mahabharata reveals the evolution of Hinduism and its relations with other religions during its composition. The period during which the epic took shape was one of transition from Vedic sacrifice to sectarian Hinduism, as well as a time of interaction—sometimes friendly, sometimes hostile—with Buddhism and Jainism. Different sections of the poem express varying beliefs, often in creative tension. Some sections, such as the Narayaniya (a part of book 13), the Bhagavadgita (book 6), the Anugita (book 14), and the Harivamsha, are important sources of early Vaishnava theology, in which Krishna is an avatar of the god Vishnu. Above all, the Mahabharata is an exposition of dharma (codes of conduct), including the proper conduct of a king, of a warrior, of an individual living in times of calamity, and of a person seeking to attain freedom from rebirth. The poem repeatedly demonstrates that the conflicting codes of dharma are so "subtle" that, in some situations, the hero cannot help but violate them in some respect, no matter what choice he makes.

It narrates the struggle between two groups of cousins in the Kurukshetra War and the fates of the Kaurava and the PaNdava princes and their successors. It also contains philosophical and devotional material, such as a discussion of the four "goals of life" or purusartha (12.161). Among the principal works and stories in the Mahabharata are the Bhagavad Gita, the story of Damayanti, the story of Savitri and Satyavan, the story of Kacha and Devyani, the story of

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Rsyasringa and an abbreviated version of the RamayaNa, often considered as works in their own right.

The "Just war" is of great significance in the Mahabharata. This epic offers one of the first instances of theorising about dharmayuddha, "just war", illustrating many of the standards that would be debated later across the world. In the story, one of five brothers asks if the suffering caused by war can ever be justified. A long discussion ensues between the siblings, establishing criteria like proportionality (chariots cannot attack cavalry, only other chariots; no attacking people in distress), just means (no poisoned or barbed arrows), just cause (no attacking out of rage), and fair treatment of captives and the wounded.

SYNOPSIS IN DETAIL

The core story of the work is that of a dynastic struggle for the throne of Hastinapura, the kingdom ruled by the Kuru clan. The two collateral branches of the family that participate in the struggle are the Kaurava and the Pandava. Although the Kaurava is the senior branch of the family, Duryodhana, the eldest Kaurava, is younger than Yudhishthira, the eldest Pandava. Both Duryodhana and Yudhishthira claim to be first in line to inherit the throne.

The struggle culminates in the great battle of Kurukshetra, in which the Pandavas are ultimately victorious. The battle produces complex conflicts of kinship and friendship, instances of family loyalty and duty taking precedence over what is right, as well as the converse.

The Mahabharata itself ends with the death of Krishna, and the subsequent end of his dynasty and ascent of the Pandava brothers to heaven. It also marks the beginning of the Hindu age of Kali Yuga, the fourth and final age of humankind, in which great values and noble ideas have crumbled, and people are heading towards the complete dissolution of right action, morality, and virtue.

The older generations

King Janamejaya's ancestor Shantanu, the king of Hastinapura, has a short-lived marriage with the goddess Ganga and has a son, Devavrata (later to be called Bhishma, a great warrior), who becomes the heir apparent. Many years later, when King Shantanu goes hunting, he sees Satyavati, the daughter of the chief of fisherman, and asks her father for her hand. Her father refuses to consent to the marriage unless Shantanu promises to make any future son of Satyavati the king upon his death. To resolve his father's dilemma, Devavrata agrees to relinquish his right to the throne. As the fisherman is not sure about the prince's children honoring the promise, Devavrata also takes a vow of lifelong celibacy to guarantee his father's promise.

Shantanu has two sons by Satyavati, Chitrangada and Vichitravirya. Upon Shantanu's death, Chitrangada becomes king. He lives a very short uneventful life and dies. Vichitravirya, the younger son, rules Hastinapura. Meanwhile, the King of Kasī arranges a swayamvara for his three daughters, neglecting to invite the royal family of Hastinapur. To arrange the marriage of young Vichitravirya, Bhishma attends the swayamvara of the three princesses Amba, Ambika, and Ambalika, uninvited, and proceeds to abduct them. Ambika and Ambalika consent to be married to Vichitravirya.

The oldest princess Amba, however, informs Bhishma that she wishes to marry the king of Shalva whom Bhishma defeated at their swayamvara. Bhishma lets her leave to marry the king of Shalva, but Shalva refuses to marry her, still smarting at his humiliation at the hands of Bhishma. Amba then returns to marry Bhishma but he refuses due to his vow of celibacy. Amba becomes enraged and becomes Bhishma's bitter enemy, holding him responsible for her plight. Later she is reborn to King Drupada as Shikhandi (or Shikhandini) and causes Bhishma's fall, with the help of Arjuna, in the battle of Kurukshetra.

The Pandava and Kaurava princes

When Vichitravirya dies young without any heirs, Satyavati asks her first son Vyasa to father children with the widows. The eldest, Ambika, shuts her eyes when she sees him, and so her son Dhritarashtra is born blind. Ambalika turns pale and bloodless upon seeing him, and thus her son Pandu is born pale and unhealthy (the term Pandu may also mean 'jaundiced'). Due to the physical challenges of the first two children, Satyavati asks Vyasa to try once again. However, Ambika and Ambalika send their maid instead, to Vyasa's room. Vyasa fathers a third son, Vidura, by the maid. He is born healthy and grows up to be one of the wisest characters in the Mahabharata. He serves as Prime Minister (Mahamantri or Mahatma) to King Pandu and King Dhritarashtra.

When the princes grow up, Dhritarashtra is about to be crowned king by Bhishma when Vidura intervenes and uses his knowledge of politics to assert that a blind person cannot be king. This is because a blind man cannot control and protect his subjects. The throne is then given to Pandu because of Dhritarashtra's blindness. Pandu marries twice, to Kunti and Madri. Dhritarashtra marries Gandhari, a princess from Gandhara, who blindfolds herself for the rest of her life so that she may feel the pain that her husband feels. Her brother Shakuni is enraged by this and vows to take revenge on the Kuru family. One day, when Pandu is relaxing in the forest, he hears the sound of a wild animal. He shoots an arrow in the direction of the sound. However, the arrow hits the sage Kindama, who was engaged in a sexual act in the guise of a deer. He curses Pandu that if he engages in a sexual act, he will die. Pandu then retires to the forest along with his two wives, and his brother Dhritarashtra rules thereafter, despite his blindness.

Pandu's older queen Kunti, however, had been given a boon by Sage Durvasa that she could invoke any god using a special mantra. Kunti uses this boon to ask Dharma the god of justice, Vayu the god of the wind, and Indra the lord of the heavens for sons. She gives birth to three sons, Yudhishthira, Bhima, and Arjuna, through these gods. Kunti shares her mantra with the younger queen Madri, who bears the twins Nakula and Sahadeva through the Ashwini twins. However, Pandu and Madri indulge in lovemaking, and Pandu dies. Madri commits suicide out of remorse. Kunti raises the five brothers, who are from then on usually referred to as the Pandava brothers.

Dhritarashtra has a hundred sons through Gandhari, all born after the birth of Yudhishthira. These are the Kaurava brothers, the eldest being Duryodhana, and the second Dushasana. Other Kaurava brothers were Vikarna and Sukarna. The rivalry and enmity between them and the Pandava brothers, from their youth and into manhood, leads to the Kurukshetra war.

Lakshagraha (the house of lac)

After the deaths of their mother (Madri) and father (Pandu), the Pandavas and their mother Kunti return to the palace of Hastinapur. Yudhishthira is made Crown Prince by Dhritarashtra, under considerable pressure from his courtiers. Dhritarashtra wanted his son Duryodhana to become king and lets his ambition get in the way of preserving justice.

hakuni, Duryodhana, and Dushasana plot to get rid of the Pandavas. Shakuni calls the architect Purochana to build a palace out of flammable materials like lac and ghee. He then arranges for the Pandavas and the Queen Mother Kunti to stay there, intending to set it alight. However, the Pandavas are warned by their wise uncle, Vidura, who sends them a miner to dig a tunnel. They can escape to safety and go into hiding. During this time Bhima marries a demoness Hidimbi and has a son Ghatotkacha. Back in Hastinapur, the Pandavas and Kunti are presumed dead.

Marriage to Draupadi

Whilst they were in hiding the Pandavas learn of a swayamvara which is taking place for the hand of the Pañcala princess Draupadī. The Pandavas disguised as Brahmins come to witness the event. Meanwhile, Krishna who has already befriended Draupadi, tells her to look out for Arjuna (though now believed to be dead). The task was to string a mighty steel bow and shoot a target on the ceiling, which was the eye of a moving artificial fish while looking at its reflection in oil below. In popular versions, after all the princes fail, many being unable to lift the bow, Karna proceeds to the attempt but is interrupted by Draupadi who refuses to marry a suta (this has been excised from the Critical Edition of Mahabharata as later interpolation). After this the swayamvara is opened to the Brahmins leading Arjuna to win the contest and marry Draupadi. The Pandavas return home and inform their meditating mother that Arjuna has won a competition and to look at what they have brought back. Without looking, Kunti asks them to share whatever Arjuna has won amongst themselves, thinking it to be alms. Thus, Draupadi ends up being the wife of all five brothers.

Indraprastha

After the wedding, the Pandava brothers are invited back to Hastinapura. The Kuru family elders and relatives negotiate and broker a split of the kingdom, with the Pandavas obtaining and demanding only a wild forest inhabited by Takshaka, the king of snakes, and his family. Through hard work, the Pandavas can build a new glorious capital for the territory at Indraprastha.

Shortly after this, Arjuna elopes with and then marries Krishna's sister, Subhadra. Yudhishthira wishes to establish his position as king; he seeks Krishna's advice. Krishna advises him, and after due preparation and the elimination of some opposition, Yudhishthira carries out the rajasūya yagna ceremony; he is thus recognized as pre-eminent among kings.

The Pandavas have a new palace built for them, by Maya the Danava. They invite their Kaurava cousins to Indraprastha. Duryodhana walks round the palace, and mistakes a glossy floor for water, and will not step in. After being told of his error, he then sees a pond and assumes it is not water and falls in. Bhima, Arjun, the twins and the servants laugh at him. In popular adaptations, this insult is wrongly attributed to Draupadi, even though in the Sanskrit epic, it was the Pandavas (except Yudhishthira) who had insulted Duryodhana. Enraged by the insult, and jealous at seeing the wealth of the Pandavas, Duryodhana decides to host a dice-game at Shakuni's suggestion.

The dice game

Shakuni, Duryodhana's uncle, now arranges a dice game, playing against Yudhishthira with loaded dice. In the dice game, Yudhishthira loses all his wealth, then his kingdom. Yudhishthira then gambles his brothers, himself, and finally his wife into servitude. The jubilant Kauravas insult the Pandavas in their helpless state and even try to disrobe Draupadi in front of the entire court, but Draupadi's disrobe is prevented by Krishna, who miraculously make her dress endless, therefore it couldn't be removed.

Dhritarashtra, Bhishma, and the other elders are aghast at the situation, but Duryodhana is adamant that there is no place for two crown princes in Hastinapura. Against his wishes Dhritarashtra orders for another dice game. The Pandavas are required to go into exile for 12 years, and in the 13th year, they must remain hidden. If they are discovered by the Kauravas in the 13th year of their exile, then they will be forced into exile for another 12 years.

Exile and return

The Pandavas spend thirteen years in exile; many adventures occur during this time. The Pandavas acquire many divine weapons, given by gods, during this period. They also prepare alliances for a possible future conflict. They spend their final year in disguise in the court of the king Virata, and they are discovered just after the end of the year.

At the end of their exile, they try to negotiate a return to Indraprastha with Krishna as their emissary. However, this negotiation fails, because Duryodhana objected that they were discovered in the 13th year of their exile and the return of their kingdom was not agreed upon. Then the Pandavas fought the Kauravas, claiming their rights over Indraprastha.

The battle at Kurukshetra

The two sides summon vast armies to their help and line up at Kurukshetra for a war. The kingdoms of Panchala, Dwaraka, Kasi, Kekaya, Magadha, Matsya, Chedi, Pandyas, Telinga, and the Yadus of Mathura and some other clans like the Parama Kambojas were allied with the Pandavas. The allies of the Kauravas included the kings of Pragjyotisha, Anga, Kekaya, Sindhudesa (including Sindhus, Sauviras and Sivis), Mahishmati, Avanti in Madhyadesa, Madra, Gandhara, Bahlika people, Kambojas and many others. Before war being declared, Balarama had expressed his unhappiness at the developing conflict and leaves to go on pilgrimage; thus he does not take part in the battle itself. Krishna takes part in a non-combatant role, as charioteer for Arjuna.

Before the battle, Arjuna, noticing that the opposing army includes his cousins and relatives, including his grandfather Bhishma and his teacher Drona, has grave doubts about the fight. He falls into despair and refuses to fight. At this time, Krishna reminds him of his duty as a Kshatriya to fight for a righteous cause in the famous Bhagavad Gita section of the epic.

Though initially sticking to chivalrous notions of warfare, both sides soon adopt dishonorable tactics. At the end of the 18-day battle, only the Pandavas, Satyaki, Kripa, Ashwatthama, Kritavarma, Yuyutsu and Krishna survive. Yudhisthir becomes King of Hastinapur and Gandhari curses Krishna that the downfall of his clan is imminent.

The end of the Pandavas

After "seeing" the carnage, Gandhari, who had lost all her sons, curses Krishna to be a witness to a similar annihilation of his family, for though divine and capable of stopping the war, he had not done so. Krishna accepts the curse, which bears fruit 36 years later.

The Pandavas, who had ruled their kingdom meanwhile, decide to renounce everything. Clad in skins and rags they retire to the Himalaya and climb towards heaven in their bodily form. A stray dog travels with them. One by one the brothers and Draupadi fall on their way. As each one stumbles, Yudhishthira gives the rest the reason for their fall (Draupadi was partial to Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva were vain and proud of their looks, and Bhima and Arjuna were proud of their strength and archery skills, respectively). Only the virtuous Yudhishthira, who had tried everything to prevent the carnage, and the dog remain. The dog reveals himself to be the god Yama (also known as Yama Dharmaraja) and then takes him to the underworld where he sees his siblings and wife. After explaining the nature of the test, Yama takes Yudhishthira back to heaven and explains that it was necessary to expose him to the underworld because (Rajyante narakam dhruvam) any ruler has to visit the underworld at least once. Yama then assures him that his siblings and wife would join him in heaven after they had been exposed to the underworld for measures of time according to their vices.

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Arjuna's grandson Parikshit rules after them and dies bitten by a snake. His furious son, Janamejaya, decides to perform a snake sacrifice (sarpasattra) to destroy the snakes. It is at this sacrifice that the tale of his ancestors is narrated to him.

The Mahabharata mentions that Karna, the Pandavas, Draupadi and Dhritarashtra's sons eventually ascended to svarga and "attained the state of the gods", and banded together – "serene and free from anger".

THE PROTAGONISTS

The most important characters of Mahabharata can be said to include: Krishna; the Pandavas — Yudhishthira, Bheema, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva, along with their wife Draupadi; and the Kauravas (who were a hundred brothers), led by the eldest brother, Duryodhana. The most important other characters include Bhishma, Karna, Dronacharya, Shakuni, Dhritrashtra, Gandhari and Kunti. Some pivotal additional characters include Balarama, Subhadra, Vidura, Abhimanyu, Kripacharya, Pandu, Satyavati, Ashwatthama, and Amba. Deities who play a significant role in the epic include Vishnu, Brahma, Shiva, Ganga, Indra, Surya and Yama. This list mentions notable characters and may also contain characters appearing in regional stories and folklores related to Mahabharata:

• Abhimanyu was the son of third Pandava prince Arjuna and Yadava princess Subhadra. He was a disciple of his maternal uncles Krishna and Balrama. He was killed unfairly on the 13th day of Kurukshetra War. In the war, Abhimanyu killed warriors including Rukmartha, Brihadbala, Laksmana (Duryodhana's son), Dushmanara (Dushyasana's 2nd son), 7 foster brothers of Karna, sons of Shalya, etc. and defeated mighty warriors including Drona, Ashwatthama, Kripa, Karna, Shalya, Duryodhana, Dushasana, Vrishasena, etc. in direct and joint attacks when he had a bow in his hands. He was a great warrior just like his father Arjuna. He was among the most loved sons of Pandavas.

• Adhiratha was the foster father of Karna and the charioteer of Bheeshma. He was also the leader of all Sutas and royal charioteers. His wife was Radha. Shon was their biological son. As the Bhagavata Purana, Adhiratha descended from Yayati and therefore was related to Krishna. He was also the descendant of Romapada, the king of Anga and brother-in-law of Dashratha's descendant Shighra, king of Ayodhya.

• Adrika was an apsara, who was cursed to become a fish and only to be liberated when she gives birth to a human. Adrika, as a fish, lived in the river Yamuna. Once she came in contact with the semen of Uparichara and impregnated herself. After 10 month, some fishermen caught her, cut open her womb and found two children — Matsyagandha and Matsya. After the incident, Adrika was liberated from her curse and returned to heaven.

• Agni is the Hindu god of fire. In the Vana Parva, sage Markandeya told the story of Agni's marriage. In the Khandava-daha Parva, Agni in disguise approaches Krishna and Arjuna seeking sufficient food for gratification of his hunger and expressed his desire to consume the forest of Khandava protected by Indra for the sake of Takshaka, the chief of the Nagas. Aided by Krishna and Arjuna, Agni consumes the Khandava Forest. Later, as a boon, Arjuna got all his weapons from Indra and also the bow, Gandiva, from Varuna.

• Alambusha was a Rakshasa and a brother of Baka. In the Kurukshetra War, he fought from the Kaurava side. During the war, he killed Iravan, son of Pandava prince Arjuna and Naga lady Ulupi. Later, Alambusha was killed by Bhima's son, Ghatotkacha.

• Amba was the eldest daughter of Kashya, the king of Kashi and the sister of Ambika and Ambalika. Amba was abducted by Kuru prince Bhishma and holds him responsible for her misfortune. Her sole goal in life becomes his destruction, to fulfill which she is reborn as Shikhandini/Shikhandi.

• Ambalika is the daughter of Kashya, the King of Kashi, and wife of Vichitravirya, the King of Hastinapur. She was also the mother of Pandu, step mother of Dhritarashtra and grand mother of Pandavas.

• Ambika is the daughter of Kashya, the King of Kashi, and wife of Vichitravirya, the king of Hastinapura. She was also the mother of Dhritarashtra and stepmother of Pandu and grandmother to the Kauravas.

• Anjanaparvana was the son of Ghatotkacha and Mourvi. His grandparents were Bhima and Hidimba. He was killed by Ashwatthama in the Kurukshetra War.

• Arjuna is considered as chief protagonist in Mahabharata. Arjuna plays the listener's role in Bhagavad Gita. Arjuna was the son of Pandu and Kunti in the Kuru Kingdom. He was the spiritual son of Indra. He was the 3rd of the Pandava brothers and was married to Draupadi, Ulupi, Chitrangada and Subhadra at different times. His 4 children included Iravan, Babruvahana, Abhimanyu and Srutakarma. Arjuna was an Atimaharathi and was equal to 12 Maharathis. He was a cousin and was the best friend of Lord Krishna. He was the best archer and the greatest warrior in Mahabharata. He defeated great warriors like Bhishma, Drona, Ashwatthama, Karna, Kripa many times but never got defeated by any of them throughout his life. He performed incredible feats like defeating Gandharva King Chitrasena, defeating and killing Puloma, Kalakeyas, Kala-kunjas, and Nivatakavachas (whom Ravana and Indrajit together failed to defeat and made truce).

• Arshi (Shakuni's wife). Shakuni's wife was the queen of Gandhar and the mother of Uluka, Vrikaasur, and Vriprachitti. In later retellings, she is named Arshi, also known as Arsh and Charulata. Her brothers Keturaja and Ketusena were killed by Drupada on the 11th day of the war. She was very close to her sister-in-law, Gandhari.

• Aruni. In the Mahabharata, Aruni appeared in the Adi Parva. Aruni was a disciple of sage named Dhaumya. Once a flood took place in the fields of the ashram (school). A breach was formed in the embankment. Dhaumya sent Aruni to stop the water from entering the embankment. After a long time, Aruni had not returned. So, Dhaumya went out to find Aruni. The latter lying in the breach of the embankment to prevent the water from entering it. Because of his loyalty, Aruni is also known as Gurubhakta Aruni.

• Ashvins. The Ashvins or Ashwini is a pair of twin gods. Their father is Surya and his mother is Saranyu. They are the gods of medicine and health. In the epic, Kunti felt bad for Madri as she didn't have any children due to a curse and shared her secret mantra with her. Madri, using the mantra, called the Ashwini and had one pair of twins, Nakula and Sahadeva.

• Ashwatthama was the son of guru Drona and the grandson of the sage Bharadwaja. Ashwatthama possessed the celestial weapon Narayanastra (which no one possessed in the Mahabharat era). He used Narayanastra and killed 1 akshouni of the Pandava army. Ashvatthama fought on the Kaurava side against the Pandavas in the Kurukshetra War. He became a Chiranjivi (immortal) due to a curse on him by Lord Krishna after he shot the Brahmashirastra over Uttara's womb. Ashvatthama was appointed as the final commander-in-chief of the Kauravas in the Kurukshetra War. Overcome with grief and rage, he slaughters most of the Pandava camp in a single night offensive.

• Astika was a rishi, and he was a son of Jaratkaru by the serpent goddess Manasa – a sister of the great serpent king Vasuki. He saved the life of a serpent Takshaka, the king of snakes, when the king Janamejaya organized a snake sacrifice known as Sarpa Satra, where he made great sacrifices of serpents, to avenge for the death of his father Parikshit.

• Avantini was the wife of Shalya and the mother of Madranjaya, Rukmanagada, and Rukmanaratha. She was the princess of Avanti.

• Ayu or Ayus was an ancestor of Shantanu. He was a son Pururavas and his apsara wife, Urvashi. He married Prabha, an asura princess (daughter of Swarbhanu). He was succeeded by his son Nahusha.

• Ayodhaumya/ Dhaumya was a sage of Avanti. He had three disciples namely Aruni of Panchal, Upamanyu and Veda. He even accompanied the Pandavas into the forest of Kurujangala during their exile. He sang songs of Sama Veda referring to Yama.

• Babruvahana was one of the sons of Arjuna, begotten through Chitrangada, the princess of Manipur. During the Ashvamedha yagna, he killed his father Arjuna without knowing his identity. But Arjuna's other wife Ulupi brought back his life with the help of Nagamani.

• Bahlika, also spelled as Vahlika, was the king of Bahlika kingdom in the Mahabharata, the elder brother of Shantanu, who was a king of Hastinapur and the uncle of Bhishma. He was the oldest warrior to fight in the Mahabharata war. He had a son, Somadatta, and grandson, Bhurishravas, who along with him fought on the side of the Kaurava army in the Kurukshetra War. He was slain by Bhima on the 14th day of the war when it continued after sunset. According to Yudhishthira, Bahlika's only wish was that there should be peace among the Bharatas.

• Bakasura was a demon who was killed by Bhima near the city of Ekacakra.

• Balarama was the elder brother of Krishna. He is also known as Baladeva, Balabhadra, Haladhara and Halayudha. He was the son of Vasudev and Rohini. He was the incarnation of the great serpent God Seshnag. He is described as an extremely powerful warrior. He taught both Duryodhana of the Kauravas and Bhima of the Pandavas the art of fighting with a mace.

• Banasena. He was a son of Karna. He was an excellent Mace-wielder. On the 16th day of the war, Karna was fighting with Bhima. When Bhima was about to stab Karna, Karna's son Banasena came in aid of his father. On seeing Banasena, Bhima got angered as his own son Ghatotkacha and nephew Abhimanyu were killed by Karna. Bhima killed Banasena by beating his chest, head, and abdomen regions in front of Karna. After seeing his son dead, Karna attacked Bhima. In the fight, Bhima almost took Karna to death. But Bhima spared Karna remembering Arjuna's oath of slaying Karna. Bhima asked Karna to take his son's body to perform funerals and later fight with Arjuna.

• Bhadra and Madira were two wives of Vasudeva, the others. being Rohini Devi and Devaki. Bhadra's children were Upanidhi, Gada, and others. Madira's children were Nanda, Upananda, Kritaka, and others. They cremated themselves with Vasudeva.

• Bhagadatta was the son of Naraka, king of the Pragjyotisha Kingdom and second in a line of kings of Naraka dynasty. He was succeeded by his son Vajradatta. He sided with Kaurava in the Mahabharata war as he was an enemy of Lord Krishna. He was killed by Arjuna on the 12th day of battle. In the war, he defeated great Pandava warriors including Drishtadyumna, Drupada, Matsya king Virata, Bhima.

• Bhanu. He was the son of Shri Krishna and Satyabhama. He was the father of Bhanumati (not to be confused with Duryodhan's wife). According to regional folklore, he married Yudhishthira and Draupadi's daughter, Suthanu and had a son named Vajra.

• Bhanumati (Duryodhana's wife). Duryodhana's wife — Bhanumati in later retellings — is a minor character is in Mahabharata, and mainly appears in the folk tales. She is unnamed in the epic, but it is described that she was the princess of Kalinga Kingdom and was the daughter of Chitrangada. She was abducted by Duryodhana with the help of his friend Karna. From Duryodhana, she is the mother of a son, Laxman Kumara, and daughter, Lakshmanaa. Bhanumati's mother-in-law Gandhari described her to Krishna in the posterior to the battle of Kurukshetra.

• Bharadwaja was a sage with divine powers. He was one of the sons of God Brihaspati. Once he was visiting Haridwar, where he saw Ghritachi, an Apsara, bathing in river. He was filled with desire and discharged his seed. It fell into a pot and Drona was born. Bharadwaja trained his son and Drupada.

• Bharata is an ancestor of the Pandavas and the Kauravas in the Sanskrit epic Mahabharata. Though the Bharatas is a prominent community in the Rigveda, the story of Bharata is first told in the Adi Parva of the Mahabharata, wherein he is the son of Dushyanta and Shakuntala. According to the epic, Bharata was a Chakravartin.

• Bhima is the 2nd born of the Pandavas. He was the son of Pandu and Kunti and spiritual son of Vayu. The Mahabharata relates many events which portray the might of Bhima. Physically, Bhima was the strongest person on Earth after Hanuman and Balarama. Bhima killed demons including Bakasura, Hidimbasura, Kirmira, Jatasura, etc. Bhima defeated and killed fearsome warrior Jarasandha. Bhima also slew Krodhavanshas, demon Maniman, and Kichaka. In Kurukshetra war, Bhima alone killed 100 Kaurava brothers. He was considered to have the physical strength of 10,000 elephants approximately. Bheema was an invincible wrestler and invincible mace fighter.

• Bhima of Vidarbha. In the Vana Parva of the epic, sage Markandeya narrated the story of Nala and Damayanti. Bhima was the king of Vidarbha and the father of Damayanti.

• Bhishma. Originally named as 'Devavrata', he was the eighth son of the Kuru King Shantanu and the river goddess Ganga. Bhishma was blessed with a boon from his father that he could choose the time of his death or he may remain immortal till he desires. He was related to both the Pandavas and the Kauravas through his half-brother, Vichitravirya (Son of Satyavati). He was one of the best archers and one of the greatest warriors of his time and he was trained by Lord Parashurama. On one of the occasions, he gave a tough fight to Parashurama- no Kshatriya achieved this feat.

• Bhrigu. Sauti said in the Pauloma Parva that Bhrigu was the son of Brahma. He was married to Puloma, who gave birth to Chyavana. When the demon Puloma was carrying off his wife Puloma, she gave birth to his son, Chyavana, by whose brightness the demon was burnt into ashes. When Bhrigu saw his wife crying, he asked the reason. Puloma stated that Agni had said to the demon Puloma that I was the girl with whom Puloma was betrothed. In anger, Bhrigu cursed Agni to engulf everything whether pure or impure.

• Bhurishravas was the son of Somadatta and the grandson of Bahlika, hence making him the cousin of Dhritarashtra, Pandu, and Vidura. Bhurishravas had 2 brothers – Bhuri and Shala. Bhurishravas, in the Kurukshetra War, is known to have a rivalry with Yadava general Satyaki. Bhurishravas is eventually killed by Satyaki in the War.

• Budha is the illegitimate son of Chandra, the moon god, and Tara, wife of Brihaspati. He met Ila and married her. From their union, a son was born, who was known as Pururava. Pururavas founded the great lunar dynasty.

• Chandra is the moon god. He is son of Anusuya and Atri. The Chandravanshi (lunar dynasty) is named after him as he started it. Chandra had an affair with Tara, Brihaspati's wife. From their union, Tara became pregnant with Chandra's son, Budha. Budha's son, Pururavas, was the first king of the lunar dynasty. Later, Chandra married Rohini and a son named Varchas was born.

• Chandravarma Kamboja is the first Kamboja king mentioned by name in the Mahabharata. He was an ancestor of Duryodhana's wife Bhanumati. He appears to have been an ancient very powerful and renowned (vikhyaat) ruler of the

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Kambojas. He finds mention in the Adiparva section of the epic Mahabharata, where he is stated to be an Asura or a demonic ruler.

• Gandharva King Chitrasena. Chitrasen appeared twice in the epic. Chitrasena was the King of the Gandharvas who prevented the Kauravas from putting up their camp near the pond where he himself had encamped. Chitrasena was also introduced in the epic in the Vana Parva, as a teacher of music by Indra. Indra foresaw that Arjuna would have to spend one year at King Virata's palace as a eunuch, during which time he would need the knowledge of music and dance. He wanted Arjuna to be trained by the king of the Gandharvas, Chitrasena. Chitrasena began his classes soon and the two also became good friends. When Urvashi cursed Arjuna to remain a eunuch for life, it was Chitrasena along with Indra who mediated with her to reduce the tenure of her curse to a single year. Chitrasena was able to achieve this by narrating to her the story of the Pandavas and the bravery of Arjuna.

• Chekitana was the son of Kekaya king Dhrishtaketu and Queen Shrutakirti, a Yadava. Chekitana was described to be a valorous warrior, who fought with warriors like Susharma, Kripacharya and Dronacharya. He also rescued Nakula from the clutches of Duryodhana. On the 18th day, he was killed by Duryodhana.

• Chitra and Chitrasena were brothers and the 2 kings of the Abhisara Kingdom. Both of them sided with the Kauravas in the Kurukshetra War. Chitra was killed by Prativindhya on the 16th day, whereas Chitrasena was killed by Shrutakarma on the same day.

• Chitrangada was a king in ancient India. In the Mahabharata, he is the elder son of Shantanu and Satyavati, ascending the throne of Hastinapura after his father's death. However, he is killed by a Gandharva named Chitrangada soon after that.

• Gandharva Chitrangada. Chitrangada was a Gandharva, who was jealous of Shantanu's son Chitrangada, for sharing a name. One day, the Gandharva challenged the prince and killed him.

• Chitrangada of Kalinga was the king of the Kalinga kingdom. In the Shanti Parva of the epic, Narada narrated that Chitrangada's daughter (Bhanumati) with Kaurava Duryodhana.

• Chitrangada was the warrior princess of Manipura. She was the only heir of king Chitravahana and one of Arjuna's consorts. She had a son named Babhruvahana with him. Later, Babhruvahana unknowingly killed his father but was revived by Ulupi, Chitrangada's friend, and co-wife.

• Chitravahana was the king of Manipura and the father of Chitrangadaa. He was also the grandfather of Babruvahana. His wife was Queen Vasundhara.

• Damayanti is a character in a love story found in the Vana Parva book of the Mahabharata. She was a princess of the Vidarbha Kingdom, who married King Nala of the Nishadha Kingdom. Her story is set long before the Kurukshetra War.

• Dantavakra was the king of Karusha according to the Mahabharata and the Puranas.

• Dashraj, also known as Nishadraj and Kevatraj, was the chief fisherman of Hastinapura and the adoptive father of Satyavati. He was the one who asked Satyavati's heir to be the ruler of Hastinapura, due to which Bhishma took a vow of celibacy and a vow not to rule Hastinapura.

• Devaki was the daughter of Ugrasena, the stepsister of Kansa, wife of Vasudeva Anakadundubhi, the biological mother of Lord Krishna.

• Devayani was the daughter of Shukra, the guru of the Asuras. She was married to Yayati and gave birth to two sons — Yadu and Turvasu, and a daughter —Madhavi. Before her marriage, she once fell in love with Brihaspati's son, Kacha. However, Kacha later refused to marry her. She had a friend named Sharmishtha who was secretly in relationship with her husband Yayati.

• Devika is a minor character in the Mahabharata. She was the daughter of Govasena, the king of the Sivi Kingdom, and the second wife of Yudhishthira they got married in a self choice ceremony. They had a son called Yaudheya.

• Dhrishtadyumna was the son of Drupada and the brother of Draupadi, Shikhandi, and Satyajit in the epic Mahabharata. He had 4 sons – Kshatradharman, Kshatravarman, Kshatranjaya, and Dhrishtaketu. He was the commander-in-chief of the Pandava army during the entire Kurukshetra War i.e. for 18 days. Dhrishtadyumna killed Drona, the royal guru, when he was meditating which was against the rules of engagement.

• Dhritrashtra. In the Mahabharata, Dhritarashtra is the King of Kuru Kingdom with its capital Hastinapur. He was born to Vichitravirya's first wife Ambika. Dhritarashtra was born blind and became father to 100 sons and one daughter Dushala by his wife Gandhari (Gandharī), and another son Yuyutsu by Sughada, his wife's maid. These children, including the eldest son Duryodhana, came to be known as the Kauravas.

• Dhrishtaketu of Chedi was the son of Chedi king Shishupala, who was a cousin of Krishna. Dhrishtaketu became the king of Chedi after his father's death and became an ally of the Pandavas. His sister Karenumati was married to Nakula. Dhrishtaketu and his brothers and sons participated in the Kurukshetra War, where they all were killed.

• Dhrishtaketu of Kekeya was the ruler of Kekeya, and his wife was Shrutakirti, a Yadava who was the daughter of Shurasena. Many of Dhrishtaketu's sons participated in the Kurukshetra War, participating on both sides. Vrihadkshatra and Chekitana were 2 of his notable sons. Dhrishtaketu's daughter Bhadra was married to Krishna, who bore him many sons.

• Draupadi also referred to as Panchalī, is the most important female and one of the most important characters in Mahabharata. She was born from a yajna organized by Panchala King Drupada and is described to be the most beautiful woman of her time. She was the common wife of the Pandavas, who fought their cousins, the Kauravas in the great Kurukshetra War. She had five sons from each Pandava, who were collectively addressed as the Upapandavas.

• Drona. In the epic Mahabharata, DroNa or DroNacharya was the royal preceptor to the Kauravas and Pandavas. He was a friend of Guru Sukracharya, the guru of Asuras, including Mahabali. He was the son of rishi Bharadwaja and a descendant of sage Angirasa. He was a master of advanced military arts, including the divine weapons or Astras. He was also the second commander- in- chief of kaurava army from 11th day to 15th day. He was beheaded by Dhrishtadyumna when he was meditating to release his soul on the battlefield.

• Drupada was the son of King Prishata. He was the king of the land of Southern Panchala. His capital was known as Kampilya. He was father of Shikhandi, Satyajit, Dhrishtadyumna and Draupadi. He was friend turned rival of DroNa and rivalry developed when he humiliated DroNa in front of his ministers. Later, with the help of Arjuna, DroNa took half of Drupada's kingdom. This led Drupada to performed a yajna from which Draupadi and Dhrishtadyumna emerged. He was killed by DroNa during the Kurukshetra War.

• Durmasena was the son of Dushasana. He helped his father many times in the Kurukshetra war. He was also present inside the Chakra Vyuh on the thirteenth day of the war. He was deprived of his chariot by Abhimanyu and saved by Aswathamma by cutting Abhimanyu's arrow in mid air. After that, Durmasena killed brutally injured Abhimanyu in a mace duel. On 14th day, Durmasena was brutally killed by Draupadi's sons, the Upapandavas, in revenge for Abhimanyu.

• Duryodhana also is known as Suyodhana, is a major antagonist in Mahabharata and was the eldest of the Kauravas, the hundred sons of a blind king Dhritarashtra and Queen Gandhari. Being the firstborn son of the blind king, he was the crown prince of Kuru Kingdom and its capital Hastinapura along with his cousin Yudhishtra who was older than him. Karna was Duryodhana's closest friend.

• Dushala was the daughter of Dhritarashtra and Gandhari, the sister of the Kauravas and the wife of Jaydrath.

• Dushasana was a Kaurava prince, the second son of the blind king Dhritarashtra and Gandhari and the younger brother of Duryodhana in the Hindu epic Mahabharata.

• Dushyanta was an ancestor of Shantanu and a king of Hastinapura. He was the husband of Shakuntala and the father of the Emperor Bharata.

• Ekalavya is a character from the epic The Mahabharata. He was a young prince of the Nishadha, a confederation of jungle tribes (Adivasi) in Ancient India.

• Gandhari is a prominent character in the Indian epic the Mahabharata. She was a princess of Gandhara (modern-day Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa) and the wife of Dhritrashtra, the blind king of Hastinapura, and the mother of a hundred sons, the Kauravas.

• Ganesha is the god of beginnings. He is the son of Shiva and Parvati. The epic poem Mahabharata says that the sage Vyasa asked him to serve as his scribe to transcribe the poem as he dictated it to him. Ganesha agreed but only on the condition that Vyasa recites the poem uninterrupted, that is, without pausing. The sage agreed but found that to get any rest he needed to recite very complex passages so Ganesha would have to ask for clarifications.

• Ganga. In the Mahabharata, Ganga was the first wife of Shantanu, and the mother of heroic warrior-patriarch, Bhishma. When she met Shantanu for the first time, Shantanu asked her to become his wife. She agreed on the condition that he wouldn't ask her a single question. Later, she gave birth to 8 children, who were Vasus reborn as mortals due to a curse. Ganga drowned her seven sons as the Vasus requested her to do so. However, Shantanu stopped her from drowning their eighth son, who was Bhishma, and asked her questions. Ganga's condition was broken and she left Shantanu. However, she promised him to return his son. When Bhishma is mortally wounded in the Kurukshetra War, Ganga came out of the water in human form and wept uncontrollably over his body.

• Ghatotkacha was the son of the Pandava Bhima and Hidimbi. His name comes from the fact that his head was hairless (utkaca) and shaped like a ghatam. He died in Kurukshetra War in the hands of Karna.

• Ghritachi is one of the prominent Apsara. In the Mahabharata, she appeared in Adi Parva. According to the story, she was bathing in a river. Bharadwaja was passing by, then he saw her. He was filled with desire and discharged his seed. It fell into a pot and Drona was born.

• Hanuman. Unlike Ramayana, lord Hanuman does not have a large role in Mahabharata. He appears during the exile of Pandavas. In the story, Bhima, Hanuman's celestial brother, performed a penance to gain more strength. Hanuman wanted to test Bhima and appeared as a normal monkey in front of him. The monkey asked Bhima to lift his tail if he believed in his strength. But, Bhima wasn't able to lift the tail. Later, he realised who the monkey was and apologized. Hanuman taught battle-skills to Bheema for some time.

• Hidimba was a Rakshasa and the brother of Hidimbi. He was killed by Bhima, who later married his sister.

• Hidimbī or Hidimba was a Rakshasi in the Mahabharata. Hidimbi, along with her brother, Hidimba, tried to eat the Pandavas, when they entered their forest. But when she met Bhima, she fell in love with him and told them the plan. After Bhima killed Hidimba, Hidimbi married Bhima and gave birth to Ghatotkacha.

• Ila or Ila was a character from Mahabharata who could change his/her gender. As a woman, she married Budha, son of Chandra, and had a son named Pururavas. Pururavas's descendants founded the lunar dynasty.

• Indra. In the Mahabharata, Indra appears numerous times. He is son of Kashyapa and Aditi. He is the spiritual father of Arjuna. He was the reason for the separation of Urvashi and Pururavas. During his temporary absence, Nahusha took his place as the king. He is called by Kunti after Dharmaraj and Vayu. Later in the epic, he is shown protecting Takshaka's forest from Arjuna. The Pandavas named their capital, Indraprastha, after him. During the exile of Pandavas, Arjuna came to meet him. During the Kurukshetra war, he took the indestructible armor and earrings from Karna and gave him a powerful weapon. These were some of his appearances in the epic.

• Iravan also is known as Aravan and Iravat is a minor character in Mahabharata. He was a son of Pandava prince Arjuna (one of the main heroes of the Mahabharata) and the Naga princess Ulupi, Iravan is the central deity of the cult of Kuttantavar which is also the name commonly given to him in that cult—and plays a major role in the cult of Draupadi. Iravan played a huge role in the Kurukshetra War. On the 7th day, he massacred the Kaurava army and killed many brothers of Shakuni. However, on the 8th day, in a battle of many illusions and magical powers, Iravan is beheaded by the demon Alambusha.

• Jambavati is second of the Ashtabharya, the eight principal queen-consorts of Krishna. She was the only daughter of the bear-king Jambavan. Krishna married her, when he defeated Jambavan to retrieve the stolen Syamantaka jewel.

• Janamejaya was a Kuru king and a descendant of Arjuna. He was the son of Parikshit and the grandson of Abhimanyu and Uttara. He performed a snake sacrifice called Sarpa Satra to avenge his father's death, who was killed by Takshaka, Arjuna's naga enemy. Astika, son of Manasa, stopped the sacrifice.

• Janapadi is an Apsara, who once roamed in the forests. One day, upon seeing her, Shardavan, son of Gautama Maharishi discharged his seed. From his seed, Kripa and Kripi were born.

• Jarasandha. According to the Mahabharata, Jarasandha was a powerful king of Magadha. He was a descendant of a king Brihadratha, the creator of the Barhadratha dynasty of Magadha. He was killed by 2nd Pandava Bhima.

• Jaratkaru was a sage who wandered all over the earth and remained unmarried. He encountered his ancestors who hung upside down, leading to hell for he did not have any son. This led to his marriage with the snake goddess, Manasa. They gave birth to Astika who saved the snakes from being burnt during the snake sacrifice.

• Jayadratha was King of Sindhu Kingdom. He was the son of King Vridhakshtra. He was married to Kauravas' only sister and only daughter of Dhritarashtra and Gandhari, Dushala. He kidnapped Draupadi on Duryodhana's order but was stopped by Arjuna and Bhima. His hairs were cut off as a punishment. He was the biggest reason for Abhimanyu's death. Abhimanyu's father Arjuna swore to kill Jayadratha and he fulfill his oath.

• Kadru was the daughter of Daksha and wife of Kasyapa. She was the mother of thousand nagas. She even cursed her children for not obeying her to be burnt in the snake sacrifice.

• Kalvakra was the most loyal companion and main bodyguard of Kansa. He was always appreciated by Kansa. He was also cruel like Kansa. When Krishna was killing Kansa, Balarama killed him by beating him and cutting his head with hands.

• Kalyavana was a ruler. He was an ally of Magadha ruler, Jarasandha, and enemy of Krishna and Mathura. Krishna, using his wit, killed Kalyavana.

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• Kacha's story is mentioned in Mahabharata's Adi Parva. He was the son of Brihaspati. He was sent by Devas to Sukracharya's ashram to learn about Mrita Sanjeevani mantra. Sukra's daughter Devyani fell in love with him. However, Kacha later refused to marry her.

• Kamsa or Kansa was the tyrant ruler of the Vrishni kingdom with its capital at Mathura. He is the brother of Devaki, the mother of the god Krishna who later slew Kamsa.

• Kanika was a sage of Hastinapur. He acted as a counselor to Dhritarashtra. When Yudhisthira was announced the crown prince, Dhritarashtra became sad for his sons were deceived. And at this time Kanika was summoned to counsel the king, who advised Dhritarashtra not to resort to fight but remove his foes secretly. Unethical methods may also be adopted for killing a foe, was his advice. Then he narrated a story of a jackal, who deceived his companions (tiger, mongoose, wolf, and mouse) by tricking them. Influenced by his counsels Dhritarashtra exiled the Pandavas to Varanavata and constructed the house of lac.

• Karenumati was the daughter of Chedi king Shishupala, and sister of his successor Dhrishtaketu. She was the wife of Pandava Nakula and begot him a son, Niramitra. Niramitra succeeded his father Nakula to the throne of the Northern Madra Kingdom.

Karna. In the Mahabharata, Karna was the spiritual son of Surya (the Sun deity) and son of princess Kunti (later the Pandu's queen). He was raised by foster Suta parents named Radha and Adhiratha. Adhiratha was the charioteer and poet profession working for king Dhritarashtra. Karna grows up to be an accomplished warrior, a gifted speaker and becomes a loyal friend of Duryodhana. He is appointed the king of Anga (Bengal) by Duryodhana. Karna joined the Duryodhana's side in the Kurukshetra War. He defeated many warriors when he performed Vijay yatra including mighty Bhagadatta and Susharma. In the war, he killed mighty warrior Ghatothkatcha. He was a key warrior on Kaurava side who aimed to kill 3rd Pandava Arjuna but dies in a battle with him during the war.

• Karna's wives. In the original Mahabharata, Gandhari mentions Karna's wife or wives but never states her name. The names and backstories appear in later texts and interpolation. Most modern sources believe that Karna had two wives — Vrushali, his childhood friend, and Supriya, Duryodhana's wife's friend. In Kashidasi Mahabharata, a regional version of the Mahabharata, Padmavati is named as Karna's wife.

• Kauravas were the 102 sons of Dhritarashtra. Out of which, 101 were his legitimate children from his wife Gandhari. He had one illegitimate son named Yuyutsu, who was conceived through a maid during Gandhari's two year long pregnancy. Out of these children, Dushala is the only girl. The names of the 102 Kauravas are: Duryodhana, Yuyutsu, Dushasana, Duhsaha, Duhshal, Durmukha, Vivinsati, Vikarna, Jalasandha, Sulochna, Vinda, Anuvinda, Durdharsha, Suvahu, Dushpradharshana, Durmarshana, Dushkarna, Karna, Chitra, Vipachitra, Chitraksha, Charuchitra, Angada, Durmada, Dushpradharsha, Vivitsu, Vikata, Sama, Urananabha, Padmanabha Nanda, Upanandaka, Sanapati, Sushena, Kundodara, Mahodara, Chitravahu, Chitravarman, Suvarman, Durvirochana, Ayovahu, Mahavahu, Chitrachapa, Sukundala, Bhimavega, Bhimavala, Valaki, Bhimavikrama, Ugrayudha, Bhimaeara, Kanakayu, Dridhayudha, Dridhavarman, Dridhakshatra, Somakirti, Anadara, Jarasandha, Dridhasandha, Satyasandha, Sahasravaeh, Ugrasravas, Ugrasena, Kshemamurti, Aprajita, Panditaka, Visalaksha, Duradhara, Dridhahasta, Suhasta, Vatavega, Suvarchasa, Adityaketu, Vahvasin, Nagadatta, Anuyaina, Nishangi, Kuvachi, Dandi, Dandadhara, Dhanugraha, Ugra, Bhimaratha, Vira, Viravahu, Alolupa, Abhaya, Raudrakarman, Dridharatha, Anadhrishya, Kundaveda, Viravi, Dhirghalochana, Dirghavahu, Mahavahu, Vyudhoru, Kanakangana, Kundaja, Chitraka, Dushala

• Kauravya was the father of Ulupi and grandfather of Iravan. His wife was Vishvahini.

• Kichaka was the general of the Mastya kingdom. He was the brother of Sudeshna, queen of Matsya. He was very powerful and feared by Virata and the citizens of the kingdom. He was killed by Bhima when he tried to force himself on Draupadi.

• Kripa or Kripacharya was the son of Saradvan and Janapadī, born in a particularly extraordinary manner. He was the grandson of Maharishi Gautama. He was a descendant of sage Angiras. He along with his sister Kripi were adopted by King Shantanu. Later on Kripa became an acharya, teacher of the royal children, giving him the name Kripacharya. His twin sister Kripi married Drona. Kripa was among the Maharathis who fought on the Kauravas's side against the Pandavas in the Kurukshetra war in the Hindu epic of the Mahabharata.

• Kripi was the sister of Kripacharya. She and her brother were adopted by the Rajguru of King Shantanu. Her actual parents were Saradvan and Janapadi. She married Dronacharya, who was poor at that time. When they wanted a powerful son, they prayed to Shiva, and a son named Ashwathama was born.

• Krishna or Shri (Lord) Krishna is a Hindu deity. He is also a major character in epic Mahabharata.He was an eighth avatar of lord Vishnu /Narayana Krishna . He was born to Devaki and her husband, Vasudeva of the Yadava clan in Mathura. During the Kurukshetra War, he became strategist of Padavas and charioteer of Arjuna. At the start of the Dharma Yudhha (righteous war) between Pandavas and Kauravas, Arjuna is filled with moral dilemma and despair about the violence and death the war will cause in the battle against his own kin. He wonders if he should renounce and seeks Krishna's counsel, whose answers and discourse constitute the Bhagavad Gita. Krishna counsels Arjuna to "fulfill his Kshatriya (warrior) duty to uphold the Dharma" through "selfless action".

• Kritavarma was one of the Yadava warriors and chieftain, and a contemporary of Krishna. During Kuruksetra war, Kritavarma fought for Kauravas along with Krishna's Narayani sena and was one of survivors of the war.

Kunti-Bhoja. In Hindu mythology, Kunti-Bhoja (or Kuntibhoja) was the adoptive father of Kunti and cousin of Shurasena. He was the ruler of the Kunti Kingdom. Kunti was a daughter of King Shurasena but was later given to Kuntibhoja since he was devoid of children. Kuntibhoja raised her as his own daughter and loved her. She was very beautiful and intelligent and later married Pandu. When Kunti was a young girl, the sage Durvasa visited Kuntibhoja one day and sought his hospitality. The king entrusted the sage to Kunti's care and tasked Kunti with the responsibility of serving the sage and meeting all his needs during his stay with them. Eventually, the sage was gratified. Before departing, he rewarded Kunti by teaching her Atharvaveda mantras which enabled her to invoke any god of her choice to beget children by them. His son Visharada succeeded him who was killed by Duryodhana on the 8th day.

• Kunti or Pritha was the daughter of Shurasena, and the foster daughter of his cousin Kuntibhoja. She was married to King Pandu of Hastinapur and was the mother of Karna and the Pandavas Yudhishthira, Bhima, Arjuna. She was the paternal aunt of Krishna, Balarama, and Subhadra. She was the step mother of Nakula and Sahadeva. She was very beautiful and intelligent.

• Kuru is the name of the ancestor of the clan of the Kurus in the Mahabharata. This name is probably of Persian origin and related to Kurush, Kyros, Cyrus, Karoshti. He was the son of Samvarana and of Tapati, the daughter of the Sun. In the literature, Kuru is an ancestor of Pandu and his descendants, the Pandavas, and also of Dhritarashtra and his descendants, the Kauravas. This latter name derived as a patronym from "Kuru", is only used for the descendants of Dhritarashtra. King Kuru had two wives named Shubhangi and Vahini. He had a son named Viduratha with Shubhangi, and five sons with Vahini, named Ashvavat, Abhishyat, Citraratha, Muni, and Janamejaya. Due to his merits and great ascetic practices the region "Kurujangal" was named after him. It has also been known as Kurukshetra since ancient Vedic times.

• Lakshmana Kumara or Laxman Kumara. In the Hindu epic Mahabharata, Laxman Kumara or simply Laxman (Lakshman(a)) is the son of Duryodhana, and grandson of Dhritarashtra. He had a twin sister called Lakshmanaa who was kidnapped by Samba (Krishna's son). Not much is revealed about Laxman in the Mahabharata.

• Lakshmanaa. In the Hindu epic Mahabharata, Laxmanaa (also spelled Lakshmanaa or Lakshmana) is the daughter of Duryodhana and Bhanumati. She had a twin brother named Laxman Kumara. Little is revealed about Laxmanaa in the Mahabharata other than her marriage to Krishna's son Samba.

• Madanjaya. He was Prime Minister of Kuru Kingdom before Vidura. When Bhishma gave his post to Vidura, he tried to kill Vidura but he fought and was beheaded by Bhishma.

• Madranjaya. He was eldest son of Shalya and Avantini who was killed on 2nd day of war by Virata.

• Madrasena. He was younger brother of Shalya and elder brother of Madri. He was uncle of Nakula and Sahadeva. He was unmarried and was killed by Yudhishthira along with Shalya on the last day of war.

• Madri. In the Mahabharata epic, Madri, also called Madhuri, was sister of Shalya, princess of the Madra Kingdom, second wife of Pandu and the mother of two sons: Nakula and Sahadeva. One day, Pandu and Madri made love, this led Pandu to die due to his curse and Madri to commit suicide.

• Malini. She was maid of Draupadi married to a Kshatriyan soldier Pralanksena. Her son Nakusha was Bodyguard of Drupada. Her husband and son were killed by Drona before Drupada's death on the 15th day of war.

• Manasa. In the Mahabharata, Naga Goddess Manasa is the wife of Jaratkaru . They had a son, Astika, who saved the serpents including Takshaka from Sarpa Satra organised by king Janamejaya to avenge his father's death.

• Markandeya was blessed by Lord Shiva to remain young till the end of Kali Yuga. In the Mahabharat, Markandeya visits the Pandavas during their exile and tells them the story of Nala and Damayanti, Savitri and Satyavan, etc.

• Meghavarna. He was the son of Ghatotkach and Maurvi. He was the grandson of Bhima and Hidimbi. He was the brother of Anjanaparvana. He did not fight the War, and hence, was the only alive son of Ghatotkacha.

• Menaka was a beautiful apsara. She was sent by Indra to fill Vishwamitra with lust and destroy his penance. Upon seeing her, Vishwamitra was filled with desire and from their union, Shakuntala, mother of great king Bharat, was born. Menaka left Shakuntala and Vishwamitra again started to meditate. Shakuntala was left with sage Kanva.

• Muchukunda, son of King Mandhata, and brother of equally illustrious Ambarisha, was born in the Ikshvaku dynasty. He later became a sage and his divine powers killed Kalyavana.

• Nala is the main character of a love story in the Vana Parva of Mahabharata. He was king of Nishada. He fell in love with Damayanti and married her. But they struggled a lot after their marriage. His story is set long before the Kurukshetra war.

• Nahusha was a king from lunar dynasty and an ancestor of Shantanu. He was the son Ayu and Prabha. He was equal to Indra in every way and was made the ruler of Swarga in Indra's absence. He married Ashokasundari/Viraja, the daughter of Devi Parvati and Lord Shiva, and had a son named Yayati. He was removed from his position as the king because of his arrogance and cursed to a snake. His curse was over when he met Yudhishthira in a forest.

• Nakula was fourth of the five Pandava brothers. Nakula and Sahadeva were twins born to Madri, who had invoked the Ashwini Kumaras. Nakula and his brother Sahadeva, are both called as Ashvineya, as they were born from Ashvinas. Nakula was said to be a skilled master in sword-fighting. On the 18th day of Kurukshetra War, Nakula had killed three sons of Karna.

• Nanda was the head of the Gopas tribe of Yadava cowherds referred as Holy Gwals. He was a friend of Vasudeva, spouse of Yashoda and the foster father of Krishna.

• Narakasura was the son of Bhumi, the earth goddess. He gained a boon that only his mother could kill him. He captured and married women forcefully. Lord Krishna and Satyabhama (the human incarnation of Bhumi) killed him.

• Niramitra. In the Mahabharata, Niramitra (lit. he who has no enemies) was the son of Nakula and his wife Karenumati.

• Padmavati was the name of wife of Ugrasena. She was the mother of tyrant Kamsa.

• Parashara was a sage. He was the grandson of Vasishtha, the son of Sakti Maharsi, and the father of Vyasa. Before Satyavati married Shantanu, she had an affair with Parashara. During that time, she was known as Matsyagandha. Later they had a child named Vyasa. However they parted away but before leaving, Parashara restored Matsyagandha's virginity and gave her an enchanting scent.

• Parashuram is the sixth avatar of Vishnu in Hinduism and he is one of the chiranjeevis who will appear at the end of the Kali Yuga. He was born to destroy evil Kshatriya, who had begun to abuse their power. Parashurama is also the Guru of Bhishma, Dronacharya, and Karna.

• Parikshit was a king from kuru lineage. He was the son of Abhimanyu (Arjuna's son) and Uttara. When he was in his mother's womb, he was attacked and killed by Ashwatthama using Brahmastra. However Shri Krishna revived him and named him Parikshit. After the Pandavas and Draupadi retired for heaven, he was crowned as the new king. Later, Kali (demon) manipulated Parikshit and he placed a dead snake on a meditating rishi. The Rishi's son saw it and cursed him to die by a snakebite. After he was bitten and killed by Takshaka, his son Janamejaya performed Sarpa Satra. This is where he hears the story of his great-grandfathers.

• Parishrami was the chief maid of queens Ambika and Ambalika. They sent her to Maharishi Vyasa the third time when Satyavati asked them to go. She was the mother of Vidura and the mother-in-law of Sulabha.

• Pandu was the king of Hastinapur, the son of Ambalika and Vichitravirya. He is popularly known as the father of the Pandavas, who were called so after him. Pandu was responsible and a great warrior, who expanded his kingdom during his rule. He had two wives named Kunti and Madri. He died early due to a curse of a sage.

• Prabha, sometimes Indumati, was the daughter of Asura Svarbhanu, who later became Rahu and Ketu. She married Ayu, son of Pururavas of lunar dynasty, and had a son named Nahusha.

• Pradyumna was the son of Sri Krishna and Rukmini. He is the reincarnation of Kamadeva, who was burnt by lord Shiva for shooting arrow of love at him. After his birth, he was kidnapped by Sambara and thrown into water. However, he survived and was raised by Mayawati (reincarnation of devi Rati). Later, he defeated Sambara and returned to Dwarka. He married Mayawati, Prabhavati and Vidarbha princess Rukmavati, and had a son Aniruddha.

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• Pratipa was a king in the Mahabharata, who was the father of Shantanu and grandfather of Bhishma.

• Prativindhya was the son of Yudhisthir and Draupadi. He was the eldest brother among Upapandavas.

• Prishati, sometimes referred as Kokila, was the wife of King Drupada and the mother of Shikhandini and Satyajit. She was named 'Prishati' as she was the daughter in law of Prishata. She accompanied Drupada when he went to sages to obtain a son who could defeat Dronacharya and after Dhristadyumna and Draupadi from the fire, she was very happy and treated them like their own children.

• Purochana was the builder of the Lakshagraha. However, he, along with his wife and her sons, perished in the fire. He was the royal chief architect in Hastinapura. He was a friend of Shakuni and Duryodhana. Purochana built the Lakshagraha palace and burnt it. He was killed by Bhima in the Lakshagraha palace. Purochana had a wife and many sons. In his last life, Purochana had been Prahasta, Ravana's uncle and commander-in-chief of his army. Shakuni and Duryodhana made another plan to kill the Pandavas. Shakuni told Purochana to build a really beautiful palace in Varnavrata out of only materials that can catch and spread fire easily. Purochana quickly did as Shakuni had said. Purochana called the palace Lakshagraha. It was made out of materials such as wax and twigs. After some time, Shakuni convinced the Pandavas and Kunti to visit Lakshagraha. Purochana and his wife welcomed the Pandavas and Kunti grandly. After 10 days, during the night, Purochana set fire on the palace. The Pandavas woke up and realized that this had been another one of Duryodhana and Shakuni's evil schemes. Bhima got really mad. While Purochana and his sons and wife were trying to escape, Bhima killed all of them, including Purochana. The Pandavas barely managed to escape the fire.

• Pururavas was the first king from the lunar dynasty (Shantanu's dynasty). He was the son Budha, son of Chandra, and Ila. He married princess of Kashi. Later, he married Urvashi but she left him. He was succeeded by his son, Ayu.

• Radha was the foster mother of Karna, one of the central characters in the Hindu epic Mahabharata. She was the wife of Adhiratha, the charioteer of Bhishma. Radha also bore a son named Shon. The young Kunti used a mantra to beget a son from the Sun god Surya. Afraid of the taint of being an unwed mother, she placed the baby in a basket and set him afloat a river. The child later known as Karna was found and adopted by Radha and Adiratha, who raised Karna as their own. Karna is known by the matronymic Radheya. Karna, once he knows from Krishna and Kunti about his birth secret, having done so much harm to his brothers Pandavas, was in no position to abandon Duryodhana.

• Revati. In the Mahabharata, Revati was daughter of King Kakudmi and consort of Balarama, the elder brother of Krishna.

• Rohini (wife of Vasudeva). She was the wife of Vasudeva and mother of Balrama. She looked after Balaram in his childhood. After Vasudeva and Devaki were released, she started living with them. After the passing of Vasudeva in the Yadu massacre, Rohini cremates herself on Vasudeva's pyre along with his other wives Devaki, Bhadra and Madira.[58]

• Rohini (wife of Krishna). Rohini is was the chief of Krishna's junior wives, who were imprisoned by Narakasura.

• Rukmi was the ruler of Vidarbha. He was the son of king Bhishmaka and elder brother of Rukmini.

• Rukmini was the first and chief queen consort of Krishna. She was an avatar of goddess Lakshmi. She was the daughter of king Bhishmaka, sister of Rukmi and the princess of Vidarbha.

• Ruru was a sage (rishi) of the epic Mahabharata. He was the son of Pramati and Ghritachi, the celestial danseuse and a descendant of Bhrigu. Ruru married Pramadvara, foster-daughter of sage Sthulakesha. He was the father of Sunaka.

• Sahadeva was the youngest of the five Pandava brothers. Nakula and Sahadev were twins born to Madri who had invoked the Ashwini Kumaras. Sahadeva had two wives Draupadi and Vijaya. Draupadi was the common wife of Pandavas while Vijaya was the beloved wife of Sahadeva. Similar to his twin brother Nakula, Sahadeva was also accomplished in swordsmanship. On the 18th of war, Sahadeva had killed Shakuni who was mainly responsible for the Kurukshetra War.

• Sahadeva of Magadha. Sahadeva was the son of powerful king Jarasandha. When Bhima slayed his father, Krishna declared him to be the new ruler of Magadha. Sahadeva is a frequent ally of the Pandavas, and attended the Rajsuya of Yudhishthira. During the Kurukshetra War, he fought from the side of Pandavas and was slayed by Shakuni.

Sakradeva. He was son of King Srutayudha and Queen Sakrayani of Kalinga. He was Yuvaraja (Crown Prince) of Kalinga. He was killed by Bhima on the 2nd day of war along with many soldiers and two generals Satya and Satyadeva.

• Samba was the mischievous son of Krishna and his second wife, Jambavati. He was born as a boon of Lord Shiva. Samba was the husband of Lakshmanaa, Duryodhana's daughter. Later in the epic, his mischief becomes the reason for the destruction of Krishna's Yaduvansha, to whom Gandhari cursed.

• Shamika was a sage in the epic Mahabharata. One day, while hunting Parikshit had wounded a deer but lost it in the woods. Searching for it, fatigued he asked meditating Shamika about the deer. The sage did not answer as he was observing the vow of silence. This angered the king, who placed a dead snake on Shamika's shoulder. Sringin, son of Shamika enraged by this act cursed Parikshit to be killed by Takshaka(snake) within seven days.

• Samvarana was a king from lunar dynasty and an ancestor of Shantanu. He married Tapati, daughter of Surya, and had a child named Kuru.

• Sanjaya was Dhritarashtra's advisor and also his charioteer. Sanjaya was a disciple of sage Krishna Dwaipayana Veda Vyasa and was immensely devoted to his master, King Dhritarashtra. Sanjaya – who has the gift of seeing events at a distance (divya-drishti) right in front of him, granted by the sage Vyasa – narrates to Dhritarashtra the action in the climactic battle of Kurukshetra, which includes the Bhagavad Gita.

• Sarama, according to Mahabharata is a celestial female dog. Janamejaya and his brothers beat one of her sons without any reason when the dog arrives at an occasion of sacrifice. This angers Sarama, and she curses the princes and Janamejaya that evil may happen to them.

• Satrajit. In the Hindu scriptures like the Mahabharata and Bhagvata Puran, Satrajit was a Yadava king who was a great devotee of Suryadeva, the Sun god. He is famous for his role in the story of Syamantaka gem. He was the father of Satyabhama, who was Bhumidevi's incarnation and Sri Krishna's third wife.

• Satyabhama is the third consort of the God Krishna, the eighth avatar of the god Vishnu. Satyabhama is believed to be an avatar of Bhumī Devī, the Goddess of Earth who is Prakriti form of Mahalakshmi. She aided Krishna in defeating the demon Narakasura. Later she visited the Pandavas during their exile and had a chat with Draupadi.

• Satyajit. He was second born child of King Drupada and Queen Prishati. He was younger brother of Shikhandini/Shikhandi and elder brother of Dhrishtadyumna and Draupadi. He succeeded the throne of Panchala.

• Satyaki. Yuyudhana, better known as Satyaki, was a powerful warrior belonging to the Vrishni clan of the Yadavas, to which Krishna also belonged. Satyaki was also student of Arjuna due to which he fought on Pandavas side.

• Satyavati is the matriarch of the Mahabharata. She was a fisherwoman before her marriage with Shantanu. She along with her father, Dashraj, proposed the conditions which led Bhishma to take his vow. With Shantanu, she is the mother of Chitrangada and Vichitravirya. She is also the mother of the Vyasa, author of the epic, whom she called for Niyoga when Vichitravirya died without any heir.

Savitri and Satyavan. In the Mahabharata, Savitri and Satyavan are characters appearing in the Vana Parva of the epic. Savitri is a princess born by the boon of Savitra. She is wise and beautiful. She fell in love with Satyavan, a prince who is destined to die at very young age. Savitri, knowing that she would become a widow at a young age, married Satyavan. The later part of the story is about how Savitri's love and wit saves her husband from Yama, god of death.

• Shakuni was the prince of Gandhara Kingdom in present-day Gandhara, later to become the King after his father's death. He is the main antagonist in the Hindu epic Mahabharata. He was the brother of Gandhari and hence Duryodhana's maternal uncle. Shakuni was killed by Sahadeva on the 18th day of the Kurukshetra War.

• Shakuntala was wife of Dushyanta and the mother of Emperor Bharata. Her story is told in the Mahabharata and dramatized by many writers, the most famous adaption being Kalidasa's play Abhijñanasakuntala (The Sign of Shakuntala).

• Shalva was the king of Shalva kingdom. He and Amba, the princess of Kashi, fell in love and Amba decided to choose him during her Swayamvara. However, Bhishma won the princesses for his brother Vichitravirya. When, Amba told Bhishma about her love, he sent her with honour to Shalva. But, Shalva rejected her and told her that he cannot marry her as she was won by Bhishma.

• Shalya. In the Mahabharata, King Shalya was the brother of Madri (mother of Nakula and Sahadeva), as well as the ruler of the Madra kingdom. Shalya, a powerful spear fighter and a formidable charioteer, was tricked by Duryodhana to fight the war on the side of the Kauravas. On the last day of the Kurukshetra War, Yudhishthira killed him during a spear fight.

• Shankha was 3rd son of King Virata. He was killed by Shalya with his two brothers on very first day of war.

• Shantanu was a Kuru king of Hastinapura in the epic Mahabharata. He was a descendant of the Bharata race, of the Lunar dynasty and great-grandfather of the Pandavas and Kauravas. He was the youngest son of King Pratipa of Hastinapura and had been born in the latter's old age. He was husband of Ganga and Satyavati. He was father of Devavrat (Bhishma), Chitrangad and Vichitravirya.

• Sharmishtha was an Asura princess and a spouse of Yayati, an ancestor of Shantanu.

• Shatanika was the son of Nakula and Draupadi. He was the third brother among Upapandavas.

• Shaunaka headed the sages during their conclave at his twelve-year sacrifice, where Ugrashravas Sauti recited the Mahabharata.

• Shikhandi was born as a baby girl, named "Shikhandini," to Drupada, the king of Panchala, and his wife, Queen Kokila Devi. Later she changed her sex and took the name Shikhandi. He fought in the Kurukshetra war for the Pandavas along with his father Drupada and brother Dhristadyumna. He was Kashi's Amba in previous birth.

• Shishupala was the son of Damaghosha. He was slain by his cousin Krishna, at the great coronation ceremony of Yudhishthira in punishment for the opprobrious abuse made against his august personage. He was also called Chaidya, being a member of Chedi kingdom.

• Shon was the biological son of Adhiratha and Radha, who were the adoptive parents of Karna. Adhiratha and Radha never differentiate Karna with Shon and loved them equally. Shon was trained in warfare by Karna. He was killed by either Abhimanyu on the 13th day of Kurukshetra War or Arjun in the Virata War.

• Shrutkarma was the son of Arjuna and Draupadi. He was the youngest brother among Upapandavas.

• Shrutsena was the son of Sahadeva and Draupadi. He was the fourth brother among Upapandavas.

• Shukracharya is the son of sage Bhrigu and his wife Kavyamata. After the Devas killed his mother (who was later revived), Shukra developed a deep hatred towards the Devas and became the guru of Asuras. He had a daughter named Devayani, who was married to Lunar king Yayati. But Yayati developed an affair with Devayani's maid, Sharmishtha. This led Shukra to curse Yayati to lose his youth.

• Sons of Karna. Karna's sons were Vrishasena, Vrishaketu, Banasena, Chitrasena, Satyasena, Sushena, Shatrunjaya, Dvipata and Prasena. All except for Vrishaketu were killed in the war.

• Sons of Shalya. Shalya and Avantini's three sons were Madranjaya, Rukmanagada and Rukmanaratha. Madranjaya was the eldest than other two with a gap of 10 years. Rukmanagada and Rukmanaratha were twins. Madranjaya was killed on 2nd day of war by Virata and other two were killed by Abhimanyu inside the Chakravyuha on 13th day.

• Subala was father of Shakuni and Gandhari. He was King of Gandhar and later King-Father under Shakuni's rule. He was husband of Sudharma.

• Subhadra. In the Mahabharata, she is the sister of Krishna and Balarama, wife of Arjuna and mother of Abhimanyu and grandmother of Parikshit. She is the daughter of Vasudeva and Rohini. When Arjuna visited Dwarka, he fell in love with Subhadra and ran away with her. Hindus believe Subhadra to be a goddess named Yogmaya.

• Sudakshina was a king of the Kambojas, and fought on the side of the Kauravas in the Kurukshetra War.

• Sudeshna was the wife of King Virata, at whose court the Pandavas spent a year in concealment during their exile. She was the mother of Uttara, Uttara, Shveta and Shankha. She had a younger brother named Kichaka and a brother-in-law named Sahtanika.

• Sudharma was mother of Shakuni and Gandhari. She was Queen of Gandhar and later Queen-Mother under Shakuni's rule. She was wife of Subala.

• Sughada was the maid of Gandhari and the mother of Yuyutsu. When Gandhari was pregnant for more than nine months, Dhritrashtra, in fear that there would be no heir, impregnated the maid. Later Gandhari gave birth to the 101 Kauravas and Sughada gave birth to Yuyutsu.

• Sulabha. The wife of Vidura, the half-brother of King Dhritarashtra and the Prime Minister of Hastinapur. She was also a chaste woman of supreme order. She too had a high degree of devotion and abdication. When Lord Krishna visited Hastinapur as an emissary of Pandavas, he had not accepted Duryodhana's request to stay in his palace but instead he chose to stay at Vidura's home and accepted a simple meal there. Sulabha was a great devotee of Lord Krishna. One day he came to her home for a surprise meal. She was enchanted by his glowing face. In absence of her husband, she offered him peels of banana instead of the fruit. And he ate them respecting her bhakti note.

• Surya is the god of sun and day. He is son of Aditi and Kashyapa. He is consort of Saranyu. In the epic, he was the first god called by Kunti using the mantra given by sage Durvasa to obtain a child. She did it out of curiosity and gave birth to Karna, who was born with indestructible armour and earrings. During that time she wasn't married and had to abandon the child. Later in the epic, Surya gave Akshaypatra to Yudhishthira.

• Sutsoma was the son of Bhima and Draupadi. He was the second brother among Upapandavas.

• Svaha is the daughter of Prajapati Daksha and the wife of Agni. In the Vana Parva, sage Markandeya narrated her story to the Pandavas. As per the story, Agni visited the ashram of

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the seven Saptarshi and saw their wives. He was attracted towards them but none responded to him. Svaha was present there and was attracted to Agni, but he wasn't. Later Agni went to forest to calm down his mind. Svaha, taking the form of the wives of sages (except for Arundhati), slept with Agni one by one. Later Agni realised Svaha's love and married her.

• Takshaka was the king of nagas. He lived in a city named Takshasila, which was the new territory of Takshaka after his race was banished by Pandavas led by Arjuna from the Khandava Forest and Kurukshetra, where they built their new kingdom. Because of this, he made a fierce rivalry with Arjuna. During the Kurukshetra war, he sat on an arrow of Karna which was shot at Arjuna. However Krishna saved Arjuna. After his failure, Takshaka vowed to end Arjuna's lineage. After the Pandavas and Draupadi left for heaven, Takshaka killed Parikshit.

• Tapati is a river goddess. She is daughter of Surya and Chhaya. She married Samvarana and had a child named, Kuru. Kuru was an ancestor of Shantanu.

• Tilottama. In the Hindu epic Mahabharata, Tilottama is described to have been created by the divine architect Vishwakarma, at Brahma's request, by taking the best quality of everything as the ingredients. She was responsible for bringing about the mutual destruction of the Asuras, Sunda and Upasunda. Even gods like Indra are described to be enamoured by Tilottama. Her story was told by sage Narada to the Pandavas as he wanted to tell them how a woman can lead to rivalry between brothers.

• Tara is the goddess of felicity. She is spouse of Brihaspati, a guru of gods. Brihaspati often ignored Tara and she started to have an affair with Chandra, the moon god. From their union, Budha was born, whose son, Pururavas, founded the lunar dynasty.

• Usa or Usha was daughter of Banasura, powerful king of Sonitpur and a devotee of Lord Shiva. Later Usha was married to Aniruddha, grandson of Lord Krishna.

• Ugrasena is a Yadava king in Mahabharata epic. He was the king of Mathura, a kingdom that was established by the powerful Vrishni tribes from Yaduvanshi clan. Lord Krishna was the grandson of Ugrasena. He established his grandfather as the ruler of Mathura again after defeating his uncle, King Kamsa who was a wicked ruler. Before this, King Ugrasena was overthrown from power by his own son Kansa and was sentenced to prison along with his daughter Devaki and son in law Vasudeva to prison. Devki and Vasudev were parents of Lord Krishna.

• Ugrashravas Sauti was the son of Lomaharsana. He was the Lomaharshana. He was a disciple of Vyasa. He was the narrator of Mahabharata and several Puranas before the gathering of the sages in Naimisha Forest.

• Uluka was eldest son of Shakuni and Arshi. He was sent as messenger to Pandavas by Duryodhana. He was killed by Sahadeva on 18th day of war before his father's death.

• Ulupi was daughter of Kauravya, the king of Nagas, she was among the four wives of Arjuna. She had a son named Iravan.

• Urvashi was a celestial maiden in Indra's court and was considered the most beautiful of all the Apsaras. She was the consort of Pururavas, an ancestor of Pandavas and Kauravas. Later she left him and returned to heaven.[56] When Arjuna came to heaven to meet Indra, she fell in love with him. But Arjuna refused her as he thought her as his mother.

• Uttamaujas. In the Mahabharata, Uttamaujas was a powerful Panchala warrior. He is described to be a protector of Arjuna. With his brother Yudhamanyu, they fought a battle against Duryodhana. He was killed during Ashwatthama's night raid. Sometimes, he is described to be Drupada's son and identified with Satyajit.

• Uttanka. In the Mahabharata, Uttanka is described as the disciple of the sage Gautama. In both legends, he is a learned sage who goes through many hurdles in procuring the earrings demanded by his guru's wife as the fee for the teacher (gurudakshina).

• Uttara Kumar was the prince of Matsya Kingdom and the son of King Virata, at whose court the Pandavas spent one year in concealment during their exile. His sister Uttara was given in marriage to Abhimanyu, son of Arjuna.

• Uttara or Anglicized as Uttaraa was daughter of King Virata, at whose court the Pandavas spent a year in concealment during their exile. She was sister of Prince Uttara. She was wife of Abhimanyu and mother of Parikshit.

• Vajra. He was the son of Aniruddha. Vajra was crowned as the King of Indraprastha on the request of Krishna by the Pandavas after the Yadava fratricide just before the Pandavas' exile.

• Vajranabh. Vajra in the Vayu Purana and the Harivamsa, described as the son of Bhanu, the eldest son of Krishna and Satyabhama. He had a sister named Bhanumati.

• Valandhara was the princess of Kashi Kingdom, and wife of Pandava Bhima. They both had a son Sarvaga, who became the King of Kashi after the Kurukshetra War. Sarvaga's granddaughter Vapusthama married Janamejaya, the great-grandson of Arjuna, and bore him 2 sons – Shatanika and Sahashranika.

• Vapusthama was the princess of Kashi, the granddaughter of King Sarvaga and great-granddaughter of Bhima, the 2nd Pandava. Vapusthama was married to Arjuna's great-grandson Janamejaya, and bore him 2 sons – Shatanika and Sankukarna.

• Vasudeva the father of the Hindu deities Krishna, Balarama and Subhadra. He was king of the Vrishnis and a Yadava prince. He was the son of the Yadava king Shurasena. His sister Kunti was married to Pandu.

• Vasundhara. She was the queen of Manipura and the mother of Chitrangada. She was also the grandmother of Babruvahana. Her husband was King Chitravahana.

• Vayu deva is the god of wind. He is son of Aditi and Kashyapa. In the epic, he is the spiritual father of Hanuman and the Pandava, Bhima. He was the second god called by Kunti after her marriage using a mantra as her husband couldn't conceive due to a curse.

• Vichitravirya was a king in Indian Religious Texts. In the Mahabharata he was the younger son of queen Satyavati and king Shantanu and grandfather of the Pandavas and Kauravas.

• Vidura. In the epic Mahabharata, Vidura is described as the prime minister of the Kuru Kingdom and also the uncle of the Pandavas and Kauravas. He was born from Niyoga-between sage Vyasa and Parishrami, a handmaiden to the queens- Ambika and Ambalika.

• Vijaya. In the Hindu epic Mahabharat, Vijaya was the daughter of king Dyutimata of Madra and wife of Sahadeva. They got married in a self choice ceremony. Vijaya was Nakula's maternal uncle's daughter. They had a son Suhotra.[51] After the Kurukshetra War, Vijaya and Suhotra lived in Madra, when Sahadeva was appointed as the king of Madra Kingdom.

• Vikarna was third Kaurava, son of Dhritarashtra and Gandhari and a brother to the crown prince Duryodhana. Vikarna is universally referred to as the third-most reputable of Kauravas. Usually, he is also indicated as the third-oldest son, but in other sources, the "third-strongest" reputation remained and it is implied that Vikarna is just one of Gandhari's 99 children (after Duryodhana and Dussasana). Vikarna was the only Kaurava who questioned the humiliation of Draupadi, the wife of his cousin Pandavas after they lost her in a game of dice to Duryodhana.

• Vinata, was the mother of Aruna and Garuda (the birds). She was also the daughter of Daksha and wife of sage Kasyapa.

• Vinda and Anuvinda were brothers, and the 2 kings of Avanti. They were the sons of Jayasena and Rajadhidevi. They also had a sister, Mitravinda, who married Lord Krishna. They were good friends of Duryodhana, and fought for his cause in the Kurukshetra War.

• Viraja. In the Harivamsa, (an appendix of Mahabharata), the spouse of Nahusha is mentioned to be Viraja, the daughter of Pitrs.[66] Later, she was replaced by Ashokasundari, the daughter of goddess Parvati and lord Shiva.

• Virata was the king of Matsya Kingdom with its Virata Kingdom, in whose court the Pandavas spent a year in concealment during their exile. Virata was married to Queen Sudeshna and was the father of Prince Uttara and Princess Uttara, who married Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna.

• Vishoka was the charioteer of Pandava Bhima during the Kurukshetra War.

• Vrihanta was king of the Ulukas. His name appears at several places in the Mahabharata.

• Vrikaasura. He was second son of Shakuni. Shakuni did a Yajna on Subala's order for obtaining a protector who can protect his eldest son Uluka and Kingdom Gandhara from dangers. Due to Yajna's powers Arshi gave birth to Vrikaasur. He served as Commander-in-Chief of Gandhara army under Shakuni's rule. Vrikaasur was master of sword fighting. He killed numerous warriors in the war. On the 11th day he killed 10 generals of Pandava army in one attack of Sword. He was the most active warrior of entire war. He was killed by Nakula on 17th day.

• Vriprachitti. He was the youngest and only remaining son of Shakuni. He served as Prime Minister of Gandhara because of his wisdom under Shakuni's rule. After his father's death, he became the king of Gandhara.

• Vrishaketu is a figure in the Sanskrit epic Mahabharata. He was the son of King of Anga Karna and his chief consort Maharani Supriya also youngest and surviving son of Karna and Arjuna teaches him many more skills of great warrior. Later, he becomes King of Anga.

• Vrishasena was the son of Karna and Vrishali. With his father, he entered battle field on the 11th day of Kurukshetra war and fought for Kauravas. He was killed by Arjuna.

• Vyasa was the author of epic Mahabharata. According to the Mahabharata, the sage Vyasa was the son of Satyavati and Parashara. He was also the surrogate father of Dhritarashtra, Pandu and Vidura. They were born through Niyoga. Later, he helped in birth of 101 children of Dhritarashtra and Gandhari. He also helped the Pandavas many times.

• Yama or Dharma. In the epic, the death god Yama—identified with the god Dharma—is the spiritual father of Yudhishthira. He was the first god called by Kunti after her marriage using a mantra as her husband could not conceive. Yama also appeared in the tale of Savitri and Satyavan. In the story, he tried to take Satyavan's soul, but Savitri tricked him. Dharma, later in the epic, appears testing Yudhishthira by taking form of a Yaksha. When the Pandavas and Draupadi went for heaven, he accompanied them by taking form of a dog and was only surviving left along with Yudhishthira. At the end, he showed his true form to Yudhishthira.

• Yamuna. Devi Yamuna or Yami is the river goddess of life. She is daughter of Surya and Saranyu as well as the twin of Yamraj. In the epic, she appears as Kalindi. She is one of lord Krishna's eight wives.

• Yashoda. She is the wife of Nanda (head of Gokul) and foster mother of Lord Krishna and Balarama. She is popularly and best known as Mother of Krishna. Krishna and Balarama spent their childhood with Yashoda and Nanda and the couple took care of them. There is a popular story about replacement of Krishna with Yashoda's daughter by Vasudeva after an agreement with Nanda.

• Yaudheya was the son of Yudhishthira and Devika, and the grandson of Govasena, who was the king of Sivi Kingdom. Yaudheya succeeded his grandfather after his death in the Kurukshetra War. According to the Matsya Purana, Yaudheya is also the name of the son of Pratividhya, however he does not succeed Yudhishthira to the throne of Hastinapur as he inherits his maternal kingdom.

• Yayati was an ancestor of Shantanu and the son of king Nahusha and Ashokasundari, the daughter of goddess Parvati. He had two wives, Devayani and Sharmishtha.

• Yogmaya or Vindhyavasini is an incarnation of goddess Adi Parashakti. She was the daughter of Yashoda and Nanda, the foster parents of Krishna. Krishna and Yogmaya were born on the same day. They were exchanged by their parents to save Krishna from Kamsa. Many believe that Subhadra was her reincarnation.

• Yudhishtira was the first among the five Pandavas and was blessed by death god Yama to Pandu and Kunti. He became the king of Indraprastha and later of Hastinapura (Kuru). He was the leader of the successful Pandava side in the Kurukshetra War. At the end of the epic, he ascended to heaven. He was also blessed with the spiritual vision of second sight by a celestial Rishi as a boon.

• Yuyutsu was the illegitimate son of Dhritarashtra with Dasi aka Sughada/Sauvali, his wife Gandhari's maid. He was the paternal half – sibling to Gandhari's children: Duryodhana and the rest of the 100 Kaurava brothers and their sister Dushala. Eventually, he was the only son of Dhritarashtra who survived the Kurukshetra war.)

THE MAHABHARATA, BOOK 1
ADI PARVA

SECTION 1

Om! Having bowed down to Narayana and Nara, the most exalted male being, and also to the goddess Saraswati, must the word Jaya be uttered.

Ugrasrava, the son of Lomaharshana, surnamed Sauti, well-versed in the Puranas, bending with humility, one day approached the great sages of rigid vows, sitting at their ease, who had attended the twelve years' sacrifice of Saunaka, surnamed Kulapati, in the forest of Naimisha. Those ascetics, wishing to hear his wonderful narrations, presently began to address him who had thus arrived at that recluse abode of the inhabitants of the forest of Naimisha. Having been entertained with due respect by those holy men, he saluted those Munis (sages) with joined palms, even all of them, and inquired about the progress of their asceticism. Then all the ascetics being again seated, the son of Lomaharshana humbly occupied the seat that was assigned to him. Seeing that he was comfortably seated, and recovered from fatigue, one of the Rishis beginning the conversation, asked him, 'Whence comest thou, O lotus-eyed Sauti, and where hast thou spent the time? Tell me, who ask thee, in detail.'

Accomplished in speech, Sauti, thus questioned, gave in the midst of that big assemblage of contemplative Munis a full and proper answer in words consonant with their mode of life.

"Sauti said, 'Having heard the diverse sacred and wonderful stories which were composed in his Mahabharata by Krishna-Dwaipayana, and which were recited in full by Vaisampayana at the Snake-sacrifice of the high-souled royal sage Janamejaya and in the presence also of that chief of Princes, the son of Parikshit, and having wandered about, visiting many sacred waters and holy shrines, I journeyed to the country venerated by the Dwijas (twice-born) and called Samantapanchaka where formerly was fought the battle between the children of Kuru and Pandu, and all the chiefs of the land ranged on either side. Thence, anxious to see you, I am come into your presence. Ye reverend sages, all of whom are to me as Brahma; ye greatly blessed who shine in this place of sacrifice with the splendour of the solar fire: ye who have concluded the silent meditations and have fed the holy fire; and yet who are sitting--without care, what, O ye Dwijas (twice-born), shall I repeat, shall I recount the sacred stories

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collected in the Puranas containing precepts of religious duty and of worldly profit, or the acts of illustrious saints and sovereigns of mankind?"

"The Rishi replied, 'The Purana, first promulgated by the great Rishi Dwaipayana, and which after having been heard both by the gods and the Brahmarshis was highly esteemed, being the most eminent narrative that exists, diversified both in diction and division, possessing subtile meanings logically combined, and gleaned from the Vedas, is a sacred work. Composed in elegant language, it includeth the subjects of other books. It is elucidated by other Shastras, and comprehendeth the sense of the four Vedas. We are desirous of hearing that history also called Bharata, the holy composition of the wonderful Vyasa, which dispelleth the fear of evil, just as it was cheerfully recited by the Rishi Vaisampayana, under the direction of Dwaipayana himself, at the snake-sacrifice of Raja Janamejaya?'

"Sauti then said, 'Having bowed down to the primordial being Isana, to whom multitudes make offerings, and who is adored by the multitude; who is the true incorruptible one, Brahma, perceptible, imperceptible, eternal; who is both a non-existing and an existing-non-existing being; who is the universe and also distinct from the existing and non-existing universe; who is the creator of high and low; the ancient, exalted, inexhaustible one; who is Vishnu, beneficent and the beneficence itself, worthy of all preference, pure and immaculate; who is Hari, the ruler of the faculties, the guide of all things moveable and immoveable; I will declare the sacred thoughts of the illustrious sage Vyasa, of marvellous deeds and worshipped here by all. Some bards have already published this history, some are now teaching it, and others, in like manner, will hereafter promulgate it upon the earth. It is a great source of knowledge, established throughout the three regions of the world. It is possessed by the twice-born both in detailed and compendious forms. It is the delight of the learned for being embellished with elegant expressions, conversations human and divine, and a variety of poetical measures.

In this world, when it was destitute of brightness and light, and enveloped all around in total darkness, there came into being, as the primal cause of creation, a mighty egg, the one inexhaustible seed of all created beings. It is called Mahadivya, and was formed at the beginning of the Yuga, in which we are told, was the true light Brahma, the eternal one, the wonderful and inconceivable being present alike in all places; the invisible and subtile cause, whose nature partaketh of entity and non-entity. From this egg came out the lord Pitamaha Brahma, the one only Prajapati; with Suraguru and Sthanu. Then appeared the twenty-one Prajapatis, viz., Manu, Vasishtha and Parameshthi; ten Prachetas, Daksha, and the seven sons of Daksha. Then appeared the man of inconceivable nature whom all the Rishis know and so the Viswe-devas, the Adityas, the Vasus, and the twin Aswins; the Yakshas, the Sadhyas, the Pisachas, the Guhyakas, and the Pitris. After these were produced the wise and most holy Brahmarshis, and the numerous Rajarshis distinguished by every noble quality. So the water, the heavens, the earth, the air, the sky, the points of the heavens, the years, the seasons, the months, the fortnights, called Pakshas, with day and night in due succession. And thus were produced all things which are known to mankind.

And what is seen in the universe, whether animate or inanimate, of created things, will at the end of the world, and after the expiration of the Yuga, be again confounded. And, at the commencement of other Yugas, all things will be renovated, and, like the various fruits of the earth, succeed each other in the due order of their seasons. Thus continueth perpetually to revolve in the world, without beginning and without end, this wheel which causeth the destruction of all things.

The generation of Devas, in brief, was thirty-three thousand, thirty-three hundred and thirty-three. The sons of Div were Brihadbhanu, Chakshus, Atma Vibhavasu, Savita, Richika, Arka, Bhanu, Asavaha, and Ravi. Of these Vivaswans of old, Mahya was the youngest whose son was Deva-vrata. The latter had for his son, Su-vrata who, we learn, had three sons,--Dasa-jyoti, Sata-jyoti, and Sahasra-jyoti, each of them producing numerous offspring. The illustrious Dasa-jyoti had ten thousand, Sata-jyoti ten times that number, and Sahasra-jyoti ten times the number of Sata-jyoti's offspring. From these are descended the family of the Kurus, of the Yadus, and of Bharata; the family of Yayati and of Ikshwaku; also of all the Rajarshis. Numerous also were the generations produced, and very abundant were the creatures and their places of abode. The mystery which is threefold--the Vedas, Yoga, and Vijnana Dharma, Artha, and Kama--also various books upon the subject of Dharma, Artha, and Kama; also rules for the conduct of mankind; also histories and discourses with various srutis; all of which having been seen by the Rishi Vyasa are here in due order mentioned as a specimen of the book.

The Rishi Vyasa published this mass of knowledge in both a detailed and an abridged form. It is the wish of the learned in the world to possess the details and the abridgement. Some read the Bharata beginning with the initial mantra (invocation), others with the story of Astika, others with Uparichara, while some Brahmanas* study the whole. Men of learning display their various knowledge of the institutes in commenting on the composition. Some are skilful in explaining it, while others, in remembering its contents.

[*Attention: the word Brahman is a often confused. It used for 3 different meanings. FIRST: Here meant is "Brahmin," a Sanskrit word (romanised: "brahmana") which are a religious people of the varna (caste or class) in Hinduism. They specialised as priests (purohit, pandit, or pujari), teachers (acharya or guru), ayurvedic physicians and protectors of sacred learning across generations. Throughout the entire Mahabharata, Ganguli uses this romanised word for denoting people. (The 4 castes: 1st Brahmins: scholars, priests and teachers; 2nd Kshatriyas: rulers, warriors and administrators; 3rd Vaishyas: agriculturalists and merchants; 4th Shudras: service providers and workers; a 5th caste is the "impure people" and foreigners.) SECOND: Originally, the Brahmanas (Sanskrit: Brahmanam) are Vedic sruti works attached to the Samhitas (hymns and mantras) of the Rig, Sama, Yajur, and Atharva Vedas. They are a secondary layer or classification of Sanskrit texts embedded within each Veda, often explain and instruct Brahmins on the performance of Vedic rituals (in which the related Samhitas are recited). In addition to explaining the symbolism and meaning of the Samhitas, Brahmana literature also expounds scientific knowledge of the Vedic Period, including observational astronomy and, particularly in relation to altar construction, geometry. THIRD: "Brahman" is a Sanskrit word that connotes the highest Universal Principle, the Ultimate Reality in the universe. Brahman is a Vedic Sanskrit word, and it is conceptualised in Hinduism as the "creative principle which lies realised in the whole world". Brahman is a key concept found in the Vedas, and it is extensively discussed in the early Upanishads. The Vedas conceptualise Brahman as the Cosmic Principle In the Upanishads, it has been variously described as Sat-cit-ananda (truth-consciousness-bliss) as well as having a form (Sakar) and as the unchanging, permanent, highest reality. All 3 words derived from "Brahma" (Sanskrit) one of the oldest and principal deities of Hinduism.]

The son of Satyavati having, by penance and meditation, analysed the eternal Veda, afterwards composed this holy history, when that learned Brahmarshi of strict vows, the noble Dwaipayana Vyasa, offspring of Parasara, had finished this greatest of narrations, he began to consider how he might teach it to his disciples. And the possessor of the six attributes, Brahma, the world's preceptor, knowing of the anxiety of the Rishi Dwaipayana, came in person to the place where the latter was, for gratifying the saint, and benefiting the people. And when Vyasa, surrounded by all the tribes of Munis, saw him, he was surprised; and, standing with joined palms, he bowed and ordered a seat to be brought. And Vyasa having gone round him who is called Hiranyagarbha seated on that distinguished seat stood near it; and being commanded by Brahma Parameshthi, he sat down near the seat, full of affection and smiling in joy. Then the greatly glorious Vyasa, addressing Brahma Parameshthi, said, "O divine Brahma, by me a poem hath been composed which is greatly respected. The mystery of the Veda, and what other subjects have been explained by me; the various rituals of the Upanishads with the Angas; the compilation of the Puranas and history formed by me and named after the three divisions of time, past, present, and future; the determination of the nature of decay, fear, disease, existence, and non-existence, a description of creeds and of the various modes of life; rule for the four castes, and the import of all the Puranas; an account of asceticism and of the duties of a religious student; the dimensions of the sun and moon, the planets, constellations, and stars, together with the duration of the four ages; the Rik, Sama and Yajur Vedas; also the Adhyatma; the sciences called Nyaya, Orthœphy and Treatment of diseases; charity and Pasupatadharma; birth celestial and human, for particular purposes; also a description of places of pilgrimage and other holy places of rivers, mountains, forests, the ocean, of heavenly cities and the kalpas; the art of war; the different kinds of nations and languages: the nature of the manners of the people; and the all-pervading spirit;--all these have been represented. But, after all, no writer of this work is to be found on earth.'

"Brahma said. 'I esteem thee for thy knowledge of divine mysteries, before the whole body of celebrated Munis distinguished for the sanctity of their lives. I know thou hast revealed the divine word, even from its first utterance, in the language of truth. Thou hast called thy present work a poem, wherefore it shall be a poem. There shall be no poets whose works may equal the descriptions of this poem, even, as the three other modes called Asrama are ever unequal in merit to the domestic Asrama. Let Ganesa be thought of, O Muni, for the purpose of writing the poem.'

"Sauti said, 'Brahma having thus spoken to Vyasa, retired to his own abode. Then Vyasa began to call to mind Ganesa. And Ganesa, obviator of obstacles, ready to fulfil the desires of his votaries, was no sooner thought of, than he repaired to the place where Vyasa was seated. And when he had been saluted, and was seated, Vyasa addressed him thus, 'O guide of the Ganas! be thou the writer of the Bharata which I have formed in my imagination, and which I am about to repeat."

"Ganesa, upon hearing this address, thus answered, 'I will become the writer of thy work, provided my pen do not for a moment cease writing." And Vyasa said unto that divinity, 'Wherever there be anything thou dost not comprehend, cease to continue writing.' Ganesa having signified his assent, by repeating the word Om! proceeded to write; and Vyasa began; and by way of diversion, he knit the knots of composition exceeding close; by doing which, he dictated this work according to his engagement.

I am (continued Sauti) acquainted with eight thousand and eight hundred verses, and so is Suka, and perhaps Sanjaya. From the mysteriousness of their meaning, O Muni, no one is able, to this day, to penetrate those closely knit difficult slokas. Even the omniscient Ganesa took a moment to consider; while Vyasa, however, continued to compose other verses in great abundance.

The wisdom of this work, like unto an instrument of applying collyrium, hath opened the eyes of the inquisitive world blinded by the darkness of ignorance. As the sun dispelleth the darkness, so doth the Bharata by its discourses on religion, profit, pleasure and final release, dispel the ignorance of men. As the full-moon by its mild light expandeth the buds of the water-lily, so this Purana, by exposing the light of the Sruti hath expanded the human intellect. By the lamp of history, which destroyeth the darkness of ignorance, the whole mansion of nature is properly and completely illuminated.

This work is a tree, of which the chapter of contents is the seed; the divisions called Pauloma and Astika are the root; the part called Sambhava is the trunk; the books called Sabha and Aranya are the roosting perches; the books called Arani is the knitting knots; the books called Virata and Udyoga the pith; the book named Bhishma, the main branch; the book called Drona, the leaves; the book called Karna, the fair flowers; the book named Salya, their sweet smell; the books entitled Stri and Aishika, the refreshing shade; the book called Santi, the mighty fruit; the book called Aswamedha, the immortal sap; the denominated Asramavasika, the spot where it groweth; and the book called Mausala, is an epitome of the Vedas and held in great respect by the virtuous Brahmanas. The tree of the Bharata, inexhaustible to mankind as the clouds, shall be as a source of livelihood to all distinguished poets."

"Sauti continued, 'I will now speak of the undying flowery and fruitful productions of this tree, possessed of pure and pleasant taste, and not to be destroyed even by the immortals. Formerly, the spirited and virtuous Krishna-Dwaipayana, by the injunctions of Bhishma, the wise son of Ganga and of his own mother, became the father of three boys who were like the three fires by the two wives of Vichitra-virya; and having thus raised up Dhritarashtra, Pandu and Vidura, he returned to his recluse abode to prosecute his religious exercise.

It was not till after these were born, grown up, and departed on the supreme journey, that the great Rishi Vyasa published the Bharata in this region of mankind; when being solicited by Janamejaya and thousands of Brahmanas, he instructed his disciple Vaisampayana, who was seated near him; and he, sitting together with the Sadasyas, recited the Bharata, during the intervals of the ceremonies of the sacrifice, being repeatedly urged to proceed.

Vyasa hath fully represented the greatness of the house of Kuru, the virtuous principles of Gandhari, the wisdom of Vidura, and the constancy of Kunti. The noble Rishi hath also described the divinity of Vasudeva, the rectitude of the sons of Pandu, and the evil practices of the sons and partisans of Dhritarashtra.

Vyasa executed the compilation of the Bharata, exclusive of the episodes originally in twenty-four thousand verses; and so much only is called by the learned as the Bharata. Afterwards, he composed an epitome in one hundred and fifty verses, consisting of the introduction with the chapter of contents. This he first taught to his son Suka; and afterwards he gave it to others of his disciples who were possessed of the same qualifications. After that he executed another compilation, consisting of six hundred thousand verses. Of those, thirty hundred thousand are known in the world of the Devas; fifteen hundred thousand in the world of the Pitris: fourteen hundred thousand among the Gandharvas, and one hundred thousand in the regions of mankind. Narada recited them to the Devas, Devala to the Pitris, and Suka published them to the Gandharvas, Yakshas, and Rakshasas: and in this world they were recited by Vaisampayana, one of the disciples of Vyasa, a man of just principles and the first among all those acquainted with the Vedas. Know that I, Sauti, have also repeated one hundred thousand verses.

Yudhishthira* is a vast tree, formed of religion and virtue; Arjuna is its trunk; Bhimasena, its branches; the two sons of Madri are its full-grown fruit and flowers; and its roots are Krishna, Brahma, and the Brahmanas. [* This name, also called Yudhishthira the Just, could be an allusion to Yedudah, Yudah, Judah, the fourth son of Jacob, by his wife Leah (1st

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half of the 2nd millenium BC). Country and province names, such as Yehud, Judaea, Yaudheya or Yoddheya Gana (Yoddheya Republic = the Republic of "Judaea") in northwestern India, seem to have derived from the Hebrew names.]

Pandu, after having subdued many countries by his wisdom and prowess, took up his abode with the Munis in a certain forest as a sportsman, where he brought upon himself a very severe misfortune for having killed a stag coupling with its mate, which served as a warning for the conduct of the princes of his house as long as they lived. Their mothers, in order that the ordinances of the law might be fulfilled, admitted as substitutes to their embraces the gods Dharma, Vayu, Sakra, and the divinities the twin Aswins. And when their offspring grew up, under the care of their two mothers, in the society of ascetics, in the midst of sacred groves and holy recluse-abodes of religious men, they were conducted by Rishis into the presence of Dhritarashtra and his sons, following as students in the habit of Brahmacharis, having their hair tied in knots on their heads. 'These our pupils', said they, 'are as your sons, your brothers, and your friends; they are Pandavas.' Saying this, the Munis disappeared.

When the Kauravas saw them introduced as the sons of Pandu, the distinguished class of citizens shouted exceedingly for joy. Some, however, said, they were not the sons of Pandu; others said, they were; while a few asked how they could be his offspring, seeing he had been so long dead. Still on all sides voices were heard crying, 'They are on all accounts welcome! Through divine Providence we behold the family of Pandu! Let their welcome be proclaimed!' As these acclamations ceased, the plaudits of invisible spirits, causing every point of the heavens to resound, were tremendous. There were showers of sweet-scented flowers, and the sound of shells and kettle-drums. Such were the wonders that happened on the arrival of the young princes. The joyful noise of all the citizens, in expression of their satisfaction on the occasion, was so great that it reached the very heavens in magnifying plaudits.

Having studied the whole of the Vedas and sundry other shastras, the Pandavas resided there, respected by all and without apprehension from any one.

The principal men were pleased with the purity of Yudhishthira, the courage of Arjuna, the submissive attention of Kunti to her superiors, and the humility of the twins, Nakula and Sahadeva; and all the people rejoiced in their heroic virtues.

After a while, Arjuna obtained the virgin Krishna at the swayamvara, in the midst of a concourse of Rajas, by performing a very difficult feat of archery. And from this time he became very much respected in this world among all bowmen; and in fields of battle also, like the sun, he was hard to behold by foe-men. And having vanquished all the neighbouring princes and every considerable tribe, he accomplished all that was necessary for the Raja (his eldest brother) to perform the great sacrifice called Rajasuya.

Yudhishthira, after having, through the wise counsels of Vasudeva and by the valour of Bhimasena and Arjuna, slain Jarasandha (the king of Magadha) and the proud Chaidya, acquired the right to perform the grand sacrifice of Rajasuya abounding in provisions and offering and fraught with transcendent merits. [In religion, transcendence is (1st) the aspect of a god's nature and power that is wholly independent of the material universe, beyond all known physical laws. This is contrasted with immanence, where a god is said to be fully present in the physical world and thus accessible to creatures in various ways. And (2nd) in the religious experience of an individual, transcendence is a state of being that has overcome the limitations of physical existence, and by some definitions, has also become independent of it. This is typically experienced in meditation, prayer, half-dream, daydream, light slumber, rituals, séance, the use of drugs, as well as psychedelics and paranormal "visions". As it is produced in and by our brains, any kind of trancendence is a subjective and therefore individual experience, never an objective one, even when it feels like it.] And Duryodhana* came to this sacrifice; and when he beheld the vast wealth of the Pandavas scattered all around, the offerings, the precious stones, gold and jewels; the wealth in cows, elephants, and horses; the curious textures, garments, and mantles; the precious shawls and furs and carpets made of the skin of the Ranku; he was filled with envy and became exceedingly displeased. And when he beheld the hall of assembly elegantly constructed by Maya (the Asura architect) after the fashion of a celestial court, he was inflamed with rage. And having started in confusion at certain architectural deceptions within this building, he was derided by Bhimasena in the presence of Vasudeva, like one of mean descent. [* Dur "yodhana" seem to be related to the Hebrew names Yudah as well as to Yohanan.]

And it was represented to Dhritarashtra that his son, while partaking of various objects of enjoyment and diverse precious things, was becoming meagre, wan, and pale. And Dhritarashtra, some time after, out of affection for his son, gave his consent to their playing (with the Pandavas) at dice. And Vasudeva coming to know of this, became exceedingly wroth. And being dissatisfied, he did nothing to prevent the disputes, but overlooked the gaming and sundry other horried unjustifiable transactions arising therefrom: and in spite of Vidura, Bhishma, Drona, and Kripa, the son of Saradwan, he made the Kshatriyas kill each other in the terrific war that ensued.'

"And Dhritarashtra hearing the ill news of the success of the Pandavas and recollecting the resolutions of Duryodhana, Kama, and Sakuni, pondered for a while and addressed to Sanjaya the following speech:--'Attend, O Sanjaya, to all I am about to say, and it will not become thee to treat me with contempt. Thou art well-versed in the shastras, intelligent and endowed with wisdom. My inclination was never to war, not did I delight in the destruction of my race. I made no distinction between my own children and the children of Pandu. My own sons were prone to wilfulness and despised me because I am old. Blind as I am, because of my miserable plight and through paternal affection, I bore it all. I was foolish alter the thoughtless Duryodhana ever growing in folly. Having been a spectator of the riches of the mighty sons of Pandu, my son was derided for his awkwardness while ascending the hall. Unable to bear it all and unable himself to overcome the sons of Pandu in the field, and though a soldier, unwilling yet to obtain good fortune by his own exertion, with the help of the king of Gandhara he concerted an unfair game at dice.

'Hear, O Sanjaya, all that happened thereupon and came to my knowledge. And when thou hast heard all I say, recollecting everything as it fell out, thou shall then know me for one with a prophetic eye. When I heard that Arjuna, having bent the bow, had pierced the curious mark and brought it down to the ground, and bore away in triumph the maiden Krishna, in the sight of the assembled princes, then, O Sanjaya I had no hope of success. When I heard that Subhadra of the race of Madhu had, after forcible seizure been married by Arjuna in the city of Dwaraka, and that the two heroes of the race of Vrishni (Krishna and Balarama the brothers of Subhadra) without resenting it had entered Indraprastha as friends, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that Arjuna, by his celestial arrow preventing the downpour by Indra the king of the gods, had gratified Agni by making over to him the forest of Khandava, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that the five Pandavas with their mother Kunti had escaped from the house of lac, and that Vidura was engaged in the accomplishment of their designs, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that Arjuna, after having pierced the mark in the arena had won Draupadi, and that the brave Panchalas had joined the Pandavas, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that Jarasandha, the foremost of the royal line of Magadha, and blazing in the midst of the Kshatriyas, had been slain by Bhima with his bare arms alone, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that in their general campaign the sons of Pandu had conquered the chiefs of the land and performed the grand sacrifice of the Rajasuya, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that Draupadi, her voice choked with tears and heart full of agony, in the season of impurity and with but one raiment on, had been dragged into court and though she had protectors, she had been treated as if she had none, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that the wicked wretch Duhsasana, was striving to strip her of that single garment, had only drawn from her person a large heap of cloth without being able to arrive at its end, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that Yudhishthira, beaten by Saubala at the game of dice and deprived of his kingdom as a consequence thereof, had still been attended upon by his brothers of incomparable prowess, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that the virtuous Pandavas weeping with affliction had followed their elder brother to the wilderness and exerted themselves variously for the mitigation of his discomforts, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success.

'When I heard that Yudhishthira had been followed into the wilderness by Snatakas and noble-minded Brahmanas who live upon alms, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that Arjuna, having, in combat, pleased the god of gods, Tryambaka (the three-eyed) in the disguise of a hunter, obtained the great weapon Pasupata, then O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that the just and renowned Arjuna after having been to the celestial regions, had there obtained celestial weapons from Indra himself then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that afterwards Arjuna had vanquished the Kalakeyas and the Paulomas proud with the boon they had obtained and which had rendered them invulnerable even to the celestials, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that Arjuna, the chastiser of enemies, having gone to the regions of Indra for the destruction of the Asuras, had returned thence successful, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that Bhima and the other sons of Pritha (Kunti) accompanied by Vaisravana had arrived at that country which is inaccessible to man then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that my sons, guided by the counsels of Karna, while on their journey of Ghoshayatra, had been taken prisoners by the Gandharvas and were set free by Arjuna, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that Dharma (the god of justice) having come under the form of a Yaksha had proposed certain questions to Yudhishthira then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that my sons had failed to discover the Pandavas under their disguise while residing with Draupadi in the dominions of Virata, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that the principal men of my side had all been vanquished by the noble Arjuna with a single chariot while residing in the dominions of Virata, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that Vasudeva of the race of Madhu, who covered this whole earth by one foot, was heartily interested in the welfare of the Pandavas, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that the king of Matsya, had offered his virtuous daughter Uttara to Arjuna and that Arjuna had accepted her for his son, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that Yudhishthira, beaten at dice, deprived of wealth, exiled and separated from his connexions, had assembled yet an army of seven Akshauhinis, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard Narada, declare that Krishna and Arjuna were Nara and Narayana and he (Narada) had seen them together in the regions of Brahma, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that Krishna, anxious to bring about peace, for the welfare of mankind had repaired to the Kurus, and went away without having been able to effect his purpose, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that Kama and Duryodhana resolved upon imprisoning Krishna displayed in himself the whole universe, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. Then I heard that at the time of his departure, Pritha (Kunti) standing, full of sorrow, near his chariot received consolation from Krishna, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that Vasudeva and Bhishma the son of Santanu were the counsellors of the Pandavas and Drona the son of Bharadwaja pronounced blessings on them, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When Kama said unto Bhishma--I will not fight when thou art fighting--and, quitting the army, went away, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that Vasudeva and Arjuna and the bow Gandiva of immeasurable prowess, these three of dreadful energy had come together, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that upon Arjuna having been seized with compunction on his chariot and ready to sink, Krishna showed him all the worlds within his body, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that Bhishma, the desolator of foes, killing ten thousand charioteers every day in the field of battle, had not slain any amongst the Pandavas then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that Bhishma, the righteous son of Ganga, had himself indicated the means of his defeat in the field of battle and that the same were accomplished by the Pandavas with joyfulness, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that Arjuna, having placed Sikhandin before himself in his chariot, had wounded Bhishma of infinite courage and invincible in battle, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that the aged hero Bhishma, having reduced the numbers of the race of shomaka to a few, overcome with various wounds was lying on a bed of arrows, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that upon Bhishma's lying on the ground with thirst for water, Arjuna, being requested, had pierced the ground and allayed his thirst, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When Bayu together with Indra and Suryya united as allies for the success of the sons of Kunti, and the beasts of prey (by their inauspicious presence) were putting us in fear, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When the wonderful warrior Drona, displaying various modes of fight in the field, did not slay any of the superior Pandavas, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that the Maharatha Sansaptakas of our army appointed for the overthrow of Arjuna were all slain by Arjuna himself, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that our disposition of forces, impenetrable by others, and defended by Bharadwaja himself well-armed, had been singly forced and entered by the brave son of Subhadra, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that our Maharathas, unable to overcome Arjuna, with jubilant faces after having jointly surrounded and slain the boy Abhimanyu, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that the blind Kauravas were shouting for joy after having slain Abhimanyu and that thereupon Arjuna in anger made his celebrated speech referring to Saindhava, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that Arjuna had vowed the death of Saindhava and fulfilled his vow in the presence of his enemies, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that upon the horses of Arjuna being fatigued, Vasudeva releasing them made them drink water and bringing them back and reharnessing them continued to guide them as before, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that while his horses were fatigued, Arjuna staying in his chariot checked all his assailants, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that Yuyudhana of the race of Vrishni, after having thrown into confusion the army of Drona rendered

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unbearable in prowess owing to the presence of elephants, retired to where Krishna and Arjuna were, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that Karna even though he had got Bhima within his power allowed him to escape after only addressing him in contemptuous terms and dragging him with the end of his bow, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that Drona, Kritavarma, Kripa, Karna, the son of Drona, and the valiant king of Madra (Salya) suffered Saindhava to be slain, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that the celestial Sakti given by Indra (to Karna) was by Madhava's machinations caused to be hurled upon Rakshasa Ghatotkacha of frightful countenance, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that in the encounter between Karna and Ghatotkacha, that Sakti was hurled against Ghatotkacha by Karna, the same which was certainly to have slain Arjuna in battle, then, O Sanjaya. I had no hope of success. When I heard that Dhristadyumna, transgressing the laws of battle, slew Drona while alone in his chariot and resolved on death, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that Nakula. the son of Madri, having in the presence of the whole army engaged in single combat with the son of Drona and showing himself equal to him drove his chariot in circles around, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When upon the death of Drona, his son misused the weapon called Narayana but failed to achieve the destruction of the Pandavas, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success.

When I heard that Bhimasena drank the blood of his brother Duhsasana in the field of battle without anybody being able to prevent him, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that the infinitely brave Karna, invincible in battle, was slain by Arjuna in that war of brothers mysterious even to the gods, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that Yudhishthira, the Just, overcame the heroic son of Drona, Duhsasana, and the fierce Kritavarman, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that the brave king of Madra who ever dared Krishna in battle was slain by Yudhishthira, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that the wicked Suvala of magic power, the root of the gaming and the feud, was slain in battle by Sahadeva, the son of Pandu, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that Duryodhana, spent with fatigue, having gone to a lake and made a refuge for himself within its waters, was lying there alone, his strength gone and without a chariot, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that the Pandavas having gone to that lake accompanied by Vasudeva and standing on its beach began to address contemptuously my son who was incapable of putting up with affronts, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that while, displaying in circles a variety of curious modes (of attack and defence) in an encounter with clubs, he was unfairly slain according to the counsels of Krishna, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard the son of Drona and others by slaying the Panchalas and the sons of Draupadi in their sleep, perpetrated a horrible and infamous deed, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that Aswatthaman while being pursued by Bhimasena had discharged the first of weapons called Aishika, by which the embryo in the womb (of Uttara) was wounded, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that the weapon Brahmashira (discharged by Aswatthaman) was repelled by Arjuna with another weapon over which he had pronounced the word "Sasti" and that Aswatthaman had to give up the jewel-like excrescence on his head, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success. When I heard that upon the embryo in the womb of Virata's daughter being wounded by Aswatthaman with a mighty weapon, Dwaipayana and Krishna pronounced curses on him, then, O Sanjaya, I had no hope of success.

'Alas! Gandhari, destitute of children, grand-children, parents, brothers, and kindred, is to be pitied. Difficult is the task that hath been performed by the Pandavas: by them hath a kingdom been recovered without a rival.

'Alas! I have heard that the war hath left only ten alive: three of our side, and the Pandavas, seven, in that dreadful conflict eighteen Akshauhinis of Kshatriyas have been slain! All around me is utter darkness, and a fit of swoon assaileth me: consciousness leaves me, O Suta, and my mind is distracted."

"Sauti said, 'Dhritarashtra, bewailing his fate in these words, was overcome with extreme anguish and for a time deprived of sense; but being revived, he addressed Sanjaya in the following words.

"After what hath come to pass, O Sanjaya, I wish to put an end to my life without delay; I do not find the least advantage in cherishing it any longer."

"Sauti said, 'The wise son of Gavalgana (Sanjaya) then addressed the distressed lord of Earth while thus talking and bewailing, sighing like a serpent and repeatedly tainting, in words of deep import.

"Thou hast heard, O Raja, of the greatly powerful men of vast exertions, spoken of by Vyasa and the wise Narada; men born of great royal families, resplendent with worthy qualities, versed in the science of celestial arms, and in glory emblems of Indra; men who having conquered the world by justice and performed sacrifices with fit offerings (to the Brahmanas), obtained renown in this world and at last succumbed to the sway of time. Such were Saivya; the valiant Maharatha; Srinjaya, great amongst conquerors. Suhotra; Rantideva, and Kakshivanta, great in glory; Valhika, Damana, Saryati, Ajita, and Nala; Viswamitra the destroyer of foes; Amvarisha, great in strength; Marutta, Manu, Ikshaku, Gaya, and Bharata; Rama the son of Dasaratha; Sasavindu, and Bhagiratha; Kritavirya, the greatly fortunate, and Janamejaya too; and Yayati of good deeds who performed sacrifices, being assisted therein by the celestials themselves, and by whose sacrificial altars and stakes this earth with her habited and uninhabited regions hath been marked all over. These twenty-four Rajas were formerly spoken of by the celestial Rishi Narada unto Saivya when much afflicted for the loss of his children. Besides these, other Rajas had gone before, still more powerful than they, mighty charioteers noble in mind, and resplendent with every worthy quality. These were Puru, Kuru, Yadu, Sura and Viswasrawa of great glory; Anuha, Yuvanaswu, Kakutstha, Vikrami, and Raghu; Vijava, Virihorta, Anga, Bhava, Sweta, and Vripadguru; Usinara, Sata-ratha, Kanka, Duliduha, and Druma; Dambhodbhava, Para, Vena, Sagara, Sankriti, and Nimi; Ajeya, Parasu, Pundra, Sambhu, and holy Deva-Vridha; Devahuya, Supratika, and Vrihad-ratha; Mahatsaha, Vinitatma, Sukratu, and Nala, the king of the Nishadas; Satyavrata, Santabhaya, Sumitra, and the chief Subala; Janujangha, Anaranya, Arka, Priyabhritya, Chuchi-vrata, Balabandhu, Nirmardda, Ketusringa, and Brhidbala; Dhrishtaketu, Brihatketu, Driptaketu, and Niramaya; Abikshit, Chapala, Dhurta, Kritbandhu, and Dridhe-shudhi; Mahapurana-sambhavya, Pratyanga, Paraha and Sruti. These, O chief, and other Rajas, we hear enumerated by hundreds and by thousands, and still others by millions, princes of great power and wisdom, quitting very abundant enjoyments met death as thy sons have done! Their heavenly deeds, valour, and generosity, their magnanimity, faith, truth, purity, simplicity and mercy, are published to the world in the records of former times by sacred bards of great learning. Though endued with every noble virtue, these have yielded up their lives. Thy sons were malevolent, inflamed with passion, avaricious, and of very evil-disposition. Thou art versed in the Sastras, O Bharata, and art intelligent and wise; they never sink under misfortunes whose understandings are guided by the Sastras. Thou art acquainted, O prince, with the lenity and severity of fate; this anxiety therefore for the safety of thy children is unbecoming. Moreover, it behoveth thee not to grieve for that which must happen: for who can avert, by his wisdom, the decrees of fate? No one can leave the way marked out for him by Providence. Existence and non-existence, pleasure and pain all have Time for their root. Time createth all things and Time destroyeth all creatures. It is Time that burneth creatures and it is Time that extinguisheth the fire. All states, the good and the evil, in the three worlds, are caused by Time. Time cutteth short all things and createth them anew. Time alone is awake when all things are asleep: indeed, Time is incapable of being overcome. Time passeth over all things without being retarded. Knowing, as thou dost, that all things past and future and all that exist at the present moment, are the offspring of Time, it behoveth thee not to throw away thy reason.'

"Sauti said, 'The son of Gavalgana having in this manner administered comfort to the royal Dhritarashtra overwhelmed with grief for his sons, then restored his mind to peace. Taking these facts for his subject, Dwaipayana composed a holy Upanishad that has been published to the world by learned and sacred bards in the Puranas composed by them.

"The study of the Bharata is an act of piety. He that readeth even one foot, with belief, hath his sins entirely purged away. Herein Devas, Devarshis, and immaculate Brahmarshis of good deeds, have been spoken of; and likewise Yakshas and great Uragas (Nagas). Herein also hath been described the eternal Vasudeva possessing the six attributes. He is the true and just, the pure and holy, the eternal Brahma, the supreme soul, the true constant light, whose divine deeds wise and learned recount; from whom hath proceeded the non-existent and existent-non-existent universe with principles of generation and progression, and birth, death and re-birth. That also hath been treated of which is called Adhyatma (the superintending spirit of nature) that partaketh of the attributes of the five elements. That also hath been described who is purusha being above such epithets as 'undisplayed' and the like; also that which the foremost yatis exempt from the common destiny and endued with the power of meditation and Tapas behold dwelling in their hearts as a reflected image in the mirror.

"The man of faith, devoted to piety, and constant in the exercise of virtue, on reading this section is freed from sin. The believer that constantly heareth recited this section of the Bharata, called the Introduction, from the beginning, falleth not into difficulties. The man repeating any part of the introduction in the two twilights is during such act freed from the sins contracted during the day or the night. This section, the body of the Bharata, is truth and nectar. As butter is in curd, Brahmana among bipeds, the Aranyaka among the Vedas, and nectar among medicines; as the sea is eminent among receptacles of water, and the cow among quadrupeds; as are these (among the things mentioned) so is the Bharata said to be among histories.

"He that causeth it, even a single foot thereof, to be recited to Brahmanas during a Sradha, his offerings of food and drink to the manes of his ancestors become inexhaustible.

"By the aid of history and the Puranas, the Veda may be expounded; but the Veda is afraid of one of little information lest he should it. The learned man who recites to other this Veda of Vyasa reapeth advantage. It may without doubt destroy even the sin of killing the embryo and the like. He that readeth this holy chapter of the moon, readeth the whole of the Bharata, I ween. The man who with reverence daily listeneth to this sacred work acquireth long life and renown and ascendeth to heaven.

"In former days, having placed the four Vedas on one side and the Bharata on the other, these were weighed in the balance by the celestials assembled for that purpose. And as the latter weighed heavier than the four Vedas with their mysteries, from that period it hath been called in the world Mahabharata (the great Bharata). Being esteemed superior both in substance and gravity of import it is denominated Mahabharata on account of such substance and gravity of import. He that knoweth its meaning is saved from all his sins.

'Tapa is innocent, study is harmless, the ordinance of the Vedas prescribed for all the tribes are harmless, the acquisition of wealth by exertion is harmless; but when they are abused in their practices it is then that they become sources of evil.'"

SECTION 2

"The Rishis said, 'O son of Suta, we wish to hear a full and circumstantial account of the place mentioned by you as Samanta-panchaya.'

"Sauti said, 'Listen, O ye Brahmanas, to the sacred descriptions I utter O ye best of men, ye deserve to hear of the place known as Samanta-panchaka. In the interval between the Treta and Dwapara Yugas, Rama (the son of Jamadagni) great among all who have borne arms, urged by impatience of wrongs, repeatedly smote the noble race of Kshatriyas. And when that fiery meteor, by his own valour, annihilated the entire tribe of the Kshatriyas, he formed at Samanta-panchaka five lakes of blood. We are told that his reason being overpowered by anger he offered oblations of blood to the manes of his ancestors, standing in the midst of the sanguine waters of those lakes. It was then that his forefathers of whom Richika was the first having arrived there addressed him thus, 'O Rama, O blessed Rama, O offspring of Bhrigu, we have been gratified with the reverence thou hast shown for thy ancestors and with thy valour, O mighty one! Blessings be upon thee. O thou illustrious one, ask the boon that thou mayst desire.'

"Rama said, 'If, O fathers, ye are favourably disposed towards me, the boon I ask is that I may be absolved from the sins born of my having annihilated the Kshatriyas in anger, and that the lakes I have formed may become famous in the world as holy shrines.' The Pitris then said, 'So shall it be. But be thou pacified.' And Rama was pacified accordingly. The region that lieth near unto those lakes of gory water, from that time hath been celebrated as Samanta-panchaka the holy. The wise have declared that every country should be distinguished by a name significant of some circumstance which may have rendered it famous. In the interval between the Dwapara and the Kali Yugas there happened at Samanta-panchaka the encounter between the armies of the Kauravas and the Pandavas. In that holy region, without ruggedness of any kind, were assembled eighteen Akshauhinis of soldiers eager for battle. And, O Brahmanas, having come thereto, they were all slain on the spot. Thus the name of that region, O Brahmanas, hath been explained, and the country described to you as a sacred and delightful one. I have mentioned the whole of what relateth to it as the region is celebrated throughout the three worlds.'

"The Rishis said, 'We have a desire to know, O son of Suta, what is implied by the term Akshauhini that hath been used by thee. Tell us in full what is the number of horse and foot, chariots and elephants, which compose an Akshauhini for thou art fully informed.'

"Sauti said, 'One chariot, one elephant, five foot-soldiers, and three horses form one Patti; three pattis make one Sena-mukha; three sena-mukhas are called a Gulma; three gulmas, a Gana; three ganas, a Vahini; three vahinis together are called a Pritana; three pritanas form a Chamu; three chamus, one Anikini; and an anikini taken ten times forms, as it is styled by those who know, an Akshauhini. O ye best of Brahmanas, arithmeticians have calculated that the number of chariots in an Akshauhini is twenty-one thousand eight hundred and seventy. The measure of elephants must be fixed at the same number. O ye pure, you must know that the number of foot-soldiers is one hundred and nine thousand,

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three hundred and fifty, the number of horse is sixty-five thousand, six hundred and ten. These, O Brahmanas, as fully explained by me, are the numbers of an Akshauhini as said by those acquainted with the principles of numbers. O best of Brahmanas, according to this calculation were composed the eighteen Akshauhinis of the Kaurava and the Pandava army. Time, whose acts are wonderful assembled them on that spot and having made the Kauravas the cause, destroyed them all. Bhishma acquainted with choice of weapons, fought for ten days. Drona protected the Kaurava Vahinis for five days. Kama the desolator of hostile armies fought for two days; and Salya for half a day. After that lasted for half a day the encounter with clubs between Duryodhana and Bhima. At the close of that day, Aswatthaman and Kripa destroyed the army of Yudishthira in the night while sleeping without suspicion of danger.

'O Saunaka, this best of narrations called Bharata which has begun to be repeated at thy sacrifice, was formerly repeated at the sacrifice of Janamejaya by an intelligent disciple of Vyasa. It is divided into several sections; in the beginning are Paushya, Pauloma, and Astika parvas, describing in full the valour and renown of kings. It is a work whose description, diction, and sense are varied and wonderful. It contains an account of various manners and rites. It is accepted by the wise, as the state called Vairagya is by men desirous of final release. As Self among things to be known, as life among things that are dear, so is this history that furnisheth the means of arriving at the knowledge of Brahma the first among all the sastras. There is not a story current in this world but doth depend upon this history even as the body upon the foot that it taketh. As masters of good lineage are ever attended upon by servants desirous of preferment so is the Bharata cherished by all poets. As the words constituting the several branches of knowledge appertaining to the world and the Veda display only vowels and consonants, so this excellent history displayeth only the highest wisdom.

'Listen, O ye ascetics, to the outlines of the several divisions (parvas) of this history called Bharata, endued with great wisdom, of sections and feet that are wonderful and various, of subtile meanings and logical connexions, and embellished with the substance of the Vedas.

'The first parva is called Anukramanika; the second, Sangraha; then Paushya; then Pauloma; the Astika; then Adivansavatarana. Then comes the Sambhava of wonderful and thrilling incidents. Then comes Jatugrihadaha (setting fire to the house of lac) and then Hidimbabadha (the killing of Hidimba) parvas; then comes Baka-badha (slaughter of Baka) and then Chitraratha. The next is called Swayamvara (selection of husband by Panchali), in which Arjuna by the exercise of Kshatriya virtues, won Draupadi for wife. Then comes Vaivahika (marriage). Then comes Viduragamana (advent of Vidura), Rajyalabha (acquirement of kingdom), Arjuna-banavasa (exile of Arjuna) and Subhadra-harana (the carrying away of Subhadra). After these come Harana-harika, Khandava-daha (the burning of the Khandava forest) and Maya-darsana (meeting with Maya the Asura architect). Then come Sabha, Mantra, Jarasandha, Digvijaya (general campaign). After Digvijaya come Raja-suyaka, Arghyaviharana (the robbing of the Arghya) and Sisupala-badha (the killing of Sisupala). After these, Dyuta (gambling), Anudyuta (subsequent to gambling), Aranyaka, and Krimira-badha (destruction of Krimira). The Arjuna-vigamana (the travels of Arjuna), Kairati. In the last hath been described the battle between Arjuna and Mahadeva in the guise of a hunter. After this Indra-lokavigamana (the journey to the regions of Indra); then that mine of religion and virtue, the highly pathetic Nalopakhyana (the story of Nala). After this last, Tirtha-yatra or the pilgrimage of the wise prince of the Kurus, the death of Jatasura, and the battle of the Yakshas. Then the battle with the Nivata-kavachas, Ajagara, and Markandeya-Samasya (meeting with Markandeya). Then the meeting of Draupadi and Satyabhama, Ghoshayatra, Mirga-Swapna (dream of the deer). Then the story of Brihadaranyaka and then Aindradrumna. Then Draupadi-harana (the abduction of Draupadi), Jayadratha-bimoksana (the release of Jayadratha). Then the story of 'Savitri' illustrating the great merit of connubial chastity. After this last, the story of 'Rama'. The parva that comes next is called 'Kundala-harana' (the theft of the ear-rings). That which comes next is 'Aranya' and then 'Vairata'. Then the entry of the Pandavas and the fulfilment of their promise (of living unknown for one year). Then the destruction of the 'Kichakas', then the attempt to take the kine (of Virata by the Kauravas). The next is called the marriage of Abhimanyu with the daughter of Virata. The next you must know is the most wonderful parva called Udyoga. The next must be known by the name of 'Sanjaya-yana' (the arrival of Sanjaya). Then comes 'Prajagara' (the sleeplessness of Dhritarashtra owing to his anxiety). Then Sanatsujata, in which are the mysteries of spiritual philosophy. Then 'Yanasaddhi', and then the arrival of Krishna. Then the story of 'Matali' and then of 'Galava'. Then the stories of 'Savitri', 'Vamadeva', and 'Vainya'. Then the story of 'Jamadagnya and Shodasarajika'. Then the arrival of Krishna at the court, and then Bidulaputrasasana. Then the muster of troops and the story of Sheta. Then, must you know, comes the quarrel of the high-souled Karna. Then the march to the field of the troops of both sides. The next hath been called numbering the Rathis and Atirathas. Then comes the arrival of the messenger Uluka which kindled the wrath (of the Pandavas). The next that comes, you must know, is the story of Amba. Then comes the thrilling story of the installation of Bhishma as commander-in-chief. The next is called the creation of the insular region Jambu; then Bhumi; then the account about the formation of islands. Then comes the 'Bhagavat-gita'; and then the death of Bhishma. Then the installation of Drona; then the destruction of the 'Sansaptakas'. Then the death of Abhimanyu; and then the vow of Arjuna (to slay Jayadratha). Then the death of Jayadratha, and then of Ghatotkacha. Then, must you know, comes the story of the death of Drona of surprising interest. The next that comes is called the discharge of the weapon called Narayana. Then, you know, is Karna, and then Salya. Then comes the immersion in the lake, and then the encounter (between Bhima and Duryodhana) with clubs. Then comes Saraswata, and then the descriptions of holy shrines, and then genealogies. Then comes Sauptika describing incidents disgraceful (to the honour of the Kurus). Then comes the 'Aisika' of harrowing incidents. Then comes 'Jalapradana' oblations of water to the manes of the deceased, and then the wailings of the women. The next must be known as 'Sraddha' describing the funeral rites performed for the slain Kauravas. Then comes the destruction of the Rakshasa Charvaka who had assumed the disguise of a Brahmana (for deceiving Yudhishthira). Then the coronation of the wise Yudhishthira. The next is called the 'Grihapravibhaga'. Then comes 'Santi', then 'Rajadharmanusasana', then 'Apaddharma', then 'Mokshadharma'. Those that follow are called respectively 'Suka-prasna-abhigamana', 'Brahma-prasnanusana', the origin of 'Durvasa', the disputations with Maya. The next is to be known as 'Anusasanika'. Then the ascension of Bhishma to heaven. Then the horse-sacrifice, which when read purgeth all sins away. The next must be known as the 'Anugita' in which are words of spiritual philosophy. Those that follow are called 'Asramvasa', 'Puttradarshana' (meeting with the spirits of the deceased sons), and the arrival of Narada. The next is called 'Mausala' which abounds with terrible and cruel incidents. Then comes 'Mahaprasthanika' and ascension to heaven. Then comes the Purana which is called Khilvansa. In this last are contained 'Vishnuparva', Vishnu's frolics and feats as a child, the destruction of 'Kansa', and lastly, the very wonderful 'Bhavishyaparva' (in which there are prophecies regarding the future).

The high-souled Vyasa composed these hundred parvas of which the above is only an abridgement: having distributed them into eighteen, the son of Suta recited them consecutively in the forest of Naimisha as follows:

'In the Adi parva are contained Paushya, Pauloma, Astika, Adivansavatara, Samva, the burning of the house of lac, the slaying of Hidimba, the destruction of the Asura Vaka, Chitraratha, the Swayamvara of Draupadi, her marriage after the overthrow of rivals in war, the arrival of Vidura, the restoration, Arjuna's exile, the abduction of Subhadra, the gift and receipt of the marriage dower, the burning of the Khandava forest, and the meeting with (the Asura-architect) Maya. The Paushya parva treats of the greatness of Utanka, and the Pauloma, of the sons of Bhrigu. The Astika describes the birth of Garuda and of the Nagas (snakes), the churning of the ocean, the incidents relating to the birth of the celestial steed Uchchaihsrava, and finally, the dynasty of Bharata, as described in the Snake-sacrifice of king Janamejaya. The Sambhava parva narrates the birth of various kings and heroes, and that of the sage, Krishna Dwaipayana: the partial incarnations of deities, the generation of Danavas and Yakshas of great prowess, and serpents, Gandharvas, birds, and of all creatures; and lastly, of the life and adventures of king Bharata--the progenitor of the line that goes by his name--the son born of Sakuntala in the hermitage of the ascetic Kanwa. This parva also describes the greatness of Bhagirathi, and the births of the Vasus in the house of Santanu and their ascension to heaven. In this parva is also narrated the birth of Bhishma uniting in himself portions of the energies of the other Vasus, his renunciation of royalty and adoption of the Brahmacharya mode of life, his adherence to his vows, his protection of Chitrangada, and after the death of Chitrangada, his protection of his younger brother, Vichitravirya, and his placing the latter on the throne: the birth of Dharma among men in consequence of the curse of Animondavya; the births of Dhritarashtra and Pandu through the potency of Vyasa's blessings (?) and also the birth of the Pandavas; the plottings of Duryodhana to send the sons of Pandu to Varanavata, and the other dark counsels of the sons of Dhritarashtra in regard to the Pandavas; then the advice administered to Yudhishthira on his way by that well-wisher of the Pandavas--Vidura--in the mlechchha language--the digging of the hole, the burning of Purochana and the sleeping woman of the fowler caste, with her five sons, in the house of lac; the meeting of the Pandavas in the dreadful forest with Hidimba, and the slaying of her brother Hidimba by Bhima of great prowess. The birth of Ghatotkacha; the meeting of the Pandavas with Vyasa and in accordance with his advice their stay in disguise in the house of a Brahmana in the city of Ekachakra; the destruction of the Asura Vaka, and the amazement of the populace at the sight; the extra-ordinary births of Krishna and Dhrishtadyumna; the departure of the Pandavas for Panchala in obedience to the injunction of Vyasa, and moved equally by the desire of winning the hand of Draupadi on learning the tidings of the Swayamvara from the lips of a Brahmana; victory of Arjuna over a Gandharva, called Angaraparna, on the banks of the Bhagirathi, his contraction of friendship with his adversary, and his hearing from the Gandharva the history of Tapati, Vasishtha and Aurva. This parva treats of the journey of the Pandavas towards Panchala, the acquisition of Draupadi in the midst of all the Rajas, by Arjuna, after having successfully pierced the mark; and in the ensuing fight, the defeat of Salya, Kama, and all the other crowned heads at the hands of Bhima and Arjuna of great prowess; the ascertainment by Balarama and Krishna, at the sight of these matchless exploits, that the heroes were the Pandavas, and the arrival of the brothers at the house of the potter where the Pandavas were staying; the dejection of Drupada on learning that Draupadi was to be wedded to five husbands; the wonderful story of the five Indras related in consequence; the extraordinary and divinely-ordained wedding of Draupadi; the sending of Vidura by the sons of Dhritarashtra as envoy to the Pandavas; the arrival of Vidura and his sight to Krishna; the abode of the Pandavas in Khandava-prastha, and then their rule over one half of the kingdom; the fixing of turns by the sons of Pandu, in obedience to the injunction of Narada, for connubial companionship with Krishna. In like manner hath the history of Sunda and Upasunda been recited in this. This parva then treats of the departure of Arjuna for the forest according to the vow, he having seen Draupadi and Yudhishthira sitting together as he entered the chamber to take out arms for delivering the kine of a certain Brahmana. This parva then describes Arjuna's meeting on the way with Ulupi, the daughter of a Naga (serpent); it then relates his visits to several sacred spots; the birth of Vabhruvahana; the deliverance by Arjuna of the five celestial damsels who had been turned into alligators by the imprecation of a Brahmana, the meeting of Madhava and Arjuna on the holy spot called Prabhasa; the carrying away of Subhadra by Arjuna, incited thereto by her brother Krishna, in the wonderful car moving on land and water, and through mid-air, according to the wish of the rider; the departure for Indraprastha, with the dower; the conception in the womb of Subhadra of that prodigy of prowess, Abhimanyu; Yajnaseni's giving birth to children; then follows the pleasure-trip of Krishna and Arjuna to the banks of the Jamuna and the acquisition by them of the discus and the celebrated bow Gandiva; the burning of the forest of Khandava; the rescue of Maya by Arjuna, and the escape of the serpent,--and the begetting of a son by that best of Rishis, Mandapala, in the womb of the bird Sarngi. This parva is divided by Vyasa into two hundred and twenty-seven chapters. These two hundred and twenty-seven chapters contain eight thousand eight hundred and eighty-four slokas.

The second is the extensive parva called Sabha or the assembly, full of matter. The subjects of this parva are the establishment of the grand hall by the Pandavas; their review of their retainers; the description of the lokapalas by Narada well-acquainted with the celestial regions; the preparations for the Rajasuya sacrifice; the destruction of Jarasandha; the deliverance by Vasudeva of the princes confined in the mountain-pass; the campaign of universal conquest by the Pandavas; the arrival of the princes at the Rajasuya sacrifice with tribute; the destruction of Sisupala on the occasion of the sacrifice, in connexion with offering of arghya; Bhimasena's ridicule of Duryodhana in the assembly; Duryodhana's sorrow and envy at the sight of the magnificent scale on which the arrangements had been made; the indignation of Duryodhana in consequence, and the preparations for the game of dice; the defeat of Yudhishthira at play by the wily Sakuni; the deliverance by Dhritarashtra of his afflicted daughter-in-law Draupadi plunged in the sea of distress caused by the gambling, as of a boat tossed about by the tempestuous waves. The endeavours of Duryodhana to engage Yudhishthira again in the game; and the exile of the defeated Yudhishthira with his brothers. These constitute what has been called by the great Vyasa the Sabha Parva. This parva is divided into seventh-eight sections, O best of Brahmanas, of two thousand, five hundred and seven slokas.

Then comes the third parva called Aranyaka (relating to the forest) This parva treats of the wending of the Pandavas to the forest and the citizens, following the wise Yudhishthira, Yudhishthira's adoration of the god of day; according to the injunctions of Dhaumya, to be gifted with the power of maintaining the dependent Brahmanas with food and drink: the creation of food through the grace of the Sun: the expulsion by Dhritarashtra of Vidura who always spoke for his master's good; Vidura's coming to the Pandavas and his return to Dhritarashtra at the solicitation of the latter; the

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wicked Duryodhana's plottings to destroy the forest-ranging Pandavas, being incited thereto by Karna; the appearance of Vyasa and his dissuasion of Duryodhana bent on going to the forest; the history of Surabhi; the arrival of Maitreya; his laying down to Dhritarashtra the course of action; and his curse on Duryodhana; Bhima's slaying of Kirmira in battle; the coming of the Panchalas and the princes of the Vrishni race to Yudhishthira on hearing of his defeat at the unfair gambling by Sakuni; Dhananjaya's allaying the wrath of Krishna; Draupadi's lamentations before Madhava; Krishna's cheering her; the fall of Sauva also has been here described by the Rishi; also Krishna's bringing Subhadra with her son to Dwaraka; and Dhrishtadyumna's bringing the son of Draupadi to Panchala; the entrance of the sons of Pandu into the romantic Dwaita wood; conversation of Bhima, Yudhishthira, and Draupadi; the coming of Vyasa to the Pandavas and his endowing Yudhishthira with the power of Pratismriti; then, after the departure of Vyasa, the removal of the Pandavas to the forest of Kamyaka; the wanderings of Arjuna of immeasurable prowess in search of weapons; his battle with Mahadeva in the guise of a hunter; his meeting with the lokapalas and receipt of weapons from them; his journey to the regions of Indra for arms and the consequent anxiety of Dhritarashtra; the wailings and lamentations of Yudhishthira on the occasion of his meeting with the worshipful great sage Brihadaswa. Here occurs the holy and highly pathetic story of Nala illustrating the patience of Damayanti and the character of Nala. Then the acquirement by Yudhishthira of the mysteries of dice from the same great sage; then the arrival of the Rishi Lomasa from the heavens to where the Pandavas were, and the receipt by these high-souled dwellers in the woods of the intelligence brought by the Rishi of their brother Arjuna staving in the heavens; then the pilgrimage of the Pandavas to various sacred spots in accordance with the message of Arjuna, and their attainment of great merit and virtue consequent on such pilgrimage; then the pilgrimage of the great sage Narada to the shrine Putasta; also the pilgrimage of the high-souled Pandavas. Here is the deprivation of Karna of his ear-rings by Indra. Here also is recited the sacrificial magnificence of Gaya; then the story of Agastya in which the Rishi ate up the Asura Vatapi, and his connubial connexion with Lopamudra from the desire of offspring. Then the story of Rishyasringa who adopted Brahmacharya mode of life from his very boyhood; then the history of Rama of great prowess, the son of Jamadagni, in which has been narrated the death of Kartavirya and the Haihayas; then the meeting between the Pandavas and the Vrishnis in the sacred spot called Prabhasa; then the story of Su-kanya in which Chyavana, the son of Bhrigu, made the twins, Aswinis, drink, at the sacrifice of king Saryati, the Soma juice (from which they had been excluded by the other gods), and in which besides is shown how Chyavana himself acquired perpetual youth (as a boon from the grateful Aswinis). Then hath been described the history of king Mandhata; then the history of prince Jantu; and how king Somaka by offering up his only son (Jantu) in sacrifice obtained a hundred others; then the excellent history of the hawk and the pigeon; then the examination of king Sivi by Indra, Agni, and Dharma; then the story of Ashtavakra, in which occurs the disputation, at the sacrifice of Janaka, between that Rishi and the first of logicians, Vandi, the son of Varuna; the defeat of Vandi by the great Ashtavakra, and the release by the Rishi of his father from the depths of the ocean. Then the story of Yavakrita, and then that of the great Raivya: then the departure (of the Pandavas) for Gandhamadana and their abode in the asylum called Narayana; then Bhimasena's journey to Gandhamadana at the request of Draupadi (in search of the sweet-scented flower). Bhima's meeting on his way, in a grove of bananas, with Hanuman, the son of Pavana of great prowess; Bhima's bath in the tank and the destruction of the flowers therein for obtaining the sweet-scented flower (he was in search of); his consequent battle with the mighty Rakshasas and the Yakshas of great prowess including Hanuman; the destruction of the Asura Jata by Bhima; the meeting (of the Pandavas) with the royal sage Vrishaparva; their departure for the asylum of Arshtishena and abode therein: the incitement of Bhima (to acts of vengeance) by Draupadi. Then is narrated the ascent on the hills of Kailasa by Bhimasena, his terrific battle with the mighty Yakshas headed by Hanuman; then the meeting of the Pandavas with Vaisravana (Kuvera), and the meeting with Arjuna after he had obtained for the purpose of Yudhishthira many celestial weapons; then Arjuna's terrible encounter with the Nivatakavachas dwelling in Hiranyaparva, and also with the Paulomas, and the Kalakeyas; their destruction at the hands of Arjuna; the commencement of the display of the celestial weapons by Arjuna before Yudhishthira, the prevention of the same by Narada; the descent of the Pandavas from Gandhamadana; the seizure of Bhima in the forest by a mighty serpent huge as the mountain; his release from the coils of the snake, upon Yudhishthira's answering certain questions; the return of the Pandavas to the Kamyaka woods. Here is described the reappearance of Vasudeva to see the mighty sons of Pandu; the arrival of Markandeya, and various recitals, the history of Prithu the son of Vena recited by the great Rishi; the stories of Saraswati and the Rishi Tarkhya. After these, is the story of Matsya; other old stories recited by Markandeya; the stories of Indradyumna and Dhundhumara; then the history of the chaste wife; the history of Angira, the meeting and conversation of Draupadi and Satyabhama; the return of the Pandavas to the forest of Dwaita; then the procession to see the calves and the captivity of Duryodhana; and when the wretch was being carried off, his rescue by Arjuna; here is Yudhishthira's dream of the deer; then the re-entry of the Pandavas into the Kamyaka forest, here also is the long story of Vrihidraunika. Here also is recited the story of Durvasa; then the abduction by Jayadratha of Draupadi from the asylum; the pursuit of the ravisher by Bhima swift as the air and the ill-shaving of Jayadratha's crown at Bhima's hand. Here is the long history of Rama in which is shown how Rama by his prowess slew Ravana in battle. Here also is narrated the story of Savitri; then Karna's deprivation by Indra of his ear-rings; then the presentation to Karna by the gratified Indra of a Sakti (missile weapon) which had the virtue of killing only one person against whom it might be hurled; then the story called Aranya in which Dharma (the god of justice) gave advice to his son (Yudhishthira); in which, besides is recited how the Pandavas after having obtained a boon went towards the west. These are all included in the third Parva called Aranyaka, consisting of two hundred and sixty-nine sections. The number of slokas is eleven thousand, six hundred and sixty-four.

"The extensive Parva that comes next is called Virata. The Pandavas arriving at the dominions of Virata saw in a cemetery on the outskirts of the city a large shami tree whereon they kept their weapons. Here hath been recited their entry into the city and their stay there in disguise. Then the slaying by Bhima of the wicked Kichaka who, senseless with lust, had sought Draupadi; the appointment by prince Duryodhana of clever spies; and their despatch to all sides for tracing the Pandavas; the failure of these to discover the mighty sons of Pandu; the first seizure of Virata's kine by the Trigartas and the terrific battle that ensued; the capture of Virata by the enemy and his rescue by Bhimasena; the release also of the kine by the Pandava (Bhima); the seizure of Virata's kine again by the Kurus; the defeat in battle of all the Kurus by the single-handed Arjuna; the release of the king's kine; the bestowal by Virata of his daughter Uttara for Arjuna's acceptance on behalf of his son by Subhadra--Abhimanyu--the destroyer of foes. These are the contents of the extensive fourth Parva--the Virata. The great Rishi Vyasa has composed in these sixty-seven sections. The number of slokas is two thousand and fifty.

"Listen then to (the contents of) the fifth Parva which must be known as Udyoga. While the Pandavas, desirous of victory, were residing in the place called Upaplavya, Duryodhana and Arjuna both went at the same time to Vasudeva, and said, "You should render us assistance in this war." The high-souled Krishna, upon these words being uttered, replied, "O ye first of men, a counsellor in myself who will not fight and one Akshauhini of troops, which of these shall I give to which of you?" Blind to his own interests, the foolish Duryodhana asked for the troops; while Arjuna solicited Krishna as an unfighting counsellor. Then is described how, when the king of Madra was coming for the assistance of the Pandavas, Duryodhana, having deceived him on the way by presents and hospitality, induced him to grant a boon and then solicited his assistance in battle; how Salya, having passed his word to Duryodhana, went to the Pandavas and consoled them by reciting the history of Indra's victory (over Vritra). Then comes the despatch by the Pandavas of their Purohita (priest) to the Kauravas. Then is described how king Dhritarashtra of great prowess, having heard the word of the purohita of the Pandavas and the story of Indra's victory decided upon sending his purohita and ultimately despatched Sanjaya as envoy to the Pandavas from desire for peace. Here hath been described the sleeplessness of Dhritarashtra from anxiety upon hearing all about the Pandavas and their friends, Vasudeva and others. It was on this occasion that Vidura addressed to the wise king Dhritarashtra various counsels that were full of wisdom. It was here also that Sanat-sujata recited to the anxious and sorrowing monarch the excellent truths of spiritual philosophy. On the next morning Sanjaya spoke, in the court of the King, of the identity of Vasudeva and Arjuna. It was then that the illustrious Krishna, moved by kindness and a desire for peace, went himself to the Kaurava capital, Hastinapura, for bringing about peace. Then comes the rejection by prince Duryodhana of the embassy of Krishna who had come to solicit peace for the benefit of both parties. Here hath been recited the story of Damvodvava; then the story of the high-souled Matuli's search for a husband for his daughter: then the history of the great sage Galava; then the story of the training and discipline of the son of Bidula. Then the exhibition by Krishna, before the assembled Rajas, of his Yoga powers upon learning the evil counsels of Duryodhana and Karna; then Krishna's taking Karna in his chariot and his tendering to him of advice, and Karna's rejection of the same from pride. Then the return of Krishna, the chastiser of enemies from Hastinapura to Upaplavya, and his narration to the Pandavas of all that had happened. It was then that those oppressors of foes, the Pandavas, having heard all and consulted properly with each other, made every preparation for war. Then comes the march from Hastinapura, for battle, of foot-soldiers, horses, charioteers and elephants. Then the tale of the troops by both parties. Then the despatch by prince Duryodhana of Uluka as envoy to the Pandavas on the day previous to the battle. Then the tale of charioteers of different classes. Then the story of Amba. These all have been described in the fifth Parva called Udyoga of the Bharata, abounding with incidents appertaining to war and peace. O ye ascetics, the great Vyasa hath composed one hundred and eighty-six sections in this Parva. The number of slokas also composed in this by the great Rishi is six thousand, six hundred and ninety-eight.

"Then is recited the Bhishma Parva replete with wonderful incidents. In this hath been narrated by Sanjaya the formation of the region known as Jambu. Here hath been described the great depression of Yudhishthira's army, and also a fierce fight for ten successive days. In this the high-souled Vasudeva by reasons based on the philosophy of final release drove away Arjuna's compunction springing from the latter's regard for his kindred (whom he was on the eve of slaying). In this the magnanimous Krishna, attentive to the welfare of Yudhishthira, seeing the loss inflicted (on the Pandava army), descended swiftly from his chariot himself and ran, with dauntless breast, his driving whip in hand, to effect the death of Bhishma. In this, Krishna also smote with piercing words Arjuna, the bearer of the Gandiva and the foremost in battle among all wielders of weapons. In this, the foremost of bowmen, Arjuna, placing Shikandin before him and piercing Bhishma with his sharpest arrows felled him from his chariot. In this, Bhishma lay stretched on his bed of arrows. This extensive Parva is known as the sixth in the Bharata. In this have been composed one hundred and seventeen sections. The number of slokas is five thousand, eight hundred and eighty-four as told by Vyasa conversant with the Vedas.

"Then is recited the wonderful Parva called Drona full of incidents. First comes the installation in the command of the army of the great instructor in arms, Drona: then the vow made by that great master of weapons of seizing the wise Yudhishthira in battle to please Duryodhana; then the retreat of Arjuna from the field before the Sansaptakas, then the overthrow of Bhagadatta like to a second Indra in the field, with the elephant Supritika, by Arjuna; then the death of the hero Abhimanyu in his teens, alone and unsupported, at the hands of many Maharathas including Jayadratha; then after the death of Abhimanyu, the destruction by Arjuna, in battle of seven Akshauhinis of troops and then of Jayadratha; then the entry, by Bhima of mighty arms and by that foremost of warriors-in-chariot, Satyaki, into the Kaurava ranks impenetrable even to the gods, in search of Arjuna in obedience to the orders of Yudhishthira, and the destruction of the remnant of the Sansaptakas. In the Drona Parva, is the death of Alambusha, of Srutayus, of Jalasandha, of Shomadatta, of Virata, of the great warrior-in-chariot Drupada, of Ghatotkacha and others; in this Parva, Aswatthaman, excited beyond measure at the fall of his father in battle, discharged the terrible weapon Narayana. Then the glory of Rudra in connexion with the burning (of the three cities). Then the arrival of Vyasa and recital by him of the glory of Krishna and Arjuna. This is the great seventh Parva of the Bharata in which all the heroic chiefs and princes mentioned were sent to their account. The number of sections in this is one hundred and seventy. The number of slokas as composed in the Drona Parva by Rishi Vyasa, the son of Parasara and the possessor of true knowledge after much meditation, is eight thousand, nine hundred and nine.

"Then comes the most wonderful Parva called Karna. In this is narrated the appointment of the wise king of Madra as (Karna's) charioteer. Then the history of the fall of the Asura Tripura. Then the application to each other by Karna and Salya of harsh words on their setting out for the field, then the story of the swan and the crow recited in insulting allusion: then the death of Pandya at the hands of the high-souled Aswatthaman; then the death of Dandasena; then that of Darda; then Yudhishthira's imminent risk in single combat with Karna in the presence of all the warriors; then the mutual wrath of Yudhishthira and Arjuna; then Krishna's pacification of Arjuna. In this Parva, Bhima, in fulfilment of his vow, having ripped open Dussasana's breast in battle drank the blood of his heart. Then Arjuna slew the great Karna in single combat. Readers of the Bharata call this the eighth Parva. The number of sections in this is sixty-nine and the number of slokas is four thousand, nine hundred and sixty-tour.

"Then hath been recited the wonderful Parva called Salya. After all the great warriors had been slain, the king of Madra became the leader of the (Kaurava) army. The encounters one after another, of charioteers, have been here described. Then comes the fall of the great Salya at the hands of Yudhishthira, the Just. Here also is the death of Sakuni in battle at the hands of Sahadeva. Upon only a small remnant of the troops

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remaining alive after the immense slaughter, Duryodhana went to the lake and creating for himself room within its waters lay stretched there for some time. Then is narrated the receipt of this intelligence by Bhima from the fowlers: then is narrated how, moved by the insulting speeches of the intelligent Yudhishthira, Duryodhana ever unable to bear affronts, came out of the waters. Then comes the encounter with clubs, between Duryodhana and Bhima; then the arrival, at the time of such encounter, of Balarama: then is described the sacredness of the Saraswati; then the progress of the encounter with clubs; then the fracture of Duryodhana's thighs in battle by Bhima with (a terrific hurl of) his mace. These all have been described in the wonderful ninth Parva. In this the number of sections is fifty-nine and the number of slokas composed by the great Vyasa--the spreader of the fame of the Kauravas--is three thousand, two hundred and twenty.

"Then shall I describe the Parva called Sauptika of frightful incidents. On the Pandavas having gone away, the mighty charioteers, Kritavarman, Kripa, and the son of Drona, came to the field of battle in the evening and there saw king Duryodhana lying on the ground, his thighs broken, and himself covered with blood. Then the great charioteer, the son of Drona, of terrible wrath, vowed, 'without killing all the Panchalas including Drishtadyumna, and the Pandavas also with all their allies, I will not take off armour.' Having spoken those words, the three warriors leaving Duryodhana's side entered the great forest just as the sun was setting. While sitting under a large banian tree in the night, they saw an owl killing numerous crows one after another. At the sight of this, Aswatthaman, his heart full of rage at the thought of his father's fate, resolved to slay the slumbering Panchalas. And wending to the gate of the camp, he saw there a Rakshasa of frightful visage, his head reaching to the very heavens, guarding the entrance. And seeing that Rakshasa obstructing all his weapons, the son of Drona speedily pacified by worship the three-eyed Rudra. And then accompanied by Kritavarman and Kripa he slew all the sons of Draupadi, all the Panchalas with Dhrishtadyumna and others, together with their relatives, slumbering unsuspectingly in the night. All perished on that fatal night except the five Pandavas and the great warrior Satyaki. Those escaped owing to Krishna's counsels, then the charioteer of Dhrishtadyumna brought to the Pandavas intelligence of the slaughter of the slumbering Panchalas by the son of Drona. Then Draupadi distressed at the death of her sons and brothers and father sat before her lords resolved to kill herself by fasting. Then Bhima of terrible prowess, moved by the words of Draupadi, resolved, to please her; and speedily taking up his mace followed in wrath the son of his preceptor in arms. The son of Drona from fear of Bhimasena and impelled by the fates and moved also by anger discharged a celestial weapon saying, 'This is for the destruction of all the Pandavas'; then Krishna saying. 'This shall not be', neutralised Aswatthaman's speech. Then Arjuna neutralised that weapon by one of his own. Seeing the wicked Aswatthaman's destructive intentions, Dwaipayana and Krishna pronounced curses on him which the latter returned. Pandava then deprived the mighty warrior-in-chariot Aswatthaman, of the jewel on his head, and became exceedingly glad, and, boastful of their success, made a present of it to the sorrowing Draupadi. Thus the tenth Parva, called Sauptika, is recited. The great Vyasa hath composed this in eighteen sections. The number of slokas also composed (in this) by the great reciter of sacred truths is eight hundred and seventy. In this Parva has been put together by the great Rishi the two Parvas called Sauptika and Aishika.

"After this hath been recited the highly pathetic Parva called Stri, Dhritarashtra of prophetic eye, afflicted at the death of his children, and moved by enmity towards Bhima, broke into pieces a statue of hard iron deftly placed before him by Krishna (as substitute of Bhima). Then Vidura, removing the distressed Dhritarashtra's affection for worldly things by reasons pointing to final release, consoled that wise monarch. Then hath been described the wending of the distressed Dhritarashtra accompanied by the ladies of his house to the field of battle of the Kauravas. Here follow the pathetic wailings of the wives of the slain heroes. Then the wrath of Gandhari and Dhritarashtra and their loss of consciousness. Then the Kshatriya ladies saw those heroes,--their unreturning sons, brothers, and fathers,--lying dead on the field. Then the pacification by Krishna of the wrath of Gandhari distressed at the death of her sons and grandsons. Then the cremation of the bodies of the deceased Rajas with due rites by that monarch (Yudhishthira) of great wisdom and the foremost also of all virtuous men. Then upon the presentation of water of the manes of the deceased princes having commenced, the story of Kunti's acknowledgment of Karna as her son born in secret. Those have all been described by the great Rishi Vyasa in the highly pathetic eleventh Parva. Its perusal moveth every feeling heart with sorrow and even draweth tears from the eyes. The number of sections composed is twenty-seven. The number of slokas is seven hundred and seventy-five.

"Twelfth in number cometh the Santi Parva, which increaseth the understanding and in which is related the despondency of Yudhishthira on his having slain his fathers, brothers, sons, maternal uncles and matrimonial relations. In this Parva is described how from his bed of arrows Bhishma expounded various systems of duties worth the study of kings desirous of knowledge; this Parva expounded the duties relative to emergencies, with full indications of time and reasons. By understanding these, a person attaineth to consummate knowledge. The mysteries also of final emancipation* have been expatiated upon. [* The word "emancipation" is frequently used in Hindu texts. It refers to Moksha (Sanskrit, also called vimoksha, vimukti and mukti), which is a term in Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism for various forms of enlightenment, liberation, release and salvation. In its soteriological and eschatological senses, it refers to freedom from samsara, the cycle of death and rebirth.] This is the twelfth Parva the favourite of the wise. It consists of three hundred and thirty-nine sections, and contains fourteen thousand, seven hundred and thirty-two slokas.

"Next in order is the excellent Anusasana Parva. In it is described how Yudhishthira, the king of the Kurus, was reconciled to himself on hearing the exposition of duties by Bhishma, the son of Bhagirathi. This Parva treats of rules in detail and of Dharma and Artha; then the rules of charity and its merits; then the qualifications of donees, and the supreme ride-regarding gifts. This Parva also describes the ceremonials of individual duty, the rules of conduct and the matchless merit of truth. This Parva showeth the great merit of Brahmanas and kine, and unraveleth the mysteries of duties in relation to time and place. These are embodied in the excellent Parva called Anusasana of varied incidents. In this hath been described the ascension of Bhishma to Heaven. This is the thirteenth Parva which hath laid down accurately the various duties of men. The number of sections, in this is one hundred and forty-six. The number of slokas is eight thousand.

"Then comes the fourteenth Parva Aswamedhika. In this is the excellent story of Samvarta and Marutta. Then is described the discovery (by the Pandavas) of golden treasuries; and then the birth of Parikshit who was revived by Krishna after having been burnt by the (celestial) weapon of Aswatthaman. The battles of Arjuna the son of Pandu, while following the sacrificial horse let loose, with various princes who in wrath seized it. Then is shown the great risk of Arjuna in his encounter with Vabhruvahana the son of Chitrangada (by Arjuna) the appointed daughter of the chief of Manipura. Then the story of the mongoose during the performance of the horse-sacrifice. This is the most wonderful Parva called Aswamedhika. The number of sections is one hundred and three. The number of slokas composed (in this) by Vyasa of true knowledge is three thousand, three hundred and twenty.

"Then comes the fifteenth Parva called Asramvasika. In this, Dhritarashtra, abdicating the kingdom, and accompanied by Gandhari and Vidura went to the woods. Seeing this, the virtuous Pritha also, ever engaged in cherishing her superiors, leaving the court of her sons, followed the old couple. In this is described the wonderful meeting through the kindness of Vyasa of the king (Dhritarashtra) with the spirits of his slain children, grand-children, and other princes, returned from the other world. Then the monarch abandoning his sorrows acquired with his wife the highest fruit of his meritorious actions. In this Parva, Vidura after having leaned on virtue all his life attaineth to the most meritorious state.

"The learned son of Gavalgana, Sanjaya, also of passions under full control, and the foremost of ministers, attained, in the Parva, to the blessed state. In this, Yudhishthira the Just met Narada and heard from him about the extinction of the race of Vrishnis. This is the very wonderful Parva called Asramvasika. The number of sections in this is forty-two, and the number of slokas composed by Vyasa cognisant of truth is one thousand five hundred and six.

"After this, you know, comes the Maushala of painful incidents. In this, those lion-hearted heroes (of the race of Vrishni) with the scars of many a field on their bodies, oppressed with the curse of a Brahmana, while deprived of reason from drink, impelled by the fates, slew each other on the shores of the Salt Sea with the Eraka grass which (in their hands) became (invested with the fatal attributes of the) thunder. In this, both Balarama and Kesava (Krishna) after causing the extermination of their race, their hour having come, themselves did not rise superior to the sway of all-destroying Time. In this, Arjuna the foremost among men, going to Dwaravati (Dwaraka) and seeing the city destitute of the Vrishnis was much affected and became exceedingly sorry. Then after the funeral of his maternal uncle Vasudeva the foremost among the Yadus (Vrishnis), he saw the heroes of the Yadu race lying stretched in death on the spot where they had been drinking. He then caused the cremation of the bodies of the illustrious Krishna and Balarama and of the principal members of the Vrishni race. Then as he was journeying from Dwaraka with the women and children, the old and the decrepit--the remnants of the Yadu race--he was met on the way by a heavy calamity. He witnessed also the disgrace of his bow Gandiva and the unpropitiousness of his celestial weapons. Seeing all this, Arjuna became despondent and, pursuant to Vyasa's advice, went to Yudhishthira and solicited permission to adopt the Sannyasa mode of life. This is the sixteenth Parva called Maushala The number of sections is eight and the number of slokas composed by Vyasa cognisant of truth is three hundred and twenty.

"The next is Mahaprasthanika, the seventeenth Parva.

"In this, those foremost among men the Pandavas abdicating their kingdom went with Draupadi on their great journey called Mahaprasthana. In this, they came across Agni, having arrived on the shore of the sea of red waters. In this, asked by Agni himself, Arjuna worshipped him duly, returned to him the excellent celestial bow called Gandiva. In this, leaving his brothers who dropped one after another and Draupadi also, Yudhishthira went on his journey without once looking back on them. This the seventeenth Parva is called Mahaprasthanika. The number of sections in this is three. The number of slokas also composed by Vyasa cognisant of truth is three hundred and twenty.

"The Parva that comes after this, you must know, is the extraordinary one called Svarga of celestial incidents. Then seeing the celestial car come to take him, Yudhishthira moved by kindness towards the dog that accompanied him, refused to ascend it without his companion. Observing the illustrious Yudhishthira's steady adherence to virtue, Dharma (the god of justice) abandoning his canine form showed himself to the king. Then Yudhishthira ascending to heaven felt much pain. The celestial messenger showed him hell by an act of deception. Then Yudhishthira, the soul of justice, heard the heart-rending lamentations of his brothers abiding in that region under the discipline of Yama. Then Dharma and Indra showed Yudhishthira the region appointed for sinners. Then Yudhishthira, after leaving the human body by a plunge in the celestial Ganges, attained to that region which his acts merited, and began to live in joy respected by Indra and all other gods. This is the eighteenth Parva as narrated by the illustrious Vyasa. The number of slokas composed, O ascetics, by the great Rishi in this is two hundred and nine.

"The above are the contents of the Eighteen Parvas. In the appendix (Khita) are the Harivansa and the Vavishya. The number of slokas contained in the Harivansa is twelve thousand."

These are the contents of the section called Parva-sangraha. Sauti continued, "Eighteen Akshauhinis of troops came together for battle. The encounter that ensued was terrible and lasted for eighteen days. He who knows the four Vedas with all the Angas and Upanishads, but does not know this history (Bharata), cannot be regarded as wise. Vyasa of immeasurable intelligence, has spoken of the Mahabharata as a treatise on Artha, on Dharma, and on Kama. Those who have listened to his history can never bear to listen to others, as, indeed, they who have listened to the sweet voice of the male Kokila can never hear the dissonance of the crow's cawing. As the formation of the three worlds proceedeth from the five elements, so do the inspirations of all poets proceed from this excellent composition. O ye Brahman, as the four kinds of creatures (viviparous, oviparous, born of hot moisture and vegetables) are dependent on space for their existence, so the Puranas depend upon this history. As all the senses depend for their exercise upon the various modifications of the mind, so do all acts (ceremonials) and moral qualities depend upon this treatise. There is not a story current in the world but doth depend on this history, even as body upon the food it taketh. All poets cherish the Bharata even as servants desirous of preferment always attend upon masters of good lineage. Even as the blessed domestic Asrama can never be surpassed by the three other Asramas (modes of life) so no poets can surpass this poem.

"Ye ascetics, shake off all inaction. Let your hearts be fixed on virtue, for virtue is the one only friend of him that has gone to the other world. Even the most intelligent by cherishing wealth and wives can never make these their own, nor are these possessions lasting. The Bharata uttered by the lips of Dwaipayana is without a parallel; it is virtue itself and sacred. It destroyeth sin and produceth good. He that listeneth to it while it is being recited hath no need of a bath in the sacred waters of Pushkara. A Brahmana, whatever sins he may commit during the day through his senses, is freed from them all by reading the Bharata in the evening. Whatever sins he may commit also in the night by deeds, words, or mind, he is freed from them all by reading Bharata in the first twilight (morning). He that giveth a hundred kine with horns mounted with gold to a Brahmana well-posted up in the Vedas and all branches of learning, and he that daily listeneth to the sacred narrations of the Bharata, acquireth equal merit. As the wide ocean is easily passable by men having ships, so is this extensive history of great excellence and deep import with the help of this chapter called Parva sangraha."

Thus endeth the section called Parva-sangraha of the Adi Parva of the blessed Mahabharata.

SECTION 3

(Paushya Parva)

Sauti said, "Janamejaya, the son of Parikshit, was, with his brothers, attending his long sacrifice on the plains of

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Kurukshetra. His brothers were three, Srutasena, Ugrasena, and Bhimasena. And as they were sitting at the sacrifice, there arrived at the spot an offspring of Sarama (the celestial bitch). And belaboured by the brothers of Janamejaya, he ran away to his mother, crying in pain. And his mother seeing him crying exceedingly asked him, 'Why criest thou so? Who hath beaten thee? And being thus questioned, he said unto his mother, 'I have been belaboured by the brothers of Janamejaya.' And his mother replied, 'Thou hast committed some fault for which hast thou been beaten!' He answered, 'I have not committed any fault. I have not touched the sacrificial butter with my tongue, nor have I even cast a look upon it.' His mother Sarama hearing this and much distressed at the affliction of her son went to the place where Janamejaya with his brothers was at his long-extending sacrifice. And she addressed Janamejaya in anger, saying, 'This my son hath committed no fault: he hath not looked upon your sacrificial butter, nor hath he touched it with his tongue. Wherefore hath he been beaten?' They said not a word in reply; whereupon she said, 'As ye have beaten my son who hath committed no fault, therefore shall evil come upon ye, when ye least expect it.'

"Janamejaya, thus addressed by the celestial bitch, Sarama, became exceedingly alarmed and dejected. And after the sacrifice was concluded returned to Hastinapura, and began to take great pains in searching for a Purohita who could by procuring absolution for his sin, neutralise the effect of the curse.

"One day Janamejaya, the son of Parikshit, while a-hunting, observed in a particular part of his dominions a hermitage where dwelt a certain Rishi of fame, Srutasrava. He had a son named Somasrava deeply engaged in ascetic devotions. Being desirous of appointing that son of the Rishi as his Purohita, Janamejaya, the son of Parikshit, saluted the Rishi and addressed him, saying, 'O possessor of the six attributes, let this thy son be my purohita.' The Rishi thus addressed, answered Janamejaya, 'O Janamejaya, this my son, deep in ascetic devotions, accomplished in the study of the Vedas, and endued with the full force of my asceticism, is born of (the womb of) a she-snake that had drunk my vital fluid. He is able to absolve thee from all offences save those committed against Mahadeva. But he hath one particular habit, viz. he would grant to any Brahmana whatever might be begged of him. If thou canst put up with it, then thou take him.' Janamejaya thus addressed replied to the Rishi, 'It shall be even so.' And accepting him for his Purohita, he returned to his capital; and he then addressed his brothers saying, 'This is the person I have chosen for my spiritual master; whatsoever he may say must be complied with by you without examination.' And his brothers did as they were directed. And giving these directions to his brothers, the king marched towards Takshyashila and brought that country under his authority.

"About this time there was a Rishi, Ayoda-Dhaumya by name. And Ayoda-Dhaumya had three disciples, Upamanyu, Aruni, and Veda. And the Rishi bade one of these disciples, Aruni of Panchala, to go and stop up a breach in the water-course of a certain field. And Aruni of Panchala, thus ordered by his preceptor, repaired to the spot. And having gone there he saw that he could not stop up the breach in the water-course by ordinary means. And he was distressed because he could not do his preceptor's bidding. But at length he saw a way and said, 'Well, I will do it in this way.' He then went down into the breach and lay down himself there. And the water was thus confined.

"And some time after, the preceptor Ayoda-Dhaumya asked his other disciples where Aruni of Panchala was. And they answered, 'Sir, he hath been sent by yourself saying, 'Go, stop up the breach in the water-course of the field,' Thus reminded, Dhaumya, addressing his pupils, said, 'Then let us all go to the place where he is.'

"And having arrived there, he shouted, 'Ho Aruni of Panchala! Where art thou? Come hither, my child.' And Aruni hearing the voice of his preceptor speedily came out of the water-course and stood before his preceptor. And addressing the latter, Aruni said, 'Here I am in the breach of the water-course. Not having been able to devise any other means, I entered myself for the purpose of preventing the water running out. It is only upon hearing thy voice that, having left it and allowed the waters to escape, I have stood before thee. I salute thee, Master; tell me what I have to do.'

"The preceptor, thus addressed, replied, 'Because in getting up from the ditch thou hast opened the water-course, thenceforth shalt thou be called Uddalaka as a mark of thy preceptor's favour. And because my words have been obeyed by thee, thou shalt obtain good fortune. And all the Vedas shall shine in thee and all the Dharmasastras also.' And Aruni, thus addressed by his preceptor, went to the country after his heart.

"The name of another of Ayoda-Dhaumya's disciples was Upamanyu. And Dhaumya appointed him saying, 'Go, my child, Upamanyu, look after the kine.' And according to his preceptor's orders, he went to tend the kine. And having watched them all day, he returned in the evening to his preceptor's house and standing before him he saluted him respectfully. And his preceptor seeing him in good condition of body asked him, 'Upamanyu, my child, upon what dost thou support thyself? Thou art exceedingly plump.' And he answered, 'Sir, I support myself by begging'. And his preceptor said, 'What is obtained in alms should not be used by thee without offering it to me.' And Upamanyu, thus told, went away. And having obtained alms, he offered the same to his preceptor. And his preceptor took from him even the whole. And Upamanyu, thus treated, went to attend the cattle. And having watched them all day, he returned in the evening to his preceptor's abode. And he stood before his preceptor and saluted him with respect. And his preceptor perceiving that he still continued to be of good condition of body said unto him, 'Upamanyu, my child, I take from thee even the whole of what thou obtainest in alms, without leaving anything for thee. How then dost thou, at present, contrive to support thyself?' And Upamanyu said unto his preceptor, 'Sir, having made over to you all that I obtain in alms, I go a-begging a second time for supporting myself.' And his preceptor then replied, 'This is not the way in which thou shouldst obey the preceptor. By this thou art diminishing the support of others that live by begging. Truly having supported thyself so, thou hast proved thyself covetous.' And Upamanyu, having signified his assent to all that his preceptor said, went away to attend the cattle. And having watched them all day, he returned to his preceptor's house. And he stood before his preceptor and saluted him respectfully. And his preceptor observing that he was still fat, said again unto him, 'Upamanyu, my child, I take from thee all thou obtainest in alms and thou dost not go a-begging a second time, and yet art thou in healthy condition. How dost thou support thyself?' And Upamanyu, thus questioned, answered, 'Sir, I now live upon the milk of these cows.' And his preceptor thereupon told him, 'It is not lawful for thee to appropriate the milk without having first obtained my consent.' And Upamanyu having assented to the justice of these observations, went away to tend the kine. And when he returned to his preceptor's abode, he stood before him and saluted him as usual. And his preceptor seeing that he was still fat, said, 'Upamanyu, my child, thou eatest no longer of alms, nor dost thou go a-begging a second time, not even drinkest of the milk; yet art thou fat. By what means dost thou contrive to live now? And Upamanyu replied, 'Sir, I now sip the froth that these calves throw out, while sucking their mother's teats.' And the preceptor said, 'These generous calves, I suppose, out of compassion for thee, throw out large quantities of froth. Wouldst thou stand in the way of their full meals by acting as thou hast done? Know that it is unlawful for thee to drink the froth.' And Upamanyu, having signified his assent to this, went as before to tend the cows. And restrained by his preceptor, he feedeth not on alms, nor hath he anything else to eat; he drinketh not of the milk, nor tasteth he of the froth!

"And Upamanyu, one day, oppressed by hunger, when in a forest, ate of the leaves of the Arka (Asclepias gigantea). And his eyes being affected by the pungent, acrimonious, crude, and saline properties of the leaves which he had eaten, he became blind. And as he was crawling about, he fell into a pit. And upon his not returning that day when the sun was sinking down behind the summit of the western mountains, the preceptor observed to his disciples that Upamanyu was not yet come. And they told him that he had gone out with the cattle.

"The preceptor then said, 'Upamanyu being restrained by me from the use of everything, is, of course, and therefore, doth not come home until it be late. Let us then go in search of him.' And having said this, he went with his disciples into the forest and began to shout, saying, 'Ho Upamanyu, where art thou?' And Upamanyu hearing his preceptor's voice answered in a loud tone, 'Here I am at the bottom of a well.' And his preceptor asked him how he happened to be there. And Upamanyu replied, 'Having eaten of the leaves of the Arka plant I became blind, and so have I fallen into this well.' And his preceptor thereupon told him, 'Glorify the twin Aswins, the joint physicians of the gods, and they will restore thee thy sight.' And Upamanyu thus directed by his preceptor began to glorify the twin Aswins, in the following words of the Rig Veda:

'Ye have existed before the creation! Ye first-born beings, ye are displayed in this wondrous universe of five elements! I desire to obtain you by the help of the knowledge derived from hearing, and of meditation, for ye are Infinite! Ye are the course itself of Nature and intelligent Soul that pervades that course! Ye are birds of beauteous feathers perched on the body that is like to a tree! Ye are without the three common attributes of every soul! Ye are incomparable! Ye, through your spirit in every created thing, pervade the Universe!

"Ye are golden Eagles! Ye are the essence into which all things disappear! Ye are free from error and know no deterioration! Ye are of beauteous beaks that would not unjustly strike and are victorious in every encounter! Ye certainly prevail over time! Having created the sun, ye weave the wondrous cloth of the year by means of the white thread of the day and the black thread of the night! And with the cloth so woven, ye have established two courses of action appertaining respectively to the Devas and the Pitris. The bird of Life seized by Time which represents the strength of the Infinite soul, ye set free for delivering her unto great happiness! They that are in deep ignorance, as long as they are under delusions of their senses, suppose you, who are independent of the attributes of matter, to be gifted with form! Three hundred and sixty cows represented by three hundred and sixty days produce one calf between them which is the year. That calf is the creator and destroyer of all. Seekers of truth following different routes, draw the milk of true knowledge with its help. Ye Aswins, ye are the creators of that calf!

"The year is but the nave of a wheel to which is attached seven hundred and twenty spokes representing as many days and nights. The circumference of this wheel represented by twelve months is without end. This wheel is full of delusions and knows no deterioration. It affects all creatures whether to this or of the other worlds. Ye Aswins, this wheel of time is set in motion by you!

"The wheel of Time as represented by the year has a nave represented by the six seasons. The number of spokes attached to that nave is twelve as represented by the twelve signs of the Zodiac. This wheel of Time manifests the fruits of the acts of all things. The presiding deities of Time abide in that wheel. Subject as I am to its distressful influence, ye Aswins, liberate me from that wheel of Time. Ye Aswins, ye are this universe of five elements! Ye are the objects that are enjoyed in this and in the other world! Make me independent of the five elements! And though ye are the Supreme Brahma, yet ye move over the Earth in forms enjoying the delights that the senses afford.

"In the beginning, ye created the ten points of the universe! Then have ye placed the Sun and the Sky above! The Rishis, according to the course of the same Sun, perform their sacrifices, and the gods and men, according to what hath been appointed for them, perform their sacrifices also enjoying the fruits of those acts!

"Mixing the three colours, ye have produced all the objects of sight! It is from these objects that the Universe hath sprung whereon the gods and men are engaged in their respective occupations, and, indeed, all creatures endued with life!

"Ye Aswins, I adore you! I also adore the Sky which is your handiwork! Ye are the ordainers of the fruits of all acts from which even the gods are not free! Ye are yourselves free from the fruits of your acts!

"Ye are the parents of all! As males and females it is ye that swallow the food which subsequently develops into the life creating fluid and blood! The new-born infant sucks the teat of its mother. Indeed it is ye that take the shape of the infant! Ye Aswins, grant me my sight to protect my life!"

The twin Aswins, thus invoked, appeared and said, 'We are satisfied. Here is a cake for thee. Take and eat it.' And Upamanyu thus addressed, replied, 'Your words, O Aswins, have never proved untrue. But without first offering this cake to my preceptor I dare not take it.' And the Aswins thereupon told him, 'Formerly, thy preceptor had invoked us. We thereupon gave him a cake like this; and he took it without offering it to his master. Do thou do that which thy preceptor did.' Thus addressed, Upamanyu again said unto them, 'O Aswins, I crave your pardon. Without offering it to my preceptor I dare not apply this cake.' The Aswins then said, 'O, we are pleased with this devotion of thine to thy preceptor. Thy master's teeth are of black iron. Thine shall be of gold. Thou shall be restored to sight and shall have good fortune.'

"Thus spoken to by the Aswins he recovered his sight, and having gone to his preceptor's presence he saluted him and told him all. And his preceptor was well-pleased with him and said unto him, 'Thou shalt obtain prosperity even as the Aswins have said. All the Vedas shall shine in thee and all the Dharma-sastras.' And this was the trial of Upamanyu.

"Then Veda the other disciple of Ayoda-Dhaumya was called. His preceptor once addressed him, saying, 'Veda, my child, tarry some time in my house and serve thy preceptor. It shall be to thy profit.' And Veda having signified his assent tarried long in the family of his preceptor mindful of serving him. Like an ox under the burthens of his master, he bore heat and cold, hunger and thirst, at all times without a murmur. And it was not long before his preceptor was satisfied. And as a consequence of that satisfaction, Veda obtained good fortune and universal knowledge. And this was the trial of Veda.

"And Veda, having received permission from his preceptor, and leaving the latter's residence after the completion of his studies, entered the domestic mode of life. And while living in his own house, he got three pupils. And he never told them to perform any work or to obey implicitly his own behests; for having himself experienced much woe while abiding in the family of his preceptor, he liked not to treat them with severity.

"After a certain time, Janamejaya and Paushya, both of the order of Kshatriyas, arriving at his residence appointed the Brahman. Veda, as their spiritual guide (Upadhyaya). And one day while about to depart upon some business related to a sacrifice, he employed one of his disciples, Utanka, to take

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charge of his household. 'Utanka', said he, 'whatsoever should have to be done in my house, let it be done by thee without neglect.' And having given these orders to Utanka, he went on his journey.

"So Utanka always mindful of the injunction of his preceptor took up his abode in the latter's house. And while Utanka was residing there, the females of his preceptor's house having assembled addressed him and said, 'O Utanka, thy mistress is in that season when connubial connexion might be fruitful. The preceptor is absent; then stand thou in his place and do the needful.' And Utanka, thus addressed, said unto those women, 'It is not proper for me to do this at the bidding of women. I have not been enjoined by my preceptor to do aught that is improper.'

"After a while, his preceptor returned from his journey. And his preceptor having learnt all that had happened, became well-pleased and, addressing Utanka, said, 'Utanka, my child, what favour shall I bestow on thee? I have been served by thee duly; therefore hath our friendship for each other increased. I therefore grant thee leave to depart. Go thou, and let thy wishes be accomplished!'

"Utanka, thus addressed, replied, saying, "Let me do something that you wish, for it hath been said, 'He who bestoweth instruction contrary to usage and he who receiveth it contrary to usage, one of the two dieth, and enmity springeth up between the two.--I, therefore, who have received thy leave to depart, am desirous of bringing thee some honorarium due to a preceptor. His master, upon hearing this, replied, 'Utanka, my child, wait a while.' Sometime after, Utanka again addressed his preceptor, saying, 'Command me to bring that for honorarium, which you desire.' And his preceptor then said, 'My dear Utanka, thou hast often told me of your desire to bring something by way of acknowledgment for the instruction thou hast received. Go then in and ask thy mistress what thou art to bring. And bring thou that which she directs.' And thus directed by his preceptor Utanka addressed his preceptress, saying, 'Madam, I have obtained my master's leave to go home, and I am desirous of bringing something agreeable to thee as honorarium for the instruction I have received, in order that I may not depart as his debtor. Therefore, please command me what I am to bring.' Thus addressed, his preceptress replied, 'Go unto King Paushya and beg of him the pair of ear-rings worn by his Queen, and bring them hither. The fourth day hence is a sacred day when I wish to appear before the Brahmanas (who may dine at my house) decked with these ear-rings. Then accomplish this, O Utanka! If thou shouldst succeed, good fortune shall attend thee; if not, what good canst thou expect?'

"Utanka thus commanded, took his departure. And as he was passing along the road he saw a bull of extraordinary size and a man of uncommon stature mounted thereon. And that man addressed Utanka and said, 'Eat thou of the dung of this bull.' Utanka, however, was unwilling to comply. The man said again, 'O Utanka, eat of it without scrutiny. Thy master ate of it before.' And Utanka signified his assent and ate of the dung and drank of the urine of that bull, and rose respectfully, and washing his hands and mouth went to where King Paushya was.

'On arriving at the palace, Utanka saw Paushya seated (on his throne). And approaching him Utanka saluted the monarch by pronouncing blessings and said, 'I am come as a petitioner to thee.' And King Paushya, having returned Utanka's salutations, said, 'Sir, what shall I do for thee?' And Utanka said, 'I came to beg of thee a pair of ear-rings as a present to my preceptor. It behoveth thee to give me the ear-rings worn by the Queen.'

"King Paushya replied, 'Go, Utanka, into the female apartments where the Queen is and demand them of her.' And Utanka went into the women's apartments. But as he could not discover the Queen, he again addressed the king, saying, 'It is not proper that I should be treated by thee with deceit. Thy Queen is not in the private apartments, for I could not find her.' The king thus addressed, considered for a while and replied, 'Recollect, Sir, with attention whether thou art not in a state of defilement in consequence of contact with the impurities of a repast. My Queen is a chaste wife and cannot be seen by any one who is impure owing to contact with the leavings of a repast. Nor doth she herself appear in sight of any one who is defiled.'

"Utanka, thus informed, reflected for a while and then said, 'Yes, it must be so. Having been in a hurry I performed my ablutions (after meal) in a standing posture.' King Paushya then said, 'Here is a transgression, purification is not properly effected by one in a standing posture, not by one while he is going along.' And Utanka having agreed to this, sat down with his face towards the east, and washed his face, hands, and feet thoroughly. And he then, without a noise, sipped thrice of water free from scum and froth, and not warm, and just sufficient to reach his stomach and wiped his face twice. And he then touched with water the apertures of his organs (eyes, ears, etc.). And having done all this, he once more entered the apartments of the women. And this time he saw the Queen. And as the Queen perceived him, she saluted him respectfully and said, 'Welcome, Sir, command me what I have to do.' And Utanka said unto her, 'It behoveth thee to give me those ear-rings of thine. I beg them as a present for my preceptor.' And the Queen having been highly pleased with Utanka's conduct and, considering that Utanka as an object of charity could not be passed over, took off her ear-rings and gave them to him. And she said, 'These ear-rings are very much sought after by Takshaka, the King of the serpents. Therefore shouldst thou carry them with the greatest care.'

"And Utanka being told this, said unto the Queen, 'Lady, be under no apprehension. Takshaka, Chief of the serpents, is not able to overtake me.' And having said this, and taking leave of the Queen, he went back into the presence of Paushya, and said, 'Paushya, I am gratified.' Then Paushya said to Utanka, 'A fit object of charity can only be had at long intervals. Thou art a qualified guest, therefore do I desire to perform a sraddha. Tarry thou a little. And Utanka replied, 'Yes, I will tarry, and beg that the clean provisions that are ready may be soon brought in.' And the king having signified his assent, entertained Utanka duly. And Utanka seeing that the food placed before him had hair in it, and also that it was cold, thought it unclean. And he said unto Paushya, 'Thou givest me food that is unclean, therefore shalt thou lose thy sight.' And Paushya in answer said, 'And because dost thou impute uncleanliness to food that is clean, therefore shalt thou be without issue.' And Utanka thereupon rejoined, 'It behoveth thee not, after having offered me unclean food, to curse me in return. Satisfy thyself by ocular proof.'

"And Paushya seeing the food alleged to be unclean satisfied himself of its uncleanliness. And Paushya having ascertained that the food was truly unclean, being cold and mixed with hair, prepared as it was by a woman with unbraided hair, began to pacify the Rishi Utanka, saying, 'Sir, the food placed before thee is cold, and doth contain hair, having been prepared without sufficient care. Therefore I pray thee pardon me. Let me not become blind.' And Utanka answered, 'What I say must come to pass. Having become blind, thou mayst, however, recover the sight before long. Grant that thy curse also doth not take effect on me.' And Paushya said unto him, 'I am unable to revoke my curse. For my wrath even now hath not been appeased. But thou knowest not this. For a Brahmana's heart is soft as new-churned butter, even though his words bear a sharp-edged razor. It is otherwise in respect of these with the Kshatriya. His words are soft as new-churned butter, but his heart is like a sharp-edged tool, such being the case, I am unable, because of the hardness of my heart, to neutralise my curse. Then go thou thy own way.' To this Utanka made answer, "I showed thee the uncleanliness of the food offered to me, and I was even now pacified by thee. Besides, saidst thou at first that because I imputed uncleanliness to food that was clean I should be without issue. But the food truly unclean, thy curse cannot affect me. Of this I am sure.' And Utanka having said this departed with the ear-rings.

"On the road Utanka perceived coming towards him a naked idle beggar sometimes coming in view and sometimes disappearing. And Utanka put the ear-rings on the ground and went for water. In the meantime the beggar came quickly to the spot and taking up the ear-rings ran away. And Utanka having completed his ablutions in water and purified himself and having also reverently bowed down to the gods and his spiritual masters pursued the thief with the utmost speed. And having with great difficulty overtaken him, he seized him by force. But at that instant the person seized, quitting the form of a beggar and assuming his real form, viz., that of Takshaka, speedily entered a large hole open in the ground. And having got in, Takshaka proceeded to his own abode, the region of the serpents.

"Now, Utanka, recollecting the words of the Queen, pursued the Serpent, and began to dig open the hole with a stick but was unable to make much progress. And Indra beholding his distress sent his thunder-bolt (Vajra) to his assistance. Then the thunder-bolt entering that stick enlarged that hole. And Utanka began to enter the hole after the thunder-bolt. And having entered it, he beheld the region of the serpents infinite in extent, filled with hundreds of palaces and elegant mansions with turrets and domes and gate-ways, abounding with wonderful places for various games and entertainments. And Utanka then glorified the serpents by the following slokas:

"Ye Serpents, subjects of King Airavata, splendid in battle and showering weapons in the field like lightning-charged clouds driven by the winds! Handsome and of various forms and decked with many coloured ear-rings, ye children of Airavata, ye shine like the Sun in the firmament! On the northern banks of the Ganges are many habitations of serpents. There I constantly adore the great serpents. Who except Airavata would desire to move in the burning rays of the Sun? When Dhritarashtra (Airavata's brother) goes out, twenty-eight thousand and eight serpents follow him as his attendants. Ye who move near him and ye who stay at a distance from him, I adore all of you that have Airavata for your elder brother.

"I adore thee also, to obtain the ear-rings, O Takshaka, who formerly dwelt in Kurukshetra and the forest of Khandava! Takshaka and Aswasena, ye are constant companions who dwell in Kurukshetra on the banks of the Ikshumati! I also adore the illustrious Srutasena, the younger brother of Takshaka, who resided at the holy place called Mahadyumna with a view to obtaining the chiefship of the serpents.

"The Brahmana Rishi Utanka having saluted the chief serpents in this manner, obtained not, however, the ear-rings. And he thereupon became very thoughtful. And when he saw that he obtained not the ear-rings even though he had adored the serpents, he then looked about him and beheld two women at a loom weaving a piece of cloth with a fine shuttle; and in the loom were black and white threads. And he likewise saw a wheel, with twelve spokes, turned by six boys. And he also saw a man with a handsome horse. And he began to address them the following mantras:

"This wheel whose circumference is marked by twenty-four divisions representing as many lunar changes is furnished with three hundred spokes! It is set in continual motion by six boys (the seasons)! These damsels representing universal nature are weaving without intermission a cloth with threads black and white, and thereby ushering into existence the manifold worlds and the beings that inhabit them! Thou wielder of the thunder, the protector of the universe, the slayer of Vritra and Namuchi, thou illustrious one who wearest the black cloth and displayest truth and untruth in the universe, thou who ownest for thy carrier the horse which was received from the depths of the ocean, and which is but another form of Agni (the god of fire), I bow to thee, thou supreme Lord, thou Lord of the three worlds, O Purandara!'

"Then the man with the horse said unto Utanka, 'I am gratified by this thy adoration. What good shall I do to thee?' And Utanka replied, 'Even let the serpents be brought under my control.' Then the man rejoined, 'Blow into this horse.' And Utanka blew into that horse. And from the horse thus blown into, there issued, from every aperture of his body, flames of fire with smoke by which the region of the Nagas was about to be consumed. And Takshaka, surprised beyond measure and terrified by the heat of the fire, hastily came out of his abode taking the ear-rings with him, and said unto Utanka, 'Pray, Sir, take back the ear-rings.' And Utanka took them back.

"But Utanka having recovered his ear-rings thought, 'O, this is that sacred day of my preceptress. I am at a distance. How can I, therefore, show my regard for her? And when Utanka was anxious about this, the man addressed him and said, 'Ride this horse, Utanka, and he will in a moment carry thee to thy master's abode.' And Utanka having signified his assent, mounted the horse and presently reached his preceptor's house.

"And his preceptress that morning after having bathed was dressing her hair sitting, thinking of uttering a curse on Utanka if he should not return within time. But, in the meantime, Utanka entered his preceptor's abode and paid his respects to his preceptress and presented her the ear-rings. 'Utanka', said she, 'thou hast arrived at the proper time at the proper place. Welcome, my child; thou art innocent and therefore I do not curse thee! Good fortune is even before thee. Let thy wishes be crowned with success!'

"Then Utanka waited on his preceptor. And his preceptor said, 'Thou art welcome! What hath occasioned thy long absence?' And Utanka replied to his preceptor, 'Sir, in the execution of this my business obstruction was offered by Takshaka, the King of serpents. Therefore I had to go to the region of the Nagas. There I saw two damsels sitting at a loom, weaving a fabric with black and white threads. Pray, what is that? There likewise I beheld a wheel with twelve spokes ceaselessly turned by six boys. What too doth that import? Who is also the man that I saw? And what the horse of extraordinary size likewise beheld by me? And when I was on the road I also saw a bull with a man mounted thereon, by whom I was endearingly accosted thus, 'Utanka, eat of the dung of this bull, which was also eaten by thy master?' So I ate of the dung of that bull according to his words. Who also is he? Therefore, enlightened by thee, I desire to hear all about them.'

"And his preceptor thus addressed said unto him, 'The two damsels thou hast seen are Dhata and Vidhata; the black and white threads denote night and day; the wheel of twelve spokes turned by the six boys signified the year comprising six seasons. The man is Parjanya, the deity of rain, and the horse is Agni, the god of fire. The bull that thou hast seen on the road is Airavata, the king of elephants; the man mounted thereon is Indra; and the dung of the bull which was eaten by thee was Amrita. It was certainly for this (last) that thou hast not met with death in the region of the Nagas; and Indra who is my friend having been mercifully inclined showed thee favour. It is for this that thou returnest safe, with the ear-rings about thee. Then, O thou amiable one, I give thee leave to depart. Thou shall obtain good fortune.'

"And Utanka, having obtained his master's leave, moved by anger and resolved to avenge himself on Takshaka, proceeded

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towards Hastinapura. That excellent Brahmana soon reached Hastinapura. And Utanka then waited upon King Janamejaya who had some time before returned victorious from Takshashila. And Utanka saw the victorious monarch surrounded on all sides by his ministers. And he pronounced benedictions on him in a proper form. And Utanka addressed the monarch at the proper moment in speech of correct accent and melodious sounds, saying, 'O thou the best of monarchs! How is it that thou spendest thy time like a child when there is another matter that urgently demandeth thy attention?'"

"Sauti said, 'The monarch Janamejaya, thus addressed, saluting that excellent Brahmana replied unto him, 'In cherishing these my subjects I do discharge the duties of my noble tribe. Say, what is that business to be done by me and which hath brought thee hither.'

"The foremost of Brahmanas and distinguished beyond all for good deeds, thus addressed by the excellent monarch of large heart, replied unto him, 'O King! the business is thy own that demandeth thy attention; therefore do it, please. O thou King of kings! Thy father was deprived of life by Takshaka; therefore do thou avenge thy father's death on that vile serpent. The time hath come, I think, for the act of vengeance ordained by the Fates. Go then avenge the death of thy magnanimous father who, being bitten without cause by that vile serpent, was reduced to five elements even like a tree stricken by thunder. The wicked Takshaka, vilest of the serpent race, intoxicated with power committed an unnecessary act when he bit the King, that god-like father, the protector of the race of royal saints. Wicked in his deeds, he even caused Kasyapa (the prince of physicians) to run back when he was coming for the relief of thy father. It behoveth thee to burn the wicked wretch in the blazing fire of a snake-sacrifice. O King! Give instant orders for the sacrifice. It is thus thou canst avenge the death of thy father. And a very great favour shall have also been shown to me. For by that malignant wretch, O virtuous Prince, my business also was, on one occasion, obstructed, while proceeding on account of my preceptor."

"Sauti continued, The monarch, having heard these words, was enraged with Takshaka. By the speech of Utanka was inflamed the prince, even as the sacrificial fire with clarified butter. Moved by grief also, in the presence of Utanka, the prince asked his ministers the particulars of his father's journey to the regions of the blessed. And when he heard all about the circumstances of his father's death from the lips of Utanka, he was overcome with pain and sorrow.

And thus endeth the section called Paushya of the Adi Parva of the blessed Mahabharata."

SECTION 4

(Pauloma Parva)

'UGRASRAVA SAUTI, the son of Lomaharshana, versed in the Puranas, while present in the forest of Naimisha, at the twelve years' sacrifice of Saunaka, surnamed Kulapati, stood before the Rishis in attendance. Having studied Puranas with meticulous devotion and thus being thoroughly acquainted with them, he addressed them with joined hands thus, 'I have graphically described to you the history of Utanka which is one of the causes of King Janamejaya's Snake-sacrifice. What, revered Sirs, do ye wish to hear now? What shall I relate to you?' The holy men replied, 'O son of Lomaharshana, we shall ask thee about what we are anxious to hear and thou wilt recount the tales one by one. Saunaka, our revered master, is at present attending the apartment of the holy fire. He is acquainted with those divine stories which relate to the gods and asuras. He adequately knoweth the histories of men, serpents, and Gandharvas. Further, O Sauti, in this sacrifice that learned Brahmana is the chief. He is able, faithful to his vows, wise, a master of the Sastras and the Aranyaka, a speaker of truth, a lover of peace, a mortifier of the flesh, and an observer of the penances according to the authoritative decrees. He is respected by us all. It behoveth us therefore to wait for him. And when he is seated on his highly respected seat, thou wilt answer what that best of Dwijas shall ask of thee.'

"Sauti said, 'Be it so. And when the high-souled master hath been seated I shall narrate, questioned by him, sacred stories on a variety of subjects." After a while that excellent Brahmana (Saunaka) having duly finished all his duties, and having propitiated the gods with prayers and the manes with oblations of water, came back to the place of sacrifice, where with Sauti seated before was the assembly of saints of rigid vows sitting at ease. And when Saunaka was seated in the midst of the Ritwiks and Sadhyas, who were also in their seats, he spake as followeth."

SECTION 5

(Pauloma Parva continued)

"Saunaka said, 'Child, thy father formerly read the whole of the Puranas, O son of Lomaharshana, and the Bharata with Krishna-Dwaipayana. Hast thou also made them thy study? In those ancient records are chronicled interesting stories and the history of the first generations of the wise men, all of which we heard being rehearsed by thy sire. In the first place, I am desirous of hearing the history of the race of Bhrigu. Recount thou that history, we shall attentively listen to thee."

"Sauti answered, 'By me hath been acquired all that was formerly studied by the high-souled Brahmanas including Vaisampayana and repeated by them; by me hath been acquired all that had been studied by my father. O descendant of the Bhrigu race, attend then to so much as relateth to the exalted race of Bhrigu, revered by Indra and all the gods, by the tribes of Rishis and Maruts (Winds). O great Muni, I shall first properly recount the story of this family, as told in the Puranas.

"The great and blessed saint Bhrigu, we are informed, was produced by the self-existing Brahma from the fire at the sacrifice of Varuna. And Bhrigu had a son, named Chyavana, whom he dearly loved. And to Chyavana was born a virtuous son called Pramati. And Pramati had a son named Ruru by Ghritachi (the celestial dancer). And to Ruru also by his wife Pramadvara, was born a son, whose name was Sunaka. He was, O Saunaka, thy great ancestor exceedingly virtuous in his ways. He was devoted to asceticism, of great reputation, proficient in law, and eminent among those having a knowledge of the Vedas. He was virtuous, truthful, and of well-regulated fare.'

"Saunaka said, 'O son of Suta, I ask thee why the illustrious son of Bhrigu was named Chyavana. Do tell me all.'

"Sauti replied, 'Bhrigu had a wife named Puloma whom he dearly loved. She became big with child by Bhrigu. And one day while the virtuous continent Puloma was in that condition, Bhrigu, great among those that are true to their religion, leaving her at home went out to perform his ablutions. It was then that the Rakshasa called Puloma came to Bhrigu's abode. And entering the Rishi's abode, the Rakshasa saw the wife of Bhrigu, irreproachable in everything. And seeing her he became filled with lust and lost his senses. The beautiful Puloma entertained the Rakshasa thus arrived, with roots and fruits of the forest. And the Rakshasa who burnt with desire upon seeing her, became very much delighted and resolved, O good sage, to carry her away who was so blameless in every respect.

'My design is accomplished,' said the Rakshasa, and so seizing that beautiful matron he carried her away. And, indeed, she of agreeable smiles, had been betrothed by her father himself, to him, although the former subsequently bestowed her, according to due rites, on Bhrigu. O thou of the Bhrigu race, this wound rankled deep in the Rakshasa's mind and he thought the present moment very opportune for carrying the lady away.

"And the Rakshasa saw the apartment in which the sacrificial fire was kept burning brightly. The Rakshasa then asked the flaming element 'Tell me, O Agni, whose wife this woman rightfully is. Thou art the mouth of gods; therefore thou art bound to answer my question. This lady of superior complexion had been first accepted by me as wife, but her father subsequently bestowed her on the false Bhrigu. Tell me truly if this fair one can be regarded as the wife of Bhrigu, for having found her alone, I have resolved to take her away by force from the hermitage. My heart burneth with rage when I reflect that Bhrigu hath got possession of this woman of slender waist, first betrothed to me.'"

"Sauti continued, 'In this manner the Rakshasa asked the flaming god of fire again and again whether the lady was Bhrigu's wife. And the god was afraid to return an answer. 'Thou, O god of fire,' said he, resides constantly within every creature, as witness of her or his merits and demerits. O thou respected one, then answer my question truly. Has not Bhrigu appropriated her who was chosen by me as my wife? Thou shouldst declare truly whether, therefore, she is my wife by first choice. After thy answer as to whether she is the wife of Bhrigu, I will bear her away from this hermitage even in sight of thee. Therefore answer thou truly.'"

"Sauti continued, 'The Seven flamed god having heard these words of the Rakshasa became exceedingly distressed, being afraid of telling a falsehood and equally afraid of Bhrigu's curse. And the god at length made answer in words that came out slowly. 'This Puloma was, indeed, first chosen by thee, O Rakshasa, but she was not taken by thee with holy rites and invocations. But this far-famed lady was bestowed by her father on Bhrigu as a gift from desire of blessing. She was not bestowed on thee O Rakshasa, this lady was duly made by the Rishi Bhrigu his wife with Vedic rites in my presence. This is she--I know her. I dare not speak a falsehood. O thou best of the Rakshasas, falsehood is never respected in this world.'"

SECTION 6

(Pauloma Parva continued)

"Sauti said, 'O Brahmana, having heard these words from the god of fire, the Rakshasa assumed the form of a boar, and seizing the lady carried her away with the speed of the wind--even of thought. Then the child of Bhrigu lying in her body enraged at such violence, dropped from his mother's womb, for which he obtained the name of Chyavana. And the Rakshasa perceiving the infant drop from the mother's womb, shining like the sun, quitted his grasp of the woman, fell down and was instantly converted into ashes. And the beautiful Pauloma, distracted with grief, O Brahmana of the Bhrigu race, took up her offspring Chyavana, the son of Bhrigu and walked away. And Brahma, the Grandfather of all, himself saw her, the faultless wife of his son, weeping. And the Grandfather of all comforted her who was attached to her son. And the drops of tears which rolled down her eyes formed a great river. And that river began to follow the foot-steps of the wife of the great ascetic Bhrigu. And the Grandfather of the worlds seeing that river follow the path of his son's wife gave it a name himself, and he called it Vadhusara. And it passeth by the hermitage of Chyavana. And in this manner was born Chyavana of great ascetic power, the son of Bhrigu.

"And Bhrigu saw his child Chyavana and its beautiful mother. And the Rishi in a rage asked her, 'By whom wast thou made known to that Rakshasa who resolved to carry thee away? O thou of agreeable smiles, the Rakshasa could not know thee as my wile. Therefore tell me who it was that told the Rakshasa so, in order that I may curse him through anger.' And Pauloma replied, 'O possessor of the six attributes! I was identified to the Rakshasa by Agni (the god of fire). And he (the Rakshasa) bore me away, who cried like the Kurari (female osprey). And it was only by the ardent splendour of this thy son that I was rescued, for the Rakshasa (seeing this infant) let me go and himself falling to the ground was turned into ashes.'

"Sauti continued, 'Bhrigu, upon hearing this account from Pauloma, became exceedingly enraged. And in excess of passion the Rishi cursed Agni, saying, 'Thou shalt eat of all things.'"

So ends the sixth section called "the curse on Agni" in the Adi Parva.

SECTION 7

(Pauloma Parva continued)

"Sauti said, 'the god of fire enraged at the curse of Bhrigu, thus addressed the Rishi, 'What meaneth this rashness, O Brahmana, that thou hast displayed towards me? What transgression can be imputed to me who was labouring to do justice and speak the truth impartially? Being asked I gave the true answer. A witness who when interrogated about a fact of which he hath knowledge, representeth otherwise than it is, ruineth his ancestors and descendants both to the seventh generation. He, too, who, being fully cognisant of all the particulars of an affair, doth not disclose what he knoweth, when asked, is undoubtedly stained with guilt. I can also curse thee, but Brahmanas are held by me in high respect. Although these are known to thee, O Brahmana, I will yet speak of them, so please attend! Having, by ascetic power, multiplied myself, I am present in various forms, in places of the daily homa, at sacrifices extending for years, in places where holy rites are performed (such as marriage, etc.), and at other sacrifices. With the butter that is poured upon my flame according to the injunctions prescribed in the Vedas, the Devas and the Pitris are appeased. The Devas are the waters; the Pitris are also the waters. The Devas have with the Pitris an equal right to the sacrifices called Darshas and Purnamasas. The Devas therefore are the Pitris and the Pitris, the Devas. They are identical beings, worshipped together and also separately at the changes of the moon. The Devas and the Pitris eat what is poured upon me. I am therefore called the mouth of the Devas and the Pitris. At the new moon the Pitris, and at the full moon the Devas, are fed through my mouth, eating of the clarified butter that is poured on me. Being, as I am, their mouth, how am I to be an eater of all things (clean and unclean)?

"Then Agni, alter reflecting for a while, withdrew himself from all places; from places of the daily homa of the Brahmanas, from all long-extending sacrifices, from places of holy rites, and from other ceremonies. Without their Oms and Vashats, and deprived of their Swadhas and Swahas (sacrificial mantras during offerings), the whole body of creatures became much distressed at the loss of their (sacrificial) fire. The Rishis in great anxiety went to the gods and addressed them thus, 'Ye immaculate beings! The three regions of the universe are confounded at the cessation of their sacrifices and ceremonies in consequence of the loss of fire! Ordain what is to be done in tins matter, so that there may be no loss of time.' Then the Rishis and the gods went together to the presence of Brahma. And they represented to him all about the curse on Agni and the consequent interruption of all ceremonies. And they said, 'O thou greatly fortunate! Once Agni hath been cursed by Bhrigu for some reason. Indeed, being the mouth of the gods and also the first who eateth of what is offered in sacrifices, the eater also of the sacrificial butter, how will Agni be reduced to the condition of one who eateth of all things promiscuously?' And the creator of the universe hearing these words of theirs summoned Agni to his presence. And Brahma addressed Agni, the creator of all and eternal as himself, in these gentle words, 'Thou art the creator of the worlds and thou art their destroyer! Thou preserves! the three worlds and thou art the promoter of all sacrifices and ceremonies! Therefore behave thyself so that ceremonies be not interrupted. And, O thou eater of the sacrificial butter, why dost thou act so foolishly, being, as thou art, the Lord of

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all? Thou alone art always pure in the universe and thou art its stay! Thou shall not, with all thy body, be reduced to the state of one who eateth of all things promiscuously. O thou of flames, the flame that is in thy viler parts shall alone eat of all things alike. The body of thine which eateth of flesh (being in the stomach of all carnivorous animals) shall also eat of all things promiscuously. And as every thing touched by the sun's rays becometh pure, so shall everything be pure that shall be burnt by thy flames. Thou art, O fire, the supreme energy born of thy own power. Then, O Lord, by that power of thine make the Rishi's curse come true. Continue to 'receive thy own portion and that of the gods, offered at thy mouth.'

'Sauti continued, 'Then Agni replied to the Grandfather, 'So be it.' And he then went away to obey the command of the supreme Lord. The gods and the Rishis also returned in delight to the place whence they had come. And the Rishis began to perform as before their ceremonies and sacrifices. And the gods in heaven and all creatures of the world rejoiced exceedingly. And Agni too rejoiced in that he was free from the prospect of sin.

"Thus, O possessor of the six attributes, had Agni been cursed in the days of yore by Bhrigu. And such is the ancient history connected with the destruction of the Rakshasa, Pauloma and the birth of Chyavana.'"

Thus endeth the seventh section of the Pauloma Parva of the Adi Parva of the blessed Mahabharata.

SECTION 8

(Pauloma Parva continued)

"Sauti said, 'O Brahmana, Chyavana, the son of Bhrigu, begot a son in the womb of his wife Sukanya. And that son was the illustrious Pramati of resplendent energy. And Pramati begot in the womb of Ghritachi a son called Ruru. And Ruru begot on his wife Pramadvara a son called Sunaka. And I shall relate to you in detail, O Brahmana, the entire history of Ruru of abundant energy. O listen to it then in full!

"Formerly there was a great Rishi called Sthulakesa possessed of ascetic power and learning and kindly disposed towards all creatures. At that time, O Brahmana sage, Viswavasu, the King of the Gandharvas, it is said, had intimacy with Menaka, the celestial dancing-girl. And the Apsara, Menaka, O thou of the Bhrigu race, when her time was come, brought forth an infant near the hermitage of Sthulakesa. And dropping the newborn infant on the banks of the river, O Brahmana, Menaka, the Apsara, being destitute of pity and shame, went away. And the Rishi, Sthulakesa, of great ascetic power, discovered the infant lying forsaken in a lonely part of the river-side. And he perceived that it was a female child, bright as the offspring of an Immortal and blazing, as it were, with beauty: And the great Brahmana, Sthulakesa, the first of Munis, seeing that female child, and filled with compassion, took it up and reared it. And the lovely child grew up in his holy habitation, the noble-minded and blessed Rishi Sthulakesa performing in due succession all the ceremonies beginning with that at birth as ordained by the divine law. And because she surpassed all of her sex in goodness, beauty, and every quality, the great Rishi called her by the name of Pramadvara. And the pious Ruru having seen Pramadvara in the hermitage of Sthulakesa became one whose heart was pierced by the god of love. And Ruru by means of his companions made his father Pramati, the son of Bhrigu, acquainted with his passion. And Pramati demanded her of the far-famed Sthulakesa for his son. And her foster-father betrothed the virgin Pramadvara to Ruru, fixing the nuptials for the day when the star Varga-Daivata (Purva-phalguni) would be ascendant.

"Then within a few days of the time fixed for the nuptials, the beautiful virgin while at play with companions of her own sex, her time having come, impelled by fate, trod upon a serpent which she did not perceive as it lay in coil. And the reptile, urged to execute the will of Fate, violently darted its envenomed fangs into the body of the heedless maiden. And stung by that serpent, she instantly dropped senseless on the ground, her colour faded and all the graces of her person went off. And with dishevelled hair she became a spectacle of woe to her companions and friends. And she who was so agreeable to behold became on her death what was too painful to look at. And the girl of slender waist lying on the ground like one asleep--being overcome with the poison of the snake-once more became more beautiful than in life. And her foster-father and the other holy ascetics who were there, all saw her lying motionless upon the ground with the splendour of a lotus. And then there came many noted Brahmanas filled with compassion, and they sat around her. And Swastyatreya, Mahajana, Kushika, Sankhamekhala, Uddalaka, Katha, and Sweta of great renown, Bharadwaja, Kaunakutsya, Arshtishena, Gautama, Pramati, and Pramati's son Ruru, and other inhabitants of the forest, came there. And when they saw that maiden lying dead on the ground overcome with the poison of the reptile that had bitten her, they all wept filled with compassion. But Ruru, mortified beyond measure, retired from the scene.'"

So ends the eighth section of the Pauloma Parva of the Adi Parva of the blessed Mahabharata.

SECTION 9

(Pauloma Parva continued)

"Sauti said, 'While those illustrious Brahmanas were sitting around the dead body of Pramadvara, Ruru, sorely afflicted, retired into a deep wood and wept aloud. And overwhelmed with grief he indulged in much piteous lamentation. And, remembering his beloved Pramadvara, he gave vent to his sorrow in the following words, 'Alas! The delicate fair one that increaseth my affliction lieth upon the bare ground. What can be more deplorable to us, her friends? If I have been charitable, if I have performed acts of penance, if I have ever revered my superiors, let the merit of these arts restore to life my beloved one! If from my birth I have been controlling my passions, adhered to my vows, let the fair Pramadvara rise from the ground.

"And while Ruru was indulging in these lamentations for the loss of his bride, a messenger from heaven came to him in the forest and addressed him thus, 'The words thou utterest, O Ruru, in thy affliction are certainly ineffectual. For, O pious man, one belonging to this world whose days have run out can never come back to life. This poor child of a Gandharva and Apsara has had her days run out! Therefore, O child, thou shouldst not consign thy heart to sorrow. The great gods, however, have provided beforehand a means of her restoration to life. And if thou compliest with it, thou mayest receive back thy Pramadvara.'

"And Ruru replied, O messenger of heaven! What is that which the gods have ordained. Tell me in full so that (on hearing) I may comply with it. It behoveth thee to deliver me from grief!' And the celestial messenger said unto Ruru, 'Resign half of thy own life to thy bride, and then, O Ruru of the race of Bhrigu, thy Pramadvara shall rise from the ground.' 'O best of celestial messengers, I most willingly offer a moiety of my own life in favour of my bride. Then let my beloved one rise up once more in her dress and lovable form.'

"Sauti said, 'Then the king of Gandharvas (the father of Pramadvara) and the celestial messenger, both of excellent qualities, went to the god Dharma (the Judge of the dead) and addressed him, saying, 'If it be thy will, O Dharmaraja, let the amiable Pramadvara, the betrothed wife of Ruru, now lying dead, rise up with a moiety of Ruru's life.' And Dharmaraja answered, 'O messenger of the gods, if it be thy wish, let Pramadvara, the betrothed wife of Ruru, rise up endued with a moiety of Ruru's life.'

"Sauti continued, 'And when Dharmaraja had said so, that maiden of superior complexion, Pramadvara, endued with a moiety of Ruru's life, rose as from her slumber. This bestowal by Ruru of a moiety of his own span of life to resuscitate his bride afterwards led, as it would be seen, to a curtailment of Ruru's life.

"And on an auspicious day their fathers gladly married them with due rites. And the couple passed their days, devoted to each other. And Ruru having obtained such a wife, as is hard to be found, beautiful and bright as the filaments of the lotus, made a vow for the destruction of the serpent-race. And whenever he saw a serpent he became filled with great wrath and always killed it with a weapon.

"One day, O Brahmana, Ruru entered an extensive forest. And there he saw an old serpent of the Dundubha species lying stretched on the ground. And Ruru thereupon lifted up in anger his staff, even like to the staff of Death, for the purpose of killing it. Then the Dundubha, addressing Ruru, said, 'I have done thee no harm, O Brahmana! Then wherefore wilt thou slay me in anger?'" So ends the ninth section of the Pauloma Parva of the Adi Parva of the blessed Mahabharata.

SECTION 10

(Pauloma Parva continued)

Sauti said, 'And Ruru, on hearing those words, replied, 'My wife, dear to me as life, was bit by a snake; upon which, I took, O snake, a dreadful vow, viz., that I would kill every snake that I might come across. Therefore shall I smite thee and thou shalt be deprived of life.'

"And the Dundubha replied, 'O Brahmana, the snakes that bite man are quite different in type. It behoveth thee not to slay Dundubhas who are serpents only in name. Subject like other serpents to the same calamities but not sharing their good fortune, in woe the same but in joy different, the Dundubhas should not be slain by thee under any misconception.'

"Sauti continued, 'And the Rishi Ruru hearing these words of the serpent, and seeing that it was bewildered with fear, albeit a snake of the Dundubha species, killed it not. And Ruru, the possessor of the six attributes, comforting the snake addressed it, saying, 'Tell me fully, O snake, who art thou thus metamorphosed?' And the Dundubha replied, 'O Ruru! I was formerly a Rishi by name Sahasrapat. And it is by the curse of a Brahmana that I have been transformed into a snake. And Ruru asked, 'O thou best of snakes, for what wast thou cursed by a Brahmana in wrath? And how long also will thy form continue so?'"

And so ends the tenth section of the Pauloma Parva of the Adi Parva.

SECTION 11

(Pauloma Parva continued)

"Sauti continued 'The Dundubha then said, 'In former times, I had a friend Khagama by name. He was impetuous in his speech and possessed of spiritual power by virtue of his austerities. And one day when he was engaged in the Agni-hotra (Fire-sacrifice), I made a mock snake of blades of grass, and in a frolic attempted to frighten him with it. And anon he fell into a swoon. On recovering his senses, that truth-telling and vow-observing ascetic, burning with wrath, exclaimed, 'Since thou hast made a powerless mock snake to frighten me, thou shalt be turned even into a venomless serpent thyself by my curse.' O ascetic, I well knew the power of his penances; therefore with an agitated heart, I addressed him thus, bending low with joined hands, 'Friend, I did this by way of a joke, to excite thy laughter. It behoveth thee to forgive me and revoke thy curse.' And seeing me sorely troubled, the ascetic was moved, and he replied, breathing hot and hard. 'What I have said must come to pass. Listen to what I say and lay it to thy heart. O pious one! when Ruru the pure son of Pramati, will appear, thou shall be delivered from the curse the moment thou seest him. Thou art the very Ruru and the son of Pramati. On regaining my native form, I will tell thee something for thy good.

"And that illustrious man and the best of Brahmanas then left his snake-body, and attained his own form and original brightness. He then addressed the following words to Ruru of incomparable power, 'O thou first of created beings, verily the highest virtue of man is sparing the life of others. Therefore a Brahmana should never take the life of any creature. A Brahmana should ever be mild. This is the most sacred injunction of the Vedas. A Brahmana should be versed in the Vedas and Vedangas, and should inspire all creatures with belief in God. He should be benevolent to all creatures, truthful, and forgiving, even as it is his paramount duty to retain the Vedas in his memory. The duties of the Kshatriya are not thine. To be stern, to wield the sceptre and to rule the subjects properly are the duties of the Kshatriya. Listen, O Ruru, to the account of the destruction of snakes at the sacrifice of Janamejaya in days of yore, and the deliverance of the terrified reptiles by that best of Dwijas, Astika, profound in Vedic lore and might in spiritual energy.'"

And so ends the eleventh section of the Pauloma Parva of the Adi Parva.

SECTION 12

(Pauloma Parva continued)

"Sauti continued, 'Ruru then asked, 'O best of Dwijas, why was king Janamejaya bent upon destroying the serpents?--And why and how were they saved by the wise Astika? I am anxious to hear all this in detail.'

"The Rishi replied, 'O Ruru, the important history of Astika you will learn from the lips of Brahmanas.' Saying this, he vanished.

"Sauti continued, 'Ruru ran about in search of the missing Rishi, and having failed to find him in all the woods, fell down on the ground, fatigued. And revolving in his mind the words of the Rishi, he was greatly confounded and seemed to be deprived of his senses. Regaining consciousness, he came home and asked his father to relate the history in question. Thus asked, his father related all about the story.'"

So ends the twelfth section in the Pauloma Parva of the Adi Parva.

SECTION 13

(Astika Parva)

"Saunaka said, 'For what reason did that tiger among kings, the royal Janamejaya, determine to take the lives of the snakes by means of a sacrifice? O Sauti, tell us in full the true story. Tell us also why Astika, that best of regenerate ones, that foremost of ascetics, rescued the snakes from the blazing fire. Whose son was that monarch who celebrated the snake-sacrifice? And whose son also was that best of regenerate ones?'

"Sauti said, 'O best of speakers, this story of Astika is long. I will duly relate it in full, O listen!'

"Saunaka said, 'I am desirous of hearing at length the charming story of that Rishi, that illustrious Brahmana named Astika.'

"Sauti said, 'This history (first) recited by Krishna-Dwaipayana, is called a Purana by the Brahmanas. It was formerly narrated by my wise father, Lomaharshana, the disciple of Vyasa, before the dwellers of the Naimisha forest, at their request. I was present at the recital, and, O Saunaka, since thou askest me, I shall narrate the history of Astika exactly as I heard it. O listen, as I recite in full that sin-destroying story.

"The father of Astika was powerful like Prajapati. He was a Brahma-charin, always engaged in austere devotions. He ate sparingly, was a great ascetic, and had his lust under complete control. And he was known by the name of Jaratkaru. That foremost one among the Yayavaras, virtuous and of rigid vows, highly blessed and endued with great ascetic power, once undertook a journey over the world. He visited diverse

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places, bathed in diverse sacred waters, and rested where night overtook him. Endued with great energy, he practised religious austerities, hard to be practised by men of unrestrained souls. The sage lived upon air only, and renounced sleep for ever. Thus going about like a blazing fire, one day he happened to see his ancestors, hanging heads down in a great hole, their feet pointing upwards. On seeing them, Jaratkaru addressed them, saying:

'Who are you thus hanging heads down in this hole by a rope of virana fibres that is again secretly eaten into on all sides by a rat living here?'

"The ancestors said, 'We are Rishis of rigid vows, called Yayavaras. We are sinking low into the earth for want of offspring. We have a son named Jaratkaru. Woe to us! That wretch hath entered upon a life of austerities only! The fool doth not think of raising offspring by marriage! It is for that reason, viz., the fear of extinction of our race, that we are suspended in this hole. Possessed of means, we fare like unfortunates that have none! O excellent one, who art thou that thus sorrowest as a friend on our account? We desire to learn, O Brahmana, who thou art that standest by us, and why, O best of men, thou sorrowest for us that are so unfortunate.'

"Jaratkaru said, 'Ye are even my sires and grandsires I am that Jaratkaru! O, tell me, how I may serve you.'

"The fathers then answered, 'Try thy best, O child, to beget a son to extend our line. Thou wilt then, O excellent one, have done a meritorious art for both thyself and us. Not by the fruits of virtue, not by ascetic penances well hoarded up, acquireth the merit which one doth by becoming a father. Therefore, O child, by our command, set thy heart upon marriage and offspring. Even this is our highest good.'

"Jaratkaru replied, 'I shall not marry for my sake, nor shall I earn wealth for enjoyment, but I shall do so for your welfare only. According to this understanding, I shall, agreeably to the Sastric ordinance, take a wife for attaining the end. I shall not act otherwise. If a bride may be had of the same name with me, whose friends would, besides, willingly give her to me as a gift in charity, I shall wed her duly. But who will give his daughter to a poor man like me for wife. I shall, however, accept any daughter given to me as alms. I shall endeavour, ye sires, even thus to wed a girl! Having given my word, I will not act otherwise. Upon her I will raise offspring for your redemption, so that, ye fathers, ye may attain to eternal regions (of bliss) and may rejoice as ye like.'"

So ends the thirteenth section in the Astika Parva of the Adi Parva.

SECTION 14

(Astika Parva continued)

"Sauti said, 'That Brahmana of rigid vows then wandered over the earth for a wife but a wife found he not. One day he went into the forest, and recollecting the words of his ancestors, he thrice prayed in a faint voice for a bride. Thereupon Vasuki rose and offered his sister for the Rishi's acceptance. But the Brahmana hesitated to accept her, thinking her not to be of the same name with himself. The high-souled Jaratkaru thought within himself, 'I will take none for wife who is not of the same name with myself.' Then that Rishi of great wisdom and austere penances asked him, saying, 'Tell me truly what is the name of this thy sister, O snake.'

"Vasuki replied, 'O Jaratkaru, this my younger sister is called Jaratkaru. Given away by me, accept this slender-waisted damsel for thy spouse. O best of Brahmanas, for thee I reserved her. Therefore, take her.' Saying this, he offered his beautiful sister to Jaratkaru who then espoused her with ordained rites.'"

So ends the thirteenth section in the Astika Parva of the Adi Parva.

SECTION 15

(Astika Parva continued)

"Sauti said, 'O foremost of persons acquainted with Brahma, the mother of the snakes had cursed them of old, saying, 'He that hath the Wind for his charioteer (viz., Agni) shall burn you all in Janamejaya's sacrifice!' It was to neutralise that curse that the chief of the snakes married his sister to that high-souled Rishi of excellent vows. The Rishi wedded her according to the rites ordained (in the scriptures), and from them was born a high-souled son called Astika. An illustrious ascetic; versed in the Vedas and their branches, he regarded all with an even eye, and removed the fears of both his parents.

"Then, after a long space of time, a king descending from the Pandava line celebrated a great sacrifice known as the Snake-sacrifice, After that sacrifice had commenced for the destruction of the snakes, Astika delivered the Nagas, viz., his brothers and maternal uncles and other snakes (from a fiery death). And he delivered his fathers also by begetting offspring. And by his austerities, O Brahmana, and various vows and study of the Vedas, he freed himself from all his debts. By sacrifices, at which various kinds of offerings were made, he propitiated the gods. By practising the Brahmacharya mode of life he conciliated the Rishis; and by begetting offspring he gratified his ancestors.

"Thus Jaratkaru of rigid vows discharged the heavy debt he owed to his sires who being thus relieved from bondage ascended to heaven. Thus having acquired great religious merit, Jaratkaru, after a long course of years, went to heaven, leaving Astika behind. There is the story of Astika that I have related duly Now, tell me, O tiger of Bhrigu's race, what else I shall narrate."

So ends the fifteenth section in the Astika Parva of the Adi Parva.

SECTION 16

(Astika Parva continued)

"Saunaka said, 'O Sauti, relate once more in detail this history of the learned and virtuous Astika. Our curiosity for hearing it is great. O amiable one, thou speakest sweetly, with proper accent and emphasis; and we are well-pleased with thy speech. Thou speakest even as thy father. Thy sire was ever ready to please us. Tell us now the story as thy father had related it.'

"Sauti said, 'O thou that art blest with longevity, I shall narrate the history of Astika as I heard it from my father. O Brahmana, in the golden age, Prajapati had two daughters. O sinless one, the sisters were endowed with wonderful beauty. Named Kadru and Vinata, they became the wives of Kasyapa. Kasyapa derived great pleasure from his two wedded wives and being gratified he, resembling Prajapati himself, offered to give each of them a boon. Hearing that their lord was willing to confer on them their choice blessings, those excellent ladies felt transports of joy. Kadru wished to have for sons a thousand snakes all of equal splendour. And Vinata wished to bring forth two sons surpassing the thousand offsprings of Kadru in strength, energy, size of body, and prowess. Unto Kadru her lord gave that boon about a multitude of offspring. And unto Vinata also, Kasyapa said, 'Be it so!' Then Vinata, having; obtained her prayer, rejoiced greatly. Obtaining two sons of superior prowess, she regarded her boon fulfilled. Kadru also obtained her thousand sons of equal splendour. 'Bear the embryos carefully,' said Kasyapa, and then he went into the forest, leaving his two wives pleased with his blessings.'

"Sauti continued, 'O best of regenerate ones, after a long time, Kadru brought forth a thousand eggs, and Vinata two. Their maid-servants deposited the eggs separately in warm vessels. Five hundred years passed away, and the thousand eggs produced by Kadru burst and out came the progeny. But the twins of Vinata did not appear. Vinata was jealous, and therefore she broke one of the eggs and found in it an embryo with the upper part developed but the lower one undeveloped. At this, the child in the egg became angry and cursed his mother, saying. 'Since thou hast prematurely broken this egg, thou shall serve as a slave. Shouldst thou wait five hundred years and not destroy, or render the other egg half-developed, by breaking it through impatience, then the illustrious child within it will deliver thee from slavery! And if thou wouldst have the child strong, thou must take tender care of the egg for all this time!' Thus cursing his mother, the child rose to the sky. O Brahmana, even he is the charioteer of Surya, always seen in the hour of morning!

"Then at the expiration of the five hundred years, bursting open the other egg, out came Garuda, the serpent-eater. O tiger of Bhrigu's race, immediately on seeing the light, that son of Vinata left his mother. And the lord of birds, feeling hungry, took wing in quest of the food assigned to him by the Great Ordainer of all.".

So ends the sixteenth section in the Astika Parva of the Adi Parva.

SECTION 17

(Astika Parva continued)

"Sauti said, 'O ascetic, about this time the two sisters saw approaching near, that steed of complacent appearance named Uchchaihsravas who was worshipped by the gods, that gem of steeds, who arose at the churning of the Ocean for nectar. Divine, graceful, perpetually young, creation's master-piece, and of irresistible vigour, it was blest with every auspicious mark.'

"Saunaka asked, 'Why did the gods churn the Ocean for nectar, and under what circumstances and when as you say, did that best of steeds so powerful and resplendent spring?'

"Sauti said, 'There is a mountain named Meru, of blazing appearance, and looking like a heap of effulgence. The rays of the Sun falling on its peaks of golden lustre are dispersed by them. Decked with gold and exceedingly beautiful, that mountain is the haunt of the gods and the Gandharvas. It is immeasurable and unapproachable by men of manifold sins. Dreadful beasts of prey wander over its breasts, and it is illuminated by many divine life-giving herbs. It stands kissing the heavens by its height and is the first of mountains. Ordinary people cannot even think of ascending it. It is graced with trees and streams, and resounds with the charming melody of winged choirs. Once the celestials sat on its begemmed peak--in conclave. They who had practised penances and observed excellent vows for amrita now seemed to be eager seekers alter amrita (celestial ambrosia). Seeing the celestial assembly in anxious mood Nara-yana said to Brahman, 'Do thou churn the Ocean with the gods and the Asuras. By doing so, amrita will be obtained as also all drugs and gems. O ye gods, chum the Ocean, ye will discover amrita.'"

So ends the seventeenth section in the Astika Parva of the Adi Parva.

SECTION 18

(Astika Parva continued)

"Sauti said, 'There is a mountain called Mandara adorned with cloud-like peaks. It is the best of mountains, and is covered all over with intertwining herbs. There countless birds pour forth their melodies, and beasts of prey roam about. The gods, the Apsaras and the Kinnaras visit the place. Upwards it rises eleven thousand yojanas, and descends downwards as much. The gods wanted to tear it up and use it as a churning rod but failing to do so same to Vishnu and Brahman who were sitting together, and said unto them, 'Devise some efficient scheme, consider, ye gods, how Mandara may be dislodged for our good.'

"Sauti continued, 'O son of Bhrigu! Vishnu with Brahman assented to it. And the lotus-eyed one (Vishnu) laid the hard task on the mighty Ananta, the prince of snakes. The powerful Ananta, directed thereto both by Brahman and Narayana, O Brahmana, tore up the mountain with the woods thereon and with the denizens of those woods. And the gods came to the shore of the Ocean with Ananta and addressed the Ocean, saying, 'O Ocean; we have come to churn thy waters for obtaining nectar.' And the Ocean replied, 'Be it so, as I shall not go without a share of it. I am able to bear the prodigious agitation of my waters set up by the mountain.' The gods then went to the king of tortoises and said to him, 'O Tortoise-king, thou wilt have to hold the mountain on thy back!' The Tortoise-king agreed, and Indra contrived to place the mountain on the former's back.

"And the gods and the Asuras made of Mandara a churning staff and Vasuki the cord, and set about churning the deep for amrita. The Asuras held Vasuki by the hood and the gods held him by the tail. And Ananta, who was on the side of the gods, at intervals raised the snake's hood and suddenly lowered it. And in consequence of the stretch Vasuki received at the hands of the gods and the Asuras, black vapours with flames issued from his mouth. These, turned into clouds charged with lightning, poured showers that refreshed the tired gods. And flowers that also fell on all sides of the celestials from the trees on the whirling Mandara, refreshed them.

"Then, O Brahmana, out of the deep came a tremendous roar like unto the roar of the clouds at the Universal Dissolution. Diverse aquatic animals being crushed by the great mountain gave up the ghost in the salt waters. And many denizens of the lower regions and the world of Varuna were killed. Large trees with birds on the whirling Mandara were torn up by the roots and fell into the water. The mutual friction of those trees also produced fires that blazed up frequently. The mountain thus looked like a mass of dark clouds charged with lightning. O Brahmana, the fire spread, and consumed the lions, elephants and other creatures that were on the mountain. Then Indra extinguished that fire by pouring down heavy showers.

"After the churning, O Brahmana, had gone on for some time, gummy exudations of various trees and herbs vested with the properties of amrita mingled with the waters of the Ocean. And the celestials attained to immortality by drinking of the water mixed with those gums and with the liquid extract of gold. By degrees, the milky water of the agitated deep turned into clarified butter by virtue of those gums and juices. But nectar did not appear even then. The gods came before the boon-granting Brahman seated on his seat and said, 'Sire, we are spent up, we have no strength left to churn further. Nectar hath not yet arisen so that now we have no resource save Narayana.'

"On hearing them, Brahman said to Narayana, 'O Lord, condescend to grant the gods strength to churn the deep afresh.'

"Then Narayana agreeing to grant their various prayers, said, 'Ye wise ones, I grant you sufficient strength. Go, put the mountain in position again and churn the water.'

'Re-established thus in strength, the gods recommenced churning. After a while, the mild Moon of a thousand rays emerged from the Ocean. Thereafter sprung forth Lakshmi dressed in white, then Soma, then the White Steed, and then the celestial gem Kaustubha which graces the breast of Narayana. Then Lakshmi, Soma and the Steed, fleet as the mind, all came before the gods on high. Then arose the divine Dhanwantari himself with the white vessel of nectar in his hand. And seeing him, the Asuras set up a loud cry, saying, 'It be ours.'

"And at length rose the great elephant, Airavata, of huge body and with two pair of white tusks. And him took Indra the wielder of the thunderbolt. But with the churning still going on, the poison Kalakuta appeared at last. Engulfing the Earth it suddenly blazed up like a fire attended with fumes. And by the scent of the fearful Kalakuta, the three worlds

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were stupefied. And then Siva, being solicited by Brahman, swallowed that poison for the safety of the creation. The divine Maheswara held it in his throat, and it is said that from that time he is called Nilakantha (blue-throated). Seeing all these wondrous things, the Asuras were filled with despair, and got themselves prepared for entering into hostilities with the gods for the possession of Lakshmi and Amrita. Thereupon Narayana called his bewitching Maya (illusive power) to his aid, and assuming the form of an enticing female, coquetted with the Danavas. The Danavas and the Daityas charmed with her exquisite beauty and grace lost their reason and unanimously placed the Amrita in the hands of that fair damsel.'"

So ends the eighteenth section in the Astika Parva of the Adi Parva.

SECTION 19

(Astika Parva continued)

"Sauti said, 'Then the Daityas and the Danauas equipped with first-class armours and various weapons attacked the gods. In the meantime the valiant Lord Vishnu in the form of an enchantress accompanied by Nara deceived the mighty Danavas and took away the Amrita from their hands.

"And all the gods at that time of great fright drank the Amrita with delight, receiving it from Vishnu. And while the gods were partaking of it, after which they had so much hankered, a Danava named Rahu was also drinking it among them in the guise of a god. And when the Amrita had reached Rahu's throat only, Surya and Soma (recognised him and) intimated the fact to the gods. And Narayana instantly cut off with his discus the well-adorned head of the Danava who was drinking the Amrita without permission. And the huge head of the Danava, cut off by the discus and resembling a mountain peak, then rose up to the sky and began to utter dreadful cries. And the Danava's headless trunk, falling upon the ground and rolling thereon, made the Earth tremble with her mountains, forests and islands. And from that time there is a long-standing quarrel between Rahu's head and Surya and Soma. And to this day it swalloweth Surya and Soma (during solar and lunar eclipses).

"Then Narayana quitting his enchanting female form and hurling many terrible weapons at the Danavas, made them tremble. And thus on the shores of the salt-water sea, commenced the dreadful battle of the gods and the Asuras. And sharp-pointed javelins and lances and various weapons by thousands began to be discharged on all sides. And mangled with the discus and wounded with swords, darts and maces, the Asuras in large numbers vomited blood and lay prostrate on the earth. Cut off from the trunks with sharp double-edged swords, heads adorned with bright gold, fell continually on the field of battle. Their bodies drenched in gore, the great Asuras lay dead everywhere. It seemed as if red-dyed mountain peaks lay scattered all around. And when the Sun rose in his splendour, thousands of warriors struck one another with weapons. And cries of distress were heard everywhere. The warriors fighting at a distance from one another brought one another down by sharp iron missiles, and those fighting at close quarters slew one another with blows of their fists. And the air was filled with shrieks of distress. Everywhere were heard the alarming sounds,--'cut', 'pierce', 'at them', 'hurl down', 'advance'.

'And when the battle was raging fiercely, Nara and Narayana entered the field. And Narayana seeing the celestial bow in the hand of Nara, called to mind his own weapon, the Danava-destroying discus. And lo! the discus, Sudarsana, destroyer of enemies, like to Agni in effulgence and dreadful in battle, came from the sky as soon as thought of. And when it came, Narayana of fierce energy, possessing arms like the trunk of an elephant, hurled with great force that weapon of extraordinary lustre, effulgent as blazing fire, dreadful and capable of destroying hostile towns. And that discus blazing like the fire that consumeth all things at the end of Yuga, hurled with force from the hands of Narayana, and falling constantly everywhere, destroyed the Daityas and the Danavas by thousands. Sometimes it blazed like fire and consumed them all; sometimes it struck them down as it coursed through the sky; and sometimes, falling on the earth, it drank their life-blood like a goblin.

"On the other hand, the Danavas, white as the clouds from which the rain hath dropped, possessing great strength and bold hearts, ascended the sky, and by hurling down thousands of mountains, continually harassed the gods. And those dreadful mountains, like masses of clouds, with their trees and flat tops, falling from the sky, collided with one another and produced a tremendous roar. And when thousands of warriors shouted without intermission in the field of battle and mountains with the woods thereon began to fall around, the earth with her forests trembled. Then the divine Nara appeared at the scene of the dreadful conflict between the Asuras and the Ganas (the followers of Rudra), and reducing to dust those rocks by means of his gold-headed arrows, he covered the heavens with dust. Thus discomfited by the gods, and seeing the furious discus scouring the fields of heaven like a blazing flame, the mighty Danavas entered the bowels of the earth, while others plunged into the sea of salt-waters.

"And having gained the victory, the gods offered due respect to Mandara and placed him again on his own base. And the nectar-bearing gods made the heavens resound with their shouts, and went to their own abodes. And the gods, on returning to the heavens, rejoiced greatly, and Indra and the other deities made over to Narayana the vessel of Amrita for careful keeping.'"

And so ends the nineteenth section in the Astika Parva of the Adi Parva.

SECTION 20

(Astika Parva continued)

"Sauti said, 'Thus have I recited to you the whole story of how Amrita was churned out of the Ocean, and the occasion on which the horse Uchchaihsravas of great beauty and incomparable prowess was obtained. It was this horse about which Kadru asked Vinata, saying, 'Tell me, amiable sister, without taking much time, of what colour Uchchaishravas is.' And Vinata answered, 'That prince of steeds is certainly white. What dost thou think, sister? Say thou what is its colour. Let us lay a wager upon it.' Kadru replied, then, 'O thou of sweet smiles. I think that horse is black in its tail. Beauteous one, bet with me that she who loseth will become the other's slave.'

'Sauti continued, 'Thus wagering with each other about menial service as a slave, the sisters went home, and resolved to satisfy themselves by examining the horse next day. And Kadru, bent upon practising a deception, ordered her thousand sons to transform themselves into black hair and speedily cover the horse's tail in order that she might not become a slave. But her sons, the snakes, refusing to do her bidding, she cursed them, saying, 'During the snake-sacrifice of the wise king Janamejaya of the Pandava race, Agni shall consume you all.' And the Grandsire (Brahman) himself heard this exceedingly cruel curse pronounced by Kadru, impelled by the fates. And seeing that the snakes had multiplied exceedingly, the Grandsire, moved by kind consideration for his creatures, sanctioned with all the gods this curse of Kadru. Indeed, as the snakes were of virulent poison, great prowess and excess of strength, and ever bent on biting other creatures, their mother's conduct towards them--those persecutors of all creatures,--was very proper for the good of all creatures. Fate always inflicts punishment of death on those who seek the death of other creatures. The gods, having exchanged such sentiments with one another, supported Kadru's action (and went away). And Brahman, calling Kasyapa to him, spake unto him these words, 'O thou pure one who overcomest all enemies, these snakes begotten by you, who are of virulent poison and huge bodies, and ever intent on biting other creatures, have been cursed by their mother. O son, do not grieve for it in the least. The destruction of the snakes in the sacrifice hath, indeed, been ordained long ago' Saying this, the divine Creator of the Universe comforted Kasyapa and imparted to that illustrious one the knowledge of neutralising poison."

And so ends the twentieth section in the Astika Parva of the Adi Parva.

SECTION 21

(Astika Parva continued)

"Sauti said. 'Then when the night had passed away and the sun had risen in the morning, O thou whose wealth is asceticism, the two sisters Kadru and Vinata, having laid a wager about slavery, went with haste and impatience to view the steed Uchchaishravas from a near point. On their way they saw the Ocean, that receptacle of waters, vast and deep, rolling and tremendously roaring, full of fishes large enough to swallow the whale, and abounding with huge makaras and creatures of various forms by thousands, and rendered inaccessible by the presence of other terrible, monster-shaped, dark, and fierce aquatic animals, abounding with tortoises and crocodiles, the mine of all kinds of gems, the home of Varuna (the water-God), the excellent and beautiful residence of the Nagas, the lord of all rivers, the abode of the subterranean fire, the friend (or asylum) of the Asuras, the terror of all creatures, the grand reservoir of water, and ever immutable. It is holy, beneficial to the gods, and is the great source of nectar; without limits, inconceivable, sacred, and highly wonderful. It is dark, terrible with the sound of aquatic creatures, tremendously roaring, and full of deep whirl-pools. It is an object of terror to all creatures. Moved by the winds blowing from its shores and heaving high, agitated and disturbed, it seems to dance everywhere with uplifted hands represented by its surges. Full of swelling billows caused by the waxing and waning of the moon the parent of Vasudeva's great conch called Panchajanya, the great mine of gems, its waters were formerly disturbed in consequence of the agitation caused within them by the Lord Govinda of immeasurable prowess when he had assumed the form of a wild boar for raising the (submerged) Earth. Its bottom, lower than the nether regions, the vow observing regenerate Rishi Atri could not fathom after (toiling for) a hundred years. It becomes the bed of the lotus-naveled Vishnu when at the termination of every Yuga that deity of immeasurable power enjoys yoga-nidra, the deep sleep under the spell of spiritual meditation. It is the refuge of Mainaka fearful of falling thunder, and the retreat of the Asuras overcome in fierce encounters. It offers water as sacrificial butter to the blazing fire issuing from the mouth of Varava (the Ocean-mare). It is fathomless and without limits, vast and immeasurable, and the lord of rivers.

"And they saw that unto it rushed mighty rivers by thousands with proud gait, like amorous competitors, each eager for meeting it, forestalling the others. And they saw that it was always full, and always dancing in its waves. And they saw that it was deep and abounding with fierce whales and makaras. And it resounded constantly with the terrible sounds of aquatic creatures. And they saw that it was vast, and wide as the expanse of space, unfathomable, and limitless, and the grand reservoir of water.'"

And so ends the twenty-first section in the Astika Parva of the Adi Parva.

SECTION 22

(Astika Parva continued)

"Sauti said, 'The Nagas after consultation arrived at the conclusion that they should do their mother's bidding, for if she failed in obtaining her desire she might withdraw her affection and burn them all. If, on the other hand, she were graciously inclined, she might free them from her curse. They said, 'We will certainly render the horse's tail black.' And it is said that they then went and became hairs in the horse's tail.

"Now the two co-wives had laid the wager. And having laid the wager, O best of Brahmanas, the two sisters Kadru and Vinata, the daughters of Daksha, proceeded in great delight along the sky to see the other side of the Ocean. And on their way they saw the Ocean, that receptacle of waters, incapable of being easily disturbed, mightily agitated all of a sudden by the wind, and roaring tremendously; abounding with fishes capable of swallowing the whale and full of makaras; containing also creatures of diverse forms counted by thousands; frightful from the presence of horrible monsters, inaccessible, deep, and terrible, the mine of all kinds of gems, the home of Varuna (the water-god), the wonderful habitations of the Nagas, the lord of rivers, the abode of the subterranean fire; the residence of the Asuras and of many dreadful creatures; the reservoir of water, not subject to decay, aromatic, and wonderful, the great source of the amrita of the celestials; immeasurable and inconceivable, containing waters that are holy, filled to the brim by many thousands of great rivers, dancing as it were in waves. Such was the Ocean, full of rolling waves, vast as the expanse of the sky, deep, of body lighted with the flames of subterranean fire, and roaring, which the sisters quickly passed over.'"

And so ends the twenty-second section in the Astika Parva of the Adi Parva.

SECTION 23

(Astika Parva continued)

"Sauti said, 'Having crossed the Ocean, Kadru of swift speed, accompanied by Vinata, soon alighted near the horse. They then both beheld that foremost of steeds of great speed, with body white as the rays of the moon but having black hairs (in the tail). And observing many black hairs in the tail, Kadru put Vinata, who was deeply dejected, into slavery. And thus Vinata having lost the wager, entered into a state of slavery and became exceedingly sorry.

"In the meantime, when his time came, burst forth from the egg without (the help of his) mother, Garuda of great splendour, enkindling all the points of the universe, that mighty being endued with strength, that bird capable of assuming at will any form, of going at will everywhere, and of calling to his aid at will any measure of energy. Effulgent like a heap of fire, he shone terribly. Of lustre equal to that of the fire at the end of the Yuga, his eyes were bright like the lightning-flash. And soon after birth, that bird grew in size and increasing his body ascended the skies. Fierce and vehemently roaring, he looked as terrible as second Ocean-fire. And all the deities seeing him, sought the protection of Vibhavasu (Agni). And they bowed down to that deity of manifold forms seated on his seat and spake unto him these words, 'O Agni, extend not thy body! Wilt thou consume us? Lo, this huge heap of thy flames is spreading wide!' And Agni replied, 'O, ye persecutors of the Asuras, it is not as ye imagine. This is Garuda of great strength and equal to me in splendour, endued with great energy, and born to promote the joy of Vinata. Even the sight of this heap of effulgence hath caused this delusion in you. He is the mighty son of Kasyapa, the destroyer of the Nagas, engaged in the well-being of the gods, and the foe of the Daityas and the Rakshasas. Be not afraid of it in the least. Come with me and see.' Thus addressed, the gods from a distance.

"The gods said, 'Thou art a Rishi (i.e., one cognisant of all mantras), share of the largest portion in sacrifices, ever resplendent, the controller along with the Rishi wended their way towards Garuda and adored him of birds, the presiding spirit of the animate and the inanimate universe. Thou art the

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destroyer of all, the creator of all; thou art the very Hiranyagarbha; thou art the progenitor of creation in the form of Daksha and the other Prajapatis; thou art Indra (the king of the gods), thou art Hayagriva the steed necked incarnation of Vishnu; thou art the arrow (Vishnu himself, as he became such in the hands of Mahadeva at the burning of Tripura); thou art the lord of the universe; thou art the mouth of Vishnu; thou art the four-faced Padmaja; thou art the Brahmana (i.e., wise), thou art Agni, Pavana, etc. (i.e., the presiding deity of every object in the universe). Thou art knowledge, thou art the illusion to which we are all subject; thou art the all-pervading spirit; thou art the lord of the gods; thou art the great Truth; thou art fearless; thou art ever unchanged; thou art Brahma without attributes; thou art the energy of the Sun; thou art the intellectual functions; thou art our great protector; thou art the ocean of holiness; thou art purity; thou art bereft of the attributes of darkness; thou art the possessor of the six high attributes; thou art he who cannot be withstood in contest. From thee have emanated all things; thou art of excellent deeds; thou art all that hath not been and all that hath been. Thou art pure knowledge; thou displayest to us, as Surya does by his rays, this animate and inanimate universe; thou darkenest the splendour of Surya at every moment, and thou art the destroyer of all; thou art all that is perishable and all that is imperishable. O thou resplendent as Agni, thou burnest all even as Surya in his anger burneth all creatures. O terrible one, thou resistest even as the fire that destroys everything at the time of the Universal Dissolution. O mighty Garuda who movest in the skies, we seek thy protection. O lord of birds thy energy is extraordinary, thy splendour is that of fire, thy brightness is like that of the lightning that no darkness can approach. Thou reachest the very clouds, and art both the cause and the effect; the dispenser of boons and invincible in prowess. O Lord, this whole universe is rendered hot by thy splendour, bright as the lustre of heated gold. Protect these high-souled gods, who overcome by thee and terrified withal, are flying along the heavens in different directions on their celestial cars. O thou best of birds, thou Lord of all, thou art the son of the merciful and high-souled Rishi Kasyapa; therefore, be not wroth but have mercy on the universe. Thou art Supreme. O pacify thy anger and preserve us. At thy voice, loud as the roar of the thunder, the ten points, the skies, the heavens, the Earth and our hearts, O bird, thou art continuously shaking. O, diminish this thy body resembling Agni. At the sight of the splendour resembling that of Yama when in wrath, our hearts lose all equanimity and quake. O thou lord of birds, be propitious to us who solicit thy mercy! O illustrious one, bestow on us good fortune and joy.'

And that bird of fair feathers, thus adored by the deities and diverse sections of Rishis, reduced his own energy and splendour.'"

And thus ends the twenty-third section in the Astika Parva of the Adi Parva.

SECTION 24

(Astika Parva continued)

"Sauti said, 'Then hearing of and beholding his own body, that bird of beautiful feathers diminished its size.'

"And Garuda said, 'Let no creature be afraid; as ye are in a fright at the sight of my terrible form, I shall diminish my energy.'

"Sauti continued, 'Then that bird capable of going everywhere at will, that ranger of the skies capable of calling to his aid any measure of energy, bearing Aruna on his back, wended from his father's home and arrived at his mother's side on the other shore of the great ocean. And he placed Aruna of great splendour in the eastern regions, just at a time when Surya had resolved to burn the worlds with his fierce rays.'

"Saunaka said, 'When did the revered Surya resolve at the time to burn the worlds? What wrong was done to him by the gods that provoked his ire?'

"Sauti said, 'O sinless one, when Rahu was drinking nectar among the gods at the time of the churning of the ocean he was pointed out to the gods by Surya and Soma, and from that time he conceived an enmity towards those deities. And upon this Rahu sought to devour his afflictor (Surya), became wroth, and thought, 'Oh, this enmity of Rahu towards me hath sprung from my desire of benefiting the gods. And this dire consequence I alone have to sustain. Indeed, at this pass help I obtain not. And before the very eyes of the denizens of heaven I am going to be devoured and they brook it quietly. Therefore, for the destruction of the worlds must I strive.' And with this resolution he went to the mountains of the west.

"And from that place he began to radiate his heat around for the destruction of the world. And then the great Rishis, approaching the gods, spake unto them, 'Lo, in the middle of the night springeth a great heat striking terror into every heart, and destructive of the three worlds.' Then the gods, accompanied by the Rishis, wended to the Grandsire, and said unto him, 'O what is this great heat today that causeth such panic? Surya hath not yet risen, still the destruction (of the world) is obvious. O Lord, what will happen when he doth rise?" The Grandsire replied, 'Indeed, Surya is prepared to rise today for the destruction of the world. As soon as he will appear he will burn everything into a heap of ashes. By me, however, hath the remedy been provided beforehand. The intelligent son of Kasyapa is known to all by the name of Aruna. He is huge of body and of great splendour; he shall stay in front of Surya, doing the duty of his charioteer and taking away all the energy of the former. And this will ensure the welfare of the worlds, of the Rishis, and of the dwellers in heaven.'

"Sauti continued, 'Aruna, at the behest of the Grandsire, did all that he was ordered to do. And Surya rose veiled by Aruna's person. I have told thee now why Surya was in wrath, and how Aruna, the brother of Garuda, was appointed as his charioteer. Hear next of that other question asked by thee a little while ago.'"

And so ends the twenty-fourth section in the Astika Parva of the Adi Parva.

SECTION 25

(Astika Parva continued)

"Sauti said, 'Then that bird of great strength and energy and capable of going at will to every place repaired to his mother's side on the other shore of the great ocean. Thither lived Vinata in affliction, defeated in wager and put into a state of slavery. Once Kadru calling Vinata who had prostrated herself before the former, addressed her these words in the presence of her son, 'O gentle Vinata, there is in the midst of the ocean, in a remote quarter, a delightful and fair region inhabited by the Nagas. Bear me thither!' At this that mother of the bird of fair feathers bore (on her shoulders) the mother of the snakes. And Garuda also, directed by his mother's words, carried (on his back) the snakes. And that ranger of the skies born of Vinata began to ascend towards the Sun. And thereupon the snakes, scorched by the rays of the Sun, swooned away. And Kadru seeing her sons in that state prayed to Indra, saying, 'I bow to thee, thou Lord of all the gods! I bow to thee, thou slayer of Vritra! I bow to thee, thou slayer of Namuchi! O thou of a thousand eyes, consort of Sachi! By thy showers, be thou the protector of the snakes scorched by the Sun. O thou best of the deities, thou art our great protector. O Purandara, thou art able to grant rain in torrents. Thou art Vayu (the air), the clouds, fire, and the lightning of the skies. Thou art the propeller of the clouds, and hast been called the great cloud (i.e., that which will darken the universe at the end of Yuga). Thou art the fierce and incomparable thunder, and the roaring clouds. Thou art the Creator of the worlds and their Destroyer. Thou art unconquered. Thou art the light of all creatures, Aditya, Vibhavasu, and the wonderful elements. Thou art the ruler of all the gods. Thou art Vishnu. Thou hast a thousand eyes. Thou art a god, and the final resource. Thou art, O deity, all amrita, and the most adored Soma. Thou art the moment, the lunar day, the bala (minute), thou art the kshana (4 minutes). Thou art the lighted fortnight, and also the dark fortnight. Thou art kala, thou kashtha, and thou Truti [These are divisions of time.]. Thou art the year, the seasons, the months, the nights, and the days. Thou art the fair Earth with her mountains and forests. Thou art also the firmament, resplendent with the Sun. Thou art the great Ocean with heaving billows and abounding with whales, swallowers of whales, and makaras, and various fishes. Thou art of great renown, always adored by the wise and by the great Rishis with minds rapt in contemplation. Thou drinkest, for the good of all creatures, the Soma juice in sacrifices and the clarified butter offered with sacred invocation. Thou art always worshipped at sacrifices by Brahmanas moved by desire of fruit. O thou of incomparable mass of strength, thou art sung in the Vedas and Vedangas. It is for that reason that learned Brahmanas bent upon performing sacrifices, study the Vedas with every care.'"

And so ends the twenty-fifth section in the Astika Parva of the Adi Parva.

SECTION 26

(Astika Parva continued)

"Sauti said, 'And then Indra, the king of gods, having the best of horses for his bearer, thus adored by Kadru, covered the entire firmament with masses of blue clouds. And he commanded the clouds, saying, Pour ye, your vivifying and blessed drops!' And those clouds, luminous with lightning, and incessantly roaring against each other in the welkin, poured abundant water. And the sky, in consequence of those wonderful and terribly-roaring clouds that were incessantly begetting vast quantities of water, looked as if the end of Yuga had come. And in consequence of the myriads of waves caused in the falling torrents, the deep roar of the clouds, the flashes of lightning, the violence of the wind, and the general agitation, the sky looked as if dancing in madness. The sky became overcast, and the rays of the Sun and the Moon totally disappeared in consequence of that incessant downpour.

"And upon Indra's causing that downpour, the Nagas became exceedingly delighted. And the Earth was filled with water all around. And the cool, clear water reached even the nether regions. And there were countless waves of water all over the Earth. And the snakes with their mother reached (in safety) the island called Ramaniyaka."

And so ends the twenty-sixth section in the Astika Parva of the Adi Parva.

SECTION 27

(Astika Parva continued)

"Sauti said, 'And then the Nagas drenched by that shower, became exceedingly glad. And borne by that bird of fair feathers, they soon arrived at the island. That island had been fixed by the Creator of the Universe as the abode of the makaras. There they saw the terrible Lavana Samudra (ocean of salt). On arriving there with Garuda, they saw there a beautiful forest washed by the waters of the sea and resounding with the music of winged choirs. And there were clusters of trees all around laden with various fruits and flowers. And there were also fair mansions all around; and many tanks full of lotuses. And it was also adorned with many lakes of pure water. And it was refreshed with pure incense-breathing breezes. And it was adorned with many a tree that grew only on the hills of Malaya, and seemed by their tallness to reach the very heavens. And there were also various other trees whose flowers were scattered all around by the breeze. And that forest was charming and dear to the Gandharvas and always gave them pleasure. And it was full of bees maddened with the honey they sucked. And the sight of all this was exceedingly delightful. And in consequence of many things there, capable of charming everybody, that forest was fair, delightful, and holy. And, echoing with the notes of various birds, it delighted greatly the sons of Kadru.

"And the snakes, after arriving at that forest, began to enjoy themselves. And they commanded the lord of birds, viz., Garuda, of great energy, saying, 'Convey us to some other fair island with pure water. Thou ranger of the skies, thou must have seen many fair regions while coursing (through the air).' Garuda, alter reflecting for a few moments, asked his mother Vinata, saying, 'Why, mother, have I to do the bidding of the snakes?' Vinata thus questioned by him spake unto that ranger of the skies, her son, invested with every virtue, of great energy, and great strength, as follows: "Vinata said, 'O thou best of birds, I have become, from misfortune, the slave of my co-wife. The snakes, by an act of deception, caused me to lose my bet and have made me so.' When his mother had told him the reason, that ranger of the skies, dejected with grief, addressed the snakes, saying, 'Tell me, ye snakes, by bringing what thing, gaining a knowledge of what thing, or doing what act of prowess, we may be freed from this state of bondage to you.'" Sauti continued, 'The snakes, hearing him, said, 'Bring thou amrita by force. Then O bird, shall you be freed from bondage.'" And so ends the twenty-seventh section in the Astika Parva of the Adi Parva.

SECTION 28

(Astika Parva continued)

"Sauti said, 'Garuda, thus addressed by the snakes, then said unto his mother, 'I shall go to bring amrita, I desire to eat something in the way. Direct me to it.' Vinata replied, 'In a remote region in the midst of the ocean, the Nishadas have their fair home. Having eaten the thousands of Nishadas that live there, bring thou amrita. But let not thy heart be ever set on taking the life of a Brahmana. Of all creatures a Brahmana must not be slain. He is, indeed, like fire. A Brahmana, when angry, becomes like fire or the Sun, like poison or an edged weapon. A Brahmana, it has been said, is the master of all creatures. For these and other reasons, a Brahmana is the adored of the virtuous. O child, he is never to be slain by thee even in anger. Hostility with Brahmanas, therefore, would not be proper under any circumstances. O sinless one, neither Agni nor Surya truly can consume so much as does a Brahmana of rigid vows, when angry. By these various indications must thou know a good Brahmana. Indeed, a brahmana is the first-born of all creatures, the foremost of the four orders, the father and the master of all.'" Garuda then asked, 'O mother, of what form is a Brahmana, of what behaviour, and of what prowess? Doth he shine like fire, or is he of tranquil mien? And, O mother, it behoveth thee to tell my inquiring self, those auspicious signs by which I may recognise a Brahmana.'" Vinata replied, saying, 'O child, him shouldst thou know as the best amongst Brahmanas who having entered thy throat would torture thee as a fish-hook or burn thee as blazing charcoal. A Brahmana must never be slain by thee even in anger.' And Vinata out of affection for her son, again told him these words, 'Him shouldst thou know as a good Brahmana who would not be digested in thy stomach.' Although she knew the incomparable strength of her son, yet she blessed him heartily, for, deceived by the snakes, she was very much afflicted by woe. And she said. 'Let Marut (the god of the winds) protect thy wings, and Surya and Soma thy vertebral regions; let Agni protect thy head, and the Vasus thy whole body. I also, O child (engaged in beneficial ceremonies), shall sit here for your welfare. Go then, O child, in safety to accomplish thy purpose.'

"Sauti continued, 'Then Garuda, having heard the words of his mother, stretched his wings and ascended the skies. And

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endued with great strength, he soon fell upon the Nishadas, hungry and like another Yama. And bent upon slaying the Nishadas, he raised a great quantity of dust that overspread the firmament, and sucking up water from amid the ocean, shook the trees growing on the adjacent mountains. And then that lord of birds obstructed the principal thoroughfares of the town of the Nishadas by his mouth, increasing its orifice at will. And the Nishadas began to fly in great haste in the direction of the open mouth of the great serpent-eater. And as birds in great affliction ascend by thousand into the skies when the trees in a forest are shaken by the winds, so those Nishadas blinded by the dust raised by the storm entered the wide-extending cleft of Garuda's mouth open to receive them. And then the hungry lord of all rangers of the skies, that oppressor of enemies, endued with great strength, and moving with greatest celerity to achieve his end, closed his mouth, killing innumerable Nishadas following the occupation of fishermen.'"

So ends the twenty-eighth section in the Astika Parva of Adi Parva.

SECTION 29

(Astika Parva continued)

"Sauti continued, 'A certain Brahmana with his wife had entered the throat of that ranger of the skies. The former began to burn the bird's throat like a piece of flaming charcoal. Him Garuda addressed, saying, 'O best of Brahmanas, come out soon from my mouth which I open for thee. A Brahmana must never be slain by me, although he may be always engaged in sinful practices.' Unto Garuda who had thus addressed him that Brahmana said, 'O, let this woman of the Nishada caste, who is my wife, also come out with me.' And Garuda said, 'Taking the woman also of the Nishada caste with thee, come out soon. Save thyself without delay since thou hast not yet been digested by the heat of my stomach.'

"Sauti continued, 'And then that Brahmana, accompanied by his wife of the Nishada caste, came out, and praising Garuda wended whatever way he liked. And when that Brahmana had come out with his wife, that lord of birds, fleet as the mind, stretching his wings ascended the skies. He then saw his father, and, hailed by him, Garuda, of incomparable prowess made proper answers. And the great Rishi (Kasyapa) then asked him, 'O child, is it well with thee? Dost thou get sufficient food every day? Is there food in plenty for thee in the world of men?'

"Garuda replied, 'My mother is ever well. And so is my brother, and so am I. But, father, I do not always obtain plenty of food, for which my peace is incomplete. I am sent by the snakes to fetch the excellent amrita. Indeed, I shall fetch it today for emancipating my mother from her bondage. My mother command me, saying, 'Eat thou the Nishadas.' I have eaten them by thousands, but my hunger is not appeased. Therefore, O worshipful one, point out to me some other food, by eating which, O master, I may be strong enough to bring away amrita by force. Thou shouldst indicate some food wherewith I may appease my hunger and thirst.'

"Kasyapa replied, 'This lake thou seest is sacred. It hath been heard, of even in the heavens. There is an elephant, with face downwards, who continually draggeth a tortoise, his elder brother. I shall speak to you in detail of their hostility in former life. Just listen as I tell you why they are here.

"There was of old a great Rishi of the name of Vibhavasu. He was exceedingly wrathful. He had a younger brother of the name of Supritika. The latter was averse to keeping his wealth jointly with his brother's. And Supritika would always speak of partition. After some time his brother Vibhavasu told Supritika, 'It is from great foolishness that persons blinded by love of wealth always desire to make a partition of their patrimony. After effecting a partition they fight with each other, deluded by wealth. Then again, enemies in the guise of friends cause estrangements between ignorant and selfish men alter they become separated in wealth, and pointing out faults confirm their quarrels, so that the latter soon fall one by one. Absolute ruin very soon overtakes the separated. For these reasons the wise never speak approvingly of partition amongst brothers who, when divided, do not regard the most authoritative Sastras and live always in fear of each other. But as thou, Supritika, without regarding my advice impelled by desire of separation, always wishest to make an arrangement about your property, thou shall become an elephant.' Supritika, thus cursed, then spake unto Vibhavasu, 'Thou also shall become a tortoise moving in the midst of the waters.'

"And thus on account of wealth those two fools, Supritika and Vibhavasu, from each other's curse, have become an elephant and a tortoise respectively. Owing to their wrath, they have both become inferior animals. And they are engaged in hostilities with each other, proud of their excessive strength and the weight of their bodies. And in this lake those two beings of huge bodies are engaged in acts according to their former hostility. Look here, one amongst them, the handsome elephant of huge body, is even now approaching. Hearing his roar, the tortoise also of huge body, living within the waters, cometh out, agitating the lake violently. And seeing him the elephant, curling his trunk, rusheth into the water. And endued with great energy, with motion of his tusks and fore-part of his trunk and tail and feet, he agitates the water of the lake abounding with fishes. And the tortoise also of great strength, with upraised head, cometh forward for an encounter. And the elephant is six yojanas in height and twice that measure in circumference. And the height of the tortoise also is three yojanas and his circumference ten. Eat thou up both of them that are madly engaged in the encounter and bent upon slaying each other, and then accomplish the task that thou desirest. Eating that fierce elephant which looketh like a huge mountain and resembleth a mass of dark clouds, bring thou amrita.'

"Sauti continued, 'Having said so unto Garuda, he (Kasyapa) blessed him, saying, 'Blest be thou when thou art in combat with the gods. Let water pitchers filled to the brim, Brahmanas, kine, and other auspicious objects, bless thee, thou oviparous one. And, O thou of great strength, when thou art engaged with the gods in combat, let the Riks, the Yajus, the Samas, the sacred sacrificial butter, all the mysteries (Upanishads), constitute thy strength.'

"Garuda, thus addressed by his father, wended to the side of that lake. He saw that expanse of clear water with birds of various kinds all around. And remembering the words of his father, that ranger of the skies possessed of great swiftness of motion, seized the elephant and the tortoise, one in each claw. And that bird then soared high into the air. And he came upon a sacred place called Alamva and saw many divine trees. And struck by the wind raised by his wings, those trees began to shake with fear. And those divine trees having golden boughs feared that they would break. And the ranger of the skies seeing that those trees capable of granting every wish were quaking with fear, went to other trees of incomparable appearance. And those gigantic trees were adorned with fruits of gold and silver and branches of precious gems. And they were washed with the water of the sea. And there was a large banian among them, which had grown into gigantic proportions, that spoke unto that lord of bird coursing towards it with the fleetness of the mind, 'Sit thou on this large branch of mine extending a hundred yojanas and eat the elephant and the tortoise.' When that best of birds, of great swiftness and of body resembling a mountain, quickly alighted upon a bough of that banian tree, the resort of thousands of winged creatures-that bough also full of leaves shook and broke down.'"

So ends the twenty-ninth section in the Astika Parva of the Adi Parva.

SECTION 30

(Astika Parva continued)

"Sauti said, 'At the very touch by Garuda of great might with his feet, the branch of the tree broke as it was caught by Garuda. Casting his eyes around in wonder he saw Valakhilya Rishis hanging therefrom with heads downwards and engaged in ascetic penances. Reflecting that if that bough fell down, the Rishis would be slain, the mighty one held the elephant and the tortoise still more firmly with his claws. And from fear of slaying the Rishis and desire of saving them, held that bough in his beaks, and rose on his wings. The great Rishis were struck with wonder at the sight of that act of his which was beyond even the power of the gods, and gave that mighty bird a name. And they said, 'As this ranger of the skies rises on its wings bearing a heavy burden, let this foremost of birds having snakes for his food be called Garuda (bearer of heavy weight).'

"And shaking the mountains by his wings, Garuda leisurely coursed through the skies. And as he soared with the elephant and the tortoise (in his claws), he beheld various regions underneath. Desiring as he did to save the Valakhilyas, he saw not a spot whereon to sit. At last he went to that foremost of mountains called Gandhamadana. There he saw his father Kasyapa engaged in ascetic devotions. Kasyapa also saw his son, that ranger of the skies, of divine form, possessed of great splendour, and energy and strength, and endued with the speed of the wind or the mind, huge as a mountain peak, a ready smiter like the curse of a Brahmana, inconceivable, indescribable, frightful to all creatures, possessed of great prowess, terrible, of the splendour of Agni himself, and incapable of being overcome by the deities, Danavas, and invincible Rakshasas, capable of splitting mountain summits and sucking the ocean itself and destroying the three worlds, fierce, and looking like Yama himself. The illustrious Kasyapa, seeing him approach and knowing also his motive, spoke unto him these words:

"Kasyapa said, 'O child, do not commit a rash act, for then thou wouldst have to suffer pain. The Valakhilyas, supporting themselves by drinking the rays of the sun, might, if angry, blast thee.'

"Sauti continued, 'Kasyapa then propitiated, for the sake of his son, the Valakhilyas of exceeding good fortune and whose sins had been destroyed by ascetic penances.' And Kasyapa said, 'Ye whose wealth is asceticism, the essay of Garuda is for the good of all creatures. The task is great that he is striving to accomplish. It behoveth you to accord him your permission.'

"Sauti continued, 'Those ascetics thus addressed by the illustrious Kasyapa, abandoned that bough and went to the sacred mountain of Himavat for purposes of ascetic penances. After those Rishis had gone away, the son of Vinata, with voice obstructed by the bough in his beaks, asked his father Kasyapa saying, 'O illustrious one, where shall I throw this arm of the tree? O illustrious one, indicate to me some region without human beings.' Then Kasyapa spoke of a mountain without human beings with caves and dales always covered with snow and incapable of approach by ordinary creatures even in thought. And the great bird bearing that branch, that elephant, and that tortoise, proceeded with great speed towards that mountain. The great arm of the tree with which that bird of huge body flew away could not be girt round with a cord made of a hundred (cow) hides. Garuda, the lord of birds, then flew away for hundreds of thousand of yojanas within--the shortest time. And going according to the directions of his father to that mountain almost in a moment, that ranger of the skies let fall the gigantic bough. And it fell with a great noise. And that Prince of mountains shook, struck with the storm raised by Garuda's wings. And the trees thereon dropped showers of flowers. And the peaks decked with gems and gold adorning that great mountain itself, were loosened and tell down on all sides. And the falling bough struck down numerous trees which, with golden flowers amid dark foliage, shone there like clouds charged with lightning. And those trees, bright as gold, falling down upon the ground and, dyed with mountain metals, shone as if they were bathed in the rays of the sun.

"Then that best of birds, Garuda, perching on the summit of that mountain, ate both the elephant and the tortoise, rose on his wings with great speed from the top of the mountain.

"And various omens began to appear among the gods foreboding fear. Indra's favourite thunderbolt blazed up in a fright. Meteors with flames and smoke, loosened from the welkin, shot down during the day. And the weapons of the Vasus, the Rudras, the Adityas, the Sabhyas, the Maruts, and other gods, began to spend their force against one another. Such a thing had never happened even during the war between the gods and the Asuras. And the winds blew accompanied with thunder, and meteors fell by thousands. And the sky, though cloudless, roared tremendously. And even he who was the god of gods shed showers of blood. And the flowery garlands on the necks of the gods faded and their prowess suffered diminution. And terrible masses of clouds dropped thick showers of blood. And the dust raised by the winds darkened the splendour of the very coronets of the gods. And He of a thousand sacrifices (Indra), with the other gods, perplexed with fear at the sight of those dark forebodings spoke unto Vrihaspati thus, 'Why, O worshipful one, have these natural disturbances suddenly arisen? No foe do I behold who would oppress us in war.' Vrihaspati answered, 'O chief of the gods, O thou of a thousand sacrifices, it is from thy fault and carelessness, and owing also to the ascetic penance of the high-souled great Rishis, the Valakhilyas, that the son of Kasyapa and Vinata, a ranger of the skies endued with great strength and possessing the capacity of assuming at will any form, is approaching to take away the Soma. And that bird, foremost among all endued with great strength, is able to rob you of the Soma. Everything is possible with him; the unachievable he can achieve.'

"Sauti continued, 'Indra, having heard these words, then spoke unto those that guarded the amrita, saying, 'A bird endued with great strength and energy has set his heart on taking away the amrita. I warn you beforehand so that he may not succeed in taking it away by force. Vrihaspati has told me that his strength is immeasurable.' And the gods hearing of it were amazed and took precautions. And they stood surrounding the amrita and Indra also of great prowess, the wielder of the thunder, stood with them. And the gods wore curious breastplates of gold, of great value, and set with gems, and bright leathern armour of great toughness. And the mighty deities wielded various sharp-edged weapons of terrible shapes, countless in number, emitting, even all of them, sparks of fire with smoke. And they were also armed with many a discus and iron mace furnished with spikes, and trident, battle-axe, and various kinds of sharp-pointed missiles and polished swords and maces of terrible form, all befitting their respective bodies. And decked with celestial ornaments and resplendent with those bright arms, the gods waited there, their fears allayed. And the gods, of incomparable strength, energy, and splendour, resolved to protect the amrita. Capable of splitting the towns of the Asuras, all displayed themselves in forms resplendent as the fire. And in consequence of the gods standing there, that (would be) battle-field, owing to hundreds of thousands of maces furnished with iron spikes, shone like another firmament illumined by the rays of the Sun.'"

So ends the thirtieth section in the Astika Parva of the Adi Parva.

SECTION 31

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(Astika Parva continued)

"Saunaka said, 'O son of Suta, what was Indra's fault, what his act of carelessness? How was Garuda born in consequence of the ascetic penances of the Valakhilyas? Why also Kasyapa--a Brahman--had the king of birds for a son? Why, too, was he invincible of all creatures and unslayable of all? Why also was that ranger of the skies capable of going into every place at will and of mustering at will any measure of energy? If these are described in the Purana, I should like to hear them.'

"Sauti said, 'What thou askest me is, indeed, the subject of the Purana. O twice-born one, listen as I briefly recite it all.

"Once upon a time, when the lord of creation, Kasyapa, was engaged in a sacrifice from desire of offspring, the Rishis, the gods, and the Gandharvas, all gave him help. And Indra was appointed by Kasyapa to bring the sacrificial fuel; and with him those ascetics the Valakhilyas, and all the other deities. And the lord Indra, taking up according to his own strength, a weight that was mountain-like, brought it without any fatigue. And he saw on the way some Rishis, of bodies of the measure of the thumb, all together carrying one single stalk of a Palasa (Butea frondosa) leaf. And those Rishis were, from want of food, very lean and almost merged in their own bodies. And they were so weak that they were much afflicted when sunk in the water that collected in an indentation on the road produced by the hoof of a cow. And Purandara, proud of his strength, beheld them with surprise, and laughing at them in derision soon left them behind insulting them, besides, by passing over their heads. And those Rishis being thus insulted were filled with rage and sorrow. And they made preparations for a great sacrifice at which Indra was terrified. Hear, O Saunaka, of the wish for accomplishment of which those vow-observing wise, and excellent ascetics poured clarified butter of the sacrificial fire with loudly uttered mantras, 'There shall be another Indra of all gods, capable of going everywhere at will, and of mustering at will any measure of energy, and striking tear into the (present) king of the gods. By the fruit of our ascetic penance, let one arise, fleet as the mind, and fierce withal.' And the lord of the celestials of a hundred sacrifices, having come to know of this, became very much alarmed and sought the protection of the vow-observing Kasyapa. And the Prajapati Kasyapa, hearing everything from Indra, went to the Valakhilyas and asked them if their sacrifice had been successful. And those truth-speaking Rishis replied to him, saying, 'Let it be as thou sayest!' And the Prajapati Kasyapa pacifying them, spake unto them as follows, 'By the word of Brahman, this one (Indra) hath been made the Lord of the three worlds. Ye ascetics, ye also are striving to create another Indra! Ye excellent ones, it behoveth you not to falsify the word of Brahman. Let not also this purpose, for (accomplishing) which ye are striving, be rendered futile. Let there spring an Indra (Lord) of winged creatures, endued with excess of strength! Be gracious unto Indra who is a suppliant before you.' And the Valakhilyas, thus addressed by Kasyapa, after offering reverence to that first of the Munis, viz., the Prajapati Kasyapa, spake unto him:

"The Valakhilyas said, 'O Prajapati, this sacrifice of us all is for an Indra! Indeed this hath also been meant for a son being born unto thee! Let this task be now left to thee. And in this matter do whatsoever thou seest to be good and proper.'

"Sauti continued, 'Meanwhile, moved by the desire of offspring, the good daughter of Daksha, the vow-observing, amiable, and fortunate Vinata, her ascetic penances over, having purified herself with a bath in that season when connubial companionship might prove fruitful, approached her lord. And Kasyapa spake unto her, 'Respected one, the sacrifice commenced by me hath borne fruit. What hath been desired by thee shall come to pass. Two heroic sons, shall be born unto thee, who shall be the lords of the three worlds. By the penances of the Valakhilyas and by virtue of the desire with which I commenced my sacrifice, those sons shall be of exceedingly good fortune and worshipped in the three worlds!' And the illustrious Kasyapa spake unto her again, 'Bear thou these auspicious seeds with great care. These two will be the lords of all winged creatures. These heroic rangers of the skies will be respected in all the worlds, and capable of assuming any form at will.

"And the Prajapati, gratified with all that took place, then addressed Indra of a hundred sacrifices, saying, 'Thou shalt have two brothers of great energy and prowess, who shall be to thee even as the helpmates. From them no injury shall result unto thee. Let thy sorrow cease; thou shalt continue as the lord of all. Let not, however, the utterers of the name of Brahma be ever again slighted by thee. Nor let the very wrathful ones, whose words are even the thunderbolt, be ever again insulted by thee. Indra, thus addressed, went to heaven, his fears dispelled. And Vinata also, her purpose fulfilled, was exceedingly glad. And she gave birth to two sons, Aruna and Garuda. And Aruna, of undeveloped body, became the fore-runner of the Sun. And Garuda was vested with the lordship over the birds. O thou of Bhrigu's race, hearken now to the mighty achievement of Garuda.'"

"So ends the thirty-first section in the Astika Parva of the Adi Parva.

SECTION 32

(Astika Parva continued)

"Sauti said, 'O foremost of Brahmanas, the gods having prepared for battle in that way, Garuda, the king of birds, soon came upon those wise ones. And the gods beholding him of excessive strength began to quake with fear, and strike one another with all their weapons. And amongst those that guarded the Soma was Brahmana (the celestial architect), of measureless might, effulgent as the electric fire and of great energy. And after a terrific encounter lasting only a moment, managed by the lord of birds with his talons, beak, and wings, he lay as dead on the fields. And the ranger of the skies making the worlds dark with the dust raised by the hurricane of his wings, overwhelmed the celestials with it. And the latter, overwhelmed with that dust, swooned away. And the immortals who guarded the amrita, blinded by that dust, could no longer see Garuda. Even thus did Garuda agitate the region of the heavens. And even thus he mangled the gods with the wounds inflicted by his wings and beak.

"Then the god of a thousand eyes commanded Vayu (the god of wind), saying, 'Dispel thou this shower of dust soon. O Maruta, this is indeed, thy task. Then the mighty Vayu soon drove away that dust. And when the darkness had disappeared, the celestials attacked Garuda. And as he of great might was attacked by the gods, he began to roar aloud, like the great cloud that appeareth in the sky at the end of the Yuga, frightening every creature. And that king of birds, of great energy, that slayer of hostile heroes, then rose on his wings. All the wise ones (the celestials) with Indra amongst them armed with double-edged broad swords, iron maces furnished with sharp spikes, pointed lances, maces, bright arrows, and many a discus of the form of the sun, saw him over head. And the king of birds, attacked them on all sides with showers of various weapons and fought exceedingly hard without wavering for a moment. And the son of Vinata, of great prowess blazing in the sky, attacked the gods on all sides with his wings and breast. And blood began to flow copiously from the bodies of the gods mangled by the talons and the beak of Garuda. Overcome by the lord of birds, the Sadhyas with the Gandharvas fled eastwards, the Vasus with the Rudras towards the south, the Adityas towards the west, and the twin Aswins towards the north. Gifted with great energy, they retreated fighting, looking back every moment on their enemy.

"And Garuda had encounters with the Yakshas, Aswakranda of great courage, Rainuka, the bold Krathanaka, Tapana, Uluka, Swasanaka, Nimesha, Praruja, and Pulina. And the son of Vinata mangled them with his wings, talons, and beak, like Siva himself, that chastiser of enemies, and the holder of Pinaka in rage at the end of the Yuga. And those Yakshas of great might and courage, mangled all over by that ranger of the skies, looked like masses of black clouds dropping thick showers of blood.

"And Garuda, depriving them of life, and then went to where the amrita was. And he saw that it was surrounded on all sides by fire. And the terrible flames of that fire covered the entire sky. And moved by violent winds, they seemed bent on burning the Sun himself. The illustrious Garuda then assumed ninety times ninety mouths and quickly drinking the waters of many rivers with those mouths and returning with great speed, that chastiser of enemies, having wings for his vehicle extinguished that fire with that water. And extinguishing that fire, he assumed a very small form, desirous of entering into (the place where the Soma was).'"

So ends the thirty-second section in the Astika Parva of the Adi Parva.

SECTION 33

(Astika Parva continued)

"Santi said, 'And that bird, assuming a golden body bright as the rays of the Sun, entered with great force (the region where the Soma was), like a torrent entering the ocean. And he saw, placed near the Soma, a wheel of steel keen-edged, and sharp as the razor, revolving incessantly. And that fierce instrument, of the splendour of the blazing sun and of terrible form, had been devised by the gods for cutting in pieces all robbers of the Soma. Garuda, seeing a passage through it, stopped there for a moment. Diminishing his body, in an instant he passed through the spokes of that wheel. Within the line of the wheel, he beheld, stationed there for guarding the Soma two great snakes of the effulgence of blazing fire, with tongues bright as the lightning-flash, of great energy, with mouth emitting fire, with blazing eyes, containing poison, very terrible, always in anger, and of great activity. Their eyes were ceaselessly inflamed with rage and were also winkless. He who may be seen by even one of the two would instantly be reduced to ashes. The bird of fair feathers suddenly covered their eyes with dust. And unseen by them he attacked them from all sides. And the son of Vinata, that ranger of the skies, attacking their bodies, mangled them into pieces. He then approached the Soma without loss of time. Then the mighty son of Vinata, taking up the Amrita from the place where it was kept, rose on his wings with great speed, breaking into pieces the machine that had surrounded it. And the bird soon came out, taking the Amrita but without drinking it himself. And he then wended on his way without the least fatigue, darkening the splendour of the Sun.

"And the son of Vinata then met Vishnu on his way along the sky. And Narayana was gratified at that act of self-denial on the part of Garuda. And that deity, knowing no deterioration, said unto the ranger of the skies, 'O, I am inclined to grant thee a boon.' The ranger of the skies thereupon said, 'I shall stay above thee.' And he again spake unto Narayana these words, 'I shall be immortal and free from disease without (drinking) Amrita.' Vishnu said unto the son of Vinata, 'Be it so.' Garuda, receiving those two boons, told Vishnu, 'I also shall grant thee a boon; therefore, let the possessor of the six attributes ask of me.' Vishnu then asked the mighty Garuda to become his carrier. And he made the bird sit on the flagstaff of his car, saying, 'Even thus thou shalt stay above me.' And the ranger of the skies, of great speed, saying unto Narayana, 'Be it so,' swiftly wended on his way, mocking the wind with his fleetness.

"And while that foremost of all rangers of the skies, that first of winged creatures, Garuda, was coursing through the air after wresting the Amrita, Indra hurled at him his thunderbolt. Then Garuda, the lord of birds, struck with thunderbolt, spake laughingly unto Indra engaged in the encounter, in sweet words, saying, 'I shall respect the Rishi (Dadhichi) of whose bone the Vajra hath been made. I shall also respect the Vajra, and thee also of a thousand sacrifices. I cast this feather of mine whose end thou shalt not attain. Struck with thy thunder I have not felt the slightest pain.' And having said this, the king of birds cast a feather of his. And all creatures became exceedingly glad, beholding that excellent feather of Garuda so cast off. And seeing that the feather was very beautiful, they said, 'Let this bird be called Suparna (having fair feathers). And Purandara of a thousand eyes, witnessing this wonderful incident, thought that bird to be some great being and addressed him thus.'

"And Indra said, 'O best of birds, I desire to know the limit of thy great strength. I also desire eternal friendship with thee.'"

So ends the thirty-third section in the Astika Parva of the Adi Parva.

SECTION 34

(Astika Parva continued)

'Sauti continued, 'Garuda then said, 'O Purandara, let there be friendship between thee and me as thou desirest. My strength, know thou, is hard to bear. O thou of a thousand sacrifices, the good never approve of speaking highly of their own strength, nor do they speak of their own merits. But being made a friend, and asked by thee, O friend, I will answer thee, although self-praise without reason is ever improper. I can bear, on a single feather of mine, O Sakra, this Earth, with her mountains and forests and with the waters of the ocean, and with thee also stationed thereon. Know thou, my strength is such that I can bear without fatigue even all the worlds put together, with their mobile and immobile objects.'

"Sauti continued, 'O Saunaka, after Garuda of great courage had thus spoken, Indra the chief of the gods, the wearer of the (celestial) crown, ever bent upon the good of the worlds, replied, saying, 'It is as thou sayest. Everything is possible in thee. Accept now my sincere and hearty friendship. And if thou hast no concern with the Soma, return it to me. Those to whom thou wouldst give it would always oppose us.' Garuda answered, 'There is a certain reason for which the Soma is being carried by me. I shall not give the Soma to any one for drink. But, O thou of a thousand eyes, after I have placed it down, thou, O lord of the heavens, canst then, taking it up, instantly bring it away.' Indra then said, 'O oviparous one, I am highly gratified with these words now spoken by thee. O best of all rangers of the skies; accept from me any boon that thou desirest.'

"Sauti continued, 'Then Garuda, recollecting the sons of Kadru and remembering also the bondage of his mother caused by an act of deception owing to the well-known reason (viz., the curse of Aruna), said, 'Although I have power over all creatures, yet I shall do your bidding. Let, O Sakra, the mighty snakes become my food.' The slayer of the Danavas having said unto him, 'Be it so,' then went to Hari, the god of gods, of great soul, and the lord of Yogins. And the latter sanctioned everything that had been said by Garuda. And the illustrious lord of heaven again said unto Garuda, 'I shall bring away the Soma when thou placest it down.' And having said so, he bade farewell to Garuda. And the bird of fair feathers then went to the presence of his mother with great speed.

"And Garuda in joy then spake unto all the snakes, 'Here have I brought the Amrita. Let me place it on some Kusa grass. O ye snakes, sitting here, drink of it after ye have performed your ablutions and religious rites. As said by you, let my mother become, from this day, free, for I have accomplished your bidding.' The snakes having said unto Garuda, 'Be it so,' then went to perform their ablutions. Meanwhile, Sakra taking up the Amrita, wended back to heaven. The snakes after performing their ablutions, their daily devotions, and other sacred rites, returned in joy,

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desirous of drinking the Amrita. They saw that the bed of kusa grass whereon the Amrita had been placed was empty, the Amrita itself having been taken away by a counter-act of deception. And they began to lick with their tongues the kusa grass, as the Amrita had been placed thereon. And the tongues of the snakes by that act became divided in twain. And the kusa grass, too, from the contact with Amrita, became sacred thenceforth. Thus did the illustrious Garuda bring Amrita (from the heavens) for the snakes, and thus were the tongues of snakes divided by what Garuda did.

"Then the bird of fair feathers, very much delighted, enjoyed himself in those woods accompanied by his mother. Of grand achievements, and deeply reverenced by all rangers of the skies, he gratified his mother by devouring the snakes.

"That man who would listen to this story, or read it out to an assembly of good Brahmanas, must surely go to heaven, acquiring great merit from the recitation of (the feats of) Garuda.'"

And so ends the thirty-fourth section in the Astika Parva of the Adi Parva.

SECTION 35

(Astika Parva continued)

"Saunaka said, 'O son of Suta, thou hast told us the reason why the snakes were cursed by their mother, and why Vinata also was cursed by her son. Thou hast also told us about the bestowal of boons, by their husband, on Kadru and Vinata. Thou hast likewise told us the names of Vinata's sons. But thou hast not yet recited to us the names of the snakes. We are anxious to hear the names of the principal ones.'

"Sauti said, O thou whose wealth is asceticism, from fear of being lengthy, I shall not mention the names of all the snakes. But I will recite the names of the chief ones. Listen to me!

"Sesha was born first, and then Vasuki. (Then were born) Airavata, Takshaka, Karkotaka, Dhananjaya, Kalakeya, the serpent Mani, Purana, Pinjaraka, and Elapatra, Vamana, Nila, Anila, Kalmasha, Savala, Aryaka, Ugra, Kalasapotaka, Suramukha, Dadhimukha, Vimalapindaka, Apta, Karotaka, Samkha, Valisikha, Nisthanaka, Hemaguha, Nahusha, Pingala, Vahyakarna, Hastipada, Mudgarapindaka, Kamvala Aswatara, Kaliyaka, Vritta, Samvartaka, Padma, Mahapadma, Sankhamukha, Kushmandaka, Kshemaka, Pindaraka, Karavira, Pushpadanshtraka, Vilwaka, Vilwapandara, Mushikada, Sankhasiras, Purnabhadra, Haridraka, Aparajita, Jyotika, Srivaha, Kauravya, Dhritarashtra, Sankhapinda, Virajas, Suvahu, Salipinda, Prabhakara, Hastipinda, Pitharaka, Sumuksha, Kaunapashana, Kuthara, Kunjara, Kumuda, Kumudaksha, Tittri, Halika, Kardama, Vahumulaka, Karkara, Akarkara, Kundodara, and Mahodara.

"Thus, O best of regenerate ones, have I said the names of the principal serpents. From fear of being tedious I do not give names of the rest. O thou whose wealth is asceticism, the sons of these snakes, with their grandsons, are innumerable. Reflecting upon this, I shall not name them to thee. O best ascetics, in this world the number of snakes baffles calculation, there being many thousands and millions of them.'"

So ends the thirty-fifth section in the Astika Parva of the Adi Parva.

SECTION 36

(Astika Parva continued)

"Saunaka said, 'O child, thou hast named many of the serpents gifted with great energy and incapable of being easily overcome. What did they do after hearing of that curse?'

"Sauti said, 'The illustrious Sesha amongst them, of great renown, leaving his mother practised hard penances, living upon air and rigidly observing his vows. He practised these ascetic devotions, repairing to Gandhamadana, Vadri, Gokarna, the woods of Pushkara, and the foot of Himavat. And he passed his days in those sacred regions, some of which were sacred for their water and others for their soil in the rigid observance of his vows, with singleness of aim, and his passions under complete control. And the Grandsire of all, Brahma, saw that ascetic with knotted hair, clad in rags, and his flesh, skin, and sinews dried up owing to the hard penances he was practising. And the Grandsire addressing him, that penance-practising one of great fortitude, said, 'What is that thorn doest, O Sesha? Let the welfare of the creatures of the worlds also engage thy thoughts. O sinless one, thou art afflicting all creatures by thy hard penances. O Sesha, tell me the desire implanted in thy breast.'

"And Sesha replied, 'My uterine brothers are all of wicked hearts. I do not desire to live amongst them. Let this be sanctioned by thee. Like enemies they are always jealous of one another. I am, therefore, engaged in ascetic devotions. I will not see them even. They never show any kindness for Vinata and her son. Indeed, Vinata's son capable of ranging through the skies, is another brother of ours. They always envy him. And he, too, is much stronger owing to the bestowal of that boon by our father, the high-souled Kasyapa. For these, I engaged in ascetic penances, and I will cast off this body of mine, so that I may avoid companionship with them, even in another state of life.'

"Unto Sesha who had said so, the Grandsire said, 'O Sesha, I know the behaviour of all thy brothers and their great danger owing to their offence against their mother. But O Snake, a remedy (for this) hath been provided by me even beforehand. It behoveth thee not to grieve for thy brothers. O Sesha, ask of me the boon thou desirest. I have been highly gratified with thee and I will grant thee today a boon. O best of snakes, it is fortunate that thy heart hath been set on virtue. Let thy heart be more and more firmly set on virtue.'

"Then Sesha replied, 'O divine Grandsire, this is the boon desired by me; viz., may my heart always delight in virtue and in blessed ascetic penances, O Lord of all!'

"Brahman said, 'O Sesha, I am exceedingly gratified with this thy self-denial and love of peace. But, at my command, let this act be done by thee for the good of my creatures. Bear thou, O Sesha, properly and well this Earth so unsteady with her mountains and forests, her seas and towns and retreats, so that she may be steady.'

"Sesha said, 'O divine Lord of all creatures, O bestower of boons, O lord of the Earth, lord of every created thing, lord of the universe, I will, even as thou sayest hold the Earth steady. Therefore, O lord of all creatures, place her on my head.'

"Brahman said, 'O best of snakes, go underneath the Earth. She will herself give thee a crevice to pass through. And, O Sesha, by holding the Earth, thou shalt certainly do what is prized by me very greatly.'

"Sauti continued, 'Then the elder brother of the king of the snakes, entering a hole, passed to the other side of the Earth, and holding her, supported with his head that goddess with her belt of seas passing all round.'

"Brahman said, 'O Sesha, O best of snakes, thou art the god Dharma, because alone, with thy huge body, thou supportest the Earth with everything on her, even as I myself, or Valavit (Indra), can.'

"Sauti continued, 'The snake, Sesha, the lord Ananta, of great prowess, lives underneath the Earth, alone supporting the world at the command of Brahman. And the illustrious Grandsire, the best of the immortals, then gave unto Ananta the bird of fair feathers, viz., the son of Vinata, for Ananta's help.'"

So ends the thirty-sixth section in the Astika Parva of the Adi Parva.

SECTION 37

(Astika Parva continued)

"Sauti said, 'That best of snakes, viz., Vasuki, hearing the curse of his mother, reflected how to render it abortive. He held a consultation with all his brothers, Airavata and others, intent upon doing what they deemed best for themselves.'

"And Vasuki said, 'O ye sinless ones, the object of this curse is known to you. It behoveth us to strive to neutralise it. Remedies certainly exist for all curses, but no remedy can avail those cursed by their mother. Hearing that this curse hath been uttered in the presence of the Immutable, the Infinite, and the True one, my heart trembleth. Surely, our annihilation hath come. Otherwise why should not the Immutable Lord prevent our mother while uttering the curse? Therefore, let us consult today how we may secure the safety of the snakes. Let us not waste time. All of you are wise and discerning. We will consult together and find out the means of deliverance as (did) the gods of yore to regain lost Agni who had concealed himself within a cave, so that Janamejaya's sacrifice for the destruction of the snakes may not take place, and so that we may not meet with destruction.'

"Sauti continued, 'Thus addressed all the offspring of Kadru assembled together, and, wise in counsels, submitted their opinions to one another. One party of the serpents said, 'We should assume the guise of superior Brahmanas, and beseech Janamejaya, saying, 'This (intended) sacrifice of yours ought not to take place.' Other snakes thinking themselves wise, said, 'We should all become his favourite counsellors. He will then certainly ask for our advice in all projects. And we will then give him such advice that the sacrifice may be obstructed. The king, the foremost of wise men, thinking us of sterling worth will certainly ask us about his sacrifice. We will say, 'It must not be!' And pointing to many serious evils in this and the next worlds, we will take care that the sacrifice may not take place. Or, let one of the snakes, approaching, bite the person who, intending the monarch's good, and well-acquainted with the rites of the snake-sacrifice, may be appointed as the sacrificial priest, so that he will die. The sacrificial priest dying, the sacrifice will not be completed. We will also bite all those who, acquainted with the rites of the snake-sacrifice, may be appointed Ritwiks of the sacrifice, and by that means attain our object.' Other snakes, more virtuous and kind, said, 'O, this counsel of yours is evil. It is not meet to kill Brahmanas. In danger, that remedy is proper, which is blessed on the practices of the righteous. Unrighteousness finally destroyeth the world.' Other serpents said, 'We will extinguish the blazing sacrificial fire by ourselves becoming clouds luminous with lightning and pouring down showers.' Other snakes, the best of their kind, proposed, 'Going, by night, let us steal away the vessel of Soma juice. That will disturb the rite. Or, at that sacrifice, let the snakes, by hundreds and thousands, bite the people, and spread terror around. Or, let the serpents defile the pure food with their food-defiling urine and dung.' Others said, 'Let us become the king's Ritwiks, and obstruct his sacrifice by saying at the outset, 'Give us the sacrificial fee.' He (the king), being placed in our power, will do whatever we like.' Others there said, 'When the king will sport in the waters, we will carry him to our home and bind him, so that that sacrifice will not take place!' Other serpents who deemed themselves wise, said, 'Approaching the king, let us bite him, so that our object will be accomplished. By his death the root of all evil will be torn up. This is the final deliberation of us all, O thou who hearest with thy eyes! Then, do speedily what thou deemest proper.' Having said this, they looked intently at Vasuki, that best of snakes. And Vasuki also, after reflecting, answered saying, 'Ye snakes, this final determination of you doth not seem worthy of adoption. The advice of you all is not to my liking. What shall I say which would be for your good? I think the grace of the illustrious Kasyapa (our father) can alone do us good. Ye snakes, my heart doth not know which of all your suggestions is to be adopted for the welfare of my race as also of me. That must be done by me which would be to your weal. It is this that makes me so anxious, for the credit or the discredit (of the measure) is mine alone.'"

So ends the thirty-seventh section in the Astika Parva of the Adi Parva.

SECTION 38

(Astika Parva continued)

"Sauti said, 'Hearing the respective speeches of all the snakes, and hearing also the words of Vasuki, Elapatra began to address them, saying, 'That sacrifice is not one that can be prevented. Nor is king Janamejaya of the Pandava race from whom this fear proceedeth, such that he can be hindered. The person, O king, who is afflicted by fate hath recourse to fate alone; nothing else can be his refuge. Ye best of snakes, this fear of ours hath fate for its root. Fate alone must be our refuge in this. Listen to what I say. When that curse was uttered, ye best of snakes, in fear I lay crouching on the lap of our mother. Ye best of snakes, and O lord (Vasuki) of great splendour, from that place I heard the words the sorrowing gods spake unto the Grandsire. The gods said, 'O Grandsire, thou god of gods who else than the cruel Kadru could thus, after getting such dear children, curse them so, even in thy presence? And, O Grandsire, by thee also hath been spoken, with reference to those words of hers, 'Be it so.' We wish to know the reason why thou didst not prevent her.' Brahman replied, 'The snakes have multiplied. They are cruel, terrible in form and highly poisonous. From desire of the good of my creatures, I did not prevent Kadru then. Those poisonous serpents and others who are sinful, biting others for no faults, shall, indeed, be destroyed, but not they who are harmless and virtuous. And hear also, how, when the hour comes, the snakes may escape this dreadful calamity. There shall be born in the race of the Yayavaras a great Rishi known by the name of Jaratkaru, intelligent, with passions under complete control. That Jaratkaru shall have a son of the name of Astika. He shall put a stop to that sacrifice. And those snakes who shall be virtuous shall escape therefrom. The gods said, 'O thou truth-knowing one, on whom will Jaratkaru, that foremost Muni, gifted with great energy and asceticism, beget that illustrious son?' Brahma answered, 'Gifted with great energy, that best Brahmana shall beget a son possessed of great energy on a wife of the same name as his. Vasuki, the king of the snakes, hath a sister of the name of Jaratkaru; the son, of whom I speak, shall be born of her, and he shall liberate the snakes.'

"Elapatra continued, 'The gods then said unto the Grandsire, 'Be it so.' And the lord Brahman, having said so unto the gods, went to heaven. O Vasuki, I see before me that sister of thine known by the name of Jaratkaru. For relieving us from fear, give her as alms unto him (i.e., the Rishi), Jaratkaru, of excellent vows, who shall roam abegging for a bride. This means of release hath been heard of by me!'"

SECTION 39

(Astika Parva continued)

"Sauti said, 'O best of regenerate ones, hearing these words of Elapatra, all the serpents, in great delight, exclaimed, 'Well said, well said!' And from that time Vasuki set about carefully bringing up that maiden, viz., his sister Jaratkaru. And he took great delight in rearing her.

"And much time did not elapse from this, when the gods and the Asuras, assembling together, churned the abode of Varuna. And Vasuki, the foremost of all gifted with strength, became the churning-cord. And directly the work was over, the king of the snakes presented himself before the Grandsire. And the gods, accompanied by Vasuki, addressed the Grandsire, saying, 'O lord, Vasuki is suffering great affliction from fear of (his mother's curse). It behoveth thee to root out the sorrow, begotten of the curse of his mother, that hath pierced the heart of Vasuki desirous of the weal of his race. The king of the snakes is ever our friend and benefactor. O

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Lord of the gods, be gracious unto him and assuage his mind's fever.'

"Brahman replied, 'O ye immortals, I have thought, in my mind, of what ye have said. Let the king of the snakes do that which hath been communicated to him before by Elapatra. The time hath arrived. Those only shall be destroyed that are wicked, not those that are virtuous. Jaratkaru hath been born, and that Brahmana is engaged in hard ascetic penances. Let Vasuki, at the proper time, bestow on him his sister. Ye gods, what hath been spoken by the snake Elapatra for the weal of the snakes is true and not otherwise.'

"Sauti continued, 'Then the king of the snakes, Vasuki, afflicted with the curse of his mother, hearing these words of the Grandsire, and intending to bestow his sister of the Rishi Jaratkaru, commanded all the serpents, a large numbers of whom were ever attentive to their duties, to watch the Rishi Jaratkaru, saying, 'When the lord Jaratkaru will ask for a wife, come immediately and inform me of it. The weal of our race depends upon it.'"

SECTION 40

(Astika Parva continued)

"Saunaka said, 'O son of Suta, I desire to know the reason why the illustrious Rishi whom thou hast named Jaratkaru came to be so called on earth. It behoveth thee to tell us the etymology of the name Jaratkaru.'

"Sauti said, 'Jara is said to mean waste, and Karu implies huge. This Rishi's body had been huge, and he gradually reduced it by severe ascetic penances. For the same reason, O Brahmanas, the sister of Vasuki was called Jaratkaru.'

The virtuous Saunaka, when he heard this, smiled and addressing Ugrasravas said, 'It is even so.'

Saunaka then said, 'I have heard all that thou hast before recited. I desire to know how Astika was born.'

Sauti, on hearing these words, began to relate according to what was written in the Sastras.

"Sauti said, 'Vasuki, desirous of bestowing his sister upon the Rishi Jaratkaru, gave the snakes (necessary) orders. But days went on, yet that wise Muni of rigid vows, deeply engaged in ascetic devotions, did not seek for a wife. That high-souled Rishi, engaged in studies and deeply devoted to asceticism, his vital seed under full control, fearlessly wandered over the whole earth and had no wish for a wife.

"Afterwards, once upon a time, there was a king, O Brahmana, of the name of Parikshit, born in the race of the Kauravas. And, like his great-grandfather Pandu of old, he was of mighty arms, the first of all bearers of bows in battle, and fond of hunting. And the monarch wandered about, hunting deer, and wild boars, and wolves, and buffaloes and various other kinds of wild animals. One day, having pierced a deer with a sharp arrow and slung his bow on his back, he penetrated into the deep forest, searching for the animal here and there, like the illustrious Rudra himself of old pursuing in the heavens, bow in hand, the deer which was Sacrifice, itself turned into that shape, after the piercing. No deer that was pierced by Parikshit had ever escaped in the wood with life. This deer, however wounded as before, fled with speed, as the (proximate) cause of the king's attainment to heaven. And the deer that Parikshit--that king of men--had pierced was lost to his gaze and drew the monarch far away into the forest. And fatigued and thirsty, he came across a Muni, in the forest, seated in a cow-pen and drinking to his fill the froth oozing out of the mouths of calves sucking the milk of their dams. And approaching him hastily, the monarch, hungry and fatigued, and raising his bow, asked that Muni of rigid vows, saying, 'O Brahmana, I am king Parikshit, the son of Abhimanyu. A deer pierced by me hath been lost. Hast thou seen it?' But that Muni observing then the vow of silence, spoke not unto him a word. And the king in anger thereupon placed upon his shoulder a dead snake, taking it up with the end of his bow. The Muni suffered him to do it without protest. And he spoke not a word, good or bad. And the king seeing him in that state, cast off his anger and became sorry. And he returned to his capital but the Rishi continued in the same state. The forgiving Muni, knowing that the monarch who was a tiger amongst kings was true to the duties of his order, cursed him not, though insulted. That tiger amongst monarchs, that foremost one of Bharata's race, also did not know that the person whom he had so insulted was a virtuous Rishi. It was for this that he had so insulted him.

"That Rishi had a son by name Sringin, of tender years, gifted with great energy, deep in ascetic penances, severe in his vows, very wrathful, and difficult to be appeased. At times, he worshipped with great attention and respect his preceptor seated with ease on his seat and ever engaged in the good of creatures.

"And commanded by his preceptor, he was coming home when, O best of Brahmanas, a companion of his, a Rishi's son named Krisa in a playful mood laughingly spoke unto him. And Sringin, wrathful and like unto poison itself, hearing these words in reference to his father, blazed up in rage.'

"And Krisa said, 'Be not proud, O Sringin, for ascetic as thou art and possessed of energy, thy father bears on his shoulders a dead snake. Henceforth speak not a word to sons of Rishis like ourselves who have knowledge of the truth, are deep in ascetic penances, and have attained success. Where is that manliness of thine, those high words of thine begotten of pride, when thou must have to behold thy father bearing a dead snake? O best of all the Munis, thy father too had done nothing to deserve this treatment, and it is for this that I am particularly sorry as if the punishment were mine.'"

SECTION 41

(Astika Parva continued)

"Sauti said, 'Being thus addressed, and hearing that his sire was bearing a dead snake, the powerful Sringin burned with wrath. And looking at Krisa, and speaking softly, he asked him, 'Pray, why doth my father bear today a dead snake?' And Krisa replied, 'Even as king Parikshit was roving, for purpose of hunting, O dear one, he placed the dead snake on the shoulder of thy sire.'

"And Sringin asked, 'What wrong was done to that wicked monarch by my father? O Krisa, tell me this, and witness the power of my asceticism.'

"And Krisa answered, 'King Parikshit, the son of Abhimanyu, while hunting, had wounded a fleet stag with an arrow and chased it alone. And the king lost sight of the animal in that extensive wilderness. Seeing then thy sire, he immediately accosted him. Thy sire was then observing the vow of silence. Oppressed by hunger, thirst and labour, the prince again and again asked thy sire sitting motionless, about the missing deer. The sage, being under the vow of silence, returned no reply. The king thereupon placed the snake on thy sire's shoulder with the end of his bow. O Sringin, thy sire engaged in devotion is in the same posture still. And the king also hath gone to his capital which is named after the elephant!'

"Sauti continued, 'Having heard of a dead snake placed upon his (father's) shoulders, the son of the Rishi, his eyes reddened with anger, blazed up with rage. And possessed by anger, the puissant Rishi then cursed the king, touching water and overcome with wrath.'

"And Sringin said, 'That sinful wretch of a monarch who hath placed a dead snake on the shoulders of my lean and old parent, that insulter of Brahmanas and tarnisher of the fame of the Kurus, shall be taken within seven nights hence to the regions of Yama (Death) by the snake Takshaka, the powerful king of serpents, stimulated thereto by the strength of my words!'

"Sauti continued, 'And having thus cursed (the king) from anger, Sringin went to his father, and saw the sage sitting in the cow-pen, bearing the dead snake. And seeing his parent in that plight, he was again inflamed with ire. And he shed tears of grief, and addressed his sire, saying, 'Father, having been informed of this thy disgrace at the hands of that wicked wretch, king Parikshit, I have from anger even cursed him; and that worst of Kurus hath richly deserved my potent curse. Seven days hence, Takshaka, the lord of snakes, shall take the sinful king to the horrible abode of Death.' And the father said to the enraged son, 'Child, I am not pleased with thee. Ascetics should not act thus. We live in the domains of that great king. We are protected by him righteously. In all he does, the reigning king should by the like of us forgiven. If thou destroy Dharma, verily Dharma will destroy thee. If the king do not properly protect us, we fare very ill; we cannot perform our religious rites according to our desire. But protected by righteous sovereigns, we attain immense merit, and they are entitled to a share thereof. Therefore, reigning royalty is by all means to be forgiven. And Parikshit like unto his great-grandsire, protecteth us as a king should protect his subjects. That penance-practising monarch was fatigued and oppressed with hunger. Ignorant of my vow (of silence) he did this. A kingless country always suffereth from evils. The king punisheth offenders, and fear of punishments conducteth to peace; and people do their duties and perform their rites undisturbed. The king establisheth religion--establisheth the kingdom of heaven. The king protecteth sacrifices from disturbance, and sacrifices to please the gods. The gods cause rain, and rain produceth grains and herbs, which are always useful to man. Manu sayeth, a ruler of the destinies of men is equal (in dignity) to ten Veda-studying priests. Fatigued and oppressed with hunger, that penance-practising prince hath done this through ignorance of my vow. Why then hast thou rashly done this unrighteous action through childishness? O son, in no way doth the king deserve a curse from us.'"

SECTION 42

(Astika Parva continued)

"Sauti said, 'And Sringin then replied to his father, saying, 'Whether this be an act of rashness, O father, or an improper act that I have done, whether thou likest it or dislikest it, the words spoken by me shall never be in vain. O father, I tell thee (a curse) can never be otherwise. I have never spoken a lie even in jest.'

"And Samika said, 'Dear child, I know that thou art of great prowess, and truthful in speech. Thou hast never spoken falsehood before, so that thy curse shall never be falsified. The son, even when he attaineth to age, should yet be always counselled by the father, so that crowned with good qualities he may acquire great renown. A child as thou art, how much more dost thou stand in need of counsel? Thou art ever engaged in ascetic penances. The wrath of even the illustrious ones possessing the six attributes increaseth greatly. O thou foremost of ordinance-observing persons, seeing that thou art my son and a minor too, and beholding also thy rashness, I see that I must counsel thee. Live thou, O son, inclined to peace and eating fruits and roots of the forest. Kill this thy anger and destroy not the fruit of thy ascetic acts in this way. Wrath surely decreaseth the virtue that ascetics acquire with great pains. And then for those deprived of virtue, the blessed state existeth not. Peacefulness ever giveth success to forgiving ascetics. Therefore, becoming forgiving in thy temper and conquering thy passions, shouldst thou always live. By forgiveness shalt thou obtain worlds that are beyond the reach of Brahman himself. Having adopted peacefulness myself, and with a desire also for doing good as much as lies in my power, I must do something; even must I send to that king, telling him, 'O monarch, thou hast been cursed by my son of tender years and undeveloped intellect, in wrath, at seeing thy act of disrespect towards myself.'

"Sauti continued, 'And that great ascetic, observer of vows, moved by kindness, sent with proper instructions a disciple of his to king Parikshit. And he sent his disciple Gaurmukha of good manners and engaged also in ascetic penances, instructing him to first enquire about the welfare of the king and then to communicate the real message. And that disciple soon approached that monarch, the head of the Kuru race. And he entered the king's palace having first sent notice of his arrival through the servant in attendance at the gate.

"And the twice-born Gaurmukha was duly worshipped by the monarch. And after resting for a while, he detailed fully to the king, in the presence of his ministers, the words of Samika, of cruel import, exactly as he had been instructed.'

"And Gaurmukha said, 'O king of kings, there is a Rishi, Samika, by name, of virtuous soul, his passions under control, peaceful, and given up to hard ascetic devotions, living in thy dominions! By thee, O tiger among men, was placed on the shoulders of that Rishi observing at present the vow of silence, a dead snake, with the end of thy bow! He himself forgave thee that act. But his son could not. And by the latter hast thou today been cursed, O king of kings, without the knowledge of his father, to the effect that within seven nights hence, shall (the snake) Takshaka cause thy death. And Samika repeatedly asked his son to save thee, but there is none to falsify his son's curse. And because he hath been unable to pacify his son possessed by anger, therefore have I been sent to thee, O king, for thy good!'

"And that king of the Kuru race, himself engaged in ascetic practices, having heard these cruel words and recollecting his own sinful act, became exceedingly sorry. And the king, learning that foremost of Rishis in the forest had been observing the vow of silence, was doubly afflicted with sorrow and seeing the kindness of the Rishi Samika, and considering his own sinful act towards him, the king became very repentant. And the king looking like a very god, did not grieve so much for hearing of his death as for having done that act to the Rishi.'

"And then the king sent away Gaurmukha, saying, 'Let the worshipful one (Samika) be gracious to me!' And when Gaurmukha had gone away, the king, in great anxiety, without loss of time, consulted his ministers. And having consulted them, the king, himself wise in counsels, caused a mansion to be erected upon one solitary column. It was well-guarded day and night. And for its protection were placed there physicians and medicines, and Brahmanas skilled in mantras all around. And the monarch, protected on all sides, discharged his kingly duties from that place surrounded by his virtuous ministers. And no one could approach that best of kings there. The air even could not go there, being prevented from entering.

"And when the seventh day had arrived, that best of Brahmanas, the learned Kasyapa was coming (towards the king's residence), desirous of treating the king (after the snake-bite). He had heard all that had taken place, viz., that Takshaka, that first of snakes, would send that best of monarchs to the presence of Yama (Death). And he thought, I would cure the monarch after he is bit by that first of snakes. By that I may have wealth and may acquire virtue also.' But that prince of snakes, Takshaka, in the form of an old Brahmana, saw Kasyapa approaching on his way, his heart set upon curing the king. And the prince of snakes then spake unto that bull among Munis, Kasyapa, saying, 'Whither dost thou go with such speed? What, besides, is the business upon which thou art intent?'

"And Kasyapa, thus addressed, replied, 'Takshaka, by his poison, will today burn king Parikshit of the Kuru race, that oppressor of all enemies. I go with speed, O amiable one, to cure, without loss of time, the king of immeasurable prowess, the sole representative of the Pandava race, after he is bit by the same Takshaka like to Agni himself in energy.' And Takshaka answered, 'I am that Takshaka, O Brahmana, who shall burn that lord of the earth. Stop, for thou art unable to

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cure one bit by me.' And Kasyapa rejoined, 'I am sure that, possessed (that I am) of the power of learning, going thither I shall cure that monarch bit by thee.'"

SECTION 43

(Astika Parva continued)

"Sauti said, 'And Takshaka, after this, answered, 'If, indeed, thou art able to cure any creature bitten by me, then, O Kasyapa, revive thou this tree bit by me. O best of Brahmanas, I burn this banian in thy sight. Try thy best and show me that skill in mantras of which thou hast spoken.'

"And Kasyapa said, If thou art so minded, bite thou then, O king of snakes, this tree. O snake, I shall revive it, though bit by thee.

"Sauti continued, 'That king of snakes, thus addressed by the illustrious Kasyapa, bit then that banian tree. And that tree, bit by the illustrious snake, and penetrated by the poison of the serpent, blazed up all around. And having burnt the banian so, the snake then spake again unto Kasyapa, saying, 'O first of Brahmanas, try thy best and revive this lord of the forest.'

"Sauti continued, 'The tree was reduced to ashes by the poison of that king of snakes. But taking up those ashes, Kasyapa spoke these words. 'O king of snakes, behold the power of my knowledge as applied to this lord of the forest! O snake, under thy very nose I shall revive it.' And then that best of Brahmanas, the illustrious and learned Kasyapa, revived, by his vidya, that tree which had been reduced to a heap of ashes. And first he created the sprout, then he furnished it with two leaves, and then he made the stem, and then the branches, and then the full-grown tree with leaves and all. And Takshaka, seeing the tree revived by the illustrious Kasyapa, said unto him, 'It is not wonderful in thee that thou shouldst destroy my poison or that of any one else like myself. O thou whose wealth is asceticism, desirous of what wealth, goest thou thither? The reward thou hopest to have from that best of monarchs, even I will give thee, however difficult it may be to obtain it. Decked with fame as thou art, thy success may be doubtful on that king affected by a Brahmana's curse and whose span of life itself hath been shortened. In that case, this blazing fame of thine that hath overspread the three worlds will disappear like the Sun when deprived of his splendour (on the occasion of the eclipse).'

"Kasyapa said, 'I go there for wealth, give it unto me, O snake, so that taking thy gold. I may return.' Takshaka replied, 'O best of regenerate ones, even I will give thee more than what thou expectest from that king. Therefore do not go.'

"Sauti continued, 'That best of Brahmanas, Kasyapa, of great prowess and intelligence, hearing those words of Takshaka, sat in yoga meditation over the king. And that foremost of Munis, viz., Kasyapa, of great prowess and gifted with spiritual knowledge, ascertaining that the period of life of that king of the Pandava race had really run out, returned, receiving from Takshaka as much wealth as he desired.

"And upon the illustrious Kasyapa's retracing his steps, Takshaka at the proper time speedily entered the city of Hastinapura. And on his way he heard that the king was living very cautiously, protected by means of poison-neutralising mantras and medicines.'

"Sauti continued, 'The snake thereupon reflected thus, 'The monarch must be deceived by me with power of illusion. But what must be the means?' Then Takshaka sent to the king some snakes in the guise of ascetics taking with them fruits, kusa grass, and water (as presents). And Takshaka, addressing them, said, 'Go ye all to the king, on the pretext of pressing business, without any sign of impatience, as if to make the monarch only accept the fruits and flowers and water (that ye shall carry as presents unto him).'

"Sauti continued, 'Those snakes, thus commanded by Takshaka, acted accordingly. And they took to the king, Kusa grass and water, and fruits. And that foremost of kings, of great prowess, accepted those offerings. And after their business was finished, he said upto them, 'Retire.' Then after those snakes disguised as ascetics had gone away, the king addressed his ministers and friends, saying, 'Eat ye, with me, all these fruits of excellent taste brought by the ascetics.' Impelled by Fate and the words of the Rishi, the king, with his ministers, felt the desire of eating those fruits. The particular fruit, within which Takshaka had entered, was taken by the king himself for eating. And when he was eating it, there appeared, O Saunaka, an ugly insect out of it, of shape scarcely discernible, of eyes black, and of coppery colour. And that foremost of kings, taking that insect, addressed his councillors, saying, 'The sun is setting; today I have no more tear from poison. Therefore, let this insect become Takshaka and bite me, so that my sinful act may be expiated and the words of the ascetic rendered true.' And those councillors also, impelled by Fate, approved of that speech. And then the monarch smiled, losing his senses, his hour having come. And he quickly placed that insect on his neck. And as the king was smiling, Takshaka, who had (in the form of that insect) come out of the fruit that had been offered to the king, coiled himself round the neck of the monarch. And quickly coiling round the king's neck and uttering a tremendous roar, Takshaka, that lord of snakes, bit that protector of the earth.'"

SECTION 44

(Astika Parva continued)

"Sauti said, 'Then the councillors beholding the king in the coils of Takshaka, became pale with fear and wept in exceeding grief. And hearing the roar of Takshaka, the ministers all fled. And as they were flying away in great grief, they saw Takshaka, the king of snakes, that wonderful serpent, coursing through the blue sky like a streak of the hue of the lotus, and looking very much like the vermilion-coloured line on a woman's crown dividing the dark masses of her hair in the middle.

"And the mansion in which the king was living blazed up with Takshaka's poison. And the king's councillors, on beholding it, fled away in all directions. And the king himself fell down, as if struck by lightning.

"And when the king was laid low by Takshaka's poison, his councillors with the royal priest--a holy Brahmana--performed all his last rites. All the citizens, assembling together, made the minor son of the deceased monarch their king. And the people called their new king, that slayer of all enemies, that hero of the Kuru race, by the name of Janamejaya. And that best of monarchs, Janamejaya, though a child, was wise in mind. And with his councillors and priest, the eldest son Parikshita, that bull amongst the Kurus, ruled the kingdom like his heroic great-grand-father (Yudhishthira). And the ministers of the youthful monarch, beholding that he could now keep his enemies in check, went to Suvarnavarman, the king of Kasi, and asked him his daughter Vapushtama for a bride. And the king of Kasi, after due inquiries, bestowed with ordained rites, his daughter Vapushtama on that mighty hero of Kuru race. And the latter, receiving his bride, became exceedingly glad. And he gave not his heart at any time to any other woman. And gifted with great energy, he wandered in pursuit of pleasure, with a cheerful heart, on expanses of water and amid woods and flowery fields. And that first of monarchs passed his time in pleasure as Pururavas of old did, on receiving the celestial damsel Urvasi. Herself fairest of the fair, the damsel Vapushtama too, devoted to her lord and celebrated for her beauty having gained a desirable husband, pleased him by the excess of her affection during the period he spent in the pursuit of pleasure.'"

SECTION 45

(Astika Parva continued)

"Meanwhile the great ascetic Jaratkaru wandered over the whole earth making the place where evening fell his home for the night. And gifted with ascetic power, he roamed, practising various vows difficult to be practised by the immature, and bathing also in various sacred waters. And the Muni had air alone for his food and was free from desire of worldly enjoyment. And he became daily emaciated and grew lean-fleshed. And one day he saw the spirits of his ancestors, heads down, in a hole, by a cord of virana roots having only one thread entire. And that even single thread was being gradually eaten away by a large rat dwelling in that hole. And the Pitris in that hole were without food, emaciated, pitiable, and eagerly desirous of salvation. And Jaratkaru, approaching the pitiable one, himself in humble guise, asked them, 'Who are ye hanging by this cord of virana roots? The single weak root that is still left in this cord of virana roots already eaten away by the rat, dwelling in this hole, is itself being gradually eaten away by the same rat with his sharp teeth. The little that remains of that single thread will soon be cut away. It is clear ye shall then have to fall down into this pit with faces downwards. Seeing you with faces downwards, and overtaken by this great calamity, my pity hath been excited. What good can I do to you. Tell me quickly whether this calamity can be averted by a fourth, a third, or even by the sacrifice of a half of this my asceticism, O, relieve yourselves even with the whole of my asceticism. I consent to all this. Do ye as ye please.'

"The Pitris said, 'Venerable Brahmacharin, thou desirest to relieve us. But, O foremost of Brahmanas, thou canst not dispel our affliction by thy asceticism. O child, O first of speakers, we too have the fruits of our asceticism. But, O Brahmana, it is for the loss of children that we are falling down into this unholy hell. The grandsire himself hath said that a son is a great merit. As we are about to be cast in this hole, our ideas are no longer clear. Therefore, O child, we know thee not, although thy manhood is well-known on earth. Venerable thou art and of good fortune, thou who thus from kindness grievest for us worthy of pity and greatly afflicted. O Brahmana, listen, who we are. We are Rishis of the Yayavara sect, of rigid vows. And, O Muni, from loss of children, we have fallen down from a sacred region. Our severe penances have not been destroyed; we have a thread yet. But we have only one thread now. It matters little, however, whether he is or is not. Unfortunate as we are, we have a thread in one, known as Jaratkaru. The unfortunate one has gone through the Vedas and their branches and is practising asceticism alone. He being one with soul under complete control, desires set high, observant of vows, deeply engaged in ascetic penances, and free from greed for the merits or asceticism, we have been reduced to this deplorable state. He hath no wife, no son, no relatives. Therefore, do we hang in this hole, our consciousness lost, like men having none to take care of them. If thou meetest him, O, tell him, from thy kindness to ourselves, Thy Pitris, in sorrow, are hanging with faces downwards in a hole. Holy one, take a wife and beget children. O thou of ascetic wealth, thou art, O amiable one, the only thread that remaineth in the line of thy ancestors. O Brahmana, the cord of virana roots that thou seest we are hanging by, is the cord representing our multiplied race. And, O Brahmana, these threads of the cord of virana roots that thou seest as eaten away, are ourselves who have been eaten up by Time. This root thou seest hath been half-eaten and by which we are hanging in this hole is he that hath adopted asceticism alone. The rat that thou beholdest is Time of infinite strength. And he (Time) is gradually weakening the wretch Jaratkaru engaged in ascetic penances tempted by the merits thereof, but wanting in prudence and heart. O excellent one, his asceticism cannot save us. Behold, our roots being torn, cast down from higher regions, deprived of consciousness by Time, we are going downwards like sinful wretches. And upon our going down into this hole with all our relatives, eaten up by Time, even he shall sink with us into hell. O child, whether it is asceticism, or sacrifice, or whatever else there be of very holy acts, everything is inferior. These cannot count with a son. O child, having seen all, speak unto that Jaratkaru of ascetic wealth. Thou shouldst tell him in detail everything that thou hast beheld. And, O Brahmana, from thy kindness towards us, thou shouldst tell him all that would induce him to take a wife and beget children. Amongst his friends, or of our own race, who art thou, O excellent one, that thus grievest for us all like a friend? We wish to hear who thou art that stayest here.'"

SECTION 46

(Astika Parva continued)

"Sauti said. 'Jaratkaru, hearing all this, became excessively dejected. And from sorrow he spoke unto those Pitris in words obstructed by tears.' And Jaratkaru said, 'Ye are even my fathers and grand-fathers gone before. Therefore, tell me what I must do for your welfare. I am that sinful son of yours, Jaratkaru! Punish me for my sinful deeds, a wretch that I am.'

"The Pitris replied, saying, 'O son, by good luck hast thou arrived at this spot in course of thy rambles. O Brahmana, why hast thou not taken a wife?'

"Jaratkaru said. 'Ye Pitris, this desire hath always existed in my heart that I would, with vital seed drawn up, carry this body to the other world. My mind hath been possessed with the idea that I would not take a wife. But ye grandsires, having seen you hanging like birds, I have diverted my mind from the Brahmacharya mode of life. I will truly do what you like. I will certainly marry, if ever I meet with a maiden of my own name. I shall accept her who, bestowing herself of her own accord, will be as aims unto me, and whom I shall not have to maintain. I shall marry if I get such a one; otherwise, I shall not. This is the truth, ye grandsires! And the offspring that will be begot upon her shall be your salvation. And ye Pitris of mine, ye shall live for ever in blessedness and without fear.'

'Sauti continued, 'The Muni, having said so unto the Pitris, wandered over the earth again. And, O Saunaka, being old, he obtained no wife. And he grieved much that he was not successful. But directed (as before) by his ancestors, he continued the search. And going into the forest, he wept loudly in great grief. And having gone into the forest, the wise one, moved by the desire of doing good to his ancestors, said, 'I will ask for a bride,' distinctly repeating these words thrice. And he said, 'Whatever creatures are here, mobile and immobile, so whoever there be that are invisible, O, hear my words! My ancestors, afflicted with grief, have directed me that am engaged in the most severe penances, saying, 'Marry thou for (the acquisition of) a son.' 'O ye, being directed by my ancestors, I am roaming in poverty and sorrow, over the wide world for wedding a maiden that I may obtain as alms. Let that creature, amongst those I have addressed, who hath a daughter, bestow on me that am roaming far and near. Such a bride as is of same name with me, to be bestowed on me as alms, and whom, besides, I shall not maintain, O bestow on me!' Then those snakes that had been set upon Jaratkaru track, ascertaining his inclination, gave information to Vasuki. And the king of the snakes, hearing their words, took with him that maiden decked with ornaments, and went into the forest unto that Rishi. And, O Brahmana, Vasuki, the king of the snakes, having gone there, offered that maiden as alms unto that high-souled Rishi. But the Rishi did not at once accept her. And the Rishi, thinking her not to be of the same name with himself, and seeing that the question of her maintenance also was unsettled, reflected for a few moments, hesitating to accept her. And then, O son of Bhrigu, he asked Vasuki the

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maiden's name, and also said unto him, 'I shall not maintain her.'"

SECTION 47

(Astika Parva continued)

"Sauti said, 'Then Vasuki spake unto the Rishi Jaratkaru these words, 'O best of Brahmanas, this maiden is of the same name with thee. She is my sister and hath ascetic merit. I will maintain thy wife; accept her. O thou of ascetic wealth, I shall protect her with all my ability. And, O foremost of the great Munis, she hath been reared by me for thee.' And the Rishi replied, 'This is agreed between us that I shall not maintain her; and she shall not do aught that I do not like. If she do, I leave her!'

"Sauti continued, 'When the snake had promised, saying, 'I shall maintain my sister,' Jaratkaru then went to the snake's house. Then that first of mantra-knowing Brahmanas, observing rigid vows, that virtuous and veteran ascetic, took her hand presented to him according to shastric rites. And taking his bride with him, adored by the great Rishi, he entered the delightful chamber set apart for him by the king of the snakes. And in that chamber was a bed-stead covered with very valuable coverlets. And Jaratkaru lived there with his wife. And the excellent Rishi made an agreement with his wife, saying, 'Nothing must ever be done or said by thee that is against my liking. And in case of thy doing any such thing, I will leave thee and no longer continue to stay in thy house. Bear in mind these words that have been spoken by me.'

"And then the sister of the king of the snakes in great anxiety and grieving exceedingly, spoke unto him, saying, 'Be it so.' And moved by the desire of doing good to her relatives, that damsel, of unsullied reputation, began to attend upon her lord with the wakefulness of a dog, the timidity of a deer, and knowledge of signs possessed by the crow. And one day, after the menstrual period, the sister of Vasuki, having purified herself by a bath according to custom, approached her lord the great Muni; And thereupon she conceived. And the embryo was like unto a flame of fire, possessed of great energy, and resplendent as fire itself. And it grew like the moon in the bright fortnight.

"And one day, within a short time, Jaratkaru of great fame, placing his head on the lap of his wife, slept, looking like one fatigued. And as he was sleeping, the sun entered his chambers in the Western mountain and was about to set. And, O Brahmana, as the day was fading, she, the excellent sister of Vasuki, became thoughtful, fearing the loss of her husband's virtue. And she thought, 'What should I now do? Shall I wake my husband or not? He is exacting and punctilious in his religious duties. How can I act as not to offend him? The alternatives are his anger and the loss of virtue of a virtuous man. The loss of virtue, I ween, is the greater of the two evils. Again, if I wake him, he will be angry. But if twilight passeth away without his prayers being said, he shall certainly sustain loss of virtue.'

'And having resolved at last, the sweet-speeched Jaratkaru, the sister of Vasuki, spake softly unto that Rishi resplendent with ascetic penances, and lying prostrate like a flame of fire, 'O thou of great good fortune, awake, the sun is setting. O thou of rigid vows, O illustrious one, do your evening prayer after purifying yourself with water and uttering the name of Vishnu. The time for the evening sacrifice hath come. Twilight, O lord, is even now gently covering the western side.'

"The illustrious Jaratkaru of great ascetic merit, thus addressed, spake unto his wife these words, his upper lip quivering in anger, 'O amiable one of the Naga race, thou hast insulted me. I shall no longer abide with thee, but shall go where I came from. O thou of beautiful thighs, I believe in my heart that the sun hath no power to set in the usual time, if I am asleep. An insulted person should never live where he hath met with the insult, far less should I, a virtuous person, or those that are like me.' Jaratkaru, the sister of Vasuki, thus addressed by her lord, began to quake with terror, and she spake unto him, saying, 'O Brahmana, I have not waked thee from desire of insult; but I have done it so that thy virtue may not sustain any loss.'

"The Rishi Jaratkaru, great in ascetic merit, possessed with anger and desirous of forsaking his spouse, thus addressed, spake unto his wife, saying, O thou fair one, never have I spoken a falsehood. Therefore, go I shall. This was also settled between ourselves. O amiable one, I have passed the time happily with thee. And, O fair one, tell thy brother, when I am gone, that I have left thee. And upon my going away, it behoveth thee not to grieve for me.'

"Thus addressed Jaratkaru, the fair sister of Vasuki, of faultless features, filled with anxiety and sorrow, having mustered sufficient courage and patience, though her heart was still quaking, then spake unto Rishi Jaratkaru. Her words were obstructed with tears and her face was pale with fear. And the palms of her hands were joined together, and her eyes were bathed in tears. And she said, 'It behoveth thee not to leave me without a fault. Thou treadest over the path of virtue. I too have been in the same path, with heart fixed on the good of my relatives. O best of Brahmanas, the object for which I was bestowed on thee hath not been accomplished yet. Unfortunate that I am, what shall Vasuki say unto me? O excellent one, the offspring desired of by my relatives afflicted by a mother's curse, do not yet appear! The welfare of my relatives dependeth on the acquisition of offspring from thee. And in order that my connexion with thee may not be fruitless, O illustrious Brahmana, moved by the desire of doing good to my race do I entreat thee. O excellent one, high-souled thou art; so why shall thou leave me who am faultless? This is what is not just clear to me.'

"Thus addressed, the Muni of great ascetic merit spake unto his wife Jaratkaru these words that were proper and suitable to the occasion. And he said, 'O fortunate one, the being thou hast conceived, even like unto Agni himself is a Rishi of soul highly virtuous, and a master of the Vedas and their branches.'

"Having said so, the great Rishi, Jaratkaru of virtuous soul, went away, his heart firmly fixed on practising again the severest penances.'"

SECTION 48

(Astika Parva continued)

"Sauti said, 'O thou of ascetic wealth, soon after her lord had left her, Jaratkaru went to her brother. And she told him everything that had happened. And the prince of snakes, hearing the calamitous news, spake unto his miserable sister, himself more miserable still.'

"And he said, 'Thou knowest, 'O amiable one, the purpose of thy bestowal, the reason thereof. If, from that union, for the welfare of the snakes, a son be born, then he, possessed of energy, will save us all from the snake-sacrifice. The Grandsire had said so, of old, in the midst of the gods. O fortunate one, hast thou conceived from thy union with that best of Rishis? My heart's desire is that my bestowal of thee on that wise one may not be fruitless. Truly, it is not proper for me to ask thee about this. But from the gravity of the interests I ask thee this. Knowing also the obstinacy of thy lord, ever engaged in severe penances, I shall not follow him, for he may curse me. Tell me in detail all that thy lord, O amiable one, hath done, and extract that terribly afflicting dart that lies implanted for a long time past in my heart.'

"Jaratkaru, thus addressed, consoling Vasuki, the king of the snakes, at length replied, saying, 'Asked by me about offspring, the high-souled and mighty ascetic said, 'There is,'--and then he went away. I do not remember him to have ever before speak even in jest aught that is false. Why should he, O king, speak a falsehood on such a serious occasion? He said, 'Thou shouldst not grieve, O daughter of the snake race, about the intended result of our union. A son shall be born to thee, resplendent as the blazing sun.' O brother, having said this to me, my husband of ascetic wealth went away--Therefore, let the deep sorrow cherished in thy heart disappear.'

"Sauti continued, 'Thus addressed, Vasuki, the king of the snakes, accepted those words of his sister, and in great joy said, 'Be it so!' And the chief of the snakes then adored his sister with his best regards, gift of wealth, and fitting eulogies. Then, O best of Brahmanas, the embryo endued with great splendour, began to develop, like the moon in the heavens in the bright fortnight.

And in due time, the sister of the snakes, O Brahmana, gave birth to a son of the splendour of a celestial child, who became the reliever of the fears of his ancestors and maternal relatives. The child grew up there in the house of the king of the snakes. He studied the Vedas and their branches with the ascetic Chyavana, the son of Bhrigu. And though but a boy, his vows were rigid. And he was gifted with great intelligence, and with the several attributes of virtue, knowledge, freedom from the world's indulgences, and saintliness. And the name by which he was known to the world was Astika. And he was known by the name of Astika (whoever is) because his father had gone to the woods, saying. 'There is', when he was in the womb. Though but a boy, he had great gravity and intelligence. And he was reared with great care in the palace of the snakes. And he was like the illustrious lord of the celestials, Mahadeva of the golden form, the wielder of the trident. And he grew up day by day, the delight of all the snakes.'"

SECTION 49

(Astika Parva continued)

"Saunaka said, 'Tell me again, in detail,--all that king Janamejaya had asked his ministers about his father's ascension to heaven.'

'Sauti said, 'O Brahmana, hear all that the king asked his ministers, and all that they said about the death of Parikshit.'

"Janamejaya asked, 'Know ye all that befell my father. How did that famous king, in time, meet with his death? Hearing from you the incidents of my father's life in detail, I shall ordain something, if it be for the benefit of the world. Otherwise, I shall do nothing.'

'The minister replied, 'Hear, O monarch, what thou hast asked, viz., an account of thy illustrious father's life, and how also that king of kings left this world. Thy father was virtuous and high-souled, and always protected his people. O, hear, how that high-souled one conducted himself on earth. Like unto an impersonation of virtue and justice, the monarch, cognisant of virtue, virtuously protected the four orders, each engaged in the discharge of their specified duties. Of incomparable prowess, and blessed with fortune, he protected the goddess Earth. There was none who hated him and he himself hated none. Like unto Prajapati (Brahma) he was equally disposed towards all creatures. O monarch, Brahmanas and Kshatriyas and Vaisyas and Sudras, all engaged contentedly in the practice of their respective duties, were impartially protected by that king. Widows and orphans, the maimed and the poor, he maintained. Of handsome features, he was unto all creatures like a second Soma. Cherishing his subjects and keeping them contented, blessed with good fortune, truth-telling, of immense prowess, he was the disciple of Saradwat in the science of arms. And, O Janamejaya, thy father was dear unto Govinda. Of great fame, he was loved by all men. And he was born in the womb of Uttara when the Kuru race was almost extinct. And, therefore, the mighty son of Abhimanyu came to be called Parikshit (born in an extinct line). Well-versed in the interpretation of treatises on the duties of kings, he was gifted with every virtue. With passions under complete control, intelligent, possessing a retentive memory, the practiser of all virtues, the conqueror of his six passions of powerful mind, surpassing all, and fully acquainted with the science of morality and political science, the father had ruled over these subjects for sixty years. And he then died, mourned by all his subjects. And, after him, O first of men, thou hast acquired this hereditary kingdom of the Kurus for the last thousand years. Thou wast installed while a child, and art thus protecting every creature.'

"Janamejaya said, 'There hath not been born in our race a king who hath not sought the good of his subjects or been loved by them. Behold especially the conduct of my grandsires ever engaged in great achievements. How did my father, blessed with many virtues, meet with his death? Describe everything to me as it happened. I am desirous of hearing it from you!'

"Sauti continued, 'Thus directed by the monarch, those councillors, ever solicitous of the good of the king, told him everything exactly as it had occurred.'

'And the councillors said, 'O king, that father of thine, that protector of the whole earth, that foremost of all persons obedient to the scriptures, became addicted to the sports of the field, even as Pandu of mighty arms, that foremost of all bearers of the bow in battle. He made over to us all the affairs of state from the most trivial to the most important. One day, going into the forest, he pierced a deer with an arrow. And having pierced it he followed it quickly on foot into the deep woods, armed with sword and quiver. He could not, however, come upon the lost deer. Sixty years of age and decrepit, he was soon fatigued and became hungry. He then saw in the deep woods a high-souled Rishi. The Rishi was then observing the vow of silence. The king asked him about the deer, but, though asked, he made no reply. At last the king, already tired with exertion and hunger, suddenly became angry with that Rishi sitting motionless like a piece of wood in observance of his vow of silence. Indeed, the king knew not that he was a Muni observing the vow of silence. Swayed by anger, thy father insulted him. O excellent one of the Bharata race, the king, thy father taking up from the ground with the end of his bow a dead snake placed it on the shoulders of that Muni of pure soul. But the Muni spake not a word good or bad and was without anger. He continued in the same posture, bearing the dead snake.'"

SECTION 50

(Astika Parva continued)

'Sauti continued, 'The ministers said, 'That king of kings then, spent with hunger and exertion, and having placed the snake upon the shoulders of that Muni, came back to his capital. The Muni had a son, born of a cow, of the name of Sringin. He was widely known, possessed of great prowess and energy, and very wrathful. Going (every day) to his preceptor he was in the habit of worshipping him. Commanded by him, Sringin was returning home, when he heard from a friend of his about the insult of his father by thy parent. And, O tiger among kings, he heard that his father, without having committed any fault, was bearing, motionless like a statue, upon his shoulders a dead snake placed thereon. O king, the Rishi insulted by thy father was severe in ascetic penances, the foremost of Munis, the controller of passions, pure, and ever engaged in wonderful acts. His soul was enlightened with ascetic penances, and his organs and their functions were under complete control. His practices and his speech were both very nice. He was contented and without avarice. He was without meanness of any kind and without envy. He was old and used to observe the vow of silence. And he was the refuge whom all creatures might seek in distress.

"Such was the Rishi insulted by thy father. The son, however, of that Rishi, in wrath, cursed thy father. Though young in years, the powerful one was old in ascetic splendour. Speedily touching water, he spake, burning as it were with

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spiritual energy and rage, these words in allusion to thy father, 'Behold the power of my asceticism! Directed by my words, the snake Takshaka of powerful energy and virulent poison, shall, within seven nights hence, burn, with his poison the wretch that hath placed the dead snake upon my un-offending father.' And having said this, he went to where his father was. And seeing his father he told him of his curse. The tiger among Rishis thereupon sent to thy father a disciple of his, named Gaurmukha, of amiable manners and possessed of every virtue. And having rested a while (after arrival at court) he told the king everything, saying in the words of his master, 'Thou hast been cursed, O king, by my son. Takshaka shall burn thee with his poison! Therefore, O king, be careful.' O Janamejaya, hearing those terrible words, thy father took every precaution against the powerful snake Takshaka.

"And when the seventh day had arrived, a Brahmana Rishi, named Kasyapa, desired to come to the monarch. But the snake Takshaka saw Kasyapa. And the prince of snakes spake unto Kasyapa without loss of time, saying, 'Where dost thou go so quickly, and what is the business on which thou goest?' Kasyapa replied, saying, 'O Brahmana, I am going whither king Parikshit, that best of the Kurus, is. He shall today be burnt by the poison of the snake Takshaka. I go there quickly in order to cure him, in fact, in order that, protected by me, the snake may not bite him to death.' Takshaka answered, saying, 'Why dost thou seek to revive the king to be bitten by me? I am that Takshaka. O Brahmana, behold the wonderful power of my poison. Thou art incapable of reviving that monarch when bit by me.' So saying, Takshaka, then and there, bit a lord of the forest (a banian tree). And the banian, as soon as it was bit by the snake, was converted into ashes. But Kasyapa, O king, revived it. Takshaka thereupon tempted him, saying, 'Tell me thy desire.' And Kasyapa, too, thus addressed, spake again unto Takshaka, saying, 'I go there from desire of wealth.' And Takshaka, thus addressed, then spake unto the high-souled Kasyapa in these soft words, 'O sinless one, take from me more wealth than what thou expectest from that monarch, and go back!' And Kasyapa, that foremost of men, thus addressed by the snake, and receiving from him as much wealth as he desired, wended his way back.

"And Kasyapa going back, Takshaka, approaching in disguise, blasted, with the fire of his poison, thy virtuous father, the first of kings, then staying in his mansion with all precautions. And after that, thou wast, O tiger among men, been installed (on the throne). And, O best of monarchs, we have thus told thee all that we have seen and heard, cruel though the account is. And hearing all about the discomfiture of thy royal father, and of the insult to the Rishi Utanka, decide thou that which should follow!

'Sauti continued, 'King Janamejaya, that chastiser of enemies, then spake upto all his ministers. And he said, 'When did ye learn all that happened upon that, banian reduced to ashes by Takshaka, and which, wonderful as it is, was afterwards revived by Kasyapa? Assuredly, my father could not have died, for the poison could have been neutralised by Kasyapa with his mantras. That worst of snakes, of sinful soul, thought within his mind that if Kasyapa resuscitated the king bit by him, he, Takshaka, would be an object of ridicule in the world owing to the neutralisation of his poison. Assuredly, having thought so, he pacified the Brahmana. I have devised a way, however, of inflicting punishment upon him. I like to know, however, what ye saw or heard, what happened in the deep solitude of the forest,--viz., the words of Takshaka and the speeches of Kasyapa. Having known it, I shall devise the means of exterminating the snake race.'

"The ministers said, 'Hear, O monarch of him who told us before of the meeting between that foremost Brahmana and that prince of snakes in the woods. A certain person, O monarch, had climbed up that tree containing some dry branches with the object of breaking them for sacrificial fuel. He was not perceived either by the snake or by the Brahmana. And, O king, that man was reduced to ashes along with the tree itself. And, O king of kings, he was revived with the tree by the power of the Brahmana. That man, a Brahmana's menial, having come to us, represented fully everything as it happened between Takshaka and the Brahmana. Thus have we told thee, O king, all that we have seen and heard. And having heard it, O tiger among kings, ordain that which should follow.'

"Sauti continued, 'King Janamejaya, having listened to the words of his ministers, was sorely afflicted with grief, and began to weep. And the monarch began to squeeze his hands. And the lotus-eyed king began to breathe a long and hot breath, shed tears, and shrieked aloud. And possessed with grief and sorrow, and shedding copious tears, and touching water according to the form, the monarch spake. And reflecting for a moment, as if settling something in his mind, the angry monarch, addressing all ministers, said these words.

'I have heard your account of my father's ascension to heaven. Know ye now what my fixed resolve is. I think no time must be lost in avenging this injury upon the wretch Takshaka that killed my father. He burnt my father making Sringin only a secondary cause. From malignity alone he made Kasyapa return. If that Brahmana had arrived, my father assuredly would have lived. What would he have lost if the king had revived by the grace of Kasyapa and the precautionary measures of his ministers? From ignorance of the effects of my wrath, he prevented Kasyapa--that excellent of Brahmanas--whom he could not defeat, from coming to my father with the desire of reviving him. The act of aggression is great on the part of the wretch Takshaka who gave wealth unto that Brahmana in order that he might not revive the king. I must now avenge myself on my father's enemy to please myself, the Rishi Utanka and you all.'"

SECTION 51

(Astika Parva continued)

'Sauti said, 'King Janamejaya having said so, his ministers expressed their approbation. And the monarch then expressed his determination to perform a snake-sacrifice. And that lord of the Earth--that tiger of the Bharata race--the son of Parikshit, then called his priest and Ritwiks. And accomplished in speech, he spake unto them these words relating to the accomplishment of his great task. 'I must avenge myself on the wretch Takshaka who killed my father. Tell me what I must do. Do you know any act by which I may cast into the blazing fire the snake Takshaka with his relatives? I desire to burn that wretch even as he burnt, of yore, by the fire of his poison, my father.'

'The chief priest answered, 'There is, O king, a great sacrifice for thee devised by the gods themselves. It is known as the snake-sacrifice, and is read of in the Puranas. O king, thou alone canst accomplish it, and no one else. Men versed in the Puranas have told us, there is such a sacrifice.'

"Sauti continued, 'Thus addressed, the king, O excellent one, thought Takshaka to be already burnt and thrown into the blazing mouth of Agni, the eater of the sacrificial butter. The king then said unto those Brahmanas versed in mantras, 'I shall make preparations for that sacrifice. Tell me the things that are necessary.' And the king's Ritwiks, O excellent Brahmana, versed in the Vedas and acquainted with the rites of that sacrifice measured, according to the scriptures, the land for the sacrificial platform. And the platform was decked with valuable articles and with Brahmanas. And it was full of precious things and paddy. And the Ritwika sat upon it at ease. And after the sacrificial platform had been thus constructed according to rule and as desired, they installed the king at the snake-sacrifice for the attainment of its object. And before the commencement of the snake-Sacrifice that was to come, there occurred this very important incident foreboding obstruction to the sacrifice. For when the sacrificial platform was being constructed, a professional builder of great intelligence and well-versed in the knowledge of laying foundations, a Suta by caste, well-acquainted with the Puranas, said, 'The soil upon which and the time at which the measurement for the sacrificial platform has been made, indicate that this sacrifice will not be completed, a Brahmana becoming the reason thereof.' Hearing this, the king, before his installation, gave orders to his gate-keepers not to admit anybody without his knowledge."

SECTION 52

(Astika Parva continued)

"Sauti said, 'The snake-sacrifice then commenced according to due form. And the sacrificial priests, competent in their respective duties according to the ordinance, clad in black garments and their eyes red from contact with smoke, poured clarified butter into the blazing fire, uttering the appropriate mantras. And causing the hearts of all the snakes to tremble with fear, they poured clarified butter into the mouth of Agni uttering the names of the snakes. And the snakes thereupon began to fall into the blazing fire, benumbed and piteously calling upon one another. And swollen and breathing hard, and twining each other with their heads and tails, they came in large numbers and fell into the fire. The white, the black, the blue, the old and the young--all fell alike into the fire, uttering various cries. Those measuring a krosa, and those measuring a yojana, and those of the measure of a gokarna, fell continuously with great violence into that first of all fires. And hundreds and thousands and tens of thousands of snakes, deprived of all control over their limbs, perished on that occasion. And amongst those that perished, there were some that were like horses, other like trunks of elephants, and others of huge bodies and strength like maddened elephants Of various colours and virulent poison, terrible and looking like maces furnished with iron-spikes, of great strength, ever inclined to bite, the snakes, afflicted with their mother's curse, fell into the fire.'"

SECTION 53

(Astika Parva continued)

"Saunaka asked, 'What great Rishis became the Ritwiks at the snake-sacrifice of the wise king Janamejaya of the Pandava line? Who also became the Sadasyas in that terrible snake-sacrifice, so frightful to the snakes, and begetting such sorrow in them? It behoveth thee to describe all these in detail, so that, O son of Suta, we may know who were acquainted with the rituals of the snake-sacrifice.'

"Sauti replied, 'I will recite the names of those wise ones who became the monarch's Ritwiks and Sadasyas. The Brahmana Chandabhargava became the Hotri in that sacrifice. He was of great reputation, and was born in the race of Chyavana and was the foremost of those acquainted with the Vedas. The learned old Brahmana, Kautsa, became the Udgatri, the chanter of the Vedic hymns. Jaimini became the Brahmana, and Sarngarva and Pingala the Adhvaryus, Vyasa with his son and disciples, and Uddalaka, Pramataka, Swetaketu, Pingala, Asita, Devala, Narada, Parvata, Atreya, Kundajathara, the Brahmana Kalaghata, Vatsya, old Srutasravas ever engaged in japa and the study of the Vedas. Kohala Devasarman, Maudgalya, Samasaurava, and many other Brahmanas who had got through the Vedas became the Sadasyas at that sacrifice of the son of Parikshit.

"When the Ritwiks in that snake-sacrifice began to pour clarified butter into the fire, terrible snakes, striking fear into every creature, began to fall into it. And the fat and the marrow of the snakes thus falling into the fire began to flow in rivers. And the atmosphere was filled with an insufferable stench owing to the incessant burning of the snakes. And incessant also were the cries of the snakes fallen into the fire and those in the air about to fall into it.

'Meanwhile, Takshaka, that prince of snakes, as soon as he heard that king Janamejaya was engaged in the sacrifice, went to the palace of Purandara (Indra). And that best of snakes, having represented all that had taken place, sought in terror the protection of Indra after having acknowledged his fault. And Indra, gratified, told him, 'O prince of snakes, O Takshaka, here thou hast no fear from that snake-sacrifice. The Grandsire was pacified by me for thy sake. Therefore, thou hast no fear. Let this fear of thy heart be allayed.'

Sauti continued, 'Thus encouraged by him, that best of snakes began to dwell in Indra's abode in joy and happiness. But Vasuki, seeing that the snakes were incessantly falling into the fire and that his family was reduced to only a few, became exceedingly sorry. And the king of the snakes was afflicted with great grief, and his heart was about to break. And summoning his sister, he spake unto her, saying, 'O amiable one, my limbs are burning and I no longer see the points of the heavens. I am about to fall down from loss of consciousness. My mind is turning, my sight is falling and my heart is breaking. Benumbed, I may fall today into that blazing fire! This sacrifice of the son of Parikshit is for the extermination of our race. It is evident I also shall have to go to the abode of the king of the dead. The time is come, O my sister, on account of which thou wert bestowed by me on Jaratkaru to protect us with our relatives. O best of the women of the snake race, Astika will put an end to the sacrifice that is going on. The Grandsire told me this of old. Therefore, O child, solicit thy dear son who is fully conversant with the Vedas and regarded even by the old, for the protection of myself and also of those dependent on me.'"

SECTION 54

(Astika Parva continued)

"Sauti said, 'Then the snake-dame Jaratkaru, calling her own son, told him the following words according to the directions of Vasuki, the king of the snakes. 'O son, the time is come for the accomplishment of that object for which I was bestowed on thy father by my brother. Therefore, do thou that which should be done.'

"Astika asked, 'Why wert thou, O mother, bestowed on my father by my uncle? Tell me all truly so that on hearing it, I may do what is proper.'

"Then Jaratkaru, the sister of the king of the snakes, herself unmoved by the general distress, and even desirous of the welfare of her relatives, said unto him, 'O son, it is said that the mother of all the snakes is Kadru. Know thou why she cursed in anger her sons.' Addressing the snakes she said, 'As ye have refused to falsely represent Uchchaihsravas, the prince of horses, for bringing about Vinata's bondage according to the wager, therefore, shall he whose charioteer is Vayu burn you all in Janamejaya's sacrifice. And perishing in that sacrifice, ye shall go to the region of the unredeemed spirits.' The Grandsire of all the worlds spake unto her while uttering this curse, 'Be it so,' and thus approved of her speech. Vasuki, having heard that curse and then the words of the Grandsire, sought the protection of the gods, O child, on the occasion when the amrita was being churned for. And the gods, their object fulfilled, for they had obtained the excellent amrita, with Vasuki ahead, approached the Grandsire. And all the gods, with king Vasuki, sought to incline Him who was born of the lotus to be propitious, so that the curse might be made abortive.'

"And the gods said, 'O Lord, Vasuki, the king of the snakes, is sorry on account of his relatives. How may his mother's curse prove abortive?'

"Brahman thereupon replied, saying, 'Jaratkaru will take unto himself a wife of the name of Jaratkaru; the Brahmana born of her will relieve the snakes.'

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"Vasuki, the best of snakes, hearing those words, bestowed me, O thou of godlike looks, on thy high-souled father some time before the commencement of the sacrifice. And from that marriage thou art born of me. That time has come. It behoveth thee to protect us from this danger. It behoveth thee to protect my brother and myself from the fire, so that the object, viz., our relief, for which I was bestowed on thy wise father, may not be unfulfilled. What dost thou think, O son?'

"Sauti continued, 'Thus addressed, Astika said unto his mother, 'Yes, I will.' And he then addressed the afflicted Vasuki, and as if infusing life into him, said, 'O Vasuki, thou best of snakes, thou great being, truly do I say, I shall relieve thee from that curse. Be easy, O snake! There is no fear any longer. I shall strive earnestly so that good may come! Nobody hath ever said that my speech, even in jest, hath proved false. Hence on serious occasions like this, I need not say anything more, O uncle, going thither today I shall gratify, with words mixed with blessings, the monarch Janamejaya installed at the sacrifice, so that, O excellent one, the sacrifice may stop. O highminded one, O king of the snakes, believe all that I say. Believe me, my resolve can never be unfulfilled.'

"And Vasuki then said, 'O Astika, my head swims and my heart breaks. I cannot discern the points of the earth, as I am afflicted with a mother's curse.'

"And Astika said, 'Thou best of snakes, it behoveth thee not to grieve any longer. I shall dispel this fear of thine from the blazing fire. This terrible punishment, capable of burning like the fire at the end of the Yuga, I shall extinguish. Nurse not thy fear any longer.'

"Sauti continued, 'Then that best of Brahmanas, Astika, quelling the terrible fear of the Vasuki's heart, and taking it, as it were, on himself, wended, for the relief of the king of the snakes, with speed to Janamejaya's sacrifice blessed with every merit. And Astika having gone thither, beheld the excellent sacrificial compound with numerous Sadasyas on it whose splendour was like unto that of the Sun or Agni. But that best of Brahmanas was refused admittance by the door-keepers. And the mighty ascetic gratified them, being desirous of entering the sacrificial compound. And that best of Brahmanas, that foremost of all virtuous men, having entered the excellent sacrificial compound, began to adore the king of infinite achievements, Ritwiks, the Sadasyas, and also the sacred fire.'"

SECTION 55

(Astika Parva continued)

"Astika said, 'Soma and Varuna and Prajapati performed sacrifices of old in Prayaga. But thy sacrifice, O foremost one of Bharata's race, O son of Parikshit, is not inferior to any of those. Let those dear unto us be blessed! Sakra performed a hundred sacrifices. But this sacrifice of thine, O foremost one of Bharata's race, O son of Parikshit, is fully equal to ten thousand sacrifices of Sakra. Let those dear unto us be blessed! Like the sacrifice of Yama, of Harimedha, or of king Rantideva, is the sacrifice of thine, O foremost one of Bharata's race, O son of Parikshit. Let those dear unto us be blessed! Like the sacrifice of Maya, of king Sasavindu, or of king Vaisravana, is this sacrifice of thine, O foremost one of Bharata's race, O son of Satyavati, in which he himself was the chief priest, is this sacrifice of Nriga, of Ajamida, of the son of Dasaratha, is this sacrifice of thine, O foremost one of Bharata's race, O son of Parikshit. Let those dear unto us be blessed! Like the sacrifice of king Yudhishthira, the son of a god and belonging to Ajamida race, heard of (even) in the heavens, is this sacrifice of thine. O foremost one of Bharata's race, O son of Parikshit, let those dear unto us be blessed! Like the sacrifice of Krishna (Dwaipayana), the son of Satyavati, in which he himself was the chief priest, is this sacrifice of thine, O foremost one of Bharata's race, O son of Parikshit Let those dear unto us be blessed! These (Ritwiks and Sadasyas) that are here engaged in making thy sacrifice, like unto that of the slayer of Vritra, are of splendour equal to that of the sun. There now remains nothing for them to know, and gifts made to them become inexhaustible (in merit). It is my conviction that there is no Ritwik in all the worlds who is equal to thy Ritwik, Dwaipayana. His disciples, becoming Ritwiks, competent for their duties, travel over the earth. The high-souled bearer of libation (viz., Agni), called also Vibhavasu and Chitrabhanu, having gold for his vital seed and having his path, marked by black smoke, blazing up with flames inclined to the right, beareth these thy libations of clarified butter to the gods. In this world of men there is no other monarch equal to thee in the protection of subjects. I am ever well-pleased with thy abstinence. Indeed, thou art either Varuna, or Yama, the god of Justice. Like Sakra himself, thunderbolt in hand, thou art, in this world, the protector of all creatures. In this earth there is no man so great as thou and no monarch who is thy equal in sacrifice. Thou art like Khatwanga, Nabhaga, and Dilipa. In prowess thou art like Yayati and Mandhatri. In splendour equal to the sun, and of excellent vows, thou art O monarch, like Bhishma! Like Valmiki thou art of energy concealed. Like Vasishtha thou hast controlled thy wrath. Like Indra is thy lordship. Thy splendour also shines like that of Narayana. Like Yama art thou conversant with the dispensation of justice. Thou art like Krishna adorned with every virtue. Thou art the home of the good fortune that belongs to the Vasus. Thou art also the refuge of the sacrifices. In strength thou art equal to Damvodbhava. Like Rama (the son of Jamadagni) thou art conversant with the scriptures and arms. In energy thou art equal to Aurva and Trita. Thou inspirest terror by thy looks like Bhagiratha.'

"Sauti said, 'Astika, having thus adored them, gratified them all, viz., the king, the Sadasyas, the Ritwiks and the sacrificial fire. And king Janamejaya beholding the signs and indications manifested all around, addressed them as follows.'"

SECTION 56

(Astika Parva continued)

Janamejaya said, 'Though this one is but a boy, he speaks yet like a wise old man. He is not a boy but one wise and old. I think, I desire to bestow on him a boon. Therefore, ye Brahmanas, give me the necessary permission.'

"The Sadasyas said, 'A Brahmana, though a boy, deserves the respect of kings. The learned ones do more so. This boy deserves every desire of his being fulfilled by thee, but not before Takshaka comes with speed.'

"Sauti continued, 'The king, being inclined to grant the Brahmana a boon, said 'Ask thou a boon.' The Hotri, however, being rather displeased, said, 'Takshaka hath not come as yet into this sacrifice.'

"Janamejaya replied, 'Exert ye to the best of your might, so that this sacrifice of mine may attain completion, and Takshaka also may soon come here. He is my enemy.'

"The Ritwiks replied, 'As the scriptures declare unto us, and as the fire also saith, O monarch, (it seems that) Takshaka is now staying in the abode of Indra, afflicted with fear.'

"Sauti continued, 'The illustrious Suta named Lohitaksha also, conversant with the Puranas, had said so before.

"Asked by the king on the present occasion he again told the monarch, 'Sire, it is even so as the Brahmanas have said--Knowing the Puranas, I say, O monarch, that Indra hath granted him this boon, saying, 'Dwell with me in concealment, and Agni shall not burn thee.'

'Sauti continued, 'Hearing this, the king installed in the sacrifice became very sorry and urged the Hotri to do his duty. And as the Hotri, with mantras, began to pour clarified butter into the fire Indra himself appeared on the scene. And the illustrious one came in his car, adorned by all the gods standing around, followed by masses of clouds, celestial singers, and the several bevies of celestial dancing girls. And Takshaka anxious with fear, hid himself in the upper garment of Indra and was not visible. Then the king in his anger again said unto his mantra-knowing Brahmanas these words, bent upon the destruction of Takshaka, 'If the snake Takshaka be in the abode of Indra, cast him into the fire with Indra himself.'

'Sauti continued, 'Urged thus by the king Janamejaya about Takshaka, the Hotri poured libations, naming that snake then staying there. And even as the libations were poured, Takshaka, with Purandara himself, anxious and afflicted, became visible in a moment in the skies. Then Purandara, seeing that sacrifice, became much alarmed, and quickly casting Takshaka off, went back to his own abode. After Indra had gone away, Takshaka, the prince of snakes, insensible with fear, was by virtue of the mantras, brought near enough the flames of the sacrificial fire.'

"The Ritwiks then said, 'O king of kings, the sacrifice of thine is being performed duly. It behoveth thee, O Lord, to grant a boon now to this first of Brahmanas.'

"Janamejaya then said, 'Thou immeasurable one of such handsome and child-like features, I desire to grant thee a worthy boon. Therefore, ask thou that which thou desirest in thy heart. I promise thee, that I will grant it even if it be ungrantable.'

'The Ritwiks said, 'O monarch, behold, Takshaka is soon coming under thy control! His terrible cries, and loud roar is being heard. Assuredly, the snake hath been forsaken by the wielder of thunder. His body being disabled by your mantras, he is falling from heaven. Even now, rolling in the skies, and deprived of consciousness, the prince of snakes cometh, breathing loudly.'

'Sauti continued, 'While Takshaka, the prince of snakes was about to fall into the sacrificial fire, during those few moments Astika spoke as follows, 'O Janamejaya, if thou wouldst grant me a boon, let this sacrifice of thine come to an end and let no more snakes fall into the fire.'

'O Brahmana, the son of Parikshit, being thus addressed by Astika, became exceedingly sorry and replied unto Astika thus, 'O illustrious one, gold, silver, kine, whatever other possessions thou desirest I shall give unto thee. But let not my sacrifice come to an end.'

"Astika thereupon replied, 'Gold, silver or kine, I do not ask of thee, O monarch! But let thy sacrifice be ended so that my maternal relations be relieved.'

"Sauti continued, 'The son of Parikshit, being thus addressed by Astika, repeatedly said this unto that foremost of speakers, 'Best of the Brahmanas, ask some other boon. O, blessed be thou!' But, O thou of Bhrigu's race, he did not beg any other boon. Then all the Sadasyas conversant with the Vedas told the king in one voice, 'Let the Brahmana receive his boon!'"

SECTION 57

(Astika Parva continued)

"Saunaka said, 'O son of a Suta, I desire to hear the names of all those snakes that fell into the fire of this snake-sacrifice!'

"Sauti replied, 'Many thousands and tens of thousands and billions of snakes fell into the fire. O most excellent Brahmana, so great is the number that I am unable to count them all. So far, however, as I remember, hear the names I mention of the principal snakes cast into the fire. Hear first the names of the principal ones of Vasuki's race alone, of colour blue, red and white of terrible form and huge body and deadly poison. Helpless and miserable and afflicted with their mother's curse, they fell into the sacrificial fire like libations of butter.

"Kotisa, Manasa, Purna, Cala, Pala Halmaka, Pichchala, Kaunapa, Cakra, Kalavega, Prakalana, Hiranyavahu, Carana, Kakshaka, Kaladantaka--these snakes born of Vasuki, fell into the fire. And, O Brahmana, numerous other snakes well-born, and of terrible form and great strength, were burnt in the blazing fire. I shall now mention those born in the race of Takshaka. Hear thou their names. Puchchandaka, Mandalaka, Pindasektri, Ravenaka; Uchochikha, Carava, Bhangas, Vilwatejas, Virohana; Sili, Salakara, Muka, Sukumara, Pravepana, Mudgara and Sisuroman, Suroman and Mahahanu. These snakes born of Takshaka fell into the fire. And Paravata, Parijata, Pandara, Harina, Krisa, Vihanga, Sarabha, Meda, Pramoda, Sauhatapana--these born in the race of Airavata fell into the fire. Now hear, O best of Brahmanas, the names of the snakes I mention born in the race of Kauravya: Eraka, Kundala Veni, Veniskandha, Kumaraka, Vahuka, Sringavera, Dhurtaka, Pratara and Astaka. There born in the race of Kauravya fell into the fire. Now hear the names I mention, in order, of those snakes endued with the speed of the wind and with virulent poison, born in the race of Dhritarashtra: Sankukarna, Pitharaka, Kuthara, Sukhana, and Shechaka; Purnangada, Purnamukha, Prahasa, Sakuni, Dari, Amahatha, Kumathaka, Sushena, Vyaya, Bhairava, Mundavedanga, Pisanga, Udraparaka, Rishabha, Vegavat, Pindaraka; Raktanga, Sarvasaranga, Samriddha, Patha and Vasaka; Varahaka, Viranaka, Suchitra, Chitravegika, Parasara, Tarunaka, Maniskandha and Aruni.

"O Brahmana, thus I have recited the names of the principal snakes known widely for their achievements--I have not been able to name all, the number being countless. The sons of these snakes, the sons of those sons, that were burnt having fallen into the fire, I am unable to mention. They are so many! Some of three heads, some of seven, others of ten, of poison like unto the fire at the end of the yuga and terrible in form,--they were burnt by thousands!

"Many others, of huge bodies, of great speed, tall as mountain summits, of the length of a yama, of a yojana, and of two yojanas, capable of assuming at will any form and of mastering at will any degree of strength, of poison like unto blazing fire, afflicted by the curse of a mother, were burnt in that great 'sacrifice.'"

SECTION 58

(Astika Parva, continued)

"Sauti said, 'Listen now to another very wonderful incident in connexion with Astika. When king Janamejaya was about to gratify Astika by granting the boon, the snake (Takshaka), thrown off Indra's hands, remained in mid air without actually falling. King Janamejaya thereupon became curious, for Takshaka, afflicted with fear, did not at once fall into the fire although libations were poured in proper form into the blazing sacrificial Agni in his name.'

"Saunaka said, 'Was it, O Suta, that the mantras of those wise Brahmanas were not potent; since Takshaka did not fall into the fire?'

"Sauti replied, 'Unto the unconscious Takshaka, that best of snakes, after he had been cast off Indra's hands, Astika had thrice said, 'Stay,' 'Stay,' 'Stay.' And he succeeded in staying in the skies, with afflicted heart, like a person somehow staying between the welkin and the earth.

"The king then, on being repeatedly urged by his Sadasyas, said, 'Let it be done as Astika hath said. Let the sacrifice be ended, let the snakes be safe, let this Astika also be gratified, O Suta, thy words also be true.' When the boon was granted to Astika, plaudits expressive of joy rang through the air. Thus the sacrifice of the son of Parikshit--that king of the Pandava race--came to an end. The king Janamejaya of the Bharata race was himself pleased, and on the Ritwiks with the Sadasyas, and on all who had come there, the king, bestowed money by hundreds and thousands. And unto Suta Lohitaksha--conversant with the rules of building and foundations--who had at the commencement said that a Brahmana would be the cause of the interruption of the snake-

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sacrifice, the king gave much wealth. The king, of uncommon kindness, also gave him various things, with food and wearing apparel, according to his desire, and became very much pleased. Then he concluded his sacrifice according to the prescribed rites, and after treating him with every respect, the king in joy sent home the wise Astika exceedingly gratified, for he had attained his object. And the king said unto him, 'Thou must come again to become a Sadasya in my great Horse-sacrifice.' And Astika said, 'yes' and then returned home in great joy, having achieved his great end after gratifying the monarch. And returning in joy to his uncle and mother and touching their feet, he recounted to them everything as it had happened.'

"Sauti continued, 'Hearing all he had said, the snakes that had come thither became very much delighted, and their fears were allayed. They were much pleased with Astika and asked him to solicit a boon, saying, 'O learned one, what good shall we do unto thee? We have been very much gratified, having been all saved by thee. What shall we accomplish for thee, O child!'

"Astika said, 'Let those Brahmanas, and other men, who shall, in the morning or in the evening, cheerfully and with attention, read the sacred account of this my act, have no fear from any of you.' And the snakes in joy thereupon said, 'O nephew, in the nature of thy boon, let it be exactly as thou sayest. That which thou askest we all shall cheerfully do, O nephew! And those also that call to mind Astika, Artiman and Sunitha, in the day or in the night, shall have no fear of snakes. He again shall have no fear of snakes who will say, 'I call to mind the famous Astika born of Jaratkaru, that Astika who saved the snakes from the snake-sacrifice. Therefore, ye snakes of great good fortune, it behoveth you not to bite me. But go ye away, blessed be ye, or go away thou snake of virulent poison, and remember the words of Astika after the snake sacrifice of Janamejaya. That snake who does not cease from biting after hearing such mention of Astika, shall have his hood divided a hundredfold like the fruit of Sinsa tree.'

"Sauti continued, 'That first of Brahmanas, thus addressed by the foremost of the chief snakes assembled together, was very much gratified. And the high-souled one then set his heart upon going away.

"And that best of Brahmanas, having saved the snakes from the snake-sacrifice, ascended to heaven when his time came, leaving sons and grandsons behind him.

'Thus have I recited to thee this history of Astika exactly as it happened. Indeed, the recitation of this history dispelleth all fear of snakes'

'Sauti continued, 'O Brahmanas, O foremost one of Bhrigu's race, as thy ancestor Pramati had cheerfully narrated unto his inquiring son Ruru, and as I had heard it, thus have I recited this blessed history, from the beginning, of the learned Astika. And, O Brahmana, O oppressor of all enemies, having heard this holy history of Astika that increaseth virtue, and which thou hadst asked me about after hearing the story of the Dundubha, let thy ardent curiosity be satisfied.'"

SECTION 59

(Adivansavatarana Parva)

"Saunaka said, 'O son, thou hast narrated to me this extensive and great history commencing from the progeny of Bhrigu. O son of Suta, I have been much gratified with thee. I ask thee again, to recite to me, O son of a Suta, the history composed by Vyasa. The varied and wonderful narrations that were recited amongst those illustrious Sadasyas assembled at the sacrifice, in the intervals of their duties of that long-extending ceremony, and the objects also of those narrations, I desire to hear from thee, O son of a Suta! Recite therefore, all those to me fully.'

'Sauti said, 'The Brahmanas, in the intervals of the duties, spoke of many things founded upon the Vedas. But Vyasa recited the wonderful and great history called the Bharata.'

"Saunaka said, 'That sacred history called the Mahabharata, spreading the fame of the Pandavas, which Krishna-Dwaipayana, asked by Janamejaya, caused to be duly recited after the completion of the sacrifice. I desire to hear duly. That history hath been born of the ocean-like mind of the great Rishi of soul purified by yoga. Thou foremost of good men, recite it unto me, for, O son of a Suta, my thirst hath not been appeased by all thou hast said.'

'Sauti said, 'I shall recite to thee from the beginning of that great and excellent history called the Mahabharata composed by Vyasa. O Brahmana, listen to it in full, as I recite it. I myself feel a great pleasure in reciting it.'"

SECTION 60

(Adivansavatarana Parva continued)

'Sauti said, 'Hearing that Janamejaya was installed in the snake-sacrifice, the learned Rishi Krishna-Dwaipayana went thither on the occasion. And he, the grand-father of the Pandavas, was born in an island of the Yamuna, of the virgin Kali by Sakti's son, Parasara. And the illustrious one developed by his will alone his body as soon as he was born, and mastered the Vedas with their branches, and all the histories. And he readily obtained that which no one could obtain by asceticism, by the study of the Vedas, by vows, by fasts, by progeny, and by sacrifice. And the first of Veda-knowing ones, he divided the Vedas into four parts. And the Brahmana Rishi had knowledge of the supreme Brahma, knew the past by intuition, was holy, and cherished truth. Of sacred deeds and great fame, he begot Pandu and Dhritarashtra and Vidura in order to continue the line of Santanu.

"And the high-souled Rishi, with his disciples all conversant with the Vedas and their branches, entered the sacrificial pavilion of the royal sage, Janamejaya. And he saw that the king Janamejaya was seated in the sacrificial region like the god Indra, surrounded by numerous Sadasyas, by kings of various countries whose coronal locks had undergone the sacred bath, and by competent Ritwiks like unto Brahman himself. And that foremost one of Bharata's race, the royal sage Janamejaya, beholding the Rishi come, advanced quickly with his followers and relatives in great joy. And the king with the approval of his Sadasyas, gave the Rishi a golden seat as Indra did to Vrihaspati. And when the Rishi, capable of granting boons and adored by the celestial Rishis themselves, had been seated, the king of kings worshipped him according to the rites of the scriptures. And the king then offered him--his grandfather Krishna--who fully deserved them, water to wash his feet and mouth, and the Arghya, and kine. And accepting those offerings from the Pandava Janamejaya and ordering the kine also not to be slain, Vyasa became much gratified. And the king, after those adorations bowed to his great-grandfather, and sitting in joy asked him about his welfare. And the illustrious Rishi also, casting his eyes upon him and asking him about his welfare, worshipped the Sadasyas, having been before worshipped by them all. And after all this, Janamejaya with all his Sadasyas, questioned that first of Brahmanas, with joined palms as follows:

'O Brahmana, thou hast seen with thy own eyes the acts of the Kurus and the Pandavas. I am desirous of hearing thee recite their history. What was the cause of the disunion amongst them that was fruitful of such extraordinary deeds? Why also did that great battle, which caused the death of countless creatures occur between all my grandfathers--their clear sense over-clouded by fate? O excellent Brahmana, tell me all this in full as everything had happened.'

"Hearing those words of Janamejaya, Krishna-Dwaipayana directed his disciple Vaisampayana seated by his side, saying, 'The discord that happened between the Kurus and the Pandavas of old, narrate all to the king even as thou hast heard from me.'

"Then that blessed Brahmana, at the command of his preceptor recited the whole of that history unto the king, the Sadasyas, and all the chieftains there assembled. And he told them all about the hostility and the utter extinction of the Kurus and the Pandavas.'"

SECTION 61

(Adivansavatarana Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Bowing down in the first place to my preceptor with the eight parts of my body touching the ground, with devotion and reverence, and with all my heart, worshipping the whole assembly of Brahmanas and other learned persons, I shall recite in full what I have heard from the high-souled and great Rishi Vyasa, the first of intelligent men in the three worlds. And having got it within thy reach, O monarch, thou also art a fit person to hear the composition called Bharata. Encouraged by the command of my preceptor my heart feeleth no fear.

"Hear, O monarch, why that disunion occurred between the Kurus and the Pandavas, and why also that exile into the woods immediately proceeding from the game at dice prompted by the desire (of the Kurus) for rule. I shall relate all to thee who askest it thou best of the Bharata race!

"On the death of their father those heroes (the Pandavas) came to their own home. And within a short time they became well-versed in archery. And the Kurus beholding the Pandavas gifted with physical strength, energy, and power of mind, popular also with the citizens, and blessed with good fortune, became very jealous. Then the crookedminded Duryodhana, and Karna, with (the former's uncle) the son of Suvala began to persecute them and devise means for their exile. Then the wicked Duryodhana, guided by the counsels of Sakuni (his maternal uncle), persecuted the Pandavas in various ways for the acquirement of undisputed sovereignty. The wicked son of Dhritarashtra gave poison to Bhima, but Bhima of the stomach of the wolf digested the poison with the food. Then the wretch again tied the sleeping Bhima on the margin of the Ganges and, casting him into the water, went away. But when Bhimasena of strong arms, the son of Kunti woke, he tore the strings with which he had been tied and came up, his pains all gone. And while asleep and in the water black snakes of virulent poison bit him in every part of his body. But that slayer of foes did not still perish. And in all those persecutions of the Pandavas by their cousins, the Kurus, the high-minded Vidura attentively engaged himself neutralising those evil designs and rescuing the persecuted ones. And as Sakra from the heavens keeps in happiness the world of men, so did Vidura always keep the Pandavas from evil.

"When Duryodhana, with various means, both secret and open, found himself incapable of destroying the Pandavas who were protected by the fates and kept alive for grave future purposes (such as the extermination of the Kuru race), then called together his counsellors consisting of Vrisha (Karna), Duhsasana and others, and with the knowledge of Dhritarashtra caused a house of lac to be constructed. And king Dhritarashtra, from affection for his children, and prompted by the desire of sovereignty, sent the Pandavas tactfully into Varanavata. And the Pandavas then went away with their mother from Hastinapura. And when they were leaving the city, Vidura gave them some idea of impending danger and how they could come out of it.

'The sons of Kunti reached the town of Varanavata and lived there with their mother. And, agreeably to the command of Dhritarashtra, those illustrious slayers of all enemies lived in the palace of lac, while in that town. And they lived in that place for one year, protecting themselves from Purochana very wakefully. And causing a subterranean passage to be constructed, acting according to the directions of Vidura, they set fire to that house of lac and burnt Purochana (their enemy and the spy of Duryodhana) to death. Those slayers of all enemies, anxious with fear, then fled with their mother. In the woods beside a fountain they saw a Rakshasa. But, alarmed at the risk they ran of exposure by such an act the Pandavas fled in the darkness, out of fear from the sons of Dhritarashtra. It was here that Bhima gained Hidimva (the sister of the Rakshasa he slew) for a wife, and it was of her that Ghatotkacha was born. Then the Pandavas, of rigid vows, and conversant with the Vedas wended to a town of the name of Ekachakra and dwelt there in the guise of Brahmacharins. And those bulls among men dwelt in that town in the house of a Brahmana for some time, with temperance and abstinence. And it was here that Bhima of mighty arms came upon a hungry and mighty and man-eating Rakshasa of the name of Vaka. And Bhima, the son of Pandu, that tiger among men, slew him speedily with the strength of his arms and made the citizens safe and free from fear. Then they heard of Krishna (the princess of Panchala) having become disposed to select a husband from among the assembled princes. And, hearing of it, they went to Panchala, and there they obtained the maiden. And having obtained Draupadi (as their common wife) they then dwelt there for a year. And after they became known, those chastisers of all enemies went back to Hastinapura. And they were then told by king Dhritarashtra and the son of Santanu (Bhishma) as follows: 'In order, O dear ones, dissensions may not take place between you and your cousins, we have settled that Khandavaprastha should be your abode. Therefore, go ye, casting off all jealousy, to Khandavaprastha which contains many towns served by many broad roads, for dwelling there.' And accordingly the Pandavas went, with all their friends and followers, to Khandavaprastha taking with them many jewels and precious stones. And the sons of Pritha dwelt there for many years. And they brought, by force of arms, many a prince under their subjection. And thus, setting their hearts on virtue and firmly adhering to truth, unruffled by affluence, calm in deportment, and putting down numerous evils, the Pandavas gradually rose to power. And Bhima of great reputation subjugated the East, the heroic Arjuna, the North, Nakula, the West; Sahadeva that slayer of all hostile heroes, the South. And this having been done, their domination was spread over the whole world. And with the five Pandavas, each like unto the Sun, the Earth looked as if she had six Suns.

"Then, for some reason, Yudhishthira the Just, gifted with great energy and prowess, sent his brother Arjuna who was capable of drawing the bow with the left hand, dearer unto him than life itself, into the woods. And Arjuna, that tiger among men, of firm soul, and gifted with every virtue, lived in the woods for eleven years and months. And during this period, on a certain occasion, Arjuna went to Krishna in Dwaravati. And Vibhatsu (Arjuna) there obtained for a wife the lotus-eyed and sweet-speeched younger sister of Vasudeva, Subhadra by name. And she became united, in gladness, with Arjuna, the son of Pandu, like Sachi with the great Indra, or Sri with Krishna himself. And then, O best of monarchs, Arjuna, the son of Kunti, with Vasudeva, gratified Agni; the carrier of the sacrificial butter, in the forest of Khandava (by burning the medicinal plants in that woods to cure Agni of his indigestion). And to Arjuna, assisted as he was by Kesava, the task did not at all appear heavy even as nothing is heavy to Vishnu with immense design and resources in the matter of destroying his enemies. And Agni gave unto the son of Pritha the excellent bow Gandiva and a quiver that was inexhaustible, and a war-chariot bearing the figure of Garuda on its standard. And it was on this occasion that Arjuna relieved the great Asura (Maya) from fear (of being consumed in the fire). And Maya, in gratitude, built (for the Pandavas) a celestial palace decked with every sort of jewels and precious stones. And the wicked Duryodhana, beholding that building, was tempted with the desire of possessing it. And deceiving Yudhishthira by means of the dice played through the hands

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of the son of Suvala, Duryodhana sent the Pandavas into the woods for twelve years and one additional year to be passed in concealment, thus making the period full thirteen.

"And the fourteenth year, O monarch, when the Pandavas returned and claimed their property, they did not obtain it. And thereupon war was declared, and the Pandavas, after exterminating the whole race of Kshatriyas and slaying king Duryodhana, obtained back their devastated kingdom.

"This is the history of the Pandavas who never acted under the influence of evil passions; and this the account, O first of victorious monarchs of the disunion that ended in the loss of their kingdom by the Kurus and the victory of the Pandavas.'"

SECTION 62

(Adivansavatarana Parva continued)

"Janamejaya said, 'O excellent Brahmana, thou hast, indeed, told me, in brief, the history, called Mahabharata, of the great acts of the Kurus. But, O thou of ascetic wealth, recite now that wonderful narration fully. I feel a great curiosity to hear it. It behoveth thee to recite it, therefore, in full. I am not satisfied with hearing in a nutshell the great history. That could never have been a trifling cause for which the virtuous ones could slay those whom they should not have slain, and for which they are yet applauded by men. Why also did those tigers among men, innocent and capable of avenging themselves upon their enemies, calmly suffer the persecution of the wicked Kurus? Why also, O best of Brahmanas, did Bhima of mighty arms and of the strength of ten thousand elephants, control his anger, though wronged? Why also did the chaste Krishna, the daughter of Drupada, wronged by those wretches and able to burn them, not burn the sons of Dhritarashtra with her wrathful eyes? Why also did the two other sons of Pritha (Bhima and Arjuna) and the two sons of Madri (Nakula and Sahadeva), themselves injured by the wretched Kurus, follow Yudhishthira who was greatly addicted to the evil habit of gambling? Why also did Yudhishthira, that foremost of all virtuous men, the son of Dharma himself, fully acquainted with all duties, suffer that excess of affliction? Why also did the Pandava Dhananjaya, having Krishna for his charioteer, who by his arrows sent to the other world that dauntless host of fighting men (suffer such persecution)? O thou of ascetic wealth, speak to me of all these as they took place, and everything that those mighty charioteers achieved.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'O monarch, appoint thou a time for hearing it. This history told by Krishna-Dwaipayana is very extensive. This is but the beginning. I shall recite it. I shall repeat the whole of the composition in full, of the illustrious and great Rishi Vyasa of immeasurable mental power, and worshipped in all the worlds. This Bharata consists of a hundred thousand sacred slokas composed by the son of Satyavati, of immeasurable mental power. He that reads it to others, and they that hear it read, attain to the world of Brahman and become equal to the very gods. This Bharata is equal unto the Vedas, is holy and excellent; is the worthiest of all to be listened to, and is a Purana worshipped by the Rishis. It contains much useful instruction on Artha and Kama (profit and pleasure). This sacred history maketh the heart desire for salvation. Learned persons by reciting this Veda of Krishna-Dwaipayana to those that are liberal, truthful and believing, earn much wealth. Sins, such as killing the embryo in the womb, are destroyed assuredly by this. A person, however cruel and sinful, by hearing this history, escapes from all his sins like the Sun from Rahu (after the eclipse is over). This history is called Jaya. It should be heard by those desirous of victory. A king by hearing it may bring the whole world under subjection and conquer all his foes. This history in itself is a mighty act of propitiation, a mighty sacrifice productive of blessed fruit. It should always be heard by a young monarch with his queen, for then they beget a heroic son or a daughter to occupy a throne. This history is the high and sacred science of Dharma, Artha, and also of Moksha; it hath been so said by Vyasa himself of mind that is immeasurable. This history is recited in the present age and will be recited in the future. They that hear it, read, have sons and servants always obedient to them and doing their behests. All sins that are committed by body, word, or mind, immediately leave them that hear this history. They who hear, without the spirit of fault finding, the story of the birth of the Bharata princes, can have no fear of maladies, let alone the fear of the other world.

"For extending the fame of the high-souled Pandavas and of other Kshatriyas versed in all branches of knowledge, high spirited, and already known in the world for their achievements, Krishna-Dwaipayana, guided also by the desire of doing good to the world, hath composed this work. It is excellent, productive of fame, grants length of life, is sacred and heavenly. He who, from desire of acquiring religious merit, causeth this history to be heard by sacred Brahmanas, acquireth great merit and virtue that is inexhaustible. He that reciteth the famous generation of the Kurus becometh immediately purified and acquireth a large family himself, and becometh respected in the world. That Brahmana who regularly studies this sacred Bharata for the four months of the rainy season, is cleansed from all his sins. He that has read the Bharata may be regarded as one acquainted with the Vedas.

"This work presents an account of the gods and royal sages and sacred regenerate Rishis, the sinless Kesava; the god of gods, Mahadeva and the goddess Parvati; the birth of Kartikeya who sprang from union of Parvati with Mahadeva and was reared by many mothers; the greatness of Brahmanas and of kine. This Bharata is a collection of all the Srutis, and is fit to be heard by every virtuous person. That learned man who reciteth it to Brahmanas during the sacred lunations, becometh cleansed of all sins, and, not caring for heaven as it were, attaineth to a union with Brahma. He that causeth even a single foot of this poem to be heard by Brahmanas during the performance of a Sraddha, maketh that Sraddha inexhaustible, the Pitris becoming ever gratified with the articles once presented to them. The sins that are committed daily by our senses or the mind, those that are committed knowingly or unknowingly by any man, are all destroyed by hearing the Mahabharata. The history of the exalted birth of the Bharata princes is called the Mahabharata. He who knoweth this etymology of the name is cleansed of all his sins. And as this history of the Bharata race is so wonderful, that, when recited, it assuredly purifieth mortals from all sins. The sage Krishna-Dwaipayana completed his work in three years. Rising daily and purifying himself and performing his ascetic devotions, he composed this Mahabharata. Therefore, this should be heard by Brahmanas with the formality of a vow. He who reciteth this holy narration composed by Krishna (Vyasa) for the hearing of others, and they who hear it, in whatever state he or they may be, can never be affected by the fruit of deeds, good or bad. The man desirous of acquiring virtue should hear it all. This is equivalent to all histories, and he that heareth it always attaineth to purity of heart. The gratification that one deriveth from attaining to heaven is scarcely equal to that which one deriveth from hearing this holy history. The virtuous man who with reverence heareth it or causeth it to be heard, obtaineth the fruit of the Rajasuya and the horse-sacrifice. The Bharata is said to be as much a mine of gems as the vast Ocean or the great mountain Meru. This history is sacred and excellent, and is equivalent to the Vedas, worthy of being heard, pleasing to the ear, sin-cleansing, and virtue-increasing. O monarch, he that giveth a copy of the Bharata to one that asketh for it doth indeed make a present of the whole earth with her belt of seas. O son of Parikshit, this pleasant narration that giveth virtue and victory I am about to recite in its entirety: listen to it. The sage Krishna-Dwaipayana regularly rising for three years, composed this wonderful history called Mahabharata. O bull amongst the Bharata monarchs, whatever is spoken about virtue, wealth, pleasure, and salvation may be seen elsewhere; but whatever is not contained in this is not to be found anywhere.'"

SECTION 63

(Adivansavatarana Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'There was a king of the name of Uparichara. That monarch was devoted to virtue. He was very much addicted also to hunting. That king of the Paurava race, called also Vasu, conquered the excellent and delightful kingdom of Chedi under instructions from Indra. Some time after, the king gave up the use of arms and, dwelling in a secluded retreat, practised the most severe austerities. The gods with Indra at their head once approached the monarch during this period, believing that he sought the headship of the gods, by those severe austerities of his. The celestials, becoming objects of his sight, by soft speeches succeeded in winning him away from his ascetic austerities.'

"The gods said, 'O lord of the earth, thou shouldst take care so that virtue may not sustain a diminution on earth! Protected by thee, virtue itself will in return protect the universe.' And Indra said, 'O king, protect virtue on earth attentively and rigidly. Being virtuous, thou shalt, for all time, behold (in after life) many sacred regions. And though I am of Heaven, and thou art of earth, yet art thou my friend and dear to me. And, O king of men, dwell thou in that region on earth which is delightful, and aboundeth in animals, is sacred, full of wealth and corn, is well-protected like heaven, which is of agreeable climate, graced with every object of enjoyment, and blessed with fertility. And, O monarch of Chedi, this thy dominion is full of riches, of gems and precious stones, and containeth, besides, much mineral wealth. The cities and towns of this region are all devoted to virtue; the people are honest and contented; they never lie even in jest. Sons never divide their wealth with their fathers and are ever mindful of the welfare of their parents. Lean cattle are never yoked to the plough or the cart or engaged in carrying merchandise; on the other hand, they are well-fed and fattened. In Chedi the four orders are always engaged in their respective vocations. Let nothing be unknown to thee that happens in the three worlds. I shall give thee a crystal car such as the celestials alone are capable of carrying the car through mid air. Thou alone, of all mortals on earth, riding on that best of cars, shall course through mid-air like a celestial endued with a physical frame. I shall also give thee a triumphal garland of unfading lotuses, with which on, in battle, thou shall not be wounded by weapons. And, O king, this blessed and incomparable garland, widely known on earth as Indra's garland, shall be thy distinctive badge.

"The slayer of Vritra (Indra) also gave the king, for his gratification, a bamboo pole for protecting the honest and the peaceful. After the expiry of a year, the king planted it in the ground for the purpose of worshipping the giver thereof, viz., Sakra. From that time forth, O monarch, all kings, following Vasu's example, began to plant a pole for the celebration of Indra's worship. After erecting the pole they decked it with golden cloth and scents and garlands and various ornaments. And the god Vasava is worshipped in due form with such garlands and ornaments. And the god, for the gratification of the illustrious Vasu, assuming the form of a swan, came himself to accept the worship thus offered. And the god, beholding the auspicious worship thus made by Vasu, that first of monarchs, was delighted, and said unto him, 'Those men, and kings also, who will worship me and joyously observe this festival of mine like the king of Chedi, shall have glory and victory for their countries and kingdom. Their cities also shall expand and be ever in joy.'

"King Vasu was thus blessed by the gratified Maghavat, the high-souled chief of the gods. Indeed, those men who cause this festivity of Sakra to be observed with gifts of land, of gems and precious stones, become the respected of the world. And king Vasu, the lord of Chedis bestowing boons and performing great sacrifices and observing the festivity of Sakra, was much respected by Indra. And from Chedi he ruled the whole world virtuously. And for the gratification of Indra, Vasu, the lord of the Chedis, observed the festivity of Indra.

"And Vasu had five sons of great energy and immeasurable prowess. And the emperor installed his sons as governors of various provinces.

"And his son Vrihadratha was installed in Magadha and was known by the name of Maharatha. Another son of his was Pratyagraha; and another, Kusamva, who was also called Manivahana. And the two others were Mavella, and Yadu of great prowess and invincible in battle.

"These, O monarch, were the sons of that royal sage of mighty energy. And the five sons of Vasu planted kingdoms and towns after their own names and founded separate dynasties that lasted for long ages.

"And when king Vasu took his seat in that crystal car, with the gift of Indra, and coursed through the sky, he was approached by Gandharvas and Apsaras (the celestial singers and dancers). And as he coursed through the upper regions, he was called Uparichara. And by his capital flowed a river called Suktimati. And that river was once attacked by a life-endued mountain called Kolahala maddened by lust. And Vasu, beholding the foul attempt, struck the mountain with his foot. And by the indentation caused by Vasu's stamp, the river came out (of the embraces of Kolahala). But the mountain begat on the river two children that were twins. And the river, grateful to Vasu for his having set her free from Kolahala's embraces, gave them both to Vasu. And the son was made the generalissimo to his forces by Vasu, that best of royal sages and giver of wealth and punisher of enemies. And the daughter called Girika, was wedded by Vasu.

'And Girika, the wife of Vasu, after her menstrual course, purifying herself by a bath, represented her state unto her lord. But that very day the Pitris of Vasu came unto that best of monarchs and foremost of wise men, and asked him to slay deer (for their Sraddha). And the king, thinking that the command of the Pitris should not be disobeyed, went a-hunting thinking of Girika alone who was gifted with great beauty and like unto another Sri herself. And the season being the spring, the woods within which the king was roaming, had become delightful like unto the gardens of the king of the Gandharvas himself. There were Asokas and Champakas and Chutas and Atimuktas in abundance: and there were Punnagas and Karnikaras and Vakulas and Divya Patalas and Patalas and Narikelas and Chandanas and Arjunas and similar other beautiful and sacred trees resplendent with fragrant flowers and sweet fruits. And the whole forest was maddened by the sweet notes of the kokila and echoed with the hum of maddened bees. And the king became possessed with desire, and he saw not his wife before him. Maddened by desire he was roaming hither and thither, when he saw a beautiful Asoka decked with dense foliage, its branches covered with flowers. And the king sat at his ease in the shade of that tree. And excited by the fragrance of the season and the charming odours of the flowers around, and excited also by the delicious breeze, the king could not keep his mind away from the thought of the beautiful Girika. And beholding that a swift hawk was resting very near to him, the king, acquainted with the subtle truths of Dharma and Artha, went unto him and said, 'Amiable one, carry thou this seed (semen) for my wife Girika and give it unto her. Her season hath arrived.'

"The hawk, swift of speed, took it from the king and rapidly coursed through the air. While thus passing, the hawk

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was seen by another of his species. Thinking that the first one was carrying meat, the second one flew at him. The two fought with each other in the sky with their beaks. While they were fighting, the seed fell into the waters of the Yamuna. And in those waters dwelt an Apsara of the higher rank, known by the name of Adrika, transformed by a Brahmana's curse into a fish. As soon as Vasu's seed fell into the water from the claws of the hawk, Adrika rapidly approached and swallowed it at once. That fish was, some time after, caught by the fishermen. And it was the tenth month of the fish's having swallowed the seed. From the stomach of that fish came out a male and a female child of human form. The fishermen wondered much, and wending unto king Uparichara (for they were his subjects) told him all. They said, 'O king, these two beings of human shape have been found in the body of a fish!' The male child amongst the two was taken by Uparichara. That child afterwards became the virtuous and truthful monarch Matsya.

"After the birth of the twins, the Apsara herself became freed from her curse. For she had been told before by the illustrious one (who had cursed her) that she would, while living in her piscatorial form, give birth to two children of human shape and then would be freed from the curse. Then, according to these words, having given birth to the two children, and been killed by the fishermen, she left her fish-form and assumed her own celestial shape. The Apsara then rose up on the path trodden by the Siddhas, the Rishis and the Charanas.

"The fish-smelling daughter of the Apsara in her piscatorial form was then given by the king unto the fishermen, saying, 'Let this one be thy daughter.' That girl was known by the name of Satyavati. And gifted with great beauty and possessed of every virtue, she of agreeable smiles, owing to contact with fishermen, was for some time of the fishy smell. Wishing to serve her (foster) father she plied a boat on the waters of the Yamuna.

"While engaged in this vocation, Satyavati was seen one day by the great Rishi Parasara, in course of his wanderings. As she was gifted with great beauty, an object of desire even with an anchorite, and of graceful smiles, the wise sage, as soon as he beheld her, desired to have her. And that bull amongst Munis addressed the daughter of Vasu of celestial beauty and tapering thighs, saying, 'Accept my embraces, O blessed one!' Satyavati replied, 'O holy one, behold the Rishis standing on either bank of the river. Seen by them, how can I grant thy wish?'

"Thus addressed by her, the ascetic thereupon created a fog (which existed not before and) which enveloped the whole region in darkness. And the maiden, beholding the fog that was created by the great Rishi wondered much. And the helpless one became suffused with the blushes of bashfulness. And she said, 'O holy one, note that I am a maiden under the control of my father. O sinless one, by accepting your embraces my virginity will be sullied. O best of Brahmanas, my virginity being sullied, how shall I, O Rishi, be able to return home? Indeed, I shall not then be able to bear life. Reflecting upon all this, O illustrious one, do that which should be done.' That best of Rishis, gratified with all she said, replied, "Thou shall remain a virgin even if thou grantest my wish. And, O timid one, O beauteous lady, solicit the boon that thou desirest. O thou of fair smiles, my grace hath never before proved fruitless.' Thus addressed, the maiden asked for the boon that her body might emit a sweet scent (instead of the fish-odour that it had). And the illustrious Rishi thereupon granted that wish of her heart.

"Having obtained her boon, she became highly pleased, and her season immediately came. And she accepted the embraces of that Rishi of wonderful deeds. And she thenceforth became known among men by the name of Gandhavati (the sweet-scented one). And men could perceive her scent from the distance of a yojana. And for this she was known by another name which was Yojanagandha (one who scatters her scent for a yojana all around). And the illustrious Parasara, after this, went to his own asylum.

"And Satyavati gratified with having obtained the excellent boon in consequence of which she became sweet-scented and her virginity remained unsullied conceived through Parasara's embraces. And she brought forth the very day, on an island in the Yamuna, the child begot upon her by Parasara and gifted with great energy. And the child, with the permission of his mother, set his mind on asceticism. And he went away saying, 'As soon as thou rememberest me when occasion comes, I shall appear unto thee.'

"And it was thus that Vyasa was born of Satyavati through Parasara. And because he was born in an island, he was called Dwaipayana (Dwaipa or islandborn). And the learned Dwaipayana, beholding that virtue is destined to become lame by one leg each yuga (she having four legs in all) and that the period of life and the strength of men followed the yugas, and moved by the desire of obtaining the favour of Brahman and the Brahmanas, arranged the Vedas. And for this he came to be called Vyasa (the arranger or compiler). The boon-giving great one then taught Sumanta, Jaimini, Paila, his son Suka, and Vaisampayana, the Vedas having the Mahabharata for their fifth. And the compilation of the Bharata was published by him through them separately.

"Then Bhishma, of great energy and fame and of immeasurable splendour, and sprung from the component parts of the Vasus, was born in the womb of Ganga through king Santanu. And there was a Rishi of the name of Animandavya of great fame. And he was conversant with the interpretations of the Vedas, was illustrious, gifted with great energy, and of great reputation. And, accused of theft, though innocent, the old Rishi was impaled. He thereupon summoned Dharma and told him these words, 'In my childhood I had pierced a little fly on a blade of grass, O Dharma! I recollect that one sin: but I cannot call to mind any other. I have, however, since practised penances a thousandfold. Hath not that one sin been conquered by this my asceticism? And because the killing of a Brahmana is more heinous than that of any other living thing, therefore, hast thou, O Dharma, been sinful. Thou shalt, therefore, be born on earth in the Sudra order.' And for that curse Dharma was born a Sudra in the form of the learned Vidura of pure body who was perfectly sinless. And the Suta was born of Kunti in her maidenhood through Surya. And he came out of his mother's womb with a natural coat of mail and face brightened by ear-rings. And Vishnu himself, of world-wide fame, and worshipped of all the worlds, was born of Devaki through Vasudeva, for the benefit of the three worlds. He is without birth and death, of radiant splendour, the Creator of the universe and the Lord of all! Indeed, he who is the invisible cause of all, who knoweth no deterioration, who is the all-pervading soul, the centre round which everything moveth, the substance in which the three attributes of Sattwa, Rajas and Tamas co-inhere, the universal soul, the immutable, the material out of which hath been created this universe, the Creator himself, the controlling lord, the invisible dweller in every object, progenitor of this universe of five elements, who is united with the six high attributes, is the Pranava or Om of the Vedas, is infinite, incapable of being moved by any force save his own will, illustrious, the embodiment of the mode of life called Sannyasa, who floated on the waters before the creation, who is the source whence hath sprung this mighty frame, who is the great combiner, the uncreate, the invisible essence of all, the great immutable, bereft of those attributes that are knowable by the senses, who is the universe itself, without beginning, birth, and decay,--is possessed of infinite wealth, that Grandsire of all creatures, became incarnate in the race of the Andhaka-Vrishnis for the increase of virtue.

"And Satyaki and Kritavarma, conversant with (the use of) weapons possessed of mighty energy, well-versed in all branches of knowledge, and obedient to Narayana in everything and competent in the use of weapons, had their births from Satyaka and Hridika. And the seed of the great Rishi Bharadwaja of severe penances, kept in a pot, began to develop. And from that seed came Drona (the pot-born). And from the seed of Gautama, fallen upon a clump of reeds, were born two that were twins, the mother of Aswatthaman (called Kripi), and Kripa of great strength. Then was born Dhrishtadyumna, of the splendour of Agni himself, from the sacrificial fire. And the mighty hero was born with bow in hand for the destruction of Drona. And from the sacrificial altar was born Krishna (Draupadi) resplendent and handsome, of bright features and excellent beauty. Then was born the disciple of Prahlada, viz., Nagnajit, and also Suvala. And from Suvala was born a son, Sakuni, who from the curse of the gods became the slayer of creatures and the foe of virtue. And unto him was also born a daughter (Gandhari), the mother of Duryodhana. And both were well-versed in the arts of acquiring worldly profits. And from Krishna was born, in the soil of Vichitravirya, Dhritarashtra, the lord of men, and Pandu of great strength. And from Dwaipayana also born, in the Sudra caste, the wise and intelligent Vidura, conversant with both religion and profit, and free from all sins. And unto Pandu by his two wives were born five sons like the celestials. The eldest of them was Yudhishthira. And Yudhishthira was born (of the seed) of Dharma (Yama, the god of justice); and Bhima of the wolf's stomach was born of Marut (the god of wind), and Dhananjaya, blessed with good fortune and the first of all wielders of weapons, was born of Indra; and Nakula and Sahadeva, of handsome features and ever engaged in the service of their superiors, were born of the twin Aswins. And unto the wise Dhritarashtra were born a hundred sons, viz., Duryodhana and others, and another, named Yuyutsu, who was born of a vaisya woman. And amongst those hundred and one, eleven, viz., Duhsasana, Duhsaha, Durmarshana, Vikarna, Chitrasena, Vivinsati, Jaya, Satyavrata, Purumitra, and Yuyutsu by a Vaisya wife, were all Maharathas (great car-warriors). And Abhimanyu was born of Subhadra, the sister of Vasudeva through Arjuna, and was, therefore, the grandson of the illustrious Pandu. And unto the five Pandavas were born five sons by (their common wife) Panchali. And these princes were all very handsome and conversant with all branches of knowledge. From Yudhishthira was born Pritivindhya; from Vrikodara, Sutasoma; from Arjuna, Srutakirti; from Nakula, Satanika; and from Sahadeva, Srutasena of great prowess; and Bhima, in the forest begot on Hidimva a son named Ghatotkacha. And from Drupada was born a daughter Sikhandin who was afterwards transformed into a male child. Sikhandini was so transformed into a male by Yaksha named Sthuna from the desire of doing her good.

"In that great battle of the Kurus came hundreds of thousands of monarchs for fighting against one another. The names of the innumerable host I am unable to recount even in ten thousand years. I have named, however, the principal ones who have been mentioned in this history.'"

SECTION 64

(Adivansavatarana Parva continued)

"Janamejaya said, 'O Brahmana, those thou hast named and those thou hast not named, I wish to hear of them in detail, as also of other kings by thousands. And, O thou of great good fortune, it behoveth thee to tell me in full the object for which those Maharathas, equal unto the celestials themselves, were born on earth.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'It hath been heard by us, O monarch, that what thou askest is a mystery even to the gods. I shall, however, speak of it unto thee, after bowing down (to the self-born). The son of Jamadagni (Parasurama), after twenty-one times making the earth bereft of Kshatriyas wended to that best of mountains Mahendra and there began his ascetic penances. And at that time when the earth was bereft of Kshatriyas, the Kshatriya ladies, desirous of offspring, used to come, O monarch, to the Brahmanas and Brahmanas of rigid vows had connexion with them during the womanly season alone, but never, O king, lustfully and out of season. And Kshatriya ladies by thousands conceived from such connexion with Brahmanas. Then, O monarch, were born many Kshatriyas of greater energy, boys and girls, so that the Kshatriya race, might thrive. And thus sprang the Kshatriya race from Kshatriya ladies by Brahmanas of ascetic penances. And the new generation, blessed with long life, began to thrive in virtue. And thus were the four orders having Brahmanas at their head re-established. And every man at that time went in unto his wife during her season and never from lust and out of season. And, O bull of the Bharata race, in the same way, other creatures also, even those born in the race of birds went in unto their wives during the season alone. And, O protector of the earth, hundreds of thousands of creatures were born, and all were virtuous and began to multiply in virtue, all being free from sorrow and disease. And, O thou of the elephant's tread, this wide earth having the ocean for her boundaries, with her mountains and woods and towns, was once more governed by the Kshatriyas. And when the earth began to be again governed virtuously by the Kshatriyas, the other orders having Brahmanas for their first were filled with great joy. And the kings giving up all vices born of lust and anger and justly awarding punishments to those that deserved them protected the earth. And he of a hundred sacrifices, possessed also of a thousand eyes, beholding that the Kshatriya monarchs ruled so virtuously, poured down vivifying showers at proper times and places and blessed all creatures. Then, O king, no one of immature years died, and none knew a woman before attaining to age. And thus, O bull of the Bharata race, the earth, to the very coasts of the ocean, became filled with men that were all long-lived. The Kshatriyas performed great sacrifices bestowing much wealth. And the Brahmanas also all studied the Vedas with their branches and the Upanishads. And, O king, no Brahmana in those days ever sold the Vedas (i.e., taught for money) or ever read aloud the Vedas in the presence of a Sudra. The Vaisyas, with the help of bullocks, caused the earth to be tilled. And they never yoked the cattle themselves. And they fed with care all cattle that were lean. And men never milked kine as long as the calves drank only the milk of their dams (without having taken to grass or any other food). And no merchant in those days ever sold his articles by false scales. And, O tiger among men, all persons, holding to the ways of virtue, did everything with eyes set upon virtue. And, O monarch, all the orders were mindful of their own respective duties. Thus, O tiger among men, virtue in those days never sustained any diminution. And, O bull of the Bharata race, both kine and women gave birth to their offspring at the proper time. And trees bore flowers and fruit duly according to the seasons. And thus, O king, the krita age having then duly set in, the whole earth was filled with numerous creatures.

"And, O bull of the Bharata race, when such was the blessed state of the terrestrial world, the Asuras, O lord of men, began to be born in kingly lines. And the sons of Diti (Daityas) being repeatedly defeated in war by the sons of Aditi (celestials) and deprived also of sovereignty and heaven, began to be incarnated on the earth. And, O king, the Asuras being possessed of great powers, and desirous of sovereignty began to be born on earth amongst various creatures, such as kine, horses, asses, camels, buffaloes, among creatures such as Rakshasas and others, and among elephants and deer. And, O protector of the earth, owing to those already born and to those that were being born, the earth became incapable of supporting herself. And amongst the sons of Diti and of Danu,

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cast out of heaven, some were born on the earth as kings of great pride and insolence. Possessed of great energy, they covered the earth in various shapes. Capable of oppressing all foes, they filled the earth having the ocean for its boundaries. And by their strength they began to oppress Brahmanas and Kshatriyas and Vaisyas and Sudras and all other creatures also. Terrifying and killing all creatures, they traversed the earth, O king, in bands of hundreds and thousands. Devoid of truth and virtue, proud of their strength, and intoxicated with (the wine of) insolence, they even insulted the great Rishis in their hermitages.

"And the earth, thus oppressed by the mighty Asuras endued with great strength and energy and possessed of abundant means, began to think of waiting on Brahman. The united strength of the creatures (such as Sesha, the Tortoise, and the huge Elephant), and of many Seshas too, became capable of supporting the earth with her mountains, burdened as she was with the weight of the Danavas. And then, O king, the earth, oppressed with weight and afflicted with fear, sought the protection of the Grandsire of all creatures. And she beheld the divine Brahman--the Creator of the worlds who knoweth no deterioration--surrounded by the gods, Brahmanas, and great Rishis, of exceeding good fortune, and adored by delighted Gandharvas and Apsaras always engaged in the service of the celestials. And the Earth, desirous of protection, then represented everything to him, in the presence, O Bharata, of all the Regents of the worlds. But, O king, the Earth's object had been known beforehand to the Omniscient, Self-create, and Supreme Lord. And, O Bharata, Creator as he is of the universe, why should he not know fully what is in the minds of his creatures including the very gods and the Asuras? O king, the Lord of the Earth, the Creator of all creatures, also called Isa, Sambhu, Prajapati, then spake unto her. And Brahman said, 'O holder of wealth, for the accomplishment of the object for which thou hast approached me, I shall appoint all the dwellers in the heavens.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having said so unto the Earth, O king, the divine Brahman bade her farewell. And the Creator then commanded all the gods saying, 'To ease the Earth of her burden, go ye and have your births in her according to your respective parts and seek ye strife (with the Asuras already born there)'. And the Creator of all, summoning also all the tribes of the Gandharvas and the Apsaras, spake unto them these words of deep import, 'Go ye and be born amongst men according to your respective parts in forms that ye like.'

"And all the gods with Indra, on hearing these words of the Lord of the celestials--words that were true, desirable under the circumstances, and fraught with benefit,--accepted them. And they all having resolved to come down on earth in their respected parts, then went to Narayana, the slayer of all foes, at Vaikunth--the one who has the discus and the mace in his hands, who is clad in purple, who is of great splendour, who hath the lotus on his navel, who is the slayer of the foes of the gods, who is of eyes looking down upon his wide chest (in yoga attitude), who is the lord of the Prajapati himself, the sovereign of all the gods, of mighty strength, who hath the mark of the auspicious whirl on his breast, who is the mover of every one's faculties and who is adored by all the gods. Him, Indra the most exalted of persons, addressed, saying, "Be incarnate." And Hari replied,--'Let it be.'"

SECTION 65

(Sambhava Parva)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then Indra had a consultation with Narayana about the latter's descent on the earth from heaven with all the gods according to their respective parts. And, having commanded all the dwellers in heaven, Indra returned from the abode of Narayana. And the dwellers in heaven gradually became incarnate on earth for the destruction of the Asuras and for the welfare of the three worlds. And then, O tiger among kings, the celestials had their births, according as they pleased, in the races of Brahmarshis and royal sages. And they slew the Danavas, Rakshasas, Gandharvas and Snakes, other man-eaters, and many other creatures. And, O bull in the Bharata race, the Danavas, Rakshasas and Gandharvas and Snakes, could not slay the incarnate celestials even in their infancy, so strong they were.'

"Janamejaya said, 'I desire to hear from the beginning of the births of the gods, the Danavas, the Gandharvas, the Apsaras, men, Yakshas and Rakshasas. Therefore, it behoveth thee to tell me about the births of all creatures.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Indeed, I shall, having bowed down to the Self-create, tell thee in detail the origin of the celestials and other creatures. It is known that Brahman hath six spiritual sons, viz., Marichi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha and Kratu. And Marichi's son is Kasyapa, and from Kasyapa have sprung these creatures. Unto Daksha (one of the Prajapatis) were born thirteen daughters of great good fortune. The daughters of Daksha are, O tiger among men and prince of the Bharata race, Aditi, Diti, Danu, Kala, Danayu, Sinhika, Krodha, Pradha, Viswa, Vinata, Kapila, Muni, and Kadru. The sons and grandsons of these, gifted with great energy, are countless. From Aditi have sprung the twelve Adityas who are the lords of the universe. And, O Bharata, as they are according to their names, I shall recount them to thee. They are Dhatri, Mitra, Aryaman, Sakra, Varuna, Ansa, Vaga, Vivaswat, Usha, Savitri, Tvashtri, and Vishnu. The youngest, however, is superior to them all in merit. Diti had one son called Hiranyakasipu. And the illustrious Hiranyakasipu had five sons, all famous throughout the world. The eldest of them all was Prahlada, the next was Sahradha; the third was Anuhrada; and after him were Sivi and Vashkala. And, O Bharata, it is known everywhere that Prahlada had three sons. They were Virochana, Kumbha, and Nikumbha. And unto Virochana was born a son, Vali, of great prowess. And the son of Vali is known to be the great Asura, Vana. And blessed with good fortune, Vana was a follower of Rudra, and was known also by the name of Mahakala. And Danu had forty sons, O Bharata! The eldest of them all was Viprachitti of great fame Samvara, and Namuchi and Pauloman; Asiloman, and Kesi and Durjaya; Ayahsiras, Aswasiras, and the powerful Aswasanku; also Gaganamardhan, and Vegavat, and he called Ketumat; Swarbhanu, Aswa, Aswapati, Vrishaparvan, and then Ajaka; and Aswagriva, and Sukshama, and Tuhunda of great strength, Ekapada, and Ekachakra, Virupaksha, Mahodara, and Nichandra, and Nikumbha, Kupata, and then Kapata; Sarabha, and Sulabha, Surya, and then Chandramas; these in the race of Danu are stated to be well-known. The Surya and Chandramas (the Sun and the Moon) of the celestials are other persons, and not the sons of Danu as mentioned above. The following ten, gifted with great strength and vigour, were also, O king, born in the race of Danu;--Ekaksha, Amritapa of heroic courage, Pralamva and Naraka, Vatrapi, Satrutapana, and Satha, the great Asura; Gavishtha, and Vanayu, and the Danava called Dirghajiva. And, O Bharata, the sons and the grandsons of these were known to be countless. And Sinhika gave birth to Rahu, the persecutor of the Sun and the Moon, and to three others, Suchandra, Chandrahantri, and Chandrapramardana. And the countless progeny of Krura (krodha) were as crooked and wicked as herself. And the tribe was wrathful, of crooked deeds, and persecutors of their foes. And Danayu also had four sons who were bulls among the Asuras. They were Vikshara, Vala, Vira, and Vritra the great Asura. And the sons of Kala were all like Yama himself and smiter of all foes. And they were of great energy, and oppressors of all foes. And the sons of Kala were Vinasana and Krodha, and then Krodhahantri, and Krodhasatru. And there were many others among the sons of Kala. And Sukra, the son of a Rishi, was the chief priest of the Asuras. And the celebrated Sukra had four sons who were priests of the Asuras. And they were Tashtadhara and Atri, and two others of fierce deeds. They were like the Sun himself in energy, and set their hearts on acquiring the regions of Brahman.

"Thus hath been recited by me, as heard in the Purana, of progeny of the gods and the Asuras, both of great strength and energy. I am incapable, O king, of counting the descendants of these, countless as they are, are not much known to fame.

"And the sons of Vinata were Tarkhya and Arishtanemi, and Garuda and Aruna, and Aruni and Varuni. And Sesha or Ananta, Vasuki, Takshaka, Kumara, and Kulika are known to be the sons of Kadru; and Bhimasena, Ugrasena, Suparna, Varuna, Gopati, and Dhritarashtra, and Suryavarchas the seventh, Satyavachas, Arkaparna, Prayuta, Bhima, and Chitraratha known to fame, of great learning, and a controller of his passions, and then Kalisiras, and, O king, Parjanya, the fourteenth in the list, Kali, the fifteenth, and Narada, the sixteenth--these Devas and Gandharvas are known to be the sons of Muni (Daksha's daughter as mentioned before). I shall recount many others, O Bharata! Anavadya Manu, Vansa, Asura, Marganapria, Anupa, Subhaga, Vasi, were the daughters brought forth by Pradha, Siddha, and Purna, and Varhin, and Purnayus of great fame, Brahmacharin, Ratiguna, and Suparna who was the seventh; Viswavasu, Bhanu, and Suchandra who was the tenth, were also the sons of Pradha. All these were celestial Gandharvas. And it is also known that this Pradha of great fortune, through the celestial Rishi (Kasyapa, her husband), brought forth the sacred of the Apsaras, Alamvusha, Misrakesi, Vidyutparna, Tilottama, Aruna, Rakshita, Rambha, Manorama, Kesini, Suvahu, Surata, Suraja, and Supria were the daughters, and Ativahu and the celebrated Haha and Huhu, and Tumvuru were the sons--the best of Gandharvas--of Pradha and Amrita. The Brahmanas, kine, Gandharvas, and Apsaras, were born of Kapila as stated in the Purana.

"Thus hath been recited to thee by me the birth of all creatures duly--of Gandharvas and Apsaras, of Snakes, Suparnas, Rudras, and Maruts; of kine and of Brahmanas blessed with great good fortune, and of sacred deeds. And this account (if read) extendeth the span of life, is sacred, worthy of all praise, and giveth pleasure to the ear. It should be always heard and recited to others, in a proper frame of mind.

"He who duly readeth this account of the birth of all high-souled creatures in the presence of the gods and Brahmanas, obtaineth large progeny, good fortune, and fame, and attaineth also to excellent worlds hereafter.'"

SECTION 66

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'It is known that the spiritual sons of Brahman were the six great Rishis (already mentioned). There was another of the name of Sthanu. And the sons of Sthanu, gifted with great energy, were, it is known, eleven. They were Mrigavayadha, Sarpa, Niriti of great fame: Ajaikapat, Ahivradhna, and Pinaki, the oppressor of foes; Dahana and Iswara, and Kapali of great splendour; and Sthanu, and the illustrious Bharga. These are called the eleven Rudras. It hath been already said, that Marichi, Angiras. Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha, and Kratu--these six great Rishis of great energy--are the sons of Brahman. It is well-known in the world that Angiras's sons are three,--Vrihaspati, Utathya, and Samvarta, all of rigid vows. And, O king, it is said that the sons of Atri are numerous. And, being great Rishis, they are all conversant with the Vedas, crowned with ascetic success, and of souls in perfect peace. And, O tiger among kings, the sons of Pulastya of great wisdom are Rakshasas, Monkeys, Kinnaras (half-men and half-horses), and Yakshas. And, O king, the son of Pulaha were, it is said, the Salabhas (the winged insects), the lions, the Kimpurushas (half-lions and half-men), the tigers, bears, and wolves. And the sons of Kratu, sacred as sacrifices, are the companions of Surya, (the Valikhilyas), known in three worlds and devoted to truth and vows. And, O protector of the Earth, the illustrious Rishi Daksha, of soul in complete peace, and of great asceticism, sprung from the right toe of Brahman. And from the left toe of Brahman sprang the wife of the high-souled Daksha. And the Muni begat upon her fifty daughters; and all those daughters were of faultless features and limbs and of eyes like lotus-petals. And the lord Daksha, not having any sons, made those daughters his Putrikas (so that their sons might belong both to himself and to their husbands). And Daksha bestowed, according to the sacred ordinance, ten of his daughters on Dharma, twenty-seven on Chandra (the Moon), and thirteen on Kasyapa. Listen as I recount the wives of Dharma according to their names. They are ten in all--Kirti, Lakshmi, Dhriti, Medha, Pushti, Sraddha, Kria, Buddhi, Lajja, and Mali. These are the wives of Dharma as appointed by the Self-create. It is known also throughout the world that the wives of Soma (Moon) are twenty-seven. And the wives of Soma, all of sacred vows, are employed in indicating time; and they are the Nakshatras and the Yoginis and they became so for assisting the courses of the worlds.

"And Brahman had another son named Manu. And Manu had a son of the name of Prajapati. And the sons of Prajapati were eight and were called Vasus whom I shall name in detail. They were Dhara, Dhruva, Soma, Aha, Anila, Anala, Pratyusha, and Prabhasa. These eight are known as the Vasus. Of these, Dhara and the truth-knowing Dhruva were born of Dhumra; Chandramas (Soma) and Swasana (Anila) were born of the intelligent Swasa; Aha was the son of Rata: and Hutasana (Anala) of Sandilya; and Pratyusha and Prabhasa were the sons of Prabhata. And Dhara had two sons, Dravina and Huta-havya-vaha. And the son of Dhruva is the illustrious Kala (Time), the destroyer of the worlds. And Soma's son is the resplendent Varchas. And Varchas begot upon his wife Manohara three sons--Sisira, and Ramana. And the son of Aha were Jyotih, Sama, Santa, and also Muni. And the son of Agni is the handsome Kumara born in a forest of reeds. And, he is also called Kartikeya because he was reared by Krittika and others. And, after Kartikeya, there were born his three brothers Sakha, Visakha, Naigameya. And the wife of Anila is Siva, and Siva's son were Manojava and Avijnataagati. These two were the sons of Anila. The son of Pratyusha, you must know, is the Rishi named Devala; and Devala had two sons who were both exceedingly forgiving and of great mental power. And the sister of Vrihaspati, the first of women, uttering the sacred truth, engaged in ascetic penances, roamed over the whole earth; and she became the wife of Prabhasa, the eighth Vasu. And she brought forth the illustrious Viswakarman, the founder of all arts. And he was the originator of a thousand arts, the engineer of the immortals, the maker of all kinds of ornaments, and the first of artists. And he it was who constructed the celestial cars of the gods, and mankind are enabled to live in consequence of the inventions of that illustrious one. And he is worshipped, for that reason, by men. And he is eternal and immutable, this Viswakarman.

"And the illustrious Dharma, the dispenser of all happiness, assuming a human countenance, came out through the right breast of Brahman. And Ahasta (Dharma) hath three excellent sons capable of charming every creature. And they are Sama, Kama, Harsha (Peace, Desire, and Joy). And by their energy they are supporting the worlds. And the wife of Kama is Rati, of Sama is Prapti; and the wife of Harsha is Nanda. And upon them, indeed, are the worlds made to depend.

"And the son of Marichi is Kasyapa. And Kasyapa's offspring are the gods and the Asuras. And, therefore, is Kasyapa, the Father of the worlds. And Tvashtri, of the form of Vadava (a mare), became the wife of Savitri. And she gave birth, in the skies, to two greatly fortunate twins, the Aswins. And, O king, the sons of Aditi are twelve with Indra heading

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them all. And the youngest of them all was Vishnu upon whom the worlds depend.

"These are the thirty-three gods (the eight Vasus, the eleven Rudras, the twelve Adityas, Prajapati, and Vashatkara). I shall now recount their progeny according to their Pakshas, Kulas, and Ganas. The Rudras, the Saddhyas, the Maruts, the Vasus, the Bhargavas, and the Viswedevas are each reckoned as a Paksha. Garuda the son of Vinata and the mighty Aruna also, and the illustrious Vrihaspati are reckoned among the Adityas. The twin Aswins, all annual plants, and all inferior animals, are reckoned among the Guhyakas.

"These are the Ganas of the gods recited to thee, O king! This recitation washes men of all sins.

"The illustrious Bhrigu came out, ripping open the breast of Brahman. The learned Sukra is Bhrigu's son. And the learned Sukra becoming a planet and engaged according to the command of the Self-existent in pouring and withholding rain, and in dispensing and remitting calamities, traverses, for sustaining the lives of all the creatures in the three worlds, through the skies. And the learned Sukra, of great intelligence and wisdom, of rigid vows, leading the life of a Brahmacharin, divided himself in twain by power of asceticism, and became the spiritual guide of both the Daityas and the gods. And after Sukra was thus employed by Brahman in seeking the welfare (of the gods and the Asuras), Bhrigu begot another excellent son. This was Chyavana who was like the blazing sun, of virtuous soul, and of great fame. And he came out of his mother's womb in anger and became the cause of his mother's release, O king (from the hands of the Rakshasas). And Arushi, the daughter of Manu, became the wife of the wise Chyavana. And, on her was begotten Aurva of great reputation. And he came out, ripping open the thigh of Arushi. And Aurva begot Richika. And Richika even in his boyhood became possessed of great power and energy, and of every virtue. And Richika begot Jamadagni. And the high-souled Jamadagni had four sons. And the youngest of them all was Rama (Parasurama). And Rama was superior to all his brothers in the possession of good qualities. And he was skilful in all weapons, and became the slayer of the Kshatriyas. And he had his passions under complete control. And Aurva had a hundred sons with Jamadagni the eldest. And these hundred sons had offspring by thousands spread over this earth.

"And Brahman had two other sons, viz., Dhatri and Vidhatri who stayed with Manu. Their sister is the auspicious Lakshmi having her abode amid lotuses. And the spiritual sons of Lakshmi are the sky-ranging horses. And the daughter born of Sukra, named Divi, became the eldest wife of Varuna. Of her were born a son named Vala and a daughter named Sura (wine), to the joy of the gods. And Adharma (Sin) was born when creatures (from want of food) began to devour one another. And Adharma always destroys every creature. And Adharma hath Niriti for his wife, whence the Rakshasas who are called Nairitas (offspring of Niriti). And she hath also three other cruel sons always engaged in sinful deeds. They are Bhaya (fear), Mahabhaya (terror), and Mrityu (Death) who is always engaged in slaying every created thing. And, as he is all-destroying, he hath no wife, and no son. And Tamra brought forth five daughters known throughout the worlds. They are Kaki (crow), Syeni (hawk), Phasi (hen), Dhritarashtri (goose), and Suki (parrot). And Kaki brought forth the crows; Syeni, the hawks, the cocks and vultures, Dhritarashtri, all ducks and swans; and she also brought forth all Chakravakas; and the fair Suki, of amiable qualities, and possessing all auspicious signs brought forth all the parrots. And Krodha gave birth to nine daughters, all of wrathful disposition. And their names were Mrigi, Mrigamanda, Hari, Bhadramana, Matangi, Sarduli, Sweta, Surabhi, and the agreeable Surasa blessed with every virtue. And, O foremost of men, the offspring of Mrigi are all animals of the deer species. And the offspring of Mrigamanda are all animals of the bear species and those called Srimara (sweet-footed). And Bhadramana begot the celestial elephants, Airavata. And the offspring of Hari are all animals of the simian species endued with great activity, so also all the horses. And those animals also, that are called Go-langula (the cow-tailed), are said to be the offspring of Hari. And Sarduli begot lions and tigers in numbers, and also leopards and all other strong animals. And, O king, the offspring of Matangi are all the elephants. And Sweta begat the large elephant known by the name of Sweta, endued with great speed. And, O king, Surabhi gave birth to two daughters, the amiable Rohini and the far-famed Gandharvi. And, O Bharata, she had also two other daughters named Vimala and Anala. From Rohini have sprung all kine, and from Gandharvi all animals of the horse species. And Anala begat the seven kinds of trees yielding pulpy fruits. (They are the date, the palm, the hintala, the tali, the little date, the nut, and the cocoanut.) And she had also another daughter called Suki (the mother of the parrot species). And Surasa bore a son called Kanka (a species of long-feathered birds). And Syeni, the wife of Aruna, gave birth to two sons of great energy and strength, named Sampati and the mighty Jatayu. Surasa also bore the Nagas, and Kadru, the Punnagas (snakes). And Vinata had two sons Garuda and Aruna, known far and wide. And, O king of men, O foremost of intelligent persons, thus hath the genealogy of all the principal creatures been fully described by me. By listening to this, a man is fully cleansed of all his sins, and acquireth great knowledge, and finally attaineth to the first of states in after-life!'"

SECTION 67

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Janamejaya said, 'O worshipful one, I wish to hear from thee in detail about the birth, among men, of the gods, the Danavas, the Gandharvas, the Rakshasas, the lions, the tigers, and the other animals, the snakes, the birds, and in fact, of all creatures. I wish also to hear about the acts and achievements of those, in due order, after they became incarnate in human forms.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'O king of men, I shall first tell thee all about those celestials and Danavas that were born among men--The first of Danavas, who was known by the name of Viprachitti, became that bull among men, noted as Jarasandha. And, O king, that son of Diti, who was known as Hiranyakasipu, was known in this world among men as the powerful Sisupala. He who had been known as Samhlada, the younger brother of Prahlada, became among men the famous Salya, that bull amongst Valhikas. The spirited Anuhlada who had been the youngest became noted in the world as Dhrishtaketu. And, O king, that son of Diti who had been known as Sivi became on earth the famous monarch Druma. And he who was known as the great Asura Vashkala became on earth the great Bhagadatta. The five great Asuras gifted with great energy, Ayahsira, Aswasira, the spirited Aysanku, Gaganamurdhan, and Vegavat, were all born in the royal line of Kekaya and all became great monarchs. That other Asura of mighty energy who was known by the name of Ketumat became on earth the monarch Amitaujas of terrible deeds. That great Asura who was known as Swarbhanu became on earth the monarch Ugrasena of fierce deeds. That great Asura who was known as Aswa became on earth the monarch Asoka of exceeding energy and invincible in battle. And, O king, the younger brother of Aswa who was known as Aswapati, a son of Diti, became on earth the mighty monarch Hardikya. The great and fortunate Asura who was known as Vrishaparvan became noted on earth as king Dirghaprajna. And, O king, the younger brother of Vrishaparvan who was known by the name of Ajaka became noted on earth as king Salwa. The powerful and mighty Asura who was known as Aswagriva became noted on earth as king Rochamana. And, O king, the Asura who was known as Sukshma, endued with great intelligence and whose achievements also were great, became on earth the famous king Vrihadratha. And that first of Asuras who was known by the name of Tuhunda, became noted on earth as the monarch, Senavindu. That Asura of great strength who was known as Ishupa became the monarch Nagnajita of famous prowess. The great Asura who was known as Ekachakra became noted on earth as Pritivindhya. The great Asura Virupaksha capable of displaying various modes of fight became noted on earth as king Chitravarman. The first of Danavas, the heroic Hara, who humbled the pride of all foes became on earth the famous and fortunate Suvahu. The Asura Suhtra of great energy and the destroyer of foemen, became noted on earth as the fortunate monarch, Munjakesa. That Asura of great intelligence called Nikumbha, who was never vanquished in battle was born on earth as king Devadhipa, the first among monarchs. That great Asura known amongst the sons of Diti by the name of Sarabha became on earth the royal sage called Paurava. And, O king, the great Asura of exceeding energy, the fortunate Kupatha, was born on earth as the famous monarch Suparswa. The great Asura, O king, who was called Kratha, was born on earth as the royal sage Parvateya of form resplendent like a golden mountain. He amongst the Asura who was known as Salabha the second, became on earth the monarch Prahlada in the country of the Valhikas. The foremost, among the sons of Diti known by the name of Chandra and handsome as the lord of the stars himself, became on earth noted as Chandravarman, the king of the Kamvojas. That bull amongst the Danavas who was known by the name of Arka became on earth, O king, the royal sage Rishika. That best of Asuras who was known as Mritapa became on earth, O best of kings, the monarch, Pascimanupaka. That great Asura of surpassing energy known as Garishtha became noted on earth as king Drumasena. The great Asura who was known as Mayura became noted on earth as the monarch Viswa. He who was the younger brother of Mayura and called Suparna became noted on earth as the monarch, Kalakirti. The mighty Asura who was known as Chandrahantri became on earth the royal sage Sunaka. The great Asura who was called Chandravinasana became noted on earth as the monarch, Janaki. That bull amongst the Danavas, O prince of the Kuru race, who was called Dhirghajihva, became noted on earth as Kasiraja. The Graha who was brought forth by Sinhika and who persecuted the Sun and the Moon became noted on earth as the monarch Kratha. The eldest of the four sons of Danayu, who was known by the name of Vikshara, became known on earth the spirited monarch, Vasumitra. The second brother of Vikshara, the great Asura, was born on earth as the king of the country, called Pandya. That best of Asuras who was known by the name of Valina became on earth the monarch Paundramatsyaka. And, O king, that great Asura who was known as Vritra became on earth the royal sage known by the name of Manimat. That Asura who was the younger brother of Vritra and known as Krodhahantri became noted on earth as king Danda. That other Asura who was known by the name Krodhavardhana became noted on earth as the monarch, Dandadhara. The eight sons of the Kaleyas that were born on earth all became great kings endued with the prowess of tigers. The eldest of them all became king Jayatsena in Magadha. The second of them, in prowess, like Indra, became noted on earth as Aparajita. The third of them, endued with great energy and power of producing deception, was born on earth as the king of the Nishadas gifted with great prowess. That other amongst them who was known as the fourth was noted on earth as Srenimat, that best of royal sages. That great Asura amongst them who was the fifth, became noted on earth as king Mahanjas, the oppressor of enemies. That great Asura possessing great intelligence who was the sixth of them became noted on earth as Abhiru, that best of royal sages. The seventh of them became known throughout earth, from the centre to the sea, as king Samudrasena well acquainted with the truths of the scriptures. The eighth of the Kaleyas known as Vrihat became on earth a virtuous king ever engaged in the good of all creatures. The mighty Danava known by the name of Kukshi became on earth as Parvatiya from his brightness as of a golden mountain. The mighty Asura Krathana gifted with great energy became noted on earth as the monarch Suryaksha. The great Asura of handsome features known by the name of Surya, became on earth the monarch of the Valhikas by name Darada, that foremost of all kings. And, O king, from the tribe of Asuras called Krodhavasa, of whom I have already spoken to thee, were born many heroic kings on earth. Madraka, and Karnaveshta, Siddhartha, and also Kitaka; Suvira, and Suvahu, and Mahavira, and also Valhika, Kratha, Vichitra, Suratha, and the handsome king Nila; and Chiravasa, and Bhumipala; and Dantavakra, and he who was called Durjaya; that tiger amongst kings named Rukmi; and king Janamejaya, Ashada, and Vayuvega, and also Bhuritejas; Ekalavya, and Sumitra, Vatadhana, and also Gomukha; the tribe of kings called the Karushakas, and also Khemadhurti; Srutayu, and Udvaha, and also Vrihatsena; Kshema, Ugratirtha, the king of the Kalingas; and Matimat, and he was known as king Iswara; these first of kings were all born of the Asura class called Krodhavasa.

"There was also born on earth a mighty Asura known amongst the Danavas by the name of Kalanemi, endued with great strength, of grand achievements, and blessed with a large share of prosperity. He became the mighty son of Ugrasena and was known on earth by the name of Kansa. And he who was known among the Asuras by the name of Devaka and was besides in splendour like unto Indra himself, was born on earth as the foremost king of the Gandharvas. And, O monarch, know thou that Drona, the son of Bharadwaja, not born of any woman, sprung from a portion of the celestial Rishi Vrihaspati of grand achievements. And he was the prince of all bowmen, conversant with all weapons, of mighty achievements, of great energy. Thou shouldst know he was also well-acquainted with the Vedas and the science of arms. And he was of wonderful deeds and the pride of his race. And, O king, his son the heroic Aswatthaman, of eyes like the lotus-petals, gifted with surpassing energy, and the terror of all foes, the great oppressor of all enemies, was born on earth, of the united portions of Mahadeva, Yama, Kama, and Krodha. And from the curse of Vasishtha and the command also of Indra, the eight Vasus were born of Ganga by her husband Santanu. The youngest of them was Bhishma, the dispeller of the fears of the Kurus, gifted with great intelligence, conversant with the Vedas, the first speakers, and the thinner of the enemy's ranks. And possessed of mighty energy and the first of all persons acquainted with weapons, he encountered the illustrious Rama himself, the son of Jamadagni of the Bhrigu race. And, O king, that Brahman sage who, on earth, was known by the name of Kripa and was the embodiment of all manliness was born of the tribe of the Rudras. And the mighty chariot-fighter and king who on earth was known by the name of Sakuni, that crusher of foes, thou shouldst know, O king, was Dwapara himself (the third yuga). And he who was Satyaki of sure aim, that upholder of the pride of Vrishni race, that oppressor of foes, begotten of the portion of gods called the Maruts. And that royal sage Drupada who on earth was a monarch, the first among all persons bearing arms, was also born of the same tribe of the celestials. And, O king, thou shouldst also know that Kritavarman, that prince among men, of deeds unsurpassed by any one, and the foremost of all bulls amongst Kshatriyas, was born of the portion of the same celestials. And that royal sage also, Virata by name, the scorcher of the kingdoms of others, and the great oppressor of all foes, was born of the portion of the same gods. That son of Arishta who was known by the name of Hansa, was born in the Kuru race and became the monarch of the Gandharvas. He

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who was known as Dhritarashtra born of the seed of Krishna-Dwaipayana, and gifted with long arms and great energy, also a monarch, of the prophetic eye, became blind in consequence of the fault of his mother and the wrath of the Rishi. His younger brother who was possessed of great strength and was really a great being known as Pandu, devoted to truth and virtue, was Purity's self. And, O king, thou shouldst know that he who was known on earth as Vidura, who was the first of all virtuous men, who was the god of Justice himself, was the excellent and greatly fortunate son of the Rishi Atri. The evil-minded and wicked king Duryodhana, the destroyer of the fair fame of the Kurus, was born of a portion of Kali on earth. He it was who caused all creatures to be slain and the earth to be wasted; and he it was who fanned the flame of hostility that ultimately consumed all. They who had been the sons of Pulastya (the Rakshasas) were born on earth among men of Duryodhana's brothers, that century of wicked individuals commencing with Duhasasana as their first. And, O bull among the Bharata princes, Durmukha, Duhsaha, and others whose names I do not mention, who always supported Duryodhana (in all his schemes), were, indeed, the sons of Pulastya. And over and above these hundred, Dhritarashtra had one son named Yuyutsu born of a Vaisya wife.'

"Janamejaya said, 'O illustrious one, tell me the names of Dhritarashtra's sons according to the order of their birth beginning from the eldest.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'O king, they are as follows: Duryodhana, and Yuyutsu, and also Duhsasana; Duhsaha and Duhshala, and then Durmukha; Vivinsati, and Vikarna, Jalasandha, Sulochna, Vinda and Anuvinda, Durdharsha, Suvahu, Dushpradharshana; Durmarshana, and Dushkarna, and Karna; Chitra and Vipachitra, Chitraksha, Charuchitra, and Angada, Durmada, and Dushpradharsha, Vivitsu, Vikata, Sama; Urananabha, and Padmanabha, Nanda and Upanandaka; Sanapati, Sushena, Kundodara; Mahodara; Chitravahu, and Chitravarman, Suvarman, Durvirochana; Ayovahu, Mahavahu, Chitrachapa and Sukundala, Bhimavega, Bhimavala, Valaki, Bhimavikrama, Ugrayudha, Bhimaeara, Kanakayu, Dridhayudha, Dridhavarman, Dridhakshatra Somakirti, Anadara; Jarasandha, Dridhasandha, Satyasandha, Sahasravaeh; Ugrasravas, Ugrasena, and Kshemamurti; Aprajita, Panditaka, Visalaksha, Duradhara, Dridhahasta, and Suhasta, Vatavega, and Suvarchasa; Adityaketu, Vahvasin, Nagadatta and Anuyaina; Nishangi, Kuvachi, Dandi, Dandadhara, Dhanugraha; Ugra, Bhimaratha, Vira, Viravahu, Alolupa; Abhaya, and Raudrakarman, also he who was Dridharatha; Anadhrishya, Kundaveda, Viravi, Dhirghalochana; Dirghavahu; Mahavahu; Vyudhoru, Kanakangana; Kundaja and Chitraka. There was also a daughter named Duhsala who was over and above the hundred. And Yuyutsu who was Dhritarashtra's son by a Vaisya wife, was also over and above the hundred. Thus, O king, have I recited the names of the hundred sons and also that of the daughter (of Dhritarashtra). Thou hast now known their names according to the order of their births. All of them were heroes and great car-warriors, and skilled in the art of warfare. Besides, all of them were versed in the Vedas, and, O king, all of them had got through the scriptures. All of them were mighty in attack and defence, and all were graced with learning. And, O monarch, all of them had wives suitable to them in grace and accomplishments. And, O king, when the time came, the Kaurava monarch bestowed his daughter Duhsala on Jayadratha, the king of the Sindhus, agreeably to the counsels of Sakuni.

"And, O monarch, learn that king Yudhishthira was a portion of Dharma; that Bhimasena was of the deity of wind; that Arjuna was of Indra, the chief of the celestials; and that Nakula and Sahadeva, the handsomest beings among all creatures, and unrivalled for beauty on earth, were similarly portions of the twin Aswins. And he who was known as the mighty Varchas, the son of Soma, became Abhimanyu of wonderful deeds, the son of Arjuna. And before his incarnation, O king, the god Soma had said these words to the celestials, 'I cannot give (part with) my son. He is dearer to me than life itself. Let this be the compact and let it be not transgressed. The destruction of the Asuras on earth is the work of the celestials, and, therefore, it is our work as well. Let this Varchas, therefore, go thither, but let him not stay there long. Nara, whose companion is Narayana, will be born as Indra's son and indeed, will be known as Arjuna, the mighty son of Pandu. This boy of mine shall be his son and become a mighty car-warrior in his boyhood. And let him, ye best of immortals, stay on earth for sixteen years. And when he attaineth to his sixteenth year, the battle shall take place in which all who are born of your portions shall achieve the destruction of mighty warriors. But a certain encounter shall take place without both Nara and Narayana (taking any part in it). And, indeed, your portions, ye celestials, shall fight, having made that disposition of the forces which is known by the name of the Chakra-vyuha. And my son shall compel all foes to retreat before him. The boy of mighty arms having penetrated the impenetrable array, shall range within it fearlessly and send a fourth part of the hostile force, in course of half a day, unto the regions of the king of the dead. Then when numberless heroes and mighty car-warriors will return to the charge towards the close of the day, my boy of mighty arms, shall reappear before me. And he shall beget one heroic son in his line, who shall continue the almost extinct Bharata race.' Hearing these words of Soma, the dwellers in heaven replied, 'So be it.' And then all together applauded and worshipped (Soma) the king of stars. Thus, O king, have I recited to thee the (particulars of the) birth of thy father's father.

"Know also, O monarch, that the mighty car-warrior Dhrishtadyumna was a portion of Agni. And know also that Sikhandin, who was at first a female, was (the incarnation of) a Rakshasa. And, O bull in Bharata's race, they who became the five sons of Draupadi, those bulls amongst the Bharata princes, were the celestials known as the Viswas. Their names were Pritivindhya, Sutasoma, Srutakirti, Satanika, Nakula, and Srutasena, endued with mighty energy.

"Sura, the foremost of the Yadus, was the father of Vasudeva. He had a daughter called Pritha, who for her beauty, was unrivalled on earth. And Sura, having promised in the presence of fire that he would give his firstborn child to Kuntibhoja, the son of his paternal aunt, who was without offspring, gave his daughter unto the monarch in expectation of his favours. Kuntibhoja thereupon made her his daughter. And she became, thenceforth, in the house of her (adoptive) father, engaged in attending upon Brahmanas and guests. One day she had to wait upon the wrathful ascetic of rigid vows, Durvasa by name, acquainted with truth and fully conversant with the mysteries of religion. And Pritha with all possible care gratified the wrathful Rishi with soul under complete control. The holy one, gratified with the attentions bestowed on him by the maiden, told her, 'I am satisfied, O fortunate one, with thee! By this mantra (that I am about to give thee), thou shall be able to summon (to thy side) whatever celestials thou likest. And, by their grace, shall thou also obtain children.' Thus addressed, the girl (a little while after), seized with curiosity, summoned, during the period of her maiden-hood, the god Surya. And the lord of light thereupon made her conceive and begot on her a son who became the first of all wielders of weapons. From fear of relatives she brought forth in secrecy that child who had come out with ear-rings and coat of mail. And he was gifted with the beauty of a celestial infant, and in splendour was like unto the maker of day himself. And every part of his body was symmetrical and well-adorned. And Kunti cast the handsome child into the water. But the child thus thrown into the water was taken up by the excellent husband of Radha and given by him to his wife to be adopted by her as their son. And the couple gave him the name of Vasusena, by which appellation the child soon became known all over the land. And, as he grew up, he became very strong and excelled in all weapons. The first of all successful persons, he soon mastered the sciences. And when the intelligent one having truth for his strength recited the Vedas, there was nothing he would not then give to the Brahmanas. At that time Indra, the originator of all things, moved by the desire of benefiting his own son Arjuna, assumed the guise of a Brahmana, came to him, and begged of the hero his ear-rings and natural armour. And the hero taking off his ear-rings and armour gave them unto the Brahmana. And Sakra (accepting the gift) presented to the giver a dart, surprised (at his open handedness), and addressed him in these words, 'O invincible one, amongst the celestials, Asuras, men, Gandharvas, Nagas, and Rakshasas, he at whom thou hurlest (this weapon), that one shall certainly be slain.' And the son of Surya was at first known in the world by the name of Vasusena. But, for his deeds, he subsequently came to be called Karna. And because that hero of great fame had taken off his natural armour, therefore was he--the first son of Pritha--called Kama. And, O best of kings, the hero began to grow up in the Suta caste. And, O king, know thou that Kama--the first of all exalted men--the foremost of all wielders of weapons--the slayer of foes--and the best portion of the maker of day--was the friend and counsellor of Duryodhana. And he, called Vasudeva, endued with great valour, was among men a portion of him called Narayana--the god of gods--eternal. And Valadeva of exceeding strength was a portion of the Naga, Sesha. And, O monarch, know that Pradyumna of great energy was Sanatkumara. And in this way the portion of various other dwellers in heaven became exalted men in the race of Vasudeva, increasing the glory thereof. And, O king, the portions of the tribe of Apsaras which I have mentioned already, also became incarnate on earth according to Indra's commands--And sixteen thousand portions of those goddesses became, O king, in this world of men, the wives of Vasudeva. And a portion of Sri herself became incarnate on earth, for the gratification of Narayana, in the line of Bhishmaka. And she was by name the chaste Rukmini. And the faultless Draupadi, slender-waisted like the wasp, was born of a portion of Sachi (the queen of the celestials), in the line of Drupada. And she was neither low nor tall in stature. And she was of the fragrance of the blue lotus, of eyes large as lotus-petals, of thighs fair and round, of dense masses of black curly hair. And endued with every auspicious feature and of complexion like that of the emerald, she became the charmer of the hearts of five foremost of men. And the two goddesses Siddhi and Dhriti became the mothers of those five, and were called Kunti and Madri. And she who was Mati became the daughter (Gandhari) of Suvala.

"Thus, O king, have I recited to thee all about the incarnation, according to their respective portions, of the gods, the Asuras, the Gandharvas, the Apsaras, and of the Rakshasas. They who were born on earth as monarchs invincible in battle, those high-souled ones who were born in the wide extended line of the Yadus, they who were born as mighty monarchs in other lines, they who were born as Brahmanas and Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, have all been recited by me duly. And this account of the incarnation (of superior beings according to their respective portions) capable of bestowing wealth, fame, offspring, long life, and success, should always be listened to in a proper frame of mind. And having listened to this account of incarnation, according to their portions, of gods, Gandharvas, and Rakshasas, the hearer becoming acquainted with the creation, preservation, and destruction of the universe and acquiring wisdom, is never cast down even under the most engrossing sorrows.'"

SECTION 68

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Janamejaya said, 'O Brahmana, I have, indeed, heard from thee this account of the incarnation, according to their portions, of the gods, the Danavas, the Rakshasas, and also of the Gandharvas and the Apsaras. I however, again desire to hear of the dynasty of the Kurus from the very beginning. Therefore, O Brahmana, speak of this in the presence of all these regenerate Rishis.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'O exalted one of Bharata's race, the founder of the Paurava line was Dushmanta gifted with great energy. And he was the protector of the earth bounded by the four seas. And that king had full sway over four quarters of this world. And he was the lord also of various regions in the midst of the sea. And that great oppressor of all foes had sway over the countries even of the Mlechchhas.

"And during his rule there were no men of mixed castes, no tillers of the soil (for the land, of itself, yielded produce), no workers of mines (for the surface of the earth yielded in abundance), and no sinful men. All were virtuous, and did everything from virtuous motives, O tiger among men. There was no fear of thieves, O dear one, no fear of famine, no fear off disease. And all four orders took pleasure in doing their respective duties and never performed religious acts for obtaining fruition of desires. And his subjects, depending upon him, never entertained any fear. And Parjanya (Indra) poured showers at the proper time, and the produce of the fields was always pulpy and juicy. And the earth was full of all kinds of wealth and all kinds of animals. And the Brahmanas were always engaged in their duties and they were always truthful. And the youthful monarch was endued with wonderful prowess and a physical frame hard as the thunderbolt, so that he could, taking up the mountain Mandara with its forests and bushes, support it on his arms. And he was well-skilled in four kinds of encounters with the mace (hurling it at foes at a distance, striking at those that are near, whirling it in the midst of many, and driving the foe before). And he was skilled also in the use of all kinds of weapons and in riding elephants and horses. And in strength he was like unto Vishnu, in splendour like unto the maker of day, in gravity like unto the ocean, and in patience, like unto the earth. And the monarch was loved by all his subjects, and he ruled his contented people virtuously.'"

SECTION 69

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Janamejaya said, 'I desire to hear from thee about the birth and life of the high-souled Bharata and of the origin of Sakuntala. And, O holy one, I also desire to hear all about Dushmanta--that lion among men--and how the hero obtained Sakuntala. It behoveth thee, O knower of truth and the first of all intelligent men, to tell me everything.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Once on a time (king Dushmanta) of mighty arms, accompanied by a large force, went into the forest. And he took with him hundreds of horses and elephants. And the force that accompanied the monarch was of four kinds (foot-soldiers, car-warriors, cavalry, and elephants)--heroes armed with swords and darts and bearing in their hands maces and stout clubs. And surrounded by hundreds of warriors with lances and spears in their hands, the monarch set out on his journey. And with the leonine roars of the warriors and the notes of conchs and sound of drums, with the rattle of the car-wheels and shrieks of huge elephants, all mingling with the neighing of horses and the clash of weapons of the variously armed attendants in diverse dresses, there arose a deafening tumult while the king was on his march. And ladies gifted with great beauty beheld from the terraces of goodly mansions that heroic monarch, the achiever of his own fame. And the ladies saw that he was like unto Sakra, the slayer of his enemies, capable of repulsing the

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elephants of foes--And they believed that he was the wielder of the thunderbolt himself. And they said, 'This is that tiger among men who in battle is equal unto the Vasus in prowess, and in consequence of the might of whose arms no foes are left.' And saying this, the ladies from affection gratified the monarch by showering flowers on his head. And followed by foremost of Brahmanas uttering blessings all the way, the king in great gladness of heart went towards the forest, eager for slaying the deer. And many Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras, followed the monarch who was like unto the king of the celestials seated on the back of a proud elephant. The citizens and other classes followed the monarch for some distance. And they at last refrained from going farther at the command of the king. And the king, then, ascending his chariot of winged speed, filled the whole earth and even the heavens, with the rattle of his chariot wheels. And, as he went, he saw around him a forest like unto Nandana itself (the celestial garden). And it was full of Vilwa, Arka, Khadira (catechu), Kapittha (wood-apple) and Dhava trees. And he saw that the soil was uneven and scattered over with blocks of stone loosened from the neighbouring cliffs. And he saw that it was without water and without human beings and lay extended for many Yojanas around. And it was full of deer, and lions, and other terrible beasts of prey.

"And king Dushmanta, that tiger among men, assisted by his followers and the warriors in his train, agitated that forest, killing numerous animals. And Dushmanta, piercing them with his arrows, felled numerous tigers that were within shooting range. And the king wounded many that were too distant, and killed many that were too near with his heavy sword. And that foremost of all wielders of darts killed many by hurling his darts at them. And well-conversant with the art of whirling the mace, the king of immeasurable prowess fearlessly wandered over the forest. And the king roamed about, killing the denizens of the wilderness sometimes with his sword and sometimes by fast-descending blows of his mace and heavy club.

"And when the forest was so disturbed by the king possessed of wonderful energy and by the warriors in his train delighting in warlike sports, the lions began to desert it in numbers. And herds of animals deprived of their leaders, from fear and anxiety began to utter loud cries as they fled in all directions. And fatigued with running, they began to fall down on all sides, unable to slake their thirst, having reached river-beds that were perfectly dry. And many so falling were eaten up by the hungry warriors. While others were eaten up after having been duly quartered and roasted in fires lit up by them. And many strong elephants, maddened with the wounds they received and alarmed beyond measure, fled with trunks raised on high. And those wild elephants, betraying the usual symptoms of alarm by urinating and ejecting the contents of their stomachs and vomiting blood in large quantities, trampled, as they ran, many warriors to death. And that forest which had been full of animals, was by the king with his bands of followers and with sharp weapons soon made bereft of lions and tigers and other monarchs of the wilderness.'"

SECTION 70

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then the king with his followers, having killed thousands of animals, entered another forest with a view to hunting. And attended by a single follower and fatigued with hunger and thirst, he came upon a large desert on the frontiers of the forest. And having crossed this herbless plain, the king came upon another forest full of the retreats of ascetics, beautiful to look at, delightful to the heart and of cool agreeable breezes. And it was full of trees covered with blossoms, the soil overgrown with the softest and greenest grass, extending for many miles around, and echoing with the sweet notes of winged warblers. And it resounded with the notes of the male Kokila and of the shrill cicala. And it was full of magnificent trees with outstretched branches forming a shady canopy overhead. And the bees hovered over flowery creepers all around. And there were beautiful bowers in every place. And there was no tree without fruits, none that had prickles on it, none that had no bees swarming around it. And the whole forest resounded with the melody of winged choristers. And it was decked with the flowers of every season. And there were refreshing shades of blossoming trees.

"Such was the delicious and excellent forest that the great bowman entered. And trees with branches beautified with clusters began to wave gently at the soft breeze and rain their flowers over the monarch's head. And the trees, clad in their flowery attires of all colours, with sweet-throated warblers perched on them, stood there in rows with heads touching the very heavens. And around their branches hanging down with the weight of flowers the bees tempted by the honey hummed in sweet chorus. And the king, endued with great energy, beholding innumerable spots covered with bowers of creepers decked with clusters of flowers, from excess of gladness, became very much charmed. And the forest was exceedingly beautiful in consequence of those trees ranged around with flowery branches twining with each other and looking like so many rainbows for gaudiness and variety of colour. And it was the resort of bands of Siddhas, of the Charanas, of tribes of Gandharvas, and Apsaras, of monkeys and Kinnaras drunk with delight. Delicious cool, and fragrant breezes, conveying the fragrance from fresh flowers, blew in all directions as if they had come there to sport with the trees. And the king saw that charming forest gifted with such beauties. And it was situated in a delta of the river, and the cluster of high trees standing together lent the place the look of a gaudy pole erected to Indra's honour.

"And in that forest which was the resort of ever cheerful birds, the monarch saw a delightful and charming retreat of ascetics. And there were many trees around it. And the sacred fire was burning within it. And the king worshipped that unrivalled retreat. And he saw seated in it numerous Yotis, Valakhilyas and other Munis. And it was adorned with many chambers containing sacrificial fire. And the flowers dropping from the trees had formed a thick carpet spread over the ground. And the spot looked exceedingly beautiful with those tall trees of large trunks. And by it flowed, O king, the sacred and transparent Malini with every species of water-fowl playing on its bosom. And that stream infused gladness into the hearts of the ascetics who resorted to it for purposes of ablutions. And the king beheld on its banks many innocent animals of the deer species and was exceedingly delighted with all that he saw.

"And the monarch, the course of whose chariot no foe could obstruct, then entered that asylum which was like unto the region of the celestials, being exceedingly beautiful all over. And the king saw that it stood on the margin of the sacred stream which was like the mother of all the living creatures residing in its vicinage. And on its bank sported the Chakravaka, and waves of milkwhite foam. And there stood also the habitations of Kinnaras. And monkeys and bears too disported themselves in numbers. And there lived also holy ascetics engaged in studies and meditation. And there could be seen also elephants and tigers and snakes. And it was on the banks of that stream that the excellent asylum of the illustrious Kasyapa stood, offering a home to numerous Rishis of great ascetic merit. And beholding that river, and also the asylum washed by that river which was studded with many islands and which possessed banks of so much beauty,--an asylum like unto that of Nara and Narayana laved by the water of the Ganga--the king resolved to enter into that sacred abode. And that bull among men, desirous of beholding the great Rishi of ascetic wealth, the illustrious Kanwa of the race of Kasyapa, one who possessed every virtue and who, for his splendour, could be gazed at with difficulty, approached that forest resounding with the notes of maddened peacocks and like unto the gardens of the great Gandharva, Chitraratha, himself. And halting his army consisting of flags, cavalry, infantry, and elephants at the entrance of the forest, the monarch spoke as follows, 'I shall go to behold the mighty ascetic of Kasyapa's race, one who is without darkness. Stay ye here until my return!'

"And the king having entered that forest which was like unto Indra's garden, soon forgot his hunger and thirst. And he was pleased beyond measure. And the monarch, laying aside all signs of royalty, entered that excellent asylum with but his minister and his priest, desirous of beholding that Rishi who was an indestructible mass of ascetic merit. And the king saw that the asylum was like unto the region of Brahman. Here were bees sweetly humming and there were winged warblers of various species pouring forth their melodies. At particular places that tiger among men heard the chanting of Rik hymns by first-rate Brahmanas according to the just rules of intonation. Other places again were graced with Brahmanas acquainted with ordinances of sacrifice, of the Angas and of the hymns of the Yajurveda. Other places again were filled with the harmonious strains of Saman hymns sung by vow-observing Rishis. At other places the asylum was decked with Brahmanas learned in the Atharvan Veda. At other places again Brahmanas learned in the Atharvan Veda and those capable of chanting the sacrificial hymns of the Saman were reciting the Samhitas according to the just rules of voice. And at other places again, other Brahmanas well-acquainted with the science of orthoepy were reciting mantras of other kinds. In fact, that sacred retreat resounding with these holy notes was like unto a second region of Brahman himself. And there were many Brahmanas skilled in the art of making sacrificial platforms and in the rules of Krama in sacrifices, conversant with logic and the mental sciences, and possessing a complete knowledge of the Vedas. There were those also who were fully acquainted with the meanings of all kinds of expressions; those that were conversant with all special rites, those also that were followers of Moksha-Dharma; those again that were well-skilled in establishing propositions; rejecting superfluous causes, and drawing right conclusions. There were those having a knowledge of the science of words (grammar), of prosody, of Nirukta; those again that were conversant with astrology and learned in the properties of matter and the fruits of sacrificial rites, possessing a knowledge of causes and effects, capable of understanding the cries of birds and monkeys, well-read in large treatises, and skilled in various sciences. And the king, as he proceeded, heard their voices. And the retreat resounded also with voice of men capable of charming human hearts. And the slayer of hostile heroes also saw around him learned Brahmanas of rigid vows engaged in Japa (the repeated muttering of the names of gods) and Homa (burnt-offering). And the king wondered much on beholding the beautiful carpets which those Brahmanas offered to him respectfully. And that best of monarchs, at the sight of the rites with which those Brahmanas worshipped the gods and the great Rishis, thought within himself that he was in the region of Brahman. And the more the king saw that auspicious and sacred asylum of Kasyapa protected by that Rishi's ascetic virtues and possessing all the requisites of a holy retreat, the more he desired to see it. In fact, he was not satisfied with his short survey. And the slayer of heroes at last, accompanied by his minister and his priest, entered that charming and sacred retreat of Kasyapa inhabited all around by Rishis of ascetic wealth and exalted vows.'"

SECTION 71

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'The monarch then, as he proceeded, left even his reduced retinue at the entrance of the hermitage. And entering quite alone he saw not the Rishi (Kanwa) of rigid vows. And not seeing the Rishi and finding that the abode was empty, he called loudly, saying, 'What ho, who is here?' And the sound of his voice was echoed back. And hearing the sound of his voice, there came out of the Rishi's abode a maiden beautiful as Sri herself but dressed as an ascetic's daughter. And the black-eyed fair one, as she saw king Dushmanta, bade him welcome and received him duly. And, showing him due respect by the offer of a seat, water to wash his feet, and Arghya, she enquired about the monarch's health and peace. And having worshipped the king and asked him about his health and peace, the maiden reverentially asked, 'What must be done, O king! I await your commands.' The king, duly worshipped by her, said unto that maiden of faultless features and sweet speech, 'I have come to worship the highly-blessed Rishi Kanwa. Tell me, O amiable and beautiful one, where has the illustrious Rishi gone?'

"Sakuntala then answered, 'My illustrious father hath gone away from the asylum to fetch fruit. Wait but a moment and thou wilt see him when he arrives.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'The king not seeing the Rishi and addressed thus by her, beheld that the maiden was exceedingly beautiful and endued with perfect symmetry of shape. And he saw that she was of sweet smiles. And she stood decked with the beauty of her faultless features, her ascetic penances, and her humility. And he saw that she was in the bloom of youth. He therefore asked her, 'Who art thou? And whose daughter, O beautiful one? Why hast thou come into the woods also? O handsome one, gifted with so much beauty and such virtues, whence hast thou come? O charming one, at the very first glance hast thou stolen my heart! I desire to learn all about thee; therefore tell me all.' And thus addressed by the monarch, the maiden smilingly replied in these sweet words, 'O Dushmanta, I am the daughter of the virtuous, wise, high-souled, and illustrious ascetic Kanwa.'

"Dushmanta, hearing this, replied, 'The universally-worshipped and highly-blessed Rishi is one whose seed hath been drawn up. Even Dharma himself might fall off from his course but an ascetic of rigid vows can never fall off so. Therefore, O thou of the fairest complexion, how hast thou been born as his daughter? This great doubt of mine it behoveth thee to dispel.'

"Sakuntala then replied, 'Hear, O king, what I have learnt regarding all that befell me of old and how I became the daughter of the Muni. Once on a time, a Rishi came here and asked about my birth. All that the illustrious one (Kanwa) told him, hear now from me, O king!

"My father Kanwa, in answer to that Rishi's enquiries, said, 'Viswamitra, of old, having been engaged in the austerest penances alarmed Indra, the chief of the celestials, who thought that the mighty ascetic of blazing energy would, by his penances, hurl him down from his high seat in heaven.' Indra, thus alarmed, summoned Menaka and told her, 'Thou, O Menaka, art the first of celestial Apsaras. Therefore, O amiable one, do me this service. Hear what I say. This great ascetic Viswamitra like unto the Sun in splendour, is engaged in the most severe of penances. My heart is trembling with fear. Indeed, O slender-waisted Menaka, this is thy business. Thou must see that Viswamitra of soul rapt in contemplation and engaged in the austerest penances, who might hurl me down from my seat. Go and tempt him and frustrating his continued austerities accomplish my good. Win him away from his penances, O beautiful one, by tempting him with thy beauty, youth, agreeableness, arts, smiles and speech.' Hearing all this, Menaka replied, 'The illustrious Viswamitra is endued with great energy and is a mighty ascetic. He is very short-tempered too, as is known to thee. The energy, penances, and wrath of the high-souled one have made even thee anxious. Why should I not also be anxious? He it was who made even the illustrious Vasishtha bear the pangs of witnessing the premature death of his children. He it was who, though at

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first born as Kshatriya, subsequently became a Brahmana by virtue of his ascetic penances. He it was who, for purposes of his ablutions, created a deep river that can with difficulty be forded, and which sacred stream is known by the name of the Kausiki. It was Viswamitra whose wife, in a season of distress, was maintained by the royal sage Matanga (Trisanku) who was then living under a father's curse as a hunter. It was Viswamitra who, on returning after the famine was over, changed the name of the stream having his asylum from Kausik into Para. It was Viswamitra who in return for the services of Matanga, himself became the latter's priest for purposes of a sacrifice. The lord of the celestials himself went through fear to drink the Soma juice. It was Viswamitra who in anger created a second world and numerous stars beginning with Sravana. He it was who granted protection to Trisanku smarting under a superior's curse. I am frightened to approach him of such deeds. Tell me, O Indra, the means that should be adopted so that I may not be burnt by his wrath. He can burn the three worlds by his splendour, can, by a stamp (of his foot), cause the earth to quake. He can sever the great Meru from the earth and hurl it to any distance. He can go round the ten points of the earth in a moment. How can a woman like me even touch such a one full of ascetic virtues, like unto a blazing fire, and having his passions under complete control? His mouth is like unto a blazing fire; the pupils of his eyes are like the Sun and the Moon; his tongue is like unto Yama himself. How shall, O chief of the celestials, a woman like me even touch him? At the thought of his prowess Yama, Soma, the great Rishis, the Saddhyas, the Viswas, Valakhilyas, are terrified! How can a woman like me gaze at him without alarm? Commanded, however, by thee, O king of the celestials, I shall somehow approach that Rishi. But, O chief of the gods, devise thou some plan whereby protected by thee, I may safely move about that Rishi. I think that when I begin to play before the Rishi, Marut (the god of wind) had better go there and rob me of my dress, and Manmatha (the god of love) had also, at thy command, better help me then. Let also Marut on that occasion bear thither fragrance from the woods to tempt the Rishi.' Saying this and seeing that all she had spoken about had been duly provided, Menaka went to the retreat of the great Kausika.'"

SECTION 72

(Sambhava Parva continued)

Kanwa continued, 'And Sakra, thus addressed by her, then commanded him who could approach every place (viz., the god of the wind) to be present with Menaka at the time she would be before the Rishi. And the timid and beautiful Menaka then entered the retreat and saw there Viswamitra who had burnt, by his penances, all his sins, and was engaged still in ascetic penances. And saluting the Rishi, she then began to sport before him. And just at that time Marut robbed her of her garments that were white as the Moon. And she thereupon ran, as if in great bashfulness, to catch hold of her attire, and as if she was exceedingly annoyed with Marut. And she did all this before the very eyes of Viswamitra who was endued with energy like that of fire. And Viswamitra saw her in that attitude. And beholding her divested of her robes, he saw that she was of faultless feature. And that best of Munis saw that she was exceedingly handsome, with no marks of age on her person. And beholding her beauty and accomplishments that bull amongst Rishis was possessed with lust and made a sign that he desired her companionship. And he invited her accordingly, and she also of faultless features expressed her acceptance of the invitation. And they then passed a long time there in each other's company. And sporting with each other, just as they pleased, for a long time as if it were only a single day, the Rishi begat on Menaka a daughter named Sakuntala. And Menaka (as her conception advanced) went to the banks of the river Malini coursing along a valley of the charming mountains of Himavat. And there she gave birth to that daughter. And she left the new-born infant on the bank of that river and went away. And beholding the new-born infant lying in that forest destitute of human beings but abounding with lions and tigers, a number of vultures sat around to protect it from harm. No Rakshasas or carnivorous animals took its life. Those vultures protected the daughter of Menaka. I went there to perform my ablution and beheld the infant lying in the solitude of the wilderness surrounded by vultures. Bringing her hither I have made her my daughter. Indeed, the maker of the body, the protector of life, the giver of food, are all three, fathers in their order, according to the scriptures. And because she was surrounded in the solitude of the wilderness, by Sakuntas (birds), therefore, hath she been named by me Sakuntala (bird-protected). O Brahman, learn that it is thus that Sakuntala hath become my daughter. And the faultless Sakuntala also regards me as her father.'

"This is what my father had said unto the Rishi, having been asked by him. O king of men, it is thus that thou must know I am the daughter of Kanwa. And not knowing my real father, I regard Kanwa as my father. Thus have I told thee, O king, all that hath been heard by me regarding my birth!'"

SECTION 73

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana continued, 'King Dushmanta, hearing all this, said, 'Well-spoken, O princess, this that thou hast said! Be my wife, O beautiful one! What shall I do for thee? Golden garlands, robes, ear-rings of gold, white and handsome pearls, from various countries, golden coins, finest carpets, I shall present thee this very day. Let the whole of my kingdom be thine today, O beautiful one! Come to me, O timid one, wedding me, O beautiful one, according to the Gandharva form. O thou of tapering thighs, of all forms of marriage, the Gandharva one is regarded as the first.'

"Sakuntala, hearing this, said, 'O king, my father hath gone away from this asylum to bring fruit. Wait but a moment; he will bestow me on thee.'

"Dushmanta replied, 'O beautiful and faultless one, I desire that thou shouldst be my life's companion. Know thou that I exist for thee, and my heart is in thee. One is certainly one's own friend, and one certainly may depend upon one's own self. Therefore, according to the ordinance, thou canst certainly bestow thyself. There are, in all, eight kinds of marriages. These are Brahma, Daiva, Arsha, Prajapatya, Asura, Gandharva, Rakshasa, and Paisacha, the eighth. Manu, the son of the self-create, hath spoken of the appropriateness of all these forms according to their order. Know, O faultless one, that the first four of these are fit for Brahmanas, and the first six for Kshatriyas. As regards kings, even the Rakshasa form is permissible. The Asura form is permitted to Vaisyas and Sudras. Of the first five the three are proper, the other two being improper. The Paisacha and the Asura forms should never be practised. These are the institutes of religion, and one should act according to them. The Gandharva and the Rakshasa form are consistent with the practices of Kshatriyas. Thou needst not entertain the least fear. There is not the least doubt that either according to any one of these last-mentioned forms, or according to a union of both of them, our wedding may take place. O thou of the fairest complexion, full of desire I am, thou also in a similar mood mayst become my wife according to the Gandharva form.'

"Sakuntala, having listened to all this, answered, 'If this be the course sanctioned by religion, if, indeed, I am my own disposer, hear, O thou foremost one of Puru's race, what my terms are. Promise truly to give me what I ask thee. The son that shall be begotten on me shall become thy heir-apparent. This, O king, is my fixed resolve. O Dushmanta, if thou grant this, then let our union take place.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'The monarch, without taking time to consider at once told her, 'Let it be so. I will even take thee, O thou of agreeable smiles, with me to my capital. I tell thee truly. O beautiful one, thou deservest all this.' And so saying, that first of kings wedded the handsome Sakuntala of graceful gait, and knew her as a husband. And assuring her duly, he went away, telling her repeatedly, 'I shall send thee, for thy escort, my troops of four classes. Indeed, it is even thus that I shall take thee to my capital, O thou of sweet smiles!'"

"Vaisampayana continued, 'O Janamejaya, having promised so unto her, the king went away. And as he retraced his way homewards, he began to think of Kasyapa. And he asked himself, 'What will the illustrious ascetic say, after he has known all?' Thinking of this, he entered his capital.

"The moment the king had left, Kanwa arrived at his abode. But Sakuntala, from a sense of shame, did not go out to receive her father. That great ascetic, however, possessed of spiritual knowledge, knew all. Indeed beholding everything with his spiritual eye, the illustrious one was pleased, and addressing her, said, 'Amiable one, what hath been done by thee today in secret, without, having waited for me--viz., intercourse with a man--hath not been destructive of thy virtue. Indeed, union according to the Gandharva form, of a wishful woman with a man of sensual desire, without mantras of any kind, it is said, is the best for Kshatriyas. That best of men, Dushmanta, is also high-souled and virtuous. Thou hast, O Sakuntala, accepted him for thy husband. The son that shall be born of thee shall be mighty and illustrious in this world. And he shall have sway over the sea. And the forces of that illustrious king of kings, while he goeth out against his foes shall be irresistible.'

"Sakuntala then approached her fatigued father and washed his feet. And taking down the load he had with him and placing the fruits in proper order, she told him, 'It behoveth thee to give thy grace to that Dushmanta whom I have accepted for my husband, as well as his ministers!'

"Kanwa replied, 'O thou of the fairest complexion, for thy sake I am inclined to bless him. But receive from me, O blessed one, the boon that thou desirest.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Sakuntala, thereupon, moved by desire of benefiting Dushmanta, asked the boon that the Paurava monarchs might ever be virtuous and never deprived of their thrones.'"

SECTION 74

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'After Dushmanta had left the asylum having made those promises unto Sakuntala, the latter of tapering thighs brought forth a boy of immeasurable energy. And when the child was three years old, he became in splendour like the blazing fire. And, O Janamejaya, he was possessed of beauty and magnanimity and every accomplishment. And that first of virtuous men, Kanwa, caused all the rites of religion to be performed in respect of that intelligent child thriving day by day. And the boy gifted with pearly teeth and shining locks, capable of slaying lions even then, with all auspicious signs on his palm, and broad expansive forehead, grew up in beauty and strength. And like unto a celestial child in splendour, he began to grow up rapidly. And when he was only six years of age, endued with great strength he used to seize and bind to the trees that stood around that asylum, lions and tigers and bears and buffaloes and elephants. And he rode on some animals, and pursued others in sportive mood. The dwellers at Kanwa's asylum thereupon bestowed on him a name. And they said, because he seizes and restrains an animals however strong, let him, be called Sarvadamana (the subduer of all). And it was thus that the boy came to be named Sarvadamana, endued as he was with prowess, and energy and strength. And the Rishi seeing the boy and marking also his extraordinary acts, told Sakuntala that the time had come for his installation as the heir-apparent. And beholding the strength of the boy, Kanwa commanded his disciples, saying, 'Bear ye without delay this Sakuntala with her son from this abode to that of her husband, blessed with every auspicious sign. Women should not live long in the houses of their paternal or maternal relations. Such residence is destructive of their reputation, their good conduct, their virtue. Therefore, delay not in bearing her hence.' These disciples of the Rishi thereupon, saying 'So be it,' went towards the city named after an elephant (Hastinapura) with Sakuntala and her son ahead of them. And then she of fair eye-brows, taking with her that boy of celestial beauty, endued with eyes like lotus petals, left the woods where she had been first known by Dushmanta. And having approached the king, she with her boy resembling in splendour the rising sun was introduced to him. And the disciples of the Rishi having introduced her, returned to the asylum. And Sakuntala having worshipped the king according to proper form, told him, 'This is thy son, O king! Let him be installed as thy heir-apparent. O king, this child, like unto a celestial, hath been begotten by thee upon me. Therefore, O best of men, fulfil now the promise thou gavest me. Call to mind, O thou of great good fortune, the agreement thou hadst made on the occasion of thy union with me in the asylum of Kanwa.'

"The king, hearing these her words, and remembering everything said, 'I do not remember anything. Who art thou, O wicked woman in ascetic guise? I do not remember having any connexion with thee in respect of Dharma, Kama and Arthas. Go or stay or do as thou pleasest.' Thus addressed by him, the fair-coloured innocent one became abashed. Grief deprived her of consciousness and she stood for a time like an wooden post. Soon, however, her eyes became red like copper and her lips began to quiver. And the glances she now and then cast upon the king seemed to burn the latter. Her rising wrath however, and the fire of her asceticism, she extinguished within herself by an extraordinary effort. Collecting her thoughts in a moment, her heart possessed with sorrow and rage, she thus addressed her lord in anger, looking at him, 'Knowing everything, O monarch, how canst thou, like an inferior person, thus say that thou knowest it not? Thy heart is a witness to the truth or falsehood of this matter. Therefore, speak truly without degrading thyself. He who being one thing representeth himself as another thing to others, is like a thief and a robber of his own self. Of what sin is he not capable? Thou thinkest that thou alone hast knowledge of thy deed. But knowest thou not that the Ancient, Omniscient one (Narayana) liveth in thy heart? He knoweth all thy sins, and thou sinnest in His presence. He that sins thinks that none observes him. But he is observed by the gods and by Him also who is in every heart. The Sun, the Moon, the Air, the Fire, the Earth, the Sky, Water, the heart, Yama, the day, the night, both twilights, and Dharma, all witness the acts of man. Yama, the son of Surya, takes no account of the sins of him with whom Narayana the witness of all acts, is gratified. But he with whom Narayana is not gratified is tortured for his sins by Yama. Him who degradeth himself by representing his self falsely, the gods never bless. Even his own soul blesseth him not. I am a wife devoted to my husband. I have come of my own accord, it is true. But do not, on that account, treat me with disrespect. I am thy wife and, therefore, deserve to be treated respectfully. Wilt thou not treat me so, because I have come hither of my own accord? In the presence of so many, why dost thou treat me like an ordinary woman? I am not certainly crying in the wilderness. Dost thou not hear me? But if thou refuse to do what I supplicate thee for, O Dushmanta, thy head this moment shall burst into a hundred pieces! The husband entering the womb of the wife cometh out himself in the form of the son. Therefore is the wife called by those cognisant of the Vedas as Jaya (she of whom one is born). And the son that is so born unto persons cognisant of the Vedic Mantras rescueth the spirits of deceased ancestors. And

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because the son rescueth ancestors from the hell call Put, therefore, hath he been called by the Self-create himself as Puttra (the rescuer from Put). By a son one conquereth the three worlds. By a son's son, one enjoyeth eternity. And by a grandson's son great-grand-fathers enjoy everlasting happiness. She is a true wife who is skilful in household affairs. She is a true wife who hath borne a son. She is a true wife whose heart is devoted to her lord. She is a true wife who knoweth none but her lord. The wife is a man's half. The wife is the first of friends. The wife is the root of religion, profit, and desire. The wife is the root of salvation. They that have wives can perform religious acts. They that have wives can lead domestic lives. They that have wives have the means to be cheerful. They that have wives can achieve good fortune. Sweet-speeched wives are friends on occasions of joy. They are as fathers on occasions of religious acts. They are mothers in sickness and woe. Even in the deep woods to a traveller a wife is his refreshment and solace. He that hath a wife is trusted by all. A wife, therefore, is one's most valuable possession. Even when the husband leaving this world goeth into the region of Yama, it is the devoted wife that accompanies him thither. A wife going before waits for the husband. But if the husband goeth before, the chaste wife followeth close. For these reasons, O king, doth marriage exist. The husband enjoyth the companionship of the wife both in this and in the other worlds. It hath been said by learned persons that one is himself born as one's son. Therefore, a man whose wife hath borne a son should look upon her as his mother. Beholding the face of the son one hath begotten upon his wife, like his own face in a mirror, one feeleth as happy as a virtuous man, on attaining to heaven. Men scorched by mental grief, or suffering under bodily pain, feel as much refreshed in the companionship of their wives as a perspiring person in a cool bath. No man, even in anger, should ever do anything that is disagreeable to his wife, seeing that happiness, joy, and virtue,--everything dependeth on the wife. A wife is the sacred field in which the husband is born himself. Even Rishis cannot create creatures without women. What happiness is greater than what the father feeleth when the son running towards him, even though his body be covered with dust, claspeth his limbs? Why then dost thou treat with indifference such a son, who hath approached thee himself and who casteth wistful glances towards thee for climbing thy knees? Even ants support their own eggs without destroying them; then why shouldst not thou, a virtuous man that thou art, support thy own child? The touch of soft sandal paste, of women, of (cool) water is not so agreeable as the touch of one's own infant son locked in one's embrace. As a Brahmana is the foremost of all bipeds, a cow, the foremost of all quadrupeds, a protector, the foremost of all superiors, so is the son the foremost of all objects, agreeable to the touch. Let, therefore, this handsome child touch thee in embrace. There is nothing in the world more agreeable to the touch than the embrace of one's son. O chastiser of foes, I have brought forth this child, O monarch, capable of dispelling all thy sorrows after bearing him in my womb for full three years. O monarch of Puru's race, 'He shall perform a hundred horse-sacrifices'--these were the words uttered from the sky when I was in the lying-in room. Indeed, men going into places remote from their homes take up there others' children on their laps and smelling their heads feel great happiness. Thou knowest that Brahmanas repeat these Vedic mantras on the occasion of the consecrating rites of infancy.--Thou art born, O son, of my body! Thou art sprung from my heart. Thou art myself in the form of a son. Live thou to a hundred years! My life dependeth on thee, and the continuation of my race also, on thee. Therefore, O son, live thou in great happiness to a hundred years. He hath sprung from thy body, this second being from thee! Behold thyself in thy son, as thou beholdest thy image in the clear lake. As the sacrificial fire is kindled from the domestic one, so hath this one sprung from thee. Though one, thou hast divided thyself. In course of hunting while engaged in pursuit of the deer, I was approached by thee, O king, I who was then a virgin in the asylum of my father. Urvasi, Purvachitti, Sahajanya, Menaka, Viswachi and Ghritachi, these are the six foremost of Apsaras. Amongst them again, Menaka, born of Brahman, is the first. Descending from heaven on Earth, after intercourse with Viswamitra, she gave birth to me. That celebrated Apsara, Menaka, brought me forth in a valley of Himavat. Bereft of all affection, she went away, cast me there as if I were the child of somebody else. What sinful act did I do, of old, in some other life that I was in infancy cast away by my parents and at present am cast away by thee! Put away by thee, I am ready to return to the refuge of my father. But it behoveth thee not to cast off this child who is thy own.'

"Hearing all this, Dushmanta said, 'O Sakuntala, I do not know having begot upon thee this son. Women generally speak untruths. Who shall believe in thy words? Destitute of all affection, the lewd Menaka is thy mother, and she cast thee off on the surface of the Himavat as one throws away, after the worship is over, the flowery offering made to his gods. Thy father too of the Kshatriya race, the lustful Viswamitra, who was tempted to become a Brahmana, is destitute of all affection. However, Menaka is the first of Apsaras, and thy father also is the first of Rishis. Being their daughter, why dost thou speak like a lewd woman? Thy words deserve no credit. Art thou not ashamed to speak them, especially before me? Go hence, O wicked woman in ascetic guise. Where is that foremost of great Rishis, where also is that Apsara Menaka? And why art thou, low as thou art, in the guise of an ascetic? Thy child too is grown up. Thou sayest he is a boy, but he is very strong. How hath he soon grown like a Sala sprout? Thy birth is low. Thou speakest like a lewd woman. Lustfully hast thou been begotten by Menaka. O woman of ascetic guise, all that thou sayest is quite unknown to me. I don't know thee. Go withersoever thou choosest.'

"Sakuntala replied, 'Thou seest, O king, the fault of others, even though they be as small as a mustard seed. But seeing, thou noticest not thy own faults even though they be as large as the Vilwa fruit. Menaka is one of the celestials. Indeed, Menaka is reckoned as the first of celestials. My birth, therefore, O Dushmanta, is far higher than thine. Thou walkest upon the Earth, O king, but I roam in the skies! Behold, the difference between ourselves is as that between (the mountain) Meru and a mustard seed! Behold my power, O king! I can repair to the abodes of Indra, Kuvera, Yama, and Varuna! The saying is true which I shall refer to before thee, O sinless one! I refer to it for example's sake and not from evil motives. Therefore, it behoveth thee to pardon me after thou hast heard it. An ugly person considereth himself handsomer than others until he sees his own face in the mirror. But when he sees his own ugly face in the mirror, it is then that he perceiveth the difference between himself and others. He that is really handsome never taunts anybody. And he that always talketh evil becometh a reviler. And as the swine always look for dirt and filth even when in the midst of a flower-garden, so the wicked always choose the evil out of both evil and good that others speak. Those, however, that are wise, on hearing the speeches of others that are intermixed with both good and evil, accept only what is good, like geese that always extract the milk only, though it be mixed with water. As the honest are always pained at speaking ill of others, so do the wicked always rejoice in doing the same thing. As the honest always feel pleasure in showing regard for the old, so do the wicked always take delight in aspersing the good. The honest are happy in not seeking for faults. The wicked are happy in seeking for them. The wicked ever speak ill of the honest. But the latter never injure the former, even if injured by them. What can be more ridiculous in the world than that those that are themselves wicked should represent the really honest as wicked? When even atheists are annoyed with those that have fallen off from truth and virtue and who are really like angry snakes of virulent poison, what shall I say of myself who am nurtured in faith? He that having begotten a son who is his own image, regardeth him not, never attaineth to the worlds he coveteth, and verily the gods destroy his good fortune and possessions. The Pitris have said that the son continueth the race and the line and is, therefore, the best of all religious acts. Therefore, none should abandon a son. Manu hath said that there are five kinds of sons; those begotten by one's self upon his own wife, those obtained (as gift) from others, those purchased for a consideration, those reared with affection and those begotten upon other women than upon wedded wives. Sons support the religion and achievements of men, enhance their joys, and rescue deceased ancestors from hell. It behoveth thee not, therefore, O tiger among kings, to abandon a son who is such. Therefore, O lord of Earth, cherish thy own self, truth, and virtue by cherishing thy son. O lion among monarchs, it behoveth thee not to support this deceitfulness. The dedication of a tank is more meritorious than that of a hundred wells. A sacrifice again is more meritorious than the dedication of a tank. A son is more meritorious than a sacrifice. Truth is more meritorious than a hundred sons. A hundred horse-sacrifices had once been weighed against Truth, and Truth was found heavier than a hundred horse-sacrifices. O king, Truth, I ween, may be equal to the study of, the entire Vedas and ablutions in all holy places. There is no virtue equal to Truth: there is nothing superior to Truth. O king, Truth is God himself; Truth is the highest vow. Therefore, violate not thy pledge, O monarch! Let Truth and thee be even united. If thou placest no credit in my words, I shall of my own accord go hence. Indeed, thy companionship should be avoided. But thou, O Dushmanta, that when thou art gone, this son of mine shall rule the whole Earth surrounded by the four seas and adorned with the king of the mountains."

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Sakuntala having spoken to the monarch in this wise, left his presence. But as soon as she had left, a voice from the skies, emanating from no visible shape, thus spoke unto Dushmanta as he was sitting surrounded by his occasional and household priests, his preceptors, and ministers. And the voice said, 'The mother is but the sheath of flesh; the son sprung from the father is the father himself. Therefore, O Dushmanta, cherish thy son, and insult not Sakuntala. O best of men, the son, who is but a form of one's own seed, rescueth (ancestors) from the region of Yama. Thou art the progenitor of this boy. Sakuntala hath spoken the truth. The husband, dividing his body in twain, is born of his wife in the form of son. Therefore, O Dushmanta, cherish, O monarch, thy son born of Sakuntala. To live by forsaking one's living son is a great, misfortune. Therefore, O thou of Puru's race, cherish thy high-souled son born of Sakuntala--And because this child is to be cherished by thee even at our word, therefore shall this thy son be known by the name of Bharata (the cherished).' Hearing these words uttered by the dwellers in heaven, the monarch of Puru's race became overjoyed and spoke as follows unto his priests and ministers, 'Hear ye these words uttered by the celestial messenger? I myself know this one to be my son. If I had taken him as my son on the strength of Sakuntala's words alone, my people would have been suspicious and my son also would not have been regarded as pure.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'The monarch, then, O thou of Bharata's race, seeing the purity of his son established by the celestial messenger, became exceedingly glad. And he took unto him that son with joy. And the king with a joyous heart then performed all those rites upon his son that a father should perform. And the king smelt his child's head and hugged him with affection. And the Brahmanas began to utter blessings upon him and the bards began to applaud him. And the monarch then experienced the great delight that one feeleth at the touch of one's son. And Dushmanta also received mat wife of his with affection. And he told her these words, pacifying her affectionately, 'O goddess, my union with the? took place privately Therefore, I was thinking of how best to establish thy purity. My people might think that we were only lustfully united and not as husband and wife, and therefore, this son that I would have installed as my heir apparent would only have been regarded as one of impure birth. And dearest, every hard word thou hast uttered in thy anger, have I, O large-eyed one, forgiven thee. Thou art my dearest!' And the royal sage Dushmanta, having spoken thus unto his dear wife, O Bharata, received her with offerings of perfume, food, and drink. And king Dushmanta, then, bestowed the name of Bharata upon his child, and formally installed him as the heir apparent. And the famous and bright wheels of Bharata's car, invincible and like unto the wheels of the cars owned by the gods, traversed every region, filling the whole Earth with their rattle. And the son of Dushmanta reduced to subjection all kings of the Earth. And he ruled virtuously and earned great fame. And that monarch of great prowess was known by the titles of Chakravarti and Sarvabhauma. And he performed many sacrifices like Sakra, the lord of the Maruts. And Kanwa was the chief priest at those sacrifices, in which the offerings to Brahmanas were great. And the blessed monarch performed both the cow and the horse-sacrifices. And Bharata gave unto Kanwa a thousand gold coins as the sacerdotal fee. It is that Bharata from whom have emanated so many mighty achievements. It is from him that the great race called after him in his race are called after him. And in the Bharata race there have been born many godlike monarchs gifted with great energy, and like unto Brahman himself. Their number cannot be counted. But, O thou of Bharata's race, I shall name the principal ones that were blessed with great good fortune, like unto the gods, and devoted to truth and honesty.'"

SECTION 75

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Hear now, as I recite the recorded genealogy, that is sacred and subservient to religion, profit and pleasure, of these royal sages--Daksha, the lord of creation, Manu, the son of Surya, Bharata, Ruru, Puru, and Ajamidha. I shall also recite to thee, O sinless one, the genealogies of the Yadavas and of the Kurus and of the king of the Bharata line. These genealogies are sacred and their recitation is a great act of propitiation. That recitation conferreth wealth, fame and long life. And, O sinless one, all these I have named shone in their splendour and were equal unto the great Rishis in energy.

"Prachetas had ten sons who were all devoted to asceticism and possessed of every virtue. They burnt, of old, by the fire emanating from their mouths, several plants of poisonous and innumerable large trees that had covered the Earth and became a source of great discomfort to man. After these ten, was born another named Daksha. It is from Daksha that all creatures have sprung. Therefore is he, O tiger among men, called the Grandfather. Born of Prachetas the Muni Daksha, uniting himself with Virini, begat a thousand sons of rigid vows, all like himself. And Narada taught these thousand sons of Daksha the excellent philosophy of Sankhya as a means of salvation. And, O Janamejaya, the lord of creation, Daksha, then, from the desire of making creatures, begat fifty daughters. And he made all of them his appointed daughters (so that their sons might be his sons also for the performance of all religious acts). And he bestowed ten of his daughters on Dharma, and thirteen on Kasyapa. And he gave twenty-seven to Chandra, who are all engaged in indicating time. And Kasyapa, the son of Marichi, begat on the eldest of his thirteen wives, the Adityas, the celestials endued with great energy and having Indra as their head and also Vivaswat (the Sun). And of Vivaswat was born the lord Yama. And Martanda (Vivaswat) also begat another son after Yama,

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gifted with great intelligence and named Manu. And Manu was endued with great wisdom and devoted to virtue. And he became the progenitor of a line. And in Manu's race have been born all human beings, who have, therefore, been called Manavas. And it is of Manu that all men including Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, and others have been descended, and are, therefore, all called Manavas. Subsequently, O monarch, the Brahmanas became united with the Kshatriyas. And those sons of Manu that were Brahmanas devoted themselves to the study of the Vedas. And Manu begat ten other children named Vena, Dhrishnu, Narishyan, Nabhaga, Ikshvaku, Karusha, Saryati, the eighth, a daughter named Ila, Prishadhru the ninth, and Nabhagarishta, the tenth. They all betook themselves to the practices of Kshatriyas. Besides these, Manu had fifty other sons on Earth. But we heard that they all perished, quarrelling with one another. The learned Pururavas was born of Ila. It hath been heard by us that Ila was both his mother and father. And the great Pururavas had sway over thirteen islands of the sea. And, though a human being, he was always surrounded by companions that were superhuman. And Pururavas intoxicated with power quarrelled with the Brahmanas and little caring for their anger robbed them of their wealth. Beholding all this Sanatkumara came from the region of Brahman and gave him good counsel, which was, however, rejected by Pururavas. Then the wrath of the great Rishis was excited, and the avaricious monarch, who intoxicated with power, had lost his reason, was immediately destroyed by their curse.

"It was Pururavas who first brought from the region of the Gandharvas the three kinds of fire (for sacrificial purpose). And he brought thence, the Apsara Urvasi also. And the son of Ila begat upon Urvasi six sons who were called Ayus, Dhimat, Amavasu and Dhridhayus, and Vanayus, and Satayus. And it is said that Ayus begat four sons named Nahusha, Vriddhasarman, Rajingaya, and Anenas, on the daughter of Swarbhanu. And, O monarch, Nahusha, of all the sons of Ayus, being gifted with great intelligence and prowess ruled his extensive kingdom virtuously. And king Nahusha supported evenly the Pitris, the celestials, the Rishis, the Brahmanas, the Gandharvas, the Nagas, the Rakshasas, the Kshatriyas, and the Vaisyas. And he suppressed all robber-gangs with a mighty hand. But he made the Rishis pay tribute and carry him on their backs like bests of burden. And, conquering the very gods by the beauty of his person, his asceticism, prowess, and energy, he ruled as if he were Indra himself. And Nahusha begat six sons, all of sweet speech, named Yati, Yayati, Sanyati, Ayati, and Dhruva. Yati betaking himself to asceticism became a Muni like unto Brahman himself. Yayati became a monarch of great prowess and virtue. He ruled the whole Earth, performed numerous sacrifices, worshipped the Pitris with great reverence, and always respected the gods. And he brought the whole world under his sway and was never vanquished by any foe. And the sons of Yayati were all great bowmen and resplendent with every virtue. And, O king, they were begotten upon (his two wives) Devayani and Sarmishtha. And of Devayani were born Yadu and Turvasu, and of Sarmishtha were born Drahyu, Anu, and Puru. And, O king, having virtuously ruled his subjects for a long time, Yayati was attacked with a hideous decrepitude destroying his personal beauty. And attacked by decrepitude, the monarch then spoke, O Bharata, unto his sons Yadu and Puru and Turvasu and Drahyu and Anu these words, 'Ye dear sons, I wish to be a young man and to gratify my appetites in the company of young women. Do you help me therein.' To him his eldest son born of Devayani then said, 'What needest thou, O king? Dost thou want to have your youth?' Yayati then told him, 'Accept thou my decrepitude, O son! With thy youth I would enjoy myself. During the time of a great sacrifice I have been cursed by the Muni Usanas (Sukra). O son, I would enjoy myself with your youth. Take any of you this my decrepitude and with my body rule ye my kingdom. I would enjoy myself with a renovated body. Therefore, ye my sons, take ye my decrepitude.' But none of his sons accepted his decrepitude. Then his youngest son Puru said unto him, 'O king, enjoy thyself thou once again with a renovated body and returned youth! I shall take thy decrepitude and at thy command rule thy kingdom.' Thus addressed, the royal sage, by virtue of his ascetic power then transferred his own decrepitude unto that high-souled son of his and with the youth of Puru became a youth; while with the monarch's age Puru ruled his kingdom.

"Then, after a thousand years had passed away, Yayati, that tiger among kings, remained as strong and powerful as a tiger. And he enjoyed for a long time the companionship of his two wives. And in the gardens of Chitraratha (the king of Gandharvas), the king also enjoyed the company of the Apsara Viswachi. But even after all this, the great king found his appetites unsatiated. The king, then recollected the following truths contained in the Puranas, 'Truly, one's appetites are never satiated by enjoyment. On the other hand, like sacrificial butter poured into the fire, they flame up with indulgence. Even if one enjoyed the whole Earth with its wealth, diamonds and gold, animals and women, one may not yet be satiated. It is only when man doth not commit any sin in respect of any living thing, in thought, deed, or speech, it is then that he attaineth to purity as that of Brahman. When one feareth nothing, when one is not feared by anything, when one wisheth for nothing, when one injureth nothing, it is then that one attaineth to the purity of Brahman.' The wise monarch seeing this and satisfied that one's appetites are never satiated, set his mind at rest by meditation, and took back from his son his own decrepitude. And giving him back his youth, though his own appetites were unsatiated, and installing him on the throne, he spoke unto Puru thus, 'Thou art my true heir, thou art my true son by whom my race is to be continued. In the world shall my race be known by thy name.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then that tiger among kings, having installed his son Puru on the throne, went away to the mount of Bhrigu for devoting himself to asceticism. And, having acquired great ascetic merit, after long years, he succumbed to the inevitable influence of Time. He left his human body by observing the vow of fasting, and ascended to heaven with his wives.'"

SECTION 76

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Janamejaya said, 'O thou of the wealth of asceticism, tell me how our ancestor Yayati, who is the tenth from Prajapati, obtained for a wife the unobtainable daughter of Sukra. I desire to hear of it in detail. Tell me also, one after another, of those monarchs separately who were the founders of dynasties.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'The monarch Yayati was in splendour like unto Indra himself. I will tell thee, in reply to thy question, O Janamejaya, how both Sukra and Vrishaparvan bestowed upon him, with due rites, their daughters, and how his union took place with Devayani in special.

"Between the celestials and the Asuras, there happened, of yore, frequent encounters for the sovereignty of the three worlds with everything in them. The gods, then, from desire of victory, installed the son of Angiras (Vrihaspati) as their priest to conduct their sacrifices; while their opponents installed the learned Usanas as their priest for the same purpose. And between those two Brahmanas there are always much boastful rivalry. Those Danavas assembled for encounter that were slain by the gods were all revived by the seer Sukra by the power of his knowledge. And then starting again, into life,--these fought with the gods. The Asuras also slew on the field of battle many of the celestials. But the open-minded Vrihaspati could not revive them, because he knew not the science called Sanjivani (re-vivification) which Kavya endued with great energy knew so well. And the gods were, therefore, in great sorrow. And the gods, in great anxiety of heart and entertaining a fear of the learned Usanas, then went to Kacha, the eldest son of Vrihaspati, and spoke unto him, saying, 'We pay court to thee, be kind to us and do us a service that we regard as very great. That knowledge which resides in Sukra, that Brahmana of immeasurable prowess, make thy own as soon as thou canst. Thou shalt find the Brahmana in the court of Vrishaparvan. He always protects the Danavas but never us, their opponents. Thou art his junior in age, and, therefore, capable of adoring him with reverence. Thou canst also adore Devayani, the favourite daughter of that high-souled Brahmana. Indeed, thou alone art capable of propitiating them both by worship. There is none else that can do so. By gratifying Devayani with thy conduct, liberality, sweetness, and general behaviour, thou canst certainly obtain that knowledge.' The son of Vrihaspati, thus solicited by the gods, said 'So be it, and went to where Vrishaparvan was. Kacha, thus sent by the gods, soon went to the capital of the chief of the Asuras, and beheld Sukra there. And beholding him, he thus spoke unto him, 'Accept me as thy disciple. I am the grandson of the Rishi Angiras and son of Vrihaspati. By name I am known as Kacha. Thyself becoming my preceptor, I shall practise the Brahmacharya mode of life for a thousand years. Command me, then, O Brahmana!'

"Sukra (hearing this) said, 'Welcome art thou, O Kacha! I accept thy speech. I will treat thee with regard; for by so doing, it is Vrihaspati who will be regarded.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Kacha commanded by Kavya or Usanas himself, called also Sukra, then said, 'So be it,' and took the vow he had spoken of. And, O Bharata, accepting the vow of which he had spoken, at the proper time, Kacha began to conciliate regardfully both his preceptor and (his daughter) Devayani. Indeed, he began to conciliate both. And as he was young, by singing and dancing and playing on different kinds of instruments, he soon gratified Devayani who was herself in her youth. And, O Bharata, with his whole heart set upon it, he soon gratified the maiden Devayani who was then a young lady, by presents of flowers and fruits and services rendered with alacrity. And Devayani also with her songs and sweetness of manners used, while they were alone, to attend upon that youth carrying out his vow. And when five hundred years had thus passed of Kacha's vow, the Danavas came to learn his intention. And having no compunctions about slaying a Brahmana, they became very angry with him. And one day they saw Kacha in a solitary part of the woods engaged in tending (his preceptor's) kine. They then slew Kacha from their hatred of Vrihaspati and also from their desire of protecting the knowledge of reviving the dead from being conveyed by him. And having slain him, they hacked his body into pieces and gave them to be devoured by jackals and wolves. And (when twilight came) the kine returned to the fold without him who tended them. And Devayani, seeing the kine returned from the woods without Kacha, spoke, O Bharata, unto her father thus:

'Thy evening-fire hath been kindled. The Sun also hath set, O father! The kine have returned without him who tendeth them. Kacha is, indeed, not to be seen. It is plain that Kacha hath been lost, or is dead. Truly do I say, O father, that without him I will not live.'

"Sukra hearing this said, I will revive him by saying, 'Let this one come.' Then having recourse to the science of reviving the dead, Sukra summoned Kacha. And summoned by his preceptor, Kacha appeared before him in the gladness of heart tearing by virtue of his preceptor's science the bodies of the wolves (that had devoured him). And asked about the cause of his delay, he thus spoke unto Bhargava's daughter. Indeed, asked by that Brahman's daughter, he told her, 'I was dead. O thou of pure manners, burdened with sacrificial fuel, Kusa grass, and logs of wood, I was coming towards our abode. I sat under a banian tree. The kine also, having been brought together, were staying under the shade of that same banian tree. The Asuras, beholding me, asked 'Who art thou?' They heard me answer, 'I am the son of Vrihaspati.' As soon as I said this, the Danavas slew me, and hacking my body into pieces gave my remains to jackals and wolves. And they then went home in the gladness of heart. O amiable one, summoned by the high-souled Bhargava, I after all come before thee fully revived.'

"On another occasion, asked by Devayani, the Brahmana Kacha went into the woods. And as he was roving about for gathering flowers, the Danavas beheld him. They again slew him, and pounding him into a paste they mixed it with the water of the ocean. Finding him long still (in coming), the maiden again represented the matter unto her father. And summoned again by the Brahmana with the aid of his science, Kacha appearing before his preceptor and his daughter told everything as it had happened. Then slaying him for the third time and burning him and reducing him to ashes, the Asuras gave those ashes to the preceptor himself, mixing them with his wine. And Devayani again spoke unto her father, saying, 'O father, Kacha was sent to gather flowers. But he is not to be seen. It is plain he hath been lost, or has died. I tell thee truly, I would not live without him.'

"Sukra hearing this said, 'O daughter, the son of Vrihaspati hath gone to the region of the dead. Though revived by my science, he is thus slain frequently. What, indeed, am I to do? O Devayani, do not grieve, do not cry. One like thee should not grieve for one that is mortal. Thou art indeed, O daughter, in consequence of my prowess, worshipped thrice a day during the ordained hours of prayer, by Brahmanas, the gods with Indra, the Vasus, the Aswins, the Asuras, in fact, by the whole universe. It is impossible to keep him alive, for revived by me he is often killed.' To all this Devayani replied, 'Why shall I, O father, not grieve for him whose grandfather is old Angiras himself, whose father is Vrihaspati who is an ocean of ascetic merit, who is the grandson of a Rishi and the son also of a Rishi? He himself too was a Brahmacharin and an ascetic; always wakeful and skilled in everything. I will starve and follow the way Kacha has gone. The handsome Kacha is, O father, dear unto me.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'The great Rishi Kavya, then, afflicted by what Devayani said, cried in anger, 'Certainly, the Asuras seek to injure me, for they slay my disciple that stayeth with me. These followers of Rudra desire to divest me of my character as a Brahmana by making me participate in their crime. Truly, this crime hath a terrible end. The crime of slaying a Brahmana would even burn Indra himself.' Having said this, the Brahmana Sukra, urged by Devayani, began to summon Kacha who had entered the jaws of Death. But Kacha, summoned with the aid of science, and afraid of the consequence to his preceptor, feebly replied from within the stomach of his preceptor, saying, 'Be graceful unto me, O lord! I am Kacha that worshippeth thee. Behave unto me as to thy own dearly-loved son.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Sukra then said, 'By what path, O Brahmana, hast thou entered my stomach, where thou stayest now? Leaving the Asuras this very moment, I shall go over to the gods." Kacha replied, 'By thy grace, memory hath not failed me. Indeed, I do recollect everything as it hath happened. My ascetic virtues have not been destroyed. It is, therefore, that I am able to bear this almost insufferable pain. O Kavya, slain by the Asuras and burnt and reduced to powder, I have been given to thee with thy wine. When thou art present, O Brahmana, the art of the Asuras will never be able to vanquish, the science of the Brahmana.'

"Hearing this, Sukra said, 'O daughter, what good can I do to thee? It is with my death that Kacha can get his life back. O Devayani, Kacha is even within me. There is no other way of his coming out except by ripping open my stomach.' Devayani

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replied, 'Both evils shall, like fire, burn me! The death of Kacha and thy own death are to me the same! The death of Kacha would deprive me of life. If thou also diest, I shall not be able to bear my life.' Then Sukra said, 'O son of Vrihaspati, thou art, indeed, one already crowned with success, because Devayani regards thee so well. Accept the science that I will today impart to thee, if, indeed, thou be not Indra in the form of Kacha. None can come out of my stomach with life. A Brahmana, however, must not be slain, therefore, accept thou the science I impart to thee. Start thou into life as my son. And possessed of the knowledge received from me, and revived by me, take care that, on coming out of my body, thou dost act gracefully.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Receiving the science imparted to him by his preceptor the handsome Kacha, ripped open his stomach, came out like the moon at evening on the fifteenth day of the bright fort-night. And beholding the remains of his preceptor lying like a heap of penances, Kacha revived him, aided by the science he had learned. Worshipping him with regard, Kacha said unto his preceptor, 'Him who poureth the nectar of knowledge into one's ears, even as thou hast done into those of myself who was void of knowledge, him do I regard both as my father and mother. And remembering the immense service done by him, who is there so ungrateful as to injure him? They that, having acquired knowledge, injure their preceptor who is always an object of worship, who is the giver of knowledge, who is the most precious of all precious objects on Earth, come to be hated on Earth and finally go to the regions of the sinful.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'The learned Sukra, having been deceived while under the influence of wine, and remembering the total loss of consciousness that is one of the terrible consequences of drink, and beholding too before him the handsome Kacha whom he had, in a state of unconsciousness, drunk with his wine, then thought of effecting a reform in the manners of Brahmanas. The high-souled Usanas rising up from the ground in anger, then spoke as follows: "The wretched Brahmana who from this day, unable to resist the temptation, will drink wine shall be regarded as having lost his virtue, shall be reckoned to have committed the sin of slaying a Brahmana, shall be hated both in this and the other worlds. I set this limit to the conduct and dignity of Brahmanas everywhere. Let the honest, let Brahmanas, let those with regard for their superiors, let the gods, let the three worlds, listen!' Having said these words that high-souled one, that ascetic of ascetics, then summoning the Danavas who had been deprived by fate of the good sense, told them these words, Ye foolish Danavas, know ye that Kacha hath obtained his wishes. He will henceforth dwell with me. Having obtained the valuable knowledge of reviving the dead, that Brahmana hath, indeed, become in prowess even as Brahman himself!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Bhargava having said so much cut short his speech. The Danavas were surprised and went away to their homes. Kacha, too, having stayed with his preceptor for a full thousand years, then prepared to return to the abode of the celestials, after having obtained his preceptor's permission.'"

SECTION 77

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'After the expiry of the period of his vow, Kacha, having obtained his preceptor's leave, was about to return to the abode of the celestials, when Devayani, addressing him, said, 'O grandson of the Rishi Angiras, in conduct and birth, in learning, asceticism and humility, thou shinest most brightly. As the celebrated Rishi Angiras is honoured and regarded by my father, so is thy father regarded and worshipped by me. O thou of ascetic wealth, knowing this, listen to what I say. Recollect my conduct towards thee during the period of thy vow (Brahmacharya). Thy vow hath now been over. It behoveth thee to fix thy affections on me. O accept my hand duly with ordained mantras.'

"Kacha replied, 'Thou art to me an object of regard and worship even as thy father! O thou of faultless features, thou art, indeed, even an object of greater reverence! Thou art dearer than life to the high-souled Bhargava, O amiable one! As the daughter of my preceptor, thou art ever worthy of my worship! As my preceptor Sukra, thy father, is ever deserving of my regards, so art thou, O Devayani! Therefore, it behoveth thee not to say so.' Hearing this, Devayani replied, 'Thou, too, art the son of my father's preceptor's son. Therefore, O best of Brahmanas, thou art deserving of my regards and worship. O Kacha, when thou wert slain so many times by the Asuras, recollect today the affection I showed for thee. Remembering my friendship and affection for thee, and, indeed, my devoted regard also, O virtuous one, it behoveth thee not to abandon me without any fault. I am truly devoted to thee.'

"Hearing all this, Kacha said, 'O thou of virtuous vows, do not urge me into such a sinful course. O thou of fair eye-brows, be gracious unto me. Beautiful one, thou art to me an object of greater regard than my preceptor. Full of virtuous resolves, O large-eyed one, of face as handsome, as moon, the place where thou hadst resided, viz., the body of Kavya, hath also been my abode. Thou art truly my sister. Amiable one, happily have we passed the days that we have been together. There is perfect good understanding between us. I ask thy leave to return to my abode. Therefore, bless me so that my journey may be safe. I must be remembered by thee, when thou recallest me in connexion with topics of conversation, as one that hath not transgressed virtue. Always attend upon my preceptor with readiness and singleness of heart.' To all this, Devaniya answered, 'Solicited, by me, if, indeed, thou truly refusest to make me thy wife, then, O Kacha, this thy knowledge shall not bear fruit.'

"Hearing this, Kacha said, 'I have refused thy request only because thou art the daughter of my preceptor, and not because thou hast any fault. Nor hath my preceptor in this respect issued any command. Curse me if it please thee. I have told thee what the behaviour should be of a Rishi. I do not deserve thy curse, O Devayani. But yet thou hast cursed me! Thou hast acted under the influence of passion and not from a sense of duty. Therefore, thy desire will not be fulfilled. No Rishi's son shall ever accept thy hand in marriage. Thou hast said that my knowledge shall not bear fruit. Let it be so. But in respect of him it shall bear fruit to whom I may impart it.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'That first of Brahmanas, Kacha, having said so unto Devayani speedily wended his way unto the abode of the chief of the celestials. Beholding him arrived, the celestials with Indra ahead, having first worshipped him, spoke unto him as follows, 'Thou hast indeed, performed an act of great benefit for us. Wonderful hath been thy achievement! Thy fame shall never die! Thou shall be a sharer with us in sacrificial offerings.'"

SECTION 78

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'The dwellers in heaven became exceedingly glad in welcoming Kacha who had mastered the wonderful science. And, O bull of Bharata's race, the celestials then learnt that science from Kacha and considered their object already achieved. And assembling together, they spoke unto him of a hundred sacrifices, saying, 'The time hath come for showing prowess. Slay thy foes, O Purandara!' And thus addressed, Maghavat, then accompanied by the celestials, set out, saying, 'So be it.' But on his way he saw a number of damsels. These maidens were sporting in a lake in the gardens of the Gandharva Chitraratha. Changing himself into wind, he soon mixed up the garments of those maidens which they had laid on the bank. A little while after, the maidens, getting up from the water, approached their garments that had, indeed, got mixed up with one another. And it so happened that from the intermingled heap, the garments of Devayani were appropriated by Sarmishtha, the daughter of Vrishaparvan, from ignorance that it was not hers. And, O king, thereupon, between them, Devayani and Sarmishtha, then ensued a dispute. And Devayani said, 'O daughter of the Asura (chief), why dost thou take my attire, being, as thou art, my disciple? As thou art destitute of good behaviour, nothing good can happen to thee!' Sarmishtha, however, quickly replied, 'Thy father occupying a lower seat, always adoreth with downcast looks, like a hired chanter of praises, my father, whether he sitteth at his ease or reclineth at full length! Thou art the daughter of one that chanteth the praises of others, of one that accepteth alms. I am the daughter of one who is adored, of one who bestoweth alms instead of ever accepting them! Beggar-woman as thou art, thou art free to strike thy breast, to use ill words, to vow enmity to me, to give way to thy wrath. Acceptress of alms, thou weepest tears of anger in vain! If so minded, I can harm thee, but thou canst not. Thou desirest to quarrel. But know thou that I do not reckon thee as my equal!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words, Devayani became exceedingly angry and began to pull at her clothes. Sarmishtha thereupon threw her into a well and went home. Indeed, the wicked Sarmishtha believing that Devayani was dead, bent her steps home-wards in a wrathful mood.

"After Sarmishtha had left, Yayati the son of Nahusha soon came to that spot. The king had been out a-hunting. The couple of horses harnessed to his car and the other single horse with him were all fatigued. And the king himself was thirsty. And the son of Nahusha saw a well that was by. And he saw that it was dry. But in looking down into it, he saw a maiden who in splendour was like a blazing fire. And beholding her within it, the blessed king addressed that girl of the complexion of the celestials, soothing her with sweet words. And he said, 'Who art thou, O fair one, of nails bright as burnished copper, and with ear-rings decked with celestial gems? Thou seemest to be greatly perturbed. Why dost thou weep in affliction? How, indeed, hast thou fallen into this well covered with creepers and long grass? And, O slender-waisted girl, answer me truly whose daughter thou art.

"Devayani then replied, 'I am the daughter of Sukra who brings back into life the Asuras slain by the gods. He doth not know what hath befallen me. This is my right hand, O king, with nails bright as burnished copper. Thou art well-born; I ask thee, to take and raise me up! I know thou art of good behaviour, of great prowess, and of wide fame! It behoveth thee, therefore, to raise me from this well.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'King Yayati, learning that she was a Brahmana's daughter, raised her from that well by catching hold of her right hand. And the monarch promptly raising her from the pit and squinting to her tapering thighs, sweetly and courteously returned to his capital.

"When the son of Nahusha had gone away, Devayani of faultless features, afflicted with grief, then spoke unto her maid, Ghurnika by name, who met her then. And she said, 'O Ghurnika, go thou quickly and speak to my father without loss of time of everything as it hath happened. I shall not now enter the city of Vrishaparvan.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Ghurnika, thus commanded, repaired quickly to the mansion, of the Asura chief, where she saw Kavya and spoke unto him with her perception dimmed by anger. And she said, 'I tell thee, O great Brahmana, that Devayani hath been ill-used, O fortunate one, in the forest by Sarmishtha, the daughter of Vrishaparvan.' And Kavya, hearing that his daughter had been ill-used by Sarmishtha speedily went out with a heavy heart, seeking her in the woods. And when he found her in the woods, he clasped her with affection and spoke unto her with voice choked with grief, 'O daughter, the weal or woe that befalleth people is always due to their own faults. Thou hast therefore some fault, I ween, which hath been expiated thus.' Hearing this Devayani replied, 'Be it a penalty or not, listen to me with attention. O, hear that all Sarmishtha, the daughter of Vrishaparvan, hath said unto me. Really hath she said that thou art only the hired chanter of the praises of the Asura king! Even thus hath she--that Sarmishtha, Vrishaparvan's daughter,--spoken to me, with reddened eyes, these piercing and cruel words, 'Thou art the daughter of one that ever chanteth for hire the praises of others, of one that asketh for charities, of one that accepteth alms; whereas I am the daughter of one that receiveth adorations, of one that giveth, of one that never accepteth anything as gift!' These have been the words repeatedly spoken unto me by the proud Sarmishtha, the daughter of Vrishaparvan, with eyes red with anger. If, O father, I am really the daughter of a hired chanter of praises, of one that accepteth gifts, I must offer my adorations in the hope of obtaining her grace! Oh, of this I have already told her!'

"Sukra replied, 'Thou art, O Devayani, no daughter of a hired adorer, of one that asketh for alms and accepteth gifts. Thou art the daughter of one that adores none, but of one that is adored by all! Vrishaparvan himself knoweth it, and Indra, and king Yayati too. That inconceivable Brahma, that unopposable Godhead, is my strength! The self-create, himself, gratified by me, hath said that I am for aye the lord of that which is in all things on Earth or in Heaven! I tell thee truly that it is I who pour rain for the good of creatures and who nourish the annual plants that sustain all living things!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'It was by such sweet words of excellent import that the father endeavoured to pacify his daughter afflicted with woe and oppressed by anger.'"

SECTION 79

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Sukra continued, 'Know, then, O Devayani, that he that mindeth not the evil speeches of others, conquereth everything! The wise say that he is a true charioteer who without slackening holdeth tightly the reins of his horses. He, therefore, is the true man that subdueth, without indulging in his rising wrath. Know thou, O Devayani, that by him is everything conquered, who calmly subdueth his rising anger. He is regarded as a man who by having recourse to forgiveness, shaketh off his rising anger like a snake casting off its slough He that suppresseth his anger, he that regardeth not the evil speeches of others, he that becometh not angry, though there be cause, certainly acquireth the four objects for which we live (viz., virtue, profit, desire, and salvation) Between him that performeth without fatigue sacrifices every month for a hundred years, and him that never feeleth angry at anything, he that feeleth not wrath is certainly the higher. Boys and girls, unable to distinguish between right and wrong, quarrel with each other. The wise never imitate them.' Devayani, on hearing this speech of her father, said, 'O father, I know, also what the difference is between anger and forgiveness as regards the power of each. But when a disciple behaveth disrespectfully, he should never be forgiven by the preceptor if the latter is really desirous of benefiting the former. Therefore, I do not desire to live any longer in a country where evil behaviour is at a premium. The wise man desirous of good, should not dwell among those sinfully inclined men who always speak ill of good behaviour and high birth. But there should one live,--indeed, that hath been said to be the best of dwelling places,--where good behaviour and purity of birth are known and respected. The cruel words uttered by Vrishaparvan's daughter burn my heart even as men, desirous of kindling a fire, burn the dry fuel. I do not think anything more miserable for a man in the three worlds than to adore one's enemies blessed with good fortune, himself possessing none. It hath been indeed said by the learned that for such a man even death would be better.'"

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SECTION 80

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then Kavya, the foremost of Bhrigu's line, became angry himself. And approaching Vrishaparvan where the latter was seated, began to address him without weighing his words, 'O king,' he said, 'sinful acts do not, like the Earth, bear fruit immediately! But gradually and secretly do they extirpate their doers. Such fruit visiteth either in one's own self, one's son, or one's grandson. Sins must bear their fruit. Like rich food they can never be digested. And because ye slew the Brahmana Kacha, the grandson of Angiras, who was virtuous, acquainted with the precepts of religion, and attentive to his duties, while residing in my abode, even for this act of slaughter--and for the mal-treatment of my daughter too, know, O Vrishaparvan, I shall leave thee and thy relatives! Indeed, O king, for this, I can no longer stay with thee! Dost thou, O Asura chief, think that I am a raving liar? Thou makest light of thy offence without seeking to correct it!'.

"Vrishaparvan then said, 'O son of Bhrigu, never have I attributed want of virtue, of falsehood, to thee. Indeed, virtue and truth ever dwell in thee. Be kind to me! O Bhargava, if, leaving us, thou really goest hence, we shall then go into the depths of the ocean. Indeed, there is nothing else for us to do.'

"Sukra then replied, 'Ye Asuras, whether ye go into the depths of the ocean or fly away to all directions. I care little. I am unable to bear my daughter's grief. My daughter is ever dear to me. My life dependeth on her. Seek ye to please her. As Vrihaspati ever seeketh the good of Indra, so do I always seek thine by my ascetic merits.'

"Vrishaparvan then said, 'O Bhargava, thou art the absolute master of whatever is possessed by the Asura chiefs in this world-their elephants, kine and horses, and even my humble self!'

"Sukra then answered, 'If it is true, O great Asura, that I am the lord of all the wealth of the Asuras, then go and gratify Devayani.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'when the great Kavya was so addressed by Vrishaparvan, he then went to Devayani and told her all. Devayani, however, quickly replied, 'O Bhargava, if thou art truly the lord of the Asura king himself and of all his wealth, then let the king himself come to me and say so in my presence.' Vrishaparvan then approached Devayani and told her, 'O Devayani of sweet smiles, whatever thou desirest I am willing to give thee, however difficult it may be to grant the same.' Devayani answered, 'I desire Sarmishtha with a thousand maids to wait on me! She must also follow me to where my father may give me away.'

"Vrishaparvan then commanded a maid-servant in attendance on him, saying, 'Go and quickly bring Sarmishtha hither. Let her also accomplish what Devayani wisheth.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'The maid-servant then repaired to Sarmishtha and told her, 'O amiable Sarmishtha, rise and follow me. Accomplish the good of thy relatives. Urged by Devayani, the Brahmana (Sukra) is on the point of leaving his disciples (the Asuras). O sinless one, thou must do what Devayani wisheth.' Sarmishtha replied, 'I shall cheerfully do what Devayani wisheth. Urged by Devayani Sukra is calling me. Both Sukra and Devayani must not leave the Asuras through my fault.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Commanded by her father, then, Sarmishtha, accompanied by a thousand maidens, soon came, in a palanquin, out of her father's excellent mansion. And approaching Devayani she said, 'With my thousand maids, I am thy waiting-maid! And I shall follow thee where thy father may give thee away.' Devayani replied, 'I am the daughter of one who chanteth the praises of thy father, and who beggeth and accepteth alms; thou, on the other hand, art the daughter of one who is adored. How canst thou be my waiting-maid?'

"Sarmishtha answered, 'One must by all means contribute to the happiness of one's afflicted relatives. Therefore shall I follow thee wherever thy father may give thee away.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'When Sarmishtha thus promised to be Devayani's waiting-maid the latter, O king, then spoke unto her father thus, 'O best of all excellent Brahmanas, I am gratified. I shall now enter the Asura capital! I now know that thy science and power of knowledge are not futile!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'That best of Brahmanas, of great reputation, thus addressed by his daughter, then, entered the Asura capital in the gladness of his heart. And the Danavas worshipped him with great reverence.'"

SECTION 81

(Sambhava Parva continued)

Vaisampayana said, 'After some length of time, O best of monarchs, Devayani of the fairest complexion went into the same woods for purposes of pleasure. And accompanied by Sarmishtha with her thousand maids she reached the same spot and began to wander freely. And waited upon by all those companions she felt supremely happy. And sporting with light hearts, they began drinking the honey in flowers, eating various kinds of fruit and biting some. And just at that time, king Yayati, the son of Nahusha, again came there tired and thirsty, in course of his wanderings, in search of deer. And the king saw Devayani and Sarmishtha, and those other maidens also, all decked with celestial ornaments and full of voluptuous languor in consequence of the flower-honey they drank. And Devayani of sweet smiles, unrivalled for beauty and possessed of the fairest complexion amongst them all, was reclining at her ease. And she was waited upon by Sarmishtha who was gently kneading her feet.

"And Yayati seeing all this, said, 'O amiable ones, I would ask you both your names and parentage. It seems that these two thousand maids wait on you two.' 'Hearing the monarch, Devayani then answered, 'Listen to me, O best of men. Know that I am the daughter of Sukra, the spiritual guide of the Asuras. This my companion is my waiting-maid. She attendeth on me wherever I go. She is Sarmishtha, the daughter of the Asura king Vrishaparvan.'

"Yayati then asked, 'I am curious to know why is this thy companion of fair eye-brows, this maiden of the fairest complexion, the daughter of the Asura chief thy waiting-maid!' Devayani replied, 'O best of king, everything resulteth from Fate. Knowing this also to be the result of Fate, wonder not at it. Thy feature and attire are both like a king's. Thy speech also is fair and correct as that of the Vedas. Tell me thy name, whence thou art and whose son also.'

"The monarch replied, 'During my vow of Brahmacharya, the whole Vedas entered my ears. I am known as Yayati, a king's son and myself a king.' Devayani then enquired, 'O king, what hast thou come here for? Is it to gather lotuses or to angle or to hunt?' Yayati said, 'O amiable one, thirsty from the pursuit of deer, I have come hither in search of water. I am very much fatigued. I await but your commands to leave this spot.'

"Devayani answered, 'With my two thousand damsels and my waiting-maid Sarmishtha, I wait but your commands. Prosperity to thee. Be thou my friend and lord.'

"Yayati, thereupon, replied, 'Beautiful one, I do not deserve thee. Thou art the daughter of Sukra far superior to me. Thy father cannot bestow thee even on a great king.' To this Devayani replied, 'Brahmanas had before this been united with the Kshatriyas, and Kshatriyas with Brahmanas. Thou art the son of a Rishi and thyself a Rishi. Therefore, O son of Nahusha, marry me.' Yayati, however, replied, 'O thou of the handsomest features, the four orders have, indeed, sprung from one body. But their duties and purity are not the same, the Brahmana being truly superior to all.' Devayani answered, 'This hand of mine hath never been touched before by any man save thee. Therefore, do I accept thee for my lord. How, indeed, shall any other man touch my hand which had before been touched by thyself who art a Rishi? Yayati then said, 'The wise know that a Brahmana is more to be avoided than an angry snake of virulent poison, or a blazing fire of spreading flames.' Devayani then told the monarch, 'O bull amongst men, why dost thou, indeed, say that Brahmana should be more avoided than an angry snake of virulent poison or a blazing fire of spreading flames?' The monarch answered, 'The snake killeth only one. The sharpest weapon slayeth but a single person. The Brahmana, when angry destroyeth whole cities and kingdoms! Therefore, O timid one, do I deem a Brahmana as more to be avoided than either. I cannot hence wed thee, O amiable one, unless thy father bestoweth thee on me. Devayani then said, 'Thou art, indeed, chosen by me. And, O king, it is understood that thou wilt accept me if my father bestoweth me on thee. Thou needst not fear to accept my poor self bestowed on thee. Thou dost not, indeed, ask for me.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'After this, Devayani quickly sent a maidservant to her father. The maid represented to Sukra everything as it had happened. And as soon as he had heard all, Bhargava came and saw Yayati. And beholding Bhargava come, Yayati worshipped and adored that Brahmana, and stood with joined palms in expectation of his commands.'

"And Devayani then said, 'This O father, is the son of Nahusha. He took hold of my hand, when I was in distress. I bow to thee. Bestow me upon him. I shall not wed any other person in the world.' Sukra exclaimed, 'O thou of splendid courage, thou hast, indeed, been accepted as her lord by this my dear daughter. I bestow her on thee. Therefore, O son of Nahusha, accept her as thy wife.'

"Yayati then said, 'I solicit the boon, O Brahmana, that by so doing, the sin of begetting a half-breed might not touch me.' Sukra, however, assured him by saying, 'I shall absolve thee from the sin. Ask thou the boon that thou desirest. Fear not to wed her. I grant thee absolution. Maintain virtuously thy wife--the slender-waisted Devayani. Transports of happiness be thine in her company. This other maiden, Vrishaparvan's daughter, Sarmishtha should ever be regarded by thee. But thou shall not summon her to thy bed.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed by Sukra, Yayati then walked round the Brahmana. And the king then went through the auspicious ceremony of marriage according to the rites of the scriptures. And having received from Sukra this rich treasure of the excellent Devayani with Sarmishtha and those two thousand maidens, and duly honoured also by Sukra himself and the Asuras, the best of monarchs, then, commanded by the high-souled Bhargava, returned to his capital with a joyous heart.'"

SECTION 82

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Yayati then, on returning to his capital which was like unto the city of Indra, entered his inner apartments and established there his bride Devayani. And the monarch, directed by Devayani, established Vrishaparvan's daughter Sarmishtha in a mansion especially erected near the artificial woods of Asokas in his gardens. And the king surrounded Vrishaparvan's daughter Sarmishtha with a thousand maids and honoured her by making every arrangement for her food and garments. But it was with Devayani that the royal son of Nahusha sported like a celestial for many years in joy and bliss. And when her season came, the fair Devayani conceived. And she brought forth as her first child a fine boy. And when a thousand years had passed away, Vrishaparvan's daughter Sarmishtha having attained to puberty saw that her season had come. She became anxious and said to herself, 'My season hath arrived. But I have not yet chosen a husband. O, what hath happened, what should I do? How am I to obtain the fruition of my wishes? Devayani hath become mother. My youth is doomed to pass away in vain. Shall I choose him also for my husband whom Devayani hath chosen? This is, indeed, my resolve: that monarch should give me a son. Will not the virtuous one grant me a private interview?'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'While Sarmishtha was thus busy with her thoughts, the king wandering listlessly came to that very wood of Asokas, and beholding Sarmishtha before him, stood there in silence. Then Sarmishtha of sweet smiles seeing the monarch before her with nobody to witness what might pass, approached him and said with joined palms, 'O son of Nahusha, no one can behold the ladies that dwell in the inner apartments of Soma, of Indra, of Vishnu, of Yama, of Varuna, and of thee! Thou knowest, O king, that I am both handsome and well-born. I solicit thee, O king! My season hath arrived. See that it goeth not in vain.'

"Yayati answered, 'Well do I know that honour of birth is thine, born as thou art in the proud race of the Danavas. Thou art also gifted with beauty. I do not, indeed, see even the speck of a fault in thy feature. But Usanas commanded me, while I was united with Devayani, that never should Vrishaparvan's daughter be summoned to my bed.'

"Sarmishtha then said, 'It hath been said, O king, that it is not sinful to lie on the occasion of a joke, in respect of women sought to be enjoyed, on occasions of marriage, in peril of immediate death and of the loss of one's whole fortune. Lying is excusable on these five occasions. O king, it is not true that he is fallen who speaks not the truth when asked. Both Devayani and myself have been called hither as companions to serve the same purpose. When, therefore, thou hadst said that you wouldst confine thyself to one only amongst as, that was a lie thou hadst spoken.' Yayati replied, 'A king should ever be a model in the eyes of his people. That monarch certainly meets with destruction who speaks an untruth. As for myself, I dare not speak an untruth even if the greatest loss threatens me!' Sarmishtha answered, 'O monarch, one may look upon her friend's husband as her own. One's friend's marriage is the same as one's own. Thou hast been chosen by my friend as her husband. Thou art as much my husband, therefore.' Yayati then said, 'It is, indeed my vow always to grant what one asketh. As thou askest me, tell me then what I am to do.' Sarmishtha then said, 'Absolve me, O king, from sin. Protect my virtue. Becoming a mother by thee, let me practise the highest virtue in this world. It is said, O king, that a wife, a slave, and a son can never earn wealth for themselves. What they earn always belongeth to him who owneth them. I am, indeed, the slave of Devayani. Thou art Devayani's master and lord. Thou art, therefore, O king, my master and lord as much as Devayani's! I solicit thee! O, fulfil my wishes!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed by Sarmishtha, the monarch was persuaded into the truth of all she spoke. He therefore, honoured Sarmishtha by protecting her virtue. And they passed some time together. And taking affectionate farewell of each other, they then parted, each returning to whence he or she had come.

"And it came to pass that Sarmishtha of sweet smiles and fair eyebrows conceived in consequence of that connexion of hers with that best of monarchs. And, O king, that lotus-eyed lady then in due course of time brought forth a son of the splendour of a celestial child and of eyes like-lotus-petals.'"

SECTION 83

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'When Devayani of sweet smiles heard of the birth of this child, she became jealous, and O Bharata, Sarmishtha became an object of her unpleasant reflections. And Devayani, repairing to her, addressed her thus, 'O thou of fair eye-brows, what sin is this thou hast committed by yielding to the influence of lust?' Sarmishtha replied, 'A certain Rishi of virtuous soul and fully conversant with the

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Vedas came to me. Capable of granting boons he was solicited by me to grant my wishes that were based on considerations of virtue. O thou of sweet smiles, I would not seek the sinful fulfilment of my desires. I tell thee truly that this child of mine is by that Rishi!' Devayani answered, 'It is all right if that be the case, O timid one! But if the lineage, name, and family of that Brahmana be known to thee, I should like to hear them.' Sarmishtha replied, 'O thou of sweet smiles, in asceticism and energy, that Rishi is resplendent like the Sun himself. Beholding him, I had not, any need to make these enquiries--' Devayani then said, 'If this is true, if indeed, thou hast obtained thy child from such a superior Brahmana, then, O Sarmishtha, I have no cause of anger.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having thus talked and laughed with each other, they separated, Devayani returning to the palace with the knowledge imparted to her by Sarmishtha. And, O king, Yayati also begot on Devayani two sons called Yadu and Turvasu, who were like Indra and Vishnu. And Sarmishtha, the daughter of Vrishaparvan, became through the royal sage the mother of three sons in all, named Drahyu, Anu, and Puru.

"And, O king, it so came to pass that one day Devayani of sweet smiles, accompanied by Yayati, went into a solitary part of the woods, (in the king's extensive park). And there she saw three children of celestial beauty playing with perfect trustfulness. And Devayani asked in surprise, 'Whose children are they, O king, who are so handsome and so like unto the children of the celestials? In splendour and beauty they are like thee, I should think.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'And Devayani without waiting for a reply from the king, asked the children themselves, 'Ye children, what is your lineage? Who is your father? Answer me truly. I desire to know all.' Those children then pointed at the king (with their forefingers) and spoke of Sarmishtha as their mother.

"And having so said, the children approached the king to clasp his knees. But the king dared not caress them in the presence of Devayani. The boys then left the place, and made towards their mother, weeping in grief. And the king, at this conduct of the boys, became very much abashed. But Devayani, marking the affection of the children for the king learnt the secret and addressing Sarmishtha, said, 'How hast thou dared to do me an injury, being, as thou art, dependent on me? Dost thou not fear to have recourse once more to that Asura custom of thine?'

"Sarmishtha said, 'O thou of sweet smiles, all that I told thee of a Rishi is perfectly true. I have acted rightly and according to the precepts of virtue, and therefore, do I not fear thee. When thou hadst chosen the king for thy husband, I, too, chose him as mine. O beautiful one, a friend's husband is, according to usage, one's own husband as well. Thou art the daughter of a Brahmana and, therefore, deservest my worship and regard. But dost thou not know that this royal sage is held by me in greater esteem still?'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Devayani then, hearing those words of hers, exclaimed, O king, thus, 'Thou hast wronged me, O monarch! I shall not live here any longer.' And saying this, she quickly rose, with tearful eyes, to go to her father. And the king was grieved to see her thus, and alarmed greatly, followed in her foot-steps, endeavouring to appease her wrath. But Devayani, with eyes red with anger, would not desist. Speaking not a word to the king, with eyes bathed in tears, she soon reached the side of her father Usanas, the son of Kavi. And beholding her father, she stood before him, after due salutations. And Yayati also, immediately after, saluted and worshipped Bhargava.'

"And Devayani said, 'O father, virtue hath been vanquished by vice. The low have risen, and the high have fallen. I have been offended again by Sarmishtha, the daughter of Vrishaparvan. Three sons have been begotten upon her by this king Yayati. But, O father, being luckless I have got only two sons! O son of Bhrigu, this king is renowned for his knowledge of the precepts of religion. But, O Kavya, I tell thee that he hath deviated from the path of rectitude.'

"Sukra, hearing all this, said, 'O monarch, since thou hast made vice thy beloved pursuit, though fully acquainted with the precepts of religion, invincible decrepitude shall paralyse thee!' Yayati answered, 'Adorable one, I was solicited by the daughter of the Danava king to fructify her season. I did it from a sense of virtue and not from other motives. That male person, who being solicited by a woman in her season doth not grant her wishes, is called, O Brahmana, by those conversant with the Vedas, a slayer of the embryo. He who, solicited in secret by a woman full of desire and in season, goeth not in unto her, loseth virtue and is called by the learned a killer of the embryo, O son of Bhrigu, for these reasons, and anxious to avoid sin, I went into Sarmishtha.' Sukra then replied, 'Thou art dependent on me. Thou shouldst have awaited my command. Having acted falsely in the matter of thy duty, O son of Nahusha, thou hast been guilty of the sin of theft.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Yayati, the son of Nahusha, thus cursed by the angry Usanas, was then divested of his youth and immediately overcome by decrepitude. And Yayati said, 'O son of Bhrigu, I have not yet been satiated with youth or with Devayani. Therefore, O Brahmana, be graceful unto me so that decrepitude might not touch me.' Sukra then answered, 'I never speak an untruth. Even now, O king, art thou attacked by decrepitude. But if thou likest, thou art competent to transfer this thy decrepitude to another.' Yayati said, 'O Brahmana, let it be commanded by thee that that son of mine who giveth me his youth shall enjoy my kingdom, and shall achieve both virtue and fame.' Sukra replied, 'O son of Nahusha, thinking of me thou mayst transfer this thy decrepitude to whomsoever thou likest. That son who shall give thee his youth shall become thy successor to the throne. He shall also have long life, wide fame, and numerous progeny!'"

SECTION 84

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Yayati, then, overcome with decrepitude, returned to his capital and summoning his eldest son Yadu who was also the most accomplished, addressed him thus, 'Dear child, from the curse of Kavya called also Usanas, decrepitude and wrinkles and whiteness of hair have come over me. But I have not been gratified yet with the enjoyment of youth. Do thou, O Yadu, take this my weakness along with my decrepitude. I shall enjoy with thy youth. And when a full thousand years will have elapsed, returning to thee thy youth, I shall take back my weakness with this decrepitude!'

"Yadu replied, 'There are innumerable inconveniences in decrepitude, in respect of drinking and eating. Therefore, O king, I shall not take thy decrepitude. This is, indeed, my determination. White hair on the head, cheerlessness and relaxation of the nerves, wrinkles all over the body, deformities, weakness of the limbs, emaciation, incapacity to work, defeat at the hands of friends and companions--these are the consequences of decrepitude. Therefore, O king, I desire not to take it. O king, thou hast many sons some of whom are dearer to thee. Thou art acquainted with the precepts of virtue. Ask some other son of thine to take thy decrepitude.

"Yayati replied, 'Thou art sprung from my heart, O son, but thou givest me not thy youth. Therefore, thy children shall never be kings.' And he continued, addressing another son of his, 'O Turvasu, take thou this weakness of mine along with my decrepitude. With thy youth, O son, I like to enjoy the pleasure of life. After the lapse of a full thousand years I shall give back to thee thy youth, and take back from thee my weakness and decrepitude.'

"Turvasu replied, 'I do not like decrepitude, O father, it takes away all appetites and enjoyments, strength and beauty of person, intellect, and even life.' Yayati said to him, 'Thou art sprung from my heart, O son! But thou givest me not thy youth! Therefore, O Turvasu, thy race shall be extinct. Wretch, thou shall be the king of those whose practices and precepts are impure, amongst whom men of inferior blood procreate children upon women of blue blood, who live on meat, who are mean, who hesitate not to appropriate the wives of their superiors, whose practices are those of birds and beasts, who are sinful, and non-Aryan.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Yayati, having thus cursed his son Turvasu, then, addressed Sarmishtha's son Drahyu thus, 'O Drahyu, take thou for a thousand years my decrepitude destructive of complexion and personal beauty and give me thy youth. When a thousand years have passed away, I shall return thee thy youth and take back my own weakness, and decrepitude.' To this Drahyu replied, 'O king, one that is decrepit can never enjoy elephants and cars and horses and women. Even his voice becometh hoarse. Therefore, I do not desire (to take) thy decrepitude.' Yayati said to him, 'Thou art sprung from my heart, O son! But thou refusest to give me thy youth. Therefore, thy most cherished desires shall never be fulfilled. Thou shalt be king only in name, of that region where there are no roads for (the passage of) horses and cars and elephants, and good vehicles, and asses, and goats and bullocks, and palanquins; where there is swimming only by rafts and floats.' Yayati next addressed Anu and said, 'O Anu, take my weakness and decrepitude. I shall with thy youth enjoy the pleasures of life for a thousand years.' To this Anu replied, 'Those that are decrepit always eat like children and are always impure. They cannot pour libations upon fire in proper times. Therefore, I do not like to take thy decrepitude.' Yayati said to him, 'Thou art sprung from my heart, thou givest not thy youth. Thou findest so many faults in decrepitude. Therefore, decrepitude shall overcome thee! And, O Anu, thy progeny also as soon as they attain to youth, shall die. And thou shalt also not be able to perform sacrifices before fire.'

"Yayati at last turned to his youngest child, Puru, and addressing him said, 'Thou art, O Puru, my youngest son! But thou shall be the first of all! Decrepitude, wrinkles, and whiteness of hair have come over me in consequence of the curse of Kavya called also Usanas. I have not yet however, been satiated with my youth. O Puru, take thou this my weakness and decrepitude! With thy youth I shall enjoy for some years the pleasures of life. And when a thousand years have passed away, I shall give back to thee thy youth and take back my own decrepitude.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Thus addressed by the king, Puru answered with humility, 'I shall do, O monarch, as thou bidest me. I shall take, O king, thy weakness and decrepitude. Take thou my youth and enjoy as thou listest the pleasures of life. Covered with thy decrepitude and becoming old, I shall, as thou commandest, continue to live, giving thee my youth.' Yayati then said, 'O Puru, I have been gratified with thee. And being gratified, I tell thee that the people in thy kingdom shall have all their desires fulfilled.'

"And having said this, the great ascetic Yayati, then thinking of Kavya, transferred his decrepitude unto the body of the high-souled Puru.'"

SECTION 85

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'The excellent monarch Yayati, the son of Nahusha, having received Puru's youth, became exceedingly gratified. And with it he once more began to indulge in his favourite pursuits to the full extent of his desires and to the limit of his powers, according to seasons, so as to derive the greatest pleasure therefrom. And, O king, in nothing that he did, he acted against the precepts of his religion as behoved him well. He gratified the gods by his sacrifices; the pitris, by Sraddhas; the poor, by his charities; all excellent Brahmanas, by fulfilling their desires; all persons entitled to the rites of hospitality, with food and drink; the Vaisyas, by protection; and the Sudras, by kindness. And the king repressed all criminals by proper punishments. And Yayati, gratifying all sections of his subjects, protected them virtuously like another Indra. And the monarch possessed of the prowess of a lion, with youth and every object of enjoyment under control, enjoyed unlimited happiness without transgressing the precepts of religion. And the king became very happy in thus being able to enjoy all the excellent objects of his desires. And he was only sorry when he thought that those thousand years would come to an end. And having obtained youth for a thousand years, the king acquainted with the mysteries of time, and watching proper Kalas and Kashthas sported with (the celestial damsel) Viswachi, sometimes in the beautiful garden of Indra, sometimes in Alaka (the city of Kuvera), and sometimes on the summit of the mountain Meru on the north. And when the virtuous monarch saw that the thousand years were full, he summoned his son, Puru, and addressed him thus, 'O oppressor of foes, with thy youth, O son, I have enjoyed the pleasures of life, each according to its season to the full extent of my desires, to the limit of my powers. Our desires, however, are never gratified by indulgence. On the other hand, with indulgence, they only flame up like fire with libations of sacrificial butter. If a single person were owner of everything on Earth--all her yields of paddy and barley, her silver, gold, and gems, her animals and women, he would not still be content. Thirst of enjoyment, therefore, should be given up. Indeed, true happiness belongeth to them that have cast off their thirst for worldly objects--a thirst which is difficult to be thrown off by the wicked and the sinful, which faileth not with the failing life, and which is truly the fatal disease of man. My heart hath for a full thousand years been fixed upon the objects of desires. My thirst for these, however, increaseth day by day without abating. Therefore, I shall cast it off, and fixing my mind on Brahma I shall pass the rest of my days with the innocent deer in the forest peacefully and with no heart for any worldly objects. And O Puru, I have been exceedingly gratified with thee! Prosperity be thine! Receive back this thy youth! Receive thou also my kingdom. Thou art, indeed, that son of mine who has done me the greatest services.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then Yayati, the son of Nahusha, received back his decrepitude. And his son Puru received back his own youth. And Yayati was desirous of installing Puru, his youngest son, on the throne. But the four orders, with the Brahmanas at their head, then addressed the monarch thus, 'O king, how shall thou bestow thy kingdom on Puru, passing over thy eldest son Yadu born of Devayani, and, therefore, the grandson of the great Sukra? Indeed, Yadu is thy eldest son; after him hath been born Turvasu; and of Sarmishtha's sons, the first is Drahyu, then Anu and then Puru. How doth the youngest deserve the throne, passing all his elder brothers over? This we represent to thee! O, conform to virtuous practice.'

"Yayati then said, 'Ye four orders with Brahmanas at their head, hear my words as to why my kingdom should not be given to my eldest son. My commands have been disobeyed by my eldest son, Yadu. The wise say that he is no son who disobeyeth his father. That son, however, who doth the bidding of his parents, who seeketh their good, who is agreeable to them, is indeed, the best of sons. I have been disregarded by Yadu and by Turvasu, too. Much I have been disregarded by Drahyu and by Anu also. By Puru alone hath my word been obeyed. By him have I been much regarded. Therefore, the youngest shall be my heir. He took my decrepitude. Indeed, Puru is my friend. He did what was so agreeable to me. It hath also been commanded by Sukra

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himself, the son of Kavi, that, that son of mine who should obey me will become king after me and bring the whole Earth under his sway. I, therefore, beseech thee, let Puru be installed on the throne.'

"The people then said, 'True it is, O king, that, that son who is accomplished and who seeketh the good of his parents, deserveth prosperity even if he be the youngest. Therefore, doth Puru, who hath done the good, deserve the crown. And as Sukra himself hath commanded it, we have nothing to say to it.'

"Vaisampayana continued., 'The son of Nahusha, thus addressed by the contented people, then installed his son, Puru, on the throne. And having bestowed his kingdom on Puru, the monarch performed the initiatory ceremonies for retiring into the woods. And soon after he left his capital, followed by Brahmanas and ascetics.

"The sons of Yadu are known by the name of the Yadavas: while those of Turvasu have come to be called the Yavanas. And the sons of Drahyu are the Bhojas, while those of Anu, the Mlechchhas. The progeny of Puru, however, are the Pauravas, amongst whom, O monarch, thou art born, in order to rule for a thousand years with thy passions under complete control.'"

SECTION 86

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'King Yayati, the son of Nahusha, having thus installed his dear son on the throne, became exceedingly happy, and entered into the woods to lead the life of a hermit. And having lived for some time into forest in the company of Brahmanas, observing many rigid vows, eating fruits and roots, patiently bearing privations of all sorts, the monarch at last ascended to heaven. And having ascended to heaven he lived there in bliss. But soon, however, he was hurled down by Indra. And it hath been heard by me, O king, that, though hurled from heaven, Yayati, without reaching the surface of the Earth, stayed in the firmament. I have heard that some time after he again entered the region of the celestials in company with Vasuman, Ashtaka, Pratarddana, and Sivi.'

"Janamejaya said, 'I desire to hear from thee in detail why Yayati, having first obtained admission into heaven, was hurled therefrom, and why also he gained re-admittance. Let all this, O Brahmana, be narrated by thee in the presence of these regenerate sages. Yayati, lord of Earth, was, indeed, like the chief of the celestials. The progenitor of the extensive race of the Kurus, he was of the splendour of the Sun. I desire to hear in full the story of his life both in heaven and on Earth, as he was illustrious, and of world-wide celebrity and of wonderful achievements.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Indeed, I shall recite to thee the excellent story of Yayati's adventures on Earth and in heaven. That story is sacred and destroyeth the sins of those that hear it.

"King Yayati, the son of Nahusha, having installed his youngest son, Puru, on the throne after casting his sons with Yadu for their eldest amongst the Mlechchhas, entered the forest to lead the life of a hermit. And the king eating fruits and roots lived for some time in the forest. Having his mind and passions under complete control, the king gratified by sacrifices the Pitris and the gods. And he poured libations of clarified butter upon the fire according to the rites prescribed for those leading the Vanaprastha mode of life. And the illustrious one entertained guests and strangers with the fruit of the forest and clarified butter, while he himself supported life by gleaning scattered corn seeds. And the king; led this sort of life for a full thousand years. And observing the vow of silence and with mind under complete control he passed one full year, living upon air alone and without sleep. And he passed another year practising the severest austerities in the midst of four fires around and the Sun overhead. And, living upon air alone, he stood erect upon one leg for six months. And the king of sacred deeds ascended to heaven, covering heaven as well as the Earth (with the fame of his achievements).'"

SECTION 87

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'While that king of kings dwelt in heaven--the home of the celestials, he was reverenced by the gods, the Sadhyas, the Maruts, and the Vasus. Of sacred deeds, and mind under complete control, the monarch used to repair now and then from the abode of the celestials unto the region of Brahman. And it hath been heard by me that he dwelt for a long time in heaven.

"One day that best of kings, Yayati, went to Indra and there in course of conversation the lord of Earth was asked by Indra as follows:

'What didst thou say, O king, when thy son Puru took thy decrepitude on Earth and when thou gavest him thy kingdom?'

"Yayati answered, 'I told him that the whole country between the rivers Ganga and Yamuna was his. That is, indeed, the central region of the Earth, while the out-lying regions are to be the dominions of thy brothers. I also told him that those without anger were ever superior to those under its sway, those disposed to forgive were ever superior to the unforgiving. Man is superior to the lower animals. Among men again the learned are superior to the un-learned. If wronged, thou shouldst not wrong in return. One's wrath, if disregarded, burneth one's own self; but he that regardeth it not taketh away all the virtues of him that exhibiteh it. Never shouldst thou pain others by cruel speeches. Never subdue thy foes by despicable means; and never utter such scorching and sinful words as may torture others. He that pricketh as if with thorns men by means of hard and cruel words, thou must know, ever carrieth in his mouth the Rakshasas. Prosperity and luck fly away at his very sight. Thou shouldst ever keep the virtuous before thee as thy models; thou shouldst ever with retrospective eye compare thy acts with those of the virtuous; thou shouldst ever disregard the hard words of the wicked. Thou shouldst ever make the conduct of the wise the model upon which thou art to act thyself. The man hurt by the arrows of cruel speech hurled from one's lips, weepeth day and night. Indeed, these strike at the core of the body. Therefore the wise never fling these arrows at others. There is nothing in the three worlds by which thou canst worship and adore the deities better than by kindness, friendship, charity and sweet speeches unto all. Therefore, shouldst thou always utter words that soothe, and not those that scorch. And thou shouldst regard those that deserve, thy regards, and shouldst always give but never beg!'"

SECTION 88

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Alter this Indra again asked Yayati, 'Thou didst retire into the woods, O king, after accomplishing all thy duties. O Yayati, son of Nahusha, I would ask thee to whom thou art equal in ascetic austerities.' Yayati answered, 'O Vasava, I do not, in the matter of ascetic austerities, behold my equal among men, the celestials, the Gandharvas, and the great Rishis.' Indra then said, 'O monarch, because thou disregardest those that are thy superiors, thy equals, and even thy inferiors, without, in fact, knowing their real merits, thy virtues have suffered diminution and thou must fall from heaven.' Yayati then said, 'O Sakra, if, indeed, my virtues have really sustained diminution and I must on that account fall down from heaven, I desire, O chief of the celestials, that I may at least fall among the virtuous and the honest.' Indra replied, 'O king, thou shall fall among those that are virtuous and wise, and thou shall acquire also much renown. And after this experience of thine, O Yayati, never again disregard those that are thy superiors or even thy equals.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Upon this, Yayati fell from the region of the celestials. And as he was falling, he was beheld by that foremost of royal sages, viz., Ashtaka, the protector of his own religion. Ashtaka beholding him, enquired, 'Who art thou, O youth of a beauty equal to that of Indra, in splendour blazing as the fire, thus falling from on high? Art thou that foremost of sky-ranging bodies--the sun--emerging from, dark masses of clouds? Beholding thee falling from the solar course, possessed of immeasurable energy and the splendour of fire or the sun, every one is curious as to what it is that is so falling, and is, besides, deprived of consciousness! Beholding thee in the path of the celestials, possessed of energy like that of Sakra, or Surya, or Vishnu, we have approached thee to ascertain the truth. If thou hast first asked us who we were, we would never have been guilty of the incivility of asking thee first. We now ask thee who thou art and why thou approachest hither. Let thy fears be dispelled; let thy woes and afflictions cease. Thou art now in the presence of the virtuous and the wise. Even Sakra himself--the slayer of Vala--cannot here do thee any injury. O thou of the prowess of the chief of the celestials, the wise and the virtuous are the support of their brethren in grief. Here there are none but the wise and virtuous like thee assembled together. Therefore, stay thou here in peace. Fire alone hath power to give heat. The Earth alone hath power to infuse life into the seed. The sun alone hath power to illuminate everything. So the guest alone hath power to command the virtuous and the wise.'"

SECTION 89

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Yayati said, 'I am Yayati, the son of Nahusha and the father of Puru. Cast off from the region of the celestials and of Siddhas and Rishis for having disregarded every creature, I am falling down, my righteousness having sustained diminution. In years I am older than you; therefore, I have not saluted you first. Indeed, the Brahmanas always reverence him who is older in years or superior in learning or in ascetic merit.'

"Ashtaka then replied, 'Thou sayest, O monarch, that he who is older in years is worthy of regard. But it is said that he is truly worthy of worship who is superior in learning and ascetic merit.'

"Yayati replied to this, 'It is said that sin destroyeth the merits of four virtuous acts. Vanity containeth the element of that which leadeth to hell. The virtuous never follow in the footsteps of the vicious. They act in such a way that their religious merit always increaseth. I myself had great religious merit, but all that, however, is gone. I will scarcely be able to regain it even by my best exertions. Beholding my fate, he that is bent upon (achieving) his own good, will certainly suppress vanity. He who having acquired great wealth performeth meritorious sacrifices, who having acquired all kinds of learning remaineth humble, and who having studied the entire Vedas devoteth himself to asceticism with a heart withdrawn from all mundane enjoyments, goeth to heaven. None should exult in having acquired great wealth. None should be vain of having studied the entire Vedas. In the world men are of different dispositions. Destiny is supreme. Both power and exertion are all fruitless. Knowing Destiny to be all-powerful, the wise, whatever their portions may be, should neither exult nor grieve. When creatures know that their weal and woe are dependent on Destiny and not on their own exertion or power, they should neither grieve nor exult, remembering that Destiny is all powerful. The wise should ever live contented, neither grieving at woe nor exulting at weal. When Destiny is supreme, both grief and exultation are unbecoming. O Ashtaka, I never suffer myself to be overcome by fear, nor do I ever entertain grief, knowing for certain that I shall be in the world what the great disposer of all hath ordained. Insects and worms, all oviparous creatures, vegetable existences, all crawling animals, vermin, the fish in the water, stones, grass, wood--in fact, all created things, when they are freed from the effects of their acts, are united with the Supreme Soul. Happiness and misery are both transient. Therefore, O Ashtaka, why should I grieve? We can never know how we are to act in order to avoid misery. Therefore, none should grieve for misery.'

"Possessed of every virtue, king Yayati who was the maternal grandfather of Ashtaka, while staying in the welkin, at the conclusion of his speech, was again questioned by Ashtaka. The latter said, 'O king of kings, tell me, in detail, of all those regions that thou hast visited and enjoyed, as well as the period for which thou hast enjoyed each. Thou speakest of the precepts of religion even like the clever masters acquainted with the acts and sayings of great beings!' Yayati replied, 'I was a great king on Earth, owning the whole world for my dominion. Leaving it, I acquired by dint of religious merit many high regions. There I dwelt for a full thousand years, and then I attained to a very high region the abode of Indra, of extraordinary beauty having a thousand gates, and extending over a hundred yojanas all round. There too, I dwelt a full thousand years and then attained to a higher region still. That is the region of perfect beatitude, where decay never exists, the region, viz., that of the Creator and the Lord of Earth, so difficult of attainment. There also I dwelt for a full thousand years, and then attained to another very high region viz., that of the god of gods (Vishnu) where, too, I had lived in happiness. Indeed, I dwelt in various regions, adored by all the celestials, and possessed of prowess and splendour equal unto those of the celestials themselves. Capable of assuming any form at will, I lived for a million years in the gardens of Nandana sporting with the Apsaras and beholding numberless beautiful trees clad in flowery vesture and sending forth delicious perfume all round. And after many, many years had elapsed, while still residing there in enjoyment of perfect beatitude, the celestial messenger of grim visage, one day, in a loud and deep voice, thrice shouted to me--Ruined! Ruined! Ruined!--O lion among kings, this much do I remember. I was then fallen from Nandana, my religious merits gone! I heard in the skies, O king, the voices of the celestials exclaiming in grief,--Alas! What a misfortune! Yayati, with his religious merits destroyed, though virtuous and of sacred deeds, is falling!--And as I was falling, I asked them loudly, 'Where, ye celestials, are those wise ones amongst whom I am to fall?' They pointed out to me this sacred sacrificial region belonging to you. Beholding the curls of smoke blackening the atmosphere and smelling the perfume of clarified butter poured incessantly upon fire, and guided thereby, I am approaching this region of yours, glad at heart that I come amongst you.'"

SECTION 90

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Ashtaka said, 'Capable of assuming any form at will, thou hast lived for a million years in the gardens of Nandana. For what cause, O foremost of those that flourished in the Krita age, hast thou been compelled to leave that region and come hither?' Yayati answered, 'As kinsmen, friends, and relatives forsake, in this world, those whose wealth disappears so, in the other world, the celestials with Indra as their chief, forsake him who hath lost his righteousness.' Ashtaka said, 'I am extremely anxious to know how in the other world men can lose virtue. Tell me also, O king, what regions are attainable by what courses of action. Thou art acquainted, I know, with the acts and sayings of great beings."

"Yayati answered, 'O pious one, they that speak of their own merits are doomed to suffer the hell called Bhauma. Though really emaciated and lean, they appear to grow on Earth (in the shape of their sons and grandsons) only to

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become food for vultures, dogs, and jackals. Therefore, O king, this highly censurable and wicked vice should be repressed. I have now, O king, told thee all. Tell me what more I shall say.'

"Ashtaka said, 'When life is destroyed with age, vultures, peacocks, insects, and worms eat up the human body. Where doth man then reside? How doth he also come back to life? I have never heard of any hell called Bhauma on Earth!'

"Yayati answered, 'After the dissolution of the body, man, according to his acts, re-entereth the womb of his mother and stayeth there in an indistinct form, and soon after assuming a distinct and visible shape reappeareth in the world and walketh on its surface. This is that Earth-hell (Bhauma) where he falleth, for he beholdeth not the termination of his existence and acteth not towards his emancipation [* The word "emancipation" is frequently used in Hindu texts. It refers to Moksha (Sanskrit, also called vimoksha, vimukti and mukti), which is a term in Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism for various forms of enlightenment, liberation, release and salvation. In its soteriological and eschatological senses, it refers to freedom from samsara, the cycle of death and rebirth.]. Some dwell for sixty thousand years, some, for eighty-thousand years in heaven, and then they fall. And as they fall, they are attacked by certain Rakshasas in the form of sons, grandsons, and other relatives, that withdraw their hearts from acting for their own emancipation.'

"Ashtaka asked, 'For what sin are beings, when they fall from heaven, attacked by these fierce and sharp-toothed Rakshasas? Why are they not reduced to annihilation? How do they again enter the womb, furnished with senses?'

"Yayati answered, 'After falling from heaven, the being becometh a subtile substance living in water. This water becometh the semen whence is the seed of vitality. Thence entering the mother's womb in the womanly season, it developeth into the embryo and next into visible life like the fruit from the flower. Entering trees, plants, and other vegetable substances, water, air, earth, and space, that same watery seed of life assumeth the quadrupedal or bipedal form. This is the case with all creatures that you see.'

"Ashtaka said, 'O tell me, I ask thee because I have my doubts. Doth a being that hath received a human form enter the womb in its own shape or in some other? How doth it also acquire its distinct and visible shape, eyes and ears and consciousness as well? Questioned by me, O, explain it all! Thou art, O father, one acquainted with the acts and sayings of great beings.' Yayati answered, 'According to the merits of one's acts, the being that in a subtile form co-inheres in the seed that is dropped into the womb is attracted by the atmospheric force for purposes of re-birth. It then developeth there in course of time; first it becomes the embryo, and is next provided with the visible physical organism. Coming out of the womb in due course of time, it becometh conscious of its existence as man, and with his ears becometh sensible of sound; with his eyes, of colour and form; with his nose, of scent; with his tongue, of taste; by his whole body, of touch; and by his mind, of ideas. It is thus, O Ashtaka, that the gross and visible body developeth from the subtile essence.'

"Ashtaka asked, 'After death, the body is burnt, or otherwise destroyed. Reduced to nothing upon such dissolution, by what principle is one revived?' Yayati said, 'O lion among kings, the person that dies assumes a subtil form; and retaining consciousness of all his acts as in a dream, he enters some other form with a speed quicker than that of air itself. The virtuous attain to a superior, and the vicious to an inferior form of existence. The vicious become worms and insects. I have nothing more to say, O thou of great and pure soul! I have told thee how beings are born, after development of embryonic forms, as four-footed, six-footed creatures and others with more feet. What more wilt thou ask me?'

"Ashtaka said, 'How, O father, do men attain to those superior regions whence there is no return to earthly life? Is it by asceticism or by knowledge? How also can one gradually attain to felicitous regions? Asked by me, O answer it in full.'

"Yayati answered, 'The wise say that for men there are seven gates through which admission may be gained into Heaven. There are asceticism, benevolence, tranquillity of mind, self-command, modesty, simplicity, and kindness to all creatures. The wise also say that a person loseth all these in consequence of vanity. That man who having acquired knowledge regardeth himself as learned, and with his learning destroyed the reputation of others, never attaineth to regions of indestructible felicity. That knowledge also doth not make its possessor competent to attain to Brahma. Study, taciturnity, worship before fire, and sacrifices, these four remove all fear. When, however, these are mixed with vanity, instead of removing it, they cause fear. The wise should never exult at (receiving) honours nor should they grieve at insults. For it is the wise alone that honour the wise; the wicked never act like the virtuous. I have given away so much--I have performed so many sacrifices,--I have studied so much,--I have observed these vows,--such vanity is the root of fear. Therefore, thou must not indulge in such feelings. Those learned men who accept as their support the unchangeable, inconceivable Brahma alone that ever showereth blessings on persons virtuous like thee, enjoy perfect peace here and hereafter.'"

SECTION 91

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Ashtaka said, 'Those cognisant of the Vedas differ in opinion as to how the followers of each of the four modes of life, viz., Grihasthas, Bhikshus, Brahmacharins, and Vanaprashthas, should conduct themselves in order to acquire religious merit."

"Yayati answered, 'These are what a Brahmacharin must do. While dwelling in the abode of his preceptor, he must receive lessons only when his preceptor summons him to do so; he must attend to the service of his preceptor without waiting for the latter's command; he must rise from his bed before his preceptor riseth, and go to bed after his preceptor hath gone to bed. He must be humble, must have his passions under complete control, must be patient, vigilant, and devoted to studies. It is then only that he can achieve success. It hath been said in the oldest Upanishad that a grihastha, acquiring wealth by honest means, should perform sacrifices; he should always give something in charity, should perform the rites of hospitality unto all arriving at his abode, and should never use anything without giving a portion thereof to others. A Muni, without search for woods, depending on his own vigour, should abstain from all vicious acts, should give away something in charity, should never inflict pain on any creature. It is then only that he can achieve success. He, indeed, is a true Bhikshu who doth not support himself by any manual arts, who possesseth numerous accomplishments, who hath his passions under complete control, who is unconnected with worldly concerns, who sleepeth not under the shelter of a householder's roof, who is without wife, and who going a little way every day, travelleth over a large extent of the country. A learned man should adopt the Vanaprastha mode of life after performance of the necessary rites, when he hath been able to control his appetites for enjoyment and desire of acquiring valuable possessions. When one dieth in the woods while leading the Vanaprastha mode of life, he maketh his ancestors and the successors, numbering ten generations including himself, mix with the Divine essence.'

"Ashtaka asked, 'How many kinds of Munis are there (observers of the vow of the silence)?'

"Yayati answered, 'He is, indeed, a Muni who, though dwelling in the woods, hath an inhabited place near, or who, though dwelling in an inhabited place, hath the woods near.'

"Ashtaka enquired what is meant by Muni.' Yayati replied, 'A Muni withdrawing himself from all worldly objects liveth in the woods. And though he might never seek to surround himself with those objects that are procurable in an inhabited place, he might yet obtain them all by virtue of his ascetic power. He may truly be said to dwell in the woods having an inhabited place near to himself. Again a wise man withdrawn from all earthly objects, might live in a hamlet leading the life of a hermit. He may never exhibit the pride of family, birth or learning. Clad in the scantiest robes, he may yet regard himself as attired in the richest vestments. He may rest content with food just enough for the support of life. Such a person, though dwelling in an inhabited place, liveth yet in the woods.

"The person again, who, with passions under complete control, adopteth the vow of silence, refraining from action and entertaining no desire, achieveth success. Why shouldst thou not, indeed, reverence the man who liveth on clean food, who refraineth from ever injuring others, whose heart is ever pure, who stands in the splendour of ascetic attributes, who is free from the leaden weight of desire, who abstaineth from injury even when sanctioned by religion? Emaciated by austerities and reduced in flesh, marrow and blood, such a one conquereth not only this but the highest world. And when the Muni sits in yoga meditation, becoming indifferent to happiness and misery, honour and insult, he then leaveth the world and enjoyeth communion with Brahma. When the Muni taketh food like wine and other animals, i. e., without providing for it beforehand and without any relish (like a sleeping infant feeding on the mother's lap), then like the all-pervading spirit he becometh identified with the whole universe and attaineth to salvation.'"

SECTION 92

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Ashtaka asked, 'Who amongst these, O king, both exerting constantly like the Sun and the Moon, first attaineth to communion with Brahma, the ascetic or the man of knowledge?'

"Yayati answered, 'The wise, with the help of the Vedas and of Knowledge, having ascertained the visible universe to be illusory, instantly realises the Supreme Spirit as the sole existent independent essence. While they that devote themselves to Yoga meditation take time to acquire the same knowledge, for it is by practice alone that these latter divest themselves of the consciousness of quality. Hence the wise attain to salvation first. Then again if the person devoted to Yoga find not sufficient time in one life to attain success, being led astray by the attractions of the world, in his next life he is benefited by the progress already achieved, for he devoteth himself regretfully to the pursuit of success. But the man of knowledge ever beholdeth the indestructible unity, and, is, therefore, though steeped in worldly enjoyments, never affected by them at heart. Therefore, there is nothing to impede his salvation. He, however, who faileth to attain to knowledge, should yet devote himself to piety as dependent on action (sacrifices etc.). But he that devoteth himself to such piety, moved thereto by desire of salvation, can never achieve success. His sacrifices bear no fruit and partake of the nature of cruelty. Piety which is dependent on action that proceedeth not from the desire of fruit, is, in case of such men Yoga itself.'

"Ashtaka said, 'O king, thou lookest like a young man; thou art handsome and decked with a celestial garland. Thy splendour is great! Whence dost thou come and where dost thou go? Whose messenger art thou? Art thou going down into the Earth?'

"Yayati said, 'Fallen from heaven upon the loss of all my religious merits, I am doomed to enter the Earth-hell. Indeed, I shall go there after I have finished my discourse with you. Even now the regents of the points of the universe command me to hasten thither. And, O king, I have obtained it as a boon from Indra that though fall I must upon the earth, yet I should fall amidst the wise and the virtuous. Ye are all wise and virtuous that are assembled here.'

"Ashtaka said, 'Thou art acquainted with everything. I ask thee, O king, are there any regions for myself to enjoy in heaven or in the firmament? If there be, then, thou shalt not fall, though falling.'

"Yayati answered, 'O king, there are as many regions for thee to enjoy in heaven even as the number of kine and horses on Earth with the animals in the wilderness and on the hills.'

"Ashtaka said, 'If there are worlds for me to enjoy, as fruits of my religious merits, in heaven, O king, I give them all unto thee. Therefore, though falling, thou shalt not fall. O, take thou soon all those, wherever they be, in heaven or in the firmament. Let thy sorrow cease.'

"Yayati answered, 'O best of kings, a Brahma-knowing Brahmana alone can take in gift, but not one like ourselves. And, O monarch, I myself have given away to Brahmanas as one should. Let no man who, is not a Brahmana and let not the wife of a learned Brahmana ever live in infamy by accepting gifts. While on earth, I ever desired to perform virtuous acts. Having never done so before, how shall I now accept a gift?'

"Pratardana who was amongst them asked, 'O thou of the handsomest form, I am Pratardana by name. I ask thee if there are any worlds for me to enjoy as fruits of my religious merits, in heaven or the firmament? Answer me, thou art acquainted with everything.'

"Yayati said, 'O king, numberless worlds, full of felicity, effulgent like the solar disc, and where woe can never dwell, await thee. If thou dwellest in each but for seven days, they would not yet be exhausted.'

"Pratardana said, 'These then I give unto thee. Therefore, though falling, thou must not fall. Let the worlds that are mine be thine, whether they be in the firmament or heaven. O, soon take them. Let thy woes cease.'

"Yayati answered, 'O monarch, no king of equal energy should ever desire to receive as gift the religious merits of another king acquired by Yoga austerities. And no king who is afflicted with calamity through the fates should, if wise, act in a censurable way. A king keeping his eye fixed for ever on virtue should walk along the path of virtue like myself and, knowing what his duties are, should not act so meanly as thou directest. When others desirous of acquiring religious merits do not accept gifts, how can I do what they themselves do not? On the conclusion of this speech, that best of kings, Yayati, was then addressed by Vasumat in the following words.'"

SECTION 93

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vasumat said, 'I am Vasumat, the son of Oshadaswa. I would ask thee, O king, whether there are any worlds for me to enjoy as fruits of my religious merits, in heaven or the firmament. Thou art, O high-souled one, acquainted with all holy regions.'

"Yayati answered, 'There are as many regions for thee to enjoy in heaven as the number of places in the firmament, the Earth and the ten points of the universe illumined by the Sun.'

"Vasumat then said, 'I give them to thee. Let those regions that are for me be thine. Therefore, though falling, thou shall not fall. If to accept them as gift be improper for thee, then, O monarch, buy them for a straw?'

"Yayati answered, 'I do not remember having ever bought and sold anything unfairly. This has never been done by other kings. How shall I therefore do it?'

"Vasumat said, 'If buying them, O king, be regarded by thee as improper, then take them as gilt from me. For myself I answer that I will never go to those regions that are for me. Let them, therefore, be thine.'

"Sivi then addressed the king thus, I am, O king, Sivi by name, the son of Usinara. O father, are there in the firmament

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or in heaven any worlds for me to enjoy? Thou knowest every region that one may enjoy as the fruit of his religious merit.'

"Yayati said, 'Thou hast never, by speech or in mind, disregarded the honest and the virtuous that applied to thee. There are infinite worlds for thee to enjoy in heaven, all blazing like lightning.' Sivi then said, 'If thou regardest their purchase as improper, I give them to thee. Take them all, O king! I shall never take them, viz., those regions where the wise never feel the least disquiet.'

Yayati answered, 'O Sivi, thou hast indeed, obtained for thyself, possessed of the prowess of Indra, infinite worlds. But I do not desire to enjoy regions given to me by others. Therefore, I accept not thy gift.'

"Ashtaka then said, 'O king, each of us has expressed his desire to give thee worlds that each of us has acquired by his religious merits. Thou acceptest not them. But leaving them for thee, we shall descend into the Earth-hell.'

"Yayati answered, 'Ye all are truth-loving and wise. Give me that which I deserve. I shall not be able to do what I have never done before.'

"Ashtaka then said, 'Whose are those five golden cars that we see? Do men that repair to these regions of everlasting bliss ride in them?'

"Yayati answered, 'Those five golden cars displayed in glory, and blazing as fire, would indeed, carry you to regions of bliss.'

"Ashtaka said, 'O king, ride on those cars thyself and repair to heaven. We can wait. We follow thee in time.'

"Yayati said, 'We can now all go together. Indeed, all of us have conquered heaven. Behold, the glorious path to heaven becomes visible."

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then all those excellent monarchs riding in those cars set out for heaven for gaining admittance into it, illuminating the whole firmament by the glory of their virtues.'

"Then Ashtaka, breaking the silence asked, 'I had always thought that Indra was my especial friend, and that I, of all others, should first obtain admittance into heaven. But how is it that Usinara's son, Sivi hath already left us behind?'

"Yayati answered, 'This Usinara's son had given all he possessed for attaining to the region of Brahman. Therefore, is he the foremost among us. Besides, Sivi's liberality, asceticism, truth, virtue, modesty, forgiveness, amiability, desire of performing good acts, have been so great that none can measure them!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'After this, Ashtaka, impelled by curiosity, again asked his maternal grandfather resembling Indra himself, saying, 'O king, I ask thee, tell me truly, whence thou art, who thou art, and whose son? Is there any other Brahmana or Kshatriya who hath done what thou didst on earth?' Yayati answered, 'I tell thee truly, I am Yayati, the son of Nahusha and the father of Puru. I was lord of all the Earth. Ye are my relatives; I tell thee truly, I am the maternal grandfather of you all. Having conquered the whole earth, I gave clothes to Brahmanas and also a hundred handsome horses fit for sacrificial offering. For such acts of virtue, the gods became propitious to those that perform them. I also gave to Brahmanas this whole earth with her horses and elephants and kine and gold all kinds of wealth, along with a hundred Arbudas of excellent milch cows. Both the earth and the firmament exist owing to my truth and virtue; fire yet burneth in the world of men owing to my truth and virtue. Never hath a word spoken by me been untrue. It is for this that the wise adore Truth. O Ashtaka, all I have told thee, Pratardana, and Vasumat, is Truth itself. I know it for certain that the gods and the Rishis and all the mansions of the blessed are adorable only because of Truth that characteriseth them all. He that will without malice duly read unto good Brahmanas his account of our ascension to heaven shall himself attain to the same worlds with us.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'It was thus that the illustrious king Yayati of high achievements, rescued by his collateral descendants, ascended to heaven, leaving the earth and covering the three worlds with the fame of his deeds.'"

SECTION 94

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Janamejaya said, 'O adorable one, I desire to hear the histories of those kings who were descended from Puru. O tell me of each as he was possessed of prowess and achievements. I have, indeed, heard that in Puru's line there was not a single one who was wanting in good behaviour and prowess, or who was without sons. O thou of ascetic wealth, I desire to hear the histories in detail of those famous monarchs endued with learning and all accomplishments.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Asked by thee, I shall tell thee all about the heroic-kings in Puru's line, all equal unto Indra in prowess, possessing great affluence and commanding the respect of all for their accomplishments.

"Puru had by his wife Paushti three sons, Pravira, Iswara, and Raudraswa, all of whom were mighty car-warriors. Amongst them, Pravira was the perpetuator of the dynasty. Pravira had by his wife Suraseni a son named Manasyu. And the latter of eyes like lotus-petals had his sway over the whole Earth bounded by the four seas. And Manasyu had for his wife Sauviri. And he begat upon her three sons called Sakta, Sahana, and Vagmi. And they were heroes in battle and mighty car-warriors. The intelligent and virtuous Kaudraswa begat upon the Apsara Misrakesi ten sons who were all great bowmen. And they all grew up into heroes, performing numerous sacrifices in honour of the gods. And they all had sons, were learned in all branches of knowledge and ever devoted to virtue. They are Richeyu, and Kaksreyu and Vrikeyu of great prowess; Sthandileyu, and Vaneyu, and Jaleyu of great fame; Tejeyu of great strength and intelligence; and Satyeyu of the prowess of Indra; Dharmeyu, and Sannateyu the tenth of the prowess of the celestials. Amongst them all, Richeyu became the sole monarch of the whole earth and was known by the name of Anadhrishti. And in prowess he was like unto Vasava amongst the celestials. And Anadhristi had a son of the name of Matinara who became a famous and virtuous king and performed the Rajasuya and the horse-sacrifice. And Matinara had four sons of immeasurable prowess, viz., Tansu, Mahan, Atiratha, and Druhyu of immeasurable glory. (Amongst them, Tansu of great prowess became the perpetrator of Puru's line). And he subjugated the whole earth and acquired great fame and splendour. And Tansu begat a son of great prowess named Ilina. And he became the foremost of all conquerors and brought the whole world under his subjection. And Ilina begat upon his wife Rathantara five sons with Dushmanta at their head, all equal in might unto the five elements. They were Dushmanta, Sura, Bhima, Pravasu, and Vasu. And, O Janamejaya, the eldest of them, Dushmanta, became king. And Dushmanta had by his wife Sakuntala an intelligent son named Bharata who became king. And Bharata gave his name to the race of which he was the founder. And it is from him that the fame of that dynasty hath spread so wide. And Bharata begat upon his three wives nine sons in all. But none of them were like their father and so Bharata was not at all pleased with them. Their mothers, therefore, became angry and slew them all. The procreation of children by Bharata, therefore, became vain. The monarch then performed a great sacrifice and through the grace of Bharadwaja obtained a son named Bhumanyu. And then Bharata, the great descendant of Puru, regarding himself as really possessing a son, installed, O foremost one of Bharata's race, that son as his heir-apparent. And Bhumanyu begat upon his wife, Pushkarini six sons named Suhotra, Suhotri, Suhavih, Sujeya, Diviratha and Kichika. The eldest of them all, Suhotra, obtained the throne and performed many Rajasuyas and horse-sacrifices. And Suhotra brought under his sway the whole earth surrounded by her belt of seas and full of elephants, kine and horses, and all her wealth of gems of gold. And the earth afflicted with the weight of numberless human beings and elephants, horses, and cats, was, as it were, about to sink. And during the virtuous reign of Suhotra the surface of the whole earth was dotted all over with hundreds and thousands, of sacrificial stakes. And the lord of the earth, Suhotra, begat, upon his wife Aikshaki three sons, viz., Ajamidha, Sumidha, and Purumidha. The eldest of them, Ajamidha, was the perpetuator of the royal line. And he begat six sons,--Riksha was born of the womb of Dhumini, Dushmanta and Parameshthin, of Nili, and Jahnu, Jala and Rupina were born in that of Kesini. All the tribes of the Panchalas are descended from Dushmanta and Parameshthin. And the Kushikas are the sons of Jahnu of immeasurable prowess. And Riksha who was older than both Jala and Rupina became king. And Riksha begat Samvarana, the perpetuator of the royal line. And, O king, it hath been heard by us that while Samvarana, the son of Riksha, was ruling the earth, there happened a great loss of people from famine, pestilence, drought, and disease. And the Bharata princes were beaten by the troops of enemies. And the Panchalas setting out to invade the whole earth with their four kinds of troops soon brought the whole earth under their sway. And with their ten Akshauhinis the king of the Panchalas defeated the Bharata prince. Samvarana then with his wife and ministers, sons and relatives, fled in fear, and took shelter in the forest on the banks of the Sindhu extending to the foot of the mountains. There the Bharatas lived for a full thousand years, within their fort. And after they had lived there a thousand years, one day the illustrious Rishi Vasishtha approached the exiled Bharatas, who, on going out, saluted the Rishi and worshipped him by the offer of Arghya.

And entertaining him with reverence, they represented everything unto that illustrious Rishi. And after he was seated on his seat, the king himself approached the Rishi and addressed him, saying, 'Be thou our priest, O illustrious one! We will endeavour to regain our kingdom.' And Vasishtha answered the Bharatas by saying, 'Om' (the sign of consent). It hath been heard by us that Vasishtha then installed the Bharata prince in the sovereignty of all the Kshatriyas on earth, making by virtue of his Mantras this descendant of Puru the veritable horns of the wild bull or the tusks of the wild elephants. And the king retook the capital that had been taken away from him and once more made all monarchs pay tribute to him. The powerful Samvarana, thus installed once more in the actual sovereignty of the whole earth, performed many sacrifices at which the presents to the Brahmanas were great.

"Samvarana begat upon his wife, Tapati, the daughter of Surya, a son named Kuru. This Kuru was exceedingly virtuous, and therefore, he was installed on the throne by his people. It is after his name that the field called Kuru-jangala has become so famous in the world. Devoted to asceticism, he made that field (Kurukshetra) sacred by practising asceticism there. And it has been heard by us that Kuru's highly intelligent wife, Vahini, brought forth five sons, viz., Avikshit, Bhavishyanta, Chaitraratha, Muni and the celebrated Janamejaya. And Avikshit begat Parikshit the powerful, Savalaswa, Adhiraja, Viraja, Salmali of great physical strength, Uchaihsravas, Bhangakara and Jitari the eighth. In the race of these were born, as the fruit of their pious acts seven mighty car-warriors with Janamejaya at their head. And unto Parikshit were born sons who were all acquainted with (the secrets of) religion and profit. And they were named Kakshasena and Ugrasena, and Chitrasena endued with great energy, and Indrasena and Sushena and Bhimasena. And the sons of Janamejaya were all endued with great strength and became celebrated all over the world. And they were Dhritarashtra who was the eldest, and Pandu and Valhika, and Nishadha endued with great energy, and then the mighty Jamvunada, and then Kundodara and Padati and then Vasati the eighth. And they were all proficient in morality and profit and were kind to all creatures. Among them Dhritarashtra became king. And Dhritarashtra had eight sons, viz., Kundika, Hasti, Vitarka, Kratha the fifth, Havihsravas, Indrabha, and Bhumanyu the invincible, and Dhritarashtra had many grandsons, of whom three only were famous. They were, O king, Pratipa, Dharmanetra, Sunetra. Among these three, Pratipa became unrivalled on earth. And, O bull in Bharata's race, Pratipa begat three sons, viz., Devapi, Santanu, and the mighty car-warrior Valhika. The eldest Devapi adopted the ascetic course of life, impelled thereto by the desire of benefiting his brothers. And the kingdom was obtained by Santanu and the mighty car-warrior Valhika.

"O monarch, besides, there were born in the race of Bharata numberless other excellent monarchs endued with great energy and like unto the celestial Rishis themselves in virtue and ascetic power. And so also in the race of Manu were born many mighty car-warriors like unto the celestials themselves, who by their number swelled the Aila dynasty into gigantic proportions.'"

SECTION 95

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Janamejaya said, 'O Brahmana, I have now heard from thee this great history of my ancestors. I had also heard from thee about the great monarchs that were born in this line. But I have not been gratified, this charming account being so short. Therefore, be pleased, O Brahmana, to recite the delightful narrative just in detail commencing from Manu, the lord of creation. Who is there that will not be charmed with such an account, as it is sacred? The fame of these monarchs increased by their wisdom, virtue, accomplishments, and high character, hath so swelled as to cover the three worlds. Having listened to the history, sweet as nectar, of their liberality, prowess, physical strength, mental vigour, energy, and perseverance, I have not been satiated!'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Hear then, O monarch, as I recite in full the auspicious account of thy own race just as I had heard it from Dwaipayana before.

"Daksha begat Aditi, and Aditi begat Vivaswat, and Vivaswat begat Manu, and Manu begat Ha and Ha begat Pururavas. And Pururavas begat Ayus, and Ayus begat Nahusha, and Nahusha begat Yayati. And Yayati had two wives, viz., Devayani, the daughter of Usanas, and Sarmishtha the daughter of Vrishaparvan. Here occurs a sloka regarding (Yayati's) descendants, 'Devayani gave birth to Yadu and Turvasu; and Vrishaparvan's daughter, Sarmishtha gave birth to Druhyu, Anu, and Puru., And the descendants of Yadu are the Yadavas and of Puru are the Pauravas. And Puru had a wife of the name of Kausalya, on whom he begat a son named Janamejaya who performed three horse-sacrifices and a sacrifice called Viswajit. And then he entered into the woods. And Janamejaya had married Ananta, the daughter of Madhava, and begat upon her a son called Prachinwat. And the prince was so called because he had conquered all the eastern countries up to the very confines of the region where the Sun rises. And Prachinwat married Asmaki, a daughter of the Yadavas and begat upon her a son named Sanyati. And Sanyati married Varangi, the daughter of Drishadwata and begat upon her a son named Ahayanti. And Ahayanti married Bhanumati, the daughter of Kritavirya and begat upon her a son named Sarvabhauma. And Sarvabhauma married Sunanda, the daughter of the Kekaya prince, having obtained her by force. And he begat upon her a son named Jayatsena, who married Susrava, the daughter of the Vidarbha king and begat upon her Avachina, And Avachina also married another princess of Vidarbha, Maryada by name. And he begat on her a son named Arihan. And Arihan married Angi and begat on

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her Mahabhauma. And Mahabhauma married Suyajna, the daughter of Prasenajit. And of her was born Ayutanayi. And he was so called because he had performed a sacrifice at which the fat of an Ayuta (ten thousands) of male beings was required. And Ayutanayi took for a wife Kama, the daughter of Prithusravas. And by her was born a son named Akrodhana, who took to wife Karambha, the daughter of the king of Kalinga. And of her was born Devatithi, and Devatithi took for his wife Maryada, the princess of Videha. And of her was born a son named Arihan. And Arihan took to wife Sudeva, the princess of Anga, and upon her he begat a son named Riksha. And Riksha married Jwala, the daughter of Takshaka, and he begat upon her a son of the name of Matinara, who performed on the bank of Saraswati the twelve years' sacrifice said to be so efficacious. On conclusion of the sacrifice, Saraswati appeared in person before the king and chose him for husband. And he begat upon her a son named Tansu. Here occurs a sloka descriptive of Tansu's descendants.

"Tansu was born of Saraswati by Matinara. And Tansu himself begat a son named Ilina on his wife, the princess Kalingi.

"Ilina begat on his wife Rathantari five sons, of whom Dushmanta was the eldest. And Dushmanta took to wife Sakuntala, the daughter of Viswamitra. And he begat on her a son named Bharata. Here occurs two slokas about (Dushmanta's) descendants.

"The mother is but the sheath of flesh in which the father begets the son. Indeed the father himself is the son. Therefore, O Dushmanta, support thy son and insult not Sakuntala. O god among men, the father himself becoming the son rescueth himself from hell. Sakuntala hath truly said that thou art the author of this child's being.

"It is for this (i.e., because the king supported his child after hearing the above speech of the celestial messenger) that Sakuntala's son came to be called Bharata (the supported). And Bharata married Sunanda, the daughter of Sarvasena, the king of Kasi, and begat upon her the son named Bhumanyu. And Bhumanyu married Vijaya, the daughter of Dasarha. And he begat upon her a son Suhotra who married Suvarna, the daughter of Ikshvaku. To her was born a son named Hasti who founded this city, which has, therefore, been called Hastinapura. And Hasti married Yasodhara, the princess of Trigarta. And of her was born a son named Vikunthana who took for a wife Sudeva, the princess of Dasarha. And by her was born a son named Ajamidha. And Ajamidha had four wives named Raikeyi, Gandhari, Visala and Riksha. And he begat on them two thousand and four hundred sons. But amongst them all, Samvarana became the perpetuator of the dynasty. And Samvarana took for his wife Tapati, the daughter of Vivaswat. And of her was born Kuru, who married Subhangi, the princess of Dasarha. And he begat on her a son named Viduratha, who took to wife Supriya, the daughter of the Madhavas. And he begat upon her a son named Anaswan. And Anaswan married Amrita, the daughter of the Madhavas. And of her was born a son named Parikshit, who took for his wife Suvasa, the daughter of the Vahudas, and begat upon her a son named Bhimasena. And Bhimasena married Kumari, the princess of Kekaya and begat upon her Pratisravas whose son was Pratipa. And Pratipa married Sunanda, the daughter of Sivi, and begat upon her three sons, viz., Devapi, Santanu and Valhika. And Devapi, while still a boy, entered the woods as a hermit. And Santanu became king. Here occurs a sloka in respect of Santanu.

"Those old men that were touched by this monarch not only felt an indescribable sensation of pleasure but also became restored to youth. Therefore, this monarch was called Santanu.

"And Santanu married Ganga, who bore him a son Devavrata who was afterwards called Bhishma. And Bhishma, moved by the desire of doing good to his father, got him married to Satyavati who was also called Gandhakali. And in her maidenhood she had a son by Parasara, named Dwaipayana. And upon her Santanu begat two other sons named Chitrangada and Vichitravirya. And before they attained to majority, Chitrangada had been slain by the Gandharvas. But Vichitravirya became king, and married the two daughters of the king of Kasi, named Amvika and Amvalika. But Vichitravirya died childless. Then Satyavati began to think as to how the dynasty of Dushmanta might be perpetuated. Then she recollected the Rishi Dwaipayana. The latter coming before her, asked, 'What are thy commands?' 'She said, 'Thy brother Vichitravirya hath gone to heaven childless. Beget virtuous children for him.' Dwaipayana, consenting to this, begat three children, viz., Dhritarashtra, Pandu, and Vidura. King Dhritarashtra had a hundred sons by his wife, Gandhari in consequence of the boon granted by Dwaipayana. And amongst those hundred sons of Dhritarashtra, four became celebrated. They are Duryodhana, Duhsasana, Vikarna, and Chitrasena. And Pandu had two jewels of wives, viz., Kunti, also called Pritha, and Madri. One day Pandu, while out a-hunting, saw a deer covering its mate. That was really a Rishi in the form of a deer. Seeing the deer in that attitude, he killed it with his arrows, before its desire was gratified. Pierced with the king's arrow, the deer quickly changed its form and became a Rishi, and said unto Pandu, 'O Pandu, thou art virtuous and acquainted also with the pleasure derived from the gratification of one's desire. My desire unsatisfied, thou hast slain me! Therefore, thou also, when so engaged and before thou art gratified, shalt die!' Pandu, hearing this curse, became pale, and from that time would not go in unto his wives. And he told them these words, 'Through my own fault, I have been cursed! But I have heard that for the childless there are no regions hereafter.' Therefore, he solicited Kunti to have offspring raised for him. And Kunti said, 'Let it be', So she raised up offspring. By Dharma she had Yudhishthira; by Maruta, Bhima: and by Sakra, Arjuna. And Pandu, well-pleased with her, said, 'This thy co-wife is also childless. Therefore, cause her also to bear children.' Kunti saying, 'So be it,' imparted unto Madri the mantra of invocation. And on Madri were raised by the twin Aswins, the twins Nakula and Sahadeva. And (one day) Pandu, beholding Madri decked with ornaments, had his desire kindled. And, as soon as he touched her, he died. Madri ascended the funeral pyre with her lord. And she said unto Kunti, 'Let these twins of mine be brought up by thee with affection.' After some time those five Pandavas were taken by the ascetics of the woods to Hastinapura and there introduced to Bhishma and Vidura. And after introducing them, the ascetics disappeared in the very sight of all. And after the conclusion of the speech of those ascetics, flowers were showered down upon the spot, and the celestial drums also were beaten in the skies. The Pandavas were then taken (by Bhishma). They then represented the death of their father and performed his last honours duly. And as they were brought up there, Duryodhana became exceedingly jealous of them. And the sinful Duryodhana acting like Rakshasa tried various means to drive them away. But what must be can never be frustrated. So all Duryodhana's efforts proved futile. Then Dhritarashtra sent them, by an act of deception to Varanavata, and they went there willingly. There an endeavour was made to burn them to death; but it proved abortive owing to the warning counsels of Vidura. After that the Pandavas slew Hidimva, and then they went to a town called Ekachakra. There also they slew a Rakshasa of the name of Vaka and then went to Panchala. And there obtaining Draupadi for a wife they returned to Hastinapura. And there they dwelt for some time in peace and begat children. And Yudhishthira begat Prativindhya; Bhima, Sutasoma; Arjuna, Srutakriti; Nakula, Satanika; and Sahadeva, Srutakarman. Besides these, Yudhishthira, having obtained for his wife Devika, the daughter of Govasana of the Saivya tribe, in a self-choice ceremony, begat upon her a son named Yaudheya. And Bhima also obtaining for a wife Valandhara, the daughter of the king of Kasi, offered his own prowess as dower and begat upon her a son named Sarvaga. And Arjuna also, repairing to Dwaravati, brought away by force Subhadra. the sweet-speeched sister of Vasudeva, and returned in happiness to Hastinapura. And he begat upon her a son named Abhimanyu endued with all accomplishments and dear to Vasudeva himself. And Nakula obtaining for his wife Karenumati, the princess of Chedi, begat upon her a son named Niramitra. And Sahadeva also married Vijaya, the daughter of Dyutimat, the king of Madra, obtaining her in a self-choice ceremony and begat upon her a son named Suhotra. And Bhimasena had some time before begat upon Hidimva a son named Ghatotkacha. These are the eleven sons of the Pandavas. Amongst them all, Abhimanyu was the perpetuator of the family. He married Uttara, the daughter of Virata, who brought forth a dead child whom Kunti took up on her lap at the command of Vasudeva who said, 'I will revive this child of six months.' And though born before time, having been burnt by the fire of (Aswatthaman's weapon) and, therefore, deprived of strength and energy he was revived by Vasudeva and endued with strength, energy and prowess. And after reviving him, Vasudeva said, 'Because this child hath been born in an extinct race, therefore, he shall be called Parikshit'. And Parikshit married Madravati, thy mother, O king, and thou art born to her, O Janamejaya! Thou hast also begotten two sons on thy wife Vapushtama, named Satanika and Sankukarna. And Satanika also hath begotten one son named Aswamedhadatta upon the princess of Videha.

"Thus have I, O king, recited the history of the descendants of Puru and of the Pandavas. This excellent, virtue-increasing, and sacred history should ever be listened to by vow-observing Brahmanas, by Kshatriyas devoted to the practices of their order and ready to protect their subjects; by Vaisyas with attention, and by Sudras with reverence, whose chief occupation is to wait upon the three other orders. Brahmanas conversant in the Vedas and other persons, who with attention and reverence recite this sacred history or listen to it when recited, conquer the heavens and attain to the abode of the blessed. They are also always respected and adored by the gods, Brahamanas, and other men. This holy history of Bharata hath been composed by the sacred and illustrious Vyasa. Veda-knowing Brahmanas and other persons who with reverence and without malice hear it recited, earn great religious merits and conquer the heavens. Though sinning, they are not disregarded by any one. Here occurs a sloka, 'This (Bharata) is equal unto the Vedas: it is holy and excellent. It bestoweth wealth, fame, and life. Therefore, it should be listened to by men with rapt attention.'"

SECTION 96

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'There was a king known by the name of Mahabhisha born in the race of Ikshvaku. He was the lord of all the earth, and was truthful (in speech) and of true prowess. By a thousand horse-sacrifices and a hundred Rajasuyas he had gratified the chief of the celestials and ultimately attained to heaven.

"One day the celestials had assembled together and were worshipping Brahman. Many royal sages and king Mahabhisha also were present on the spot. And Ganga, the queen of rivers, also came there to pay her adorations to the Grandsire. And her garments white as the beams of the moon was displaced by the action of the wind. And as her person became exposed, the celestials bent down their heads. But the royal sage Mahabhisha rudely stared at the queen of rivers. And Mahabhisha was for this cursed by Brahman, who said, 'Wretch, as thou hast forgotten thyself at the sight of Ganga, thou shalt be re-born on earth. But thou shall again and again attain to these regions. And she, too, shall be born in the world of men and shall do thee injuries. But when thy wrath shall be provoked, thou shalt then be freed from my curse.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'King Mahabhisha then recollecting all the monarchs and ascetics on earth, wished to be born as son to Pratipa of great prowess. And the queen of rivers, too, seeing king Mahabhisha lose his firmness, went away, thinking of him wishfully. And on her way, she saw those dwellers in heaven, the Vasus, also pursuing the same path. And the queen of rivers beholding them in the predicament, asked them, 'Why look ye so dejected? Ye dwellers in heaven, is everything right with you?' Those celestials, the Vasus, answered her, saying, 'O queen of rivers, we have been cursed, for a venial fault, by the illustrious Vasishtha in anger. The foremost of excellent Rishis, Vasishtha, had been engaged in his twilight adorations and seated as he was, he could not be seen by us. We crossed him in ignorance. Therefore, in wrath he hath cursed us, saying, Be ye born among men!' It is beyond our power to frustrate what hath been said by that utterance of Brahma. Therefore, O river, thyself becoming a human female make us the Vasus, thy children. O amiable one, we are unwilling to enter the womb of any human female.' Thus addressed, the queen of rivers told them, 'Be it so and asked them, 'On earth, who is that foremost of men whom ye will make your father?'

"The Vasus replied, 'On earth, unto Pratipa shall be born a son, Santanu, who will be a king of world-wide fame.' Ganga then said, 'Ye celestials, that is exactly my wish which ye sinless ones have expressed. I shall, indeed, do good to that Santanu. That is also your desire as just expressed.' The Vasus then said, 'It behoveth thee to throw thy children after birth, into the water, so that, O thou of three courses (celestial, terrestrial, and subterranean) we may be rescued soon without having to live on earth for any length of time.' Ganga then answered, 'I shall do what ye desire. But in order that his intercourse with me may not be entirely fruitless, provide ye that one son at least may live.' The Vasus then replied, 'We shall each contribute an eighth part of our respective energies With the sum thereof, thou shall have one son according to thy and his wishes. But this son shall not begat any children on earth. Therefore, that son of thine endued with great energy, shall be childless.'

"The Vasus, making this arrangement with Ganga, went away without Waiting to the place they liked.'"

SECTION 97

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said. 'There was a king of the name of Pratipa, who was kind to all creatures. He spent many years in ascetic penances at the source of the river Ganga. The accomplished and lovely Ganga, one day, assuming the form of a beautiful female, and rising from the waters, made up to the monarch. The celestial maiden, endued with ravishing beauty, approached the royal sage engaged in ascetic austerities, and sat upon his right thigh that was, for manly strength, a veritable Sala tree. When the maiden of handsome face had so sat upon his lap, the monarch said unto her, 'O amiable one, what dost thou desire? What shall I do?' The damsel answered, 'I desire thee, O king, for my husband! O foremost one of the Kurus, be mine! To refuse a woman coming of her own accord is never applauded by the wise.' Pratipa answered, 'O thou of the fairest complexion, moved by lust, I never go in unto others' wives or women that are not of my order. This, indeed, is my virtuous vow.' The maiden rejoined, 'I am not inauspicious or ugly. I am every way worthy of being enjoyed. I am a celestial maiden of rare beauty; I desire thee for my husband. Refuse me not, O king.' To this Pratipa answered, 'I am, 'O damsel, abstaining from that course to which thou wouldst incite me. If I break my

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vow, sin will overwhelm and kill me. O thou of the fairest complexion, thou hast embraced me, sitting on my right thigh. But, O timid one, know that this is the seat for daughters and daughters-in-law. The left lap is for the wife, but thou hast not accepted that. Therefore, O best of women, I cannot enjoy thee as an object of desire. Be my daughter-in-law. I accept thee for my son!'

"The damsel then said, 'O virtuous one, let it be as thou sayest. Let me be united with thy son. From my respect for thee, I shall be a wife of the celebrated Bharata race. Ye (of the Bharata race) are the refuge of all the monarchs on earth! I am incapable of numbering the virtues of this race even within a hundred years. The greatness and goodness of many celebrated monarchs of this race are limitless. O lord of all, let it be understood now that when I become thy daughter-in-law, thy son shall not be able to judge of the propriety of my acts. Living thus with thy son, I shall do good to him and increase his happiness. And he shall finally attain to heaven in consequence of the sons I shall bear him, and of his virtues and good conduct.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'O king, having said so, the celestial damsel disappeared then and there. And the king, too, waited for the birth of his son in order to fulfil his promise.'

"About this time Pratipa, that light of the Kuru race, that bull amongst Kshatriyas, was engaged, along with his wife, in austerities from desire of offspring. And when they had grown old, a son was born unto them. This was no other than Mahabhisha. And the child was called Santanu because he was born when his father had controlled his passions by ascetic penances. And the best of Kurus, Santanu, knowing that region of indestructible bliss can be acquired by one's deeds alone, became devoted to virtue. When Santanu grew up into a youth, Pratipa addressed him and said, 'Some time ago, O Santanu, a celestial damsel came to me for thy good. If thou meetest that fair-complexioned one in secret and if she solicit thee for children, accept her as thy wife. And, O sinless one, judge not of the propriety or impropriety of her action and ask not who she is, or whose or whence, but accept her as thy wife at my command!'" Vaisampayana continued, 'Pratipa, having thus commanded his son Santanu and installed him on his throne, retired into the woods. And king Santanu endued with great intelligence and equal unto Indra himself in splendour, became addicted to hunting and passed much of his time in the woods. And the best of monarchs always slew deer and buffaloes. And one day, as he was wandering along the bank of the Ganges, he came upon a region frequented by Siddhas and Charanas. And there he saw a lovely maiden of blazing beauty and like unto another Sri herself; of faultless and pearly teeth and decked with celestial ornaments, and attired in garments of fine texture that resembled in splendour the filaments of the lotus. And the monarch, on beholding that damsel, became surprised, and his raptures produced instant horripilation. With steadfast gaze he seemed to be drinking her charms, but repeated draughts failed to quench his thirst. The damsel also beholding the monarch of blazing splendour moving about in great agitation, was moved herself and experienced an affection for him. She gazed and gazed and longed to gaze on him evermore. The monarch then in soft words addressed her and said, 'O slender-waisted one, be thou a goddess or the daughter of a Danava, be thou of the race of the Gandharvas, or Apsaras, be thou of the Yakshas or the Nagas, or be thou of human origin, O thou of celestial beauty, I solicit thee to be my wife!'"

SECTION 98

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'The maiden then, hearing those soft and sweet words of the smiling monarch, and remembering her promise to the Vasus, addressed the king in reply. Of faultless features, the damsel sending a thrill of pleasure into the heart by every word she uttered, said, 'O king, I shall become thy wife and obey thy commands. But, O monarch, thou must not interfere with me in anything I do, be it agreeable or disagreeable. Nor shall thou ever address me unkindly. As long as thou shalt behave kindly I promise to live with thee. But I shall certainly leave thee the moment thou interferest with me or speakest to me an unkind word.' The king answered, 'Be it so.' And thereupon the damsel obtaining that excellent monarch, that foremost one of the Bharata race for her husband, became highly pleased. And king Santanu also, obtaining her for his wife, enjoyed to the full the pleasure of her company. And adhering to his promise, he refrained from asking her anything. And the lord of earth, Santanu, became exceedingly gratified with her conduct, beauty, magnanimity, and attention to his comforts. And the goddess Ganga also, of three courses (celestial, terrestrial, and subterranean) assuming a human form of superior complexion and endued with celestial beauty, lived happily as the wife of Santanu, having as the fruit of her virtuous acts, obtained for her husband, that tiger among kings equal unto Indra himself in splendour. And she gratified the king by her attractiveness and affection, by her wiles and love, by her music and dance, and became herself gratified. And the monarch was so enraptured with his beautiful wife that months, seasons, and years rolled on without his being conscious of them. And the king, while thus enjoying himself with his wife, had eight children born unto him who in beauty were like the very celestials themselves. But, O Bharata, those children, one after another, as soon as they were born, were thrown into the river by Ganga who said, 'This is for thy good.' And the children sank to rise no more. The king, however, could not be pleased with such conduct. But he spoke not a word about it lest his wife should leave him. But when the eighth child was born, and when his wife as before was about to throw it smilingly into the river, the king with a sorrowful countenance and desirous of saving it from destruction, addressed her and said, 'Kill it not! Who art thou and whose? Why dost thou kill thy own children? Murderess of thy sons, the load of thy sins is great!'" His wife, thus addressed, replied, 'O thou desirous of offspring, thou hast already become the first of those that have children. I shall not destroy this child of thine. But according to our agreement, the period of my stay with thee is at an end. I am Ganga, the daughter of Jahnu. I am ever worshipped by the great sages; I have lived with thee so long for accomplishing the purposes of the celestials. The eight illustrious Vasus endued with great energy had, from Vasishtha's curse, to assume human forms. On earth, besides thee, there was none else to deserve the honour of being their begetter. There is no woman also on earth except one like me, a celestial of human form, to become their mother. I assumed a human form to bring them forth. Thou also, having become the father of the eight Vasus, hast acquired many regions of perennial bliss. It was also agreed between myself and the Vasus that I should free them from their human forms as soon as they would be born. I have thus freed them from the curse of the Rishi Apava. Blest be thou; I leave thee, O king! But rear thou this child of rigid vows. That I should live with thee so long was the promise I gave to the Vasus. And let this child be called Gangadatta.'"

SECTION 99

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Santanu asked, 'What was the fault of the Vasus and who was Apava, through whose curse the Vasus had to be born among men? What also hath this child of thine, Gangadatta, done for which he shall have to live among men? Why also were the Vasus, the lords of the three worlds, condemned to be born amongst men? O daughter of Jahnu, tell me all.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed, the celestial daughter of Jahnu, Ganga, then replied unto the monarch, her husband, that bull amongst men, saying, 'O best of Bharata's race, he who was obtained as son by Varuna was called Vasishtha, the Muni who afterwards came to be known as Apava. He had his asylum on the breast of the king of mountains called Meru. The spot was sacred and abounded with birds and beasts. And there bloomed at all times of the year flowers of every season. And, O best of Bharata's race, that foremost of virtuous men, the son of Varuna, practised his ascetic penances in those woods abounding with sweet roots and water.

"Daksha had a daughter known by the name of Surabhi, who, O bull of Bharata's race, for benefiting the world, brought forth, by her connexion with Kasyapa, a daughter (Nandini) in the form of a cow. That foremost of all kine, Nandini, was the cow of plenty (capable of granting every desire). The virtuous son of Varuna obtained Nandini for his Homa rites. And Nandini, dwelling in that hermitage which was adored by Munis, roamed about fearlessly in those sacred and delightful woods.

"One day, O bull of Bharata's race, there came into those woods adored by the gods and celestial Rishis, the Vasus with Prithu at their head. And wandering there with their wives, they enjoyed themselves in those delightful woods and mountains. And as they wandered there, the slender-waisted wife of one of the Vasus, O thou of the prowess of Indra, saw in those woods Nandini, the cow of plenty. And seeing that cow possessing the wealth of all accomplishments, large eyes, full udders, fine tail, beautiful hoofs, and every other auspicious sign, and yielding much milk, she showed the animal to her husband Dyu. O thou of the prowess of the first of elephants, when Dyu was shown that cow, he began to admire her several qualities and addressing his wife, said, 'O black-eyed girl of fair thighs, this excellent cow belongeth to that Rishi whose is this delightful asylum. O slender-waisted one, that mortal who drinketh the sweet milk of this cow remaineth in unchanged youth for ten thousand years.' O best of monarchs, hearing this, the slender-waisted goddess of faultless features then addressed her lord of blazing splendour and said, 'There is on earth a friend of mine, Jitavati by name, possessed of great beauty and youth. She is the daughter of that god among men, the royal sage Usinara, endued with intelligence and devoted to truth. I desire to have this cow, O illustrious one, with her calf for that friend of mine. Therefore, O best of celestials, bring that cow so that my friend drinking of her milk may alone become on earth free from disease and decrepitude. O illustrious and blameless one, it behoveth thee to grant me this desire of mine. There is nothing that would be more agreeable to me.' On hearing these words of his wife, Dyu, moved by the desire of humouring her, stole that cow, aided by his brothers Prithu and the others. Indeed, Dyu, commanded by his lotus-eyed wife, did her bidding, forgetting at the moment the high ascetic merits of the Rishi who owned her. He did not think at the time that he was going to fall by committing the sin of stealing the cow.

"When the son of Varuna returned to his asylum in the evening with fruits he had collected, he beheld not the cow with her calf there. He began to search for them in the woods, but when the great ascetic of superior intelligence found not his cow on search, he saw by his ascetic vision that she had been stolen by the Vasus. His wrath was instantly kindled and he cursed the Vasus, saying, 'Because the Vasus have stolen my cow of sweet milk and handsome tail, therefore, shall they certainly be born on earth!'

"O thou bull of Bharata's race, the illustrious Rishi Apava thus cursed the Vasus in wrath. And having cursed them, the illustrious one set his heart once more on ascetic meditation. And after that Brahmarshi of great power and ascetic wealth had thus in wrath cursed the Vasus, the latter, O king, coming to know of it, speedily came into his asylum. And addressing the Rishi, O bull among kings, they endeavoured to pacify him. But they failed, O tiger among men, to obtain grace from Apava--that Rishi conversant, with all rules of virtue. The virtuous Apava, however, said, 'Ye Vasus, with Dhava and others, ye have been cursed by me. But ye shall be freed from my curse within a year of your birth among men. But he for whose deed ye have been cursed by me he, viz., Dyu, shall for his sinful act, have to dwell on earth for a length of time. I shall not make futile the words I have uttered in wrath. Dyu, though dwelling on Earth, shall not beget children. He shall, however, be virtuous and conversant with the scriptures. He shall be an obedient son to his father, but he shall have to abstain from the pleasure of female companionship.'

"Thus addressing the Vasus, the great Rishi went away. The Vasus then together came to me. And, O king, the begged of me the boon that as soon as they would be born, I should throw them into the water. And, O best of kings, I did as they desired, in order to free them from their earthly life. And O best of kings, from the Rishi's curse, this one only, viz., Dyu, himself, is to live on earth for some time.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having said this, the goddess disappeared then and there. And taking with her the child, she went away to the region she chose. And that child of Santanu was named both Gangeya and Devavrata and excelled his father in all accomplishments.

"Santanu, after the disappearance of his wife, returned to his capital with a sorrowful heart. I shall now recount to thee the many virtues and the great good fortune of the illustrious king Santanu of the Bharata race. Indeed, it is this splendid history that is called the Mahabharata.'"

SECTION 100

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'The monarch Santanu, the most adored of the gods and royal sages, was known in all the worlds for his wisdom, virtues, and truthfulness (of speech). The qualities of self-control, liberality, forgiveness, intelligence, modesty, patience and superior energy ever dwelt in that bull among men, viz., Santanu, that great being endued with these accomplishments and conversant with both religion and profit, the monarch was at once the protector of the Bharata race and all human beings. His neck was marked with (three) lines, like a conch-shell; his shoulders were broad, and he resembled in prowess an infuriated elephant. It would seem that all the auspicious signs of royalty dwelt in his person, considering that to be their fittest abode. Men, seeing the behaviour of that monarch of great achievements came to know that virtue was ever superior to pleasure and profit. These were the attributes that dwelt in that great being--that bull among men--Santanu. And truly there was never a king like Santanu. All the kings of the earth, beholding him devoted to virtue, bestowed upon that foremost of virtuous men the title of King of kings. And all the kings of the earth during the time of that lord-protector of the Bharata race, were without woe and fear and anxiety of any kind. And they all slept in peace, rising from bed every morning after happy dreams. And owing to that monarch of splendid achievements resembling Indra himself in energy, all the kings of the earth became virtuous and devoted to liberality, religious acts and sacrifices. And when the earth was ruled by Santanu and other monarchs like him, the religious merits of every order increased very greatly. The Kshatriyas served the Brahmanas; the Vaisyas waited upon the Kshatriyas, and the Sudras adoring the Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas, waited upon the Vaisyas. And Santanu residing in Hastinapura, the delightful capital of the Kurus, ruled the whole earth bounded by seas. He was truthful and guileless, and like the king of the celestials himself conversant with the dictates of virtue. And from the combination in him of liberality, religion and asceticism, he acquired a great good fortune. He was free from anger and malice, and was handsome in person like Soma himself. In splendour he was like the Sun and in impetuosity of valour like Vayu. In wrath he was like Yama, and in

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patience like the Earth. And, O king, while Santanu ruled the earth, no deer, boars, birds, or other animals were needlessly slain. In his dominions the great virtue of kindness to all creatures prevailed, and the king himself, with the soul of mercy, and void of desire and wrath, extended equal protection unto all creatures. Then sacrifices in honour of the gods, the Rishis, and Pitris commenced, and no creature was deprived of life sinfully. And Santanu was the king and father of all--of those that were miserable and those that had no protectors, of birds and beasts, in fact, of every created thing. And during the rule of the best of Kurus--of that king of kings--speech became united with truth, and the minds of men were directed towards liberality and virtue. And Santanu, having enjoyed domestic felicity for six and thirty years, retired into the woods.

"And Santanu's son, the Vasu born of Ganga, named Devavrata resembled Santanu himself in personal beauty, in habits and behaviour, and in learning. And in all branches of knowledge worldly or spiritual his skill was very great. His strength and energy were extraordinary. He became a mighty car-warrior. In fact he was a great king.

"One day, while pursuing along the banks of the Ganges a deer that he had struck with his arrow, king Santanu observed that the river had become shallow. On observing this, that bull among men, viz., Santanu, began to reflect upon this strange phenomenon. He mentally asked why that first of rivers ran out so quickly as before. And while seeking for a cause, the illustrious monarch beheld that a youth of great comeliness, well-built and amiable person, like Indra himself, had, by his keen celestial weapon, checked the flow of the river. And the king, beholding this extraordinary feat of the river Ganga having been checked in her course near where that youth stood, became very much surprised. This youth was no other than Santanu's son himself. But as Santanu had seen his son only once a few moments after his birth, he had not sufficient recollection to identify that infant with the youth before his eyes. The youth, however, seeing his father, knew him at once, but instead of disclosing himself, he clouded the king's perception by his celestial powers of illusion and disappeared in his very sight.

"King Santanu, wondering much at what he saw and imagining the youth to be his own son then addressed Ganga and said, 'Show me that child.' Ganga thus addressed, assuming a beautiful form, and holding the boy decked with ornaments in her right arm, showed him to Santanu. And Santanu did not recognise that beautiful female bedecked with ornaments and attired in fine robes of white, although he had known her before. And Ganga said, 'O tiger among men, that eighth son whom thou hadst some time before begat upon me is this. Know that this excellent child is conversant with all weapons, O monarch, take him now. I have reared him with care. And go home, O tiger among men, taking him with thee. Endued with superior intelligence, he has studied with Vasishtha the entire Vedas with their branches. Skilled in all weapons and a mighty bowman, he is like Indra in battle. And, O Bharata, both the gods and the Asuras look upon him with favour. Whatever branches of knowledge are known to Usanas, this one knoweth completely. And so is he the master of all those Sastras that the son of Angiras (Vrihaspati) adored by the gods and the Asuras, knoweth. And all the weapons known to the powerful and invincible Rama, the son of Jamadagni are known to this thy illustrious son of mighty arms. O king of superior courage, take this thy own heroic child given unto thee by me. He is a mighty bowman and conversant with the interpretation of all treatises on the duties of a king.' Thus commanded by Ganga, Santanu took his child resembling the Sun himself in glory and returned to his capital. And having reached his city that was like unto the celestial capital, that monarch of Puru's line regarded himself greatly fortunate. And having summoned all the Pauravas together, for the protection of his kingdom he installed his son as his heir-apparent. And O bull of Bharata's race, the prince soon gratified by his behaviour his father and the other members of the Paurava race: in fact, all the subjects of the kingdom. And the king of incomparable prowess lived happily with that son of his.

"Four years had thus passed away, when the king one day went into the woods on the bank of the Yamuna. And while the king was rambling there, he perceived a sweet scent coming from an unknown direction. And the monarch, impelled by the desire of ascertaining the cause, wandered hither and thither. And in course of his ramble, he beheld a black-eyed maiden of celestial beauty, the daughter of a fisherman. The king addressing her, said, 'Who art thou, and whose daughter? What dost thou do here, O timid one?' She answered, 'Blest be thou! I am the daughter of the chief of the fishermen. At his command, I am engaged for religious merit, in rowing passengers across this river in my boat.' And Santanu, beholding that maiden of celestial form endued with beauty, amiableness, and such fragrance, desired her for his wife. And repairing unto her father, the king solicited his consent to the proposed match. But the chief of the fishermen replied to the monarch, saying, 'O king, as soon as my daughter of superior complexion was born, it was of course, understood that she should be bestowed upon a husband. But listen to the desire I have cherished all along in my heart. O sinless one, thou art truthful: if thou desirest to obtain this maiden as a gift from me, give, me then this pledge. If, indeed, thou givest the pledge, I will of course bestow my daughter upon thee for truly I can never obtain a husband for her equal to thee.'

"Santanu, hearing this, replied, 'When I have heard of the pledge thou askest, I shall then say whether I would be able to grant it. If it is capable of being granted, I shall certainly grant it. Otherwise how shall I grant it.' The fisherman said, 'O king, what I ask of thee is this: the son born of this maiden shall be installed by thee on thy throne and none else shall thou make thy successor.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'O Bharata, when Santanu heard this, he felt no inclination to grant such a boon, though the fire of desire sorely burnt him within. The king with his heart afflicted by desire returned to Hastinapura, thinking all the way of the fisherman's daughter. And having returned home, the monarch passed his time in sorrowful meditation. One day, Devavrata approaching his afflicted father said, 'All is prosperity with thee; all chiefs obey thee; then how is it that thou grievest thus? Absorbed in thy own thoughts, thou speakest not a word to me in reply. Thou goest not out on horse-back now; thou lookest pale and emaciated, having lost all animation. I wish to know the disease thou sufferest from, so that I may endeavour to apply a remedy.' Thus addressed by his son, Santanu answered, 'Thou sayest truly, O son, that I have become melancholy. I will also tell thee why I am so. O thou of Bharata's line, thou art the only scion of this our large race. Thou art always engaged in sports of arms and achievements of prowess. But, O son, I am always thinking of the instability of human life. If any danger overtake thee, O child of Ganga, the result is that we become sonless. Truly thou alone art to me as a century of sons. I do not, therefore, desire to wed again. I only desire and pray that prosperity may ever attend thee so that our dynasty may be perpetuated. The wise say that he that hath one son hath no son. Sacrifices before fire and the knowledge of the three Vedas yield, it is true, everlasting religious merit, but all these, in point of religious merit, do not, come up to a sixteenth part of the religious merit attainable on the birth of a son. Indeed, in this respect, there is hardly any difference between men and the lower animals. O wise one, I do not entertain a shadow of doubt that one attains to heaven in consequence of his having begotten a son. The Vedas which constitute the root of the Puranas and are regarded as authoritative even by the gods, contain numerous proof of this. O thou of Bharata's race, thou art a hero of excitable temper, who is always engaged in the exercise of arms. It is very probable that thou wilt be slain on the field of battle. If it so happen, what then will be the state of the Bharata dynasty, It is this thought that hath made me so melancholy. I have now told thee fully the causes of my sorrow.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Devavrata who was endued with great intelligence, having ascertained all this from the king, reflected within himself for a while. He then went to the old minister devoted to his father's welfare and asked him about the cause of the king's grief. O bull of Bharata's race, when the prince questioned the minister, the latter told him about the boon that was demanded by the chief of the fishermen in respect of his daughter Gandhavati. Then Devavrata, accompanied by many Kshatriya chiefs of venerable age, personally repaired to the chief of the fishermen and begged of him his daughter on behalf of the king. The chief of the fishermen received him with due adorations, and, O thou of Bharata's race, when the prince took his seat in the court of the chief, the latter addressed him and said, 'O bull among the Bharatas, thou art the first of all wielders of weapons and the only son of Santanu. Thy power is great. But I have something to tell thee. If the bride's father was Indra himself, even then he would have to repent of rejecting such an exceedingly honourable and desirable proposal of marriage. The great man of whose seed this celebrated maiden named Satyavati was born, is, indeed, equal to you in virtue. He hath spoken to me on many occasions of the virtues of thy father and told me that, the king alone is worthy of (marrying) Satyavati. Let me tell you that I have even rejected the solicitations of that best of Brahmarshis--the celestial sage Asita--who, too, had often asked for Satyavati's hand in marriage. I have only one word to say on the part of this maiden. In the matter of the proposed marriage there is one great objection founded on the fact of a rival in the person of a co-wife's son. O oppressor of all foes, he hath no security, even if he be an Asura or a Gandharva, who hath a rival in thee. There is this only objection to the proposed marriage, and nothing else. Blest be thou! But this is all I have to say in the matter of the bestowal or otherwise, of Satyavati.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'O thou of Bharata's race, Devavrata, having heard these words, and moved by the desire of benefiting his father thus answered in the hearing of the assembled chiefs, 'O foremost of truthful men, listen to the vow I utter! The man has not been or will not be born, who will have the courage to take such a vow! I shall accomplish all that thou demandest! The son that may be born of this maiden shall be our king.' Thus addressed, the chief of the fishermen, impelled by desire of sovereignty (for his daughter's son), to achieve the almost impossible, then said, 'O thou of virtuous soul, thou art come hither as full agent on behalf of thy father Santanu of immeasurable glory; be thou also the sole manager on my behalf in the matter of the bestowal of this my daughter. But, O amiable one, there is something else to be said, something else to be reflected upon by thee. O suppressor of foes, those that have daughters, from the very nature of their obligations, must say what I say. O thou that art devoted to truth, the promise thou hast given in the presence of these chiefs for the benefit of Satyavati, hath, indeed, been worthy of thee. O thou of mighty arms, I have not the least doubt of its ever being violated by thee. But I have my doubts in respect of the children thou mayst beget.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'O king, the son of Ganga, devoted to truth, having ascertained the scruples of the chief of the fishermen, then said, moved thereto by the desire of benefiting his father, 'Chief of fishermen, thou best of men, listen to what I say in the presence of these assembled kings. Ye kings, I have already relinquished my right to the throne, I shall now settle the matter of my children. O fisherman, from this day I adopt the vow of Brahmacharya (study and meditation in celibacy). If I die sonless, I shall yet attain to regions of perennial bliss in heaven!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Upon these words of the son of Ganga, the hair on the fisherman's body stood on end from glee, and he replied, 'I bestow my daughter!' Immediately after, the Apsaras and the gods with diverse tribes of Rishis began to rain down flowers from the firmament upon the head of Devavrata and exclaimed, 'This one is Bhishma (the terrible).' Bhishma then, to serve his father, addressed the illustrious damsel and said, 'O mother, ascend this chariot, and let us go unto our house.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having said this, Bhishma helped the beautiful maiden into his chariot. On arriving with her at Hastinapura, he told Santanu everything as it had happened. And the assembled kings, jointly and individually, applauded his extraordinary act and said, 'He is really Bhishma (the terrible)!' And Santanu also, hearing of the extraordinary achievements of his son, became highly gratified and bestowed upon the high-souled prince the boon of death at will, saying, 'Death shall never come to thee as long as thou desirest to live. Truly death shall approach thee, O sinless one, having first obtained thy command.'"

SECTION 101

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'O monarch, after the nuptials were over, king Santanu established his beautiful bride in his household. Soon after was born of Satyavati an intelligent and heroic son of Santanu named Chitrangada. He was endued with great energy and became an eminent man. The lord Santanu of great prowess also begat upon Satyavati another son named Vichitravirya, who became a mighty bowman and who became king after his father. And before that bull among men, viz., Vichitravirya, attained to majority, the wise king Santanu realised the inevitable influence of Time. And after Santanu had ascended to heaven. Bhishma, placing himself under the command of Satyavati, installed that suppressor of foes, viz., Chitrangada, on the throne, who, having soon vanquished by his prowess all monarchs, considered not any man as his equal. And beholding that he could vanquish men, Asuras, and the very gods, his namesake, the powerful king of the Gandharvas, approached him for an encounter. Between that Gandharva and that foremost one of the Kurus, who were both very powerful, there occurred on the field of Kurukshetra a fierce combat which lasted full three years on the banks of the Saraswati. In that terrible encounter characterised by thick showers of weapons and in which the combatants ground each other fiercely, the Gandharva, who had greater prowess or strategic deception, slew the Kuru prince. Having slain Chitrangada--that first of men and oppressor of foes--the Gandharva ascended to heaven. When that tiger among men endued with great prowess was slain, Bhishma, the son of Santanu, performed, O king, all his obsequies. He then installed the boy Vichitravirya of mighty arms, still in his minority, on the throne of the Kurus. And Vichitravirya, placing himself under the command of Bhishma, ruled the ancestral kingdom. And he adored Santanu's son Bhishma who was conversant with all the rules of religion and law; so, indeed, Bhishma also protected him that was so obedient to the dictates of duty.'"

SECTION 102

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'O thou of Kuru's race, after Chitrangada was slain, his successor Vichitravirya being a minor, Bhishma ruled the kingdom, placing himself under the command of Satyavati. When he saw that his brother, who was the foremost of intelligent men, attained to majority, Bhishma set his heart upon marrying Vichitravirya. At this

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time he heard that the three daughters of the king of Kasi, all equal in beauty to the Apsaras themselves, would be married on the same occasion, selecting their husbands at a self-choice ceremony. Then that foremost of car-warriors, that vanquisher of all foes, at the command of his mother, went to the city of Varanasi in a single chariot. There Bhishma, the son of Santanu, saw that innumerable monarchs had come from all directions; and there he also saw those three maidens that would select their own husbands. And when the (assembled) kings were each being mentioned by name, Bhishma chose those maidens (on behalf of his brother). And taking them upon his chariot, Bhishma, that first of smiters in battle, addressed the kings, O monarch, and said in a voice deep as the roar of the clouds, 'The wise have directed that when an accomplished person has been invited, a maiden may be bestowed on him, decked with ornaments and along with many valuable presents. Others again may bestow their daughters by accepting a couple of kine. Some again bestow their daughters by taking a fixed sum, and some take away maidens by force. Some wed with the consent of the maidens, some by drugging them into consent, and some by going unto the maidens' parents and obtaining their sanction. Some again obtain wives as presents for assisting at sacrifices. Of these, the learned always applaud the eighth form of marriage. Kings, however, speak highly of the Swyamvara (the fifth form as above) and themselves wed according to it. But the sages have said that, that wife is dearly to be prized who is taken away by force, after the slaughter of opponents, from amidst the concourse of princes and kings invited to a self-choice ceremony. Therefore, ye monarchs, I bear away these maidens hence by force. Strive ye, to the best of your might, to vanquish me or to be vanquished. Ye monarchs, I stand here resolved to fight!' Kuru prince, endued with great energy, thus addressing the assembled monarchs and the king of Kasi, took upon his car those maidens. And having taken them up, he sped his chariot away, challenging the invited kings to a fight.

"The challenged monarchs then all stood up, slapping their arms and biting their nether lips in wrath. And loud was the din produced, as, in a great hurry, they began to cast off their ornaments and put on their armour. And the motion of their ornaments and armour, O Janamejaya, brilliant as these were, resembled meteoric flashes in the sky. And with brows contracted and eyes red with rage, the monarchs moved in impatience, their armour and ornaments dazzling or waving with their agitated steps. The charioteers soon brought handsome cars with fine horses harnessed thereto. Those splendid warriors then, equipped with all kinds of weapons, rode on those cars, and with uplifted weapons pursued the retreating chief of the Kurus. Then, O Bharata, occurred the terrible encounter between those innumerable monarchs on one side and the Kuru warrior alone on the other. And the assembled monarchs threw at their foe ten thousand arrows at the same time. Bhishma, however speedily checked those numberless arrows before they could come at him by means of a shower of his own arrows as innumerable as the down on the body. Then those kings surrounded him from all sides and rained arrows on him like masses of clouds showering on the mountain-breast. But Bhishma, arresting with his shafts the course of that arrowy downpour, pierced each of the monarchs with three shafts. The latter, in their turn pierced Bhishma, each with five shafts. But, O king, Bhishma checked those by his prowess and pierced each of the contending kings with two shafts. The combat became so fierce with that dense shower of arrows and other missiles that it looked very much like the encounter between the celestials and the Asuras of old, and men of courage who took no part in it were struck with fear even to look at the scene. Bhishma cut off, with his arrows, on the field of battle, bows, and flagstaffs, and coats of mail, and human heads by hundreds and thousands. And such was his terrible prowess and extraordinary lightness of hand, and such the skill with which he protected himself, that the contending car-warriors, though his enemies, began to applaud him loudly. Then that foremost of all wielders of weapons having vanquished in battle all those monarchs, pursued his way towards the capital of the Bharatas, taking those maidens with him.

"It was then, O king, that mighty car-warrior, king Salya of immeasurable prowess, from behind summoned Bhishma, the son of Santanu, to an encounter. And desirous of obtaining the maidens, he came upon Bhishma like a mighty leader of a herd of elephants rushing upon another of his kind, and tearing with his tusks the latter's hips at the sight of a female elephant in heat. And Salya of mighty arms, moved by wrath addressed Bhishma and said, 'Stay, Stay.' Then Bhishma, that tiger among men, that grinder of hostile armies, provoked by these words, flamed up in wrath like a blazing fire. Bow in hand, and brow furrowed into wrinkles, he stayed on his car, in obedience to Kshatriya usage having checked its course in expectation of the enemy. All the monarchs seeing him stop, stood there to become spectators of the coming encounter between him and Salya. The two then began to exhibit their prowess (upon each other) like roaring bulls of great strength at the sight of a cow in rut. Then that foremost of men, king Salya covered Bhishma, the son of Santanu with hundreds and thousands of swift-winged shafts. And those monarchs seeing Salya thus covering Bhishma at the outset with innumerable shafts, wondered much and uttered shouts of applause. Beholding his lightness of hand in combat, the crowd of regal spectators became very glad and applauded Salya greatly. That subjugator of hostile towns, Bhishma, then, on hearing those shouts of the Kshatriyas, became very angry and said, 'Stay, Stay'. In wrath, he commanded his charioteer, saying, 'Lead thou my car to where Salya is, so that I may slay him instantly as Garuda slays a serpent.' Then the Kuru chief fixed the Varuna weapon on his bow-string, and with it afflicted the four steeds of king Salya. And, O tiger among kings, the Kuru chief, then, warding off with his weapons those of his foe, slew Salya's charioteer. Then that first of men, Bhishma, the son of Santanu, fighting for the sake of those damsels, slew with the Aindra weapon the noble steeds of his adversary. He then vanquished that best of monarchs but left him with his life. O bull of Bharata's race, Salya, after his defeat, returned to his kingdom and continued to rule it virtuously. And O conqueror of hostile towns, the other kings also, who had come to witness, the self-choice ceremony returned to their own kingdoms.

"That foremost of smiters, viz., Bhishma, after defeating those monarchs, set out with those damsels, for Hastinapura whence the virtuous Kuru prince Vichitravirya ruled the earth like that best of monarchs, viz., his father Santanu. And, O king, passing through many forests, rivers, hills, and woods abounding with trees, he arrived (at the capital) in no time. Of immeasurable prowess in battle, the son of the ocean-going Ganga, having slain numberless foes in battle without a scratch on his own person, brought the daughters of the king of Kasi unto the Kurus as tenderly if they were his daughters-in-law, or younger sisters, or daughters. And Bhishma of mighty arms, impelled by the desire of benefiting his brother, having by his prowess brought them thus, then offered those maidens possessing every accomplishment unto Vichitravirya. Conversant with the dictates of virtue, the son of Santanu, having achieved such an extraordinary feat according to (kingly) custom, then began to make preparations for his brother's wedding. And when everything about the wedding had been settled by Bhishma in consultation with Satyavati, the eldest daughter of the king of Kasi, with a soft smile, told him these words, 'At heart I had chosen the king of Saubha for my husband. He had, in his heart, accepted me for his wife. This was also approved by my father. At the self-choice ceremony also I would have chosen him as my lord. Thou art conversant with all the dictates of virtue, knowing all this, do as thou likest.' Thus addressed by that maiden in the presence of the Brahmanas, the heroic Bhishma began to reflect as to what should be done. As he was conversant with the rules of virtue, he consulted with the Brahmanas who had mastered the Vedas, and permitted Amba, the eldest daughter of the ruler of Kasi to do as she liked. But he bestowed with due rites the two other daughters, Ambika and Ambalika on his younger brother Vichitravirya. And though Vichitravirya was virtuous and abstemious, yet, proud of youth and beauty, he soon became lustful after his marriage. And both Ambika and Ambalika were of tall stature, and of the complexion of molten gold. And their heads were covered with black curly hair, and their finger-nails were high and red; their hips were fat and round, and their breasts full and deep. And endued with every auspicious mark, the amiable young ladies considered themselves to be wedded to a husband who was every way worthy of themselves, and extremely loved and respected Vichitravirya. And Vichitravirya also, endued with the prowess of the celestials and the beauty of the twin Aswins, could steal the heart of any beautiful woman. And the prince passed seven years uninterruptedly in the company of his wives. He was attacked while yet in the prime of youth, with phthisis. Friends and relatives in consultation with one another tried to effect a cure. But in spite of all efforts, the Kuru prince died, setting like the evening sun. The virtuous Bhishma then became plunged into anxiety and grief, and in consultation with Satyavati caused the obsequial rites of the deceased to be performed by learned priests and the several of the Kuru race.'"

SECTION 103

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'The unfortunate Satyavati then became plunged in grief on account of her son. And after performing with her daughters-in-law the funeral rites of the deceased, consoled, as best she could, her weeping daughters-in-law and Bhishma, that foremost of all wielders of weapons. And turning her eyes to religion, and to the paternal and maternal lines (of the Kurus), she addressed Bhishma and said 'The funeral cake, the achievements, and the perpetuation of the line of the virtuous and celebrated Santanu of Kuru's race, all now depend on thee. As the attainment of heaven is inseparable from good deeds, as long life is inseparable from truth and faith, so is virtue inseparable from thee. O virtuous one, thou art well-acquainted, in detail and in the abstract, with the dictates of virtue, with various Srutis, and with all the branches of the Vedas; know very well that thou art equal unto Sukra and Angiras as regards firmness in virtue, knowledge of the particular customs of families, and readiness of inventions under difficulties. Therefore, O foremost of virtuous men, relying on thee greatly, I shall appoint thee in a certain matter. Hearing me, it behoveth thee to do my bidding. O bull among men, my son and thy brother, endued with energy and dear unto thee, hath gone childless to heaven while still a boy. These wives of thy brother, the amiable daughters of the ruler of Kasi, possessing beauty and youth, have become desirous of children. Therefore, O thou of mighty arms, at my command, raise offspring on them for the perpetuation of our line. It behoveth thee to guard virtue against loss. Install thyself on the throne and rule the kingdom of the Bharatas. Wed thou duly a wife. Plunge not thy ancestors into hell.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed by his mother and friends and relatives, that oppressor of foes, the virtuous Bhishma, gave this reply conformable to the dictates of virtue, 'O mother, what thou sayest is certainly sanctioned by virtue. But thou knowest what my vow is in the matter of begetting children. Thou knowest also all that transpired in connexion with thy dower. O Satyavati, I repeat the pledge I once gave, viz., I would renounce three worlds, the empire of heaven, anything that may be greater than that, but truth I would never renounce. The earth may renounce its scent, water may renounce its moisture, light may renounce its attribute of exhibiting forms, air may renounce its attribute of touch, the sun may renounce his glory, fire, its heat, the moon, his cooling rays, space, its capacity of generating sound, the slayer of Vritra, his prowess, the god of justice, his impartiality; but I cannot renounce truth.' Thus addressed by her son endued with wealth of energy, Satyavati said unto Bhishma, 'O thou whose prowess is truth, I know of thy firmness in truth. Thou canst, if so minded, create, by the help of thy energy, three worlds other than those that exist. I know what thy vow was on my account. But considering this emergency, bear thou the burden of the duty that one oweth to his ancestors. O punisher of foes, act in such a way that the lineal link may not be broken and our friends and relatives may not grieve.' Thus urged by the miserable and weeping Satyavati speaking such words inconsistent with virtue from grief at the loss of her son, Bhishma addressed her again and said, 'O Queen, turn not thy eyes away from virtue. O, destroy us not. Breach of truth by a Kshatriya is never applauded in our treatises on religion. I shall soon tell thee, O Queen, what the established Kshatriya usage is to which recourse may be had to prevent Santanu's line becoming extinct on earth. Hearing me, reflect on what should be done in consultation with learned priests and those that are acquainted with practices allowable in times of emergency and distress, forgetting not at the same time what the ordinary course of social conduct is.'"

SECTION 104

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Bhishma continued, 'In olden days, Rama, the son of Jamadagni, in anger at the death of his father, slew with his battle axe the king of the Haihayas. And Rama, by cutting off the thousand arms of Arjuna (the Haihaya king), achieved a most difficult feat in the world. Not content with this, he set out on his chariot for the conquest of the world, and taking up his bow he cast around his mighty weapons to exterminate the Kshatriyas. And the illustrious scion of Bhrigu's race, by means of his swift arrows annihilated the Kshatriya tribe one and twenty times.

"And when the earth was thus deprived of Kshatriyas by the great Rishi, the Kshatriya ladies all over the land had offspring raised by Brahmanas skilled in the Vedas. It has been said in the Vedas that the sons so raised belongeth to him that had married the mother. And the Kshatriya ladies went in unto the Brahamanas not lustfully but from motives of virtue. Indeed, it was thus that the Kshatriya race was revived.

"In this connexion there is another old history that I will recite to you. There was in olden days a wise Rishi of the name of Utathya. He had a wife of the name Mamata whom he dearly loved. One day Utathya's younger brother Vrihaspati, the priest of the celestials, endued with great energy, approached Mamata. The latter, however, told her husband's younger brother--that foremost of eloquent men--that she had conceived from her connexion with his elder brother and that, therefore, he should not then seek for the consummation of his wishes. She continued, 'O illustrious Vrihaspati, the child that I have conceived hath studied in his mother's womb the Vedas with the six Angas, Semen tuum frustra perdi non potest. How can then this womb of mine afford room for two children at a time? Therefore, it behoveth thee not to seek for the consummation of thy desire at such a time. Thus addressed by her, Vrihaspati, though possessed of great wisdom, succeeded not in suppressing his desire. Quum auten jam cum illa coiturus esset, the child in the womb then addressed him and said, 'O father, cease from thy attempt. There is no space here for two. O illustrious one, the room is small. I have

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occupied it first. Semen tuum perdi non potest. It behoveth thee not to afflict me.' But Vrihaspati without listening to what that child in the womb said, sought the embraces of Mamata possessing the most beautiful pair of eyes. Ille tamen Muni qui in venture erat punctum temporis quo humor vitalis jam emissum iret providens, viam per quam semen intrare posset pedibus obstruxit. Semen ita exhisum, excidit et in terram projectumest. And the illustrious Vrihaspati, beholding this, became indignant, and reproached Utathya's child and cursed him, saying, 'Because thou hast spoken to me in the way thou hast at a time of pleasure that is sought after by all creatures, perpetual darkness shall overtake thee.' And from this curse of the illustrious Vrishaspati Utathya's child who was equal unto Vrihaspati in energy, was born blind and came to be called Dirghatamas (enveloped in perpetual darkness). And the wise Dirghatamas, possessed of a knowledge of the Vedas, though born blind, succeeded yet by virtue of his learning, in obtaining for a wife a young and handsome Brahmana maiden of the name of Pradweshi. And having married her, the illustrious Dirghatamas, for the expansion of Utathya's race, begat upon her several children with Gautama as their eldest. These children, however, were all given to covetousness and folly. The virtuous and illustrious Dirghatamas possessing complete mastery over the Vedas, soon after learnt from Surabhi's son the practices of their order and fearlessly betook himself to those practices, regarding them with reverence. (For shame is the creature of sin and can never be where there is purity of intention). Then those best of Munis that dwelt in the same asylum, beholding him transgress the limits of propriety became indignant, seeing sin where sin was not. And they said, 'O, this man, transgresseth the limit of propriety. No longer doth he deserve a place amongst us. Therefore, shall we all cast this sinful wretch off.' And they said many other things regarding the Muni Dirghatamas. And his wife, too, having obtained children, became indignant with him.

"The husband then addressing his wife Pradweshi, said, 'Why is it that thou also hast been dissatisfied with me?' His wife answered, 'The husband is called the Bhartri because he supporteth the wife. He is called Pati because he protecteth her. But thou art neither, to me! O thou of great ascetic merit, on the other hand, thou hast been blind from birth, it is I who have supported thee and thy children. I shall not do so in future.'

"Hearing these words of his wife, the Rishi became indignant and said unto her and her children, 'Take me unto the Kshatriyas and thou shalt then be rich.' His wife replied (by saying), 'I desire not wealth that may be procured by thee, for that can never bring me happiness. O best of Brahmanas, do as thou likest. I shall not be able to maintain thee as before.' At these words of his wife, Dirghatamas said, 'I lay down from this day as a rule that every woman shall have to adhere to one husband for her life. Be the husband dead or alive, it shall not be lawful for a woman to have connexion with another. And she who may have such connexion shall certainly be regarded as fallen. A woman without husband shall always be liable to be sinful. And even if she be wealthy she shall not be able to enjoy that wealth truly. Calumny and evil report shall ever dog her.' Hearing these words of her husband Pradweshi became very angry, and commanded her sons, saying, 'Throw him into the waters of Ganga!' And at the command of their mother, the wicked Gautama and his brothers, those slaves of covetousness and folly, exclaiming, 'Indeed, why should we support this old man?--'tied the Muni to a raft and committing him to the mercy of the stream returned home without compunction. The blind old man drifting along the stream on that raft, passed through the territories of many kings. One day a king named Vali conversant with every duty went to the Ganges to perform his ablutions. And as the monarch was thus engaged, the raft to which the Rishi was tied, approached him. And as it came, the king took the old man. The virtuous Vali, ever devoted to truth, then learning who the man was that was thus saved by him, chose him for raising up offspring. And Vali said, 'O illustrious one, it behoveth thee to raise upon my wife a few sons that shall be virtuous and wise.' Thus addressed, the Rishi endued with great energy, expressed his willingness. Thereupon king Vali sent his wife Sudeshna unto him. But the queen knowing that the latter was blind and old went not unto him, she sent unto him her nurse. And upon that Sudra woman the virtuous Rishi of passions under full control begat eleven children of whom Kakshivat was the eldest. And beholding those eleven sons with Kakshivat as the eldest, who had studied all the Vedas and who like Rishis were utterers of Brahma and were possessed of great power, king Vali one day asked the Rishi saying, 'Are these children mine?' The Rishi replied, 'No, they are mine. Kakshivat and others have been begotten by me upon a Sudra woman. Thy unfortunate queen Sudeshna, seeing me blind and old, insulted me by not coming herself but sending unto me, instead, her nurse.' The king then pacified that best of Rishis and sent unto him his queen Sudeshna. The Rishi by merely touching her person said to her, 'Thou shalt have five children named Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Pundra and Suhma, who shall be like unto Surya (Sun) himself in glory. And after their names as many countries shall be known on earth. It is after their names that their dominions have come to be called Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Pundra and Suhma.'

"It was thus that the line of Vali was perpetuated, in days of old, by a great Rishi. And it was thus also that many mighty bowmen and great car-warriors wedded to virtue, sprung in the Kshatriya race from the seed of Brahmanas. Hearing this, O mother, do as thou likest, as regards the matter in hand.'"

SECTION 105

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Bhishma, continued, 'Listen, O mother, to me as I indicate the means by which the Bharata line may be perpetuated. Let an accomplished Brahmana be invited by an offer of wealth, and let him raise offspring upon the wives of Vichitravirya.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Satyavati, then, smiling softly and in voice broken in bashfulness, addressed Bhishma saying, 'O Bharata of mighty arms, what thou sayest is true. From my confidence in thee I shall now indicate the means of perpetuating our line. Thou shall not be able to reject it, being conversant, as thou art, with the practices permitted in seasons of distress. In our race, thou art Virtue, and thou art Truth, and thou art, too, our sole refuge. Therefore hearing what I say truly, do what may be proper.

"My father was a virtuous man. For virtue's sake he had kept a (ferry) boat. One day, in the prime of my youth, I went to ply that boat. It so happened that the great and wise Rishi Parasara, that foremost of all virtuous men, came, and betook himself to my boat for crossing the Yamuna. As I was rowing him across the river, the Rishi became excited with desire and began to address me in soft words. The fear of my father was uppermost in my mind. But the terror of the Rishi's curse at last prevailed. And having obtained from him a precious boon, I could not refuse his solicitations. The Rishi by his energy brought me under his complete control, and gratified his desire then and there, having first enveloped the region in a thick fog. Before this there was a revolting fishy odour in my body; but the Rishi dispelled it and gave me my present fragrance. The Rishi also told me that by bringing forth his child in an island of the river, I would still continue (to be) a virgin. And the child of Parasara so born of me in my maidenhood hath become a great Rishi endued with large ascetic powers and known by the name of Dwaipayana (the island-born). That illustrious Rishi having by his ascetic power divided the Vedas into four parts hath come to be called on earth by the name of Vyasa (the divider or arranger), and for his dark colour, Krishna (the dark). Truthful in speech, free from passion, a mighty ascetic who hath burnt all his sins, he went away with his father immediately after his birth. Appointed by me and thee also, that Rishi of incomparable splendour will certainly beget good children upon the wives of thy brother. He told me when he went away, 'Mother, think of me when thou art in difficulty.' I will now call him up, if thou, O Bhishma of mighty arms so desirest. If thou art willing, O Bhishma, I am sure that great ascetic will beget children upon Vichitravirya's field.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Mention being made of the great Rishi, Bhishma with joined palms said, 'That man is truly intelligent who fixes his eyes judiciously on virtue, profit, and pleasure, and who after reflecting with patience, acteth in such a way that virtue may lead to future virtue, profit to future profit and pleasure to future pleasure. Therefore, that which hath been said by thee and which, besides being beneficial to us, is consistent with virtue, is certainly the best advice and hath my full approval.' And when Bhishma had said this, O thou of Kuru's race, Kali (Satyavati) thought of the Muni Dwaipayana and Dwaipayana who was then engaged in interpreting the Vedas, learning that he was being called up by his mother, came instantly unto her without anybody's knowing it. Satayavati then duly greeted her son and embraced him with arms, bathing him in her tears, for the daughter of the fisherman wept bitterly at the sight of her son after so long a time. And her first son, the great Vyasa, beholding her weeping, washed her with cool water, and bowing unto her, said, 'I have come, O mother, to fulfil thy wishes. Therefore, O virtuous one, command me without delay. I shall accomplish thy desire.' The family priest of the Bharatas then worshipped the great Rishi duly, and the latter accepted the offerings of worship, uttering the usual mantras. And gratified with the worship he received, he took his seat. Satyavati, beholding him seated at his ease, after the usual inquiries, addressed him and said, 'O learned one, sons derive their birth both from the father and the mother. They are, therefore, the common property of both parents. There cannot be the least doubt about it that the mother, hath as much power over them as the father. As thou art, indeed, my eldest son according to the ordinance, O Brahmarshi, so is Vichitravirya my youngest son. And as Bhishma is Vichitravirya's brother on the father's side, so art thou his brother on the same mother's side. I do not know what you may think, but this is what, O son, I think. This Bhishma, the son of Santanu, devoted to truth, doth not, for the sake, of truth, entertain the desire of either begetting children or ruling the kingdom. Therefore, from affection for thy brother Vichitravirya, for the perpetuation of our dynasty, for the sake of this Bhishma's request and my command, for kindness to all creatures, for the protection of the people and from the liberality of thy heart, O sinless one, it behoveth thee to do what I say. Thy younger brother hath left two widows like unto the daughters of the celestials themselves, endued with youth and great beauty. For the sake of virtue and religion, they have become desirous of offspring. Thou art the fittest person to be appointed. Therefore beget upon them children worthy of our race and for the continuance of our line.'

"Vyasa, hearing this, said, 'O Satyavati, thou knowest what virtue is both in respect of this life and the other. O thou of great wisdom, thy affections also are set on virtue. Therefore, at thy command, making virtue my motive, I shall do what thou desirest. Indeed, this practice that is conformable to the true and eternal religion is known to me, I shall give unto my brother children that shall be like unto Mitra and Varuna. Let the ladies then duly observe for one full year the vow I indicate. They shall then be purified. No women shall ever approach me without having observed a rigid vow.'

"Satyavati then said, 'O sinless one, it must be as thou sayest. Take such steps that the ladies may conceive immediately. In a kingdom where there is no king, the people perish from want of protection; sacrifices and other holy acts are suspended; the clouds send no showers; and the gods disappear. How can a kingdom be protected that hath no king? Therefore, see thou that the ladies conceive. Bhishma will watch over the children as long as they are in their mother's wombs.

"Vyasa replied, 'If I am to give unto my brother children so unseasonably, then let the ladies bear my ugliness. That in itself shall, in their case, be the austerest of penances. If the princess of Kosala can bear my strong odour, my ugly and grim visage, my attire and body, she shall then conceive an excellent child.'"

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having spoken thus unto Satyavati, Vyasa of great energy addressed her and said, 'Let the princess of Kosala clad in clean attire and checked with ornaments wait for me in her bed-chamber.' Saying this, the Rishi disappeared, Satyavati then went to her daughter-in-law and seeing her in private spoke to her these words of beneficial and virtuous import, 'O princess of Kosala, listen to what I say. It is consistent with virtue. The dynasty of the Bharatas hath become extinct from my misfortune. Beholding my affliction and the extinction of his paternal line, the wise Bhishma, impelled also by the desire of perpetuating our race, hath made me a suggestion, which suggestion, however, for its accomplishment is dependent on thee. Accomplish it, O daughter, and restore the lost line of the Bharatas. O thou of fair hips, bring thou forth a child equal in splendour unto the chief of the celestials. He shall bear the onerous burden of this our hereditary kingdom.'

"Satyavati having succeeded with great difficulty in procuring the assent of her virtuous daughter-in-law to her proposal which was not inconsistent with virtue, then fed Brahmanas and Rishis and numberless guests who arrived on die occasion.'"

SECTION 106

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Soon after the monthly season of the princess of Kosala had been over, Satyavati, purifying her daughter-in-law with a bath, led her into the sleeping apartment. There seating her upon a luxurious bed, she addressed her, saying, 'O Princess of Kosala, thy husband hath an elder brother who shall this day enter thy womb as thy child. Wait for him tonight without dropping off to sleep.' Hearing these words of her mother-in-law, the amiable princess, as she lay on her bed, began to think of Bhishma and the other elders of the Kuru race. Then the Rishi of truthful speech, who had given his promise in respect of Amvika (the eldest of the princesses) in the first instance, entered her chamber while the lamp was burning. The princess, seeing his dark visage, his matted locks of copper hue, blazing eyes, his grim beard, closed her eyes in fear. The Rishi, from desire of accomplishing his mother's wishes, however knew her. But the latter, struck with fear, opened not her eyes even once to look at him. And when Vyasa came out, he was met by his mother, who asked him, 'Shall the princess have an accomplished son?' Hearing her, he replied, 'The son of the princess she will bring forth shall be equal in might unto ten thousand elephants. He will be an illustrious royal sage, possessed of great learning and intelligence and energy. The high-souled one shall have in his time a century of sons. But from the fault of his mother he shall be blind 'At these words of her son, Satyavati said, 'O thou of ascetic wealth, how can one that is blind become a monarch worthy of the Kurus? How can one that is blind become the protector of his relatives and family, and the glory of his father's race? It behoveth thee to give another king unto the Kurus.' Saying, 'So be it,' Vyasa went away. And the first princess of Kosala in due time brought forth a blind son.

"Soon after Satyavati, O chastiser of foes, summoned Vyasa, after having secured the assent of her daughter-in-law. Vyasa came according to his promise, and approached, as before, the

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second wife of his brother. And Ambalika beholding the Rishi, became pale with fear And, O Bharata, beholding her so afflicted and pale with fear, Vyasa addressed her and said, 'Because thou hast been pale with fear at the sight of my grim visage, therefore, thy child shall be pale in complexion. O thou of handsome face, the name also thy child shall bear will be Pandu (the pale).' 'Saying this, the illustrious and best of Rishis came out of her chamber. And as he came out, he was met by his mother who asked him about the would-be-child. The Rishi told her that the child would be of pale complexion and known by the name of Pandu. Satyavati again begged of the Rishi another child, and the Rishi told her in reply, 'So be it.' Ambalika, then, when her time came, brought forth a son of pale complexion. Blazing with beauty the child was endued with all auspicious marks. Indeed, it was this child who afterwards became the father of those mighty archers, the Pandavas.

"Some time after, when the oldest of Vichitravirya's widows again had her monthly season, she was solicited by Satyavati to approach Vyasa once again. Possessed of beauty like a daughter of a celestial, the princess refused to do her mother-in-law's bidding, remembering the grim visage and strong odour of the Rishi. She, however, sent unto him, a maid of hers, endued with the beauty of an Apsara and decked with her own ornaments. And when the Vyasa arrived, the maid rose up and saluted him. And she waited upon him respectfully and took her seat near him when asked. And, O king, the great Rishi of rigid vows, was well-pleased with her, and when he rose to go away, he addressed her and said, 'Amiable one, thou shalt no longer be a slave. Thy child also shall be greatly fortunate and virtuous, and the foremost of all intelligent men on earth!' And, O king, the son thus begotten upon her by Krishna-Dwaipayana was afterwards known by the name of Vidura. He was thus the brother of Dhritarashtra and the illustrious Pandu. And Vidura was free from desire and passion and was conversant with the rules of government, and was the god of justice born on earth under the curse of the illustrious Rishi Mandavya.

And Krishna-Dwaipayana, when he met his mother as before, informed her as to how he had been deceived by the seniormost of the princesses and how he had begotten a son upon a Sudra woman. And having spoken thus unto his mother the Rishi disappeared from her sight.

"Thus were born, in the field of Vichitravirya, even of Dwaipayana those sons of the splendour of celestial children, those propagators of the Kuru race.'"

SECTION 107

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Janamejaya said, 'What did the god of justice do for which he was cursed? And who was the Brahmana ascetic from whose curse the god had to be born in the Sudra caste?'

"Vaisampayana said, 'There was a Brahmana known by the name of Mandavya. He was conversant with all duties and was devoted to religion, truth and asceticism. The great ascetic used to sit at the entrance of his hermitage at the foot of a tree, with his arms upraised in the observance of the vow of silence. And as he sat there for years together, one day there came into his asylum a number of robbers laden with spoil. And, O bull in Bharata's race, those robbers were then being pursued by a superior body as guardians of the peace. The thieves, on entering that asylum, hid their booty there, and in fear concealed themselves thereabout before the guards came. But scarcely had they thus concealed themselves when the constables in pursuit came to the spot. The latter, observing the Rishi sitting under the tree, questioned him, O king, saying, 'O best of Brahmanas, which way have the thieves taken? Point it out to us so that we may follow it without loss of time.' Thus questioned by the guardians of peace the ascetic, O king, said not a word, good or otherwise, in reply. The officers of the king, however, on searching that asylum soon discovered the thieves concealed thereabout together with the plunder. Upon this, their suspicion fell upon the Muni, and accordingly they seized him with the thieves and brought him before the king. The king sentenced him to be executed along with his supposed associates. And the officers, acting in ignorance, carried out the sentence by impaling the celebrated Rishi. And having impaled him, they went to the king with the booty they had recovered. But the virtuous Rishi, though impaled and kept without food, remained in that state for a long time without dying. And the Rishi by his ascetic power not only preserved his life but summoned other Rishi to the scene. And they came there in the night in the forms of birds, and beholding him engaged in ascetic meditation though fixed on that stake, became plunged into grief. And telling that best of Brahmanas who they were, they asked him saying, 'O Brahmana, we desire to know what hath been thy sin for which thou hast thus been made to suffer the tortures of impalement!'"

SECTION 108

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Thus asked, the tiger among Munis then answered those Rishis of ascetic wealth, 'Whom shall I blame for this? In fact, none else (than my own self) hath offended against me!' After this, O monarch, the officers of justice, seeing him alive, informed the king of it. The latter hearing what they said, consulted with his advisers, and came to the place and began to pacify the Rishi. fixed on the stake. And the king said, 'O thou best of Rishis, I have offended against thee in ignorance. I beseech thee to pardon me for the same. It behoveth thee not to be angry with me.' Thus addressed by the king, the Muni was pacified. And beholding him free from wrath, the king took him up with the stake and endeavoured to extract it from his body. But not succeeding therein, he cut it off at the point just outside the body. The Muni, with a portion of the stake within his body, walked about, and in that state practised the austerest of penances and conquered numberless regions unattainable by others. And for the circumstances of a part of the stake being within his body, he came to be known in the three worlds by the name of Ani-Mandavya (Mandavya with the stake within). And one day that Brahamana acquainted with the highest truth of religion went unto the abode of the god of justice. And beholding the god there seated on his throne, the Rishi reproached him and said, 'What, pray, is that sinful act committed by me unconsciously, for which I am bearing this punishment? O, tell me soon, and behold the power of my asceticism.'

"The god of justice, thus questioned, replied, 'O thou of ascetic wealth, a little insect was once pierced by thee on a blade of grass. Thou bearest now the consequence of the act. O Rishi, as a gift, however small, multiplieth in respect of its religious merits, so a sinful act multiplieth in respect of the woe it bringeth in its train.' On hearing this, Ani-Mandavya asked, 'O tell me truly when this act was committed by me. Told in reply by the god of justice that he had committed it, when a child, the Rishi said, 'That shall not be a sin which may be done by a child up to the twelfth year of his age from birth. The scriptures shall not recognise it as sinful. The punishment thou hast inflicted on me for such a venial offence hath been disproportionate in severity. The killing of a Brahmana involves a sin that is heavier than the killing of any other living being. Thou shall, therefore, O god of justice, have to be born among men even in the Sudra order. And from this day I establish this limit in respect of the consequence of acts that an act shall not be sinful when committed by one below the age of fourteen. But when committed by one above that age, it shall be regarded as sin.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Cursed for this fault by that illustrious Rishi, the god of justice had his birth as Vidura in the Sudra order. And Vidura was well-versed in the doctrines of morality and also politics and worldly profit. And he was entirely free from covetousness and wrath. Possessed of great foresight and undisturbed tranquillity of mind, Vidura was ever devoted to the welfare of the Kurus.'"

SECTION 109

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Upon the birth of those three children, Kurujangala, Kurukshetra, and the Kurus grew in prosperity. The earth began to yield abundant harvest, and the crops also were of good flavour. And the clouds began to pour rain in season and trees became full of fruits and flowers. And the draught cattle were all happy and the birds and other animals rejoiced exceedingly. And the flowers became fragrant and the fruits became sweet; the cities and towns became filled with merchants, artisans, traders and artists of every description. And the people became brave, learned, honest and happy. And there were no robbers then, nor anybody who was sinful. And it seemed that the golden age had come upon every part of the kingdom. And the people devoted to virtuous acts, sacrifices and truth, and regarding one another with love and affection grew in prosperity. And free from pride, wrath and covetousness, they rejoiced in perfectly innocent sports. And the capital of the Kurus, full as the ocean, was a second Amaravati, teeming with hundreds of palaces and mansions, and possessing gates and arches dark as the clouds. And men in great cheerfulness sported constantly on rivers, lakes and tanks, and in fine groves and charming woods. And the southern Kurus, in their virtuous rivalry with their northern kinsmen, walked about in the company of Siddhas and Charanas and Rishis. And all over that delightful country whose prosperity was thus increased by the Kurus, there were no misers and no widowed women. And the wells and lakes were ever full; the groves abounded with trees, and the houses and abodes of Brahmanas were full of wealth and the whole kingdom was full of festivities. And, O king, virtuously ruled by Bhishma, the kingdom was adorned with hundreds of sacrificial stakes. And the wheel of virtue having been set in motion by Bhishma, and the country became so contented that the subjects of other kingdoms, quitting their homes, came to dwell there and increase its population. And the citizens and the people were filled with hope, upon seeing the youthful acts of their illustrious princes. And, O king, in the house of the Kuru chiefs as also of the principal citizens, 'give', 'eat' were the only words constantly heard. And Dhritarashtra and Pandu and Vidura of great intelligence were from their birth brought up by Bhishma, as if they were his own sons. And the children, having passed through the usual rites of their order, devoted themselves to vows and study. And they grew up into fine young men skilled in the Vedas and all athletic sports. And they became well-skilled in the practice of bow, in horsemanship, in encounters with mace, sword and shield, in the management of elephants in battle, and in the science of morality. Well-read in history and the Puranas and various branches of learning, and acquainted with the truths of the Vedas and their branches they acquired knowledge, which was versatile and deep. And Pandu, possessed of great prowess, excelled all men in archery while Dhritarashtra excelled all in personal strength, while in the three worlds there was no one equal to Vidura in devotion to virtue and in the knowledge of the dictates of morality. And beholding the restoration of the extinct line of Santanu, the saying became current in all countries that among mothers of heroes, the daughters of the king of Kasi were the first; that among countries Kurujangala was the first; that among virtuous men, Vidura was the first; that among cities Hastinapura was the first. Pandu became king, for Dhritarashtra, owing to the blindness, and Vidura, for his birth by a Sudra woman, did not obtain the kingdom. One day Bhishma, the foremost of those acquainted with the duties of a statesman and dictates of morality, properly addressing Vidura conversant with the truth of religion and virtue, said as follows."

SECTION 110

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Bhishma said, 'This our celebrated race, resplendent with every virtue and accomplishment, hath all along sovereignty over all other monarchs on earth. Its glory maintained and itself perpetuated by many virtuous and illustrious monarchs of old, the illustrious Krishna (Dwaipayana) and Satyavati and myself have raised you (three) up, in order that it may not be extinct. It behoveth myself and thee also to take such steps that this our dynasty may expand again as the sea. It hath been heard by me that there are three maidens worthy of being allied to our race. One is the daughter of (Surasena of) the Yadava race; the other is the daughter of Suvala; and the third is the princess of Madra. O son, all these maidens are of course of blue blood. Possessed of beauty and pure blood, they are eminently fit for an alliance with our family. O thou foremost of intelligent men, I think we should choose them for the growth of our race. Tell me what thou thinkest.' Thus addressed, Vidura replied, 'Thou art our father and thou art our mother, too. Thou art our respected spiritual instructor. Therefore, do thou what may be best for us in thy eyes.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Soon after Bhishma heard from the Brahmanas that Gandhari, the amiable daughter of Suvala, having worshipped Hara (Siva) had obtained from the deity the boon that she should have a century of sons. Bhishma, the grandfather of the Kurus, having heard this, sent messengers unto the king of Gandhara. King Suvala at first hesitated on account of the blindness of the bridegroom, but taking into consideration the blood of the Kurus, their fame and behaviour, he gave his virtuous daughter unto Dhritarashtra and the chaste Gandhari hearing that Dhritarashtra was blind and that her parents had consented to marry her to him, from love and respect for her future husband, blindfolded her own eyes. Sakuni, the son of Suvala, bringing unto the Kurus his sister endued with youth and beauty, formally gave her away unto Dhritarashtra. And Gandhari was received with great respect and the nuptials were celebrated with great pomp under Bhishma's directions. And the heroic Sakuni, after having bestowed his sister along with many valuable robes, and having received Bhishma's adorations, returned to his own city. And, O thou of Bharata's race, the beautiful Gandhari gratified all the Kurus by her behaviour and respectful attentions. And Gandhari, ever devoted to her husband, gratified her superiors by her good conduct; and as she was chaste, she never referred even by words to men other than her husband or such superiors.'"

SECTION 111

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana continued, 'There was amongst the Yadavas a chief named Sura. He was the father of Vasudeva. And he had a daughter called Pritha, who was unrivalled for beauty on earth. And, O thou of Bharata's race, Sura, always truthful in speech, gave from friendship this his firstborn daughter unto his childless cousin and friend, the illustrious Kuntibhoja--the son of his paternal aunt--pursuant to a former promise. And Pritha in the house of her adoptive father was engaged in looking after the duties of hospitality to Brahmanas and other guests. Once she gratified by her attentions the terrible Brahmana of rigid vows, who was known by the name of Durvasa and was well-acquainted with the hidden truths of morality. Gratified with her respectful attentions, the sage, anticipating by his spiritual power the future (season of) distress (consequent upon the curse to be pronounced upon Pandu for his unrighteous act of slaying a deer while serving its mate) imparted to her a formula of

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invocation for summoning any of the celestials she liked to give her children. And the Rishi said, 'Those celestials that thou shall summon by this Mantra shall certainly approach thee and give thee children.' 'Thus addressed by the Brahmana, the amiable Kunti (Pritha) became curious, and in her maidenhood summoned the god Arka (Sun). And as soon as he pronounced the Mantra, she beheld that effulgent deity--that beholder of everything in the world--approaching her. And beholding that extraordinary sight, the maiden of faultless features was overcome with surprise. But the god Vivaswat (Sun) approaching her, said, 'Here I am, O black-eyed girl! Tell me what I am to do for thee.'

"Hearing this, Kunti said, 'O slayer of foes, a certain Brahamana gave me this formula of invocation as a boon, and, O lord, I have summoned thee only to test its efficacy. For this offence I bow to thee. A woman, whatever be her offence, always deserveth pardon.' Surya (Sun) replied, 'I know that Durvasa hath granted this boon. But cast off thy fears, timid maiden, and grant me thy embraces. Amiable one, my approach cannot be futile; it must bear fruit. Thou hast summoned me, and if it be for nothing, it shall certainly be regarded as thy transgression.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Vivaswat thus spoke unto her many things with a view to allay her fears, but, O Bharata, the amiable maiden, from modesty and fear of her relatives, consented not to grant his request. And, O bull of Bharata's race, Arka addressed her again and said, 'O princess, for my sake, it shall not be sinful for thee to grant my wish.' Thus speaking unto the daughter of Kuntibhoja, the illustrious Tapana--the illuminator of the universe--gratified his wish. And of this connexion there was immediately born a son known all over the world as Karna accountred with natural armour and with face brightened by ear-rings. And the heroic Karna was the first of all wielders of weapons, blessed with good fortune, and endued with the beauty of a celestial child. And after the birth of this child, the illustrious Tapana granted unto Pritha her maidenhood and ascended to heaven. And the princess of the Vrishni race beholding with sorrow that son born of her, reflected intently upon what was then the best for her to do. And from fear of her relatives she resolved to conceal that evidence of her folly. And she cast her offspring endued with great physical strength into the water. Then the well-known husband of Radha, of the Suta caste, took up the child thus cast into the water, and he and his wife brought him up as their own son. And Radha and her husband bestowed on him the name of Vasusena (born with wealth) because he was born with a natural armour and ear-rings. And endued as he was born with great strength, as he grew up, he became skilled in all weapons. Possessed of great energy, he used to adore the sun until his back was heated by his rays (i.e., from dawn to midday), and during the hours of worship, there was nothing on earth that the heroic and intelligent Vasusena would not give unto the Brahmanas. And Indra desirous of benefiting his own son Phalguni (Arjuna), assuming the form of a Brahmana, approached Vasusena on one occasion and begged of him his natural armour. Thus asked Karna took off his natural armour, and joining his hands in reverence gave it unto Indra in the guise of a Brahmana. And the chief of the celestials accepted the gift and was exceedingly gratified with Karna's liberality. He therefore, gave unto him a fine dart, saying, 'That one (and one only) among the celestials, the Asuras, men, the Gandharvas, the Nagas, and the Rakshasas, whom thou desirest to conquer, shall be certainly slain with this dart.'

"The son of Surya was before this known by the name of Vasusena. But since he cut off his natural armour, he came to be called Karna (the cutter or peeler of his own cover).'"

SECTION 112

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said. 'The large-eyed daughter of Kuntibhoja, Pritha by name, was endued with beauty and every accomplishment. Of rigid vows, she was devoted to virtue and possessed of every good quality. But though endued with beauty and youth and every womanly attribute, yet it so happened that no king asked-for her hand. Her father Kuntibhoja seeing this, invited, O best of monarchs, the princes and kings of other countries and desired his daughter to select her husband from among her guests. The intelligent Kunti, entering the amphitheatre, beheld Pandu--the foremost of the Bharatas--that tiger among kings--in that concourse of crowned heads. Proud as the lion, broad-chested, bull-eyed, endued with great strength, and outshining all other monarchs in splendour, he looked like another Indra in that royal assemblage. The amiable daughter of Kuntibhoja, of faultless features, beholding Pandu--that best of men--in that assembly, became very much agitated. And advancing with modesty, all the while quivering with emotion, she placed the nuptial garland about Pandu's neck. The other monarchs, seeing Kunti choose Pandu for her lord, returned to their respective kingdoms on elephants, horses and cars, as they had come. Then, O king, the bride's father caused the nuptial rites to be performed duly. The Kuru prince blessed with great good fortune and the daughter of Kuntibhoja formed a couple like Maghavat and Paulomi (the king and queen of the celestials). And, O best of Kuru monarchs, king Kuntibhoja, after the nuptials were over, presented his son-in-law with much wealth and sent him back to his capital. Then the Kuru prince Pandu, accompanied by a large force bearing various kinds of banners and pennons, and eulogised by Brahmanas and great Rishis pronouncing benedictions, reached his capital. And after arriving at his own palace, he established his queen therein.'"

SECTION 113

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Some time after, Bhishma the intelligent son of Santanu set his heart upon getting Pandu married to a second wife. Accompanied by an army composed of four kinds of force, and also by aged councillors and Brahmanas and great Rishis, he went to the capital of the king of Madra. And that bull of the Valhikas--the king of Madra--hearing that Bhishma had arrived, went out to receive him. And having received him with respect, he got him to enter his palace. Arriving there, the king of Madra offered unto Bhishma a white carpet for a seat; water to wash his feet with, and usual oblation of various ingredients indicative of respect. And when he was seated at ease, the king asked him about the reason of his visit. Then Bhishma--the supporter of the dignity of the Kurus--addressed the king of Madra and said, 'O oppressor of all foes, know that I have come for the hand of a maiden. It hath been heard by us that thou hast a sister named Madri celebrated for her beauty and endued with every virtue; I would chose her for Pandu. Thou art, O king, in every respect worthy of an alliance with us, and we also are worthy of thee. Reflecting upon all this, O king of Madra, accept us duly.' The ruler of Madra, thus addressed by Bhishma, replied, 'To my mind, there is none else than one of thy family with whom I can enter into an alliance. But there is a custom in our family observed by our ancestors, which, be it good or bad, I am incapable of transgressing. It is well-known, and therefore is known to thee as well, I doubt not. Therefore, it is not proper for thee to say to me,--Bestow thy sister. The custom to which I allude is our family custom. With us that is a virtue and worthy of observance. It is for this only, O slayer of foes, I cannot give thee any assurance in the matter of thy request.' On hearing this, Bhishma answered the king of Madra, saying, 'O king, this, no doubt,' is a virtue. The self-create himself hath said it. Thy ancestors were observant of custom. There is no fault to find with it. It is also well-known, O Salya, that this custom in respect of family dignity hath the approval of the wise and the good.' Saying this Bhishma of great energy, gave unto Salya much gold both coined and uncoined, and precious stones of various colours by thousands, and elephants and horses and cars, and much cloth and many ornaments, and gems and pearls and corals. And Salya accepting with a cheerful heart those precious gifts then gave away his sister decked in ornaments unto that bull of the Kuru race. Then the wise Bhishma, the son of the oceangoing Ganga, rejoiced at the issue of his mission, took Madri with him, and returned to the Kuru capital named after the elephant.

"Then selecting on auspicious day and moment as indicated by the wise for the ceremony, King Pandu was duly united with Madri. And after the nuptials were over, the Kuru king established his beautiful bride in handsome apartments. And, O king of kings, that best of monarchs then gave himself up to enjoyment in the company of his two wives as best he liked and to the limit of his desires. And after thirty days had elapsed, the Kuru king, O monarch, started from his capital for the conquest of the world. And after reverentially saluting and bowing to Bhishma and the other elders of the Kuru race, and with adieus to Dhritarashtra and others of the family, and obtaining their leave, he set out on his grand campaign, accompanied by a large force of elephants, horses, and cars, and well-pleased with the blessings uttered by all around and the auspicious rites performed by the citizens for his success. And Pandu, accompanied by such a strong force marched against various foes. And that tiger among men--that spreader of the fame of the Kurus--first subjugated the robber tribes of asarna. He next turned his army composed of innumerable elephants, cavalry, infantry, and charioteers, with standards of various colours against Dhirga--the ruler of the kingdom of Maghadha who was proud of his strength, and offended against numerous monarchs. And attacking him in his capital, Pandu slew him there, and took everything in his treasury and also vehicles and draught animals without number. He then marched into Mithila and subjugated the Videhas. And then, O bull among men, Pandu led his army against Kasi, Sumbha, and Pundra, and by the strength and prowess of his arms spread the fame of the Kurus. And Pandu, that oppressor of foes, like unto a mighty fire whose far-reaching flames were represented by his arrows and splendour by his weapons, began to consume all kings that came in contact with him. These with their forces, vanquished by Pandu at the head of his army, were made the vassals of the Kurus. And all kings of the world, thus vanquished by him, regarded him as the one single hero on earth even as the celestials regard Indra in heaven. And the kings of earth with joined palms bowed to him and waited on him with presents of various kinds of gems and wealth, precious stones and pearls and corals, and much gold and silver, and first-class kine and handsome horses and fine cars and elephants, and asses and camels and buffaloes, and goats and sheep, and blankets and beautiful hides, and cloths woven out of furs. And the king of Hastinapura accepting those offerings retraced his steps towards his capital, to the great delight of his subjects. And the citizens and others filled with joy, and kings and ministers, all began to say, 'O, the fame of the achievements of Santanu, that tiger among kings, and of the wise Bharata, which were about to die, hath been revived by Pandu. They who robbed before the Kurus of both territory and wealth have been subjugated by Pandu--the tiger of Hastinapura--and made to pay tribute.' And all the citizens with Bhishma at their head went out to receive the victorious king. They had not proceeded far when they saw the attendants of the king laden with much wealth, and the train of various conveyances laden with all kinds of wealth, and of elephants, horses, cars, kine, camels and other animals, was so long that they saw not its end. Then Pandu, beholding Bhishma, who was a father to him, worshipped his feet and saluted the citizens and others as each deserved. And Bhishma, too, embracing Pandu as his son who had returned victorious after grinding many hostile kingdoms, wept tears of joy. And Pandu, instilling joy into the hearts of his people with a flourish of trumpets and conchs and kettle-drums, entered his capital.'"

SECTION 114

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Pandu, then, at the command of Dhritarashtra, offered the wealth he had acquired by the prowess of his arms to Bhishma, their grand-mother Satyavati and their mothers. And he sent portion of his wealth to Vidura also. And the virtuous Pandu gratified his other relatives also with similar presents. Then Satyavati and Bhishma and the Kosala princes were all gratified with the presents Pandu made out of the acquisitions of his prowess. And Ambalika in particular, upon embracing her son of incomparable prowess, became as glad as the queen of heaven upon embracing Jayanta. And with the wealth acquired by that hero Dhritarashtra performed five great sacrifices that were equal unto a hundred great horse-sacrifices, at all of which the offerings to Brahmanas were by hundreds and thousands.

"A little while after, O bull of Bharata's race, Pandu who had achieved a victory over sloth and lethargy, accompanied by his two wives, Kunti and Madri, retired into the woods. Leaving his excellent palace with its luxurious beds, he became a permanent inhabitant of the woods, devoting the whole of his time to the chase of the deer. And fixing his abode in a delightful and hilly region overgrown with huge sala trees, on the southern slope of the Himavat mountains, he roamed about in perfect freedom. The handsome Pandu with his two wives wandered in those woods like Airavata accompanied by two she-elephants. And the dwellers in those woods, beholding the heroic Bharata prince in the company of his wives, armed with sword, arrows, and bow, clad with his beautiful armour, and skilled in all excellent weapons, regarded him as the very god wandering amongst them.

"And at the command of Dhritarashtra, people were busy in supplying Pandu in his retirement with every object of pleasure and enjoyment.

"Meanwhile the son of the ocean-going Ganga heard that king Devaka had a daughter endued with youth and beauty and begotten upon a Sudra wife. Bringing her from her father's abode, Bhishma married her to Vidura of great wisdom. And Vidura begot upon her many children like unto himself in accomplishments.'"

SECTION 115

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Meanwhile, O Janamejaya, Dhritarashtra begat upon Gandhari a hundred sons, and upon a Vaisya wife another besides those hundred. And Pandu had, by his two wives Kunti and Madri, five sons who were great charioteers and who were all begotten by the celestials for the perpetuation of the Kuru line.'

"Janamejaya said, 'O best of Brahmanas, how did Gandhari bring forth those hundred sons and in how many years? What were also the periods of life allotted to each? How did Dhritarashtra also beget another son in a Vaisya wife? How did Dhritarashtra behave towards his loving obedient, and virtuous wife Gandhari? How were also begotten the five sons of Pandu, those mighty charioteers, even though Pandu himself laboured under the curse of the great Rishi (he slew)? Tell me all this in detail, for my thirst for hearing everything relating to my own ancestor hath not been slaked.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'One day Gandhari entertained with respectful attention the great Dwaipayana who came to her abode, exhausted with hunger and fatigue. Gratified with Gandhari's hospitality, the Rishi gave her the boon she asked

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for, viz., that she should have a century of sons each equal unto her lord in strength and accomplishments. Some time after Gandhari conceived and she bore the burden in her womb for two long years without being delivered. And she was greatly afflicted at this. It was then that she heard that Kunti had brought forth a son whose splendour was like unto the morning sun. Impatient of the period of gestation which had prolonged so long, and deprived of reason by grief, she struck her womb with great violence without the knowledge of her husband. And thereupon came out of her womb, after two years' growth, a hard mass of flesh like unto an iron ball. When she was about to throw it away, Dwaipayana, learning everything by his spiritual powers, promptly came there, and that first of ascetics beholding that ball of flesh, addressed the daughter of Suvala thus, 'What hast thou done?' Gandhari, without endeavouring to disguise her feelings, addressed the Rishi and said, 'Having heard that Kunti had brought forth a son like unto Surya in splendour, I struck in grief at my womb. Thou hadst, O Rishi, granted me the boon that I should have a hundred sons, but here is only a ball of flesh for those hundred sons!' Vyasa then said, 'Daughter of Suvala, it is even so. But my words can never be futile. I have not spoken an untruth even in jest. I need not speak of other occasions. Let a hundred pots full of clarified butter be brought instantly, and let them be placed at a concealed spot. In the meantime, let cool water be sprinkled over this ball of flesh.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'That ball of flesh then, sprinkled over with water, became, in time, divided into a hundred and one parts, each about the size of the thumb. These were then put into those pots full of clarified butter that had been placed at a concealed spot and were watched with care. The illustrious Vyasa then said unto the daughter of Suvala that she should open the covers of the pots after full two years. And having said this and made these arrangements, the wise Dwaipayana went to the Himavat mountains for devoting himself to asceticism.

"Then in time, king Duryodhana was born from among those pieces of the ball of flesh that had been deposited in those pots. According to the order of birth, king Yudhishthira was the oldest. The news of Duryodhana's birth was carried to Bhishma and the wise Vidura. The day that the haughty Duryodhana was born was also the birth-day of Bhima of mighty arms and great prowess.

"As soon as Duryodhana was born, he began to cry and bray like an ass. And hearing that sound, the asses, vultures, jackals and crows uttered their respective cries responsively. Violent winds began to blow, and there were fires in various directions. Then king Dhritarashtra in great fear, summoning Bhishma and Vidura and other well-wishers and all the Kurus, and numberless Brahmanas, addressed them and said, 'The oldest of those princes, Yudhishthira, is the perpetuator of our line. By virtue of his birth he hath acquired the kingdom. We have nothing to say to this. But shall this my son born after him become king? Tell me truly what is lawful and right under these circumstances.' As soon as these words were spoken, O Bharata, jackals and other carnivorous animals began to howl ominously And marking those frightful omens all around, the assembled Brahmanas and the wise Vidura replied, 'O king, O bull among men, when these frightful omens are noticeable at the birth of thy eldest son, it is evident that he shall be the exterminator of thy race. The prosperity of all dependeth on his abandonment. Calamity there must be in keeping him. O king, if thou abandonest him, there remain yet thy nine and ninety sons. If thou desirest the good of thy race, abandon him, O Bharata! O king, do good to the world and thy own race by casting off this one child of thine. It hath been said that an individual should be cast off for the sake of the family; that a family should be cast off for the sake of a village; that a village may be abandoned for the sake of the whole country; and that the earth itself may be abandoned for the sake of the soul.' When Vidura and those Brahmanas had stated so, king Dhritarashtra out of affection for his son had not the heart to follow that advice. Then, O king, within a month, were born a full hundred sons unto Dhritarashtra and a daughter also in excess of this hundred. And during the time when Gandhari was in a state of advanced pregnancy, there was a maid servant of the Vaisya class who used to attend on Dhritarashtra. During that year, O king, was begotten upon her by the illustrious Dhritarashtra a son endued with great intelligence who was afterwards named Yuvutsu. And because he was begotten by a Kshatriya upon a Vaisya woman, he came to be called Karna.

"Thus were born unto the wise Dhritarashtra a hundred sons who were all heroes and mighty chariot-fighters, and a daughter over and above the hundred, and another son Yuyutsu of great energy and prowess begotten upon a Vaisya woman.'"

SECTION 116

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Janamejaya said, 'O sinless one, thou hast narrated to me from the beginning all about the birth of Dhritarashtra's hundred sons owing to the boon granted by the Rishi. But thou hast not told me as yet any particulars about the birth of the daughter. Thou hast merely said that over and above the hundred sons, there was another son named Yuyutsu begotten upon a Vaisya woman, and a daughter. The great Rishi Vyasa of immeasurable energy said unto the daughter of the king of Gandhara that she would become the mother of a hundred sons. Illustrious one, how is that thou sayest Gandhari had a daughter over and above her hundred sons? If the ball of flesh was distributed by the great Rishi only into a hundred parts, and if Gandhari did not conceive on any other occasion, how was then Duhsala born. Tell me this, O Rishi! my curiosity hath been great."

"Vaisampayana said, 'O descendant of the Pandavas, thy question is just, and I will tell thee how it happened. The illustrious and great Rishi himself, by sprinkling water over that ball of flesh, began to divide it into parts. And as it was being divided into parts, the nurse began to take them up and put them one by one into those pots filled with clarified butter. While this process was going on, the beautiful and chaste Gandhari of rigid vows, realising the affection that one feeleth for a daughter, began to think within herself, 'There is no doubt that I shall have a hundred sons, the Muni having said so. It can never be otherwise. But I should be very happy if a daughter were born of me over and above these hundred sons and junior to them all. My husband then may attain to those worlds that the possession of a daughter's sons conferreth. Then again, the affection the women feel for their sons-in-law is great. If, therefore, I obtain a daughter over and above my hundred sons, then, surrounded by sons and daughter's sons, I may feel supremely blest. If I have ever practised ascetic austerities, if I have ever given anything in charity, if I have ever performed the homa (through Brahamanas), if I have ever gratified my superiors by respectful attentions, then (as the fruit of those acts) let a daughter be born unto me.' All this while that illustrious and best of Rishis, Krishna-Dwaipayana himself was dividing the ball of flesh; and counting a full hundred of the parts, he said unto the daughter of Suvala, 'Here are thy hundred sons. I did not speak aught unto thee that was false. Here, however, is one part in excess of the hundred, intended for giving thee a daughter's son. This part shall develop into an amiable and fortunate daughter, as thou hast desired' Then that great ascetic brought another pot full of clarified butter, and put the part intended for a daughter into it.

"Thus have I, O Bharata, narrated unto thee all about the birth of Duhsala. Tell me, O sinless one, what more I am now to narrate.'"

SECTION 117

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Janamejaya said, 'Please recite the names of Dhritarashtra's sons according to the order of their birth.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Their names, O king, according to the order of birth, are Duryodhana, Yuyutsu, Duhsasana, Duhsaha, Duhsala, Jalasandha, Sama, Saha, Vinda and Anuvinda, Durdharsha, Suvahu, Dushpradharshana, Durmarshana and Durmukha, Dushkarna, and Karna; Vivinsati and Vikarna, Sala, Satwa, Sulochana, Chitra and Upachitra, Chitraksha, Charuchitra, Sarasana, Durmada and Durvigaha, Vivitsu, Vikatanana; Urnanabha and Sunabha, then Nandaka and Upanandaka; Chitravana, Chitravarman, Suvarman, Durvimochana; Ayovahu, Mahavahu, Chitranga, Chitrakundala, Bhimavega, Bhimavala, Balaki, Balavardhana, Ugrayudha; Bhima, Karna, Kanakaya, Dridhayudha, Dridhavarman, Dridhakshatra, Somakitri, Anudara; Dridhasandha, Jarasandha, Satyasandha, Sada, Suvak, Ugrasravas, Ugrasena, Senani, Dushparajaya, Aparajita, Kundasayin, Visalaksha, Duradhara; Dridhahasta, Suhasta, Vatavega, and Suvarchas; Adityaketu, Vahvashin, Nagadatta, Agrayayin; Kavachin, Krathana, Kunda, Kundadhara, Dhanurdhara; the heroes, Ugra and Bhimaratha, Viravahu, Alolupa; Abhaya, and Raudrakarman, and Dridharatha; Anadhrishya, Kundabhedin, Viravi, Dhirghalochana Pramatha, and Pramathi and the powerful Dhirgharoma; Dirghavahu, Mahavahu, Vyudhoru, Kanakadhvaja; Kundasi and Virajas. Besides these hundred sons, there was a daughter named Duhsala. All were heroes and Atirathas, and were well-skilled in warfare. All were learned in the Vedas, and all kinds of weapons. And, O, king, worthy wives were in time selected for all of them by Dhritarashtra after proper examination. And king Dhritarashtra, O monarch, also bestowed Duhsala, in proper time and with proper rites, upon Jayadratha (the king of Sindhu).'

SECTION 118

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Janamejaya said, 'O utterer of Brahma, thou hast recited (everything about) the extraordinary birth among men, of the sons of Dhritarashtra in consequence of the Rishi's grace. Thou hast also said what their names are, according to the order of their birth. O Brahmana, I have heard all these from thee. But tell me now all about the Pandavas. While reciting the incarnations on earth of the celestial, the Asuras, and the beings of other classes, thou saidst that the Pandavas were all illustrious and endued with the prowess of gods, and that they were incarnate portion of the celestials themselves. I desire, therefore, to hear all about those beings of extraordinary achievements beginning from the moment of their birth. O Vaisampayana, recite thou their achievements.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'O king, one day Pandu, while roaming about in the woods (on the southern slopes of the Himavat) that teemed with deer and wild animals of fierce disposition, saw a large deer, that seemed to be the leader of a herd, serving his mate. Beholding the animals, the monarch pierced them both with five of his sharp and swift arrows winged with golden feathers. O monarch, that was no deer that Pandu struck at, but a Rishi's son of great ascetic merit who was enjoying his mate in the form of a deer. Pierced by Pandu, while engaged in the act of intercourse, he fell down to the ground, uttering cries that were of a man and began to weep bitterly.

"The deer then addressed Pandu and said, 'O king, even men that are slaves to lust and wrath, and void of reason, and ever sinful, never commit such a cruel act as this. Individual judgement prevaileth not against the ordinance, the ordinance prevaileth against individual judgement. The wise never sanction anything discountenanced by the ordinance. Thou art born, O Bharata, in a race that hath ever been virtuous. How is it, therefore, that even thou, suffering thyself to be overpowered by passion and wrath losest thy reason?' Hearing this, Pandu replied, 'O deer, kings behave in the matter of slaying animals of thy species exactly as they do in the matter of slaying foes. It behoveth thee not, therefore, to reprove me thus from ignorance. Animals of thy species are slain by open or covert means. This, indeed, is the practice of kings. Then why dost thou reprove me? Formerly, the Rishi Agastya, while engaged in the performance of a grand sacrifice, chased the deer, and devoted every deer in the forest unto the gods in general. Thou hast been slain, pursuant to the usage sanctioned by such precedent. Wherefore reprovest us then? For his especial sacrifices Agastya performed the homa with fat of the deer.'

"The deer then said, 'O king, men do not let fly their arrows at their enemies when the latter are unprepared. But there is a time for doing it (viz., after declaration of hostilities). Slaughter at such a time is not censurable.'

"Pandu replied, 'It is well-known that men slay deer by various effective means without regarding whether the animals are careful or careless. Therefore, O deer, why dost thou reprove me?'

"The deer then said, 'O, king, I did not blame thee for thy having killed a deer, or for the injury thou hast done to me. But, instead of acting so cruelly, thou shouldst have waited till the completion of my act of intercourse. What man of wisdom and virtue is there that can kill a deer while engaged in such an act? The time of sexual intercourse is agreeable to every creature and productive of good to all. O king, with this my mate I was engaged in the gratification of my sexual desire. But that effort of mine hath been rendered futile by thee. O king of the Kurus, as thou art born in the race of the Pauravas ever noted for white (virtuous) deeds, such an act hath scarcely been worthy of thee. O Bharata, this act must be regarded as extremely cruel, deserving of universal execration, infamous, and sinful, and certainly leading to hell. Thou art acquainted with the pleasures of sexual intercourse. Thou art acquainted also with the teaching of morality and dictates of duty. Like unto a celestial as thou art, it behoveth thee not to do such an act as leadeth to hell. O best of kings, thy duty is to chastise all who act cruelly, who are engaged in sinful practices and who have thrown to the winds religion, profit, and pleasure as explained in the scriptures. What hast thou done, O best of men, in killing me who have given thee no offence? I am, O king, a Muni who liveth on fruits and roots, though disguised as a deer. I was living in the woods in peace with all. Yet thou hast killed me, O king, for which I will curse thee certainly. As thou hast been cruel unto a couple of opposite sexes, death shall certainly overtake thee as soon as thou feelest the influence of sexual desire. I am a Muni of the name of Kindama, possessed of ascetic merit. I was engaged in sexual intercourse with this deer, because my feelings of modesty did not permit me to indulge in such an act in human society. In the form of a deer I rove in the deep woods in the company of other deer. Thou hast slain me without knowing that I am a Brahmana, the sin of having slain a Brahmana shall not, therefore, be thine. But senseless man, as you have killed me, disguised as a deer, at such a time, thy fate shall certainly be even like mine. When, approaching thy wife lustfully, thou wilt unite with her even as I had done with mine, in that very state shalt thou have to go to the world of the spirits. And that wife of thine with whom thou mayst be united in intercourse at the time of thy death shall also follow thee with affection and reverence to the domains of the king of the dead. Thou hast brought me grief when I was happy. So shall grief come to thee when thou art in happiness.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Saying this, that deer, afflicted with grief gave up the ghost; and Pandu also was plunged in woe at the sight.'"

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SECTION 119

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'After the death of that deer, king Pandu with his wives was deeply afflicted and wept bitterly. And he exclaimed, 'The wicked, even if born in virtuous families, deluded by their own passions, become overwhelmed with misery as the fruit of their own deeds. I have heard that my father, though begotten by Santanu of virtuous soul, was cut off while still a youth, only because he had become a slave to his lust. In the soil of that lustful king, the illustrious Rishi Krishna-Dwaipayana himself, of truthful speech, begot me. A son though I am of such a being, with my wicked heart wedded to vice, I am yet leading a wandering life in the woods in the chase of the deer. Oh, the very gods have forsaken me! I shall seek salvation now. The great impediments to salvation are the desire to beget children, and other concerns of the world. I shall now adopt the Brahmacharya mode of life and follow in the imperishable wake of my father. I shall certainly bring my passions under complete control by severe ascetic penances. Forsaking my wives and other relatives and shaving my head, alone shall I wander over the earth, begging for my subsistence from each of these trees standing here. Forsaking every object of affection and aversion, and covering my body with dust, I shall make the shelter of trees or deserted houses my home. I shall never yield to influence of sorrow or joy, and I shall regard slander and eulogy in the same light. I shall not seek benedictions or bows. I shall be at peace with all, and shall not accept gifts. I shall not mock anybody, nor shall I knit my brows at any one, but shall be ever cheerful and devoted to the good of all creatures. I shall not harm any of the four orders of life gifted with power of locomotion or otherwise, viz., oviparous and viviparous creatures and worms and vegetables. But on the contrary, preserve an equality of behaviour towards all, as if they were, my own children. Once a day shall I beg of five or ten families at the most, and if I do not succeed in obtaining alms, I shall then go without food. I shall rather stint myself than beg more than once of the same person. If I do not obtain anything after completing my round of seven or ten houses, moved by covetousness, I shall not enlarge my round. Whether I obtain or fail to obtain alms. I shall be equally unmoved like a great ascetic. One lopping off an arm of mine with a hatchet, and one smearing another arm with sandal-paste, shall be regarded by me equally. I shall not wish prosperity to the one or misery to the other. I shall not be pleased with life or displeased with death. I shall neither desire to live nor to die. Washing my heart of all sins, I shall certainly transcend those sacred rites productive of happiness, that men perform in auspicious moments, days, and periods. I shall also abstain from all acts of religion and profit and also those that lead to the gratification of the senses. Freed from all sins and snares of the world, I shall be like the wind subject to none. Following the path of fearlessness and bearing myself in this way I shall at last lay down my life. Destitute of the power of begetting children, firmly adhering to the line of duty I shall not certainly deviate therefrom in order to tread in the vile path of the world that is so full of misery. Whether respected or disrespected in the world that man who from covetousness casteth on others a begging look, certainly behaveth like a dog. (Destitute as I am of the power of procreation, I should not certainly, from desire of offspring, solicit others to give me children).'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'The king, having thus wept in sorrow, with a sigh looked at his two wives Kunti and Madri, and addressing them said, 'Let the princess of Kosala (my mother), Vidura, the king with our friends, the venerable Satyavati, Bhishma, the priests of our family, illustrious Soma-drinking Brahmanas of rigid vows and all elderly citizens depending on us be informed, after being prepared for it, that Pandu hath retired into the woods to lead a life of asceticism.' Hearing these words of their lord who had set his heart on a life of asceticism in the woods, both Kunti and Madri addressed him in these proper words, 'O bull of Bharata's race, there are many other modes of life which thou canst adopt and in which thou canst undergo the severest penances along with us, thy wedded wives--in which for the salvation of thy body (freedom from re-birth), thou mayest obtain heaven. We also, in the company of our lord, and for his benefit, controlling our passions and bidding adieu to all luxuries, shall subject ourselves to the severest austerities. O king, O thou of great wisdom, if thou abandonest us, we shall then this very day truly depart from this world.'

Pandu replied, 'If, indeed, this your resolve springeth from virtue, then with you both I shall follow the imperishable path of my fathers. Abandoning the luxuries of cities and towns, clad in barks of trees, and living on fruits and roots, I shall wander in deep woods, practising the severest penances. Bathing morning and evening, I shall perform the homa. I shall reduce my body by eating very sparingly and shall wear rags and skins and knotted locks on my head. Exposing myself to heat and cold and disregarding hunger and thirst, I shall reduce my body by severe ascetic penances, I shall live in solitude and I shall give myself up to contemplation; I shall eat fruit, ripe or green, that I may find. I shall offer oblations to the Pitris (manes) and the gods with speech, water and the fruits of the wilderness. I shall not see, far less harm, any of the denizens of the woods, or any of my relatives, or any of the residents of cities and towns. Until I lay down this body, I shall thus practise the severe ordinances of the Vanaprastha scriptures, always searching for severer ones that they may contain.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'The Kuru king, having said this unto his wives, gave away to Brahmanas the big jewel in his diadem, his necklace of precious gold, his bracelets, his large ear-rings, his valuable robes and all the ornaments of his wives. Then summoning his attendants, he commended them, saying, 'Return ye to Hastinapura and proclaim unto all that Pandu with his wives hath gone into the woods, foregoing wealth, desire, happiness, and even sexual appetite.' Then those followers and attendants, hearing these and other soft words of the king, set up a loud wail, uttering, 'Oh, we are undone!' Then with hot tears trickling down their cheeks they left the monarch and returned to Hastinapura with speed carrying that wealth with them (that was to be distributed in charity). Then Dhritarashtra, that first of men, hearing from them everything that had happened in the woods, wept for his brother. He brooded over his affliction continually, little relishing the comfort of beds and seats and dishes.

"Meanwhile, the Kuru prince Pandu (after sending away his attendants) accompanied by his two wives and eating fruits and roots went to the mountains of Nagasata. He next went to Chaitraratha, and then crossed the Kalakuta, and finally, crossing the Himavat, he arrived at Gandhamadana. Protected by Mahabhutas, Siddhas, and great Rishis, Pandu lived, O king, sometimes on level ground and sometimes on mountain slopes. He then journeyed on to the lake of Indradyumna, whence crossing the mountains of Hansakuta, he went to the mountain of hundred peaks (Sata-sringa) and there continued to practise ascetic austerities.'"

SECTION 120

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Pandu, possessed of great energy, then devoted himself to asceticism. Within a short time he became the favourite of the whole body of the Siddhas and Charanas residing there. And, O Bharata, devoted to the service of his spiritual masters, free from vanity, with mind under complete control and the passions fully subdued, the prince, becoming competent to enter heaven by his own energy, attained to great (ascetic) prowess. Some of the Rishis would call him brother, some friend, while others cherished him as their son. And, O bull of Bharata's race, having acquired after a long time great ascetic merit coupled with complete singleness, Pandu became even like a Brahmarshi (though he was a Kshatriya by birth).

"On a certain day of the new moon, the great Rishis of rigid vows assembled together, and desirous of beholding Brahman were on the point of starting on their expedition. Seeing them about to start, Pandu asked those ascetics, saying, 'Ye first of eloquent men, where shall we go?' The Rishis answered, 'There will be a great gathering today, in the abode of Brahman, of celestials, Rishis and Pitris. Desirous of beholding the Self-create we shall go there today.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing this, Pandu rose up suddenly, desirous of visiting heaven along with the great Rishis. Accompanied by his two wives, when he was on the point of following the Rishis in the northerly direction from the mountain of hundred peaks, those ascetics addressed him saying, 'In our northward march, while gradually ascending the king of mountains, we have seen on its delightful breast many regions inaccessible to ordinary mortals; retreats also of the gods, and Gandharvas and Apsaras, with palatial mansions by hundreds clustering thick around and resounding with the sweet notes of celestial music, the gardens of Kuvera laid out on even and uneven grounds, banks of mighty rivers, and deep caverns. There are many regions also on those heights that are covered with perpetual snow and are utterly destitute of vegetable and animal existence. In some places the downpour of rain is so heavy that they are perfectly inaccessible and incapable of being utilised for habitation. Not to speak of other animals, even winged creatures cannot cross them. The only thing that can go there is air, and the only beings, Siddhas and great Rishis. How shall these princesses ascend those heights of the king of mountains? Unaccustomed to pain, shall they not droop in affliction? Therefore, come not with us, O bull of Bharata's race!'

"Pandu replied, 'Ye fortunate ones, it is said that for the sonless there is no admittance into heaven. I am sonless! I In affliction I speak' unto you! I am afflicted because I have not been able to discharge the debt I owe to my ancestors. It is certain that with the dissolution of this my body my ancestors perish! Men are born on this earth with four debts, viz. those due unto the (deceased) ancestors, the gods, the Rishis, and other men. In justice these must be discharged. The wise have declared that no regions of bliss exist for them that neglect to pay these debts in due time. The gods are paid (gratified) by sacrifices, the Rishis, by study, meditation, and asceticism, the (deceased) ancestors, by begetting children and offering the funeral cake, and, lastly other men, by leading a humane and inoffensive life. I have justly discharged my obligations to the Rishis, the gods, and other men. But those others than these three are sure to perish with the dissolution of my body! Ye ascetics, I am not yet freed from the debt I owe to my (deceased) ancestors. The best of men are born in this world to beget children for discharging that debt. I would ask you, should children be begotten in my soil (upon my wives) as I myself was begotten in the soil of my father by the eminent Rishi?'

"The Rishis said, 'O king of virtuous soul, there is progeny in store for thee, that is sinless and blest with good fortune and like unto the gods. We behold it all with our prophetic eyes. Therefore, O tiger among men, accomplish by your own acts that which destiny pointeth at. Men of intelligence, acting with deliberation, always obtain good fruits; it behoveth thee, therefore, O king, to exert thyself. The fruits thou wouldst obtain are distinctly visible. Thou wouldst really obtain accomplished and agreeable progeny.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words of the ascetics, Pandu, remembering the loss of his procreative powers owing to the curse of the deer, began to reflect deeply. And calling his wedded wife the excellent Kunti, unto him, he told her in private, 'Strive thou to raise offspring at this time of distress. The wise expounders of the eternal religion declare that a son, O Kunti, is the cause of virtuous fame in the three worlds. It is said that sacrifices, charitable gifts, ascetic penances, and vows observed most carefully, do not confer religious merit on a sonless man. O thou of sweet smiles, knowing all this, I am certain that as I am sonless, I shall not obtain regions of true felicity. O timid one, wretch that I was and addicted to cruel deeds, as a consequence of the polluted life I led, my power of procreation hath been destroyed by the curse of the deer. The religious institutes mention six kinds of sons that are heirs and kinsmen, and six other kinds that are not heirs but kinsmen. I shall speak of them presently. O Pritha, listen to me. They are: 1st, the son begotten by one's own self upon his wedded wife; 2nd, the son begotten upon one's wife by an accomplished person from motives of kindness; 3rd, the son begotten upon one's wife by a person for pecuniary consideration; 4th, the son begotten upon the wife after the husband's death; 5th, the maiden-born son; 6th, the son born of an unchaste wife; 7th, the son given; 8th, the son bought for a consideration; 9th, the son self-given; 10th, the son received with a pregnant bride; 11th, the brother's son; and 12th, the son begotten upon a wife of lower caste. On failure of offspring of a prior class, the mother should desire to have offspring of the next class. In times of distress, men solicit offspring from accomplished younger brothers. The self-born Manu hath said that men failing to have legitimate offspring of their own may have offspring begotten upon their wives by others, for sons confer the highest religious merit. Therefore, O Kunti, being destitute myself of the power of procreation, I command thee to raise good offspring through some person who is either equal or superior to me. O Kunti, listen to the history of the daughter of Saradandayana who was appointed by her lord to raise offspring. That warrior-dame, when her monthly season arrived, bathed duly and in the night went out and waited on a spot where four roads met. She did not wait long when a Brahmana crowned with ascetic success came there. The daughter of Saradandayana solicited him for offspring. After pouring libations of clarified butter on the fire (in the performance of the sacrifice known by the name of Punsavana) she brought forth three sons that were mighty car-warriors and of whom Durjaya was the eldest, begotten upon her by that Brahmana. O thou of good fortune, do thou follow that warrior-dame's example at my command, and speedily raise offspring out of the seed of some Brahmana of high ascetic merit.'"

SECTION 121

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Thus addressed, Kunti replied unto her heroic lord, king Pandu, that bull amongst the Kurus, saying, 'O virtuous one, it behoveth thee not to say so unto me. I am, O thou lotus-eyed one, thy wedded wife, devoted to thee. O, Bharata of mighty arms, thyself shalt, in righteousness, beget upon me children endued with great energy. Then I shall ascend to heaven with thee; O prince of Kuru's race, receive me in thy embrace for begetting children. I shall not certainly, even in imagination, accept any other man except thee in my embraces. What other man is there in this world superior to thee? O virtuous one, listen to this Pauranic narrative that hath been, O thou of large eyes, heard by me, and that I shall presently narrate.

"There was, in ancient times, a king in the race of Puru, known by the name of Vyushitaswa. He was devoted to truth and virtue. Of virtuous soul and mighty arms, on one occasion, while he was performing a sacrifice the gods with Indra and the great Rishis came to him, and Indra was so intoxicated with the Soma juice he drank and the Brahmanas with the large presents they received, that both the gods and the great Rishis began themselves to perform everything appertaining to that sacrifice of the illustrious royal sage. And thereupon

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Vyushitaswa began to shine above all men like the Sun appearing in double splendour after the season of frost is over. And the powerful Vyushitaswa, who was endued with the strength of ten elephants very soon performed the horse-sacrifice, overthrowing, O best of monarchs, all the kings of the East, the North, the West and the South, and exacted tributes from them all. There is an anecdote, O best of the Kurus, that is sung by all reciters of the Puranas, in connexion with that first of all men, the illustrious Vyushitaswa.--Having conquered the whole Earth up to the coast of the sea, Vyushitaswa protected every class of his subjects as a father does his own begotten sons.--Performing many great sacrifices he gave away much wealth to the Brahmanas. After collecting unlimited jewels and precious stones he made arrangements for performing still greater ones. And he performed also the Agnishtoma, and other special Vedic sacrifices, extracting great quantities of Soma juice. And, O king, Vyushitaswa had for his dear wife, Bhadra, the daughter of Kakshivat, unrivalled for beauty on earth. And it hath been heard by us that the couple loved each other deeply. King Vyushitaswa was seldom separated from his wife. Sexual excess, however, brought on an attack of phthisis and the king died within a few days, sinking like the Sun in his glory. Then Bhadra, his beautiful queen, was plunged into woe, and as she was sonless, O tiger among men, she wept in great affliction. Listen to me, O king, as I narrate to you all that Bhadra said with bitter tears trickling down her cheeks. 'O virtuous one', she said, 'Women serve no purpose when their husbands are dead. She who liveth after her husband is dead, draggeth on a miserable existence that can hardly be called life. O bull of the Kshatriya order, death is a blessing to women without husbands. I wish to follow the way thou hast gone. Be kind and take me with thee. In thy absence, I am unable to bear life even for a moment. Be kind to me, O king and take me hence pretty soon. O tiger among men, I shall follow thee over the even and uneven ground. Thou hast gone away, O lord, never to return. I shall follow thee, O king, as thy own shadow. O tiger among men, I will obey thee (as thy slave) and will ever do what is agreeable to thee and what is for thy good. O thou of eyes like lotus-petals, without thee, from this day, mental agonies will overwhelm me and eat into my heart. A wretch that I am, some loving couple had doubtless been separated by me in a former life, for which, in this life, I am made to suffer the pangs of separation from thee. O king, that wretched woman who liveth even for a moment separated from her lord, liveth in woe and suffereth the pangs of hell even here. Some loving couple had doubtless been separated by me in a former life, for which sinful act I am suffering this torture arising from my separation from thee. O king, from this day I will lay myself down on a bed of Kusa grass and abstain from every luxury, hoping to behold thee once more. O tiger among men, show thyself to me. O king, O lord, command once more thy wretched and bitterly weeping wife plunged in woe.'

"Kunti continued, 'It was thus, O Pandu, that the beautiful Bhadra wept over the death of her lord. And the weeping Bhadra clasped in her arms the corpse in anguish of heart. Then she was addressed by an incorporeal voice in these words, "Rise up, O Bhadra, and leave this place. O thou of sweet smiles, I grant thee this boon. I will beget offspring upon thee. Lie thou down with me on thy own bed, after the catamenial bath, on the night of the eighth or the fourteenth day of the moon.' Thus addressed by the incorporeal voice, the chaste Bhadra did, as she was directed, for obtaining offspring. And, O bull of the Bharatas, the corpse of her husband begat upon her seven children viz., three Salwas and four Madras. O bull of the Bharatas, do thou also beget offspring upon me, like the illustrious Vyushitaswa, by the exercise of that ascetic power which thou possessest.'"

SECTION 122

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Thus addressed by his loving wife, king Pandu, well-acquainted with all rules of morality, replied in these words of virtuous import, 'O Kunti, what thou hast said is quite true. Vyushitaswa of old did even as thou hast said. Indeed he was equal unto the celestials themselves. But I shall now tell thee about the practices of old indicated by illustrious Rishis, fully acquainted with every rule of morality. O thou of handsome face and sweet smiles, women formerly were not immured within houses and dependent on husbands and other relatives. They used to go about freely, enjoying themselves as best as they liked. O thou of excellent qualities, they did not then adhere to their husbands faithfully, and yet, O handsome one, they were not regarded sinful, for that was the sanctioned usage of the times. That very usage is followed to this day by birds and beasts without any (exhibition of) jealousy. That practice, sanctioned by precedent, is applauded by great Rishis. O thou of taper thighs, the practice is yet regarded with respect amongst the Northern Kurus. Indeed, that usage, so lenient to women, hath the sanction of antiquity. The present practice, however (of women's being confined to one husband for life) hath been established but lately. I shall tell thee in detail who established it and why.

"It hath been heard by us that there was a great Rishi of the name of Uddalaka, who had a son named Swetaketu who also was an ascetic of merit. O thou of eyes like lotus-petals, the present virtuous practice hath been established by that Swetaketu from anger. Hear thou the reason. One day, in the presence of Swetaketu's father a Brahmana came and catching Swetaketu's mother by the hand, told her, 'Let us go.' Beholding his mother seized by the hand and taken away apparently by force, the son was greatly moved by wrath. Seeing his son indignant, Uddalaka addressed him and said, 'Be not angry. O son! This is the practice sanctioned by antiquity. The women of all orders in this world are free, O son; men in this matter, as regards their respective orders, act as kine.' The Rishi's son, Swetaketu, however, disapproved of the usage and established in the world the present practice as regards men and women. It hath been heard by us, O thou of great virtue, that the existing practice dates from that period among human beings but not among beings of other classes. Accordingly, since the establishment of the present usage, it is sinful for women not to adhere to their husbands. Women transgressing the limits assigned by the Rishi became guilty of slaying the embryo. And, men, too, viol ting a chaste and loving wife who hath from her maidenhood observed the vow of purity, became guilty of the same sin. The woman also who, being commanded by her husband to raise offspring, refuses to do his bidding, becometh equally sinful.

"Thus, O timid one, was the existing usage established of old by Swetaketu, the son of Uddalaka, in defiance of antiquity. O thou of taper thighs, it hath also been heard by us that Madayanti, the wife of Saudasa, commanded by her husband to raise offspring went unto Rishi Vasishtha. And on going in unto him, the handsome Madayanti obtained a son named Asmaka. She did this, moved by the desire of doing good to her husband. O thou of lotus-eyes, thou knowest, O timid girl, how we ourselves, for the perpetuation of the Kuru race, were begotten by Krishna-Dwaipayana. O faultless one, beholding all these precedents it behoveth thee to do my bidding, which is not inconsistent with virtue, O princess, who is devoted to her husband, it hath also been said by those acquainted with the rules of morality that a wife, when her monthly season cometh, must ever seek her husband, though at other times she deserveth liberty. The wise have declared this to be the ancient practice. But, be the act sinful or sinless, those acquainted with the Vedas have declared that it is the duty of wives to do what their husbands bid them do. Especially, O thou of faultless features, I, who am deprived of the power of procreation, having yet become desirous of beholding offspring, deserve the more to be obeyed by thee. O amiable one, joining my palms furnished with rosy fingers, and making of them a cup as of lotus leaves, I place them on my head to propitiate thee. O thou of lair looks, it behoveth thee to raise offspring, at my command, through some Brahmana possessed of high ascetic merit. For then, owing to thee, O thou of fair hips, I may go the way that is reserved for those that are blessed with children.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed by Pandu, that subjugator of hostile cities, the handsome Kunti, ever attentive to what was agreeable and beneficial to her lord, then replied unto him, saying, 'In my girlhood, O lord, I was in my father's house engaged in attending upon all guests. I used to wait respectfully upon Brahmanas of rigid vows and great ascetic merit. One day I gratified with my attentions that Brahmana whom people call Durvasa, of mind under full control and possessing knowledge of all the mysteries of religion. Pleased with my services, that Brahmana gave me a boon in the form of a mantra (formula of invocation) for calling into my presence any one of the celestials I liked. And the Rishi, addressing me, said, 'Anyone among the celestials whom thou callest by this shall, O girl, approach thee and be obedient to thy will, whether he liketh it or not. And, O princess, thou shall also have offspring through his grace.' O Bharata, that Brahmana told me this when I lived in my father's house. The words uttered by the Brahmana can never be false. The time also hath come when they may yield fruit. Commanded by thee, O royal sage, I can by that mantra summon any of the celestials, so that we may have good children. O foremost of all truthful men, tell me which of the celestials I shall summon. Know that, as regards this matter, I await your commands.'

"Hearing this, Pandu replied, 'O handsome one, strive duly this very day to gratify our wishes. Fortunate one, summon thou the god of justice. He is the most virtuous of the celestials. The god of justice and virtue will never be able to pollute us with sin. The world also, O beautiful princess, will then think that what we do can never be unholy. The son also that we shall obtain from him shall in virtue be certainly the foremost among the Kurus. Begotten by the god of justice and morality, he would never set his heart upon anything that is sinful or unholy. Therefore, O thou of sweet smiles, steadily keeping virtue before thy eyes, and duly observing holy vows, summon thou the god of justice and virtue by the help of thy solicitations and incantations.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then Kunti, that best of women, thus addressed by her lord, said, 'So be it.' And bowing down to him and reverently circumambulating his person, she resolved to do his bidding.'"

SECTION 123

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'O Janamejaya, when Gandhari's conception had been a full year old, it was then that Kunti summoned the eternal god of justice to obtain offspring from him. And she offered without loss of time, sacrifices unto the god and began to duly repeat the formula that Durvasa had imparted to her some time before. Then the god, overpowered by her incantations, arrived at the spot where Kunti was seated in his car resplendent as the Sun. Smiling, he asked, 'O Kunti, what am I to give thee?' And Kunti too smiling in her turn, replied, 'Thou must even give me offspring.' Then the handsome Kunti was united (in intercourse) with the god of justice in his spiritual form and obtained from him a son devoted to the good of all creatures. And she brought his excellent child, who lived to acquire a great fame, at the eighth Muhurta called Abhijit, of the hour of noon of that very auspicious day of the seventh month (Kartika), viz., the fifth of the lighted fortnight, when the star Jyeshtha in conjunction with the moon was ascendant. And as soon as the child was born, an incorporeal voice (from the skies) said, 'This child shall be the best of men, the foremost of those that are virtuous. Endued with great prowess and truthful in speech, he shall certainly be the ruler of the earth. And this first child of Pandu shall be known by the name of Yudhishthira. Possessed of prowess and honesty of disposition, he shall be a famous king, known throughout the three worlds.'

"Pandu, having obtained that virtuous son, again addressed his wife and said. 'The wise have declared that a Kshatriya must be endued with physical strength, otherwise he is no Kshatriya.' Therefore, ask thou for an offspring of superior strength. Thus commanded by her lord, Kunti then invoked Vayu. And the mighty god of wind, thus invoked, came unto her, riding upon a deer, and said, 'What, O Kunti, am I to give thee? Tell me what is in thy heart" Smiling in modesty, she said to him, 'Give me, O best of celestials, a child endued with great strength and largeness of limbs and capable of humbling the pride of every body.' The god of wind thereupon begat upon her the child afterwards known as Bhima of mighty arms and fierce prowess. And upon the birth of that child endued with extraordinary strength, an incorporeal voice, O Bharata, as before, said, 'This child shall be the foremost of all endued with strength.' I must tell you, O Bharata, of another wonderful event that occurred alter the birth of Vrikodara (Bhima). While he fell from the lap of his mother upon the mountain breast, the violence of the fall broke into fragments the stone upon which he fell without his infant body being injured in the least. And he fell from his mother's lap because Kunti, frightened by a tiger, had risen up suddenly, unconscious of the child that lay asleep on her lap. And as she had risen, the infant, of body hard as the thunderbolt, falling down upon the mountain breast, broke into a hundred fragments the rocky mass upon which he fell. And beholding this, Pandu wondered much. And it so happened that that very day on which Vrikodara was born, was also, O best of Bharatas, the birthday of Duryodhana who afterwards became the ruler of the whole earth.'

"After the birth of Vrikodara, Pandu again began to think, 'How am I to obtain a very superior son who shall achieve world-wide fame? Every, thing in the world dependeth on destiny and exertion. But destiny can never be successful except by timely exertion. We have heard it said that Indra is the chief of the gods. Indeed, he is endued with immeasurable might and energy and prowess and glory. Gratifying him with my asceticism, I shall obtain from him a son of great strength. Indeed, the son he giveth me must be superior to all and capable of vanquishing in battle all men and creatures other than men. I shall, therefore, practise the severest austerities, with heart, deed and speech.'

"After this, the Kuru king Pandu, taking counsel with the great Rishis commanded Kunti to observe an auspicious vow for one full year, while he himself commenced, O Bharata, to stand upon one leg from morning to evening, and practise other severe austerities with mind rapt in meditation, for gratifying the lord of the celestials.

"It was after a long time that Indra (gratified with such devotion) approached Pandu and, addressing him, said, 'I shall give thee, O king, a son who will be celebrated all over the three worlds and who will promote the welfare of Brahmanas, kine and all honest men. The son I shall give thee will be the smiter of the wicked and the delight of friends and relatives. Foremost of all men, he will be an irresistible slayer of all foes.' Thus addressed by Vasava (the king of the celestials), the virtuous king of the Kuru race, well-recollecting those words, said unto Kunti, 'O fortunate one, thy vow hath become successful. The lord of the celestials hath been gratified, and is willing to give thee a son such as thou desirest, of superhuman achievements and great fame. He will be the oppressor of all enemies and possessed of great wisdom. Endued with a great soul, in splendour equal unto the Sun,

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invincible in battles, and of great achievements, he will also be extremely handsome. O thou of fair hips and sweet smiles, the lord of the celestials hath become gracious to thee. Invoking him, bring thou forth a child who will be the very home of all Kshatriya virtues.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'The celebrated Kunti, thus addressed by her lord, invoked Sakra (the king of the gods) who thereupon came unto her and begat him that was afterwards called Arjuna. And as soon as this child was born, an incorporeal voice, loud and deep as that of the clouds and filling the whole welkin, distinctly said, addressing Kunti in the hearing of every creature dwelling in that asylum, 'This child of thine, O Kunti, will be equal unto Kartavirya in energy and Siva in prowess. Invincible like Sakra himself he will spread thy fame far and wide. As Vishnu (the youngest of Aditi's sons) had enhanced Aditi's joy, so shall this child enhance thy joy. Subjugating the Madras, the Kurus along with the Somakas, and the people of Chedi, Kasi and Karusha, he will maintain the prosperity of the Kurus. (Surfeited with libations at the sacrifice of king Swetaketu), Agni will derive great gratification from the fat of all creatures dwelling in the Khandava woods (to be burnt down) by the might of this one's arms. This mighty hero, vanquishing all the effeminate monarchs of the earth, will, with his brothers perform three great sacrifices. In prowess, O Kunti, he will be even as Jamadagnya or Vishnu. The foremost of all men endued with prowess, he will achieve great fame. He will gratify in battle (by his heroism) Sankara, the god of gods (Mahadeva), and will receive from him the great weapon named Pasupata. This thy son of mighty arms will also slay, at the command of Indra, those Daityas called the Nivatakavachas who are the enemies of the gods. He will also acquire all kinds of celestial weapons, and this bull among men will also retrieve the fortunes of his race.'

'Kunti heard these extraordinary words, while lying in the room. And hearing those words uttered so loudly, the ascetics dwelling on the mountain of a hundred peaks, and the celestials with Indra sitting in their cars, became exceedingly glad. The sounds of the (invisible) drum filled the entire welkin. There were shouts of joy, and the whole region was covered with flowers showered down by invisible agents. The various tribes of celestials assembled together, began to offer their respectful adorations to the son of Pritha. The sons of Kadru (Nagas), the son of Vinata, the Gandharvas, the lords of the creation, and the seven great Rishis, viz., Bharadwaja, Kasyapa, Gautama, Viswamitra, Jamadagni, Vasishtha, and the illustrious Atri who illumined the world of old when the Sun was lost, all came there. And Marichi, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Daksha the lord of creation, the Gandharvas, and Apsaras, came there also. The various tribes of Apsaras, decked with celestial garlands and every ornament, and attired in fine robes, came there and danced in joy, chanting the praises of Vibhatsu (Arjuna).

All around, the great Rishis began to utter propitiatory formulas. And Tumvuru accompanied by the Gandharvas began to sing in charming notes. And Bhimasena and Ugrasena, Urnayus and Anagha. Gopati and Dhritarashtra and Suryavarchas the eighth, Yugapa and Trinapa, Karshni, Nandi, and Chitraratha, Salisirah the thirteenth, Parjanya the fourteenth, Kali the fifteenth, and Narada the sixteenth in this list, Vrihatta, Vrihaka, Karala of great soul, Brahmacharin, Vahuguna, Suvarna of great fame, Viswavasu, Bhumanyu, Suchandra, Sam and the celebrated tribes of Haha and Huhu gifted with wonderful melody of voice,--these celestial Gandharvas, O king, all went there. Many illustrious Apsaras also of large eyes, decked with every ornament came there to dance and sing. And Anuchana and Anavadya, Gunamukhya and Gunavara, Adrika and Soma, Misrakesi and Alambusha, Marichi and Suchika, Vidyutparna and Tilottama and Ambika, Lakshmana, Kshema Devi, Rambha, Manorama, Asita, Suvahu, Supriya, Suvapuh, Pundarika, Sugandha, Surasa, Pramathini, Kamya and Saradwati, all danced there together. And Menaka, Sahajanya, Karnika, Punjikasthala, Ritusthala, Ghritachi, Viswachi, Purvachiti, the celebrated Umlocha, Pramlocha the tenth and Urvasi the eleventh,--these large-eyed dancing girls of heaven,--came there and sang in chorus. And Dharti and Aryaman and Mitra and Varuna, Bhaga and Indra, Vivaswat, Pushan, Tvastri and Parjanya or Vishnu, these twelve Adityas came there to glorify Pandu's son. And, O king, Mrigavyadha, Sarpa, the celebrated Niriti, Ajaikapada, Ahivradhna, Pinakin, Dahana, Iswara, Kapalin, Sthanu and the illustrious Bhaga--these eleven Rudras,--also came there. And the twin Aswins, the eight Vasus, the mighty Maruts, the Viswedevas, and the Sadhyas, also came there. And Karkotaka, Vasuki, Kachchhapa, Kunda and the great Naga Takshaka,--these mighty and wrathful snakes possessed of high ascetic merit also came there. And Tarkshya, Arishtanemi, Garuda, Asitadvaja,--these and many other Nagas, came there, so also Aruna and Aruni of Vinata's race also came there. And only great Rishis crowned with ascetic success and not others saw those celestials and other beings seated in their cars or waiting on the mountain peaks. Those best of Munis beholding that wonderful sight, became amazed, and their love and affection for the children of Pandu was in consequence enhanced.

"The celebrated Pandu, tempted by the desire of having more children wished to speak again unto his wedded wife (for invoking some other god). But Kunti addressed him, saying, 'The wise do not sanction a fourth delivery even in a season of distress. The woman having intercourse with four different men is called a Swairini (heanton), while she having intercourse with five becometh a harlot. Therefore, O learned one, as thou art well-acquainted with the scripture on this subject, why dost thou, beguiled by desire of offspring, tell me so in seeming forgetfulness of the ordinance?'"

SECTION 124

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'After the birth of Kunti's sons and also of the hundred sons of Dhritarashtra the daughter of the king of the Madras privately addressed Pandu, saying, 'O slayer of foes, I have no complaint even if thou beest unpropitious to me. I have, O sinless one, also no complaint that though by birth I am superior to Kunti yet I am inferior to her in station. I do not grieve, O thou of Kuru's race, that Gandhari hath obtained a hundred sons. This, however, is my great grief that while Kunti and I are equal, I should be childless, while it should so chance that thou shouldst have offspring by Kunti alone. If the daughter of Kuntibhoja should so provide that I should have offspring, she would then be really doing me a great favour and benefiting thee likewise. She being my rival, I feel a delicacy in soliciting any favour of her. If thou beest, O king, propitiously disposed to me, then ask her to grant my desire.'

"Hearing her, Pandu replied, 'O Madri, I do revolve this matter often in my own mind, but I have hitherto hesitated to tell thee anything, not knowing how thou wouldst receive it. Now that I know what your wishes are, I shall certainly strive after that end. I think that, asked by me, Kunti will not refuse.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'After this, Pandu addressed Kunti in private, saying, 'O Kunti, grant me some more offspring for the expansion of my race and for the benefit of the world. O blessed one, provide thou that I myself, my ancestors, and thine also, may always have the funeral cake offered to us. O, do what is beneficial to me, and grant me and the world what, indeed, is the best of benefits. O, do what, indeed, may be difficult for thee, moved by the desire of achieving undying fame. Behold, Indra, even though he hath obtained the sovereignty of the celestials, doth yet, for fame alone, perform sacrifices. O handsome one, Brahmanas, well-acquainted with the Vedas, and having achieved high ascetic merit, do yet, for fame alone, approach their spiritual masters with reverence. So also all royal sages and Brahmanas possessed of ascetic wealth have achieved, for fame only, the most difficult of ascetic feat. Therefore, O blameless one, rescue this Madri as by a raft (by granting her the means of obtaining offspring), and achieve thou imperishable fame by making her a mother of children.'

"Thus addressed by her lord, Kunti readily yielded, and said unto Madri, 'Think thou, without loss of time, of some celestial, and thou shall certainly obtain from him a child like unto him.' Reflecting for a few moments. Madri thought of the twin Aswins, who coming unto her with speed begat upon her two sons that were twins named Nakula and Sahadeva, unrivalled on earth for personal beauty. And as soon as they were born, an incorporeal voice said, 'In energy and beauty these twins shall transcend even the twin Aswins themselves.' Indeed possessed of great energy and beauty, they illumined the whole region.

"O king, after all the children were born the Rishis dwelling on the mountain of a hundred peaks uttering blessings on them and affectionately performing the first rites of birth, bestowed appellations on them. The eldest of Kunti's children was called Yudhishthira, the second Bhimasena, and the third Arjuna, and of Madri's sons, the first-born of the twins was called Nakula and the next Sahadeva. And those foremost sons born at an interval of one year after one another, looked like an embodied period of five years. And king Pandu, beholding his children of celestial beauty and of super-abundant energy, great strength and prowess, and of largeness of soul, rejoiced exceedingly. And the children became great favourites of the Rishis, as also of their wives, dwelling on the mountain of a hundred peaks.

"Some time after, Pandu again requested Kunti on behalf of Madri. Addressed, O king, by her lord in private, Kunti replied, 'Having given her the formula of invocation only once, she hath, O king, managed to obtain two sons. Have I not been thus deceived by her, I fear, O king, that she will soon surpass me in the number of her children. This, indeed, is the way of all wicked women. Fool that I was, I did not know that by invoking the twin gods I could obtain at one birth twin children. I beseech thee, O king, do not command me any further. Let this be the boon granted (by thee) to me.'

"Thus, O king, were born unto Pandu five sons who were begotten by celestials and were endued with great strength, and who all lived to achieve great fame and expand the Kuru race. Each bearing every auspicious mark on his person, handsome like Soma, proud as the lion, well-skilled in the use of the bow, and of leonine tread, breast, heart, eyes, neck and prowess, those foremost of men, resembling the celestials themselves in might, began to grow up. And beholding them and their virtues growing with years, the great Rishis dwelling on that snowcapped sacred mountain were filled with wonder. And the five Pandavas and the hundred sons of Dhritarashtra--that propagator of the Kuru race--grew up rapidly like a cluster of lotuses in a lake.'"

SECTION 125

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, "Beholding his five handsome sons growing up before him in that great forest on the charming mountain slope, Pandu felt the last might of his arms revive once more. One day in the season of spring which maddens every creature the king accompanied by his wife (Madri), began to rove in the woods where every tree had put forth new blossoms. He beheld all around Palasas and Tilakas and Mangoes and Champakas and Parihadrakas and Karnikaras, Asokas and Kesaras and Atimuktas and Kuruvakas with swarms of maddened bees sweetly humming about. And there were flowers of blossoming Parijatas with the Kokilas pouring forth their melodies from under every twig echoing with the sweet hums of the black bees. And he beheld also various other kinds of trees bent down with the weight of their flowers and fruits. And there were also many fine pools of water overgrown with hundreds of fragrant lotuses. Beholding all these, Pandu felt the soft influence of desire. Roving like a celestial with a light heart amidst such scenery, Pandu was alone with his wife Madri in semi-transparent attire. And beholding the youthful Madri thus attired, the king's desire flamed up like a forest-fire. And ill-able to suppress his desire thus kindled at the sight of his wife of eyes like lotus-petals, he was completely overpowered. The king then seized her against her will, but Madri trembling in fear resisted him to the best of her might. Consumed by desire, he forgot everything about his misfortune. And, O thou of Kuru's race unrestrained by the fear of (the Rishi's) curse and impelled by fate, the monarch, overpowered by passion, forcibly sought the embraces of Madri, as if he wished to put an end to his own life. His reason, thus beguiled by the great Destroyer himself by intoxicating his senses, was itself lost with his life. And the Kuru king Pandu, of virtuous soul, thus succumbed to the inevitable influence of Time, while united in intercourse with his wife.

"Then Madri, clasping the body of her senseless lord, began to weep aloud. And Kunti with her sons and the twins of Madri, hearing those cries of grief, came to the spot where the king lay in that state. Then, O king, Madri addressing Kunti in a piteous voice, said, 'Come hither alone, O Kunti, and let the children stay there.' Hearing these words, Kunti, bidding the children stay, ran with speed, exclaiming, 'Woe to me!' And beholding both Pandu and Madri lying prostrate on the ground she went in grief and affliction, saying, 'Of passions under complete control, this hero, O Madri, had all along been watched by me with care. How did he then forgetting the Rishi's curse, approach thee with enkindled desire? O Madri, this foremost of men should have been protected by thee. Why didst thou tempt him into solitude? Always melancholy at the thought of the Rishi's curse, how came he to be merry with thee in solitude? O princess of Valhika, more fortunate than myself, thou art really to be envied, for thou hast seen the face of our lord suffused with gladness and joy.'

"Madri then replied, saying, 'Revered sister, with tears in my eyes, I resisted the king, but he could not control himself, bent on, as it were making the Rishi's curse true.'

"Kunti then said, 'I am the older of his wedded wives; the chief religious merit must be mine. Therefore, O Madri, prevent me not from achieving that which must be achieved. I must follow our lord to the region of the dead. Rise up, O Madri, and yield me his body. Rear thou these children.' Madri replied, saying, 'I do clasp our lord yet, and have not allowed him to depart; therefore, I shall follow him. My appetite hath not been appeased. Thou art my older sister, O let me have thy sanction. This foremost one of the Bharata princes had approached me, desiring to have intercourse. His appetite unsatiated, shall I not follow him in the region of Yama to gratify him? O revered one, if I survive thee, it is certain I shall not be able to rear thy children as if they were mine. Will not sin touch me on that account? But, thou, O Kunti, shall be able to bring my sons up as if they were thine. The king, in seeking me wishfully, hath gone to the region of spirits; therefore, my body should be burnt with his. O revered sister, withhold not thy sanction to this which is agreeable to me. Thou wilt certainly bring up the children carefully. That indeed, would be very agreeable to me. I have no other direction to give!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having said this, the daughter of the king of Madras, the wedded wife of Pandu, ascended the funeral pyre of her lord, that bull among men.'"

SECTION 126

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(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'The godlike Rishis, wise in counsels, beholding the death of Pandu, consulted with one another, and said, 'The virtuous and renowned king Pandu, abandoning both sovereignty, and kingdom came hither for practising ascetic austerities and resigned himself to the ascetics dwelling on this mountain. He hath hence ascended to heaven, leaving his wife and infant sons as a trust in our hands. Our duty now is to repair to his kingdom with these his offspring, and his wife.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then those godlike Rishis of magnanimous hearts, and crowned with ascetic success, summoning one another, resolved to go to Hastinapura with Pandu's children ahead, desiring to place them in the hands of Bhishma and Dhritarashtra. The ascetics set out that very moment, taking with them those children and Kunti and the two dead bodies. And though unused to toil all her life, the affectionate Kunti now regarded as very short the really long journey she had to perform. Having arrived at Kurujangala within a short time, the illustrious Kunti presented herself at the principal gate. The ascetics then charged the porters to inform the king of their arrival. The men carried the message in a trice to the court. And the citizens of Hastinapura, hearing of the arrival of thousands of Charanas and Munis, were filled with wonder. And it was soon after sunrise that they began to come out in numbers with their wives and children to behold those ascetics. Seated in all kinds of cars and conveyances by thousands, vast numbers of Kshatriyas with their wives, and Brahmanas with theirs came out. And the concourse of Vaisyas and Sudras too was as large on the occasion. The vast assemblage was very peaceful, for every heart then was inclined to piety. And there also came out Bhishma, the son of Santanu, and Somadatta or Valhika and the royal sage (Dhritarashtra) endued with the vision of knowledge and Vidura himself and the venerable Satyavati and the illustrious princess of Kosala and Gandhari accompanied by the other ladies of the royal household. And the hundred sons of Dhritarashtra, decked with various ornaments, also came out.

"The Kauravas, then, accompanied by their priest, saluted the Rishis by lowering their heads, and took their seats before them. The citizens also saluting the ascetics and bowing down unto them with touching the ground, took their seats there. Then Bhishma, setting that vast concourse perfectly still, duly worshipped, O king, those ascetics by offering them water to wash their feet with and the customary Arghya. And having done this, he spoke unto them about the sovereignty and the kingdom. Then the oldest of the ascetics with matted locks on head and loins covered with animal skin, stood up, and with the concurrence of the other Rishis, spoke as follows, 'You all know that that possessor of the sovereignty of the Kurus who was called king Pandu, had, after abandoning the pleasures of the world, repaired hence to dwell on the mountain of a hundred peaks. He adopted the Brahmacharya mode of life, but for some inscrutable purpose the gods have in view, this his eldest son, Yudhishthira, was born there, begotten by Dharma himself. Then that illustrious king obtained from Vayu this other son--the foremost of all mighty men--called Bhima. This other son, begotten upon Kunti by Indra, is Dhananjaya whose achievements will humble all bowmen in the world. Look here again at these tigers among men, mighty in the use of the bow, the twin children begotten upon Madri by the twin Aswins. Leading in righteousness the life of a Vanaprastha in the woods, illustrious Pandu hath thus revived the almost extinct line of his grandfather. The birth, growth, and Vedic studies of these children of Pandu, will, no doubt, give you great pleasure. Steadily adhering to the path of the virtuous and the wise, and leaving behind him these children, Pandu departed hence seventeen days ago. His wife Madri, beholding him placed in the funeral pyre and about to be consumed, herself ascended the same pyre, and sacrificing her life thus, hath gone with her lord to the region reserved for chaste wives. Accomplish now whatever rites should be performed for their benefit. These are (the unburnt portions of) their bodies. Here also are their children--these oppressors of foes--with their mother. Let these be now received with due honours. After the completion of the first rites in honour of the dead, let the virtuous Pandu, who had all along been the supporter of the dignity of the Kurus, have the first annual Sraddha (sapindakarana) performed with a view to installing him formally among the Pitris.' "Vaisampayana continued, 'The ascetics with Guhyakas, having said this unto the Kurus, instantly disappeared in the very sight of the people. And beholding the Rishis and the Siddhas thus vanish in their sight like vapoury forms appearing and disappearing in the skies, the citizens filled with wonder returned to their homes.'"

SECTION 127

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Dhritarashtra then said, 'O Vidura, celebrate the funeral ceremonies of that lion among kings viz., Pandu, and of Madri also, in right royal style. For the good of their souls, distribute cattle, cloths, gems and diverse kinds of wealth, every one receiving as much as he asketh for. Make arrangements also for Kunti's performing the last rites of Madri in such a style as pleaseth her. And let Madri's body be so carefully wrapped up that neither the Sun nor Vayu (god of wind) may behold it. Lament not for the sinless Pandu. He was a worthy king and hath left behind him five heroic sons equal unto the celestials themselves.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then Vidura, O Bharata, saying, 'So be it,' in consultation with Bhishma, fixed upon a sacred spot for the funeral rites of Pandu. The family priests went out of the city without loss of time, carrying with them the blazing sacred fire fed with clarified butter and rendered fragrant therewith. Then friends, relatives, and adherents, wrapping it up in cloth, decked the body of the monarch with the flowers of the season and sprinkled various excellent perfumes over it. And they also decked the hearse itself with garlands and rich hangings. Then placing the covered body of the king with that of his queen on that excellent bier decked out so brightly, they caused it to be carried on human shoulders. With the white umbrella (of state) held over the hearse with waving yak-tails and sounds of various musical instruments, the whole scene looked bright and grand. Hundreds of people began to distribute gems among the crowd on the occasion of the funeral rites of the king. At length some beautiful robes, and white umbrellas and larger yak-tails, were brought for the great ceremony. The priests clad in white walked in the van of the procession pouring libations of clarified butter on the sacred fire blazing in an ornamental vessel. And Brahmanas, and Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas, and Sudras by thousands followed the deceased king, loudly wailing in these accents, 'O prince, where dost thou go, leaving us behind, and making us forlorn and wretched for ever?' And Bhishma, and Vidura, and the Pandavas, also all wept aloud. At last they came to a romantic wood on the banks of the Ganga. There they laid down the hearse on which the truthful and lion-hearted prince and his spouse lay. Then they brought water in many golden vessels, washed the prince's body besmeared before with several kinds of fragrant paste, and again smeared it over with sandal paste. They then dressed it in a white dress made of indigenous fabrics. And with the new suit on, the king seemed as if he was living and only sleeping on a costly bed.

"When the other funeral ceremonies also were finished in consonance with the directions of the priests, the Kauravas set fire to the dead bodies of the king and the queen, bringing lotuses, sandal-paste, and other fragrant substances to the pyre.

"Then seeing the bodies aflame, Kausalya burst out, 'O my son, my son!'--and fell down senseless on the ground. And seeing her down the citizens and the inhabitants of the provinces began to wail from grief and affection for their king. And the birds of the air and the beasts of the field were touched by the lamentations of Kunti. And Bhishma, the son of Santanu, and the wise Vidura, and the others also that were there, became disconsolate.

"Thus weeping, Bhishma, Vidura, Dhritarashtra, the Pandavas and the Kuru ladies, all performed the watery ceremony of the king. And when all this was over, the people, themselves filled with sorrow, began to console the bereaved sons of Pandu. And the Pandavas with their friends began to sleep on the ground. Seeing this the Brahmanas and the other citizens also renounced their beds. Young and old, all the citizens grieved on account of the sons of king Pandu, and passed twelve days in mourning with the weeping Pandavas.'"

SECTION 128

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then Bhishma and Kunti with their friends celebrated the Sraddha of the deceased monarch, and offered the Pinda. And they feasted the Kauravas and thousands of Brahmanas unto whom they also gave gems and lands. Then the citizens returned to Hastinapura with the sons of Pandu, now that they had been cleansed from the impurity incident to the demise of their father. All then fell to weeping for the departed king. It seemed as if they had lost one of their own kin.

"When the Sraddha had been celebrated in the manner mentioned above, the venerable Vyasa, seeing all the subjects sunk in grief, said one day to his mother Satyavati, 'Mother, our days of happiness have gone by and days of calamity have succeeded. Sin beginneth to increase day by day. The world hath got old. The empire of the Kauravas will no longer endure because of wrong and oppression. Go thou then into the forest, and devote thyself to contemplation through Yoga. Henceforth society will be filled with deceit and wrong. Good work will cease. Do not witness the annihilation of thy race, in thy old age.'

"Acquiescing in the words of Vyasa, Satyavati entered the inner apartments and addressed her daughter-in-law, saying, 'O Ambika, I hear that in consequence of the deeds of your grandsons, this Bharata dynasty and its subjects will perish. If thou permit, I would go to the forest with Kausalya, so grieved at the loss of her son.' O king, saying this the queen, taking the permission of Bhishma also, went to the forest. And arriving there with her two daughters-in-law, she became engaged in profound contemplation, and in good time leaving her body ascended to heaven.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then the sons of king Pandu, having gone through all the purifying rites prescribed in the Vedas, began to grow up in princely style in the home of their father. Whenever they were engaged in play with the sons of Dhritarashtra, their superiority of strength became marked. In speed, in striking the objects aimed at, in consuming articles of food, and scattering dust, Bhimasena beat all the sons of Dhritarashtra. The son of the Wind-god pulled them by the hair and made them fight with one another, laughing all the while. And Vrikodara easily defeated those hundred and one children of great energy as if they were one instead of being a hundred and one. The second Pandava used to seize them by the hair, and throwing them down, to drag them along the earth. By this, some had their knees broken, some their heads, and some their shoulders. That youth, sometimes holding ten of them, drowned them in water, till they were nearly dead. When the sons of Dhritarashtra got up to the boughs of a tree for plucking fruits, Bhima used to shake that tree, by striking it with his foot, so that down came the fruits and the fruitpluckers at the same time. In fact, those princes were no match for Bhima in pugilistic encounters, in speed, or in skill. Bhima used to make a display of his strength by thus tormenting them in childishness but not from malice.

"Seeing these wonderful exhibitions of the might of Bhima, the powerful Duryodhana, the eldest son of Dhritarashtra, began to conceive hostility towards him. And the wicked and unrighteous Duryodhana, through ignorance and ambition, prepared himself for an act of sin. He thought, 'There is no other individual who can compare with Bhima, the second son of Pandu, in point of prowess. I shall have to destroy him by artifice. Singly, Bhima dares a century of us to the combat. Therefore, when he shall sleep in the garden, I shall throw him into the current of the Ganga. Afterwards, confining his eldest brother Yudhishthira and his younger brother Arjuna, I shall reign sole king without molestation.' Determined thus, the wicked Duryodhana was ever on the watch to find out an opportunity for injuring Bhima. And, O Bharata, at length at a beautiful place called Pramanakoti on the banks of the Ganga, he built a palace decorated with hangings of broad-cloth and other rich stuffs. And he built this palace for sporting in the water there, and filled it with all kinds of entertaining things and choice viands. Gay flags waved on the top of this mansion. The name of the house was 'the water-sport house.' Skilful cooks prepared various kinds of viands. When all was ready, the officers gave intimation to Duryodhana. Then the evil-minded prince said unto the Pandavas, 'Let us all go to the banks of the Ganga graced with trees and crowned with flowers and sport there in the water.' And upon Yudhishthira agreeing to this, the sons of Dhritarashtra, taking the Pandavas with them, mounted country-born elephants of great size and cars resembling towns, and left the metropolis.

"On arriving at the place, the princes dismissed their attendants, and surveying the beauty of the gardens and the groves, entered the palace, like lions entering their mountain caves. On entering they saw that the architects had handsomely plastered the walls and the ceilings and that painters had painted them beautifully. The windows looked very graceful, and the artificial fountains were splendid. Here and there were tanks of pellucid water in which bloomed forests of lotuses. The banks were decked with various flowers whose fragrance filled the atmosphere. The Kauravas and the Pandavas sat down and began to enjoy the things provided for them. They became engaged in play and began to exchange morsels of food with one another. Meanwhile the wicked Duryodhana had mixed a powerful poison with a quantity of food, with the object of making away with Bhima. That wicked youth who had nectar in his tongue and a razor in his heart, rose at length, and in a friendly way fed Bhima largely with that poisoned food, and thinking himself lucky in having compassed his end, was exceedingly glad at heart. Then the sons of Dhritarashtra and Pandu together became cheerfully engaged in sporting in the water. Their sport having been finished, they dressed themselves in white habiliments, and decked themselves with various ornaments. Fatigued with play, they felt inclined in the evening to rest in the pleasurehouse belonging to the garden. Having made the other youths take exercise in the waters, the powerful second Pandava was excessively fatigued. So that on rising from the water, he lay down on the ground. He was weary and under the influence of the poison. And the cool air served to spread the poison over all his frame, so that he lost his senses at once. Seeing this Duryodhana bound him with chords of shrubs, and threw him into the water. The insensible son of Pandu sank down till he reached the Naga kingdom. Nagas, furnished with fangs containing virulent venom, bit him by thousands. The vegetable poison, mingled in the blood of the son of the Wind god, was neutralised by the snake-poison. The serpents had bitten all over his frame, except his chest, the skin of which was so tough that their fangs could not penetrate it.

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"On regaining consciousness, the son of Kunti burst his bands and began to press the snakes down under the ground. A remnant fled for life, and going to their king Vasuki, represented, 'O king of snakes, a man drowned under the water, bound in chords of shrubs; probably he had drunk poison. For when he fell amongst us, he was insensible. But when we began to bite him, he regained his senses, and bursting his fetters, commenced laying at us. May it please Your Majesty to enquire who is.'

"Then Vasuki, in accordance with the prayer of the inferior Nagas, went to the place and saw Bhimasena. Of the serpents, there was one, named Aryaka. He was the grandfather of the father of Kunti. The lord of serpents saw his relative and embraced him. Then, Vasuki, learning all, was pleased with Bhima, and said to Aryaka with satisfaction, 'How are we to please him? Let him have money and gems in profusion."

"On hearing the words of Vasuki, Aryaka said, 'O king of serpents, when Your Majesty is pleased with him, no need of wealth for him! Permit him to drink of rasakunda (nectar-vessels) and thus acquire immeasurable strength. There is the strength of a thousand elephants in each one of those vessels. Let this prince drink as much as he can.'

"The king of serpents gave his consent. And the serpents thereupon began auspicious rites. Then purifying himself carefully, Bhimasena facing the east began to drink nectar. At one breath, he quaffed off the contents of a whole vessel, and in this manner drained off eight successive jars, till he was full. At length, the serpents prepared an excellent bed for him, on which he lay down at ease.'"

SECTION 129

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Meanwhile the Kauravas and the Pandavas, after having thus sported there, set out, without Bhima, for Hastinapura, some on horses, some on elephants, while others preferred cars and other conveyances. And on their way they said to one another, 'Perhaps, Bhima hath gone before us.' And the wicked Duryodhana was glad at heart to miss Bhima, and entered the city with his brothers in joy.

"The virtuous Yudhishthira, himself unacquainted with vice and wickedness, regarded others to be as honest as himself. The eldest son of Pritha, filled with fraternal love, going unto his mother, said, after making obeisance to her, 'O mother, hath Bhima come? O good mother, I don't find him here. Where may he have gone? We long sought for him everywhere in the gardens and the beautiful woods; but found him nowhere. At length, we thought that the heroic Bhima preceded us all. O illustrious dame, we came hither in great anxiety. Arrived here, where hath he gone? Have you sent him anywhere? O tell me, I am full of doubts respecting the mighty Bhima. He had been asleep and hath not come. I conclude he is no more.'

"Hearing these words of the highly intelligent Yudhishthira, Kunti shrieked, in alarm, and said, 'Dear son, I have not seen Bhima. He did not come to me. O, return in haste, and with your brothers search for him.'

"Having said this in affliction to her eldest son, she summoned Vidura, and said, 'O illustrious Kshattri, Bhimasena is missing! Where has he gone? The other brothers have all come back from the gardens, only Bhima of mighty arms does not come home! Duryodhana likes him not. The Kaurava is crooked and malicious and low-minded and imprudent. He coveteth the throne openly. I am afraid he may have in a fit of anger slain my darling. This afflicts me sorely, indeed, it burns my heart.'

"Vidura replied, 'Blessed dame, say not so! Protect thy other sons with care. If the wicked Duryodhana be accused, he may slay thy remaining sons. The great sage hath said that all thy sons will be long-lived. Therefore, Bhima will surely return and gladden thy heart.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'The wise Vidura, having said this unto Kunti, returned to his abode, while Kunti, in great anxiety, continued to stay at home with her children.

"Meanwhile, Bhimasena awoke from that slumber on the eighth day, and felt strong beyond measure in consequence of the nectar he had taken having been all digested. Seeing him awake, the Nagas began to console and cheer him, saying, 'O thou of mighty arms, the strength-giving liquor thou hast drunk will give thee the might of ten thousand elephants! No one now will be able to vanquish thee in fight. O bull of Kuru's race, do thou bath in this holy and auspicious water and return home. Thy brothers are disconsolate because of thee.'

"Then Bhima purified himself with a bath in those waters, and decked in white robes and flowery garlands of the same hue, ate of the paramanna (rice and sugar pudding) offered to him by the Nagas. Then that oppressor of all foes, decked in celestial ornaments, received the adorations and blessings of the snakes, and saluting them in return, rose from the nether region. Bearing up the lotus-eyed Pandava from under the waters, the Nagas placed him in the selfsame gardens wherein he had been sporting, and vanished in his very sight.

"The mighty Bhimasena, arrived on the surface of the earth, ran with speed to his mother. And bowing down unto her and his eldest brother, and smelling the heads of his younger brothers, that oppressor of all foes was himself embraced by his mother and every one of those bulls among men. Affectionate unto one another, they all repeatedly exclaimed, 'What is our joy today, O what joy!'

'Then Bhima, endued with great strength and prowess, related to his brothers everything about the villainy of Duryodhana, and the lucky and unlucky incidents that had befallen him in the world of the Serpents. Thereupon Yudhishthira said, 'Do thou observe silence on this. Do not speak of this to any one. From this day, protect ye all one another with care.' Thus cautioned by the righteous Yudhishthira, they all, with Yudhishthira himself, became very vigilant from that day. And lest negligence might occur on the part of the sons of Kunti, Vidura continually offered them sage advice.

"Some time after, Duryodhana again mixed in the food of Bhima a poison that was fresh, virulent, and very deadly. But Yuyutsu (Dhritarashtra's son by a Vaisya wife), moved by his friendship for the Pandavas, informed them of this. Vrikodara, however, swallowed it without any hesitation, and digested it completely. And, though virulent the poison produced no effects on Bhima.

"When that terrible poison intended for the destruction of Bhima failed of its effect, Duryodhana. Karna and Sakuni, without giving up their wicked design had recourse to numerous other contrivances for accomplishing the death of the Pandavas. And though every one of these contrivances was fully known to the Pandavas, yet in accordance with the advice of Vidura they suppressed their indignation.

"Meanwhile, the king (Dhritarashtra), beholding the Kuru princes passing their time in idleness and growing naughty, appointed Gautama as their preceptor and sent them unto him for instruction. Born among a clump of heath, Gautama was well-skilled in the Vedas and it was under him (also called Kripa) that the Kuru princes began to learn the use of arms.'"

SECTION 130

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Janamejaya said, 'O Brahmana, it behoveth thee to relate to me everything about the birth of Kripa. How did he spring from a clump of heath? Whence also did he obtain his weapons?'

"Vaisampayana said, 'O king, the great sage Gautama had a son named Saradwat. This Saradwat was born with arrows (in hand). O oppressor of foes, the son of Gautama exhibited great aptitude for the study of the science of weapons, but none for the other sciences. Saradwat acquired all his weapons by those austerities by which Brahmanas in student life acquire the knowledge of Vedas. Gautama (the son of Gotama) by his aptitude for the science of weapons and by his austerities made Indra himself greatly afraid of him. Then, O thou of Kuru's race, the chief of the gods summoned a celestial damsel named Janapadi and sent her unto Gautama, saying, 'Do thy best to disturb the austerities of Gautama.' Repairing unto the charming asylum of Saradwat, the damsel began to tempt the ascetic equipped with bow and arrows. Beholding that Apsara, of figure unrivalled on earth for beauty, alone in those woods and clad in a single piece of cloth, Saradwat's eyes expanded with delight. At the sight of the damsel, his bow and arrows slipped from his hand and his frame shook all over with emotion; but possessed of ascetic fortitude and strength of soul, the sage mustered sufficient patience to bear up against the temptation. The suddenness, however, of his mental agitation, caused an unconscious emission of his vital fluid. Leaving his bow and arrows and deer-skin behind, he went away, flying from the Apsara. His vital fluid, however, having fallen upon a clump of heath, was divided into two parts, whence sprang two children that were twins.

"And it happened that a soldier in attendance upon king Santanu while the monarch was out a-hunting in the woods, came upon the twins. And seeing the bow and arrows and deer-skin on the ground, he thought they might be the offspring of some Brahmana proficient in the science of arms. Deciding thus, he took up the children along with the bow and arrows, and showed what he had to the king. Beholding them the king was moved with pity, and saying, 'Let these become my children,' brought them to his palace. Then that first of men, Santanu, the son of Pratipa having brought Gautama's twins into his house, performed in respect of them the usual rites of religion. And he began to bring them up and called them Kripa and Kripi, in allusion to the fact that he brought them up from motives of pity (Kripa). The son of Gotama having left his former asylum, continued his study of the science of arms in right earnest. By his spiritual insight he learnt that his son and daughter were in the palace of Santanu. He thereupon went to the monarch and represented everything about his lineage. He then taught Kripa the four branches of the science of arms, and various other branches of knowledge, including all their mysteries and recondite details. In a short time Kripa became an eminent professor of the science (of arms). And the hundred sons of Dhritarashtra, and the Pandavas along with the Yadavas, and the Vrishnis, and many other princes from various lands, began to receive lessons from him in that science.'"

SECTION 131

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Desirous of giving his grandsons a superior education, Bhishma was on the look-out for a teacher endued with energy and well-skilled in the science of arms. Deciding, O chief of the Bharatas, that none who was not possessed of great intelligence, none who was not illustrious or a perfect master of the science of arms, none who was not of godlike might, should be the instructor of the Kuru (princes), the son of Ganga, O tiger among men, placed the Pandavas and the Kauravas under the tuition of Bharadwaja's son, the intelligent Drona skilled in all the Vedas. Pleased with the reception given him by the great Bhishma, that foremost of all men skilled in arms, viz., illustrious Drona of world-wide fame, accepted the princes as his pupils. And Drona taught them the science of arms in all its branches. And, O monarch, both the Kauravas and the Pandavas endued with immeasurable strength, in a short time became proficient in the use of all kinds of arms.'

"Janamejaya asked, 'O Brahmana, how was Drona born? How and whence did he acquire his arms? How and why came he unto the Kurus? Whose son also was he endued with such energy? Again, how was his son Aswatthaman, the foremost of all skilled in arms born? I wish to hear all this! Please recite them in detail.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'There dwelt at the source of the Ganga, a great sage named Bharadwaja, ceaselessly observing the most rigid vows. One day, of old, intending to celebrate the Agnihotra sacrifice he went along with many great Rishis to the Ganga to perform his ablutions. Arrived at the bank of the stream, he saw Ghritachi herself, that Apsara endued with youth and beauty, who had gone there a little before. With an expression of pride in her countenance, mixed with a voluptuous languor of attitude, the damsel rose from the water after her ablutions were over. And as she was gently treading on the bank, her attire which was loose became disordered. Seeing her attire disordered, the sage was smitten with burning desire. The next moment his vital fluid came out, in consequence of the violence of his emotion. The Rishi immediately held it in a vessel called a drona. Then, O king, Drona sprang from the fluid thus preserved in that vessel by the wise Bharadwaja. And the child thus born studied all the Vedas and their branches. Before now Bharadwaja of great prowess and the foremost of those possessing a knowledge of arms, had communicated to the illustrious Agnivesa, a knowledge of the weapon called Agneya. O foremost one of Bharata's race, the Rishi (Agnivesa) sprung from fire now communicated the knowledge of that great weapon to Drona the son of his preceptor.

"There was a king named Prishata who was a great friend of Bharadwaja. About this time Prishata had a son born unto him, named Drupada. And that bull among Kshatriyas, viz., Drupada, the son of Prishata, used every day to come to the hermitage of Bharadwaja to play with Drona and study in his company. O monarch, when Prishata was dead, this Drupada of mighty arms became the king of the northern Panchalas. About this time the illustrious Bharadwaja also ascended to heaven. Drona continuing to reside in his father's hermitage devoted himself to ascetic austerities. Having become well-versed in the Vedas and their branches and having burnt also all his sins by asceticism, the celebrated Drona, obedient to the injunctions of his father and moved by the desire of offspring married Kripi, the daughter of Saradwat. And this woman, ever engaged in virtuous acts and the Agnihotra, and the austerest of penances, obtained a son named Aswatthaman. And as soon as Aswatthaman was born, he neighed like the (celestial) steed Ucchaihsravas. Hearing that cry, an invisible being in the skies said, 'The voice of this child hath, like the neighing of a horse, been audible all around. The child shall, therefore, be known by the name of Aswatthaman, (the horse-voiced). The son of Bharadwaja (Drona) was exceedingly glad at having obtained that child. Continuing to reside in that hermitage he devoted himself to the study of the science of arms.

"O king, it was about this time that Drona heard that the illustrious Brahmana Jamadagnya, that slayer of foes, that foremost one among all wielders of weapons, versed in all kinds of knowledge, had expressed a desire of giving away all his wealth to Brahmanas. Having heard of Rama's knowledge of arms and of his celestial weapons also, Drona set his heart upon them as also upon the knowledge of morality that Rama possessed. Then Drona of mighty arms, endued with high ascetic virtues, accompanied by disciples who were all devoted to vows ascetic austerities, set out for the Mahendra mountains. Arrived at Mahendra, the son of Bharadwaja possessed of high ascetic merit, beheld the son of Bhrigu, the exterminator of all foes, endued with great patience and with mind under complete control. Then, approaching with his disciples that scion of the Bhrigu race Drona, giving him his name, told him of his birth in the line of Angiras. And

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touching the ground with his head, he worshipped Rama's feet. And beholding the illustrious son of Jamadagni intent upon retiring into the woods after having given away all his wealth, Drona said, 'Know me to have sprung from Bharadwaja, but not in any woman's womb! I am a Brahmana of high birth, Drona by name, come to thee with the desire of obtaining thy wealth.'

"On hearing him, that illustrious grinder of the Kshatriya race replied, Thou art welcome, O best of regenerate ones! Tell me what thou desirest. Thus addressed by Rama, the son of Bharadwaja replied unto that foremost of all smiters, desirous of giving away the whole of his wealth, 'O thou of multifarious vows, I am a candidate for thy eternal wealth,' 'O thou of ascetic wealth, returned Rama, 'My gold and whatever other wealth I had, have all been given away unto Brahmanas! This earth also, to the verge of the sea, decked with towns and cities, as with a garland of flowers, I have given unto Kasyapa. I have now my body only and my various valuable weapons left. I am prepared to give either my body or my weapons. Say, which thou wouldst have! I would give it thee! Say quickly!'

"Drona answered, O son of Bhrigu, it behoveth thee to give me all thy weapons together with the mysteries of hurling and recalling them.'

"Saying, 'So be it,' the son of Bhrigu gave all his weapons unto Drona,--indeed, the whole science of arms with its rules and mysteries. Accepting them all, and thinking himself amply rewarded that best of Brahmanas then, glad at heart, set out, for (the city of) his friend Drupada.'"

SECTION 132

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then, O king, the mighty son of Bharadyaja presented himself before Drupada, and addressing that monarch, said, 'Know me for thy friend.' Thus addressed by his friend, the son of Bharadwaja, with a joyous heart, the lord of the Panchalas was ill-able to bear that speech. The king, intoxicated with the pride of wealth, contracted his brows in wrath, and with reddened eyes spake these words unto Drona, 'O Brahmana, thy intelligence is scarcely of a high order, inasmuch as thou sayest unto me, all on a sudden, that thou art my friend! O thou of dull apprehension, great kings can never be friends with such luckless and indigent wights as thou! It is true there had been friendship between thee and me before, for we were then both equally circumstanced. But Time that impaireth everything in its course, impaireth friendship also. In this world, friendship never endureth for ever in any heart. Time weareth it off and anger destroyeth it too. Do not stick, therefore, to that worn-off friendship. Think not of it any longer. The friendship I had with thee, O first of Brahmanas, was for a particular purpose. Friendship can never subsist between a poor man and a rich man, between a man of letters and an unlettered mind, between a hero and a coward. Why dost thou desire the continuance of our former friendship? There may be friendship or hostility between persons equally situated as to wealth or might. The indigent and the affluent can neither be friends nor quarrel with each other. One of impure birth can never be a friend to one of pure birth; one who is not a car-warrior can never be a friend to one who is so; and one who is not a king never have a king for his friend. Therefore, why dost thou desire the continuance of our former friendship?'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed by Drupada, the mighty son of Bharadwaja became filled with wrath, and reflecting for a moment, made up his mind as to his course of action. Seeing the insolence of the Panchala king, he wished to check it effectually. Hastily leaving the Panchala capital Drona bent his steps towards the capital of the Kurus, named after the elephant.'"

SECTION 133

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Arrived at Hastinapura, that best of Brahmanas, the son of Bharadwaja, continued to live privately in the house of Gautama (Kripa). His mighty son (Aswatthaman) at intervals of Kripa's teaching, used to give the sons of Kunti lessons in the use of arms. But as yet none knew of Aswatthaman's prowess.

"Drona had thus lived privately for some time in the house of Kripa when one day the heroic princes, all in a company, came out of Hastinapura. And coming out of the city, they began to play with a ball and roam about in gladness of heart. And it so happened that the ball with which they had been playing fell into a well. And thereupon the princes strove their best to recover it from the well. But all the efforts the princes made to recover it proved futile. They then began to eye one another bashfully, and not knowing how to recover it, their anxiety became great. Just at this time they beheld a Brahmana near enough unto them, of darkish hue, decrepit and lean, sanctified by the performance of the Agnihotra and who had finished his daily rites of worship. And beholding that illustrious Brahmana, the princes who had despaired of success surrounded him immediately. Drona (for that Brahmana was no other), seeing the princes unsuccessful, and conscious of his own skill, smiled a little, and addressing them said, 'Shame on your Kshatriya might, and shame also on your skill in arms! You have been born in the race of Bharata! How is it that ye cannot recover the ball (from the bottom of this well)? If ye promise me a dinner today, I will, with these blades of grass, bring up not only the ball ye have lost but this ring also that I now throw down!' Thus saying, Drona that oppressor of foes, taking off his ring, threw it down into the dry well. Then Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, addressing Drona, said, 'O Brahmana (thou askest for a trifle)! Do thou, with Kripa's permission, obtain of us that which would last thee for life!' Thus addressed, Drona with smiles replied unto the Bharata princes, saying, 'This handful of long grass I would invest, by my mantras, with the virtue of weapons. Behold these blades possess virtues that other weapons, have not! I will, with one of these blades, pierce the ball, and then pierce that blade with another, and that another with a third, and thus shall I, by a chain, bring up the ball.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then Drona did exactly what he had said. And the princes were all amazed and their eyes expanded with delight. And regarding what they had witnessed to be very extraordinary, they said, O learned Brahmana, do thou bring up the ring also without loss of time.'

"Then the illustrious Drona, taking a bow with an arrow, pierced the ring with that arrow and brought it up at once. And taking the ring thus brought up from the well still pierced with his arrow, he coolly gave it to the astonished princes. Then the latter, seeing the ring thus recovered, said, 'We bow to thee, O Brahmana! None else owneth such skill. We long to know who thou art and whose son. What also can we do for thee?'

"Thus addressed, Drona replied unto the princes, saying, 'Do ye repair unto Bhishma and describe to him my likeness and skill. The mighty one will recognize me.' The princes then saying, 'So be it,' repaired unto Bhishma and telling him of the purport of that Brahmana's speech, related everything about his (extraordinary) feat. Hearing everything from the princes, Bhishma at once understood that the Brahmana was none else than Drona, and thinking that he would make the best preceptor for the princes, went in person unto him and welcoming him respectfully, brought him over to the place. Then Bhishma, that foremost of all wielders of arms, adroitly asked him the cause of his arrival at Hastinapura. Asked by him, Drona represented everything as it had happened, saying, 'O sir, in times past I went to the great Rishi Agnivesa for obtaining from him his weapons, desirous also of learning the science of arms. Devoted to the service of my preceptor, I lived with him for many years in the humble guise of a Brahmacharin, with matted locks on my head. At that time, actuated by the same motives, the prince of Panchala, the mighty Yajnasena, also lived in the same asylum. He became my friend, always seeking my welfare. I liked him much. Indeed, we lived together for many, many years. O thou of Kuru's race, from our earliest years we had studied together and, indeed, he was my friend from boyhood, always speaking and doing what was agreeable to me. For gratifying me, O Bhishma, he used to tell me, 'O Drona, I am the favourite child of my illustrious father. When the king installeth me as monarch of the Panchalas, the kingdom shall be thine. O friend, this, indeed, is my solemn promise. My dominion, wealth and happiness, shall all be dependent on thee.' At last the time came for his departure. Having finished his studies, he bent his steps towards his country. I offered him my regards at the time, and, indeed, I remembered his words ever afterwards.

"Some time after, in obedience to the injunctions of my father and tempted also by the desire of offspring, I married Kripi of short hair, who gifted with great intelligence, had observed many rigid vows, and was ever engaged in the Agnihotra and other sacrifices and rigid austerities. Gautami, in time, gave birth to a son named Aswatthaman of great prowess and equal in splendour unto the Sun himself. Indeed, I was pleased on having obtained Aswatthaman as much as my father had been on obtaining me.

"And it so happened that one day the child Aswatthaman observing some rich men's sons drink milk, began to cry. At this I was so beside myself that I lost all knowledge of the point of the compass. Instead of asking him who had only a few kine (so that if he gave me one, he would no longer be able to perform his sacrifices and thus sustain a loss of virtue), I was desirous of obtaining a cow from one who had many, and for that I wandered from country to country. But my wanderings proved unsuccessful, for I failed to obtain a milch cow. After I had come back unsuccessful, some of my son's playmates gave him water mixed with powdered rice. Drinking this, the poor boy, was deceived into the belief that he had taken milk, and began to dance in joy, saying, 'O, I have taken milk. I have taken milk!' Beholding him dance with joy amid these playmates smiling at his simplicity, I was exceedingly touched. Hearing also the derisive speeches of busy-bodies who said, 'Fie upon the indigent Drona, who strives not to earn wealth, whose son drinking water mixed with powdered rice mistaketh it for milk and danceth with joy, saying, 'I have taken milk,--I have taken milk!'--I was quite beside myself. Reproaching myself much, I at last resolved that even if I should have to live cast off and censured by Brahmanas, I would not yet, from desire of wealth, be anybody's servant, which is ever hateful. Thus resolved, O Bhishma, I went, for former friendship, unto the king of the Somakas, taking with me my dear child and wife. Hearing that he had been installed in the sovereignty (of the Somakas), I regarded myself as blessed beyond compare. Joyfully I went unto that dear friend of mine seated on the throne, remembering my former friendship with him and also his own words to me. And, O illustrious one, approaching Drupada, I said, 'O tiger among men, know me for thy friend!'--Saying this, I approached him confidently as a friend should. But Drupada, laughing in derision cast me off as if I were a vulgar fellow. Addressing me he said, 'Thy intelligence scarcely seemeth to be of a high order inasmuch as approaching me suddenly, thou sayest thou art my friend! Time that impaireth everything, impaireth friendship also. My former friendship with thee was for a particular purpose. One of impure birth can never be a friend of one who is of pure birth. One who is not a car-warrior can never be a friend of one who is such. Friendship can only subsist between persons that are of equal rank, but not between those that are unequally situated. Friendship never subsisteth for ever in my heart. Time impaireth friendships, as also anger destroyeth them. Do thou not stick, therefore, to that worn-off friendship between us. Think not of it any longer. The friendship I had with thee, O best of Brahmanas, was for a special purpose. There cannot be friendship between a poor man and a rich man, between an unlettered hind and a man of letters, between a coward and a hero. Why dost thou, therefore, desire, the revival of our former friendship? O thou of simple understanding, great kings can never have friendship with such indigent and luckless wight as thou? One who is not a king can never have a king for his friend. I do not remember ever having promised thee my kingdom. But, O Brahmana, I can now give thee food and shelter for one night.'--Thus addressed by him, I left his presence quickly with my wife, vowing to do that which I will certainly do soon enough. Thus insulted by Drupada, O Bhishma, I have been filled with wrath, I have come to the Kurus, desirous of obtaining intelligent and docile pupils. I come to Hastinapura to gratify thy wishes. O, tell me what I am to do.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed by the son of Bharadwaja, Bhishma said unto him, 'String thy bow, O Brahmana, and make the Kuru princes accomplished in arms. Worshipped by the Kurus, enjoy with a glad heart to thy fill every comfort in their abode. Thou art the absolute lord, O Brahmana, of what ever wealth the Kurus have and of their sovereignty and kingdom! The Kurus are thine (from this day). Think that as already accomplished which may be in thy heart. Thou art, O Brahmana, obtained by us as the fruit of our great good luck. Indeed, the favour thou hast conferred upon me by thy arrival is great.'

SECTION 134

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Thus worshipped by Bhishma, Drona, that first of men, endued with great energy, took up his quarters in the abode of the Kurus and continued to live there, receiving their adorations. After he had rested a while, Bhishma, taking with him his grandsons, the Kaurava princes, gave them unto him as pupils, making at the same time many valuable presents. And the mighty one (Bhishma) also joyfully gave unto the son of Bharadwaja a house that was tidy and neat and well-filled with paddy and every kind of wealth. And that first of archers, Drona, thereupon joyfully, accepted the Kauravas, viz., the sons of Pandu and Dhritarashtra, as his pupils. And having accepted them all as his pupils, one day Drona called them apart and making them touch his feet, said to them with a swelling heart, 'I have in my heart a particular purpose. Promise me truly, ye sinless ones, that when ye have become skilled in arms, ye will accomplish it.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words, the Kuru princes remained silent. But Arjuna, O king, vowed to accomplish it whatever it was. Drona then cheerfully clasped Arjuna to his bosom and took the scent of his head repeatedly, shedding tears of joy all the while. Then Drona endued with great prowess taught the sons of Pandu (the use of) many weapons both celestial and human. And, O bull of the Bharata race, many other princes also flocked to that best of Brahmanas for instruction in arms. The Vrishnis and the Andhakas, and princes from various lands, and the (adopted) son of Radha of the Suta caste, (Karna), all became pupils of Drona. But of them all, the Suta child Karna, from jealousy, frequently defied Arjuna, and supported by Duryodhana, used to disregard the Pandavas. Arjuna, however, from devotion to the science of arms, always stayed by the side of his preceptor, and in skill, strength of arms, and perseverance, excelled all (his class-fellows). Indeed, although the instruction the preceptor gave, was the same in the case of all, yet in lightness and skill Arjuna became the foremost of all his fellow-pupils. And Drona was convinced that none of his

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pupils would (at any time) be able to be equal to that son of Indra.

"Thus Drona continued giving lessons to the princes in the science of weapons. And while he gave unto every one of his pupils a narrow-mouthed vessel (for fetching water) in order that much time may be spent in filling them, he gave unto his own son Aswatthaman a broad-mouthed vessel, so that, filling it quickly, he might return soon enough. And in the intervals so gained, Drona used to instruct his own son in several superior methods (of using weapons). Jishnu (Arjuna) came to know of this, and thereupon filling his narrow-mouthed vessel with water by means of the Varuna weapon he used to come unto his preceptor at the same time with his preceptor's son. And accordingly the intelligent son of Pritha, that foremost of all men possessing a knowledge of weapons, had no inferiority to his preceptor's son in respect of excellence. Arjuna's devotion to the service of his preceptor as also to arms was very great and he soon became the favourite of his preceptor. And Drona, beholding his pupil's devotion to arms, summoned the cook, and told him in secret, 'Never give Arjuna his food in the dark, nor tell him that I have told thee this.' A few days after, however, when Arjuna was taking his food, a wind arose, and thereupon the lamp that had been burning went out. But Arjuna, endued with energy, continued eating in the dark, his hand, from habit, going to his mouth. His attention being thus called to the force of habit, the strong-armed son of Pandu set his heart upon practising with his bow in the night. And, O Bharata, Drona, hearing the twang of his bowstring in the night, came to him, and clasping him, said, 'Truly do I tell thee that I shall do that unto thee by which there shall not be an archer equal to thee in this world.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thereafter Drona began to teach Arjuna the art of fighting on horse-back, on the back of elephants, on car, and on the ground. And the mighty Drona also instructed Arjuna in fighting with the mace, the sword, the lance, the spear, and the dart. And he also instructed him in using many weapons and fighting with many men at the same time. And hearing reports of his skill, kings and princes, desirous of learning the science of arms, flocked to Drona by thousands. Amongst those that came there, O monarch, was a prince named Ekalavya, who was the son of Hiranyadhanus, king of the Nishadas (the lowest of the mixed orders). Drona, however, cognisant of all rules of morality, accepted not the prince as his pupil in archery, seeing that he was a Nishada who might (in time) excel all his high-born pupils. But, O oppressor of all enemies, the Nishada prince, touching Drona's feet with bent head, wended his way into the forest, and there he made a clay-image of Drona, and began to worship it respectfully, as if it was his real preceptor, and practised weapons before it with the most rigid regularity. In consequence of his exceptional reverence for his preceptor and his devotion to his purpose, all the three processes of fixing arrows on the bowstring, aiming, and letting off became very easy for him.

"And one day, O grinder of foes, the Kuru and the Pandava princes, with Drona's leave, set out in their cars on a hunting excursion. A servant, O king, followed the party at leisure, with the usual implements and a dog. Having come to the woods, they wandered about, intent on the purpose they had in view. Meanwhile, the dog also, in wandering alone in the woods, came upon the Nishada prince (Ekalavya). And beholding the Nishada of dark hue, of body besmeared with filth, dressed in black and bearing matted locks on head, the dog began to bark aloud.

"Thereupon the Nishada prince, desirous of exhibiting his lightness of hand, sent seven arrows into its mouth (before it could shut it). The dog, thus pierced with seven arrows, came back to the Pandavas. Those heroes, who beheld that sight, were filled with wonder, and, ashamed of their own skill, began to praise the lightness of hand and precision of aim by auricular precision (exhibited by the unknown archer). And they thereupon began to seek in those woods for the unknown dweller therein that had shown such skill. And, O king, the Pandavas soon found out the object of their search ceaselessly discharging arrows from the bow. And beholding that man of grim visage, who was totally a stranger to them, they asked, 'Who art thou and whose son?' Thus questioned, the man replied, 'Ye heroes, I am the son of Hiranyadhanus, king of the Nishadas. Know me also for a pupil of Drona, labouring for the mastery of the art of arms.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'The Pandavas then, having made themselves acquainted with everything connected with him, returned (to the city), and going unto Drona, told him of that wonderful feat of archery which they had witnessed in the woods. Arjuna, in particular, thinking all the while, O king, Ekalavya, saw Drona in private and relying upon his preceptor's affection for him, said, 'Thou hadst lovingly told me, clasping me, to thy bosom, that no pupil of thine should be equal to me. Why then is there a pupil of thine, the mighty son of the Nishada king, superior to me?'"

'Vaisampayana continued, 'On hearing these words, Drona reflected for a moment, and resolving upon the course of action he should follow, took Arjuna with him and went unto the Nishada prince. And he beheld Ekalavya with body besmeared with filth, matted locks (on head), clad in rags, bearing a bow in hand and ceaselessly shooting arrows therefrom. And when Ekalavya saw Drona approaching towards him, he went a few steps forward, and touched his feet and prostrated himself on the ground. And the son of the Nishada king worshipping Drona, duly represented himself as his pupil, and clasping his hands in reverence stood before him (awaiting his commands). Then Drona, O king, addressed Ekalavya, saying, 'If, O hero, thou art really my pupil, give me then my fees.' On hearing these words, Ekalavya was very much gratified, and said in reply, 'O illustrious preceptor, what shall I give? Command me; for there is nothing, O foremost of all persons conversant with the Vedas, that I may not give unto my preceptor.' Drona answered, 'O Ekalavya, if thou art really intent on making me a gift, I should like then to have the thumb of thy right hand.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these cruel words of Drona, who had asked of him his thumb as tuition-fee, Ekalavya, ever devoted to truth and desirous also of keeping his promise, with a cheerful face and an unafflicted heart cut off without ado his thumb, and gave it unto Drona. After this, when the Nishada prince began once more to shoot with the help of his remaining fingers, he found, O king, that he had lost his former lightness of hand. And at this Arjuna became happy, the fever (of jealousy) having left him.

"Two of Drona's pupils became very much accomplished in the use of mace. These were Druvodhana and Bhima, who were, however, always jealous of each other. Aswatthaman excelled everyone (in the mysteries of the science of arms). The twins (Nakula and Sahadeva) excelled everybody in handling the sword. Yudhishthira surpassed everybody as a car-warrior; but Arjuna, however, outdistanced everyone in every respect--in intelligence, resourcefulness, strength and perseverance. Accomplished in all weapons, Arjuna became the foremost of even the foremost of car-warriors; and his fame spread all over the earth to the verge of the sea. And although the instruction was the same, the mighty Arjuna excelled all (the princes in lightness of hand). Indeed, in weapons as in devotion to his preceptor, he became the foremost of them all. And amongst all the princes, Arjuna alone became an Atiratha (a car-warrior capable of fighting at one time with sixty thousand foes). And the wicked sons of Dhritarashtra, beholding Bhimasena endued with great strength and Arjuna accomplished in all arms, became very jealous of them.

"O bull among men, one day Drona desirous of testing the comparative excellence of all his pupils in the use of arms, collected them all together after their education had been completed. And before assembling them together, he had caused an artificial bird, as the would be aim, to be placed on the top of a neighbouring tree. And when they were all together, Drona said unto them, 'Take up your bows quickly and stand here aiming at that bird on the tree, with arrows fixed on your bowstrings; shoot and cut off the bird's head, as soon as I give the order. I shall give each of you a turn, one by one, my children.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then Drona, that foremost of all Angira's sons first addressed Yudhishthira saying, 'O irrepressible one, aim with thy arrow and shoot as soon as I give the order. Yudhishthira took up the bow first, as desired, O king, by his preceptor, and stood aiming at the bird. But, O bull of Bharata's race, Drona in an instant, addressing the Kuru prince standing with bow in hand, said, 'Behold, O prince, that bird on top of the tree.' Yudhishthira replied unto his preceptor, saying, 'I do.' But the next instant Drona again asked him, 'What dost thou see now, O prince? Seest thou the tree, myself or thy brothers?' Yudhishthira answered, 'I see the tree, myself, my brothers, and the bird.' Drona repeated his question, but was answered as often in the same words. Drona then, vexed with Yudhishthira, reproachingly said, 'Stand thou apart. It is not for thee to strike the aim.' Then Drona repeated the experiment with Duryodhana and the other sons of Dhritarashtra, one after another, as also with his other pupils, Bhima and the rest, including the princes that had come unto him from other lands. But the answer in every case was the same as Yudhishthira's viz., 'We behold the tree, thyself, our fellow-pupils, and the bird.' And reproached by their preceptor, they were all ordered, one after another, to stand apart.'"

SECTION 135

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'When everyone had failed, Drona smilingly called Arjuna and said unto him, 'By thee the aim must be shot; therefore, turn thy eyes to it. Thou must let fly the arrow as soon as I give the order. Therefore, O son, stand here with bow and arrow for an instant.' Thus addressed, Arjuna stood aiming at the bird as desired by his preceptor, with his bow bent. An instant after Drona asked him as in the case of others, 'Seest thou, O Arjuna, the bird there, the tree, and myself?' Arjuna replied, 'I see the bird only, but nor the tree, or thyself.' Then the irrepressible Drona, well-pleased with Arjuna, the instant after, again said unto that mighty car-warrior amongst the Pandavas, 'If thou seest the vulture, then describe it to me.' Arjuna said, I see only the head of the vulture, not its body.' At these words of Arjuna, the hair (on Drona's body) stood on end from delight. He then said to Partha, 'Shoot.' And the latter instantly let fly (his arrow) and with his sharp shaft speedily struck off the head of the vulture on the tree and brought it down to the ground. No sooner was the deed done than Drona clasped Phalguna to his bosom and thought Drupada with his friends had already been vanquished in fight.

"Some time after, O bull of Bharata's race, Drona, accompanied by all of his pupils, went to the bank of the Ganga to bathe in that sacred stream. And when Drona had plunged into the stream, a strong alligator, sent as it were, by Death himself seized him by the thigh. And though himself quite capable, Drona in a seeming hurry asked his pupil to rescue him. And he said, 'O, kill this monster and rescue me.' Contemporaneously with this speech, Vibhatsu (Arjuna) struck the monster within the water with five sharp arrows irresistible in their course, while the other pupils stood confounded, each at his place. Beholding Arjuna's readiness, Drona considered him to be the foremost of all his pupils, and became highly pleased. The monster, in the meantime cut into pieces by the arrows of Arjuna, released the thigh of illustrious Drona and gave up the ghost. The son of Bharadwaja then addressed the illustrious and mighty car-warrior Arjuna and said, 'Accept, O thou of mighty arms, this very superior and irresistible weapon called Brahmasira with the methods of hurling and recalling it. Thou must not, however, ever use it against any human foe, for if hurled at any foe endued with inferior energy, it might burn the whole universe. It is said, O child, that this weapon hath not a peer in the three worlds. Keep it, therefore, with great care, and listen to what I say. If ever, O hero, any foe, not human, contendeth against thee thou mayst then employ it against him for compassing his death in battle.' Pledging himself to do what he was bid, Vibhatsu then, with joined hands, received that great weapon.

The preceptor then, addressing him again, said, 'None else in this world will ever become a superior bowman to thee. Vanquished thou shall never be by any foe, and thy achievements will be great.'"

SECTION 136

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'O thou of Bharata's race, beholding the sons of Dhritarashtra and Pandu accomplished in arms, Drona, O monarch, addressed king Dhritarashtra, in the presence of Kripa, Somadatta, Valhika, the wise son of Ganga (Bhishma), Vyasa, and Vidura, and said, 'O best of Kuru kings, thy children have completed their education. With thy permission, O king, let them now show their proficiency.' Hearing him, the king said with a gladdened heart, 'O best of Brahmanas, thou hast, indeed, accomplished a great deed. Command me thyself as to the place and the time where and when and the manner also in which the trial may be held. Grief arising from my own blindness maketh me envy those who, blessed with sight, will behold my children's prowess in arm. O Kshatri (Vidura), do all that Drona sayeth. O thou devoted to virtue, I think there is nothing that can be more agreeable to me.' Then Vidura, giving the necessary assurance to the king, went out to do what he was bid. And Drona endued with great wisdom, then measured out a piece of land that was void of trees and thickets and furnished with wells and springs. And upon the spot of land so measured out, Drona, that first of eloquent men, selecting a lunar day when the star ascendant was auspicious, offered up sacrifice unto the gods in the presence of the citizens assembled by proclamation to witness the same. And then, O bull among men, the artificers of the king built thereon a large and elegant stage according to the rules laid down in the scriptures, and it was furnished with all kinds of weapons. They also built another elegant hall for the lady-spectators. And the citizens constructed many platforms while the wealthier of them pitched many spacious and high tents all around.

"When the day fixed for the Tournament came, the king accompanied by his ministers, with Bhishma and Kripa, the foremost of preceptors, walking ahead, came unto that theatre of almost celestial beauty constructed of pure gold, and decked with strings of pearls and stones of lapis lazuli. And, O first of victorious men, Gandhari blessed with great good fortune and Kunti, and the other ladies of the royal house-hold, in gorgeous attire and accompanied by their waiting women, joyfully ascended the platforms, like celestial ladies ascending the Sumeru mountain. And the four orders including the Brahmanas and Kshatriyas, desirous of beholding the princes' skill in arms, left the city and came running to the spot. And so impatient was every one to behold the spectacle, that the vast crowd assembled there in almost an instant. And with the sounds of trumpets and drums and the noise of many voices, that vast concourse appeared like an agitated ocean.

"At last, Drona accompanied by his son, dressed in white (attire), with a white sacred thread, white locks, white beard, white garlands, and white sandal-paste rubbed over his body,

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entered the lists. It seemed as if the Moon himself accompanied by the planet Mars appeared in an unclouded sky. On entering Bharadwaja performed timely worship and caused Brahmanas versed in mantras to celebrate the auspicious rites. And after auspicious and sweet-sounding musical instruments had been struck up as a propitiatory ceremony, some persons entered, equipped with various arms. And then having girded up their loins, those mighty warriors, those foremost ones of Bharata's race (the princes) entered, furnished with finger-protectors (gauntlet), and bows, and quivers. And with Yudhishthira at their head, the valiant princes entered in order of age and began to show wonderful skill with their weapons. Some of the spectators lowered their heads, apprehending fall of arrows while others fearlessly gazed on with wonder. And riding swiftly on horses and managing them 'dexterously' the princes began to hit marks with shafts engraved with their respective names. And seeing the prowess of the princes armed with bows and arrows, the spectators thought that they were beholding the city of the Gandharvas, became filled with amazement. And, O Bharata, all on a sudden, some hundreds and thousands, with eyes wide open in wonder, exclaimed, 'Well done! Well done!' And having repeatedly displayed their skill and dexterity in the use of bows and arrows and in the management of cars, the mighty warriors took up their swords and bucklers, and began to range the lists, playing their weapons. The spectators saw (with wonder) their agility, the symmetry of their bodies, their grace, their calmness, the firmness of their grasp and their deftness in the use of sword and buckler. Then Vrikodara and Suyodhana, internally delighted (at the prospect of fight), entered the arena, mace in hand, like two single-peaked mountains. And those mighty-armed warriors braced their loins, and summoning all their energy, roared like two infuriate elephants contending for a cow-elephant; and like two infuriated elephants those mighty heroes faultlessly (in consonance with the dictates of the science of arm) careered right and left, circling the lists. And Vidura described to Dhritarashtra and the mother of the Pandavas (Kunti) and Gandhari, all the feats of the princes.'"

SECTION 137

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Upon the Kuru king and Bhima, the foremost of all endued with strength, having entered the arena, the spectators were divided into two parties in consequence of the partiality swaying their affections. Some cried, 'Behold the heroic king of the Kurus!'--some--'Behold Bhima!'--And on account of these cries, there was, all on a sudden, a loud uproar. And seeing the place become like a troubled ocean, the intelligent Bharadwaja said unto his dear son, Aswatthaman, 'Restrain both these mighty warriors so proficient in arms. Let not the ire of the assembly be provoked by this combat of Bhima and Duryodhana.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then the son of the preceptor of the princes restrained those combatants with their maces uplifted and resembling two swollen oceans agitated by the winds that blow at the universal dissolution. And Drona himself entering the yard of the arena commanded the musicians to stop, and with a voice deep as that of the clouds addressed these words, 'Behold ye now that Partha who is dearer to me than my own son, the master of all arms, the son of Indra himself, and like unto the younger brother of Indra, (Vishnu)! And having performed the propitiatory rites, the youthful Phalguna, equipped with the finger protector (gauntlet) and his quiver full of shafts and bow in hand, donning his golden mail, appeared in the lists even like an evening cloud reflecting the rays of the setting sun and illumined by the hues of the rainbow and flashes of lightning.

"On seeing Arjuna, the whole assembly were delighted and conchs began to be blown all around with other musical instruments. And there arose a great uproar in consequence of the spectators' exclaiming,--'This is the graceful son of Kunti!'--'This is the middle (third) Pandava!'--'This is the son of the mighty Indra!'--'This is the protector of the Kurus'--'This is the foremost of those versed in arms!'--'This is the foremost of all cherishers of virtue!'--'This is the foremost of the persons of correct behaviour, the great repository of the knowledge of manners!' At those exclamations, the tears of Kunti, mixing with the milk of her breast, wetted her bosom. And his ears being filled with that uproar, that first of men, Dhritarashtra, asked Vidura in delight, 'O Kshatri, what is this great uproar for, like unto that of the troubled ocean, arising all on a sudden and rending the very heavens?' Vidura replied, 'O mighty monarch, the son of Pandu and Pritha, Phalguna, clad in mail hath entered the lists. And hence this uproar!' Dhritarashtra said, 'O thou of soul so great, by the three fires sprung from Pritha who is even like the sacred fuel, I have, indeed, been blessed, favoured and protected!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'When the spectators, excited with delight, had somewhat regained their equanimity, Vibhatsu began to display his lightness in the use of weapons. By the Agneya weapon, he created fire, and by the Varuna weapon he created water, by the Vayavya weapon, he created air, and by the Parjanya weapon he created clouds. And by the Bhauma weapon, he created land, and by the Parvatya weapon, he brought mountains into being. By the Antardhana weapon all these were made to disappear. Now the beloved one of his preceptor (Arjuna) appeared tall and now short; now he was seen on the yoke of his car, and now on the car itself; and the next moment he was on the ground. And the hero favoured by his practised dexterity, hit with his various butts--some tender, some fine and some of thick composition. And like one shaft, he let fly at a time into the mouth of a moving iron-boar five shafts together from his bow-string. And that hero of mighty energy discharged one and twenty arrows into the hollow of a cow's horn hung up on a rope swaying to and fro. In this manner, O sinless one, Arjuna showed his profound skill in the use of sword, bow, and mace, walking over the lists in circles.

"And, O Bharata, when the exhibition had well-nigh ended, the excitement of the spectators had cooled, and the sounds of instruments had died out there was heard proceeding from the gate, the slapping of arms, betokening might and strength, and even like unto the roar of the thunder. And, O king, as soon as this sound was heard, the assembled multitude instantly thought, 'Are the mountains splitting or is the earth itself rending asunder, or is the welkin resounding with the roar of gathering clouds? And then all the spectators turned their eyes towards the gate. And Drona stood, surrounded by the five brothers, the sons of Pritha, and looked like the moon in conjunction with the five-starred constellation Hasta. And Duryodhana, that slayer of foes, stood up in haste and was surrounded by his century of haughty brothers with Aswatthaman amongst them. And that prince, mace in hand, thus surrounded by his hundred brothers with uplifted weapons appeared like Purandara in days of yore, encircled by the celestial host on the occasion of the battle with the Danavas.'"

SECTION 138

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana continued, 'When the spectators, with eyes expanded with wonder, made way for that subjugator of hostile cities, Karna, that hero with his natural mail and face brightened with ear-rings, took up his bow and girded on his sword, and then entered the spacious lists, like a walking cliff. That far-famed destroyer of hostile hosts, the large-eyed Karna, was born of Pritha in her maidenhood. He was a portion of the hot-beamed Sun and his energy and prowess were like unto those of the lion, or the bull, or the leader of a herd of elephants. In splendour he resembled the Sun, in loveliness the Moon, and in energy the fire. Begotten by the Sun himself, he was tall in stature like a golden palm tree, and, endued with the vigour of youth, he was capable of slaying a lion. Handsome in features, he was possessed of countless accomplishments. The mighty-armed warrior, eyeing all around the arena, bowed indifferently to Drona and Kripa. And the entire assembly, motionless and with steadfast gaze, thought, 'Who is he?' And they became agitated in their curiosity to know the warrior. And that foremost of eloquent men, the offspring of the Sun, in a voice deep as that of the clouds, addressed his unknown brother, the son of the subduer of the Asura, Paka (Indra), saying, 'O Partha, I shall perform feats before this gazing multitude; excelling all thou hast performed! Beholding them, thou shall be amazed.' And, O thou best of those blest with speech, he had hardly done when the spectators stood up all at once, uplifted by some instrument, as it were. And, O tiger among men, Duryodhana was filled with delight, while Vibhatsu was instantly all abashment and anger. Then with the permission of Drona, the mighty Karna, delighting in battle, there did all that Partha had done before. And, O Bharata, Duryodhana with his brothers thereupon embraced Karna in joy and then addressed him saying, 'Welcome O mighty-armed warrior! I have obtained thee by good fortune, O polite one! Live thou as thou pleasest, and command me, and the kingdom of the Kurus.' Kama replied, 'When thou hast said it, I regard it as already accomplished. I only long for thy friendship. And, O lord, my wish is even for a single combat with Arjuna.' Duryodhana said, 'Do thou with me enjoy the good things of life! Be thou the benefactor of thy friend, and, O represser of enemies, place thou thy feet on the heads of all foes."

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Arjuna, after this, deeming himself disgraced, said unto Karna stationed amidst the brothers like unto a cliff, 'That path which the unwelcome intruder and the uninvited talker cometh to, shall be thine, O Karna, for thou shall be slain by me.' Karna replied, 'This arena is meant for all, not for thee alone, O Phalguna! They are kings who are superior in energy; and verily the Kshatriya regardeth might and might alone. What need of altercation which is the exercise of the weak? O Bharata, speak then in arrows until with arrows I strike off thy head today before the preceptor himself!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hastily embraced by his brothers, Partha that subduer of hostile cities, with the permission of Drona, advanced for the combat. On the other side, Karna, having been embraced by Duryodhana with his brothers, taking up his bow and arrows, stood ready for the fight. Then the firmament became enveloped in clouds emitting flashes of lightning, and the coloured bow of Indra appeared shedding its effulgent rays. And the clouds seemed to laugh on account of the rows of white cranes that were then on the wing. And seeing Indra thus viewing the arena from affection (for his son), the sun too dispersed the clouds from over his own offspring. And Phalguna remained deep hid under cover of the clouds, while Karna remained visible, being surrounded by the rays of the Sun. And the son of Dhritarashtra stood by Karna, and Bharadwaja and Kripa and Bhishma remained with Partha. And the assembly was divided, as also the female spectators. And knowing the state of things, Kunti the daughter of Bhoja, swooned away. And by the help of female attendants, Vidura, versed in the lore of all duties, revived the insensible Kunti by sprinkling sandal-paste and water on her person. On being restored to consciousness, Kunti, seeing her two sons clad in mail, was seized with fear, but she could do nothing (to protect them). And beholding both the warriors with bows strung in their hands the son of Saradwat, viz., Kripa, knowing all duties and cognisant of the rules regulating duels, addressed Karna, saying 'This Pandava, who is the youngest son of Kunti, belongeth to the Kaurava race: he will engage in combat with thee. But, O mighty-armed one, thou too must tell us thy lineage and the names of thy father and mother and the royal line of which thou art the ornament. Learning all this, Partha will fight with thee or not (as he will think fit). Sons of kings never fight with men of inglorious lineage.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'When he was thus addressed by Kripa, Karna's countenance became like unto a lotus pale and torn with the pelting showers in the rainy season. Duryodhana said, 'O preceptor, verily the scriptures have it that three classes of persons can lay claim to royalty, viz., persons of the blood royal, heroes, and lastly, those that lead armies. If Phalguna is unwilling to fight with one who is not a king, I will install Karna as king of Anga.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'At that very moment, seated on a golden seat, with parched paddy and with flowers and water-pots and much gold, the mighty warrior Karna was installed king by Brahmanas versed in mantras. And the royal umbrella was held over his head, while Yak-tails waved around that redoubtable hero of graceful mien. And the cheers, having ceased, king (Karna) said unto the Kaurava Duryodhana, 'O tiger among monarchs, what shall I give unto thee that may compare with thy gift of a kingdom? O king, I will do all thou biddest!' And Suyodhana said unto him, 'I eagerly wish for thy friendship.' Thus spoken to, Karna replied, 'Be it so.' And they embraced each other in joy, and experienced great happiness.'"

SECTION 139

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'After this, with his sheet loosely hanging down, Adhiratha entered the lists, perspiring and trembling, and supporting himself on a staff.

"Seeing him, Karna left his bow and impelled by filial regard bowed down his head still wet with the water of inauguration. And them the charioteer, hurriedly covering his feet with the end of his sheet, addressed Karna crowned with success as his son. And the charioteer embraced Karna and from excess of affection bedewed his head with tears, that head still wet with the water sprinkled over it on account of the coronation as king of Anga. Seeing the charioteer, the Pandava Bhimasena took Karna for a charioteer's son, and said by way of ridicule, 'O son of a charioteer, thou dost not deserve death in fight at the hands of Partha. As befits thy race take thou anon the whip. And, O worst of mortals, surely thou art not worthy to sway the kingdom of Anga, even as a dog doth not deserve the butter placed before the sacrificial fire.' Karna, thus addressed, with slightly quivering lips fetched a deep sigh, looked at the God of the day in the skies. And even as a mad elephant riseth from an assemblage of lotuses, the mighty Duryodhana rose in wrath from among his brothers, and addressed that performer of dreadful deeds, Bhimasena, present there, 'O Vrikodara, it behoveth thee not to speak such words. Might is the cardinal virtue of a Kshatriya, and even a Kshatriya of inferior birth deserveth to be fought with. The lineage of heroes, like the sources of a lordly river, is ever unknown. The fire that covereth the whole world riseth from the waters. The thunder that slayeth the Danavas was made of a bone of (a mortal named) Dadhichi. The illustrious deity Guha, who combines in his composition the portions of all the other deities is of a lineage unknown. Some call him the offspring of Agni; some, of Krittika, some, of Rudra, and some of Ganga. It hath been heard by us that persons born in the Kashatriya order have become Brahmanas. Viswamitra and others (born Kshatriyas) have obtained the eternal Brahma. The foremost of all wielders of weapons, the preceptor Drona hath been born in a waterpot and Kripa of the race of Gotama hath sprung from a clump of heath. Your own births, ye Pandava princes, are known to me. Can a she-deer bring forth a tiger (like Karna), of the splendour of the Sun, and endued with every auspicious mark, and born also with a natural mail and ear-rings? This prince among men deserveth the sovereignty of the world, not of Anga only, in

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consequence of the might of his arm and my swearing to obey him in everything. If there be anybody here to whom all that I have done unto Karna hath become intolerable, let him ascend his chariot and bend his bow with the help of his feet.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then there arose a confused murmur amongst the spectators approving of Duryodhana's speech. The sun, however, went down, but prince Duryodhana taking Karna's hand led him out of the arena lighted with countless lamps. And, O king, the Pandavas also, accompanied by Drona and Kripa and Bhishma, returned to their abodes. And the people, too, came away, some naming Arjuna, some Karna, and some Duryodhana (as the victor of the day). And Kunti, recognising her son in Karna by the various auspicious marks on his person and beholding him installed in the sovereignty of Anga, was from motherly affection, very pleased. And Duryodhana, O monarch, having obtained Karna (in this way), banished his fears arising out of Arjuna's proficiency in arms. And the heroic Karna, accomplished in arms, began to gratify Duryodhana by sweet speeches, while Yudhishthira was impressed with the belief that there was no warrior on earth like unto Karna.'"

SECTION 140

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Beholding the Pandavas and the son of Dhritarashtra accomplished in arms, Drona thought the time had come when he could demand the preceptorial fee. And, O king, assembling his pupils one day together, the preceptor Drona asked of them the fee, saying, 'Seize Drupada, the king of Panchala in battle and bring him unto me. That shall be the most acceptable fee.' Those warriors then answering, 'So be it', speedily mounted up on their chariots, and for bestowing upon their preceptor the fee he had demanded, marched out, accompanied by him. Those bulls among men, smiting the Panchalas on their way, laid siege to the capital of the great Drupada. And Duryodhana and Karna and the mighty Yuyutsu, and Duhsasana and Vikarna and Jalasandha and Sulochana,--these and many other foremost of Kshatriya princes of great prowess, vied with one another in becoming the foremost in the attack. And the princes, riding in first class chariots and following the cavalry, entered the hostile capital, and proceeded along the streets.

"Meanwhile, the king of Panchala, beholding that mighty force and hearing its loud clamour, came out of his palace, accompanied by his brothers. Though king Yajnasena was well-armed, the Kuru army assailed him with a shower of arrows, uttering their war-cry. Yajnasena, however, not easy to be subdued in battle, approaching the Kurus upon his white chariot, began to rain his fierce arrows around.

"Before the battle commenced, Arjuna, beholding the pride of prowess displayed by the princes, addressed his preceptor, that best of Brahmanas, Drona, and said, 'We shall exert ourselves after these have displayed their prowess. The king of Panchala can never be taken on the field of the battle by any of these. Having said this, the sinless son of Kunti surrounded by his brothers, waited outside the town at a distance of a mile from it. Meanwhile Drupada beholding the Kuru host, rushed forward and pouring a fierce shower of arrows around, terribly afflicted the Kuru ranks. And such was his lightness of motion on the field of battle that, though he was fighting unsupported on a single chariot, the Kurus from panic supposed that there were many Drupadas opposed to them. And the fierce arrows of that monarch fell fast on all sides, till conchs and trumpets and drums by thousands began to be sounded by the Panchalas from their houses (giving the alarm). Then there arose from the mighty Panchala host a roar terrible as that of the lion, while the twang of their bow-strings seemed to rend the very heavens. Then Duryodhana and Vikarna, Suvahu and Dirghalochana and Duhsasana becoming furious, began to shower their arrows upon the enemy. But the mighty bowman, Prishata's son, invincible in battle, though very much pierced with the arrows of the enemy, instantly began, O Bharata, to afflict the hostile ranks with greater vigour. And careering over the field of battle like a fiery wheel, king Drupada with his arrows smote Duryodhana and Vikarna and even the mighty Karna and many other heroic princes and numberless warriors, and slaked their thirst for battle. Then all the citizens showered upon the Kurus various missiles like clouds showering rain-drops upon the earth. Young and old, they all rushed to battle, assailing the Kurus with vigour. The Kauravas, then, O Bharata, beholding the battle become frightful, broke and fled wailing towards the Pandavas.

"The Pandavas, hearing the terrible wail of the beaten host, reverentially saluted Drona and ascended their chariots. Then Arjuna hastily bidding Yudhishthira not to engage in the fight, rushed forward, appointing the sons of Madri (Nakula and Sahadeva) the protectors of his chariot-wheels, while Bhimasena ever fighting in the van, mace in hand, ran ahead. The sinless Arjuna, thus accompanied by his brothers, hearing the shouts of the enemy, advanced towards them, filling the whole region with the rattle of his chariot-wheels. And like a Makara entering the sea, the mighty-armed Bhima, resembling a second Yama, mace in hand, entered the Panchala ranks, fiercely roaring like the ocean in a tempest. And Bhima, mace in hand, first rushed towards the array of elephants in the hostile force, while Arjuna, proficient in battle, assailed that force with the prowess of his arms. And Bhima, like the great Destroyer himself, began to slay those elephants with his mace. Those huge animals, like unto mountains, struck with Bhima's mace, had their heads broken into pieces. Covered with stream of blood, they began to fall upon the ground like cliffs loosened by thunder. And the Pandavas prostrated on the ground elephants and horses and cars by thousands and slew many foot-soldiers and many car-warriors. Indeed, as a herdsman in the woods driveth before him with his staff countless cattle with ease, so did Vrikodara drive before him the chariots and elephants of the hostile force.

"Meanwhile, Phalguna, impelled by the desire of doing good unto Bharadwaja's son, assailed the son of Prishata with a shower of arrows and felled him from the elephant on which he was seated. And, O monarch, Arjuna, like unto the terrible fire that consumeth all things at the end of the Yuga, began to prostrate on the ground horses and cars and elephants by thousands. The Panchalas and the Srinjayas, on the other hand, thus assailed by the Pandava, met him with a perfect shower of weapons of various kinds. And they sent up a loud shout and fought desperately with Arjuna. The battle became furious and terrible to behold. Hearing the enemy's shouts, the son of Indra was filled with wrath and assailing the hostile host with a thick shower of arrows, rushed towards it furiously afflicting it with renewed vigour. They who observed the illustrious Arjuna at that time could not mark any interval between his fixing the arrows on the bowstring and letting them off. Loud were the shouts that rose there, mingled with cheers of approval. Then the king of the Panchalas, accompanied by (the generalissimo of his forces) Satyajit, rushed with speed at Arjuna like the Asura Samvara rushing at the chief of the celestials (in days of yore). Then Arjuna covered the king of Panchala with a shower of arrows. Then there arose a frightful uproar among the Panchala host like unto the roar of a mighty lion springing at the leader of a herd of elephants. And beholding Arjuna rushing at the king of Panchala to seize him, Satyajit of great prowess rushed at him. And the two warriors, like unto Indra and the Asura Virochana's son (Vali), approaching each other for combat, began to grind each other's ranks. Then Arjuna with great force pierced Satyajit with ten keen shafts at which feat the spectators were all amazed. But Satyajit, without losing any time, assailed Arjuna with a hundred shafts. Then that mighty car-warrior, Arjuna, endued with remarkable lightness of motion, thus covered by that shower of arrows, rubbed his bow-string to increase the force and velocity of his shafts. Then cutting in twain his antagonist's bow, Arjuna rushed at the king of the Panchalas, but Satyajit, quickly taking up a tougher bow, pierced with his arrows Partha, his chariot, charioteer, and horses. Arjuna, thus assailed in battle by the Panchala warrior, forgave not his foe. Eager to slay him at once, he pierced with a number of arrows his antagonist's horses, flags, bow, clenched (left) fist, charioteer, and the attendant at his back. Then Satyajit, finding his bows repeatedly cut in twain and his horses slain, desisted from the fight.

"The king of the Panchalas, beholding his general thus discomfited in the encounter, himself began to shower his arrows upon the Pandava prince. Then Arjuna, that foremost of warriors, crowned with success, began to fight furiously, and quickly cutting his enemy's bow in twain as also his flagstaff which he caused to fall down, pierced his antagonist's horses, and charioteer also with five arrows. Then throwing aside his bow Arjuna took his quiver, and taking out a scimitar and sending forth a loud shout, leaped from his own chariot upon that of his foe. And standing there with perfect fearlessness he seized Drupada as Garuda seizeth a huge snake after agitating the waters of the ocean. At the sight of this, the Panchala troops ran away in all directions.

"Then Dhananjaya, having thus exhibited the might of his arm in the presence of both hosts, sent forth a loud shout and came out of the Panchala ranks. And beholding him returning (with his captive), the princes began to lay waste Drupada's capital. Addressing them Arjuna said, 'This best of monarchs, Drupada, is a relative of the Kuru heroes. Therefore, O Bhima, slay not his soldiers. Let us only give unto our preceptor his fee.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'O king, thus prevented by Arjuna, the mighty Bhimasena, though unsatiated with the exercise of battle, refrained from the act of slaughter. And, O bull of the Bharata race, the princes then, taking Drupada with them after having seized him on the field of battle along with his friends and counsellors, offered him unto Drona. And Drona beholding Drupada thus brought under complete control--humiliated and deprived of wealth--remembered that monarch's former hostility and addressing him said, 'Thy kingdom and capital have been laid waste by me. But fear not for thy life, though it dependeth now on the will of thy foe. Dost thou now desire to revive thy friendship (with me)?' Having said this, he smiled a little and again said, 'Fear not for thy life, brave king! We, Brahmanas, are ever forgiving. And, O bull among Kshatriyas, my affection and love for thee have grown with me in consequence of our having sported together in childhood in the hermitage. Therefore, O king, I ask for thy friendship again. And as a boon (unasked), I give thee half the kingdom (that was thine). Thou toldest me before that none who was not a king could be a king's friend. Therefore is it, O Yajnasena, that I retain half thy kingdom. Thou art the king of all the territory lying on the southern side of the Bhagirathi, while I become king of all the territory on the north of that river. And, O Panchala, if it pleaseth thee, know me hence for thy friend.'

"On hearing these words, Drupada answered, 'Thou art of noble soul and great prowess. Therefore, O Brahmana, I am not surprised at what thou doest. I am very much gratified with thee, and I desire thy eternal friendship.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'After this, O Bharata, Drona released the king of Panchala, and cheerfully performing the usual offices of regard, bestowed upon him half the kingdom. Thenceforth Drupada began to reside sorrowfully in (the city of) Kampilya within (the province of) Makandi on the banks of the Ganga filled with many towns and cities. And after his defeat by Drona, Drupada also ruled the southern Panchalas up to the bank of the Charmanwati river. And Drupada from that day was well-convinced that he could not, by Kshatriya might alone, defeat Drona, being very much his inferior in Brahma (spiritual) power. And he, therefore, began to wander over the whole earth to find out the means of obtaining a son (who would subjugate his Brahmana foe).

"Meanwhile Drona continued to reside in Ahicchatra. Thus, O king, was the territory of Ahicchatra full of towns and cities, obtained by Arjuna, and bestowed upon Drona.'

SECTION 141

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana continued, 'After the expiration, O king, of a year from this, Dhritarashtra, moved by kindness for the people, installed Yudhishthira, the son of Pandu, as the heir-apparent of the kingdom on account of his firmness, fortitude, patience, benevolence, frankness and unswerving honesty (of heart). And within a short time Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, by his good behaviour, manners and close application to business, overshadowed the deeds of his father. And the second Pandava, Vrikodara, began to receive continued lessons from Sankarshana (Valarama) in encounters with the sword and the mace and on the chariot. And after Bhima's education was finished, he became in strength like unto Dyumatsena himself and continuing to live in harmony with his brothers, he began to exert his prowess. And Arjuna became celebrated for the firmness of his grasp (of weapons), for his lightness of motion, precision of aim, and his proficiency in the use of the Kshura, Naracha, Vala and Vipatha weapons, indeed, of all weapons, whether straight or crooked or heavy. And Drona certified that there was none in the world who was equal to Arjuna in lightness of hand and general proficiency.

"One day, Drona, addressing Arjuna before the assembled Kaurava princes, said, 'There was a disciple of Agastya in the science of arms called Agnivesa. He was my preceptor and I, his disciple. By ascetic merit I obtained from him a weapon called Brahmasira which could never be futile and which was like unto thunder itself, capable of consuming the whole earth. That weapon, O Bharata, from what I have done, may now pass from disciple to disciple. While imparting it to me, my preceptor said, 'O son of Bharadwaja, never shouldst thou hurl this weapon at any human being, especially at one who is of poor energy. Thou hast, O hero, obtained that celestial weapon. None else deserveth it. But obey the command of the Rishi (Agnivesa). And, look here, Arjuna, give me now the preceptorial fee in the presence of these thy cousins and relatives.' When Arjuna, on hearing this, pledged his word that he would give what the preceptor demanded, the latter said, 'O sinless one, thou must fight with me when I fight with thee.' And that bull among the Kuru princes thereupon pledged his word unto Drona and touching his feet, went away northward. Then there arose a loud shout covering the whole earth bounded by her belt of seas to the effect that there was no bowman in the whole world like unto Arjuna. And, indeed, Dhananjaya, in encounters with the mace and the sword and on the chariot as also with the bow, acquired wonderful proficiency. Sahadeva obtained the whole science of morality and duties from (Vrihaspati) the spiritual chief of celestials, and continued to live under the control of his brothers. And Nakula, the favourite of his brothers taught by Drona, became known as a skilful warrior and a great car-warrior (Ati-ratha). Indeed, Arjuna and the other Pandava princes became so powerful that they slew in battle the great Sauvira who had performed a sacrifice extending over three years, undaunted by the raids of the Gandharvas. And the king of the Yavanas himself whom the powerful Pandu even had failed to bring under subjection was brought by Arjuna under control. Then again Vipula, the king of the Sauviras, endued with great prowess, who had always shown a disregard for the Kurus, was made by the intelligent Arjuna

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to feel the edge of his power. And Arjuna also repressed by means of his arrows (the pride of) king Sumitra of Sauvira, also known by the name of Dattamitra who had resolutely sought an encounter with him. The third of the Pandava princes, assisted by Bhima, on only a single car subjugated all the kings of the East backed by ten thousand cars. In the same way, having conquered on a single car the whole of the south, Dhananjaya sent unto the kingdom of the Kurus a large booty.

"Thus did those foremost of men, the illustrious Pandavas, conquering the territories of other kings, extend the limits of their own kingdom. But beholding the great prowess and strength of those mighty bowmen, king Dhritarashtra's sentiments towards the Pandavas became suddenly poisoned, and from that day the monarch became so anxious that he could hardly sleep.'"

SECTION 142

(Sambhava Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana continued, 'On hearing that the heroic sons of Pandu endued with excess of energy had become so mighty, king Dhritarashtra became very miserable with anxiety. Then summoning unto his side Kanika, that foremost of minister, well-versed in the science of politics and an expert in counsels the king said, 'O best of Brahmanas, the Pandavas are daily overshadowing the earth. I am exceedingly jealous of them. Should I have peace or war with them? O Kanika, advise me truly, for I shall do as thou biddest.

"Vaisampayana continued, 'That best of Brahmanas, thus addressed by the king, freely answered him in these pointed words well-agreeing with the import of political science."

"Listen to me, O sinless king, as I answer thee. And, O best of Kuru kings, it behoveth thee not to be angry with me after hearing all I say. Kings should ever be ready with uplifted maces (to strike when necessary), and they should ever increase their prowess. Carefully avoiding all faults themselves they should ceaselessly watch over the faults of their foes and take advantage of them. If the king is always ready to strike, everybody feareth him. Therefore the king should ever have recourse to chastisement in all he doeth. He should so conduct himself that, his foe may not detect any weak side in him. But by means of the weakness he detecteth in his foe he should pursue him (to destruction). He should always conceal, like the tortoise concealing its body, his means and ends, and he should always keep back his own weakness from, the sight of others. And having begun a particular act, he should ever accomplish it thoroughly. Behold, a thorn, if not extracted wholly, produceth a festering sore. The slaughter of a foe who doeth thee evil is always praiseworthy. If the foe be one of great prowess, one should always watch for the hour of his disaster and then kill him without any scruples. If he should happen to be a great warrior, his hour of disaster also should be watched and he should then be induced to fly. O sire, an enemy should never be scorned, however contemptible. A spark of fire is capable of consuming an extensive forest if only it can spread from one object to another in proximity. Kings should sometimes feign blindness and deafness, for if impotent to chastise, they should pretend not to notice the faults that call for chastisement. On occasions, such as these, let them regard their bows as made of straw. But they should be always on the alert like a herd of deer sleeping in the woods. When thy foe is in thy power, destroy him by every means open or secret. Do not show him any mercy, although he seeketh thy protection. A foe, or one that hath once injured thee, should be destroyed by lavishing money, if necessary, for by killing him thou mayest be at thy ease. The dead can never inspire fear. Thou must destroy the three, five and seven (resources) of thy foes. Thou must destroy thy foes root and branch. Then shouldst thou destroy their allies and partisans. The allies and partisans can never exist if the principal be destroyed. If the root of the tree is torn up, the branches and twigs can never exist as before. Carefully concealing thy own means and ends, thou shouldst always watch thy foes, always seeking their flaws. Thou shouldst, O king, rule thy kingdom, always anxiously watching thy foes. By maintaining the perpetual fire by sacrifices, by brown cloths, by matted locks, and by hides of animals for thy bedding, shouldst thou at first gain the confidence of thy foes, and when thou has gained it thou shouldst then spring upon them like a wolf. For it hath been said that in the acquisition of wealth even the garb of holiness might be employed as a hooked staff to bend down a branch in order to pluck the fruits that are ripe. The method followed in the plucking of fruits should be the method in destroying foes, for thou shouldst proceed on the principle of selection. Bear thy foe upon thy shoulders till the time cometh when thou canst throw him down, breaking him into pieces like an earthen pot thrown down with violence upon a stony surface. The foe must never be let off even though he addresseth thee most piteously. No pity shouldst thou show him but slay him at once. By the arts of conciliation or the expenditure of money should the foe be slain. By creating disunion amongst his allies, or by the employment of force, indeed by every means in thy power shouldst thou destroy thy foe.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Tell me truly how a foe can be destroyed by the arts of conciliation or the expenditure of money, or by producing disunion or by the employment of force.'

"Kanika replied, 'Listen, O monarch, to the history of a jackal dwelling in days of yore in the forest and fully acquainted with the science of politics. There was a wise jackal, mindful of his own interests who lived in the company of four friends, viz., a tiger, a mouse, a wolf, and a mongoose. One day they saw in the woods a strong deer, the leader of a herd, whom, however, they could not seize for his fleetness and strength. They thereupon called a council for consultation. The jackal opening the proceedings said, 'O tiger, thou hast made many an effort to seize this deer, but all in vain simply because this deer is young, fleet and very intelligent. Let now the mouse go and eat into its feet when it lieth asleep. And when this is done, let the tiger approach and seize it. Then shall we all, with great pleasure feast on it.' Hearing these words of the jackal, they all set to work very cautiously as he directed. And the mouse ate into the feet of the deer and the tiger killed it as anticipated. And beholding the body of the deer lying motionless on the ground, the jackal said unto his companions, 'Blessed be ye! Go and perform your ablutions. In the meantime I will look after the deer.' Hearing what the jackal said, they all went into a stream. And the jackal waited there, deeply meditating upon what he should do. The tiger endued with great strength, returned first of all to the spot after having performed his ablutions. And he saw the jackal there plunged in meditation. The tiger said, 'Why art thou so sorrowful, O wise one! Thou art the foremost of all intelligent beings. Let us enjoy ourselves today by feasting on this carcass.' The jackal said, 'Hear, O mighty-armed one, what the mouse hath said. He hath even said, O, fie on the strength of the king of the beasts! This deer hath been slain by me. By might of my arm he will today gratify his hunger.' When he hath boasted in such a language, I, for my part, do not wish to touch this food.' The tiger replied, 'If, indeed, the mouse hath said so, my sense is now awakened. I shall, from this day, slay with the might of my own arms, creatures ranging the forest and then feast on their flesh.' Having said this, the tiger went away.

"And after the tiger had left the spot, the mouse came. And seeing the mouse come, the jackal addressed him and said, 'Blest be thou, O mouse, but listen to what the mongoose hath said. He hath even said, The carcass of this deer is poison (the tiger having touched it with his claws). I will not eat of it. On the other hand, if thou, O jackal, permittest it, I will even slay the mouse and feast on him.' Hearing this the mouse became alarmed and quickly entered his hole. And after the mouse had gone, the wolf, O king, came there having performed his ablutions. And seeing the wolf come, the jackal said unto him, 'The king of the beasts hath been angry with thee. Evil is certain to overtake thee. He is expected here with his wife. Do as thou pleasest.' Thus was the wolf also, fond of animal flesh, got rid of by the jackal. And the wolf fled, contracting his body into the smallest dimensions. It was then that the mongoose came. And, O king, the jackal, seeing him come, said, 'By the might of my arm have I defeated the others who have already fled. Fight with me first and then eat of this flesh as you please.' The mongoose replied, 'When, indeed, the tiger, the wolf, and the intelligent mouse have all been defeated by thee, heroes as they are, thou seemest to be a greater hero still. I do not desire to fight with thee.' Saying this, the mongoose also went away.

"Kanika continued, 'When they all had thus left the place, the jackal, well-pleased with the success of his policy, alone ate up that flesh. If kings always act in this way, they can be happy. Thus should the timid by exciting their fears, the courageous by the arts of conciliation, the covetous by gift of wealth, and equals and inferiors by exhibition of prowess be brought under thy sway. Besides all this, O king, that I have said, listen now to something else that I say.'

"Kanika continued, 'If thy son, friend, brother, father, or even the spiritual preceptor, anyone becometh thy foe, thou shouldst, if desirous of prosperity, slay him without scruples. By curses and incantations, by gift of wealth, by poison, or by deception, the foe should be slain. He should never be neglected from disdain. If both the parties be equal and success uncertain, then he that acteth with diligence groweth in prosperity. If the spiritual preceptor himself be vain, ignorant of what should be done and what left undone, and vicious in his ways, even he should be chastised. If thou art angry, show thyself as if thou art not so, speaking even then with a smile on thy lips. Never reprove any one with indications of anger (in thy speech). And O Bharata, speak soft words before thou smitest and even while thou art smiting! After the smiting is over, pity the victim, and grieve for him, and even shed tears. Comforting thy foe by conciliation, by gift of wealth, and smooth behaviour, thou must smite him when he walketh not aright. Thou shouldst equally smile the heinous offender who liveth by the practice of virtue, for the garb of virtue simply covereth his offences like black clouds covering the mountains. Thou shouldst burn the house of that person whom thou punishest with death. And thou shouldst never permit beggars and atheists and thieves to dwell in thy kingdom. By a sudden sally or pitched battle by poison or by corrupting his allies, by gift of wealth, by any means in thy power, thou shouldst destroy thy foe. Thou mayest act with the greatest cruelty. Thou shouldst make thy teeth sharp to give a fatal bite. And thou should ever smite so effectually that thy foe may not again raise his head. Thou shouldst ever stand in fear of even one from whom there is no fear, not to speak of him from whom there is such. For if the first be ever powerful he may destroy thee to the root (for thy unpreparedness). Thou shouldst never trust the faithless, nor trust too much those that are faithful, for if those in whom thou confidest prove thy foes, thou art certain to be annihilated. After testing their faithfulness thou shouldst employ spies in thy own kingdom and in the kingdoms of others. Thy spies in foreign kingdoms should be apt deceivers and persons in the garb of ascetics. Thy spies should be placed in gardens, places of amusement, temples and other holy places, drinking halls, streets, and with the (eighteen) tirthas (viz., the minister, the chief priest, the heir-presumptive, the commander-in-chief, the gate-keepers of the court, persons in the inner apartments, the jailor, the chief surveyor, the head of the treasury, the general executant of orders, the chief of the town police, the chief architect, the chief justice, the president of the council, the chief of the punitive department, the commander of the fort, the chief of the arsenal, the chief of the frontier guards, and the keeper of the forests), and in places of sacrifice, near wells, on mountains and in rivers, in forests, and in all places where people congregate. In speech thou shouldst ever be humble, but let thy heart be ever sharp as razor. And when thou art engaged in doing even a very cruel and terrible act, thou shouldst talk with smiles on thy lips. If desirous of prosperity, thou shouldst adopt all arts--humility, oath, conciliation. Worshipping the feet of others by lowering thy head, inspiring hope, and the like. And, a person conversant with the rules of policy is like a tree decked with flowers but bearing no fruit; or, if bearing fruit, these must be at a great height not easily attainable from the ground; and if any of these fruits seem to be ripe care must be taken to make it appear raw. Conducting himself in such a way, he shall never fade. Virtue, wealth and pleasure have both their evil and good effects closely knit together. While extracting the effects that are good, those that are evil should be avoided. Those that practise virtue (incessantly) are made unhappy for want of wealth and the neglect of pleasure. Those again in pursuit of wealth are made unhappy for the neglect of two others. And so those who pursue pleasure suffer for their inattention to virtue and wealth. Therefore, thou shouldst pursue virtue, wealth and pleasure, in such a way that thou mayest not have to suffer therefrom. With humiliation and attention, without jealousy and solicitous of accomplishing thy purpose, shouldst thou, in all sincerity, consult with the Brahmanas. When thou art fallen, thou shouldst raise thyself by any means, gentle or violent; and after thou hast thus raised thyself thou shouldst practise virtue. He that hath never been afflicted with calamity can never have prosperity. This may be seen in the life of one who surviveth his calamities. He that is afflicted with sorrow should be consoled by the recitation of the history of persons of former times (like those of Nala and Rama). He whose heart hath been unstrung by sorrow should be consoled with hopes of future prosperity. He again who is learned and wise should be consoled by pleasing offices presently rendered unto him. He who, having concluded a treaty with an enemy, reposeth at ease as if he hath nothing more to do, is very like a person who awaketh, fallen down from the top of a tree whereon he had slept. A king should ever keep to himself his counsels without fear of calumny, and while beholding everything with the eyes of his spies, he should take care to conceal his own emotions before the spies of his enemies. Like a fisherman who becometh prosperous by catching and killing fish, a king can never grow prosperous without tearing the vitals of his enemy and without doing some violent deeds. The might of thy foe, as represented by his armed force, should ever be completely destroyed, by ploughing it up (like weeds) and mowing it down and otherwise afflicting it by disease, starvation, and want of drink. A person in want never approacheth (from love) one in affluence; and when one's purpose hath been accomplished, one hath no need to approach him whom he had hitherto looked to for its accomplishment. Therefore, when thou doest anything never do it completely, but ever leave something to be desired for by others (whose services thou mayest need). One who is desirous of prosperity should with diligence seek allies and means, and carefully conduct his wars. His exertions in these respects should always be guided by prudence. A prudent king should ever act in such a way that friends and foes may never know his motive before the commencement of his acts. Let them know all when the act hath been commenced or ended, and as long as danger doth not come, so long only shall thou act as if thou art afraid. But when it hath overtaken thee, thou must grapple with it courageously. He who trusteth in a foe who hath been brought under subjection by force, summoneth his own death as a crab by her act of conception. Thou shouldst always reckon the future act as already arrived (and concert measures for meeting it), else,

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from want of calmness caused by haste, thou mayest overlook an important point in meeting it when it is before thee. A person desirous of prosperity should always exert with prudence, adopting his measures to time and place. He should also act with an eye to destiny as capable of being regulated by mantras and sacrificial rites; and to virtue, wealth, and pleasure. It is well-known that time and place (if taken into consideration) always produce the greatest good. If the foe is insignificant, he should not yet be despised, for he may soon grow like a palmyra tree extending its roots or like a spark of fire in the deep woods that may soon burst into an extensive conflagration. As a little fire gradually fed with faggots soon becometh capable of consuming even the biggest blocks, so the person who increaseth his power by making alliances and friendships soon becometh capable of subjugating even the most formidable foe. The hope thou givest unto thy foe should be long deferred before it is fulfilled; and when the time cometh for its fulfilment, invent some pretext for deferring it still. Let that pretext be shown as founded upon some reason, and let that reason itself be made to appear as founded on some other reason. Kings should, in the matter of destroying their foes, ever resemble razors in every particular; unpitying as these are sharp, hiding their intents as these are concealed in their leathern cases, striking when the opportunity cometh as these are used on proper occasions, sweeping off their foes with all their allies and dependants as these shave the head or the chin without leaving a single hair. O supporter of the dignity of the Kurus, bearing thyself towards the Pandavas and others also as policy dictateth, act in such a way that thou mayest not have to grieve in future. Well do I know that thou art endued with every blessing, and possessed of every mark of good fortune. Therefore, O king, protect thyself from the sons of Pandu! O king, the sons of Pandu are stronger than their cousins (thy sons); therefore, O chastiser of foes, I tell thee plainly what thou shouldst do. Listen to it, O king, with thy children, and having listened to it, exert yourselves (to do the needful). O king, act in such a way that there may not be any fear for thee from the Pandavas. Indeed, adopt such measures consonant with the science of policy that thou mayest not have to grieve in the future.' "Vaisampayana continued, 'Having delivered himself thus Kanika returned to his abode, while the Kuru king Dhritarashtra became pensive and melancholy.'"

SECTION 143
(Jatugriha Parva)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then the son of Suvala (Sakuni), king Duryodhana, Duhsasana and Kama, in consultation with one another, formed an evil conspiracy. With the sanction of Dhritarashtra, the king of the Kurus, they resolved to burn to death Kunti and her (five) sons. But that wise Vidura, capable of reading the heart by external signs, ascertained the intention of these wicked persons by observing their countenances alone. Then the sinless Vidura, of soul enlightened by true knowledge, and devoted to the good of the Pandavas, came to the conclusion that Kunti with her children should fly away from her foes. And providing for that purpose a boat strong enough to withstand both wind and wave, he addressed Kunti and said, 'This Dhritarashtra hath been born for destroying the fame and offspring of the (Kuru) race. Of wicked soul, he is about to cast off eternal virtue. O blessed one, I have kept ready on the stream a boat capable of withstanding both wind and wave. Escape by it with thy children from the net that death hath spread around you.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words, the illustrious Kunti was deeply grieved, and with her children, O bull of Bharata's race, stepped into the boat and went over the Ganges. Then leaving the boat according to the advice of Vidura, the Pandavas took with them the wealth that had been given to them (while at Varanavata) by their enemies and safely entered the deep woods. In the house of lac, however, that had been prepared for the destruction of the Pandavas, an innocent Nishada woman who had come there for some purpose, was, with her children burnt to death. And that worst of Mlechchhas, the wretched Purochana (who was the architect employed in building the house of lac) was also burnt in the conflagration. And thus were the sons of Dhirtarashtra with their counsellors deceived in their expectations. And thus also were the illustrious Pandavas, by the advice of Vidura, saved with their mother. But the people (of Varanavata) knew not of their safety. And the citizens of Varanavata, seeing the house of lac consumed (and believing the Pandavas to have been burnt to death) became exceedingly sorry. And they sent messengers unto king Dhritarashtra to represent everything that had happened. And they said to the monarch, 'Thy great end hath been achieved! Thou hast at last burnt the Pandavas to death! Thy desire fulfilled, enjoy with thy children. O king of the Kurus, the kingdom.' Hearing this, Dhritarashtra with his children, made a show of grief, and along with his relatives, including Kshattri (Vidura) and Bhishma the foremost of the Kurus, performed the last honours of the Pandavas.'

"Janamejaya said, 'O best of Brahmanas, I desire to hear in full this history of the burning of the house of lac and the escape of the Pandavas there from. That was a cruel act of theirs (the Kurus), acting under the counsels of the wicked (Kanika). Recite the history to me of all that happened. I am burning with curiosity to hear it.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'O chastiser of all foes, listen to me, O monarch, as I recite the (history of the) burning of the house of lac and the escape of the Pandavas. The wicked Duryodhana, beholding Bhimasena surpass (everybody) in strength and Arjuna highly accomplished in arms became pensive and sad. Then Karna, the offspring of the Sun, and Sakuni, the son of Suvala, endeavoured by various means to compass the death of the Pandavas. The Pandavas too counteracted all those contrivances one after another, and in obedience to the counsels of Vidura, never spoke of them afterwards. Then the citizens, beholding the son of Pandu possessed of accomplishments, began, O Bharata, to speak of them in all places of public resort. And assembled in courtyards and other places of gathering, they talked of the eldest son of Pandu (Yudhishthira) as possessed of the qualifications for ruling the kingdom. And they said, 'Dhritarashtra, though possessed of the eye of knowledge, having been (born) blind, had not obtained the kingdom before. How can he (therefore) become king now? Then Bhishma, the son of Santanu, of rigid vows and devoted to truth, having formerly relinquished the sovereignty would never accept it now. We shall, therefore, now install (on the throne) with proper ceremonies the eldest of the Pandavas endued with youth, accomplished in battle, versed in the Vedas, and truthful and kind. Worshipping Bhishma, the son of Santanu and Dhritarashtra conversant with the rules of morality, he will certainly maintain the former and the latter with his children in every kind of enjoyment.

"The wretched Duryodhana, hearing these words of the parting partisans of Yudhishthira, became very much distressed. Deeply afflicted, the wicked prince could not put up with those speeches. Inflamed with jealousy, he went unto Dhritarashtra, and finding him alone he saluted him with reverence and distressed at (the sight of) the partiality of the citizens for Yudhishthira, he addressed the monarch and said, 'O father, I have heard the parting citizens utter words of ill omen. Passing thee by, and Bhishma too, they desire the son of Pandu to be their king. Bhishma will sanction this, for he will not rule the kingdom. It seems, therefore, that the citizens are endeavouring to inflict a great injury on us. Pandu obtained of old the ancestral kingdom by virtue of his own accomplishments, but thou, from blindness, didst not obtain the kingdom, though fully qualified to have it. If Pandu's son now obtaineth the kingdom as his inheritance from Pandu, his son will obtain it after him and that son's son also, and so on will it descend in Pandu's line. In that case, O king of the world, ourselves with our children, excluded from the royal line, shall certainly be disregarded by all men. Therefore, O monarch, adopt such counsels that we may not suffer perpetual distress, becoming dependent on others for our food. O king, if thou hadst obtained the sovereignty before, we would certainly have succeeded to it, however much the people might be unfavourable to us.'"

SECTION 144
(Jatugriha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana continued, "King Dhritarashtra whose knowledge only was his eyes, on hearing these words of his son and recollecting everything that Kanika had, said unto him, became afflicted with sorrow, and his mind also thereupon began to waver. Then Duryodhana and Karna, and Sakuni, the son of Suvala, and Duhsasana as their fourth, held a consultation together. Prince Duryodhana said unto Dhritarashtra, 'Send, O father, by some clever contrivance, the Pandavas to the town of Varanavata. We shall then have no fear of them.' Dhritarashtra, on hearing these words uttered by his son, reflected for a moment and replied unto Duryodhana, saying, 'Pandu, ever devoted to virtue, always behaved dutifully towards all his relatives but particularly towards me. He cared very little for the enjoyments of the world, but devotedly gave everything unto me, even the kingdom. His son is as much devoted to virtue as he, and is possessed of every accomplishment. Of world-wide fame, he is again the favourite of the people. He is possessed of allies; how can we by force exile him from his ancestral kingdom? The counsellors and soldiers (of the state) and their sons and grandsons have all been cherished and maintained by Pandu. Thus benefited of old by Pandu, shall not, O child, the citizens slay us with all our friends and relatives now on account of Yudhishthira?"

"Duryodhana replied, 'What thou sayest, O father, is perfectly true. But in view of the evil that is looming on the future as regards thyself, if we conciliate the people with wealth and honours, they would assuredly side with us for these proofs of our power. The treasury and the ministers of state, O king, are at this moment under our control. Therefore, it behoveth thee now to banish, by some gentle means, the Pandavas to the town of Varanavata; O king, when the sovereignty shall have been vested in me, then, O Bharata, may Kunti with her children come back from that place.'

"Dhritarashtra replied, 'This, O Duryodhana, is the very thought existing in my mind. But from its sinfulness I have never given expression to it. Neither Bhishma, nor Drona, nor Kshattri, nor Gautama (Kripa) will ever sanction the exile of the Pandavas. In their eyes, O dear son, amongst the Kurus ourselves and the Pandavas are equal. Those wise and virtuous persons will make no difference between us. If therefore, we behave so towards the Pandavas, shall we not, O son, deserve death at the hands of the Kurus, of these illustrious personages, and of the whole world?'

"Duryodhana answered, 'Bhishma hath no excess of affection for either side, and will, therefore, be neutral (in case of dispute). The son of Drona (Aswatthaman) is on my side. There is no doubt that where the son is, there the father will be. Kripa, the son of Saradwat, must be on the side on which Drona and Aswatthaman are. He will never abandon Drona and his sister's son (Aswatthaman). Kshattri (Vidura) is dependent on us for his means of life, though he is secretly with the foe. It he sides the Pandavas, he alone can do us no injury, Therefore, exile thou the Pandavas to Varanavata without any fear. And take such steps that they may go thither this very day. By this act, O father, extinguish the grief that consumeth me like a blazing fire, that robbeth me of sleep, and that pierces my heart even like a terrible dart.'"

SECTION 145
(Jatugriha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, Then prince Duryodhana, along with his brothers began to gradually win over the people to his side by grants of wealth and honours. Meanwhile, some clever councillors, instructed by Dhritarashtra, one day began to describe (in court) the town of Varanavata as a charming place. And they said, The festival of Pasupati (Siva) hath commenced in the town of Varanavata. The concourse of people is great and the procession is the most delightful of all ever witnessed on earth. Decked with every ornament, it charmed the hearts of all spectators.' Thus did those councillors, instructed by Dhritarashtra, speak of Varanavata, and whilst they were so speaking, the Pandavas, O king, felt the desire of going to that delightful town. And when the king (Dhritarashtra) ascertained that the curiosity of the Pandavas had been awakened, the son of Ambika addressed them, saying, 'These men of mine often speak of Varanavata as the most delightful town in the world. If therefore, ye children, ye desire to witness that festival, go to Varanavata with your followers and friends and enjoy yourselves there like the celestials. And give ye away pearls and gems unto the Brahmanas and the musicians (that may be assembled there). And sporting there for some time as ye please like the resplendent celestials and enjoying as much pleasure as ye like, return ye to Hastinapura again.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Yudhishthira, fully understanding the motives of Dhritarashtra and considering that he himself was weak and friendless, replied unto the king, saying, 'So be it.' Then addressing Bhishma, the son of Santanu, the wise Vidura, Drona, Valhika, the Kaurava, Somadatta, Kripa, Aswatthaman, Bhurisravas, and the other councillors, and Brahmanas and ascetics, and the priests and the citizens, and the illustrious Gandhari, he said slowly and humbly, 'With our friends and followers we go to the delightful and populous town of Varanavata at the command of Dhritarashtra. Cheerfully give us your benedictions so that acquiring prosperity, therewith we may not be touched by sin.' Thus addressed by the eldest of Pandu's sons, the Kaurava chiefs all cheerfully pronounced blessings on them, saying, 'Ye sons of Pandu, let all the elements bless you along your way and let not the slightest evil befall you.'

"The Pandavas, having performed propitiatory rites for obtaining (their share of) the kingdom, and finishing their preparations, set out for Varanavata.'"

SECTION 146
(Jatugriha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'The wicked Duryodhana became very pleased when the king, O Bharata, had said so unto Pandavas. And, O bull of Bharata's race, Duryodhana, then, summoning his counsellor, Purochana in private, took hold of his right hand and said, 'O Purochana, this world, so full of wealth, is mine. But it is thine equally with me. It behoveth thee, therefore, to protect it. I have no more trustworthy counsellor than thee with whom to consult. Therefore, O sire, keep my counsel and exterminate my foes by a clever device. O, do as I bid thee. The Pandavas have, by Dhritarashtra, been sent to Varanavata, where they will, at Dhritarashtra's command, enjoy themselves during the festivities. Do that by which thou mayest this very day reach Varanavata in a car drawn by swift mules. Repairing thither, cause thou to be erected a quadrangular palace in the neighbourhood of the arsenal, rich in the materials and furniture, and guard thou the mansion well (with prying eyes). And use thou (in erecting that house) hemp and resin and all other inflammable

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materials that are procurable. And mixing a little earth with clarified butter and oil and fat and a large quantity of lac, make thou a plaster for lining the walls, and scatter thou all around that house hemp and oil and clarified butter and lac and wood in such a way that the Pandavas, or any others, may not, even with scrutiny behold them there or conclude the house to be an inflammable one. And having erected such mansion, cause thou the Pandavas, after worshipping them with great reverence, to dwell in it with Kunti and all their friends. And place thou there seats and conveyances and beds, all of the best workmanship, for the Pandavas, so that Dhritarashtra may have no reason to complain. Thou must also so manage it all that none of Varanavata may know anything till the end we have in view is accomplished. And assuring thyself that the Pandavas are sleeping within in confidence and without fear, thou must then set fire to that mansion beginning at the outer door. The Pandavas thereupon must be burnt to death, but the people will say that they have been burnt in (an accidental) conflagration of their house.

"Saying, 'So be it' unto the Kuru prince, Purochana repaired to Varanavata in a car drawn by fleet mules. And going thither, O king, without loss of time, obedient to the instructions of Duryodhana, did everything that the prince had bid him do."

SECTION 147

(Jatugriha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Meanwhile the Pandavas got into their cars, yoking thereto some fine horses endued with the speed of wind. While they were on the point of entering their cars, they touched, in great sorrow, the feet of Bhishma, of king Dhritarashtra, of the illustrious Drona, of Kripa, of Vidura and of the other elders of the Kuru race. Then saluting with reverence all the older men, and embracing their equals, receiving the farewell of even the children, and taking leave of all the venerable ladies in their household, and walking round them respectfully, and bidding farewell unto all the citizens, the Pandavas, ever mindful of their vows, set out for Varanavata. And Vidura of great wisdom and the other bulls among the Kurus and the citizens also, from great affliction, followed those tigers among men to some distance. And some amongst the citizens and the country people, who followed the Pandavas, afflicted beyond measure at beholding the sons of Pandu in such distress, began to say aloud, 'King Dhritarashtra of wicked soul seeth no things with the same eye. The Kuru monarch casteth not his eye on virtue. Neither the sinless Yudhishthira, nor Bhima the foremost of mighty men, nor Dhananjaya the (youngest) son of Kunti, will ever be guilty (of the sin of waging a rebellious war). When these will remain quiet, how shall the illustrious son of Madri do anything? Having inherited the kingdom from their father, Dhritarashtra could not bear them. How is that Bhishma who suffers the exile of the Pandavas to that wretched place, sanctions this act of great injustice? Vichitravirya, the son of Santanu, and the royal sage Pandu of Kuru's race both cherished us of old with fatherly care. But now that Pandu that tiger among men, hath ascended to heaven, Dhritarashtra cannot bear with these princes his children. We who do not sanction this exile shall all go, leaving this excellent town and our own homes, where Yudhishthira will go.'

"Unto those distressed citizens talking in this way, the virtuous Yudhishthira, himself afflicted with sorrow, reflecting for a few moments said, 'The king is our father, worthy of regard, our spiritual guide, and our superior. To carry out with unsuspicious hearts whatever he biddeth, is indeed, our duty. Ye are our friends. Walking round us and making us happy by your blessings, return ye to your abodes. When the time cometh for anything to be done for us by you, then, indeed, accomplish all that is agreeable and beneficial to us.' Thus addressed, the citizens walked round the Pandavas and blessed them with their blessings and returned to their respective abodes.

"And after the citizens had ceased following the Pandavas, Vidura, conversant with all the dictates of morality, desirous of awakening the eldest of the Pandavas (to a sense of his dangers), addressed him in these words. The learned Vidura, conversant with the jargon (of the Mlechchhas), addressed the learned Yudhishthira who also was conversant with the same jargon, in the words of the Mlechchha tongue, so as to be unintelligible to all except Yudhishthira. He said, 'He that knoweth the schemes his foes contrive in accordance with the dictates of political science, should, knowing them, act in such a way as to avoid all danger. He that knoweth that there are sharp weapons capable of cutting the body though not made of steel, and understandeth also the means of warding them off, can never be injured by foes. He liveth who protecteth himself by the knowledge that neither the consumer of straw and wood nor the drier of the dew burneth the inmates of a hole in the deep woods. The blind man seeth not his way: the blind man hath no knowledge of direction. He that hath no firmness never acquireth prosperity. Remembering this, be upon your guard. The man who taketh a weapon not made of steel (i.e., an inflammable abode) given him by his foes, can escape from fire by making his abode like unto that of a jackal (having many outlets). By wandering a man may acquire the knowledge of ways, and by the stars he can ascertain the direction, and he that keepeth his five (senses) under control can never be oppressed y his enemies.'

"Thus addressed, Pandu's son, Yudhishthira the Just replied unto Vidura, that foremost of all learned men, saying, 'I have understood thee.' Then Vidura, having instructed the Pandavas and followed them (thus far), walked around them and bidding them farewell returned to his own abode. When the citizens and Bhishma and Vidura had all ceased following, Kunti approached Yudhishthira and said, 'The words that Kshattri said unto thee in the midst of many people so indistinctly as if he did not say anything, and thy reply also to him in similar words and voice, we have not understood. If it is not improper; for us to know them I should then like to hear everything that had passed between him and thee.'

"Yudhishthira replied, 'The virtuous Vidura said unto me that we should know that the mansion (for our accommodation at Varanavata) hath been built of inflammable materials. He said unto me, 'The path of escape too shall not be unknown to thee,'--and further,--'Those that can control their senses can acquire the sovereignty of the whole world.'--The reply that I gave unto Vidura was, 'I have understood thee.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'The Pandavas set out on the eighth day of the month of Phalguna when the star Rohini was in the ascendant, and arriving at Varanavata they beheld the town and the people.'"

SECTION 148

(Jatugriha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then all the citizens (of Varanavata) on hearing that the son of Pandu had come, were filled with joy at the tidings, speedily came out of Varanavata, in vehicles of various kinds numbering by thousands, taking with them every auspicious article as directed by the Sastras, for receiving those foremost of men. And the people of Varanavata, approaching the sons of Kunti blessed them by uttering the Jaya and stood surrounding them. That tiger among men, viz., the virtuous Yudhishthira thus surrounded by them looked resplendent like him having the thunderbolt in his hands (viz., Indra) in the midst of the celestials. And those sinless ones, welcomed by the citizens and welcoming the citizens in return, then entered the populous town of Varanavata decked with every ornament. Entering the town those heroes first went, O monarch, to the abodes of Brahmanas engaged in their proper duties. Those foremost of men then went to the abodes of the officials of the town, and then of the Sutas and the Vaisyas and then to those of even the Sudras, O bull of Bharata's race, thus adored by the citizens, the Pandavas at last went with Purochana going before them, to the palace that had been built for them, Purochana then began to place before them food and drink and beds and carpets, all of the first and most agreeable order. The Pandavas attired in costly robes, continued to live there, adored by Purochana and the people having their homes in Varanavata.

"After the Pandavas had thus lived for ten nights, Purochana spoke to them of the mansion (he had built) called 'The Blessed Home,' but in reality the cursed house. Then those tigers among men, attired in costly dress, entered that mansion at the instance of Purochana like Guhyakas entering the palace (of Siva) on the Kailasa mount. The foremost of all virtuous men, Yudhishthira, inspecting the house, said unto Bhima that it was really built of inflammable materials. Smelling the scent of fat mixed with clarified butter and preparations of lac, he said unto Bhima, 'O chastiser of foes, this house is truly built of inflammable materials! Indeed, it is apparent that such is the case! The enemy, it is evident, by the aid of trusted artists well-skilled in the construction of houses, have finely built this mansion, after procuring hemp, resin, heath, straw, and bamboos, all soaked in clarified butter. This wicked wretch, Purochana, acting under the instruction of Duryodhana, stayeth here with the object of burning me to death when he seeth me trustful. But, O son of Pritha, Vidura of great intelligence, knew of this danger, and, therefore, hath warned me of it beforehand. Knowing it all, that youngest uncle of ours, ever wishing our good from affection hath told us that this house, so full of danger, hath been constructed by the wretches under Duryodhana acting in secrecy.'

"Hearing this, Bhima replied, 'If, sir, you know this house to be so inflammable, it would then be well for us to return thither where we had taken up our quarters first.' Yudhishthira replied, 'It seems to me that we should rather continue to live here in seeming unsuspiciousness but all the while with caution and our senses wide awake and seeking for some certain means of escape. If Purochana findeth from our countenances that we have fathomed designs, acting with haste he may suddenly burn us to death. Indeed, Purochana careth little for obloquy or sin. The wretch stayeth here acting under the instruction of Duryodhana. If we are burnt to death, will our grandfather Bhishma be angry? Why will he, by showing his wrath, make the Kauravas angry with him? Or, perhaps, our grandfather Bhishma and the other bull of Kuru's race, regarding indignation at such a sinful act to be virtuous, may become wrathful. If however, from fear of being burnt, we fly from here, Duryodhana, ambitious of sovereignty will certainly compass our death by means of spies. While we have no rank and power, Duryodhana hath both; while we have no friends and allies, Duryodhana hath both; while we are without wealth, Duryodhana hath at his command a full treasury. Will he not, therefore, certainly destroy us by adopting adequate means? Let us, therefore, by deceiving this wretch (Purochana) and that other wretch Duryodhana, pass our days, disguising ourselves at times. Let us also lead a hunting life, wandering over the earth. We shall then, if we have to escape our enemies, be familiar with all paths. We shall also, this very day, cause a subterranean passage to be dug in our chamber in great secrecy. If we act in this way, concealing what we do from all, fire shall never be able to consume us. We shall live here, actively doing everything for our safety but with such privacy that neither Purochana nor any of the citizens of Varanavata may know what we are after.'"

SECTION 149

(Jatugriha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana continued, 'A friend of Vidura's, well-skilled in mining, coming unto the Pandavas, addressed them in secret, saying, 'I have been sent by Vidura and am a skilful miner. I am to serve the Pandavas. Tell me what I am to do for ye. From the trust he reposeth in me Vidura hath said unto me, 'Go thou unto the Pandavas and accomplish thou their good. What shall I do for you? Purochana will set fire to the door of thy house on the fourteenth night of this dark fortnight. To burn to death those tigers among men, the Pandavas, with their mother, is the design of that wicked wretch, the son of Dhritarashtra. O son of Pandu, Vidura also told thee something in the Mlechchha tongue to which thou also didst reply in same language. I state these particulars as my credentials.' Hearing these words, Yudhishthira, the truthful son of Kunti replied, 'O amiable one, I now know thee as a dear and trusted friend of Vidura, true and ever devoted to him. There is nothing that the learned Vidura doth not know. As his, so ours art thou. Make no difference between him and us. We are as much thine as his. O, protect us as the learned Vidura ever protecteth us. I know that this house, so inflammable, hath been contrived for me by Purochana at the command of Dhritarashtra's son. That wicked wretch commanding wealth and allies pursueth us without intermission. O, save us with a little exertion from the impending conflagration. If we are burnt to death here, Duryodhana's most cherished desire will be satisfied. Here is that wretch's well-furnished arsenal. This large mansion hath been built abutting the high ramparts of the arsenal without any outlet. But this unholy contrivance of Duryodhana was known to Vidura from the first, and he it was who enlightened us beforehand. The danger of which Kshattri had foreknowledge is now at our door. Save us from it without Purochana's knowledge thereof.' On hearing these words, the miner said, 'So be it,' and carefully beginning his work of excavation, made a large subterranean passage. And the mouth of that passage was in the centre of that house, and it was on a level with the floor and closed up with planks. The mouth was so covered from fear of Purochana, that wicked wretch who kept a constant watch at the door of the house. The Pandavas used to sleep within their chambers with arms ready for use, while, during the day, they went a-hunting from forest to forest. Thus, O king, they lived (in that mansion) very guardedly, deceiving Purochana by a show of trustfulness and contentment while in reality they were trustless and discontented. Nor did the citizens of Varanavata know anything about these plans of the Pandavas. In fact, none else knew of them except Vidura's friend, that good miner.'"

SECTION 150

(Jatugriha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Seeing the Pandavas living there cheerfully and without suspicion for a full year, Purochana became exceedingly glad. And beholding Purochana so very glad, Yudhishthira, the virtuous son of Kunti, addressing Bhima and Arjuna and the twins (Nakula and Sahadeva) said, 'The cruel-hearted wretch hath been well-deceived. I think the time is come for our escape. Setting fire to the arsenal and burning Purochana to death and letting his body lie here, let us, six persons, fly hence unobserved by all!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then on the occasion of an almsgiving, O king, Kunti fed on a certain night a large number of Brahmanas. There came also a number of ladies who while eating and drinking, enjoyed there as they pleased, and with Kunti's leave returned to their respective homes. Desirous of obtaining food, there came, as though impelled by fate, to that feast, in course of her wanderings, a Nishada woman, the mother of five children, accompanied by all her sons. O king, she, and her children, intoxicated with the wine

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they drank, became incapable. Deprived of consciousness and more dead than alive, she with all her sons lay down in that mansion to sleep. Then when all the inmates of the house lay down to sleep, there began to blow a violent wind in the night. Bhima then set fire to the house just where Purochana was sleeping. Then the son of Pandu set fire to the door of that house of lac. Then he set fire to the mansion in several parts all around. Then when the sons of Pandu were satisfied that the house had caught fire in several parts those chastisers of foes with their mother, entered the subterranean passage without losing any time. Then the heat and the roar of the fire became intense and awakened the townspeople. Beholding the house in flames, the citizens with sorrowful faces began to say, 'The wretch (Purochana) of wicked soul had under the instruction of Duryodhana built his house for the destruction of his employer's relatives. He indeed hath set fire to it. O, fie on Dhritarashtra's heart which is so partial. He hath burnt to death, as if he were their foe, the sinless heirs of Pandu! O, the sinful and wicked-souled (Purochana) who hath burnt those best of men, the innocent and unsuspicious princes, hath himself been burnt to death as fate would have it.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'The citizens of Varanavata thus bewailed (the fate of the Pandavas), and waited there for the whole night surrounding that house. The Pandavas, however, accompanied by their mother coming out of the subterranean passage, fled in haste unnoticed. But those chastisers of foes, for sleepiness and fear, could not with their mother proceed in haste. But, O monarch, Bhimasena, endued with terrible prowess and swiftness of motion took upon his body all his brothers and mother and began to push through the darkness. Placing his mother on his shoulder, the twins on his sides, and Yudhishthira and Arjuna on both his arms, Vrikodara of great energy and strength and endued with the speed of the wind, commenced his march, breaking the trees with his breast and pressing deep the earth with his stamp.'"

SECTION 151

(Jatugriha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'About this time, the learned Vidura had sent into those woods a man of pure character and much trusted by him. This person going to where he had been directed, saw the Pandavas with their mother in the forest employed in a certain place in measuring the depth of a river. The design that the wicked Duryodhana had formed had been, through his spies, known to Vidura of great intelligence, and, therefore, he had sent that prudent person unto the Pandavas. Sent by Vidura unto them, he showed the Pandavas on the sacred banks of the Ganga a boat with engines and flags, constructed by trusted artificers and capable of withstanding wind and wave and endued with the speed of the tempest or of thought. He then addressed the Pandavas in these words to show that he had really been sent by Vidura, 'O Yudhishthira, he said, "listen to these words the learned Vidura had said (unto thee) as a proof of the fact that I come from him. Neither the consumer of straw and the wood nor the drier of dew ever burneth the inmates of a hole in the forest. He escapeth from death who protecteth himself knowing this, etc.' By these credentials know me to be the person who has been truly sent by Vidura and to be also his trusted agent. Vidura, conversant with everything, hath again said, 'O son of Kunti, thou shalt surely defeat in battle Karna, and Duryodhana with his brothers, and Sakuni.' This boat is ready on the waters, and it will glide pleasantly thereon, and shall certainly bear you all from these regions!'

"Then beholding those foremost of men with their mother pensive and sad he caused them to go into the boat that was on the Ganga, and accompanied them himself. Addressing them again, he said, 'Vidura having smelt your heads and embraced you (mentally), hath said again that in commencing your auspicious journey and going alone you should never be careless.'

"Saying these words unto those heroic princes, the person sent by Vidura took those bulls among men over to the other side of the Ganga in his boat. And having taken them over the water and seen them all safe on the opposite bank, he uttered the word 'Jaya' (victory) to their success and then left them and returned to the place whence he had come.

"The illustrious Pandavas also sending through that person some message to Vidura, began, after having crossed the Ganga, to proceed with haste and in great secrecy.'"

SECTION 152

(Jatugriha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then, when the night had passed away, a large concourse of the townspeople came there in haste to see the sons of Pandu. After extinguishing the fire, they saw that the house just burnt down had been built of lac in materials and that (Duryodhana's) counsellor Purochana had been burnt to death. And the people began to bewail aloud saying, 'Indeed, this had been contrived by the sinful Duryodhana for the destruction of the Pandavas. There is little doubt that Duryodhana hath, with Dhritarashtra's knowledge, burnt to death the heirs of Pandu, else the prince would have been prevented by his father. There is little doubt that even Bhishma, the son of Santanu, and Drona and Vidura and Kripa and other Kauravas have not, any of them, followed the dictates of duty. Let us now send to Dhritarashtra to say, 'Thy great desire hath been achieved! Thou hast burnt to death the Pandavas!'

"They then began to extinguish the members to obtain some trace of the Pandavas, and they saw the innocent Nishada woman with her five sons burnt to death. Then the miner sent by Vidura, while removing the ashes, covered the hole he had dug with those ashes in such a way that it remained unnoticed by all who had gone there.

"The citizens then sent to Dhritarashtra to inform him that the Pandavas along with (Duryodhana's) counsellor Purochana had been burnt to death. King Dhritarashtra, on hearing the evil news of the death of the Pandavas, wept in great sorrow. And he said, 'King Pandu, my brother of great fame, hath, indeed, died today when those heroic sons of his together with their mother have been burnt to death. Ye men, repair quickly to Varanavata and cause the funeral rites to be performed of those heroes and of the daughter of Kuntiraj! Let also the bones of the deceased be sanctified with the usual rites, and let all the beneficial and great acts (usual on such occasions) be performed. Let the friends and relatives of those that have been burnt to death repair thither. Let also all other beneficial acts that ought, under the circumstances, to be performed by us for the Pandavas and Kunti be accomplished by wealth.'

"Having said this, Dhritarashtra, the son of Ambika, surrounded by his relatives, offered oblations of water to the sons of Pandu. And all of them, afflicted with excessive sorrow, bewailed aloud, exclaiming, 'O Yudhishthira! Oh prince of the Kuru race!'--While others cried aloud, 'Oh, Bhima!--O Phalguna!'--while some again,--'Oh, the twins!--Oh, Kunti!'--Thus did they sorrow for the Pandavas and offer oblations of water unto them. The citizens also wept for the Pandavas but Vidura did not weep much, because he knew the truth.

"Meanwhile the Pandavas endued with great strength with their mother forming a company of six going out of the town of Varanavata arrived at the banks of the Ganga. They then speedily reached the opposite bank aided by the strength of the boatmen's arms, the rapidity of the river's current, and a favourable wind. Leaving the boat, they proceeded in the southern direction finding their way in the dark by the light of the stars. After much suffering they at last reached, O king, a dense forest. They were then tired and thirsty; sleep was closing their eyes every moment. Then Yudhishthira, addressing Bhima endued with great energy, said, 'What can be more painful than this? We are now in the deep woods. We know not which side is which, nor can we proceed much further. We do not know whether that wretch Purochana hath or hath not been burnt to death. How shall we escape from these dangers unseen by others? O Bharata, taking us on thyself, proceed thou as before. Thou alone amongst us art strong and swift as the wind.'

"Thus addressed by Yudhishthira the Just, the mighty Bhimasena, taking up on his body Kunti and his brothers, began to proceed with great celerity.'"

SECTION 153

(Jatugriha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said," As the mighty Bhima proceeded, the whole forest with its trees and their branches seemed to tremble, in consequence of their clash with his breast. The motion of his thighs raised a wind like unto that which blows during the months of Jyaishtha and Ashadha (May and June). And the mighty Bhima proceeded, making a path for himself, but treading down the trees and creepers before him. In fact, he broke (by the pressure of his body) the large trees and plants, with their flowers and fruits, standing on his way. Even so passeth through the woods breaking down mighty trees, the leader of a herd of elephants, of the age of sixty years, angry and endued with excess of energy, during the season of rut when the liquid juice trickle down the three parts of his body. Indeed, so great was the force with which Bhima endued with the speed of Garuda or of Marut (the god of wind), proceeded that the Pandavas seemed to faint in consequence. Frequently swimming across streams difficult of being crossed, the Pandavas disguised themselves on their way from fear of the sons of Dhritarashtra. And Bhima carried on his shoulder his illustrious mother of delicate sensibilities along the uneven banks of rivers. Towards the evening, O bull of Bharata's race, Bhima (bearing his brothers and mother on his back) reached a terrible forest where fruits and roots and water were scarce and which resounded with the terrible cries of birds and beasts. The twilight deepened the cries of birds and beasts became fiercer, darkness shrouded everything from the view and untimely winds began to blow that broke and laid low many a tree large and small and many creepers with dry leaves and fruits. The Kaurava princes, afflicted with fatigue and thirst, and heavy with sleep, were unable to proceed further. They then all sat down in that forest without food and drink. Then Kunti, smitten with thirst, said unto her sons, 'I am the mother of the five Pandavas and am now in their midst. Yet I am burning with thirst!' Kunti repeatedly said this unto her sons. Hearing these words, Bhima's heart, from affection for his mother, was warmed by compassion and he resolved to go (along as before). Then Bhima, proceeding through that terrible and extensive forest without a living soul, saw a beautiful banian tree with widespreading branches. Setting down there his brothers and mother, O bull of Bharata's race; he said unto them, 'Rest you here, while I go in quest of water. I hear the sweet cries of aquatic fowls. I think there must be a large pool here.' Commanded, O Bharata, by his elder brother who said unto him, 'Go', Bhima proceeded in the direction whence the cries of those aquatic fowls were coming. And, O bull of Bharata's race, he soon came upon a lake and bathed and slaked his thirst. And affectionate unto his brothers, he brought for them, O Bharata, water by soaking his upper garments. Hastily retracing his way over those four miles he came unto where his mother was and beholding her he was afflicted with sorrow and began to sigh like a snake. Distressed with grief at seeing his mother and brothers asleep on the bare ground, Vrikodara began to weep, 'Oh, wretch that I am, who behold my brothers asleep on the bare ground, what can befall me more painful than this? Alas, they who formerly at Varanavata could not sleep on the softest and costliest beds are now asleep on the bare ground! Oh, what more painful sight shall I ever behold than that of Kunti--the sister of Vasudeva, that grinder of hostile hosts--the daughter of Kuntiraja,--herself decked with every auspicious mark, the daughter-in-law of Vichitravirya,--the wife of the illustrious Pandu,--the mother of us (five brothers),--resplendent as the filaments of the lotus and delicate and tender and fit to sleep on the costliest bed--thus asleep, as she should never be, on the bare ground! Oh, she who hath brought forth these sons by Dharma and Indra and Maruta--she who hath ever slept within palaces--now sleepeth, fatigued, on the bare ground! What more painful sight shall ever be beheld by me than that of these tigers among men (my brothers) asleep on the ground! Oh, the virtuous Yudhishthira, who deserveth the sovereignty of the three worlds, sleepeth, fatigued, like an ordinary man, on the bare ground! This Arjuna of the darkish hue of blue clouds, and unequalled amongst men sleepeth on the ground like an ordinary person! Oh, what can be more painful than this? Oh the twins, who in beauty are like the twin Aswins amongst the celestials, are asleep like ordinary mortals on the bare ground! He who hath no jealous evil-minded relatives, liveth in happiness in this world like a single tree in a village. The tree that standeth single in a village with its leaves and fruits, from absence of other of the same species, becometh sacred and is worshipped and venerated by all. They again that have many relatives who, however, are all heroic and virtuous, live happily in the world without sorrow of any kind. Themselves powerful and growing in prosperity and always gladdening their friends and relatives, they live, depending on each other, like tall trees growing in the same forest. We, however, have been forced in exile by the wicked Dhritarashtra and his sons having escaped with difficulty, from sheer good fortune, a fiery death. Having escaped from that fire, we are now resting in the shade of this tree. Having already suffered so much, where now are we to go? Ye sons of Dhritarashtra of little foresight, ye wicked fellows, enjoy your temporary success. The gods are certainly auspicious to you. But ye wicked wretches, ye are alive yet, only because Yudhishthira doth not command me to take your lives. Else this very day, filled with wrath, I would send thee, (O Duryodhana), to the regions of Yama (Pluto) with thy children and friends and brothers, and Karna, and (Sakuni) the son of Suvala! But what can I do, for, ye sinful wretches, the virtuous king Yudhishthira, the eldest of the Pandavas, is not yet angry with you?'

"Having said this, Bhima of mighty arms, fired with wrath, began to squeeze his palms, sighing deeply in affliction. Excited again with wrath like an extinguished fire blazing up all on a sudden, Vrikodara once more beheld his brothers sleeping on the ground like ordinary persons sleeping in trustfulness. And Bhima said unto himself, 'I think there is some town not far off from this forest. These all are asleep, so I will sit awake. And this will slake their thirst after they rise refreshed from sleep.' Saying this, Bhima sat there awake, keeping watch over his sleeping mother and brothers.'"

SECTION 154

(Hidimva-vadha Parva)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Not far from the place where the Pandavas were asleep, a Rakshasa by name Hidimva dwelt on the Sala tree. Possessed of great energy and prowess, he was a cruel cannibal of visage that was grim in consequence of his sharp and long teeth. He was now hungry and longing for human flesh. Of long shanks and a large belly, his locks and beard were both red in hue. His shoulders were broad like the neck of a tree; his ears were like unto arrows, and his features were frightful. Of red eyes and grim visage, the monster beheld, while casting his glances around, the sons of Pandu sleeping in those woods. He was then hungry and longing for human flesh. Shaking his dry and grizzly locks and scratching them with his fingers pointed upwards, the large-mouthed cannibal repeatedly looked at the sleeping sons of Pandu

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yawning wistfully at times. Of huge body and great strength, of complexion like the colour of a mass of clouds, of teeth long and sharp-pointed and face emitting a sort of lustre, he was ever pleased with human flesh. And scenting the odour of man, he addressed his sister, saying, 'O sister, it is after a long time that such agreeable food hath approached me! My mouth waters at the anticipated relish of such food. My eight teeth, so sharp-pointed and incapable of being resisted by any substance, I shall, today, after a long time, put into the most delicious flesh. Attacking the human throat and even opening the veins, I shall (today) drink a plentiful quantity of human blood, hot and fresh and frothy. Go and ascertain who these are, lying asleep in these woods. The strong scent of man pleaseth my nostrils. Slaughtering all these men, bring them unto me. They sleep within my territory. Thou needest have no fear from them. Do my bidding soon, for we shall then together eat their flesh, tearing off their bodies at pleasure. And after feasting to our fill on human flesh we shall then dance together to various measures!'

"Thus addressed by Hidimva in those woods, Hidimva, the female cannibal, at the command of her brother, went, O bull of Bharata's race, to the spot where the Pandavas were. And on going there, she beheld the Pandavas asleep with their mother and the invincible Bhimasena sitting awake. And beholding Bhimasena unrivalled on earth for beauty and like unto a vigorous Sala tree, the Rakshasa woman immediately fell in love with him, and she said to herself, 'This person of hue like heated gold and of mighty arms, of broad shoulders as the lion, and so resplendent, of neck marked with three lines like a conch-shell and eyes like lotus-petals, is worthy of being my husband. I shall not obey the cruel mandate of my brother. A woman's love for her husband is stronger than her affection for her brother. If I slay him, my brother's gratification as well as mine will only be momentary. But if I slay him not, I can enjoy, with him for ever and ever.' Thus saying, the Rakshasa woman, capable of assuming form at will, assumed an excellent human form and began to advance with slow steps towards Bhima of mighty arms. Decked with celestial ornaments she advanced with smiles on her lips and a modest gait, and addressing Bhima said, 'O bull among men, whence hast thou come here and who art thou? Who, besides, are these persons of celestial beauty sleeping here? Who also, O sinless one, is this lady of transcendent* beauty sleeping so trustfully in these woods as if she were lying in her own chamber? Dost thou not know that this forest is the abode of a Rakshasa. Truly do I say, here liveth the wicked Rakshasa called Hidimva. Ye beings of celestial beauty, I have been sent hither even by that Rakshasa--my brother--with the cruel intent of killing you for his food. But I tell thee truly that beholding thee resplendent as a celestial, I would have none else for my husband save thee! Thou who art acquainted with all duties, knowing this, do unto me what is proper. My heart as well as my body hath been pierced by (the shafts of) Kama (Cupid). O, as I am desirous of obtaining thee, make me thine. O thou of mighty arms, I will rescue thee from the Rakshasa who eateth human flesh. O sinless one, be thou my husband. We shall then live on the breasts of mountains inaccessible to ordinary mortals. I can range the air and I do so at pleasure. Thou mayest enjoy great felicity with me in those regions.' [* In religion, transcendence is (1st) the aspect of a god's nature and power that is wholly independent of the material universe, beyond all known physical laws. This is contrasted with immanence, where a god is said to be fully present in the physical world and thus accessible to creatures in various ways. And (2nd) in the religious experience of an individual, transcendence is a state of being that has overcome the limitations of physical existence, and by some definitions, has also become independent of it. This is typically experienced in meditation, prayer, half-dream, daydream, light slumber, rituals, séance, the use of drugs, as well as psychedelics and paranormal "visions". As it is produced in and by our brains, any kind of trancendence is a subjective and therefore individual experience, never an objective one, even when it feels like it.]

"Hearing these words of hers, Bhima replied, 'O Rakshasa woman, who can, like a Muni having all his passions under control, abandon his sleeping mother and elder and younger brothers? What man like me would go to gratify his lust, leaving his sleeping mother and brothers as food for a Rakshasa?'

"The Rakshasa woman replied, 'O, awaken all these, I shall do unto you all that is agreeable to thee! I shall certainly rescue you all from my cannibal brother?'

"Bhima then said, 'O Rakshasa woman, I will not, from fear of thy wicked brother, awaken my brothers and mother sleeping comfortably in the woods. O timid one, Rakshasas are never able to bear the prowess of my arms. And, O thou of handsome eyes, neither men, nor Gandharvas, nor Yakshas are able to bear my might. O amiable one, thou mayst stay or go as thou likest, or mayst even send thy cannibal brother, O thou of delicate shape. I care not.'"

SECTION 155

(Hidimva-vadha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Hidimva, the chief of the Rakshasas, seeing that his sister returned not soon enough, alighted from the tree, proceeded quickly to the spot where the Pandavas were. Of red eyes and strong arms and the arms and the hair of his head standing erect, of large open mouth and body like unto a mass of dark clouds, teeth long and sharp-pointed, he was terrible to behold. And Hidimva, beholding her brother of frightful visage alight from the tree, became very much alarmed, and addressing Bhima said, 'The wicked cannibal is coming hither in wrath. I entreat thee, do with thy brothers, as I bid thee. O thou of great courage, as I am endued with the powers of a Rakshasa, I am capable of going whithersoever I like. Mount ye on my hips, I will carry you all through the skies. And, O chastiser of foes, awaken these and thy mother sleeping in comfort. Taking them all on my body, I will convey you through the skies.'

"Bhima then said, 'O thou of fair hips, fear not anything. I am sure that as long as I am here, there is no Rakshasa capable of injuring any of these, O thou of slender waist. I will slay this (cannibal) before thy very eyes. This worst of Rakshasas, O timid one, is no worthy antagonist of mine, nor can all the Rakshasas together bear the strength of my arms. Behold these strong arms of mine, each like unto the trunk of an elephant. Behold also these thighs of mine like unto iron maces, and this broad and adamantine chest. O beautiful one, thou shall today behold my prowess like unto that of Indra. O thou of fair hips, hate me not, thinking that I am a man.'

"Hidimva replied saying, 'O tiger among men, O thou of the beauty of a celestial, I do not certainly hold thee in contempt. But I have seen the prowess that Rakshasas exert upon men.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then, O Bharata, the wrathful Rakshasa eating human flesh heard these words of Bhima who had been talking in that way. And Hidimva beheld his sister disguised in human form, her head decked with garlands of flowers and her face like the full moon and her eyebrows and nose and eyes and ringlets all of the handsomest description, and her nails and complexion of the most delicate hue, and herself wearing every kind of ornament and attired in fine transparent robes. The cannibal, beholding her in that charming human form, suspected that she was desirous of carnal intercourse and became indignant. And, O best of the Kurus, becoming angry with his sister, the Rakshasa dilated his eyes and addressing her said, 'What senseless creature wishes to throw obstacles in my path now that I am so hungry? Hast thou become so senseless, O Hidimva, that thou fearest not my wrath? Fie on thee, thou unchaste woman! Thou art even now desirous of carnal intercourse and solicitous of doing me an injury. Thou art ready to sacrifice the good name and honour of all the Rakshasas, thy ancestors! Those with whose aid thou wouldst do me this great injury, I will, even now, slay along with thee.' Addressing his sister thus, Hidimva, with eyes red with anger and teeth pressing against teeth, ran at her to kill her then and there. But beholding him rush at his sister, Bhima, that foremost of smiter, endued with great energy, rebuked him and said, Stop--Stop!'"

"Vaisampayana continued, 'And Bhima, beholding the Rakshasa angry with his sister, smiled (in derision), and said, addressing him, 'O Hidimva, what need is there for thee to awaken these persons sleeping so comfortably? O wicked cannibal, approach me first without loss of time. Smite me first,--it behoveth thee not to kill a woman, especially when she hath been sinned against instead of sinning. This girl is scarcely responsible for her act in desiring intercourse with me. She hath, in this, been moved by the deity of desire that pervadeth every living form. Thou wicked wretch and the most infamous of Rakshasas, thy sister came here at thy command. Beholding my person, she desireth me. In that the timid girl doth no injury to thee. It is the deity of desire that hath offended. It behoveth thee not to injure her for this offence. O wicked wretch, thou shalt not slay a woman when I am here. Come with me, O cannibal, and fight with myself singly. Singly shall I send thee today to the abode of Yama (Pluto). O Rakshasa, let thy head today, pressed by my might, be pounded to pieces, as though pressed by the tread of a mighty elephant. When thou art slain by me on the field of battle, let herons and hawks and jackals tear in glee thy limbs today on the ground. In a moment I shall today make this forest destitute of Rakshasas,--this forest that had so long been ruled by thee, devourer of human beings! Thy sister, O Rakshasa, shall today behold thyself, huge though thou art like a mountain, like a huge elephant repeatedly dragged by a lion, O worst of Rakshasas, thyself slain by me, men ranging these woods will henceforth do so safely and without fear.'

"Hearing these words, Hidimva said, 'What need is there, O man, for this thy vaunt and this thy boast? Accomplish all this first, and then mayst thou vaunt indeed. Therefore, delay thou not. Thou knowest thyself to be strong and endued with prowess, so thou shalt rightly estimate thy strength today in thy encounter with me. Until that, I will not slay these (thy brothers). Let them sleep comfortably. But I will, as thou art a fool and the utterer of evil speeches, slay thee first. After drinking thy blood, I will slay these also, and then last of all, this (sister of mine) that hath done me an injury.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Saying this, the cannibal, extending his arms ran in wrath towards Bhimasena, that chastiser of foes. Then Bhima of terrible prowess quickly seized, as though in sport, with great force, the extended arms of the Rakshasa who had rushed at him. Then seizing the struggling Rakshasa with violence, Bhima dragged him from that spot full thirty-two cubits like a lion dragging a little animal. Then the Rakshasa, thus made to feel the weight of Bhima's strength, became very angry and clasping the Pandava, sent forth a terrible yell. The mighty Bhima then dragged with force the Rakshasa to a greater distance, lest his yells should awaken his brothers sleeping in comfort. Clasping and dragging each other with great force, both Hidimva and Bhimasena put forth their prowess. Fighting like two full-grown elephants mad with rage, they then began to break down the trees and tear the creepers that grew around. And at those sounds, those tigers among men (the sleeping Pandavas) woke up with their mother, and saw Hidimva sitting before them.'"

SECTION 156

(Hidimva-vadha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Roused from sleep, those tigers among men, with their mother, beholding the extraordinary beauty of Hidimva, were filled with wonder. And Kunti, gazing at her with wonder at her beauty, addressed her sweetly and gave her every assurance. She asked, 'O thou of the splendour of a daughter of the celestials, whose art thou and who art thou? O thou of the fairest complexion, on what business hast thou come hither and whence hast thou come? If thou art the deity of these woods or an Apsara, tell me all regarding thyself and also why thou stayest here?' Thereupon Hidimva replied, 'This extensive forest that thou seest, of the hue of blue cloud, is the abode of a Rakshasa of the name of Hidimva. O handsome lady, know me as the sister of that chief of the Rakshasa. Revered dame, I had been sent by that brother of mine to kill thee with all thy children. But on arriving here at the command of that cruel brother of mine, I beheld thy mighty son. Then, O blessed lady, I was brought under the control of thy son by the deity of love who pervadeth the nature of every being, and I then (mentally) chose that mighty son of thine as my husband. I tried my best to convey you hence, but I could not (because of thy son's opposition). Then the cannibal, seeing my delay, came hither to kill all these thy children. But he hath been dragged hence with force by that mighty and intelligent son of thine--my husband. Behold now that couple--man and Rakshasa--both endued with great strength and prowess, engaged in combat, grinding each other and filling the whole region with their shouts.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing those words of hers, Yudhishthira suddenly rose up and Arjuna also and Nakula and Sahadeva of great energy and they beheld Bhima and the Rakshasa already engaged in fight, eager to overcome each other and dragging each other with great force, like two lions endued with great might. The dust raised by their feet in consequence of that encounter looked like the smoke of a forest-conflagration. Covered with that dust their huge bodies resembled two tall cliffs enveloped in mist. Then Arjuna, beholding Bhima rather oppressed in the fight by the Rakshasa, slowly, said with smiles on his lips, 'Fear not, O Bhima of mighty arms! We (had been asleep and therefore) knew not that thou wast engaged with a terrible Rakshasa and tired in fight. Here do I stand to help thee, let me slay the Rakshasa, and let Nakula and Sahadeva protect our mother.' Hearing him, Bhima said, 'Look on this encounter, O brother, like a stranger. Fear not for the result. Having come within the reach of my arms, he shall not escape with life.' Then Arjuna said, 'What need, O Bhima, for keeping the Rakshasa alive so long? O oppressor of enemies, we are to go hence, and cannot stay here longer. The east is reddening, the morning twilight is about to set in. The Rakshasa became stronger by break of day, therefore, hasten, O Bhima! Play not (with thy victim), but slay the terrible Rakshasa soon. During the two twilights Rakshasas always put forth their powers of deception. Use all the strength of thy arms.

"Vaisampayana continued, 'At this speech of Arjuna, Bhima blazing up with anger, summoned the might that Vayu (his father) puts forth at the time of the universal dissolution. And filled with rage, he quickly raised high in the air the Rakshasa's body, blue as the clouds of heaven, and whirled it a hundred times. Then addressing the cannibal, Bhima said, 'O Rakshasa, thy intelligence was given thee in vain, and in vain hast thou grown and thriven on unsanctified flesh. Thou deservest, therefore, an unholy death and I shall reduce thee today to nothing. I shall make this forest blessed today, like one without prickly plants. And, O Rakshasa, thou shalt no longer slay human beings for thy food.' Arjuna at this juncture, said, 'O Bhima, if thou thinkest it a hard task for thee to overcome this Rakshasa in combat, let me render thee help, else, slay him thyself without loss of time. Or, O Vrikodara, let me alone slay the Rakshasa. Thou art tired,

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and hast almost finished the affair. Well dost thou deserve rest.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words of Arjuna, Bhima was fired with rage and dashing the Rakshasa on the ground with all his might slew him as if he were an animal. The Rakshasa, while dying, sent forth a terrible yell that filled the whole forest, and was deep as the sound of a wet drum. Then the mighty Bhima, holding the body with his hands, bent it double, and breaking it in the middle, greatly gratified his brothers. Beholding Hidimva slain, they became exceedingly glad and lost no time in offering their congratulations to Bhima, that chastiser of all foes. Then Arjuna worshipping the illustrious Bhima of terrible prowess, addressed him again and said, 'Revered senior, I think there is a town not far off from this forest. Blest be thou, let us go hence soon, so that Duryodhana may not trace us.'

"Then all those mighty car-warriors, those tigers among men, saying, 'So be it,' proceeded along with their mother, followed by Hidimva, the Rakshasa woman.'"

SECTION 157

(Hidimva-vadha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Bhima, beholding Hidimva following them, addressed her, saying, 'Rakshasas revenge themselves on their enemies by adopting deceptions that are incapable of being penetrated. Therefore, O Hidimva, go thou the way on which thy brother hath gone.' Then Yudhishthira beholding Bhima in rage, said, 'O Bhima, O tiger among men, however enraged, do not slay a woman. O Pandava, the observance of virtue is a higher duty than the protection of life. Hidimva, who had come with the object of slaying us, thou hast already slain. This woman is the sister of that Rakshasa, what can she do to us even if she were angry?'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then Hidimva reverentially saluting Kunti and her son Yudhishthira also, said, with joined palms, 'O revered lady, thou knowest the pangs that women are made to feel at the hands of the deity of love. Blessed dame, these pangs, of which Bhimasena hath been the cause, are torturing me. I had hitherto borne these insufferable pangs, waiting for the time (when thy son could assuage them). That time is now come, when I expected I would be made happy. Casting off my friends and relations and the usage of my race, I have, O blessed lady, chosen this son of thine, this tiger among men, as my husband. I tell thee truly, O illustrious lady, that if I am cast off by that hero or by thee either, I will no longer bear this life of mine. Therefore, O thou of the fairest complexion, it behoveth thee to show me mercy, thinking me either as very silly or thy obedient slave. O illustrious dame, unite me with this thy son, my husband. Endued as he is with the form of a celestial, let me go taking him with me wherever I like. Trust me, O blessed lady, I will again bring him back unto you all. When you think of me I will come to you immediately and convey you whithersoever ye may command. I will rescue you from all dangers and carry you across inaccessible and uneven regions. I will carry you on my back whenever ye desire to proceed with swiftness. O, be gracious unto me and make Bhima accept me. It hath been said that in a season of distress one should protect one's life by any means. He, that seeketh to discharge that duty should not scruple about the means. He, that in a season of distress keepeth his virtue, is the foremost of virtuous men. Indeed, distress is the greatest danger to virtue and virtuous men. It is virtue that protecteth life; therefore is virtue called the giver of life. Hence the means by which virtue or the observance of a duty is secured can never be censurable.'

"Hearing these words of Hidimva, Yudhishthira said. 'It is even so, O Hidimva, as thou sayest. There is no doubt of it. But, O thou of slender waist, thou must act even as thou hast said. Bhima will, after he hath washed himself and said his prayers and performed the usual propitiatory rites, pay his attentions to thee till the sun sets. Sport thou with him as thou likest during the day, O thou that art endued with the speed of the mind! But thou must bring back Bhimasena hither every day at nightfall.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then Bhima, expressing his assent to all that Yudhishthira said, addressed Hidimva, saying, 'Listen to me, O Rakshasa woman! Truly do I make this engagement with thee that I will stay with thee, O thou of slender waist, until thou obtainest a son.' Then Hidimva, saying, 'So be it,' took Bhima upon her body and sped through the sides. On mountain peaks of picturesque scenery and regions sacred to the gods, abounding with dappled herds and echoing with the melodies of feathered tribes, herself assuming the handsomest form decked with every ornament and pouring forth at times mellifluous strains. Hidimva sported with the Pandava and studied to make him happy. So also, in inaccessible regions of forests, and on mountain-breasts overgrown with blossoming trees on lakes resplendent with lotuses and lilies, islands of rivers and their pebbly banks, on sylvan streams with beautiful banks and mountain-currents, in picturesque woods with blossoming trees and creepers in Himalayan bowers, and various caves, on crystal pools smiling with lotuses, on sea-shores shining with gold and pearls, in beautiful towns and fine gardens, in woods sacred to the gods and on hill-sides, in the regions of Guhyakas and ascetics, on the banks of Manasarovara abounding with fruits and flowers of every season Hidimva, assuming the handsomest form, sported with Bhima and studied to make him happy. Endued with the speed of the mind, she sported with Bhima in all these regions, till in time, she conceived and brought forth a mighty son begotten upon her by the Pandava. Of terrible eyes and large mouth and straight arrowy ears, the child was terrible to behold. Of lips brown as copper and sharp teeth and loud roar, of mighty arms and great strength and excessive prowess, this child became a mighty bowman. Of long nose, broad chest, frightfully swelling calves, celerity of motion and excessive strength, he had nothing human in his countenance, though born of man. And he excelled (in strength and prowess) all Pisachas and kindred tribes as well as all Rakshasas. And, O monarch, though a little child, he grew up a youth the very hour he was born. The mighty hero soon acquired high proficiency in the use of all weapons. The Rakshasa women bring forth the very day they conceive, and capable of assuming any forms at will, they always change their forms. And the bald-headed child, that mighty bowman, soon after his birth, bowing down to his mother, touched her feet and the feet also of his father. His parents then bestowed upon him a name. His mother having remarked that his head was (bald) like unto a Ghata (water-pot), both his parents thereupon called him Ghatotkacha (the pot-headed). And Ghatotkacha who was exceedingly devoted to the Pandavas, became a great favourite with them, indeed almost one of them.

"Then Hidimva, knowing that the period of her stay (with her husband) had come to an end, saluted the Pandavas and making a new appointment with them went away whithersoever she liked. And Ghatotkacha also--that foremost of Rakshasas--promising unto his father that he would come when wanted on business, saluted them and went away northward. Indeed, it was the illustrious Indra who created (by lending a portion of himself) the mighty car-warrior Ghatotkacha as a fit antagonist of Karna of unrivalled energy, in consequence of the dart he had given unto Karna (and which was sure to kill the person against whom it would be hurled).'"

SECTION 158

(Hidimva-vadha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Those mighty car-warriors, the heroic Pandavas, then went, O king, from forest to forest killing deer and many animals (for their food). And in the course of their wanderings they saw the countries of the Matsyas, the Trigartas, the Panchalas and then of the Kichakas, and also many beautiful woods and lakes therein. And they all had matted locks on their heads and were attired in barks of trees and the skins of animals. Indeed, with Kunti in their company those illustrious heroes were attired in the garbs of ascetics. And those mighty car-warriors sometimes proceeded in haste, carrying their mother on their backs; and sometimes they proceeded in disguise, and sometimes again with great celerity. And they used to study the Rik and the other Vedas and also all the Vedangas as well as the sciences of morals and politics. And the Pandavas, conversant with the science of morals, met, in course of their wanderings their grandfather (Vyasa). And saluting the illustrious Krishna-Dwaipayana, those chastisers of enemies, with their mother, stood before him with joined hands.'

"Vyasa then said, 'Ye bulls of Bharata's race, I knew beforehand of this affliction of yours consisting in your deceitful exile by the son of Dhritarashtra. Knowing this, I have come to you, desirous of doing you some great good. Do not grieve for what hath befallen you. Know that all this is for your happiness. Undoubtedly, the sons of Dhritarashtra and you are all equal in my eye. But men are always partial to those who are in misfortune or of tender years. It is therefore, that my affection for you is greater now. And in consequence of that affection, I desire to do you good. Listen to me! Not far off before you is a delightful town where no danger can overtake you. Live ye there in disguise, waiting for my return.'

'Vaisampayana continued, 'Vyasa, the son of Satyavati, thus comforting the Pandavas, led them into the town of Ekachakra. And the master also comforted Kunti, saying, 'Live, O daughter! This son of thine, Yudhishthira, ever devoted to truth, this illustrious bull among men, having by his justice conquered the whole world, will rule over all the other monarchs of the earth. There is little doubt that, having by means of Bhima's and Arjuna's prowess conquered the whole earth with her belt of seas, he will enjoy the sovereignty thereof. Thy sons as well as those of Madri--mighty car-warriors all--will cheerfully sport as pleaseth them in their dominions. These tigers among men will also perform various sacrifices, such as the Rajasuya and the horse-sacrifice, in which the presents unto the Brahmanas are very large. And these thy sons will rule their ancestral kingdom, maintaining their friends and relatives in luxury and affluence and happiness.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'With these words Vyasa introduced them into the dwelling of a Brahmana. And the island-born Rishi, addressing the eldest of the Pandavas, said, 'Wait here for me! I will come back to you! By adapting yourselves to the country and the occasion you will succeed in becoming very happy.'

"Then, O king, the Pandavas with joined hands said unto the Rishi, 'So be it.' And the illustrious master, the Rishi Vyasa, then went away to the region whence he had come.'"

SECTION 159

(Vaka-vadha Parva)

"Janamejaya asked, 'O first of Brahmanas, what did the Pandavas, those mighty car-warriors, the sons of Kunti, do after arriving at Ekachakra?'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Those mighty car-warriors, the sons of Kunti, on arriving at Ekachakra, lived for a short time in the abode of a Brahmana. Leading an eleemosynary life, they behold (in course of their wanderings) various delightful forests and earthly regions, and many rivers and lakes, and they became great favourites of the inhabitants of that town in consequence of their own accomplishments. At nightfall they placed before Kunti all they gathered in their mendicant tours, and Kunti used to divide the whole amongst them, each taking what was allotted to him. And those heroic chastisers of foes, with their mother, together took one moiety of the whole, while the mighty Bhima alone took the other moiety. In this way, O bull of Bharata's race, the illustrious Pandavas lived there for some time.

"One day, while those bulls of the Bharata race were out on their tour of mendicancy, it so happened that Bhima was (at home) with (his mother) Pritha. That day, O Bharata, Kunti heard a loud and heart-rending wail of sorrow coming from within the apartments of the Brahmana. Hearing the inmates of the Brahmana's house wailing and indulging in piteous lamentations, Kunti, O king, from compassion and the goodness of her heart, could not bear it with indifference. Afflicted with sorrow, the amiable Pritha, addressing Bhima, said these words full of compassion. 'Our woes assuaged, we are, O son, living happily in the house of this Brahmana, respected by him and unknown to Dhritarashtra's son. O son, I always think of the good I should do to this Brahmana, like what they do that live happily in others' abodes! O child, he is a true man upon whom favours are never lost. He payeth back to others more than what he receiveth at their hands. There is no doubt, some affliction hath overtaken this Brahmana. If we could be of any help to him, we should then be requiting his services.'

"Hearing these words of his mother, Bhima said, 'Ascertain, O mother the nature of the Brahmana's distress and whence also it hath arisen. Learning all about it, relieve it I will however difficult may the task prove.'

"Vaisampayana continued 'While mother and son were thus talking with each other, they heard again, O king, another wail of sorrow proceeding from the Brahmana and his wife. Then Kunti quickly entered the inner apartments of that illustrious Brahmana, like unto a cow running towards her tethered calf. She beheld the Brahmana with his wife, son and daughter, sitting with a woeful face, and she heard the Brahmana say, 'Oh, fie on this earthly life which is hollow as the reed and so fruitless after all which is based on sorrow and hath no freedom, and which hath misery for its lot! Life is sorrow and disease; life is truly a record of misery! The soul is one: but it hath to pursue virtue, wealth and pleasure. And because these are pursued at one and the same time, there frequently occurs a disagreement that is the source of much misery. Some say that salvation is the highest object of our desire. But I believe it can never be attained. The acquisition of wealth is hell; the pursuit of wealth is attended with misery; there is more misery after one has acquired it, for one loves one's possessions, and if any mishap befalls them, the possessor becomes afflicted with woe. I do not see by what means I can escape from this danger, nor how I can fly hence, with my wife to some region free from danger. Remember, O wife, that I endeavoured to migrate to some other place where we would be happy, but thou didst not then listen to me. Though frequently solicited by me, thou, O simple woman, said to me, 'I have been born here, and here have I grown old; this is my ancestral homestead.' Thy venerable father, O wife, and thy mother also, have, a long time ago, ascended to heaven. Thy relations also had all been dead. Oh why then didst thou yet like to live here? Led by affection for thy relatives thou didst not then hear what I said. But the time is now come when thou art to witness the death of a relative. Oh, how sad is that spectacle for me! Or perhaps the time is come for my own death, for I shall never be able to abandon cruelly one of my own as long as I myself am alive. Thou art my helpmate in all good deeds, self-denying and always affectionate unto me as a mother. The gods have given thee to me as a true friend and thou art ever my prime stay. Thou hast, by my parents, been made the participator in my domestic concerns. Thou art of pure lineage and good disposition, the mother of children,

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devoted to me, and so innocent; having chosen and wedded thee with due rites, I cannot abandon thee, my wife, so constant in thy vows, to save my life. How shall I myself be able to sacrifice my son a child of tender years and yet without the hirsute appendages (of manhood)? How shall I sacrifice my daughter whom I have begotten myself, who hath been placed, as a pledge, in my hands by the Creator himself for bestowal on a husband and through whom I hope to enjoy, along with my ancestors, the regions attainable by those only that have daughters' sons? Some people think that the father's affection for a son is greater; others, that his affection for a daughter is greater, mine, however, is equal. How can I be prepared to give up the innocent daughter upon whom rest the regions of bliss obtainable by me in after life and my own lineage and perpetual happiness? If, again, I sacrifice myself and go to the other world, I should scarcely know any peace, for, indeed, it is evident that, left by me these would not be able to support life. The sacrifice of any of these would be cruel and censurable. On the other hand, if I sacrifice myself, these, without me, will certainly perish. The distress into which I have fallen is great; nor do I know the means of escape. Alas, what course shall I take today with my near ones. It is well that I should die with all these, for I can live no longer.'"

SECTION 160

(Vaka-vadha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, "On hearing these words of the Brahmana, his wife said, 'Thou shouldst not, O Brahmana, grieve like an ordinary man. Nor is this the time for mourning. Thou hast learning; thou knowest that all men are sure to die; none should grieve for that which is inevitable. Wife, son, and daughter, all these are sought for one's own self. As thou art possessed of a good understanding, kill thou thy sorrows. I will myself go there. This indeed, is the highest and the eternal duty of a woman, viz., that by sacrificing her life she should seek the good of her husband. Such an act done by me will make thee happy, and bring me fame in this world and eternal bliss hereafter. This, indeed, is the highest virtue that I tell thee, and thou mayest, by this, acquire both virtue and happiness. The object for which one desireth a wife hath already been achieved by thee through me. I have borne thee a daughter and a son and thus been freed from the debt I had owed thee. Thou art well able to support and cherish the children, but I however, can never support and cherish them like thee. Thou art my life, wealth, and lord; bereft of thee, how shall these children of tender years--how also shall I myself, exist? Widowed and masterless, with two children depending on me, how shall I, without thee, keep alive the pair, myself leading an honest life? If the daughter of thine is solicited (in marriage) by persons dishonourable and vain and unworthy of contracting an alliance with thee, how shall I be able to protect the girl? Indeed, as birds seek with avidity for meat that hath been thrown away on the ground, so do men solicit a woman that hath lost her husband. O best of Brahmanas, solicited by wicked men, I may waver and may not be able to continue in the path that is desired by all honest men. How shall I be able to place this sole daughter of thy house--this innocent girl--in the way along which her ancestors have always walked? How shall I then be able to impart unto this child every desirable accomplishment to make him virtuous as thyself, in that season of want when I shall become masterless? Overpowering myself who shall be masterless, unworthy persons will demand (the hand of) this daughter of thine, like Sudras desiring to hear the Vedas. And if I bestow not upon them this girl possessing thy blood and qualities, they may even take her away by force, like crows carrying away the sacrificial butter. And beholding thy son become so unlike to thee, and thy daughter placed under the control of some unworthy persons, I shall be despised in the world by even persons that are dishonourable, and I will certainly die. These children also, bereft of me and thee, their father, will, I doubt not, perish like fish when the water drieth up. There is no doubt that bereft of thee the three will perish: therefore it behoveth thee to sacrifice me. O Brahmana, persons conversant with morals have said that for women that have borne children, to predecease their lords is an act of the highest merit. Ready am I to abandon this son and this daughter, these my relations, and life itself, for thee. For a woman to be ever employed in doing agreeable offices to her lord is a higher duty than sacrifices, asceticism, vows, and charities of every description. The act, therefore, which I intend to perform is consonant with the highest virtue and is for thy good and that of thy race. The wise have declared that children and relatives and wife and all things held dear are cherished for the purpose of liberating one's self from danger and distress. One must guard one's wealth for freeing one's self from danger, and it is by his wealth that he should cherish and protect his wife. But he must protect his own self both by (means of) his wife and his wealth. The learned have enunciated the truth that one's wife, son, wealth, and house, are acquired with the intention of providing against accidents, foreseen or unforeseen. The wise have also said that all one's relations weighed against one's own self would not be equal unto one's self. Therefore, revered sir, protect thy own self by abandoning me. O, give me leave to sacrifice myself, and cherish thou my children. Those that are conversant with the morals have, in their treatises, said, that women should never be slaughtered and that Rakshasas are not ignorant of the rules of morality. Therefore, while it is certain that the Rakshasa will kill a man, it is doubtful whether he will kill a woman. It behoveth thee, therefore, being conversant with the rules of morality, to place me before the Rakshasa. I have enjoyed much happiness, have obtained much that is agreeable to me, and have also acquired great religious merit. I have also obtained from thee children that are so dear to me. Therefore, it grieveth not me to die. I have borne thee children and have also grown old; I am ever desirous of doing good to thee; remembering all these I have come to this resolution. O revered sir, abandoning me thou mayest obtain another wife. By her thou mayest again acquire religious merit. There is no sin in this. For a man polygamy is an act of merit, but for a woman it is very sinful to betake herself to a second husband after the first. Considering all this, and remembering too that sacrifice of thy own self is censurable, O, liberate today without loss of time thy own self, thy race, and these thy children (by abandoning me).' "Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed by her, O Bharata, the Brahmana embraced her, and they both began to weep in silence, afflicted with grief.'"

SECTION 161

(Vaka-vadha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'On hearing these words of her afflicted parents, the daughter was filled with grief, and she addressed them, saying, 'Why are you so afflicted and why do you so weep, as if you have none to look after you? O, listen to me and do what may be proper. There is little doubt that you are bound in duty to abandon me at a certain time. Sure to abandon me once, O, abandon me now and save every thing at the expense of me alone. Men desire to have children, thinking that children would save them (in this world as well as in the region hereafter). O, cross the stream of your difficulties by means of my poor self, as if I were a raft. A child rescueth his parents in this and the other regions; therefore is the child called by the learned Putra (rescuer). The ancestors desire daughter's sons from me (as a special means of salvation). But (without waiting for my children) I myself will rescue them by protecting the life of my father. This my brother is of tender years, so there is little doubt that he will perish if thou diest now. If thou, my father, diest and my brother followeth thee, the funeral cake of the Pitris will be suspended and they will be greatly injured. Left behind by my father and brother, and by my mother also (for she will not survive her husband and son) I shall be plunged deeper and deeper in woe and ultimately perish in great distress. There can be little doubt that if thou escape from this danger as also my mother and infant brother, then thy race and the (ancestral) cake will be perpetuated. The son is one's own self; the wife is one's friend; the daughter, however, is the source of trouble. Do thou save thyself, therefore, by removing that source of trouble, and do thou thereby set me in the path of virtue. As I am a girl, O father, destitute of thee, I shall be helpless and plunged in woe, and shall have to go everywhere. It is therefore that I am resolved to rescue my father's race and share the merit of that act by accomplishing this difficult task. If thou, O best of Brahmanas, goest thither (unto the Rakshasa), leaving me here, then I shall be very much pained. Therefore, O father, be kind to me. O thou best of men, for our sake, for that of virtue and also thy race, save thyself, abandoning me, whom at one time thou shall be constrained to part from. There need be no delay, O father, in doing that which is inevitable. What can be more painful than that, when thou hast ascended to heaven, we shall have to go about begging our food, like dogs, from strangers. But if thou art rescued with thy relations from these difficulties, I shall then live happily in the region of the celestials. It hath been heard by us that if after bestowing thy daughter in this way, thou offerest oblations to the gods and the celestials, they will certainly be propitious.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'The Brahmana and his wife, hearing these various lamentations of their daughter, became sadder than before and the three began to weep together. Their son, then, of tender years, beholding them and their daughter thus weeping together, lisped these words in a sweet tone, his eyes having dilated with delight, 'Weep not, O father, nor thou, O mother, nor thou O sister!' And smilingly did the child approach each of them, and at last taking up a blade of grass said in glee, 'With this will I slay the Rakshasa who eateth human beings!' Although all of them had been plunged in woe, yet hearing what the child lisped so sweetly, joy appeared on their faces. Then Kunti thinking that to be the proper opportunity, approached the group and said these words. Indeed, her words revived them as nectar reviveth a person that is dead.'"

SECTION 162

(Vaka-vadha Parva continued)

'Kunti said, 'I desire to learn from you the cause of this grief, for I will remove it, if possible.'

"The Brahmana replied, 'O thou of ascetic wealth, thy speech is, indeed worthy of thee. But this grief is incapable of being removed by any human being. Not far from this town, there liveth a Rakshasa of the name of Vaka, which cannibal is the lord of this country and town. Thriving on human flesh, that wretched Rakshasa endued with great strength ruleth this country. He being the chief of the Asuras, this town and the country in which it is situate are protected by his might. We have no fear from the machinations of any enemy, or indeed from any living soul. The fee, however, fixed for that cannibal is his food, which consists of a cart-load of rice, two buffaloes, and a human being who conveyeth them unto him. One after another, the house-holders have to send him this food. The turn, however, cometh to a particular family at intervals of many long years. If there are any that seek to avoid it, the Rakshasa slayeth them with their children and wives and devoureth them all. There is, in this country, a city called Vetrakiya, where liveth the king of these territories. He is ignorant of the science of government, and possessed of little intelligence, he adopts not with care any measure by which these territories may be rendered safe for all time to come. But we certainly deserve it all, inasmuch as we live within the dominion of that wretched and weak monarch in perpetual anxiety. Brahmanas can never be made to dwell permanently within the dominions of any one, for they are dependent on nobody, they live rather like birds ranging all countries in perfect freedom. It hath been said that one must secure a (good) king, then a wife, and then wealth. It is by the acquisition of these three that one can rescue his relatives and sons. But as regards the acquisition of these three, the course of my actions hath been the reverse. Hence, plunged into a sea of danger, am suffering sorely. That turn, destructive of one's family, hath now devolved upon me. I shall have to give unto the Rakshasa as his fee the food of the aforesaid description and one human being to boot. I have no wealth to buy a man with. I cannot by any means consent to part with any one of my family, nor do I see any way of escape from (the clutches of) that Rakshasa. I am now sunk in an ocean of grief from which there is no escape. I shall go to that Rakshasa today, attended by all my family in order that that wretch might devour us all at once'"

SECTION 163

(Vaka-vadha Parva continued)

"Kunti said, Grieve not at all, O Brahmana, on account of this danger. I see a way by which to rescue thee from that Rakshasa. Thou hast only one son, who, besides, is of very tender years, also only one daughter, young and helpless, so I do not like that any of these, or thy wife, or even thyself should go unto the Rakshasa. I have five sons, O Brahmana, let one of them go, carrying in thy behalf tribute of that Rakshasa.'

"Hearing this, the Brahmana replied, 'To save my own life I shall never suffer this to be done. I shall never sacrifice, to save myself, the life of a Brahmana or of a guest. Indeed, even those that are of low origin and of sinful practices refuse to do (what thou askest me to do). It is said that one should sacrifice one's self and one's offspring for the benefit of a Brahmana. I regard this advice excellent and I like to follow it too. When I have to choose between the death of a Brahmana and that of my own, I would prefer the latter. The killing of a Brahmana is the highest sin, and there is no expiation for it. I think a reluctant sacrifice of one's own self is better than the reluctant sacrifice of a Brahmana. O blessed lady, in sacrificing myself I do not become guilty of self-destruction. No sin can attach to me when another will take my life. But if I deliberately consent to the death of a Brahmana, it would be a cruel and sinful act, from the consequence of which there is no escape. The learned have said that the abandonment of one who hath come to thy house or sought thy protection, as also the killing of one who seeketh death at thy hands, is both cruel and sinful. The illustrious among those conversant with practices allowable in seasons of distress, have before now said that one should never perform an act that is cruel and censurable. It is well for me that I should today perish myself with my wife, but I would never sanction the death of a Brahmana.'

"Kunti said, 'I too am firmly of opinion, O Brahmana, that Brahmanas should ever be protected. As regards myself, no son of mine would be less dear to me even if I had a hundred instead of the five I have. But this Rakshasa will not be able to kill my son, for that son of mine is endued with great prowess and energy, and skilled in mantras. He will faithfully deliver to the Rakshasa his food, but will, I know to a certainty, rescue himself. I have seen before many mighty Rakshasas of huge bodies engaged in combat with my heroic son and killed too by him. But, O Brahmana, do not disclose this fact to anybody, for if it be known, persons desirous of obtaining this power, will, from curiosity, always trouble my sons. The wise have said that if my son imparteth any knowledge, without the assent of his preceptor, unto any person, my son himself will no longer be able to profit by that knowledge.'

"Thus addressed by Pritha, the Brahmana with his wife became exceedingly glad and assented to Kunti's speech, which was unto them as nectar. Then Kunti, accompanied by

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the Brahmana, went unto the son of Vayu (Bhima) and asked him to accomplish (that difficult task). Bhima replied unto them, saying, 'So be it.'"

SECTION 164

(Vaka-vadha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'After Bhima had pledged himself to accomplish the task, saying, 'I will do it,' the Pandavas, O Bharata, returned home with the alms they had obtained during the day. Then Yudhishthira, the son of Pandu from Bhima's countenance alone, suspected the nature of the task he had undertaken to accomplish. Sitting by the side of his mother, Yudhishthira asked her in private, 'What is the task, O mother, that Bhima of terrible prowess seeketh to accomplish? Doth he do so at thy command or of his own accord?' Kunti replied, 'Bhima, that chastiser of foes, will at my command, do this great deed for the good of the Brahmana and the liberation of this town.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'What rash act hast thou done, O mother! It is difficult of being performed and almost amounteth to suicide! The learned never applaud the abandonment of one's own child. Why dost thou, O mother, wish to sacrifice thy own child for the sake of another's? Thou hast, O mother, by this abandonment of thy child, acted not only against the course of human practices but also against the teachings of the Vedas, That Bhima, relying on whose arms we sleep happily in the night and hope to recover the kingdom of which we have been deprived by the covetous son of Dhritarashtra, that hero of immeasurable energy, remembering whose prowess Duryodhana and Sakuni do not sleep a wink during the whole night and by whose prowess we were rescued from the palace of lac and various other dangers, that Bhima who caused the death of Purochana, and relying on whose might we regard ourselves as having already slain the sons of Dhritarashtra and acquired the whole earth with all her wealth, upon what considerations, O mother, hast thou resolved upon abandoning him? Hast thou been deprived of thy reason? Hath thy understanding been clouded by the calamities thou hast undergone?'

"On hearing these words of her son, Kunti said, 'O Yudhishthira, thou needst not be at all anxious on account of Vrikodara. I have not come to this resolve owing to any weakness of understanding. Respected by him, and with our sorrows assuaged, we have, O son, been living in the house of this Brahmana, unknown to the sons of Dhritarashtra. For requiting, O son, that Brahmana, I have resolved to do this. He, indeed, is a man upon whom good offices are never lost. The measure of his requital becometh greater than the measure of the services he receiveth. Beholding the prowess of Bhima on the occasion of (our escape from) the house of lac, and from the destruction also of Hidimva, my confidence in Vrikodara is great. The might of Bhima's arms is equal unto that of ten thousand elephants. It was, therefore, that he succeeded in carrying you all, each heavy as an elephant, from Varanavata. There is no one on earth equal unto Bhima in might; he may even overcome that foremost of warriors, the holder of the thunderbolt himself. Soon after his birth he fell from my lap on the breast of the mountain. By the weight of his body the mass of stone on which he fell down broke in pieces. From this also, O son of Pandu, I have come to know Bhima's might. For this reason have I resolved to set him against the Brahmana's foe. I have not acted in this from foolishness or ignorance or from motive of gain. I have deliberately resolved to do this virtuous deed. By this act, O Yudhishthira, two objects will be accomplished; one is a requital of the services rendered by the Brahmana and the other is the acquisition of high religious merit. It is my conviction that the Kshatriya who rendereth help unto a Brahmana in anything acquireth regions of bliss hereafter. So also a Kshatriya who saveth the life of a Kshatriya achieveth that great fame in this world as in the other. A Kshatriya rendering help unto a Vaisya also on this earth certainly acquires world-wide popularity. One of the kingly tribe should protect even the Sudra who cometh to him for protection. If he doeth so, in his next life he receiveth his birth in a royal line, commanding prosperity and the respect of other kings. O scion of Puru's race, the illustrious Vyasa of wisdom acquired by hard ascetic toil told me so in bygone days. It is therefore, that I have resolved upon accomplishing this.'"

SECTION 165

(Vaka-vadha Parva continued)

"Having heard these words of his mother, Yudhishthira said, 'What thou, O mother, hast deliberately done, moved by compassion for the afflicted Brahmana, is, indeed, excellent Bhima will certainly come back with life, after having slain the cannibal, inasmuch as thou art, O mother, always compassionate unto Brahmanas. But tell the Brahmana, O mother, that he doth not do anything whereby the dwellers in this town may know all about it, and make him promise to keep thy request.' "Vaisampayana continued, 'Then, when the night passed away, Bhimasena, the son of Pandu, taking with him the Rakshasa's food set out for the place where the cannibal lived. The mighty son of Pandu, approaching the forest where the Rakshasa dwelt, began to eat himself the food he carried, calling loudly to the Rakshasa by name. The Rakshasa, inflamed with anger at Bhima's words, came out and approached the place where Bhima was.

"Of huge body and great strength, of red eyes, red beard, and red hair, he was terrible to behold, and he came, pressing deep the earth with his tread. The opening of his mouth, was from ear to ear and his ears themselves were straight as arrows. Of grim visage, he had a forehead furrowed into three lines. Beholding Bhima eating his food, the Rakshasa advanced, biting his nether lip and expanding his eyes in wrath. And addressing Bhima he said, 'Who is this fool, who desiring to go to the abode of Yama, eateth in my very sight the food intended for me?' Hearing these words, Bhima, O Bharata, smiled in derision and disregarding the Rakshasa, continued eating with averted face. Beholding this, the cannibal uttered a frightful yell and with both arms upraised ran at Bhima desiring to kill him, there and then. Even then disregarding the Rakshasa and casting only a single glance at him, Vrikodara, that slayer of hostile heroes continued to eat the Rakshasa's food. Filled with wrath at this, the Rakshasa struck, from behind with both his arms a heavy blow on the back of Vrikodara, the son of Kunti. But Bhima, though struck heavily by the mighty Rakshasa, with both his hands, did not even look up at the Rakshasa but continued to eat as before. Then the mighty Rakshasa, inflamed with wrath, tore up a tree and ran at Bhima for striking him again. Meanwhile the mighty Bhima, that bull among men had leisurely eaten up the whole of that food and washing himself stood cheerfully for fight. Then, O Bharata, possessed of great energy, Bhima, smiling in derision, caught with his left hand the tree hurled at him by the Rakshasa in wrath. Then that mighty Rakshasa, tearing up many more trees, hurled them at Bhima, and the Pandava also hurled as many at the Rakshasa. Then, O king, the combat with trees between that human being and the Rakshasa, became so terrible that the region around soon became destitute of trees. Then the Rakshasa, saying that he was none else than Vaka, sprang upon the Pandava and seized the mighty Bhima with his arms. That mighty hero also clasping with his own strong arms the strong-armed Rakshasa, and exerting himself actively, began to drag him violently. Dragged by Bhima and dragging Bhima also, the cannibal was overcome with great fatigue. The earth began to tremble in consequence of the strength they both exerted, and large trees that stood there broke in pieces. Then Bhima, beholding the cannibal overcome with fatigue, pressed him down on the earth with his knees and began to strike him with great force. Then placing one knee on the middle of the Rakshasa's back, Bhima seized his neck with his right hand and the cloth on his waist with his left, and bent him double with great force. The cannibal then roared frightfully. And, O monarch, he also began to vomit blood while he was being thus broken on Bhima's knee.'"

SECTION 166

(Vaka-vadha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said 'Then Vaka, huge as a mountain, thus broken (on Bhima's knee), died, uttering frightful yells. Terrified by these sounds, the relatives of that Rakshasa came out, O king, with their attendants. Bhima, that foremost of smiters, seeing them so terrified and deprived of reason, comforted them and made them promise (to give up cannibalism), saying, 'Do not ever again kill human beings. If ye kill men, ye will have to die even as Vaka.' Those Rakshasas hearing this speech of Bhima, said, 'So be it,' and gave, O king, the desired promise. From that day, O Bharata, the Rakshasas (of the region) were seen by the inhabitants of that town to be very peaceful towards mankind. Then Bhima, dragging the lifeless cannibal, placed him at one of the gates of the town and went away unobserved by any one. The kinsmen of Vaka, beholding him slain by the might of Bhima, became frightened and fled in different directions.

"Meanwhile Bhima, having slain the Rakshasa, returned to the Brahmana's abode and related to Yudhishthira all that had happened, in detail. The next morning the inhabitants of the town in coming out saw the Rakshasa lying dead on the ground, his body covered with blood. Beholding that terrible cannibal, huge as a mountain cliff, thus mangled and lying on the ground, the hair of the spectators stood erect. Returning to Ekachakra, they soon gave the intelligence. Then, O king, the citizens by thousands accompanied by their wives, young and old, all began to come to the spot for beholding the Vaka and they were all amazed at seeing that superhuman feat. Instantly, O monarch, they began to pray to their gods. Then they began to calculate whose turn it had been the day before to carry food to the Rakshasa. And ascertaining this, they all came to that Brahmana and asked him (to satisfy their curiosity). Thus asked by them repeatedly, that bull among Brahmanas, desirous of concealing the Pandavas, said these words unto all the citizens, 'A certain high-souled Brahmana, skilled in mantras, beheld me weeping with my relatives after I had been ordered to supply the Rakshasa's food. Asking me the cause and ascertaining the distress of the town, that first of Brahmanas gave me every assurance and with smiles said, 'I shall carry the food for that wretched Rakshasa today. Do not fear for me.' Saying this he conveyed the food towards the forest of Vaka. This deed, so beneficial unto us all, hath very certainly been done by him.'

Then those Brahmanas and Kshatriyas (of the city), hearing this, wondered much. And the Vaisyas and the Sudras also became exceedingly glad, and they all established a festival in which the worship of Brahmanas was the principal ceremony (in remembrance of this Brahmana who had relieved them from their fears of Vaka).

SECTION 167

(Chaitraratha Parva)

After this citizens returned to their respective houses and the Pandavas continued to dwell at Ekachakra as before.

"Janamejaya said, 'O Brahmana, what did those tigers among men, the Pandavas, do after they had slain the Rakshasa Vaka?'

"Vaisampayana said, 'The Pandavas, O king, after slaying the Rakshasa Vaka, continued to dwell in the abode of that Brahmana, employed in the study of the Vedas. Within a few days there came a Brahmana of rigid vows unto the abode of their host to take up his quarters there. Their host, that bull among Brahmanas, ever hospitable unto all guests, worshipping the newly-arrived Brahmana with due ceremonies, gave him quarters in his own abode. Then those bulls among men, the Pandavas, with their mother Kunti, solicited the new lodger to narrate to them his interesting experiences. The Brahmana spake to them of various countries and shrines and (holy) rivers, of kings and many wonderful provinces and cities. And after this narration was over, that Brahmana, O Janamejaya, also spoke of the wonderful self-choice of Yajnasena's daughter, the princes of Panchala, and of the births of Dhrishtadyumna and Sikhandi, and of the birth, without the intervention of a woman, of Krishna (Draupadi) at the great sacrifice of Drupada.

"Then those bulls among men, the Pandavas, hearing of these extraordinary facts regarding that illustrious monarch (Drupada), and desiring to know the details thereof, asked the Brahmana, after his narration was concluded, to satisfy their curiosity. The Pandavas said, 'How, O Brahmana, did the birth of Dhrishtadyumna the son of Drupada, take place from the (sacrificial) fire? How also did the extraordinary birth of Krishna take place from the centre of the sacrificial platform? How also did Drupada's son learn all weapons from the great bowman Drona? And, O Brahmana, how and for whom and for what reason was the friendship between Drona and Drupada broken off?'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus questioned, O monarch, by those bulls among men, the Brahmana narrated all the particulars about the birth of Draupadi.'"

SECTION 168

(Chaitraratha Parva continued)

"The Brahmana said, 'At that region where the Ganga entered the plains there lived a great Rishi, devoted to the austerest of penances. Of rigid vows and great wisdom, he bore the name Bharadwaja. One day, on coming to the Ganga to perform his ablutions, the Rishi saw the Apsara Ghritachi, who had come before, standing on the bank after her ablutions were over. And it so happened that a wind arose and disrobed the Apsara standing there. And the Rishi beholding her thus disrobed, felt the influence of desire. Though practising the vow of continence from his very youth, as soon as he felt the influence of desire, the Rishi's vital fluid came out. And as it came out, he held it in a pot (drana), and of that fluid thus preserved in a pot was born a son who came to be called Drona (the pot-born). And Drona studied all the Vedas and their several branches. And Bharadwaja had a friend named Prishata who was the king of Panchalas. And about the time that Drona was born, Prishata also obtained a son named Drupada. And that bull amongst Kshatriyas, Prishata's son, going every day to that asylum of Bharadwaja, played and studied with Drona. And after Prishata's death, Drupada succeeded him on the throne. Drona about this time heard that (the great Brahmana hero) Rama (on the eve of his retiring into the weeds) was resolved to give away all his wealth. Hearing this, the son of Bharadwaja repaired unto Rama who was about to retire into the woods and addressing him, said, 'O best of Brahmanas, know me to be Drona who hath come to thee to obtain thy wealth.' Rama replied, saying, 'I have given away everything. All that I now have is this body of mine and my weapons. O Brahmana, thou mayest ask of me one of these two, either my body or my weapons.' Then Drona said, 'It behoveth thee, sir, to give me all thy weapons together with (the mysteries of) their use and withdrawal.'

"The Brahmana continued, 'Then Rama of Bhrigu's race, saying, 'So be it,' gave all his weapons unto Drona, who obtaining them regarded himself as crowned with success. Drona obtaining from Rama the most exalted of all weapons, called the Brahma weapon, became exceedingly glad and acquired a decided superiority over all men. Then the son of Bharadwaja, endued with great prowess went to king

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Drupada, and approaching that monarch, that tiger among men, said, 'Know me for thy friend.' Hearing this Drupada said, 'One of low birth can never be the friend of one whose lineage is pure, nor can one who is not a car-warrior have a car-warrior for his friend. So also one who is not a king cannot have a king as his friend. Why dost thou, therefore, desire (to revive our) former friendship?'

"The Brahmana continued, 'Drona, gifted with great intelligence, was extremely mortified at this, and settling in his mind some means of humiliating the king of the Panchala he went to the capital of the Kurus, called after the name of an elephant. Then Bhishma, taking with him his grandsons, presented them unto the wise son of Bharadwaja as his pupils for instruction, along with various kinds of wealth. Then Drona, desirous of humiliating king Drupada, called together his disciples and addressed them, 'Ye sinless ones, it behoveth you, after you have been accomplished in arms, to give me as preceptorial fee something that I cherish in my heart.' Then Arjuna and others said unto their preceptor, 'So be it.'--After a time when the Pandavas became skilled in arms and sure aims, demanding of them his fee, he again told them these words, 'Drupada, the son of Prishata, is the king of Chhatravati. Take away from him his kingdom, and give it unto me.' Then the Pandavas, defeating Drupada in battle and taking him prisoner along with his ministers, offered him unto Drona, who beholding the vanquished monarch, said, 'O king, I again solicit thy friendship; and because none who is not a king deserveth to be the friend of a king, therefore, O Yajnasena, I am resolved to divide thy kingdom amongst ourselves. While thou art the king of the country to the south of Bhagirathi (Ganga), I will rule the country to the north.'

"The Brahmana continued, 'The king of the Panchalas, thus addressed by the wise son of Bharadwaja, told that best of Brahmanas and foremost of all persons conversant with weapons, these words, 'O high-souled son of Bharadwaja, blest be thou, let it be so, let there be eternal friendship between us as thou desirest!' Thus addressing each other and establishing a permanent bond between themselves, Drona and the king of Panchala, both of them chastisers of foes, went away to the places they came from. But the thought of that humiliation did not leave the king's mind for a single moment. Sad at heart, the king began to waste away.'"

SECTION 169

(Chaitraratha Parva continued)

"The Brahmana continued, 'King Drupada (after this), distressed at heart, wandered among many asylums of Brahmanas in search of superior Brahmanas well-skilled in sacrificial rites. Overwhelmed with grief and eagerly yearning for children, the king always said, 'Oh, I have no offspring surpassing all in accomplishments.' And the monarch, from great despondency, always said 'Oh, fie on those children that I have and on my relatives!' And ever thinking of revenging himself on Drona, the monarch sighed incessantly. And that best of kings, O Bharata, even after much deliberation, saw no way of overcoming, by his Kshatriya might, the prowess and discipline and training and accomplishment of Drona. Wandering along the banks of the Yamuna and the Ganga, the monarch once came upon a sacred asylum of Brahmanas. There was in that asylum no Brahmana who was not a Snataka, no one who was not of rigid vows, and none who was not virtuous to a high degree. And the king saw there two Brahmana sages named Yaja and Upayaja, both of rigid vows and souls under complete control and belonging to the most superior order. They were both devoted to the study of the ancient institutes and sprung from the race of Kasyapa. And those best of Brahmanas were well-able to help the king in the attainment of his object. The king then, with great assiduity and singleness of purpose, began to court this pair of excellent Brahmanas. Ascertaining the superior accomplishments of the younger of the two the king courted in private Upayaja of rigid vows, by the offer of every desirable acquisition. Employed in paying homage to the feet of Upayaja, always addressing in sweet words and offering him every object of human desire, Drupada, after worshipping that Brahmana, addressed him (one day), saying, 'O Upayaja, O Brahmana, if thou, performest those sacrificial rites by (virtue of) which I may obtain a son who may slay Drona, I promise thee ten thousand kine, or whatever else may be agreeable to thee, O first of Brahmanas, truly am I ready to make gifts to thee.' Thus addressed by the king, the Rishi replied, saying, 'I cannot (perform such rites).' But Drupada without accepting this reply as final, once more began to serve and pay homage unto that Brahmana. Then, after the expiration of a year, Upayaja, that first of Brahmanas, O monarch, addressing Drupada in sweet tone, said, 'My elder brother (Yaja), one day, while wandering through the deep woods, took up a fruit that had fallen upon a spot the purity of which he cared not to enquire about. I was following him (at the time) and observed this unworthy act of his. Indeed, he entertains no scruples in accepting things impure. In accepting that (particular) fruit he saw not any impropriety of sinful nature: Indeed, he who observeth not purity (in one instance) is not very likely to observe it in the other instances. When he lived in the house of his preceptor, employed in studying the institutes, he always used to eat (impure) remnants of other people's feasts. He always speaks approvingly of food and entertains no dislike for anything. Arguing from these, I believe that my brother covets earthy acquisitions. Therefore, O king, go unto him; he will perform spiritual offices for thee.' Hearing these words of Upayaja, king Drupada, though entertaining a low opinion of Yaja, nevertheless went to his abode. Worshipping Yaja who was (still) worthy of homage, Drupada said unto him, 'O master, perform thou spiritual offices for me and I will give thee eighty thousand kine! Enmity with Drona burneth my heart; it behoveth thee therefore to cool that heart of mine. Foremost of those conversant with the Vedas, Drona is also skilled in the Brahma weapon and for this, Drona hath overcome me in a contest arising from (impaired) friendship. Gifted with great intelligence, the son of Bharadwaja is (now) the chief preceptor of the Kurus. There is no Kshatriya in this world superior to him. His bow is full six cubits long and looks formidable, and his shafts are capable of slaying every living being. That great bowman, the high-souled son of Bharadwaja, habited as a Brahmana, is destroying the Kshatriya power all over the earth. Indeed, he is like a second Jamadagnya intended for the extermination of the Kshatriya race. There is no man on earth who can overcome the terrible force of his weapons. Like a blazing fire fed with clarified butter, Drona, possessed of Brahma might and uniting it with Kshatriya might, consumeth every antagonist in battle. But (thy) Brahma force is greater in itself than (Drona's) Brahma force united with Kshatriya might. Therefore, as I am inferior (to Drona) in consequence of my possession of Kshatriya might alone, I solicit the aid of thy Brahma force, having obtained thee so superior to Drona in knowledge of Brahma. O Yaja, perform that sacrifice by means of which I may obtain a son invincible in battle and capable of slaying Drona. Ready am I to give thee ten thousand kine.' Hearing these words of Drupada, Yaja said, 'So be it.' Yaja then began to recollect the various ceremonies appertaining to the particular sacrifice. And knowing the affair to be a very grave one, he asked the assistance of Upayaja who coveted nothing. Then Yaja promised to perform the sacrifice for the destruction of Drona. Then the great ascetic Upayaja spoke unto king Drupada of everything required for the grand sacrifice (by aid of fire) from which the king was to obtain offspring. And he said, 'O king, a child shall be born unto thee, endued, as thou desirest, with great prowess, great energy, and great strength.'

"The Brahmana continued, 'Then king Drupada, impelled by the desire of obtaining a son who was to slay Drona, began, for the success of his wish, to make the necessary preparations. (And when everything was complete) Yaja, after having poured libations of clarified butter on the sacrificial fire, commanded Drupada's queen, saying, 'Come hither, O queen, O daughter-in-law of Prishata! A son and a daughter have arrived for thee!' Hearing this, the queen said, 'O Brahmana, my mouth is yet filled with saffron and other perfumed things. My body also beareth many sweet scents; I am hardly fit for accepting (the sanctified butter which is to give me offspring). Wait for me a little, O Yaja! Wait for that happy consummation.' Yaja, however, replied, 'O lady, whether thou comest or waitest, why should not the object of this sacrifice be accomplished when the oblation hath already been prepared by me and sanctified by Upayaja's invocations?'

"The Brahmana continued, 'Having said this, Yaja poured the sanctified libation on the fire, whereupon arose from those flames a child resembling a celestial who possessing the effulgence of fire, was terrible to behold. With a crown on this head and his body encased in excellent armour, sword in hand, and bearing a bow and arrows, he frequently sent forth loud roars. And immediately after his birth, he ascended an excellent chariot and went about in it for some time. Then the Panchalas in great joy shouted, 'Excellent, Excellent.' The very earth seemed at that time unable to bear the weight of the Panchalas mad with joy. Then, marvellous to say, the voice of some invisible spirit in the skies said, 'This prince hath been born for the destruction of Drona. He shall dispel all the fears of the Panchalas and spread their fame. He shall also remove the sorrow of the king.' And there arose, after this from the centre of the sacrificial platform, a daughter also, called Panchali, who, blest with great good fortune, was exceedingly handsome. Her eyes were black, and large as lotus-petals, her complexion was dark, and her locks were blue and curly. Her nails were beautifully convex, and bright as burnished copper; her eye-brows were fair, and bosom was deep. Indeed, she resembled the veritable daughter of a celestial born among men. Her body gave out fragrance like that of a blue lotus, perceivable from a distance of full two miles. Her beauty was such that she had no equal on earth. Like a celestial herself, she could be desired (in marriage) by a celestial, a Danava, or a: Yaksha. When this girl of fair hips was born an incorporeal voice said, 'This dark-complexioned girl will be the first of all women, and she will be the cause of the destruction of many Kshatriyas. This slender-waisted one will, in time, accomplish the purpose of the gods, and along with her many a danger will overtake the Kauravas.' On hearing these words, the Panchalas uttered a loud leonine roar, and the earth was unable to bear the weight of that joyous concourse. Then beholding the boy and the girl, the daughter-in-law of Prishata, desiring to have them, approached Yaja and said, 'Let not these know any one else except myself as their mother.' Yaja, desiring to do good unto the king said, 'So be it!' Then the Brahmanas (present there), their expectations fully gratified, bestowed names upon the new-born pair, 'Let this son of king Drupada, they said, be called Dhrishtadyumna, because of his excessive audacity and because of his being born like Dyumna with a natural mail and weapon.' And they also said, 'Because this daughter is so dark in complexion, she should be called Krishna (the dark).'

"The Brahmana continued, 'Thus were born those twins of the great sacrifice of Drupada. And the great Drona, bringing the Panchala prince into his own abode, taught him all weapons in requital of half the kingdom he had formerly taken from Drupada. The high-souled son of Bharadwaja, regarding destiny to be inevitable, did what would perpetuate his own great deeds.'"

SECTION 170

(Chaitraratha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Hearing these words of the Brahmana, the sons of Kunti seemed to be, as it were, pierced with darts. Indeed, all those mighty heroes lost their peace of mind. Then the truthful Kunti, beholding all her sons listless and inattentive, addressed Yudhishthira and said, 'We have now lived many nights in the abode of this Brahmana. We have passed our time pleasantly in this town, living on the alms obtained from many honest and illustrious persons. O oppressor of foes, as we have now seen often and often all the agreeable woods and gardens that are in this part of the country, seeing them again would no longer give any pleasure. O heroic scion of Kuru's race, alms also are not now obtainable here as easily as before. If thou wishest it would be well for us now to go to Panchala; we have not seen that country, it will, no doubt, O hero, prove delightful to us. O crusher of foes, it hath been heard by us that alms are obtainable in the country of the Panchala, and that Yajnasena, the king thereof, is devoted to Brahmanas. I am of opinion that it is not good to live long in one place. Therefore, O son, if thou likest, it is good for us to go there.'

"Hearing these words, Yudhishthira said, 'It is our duty to obey thy command, which, besides, must be for our good, I do not, however, know whether my younger brothers are willing to go.'"

SECTION 171

(Chaitraratha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then Kunti spoke unto Bhimasena and Arjuna and the twins regarding the journey to Panchala. They all said, 'So be it.' Then, O king, Kunti with her sons saluted the Brahmana (in whose house they had dwelt) and set out for the delightful town of the illustrious Drupada.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'While the illustrious Pandavas were living disguised in the abode of the Brahmana, Vyasa, the son of Satyavati, once went to see them. Those chastisers of foes, beholding him coming rose up and stepped onward to receive him. Saluting him reverentially and worshipping him also the Pandavas stood in silence with joined hands. Thus worshipped by them the sage became gratified. He asked them to be seated, and cheerfully addressing them said, 'Ye slayers of foes, are ye living in the path of virtue and according to the scriptures? Do ye worship the Brahmanas? Ye are not, I hope, backward in paying homage unto those that deserve your homage?' The illustrious Rishi, after this, spoke many words of virtuous import, and after discoursing upon many topics of great interest, he said, 'An illustrious Rishi, living in a certain hermitage, had a daughter of tender waist, fair lips, and fine eye-brows, and possessing every accomplishment. As a consequence of her own acts (in a past life) the fair maid became very unfortunate. Though chaste and beautiful, the damsel obtained not a husband. With a sorrowful heart she thereupon began to practise ascetic penances with the object of obtaining a husband. She soon gratified by her severe asceticism the god Sankara (Mahadeva), who became propitious unto her and said unto that illustrious damsel, 'Ask thou the boon thou desirest! Blest be thou! I am Sankara prepared to give thee what thou wilt ask.' Desirous of benefiting herself, the maid repeatedly said unto the supreme lord, 'O give me, a husband endued with every accomplishment.' Then Isana (Mahadeva), that foremost of all speakers, replied unto her, saying, 'O blessed one, thou shall have five husbands from among the Bharata princes.' Thus told, the maiden said unto the god who had given her that boon, 'O lord, I desire to have only one husband through thy grace.' The god then addressed her again and said these excellent words, 'Thou hast, O girl, said full five times, 'Give me (a) husband.' Thou shalt, therefore, in another life have five husbands!' Ye princes of Bharata's line, that damsel of celestial beauty hath been born in the line of Drupada. The faultless Krishna of Prishata's line hath been appointed to be the wife of you all. Ye mighty ones, go therefore, to the

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capital of the Panchalas and dwell ye there. There is no doubt that having obtained her as wife ye shall be very happy.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having said so unto the Pandavas, the illustrious and blessed grandsire then bade them farewell. The great ascetic then left them and went to the place whence he had come.'"

SECTION 172

(Chaitraratha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'After Vyasa had gone away, those bulls among men, the Pandavas, saluted the Brahmana and bade him farewell, and proceeded (towards Panchala) with joyous hearts and with their mother walking before them. Those slayers of all foes, in order to reach their destination, proceeded in a due northerly direction, walking day and night till they reached a sacred shrine of Siva with the crescent mark on his brow. Then those tigers among men, the sons of Pandu, arrived at the banks of the Ganga. Dhananjaya, that mighty car-warrior, walking before them, torch in hand, for showing the way and guarding them (against wild animals). And it so happened that at that time the proud king of the Gandharvas, with his wives, was sporting in that solitary region in the delightful waters of the Ganga. The king of the Gandharvas heard the tread of the Pandavas as they approached the river. On hearing the sounds of their foot-steps, the mighty Gandharvas were inflamed with wrath, and beholding those chastisers of foes, the Pandavas, approach towards him with their mother, he drew his frightful bow to a circle and said, 'It is known that excepting the first forty seconds the grey twilight preceding nightfall hath been appointed for the wandering of the Yakshas, the Gandharvas and the Rakshasas, all of whom are capable of going everywhere at will. The rest of the time hath been appointed for man to do his work. If therefore, men, wandering during those moments from greed of gain, come near us, both we and the Rakshasas slay those fools. Therefore, persons acquainted with the Vedas never applaud those men--not even kings at the head of their troops--who approach any pools of water at such a time. Stay ye at a distance, and approach me not. Know ye not that I am bathing in the waters of the Bhagirathi? Know that I am Angaraparna the Gandharva, ever relying on my own strength! I am proud and haughty and am the friend of Kuvera. This my forest on the banks of the Ganga, where I sport to gratify all my senses, is called Angaraparna after my own name. Here neither gods, nor Kapalikas, nor Gandharvas nor Yakshas, can come. How dare ye approach me who am the brightest jewel on the diadem of Kuvera?'

"Hearing these words of the Gandharva, Arjuna said, 'Blockhead, whether it be day, night, or twilight, who can bar others from the ocean, the sides of the Himalayas, and this river? O ranger of the skies, whether the stomach be empty or full, whether it is night or day, there is no special time for anybody to come to the Ganga--that foremost of all rivers. As regards ourselves endued with might, we care not when we disturb thee. Wicked being, those who are weak in fighting worship thee. This Ganga, issuing out of the golden peaks of Himavat, falleth into the waters of the ocean, being distributed into seven streams. They who drink the waters of these seven streams, viz., Ganga, Yamuna, Saraswati, Vitashtha, Sarayu, Gomati, and Gandaki, are, cleansed of all their sins. O Gandharva, this sacred Ganga again, flowing through the celestial region is called there the Alakananda, It hath again in the region of the Pitris become the Vaitarani, difficult of being crossed by sinners, and, Krishna-Dwaipayana himself hath said so. The auspicious and celestial river, capable of leading to heaven (them that touch its waters), is free from all dangers. Why dost thou then desire to bar us from it? This act of thine is not in consonance with eternal virtue. Disregarding thy words, why shall we not touch the sacred waters of the Bhagirathi free from all dangers and from which none can bar us?'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words of Arjuna, Angaraparna became inflamed with wrath and drawing his bow to a circle began to shoot his arrows like venomous snakes at the Pandavas. Then Dhananjaya, the son of Pandu, wielding a good shield and the torch he held in his hand, warded off all those arrows and addressing the Gandharva again said, 'O Gandharva, seek not to terrify those that are skilled in weapons, for weapons hurled at them vanish like froth. I think, O Gandharva, that ye are superior (in prowess) to men; therefore shall I fight with thee, using celestial weapons and not with any crooked means. This fiery weapon (that I shall hurl at thee), Vrihaspati the revered preceptor of Indra, gave unto Bharadwaja, from whom it was obtained by Agnivesya, and from Agnivesya by my preceptor, that foremost of Brahmanas, Drona, who gave it away to me.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Saying these words, the Pandava wrathfully hurled at the Gandharva that blazing weapon made of fire which burnt the Gandharva's chariot in a trice. Deprived of consciousness by the force of that weapon, the mighty Gandharva was falling, head downward, from his chariot. Dhananjaya seized him by the hair of his head adorned with garlands of flowers and thus dragged the unconscious Gandharva towards his brothers. Beholding this, that Gandharva's wife Kumbhinasi, desirous of saving her husband, ran towards Yudhishthira and sought his protection. The Gandharvi said, 'O exalted one, extend to me thy protection! O, set my husband free! O lord, I am Kumbhinasi by name, the wife of this Gandharva, who seeketh thy protection!' Beholding her (so afflicted), the mighty Yudhishthira addressed Arjuna and said, 'O slayer of foes, O child, who would slay a foe who hath been vanquished in fight, who hath been deprived of fame, who is protected by a woman, and who hath no prowess?' Arjuna replied, saying, 'Keep thou thy life, O Gandharva! Go hence, and grieve not I Yudhishthira, the king of the Kurus, commandeth me to show thee mercy.'

"The Gandharva replied, 'I have been vanquished by thee, I shall, therefore, abandon my former name Angaraparna (the blazing vehicle). In name alone, O friend, I should not be boastful when my pride in my strength hath been overcome: I have been fortunate in that I have obtained thee; O Arjuna, that wielder of celestial weapons! I like to impart to thee the power of (producing) illusions which Gandharvas alone have. My excellent and variegated chariot hath been burnt by means of thy fiery weapon. I who had formerly been called after my excellent chariot should now be called after my burnt chariot. The science of producing illusions that I have spoken of was formerly obtained by me by ascetic penances. That science I will today impart to the giver of my life-thy illustrious self! What good luck doth he not deserve who, after overcoming a foe by his might, giveth him life when that foe asketh for it? This science is called Chakshushi. It was communicated by Manu unto Soma and by Soma unto Viswavasu, and lastly by Viswavasu unto me. Communicated by my preceptor, that science, having come unto me who am without energy, is gradually becoming fruitless. I have spoken to thee about its origin and transmission. Listen now to its power! One may see (by its aid) whatever one wisheth to see, and in whatever way he liketh (generally or particularly). One can acquire this science only after standing on one leg for six months. I shall however, communicate to thee this science without thyself being obliged to observe any rigid vow. O king, it is for this knowledge that we are superior to men. And as we are capable of seeing everything by spiritual sight, we are equal to the gods. O best of men, I intend to give thee and each of thy brothers a hundred steeds born in the country of the Gandharvas. Of celestial colour and endued with the speed of the mind, those horses are employed in bearing the celestial, and the Gandharvas. They may be lean-fleshed but they tire not, nor doth their speed suffer on that account. In days of yore the thunderbolt was created for the chief of the celestials in order that he might slay (the Asura) Vritra with it. But hurled at Vritra's head it broke in a thousand pieces. The celestials worship with reverence those fragments of the thunderbolt. That which is known in the three worlds as glory is but a portion of the thunderbolt. The hand of the Brahmana with which he poureth libations on the sacrificial fire, the chariot upon which the Kshatriya fighteth, the charity of the Vaisya, and the service of the Sudra rendered unto the three other classes, are all fragments of the thunderbolt. It hath been said that horses, forming as they do a portion of the Kshatriya's chariot, are, on that account, unslayable. Again horses which form a portion of the Kshatriya's chariot, are the offspring of Vadava. Those amongst them that are born in the region of the Gandharvas can go everywhere and assume any hue and speed at the will of their owners. These horses of mine that I give thee will always gratify thy wishes."

"On hearing these words of the Gandharva, Arjuna said, 'O Gandharva, if from satisfaction for having obtained thy life at my hands in a situation of danger, thou givest me thy science, and these horses, I would not accept thy gift.' The Gandharva replied, saying, 'A meeting with an illustrious person is ever a source of gratification; besides thou hast given me my life. Gratified with thee, I will give thee my science. That the obligation, however, may not all be on one side, I will take from thee, O Vibhatsu, O bull in Bharata's race, thy excellent and eternal weapon of fire!'

"Arjuna said, 'I would accept thy horses in exchange for my weapon. Let our friendship last for ever. O friend, tell us for what we human beings have to stand in fear of the Gandharvas. Chastisers of foes that we are and virtuous and conversant with the Vedas, tell us, O Gandharva, why in travelling in the night-time we have been censured by thee.'

"The Gandharva said, 'Ye are without wives (though ye have completed the period of study). Ye are without a particular Asrama (mode of life). Lastly, ye are out without a Brahmana walking before, therefore, ye sons of Pandu, ye have been censured by me. The Yakshas, Rakshasas, Gandharvas, Pisachas, Uragas and Danavas, are possessed of wisdom and intelligence, and acquainted with the history of the Kuru race. O hero, I have heard too from Narada and other celestial Rishis about the good deeds of your wise ancestors. I myself, too, while roaming over the whole earth bounded by her belt of seas, have witnessed the prowess of thy great race. O Arjuna, I have personal knowledge of thy preceptor, the illustrious son of Bharadwaja, celebrated throughout the three worlds for his knowledge of the Vedas and the science of arms. O tiger in Kuru's race, O son of Pritha, I also know Dharma, Vayu, Sakra, the twin Aswins, and Pandu,--these six perpetuators of Kuru race,--these excellent celestials and human progenitors of you all. I also know that you five brothers are learned and high-souled, that ye are foremost of all wielders of weapons, that ye are brave and virtuous and observant of vows. Knowing that your understanding and hearts are excellent and your behaviour faultless, I have yet censured you. For, O thou of Kuru's race, it behoveth no man endued with might of arms to bear with patience any ill usage in the sight of his wife. Especially as, O son of Kunti, our might increaseth during the hours of darkness, accompanied by my wife I was filled with wrath. O best of vow-observing men, I have, however, been vanquished by thee in battle. Listen to me as I tell thee the reasons that have led to my discomfiture. The Brahmacharya is a very superior mode of life, and as thou art in that mode now, it is for this, O Partha, that I have been defeated by thee in battle. O chastiser of foes, if any married Kshatriya fight with us at night, he can never escape, with life. But, O Partha, a married Kshatriya, who is sanctified with Brahma, and who hath assigned the cares of his State to a priest, might vanquish! all wanderers in the night. O child of Tapati, men should therefore, ever employ learned priests possessing self-command for the acquisition of every good luck they desire. That Brahmana is worthy of being the king's priest who is learned in the Vedas and the six branches thereof, who is pure and truthful, who is of virtuous soul and possessed of self-command. The monarch becometh ever victorious and finally earneth heaven who hath for his priest a Brahmana conversant with the rules of morality, who is a master of words, and is pure and of good behaviour. The king should always select an accomplished priest in order to acquire what he hath not and protect what he hath. He who desireth his own prosperity should ever be guided by his priest, for he may then obtain ever the whole earth surrounded by her belt of seas. O son of Tapati, a king, who is without a Brahmana, can never acquire any land by his bravery or glory of birth alone. Know, therefore, O perpetuator of Kuru's race, that the kingdom lasteth for ever in which Brahmanas have power.'"

SECTION 173

(Chaitraratha Parva continued)

"Arjuna said, 'Thou hast addressed me (more than once) as Tapatya. I therefore wish to know what the precise significance of this word is, O virtuous Gandharva, being sons of Kunti, we are, indeed, Kaunteyas. But who is Tapati that we should be called Tapatyas?'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed, the Gandharva related to Dhananjaya, the son of Kunti, the (following) story well-known in the three worlds.'

"The Gandharva said, 'O son of Pritha, O foremost of all intelligent men, I will duly recite to you in full this charming narrative. O, listen with attention to what I say in explanation of why I have addressed thee as Tapatya. That one in heaven who pervadeth by his light the whole firmament had a daughter named Tapati equal unto himself. Tapati, the daughter of the god Vivaswat, was the younger sister of Savitri, and she was celebrated throughout the three worlds and devoted to ascetic penances. There was no woman amongst the celestials, the Asuras, the Yakshas, the Rakshasas, the Apsaras, and the Gandharvas, who was equal to her in beauty. Of perfect, symmetrical and faultless features, of black and large eyes, and in beautiful attire, the girl was chaste and of perfect conduct. And, O Bharata, seeing her Savitri (the sun) thought that there was none in the three worlds who, for his beauty, accomplishments, behaviour, and learning, deserved to be her husband. Beholding her attain the age of puberty and, therefore, worthy of being bestowed on a husband, her father knew no peace of mind, always thinking of the person he should select. At that time, O son of Kunti, Riksha's son, that bull amongst the Kurus, the mighty king Samvarana, was duly worshipping Surya with offerings of Arghya and flower-garlands and scents, and with vows and fasts and ascetic penances of various kinds. Indeed, Samvarana was worshipping Surya constantly in all his glory, with devotion and humility and piety. And beholding Samvarana conversant with all rules of virtue and unequalled on earth for beauty, Surya regarded him as the fit husband for his daughter, Tapati. And, O thou of Kuru's race, Vivaswat then resolved to bestow his daughter on that best of kings, viz., Samvarana, the scion of a race of world-wide fame. As Surya himself in the heavens filleth the firmament with his splendour, so did king Samvarana on earth fill every region with the splendour of his good achievements. And all men, O Partha, except Brahmanas, worshipped Samvarana. Blest with good luck, king Samvarana excelled Soma in soothing the hearts of friends and Surya in scorching the hearts of foes. And, O Kaurava, Tapana (Surya) himself was resolved upon bestowing his daughter Tapati upon king Samvarana, who was possessed of such virtues and accomplishments.

"Once on a time, O Partha, king Samvarana, endued with beauty (of person) and immeasurable prowess, went on a

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hunting expedition to the under-woods on the mountain-breast. While wandering in quest of deer, the excellent steed the king rode, overcome, O Partha, with hunger, thirst and fatigue, died on the mountains. Abandoning the steed, the king, O Arjuna, began to wander about upon the mountain-breast on foot and in course of his wandering the monarch saw a maiden of large eyes and unrivalled beauty, That grinder of hostile host--that tiger among kings--himself without a companion, beholding there that maiden without a companion, stood motionless gazing at her steadfastly. For her beauty, the monarch for some moment believed her to be (the goddess) Sri herself. Next he regarded her to be the embodiment of the rays emanating from Surya. In splendour of her person she resembled a flame of fire, though in benignity and loveliness she resembled a spotless digit of the moon. And standing on the mountain-breast, the black-eyed maiden appeared like a bright statue of gold. The mountain itself with its creepers and plants, because of the beauty and attire of that damsel, seemed to be converted into gold. The sight of that maiden inspired the monarch with a contempt for all women that he had seen before. By beholding her, the king regarded his eye-sight truly blessed. Nothing the king had seen from the day of his birth could equal, he thought, the beauty of that girl. The king's heart and eyes were captivated by that damsel, as if they were bound with a cord and he remained rooted to that spot, deprived of his senses. The monarch thought that the artificer of so much beauty had created it only after churning the whole world of gods Asuras and human beings. Entertaining these various thoughts, king Samvarana regarded that maiden as unrivalled in the three worlds for wealth of beauty.

"And the monarch of pure descent, beholding the beautiful maiden, was pierced with Kama's (Cupid's) shafts and lost his peace of mind. Burnt with the strong flame of desire the king asked that charming maiden, still innocent, though in her full youth, saying, 'Who art thou and whose? Why also dost thou stay here? O thou of sweet smiles, why dost thou wander alone in these solitary woods? Of every feature perfectly faultless, and decked with every ornament, thou seemest to be the coveted ornament of these ornaments themselves! Thou seemest not to be of celestial or Asura or Yaksha or Rakshasa or Naga or Gandharva or human origin. O excellent lady, the best of women that I have ever seen or heard of would not compare with thee in beauty! O thou of handsome face, at sight of thee lovelier than the moon and graced with eyes like lotus-petals, the god of desire is grinding me.'

"King Samvarana thus addressed that damsel in the forest, who however, spoke not a word unto the monarch burning with desire. Instead, like lightning in the clouds, that large-eyed maiden quickly disappeared in the very sight of the monarch. The king then wandered through the whole forest, like one out of his senses, in search of that girl of eyes like lotus-petals. Failing to find her, that best of monarchs indulged in copious lamentations and for a time stood motionless with grief.'"

SECTION 174

(Chaitraratha Parva continued)

"The Gandharva continued, 'When that maiden disappeared, that feller of hostile ranks deprived of his senses by Kama (concupiscence) himself fell down on the earth. And as the monarch fell down, that maiden of sweet smiles and prominent and round hips appeared again before him, and smiling sweetly, said unto that perpetuator of Kuru's race these honeyed words, 'Rise, rise, O chastiser of foes! Blest be thou; it behoveth thee not, O tiger among kings, to lose thy reason, a celebrated man as thou art in the world.' Addressed in these honeyed words, the king opened his eyes and saw before him that selfsame girl of swelling hips. The monarch who was burning with the flame of desire then addressed that black-eyed damsel in accents, weak with emotion, and said, 'Blest be thou O excellent woman of black eyes! As I am burning with desire and paying thee court, O, accept me! My life is ebbing away. O thou of large eyes, for thy sake it is, O thou of the splendour of the filaments of the lotus, that Kama is incessantly piercing me with his keen shafts without stopping for a moment! O amiable and cheerful girl, I have been bitten by Kama who is even like a venomous viper. O thou of swelling and large hips, have mercy on me! O thou of handsome and faultless features, O thou of face like unto the lotus-petal or the moon, O thou of voice sweet as that of singing Kinnaras, my life now depends on thee! Without thee, O timid one, I am unable to live! O thou of eyes like lotus-petals, Kama is piercing me incessantly! O large-eyed girl, be merciful unto me! It becometh thee not, O black-eyed maid, to cast me off; O handsome girl, it behoveth thee to relieve me from such affliction by giving me thy love! At first sight thou hast attracted my heart. My mind wandereth! Beholding thee I like not to cast my eyes on any other woman! Be merciful! I am thy obedient slave--thy adorer! O, accept me! O beautiful lady, O large-eyed girl at the sight of thee, the god of desire hath entered my heart, and is piercing me with his shafts! O thou of lotus-eyes, the flame of desire burneth within me! O, extinguish that flame with the water of thy love poured on it! O beautiful lady, by becoming mine, pacify thou the irrepressible god of desire that hath appeared here armed with his deadly bow and arrows and that is piercing me incessantly with those keen shafts of his! O thou of the fairest complexion, wed me according to the Gandharva form, for, O thou of tapering hips, of all forms of marriage the Gandharva hath been said to be the best.'

"The Gandharva continued, 'Hearing those words of the monarch, Tapati made answer, 'O king, I am not the mistress of my own self! Be it known that I am a maiden under the control of my father. If thou really entertainest an affection for me, demand me of my father. Thou sayest, O king, that thy heart hath been robbed by me. But thou also hast, at first sight, robbed me of my heart; I am not the mistress of my body, and therefore, O best of kings, I do not approach thee; women are never independent. What girl is there in the three worlds that would not desire thee for her husband, as thou art kind unto all thy dependents and as thou art born in a pure race? Therefore, when the opportunity comes, ask my father Aditya for my hand with worship, ascetic penances, and vows. If my father bestoweth me upon thee, then, O king, I shall ever be thy obedient wife. My name is Tapati and I am the younger sister of Savitri, and the daughter, O bull amongst Kshatriyas of Savitri, of (Sun) the illuminator of the universe.'"

SECTION 175

(Chaitraratha Parva continued)

"The Gandharva continued, 'Saying this, Tapati of faultless features, ascended the skies. The monarch thereupon again fell down on the earth. His ministers and followers searching for him throughout the forest at length came upon him lying on that solitary spot, and beholding that excellent king, that mighty bowman, thus lying forsaken on the ground like a rainbow dropped from the firmament, his minister-in-chief became like one burnt by a flame of fire. Advancing hastily with affection and respect, the minister raised that best of monarchs lying prostrate on the ground and deprived of his senses by desire. Old in wisdom as in age, old in achievements as in policy, the minister, after having raised the prostrate monarch, became easy (in mind). Addressing the king in sweet words that were also for his good, he said, 'Blest be thou, O sinless one! Fear not, O tiger among kings!' The minister thought that the monarch, that great feller of hostile ranks in battle, had been lying on the ground overcome with hunger, thirst, and fatigue. The old man then sprinkled over the crownless head of the monarch water that was cold and rendered fragrant with lotus-petals. Slowly regaining his consciousness, the mighty monarch sent away all his attendants with the exception of his minister only. After those attendants had retired at his command, the king sat upon the mountain-breast. Having purified himself duly, the king sat upon that chief of mountains, and began, with joined palms and upturned face, to worship Surya. King Samvarana, that smiter of all foes, thought also of his chief priest Vasishtha, that best of Rishis. The king continued to sit there day and night without intermission. The Brahmana sage Vasishtha came there on the twelfth day: that great Rishi of soul under perfect command knew at once by his ascetic power that the monarch had lost his senses in consequence of Tapati. And that virtuous and best of Munis, as soon as he knew this, desirous of benefiting the monarch who was ever observant of vows, addressed him and gave him every assurance. The illustrious Rishi, in the very sight of that monarch, ascended upward to interview Surya, himself possessed of the splendour of that luminary. The Brahmana then approached with joined hands the god of a thousand rays and introduced himself cheerfully unto him, saying, 'I am Vasishtha.' Then Vivaswat of great energy said unto that best of Rishis, 'Welcome art thou, O great Rishi! Tell me what is in thy mind. O thou of great good fortune, whatever thou demandest of me, O foremost of eloquent men, I will confer on thee, however difficult it may be for me!' Thus addressed by Surya, the Rishi of great ascetic merit, bowing unto the god of light, replied, saying, 'O Vibhavasu, this thy daughter, Tapati, the younger sister of Savitri, I ask of thee for Samvarana! That monarch is of mighty achievements, conversant with virtue, and of high soul. O firmament-ranger, Samvarana will make a worthy husband for thy daughter.' Thus addressed by the Rishi Vibhakara, resolved upon bestowing his daughter upon Samvarana, saluted the Rishi, and replied unto him, saying, 'Oh, Samvarana is the best of monarchs, thou art the best of Rishis, Tapati is the best of women. What should we do, therefore, but bestow her on Samvarana?' With these words, the god Tapana, made over his daughter, Tapati, of every feature perfectly faultless, unto the illustrious Vasishtha to bestow her upon Samvarana. And the great Rishi then accepted the girl, Tapati, and taking leave of Surya, came back to the spot, where that bull amongst the Kurus, of celestial achievements, was. King Samvarana, possessed by love and with his heart fixed on Tapati, beholding that celestial maiden of sweet smiles led by Vasishtha, became exceedingly glad. And Tapati of fair eyebrows came down from the firmament like lightning from the clouds, dazzling the ten points of the heavens. And the illustrious Rishi Vasishtha of pure soul approached the monarch after the latter's twelve nights' vow was over. It was thus that king Samvarana obtained a wife after having worshipped with like the full moon. And that mighty bowman, that foremost one in Kuru's race having his curiosity greatly excited by what he heard of Vasishtha's ascetic power, asked the Gandharva, saying, 'I desire to hear of the Rishi whom thou hast mentioned as Vasishtha. O, tell me in full about him! O chief of the Gandharvas, tell me who this illustrious Rishi was that was the priest of our forefathers.' The Gandharva replied, 'Vasishtha is Brahma's spiritual (lit, mind-born) son and Arundhati's husband. Ever difficult of being conquered by the very immortals, Desire and Wrath, conquered by Vasishtha's ascetic penances, used to shampoo his feet. Though his wrath was excited by Viswamitra's offence, that high-souled Rishi did not yet exterminate Kusikas (the tribe whose king Viswamitra was). Afflicted at the loss of his sons, he did not, as though powerless, though really otherwise, do any dreadful act destructive of Viswamitra, Like the ocean transgressing not its continents, Vasishtha transgressed not (the laws of) Yama by bringing back his children from the domains of the king of the dead. It was by obtaining that illustrious one who had conquered his own self that Ikshvaku and other great monarchs acquired the whole earth. And, O prince of Kuru's race, it was by obtaining Vasishtha, that best of Rishis as their priest, that those monarchs performed many grand sacrifices. And, O best of the Pandavas, that regenerate Rishi assisted these monarchs in the performance of their sacrifices like Vrihaspati assisting the immortals. Therefore, look ye for some accomplished and desirable Brahmana conversant with the Vedas and in whose heart virtue prevails, to appoint as your priest. A Kshatriya of good lineage, desirous of extending his dominions by conquering the earth, should, O Partha, first appoint a priest. He who is desirous of conquering the earth should have a Brahmana before him. Therefore, O Arjuna, let some accomplished and learned Brahmana, who has his senses under complete control and who is conversant with religion, profit and pleasure, be your priest.'"

SECTION 176

(Chaitraratha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing this, Arjuna said, 'O Gandharva, whence arose the hostility between Viswamitra and Vasishtha both of whom dwelt in a celestial hermitage? O, tell us all about it.'

"The Gandharva replied, 'O Partha, the story of Vasishtha is regarded as a Purana (legend) in all the three worlds. Listen to me as I recite it fully. There was, in Kanyakuvja, O bull of Bharata's race, a great king of worldwide fame named Gadhi, the son of Kusika. The virtuous Gadhi had a son named Viswamitra, that grinder of foes, possessing a large army and many animals and vehicles. And Viswamitra, accompanied by his ministers, used to roam in quest of deer through the deep woods and over picturesque marascetic penances the propitious lord Vivaswat, by the help of Vasishtha's (ascetic power). And Samvarana, that bull among men with due rites took Tapati's hand on that mountain-breast which was resorted to by the celestials and the Gandharvas. The royal sage, with the permission of Vasishtha, desired to sport with his wife on that mountain. And the king caused Vasishtha, to be proclaimed his regent in his capital and kingdom, in the woods and gardens. And bidding farewell unto the monarch, Vasishtha left him and went away. Samvarana, who sported on that mountain like a celestial, sported with his wife in the woods and the under-woods on that mountain for twelve full years. And, O best of the Bharatas, the god of a thousand eyes poured no rain for twelve years on the capital and on the kingdom of that monarch. Then, O chastiser of enemies, when that season of drought broke out, the people of that kingdom, as also the trees and lower animals began to die fast. And during the continuance of that dreadful drought, not even a drop of dew fell from the skies and no corn grew. And the inhabitants in despair, and afflicted with the fear of hunger, left their homes and fled away in all directions. And the famished people of the capital and the country began to abandon their wives and children and grew reckless of one another. The people being afflicted with hunger, without a morsel of food and reduced to skeletons, the capital looked very much like the city of the king of the dead, full of only ghostly beings. On beholding the capital reduced to such a state, the illustrious and virtuous and best of Rishis, Vasishtha was resolved upon applying a remedy and brought back unto the city that tiger among kings, Samvarana, along with his wife, after the latter had passed so long a period in solitude and seclusion. After the king had entered his capital, things became as before, for, when that tiger among kings came back to his own, the god of a thousand eyes, the slayer of Asuras, poured rain in abundance and caused corn to grow. Revivified by the foremost of virtuous souls the capital and the country became animated with extreme joy. The monarch, with his wife, Tapati, once more performed sacrifices for twelve years, like the lord Indra (god of rain) performing sacrifices with his wife, Sachi.'

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"The Gandharva continued, 'This, O Partha, is the history of Tapati of old, the daughter of Vivaswat. It is for her that thou art (called) Tapatya. King Samvarana begot upon Tapati a son named Kuru, who was the foremost of ascetics. Born in the race of Kuru, thou art, O Arjuna, to be called Tapatya.'"

SECTION 177

(Chaitraratha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'That bull among the Bharatas, Arjuna, hearing these words of the Gandharva, was inspired with feelings of devotion and stood shes (unknown meaning--JBH), killing deer and wild boars. Once on a time, while out in quest of deer, the king became weak with exertion and thirst. The monarch arrived in that state at the asylum of Vasishtha, and the blessed and illustrious Rishi beholding him arrive, reverenced with his homage that best of men, king Viswamitra. And O Bharata, the Rishi saluted the monarch by offering him water to wash his face and feet with, and Arghya, and wild fruits, and clarified butter. For the illustrious Rishi had a cow yielding anything that was desired of her. When she was addressed, saying, 'O give',--she always yielded the article that was sought. And she yielded various fruits and corn, wild or grown in gardens and fields, and milk, and many excellent nutritive viands full of six different kinds of juice (taste?) and like unto nectar itself, and various other kinds of enjoyable things, O Arjuna, of ambrosial taste for drinking and eating, and for licking and sucking, and also many precious gems and robes of various kinds. With these desirable objects in profusion the monarch was worshipped. And the king with his minister and troops became highly pleased. And the monarch wondered much, beholding that cow with six elevated limbs and the beautiful flanks and hips, and five limbs that were broad, and eyes prominent like those of the frog and beautiful in size, and high udders, and faultless make, and straight and uplifted ears, and handsome horns, and well-developed head and neck.

"And, O prince, the son of Gadhi, gratified with everything and applauding the cow named Nandini, addressed the Rishi, saying, 'O Brahmana, O great Muni, give me thy Naridini in exchange for ten thousand kine, or my kingdom. Enjoy thou my kingdom (giving me thy cow).'

"Hearing these words of Viswamitra, Vasishtha said, 'O sinless one, this cow hath been kept by me for the sake of the gods, guests, and the Pitris, as also for my sacrifices. I cannot give Nandini in exchange for even thy kingdom.' Viswamitra replied, 'I am a Kshatriya, but thou art a Brahmana devoted to asceticism and study. Is there any energy in Brahmanas who are peaceful and who have their souls under perfect command? When thou givest me not what I desire in exchange even for ten thousand cows, I will not abandon the practice of my order; I will take thy cow even by force!'

"Vasishtha said, 'Thou art a Kshatriya endued with might of arms. Thou art a powerful monarch. O, do in haste what thou desirest; and stop not to consider its propriety.'

"The Gandharva continued, 'Thus addressed by Vasishtha, Viswamitra, O Partha, then forcibly seized Nandini, that cow (white) like the swan or the moon, and attempted to take her away, afflicting her with stripes and persecuting her otherwise. The innocent Nandini then began, O Partha, to low piteously, and approaching the illustrious Vasishtha stood before him with uplifted face. Though persecuted very cruelly, she refused to leave the Rishi's asylum.'

"Beholding her in that plight, Vasishtha said, 'O amiable one, thou art lowing repeatedly and I am hearing thy cries. But, O Nandini, even Viswamitra is taking thee away by force, what can I do in this matter, as I am a forgiving Brahmana?'

"The Gandharva continued, 'Then, O bull in Bharata's race, Nandini, alarmed at the sight of Viswamitra's troops and terrified by Viswamitra himself, approached the Rishi still closer, and said, 'O illustrious one, why art thou so indifferent to my poor self afflicted with the stripes of the cruel troops of Viswamitra and crying so piteously as if I were masterless?' Hearing these words of the crying and persecuted Nandini, the great Rishi lost not his patience nor turned from his vow of forgiveness. He replied, 'The Kshatriya's might lies in physical strength, the Brahmana's in forgiveness. Because I cannot give up forgiveness, go thou, O Nandini, if thou choosest.' Nandini answered, 'Castest thou me away, O illustrious one, that thou sayest so? If thou dost not cast me off, I cannot, O Brahmana, be taken away by force.' Vasishtha said, 'O blessed one, I do not cast thee off! Stay if thou canst! O, yonder is thy calf, tied with a stout cord, and even now being weakened by it!'

"The Gandharva continued, 'Then the cow of Vasishtha, hearing the word stay, raised her head and neck upward, and became terrible to behold. With eyes red with rage and lowing repeatedly, she then attacked Viswamitra's troops on all sides. Afflicted with their stripes and running hither and thither with those red eyes of hers, her wrath increased. Blazing with rage, she soon became terrible to behold like unto the sun in his midday glory. And from her tail she began to rain showers of burning coals all around. And some moments after, from her tail she brought forth an army of Palhavas, and from her udders, an army of Dravidas and Sakas; and from her womb, an army of Yavanas, and from her dung, an army of Savaras; and from her urine, an army of Kanchis; and from her sides, an army of Savaras. And from the froth of her mouth came out hosts of Paundras and Kiratas, Yavanas and Sinhalas, and the barbarous tribes of Khasas and Chivukas and Pulindas and Chinas and Hunas with Keralas, and numerous other Mlechchhas. And that vast army of Mlechchhas in various uniforms, and armed with various weapons, as soon as it sprang into life, deploying in the very sight of Viswamitra, attacked that monarch's soldiers. And so numerous was that Mlechchha host that each particular soldier of Viswamitra was attacked by a band of six or seven of their enemies. Assailed with a mighty shower of weapons, Viswamitra's troops broke and fled, panic-stricken, in all directions, before his very eyes. But, O bull in Bharata's race, the troops of Vasishtha, though excited with wrath, took not the life of any of Viswamitra's troops. Nandini simply caused the monarch's army to be routed and driven off. And driven (from the asylum) twenty-seven full miles, panic-stricken, they shrieked aloud and beheld not anyone that could protect them. Viswamitra, beholding this wonderful feat that resulted from Brahmana prowess, became disgusted with Kshatriya prowess and said, 'O, fie on Kshatriya prowess! Brahmana prowess is true prowess! In judging of strength and weakness, I see that asceticism is true strength.' Saying this, the monarch, abandoning his large domains and regal splendour and turning his back upon all pleasures, set his mind on asceticism. Crowned with success in asceticism and filling the three worlds with the heat of his ascetic penances, he afflicted all creatures and finally became a Brahmana. The son of Kusika at last drank Soma with Indra himself (in Heaven).'"

SECTION 178

(Chaitraratha Parva continued)

"The Gandharva continued, 'There was, O Partha, a king in this world, named Kalmashapada, who was of the race of Ikshvaku and was unequalled on earth for prowess. One day the king went from his capital into the woods for purposes of hunting, and this grinder of foes pierced (with his arrows) many deer and wild boars. And in those deep woods the king also slew many rhinoceroses. Engaged in sport for some length of time, the monarch became very much fatigued and at last he gave up the chase, desiring to rest awhile.

"The great Viswamitra, endued with energy, had, a little while ago, desired to make that monarch his disciple. As the monarch, afflicted with hunger and thirst, was proceeding through the woods, he came across that best of Rishis, the illustrious son of Vasishtha, coming along the same path. The king ever victorious in battle saw that Muni bearing the name of Saktri, that illustrious propagator of Vasishtha's race, the eldest of the high-souled Vasishtha's hundred sons, coming along from opposite direction. The king, beholding him said, 'Stand out of our way.' The Rishi, addressing the monarch in a conciliatory manner, said unto him sweetly, 'O king, this is my way. This is the eternal rule of morality indicated in every treatise on duty and religion, viz., that a king should ever make way for Brahmanas.' Thus did they address each other respecting their right of way. 'Stand aside, stand aside', were the words they said unto each other. The Rishi, who was in the right, did not yield, nor did the king yield to him from pride and anger. That best of monarchs, enraged at the Rishi, refusing to yield him the way, acted like a Rakshasa, striking him with his whip. Thus whipped by the monarch, that best of Rishis, the son of Vasishtha, was deprived of his senses by anger, and speedily cursed that first of monarchs, saying, 'O worst of kings, since thou persecutest like a Rakshasa an ascetic, thou shalt from this day, became a Rakshasa subsisting on human flesh! Hence, thou worst of kings! thou shalt wander over the earth, affecting human form!' Thus did the Rishi Sakti, endued with great prowess, speak unto king Kalmashapada. At this time Viswamitra, between whom and Vasishtha there was a dispute about the discipleship of Kalmashapada, approached the place where that monarch and Vasishtha's son were. And, O Partha, that Rishi of severe ascetic penances, viz., Viswamitra of great energy, approached the pair (knowing by his spiritual insight that they had been thus quarrelling with each other). After the curse had been pronounced, that best of monarchs knew that Rishi to be Vasishtha's son and equal unto Vasishtha himself in energy. And, O Bharata, Viswamitra, desirous of benefiting himself, remained on that spot, concealed from the sight of both by making himself invisible. Then that best of monarchs, thus cursed by Saktri, desiring to propitiate the Rishi began to humbly beseech him. And, O chief of the Kurus, Viswamitra, ascertaining the disposition of the king (and fearing that the difference might be made up), ordered a Rakshasa to enter the body of the king. And a Rakshasa of the name of Kinkara then entered the monarch's body in obedience to Saktri's curse and Viswamitra's command. And knowing, O chastiser of foes, that the Rakshasa had possessed himself of the monarch, that best of Rishis, Viswamitra, then left the spot and went away.

"Shortly after, O Partha, the monarch, possessed by the Rakshasa and terribly afflicted by him, lost all his senses. At this time a Brahmana beheld the king in the woods. Afflicted with hunger, that Brahmana begged of the king some food with meat. The royal sage, Kalmashapada, that cherisher of friends, answered the Brahmana, saying, 'Stay thou here, O Brahmana for a moment. On my return, I will give thee whatever food thou desirest.' Having said this, the monarch went away, but the Brahmana stayed on there. The high-minded king having roved for some time at pleasure and according to his will, at last entered his inner apartment. Thus waking at midnight and remembering his promise, he summoned his cook and told him of his promise unto the Brahmana staying in the forest. And he commanded him, saying, 'Hie thee to that forest. A Brahmana waiteth for me in the hope of food. Go and entertain him with food and meat.'

"The Gandharva continued, 'Thus commanded, the cook went out in search of meat. Distressed at not having found any, he informed the king of his failure. The monarch, however, possessed as he was by the Rakshasa, repeatedly said, without scruple of any kind, 'Feed him with human flesh.' The cook, saying, 'So be it,' went to the place where the (king's) executioners were, and thence taking human flesh and washing and cooking it duly and covering it with boiled rice offered it unto that hungry Brahmana devoted to ascetic penances. But that best of Brahmanas, seeing with his spiritual sight that the food was unholy and, therefore, unworthy of being eaten, said these words with eyes red with anger, 'Because that worst of kings offereth me food that is unholy and unworthy of being taken, therefore that wretch shall have himself a fondness for such food. And becoming fond of human flesh as cursed by Saktri of old, the wretch shall wander over the earth, alarming and otherwise troubling all creatures.' The curse, therefore, on that king, thus repeated a second time, became very strong, and the king, possessed by a Rakshasa disposition, soon lost all his senses.

"A little while after, O Bharata, that best of monarchs, deprived of all his senses by the Rakshasa within him, beholding Saktri who had cursed him, said, 'Because thou hast pronounced on me this extraordinary curse, therefore, I shall begin my life of cannibalism by devouring thee.' Having said this, the king immediately slew Saktri and ate him up, like a tiger eating the animal it was fond of. Beholding Saktri thus slain and devoured, Viswamitra repeatedly urged that Rakshasa (who was within the monarch) against the other sons of Vasishtha. Like a wrathful lion devouring small animals, that Rakshasa soon devoured the other sons of the illustrious Vasishtha that were junior to Saktri in age. But Vasishtha, learning that all his sons had been caused to be slain by Viswamitra, patiently bore his grief like the great mountain that bears the earth. That best of Munis, that foremost of intelligent men, was resolved rather to sacrifice his own life than exterminate (in anger) the race of Kusikas. The illustrious Rishi threw himself down from the summit of Meru, but he descended on the stony ground as though on a heap of cotton. And, O son of Pandu, when the illustrious one found that death did not result from that fall, he kindled a huge fire in the forest and entered it with alacrity. But that fire, though burning brightly, consumed him not. O slayer of foes, that blazing fire seemed to him cool. Then the great Muni under the influence of grief, beholding the sea, tied a stony weight to his neck and threw himself into its waters. But the waves soon cast him ashore. At last when that Brahmana of rigid vows succeeded not in killing himself by any means, he returned, in distress of heart, to his asylum.'"

SECTION 179

(Chaitraratha Parva continued)

"The Gandharva continued, 'Beholding his asylum bereft of his children, the Muni afflicted with great grief left it again. And in course of his wandering he saw, O Partha, a river swollen with the waters of the rainy season, sweeping away numberless trees and plants that had grown on its margin. Beholding this, O thou of Kuru's race, the distressed Muni thinking that he would certainly be drowned if he fell into the waters of that river, he tied himself strongly with several cords and flung himself, under the influence of grief, into the current of that mighty stream. But, O slayer of foes, that stream soon cut those cords and cast the Rishi ashore. And the Rishi rose from the bank, freed from the cords with which he had tied himself. And because his cords were thus broken off by the violence of the current, the Rishi called the stream by the name of Vipasa (the cord-breaker). For his grief the Muni could not, from that time, stay in one place; he began to wander over mountains and along rivers and lakes. And beholding once again a river named Haimavati (flowing from Himavat) of terrible aspect and full of fierce crocodiles and other (aquatic) monsters, the Rishi threw himself into it, but the river mistaking the Brahmana for a mass of (unquenchable) fire, immediately flew in a hundred different directions, and hath been known ever since by the name of the Satadru (the river of a hundred courses). Seeing himself on the dry land even there he exclaimed, 'O, I cannot die by my own hands!' Saying this, the Rishi once more bent his steps towards his

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asylum. Crossing numberless mountains and countries, as he was about to re-enter his asylum, he was followed by his daughter-in-law named Adrisyanti. As she neared him, he heard the sound from behind of a very intelligent recitation of the Vedas with the six graces of elocution. Hearing that sound, the Rishi asked, 'Who is it that followeth me?' His daughter-in-law then answered, 'I am Adrisyanti, the wife of Saktri. I am helpless, though devoted to asceticism.' Hearing her, Vasishtha said, 'O daughter, whose is this voice that I heard, repeating the Vedas along with the Angas like unto the voice of Saktri reciting the Vedas with the Angas?' Adrisyanti answered, 'I bear in my womb a child by thy son Saktri. He hath been here full twelve years. The voice thou hearest is that of the Muni, who is reciting the Vedas.'

"The Gandharva continued, 'Thus addressed by her the illustrious Vasishtha became exceedingly glad. And saying, 'O, there is a child (of my race)!'--he refrained, O Partha, from self-destruction. The sinless one accompanied by his daughter-in-law, then returned to his asylum. And the Rishi saw one day in the solitary woods (the Rakshasa) Kalmashapada. The king, O Bharata, possessed by fierce Rakshasa, as he saw the Rishi, became filled with wrath and rose up, desiring to devour him. And Adrisyanti beholding before her that the Rakshasa of cruel deeds, addressed Vasishtha in these words, full of anxiety and fear, 'O illustrious one, the cruel Rakshasa, like unto Death himself armed with (his) fierce club, cometh towards us with a wooden club in hand! There is none else on earth, except thee, O illustrious one, and, O foremost of all that are conversant with the Vedas to restrain him today. Protect me, O illustrious one, from this cruel wretch of terrible mien. Surely, the Rakshasa cometh hither to devour us' Vasishtha, hearing this, said, 'Fear not, O daughter, there is no need of any fear from any Rakshasa. This one is no Rakshasa from whom thou apprehendest such imminent danger. This is king Kalmashapada endued with great energy and celebrated on earth. That terrible man dwelleth in these woods.'

"The Gandharva continued, 'Beholding him advancing, the illustrious Rishi Vasishtha, endued with great energy, restrained him, O Bharata, by uttering the sound Hum. Sprinkling him again with water sanctified with incantations the Rishi freed the monarch from that terrible curse. For twelve years the monarch had been overwhelmed by the energy of Vasishtha's son like Surya seized by the planet (Rahu) during the season of an eclipse. Freed from the Rakshasa the monarch illumined that large forest by his splendour like the sun illumining the evening clouds. Recovering his power of reason, the king saluted that best of Rishis with joined palms and said, 'O illustrious one, I am the son of Sudasa and thy disciple, O best of Munis! O, tell me what is thy pleasure and what I am to do.' Vasishtha replied, saying, 'My desire hath already been accomplished. Return now to thy kingdom and rule thy subjects. And, O chief of men, never insult Brahmanas any more.' The monarch replied, 'O illustrious one, I shall never more insult superior Brahmanas. In obedience to thy command I shall always worship Brahmanas. But, O best of Brahmanas, I desire to obtain from thee that by which, O foremost of all that are conversant with the Vedas, I may be freed from the debt I owe to the race of Ikshvaku! O best of men, it behoveth thee to grant me, for the perpetuation of Ikshvaku's race, a desirable son possessing beauty and accomplishments and good behaviour.'

"The Gandharva continued, 'Thus addressed, Vasishtha, that best of Brahmanas devoted to truth replied unto that mighty bowman of a monarch, saying, 'I will give you.' After some time, O prince of men, Vasishtha, accompanied by the monarch, went to the latter's capital known all over the earth by the name of Ayodhya. The citizens in great joy came out to receive the sinless and illustrious one, like the dwellers in heaven coming out to receive their chief. The monarch, accompanied by Vasishtha, re-entered his auspicious capital after a long time. The citizens of Ayodhya beheld their king accompanied by his priest, as if he were the rising sun. The monarch who was superior to everyone in beauty filled by his splendour the whole town of Ayodhya, like the autumnal moon filling by his splendour the whole firmament. And the excellent city itself, in consequence of its streets having been watered and swept, and of the rows of banners and pendants beautifying it all around, gladdened the monarch's heart. And, O prince of Kuru's race, the city filled as it was with joyous and healthy souls, in consequence of his presence, looked gay like Amaravati with the presence of the chief of the celestials. After the royal sage had entered his capital, the queen, at the king's command, approached Vasishtha. The great Rishi, making a covenant with her, united himself with her according to the high ordinance. And after a little while, when the queen conceived, that best of Rishis, receiving the reverential salutations of the king, went back to his asylum. The queen bore the embryo in her womb for a long time. When she saw that she did not bring forth anything, she tore open her womb by a piece of stone. It was then that at the twelfth year (of the conception) was born Asmaka, that bull amongst men, that royal sage who founded (the city of) Paudanya.'"

SECTION 180

(Chaitraratha Parva continued)

"The Gandharva continued, 'Then, O Partha, Adrisyanti, who had been residing in Vasishtha's asylum, brought forth (when the time came) a son who was the perpetuator of Saktri's race and who was a second Saktri in everything. O foremost of Bharatas, that best of Munis, the illustrious Vasishtha himself performed the usual after-birth ceremonies of his grandson. And, because the Rishi Vasishtha had resolved on self-destruction but had abstained therefrom as soon as he knew of the existence of that child, that child, when born, was called Parasara (the vivifier of the dead). The virtuous Parasara, from the day of his birth, knew Vasishtha for his father and behaved towards the Muni as such. One day, O son of Kunti, the child addressed Vasishtha, that first of Brahmana sages, as father, in the presence of his mother Adrisyanti. Adrisyanti, hearing the very intelligible sound father sweetly uttered by her son, addressed him with tearful eyes and said, 'O child, do not address this thy grandfather as father? Thy father, O son, has been devoured by a Rakshasa in a different forest. O innocent one, he is not thy father whom thou regardest so. The revered one is the father of that celebrated father of thine.' Thus addressed by his mother that best of Rishis of truthful speech, gave way to sorrow, but soon fired up and resolved to destroy the whole creation. Then that illustrious and great ascetic Vasishtha, that foremost of all persons conversant with Brahma, that son of Mitravaruna, that Rishi acquainted with positive truth, addressed his grandson who had set his heart upon the destruction of the world. Hear, O Arjuna, the arguments by which Vasishtha succeeded in driving out that resolution from his grandson's mind.'

"The Gandharva continued, 'Then Vasishtha said, 'There was a celebrated king of the name of Kritavirya. That bull among the kings of the earth was the disciple of the Veda-knowing Bhrigus. That king, O child, after performing the Soma sacrifice, gratified the Brahmanas with great presents of rice and wealth. After that monarch had ascended to heaven, an occasion came when his descendants were in want of wealth. And knowing that the Bhrigus were rich, those princes went unto those best of Brahmanas, in the guise of beggars. Some amongst the Bhrigus, to protect their wealth, buried it under earth; and some from fear of the Kshatriyas, began to give away their wealth unto (other) Brahmanas; while some amongst them duly gave unto the Kshatriyas whatever they wanted. It happened, however, that some Kshatriyas, in digging as they pleased at the house of particular Bhargava, came upon a large treasure. And the treasure was seen by all those bulls among Kshatriyas who had been there. Enraged at what they regarded as the deceitful behaviour of the Bhrigus, the Kshatriyas insulted the Brahmanas, though the latter asked for mercy. And those mighty bowmen began to slaughter the Bhrigus with their sharp arrows. And the Kshatriyas wandered over the earth, slaughtering even the embryos that were in the wombs of the women of the Bhrigu race. And while the Bhrigu race was thus being exterminated, the women of that tribe fled from fear to the inaccessible mountains of Himavat. And one amongst these women, of tapering thighs, desiring to perpetuate her husband's race, held in one of her thighs an embryo endued with great energy. A certain Brahmana woman, however, who came to know this fact, went from fear unto the Kshatriyas and reported the matter unto them. And the Kshatriyas then went to destroy that embryo. Arrived at the place, they beheld the would-be mother blazing with inborn energy, and the child that was in her thigh came out tearing up the thigh and dazzling the eyes of those Kshatriyas like the midday sun. Thus deprived of their eyes, the Kshatriyas began to wander over those inaccessible mountains. And distressed at the loss of sight, the princes were afflicted with woe, and desirous of regaining the use of their eyes they resolved to seek the protection of that faultless woman. Then those Kshatriyas, afflicted with sorrow, and from loss of sight like unto a fire that hath gone out, addressed with anxious hearts that illustrious lady, saying, 'By thy grace. O lady, we wish to be restored to sight. We shall then return to our homes all together and abstain for ever from our sinful practice. O handsome one, it behoveth thee with thy child to show us mercy. It behoveth thee to favour these kings by granting them their eye-sight.'"

SECTION 181

(Chaitraratha Parva continued)

"Vasishtha continued, 'The Brahmana lady, thus addressed by them, said, 'Ye children, I have not robbed you of your eye-sight, nor am I angry with you. This child, however, of the Bhrigu race hath certainly been angry with you. There is little doubt, ye children, that ye have been robbed of your sight by that illustrious child whose wrath hath been kindled at the remembrance of the slaughter of his race. Ye children, while ye were destroying even the embryos of the Bhrigu race, this child was held by me in my thigh for a hundred years! And in order that the prosperity of Bhrigu's race might be restored, the entire Vedas with their branches came unto this one even while he was in the womb. It is plain that this scion of the Bhrigu race, enraged at the slaughter of his fathers, desireth to slay you! It is by his celestial energy that your eyes have been scorched. Therefore, ye children, pray ye unto this my excellent child born of my thigh. Propitiated by your homage he may restore your eye-sight.'

"Vasishtha continued, 'Hearing those words of the Brahmana lady, all these princes addressed the thigh-born child, saying, 'Be propitious!' And the child became propitious unto them. And that best of Brahmana Rishis, in consequence of his having been born after tearing open his mother's thigh, came to be known throughout the three worlds by the name of Aurva (thigh-born). And those princes regaining their eye-sight went away. But the Muni Aurva of the Bhrigu race resolved upon overcoming the whole world. And the high-souled Rishi set his heart, O child, upon the destruction of every creature in the world. And that scion of the Bhrigu race, for paying homage (as he regarded) unto his slaughtered ancestors, devoted himself to the austerest of penances with the object of destroying the whole world. And desirous of gratifying his ancestors, the Rishi afflicted by his severe asceticism the three worlds with the celestials, the Asuras and human beings. The Pitris, then, learning what the child of their race was about, all came from their own region unto the Rishi and addressing him said:

'Aurva, O son, fierce thou hast been in thy asceticism. Thy power hath been witnessed by us. Be propitious unto the three worlds. O, control thy wrath. O child, it was not from incapacity that the Bhrigus of souls under complete control were, all of them, indifferent to their own destruction at the hands of the murderous Kshatriyas. O child, when we grew weary of the long periods of life alloted to us, it was then that we desired our own destruction through the instrumentality of the Kshatriyas. The wealth that the Bhrigus had placed in their house underground had been placed only with the object of enraging the Kshatriyas and picking a quarrel with them. O thou best of Brahmanas, as we were desirous of heaven, of what use could wealth be to us? The treasurer of heaven (Kuvera) had kept a large treasure for us. When we found that death could not, by any means, overtake us all, it was then, O child, that we regarded this as the best means (of compassing our desire). They who commit suicide never attain to regions that are blessed. Reflecting upon this, we abstained from self-destruction. That which, therefore thou desirest to do is not agreeable to us. Restrain thy mind, therefore, from the sinful act of destroying the whole world. O child, destroy not the Kshatriyas nor the seven worlds. O, kill this wrath of thine that staineth thy ascetic energy.'"

SECTION 182

(Chaitraratha Parva continued)

"The Gandharva said, 'Vasishtha after this, continued the narration saying, 'Hearing these words of the Pitris, Aurva, O child, replied unto them to this effect:

'Ye Pitris, the vow I have made from anger for the destruction of all the worlds, must not go in vain. I cannot consent to be one whose anger and vows are futile. Like fire consuming dry woods, this rage of mine will certainly consume me if I do not accomplish my vow. The man that represseth his wrath that hath been excited by (adequate) cause, becometh incapable of duly compassing the three ends of life (viz., religion, profit and pleasure). The wrath that kings desirous of subjugating the whole earth exhibit, is not without its uses. It serveth to restrain the wicked and to protect the honest. While lying unborn within my mother's thigh, I heard the doleful cries of my mother and other women of the Bhrigu race who were then being exterminated by the Kshatriyas. Ye Pitris, when those wretches of Kshatriyas began to exterminate the Bhrigus together with unborn children of their race, it was then that wrath filled my soul. My mother and the other women of our race, each in an advanced state of pregnancy, and my father, while terribly alarmed, found not in all the worlds a single protector. Then when the Bhrigu women found not a single protector, my mother held me in one of her thighs. If there be a punisher of crimes in the worlds no one in all the worlds would dare commit a crime; if he findeth not a punisher, the number of sinners becometh large. The man who having the power to prevent or punish sin doth not do so knowing that a sin hath been committed, is himself defiled by that sin. When kings and others, capable of protecting my fathers, protect them not, postponing that duty preferring the pleasures of life, I have just cause to be enraged with them. I am the lord of the creation, capable of punishing its iniquity. I am incapable of obeying your command. Capable of punishing this crime, if I abstain from so doing, men will once more have to undergo a similar persecution. The fire of my wrath too that is ready to consume the worlds, if repressed, will certainly consume by its own energy my own self. Ye masters, I know that ye ever seek the good of the worlds: direct me, therefore, as to what may benefit both myself and the worlds.'

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"Vasishtha continued, 'The Pitris replied saying, O, throw this fire that is born of thy wrath and that desireth to consume the worlds, into the waters. That will do thee good. The worlds, indeed, are all dependent on water (as their elementary cause). Every juicy substance containeth water, indeed the whole universe is made of water. Therefore, O thou best of Brahmanas, cast thou this fire of thy wrath into the waters. If, therefore, thou desirest it, O Brahmana, let this fire born of thy wrath abide in the great ocean, consuming the waters thereof, for it hath been said that the worlds are made of water. In this way, O thou sinless one, thy word will be rendered true, and the worlds with the gods will not be destroyed.'

"Vasishtha continued, 'Then, O child, Aurva cast the fire of his wrath into the abode of Varuna. And that fire which consumeth the waters of the great ocean, became like unto a large horse's head which persons conversant with the Vedas call by the name of Vadavamukha. And emitting itself from that mouth it consumeth the waters of the mighty ocean. Blest be thou! It behoveth not thee, therefore, to destroy the worlds. O thou Parasara, who art acquainted with the higher regions, thou foremost of wise men!'"

SECTION 183

(Chaitraratha Parva continued)

"The Gandharva continued, 'The Brahmana sage (Parasara) thus addressed by the illustrious Vasishtha restrained his wrath from destroying the worlds. But the Rishi Parasara endued with great energy--the son of Saktri--the foremost of all persons acquainted with the Vedas--performed a grand Rakshasa sacrifice. And remembering the slaughter of (his father) Saktri, the great Muni began to consume the Rakshasas, young and old, in the sacrifice he performed. And Vasishtha did not restrain him from this slaughter of the Rakshasa, from the determination of not obstructing this second vow (of his grandson). And in that sacrifice the great Muni Parasara sat before three blazing fires, himself like unto a fourth fire. And the son of Saktri, like the Sun just emerging from the clouds, illuminated the whole firmament by that stainless sacrifice of his into which large were the libations poured of clarified butter. Then Vasishtha and the other Rishis regarded that Muni blazing with his own energy as if he were the second Sun. Then the great Rishi Atri of liberal soul desirous of ending that sacrifice, an achievement highly difficult for others,--came to that place. And there also came, O thou slayer of all foes, Pulastya and Pulaha, and Kratu the performer of many great sacrifices, all influenced by the desire of saving the Rakshasas. And, O thou bull of the Bharata race, Pulastya then, seeing that many Rakshasas had already been slain, told these words unto Parasara that oppressor of all enemies:

'There is no obstruction, I hope, to this sacrifice of thine, O child! Takest thou any pleasure, O child, in this slaughter of even all those innocent Rakshasas that know nothing of thy father's death. It behoveth thee not to destroy any creatures thus. This, O child, is not the occupation of a Brahmana devoted to asceticism. Peace is the highest virtue. Therefore, O Parasara, establish thou peace. How hast thou, O Parasara, being so superior, engaged thyself in such a sinful practice? It behoveth not thee to transgress against Saktri himself who was well-acquainted with all rules of morality. It behoveth not thee to extirpate any creatures. O descendant of Vasishtha's race, that which befell thy father was brought about by his own curse. It was for his own fault that Saktri was taken hence unto heaven. O Muni, no Rakshasa was capable of devouring Saktri; he himself provided for his own death. And, O Parasara, Viswamitra was only a blind instrument in that matter. Both Saktri and Kalmashapada, having ascended to heaven are enjoying great happiness. And, the other sons also of the great Rishi Vasishtha who were younger than Saktri, are even now enjoying themselves with the celestials. And, O child, O offspring of Vasishtha's son, thou hast also been, in this sacrifice, only an instrument in the destruction of these innocent Rakshasas. O, blest be thou! Abandon this sacrifice of thine. Let it come to an end.'

"The Gandharva continued, 'Thus addressed by Pulastya, as also by the intelligent Vasishtha, that mighty Muni--the son of Saktri then brought that sacrifice to an end. And the Rishi cast the fire that he had ignited for the purpose of the Rakshasas' sacrifice into the deep woods on the north of the Himavat. And that fire may be seen to this day consuming Rakshasas and trees and stones in all seasons.'"

SECTION 184

(Chaitraratha Parva continued)

"Arjuna asked, 'What for, O Gandharva, did king Kalmashapada command his queen to go unto that foremost of all persons conversant with the Vedas--the master Vasishtha? Why also did that illustrious and great Rishi Vasishtha himself who was acquainted with every rule of morality know a woman he should not have known? O friend, was this an act of sin on the part of Vasishtha? It behoveth thee to remove the doubts I entertain and refer to thee for solution.'

"The Gandharva replied, saying, 'O irrepressible Dhananjaya, listen to me as I answer the question thou hast asked in respect of Vasishtha and king Kalmashapada that cherisher of friends. O thou best of the Bharatas, I have told thee all about the curse of king Kalmashapada by Saktri, the illustrious son of Vasishtha. Brought under the influence of the curse, that smiter of all foes--king Kalmashapada--with eyes whirling in anger went out of his capital accompanied by his wife. And entering with his wife the solitary woods the king began to wander about. And one day while the king under the influence of the curse was wandering through that forest abounding in several kinds of deer and various other animals and overgrown with numerous large trees and shrubs and creepers and resounding with terrible cries, he became exceedingly hungry. And the monarch thereupon began to search for some food. Pinched with hunger, the king at last saw, in a very solitary part of the woods, a Brahmana and his wife enjoying each other. Alarmed at beholding the monarch the couple ran away, their desire ungratified. Pursuing the retreating pair, the king forcibly seized the Brahmana. Then the Brahmani, beholding her lord seized, addressed the monarch, saying, 'Listen to what I say, O monarch of excellent vows! It is known all over the world that thou art born in the solar race, and that thou art ever vigilant in the practice of morality and devoted to the service of thy superiors. It behoveth thee not to commit sin, O thou irrepressible one, deprived though thou hast been of thy senses by (the Rishi's) curse. My season hath come, and wishful of my husband's company I was connected with him. I have not been gratified yet. Be propitious unto us, O thou best of kings! Liberate my husband.' The monarch, however, without listening to her cries cruelly devoured her husband like a tiger devouring its desirable prey. Possessed with wrath at this sight, the tears that that woman shed blazed up like fire and consumed everything in that place. Afflicted with grief at the calamity that overtook her lord, the Brahmani in anger cursed the royal sage Kalmashapada, 'Vile wretch, since thou hast today cruelly devoured under my very nose my illustrious husband dear unto me, even before my desires have been gratified, therefore shall thou, O wicked one afflicted by my curse, meet with instant death when thou goest in for thy wife in season. And thy wife, O wretch, shall bring forth a son uniting herself with that Rishi Vasishtha whose children have been devoured by thee. And that child, O worst of kings, shall be the perpetuator of thy race.' And cursing the monarch thus, that lady of Angira's house bearing every auspicious mark, entered the blazing fire in the very sight of the monarch. And, O thou oppressor of all foes, the illustrious and exalted Vasishtha by his ascetic power and spiritual insight immediately knew all. And long after this, when the king became freed from his curse, he approached his wife Madayanati when her season came. But Madayanati softly sent him away. Under the influence of passion the monarch had no recollection of that curse. Hearing, however, the words of his wife, the best of kings became terribly alarmed. And recollecting the curse he repented bitterly of what he had done. It was for this reason, O thou best of men, that the monarch infected with the Brahmani's curse, appointed Vasishtha to beget a son upon his queen.'"

SECTION 185

(Chaitraratha Parva continued)

"Arjuna asked, 'O Gandharva, thou art acquainted with everything. Tell us, therefore, which Veda-knowing Brahmana is worthy to be appointed as our priest.'

"The Gandharva replied, 'There is in these woods a shrine of the name of Utkochaka. Dhaumya, the younger brother of Devala is engaged there in ascetic penances. Appoint him, if ye desire, your priest."

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then Arjuna, highly pleased with everything that had happened, gave unto that Gandharva, his weapon of fire with befitting ceremonies. And addressing him, the Pandava also said, 'O thou best of Gandharvas, let the horses thou givest us remain with thee for a time. When the occasion cometh, we will take them from thee. Blest be thou.' Then the Gandharva and the Pandavas, respectfully saluting each other, left the delightful banks of the Bhagirathi and went wheresoever they desired. Then, O Bharata, the Pandavas going to Utkochaka, the sacred asylum of Dhaumya installed Dhaumya as their priest. And Dhaumya, the foremost of all conversant with the Vedas, receiving them with presents of wild fruits and (edible) roots, consented to become their priest. And the Pandavas with their mother forming the sixth of the company, having obtained that Brahmana as their priest regarded their sovereignty and kingdom as already regained and the daughter of the Panchala king as already obtained in the Swayamavara. And those bulls of the Bharata race, having obtained the master Dhaumya as their priest, also regarded themselves as placed under a powerful protector. And the high-souled Dhaumya, acquainted with the true meaning of the Vedas and every rule of morality, becoming the spiritual preceptor of the virtuous Pandavas, made them his Yajamanas (spiritual disciples). And that Brahmana, beholding those heroes endued with intelligence and strength and perseverance like unto the celestials, regarded them as already restored, by virtue of their own accomplishments to their sovereignty and kingdom. Then those kings of men, having had benedictions uttered upon them by that Brahmana, resolved to go, accompanied by him, to the Swayamvara of the Princess of Panchala.'"

SECTION 186

(Swayamvara Parva)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then those tigers among men--those brothers--the five Pandavas, set out for Panchala to behold that country and Draupadi and the festivities (in view of her marriage). And those tigers among men--those oppressors of all enemies--in going along with their mother, saw on the way numerous Brahmanas proceeding together. And those Brahmanas who were all Brahmacharis beholding the Pandavas, O king, asked them, 'Where are ye going to? Whence also are ye come?' And Yudhishthira replied unto them, saying, 'Ye bulls among Brahmanas, know ye that we are uterine brothers proceeding together with our mother. We are coming even from Ekachakra.' The Brahmanas then said, 'Go ye this very day to the abode of Drupada in the country of the Panchalas. A great Swayamvara takes place there, on which a large sum of money will be spent. We also are proceeding thither. Let us all go together. Extraordinary festivities will take place (in Drupada's abode). The illustrious Yajnasena, otherwise called Drupada, had a daughter risen from the centre of the sacrificial altar. Of eyes like lotus-petals and of faultless features endued with youth and intelligence, she is extremely beautiful. And the slender-waisted Draupadi of every feature perfectly faultless, and whose body emitteth a fragrance like unto that of the blue lotus for two full miles around, is the sister of the strong-armed Dhrishtadyumna gifted with great prowess--the (would-be) slayer of Drona--who was born with natural mail and sword and bow and arrows from the blazing fire, himself like unto the second Fire. And that daughter of Yajnasena will select a husband from among the invited princes. And we are repairing thither to behold her and the festivities on the occasion, like unto the festivities of heaven. And to that Swayamvara will come from various lands kings and princes who are performers of sacrifices in which the presents to the Brahmanas are large: who are devoted to study, are holy, illustrious, and of rigid vows; who are young and handsome; and who are mighty car-warriors and accomplished in arms. Desirous of winning (the hand of) the maiden those monarchs will all give away much wealth and kine and food and other articles of enjoyment. And taking all they will give away and witnessing the Swayamvara, and enjoying the festivities, we shall go wheresoever we like. And there will also come unto that Swayamvara, from various countries, actors, and bards singing the panegyrics of kings, and dancers, and reciters of Puranas, and heralds, and powerful athletes. And beholding all these sights and taking what will be given away to illustrious ones, ye will return with us. Ye are all handsome and like unto the celestials! Beholding you, Krishna may, by chance, choose some one amongst you superior to the rest. This thy brother of mighty arms and handsome and endued with beauty also, engaged in (athletic) encounters, may, by chance, earn great wealth.'

"On hearing these words of the Brahmanas, Yudhishthira replied, 'Ye Brahmanas, we will all go with you to witness that maiden's Swayamvara--that excellent jubilee.'"

SECTION 187

(Swayamvara Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Thus addressed by the Brahmanas, the Pandavas, O Janamejaya, proceeded towards the country of the southern Panchalas ruled over by the king Drupada. And on their way those heroes beheld the illustrious Dwaipayana--that Muni of pure soul, and perfectly sinless. And duly saluting the Rishi and saluted by him, after their conversation was over, commanded by him they proceeded to Drupada's abode. And those mighty chariot-fighters proceeded by slow stages staying for some time within those beautiful woods and by fine lakes that they beheld along their way. Devoted to study, pure in their practices, amiable, and sweet-speeched, the Pandavas at last entered the country of the Panchalas. And beholding the capital, as also the fort, they took up their quarters in the house of a potter, Adopting the Brahmanical profession, they began to lead an eleemosynary life. And no men recognised those heroes during their stay in Drupada's capital.

"Yajnasena always cherished the desire of bestowing his daughter on Kiriti (Arjuna), the son of Pandu. But he never spoke of it to anybody. And, O Janamejaya, the king of Panchala thinking of Arjuna caused a very stiff bow to be made that was incapable of being bent by any except Arjuna. Causing some machinery to be erected in the sky, the king set up a mark attached to that machinery. And Drupada said, 'He that will string this bow and with these well-adorned arrows shoot the mark above the machine shall obtain my daughter.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'With these words king Drupada proclaimed the Swayamvara. On hearing of them, O

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Bharata, the kings of other lands came to his capital. And there came also many illustrious Rishis desirous of beholding the Swayamvara. And there came also, O king, Duryodhana and the Kurus accompanied by Kama. There also came many superior Brahmanas from every country. And the monarchs who came there were all received with reverence by the illustrious Drupada. Desirous of beholding the Swayamvara, the citizens, roaring like the sea, all took their seats on the platforms that were erected around the amphitheatre. The monarch entered the grand amphitheatre by the north-eastern gate. And the amphitheatre which itself had been erected on an auspicious and level plain to the north-east of Drupada's capital, was surrounded by beautiful mansions. And it was enclosed on all sides with high walls and a moat with arched doorways here and there. The vast amphitheatre was also shaded by a canopy of various colours. And resounding with the notes of thousands of trumpets, it was scented with black aloes and sprinkled all over with water mixed with sandal-paste and decorated with garlands of flowers. It was surrounded with high mansions perfectly white and resembling the cloud-kissing peaks of Kailasa. The windows of those mansions were covered with net works of gold; the walls were set with diamonds and precious costly carpets and cloths. All those mansions adorned with wreaths and garlands of flowers and rendered fragrant with excellent aloes, were all white and spotless, like unto the necks of swans. And the fragrance therefrom could be perceived from the distance of a Yojana (eight miles). And they were each furnished with a hundred doors wide enough to admit a crowd of persons; they were adorned with costly beds and carpets, and beautified with various metals; they resembled the peaks of the Himavat. And in those seven-storied houses of various sizes dwelt the monarchs invited by Drupada whose persons were adorned with every ornament and who were possessed with the desire of excelling one another. And the inhabitants of the city and the country who had come to behold Krishna and taken their seats on the excellent platforms erected around, beheld seated within those mansions those lions among kings who were all endued with the energy of great souls. And those exalted sovereigns were all adorned with the fragrant paste of the black aloe. Of great liberality, they were all devoted to Brahma and they protected their kingdoms against all foes. And for their own good deeds they were loved by the whole world.

"The Pandavas, too, entering that amphitheatre, sat with the Brahmanas and beheld the unequalled affluence of the king of the Panchalas. And that concourse of princes, Brahmanas, and others, looking gay at the performances of actors and dancers (large presents of every kind of wealth being constantly made), began to swell day by day. And it lasted, O king, several days, till on the sixteenth day when it was at its full, the daughter of Drupada, O thou bull of the Bharata race, having washed herself clean entered the amphitheatre, richly attired and adorned with every ornament and bearing in her hand a dish of gold (whereon were the usual offerings of Arghya) and a garland of flowers. Then the priest of the lunar race--a holy Brahmana conversant with all mantras--ignited the sacrificial fire and poured on it with due rites libations of clarified butter. And gratifying Agni by these libations and making the Brahmanas utter the auspicious formula of benediction, stopped the musical instruments that were playing all around. And when that vast amphitheatre, O monarch, became perfectly still, Dhrishtadyumna possessed of a voice deep as the sound of the kettledrum or the clouds, taking hold of his sister's arm, stood in the midst of that concourse, and said, with a voice loud and deep as the roar of the clouds, these charming words of excellent import, 'Hear ye assembled kings, this is the bow, that is the mark, and these are the arrows. Shoot the mark through the orifice of the machine with these five sharpened arrows. Truly do I say that, possessed of lineage, beauty of persons, and strength whoever achieveth this great feat shall obtain today this my sister, Krishna for his wife.' Having thus spoken unto the assembled monarchs Drupada's son then addressed his sister, reciting unto her the names and lineages and achievements of those assembled lords of the earth.'"

SECTION 188

(Swayamvara Parva continued)

"Dhrishtadyumna said, 'Duryodhana, Durvisaha, Durmukha and Dushpradharshana, Vivinsati, Vikarna, Saha, and Duhsasana; Yuyutsu and Vayuvega and Bhimavegarava; Ugrayudha, Valaki, Kanakayu, and Virochana, Sukundala, Chitrasena, Suvarcha, and Kanakadhwaja; Nandaka, and Vahusali, and Tuhunda, and Vikata; these, O sister, and many other mighty sons of Dhritarashtra--all heroes--accompanied by Karna, have come for thy hand. Innumerable other illustrious monarchs all bulls among Kshatriyas--have also come for thee. Sakuni, Sauvala, Vrisaka, and Vrihadvala,--these sons of the king Gandhara--have also come. Foremost of all wielders of weapons--the illustrious Aswatthaman and Bhoja, adorned with every ornament have also come for thee. Vrihanta, Manimana, Dandadhara, Sahadeva, Jayatsena, Meghasandhi, Virata with his two sons Sankha and Uttara, Vardhakshemi, Susarma, Senavindu, Suketu with his two sons Sunama and Suvarcha, Suchitra, Sukumara, Vrika, Satyadhriti, Suryadhwaja, Rochamana, Nila, Chitrayudha, Agsuman, Chekitana, the mighty Sreniman, Chandrasena the mighty son of Samudrasena, Jarasandha, Vidanda, and Danda--the father and son, Paundraka, Vasudeva, Bhagadatta endued with great energy, Kalinga, Tamralipta, the king of Pattana, the mighty car-warrior Salya, the king of Madra, with his son, the heroic Rukmangada, Rukmaratha, Somadatta of the Kuru race with his three sons, all mighty chariot-fighters and heroes, viz., Bhuri, Bhurisrava, and Sala, Sudakshina, Kamvoja of the Puru race, Vrihadvala, Sushena, Sivi, the son of Usinara, Patcharanihanta, the king of Karusha, Sankarshana (Valadeva), Vasudeva (Krishna) the mighty son of Rukmini, Samva, Charudeshna, the son of Pradyumna with Gada, Akrura, Satyaki, the high-souled Uddhava, Kritavarman, the son of Hridika, Prithu, Viprithu, Viduratha, Kanka, Sanku with Gaveshana, Asavaha, Aniruddha, Samika, Sarimejaya, the heroic Vatapi Jhilli Pindaraka, the powerful Usinara, all these of the Vrishni race, Bhagiratha, Vrihatkshatra, Jayadratha the son of Sindhu, Vrihadratha, Valhika, the mighty charioteer Srutayu, Uluka, Kaitava, Chitrangada and Suvangada, the highly intelligent Vatsaraja, the king of Kosala, Sisupala and the powerful Jarasandha, these and many other great kings--all Kshatriyas celebrated throughout the world--have come, O blessed one, for thee. Endued with prowess, these will shoot the mark. And thou shalt choose him for thy husband who amongst these will shoot the mark.'"

SECTION 189

(Swayamvara Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then those youthful princes adorned with ear-rings, vying with one another and each regarding himself accomplished in arms and gifted with might, stood up brandishing their weapons. And intoxicated with pride of beauty, prowess, lineage, knowledge, wealth, and youth, they were like Himalayan elephants in the season of rut with crowns split from excess of temporal juice. And beholding each other with jealousy and influenced by the god of desire, they suddenly rose up from their royal seats, exclaiming 'Krishna shall be mine.' And the Kshatriyas assembled in that amphitheatre, each desirous of winning the daughter of Drupada, looked like the celestial (of old) standing round Uma, the daughter of the King of mountains. Afflicted with the shafts of the god of the flowery bow and with hearts utterly lost in the contemplation of Krishna, those princes descended into the amphitheatre for winning the Panchala maiden and began to regard even their best friends with jealousy. And there came also the celestials on their cars, with the Rudras and the Adityas, the Vasus and the twin Aswins, the Swadhas and all the Marutas, and Kuvera with Yama walking ahead. And there came also the Daityas and the Suparnas, the great Nagas and the celestial Rishis, the Guhyakas and the Charanas and Viswavasu and Narada and Parvata, and the principal Gandharvas with Apsaras. And Halayudha (Valadeva) and Janardana (Krishna) and the chief of the Vrishni, Andhaka, and Yadava tribes who obeyed the leadership of Krishna were also there, viewing the scene. And beholding those elephants in rut--the five (Pandavas)--attracted towards Draupadi like mighty elephants towards a lake overgrown with lotuses, or like fire covered with ashes, Krishna the foremost of Yadu heroes began to reflect. And he said unto Rama (Valadeva), 'That is Yudhishthira; that is Bhima with Jishnu (Arjuna); and those are the twin heroes.' And Rama surveying them slowly cast a glance of satisfaction at Krishna. Biting their nether lips in wrath, the other heroes there--sons and grandsons of kings--with their eyes and hearts and thoughts set on Krishna, looked with expanded eyes on Draupadi alone without noticing the Pandavas. And the sons of Pritha also, of mighty arms, and the illustrious twin heroes, beholding Draupadi, were all likewise struck by the shafts of Kama. And crowded with celestial Rishis and Gandharvas and Suparnas and Nagas and Asuras and Siddhas, and filled with celestial perfumes and scattered over with celestial flowers, and resounding with the kettle-drum and the deep hum of infinite voices, and echoing with the softer music of the flute, the Vina, and the tabor, the cars of the celestials could scarcely find a passage through the firmament. Then those princes--Karna, Duryodhana, Salwa, Salya, Aswatthaman, Kratha, Sunitha, Vakra, the ruler of Kalinga and Banga, Pandya, Paundra, the ruler of Videha, the chief of the Yavanas, and many other sons and grandsons of kings,--sovereigns of territories with eyes like lotus-petals,--one after another began to exhibit prowess for (winning) that maiden of unrivalled beauty. Adorned with crowns, garlands, bracelets, and other ornaments, endued with mighty arms, possessed of prowess and vigour and bursting with strength and energy, those princes could not, even in imagination, string that bow of extraordinary stiffness.

"And (some amongst) those kings in exerting with swelling lips each according to his strength, education, skill, and energy,--to string that bow, were tossed on the ground and lay perfectly motionless for some time. Their strength spent and their crowns and garlands loosened from their persons, they began to pant for breath and their ambition of winning that fair maiden was cooled. Tossed by that tough bow, and their garlands and bracelets and other ornaments disordered, they began to utter exclamations of woe. And that assemblage of monarchs, their hope of obtaining Krishna gone, looked sad and woeful. And beholding the plight of those monarchs, Karna that foremost of all wielders of the bow went to where the bow was, and quickly raising it strung it and placed the arrows on the string. And beholding the son of Surya--Karna of the Suta tribe--like unto fire, or Soma, or Surya himself, resolved to shoot the mark, those foremost of bowmen--the sons of Pandu--regarded the mark as already shot and brought down upon the ground. But seeing Karna, Draupadi loudly said, 'I will not select a Suta for my lord.' Then Karna, laughing in vexation and casting glance at the Sun, threw aside the bow already drawn to a circle.

Then when all those Kshatriyas gave up the task, the heroic king of the Chedis--mighty as Yama (Pluto) himself--the illustrious and determined Sisupala, the son of Damaghosa, in endeavouring to string the bow, himself fell upon his knees on the ground. Then king Jarasandha endued with great strength and powers, approaching the bow stood there for some moment, fixed and motionless like a mountain. Tossed by the bow, he too fell upon his knees on the ground, and rising up, the monarch left the amphitheatre for (returning to) his kingdom. Then the great hero Salya, the king of Madra, endued with great strength, in endeavouring to string the bow fell upon his knees on the ground. At last when in that assemblage consisting of highly respectable people, all the monarchs had become subjects of derisive talk that foremost of heroes--Jishnu, the son of Kunti--desired to string the bow and placed the arrows on the bow-string.'"

SECTION 190

(Swayamvara Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana continued, 'When all the monarchs had desisted from stringing that bow, the high-souled Jishnu arose from among the crowd of Brahmanas seated in that assembly. And beholding Partha possessing the complexion of Indra's banner, advancing towards the bow, the principal Brahmanas shaking their deer-skins raised a loud clamour. And while some were displeased, there were others that were well-pleased. And some there were, possessed of intelligence and foresight, who addressing one another said, 'Ye Brahmanas, how can a Brahmana stripling unpractised in arms and weak in strength, string that bow which such celebrated Kshatriyas as Salya and others endued with might and accomplished in the science and practice of arms could not? If he doth not achieve success in this untried task which he hath undertaken from a spirit of boyish unsteadiness, the entire body of Brahmanas here will be rendered ridiculous in the eyes of the assembled monarchs. Therefore, forbid this Brahmana that he may not go to string the bow which he is even now desirous of doing from vanity, childish daring, or mere unsteadiness.' Others replied, 'We shall not be made ridiculous, nor shall we incur the disrespect of anybody or the displeasure of the sovereigns. Some remarked, 'This handsome youth is even like the trunk of a mighty elephant, whose shoulders and arms and thighs are so well-built, who in patience looks like the Himavat, whose gait is even like that of the lion, and whose prowess seems to be like that of an elephant in rut, and who is so resolute, that it is probable that he will accomplish this feat. He has strength and resolution. If he had none, he would never go of his own accord. Besides, there is nothing in the three worlds that Brahmanas of all mortal men cannot accomplish. Abstaining from all food or living upon air or eating of fruits, persevering in their vows, and emaciated and weak, Brahmanas are ever strong in their own energy. One should never disregard a Brahmana whether his acts be right or wrong, by supposing him incapable of achieving any task that is great or little, or that is fraught with bliss or woe. Rama the son of Jamadagni defeated in battle, all the Kshatriyas. Agastya by his Brahma energy drank off the fathomless ocean. Therefore, say ye, 'Let this youth bend the bow and string it with ease' (and many said), 'So be it.' And the Brahmanas continued speaking unto one another these and other words. Then Arjuna approached the bow and stood there like a mountain. And walking round that bow, and bending his head unto that giver of boons--the lord Isana--and remembering Krishna also, he took it up. And that bow which Rukma, Sunitha, Vakra, Radha's son, Duryodhana, Salya, and many other kings accomplished in the science and practice of arms, could not even with great exertion, string, Arjuna, the son of Indra, that foremost of all persons endued with energy and like unto the younger brother of Indra (Vishnu) in might, strung in the twinkling of an eye. And taking up the five arrows he shot the mark and caused it to fall down on the ground through the hole in the machine above which it had been placed. Then there arose a loud uproar in the firmament, and the amphitheatre also resounded with a loud clamour. And the gods showered celestial flowers on the head of Partha the slayer of foes. And thousands of Brahmanas began to wave their upper garments

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in joy. And all around, the monarchs who had been unsuccessful, uttered exclamations of grief and despair. And flowers were rained from the skies all over the amphitheatre. And the musicians struck up in concert. Bards and heralds began to chant in sweet tones the praises (of the hero who accomplished the feat). And beholding Arjuna, Drupada--that slayer of foes,--was filled with joy. And the monarch desired to assist with his forces the hero if the occasion arose. And when the uproar was at its height, Yudhishthira, the foremost of all virtuous men, accompanied by those first of men the twins, hastily left the amphitheatre for returning to his temporary home. And Krishna beholding the mark shot and beholding Partha also like unto Indra himself, who had shot the mark, was filled with joy, and approached the son of Kunti with a white robe and a garland of flowers. And Arjuna the accomplisher of inconceivable feats, having won Draupadi by his success in the amphitheatre, was saluted with reverence by all the Brahmanas. And he soon after left the lists followed close by her who thus became his wife.'"

SECTION 191

(Swayamvara Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'When the king (Drupada) expressed his desire of bestowing his daughter on that Brahmana (who had shot the mark), all those monarchs who had been invited to the Swayamvara, looking at one another, were suddenly filled with wrath. And they said, 'Passing us by and treating the assembled monarchs as straw this Drupada desireth to bestow his daughter--that first of women,--on a Brahmana! Having planted the tree he cutteth it down when it is about to bear fruit. The wretch regardeth us not: therefore let us slay him. He deserveth not our respect nor the veneration due to age. Owing to such qualities of his, we shall, therefore, slay this wretch that insulteth all kings, along with his son. Inviting all the monarchs and entertaining them with excellent food, he disregardeth us at last. In this assemblage of monarchs like unto a conclave of the celestials, doth he not see a single monarch equal unto himself? The Vedic declaration is well-known that the Swayamvara is for the Kshatriyas. The Brahmanas have no claim in respect of a selection of husband by a Kshatriya damsel. Or, ye kings, if this damsel desireth not to select any one of us as her lord, let us cast her into the fire and return to our kingdoms. As regards this Brahmana, although he hath, from officiousness or avarice, done this injury to the monarchs, he should not yet be slain; for our kingdoms, lives, treasures, sons, grandsons, and whatever other wealth we have, all exist for Brahmanas. Something must be done here (even unto him), so that from fear of disgrace and the desire of maintaining what properly belongeth unto each order, other Swayamvaras may not terminate in this way.'

"Having addressed one another thus, those tigers among monarchs endued with arms like unto spiked iron maces, took up their weapons and rushed at Drupada to slay him then and there. And Drupada beholding those monarchs all at once rushing towards him in anger with bows and arrows, sought, from fear, the protection of the Brahmanas. But those mighty bowmen (Bhima and Arjuna) of the Pandavas, capable of chastising all foes, advanced to oppose those monarchs rushing towards them impetuously like elephants in the season of rut. Then the monarchs with gloved fingers and upraised weapons rushed in anger at the Kuru princes, Bhima and Arjuna, to slay them. Then the mighty Bhima of extraordinary achievements, endued with the strength of thunder, tore up like an elephant a large tree and divested it of its leaves. And with that tree, the strong-armed Bhima, the son of Pritha, that grinder of foes, stood, like unto the mace-bearing king of the dead (Yama) armed with his fierce mace, near Arjuna that bull amongst men. And beholding that feat of his brother, Jishnu of extraordinary intelligence, himself also of inconceivable feats, wondered much. And equal unto Indra himself in achievements, shaking off all fear he stood with his bow ready to receive those assailants. And beholding those feats of both Jishnu and his brother, Damodara (Krishna) of superhuman intelligence and inconceivable feats, addressing his brother, Halayudha (Valadeva) of fierce energy, said, 'That hero there, of tread like that of a mighty lion, who draweth the large bow in his hand four full cubits in length, is Arjuna! There is no doubt, O Sankarshana, about this, if I am Vasudeva. That other hero who having speedily torn up the tree hath suddenly become ready to drive off the monarchs is Vrikodara! For no one in the world, except Vrikodara, could today perform such a feat in the field of battle. And that other youth of eyes like unto lotus-petals, of full four cubits height, of gait like that of a mighty lion, and humble withal, of fair complexion and prominent and shining nose, who had, a little before, left the amphitheatre, is Dharma's son (Yudhishthira). The two other youths, like unto Kartikeya, are, I suspect, the sons of the twin Aswins. I heard that the sons of Pandu along with their mother Pritha had all escaped from the conflagration of the house of lac.' Then Halayudha of complexion like unto that of clouds uncharged with rain, addressing his younger brother (Krishna), said with great satisfaction, 'O, I am happy to hear, as I do from sheer good fortune, that our father's sister Pritha with the foremost of the Kaurava princes have all escaped (from death)!'"

SECTION 192

(Swayamvara Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then those bulls among Brahmanas shaking their deer-skins and water-pots made of cocoanut-shells exclaimed, 'Fear not, we will fight the foe!' Arjuna smilingly addressing those Brahmanas exclaiming thus, said, 'Stand ye aside as spectators (of the fray) Showering hundreds of arrows furnished with straight points even I shall check, like snakes with mantras, all those angry monarchs.' Having said this, the mighty Arjuna taking up the bow he had obtained as dower accompanied by his brother Bhima stood immovable as a mountain. And beholding those Kshatriyas who were ever furious in battle with Karna ahead, the heroic brothers rushed fearlessly at them like two elephants rushing against a hostile elephant. Then those monarchs eager for the fight fiercely exclaimed, 'The slaughter in battle of one desiring to fight is permitted.' And saying this, the monarchs suddenly rushed against the Brahmanas. And Karna endued with great energy rushed against Jishnu for fight. And Salya the mighty king of Madra rushed against Bhima like an elephant rushing against another for the sake of a she-elephant in heat; while Duryodhana and others engaged with the Brahmanas, skirmished with them lightly and carelessly. Then the illustrious Arjuna beholding Karna, the son of Vikartana (Surya), advancing towards him, drew his tough bow and pieced him with his sharp arrows. And the impetus of those whetted arrows furnished with fierce energy made Radheya (Karna) faint. Recovering consciousness Karna attacked Arjuna with greater care than before. Then Karna and Arjuna, both foremost of victorious warriors, desirous of vanquishing each other, fought madly on. And such was the lightness of hand they both displayed that (each enveloped by the other's shower of arrows) they both became invisible (unto the spectators of their encounter). 'Behold the strength of my arms.'--'Mark, how I have counteracted that feat,'--those were the words--intelligible to heroes alone--in which they addressed each other. And incensed at finding the strength and energy of Arjuna's arms unequalled on the earth, Karna, the son of Surya, fought with greater vigour. And parrying all those impetuous arrows shot at him by Arjuna, Karna sent up a loud shout. And this feat of his was applauded by all the warriors. Then addressing his antagonist, Karna said, 'O thou foremost of Brahmanas, I am gratified to observe the energy of thy arms that knoweth no relaxation in battle and thy weapons themselves fit for achieving victory. Art thou the embodiment of the science of weapons, or art thou Rama that best of Brahmanas, or Indra himself, or Indra's younger brother Vishnu called also Achyuta, who for disguising himself hath assumed the form of a Brahmana and mustering such energy of arms fighteth with me? No other person except the husband himself of Sachi or Kiriti, the son of Pandu, is capable of fighting with me when I am angry on the field of battle.' Then hearing those words of his, Phalguna replied, saying, 'O Karna, I am neither the science of arms (personified), nor Rama endued with superhuman powers. I am only a Brahmana who is the foremost of all warriors and all wielders of weapons. By the grace of my preceptor I have become accomplished in the Brahma and the Paurandara weapons. I am here to vanquish thee in battle. Therefore, O hero, wait a little.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed (by Arjuna), Karna the adopted son of Radha desisted from the fight, for that mighty chariot-fighter thought that Brahma energy is ever invincible. Meanwhile on another part of the field, the mighty heroes Salya and Vrikodara, well-skilled in battle and possessed of great strength and proficiency, challenging each other, engaged in fight like two elephants in rut. And they struck each other with their clenched fists and knees. And sometimes pushing each other forward and sometimes dragging each other near, sometimes throwing each other down; face downward, and sometimes on the sides, they fought on, striking, each other at times with their clenched fists. And encountering each other with blows hard as the clash of two masses of granite, the lists rang with the sounds of their combat. Fighting with each other thus for a few seconds, Bhima the foremost of the Kuru heroes taking up Salya on his arms hurled him to a distance. And Bhimasena, that bull amongst men, surprised all (by the dexterity of his feat) for though he threw Salya on the ground he did it without hurting him much. And when Salya was thus thrown down and Karna was struck with fear, the other monarchs were all alarmed. And they hastily surrounded Bhima and exclaimed, 'Surely these bulls amongst Brahmanas are excellent (warriors)! Ascertain in what race they have been born and where they abide. Who can encounter Karna, the son of Radha, in fight, except Rama or Drona, or Kiriti, the son of Pandu? Who also can encounter Duryodhana in battle except Krishna, the son of Devaki, and Kripa, the son of Saradwan? Who also can overthrow in battle Salya, that first of mighty warriors, except the hero Valadeva or Vrikodara, the son of Pandu, or the heroic Duryodhana? Let us, therefore, desist from this fight with the Brahmanas. Indeed, Brahmanas, however offending, should yet be ever protected. And first let us ascertain who these are; for after we have done that we may cheerfully fight with them.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'And Krishna, having beheld that feat of Bhima, believed them both to be the son of Kunti. And gently addressing the assembled monarchs, saying, 'This maiden hath been justly acquired (by the Brahmana),' he induced them to abandon the fight. Accomplished in battle, those monarchs then desisted from the fight. And those best of monarchs then returned to their respective kingdoms, wondering much. And those who had come there went away saying. 'The festive scene hath terminated in the victory of the Brahmanas. The princess of Panchala hath become the bride of a Brahmana.' And surrounded by Brahmanas dressed in skins of deer and other wild animals, Bhima and Dhananjaya passed with difficulty out of the throng. And those heroes among men, mangled by the enemy and followed by Krishna, on coming at last out of that throng, looked like the full moon and the sun emerging from the clouds.

"Meanwhile Kunti seeing that her sons were late in returning from their eleemosynary round, was filled with anxiety. She began to think of various evils having overtaken her sons. At one time she thought that the sons of Dhritarashtra having recognised her sons had slain them. Next she feared that some cruel and strong Rakshasas endued with powers of deception had slain them. And she asked herself, 'Could the illustrious Vyasa himself (who had directed my sons to come to Panchala) have been guided by perverse intelligence?' Thus reflected Pritha in consequence of her affection for her offspring. Then in the stillness of the late afternoon, Jishnu, accompanied by a body of Brahmanas, entered the abode of the potter, like the cloud-covered sun appearing on a cloudy day.'"

SECTION 193

(Swayamvara Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then those illustrious sons of Pritha, on returning to the potter's abode, approached their mother. And those first of men represented Yajnaseni unto their mother as the alms they had obtained that day. And Kunti who was there within the room and saw not her sons, replied, saying, 'Enjoy ye all (what ye have obtained).' The moment after, she beheld Krishna and then she said, 'Oh, what have I said?' And anxious from fear of sin, and reflecting how every one could be extricated from the situation, she took the cheerful Yajnaseni by the hand, and approaching Yudhishthira said, 'The daughter of king Yajnasena upon being represented to me by thy younger brothers as the alms they had obtained, from ignorance, O king, I said what was proper, viz., 'Enjoy ye all what hath been obtained. O thou bull of the Kuru race, tell me how my speech may not become untrue; how sin may not touch the daughter of the king of Panchala, and how also she may not become uneasy.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed by his mother that hero among men, that foremost scion of the Kuru race, the intelligent king (Yudhishthira), reflecting for a moment, consoled Kunti, and addressing Dhananjaya, said, 'By thee, O Phalguna, hath Yajnaseni been won. It is proper, therefore, that thou shouldst wed her. O thou withstander of all foes, igniting the sacred fire, take thou her hand with due rites.'

"Arjuna, hearing this, replied, 'O king, do not make me a participator in sin. Thy behest is not conformable to virtue. That is the path followed by the sinful. Thou shouldst wed first, then the strong-armed Bhima of inconceivable feats, then myself, then Nakula, and last of all, Sahadeva endued with great activity. Both Vrikodara and myself, and the twins and this maiden also, all await, O monarch, thy commands. When such is the state of things, do that, after reflection, which would be proper, and conformable virtue, and productive of fame, and beneficial unto the king of Panchala. All of us are obedient to thee. O, command us as thou likest.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words of Jishnu, so full of respect and affection, the Pandavas all cast their eyes upon the princess of Panchala. And the princess of Panchala also looked at them all. And casting their glances on the illustrious Krishna, those princes looked at one another. And taking their seats, they began to think of Draupadi alone. Indeed, after those princes of immeasurable energy had looked at Draupadi, the God of Desire invaded their hearts and continued to crush all their senses. As the lavishing beauty of Panchali who had been modelled by the Creator himself, was superior to that of all other women on earth, it could captivate the heart of every creature. And Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, beholding his younger brothers, understood what was passing in their minds. And that bull among men immediately recollected the words of Krishna-Dwaipayana. And the king, then, from fear of a division amongst the brothers, addressing all of them, said, 'The auspicious Draupadi shall be the common wife of us all.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'The sons of Pandu, then, hearing those words of their eldest brother, began to revolve them in their minds in great cheerfulness. The hero of the Vrishni race (Krishna suspecting the five persons he had seen

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at the Swayamvara to be none else than the heroes of the Kuru race), came accompanied by the son of Rohini (Valadeva), to the house of the potter where those foremost of men had taken up their quarters. On arriving there, Krishna and Valadeva beheld seated in that potter's house Ajatasanu (Yudhishthira) of well developed and long arms, and his younger brothers passing the splendour of fire sitting around him. Then Vasudeva approaching that foremost of virtuous men--the son of Kunti--and touching the feet of that prince of the Ajamida race, said, 'I am Krishna.' And the son of Rohini (Valadeva) also approaching Yudhishthira, did the same. And the Pandavas, beholding Krishna and Valadeva, began to express great delight. And, O thou foremost of the Bharata race, those heroes of the Yadu race thereafter touched also the feet of Kunti, their father's sister. And Ajatasatru, that foremost of the Kuru race, beholding Krishna, enquired after his well-being and asked, 'How, O Vasudeva, hast thou been able to trace us, as we are living in disguise?' And Vasudeva, smilingly answered, 'O king, fire, even if it is covered, can be known. Who else among men than the Pandavas could exhibit such might? Ye resisters of all foes, ye sons of Pandu, by sheer good fortune have ye escaped from that fierce fire. And it is by sheer good fortune alone that the wicked son of Dhritarashtra and his counsellors have not succeeded in accomplishing their wishes. Blest be ye! And grow ye in prosperity like a fire in a cave gradually growing and spreading itself all around. And lest any of the monarchs recognise ye, let us return to our tent.' Then, obtaining Yudhishthira's leave, Krishna of prosperity knowing no decrease, accompanied by Valadeva, hastily went away from the potter's abode.'"

SECTION 194

(Swayamvara Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'When the Kuru princes (Bhima and Arjuna) were wending towards the abode of the potter, Dhrishtadyumna, the Panchala prince followed them. And sending away all his attendants, he concealed himself in some part of the potter's house, unknown to the Pandavas. Then Bhima, that grinder of all foes, and Jishnu, and the illustrious twins, on returning from their eleemosynary round in the evening, cheerfully gave everything unto Yudhishthira. Then the kind-hearted Kunti addressing the daughter of Drupada said, 'O amiable one, take thou first a portion from this and devote it to the gods and give it away to Brahmanas, and feed those that desire to eat and give unto those who have become our guests. Divide the rest into two halves. Give one of these unto Bhima, O amiable one, for this strong youth of fair complexion--equal unto a king of elephants--this hero always eateth much. And divide the other half into six parts, four for these youths, one for myself, and one for thee.' Then the princess hearing those instructive words of her mother-in-law cheerfully did all that she had been directed to do. And those heroes then all ate of the food prepared by Krishna. Then Sahadeva, the son of Madri, endued with great activity, spread on the ground a bed of kusa grass. Then those heroes, each spreading thereon his deer-skin, laid themselves down to sleep. And those foremost of the Kuru princes lay down with heads towards the south. And Kunti laid herself down along the line of their heads, and Krishna along that of their feet. And Krishna though she lay with the sons of Pandu on that bed of kusa grass along the line of their feet as if she were their nether pillow, grieved not in her heart nor thought disrespectfully of those bulls amongst the Kurus. Then those heroes began to converse with one another. And the conversations of those princes, each worthy to lead an army, was exceedingly interesting they being upon celestial cars and weapons and elephants, and swords and arrows, and battle-axes. And the son of the Panchala king listened (from his place of concealment) unto all they said. And all those who were with him beheld Krishna in that state.

"When morning came, the prince Dhristadyumna set out from his place of concealment with great haste in order to report to Drupada in detail all that had happened at the potter's abode and all that he had heard those heroes speak amongst themselves during the night. The king of Panchala had been sad because he knew not the Pandavas as those who had taken away his daughter. And the illustrious monarch asked Dhristadyumna on his return, 'Oh, where hath Krishna gone? Who hath taken her away? Hath any Sudra or anybody of mean descent, or hath a tribute-paying Vaisya by taking my daughter away, placed his dirty foot on my head? O son, hath that wreath of flowers been thrown away on a grave-yard? Hath any Kshatriya of high birth, or any one of the superior order (Brahmana) obtained my daughter? Hath any one of mean descent, by having won Krishna, placed his left foot on my head? I would not, O son, grieve but feel greatly happy, if my daughter hath been united with Partha that foremost of men! O thou exalted one, tell me truly who hath won my daughter today? O, are the sons of that foremost of Kurus, Vichitravirya's son alive? Was it Partha (Arjuna) that took up the bow and shot the mark?'"

SECTION 195

(Vaivahika Parva)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Thus addressed Dhrishtadyumna, that foremost of the Lunar princes, cheerfully said unto his father all that had happened and by whom Krishna had been won. And the prince said, 'With large, red eyes, attired in deer-skin, and resembling a celestial in beauty, the youth who strung that foremost of bows and brought down to the ground the mark set on high, was soon surrounded by the foremost of Brahmanas who also offered him their homage for the feat he had achieved. Incapable of bearing the sight of a foe and endued with great activity, he began to exert his prowess. And surrounded by the Brahmanas he resembled the thunder-wielding Indra standing in the midst of the celestials, and the Rishis. And like a she-elephant following the leader of a herd, Krishna cheerfully followed that youth catching hold of his deer-skin. Then when the assembled monarchs incapable of bearing that sight lose up in wrath and advanced for fight, there rose up another hero who tearing up a large tree rushed at that concourse of kings, felling them right and left like Yama himself smiting down creatures endued with life. Then, O monarch, the assembled kings stood motionless and looked at that couple of heroes, while they, resembling the Sun and the Moon, taking Krishna with them, left the amphitheatre and went into the abode of a potter in the suburbs of the town, and there at the potter's abode sat a lady like unto a flame of fire who, I think, is their mother. And around her also sat three other foremost of men each of whom was like unto fire. And the couple of heroes having approached her paid homage unto her feet, and they said unto Krishna also to do the same. And keeping Krishna with her, those foremost of men all went the round of eleemosynary visits. Some time after when they returned, Krishna taking from them what they had obtained as alms, devoted a portion thereof to the gods, and gave another portion away (in gift) to Brahmanas. And of what remained after this, she gave a portion to that venerable lady, and distributed the rest amongst those five foremost of men. And she took a little for herself and ate it last of all. Then, O monarch, they all laid themselves down for sleep, Krishna lying along the line of their feet as their nether pillow. And the bed on which they lay was made of kusa grass upon which was spread their deer-skins. And before going to sleep they talked on diverse subjects in voices deep as of black clouds. The talk of those heroes indicated them to be neither Vaisyas nor Sudras, nor Brahmanas. Without doubt, O monarch, they are bulls amongst Kshatriyas, their discourse having been on military subjects. It seems, O father, that our hope hath been fructified, for we have heard that the sons of Kunti all escaped from the conflagration of the house of lac. From the way in which the mark was shot down by that youth, and the strength with which the bow was strung by him, and the manner in which I have heard them talk with one another proves conclusively, O monarch, that they are the sons of Pritha wandering in disguise.'

"Hearing these words of his son, king Drupada became exceedingly glad, and he sent unto them his priest directing him to ascertain who they were and whether they were the sons of the illustrious Pandu. Thus directed, the king's priest went unto them and applauding them all, delivered the king's message duly, saying, 'Ye who are worthy of preference in everything, the boon-giving king of the earth--Drupada--is desirous of ascertaining who ye are. Beholding this one who hath shot down the mark, his joy knoweth no bounds. Giving us all particulars of your family and tribe, place ye your feet on the heads of your foes and gladden the hearts of the king of Panchala mid his men and mine also. King Pandu was the dear friend of Drupada and was regarded by him as his counterself. And Drupada had all along cherished the desire of bestowing this daughter of his upon Pandu as his daughter-in-law. Ye heroes of features perfectly faultless, king Drupada hath all along cherished this desire in his heart that Arjuna of strong and long arms might wed this daughter of his according to the ordinance. If that hath become possible, nothing could be better; nothing more beneficial; nothing more conducive to fame and virtue, so far as Drupada is concerned.'

"Having said this, the priest remained silent and humbly waited for an answer. Beholding him sitting thus, the king Yudhishthira commanded Bhima who sat near, saying, 'Let water to wash his feet with and the Arghya be offered unto this Brahmana. He is king Drupada's priest and, therefore, worthy of great respect. We should worship him with more than ordinary reverence.' Then, O monarch, Bhima did as directed. Accepting the worship thus offered unto him, the Brahmana with a joyous heart sat at his ease. Then Yudhishthira addressed him and said, 'The king of the Panchalas hath, by fixing a special kind of dower, given away his daughter according to the practice of his order and not freely. This hero hath, by satisfying that demand, won the princess. King Drupada, therefore, hath nothing now to say in regard to the race, tribe, family and disposition of him who hath performed that feat. Indeed, all his queries have been answered by the stringing of the bow and the shooting down of the mark. It is by doing what he had directed that this illustrious hero hath brought away Krishna from among the assembled monarchs. In these circumstances, the king of the Lunar race should not indulge in any regrets which can only make him unhappy without mending matters in the least. The desire that king Drupada hath all along cherished will be accomplished for his handsome princess who beareth, I think, every auspicious mark. None that is weak in strength could string that bow, and none of mean birth and unaccomplished in arms could have shot down the mark. It behoveth not, therefore, the king of the Panchalas to grieve for his daughter today. Nor can anybody in the world undo that act of shooting down the mark. Therefore the king should not grieve for what must take its course.'

"While Yudhishthira was saying all this, another messenger from the king of the Panchalas, coming thither in haste, said, 'The (nuptial), feast is ready.'"

SECTION 196

(Vaivahika Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana continued, 'The messenger said, 'King Drupada hath, in view of his daughter's nuptials prepared a good feast for the bride-groom's party. Come ye thither after finishing your daily rites. Krishna's wedding will take place there. Delay ye not. These cars adorned with golden lotuses drawn by excellent horses are worthy of kings. Riding on them, come ye into the abode of the king of the Panchalas.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then those bulls among the Kurus, dismissing the priest and causing Kunti and Krishna to ride together on one of those cars, themselves ascended those splendid vehicles and proceeded towards Drupada's place. Meanwhile, O Bharata, hearing from his priest the words that Yudhishthira had said, king Drupada, in order to ascertain the order to which those heroes belonged, kept ready a large collection of articles (required by the ordinance for the wedding of each of the four orders). And he kept ready fruits, sanctified garlands, and coats of mail, and shields, and carpets, and kine, and seeds, and various other articles and implements of agriculture. And the king also collected, O monarch, every article appertaining to other arts, and various implements and apparatus of every kind of sport. And he also collected excellent coats of mail and shining shields, and swords and scimitars, of fine temper, and beautiful chariots and horses, and first-class bows and well-adorned arrows, and various kinds of missiles ornamented with gold. And he also kept ready darts and rockets and battle-axes and various utensils of war. And there were in that collection beds and carpets and various fine things, and cloths of various sorts. When the party went to Drupada's abode, Kunti taking with her the virtuous Krishna entered the inner apartments of the king. The ladies of the king's household with joyous hearts worshipped the queen of the Kurus. Beholding, O monarch, those foremost of men, each possessing the sportive gait of the lion, with deer-skins for their upper garments, eyes like unto those of mighty bulls, broad shoulders, and long-hanging arms like unto the bodies of mighty snakes, the king, and the king's ministers, and the king's son, and the king's friends and attendants, all became exceedingly glad. Those heroes sat on excellent seats, furnished with footstools without any awkwardness and hesitation. And those foremost of men sat with perfect fearlessness on those costly seats one after another according to the order of their ages. After those heroes were seated, well-dressed servants male and female, and skilful cooks brought excellent and costly viands worthy of kings on gold and silver plates. Then those foremost of men dined on those dishes and became well-pleased. And after the dinner was over, those heroes among men, passing over all other articles, began to observe with interest the various utensils of war. Beholding this, Drupada's son and Drupada himself, along with all his chief ministers of state, understanding the sons of Kunti to be all of royal blood became exceedingly glad.'"

SECTION 197

(Vaivahika Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then the illustrious king of Panchala, addressing prince Yudhishthira in the form applicable to Brahmanas, cheerfully enquired of that illustrious son of Kunti, saying, 'Are we to know you as Kshatriyas, or Brahamanas, or are we to know you as celestials who disguising themselves as Brahmanas are ranging the earth and come hither for the hand of Krishna? O tell us truly, for we have great doubts! Shall we not be glad when our doubts have been removed? O chastiser of enemies, have the fates been propitious unto us? Tell us the truth willingly! Truth becometh monarchs better than sacrifices and dedications of tanks. Therefore, tell us not what is untrue. O thou of the beauty of a celestial, O chastiser of foes, hearing thy reply I shall make arrangements for my daughter's wedding according to the order to which ye belong.'

"Hearing these words of Drupada, Yudhishthira answered, saying 'Be not cheerless, O king; let joy fill thy heart! The desire cherished by thee hath certainly been accomplished. We are Kshatriyas, O king, and sons of the illustrious Pandu. Know me to be the eldest of the sons of Kunti and these to be

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Bhima and Arjuna. By these, O king, was thy daughter won amid the concourse of monarchs. The twins (Nakula and Sahadeva) and Kunti wait where Krishna is. O bull amongst men, let grief be driven from thy heart, for we are Kshatriyas. Thy daughter, O monarch, hath like a lotus been transferred only from one lake into another. O king, thou art our revered superior and chief refuge. I have told thee the whole truth.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing those words, the king Drupada's eyes rolled in ecstasy. And. filled with delight the king could not, for some moments answer Yudhishthira. Checking his emotion with great effort, that chastiser of foes at last replied unto Yudhishthira in proper words. The virtuous monarch enquired how the Pandavas had escaped from the town of Varanavata. The son of Pandu told the monarch every particular in detail of their escape from the burning palace of lac. Hearing everything that the son of Kunti said, king Drupada censured Dhritarashtra, that ruler of men. And the monarch gave every assurance unto Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti. And that foremost of eloquent men then and there vowed to restore Yudhishthira to his paternal throne.

"Then Kunti and Krishna and Bhima and Arjuna and the twins, commanded by the king, to reside there, treated by Yajnasena with due respect. Then king Drupada with his sons, assured by all that had happened, approaching Yudhishthira, said, 'O thou of mighty arms, let the Kuru prince Arjuna take with due rites, the hand of my daughter on this auspicious day, and let him, therefore, perform the usual initiatory rites of marriage.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words of Drupada, the virtuous king Yudhishthira replied, saying, 'O great king, I also shall have to marry.' Hearing him, Drupada said, 'If it pleaseth thee, take thou the hand of my daughter thyself with due rites. Or, give Krishna in marriage unto whomsoever of thy brothers thou likest.' Yudhishthira said, 'Thy daughter, O king, shall be the common wife of us all! Even thus it hath been ordered, O monarch, by our mother. I am unmarried still, and Bhima also is so amongst the sons of Pandu. This thy jewel of a daughter hath been won by Arjuna. This, O king, is the rule with us; to ever enjoy equally a jewel that we may obtain. O best of monarchs, that rule of conduct we cannot now abandon. Krishna, therefore, shall become the wedded wife of us all. Let her take our hands, one after another before the fire.'

'Drupada answered, 'O scion of Kuru's race, it hath been directed that one man may have many wives. But it hath never been heard that one woman may have many husbands! O son of Kunti, as thou art pure and acquainted with the rules of morality, it behoveth thee not to commit an act that is sinful and opposed both to usage and the Vedas. Why, O prince, hath thy understanding become so?' Yudhishthira said in reply, 'O monarch, morality is subtle. We do not know its course. Let us follow the way trodden by the illustrious ones of former ages. My tongue never uttered an untruth. My heart also never turneth to what is sinful. My mother commandeth so; and my heart also approveth of it. Therefore, O king, that is quite conformable to virtue. Act according to it, without any scruples. Entertain no fear, O king, about this matter.'

"Drupada said, 'O son of Kunti thy mother, and my son Dhrishtadyumna and thyself, settle amongst yourselves as to what should be done. Tell me the result of your deliberations and tomorrow I will do what is proper.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'After this, O Bharata, Yudhishthira, Kunti and Dhrishtadyumna discoursed upon this matter. Just at that time, however, the island-born (Vyasa), O monarch, came there in course of his wanderings.'"

SECTION 198

(Vaivahika Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then all the Pandavas and the illustrious king of the Panchalas and all others there present stood up and saluted with reverence the illustrious Rishi Krishna (Dwaipayana). The high-souled Rishi, saluting them in return and enquiring after their welfare, sat down on a carpet of gold. And commanded by Krishna (Dwaipayana) of immeasurable energy, those foremost of men all sat down on costly seats. A little after, O monarch, the son of Prishata in sweet accents asked the illustrious Rishi about the wedding of his daughter. And he said, 'How, O illustrious one, can one woman become the wife of many men without being defiled by sin? O, tell me truly all about this.' Hearing these words Vyasa replied, 'This practice, O king, being opposed to usage and the Vedas, hath become obsolete. I desire, however, to hear what the opinion of each of you is upon this matter.'

"Hearing these words of the Rishi, Drupada spoke first, saying, 'The practice is sinful in my opinion, being opposed to both usage and the Vedas. O best of Brahmanas, nowhere have I seen many men having one wife. The illustrious ones also of former ages never had such a usage amongst them. The wise should never commit a sin. I, therefore, can never make up mind to act in this way. This practice always appeareth to me to be of doubtful morality.

"After Drupada had ceased, Dhrishtadyumna spoke, saying 'O bull amongst Brahmanas, O thou of ascetic wealth, how can, O Brahmana, the elder brother, if he is of a good disposition, approach the wife of his younger brother? The ways of morality are ever subtle, and, therefore, we know them not. We cannot, therefore, say what is conformable to morality and what not. We cannot do such a deed, therefore, with a safe conscience. Indeed, O Brahmana, I cannot say, 'Let Draupadi become the common wife of five brothers.'

"Yudhishthira then spoke, saying, 'My tongue never uttereth an untruth and my heart never inclineth to what is sinful. When my heart approveth of it, it can never be sinful. I have heard in the Purana that a lady of name Jatila, the foremost of all virtuous women belonging to the race of Gotama had married seven Rishis. So also an ascetic's daughter, born of a tree, had in former times united herself in marriage with ten brothers all bearing the same name of Prachetas and who were all of souls exalted by asceticism. O foremost of all that are acquainted with the rules of morality, it is said that obedience to superior is ever meritorious. Amongst all superiors, it is well-known that the mother is the foremost. Even she hath commanded us to enjoy Draupadi as we do anything obtained as alms. It is for this, O best of Brahmanas, that I regard the (proposed) act as virtuous.'

"Kunti then said, 'The act is even so as the virtuous Yudhishthira hath said. I greatly fear, O Brahmana, lest my speech should become untrue. How shall I be saved from untruth?'

"When they had all finished speaking, Vyasa said, 'O amiable one, how shall thou be saved from the consequence of untruth? Even this is eternal virtue! I will not, O king of the Panchalas, discourse on this before you all. But thou alone shalt listen to me when I disclose how this practice hath been established and why it is to be regarded as old and eternal. There is no doubt that what Yudhishthira hath said is quite conformable to virtue.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then the illustrious Vyasa--the master Dwaipayana--rose, and taking hold of Drupada's hand led him to a private apartment. The Pandavas and Kunti and Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's race sat there, waiting for the return of Vyasa and Drupada. Meanwhile, Dwaipayana began his discourse with illustrious monarch for explaining how the practice of polyandry could not be regarded as sinful.'"

SECTION 199

(Vaivahika Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Vyasa continued, 'In days of yore, the celestials had once commenced a grand sacrifice in the forest of Naimisha. At that sacrifice, O king, Yama, the son of Vivaswat, became the slayer of the devoted animals. Yama, thus employed in that sacrifice, did not (during that period), O king, kill a single human being. Death being suspended in the world, the number of human beings increased very greatly. Then Soma and Sakra and Varuna and Kuvera, the Sadhyas, the Rudras, the Vasus, the twin Aswins,--these and other celestials went unto Prajapati, the Creator of the universe. Struck with fear for the increase of the human population of the world they addressed the Master of creation and said, 'Alarmed, O lord, at the increase of human beings on earth, we come to thee for relief. Indeed, we crave thy protection.' Hearing those words the Grandsire said, 'Ye have little cause to be frightened at this increase of human beings. Ye all are immortal. It behoveth you not to take fright at human beings.' The celestials replied, 'The mortals have all become immortal. There is no distinction now between us and them. Vexed at the disappearance of all distinction, we have come to thee in order that thou mayest distinguish us from them.' The Creator then said, 'The son of Vivaswat is even now engaged in the grand sacrifice. It is for this that men are not dying. But when Yama's work in connexion with the sacrifice terminates, men will again begin to die as before. Strengthened by your respective energies, Yama will, when that time comes, sweep away by thousands the inhabitants on earth who will scarcely have then any energy left in them.'

"Vyasa continued, 'Hearing these words of the first-born deity, the celestials returned to the spot where the grand sacrifice was being performed. And the mighty one sitting by the side of the Bhagirathi saw a (golden) lotus being carried along by the current. And beholding that (golden) lotus, they wondered much. And amongst them, that foremost of celestials, viz., Indra, desirous of ascertaining whence it came, proceeded up along the course of the Bhagirathi. And reaching that spot whence the goddess Ganga issues perennially, Indra beheld a woman possessing the splendour of fire. The woman who had come there to take water was washing herself in the stream, weeping all the while. The tear-drops she shed, falling on the stream, were being transformed into golden lotuses. The wielder of the thunderbolt, beholding that wonderful sight, approached the woman and asked her, 'Who art thou, amiable lady? Why dost thou weep? I desire to know the truth. O, tell me everything.'

"Vyasa continued, 'The woman thereupon answered, 'O Sakra, thou mayest know who I am and why, unfortunate that I am, I weep, if only, O chief of the celestials, thou comest with me as I lead the way. Thou shall then see what it is I weep for." Hearing these words of the lady, Indra followed her as she led the way. And soon he saw, not far off from where he was, a handsome youth with a young lady seated on a throne placed on one of the peaks of Himavat and playing at dice. Beholding that youth, the thief of the celestials said, 'Know, intelligent youth, that this universe is under my sway.' Seeing, however, that the person addressed was so engrossed in dice that he took no notice of what he said, Indra was possessed by anger and repeated, 'I am the lord of the universe. The youth who was none else than the god Mahadeva (the god of the gods), seeing Indra filled with wrath, only smiled, having cast a glance at him. At that glance, however, the chief of the celestials was at once paralysed and stood there like a stake. When the game at dice was over, Isana addressing the weeping woman said, 'Bring Sakra hither, for I shall soon so deal with him that pride may not again enter his heart.' As soon as Sakra was touched by that woman, the chief of the celestials with limbs paralysed by that touch, fell down on the earth. The illustrious Isana of fierce energy then said unto him, 'Act not, O Sakra, ever again in this way. Remove this huge stone, for thy strength and energy are immeasurable, and enter the hole (it will disclose) where await some others possessing the splendour of the sun and who are all like unto thee.' Indra, then, on removing that stone, beheld a cave in the breast of that king of mountains, within which were four others resembling himself. Beholding their plight, Sakra became seized with grief and exclaimed, 'Shall I be even like these?' Then the god Girisha, looking full at Indra with expanded eyes, said in anger, 'O thou of a hundred sacrifices, enter this cave without loss of time, for thou hast from folly insulted me.' Thus addressed by the lord Isana, the chief of the celestials, in consequence of that terrible imprecation, was deeply pained, and with limbs weakened by fear trembled like the wind-shaken leaf of a Himalayan fig. And cursed unexpectedly by the god owning a bull for his vehicle, Indra, with joined hands and shaking from head to foot, addressed that fierce god of multi-form manifestations, saving, 'Thou art, O Bhava, the over-looker of the infinite Universe!' Hearing these words the god of fiery energy smiled and said, 'Those that are of disposition like thine never obtain my grace. These others (within the cave) had at one time been like thee. Enter thou this cave, therefore, and lie there for some time. The fate of you all shall certainly be the same. All of you shall have to take your birth in the world of men, where, having achieved many difficult feats and slaying a large number of men, ye shall again by the merits of your respective deeds, regain the valued region of Indra. Ye shall accomplish all I have said and much more besides, of other kinds of work.' Then those Indras, of their shorn glory said, 'We shall go from our celestial regions even unto the region of men where salvation is ordained to be difficult of acquisition. But let the gods Dharma, Vayu, Maghavat, and the twin Aswins beget us upon our would-be mother. Fighting with men by means of both celestial and human weapons, we shall again come back into the region of Indra.'

"Vyasa continued, 'Hearing these words of the former Indras, the wielder of the thunderbolt once more addressed that foremost of gods, saying, 'Instead of going myself, I shall, with a portion of my energy, create from myself a person for the accomplishment of the task (thou assignest) to form the fifth among these!' Vishwabhuk, Bhutadhaman, Sivi of great energy, Santi the fourth, and Tejaswin, these it is said were the five Indras of old. And the illustrious god of the formidable bow, from his kindness, granted unto the five Indras the desire they cherished. And he also appointed that woman of extraordinary beauty, who was none else than celestial Sri (goddess of grace) herself, to be their common wife in the world of men. Accompanied by all those Indras, the god Isana then went unto Narayana of immeasurable energy, the Infinite, the Immaterial, the Uncreate, the Old, the Eternal, and the Spirit of these universes without limits. Narayana approved of everything. Those Indras then were born in the world of men. And Hari (Narayana) took up two hairs from his body, one of which hairs was black and the other white. And those two hairs entered the wombs of two of the Yadu race, by name Devaki and Rohini. And one of these hairs viz., that which was white, became Valadeva. And the hair that was black was born as Kesava's self, Krishna. And those Indras of old who had been confined in the cave on the Himavat are none else than the sons of Pandu, endued with great energy. And Arjuna amongst the Pandavas, called also Savyasachin (using both hands with equal dexterity) is a portion of Sakra.'

"Vyasa continued, 'Thus, O king, they who have been born as the Pandavas are none else than those Indras of old. And the celestial Sri herself who had been appointed as their wife is this Draupadi of extraordinary beauty. How could she whose effulgence is like that of the sun or the moon, whose fragrance spreads for two miles around, take her birth in any other than an extraordinary way, viz., from within the earth, by virtue of the sacrificial rites? Unto thee, O king, I cheerfully grant this other boon in the form of spiritual sight. Behold now the sons of Kunti endued with their sacred and celestial bodies of old!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Saying this, that sacred Brahmana Vyasa of generous deeds, by means of his ascetic

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power, granted celestial sight unto the king. Thereupon the king beheld all the Pandavas endued with their former bodies. And the king saw them possessed of celestial bodies, with golden crowns and celestial garlands, and each resembling Indra himself, with complexions radiant as fire or the sun, and decked with every ornament, and handsome, and youthful, with broad chests and statures measuring about five cubits. Endued with every accomplishment, and decked with celestial robes of great beauty and fragrant garlands of excellent making the king beheld them as so many three-eyed gods (Mahadeva), or Vasus, or Rudras, or Adityas themselves. And observing the Pandavas in the forms of those Indras of old, and Arjuna also in the form of Indra sprung from Sakra himself, king Drupada was highly pleased. And the monarch wondered much on beholding that manifestation of celestial power under deep disguise. The king looking at his daughter, that foremost of women endued with great beauty, like unto a celestial damsel and possessed of the splendour of fire or the moon, regarded her as the worthy wife of those celestial beings, for her beauty, splendour and fame. And beholding that wonderful sight, the monarch touched the feet of Satyavati's son, exclaiming, 'O great Rishi, nothing is miraculous in thee!' The Rishi then cheerfully continued, 'In a certain hermitage there was an illustrious Rishi's daughter, who, though handsome and chaste, obtained not a husband. The maiden gratified, by severe ascetic penances, the god Sankara (Mahadeva). The lord Sankara, gratified at her penances, told her himself. 'Ask thou the boon thou desirest' Thus addressed, the maiden repeatedly said unto the boon-giving Supreme Lord, 'I desire to obtain a husband possessed of every accomplishment. Sankara, the chief of the gods, gratified with her, gave her the boon she asked, saying, 'Thou shall have, amiable maiden, five husbands.' The maiden, who had succeeded in gratifying the god, said again, 'O Sankara, I desire to have from thee only one husband possessed of every virtue?' The god of gods, well-pleased with her, spake again, saying, 'Thou hast, O maiden, addressed me five full times, repeating, 'Give me a husband.' Therefore, O amiable one, it shall even be as thou hast asked. Blessed be thou. All this, however, will happen in a future life of thine!'

"Vyasa continued, 'O Drupada, this thy daughter of celestial beauty is that maiden. Indeed, the faultless Krishna sprung from Prishata's race hath been pre-ordained to become the common wife of five husbands. The celestial Sri, having undergone severe ascetic penances, hath, for the sake of the Pandavas, had her birth as thy daughter, in the course of thy grand sacrifice. That handsome goddess, waited upon by all the celestials, as a consequence of her own acts becomes the (common) wife of five husbands. It is for this that the self-create had created her. Having listened to all this, O king Drupada, do what thou desirest.'"

SECTION 200

(Vaivahika Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Drupada, on hearing this, observed, O great Rishi, it was only when I had not heard this from thee that I had sought to act in the way I told thee of. Now, however, that I know all, I cannot be indifferent to what hath been ordained by the gods. Therefore do I resolve to accomplish what thou hast said. The knot of destiny cannot be untied. Nothing in this world is the result of our own acts. That which had been appointed by us in view of securing one only bridegroom hath now terminated in favour of many. As Krishna (in a former life) had repeatedly said, 'O, give me a husband!' the great god himself even gave her the boon she had asked. The god himself knows the right or wrong of this. As regards myself, when Sankara hath ordained so, right or wrong, no sin can attach to me. Let these with happy hearts take, as ordained, the hand of Krishna with the rites.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then the illustrious Vyasa, addressing Yudhishthira the Just, said, 'This day is an auspicious day, O son of Pandu! This day the moon has entered the constellation called Pushya. Take thou the hand of Krishna today, thyself first before thy brothers!' When Vyasa had said so, king Yajnasena and his son made preparations for the wedding. And the monarch kept ready various costly articles as marriage presents. Then he brought out his daughter Krishna, decked, after a bath, with many jewels and pearls. Then there came to witness the wedding all the friends and relatives of the king, ministers of state, and many Brahmanas and citizens. And they all took their seats according to their respective ranks. Adorned with that concourse of principal men, with its yard decked with lotuses and lilies scattered thereupon, and beautified with lines of troops, king Drupada's palace, festooned around with diamonds and precious stones, looked like the firmament studded with brilliant stars. Then those princes of the Kuru line, endued with youth and adorned with ear-rings, attired in costly robes and perfumed with sandal-paste, bathed and performed the usual religious rites and accompanied by their priest Dhaumya who was possessed of the splendour of fire, entered the wedding hall one after another in due order, and with glad hearts, like mighty bulls entering a cow-pen. Then Dhaumya, well-conversant with the Vedas, igniting the sacred fire, poured with due mantras libations of clarified butter into that blazing element. And calling Yudhishthira there, Dhaumya, acquainted with mantras, united him with Krishna. Walking round the fire the bridegroom and the bride took each other's hand. After their union was complete, the priest Dhaumya, taking leave of Yudhishthira, that ornament of battles, went out of the palace. Then those mighty car-warriors,--those perpetuators of the Kuru line,--those princes attired in gorgeous dresses, took the hand of that best of women, day by day in succession, aided by that priest. O king, the celestial Rishi told me of a very wonderful and extraordinary thing in connexion with these marriages, viz., that the illustrious princess of slender waist regained her virginity every day after a previous marriage. After the weddings were over, king Drupada gave unto those mighty car-warriors diverse kinds of excellent wealth. And the king gave unto them one hundred cars with golden standards, each drawn by four steeds with golden bridles. And he gave them one hundred elephants all possessing auspicious marks on their temples and faces and like unto a hundred mountains with golden peaks. He also gave them a hundred female servants all in the prime of youth and clad in costly robes and ornaments and floral wreaths. And the illustrious monarch of the Lunar race gave unto each of those princes of celestial beauty, making the sacred fire a witness of his gifts, much wealth and many costly robes and ornaments of great splendour. The sons of Pandu endued with great strength, after their wedding were over, and after they had obtained Krishna like unto a second Sri along with great wealth, passed their days in joy and happiness, like so many Indras, in the capital of the king of the Panchalas,'"

SECTION 201

(Vaivahika Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'King Drupada, after his alliance with the Pandavas, had all his fears dispelled. Indeed, the monarch no longer stood in fear even of the gods. The ladies of the illustrious Drupada's household approached Kunti and introduced themselves unto her, mentioning their respective names, and worshipped her feet with heads touching the ground. Krishna also, attired in red silk and her wrists still encircled with the auspicious thread, saluting her mother-in-law with reverence, stood contentedly before her with joined palms. Pritha, out of affection, pronounced a blessing upon her daughter-in-law endued with great beauty and every auspicious mark and possessed of a sweet disposition and good character, saying, 'Be thou unto thy husband as Sachi unto Indra, Swaha unto Vibhavasu, Rohini unto Soma, Damayanti unto Nala, Bhadra unto Vaisravana, Arundhati unto Vasishtha, Lakshmi unto Narayana! O amiable one, be thou the mother of long-lived and heroic children, and possessed of everything that can make thee happy! Let luck and prosperity ever wait on thee! Wait thou ever on husbands engaged in the performance of grand sacrifices. Be thou devoted to thy husbands. And let thy days be ever passed in duly entertaining and reverencing guests and strangers arrived at thy abode, and the pious and the old; children and superiors. Be thou installed as the Queen of the kingdom and the capital of Kurujangala, with thy husband Yudhishthira the Just! O daughter, let the whole earth, conquered by the prowess of thy husbands endued with great strength, be given away by thee unto Brahmanas at horse-sacrifice! O accomplished one whatever gems there are on earth possessed of superior virtues, obtain them, O lucky one, and be thou happy for a full hundred years! And, O daughter-in-law, as I rejoice today beholding thee attired in red silk, so shall I rejoice again, when, O accomplished one, I behold thee become the mother of a son!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'After the sons of Pandu had been married, Hari (Krishna) sent unto them (as presents) various gold ornaments set with pearls and black gems (lapis lazuli). And Madhava (Krishna) also sent unto them costly robes manufactured in various countries, and many beautiful and soft blankets and hides of great value, and many costly beds and carpets and vehicles. He also sent them vessels by hundreds, set with gems and diamonds. And Krishna also gave them female servants by thousands, brought from various countries, and endued with beauty, youth and accomplishments and decked with every ornament. He also gave them many well-trained elephants brought from the country of Madra, and many excellent horses in costly harness, cars drawn by horses of excellent colours and large teeth. The slayer of Madhu, of immeasurable soul, also sent them coins of pure gold by crores upon crores in separate heaps. And Yudhishthira the Just, desirous of gratifying Govinda, accepted all those presents with great joy.'"

SECTION 202

(Viduragamana Parva)

"Vaisampayana said, 'The news was carried unto all the monarchs (who had come to the Self-choice of Draupadi) by their trusted spies that the handsome Draupadi had been united in marriage with the sons of Pandu. And they were also informed that the illustrious hero who had bent the bow and shot the mark was none else than Arjuna, that foremost of victorious warriors and first of all wielders of the bow and arrows. And it became known that the mighty warrior who had dashed Salya, the king of Madra, on the ground, and who in wrath had terrified the assembled monarchs by means of the tree (he had uprooted), and who had taken his stand before all foes in perfect fearlessness, was none else than Bhima, that feller of hostile ranks, whose touch alone was sufficient to take the lives out of all foes. The monarchs, upon being informed that the Pandavas had assumed the guise of peaceful Brahmanas, wondered much. They even heard that Kunti with all her sons had been burnt to death in the conflagration of the house of lac. They, therefore, now regarded the Pandavas in the light of persons who had come back from the region of the dead. And recollecting the cruel scheme contrived by Purochana, they began to say, 'O, fie on Bhishma, fie on Dhritarashtra of the Kuru race!'

"After the Self-choice was over, all the monarchs (who had come thither), hearing that Draupadi had been united with the Pandavas, set out for their own dominions. And Duryodhana, hearing that Draupadi had selected the owner of white steeds (Arjuna) as her lord, became greatly depressed. Accompanied by his brothers, Aswatthaman, his uncle (Sakuni), Karna and Kripa the prince set out with a heavy heart for his capital. Then Duhsasana, blushing with shame, addressed his brother softly and said, 'If Arjuna had not disguised himself as a Brahmana, he could never have succeeded in obtaining Draupadi. It was for this disguise, O king, that no one could recognise him as Dhananjaya. Fate, I ween, is ever supreme. Exertion is fruitless; fie on our exertions, O brother! The Pandavas are still alive!' Speaking unto one another thus and blaming Purochana (for his carelessness), they then entered the city of Hastinapura, with cheerless and sorrowful hearts. Beholding the mighty sons of Pritha, escaped from the burning house of lac and allied with Drupada, and thinking of Dhrishtadyumna and Sikhandin and the other sons of Drupada all accomplished in fight, they were struck with fear and overcome with despair.

"Then Vidura, having learnt that Draupadi had been won by the Pandavas and that the sons of Dhritarashtra had come back (to Hastinapura) in shame, their pride humiliated, became filled with joy. And, O king, approaching Dhritarashtra, Kshattri said, 'The Kurus are prospering by good luck!' Hearing those words of Vidura, the son of Vichitravirya, wondering, said in great glee, 'What good luck, O Vidura! What good luck!' From ignorance, the blind monarch understood that his eldest son Duryodhana had been chosen by Drupada's daughter as her lord. And the king immediately ordered various ornaments to be made for Draupadi. And he commanded that both Draupadi and his son Duryodhana should be brought with pomp to Hastinapura. It was then that Vidura told the monarch that Draupadi had chosen the Pandavas for her lords, and that those heroes were all alive and at peace, and that they had been received with great respect by king Drupada. And he also informed Dhritarashtra that the Pandavas had been united with the many relatives and friends of Drupada, each owning large armies, and with many others who had come to that self-choice.

"Hearing these words of Vidura, Dhritarashtra said, 'Those children are to me as dear as they were to Pandu. Nay, more. O listen to me why my affection for them now is even greater! The heroic sons of Pandu are well and at ease. They have obtained many friends. Their relatives, and others whom they have gained as allies, are all endued with great strength. Who amongst monarchs in prosperity or adversity would not like to have Drupada with his relatives as an ally?'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having heard these words of the monarch, Vidura said, 'O king, let thy understanding remain so without change for a hundred years!' Having said this Vidura returned to his own abode. Then, O monarch, there came unto Dhritarashtra, Duryodhana and the son of Radha, Karna. Addressing the monarch, they said, 'We cannot, O king, speak of any transgression in the presence of Vidura! We have now found thee alone, and will, therefore, say all we like! What is this that thou hast, O monarch, desired to do? Dost thou regard the prosperity of thy foes as if it were thy own, that thou hast been applauding the Pandavas, O foremost of men, in the presence of Vidura? O sinless one, thou actest not, O king, in the way thou shouldst! O father, we should now act every day in such a way as to weaken (the strength of) the Pandavas. The time hath come, O father, for us to take counsel together, so that the Pandavas may not swallow us all with our children and friends and relatives.'"

SECTION 203

(Viduragamana Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Dhritarashtra replied saying, I desire to do exactly what you would recommend. But I do not wish to inform Vidura of it even by a change of muscle. It was, therefore, O son, that I was applauding the Pandavas in Vidura's presence, so that he might not know even by a sign what is in my mind. Now that Vidura hath gone away, this is the time, O Suyodhana (Duryodhana), for telling me what

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thou hast hit upon, and what, O Radheya (Karna), thou too hast hit upon.'

"Duryodhana said. 'Let us, O father, by means of trusted and skilful and adroit Brahmanas, seek to produce dissensions between the sons of Kunti and Madri. Or, let king Drupada and his sons, and all his ministers of state, be plied with presents of large wealth, so that they may abandon the cause of Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti. Or, let our spies induce the Pandavas to settle in Drupada's dominions, by describing to them, separately, the inconvenience of residing in Hastinapura, so that, separated from as, they may permanently settle in Panchala. Or, let some clever spies, full of resources, sowing the seeds of dissension among the Pandavas, make them jealous of one another. Or, let them incite Krishna against her husbands. She has many lords and this will not present any difficulty. Or, let some seek to make the Pandavas themselves dissatisfied with Krishna, in which case Krishna also will be dissatisfied with them. Or, let, O king, some clever spies, repairing thither, secretly compass the death of Bhimasena. Bhima is the strongest of them all. Relying upon Bhima alone, the Pandavas used to disregard us, of old. Bhima is fierce and brave and the (sole) refuge of the Pandavas. If he be slain, the others will be deprived of strength and energy. Deprived of Bhima who is their sole refuge, they will no longer strive to regain their kingdom. Arjuna, O king, is invincible in battle, if Bhima protecteth him from behind. Without Bhima, Arjuna is not equal to even a fourth part of Radheya. Indeed, O king, the Pandavas conscious of their own feebleness without Bhima and of our strength would not really strive to recover the kingdom. Or, if, O monarch, coming hither, they prove docile and obedient to us, we would then seek to repress them according to the dictates of political science (as explained by Kanika). Or, we may tempt them by means of handsome girls, upon which the princess of Panchala will get annoyed with them. Or, O Radheya, let messengers be despatched to bring them hither, so that, when arrived, we may through trusted agents, by some of the above methods, cause them to be slain. Strive, O father, to employ any of these (various) methods that may appear to thee faultless. Time passeth. Before their confidence in king Drupada--that bull amongst kings--is established we may succeed, O monarch, to encounter them. But after their confidence hath been established in Drupada, we are sure to fail. These, O father, are my views for the discomfiture of the Pandavas. Judge whether they be good or bad. What, O Karna, dost thou think?'"

SECTION 204

(Viduragamana Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Thus addressed by Duryodhana, Karna said, 'It doth not seem to me, O Duryodhana, that thy reasoning is well-founded. O perpetuator of the Kuru race, no method will succeed against the Pandavas. O brave prince, thou hast before, by various subtle means, striven to carry out thy wishes. But ever hast thou failed to slay thy foes. They were then living near thee, O king! They were then unfledged and of tender years, but thou couldst not injure them then. They are now living at a distance, grown up, full-fledged. The sons of Kunti, O thou of firm resolution, cannot now be injured by any subtle contrivances of thine. This is my opinion. As they are aided by the very Fates, and as they are desirous of regaining their ancestral kingdom, we can never succeed in injuring them by any means in our power. It is impossible to create disunion amongst them. They can never be disunited who have all taken to a common wife. Nor can we succeed in estranging Krishna from the Pandavas by any spies of ours. She chose them as her lords when they were in adversity. Will she abandon them now that they are in prosperity? Besides women always like to have many husbands, Krishna hath obtained her wish. She can never be estranged from the Pandavas. The king of Panchala is honest and virtuous; he is not avaricious. Even if we offer him our whole kingdom he will not abandon the Pandavas. Drupada's son also possesseth every accomplishment, and is attached to the Pandavas. Therefore, I do not think that the Pandavas can now be injured by any subtle means in thy power. But, O bull amongst men, this is what is good and advisable for us now, viz., to attack and smite them till they are exterminated. Let this course recommend itself to thee. As long as our party is strong and that of the king of the Panchalas is weak, so long strike them without any scruple. O son of Gandhari, as long as their innumerable vehicles and animals, friends, and friendly tribes are not mustered together, continue, O king, to exhibit thy prowess. As long as the king of the Panchalas together with his sons gifted with great prowess, setteth not his heart upon fighting with us, so long, O king, exhibit thy prowess. And, O king, exert thy prowess before he of the Vrishni race (Krishna) cometh with the Yadava host into the city of Drupada, carrying everything before him, to restore the Pandavas to their paternal kingdom. Wealth, every article of enjoyment, kingdom, there is nothing that Krishna may not sacrifice for the sake of the Pandavas. The illustrious Bharata had acquired the whole earth by his prowess alone. Indra hath acquired sovereignty of the three worlds by prowess alone. O king, prowess is always applauded by the Kshatriyas. O bull amongst Kshatriyas, prowess is the cardinal virtue of the brave. Let us, therefore, O monarch, with our large army consisting of four kinds of forces, grind Drupada without loss of time, and bring hither the Pandavas. Indeed, the Pandavas are incapable of being discomfited by any policy of conciliation, of gift, of wealth and bribery, or of disunion. Vanquish them, therefore, by thy prowess. And vanquishing them by thy prowess, rule thou this wide earth. O monarch, I see not any other means by which we may accomplish our end.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words of Radheya, Dhritarashtra, endued with great strength, applauded him highly. The monarch then addressed him and said, 'Thou, O son of a Suta, art gifted with great wisdom and accomplished in arms. This speech, therefore, favouring the exhibition of prowess suiteth thee well. But let Bhishma, and Drona, and Vidura, and you two, take counsel together and adopt that proposal which may lead to our benefit.'

Vaisampayana continued, "'Then king Dhritarashtra called unto him, all those celebrated ministers and took counsel with them.'"

SECTION 205

(Viduragamana Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Asked by Dhritarashtra to give his opinion, Bhishma replied, 'O Dhritarashtra, a quarrel with the Pandavas is what I can never approve of. As thou art to me, so was Pandu without doubt. And the sons of Gandhari are to me, as those of Kunti. I should protect them as well as I should thy sons, O Dhritarashtra! And, O king, the Pandavas are as much near to me as they are to prince Duryodhana or to all the other Kurus. Under these circumstances a quarrel with them is what I never like. Concluding a treaty with those heroes, let half the land be given unto them. This is without doubt, the paternal kingdom of those foremost ones of the Kuru race. And, O Duryodhana, like thee who lookest upon this kingdom as thy paternal property, the Pandavas also look upon it as their paternal possession. If the renowned sons of Pandu obtain not the kingdom, how can it be thine, or that of any other descendant of the Bharata race? If thou regardest thyself as one that hath lawfully come into the possession of the kingdom, I think they also may be regarded to have lawfully come into the possession of this kingdom before thee. Give them half the kingdom quietly. This, O tiger among men, is beneficial to all. If thou actest otherwise, evil will befall us all. Thou too shall be covered with dishonour. O Duryodhana, strive to maintain thy good name. A good name is, indeed, the source of one's strength. It hath been said that one liveth in vain whose reputation hath gone. A man, O Kaurava, doth not die so long as his fame lasteth. One liveth as long as one's fame endureth, and dieth when one's fame is gone. Follow thou, O son of Gandhari, the practice that is worthy of the Kuru race. O thou of mighty arms, imitate thy own ancestors. We are fortunate that the Pandavas have not perished. We are fortunate that Kunti liveth. We are fortunate that the wretch Purochana without being able to accomplish his purpose hath himself perished. From that time when I heard that the sons of Kuntibhoja's daughter had been burnt to death, I was, O son of Gandhari, ill able to meet any living creature. O tiger among men, hearing of the fate that overtook Kunti, the world doth not regard Purochana so guilty as it regardeth thee. O king, the escape, therefore, of the sons of Pandu with life from that conflagration and their re-appearance, do away with thy evil repute. Know, O thou of Kuru's race, that as long as those heroes live, the wielder of the thunder himself cannot deprive them of their ancestral share in the kingdom. The Pandavas are virtuous and united. They are being wrongly kept out of their equal share in the kingdom. If thou shouldst act rightly, if thou shouldst do what is agreeable to me, if thou shouldst seek the welfare of all, then give half the kingdom unto them.'"

SECTION 206

(Viduragamana Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'After Bhishma had concluded, Drona spoke, saying, 'O king Dhritarashtra, it hath been heard by us that friends summoned for consultation should always speak what is right, true, and conductive to fame. O sire, I am of the same mind in this matter with the illustrious Bhishma. Let a share of the kingdom be given unto the Pandavas. This is eternal virtue. Send, O Bharata, unto Drupada without loss of time some messenger of agreeable speech, carrying with him a large treasure for the Pandavas. And let the man go unto Drupada carrying costly presents for both the bridegrooms and the bride, and let him speak unto that monarch of thy increase of power and dignity arising from this new alliance with him. And, O monarch, let the man know also that both thyself and Duryodhana have become exceedingly glad in consequence of what hath happened. Let him say this repeatedly unto Drupada and Dhrishtadyumna. And let him speak also about the alliance as having been exceedingly proper, and agreeable unto thee, and of thyself being worthy of it. And let the man repeatedly propitiate the sons of Kunti and those of Madri (in proper words). And at thy command, O king, let plenty of ornaments of pure gold be given unto Draupadi. And let, O bull of Bharata's race, proper presents be given unto all the sons of Drupada. Let the messenger then propose the return of the Pandavas to Hastinapura. After the heroes will have been permitted (by Drupada), to come hither, let Duhsasana and Vikarna go out with a handsome train to receive them. And when they will have arrived at Hastinapura, let those foremost of men be received with affection by thee. And let them then be installed on their paternal throne, agreeably to the wishes of the people of the realm. This, O monarch of Bharata's race, is what I think should be thy behaviour towards the Pandavas who are to thee even as thy own sons.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'After Drona had ceased, Karna spake again, 'Both Bhishma and Drona have been pampered with wealth that is thine and favours conferred by thee! They are also always regarded by thee as thy trusted friends! What can therefore be more amusing than that they both should give thee advice which is not for thy good? How can the wise approve that advice which is pronounced good by a person speaking with wicked intent but taking care to conceal the wickedness of his heart? Indeed, in a season of distress, friends can neither benefit nor injure. Every one's happiness or the reverse dependeth on destiny. He that is wise and he that is foolish, he that is young (in years) and he that is old, he that hath allies and he that hath none, all become, it is seen everywhere, happy or unhappy at times. It hath been heard by us that there was, of old, a king by name Amvuvicha. Having his capital at Rajagriha, he was the king of all the Magadha chiefs. He never attended to his affairs. All his exertion consisted in inhaling the air. All his affairs were in the hands of his minister. And his minister, named Mahakarni, became the supreme authority in the state. Regarding himself all powerful, he began to disregard the king. And the wretch himself appropriated everything belonging unto the king, his queens and treasures and sovereignty. But the possession of all these, instead of satisfying his avarice, only served to inflame him the more. Having appropriated everything belonging to the king, he even coveted the throne. But it hath been heard by us that with all his best endeavours he succeeded not in acquiring the kingdom of the monarch, his master, even though the latter was inattentive to business and content with only breathing the air. What else can be said, O king, than that monarch's sovereignty was dependent on destiny? If, therefore, O king, this kingdom be established in thee by destiny, it will certainly continue in thee, even if the whole world were to become thy enemy! If, however, destiny hath ordained otherwise, howsoever mayest thou strive, it will not last in thee! O learned one, remembering all this, judge of the honesty or otherwise of thy advisers. Ascertain also who amongst them are wicked and who have spoken wisely and well.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words of Karna, Drona replied, 'As thou art wicked it is evident thou sayest so in consequence of the wickedness of thy intent. It is for injuring the Pandavas that thou findest fault with us. But know, O Karna, what I have said is for the good of all and the prosperity of the Kuru race. If thou regardest all this as productive of evil, declare thyself what is for our good. If the good advice I have given be not followed, I think the Kurus will be exterminated in no time.'"

SECTION 207

(Viduragamana Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'After Drona had ceased, Vidura spoke, saying, 'O monarch, thy friends without doubt, are saying unto thee what is for thy good. But as thou art unwilling to listen to what they say, their words scarcely find a place in thy ears. What that foremost one of Kuru's race, viz., Bhishma, the son of Santanu, hath said, is excellent and is for thy good. But thou dost not listen to it. The preceptor Drona also hath said much that is for thy good which however Karna, the son of Radha, doth not regard to be such. But, O king, reflecting hard I do not find any one who is better a friend to thee than either of these two lions among men (viz., Bhishma and Drona), or any one who excels either of them in wisdom. These two, old in years, in wisdom, and in learning, always regard thee, O king, and the sons of Pandu with equal eyes. Without doubt, O king of Bharata's race, they are both, in virtue and truthfulness, not inferior to Rama, the son of Dasaratha, and Gaya. Never before did they give thee any evil advice. Thou also, O monarch, hast never done them any injury. Why should, therefore, these tigers among men, who are ever truthful, give thee wicked advice, especially when thou hast never injured them? Endued with wisdom these foremost of men, O king, will never give thee counsels that are crooked. O scion of Kuru's rate, this is my firm conviction that these two, acquainted with all rules of morality, will never, tempted by wealth, utter anything betraying a spirit of partisanship. What they have said, O Bharata, I regard highly beneficial to thee. Without doubt, O monarch, the Pandavas are thy sons as much as Duryodhana and others are. Those ministers, therefore, that give thee any

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counsel fraught with evil unto the Pandavas, do not really look to thy interests. If there is any partiality in thy heart, O king, for thy own children, they who by their counsel seek to bring it out, certainly do thee no good. Therefore, O king, these illustrious persons endued with great splendour, have not I think, said anything that leadeth to evil. Thou, however, dost not understand it. What these bulls among men have said regarding the invincibility of the Pandavas is perfectly true. Think not otherwise of it, O tiger among men. Blest be thou! Can the handsome Dhananjaya, the son of Pandu, using the right and the left hand with equal activity, be vanquished in battle even by Maghavat himself? Can the great Bhimasena of strong arms possessing the might of ten thousand elephants, be vanquished in battle by the immortals themselves? Who also that desireth to live can overcome in battle the twins (Nagula and Sahadeva) like unto the sons of Yama himself, and well-skilled in fight? How too can the eldest one of the Pandavas in whom patience, mercy, forgiveness, truth, and prowess always live together, be vanquished? They who have Rama (Valadeva) as their ally, and Janardana (Krishna) as their counsellor, and Satyaki as their partisan, have already defeated everybody in war. They who have Drupada for their father-in-law, and Drupada's sons--the heroic brothers, viz., Dhristadyumna and others of Prishata's race for their brothers-in-law, are certainly invincible. Remembering this, O monarch, and knowing that their claim to the kingdom is even prior to thine, behave virtuously towards them. The stain of calumny is on thee, O monarch, in consequence of that act of Purochana. Wash thyself of it now, by a kindly behaviour towards the Pandavas. This kindly behaviour of thine, O monarch, towards the Pandavas will be an act of great benefit to us, protecting the lives of us all that belong to Kuru's race, and leading to the growth of the whole Kshatriya order! We had formerly warred with king Drupada; if we can now secure him as an ally, it will strengthen our party. The Dasarhas, O king, are numerous and strong. Know where Krishna is, all of them must be, and where Krishna is, there victory also must be! O king, who, unless cursed by the gods, would seek, to effect that by means of war which can be effected by conciliation? Hearing that the sons of Pritha are alive, the citizens and other subjects of the realm have become exceedingly glad and eager for beholding them. O monarch, act in a way that is agreeable to them. Duryodhana and Karna and Sakuni, the son of Suvala, are sinful, foolish and young; listen not to them. Possessed of every virtue thou art I long ago told thee, O monarch that for Duryodhana's fault, the subjects of this kingdom would be exterminated.'"

SECTION 208

(Viduragamana Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Hearing these various speeches, Dhritarashtra said, The learned Bhishma, the son of Santanu, and the illustrious Rishi Drona, and thyself also (O Vidura), have said the truth and what also is most beneficial to me. Indeed, as those mighty car-warriors, the heroic sons of Kunti. are the children of Pandu, so are they, without doubt, my children according to the ordinance. And as my sons are entitled to this kingdom, so are the sons of Pandu certainly entitled to it. Therefore, hasten to bring hither the Pandavas along with their mother, treating them with affectionate consideration. O thou of Bharata's race, bring also Krishna of celestial beauty along with them. From sheer good fortune the sons of Pritha are alive; and from good fortune alone those mighty car-warriors have obtained the daughter of Drupada. It is from good fortune alone that our strength hath increased, and it is from good fortune alone that Purochana hath perished. O thou of great splendour, it is from good fortune that my great grief hath been killed!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then Vidura, at the command of Dhritarashtra, repaired, O Bharata, unto Yajnasena and the Pandavas. And he repaired thither carrying with him numerous jewels and various kinds of wealth for Draupadi and the Pandavas and Yajnasena also. Arrived at Drupada's abode, Vidura conversant with every rule of morality and deep in every science, properly accosted the monarch and waited upon him. Drupada received Vidura in proper form and they both enquired after each other's welfare. Vidura then saw there the Pandavas and Vasudeva. As soon as he saw them he embraced them from affection and enquired after their well being. The Pandavas also along with Vasudeva, in due order, worshipped Vidura of immeasurable intelligence. But Vidura, O king, in the name of Dhritarashtra repeatedly enquired with great affection after their welfare. He then gave, O monarch, unto the Pandavas and Kunti and Draupadi, and unto Drupada and Drupada's sons, the gems and various kinds of wealth that the Kauravas had sent through him. Possessed of immeasurable intelligence, the modest Vidura then, in the presence of the Pandavas and Keshava, addressed the well-behaved Drupada thus:

"With thy ministers and sons, O monarch, listen to what I say. King Dhritarashtra, with ministers, sons, and friends, hath with a joyous heart, O king, repeatedly enquired after thy welfare. And, O monarch, he hath been highly pleased with this alliance with thee. So also, O king, Bhishma of great wisdom, the son of Santanu, with all the Kurus, enquired after thy welfare in every respect. Drona also of great wisdom the son of Bharadwaja and thy dear friend, embracing thee mentally, enquired of thy happiness. And, O king of Panchalas, Dhritarashtra and all the Kurus, in consequence of this alliance with thee regard themselves supremely blest. O Yajnasena, the establishment of this alliance with thee hath made them happier than if they had acquired a new kingdom. Knowing all this, O monarch, permit the Pandavas to re-visit their ancestral kingdom. The Kurus are exceedingly eager to behold the sons of Pandu. These bulls among men have been long absent (from their kingdom). They as well as Pritha must be very eager to behold their city. And all the Kuru ladies and the citizens and our subjects are eagerly waiting to behold Krishna the Panchala Princess. This, therefore, is my opinion, O monarch, that thou shouldst, without delay, permit the Pandavas to go thither with their wife. And after the illustrious Pandavas, O king, will have received thy permission to go thither, I shall send information unto Dhritarashtra by quick messengers. Then, O king, will the Pandavas set out with Kunti and Krishna.'"

SECTION 209

(Viduragamana Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Hearing these words of Vidura, Drupada said, 'It is even so as thou, O Vidura of great wisdom, hast said. Venerable one, I too have been exceedingly happy in consequence of this alliance. It is highly proper that these illustrious princes should return to their ancestral kingdom. But it is not proper for me to say this myself. If the brave son of Kunti viz., Yudhishthira, if Bhima and Arjuna, if these bulls among men, viz., the twins, themselves desire to go and if Rama (Valadeva) and Krishna, both acquainted with every rule of morality, be of the same mind, then let the Pandavas go thither. For these tigers among men (Rama and Krishna) are ever engaged in doing what is agreeable and beneficial to the sons of Pandu.'

"Hearing this, Yudhishthira said, 'We are now, O monarch, with all our younger brothers, dependent on thee. We shall cheerfully do what thou art pleased to command.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then Vasudeva said, 'I am of opinion that the Pandavas should go. But we should all abide by the opinion of king Drupada who is conversant with every rule of morality.'

"Drupada then spoke, 'I certainly agree with what this foremost of men, thinketh, having regard to the circumstances. For the illustrious sons of Pandu now are to me as they are, without doubt, to Vasudeva. Kunti's son Yudhishthira himself doth not seek the welfare of the Pandavas so earnestly as, Kesava, that tiger among men.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Commanded by the illustrious Drupada, the Pandavas, then, O king, and Krishna and Vidura, taking with them Krishna, the daughter of Drupada, and the renowned Kunti, journeyed towards the city called after the elephant, stopping at various places along the way for purposes of pleasure and enjoyment. King Dhritarashtra, hearing that those heroes had neared the capital sent out the Kauravas to receive them. They who were thus sent out were, O Bharata, Vikarna of the great bow, and Chitrasena, and Drona that foremost of warriors, and Kripa of Gautama's line. Surrounded by these, those mighty heroes, their splendour enhanced by that throng slowly entered the city of Hastinapura. The whole city became radiant, as it were, with the gay throng of sight-seers animated by curiosity. Those tigers among men gladdened the hearts of all who beheld them. And the Pandavas, dear unto the hearts of the people, heard, as they proceeded, various exclamations with the citizens, ever desirous of obeying the wishes of those princes, loudly uttered. Some exclaimed, 'Here returns that tiger among men, conversant with all the rules of morality and who always protects us as if we were his nearest relatives.' And elsewhere they said, 'It seems that king Pandu--the beloved of his people--returneth today from the forest, doubtless to do what is agreeable to us.' And there were some that said, 'What good is not done to us today when the heroic sons of Kunti come back to our town? If we have ever given away in charity, if we have ever poured libations of clarified butter on the fire, if we have any ascetic merit, let the Pandavas, by virtue of all those acts stay in our town for a hundred years.'

"At last the Pandavas, on arriving at the place, worshipped the feet of Dhritarashtra, as also those of the illustrious Bhishma. They also worshipped the feet of everybody else that deserved that honour. And they enquired after the welfare of every citizen (there present). At last, at the command of Dhritarashtra they entered the chambers that had been assigned to them.

"After they had rested there for some time, they were summoned (to the court) by king Dhritarashtra and Bhishma, the son of Santanu. When they came, king Dhritarashtra addressing Yudhishthira, said, 'Listen, O son of Kunti, with thy brothers, to what I say. Repair ye to Khandavaprastha so that no difference may arise again (between you and your cousins). If you take up your quarters there no one will be able to do you any injury. Protected by Partha (Arjuna), like the celestials by the thunderbolt, reside ye at Khandavaprastha, taking half of the kingdom.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Agreeing to what Dhritarashtra said, those bulls among men worshipping the king set out from Hastinapura. And content with half the kingdom, they removed to Khandavaprastha, which was in unreclaimed desert. Then those heroes of unfading splendour, viz., the Pandavas, with Krishna at their head, arriving there, beautified the place and made it a second heaven. And those mighty car-warriors, selecting with Dwaipayana's assistance a sacred and auspicious region, performed certain propitiatory ceremonies and measured out a piece of land for their city. Then surrounded by a trench wide as the sea and by walls reaching high up to the heavens and white as the fleecy clouds or the rays of the moon, that foremost of cities looked resplendent like Bhogavati (the capital of the nether kingdom) decked with the Nagas. And it stood adorned with palatial mansions and numerous gates, each furnished with a couple of panels resembling the out-stretched wings of Garuda. And it was protected with gateways looking like the clouds and high as the Mandara mountains. And well-furnished with numerous weapons of attack the missiles of the foes could not make slightest impression on them. And they were almost covered with darts and other missiles like double-tongued snakes. The turrets along the walls were filled with armed men in course of training; and the walls were lined with numerous warriors along their whole length. And there were thousands of sharp hooks and Sataghnis (machines slaying a century of warriors) and numerous other machines on the battlements. There were also large iron wheels planted on them. And with all these was that foremost of cities adorned. The streets were all wide and laid out excellently; and there was no fear in them of accident. And decked with innumerable mansions, the city became like unto Amaravati and came to be called Indraprastha (like unto Indra's city). In a delightful and auspicious part of the city rose the palace of the Pandavas filled with every kind of wealth and like unto the mansion of the celestial treasurer (Kuvera) himself. And it looked like a mass of clouds charged with lightning.

"When the city was built, there came, O king, numerous Brahmanas well-acquainted with all the Vedas and conversant with every language, wishing to dwell there. And there came also unto that town numerous merchants from every direction, in the hope of earning wealth. There also came numerous persons well-skilled in all the arts, wishing to take up their abode there. And around the city were laid out many delightful gardens adorned with numerous trees bearing both fruits and flowers. There were Amras (mango trees) and Amaratakas, and Kadamvas and Asokas, and Champakas; and Punnagas and Nagas and Lakuchas and Panasas; and Salas and Talas (palm trees) and Tamalas and Vakulas, and Ketakas with their fragrant loads; beautiful and blossoming and grand Amalakas with branches bent down with the weight of fruits and Lodhras and blossoming Ankolas; and Jamvus (blackberry trees) and Patalas and Kunjakas and Atimuktas; and Karaviras and Parijatas and numerous other kinds of trees always adorned with flowers and fruits and alive with feathery creatures of various species. And those verdant groves always resounded with the notes of maddened peacocks and Kokilas (blackbirds). And there were various pleasure-houses, bright as mirrors, and numerous bowers of creepers, and charming and artificial hillocks, and many lakes full to the brim of crystal water, and delightful tanks fragrant with lotuses and lilies and adorned with swans and ducks and chakravakas (brahminy ducks). And there were many delicious pools overgrown with fine aquatic plants. And there were also diverse ponds of great beauty and large dimension. And, O king, the joy of the Pandavas increased from day to day, in consequence of their residence in that large kingdom that was peopled with pious men.

"Thus in consequence of the virtuous behaviour of Bhishma and king Dhritarashtra towards them, the Pandavas took up their abode in Khandavaprastha. Adorned with those five mighty warriors, each equal unto Indra himself, that foremost of cities looked like Bhogavati (the capital of the nether kingdom) adorned with the Nagas. And, O monarch, having settled the Pandavas there, the heroic Krishna, obtaining their leave, came back with Rama to Dwaravati.'"

SECTION 210

(Rajya-labha Parva)

"Janamejaya said, 'O thou possessed of ascetic wealth, what did those high-souled ones, my grandsires, the illustrious Pandavas, do, after obtaining the kingdom of Indraprastha? How did their wife Draupadi obey them all? How is it also that no dissensions arose amongst those illustrious rulers of men, all attached to one wife, viz., Krishna? O thou of the wealth of asceticism, I wish to hear everything in detail regarding the behaviour towards one another of those rulers of men after their union with Krishna.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Those scorchers of foes, the Pandavas, having obtained their kingdom, at the command of Dhritarashtra, passed their days in joy and happiness at Khandavaprastha with Krishna. And Yudhishthira. endued

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with great energy and ever adhering to truth, having obtained the sovereignty, virtuously ruled the land, assisted by his brothers. And the sons of Pandu, endued with great wisdom and devoted to truth and virtue, having vanquished all their foes, continued to live there in great happiness. And those bulls among men, seated on royal seats of great value, used to discharge all the duties of government. And one day, while all those illustrious heroes were so seated, there came unto them the celestial Rishi Narada, in course of his wanderings. Beholding the Rishi, Yudhishthira offered him his own handsome seat. And after the celestial Rishi had been seated, the wise Yudhishthira duly offered him the Arghya with his own hands. And the king also informed the Rishi of the state of his kingdom. The Rishi accepting the worship, became well-pleased, and eulogising him with benedictions, commanded the king to take his seat. Commanded by the Rishi, the king took his seat. Then the king sent word unto Krishna (in the inner apartments) of the arrival of the illustrious one. Hearing of the Rishi's arrival Draupadi, purifying herself properly, came with a respectful attitude to where Narada was with the Pandavas. The virtuous princess of Panchala, worshipping the celestial Rishi's feet, stood with joined hands before him, properly veiled, The illustrious Narada, pronouncing various benedictions on her, commanded the princess to retire. After Krishna had retired, the illustrious Rishi, addressing in private all the Pandavas with Yudhishthira at their head, said, 'The renowned princess of Panchala is the wedded wife of you all. Establish a rule amongst yourselves so that disunion may not arise amongst you. There were, in former days, celebrated throughout the three worlds, two brothers named Sunda and Upasunda living together and incapable of being slain by anybody unless each slew the other. They ruled the same kingdom, lived in the same house, slept on the same bed, sat on the same seat, and ate from the same dish. And yet they killed each for the sake of Tilottama. Therefore, O Yudhishthira, preserve your friendship for one another and do that which may not produce disunion amongst you.'

"On hearing this, Yudhishthira asked, 'O great Muni, whose sons were Asuras called Sunda and Upasunda? Whence arose that dissension amongst them, and why did they slay each other? Whose daughter also was this Tilottama for whose love the maddened brothers killed each other? Was she an Apsara (water nymph) or the daughter of any celestial? O thou whose wealth is asceticism, we desire, O Brahmana, to hear in detail everything as it happened. Indeed, our curiosity hath become great.'"

SECTION 211

(Rajya-labha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Hearing these words of Yudhishthira, Narada replied, 'O son of Pritha, listen with thy brothers to me as I recite this old story, O Yudhishthira, exactly as everything happened. In olden days, a mighty Daitya named Nikumbha, endued with great energy and strength was born in the race of the great Asura, Hiranyakasipu. Unto this Nikumbha, were born two sons called Sunda and Upasunda. Both of them were mighty Asuras endued with great energy and terrible prowess. The brothers were both fierce and possessed of wicked hearts. And those Daityas were both of the same resolution, and ever engaged in achieving the same tasks and ends. They were ever sharers with each other in happiness as well as in woe. Each speaking and doing what was agreeable to the other, the brothers never were unless they were together, and never went anywhere unless together. Of exactly the same disposition and habits, they seemed to be one individual divided into two parts. Endued with great energy and ever of the same resolution in everything they undertook, the brothers gradually grew up. Always entertaining the same purpose, desirous of subjugating the three worlds, the brothers, after due initiation, went to the mountains of Vindhya. And severe were the ascetic penances they performed there. Exhausted with hunger and thirst, with matted locks on their heads and attired in barks of trees, they acquired sufficient ascetic merit at length. Besmearing themselves with dirt from head to foot, living upon air alone, standing on their toes, they threw pieces of the flesh of their bodies into the fire. Their arms upraised, and eye fixed, long was the period for which they observed their vows. And during the course of their ascetic penances, a wonderful incident occurred there. For the mountains of Vindhya, heated for a long course of years by the power of their ascetic austerities, began to emit vapour from every part of their bodies. And beholding the severity of their austerities, the celestials became alarmed. The gods began to cause numerous obstructions to impede the progress of their asceticism. The celestials repeatedly tempted the brothers by means of every precious possession and the most beautiful girls. The brothers broke not their vows. Then the celestials once more manifested, before the illustrious brothers, their powers of illusion. For it seemed their sisters, mothers, wives, and other relatives, with disordered hair and ornaments and robes, were running towards them in terror, pursued and struck by a Rakshasa with a lance in hand. And it seemed that the women implored the help of the brothers crying, 'O save us!' But all this went for nothing, for firmly wedded thereto, the brothers did not still break their vows. And when it was found that all this produced not the slightest impression on any of the two, both the women and the Rakshasa vanished from sight. At last the Grandsire himself, the Supreme Lord ever seeking the welfare of all, came unto those great Asuras and asked them to solicit the boon they desired. Then the brothers Sunda and Upasunda, both of great prowess, beholding the Grandsire, rose from their seats and waited with joined palms. And the brothers both said unto the God, 'O Grandsire, if thou hast been pleased with these our ascetic austerities, and art, O lord, propitious unto us, then let us have knowledge of all weapons and of all powers of illusion. Let us be endued with great strength, and let us be able to assume any form at will. And last of all, let us also be immortal.' Hearing these words of theirs, Brahman said, 'Except the immortality you ask for, you shall be given all that you desire. Solicit you some form of death by which you may still be equal unto the immortals. And since you have undergone these severe ascetic austerities from desire of sovereignty alone I cannot confer on you the boon of immortality. You have performed your ascetic penances even for the subjugation of the three worlds. It is for this, O mighty Daityas, that I cannot grant you what you desire.'

"Narada continued, 'Hearing these words of Brahman, Sunda and Upasunda said, 'O Grandsire, let us have no fear then from any created thing, mobile or immobile, in the three worlds, except only from each other!' The Grandsire then said, 'I grant you what you have asked for, even this your desire'. And granting them this boon, the Grandsire made them desist from their asceticism, and returned to his own region. Then the brothers, those mighty Daityas, having received those several boons became incapable of being slain by anybody in the universe. They then returned to their own abode. All their friends and relatives, beholding those Daityas of great intelligence, crowned with success in the matter of the boons they had obtained, became exceedingly glad. And Sunda and Upasunda then cut off their matted locks and wore coronets on their heads. Attired in costly robes and ornaments, they looked exceedingly handsome. They caused the moon to rise over their city every night even out of his season. And friends and relatives gave themselves up to joy and merriment with happy hearts. Eat, feed, give, make merry, sing, drink--these were the sounds heard everyday in every house. And here and there arose loud uproars of hilarity mixed with clappings of hands which filled the whole city of the Daityas, who being capable of assuming any form at will, were engaged in every kind of amusement and sport and scarcely noticed the flight of time, even regarding a whole year as a single day.'"

SECTION 212

(Rajya-labha Parva continued)

'Narada continued, 'As soon as those festivities came to an end, the brothers Sunda and Upasunda, desirous of the Sovereignty of the three worlds, took counsel and commanded their forces to be arranged. Obtaining the assent of their friends and relatives, of the elders of the Daitya race and of their ministers of state, and performing the preliminary rites of departure, they set out in the night when the constellation Magha was in the ascendant. The brothers set out with a large Daitya force clad in mail and armed with maces and axes and lances and clubs. The Daitya heroes set out on their expedition with joyous hearts, the charanas (bards) chanting auspicious panegyrics indicative of their future triumphs. Furious in war, the Daitya brothers, capable of going everywhere at will, ascended the skies and went to the region of the celestials. The celestials knowing they were coming and acquainted also with the boons granted unto them by the Supreme Deity left heaven and sought refuge in the region of Brahman. Endued with fierce prowess, the Daitya heroes soon subjugated the region of Indra, and vanquishing the diverse tribes of Yakshas and Rakshasas and every creature ranging the skies, came away. Those mighty car-warriors next subjugated the Nagas of the nether region, and then the inmates of the ocean and then all the tribes of the Mlechchhas. Desirous next of subjugating the whole earth, those heroes of irresistible sway, summoning their soldiers, issued these cruel commands, 'Brahmanas and royal sages (on earth) with their libations and other food offered at grand sacrifices, increase the energy and strength of the gods, as also their prosperity. Engaged in such acts, they are the enemies of the Asuras. All of us, therefore, mustering together should completely slaughter them off the face of the earth!' Ordering their soldiers thus on the eastern shore of the great ocean, and entertaining such a cruel resolution, the Asura brothers set out in all directions. And those that were performing sacrifices and the Brahmanas that were assisting at those sacrifices, the mighty brothers instantly slew. And slaughtering them with violence they departed for some other place. Whilst their soldiers threw into the water the sacrificial fires that were in the asylums of Munis with souls under complete control, the curses uttered by the illustrious Rishis in wrath, rendered abortive by the boons granted (by Brahman), affected not the Asura brothers. When the Brahmanas saw that their curses produced not the slightest effect like shafts shot at stones they fled in all directions, forsaking their rites and vows. Even those Rishis on earth that were crowned with ascetic success, and had their passions under complete control and were wholly engrossed in meditation of the Deity, from fear of the Asura brothers, fled like snakes at the approach of Vinata's son (Garuda the snake-eater). The sacred asylums were all trodden down and broken. The sacrificial jars and vessels being broken, their (sacred) contents were scattered over the ground. The whole universe became empty, as if its creatures had all been stricken down during the season of general dissolution. And, O king, after the Rishis had all disappeared and made themselves invisible both the great Asuras, resolved upon their destruction, began to assume various forms. Assuming the forms of maddened elephants with temples rent from excess of juice, the Asura pair, searching out the Rishis who had sheltered themselves in caves, sent them to the region of Yama. Sometimes becoming as lions and again as tigers and disappearing the next moment, by these and other methods the cruel couple, seeing the Rishis, slew them instantly. Sacrifice and study ceased, and kings and Brahmanas were exterminated. The earth became utterly destitute of sacrifices and festivals. And the terrified people uttered cries of Oh and Alas and all buying and selling were stopped. All religious rites ceased, and the earth became destitute of sacred ceremonies and marriages. Agriculture was neglected and cattle were no longer tended. Towns and asylums became desolate. And scattered over with bones and skeletons, the earth assumed a frightful aspect. All ceremonies in honour of the Pitris were suspended, and the sacred sound of Vashat and the whole circle of auspicious rites ceased. The earth became frightful to behold. The Sun and the Moon, the Planets and Stars, and Constellations, and the other dwellers in the firmament, witnessing these acts of Sunda and Upasunda, grieved deeply. Subjugating all the points of heaven by means of such cruel acts, the Asura brothers took up their abode in Kurukshetra, without a single rival.'"

SECTION 213

(Rajya-labha Parva continued)

"Narada continued, 'Then the celestial Rishis, the Siddhas, and the high-souled Rishis possessing the attributes of tranquillity and self-restraint, beholding that act of universal slaughter, were afflicted with great grief. With passions and senses and souls under complete control, they then went to the abode of the Grandsire, moved by compassion for the universe. Arrived there, they beheld the Grandsire seated with gods, Siddhas, and Brahmarshis around him. There were present that God of gods, viz., Mahadeva, and Agni, accompanied by Vayu, and Soma and Surya and Sakra, and Rishis devoted to the contemplation of Brahma, and the Vaikhanasas, the Valakhilyas, the Vanaprasthas, the Marichipas, the Ajas, the Avimudas, and other ascetics of great energy. All those Rishis were sitting with the Grandsire, when the celestial and other Rishis, approaching Brahman with sorrowful hearts, represented unto him all the acts of Sunda and Upasunda. And they told the Grandsire in detail everything that the Asura brothers had done, and how they had done it, and in what order. Then all the celestials and the great Rishis pressed the matter before the Grandsire. The Grandsire, hearing everything they said, reflected for a moment and settled in his mind what he should do. Resolving to compass the destruction of the Asura brothers, he summoned Viswakarman (the celestial architect). Seeing Viswakarman before him, the Grandsire possessed of supreme ascetic merit commanded him, saying, 'Create thou a damsel capable of captivating all hearts.' Bowing down unto the Grandsire and receiving his command with reverence, the great artificer of the universe created a celestial maiden with careful attention. Viswakrit first collected all handsome features upon the body of the damsel he created. Indeed, the celestial maiden that he created was almost a mass of gems. And created with great care by Viswakarman, the damsel, in beauty, became unrivalled among the women of the three worlds. There was not even a minute part of her body which by its wealth of beauty could not attract the gaze of beholders. And like unto the embodied Sri herself, that damsel of extraordinary beauty captivated the eyes and hearts of every creature. And because she had been created with portions of every gem taken in minute measures, the Grandsire bestowed upon her the name of Tilottama. And as soon as he started it into life, the damsel bowed to Brahman and with joined palms said, 'Lord of every created thing, what task am I to accomplish and what have I been created for?' The Grandsire answered, 'Go, O Tilottama, unto the Asuras, Sunda and Upasunda. O amiable one, tempt them with thy captivating beauty. And, O damsel, conduct thyself there in such a way that the Asura brothers may, in consequence of the wealth of thy beauty, quarrel with each other as soon as they cast their eyes upon thee.'

"Narada continued, 'Bowing unto the Grandsire and saying, 'So be it,'--the damsel walked round the celestial conclave. The illustrious Brahman was then sitting with face turned eastwards, and Mahadeva with face also towards the east, and

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all the celestials with faces northwards, and the Rishis with faces towards all directions. While Tilottama walked round the conclave of the celestials, Indra and the illustrious Sthanu (Mahadeva) were the only ones that succeeded in preserving their tranquillity of mind. But exceedingly desirous as Mahadeva was (of beholding Tilottama) when the damsel (in her progress round the celestial conclave) was at his side, another face like a full-blown lotus appeared on the southern side of his body. And when she was behind him, another face appeared on the west. And when the damsel was on the northern side of the great god, a fourth face appeared on the northern side of his body. Mahadeva (who was eager to behold the damsel) came also to have a thousand eyes, each large and slightly reddish, before, behind and on his flanks. And it was thus that Sthanu the great god came to have four faces, and the slayer of Vala, a thousand eyes. And as regards the mass of the celestials and the Rishis, they turned their faces towards all directions as Tilottama walked round them. Except the divine Grandsire himself, the glances of those illustrious personages, even of all of them fell upon Tilottama's body. And when Tilottama set out (for the city of the Asuras) with the wealth of her beauty, all regarded the task as already accomplished. After Tilottama had gone away, the great god who was the First Cause of the Universe, dismissed all the celestials and the Rishis.'"

SECTION 214

(Rajya-labha Parva continued)

"Narada continued, 'Meanwhile the Asura brothers having subjugated the earth were without a rival. The fatigue of exertion gone, they, having brought the three worlds under equal sway, regarded themselves as persons that had nothing more to do. Having brought all the treasures of the gods, the Gandharvas, the Yakshas, the Nagas, the Rakshasas, and the kings of the earth, the brothers began to pass their days in great happiness. When they saw they had no rivals (in the three worlds), they gave up all exertion and devoted their time to pleasure and merriment, like the celestials. They experienced great happiness by giving themselves up to every kind of enjoyment, such as women, and perfumes and floral wreaths and viands, and drinks and many other agreeable objects all in profusion. In houses and woods and gardens, on hills and in forests, wherever they liked they passed their time in pleasure and amusement, like the immortals. And it so happened that one day they went for purposes of pleasure to a tableland of the Vindhya range, perfectly level and stony, and overgrown with blossoming trees. After every object of desire, all of the most agreeable kind, had been brought, the brothers sat on an excellent seat, with happy hearts and accompanied by handsome women. And those damsels, desirous of pleasing the brothers, commenced a dance in accompaniment to music, and sweetly chanted many a song in praise of the mighty pair.'

"Meanwhile Tilottama attired in a single piece of red silk that exposed all her charms, came along, plucking wild flowers on her way. She advanced slowly to where those mighty Asuras were. The Asura brothers, intoxicated with the large portions they had imbibed, were smitten upon beholding that maiden of transcendent beauty. Leaving their seats they went quickly to where the damsel was. Both of them being under the influence of lust, each sought the maiden for himself. And Sunda seized that maid of fair brows by her right hand. Intoxicated with the boons they had obtained, with physical might, with the wealth and gems they had gathered from every quarter, and with the wine they had drunk, maddened with all these, and influenced by wishful desire, they addressed each other, each contracting his bow in anger, 'She is my wife, and therefore your superior,' said Sunda. 'She is my wife, and therefore your sister-in-law', replied Upasunda. And they said unto each other, 'She is mine not yours.' And soon they were under the influence of rage. Maddened by the beauty of the damsel, they soon forgot their love and affection for each other. Both of them, deprived of reason by passion, then took up their fierce maces. Each repeating, I was the first, I was the first,' (in taking her hand) struck the other. And the fierce Asuras, struck by each other with the mace, fell down upon the ground, their bodies bathed in blood, like two suns dislodged from the firmament. And beholding this, the women that had come there, and the other Asuras there present, all fled away trembling in grief and fear, and took refuge in the nether regions. The Grandsire himself of pure soul, then came there, accompanied by the celestials, and the great Rishis. And the illustrious Grandsire applauded Tilottama and expressed his wish of granting her a boon. The Supreme Deity, before Tilottama spoke, desirous of granting her a boon, cheerfully said, 'O beautiful damsel, thou shalt roam in the region of the Adityas. Thy splendour shall be so great that nobody will ever be able to look at thee for any length of time!' The Grandsire of all creatures, granting this boon unto her, establishing the three worlds in Indra as before, returned to his own region.'

"Narada continued, 'It was thus that Asuras, ever united and inspired by the same purpose slew each other in wrath for the sake of Tilottama. Therefore, from affection I tell you, ye foremost ones of Bharata's line, that if you desire to do anything agreeable to me, make some such arrangements that you may not quarrel with one another for the sake of Draupadi.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'The illustrious Pandavas, thus addressed by the great Rishi Narada, consulting with one another, established a rule amongst themselves in the presence of the celestial Rishi himself endued with immeasurable energy. And the rule they made was that when one of them would be sitting with Draupadi, any of the other four who would see that one thus must retire into the forest for twelve years, passing his days as a Brahmacharin. After the virtuous Pandavas had established that rule amongst themselves, the great Muni Narada, gratified with them, went to the place he wished. Thus, O Janamejaya, did the Pandavas urged by Narada, established a rule amongst themselves in regard to their common wife. And it was for this, O Bharata, that no dispute ever arose between them.'"

SECTION 215

(Arjuna-vanavasa Parva)

"Vaisampayana said, 'The Pandavas, having established such a rule, continued to reside there. By the prowess of their arms they brought many kings under their sway. And Krishna became obedient unto all the five sons of Pritha, those lions among men, of immeasurable energy. Like the river Saraswati decked with elephants, which again take pleasure in that stream, Draupadi took great delight in her five heroic husbands and they too took delight in her. And in consequence of the illustrious Pandavas being exceedingly virtuous in their practice, the whole race of Kurus, free from sin, and happy, grew in prosperity.

"After some time, O king, it so happened that certain robbers lifted the cattle of a Brahmana, and while they were carrying away the booty, the Brahmana, deprived of his senses by anger, repaired to Khandavaprastha, and began to reprove the Pandavas in accents of woe. The Brahmana said, 'Ye Pandavas, from this your dominion, my kine are even now being taken away by force by despicable and wicked wretches! Pursue ye the thieves. Alas, the sacrificial butter of a peaceful Brahmana is being taken away by crows! Alas, the wretched jackal invadeth the empty cave of a lion! A king that taketh the sixth part of the produce of the land without protecting the subject, hath been called by the wise to be the most sinful person in the whole world. The wealth of a Brahmana is being taken away by robbers! Virtue itself is sustaining a diminution! Take me up by the hand, ye Pandavas for I am plunged in grief!"

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Dhananjaya, the son of Kunti, heard those accents of the Brahmana weeping in bitter grief. As soon as he heard those accents, he loudly assured the Brahmana, saying, 'No fear!' But it so happened that the chamber where the illustrious Pandavas had their weapons was then occupied by Yudhishthira the Just with Krishna. Arjuna, therefore, was incapable of entering it or, going alone with the Brahmana, though repeatedly urged (to do either) by the weeping accents of the Brahmana. Summoned by the Brahmana, Arjuna reflected, with a sorrowful heart, Alas, this innocent Brahmana's wealth is being robbed! I should certainly dry up his tears. He hath come to our gate, and is weeping even now. If I do not protect him, the king will be touched with sin in consequence of my indifference; our own irreligiousness will be cited throughout the kingdom, and we shall incur a great sin. If, disregarding the king, I enter the chamber, without doubt I shall be behaving untruthfully towards the monarch without a foe. By entering the chamber, again, I incur the penalty of an exile in the woods. But I must overlook everything. I care not if I have to incur sin by disregarding the king. I care not if I have to go to the woods and die there. Virtue is superior to the body and lasteth after the body hath perished!' Dhananjaya, arriving at this resolution, entered the chamber and talked with Yudhishthira. Coming out with the bow, he cheerfully told the Brahmana, 'Proceed, O Brahmana, with haste, so that those wretched robbers may not go much ahead of us. I shall accompany thee and restore unto thee thy wealth that hath fallen into the hands of the thieves.' Then Dhananjaya, capable of using both his arms with equal skill, armed with the bow and cased in mail and riding in his war-chariot decked with a standard, pursued the thieves, and piercing them with his arrows, compelled them to give up the booty. Benefiting the Brahmana thus by making over to him his kine, and winning great renown, the hero returned to the capital. Bowing unto all the elders, and congratulated by everybody, Partha at last approached Yudhishthira, and addressing him, said, 'Give me leave, O lord, to observe the vow I took. In beholding thee sitting with Draupadi, I have violated the rule established by ourselves. I shall therefore go into the woods, for this is even our understanding.' Then Yudhishthira, suddenly hearing those painful words, became afflicted with grief, and said in an agitated voice, 'Why!' A little while after, king Yudhishthira in grief said unto his brother Dhananjaya of curly hair who never departed from his vows, these words, 'O sinless one, if I am an authority worthy of regard, listen to what I say. O hero, full well do I know the reason why thou hadst entered my chamber and didst what thou regardest to be an act disagreeable to me. But there is no displeasure in my mind. The younger brother may, without fault, enter the chamber where the elder brother sitteth with his wife. It is only the elder brother that acts against the rules of propriety by entering the room where the younger brother sitteth with his wife. Therefore, O thou of mighty arms, desist from thy purpose. Do what I say. Thy virtue hath sustained no diminution. Thou hast not disregarded me.'

"Arjuna, hearing this, replied, 'I have heard, even from thee, that quibbling is not permitted in the discharge of duty. I cannot waver from truth. Truth is my weapon.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Obtaining then the king's permission, Arjuna prepared himself for a forest-life; and he went to the forest to live there for twelve years.'"

SECTION 216

(Arjuna-vanavasa Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'When that spreader of the renown of Kuru's race, the strong-armed Arjuna, set out (for the forest), Brahmanas conversant with the Vedas walked behind that illustrious hero to a certain distance. Followed by Brahmanas conversant with the Vedas and their branches and devoted to the contemplation of the Supreme Spirit, by persons skilled in music, by ascetics devoted to the Deity, by reciters of Puranas, by narrators of sacred stories by devotees leading celibate lives, by Vanaprasthas, by Brahmanas sweetly reciting celestial histories, and by various other classes of persons of sweet speeches, Arjuna journeyed like Indra followed by the Maruts. And, O thou of Bharata's race, that bull among the Bharatas saw, as he journeyed, many delightful and picturesque forests, lakes, rivers, seas, provinces, and waters. At length, on arriving at the source of the Ganges the mighty hero thought of settling there.

"Listen now, O Janamejaya, to a wonderful feat which that foremost of the sons of Pandu, of high soul, did, while living there. When that son of Kunti, O Bharata, and the Brahmanas who had followed him, took up their residence in that region, the latter performed innumerable Agnihotras (sacrificial rites by igniting the sacred fire). And, O king, in consequence of those learned vow-observing, and illustrious Brahmanas, who never deviated from the right path, daily establishing and igniting with mantras on the banks of that sacred stream, after the performance of their ablutions, fires for their sacrifices, and pouring libations of clarified butter into the same, and worshipping those fires with offerings of flowers, that region itself where the Ganges entered the plains became exceedingly beautiful. One day that bull amongst the Pandavas, while residing in that region in the midst of those Brahmanas, descended (as usual) into the Ganges to perform his ablutions. After his ablutions had been over, and after he had offered oblations of water unto his deceased ancestors, he was about to get up from the stream to perform his sacrificial rites before the fire, when the mighty-armed hero, O king, was dragged into the bottom of the water by Ulupi, the daughter of the king of the Nagas, urged by the god of desire. And it so happened that the son of Pandu was carried into the beautiful mansion of Kauravya, the king of the Nagas. Arjuna saw there a sacrificial fire ignited for himself. Beholding that fire, Dhananjaya, the son of Kunti performed his sacrificial rites with devotion. And Agni was much gratified with Arjuna for the fearlessness with which that hero had poured libations into his manifest form. After he had thus performed his rites before the fire, the son of Kunti, beholding the daughter of the king of the Nagas, addressed her smilingly and said, 'O handsome girl, what an act of rashness hast thou done. O timid one! Whose is this beautiful region, who art thou and whose daughter?'

"Hearing these words of Arjuna, Ulupi answered, 'There is a Naga of the name of Kauravya, born in the line of Airavata. I am, O prince, the daughter of that Kauravya, and my name is Ulupi. O tiger among men, beholding thee descend into the stream to perform thy ablutions, I was deprived of reason by the god of desire. O sinless one, I am still unmarried. Afflicted as I am by the god of desire on account of thee, O thou of Kuru's race, gratify me today by giving thyself up to me.'

"Arjuna replied, 'Commanded by king Yudhishthira, O amiable one, I am undergoing the vow of Brahmacharin for twelve years. I am not free to act in any way I like. But, O ranger of the waters, I am still willing to do thy pleasure (if I can). I have never spoken an untruth in my life. Tell me, therefore, O Naga maid, how I may act so that, while doing thy pleasure, I may not be guilty of any untruth or breach of duty.'

"Ulupi answered, 'I know, O son of Pandu, why thou wanderest over the earth, and why thou hast been commanded to lead the life of a Brahmacharin by the superior. Even this was the understanding to which all of you had been pledged, viz., that amongst you all owning Drupada's daughter as your common wife, he who would from ignorance enter the room where one of you would be sitting with her, should lead the life of a Brahmacharin in the woods for twelve years. The exile of any one amongst you, therefore, is only for the sake of Draupadi. Thou art but observing the duty arising from that

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vow. Thy virtue cannot sustain any diminution (by acceding to my solicitation). Then again, O thou of large eyes, it is a duty to relieve the distressed. Thy virtue suffereth no diminution by relieving me. Oh, if (by this act), O Arjuna, thy virtue doth suffer a small diminution, thou wilt acquire great merit by saving my life. Know me for thy worshipper, O Partha! Therefore, yield thyself up to me! Even this, O lord, is the opinion of the wise (viz., that one should accept a woman that wooeth). If thou do not act in this way, know that I will destroy myself. O thou of mighty arms, earn great merit by saving my life. I seek thy shelter, O best of men! Thou protectest always, O son of Kunti, the afflicted and the masterless. I seek thy protection, weeping in sorrow. I woo thee, being filled with desire. Therefore, do what is agreeable to me. It behoveth thee to gratify my wish by yielding thy self up to me.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Thus addressed by the daughter of the king of the Nagas, the son of Kunti did everything she desired, making virtue his motive. The mighty Arjuna, spending the night in the mansion of the Naga rose with the sun in the morning. Accompanied by Ulupi he came back from the palace of Kauravya to the region where the Ganges entereth the plains. The chaste Ulupi, taking her leave there, returned to her own abode. And, O Bharata, she granted unto Arjuna a boon making him invincible in water, saying, 'Every amphibious creature shall, without doubt, be vanquishable by thee.'"

SECTION 217

(Arjuna-vanavasa Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then the son of the wielder of the thunderbolt narrated everything unto those Brahmanas (residing with him there), set out for the breast of Himavat. Arriving at the spot called Agastyavata, he next went to Vasishtha's peak. Thence the son of Kunti proceeded to the peak of Bhrigu. Purifying himself with ablutions and other rites there, that foremost of the Kurus gave away unto Brahmanas many thousands of cows and many houses. Thence that best of men proceeded to the sacred asylum called Hiranyavindu. Performing his ablutions there, that foremost of the sons of Pandu saw many holy regions. Descending from those heights that chief of men, O Bharata, accompanied by the Brahmanas, journeyed towards the east, desiring to behold the regions that lay in that direction. That foremost one of Kuru's race saw many regions of sacred waters one after another. And beholding in the forest of Naimisha the delightful river Utpalini (full of lotuses) and the Nanda and the Apara Nanda, the far-famed Kausiki, and the mighty rivers Gaya and Ganga, and all the regions of sacred water, he purified himself, O Bharata, (with the usual rites), and gave away many cows unto Brahmanas. Whatever regions of sacred waters and whatever other holy palaces there were in Vanga and Kalinga, Arjuna visited all of them. Seeing them all and performing proper ceremonies, he gave away much wealth. Then, O Bharata, all those Brahmanas following the son of Pandu, bade him farewell at the gate of the kingdom of Kalinga and desisted from proceeding with him any further. The brave Dhananjaya, the son of Kunti, obtaining their leave, went towards the ocean, accompanied by only a few attendants. Crossing the country of the Kalingas, the mighty one proceeded, seeing on his way diverse countries and sacred spots and diverse delightful mansions and houses. Beholding the Mahendra mountain adorned with the ascetics (residing there), he went to Manipura, proceeding slowly along the sea-shore. Beholding all the sacred waters and other holy places in that province, the strong-armed son of Pandu at last went, O king, to the virtuous Chitravahana, the ruler of Manipura. The king of Manipura had a daughter of great beauty named Chitrangada. And it so happened that Arjuna beheld her in her father's palace roving at pleasure. Beholding the handsome daughter of Chitravahana, Arjuna desired to possess her. Going unto the king (her father), he represented unto him what he sought. He said. 'Give away unto me thy daughter, O king! I am an illustrious Kshatriya's son.' Hearing this, the king asked him, 'Whose son art thou?' Arjuna replied, 'I am Dhananjaya, the son of Pandu and Kunti.' The king, hearing this, spoke unto him these words in sweet accents, 'There was in our race a king of the name of Prabhanjana, who was childless. To obtain a child, he underwent severe ascetic penances. By his severe asceticism, O Partha, he gratified that god of gods, Mahadeva, the husband of Uma, that supreme Lord holding (the mighty bow called) Pinaka. The illustrious Lord granted him the boon that each successive descendant of his race should have one child only. In consequence of that boon only one child is born unto every successive descendant of this race. All my ancestors (one after another) had each a male child. I, however, have only a daughter to perpetuate my race. But, O bull amongst men, I ever look upon this daughter of mine as my son. O bull of Bharata's race, I have duly made her a Putrika. Therefore, one amongst the sons that may be begotten upon her by thee, O Bharata, shall be the perpetuator of my race. That son is the dower for which I may give away my daughter. O son of Pandu, if them choosest, thou canst take her upon this understanding.' Hearing these words of the king, Arjuna accepted them all, saying, 'So be it.' Taking Chitravahana's daughter (as his wife), the son of Kunti resided in that city for three years. When Chitrangada at last gave birth to a son, Arjuna embraced that handsome princess affectionately. And taking leave of the king (her father), he set out on his wanderings again.'"

SECTION 218

(Arjuna-vanavasa Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then that bull of Bharata's race went to the sacred waters on the banks of the southern ocean, all adorned with the ascetics residing there. And there lay scattered five such regions where also dwelt many ascetics. But those five waters themselves were shunned by all of them. Those sacred waters were called Agastya, and Saubhadra and Pauloma of great holiness, and Karandhama of great propitiousness yielding the fruits of a horse-sacrifice unto those that bathed there, and Bharadwaja, that great washer of sins. That foremost one among the Kurus, beholding those five sacred waters, and finding them uninhabited, and ascertaining also that they were shunned by the virtuous ascetics dwelling around, asked those pious men with joined hands, saying, 'Why O ascetics, are these five sacred waters shunned by utterers of Brahma?' Hearing him, the ascetics replied, 'There dwell in these waters five large crocodiles which take away the ascetics that may happen to bathe in them. It is for this, O son of Kuru's race, that these waters are shunned.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words of the ascetics, that foremost of men endued with mighty arms, though dissuaded by them went to behold those waters. Arrived at the excellent sacred water called Saubhadra after a great Rishi, the brave scorcher of all foes suddenly plunged into it to have a bath. As soon as that tiger among men had plunged into the water a great crocodile (that was in it) seized him by the leg. But the strong-armed Dhananjaya the son of Kunti, that foremost of all men endued with might, seized that struggling ranger of the water and dragged it forcibly to the shore. But dragged by the renowned Arjuna to the land, that crocodile became (transformed into) a beautiful damsel bedecked with ornament. O king, that charming damsel of celestial form seemed to shine for her beauty and complexion. Dhananjaya, the son of Kunti, beholding that strange sight, asked that damsel with a pleased heart, 'Who art thou, O beautiful one? Why hast thou been a ranger of the waters? Why also didst thou commit such a dreadful sin?' The damsel replied, saying, 'I am, O mighty-armed one, an Apsara that sported in the celestial woods. I am, O mighty one, Varga by name, and ever dear unto the celestial treasurer (Kuvera). I have four other companions, all handsome and capable of going everywhere at will. Accompanied by them I was one day going to the abode of Kuvera. On the way we beheld a Brahmana of rigid vows, and exceedingly handsome, studying the Vedas in solitude. The whole forest (in which he was sitting) seemed to be covered with his ascetic splendour. He seemed to have illuminated the whole region like the Sun himself. Beholding his ascetic devotion of that nature and his wonderful beauty, we alighted in that region, in order to disturb his meditations. Myself and Saurabheyi and Samichi and Vudvuda and Lata, approached that Brahmana, O Bharata, at the same time. We began to sing and smile and otherwise tempt that Brahmana. But, O hero, that Brahmana (youth) set not his heart even once upon us. His mind fixed on pure meditation, that youth of great energy suffered not his heart to waver, O bull among Kshatriyas, the glance he cast upon us was one of wrath. And he said, staring at us, 'Becoming crocodiles, range ye the waters for a hundred years.'"

SECTION 219

(Arjuna-vanavasa Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Varga continued, 'We were then, O foremost one of Bharata's race, deeply distressed at this curse. We sought to propitiate that Brahmana of ascetic wealth that departed not from his vow. Addressing him, we said, 'Inflated with a sense of our beauty and youth, and urged by the god of desire, we have acted very improperly. It behoveth thee, O Brahmana, to pardon us! Truly, O Brahmana, it was death to us that we had at all come hither to tempt thee of rigid vows and ascetic wealth. The virtuous, however, have said that women should never be slain. Therefore grow thou in virtue. It behoveth thee not to slay us so. O thou that art conversant with virtue, it hath been said that a Brahmana is ever the friend of every creature. O thou of great prosperity, let this speech of the wise become true. The eminent always protect those that seek protection at their hands. We seek thy protection. It behoveth thee to grant us pardon.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed, that Brahmana of virtuous soul and good deeds and equal in splendour, O hero, unto the sun or the moon, became propitious unto them. And the Brahmana said, 'The words hundred and hundred thousand are all indicative of eternity. The word hundred, however, as employed by me is to be understood as a limited period and not indicative of a period without end. Ye shall, therefore, becoming crocodiles, seize and take away men (for only a hundred years as explained by me). At the end of that period, an exalted individual will drag you all from water to the land. Then ye will resume your real forms. Never have I spoken an untruth even in jest. Therefore, all that I have said must come to pass. And those sacred waters (within which I assign you your places), will, after you will have been delivered by that individual, become known all over the world by the name of Nari-tirthas (or sacred waters connected with the sufferings and the deliverance of females), and all of them shall become sacred and sin cleansing in the eyes of the virtuous and the wise.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Varga then addressing Arjuna, finished her discourse, saying, 'Hearing these words of the Brahmana, we saluted him with reverence and walked round him. Leaving that region we came away with heavy hearts, thinking as we proceeded, 'Where shall we all soon meet with that man who will give us back our own shapes (after our transformation)?' As we were thinking of it, in almost a moment, O Bharata, we beheld even the eminent celestial Rishi Narada. Beholding that Rishi of immeasurable energy, our hearts were filled with joy. Saluting him with reverence, O Partha, we stood before him, with blushing faces. He asked of us the cause of our sorrow and we told him all. Hearing what had happened the Rishi said, 'In the low-lands bordering on the southern ocean, there are five regions of sacred water. They are delightful and eminently holy. Go ye thither without delay. That tiger among men, Dhananjaya, the son of Pandu of pure soul, will soon deliver you, without doubt, from this sad plight.' O hero, hearing the Rishi's words, all of us came hither. O sinless one, true it is that I have today been delivered by thee. But those four friends of mine are still within the other waters here. O hero, do a good deed by delivering them also.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then, O monarch, that foremost of the Pandavas, endued with great prowess, cheerfully delivered all of them from that curse. Rising from the waters they all regained their own forms. Those Apsaras then, O king, all looked as before. Freeing those sacred waters (from the danger for which they had been notorious), and giving the Apsaras leave to go where they chose, Arjuna became desirous of once more beholding Chitrangada. He, therefore, proceeded towards the city of Manipura. Arrived there, he beheld on the throne the son he had begotten upon Chitrangada, and who was called by the name of Vabhruvahana. Seeing Chitrangada once more, Arjuna proceeded, O monarch, towards the spot called Gokarna.'"

SECTION 220

(Arjuna-vanavasa Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then Arjuna of immeasurable prowess saw, one after another, all the sacred waters and other holy places that were on the shores of the western ocean. Vibhatsu reached the sacred spot called Prabhasa. When the invisible Arjuna arrived at that sacred and delightful region, the slayer of Madhu (Krishna) heard of it. Madhava soon went there to see his friend, the son of Kunti. Krishna and Arjuna met together and embracing each other enquired after each other's welfare. Those dear friends, who were none else than the Rishis Nara and Narayana of old, sat down. Vasudeva asked Arjuna about his travels, saying, 'Why, O Pandava art thou wandering over the earth, beholding all the sacred waters and other holy places?' Then Arjuna told him everything that had happened. Hearing everything, that mighty hero of Vrishni's race said, 'This is as it should be.' And Krishna and Arjuna having sported as they liked, for some time at Prabhasa, went to the Raivataka mountain to pass some days there. Before they arrived at Raivataka, that mountain had, at the command of Krishna been well-adorned by many artificers. Much food also had, at Krishna's command, been collected there. Enjoying everything that had been collected there for him, Arjuna sat with Vasudeva to see the performances of the actors and the dancers. Then the high-souled Pandava, dismissing them all with proper respect, laid himself down on a well-adorned and excellent bed. As the strong-armed one lay on that excellent bed, he described unto Krishna everything about the sacred waters, the lakes and the mountains, the rivers and the forests he had seen. While he was speaking of these, stretched upon that celestial bed, sleep, O Janamejaya, stole upon him. He rose in the morning, awakened, by sweet songs and melodious notes of the Vina (guitar) and the panegyrics and benedictions of the bards. After he had gone through the necessary acts and ceremonies, he was affectionately accosted by him of the Vrishni race. Riding upon a golden car, the hero then set out for Dwaraka, the capital of the Yadavas. And, O Janamejaya, for honouring the son of Kunti, the city of Dwaraka, was well-adorned, even all the gardens and houses within it. The citizens of Dwaraka, desirous of beholding the son of Kunti, began to pour eagerly into the public thoroughfares by hundreds of thousands. In the public squares and thoroughfares, hundreds and thousands of women, mixing with the men, swelled the great crowd of the Bhojas, the Vrishnis, and the Andhakas, that

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had collected there. Arjuna was welcomed with respect by all the sons of Bhojas, the Vrishnis, and the Andhakas. And he, in his turn, worshipped those that deserved his worship, receiving their blessings. The hero was welcomed with affectionate reception by all the young men of the Yadava tribe. He repeatedly embraced all that were equal to him in age. Wending then to the delightful mansion of Krishna that was filled with gems and every article of enjoyment, he took up his abode there with Krishna for many days.'"

SECTION 221

(Subhadra-harana Parva)

"Vaisampayana said, 'O best of monarchs, within a few days after this, there commenced on the Raivataka mountain, a grand festival of the Vrishnis and the Andhakas. At the mountain-festival of the Bhojas, the Vrishnis and the Andhakas, the heroes of those tribes began to give away much wealth unto Brahmanas by thousands. The region around that hill, O king was adorned with many a mansion decked with gems and many an artificial tree of gaudy hue. The musicians struck up in concert and the dancers began to dance and the vocalists to sing. And the youth of the Vrishni race, endued with great energy, adorned with every ornament, and riding in their gold-decked cars, looked extremely handsome. The citizens, some on foot and some in excellent cars, with their wives and followers were there by hundreds and thousands. And there was the lord Haladhara (Valarama), roving at will, hilarious with drink, accompanied by (his wife) Revati, and followed by many musicians and vocalists. There came Ugrasena also, the powerful king of he Vrishni race, accompanied by his thousand wives and followed by sweet singers. And Raukmineya and Shamva also, ever furious in battle, roved there, excited with drink and adorned with floral wreaths of great beauty and with costly attires, and disported themselves like a pair of celestials. And Akrura and Sarana and Gada, and Vabhru, and Nisatha, and Charudeshna, and Prithu, Viprithu, and Satyaka, and Satyaki, and Bhangakara, and Maharava, and Hardikya, and Uddhava, and many others whose names are not given, accompanied by their wives that followed by bands of singers, adorned that mountain-festival. When that delightful festival of immense grandeur commenced, Vasudeva and Partha went about, together, beholding everything around. While wandering there, they saw the handsome daughter of Vasudeva, Bhadra by name, decked with every ornament, in the midst of her maids. As soon as Arjuna beheld her he was possessed by the god of desire. Then, O Bharata, that tiger among men, Krishna, observing Partha contemplate her with absorbed attention, said with a smile, 'How is this? Can the heart of one that rangeth the woods be agitated by the god of desire? This is my sister, O Partha, and the uterine sister of Sarana. Blest be thou, her name is Bhadra and she is the favourite daughter of my father. Tell me if thy heart is fixed upon her, for I shall then speak to my father myself.'

"Arjuna answered, 'She is Vasudeva's daughter and Vasudeva's (Krishna) sister; endued with so much beauty, whom can she not fascinate? If this thy sister, this maid of the Vrishni race, becometh my wife, truly may I win prosperity in everything. Tell me, O Janardana, by what means I may obtain her. To get her I will achieve anything that is achievable by man.'

"Vasudeva answered, 'O bull amongst men, self-choice hath been ordained for the marriage of Kshatriyas. But that is doubtful (in its consequences), O Partha, as we do not know this girl's temper and disposition. In the case of Kshatriyas that are brave, a forcible abduction for purposes of marriage is applauded, as the learned have said. Therefore O Arjuna, carry away this my beautiful sister by force, for who knows what she may do at a self-choice.' Then Krishna and Arjuna, having thus settled as to what should be done sent some speedy messengers unto Yudhishthira at Indraprastha, informing him of everything. The strong-armed Yudhishthira, as soon as he heard it, gave his assent to it.'"

SECTION 222

(Subhadra-harana Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then Dhananjaya, informed of the assent of Yudhishthira, and ascertaining, O Janamejaya, that the maiden had gone to the Raivataka hill, obtained the assent of Vasudeva also, after having settled in consultation with him all that required to be done. Then that bull of Bharata's race, that foremost of men, with Krishna's assent, riding in his well-built car of gold equipped with rows of small bells and with every kind of weapon and the clatter of whose wheels resembled the roar of the clouds and whose splendour was like unto that of a blazing fire and which struck terror into the hearts of all foes and unto which were yoked the steeds Saivya and Sugriva, himself accoutred in mail and armed with sword and his fingers encased in leathern gloves, set out, as it were, on a hunting expedition. Meanwhile Subhadra, having paid her homage unto that prince of hills, Raivataka and having worshipped the deities and made the Brahmanas utter benedictions upon her, and having also walked round the hill, was coming towards Dwaravati. The son of Kunti, afflicted with the shafts of the god of desire, suddenly rushed towards that Yadava girl of faultless features and forcibly took her into his car. Having seized that girl of sweet smiles, that tiger among men proceeded in his car of gold towards his own city (Indraprastha). Meanwhile, the armed attendants of Subhadra, beholding her thus seized and taken away, all ran, crying towards the city of Dwaraka. Reaching all together the Yadava court called by the name of Sudharma, they represented everything about the prowess of Partha unto the chief officer of the court. The chief officer of the court, having heard everything from those messengers, blew his gold-decked trumpet of loud blare, calling all to arms. Stirred up by that sound, the Bhojas, the Vrishnis, and the Andhakas began to pour in from all sides. Those that were eating left their food, and those that were drinking left their drink. Those tigers among men, those great warriors of the Vrishni and the Andhaka tribes, took their seats upon their thousand thrones of gold covered with excellent carpets and variegated with gems and corals and possessed of the lustre of blazing fire. Indeed they took their seats upon those thrones, like blazing fires receiving faggots to increase their splendour. And after they were seated in that court which was like unto a conclave of the celestials themselves, the chief officer of the court, assisted by those that stood at his back, spoke of the conduct of Jishnu. The proud Vrishni heroes, of eyes red with wine, as soon as they heard of it, rose up from their seats, unable to brook what Arjuna had done. Some amongst them said, 'Yoke our cars', and some, 'Bring our weapons' and some said, 'Bring our costly bows and strong coats of mail; and some loudly called upon their charioteers to harness their cars, and some, from impatience, themselves yoked their horses decked with gold unto their cars. And while their cars and armours and standards were being brought, loud became the uproar of those heroes. Then Valadeva, white and tall as the peak of Kailasa, decked with garlands of wild flowers and attired in blue robes, and proud and intoxicated with drink, said these words:

'Ye senseless men, what are ye doing, when Janardana sitteth silent? Without knowing what is in his mind, vainly do we roar in wrath! Let the high-souled Krishna give out what he proposeth. Accomplish promptly what he desireth to do.' Then all of them, hearing those words of Halayudha that deserved to be accepted, exclaimed, 'Excellent! Excellent!' They then all became silent. Silence having been restored by the words of the intelligent Valadeva, they took their seats once more in that assembly. Then Rama, that oppressor of foes, spoke unto Vasudeva, saying, 'Why, O Janardana, sittest thou, gazing silently? O Achyuta, it was for thy sake that the son of Pritha had been welcomed and honoured by us. It seemeth, however, that that vile wretch deserved not our homage. What man is there born of a respectable family that would break the plate after having dined from it! Even if one desireth to make such an alliance, yet remembering all the services he hath received, who is there, desirous of happiness, that acts so rashly? That Pandava disregarding us and thee too hath today outraged Subhadra, desiring (to compass) his own death. He hath placed his foot on the crown of my head. How shall I, O Govinda, tamely bear it? Shall I not resent it, even like a snake that is trodden upon? Alone shall I today make the earth destitute of Kauravas! Never shall I put up with this transgression by Arjuna.' Then all the Bhojas, Vrishnis, and Andhakas, present there, approved of everything that Valadeva had said, deeply roaring like unto a kettle-drum or the clouds.'"

SECTION 223

(Haranaharana Parva)

"Vaisampayana said, 'When the heroes of the Vrishni race began to speak repeatedly in this strain, Vasudeva uttered these words pregnant with deep import and consistent with true morality. Gudakesa (the conqueror of sleep or he of the curly hair), by what he hath done, hath not insulted our family. He hath without doubt, rather enhanced our respect. Partha knoweth that we of the Satwata race are never mercenary. The son of Pandu also regardeth a self-choice as doubtful in its results. Who also would approve of accepting a bride in gift as if she were an animal? What man again is there on earth that would sell his offspring? I think Arjuna, seeing these faults in all the other methods took the maiden away by force, according to the ordinance. This alliance is very proper. Subhadra is a renowned girl. Partha too possesseth renown. Perhaps, thinking of all this, Arjuna hath taken her away by force. Who is there that would not desire to have Arjuna for a friend, who is born in the race of Bharata and the renowned Santanu, and the son also of the daughter of Kuntibhoja? I do not see, in all the worlds with Indra and the Rudras, the person that can by force vanquish Partha in battle, except the three-eyed god Mahadeva. His car is well-known. Yoked thereunto are those steeds of mine. Partha as a warrior is well-known; and his lightness of hand is well-known. Who shall be equal to him? Even this is my opinion: go ye cheerfully after Dhananjaya and by conciliation stop him and bring him back. If Partha goes to his city after having vanquished us by force, our fame will be gone. There is no disgrace, however, in conciliation.' Hearing, O monarch, those words of Vasudeva, they did as he directed. Stopped by them, Arjuna returned to Dwaraka and was united in marriage with Subhadra. Worshipped by the sons of Vrishni's race, Arjuna, sporting there as he pleased, passed a whole year in Dwaraka. The last year of his exile the exalted one passed at the sacred region of Pushkara. After the twelve years were complete he came back to Khandavaprastha. He approached the king first and then worshipped the Brahmanas with respectful attention. At last the hero went unto Draupadi. Draupadi, from jealousy, spoke unto him, saying, 'Why tarriest thou here, O son of Kunti? Go where the daughter of the Satwata race is! A second tie always relaxeth the first one upon a faggot!' And Krishna lamented much in this strain. But Dhananjaya pacified her repeatedly and asked for her forgiveness. And returning soon unto where Subhadra, attired in red silk, was staying, Arjuna, sent her into the inner apartments dressed not as a queen but in the simple garb of a cowherd woman. But arrived at the palace, the renowned Subhadra looked handsomer in that dress. The celebrated Bhadra of large and slightly red eyes first worshipped Pritha. Kunti from excess of affection smelt the head of that girl of perfectly faultless features, and pronounced infinite blessing upon her. Then that girl of face like the full moon hastily went unto Draupadi and worshipped her, saying, 'I am thy maid!' Krishna rose hastily and embraced the sister of Madhava from affection, and said, 'Let thy husband be without a foe!' Bhadra then, with a delighted heart, said unto Draupadi, 'So be it!' From that time, O Janamejaya, those great warriors, the Pandavas, began to live happily, and Kunti also became very happy.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'When that scorcher of foes, viz., Kesava of pure soul and eyes, like lotus-petals, heard that the foremost of the Pandavas, viz., Arjuna, had reached his own excellent city of Indraprastha, he came thither accompanied by Rama and the other heroes and great warriors of the Vrishni and the Andhaka tribes, and by his brothers and sons and many other brave warriors. And Saurin came accompanied by a large army that protected him. And there came with Saurin, that oppressor of foes, viz., the exceedingly liberal Akrura of great intelligence and renown, the generalissimo of the brave Vrishni host. And there also came Anadhrishti of great prowess, and Uddhava of great renown, of great intelligence, of great soul, and a disciple of Vrihaspati himself. And there also came Satyaka and Salyaka and Kritavarman and Satwata; and Pradyumna and Samva and Nisatha and Sanku; and Charudeshna, and Jhilli of great prowess, and Viprithu also and Sarana of mighty arms and Gada, the foremost of learned men. These and many other Vrishnis and Bhojas, and Andhakas came to Indraprastha, bringing with them many nuptial presents. King Yudhishthira, hearing that Madhava had arrived, sent the twins out to receive him. Received by them, the Vrishni host of great prosperity entered Khandavaprastha well-adorned with flags and ensigns. The streets were well-swept and watered and decked with floral wreaths and bunches. These were, again, sprinkled over with sandalwood water that was fragrant and cooling. Every part of the town was filled with the sweet scent of burning aloes. And the city was full of joyous and healthy people and adorned with merchants and traders. That best of men, viz., Kesava of mighty arms, accompanied by Rama and many of the Vrishnis, Andhakas and Bhojas, having entered the town, was worshipped by the citizens and Brahmanas by thousands. At last Kesava entered the palace of the king which was like unto the mansion of Indra himself. Beholding Rama, Yudhishthira received him with due ceremonies. The king smelt the head of Kesava and embraced him. Govinda, gratified with the reception, humbly worshipped Yudhishthira. He also paid homage unto Bhima, that tiger among men. Yudhishthira the son of Kunti then received the other principal men of the Vrishni and the Andhaka tribes with due ceremonies. Yudhishthira reverentially worshipped some as his superiors, and welcomed others as equals. And some he received with affection and by some he was worshipped with reverence. Then Hrishikesa of great renown gave unto the party of the bridegroom much wealth. And unto Subhadra he gave the nuptial presents that had been given to her by her relatives. Krishna gave unto the Pandavas a thousand cars of gold furnished with rows of bells, and unto each of which were put four steeds driven by well-trained charioteers. He also gave unto them ten thousand cows belonging to the country of Mathura, and yielding much milk and all of excellent colour. Well-pleased, Janardana also gave them a thousand mares with gold harnesses and of colour white as the beams of the moon. He also gave them a thousand mules, all well-trained and possessing the speed of the wind, of white colour with black manes. And he of eyes like lotus-petals also gave unto them a thousand damsels well-skilled in assisting at bathing and at drinking, young in years and virgins all before their first-season, well-attired and of excellent complexion, each wearing a hundred pieces of gold around her neck, of skins perfectly polished, decked with every ornament, and well-skilled in every kind of personal

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service. Janardana also gave unto them hundreds of thousands of draft horses from the country of the Valhikas as Subhadra's excellent dower. That foremost one of Dasarha's race also gave unto Subhadra as her peculium ten carrier-loads of first class gold possessing the splendour of fire, some purified and some in a state of ore. And Rama having the plough for his weapon and always loving bravery gave unto Arjuna, as a nuptial present, a thousand elephants with secretions flowing in three streams from the three parts of their bodies (the temple, the ears, and the anus) each large as a mountain summit, irresistible in battle, decked with coverlets and bells, well-adorned with other golden ornaments, and equipped with excellent thrones on their backs. And that large wave of wealth and gems that the Yadavas presented, together with the cloths and blankets that represented its foam, and the elephants its alligators and sharks, and the flags its floating weeds swelling into large proportions, mingled with the Pandu ocean and filled it to the brim, to the great sorrow of all foes. Yudhishthira accepted all those presents and worshipped all those great warriors of the Vrishni and the Andhaka races. Those illustrious heroes of the Kuru, the Vrishni, and the Andhaka races passed their days in pleasure and merriment there like virtuous men (after death) in the celestial regions. The Kurus and the Vrishnis with joyous hearts amused themselves there, setting up at times loud shouts mingled with clappings of the hand. Spending many days in sports and merriment there, and worshipped by the Kurus all the while, the Vrishni heroes endued with great energy then returned to the city of Dwaravati. And the great warriors of the Vrishni and the Andhaka races set out with Rama in the van, carrying with them those gems of the purest rays that had been given them by those foremost ones of Kuru's race. And, O Bharata, the high-souled Vasudeva remained there with Arjuna in the delightful city of Indraprastha. And the illustrious one wandered over the banks of the Yamuna in search of deer. And he sported with Arjuna piercing with his shafts deer and wild boars. Then Subhadra, the favourite sister of Kesava, gave birth to an illustrious son, like Puloma's daughter, (the queen of heaven) bringing forth Jayanta. And the son that Subhadra brought forth was of long arms, broad chest, and eyes as large as those of a bull. That hero and oppressor of foes came to be called Abhimanyu. And the son of Arjuna, that grinder of foes and bull among men, was called Abhimanyu because he was fearless and wrathful. And that great warrior was begotten upon the daughter of the Satwata race by Dhananjaya, like fire produced in a sacrifice from within the sami wood by the process of rubbing. Upon the birth of this child, Yudhishthira, the powerful son of Kunti, gave away unto Brahmanas ten thousand cows and coins of gold. The child from his earliest years became the favourite of Vasudeva and of his father and uncles, like the moon of all the people of the world. Upon his birth, Krishna performed the usual rites of infancy. The child began to grow up like the Moon of the bright fortnight. That grinder of foes soon became conversant with the Vedas and acquired from his father the science of weapon both celestial and human, consisting of four branches and ten divisions.

"Endued with great strength, the child also acquired the knowledge of counteracting the weapons hurled at him by others, and great lightness of hand and fleetness of motion forward and backward and transverse and wheeling. Abhimanyu became like unto his father in knowledge of the scriptures and rites of religion. And Dhananjaya, beholding his son, became filled with joy. Like Maghavat beholding Arjuna, the latter beheld his son Abhimanyu and became exceedingly happy. Abhimanyu possessed the power of slaying every foe and bore on his person every auspicious mark. He was invisible in battle and broad-shouldered as the bull. Possessing a broad face as (the hood of) the snake, he was proud like the lion. Wielding a large bow, his prowess was like that of an elephant in rut. Possessed of a face handsome as the full-moon, and of a voice deep as the sound of the drum or the clouds, he was equal unto Krishna in bravery and energy, in beauty and in features. The auspicious Panchali also, from her five husbands, obtained five sons all of whom were heroes of the foremost rank and immovable in battle like the hills. Prativindhya by Yudhishthira, Sutasoma by Vrikodara, Srutakarman by Arjuna, Satanika by Nakula, and Srutasena by Sahadeva,--these were the five heroes and great warriors that Panchali brought forth, like Aditi bringing forth the Adityas. And the Brahmanas, from their foreknowledge, said unto Yudhishthira that as the son of his would be capable of bearing like the Vindhya mountains the weapons of the foe, he should be called Prativindhya. And because the child that Draupadi bore to Bhimasena was born after Bhima had performed a thousand Soma sacrifices, he came to be called Sutasoma. And because Arjuna's son was born upon his return from exile during which he had achieved many celebrated feats, that child came to be called Srutakarman. While Nakula named his son Satanika after a royal sage of that name, in the illustrious race of Kuru. Again the son that Draupadi bore to Sahadeva was born under the constellation called Vahni-daivata (Krittika), therefore was he called after the generalissimo of the celestial host, Srutasena (Kartikeya). The sons of Draupadi were born, each at the interval of one year, and all of them became renowned and much attached to one another. And, O monarch, all their rites of infancy and childhood, such as Chudakarana and Upanayana (first shave of the head and investiture with the sacred threads) were performed by Dhaumya according to the ordinance. All of them, of excellent behaviour and vows, after having studied the Vedas, acquired from Arjuna a knowledge of all the weapons, celestial and human. And, O tiger among kings, the Pandavas, having obtained sons all of whom were equal unto the children of the celestials and endued with broad chests, and all of whom became great warriors, were filled with joy.'"

SECTION 224

(Khandava-daha Parva)

"Vaisampayana said, 'The Pandavas, after they had taken up their abode at Indraprastha at the command of Dhritarashtra and Bhishma began to bring other kings under their sway. All the subjects (of the kingdom) lived most happily depending upon Yudhishthira the Just, like a soul living happily depending upon a body blest with auspicious marks and pious deeds. And, O bull in Bharata's race, Yudhishthira paid homage unto virtue, pleasure, and profit, in judicious proportion, as if each were a friend dear unto him as his own self. It seemed as if the three pursuits--virtue, pleasure, and profit--became personified on earth, and amongst them the king shone as a fourth. The subjects having obtained Yudhishthira as their king, obtained in their monarch one that was devoted to the study of the Vedas, one that was performer of the great sacrifices, and one that was protector of all good people. In consequence of Yudhishthira's influence, the good fortune of all the monarchs of the earth became stationary, and their hearts became devoted to the meditation of the Supreme Spirit, and virtue itself began to grow every way all round. And in the midst of and assisted by his four brothers, the king looked more resplendent (than he would have done if he were alone), like a great sacrifice depending upon and assisted by the four Vedas. Many learned Brahmanas with Dhananjaya at their head, each like unto Vrihaspati, waited upon the monarch, like the celestials waiting upon the Lord of the creation. From excess of affection, the eyes and hearts of all the people equally took great delight in Yudhishthira who was even as the full moon without a stain. The people took delight in him not only because he was their king but also from sincere affection. The king always did what was agreeable to them. The sweet-speeched Yudhishthira of great intelligence never uttered anything that was improper or untrue or unbearable or disagreeable. The best of monarchs of the Bharata race, endued with great energy, passed his days happily for the welfare of all as his own. His brothers also bringing by their energy other kings under their sway, passed their days in happiness, without a foe to disturb their peace.

"After a few days, Vibhatsu, addressing Krishna, said, 'The summer days have set in, O Krishna! Therefore, let us go to the banks of the Yamuna. O slayer of Madhu, sporting there in the company of friends, we will, O Janardana, return in the evening'. Thereupon Vasudeva said, 'O son of Kunti, this is also my wish. Let us, O Partha, sport in the waters as we please, in the company of friends.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then, O Bharata, having consulted thus with each other, Partha and Govinda, with Yudhishthira's leave, set out, surrounded by friends. Reaching a fine spot (on the banks of the Yamuna) suitable for purposes of pleasure, overgrown with numerous tall trees and covered with several high mansions that made the place look like the celestial city and within which had been collected for Krishna and Partha numerous costly and well-flavoured viands and drinks and other articles of enjoyment and floral wreaths and various perfumes, the party entered without delay the inner apartments adorned with many precious gems of pure rays. Entering those apartments, everybody, O Bharata, began to sport, according to his pleasure. The women of the party, all of full rotund hips and deep bosoms and handsome eyes, and gait unsteady with wine began to sport there at the command of Krishna and Partha. Some amongst the women sported as they liked in the woods, some in the waters, and some within the mansions, as directed by Partha and Govinda. Draupadi and Subhadra, exhilarated with wine, began to give away unto the women so sporting, their costly robes and ornaments. And some amongst those women began to dance in joy, and some began to sing; and some amongst them began to laugh and jest, and some to drink excellent wines. Some began to obstruct one another's progress and some to fight with one another, and to discourse with one another in private. Those mansions and the woods, filled with the charming music of flutes and guitars and kettledrums, became the scene of Prosperity personified.

"When such was the state of things there, Arjuna and Vasudeva went to a certain charming spot (in those woods) not far from the place where the others were. O monarch, the high-souled Krishna, and that subjugators of hostile cities, viz., Arjuna, going thither, sat down upon two very costly seats. Vasudeva and Partha amused themselves there with discoursing upon many past achievements of prowess and other topics. Unto Vasudeva and Dhananjaya happily sitting there like the Aswins in heaven, a certain Brahmana came. The Brahmana that came there looked like a tall Sala tree. His complexion was like unto molten gold; his beard was bright yellow tinged with green; and the height and the thickness of the body were in just proportion. Of matted locks and dressed in rags, he resembled the morning sun in splendour. Of eyes like lotus-petals and of a tawny hue, he seemed to be blazing with effulgence. Beholding that foremost of Brahmanas blazing with splendour approach towards them both Arjuna and Vasudeva, hastily rising from their seats, stood, waiting (for his commands).'"

SECTION 225

(Khandava-daha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then that Brahmana addressed Arjuna and Vasudeva of the Satwata race, saying, 'Ye who are now staying so near unto Khandava are the two foremost of heroes on earth. I am a voracious Brahmana that always eateth much. O thou of the Vrishni race, and O Partha, I solicit you to gratify me by giving me sufficient food.' Thus addressed by the Brahmana, Krishna and the son of Pandu answered him, saying, 'O, tell us what kind of food will gratify thee so that we may endeavour to give it thee.' The illustrious Brahmana, thus replied to, said unto those heroes who were enquiring after the kind of food he sought, 'I do not desire to eat ordinary food. Know that I am Agni! Give me that food which suiteth me. This forest of Khandava is always protected by Indra. And as it is protected by the illustrious one, I always fail to consume it. In that forest dwelleth, with his followers and family, a Naga, called Takshaka, who is the friend of Indra. It is for him that the wielder of the thunderbolt protecteth this forest. Many other creatures also are thus protected here for the sake of Takshaka. Desiring to consume the forest I succeed not in my attempts in consequence of Indra's prowess. Beholding me blazing forth, he always poureth upon me water from the clouds. Therefore, I succeed not in consuming the forest of Khandava, although I desire very much to do so. I have now come to you--you who are both skilled in weapons! If you help me I will surely consume this forest: for even this is the food that is desired by me! As ye are conversant with excellent weapons, I pray you to prevent those showers from descending and any of the creatures from escaping, when I begin to consume this forest!'

"Janamejaya said, 'Why did the illustrious Agni desire to consume the forest of Khandava that was filled with various living creatures and protected by the chief of the celestials? When Agni consumed in wrath the forest of Khandava, it is evident there was a grave cause. I desire, O Brahmana, to hear all this in detail from thee. Tell me, O sage, how the Khandava forest was consumed in days of yore.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'O chief of men, I will narrate to you the story of the conflagration of Khandava as told by Rishis in the Purana. It hath been heard, O king, in the Purana that there was a celebrated king of the name of Swetaki who was endued with strength and prowess and who was equal unto Indra himself. No one on earth has equalled him in sacrifices, charity, and intelligence. Swetaki performed the five great sacrifices and many others, at all of which the presents unto Brahmanas were large. The heart of that monarch, O king, was always set upon sacrifices, religious rites, and gifts of all kinds. And king Swetaki of great intelligence, assisted by his Ritwiks performed sacrifices for many long years, till those sacrificial priests with eyes afflicted by the continued smoke and becoming very weak, left that monarch, wishing never more to assist at his sacrifices. The king, however, repeatedly asked those Ritwiks to come to him. But they came not to his sacrifice in consequence of the painful state of their eyes. The king, therefore, invited at the command of his own Ritwiks, others like unto them, and completed the sacrifice that he had begun. After some days had elapsed, king Swetaki desired to perform another sacrifice which should extend for a hundred years. But the illustrious monarch obtained not any priest to assist him in it. The celebrated king then, with his friends and relatives, casting off all sloth, repeatedly courted his priests with great persistence, by bowing down unto them, by conciliatory speeches, and by gifts of wealth. All of them, however, refused to accomplish the purpose which that king of immeasurable energy had in view. Then that royal sage, getting angry, addressed those Brahmanas sitting in their asylums, and said, 'If, ye Brahmanas, I were a fallen person, or, if, I were wanting in homage and service to you, I should then deserve to be abandoned without scruple by you and by other Brahmanas at the same time. But as I am neither degraded nor wanting in homage to you, it behoveth you not to obstruct the performance by me of my sacrifice or to abandon me thus, ye foremost of Brahmanas, without adequate reason. I seek, ye Brahmanas, your protection! It behoveth you to be propitious unto me. But, ye foremost of Brahmanas, if you abandon me from enmity alone or any improper motive, I shall go unto other priests for their assistance in this sacrifice of mine, and conciliating them by sweet words and gifts, I shall represent unto them the business I have on hand, so that they may

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accomplish it.' Having said this, the monarch became silent. And, O chastiser of foes, when those priests well knew that they could not assist at the king's sacrifice, they pretended to be angry, and addressing that best of monarchs said, 'O best of kings, thy sacrifices are incessant! By assisting thee always, we have all been fatigued. And as we have been wearied in consequence of these labours, it behoveth thee to give us leave. O sinless one, from loss of judgement thou canst not wait (but urgest us repeatedly). Go unto Rudra! He will assist at thy sacrifice!' Hearing those words of censure and wrath, king Swetaki became angry. And the monarch wending to the mountains of Kailasa, devoted himself to asceticism there. And, O king, the monarch began to worship Mahadeva, with fixed attention, and by observing the most rigid vows. And foregoing all food at times, he passed a long period. The monarch ate only fruits and roots sometimes at the twelfth and sometimes at the sixteenth hour of the whole day. King Swetaki stood for six months, rapt in attention, with arms upraised and steadfast eyes, like the trunk of a tree or a column rooted to the ground. And, O Bharata, Sankara at last gratified with that tiger among kings, who was undergoing such hard penances, showed himself unto him. And the god spake unto the monarch in a calm and grave voice, saying, 'O tiger among kings, O chastiser of foes, I have been gratified with thee for thy asceticism! Blest be thou! Ask now the boon that thou, O king, desirest.' Hearing these words of Rudra of immeasurable energy, the royal sage bowed unto that deity and replied, saying, 'O illustrious one, O thou that art worshipped by the three worlds, if thou hast been gratified with me, then, O god of gods, assist me thyself, O lord of the celestials, in my sacrifice!' Hearing these words spoken by the monarch, the illustrious god was gratified, and smilingly said, 'We do not ourselves assist at sacrifices: but as thou, O king, hast undergone severe penances, desirous of obtaining a boon, I will, O chastiser of foes, assist at thy sacrifice, upon, O king, this condition.' And Rudra continued, 'If, O king of kings, thou canst, for twelve years, pour without intermission libations of clarified butter into the fire, thyself leading all the while the life of a Brahmacharin with rapt attention, then thou shalt obtain from me what thou askest.' King Swetaki, thus addressed by Rudra, did all that he was directed to do by the wielder of the trident. And after twelve years had elapsed, he again came unto Maheswara. And Sankara, the Creator of the worlds upon seeing Swetaki, that excellent monarch, immediately said, in great gratification, 'I have been gratified by thee, O best of kings, with this thy own act! But, O chastiser of foes, the duty of assisting at sacrifices properly belongeth to Brahmanas. Therefore, O oppressor of foes, I will not myself assist at thy sacrifice today. There is on earth an exalted Brahmana who is even a portion of my own self. He is known by the name of Durvasa. Even that Brahmana endued with great energy will assist you in thy sacrifice. Let, therefore, every preparation be made.' Hearing these words uttered by Rudra, the king, returning to his own capital, began to collect all that was necessary. After everything had been collected, the monarch again presented himself before Rudra and said, 'Every necessary article hath been collected, and all my preparations are complete, through thy grace, O god of gods! Let me, therefore, be installed at the sacrifice tomorrow.' Having heard these words of that illustrious king, Rudra summoned Durvasa before him and said. 'This, O Durvasa, is that best of monarchs called Swetaki. At my command, O best of Brahmanas, assist even this king in his sacrifice.' And the Rishi Durvasa said unto Rudra, 'So be it.' Then the sacrifice for which king Swetaki had made those preparations, took place. And the illustrious monarch's sacrifice was performed according to the ordinance and in proper season. And the gifts, on that occasion, unto the Brahmanas were large. And after that monarch's sacrifice had come to an end, all the other priests who had come to assist at it went away with Durvasa's leave. All other Sadasyas also of immeasurable energy, who had been installed at that sacrifice, then went away. That exalted monarch then entered his own palace, worshipped by exalted Brahmanas conversant with the Vedas, eulogised by chanters of panegyrical hymns and congratulated by the citizens.

"Such was the history of that best of monarchs, the royal sage Swetaki, who, when the time came, ascended to heaven, having won great renown on earth, and accompanied by the Ritwiks and the Sadasyas that had helped him in life.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'At that sacrifice of Swetaki, Agni had drunk clarified butter for twelve years. Indeed, clarified butter had been poured into Agni's mouth in a continuous stream for that period. Having drunk so much butter, Agni, satiated, desired not to drink butter again from the hand of anybody else at any other sacrifice. Agni became pale, having lost his colour, and he could not shine as before. He felt a loss of appetite from surfeit, and his energy itself decreased and sickness afflicted him. Then when the drinker of sacrificial libations perceived that his energy was gradually diminishing, he went to the sacred abode of Brahman that is worshipped by all. Approaching the great Deity seated on his seat, Agni said, 'O exalted one, Swetaki hath (by his sacrifice) gratified me to excess. Even now I am suffering from surfeit which I cannot dispel. O Lord of the universe, I am being reduced both in splendour and strength. I desire to regain, through thy grace, my own permanent nature.' Hearing these words from Hutavaha, the illustrious Creator of all things smilingly replied unto him, saying, 'O exalted one, thou hast eaten, for twelve years, a continuous stream of sacrificial butter poured into thy mouth! It is for this that illness hath seized thee. But, O Agni, grieve not for it. Thou shalt soon regain thy own nature. I shall dispel this surfeit of thine and the time for it is even come. The dreadful forest Khandava, that abode of the enemies of the gods, which thou hadst of old once consumed to ashes at the request of the gods, hath now become the home of numerous creatures. When thou will have eaten the fat of those creatures, thou shalt regain thy own nature. Proceed thither in haste to consume that forest with its living population. Thou wilt then be cured of thy malady.' Hearing the words that fell from the lips of the Supreme Deity, Hutasana proceeded with great speed and soon reached the forest of Khandava in great vigour. Arrived there, he suddenly blazed forth in anger, assisted by Vayu. Beholding Khandava on fire the dwellers (in the forest) that were there, made great efforts to extinguish the conflagration. Elephants by hundreds of thousands, speeding in anger, brought water in their trunks and scattered it upon the fire. Thousands of many-hooded snakes, mad with anger, hastily began to scatter upon fire much water from those many hoods of theirs. And so, O bull of Bharata's race, the other creatures dwelling in that forest, by various appliances and efforts, soon extinguished the fire. In this way, Agni blazed forth in Khandava repeatedly, even for seven times. And it was in this way that the blazing fire was extinguished there as often by the denizens of that forest.'"

SECTION 226

(Khandava-daha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then Havyavahana (Agni) in anger and disappointment, with his ailment uncured, went back to the Grandsire. And he represented unto Brahman all that had happened: The illustrious deity, reflecting for a moment, said unto him, 'O sinless one. I see a way by which thou mayest consume the forest of Khandava today in the very sight of Indra. Those old deities, Nara and Narayana, have become incarnate in the world of men to accomplish the business of the celestials. They are called on earth Arjuna and Vasudeva. They are even now staying in the forest of Khandava. Solicit them for aiding thee in consuming that forest. Thou shalt then consume the forest even if it be protected by the celestials. They will certainly prevent the population of Khandava from escaping, and thwart Indra also (in aiding any one in the escape). I have no doubt of this!' Hearing these words, Agni came in haste unto Krishna and Partha. O king, I have already told thee what he said, having approached the illustrious pair. O tiger among kings, hearing those words of Agni who was desirous of consuming the forest of Khandava against the will of Indra, Vibhatsu said unto him these words well-suited to the occasion, I have numberless excellent celestial weapons with which I can fight even many wielders of the thunderbolt. But, O exalted one, I have no bow suited to the strength of my arms, and capable of bearing the might I may put forth in battle. In consequence of the lightness of my hands also I require arrows that must never be exhausted. My car also is scarcely able to bear load of arrows that I would desire to keep by me. I desire celestial steeds of pure white, possessing the speed of the wind; and a car possessing the splendour of the sun and the clatter of whose wheels should resemble the roar of the clouds. Then, there is no weapon suited to Krishna's energy and with which Madhava can slay Nagas and Pisachas. O exalted one, it behoveth thee to give us the means by which success may be achieved and by which we may thwart Indra in pouring his showers upon that extensive forest. O Pavaka, we are ready to do all that manliness and prowess can do. But, O exalted one, it behoveth thee to give us the adequate means.'"

SECTION 227

(Khandava-daha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana, said, 'Thus addressed by Arjuna, the smoke-bannered Hutasana, desirous of an interview with Varuna, recollected that son of Aditi,--that deity protecting one of the points of the heavens and having his home in the water and ruling that element. Varuna, knowing that he was thought of by Pavaka, immediately appeared before that deity. The smoke-bannered celestial welcoming with reverence the ruler of the waters, that fourth of the Lokapalas, said unto that eternal god of gods, 'Give me without loss of time that bow and quiver, and that ape-bannered car also, which were obtained from king Soma. Partha will achieve a great task with Gandiva, and Vasudeva also with the discus! Give both, therefore, unto me today.' Hearing these words, Varuna replied unto Pavaka, saying, 'Well, I am giving them.' He then gave that wonderful jewel of a bow that was endued with great energy. That bow was the enhancer of fame and achievements, and was incapable of being injured by any weapon. It was the chief of all weapons, and the grinder of them all. And it was the smiter of hostile armies and was alone equal to a hundred thousand bows. It was the multiplier of kingdoms, and was variegated with excellent colours. It was well-adorned, and beautiful to behold, and without a mark of weakness or injury anywhere. And it was always worshipped both by the celestials and the Gandharvas. Varuna also gave two inexhaustible quivers, and he also gave a car furnished with celestial weapons and whose banner bore a large ape. Yoked unto that car were steeds white as silver of the fleecy clouds, and born in the region of the Gandharvas, and decked with golden harness, and resembling in fleetness the wind or the mind. And it was equipped with implement of war, and was incapable of being vanquished by the celestials or the Asuras. Its splendour was great and the sounds of its wheels was tremendous. It delighted the heart of every creature that looked at it. It had been made by Viswakarman, the architect of the universe and one of the lords of creation, after severe ascetic meditation. Its splendour, like that of the sun, was so great that no one could gaze at it. It was the very car from which the lord Soma had vanquished the Danavas. Resplendent with beauty, it looked like an evening cloud reflecting the effulgence of the setting sun. It was furnished with an excellent flag-staff of golden colour and great beauty. And there sat upon that flag-staff a celestial ape of form fierce like that of a lion or a tiger. Stationed on high, the ape seemed bent upon burning everything it beheld. And upon the (other) flags were various creatures of large size, whose roars and yells caused the enemy's soldiers to faint. Then Arjuna, accoutred in mail and armed with the sword, and his fingers cased in leathern gloves, walking round that excellent car adorned with numerous flags and bowing unto the gods, ascended it like a virtuous man riding in the celestial car that bears him to heaven. And taking up that celestial and first of bows created by Brahman of old and called Gandiva, Arjuna was filled with joy. And bowing unto Hutasana, Partha endued with great energy, took up the bow and strung it forcibly. Those who heard the noise that was made while the mighty Pandava strung that bow, quaked with fear. And having obtained that car and that bow, and the two inexhaustible quivers, the son of Kunti became glad and thought himself competent to assist at the task. And Pavaka then gave unto Krishna a discus with an iron pole attached to a hole in the centre. And it was a fiery weapon and became his favourite. Having obtained that weapon, Krishna also became equal to the task. Pavaka then, addressing Krishna, said, 'With this, O slayer of Madhu, thou shalt be able without doubt to vanquish in battle even foes that are not human. With this weapon, without doubt, thou shalt be superior in battle to men and gods, and Rakshasas and Pisachas, and Daityas and Nagas. And thou shalt certainly be able with this to smite all. And, O Madhava, hurled by thee in battle at thy foes, this weapon will irresistibly slay the enemy and again come back into thy hands.' And the lord Varuna, after this, gave unto Krishna a mace, of name Kaumodaki, capable of slaying every Daitya and producing, when hurled, a roar like that of the thunder. Then Arjuna and Achyuta, filled with joy said unto Pavaka, 'O exalted one, furnished with weapons and knowing their use, possessed of cars with flags and flagstaffs, we are now able to fight with even all the celestials and the Asuras (together), let alone the wielder of the thunderbolt desirous of fighting for the sake of the Naga (his friend Takshaka).' Arjuna also said, 'O Pavaka, while Hrishikesa, endued with abundant energy, moves on the field of battle with this discus in hand, there is nothing in the three worlds that he will not be able to consume by hurling this weapon. Having obtained the bow Gandiva and this couple of inexhaustible quivers I also am ready to conquer in battle the three worlds. Therefore, O lord, blaze thou forth as thou likest, surrounding this large forest on every side. We are quite able to help thee.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed both by Dasarha and Arjuna, the illustrious god then put forth his most energetic form, and prepared to consume the forest. Surrounding it on all sides with his seven flames, he began to consume the forest of Khandava, exhibiting his all-consuming form like that at the end of the Yuga (cycle). And, O bull of Bharata's race, surrounding that forest and catching it from all sides with a roar like that of the clouds, Agni made every creature within it tremble. And, O Bharata, that burning forest then looked resplendent like the king of mountains, Meru, blazing with the rays of the sun fallen thereupon.'"

SECTION 228

(Khandava-daha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then those foremost of car-warriors (Krishna and Arjuna), riding in their cars and placing themselves on opposite sides of that forest, began a great slaughter, on all sides, of the creatures dwelling in Khandava. At whatever point any of the creatures residing in Khandava could be seen attempting to escape, thither rushed those mighty heroes (to prevent its flight). Indeed those two excellent cars seemed to be but one, and the two warriors also therein but one individual. And while the forest was burning, hundreds and thousands of living creatures, uttering frightful

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yells, began to run about in all directions. Some had particular limbs burnt, some were scorched with excessive heat, and some came out, and some ran about from fear. And some clasping their children and some their parents and brothers, died calmly without, from excess of affection, being able to abandon these that were dear to them. And many there were who biting their nether lips rose upwards and soon fell whirling into the blazing element below. And some were seen to roll on the ground with wings, eyes, and feet scorched and burnt. These creatures were all seen to perish there almost soon enough. The tanks and ponds within that forest, heated by the fire around, began to boil; the fishes and the tortoises in them were all seen to perish. During that great slaughter of living creatures in that forest, the burning bodies of various animals looked as if fire itself had assumed many forms. The birds that took wings to escape from that conflagration were pierced by Arjuna with his shafts, and cut into pieces, they fell down into the burning element below. Pierced all over with Arjuna's shafts, the birds dropped down into the burning forest, uttering loud cries. The denizens of the forest, struck with those shafts, began to roar and yell. The clamour they raised was like unto the frightful uproar heard during the churning of the ocean (in days of yore). The mighty flames of the blazing fire reaching the firmament, caused great anxiety to the celestials themselves. Then all the illustrious dwellers in heaven went in a body unto him of a hundred sacrifices and thousand eyes, viz., their chief, that grinder of Asuras. Approaching Indra, the celestial said, 'Why, O lord of immortals, doth Agni burn these creatures below? Hath the time come for the destruction of the world?'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words of the gods, and himself beholding what Agni was doing, the slayer of Vritra set out for the protection of the forest of Khandava. And Vasava, the chief of the celestials soon covering the sky with masses of clouds of every kind began to shower upon the burning forest. Those masses of clouds by hundreds and thousands, commanded by Indra began to pour rain upon Khandava in showers thick as the flag-staffs of battle-cars. But the showers were all dried up in the sky itself by the heat of the fire and could not, therefore, reach the fire at all! Then the slayer of Namuchi, getting angry with Agni, collected huge masses of clouds and caused them to yield a heavy downpour. Then with the flames contending with those heavy showers, and with masses of clouds overhead, that forest, filled with smoke and flashes of lightning, became terrible to behold.'"

SECTION 229

(Khandava-daha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then Vibhatsu, the son of Pandu, invoking his excellent weapons, prevented that shower of rain by Indra, by means of a shower of his own weapons. And Arjuna of immeasurable soul soon covered the forest of Khandava with innumerable arrows like the moon covering the atmosphere with a thick fog. When the sky above that forest was thus covered with the arrows of Arjuna no living creature could then escape from below. And it so happened that while that forest was burning, Takshaka, the chief of the Nagas, was not there, having gone at that time to the field of Kurukshetra. But Aswasena, the mighty son of Takshaka, was there. He made great efforts to escape from that fire; but confined by Arjuna's shafts he succeeded not in finding a way. It was then that his mother, the daughter of a snake, determined to save him by swallowing him first. His mother first swallowed his head and then was swallowing his tail. And desirous of saving her son, the sea-snake rose (up from the earth) while still employed in swallowing her son's tail. But Arjuna as soon as he beheld her escaping, severed her head from her body by means of a sharp and keen-edged arrow. Indra saw all this, and desiring to save his friend's son, the wielder of the thunderbolt, by raising a violent wind, deprived Arjuna of consciousness. During those few moments, Aswasena succeeded in effecting his escape. Beholding that manifestation of the power of illusion, and deceived by that snake, Arjuna was much enraged. He forthwith cut every animal seeking to escape by the skies, into two, three, or more pieces. And Vibhatsu in anger, and Agni, and Vasudeva also, cursed the snake that had escaped so deceitfully, saying, 'Never shalt thou be famous!' And Jishnu remembering the deception practised upon him, became angry, and covering the firmament with a cloud of arrows, sought to fight with him of a thousand eyes. The chief of the celestials also, seeing Arjuna in anger, sought to fight with him, and hurled his own fierce weapons, covering the wide expanse of the firmament. Then the winds, making a loud roar and agitating all the oceans, brought together masses of clouds in the sky, charged with torrents of rain. Those masses of clouds began to vomit thunder and terrible flashes of lightning charged with the thunderclap. Then Arjuna possessing a knowledge of means, hurled the excellent weapon called Vayavya with proper mantras to dispel those clouds. With that weapon the energy and force of Indra's thunderbolt and of those clouds were destroyed. And the torrents of rain with which those clouds were charged were all dried up, and the lightning that played amongst them was also destroyed. Within a moment the sky was cleared of dust and darkness, and a delicious, cool breeze began to blow and the disc of the sun resumed its normal state. Then the eater of clarified butter (Agni), glad because none could baffle him, assumed various forms, and sprinkled over with the fat exuded by the bodies of creatures, blazed forth with all his flames, filling the universe with his roar. Then numerous birds of the Garuda tribe bearing excellent feathers, beholding that the forest was protected by Krishna and Arjuna, descended filled with pride, from the upper skies, desirous of striking those heroes with their thunderlike wings, beaks and claws. Innumerable Nagas also, with faces emitting fire descending from high, approached Arjuna, vomiting the most virulent poison all the while. Beholding them approach, Arjuna cut them into pieces by means of arrows steeped in the fire of his own wrath. Then those birds and snakes, deprived of life, fell into the burning element below. And there came also, desirous of battle, innumerable Asuras with Gandharvas and Yakshas and Rakshasas and Nagas sending forth terrific yells. Armed with machines vomiting from their throats (mouths?) iron balls and bullets, and catapults for propelling huge stones, and rockets, they approached to strike Krishna and Partha, their energy and strength increased by wrath. But though they rained a perfect shower of weapons, Vibhatsu, addressing them reproachfully, struck off their heads with his own sharp arrows. That slayer of foes, Krishna, also, endued with great energy, made a great slaughter of the Daitya and the Danava with his discus. Many Asuras of immeasurable might, pierced with Krishna's arrows and smitten with the force of his discus, became motionless like waifs and strays stranded on the bank by the violence of the waves. Then Sakra the lord of the celestials, riding on his white elephant, rushed at those heroes, and taking up his thunderbolt which could never go in vain, hurled it with great force. And the slayer of Asuras said unto the gods, 'These two are slain.' Beholding the fierce thunderbolt about to be hurled by their chief, the celestials all took up their respective weapons. Yama, O king, took up the death-dealing mace, and Kuvera his spiked club, and Varuna his noose and beautiful missile. And Skanda (Kartikeya) took up his long lance and stood motionless like the mountain of Meru. The Aswins stood there with resplendent plants in their hands. Dhatri stood, bow in hand, and Jaya with a thick club. Tvashtri of great strength took up in wrath, a huge mountain and Surya stood with a bright dart, and Mrityu with a battle-axe. Aryaman stalked about with a terrible bludgeon furnished with sharp spikes, and Mitra stood there with a discus sharp as a razor. And, O monarch, Pusha and Bhaga and Savitri, in wrath, rushed at Krishna and Partha with bows and scimitars in hand. And Rudras and the Vasus, the mighty Maruts and the Viswedevas and the Sadhyas, all resplendent with their own energy,--these and many other celestials, armed with various weapons rushed against those exalted of men, Krishna and Partha, for smiting them down. Then were seen in that great conflict wonderful portents all around robbing every creature of his sense, and resembling those that appeared at the time of the universal dissolution. But Arjuna and Krishna, fearless and invincible in battle, beholding Sakra and the other celestials prepared for fight, calmly waited, bows in hands. Skilled in battle, those heroes in wrath assailed the advancing host of celestials with their own thunderlike arrows. The celestials repeatedly routed by Krishna and Arjuna, at last left the field of battle for fear and sought the protection of Indra. The Munis who were witnessing the battle from the skies, beholding the celestials defeated by Madhava and Arjuna, were filled with wonder. Sakra also repeatedly witnessing their prowess in battle, became exceedingly gratified, and once more rushed to the assault. The chastiser of Paka then caused a heavy shower of stones, desiring to ascertain the prowess of Arjuna who was able to draw the bow even with his left hand. Arjuna, in great wrath, dispelled with his arrows that thick shower. Then he of a hundred sacrifices beholding that shower baffled, once more caused a thicker shower of stones. But the son of the chastiser of Paka (viz., Arjuna) gratified his father by baffling that shower also with his swift arrows. Then Sakra, desirous of smiting down the son of Pandu, tore up with his hands a large peak from Mandara, with tall trees on it, and hurled it against him. But Arjuna divided that mountain-peak into a thousand pieces by his swift-going and fire-mouthed arrows. The fragments of that mountain, in falling through the skies, looked as if the sun and the moon and the planets, displaced from their positions fell down on earth. That huge peak fell down upon that forest and by its fall killed numerous living creatures that dwelt in Khandava.'"

SECTION 230

(Khandava-daha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then the inhabitants of the forest of Khandava, the Danavas and Rakshasas and Nagas and wolves and bears and other wild animals, and elephants with rent temples, and tigers, and lions with manes and deer and buffaloes by hundreds, and birds, and various other creatures, frightened at the falling stones and extremely anxious, began to fly in all directions. They saw the forest (burning all around) and Krishna and Arjuna also ready with their weapons. Frightened at the terrible sounds that were audible there those creatures lost their power of movement. Beholding the forest burning in innumerable places and Krishna also ready to smite them down with his weapons, they all set up a frightful roar. With that terrible clamour as also with the roar of fire, the whole welkin resounded, as it were, with the voice of portentous clouds. Kesava of dark hue and mighty arms, in order to compass their destruction, hurled at them his large and fierce discus resplendent with its own energy. The forest-dwellers including the Danavas and the Rakshasas, afflicted by that weapon, were cut in hundreds of pieces and fell unto the mouth of Agni. Mangled by Krishna's discus, the Asuras were besmeared with blood and fat and looked like evening clouds. And, O Bharata, he of the Vrishni race moved able like death itself, slaying Pisachas and birds and Nagas and other creatures by thousands. The discus itself, repeatedly hurled from the hands of Krishna, that slayer of all foes, came back to his hands after slaughtering numberless creatures. The face and form of Krishna that soul of every created thing--became fierce to behold while he was thus employed in the slaughter of the Pisachas, Nagas and Rakshasas. No one among the celestials, who had mustered there could vanquish in battle Krishna and Arjuna. When the celestials saw that they could not protect that forest from the might of Krishna and Arjuna by extinguishing that conflagration, they retired from the scene. Then, O monarch, he of a hundred sacrifices (Indra), beholding the immortals retreat, became filled with joy and applauded Krishna and Arjuna. And when the celestials gave up the fight, an incorporeal voice, deep and loud, addressing him of a hundred sacrifices, said, 'Thy friend Takshaka, that chief of snakes, hath not been slain! Before the conflagration commenced in Khandava he had journeyed to Kurukshetra. Know from my words, O Vasava, that Vasudeva and Arjuna are incapable of being vanquished in battle by any one! They are Nara and Narayana--those gods of old heard of in heaven! Thou knowest what their energy is and what their prowess. Invincible in battle, these best of old Rishis are unconquerable by any one in all the worlds! They deserve the most reverential worship of all the celestials and Asuras; of Yakshas and Rakshasas and Gandharvas, of human beings and Kinnaras and Nagas. Therefore, O Vasava, it behoveth thee to go hence with all the celestials. The destruction of Khandava hath been ordained by Fate!' Then the chief of the immortals, ascertaining those words to be true abandoned his wrath and jealousy, and went back to heaven. The dwellers in heaven, O monarch, beholding the illustrious Indra abandon the fight, followed him with all their soldiers. Then those heroes, Vasudeva and Arjuna, when they saw the chief of the celestials retreat accompanied by all the gods, set up a leonine roar. And, O monarch, Kesava and Arjuna, after Indra had left the scene, became exceedingly glad. Those heroes then fearlessly assisted at the conflagration of the forest. Arjuna scattered the celestials like the wind scattering the clouds, and slew with showers of his arrows, numberless creatures that dwelt in Khandava. Cut off by Arjuna's arrows, no one amongst the innumerable creatures could escape from the burning forest. Far from fighting with him, none amongst even the strongest creatures mustered there could look at Arjuna whose weapons were never futile. Sometimes piercing hundred creatures with one shaft and sometimes a single creature with hundred shafts, Arjuna moved about in his car. The creatures themselves, deprived of life, began to fall into the mouth of Agni (god of fire), struck down as it were by death itself. On the banks of rivers or on uneven plains or on crematoriums, go where they did, the creatures (dwelling in Khandava) found no ease, for wherever they sought shelter there they were afflicted by the heat. And hosts of creatures roared in pain, and elephants and deer and wolves set up cries of affliction. At that sound the fishes of the Ganges and the sea, and the various tribes of Vidyadharas dwelling in that forest all became frightened. O thou of mighty arms, let alone battling with them, no one, could even gaze at Arjuna and Janardana of dark hue. Hari slew with his discus those Rakshasas and Danavas and Nagas that rushed at him in bands. Of huge bodies, their heads and trunks were cut off by the swift motion of the discus, and deprived of life they fell down into the blazing fire. Gratified with large quantities of flesh, blood, and fat, the flames rose up to a great height without a curling wreath of smoke. Hutasana (fire-god) with blazing and coppery eyes, and flaming tongue and large mouth, and the hair on the crown of his head all fiery, drinking, with the help of Krishna and Arjuna, that nectar-like stream of animal fat, became filled with joy. Gratified greatly, Agni derived much happiness.

"And it so happened that the slayer of Madhu suddenly beheld an Asura of the name of Maya escaping from the abode of Takshaka. Agni having Vayu for his car-driver, assuming a body with matted locks on head, and roaring like the clouds, pursued the Asura, desirous of consuming him. Beholding the Asura, Vasudeva stood with his weapon upraised, ready to smite him down, seeing the discus uplifted and Agni pursuing from behind to burn him, Maya said 'Run to me, O Arjuna, and protect me!' Hearing his affrighted voice Arjuna said,

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'Fear not!' That voice of Arjuna, O Bharata, seemed to give Maya his life. As the merciful son of Pritha said unto Maya that there was nothing to fear, he of the Dasarha race no longer desired to slay Maya who was the brother of Namuchi, and Agni also burned him not.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Protected from Indra by Krishna and Partha, Agni gifted with great intelligence, burned that forest for five and ten days. And while the forest burned Agni spared only six of its dwellers, viz., Aswasena, Maya, and four birds called Sarngakas.'"

SECTION 231

(Khandava-daha Parva continued)

"Janamejaya said, 'O Brahmana, tell me why and when that forest burnt in that way, Agni consumed not the birds called Sarngakas? Thou hast, O Brahmana, recited (to us) the cause of Aswasena and the Danava Maya not having been consumed. But thou hast not as yet said what the cause was of the escape of the Sarngakas? The escape of those birds, O Brahmana, appeareth to me to be wonderful. Tell us why they were not destroyed in that dreadful conflagration.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'O slayer of all foes, I shall tell thee all as to why Agni did not burn up those birds during the conflagration. There was, O king, a great Rishi known by the name of Mandapala, conversant with all the shastras, of rigid vows, devoted to asceticism, and the foremost of all virtuous persons. Following in the wake of Rishis that had drawn up their virile fluid, that ascetic, O monarch, with every sense under complete control, devoted himself to study and virtue. Having reached the opposite shores of asceticism, O Bharata, he left his human form and went to the region of the Pitris. But going thither he failed to obtain the (expected) fruit of his acts. He asked the celestials that sat around the king of the dead as to the cause of his treatment, saying, 'Why have these regions become unattainable by me,--regions that I had thought had been acquired by me by my ascetic devotions? Have I not performed those acts whose fruits are these regions? Ye inhabitants of heaven, tell me why these regions are shut against me! I will do that which will give me the fruit of my ascetic penances.'

"The celestials answered, 'Hear, O Brahmana, of those acts and things on account of which men are born debtors. Without doubt, it is for religious rites, studies according to the ordinance, and progeny, that men are born debtors. These debts are all discharged by sacrifices, asceticism, and offspring. Thou art an ascetic and hast also performed sacrifices; but thou hast no offspring. These regions are shut against thee only for want of children. Beget children, therefore! Thou shalt then enjoy multifarious regions of felicity. The Vedas declared that the son rescueth the father from a hell called Put. Then, O best of Brahmanas, strive to beget offspring.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Mandapala, having heard these words of the dwellers in heaven, reflected how best he could obtain the largest number of offspring within the shortest period of time. The Rishi, after reflection, understood that of all creatures birds alone were blest with fecundity. Assuming the form of a Sarngaka the Rishi had connexion with a female bird of the same species called by the name of Jarita. And he begat upon her four sons who were all reciters of the Vedas. Leaving all those sons of his with their mother in that forest, while they were still within eggs, the ascetic went to (another wife called by the name of) Lapita. And, O Bharata, when the exalted sage went away for the company of Lapita, moved by affection for her offspring, Jarita became very thoughtful. Though forsaken by their father in the forest of Khandava, Jarita, anxious in her affection for them, could not forsake her offspring, those infant Rishis encased in eggs. Moved by parental affection, she brought up these children born of her, herself following the pursuits proper to her own species. Some time after, the Rishi, in wandering over that forest in the company of Lapita, saw Agni coming towards Khandava to burn it down. Then the Brahmana Mandapala, knowing the intention of Agni and remembering also that his children were all young moved by fear, gratified the god, of the burning element, that regent of the universe, endued with great energy. And he did this, desiring to put in a word for his unfledged offspring. Addressing Agni, the Rishi said, 'Thou art, O Agni, the mouth of all the worlds! Thou art the carrier of the sacrificial butter! O purifier (of all sins), thou movest invisible with the frame of every creature! The learned have spoken of thee as an One, and again as possessed of triple nature. The wise perform their sacrifices before thee, taking thee as consisting of eight (mouths). The great Rishis declare that this universe hath been created by thee. O thou that feedest on sacrificial butter, without thee this whole universe would be destroyed in a single day. Bowing to thee, the Brahmanas, accompanied by their wives and children, go to eternal regions won by them by help of their own deeds. O Agni, the learned represent thee as the clouds in the heavens charged with lightning. O Agni, the flames put forth by thee consume every creature. O thou of great splendour, this universe hath been created by thee. The Vedas are thy word. All creatures, mobile and immobile, depend upon thee. Water primarily dependeth on thee, so also the whole of this universe. All offerings of clarified butter and oblations of food to the pitris have been established in thee. O god, thou art the consumer, and thou art the creator and thou art Vrihaspati himself (in intelligence). Thou art the twin Aswins; thou art Surya; thou art Soma; thou art Vayu.

"Vaisampayana continued, 'O monarch, thus praised by Mandapala, Agni was gratified with that Rishi of immeasurable energy; and the god, well-pleased, replied, 'What good can I do to thee?' Then Mandapala with joined palms said unto the carrier of clarified butter, 'While thou burnest the forest of Khandava, spare my children.' The illustrious bearer of clarified butter replied, 'So be it.' It was, therefore, O monarch, that he blazed not forth, while consuming the forest of Khandava, for the destruction of Mandapala's children.'"

SECTION 232

(Khandava-daha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'When the fire blazed forth in the forest of Khandava, the infant birds became very much distressed and afflicted. Filled with anxiety, they saw not any means of escape. Their mother, the helpless Jarita, knowing that they were too young to escape, was filled with sorrow and wept aloud. And she said, 'Oh, the terrible conflagration, illuminating the whole universe and burning the forest down, approacheth towards us, increasing my woe. These infants with immature understanding, without feathers and feet, and the sole refuge of our deceased ancestors, afflict me. Oh, this fire approacheth, spreading fear all around, and licking with its tongue the tallest trees. But my unfledged children are incapable of effecting their escape. I myself am not capable of escaping, taking all these with me. Nor am I capable of abandoning them, for my heart is distressed on their account. Whom amongst my sons, shall I leave behind, and whom shall I carry with me? What (act) should I do now that is consistent with duty? What also do you, my infant sons, think? I do not, even by reflection, see any way of escape for you. I shall even cover you with my wings and die with you. Your cruel father left me some time before, saying, 'Upon this Jaritari, because he is the eldest of my sons, will my race depend. My second Sarisrikka will beget progeny for the expansion of my ancestors' race. My third, Stamvamitra, will be devoted to asceticism, and my youngest, Drona, will become the foremost of those acquainted with the Vedas.' But how hath this terrible calamity overtaken us! Whom shall I take with me? As I am deprived of judgement what should I do that is consistent with duty? I do not see, by the exercise of my own judgement, the escape of my children from the fire!'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Unto their mother indulging in these lamentations, the infant ones said. 'O mother, relinquishing thy affection for us, go thou to a place where there is no fire. If we are killed here, thou mayest have other children born to thee. If thou, O mother be killed, we can have no more children in our race. Reflecting upon both these calamities, the time hath come for thee, O mother, to do that which is beneficial to our race. Do not be influenced by affection for thy offspring, which promises to destroy both us and thee. If thou savest thyself, our father, who is even desirous of winning regions of felicity, may have his wishes gratified.'

"Hearing what the infants said. Jarita replied, 'There is a hole here in the ground near to this tree, belonging to a mouse. Enter this hole without loss of time. You shall have then no fear of fire. After ye have entered it, I shall, ye children, cover its mouth with dust. This is the only means of escape that I see from the blazing fire. Then when the fire will be put out, I shall return hither to remove the dust. Follow my advice if you are to escape from the conflagration.'

"The infant birds replied, 'Without feathers we are but so many balls of flesh. If we enter the hole, certain it is that the carnivorous mouse will destroy us all. Beholding this danger before us, we cannot enter this hole. Alas, we do not see any means by which we may escape from the fire or from the mouse. We do not see how our father's act of procreation may be prevented from becoming futile, and how also our mother may be saved. If we enter the hole, the mouse will destroy us; we remain where we are and the sky-ranging fire will destroy us. Reflecting upon both the calamities, a death by fire is preferable to a death by being eaten up. If we are devoured by the mouse within the hole, that death is certainly ignoble, whereas the destruction of the body in fire is approved by the wise.'"

SECTION 233

(Khandava-daha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Hearing those words of her sons Jarita continued, 'The little mouse that had come out of this hole was seized by a hawk with his claws and carried away hence. Therefore, ye may fearlessly enter this hole now.' The young ones replied, 'We are not by any means certain of that mouse having been taken away by the hawk. There may be other mice living here. From them we have every fear. Whereas it is doubtful whether fire will at all approach us here. Already we see an adverse wind blowing the flames away. If we enter the hole, death is certain at the hands of the dwellers in the hole. But if we remain where we are, death is uncertain. O mother, a position in which death is uncertain is better than that in which it is certain. It is thy duty, therefore, to escape thyself, for, if thou livest thou mayest obtain other children as good.'

"Their mother then said, 'Ye children, I myself saw the mighty hawk, that best of birds, swoop down and fly away with the mouse from the hole. And while he was flying away swiftly, I followed him behind and pronounced blessing on him for his having taken away the mouse from the hole. I said unto him. 'O king of hawks, because thou art flying away with our enemy, the mouse, in thy claws, mayest thou, without a foe, live in heaven with a golden body.' Afterwards when that hawk devoured the mouse, I came away, obtaining his leave. Therefore, ye children, enter this hole trustfully. Ye have nothing to fear. The mouse that was its inmate was seized and taken away by the hawk in my sight.' The young ones again said, 'O mother, we do not by any means know that the mouse hath been carried away by the hawk. We cannot enter this hole in the ground without being certain of the fact.' Their mother said, 'I know to a certainty that the mouse hath been carried away by the hawk. Therefore, ye children, ye have nothing to fear; do what I say.' The young ones again said, 'We do not, O mother, say that thou art dispelling our fears with a false story. For whatever is done by a person when his reason hath been disturbed can scarcely be said to be that person's deliberate act. Thou hast not been benefited by us, nor dost thou know who we are. Why dost thou, therefore, strive to protect us at so much cost to thyself? Who are we to thee? Thou art young and handsome, and capable of seeking out thy husband. Go unto thy husband. Thou shalt obtain good children again. Let us by entering the fire attain to regions of felicity. If, however, the fire consume us not, thou mayest come back and obtain us again.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'The parent bird then, thus addressed by her sons, left them in Khandava and hastily went to the spot where there was no fire and there was safety. Then Agni in haste and with fierce flames approached the spot where the sons of Mandapala were. The young birds saw the blazing fire come towards them. Then Jaritari, the eldest of the four, in the hearing of Agni, began to speak.'"

SECTION 234

(Khandava-daha Parva continued)

"Jaritari said, 'The person that is wise remaineth wakeful in view of death. Accordingly, when the hour of death approacheth, he feeleth no pangs. But the person of perplexed soul, who remaineth not awake, when the hour of death comes, feeleth the pangs of death and never attaineth salvation.'

"The second brother Sarisrikka, said, 'Thou art patient and intelligent. The time is come when our lives are threatened. Without doubt, one only amongst many becometh wise and brave.'

"The third brother, Stamvamitra, said, 'The eldest brother is called the protector. It is the eldest brother that rescueth (the younger ones) from danger. If the eldest himself faileth to rescue them, what can the younger ones do?'

"The fourth and the youngest brother, Drona said, 'The cruel god of fire, with seven tongues and seven mouths quickly cometh towards our habitation, blazing forth in splendour and licking up everything in his path.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having addressed one another thus, the sons of Mandapala then each devotedly addressed an eulogistic hymn to Agni. Listen now, O monarch, to those hymns as I recite them.'

"Jaritari said, 'Thou art, O fire, the soul of air! Thou art the body of the Earth's vegetation! O Sukra, water is thy parent as thou art the parent of water! O thou of great energy, thy flames, like the rays of the sun, extend themselves above, below, behind, and on each side.'

"Sarisrikka said, 'O smoke-bannered god, our mother is not to be seen, and we know not our father! Our feathers have not grown as yet. We have none to protect us save thee. Therefore, O Agni, infants that we are protect us! O Agni, as we are distressed, protect us with that auspicious form thou hast and with those seven flames of thine! We seek protection at thy hands. Thou alone, O Agni, art the giver of heat (in the universe). O lord, there is none else (save thee) that giveth heat to the rays of the sun. O, protect us who are young and who are Rishis. O Havyavaha (carrier of sacrificial butter), be pleased to go hence by some other route.'

"Stamvamitra said, 'Thou alone, O Agni, art everything! This whole universe is established in thee! Thou sustainest every creature, and thou supportest the universe! Thou art the carrier of the sacrificial butter, and thou art the excellent sacrificial butter itself! The wise know thee to be one (as cause) and many (as effects)! Having created the three worlds, thou, O Havyavaha, again destroyest them when the time cometh, swelling thyself forth! Thou art the productive cause of the whole universe, and thou also art the essence in which the universe dissolveth itself!'

"Drona said, 'O lord of the universe, growing in strength and remaining within their bodies, thou causest the food that living creatures eat to be digested. Everything therefore, is

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established in thee. O Sukra, O thou from whose mouth the Vedas have sprung, it is thou who assumests the form of the sun, and sucking up the waters of the earth and every liquid juice that the earth yields, givest them back in time in the form of rain and causest everything to grow! From thee, O Sukra, are these plants and creepers with green foliage! From thee have sprung these tanks and pools, and the great ocean also that is ever blessed! O thou of fierce rays, this our (human) body dependeth on Varuna (the water-god)! We are unable to bear thy heat. Be thou, therefore, our auspicious protector! O, destroy us not! O thou of copper-hued eyes, O thou of red neck, O thou whose path is marked by a black colour, save us by going along any remote route, as indeed, the ocean saveth the house on its banks!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed by Drona--that utterer of Brahma--Agni, well-pleased at what he heard, and remembering also the promise he had made to Mandapala, replied unto him, saying, 'Thou art a Rishi, O Drona! For what thou hast said is Brahma (Vedic truth). I shall do your pleasure. Fear not! Indeed, Mandapala had spoken to me of you to the effect that I should spare his sons, while consuming the forest. The words he spoke and thy speech also are entitled to great weight to me. Say what I am to do. O best of Brahmanas, I have been greatly pleased with thy hymn. Blest be thou, O Brahmana!'

"Drona said, 'O Sukra, these cats trouble us every day. O Hutasana; consume them with their friends and relatives.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then Agni did what the Sarngakas; asked him to do, telling them of his intentions. And, O Janamejaya, growing in strength, he began then to consume the forest of Khandava.'"

SECTION 235

(Khandava-daha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'O thou of Kuru's race, the Rishi Mandapala became very anxious about his children, although he had spoken of them to the god of fierce rays. Indeed, his mind was not in peace. Distressed on account of his sons, he addressed Lapita (his second wife with whom he then was), saying, 'O Lapita, as my children are incapable of the power of moving, how are they? When the fire will grow in strength and the wind begin to blow violently, my children will scarcely be able to save themselves. How will their mother be able to rescue them? That innocent woman will be afflicted with great sorrow when she will find herself unable to save her offspring. Oh, how will she compose herself, uttering various lamentations on account of my children who are all incapable of taking wing or rising up into the air. Oh, how is Jaritari, my son, and how is Sarisrikka, and how is Stamvamitra, and how is Drona, and how also is their helpless mother?'

"Unto the Rishi Mandapala thus weeping in the forest, Lapita, O Bharata, thus replied, under the influence of jealousy, 'Thou need not worry for thy children who, as thou hast assured me, are all Rishis endued with energy and prowess! They can have no fear from fire. Didst thou not speak to Agni in my presence, in their behalf? Has not the illustrious deity promised to save them? One of the regents of the universe as Agni is, he will never falsify his speech. Thou hast no anxiety, nor is thy heart inclined towards benefiting friends. It is only by thinking of her--my rival (Jarita) that thou art so distracted! Certain it is that the love thou bearest to me is not equal to what thou hadst for her at first. He that hath two parties dividing his attention, can easily behold one of those suffer all sorts of pangs; but he should not disregard the party that is next to his heart. Then go thou to Jarita, for whom thy heart is sorrowing! As for myself, I shall henceforth wander alone, as a fit reward for my having attached myself to a wicked person.'

"Hearing these words, Mandapala replied, 'I do not wander over the earth with such intentions as thou conceivest. It is only for the sake of progeny that I am here. And even those that I have are in danger. He who casteth off what he hath for the sake of what he may acquire, is a wicked person. The world disregardeth and insulteth him. (Therefore, go I must). As for thyself thou art free to do what thou choosest. This blazing fire that licketh up the trees causeth sorrow in my anxious heart and raiseth therein evil presentiments.' "Vaisampayana continued, 'Meanwhile, after the fire had left the spot where the Sarngakas dwelt, Jarita, much attached to her children, hastily came thither to see how they were. She found that all of them had escaped from the fire and were perfectly well. Beholding their mother, they began to weep, though safe and sound. She too shed tears upon beholding them alive. And she embraced, one by one, all her weeping children. Just at that time, O Bharata, the Rishi Mandapala arrived there. But none of his sons expressed joy, upon beholding him. The Rishi, however, began to speak to them one after another and unto Jarita also, repeatedly. But neither his sons nor Jarita spoke anything well or ill unto him in return.'

"Mandapala then said, 'Who amongst these is thy first born, and who the next after him? And who is the third, and who the youngest? I am speaking unto thee woefully; why dost thou not reply to me? I left thee, it is true, but I was not happy where I was.'

"Jarita then said, 'What hast thou to do with the eldest of these, and what with him that is next? And what with the third and what with the youngest? Go now unto that Lapita of sweet smiles and endued with youth, unto whom thou didst go of old, beholding me deficient in everything!' Mandapala replied, 'As regards females, there is nothing so destructive of their happiness whether in this or the other world as a co-wife and a clandestine lover. There is nothing like these two that, inflames the fire of hostility and causes such anxiety. Even the auspicious and well-behaved Arundhati, celebrated amongst all creatures, had been jealous of the illustrious Vasishtha of great purity of mind and always devoted to the good of his wife. Arundhati insulted even the wise Muni amongst the (celestial) seven. In consequence of such insulting thoughts of hers, she has become a little star, like fire mixed with smoke, sometimes visible and sometimes invisible, like an omen portending no good (amongst a constellation of seven bright stars representing the seven Rishis). I look to thee for the sake of children. I never wronged thee, like Vasishtha who never wronged his wife. Thou hast, therefore, by thy jealousy behaved towards me like Arundhati of old towards Vasishtha. Men should never trust women even if they be wives. Women, when they have become mothers, do not much mind serving their husbands.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'After this, all his children came forward to worship him. And he also began to speak kindly towards them all, giving them every assurance.'"

SECTION 236

(Khandava-daha Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Mandapala then addressed his children, saying, 'I had spoken unto Agni for the safety of you all. The illustrious deity had assured me that he would grant my wish. At those words of Agni, and knowing the virtuous disposition of your mother, as also the great energy that is in yourselves, I came not here earlier. Therefore, ye sons, do not harbour in your hearts any resentment towards me. Ye are all Rishis acquainted with the Vedas. Even Agni knoweth you well.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having given such assurances unto his sons, the Brahmana Mandapala took with him his wife and sons, and leaving that region, went away to some other country.

"It was thus that the illustrious god of fierce rays, having grown in strength consumed the forest of Khandava with the help of Krishna and Arjuna, for the good of the world. And Agni having drunk several rivers of fat and marrow, became highly gratified, and showed himself to Arjuna. Then Purandara, surrounded by the Maruts, descended from the firmament and addressing Partha and Kesava said, 'Ye have achieved a feat that a celestial even could not. Ask ye each a boon that is not obtainable by any man. I have been gratified with you.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then Partha asked from Indra all his weapons. At this Sakra of great splendour, having fixed the time for giving them, said, 'When the illustrious Madhava becomes pleased with thee, then, O son of Pandu, I will give thee all my weapons! O prince of Kuru's race, I shall know when the time cometh. Even for thy austere asceticism I will give thee all my weapons of fire and all my Vayavya weapons, and thou also wilt accept them all of me.' Then Vasudeva asked that his friendship with Arjuna might be eternal. The chief of the celestials granted unto the intelligent Krishna the boon he desired. And having granted these boons unto Krishna and Arjuna, the lord of the Maruts, accompanied by the celestials, ascended to heaven, having also spoken to Hutasana (one whose food is sacrificial butter). Agni also, having burnt that forest with its animals and birds for five and ten days, became gratified and ceased to burn. Having eaten flesh in abundance and drunk fat and blood, he became highly gratified, and addressing Achyuta and Arjuna said, 'I have been gratified by you two tigers among men. At my command, ye heroes, ye shall be competent to go wheresoever ye choose!' Thus addressed by the illustrious Agni, Arjuna and Vasudeva and the Danava Maya also--these three,--having wandered a little at last sat themselves down on the delightful banks of a river.'"

THE MAHABHARATA, BOOK 2
SABHA PARVA

SECTION 1

(Sabhakriya Parva)

Om! After having bowed down to Narayana, and Nara, the most exalted male being, and also to the goddess Saraswati, must the word Jaya be uttered.

"Vaisampayana said,--"Then, in the presence of Vasudeva, Maya Danava, having worshipped Arjuna, repeatedly spoke unto him with joined hands and in amiable words,--'O son of Kunti, saved have I been by thee from this Krishna in spate and from Pavaka (fire) desirous of consuming me. Tell me what I have to do for thee.

"Arjuna said,--'O great Asura, everything hath already been done by thee (even by this offer of thine). Blest be thou. Go whithersoever thou likest. Be kind and well-disposed towards me, as we are even kind to and well-pleased with thee!'

"Maya said,--'O bull amongst men, what thou hast said is worthy of thee, O exalted one. But O Bharata, I desire to do something for thee cheerfully. I am a great artist, a Viswakarma among the Danavas. O son of Pandu, being what I am, I desire to do something for thee.'

"Arjuna said,--'O sinless one, thou regardest thyself as saved (by me) from imminent death. Even if it hath been so, I cannot make thee do anything for me. At the same time, O Danava, I do not wish to frustrate thy intentions. Do thou something for Krishna. That will be a sufficient requital for my services to thee.'

Vaisampayana said,--"Then, O bull of the Bharata race, urged by Maya, Vasudeva reflected for a moment as to what he should ask Maya to accomplish. Krishna, the Lord of the universe and the Creator of every object, having reflected in his mind, thus commanded Maya,--'Let a palatial sabha (meeting hall) as thou choosest, be built (by thee), if thou, O son of Diti, who art the foremost of all artists, desirest to do good to Yudhishthira the Just*. Indeed, build thou such a palace that persons belonging to the world of men may not be able to imitate it even after examining it with care, while seated within. And, O Maya, build thou a mansion in which we may behold a combination of godly, asuric and human designs.'" "Having heard those words, Maya became exceedingly glad. And he forthwith built a magnificent palace for the son of Pandu like unto the palace of the celestials themselves. Then Krishna and Partha (Arjuna) after having narrated everything unto king Yudhishthira the Just, introduced Maya unto him. Yudhishthira received Maya with respect, offering him the honour he deserved. And, O Bharata, Maya accepted that honour thinking highly of it. O monarch of the Bharata race, that great son of Diti then recited unto the sons of Pandu the history of the Danava Vrisha-parva, and that foremost of artists then, having rested awhile, set himself after much thoughtful planning to build a palace for the illustrious sons of Pandu. Agreeably to the wishes of both Krishna and the sons of Pritha, the illustrious Danava of great prowess, having performed on an auspicious day the initial propitiatory rites of foundation and having also gratified thousands of well-versed Brahmanas with sweetened milk and rice and with rich presents of various kinds, measured out a plot of land five thousand cubits square, which was delightful and exceedingly handsome to behold and which was favourable for construction of a building well-suited to the exigencies of every season." [* This name, here even called "Yudhishthira the Just," in a typical Hebrew manner, could be an allusion to Yedudah, Yudah, Judah, the fourth son of Jacob, by his wife Leah (1st half of the 2nd millenium BC). Country and province names, such as Yehud, Judaea, Yaudheya or Yoddheya Gana (Yoddheya Republic = the Republic of "Judaea") in northwestern India, seem to have derived from the Hebrew names.]

SECTION 2

"Vaisampayana said,--"Janardana deserving the worship of all, having lived happily at Khandavaprastha for some time, and having been treated all the while with respectful love and affection by the sons of Pritha, became desirous one day of leaving Khandavaprastha to behold his father. That possessor of large eyes, unto whom was due the obeisance of the universe, then saluted both Yudhishthira and Pritha and made obeisance with his head unto the feet of Kunti, his father's sister. Thus revered by Kesava, Pritha smelt his head and embraced him. The illustrious Hrishikesa approached his own sister Subhadra affectionately, with his eyes filled with tears, and spoke unto her words of excellent import and truth, terse proper, unanswerable and fraught with good. The sweet-speeched Subhadra also, saluting him in return and worshipping him repeatedly with bent head, told him all that she wished to be conveyed to her relatives on the paternal side. And bidding her farewell and uttering benedictions on his handsome sister, he of the Vrishni race, next saw Draupadi and Dhaumya. That best of men duly made obeisance unto Dhaumya, and consoling Draupadi obtained leave from her. Then the learned and mighty Krishna, accompanied by Partha, went to his cousins. And surrounded by the five brothers, Krishna shone like Sakra in the midst of the celestials. He whose banner bore the figure of Garuda, desirous of performing the rites preparatory to the commencement of a journey, purified himself by a bath and adorned his person with ornaments. The bull of the Yadu race then worshipped the gods and Brahmanas with floral wreaths, mantras, bows of the head, and excellent perfumes. Having finished all these rites, that foremost of steady and virtuous persons then thought of setting out. The chief of the Yadu race then came out of the inner to the outer apartment, and issuing thence he made unto Brahmanas, deserving of worship,

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offerings of vessel-fulls of curd and fruits, and parched-grain and caused them to pronounce benedictions upon him. And making unto them presents also of wealth, he went round them. Then ascending his excellent car of gold endued with great speed and adorned with banner bearing the figure of Tarkhya (Garuda) and furnished also with mace, discus, sword, his bow Sharnga and other weapons, and yoking thereunto his horses Saivya and Sugriva, he of eyes like lotuses set out at an excellent moment of a lunar day of auspicious stellar conjunction. And Yudhishthira, the king of the Kurus, from affection, ascended the chariot after Krishna, and causing that best charioteer Daruka to stand aside, himself took the reins. And Arjuna also, of long arms, riding on that car, walked round Krishna and fanned him with a white chamara furnished with a handle of gold. And the mighty Bhimasena accompanied by the twin brothers Nakula and Sahadeva and the priests and citizens all followed Krishna from behind. And Kesava, that slayer of hostile heroes, followed by all the brothers, shone like a preceptor followed by his favourite pupils. Then Govinda spoke unto Arjuna and clasped him firmly, and worshipping Yudhisthira and Bhima, embraced the twins. And embraced in return by the three elder Pandavas, he was reverentially saluted by the twins. After having gone about half a Yojana (two miles), Krishna, that subjugator of hostile towns, respectfully addressed Yudhishthira and requested him, O Bharata, to stop following him further. And Govinda, conversant with every duty, then reverentially saluted Yudhishthira and took hold of his feet. But Yudhishthira soon raised Kesava and smelt his head. King Yudhishthira the Just, the son of Pandu, having raised Krishna endued with eyes like lotus-petals and the foremost of the Yadava race, gave him leave, saying,--'Good bye!' Then the slayer of Madhu, making an appointment with them (about his return) in words that were proper, and preventing with difficulty the Pandavas from following him further on foot, gladly proceeded towards his own city, like Indra going towards Amravati. Out of the love and affection they bore him, the Pandavas gazed on Krishna as long as he was within sight, and their minds also followed him when he got out of sight. And Kesava of agreeable person soon disappeared from their sight, unsatiated though their minds were with looking at him. Those bulls among men, the sons of Pritha, with minds fixed on Govinda, desisted (from following him further) and unwillingly returned to their own city in haste. And Krishna in his car soon reached Dwaraka followed by that hero Satyaki. Then Sauri, the son of Devaki, accompanied by his charioteer Daruka reached Dwaraka with the speed of Garuda."

Vaisampayana continued,--"Meanwhile king Yudhishthira of unfading glory, accompanied by his brothers and surrounded by friends, entered his excellent capital. And that tiger among men, dismissing all his relatives, brothers, and sons, sought to make himself happy in the company of Draupadi. And Kesava also, worshipped by the principal Yadavas including Ugrasena, entered with a happy heart his own excellent city. And worshipping his old father and his illustrious mother, and saluting (his brother) Valadeva, he of eyes like lotus-petals took his seat. Embracing Pradyumna, Shamva, Nishatha, Charudeshna, Gada, Aniruddha and Bhanu, and obtaining the leave of all the elderly men, Janardana entered the apartments of Rukmini."

SECTION 3

"Vaisampayana said,--"Then Maya Danava addressed Arjuna, that foremost of successful warriors, saying,--'I now go with thy leave, but shall come back soon. On the north of the Kailasa peak near the mountains of Mainaka, while the Danavas were engaged in a sacrifice on the banks of Vindu lake, I gathered a huge quantity of delightful and variegated vanda (a kind of rough materials) composed of jewels and gems. This was placed in the mansion of Vrishaparva ever devoted to truth. If it be yet existing, I shall come back, O Bharata, with it. I shall then commence the construction of the delightful palace of the Pandavas, which is to be adorned with every kind of gems and celebrated all over the world. There is also, I think, O thou of the Kuru race, a fierce club placed in the lake Vindu by the King (of the Danavas) after slaughtering therewith all his foes in battle. Besides being heavy and strong and variegated with golden knobs, it is capable of bearing great weight, and of slaying all foes, and is equal in strength unto an hundred thousand clubs. It is a fit weapon for Bhima, even as the Gandiva is for thee. There is also (in that lake) a large conch-shell called Devadatta of loud sound, that came from Varuna. I shall no doubt give all these to thee. Having spoken thus unto Partha, the Asura went away in a north-easterly direction. On the north of Kailasa in the mountains of Mainaka, there is a huge peak of gems and jewels called Hiranya-sringa. Near that peak is a delightful lake of the name of Vindu. There, on its banks, previously dwelt king Bhagiratha for many years, desiring to behold the goddess Ganga, since called Bhagirathee after that king's name. And there, on its banks, O thou best of the Bharatas, Indra the illustrious lord of every created thing, performed one hundred great sacrifices. There, for the sake of beauty, though not according to the dictates of the ordinance, were placed sacrificial stakes made of gems and altars of gold. There, after performing those sacrifices, the thousand-eyed lord of Sachi became crowned with success. There the fierce Mahadeva, the eternal lord of every creature, has taken up his abode after having created all the worlds and there he dwelleth, worshipped with reverence by thousands of spirits. There Nara and Narayana, Brahma and Yama and Sthanu the fifth, perform their sacrifices at the expiration of a thousand yugas. There, for the establishment of virtue and religion, Vasudeva, with pious devotion, performed his sacrifices extending for many, many long years. There were placed by Keshava thousands and tens of thousands of sacrificial stakes adorned with golden garlands and altars of great splendour. Going thither, O Bharata, Maya brought back the club and the conch-shell and the various crystalline articles that had belonged to king Vrishaparva. And the great Asura, Maya, having gone thither, possessed himself of the whole of the great wealth which was guarded by Yakshas and Rakshasas. Bringing them, the Asura constructed therewith a peerless palace, which was of great beauty and of celestial make, composed entirely of gems and precious stones, and celebrated throughout the three worlds. He gave unto Bhimasena that best of clubs, and unto Arjuna the most excellent conch-shell at whose sound all creatures trembled in awe. And the palace that Maya built consisted of columns of gold, and occupied, O monarch, an area of five thousand cubits. The palace, possessing an exceedingly beautiful form, like unto that of Agni or Suryya, or Soma, shone in great splendour, and by its brilliance seemed to darken even the bright rays of the sun. And with the effulgence it exhibited, which was a mixture of both celestial and terrestrial light, it looked as if it was on fire. Like unto a mass of new clouds conspicuous in the sky, the palace rose up coming into view of all. Indeed, the palace that the dexterous Maya built was so wide, delightful, and refreshing, and composed of such excellent materials, and furnished with such golden walls and archways, and adorned with so many varied pictures, and was withal so rich and well-built, that in beauty it far surpassed Sudharma of the Dasarha race, or the mansion of Brahma himself. And eight thousand Rakshasas called Kinkaras, fierce, huge-bodied and endued with great strength, of red coppery eyes and arrowy ears, well-armed and capable of ranging through the air, used to guard and protect that palace. Within that palace Maya placed a peerless tank, and in that tank were lotuses with leaves of dark-coloured gems and stalks of bright jewels, and other flowers also of golden leaves. And aquatic fowls of various species sported on its bosom. Itself variegated with full-blown lotuses and stocked with fishes and tortoises of golden hue, its bottom was without mud and its water transparent. There was a flight of crystal stairs leading from the banks to the edge of the water. The gentle breezes that swept along its bosom softly shook the flowers that studded it. The banks of that tank were overlaid with slabs of costly marble set with pearls. And beholding that tank thus adorned all around with jewels and precious stones, many kings that came there mistook it for land and fell into it with eyes open. Many tall trees of various kinds were planted all around the palace. Of green foliage and cool shade, and ever blossoming, they were all very charming to behold. Artificial woods were laid around, always emitting a delicious fragrance. And there were many tanks also that were adorned with swans and Karandavas and Chakravakas (Brahminy ducks) in the grounds lying about the mansion. And the breeze bearing the fragrance of lotuses growing in water and (of those growing on land) ministered unto the pleasure and happiness of the Pandavas. And Maya having constructed such a palatial hall within fourteen months, reported its completion unto Yudhishthira."

SECTION 4

"Vaisampayana said,--"Then that chief of men, king Yudhishthira, entered that palatial sabha having first fed ten thousand Brahmanas with preparations of milk and rice mixed with clarified butter and honey with fruits and roots, and with pork and venison. The king gratified those superior Brahmanas, who had come from various countries with food seasoned with seasamum and prepared with vegetables called jibanti, with rice mixed with clarified butter, with different preparations of meat--with indeed various kinds of other food, as also numberless viands that are fit to be sucked and innumerable kinds of drinks, with new and unused robes and clothes, and with excellent floral wreaths. The king also gave unto each of those Brahmanas a thousand kine. And, O Bharata, the voice of the gratified Brahmanas uttering,--'What an auspicious day is this! became so loud that it seemed to reach heaven itself. And when the Kuru king entered the palatial sabha having also worshipped the gods with various kinds of music and numerous species of excellent and costly perfumes, the athletes and mimes and prize-fighters and bards and encomiasts began to gratify that illustrious son of Dharma by exhibiting their skill. And thus celebrating his entry into the palace, Yudhishthira with his brothers sported within that palace like Sakra himself in heaven. Upon the seats in that palace sat, along with the Pandavas, Rishis and kings that came from various countries, viz., Asita and Devala, Satya, Sarpamali and Mahasira; Arvavasu, Sumitra, Maitreya, Sunaka and Vali; Vaka, Dalvya, Sthulasira, Krishna-Dwaipayana, and Suka Sumanta, Jaimini, Paila, and the disciples of Vyasa, viz., ourselves; Tittiri, Yajanavalkya, and Lomaharshana with his son; Apsuhomya, Dhaumya, Animandavya; and Kausika; Damoshnisha and Traivali, Parnada, and Varayanuka, Maunjayana, Vayubhaksha, Parasarya, and Sarika; Valivaka, Silivaka, Satyapala, and Krita-srama; Jatukarna, and Sikhavat. Alamva and Parijataka; the exalted Parvata, and the great Muni Markandeya; Pavitrapani, Savarna, Bhaluki, and Galava. Janghabandhu, Raibhya, Kopavega, and Bhrigu: Harivabhru, Kaundinya, Vabhrumali, and Sanatana, Kakshivat, and Ashija, Nachiketa, and Aushija, Nachiketa, and Gautama; Painga, Varaha, Sunaka, and Sandilya of great ascetic merit: Kukkura, Venujangha, Kalapa and Katha;--these virtuous and learned Munis with senses and souls under complete control, and many others as numerous, all well-skilled in the Vedas and Vedangas and conversant with (rules of) morality and pure and spotless in behaviour, waited on the illustrious Yudhishthira, and gladdened him by their sacred discourses. And so also numerous principal Kshatriyas, such as the illustrious and virtuous Mujaketu, Vivarddhana, Sangramjit, Durmukha, the powerful Ugrasena; Kakshasena, the lord of the Earth, Kshemaka the invincible; Kamatha, the king of Kamvoja, and the mighty Kampana who alone made the Yavanas to ever tremble at his name just as the god that wieldeth the thunder-bolt maketh those Asuras, the Kalakeyas, tremble before him; Jatasura, and the king of the Madrakas, Kunti, Pulinda the king of the Kiratas, and the kings of Anga and Vanga, and Pandrya, and the king of Udhara, and Andhaka; Sumitra, and Saivya that slayer of foes; Sumanas, the king of the Kiratas, and Chanur the King of the Yavanas, Devarata, Bhoja, and the so called Bhimaratha, Srutayudha--the king of Kalinga, Jayasena the king of Magadha; and Sukarman, and Chekitana, and Puru that slayer of foes; Ketumata, Vasudana, and Vaideha and Kritakshana: Sudharman, Aniruddha, Srutayu endued with great strength; the invincible Anuparaja, the handsome Karmajit; Sisupala with his son, the king of Karusha; and the invincible youths of the Vrishni race, all equal in beauty unto the celestials, viz., Ahuka, Viprithu, Sada, Sarana, Akrura, Kritavarman, and Satyaka, the son of Sini; and Bhismaka, Ankriti, and the powerful Dyumatsena, those chief of bowmen viz., the Kaikeyas and Yajnasena of the Somaka race; these Kshatriyas endured with great might, all well-armed and wealthy, and many others also regarded as the foremost, all waited upon Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, in that Sabha, desirous of ministering to his happiness. And those princes also, endued with great strength, who dressing themselves in deer-skins learnt the science of weapons under Arjuna, waited upon Yudhishthira. And O king, the princes also of the Vrishni race, viz., Pradyumna (the son of Rukmini) and Samva, and Yuyudhana the son of Satyaki and Sudharman and Aniruddha and Saivya that foremost of men who had learnt the science of arms under Arjuna these and many other kings, O lord of the Earth, used to wait on Yudhishthira on that occasion. And that friend of Dhananjaya, Tumvuru, and the Gandharva Chittasena with his ministers, any many other Gandharvas and Apsaras, well-skilled in vocal and instrumental music and in cadence and Kinnaras also well-versed in (musical) measures and motions singing celestial tunes in proper and charming voices, waited upon and gladdened the sons of Pandu and the Rishis who sat in that Sabha. And seated in that Sabha, those bull among men, of rigid vows and devoted to truth, all waited upon Yudhishthira like the celestials in heaven waiting upon Brahma."

SECTION 5

(Lokapala Sabhakhayana Parva)

"Vaisampayana said,--"While the illustrious Pandavas were seated in that Sabha along with the principal Gandharvas, there came, O Bharata, unto that assembly the celestial Rishi Narada, conversant with the Vedas and Upanishadas, worshipped by the celestials acquainted with histories and Puranas, well-versed in all that occurred in ancient kalpas (cycles), conversant with Nyaya (logic) and the truth of moral science, possessing a complete knowledge of the six Angas (viz., pronunciation, grammar, prosody, explanation of basic terms, description of religious rites, and astronomy). He was a perfect master in reconciling contradictory texts and differentiating in applying general principles to particular cases, as also in interpreting contraries by reference to differences in situation, eloquent, resolute, intelligent, possessed of powerful memory. He was acquainted with the science of morals and politics, learned, proficient in distinguishing inferior things from superior ones, skilled in drawing inference from evidence, competent to judge of the correctness or incorrectness of syllogistic statements consisting of five propositions. He was capable of answering successively Vrihaspati himself while arguing, with definite

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conclusions properly framed about religion, wealth, pleasure and salvation, of great soul and beholding this whole universe, above, below, and around, as if it were present before his eyes. He was master of both the Sankhya and Yoga systems of philosophy, ever desirous of humbling the celestials and Asuras by fomenting quarrels among them, conversant with the sciences of war and treaty, proficient in drawing conclusions by judging of things not within direct ken, as also in the six sciences of treaty, war, military campaigns, maintenance of posts against the enemy and stratagems by ambuscades and reserves. He was a thorough master of every branch of learning, fond of war and music, incapable of being repulsed by any science or any course, of action, and possessed of these and numberless other accomplishments. The Rishi, having wandered over the different worlds, came into that Sabha. And the celestial Rishi of immeasurable splendour, endued with great energy was accompanied, O monarch, by Parijata and the intelligent Raivata and Saumya and Sumukha. Possessing the speed of the mind, the Rishi came thither and was filled with gladness upon beholding the Pandavas. The Brahmana, on arriving there, paid homage unto Yudhishthira by uttering blessings on him and wishing him victory. Beholding the learned Rishi arrive, the eldest of the Pandavas, conversant with all rules of duty, quickly stood up with his younger brothers. Bending low with humility, the monarch cheerfully saluted the Rishi, and gave with due ceremonies a befitting seat unto him. The king also gave him kine and the usual offerings of the Arghya including honey and the other ingredients. Conversant with every duty the monarch also worshipped the Rishi with gems and jewels with a whole heart. Receiving that worship from Yudhishthira in proper form, the Rishi became gratified. Thus worshipped by the Pandavas and the great Rishis, Narada possessing a complete mastery over the Vedas, said unto Yudhishthira the following words bearing upon religion, wealth, pleasures and salvation.

"Narada said--'Is the wealth thou art earning being spent on proper objects? Doth thy mind take pleasure in virtue? Art thou enjoying the pleasures of life? Doth not thy mind sink under their weight? O chief of men, continuest thou in the noble conduct consistent with religion and wealth practised by thy ancestors towards the three classes of subjects, (viz., good, indifferent, and bad)? Never injurest thou religion for the sake of wealth, or both religion and wealth for the sake of pleasure that easily seduces? O thou foremost of victorious men ever devoted to the good of all, conversant as thou art with the timeliness of everything, followest thou religion, wealth, pleasure and salvation dividing thy time judiciously? O sinless one, with the six attributes of kings (viz., cleverness of speech, readiness in providing means, intelligence in dealing with the foe, memory, and acquaintance with morals and politics), dost thou attend to the seven means (viz., sowing dissensions, chastisement, conciliation, gifts, incantations, medicine and magic)? Examinest thou also, after a survey of thy own strength and weakness, the fourteen possessions of thy foes? These are the country, forts, cars, elephants, cavalry, foot-soldiers, the principal officials of state, the zenana, food supply, computations of the army and income, the religious treatises in force, the accounts of state, the revenue, wine-shops and other secret enemies. Attendest thou to the eight occupations (of agriculture, trade, &c), having examined, O thou foremost of victorious monarchs, thy own and thy enemy's means, and having made peace with thy enemies? O bull of the Bharata race, thy seven principal officers of state (viz., the governor of the citadel, the commander of forces, the chief judge, the general in interior command, the chief priest, the chief physician, and the chief astrologer), have not, I hope, succumbed to the influence of thy foes, nor have they, I hope, become idle in consequence of the wealth they have earned? They are, I hope, all obedient to thee. Thy counsels, I hope, are never divulged by thy trusted spies in disguise, by thyself or by thy ministers? Thou ascertainest, I hope, what thy friends, foes and strangers are about? Makest thou peace and makest thou war at proper times? Observest thou neutrality towards strangers and persons that are neutral towards thee? And, O hero, hast thou made persons like thyself, persons that are old, continent in behaviour, capable of understanding what should be done and what should not, pure as regards birth and blood, and devoted to thee, thy ministers? O Bharata, the victories of kings can be attributed to good counsels. O child, is thy kingdom protected by ministers learned in Sastras, keeping their counsels close? Are thy foes unable to injure it? Thou hast not become the slave of sleep? Wakest thou at the proper time? Conversant with pursuits yielding profit, thinkest thou, during the small hours of night, as to what thou shouldst do and what thou shouldst not do the next day? Thou settlest nothing alone, nor takest counsels with many? The counsels thou hast resolved upon, do not become known all over thy kingdom? Commencest thou soon to accomplish measures of great utility that are easy of accomplishment? Such measures are never obstructed? Keepest thou the agriculturists not out of thy sight? They do not fear to approach thee? Achievest thou thy measures through persons that are trusted incorruptible, and possessed of practical experience? And, O brave king. I hope, people only know the measures already accomplished by thee and those that have been partially accomplished and are awaiting completion, but not those that are only in contemplation and uncommenced? Have experienced teachers capable of explaining the causes of things and learned in the science of morals and every branch of learning, been appointed to instruct the princes and the chiefs of the army? Buyest thou a single learned man by giving in exchange a thousand ignorant individuals? The man that is learned conferreth the greatest benefit in seasons of distress. Are thy forts always filled with treasure, food, weapons, water, engines and instruments, as also with engineers and bowmen? Even a single minister that is intelligent, brave, with his passions under complete control, and possessed of wisdom and judgement, is capable of conferring the highest prosperity on a king or a king's son. I ask thee, therefore, whether there is even one such minister with thee? Seekest thou to know everything about the eighteen Tirthas of the foe and fifteen of thy own by means of three and three spies all unacquainted with one another? O slayer of all foes, watchest thou all thy enemies with care and attention, and unknown to them? Is the priest thou honourest, possessed of humility, and purity of blood, and renown, and without jealousy and illiberality? Hath any well-behaved, intelligent, and guileless Brahmana, well-up in the ordinance, been employed by thee in the performance of thy daily rites before the sacred fire, and doth he remind thee in proper time as to when thy homa should be performed? Is the astrologer thou hast employed skilled in reading physiognomy, capable of interpreting omens, and competent to neutralise the effect of the disturbances of nature? Have respectable servants been employed by thee in offices that are respectable, indifferent ones in indifferent offices, and low ones in offices that are low? Hast thou appointed to high offices ministers that are guileless and of well conduct for generations and above the common run? Oppressest thou not thy people with cruel and severe punishment? And, O bull of the Bharata race, do thy ministers rule thy kingdom under thy orders? Do thy ministers ever slight thee like sacrificial priests slighting men that are fallen (and incapable of performing any more sacrifices) or like wives slighting husbands that are proud and incontinent in their behaviour? Is the commander of thy forces possessed of sufficient confidence, brave, intelligent, patient, well-conducted, of good birth, devoted to thee, and competent? Treatest thou with consideration and regard the chief officers of thy army that are skilled in every kind of welfare, are forward, well-behaved, and endued with prowess? Givest thou to thy troops their sanctioned rations and pay in the appointed time? Thou dost not oppress them by withholding these? Knowest thou that the misery caused by arrears of pay and irregularity in the distribution of rations driveth the troops to mutiny, and that is called by the learned to be one of the greatest of mischiefs? Are all the principal high-born men devoted to thee, and ready with cheerfulness to lay down their lives in battle for thy sake? I hope no single individual of passions uncontrolled is ever permitted by thee to rule as he likes a number of concerns at the same time appertaining to the army? Is any servant of thine, who hath accomplished well a particular business by the employment of special ability, disappointed in obtaining from thee a little more regard, and an increase of food and pay? I hope thou rewardest persons of learning and humility, and skill in every kind of knowledge with gifts of wealth and honour proportionate to their qualifications. Dost thou support, O bull in the Bharata race, the wives and children of men that have given their lives for thee and have been distressed on thy account? Cherishest thou, O son of Pritha, with paternal affection the foe that hath been weakened, or him also that hath sought thy shelter, having been vanquished in battle? O lord of Earth, art thou equal unto all men, and can every one approach thee without fear, as if thou wert their mother and father? And O bull of the Bharata race, marchest thou, without loss of time, and reflecting well upon three kinds of forces, against thy foe when thou hearest that he is in distress? O subjugator of all foes beginnest thou thy march when the time cometh, having taken into consideration all the omens you might see, the resolutions thou hast made, and that the ultimate victory depends upon the twelve mandalas (such as reserves, ambuscades, &c, and payment of pay to the troops in advance)? And, O persecutor of all foes, givest thou gems and jewels, unto the principal officers of enemy, as they deserve, without thy enemy's knowledge? O son of Pritha, seekest thou to conquer thy incensed foes that are slaves to their passions, having first conquered thy own soul and obtained the mastery over thy own senses? Before thou marchest out against thy foes, dost thou properly employ the four arts of reconciliation, gift (of wealth) producing disunion, and application of force? O monarch, goest thou out against thy enemies, having first strengthened thy own kingdom? And having gone out against them, exertest thou to the utmost to obtain victory over them? And having conquered them, seekest thou to protect them with care? Are thy army consisting of four kinds of forces, viz., the regular troops, the allies, the mercenaries, and the irregulars, each furnished with the eight ingredients, viz., cars, elephants, horses, offices, infantry, camp-followers, spies possessing a thorough knowledge of the country, and ensigns led out against thy enemies after having been well trained by superior officers? O oppressor of all foes, O great king, I hope thou slayest thy foes without regarding their seasons of reaping and of famine? O king, I hope thy servants and agents in thy own kingdom and in the kingdoms of thy foes continue to look after their respective duties and to protect one another. O monarch, I hope trusted servants have been employed by thee to look after thy food, the robes thou wearest and the perfumes thou usest. I hope, O king, thy treasury, barns, stables arsenals, and women's apartments, are all protected by servants devoted to thee and ever seeking thy welfare. I hope, O monarch, thou protectest first thyself from thy domestic and public servants, then from those servants of thy relatives and from one another. Do thy servants, O king, ever speak to thee in the forenoon regarding thy extravagant expenditure in respect of thy drinks, sports, and women? Is thy expenditure always covered by a fourth, a third or a half of thy income? Cherishest thou always, with food and wealth, relatives, superiors, merchants, the aged, and other proteges, and the distressed? Do the accountants and clerks employed by thee in looking after thy income and expenditure, always appraise thee every day in the forenoon of thy income and expenditure? Dismissest thou without fault servants accomplished in business and popular and devoted to thy welfare? O Bharata, dost thou employ superior, indifferent, and low men, after examining them well in offices they deserve? O monarch, employest thou in thy business persons that are thievish or open to temptation, or hostile, or minors? Persecutest thou thy kingdom by the help of thievish or covetous men, or minors, or women? Are the agriculturists in thy kingdom contented. Are large tanks and lakes constructed all over thy kingdom at proper distances, without agriculture being in thy realm entirely dependent on the showers of heaven? Are the agriculturists in thy kingdom wanting in either seed or food? Grantest thou with kindness loans (of seed-grains) unto the tillers, taking only a fourth in excess of every measure by the hundred? O child, are the four professions of agriculture, trade, cattle-rearing, and lending at interest, carried on by honest men? Upon these O monarch, depends the happiness of thy people. O king, do the five brave and wise men, employed in the five offices of protecting the city, the citadel, the merchants, and the agriculturists, and punishing the criminals, always benefit thy kingdom by working in union with one another? For the protection of thy city, have the villages been made like towns, and the hamlets and outskirts of villages like villages? Are all these entirely under thy supervision and sway? Are thieves and robbers that sack thy town pursued by thy police over the even and uneven parts of thy kingdom? Consolest thou women and are they protected in thy realm? I hope thou placest not any confidence in them, nor divulgest any secret before any of them? O monarch, having heard of any danger and having reflected on it also, liest thou in the inner apartments enjoying every agreeable object? Having slept during the second and the third divisions of the night, thinkest thou of religion and profit in the fourth division wakefully. O son of Pandu, rising from bed at the proper time and dressing thyself well, showest thou thyself to thy people, accompanied by ministers conversant with the auspiciousness or otherwise of moments? O represser of all foes, do men dressed in red and armed with swords and adorned with ornaments stand by thy side to protect thy person? O monarch! behavest thou like the god of justice himself unto those that deserve punishment and those that deserve worship, unto those that are dear to thee and those that thou likest not? O son of Pritha, seekest thou to cure bodily diseases by medicines and fasts, and mental illness with the advice of the aged? I hope that the physicians engaged in looking after thy health are well conversant with the eight kinds of treatment and are all attached and devoted to thee. Happeneth it ever, O monarch, that from covetousness or folly or pride thou failest to decide between the plaintiff and the defendant who have come to thee? Deprivest thou, through covetousness or folly, of their pensions the proteges who have sought thy shelter from trustfulness or love? Do the people that inhabit thy realm, bought by thy foes, ever seek to raise disputes with thee, uniting themselves with one another? Are those amongst thy foes that are feeble always repressed by the help of troops that are strong, by the help of both counsels and troops? Are all the principal chieftains (of thy empire) all devoted to thee? Are they ready to lay down their lives for thy sake, commanded by thee? Dost thou worship Brahmanas and wise men according to their merits in respect of various branches of learning? I tell thee, such worship is without doubt, highly beneficial to thee. Hast thou faith in the religion based on the three Vedas and practised by men who have gone before thee? Dost thou carefully follow the practices that were followed by them? Are accomplished Brahmanas entertained in thy house and in thy presence with nutritive and excellent food, and do they also obtain pecuniary gifts at the conclusion of those feasts? Dost thou, with passions under complete control and with singleness of mind, strive to perform the sacrifices called

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Vajapeya and Pundarika with their full complement of rites? Bowest thou unto thy relatives and superiors, the aged, the gods, the ascetics, the Brahmanas, and the tall trees (banian) in villages, that are of so much benefit to people? O sinless one, causest thou ever grief or anger in any one? Do priests capable of granting thee auspicious fruits ever stand by thy side? O sinless one, are thy inclinations and practices such as I have described them, and as always enhance the duration of life and spread one's renown and as always help the cause of religion, pleasure, and profit? He who conducteth himself according to this way, never findeth his kingdom distressed or afflicted; and that monarch, subjugating the whole earth, enjoyeth a high degree of felicity. O monarch, I hope, no well-behaved, pure-souled, and respected person is ever ruined and his life taken, on a false charge or theft, by thy ministers ignorant of Sastras and acting from greed? And, O bull among men, I hope thy ministers never from covetousness set free a real thief, knowing him to be such and having apprehended him with the booty about him? O Bharata, I hope, thy ministers are never won over by bribes, nor do they wrongly decide the disputes that arise between the rich and the poor. Dost thou keep thyself free from the fourteen vices of kings, viz., atheism, untruthfulness, anger, incautiousness, procrastination, non-visit to the wise, idleness, restlessness of mind, taking counsels with only one man, consultation with persons unacquainted with the science of profit, abandonment of a settled plan, divulgence of counsels, non-accomplishment of beneficial projects, and undertaking everything without reflection? By these, O king, even monarchs firmly seated on their thrones are ruined. Hath thy study of the Vedas, thy wealth and knowledge of the Sastras and marriage been fruitful?

"Vaisampayana continued,--After the Rishi had finished, Yudhishthira asked,--"How, O Rishi, do the Vedas, wealth, wife, and knowledge of the Sastras bear fruit?"

"The Rishi answered,--"The Vedas are said to bear fruit when he that hath studied them performeth the Agnihotra and other sacrifices. Wealth is said to bear fruit when he that hath it enjoyeth it himself and giveth it away in charity. A wife is said to bear fruit when she is useful and when she beareth children. Knowledge of the Sastras is said to bear fruit when it resulteth in humility and good behaviour."

"Vaisampayana continued,--The great ascetic Narada, having answered Yudhishthira thus, again asked that just ruler,-"Do the officers of thy government, O king, that are paid from the taxes levied on the community, take only their just dues from the merchants that come to thy territories from distant lands impelled by the desire of gain? Are the merchants, O king, treated with consideration in thy capital and kingdom, capable of bringing their goods thither without being deceived by the false pretexts of (both the buyers and the officers of government)?

Listenest thou always, O monarch, to the words, fraught with instructions in religion and wealth, of old men acquainted with economic doctrines? Are gifts of honey and clarified butter made to the Brahmanas intended for the increase of agricultural produce, of kine, of fruits and flowers, and for the sake of virtue? Givest thou always, O king, regularly unto all the artisans and artists employed by thee the materials of their works and their wages for periods not more than four months? Examinest thou the works executed by those that are employed by thee, and applaudest thou them before good men, and rewardest thou them, having shewn them proper respect? O bull of the Bharata race, followest thou the aphorisms (of the sage) in respect of every concern particularly those relating to elephants, horses, and cars? O bull of the Bharata race, are the aphorisms relating to the science of arms, as also those that relate to the practice of engines in warfare--so useful to towns and fortified places, studied in thy court? O sinless one, art thou acquainted with all mysterious incantations, and with the secrets of poisons destructive of all foes? Protectest thou thy kingdom from the fear of fire, of snakes and other animals destructive of life, of disease, and Rakshasas? As acquainted thou art with every duty, cherishest thou like a father, the blind, the dumb, the lame, the deformed, the friendless, and ascetics that have no homes. Hast thou banished these six evils, O monarch, viz., sleep, idleness, fear, anger, weakness of mind, and procrastination?'

"Vaisampayana continued,--The illustrious bull among the Kurus, having heard these words of that best of Brahmanas, bowed down unto him and worshipped his feet. And gratified with everything he heard, the monarch said unto Narada of celestial form,--"I shall do all that thou hast directed, for my knowledge hath expanded under thy advice!' Having said this the king acted conformably to that advice, and gained in time the whole Earth bounded by her belt of seas. Narada again spoke, saying,--"That king who is thus employed in the protection of four orders, Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Sudras, passeth his days here happily and attaineth hereafter to the region of Sakra (heaven).'"

SECTION 6

"Vaisampayana said,--At the conclusion of Narada's words, king Yudhishthira the Just worshipped him duly; and commanded by him the monarch began to reply succinctly to the questions the Rishi had asked.

"Yudhishthira said--'O holy one, the truths of religion and morality thou hast indicated one after another, are just and proper. As regards myself, I duly observe those ordinances to the best of my power. Indeed, the acts that were properly performed by monarchs of yore are, without doubt, to be regarded as bearing proper fruit, and undertaken from solid reasons for the attainment of proper objects. O master, we desire to walk in the virtuous path of those rulers that had, besides, their souls under complete control."

"Vaisampayana continued,--"Yudhishthira, the son of Pandu, possessed of great glory, having received with reverence the words of Narada and having also answered the Rishi thus, reflected for a moment. And perceiving a proper opportunity, the monarch, seated beside the Rishi, asked Narada sitting at his ease and capable of going into every world at will, in the presence of that assembly of kings, saying,--'Possessed of the speed of mind, thou wanderest over various and many worlds created in days of yore by Brahma, beholding everything. Tell me, I ask thee, if thou hast, O Brahmana, ever beheld before anywhere an assembly room like this of mine or superior to it!' Hearing these words of Yudhishthira the Just, Narada smilingly answered the son of Pandu in these sweet accents,--

"Narada said,--'O child, O king I did neither see nor hear of ever before amongst men, any assembly room built of gems and precious stones like this of thine, O Bharata. I shall, however, describe unto thee the rooms of the king of the departed (Yama), of Varuna (Neptune) of great intelligence, of Indra, the King of Gods and also of him who hath his home in Kailasha (Kuvera). I shall also describe unto thee the celestial Sabha of Brahma that dispelleth every kind of uneasiness. All these assembly rooms exhibit in their structure both celestial and human designs and present every kind of form that exists in the universe. And they are ever worshipped by the gods and the Pitris, the Sadhyas, (under-deities called Gana), by ascetics offering sacrifices, with souls under complete command, by peaceful Munis engaged without intermission in Vedic sacrifices with presents to Brahmanas. I shall describe all these to you if, O bull of the Bharata race, thou hast any inclinations to listen to me!'"

"Vaisampayana continued,--"Thus addressed by Narada, the high-souled king Yudhishthira the Just, with his brothers and all those foremost of Brahmanas (seated around him), joined his hands (in entreaty). And the monarch then asked Narada, saying,--'Describe unto us all those assembly rooms. We desire to listen to thee. O Brahmana, what are the articles with which each of the Sabhas are made of? What is the area of each, and what is the length and breadth of each? Who wait upon the Grandsire in that assembly room? And who also upon Vasava, the Lord of the celestials and upon Yama, the son of Vivaswana? Who wait upon Varuna and upon Kuvera in their respective assembly rooms. O Brahmana Rishi, tell us all about these. We all together desire to hear thee describe them. Indeed, our curiosity is great.' Thus addressed by the son of Pandu, Narada replied, saying,--'O monarch, hear ye all about those celestial assembly rooms one after another."

SECTION 7

"Narada said,--the celestial assembly room of Sakra is full of lustre. He hath obtained it as the fruit of his own acts. Possessed of the splendour of the sun, it was built, O scion of the Kuru race, by Sakra himself. Capable of going everywhere at will, this celestial assembly house is full one hundred and fifty yojanas in length, and hundred yojanas in breadth, and five yojanas in height. Dispelling weakness of age, grief, fatigue, and fear, auspicious and bestowing good fortune, furnished with rooms and seats and adorned with celestial trees, it is delightful in the extreme. There sitteth in that assembly room, O son of Pritha, on an excellent seat, the Lord of celestials, with his wife Sachi endowed with beauty and affluence. Assuming a form incapable of description for its vagueness, with a crown on his head and bright bracelets on the upper arms, attired in robes of pure white and decked with floral wreaths of many hues, there he sitteth with beauty, fame, and glory by his side. And the illustrious deity of a hundred sacrifices is daily waited upon. O monarch, in that assembly by the Marutas in a body, each leading the life of a householder in the bosom of his family. And the Siddhyas, celestial Rishis, the Sadhyas in all, the gods, and Marutas of brilliant complexion and adorned with golden garlands,--all of them in celestial form and decked in ornaments, always wait upon and worship the illustrious chief of the immortals, that mighty represser of all foes. And O son of Pritha, the celestial Rishis also, all of pure souls, with sins completely washed off and resplendent as the fire, and possessed of energy, and without sorrow of any kind, and freed from the fever of anxiety, and all performers of the Soma sacrifice, also wait upon and worship Indra. And Parasara and Parvata and Savarni and Galava; and Sankha, and the Muni, Gaursiras, and Durvasa, and Krodhana and Swena and the Muni Dhirghatamas; and Pavitrapani, Savarni, Yajnavalkya and Bhaluki; and Udyalaka, Swetaketu, and Tandya, and also Bhandayani; and Havishmat, and Garishta, and king Harischandra; and Hridya, Udarshandilya. Parasarya, Krishivala; Vataskandha, Visakha, Vidhatas and Kala. Karaladanta, Tastri, and Vishwakarman, and Tumuru; and other Rishis, some born of women and others living upon air, and others again living upon fire, these all worship Indra, the wielder of the thunderbolt, the lord of all the worlds. And Sahadeva, and Sunitha, and Valmiki of great ascetic merit; and Samika of truthful speech, and Prachetas ever fulfilling their promises, and Medhatithi, and Vamadeva, and Pulastya, Pulaha and Kratu; and Maruta and Marichi, and Sthanu of great ascetic merit; and Kakshivat, and Gautama, and Tarkhya, and also the Muni Vaishwanara; and the Muni Kalakavrikhiya and Asravya, and also Hiranmaya, and Samvartta, and Dehavya, and Viswaksena of great energy; and Kanwa, and Katyayana, O king, and Gargya, and Kaushika;--all are present there along with the celestial waters and plants; and faith, and intelligence, and the goddess of learning, and wealth, religion, and pleasure; and lightning. O son of Pandu; and the rain-charged clouds, and the winds, and all the loud-sounding forces of heaven; the eastern point, the twenty seven fires conveying the sacrificial butter, Agni and Soma, and the fire of Indra, and Mitra, and Savitri, and Aryaman; Bhaga, Viswa the Sadhyas, the preceptor (Vrihaspati), and also Sukra; and Vishwavasu and Chitrasena, and Sumanas, and also Taruna; the Sacrifices, the gifts to Brahmanas, the planets, and the stars, O Bharata, and the mantras that are uttered in sacrifices--all these are present there. And, O King, many Apsaras and Gandharvas, by various kinds of dances and music both instrumental and vocal, and by the practice of auspicious rites, and by the exhibition of many feats of skill, gratify the lord of the celestials--Satakratu--the illustrious slayer of Vala and Vritra. Besides these, many other Brahmanas and royal and celestial Rishis, all resplendent as the fire, decked in floral wreaths and ornaments, frequently come to and leave that assembly, riding on celestial cars of various kinds. And Vrihaspati and Sukra are present there on all occasions. These and many other illustrious ascetics of rigid wows, and Bhrigu and the seven Rishis who are equal, O king, unto Brahma himself, come to and leave that assembly house, riding on cars beautiful as the car of Soma, and themselves looking as bright therein as Soma himself. This, O mighty armed monarch, is the assembly house, called Pushkaramalini, of Indra of a hundred sacrifices that I have seen. Listen now to the account of Yama's assembly house."

SECTION 8

"Narada said,--'O Yudhisthira, I shall now describe the assembly house of Yama, the son of Vivaswat, which, O son of Pritha, was built by Viswakarma. Listen now to me. Bright as burnished gold, that assembly house, O monarch, covers an area of much more than a hundred yojanas. Possessed of the splendour of the sun, it yieldeth everything that one may desire. Neither very cool nor very hot, it delighteth the heart. In that assembly house there is neither grief nor weakness of age, neither hunger nor thirst. Nothing disagreeable findeth a place there, nor any kind of evil feelings there. Every object of desire, celestial or human, is to be found in that mansion. And all kinds of enjoyable articles, as also of sweet, juicy, agreeable, and delicious edibles in profusion that are licked, sucked, and drunk, are there, O chastiser of all enemies. The floral wreaths in that mansion are of the most delicious fragrance, and the trees that stand around it yield fruits that are desired of them. There are both cold and hot waters and these are sweet and agreeable. In that mansion many royal sages of great sanctity and Brahmana sages also of great purity, cheerfully wait upon, O child, and worship Yama, the son of Vivaswat. And Yayati, Nahusha, Puru, Mandhatri, Somaka, Nriga; the royal sage Trasadasyu, Kritavirya, Sautasravas; Arishtanemi, Siddha, Kritavega, Kriti, Nimi, Pratarddana, Sivi, Matsya, Prithulaksha, Vrihadratha, Vartta, Marutta, Kusika, Sankasya, Sankriti, Dhruva, Chaturaswa, Sadaswormi and king Kartavirya; Bharata and Suratha, Sunitha, Nisatha, Nala, Divodasa, and Sumanas, Amvarisha, Bhagiratha; Vyaswa, Vadhraswa, Prithuvega, Prithusravas, Prishadaswa, Vasumanas, Kshupa, and Sumahavala, Vrishadgu, and Vrishasena, Purukutsa, Dhwajin and Rathin; Arshtisena, Dwilipa, and the high-souled Ushinara; Ausinari, Pundarika, Saryati, Sarava, and Suchi; Anga, Rishta, Vena, Dushmanta, Srinjaya and Jaya; Bhangasuri, Sunitha, and Nishada, and Bahinara; Karandhama, Valhika, Sudymna, and the mighty Madhu; Aila and the mighty king of earth Maruta; Kapota, Trinaka, and Shadeva, and Arjuna also. Vysawa; Saswa and Krishaswa, and king Sasavindu; Rama the son of Dasaratha, and Lakshmana, and Pratarddana; Alarka, and Kakshasena, Gaya, and Gauraswa; Rama the son of Jamadagnya, Nabhaga, and Sagara; Bhuridyumna and Mahaswa, Prithaswa, and also Janaka; king Vainya, Varisena, Purujit, and Janamejaya; Brahmadatta, and Trigarta, and king Uparichara also; Indradyumna, Bhimajanu, Gauraprishta, Nala, Gaya; Padma and Machukunda, Bhuridyumna, Prasenajit; Aristanemi, Sudymna, Prithulauswa, and Ashtaka also; a hundred kings

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of the Matsya race and hundred of the Vipa and a hundred of the Haya races; a hundred kings of the name of Dhritarashtra, eighty kings of the name of Janamejaya; a hundred monarchs called Brahmadatta, and a hundred kings of the name of Iri; more than two hundred Bhishmas, and also a hundred Bhimas; a hundred Prativindhyas, a hundred Nagas, and a hundred Palasas, and a hundred called Kasa and Kusa; that king of kings Santanu, and thy father Pandu, Usangava, Sata-ratha, Devaraja, Jayadratha; the intelligent royal sage Vrishadarva with his ministers; and a thousand other kings known by the name of Sasa-vindu, and who have died, having performed many grand horse-sacrifices with large presents to the Brahmanas--these holy royal sages of grand achievements and great knowledge of the Sastras, wait upon, O King, and worship the son of Vivaswat in that assembly house. And Agastya and Matanga, and Kala, and Mrityu (Death), performers of sacrifices, the Siddhas, and many Yogins; the Prtris (belonging to the classes--called Agniswattas, Fenapa, Ushampa, Swadhavat, and Verhishada), as also those others that have forms; the wheel of time, and the illustrious conveyer himself of the sacrificial butter; all sinners among human beings, as also those that have died during the winter solstice; these officers of Yama who have been appointed to count the allotted days of everybody and everything; the Singsapa, Palasa, Kasa, and Kusa trees and plants, in their embodied forms, these all, O king, wait upon and worship the god of justice in that assembly house of his. These and many others are present at the Sabha of the king of the Pitris (manes). So numerous are they that I am incapable of describing them either by mentioning their names or deeds. O son of Pritha, the delightful assembly house, moving everywhere at the will of its owner, is of wide extent. It was built by Viswakarma after a long course of ascetic penances. And, O Bharata, resplendent with his own effulgence, it stands glorified in all its beauty. Sannyasis of severe ascetic penance, of excellent vows, and of truthful speech, peaceful and pure and sanctified by holy deeds, of shining bodies and attired in spotless robes, decked with bracelets and floral garlands, with ear-rings of burnished gold, and adorned with their own holy acts as with the marks of their order (painted over their bodies), constantly visit that Sabha (Assembly). Many illustrious Gandharvas, and many Apsaras fill every part of that mansion with music; both instrumental and vocal and with sounds of laughter and dance. And, O son of Pritha, excellent perfumes, and sweet sounds and garlands of celestial flowers always contribute towards making that mansion supremely blest. And hundreds of thousands of virtuous persons, of celestial beauty and great wisdom, always wait upon and worship the illustrious Yama, the lord of created beings in that assembly house. Such, O monarch, is the Sabha, of the illustrious king of the Pitris! I shall now describe unto the assembly house of Varuna also called Pushkaramalini!"

SECTION 9

'Narada said--O Yudhishthira, the celestial Sabha of Varuna is unparalleled in splendour. In dimensions it is similar to that of Yama. Its walls and arches are all of pure white. It hath been built by Viswakarma (the celestial architect) within the waters. It is surrounded on all sides by many celestial trees made of gems and jewels and yielding excellent fruits and flowers. And many plants with their weight of blossoms, blue and yellow, and black and darkish, and white and red, that stand there, or excellent bowers around. Within those bowers hundreds and thousands of birds of diverse species, beautiful and variegated, always pour forth their melodies. The atmosphere of that mansion is extremely delightful, neither cold nor hot. Owned by Varuna, that delightful assembly house of pure white consists of many rooms and is furnished with many seats. There sitteth Varuna attired in celestial robe, decked in celestial ornaments and jewels, with his queen, adorned with celestial scents and besmeared with paste of celestial fragrance. The Adityas wait upon and worship the illustrious Varuna, the lord of the waters. And Vasuki and Takshaka, and the Naga called Airavana; Krishna and Lohita; Padma and Chitra endued with great energy; the Nagas called Kamvala and Aswatara; and Dhritarashtra and Valahaka; Matimat and Kundadhara and Karkotaka and Dhananjaya; Panimat and the mighty Kundaka, O lord of the Earth; and Prahlada and Mushikada, and Janamejaya,--all having auspicious marks and mandalas and extended hoods;--these and many other snakes. O Yudhishthira, without anxiety of any kind, wait upon and worship the illustrious Varuna. And, O king, Vali the son of Virochana, and Naraka the subjugator of the whole Earth; Sanghraha and Viprachitti, and those Danavas called Kalakanja; and Suhanu and Durmukha and Sankha and Sumanas and also Sumati; and Ghatodara, and Mahaparswa, and Karthana and also Pithara and Viswarupa, Swarupa and Virupa, Mahasiras; and Dasagriva, Vali, and Meghavasas and Dasavara; Tittiva, and Vitabhuta, and Sanghrada, and Indratapana--these Daityas and Danavas, all bedecked with ear-rings and floral wreaths and crowns, and attired in the celestial robes, all blessed with boons and possessed of great bravery, and enjoying immortality, and all well of conduct and of excellent vows, wait upon and worship in that mansion the illustrious Varuna, the deity bearing the noose as his weapon. And, O king, there are also the four oceans, the river Bhagirathee, the Kalindi, the Vidisa, the Venwa, the Narmada of rapid current; the Vipasa, the Satadu, the Chandrabhaga, the Saraswati; the Iravati, the Vitasta, the Sindhu, the Devanadi; the Godavari, the Krishnavenwa and that queen of rivers the Kaveri; the Kimpuna, the Visalya and the river Vaitarani also; the Tritiya, the Jeshthila, and the great Sone (Soane); the Charmanwati and the great river Parnasa; the Sarayu, the Varavatya, and that queen of rivers the Langali, the Karatoya, the Atreyi, the red Mahanada, the Laghanti, the Gomati, the Sandhya, and also the Trisrotasi--these and other rivers which are all sacred and are world-renowned places of pilgrimage, as also other rivers and sacred waters and lakes and wells and springs, and tanks, large or small, in their personified form, O Bharata, wait upon and worship the lord Varuna. The points of the heavens, the Earth, and all the Mountains, as also every species of aquatic animals, all worship Varuna there. And various tribes of Gandharvas and Apsaras, devoted to music, both vocal and instrumental, wait upon Varuna, singing eulogistic hymns unto him. And all those mountains that are noted for being both delightful and rich in jewels, wait (in their personified forms) in that Sabha, enjoying sweet converse with one another. And the chief minister of Varuna, Sunabha by name, surrounded by his sons and grandsons, also attend upon his master, along with (the personified form) of a sacred water called go. These all, in their personified forms, worship the deity. O bull of the Bharata race, such is the assembly room of Varuna seen by me before, in the course of my wanderings. Listen now to the account I give of the assembly room of Kuvera.'"

SECTION 10

"Narada said,--'Possessed of great splendour, the assembly house of Vaisravana, O king, is a hundred yojanas in length and seventy yojanas in breadth. It was built, O king, by Vaisravana himself using his ascetic power. Possessing the splendour of the peaks of Kailasa, that mansion eclipses by its own the brilliance of the Moon himself. Supported by Guhyakas, that mansion seems to be attached to the firmament. Of celestial make, it is rendered extremely handsome with high chambers of gold. Extremely delightful and rendered fragrant with celestial perfumes, it is variegated with numberless costly jewels. Resembling the peaks of a mass of white clouds, it seems to be floating in the air. Painted with colours of celestial gold, it seems to be decked with streaks of lightning. Within that mansion sitteth on an excellent seat bright as the sun and covered with celestial carpets and furnished with a handsome footstool, king Vaisravana of agreeable person, attired in excellent robes and adorned with costly ornaments and ear-rings of great brilliance, surrounded by his thousand wives. Delicious and cooling breezes murmuring through forests of tall Mandaras, and bearing fragrance of extensive plantations of jasmine, as also of the lotuses on the bosom of the river Alaka and of the Nandana-gardens, always minister to the pleasure of the King of the Yakshas. There the deities with the Gandharvas surrounded by various tribes of Apsaras, sing in chorus, O king, notes of celestial sweetness. Misrakesi and Rambha, and Chitrasena, and Suchismita; and Charunetra, and Gritachi and Menaka, and Punjikasthala; and Viswachi Sahajanya, and Pramlocha and Urvasi and Ira, and Varga and Sauraveyi, and Samichi, and Vududa, and Lata--these and a thousand other Apsaras and Gandharvas, all well-skilled in music and dance, attend upon Kuvera, the lord of treasures. And that mansion, always filled with the notes of instrumental and vocal music, as also with the sounds of dance of various tribes of Gandharvas, and Apsaras hath become extremely charming and delicious. The Gandharvas called Kinnaras, and others called Naras, and Manibhadra, and Dhanada, and Swetabhadra and Guhyaka; Kaseraka, Gandakandu, and the mighty Pradyota; Kustumvuru, Pisacha, Gajakarna, and Visalaka, Varaha-Karna, Tamraushtica, Falkaksha, and Falodaka; Hansachuda, Sikhavarta, Vibhishana, Pushpanana, Pingalaka, Sonitoda and Pravalaka; Vrikshavaspa-niketa, and Chiravasas--these O Bharata, and many other Yakshas by hundred and thousands always wait upon Kuvera. The goddess Lakshmi always stayeth there, also Kuvera's son Nalakuvera. Myself and many others like myself often repair thither. Many Brahmana Rishis and celestial Rishis also repair there often. Many Rakshasas, and many Gandharvas, besides those that have been named, wait upon the worship, in that mansion, the illustrious lord of all treasures. And, O tiger among kings, the illustrious husband of Uma and lord of created things, the three-eyed Mahadeva, the wielder of the trident and the slayer of the Asura called Bhaga-netra, the mighty god of the fierce bow, surrounded by multitudes of spirits in their hundreds and thousands, some of dwarfish stature, some of fierce visage, some hunch-backed, some of blood-red eyes, some of frightful yells, some feeding upon fat and flesh, and some terrible to behold, but all armed with various weapons and endued with the speed of wind, with the goddess (Parvati) ever cheerful and knowing no fatigue, always waiteth here upon their friend Kuvera, the lord of treasures. And hundreds of Gandharva chiefs, with cheerful hearts and attired in their respective robes and Viswavasu, and Haha and Huhu; and Tumvuru and Parvatta, and Sailusha; and Chitrasena skilled in music and also Chitraratha,--these and innumerable Gandharvas worship the lord of treasures. And Chakradhaman, the chief of the Vidyadharas, with his followers, waiteth in that mansion upon the lord of treasures. And Kinnaras by hundreds and innumerable kings with Bhagadatta as their chief, and Druma, the chief of the Kimpurushas, and Mahendra, the chief of the Rakshasas, and Gandhamadana accompanied by many Yakshas and Gandharvas and many Rakshasas wait upon the lord of treasures. The virtuous Vibhishana also worshippeth there his elder brother the lord Kuvera (Croesus). The mountains of Himavat, Paripatra, Vindhya, Kailasa, Mandara, Malaya, Durdura, Mahendra, Gandhamadana, Indrakila, Sunava, and Eastern and the Western hills--these and many other mountains, in their personified forms, with Meru standing before all, wait upon and worship the illustrious lord of treasures. The illustrious Nandiswaras, and Mahakala, and many spirits with arrowy ears and sharp-pointed mouths, Kaksha, Kuthimukha, Danti, and Vijaya of great ascetic merit, and the mighty white bull of Siva roaring deep, all wait in that mansion. Besides these many other Rakshasas and Pisachas (devils) worship Kuvera in that assembly house. The son of Pulastya (Kuvera) formerly used always to worship in all the modes and sit, with permission obtained, beside the god of gods, Siva, the creator of the three worlds, that supreme Deity surrounded by his attendants. One day the exalted Bhava (Siva) made friendship with Kuvera. From that time, O king, Mahadeva always sitteth on the mansion of his friend, the lord of treasures. Those best of all jewels, those princes of all gems in the three worlds, viz., Sankha and Padma, in their personified forms, accompanied by all the jewels of the earth (also in their personified forms) worship Kuvera." "This delightful assembly house of Kuvera that I have seen, attached to the firmament and capable of moving along it, is such, O king. Listen now to the Sabha I describe unto thee, belonging to Brahma the Grandsire."

SECTION 11

"Narada said,--Listen to me, O child, as I tell thee of the assembly house of the Grandsire, that house which none can describe, saying it is such. In the Krita (golden) age of old, O king, the exalted deity Aditya (once) came down from heaven into the world of men. Having seen before the assembly-house of Brahma the Self-created, Aditya was cheerfully wandering over the Earth in human form, desirous of beholding what could be seen here. It was on that occasion, O son of Pandu, that the god of day spoke unto me, O bull of the Bharata race, of that celestial Sabha (assembly) of the Grandsire, immeasurable and immaterial and indescribable, as regards form and shape, and capable of delighting the heart of every creature by its splendour. Hearing, O bull of the Bharata race, of the merits of that Sabha, I became, O king, desirous of beholding it. I then asked Aditya, saying,--O exalted one, I desire to behold the sacred Sabha of the Grandsire. O lord of light, tell me, O exalted one, by what ascetic penances, or by what acts, or by what charms or by what rites, I may be enabled to behold that excellent sin-cleaning Sabha."--Hearing these words of mine, Aditya the god of day, the deity of a thousand rays, answered me, O chief of the Bharata race, thus: Observe thou, with mind rapt in meditation, the Brahma vow extending for a thousand years. Repairing then to the breast of the Himavat, I commenced that great vow, and after I had completed it the exalted and sinless deity Surya endued with great energy, and knowing no fatigue, took me with him to the Sabha of the Grandsire. O king, it is impossible to describe that Sabha, saying--it is such, for within a moment it assumes a different form that language fails to paint. O Bharata, it is impossible to indicate its dimensions or shape. I never saw anything like it before. Ever contributing to the happiness of those within it, its atmosphere is neither cold nor warm. Hunger and thirst or any kind of uneasiness disappear as soon as one goeth thither. It seems to be made up of brilliant gems of many kinds. It doth not seem to be supported on columns, it knoweth no deterioration, being eternal. That self effulgent mansion, by its numerous blazing, celestial indications of unrivalled splendour, seems to surpass the moon, the sun and the fire in splendour. Stationed in heaven, it blazes forth, censuring as it were the maker of the day. In that mansion O king, the Supreme Deity, the Grand-sire of all created things, having himself created everything by virtue of his creative illusion, stayeth ever. And Daksha, Prachetas, Pulaha, Marichi, the master Kasyapa, Bhrigu, Atri, and Vasistha and Gautama, and also Angiras, and Pulastya, Kraut, Prahlada, and Kardama, these Prajapatis, and Angirasa of the Atharvan Veda, the Valikhilyas, the Marichipas; Intelligence, Space, Knowledge, Air, Heat, Water, Earth, Sound, Touch, Form, Taste, Scent; Nature, and the Modes (of Nature), and the elemental and prime causes of the world,--all stay in that mansion beside the lord Brahma. And Agastya of great energy,

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and Markandeya, of great ascetic power, and Jamadagni and Bharadwaja, and Samvarta, and Chyavana, and exalted Durvasa, and the virtuous Rishyasringa, the illustrious Sanatkumara of great ascetic merit and the preceptor in all matters affecting Yoga; Asita and Devala, and Jaigishavya acquainted with truth; Rishava, Ajitasatru, and Mani of great energy; and the Science of healing with its eight branches--all in their personified forms, O Bharata; the moon with all the stars and the stellar conjunctions; Aditya with all his rays; the winds; the Sacrifices, the Declarations of purpose (in sacrifices), the Vital principles,--these illustrious and vow-observing beings in their personified forms, and many others too numerous to mention, attend all upon Brahma in that mansion. Wealth and Religion and Desire, and Joy, and Aversion, and Asceticism and Tranquillity--all wait together upon the Supreme Deity in that palace. The twenty tribes of the Gandharvas and Apsaras, as also their seven other tribes, and all the Lokapalas (chief protectors of several regions), and Sukra, and Vrihaspati, and Vudha, and Angaraka (Mangala), Sani, Rahu, and the other planets; the Mantras (of the Sama Veda), the special Mantras (of the same Veda); (the rites of) Harimat and Vasumat, the Adityas with Indra, the two Agnis mentioned by name (viz. Agnisoma and Indragni), the Marutas, Viswakarman, and the Vasus, O Bharata; the Pitris, and all kinds of sacrificial libations, the four Vedas. viz., Rig, Sama, Yajuh, and Atharva; all Sciences and branches of learning; Histories and all minor branches of learning; the several branches of the Vedas; the planets, the Sacrifices, the Soma, all the deities; Savitri (Gayatri), the seven kinds of rhyme; Understanding, Patience, Memory, Wisdom, Intelligence, Fame, Forgiveness; the Hymns of the Sama Veda; the Science of hymns in general, and various kinds of Verses and Songs; various Commentaries with arguments;--all in their personified forms, O king, and various Dramas and Poems and Stories and abridged Glosses--these also, and many others wait upon the Supreme Deity in that Sabha, Kshanas, Lavas, Muhurtas, Day, Night, Fortnights, Months, the six Seasons, O Bharata, Years, Yugas, the four kinds of Days and Nights (viz., appearing to man, to the Pitris, to the gods, and to Brahma) and that eternal, indestructible, undeteriorating, excellent Wheel of Time and also the Wheel of Virtue,--these always wait there. O Yudhishthira; and Aditi, Diti, Danu, Surasa, Vinata, Ira, Kalika, Suravi, Devi, Sarama, Gautami and the goddesses Pradha, and Kadru;--these mothers of the celestials, and Rudrani, Sree, Lakshmi, Bhadra, Shashthi, the Earth, Ganga, Hri, Swaha, Kriti, the goddess Sura, Sachi Pushti, Arundhati, Samvritti, Asa, Niyati, Srishti, Rati,--these and many other goddesses wait upon the Creator of all. The Adityas, Vasus, Rudras, Marutas, Aswinas, the Viswadevas Sadhyas, and the Pitris gifted with the speed of the mind; these all wait there upon the Grandsire. And, O bull amongst men, know thou that there are seven classes of Pitris, of which four classes have embodied forms and the remaining three without embodied forms. It is well known that the illustrious Vairajas and Agniswattas and Garhapattyas (three classes of Pitris) range in heaven. And those amongst the Pitris that are called the Somapas, the Ekasringras, the Chaturvedas, and the Kalas, are ever worshipped amongst the four orders of men. Gratified with the Soma (juice), first, these gratify Soma afterwards. All these tribes of Pitris wait upon the Lord of the creation and cheerfully worship the Supreme Deity of immeasurable energy. And Rakshasas, Pisachas, the Danavas and Guhyakas; Nagas, Birds, and various animals; and all mobile and immobile great beings;--all worship the Grandsire. And Purandara the chief of the celestials, and Varuna and Kuvera and Yama, and Mahadeva accompanied by Uma, always repair thither. And, O king of kings, Mahasena (Kartikeya) also adoreth there the Grandsire. Narayana himself, and the celestial Rishis, and those Rishis called Valakhillyas, and all beings born of females and all those not born of females, and whatever else is seen in the three worlds--both mobile and immobile, were all seen by me there, know O king. And eighty thousand Rishis with vital seed drawn up, and O Pandu, fifty thousand Rishis having sons, were all seen by me there. And all the dwellers in heaven repairing thither behold the Supreme Deity when they please, and worshipping him with a bow of their head return whence they came. And, O king of men, the Grandsire of all created beings, the Soul of the universe, the Self create Brahma of immeasurable intelligence and glory, equally kind unto all creatures, honoureth as they deserve, and gratifieth with sweet speech and gift of wealth and other enjoyable articles, the gods, the Daityas, the Nagas, the Brahmanas, the Yakshas, the Birds, the Kaleyas, the Gandharvas, the Apsaras, and all other exalted beings that came to him as his guests. And that delicious Sabha, O child, is always crowded with persons coming and going. Filled with every kind of energy, and worshipped by Brahmarshis, that celestial Sabha blazes forth with the graceful possessions of Brahma and looks extremely handsome, O tiger among kings as this Sabha of yours is unrivalled in the world of men, so is that Sabha of Brahma, seen by me unrivalled in all the worlds. I have seen these Sabhas, O Bharata, in regions of the celestials. This thy Sabha is unquestionably the foremost in the world of men!"

SECTION 12

"Yudhishthira said,--'O thou foremost of eloquent men, as thou hast described the different Sabhas unto me, it appeareth that almost all the monarchs of the earth are to be found in the Sabha of Yama. And, O master, almost all the Nagas, and principal Daityas, and rivers, and oceans, are to be found in the Sabha of Varuna. And so the Yakshas, the Guhyakas, the Rakshasas, the Gandharvas and Apsaras and the Deity (Yama) having the bull for his vehicle, are to be found in the Sabha of the lord of treasures. Thou hast said that in the Sabha of the Grandsire are to be seen all the great Rishis, all the gods, all the branches of learning. As regards the Sabha of Sakra, however, thou hast named, O Muni, all the gods, the Gandharvas, and various Rishis. But, O great Muni, thou hast mentioned one and only one king, viz., the royal Rishi Harishchandra as living in the Sabha of the illustrious chief of the gods. What act was performed by that celebrated king, or what ascetic penances with steady vows, in consequence of which he hath been equal to Indra himself? O Brahmana, how didst thou also meet with my father, the exalted Pandu, now a guest in the region of the Pitris? O exalted one of excellent vows hath he told thee anything? O tell me all as I am exceedingly curious to hear all this from thee."

"Narada said,--'O king of kings, I shall tell thee all that thou askest me about Harischandra, I shall presently tell thee of his high excellence. He was a powerful king, in fact, an emperor over all the kings of the earth. Indeed, all the kings of the earth obeyed his sway. O monarch, mounted alone upon a victorious car adorned with gold, that king by the prowess of his weapons brought the whole earth with her seven islands under his sway. And, O monarch, having subjugated the whole earth with her mountains, forests, and woods, he made preparations for the great sacrifice called the Rajasuya. And all the kings of the earth brought at his command wealth unto that sacrifice. All of them consented to become distributors of food and gifts unto the Brahmanas that were fed on the occasion. At that sacrifice king Harishchandra gave away unto all who asked, wealth that was five times what each had solicited. At the conclusion of the sacrifice, the king gratified the Brahmanas that came from various countries with large presents of various kinds of wealth. The Brahmanas gratified with various kinds of food and enjoyable articles, given away unto them to the extent of their desires, and with the heaps of jewels distributed amongst them, began to say,--King Harischandra is superior to all kings in energy and renown.--And know, O monarch, O bull of the Bharata race, it was for this reason that Harischandra shone more brightly than thousands of other kings. The powerful Harischandra having concluded his great sacrifice, became installed, O king, in the sovereignty of the earth and looked resplendent on his throne. O bull of the Bharata race, all those monarchs that perform the sacrifice of Rajasuya, (attaining to the region of Indra) pass their time in felicity in Indra's company. And, O bull of the Bharata race, those kings also that yield up their lives without turning their backs on the field of battle attain to the mansion of Indra and live in joy with him. Those again that yield up their bodies after severe ascetic penances also attain to the same region and shine brightly there for ages. O king of the Kuru race, O son of Kunti, thy father Pandu, beholding the good fortune of Harischandra and wondering much thereat, hath told thee something. Knowing that I was coming to the world of men, he bowed unto me and said,--Thou shouldst tell Yudhishthira, O Rishi, that he can subjugate the whole Earth inasmuch as his brothers are all obedient to him. And having done this let him commence the grand sacrifice called Rajasuya. He is my son; if he performeth that sacrifice, I may, like Harischandra, soon attain to the region of Indra, and there in his Sabha pass countless years in continuous joy. I told him in reply,--O King, I shall tell thy son all this, if I go to the world of man. I have now told thee what he said, O tiger among men. Accomplish then, O son of Pandu, the desires of thy father. If thou performest that sacrifice, thou shall then be able to go, along with thy deceased ancestors, into the same region that is inhabited by the chief of the immortals. It hath been said,--O king, that the performance of this great sacrifice is attended with many obstacles. A class of Rakshasas called Brahma Rakshasas, employed in obstructing all sacrifices, always search for loop-holes when this great sacrifice is commenced. On the commencement of such a sacrifice a war may take place destroying the Kshatriyas and even furnishing occasion for the destruction of the whole Earth. A slight obstacle may involve the whole Earth in ruin. Reflecting upon all this, O king of kings do what is for thy good. Be thou watchful and ready in protecting the four orders of thy subjects. Grow, thou in prosperity, and enjoy thou felicity. Gratify thou the Brahmanas with gifts of wealth. I have now answered in detail all that thou hast asked me. With thy leave I will now go to the city (Dwaravati) of that Dasarhas."

Vaisampayana said,--'O Janamejaya, having said this unto the son of Pritha, Narada went away, accompanied by those Rishis with whom he had come. And after Narada had gone away, king Yudhishthira, O thou of the Kuru race, began to think, along with his brothers, of that foremost of sacrifices called Rajasuya.'

SECTION 13

Vaisampayana said,--"Yudhishthira, having heard these words of Narada, began to sigh heavily. And, O Bharata, engaged in his thoughts about the Rajasuya, the king had no peace of mind. Having heard of this glory of the illustrious monarchs (of old) and being certain about the acquisition of regions of felicity by performers of sacrifices in consequence of their sacred deeds, and thinking especially of that royal sage Harischandra who had performed the great sacrifice king Yudhishthira desired to make preparations for the Rajasuya sacrifice. Then worshipping his counsellors and others present at his Sabha, and worshipped by them in return, he began to discuss with them about that sacrifice. Having reflected much, that king of kings, that bull amongst the Kurus, inclined his mind towards making preparations for the Rajasuya. That prince of wonderful energy and prowess, however, reflecting upon virtue and righteousness, again set his heart to find out what would be for the good of all his people. For Yudhishthira, that foremost of all virtuous men, always kind unto his subjects, worked for the good of all without making any distinctions. Indeed, shaking off both anger and arrogance, Yudhishthira always said,--Give unto each what is due to each,--and the only sounds that he could hear were,--Blessed be Dharma! Blessed be Dharma! Yudhishthira! conducting himself thus and giving paternal assurance to everybody, there was none in the kingdom who entertained any hostile feelings towards him. He therefore came to be called Ajatasatru (one with no enemy at all). The king cherished every one as belonging to his family, and Bhima ruled over all justly. Arjuna, used to employing both his hands with equal skill, protected the people from (external) enemies. And the wise Sahadeva administered justice impartially. And Nakula behaved towards all with humility that was natural to him. Owing to all this, the kingdom became free from disputes and fear of every kind. And all the people became attentive to their respective occupations. The rain became so abundant as to leave no room for desiring more; and the kingdom grew in prosperity. And in consequence of the virtues of the king, money-lenders, the articles required for sacrifices, cattle-rearing, tillage, and traders, all and everything grew in prosperity. Indeed, during the reign of Yudhishthira who was ever devoted to truth, there was no extortion, no stringent realisation of arrears of rent, no fear of disease, of fire, or of death by poisoning and incantations, in the kingdom. It was never heard at that time that thieves or cheats or royal favourites ever behaved wrongfully towards the king or towards one another amongst themselves. Kings conquered on the six occasions (of war, treaty, etc.) were wont to wait upon him in order to do good unto the monarch and worship him ever, while the traders of different classes came to pay him the taxes leviable on their respective occupations. And accordingly during the reign of Yudhishthira who was ever devoted to virtue, his dominion grew in prosperity. Indeed, the prosperity of the kingdom was increased not by these alone but even by persons wedded to voluptuousness and indulging in all luxuries to their fill. And the king of kings, Yudhishthira, whose sway extended over all, was possessed of every accomplishment and bore everything with patience. And, O king, whatever countries the celebrated and illustrious monarch conquered, the people everywhere, from Brahmanas to swains, were all more attached to him than to their own fathers and mothers.'

Vaisampayana said,--"King Yudhishthira, then, that foremost of speakers, summoning together his counsellors and brothers, asked them repeatedly about the Rajasuya sacrifice. Those ministers in a body, thus asked by the wise Yudhishthira desirous of performing the sacrifice, then told him these words of grave import,--'One already in possession of a kingdom desireth all the attributes of an emperor by means of that sacrifice which aideth a king in acquiring the attributes of Varuna. O prince of Kuru race, thy friends think that as thou art worthy of the attributes of an emperor, the time is even come for thee for the performance of the Rajasuya sacrifice. The time for the performance of that sacrifice in which Rishis of austere vows kindle six fires with mantras of the Sama Veda, is come for thee in consequence of thy Kshatriya possessions. At the conclusion of the Rajasuya sacrifice when the performer is installed in the sovereignty of the empire, he is rewarded with the fruits of all sacrifices including the Agnihotra. It is for this that he is called the conqueror of all. Thou art quite able, O strong-armed one, to perform this sacrifice. All of us are obedient to thee. Soon will you be able, O great king, to perform the Rajasuya sacrifice. Therefore, O great king, let thy resolution be taken to perform this sacrifice without further discussion. Thus, spoke unto the king all his friends and counsellors separately and jointly. And, O king, Yudhishthira that slayer of all enemies, having heard these virtuous, bold, agreeable and weighty words of theirs, accepted them mentally. And having heard

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those words of his friends and counsellors, and knowing his own strength also, the king, O Bharata, repeatedly thought over the matter. After this the intelligent and virtuous Yudhishthira, wise in counsel, again consulted with his brothers, with the illustrious Ritwijas about him, with his ministers and with Dhaumya and Dwaipayana and others.

'Yudhishthira said,--"How may this wish that I entertain of performing the excellent sacrifice of Rajasuya that is worthy of an emperor, bear fruit, in consequence of my faith and speech alone.'"

Vaisampayana said,--"O thou of eyes like lotus-petals, thus asked by the king, they replied at that time unto Yudhishthira the Just in these words,--Being conversant with the dictates of morality, thou art, O king, worthy to perform the grand sacrifice of Rajasuya. After the Ritwijas and the Rishis had told these words unto the king, his ministers and brothers highly approved of the speech. The king, however, possessed of great wisdom, and with mind under complete control, actuated by the desire of doing good unto the world, again resolved the matter in his mind, thinking of his own strength and means, the circumstances of time and place and his income and expenditure. For he knew that the wise never come to grief owing to their always acting after full deliberation. Thinking that the sacrifice should not be commenced, pursuant to his own resolution only, Yudhishthira, carefully bearing upon his shoulder the weight of affairs thought of Krishna that persecutor of all sinners as the fittest person to decide the matter, in as much as he knew him to be the foremost of all persons, possessed of immeasurable energy, strong-armed, without birth but born amongst men from Will alone. Reflecting upon his god-like feats the son of Pandu concluded that there was nothing that was unknown to him, nothing that he could not achieve, and nothing that he could not bear, and Yudhishthira, the son of Pritha, having come to this settled resolution soon sent a messenger unto that master of all beings, conveying through him blessings and speeches such as one senior in age might send to one that is younger. And that messenger riding in a swift car arrived amongst the Yadavas and approached Krishna who was then residing in Dwaravati. And Achyuta (Krishna) hearing that the son of Pritha had become desirous of seeing him, desired to see his cousin. And quickly passing over many regions, being drawn by his own swift horses, Krishna arrived at Indraprastha, accompanied by Indrasena. And having arrived at Indraprastha, Janardana approached Yudhisthira without loss of time. And Yudhisthira received Krishna with paternal-affection, and Bhima also received him likewise. And Janardana then went with a cheerful heart to his father's sister (Kunti). And worshipped then with reverence by the twins, he began to converse cheerfully with his friend Arjuna who was overjoyed at seeing him. And after he had rested awhile in a pleasant apartment and had been fully refreshed, Yudhishthira approached him at his leisure and informed him all about the Rajasuya sacrifice.

"Yudhishthira said,--'I have wished to perform the Rajasuya sacrifice. That sacrifice, however, cannot be performed by one's wishing alone to perform it. Thou knowest, O Krishna, even thing about the means by which it may be accomplished. He alone can achieve this sacrifice in whom everything is possible, who is worshipped everywhere and who is the king of kings. My friends and counsellors approaching me have said that I should perform that sacrifice. But, O Krishna, in respect of that matter, thy words shall be my guide. Of counsellers some from friendship do not notice the difficulties; others from motives of self-interest say only what is agreeable. Some again regard that which is beneficial to themselves as worthy of adoption. Men are seen to counsel thus on matters awaiting decision. But thou, O Krishna, art above such motives. Thou hast conquered both desire and anger. It behoveth thee to tell me what is most beneficial to the world."

SECTION 14

(Rajasuyarambha Parva)

"Krishna said,--'O great king, thou art a worthy possessor of all the qualities essential for the performance of the Rajasuya sacrifice. Thou knowest everything, O Bharata. I shall, however, still tell thee something. Those persons in the world that now go by the name of Kshatriyas are inferior (in everything) to those Kshatriyas that Rama, the son of Jamadagnya, exterminated.' O lord of the earth, O bull of the Bharata race, thou knowest what form of rule these Kshatriyas, guided by the instructions traditionally handed down from generation to generation, have established amongst their own order, and how far they are competent to perform the Rajasuya sacrifice. The numerous royal lines and other ordinary Kshatriyas all represent themselves to be the descendants of Aila and Ikshwaku. The descendants of Aila, O king, as, indeed, the kings of Ikshwaku's race, are, know O bull of the Bharata race, each divided into a hundred separate dynasties. The descendants of Yayati and the Bhojas are great, both in extent (number) and accomplishments. O king, these last are to-day scattered all over the earth. And all the Kshatriyas worship the prosperity of those monarchs. At present, however, O monarch, king Jarasandha, overcoming that prosperity enjoyed by their whole order, and overpowering them by his energy hath set himself over the heads of all these kings. And Jarasandha, enjoying the sovereignty over the middle portion of the earth (Mathura), resolved to create a disunion amongst ourselves. O monarch, the king who is the lord paramount of all kings, and in whom alone the dominion of the universe is centered, properly deserves to be called an emperor. And, O monarch, king Sisupala endued with great energy, hath placed himself under his protection and hath become the generalissimo of his forces. And, O great king, the mighty Vaka, the king of the Karushas, capable of fighting by putting forth his powers of illusion, waiteth, upon Jarasandha, as his disciple. There are two others, Hansa and Dimvaka, of great energy and great soul, who have sought the shelter of the mighty Jarasandha. There are others also viz., Dantavakra, Karusha, Karava, Meghavahana, that wait upon Jarasandha. He also that beareth on his head that gem which is known as the most wonderful on earth, that king of the Yavanas, who hath chastised Muru and Naraka, whose power is unlimited, and who ruleth the west like another Varuna, who is called Bhagadatta, and who is the old friend of thy father, hath bowed his head before Jarasandha, by speech and specially by act. In his heart, however, tied as he is by affection to thee, he regardeth thee as a father regardeth his child. O king, that lord of the earth who hath his dominions on the west and the south, who is thy maternal uncle and who is called Purujit, that brave perpetuator of the Kunti race, that slayer of all foes, is the single king that regardeth thee from affection. He whom I did not formerly slay, that wicked wretch amongst the Chedis, who represented himself in this world as a divine personage and who hath become known also as such, and who always beareth, from foolishness, the signs that distinguish me that king of Vanga Pundra and the Kiratas, endowed with great strength, and who is known on earth by the names of Paundraka and Vasudeva hath also espoused the side of Jarasandha. And, O king of kings, Bhishmaka, the mighty king of the Bhojas--the friend of Indra--the slayer of hostile heroes--who governs a fourth part of the world, who by his learning conquered the Pandyas and the Kratha-Kausikas, whose brother the brave Akriti was like Rama, the son of Jamdagni, hath become a servitor to the king of Magadha. We are his relatives and are, therefore, engaged everyday in doing what is agreeable unto him. But although we regard him much, still he regardeth us not and is engaged in doing us ill. And, O king, without knowing his own strength and the dignity of the race to which he belongeth, he hath placed himself under Jarasandha's shelter at sight of the latter's blazing fame alone. And, O exalted one, the eighteen tribes of the Bhojas, from fear of Jarasandha, have all fled towards the west; so also have the Surasenas, the Bhadrakas, the Vodhas, the Salwas, the Patachchavas, the Susthalas, the Mukuttas, and the Kulindas, along with the Kuntis. And the king of the Salwayana tribe with their brethren and followers; and the southern Panchalas and the eastern Kosalas have all fled to the country of the Kuntis. So also the Matsyas and the Sannyastapadas, overcome with fear, leaving their dominions in the north, have fled into the southern country. And so all the Panchalas, alarmed at the power of Jarasandha, have left their own kingdom and fled in all directions. Some time before, the foolish Kansa, having persecuted the Yadavas, married two of the daughters of Jarasandha. They are called Asti and Prapti and are the sister of Sahadeva. Strengthened by such an alliance, the fool persecuting his relatives gained an ascendency over them all. But by this conduct he earned great obloquy. The wretch also began to oppress the old kings of the Bhoja tribe, but they, to protect themselves from the persecution of their relative, sought our help. Having bestowed upon Akrura the handsome daughter of Ahuka, with Sankarshana as my second I did a service to my relatives, for both Kansa and Sunaman were slain by me assisted by Rama. But after the immediate cause of fear was removed (by the death of Kansa), Jarasandha, his father-in-law, took up arms. Ourselves consisting of the eighteen younger branches of the Yadavas arrived at the conclusion that even if we struck our enemies continually with excellent weapons capable of taking the lives of the foes, we should still be unable to do anything unto him even in three hundred years. He hath two friends that are like unto the immortals, and in point of strength the foremost of all men endued with might. They are called Hansa and Dimvaka who are both incapable of being slain by weapons. The mighty Jarasandha, being united with them, becomes incapable, I think, of being vanquished by even the three worlds. O thou foremost of all intelligent men, this is not our opinion alone but all other kings also are of the same mind. There lived, O monarch, a king of the name of Hansa, who was slain by Rama (Valadeva) after a battle of eighteen days. But, O Bharata, hearing people say that Hansa had been killed, Dimvaka, O king, thought that he could not live without Hansa. He accordingly jumped into the waters of the Yamuna and killed himself. Afterwards when Hansa, the subjugator of hostile heroes, heard that Dimvaka, had killed himself, he went to the Yamuna and jumped into its waters. Then, O bull of the Bharata race, king Jarasandha, hearing that both Hansa and Dimvaka had been killed, returned to his kingdom with an empty heart. After Jarasandha had returned, O slayer of all foes, we were filled with pleasure and continued to live at Mathura. Then the widow of Hansa and the daughter of Jarasandha, that handsome woman with eyes like lotus-petals, grieved at the death of her lord, went unto her father, and repeatedly urged, O Monarch, the king of Magadha, saying,--O slayer of all foes, kill thou the slayer of my husband.--Then, O great king, remembering the conclusion to which we had come of old we became exceedingly cheerless and fled from Mathura. Dividing our large wealth into small portions so as to make each portion easily portable, we fled from fear of Jarasandha, with our cousins and relatives. Reflecting upon everything, we fled towards the west. There is a delightful town towards the west called Kusasthali, adorned by the mountains of Raivata. In that city, O monarch, we took up our abode. We rebuilt its fort and made it so strong that it has become impregnable even to the Gods. And from within it even the women might fight the foe, what to speak of the Yadava heroes without fear of any kind? O slayer of all foes, we are now living in that city. And, O tiger of the Kuru race, considering the inaccessibility of that first of mountains and regarding themselves as having already crossed the fear of Jarasandha, the descendants of Madhu have become exceedingly glad. Thus, O king, though possessed of strength and energy, yet from the oppressions of Jarasandha we have been obliged to repair to the mountains of Gomanta, measuring three Yojanas in length. Within each yojana have been established one and twenty posts of armed men. And at intervals of each yojana are hundred gates with arches which are defended by valourous heroes engaged in guarding them. And innumerable Kshatriyas invincible in war, belonging to the eighteen younger branches of the Yadavas, are employed in defending these works. In our race, O king, there are full eighteen thousand brothers and cousins. Ahuka hath had a hundred sons, each of whom is almost like a god (in prowess), Charudeshna with his brother Chakradeva, Satyaki, myself, Valadeva the son of Rohini, and my son Samva who is equal unto me in battle--these seven, O king are Atirathas. Besides these, there are others, O king, whom I shall presently name. They are Kritavarman, Anadhrishti, Samika, Samitinjaya, Kanka, Sanku and Kunti. These seven are Maharathas. There are also two sons of Andhakabhoja, and the old king himself. Endued with great energy these are all heroes, each mighty as the thunderbolt. These Maharathas, choosing the middle country, are now living amongst the Vrishnis. O thou best of the Bharata line, thou alone art worthy of being an emperor. It behoveth thee, O Bharata, to establish thy empire over all the Kshatriyas. But this is my judgement, O king, that thou wilt not be able to celebrate the Rajasuya sacrifice as long as the mighty Jarasandha liveth. By him have been immured in his hillfort numerous monarchs, like a lion that hath deposited the slain bodies of mighty elephants within a cave of the king of mountains. O slayer of all enemies, king Jarasandha, desirous of offering in sacrifice hundred monarchs, adored for his fierce ascetic penances the illustrious god of gods, the lord of Uma. It is by this means that the kings of the earth have been vanquished by Jarasandha. And, O best of monarchs, he hath by that means been able to fulfil the vow he had made relative to his sacrifice. By defeating the kings with their troops and bringing all of them as captives into this city, he had swelled its crowds enormously. We also, O king, from fear of Jarasandha, at one time had to leave Mathura and fly to the city of Dwaravati. If, O great king, thou desirest to perform this sacrifice, strive to release the kings confined by Jarasandha, as also to compass his death. O son of the Kuru race, otherwise this undertaking of thine can never be completed. O thou foremost of intelligent men if the Rajasuya is to be performed by thee, you must do this in this way and not otherwise. This, O king, is my view (on the matter). Do, O sinless one, as thou thinkest. Under these circumstances, O king, having reflected upon everything, taking note of causes, tell us what thou thyself thinkest proper."

SECTION 15

"Yudhishthira said,--"Intelligent as thou art, thou hast said what none else is capable of saying. There is none else on earth who is settler of all doubts. Behold, there are kings in every province employed in benefiting their respective selves. But no one amongst them hath been able to achieve the imperial dignity. Indeed, the title emperor is difficult of acquisition. He that knoweth the valour and strength of others never applaudeth himself. He, indeed, is really worthy of applause (worship) who, engaged in encounters with his enemies, beareth himself commendably. O thou supporter of the dignity of the Vrishni race, man's desires and propensities, like the wide earth itself adorned with many jewels, are varied and extensive. As experience can seldom be gained but by travelling in regions remote from one's home, so salvation can never be attained except by acting according to principles that are very high, compared with the ordinary level of our desire and propensities. I regard peace of mind as the highest object

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here, for from that quality may proceed my prosperity. In my judgement, if I undertake to celebrate this sacrifice, I shall never win the highest reward. O Janardana, endued with energy and intelligence, these that have been born in our race think that some one amongst them will at one time become the foremost amongst all Kshatriyas. But, O exalted one, we also were all frightened by the fear of Jarasandha and, O sinless one, by the wickedness of that monarch. O thou invincible in battle, the might of thy arm is my refuge. When, therefore, thou taken fright at Jarasandha's might, how should I regard myself strong in comparison with him? Madhava, O thou of the Vrishni race, I am repeatedly depressed by the thought whether Jarasandha is capable or not of being slain by thee, by Rama, by Bhimasena, or by Arjuna. But what shall I say, O Keshava? Thou art my highest authority on everything.'

"On hearing these words, Bhima well-skilled in speech said,--'That king who is without exertion, or who being weak and without resources entereth into hostility with one that is strong, perisheth like an ant-hill. It may be generally seen, however, that even a king that is weak may vanquish an enemy that is strong and obtain the fruition of all his wishes, by wakefulness and by the application of policy. In Krishna is policy, in myself strength, in Arjuna triumphs. So like the three (sacrificial) fires that accomplish a sacrifice, we shall accomplish the death of the king of Magadha."

"Krishna then said,--'One that is immature in understanding seeketh the fruition of his desire without an eye to what may happen to him in future. It is seen that no one forgiveth for that reason a foe that is of immature understanding and inclined to serve his own interests. It hath been heard by us that in the krita age, having brought every one under their subjection, Yauvanaswin by the abolition of all taxes, Bhagiratha by his kind treatment to his subjects, Kartavirya by the energy of his asceticism, the lord Bharata by his strength and valour, and Maruta by his prosperity, all these five became emperors. But, O Yudhishthira, thou who covetest the imperial dignity deserves it, not by one but by all these qualities, viz., victory, protection afforded to thy people, virtue, prosperity, and policy. Know, O bull of the Kuru race, that Jarasandha, the son of Vrihadratha, is even such (i.e., a candidate for the imperial dignity). A hundred dynasties of kings have become unable to oppose Jarasandha. He, therefore, may be regarded to be an emperor for his strength. Kings that are wearers of jewels worship Jarasandha (with presents of jewels). But, wicked from his childhood, he is scarcely satisfied with such worship. Having become the foremost among all, he attacketh yet with violence kings with crowns on their heads. Nor is there seen any king from whom he taketh not tribute. Thus hath he brought under his sway nearly a hundred kings. How can, O son of Pritha, any weak monarch approach him with hostile intentions? Confined in the temple of Shiva and offered as sacrifice unto him like so many animals, do not these monarchs dedicated unto that god feel the most poignant misery, O bull of the Bharata race? A Kshatriya that dieth in battle is ever regarded with respect. Why shall we not, therefore, meet together and oppose Jarsandha in battle? He hath already brought eighty-six kings; fourteen only are wanting to complete one hundred. As soon as he obtaineth those fourteen, he will begin his cruel act. He that shall be to obstruct that act will surely win blazing renown. And he that will vanquish Jarasandha will surely become the emperor of all the Kshatriyas.'"

SECTION 16

"Yudhishthira said,--'Desirous of the imperial dignity but acting from selfish motives and relying upon courage alone, how, O Krishna, can I despatch ye (unto Jarasandha)? Both Bhima and Arjuna, I regard as my eyes, and thee, O Janardana as my mind. How shall I live, deprived of my eyes and mind. Yama himself cannot vanquish in battle the mighty host of Jarasandha that is endued, besides, with terrible valour. What valour can ye exhibit against it. This affair that promises to terminate otherwise may lead to great mischief. It is my opinion, therefore, that the proposed task should not be undertaken. Listen, O Krishna, to what I for one think. O Janardana, desisting from this act seemeth to me to be beneficial. My heart to-day is afflicted. The Rajasuya appeareth to me difficult of accomplishment.'"

"Vaisampayana said,--"Arjuna who had obtained that excellent of bows and that couple of inexhaustible quivers, and that car with that banner, as also that assembly room, now addressed Yudhishthira and said,--'I have obtained, O king, a bow and weapons and arrows and energy and allies and dominions and fame and strength. Those are always difficult of acquisition, however much they may be desired. Learned men of repute always praise in good society nobleness of descent. But nothing is equal to might. Indeed, O monarch, there is nothing I like more than prowess. Born in a race noted for its valour, one that is without valour is scarcely worthy of regard. One, however, possessed of valour, that is born in a race not noted for it, is much superior to the former. He, O king, is a Kshatriya in every thing who increaseth his fame and possessions by the subjugation of his enemies. And he that is possessed of valour, though destitute of all (other) merits, will vanquish his foes. One, however, that is destitute of valour, though possessed of every (other) merit, can scarcely accomplish anything. Every merit exists by the side of valour in an incipient state. Concentration of attention, exertion and destiny exist as the three causes of victory. One, however, that is possessed of valour doth not yet deserve success if he acts carelessly. It is for this that an enemy endued with strength sometimes suffers death at the hands of his foes. As meanness overtakes the weak, so folly sometimes overtakes the strong. A king, therefore, that is desirous of victory, should avoid both these causes of destruction. If, for the purpose of our sacrifice, we endeavour to slay Jarasandha and rescue the kings kept by him for a cruel purpose, there is no higher act which we could employ ourselves in. If, however, we do not undertake the task, the world will always think us incompetent. We have certainly the competence, O king! Why should you, therefore, regard us as incompetent? Those that have become Munis desirous of achieving tranquillity of souls, obtain yellow robes with ease. So if we vanquish the foe, the imperial dignity will easily be ours. We shall, therefore fight the foe."

SECTION 17

"Vasudeva said,--'Arjuna hath indicated what the inclination should be of one that is born in the Bharata race, especially of one who is the son of Kunti. We know not when death will overtake us, in the night or in the day. Nor have we ever heard that immortality hath been achieved by desisting from fight. This, therefore, is the duty of men, viz., to attack all enemies in accordance with the principles laid down in the ordinance. This always gives satisfaction to the heart. Aided by good policy, if not frustrated by Destiny, an undertaking becomes crowned with success. If both parties aided by such means encounter each other, one must obtain ascendency over the other, for both cannot win or lose. A battle however, if directed by bad policy which again is destitute of the well-known arts, ends in defeat or destruction. If, again, both parties are equally circumstanced, the result becomes doubtful. Both, however, cannot win. When such is the case, why should we not, aided by good policy, directly approach the foe; and destroy him, like the current of the river uprooting a tree? If, disguising our own faults, we attack the enemy taking advantage of his loopholes, why should we not succeed? Indeed, the policy of intelligent men, is that one should not fight openly with foes that are exceedingly powerful and are at the head of their well-arrayed forces. This too is my opinion. If, however, we accomplish our purpose secretly entering the abode of our foe and attacking his person, we shall never earn obloquy. That bull among men--Jarasandha--alone enjoyeth unfaded glory, like unto him who is the self in the heart of every created being. But I see his destruction before me. Desirous of protecting our relatives we will either slay him in battle or shall ascend to heaven being ourselves slain in the end by him.'

Yudhishthira said--"O Krishna, who is this Jarasandha? What is his energy and what is his prowess, that having touched thee he hath not been burnt like an insect at the touch of fire?"

Krishna said,--'Hear, O monarch, who Jarasandha is; what his energy; and what is his prowess; and why also he hath been spared by us, Even though he hath repeatedly offended us. There was a mighty king of the name of Vrihadratha, the lord of the Magadhas. Proud in battle, he had three Akshauhinis of troops. Handsome and endued with energy, possessed of affluence and prowess beyond measure, and always bearing on his person marks indicating installation at sacrifices. He was like a second Indra. In glory he was like unto Suryya, in forgiveness like unto the Earth, in wrath like unto the destroyer Yama and in wealth like unto Vaisravana. And O thou foremost of the Bharata race, the whole earth was covered by his qualities that descended upon him from a long line of ancestors, like the rays emerging from the sun. And, O bull of the Bharata race, endued with great energy that monarch married two twin daughters of the king of Kasi, both endued with the wealth of beauty. And that bull among men made an engagement in secret with his wives that he would love them equally and would never show a preference for either. And the lord of the earth in the company of his two dearly loved wives, both of whom suited him well, passed his days in joy like a mighty elephant in the company of two cow-elephants, or like the ocean in his personified form between Ganga and Yamuna (also in their personified forms). The monarch's youth however, passed away in the enjoyment of his possessions, without any son being born unto him to perpetuate his line. The best of monarch failed to obtain a son to perpetuate his race, even by means of various auspicious rites, and homas, and sacrifices performed with the desire for having an offspring. One day the king heard that the high-souled Chanda-kausika, the son of Kakshivat of the illustrious Gautama race, having desisted from ascetic penances had come in course of his wanderings to his capital and had taken his seat under the shade of a mango tree. The king went unto that Muni accompanied by his two wives, and worshipping him with jewels and valuable presents gratified him highly. That best of Rishis truthful in speech and firmly attached to truth, then told the king,--O king of kings, I have been pleased with thee. O thou of excellent vows, solicit thou a boon. King Vrihadratha then, with his wives, bending low unto that Rishi, spoke these words choked with tears in consequence of his despair of obtaining a child.--'O holy one forsaking my kingdom I am about to go into the woods to practise ascetic penances. I am very unfortunate for I have no son. What shall I do, therefore, with my kingdom or with a boon?'

Krishna continued,--"Hearing these words (of the king), the Muni controlling his outer senses entered into meditation, sitting in the shade of that very mango tree where he was. And there fell upon the lap of the seated Muni a mango that was juicy and untouched by the beak of a parrot or any other bird. That best of Munis, taking up the fruit and mentally pronouncing certain mantras over it, gave it unto the king as the means of his obtaining an incomparable offspring. And the great Muni, possessed also of extraordinary wisdom, addressing the monarch, said,--"Return, O king, thy wish is fulfilled. Desist, O king, from going (into the woods)".--Hearing these words of the Muni and worshipping his feet, the monarch possessed of great wisdom, returned to his own abode. And recollecting his former promise (unto them) the king gave, O bull of the Bharata race, unto his two wives that one fruit. His beautiful queens, dividing that single fruit into two parts, ate it up. In consequence of the certainty of the realisation of the Muni's words and his truthfulness, both of them conceived, as an effect of their having eaten that fruit. And the king beholding them in that state became filled with great joy. Then, O wise monarch, some time after, when the time came, each of the queens brought forth a fragmentary body. And each fragment had one eye, one arm, one leg, half a stomach, half a face, and half an anus. Beholding the fragmentary bodies, both the mothers trembled much. The helpless sisters then anxiously consulted each other, and sorrowfully abandoned those fragments endued with life. The two midwives (that waited upon the queens) then carefully wrapping up the still-born (?) fragments went out of the inner apartments (of the palace) by the back door and throwing away the bodies, returned in haste. A little while after, O tiger among men, a Rakshasa woman of the name of Jara living upon flesh and blood, took up the fragments that lay on a crossing. And impelled by force of fate, the female cannibal united the fragments for facility of carrying them away. And, O bull among men, as soon as the fragments were united they formed a sturdy child of one body (endued with life). Then, O king, the female cannibal, with eyes expanded in wonder, found herself unable to carry away that child having a body as hard and strong as the thunder-bolt. That infant then closing his fists red as copper and inserting them into its mouth, began to roar terribly as rain-charged clouds. Alarmed at the sound, the inmates of the palace, O tiger among men, suddenly came out with the king, O slayer of all foes. The helpless and disappointed and sad queens also, with breasts full of milk, also came out suddenly to recover their child. The female cannibal beholding the queens in that condition and the king too so desirous of an offspring, and the child was possessed of such strength thought within herself--I live within dominions of the king who is so desirous of an offspring. It behoveth not me, therefore, to kill the infant child of such an illustrious and virtuous monarch. The Rakshasa woman then, holding the child in her arms like the clouds enveloping the sun, and assuming a human form, told the king these words,--O Vrihadratha, this is thy child. Given to thee by me, O, take it. It hath been born of both thy wives by virtue of the command of the great Brahmana. Cast away by the midwives, it hath been protected by me!

"Krishna continued,--O thou foremost of the Bharata race, the handsome daughters of the king of Kasi, having obtained the child, soon drenched it with their lacteal streams. The king ascertaining everything, was filled with joy, and addressing that female cannibal disguised as a human being possessing the complexion of gold, asked,--O thou of the complexion of the filament of the lotus, who art thou that givest me this child? O auspicious one, thou seemest to me as a goddess roaming at thy pleasure!"

SECTION 18

"Krishna continued,--'hearing these words of the king, the Rakshasa woman answered--Blessed be thou, O king of kings. Capable of assuming any form at will. I am a Rakshasa woman called Jara. I am living, O king, happily in thy house, worshipped by all. Every day I wander from house to house of men. Indeed, I was created of old by the Self-create and was named Grihadevi (the household goddess)'. Of celestial beauty I was placed (in the world) for the destruction of the Danavas. He that with devotion painteth on the walls (of his house) a likeness of myself endued with youth and in the midst of children, must have prosperity in his abode; otherwise a household must sustain decay and destruction. O lord, painted on the walls of thy house is a likeness of myself surrounded by numerous children. Stationed there I am daily

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worshipped with scents and flowers, with incense and edibles and various objects of enjoyment. Thus worshipped in thy house, I daily think of doing thee some good in return. It chanced, O virtuous king, that I beheld the fragmentary bodies of thy son. When these happened to be united by me, a living child was formed of them. O great king, it hath been so owing to thy good fortune alone. I have been only the instrument, I am capable of swallowing the mountain of Meru itself, what shall I say of the child? I have, however, been gratified with thee in consequence of the worship I receive in thy house. It is, therefore, O king, that I have bestowed this child on thee.

"Krishna continued,--Having spoken these words, O king, Jara disappeared there and then. The king having obtained the child then entered the palace. And the king then caused all the rites of infancy to be performed on that child, and ordered a festival to be observed by his people in Honour of that Rakshasa woman. And the monarch equal unto Brahma himself then bestowed a name on his child. And he said that because the child had been united by Jara, he should be called (Jarasandha i.e., united by Jara). And the son of the king of Magadha endued with great energy, began to grow up in bulk and strength like a fire into which hath been poured libation of clarified butter. And increasing day by day like the moon in the bright fortnight, the child began to enhance the joy of his parents.'"

SECTION 19

"Krishna said,--some time after this, the great ascetic, the exalted Chandakausika, again came into the country of the Magadhas. Filled with joy at the advent of the Rishi, king Vrihadratha, accompanied by his ministers and priest and wives and son, went out to receive him. And, O Bharata, worshipping the Rishi with water to wash his feet and face, and with the offerings of Arghya the king then offered his whole kingdom along with his son for the acceptance of the Rishi. The adorable Rishi accepting that worship offered by the king, addressing the ruler of Magadha, O monarch, said with well-pleased heart,--O king, I knew all this by spiritual insight. But hear, O king of kings, what this son of thine will be in future, as also what his beauty, excellence, strength, and valour will be. Without doubt this son of thine, growing in prosperity and endued with prowess, will obtain all these. Like other birds that can never imitate the speed of Vinata's son (Garuda), the other monarchs of the earth will not be able to equal in energy this thy son, who will be endued with great valour. And all those that will stand in his way will certainly be destroyed. Like the force of the current that can never make the slightest impression upon the rocky breast of a mountain, weapons hurled at him even by the celestials will fail to produce the least pain in him. He will blaze forth above the heads of all that wear crowns on their brows. Like the sun that dims the lustre of all luminous bodies, this son of thine will rob all monarchs of their splendour. Even kings that are powerful and own large armies and numberless vehicles and animals, upon approaching this son of thine, will all perish as insects upon fire. This child will seize the growing prosperity of all kings like the ocean receiving the rivers swollen with the water of the rainy season. Like the huge earth that bears all kinds of produce, supporting things that are both good and evil, this child endued with great strength will support all the four orders of men. And all the kings of the earth will live in obedience to the commands of this child just as every creature endued with body live in dependence upon Vayu that is dear as self unto beings. This prince of Magadha--the mightiest of all men in the world--will behold with his physical eyes the god of gods called Rudra or Hara, the slayer of Tripura. O thou slayer of all foes, saying this, the Rishi, thinking of his own business, dismissed king Vrihadratha. The lord of the Magadhas then, re-entering his capital, and calling together his friends and relations, installed Jarasandha, on the throne. King Vrihadratha then came to feel a great distaste for worldly pleasures. And after the installation of Jarasandha king Vrihadratha followed by his two wives became an inmate of an ascetic asylum in the woods. And, O king, after his father and mothers had retired into the woods, Jarasandha by his valour brought numerous kings under his sway.'"

"Vaisampayana continued,--'King Vrihadratha, having lived for some time in the woods and practised ascetic penances, ascended to heaven at last with his wives. King Jarasandha, also, as uttered by Kausika, having received those numerous boons ruled his kingdom like a father. Some time after when king Kansa was slain by Vasudeva, an enmity arose between him and Krishna. Then, O Bharata, the mighty king of Magadha from his city of Girivraja, whirling a mace ninety-nine times, hurled it towards Mathura. At that time Krishna of wonderful deeds was residing at Mathura. The handsome mace hurled by Jarasandha fell near Mathura at a distance of ninety-nine yojanas from Grirvraja The citizens beholding the circumstance well, went unto Krishna and informed him of the fall of the mace. The place where the mace fell is adjacent to Mathura and is called Gadavasan. Jarasandha had two supporters called Hansa and Dimvaka, both of whom were incapable of being slain by weapons. Well-conversant with the science of politics and morality, in counsel they were the foremost of all intelligent men. I have already told thee everything about that mighty pair. They two and Jarasandha, I believe, are more than a match for three worlds. O brave king, it was for this reason that the powerful Kukkura, Andhaka and Vrishni tribes, acting from motives of policy, did not deem it proper to fight with him.'"

SECTION 20

(Jarasandhta-badha Parva)

"Krishna said,--both Hansa and Dimvaka have fallen; Kansa also with all his followers has been slain. The time hath, therefore come for the destruction of Jarasandha. He is incapable of being vanquished in battle even by all the celestials and the Asuras (fighting together). We think, however, that he should be vanquished in a personal struggle with bare arms. In me is policy, in Bhima is strength and in Arjuna is triumph; and therefore, as prelude to performing the Rajasuya, we will certainly achieve the destruction of the ruler of Magadha. When we three approach that monarch in secret, and he will, without doubt, be engaged in an encounter with one of us. From fear of disgrace, from covetousness, and from pride of strength he will certainly summon Bhima to the encounter. Like death himself that slays a person however swollen with pride, the long-armed and mighty Bhimasena will effect the destruction of the king. If thou knowest my heart, if thou hast any faith in me, then make over to me, as a pledge, Bhima and Arjuna without loss of time!"

"Vaisampayana continued,--Thus addressed by the exalted one, Yudhishthira, beholding both Bhima and Arjuna standing with cheerful faces, replied, saying--'O Achyuta, O Achyuta, thou slayer of all enemies, say not so. Thou art the lord of the Pandavas! We are dependent on thee. What thou sayest, O Govinda, is consistent with wise counsels. Thou never leadest those upon whom Prosperity hath turned her back. I who stay under thy command regard that Jarasandha is already slain, that the monarchs confined by him have already been set free, that the Rajasuya hath already been accomplished by me. O lord of the universe, O thou best of persons, watchfully act thou so that this task may be accomplished. Without ye then I dare not live, like a sorrowful man afflicted with disease, and bereft of the three attributes of morality, pleasure and wealth. Partha cannot live without Sauri (Krishna), nor can Sauri live without Partha. Nor is there anything in the world that is unconquerable by these two, viz., Krishna and Arjuna. This handsome Bhima also is the foremost of all persons endued with might. Of great renown, what can he not achieve when with ye two? Troops, when properly led, always do excellent service. A force without a leader hath been called inert by the wise. Forces, therefore, should always be led by experienced commanders. Into places that are low, the wise always conduct the water. Even fishermen cause the water (of tank) to run out through holes. (Experienced leaders always lead their forces noting the loopholes and assailable points of the foe). We shall, therefore, strive to accomplish our purpose following the leadership of Govinda conversant with the science of politics, that personage whose fame hath spread all over the world. For the successful accomplishment of one's purposes one should ever place Krishna in the van, that foremost of personages whose strength consists in wisdom and policy and who possesseth a knowledge of both method and means. For the accomplishment of one's purpose let, therefore, Arjuna, the son of Pritha, follow Krishna the foremost of the Yadavas and let Bhima follow Arjuna. Policy and good fortune and might will (then) bring about success in a matter requiring valour.' Vaisampayana said,--'Thus addressed by Yudhishthira, the trio Krishna, Arjuna and Bhima, all possessed of great energy, set out for Magadha attired in the garb of Snataka Brahmanas of resplendent bodies, and blessed by the agreeable speeches of friends and relatives. Possessed of superior energy and of bodies already like the Sun, the Moon, and the Fire, inflamed with wrath at the sad lot of their relative kings, those bodies of theirs became much more blazing. And the people, beholding Krishna and Arjuna, both of whom had never before been vanquished in battle, with Bhima in the van, all ready to achieve the same task, regarded Jarasandha as already slain. For the illustrious pair (Krishna and Arjuna) were masters that directed every operation (in the universe), as also all acts relating to the morality, wealth, and pleasure of every being. Having set out from the country of the Kurus, they passed through Kuru-jangala and arrived at the charming lake of lotuses. Passing over the hills of Kalakuta, they then went on crossing the Gandaki, the Sadanira (Karatoya), and the Sarkaravarta and the other rivers taking their rise in the same mountains. They then crossed the delightful Sarayu and saw the country of Eastern Kosala. Passing over that country they went to Mithila and then crossing the Mala and Charamanwati, the three heroes crossed the Ganges and the Sone and went on towards the east. At last those heroes of unfaded glory arrived at Magadha in the heart of (the country of) Kushamva. Reaching then the hills of Goratha, they saw the city of Magadha that was always filled with kine and wealth and water and rendered handsome with the innumerable trees standing there.'"

SECTION 21

"Vasudeva said,--'behold, O Partha, the great capital of Magadha, standing in all its beauty. Filled with flocks and herds and its stock of water never exhausted, and adorned also with fine mansions standing in excellent array, it is free from every kind of calamity. The five large hills of Vaihara, Varaha, Vrishava, Rishigiri, and the delightful Chaitya, all of high peaks and overgrown with tall trees of cool shade and connected with one another, seem to be jointly protecting the city of Girivraja. The breasts of the hills are concealed by forests of delightful and fragrant Lodhras having the ends of their branches covered with flowers. It was here that the illustrious Gautama of rigid vows begat on the Sudra woman Ausinari (the daughter of Usinara) Kakshivat and other celebrated sons. That the race sprung from Gautama doth yet live under the sway of an ordinary human race (of monarchs) is only evidence of Gautama's kindness to kings. And, O Arjuna, it was here that in olden times the mighty monarchs of Anga, and Vanga and other countries, came to the abode of Gautama, and passed their days in joy and happiness. Behold, O Partha, those forests of delightful Pippalas and beautiful Lodhras standing near the side of Gautama's abode. There dwelt in old days those Nagas, Arvuda and Sakravapin, those persecutors of all enemies, as also the Naga Swastika and that other excellent Naga called Manu. Manu himself had ordered the country of the Magadhas to be never afflicted with drought, and Kaushika and Manimat also have favoured the country. Owning such a delightful and impregnable city, Jarasandha is ever bent on seeking the fruition of his purposes unlike other monarchs. We shall, however, by slaying him to-day humble his pride."

Vaisampayana said,--Thus saying those brothers of abundant energy, viz., he of the Vrishni race and the two Pandavas entered the city of Magadha. They then approached towards the impregnable city of Girivraja that was full of cheerful and well-fed inhabitants belonging to all the four orders, and where festivities were perennial. On arriving then at the gate of the city, the brothers (instead of passing through it) began to pierce (with their shafts) the heart of the high Chaityaka peak that was worshipped by the race of Vrihadratha, as also by the citizens and which delighted the hearts of all the Magadhas. There Vrihadratha had slain a cannibal called Rishava and having slain the monster made of his hide three drums which he placed in his own city. And those drums were such that once beaten their sound lasted one full month. And the brothers broke down the Chaityaka peak that was delightful to all the Magadhas, at that point where those drums covered with celestial flowers used to yield their continuous sound. And desirous of slaying Jarasandha they seemed by that act of theirs to place their feet upon the head of their foe. And attacking with their mighty arms that immovable and huge and high and old and celebrated peak always worshipped with perfumes and floral wreaths, those heroes broke it down. And with joyful hearts they then entered the city. And it so happened that the learned Brahmanas residing within the city saw many evil omens which they reported to Jarasandha. And the priest making the king mount an elephant whirled lighted brands about him. And king Jarasandha also, possessed of great prowess, with a view to warding of those evils, entered upon the celebration of a sacrifice, with proper vows and fasts. Meanwhile, O Bharata, the brothers unarmed, or rather with their bare arms as their only weapons, desirous of fighting with Jarasandha, entered the capital in the guise of Brahmanas. They beheld the extraordinary beauty of the shops full of various edibles and floral wreaths, and supplied with articles of every variety of various qualities that man can desire. Those best of men, Krishna, Bhima, and Dhananjaya, beholding in those shops their affluence, passed along the public road. And endued with great strength they snatched forcibly from the flower-vendors the garlands they had exposed for sale. And attired in robes of various colours and decked in garlands and ear-rings the heroes entered the abode of Jarasandha possessed of great intelligence, like Himalayan lions eyeing cattle-folds. And the arms of those warriors, O king, besmeared with sandal paste, looked like the trunks of sala trees. The people of Magadha, beholding those heroes looking like elephants, with necks broad like those of trees and wide chests, began to wonder much. Those bull among men, passing through three gates that were crowded with men, proudly and cheerfully approached the king. And Jarasandha rising up in haste received them with water to wash their feet with, and honey and the other ingredients of the Arghya--with gifts of kine, and with other forms of respect. The great king addressing them said,--'Ye are welcome'! And, O Janamejaya, both Partha and Bhima remained silent at this. And addressing the monarch Krishna said,--'O king of kings these two are now in the observance of a vow. Therefore they will not speak. Silent they will remain till midnight After that hour they will speak with thee!' The king then quartering his guests in the sacrificial apartments retired into his private chambers. And

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when midnight arrived, the monarch arrived at the place where his guests attired as Brahmanas were. For, O King, that ever victorious monarch observed this vow which was known throughout the Worlds that as soon as he should hear of the arrival of Snataka Brahmanas at his place, should it be even at midnight, he would immediately, O Bharata, come out and grant them an audience. Beholding the strange attire of his guests that best of kings wondered much. For all that, however, he waited on them respectfully. Those bulls among men, those slayers of all foes, on the other hand, O thou best of the Bharata race, beholding king Jarasandha, said,--'Let salvation be attained by thee, O king, without difficulty.' And, O tiger among kings, having said this unto the monarch, they stood looking at each other. And, O king of kings, Jarasandha then said unto those sons of Pandu and him of the Yadu race, all disguised as Brahmanas--'Take your seats.' And those bulls among men sat themselves down, and like the three priests of a great sacrifice blazed forth in their beauty. And king Jarasandha, O thou of the Kuru race, firmly devoted to truth, censuring the disguised guests, said unto them,--'It is well known to me that in the whole world Brahmanas in the observance of Snataka vow never deck their persons with garlands and fragrant paste unseasonably. Who are ye, therefore, thus decked with flowers, and with hands bearing the marks of the bow-string? Attired in coloured robes and decked unseasonably with flowers and paste, ye give me to understand that ye are Brahmanas, although ye bear Kshatriya energy. Tell me truly who ye are. Truth decks even kings. Breaking down the peak of the Chaityaka hill, why have ye, in disguise, entered (the city) by an improper gate without fear of the royal wrath? The energy of a Brahmana dwelleth in his speech, (not in act). This your feat is not suited to the order to which ye profess to belong. Tell us therefore, the end ye have in view. Arrived here by such an improper way, why accept ye not the worship I offer? What is your motive for coming to me? Thus addressed by the king, the high-souled Krishna, well-skilled in speech, thus replied unto the monarch in a calm and grave voice.

"Krishna said,--'O king, know us for Snataka Brahmanas. Brahmanas and Kshatriyas and Vaishyas are all, O monarch, competent to observe the vow of Snataka. This vow, besides, hath (many) especial and general rules. A Kshatriya observing this vow with especial rules always achieve prosperity. Therefore, have we decked ourselves with flowers. Kshatriyas again, O king, exhibit their energy by their arms and not in speech. It is, therefore, O son of Vrihadratha, that the speeches uttered by a Kshatriya are never audacious. O monarch, the creator hath planted his own energy in the aim of the Kshatriya. If thou wishest to behold it, thou shalt certainly behold it today. These are the rules of the ordinance, viz., that an enemy's abode should be entered through a wrong gate and a friend's abode through the right one. And know, O monarch, that this also is our eternal vow that having entered the foe's abode for the accomplishment of our purpose, we accept not the worship offered to us!"

SECTION 22

"Jarasandha said,--'I do not recollect if I ever acted injuriously towards ye! Even upon a careful mental scrutiny I fail to see the injury I did unto ye. When I have never done ye an injury, why, ye Brahmanas do ye regard me, who am innocent, as your foe? O, answer me truly, for this, indeed, is the rule followed by the honest. The mind is pained at the injury to one's pleasure and morality. That Kshatriya who injures an innocent man's (sources of) pleasure and morality even if he be otherwise a great warrior and well-versed in all rules of morality, obtains, without any doubt the fate of sinners (hereafter) and falls off from prosperity. The practices of the Kshatriyas are the best of those that are honest in the three worlds Indeed, those that are acquainted with morality applaud the Kshatriya practices. Adhering to those practices of my order with steady soul, I never injure those that are under me. In bringing this charge, therefore, against me, it appears that ye speak erroneously!'

"Krishna said,--'O thou of mighty arms, there is a certain person of the head of a (royal) line who upholdeth the dignity of his race At his command have we come against thee. Thou hast brought, O king, many of the Kshatriyas of the world as captives (to thy city.) Having perpetrated that wicked wrong how dost thou regard thyself as innocent? O best of monarchs, how can a king act wrongfully towards other virtuous kings? But thou, O king, treating other kings with cruelty, seekest to offer them as sacrifice unto the god Rudra! O son of Vrihadratha, this sin committed by thee may touch even us, for as we are virtuous in our practices, we are capable of protecting virtue. The slaughter of human being as sacrifice unto the gods is never seen. Why dost thou, therefore, seek to perform a sacrifice unto god Sankara by slaughtering human beings? Thou art addressing persons belonging to thy own order as animals (fit for sacrifice)! Fool as thou art, who else, O Jarasandha, is capable of behaving in this way? One always obtaineth the fruits of whatever acts one performeth under whatever circumstances. Therefore, desirous as we are of helping all distressed people, we have, for the prosperity of our race, come hither to slay thee, the slaughterer of our relatives. Thou thinkest that there is no man among the Kshatriyas (equal to thee). This, O king, is a great error of judgement on thy part. What Kshatriya is there, O king, who endued with greatness of soul and recollecting the dignity of his own parentage, would not ascend to eternal heaven that hath not its like anywhere, falling in open fight? Know O bull among men, that Kshatriyas engage themselves in battle, as persons installed in sacrifices, with heaven in view, and vanquish the whole world! Study of the Vedas, great fame, ascetic penances, and death in battle, are all acts that lead to heaven. The attainment of heaven by the three other acts may be uncertain, but death in battle hath that for its certain consequence. Death in battle is the sure cause of triumph like Indra's. It is graced by numerous merits. It is for this reason that he of a hundred sacrifices (Indra) hath become what he is, and by vanquishing the Asuras he ruleth the universe. Hostility with whom else than thee is so sure of leading to heaven, proud as thou art of the excessive strength of thy vast Magadha host? Don't disregard others, O king. Valour dwelleth in every man. O king of men, there are many men whose valour may be equal or superior to thine. As long as these are not known, so long only art thou noted for thy valour. Thy prowess, O king, can be borne by us. It is, therefore, that I say so. O king of Magadha, cast off thy superiority and pride in the presence of those that are thy equals. Go not, O king, with thy children and ministers and army, into the regions of Yama. Damvodhava, Kartavirya, Uttara, and Vrihadratha, were kings that met with destruction, along with all their forces, for having disregarded their superiors. Desirous of liberating the captive monarchs from thee, know that we are certainly not Brahmanas. I am Hrishesha otherwise called Sauri, and these two heroes among men are the sons of Pandu. O king of Magadha, we challenge thee. Fight standing before us. Either set free all the monarchs, or go thou to the abode of Yama.

"Jarasandha said,--'I never make a captive of a king without first vanquishing him. Who hath been kept here that hath not been defeated in war? This, O Krishna, it hath been said, is the duty that should be followed by the Kshatriyas, viz., to bring others under sway by the exhibition of prowess and then to treat them as slaves. Having gathered these monarchs with the intention of offering them as sacrifices unto the god, how shall I, O Krishna, from fear liberate them to-day, when I recollect also the duty I have recited of a Kshatriya? With troops against troops arrayed in order of battle, or alone against one, or against two, or against three, at the same time or separately, I am ready to fight.'"

Vaisampayana said,--"Having spoken thus, and desiring to fight with those heroes of terrible achievements, king Jarasandha ordered (his son) Sahadeva to be installed on the throne. Then, O bull of the Bharata race, the king, on the eve of battle, thought of his two generals Kausika and Chitrasena. These two, O king, were formerly called by everybody in the world of men by the respectful appellations of Hansa and Dimvaka. And, O monarch, that tiger among men, the lord Sauri ever devoted to truth, the slayer of Madhu, the younger brother of Haladhara, the foremost of all persons having their senses under complete control, keeping in view the command of Brahma and remembering that the ruler of Magadha was destined to be slain in battle by Bhima and not by the descendant of Madhu (Yadavas), desired not to slay himself king Jarasandha, that foremost of all men endued with strength, that hero possessed of the prowess of a tiger, that warrior of terrible valour."

SECTION 23

Vaisampayana said,--'then that foremost of all speakers, Krishna of the Yadava race, addressing king Jarasandha who was resolved upon fighting, said,--'O king, with whom amongst us three dost thou desire to fight? Who amongst us shall prepare himself for battle (with thee)?' Thus addressed, the ruler of Magadha, king Jarasandha of great splendour, expressed his desire for fighting with Bhima. The priest then, bringing with him the yellow pigment obtained from the cow and garlands of flowers and other auspicious articles, as also various excellent medicines for restoring lost consciousness and alleviating pain, approached Jarasandha, panting for battle. The king Jarasandha, on whose behalf propitiatory ceremonies with benedictions were performed by a renowned Brahmana, remembering the duty of a Kshatriya dressed himself for battle. Taking off his crown and binding his hair properly, Jarasandha stood up like an ocean bursting its continents. Then the monarch possessed of terrible prowess, addressing Bhima. said, 'I will fight with thee. It is better to be vanquished by a superior person.' And saying this, Jarasandha, that represser of all foes endued, rushed with great energy at Bhimasena like the Asura Vala or old who rushed at the chief of the celestials. And the mighty Bhimasena, on whose behalf the gods had been invoked by Krishna, that cousin of his, having consulted with advanced towards Jarasandha, impelled by the desire of fight. Then those tigers among men, those heroes of great prowess, with their bare arms as their only weapons, cheerfully engaged themselves in the encounter, each desirous of vanquishing the other. And seizing each other's arms and twining each other's legs, (at times) they slapped their arm-pits, causing the enclosure to tremble at the sound. And frequently seizing each other's necks with their hands and dragging and pushing it with violence, and each pressing every limb of his body against every limb of the other, they continued, O exalted one, to slap their arm-pits (at time). And sometimes stretching their arms and sometimes drawing them close, and now raising them up and now dropping them down, they began to seize each other. And striking neck against neck and forehead against forehead, they caused fiery sparks to come out like flashes of lightning. And grasping each other in various ways by means of their arms, and kicking each other with such violence as to affect the innermost nerves, they struck at each other's breasts with clenched fists. With bare arms as their only weapons roaring like clouds they grasped and struck each other like two mad elephants encountering each other with their trunks. Incensed at each other's blow, they fought on dragging and pushing each other and fiercely looking at each other like two wrathful lions. And each striking every limb of the other with his own and using his arms also against the other, and catching hold of each other's waist, they hurled each other to a distance. Accomplished in wrestling, the two heroes clasping each other with their arms and each dragging the other unto himself, began to press each other with great violence. The heroes then performed those grandest of all feats in wrestling called Prishtabhanga, which consisted in throwing each other down with face towards the earth and maintaining the one knocked down in that position as long as possible. And employing his arms, each also performed the feats called Sampurna-murchcha and Purna-kumbha. At times they twisted each other's arms and other limbs as if these were vegetable fibres that were to be twisted into chords. And with clenched fists they struck each other at times, pretending to aim at particular limbs while the blows descended upon other parts of the body. It was thus that those heroes fought with each other. The citizens consisting of thousands, of Brahmanas, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas and Sudras, and even women and the aged, O tiger among men, came out and gathered there to behold the fight. And the crowd became so great that it was one solid mass of humanity with no space between body and body. The sound the wrestlers made by the slapping of their arms, the seizing of each other's necks for bringing each other down, and the grasping of each other's legs for dashing each other to the ground, became so loud that it resembled the roar of thunder or of falling cliffs. Both of them were foremost of mighty men, and both took great delight in such encounter. Desirous of vanquishing the other, each was on the alert for taking advantage of the slightest lapse of the other. And, O monarch, the mighty Bhima and Jarasandha fought terribly on in those lists, driving the crowd at times by the motions of their hands like Vritra and Vasava of old. Thus two heroes, dragging each other forward and pressing each other backward and with sudden jerks throwing each other face downward and sideways, mangled each other dreadfully. And at times they struck each other with their knee-joints. And addressing each other loudly in stinging speeches, they struck each other with clenched fists, the blows descending like a mass of stone upon each other. With broad shoulders and long arms and both well-skilled in wrestling encounters, they struck each other with those long arms of theirs that were like maces of iron. That encounter of the heroes commenced on the first (lunar) day of the month of Kartic (October) and the illustrious heroes fought on without intermission and food, day and night, till the thirteenth lunar day. It was on the night of the fourteenth of the lunar fortnight that the monarch of Magadha desisted from fatigue. And O king, Janardana beholding the monarch tired, addressed Bhima of terrible deeds, and as if to stimulate him said,--'O son of Kunti, a foe that is fatigued cannot be pressed for if pressed at such a time he may even die. Therefore, O son of Kunti, this king should not be oppressed by thee. On the other hand, O bull of the Bharata race, fight with him With thy arms, putting forth as much strength only as thy antagonist hath now left!' Then that slayer of hostile heroes, the son of Pandu, thus addressed by Krishna, understood the plight of Jarasandha and forthwith resolved upon taking his life. And that foremost of all men endued with strength, that prince of the Kuru race, desirous of vanquishing the hitherto unvanquished Jarasandha, mustered all his strength and courage."

SECTION 24

Vaisampayana said,--"thus addressed, Bhima firmly resolved upon slaying Jarasandha, replied unto Krishna of the Yadu race, saying,--O tiger of the Yadu race, O Krishna, this wretch that yet stayeth before me with sufficient strength and bent upon fight, should not be forgiven by me. Hearing these words of Vrikodara (Bhima), that tiger among men, Krishna, desiring to encourage that hero to accomplish the death of Jarasandha without any delay, answered,--'O Bhima, exhibit today upon Jarasandha the strength thou hast luckily derived, the might thou hast obtained from (thy father), the god

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Maruta.' Thus addressed by Krishna, Bhima, that slayer of foes, holding up in the air the powerful Jarasandha, began to whirl him on high. And, O bull of the Bharata race, having so whirled him in the air full hundred times, Bhima pressed his knee against Jarasandha's backbone and broke his body in twain. And having killed him thus, the mighty Vrikodara uttered a terrible roar. And the roar of the Pandava mingling with that death knell of Jarasandha, while he was being broken on Bhima's knee, caused a loud uproar that struck fear into the heart of every creature. And all the citizens of Magadha became dumb with terror and many women were even prematurely delivered. And hearing those roars, the people of Magadha thought that either the Himavat was tumbling down or the earth itself was being rent asunder. And those oppressors of all foes then, leaving the lifeless body of the king at the palace gate where he lay as one asleep, went out of the town. And Krishna, causing Jarasandha's car furnished with an excellent flagstaff to be made ready and making the brothers (Bhima and Arjuna) ride in it, went in and released his (imprisoned) relatives. And those kings rescued from terrible fate, rich in the possession of jewels, approaching Krishna made presents unto him of jewels and gems. And having vanquished his foe, Krishna furnished with weapons and unwounded and accompanied by the kings (he had released), came out of Girivraja riding in that celestial car (of Jarasandha). And he also who could wield the bow with both hands (Arjuna), who was incapable of being vanquished by any of the monarchs on earth, who was exceedingly handsome in person and well-skilled in the destruction of the foe, accompanied by the possessor of great strength (Bhima), came out of that tort with Krishna driving the car whereon he rode. And that best of cars, incapable of being vanquished by any king, ridden in by those warriors Bhima and Arjuna, and driven by Krishna, looked exceedingly handsome. Indeed, it was upon that car that Indra and Vishnu had fought of old in the battle (with the Asuras) in which Taraka (the wife of Vrihaspati) had become the immediate cause of much slaughter. And riding upon that car Krishna now came out of the hill-fort. Possessed of the splendour of heated gold, and decked with rows of jingling bells and furnished with wheels whose clatter was like the roar of clouds, and ever victorious in battle, and always slaughtering the foe against whom it was driven, it was that very car riding upon which Indra had slain ninety-nine Asuras of old. And those bulls among men (the three cousins) having obtained that car became exceedingly glad. The people of Magadha, behold the long-armed Krishna along with the two brothers, seated in that car (of Jarasandha) wondered much. O Bharata, that car, whereunto were yoked celestial horses and which possessed the speed of the wind, thus ridden upon by Krishna, looked exceedingly beautiful. And upon that best of cars was a flag-staff without being visibly attached thereto, and which was the product of celestial skill. And the handsome flag-staff, possessed of the splendour of the rainbow, could be seen from the distance of a yojana. And Krishna while, coming out, thought of Garuda. And Garuda, thought of by his master, came thither in no time, like a tree of vast proportions standing in a village worshipped by all. Garuda of immense weight of body and living upon snakes sat upon that excellent car along with the numberless open-mouthed and frightfully-roaring creatures on its flag-staff. And thereupon that best of cars became still more dazzling with its splendour and was as incapable of being looked at by created being as the midday sun surrounded by a thousand rays. And, O king, such was that best of flag-staffs of celestial make that it never struck against any tree nor could any weapon injure it at all even though visible to men's eyes. And Achyuta, that tiger among men, riding with the two sons of Pandu upon that celestial car, the clatter of whose wheels was like the roar of the clouds, came out of Girivraja. The car upon which Krishna rode had been obtained by king Vasu from Vasava, and from Vasu by Vrihadratha, and from the latter in due course by king Jarasandha. And he of long arms and eyes like lotus-petals and possessed of illustrious reputation, coming out of Girivraja, stopped (for some time) on a level plain outside the town. And, O king, all the citizens then, with the Brahmanas at their head, hastened thither to adore him with due religious rites. And the kings who had been released from confinement worshipped the slayer of Madhu with reverence, and addressing him with eulogies said,--O thou of long arms, thou hast to-day rescued us, sunk in the deep mire of sorrow in the hand of Jarasandha. Such an act of virtue by thee, O son of Devaki, assisted by the might of Bhima and Arjuna, is most extraordinary. O Vishnu, languishing as we all were in the terrible hill-fort of Jarasandha, it was verily from sheer good fortune alone that thou hast rescued us, O son of the Yadu race, and achieved thereby a remarkable reputation. O tiger among men, we bow down to thee. O, command us what we shall do. However difficult of accomplishment, thy command being made known to us, O lord (Krishna), it will at once be accomplished by us. Thus addressed by the monarchs, the high-souled Hrishikesa gave them every assurance and said,--'Yudhishthira is desirous of performing the sacrifice of Rajasuya. That monarch, ever guided by virtue, is solicitous of acquiring the imperial dignity. Having known this from me assist ye him in his endeavours. Then, O king, all those monarchs with joyous hearts accepted the words of Krishna, saying,--'So be it! And saying this, those lords of earth made presents of jewels unto him of the Dasarha race. And Govinda, moved by kindness towards them, took a portion of those presents, "Then the son of Jarasandha, the high-souled Sahadeva, accompanied by his relatives and the principal officers of state, and with his priest in front came thither. And the prince, bending himself low and making large presents of jewels and precious stones, worshipped Vasudeva, that god among men. Then that best of men, Krishna, giving every assurance unto the prince afflicted with fear, accepted those presents of his of great value. And Krishna joyfully installed the prince there and then in the sovereignty of Magadha. And the strong-armed and illustrious son of Jarasandha, thus installed on the throne by those most exalted of men and having obtained the friendship of Krishna and treated with respect and kindness by the two sons of Pritha, re-entered the city of his father. And that bull amongst men, Krishna, accompanied by the sons of Pritha and graced with great good fortune, left the city of Magadha, laden with numerous jewels. Accompanied by the two sons of Pandu, Achyuta (Krishna) arrived at Indraprastha, and approaching Yudhishthira joyfully addressing that monarch said,--'O best of kings, from good fortune, the mighty Jarasandha hath been slain by Bhima, and the kings confined (at Girivraja) have been all set free. From good fortune also, these two, Bhima and Dhananjaya, are well and arrived, O Bharata, it their own city unwounded. Then Yudhishthira worshipped Krishna as he deserved and embraced Bhima and Arjuna in joy. And the monarch who had no enemy, having obtained victory through the agency of his brothers in consequence of the death of Jarasandha, gave himself up to pleasure and merriment with all his brothers. And the oldest son of Pandu (Yudhisthira) together with his brothers approached the kings who had come to Indraprastha and entertaining and worshipping them, each according to his age, dismissed them all. Commanded by Yudhishthira those kings with joyful hearts, set out for their respective countries without loss of time, riding upon excellent vehicles. Thus, O king, did that tiger among men. Janardana of great intelligence, caused his foe Jarasandha to be slain through the instrumentality of the Pandavas. And, O Bharata, that chastiser of all foes having thus caused Jarasandha to be slain, took leave of Yudhishthira and Pritha, and Draupadi and Subhadra, and Bhimasena and Arjuna and the twins Nakula and Sahadeva. After taking leave of Dhananjaya also, he set out for his own city (of Dwarka), riding upon that best of cars of celestial make, possessed of the speed of the mind and given unto him by Yudhishthira, filling the ten points of the horizon with the deep rattle of its wheels. And, O bull of the Bharata race, just as Krishna was on the point of setting out, the Pandavas with Yudhishthira at their head walked round that tiger among men who was never fatigued with exertion.'

"And after the illustrious Krishna, the son of Devaki, had departed (from Indraprastha) having acquired that great victory and having also dispelled the fears of the kings, that feat, O Bharata, swelled the fame of the Pandavas. And, O king, the Pandavas passed their days, continuing to gladden the heart of Draupadi. And at that time, whatever was proper and consistent with virtue, pleasure, and profit, continued to be properly executed by king Yudhishthira in the exercise of his duties of protecting his subjects."

SECTION 25

(Digvijaya Parva)

Vaisampayana said,--Arjuna, having obtained that best of bows and that couple of inexhaustible quivers and that car and flag-staff, as also that assembly-house, addressing Yudhisthira said,--Bow, weapons, great energy, allies, territory, fame, army-those, O king, difficult of acquisition however desirable, have all been obtained by me. I think, therefore, that what should now be done is for the swelling up of our treasury. I desire, O best of monarchs, to make the kings (of the earth) pay tributes to us. I desire to set out, in an auspicious moment of a holy day of the moon under a favourable constellation for the conquest of the direction that is presided over by the Lord of treasures (viz. the North)."

Vaisampayana continued,--"King Yudhisthira the just, hearing these words of Dhananjaya, replied unto him in a grave and collected tone, saying,--O bull of the Bharata race, set thou out, having made holy Brahmanas utter benedictions on thee, to plunge thy enemies in sorrow and to fill thy friend with joy. Victory, O son of Pritha, will surely be thine, and thou wilt surely obtain thy desires fulfilled.

"Thus addressed, Arjuna, surrounded by a large host, set out in that celestial car of wonderful achievements he had obtained from Agni. And Bhimasena also, and those bull among men, the twins, dismissed with affection by Yudhishthira the Just set out, each at the head of a large army. And Arjuna, the son of the chastiser of Paka then brought under subjugation that direction (the North) which was presided over by the Lord of treasures. And Bhimasena overcome by force the East and Sahadeva the South, and Nakula, O king, acquainted with all the weapons, conquered the West. Thus while his brothers were so employed, the exalted king Yudishthira the just stayed within Khandavaprastha in the enjoyment of great affluence in the midst of friends and relatives."

"Bhagadatta, hearing this, said,--'O thou who hast Kunto for thy mother, as thou art to me, so is Yudhishthira also. I shall do all this. Tell me, what else I may do for thee."

SECTION 26

Vaisampayana continued,--thus addressed, Dhananjaya replied unto Bhagadatta, saying,--'If thou wilt give thy promise to do this, thou hast done all I desire. And having thus subjugated the king of Pragjyotisha, Dhananjaya of long arms, the son of Kunti, then marched towards the north--the direction presided over by the lord of treasures. That bull amongst men, that son of Kunti, then conquered the mountainous tracts and their outskirts, as also the hilly regions. And having conquered all the mountains and the kings that reigned there, and bringing them under his sway, he exacted tributes from all. And winning the affections of those kings and uniting himself with them, he next marched, O king, against Vrihanta, the king of Uluka, making this earth tremble with the sound of his drums, the clatter of his chariot-wheels, and the roar of the elephants in his train. Vrihanta, however, quickly coming out of his city followed by his army consisting of four kinds of troops, gave battle to Falguna (Arjuna). And the fight that took place between Vrihanta and Dhananjaya was terrible. It so happened that Vrihanta was unable to bear the prowess of the son of Pandu. Then that invincible king of the mountainous region regarding the son of Kunti irresistible, approached him with all his wealth. Arjuna snatched out the kingdom from Vrihanta, but having made peace with him marched, accompanied by that king, against Senavindu whom he soon expelled from his kingdom. After this he subjugated Modapura, Vamadeva, Sudaman, Susankula, the Northern Ulukas, and the kings of those countries and peoples. Hereafter at the command of Yudhishthira, O monarch, Arjuna, did not move from the city of Senavindu but sent his troops only and brought under his sway those five countries and peoples. For Arjuna, having arrived at Devaprastha, the city of Senavindu, took up his quarters there with his army consisting of four kinds of forces. Thence, surrounded by the kings and the peoples he had subjugated, the hero marched against king Viswagaswa--that bull of Puru's race. Having vanquished in battle the brave mountaineers, who were all great warriors, the son of Pandu, O king, then occupied with the help of his troops, the town protected by the Puru king. Having vanquished in battle the Puru king, as also the robber tribes, of the mountains, the son of Pandu brought under his sway the seven tribes called Utsava-sanketa. That bull of the Kshatriya race then defeated the brave Kshatriyas of Kashmira and also king Lohita along with ten minor chiefs. Then the Trigartas, the Daravas, the Kokonadas, and various other Kshatriyas, O king, advanced against the son of Pandu. That Prince of the Kuru race then took the delightful town of Avisari, and then brought under his sway Rochamana ruling in Uraga. Then the son of Indra (Arjuna), putting forth his might, pressed the delightful town of Singhapura that was well-protected with various weapons. Then Arjuna, that bull amongst the son of Pandu, at the head of all his troops, fiercely attacked the regions called Suhma and Sumala. Then the son of Indra, endued with great prowess, after pressing them with great force, brought the Valhikas always difficult of being vanquished, under his sway. Then Falguna, the son of Pandu, taking with him a select force, defeated the Daradas along with the Kambojas. Then the exalted son of Indra vanquished the robber tribes that dwelt in the north-eastern frontier and those also that dwelt in the woods. And, O great king, the son of Indra also subjugated the allied tribes of the Lohas, the eastern Kambojas, and northern Rishikas. And the battle with the Rishikas was fierce in the extreme. Indeed, the fight that took place between them and the son of Pritha was equal to that between the gods and the Asuras in which Taraka (the wife of Vrihaspati) had become the cause of so much slaughter. And defeating, O king, the Rishikas in the field of battle, Arjuna took from them as tribute eight horses that were of the colour of the parrot's breast, as also other horses of the hues of the peacock, born in northern and other climes and endued with high speed. At last having conquered all the Himalayas and the Nishkuta mountains, that bull among men, arriving at the White mountains, encamped on its breast."

SECTION 27

Vaisampayana said,--"that heroic and foremost of the Pandavas endued with great energy, crossing the White mountains, subjugated the country of the Limpurushas ruled by Durmaputra, after a collision involving a great slaughter of Kshatriyas, and brought the region under his complete sway. Having reduced that country, the son of Indra (Arjuna) with a collected mind marched at the head of his troops to the

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country called Harataka, ruled by the Guhakas. Subjugating them by a policy of conciliation, the Kuru prince beheld (in that region) that excellent of lakes called Manasa and various other lakes and tanks sacred to the Rishis. And the exalted prince having arrived at the lake Manasa conquered the regions ruled by the Gandharvas that lay around the Harataka territories. Here the conqueror took, as tribute from the country, numerous excellent horses called Tittiri, Kalmasha, Manduka. At last the son of the slayer of Paka, arriving in the country of North Harivarsha desired to conquer it. Thereupon certain frontier-guards of huge bodies and endued with great strength and energy, coming to him with gallant hearts, said, 'O son of Pritha, this country can be never conquered by thee. If thou seekest thy good, return hence. He that entereth this region, if human, is sure to perish. We have been gratified with thee; O hero, thy conquests have been enough. Nor is anything to be seen here, O Arjuna, that may be conquered by thee. The Northern Kurus live here. There cannot be war here. Even if thou enterest it, thou will not be able to behold anything, for with human eyes nothing can be seen here. If, however thou seekest anything else, O Bharata tell us, O tiger among men, so that we may do thy bidding. Thus addressed by them, Arjuna smilingly addressing them, said,--'I desire the acquisition of the imperial dignity by Yudhishthira the Just, of great intelligence. If your land is shut against human beings, I shall not enter it. Let something be paid unto Yudhishthira by ye as tribute. Hearing these words of Arjuna, they gave him as tribute many cloths and ornaments of celestial make, silks of celestial texture and skins of celestial origin.

"It was thus that tiger among men subjugated the countries that lay to the North, having fought numberless battles with both Kshatriya and robber tribes. And having vanquished the chiefs and brought them under his sway he exacted from them much wealth, various gems and jewels, the horses of the species called Tittiri and Kalmasha, as also those of the colour of the parrot's wings and those that were like the peacocks in hue and all endued with the speed of the wind. And surrounded, O king, by a large army consisting of the four kinds of forces, the hero came back to the excellent city of Sakraprastha. And Partha offered the whole of that wealth, together with the animals he had brought, unto Yudhishthira the Just. And commanded by the monarch, the hero retired to a chamber of the palace for rest."

SECTION 28

Vaisampayana said,--in the meantime, Bhimasena also endued with great energy, having obtained the assent of Yudhishthira the Just marched towards the eastern direction. And the tiger among the Bharatas, possessed of great valour and ever increasing the sorrows of his foes, was accompanied by a mighty host with the full complement of elephants and horses and cars, well-armed and capable of crushing all hostile kingdoms. That tiger among men, the son of Pandu, going first into the great country of the Panchalas, began by various means to conciliate that tribe. Then that hero, that bull of the Bharata race, within a short time, vanquished the Gandakas and the Videhas. That exalted one then subjugated the Dasarnas. There in the country of the Dasarnas, the king called Sudharman with his bare arms fought a fierce battle with Bhimasena. And Bhimasena, beholding that feat of the illustrious king, appointed the mighty Sudharman as the first in command of his forces. Then Bhima of terrible prowess marched towards the east, causing the earth itself to tremble with the tread of the mighty host that followed him. Then that hero who in strength was the foremost of all strong men defeated in battle Rochamana, the king of Aswamedha, at the head of all his troops. And the son of Kunti, having vanquished that monarch by performing feats that excelled in fierceness, subjugated the eastern region. Then that prince of the Kuru race, endued with great prowess going into the country of Pulinda in the south, brought Sukumara and the king Sumitra under his sway. Then, O Janamejaya, that bull in the Bharata race, at the command of Yudhishthira the Just marched against Sisupala of great energy. The king of Chedi, hearing of the intentions of the son of Pandu, came out of his city. And that chastiser of all foes then received the son of Pritha with respect. Then, O king, those bulls of the Chedi and the Kuru lines, thus met together, enquired after each other's welfare. Then, O monarch, the king of Chedi offered his kingdom unto Bhima and said smilingly,--'O sinless one, upon what art thou bent?' And Bhima thereupon represented unto him the intentions of king Yudhishthira. And Bhima dwelt there, O king, for thirty nights, duly entertained by Sisupala. And after this he set out from Chedi with his troops and vehicles."

SECTION 29

Vaisampayana said,--that chastiser of all foes then vanquished king Srenimat of the country of Kumara, and then Vrihadvala, the king of Kosala. Then the foremost of the sons of Pandu, by performing feats excelling in fierceness, defeated the virtuous and mighty king Dirghayaghna of Ayodhya. And the exalted one then subjugated the country of Gopalakaksha and the northern Kosalas and also the king of Mallas. And the mighty one, arriving then in the moist region at the foot of the Himalayas soon brought the whole country under his sway. And that bull of Bharata race brought under control in this way diverse countries. And endued with great energy and in strength the foremost of all strong men, the son of Pandu next conquered the country of Bhallata, as also the mountain of Suktimanta that was by the side of Bhallata. Then Bhima of terrible prowess and long arms, vanquishing in battle the unretreating Suvahu the king of Kasi, brought him under complete sway. Then that bull among the sons of Pandu overcame in battle, by sheer force, the great king Kratha reigning in the region lying about Suparsa. Then the hero of great energy vanquished the Matsya and the powerful Maladas and the country called Pasubhumi that was without fear or oppression of any kind. And the long-armed hero then, coming from that land, conquered Madahara, Mahidara, and the Somadheyas, and turned his steps towards the north. And the mighty son of Kunti then subjugated, by sheer force, the country called Vatsabhumi, and the king of the Bhargas, as also the ruler of the Nishadas and Manimat and numerous other kings. Then Bhima, with scarcely any degree of exertion and very soon, vanquished the southern Mallas and the Bhagauanta mountains. And the hero next vanquished, by policy alone, the Sarmakas and the Varmakas. And that tiger among men then defeated with comparative ease that lord of earth, Janaka the king of the Videhas. And the hero then subjugated strategically the Sakas and the barbarians living in that part of the country. And the son of Pandu, sending forth expeditions from Videha, conquered the seven kings of the Kiratas living about the Indra mountain. The mighty hero then, endued with abundant energy, vanquished in battle the Submas and the Prasuhmas. And winning them over to his side, the son of Kunti, possessed of great strength, marched against Magadha. On his way he subjugated the monarchs known by the names of Danda and Dandadhara, And accompanied by those monarchs, the son of Pandu marched against Girivraja. After bringing the son of Jarasandha under his sway by conciliation and making him pay tribute, the hero then accompanied by the monarchs he had vanquished, marched against Kansa. And making the earth tremble by means of his troops consisting of the four kinds of forces, the foremost of the Pandavas then encountered Karna that slayer of foes. And, O Bharata, having subjugated Karna and brought him under his sway, the mighty hero then vanquished the powerful king of the mountainous regions. And the son of Pandu then slew in a fierce encounter, by the strength of his arms, the mighty king who dwelt in Madagiri. And the Pandava then, O king, subjugated in battle those strong and brave heroes of fierce prowess, viz., the heroic and mighty Vasudeva, the king of Pundra and king Mahaujah who reigned in Kausika-kachchha, and then attacked the king of Vanga. And having vanquished Samudrasena and king Chandrasena and Tamralipta, and also the king of the Karvatas and the ruler of the Suhmas, as also the kings that dwelt on the sea-shore, that bull among the Bharatas then conquered all Mlechchha tribes. The mighty son of the wind-god having thus conquered various countries, and exacting tributes from them all advanced towards Lohity. And the son of Pandu then made all the Mlechchha kings dwelling in the marshy regions on the sea-coast, pay tributes and various kinds of wealth, and sandal wood and aloes, and clothes and gems, and pearls and blankets and gold and silver and valuable corals. The Mlechchha kings showered upon the illustrious son of Kunti a thick downpour of wealth consisting of coins and gems counted by hundreds of millions. Then returning to Indraprastha, Bhima of terrible prowess offered the whole of that wealth unto king Yudhisthira the just."

SECTION 30

Vaisampayana said,--"thus also Sahadeva, dismissed with affection by king Yudhisthira the just, marched towards the southern direction accompanied by a mighty host. Strong in strength, that mighty prince of the Kuru race, vanquishing completely at the outset the Surasenas, brought the king of Matsya under his sway. And the hero then, defeating Dantavakra, the mighty king of the Adhirajas and making him pay tribute, re-established him on his throne. The prince then brought under his sway Sukumara and then king Sumitra, and he next vanquished the other Matsyas and then the Patacharas. Endued with great intelligence, the Kuru warrior then conquered soon enough the country of the Nishadas and also the high hill called Gosringa, and that lord of earth called Srenimat. And subjugating next the country called Navarashtra, the hero marched against Kuntibhoja, who with great willingness accepted the sway of the conquering hero. And marching thence to the banks of the Charmanwati, the Kuru warrior met the son of king Jamvaka, who had, on account of old hostilities, been defeated before by Vasudeva. O Bharata, the son of Jamvaka gave battle to Sahadeva. And Sahadeva defeating the prince marched towards the south. The mighty warrior then vanquished the Sekas and others, and exacted tributes from them and also various kinds of gems and wealth. Allying himself with the vanquished tribes the prince then marched towards the countries that lay on the banks of the Narmada. And defeating there in battle the two heroic kings of Avanti, called Vinda and Anuvinda, supported by a mighty host, the mighty son of the twin gods exacted much wealth from them. After this the hero marched towards the town of Bhojakata, and there, O king of unfading glory, a fierce encounter took place between him and the king of that city for two whole days. But the son of Madri, vanquishing the invincible Bhismaka, then defeated in battle the king of Kosala and the ruler of the territories lying on the banks of the Venwa, as also the Kantarakas and the kings of the eastern Kosalas. The hero then defeating both the Natakeyas and the Heramvaks in battle, and subjugating the country of Marudha, reduced Munjagrama by sheer strength. And the son of Pandu then vanquished the mighty monarchs of the Nachinas and the Arvukas and the various forest king of that part of the country. Endued with great strength the hero then reduced to subjection king Vatadhipa. And defeating in battle the Pulindas, the hero then marched southward. And the younger brother of Nakula then fought for one whole day with the king of Pandrya. The long-armed hero having vanquished that monarch marched further to the south. And then he beheld the celebrated caves of Kishkindhya and in that region fought for seven days with the monkey-kings Mainda and Dwivida. Those illustrious kings however, without being tired an the encounter, were gratified with Sahadeva. And joyfully addressing the Kuru prince, they said,--'O tiger among the sons of Pandu, go hence, taking with the tribute from us all. Let the mission of the king Yudhishthira the Just possessed of great intelligence, be accomplished without hindrance. And taking jewels and gems from them all, the hero marched towards the city of Mahishmati, and there that bull of men did battle with king Nila. The battle that took place between king Nila and the mighty Sahadeva the son of Pandu, that slayer of hostile heroes, was fierce and terrible. And the encounter was an exceedingly bloody one, and the life of the hero himself was exposed to great risk, for the god Agni himself assisted king Nila in that fight. Then the cars, heroes, elephants, and the soldiers in their coats of mail of Sahadeva's army all appeared to be on fire. And beholding this the prince of the Kuru race became exceedingly anxious. And, O Janamejaya, at sight of this the hero could not resolve upon what he should do.

Janamejaya said,--O regenerate one, why was it that the god Agni become hostile in battle unto Sahadeva, who was fighting simply for the accomplishment of a sacrifice (and therefore, for the gratification of Agni himself)?

Vaisampayana said,--'It is said, O Janamejaya, that the god Agni while residing in Mahishmati, earned the reputation of a lover. King Nila had a daughter who was exceedingly beautiful. She used always to stay near the sacred fire of her father, causing it to blaze up with vigour. And it so happened that king Nila's fire, even if fanned, would not blaze up till agitated by the gentle breath of that girl's fair lips. And it was said in King Nila's palace and in the house of all his subjects that the god Agni desired that beautiful girl for his bride. And it so happened that he was accepted by the girl herself. One day the deity assuming the form of a Brahmana, was happily enjoying the society of the fair one, when he was discovered by the king. And the virtuous king thereupon ordered the Brahmana to be punished according to law. At this the illustrious deity flamed up in wrath. And beholding this, the king wondered much and bent his head low on the ground. And after some time the king bowing low bestowed the daughter of his upon the god Agni, disguised as a Brahmana. And the god Vibhabasu (Agni) accepting that fair-browed daughter of king Nila, became gracious unto that monarch. And Agni, the illustrious gratifier of all desires also asked the monarch to beg a boon of him. And the king begged that his troops might never be struck with panic while engaged in battle. And from that time, O king, those monarchs who from ignorance of this, desire to subjugate king Nila's city, are consumed by Hutasana (Agni). And from that time, O perpetuator of the Kuru race, the girls of the city of Mahishmati became rather unacceptable to others (as wives). And Agni by his boon granted them sexual liberty, so that the women of that town always roam about at will, each unbound to a particular husband. And, O bull of the Bharata race, from that time the monarchs (of other countries) forsake this city for fear of Agni. And the virtuous Sahadeva, beholding his troops afflicted with fear and surrounded by flames of fire, himself stood there immovable as a mountain. And purifying himself and touching water, the hero (Sahadeva) then addressed Agni, the god that sanctifieth everything, in these words,--

'I bow unto thee, O thou whose track is always marked with smoke. These my exertions are all for thee. O thou sanctifier of all, thou art the mouth of the gods and thou art Sacrifice personified. Thou art called Pavaka because thou sanctifiest everything, and thou art Havyavahana, because thou carriest the clarified butter that is poured on thee. The Veda have sprung for ministering unto thee, and, therefore, thou art

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called Jataveda. Chief of the gods as thou art, thou art called Chitrabhanu, Anala, Vibhavasu, Hutasana, Jvalana, Sikhi, Vaiswanara, Pingesa, Plavanga, Bhuritejah. Thou art he from whom Kumara (Kartikeya) had his origin; thou art holy; thou art called Rudragarva and Hiranyakrit. Let thee, O Agni, grant me energy, let Vayu grant me life, let Earth grant me nourishment and strength, and let Water grant me prosperity. O Agni, thou who art the first cause of the waters, thou who art of great purity, thou for ministering unto whom the Vedas have sprung, thou who art the foremost of the deities, thou who art their mouth, O purify me by thy truth. Rishis and Brahmanas, Deities and Asuras pour clarified butter every day, according to the ordinance into thee during sacrifices. Let the rays of truth emanating from thee, while thou exhibitest thyself in those sacrifices, purify me. Smoke-bannered as thou art and possessed of flames, thou great purifier from all sins born of Vayu and ever present as thou art in all creatures, O purify me by the rays of thy truth. Having cleansed myself thus cheerfully, O exalted one, do I pray unto thee. O Agni, grant me now contentment and prosperity, and knowledge and gladness.

Vaisampayana continued.--'He that will pour clarified butter into Agni reciting these mantras, will ever be blessed with prosperity, and having his soul under complete control will also be cleansed from all his sins.

"Sahadeva, addressing Agni again, said,--'O carrier of the sacrificial libations, it behoveth thee not to obstruct a sacrifice!' Having said this, that tiger among men--the son of Madri--spreading some kusa grass on earth sat down in expectation of the (approaching) fire and in front of those terrified and anxious troops of his. And Agni, too, like the ocean that never transgresseth its continents, did not pass over his head. On the other hand approaching Sahadeva quietly and addressing that prince of the Kuru race, Agni that god of men gave him every assurance and said,--'O thou of the Kuru race, rise up from this posture. O rise up, I was only trying thee. I know all thy purpose, as also those of the son of Dharma (Yudhisthira). But, O best of the Bharata race, as long as there is a descendant of king Nila's line, so long should this town be protected by me. I will, however O son of Pandu, gratify the desires of thy heart. And at these words of Agni, O bull of the Bharata race, the son of Madri rose up with a cheerful heart, and joining his hands and bending his head worshipped that god of fire, sanctifier of all beings. And at last, after Agni had disappeared, king Nila came there, and at the command of that deity, worshipped with due rites Sahadeva, that tiger among men--that master of battle. And Sahadeva accepted that worship and made him pay tribute. And having brought king Nila under his sway thus, the victorious son of Madri then went further towards the south. The long-armed hero then brought the king of Tripura of immeasurable energy under his sway. And next turning his forces against the Paurava kingdom, he vanquished and reduced to subjection the monarch thereof. And the prince, after this, with great efforts brought Akriti, the king of Saurashtra and preceptor of the Kausikas under his sway. The virtuous prince, while staying in the kingdom of Saurashtra sent an ambassador unto king Rukmin of Bhishmaka within the territories of Bhojakata, who, rich in possessions and intelligence, was the friend of Indra himself. And the monarch along with his son, remembering their relationship with Krishna, cheerfully accepted, O king, the sway of the son of Pandu. And the master of battle then, having exacted jewels and wealth from king Rukmin, marched further to the south. And, endued with great energy and great strength, the hero then, reduced to subjection, Surparaka and Talakata, and the Dandakas also. The Kuru warrior then vanquished and brought under his subjection numberless kings of the Mlechchha tribe living on the sea coast, and the Nishadas and the cannibals and even the Karnapravarnas, and those tribes also called the Kalamukhas who were a cross between human beings and Rakshasas, and the whole of the Cole mountains, and also Surabhipatna, and the island called the Copper island, and the mountain called Ramaka. The high-souled warrior, having brought under subjection king Timingila, conquered a wild tribe known by the name of the Kerakas who were men with one leg. The son of Pandu also conquered the town of Sanjayanti and the country of the Pashandas and the Karahatakas by means of his messengers alone, and made all of them pay tributes to him. The hero brought under his subjection and exacted tributes from the Paundrayas and the Dravidas along with the Udrakeralas and the Andhras and the Talavanas, the Kalingas and the Ushtrakarnikas, and also the delightful city of Atavi and that of the Yavanas. And, O king of kings, that slayer of all foes, the virtuous and intelligent son of Madri having arrived at the sea-shore, then despatched with great assurance messengers unto the illustrious Vibhishana, the grandson of Pulastya. And the monarch willingly accepted the sway of the son of Pandu, for that intelligent and exalted king regarded it all as the act of Time. And he sent unto the son of Pandu diverse kinds of jewels and gems, and sandal and also wood, and many celestial ornaments, and much costly apparel, and many valuable pearls. And the intelligent Sahadeva, accepting them all, returned to his own kingdom.

"Thus it was, O king, that slayer of all foes, having vanquished by conciliation and war numerous kings and having also made them pay tribute, came back to his own city. The bull of the Bharata race, having presented the whole of that wealth unto king Yudhisthira the just regarded himself, O Janamejaya, as crowned with success and continued to live happily."

SECTION 31

Vaisampayana said,--"I shall now recite to you the deeds and triumphs of Nakula, and how that exalted one conquered the direction that had once been subjugated by Vasudeva. The intelligent Nakula, surrounded by a large host, set out from Khandavaprastha for the west, making this earth tremble with the shouts and the leonine roars of the warriors and the deep rattle of chariot wheels. And the hero first assailed the mountainous country called Rohitaka that was dear unto (the celestial generalissimo) Kartikeya and which was delightful and prosperous and full of kine and every kind of wealth and produce. And the encounter the son of Pandu had with the Mattamyurakas of that country was fierce. And the illustrious Nakula after this, subjugated the whole of the desert country and the region known as Sairishaka full of plenty, as also that other one called Mahetta. And the hero had a fierce encounter with the royal sage Akrosa. And the son of Pandu left that part of the country having subjugated the Dasarnas, the Sivis, the Trigartas, the Amvashtas, the Malavas, the five tribes of the Karnatas, and those twice born classes that were called the Madhyamakeyas and Vattadhanas. And making circuitous journey that bull among men then conquered the (Mlechcha) tribes called the Utsava-sanketas. And the illustrious hero soon brought under subjection the mighty Gramaniya that dwelt on the shore of the sea, and the Sudras and the Abhiras that dwelt on the banks of the Saraswati, and all those tribes that lived upon fisheries, and those also that dwelt on the mountains, and the whole of the country called after the five rivers, and the mountains called Amara, and the country called Uttarayotisha and the city of Divyakutta and the tribe called Dwarapala. And the son of Pandu, by sheer force, reduced to subjection the Ramathas, the Harahunas, and various kings of the west. And while staying there Nakula sent. O Bharata, messengers unto Vasudeva. And Vasudeva with all the Yadavas accepted his sway. And the mighty hero, proceeding thence to Sakala, the city of the Madras, made his uncle Salya accept from affection the sway of the Pandavas. And, O monarch, the illustrious prince deserving the hospitality and entertainment at his uncle's hands, was well entertained by his uncle. And skilled in war, the prince, taking from Salya a large quantity of jewels and gems, left his kingdom. And the son of Pandu then reduced to subjection the fierce Mlechchas residing on the sea coast, as also the wild tribes of the Palhavas, the Kiratas, the Yavanas, and the Sakas. And having subjugated various monarchs, and making all of them pay tributes, Nakula that foremost of the Kurus, full of resources, retraced his way towards his own city. And, O king, so great was the treasure which Nakula brought that ten thousand camels could carry it with difficulty on their backs. And arriving at Indraprastha, the heroic and fortunate son of Madri presented the whole of that wealth unto Yudhishthira.

"Thus, O king, did Nakula subjugate the countries that lay to the west--the direction that is presided over by the god Varuna, and that had once before been subjugated by Vasudeva himself!"

SECTION 32

(Rajasuyika Parva)

Vaisampayana said,--"in consequence of the protection afforded by Yudhisthira the just, and of the truth which he ever cherished in his behaviour, as also of the check under which he kept all foes, the subjects of that virtuous monarch were all engaged in their respective avocations. And by reason of the equitable taxation and the virtuous rule of the monarch, clouds in his kingdom poured as much rain as the people desired, and the cities and the town became highly prosperous. Indeed as a consequence of the monarch's acts; every affair of the kingdom, especially cattle bleeding, agriculture and trade prospered highly. O king, during those days even robbers and cheats never spoke lies amongst themselves, nor they that were the favourites of the monarch. There were no droughts and floods and plagues and fires and premature deaths in those days of Yudhishthira devoted to virtue. And it was only for doing agreeable services, or for worshipping, or for offering tributes that would not impoverish, that other kings used to approach Yudhisthira (and not for hostility or battle.) The large treasure room of the king became so much filled with hoards of wealth virtuously obtained that it could not be emptied even in a hundred years. And the son of Kunti, ascertaining the state of his treasury and the extent of his possessions, fixed his heart upon the celebration of a sacrifice. His friends and officers, each separately and all together, approaching him said,--'The time hath come, O exalted one, for thy sacrifice. Let arrangements, therefore, be made without loss of time.' While they were thus talking, Hari (Krishna), that omniscient and ancient one, that soul of the Vedas, that invincible one as described by those that have knowledge, that foremost of all lasting existences in the universe, that origin of all things, as also that in which all things come to be dissolved, that lord of the past, the future, and the present Kesava--the slayer of Kesi, and the bulwark of all Vrishnis and the dispeller of all fear in times of distress and the smiter of all foes, having appointed Vasudeva to the command of the (Yadava) army, and bringing with him for the king Yudhishthira just a large mass of treasure; entered that excellent city of cities. Khandava, himself surrounded by a mighty host and filling the atmosphere with the rattle of his chariot-wheels. And Madhava, that tiger among men enhancing that limitless mass of wealth the Pandavas had by that inexhaustible ocean of gems he had brought, enhanced the sorrows of the enemies of the Pandavas. The capital of the Bharata was gladdened by Krishna's presence just as a dark region is rendered joyful by the sun or a region of still air by a gentle breeze. Approaching him joyfully and receiving him with due respect, Yudhishthira enquired of his welfare. And after Krishna had been seated at ease, that bull among men, the son of Pandu, with Dhaumya and Dwaipayana and the other sacrificial priests and with Bhima and Arjuna and the twins, addressed Krishna thus,--

'O Krishna it is for thee that the whole earth is under my sway. And, O thou of the Vrishni race, it is through thy grace that vast wealth had been got by me. And, O son of Devaki, O Madhava, I desire to devote that wealth according to the ordinance, unto superior Brahmanas and the carrier of sacrificial libations. And, O thou of the Dasarha race, it behoveth thee, O thou of mighty arms, to grant me permission to celebrate a sacrifice along with thee and my younger brothers. Therefore, O Govinda, O thou of long arms, install thyself at that sacrifice; for, O thou of the Dasarha race, if thou performed the sacrifice, I shall be cleansed of sin. Or, O exalted one, grant permission for myself being installed at the sacrifice along with these my younger brothers, for permitted by thee, O Krishna. I shall be able to enjoy the fruit of an excellent sacrifice. Vaisampayana continued,--"Unto Yudhisthira after he had said this, Krishna, extolling his virtues, said.--'Thou, O tiger among kings, deservest imperial dignity. Let, therefore, the great sacrifice be performed by thee. And if thou performest that sacrifice an obtainest its fruit we all shall regard ourselves as crowned with success. I am always engaged in seeking good. Perform thou then the sacrifice thou desirest. Employ me also in some office for that purpose, for I should obey all thy commands. Yudhisthira replied--O Krishna, my resolve is already crowned with fruit, and success also is surely mine, when thou, O Harishikesa, hast arrived here agreeably to my wish!'

Vaisampayana continued,--"Commanded by Krishna, the son of Pandu along with his brothers set himself upon collecting the materials for the performance of the Rajasuya sacrifice. And that chastiser of all foes, the son of Pandu, then commanded Sahadeva that foremost of all warriors and all ministers also, saying,--Let persons be appointed to collect without loss of time, all those articles which the Brahmanas have directed as necessary for the performance of this sacrifice, and all materials and auspicious necessaries that Dhaumya may order as required for it, each of the kind needed and one after another in due order. Let Indrasena and Visoka and Puru with Arjuna for his charioteer be engaged to collect food if they are to please me. Let these foremost of the Kurus also gather every article of agreeable taste and smell that may delight and attract the hearts of the Brahmanas.'

"Simultaneously with these words of king Yudhisthira the just, Sahadeva that foremost of warriors, having accomplished everything, represented the matter to the king. And Dwaipayana, O king, then appointed as sacrificial priests exalted Brahmanas that were like the Vedas themselves in embodied forms. The son of Satyavati became himself the Brahma of that sacrifice. And that bull of the Dhananjaya race, Susaman, became the chanter of the Vedic (Sama) hymns. Yajnavalkya devoted to Brahma became the Adhyaryu, and Paila--the son of Vasu and Dhaumya became the Hotris. And O bull of the Bharata race, the disciples and the sons of these men, all well-acquainted with the Vedas and the branches of the Vedas, became Hotragts. And all of them, having uttered benedictions and recited the object of the sacrifice, worshipped, according to the ordinance the large sacrificial compound. Commanded by the Brahmanas, builders and artificers erected numerous edifices there that were spacious and well-perfumed like unto the temples of the gods. After these were finished, that best of kings and that bull among men Yudhishthira. commanded his chief adviser Sahadeva, saying,--'Despatch thou, without loss of time, messengers endued with speed to invite all to the sacrifice. And Sahadeva, hearing these words of the king, despatched messengers telling them,--'Invite ye all the Brahmanas in the kingdom and all the owners of land (Kshatriyas) and all the Vaisyas and also all the respectable Sudras, and bring them hither!'

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Vaisampayana continued,--"Endued with speed, these messengers then, thus commanded, invited everybody according to the orders of the Pandava, without losing any time, and brought with them many persons, both friends and strangers. Then, O Bharata, the Brahmanas at the proper time installed Yudhishthira the son of Kunti at the Rajasuya sacrifice. And after the ceremony of installation was over, that foremost of men, the virtuous king Yudhishthira the Just like the god Dharma himself in human frame, entered the sacrificial compound, surrounded by thousands of Brahmanas and his brothers and the relatives and friends and counsellors, and by a large number of Kshatriya kings who had come from various countries, and by the officers of State. Numerous Brahmanas, well-skilled in all branches of knowledge and versed in the Vedas and their several branches, began to pour in from various countries. Thousands of craftsmen, at the command of king Yudhishthira the Just, erected for those Brahmanas with their attendants separate habitations well-provided with food and clothes and the fruits and flowers of every season. And, O king, duly worshipped by the monarch the Brahmanas continued to reside there passing their time in conversation on diverse topics and beholding the performances of actors and dancers. And the clamour of high-souled Brahmanas, cheerfully eating and talking, was heard there without intermission. 'Give,' and 'Eat' were the words that were heard there incessantly and every day. And, O Bharata, king Yudhishthira the Just gave unto each of those Brahmanas thousands of kine and beds and gold coins and damsels.

Thus commenced on earth the sacrifice of that unrivalled hero, the illustrious son of Pandu, like the sacrifice in heaven of Sakra himself. Then that bull among men, king Yudhishthira despatched Nakula the son of Pandu unto Hastinapura to bring Bhishma and Drona, Dhritarashtra and Vidura and Kripa and those amongst his cousins that were well-disposed towards him."

SECTION 33

Vaisampayana said,--"the ever-victorious Nakula, the son of Pandu, having reached Hastinapura, formally invited Bhishma and Dhritarashtra. The elder of the Kuru race with the preceptor at their head, invited with due ceremonies, came with joyous hearts to that sacrifice, with Brahmanas walking before them. And, O hull of the Bharata race, having heard of king Yudhishthira's sacrifice, hundreds of other Kshatriyas acquainted with the nature of the sacrifice, with joyous hearts came there from various countries, desiring to behold king Yudhishthira the son of Pandu and his sacrificial mansion, and brought with them many costly jewels of various kinds. And Dhritarashtra and Bhishma and Vidura of high intelligence; and all Kaurava brothers with Duryyodhana at their head; and Suvala the king of Gandhara and Sakuni endued with great strength; and Achala, and Vrishaka, and Karna that foremost of all charioteers; and Salya endued with great might and the strong Valhika; and Somadatta, and Bhuri of the Kuru race, and Bhurisravas and Sala; and Aswatthama, Kripa, Drona, and Jayadratha, the ruler of Sindhu; and Yajnasena with his sons, and Salya that lord of earth and that great car warrior king Bhagadatta of Pragjyotisha accompanied by all Mlechcha tribes inhabiting the marshy regions on the sea-shore; and many mountain kings, and king Vrihadvala; and Vasudeva the king of the Paundrayas, and the kings of Vanga and Kalinga; and Akastha and Kuntala and the kings of the Malavas and the Andhrakas; and the Dravidas and the Singhalas and the king of Kashmira, and king Kuntibhoja of great energy and king Gauravahana, and all the other heroic kings of Valhika; and Virata with his two sons, and Mavella endued with great might; and various kings and princes ruling in various countries; and, O Bharata king Sisupala endued with great energy and invincible in battle accompanied by his son--all of them came to the sacrifice of the son of Pandu. And Rama and Aniruddha and Kanaka and Sarana; and Gada, Pradyumna, Shamva, and Charudeshna of great energy; and Ulmuka and Nishatha and the brave Angavaha; and innumerable other Vrishnis--all mighty car-warriors--came there.

"These and many other kings from the middle country came, O monarch, to that great Rajasuya sacrifice of the son of Pandu. And, O king, at the command of king Yudhishthira the Just, mansions were assigned to all those monarchs, that were full of various kinds of edibles and adorned with tanks and tall trees. And the son of Dharma worshipped all those illustrious monarchs as they deserved. Worshipped by the king they retired to mansions that were assigned to them. Those mansions were (white and high) like the cliffs of Kailasa, and delightful to behold, and furnished with every kind of furniture. They were enclosed on all sides with well-built and high white-washed walls; their windows were covered with net-works of gold and their interiors were furnished with rows of pearls, their flights of stairs were easy of ascent and the floors were all laid over with costly carpets. They were all hung over with garlands of flowers and perfumed with excellent aloes. White as snow or the moon, they looked extremely handsome even from the distance of a yojana. Their doors and entrances were set uniformly and were wide enough to admit a crowd of persons. Adorned with various costly articles and built with various metals, they looked like peaks of the Himavat. Having rested a while in those mansions the monarchs beheld king Yudhishthira the Just surrounded by numerous Sadasyas (sacrificial priests) and ever performing sacrifices distinguished by large gifts to Brahmanas. That sacrificial mansion wherein were present the kings and Brahmanas and great Rishis looked, O king, as handsome as heaven itself crowded with the gods!"

Thus ends the thirty-fourth section in the Rajasuyika Parva of the Sabha Parva.

SECTION 34

Vaisampayana said,--"then, O king, Yudhishthira, having approached and worshipped his grandfather and his preceptor, addressed Bhishma and Drona and Kripa and the son of Drona and Duryyodhana and Vivingsati, and said,--'Help me ye all in the mater of this sacrifice. This large treasure that is here is yours. Consult ye with one another and guide me as ye desire.

"The eldest of the sons of Pandu, who had been installed at the sacrifice, having said this unto all, appointed every one of them to suitable offices. He appointed Dussasana to superintend the department of food and other enjoyable articles. Aswatthama was asked to attend on the Brahmanas. Sanjaya was appointed to offer return-worship unto the kings. Bhishma and Drona, both endued with great intelligence, were appointed to see what was done and what was left undone. And the king appointed Kripa to look after the diamonds and gold and the pearls and gems, as also after the distribution of gifts to Brahmanas. And so other tigers among men were appointed to similar offices. Valhika and Dhritarashtra and Somadatta and Jayadratha, brought thither by Nakula, went about, enjoying themselves as lords of the sacrifice. Vidura otherwise called Kshatta, conversant with every rule of morality, became the disburser. Duryyodhana became the receiver of the tributes that were brought by the kings. Krishna who was himself the centre of all worlds and round whom moved every creature, desirous of acquiring excellent fruits, was engaged at his own will in washing the feet of the Brahmanas.

"And desirous of beholding that sacrificial mansion, as also king Yudhishthira the Just, none came there with tribute less than a thousand (in number, weight or measure). Everyone honoured the king Yudhishthira the Just with large presents of jewels. And each of the kings made a present of his wealth, flattering himself with the proud belief that the jewels he gave would enable the Kuru king Yudhisthira to complete his sacrifice. And, O monarch, the sacrificial compound of the illustrious son of Kunti looked extremely handsome--with the multitude of palaces built so as to last for ever and crowded with guards and warriors. These were so high that their tops touched the cars of the gods that came to behold that sacrifice; as also with the cars themselves of the celestials, and with the dwelling of the Brahmanas and the mansions made there for the kings resembling the cars of the celestials and adorned with gems and filled with every kind of wealth, and lastly with crowds of the kings that came there all endued with beauty and wealth. Yudhisthira, as though vying with Varuna himself in wealth, commenced the sacrifice (of Rajasuya) distinguished by six fires and large gifts to Brahmanas. The King gratified everybody with presents of great value and indeed with every kind of object that one could desire. With abundance of rice and of every kind of food, as also with a mass of jewels brought as tribute, that vast concourse consisted of persons every one of whom was fed to the full. The gods also were gratified at the sacrifice by the Ida, clarified butter, Homa and libations poured by the great Rishis versed in mantras and pronunciation. Like the gods, the Brahmanas also were gratified with the sacrificial gifts and food and great wealth. And all the other orders of men also were gratified at that sacrifice and filled with joy."

SECTION 35

(Arghyaharana Parva)

"Vaisampayana said,--On the last day of the sacrifice when the king was to be sprinkled over with the sacred water, the great Brahmana Rishis ever deserving of respectful treatment, along with the invited kings, entered together the inner enclosure of the sacrificial compound. And those illustrious Rishis with Narada as their foremost, seated at their ease with those royal sages within that enclosure, looked like the gods seated in the mansion of Brahma in the company of the celestial Rishis. Endued with immeasurable energy those Rishis, having obtained leisure, started various topics of conversation. 'This is so,' 'This is not so,' 'This is even so.' 'This cannot be otherwise,'--thus did many of them engage in discussions with one another. Some amongst the disputants, by well-chosen arguments made the weaker position appear the stronger and the stronger the weaker. Some disputants endued with great intelligence fell upon the position urged by others like hawks darting at meat thrown up into the air, while some amongst them versed in the interpretations of religious treatises and others of rigid vows, and well-acquainted with every commentary and gloss engaged themselves in pleasant converse. And, O king, that platform crowded with gods, Brahmanas and great Rishis looked extremely handsome like the wide expanse of the firmament studded with stars. O monarch, there was then no Sudra near that platform of Yudhisthira's mansion, nor anybody that was without vows.

"And Narada, beholding the fortunate Yudhisthira's prosperity that was born of that sacrifice, became highly gratified. Beholding that vast concourse all the Kshatriyas, the Muni Narada, O king of men, became thoughtful. And, O bull amongst men, the Rishi began to recollect the words he had heard of old in the mansion of Brahma regarding the incarnation on earth of portions of every deity. And knowing, O son of the Kuru race, that that was a concourse (of incarnate) gods, Narada thought in his mind of Hari with eyes like lotus-petals. He knew that that creator himself of every object one, that exalted of all gods--Narayana--who had formerly commanded the celestials, saying,--'Be ye born on earth and slay one another and come back to heaven'--that slayer of all the enemies of the gods, that subjugator of all hostile towns, in order to fulfil his own promise, had been born in the Kshatriya order. And Narada knew that the exalted and holy Narayana, also called Sambhu the lord of the universe, having commanded all the celestials thus, had taken his birth in the race of Yadus and that foremost of all perpetuator of races, having sprung from the line of the Andhaka-Vrishnis on earth was graced with great good fortune and was shining like the moon herself among stars. Narada knew that Hari the grinder of foes, whose strength of arm was ever praised by all the celestials with Indra among them, was then living in the world in human form. Oh, the Self-Create will himself take away (from the earth) this vast concourse of Kshatriyas endued with so much strength. Such was the vision of Narada the omniscient who knew Hari or Narayana to be that Supreme Lord whom everybody worshipped with sacrifice. And Narada, gifted with great intelligence and the foremost of all persons and conversant with morality, thinking of all this, sat at that sacrifice of the wise king Yudhisthira the just with feelings of awe.

"Then Bhishma, O king, addressing king Yudhisthira the just, said, "O Bharata, let Arghya (an article of respect) be offered unto the kings as each of them deserveth. Listen, O Yudhishthira, the preceptor, the sacrificial priest, the relative, the Snataka, the friend, and the king, it hath been said are the six that deserve Arghya. The wise have said that when any of these dwell with one for full one year he deserveth to be worshipped with Arghya. These kings have been staying with us for some time. Therefore, O king, let Arghyas be procured to be offered unto each of them. And let an Arghya be presented first of all unto him among those present who is the foremost.

"Hearing these words of Bhishma, Yudhishthira said--'O Grandsire, O thou of the Kuru race, whom thou deemest the foremost amongst these and unto whom the Arghya should be presented by us, O tell me.'

"Vaisampayana continued,--Then, O Bharata, Bhishma the son of Santanu, judged it by his intelligence that on earth Krishna was the foremost of all. And he said--'As is the sun among all luminous objects, so is the one (meaning Krishna) (who shines like the sun) among us all, in consequence of his energy, strength and prowess. And this our sacrificial mansion is illuminated and gladdened by him as a sunless region by the sun, or a region of still air by a gust of breeze. Thus commanded by Bhishma, Sahadeva endued with great prowess duly presented the first Arghya of excellent ingredients unto Krishna of the Vrishni race. Krishna also accepted it according to the forms of the ordinance. But Sisupala could not bear to see that worship offered unto Vasudeva. And this mighty king of Chedi, reproving in the midst of that assembly both Bhishma and. Yudhishthira, censured Vasudeva thereafter."

SECTION 36

"Sisupala said--'O thou of the Kuru race, this one of the Vrishni race doth not deserve royal worship as if he were a king, in the midst of all these illustrious monarchs. O son of Pandu, this conduct of thine in thus willingly worshipping him with eyes like lotus-petals is not worthy of the illustrious Pandavas. Ye sons of Pandu. Ye are children. Ye know not what morality is, for that is very subtle. Bhishma, this son also of Ganga is of little knowledge and hath transgressed the rules of morality (by giving ye such counsel). And, O Bhishma, if one like thee, possessed of virtue and morality acteth from motives of interest, he is deserving of censure among the honest and the wise. How doth he of the Dasarha race, who is not even a king, accept worship before these kings and how is it that he hath been worshipped by ye? O bull of the Kuru race, if thou regardest Krishna as the oldest in age, here is Vasudeva, and how can his son be said so in his presence? Or, if thou regardest Vasudeva as your well-wisher and supporter, here is Drupada; how then can Madhava deserve the (first) worship? Or, O son of Kuru, regardest thou Krishna as

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preceptor? When Drona is here, how hast thou worshipped him of the Vrishni race? Or, O son of Kuru, regardest thou Krishna as the Ritwija? When old Dwaipayana is here, how hath Krishna been worshipped by thee? Again when old Bhishma, the son of Santanu, that foremost of men who is not to die save at his own wish is here, why, O king, hath Krishna been worshipped by thee? When the brave Aswatthaman, versed in every branch of knowledge is here, why, O king, hath Krishna, O thou of the Kuru race, been worshipped by thee? When that King of kings, Duryyodhana, that foremost of men, is here, as also Kripa the preceptor of the Bharata princes, why hath Krishna been worshipped by thee? How, O son of Pandu, passing over Druma, the preceptor of the Kimpurusas, hast thou worshipped Krishna? When the invincible Bhishmaka and king Pandya possessed of every auspicious mark, and that foremost of kings--Rukmi and Ekalavya and Salya, the king of the Madras, are here, how, O son of Pandu, hast thou offered the first worship unto Krishna? Here also is Karna ever boasting of his strength amongst all kings, and (really) endued with great might, the favourite disciple of the Brahmana Jamadagnya, the hero who vanquished in battle all monarchs by his own strength alone. How, O Bharata, hast thou, passing him over, offered the first worship unto Krishna? The slayer of Madhu is neither a sacrificial priest nor a preceptor, nor a king. That thou hast notwithstanding all these worshipped him, O chief of the Kurus, could only have been from motives of gain. If, O Bharata, it was your wish to offer the first worship unto the slayer of Madhu, why were these monarchs brought here to be insulted thus? We have not paid tributes to the illustrious son of Kunti from fear, from desire of gain, or from having been won over by conciliation. On the other hand, we have paid him tribute simply because he hath been desirous of the imperial dignity from motives of virtue. And yet he it is that thus insulteth us. O king, from what else, save motives of insult, could it have been that thou hast worshipped Krishna, who possesseth not the insignia of royalty, with the Arghya in the midst of the assembled monarchs? Indeed, the reputation for virtue that the son of Dharma hath acquired, hath been acquired by him without cause, for who would offer such undue worship unto one that hath fallen off from virtue. This wretch born in the race of the Vrishnis unrighteously slew of old the illustrious king Jarasandha. Righteousness hath today been abandoned by Yudhishthira and meanness only hath been displayed by him in consequence of his having offered the Arghya to Krishna. If the helpless sons of Kunti were affrighted and disposed to meanness, thou, O Madhava, ought to have enlightened them as to thy claims to the first worship? Why also, O Janarddana, didst thou accept the worship of which thou art unworthy, although it was offered unto thee by those mean-minded princes? Thou thinkest much of the worship unworthily offered unto thee, like a dog that lappeth in solitude a quantity of clarified butter that it hath obtained. O Janarddana, this is really no insult offered unto the monarchs; on the other hand it is thou whom the Kurus have insulted. Indeed, O slayer of Madhu, as a wife is to one that is without virile power, as a fine show is to one that is blind, so is this royal worship to thee who art no king. What Yudhishthira is, hath been seen; what Bhishma is, hath been seen; and what this Vasudeva is hath been seen. Indeed, all these have been seen as they are!" "Having spoken these words, Sisupala rose from his excellent seat, and accompanied by the kings, went out of that assembly."

SECTION 37

"Vaisampayana said,--Then the king Yudhishthira hastily ran after Sisupala and spoke unto him sweetly and in a conciliating tone the following words,--'O lord of earth, what thou hast said is scarcely proper for thee. O king, it is highly sinful and needlessly cruel. Insult not Bhishma, O king, by saying that he doth not know what virtue is. Behold, these many kings, older than thou art, all approve of the worship offered unto Krishna. It behoveth thee to bear it patiently like them. O ruler of Chedi, Bhishma knoweth Krishna truly. Thou knowest him not so well as this one of the Kuru race.'"

"Bhishma also, after this, said,--He that approveth not the worship offered unto Krishna, the oldest one in the universe, deserveth neither soft words nor conciliation. The chief of warriors of the Kshatriya rare who having overcome a Kshatriya in battle and brought him under his power, setteth him free, becometh the guru (preceptor or master) of the vanquished one. I do not behold in this assembly of kings even one ruler of men who hath not been vanquished in battle by the energy of this son of the Satwata race. This one (meaning Krishna) here, of undefiled glory, deserveth to be worshipped not by ourselves alone, but being of mighty arms, he deserveth to be worshipped by the three worlds also. Innumerable warriors among Kshatriyas have been vanquished in battle by Krishna. The whole universe without limit is established in him of the Vrishni race. Therefore do we worship Krishna amongst the best and the oldest, and not others. It behoveth thee not to say so. Let thy understanding be never so. I have, O king, waited upon many persons that are old in knowledge. I have heard from all those wise men, while talking; of the numerous much-regarded attributes of the accomplished Sauri. I have also heard many times all the acts recited by people that Krishna of great intelligence hath performed since his birth. And, O king of Chedi, we do not from caprice, or keeping in view our relationship or the benefits he may confer on us, worship Janarddana who is worshipped by the good on earth and who is the source of the happiness of every creature. We have offered unto him the first worship because of his fame, his heroism, his success. There is none here of even tender years whom we have not taken into consideration. Passing over many persons that are foremost for their virtues, we have regarded Hari as deserving of the first worship. Amongst the Brahmanas one that is superior in knowledge, amongst the Kshatriyas one that is superior in strength, amongst the Vaisyas one that is superior in possessions and wealth, and amongst the Sudras one that is superior in years, deserveth to be worshipped. In the matter of the worship offered unto Govinda, there are two reason, viz., knowledge of the Vedas and their branches, and also excess of strength. Who else is there in the world of men save Kesava that is so distinguished? Indeed, liberality, cleverness, knowledge of the Vedas, bravery, modesty, achievements, excellent intelligence, humility, beauty, firmness, contentment and prosperity--all dwell for ever in Achyuta. Therefore, ye kings; it behoveth ye to approve of the worship that hath been offered unto Krishna who is of great accomplishments, who as the preceptor, the father, the guru, is worthy of the Arghya and deserving of (everybody's) worship. Hrishikesa is the sacrificial priest, the guru, worthy of being solicited to accept one's daughter in marriage, the Snataka, the king, the friend: therefore hath Achyuta been worshipped by us. Krishna is the origin of the universe and that in which the universe is to dissolve. Indeed, this universe of mobile and immobile creatures hath sprung into existence from Krishna only. He is the unmanifest primal cause (Avyakta Prakriti), the creator, the eternal, and beyond the ken of all creatures. Therefore doth he of unfading glory deserve highest worship. The intellect, the seat of sensibility, the five elements, air, heat, water, ether, earth, and the four species of beings (oviparous, viviparous, born of filthy damp and vegetal) are all established in Krishna. The sun, the moon, the constellations, the planets, all the principal directions, the intermediate directions, are all established in Krishna. As the Agnihotra is the foremost among all Vedic sacrifices, as the Gayatri is the foremost among metres, as the king is the foremost among men, as the ocean is the foremost among all rivers, as the moon is the foremost among all constellations, as the sun is the foremost among all luminous bodies, as the Meru is the foremost among all mountains, as Garuda is the foremost among all birds, so as long as the upward, downward, and sideway course of the universe lasteth, Kesava is the foremost in all the worlds including the regions of the celestials. This Sisupala is a mere boy and hence he knoweth not Krishna, and ever and everywhere speaketh of Krishna thus. This ruler of Chedi will never see virtue in that light in which one that is desirous of acquiring high merit will see it. Who is there among the old and the young or among these illustrious lords of earth that doth not regard Krishna as deserving of worship or that doth not worship Krishna? If Sisupala regardeth this worship as undeserved, it behoveth him to do what is proper in this matter.'"

SECTION 38

"Vaisampayana said,--The mighty Bhishma ceased, having said this. Sahadeva then answered (Sisupala) in words of grave import, saying,--'If amongst ye there be any king that cannot bear to see Kesava of dark hue, the slayer of Kesi, the possessor of immeasurable energy, worshipped by me, this my foot is placed on the heads of all mighty ones (like him). When I say this, let that one give me an adequate reply. And let those kings that possess intelligence approve the worship of Krishna who is the preceptor, the father, the guru, and deserveth the Arghya and the worship (already offered unto him).'

"When Sahadeva thus showed his foot, no one among those intelligent and wise and proud and mighty monarchs said anything. And a shower of flowers fell on Sahadeva's head, and an incorporeal voice said--'Excellent, excellent.' Then Narada clad in black deer-skin, speaking of both the future and the past, that dispeller of all doubts, fully acquainted with all the worlds, said in the midst of innumerable creatures, these words of the clearest import,--'Those men that will not worship the lotus-eyed Krishna should be regarded as dead though moving, and should never be talked to on any occasion.'"

"Vaisampayana continued,--Then that god among men, Sahadeva cognisant of the distinction between a Brahmana and a Kshatriya, having worshipped those that deserved worship, completed that ceremony. But upon Krishna having received the first worship, Sunitha (Sisupala) that mower of foes--with eyes red as copper from anger, addressed those rulers of men and said,--'When I am here to head ye all, what are ye thinking of now? Arrayed let us stand in battle against the assembled Vrishnis and the Pandavas?' And the bull of the Chedis, having thus stirred the kings up, began to consult with them how to obstruct the completion of the sacrifice. All the invited monarchs who had come to the sacrifice, with Sunitha as their chief, looked angry and their faces became pale. They all said, 'We must so act that the final sacrificial rite performed by Yudhishthira and the worship of Krishna may not be regarded as having been acquiesced in by us. And impelled by a belief in their power and great assurance, the kings, deprived of reason through anger, began to say this. And being moved by self-confidence and smarting under the insult offered unto them, the monarchs repeatedly exclaimed thus. Though their friends sought to appease them, their faces glowed with anger like those of roaring lions driven away from their preys. Krishna then understood that the vast sea of monarchs with its countless waves of troops was preparing for a terrific rush."

SECTION 39

(Sisupala-badha Parva)

"Vaisampayana said,--Beholding that vast assembly of kings agitated with wrath, even like the terrific sea agitated by the winds that blow at the time of the universal dissolution, Yudhishthira addressing the aged Bhishma, that chief of intelligent men and the grandsire of the Kurus, even like Puruhita (Indra) that slayer of foes, of abundant energy addressing Vrihaspati, said,--'This vast ocean of kings, hath been agitated by wrath. Tell me, O Grandsire, what I should do in view of this. O Grandsire, now what I should do that my sacrifice may not be obstructed and my subjects may not be injured.'

"When king Yudhishthira the Just, conversant with morality, said this, Bhishma the grandsire of the Kurus, spoke these words in reply,--'Fear not, O tiger of the Kurus. Can the dog slay the lion? I have before this found out a way that is both beneficial and comfortable to practise. As dogs in a pack approaching the lion that is asleep bark together, so are all these lords of earth. Indeed, O child, like dogs before the lion, these (monarchs) are barking in rage before the sleeping lion of the Vrishni race. Achyuta now is like a lion that is asleep. Until he waketh up, this chief of the Chedis--this lion among men--maketh these monarchs look like lions. O child, O thou foremost of all monarchs, this Sisupala possessed of little intelligence is desirous of taking along with him all these kings, through the agency of him who is the soul of the universe, to the regions of Yama. Assuredly, O Bharata Vishnu hath been desirous of taking back unto himself the energy that existeth in this Sisupala. O Chief of all intelligent men, O son of Kunti, the intelligence of this wicked-minded king of the Chedis, as also of all these monarchs, hath become perverse. Indeed, the intelligence of all those whom this tiger among men desireth to take unto himself, becometh perverse even like that of this king of the Chedis. O Yudhishthira, Madhava is the progenitor as also the destroyer of all created beings of the four species, (oviparous, etc.,) existing in the three worlds.'"

"Vaisampayana continued--Then the ruler of Chedis, having heard these words of Bhishma, addressed the latter, O Bharata, in words that were stern and rough."

SECTION 40

'Sisupala said,--'Old and infamous wretch of thy race, art thou not ashamed of affrighting all these monarchs with these numerous false terrors! Thou art the foremost of the Kurus, and living as thou dost in the third state (celibacy) it is but fit for thee that thou shouldst give such counsel that is so wide of morality. Like a boat tied to another boat or the blind following the blind, are the Kurus who have thee for their guide. Thou hast once more simply pained our hearts by reciting particularly the deeds of this one (Krishna), such as the slaying of Putana and others. Arrogant and ignorant as thou art, and desirous of praising Kesava, why doth not this tongue of thine split up into a hundred parts? How dost thou, superior as thou art in knowledge, desire to praise that cow-boy in respect of whom even men of little intelligence may address invectives? If Krishna in his infancy slew a vulture, what is there remarkable in that, or in that other feat of his, O Bhishma, viz., in his slaughter of Aswa and Vrishava, both of whom were unskilled in battle? If this one threw drown by a kick an inanimate piece of wood, viz., a car, what is there, O Bhishma, wonderful in that? O Bhishma, what is there remarkable in this one's having supported for a week the Govardhan mount which is like an anthill? 'While sporting on the top of a mountain this one ate a large quantity of food,'--hearing these words of thine many have wondered exceedingly. But, O thou who art conversant with the rules of morality, is not this still more wrongful that that great person, viz., Kansa, whose food this one ate, hath been slain by him? Thou infamous one of the Kuru race, thou art ignorant of the rules of morality. Hast thou not ever heard, from wise men speaking unto thee, what I would now tell thee? The virtuous and the wise always instruct the honest that weapons must never be made to descend upon women and kine and Brahmanas and upon those whose food hath been taken, as also upon those whose shelter hath been enjoyed. It seemeth, O Bhishma, that all these teachings hath been thrown away by

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thee. O infamous one of the Kuru race, desiring to praise Kesava, thou describest him before me as great and superior in knowledge and in age, as if I knew nothing. If at thy word, O Bhishma, one that hath slain women (meaning Putana) and kine be worshipped, then what is to become of this great lesson? How can one who is such, deserve praise, O Bhishma? 'This one is the foremost of all wise men,--'This one is the lord of the universe'--hearing these words of thine, Janarddana believeth that these are all true. But surely, they are all false. The verses that a chanter sings, even if he sings them often, produce no impression on him. And every creature acts according to his disposition, even like the bird Bhulinga (that picks the particles of flesh from between the lion's teeth, though preaching against rashness). Assuredly thy disposition is very mean. There is not the least doubt about it. And so also, it seemeth, that the sons of Pandu who regard Krishna as deserving of worship and who have thee for their guide, are possessed of a sinful disposition. Possessing a knowledge of virtue, thou hast fallen off from the path of the wise. Therefore thou art sinful. Who, O Bhishma, knowing himself to be virtuous and superior in knowledge, will so act as thou hast done from motives of virtue? If thou knowest the ways of the morality, if thy mind is guided by wisdom, blessed be thou. Why then, O Bhishma, was that virtuous girl Amva, who had set her heart upon another, carried off by thee, so proud of wisdom and virtue? Thy brother Vichitravirya conformably to the ways of the honest and the virtuous, knowing that girl's condition, did not marry her though brought by thee. Boasting as thou dost of virtue, in thy very sight, upon the widow of thy brother were sons begotten by another according to the ways of the honest. Where is thy virtue, O Bhishma? This thy celebacy, which thou leadest either from ignorance or from impotence, is fruitless. O thou who art conversant with virtue, I do not behold thy well-being. Thou who expoundest morality in this way dost not seem to have ever waited upon the old. Worship, gift, study,--sacrifices distinguished by large gifts to the Brahmanas,--these all equal not in merit even one-sixteenth part of that which is obtainable by the possession of a son. The merit, O Bhishma, that is acquired by numberless vows and fasts assuredly becomes fruitless in the case of one that is childless. Thou art childless and old and the expounder of false morality. Like the swan in the story, thou shalt now die at the hands of thy relatives. Other men possessed of knowledge have said this of old. I will presently recite it fully in thy hearing.

"There lived of yore an old swan on the sea-coast. Ever speaking of morality, but otherwise in his conduct, he used to instruct the feathery tribe. Practise ye virtue and forego sin,--these were the words that other truthful birds, O Bhishma, constantly heard him utter And the other oviparous creatures ranging the sea, it hath been heard by us, O Bhishma use for virtue's sake to bring him food. And, O Bhishma, all those other birds, keeping their eggs, with him, ranged and dived in the waters of the sea. And the sinful old swan, attentive to his own pursuits, used to eat up the eggs of all those birds that foolishly trusted in him. After a while when the eggs were decreasing in number, a bird of great wisdom had his suspicions roused and he even witnessed (the affair) one day. And having witnessed the sinful act of the old swan, that bird in great sorrow spoke unto all the other birds. Then, O thou best of the Kurus, all those birds witnessing with their own eyes the act of the old swan, approached that wretch of false conduct and slew him. "Thy behaviour, O Bhishma, is even like that of the old swan. These lords of earth might slay thee in anger like those creatures of the feathery tribe slaying the old swan. Persons conversant with the Puranas recite a proverb, O Bhishma, as regards this occurrence, I shall, O Bharata, repeat it to thee fully. It is even this: O thou that supportest thyself on thy wings, though thy heart is affected (by the passions), thou preachest yet (of virtue); but this thy sinful act of eating up the eggs transgresseth thy speech!"

SECTION 41

"Sisupala said,--"That mighty king Jarasandha who desired not to fight with Krishna, saying 'He is a slave,' was worthy of my greatest esteem. Who will regard as praiseworthy the act which was done by Kesava, as also by Bhima and Arjuna, in the matter of Jarasandha's death? Entering by an improper gate, disguised as a Brahmana, thus Krishna observed the strength of king Jarasandha. And when that monarch offered at first unto this wretch water to wash his feet, it was then that he denied his Brahmanahood from seeming motives of virtue. And when Jarasandha, O thou of the Kuru race, asked Krishna and Bhima and Dhananjaya to eat, it was this Krishna that refused that monarch's request. If this one is the lord of the universe, as this fool representeth him to be, why doth he not regard himself as a Brahmana? This, however, surpriseth me greatly that though thou leadest the Pandavas away from the path of the wise, they yet regard thee as honest. Or, perhaps, this is scarcely a matter of surprise in respect of those that have thee, O Bharata, womanish in disposition and bent down with age, for their counsellor in everything."

"Vaisampayana continued,--Hearing these words of Sisupala, harsh both in import and sound, that foremost of mighty men, Bhimasena endued with energy became angry. And his eyes, naturally large and expanding and like unto lotus leaves became still more extended and red as copper under the influence of that rage. And the assembled monarchs beheld on his forehead three lines of wrinkles like the Ganga of treble currents on the treble-peaked mountain. When Bhimasena began to grind his teeth in rage, the monarchs beheld his face resembling that of Death himself, at the end of the Yuga, prepared to swallow every creature. And as the hero endued with great energy of mind was about to leap up impetuously, the mighty-armed Bhishma caught him like Mahadeva seizing Mahasena (the celestial generalissimo). And, O Bharata, Bhima's wrath was soon appeased by Bhishma, the grand-sire of the Kurus, with various kinds of counsel. And Bhima, that chastiser of foes, could not disobey Bhishma's words, like the ocean that never transgresseth (even when swollen with the waters of the rainy season) its continents. But, O king, even though Bhima was angry, the brave Sisupala depending on his own manhood, did not tremble in fear. And though Bhima was leaping up impetuously every moment, Sisupala bestowed not a single thought on him, like a lion that recks not a little animal in rage. The powerful king of Chedi, beholding Bhima of terrible prowess in such rage, laughingly said,--'Release him, O Bhishma! Let all the monarchs behold him scorched by my prowess like an insect in fire.' Hearing these words of the ruler of the Chedis, Bhishma, that foremost of the Kurus and chief of all intelligent men, spoke unto Bhima these words."

SECTION 42

"Bhishma said,--This Sisupala was born in the line of the king of Chedi with three eyes and four hands. As soon as he was born, he screamed and brayed like an ass. On that account, his father and mother along with their relatives, were struck with fear. And beholding these extraordinary omens, his parents resolved to abandon him. But an incorporeal voice, about this time, said unto the king and his wife with their ministers and priest, all with hearts paralysed by anxiety, those words,--'This thy son, O king, that hath been born will become both fortunate and superior in strength. Therefore thou hast no fear from him. Indeed cherish the child without anxiety. He will not die (in childhood). His time is not yet come. He that will slay him with weapons hath also been born.' Hearing these words, the mother, rendered anxious by affection for her son, addressed the invisible Being and said,--I bow with joined hands unto him that hath uttered these words respecting my son; whether he be an exalted divinity or any other being, let him tell me another word, I desire to hear who will be the slayer of this my son. The invisible Being then said,--'He upon whose lap this child being placed the superfluous arms of his will fall down upon the ground like a pair of five-headed snakes, and at the sight of whom his third eye on the forehead will disappear, will be his slayer?' Hearing of the child's three eyes and four arms as also of the words of the invisible Being, all the kings of the earth went to Chedi to behold him. The king of Chedi worshipping, as each deserved, the monarchs that came, gave his child upon their laps one after another. And though the child was placed upon the laps of a thousand kings, one after another, yet that which the incorporeal voice had said came not to pass. And having heard of all this at Dwaravati, the mighty Yadava heroes Sankarshana and Janarddana also went to the capital of the Chedis, to see their father's sister--that daughter of the Yadavas (the queen of Chedi) And saluting everybody according to his rank and the king and queen also, and enquiring after every body's welfare, both Rama and Kesava took their seats. And after those heroes had been worshipped, the queen with great pleasure herself placed the child on the lap of Damodara. As soon as the child was placed on his lap, those superfluous arms of his fell down and the eye on his forehead also disappeared. And beholding this, the queen in alarm and anxiety begged of Krishna a boon. And she said,--'O mighty-armed Krishna, I am afflicted with fear; grant me a boon. Thou art the assurer of all afflicted ones and that the dispeller of everybody's fear. Thus addressed by her. Krishna, that son of the Yadu race, said--'Fear not, O respected one. Thou art acquainted with morality. Thou needest have no fear from me. What boon shall I give thee? What shall I do, O aunt? Whether able or not, I shall do thy bidding.'--Thus spoken to by Krishna, the queen said, 'O thou of great strength, thou wilt have to pardon the offences of Sisupala for my sake. O tiger of the Yadu race. Know O lord, even this is the boon that I ask.' Krishna then said, 'O aunt, even when he will deserve to be slain, I will pardon an hundred offences of his. Grieve thou not.'

"Bhishma continued,--'Even thus, O Bhima, is this wretch of a king--Sisupala of wicked heart, who, proud of the boon granted by Govinda, summons thee to battle!'"

SECTION 43

"Bhishma said,--The will under which the ruler of Chedi summoneth thee to fight though thou art of strength that knoweth no deterioration, is scarcely his own intention. Assuredly, this is the purpose of Krishna himself, the lord of the universe. O Bhima, what king is there on earth that would dare abuse me thus, as this wretch of his race, already possessed by Death, hath done to-day? This mighty-armed one is, without doubt, a portion of Hari's energy. And surely, the Lord desireth to take back unto himself that energy of his own. In consequence of this, O tiger of the Kuru race, this tiger-like king of Chedi, so wicked of heart, roareth in such a way caring little for us all."

"Vaisampayana continued,--"Hearing these words of Bhishma, the king of Chedi could bear no more, He then replied in rage unto Bhishma in these words.--'Let our foes, O Bhishma, be endued with that prowess which this Kesava hath, whom thou like a professional chanter of hymns praisest, rising repeatedly from thy seat. If thy mind, O Bhishma, delighteth so in praising others, then praise thou these kings, leaving off Krishna. Praise thou this excellent of kings, Darada, the ruler of Valhika, who rent this earth as soon as he was born. Praise thou, O Bhishma, this Karna, the ruler of the territories of Anga and Vanga, who is equal in strength unto him of a thousand eyes, who draweth a large bow, who endued with mighty arms owneth celestial ear-rings of heavenly make with which he was born and this coat of mail possessing the splendour of the rising sun, who vanquished in a wrestling encounter the invincible Jarasandha equal unto Vasava himself, and who tore and mangled that monarch. O Bhishma, praise Drona and Aswatthaman, who both father and son, are mighty warriors, worthy of praise, and the best of Brahmanas, and either of whom, O Bhishma, if enraged could annihilate this earth with its mobile and immobile creatures, as I believe. I do not behold, O Bhishma, the king that is equal in battle unto Drona or Aswatthaman. Why wishest thou not to praise them? Passing over Duryyodhana, that mighty-armed king of kings, who is unequalled in whole earth girt with her seas and king Jayadratha accomplished in weapons and endued with great prowess, and Druma the preceptor of the Kimpurushas and celebrated over the world for prowess, and Saradwata's son, old Kripa, the preceptor of the Bharata princes and endued with great energy, why dost thou praise Kesava? Passing over that foremost of bowmen--that excellent of kings, Rukmin of great energy, why praisest thou Kesava? Passing over Bhishmaka of abundant energy, and king Dantavakra, and Bhagadatta known for his innumerable sacrificial stakes, and Jayatsena the king of the Magadha, and Virata and Drupada, and Sakuni and Vrihadvala, and Vinda and Anuvinda of Avant Pandya, Sweta Uttama Sankhya of great prosperity, the proud Vrishasena, the powerful Ekalavya, and the great charioteer Kalinga of abundant energy, why dost thou praise Kesava? And, O Bhishma, if thy mind is always inclined to sing the praises of others, why dost thou not praise Salya and other rulers of the earth? O king, what can be done by me when (it seemeth) thou hast not heard anything before from virtuous old men giving lessons in morality? Hast thou never heard, O Bhishma, that reproach and glorification, both of self and others, are not practices of those that are respectable? There is no one that approveth thy conduct, O Bhishma, in unceasingly praising with devotion, from ignorance alone, Kesava so unworthy of praise. How dost thou, from thy wish alone, establish the whole universe in the servitor and cowherd of Bhoja (Kansa)? Perhaps, O Bharata, this thy inclination is not conformable to thy true nature, like to what may be in the bird Bhulinga, as hath already been said by me. There is a bird called Bhulinga living on the other side of the Himavat. O Bhishma, that bird ever uttereth words of adverse import. Never do anything rash,--this is what she always sayeth, but never understandeth that she herself always acteth very rashly. Possessed of little intelligence that bird picketh from the lion's mouth the pieces of flesh sticking between the teeth, and at a time when the lion is employed in eating. Assuredly, O Bhishma, that bird liveth at the pleasure of the lion. O sinful wretch, thou always speakest like that bird. And assuredly, O Bhishma, thou art alive at the pleasure only of these kings. Employed in acts contrary to the opinions of all, there is none else like thee!"

"Vaisampayana continued,--Hearing these harsh words of the ruler of Chedi, Bhishma, O king, said in the hearing of the king of Chedi,--'Truly am I alive at the pleasure of these rulers of earth. But I do regard these kings as not equal to even a straw.' As soon as these words were spoken by Bhishma, the kings became inflamed with wrath. And the down of some amongst them stood erect and some began to reprove Bhishma. And hearing those words of Bhishma, some amongst them, that were wielders of large bows exclaimed, 'This wretched Bhishma, though old, is exceedingly boastful. He deserveth not our pardon. Therefore, ye kings, incensed with rage as this Bhishma is, it is well that this wretch were slain like an animal, or, mustering together, let us burn him in a fire of grass or straw.' Hearing these words of the monarchs, Bhishma the grand-sire of the Kurus, endued with great intelligence, addressing those lords of earth, said,--'I do not see the end of our speeches, for words may be answered with words. Therefore, ye lords of earth, listen ye all unto what I say. Whether I be slain like an animal or burnt in a fire of grass and straw, thus do I distinctly place my foot on the

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heads of ye all. Here is Govinda, that knoweth no deterioration. Him have we worshipped. Let him who wisheth for speedy death, summon to battle Madhava of dark hue and the wielder of the discus and the mace; and falling enter into and mingle with the body of this god!"

SECTION 44

"Vaisampayana said,--Hearing these words of Bhishma, the ruler of Chedi endued with exceeding prowess, desirous of combating with Vasudeva addressed him and said,--O Janarddana, I challenge thee. Come, fight with me until I slay thee today with all the Pandavas. For, O Krishna, the sons of Pandu also, who disregarding the claims of all these kings, have worshipped thee who art no king, deserve to be slain by me along with thee. Even this is my opinion, O Krishna, that they who from childishness have worshipped thee, as if thou deservest it, although thou art unworthy of worship, being only a slave and a wretch and no king, deserve to be slain by me.' Having said this, that tiger among kings stood there roaring in anger. And after Sisupala had ceased, Krishna addressing all the kings in the presence of the Pandavas, spoke these words in a soft voice.--'Ye kings, this wicked-minded one, who is the son of a daughter of the Satwata race, is a great enemy of us of the Satwata race; and though we never seek to injure him, he ever seeketh our evil. This wretch of cruel deeds, ye kings, hearing that we had gone to the city of Pragjyotisha, came and burnt Dwaraka, although he is the son of my father's sister. While king Bhoja was sporting on the Raivataka hill, this one fell upon the attendants of that king and slew and led away many of them in chains to his own city. Sinful in all his purpose, this wretch, in order to obstruct the sacrifice of my father, stole the sacrificial horse of the horse-sacrifice that had been let loose under the guard of armed men. Prompted by sinful motives, this one ravished the reluctant wife of the innocent Vabhru (Akrura) on her way from Dwaraka to the country of the Sauviras. This injurer of his maternal uncle, disguising himself in the attire of the king of Karusha, ravished also the innocent Bhadra, the princess of Visala, the intended bride of king Karusha. I have patiently borne all these sorrows for the sake of my father's sister. It is, however, very fortunate that all this hath occurred today in the presence of all the kings. Behold ye all today the hostility this one beareth towards me. And know ye also all that he hath done me at my back. For the excess of that pride in which he hath indulged in the presence of all these monarchs, he deserveth to be slain by me. I am ill able to pardon today the injuries that he hath done me. Desirous of speedy death, this fool had desired Rukmini. But the fool obtained her not, like a Sudra failing to obtain the audition of the Vedas."

Vaisampayana continued,--"Hearing these words of Vasudeva, all the assembled monarchs began to reprove the ruler of Chedi. But the powerful Sisupala, having heard these words, laughed aloud and spoke thus,--'O Krishna, art thou not ashamed in saying in this assembly, especially before all these kings that Rukmini (thy wife) had been coveted by me? O slayer of Madhu, who else is there than thee, who regarding himself a man would say in the midst of respectable men that his wife had been intended for some body else? O Krishna, pardon me if thou pleasest, or pardon me not. But angry or friendly, what canst thou do unto me?'

"And while Sisupala was speaking thus, the exalted slayer of Madhu thought in his mind of the discus that humbleth the pride of the Asuras. And as soon as the discus came into his hands, skilled in speech the illustrious one loudly uttered these words,--'Listen ye lords of earth, why this one had hitherto been pardoned by me. As asked by his mother, a hundred offences (of his) were to be pardoned by me. Even this was the boon she had asked, and even this I granted her. That number, ye kings, hath become full. I shall now slay him in your presence, ye monarchs.' Having said this, the chief of the Yadus, that slayer of all foes, in anger, instantly cut off the head of the ruler of Chedi by means of his discus. And the mighty-armed one fell down like a cliff struck with thunder. And, O monarch, the assembled kings then beheld a fierce energy, like unto the sun in the sky, issue out of the body of the king of Chedi, and O king, that energy then adored Krishna, possessed of eyes like lotus leaves and worshipped by all the worlds, and entered his body. And all the kings beholding the energy which entered that mighty-armed chief of men regarded it as wonderful. And when Krishna had slain the king of Chedi, the sky, though cloudless, poured showers of rain, and blasting thunders were hurled, and the earth itself began to tremble. There were some among the kings who spoke not a word during those unspeakable moments but merely sat gazing at Janarddana. And some there were that rubbed in rage their palms with their forefingers. And there were others who deprived of reason by rage bit their lips with their teeth. And some amongst the kings applauded him of the Vrishni race in private. And some there were that became excited with anger; while others became mediators. The great Rishis with pleased hearts praised Kesava and went away. And all the high-souled Brahmanas and the mighty kings that were there, beholding Krishna's prowess, became glad at heart and praised him.

"Yudhishthira then commanded his brothers to perform without delay the funeral rites of king Sisupala, the brave son of Damaghosha, with proper respect. The sons of Pandu obeyed the behest of their brother. And Yudhishthira then, with all the kings, installed the son of king Sisupala in the sovereignty of the Chedis.

"Then that sacrifice, O monarch, of the king of the Kurus possessed of great energy, blessed with every kind of prosperity, became exceedingly handsome and pleasing unto all young men. And commenced auspiciously, and all impediments removed, and furnished with abundance of wealth and corn, as also with plenty of rice and every kind of food, it was properly watched by Kesava. And Yudhishthira in due time completed the great sacrifice. And the mighty-armed Janarddana, the exalted Sauri, with his bow called Saranga and his discus and mace, guarded that sacrifice till its completion. And all the Kshatriya monarchs, having approached the virtuous Yudhishthira who had bathed after the conclusion of the sacrifice, said these words: 'By good fortune thou hast come out successful. O virtuous one, thou hast obtained the imperial dignity. O thou of the Ajamida race, by thee hath been spread the fame of thy whole race. And, O king of kings, by this act of thine, thou hast also acquired great religious merit. We have been worshipped by thee to the full extent of our desires. We now tell thee that we are desirous of returning to our own kingdoms. It behoveth thee to grant us permission.'

"Hearing these words of the monarchs, king Yudhishthira the Just, worshipping each as he deserved, commanded his brothers, saying, 'These monarchs had all come to us at their own pleasure. These chastisers of foes are now desirous of returning to their own kingdoms, bidding me farewell. Blest be ye, follow ye these excellent kings to the confines of our own dominions.' Hearing these words of their brother, the virtuous Pandava princes followed the kings, one after another as each deserved. The powerful Dhrishtadyumna followed without loss of time king Virata: and Dhananjaya followed the illustrious and mighty charioteer Yajnasena; and the mighty Bhimasena followed Bhishma and Dhritarashtra: and Sahadeva, that master of battle, followed the brave Drona and his son; and Nakula, O king, followed Suvala with his son; and the sons of Draupadi with the son of Subhadra followed those mighty warriors--the kings of the mountainous countries. And other bulls among Kshatriyas followed other Kshatriyas. And the Brahmanas by thousands also went away, duly worshipped.

"After all the Kings and the Brahmanas had gone away, the powerful Vasudeva addressing Yudhishthira said,--'O son of the Kuru race, with thy leave, I also desire to go to Dwaraka. By great good fortune, thou hast accomplished the foremost of sacrifices--Rajasuya!' Thus addressed by Janarddana, Yudhishthira replied, 'Owing to thy grace, O Govinda. I have accomplished the great sacrifice. And it is owing to thy grace that the whole Kshatriya world having accepted my sway, had come hither with valuable tribute. O hero, without thee, my heart never feeleth any delight. How can I, therefore, O hero, give thee, O sinless one, leave to go? But thou must have to go to the city of Dwaraka.' The virtuous Hari of worldwide fame, thus addressed by Yudhishthira, cheerfully went with his cousin to Pritha and said,--'O aunt, thy sons have now obtained the imperial dignity. They have obtained vast wealth and been also crowned with success. Be pleased with all this. Commanded by thee, O aunt, I desire to go to Dwaraka.' After this, Kesava bade farewell to Draupadi and Subhadra. Coming out then of the inner apartments accompanied by Yudhishthira, he performed his ablutions and went through the daily rites of worship, and then made the Brahmanas utter benedictions. Then the mighty armed Daruka came there with a car of excellent design and body resembling the clouds. And beholding that Garuda-bannered car arrived thither, the high-souled one, with eyes like lotus leaves, walked round it respectfully and ascending on it set out for Dwaravati. And king Yudhishthira the Just, blessed with prosperity, accompanied by his brothers, followed on foot the mighty Vasudeva. Then Hari with eyes like lotus leaves, stopping that best of cars for a moment, addressing Yudhishthira the son of Kunti, said,--'O king of kings, cherishest thou thy subjects with ceaseless vigilance and patience. And as the clouds are unto all creatures, as the large tree of spreading bough is unto birds, as he of a thousand eyes is unto the immortals, be thou the refuge and support of thy relatives. And Krishna and Yudhishthira having thus talked unto each other took each other's leave and returned to their respective homes. And, O king, after the chief of the Satwata race had gone to Dwaravati, king Duryodhana* alone, with king Suvala's son, Sakuni,--these bulls among men,--continued to live in that celestial assembly house. [* Dur "yodhana" seem to be related to the Hebrew names Yudah as well as to Yohanan.]

SECTION 45

(Dyuta Parva)

Vaisampayana said,--"when that foremost of sacrifices, the Rajasuya so difficult of accomplishment, was completed, Vyasa surrounded by his disciples presented himself before Yudhishthira. And Yudhishthira, upon beholding him quickly rose from his seat, surrounded by his brothers, and worshipped the Rishi who was his grand-father, with water to wash his feet and the offer of a seat. The illustrious one having taken his seat on a costly carpet inlaid with gold, addressed king Yudhishthira the Just and said.--'Take thy seat'. And after the king had taken his seat surrounded by his brothers, the illustrious Vyasa, truthful in speech said,--'O son of Kunti, thou growest from good fortune. Thou hast obtained imperial sway so difficult of acquisition. And O perpetuator of the Kuru race, all the Kauravas have prospered in consequence of thee. O Emperor, I have been duly worshipped. I desire now to go with thy leave! King Yudhishthira the Just, thus addressed by the Rishi of dark hue, saluted (him) his grandfather and touching his feet said,--'O chief of men, a doubt difficult of being dispelled, hath risen within me. O bull among regenerate ones, save thee there is none to remove it. The illustrious Rishi Narada said that (as a consequence of the Rajasuya sacrifice) three kinds of portents, viz., celestial, atmospherical and terrestrial ones happen. O grandsire, have those portents been ended by the fall of the kind of the Chedis?"

Vaisampayana continued,--"Hearing these words of the king, the exalted son of Parasara, the island-born Vyasa of dark hue, spoke these words,--'For thirteen years, O king, those portents will bear mighty consequences ending in destruction, O king of kings, of all the Kshatriyas. In course of time, O bull of the Bharata race, making thee the sole cause, the assembled Kshatriyas of the world will be destroyed, O Bharata, for the sins of Duryodhana and through the might of Bhima and Arjuna. In thy dream, O king of kings thou wilt behold towards the end of this might the blue throated Bhava, the slayer of Tripura, ever absorbed in meditation, having the bull for his mark, drinking off the human skull, and fierce and terrible, that lord of all creatures, that god of gods, the husband of Uma, otherwise called Hara and Sarva, and Vrisha, armed with the trident and the bow called Pinaka, and attired in tiger skin. And thou wilt behold Siva, tall and white as the Kailasa cliff and seated on his bull, gazing unceasingly towards the direction (south) presided over by the king of the Pitris. Even this will be the dream thou wilt dream today, O king of kings. Do not grieve for dreaming such a dream. None can rise superior to the influence of Time. Blest be thou! I will now proceed towards the Kailasa mountain. Rule thou the earth with vigilance and steadiness, patiently bearing every privation!'"

Vaisampayana continued,--"Having said this, the illustrious and island-born Vyasa of dark hue, accompanied by his disciples ever following the dictates of the Vedas, proceeded towards Kailasa. And after the grand-father had thus gone away, the king afflicted with anxiety and grief, began to think continuously upon what the Rishi hath said. And he said to himself, 'Indeed what the Rishi hath said must come to pass. We will succeed in warding off the fates by exertion alone?' Then Yudhishthira endued with great energy addressing all his brothers, said, 'Ye tigers among men, ye have heard what the island-born Rishi hath told me. Having heard the words of the Rishi, I have arrived at this firm resolution viz., that I should die, as I am ordained to be the cause of the destruction of all Kshatriyas. Ye my dear ones, if Time hath intended so what need is there for me to live?' Hearing these words of the king, Arjuna replied, 'O king, yield not thyself to this terrible depression that is destructive of reason. Mustering fortitude, O great king, do what would be beneficial.' Yudhishthira then, firm in truth, thinking all the while of Dwaipayana's words answered his brothers thus,--'Blest be ye. Listen to my vow from this day. For thirteen years, what ever purpose have I to live for, I shall not speak a hard word to my brothers or to any of the kings of the earth. Living under the command of my relatives, I shall practise virtue, exemplifying my vow. If I live in this way, making no distinction between my own children and others, there will be no disagreement (between me and others). It is disagreement that is the cause of war in the world. Keeping war at a distance, and ever doing what is agreeable to others, evil reputation will not be mine in the world, ye bulls among men. Hearing these words of their eldest brother, the Pandavas, always engaged in doing what was agreeable to him, approved of them. And Yudhishthira the Just, having pledged so, along with his brothers in the midst of that assembly, gratified his priests as also the gods with due ceremonies. And, O bull of the Bharata race, after all the monarchs had gone away, Yudhishthira along with his brothers, having performed the usual auspicious rites, accompanied by his ministers entered his own palace. And, O ruler of men, king Duryodhana and Sakuni, the son of Suvala, continued to dwell in that delightful assembly house.

SECTION 46

Vaisampayana said,--"That bull among men, Duryodhana, continued to dwell in that, assembly house (of the Pandavas). And with Sakuni, the Kuru prince slowly examined the whole of that mansion, and the Kuru prince beheld in it many celestial designs, which he had never seen before in the city

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called after the elephant (Hastinapore). And one day king Duryodhana in going round that mansion came upon a crystal surface. And the king, from ignorance, mistaking it for a pool of water, drew up his clothes. And afterwards finding out his mistake the king wandered about the mansion in great sorrow. And sometime after, the king, mistaking a lake of crystal water adorned with lotuses of crystal petals for land, fell into it with all his clothes on. Beholding Duryodhana fallen into the lake, the mighty Bhima laughed aloud as also the menials of the palace. And the servants, at the command of the king, soon brought him dry and handsome clothes. Beholding the plight of Duryodhana, the mighty Bhima and Arjuna and both the twins--all laughed aloud. Being unused to putting up with insults, Duryodhana could not bear that laugh of theirs. Concealing his emotions he even did not cast his looks on them. And beholding the monarch once more draw up his clothes to cross a piece of dry land which he had mistaken for water, they all laughed again. And the king sometime after mistook a closed door made of crystal as open. And as he was about to pass through it his head struck against it, and he stood with his brain reeling. And mistaking as closed another door made of crystal that was really open, the king in attempting to open it with stretched hands, tumbled down. And coming upon another door that was really open, the king thinking it as closed, went away from it. And, O monarch, king Duryodhana beholding that vast wealth in the Rajasuya sacrifice and having become the victim of those numerous errors within the assembly house at last returned, with the leave of the Pandavas, to Hastinapore.

And the heart of king Duryodhana, afflicted at sight of the prosperity of the Pandavas, became inclined to sin, as he proceeded towards his city reflecting on all he had seen and suffered. And beholding the Pandavas happy and all the kings of the earth paying homage to them, as also everybody, young and old, engaged in doing good unto them, and reflecting also on the splendour and prosperity of the illustrious sons of Pandu, Duryodhana, the son of Dhritarashtra, became pale. In proceeding (to his city) with an efflicted heart, the prince thought of nothing else but that assembly house and that unrivalled prosperity of the wise Yudhishthira. And Duryodhana, the son of Dhritarashtra, was so taken up with his thoughts then that he spoke not a word to Suvala's son even though the latter addressed him repeatedly. And Sakuni, beholding him absent-minded, said,--'O Duryodhana, why art thou proceeding thus'?

"Duryodhana replied,--O uncle, beholding this whole earth owning the sway of Yudhishthira in consequence of the might of the illustrious Arjuna's weapons and beholding also that sacrifice of the son of Pritha like unto the sacrifice of Sakra himself of great glory among the celestials, I, being filled with jealousy and burning day and night, am being dried up like a shallow tank in the summer season. Behold, when Sisupala was slain by the chief of the Satwatas, there was no man to take the side of Sisupala. Consumed by the fire of the Pandava, they all forgave that offence; otherwise who is there that could forgive it? That highly improper act of grave consequence done by Vasudeva succeeded in consequence of the power of the illustrious son of Pandu. And so many monarchs also brought with them various kinds of wealth for king Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, like tribute-paying Vaisyas! Beholding Yudhishthira's prosperity of such splendour, my heart burneth, efflicted with jealously, although it behoveth me not to be jealous.'

"Having reflected in this way, Duryodhana, as if burnt by fire, addressed the king of Gandhara again and said,--'I shall throw myself upon a flaming fire or swallow poison or drown myself in water. I cannot live. What man is there in the world possessed of vigour who can bear to see his foes in the enjoyment of prosperity and himself in destitution? Therefore I who bear to see that accession of prosperity and fortune (in my foes) am neither a woman nor one that is not a woman, neither also a man nor one that is not a man. Beholding their sovereignty over the world and vast affluence, as also that sacrifice, who is there like me that would not smart under all that? Alone I am incapable of acquiring such royal prosperity; nor do I behold allies that could help me in the matter. It is for this that I am thinking of self-destruction. Beholding that great and serene prosperity of the son of Kunti, I regard Fate as supreme and exertions fruitless. O son of Suvala, formerly I strove to compass his destruction. But baffling all my efforts he hath grown in prosperity even like the lotus from within a pool of water. It is for this that I regard Fate as supreme and exertions fruitless. Behold, the sons of Dhritarashtra are decaying and the sons of Pritha are growing day by day. Beholding that prosperity of the Pandavas, and that assembly house of theirs, and those menials laughing at me, my heart burneth as if it were on fire. Therefore, O uncle, know me now as deeply grieved and filled with jealousy, and speak of it to Dhritarashtra.

SECTION 47

"Sakuni said.--'O Duryodhana, thou shouldst not be jealous of Yudhishthira. The sons of Pandu are enjoying what they deserve in consequence of their own good fortune. O slayer of foes, O great king, thou couldst not destroy them by repeatedly devising numberless plans, many of which thou hadst even put to practice. Those tigers among men out of sheer luck escaped all those machinations. They have obtained Draupadi for wife and Drupada with his sons as also Vasudeva of great prowess as allies, capable of helping them in subjugating the whole world. And O king, having inherited the paternal share of the kingdom without being deprived of it they have grown in consequence of their own energy. What is there to make thee sorry for this? Having gratified Hustasana, Dhananjaya hath obtained the bow Gandiva and the couple of inexhaustible quivers and many celestial weapons. With that unique bow and by the strength of his own arms also he hath brought all the kings of the world under his sway. What is there to make thee sorry for this? Having saved the Asura Maya from a conflagration, Arjuna, that slayer of foes, using both his hands with equal skill, caused him to build that assembly house. And it is for this also that commanded by Maya, those grim Rakshasas called Kinkaras supported that assembly house. What is there in this to make thee sorry? Thou hast said, O king, that thou art without allies. This, O Bharata, is not true. These thy brothers are obedient to thee. Drona of great prowess and wielding the large bow along with his son, Radha's son Karna, the great warrior Gautama (Kripa), myself with my brothers and king Saumadatti--these are thy allies. Uniting thyself with these, conquer thou the whole of the earth.'

"Duryodhana said,--'O king, with thee, as also with these great warriors, I shall subjugate the Pandavas, if it pleases thee. If I can now subjugate them, the world will be mine and all the monarchs, and that assembly house so full of wealth.'

"Sakuni replied,--'Dhananjaya and Vasudeva, Bhimasena and Yudhishthira, Nakula and Sahadeva and Drupada with his sons,--these cannot be vanquished in battle by even the celestials, for they are all great warriors wielding the largest bows, accomplished in weapons, and delighting in battle. But, O king, I know the means by which Yudhishthira himself may be vanquished. Listen to me and adopt it.'

"Duryodhana said,--'without danger to our friends and other illustrious men, O uncle, tell me if there is any way by which I may vanquish him.'

"Sakuni said,--'The son of Kunti is very fond of dice-play although he doth not know how to play. That king if asked to play, is ill able to refuse. I am skillful at dice. There is none equal to me in this respect on earth, no, not even in the three worlds, O son of Kuru. Therefore, ask him to play at dice. Skilled at dice, I will win his kingdom, and that splendid prosperity of his for thee, O bull among men. But, O Duryodhana, represent all this unto the king (Dhritarashtra). Commanded by thy father I will win without doubt the whole of Yudhishthira's possessions.'

"Duryodhana said 'O son of Suvala, thou thyself represent properly all this to Dhritarashtra, the chief of the Kurus. I shall not be able to do so.

SECTION 48

Vaisampayana said--"O king, impressed with the great Rajasuya sacrifice of king Yudhishthira, Sakuni, the son of Suvala, having learnt before the intentions of Duryodhana, while accompanying him in the way from the assembly house, and desirous of saying what was agreeable to him, approached Dhritarashtra endued with great wisdom, and finding the monarch deprived of his eye seated (in his throne), told him these words,--'Know, O great king, O bull of the Bharata race, that Duryodhana, having lost colour, hath become pale and emaciated and depressed and a prey to anxiety. Why dost thou not, after due enquiry, ascertain the grief that is in the heart of thy eldest son, the grief that is caused by the foe?'

"Dhritarashtra said,--'Duryodhana, what is the reason of thy great affliction. O son of the Kuru race? If it is fit for me to hear it, then tell me the reason. This Sakuni here says that thou hast lost colour, become pale and emaciated, and a prey to anxiety. I do not know what can be the reason of the sorrow. This vast wealth of mine is at thy control. Thy brothers and all our relations never do anything that is disagreeable to thee. Thou wearest the best apparel and eatest the best food that is prepared with meat. The best of horse carries thee. What it is, therefore, that hath made thee pale and emaciated? Costly beds, beautiful damsels, mansions decked with excellent furniture, and sport of the delightful kind, without doubt these all wait but at thy command, as in the case of the gods themselves Therefore, O proud one, why dost thou grieve, O son, as if thou wert destitute.'

"Duryodhana said,--'I eat and dress myself like a wretch and pass my time all the while a prey to fierce jealousy. He indeed is a man, who incapable of bearing the pride of the foe, liveth having vanquished that foe with the desire of liberating his own subjects from the tyranny of the foe. Contentment, as also pride, O Bharata, are destructive of prosperity; and those other two qualities also, viz., compassion and fear. One who acteth under the influence of these, never obtaineth anything high. Having beheld Yudhishthira's prosperity, whatever I enjoy brings me no gratification. The prosperity of Kunti's son that is possessed of such splendour maketh me pale. Knowing the affluence of the foe and my own destitution, even though that affluence is not before me, I yet see it before me. Therefore, have I lost colour and become melancholy, pale and emaciated. Yudhishthira supporteth eighty-eight thousand Snataka Brahmanas leading domestic lives, giving unto each of them thirty slave-girls. Beside this, thousand other Brahmanas daily eat at his palace the best of food on golden plates. The king of Kambhoja sent unto him (as tribute) innumerable skins, black, darkish, and red, of the deer Kadali, as also numberless blankets of excellent textures. And hundreds and thousands and thousands of she-elephants and thirty thousand she-camels wander within the palace, for the kings of the earth brought them all as tribute to the capital of the Pandavas. And, O lord of earth, the kings also brought unto this foremost of sacrifices heaps upon heaps of jewels and gems for the son of Kunti. Never before did I see or hear of such enormous wealth as was brought unto the sacrifice of the intelligent sons of Pandu. And, O king, beholding that enormous collection of wealth belonging to the foe, I can not enjoy peace of mind. Hundreds of Brahmanas supported by the grants that Yudhishthira hath given them and possessing wealth of kine, waited at the palace gate with three thousands of millions of tribute but were prevented by the keepers from entering the mansion. Bringing with them clarified butter in handsome Kamandalus made of gold, they did not obtain admission into the palace, and Ocean himself brought unto him in vessels of white copper the nectar that is generated within his waters and which is much superior to that which flowers and annual plants produce for Sakra. And Vasudeva (at the conclusion of the sacrifice) having brought an excellent conch bathed the Sun of Pritha with sea water brought in thousand jars of gold, all well adorned with numerous gems. Beholding all this I became feverish with jealousy. Those jars had been taken to the Eastern and the Southern oceans. And they had also been taken on the shoulders of men to the Western ocean, O bull among men. And, O father, although none but birds only can go to the Northern region Arjuna, having gone thither, exacted as tribute a vast quantity of wealth. There is another wonderful incident also which I will relate to thee. O listen to me. When a hundred thousand Brahmanas were fed, it had been arranged that to notify this act every day conches would be blown in a chorus. But, O Bharata, I continually heard conches blown there almost repeatedly. And hearing those notes my hair stood on end. And, O great king, that palatial compound, filled with innumerable monarchs that came there as spectators, looked exceedingly handsome like the cloudless firmament with stars. And, O king of men, the monarchs came into that sacrifice of the wise son of Pandu bringing with them every kind of wealth. And the kings that came there became like Vaisyas the distributors of food unto the Brahmanas that were fed. And O king, the prosperity that I beheld of Yudhishthira was such that neither the chief himself of the celestials, nor Yama or Varuna, nor the lord of the Guhyakas owneth the same. And beholding that great prosperity of the son of Pandu, my heart burneth and I cannot enjoy peace.

"Hearing these words of Duryodhana, Sakuni replied,--'Hear how thou mayest obtain this unrivalled prosperity that thou beholdest in the son of Pandu, O thou that hast truth for thy prowess. O Bharata, I am an adept at dice, superior to all in the world. I can ascertain the success or otherwise of every throw, and when to stake and when not. I have special knowledge of the game. The Son of Kunti also is fond of dice playing though he possesseth little skill in it. Summoned to play or battle, he is sure to come forward, and I will defeat him repeatedly at every throw by practising deception. I promise to win all that wealth of his, and thou, O Duryodhana, shalt then enjoy the same.'"

Vaisampayana continued,--"King Duryodhana, thus addressed by Sakuni, without allowing a moment to elapse, said unto Dhritarashtra,--'This, Sakuni, an adept at dice, is ready to win at dice, O king, the wealth of the sons of Pandu. It behoveth thee to grant him permission to do so.'

"Dhritarashtra replied,--'I always follow the counsels of Kshatta, my minister possessed of great wisdom. Having consulted with him, I will inform thee what my judgement is in respect of this affair. Endued with great foresight, he will, keeping morality before his eyes, tell us what is good and what is proper for both parties, and what should be done in this matter.'

"Duryodhana said,--'If thou consultest with Kshatta he will make thee desist. And if thou desist, O king, I will certainly kill myself. And when I am dead, O king, thou wilt become happy with Vidura. Thou wilt then enjoy the whole earth; what need hast thou with me?'"

Vaisampayana continued,--"Dhritarashtra, hearing these words of affliction uttered by Duryodhana from mixed feeling, himself ready to what Duryodhana had dictated, commanded his servant, saying,--'Let artificers be employed to erect without delay a delightful and handsome and spacious palace with an hundred doors and a thousand columns. And having brought carpenters and joiners, set ye jewels and precious

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stones all over the walls. And making it handsome and easy of access, report to me when everything is complete. And, O monarch, king Dhritarashtra having made this resolution for the pacification of Duryodhana, sent messengers unto Vidura for summoning him. For without taking counsel with Vidura never did the monarch form any resolution. But as regards the matter at hand, the king although he knew the evils of gambling, was yet attracted towards it. The intelligent Vidura, however, as soon as he heard of it, knew that the arrival of Kali was at hand. And seeing that the way to destruction was about to open, he quickly came to Dhritarashtra. And Vidura approaching his illustrious eldest brother and bowing down unto his feet, said these words:

'O exalted king, I do not approve of this resolution that thou hast formed. It behave thee, O king, to act in such a way that no dispute may arise between thy children on account of this gambling match.'

Dhritarashtra replied,--'O Kshatta, if the gods be merciful unto us, assuredly no dispute will ever arise amongst my sons. Therefore, auspicious or otherwise, beneficial or otherwise, let this friendly challenge at dice proceed. Even this without doubt is what fate hath ordained for us. And, O son of the Bharata race, when I am near, and Drona and Bhishma and thou too, nothing evil that even Fate might have ordained is likely to happen. Therefore, go thou on a car yoking thereto horses endued with the speed of the wind, so that thou mayest reach Khandavaprastha even today and bring thou Yudhishthira with thee. And, O Vidura, I tell that even this is my resolution. Tell me nothing. I regard Fate as supreme which bringeth all this.' Hearing these words of Dhritarashtra and concluding that his race was doomed, Vidura in great sorrow went unto Bhishma with great wisdom."

SECTION 49

Janamejaya said,--"O thou foremost of all conversant with the Vedas, how did that game at dice take place, fraught with such evil to the cousins and through which my grand-sires, the son of Pandu, were plunged into such sorrow? What kings also were present in that assembly, and who amongst them approved of the gambling match and who amongst them forbade it? O sinless one, O chief of regenerate ones, I desire thee to recite in detail all about this, which, indeed, was the cause of the destruction of the world."

Santi said,--"Thus addressed by the king, the disciple of Vyasa, endued with great energy and conversant with the entire Vedas, narrated everything that had happened."

Vaisampayana said,--"O best of the Bharatas, O great king, if thou desirest to hear, then listen to me as I narrate to thee everything again in detail.

"Ascertaining the opinion of Vidura, Dhritarashtra the son of Amvika, calling Duryodhana told him again in private--'O son of Gandhari, have nothing to do with dice. Vidura doth not speak well of it. Possessed of great wisdom, he will never give me advice that is not for my good. I also regard what Vidura sayeth as exceedingly beneficial for me. Do that, O son, for I regard it all as for thy good also. Indeed, Vidura knoweth with all its mysteries the science (of political morality) that the illustrious and learned and wise Vrihaspati, the celestial Rishi who is the spiritual guide of Vasava--had unfolded unto the wise chief of the immortals. And O son, I always accept what Vidura adviseth. O king, as the wise Uddhava is ever regarded amongst the Vrishnis, so is Vidura possessed of great intelligence esteemed as the foremost of the Kurus. Therefore, O son, have nothing to do with dice. It is evident that dice soweth dissensions. And dissensions are the ruin of the kingdom. Therefore, O son, abandon this idea of gambling. O son, thou hast obtained from us what, it hath been ordained, a father and a mother should give unto their son, viz., ancestral rank and possessions. Thou art educated and clever in every branch of knowledge, and hast been brought up with affection in thy paternal dwelling. Born the eldest among all thy brothers, living within thy own kingdom, why regardest thou thyself as unhappy? O thou of mighty arms, thou obtainest food and attire of the very best kind and which is not obtainable by ordinary men. Why dost thou grieve yet. O son, O mighty-armed one, ruling thy large ancestral kingdom swelling with people and wealth, thou shinest as splendidly as the chief of the celestials in heaven. Thou art possessed of wisdom. It behoveth thee to tell me what can be the root of this grief that hath made thee so melancholy.

"Duryodhana replied,--'I am a sinful wretch, O king, because I eat and dress beholding (the prosperity of the foes). It hath been said that man is a wretch who is not filled with jealousy at the sight of his enemy's prosperity. O exalted one, this kind of prosperity of mine doth not gratify me. Beholding that blazing prosperity of the son of Kunti, I am very much pained. I tell thee strong must be my vitality, in as much as I am living even at the sight of the whole earth owning the sway of Yudhishthira. The Nipas, the Chitrakas, the Kukkuras, the Karaskaras, and the Lauha-janghas are living in the palace of Yudhishthira like bondsmen. The Himavat, the ocean, the regions on the sea-shore, and the numberless other regions that yield jewels and gems, have all acknowledged superiority of the mansion of Yudhishthira in respect of wealth it containeth. And, O Monarch, regarding me as the eldest and entitled to respect, Yudhishthira having received me respectfully, appointed me in receiving the jewels and gems (that were brought as tribute). O Bharata, the limit and the like of the excellent and invaluable jewels that were brought there have not been seen. And O king, my hands were fatigued in receiving that wealth. And when I was tired, they that brought those valuable articles from distant regions used to wait till I was able to resume my labour. Bringing jewels from the lake Vindu, the Asura architect Maya constructed (for the Pandavas) a lake-like surface made of crystal. Beholding the (artificial) lotuses with which it was filled, I mistook it, O king for water. And seeing me draw up my clothes (while about to cross it), Vrikodara (Bhima) laughed at me, regarding me as wanting in jewels and having lost my head at the sight of the affluence of my enemy. If I had the ability, I would, O king, without the loss of a moment, slay Vrikodara for that. But, O monarch, if we endeavour to slay Bhima now, without doubt, ours will be the fate of Sisupala. O Bharata, that insult by the foe burneth me. Once again, O king, beholding a similar lake that is really full of water but which I mistook for a crystal surface, I fell into it. At that, Bhima with Arjuna once more laughed derisively, and Draupadi also accompanied by other females joined in the laughter. That paineth my heart exceedingly. My apparel having been wet, the menials at the command of the king gave me other clothes. That also is my great sorrow. And O king, hear now of another mistake that I speak of. In attempting to pass through what is exactly of the shape of a door but through which there was really no passage, I struck my forehead against stone and injured myself. The twins Nakula and Sahadeva beholding from a distance that I was so hit at the head came and supported me in their arms, expressing great concern for me. And Sahadeva repeatedly told me, as if with a smile,--'This O king, is the door. Go this way!' And Bhimasena, laughing aloud, addressed me and said,--'O son of Dhritarashtra, this is the door. And, O king I had not even heard of the names of those gems that I saw in that mansion. And it is for these reasons that my heart so acheth."

SECTION 50

Duryodhana said,--'Listen now, O Bharata, about all the most costly articles I saw, belonging unto the sons of Pandu, and brought one after another by the kings of the earth. Beholding that wealth of the foe, I lost my reason and scarcely knew myself. And, O Bharata, listen as I describe that wealth consisting of both manufactures and the produce of the land. The king of Kamboja gave innumerable skins of the best king, and blankets made of wool, of the soft fur of rodents and other burroughers, and of the hair of cats,--all inlaid with threads of gold. And he also gave three hundred horses of the Titteti and the Kalmasha species possessing noses like parrots. And he also gave three hundred camels and an equal number of she-asses, all fattened with the olives and the Pilusha. And innumerable Brahmanas engaged in rearing cattle and occupied in low offices for the gratification of the illustrious king Yudhishthira the Just waited at the gate with three hundred millions of tribute but they were denied admission into the palace. And hundred upon hundreds of Brahmanas possessing wealth of kine and living upon the lands that Yudhishthira had given them, came there with their handsome golden Kamandalus filled with clarified butter. And though they had brought such tribute, they were refused admission into the palace. And the Sudra kings that dwelt in the regions on the seacoast, brought with them, O king, hundred thousands of serving girls of the Karpasika country, all of beautiful features and slender waist and luxuriant hair and decked in golden ornaments; and also many skins of the Ranku deer worthy even of Brahmanas as tribute unto king Yudhishthira. And the tribes Vairamas, Paradas, Tungas, with the Kitavas who lived upon crops that depended on water from the sky or of the river and also they who were born in regions on the sea-shore, in woodlands, or countries on the other side of the ocean waited at the gate, being refused permission to enter, with goats and kine and asses and camels and vegetable, honey and blankets and jewels and gems of various kinds. And that great warrior king Bhagadatta, the brave ruler of Pragjyotisha and the mighty sovereign of the mlechchas, at the head of a large number of Yavanas waited at the gate unable to enter, with a considerable tribute comprising of horses of the best breed and possessing the speed of the wind. And king Bhagadatta (beholding the concourse) had to go away from the gate, making over a number of swords with handles made of the purest ivory and well-adorned with diamonds and every kind of gems. And many tribes coming from different regions, of whom some possess two eyes, some three and some had eyes on their foreheads, and those also called Aushmikas, and Nishadas, and Romakas, some cannibals and many possessing only one leg. I say, O king, standing at the gate, being refused permission to enter. And these diverse rulers brought as tribute ten thousand asses of diverse hues and black necks and huge bodies and great speed and much docility and celebrated all over the world. And these asses were all of goodly size and delightful colour. And they were all bred on the coast of Vankhu. And there were many kings that gave unto Yudhishthira much gold and silver. And having given much tribute they obtained admission into the palace of Yudhishthira. The people that came there possessing only one leg gave unto Yudhishthira many wild horses, some of which were as red as the cochineal, and some white, and some possessing the hues of the rainbow and some looking like evening clouds, and some that were of variegated colour. And they were all endued with the speed of the mind. And they also gave unto the king enough gold of superior quality. I also saw numberless Chins and Sakas and Uddras and many barbarous tribes living in the woods, and many Vrishnis and Harahunas, and dusky tribes of the Himavat, and many Nipas and people residing in regions on the sea-coast, waiting at the gate being refused permission to enter. And the people of Valhika gave unto him as tribute ten thousand asses, of goodly size and black necks and daily running two hundred miles, And those asses were of many shapes. And they were well-trained and celebrated all over the world. And possessed of symmetrical proportion and excellent colour, their skins were pleasant to the touch. And the Valhikas also presented numerous blankets of woollen texture manufactured in Chin and numerous skins of the Ranku deer, and clothes manufactured from jute, and others woven with the threads spun by insects. And they also gave thousands of other clothes not made of cotton, possessing the colour of the lotus. And these were all of smooth texture. And they also gave soft sheep-skins by thousands. And they also gave many sharp and long swords and scimitars, and hatchets and fine-edged battle-axes manufactured in the western countries. And having presented perfumes and jewels and gems of various kinds by thousands as tribute, they waited at the gate, being refused admission into the palace. And the Sakas and Tukhatas and Tukharas and Kankas and Romakas and men with horns bringing with them as tribute numerous large elephants and ten thousand horses, and hundreds and hundreds of millions of gold waited at the gate, being refused permission to enter. And the kings of the eastern countries having presented numerous valuable articles including many costly carpets and vehicles and beds, and armours of diverse hues decked with jewels and gold and ivory, and weapons of various kinds, and cars of various shapes and handsome make and adorned with gold, with well-trained horses trimmed with tiger skins, and rich and variegated blankets for caprisoning elephants, and various kinds of jewels and gems, arrows long and short and various other kinds of weapons, obtained permission to enter the sacrificial palace of the illustrious Pandava!'"

SECTION 51

Duryodhana said,--'O sinless one, listen to me as I describe that large mass of wealth consisting of various kinds of tribute presented unto Yudhishthira by the kings of the earth. They that dwell by the side of the river Sailoda flowing between the mountains of Mer and Mandara and enjoy the delicious shade of topes of the Kichaka bamboo, viz., the Khashas, Ekasanas, the Arhas, the Pradaras, the Dirghavenus, the Paradas, the Kulindas, the Tanganas, and the other Tanganas, brought as tribute heaps of gold measured in dronas (jars) and raised from underneath the earth by ants and therefore called after these creatures. The mountain tribes endued with great strength having brought as tribute numerous Chamaras (long brushes) soft and black and others white as moon-beam and sweet honey extracted from the flowers growing on the Himavat as also from the Mishali champaka and garlands of flowers brought from the region of the northern Kurus, and diverse kinds of plants from the north even from Kailasa, waited with their heads bent down at the gate of king Yudhishthira, being refused permission to enter. I also beheld there numberless chiefs of the Kiratas armed with cruel weapons and ever engaged in cruel deeds, eating of fruits and roots and attired in skins and living on the northern slopes of the Himavat and on the mountain from behind which the sun rises and in the region of Karusha on the sea-coast and on both sides of the Lohitya mountains. And, O king, having brought with them as tribute loads upon loads of sandal and aloe as also black aloe, and heaps upon heaps of valuable skins and gold and perfumes, and ten thousand serving-girls of their own race, and many beautiful animals and birds of remote countries, and much gold of great splendour procured from mountains, the Kiratas waited at the gate, being refused permission to enter. The Kairatas, the Daradas, the Darvas, the Suras, the Vaiamakas, the Audumvaras, the Durvibhagas, the Kumaras, the Paradas along with the Vahlikas, the Kashmiras, the Ghorakas, the Hansakayanas, the Sivis, the Trigartas, the Yauddheyas, the ruler of Madras and the Kaikeyas, the Amvashtas, the Kaukuras, the Tarkshyas, the Vastrapas along with the Palhavas, the Vashatayas, the Mauleyas along with the Kshudrakas, and the Malavas, the Paundrayas, the Kukkuras, the Sakas, the Angas, the Vangas, the Punras, the Sanavatyas, and the Gayas--these good and well-born Kshatriyas distributed into regular clans and trained to the use of arms,

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brought tribute unto king Yudhishthira by hundreds and thousands. And the Vangas, the Kalingas, the Magadhas, the Tamraliptas, the Supundrakas, the Dauvalikas, the Sagarakas, the Patrornas, the Saisavas, and innumerable Karnapravaranas, who presented themselves at the gate, were told by the gate-keepers at the command of the king, that if they could wait and bring good tribute they could obtain admission. Then the kings of those nations each gave a thousand elephants furnished with tusks like unto the shafts of ploughs and decked with girdles made of gold, and covered with fine blankets and therefore, resembling the lotus in hue. And they were all darkish as rocks and always musty, and procured from the sides of the Kamyaka lake, and covered with defensive armour. And they were also exceedingly patient and of the best breed. And having made these presents, those kings were permitted to enter. O king, these and many others, coming from various regions, and numberless other illustrious kings, brought jewels and gems unto this sacrifice. And Chitraratha, also the king of Gandharvas, the friend of Indra, gave four hundred horses gifted with the speed of the wind. And the Gandharva Tumvuru gladly gave a hundred horses of the colour of mango leaf and decked in gold. And, O thou of the Kuru race, the celebrated king of the Mlechcha tribe, called the Sukaras, gave many hundreds of excellent elephants. And Virata, the king of Matsya, gave as tribute two thousand elephants decked in gold. And king Vasudana from the kingdom of Pansu presented unto the son of Pandu six and twenty elephants and two thousand horses. O king, all decked in gold and endued with speed and strength and in full vigour of youth, and diverse other kinds of wealth. And Yajnasena presented unto the sons of Pandu for the sacrifice, fourteen thousand serving-girls and ten thousand serving-men with their wives, many hundreds of excellent elephants, six and twenty cars with elephants yoked unto them, and also his whole kingdom. And Vasudeva of the Vrishni race, in order to enhance the dignity of Arjuna, gave fourteen thousands of excellent elephants. Indeed, Krishna is the soul of Arjuna and Arjuna is the soul of Krishna, and whatever Arjuna may say Krishna is certain to accomplish. And Krishna is capable of abandoning heaven itself for the sake of Arjuna. and Arjuna also is capable of sacrificing his life for the sake of Krishna. And the Kings of Chola and Pandya, though they brought numberless jars of gold filled with fragrant sandal juice from the hills of Malaya, and loads of sandal and aloe wood from the Dardduras hills, and many gems of great brilliancy and fine cloths inlaid with gold, did not obtain permission (to enter). And the king of the Singhalas gave those best of sea-born gems called the lapis lazuli, and heaps of pearls also, and hundreds of coverlets for elephants. And numberless dark-coloured men with the ends of their, eyes red as copper, attired in clothes decked with gems, waited at the gate with those presents. And numberless Brahmanas and Kshatriyas who had been vanquished, and Vaisyas and serving Sudras, from love of Yudhishthira, brought tribute unto the son of Pandu. And even all the Mlechchas, from love and respect, came unto Yudhishthira. And all orders of men, good, indifferent and low, belonging to numberless races, coming from diverse lands made Yudhishthira's habitation the epitome of the world.

"And beholding the kings of the earth to present unto the foes such excellent and valuable presents, I wished for death out of grief. And O king, I will now tell thee of the servants of the Pandavas, people for whom Yudhishthira supplieth food, both cooked and uncooked. There are a hundred thousand billions of mounted elephants and cavalry and a hundred millions of cars and countless foot soldiers. At one place raw provisions are being measured out; at another they are being cooked; and at another place the foods are being distributed. And the notes of festivity are being heard everywhere. And amongst men of all orders I beheld not a single one in the mansion of Yudhishthira that had not food and drink and ornaments. And eighty-eight thousands of Snataka Brahmanas leading domestic lives, all supported by Yudhishthira, with thirty serving-girls given unto each, gratified by the king, always pray with complacent hearts for the destruction of his foes. And ten thousands of other ascetics with vital seed drawn up, daily eat of golden plates in Yudhishthira's palace. And, O king, Yajnaseni, without having eaten herself, daily seeth whether everybody, including even the deformed and the dwarfs, hath eaten or not. And, O Bharata, only two do not pay tribute unto the son of Kunti, viz., the Panchalas in consequence of their relationship by marriage, and the Andhakas and Vrishnis in consequence of their friendship.

SECTION 51

Duryodhana said,--"Those king that are revered over all the world, who are devoted to truth and who are pledged to the observance of rigid vows, who are possessed of great learning and eloquence, who are fully conversant with the Vedas and their branches as also with sacrifices, who have piety and modesty, whose souls are devoted to virtue, who possess fame, and who have enjoyed the grand rites of coronation, all wait upon and worship Yudhishthira. And, O king, I beheld there many thousands of wild kine with as many vessels of white copper for milking them, brought thither by the kings of the earth as sacrificial presents to be given away by Yudhishthira unto the Brahmana. And, O Bharata, for bathing Yudhishthira at the conclusion of the sacrifice, many kings with the greatest alacrity, themselves brought there in a state of purity many excellent jars (containing water). And king Vahlika brought there a car decked with pure gold. And king Sudakshina himself yoked thereto four white horses of Kamboja breed, and Sunitha of great might fitted the lower pole and the ruler of Chedi with his own hands took up and fitted the flag-staff. And the king of the Southern country stood ready with the coat of mail; the ruler of Magadha, with garlands of flowers and the head-gear; the great warrior Vasudana with a sixty years old elephant, the king of Matsya, with the side-fittings of the car, all encased in gold; king Ekalavya, with the shoes; the king of Avanti, with diverse kinds of water for the final bath; king Chekitana, with the quiver; the king of Kasi, with the bow; and Salya; with a sword whose hilt and straps were adorned with gold. Then Dhaumya and Vyasa, of great ascetic merit, with Narada and Asita's son Devala, standing before performed the ceremony of sprinkling the sacred water over the king. And the great Rishis with cheerful hearts sat where the sprinkling ceremony was performed. And other illustrious Rishis conversant with the Vedas, with Jamadagni's son among them, approached Yudhishthira, the giver of large sacrificial presents, uttering mantras all the while, like the seven Rishis, approaching the great India in heaven. And Satyaki of unbaffled prowess held the umbrella (over the king's head). And Dhananjaya and Bhima were engaged in tanning the king; while the twins held a couple of chamaras in their hands. And the Ocean himself brought in a sling that big conch of Varuna which the celestial artificer Viswakarman had constructed with a thousand Nishkas of gold, and which Prajapati had in a former Kalpa, presented unto India. It was with that conch that Krishna bathed Yudhishthira after the conclusion of the sacrifice, and beholding it, I swooned away. People go to the Eastern or the Western seas and also to the Southern one. But, O father, none except birds can ever go to the Northern sea. But the Pandavas have spread their dominion even there, for I heard hundreds of conches that had been brought thence blown (in the sacrificial mansion) indicative of auspicious rejoicing. And while those conches blew simultaneously, my hair stood on end. And those among the kings, who were weak in strength fell down. And Dhrishtadyumna and Satyaki and the sons of Pandu and Kesava,--those eight, endued with strength and prowess and handsome in person, beholding the kings deprived of consciousness and myself in that plight, laughed outright. Then Vibhatsu (Arjuna) with a cheerful heart gave, O Bharata, unto the principal Brahmanas five hundred bullocks with horns plated with gold. And king Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, having completed the Rajasuya sacrifice, obtained like the exalted Harishchandra such prosperity that neither Rantideva nor Nabhaga, nor Jauvanaswa, nor Manu, nor king Prithu the son of Vena, nor Bhagiratha, Yayati, nor Nahusha, had obtained its like. And beholding, O exalted one, such prosperity, in the son of Pritha which is even like that which Harishchandra had, I do not see the least good in continuing to live, O Bharata! O ruler of men, a yoke that is tied (to the bullock's shoulders) by a blind man becomes loosened. Even such is the case with us. The younger ones are growing while the elder ones are decaying. And beholding all this, O chief of the Kurus, I cannot enjoy peace even with the aid of reflection. And it is for this, O king, that I am plunged into grief and becoming pale and emaciated."

SECTION 53

"Dhritrashtra said,--Thou art my eldest son and born also of my eldest wife. Therefore, O son, be not jealous of the Pandavas. He that is jealous is always unhappy and suffereth the pangs of death. O bull of the Bharata race, Yudhishthira knoweth not deception, possesseth wealth equal unto thine, hath thy friends for his, and is not jealous of thee. Why shouldst thou, therefore, be jealous of him? O king, in respect of friends and allies thou art equal unto Yudhishthira. Why shouldst thou, therefore, covet, from folly, the property of thy brother? Be not so. Cease to be jealous. Do not grieve. O bull of the Bharata race, it thou covetest the dignity attaching to the performance of a sacrifice, let the priests arrange for thee the great sacrifice, called the Saptatantu. The kings of the earth will then, cheerfully and with great respect, bring for thee also much wealth and gems and ornaments. O child, coveting other's possessions is exceedingly mean. He, on the other hand, enjoyeth happiness, who is content with his own being engaged in the practices of his own order. Never striving to obtain the wealth of others, persevering in one's own affairs, and protecting what hath been earned,--these are the indications of true greatness. He that is unmoved in calamity, skilled in his own business, ever exerting vigilant and humble, always beholdeth prosperity. The sons of Pandu are as thy arms. Do not lop off those arms of thine. Plunge not into internal dissensions for the sake of that wealth of thy brothers. O king, be not jealous of the sons of Pandu. Thy wealth is equal unto that of thy brothers in his entirety. There is great sin in quarrelling with friends. They that are thy grandsires are theirs also. Give away in charity on occasions of sacrifices, gratify every dear object of thy desire, disport in the company of women freely, and enjoy thou peace.'"

SECTION 54

"Duryodhana said,--'He that is devoid of intellect but hath merely heard of many things, can scarcely understand the real import of the scriptures, like the spoon that hath no perception of the taste of the soup it toucheth. Thou knowest everything, but yet confoundest me. Like a boat fastened to another, thou and I are tied to each other. Art thou unmindful of thy own interests? Or, dost thou entertain hostile feeling towards me? These thy sons and allies are doomed to destruction, inasmuch as they have thee for their ruler, for thou describest as attainable in the future what is to be done at the present moment. He often trippeth whose guide acts under the instructions of others. How then can his followers expect to come across a right path? O king, thou art of mature wisdom; thou hast the opportunity to listen to the words of old, and thy senses also are under thy control. It behoveth thee not to confound us who are ready to seek our own interests. Vrihaspati hath said that the usage of kings are different from those of common people. Therefore kings should always attend to their own interests with vigilance. The attainment of success is the sole criterion that should guide the conduct of a Kshatriya. Whether, therefore, the means is virtuous or sinful, what scruples can there be in the duties of one's own order? He that is desirous of snatching the blazing prosperity of his foe, should, O bull of the Bharata race, bring every direction under his subjection like the charioteer taming the steeds with his whip. Those used to handling weapons say that, a weapon is not simply an instrument that cuts but is a means, whether covert or overt, that can defeat a foe. Who is to be reckoned a foe and who a friend, doth not depend on one's figure or dimensions. He that paineth another is, O king, to be regarded a foe by him that is pained. Discontent is the root of prosperity. Therefore, O king, I desire to be discontented. He that striveth after the acquisition of prosperity is, O king, a truly politic person. Nobody should be attached to wealth and affluence, for the wealth that hath been earned and hoarded may be plundered. The usages of kings are even such. It was during a period of peace that Sakra cut off the head of Namuchi after having given a pledge to the contrary, and it was because he approved of this eternal usage towards the enemy that he did so. Like a snake that swalloweth up frogs and other creatures living in holes, the earth swalloweth up a king that is peaceful and a Brahmana that stirreth not out of home. O king, none can by nature be any person's foe. He is one's foe, and not anybody else, who hath common pursuits with one. He that from folly neglecteth a growing foe, hath his vitals cut off as by a disease that he cherished without treatment. A foe, however insignificant, if suffered to grow in prowess, swalloweth one like the white ants at the root of a tree eating off the tree itself. O Bharata, O Ajamida, let not the prosperity of the foe be acceptable to thee. This policy (of neglecting the foe) should always be borne on their heads by the wise even like a load. He that always wisheth for the increase of his wealth, ever groweth in the midst of his relatives even like the body naturally growing from the moment of birth. Prowess conferreth speedy growth. Coveting as I do the prosperity of the Pandavas. I have not yet made it my own. At present I am a prey to doubts in respect of my ability. I am determined to resolve those doubts of mine. I will either obtain that prosperity of theirs, or lie down having perished in battle. O king when the state of my mind is such, what do I care now for life, for the Pandavas are daily growing while our possessions know no increase?'"

SECTION 55

"Sakuni said,--O thou foremost of victorious persons, I will snatch (for thee) this prosperity of Yudhishthira, the son of Pandu, at the sight of which thou grievest so. Therefore, O king, let Yudhishthira the son of Kunti be summoned. By throwing dice a skilful man, himself uninjured, may vanquish one that hath no skill. Know, O Bharata, that betting is my bow, the dice are my arrows, the marks on them my bow-string, and the dice-board my car.

"Duryodhana said,--'This Sukuni skilled at dice, is ready, O king, to snatch the prosperity of the son of Pandu by means of dice. It behoveth thee to give him permission.

"Dhritarashtra said,--'I am obedient to the counsels of my brother, the illustrious Vidura. Consulting with him, I shall tell what should be done in this matter.

"Duryodhana said,--'Vidura is always engaged in doing good to the sons of Pandu. O Kaurava, his feelings towards us are otherwise. He will, therefore, without doubt, withdraw thy heart from the proposed act. No man should set himself to any task depending upon the counsels of another, for, O son of Kuru's race, the minds of two persons seldom agree in any particular act. The fool that liveth shunning all causes of fear

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wasteth himself like an insect in the rainy season. Neither sickness nor Yama waiteth till one is in prosperity. So long, therefore, as there is life and health, one should (without waiting for prosperity) accomplish his purpose.'

"Dhritarashtra said,--'O son, hostility with those that are strong, is what never recommendeth itself to me. Hostility bringeth about a change of feelings, and that itself is a weapon though not made of steel. Thou regardest, O Prince, as a great blessing what will bring in its train the terrible consequences of war. What is really fraught with mischief. If once it beginneth, it will create sharp swords and pointed arrows.'

"Duryodhana replied,--'Men of the most ancient times invented the use of dice. There is no destruction in it, nor is there any striking with, weapons. Let the words of Sakuni, therefore, be acceptable to thee, and let thy command be issued for the speedy construction of the assembly house. The door of heaven, leading us to such happiness, will be opened to us by gambling. Indeed, they that betake to gambling (with such aid) deserve such good fortune. The Pandavas then will become thy equals (instead of, as now, superiors); therefore, gamble thou with the Pandavas.

"Dhritarashtra said.--'The words uttered by thee do not recommend themselves to me. Do what may be agreeable to thee, O ruler of men. But thou shall have to repent for acting according to these words; for, words that are fraught with such immorality can never bring prosperity in the future. Even this was foreseen by the learned Vidura ever treading the path of truth and wisdom. Even the great calamity, destructive of the lives of the Kshatriyas, cometh as destined by fate.'"

Vaisampayana continued--"Having said this, the weak-minded Dhritarashtra regarded fate as supreme and unavoidable. And the king deprived of reason by Fate, and obedient to the counsels of his son, commanded his men in loud voice, saying--'Carefully construct, without loss of time, an assembly house of the most beautiful description, to be called the crystal-arched palace with a thousand columns, decked with gold and lapis lazuli, furnished with a hundred gates, and full two miles in length and in breadth the same.' Hearing those words of his, thousands of artificers endued with intelligence and skill soon erected the palace with the greatest alacrity, and having erected it brought thither every kind of article. And soon after they cheerfully represented unto the king that the palace had been finished, and that it as delightful and handsome and furnished with every kind of gems and covered with many-coloured carpets inlaid with gold. Then king Dhritarashtra, possessed of learning, summoning Vidura the chief of his ministers, said:--'Repairing, (to Khandavaprastha), bring prince Yudhishthira here without loss of time. Let him come hither with his brothers, and behold his handsome assembly house of mine, furnished with countless jewels and gems, and costly beds and carpets, and let a friendly match at dice commence here.'"

SECTION 56

Vaisampayana said,--"King Dhritarashtra, ascertaining the inclinations of his son and knowing that Fate is inevitable, did what I have said. Vidura, however, that foremost of intelligent men, approved not his brother's words and spoke thus, 'I approve not, O king, of this command of thine. Do not act so. I fear, this will bring about the destruction of our race. When thy sons lose their unity, dissension will certainly ensue amongst them. This I apprehend, O king, from this match at dice.'

"Dhritarashtra said,--'If Fate be not hostile, this quarrel will not certainly grieve me. The whole universe moveth at the will of its Creator, under the controlling influence of Fate. It is not free. Therefore, O Vidura, going unto king Yudhishthira at my command, bring thou soon that invincible son of Kunti.'"

SECTION 57

Vaisampayana said,--"Vidura then, thus commanded against his will by king Dhritarashtra, set out, with the help of horses of high mettle and endued with great speed and strength, and quiet and patient, for the abode of the wise sons of Pandu. Possessed of great intelligence, Vidura proceeded by the way leading to the capital of the Pandavas. And having arrived at the city of king Yudhishthira, he entered it and proceeded towards the palace, worshipped by numberless Brahmanas. And coming to the palace which was even like unto the mansion of Kuvera himself, the virtuous Vidura approached Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma. Then the illustrious Ajamida devoted to truth and having no enemy on earth, reverentially saluted Vidura, and asked him about Dhritarashtra and his sons. And Yudhishthira said, "O Kshatta, thy mind seemeth to be cheerless. Dost thou come here in happiness and peace? The sons of Dhritarashtra, I hope, are obedient to their old father. The people also, I hope, are obedient to Dhritarashtra's rule.'

"Vidura said,--'The illustrious king, with his sons, is well and happy, and surrounded by his relatives he reigneth even like Indra himself. The king is happy with his sons who are all obedient to him and hath no grief. The illustrious monarch is bent on his own aggrandisement. The king of the Kurus hath commanded me to enquire after thy peace and prosperity, and to ask thee to repair to Hastinapore with thy brothers and to say, after beholding king Dhritarashtra's newly erected palace, whether that one is equal to thy own. Repairing thither, O son of Pritha, with thy brothers, enjoy ye in that mansion and sit to a friendly match at dice. We shall be glad if thou goest, as the Kurus have already arrived there. And thou wilt see there those gamblers and cheats that the illustrious king Dhritarashtra hath already brought thither. It is for this, O king, that I have come hither. Let the king's command be approved by thee.

"Yudhishthira said,--'O Kshatta, if we sit to a match at dice, we may quarrel. What man is there, who knowing all this, will consent to gamble? What dost thou think fit for us? We all are obedient to thy counsels.'

"Vidura said,--'I know that gambling is the root of misery, and I strove to dissuade the king from it. The king, however, hath sent me to thee. Having known all this, O learned one, do what is beneficial.

"Yudhishthira said,--'Besides the sons of Dhritarashtra what other dishonest gamblers are there ready for play? Tell us, O Vidura, who they are and with whom we shall have to play, staking hundreds upon hundreds of our possessions.'

"Vidura said,--'O monarch, Sakuni, the king of Gandhara, an adept at dice, having great skill of hand and desperate in stakes, Vivingati, king Chitrasena, Satyavrata, Purumitra and Jaya, these, O king, are there.'

"Yudhishthira said,--'It would seem then that some of the most desperate and terrible gamblers always depending upon deceit are there. This whole universe, however, is at the will of its Maker, under the control of fate. It is not free. O learned one, I do not desire, at the command of king Dhritarashtra to engage myself in gambling. The father always wisheth to benefit his son. Thou art our master, O Vidura. Tell me what is proper for us. Unwilling as I am to gamble, I will not do so, if the wicked Sakuni doth not summon me to it in the Sabha? If, however, he challengeth me, I will never refuse. For that, as settled, is my eternal vow."

Vaisampayana continued,--"King Yudhishthira the Just having said this unto Vidura, commanded that preparations for his journey might be made without loss of time. And the next day, the king accompanied by his relatives and attendants and taking with him also the women of the household with Draupadi in their midst, set out for the capital of the Kurus. 'Like some brilliant body falling before the eyes, Fate depriveth us of reason, and man, tied as it were with a cord, submitteth to the sway of Providence,' saying this, king Yudhishthira, that chastiser of the foe, set out with Kshatta, without deliberating upon that summons from Dhritarashtra. And that slayer of hostile heroes, the son of Pandu and Pritha, riding upon the car that had been given him by the king of Valhika, and attired also in royal robes, set out with his brothers. And the king, blazing as it were with royal splendour, with Brahmanas walking before him, set out from his city, summoned by Dhritarashtra and impelled by what hath been ordained by Kala (Time). And arriving at Hastinapore he went to the palace of Dhritarashtra. And going there, the son of Pandu approached the king. And the exalted one then approached Bhishma and Drona and Karna, and Kripa, and the son of Drona, and embraced and was embraced by them all. And the mighty-armed one, endued with great prowess, then approached Somadatta, and then Duryodhana and Salya, and the son of Suvala, and those other kings also that had arrived there before him. The king then went to the brave Dusshasana and then to all his (other) brothers and then to Jayadratha and next to all the Kurus one after another. And the mighty-armed one, then surrounded by all his brothers, entered the apartment of the wise king Dhritarashtra. And then Yudhishthira beheld the reverend Gandhari, ever obedient to her lord, and surrounded by her daughters-in-law like Rohini by the stars. And saluting Gandhari and blessed by her in return, the king then beheld his old uncle, that illustrious monarch whose wisdom was his eye. King Dhritarashtra then, O monarch, smelt his head as also the heads of those four other princes of the Kuru race, viz., the sons of Pandu with Bhimasena as their eldest. And, O king, beholding--the handsome Pandava those tigers among men, all the Kurus became exceedingly glad. And commanded by the king, the Pandavas then retired to the chambers allotted to them and which were all furnished with jewels and gems. And when they had retired into the chambers, the women of Dhritarashtra's household with Dussala taking the lead visited them. And the daughters-in-law of Dhritarashtra beholding the blazing and splendid beauty and prosperity of Yajnaseni, became cheerless and filled with jealousy. And those tigers among men, having conversed with the ladies went through their daily physical exercises and then performed the religious rites of the day. And having finished their daily devotions, they decked their persons with sandal paste of the most fragrant kind. And desiring to secure good luck and prosperity they caused (by gifts) the Brahmanas to utter benedictions. And then eating food that was of the best taste they retired to their chambers for the night. And those bulls among the Kurus then were put to sleep with music by handsome females. And obtaining from them what came in due succession, those subjugators of hostile towns passed with cheerful hearts that delightful night in pleasure and sport. And waked by the bards with sweet music, they rose from their beds, and having passed the night thus in happiness, they rose at dawn and having gone through the usual rites, they entered into the assembly house and were saluted by those that were ready there for gambling."

SECTION 58

Vaisampayana said,--"The sons of Pritha with Yudhishthira at their head, having entered that assembly house, approached all the kings that were present there. And worshipping all those that deserved to be worshipped, and saluting others as each deserved according to age, they seated themselves on seats that were clean and furnished with costly carpets. After they had taken their seats, as also all the kings, Sakuni the son of Suvala addressed Yudhishthira and said, 'O king, the assembly is full. All had been waiting for thee. Let, therefore, the dice be cast and the rules of play be fixed, O Yudhishthira.'

'Yudhishthira replied, 'Deceitful gambling is sinful. There is no Kshatriya prowess in it. There is certainly no morality in it. Why, then, O king, dost thou praise gambling so? The wise applaud not the pride that gamesters feel in deceitful play. O Sakuni, vanquish us, not like a wretch, by deceitful means.'

Sakuni said,--'That high-souled player who knoweth the secrets of winning and losing, who is skilled in baffling the deceitful arts of his confrere, who is united in all the diverse operations of which gambling consisteth, truly knoweth the play, and he suffereth all in course of it. O son of Pritha, it is the staking at dice, which may be lost or won that may injure us. And it is for that reason that gambling is regarded as a fault. Let us, therefore, O king, begin the play. Fear not. Let the stakes be fixed. Delay not!'

"Yudhishthira said,--'That best of Munis, Devala, the son of Asita, who always instructeth us about all those acts that may lead to heaven, hell, or the other regions, hath said, that it is sinful to play deceitfully with a gamester. To obtain victory in battle without cunning or stratagem is the best sport. Gambling, however, as a sport, is not so. Those that are respectable never use the language of the Mlechchas, nor do they adopt deceitfulness in their behaviour. War carried on without crookedness and cunning, this is the act of men that are honest. Do not, O Sakuni, playing desperately, win of us that wealth with which according to our abilities, we strive to learn how to benefit the Brahmanas. Even enemies should not be vanquished by desperate stakes in deceitful play. I do not desire either happiness or wealth by means of cunning. The conduct of one that is a gamester, even if it be without deceitfulness, should not be applauded.'

"Sakuni said,--'O Yudhishthira, it is from a desire of winning, which is not a very honest motive, that one high-born person approacheth another (in a contest of race superiority). So also it is from a desire of defeating, which is not a very honest motive, that one learned person approacheth another (in a contest of learning). Such motives, however, are scarcely regarded as really dishonest. So also, O Yudhishthira, a person skilled at dice approacheth one that is not so skilled from a desire of vanquishing him. One also who is conversant with the truths of science approacheth another that is not from desire of victory, which is scarcely an honest motive. But (as I have already said) such a motive is not really dishonest. And, O Yudhishthira, so also one that is skilled in weapons approacheth one that is not so skilled; the strong approacheth the weak. This is the practice in every contest. The motive is victory, O Yudhishthira. If, therefore, thou, in approaching me, regardest me to be actuated by motives that are dishonest, if thou art under any fear, desist then from play.'

"Yudhishthira said,--'Summoned, I do not withdraw. This is my established vow. And, O king, Fate is all powerful. We all are under the control of Destiny. With whom in this assembly am I to play? Who is there that can stake equally with me? Let the play begin.'

"Duryodhana said,--'O monarch, I shall supply jewels and gems and every kind of wealth. And it is for me that this Sakuni, my uncle, will play.'

"Yudhishthira said,--'Gambling for one's sake by the agency of another seemeth to me to be contrary to rule. Thou also, O learned one, will admit this. If, however, thou art still bent on it, let the play begin.'"

SECTION 59

Vaisampayana said,--"When the play commenced, all those kings with Dhritarashtra at their head took their seats in that assembly. And, O Bharata, Bhishma and Drona and Kripa and the high-souled Vidura with cheerless hearts sat behind. And those kings with leonine necks and endued with great energy took their seats separately and in pairs upon many elevated seats of beautiful make and colour. And, O king, that mansion looked resplendent with those assembled kings like

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heaven itself with a conclave of the celestials of great good fortune. And they were all conversant with the Vedas and brave and of resplendent countenances. And, O great king, the friendly match at dice then commenced.

Yudhishthira said,--"O king, this excellent wealth of pearls of great value, procured from the ocean by churning it (of old), so beautiful and decked with pure gold, this, O king, is my stake. What is thy counter stake, O great king,--the wealth with which thou wishest to play with me?"

"Duryodhana said,--'I have many jewels and much wealth. But I am not vain of them. Win thou this stake.'

Vaisampayana continued,--"Then Sakuni, well-skilled at dice, took up the dice and (casting them) said unto Yudhishthira, 'Lo, I have won!'"

SECTION 60

Yudhishthira said,--"Thou hast won this stake of me by unfair means. But be not so proud, O Sakuni. Let us play staking thousands upon thousands. I have many beautiful jars each full of a thousand Nishkas in my treasury, inexhaustible gold, and much silver and other minerals. This, O king, is the wealth with which I will stake with thee!'"

Vaisampayana continued,--"Thus addressed, Sakuni said unto the chief of the perpetuators of the Kuru race, the eldest of the sons of Pandu, king Yudhishthira, of glory incapable of sustaining any diminution. 'Lo, I have won!'"

Yudhishthira said,--'This my sacred and victorious and royal car which gladdeneth the heart and hath carried us hither, which is equal unto a thousand cars, which is of symmetrical proportions and covered with tiger-skin, and furnished with excellent wheels and flag-staffs which is handsome, and decked with strings of little bells, whose clatter is even like the roar of the clouds or of the ocean, and which is drawn by eight noble steeds known all over the kingdom and which are white as the moon-beam and from whose hoofs no terrestrial creature can escape--this, O king, is my wealth with which I will stake with thee!'"

Vaisampayana continued,--"Hearing these words, Sakuni ready with the dice, and adopting unfair means, said unto Yudhishthira, 'Lo, I have won!'

"Yudhishthira said,--'I have a hundred thousand serving-girls, all young, and decked with golden bracelets on their wrists and upper arms, and with nishkas round their necks and other ornaments, adorned with costly garlands and attired in rich robes, daubed with the sandal paste, wearing jewels and gold, and well-skilled in the four and sixty elegant arts, especially versed in dancing and singing, and who wait upon and serve at my command the celestials, the Snataka Brahmanas, and kings. With this wealth, O king, I will stake with thee!'"

Vaisampayana continued,--'Hearing these words, Sakuni ready with the dice, adopting unfair means, said unto Yudhishthira. 'Lo, I have won!'

Yudhishthira said,--"I have thousands of serving-men, skilled in waiting upon guests, always attired in silken robes, endued with wisdom and intelligence, their senses under control though young, and decked with ear-rings, and who serve all guests night and day with plates and dishes in hand. With this wealth, O king, I will stake with thee!'"

Vaisampayana continued,--"Hearing these words, Sakuni, ready with the dice, adopting unfair means said unto Yudhishthira, 'Lo, I have won!'

"Yudhishthira said,--'I have, O son of Suvala, one thousand musty elephants with golden girdles, decked with ornaments, with the mark of the lotus on their temples and necks and other parts, adorned with golden garlands, with fine white tusks long and thick as plough-shafts, worthy of carrying kings on their backs, capable of bearing every kind of noise on the field of battle, with huge bodies, capable of battering down the walls of hostile towns, of the colour of new-formed clouds, and each possessing eight she-elephants. With this wealth, O king, I will stake with thee.'"

Vaisampayana continued,--"Unto Yudhishthira who had said so, Sakuni, the son of Suvala, laughingly said, 'Lo, I have won it!'

Yudhishthira said,--'I have as many cars as elephants, all furnished with golden poles and flag-staffs and well-trained horses and warriors that fight wonderfully and each of whom receiveth a thousand coins as his monthly pay whether he fighteth or not. With this wealth, O king, I will stake with thee!'"

Vaisampayana continued,--"When these words had been spoken, the wretch Sakuni, pledged to enmity, said unto Yudhishthira, 'Lo, I have won it.'

Yudhishthira said.--'The steeds of the Tittiri, Kalmasha, and Gandharva breeds, decked with ornaments, which Chitraratha having been vanquished in battle and subdued cheerfully gave unto Arjuna, the wielder of the Gandiva. With this wealth, O king, I will stake with thee."

Vaisampayana continued, "Hearing this, Sakuni, ready at dice, adopting unfair means, said unto Yudhishthira: 'Lo, I have won!'

Yudhishthira said,--'I have ten thousand cars and vehicles unto which are yoked draught animals of the foremost breed. And I have also sixty thousand warriors picked from each order by thousands, who are all brave and endued with prowess like heroes, who drink milk and eat good rice, and all of whom have broad chests. With this wealth, O king, I will stake with thee.'

Vaisampayana continued,--"Hearing this, Sakuni ready at dice, adopting unfair means said unto Yudhishthira, 'Lo, I have won!'

Yudhishthira said,--'I have four hundred Nidis (jewels of great value) encased in sheets of copper and iron. Each one of them is equal to five draunikas of the costliest and purest leaf gold of the Jatarupa kind. With this wealth, O king, I will stake with thee.'"

Vaisampayana continued,--"Hearing this, Sakuni ready at dice, adopting foul means, said unto Yudhishthira, 'Lo, I have won it!'"

SECTION 61

Vaisampayana said,--"During the course of this gambling, certain to bring about utter ruin (on Yudhishthira), Vidura, that dispeller of all doubts, (addressing Dhritarashtra) said, 'O great king, O thou of the Bharata race, attend to what I say, although my words may not be agreeable to thee, like medicine to one that is ill and about to breathe his last. When this Duryodhana of sinful mind had, immediately after his birth, cried discordantly like a jackal, it was well known that he had been ordained to bring about the destruction of the Bharata race. Know, O king, that he will be the cause of death of ye all. A jackal is living in thy house, O king, in the form of Duryodhana. Thou knowest it not in consequence of thy folly. Listen now to the words of the Poet (Sukra) which I will quote. They that collect honey (in mountains), having received what they seek, do not notice that they are about to fall. Ascending dangerous heights, abstracted in the pursuit of what they seek, they fall down and meet with destruction. This Duryodhana also, maddened with the play at dice, like the collector of honey, abstracted in what he seeketh, marketh not the consequences. Making enemies of these great warriors, he beholdeth not the fall that is before him. It is known to thee, O thou of great wisdom, that amongst the Bhojas, they abandoned, for the good of the citizens a son that was unworthy of their race. The Andhakas, the Yadavas, and the Bhojas uniting together, abandoned Kansa. And afterwards, when at the command of the whole tribe, the same Kansa had been slain by Krishna that slayer of foes, all the men of the tribe became exceedingly happy for a hundred years. So at thy command, let Arjuna slay this Suyodhana. And in consequence of the slaying of this wretch, let the Kurus be glad and pass their days in happiness. In exchange of a crow, O great king, buy these peacocks--the Pandavas; and in exchange of a jackal, buy these tigers. For the sake of a family a member may be sacrificed; for the sake of a village a family may be sacrificed, for the sake of a province a village may be sacrificed and for the sake of one's own soul the whole earth may be sacrificed. Even this was what the omniscient Kavya himself, acquainted with the thoughts of every creature, and a source of terror unto all foes, said unto the great Asuras to induce them to abandon Jambha at the moment of his birth. It is said that a certain king, having caused a number of wild birds that vomited gold to take up their quarters in his own house, afterwards killed them from temptation. O slayer of foes, blinded by temptation and the desire of enjoyment, for the sake of gold, the king destroyed at the same time both his present and future gains. Therefore, O king, prosecute not the Pandavas from desire of profit, even like the king in story. For then, blinded by folly thou wilt have to repent afterwards, even like the person that killed the birds. Like a flower-seller that plucketh (many flowers) in the garden from trees that he cherisheth with affection from day to day, continue, O Bharata, to pluck flowers day by day from the Pandavas. Do not scorch them to their roots like a fire-producing breeze that reduceth everything to black charcoal. Go not, O king, unto the region of Yama, with thy sons and troops, for who is there that is capable of fighting with the sons of Pritha, together? Not to speak of others, is the chief of the celestials at the head of the celestials themselves, capable of doing so?"

SECTION 62

"Vidura said,--"Gambling is the root of dissensions. It bringeth about disunion. Its consequences are frightful. Yet having recourse to this, Dhritarashtra's son Duryodhana createth for himself fierce enmity. The descendants of Pratipa and Santanu, with their fierce troops and their allies the Vahlikas, will, for the sins of Duryodhana meet with destruction. Duryodhana, in consequence of this intoxication, forcibly driveth away luck and prosperity from his kingdom, even like an infuriate bull breaking his own horns himself. That brave and learned person who disregarding his own foresight, followeth, O king, (the bent of) another man's heart, sinketh in terrible affliction even like one that goeth into the sea in a boat guided by a child. Duryodhana is gambling with the son of Pandu, and thou art in raptures that he is winning. And it is such success that begeteth war, which endeth in the destruction of men. This fascination (of gambling) that thou has well-devised only leadeth to dire results. Thus hast thou simply brought on by these counsels great affliction to thy heart. And this thy quarrel with Yudhishthira, who is so closely related to thee, even if thou hadst not foreseen it, is still approved by thee. Listen, ye sons of Santanu, ye descendants of Pratipa, who are now in this assembly of the Kauravas, to these words of wisdom. Enter ye not into the terrible fire that hath blazed forth following the wretch. When Ajatasatru, the son of Pandu, intoxicated with dice, giveth way to his wrath, and Vrikodara and Arjuna and the twins (do the same), who, in that hour of confusion, will prove your refuge? O great king, thou art thyself a mine of wealth. Thou canst earn (by other means) as much wealth as thou seekest to earn by gambling. What dost thou gain by winning from the Pandavas their vast wealth? Win the Pandavas themselves, who will be to thee more than all the wealth they have. We all know the skill of Suvala in play. This hill-king knoweth many nefarious methods in gambling. Let Sakuni return whence he came. War not, O Bharata, with the sons of Pandu!'

SECTION 63

Duryodhana said,--'O Kshatta, thou art always boasting of the fame of our enemies, deprecating the sons of Dhritarashtra. We know, O Vidura, of whom thou art really fond. Thou always disregardest us as children, That man standeth confest, who wisheth for success unto those that are near to him and defeat unto those that are not his favourites. His praise and blame are applied accordingly. Thy tongue and mind betray thy heart. But the hostility thou showeth in speech is even greater than what is in thy heart. Thou hast been cherished by us like a serpent on our lap. Like a cat thou wishest evil unto him that cherisheth thee. The wise have said that there is no sin graver than that of injuring one's master. How is it, O Kshatta, that thou dost not fear this sin? Having vanquished our enemies we have obtained great advantages. Use not harsh words in respect of us. Thou art always willing to make peace with the foes. And it is for this reason that thou hatest us always. A man becometh a foe by speaking words that are unpardonable. Then again in praising the enemy, the secrets of one's own party should not be divulged. (Thou however, transgressest this rule). Therefore, O thou parasite, why dost thou obstruct us so? Thou sayest whatever thou wishest. Insult us not. We know thy mind. Go and learn sitting at the feet of the old. Keen up the reputation that thou hast won. Meddle not with the affairs of other men. Do not imagine that thou art our chief. Tell us not harsh words always, O Vidura. We do not ask thee what is for our good. Cease, irritate not those that have already borne too much at thy hands. There is only one Controller, no second. He controlleth even the child that is in the mother's womb. I am controlled by Him. Like water that always floweth in a downward course, I am acting precisely in the way in which He is directing me. He that breaketh his head against a stone-wall, and he that feedeth a serpent, are guided in those acts of theirs by their own intellect. (Therefore, in this matter I am guided by my own intelligence). He becometh a foe who seeketh to control others by force. When advice, however, is offered in a friendly spirit, the learned bear with it. He again that hath set fire to such a highly inflammable object as camphor, beholdeth not its ashes. If he runneth immediately to extinguish it. One should not give shelter to another who is the friend of his foes, or to another who is ever jealous of his protector or to another who is evil-minded. Therefore, O Vidura, go whither-so-ever thou pleasest. A wife that is unchaste, however well-treated, forsaketh her husband yet.'

"Vidura addressing Dhritarashtra, said, 'O monarch, tell us (impartially) like a witness what thou thinkest of the conduct of those who abandon their serving-men thus for giving instruction to them. The hearts of kings are, indeed, very fickle. Granting protection at first, they strike with clubs at last. O prince (Duryodhana), thou regardest thyself as mature in intellect, and, O thou of bad heart, thou regardest me as a child. But consider that he is a child who having first accepted one for a friend, subsequently findeth fault with him. An evil-hearted man can never be brought to the path of rectitude, like an unchaste wife in the house of a well-born person. Assuredly, instruction is not agreeable to this bull of the Bharata race like a husband of sixty years to a damsel that is young. After this, O king, if thou wishest to hear words that are agreeable to thee, in respect of all acts good or bad, ask thou women and idiots and cripples or persons of that description. A sinful man speaking words that are agreeable may be had in this world. But a speaker of words that are disagreeable though sound as regimen, or a hearer of the same, is very rare. He indeed, is a king's true ally who disregarding what is agreeable or disagreeable to his master beareth himself virtuously and uttereth what may be disagreeable but necessary as regimen. O great king, drink thou that which the honest drink and the dishonest shun, even humility, which is like a medicine that is bitter, pungent, burning, unintoxicating, disagreeable, and revolting. And drinking it, O king, regain thou thy sobriety. I always wish Dhritarashtra and his sons affluence and fame. Happen what may unto thee,

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here I bow to thee (and take my leave). Let the Brahmanas wish me well. O son of Kuru, this is the lesson I carefully inculcate, that the wise should never enrage such as adders as have venom in their very glances!"

SECTION 64

"Sakuni said,--'Thou hast, O Yudhishthira, lost much wealth of the Pandavas. If thou hast still anything that thou hast not yet lost to us, O son of Kunti, tell us what it is!"

"Yudhishthira said,--O son of Suvala, I know that I have untold wealth. But why is it, O Sakuni, that thou askest me of my wealth? Let tens of thousands and millions and millions and tens of millions and hundreds of millions and tens of billions and hundreds of billions and trillions and tens of trillions and hundreds of trillions and tens of quadrillions and hundreds of quadrillions and even more wealth be staked by thee. I have as much. With that wealth, O king, I will play with thee."

Vaisampayana said,--"Hearing this, Sakuni, ready with the dice, adopting unfair means, said unto Yudhishthira, 'Lo, I have won!'

'Yudhishthira said,--'I have, O son of Suvala, immeasurable kine and horses and milch cows with calves and goats and sheep in the country extending from the Parnasa to the eastern bank of the Sindu. With this wealth, O king, I will play with thee.

Vaisampayana said,--"Hearing this Sakuni, ready with the dice, adopting unfair means, said unto Yudhishthira, 'Lo, I have won!'

Yudhishthira said,--'I have my city, the country, land, the wealth of all dwelling therein except of the Brahmanas, and all those persons themselves except Brahmanas still remaining to me. With this wealth, O king, I will play with thee.'

Vaisampayana said,--"Hearing this, Sakuni, ready with the dice, adopting foul means, said unto Yudhishthira, 'Lo! I have won.'

"Yudhishthira said,--These princes here, O king, who look resplendent in their ornaments and their ear-rings and Nishkas and all the royal ornaments on their persons are now my wealth. With this wealth, O king, I play with thee.

Vaisampayana said,--"Hearing this, Sakuni, ready with his dice, adopting foul means, said unto Yudhishthira, 'Lo! I have won them.'

"Yudhishthira said,--'This Nakula here, of mighty arms and leonine neck, of red eyes and endued with youth, is now my one stake. Know that he is my wealth.'

Sakuni said,--'O king Yudhishthira, prince Nakula is dear to thee. He is already under our subjection. With whom (as stake) wilt thou now play?"

Vaisampayana said,--"Saying this, Sakuni cast those dice, and said unto Yudhishthira, 'Lo! He hath been won by us.'

Yudhishthira said,--"This Sahadeva administereth justice. He hath also acquired a reputation for learning in this world. However undeserving he may be to be staked in play, with him as stake I will play, with such a dear object as it, indeed, he were not so!"

Vaisampayana said,--"Hearing this, Sakuni, ready with the dice, adopting foul means, said unto Yudhishthira, 'Lo! I have won.'

"Sakuni continued,--'O king, the sons of Madri, dear unto thee, have both been won by me. It would seem, however, that Bhimasena and Dhananjaya are regarded very much by thee.'

"Yudhishthira said,--'Wretch! thou actest sinfully in thus seeking to create disunion amongst us who are all of one heart, disregarding morality.'

"Sakuni said,--'One that is intoxicated falleth into a pit (hell) and stayeth there deprived of the power of motion. Thou art, O king, senior to us in age, and possessed of the highest accomplishments. O bull of the Bharata race, I (beg my pardon and) bow to thee. Thou knowest, O Yudhishthira, that gamesters, while excited with play, utter such ravings that they never indulge in the like of them in their waking moments nor even in dream.'

"Yudhishthira said,--He that taketh us like a boat to the other shore of the sea of battle, he that is ever victorious over foes, the prince who is endued with great activity, he who is the one hero in this world, (is here). With that Falguna as stake, however, undeserving of being made so, I will now play with thee.'"

Vaisampayana said,--"Hearing this, Sakuni, ready with the dice, adopting foul means, said unto Yudhishthira, 'Lo! I have won.'

"Sakuni continued,--'This foremost of all wielders of the bow, this son of Pandu capable of using both his hands with equal activity hath now been won by me. O play now with the wealth that is still left unto thee, even with Bhima thy dear brother, as thy stake, O son of Pandu.

"Yudhishthira said,--'O king, however, undeserving he may be of being made a stake, I will now play with thee by staking Bhimasena, that prince who is our leader, who is the foremost in fight,--even like the wielder of the thunder-bolt--the one enemy of the Danavas,--the high-souled one with leonine neck and arched eye-brows and eyes looking askance, who is incapable of putting up with an insult, who hath no equal in might in the world, who is the foremost of all wielders of the mace, and who grindeth all foes,'"

"Vaisampayana said,--"Hearing this, Sakuni, ready with the dice adopting foul means, said unto Yudhishthira. 'Lo! I have won.'

Sakuni continued,--Thou hast, O son of Kunti, lost much wealth, horses and elephants and thy brothers as well. Say, if thou hast anything which thou hast not lost.'

Yudhishthira, said--'I alone, the eldest of all my brothers and dear unto them, am still unwon. Won by thee, I will do what he that is won will have to do.'"

Vaisampayana said,--"Hearing this Sakuni, ready with the dice, adopting foul means, said unto Yudhishthira, 'Lo! I have won.'

'Sakuni continued,--'Thou hast permitted thyself to be won. This is very sinful. There is wealth still left to thee, O king. Therefore, thy having lost thyself is certainly sinful.'"

Vaisampayana continued,--"Having said this, Sakuni, well-skilled at dice, spoke unto all the brave kings present there of his having won, one after another, all the Pandavas. The son of Suvala then, addressing Yudhishthira said,--'O king, there is still one stake dear to thee that is still unwon. Stake thou Krishna, the princess of Panchala. By her, win thyself back.'

"Yudhishthira said,--'With Draupadi as stake, who is neither short nor tall, neither spare nor corpulent, and who is possessed of blue curly locks, I will now play with thee. Possessed of eyes like the leaves of the autumn lotus, and fragrant also as the autumn lotus, equal in beauty unto her (Lakshmi) who delighteth in autumn lotuses, and unto Sree herself in symmetry and every grace she is such a woman as a man may desire for wife in respect of softness of heart, and wealth of beauty and of virtues. Possessed of every accomplishment and compassionate and sweet-speeched, she is such a woman as a man may desire for wife in respect of her fitness for the acquisition of virtue and pleasure and wealth. Retiring to bed last and waking up first, she looketh after all down to the cowherds and the shepherds. Her face too, when covered with sweat, looketh as the lotus or the jasmine. Of slender waist like that of the wasp, of long flowing locks, of red lips, and body without down, is the princess of Panchala. O king, making the slender-waisted Draupadi, who is even such as my stake, I will play with thee, O son of Suvala.'"

Vaisampayana continued,--'When the intelligent king Yudhishthira the Just has spoken thus,--'Fie!' 'Fie!' were the words that were uttered by all the aged persons that were in the assembly. And the whole conclave was agitated, and the kings who were present there all gave way to grief. And Bhishma and Drona and Kripa were covered with perspiration. And Vidura holding his head between his hands sat like one that had lost his reason. He sat with face downwards giving way to his reflections and sighing like a snake. But Dhritarashtra glad, at heart, asked repeatedly, 'Hath the stake been won?' 'Hath the stake been won?' and could not conceal his emotions. Karna with Dussassana and others laughed aloud, while tears began to flow from the eyes of all other present in the assembly. And the son of Suvala, proud of success and flurried with excitement and repeating. Thou hast one stake, dear to thee, etc. said,--'Lo! I have won' and took up the dice that had been cast."

SECTION 65

Duryodhana said,--'Come, Kshatta, bring hither Draupadi the dear and loved wife of the Pandavas. Let her sweep the chambers, force her thereto, and let the unfortunate one stay where our serving-women are.'

"Vidura said,--'Dost thou not know, O wretch, that by uttering such harsh words thou art tying thyself with cords? Dost thou not understand that thou art hanging on the edge of a precipice? Dost thou not know that being a deer thou provokest so many tigers to rage? Snakes of deadly venom, provoked to ire, are on thy head! Wretch, do not further provoke them lest thou goest to the region of Yama. In my judgement, slavery does not attach to Krishna, in as much as she was staked by the King after he had lost himself and ceased to be his own master. Like the bamboo that beareth fruit only when it is about to die, the son of Dhritarashtra winneth this treasure at play. Intoxicated, he perceiveth nor in these his last moments that dice bring about enmity and frightful terrors. No man should utter harsh speeches and pierce the hearts of the others. No man should subjugate his enemies by dice and such other foul means. No one should utter such words as are disapproved by the Vedas and lead to hell and annoy others. Some one uttereth from his lips words that are harsh. Stung by them another burneth day and night. These words pierce the very heart of another. The learned, therefore, should never utter them, pointing them at others. A goat had once swallowed a hook, and when it was pierced with it, the hunter placing the head of the animal on the ground tore its throat frightfully in drawing it out. Therefore, O Duryodhana, swallow not the wealth of the Pandavas. Make them not thy enemies. The sons of Pritha never use words such as these. It is only low men that are like dogs who use harsh words towards all classes of people, viz., those that have retired to the woods, those leading domestic lives, those employed in ascetic devotions and those that are of great learning. Alas! the son of Dhritarashtra knoweth not that dishonesty is one of the frightful doors of hell. Alas! many of the Kurus with Dussasana amongst them have followed him in the path of dishonesty in the matter of this play at dice. Even gourds may sink and stones may float, and boats also may always sink in water, still this foolish king, the son of Dhritarashtra, listeneth not to my words that are even as regimen unto him. Without doubt, he will be the cause of the destruction of the Kurus. When the words of wisdom spoken by friends and which are even as fit regimen are not listened to, but on the other hand temptation is on the increase, a frightful and universal destruction is sure to overtake all the Kurus."

SECTION 66

Vaisampayana said,--"Intoxicated with pride, the son of Dhritarashtra spake,--'Fie on Kshatta! and casting his eyes upon the Pratikamin in attendance, commanded him, in the midst of all those reverend seniors, saying,--'Go Pratikamin, and bring thou Draupadi hither. Thou hast no fear from the sons of Pandu. It is Vidura alone that raveth in fear. Besides, he never wisheth our prosperity!'"

Vaisampayana continued,--"Thus commanded, the Pratikamin, who was of the Suta caste, hearing the words of the king, proceeded with haste, and entering the abode of the Pandavas, like a dog in a lion's den, approached the queen of the sons of Pandu. And he said,--'Yudhishthira having been intoxicated with dice, Duryodhana, O Draupadi, hath won thee. Come now, therefore, to the abode of Dhritarashtra. I will take thee, O Yajnaseni, and put thee in some menial work.'

Draupadi said,--'Why, O Pratikamin, dost thou say so? What prince is there who playeth staking his wife? The king was certainly intoxicated with dice. Else, could he not find any other object to stake?'

"The Pratikamin said,--'When he had nothing else to stake, it was then that Ajatasatru, the son of Pandu, staked thee. The king had first staked his brothers, then himself, and then thee, O princess.'

"Draupadi said,--'O son of the Suta race, go, and ask that gambler present in the assembly, whom he hath lost first, himself, or me. Ascertaining this, come hither, and then take me with thee, O son of the Suta race.'

Vaisampayana continued,--"The messenger coming back to the assembly told all present the words of Draupadi. And he spoke unto Yudhishthira sitting in the midst of the kings, these words,--Draupadi hath asked thee, Whose lord wert thou at the time thou lost me in play? Didst thou lose thyself first or me? Yudhishthira, however sat there like one demented and deprived of reason and gave no answer good or ill to the Suta.

"Duryodhana then said,--'Let the princess of Panchala come hither and put her question. Let every one hear in this assembly the words that pass between her and Yudhishthira.'

Vaisampayana continued,--"The messenger, obedient to the command of Duryodhana, going once again to the palace, himself much distressed, said unto Draupadi,--'O princess, they that are in the assembly are summoning thee. It seemeth that the end of the Kauravas is at hand. When Duryodhana, O princess, is for taking thee before the assembly, this weak-brained king will no longer be able to protect his prosperity.'

"Draupadi said,--'The great ordainer of the world hath, indeed, ordained so. Happiness and misery pay their court to both the wise and unwise. Morality, however, it hath been said, is the one highest object in the world. If cherished, that will certainly dispense blessings to us. Let not that morality now abandon the Kauravas. Going back to those that are present in that assembly, repeat these my words consonant with morality. I am ready to do what those elderly and virtuous persons conversant with morality will definitely tell me.

Vaisampayana continued,--"The Suta, hearing these words of Yajnaseni, came back to the assembly and repeated the words of Draupadi. But all sat with faces downwards, uttering not a word, knowing the eagerness and resolution of Dhritarashtra's son.

"Yudhishthira, however, O bull of the Bharata race, hearing of Duryodhana's intentions, sent a trusted messenger unto Draupadi, directing that although she was attired in one piece of cloth with her navel itself exposed, in consequence of her season having come, she should come before her father-in-law weeping bitterly. And that intelligent messenger, O king, having gone to Draupadi's abode with speed, informed her of the intentions of Yudhishthira. The illustrious Pandavas, meanwhile, distressed and sorrowful, and bound by promise, could not settle what they should do. And casting his eyes upon them, king Duryodhana, glad at heart, addressed the Suta and said,--'O Pratikamin, bring her hither. Let the Kauravas answer her question before her face. The Suta, then, obedient to his commands, but terrified at the (possible) wrath of the daughter of Drupada, disregarding his reputation for intelligence, once again said to those that were in the assembly,--what shall I say unto Krishna?'

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"Duryodhana, hearing this, said,--'O Dussasana, this son of my Suta, of little intelligence, feareth Vrikodara. Therefore, go thou thyself and forcibly bring hither the daughter of Yajnasena, Our enemies at present are dependent on our will. What can they do thee?' Hearing the command of his brother, prince Dussasana rose with blood-red eyes, and entering the abode of those great warriors, spake these words unto the princess, 'Come, come, O Krishna, princess of Panchala, thou hast been won by us. And O thou of eyes large as lotus leaves, come now and accept the Kurus for thy lords. Thou hast been won virtuously, come to the assembly.' At these words, Draupadi, rising up in great affliction, rubbed her pale face with her hands, and distressed she ran to the place where the ladies of Dhritarashtra's household were. At this, Dussasana roaring in anger, ran after her and seized the queen by her locks, so long and blue and wavy. Alas! those locks that had been sprinkled with water sanctified with mantras in the great Rajasuya sacrifice, were now forcibly seized by the son of Dhritarashtra disregarding the prowess of the Pandavas. And Dussasana dragging Krishna of long long locks unto the presence of the assembly--as if she were helpless though having powerful protectors--and pulling at her, made her tremble like the banana plant in a storm. And dragged by him, with body bent, she faintly cried--'Wretch! it ill behoveth thee to take me before the assembly. My season hath come, and I am now clad in one piece of attire. But Dussasana dragging Draupadi forcibly by her black locks while she was praying piteously unto Krishna and Vishnu who were Narayana and Nara (on earth), said unto her--'Whether thy season hath come or not, whether thou art attired in one piece of cloth or entirely naked, when thou hast been won at dice and made our slave, thou art to live amongst our serving-women as thou pleasest."

Vaisampayana continued,--"With hair dishevelled and half her attire loosened, all the while dragged by Dussasana, the modest Krishna consumed with anger, faintly said--"In this assembly are persons conversant with all the branches of learning devoted to the performance of sacrifices and other rites, and all equal unto Indra, persons some of whom are really my superiors and others who deserve to be respected as such. I can not stay before them in this state. O wretch! O thou of cruel deeds, drag me not so. Uncover me not so. The princes (my lords) will not pardon thee, even if thou hast the gods themselves with Indra as thy allies. The illustrious son of Dharma is now bound by the obligations of morality. Morality, however, is subtle. Those only that are possessed of great clearness of vision can ascertain it. In speech even I am unwilling to admit an atom of fault in my lord forgetting his virtues. Thou draggest me who am in my season before these Kuru heroes. This is truly an unworthy act. But no one here rebuketh thee. Assuredly, all these are of the same mind with thee. O fie! Truly hath the virtue of the Bharata gone! Truly also hath the usage of those acquainted with the Kshatriya practice disappeared! Else these Kurus in this assembly would never have looked silently on this act that transgresseth the limits of their practices. Oh! both Drona and Bhishma have lost their energy, and so also hath the high-souled Kshatta, and so also this king. Else, why do these foremost of the Kuru elders look silently on this great crime?"

Vaisampayana continued,--"Thus did Krishna of slender waist cry in distress in that assembly. And casting a glance upon her enraged lords--the Pandavas--who were filled with terrible wrath, she inflamed them further with that glance of hers. And they were not so distressed at having been robbed of their kingdom, of their wealth, of their costliest gems, as with that glance of Krishna moved by modesty and anger. And Dussasana, beholding Krishna looking at her helpless lords, dragging her still more forcibly, and addressed her, 'Slave, Slave' and laughed aloud. And at those words Karna became very glad and approved of them by laughing aloud. And Sakuni, the son of Suvala, the Gandhara king, similarly applauded Dussasana. And amongst all those that were in the assembly except these three and Duryodhana, every one was filled with sorrow at beholding Krishna thus dragged in sight of that assembly. And beholding it all, Bhishma said, 'O blessed one, morality is subtle. I therefore am unable to duly decide this point that thou hast put, beholding that on the one hand one that hath no wealth cannot stake the wealth belonging to others, while on the other hand wives are always under the orders and at the disposal of their lords. Yudhishthira can abandon the whole world full of wealth, but he will never sacrifice morality. The son of Pandu hath said--'I am won.' Therefore, I am unable to decide this matter. Sakuni hath not his equal among men at dice-play. The son of Kunti still voluntarily staked with him. The illustrious Yudhishthira doth not himself regard that Sakuni hath played with him deceitfully. Therefore, I can not decide this point."

"Draupadi said,--"The king was summoned to this assembly and though possessing no skill at dice, he was made to play with skilful, wicked, deceitful and desperate gamblers. How can he be said then to have staked voluntarily? The chief of the Pandavas was deprived of his senses by wretches of deceitful conduct and unholy instincts, acting together, and then vanquished. He could not understand their tricks, but he hath now done so. Here, in this assembly, there are Kurus who are the lords of both their sons and their daughters-in-law! Let all of them, reflecting well upon my words, duly decide the point that I have put.

Vaisampayana continued,--'Unto Krishna who was thus weeping and crying piteously, looking at times upon her helpless lord, Dussasana spake many disagreeable and harsh words. And beholding her who was then in her season thus dragged, and her upper garments loosened, beholding her in that condition which she little deserved, Vrikodara afflicted beyond endurance, his eyes fixed upon Yudhishthira, gave way to wrath."

SECTION 67

"Bhima said,--'O Yudhishthira, gamblers have in their houses many women of loose character. They do not yet stake those women having kindness for them even. Whatever wealth and other excellent articles the king of Kasi gave, whatever, gems, animals, wealth, coats of mail and weapons that other kings of the earth gave, our kingdom, thyself and ourselves, have all been won by the foes. At all this my wrath was not excited for thou art our lord. This, however, I regard as a highly improper act--this act of staking Draupadi. This innocent girl deserveth not this treatment. Having obtained the Pandavas as her lords, it is for thee alone that she is being thus persecuted by the low, despicable, cruel, and mean-minded Kauravas. It is for her sake, O king, that my anger falleth on thee. I shall burn those hands of thine. Sahadeva, bring some fire."

'Arjuna hearing this, said,--'Thou hast never, O Bhimasena, before this uttered such words as these. Assuredly thy high morality hath been destroyed by these cruel foes. Thou shouldst not fulfil the wishes of the enemy. Practise thou the highest morality. Whom doth it behave to transgress his virtuous eldest brother? The king was summoned by the foe, and remembering the usage of the Kshatriyas, he played at dice against his will. That is certainly conducive to our great fame.

'Bhima said,--'If I had not known, O Dhananjaya, that the king had acted according to Kshatriya usage, then I would have, taking his hands together by sheer force, burnt them in a blazing fire."

Vaisampayana continued,--"Beholding the Pandavas thus distressed and the princess of Panchala also thus afflicted, Vikarna the son of Dhritarashtra said--'Ye kings, answer ye the question that hath been asked by Yajnaseni. If we do not judge a matter referred to us, all of us will assuredly have to go to hell without delay. How is that Bhishma and Dhritarashtra, both of whom are the oldest of the Kurus, as also the high-souled Vidura, do not say anything! The son of Bharadwaja who is the preceptor of us, as also Kripa, is here. Why do not these best of regenerate ones answer the question? Let also those other kings assembled here from all directions answer according to their judgement this question, leaving aside all motives of gain and anger. Ye kings, answer ye the question that hath been asked by this blessed daughter of king Drupada, and declare after reflection on which side each of ye is.' Thus did Vikarna repeatedly appeal to those that were in that assembly. But those kings answered him not one word, good or ill. And Vikarna having repeatedly appealed to all the kings began to rub his hands and sigh like a snake. And at last the prince said--'Ye kings of the earth, ye Kauravas, whether ye answer this question or not, I will say what I regard as just and proper. Ye foremost of men, it hath been said that hunting, drinking, gambling, and too much enjoyment of women, are the four vices of kings. The man, that is addicted to these, liveth forsaking virtue. And people do not regard the acts done by a person who is thus improperly engaged, as of any authority. This son of Pandu, while deeply engaged in one of these vicious acts, urged thereto by deceitful gamblers, made Draupadi a stake. The innocent Draupadi is, besides, the common wife of all the sons of Pandu. And the king, having first lost himself offered her as a stake. And Suvala himself desirous of a stake, indeed prevailed upon the king to stake this Krishna. Reflecting upon all these circumstances, I regard Draupadi as not won."

"Hearing these words, a loud uproar rose from among those present in that assembly. And they all applauded Vikarna and censured the son of Suvala. And at that sound, the son of Radha, deprived of his senses by anger, waving his well-shaped arms, said these words,--'O Vikarna, many opposite and inconsistent conditions are noticeable in this assembly. Like fire produced from a faggot, consuming the faggot itself, this thy ire will consume thee. These personages here, though urged by Krishna, have not uttered a word. They all regard the daughter of Drupada to have been properly won. Thou alone, O son of Dhritarashtra in consequence of thy immature years, art bursting with wrath, for though but a boy thou speakest in the assembly as if thou wert old. O younger brother of Duryodhana, thou dost not know what morality truly is, for thou sayest like a fool that this Krishna who hath been (justly) won as not won at all. O son of Dhritarashtra, how dost thou regard Krishna as not won, when the eldest of the Pandavas before this assembly staked all his possessions? O bull of the Bharata race, Draupadi is included in all the possessions (of Yudhishthira). Therefore, why regardest thou Krishna who hath been justly won as not won? Draupadi had been mentioned (by Suvala) and approved of as a stake by the Pandavas. For what reason then dost thou yet regard her as not won? Or, if thou thinkest that bringing her hither attired in a single piece of cloth, is an action of impropriety, listen to certain excellent reasons I will give. O son of the Kuru race, the gods have ordained only one husband for one woman. This Draupadi, however, hath many husbands. Therefore, certain it is that she is an unchaste woman. To bring her, therefore, into this assembly attired though she be in one piece of cloth--even to uncover her is not at all an act that may cause surprise. Whatever wealth the Pandavas had--she herself and these Pandavas themselves,--have all been justly won by the son of Suvala. O Dussasana, this Vikarna speaking words of (apparent) wisdom is but a boy. Take off the robes of the Pandavas as also the attire of Draupadi. Hearing these words the Pandavas, O Bharata, took of their upper garments and throwing them down sat in that assembly. Then Dussasana, O king, forcibly seizing Draupadi's attire before the eyes of all, began to drag it off her person."

Vaisampayana continued,--"When the attire of Draupadi was being thus dragged, the thought of Hari, (And she herself cried aloud, saying), 'O Govinda, O thou who dwellest in Dwaraka, O Krishna, O thou who art fond of cow-herdesses (of Vrindavana). O Kesava, seest thou not that the Kauravas are humiliating me. O Lord, O husband of Lakshmi, O Lord of Vraja (Vrindavana), O destroyer of all afflictions, O Janarddana, rescue me who am sinking in the Kaurava Ocean. O Krishna, O Krishna, O thou great yogin, thou soul of the universe, Thou creator of all things, O Govinda, save me who am distressed,--who am losing my senses in the midst of the Kurus.' Thus did that afflicted lady resplendent still in her beauty, O king covering her face cried aloud, thinking of Krishna, of Hari, of the lord of the three worlds. Hearing the words of Draupadi, Krishna was deeply moved. And leaving his seat, the benevolent one from compassion, arrived there on foot. And while Yajnaseni was crying aloud to Krishna, also called Vishnu and Hari and Nara for protection, the illustrious Dharma, remaining unseen, covered her with excellent clothes of many hues. And, O monarch as the attire of Draupadi was being dragged, after one was taken off, another of the same kind, appeared covering her. And thus did it continue till many clothes were seen. And, O exalted on, owing to the protection of Dharma, hundreds upon hundreds of robes of many hues came off Draupadi's person. And there arose then a deep uproar of many many voices. And the kings present in that assembly beholding that most extraordinary of all sights in the world, began to applaud Draupadi and censure the son of Dhritarashtra. And Bhima then, squeezing his hands, with lips quivering in rage, swore in the midst of all those kings a terrible oath in a loud voice.

"And Bhima said,--Hear these words of mine, ye Kshatriyas of the world. Words such as these were never before uttered by other men, nor will anybody in the future ever utter them. Ye lords of earth, if having spoken these words I do not accomplish them hereafter, let me not obtain the region of my deceased ancestors. Tearing open in battle, by sheer force, the breast of this wretch, this wicked-minded scoundrel of the Bharata race, if I do not drink his life-blood, let me not obtain the region of my ancestors."

Vaisampayana continued,--"Hearing these terrible words of Bhima that made the down of the auditors to stand on end, everybody present there applauded him and censured the son of Dhritarashtra. And when a mass of clothes had been gathered in that assembly, all dragged from the person of Draupadi, Dussasana, tired and ashamed, sat down. And beholding the sons of Kunti in that state, the persons--those gods among men--that were in that assembly all uttered the word 'Fie!'(on the son of Dhritarashtra). And the united voices of all became so loud that they made the down of anybody who heard them stand on end. And all the honest men that were in that assembly began to say,--'Alas! the Kauravas answer not the question that hath been put to them by Draupadi. And all censuring Dhritarashtra together, made a loud clamour. Then Vidura, that master of the science of morality, waving his hands and silencing every one, spake these words;--'Ye that are in this assembly, Draupadi having put her question is weeping helplessly. Ye are not answering her. Virtue and morality are being persecuted by such conduct. An afflicted person approacheth an assembly of good men, like one that is being consumed by fire. They that are in the assembly quench that fire and cool him by means of truth and morality. The afflicted person asketh the assembly about his rights, as sanctioned by morality. They that are in the assembly should, unmoved by interest and anger, answer the question. Ye kings, Vikarna hath answered the question, according to his own knowledge and judgement. Ye should also answer it as ye think proper. Knowing the rules of morality, and having attended an assembly, he that doth not answer a query that is put, incurreth half the demerit that attacheth to a lie. He, on the other hand, who, knowing the

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rules of morality and having joined an assembly answereth falsely, assuredly incurreth the sin of a lie. The learned quote as an example in this connexion the old history of Prahlada and the son of Angirasa.

"There was of old a chief of the Daityas of the name Prahlada. He had a son named Virochana. And Virochana, for the sake of obtaining a bride, quarrelled with Sudhanwan, the son of Angiras. It hath been heard by us that they mutually wagered their lives, saying--I am superior,--I am superior,--for the sake of obtaining a bride. And after they had thus quarrelled with each other, they both made Prahlada the arbitrator to decide between them. And they asked him, saying;--Who amongst us is superior (to the other)? Answer this question. Speak not falsely. Frightened at this quarrel, Prahlada cast his eyes upon Sudhanwan. And Sudhanwan in rage, burning like unto the mace of Yama, told him,--If thou answerest falsely, or dost not answer at all thy head will then be split into a hundred pieces by the wielder of the thunderbolt with that bolt of his.--Thus addressed by Sudhanwan, the Daitya, trembling like a leaf of the fig tree, went to Kasyapa of great energy, for taking counsel with him. And Prahlada said,--'Thou art, O illustrious and exalted one, fully conversant with the rules of morality that should guide both the gods and the Asuras and the Brahmanas as well. Here, however, is a situation of great difficulty in respect of duty. Tell me, I ask thee, what regions are obtainable by them who upon being asked a question, answer it not, or answer it falsely. Kasyapa thus asked answered.--'He that knoweth, but answereth not a question from temptation, anger or fear, casteth upon himself a thousand nooses of Varuna. And the person who, cited as a witness with respect to any matter of ocular or auricular knowledge, speaketh carelessly, casteth a thousand nooses of Varuna upon his own person. On the completion of one full year, one such noose is loosened. Therefore, he that knoweth, should speak the truth without concealment. If virtue, pierced by sin, repaireth to an assembly (for aid), it is the duty of every body in the assembly to take off the dart, otherwise they themselves would be pierced with it. In an assembly where a truly censurable act is not rebuked, half the demerit of that act attacheth to the head of that assembly, a fourth to the person acting censurably and a fourth unto those others that are there. In that assembly, on the other hand, when he that deserveth censure is rebuked, the head of the assembly becometh freed from all sins, and the other members also incur none. It is only the perpetrator himself of the act that becometh responsible for it. O Prahlada, they who answer falsely those that ask them about morality destroy the meritorious acts of their seven upper and seven lower generations. The grief of one who hath lost all his wealth, of one who hath lost a son, of one who is in debt, of one who is separated from his companions, of a woman who hath lost her husband, of one that hath lost his all in consequence of the king's demand, of a woman who is sterile, of one who hath been devoured by a tiger (during his last struggles in the tiger's claws), of one who is a co-wife, and of one who hath been deprived of his property by false witnesses, have been said by the gods to be uniform in degree. These different sorts of grief are his who speaketh false. A person becometh a witness in consequence of his having seen, heard, and understood a thing. Therefore, a witness should always tell the truth. A truth-telling witness never loseth his religious merits and earthly possessions also.' Hearing these words of Kasyapa, Prahlada told his son, "Sudhanwan is superior to thee, as indeed, (his father) Angiras is superior to me. The mother also of Sudhanwan is superior to thy mother. Therefore, O Virochana, this Sudhanwan is now the lord of the life." At these words of Prahlada, Sudhanwan said, "Since unmoved by affection for thy child, thou hast adhered to virtue, I command, let this son of thine live for a hundred years."

"Vidura continued,--Let all the persons, therefore, present in this assembly hearing these high truths of morality, reflect upon what should be the answer to the question asked by Draupadi".

Vaisampayana continued,--"The kings that were there hearing these words of Vidura, answered not a word, yet Karna alone spoke unto Dussasana, telling him. Take away this serving-woman Krishna into the inner apartments. And thereupon Dussasana began to drag before all the spectators the helpless and modest Draupadi, trembling and crying piteously unto the Pandavas her lords."

SECTION 68

Draupadi said,--'Wait a little, thou worst of men, thou wicked-minded Dussasana. I have an act to perform--a high duty that hath not been performed by me yet. Dragged forcibly by this wretch's strong arms, I was deprived of my senses. I salute these reverend seniors in this assembly of the Kurus. That I could not do this before cannot be my fault.'"

Vaisampayana said,--"Dragged with greater force than before, the afflicted and helpless Draupadi, undeserving of such treatment, falling down upon the ground, thus wept in that assembly of the Kurus,--

"'Alas, only once before, on the occasion of the Swayamvara, I was beheld by the assembled kings in the amphitheatre, and never even once beheld afterwards. I am to-day brought before this assembly. She whom even the winds and the sun had seen never before in her palace is to-day before this assembly and exposed to the gaze of the crowd. Alas, she whom the sons of Pandu could not, while in her palace, suffer to be touched even by the wind, is to-day suffered by the Pandavas to be seized and dragged by this wretch. Alas, these Kauravas also suffer their daughter-in-law, so unworthy of such treatment, to be thus afflicted before them. It seemeth that the times are out of joint. What can be more distressing to me, than that though high-born and chaste, I should yet be compelled to enter this public court? Where is that virtue for which these kings were noted? It hath been heard that the kings of ancient days never brought their wedded wives into the public court. Alas, that eternal usage hath disappeared from among the Kauravas. Else, how is it that the chaste wife of the Pandavas, the sister of Prishata's son, the friend of Vasudeva, is brought before this assembly? Ye Kauravas, I am the wedded wife of king Yudhishthira the Just, hailing from the same dynasty to which the King belonged. Tell me now if I am a serving-maid or otherwise. I will cheerfully accept your answer. This mean wretch, this destroyer of the name of the Kurus, is afflicting me hard. Ye Kauravas, I cannot bear it any longer. Ye kings, I desire ye to answer whether ye regard me as won or unwon. I will accept your verdict whatever it be.'

"Hearing these words, Bhishma answered, I have already said, O blessed one that the course of morality is subtle. Even the illustrious wise in this world fail to understand it always. What in this world a strong man calls morality is regarded as such by others, however otherwise it may really be; but what a weak man calls morality is scarcely regarded as such even if it be the highest morality. From the importance of the issue involved, from its intricacy and subtlety, I am unable to answer with certitude the question thou hast asked. However, it is certain that as all the Kurus have become the slaves of covetousness and folly, the destruction of this our race will happen on no distant date. O blessed one, the family into which thou hast been admitted as a daughter-in-law, is such that those who are born in it, however much they might be afflicted by calamities, never deviate from the paths of virtue and morality. O Princess of Panchala, this conduct of thine also, viz. that though sunk in distress, thou still easiest thy eyes on virtue and morality, is assuredly worthy of thee. These persons, Drona and others, of mature years and conversant with morality, sit heads downwards like men that are dead, with bodies from which life hath departed. It seemeth to me, however, that Yudhishthira is an authority on this question. It behoveth him to declare whether thou art won or not won."

SECTION 69

Vaisampayana said,--"The kings present in that assembly, from tear of Duryodhana, uttered not a word, good or ill, although they beheld Draupadi crying piteously in affliction like a female osprey, and repeatedly appealing to them. And the son of Dhritarashtra beholding those kings and sons and grand sons of kings all remaining silent, smiled a little, and addressing the daughter of the king of Panchala, said,--O Yajnaseni, the question thou hast put dependeth on thy husbands--on Bhima of mighty strength, on Arjuna, on Nakula, on Sahadeva. Let them answer thy question. O Panchali, let them for thy sake declare in the midst of these respectable men that Yudhishthira is not their lord, let them thereby make king Yudhishthira the Just a liar. Thou shalt then be freed from the condition of slavery. Let the illustrious son of Dharma, always adhering to virtue, who is even like Indra, himself declare whether he is not thy lord. At his words, accept thou the Pandavas or ourselves without delay. Indeed, all the Kauravas present in this assembly are floating in the ocean of thy distress. Endued with magnanimity, they are unable to answer thy question, looking at thy unfortunate husbands.'"

Vaisampayana continued,--"Hearing these words of the Kuru king, all who were present in the assembly loudly applauded them. And shouting approvingly, they made signs unto one another by motions of their eyes and lips. And amongst some that were there, sounds of distress such as 'O! and 'Alas!" were heard. And at these words of Duryodhana, so delightful (to his partisans), the Kauravas present in that assembly became exceedingly glad. And the kings, with faces turned sideways, looked upon Yudhishthira conversant with the rules of morality, curious to hear what he would say. And every one present in that assembly became curious to hear what Arjuna, the son of Pandu never defeated in battle, and what Bhimasena, and what the twins also would say. And when that busy hum of many voices became still, Bhimasena, waving his strong and well-formed arms smeared with sandalpaste spake these words,--'If this high-souled king Yudhishthira the Just, who is our eldest brother, had not been our lord, we would never have forgiven the Kuru race (for all this). He is the lord of all our religious and ascetic merits, the lord of even our lives. If he regardeth himself as won, we too have all been won. If this were not so, who is there amongst creatures touching the earth with their feet and mortal, that would escape from me with his life after having touched those locks of the princess of Panchala? Behold these mighty, well-formed arms of mine, even like maces of iron. Having once come within them, even he of a hundred sacrifices is incapable of effecting an escape. Bound by the ties of virtue and the reverence that is due to our eldest brother, and repeatedly urged by Arjuna to remain silent, I am not doing anything terrible. If however, I am once commanded by king Yudhishthira the Just, I would slay these wretched sons of Dhritarashtra, making slaps do the work of swords, like a lion slaying a number of little animals."

Vaisampayana continued,--"Unto Bhima who had spoken these words Bhishma and Drona and Vidura said, 'Forbear, O Bhima. Everything is possible with thee.'"

SECTION 70

"Karna said,--'Of all the persons in the assembly, three, viz., Bhishma, Vidura, and the preceptor of the Kurus (Drona) appear to be independent; for they always speak of their master as wicked, always censure him, and never wish for his prosperity. O excellent one, the slave, the son, and the wife are always dependent. They cannot earn wealth, for whatever they earn belongeth to their master. Thou art the wife of a slave incapable of possessing anything on his own account. Repair now to the inner apartments of king Dhritarashtra and serve the king's relatives. We direct that that is now thy proper business. And, O princess, all the sons of Dhritarashtra and not the sons of Pritha are now thy masters. O handsome one, select thou another husband now,--one who will not make thee a slave by gambling. It is well-known that women, especially that are slaves, are not censurable if they proceed with freedom in electing husbands. Therefore let it be done by thee. Nakula hath been won, as also Bhimasena, and Yudhishthira also, and Sahadeva, and Arjuna. And, O Yajnaseni, thou art now a slave. Thy husbands that are slaves cannot continue to be thy lords any longer. Alas, doth not the son of Pritha regards life, prowess and manhood as of no use that he offereth this daughter of Drupada, the king of Panchala, in the presence of all this assembly, as a stake at dice?'"

Vaisampayana continued,--"Hearing these words, the wrathful Bhima breathed hard, a very picture of woe. Obedient to the king and bound by the tie of virtue and duty, burning everything with his eyes inflamed by anger, he said,--'O king, I cannot be angry at these words of this son of a Suta, for we have truly entered the state of servitude. But O king, could our enemies have said so unto me, it thou hadst not played staking this princess?'"

Vaisampayana continued,--"Hearing these words of Bhimasena king Duryodhana addressed Yudhishthira who was silent and deprived of his senses, saying,--'O king, both Bhima and Arjuna, and the twins also, are under thy sway. Answer thou the question (that hath been asked by Draupadi). Say, whether thou regardest Krishna as unwon.' And having spoken thus unto the son of Kunti, Duryodhana. desirous of encouraging the son of Radha and insulting Bhima, quickly uncovered his left thigh that was like unto the stem of a plantain tree or the trunk of an elephant and which was graced with every auspicious sign and endued with the strength of thunder, and showed it to Draupadi in her very sight. And beholding this, Bhimasena expanding his red eyes, said unto Duryodhana in the midst of all those kings and as if piercing them (with his dart-like words),--'Let not Vrikodara attain to the regions, obtained by his ancestors, if he doth not break that thigh of thine in the great conflict. And sparkles of fire began to be emitted from every organ of sense of Bhima filled with wrath, like those that come out of every crack and orifice in the body of a blazing tree.

Vidura then, addressing everybody, said,--'Ye kings of Pratipa's race, behold the great danger that ariseth from Bhimasena. Know ye for certain that this great calamity that threatens to overtake the Bharatas hath been sent by Destiny itself. The sons of Dhritarashtra have, indeed, gambled disregarding every proper consideration. They are even now disputing in this assembly about a lady (of the royal household). The prosperity of our kingdom is at an end. Alas, the Kauravas are even now engaged in sinful consultations. Ye Kauravas, take to your heart this high precept that I declare. If virtue is persecuted, the whole assembly becometh polluted. If Yudhishthira had staked her before he was himself won, he would certainly have been regarded as her master. If, however a person staketh anything at a time when he himself is incapable of holding any wealth, to win it is very like obtaining wealth in a dream. Listening to the words of the king of Gandhara, fall ye not off from this undoubted truth.'

"Duryodhana, hearing Vidura thus speak, said,--'I am willing to abide by the words of Bhima, of Arjuna and of the twins. Let them say that Yudhishthira is not their master. Yajnaseni will then be freed from her state of bondage."

"Arjuna at this, said,--"This illustrious son of Kunti, king Yudhishthira the Just, was certainly our master before he

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began to play. But having lost himself, let all the Kauravas judge whose master he could be after that."

Vaisampayana continued,--"Just then, a jackal began to cry loudly in the homa-chamber of king Dhritarashtra's palace. And, O king, unto the jackal that howled so, the asses began to bray responsively. And terrible birds also, from all sides, began to answer with their cries. And Vidura conversant with everything and the daughter of Suvala, both understood the meaning of those terrible sounds. And Bhishma and Drona and the learned Gautama loudly cried,--Swashti! Swashti! [A word of benediction, similar to 'Amen!'] Then Gandhari and the learned Vidura beholding that frightful omen, represented everything, in great affliction, unto the king. And the king (Dhritarashtra) thereupon said,--

'Thou wicked-minded Duryodhana, thou wretch, destruction hath all ready overtaken thee when thou insultest in language such as this the wife of these bulls among the Kurus, especially their wedded wife Draupadi. And having spoken those words, the wise Dhritarashtra endued with knowledge, reflecting with the aid of his wisdom and desirous of saving his relatives and friends from destruction, began to console Krishna, the princess of Panchala, and addressing her, the monarch said,--'Ask of me any boon, O princess of Panchala, that thou desirest, Chaste and devoted to virtue, thou art the first of all my daughters-in-law.

"Draupadi said,--'O bull of the Bharata race, if thou will grant me a boon, I ask the handsome Yudhishthira, obedient to every duty, be freed from slavery. Let not unthinking children call my child Prativindhya endued with great energy of mind as the son of a slave. Having been a prince, so superior to all men, and nurtured by kings it is not proper that he should be called the child of a slave.

"Dhritarashtra said unto her,--'O auspicious one, let it be as thou sayest. O excellent one, ask thou another boon, for I will give it. My heart inclineth to give thee a second boon. Thou dost not deserve only one boon.

"Draupadi said,--'I ask, O king, that Bhimasena and Dhananjaya and the twins also, with their cars and bows, freed from bondage, regain their liberty.'

'Dhritarashtra said,--'O blessed daughter, let it be as thou desirest. Ask thou a third boon, for thou hast not been sufficiently honoured with two boons. Virtuous in thy behaviour, thou art the foremost of all my daughters-in-law.

Draupadi said,--'O best of kings, O illustrious one, covetousness always bringeth about loss of virtue. I do not deserve a third boon. Therefore I dare not ask any. O king of kings, it hath been said that a Vaisya may ask one boon; a Kshatriya lady, two boons; a Kshatriya male, three, and a Brahmana, a hundred. O king, these my husbands freed from the wretched state of bondage, will be able to achieve prosperity by their own virtuous acts!'"

SECTION 71

"Karna said,--'We have never heard of such an act (as this one of Draupadi), performed by any of the women noted in this world for their beauty. When the sons of both Pandu and Dhritarashtra were excited with wrath, this Draupadi became unto the sons of Pandu as their salvation. Indeed the princess of Panchala, becoming as a boat unto the sons of Pandu who were sinking in a boatless ocean of distress, hath brought them in safety to the shore.'"

Vaisampayana continued,--"Hearing these words of Karna in the midst of the Kurus,--viz., that the sons of Pandu were saved by their wife,--the angry Bhimasena in great affliction said (unto Arjuna),--'O Dhananjaya, it hath been said by Devala three lights reside in every person, viz., offspring, acts and learning, for from these three hath sprung creation. When life becometh extinct and the body becometh impure and is cast off by relatives, these three become of service to every person. But the light that is in us hath been dimmed by this act of insult to our wife. How, O Arjuna, can a son born from this insulted wife of ours prove serviceable to us? "Arjuna replied,--'Superior persons, O Bharata, never prate about the harsh words that may or may not be uttered by inferior men. Persons that have earned respect for themselves, even if they are able to retaliate, remember not the acts of hostility done by their enemies, but, on the other hand, treasure up only their good deeds.'

'Bhima said,--'Shall I, O king, slay, without loss of time all these foes assembled together, even here, or shall I destroy them, O Bharata, by the roots, outside this palace? Or, what need is there of words or of command? I shall slay all these even now, and rule thou the whole earth, O king, without a rival. And saying this, Bhima with his younger brothers, like a lion in the midst of a herd of inferior animals, repeatedly cast his angry glances around. But Arjuna, however, of white deeds, with appealing looks began to pacify his elder brother. And the mighty-armed hero endued with great prowess began to burn with the fire of his wrath. And, O king, this fire began to issue out of Vrikodara's ears and other senses with smoke and sparks and flames. And his face became terrible to behold in consequence of his furrowed brows like those of Yama himself at the time of the universal destruction. Then Yudhishthira forbade the mighty hero, embracing him with his arms and telling him 'Be not so. Stay in silence and peace.' And having pacified the mighty-armed one with eyes red in wrath, the king approached his uncle Dhritarashtra, with hands joined in entreaty."

SECTION 72

"Yudhishthira said,--'O king, thou art our master. Command us as to what we shall do. O Bharata, we desire to remain always in obedience to thee.

"Dhritarashtra replied.--'O Ajatasatru, blest be thou. Go thou in peace and safety. Commanded by me, go, rule thy own kingdom with thy wealth. And, O child, take to heart this command of an old man, this wholesome advice that I give, and which is even a nutritive regimen. O Yudhishthira, O child, thou knowest the subtle path of morality. Possessed of great wisdom, thou art also humble, and thou waitest also upon the old. Where there is intelligence, there is forbearance. Therefore, O Bharata, follow thou counsels of peace. The axe falleth upon wood, not upon stone. (Thou art open to advice, not Duryodhana). They are the best of men that remember not the acts of hostility of their foes; that behold only the merits, not the faults, of their enemies; and that never enter into hostilities themselves. They that are good remember only the good deeds of their foes and not the hostile acts their foes might have done unto them. The good, besides, do good unto others without expectation of any good, in return. O Yudhishthira, it is only the worst of men that utter harsh words in quarrelling; while they that are indifferent reply to such when spoken by others. But they that are good and wise never think of or recapitulate such harsh words, little caring whether these may or may not have been uttered by their foes. They that are good, having regard to the state of their own feelings, can understand the feelings of others, and therefore remember only the good deeds and not the acts of hostility of their foes. Thou hast acted even as good men of prepossessing countenance do, who transgress not the limits of virtue, wealth, pleasure and salvation. O child, remember not the harsh words of Duryodhana. Look at thy mother Gandhari and myself also, if thou desirest to remember only what is good. O Bharata, look at me, who am thy father unto you and am old and blind, and still alive. It was for seeing our friends and examining also the strength and weakness of my children, that I had, from motives of policy, suffered this match at dice to proceed. O king those amongst the Kurus that have thee for their ruler, and the intelligent Vidura conversant with every branch of learning for their counsellor, have, indeed, nothing to grieve for. In thee is virtue, in Arjuna is patience, in Bhimasena is prowess, and the twins, those foremost of men, is pure reverence for superiors. Blest be thou, O Ajatasatru. Return to Khandavaprastha, and let there be brotherly love between thee and thy cousins. Let thy heart also be ever fixed on virtue.'"

Vaisampayana continued,--"That foremost of the Bharatas--king Yudhishthira the Just--then, thus addressed by his uncle, having gone through every ceremony of politeness, set out with his brothers for Khandavaprastha. And accompanied by Draupadi and ascending their cars which were all of the hue of the clouds, with cheerful hearts they all set out for that best of cities called Indraprastha."

SECTION 73

Janamejaya said,--"How did the sons of Dhritarashtra feel, when they came to know that the Pandavas had, with Dhritarashtra's leave, left Hastinapore with all their wealth and jewels?"

Vaisampayana said,--"O king, learning that the Pandavas had been commanded by the wise Dhritarashtra to return to their capital, Dussasana went without loss of time unto his brother. And, O bull of the Bharata race, having arrived before Duryodhana with his counsellor, the prince, afflicted with grief, began to say,--'Ye mighty warriors, that which we had won after so much trouble, the old man (our father) hath thrown away. Know ye that he hath made over the whole of that wealth to the foes. At these words, Duryodhana and Karna and Sakuni, the son of Suvala, all of whom were guided by vanity, united together, and desirous of counteracting the sons of Pandu, approaching in haste saw privately the wise king Dhritarashtra--the son of Vichitravirya and spake unto him these pleasing and artful words. Duryodhana said,--

'Hast thou not heard, O king, what the learned Vrihaspati the preceptor of the celestials, said in course of counselling Sakra about mortals and politics? Even these, O slayer of foes, were the words of Vrihaspati, 'Those enemies that always do wrong by stratagem or force, should be slain by every means.' If, therefore, with the wealth of the Pandavas, we gratify the kings of the earth and then fight with the sons of Pandu, what reverses can overtake us? When one hath placed on the neck and back of venomous snakes full of wrath for encompassing his destruction, is it possible for him to take them off? Equipped with weapon and seated on their cars, the angry sons of Pandu like wrathful and venomous snakes will assuredly annihilate us, O father. Even now Arjuna proceedeth, encased in mail and furnished with his couple of quivers, frequently taking up the Gandiva and breathing hard and casting angry glances around. It hath (also) been heard by us that Vrikodara, hastily ordering his car to be made ready and riding on it, is proceeding along, frequently whirling his heavy mace. Nakula also is going along, with the sword in his grasp and the semi-circular shield in his hand. And Sahadeva and the king (Yudhishthira) have made signs clearly testifying to their intentions. Having ascended their cars that are full of all kinds of arms, they are whipping their horses (for going to Khandava soon) and assembling their forces. Persecuted thus by us they are incapable of forgiving us those injuries. Who is there among them that will forgive that insult to Draupadi? Blest be thou. We will again gamble with the son of Pandu for sending them to exile. O bull among men, we are competent to bring them thus under our sway. Dressed in skins, either we or they defeated at dice, shall repair to the woods for twelve years. The thirteenth year shall have to be spent in some inhabited country unrecognised; and, if recognised, an exile for another twelve years shall be the consequence. Either we or they shall live so. Let the play begin, casting the dice, let the sons of Pandu once more play. O bull of the Bharata race, O king, even this is our highest duty. This Sakuni knoweth well the whole science of dice. Even if they succeed in observing this vow for thirteen years, we shall be in the meantime firmly rooted in the kingdom and making alliances, assemble a vast invincible host and keep them content, so that we shall, O king, defeat the sons of Pandu if they reappear. Let this plan recommend itself to thee, O slayer of foes.

"Dhritarashtra said,--Bring back the Pandavas then, indeed, even if they have gone a great way. Let them come at once again to cast dice."

Vaisampayana continued,--"Then Drona, Somadatta and Valhika, Gautama, Vidura, the son of Drona, and the mighty son of Dhritarashtra by his Vaisya wife, Bhurisravas, and Bhishma, and that mighty warrior Vikarna,--all said, 'Let not the play commence. Let there be peace. But Dhritarashtra, partial to his sons, disregarding the counsels of all his wise friends and relatives, summoned the sons of Pandu."

SECTION 74

Vaisampayana said,--'O monarch, it was then that the virtuous Gandhari, afflicted with grief on account of her affection for her sons, addressed king Dhritarashtra and said, "When Duryodhana was born, Vidura of great intelligence had said, 'It is well to send this disgrace of the race to the other world. He cried repeatedly and dissonantly like a jackal. It is certain he will prove the destruction of our race. Take this to heart, O king of the Kurus. O Bharata, sink not, for thy own fault, into an ocean of calamity. O lord, accord not thy approbation to the counsels of the wicked ones of immature years. Be not thou the cause of the terrible destruction of this race. Who is there that will break an embankment which hath been completed, or re-kindle a conflagration which hath been extinguished? O bull of the Bharata race, who is there that will provoke the peaceful sons of Pritha? Thou rememberest, O Ajamida, everything, but still I will call thy attention to this. The scriptures can never control the wicked-minded for good or evil. And, O king, a person of immature understanding will never act as one of mature years. Let thy sons follow thee as their leader. Let them not be separated from thee for ever (by losing their lives). Therefore, at my word, O king, abandon this wretch of our race. Thou couldst not, O king, from parental affection, do it before. Know that the time hath come for the destruction of race through him. Err not, O king. Let thy mind, guided by counsels of peace, virtue, and true policy, be what it naturally is. That prosperity which is acquired by the aid of wicked acts, is soon destroyed; while that which is won by mild means taketh root and descendeth from generation to generation."

"The king, thus addressed by Gandhari who pointed out to him in such language the path of virtue, replied unto her, saying,--'If the destruction of our race is come, let it take place freely. I am ill able to prevent it. Let it be as they (these my sons) desire. Let the Pandavas return. And let my sons again gamble with the sons of Pandu."

SECTION 75

Vaisampayana said,--'The royal messenger, agreeably to the commands of the intelligent king Dhritarashtra, coming upon Yudhishthira, the son of Pritha who had by that time gone a great way, addressed the monarch and said,--'Even these are the words of thy father-like uncle, O Bharata, spoken unto thee, 'The assembly is ready. O son of Pandu, O king Yudhisthira, come and cast the dice.'

Yudhishthira said,--'Creatures obtain fruits good and ill according to the dispensation of the Ordainer of the creation. Those fruits are inevitable whether I play or not. This is a summons to dice; it is, besides the command of the old king. Although I know that it will prove destructive to me, yet I cannot refuse.'

Vaisampayana continued,--"Although (a living) animal made of gold was an impossibility, yet Rama suffered himself to be tempted by a (golden) deer. Indeed, the minds of men over whom calamities hang, became deranged and out of

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order. Yudhishthira, therefore, having said these words, retraced his steps along with his brothers. And knowing full well the deception practised by Sakuni, the son of Pritha came back to sit at dice with him again. These mighty warriors again entered that assembly, afflicting the hearts of all their friends. And compelled by Fate they once more sat down at ease for gambling for the destruction of themselves."

"Sakuni then said,--'The old king hath given ye back all your wealth. That is well. But, O bull of the Bharata race, listen to me, there is a stake of great value. Either defeated by ye at dice, dressed in deer skins we shall enter the great forest and live there for twelve years passing the whole of the thirteenth year in some inhabited region, unrecognised, and if recognised return to an exile of another twelve years; or vanquished by us, dressed in deer skins ye shall, with Krishna, live for twelve years in the woods passing the whole of the thirteenth year unrecognised, in some inhabited region. If recognised, an exile of another twelve years is to be the consequence. On the expiry of the thirteenth year, each is to have his kingdom surrendered by the other. O Yudhishthira, with this resolution, play with us, O Bharata, casting the dice.'

"At these words, they that were in that assembly, raising up their arms said in great anxiety of mind, and from the strength of their feelings these words,--'Alas, fie on the friends of Duryodhana that they do not apprise him of his great danger. Whether he, O bull among the Bharatas, (Dhritarashtra) understandeth or not, of his own sense, it is thy duty to tell him plainly."

"Vaisampayana continued,--King Yudhishthira, even hearing these various remarks, from shame and a sense of virtue again sat at dice. And though possessed of great intelligence and fully knowing the consequences, he again began to play, as if knowing that the destruction of the Kurus was at hand.

"And Yudhishthira said,--'How can, O Sakuni, a king like me, always observant of the uses of his own order, refuse, when summoned to dice? Therefore I play with thee."

"Sakuni answered,--'We have many kine and horses, and milch cows, and an infinite number of goats and sheep; and elephants and treasures and gold and slaves both male and female. All these were staked by us before but now let this be our one stake, viz., exile into the woods,--being defeated either ye or we will dwell in the woods (for twelve years) and the thirteenth year, unrecognised, in some inhabited place. Ye bulls among men, with this determination, will we play."

"O Bharata, this proposal about a stay in the woods was uttered but once. The son of Pritha, however, accepted it and Sakuni took up the dice. And casting them he said unto Yudhishthira,--'Lo, I have won."

SECTION 76

Vaisampayana said,--"Then the vanquished sons of Pritha prepared for their exile into the woods. And they, one after another, in due order, casting off their royal robes, attired themselves in deer-skins. And Dussasana, beholding those chastisers of foes, dressed in deer-skins and deprived of their kingdom and ready to go into exile, exclaimed 'The absolute sovereignty of the illustrious king Duryodhana hath commenced. The sons of Pandu have been vanquished, and plunged into great affliction. Now have we attained the goal either by broad or narrow paths. For today becoming superior to our foes in point of prosperity as also of duration of rule have we become praiseworthy of men. The sons of Pritha have all been plunged by us into everlasting hell. They have been deprived of happiness and kingdom for ever and ever. They who, proud of their wealth, laughed in derision at the son of Dhritarashtra, will now have to go into the woods, defeated and deprived by us of all their wealth. Let them now put off their variegated coats of mail, their resplendent robes of celestial make, and let them all attire themselves in deer-skins according to the stake they had accepted of the son of Suvala. They who always used to boast that they had no equals in all the world, will now know and regard themselves in this their calamity as grains of sesame without the kernel. Although in this dress of theirs the Pandavas seem like unto wise and powerful persons installed in a sacrifice, yet they look like persons not entitled to perform sacrifices, wearing such a guise. The wise Yajnasena of the Somake race, having bestowed his daughter--the princess of Panchala--on the sons of Pandu, acted most unfortunately for the husbands of Yajnaseni--these sons of Pritha are as eunuchs. And O Yajnaseni, what joy will be thine upon beholding in the woods these thy husbands dressed in skins and thread-bare rags, deprived of their wealth and possessions. Elect thou a husband, whomsoever thou likest, from among all these present here. These Kurus assembled here, are all forbearing and self-controlled, and possessed of great wealth. Elect thou one amongst these as thy lord, so that these great calamity may not drag thee to wretchedness. 'The sons of Pandu now are even like grains of sesame without the kernel, or like show-animals encased in skins, or like grains of rice without the kernel. Why shouldst thou then longer wait upon the fallen sons of Pandu? Vain is the labour used upon pressing the sesame grain devoid of the kernel!'

"Thus did Dussasana, the son of Dhritarashtra, utter in the hearing of the Pandavas, harsh words of the most cruel import. And hearing them, the unforbearing Bhima, in wrath suddenly approaching that prince like a Himalayan lion upon a jackal, loudly and chastisingly rebuked him in these words,--Wicked-minded villain, ravest thou so in words that are uttered alone by the sinful? Boastest thou thus in the midst of the kings, advanced as thou art by the skill of the king of Gandhara. As thou piercest our hearts hear with these thy arrowy words, so shall I pierce thy heart in battle, recalling all this to thy mind. And they also who from anger or covetousness are walking behind thee as thy protectors,--them also shall I send to the abode of Yama with their descendants and relatives."

Vaisampayana continued,--Unto Bhima dressed in deer-skins and uttering these words of wrath without doing any thing, for he could not deviate from the path of virtue, Dussasana abandoning all sense of shame, dancing around the Kurus, loudly said, 'O cow! O cow!'

Bhima at this once more said,--Wretch darest thou, O Dussasana, use harsh words as these? Whom doth it behove to boast, thus having won wealth by foul means? I tell thee that if Vrikodara, the son of Pritha, drinketh not thy life-blood, piercing open thy breast in battle, let him not attain to regions of blessedness, I tell thee truly that by slaying the sons of Dhritarashtra in battle, before the very eyes of all the warriors, I shall pacify this wrath of mine soon enough.'"

Vaisampayana continued,--"And as the Pandavas were going away from the assembly, the wicked king Duryodhana from excess of joy mimiced by his own steps the playful leonine trade of Bhima. Then Vrikodara, half turning towards the king said, Think not ye fool that by this thou gainest any ascendency over me slay thee shall I soon with all thy followers, and answer thee, recalling all this to thy mind. And beholding this insult offered to him, the mighty and proud Bhima, suppressing his rising rage and following the steps of Yudhishthira, also spake these words while going out of the Kaurava court, 'I will slay Duryodhana, and Dhananjaya will slay Karna, and Sahadeva will slay Sakuni that gambler with dice. I also repeat in this assembly these proud words which the gods will assuredly make good, if ever we engage in battle with the Kurus, I will slay this wretched Duryodhana in battle with my mace, and prostrating him on the ground I will place my foot on his head. And as regards this (other) wicked person--Dussasana who is audacious in speech, I will drink his blood like a lion.

"And Arjuna said,--O Bhima, the resolutions of superior men are not known in words only. On the fourteenth year from this day, they shall see what happeneth.

"And Bhima again said,--'The earth shall drink the blood of Duryodhana, and Karna, and the wicked Sakuni, and Dussasana that maketh the fourth.'

"And Arjuna said,--'O Bhima, I will, as thou directest, slay in battle this Karna so malicious and jealous and harsh-speeched and vain. For doing what is agreeable to Bhima, Arjuna voweth that he will slay in battle with his arrows this Karna with all his followers. And I will send unto the regions of Yama also all those other kings that will from foolishness fight against me. The mountains of Himavat might be removed from where they are, the maker of the day lose his brightness, the moon his coldness, but this vow of mine will ever be cherished. And all this shall assuredly happen if on the fourteenth year from this, Duryodhana doth not, with proper respect, return us our kingdom.'"

Vaisampayana continued,--"After Arjuna had said this, Sahadeva the handsome son of Madri, endued with great energy, desirous of slaying Sakuni, waving his mighty arms and sighing like snake, exclaimed, with eyes red with anger--'Thou disgrace of the Gandhara kings, those whom thou thinkest as defeated are not really so. Those are even sharp-pointed arrows from whose wounds thou hast run the risk in battle. I shall certainly accomplish all which Bhima hath said adverting to thee with all thy followers. If therefore thou hast anything to do, do it before that day cometh. I shall assuredly slay thee in battle with all thy followers soon enough, it thou, O son of Suvala, stayest in the light pursuant to the Kshatriya usage.'

"'Then, O monarch hearing these words of Sahadeva, Nakula the handsomest of men spake these words,--'I shall certainly send unto the abode of Yama all those wicked sons of Dhritarashtra, who desirous of death and impelled by Fate, and moved also by the wish of doing what is agreeable to Duryodhana, have used harsh and insulting speeches towards this daughter o Yajnasena at the gambling match. Soon enough shall I, at the command of Yudhishthira and remembering the wrongs to Draupadi, make the earth destitute of the sons of Dhritarashtra.'

Vaisampayana continued,--"And those tigers among men, all endued with long arms, having thus pledged themselves to virtuous promises approached king Dhritarashtra."

SECTION 77

Yudhishthira said,--'I bid farewell unto all the Bharatas, unto my old grand-sire (Bhishma), king Somadatta, the great king Vahlika, Drona, Kripa, all the other kings, Aswathaman, Vidura, Dhritarashtra, all the sons of Dhritarashtra, Yayutsu, Sanjaya, and all the courtiers, I bid fare well, all of ye and returning again I shall see you."

Vaisampayana continued,--"Overcome with shame none of those that were present there, could tell Yudhishthira anything. Within their hearts, however, they prayed for the welfare of that intelligent prince.

Vidura then said,--The reverend Pritha is a princess by birth. It behoveth her not to go into the woods. Delicate and old and ever known to happiness the blessed one will live, respected by me, in my abode. Known this, ye sons of Pandu. And let safety be always yours.'

Vaisampayana continued,--'The Pandavas thereupon said,--O sinless one, let it be as thou sayest. Thou art our uncle, and, therefore like as our father. We also are all obedient to thee. Thou art, O learned one, our most respected superior. We should always obey what thou choosest to command. And, O high-souled one, order thou whatever else there is that remaineth to be done.

"Vidura replied,--'O Yudhishthira, O bull of the Bharata race, know this to be my opinion, that one that is vanquished by sinful means need not be pained by such defeat. Thou knowest every rule of morality; Dhananjaya is ever victorious in battle; Bhimasena is the slayer of foes; Nakula is the gatherer of wealth; Sahadeva hath administrative talents, Dhaumya is the foremost of all conversant with the vedas; and the well-behaved Draupadi is conversant with virtue and economy. Ye are attached to one another and feel delight at one another's sight and enemies can not separate you from one another, and ye are contented. Therefore, who is there that will not envy ye? O Bharata, this patient abstraction from the possession of the world will be of great benefit to thee. No foe, even if he were equal to sakra himself, will be able to stand it. Formerly thou wert instructed on the mountains of Himavat by Meru Savarni; in the town of Varanavata by Krishna Dwaipayana; on the cliff of Bhrigu by Rama; and on the banks of the Dhrishadwati by Sambhu himself. Thou hast also listened to the instruction of the great Rishi Asita on the hills of Anjana; and thou becamest a disciple of Bhrigu on the banks of the Kalmashi. Narada and this thy priest Dhaumya will now become thy instructors. In the matter of the next world, abandon not these excellent lessons thou hast obtained from the Rishis. O son of Pandu. thou surpassest in intelligence even Pururavas, the son of Ila; in strength, all other monarchs, and in virtue, even the Rishis. Therefore, resolve thou earnestly to win victory, which belongeth to Indra; to control thy wrath, which belongeth to Yama; to give in charity, which belongeth to Kuvera; and to control all passions, which belongeth to Varuna. And, O Bharata, obtain thou the power of gladdening from the moon, the power of sustaining all from water; forbearance from the earth; energy from the entire solar disc; strength from the winds, and affluence from the other elements. Welfare and immunity from ailment be thine; I hope to see thee return. And, O Yudhishthira, act properly and duly in all seasons,--in those of distress--in those of difficulty,--indeed, in respect of everything, O son of Kunti, with our leave go hence. O Bharata, blessing be thine. No one can say that ye have done anything sinful before. We hope to see thee, therefore, return in safety and crowned with success."

Vaisampayana continued,--"Thus addressed by Vidura, Yudhishthira the son of Pandu, of prowess incapable of being baffled, saying, 'So be it,' bowing low unto Bhishma and Drona, went away."

SECTION 78

Vaisampayana said,--'Then when Draupadi was about to set out she went unto the illustrious Pritha and solicited her leave. And she also asked leave of the other ladies of the household who had all been plunged into grief. And saluting and embracing every one of them as each deserved, she desired to go away. Then there arose within the inner apartments of the Pandavas a loud wail of woe. And Kunti, terribly afflicted upon beholding Draupadi on the eve of her journey, uttered these words in a voice choked with grief,--

'O child, grieve not that this great calamity hath overtaken thee. Thou art well conversant with the duties of the female sex, and thy behaviour and conduct also are as they should be. It behoveth me not, O thou of sweet smiles, to instruct thee as to thy duties towards thy lords. Thou art chaste and accomplished, and thy qualities have adorned the race of thy birth as also the race into which thou hast been admitted by marriage. Fortunate are the Kauravas that they have not been burnt by thy wrath. O child, safely go thou blest by my prayers. Good women never suffer their hearts to the unstung at what is inevitable. Protected by virtue that is superior to everything, soon shalt thou obtain good fortune. While living in the woods, keep thy eye on my child Sahadeva. See that his heart sinketh not under this great calamity.'

"Saying 'So be it!' the princess Draupadi bathed in tears, and clad in one piece of cloth, stained with blood, and with

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hair dishevelled left her mother-in-law. And as she went away weeping and wailing Pritha herself in grief followed her. She had not gone far when she saw her sons shorn of their ornaments and robes, their bodies clad in deerskins, and their heads down with shame. And she beheld them surrounded by rejoicing foes' and pitied by friends. Endued with excess of parental affection, Kunti approached her sons in that state, and embracing them all, and in accents choked by woe, She said these words,--

"Ye are virtuous and good-mannered, and adorned with all excellent qualities and respectful behaviour. Ye are all high-minded, and engaged in the service of your superiors. And ye are also devoted to the gods and the performance of sacrifices. Why, then, hath this calamity overtaken you. Whence is this reverse of fortune? I do not see by whose wickedness this sin hath overtaken you. Alas I have brought you forth. All this must be due to my ill fortune. It is for this that ye have been overtaken by this calamity, though ye all are endued with excellent virtues. In energy and prowess and strength and firmness and might, ye are not wanting. How shall ye now, losing your wealth and possessions, live poor in the pathless woods? If I had known before that ye were destined to live in the woods, I would not have on Pandit's death come from the mountains of Satasringa to Hastinapore. Fortunate was your father, as I now regard, for he truly reaped the fruit of his asceticism, and he was gifted with foresight, as he entertained the wish of ascending heaven, without having to feel any pain on account of his sons. Fortunate also was the virtuous Madri, as I regard her today, who had, it seems, a fore-knowledge of what would happen and who on that account, obtained the high path of emancipation [enlightenment, liberation, release, salvation.] and every blessing therewith. All, Madri looked upon me as her stay, and her mind and her affections were ever fixed on me. Oh, fie on my desire of life, owing to which suffer all this woe. Ye children, ye are all excellent and dear unto me. I have obtained you alter much suffering. I cannot leave you. Even I will go with you. Alas, O Krishna, (Draupadi), why dost thou leave me so? Everything endued with life is sure to perish. Hath Dhata (Brahma) himself forgotten to ordain my death? Perhaps, it is so, and, therefore, life doth not quit me. O Krishna, O thou who dwellest in Dwaraka, O younger brother of Sankarshana, where art thou? Why dost thou not deliver me and these best of men also from such woe? They say that thou who art without beginning and without end deliverest those that think of thee. Why doth this saying become untrue. These my sons are ever attached to virtue and nobility and good fame and prowess. They deserve not to suffer affliction. Oh, show them mercy. Alas, when there are such elders amongst our race as Bhishma and Drona and Kripa, all conversant with morality and the science of worldly concerns, how could such calamity at all come? O Pandu, O king, where art thou? Why sufferest thou quietly thy good children to be thus sent into exile, defeated at dice? O Sahadeva, desist from going. Thou art my dearest child, dearer, O son of Madri, than my body itself. Forsake me not. It behoveth thee to have some kindness for me. Bound by the ties of virtue, let these thy brothers go. But then, earn thou that virtue which springeth from waiting upon me.'"

Vaisampayana continued,--"The Pandavas then consoled their weeping mother and with hearts plunged in grief set out for the woods. And Vidura himself also much afflicted, consoling the distressed Kunti with reasons, and led her slowly to his house. And the ladies of Dhritarashtra's house, hearing everything as it happened, viz., the exile (of the Pandavas) and the dragging of Krishna into the assembly where the princes had gambled, loudly wept censuring the Kauravas. And the ladies of the royal household also sat silent for a long time, covering their lotus-like faces with their fair hands. And king Dhritarashtra also thinking of the dangers that threatened his sons, became a prey to anxiety and could not enjoy peace of mind. And anxiously meditating on everything, and with mind deprived of its equanimity through grief, he sent a messenger unto Vidura, saying, 'Let Kshatta come to me without a moment's delay.'

"At this summons, Vidura quickly came to Dhritarashtra's palace. And as soon as he came, the monarch asked him with great anxiety how the Pandavas had left Hastinapore."

SECTION 79

Vaisampayana said,--"As soon as Vidura endued with great foresight came unto him king Dhritarashtra, the son of Amvika, timidly asked his brother,--'How doth Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma, proceed along? And how Arjuna? And how the twin sons of Madri? And how, O Kshatta, doth Dhaumya proceed along? And how the illustrious Draupadi? I desire to hear everything, O Kshatta; describe to me all their acts.'

Vidura replied,--'Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, hath gone away covering his face with his cloth. And Bhima, O king, hath gone away looking at his own mighty arms. And Jishnu (Arjuna) hath gone away, following the king spreading sand-grains around. And Sahadeva, the son of Madri, hath gone away besmearing his face, and Nakula, the handsomest of men, O king, hath gone away, staining himself with dust and his heart in great affliction. And the large-eyed and beautiful Krishna hath gone away, covering her face with her dishevelled hair following in the wake of the king, weeping and in tears. And O monarch, Dhaumya goeth along the road, with kusa grass in hand, and uttering the aweful mantras of Sama Veda that relate to Yama.'

Dhritarashtra asked,--"Tell me, O Vidura, why is it that the Pandavas are leaving Hastinapore in such varied guise."

"Vidura replied,--'Though persecuted by thy sons and robbed of his kingdom and wealth the mind of the wise king Yudhishthira the Just hath not yet deviated from the path of virtue. King Yudhishthira is always kind, O Bharata, to thy children. Though deprived (of his kingdom and possessions) by foul means, filled with wrath as he is, he doth not open eyes. 'I should not burn the people by looking at them with angry eyes,'--thinking so, the royal son of Pandu goeth covering his face. Listen to me as I tell thee, O bull of the Bharata race, why Bhima goeth so. 'There is none equal to me in strength of arms,' thinking so Bhima goeth repeatedly stretching forth his mighty arms. And, O king, proud of the strength of his arms, Vrikodara goeth, exhibiting them and desiring to do unto his enemies deeds worthy of those arms. And Arjuna the son of Kunti, capable of using both his arms (in wielding the Gandiva) followeth the footsteps of Yudhishthira, scattering sand-grains emblematical of the arrows he would shower in battle. O Bharata, he indicateth that as the sand-grains are scattered by him with ease, so will he rain arrows with perfect ease on the foe (in time of battle). And Sahadeva goeth besmearing his lace, thinking 'None may recognise me in this day of trouble.' And, O exalted one, Nakula goeth staining himself with dust thinking, 'Lest otherwise I steal the hearts of the ladies that may look at me.' And Draupadi goeth, attired in one piece of stained cloth, her hair dishevelled, and weeping, signifying--'The wives of those for whom I have been reduced to such a plight, shall on the fourteenth year hence be deprived of husbands, sons and relatives and dear ones and smeared all over with blood, with hair dishevelled and all in their feminine seasons enter Hastinapore having offered oblations of water (unto the manes of those they will have lost). And O Bharata, the learned Dhaumya with passions under full control, holding the kusa grass in his hand and pointing the same towards the south-west, walketh before, singing the mantras of the Sama Veda that relate to Yama. And, O monarch, that learned Brahamana goeth, also signifying, 'When the Bharatas shall be slain in battle, the priests of the Kurus will thus sing the Soma mantras (for the benefit of the deceased).' And the citizens, afflicted with great grief, are repeatedly crying out, 'Alas, alas, behold our masters are going away! O fie on the Kuru elders that have acted like foolish children in thus banishing heirs of Pandu from covetousness alone. Alas, separated from the son of Pandu we all shall become masterless. What love can we bear to the wicked and avaricious Kurus? Thus O king, have the sons of Kunti, endued with great energy of mind, gone away,--indicating, by manner and signs, the resolutions that are in their hearts. And as those foremost of men had gone away from Hastinapore, flashes of lightning appeared in the sky though without clouds and the earth itself began to tremble. And Rahu came to devour the Sun, although it was not the day of conjunction And meteors began to fall, keeping the city to their right. And jackals and vultures and ravens and other carnivorous beasts and birds began to shriek and cry aloud from the temples of the gods and the tops of sacred trees and walls and house-tops. And these extraordinary calamitous portents, O king, were seen and heard, indicating the destruction of the Bharatas as the consequence of thy evil counsels."

Vaisampayana continued,--"And, O monarch, while king Dhritarashtra and the wise Vidura were thus talking with each other, there appeared in that assembly of the Kauravas and before the eyes of all, the best of the celestial Rishis. And appealing before them all, he uttered these terrible words, On the fourteenth year hence, the Kauravas, in consequence of Duryodhana's fault, will all be destroyed by the might of Bhima and Arjuna'. And having said this, that best of celestial Rishis, adorned with surpassing Vedic grace, passing through the skies, disappeared from the scene. Then Duryodhana and Karna and Sakuni, the son of Suvala regarding Drona as their sole refuge, offered the kingdom to him. Drona then, addressing the envious and wrathful Duryodhana and Dussasana and Karna and all the Bharata, said, 'The Brahamanas have said that the Pandavas being of celestial origin are incapable of being slain. The sons of Dhritarashtra, however, having, with all the kings, heartily and with reverence sought my protection, I shall look after them to the best of my power. Destiny is supreme, I cannot abandon them. The sons of Pandu, defeated at dice, are going into exile in pursuance of their promise. They will live in the woods for twelve years. Practising the Brahmacharyya mode of life for this period, they will return in anger and to our great grief take the amplest vengeance on their foes. I had formerly deprived Drupada of his kingdom in a friendly dispute. Robbed of his kingdom by me, O Bharata, the king performed a sacrifice for obtaining a son (that should slay me). Aided by the ascetic power of Yaja and Upayaja, Drupada obtained from the (sacrificial) fire a son named Dhrishtadyumna and a daughter, viz., the faultless Krishna, both risen from the sacrificial platform. That Dhrishtadyumna is the brother-in-law of the sons of Pandu by marriage, and dear unto them. It is for him, therefore that I have much fear. Of celestial origin and resplendent as the fire, he was born with bow, arrows, and encased in mail. I am a being that is mortal. Therefore it is for him that I have great fear. That slayer of all foes, the son of Parshatta, hath taken the side of the Pandavas. I shall have to lose my life, if he and I ever encounter each other in battle. What grief can be greater to me in this world than this, ye Kauravas that Dhrishtadyumna is the destined slayer of Drona--this belief is general. That he hath been born for slaying me hath been heard by me and is widely known also in the world. For thy sake, O Duryodhana, that terrible season of destruction is almost come. Do without loss of time, what may be beneficial unto thee. Think not that everything hath been accomplished by sending the Pandavas into exile. This thy happiness will last for but a moment, even as in winter the shadow of the top of the palm tree resteth (for a short time) at its base. Perform various kinds of sacrifices, and enjoy, and give O Bharata, everything thou likest. On the fourteenth year hence, a great calamity will overwhelm thee.'"

Vaisampayana continued,--"Hearing these words of Drona, Dhritarashtra said,--'O Kshatta, the preceptor hath uttered what is true. Go thou and bring back the Pandavas. If they do not come back, let them go treated with respect and affection. Let those my sons go with weapons, and cars, and infantry, and enjoying every other good thing.'"

SECTION 80

Vaisampayana said,--"defeated at dice, after the Pandavas had gone to the woods, Dhritarashtra, O king, was overcome with anxiety. And while he was seated restless with anxiety and sighing in grief, Sanjaya approaching him said, 'O lord of the earth having now obtained the whole earth with all its wealth and sent away the sons of Pandu into exile, why is it, O king, that thou grievest so?"

Dhritarashtra said,--'What have they not to grieve for who will have to encounter in battle those bulls among warriors--the sons of Pandu--fighting on great cars and aided by allies?"

"Sanjaya said,--"O king, all this great hostility is inevitable on account of thy mistaken action, and this will assuredly bring about the wholesale destruction of the whole world. Forbidden by Bhishma, by Drona, and by Vidura, thy wicked-minded and shameless son Duryodhana sent his Suta messenger commanding him to bring into court the beloved and virtuous wife of the Pandavas. The gods first deprive that man of his reason unto whom they send defeat and disgrace. It is for this that such a person seeth things in a strange light. When destruction is at hand, evil appeareth as good unto the understanding polluted by sin, and the man adhereth to it firmly. That which is improper appeareth as proper, and that which is proper appeareth as improper unto the man about to be overwhelmed by destruction, and evil and impropriety are what he liketh. The time that bringeth on destruction doth not come with upraised club and smash one's head. On the other hand the peculiarity of such a time is that it maketh a man behold evil in good and good in evil. The wretches have brought on themselves this terrible, wholesale, and horrible destruction by dragging the helpless princess of Panchala into the court. Who else than Duryodhana--that false player of dice could bring into the assembly, with insults, the daughter of Drupada, endued with beauty and intelligence, and conversant with every rule of morality and duty, and sprung not from any woman's womb but from the sacred fire? The handsome Krishna, then in her season, attired in one piece of stained cloth when brought into the court cast her eyes upon the Pandavas. She beheld them, however, robbed of their wealth, of their kingdom, of even their attire, of their beauty, of every enjoyment, and plunged into a state of bondage. Bound by the tie of virtue, they were then unable to exert their prowess. And before all the assembled kings Duryodhana and Karna spake cruel and harsh words unto the distressed and enraged Krishna undeserving of such treatment. O monarch, all this appeareth to me as foreboding fearful consequences.'

Dhritarashtra said,--'O Sanjaya, the glances of the distressed daughter of Drupada might consume the whole earth. Can it be possible that even a single son of mine will live? The wives of the Bharatas, uniting with Gandhari upon beholding virtuous Krishna, the wedded wife of the Pandavas, endued with beauty and youth, dragged into the court, set up frightful wail. Even now, along with all my subjects, they weep every day. Enraged at the ill treatment of Draupadi, the Brahmanas in a body did not perform that evening their Agnihotra ceremony. The winds blew mightily as they did at the time of the universal dissolution. There was a terrible thunder-storm also. Meteors fell from the sky, and Rahu by swallowing the Sun unseasonably alarmed the people terribly. Our war-chariots were suddenly ablaze, and all their flagstaffs fell down foreboding evil unto the Bharatas. Jackals began to cry frightfully from within the sacred fire-chamber of

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Duryodhana, and asses from all directions began to bray in response. Then Bhishma and Drona, and Kripa, and Somadatta and the high-souled Vahlika, all left the assembly. It was then that at the advice of Vidura I addressed Krishna and said, 'I will grant thee boons, O Krishna, indeed, whatever thou wouldst ask? The princess of the Panchala there begged of me the liberation of the Pandavas. Out of my own motion I then set free the Pandavas, commanding them to return (to their capital) on their cars and with their bows and arrows. It was then that Vidura told me, 'Even this will prove the destruction of the Bharata race, viz., this dragging of Krishna into the court. This daughter of the King of Panchala is the faultless Sree herself. Of celestial origin, she is the wedded wife of the Pandavas. The wrathful sons of Pandu will never forgive this insult offered unto her. Nor will the mighty bowmen of the Vrishni race, nor the mighty warriors amongst the Panchalas suffer this in silence. Supported by Vasudeva of unbaffled prowess, Arjuna will assuredly come back, surrounded by the Panchala host. And that mighty warrior amongst them, Bhimasena endued with surpassing strength, will also come back, whirling his mace like Yama himself with his club. These kings will scarcely be able to bear the force of Bhima's mace. Therefore, O king, not hostility but peace for ever with the sons of Pandu is what seemeth to me to be the best. The sons of Pandu are always stronger than the Kurus. Thou knowest, O king, that the illustrious and mighty king Jarasandha was slain in battle by Bhima with his bare arms alone. Therefore, O bull of the Bharata race, it behoveth thee to make peace with the sons of Pandu. Without scruples of any kind, unite the two parties, O king. And it thou actest in this way, thou art sure to obtain good luck, O king. It was thus, O son of Gavalgani, that Vidura addressed me in words of both virtue and profit. And I did not accept this counsel, moved by affection for my son."

THE MAHABHARATA. BOOK 3
VANA PARVA

SECTION 1
(Aranyaka Parva)

Om! Having bowed down to Narayana, and Nara the foremost of male beings, and the goddess Saraswati also, must the word Jaya be uttered.

"Janamejaya said, 'O thou foremost of regenerate ones, deceitfully defeated at dice by the sons of Dhritarashtra and their counsellors, incensed by those wicked ones that thus brought about a fierce animosity, and addressed in language that was so cruel, what did the Kuru princes, my ancestors--the sons of Pritha--(then) do? How also did the sons of Pritha, equal unto Sakra in prowess, deprived of affluence and suddenly over whelmed with misery, pass their days in the forest? Who followed the steps of those princes plunged in excess of affliction? And how did those high souled ones bear themselves and derive their sustenance, and where did they put up? And, O illustrious ascetic and foremost of Brahmanas, how did those twelve years (of exile) of those warriors who were slayers of foes, pass away in the forest? And undeserving of pain, how did that princess, the best of her sex, devoted to her husbands, eminently virtuous, and always speaking the truth, endure that painful exile in the forest? O thou of ascetic wealth tell me all this in detail, for, O Brahmana, I desire to hear thee narrate the history of those heroes possessed of abundant prowess and lustre. Truly my curiosity is great.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Thus defeated at dice and incensed by the wicked sons of Dhritarashtra and their counsellors, the sons of Pritha set out from Hastinapura. And issuing through Vardhamana gate of the city, the Pandavas bearing their weapons and accompanied by Draupadi set out in a northernly direction. Indrasena and others, with servants numbering altogether fourteen, with their wives, followed them on swift cars. And the citizens learning of their departure became overwhelmed with sorrow, and began to censure Bhishma and Vidura and Drona and Gautama. And having met together they thus addressed one another fearlessly.

'Alas, our families, we ourselves, and our homes are all gone, when the wicked Duryodhana, backed by the son of Suvala, by Karna and Dussasana, aspireth to this kingdom. And, Oh, our families, our (ancestral) usages, our virtue and prosperity, are all doomed where this sinful wretch supported by wretches as sinful aspireth to the kingdom! And, Oh, how can happiness be there where these are not! Duryodhana beareth malice towards all superiors, hath taken leave of good conduct, and quarreleth with those that are near to him in blood. Covetous and vain and mean, he is cruel by nature. The whole earth is doomed when Duryodhana becometh its ruler. Thither, therefore, let us proceed whither the merciful and high-minded sons of Pandu with passions under control and victorious over foes, and possessed of modesty and renown, and devoted to pious practices, repair!'

"Vaisampayana said, 'And saying this, the citizens went after the Pandavas, and having met them, they all, with joined hands, thus addressed the sons of Kunti and Madri.

'Blest be ye! Where will ye go, leaving us in grief? We will follow you whithersoever ye will go! Surely have we been distressed upon learning that ye have been deceitfully vanquished by relentless enemies! It behoveth you not to forsake us that are your loving subjects and devoted friends always seeking your welfare and employed in doing what is agreeable to you! We desire not to be overwhelmed in certain destruction living in the dominions of the Kuru king. Ye bulls among men, listen as we indicate the merits and demerits springing respectively from association with what is good and bad! As cloth, water, the ground, and sesame seeds are perfumed by association with flowers, even so are qualities ever the product of association. Verily association with fools produceth an illusion that entangleth the mind, as daily communion with the good and the wise leadeth to the practice of virtue. Therefore, they that desire emancipation should associate with those that are wise and old and honest and pure in conduct and possessed of ascetic merit. They should be waited upon whose triple possessions, viz., knowledge (of the Vedas), origin and acts, are all pure, and association with them is even superior to (the study of the) scriptures. Devoid of the religious acts as we are, we shall yet reap religious merit by association with the righteous, as we should come by sin by waiting upon the sinful. The very sight and touch of the dishonest, and converse and association with them; cause diminution of virtue, and men (that are doomed to these), never attain purity of mind. Association with the base impaireth the understanding, as, indeed, with the indifferent maketh it indifferent, while communion with the good ever exalteth it. All those attributes which are spoken of in the world as the sources of religious merit, of worldly prosperity and sensual pleasures, which are regarded by the people, extolled in the Vedas, and approved by the well-behaved, exist in you, separately and jointly! Therefore, desirous of our own welfare, we wish to live amongst you who possess those attributes!

"Yudhishthira said, 'Blessed are we since the people with the Brahmanas at their head, moved by affection and compassion credit us with merits we have not. I, however, with my brothers, would ask all of you to do one thing. Ye should not, through affection and pity for us, act otherwise! Our grandfather Bhishma, the king (Dhritarashtra), Vidura, my mother and most of my well-wishers, are all in the city of Hastinapura. Therefore, if ye are minded to seek our welfare, cherish ye them with care, uniting together as they are overwhelmed with sorrow and afflictions. Grieved at our departure, ye have come far! Go ye back, and let your hearts be directed with tenderness towards the relatives I entrust to you as pledges! This, of all others, is the one act upon which my heart is set, and by doing this ye would give me great satisfaction and pay me your best regards!

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus exhorted by Yudhishthira the Just, the people in a body set up a loud wail exclaiming,--Alas, O king! And afflicted and overwhelmed with sorrow on remembering the virtues of Pritha's son, they unwillingly retraced their steps asking leave of the Pandavas.

'The citizens having ceased to follow, the Pandavas ascended their cars, and setting out reached (the site of) the mighty banian tree called Pramana on the banks of the Ganges. And reaching the site of the banian tree about the close of the day, the heroic sons of Pandu purified themselves by touching the sacred water, and passed the night there. And afflicted with woe they spent that night taking water alone as their sole sustenance. Certain Brahmanas belonging to both classes, viz., those that maintained the sacrificial fire and those that maintained it not, who had, with their disciples and relatives, out of affection followed the Pandavas thither also passed the night with them. And surrounded by those utterers of Brahma, the king shone resplendent in their midst. And that evening, at once beautiful and terrible, those Brahmanas having lighted their (sacred) fires, began to chant the Vedas and hold mutual converse. And those foremost of Brahmanas, with swan-sweet voices spent the night, comforting that best of Kurus--the king."

SECTION 2

"Vaisampayana said, 'When that night passed away and day broke in, those Brahmamas who supported themselves by mendicancy, stood before the Pandavas of exalted deeds, who were about to enter the forest. Then king Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, addressed them, saying, "Robbed of our prosperity and kingdom, robbed of everything, we are about to enter the deep woods in sorrow, depending for our food on fruits and roots, and the produce of the chase. The forest too is full of dangers, and abounds with reptiles and beasts of prey. It appeareth to me that ye will certainly have to suffer much privation and misery there. The sufferings of the Brahmanas might overpower even the gods. That they would overwhelm me is too certain. Therefore, O Brahmana, go ye back whithersoever ye list!'

"The Brahmanas replied, 'O king, our path is even that on which ye are for setting out! It behoveth thee not, therefore, to forsake us who are thy devoted admirers practising the true religion! The very gods have compassion upon their worshippers,--specially upon Brahmanas of regulated lives!'

"Yudhishthira said, 'We regenerate ones, I too am devoted to the Brahmanas! But this destitution that hath overtaken me overwhelmed me with confusion! These my brothers that are to procure fruits and roots and the deer (of the forest) are stupefied with grief arising from their afflictions and on account of the distress of Draupadi and the loss of our kingdom! Alas, as they are distressed, I cannot employ them in painful tasks!'

"The Brahmanas said, 'Let no anxiety, O king, in respect of our maintenance, find a place in thy heart! Ourselves providing our own food, we shall follow thee, and by meditation and saying our prayers we shall compass thy welfare while by pleasant converse we shall entertain thee and be cheered ourselves.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Without doubt, it must be as ye say, for I am ever pleased with the company of the regenerate ones! But my fallen condition maketh me behold in myself an object of reproach! How shall I behold you all, that do not deserve to bear trouble, out of love for me painfully subsisting upon food procured by your own toil? Oh, fie upon the wicked sons of Dhritarashtra!'

"Vaisampayana continued. 'Saying this, the weeping king sat himself down upon the ground. Then a learned Brahmana, Saunaka by name versed in self-knowledge and skilled in the Sankhya system of yoga, addressed the king, saying, 'Causes of grief by thousands, and causes of fear by hundreds, day after day, overwhelm the ignorant but not the wise. Surely, sensible men like thee never suffer themselves to be deluded by acts that are opposed to true knowledge, fraught with every kind of evil, and destructive of salvation. O king, in thee dwelleth that understanding furnished with the eight attributes which is said to be capable of providing against all evils and which resulteth from a study of the Sruti (Vedas) and scriptures! And men like unto thee are never stupefied, on the accession of poverty or an affliction overtaking their friends, through bodily or mental uneasiness! Listen, I shall tell the slokas which were chanted of old by the illustrious Janaka touching the subject of controlling the self! This world is afflicted with both bodily and mental suffering. Listen now to the means of allaying it as I indicate them both briefly and in detail. Disease, contact with painful things, toil and want of objects desired.--these are the four causes that induce bodily suffering. And as regards disease, it may be allayed by the application of medicine, while mental ailments are cured by seeking to forget them yoga-meditation. For this reason, sensible physicians first seek to allay the mental sufferings of their patients by agreeable converse and the offer of desirable objects And as a hot iron bar thrust into a jar maketh the water therein hot, even so doth mental grief bring on bodily agony. And as water quencheth fire, so doth true knowledge allay mental disquietude. And the mind attaining ease, the body findeth ease also. It seemeth that affection is the root of all mental sorrow. It is affection that maketh every creature miserable and bringeth on every kind of woe. Verily affection is the root of all misery and of all fear, of joy and grief of every kind of pain. From affection spring all purposes, and it is from affection that spring the love of worldly goods! Both of these (latter) are sources of evil, though the first (our purposes) is worse than the second. And as (a small portion of) fire thrust into the hollow of a tree consumeth the tree itself to its roots, even so affection, ever so little, destroyeth both virtue and profit. He cannot be regarded to have renounced the world who hath merely withdrawn from worldly possessions. He, however, who though in actual contact with the world regardeth its faults, may be said to have truly renounced the world. Freed from every evil passion, soul dependent on nothing with such a one hath truly renounced the world. Therefore, should no one seek to place his affections on either friends or the wealth he hath earned. And so should affection for one's own person be extinguished by knowledge. Like the lotus-leaf that is never drenched by water, the souls of men capable of distinguishing between the ephemeral and the everlasting, of men devoted to the pursuit of the eternal, conversant with the scriptures and purified by knowledge, can never be moved by affection. The man that is influenced by affection is tortured by desire; and from the desire that springeth up in his heart his thirst for worldly possessions increaseth. Verily, this thirst is sinful and is regarded as the source of all anxieties. It is this terrible thirst, fraught with sin that leaneth unto unrighteous acts. Those find happiness that can renounce this thirst, which can never be renounced by the wicked, which decayeth not with the decay of the body, and which is truly a fatal disease! It hath neither beginning nor end. Dwelling within the heart, it destroyeth creatures, like a fire of incorporeal origin. And as a faggot of wood is consumed by the fire that is fed by itself, even so doth a person of impure soul find destruction from the covetousness born of his heart. And as creatures endued with life have ever a dread of death, so men of wealth are in constant apprehension of the king and the thief, of water and fire and even of their relatives. And as a morsel of meat, if in air, may be devoured by birds; if on ground by beasts of prey; and if in water by the fishes; even

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so is the man of wealth exposed to dangers wherever he may be. To many the wealth they own is their bane, and he that beholding happiness in wealth becometh wedded to it, knoweth not true happiness. And hence accession of wealth is viewed as that which increaseth covetousness and folly. Wealth alone is the root of niggardliness and boastfulness, pride and fear and anxiety! These are the miseries of men that the wise see in riches! Men undergo infinite miseries in the acquisition and retention of wealth. Its expenditure also is fraught with grief. Nay, sometimes, life itself is lost for the sake of wealth! The abandonment of wealth produces misery, and even they that are cherished by one's wealth become enemies for the sake of that wealth! When, therefore, the possession of wealth is fraught with such misery, one should not mind its loss. It is the ignorant alone who are discontented. The wise, however, are always content. The thirst of wealth can never be assuaged. Contentment is the highest happiness; therefore, it is, that the wise regard contentment as the highest object of pursuit. The wise knowing the instability of youth and beauty, of life and treasure-hoards, of prosperity and the company of the loved ones, never covet them. Therefore, one should refrain from the acquisition of wealth, bearing the pain incident to it. None that is rich free from trouble, and it is for this that the virtuous applaud them that are free from the desire of wealth. And as regards those that pursue wealth for purposes of virtue, it is better for them to refrain altogether from such pursuit, for, surely, it is better not to touch mire at all than to wash it off after having been besmeared with it. And, O Yudhishthira, it behoveth thee not to covet anything! And if thou wouldst have virtue, emancipate thyself from desire of worldly possessions!'

"Yudhishthira said, 'O Brahmana, this my desire of wealth is not for enjoying it when obtained. It is only for the support of the Brahmanas that I desire it and not because I am actuated by avarice! For what purpose, O Brahmana, doth one like us lead a domestic life, if he cannot cherish and support those that follow him? All creatures are seen to divide the food (they procure) amongst those that depend on them. So should a person leading a domestic life give a share of his food to Yatis and Brahmacharins that have renounced cooking for themselves. The houses of the good men can never be in want of grass (for seat), space (for rest), water (to wash and assuage thirst), and fourthly, sweet words. To the weary a bed,--to one fatigued with standing, a seat,--to the thirsty, water,--and to the hungry, food should ever be given. To a guest are due pleasant looks and a cheerful heart and sweet words. The host, rising up, should advance towards the guest, offer him a seat, and duly worship him. Even this is eternal morality. They that perform not the Agnihotra not wait upon bulls, nor cherish their kinsmen and guests and friends and sons and wives and servants, are consumed with sin for such neglect. None should cook his food for himself alone and none should slay an animal without dedicating it to the gods, the pitris, and guests. Nor should one eat of that food which hath not been duly dedicated to the gods and pitris. By scattering food on the earth, morning and evening, for (the behoof of) dogs and Chandalas and birds, should a person perform the Viswedeva sacrifice. He that eateth the Vighasa, is regarded as eating ambrosia. What remaineth in a sacrifice after dedication to the gods and the pitris is regarded as ambrosia; and what remaineth after feeding the guest is called Vighasa and is equivalent to ambrosia itself. Feeding a guest is equivalent to a sacrifice, and the pleasant looks the host casteth upon the guest, the attention he devoteth to him, the sweet words in which he addresseth him, the respect he payeth by following him, and the food and drink with which he treateth him, are the five Dakshinas in that sacrifice. He who giveth without stint food to a fatigued wayfarer never seen before, obtaineth merit that is great, and he who leading a domestic life, followeth such practices, acquireth religious merit that is said to be very great. O Brahmana, what is thy opinion on this?"

"Saunaka said, 'Alas, this world is full of contradictions! That which shameth the good, gratifieth the wicked! Alas, moved by ignorance and passion and slaves of their own senses, even fools perform many acts of (apparent merit) to gratify in after-life their appetites! With eyes open are these men led astray by their seducing senses, even as a charioteer, who hath lost his senses, by restive and wicked steeds! When any of the six senses findeth its particular object, the desire springeth up in the heart to enjoy that particular object. And thus when one's heart proceedeth to enjoy the objects of any particular sense a wish is entertained which in its turn giveth birth to a resolve. And finally, like unto an insect falling into a flame from love of light, the man falleth into the fire of temptation, pierced by the shafts of the object of enjoyment discharged by the desire constituting the seed of the resolve! And thenceforth blinded by sensual pleasure which he seeketh without stint, and steeped in dark ignorance and folly which he mistaketh for a state of happiness, he knoweth not himself! And like unto a wheel that is incessantly rolling, every creature, from ignorance and deed and desire, falleth into various states in this world, wandering from one birth to another, and rangeth the entire circle of existences from a Brahma to the point of a blade of grass, now in water, now on land, and now against in the air!

'This then is the career of those that are without knowledge. Listen now to the course of the wise they that are intent on profitable virtue, and are desirous of emancipation! The Vedas enjoin act but renounce (interest in) action. Therefore, shouldst thou act, renouncing Abhimana, performance of sacrifices, study (of the Vedas), gifts, penance, truth (in both speech and act), forgiveness, subduing the senses, and renunciation of desire,--these have been declared to be the eight (cardinal) duties constituting the true path. Of these, the four first pave the way to the world of the pitris. And these should be practised without Abhimana. The four last are always observed by the pious, to attain the heaven of the gods. And the pure in spirit should ever follow these eight paths. Those who wish to subdue the world for purpose of salvation, should ever act fully renouncing motives, effectually subduing their senses, rigidly observing particular vows, devotedly serving their preceptors, austerely regulating their fare, diligently studying the Vedas, renouncing action as mean and restraining their hearts. By renouncing desire and aversion the gods have attained prosperity. It is by virtue of their wealth of yoga that the Rudras, and the Sadhyas, and the Adityas and the Vasus, and the twin Aswins, rule the creatures. Therefore, O son of Kunti, like unto them, do thou, O Bharata, entirely refraining from action with motive, strive to attain success in yoga and by ascetic austerities. Thou hast already achieved such success so far as thy debts to thy ancestors, both male and female concerned, and that success also which is derived from action (sacrifices). Do thou, for serving the regenerate ones endeavour to attain success in penances. Those that are crowned with ascetic success, can, by virtue of that success, do whatever they list; do thou, therefore, practising asceticism realise all thy wishes."

SECTION 3

"Vaisampayana said, 'Yudhishthira the son of Kunti, thus addressed by Saunaka, approached his priest and in the midst of his brothers said, 'The Brahmanas versed in the Vedas are following me who am departing for the forest. Afflicted with many calamities I am unable to support them. I cannot abandon them, nor have I the power to offer them sustenance: Tell me, O holy one, what should be done by me in such a pass.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'After reflecting for a moment seeking to find out the (proper) course by his yoga powers, Dhaumya, that foremost of all virtuous men, addressed Yudhishthira, in these words, 'In days of old, all living beings that had been created were sorely afflicted with hunger. And like a father (unto all of them), Savita (the sun) took compassion upon them. And going first into the northern declension, the sun drew up water by his rays, and coming back to the southern declension, stayed over the earth, with his heat centered in himself. And while the sun so stayed over the earth, the lord of the vegetable world (the moon), converting the effects of the solar heat (vapours) into clouds and pouring them down in the shape of water, caused plants to spring up. Thus it is the sun himself, who, drenched by the lunar influence, is transformed, upon the sprouting of seeds, into holy vegetable furnished with the six tastes. And it is these which constitute the food of all creatures upon the earth. Thus the food that supporteth the lives of creatures is instinct with solar energy, and the sun is, therefore, the father of all creatures. Do thou, hence, O Yudhishthira, take refuge even in him. All illustrious monarchs of pure descent and deeds are known to have delivered their people by practising high asceticism. The great Karttavirya, and Vainya and Nahusha, had all, by virtue of ascetic meditation preceded by vows, delivered their people from heavy afflictions. Therefore, O virtuous one, as thou art purified by the acts do thou likewise, entering upon a file of austerities. O Bharata, virtuously support the regenerate ones.'

"Janamejaya said, 'How did that bull among the Kurus, king Yudhishthira, for the sake of the Brahmanas adore the sun of wonderful appearance?"

"Vaisampayana said, 'Listen attentively, O king, purifying thyself and withdrawing thy mind from every other thing. And, O king of kings, appoint thou a time. I will tell thee everything in detail, And, O illustrious one, listen to the one hundred and eight names (of the sun) as they were disclosed of old by Dhaumya to the high-souled son of Pritha. Dhaumya said, 'Surya, Aryaman, Bhaga, Twastri, Pusha, Arka, Savitri. Ravi, Gabhastimat, Aja, Kala, Mrityu, Dhatri, Prabhakara, Prithibi, Apa, Teja, Kha, Vayu, the sole stay, Soma, Vrihaspati, Sukra, Budha, Angaraka, Indra, Vivaswat, Diptanshu, Suchi, Sauri, Sanaichara, Brahma, Vishnu, Rudra, Skanda, Vaisravana, Yama, Vaidyutagni, Jatharagni, Aindhna, Tejasampati, Dharmadhwaja, Veda-karttri, Vedanga, Vedavahana, Krita, Treta, Dwapara, Kali, full of every impurity, Kala, Kastha, Muhurtta, Kshapa, Yama, and Kshana; Samvatsara-kara, Aswattha, Kalachakra, Bibhavasu, Purusha, Saswata, Yogin, Vyaktavyakta, Sanatana, Kaladhyaksha, Prajadhyaksha, Viswakarma, Tamounda, Varuna, Sagara, Ansu, Jimuta, Jivana, Arihan, Bhutasraya, Bhutapati, Srastri, Samvartaka, Vanhi, Sarvadi, Alolupa, Ananta, Kapila, Bhanu, Kamada, Sarvatomukha, Jaya, Visala, Varada, Manas, Suparna, Bhutadi, Sighraga, Prandharana, Dhanwantari, Dhumaketu, Adideva, Aditisuta, Dwadasatman, Aravindaksha, Pitri, Matri, Pitamaha, Swarga-dwara, Prajadwara, Mokshadwara, Tripistapa, Dehakarti, Prasantatman, Viswatman, Viswatomukha, Characharatman, Sukhsmatman, the merciful Maitreya. These are the hundred and eight names of Surya of immeasurable energy, as told by the self-create (Brahma). For the acquisition of prosperity, I bow down to thee, O Bhaskara, blazing like unto gold or fire, who is worshipped of the gods and the Pitris and the Yakshas, and who is adored by Asuras, Nisacharas, and Siddhas. He that with fixed attention reciteth this hymn at sunrise, obtaineth wife and offspring and riches and the memory of his former existence, and by reciting this hymn a person attaineth patience and memory. Let a man concentrating his mind, recite this hymn. By doing so, he shall be proof against grief and forest-fire and ocean and every object of desire shall be his.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having heard from Dhaumya these words suitable to the occasion, Yudhishthira the Just, with heart concentrated within itself and purifying it duly, became engaged in austere meditation, moved by the desire of supporting the Brahmanas. And worshipping the maker of day with offerings of flowers and other articles, the king performed his ablutions. And standing in the stream, he turned his face towards the god of day. And touching the water of the Ganges the virtuous Yudhishthira with senses under complete control and depending upon air alone for his sustenance, stood there with rapt soul engaged in pranayama. And having purified himself and restrained his speech, he began to sing the hymn of praise (to the sun).'

'Yudhishthira said, "Thou art, O sun, the eye of the universe. Thou art the soul of all corporeal existences. Thou art the origin of all things. Thou art the embodiment of the acts of all religious men. Thou art the refuge of those versed in the Sankhya philosophy (the mysteries of the soul), and thou art the support of the Yogins. Thou art a door unfastened with bolts. Thou art the refuge of those wishing for emancipation. Thou sustainest and discoverest the world, and sanctifiest and supportest it from pure compassion. Brahmanas versed in the Vedas appearing before thee, adore thee in due time, reciting the hymns from the respective branches (of the Vedas) they refer. Thou art the adored of the Rishis. The Siddhas, and the Charanas and the Gandharvas and the Yakshas, and the Guhyakas, and the Nagas, desirous of obtaining boons follow thy car coursing through the skies. The thirty-three gods with Upendra (Vishnu) and Mahendra, and the order of Vaimanikas have attained success by worshipping thee. By offering thee garlands of the celestial Mandaras the best of the Vidyadharas have obtained all their desires. The Guhyas and the seven orders of the Pitris--both divine and human--have attained superiority by adoring thee alone. The Vasus, the Manilas, and the Rudras, the Sadhyas, the Marichipas, the Valikhilyas, and the Siddhas, have attained pre-eminence by bowing down unto thee. There is nothing that I know in the entire seven worlds, including that of Brahma which is beyond thee. There are other beings both great and endued with energy; but none of them hath thy lustre and energy. All light is in thee, indeed, thou art the lord of all light. In thee are the (five) elements and all intelligence, and knowledge and asceticism and the ascetic properties. The discus by which the wielder of the Saranga humbleth the pride of Asuras and which is furnished with a beautiful nave, was forged by Viswakarman with thy energy. In summer thou drawest, by thy rays, moisture from all corporeal existences and plants and liquid substances, and pourest it down in the rainy season. Thy rays warm and scorch, and becoming as clouds roar and flash with lightning and pour down showers when the season cometh. Neither fire nor shelter, nor woolen cloths give greater comfort to one suffering from chilling blasts than thy rays. Thou illuminest by thy rays the whole Earth with her thirteen islands. Thou alone are engaged in the welfare of the three worlds. If thou dost not rise, the universe becometh blind and the learned cannot employ themselves in the attainment of virtue, wealth and profit. It is through thy grace that the (three) orders of Brahmanas, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas are able to perform their various duties and sacrifices. Those versed in chronology say that thou art the beginning and thou the end of a day of Brahma, which consisteth of a full thousand Yugas. Thou art the lord of Manus and of the sons of the Manus, of the universe and of man, of the Manwantaras, and their lords. When the time of universal dissolution cometh, the fire Samvartaka born of thy wrath consumeth the three worlds and existeth alone And clouds of various hues begotten of thy rays, accompanied by the elephant Airavata and the thunderbolt, bring about the appointed deluges. And dividing thyself into twelve parts and becoming as many suns, thou drinkest up the ocean once more with thy rays. Thou art called Indra, thou art Vishnu, thou art Brahma, thou art Prajapati. Thou art fire and thou art the subtle mind. And thou art lord and the eternal Brahma.

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Thou art Hansa, thou art Savitri, thou art Bhanu, Ansumalin, and Vrishakapi. Thou art Vivaswan, Mihira, Pusha, Mitra, and Dharma. Thou art thousand-rayed, thou art Aditya, and Tapana, and the lord of rays. Thou art Martanda, and Arka, and Ravi, and Surya and Saranya and maker of day, and Divakara and Suptasaspti, and Dhumakeshin and Virochana. Thou art spoken of as swift of speed and the destroyer of darkness, and the possessor of yellow steeds. He that reverentially adoreth thee on the sixth or the seventh lunar day with humility and tranquillity of mind, obtaineth the grace of Lakshmi. They that with undivided attention adore and worship thee, are delivered from all dangers, agonies, and afflictions. And they that hold that thou art everywhere (being the soul of all things) living long, freed from sin and enjoying an immunity from all diseases. O lord of all food, it behoveth thee to grant food in abundance unto me who am desirous of food even for entertaining all my guests with reverence. I bow also to all those followers of thine that have taken refuge at thy feet--Mathara and Aruna and Danda and others, including Asani and Kshuva and the others. And I bow also to the celestial mothers of all creatures, viz., Kshuva and Maitri and the others of the class. O, let them deliver me their supplient.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Thus, O great king, was the sun that purifier of the world, adored (by Yudhishthira). And pleased with the hymn, the maker of day, self-luminous, and blazing like fire showed himself to the son of Pandu. And Vivaswan said, 'Thou shall obtain all that thou desirest. I shall provide thee with food for five and seven years together. And, O king, accept this copper-vessel which I give unto thee. And, O thou of excellent vows, as long as Panchali will hold this vessel, without partaking of its contents fruits and roots and meat and vegetables cooked in thy kitchen, these four kinds of food shall from this day be inexhaustible. And, on the fourteenth year from this, thou shall regain thy kingdom.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having said this, the god vanished away. He that, with the desire of obtaining a boon, reciteth this hymn concentrating his mind with ascetic abstraction, obtaineth it from the sun, however difficult of acquisition it may be that he asketh for. And the person, male or female, that reciteth or heareth this hymn day after day, if he or she desireth for a son, obtaineth one, and if riches, obtaineth them, and if learning acquireth that too. And the person male or female, that reciteth this hymn every day in the two twilights, if overtaken by danger, is delivered from it, and if bound, is freed from the bonds. Brahma himself had communicated this hymn to the illustrious Sakra, and from Sakra was it obtained by Narada and from Narada, by Dhaumya. And Yudhishthira, obtaining it from Dhaumya, attained all his wishes. And it is by virtue of this hymn that one may always obtain victory in war, and acquire immense wealth also. And it leadeth the reciter from all sins, to the solar region.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having obtained the boon, the virtuous son of Kunti, rising from the water, took hold of Dhaumya's feet and then embraced his brother's. And, O exalted one, wending then with Draupadi to the kitchen, and adored by her duly, the son of Pandu set himself to cook (their day's) food. And the clean food, however little, that was dressed, furnished with the four tastes, increased and became inexhaustible. And with it Yudhishthira began to feed the regenerate ones. And after the Brahmanas had been fed, and his younger brothers also, Yudhishthira himself ate of the food that remained, and which is called Vighasa. And after Yudhishthira had eaten, the daughter of Prishata took what remained. And after she had taken her meal, the day's food became exhausted.

'And having thus obtained the boon from the maker of day, the son of Pandu, himself as resplendent as that celestial, began to entertain the Brahmanas agreeably to their wishes. And obedient to their priest, the sons of Pritha, on auspicious lunar days and constellations and conjunctions, performed sacrifices according to the ordinance, the scriptures, and the Mantras. After the sacrifices, the sons of Pandu, blessed by the auspicious rites performed by Dhaumya and accompanied by him, and surrounded also by the Brahmanas set out for the woods of Kamyaka.'"

SECTION 4

"Vaisampayana said,--"After the Pandavas had gone to the forest, Dhritarashtra the son of Amvika, whose knowledge was his eye, became exceedingly sorrowful. And seated at his ease the king addressed these words to the virtuous Vidura of profound intelligence, 'Thy understanding is as clear as that of Bhargava. Thou knowest also all the subtleties or morality, and thou lookest on all the Kauravas with an equal eye. O, tell me what is proper for me and them. O Vidura, things having thus taken their course, what should we do now? How may I secure the goodwill of the citizens so that they may not destroy us to the roots? O, tell us all, since thou art conversant with every excellent expedient.'

"Vidura said, 'The three-fold purposes, O king (viz., profit, pleasure, and salvation), have their foundations in virtue, and the sages say that a kingdom also standeth on virtue as its basis. Therefore, O monarch, according to the best of thy power, cherish thou virtuously thy own sons and those of Pandu. That virtue had been beguiled by wicked souls with Suvala's son at their head, when thy sons invited the righteous Yudhishthira and defeated him in the match at dice. O king, of this deed of utter iniquity I behold this expiation whereby, O chief of the Kurus, thy son, freed from sin, may win back his position among good men. Let the sons of Pandu, obtain that which was given unto them by thee. For, verily, even this is the highest morality that a king should remain content with his own, and never covet another's possessions. Thy good name then would not suffer nor would family dissensions ensue, nor unrighteousness be thine. This then is thy prime duty now,--to gratify the Pandavas and disgrace Sakuni. If thou wishest to restore to thy sons the good fortune they have lost, then, O king, do thou speedily adopt this line of conduct. If thou dost not act so, the Kurus will surely meet with destruction, for neither Bhimasena nor Arjuna, if angry, will leave any of their foes unslain. What is there in the world which is unattainable to those who cannot among their warriors Savyasachin skilled in arms; who have the Gandiva, the most powerful of all weapons in the world, for their bow; and who have amongst them the mighty Bhima also as a warrior? Formerly, as soon as thy son was born, I told thee,--Forsake thou this inauspicious child of thine. Herein lieth the good of thy race.--But thou didst not then act accordingly. Nor also, O king, have I pointed out to thee the way of thy welfare. If thou doest as I have counselled, thou shalt not have to repent afterwards. If thy son consent to reign in peace jointly with the sons of Pandu, passing thy days in joy thou shalt not have to repent. Should it be otherwise, abandon thou thy child for thy own happiness. Putting Duryodhana aside, do thou install the son of Pandu in the sovereignty, and let, O king, Ajatasatru, free from passion, rule the earth virtuously. All the kings of the earth, then, like Vaisyas, will, without delay, pay homage unto us. And, O king, let Duryodhana and Sakuni and Karna with alacrity wait upon the Pandavas. And let Dussasana, in open court, ask forgiveness of Bhimasena and of the daughter of Drupada also. And do thou pacify Yudhishthira by placing him on the throne with every mark of respect. Asked by thee, what else can I counsel thee to do? By doing this, O monarch, thou wouldst do what was proper.'

'Dhritarashtra said, 'These words, O Vidura, then thou hast spoken in this assembly, with reference to the Pandavas and myself, are for their good but not for ours. My mind doth not approve them. How hast thou settled all this in thy mind now? When thou hast spoken all this on behalf of the Pandavas, I perceive that thou art not friendly to me. How can I abandon my son for the sake of the sons of Pandu? Doubtless they are my sons, but Duryodhana is sprung from my body. Who then, speaking with impartiality, will ever counsel me to renounce my own body for the sake of others? O Vidura, all that thou sayest is crooked, although I hold thee in high esteem. Stay or go as thou likest. However much may she be humoured, an unchaste will forsaketh her husband.'

"Vaisampayana said, O king, saying this Dhritarashtra rose suddenly and went into the inner apartments. And Vidura, saying 'This race is doomed' went away to where the sons of Pritha were.'"

SECTION 5

"Vaisampayana said, 'Desirous of living in the forest, those bulls of the Bharata race, the Pandavas, with their followers, setting out from the banks of the Ganges went to the field of Kurukshetra. And performing their ablutions in the Saraswati, the Drisadwati and the Yamuna, they went from one forest to another, travelling in an westernly direction. And at length they saw before them the woods, Kamyaka, the favourite haunt of Munis, situated by a level and wild plain on the banks of the Saraswati. And in those woods, O Bharata, abounding in birds and deer, those heroes began to dwell, entertained and comforted by the Munis. And Vidura always longing to see the Pandavas, went in a single car to the Kamyaka woods abounding in every good thing. And arriving at Kamyaka on a car drawn by swift steeds, he saw Yudhishthira the Just, sitting with Draupadi at a retired spot, surrounded by his brothers and the Brahmanas. And seeing Vidura approach from a distance with swift steps, the virtuous king addressed brother, Bhimasena, saying, 'With what message doth Kshatta come to us? Doth he come hither, despatched by Sakuni, to invite us again to a game of dice? Doth the little-minded Sakuni intend to win again our weapons at dice? O Bhimasena, challenged by any one addressing me,--Come, I am unable to stay. And if our possession of the Gandiva becomes doubtful, will not the acquisition of our kingdom also be so.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'O king, the Pandavas then rose up and welcomed Vidura. And received by them, that descendant of the Ajamida line (Vidura) sat in their midst and made the usual enquiries. And after Vidura had rested awhile, those bulls among men asked him the reason of his coming. And Vidura began to relate unto them in detail everything connected with the bearing of Dhritarashtra the son of Amvika.'

"Vidura said, 'O Ajatasatru, Dhritarashtra called me, his dependant, before him and honouring me duly said, 'Things have fared thus. Now, do thou tell me what is good for the Pandavas as well as for me. I pointed out what was beneficial to both the Kauravas and Dhritarashtra. But what I said was not relished by him, nor could I hit upon any other course. What I advised was, O Pandavas, highly beneficial, but the son of Amvika heeded me not. Even as medicine recommendeth itself not to one that is ill, so my words failed to please the king. And, O thou without a foe, as all unchaste wile in the family of a man of pure descent cannot be brought back to the path of virtue, so I failed to bring Dhritarashtra back. Indeed, as a young damsel doth not like a husband of three score, even so Dhritarashtra did not like my words. Surely, destruction will overtake the Kuru race, surely Dhritarashtra will never acquire good fortune. For, as water dropped on a lotus-leaf doth not remain there, my counsels will fail to produce any effect to Dhritarashtra. The incensed Dhritarashtra told me, O Bharata, go thou thither where thou likest Never more shall I seek thy aid in ruling the earth or my capital,--O best of monarchs, forsaken by king Dhritarashtra, I come to thee for tendering good counsel. What I had said in the open court, I will now repeat unto thee. Listen, and bear my words in mind,--that wise man who bearing all the gross wrong heaped upon him by his enemies, patiently bideth his time, and multiplieth his resources "even as men by degrees turn a small fire: into a large one, ruleth alone this entire earth. He that (in prosperity) enjoyeth his substance with his adherents findeth in them sharers of his adversity,--this is the best means of securing adherents, and it is said that he that hath adherents, winneth the sovereignty of the world! And, O Pandava, divided thy prosperity with thy adherents, behave truthfully towards them, and converse with them agreeably! Share also your food with them! And never boast thyself in their presence! This behaviour increaseth the prosperity of kings!'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Having recourse to such high intelligence, undisturbed by passion, I will do as thou counsellest! And whatever else thou mayst counsel in respect of time and place, I will carefully follow entirely.'"

SECTION 6

"Vaisampayana said, 'O king, after Vidura had gone to the abode of the Pandavas, Dhritarashtra, O Bharata, of profound wisdom, repented of his action. And thinking of the great intelligence of Vidura in matters connected with both war and peace, and also of the aggrandisement of the Pandavas in the future, Dhritarashtra, pained at the recollection of Vidura, having approached the door of the hall of state fell down senseless in the presence of the monarchs (in waiting) And regaining consciousness, the king rose from the ground and thus addressed Sanjaya standing by, 'My brother and friend is even like the god of justice himself! Recollecting him today, my heart burneth in grief! Go, bring unto me without delay my brother well-versed in morality!' Saying this, the monarch wept bitterly. And burning in repentance, and overwhelmed with sorrow at the recollection of Vidura, the king, from brotherly affection, again addressed Sanjaya saying, 'O Sanjaya, go thou and ascertain whether my brother, expelled by my wretched self through anger, liveth still! That wise brother of mine of immeasurable intelligence hath never been guilty of even the slightest transgression, but, on the other hand, he it is who hath come by grievous wrong at my hands! Seek him, O wise one, and bring him hither; else, O Sanjaya, I will lay down my life!"

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words of the king, Sanjaya expressed his approbation, and saying 'So be it,' went in the direction of the Kamyaka woods. And arriving without loss of time at the forest where the sons of Pandu dwelt, he beheld Yudhishthira clad in deer-skin, seated with Vidura, in the midst of Brahmanas by thousands and guarded by his brothers, even like Purandara in the midst of the celestials! And approaching Yudhishthira, Sanjaya worshipped him duly and was received with due respect by Bhima and Arjuna and the twins. And Yudhishthira made the usual enquiries about his welfare and when he had been seated at his ease, he disclosed the reason of his visit, in these words, 'King Dhritarashtra, the son of Amvika, hath, O Kshatta! remembered thee! Returning unto him without loss of time, do thou revive the king! And, O thou best of men, with the permission of these Kuru princes--these foremost of men--it behoveth thee, at the command of that lion among kings, to return unto him!

Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed by Sanjaya, the intelligent Vidura, ever attached to his relatives, with the permission of Yudhishthira returned to the city named after the elephant. And after he had approached the king, Dhritarashtra of great energy, the son of Amvika, addressed him, saying, 'From my good luck alone, O Vidura, thou, O sinless one, of conversant with morality, hast come here remembering me! And, O thou bull of the Bharata race, in thy absence I was beholding myself, sleepless through the day and

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the night, as one that hath been lost on earth!' And the king then took Vidura on his lap and smelt his head, and said, 'Forgive me, O sinless one, the words in which thou wert addressed by me!' And Vidura said, 'O king, I have forgiven thee. Thou art my superior, worthy of the highest reverence! Here am I, having come back, eagerly wishing to behold thee! All virtuous men, O tiger among men, are (instinctively) partial towards those that are distressed! This, O king, is scarcely the result of deliberation! (My partiality to the Pandavas proceedeth from this cause)! O Bharata, thy sons are as dear to me as the sons of Pandu, but as the latter are now in distress, my heart yearneth after them!

"Vaisampayana continued, 'And addressing each other thus in apologetic speeches, the two illustrious brothers, Vidura and Dhritarashtra, felt themselves greatly happy!'"

SECTION 7

"Vaisampayana said, 'Hearing that Vidura had returned, and that the king had consoled him, the evil-minded son of Dhritarashtra began to burn in grief. His understanding clouded by ignorance, he summoned the son of Suvala, and Karna and Dussasana, and addressed them saying, 'The learned Vidura, the minister of the wise Dhritarashtra, hath returned! The friend of the sons of Pandu, he is ever engaged in doing what is beneficial to them. So long as this Vidura doth not succeed in inducing the king to bring them back, do ye all think of what may benefit me! If ever I behold the sons of Pritha return to the city, I shall again be emaciated by renouncing food and drink, even though there be no obstacle in my path! And I shall either take poison or hang myself, either enter the pyre or kill myself with my own weapons. But I shall never be able to behold the sons of Pandu in prosperity!

"Sakuni said, 'O king, O lord of the earth, what folly hath taken possession of thee! The Pandavas have gone to the forest, having given a particular pledge, so that what thou apprehendest can never take place! O bull of the Bharata race, the Pandavas ever abide by the truth. They will never, therefore, accept the words of thy father! If however, accepting the commands of the king, they come back to the capital, violating their vow, even this would be our conduct, viz., assuming, an aspect of neutrality, and in apparent obedience to the will of the monarch, we will closely watch the Pandavas, keeping our counsels!'

"Dussasana said, 'O uncle of great intelligence, it is even as thou sayest! The words of wisdom thou utterest always recommend themselves to me!'"Karna said, 'O Duryodhana, all of us seek to accomplish thy will and, O king, I see that unanimity at present prevaileth among us! The sons of Pandu, with passions under complete control, will never return without passing away the promised period. If, however, they do return from failing sense, do thou defeat them again at dice.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Thus addressed by Karna, king Duryodhana with cheerless heart, averted his face from his counsellors. Marking all this, Karna expanding his beautiful eyes, and vehemently gesticulating in anger, haughtily addressed Duryodhana and Dussasana and Suvala's son saying, 'Ye princes, know ye my opinion! We are all servants of the king (Duryodhana) waiting upon him with joined palms! We should, therefore, do what is agreeable to him! But we are not always able to seek his welfare with promptness and activity (owing to our dependence on Dhritarashtra)! But let us now, encased in mail and armed with our weapons, mount our cars and go in a body to slay the Pandavas now living in the forest! After the Pandavas have been quieted and after they have gone on the unknown journey, both ourselves and the sons of Dhritarashtra will find peace! As long as they are in distress, as long as they are in sorrow, as long as they are destitute of help, so long are we a match for them! This is my mind!'

'Hearing those words of the charioteer's son, they repeatedly applauded him, and at last exclaimed, 'Very well!' And saying this each of them mounted his car, and sanguine of success, they rushed in a body to slay the sons of Pandu. And knowing by his spiritual vision that they had gone out, the master Krishna-Dwaipayana of pure soul came upon them, and commanded them to desist. And sending them away, the holy one, worshipped by all the worlds, quickly appeared before the king whose intelligence served the purposes of eye-sight, and who was then seated (at his ease). And the holy one addressed the monarch thus.'"

SECTION 8

"Vyasa said, 'O wise Dhritarashtra, hear what I say! I will tell thee that which is for the great good of all the Kauravas! O thou of mighty arms, it hath not pleased me that the Pandavas have gone to the forest dishonestly defeated (at dice) by Duryodhana and others! O Bharata, on the expiration of the thirteenth year, recollecting all their woes, they may shower death-dealing weapons, even like virulent poison, upon the Kauravas! Why doth thy sinful son of wicked heart, ever inflamed with ire, seek to slay the sons of Pandu for the sake of their kingdom? Let the fool be restrained; let thy son remain quiet! In attempting to slay the Pandavas in exile, he will only lose his own life. Thou art as honest as the wise Vidura, or Bhishma, or ourselves, or Kripa, or Drona, O thou of great wisdom, dissension with one's own kin are forbidden, sinful and reprehensible! Therefore, O king, it behoveth thee to desist from such acts! And, O Bharata, Duryodhana looketh with such jealousy towards the Pandavas that great harm would be the consequence, if thou didst not interfere. Or let this wicked son of thine, O monarch, along and unaccompanied, himself go to the forest and live with the sons of Pandu. For then, if the Pandavas, from association, feel an attachment for Duryodhana, then, O king of men, good fortune may be thine. (This, however, may not be)! For it hath been heard that one's congenital nature leaveth him not till death. But what do Bhishma and Drona and Vidura think? What also dost thou think? That which is beneficial should be done while there is time, else thy purposes will be unrealised.'"

SECTION 9

"Dhritarashtra said, 'O holy one, I did not like this business of gambling, but, O Muni, I think, I was made to consent to it drawn by fate! Neither Bhishma, nor Drona, nor Vidura, nor Gandhari liked this game at dice. No doubt, it was begot of folly. And, O thou who delightest in the observance of vows, O illustrious one, knowing everything yet influenced by paternal affection, I am unable to cast off my senseless son, Duryodhana!'

"Vyasa said, 'O king, O son of Vichitravirya, what thou sayest is true! We know it well that a son is the best of all things and that there is nothing that is so good as a son. Instructed by the tears of Suravi, Indra came to know that the son surpasseth in worth other valuable possessions. O monarch, I will, in this connexion, relate to thee that excellent and best of stories, the conversation between Indra and Suravi. In days of yore, Suravi, the mother of cows was once weeping in the celestial regions. O child, Indra took compassion upon her, and asked her, saying, 'O auspicious one! why dost thou weep? Is everything well with the celestials? Hath any misfortune, ever so little, befallen the world of men or serpents?' Suravi replied, 'No evil hath befallen thee that I perceive. But I am aggrieved on account of my son, and it is therefore, O Kausika, that I weep! See, O chief of the celestials, yonder cruel husbandman is belabouring my weak son with the wooden stick, and oppressing him with the (weight of the) plough, in consequence of which my child agitated with agony is falling upon the ground and is at the point of death. At sight of this, O lord of the celestials, I am filled with compassion, and my mind is agitated! The one that is the stronger of the pair is bearing his burthen of greater weight (with ease), but, O Vasava, the other is lean, and weak and is a mass of veins and arteries! He beareth his burthen with difficulty! And it is for him that I grieve. See, O Vasava, sore inflicted with the whip, and harassed exceedingly, he is unable to bear his burthen. And it is for him that, moved by grief, I weep in heaviness of heart and these tears of compassion trickle down my eyes!'

"Sakra said, 'O fair one, when thousands of thy son are (daily) oppressed, why dost thou grieve for one under infliction?' Suravi replied. 'Although I have a thousand offspring, yet my affections flow equally towards all! But, O Sakra, I feel greater compassion for one that is weak and innocent!'

"Vyasa continued, 'Then Indra having heard these words of Suravi, was much surprised, and O thou of the Kuru race, he became convinced that a son is dearer than one's life! And the illustrious chastiser of Paka thereupon suddenly poured there a thick shower and caused obstruction to the husbandman's work. And as Suravi said, thy affections, O king, equally flow towards all thy sons. Let them be greater towards those that are weak! And as my son Pandu is to me, so art thou, O son, and so also Vidura of profound wisdom! It is out of affection that I tell you all this! O Bharata, thou art possessed of a hundred and one sons, but Pandu hath only five. And they are in a bad plight and passing their days in sorrow. How may they save their lives, how may they thrive such thoughts regarding the distressed sons of Pritha continually agitate my soul! O king of the earth, if thou desirest all the Kauravas to live, let thy son Duryodhana make peace with the Pandavas!'"

SECTION 10

"Dhritarashtra said, 'O Muni of profound wisdom, it is even as thou sayest! I know it well as do all these kings! Indeed, what thou considerest to be beneficial for the Kurus was pointed out to me, O Muni, by Vidura and Bhishma and Drona. And, if I deserve thy favour, and if thou hast kindness for the Kurus, do thou exhort my wicked son Duryodhana!'

"Vyasa said, 'O king, after having seen the Pandava brothers, here cometh the holy Rishi Maitreya, with the desire of seeing us. That mighty Rishi, O king, will admonish thy son for the welfare of this race. And, O Kauravya, what he adviseth must be followed undoubtingly, for if what he recommendeth is not done, the sage will curse thy son in anger.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Saying this, Vyasa departed, and Maitreya made his appearance. And the king with his son respectfully received that way-worn chief of Munis, with offerings of the Arghya and other rites. And king Dhritarashtra, the son of Amvika, in words of respect thus addressed the sage, 'O holy one, hath journey from the Kuru-jangala been a pleasant one? Are those heroes, the five Pandavas living happily? Do those bulls of the Kuru race intend to stay out their time? Will the brotherly affection of the Kauravas ever be impaired?'

"Maitreya said, 'Setting out on a pilgrimage to the different shrines, I arrived at Kuru-jangala, and there I unexpectedly saw Yudhishthira the Just in the woods of Kamyaka. And, O exalted one, many Munis had come there to behold the high-souled Yudhishthira, dwelling in an ascetic asylum, clad in deer-skin and wearing matted locks. It was there, O king of kings, that I heard of the grave error committed by thy sons and the calamity and terrible danger arisen from dice that had overtaken them. Therefore, it is that I have come to thee, for the good of the Kauravas, since, O exalted one, my affection is great for thee and I am delighted with thee! O king, it is not fit that thy sons should on any account quarrel with one another, thyself and Bhishma living. Thou art, O king, the stake at which bulls are tied (in treading cord), and thou art competent to punish and reward! Why dost thou overlook then this great evil that is about to overtake all? And, O descendant of the Kurus, for those wrongs that have been perpetrated in thy court, which are even like the acts of wretched outcasts, thou art not well-thought amongst the ascetics!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then turning to the wrathful prince Duryodhana, the illustrious Rishi Maitreya addressed him in these soft words, 'O mighty-armed Duryodhana, O best of all eloquent men, O illustrious one, give heed unto the words I utter for my good! O king, seek not to quarrel with the Pandavas! And, O bull among men, compass thou thy own good as also of the Pandavas, of the Kurus and of the world! All those tigers among men are heroes of high prowess in war, gifted with the strength of ten thousand elephants, with bodies hard as the thunderbolt, holding fast by their promises, and proud of their manliness! they have slain the enemies of the celestials--those Rakshasas capable of assuming any form at will, such as were headed by Hidimva and Kirmira! When those high-souled ones went from hence that Rakshasa of fierce soul obstructed their nocturnal path even like an immoveable hill. And even as a tiger slayeth a little deer, Bhima, that foremost of all endued with strength, and ever delighted in fight, slew that monster. Consider also, O king, how while out on his campaign of conquest, Bhima slew in battle that mighty warrior, Jarasandha, possessing the strength of ten thousand elephants. Related to Vasudeva and having the sons of king Drupada as their brothers-in-law, who that is subject to decrepitude and death would undertake to cope with them in battle? O bull of the Bharata race, let there be peace between thee and Pandavas! Follow thou my counsels and surrender not thyself to anger!

'O king, thus admonished by Maitreya, Duryodhana began to slap his thigh resembling the trunk of the elephant, and smilingly began to scratch the ground with his foot. And the wicked wretch spake not a word, but hung down his head. And, O monarch, beholding Duryodhana thus offer him a slight by scratching the earth silently, Maitreya became angry. And, as if commissioned by fate, Maitreya, the best of Munis, overwhelmed by wrath, set his mind upon cursing Duryodhana! And then, with eyes red in anger, Maitreya, touching water, caused the evil-minded son of Dhritarashtra, saying, 'Since, slighting me thou declinest to act according to my words, thou shalt speedily reap the fruit of this thy insolence! In the great war which shall spring out of the wrongs perpetrated by thee, the mighty Bhima shall smash that thigh of thine with a stroke of his mace!

'When the Muni had spoken so, king Dhritarashtra began to pacify the sage, in order that what he had said might not happen. But Maitreya said, 'O king, if thy son concludeth peace with the Pandavas, this curse of mine, O child, will not take effect, otherwise it must be as I have said!'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Desirous of ascertaining the might of Bhima, that foremost of kings, the father of Duryodhana, then asked Maitreya, saying, 'How was Kirmira slain by Bhima?'

"Maitreya said, 'I shall not speak again unto thee, O king, for my words are not regarded by thy son. After I have gone away, Vidura will relate everything unto thee!' And saying this, Maitreya went away to the place whence he had come. And Duryodhana also went out perturbed at the tidings of Kirmira's death (at the hand of Bhima).'"

SECTION 11

(Kirmirabadha Parva)

"Dhritarashtra said, 'O Kshatta, I am desirous to hear of the destruction of Kirmira! Do thou tell me how the encounter took place between the Rakshasa and Bhimasena!'

"Vidura said, 'Listen to the story of that feat of Bhimasena of super human achievements! I have often heard of it in course of my conversation with the Pandavas (while I was with them). 'O foremost of kings, defeated at dice the Pandavas departed from hence and travelling for three days

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and nights they at length reached those woods that go by the name of Kamyaka. O king, just after the dreadful hour of midnight when all nature is asleep, when man-eating Rakshasas of terrible deeds begin to wander, the ascetics and the cowherds and other rangers of the forest used to shun the woods of Kamyaka and fly to a distance from fear of cannibals. And, O Bharata, as the Pandavas were at this hour entering those woods a fearful Rakshasa of flaming eyes appeared before them with a lighted brand, obstructing their path. And with outstretched arms and terrible face, he stood obstructing the way on which those perpetuators of the Kuru race were proceeding. With eight teeth standing out, with eyes of coppery hue, and with the hair of his head blazing and standing erect, the fiend looked like a mass of clouds reflecting the rays of the sun or mingled with lightning flashes and graced with flocks of cranes underneath on their wings. And uttering frightful yells and roaring like a mass of clouds charged with rain, the fiend began to spread the illusion proper to his species. Hearing that terrible roar, birds along with other creatures that live on land or in water, began to drop down in all directions, uttering cries of fear. And in consequence of the deer and the leopards and the buffaloes and the bears flying about in all directions, it seemed as if the forest itself was in motion. And swayed by the wind raised by the sighs of the Rakshasa, creepers growing at a great distance seemed to embrace the trees with their arms of coppery leaves. And at that moment, a violent wind began to blow, and the sky became darkened with the dust that covered it. And as grief is the greatest enemy of the object of the five senses, even so appeared before the Pandavas that unknown foe of theirs. And beholding the Pandavas from a distance clad in black deer-skins, the Rakshasa obstructed their passage through the forest even like the Mainaka mountain. And at the sight of him never seen before the lotus-eyed Krishna, agitated with fear, closed her eyes. And she whose braids had been dishevelled by the hand of Dussasana, stationed in the midst of the five Pandavas, looked like a stream chafing amid five hills. And seeing her overwhelmed with fear the five Pandavas supported her as the five senses influenced by desire adhere to the pleasures relating to their objects. And Dhaumya of great (ascetic) energy, in the presence of the sons of Pandu, destroyed the fearful illusion that had been spread by the Rakshasa, by applying various mantras, calculated to destroy the Rakshasa. And beholding his illusion dispelled, the mighty Rakshasa of crooked ways, capable of assuming any form at will, expanded his eyes in wrath and seemed like death himself. Then king Yudhishthira, endued with great wisdom, addressed him saying, 'Who art thou, and whose (son)? Tell us what we should do for thee.' The Rakshasa thus addressed, answered Yudhishthira the Just, saying, 'I am the brother of Vaka, the celebrated Kirmira. I live at ease in these deserted woods of Kamyaka, daily procuring my food by vanquishing men in fight. Who are ye that have come near me in the shape of my food? Defeating ye all in fight, I will eat ye with pleasure.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'O Bharata, hearing these words of the wretch, Yudhishthira announced his own name and lineage, saying, 'I am king Yudhishthira the Just, the son of Pandu, of whom thou mayst have heard. Deprived of my kingdom, I have with my brothers Bhimasena and Arjuna and the others, in course of my wanderings, come into this terrible forest which is thy dominion, desirous of passing my period of exile here!'

"Vidura continued, 'Kirmira said unto Yudhishthira, 'By good luck it is that fate hath accomplished today my long-accomplished desire! With weapons upraised have I been continually ranging the entire earth with the object of slaying Bhima. But Bhima I had found not. By good luck it is that slayer of my brother, whom I had been seeking so long, hath come before me! It was he who in the disguise of a Brahmana slew my dear brother Vaka in the Vetrakiya forest by virtue of his science. He hath truly no strength of arms! It is also this one of wicked soul who formerly slew my dear friend Hidimva, living in this forest and ravished his sister! And that fool hath now come into this deep forest of mine, when the night is half spent, even at the time when we wander about! Today I will wreak my long-cherished vengeance upon him, and I will today gratify (the manes of) Vaka with his blood in plenty! By slaying this enemy of the Rakshasas, I shall today be freed from the debt I owe to my friend and my brother, and thereby attain supreme happiness! If Bhimasena was let free formerly by Vaka, today, I will devour him in thy sight, O Yudhishthira! And even as Agastya ate up and digested the mighty Asura (Vatapi) I will eat up and digest this Bhima!'

"Vidura continued, 'Thus addressed by the Rakshasa, the virtuous Yudhishthira, steadfast in his pledges, said, 'It can never be so,--and in anger rebuked the Rakshasa.' The mighty-armed Bhima then tore up in haste a tree of the length of ten Vyasas and stripped it of its leaves. And in the space of a moment the ever-victorious Arjuna stringed his bow Gandiva possessing the force of the thunderbolt. And, O Bharata, making Jishnu desist, Bhima approached that Rakshasa still roaring like the clouds and said unto him, 'Stay! Stay!' And thus addressing the cannibal, and tightening the cloth around his waist, and rubbing his palms, and biting his nether lip with his teeth, and armed with the tree, the powerful Bhima rushed towards the foe. And like unto Maghavat hurling his thunderbolt, Bhima made that tree, resembling the mace of Yama himself descend with force on the head of the cannibal. The Rakshasa, however, was seen to remain unmoved at that blow, and wavered not in the conflict. On the other hand, he hurled his lighted brand, flaming like lightning, at Bhima. But that foremost of warriors turned it off with his left foot in such a way that it went back towards the Rakshasa. Then the fierce Kirmira on his part, all on a sudden uprooting a tree darted to the encounter like unto the mace bearing Yama himself. And that fight, so destructive of the trees, looked like the encounter in days of yore between the brothers Vali and Sugriva for the possession of the same woman. And the trees struck at the heads of the combatants, were broken into shivers, like lotus-stalks thrown on the temples of infuriate elephants. And in that great forest, innumerable trees, crushed like unto reeds, lay scattered as rags. That encounter with trees between that foremost of Rakshasas and that best of men, O thou bull of the Bharata race, lasted but for a moment. Then taking up a crag, the angry Rakshasa hurled it at Bhima standing before him, but the latter wavered not. Then like unto Rahu going to devour the sun dispersing his rays with extended arms, the Rakshasa with out-stretched arms darted towards Bhima, who had remained firm under the blow inflicted with the crag. And tugging at and grappling with each other in diverse ways they appeared like two infuriate bulls struggling with each other. Or like unto two mighty tigers armed with teeth and claws, the encounter between them waxed fierce and hard. And remembering their (late) disgrace at the hands of Duryodhana, and proud of the strength of his arms, and conscious also of Krishna looking at him, Vrikodara began to swell in vigour. And fried with anger, Bhima seized the Rakshasa with his arms, as one elephant in rut seizeth another. And the powerful Rakshasa also in his turn seized his adversary, but Bhimasena that foremost of all men endued with strength, threw the cannibal down with violence. The sounds that in consequence of those mighty combatants pressing each other's hands, were frightful and resembled the sounds of splintering bamboos. And hurling the Rakshasa down, seized him by the waist, and began to whirl him about, even as fierce hurricane shaketh a tree. And thus seized by the mighty Bhima, the fatigued Rakshasa, became faint, and trembling all over, he still pressed the (Pandava) with all his strength. And finding him fatigued, Vrikodara, twined his own arms round the foe, even as one bindeth a beast with cord. And the monster thereupon began to roar frightfully, as a trumpet out of order. And the mighty Vrikodara for a long while whirled the Rakshasa till the latter appeared to be insensible, and began to move convulsively. And finding the Rakshasa exhausted, the son of Pandu without loss of time took him up in his arms, and slew him like a beast. And placing his knee on the waist of that wretch of Rakshasa, Vrikodara began to press the neck of the foe with his hands. Then Bhima, dragging along the earth the bruised body of the Rakshasa with the eye-lids about to close, said, 'O sinful wretch, thou wilt no more have to wipe away the tears of Hidimva or Vaka, for thou too art about to go to the mansions of Yama!' And saying this, that foremost of men, his heart filled with wrath, beholding the Rakshasa destitute of clothing and ornaments, and insensible, and undergoing convulsions, let him dead. And after that Rakshasa of hue like the clouds had been slain, the son of that best of kings (Pandu) praised Bhima for his many qualities, and placing Krishna in their front, set out for the Dwaita woods."

Vidura said, 'It was thus, O lord of men, that Kirmira was slain in combat by Bhima, in obedience, O Kaurava, to the commands of Yudhishthira the Just! And having rid the forest of its pest, the victorious Yudhishthira the Just, began to live in that dwelling of theirs, with Draupadi. And those bulls of the Bharata race comforting Draupadi began to cheerfully extol Bhima with glad hearts. And after the Rakshasa had been slain, borne down by the might of Bhima's arms, those heroes entered into the peaceful forest freed from its annoyance. Passing through the great forest I saw lying the body of the wicked and fearless Rakshasa slain by Bhima's might. And, O Bharata, there I heard of this achievement of Bhima from those Brahmanas who have assembled round the Pandavas.'

Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing the account of the slaughter in combat of Kirmira, that foremost of Rakshasas, the king sighed in sorrow and became absorbed in thought.'"

SECTION 12

(Arjunabhigamana Parva)

Vaisampayana said, 'Hearing that the Pandavas had been banished, the Bhojas, the Vrishnis, and the Andhakas went to those heroes residing in affliction in the great forest. And the consanguineous relatives of Panchala, and Dhrishtaketu the king of Chedi, and those celebrated and powerful brothers--the Kaikeyas, their hearts fired with wrath, went to the forest to see the sons of Pritha. And reproaching the sons of Dhritarashtra, they said, 'What should we do?' And those bulls of the Kshatriya race, with Vasudeva at their head, sat themselves down round Yudhishthira the Just. And respectfully saluting that foremost of the Kurus, Kesava mournfully said, 'The earth shall drink the blood of Duryodhana and Karna, of Dussasana and the wicked Sakuni! Slaying these in battle and defeating their followers along with their royal allies, will we all install Yudhishthira the Just on the throne! The wicked deserve to be slain! Verily, this is eternal morality.'

Vaisampayana continued, 'And when on account of the wrongs of Pritha's sons, Janardana had thus got into a passion, and seemed bent upon consuming all created things, Arjuna exerted himself to pacify him. And beholding Kesava angry, Falguna began to recite the feats achieved in his former lives by that soul of all things, himself immeasurable, the eternal one, of infinite energy, the lord of Prajapati himself, the supreme ruler of the worlds, Vishnu of profound wisdom!'

"Arjuna said, 'In days of old, thou, O Krishna, hadst wandered on the Gandhamadana mountains for ten thousand years as a Muni having his home where evening fell! Living upon water alone, thou hadst, in days of old, O Krishna, also dwelt for full eleven thousand years by the lake of Pushkara! And, O slayer of Madhu, with arms upraised and standing on one leg, thou hadst passed a hundred years on the high hills of Vadari, living all the while upon air! And leaving aside thy upper garment, with body emaciated and looking like a bundle of veins, thou hadst lived on the banks of the Saraswati, employed in thy sacrifice extending for twelve years! And, O Krishna of mighty energy, in observance of thy vow thou hadst stood on one leg for the length of a thousand years of the celestials, on the plains of Prabhasa which it behoveth the virtuous to visit! Vyasa hath told me that thou art the cause of the creation and its course! And, O Kesava, the lord of Kshetra, thou art the mover of all minds, and the beginning and end of all things! All asceticism resteth in thee, and thou too art the embodiment of all sacrifices, and the eternal one! Slaying the Asura Naraka, offspring of the Earth-first begotten, thou hadst obtained his ear-rings, and performed, O Krishna, the first horse-sacrifice (offering up that Asura as the sacrificial horse)! And, O bull of all the worlds, having performed that feat, thou hast become victorious over all! Thou hadst slain all the Daityas and Danavas mustered in battle, and giving the lord of Sachi (Indra) the sovereignty of the universe, thou hast, O Kesava of mighty arms, taken thy birth among men! O slayer of all foes, having floated on the primordial waters, thou subsequently becamest Hari, and Brahma and Surya and Dharma, and Dhatri and Yama and Anala and Vasu, and Vaisravana, and Rudra, and Kala and the firmament the earth, and the ten directions! Thyself increate, thou art the lord of the mobile and the immobile universe, the Creator of all, O thou foremost of all existences! And, O slayer of Madhu, O thou of abundant energy, in the forest of Chitraratha thou didst, O Krishna, gratify with thy sacrifice the chief of all the gods, the highest of the high! O Janardana, at each sacrifice thou didst offer, according to shares, gold by hundreds and thousands. And, O son of the Yadava race, becoming the son of Aditi, O exalted one of the supreme attributes, thou hast been known as the younger brother of Indra! And, O thou chastiser of foes, even while a child thou didst, O Krishna, in consequence of thy energy, fill by three steps only the heaven, the firmament, and the earth! And, O thou soul of all covering the heaven and the firmament (while thou wert thus transformed), thou didst dwell in the body of the sun and afflict him with thy own splendour! And, O exalted one, in thy incarnations on those thousand occasions, thou hadst slain, O Krishna, sinful Asuras by hundreds! By destroying the Mauravas and the Pashas, and slaying Nisunda and Naraka. Thou hast again rendered safe the road to Pragjyotisha! Thou hast slain Ahvriti at Jaruthi, and Kratha and Sisupala with his adherents, and Jarasandha and Saivya and Satadhanwan! And on thy car roaring like unto clouds and effulgent like the sun, thou didst obtain for thy queen the daughter of Bhoja, defeating Rukmi in battle! Thou didst in fury slay Indradyumna and the Yavana called Kaseruman! And slaying Salwa the lord of Saubha, thou didst destroy that city of Saubha itself! These have all been slain in battle; listen to me as I speak of others (also slain by thee)! At Iravati thou hast slain king Bhoja equal unto Karttavirya in battle, and both Gopati and Talaketu also have been slain by thee! And, O Janardana, thou hast also appropriate unto thyself the sacred city of Dwarka, abounding in wealth and agreeable unto the Rishi themselves, and thou wilt submerge it at the end within the ocean! O slayer of Madhu, how can crookedness be in thee, devoid as thou art, O thou of the Dasarha race, of anger and envy and untruth and cruelty? O thou who knowest no deterioration, all the Rishis, coming unto thee seated in thy glory on the sacrificial ground, seek protection of thee! And, O slayer of Madhu, thou stayest at the end of the Yuga, contracting all things and withdrawing this universe into thy own self, thou repressor of all foes! O thou of the Vrishni race, at the beginning of the Yuga, there sprang from thy lotus-like navel, Brahma himself, and lord of all mobile and immobile things, and whose is this entire universe! When the dreadful

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Danavas Madhu and Kaitava were bent on slaying Brahma, beholding their impious endeavour thou wert angry, and from thy forehead, O Hari, sprang Sambhu, the holder of the trident. Thus these two foremost of the deities have sprung from thy body in order to do thy work! Even Narada it was who hath told me this! O Narayana, thou didst, in the forest of Chaitraratha, celebrate with plentiful gifts a grand sacrifice consisting of a multitude of rites! O God, O thou of eyes like lotus leaves, the deeds thou hast performed while still a boy, having recourse to thy might and aided by Baladeva, have never been done by others, nor are they capable of being achieved by others in the future! Thou didst even dwell in Kailasa, accompanied by Brahmanas!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having addressed Krishna thus, the illustrious Pandava, who was the soul of Krishna, became dumb, when Janardana (in reply addressed that son of Pritha) saying, 'Thou art mine and I am thine, while all that is mine is thine also! He that hateth thee hateth me as well, and he that followeth thee followeth me! O thou irrepressible one, thou art Nara and I am Narayana or Hari! We are the Rishis Nara and Narayana born in the world of men for a special purpose. O Partha, thou art from me and I am from thee! O bull of the Bharata race, no one can understand the difference that is between us!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'When the illustrious Kesava had said so in the midst of that assembly of brave kings, all excited with anger, Panchali surrounded by Dhrishtadyumna and her other heroic brothers, approached him of eyes like lotus leaves seated with his cousins, and, desirous of protection, addressed in angry accents that refuge of all, saying, 'Asita and Devala have said that in the matter of the creation of all things, thou hast been indicated (by the sages) as the only Prajapati and the Creator of all the worlds! And, O irrepressible one, Jamadagnya sayeth that thou art Vishnu, and, O slayer of Madhu, that thou art (embodiment of) Sacrifice, Sacrificer and he for whom the sacrifice is performed! And, O best of male beings, the Rishis indicate thee as Forgiveness and Truth! Kasyapa hath said that thou art Sacrifice sprung from Truth! O exalted one, Narada calleth thee the god of the Sadhyas, and of the Sivas, as alone the Creator and the Lord of all things. And, O tiger among men, thou repeatedly sportest with the gods including, Brahma and Sankara and Sakra even as children sporting with their toys! And, O exalted one, the firmament is covered by thy head, and the earth by thy feet; these worlds are as thy womb and thou art the Eternal one! With Rishis sanctified by Vedic lore and asceticism, and whose souls have been purified by penance, and who are contented with soul-vision, thou art the best of all objects! And, O chief of all male beings; thou art the refuge of all royal sages devoted to virtuous acts, never turning their backs on the field of the battle, and possessed of every accomplishment! Thou art the Lord of all, thou art Omnipresent, thou art the Soul of all things, and thou art the active power pervading everything! The rulers of the several worlds, those worlds themselves, the stellar conjunctions, the ten points of the horizon, the firmament, the moon, and the sun, are all established in thee! And, O mighty-armed one, the morality of (earthly) creatures, the immortality of the universe, are established in thee! Thou art the Supreme lord of all creatures, celestial or human! Therefore it is, O slayer of Madhu, that impelled by the affection thou bearest me that I will relate to thee my griefs! O Krishna, how could one like me, the wife of Pritha's sons, the sister of Dhrishtadyumna, and the friend of thee, be dragged to the assembly! Alas, during my season, stained with blood, with but a single cloth on, trembling all over, and weeping, I was dragged to the court of the Kurus! Beholding me, stained with blood in the presence of those kings in the assembly, the wicked sons of Dhritarashtra laughed at me! O slayer of Madhu, while the sons of Pandu and the Panchalas and the Vrishnis lived, they dared express the desire of using me as their slave! O Krishna, I am according to the ordinance, the daughter in-law of both Dhritarashtra and Bhishma! Yet, O slayer of Madhu, they wished to make of me a slave by force! I blame the Pandavas who are mighty and foremost in battle, for they saw (without stirring) their own wedded wife known over all the world, treated with such cruelty! Oh, fie on the might of Bhimasena, fie on the Gandiva of Arjuna, for they, O Janardana, both suffered me to be thus disgraced by little men! This eternal course of morality is ever followed by the virtuous--viz., that the husband, however weak, protecteth his wedded wife! By protecting the wife one protecteth his offspring and by protecting the offspring one protecteth his own self! One's own self is begotten on one's wife, and therefore it is that the wife is called Jaya. A wife also should protect her lord, remembering that he is to take his birth in her womb! The Pandavas never forsake the person that soliciteth their protection, and yet they abandoned me who solicited it! By my five husbands five sons of exceeding energy have been born of me: Prativindhya by Yudhishthira, Sutasoma by Vrikodara, Srutakirti by Arjuna, Satanika by Nakula and Srutakarman by the youngest, all of them of energy that cannot be baffled. For their sake, O Janardana, it was necessary to protect me! Even as (thy son) Pradyumna, they are, O Krishna, mighty warriors all! They are foremost of bowmen, and invincible in battle by any foe! Why do they bear the wrongs inflicted (on me) by the sons of Dhritarashtra of such contemptible strength? Deprived of their kingdom by deception, the Pandavas were made bondsmen and I myself was dragged to the assembly while in my season, and having only a single cloth on! Fie on that Gandiva which none else can string save Arjuna and Bhima and thyself, O slayer of Madhu! Fie on the strength of Bhima, and fie on the prowess of Arjuna, since, O Krishna, Duryodhana (after what he had done) hath drawn breath even for a moment! He it is, O slayer of Madhu, who formerly drove the guileless Pandavas with their mother from the kingdom, while they were children still engaged in study and the observance of their vows. It is that sinful wretch, who, horrible to relate, mixed in Bhima's food fresh and virulent poison in full dose. But, O Janardana, Bhima digested that poison with the food, without sustaining any injury, for, O best of men and mighty-armed one, Bhima's days had not been ended! O Krishna, it is Duryodhana who at the house standing by the banyan called Pramana bound Bhima sleeping unsuspectingly, and casting him into the Ganges returned to the city. But the powerful Bhimasena the son of Kunti, possessed of mighty arms, on waking from sleep, tore his bonds and rose from the water. It is Duryodhana, who caused venomous black-cobras to bite all over the body of Bhimasena, but that slayer of foes died not. Awaking, the son of Kunti smashed all the serpents and with his left hand killed (the agent, viz.) the favourite charioteer of Duryodhana. Again, while the children were asleep at Varanavata with their mother, it is he who set fire to the house intending to burn them to death. Who is there capable of doing such an act? It was then that the illustrious Kunti, overtaken by this calamity, and surrounded by the flames, began to cry out in terror, speaking to the children, 'Alas, I am undone! How shall we escape from this fire today! Alas, I shall meet with destruction with my little children!' Then Bhima, possessed of mighty arms, and prowess like unto the force of the wind, comforted his illustrious mother as also his brothers, saying, 'Like that king of birds, Garuda, the son of Vinata, I will spring up into the air. We have no fear from this fire'. And then taking his mother on his left flank, and the king in his right, and the twins on each shoulder, and Vivatsu on his back, the mighty Vrikodara, thus taking all of them, at one leap cleared the fire and delivered his mother and brother from the conflagration. Setting out that night with their renowned mother, they came near the forest of Hidimva. And while fatigued and distressed, they were sleeping fast with her, a Rakshasa woman called Hidimva approached them. Beholding the Pandavas with their mother asleep on the ground, influenced by desire she sought to have Bhimasena for her lord. The weak one then took up Bhima's feet on her lap to press them with her soft hands. The mighty Bhima of immeasurable energy, of prowess that could not be baffled, then woke from sleep, and asked her, saying, 'O thou of faultless features, what dost thou wish here?' Thus asked by him, the Rakshasa lady of faultless features, capable, besides, of assuming any form at will, replied unto the high-souled Bhima, saying, 'Do ye speedily fly from this place! My brother gifted with strength will come to slay ye! Therefore speed and tarry not!' But Bhima haughtily said, 'I do not fear him! If he cometh here, I will slay him!' Hearing their converse, that vilest of cannibals came to the spot. Of frightful form and dreadful to behold, uttering loud cries as he came, the Rakshasa said, 'O Hidimva, with whom dost thou converse? Bring him unto me, I will eat him up. It behoveth thee to tarry not.' But moved by compassion, the Rakshasa lady of faultless features and pure heart said nothing out of pity. Then the man-eating monster, uttering dreadful cries, rushed at Bhima with great force. And approaching him furiously, the mighty cannibal, possessed with rage, caught hold of Bhima's hand with his own and clenching fast his other hand and making it hard as the thunder-bolt of Indra, suddenly struck Bhima a blow that descended with the force of lightning. His hand having been seized by the Rakshasa, Vrikodara, without being able to brook it, flew into a rage. Then a dreadful combat took place between Bhimasena and Hidimva, both skilled in all weapons and which was like unto the encounter of Vasava with Vritra. And, O sinless one, after sporting with the Rakshasa for a long while the powerful Bhima of mighty energy slew the cannibal when the latter had become weak with exertion. Then having slain Hidimva, and taking (his sister) Hidimva at their head, of whom was (subsequently) born Ghatotkacha, Bhima and his brothers went away. Then all those repressors of their foes, accompanied by their mother and surrounded by many Brahmanas proceeded towards Ekachakra. In the matter of this their journey, Vyasa ever engaged in their welfare had become their counsellor. Then arriving at Ekachakra, the Pandavas of rigid vows there also slew a mighty cannibal, Vaka by name, terrible as Hidimva himself. And having slain that fierce cannibal, Bhima that foremost of smiters, went with all his brothers to the capital of Drupada. And, O Krishna, as thou hadst acquired Rukmini, the daughter of Bhishmaka, even so Savyasachin, while residing there, obtained me! O slayer of Madhu, Arjuna won me in the Swayamvara, having performed a feat difficult of achievement by others and having fought also with the assembled kings!

'Thus, O Krishna, afflicted with numerous griefs, and in great distress, am I living, with Dhaumya at our head, but deprived of the company of the adorable Kunti! Why do these that are gifted with strength and possessed of the prowess of the lion, sit indifferently, beholding me thus afflicted by enemies so despicable? Suffering such wrongs at the hands of wicked and evil-doing foes of small strength, am I to burn in grief so long? Born I was in a great race, coming into the world in an extraordinary way! I am also the beloved wife of the Pandavas, and the daughter-in-law of the illustrious Pandu! The foremost of women and devoted to my husbands, even I, O Krishna, was seized by hair, O slayer of Madhu, in the sight of the Pandavas, each of whom is like an Indra himself!

'Saying this the mild-speeched Krishna hid her face with her soft hands like the buds of lotus, and began to weep. And the tears of Panchali begot of grief washed her deep, plump and graceful breasts crowned with auspicious marks. And wiping her eyes and sighing frequently she said these words angrily and in a choked voice, 'Husbands, or sons, or friends, or brothers, or father, have I none! Nor have I thee, O thou slayer of Madhu, for ye all, beholding me treated so cruelly by inferior foes, sit still unmoved! My grief at Karna's ridicule is incapable of being assuaged! On these grounds I deserve to be ever protected by thee, O Kesava, viz., our relationship, thy respect (for me), our friendship, and thy lordship (over me).

"Vaisampayana continued, 'In that assembly of heroes Vasudeva then spake unto the weeping Draupadi as follows, 'O fair lady, the wives of those with whom thou art angry, shall weep even like thee, beholding their husbands dead on the ground, weltering in blood and their bodies covered with the arrows of Vivatsu! Weep not, lady, for I will exert to the utmost of my powers for the sons of Pandu! I promise thou shalt (once more) be the queen of kings! The heavens might fall, or the Himavat might split, the earth might be rent, or the waters of the ocean might dry up, but my words shall never be futile!' Hearing those words of Achyuta in reply, Draupadi looked obliquely at her third husband (Arjuna). And, O mighty king, Arjuna said unto Draupadi, 'O thou of beautiful coppery eyes, grieve not! O illustrious one, it shall be even as the slayer of Madhu hath said! It can never be otherwise, O beautiful one!'

"Dhrishtadyumna said, 'I will slay Drona, Sikhandin will slay the grandfather. And Bhimasena will slay Duryodhana, and Dhananjaya will slay Karna. And, O sister, assisted by Rama and Krishna, we are invincible in battle by even the slayer himself of Vritra--what are the sons of Dhritarashtra?'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'After these words had been spoken, all the heroes there turned their faces towards Vasudeva, who then in their midst began to speak as follows.'"

SECTION 13

"Vasudeva said, O lord of earth, if I had been present at Dwaraka, then, O king, this evil would not have befallen thee! And, O irrepressible one, coming unto the gambling-match, even if uninvited by the son of Amvika (Dhritarashtra), or Duryodhana, or by the other Kauravas, I would have prevented the game from taking place, by showing its many evils, summoning to my aid Bhishma and Drona and Kripa, and Vahlika! O exalted one, for thy sake I would have told the son of Vichitravirya--O foremost of monarchs, let thy sons have nothing to do with dice!--I would have shown the many evils (of dice) through which thou hast fallen into such distress and the son of Virasena was formerly deprived of his kingdom! O king, unthought of evils, befall a man from dice! I would have described how a man once engaged in the game continueth to play (from desire of victory). Women, dice, hunting and drinking to which people become addicted in consequence of temptation, have been regarded as the four evils that deprive a man of prosperity. And those versed in the Sastras are of opinion that evils attend upon all these. They also that are addicted to dice know all its evils. O thou of mighty arms, appearing before the son of Amvika, I would have pointed out that through dice men in a day lose their possessions, and fall into distress, and are deprived of their untasted wealth, and exchange harsh words! O perpetuator of the Kuru race, I would have pointed out these and other attendant evils! If he had accepted my words thus addressed, the welfare of the Kurus as also virtue itself would both have been secured! And, O foremost of kings, if he had rejected my gentle counsels offered as medicine, then, O best of the Bharata race, I would have compelled him by force! And, if those who wait at his court, professing to be his friends but in reality his foes, had supported him, then I would have slain them all, along with those gamblers, there present! O Kauravya, it is owing to my absence from the Anartta country at that time that thou hast fallen into such distress begot of dice! O thou best of Kurus, O son of Pandu, on arriving at Dwarka I learnt from Yuyudhana all about thy calamity! And, O foremost of kings, directly I heard it with a heart sore agitated by grief, have I speedily come here wishing to see thee,

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O king! Alas! O bull of the Bharata race, ye have all fallen into dire distress! I see thee with thy brothers plunged in misfortune!'"

SECTION 14

"Yudhishthira said, 'O Krishna, why wert thou absent (from the Anartta country)? And, O descendant of the Vrishni race, while thou wert away, where didst thou dwell? And what didst thou do while out of thy kingdom?'

"Krishna said, 'O bull of the Bharata race, I had gone for the purpose of destroying the (arranging) city Salwa. And, O foremost of the Kauravas, listen to the reasons I had for so doing! The heroic son of Damaghosha, the well-known king Sisupala of mighty arms and great energy, was slain by me, O best of Bharatas, at thy Rajasuya sacrifice, because that wicked one could not from anger bear to see the first worship offered to me! Hearing that he had been slain, Salwa, burning with fierce anger, came to Dwaraka, while, O Bharata, it was empty, myself being away, residing with you here. And having arrived there on a car made of precious metals and hence called the Souva, he had an encounter with the youthful princes of the Vrishni race--those bulls of that line--and fought With them mercilessly. And slaughtering many youthful Vrishnis of heroic valour, the wicked one devastated all the gardens of the city. And, O thou of mighty arms, he said, 'Where is that wretch of the Vrishni race, Vasudeva, the evil-souled son of Vasudeva? I will humble in battle the pride of that person so eager for fight! Tell me truly, O Anarttas! I will go there where he is. And after killing that slayer of Kansa and Kesi, will I return! By my weapon I swear that I will not return with out slaying him!' And exclaiming repeatedly--Where is he? Where is he? the lord of Saubha rusheth to this place and that, desirous of encountering me in battle? And Salwa also said, 'Impelled by wrath for the destruction of Sisupala I shall today send to the mansion of Yama that treacherous miscreant of mean mind?' And, O king, he further said, 'That Janardana shall I slay, who, wretch that he is, hath killed my brother who was but a boy of tender years, and who was slain not on the field of battle, unprepared as he was!' Having, O great king, wailed thus, and having, O son of the Kuru race, abused me thus, he rose into the sky on his car of precious metals capable of going anywhere at will! On returning (to my kingdom) I heard what, O Kaurava, the evil-minded and wicked king of Maticka had said regarding myself! And, O descendant of the Kuru race, I was agitated with wrath, and, O king, having reflected upon everything, I set my heart upon slaying him! And, learning, O Kauravya, of his oppression of the Anarttas, of his abuse of myself, and of his excessive arrogance, I resolved upon the destruction of that wretch! And, O lord of earth, I accordingly set out (from my city), for slaying the (lord of) the Saubha. And searching him here and there, I found him in an island in the midst of the ocean! Then, O king, blowing my conch called the Panchajanya obtained from the sea, and challenging Salwa to combat, I stood for the fight! At that instant, I had an encounter with numerous Danavas, all of whom, however, I subdued and prostrated on the ground. O mighty-armed one, it was owing to this affair that I could not then come (unto thee)! As soon as I heard of the unfair game of dice at Hastinapur, I have come here desirous of seeing ye who have been plunged in distress.'"

SECTION 15

"Yudhishthira said, 'O illustrious Vasudeva of mighty arms, tell thou in detail of the death of the lord of Saubha. My curiosity hath not been appeased by the narration.'

"Vasudeva said, 'O mighty-armed king, hearing that the son of Srutasravas (Sisupala) had been slain by me, Salwa, O best of the Bharata race, came to the city of Dwaravati! And, O son of Pandu, the wicked king, stationing his forces in array, besieged that city around and above. And stationing himself in the upper regions, the king began his fight with the city. And that encounter commenced with a thick shower of weapons from all sides. And, O bull of the Bharata race, the city at that time was well-fortified on all sides, according to the science (of fortification), with pennons, and arches, and combatants, and walls and turrets, and engines, and miners, and streets barricaded with spiked wood-works and towers and edifices with gate-ways well-filled with provisions, and engines for hurling burning brands and fires, and vessels, of deer-skins (for carrying water), and trumpets, tabors, and drums, lances and forks, and Sataghnis, and plough-shares, rockets, balls of stone and battle-axes and other weapons and shield embossed with iron, and engines for hurling balls and bullets and hot liquids! And the city was also well-defended by numerous cars, and, O tiger among Kurus, by Gada and Shamva and Uddhava and others, and by warriors of prowess tried in battle, all well-born and capable of encountering any foe! And these all placing themselves on commanding posts, aided by cavalry and standard-bearers, began to defend the town. And Ugrasena and Uddhava and others, to prevent carelessness, Proclaimed throughout the city that nobody should drink. And all the Vrishnis and the Andhakas, well-knowing that they would be slain by Salwa if they behaved carelessly, remained sober and watchful. And the police soon drove out of the city all mimes and dancers and singers of the Anartta country. And all the bridges over rivers were destroyed, and boats forbidden to ply, and the trenches (around the city) were spiked with poles at the bottom. And the land around the city for full two miles was rendered uneven, and holes and pits were dug thereon, and combustibles were secreted below the surface. Our fort, O sinless one, is naturally strong and always well-defended and filled with all kinds of weapons! And in consequence of the preparations made, our city was more prepared than ever to meet the foe. And, O chief of the Bharatas, in consequence of all this, the city looked like that of Indra himself. And, O king, at the time of Salwa's approach, nobody could either enter or leave the town of the Vrishnis and the Andhakas without presenting the sign that had been agreed upon. And all the streets of the town and the open spaces were filled with numerous elephants and horses! And, O thou of mighty arms, the combatants were all specially gratified with allowances and wages, and rations, and weapons, and dresses! And amongst the combatants there was none who was not paid in gold, and none who was not paid at all, and none who was not somehow obliged, and none who was not of tried valour! And, O thou of eyes like lotus-leaves, it was thus Dwaraka, abounding in well-ordered arrangements, was defended by Ahuka (Ugrasena)!'"

SECTION 16

"Vasudeva continued, 'O king of kings, Salwa, the lord of Saubha, came towards our city with an immense force consisting of infantry, cavalry and elephants! And the army headed by king Salwa, consisting of four kings of forces, occupied a level ground commanding a copious water-supply. And forsaking cemeteries and temples dedicated to the gods, and sacred trees, and grounds covered by ant-hills, that host occupied every other place. And the roads (leading to the city) were blocked up by the divisions of the army, and the secret entrances also were all blocked up by the enemy's camp. And, O Kauravya, like unto the lord of birds (Garuda), the ruler of Saubha rushed towards Dwaraka, bringing with him, O bull among men, his host equipped with all kinds of arms, skilled in all weapons, consisting of a dense display of cars and elephants and cavalry abounding in banners, and well-paid and well-fed foot-soldiers possessed of great strength and bearing every mark of heroism and furnished with wonderful chariots and bows. And beholding the army of Salwa, the youthful princess of the Vrishni race resolved to encounter it sallying out of the city. And, O king, Charudeshna, Samva, and the mighty warrior Pradyumna, O descendant of the Kuru race, sailed out, ascending on their chariots, and clad in mail, and decked with ornaments, with colours flying, resolved to encounter the mighty and countless host of Salwa! And Samva taking up his bows eagerly attacked on the field of battle Kshemavriddhi, the commander of Salwa's forces and his chief counsellor also! And, O thou foremost of Bharatas, the son of Jambavati then began to shower arrows in a continuous stream even as Indra showereth down rain! And, O mighty king, then Kshemavriddhi, the commander of Salwa's forces, bore that shower of arrows, immovable as the Himavat! And, O foremost of kings, Kshemavriddhi on his part, discharged at Samva mightier volley of shafts, aided by his powers of illusion! And dispersing by counter illusion that discharge inspired by illusion, Samva showered on his (adversary's) car a thousand arrows! Then pierced by the shafts on Samva and overwhelmed there with Kshemavriddhi, the commander of the hostile host, left the field by the help of his fleet-steed! And when the wicked general of Salwa had left the field, a mighty Daitya called Vegavat rushed at my son! And, O best of monarchs, thus attacked, the heroic Samva, the perpetuator of the Vrishni race, bore that onset of Vegavat, keeping his ground. And, O son of Kunti, the heroic Samva, of prowess incapable of being baffled, whirling a quickly-going mace, hurled it speedily at Vegavat! And, O king, struck with that mace, Vegavat fell down on the ground, like a weather-beaten and faded lord of the forest of decayed roots! And on that heroic Asura of mighty energy, being slain with the mace, my son entered within that mighty host and began to fight with all. And, O great king, a well-known Danava named Vivindhya, a mighty warrior wielding a large and powerful bow, encountered Charudeshna! And, O monarch, the encounter between Charudeshna and Vivindhya was as fierce as that in days of yore between Vritra and Vasava! And enraged with each other the combatants pierced each other with their arrows, uttering loud roars like unto two powerful lions! Then the son of Rukmini fixed on his bow-string a mighty weapon possessing the splendour of fire or the sun, and capable of destroying all foes, having first vivified it with incantations! Then, O monarch, that mighty warrior my son, fired with wrath, challenged Vivindhya and discharged the weapon at him. And the Danava struck with that weapon, fell down on the ground a lifeless corpse! And beholding Vivindhya slain, and the whole host waver, Salwa advanced again on his beautiful car capable of going everywhere. And, O king of mighty arms, beholding Salwa on that beautiful car of his, the combatants of Dwaraka wavered with fear! But, O thou of the Kuru race, Pradyumna sailed out, and, O great king, bidding the Anarttas be of good cheer, said, 'Waver ye not, and staying behold me fight I Even I shall, by force, repell that car with Salwa on it! Ye Yadavas, this day, I shall, with my weapons like unto serpents discharged from my bow with my hand, destroy this host of the lord of Saubha! Be of good cheer, ye all! Fear not! The lord of Saubha will be slain today! Attached by me, the wretch will meet with destruction together with his car!' O son of Pandu, upon Pradyumna speaking thus with cheerful heart, the Yadava host, O hero, remained on the field, and began to fight cheerfully!'"

SECTION 17

"Vasudeva continued, 'O bull of the Bharata race, having spoken thus unto the Yadavas, the son of Rukmini (Pradyumna) ascended his golden car. And the car he rode was drawn by excellent steeds in mail. And over it stood a standard bearing the figure of a Makara with gaping mouth and fierce as Yama. And with his steeds, more flying than running on the ground, he rushed against the foe And the hero equipped with quiver and sword, with fingers cased in leather, twanged his bow possessed of the splendour of the lightning, with great strength, and transferring it from hand to hand, as if in contempt of the enemy, spread confusion among the Danavas and other warriors of the city of Saubha. And as hot in contempt of the, foe, and continuously slew the Danavas in battle, no one could mark the slightest interval between his successive shafts. And the colour of his face changed not, and his limbs trembled not. And people only heard his loud leonine roars indicative of wonderful valour. And the aquatic monster with mouth wide open, that devourer of all fishes, placed on golden flag-staff of that best of cars, struck terror into the hearts of Salwa's warriors. And, O king, Pradyumna, the mower of foes rushed with speed against Salwa himself so desirous of an encounter! And, O perpetuator of the Kuru race, braved by the heroic Pradyumna in that mighty battle, the angry Salwa could ill bear the challenge! And that conqueror of hostile cities, Salwa, maddened by anger, descended from his beautiful car of unchecked speed, resolved to encounter Pradyumna. And the people beheld the fight between Salwa and the foremost of Vrishni heroes, which was even like unto the encounter between Vasava with Vali. And, O hero, mounting on his beautiful car decked with gold and furnished with flags and flag-staffs and quivers, the illustrious and mighty Salwa began to discharge his arrows at Pradyumna! Pradyumna also by the energy of his arms, overwhelmed Salwa in the combat by a thick shower of arrows. The king of Saubha, however, thus attacked in battle by Pradyumna, endured him not, but discharged at my son arrows that were like blazing fire. But the mighty Pradyumna parried off that arrowy shower. Beholding this, Salwa rained on my son other weapons of blazing splendour. Then, O foremost of monarchs, pierced by the shafts of Salwa, the son of Rukmini discharged without loss of time an arrow that was capable of entering the vitals of a foe in fight. And that winged shaft shot by my son, piercing Salwa's mail, entered his heart--whereupon he fell down, in a swoon. And beholding the heroic king Salwa fallen down deprived of sense, the foremost of the Danavas fled away rending the ground beneath their feet. And, O lord of the earth, the army of Salwa sent up exclamations of Oh! and Alas! seeing their king, the lord of Saubha, drop down bereft of sense! And O son of the Kuru race, regaining his senses, the mighty Salwa rose and all of a sudden discharged his arrows on Pradyumna. Then the heroic and mighty armed Pradyumna, sorely pierced by his adversary about his throat, was enfeebled on his car. And, O mighty king, wounding the son of Rukmini, Salwa sent up a shout like unto the roar of a lion, and filling the entire earth with it! And, O Bharata, when my son became senseless, Salwa, without losing a moment, again discharged at him other shafts difficult to bear. And pierced with numberless arrows and deprived of his senses, Pradyumna, O chief of the Kuru race, became motionless on the field of battle!'"

SECTION 18

"Vasudeva continued, 'O king, afflicted with the arrows of Salwa, when Pradyumna became senseless the Vrishnis who had come to the fight were all disheartened and filled with grief! And the combatants of the Vrishni and Andhaka races burst into exclamations of Oh! and Alas! while great joy was felt by the enemy and beholding him thus deprived of sense, his trained charioteer, the son of Daruka, soon carried him off the field by the help of his steeds. The car had not gone far when that best of warriors regained his senses, and taking up his bow addressed his charioteer, saying, 'O son of the Suta tribe, what hast thou done? Why dost thou go leaving the field of battle? This is not the custom of the Vrishni heroes in battle! O son of a Suta, hast thou been bewildered at the sight of a Salwa in that fierce encounter? Or hast thou been disheartened, beholding the fight? O! tell me truly thy mind!' The charioteer answered. 'O son of Janardana, I have not been confounded, nor hath fear taken possession of me. On the

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other hand, O son of Kesava, the task, I ween, of vanquishing Salwa is difficult for thee! Therefore, O hero, I am slowly retiring from the field. This wretch is stronger than thou art! It behoveth a charioteer to protect the warrior on the car, however, when he is deprived of his senses! O thou gifted with length of days, thou shouldst always be protected by me, even as it behoveth thee to protect me! Thinking that the warrior on the car should always be protected (by his charioteer), I am carrying thee away! Further, O thou of mighty arms, thou art alone, while the Danavas are many. Thinking, O son of Rukmini, that thou art not equal to them in the encounter, I am going away!'

"Vasudeva continued, 'When the charioteer had spoken thus, he, O Kauravya, who hath the makara for his mark replied unto him, saying, 'Turn the car! O son of Daruka, never do so again; never, O Suta, turn thou from the fight, while I am alive! He is no son of the Vrishni race who forsaketh the field or slayeth the foe fallen at his feet and crying I am thine! or killeth a woman, a boy, or an old man, or a warrior in distress, deprived of his car or with his weapons broken! Thou art born in the race of charioteers and trained to thy craft! And, O son of Daruka, thou art acquainted with the customs of the Vrishnis in battle! Versed as thou art with all the customs of the Vrishnis in battle, do thou, O Suta, never again fly from the field as thou hast done! What will the irrepressible Madhava, the elder brother of Gada, say to me when he heareth that I have left the field of battle in bewilderment or that I have been struck on the back--a run-away from the combat! What will the elder brother of Kesava, the mighty-armed Baladeva, clad in blue and inebriate with wine, say, when he returneth? What also, O Suta, will that lion among men, the grand-son of Sini (Satyaki), that great warrior, say on hearing that I have forsaken the fight? And, O charioteer, what will the ever-victorious Shamva, the irrepressible Charudeshna. and Gada, and Sarana, and Akrura also of mighty arms, say unto me! What also will the wives of the Vrishni heroes when they meet together, say of me who had hitherto been considered as brave and well-conducted, respectable and possessed of manly pride? They will even say This Pradyumna is a coward who cometh here, leaving the battle! Fie on him! They will never say, Well done! Ridicule, with exclamation of Fie, is to me or a person like me O Suta, more than death! Therefore, do thou never again leave the field of battle! Reposing the charge on me, Hari the slayer of Madhu, hath gone to the sacrifice of the Bharata lion (Yudhishthira)! Therefore, I cannot bear to be quiet now! O Suta, when the brave Kritavarman was sallying out to encounter Salwa, I prevented him, saying I will resist Salwa. Do thou stay! For honouring me the son of Hridika desisted! Having left the field of battle, what shall I say unto that mighty warrior when I meet him? When that irrepressible one of mighty arms--the holder of the conch, the discus, and the mace--returneth, what shall I say unto him of eyes like lotus leaves? Satyaki, and Valadeva, and others of the Vrishni and Andhaka races always boast of me! What shall I say unto them? O Suta, having left the field of battle and with wounds of arrows on my back while being carried away by thee, I shall, by no means, be able to live! Therefore, O son of Daruka, turn that car speedily, and never do so again even in times of greatest danger! I do not, O Suta, think life worth much, having fled from the field like a coward, and my back pierced, with the arrows (of the enemy)! Hast thou ever seen me. O son of Suta, fly in fear from the field of battle like coward? O son of Daruka, it behoved thee not to forsake the battle, while my desire of fight was not yet gratified! Do thou, therefore, go back to the field.'"

SECTION 19

Vasudeva continued, Thus addressed, the son of Suta race replied in haste unto Pradyumna, that foremost of all endued with strength, in these sweet words, 'O son of Rukmini, I fear not to guide the horses on the field of battle, and I am acquainted also with the customs of the Vrishnis in war! It is not otherwise in the least! But, O thou blest with length of days, those that guide the car are taught that the warrior on the car is, by all means, to be protected by his charioteer! Thou wert also much afflicted! Thou wert much wounded by the arrows shot by Salwa. Thou wert also deprived of thy senses, O hero! Therefore is it that I retired from the field.' But, O chief of the Satwatas, now that thou hast regained thy senses without much ado, do thou, O son of Kesava, witness my skill in guiding the horses! I have been begotten by Daruka, and I have been duly trained! I will now penetrate into the celebrated array of Salwa without fear!

"Vasudeva continued, 'Saying this, O hero, the charioteer, pulling the reins, began to lead the horses with speed towards the field of battle. And, O king, struck with the whip and pulled by the reins those excellent steeds seemed to be flying in the air, performing various beautiful motion, now circular, now similar, now dissimilar, now to the right, now to the left. And, O king, those steeds understanding as it were the intention of Daruka's son endued with such lightness of hand, burned with energy, and seemed to go without touching the ground with their feet! That bull among men wheeled round Salwa's host so easily that they who witnessed it wondered exceedingly. And the lord of Saubha, unable to bear that manoeuvre of Pradyumna, instantly sent three shafts at the charioteer of his antagonist! The charioteer, however, without taking any note of the force of those arrows, continued to go along the right. Then the lord of Saubha, O hero, again discharged at my son by Rukmini, a shower of various kinds of weapons! But that slayer of hostile heroes, the son of Rukmini, showing with a smile his lightness of hand, cut all those weapons off as they reached him. Finding his arrows cut by Pradyumna, the lord of Saubha, having recourse to the dreadful illusion natural to Asuras began to pour a thick shower of arrows. But cutting into pieces those powerful Daitya weapons shot at him in mid-career by means of his Brahma weapon, Pradyumna discharged winged shafts of other kings. And these delighting in blood, warding off the shafts of Daitya, pierced his head, bosom and face. And at those wounds Salwa fell down senseless. And on the mean-minded Salwa falling down, afflicted with Pradyumna's arrows, the son of Rukmini aimed another arrow at him, capable of destroying every foe. And beholding that arrow worshipped by all the Dasarhas, and flaming like fire and fatal as a venomous snake, fixed on the bow-string, the firmament was filled with exclamations of Oh! and Alas! Then all the celestials with Indra and the lord of treasures (Kubera) at their head sent Narada and the god of wind endued with the speed of the mind. And these two approaching the son of Rukmini delivered unto him the message of the celestial, saying, O hero, king Salwa is nor to be slain by thee! Do thou draw back the arrow. He is unslayable by thee in fight! There breatheth not a person who cannot be killed by that arrow! O thou of mighty arms, the Creator hath ordained his death at the hands of Krishna, the son of Devaki! Let this be not falsified!--Thereupon with a glad heart, Pradyumna withdrew that best of arrows from his excellent bow and deposited it back in his quiver. And then, O foremost of kings, the mighty Salwa, afflicted with the arrows of Pradyumna, rose disheartened, and speedily went away. Then O king, the wicked Salwa, thus afflicted by the Vrishnis, mounted on his car of precious metals, and leaving Dwaraka scudded through the skies!'"

SECTION 20

"Vasudeva said, 'When Salwa had left the city of the Anarttas, I returned to it, O king, on the completion of thy great Rajasuya sacrifice! On my arrival I found Dwaraka shorn of its splendour, and, O great monarch, there were not sounds of Vedic recitation or sacrificial offering, And the excellent damsels were all destitute of ornaments, and the gardens were devoid of beauty. And alarmed by the aspect, I asked the son of Hridika saying, 'Why is it that the men and women of the city of the Vrishnis are so woe-begone, O tiger among men?' O thou best of kings thus asked the son of Hridika (Kritavarman) relate to me in detail the invasion of the city by Salwa, and his subsequent departure from it. And, O thou foremost of Bharatas, hearing all, even then I made up my mind to slay Salwa. And encouraging the citizens, O best of Bharatas, I cheerfully addressed king Ahuka, and Anakdundhuvi, and the chief heroes of the Vrishni race, saying, 'Do ye, O bulls among the Yadavas, stay in the city, taking every care, and know that I go to slay Salwa! I return not to the city of Dwaravati without slaying him. I will again come to ye having compassed the destruction of Salwa together with his car of precious metals. Do ye strike up the sharp and middle and flat notes of the Dundhuvi so dreadful to foes!' And O thou bull of the Bharata race, thus adequately encouraged by me, those heroes cheerfully said unto me, 'Go and slay the enemies!' And thus receiving the benedictions of those warriors with glad hearts, and causing the Brahmanas to utter auspicious words and bowing down to the best of the regenerate ones, and to Siva also, I set out on my car unto which were yoked the horses Saivya, and Sugriva, filling all sides with the clatter (of my wheels) and blowing that best of conchs, the Panchajanya! And, O king, O tiger among men, accompanied by my redoubted and victorious army consisting of the four kinds of the forces so persevering in battle, I set out. And leaving many countries, and mountains, crowned with trees, and pieces of water, and streams, I at last arrived at the country of Matrikavarta. It is there, O thou tiger among men, that I heard that Salwa was coursing on his car of precious metals near the ocean, and I followed in his pursuit. And, O thou slayer of thy foes, having reached the main, Salwa on his car of costly metals was in the midst of the deep heaving with billows! And on seeing me from a distance, O Yudhishthira, that one of wicked soul himself challenged me repeatedly to the fight. And many arrows capable of piercing to the quick, discharged from my bow reached not his car. And at this I was wroth! And, O king, that essentially sinful wretch of a Daitya's son of irrepressible energy, on his part began to shoot thousand upon thousands of arrows in torrents! And, O Bharata, he rained shafts upon my soldiers and upon my charioteer and upon my steeds! But without thinking of the shafts, we continued the conflict. Then the warriors following Salwa poured on me straight arrows by thousands. And the Asuras covered my horses and my car and Daruka with arrows capable of piercing the very vitals. And, O hero, I could not at that time see either my horses, or my car, or my charioteer Daruka! And I with my army was covered with weapons. And, O son of Kunti, superhumanly skilled in weapons, I also let fly from my bow arrows by tens of thousands, inspiring them with mantras! But as that car of costly metals was in the sky, full two miles off, it could not, O Bharata, be seen by my troops. They could therefore only remaining on the field of battle look on like spectators in a place of amusement, cheering me on by shouts loud as the roar of the lion, and also by the sound of their clapping. And the tinted arrows shot by the fore-part of hand penetrated into the bodies of the Danavas like biting insects. And then arose cries in the car of precious metals from those that were dying of wounds by those sharp arrows and falling into the waters of the mighty ocean. And the Danavas deprived of their arms, necks, and wearing the form of Kavandhas,--fell, sending up tremendous roars. And as they fell they were devoured by animals living in the waters of the ocean. And then I powerfully blew the Panchajanya obtained from the waters and graceful as the lotus-stalk and white as milk or the Kunda flower or the moon or silver. And seeing his soldiers fall, Salwa the possessor of the car of precious metals, began to fight with the help of illusion. And then he began to ceaselessly hurl at me maces, and ploughshares, and winged darts and lances, and javelins, and battle-axes, and swords and arrows blazing like javelins and thunderbolts, and nooses, and broad swords, and bullets from barrels, and shafts, and axes, and rockets. And permitting them to come towards me, I soon destroyed them all by counter-illusion. And on this illusion being rendered ineffectual, he began the contest with mountain peaks. And, O Bharata, then there was darkness and light alternately, and the day was now fair, and now gloomy, and now hot, and now cold. And there was a perfect shower of coals, and ashes, and weapons. And creating such illusion the enemy fought with me. And ascertaining it I destroyed his illusion by counter-illusion. And in the due time I showered arrows all round. And then, O mighty king, the dome of heaven blazed as with a hundred suns, and, O son of Kunti with one hundred moons, and thousands and ten thousands of stars! And then none could ascertain whether it was day or night, or distinguish the points of the horizon. And, becoming bewildered, I fixed on my bowstring the weapon called Pragnastra. And, O son of Kunti, the weapon went like unto flakes of pure cotton blown away by the winds! And a great fight took place, calculated to make the down on one's body stand on end. And O best of monarchs, having regained, light, I again fought with the enemy!'"

SECTION 21

"Vasudeva said, 'O thou tiger among men, my great enemy king Salwa, thus encountered by me in battle, again ascended the sky. And O mighty monarch, inspired with the desire of victory, that wicked one hurled at me Sataghnis, and mighty maces, and flaming lances, and stout clubs, and as the weapons came along the sky, I speedily resisted them with my swift arrows, and cut them in two or three pieces before they came at me. And there was a great noise in the welkins. And Salwa covered Daruka, and my steeds, and my car also with hundreds of straight shafts. Then, O hero, Daruka, evidently about to faint, said unto me, 'Afflicted with the shafts of Salwa I stay in the field, because it is my duty to do so. But I am incapable of doing so (any longer). My body hath become weak!' Hearing these piteous words of my charioteer, I looked at him, and found the driver wounded with arrows. Nor was there a spot on his breasts or the crown of his head, or body or his arms which was not, O thou foremost of sons of Pandu, covered with shafts! And blood flowed profusely from his wounds inflicted by arrows, and he looked like unto a mountain of red chalk after a heavy shower. And, O thou of mighty arms, seeing the charioteer with the reins in his hands thus pierced and enfeebled by the shafts of Salwa in the field of battle, I cheered him up!

"'And, O Bharata, about this time, a certain person, having his home in Dwaraka quickly coming to my car, addressed me like a friend, delivering to me, O hero, a message from Ahuka! He seemed to be one of Ahuka's followers. And sadly and in a voice choked in sorrow, know, O Yudhishthira, he said words'--O warrior, Ahuka, the lord of Dwaraka, hath said these words unto thee! O Kesava, hear what thy father's friend sayeth: O son of the Vrishni race, O thou irrepressible one, in thy absence today Salwa, coming to Dwaraka, hath by main force killed Vasudeva! Therefore, no need of battle any more. Cease, O Janardana! Do thou defend Dwaraka! This is thy principal duty!--Hearing these words of his, my heart became heavy, and I could not ascertain what I should do and what I should not. And, O hero, hearing of that great misfortune, I mentally censured Satyaki, and Baladeva, and also that mighty pradyumna. Having reposed on them the duty of protecting Dwaraka and Vasudeva, I had gone, O son of the Kuru race, to effect the destruction of Salwa's city. And in a sorrowful heart, I asked myself,--Doth that destroyer of foes, the mighty-armed Baladeva, live, and Satyaki, and the son of

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Rukmini and Charudeshna possessed of prowess, and Shamva and others? For, O thou tiger among men, these living, even the bearer himself of the thunderbolt could by no means destroy Suta's son (Vasudeva)! And thought, I, It is plain that Vasudeva is dead and equally plain that the others with Baladeva at their head have been deprived of life--This was my certain conclusion. And, O mighty king, thinking of the destruction of those all, I was overwhelmed with grief! And it was in this state of mind that I encountered Salwa afresh. And now I saw, O great monarch, Vasudeva himself falling from the car of precious metals! And, O warrior I swooned away, and, O king of men, my sire seemed like unto Yayati after the loss of his merit, falling towards the earth from heaven! And like unto a luminary whose merit hath been lost saw my father falling, his head-gear foul and flowing loosely, and his hair and dress disordered. And then the bow Sharanga dropped from my hand, and, O son of Kunti I swooned away! I sat down on the side of the car. And, O thou descendant of the Bharata race, seeing me deprived of consciousness on the car, and as if dead, my entire host exclaimed Oh! and Alas! And my prone father with out-stretched arms and lower limbs, appeared like a dropping bird. And him thus falling, O thou of mighty arms, O hero, the hostile warriors bearing in their hands lances and axes struck grievously! And (beholding this) my heart trembled! and soon regaining my consciousness, O warrior, I could not see in that mighty contest either the car of costly metals, or the enemy Salwa, or my old father! Then I concluded in my mind that it was certainly illusion. And recovering my senses, I again began to discharge arrows by hundreds."

SECTION 22

"Vasudeva continued, 'Then O thou foremost of the Bharata race, taking up my beautiful bow, I began to cut off with my arrows the heads of the enemies of the celestials, from off that car of costly metals! And I began to discharge from the Sharanga many well-looking arrows of the forms of snakes, capable of going at a great height and possessing intense energy. And, O perpetuator of the Kuru race, I could not then see the car of costly metals, for it had vanished, through illusion! I was then filled with wonder! That host of Danvas then, O Bharata, of frightful visages and hair, set up a loud howl while I was waiting for it. In that fierce battle. I then, with the object of destroying them, fixed on my bow-string the weapon capable of piercing the foes if but his sound was inaudible. Upon this, their shouts ceased. But those Danavas that had sent up that shout were all slain by those shafts of mine blazing as the Sun himself, and capable of striking at the perception of sound alone. And after the shout had ceased at one place, O mighty king, another yell proceeded from another quarter. Thitherto also I sent my shafts. In this way, O Bharata, the Asuras began to send up yells in all the ten quarters above and across. These were all slain by me, viz., those that were in the skies and that were invisible, with arrows of diverse forms, and celestial weapons inspired with mantras. Then, O hero, that car of precious metals capable of going anywhere at will, bewildering my eyes, reappeared at Pragjyotisha! And then the destroying Danavas of fierce forms suddenly drowned me with a mighty shower of rocks. And, O thou foremost of monarchs, torrents of rocks falling upon me covered me up, and I began to grow like an ant-hill (with its summits and peaks)! And covered along with my horses and charioteer and flagstaffs, with crags on all sides, I disappeared from sight altogether. Then those foremost of heroes of the Vrishni race who were of my army were, struck with panic, and all on a sudden began to fly in all directions. And beholding me in that plight, O king, the heaven, the firmament, and the earth were filled with exclamation of Oh! and Alas! And then, O monarch, my friends filled with sorrow and grief began to weep and wail with heavy hearts! And delight filled the hearts of the enemies. And O thou who never waverest, I heard of this after I had defeated the foe! And then wielding the thunderbolt, that favourite (weapon) of Indra, capable of riving stones, I destroyed that entire mass of crags! But my steeds, afflicted with the weight of the stones and almost on the point of death began to tremble. And beholding me, all my friends rejoiced again even as men rejoice on seeing the sun rise in the sky, dispersing the clouds. And seeing my horses almost in their last gasp for breath, afflicted with that load of stones, my charioteer said unto me in words suitable to the occasion, 'O thou of the Vrishni race, behold Salwa the owner of the car of precious metals sitting (yonder). Do not disregard him! Do thou exert thyself! Do thou abandon thy mildness and consideration for Salwa. Slay Salwa, O thou of mighty arms! O Kesava, do not let him live! O hero, O thou destroyer of those that are not thy friends (enemies), an enemy should be slain with every exertion! Even a weak enemy who is under the feet of a man endued with strength, should not be disregarded by the latter: that (shall I say) of one that dareth us to the fight? Therefore, O thou tiger among men, putting forth every exertion, slay him, O lord, O thou foremost of the Vrishni race! Do thou not delay again! This one is not capable of being vanquished by milder measures. And he cannot in my opinion be thy friend who is fighting thee and who devastated Dwaraka!' O Kaunteya, hearing such words of my charioteer, and knowing that what he said was true, I directed my attention to the fight (afresh), with the view of slaying Salwa and destroying the car of costly metals! And, O hero, saying unto Daruka, 'Stay a moment' I fixed on my bow-string my favourite weapon of fire, blazing and of celestial origin, of irresistible force, and incapable of being baffled, bursting with energy, capable of penetrating into everything, and of great splendour! And saying, 'Destroy the car of precious metals together with all those enemies that are in it.' I launched with the might of my arms and in wrath with mantras, the great powerful discus Sudarsana which reduceth to ashes in battle Yakshas and Rakshasas and Danavas and kings born in impure tribes, sharp-edged like the razor, and without stain, like unto Yama the destroyer, and incomparable, and which killeth enemies. And rising into the sky, it seemed like a second sun of exceeding effulgence at the end of the Yuga. And approaching the town of Saubha whose splendour had disappeared, the discus went right through it, even as a saw divideth a tall tree. And cut in twain by the energy of the Sudarsana it fell like the city of Tripura shaken by the shafts of Maheswara. And after the town of Saubha had fallen, the discus came back into my hands, And taking it up I once more hurled it with force saying, 'Go thou unto Salwa.' The discus then cleft Salwa in twain who in that fierce conflict was at the point of hurling a heavy mace. And with its energy it set the foe ablaze. And after that brave warrior was slain, the disheartened Danava women fled in all directions, exclaiming Oh! and Alas! And taking my chariot in front of the town of Saubha I cheerfully blew my conch and gladdened the hearts of my friends. And beholding their town, high as the peak of the Meru, with its palaces and gate-ways utterly destroyed, and all ablaze, the Danavas fled in fear. And having thus destroyed the town of Saubha and slain Salwa, I returned to the Anarttas and delighted my friends. And, O king, it is for this reason that I could not come to the city named after the elephant (Hastinapura), O destroyer of hostile heroes! O warrior, if I had come, Suyodhana would not have been alive or the match at dice would not have taken place. What can I do now? It is difficult to confine the waters after the dam is broken!'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Having addressed the Kaurava thus, that foremost of male persons, of mighty arms, the slayer of Madhu, possessed of every grace, saluting the Pandavas, prepared for departure. And the mighty-armed hero reverentially saluted Yudhishthira the Just, and the king in return and Bhima also smelt the crown of his head. And he was embraced by Arjuna, and the twins saluted him with reverence. And he was duly honoured by Dhaumya, and worshipped with tears by Draupadi. And causing Subhadra and Abhimanyu to ascend his golden car, Krishna, mounted it himself, worshipped by the Pandavas. And consoling Yudhishthira, Krishna set out for Dwaraka on his car resplendent as the sun and unto which were yoked the horses Saivya and Sugriva. And after he of the Dasharha race had departed, Dhristadyumna, the son of Prishata, also set out for his own city, taking with him the sons of Draupadi. And the king of Chedi, Dhrishtaketu also, taking his sister with him set out for his beautiful city of Suktimati, after bidding farewell to the Pandavas. And, O Bharata, the Kaikeyas also, with the permission of Kunti's son possessed of immeasurable energy, having reverentially saluted all the Pandavas, went away. But Brahmanas and the Vaisyas and the dwellers of Yudhishthira's kingdom though repeatedly requested to go, did not leave the Pandavas. O foremost of king, O bull of the Bharata race, the multitude that surrounded those high-souled ones in the forest of Kamyaka looked extraordinary. And Yudhishthira, honouring those high-minded Brahmanas, in due time ordered his men, saying 'Make ready the car.'"

SECTION 23

Vaisampayana continued, "After the chief of the Dasharhas had departed, the heroic Yudhishthira, and Bhima, and Arjuna, and the twins, each looking like unto Shiva, and Krishna, and their priest, ascending costly cars unto which were yoked excellent steeds, together went into the forest. And at time of going they distributed Nishkas of gold and clothes and kine unto Brahmanas versed in Siksha and Akshara and mantras. And twenty attendants followed them equipped with bows, and bowstrings, and blazing weapons, and shafts and arrows and engines of destruction. And taking the princess's clothes and the ornaments, and the nurses and the maid-servants, Indrasena speedily followed the princes on a car. And then approaching the best of Kurus, the high-minded citizens walked round him. And the principal Brahmanas of Kurujangala cheerfully saluted him. And together with his brothers, Yudhishthira the Just, on his part saluted them cheerfully. And the illustrious king stopped there a little, beholding the concourse of the inhabitants of Kurujangala. And the illustrious bull among the Kurus felt for them as a father feeleth for his sons, and they too felt for the Kuru chief even as sons feel for their father! And that mighty concourse, approaching the Kuru hero, stood around him. And, O king, affected, with bashfulness, and with tears in their eyes, they all exclaimed, 'Alas, O lord! O Dharma!' And they said, 'Thou art the chief of the Kurus, and the king of us, thy subjects! Where dost thou go, O just monarch, leaving all these citizens and the inhabitants of the country, like a father leaving his sons? Fie on the cruel-hearted son of Dhritarashtra! Fie on the evil-minded son of Suvala! Fie on Karna! For, O foremost of monarchs, those wretches ever wish unto thee who art firm in virtue! Having thyself established the unrivalled city of Indraprastha of the splendour of Kailasa itself, where dost thou go, leaving it, O illustrious and just king, O achiever of extraordinary deeds! O illustrious one, leaving that peerless palace built by Maya, which possesseth the splendour of the palace of the celestials themselves, and is like unto a celestial illusion, ever guarded by the gods, where dost thou go, O son of Dharma?' And Vibhatsu knowing the ways of virtue, pleasure, and profit said unto them in a loud voice, 'Living in the forest, the king intendeth to take away the good name of his enemies! O we with the regenerate ones at your head, versed in virtue and profit, do you approaching the ascetics separately and inclining them to grace, represent unto them what may be for our supreme good!' Upon hearing these words of Arjuna, the Brahmanas and the other orders, O king, saluting him cheerfully walked round the foremost of virtuous men! And bidding farewell unto the son of Pritha, and Vrikodara, and Dhananjaya and Yajnaseni, and the twins, and commanded by Yudhishthira, they returned to their respective abodes in the kingdom with heavy hearts."

SECTION 24

Vaisampayana said, "After they had departed, Yudhishthira the virtuous son of Kunti, unwavering in his promises, addressed all his brothers, saying, 'We shall have to dwell in the solitary forest for these twelve years. Search ye, therefore, in this mighty forest for some spot abounding in birds and deer and flowers and fruits, beautiful to behold, and auspicious, and inhabited by virtuous persons and where we may dwell pleasantly for all these years!' Thus addressed by Yudhishthira, Dhananjaya replied unto the son of Dharma, after reverencing the illustrious king as if he were his spiritual preceptor. And Arjuna said, 'Thou hast respectfully waited upon all the great and old Rishis. There is nothing unknown to thee in the world of men. And O bull of the Bharata race, thou hast always waited with reverence upon Brahmanas including Dwaipayana and others, and Narada of great ascetic merit, who with senses under control, ever goeth to the gates of all the world from the world of the gods unto that of Brahma, including that of the Gandharvas and Apsaras! And thou knowest, without doubt, the opinions of the Brahmanas, and, O king, their prowess also! And O monarch, thou knowest what is calculated to do us good! And O great king, we will live wherever thou likest! Here is this lake, full of sacred water, called Dwaitavana, abounding with flowers, and delightful to look at, and inhabited by many species of birds. If, O king, it pleaseth thee, here should we like to dwell these twelve years! Thinkest thou otherwise?' Yudhishthira replied, 'O Partha, what thou hast said recommendeth itself to me! Let us go that sacred and celebrated and large lake called Dwaitavana!'"

"Vaisampayana continued, "Then the virtuous son of Pandu, accompanied by numerous Brahmanas, all went to the sacred lake called Dwaitavana. And Yudhishthira was surrounded by numerous Brahmanas some of whom sacrificed with fire and some without it and some of whom, devoted to the study of the Vedas, lived upon alms or were of the class called Vanaprasthas. And the king was also surrounded by hundreds of Mahatmas crowned with ascetic success and of rigid vows. And those bulls of the Bharata race, the sons of Pandu setting out with those numerous Brahmanas, entered the sacred and delightful woods of Dwaita. And the king saw that mighty forest covered on the close of summer with Salas, and palms, and mangoes, and Madhukas, and Nipas and Kadamvas and Sarjjas and Arjunas, and Karnikars, many of them covered with flowers. And flocks of peacocks and Datyuhas and Chakoras and Varhins and Kokilas, seated on the tops of the tallest trees of that forest were pouring forth their mellifluous notes. And the king also saw in that forest mighty herds of gigantic elephants huge as the hills, with temporal juice trickling down in the season of rut, accompanied by herds of she-elephants. And approaching the beautiful Bhogavati (Saraswati), the king saw many ascetics crowned with success in the habitations in that forest, and virtuous men of sanctified souls clad in barks of trees and bearing matted locks on their heads. And descending from their cars, the king that foremost of virtuous men with his brothers and followers entered that forest like Indra of immeasurable energy entering heaven. And crowds of Charanas and Siddhas, desirous of beholding the monarch devoted to truth, came towards him. And the dwellers of that forest stood surrounding that lion among king possessed of great intelligence. And saluting all the Siddhas, and saluted by them in return as a king or a god should be, that foremost of virtuous men entered the forest with joined hands accompanied by all those foremost of regenerate ones. And the

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illustrious and virtuous king, saluted in return by those virtuous ascetics that had approached him, sat down in their midst at the foot of a mighty tree decked with flowers, like his father (Pandu) in days before. And those chiefs of the Bharata race viz., Bhima and Dhananjaya and the twins and Krishna and their followers, all fatigued, leaving their vehicles, sat themselves down around that best of kings. And that mighty tree bent down with the weight of creepers, with those five illustrious bowmen who had come there for rest sitting under it, looked like a mountain with (five) huge elephants resting on its side."

SECTION 25

Vaisampayana said, "Having fallen into distress, those princes thus obtained at last a pleasant habitation in that forest. And there in those woods abounding with Sala trees and washed by the Saraswati, they who were like so many Indras, began to sport themselves. And the illustrious king, that bull of the Kuru race, set himself to please all the Yatis and Munis and the principal Brahmanas in that forest, by offerings of excellent fruits and roots. And their priest, Dhaumya endued with great energy, like unto a father to those princes, began to perform the sacrificial rites of Ishti and Paitreya for the Pandavas residing in that great forest. And there came, as a guest, unto the abode of the accomplished Pandavas living in the wood after loss of their kingdom, the old Rishi Markandeya, possessed of intense and abundant energy. And that bull of the Kuru race, the high-souled Yudhishthira, possessed of unrivalled strength and prowess, paid his homage unto that great Muni, reverenced by celestials and Rishis of men, and possessed of the splendour of blazing fire. And that illustrious and all-knowing Muni, of unrivalled energy, beholding Draupadi and Yudhishthira and Bhima and Arjuna, in the midst of the ascetics, smiled, recollecting Rama in his mind. And Yudhishthira the Just, apparently grieved at this, asked him, saying, 'All these ascetics are sorry for seeing me here. Why is it that thou alone smilest, as if an glee, in the presence of these?' Markandeya replied, 'O child', I too am sorry and do not smile in glee! Nor doth pride born of joy possess my heart! Beholding to-day the calamity, I recollect Rama, the son of Dasaratha, devoted to truth! Even that Rama, accompanied by Lakshman, dwelt in the woods at the command of his father. O son of Pritha, I beheld him in days of old ranging with his bow on the top of the Rishyamuka hills! The illustrious Rama was like unto Indra, the lord of Yama himself, and the slayer of Namuchi! Yet that sinless one had to dwell in the forest at the command of his father, accepting it as his duty. The illustrious Rama was equal unto Sakra in prowess, and invincible in battle. And yet he had to range the forest renouncing all pleasures! Therefore should no one act unrighteously, saying,--I am mighty! Kings Nabhaga and Bhagiratha and others, having subjugated by truth this world bounded by the seas, (finally) obtained, O child, all the region hereafter. Therefore, should no one act unrighteously, saying,--I am mighty! And, O exalted of men, the virtuous and truthful king of Kasi and Karusha was called a mad dog for having renounced his territories and riches! Therefore, should no one act unrighteously, saying,--I am mighty! O best of men, O son of Pritha, the seven righteous Rishis, for having observed the ordinance prescribed by the Creator himself in the Vedas, blaze in the firmament. Therefore, should no one act unrighteously, saying,--I am mighty! Behold, O king, the mighty elephants, huge as mountain cliffs and furnished with tusks, transgress not, O exalted of men, the laws of the Creator! Therefore, should none act unrighteously saying, Might is mine! And, O foremost of monarchs, behold all the creatures acting according to their species, as ordained by the Creator. Therefore, should none act unrighteously, saying, Might is mine. O son of Pritha, in truth, and virtue, and proper behaviour, and modesty, thou hast surpassed all creatures, and thy fame and energy are as bright as fire or the Sun! Firm in thy promises, O illustrious one, having passed in the woods thy painful exile, thou wilt again, O king, snatch from the Kauravas thy blazing prosperity with the help of thy own energy!'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Having spoken these words unto Yudhishthira (seated) in the midst of the ascetics with friends, the great Rishi having also saluted Dhaumya and all the Pandavas set out in a northerly direction!"

SECTION 26

Vaisampayana said, "While the illustrious son of Pandu continued to dwell in the Dwaita woods, that great forest became filled with Brahmanas. And the lake within that forest, ever resounding with Vedic recitations, became sacred like a second region of Brahma. And the sounds of the Yajus, the Riks, the Samas, and other words uttered by the Brahmanas, were exceedingly delightful to hear. And the Vedic recitations of the Brahmanas mingling with the twang of bows of the sons of Pritha, produced a union of the Brahmana and Kshatriya customs that was highly beautiful. And one evening the Rishi Vaka of the Dalvya family addressed Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti seated in the midst of the Rishis, saying, 'Behold, O chief of the Kurus, O son of Pritha, the homa time is come of these Brahmanas devoted to ascetic austerities, the time when the (sacred) fires have all been lit up! These all, of rigid vows, protected by thee, are performing the rites of religion in this sacred region! The descendants of Bhrigu and Angiras, along with those of Vasishta and Kasyapa, the illustrious sons of Agastya, the offspring of Atri all of excellent vows, in fact, all the foremost Brahmanas of the whole, are now united with thee! Listen, O son of the Kuru race born of Kunti, thyself with thy brothers, to the words I speak to thee! As are aided by the wind consumeth the forest, so Brahma energy mingling with Kshatriya energy, and Kshatriya might mingling with Brahma power, might, when they gathered force, consume all enemies! O child, he should never desire to be without Brahmanas who wisheth to subdue this and the other world for length of days! Indeed, a king slayeth his enemies having obtained a Brahmana conversant, with religion and worldly affairs and freed from passion and folly. King Vali cherishing his subjects practised those duties that lead to salvation, and knew not of any other means in this world than Brahmanas. It was for this that all the desires of Virochana's son, the Asura (Vali), were ever gratified, and his wealth was ever inexhaustible. Having obtained the whole earth through the aid of the Brahmanas, he met with destruction when he began to practise wrong on them! This earth with her wealth never adoreth long as her lord a Kshatriya living without a Brahmana! The earth, however, girt by the sea, boweth unto him who is ruled by a Brahmana and taught his duties by him! Like an elephant in battle without his driver, a Kshatriya destitute of Brahmanas decreaseth in strength! The Brahmana's sight is without compare, and the Kshatriya's might also is unparalleled. When these combine, the whole earth itself cheerfully yieldeth to such a combination. As fire becoming mightier with the wind consumeth straw and wood, so kings with Brahmanas consume all foes! An intelligent Kshatriya, in order to gain what he hath not, and increase what he hath, should take counsel of Brahmanas! Therefore, O son of Kunti, for obtaining what thou hast not and increasing what thou hast, and spending what thou hast on proper objects and persons, keep thou with thee a Brahmana of reputation, of a knowledge of the Vedas, of wisdom and experience! O Yudhishthira. Thou hast ever highly regarded the Brahmanas. It is for this that thy fame is great and blazeth in the three worlds!'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Then all those Brahmanas who were with Yudhishthira worshipped Vaka of the Dalvya race, and having heard him praise Yudhishthira became highly pleased. And Dwaipayana and Narada and Jamadagnya and Prithusravas; and Indradyumna and Bhalaki and Kritachetas and Sahasrapat; and Karnasravas and Munja and Lavanaswa and Kasyapa; and Harita and Sthulakarana and Agnivesya and Saunaka; and Kritavak and Suvakana Vrihadaswa and Vibhavasu; and Urdharetas and Vrishamitra and Suhotra and Hotravahana; these and many other Brahmanas of rigid vows then adored Yudhishthira like Rishis adoring Purandara in heaven!"

SECTION 27

Vaisampayana said, "Exiled to the woods the sons of Pritha with Krishna seated in the evening, conversed with one another afflicted with sorrow and grief. And the handsome and well informed Krishna dear unto her lords and devoted to them, thus spake unto Yudhishthira, Then sinful, cruel, and wicked-minded son of Dhritarashtra certainly feeleth no sorrow for us, when, O king, that evil-hearted wretch having sent thee with myself into the woods dressed in deer-skin feeleth no regret! The heart of that wretch of evil deeds must surely be made of steel when he could at that time address thee, his virtuous eldest brother, in words so harsh! Having brought thee who deservest to enjoy every happiness and never such woe, into such distress, alas, that wicked-minded and sinful wretch joyeth with his friends! O Bharata, when dressed in deer-skin thou hast set out for the woods, only four persons, O monarch, viz., Duryodhana, Karna, the evil-minded Sakuni, and Dussasana that bad and fierce brother of Duryodhana, did not shed tears! With the exception of these, O thou best of the Kurus, all other Kurus filled with sorrow shed tears from their eyes! Beholding this thy bed and recollecting what thou hadst before, I grieve, O king, for thee who deservest not woe and hast been brought up in every luxury! Remembering that seat of ivory in thy court, decked with jewels and beholding this seat of kusa grass, grief consumeth me, O king! I saw thee, O king, surrounded in thy court by kings! What peace can my heart know in not beholding thee such now? I beheld thy body, effulgent as the sun, decked with sandal paste! Alas, grief depriveth me of my senses in beholding thee now besmeared with mud and dirt! I saw thee before, O king, dressed in silken clothes of pure white! But I now behold thee dressed in rags? Formerly, O king, pure food of every kind was carried from thy house on plates of gold for Brahmanas by thousands! And, O king, food also of the best kind was formerly given by thee unto ascetics both houseless and living in domesticity! Formerly, living in dry mansion thou hadst ever filled with food of every kind plates by thousands, and worshipped the Brahmanas gratifying every wish of theirs! What peace, O king, can my heart know in not beholding all this now? And, O great king, these thy brothers, endued with youth and decked with ear-rings, were formerly fed by cook with food of the sweet flavour and dressed with skill! Alas, O king, I now behold them all, so undeserving of woe, living in the woods and upon what the wood may yield! My heart, O King knoweth no peace! Thinking of this Bhimasena living in sorrow in the woods, doth not thy anger blaze up, even though it is time? Why doth not thy anger, O king, blaze up upon beholding the illustrious Bhimasena who ever performeth everything unaided, so fallen into distress, though deserving of every happiness? Why, O king, doth not thy anger blaze up on beholding that Bhima living in the woods who was formerly surrounded with numerous vehicles and dressed in costly apparel? This exalted personage is ready to slay all the Kurus in battle. He beareth, however, all this sorrow, only because he waiteth for the fufilment of thy promise! This Arjuna, O king, though possessed of two hands, is equal, for the lightness of his hand in discharging shafts, to (Kartavirya) Arjuna of a thousand arms! He Is even (to foes), like unto Yama himself at the end of the Yuga! It was by the prowess of his weapons that all the kings of the earth were made to wait upon the Brahmanas at thy sacrifice? Beholding that Arjuna that tiger among men worshipped by both the celestials and the Danavas so anxious, why, O king, dost thou not feel indignant? I grieve, O Bharata, that thy wrath doth not blaze up at sight of that son of Pritha in exile, that prince who deserveth not such distress and who hath been brought up in every luxury! Why doth not thy wrath blaze up at sight of that Arjuna in exile, who, on a single car, hath vanquished celestials and men and serpents? Why, O king, doth not thy wrath blaze up at sight of that Arjuna in exile who, honoured with offerings of cars and vehicles of various forms and horses and elephants, forcibly took from the kings of the earth their treasures, who is the chastiser of all foes, and who at one impetus can throw full five hundred arrows? Why, O king, doth not thy wrath blaze up at sight of Nakula, in exile, who so fair and able-bodied and young, is the foremost of all swordsmen? Why, O king, dost thou pardon the foe. O Yudhishthira, at sight of Madri's son, the handsome and brave Sahadeva in exile? Why doth not thy anger blaze up, O king, it sight of both Nakula and Sahadeva overwhelmed with grief, though so undeserving of distress? Why also, O king, dost thou pardon the foe at sight of myself in exile who, born in the race of Drupada and, therefore, the sister of Dhrishtadyumna, am the daughter-in-law of the illustrious Pandu and the devoted wife of heroes? Truly, O thou best of the Bharatas, thou hast no anger, else why is it that thy mind is not moved at sight of thy brothers and myself (in such distress)? It is said that there is no Kshatriya in the world who is bereft of anger. I now behold in thee, however, a refutation of the proverb! That Kshatriya, O son of Pritha, who discovereth not his energy when the opportunity cometh, is ever disregarded by all creatures! Therefore, O king, thou shouldst not extend thy forgiveness to the foe. Indeed, with thy energy, without doubt, thou, mayst slay them all! So also, O king, that Kshatriya who is not appeased when the time for forgiveness cometh, becometh unpopular with every creature and meeteth with destruction both in this and the other world!'"

SECTION 28

"Draupadi continued, 'On this subject, the ancient story of the conversation between Prahlada and Vali, the son of Virochana, is quoted as an example. One day Vali asked his grand-father Prahlada, the chief of the Asuras and the Danavas, possessed of great wisdom and well-versed in the mysteries of the science of duty, saying, 'O sire, is forgiveness meritorious or might and energy such? I am puzzled as regards this; O sire, enlighten me who ask thee this! O thou conversant with all duties, tell me truly which of these is meritorious? I will strictly obey whatever thy command may be! Thus asked (by Vali), his wise grandfather, conversant with every conclusion, replied upon the whole subject unto his grand-son who had sought at his hands the resolution of his doubts. And Prahlada said, 'Know, O child, these two truths with certainty, viz., that might is not always meritorious and forgiveness also is not always meritorious! He that forgiveth always suffereth many evils. Servants and strangers and enemies always disregard him. No creature ever bendeth down unto him. Therefore it is, O child, that the learned applaud not a constant habit of forgiveness! The servants of an ever-forgiving person always disregard him, and contract numerous faults. These mean-minded men also seek to deprive him of his wealth. Vile souled servants also appropriate to themselves his vehicles and clothes and ornaments and apparel and beds and seats and food and drink and other articles of use. They do not also at the command of their master, give unto others the things they are directed to give Nor do they even worship their master with that respect which is their master's due. Disregard in this world is worse than death. O child, sons and servants and attendants and even strangers

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speak harsh words unto the man who always forgiveth. Persons, disregarding the man of an ever-forgiving temper, even desire his wife, and his wife also, becometh ready to act as she willeth. And servants also that are ever fond of pleasure, if they do not receive even slight punishments from their master, contract all sorts of vices, and the wicked ever injure such a master. These and many other demerits attach to those that are ever-forgiving!

"Listen now, O son of Virochana, to the demerits of those that are never forgiving! The man of wrath who, surrounded by darkness, always inflicteth, by help of his own energy, various kinds of punishment on persons whether they deserve them or not, is necessarily separated from his friends in consequence of that energy of his. Such a man is hated by both relatives and strangers. Such a man, because he insulteth others, suffereth loss of wealth and reapeth disregard and sorrow and hatred and confusion and enemies. The man of wrath, in consequence of his ire, inflicteth punishments on men and obtaineth (in return) harsh words. He is divested of his prosperity soon and even of life, not to say, of friends and relatives. He that putteth forth his might both upon his benefactor and his foe, is an object of alarm to the world, like a snake that hath taken shelter in a house, to the inmates thereof. What prosperity can he have who is an object of alarm to the world? People always do him an injury when they find a hole. Therefore, should men never exhibit might in excess nor forgiveness on all occasions. One should put forth his might and show his forgiveness on proper occasions. He that becometh forgiving at the proper time and harsh and mighty also at the proper time, obtaineth happiness both in this world and the other.

"'I shall now indicate the occasions in detail of forgiveness, as laid down by the learned, and which should ever be observed by all. Hearken unto me as I speak! He that hath done thee a service, even if he is guilty of a grave wrong unto thee, recollecting his former service, shouldst thou forgive that offender. Those also that have become offenders from ignorance and folly should be forgiven for learning and wisdom are not always easily attainable by man. They that having offended thee knowingly, plead ignorance should be punished, even if their offences be trivial. Such crooked men should never be pardoned. The first offence of every creature should be forgiven. The second offence, however, should be punished, even if it be trivial. If, however, a person commiteth an offence unwillingly, it hath been said that examining his plea well by a judicious enquiry, he should be pardoned. Humility may vanquish might, humility may vanquish weakness. There is nothing that humility may not accomplish. Therefore, humility is truly fiercer (than it seemeth)! One should act with reference to place and time, taking note of his own might or weakness. Nothing can succeed that hath been undertaken without reference to place and time. Therefore, do thou ever wait for place and time! Sometimes offenders should be forgiven from fear of the people. These have been declared to be times of forgiveness. And it hath been said that on occasions besides these, might should be put forth against transgressors.'

"Draupadi continued, 'I, therefore, regard, O king, that the time hath come for thee to put forth thy might! Unto those Kurus the covetous sons of Dhritarashtra who injure us always, the present is not the time for forgiveness! It behoveth thee to put forth thy might. The humble and forgiving person is disregarded; while those that are fierce persecute others. He, indeed, is a king who hath recourse to both, each according to its time!'"

SECTION 29

Yudhishthira said, 'Anger is the slayer of men and is again their prosperor. Know this, O thou possessed of great wisdom, that anger is the root of all prosperity and all adversity. O thou beautiful one, he that suppresseth his anger earneth prosperity. That man, again, who always giveth way to anger, reapeth adversity from his fierce anger. It is seen in this world that anger is the cause of destruction of every creature. How then can one like me indulge his anger which is so destructive of the world? The angry man commiteth sin. The angry man killeth even his preceptors. The angry man insulteth even his superiors in harsh words. The man that is angry faileth to distinguish between what should be said and what should not. There is no act that an angry man may not do, no word that an angry man may not utter. From anger a man may slay one that deserveth not to be slain, and may worship one that deserveth to be slain. The angry man may even send his own soul to the regions of Yama. Beholding all these faults, the wise control their anger, desirous of obtaining high prosperity both in this and the other world. It is for this that they of tranquil souls have banished wrath. How can one like us indulge in it then? O daughter of Drupada, reflecting upon all this, my anger is not excited One that acteth not against a man whose wrath hath been up, rescueth himself as also others from great fear. In fact, he may be regarded to be the physician of the two (viz., himself and angry man). If a weak man, persecuted by others, foolishly becometh angry towards men that are mightier than he, he then becometh himself the cause of his own destruction. And in respect of one who thus deliberately throweth away his life, there are no regions hereafter to gain. Therefore, O daughter of Drupada, it hath been said that a weak man should always suppress his wrath. And the wise man also who though presecuted, suffereth not his wrath to be roused, joyeth in the other world--having passed his persecutor over in indifference. It is for this reason hath it been said that a wise man, whether strong or weak, should ever forgive his persecutor even when the latter is in the straits. It is for this, O Krishna, that the virtuous applaud them that have conquered their wrath. Indeed, it is the opinion of the virtuous that the honest and forgiving man is ever victorious. Truth is more beneficial than untruth; and gentleness than cruel behaviour. How can one like me, therefore, even for the purpose of slaying Duryodhana, exhibit anger which hath so many faults and which the virtuous banish from their souls? They that are regarded by the learned of foresight, as possessed of (true) force of character, are certainly those who are wrathful in outward show only. Men of learning and of true insight call him to be possessed of force of character who by his wisdom can suppress his risen wrath. O thou of fair hips, the angry man seeth not things in their true light. The man that is angry seeth not his way, nor respecteth persons. The angry man killeth even those that deserve not to be killed. The man of wrath slayeth even his preceptors. Therefore, the man possessing force of character should ever banish wrath to a distance. The man that is overwhelmed with wrath acquireth not with ease generosity, dignity, courage, skill, and other attributes belonging to real force of character. A man by forsaking anger can exhibit proper energy, whereas, O wise one, it is highly difficult for the angry man to exhibit his energy at the proper time! The ignorant always regard anger as equivalent to energy. Wrath, however hath been given to man for the destruction of the world. The man, therefore, who wisheth to behave properly, must ever forsake anger. Even one who hath abandoned the excellent virtues of his own order, it is certain, indulgeth in wrath (if behaveth properly). If fools, of mind without light, transgress in every respect, how, O faultless one, can one like me transgress (like them)? If amongst men there were not persons equal unto the earth in forgiveness, there would be no peace among men but continued strife caused by wrath. If the injured return their injuries, if one chastised by his superior were to chastise his superior in return, the consequence would be the destruction of every creature, and sin also would prevail in the world. If the man who hath ill speeches from another, returneth those speeches afterwards; if the injured man returneth his injuries: if the chastised person chastiseth in return; if fathers slay sons, and sons fathers and if husbands slay wives, and wives husbands; then, O Krishna, how can birth take place in a world where anger prevaileth so! For, O thou of handsome face, know that the birth of creatures is due to peace! If the kings also, O Draupadi, giveth way to wrath, his subjects soon meet with destruction. Wrath, therefore, hath for its consequence the destruction and the distress of the people. And because it is seen that there are in the world men who are forgiving like the Earth, it is therefore that creatures derive their life and prosperity. O beautiful one, one should forgive under every injury. It hath been said that the continuation of species is due to man being forgiving. He, indeed, is a wise and excellent person who hath conquered his wrath and who showeth forgiveness even when insulted, oppressed, and angered by a strong person. The man of power who controleth his wrath, hath (for his enjoyment) numerous everlasting regions; while he that is angry, is called foolish, and meeteth with destruction both in this and the other world. O Krishna, the illustrious and forgiving Kashyapa hath, in this respect, sung the following verses in honour of men that are ever forgiving, 'Forgiveness is virtue; forgiveness is sacrifice, forgiveness is the Vedas, forgiveness is the Shruti. He that knoweth this is capable of forgiving everything. Forgiveness is Brahma; forgiveness is truth; forgiveness is stored ascetic merit; forgiveness protecteth the ascetic merit of the future; forgiveness is asceticism; forgiveness is holiness; and by forgiveness is it that the universe is held together. Persons that are forgiving attain to the regions obtainable by those that have preformed meritorious sacrifices, or those that are well-conversant with the Vedas, or those that have high ascetic merit. Those that perform Vedic sacrifices as also those that perform the meritorious rites of religion obtain other regions. Men of forgiveness, however, obtain those much-adored regions that are in the world of Brahma. Forgiveness is the might of the mighty; forgiveness is sacrifice; forgiveness is quiet of mind. How, O Krishna, can one like us abandon forgiveness, which is such, and in which are established Brahma, and truth, and wisdom and the worlds? The man of wisdom should ever forgive, for when he is capable of forgiving everything, he attaineth to Brahma. The world belongeth to those that are forgiving; the other world is also theirs. The forgiving acquire honours here, and a state of blessedness hereafter. Those men that ever conquer their wrath by forgiveness, obtain the higher regions. Therefore hath it been said that forgiveness is the highest virtue.' Those are the verses sung by Kashyapa in respect of those that are everforgiving. Having listened, O Draupadi, to these verses in respect of forgiveness, content thyself! Give not way to thy wrath! Our grandsire, the son of Santanu, will worship peace; Krishna, the son of Devaki, will worship peace; the preceptor (Drona) and Vidura called Kshatri will both speak of peace; Kripa and Sanjaya also will preach peace. And Somadatta and Yuyutshu and Drona's son and our grandsire Vyasa, every one of them speaketh always of peace. Ever urged by these towards peace, the king (Dhritarashtra) will, I think, return us our kingdom. If however, he yieldeth to temptation, he will meet with destruction. O lady, a crisis hath come in the history of Bharatas for plunging them into calamity! This hath been my certain conclusion from some time before! Suyodhana deserveth not the kingdom. Therefore hath he been unable to acquire forgiveness. I, however, deserve the sovereignty and therefore is it that forgiveness hath taken possession of me. Forgiveness and gentleness are the qualities of the self-possessed. They represent eternal virtue. I shall, therefore, truly adopt those qualities."

SECTION 30

"Draupadi said, 'I bow down unto Dhatri and Vidhatri who have thus clouded thy sense! Regarding the burden (thou art to bear) thou thinkest differently from the ways of thy fathers and grand-fathers! Influenced by acts men are placed in different situations of life. Acts, therefore, produce consequences that are inevitable; emancipation is desired from mere folly. It seemeth that man can never attain prosperity in this world by virtue, gentleness, forgiveness, straightforwardness and fear of censure! If this were not so, O Bharata, this insufferable calamity would never have overtaken thee who art so undeserving of it, and these thy brothers of great energy! Neither in those days of prosperity nor in these days of thy adversity, thou, O Bharata, hath ever known anything so dear to thee as virtue, which thou hast even regarded as dearer to thee than life? That thy kingdom is for virtue alone, that thy life also is for virtue alone, is known to Brahmanas and thy superiors and even the celestials! I think thou canst abandon Bhimasena and Arjuna and these twin sons of Madri along with myself but thou canst not abandon virtue! I have heard that the king protecteth virtue; and virtue, protected by him, protecteth him (in return)! I see, however, that virtue protecteth thee not! Like the shadow pursuing a man, thy heart, O tiger among men, with singleness of purpose, ever seeketh virtue. Thou hast never disregarded thy equals, and inferiors and superiors. Obtaining even the entire world, thy pride never increased! O son of Pritha, thou ever worshippest Brahmanas, and gods, and the Pitris, with Swadhas, and other forms of worship! O son of Pritha, thou hast ever gratified the Brahmanas by fulfilling every wish of theirs! Yatis and Sannyasins and mendicants of domestic lives have always been fed in thy house from off plates of gold where I have distributed (food) amongst them. Unto the Vanaprasthas thou always givest gold and food. There is nothing in thy house thou mayest not give unto the Brahmanas! In the Viswadeva sacrifice, that is, for thy peace, performed in thy house, the things consecrated are first offered unto guests and all creatures while thou livest thyself with what remaineth (after distribution)! Ishtis Pashubandhas, sacrifices for obtaining fruition of desire, the religions rites of (ordinary) domesticity, Paka sacrifices, and sacrifices of other kinds, are ever performed in thy house. Even in this great forest, so solitary and haunted by robbers, living in exile, divested of thy kingdom, thy virtue hath sustained no diminution! The Aswamedha, the Rajasuya, the Pundarika, and Gosava, these grand sacrifices requiring large gifts have all been performed by thee! O monarch, impelled by a perverse sense during that dire hour of a losing match at dice, thou didst yet stake and loss thy kingdom, thy wealth, thy weapons, thy brothers, and myself! Simple, gentle, liberal, modest, truthful, how, O king could thy mind be attracted to the vice of gambling? I am almost deprived of my sense, O king, and my heart is overwhelmed with grief, beholding this thy distress, and this thy calamity! An old history is cited as an illustration for the truth that men are subjects to the will of God and never to their own wishes! The Supreme Lord and Ordainer of all ordaineth everything in respect of the weal and woe, the happiness and misery, of all creatures, even prior to their births guided by the acts of each, which are even like a seed (destined to sprout forth into the tree of life). O hero amongst men, as a wooden doll is made to move its limbs by the wire-puller, so are creatures made to work by the Lord of all. O Bharata, like space that covereth every object, God, pervading every creature, ordaineth its weal or woe. Like a bird tied with a string, every creature is dependent on God. Every one is subject to God and none else. No one can be his own ordainer. Like a pearl on its string, or a bull held fast by the cord passing through its nose, or a tree fallen from the bank into the middle of the stream, every creature followeth the command of the Creator, because imbued with His Spirit and because established in Him. And man himself, dependent on the Universal Soul, cannot pass a moment independently. Enveloped in darkness, creatures are not masters of their own weal or woe. They go to heaven or hell urged by God Himself.

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Like light straws dependent on strong winds, all creatures, O Bharatas, are dependent on God! And God himself, pervading all creatures and engaged in acts right and wrong, moveth in the universe, though none can say This is God! This body with its physical attributes is only the means by which God--the Supreme Lord of all maketh (every creature) to reap fruits that are good or bad. Behold the power of illusion that hath been spread by God, who confounding with his illusion, maketh creatures slay their fellows! Truth-knowing Munis behold those differently. They appear to them in a different light, even like the rays of the Sun (which to ordinary eyes are only a pencil of light, while to eyes more penetrating seem fraught with the germs of food and drink). Ordinary men behold the things of the earth otherwise. It is God who maketh them all, adopting different processes in their creation and destruction. And, O Yudhishthira, the Self-create Grandsire, Almighty God, spreading illusion, slayeth his creatures by the instrumentality of his creatures, as one may break a piece of inert and senseless wood with wood, or stone with stone, or iron with iron. And the Supreme Lord, according to his pleasure, sporteth with His creatures, creating and destroying them, like a child with his toy (of soft earth). O king, it doth seem to me that God behaveth towards his creatures like a father or mother unto them. Like a vicious person, He seemeth to bear himself towards them in anger! Beholding superior and well-behaved and modest persons persecuted, while the sinful are happy, I am sorely troubled. Beholding this thy distress and the prosperity of Suyodhana, I do not speak highly of the Great Ordainer who suffereth such inequality! O sir, what fruits doth the Great Ordainer reap by granting prosperity to Dhritarashtra's son who transgresseth the ordinances, who is crooked and covetous, and who injureth virtue and religion! If the act done pursueth the doer and none else, then certainly it is God himself who is stained with the sin of every act. If however, the sin of an act done doth not attach to the doer, then (individual) might (and not God) is the true cause of acts, and I grieve for those that have no might!""

SECTION 31

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thy speech, O Yajnaseni, is delightful, smooth and full of excellent phrases. We have listened to it (carefully). Thou speakest, however, the language of atheism. O princess, I never act, solicitous of the fruits of my actions. I give away, because it is my duty to give; I sacrifice because it is my duty to sacrifice! O Krishna, I accomplish to the best of my power whatever a person living in domesticity should do, regardless of the fact whether those acts have fruits or not. O thou of fair hips, I act virtuously, not from the desire of reaping the fruits of virtue, but of not transgressing the ordinances of the Veda, and beholding also the conduct of the good and wise! My heart, O Krishna, is naturally attracted towards virtue. The man who wisheth to reap the fruits of virtue is a trader in virtue. His nature is mean and he should never be counted amongst the virtuous. Nor doth he ever obtain the fruits of his virtues! Nor doth he of sinful heart, who having accomplished a virtuous act doubteth in his mind, obtain the fruits of his act, in consequence of that scepticism of his! I speak unto thee, under the authority of the Vedas, which constitute the highest proof in such matters, that never shouldst thou doubt virtue! The man that doubteth virtue is destined to take his birth in the brute species. The man of weak understanding who doubteth religion, virtue or the words of the Rishis, is precluded from regions of immortality and bliss, like Sudras from the Vedas! O intelligent one, if a child born of a good race studieth the Vedas and beareth himself virtuously, royal sages of virtuous behaviour regard him as an aged sage (not withstanding his years)! The sinful wretch, however, who doubteth religion and transgresseth the scriptures, is regarded as lower even than Sudras and robbers! Thou hast seen with thy own eyes the great ascetic Markandeya of immeasurable soul come to us! It is by virtue alone that he hath acquired immortality in the flesh. Vyasa, and Vasistha and Maitreya, and Narada and Lomasa, and Suka, and other Rishis have all, by virtue alone, become of pure soul! Thou beholdest them with thy own eyes as furnished with prowess of celestial asceticism, competent to curse or bless (with effect), and superior to the very gods! O sinless one, these all, equal to the celestials themselves, behold with their eyes what Is written in the Vedas, and describe virtue as the foremost duty! It behoveth thee not, therefore, O amiable Queen, to either doubt or censure God or act, with a foolish heart. The fool that doubteth religion and disregardeth virtue, proud of the proof derived from his own reasoning, regardeth not other proofs and holdeth the Rishis, who are capable of knowing the future as present as mad men. The fool regardeth only the external world capable of gratifying his senses, and is blind to everything else. He that doubteth religion hath no expiation for his offence. That miserable wretch is full of anxiety and acquireth not regions of bliss hereafter. A rejector of proofs, a slanderer of the interpretation of the Vedic scriptures, a transgressor urged by lust and covetousness, that fool goeth to hell. O amiable one, he on the other hand, who ever cherisheth religion with faith, obtaineth eternal bliss in the other world. The fool who cherisheth not religion, transgressing the proofs offered by the Rishis, never obtaineth prosperity in any life, for such transgression of the scriptures. It is certain, O handsome one, that with respect to him who regardeth not the words of the Rishis or the conduct of the virtuous as proof, neither this nor the other world existeth. Doubt not, O Krishna, the ancient religion that is practised by the good and framed by Rishis of universal knowledge and capable of seeing all things! O daughter of Drupada, religion is the only raft for those desirous of going to heaven, like a ship to merchants desirous of crossing the ocean. O thou faultless one, if the virtues that are practised by the virtuous had no fruits, this universe then would be enveloped in infamous darkness. No one then would pursue salvation, no one would seek to acquire knowledge not even wealth, but men would live like beasts. If asceticism, the austerities of celibate life, sacrifices, study of the Vedas, charity, honesty,--these all were fruitless, men would not have practised virtue generation after generation. If acts were all fruitless, a dire confusion would ensue. For what then do Rishis and gods and Gandharvas and Rakshasas who are all independent of human conditions, cherish virtue with such affection? Knowing it for certain that God is the giver of fruits in respect of virtue, they practise virtue in this world. This, O Krishna, is the eternal (source of) prosperity. When the fruits of both knowledge and asceticism are seen, virtue and vice cannot be fruitless. Call to thy mind, O Krishna, the circumstances of thy own birth as thou that heard of them, and recall also the manner in which Dhrishtadyumna of great prowess was born! These, O thou of sweet smiles, are the best proofs (of the fruits of virtue)! They that have their minds under control, reap the fruits of their acts and are content with little. Ignorant fools are not content with even that much they get (here), because they have no happiness born of virtue to acquire to in the world hereafter. The fruitlessness of virtuous acts ordained in the Vedas, as also of all transgressions, the origin and destruction of acts are, O beautiful one, mysterious even to the gods. These are not known to any body and everybody. Ordinary men are ignorant in respect of these. The gods keep up the mystery, for the illusion covering the conduct of the gods is unintelligible. Those regenerate ones that have destroyed all aspirations, that have built all their hopes on vows and asceticism, that have burnt all their sins and have acquired minds where quest and peace and holiness dwell, understand all these. Therefore, though you mayst not see the fruits of virtue, thou shouldst not yet doubt religion or gods. Thou must perform sacrifices with a will, and practise charity without insolence. Acts in this world have their fruits, and virtue also is eternal. Brahma himself told this unto his (spiritual) sons, as testified to by Kashyapa. Let thy doubt, therefore, O Krishna, be dispelled like mist. Reflecting upon all this, let thy scepticism give way to faith. Slander not God, who is the lord of all creatures. Learn how to know him. Bow down unto him. Let not thy mind be such. And, O Krishna, never disregard that Supreme Being through whose grace mortal man, by piety, acquireth immortality!""

SECTION 32

"Draupadi said, 'I do not ever disregard or slander religion, O son of Pritha! Why should I disregard God, the lord of all creatures? Afflicted with woe, know me, O Bharata, to be only raving I will once more indulge in lamentations; listen to me with attention O persecutor of all enemies, every conscious creature should certainly act in this world. It is only the immobile, and not other creatures, that may live without acting. The calf, immediately after its birth, sucketh the mothers' teat. Persons feel pain in consequence of incantations performed with their statues. It seemeth, therefore, O Yudhishthira, that creatures derive the character of their lives from their acts of former lives. Amongst mobile creatures man differeth in this respect that he aspireth, O bull of the Bharata race, to affect his course of life in this and the other world by means of his acts. Impelled by the inspiration of a former life, all creatures visibly (reap) in this world the fruits of their acts. Indeed, all creatures live according to the inspiration of a former life, even the Creator and the Ordainer of the universe, like a crane that liveth on the water (untaught by any one.) If a creature acteth not, its course of life is impossible. In the case of a creature, therefore, there must be action and not inaction. Thou also shouldest act, and not incur censure by abandoning action. Cover thyself up, as with an armour, with action. There may or may not be even one in a thousand who truly knoweth the utility of acts or work. One must act for protecting as also increasing his wealth; for if without seeking to earn, one continueth to only spend, his wealth, even if it were a hoard huge as Himavat, would soon be exhausted. All the creatures in the world would have been exterminated, if there were no action. If also acts bore no fruits, creatures would never have multiplied. It is even seen that creatures sometimes perform acts that have no fruits, for without acts the course of life itself would be impossible. Those persons in the world who believe in destiny, and those again who believe in chance, are both the worst among men. Those only that believe in the efficacy of acts are laudable. He that lieth at ease, without activity, believing in destiny alone, is soon destroyed like an unburnt earthen pot in water. So also he that believeth in chance, i.e., sitteth inactive though capable of activity liveth not long, for his life is one of weakness and helplessness. If any person accidentally acquireth any wealth, it is said he deriveth it from chance, for no one's effort hath brought about the result. And, O son of Pritha, whatever of good fortune a person obtaineth in consequence of religious rites, that is called providential. The fruit, however that a person obtaineth by acting himself, and which is the direct result of those acts of his, is regarded as proof of personal ability. And, O best of men, know that the wealth one obtaineth spontaneously and without cause is said to be a spontaneous acquisition. Whatever is thus obtained by chance, by providential dispensation, spontaneously, of as the result of one's acts is, however, the consequence of the acts of a former life. And God, the Ordainer of the universe, judging according to the acts of former lives, distributeth among men their portions in this world. Whatever acts, good or bad, a person performeth, know that they are the result of God's, arrangements agreeably to the acts of a former life. This body is only the instruments in the hands of God, for doing the acts that are done. Itself, inert, it doth as God urgeth it to do. O son of Kunti, it is the Supreme Lord of all who maketh all creatures do what they do. The creatures themselves are inert. O hero, man, having first settled some purpose in his mind, accomplisheth it, himself working with the aid of his intelligence. We, therefore, say that man is himself the cause (of what he doeth). O bull among men, it is impossible to number the acts of men, for mansions and towns are the result of man's acts. Intelligent men know, by help of their intellect, that oil may be had from sesame, curds from milk, and that food may be cooked by means of igniting fuel. They know also the means for accomplishing all these. And knowing them, they afterwards set themselves, with proper appliances, to accomplish them. And creatures support their lives by the results achieved in these directions by their own acts. If a work is executed by a skilled workman, it is executed well. From differences (in characteristics), another work may be said to be that of an unskilful hand. If a person were not, in the matter of his acts, himself the cause thereof, then sacrifices would not bear any fruits in his case nor would any body be a disciple or a master. It is because a person is himself the cause of his work that he is applauded when he achieved success. So the doer is censured if he faileth. If a man were not himself the cause of his acts, how would all this be justified? Some say that everything is the result of Providential dispensation; others again, that this is not so, but that everything which is supposed to be the result of destiny or chance is the result of the good or the bad acts of former lives. It is seen, possessions are obtained from chance, as also from destiny Something being from destiny and something from chance, something is obtained by exertion. In the acquisition of his objects, there is no fourth cause in the case of man. Thus say those that are acquainted with truth and skilled in knowledge. If, however, God himself were not the giver of good and bad fruits, then amongst creatures there would not be any that was miserable. If the effect of former acts be a myth, then all purposes for which man would work should be successful. They, therefore, that regard the three alone (mentioned above) as the doors of all success and failure in the world, (without regarding the acts of former life), are dull and inert like the body itself. For all this, however, a person should act. This is the conclusion of Manu himself. The person that doth not act, certainly succumbeth, O Yudhishthira. The man of action in this world generally meeteth with success. The idle, however, never achieveth success. If success, becometh impossible, then should one seek to remove the difficulties that bar his way to success. And, O king, if a person worketh (hard), his debt (to the gods) is cancelled (whether he achieveth success or not). The person that is idle and lieth at his length, is overcome by adversity; while he that is active and skillful is sure to reap success and enjoy prosperity. Intelligent persons engaged in acts with confidence in themselves regard all who are diffident as doubting and unsuccessful. The confident and faithful, however, are regarded by them as successful. And this moment misery hath overtaken us. If, however, thou betakest to action, that misery will certainly be removed. If thou meetest failure, then that will furnish a proof unto thee and Vrikodara and Vivatsu and the twins (that ye are unable to snatch the kingdom from the foe). The acts of others, it is seen, are crowned with success. It is probable that ours also will be successful. How can one know beforehand what the consequence will be? Having exerted thyself thou wilt know what the fruit of thy exertion will be. The tiller tilleth with the plough the soil and soweth the seeds thereon. He then sitteth silent, for the clouds (after that) are the cause that would help the seeds to grow into plants. If however, the clouds favour him not, the tiller is absolved from all blame. He sayeth unto himself, 'What others do, I have done. If, notwithstanding this, I meet with failure, no blame can attach to me.' Thinking so, he containeth himself and never indulgeth in self-reproach. O Bharata, no one should despair

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saying, 'Oh, I am acting, yet success is not mine! For there are two other causes, besides exertion, towards success. Whether there be success or failure, there should be no despair, for success in acts dependeth upon the union; of many circumstances. If one important element is wanting, success doth not become commensurate, or doth not come at all. If however, no exertion is made, there can be no success. Nor is there anything to applaud in the absence of all exertion. The intelligent, aided by their intelligence, and according to their full might bring place, time, means, auspicious rites, for the acquisition of prosperity. With carefulness and vigilance should one set himself to work, his chief guide being his prowess. In the union of qualities necessary for success in work, prowess seemeth to be the chief. When the man of intelligence seeth his enemy superior to him in many qualities, he should seek the accomplishment of his purposes by means, of the arts of conciliation and proper appliances. He should also wish evil unto his foe and his banishment. Without speaking of mortal man, if his foe were even the ocean or the hills, he should be guided by such motives. A person by his activity in searching for the holes of his enemies, dischargeth his debt to himself as also to his friends. No man should ever disparage himself for the man that disparageth himself never earneth high prosperity. O Bharata, success in this world is attainable on such conditions! In fact, success in the World is said to depend on acting according to time and circumstances. My father formerly kept a learned Brahmana with him. O bull of the Bharata race, he said all this unto my father. Indeed, these instructions as to duty, uttered by Vrihaspati himself, were first taught to my brothers. It was from them that I heard these afterwards while in my father's house. And, O Yudhishthira, while at intervals of business, I went out (of the inner apartments) and sat on the lap of my father, that learned Brahmana used to recite unto me these truths, sweetly consoling me therewith!"

SECTION 33

'Vaisampayana said, "Hearing these words of Yajnaseni, Bhimasena, sighing in wrath, approached the king and addressed him, saying, 'Walk, O monarch, in the customary path trodden by good men, (before thee) in respect of kingdoms. What do we gain by living in the asylum of ascetics, thus deprived of virtue, pleasure, and profit? It is not by virtue, nor by honesty, nor by might, but by unfair dice, that our kingdom hath been snatched by Duryodhana. Like a weak offal-eating jackal snatching the prey from mighty lions, he hath snatched away our kingdom. Why, O monarch, in obedience to the trite merit of sticking to a promise, dost thou suffer such distress, abandoning that wealth which is the source of both virtue and enjoyments? It was for thy carelessness, O king, that our kingdom protected by the wielder of the Gandiva and therefore, incapable of being wrested by Indra himself, was snatched from us in our very sight. It was for thee, O monarch, that, ourselves living, our prosperity was snatched away from us like a fruit from one unable to use his arms, or like kine from one incapable of using his legs. Thou art faithful in the acquisition of virtue. It was to please thee, O Bharata, that we have suffered ourselves to be overwhelmed with such dire calamity. O bull of the Bharata race, it was because we were subject to thy control that we are thus tearing the hearts of our friends and gratifying our foes. That we did not, in obedience to thee, even then slay the sons of Dhritarashtra, is an act of folly on our part that grieveth me sorely. This thy abode, O king, in the woods, like that of any wild animal, is what a man of weakness alone would submit to. Surely, no man of might would ever lead such a life. This thy course of life is approved neither by Krishna, nor Vibhatsu, nor by Abhimanyu, nor by the Srinjayas, nor by myself, nor by the sons of Madri. Afflicted with the vows, thy cry is Religion! Religion! Hast thou from despair been deprived of thy manliness? Cowards alone, unable to win back their prosperity, cherish despair, which is fruitless and destructive of one's purposes. Thou hast ability and eyes. Thou seest that manliness dwelleth in us. It is because thou hast adopted a life of peace that thou feelest not this distress. These Dhritarashtras regard us who are forgiving, as really incompetent. This, O king, grieveth me more than death in battle. If we all die in fair fight without turning our backs on the foe, even that would be better than this exile, for then we should obtain regions of bliss in the other world. Or, if, O bull of the Bharata race, having slain them all, we acquire the entire earth, that would be prosperity worth the trial. We who ever adhere to the customs of our order, who ever desire grand achievements, who wish to avenge our wrongs, have this for our bounden duty. Our kingdom wrested from us, if we engage in battle, our deeds when known to the world will procure for us fame and not slander. And that virtue, O king, which tortureth one's own self and friends, is really no virtue. It is rather vice, producing calamities. Virtue is sometimes also the weakness of men. And though such a man might ever be engaged in the practice of virtue, yet both virtue and profit forsake him, like pleasure and pain forsaking a person that is dead. He that practiseth virtue for virtue's sake always suffereth. He can scarcely be called a wise man, for he knoweth not the purposes of virtue like a blind man incapable of perceiving the solar light. He that regardeth his wealth to exist for himself alone, scarcely understandeth the purposes of wealth. He is really like a servant that tendeth kine in a forest. He again that pursueth wealth too much without pursuing virtue and enjoyments, deserveth to be censured and slain by all men. He also that ever pursueth enjoyments without pursuing virtue and wealth, loseth his friends and virtue and wealth also. Destitute of virtue and wealth such a man, indulging in pleasure at will, at the expiration of his period of indulgence, meeteth with certain death, like a fish when the water in which it liveth hath been dried up. It is for these reasons that they that are wise are ever careful of both virtue and wealth, for a union of virtue and wealth is the essential requisite of pleasure, as fuel is the essential requisite of fire. Pleasure hath always virtue for its root, and virtue also is united with pleasure. Know, O monarch, that both are dependent on each other like the ocean and the clouds, the ocean causing the clouds and the clouds filling the ocean. The joy that one feeleth in consequence of contact with objects of touch or of possession of wealth, is what is called pleasure. It existeth in the mind, having no corporeal existence that one can see. He that wisheth (to obtain) wealth, seeketh for a large share of virtue to crown his wish with success. He that wisheth for pleasure, seeketh wealth, (so that his wish may be realised). Pleasure however, yieldeth nothing in its turn. One pleasure cannot lead to another, being its own fruit, as ashes may be had from wood, but nothing from those ashes in their turn. And, O king, as a fowler killeth the birds we see, so doth sin slay the creatures of the world. He, therefore, who misled by pleasure or covetousness, beholdeth not the nature of virtue, deserveth to be slain by all, and becometh wretched both here and hereafter. It is evident, O king, that thou knowest that pleasure may be derived from the possession of various objects of enjoyment. Thou also well knowest their ordinary states, as well as the great changes they undergo. At their loss or disappearance occasioned by decrepitude or death, ariseth what is called distress. That distress, O king, hath now overtaken us. The joy that ariseth from the five senses, the intellect and the heart, being directed to the objects proper to each, is called pleasure. That pleasure, O king, is, as I think, one of the best fruits of our actions.

"Thus, O monarch, one should regard virtue, wealth and pleasure one after another. One should not devote one self to virtue alone, nor regard wealth as the highest object of one's wishes, nor pleasure, but should ever pursue all three. The scriptures ordain that one should seek virtue in the morning, wealth at noon, and pleasure in the evening. The scriptures also ordain that one should seek pleasure in the first portion of life, wealth in the second, and virtue in the last. And, O thou foremost of speakers, they that are wise and fully conversant with proper division of time, pursue all three, virtue, wealth, and pleasure, dividing their time duly. O son of the Kuru race, whether independence of these (three), or their possession is the better for those that desire happiness, should be settled by thee after careful thought. And thou shouldst then, O king, unhesitatingly act either for acquiring them, or abandoning them all. For he who liveth wavering between the two doubtingly, leadeth a wretched life. It is well known that thy behaviour is ever regulated by virtue. Knowing this thy friends counsel thee to act. Gift, sacrifice, respect for the wise, study of the Vedas, and honesty, these, O king, constitute the highest virtue and are efficacious both here and hereafter. These virtues, however, cannot be attained by one that hath no wealth, even if, O tiger among men, he may have infinite other accomplishments. The whole universe, O king, dependeth upon virtue. There is nothing higher than virtue. And virtue, O king, is attainable by one that hath plenty of wealth. Wealth cannot be earned by leading a mendicant life, nor by a life of feebleness. Wealth, however, can be earned by intelligence directed by virtue. In thy case, O king, begging, which is successful with Brahmanas, hath been forbidden. Therefore, O bull amongst men, strive for the acquisition of wealth by exerting thy might and energy. Neither mendicancy, nor the life of a Sudra is what is proper for thee. Might and energy constitute the virtue of the Kshatriya in especial. Adopt thou, therefore, the virtue of thy order and slay the enemies. Destroy the might of Dhritarashtra's sons, O son of Pritha, with my and Arjuna's aid. They that are learned and wise say that sovereignty is virtue. Acquire sovereignty, therefore, for it behoveth thee not to live in a state of inferiority. Awake, O king, and understand the eternal virtues (of the order). By birth thou belongest to an order whose deeds are cruel and are a source of pain to man. Cherish thy subjects and reap the fruit thereof. That can never be a reproach. Even this, O king, is the virtue ordained by God himself for the order to which thou belongest! If thou tallest away therefrom, thou wilt make thyself ridiculous. Deviation from the virtues of one's own order is never applauded. Therefore, O thou of the Kuru race, making thy heart what it ought to be, agreeably to the order to which thou belongest, and casting away this course of feebleness, summon thy energy and bear thy weight like one that beareth it manfully. No king, O monarch, could ever acquire the sovereignty of the earth or prosperity or affluence by means of virtue alone. Like a fowler earning his food in the shape of swarms of little easily-tempted game, by offering them some attractive food, doth one that is intelligent acquire a kingdom, by offering bribes unto low and covetous enemies. Behold, O bull among kings, the Asuras, though elder brothers in possession of power and affluence, were all vanquished by the gods through stratagem. Thus, O king, everything belongeth to those that are mighty. And, O mighty-armed one, slay thy foes, having recourse to stratagem. There is none equal unto Arjuna in wielding the bow in battle. Nor is there anybody that may be equal unto me in wielding the mace. Strong men, O monarch, engage in battle depending on their might, and not on the force of numbers nor on information of the enemy's plans procured through spies. Therefore, O son of Pandu exert thy might. Might is the root of wealth. Whatever else is said to be its root is really not such. As the shade of the tree in winter goeth for nothing, so without might everything else becometh fruitless. Wealth should be spent by one who wisheth to increase his wealth, after the manner, O son of Kunti, of scattering seeds on the ground. Let there be no doubt then in thy mind. Where, however, wealth that is more or even equal is not to be gained, there should be no expenditure of wealth. For investment of wealth are like the ass, scratching, pleasurable at first but painful afterwards. Thus, O king of men, the person who throweth away like seeds a little of his virtue in order to gain a larger measure of virtue, is regarded as wise. Beyond doubt, it is as I say. They that are wise alienate the friends of the foe that owneth such, and having weakened him by causing those friends to abandon him thus, they then reduce him to subjection. Even they that are strong, engage in battle depending on their courage. One cannot by even continued efforts (uninspired by courage) or by the arts of conciliation, always conquer a kingdom. Sometimes, O king, men that are weak, uniting in large numbers, slay even a powerful foe, like bees killing the despoiler of the honey by force of numbers alone. (As regards thyself), O king, like the sun that sustaineth as well as slayeth creatures by his rays, adopt thou the ways of the sun. To protect one's kingdom and cherish the people duly, as done by our ancestors, O king, is, it hath been heard by us, a kind of asceticism mentioned even in the Vedas. By ascetism, O king, a Kshatriya cannot acquire such regions of blessedness as he can by fair fight whether ending in victory or defeat. Beholding, O king, this thy distress, the world hath come to the conclusion that light may forsake the Sun and grace the Moon. And, O king, good men separately as well as assembling together, converse with one another, applauding thee and blaming the other. There is this, moreover, O monarch, viz., that both the Kurus and the Brahmanas, assembling together, gladly speak of thy firm adherence to truth, in that thou hast never, from ignorance, from meanness, from covetousness, or from fear, uttered an untruth. Whatever sin, O monarch, a king committeth in acquiring dominion, he consumeth it all afterwards by means of sacrifices distinguished by large gifts. Like the Moon emerging from the clouds, the king is purified from all sins by bestowing villages on Brahmanas and kine by thousands. Almost all the citizens as well as the inhabitants of the country, young or old, O son of the Kuru race, praise thee, O Yudhishthira! This also, O Bharata, the people are saying amongst themselves, viz., that as milk in a bag of dog's hide, as the Vedas in a Sudra, as truth in a robber, as strength in a woman, so is sovereignty in Duryodhana. Even women and children are repeating this, as if it were a lesson they seek to commit to memory. O represser of foes, thou hast fallen into this state along with ourselves. Alas, we also are lost with thee for this calamity of thine. Therefore, ascending in thy car furnished with every implement, and making the superior Brahmanas utter benedictions on thee, march thou with speed, even this very day, upon Hastinapura, in order that thou mayst be able to give unto Brahmanas the spoils of victory. Surrounded by thy brothers, who are firm wielders of the bow, and by heroes skilled in weapons and like unto snakes of virulent poison, set thou out even like the slayer Vritra surounded by the Marutas. And, O son of Kunti, as thou art powerful, grind thou with thy might thy weak enemies, like Indra grinding the Asuras; and snatch thou from Dhritarashtra's son the prosperity he enjoyeth. There is no mortal that can bear the touch of the shafts furnished with the feathers of the vulture and resembling snakes of virulent poison, that would be shot from the Gandiva. And, O Bharata, there is not a warrior, nor an elephant, nor a horse, that is able to bear the impetus of my mace when I am angry in battle. Why, O son of Kunti, should we not wrest our kingdom from the foe, fighting with the aid of the Srinjayas and Kaikeyas, and the bull of the Vrishni race? Why, O king, should we not succeed in wresting the (sovereignty of the) earth that is now in the hands of the foe, if, aided by a large force, we do but strive?"

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SECTION 34

Vaisampayana said, "Thus addressed by Bhimasena, the high-souled king Ajatasatru firmly devoted to truth, mustering his patience, after a few moments said these words, 'No doubt, O Bharata, all this is true. I cannot reproach thee for thy torturing me thus by piercing me with thy arrowy words. From my folly alone hath this calamity come against you. I sought to cast the dice desiring to snatch from Dhritarashtra's son his kingdom with the sovereignty. It was therefore that, that cunning gambler--Suvala's son--played against me on behalf of Suyodhana. Sakuni, a native of the hilly country, is exceedingly artful. Casting the dice in the presence of the assembly, unacquainted as I am with artifices of any kind, he vanquished me artfully. It is, therefore, O Bhimasena, that we have been overwhelmed with this calamity. Beholding the dice favourable to the wishes of Sakuni in odds and evens, I could have controlled my mind. Anger, however, driveth off a person's patience. O child, the mind cannot be kept under control when it is influenced by hauteur, vanity, or pride. I do not reproach thee, O Bhimasena, for the words thou usest. I only regard that what hath befallen us was pre-ordained. When king Duryodhana, the son of Dhritarashtra, coveting our kingdom, plunged us into misery and even slavery, then, O Bhima, it was Draupadi that rescued us. When summoned again to the assembly for playing once more, thou knowest as well as Arjuna what Dhritarashtra's son told me, in the presence of all the Bharatas, regarding the stake for which we were to play. His words were, O prince Ajatsatru, (if vanquished), thou shalt have with all thy brothers, to dwell, to the knowledge of all men, for twelve years in the forest of thy choice, passing the thirteenth year in secrecy. If during the latter period, the spies of the Bharatas, hearing of thee, succeed in discovering thee, thou shalt have again to live in the forest for the same period, passing once more the last year in secrecy. Reflecting upon this, pledge thyself to it. As regards myself, I promise truly in this assembly of the Kurus, that if thou canst pass this time confounding my spies and undiscovered by them, then, O Bharata, this kingdom of the five rivers is once more thine. We also, O Bharata, if vanquished by thee, shall, all of us, abandoning all our wealth, pass the same period, according to the same rules. Thus addressed by the prince, I replied unto him in the midst of all the Kurus, 'So be it!' The wretched game then commenced. We were vanquished and have been exiled. It is for this that we are wandering miserably over different woody regions abounding with discomfort. Suyodhana, however, still dissatisfied, gave himself up to anger, and urged the Kurus as also all those under his sway to express their joy at our calamity. Having entered into such an agreement in the presence of all good men, who dareth break it for the sake of a kingdom on earth? For a respectable person, I think, even death itself is lighter than the acquisition of sovereignty by an act of transgression. At the time of the play, thou hadst desired to burn my hands. Thou wert prevented by Arjuna, and accordingly didst only squeeze thy own hands. If thou couldst do what thou hadst desired, could this calamity befall us? Conscious of thy prowess, why didst thou not, O Bhima, say so before we entered into such an agreement? Overwhelmed with the consequence of our pledge, and the time itself having passed, what is the use of thy addressing me these harsh words? O Bhima, this is my great grief that we could not do anything even beholding Draupadi persecuted in that way. My heart burneth as if I have drunk some poisonous liquid. Having, however, given that pledge in the midst of the Kuru heroes, I am unable to violate it now. Wait, O Bhima, for the return of our better days, like the scatterer of seeds waiting for the harvest. When one that hath been first injured, succeedeth in revenging himself upon his foe at a time when the latter's enmity hath borne fruit and flowers, he is regarded to have accomplished a great thing by his prowess. Such a brave person earneth undying fame. Such a man obtaineth great prosperity. His enemies bow down unto him, and his friends gather round him, like the celestials clustering round Indra for protection. But know, O Bhima, my promise can never be untrue. I regard virtue as superior to life itself and a blessed state of celestial existence. Kingdom, sons, fame, wealth,--all these do not come up to even a sixteenth part of truth.'

SECTION 35

Bhima said, 'O king, unsubstantial as thou art like froth, unstable like a fruit (falling when ripe), dependent on time, and mortal, having entered into an agreement in respect of time, which is infinite and immeasurable, quick like a shaft or flowing like a stream, and carrying everything before it like death itself, how canst regard it as available by thee? How can he, O son of Kunti, wait whose life is shortened every moment, even like a quantity of collyrium that is lessened each time a grain is taken up by the needle? He only whose life is unlimited or who knoweth with certitude what the period of his life is, and who knoweth the future as if it were before his eyes, can indeed wait for the arrival of (an expected) time. If we wait, O king, for thirteen years, that period, shortening our lives, will bring us nearer to death. Death is sure to overtake every creature having a corporeal existence. Therefore, we should strive for the possession of our kingdom before we die. He that faileth to achieve fame, by failing to chastise his foes, is like an unclean thing. He is a useless burden on the earth like an incapacitated bull and perisheth ingloriously. The man who, destitute of strength, and courage, chastiseth not his foes, liveth in vain, I regard such a one as low-born. Thy hand can rain gold; thy fame spreadeth over the whole earth; slaying thy foes, therefore, in battle, enjoy thou the wealth acquired by the might of thy arms. O repressor of all foes, O king, if a man slaying his injurer, goeth the very day into hell, that hell becometh heaven to him. O king, the pain one feeleth in having to suppress one's wrath is more burning than fire itself. Even now I burn with it and cannot sleep in the day or the night. This son of Pritha, called Vibhatsu, is foremost in drawing the bow-string. He certainly burneth with grief, though he liveth here like a lion in his den. This one that desireth to slay without aid all wielders of the bow on earth, represseth the wrath that riseth in his breast, like a mighty elephant. Nakula, Sahadeva, and old Kunti--that mother of heroes, are all dumb, desiring to please thee. And all our friends along with the Srinjayas equally desire to please thee. I alone, and Prativindhya's mother speak unto thee burning with grief. Whatever I speak unto thee is agreeable to all of them, for all of them plunged in distress, eagerly wish for battle. Then, O monarch, what more wretched a calamity can overtake us that our kingdom should be wrested from us by weak and contemptible foes and enjoyed by them? O king, from the weakness of thy disposition thou feelest shame in violating thy pledge. But, O slayer of foes, no one applaudeth thee for thus suffering such pain in consequence of the kindliness of thy disposition. Thy intellect, O king, seeth not the truth, like that of a foolish and ignorant person of high birth who hath committed the words of the Vedas to memory without understanding their sense. Thou art kind like a Brahmana. How hast thou been born in the Kshatriya order? They that are born in the Kshatriya order are generally of crooked hearts. Thou hast heard (recited) the duties of kings, as promulgated by Manu, fraught with crookedness and unfairness and precepts opposed to tranquillity and virtue. Why dost thou then, O king, forgive the wicked sons of Dhritarashtra? Thou hast intelligence, prowess, learning and high birth. Why dost thou then, O tiger among men, act in respect of thy duties, like a huge snake that is destitute of motion? O son of Kunti, he that desireth to conceal us, only wisheth to conceal the mountains of Himavat by means of a handful of grass. O son of Pritha, known as thou art over whole earth, thou wilt not be able to live unknown, like the sun that can never course through the sky unknown to men. Like a large tree in a well-watered region with spreading branches and flowers and leaves, or like Indra's elephant, how will Jishnu live unknown? How also will these children, the brothers, Nakula and Sahadeva, equal unto a couple of young lions, both live in secret? How, O son of Pritha, will Krishna--the daughter of Drupada--a princess and mother of heroes, of virtuous deeds and known over all the world, live unknown? Me also, everybody knoweth from my boyhood. I do not see how I can live unknown. As well mighty mountains of Meru be sought to be concealed. Then, again, many kings had been expelled by us from their kingdom. These kings and princes will all follow the bad son of Dhritarashtra, for robbed and exiled by us, they have not still become friendly. Desiring to do good unto Dhritarashtra, they will certainly seek to injure us. They will certainly set against us numerous spies in disguise. If these discover us and report their discovery, a great danger will overtake us. We have already lived in the woods full thirteen months. Regard them, O king, for their length as thirteen years. The wise have said that a month is a substitute for a year, like the pot-herb that is regarded as a substitute for the Soma. Or, (if thou breakest thy pledge), O king, thou mayst free thyself from this sin by offering good savoury food to a quiet bull carrying sacred burdens. Therefore, O king resolve thou to slay thy enemies. There is no virtue higher than fighting, for every Kshatriya!"

SECTION 36

Vaisampayana said, "Hearing those words of Bhima, Yudhishthira. the son of Kunti--tiger among men and slayer of all foes--began to sigh heavily, and reflect in silence. And he thought within himself, 'I have heard recited the duties of kings, also all truths about the duties of the different orders. He is said to observe those duties truly who keepeth them before his eyes, so as to regulate his conduct both in the present and the future. Knowing as I do the true course of virtue, which, however is so very difficult of being known, how can I forcibly grind virtue down like grinding the mountains of Meru? Having reflected so for a moment, and settled what he should do, he replied unto Bhima as follows without allowing him another word:

"O thou of mighty arms, it is even so as thou hast said. But, O thou foremost of speakers, listen now to another word I say. Whatever sinful deeds, O Bhima, one seeketh to achieve, depending on his courage alone, become always a source of pain. But, O thou of mighty arms, whatever is begun with deliberation, with well-directed prowess, with all appliances, and much previous thought, is seen to succeed. The gods themselves favour such designs. Hear from me something about what, proud of thy might, O Bhima, and led away by thy restlessness, thou thinkest should be immediately begun. Bhurisravas, Sala, the mighty Jarasandha, Bhishma, Drona, Karna, the mighty son of Drona, Dhritarashtra's sons--Duryodhana and others--so difficult of being vanquished, are all accomplished in arms and ever ready for battle with us. Those kings and chiefs of the earth also who have been injured by us, have all adopted the side of the Kauravas, and are bound by ties of affection to them. O Bharata, they are engaged in seeking the good of Duryodhana and not of us. With full treasures and aided by large forces, they will certainly strive their best in battle. All the officers also of the Kuru army together with their sons and relatives, have been honoured by Duryodhana with wealth and luxuries. Those heroes are also much regarded by Duryodhana. This is my certain conclusion that they will sacrifice their lives for Duryodhana in battle. Although the behaviour of Bhishma, Drona, and the illustrious Kripa, is the same towards us as towards them, yet, O thou of mighty arms, this is my certain conclusion that in order to pay off the royal favours they enjoy, they will throw their very lives, than which there is nothing dearer, in battle. All of them are masters of celestial weapons, and devoted to the practice of virtue. I think they are incapable of being vanquished even by gods led by Vasava himself. There is again amongst them that mighty warrior--Karna--impetuous, and ever wrathful, master of all weapons, and invincible, and encased in impenetrable mail. Without first vanquishing in battle all those foremost of men, unaided as thou art, how canst thou slay Duryodhana? O Vrikodara, I cannot sleep thinking of the lightness of hand of that Suta's son, who, I regard, is the foremost of all wielders of the bow!"

"Vaisampayana continued, "Hearing these words of Yudhishthira, the impetuous Bhima became alarmed, and forbore from speaking anything. And while the sons of Pandu were thus conversing with each other, there came to that spot the great ascetic Vyasa, the son of Satyavati. And as he came, the sons of Pandu worshipped him duly. Then that foremost of all speakers, addressing Yudhishthira, said, O, Yudhishthira, O thou of mighty arms, knowing by spiritual insight what is passing in thy heart, I have come to thee, O thou bull among men! The fear that is in thy heart, arising from Bhishma, and Drona, and Kripa, and Karna, and Drona's son, and prince Duryodhana, and Dussasana, I will dispell, O slayer of all foes, by means of an act enjoined by the ordinance. Hearing it from me, accomplish it thou with patience, and having accomplished it, O king, quell this fever of thine soon.'"

That foremost of speakers then, the son of Parasara, taking Yudhishthira to a corner, began to address him in words of deep import, saying, 'O best of the Bharatas, the time is come for thy prosperity, when, indeed Dhananjaya--that son of Pritha--will slay all thy foes in battle. Uttered by me and like unto success personified, accept from me this knowledge called Pratismriti that I impart to thee, knowing thou art capable of receiving it. Receiving it (from thee), Arjuna will be able to accomplish his desire. And let Arjuna, O son of Pandu, go unto Mahendra and Rudra, and Varuna, and Kuvera, and Yama, for receiving weapon from them. He is competent to behold the gods for his asceticism and prowess. He is even a Rishi of great energy, the friend of Narayana; ancient, eternal a god himself, invincible, ever successful, and knowing no deterioration. Of mighty arms, he will achieve mighty deeds, having obtained weapons from Indra, and Rudra, and the Lokapalas, O son of Kunti, think also of going from this to some other forest that may, O king, be fit for thy abode. To reside in one place for any length of time is scarcely pleasant. In thy case, it might also be productive of anxiety to the ascetics. And as thou maintainest numerous Brahmanas versed in the Vedas and the several branches thereof, continued residence here might exhaust the deer of this forest, and be destructive of the creepers and plants.'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Having addressed him thus, that illustrious and exalted ascetic Vyasa, of great wisdom, acquired with the mysteries of the world, then imparted unto the willing Yudhishthira the Just, who had meanwhile purified himself, that foremost of sciences. And bidding farewell unto the son of Kunti, Vyasa disappeared then and there. The virtuous and intelligent Yudhishthira, however, having obtained that knowledge carefully retained it in his mind and always recited it on proper occasions. Glad of the advice given him by Vyasa, the son of Kunti then, leaving the wood Dwaitavana went to the forest of Kamyaka on the banks of the Saraswati. And, O king, numerous Brahmanas of ascetic merit and versed in the science of orthoepy and orthography, followed him like the Rishis following the chief of the celestials. Arrived at Kamyaka, those illustrious bulls amongst the Bharata took up their residence there along with their friends and attendants. And possessed of energy, those heroes, O king, lived there for some time, devoted to the exercise of the bow and hearing all the while the chanting of the Vedas. And they went about those woods every day in

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search of deer, armed with pure arrows. And they duly performed all the rites in honour of the Pitris, the celestials and the Brahmanas."

SECTION 37

Vaisampayana said, "After some time, Yudhishthira the Just, remembering the command of the Muni (Vyasa) and calling unto himself that bull among men--Arjuna--possessed of great wisdom, addressed him in private. Taking hold of Arjuna's hands, with a smiling face and in gentle accents, that chastiser of foes--the virtuous Yudhishthira--apparently after reflecting for a moment, spake these words in private unto Dhananjaya, 'O Bharata, the whole science of arms dwelleth in Bhishma, and Drona, and Kripa, and Karna, and Drona's son. They fully know all sorts of Brahma and celestial and human and Vayavya weapons, together with the modes of using and warding them off. All of them are conciliated and honoured and gratified by Dhritarashtra's son who behaveth unto them as one should behave unto his preceptor. Towards all his warriors Dhritarashtra's son behaveth with great affection; and all the chiefs honoured and gratified by him, seek his good in return. Thus honoured by him, they will not fail to put forth their might. The whole earth, besides, is now under Duryodhana's sway, with all the villages and towns, O son of Pritha, and all the seas and woods and mines! Thou alone art our sole refuge. On thee resteth a great burden. I shall, therefore, O chastiser of all foes, tell thee what thou art to do now. I have obtained a science from Krishna Dwaipayana. Used by thee, that science will expose the whole universe to thee. O child, attentively receive thou that science from me, and in due time (by its aid) attain thou the grace of the celestials. And, O bull of the Bharata race, devote thyself to fierce asceticism. Armed with the bow and sword, and cased in mail, betake thyself to austerities and good vows, and go thou northwards, O child, without giving way to anybody. O Dhananjaya, all celestial weapons are with Indra. The celestials, from fear of Vritra, imparted at the time all their might to Sakra. Gathered together in one place, thou wilt obtain all weapons. Go thou unto Sakra, he will give thee all his weapons. Taking the bow set thou out this very day in order to behold Purandara."

Vaisampayana continued, "Having said this, the exalted Yudhishthira the Just, imparted that science unto Arjuna. And the elder brother having communicated with due rites the knowledge unto his heroic brother, with speech and body and mind under perfect control, commanded him to depart. And at the command of Yudhishthira, the strong-armed Arjuna, taking up the Gandiva as also his inexhaustible quivers, and accoutred in mail and gauntlets and finger-protectors made of the skin of the guana, and having poured oblations into the fire and made the Brahmanas to utter benedictions after gifts, set out (from Kamyaka) with the objects of beholding Indra. And armed with the bow, the hero, at the time of setting out heaved a sigh and cast a look upwards for achieving the death of Dhritarashtra's sons. And beholding Kunti's son thus armed and about to set out, the Brahmanas and Siddhas and invisible spirits addressed him, saying, 'O son of Kunti, obtain thou soon what thou wishest.' And the Brahmanas, also uttering benedictions said, 'Achieve thou the object thou hast in view. Let victory be truly thine.' And beholding the heroic Arjuna, of thighs stout as the trunks of the Sala, about to set out taking away with him the hearts of all, Krishna addressed him saying, 'O thou strong-armed one, let all that Kunti had desired at thy birth, and let all that thou desirest, be accomplished, O Dhananjaya! Let no one amongst us be ever again born in the order of Kshatriyas. I always bow down unto the Brahmanas whose mode of living is mendicancy. This is my great grief that the wretch Duryodhana beholding me in the assembly of princes mockingly called me a cow! Besides this he told me in the midst of that assembly many other hard things. But the grief I experience at parting with thee is far greater than any I felt at those insults. Certainly, in thy absence, thy brothers will while away their waking hours in repeatedly talking of thy heroic deeds! If, however, O son of Pritha, thou stayest away for any length of time, we shall derive no pleasure from our enjoyments or from wealth. Nay, life itself will be distasteful to us. O son of Pritha, our weal, and woe, life and death, our kingdom and prosperity, are all dependent on thee. O Bharata, I bless thee, let success be thine. O sinless one, thy (present) task thou wilt be able to achieve even against powerful enemies. O thou of great strength, go thou to win success with speed. Let dangers be not thine. I bow to Dhatri and Vidhatri! I bless thee. Let prosperity be thine. And, O Dhananjaya, let Hri, Sree, Kirti, Dhriti, Pushti, Uma, Lakshmi, Saraswati, all protect thee on thy way, for thou ever worshippest thy elder brother and ever obeyest his commands. And, O bull of the Bharata race, I bow to the Vasus, the Rudras and Adityas, the Manilas, the Viswadevas, and the Sadhyas, for procuring thy welfare. And, O Bharata, be thou safe from all spirits of mischief belonging to the sky, the earth, and the heaven, and from such other spirits generally.'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Krishna, the daughter of Yajnasena, having uttered these benedictions, ceased. The strong-armed son of Pandu then, having walked round his brothers and round Dhaumya also, and taking up his handsome bow, set out. And all creatures began to leave the way that Arjuna of great energy and prowess, urged by the desire of beholding Indra, took. And that slayer of foes passed over many mountains inhabited by ascetics, and then reached the sacred Himavat, the resort of the celestials. And the high-souled one reached the sacred mountain in one day, for like the winds he was gifted with the speed of the mind, in consequence of his ascetic austerities. And having crossed the Himavat, as also the Gandhamadana, he passed over many uneven and dangerous spots, walking night and day without fatigue. And having reached Indrakila, Dhananjaya stopped for a moment. And then he heard a voice in the skies, saying, 'Stop!' And hearing that voice, the son of Pandu cast his glances all around. And Arjuna, capable of using his left hand with skill equal to that of his right hand, then beheld before him an ascetic under the shade of a tree, blazing with Brahma brilliancy, of a tawny colour, with matted locks, and thin. And the mighty ascetic, beholding Arjuna stop at t at place, addressed him, saying, 'Who art thou, O child, arrived hither with bow and arrows, and cased in mail and accoutred in scabbard and gauntlet, and (evidently) wedded to the customs of the Kshatriya? There is no need of weapons here. This is the abode of peaceful Brahmanas devoted to ascetic austerities without anger or joy. There is no use for the bow here, for there is no dispute in this place of any kind. Therefore throw away, O child, this bow of thine. Thou hast obtained a pure state of life by coming here. O hero, there is no man who is like thee in energy and prowess.' That Brahmana thus addressed Arjuna, with a smiling face, repeatedly. But he succeeded not in moving Arjuna, firmly devoted to his purpose. The regenerate one, glad at heart, smilingly addressed Arjuna once more, saying, 'O slayer of foes, blest be thou! I am Sakra: ask thou the boon thou desirest.' Thus addressed, that perpetuator of the Kuru race, the heroic Dhananjaya bending his head and joining his hands, replied unto him of a thousand eyes, saying, 'Even this is the object of my wishes; grant me this boon, O illustrious one. I desire to learn from thee all the weapons.' The chief of the celestials then, smiling, replied unto him cheerfully, saying, 'O Dhananjaya, when thou hast reached this region, what need is there of weapons? Thou hast already obtained a pure state of life. Ask thou for the regions of bliss that thou desirest.' Thus addressed, Dhananjaya replied unto him o a thousand eyes, saying, 'I desire not regions of bliss, nor objects of enjoyment, nor the state of a celestial; what is this talk about happiness? O chief of the celestials, I do not desire the prosperity of all the gods. Having left my brothers behind me in the forest, and without avenging myself on the foe, shall I incur the opprobrium for all ages of all the world." Thus addressed, the slayer of Vritra, worshipped of the worlds, consoling him with gentle words, spare unto the son of Pandu, saying, 'When thou art able to behold the three-eyed trident-bearing Siva, the lord of all creatures, it is then, O child, that I will give thee all the celestial weapons. Therefore, strive thou to obtain the sight of the highest of the gods; for it is only after thou hast seen him. O son of Kunti, that thou will obtain all thy wishes.' Having spoken thus unto Phalguna, Sakra disappeared then and there, and Arjuna, devoting himself to asceticism, remained at that spot."

SECTION 38

(Kairata Parva)

Janemejaya said, "O illustrious one, I desire to hear in detail the history of the acquisition of weapons by Arjuna of spotless deeds. O tell me how that tiger among men, Dhananjaya, of mighty arms and possessed of great energy, entered that solitary forest without fear. And, O thou foremost of those acquainted with the Veda, what also did Arjuna do while dwelling there? How also were the illustrious Sthanu and the chief of the celestials gratified by him? O thou best of regenerate ones, I desire to hear all this under thy favour. Thou art omniscient; thou knowest all about the gods and all about men. O Brahmana, the battle that took place of old between Arjuna--that foremost of smiters never defeated in battle--and Bhava was highly extraordinary and without parallel. It maketh one's hair stand on end to hear of it. Even the hearts of those lions among men--the brave sons of Pritha--trembled in consequence of wonder and joy and a sense of their own inferiority. O tell me in full what else Arjuna, did I do not see even the most trivial thing to Jishnu that is censurable. Therefore, recite to me in full the history of that hero."

Vaisampayana said, "O tiger among Kurus, I shall recite to thee that narration, excellent and extensive and unrivalled, in connexion with the illustrious hero. O sinless one, hear in detail the particulars about Arjuna's meeting with the three-eyed god of gods, and his contact with the illustrious god's person!

"At Yudhishthira's command, Dhananjaya of immeasurable prowess set out (from Kamyaka) to obtain a sight of Sakra, the chief of the celestials and of Sankara, the god of gods. And the strong-armed Arjuna of great might set out armed with his celestial bow and a sword with golden hilt, for the success of the object he had in view, northwards, towards the summit of the Himavat. And, O king, that first of all warriors in the three worlds, the son of Indra, with a calm mind, and firmly adhering to his purpose, then devoted himself, without the loss of any time, to ascetic austerities. And he entered, all alone, that terrible forest abounding with thorny plants and trees and flowers and fruits of various kinds, and inhabited by winged creatures of various species, and swarming with animals of diverse kinds, and resorted to by Siddhas and Charanas. And when the son of Kunti entered that forest destitute of human beings, sounds of conchs and drums began to be heard in the heavens. And a thick shower of flowers fell upon the earth, and the clouds spreading over the firmament caused a thick shade. Passing over those difficult and woody regions at the foot of the great mountains, Arjuna soon reached the breast of the Himavat; and staying there for sometime began to shine in his brilliancy. And he beheld there numerous trees with expanding verdure, resounding with the melodious notes of winged warblers. And he saw there rivers with currents of the lapis lazuli, broken by the fierce eddies here and there, and echoing with the notes of swans and ducks and cranes. And the banks of those rivers resounded with the mellifluous strains of the male Kokilas and the notes of peacocks and cranes. And the mighty warrior, beholding those rivers of sacred and pure and delicious water and their charming banks, became highly delighted. And the delighted Arjuna of fierce energy and high soul then devoted himself to rigid austerities in that delightful and woody region. Clad in rags made of grass and furnished with a black deerskin and a stick, he commenced to eat withered leaves fallen upon the ground. And he passed the first month, by eating fruits at the interval of three nights; and the second by eating at the interval of the six nights; and the third by eating at the interval of a fortnight. When the fourth month came, that best of the Bharatas--the strong-armed son of Pandu--began to subsist on air alone. With arms upraised and leaning upon nothing and standing on the tips of his toes, he continued his austerities. And the illustrious hero's locks, in consequence of frequent bathing took the hue of lightning or the lotus. Then all the great Rishis went together unto the god of the Pinaka for representing unto him about the fierce asceticism of Pritha's son. And bowing unto that god of gods, they informed him of Arjuna's austerities saying, 'This son of pritha possessed of great energy is engaged in the most difficult of ascetic austerities on the breast of the Himavat. Heated with his asceticism, the earth is smoking all round, O god of gods. We do not know what his object is for which he is engaged in these austerities. He, however, is causing us pain. It behoveth thee to prevent him!' Hearing these words of those munis with souls under perfect control, the lord of all creatures--the husband of Uma said, 'It behoveth you not to indulge in any grief on account of Phalguna! Return ye all cheerfully and with alacrity to the places whence ye have come. I know the desire that is in Arjuna's heart. His wish is not for heaven, nor for prosperity, nor for long life. And I will accomplish, even, this day, all that is desired by him.'"

Vaisampayana continued, "The truth-speaking Rishis, having heard these words of Mahadeva, became delighted, and returned to their respective abodes."

SECTION 39

Vaisampayana said, "After all those illustrious ascetics had gone away, that wielder of the Pinaka and cleanser of all sins--the illustrious Hara--assuming the form of a Kirata resplendent as a golden tree, and with a huge and stalwart form like a second Meru, and taking up a hand some bow and a number of arrows resembling snakes of virulent poison, and looking like an embodiment of fire, came quickly down on the breast of Himavat. And the handsome god of gods was accompanied by Uma in the guise of a Kirata woman, and also by a swarm of merry spirits of various forms and attire, and by thousands of women in the form and attire of Kiratas. And, O king, that region suddenly blazed up in beauty, in consequence of the arrival of the god of gods in such company. And soon enough a solemn stillness pervaded the place. The sounds of springs, and water-courses, and of birds suddenly ceased. And as the god of gods approached Pritha's son of blameless deeds, he beheld a wonderful sight, even that of a Danava named Muka, seeking, in the form of a boar, to slay Arjuna. Phalguna, at the sight of the enemy seeking to slay him, took up the Gandiva and a number of arrows resembling snakes of virulent poison. And stringing his bow and filling the air with its twang, he addressed the boar and said, 'I have come here but done thee no injury. As thou seekest to slay me, I shall certainly send thee to the abode of Yama.' And beholding that firm wielder of the bow--Phalguna--about to slay the boar, Sankara in the guise of a Kirata suddenly bade him stop saying, 'The boar like the mountain of Indrakila in hue hath been aimed at by me first'; Phalguna, however, disregarding these words, struck the boar. The Kirata also blazing splendour, let fly an arrow like flaming fire and resembling the thunderbolt at the same object. And the arrows thus shot by both fell at the same instant of time upon

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the wide body of Muka, hard as adamant. And the two shafts fell upon the boar with a loud sound, even like that of Indra's thunderbolt and the thunder of the clouds falling together upon the breast of a mountain. And Muka, thus struck by two shafts which produced numerous arrows resembling snakes of blazing mouths, yielded up his life, assuming once more his terrible Rakshasa form. Jishnu--that slayer of foes--then beheld before him that person, of form blazing as god, and attired in the dress of a Kirata and accompanied by many women. And beholding him, the son of Kunti with a joyous heart addressed him smilingly and said, 'Who art thou that thus wanderest in these solitary woods, surrounded by women? thou of the splendour of gold, art thou not afraid of this terrible forest? Why, again, didst thou shoot the boar that was first aimed at by me? This Rakshasa that came hither, listlessly or with the object, of slaying me, had been first aimed at by me. Thou shalt not, therefore, escape from me with life. Thy behaviour towards me is not consistent with the customs of the chase. Therefore, O mountaineer, I will take thy life.' Thus addressed by the son of Pandu, the Kirata, smiling replied unto his capable of wielding the bow with his left hand, in soft words, saying, 'O hero, thou needst not be anxious on my account. This forest land is proper abode for us who always dwell in the woods. Respecting thyself, however, I may inquire, why thou hast selected thy abode here amid such difficulties. We, O ascetic, have our habitation in these woods abounding in animals of all kinds. Why dost thou, so delicate and brought up in luxury and possessed of the splendour of fire, dwell alone in such a solitary region?' Arjuna said, 'Depending on the Gandiva and arrows blazing like fire, I live in this great forest, like a second Pavaki. Thou hast seen how this monster--this terrible Rakshasa--that came hither in the form of an animal, hath been slain by me.' The Kirata replied, 'This Rakshasa, first struck with the shot from my bow, was killed and sent to the regions of Yama by me. He was first aimed at by me. And it is with my shot that he has been deprived of life. Proud of thy strength, it behoveth thee not to impute thy own fault to others. Thou art thyself in fault, O wretch, and, therefore, shalt not escape from me with life. Stay thou: I will shoot at thee shafts like thunderbolts. Strive thou also and shoot, to the best of thy power, thy arrows at me.' Hearing these words of the Kirata, Arjuna became angry, and attacked him with arrows. The Kirata, however, with a glad heart received all those shafts upon himself, repeatedly saying, 'Wretch, wretch, shoot thou best arrows capable of piercing into the very vitals.' Thus addressed, Arjuna, began to shower his arrows on him. Both of them then became angry and, engaging in fierce conflict, began to shoot at each other showers of arrows, each resembling a snake of virulent poison. And Arjuna rained a perfect shower of arrows on the Kirata, Sankara, however, bore that downpour on him with a cheerful heart. But the wielder of the Pinaka, having borne that shower of arrows for a moment, stood unwounded, immovable like a hill. Dhananjaya, beholding his arrowy shower become futile, wondered exceedingly, repeatedly saying, 'Excellent! Excellent! Alas, this mountaineer of delicate limbs, dwelling on the heights of the Himavat, beareth, without wavering, the shafts shot from the Gandiva! Who is he? Is he Rudra himself, or some other god, or a Yaksha, or an Asura? The gods sometimes do descend on the heights of the Himavat. Except the god who wieldeth the Pinaka, there is none rise that can bear the impetuosity of the thousands of arrows shot by me from the Gandiva. Whether he is a god or a Yaksha, in fact, anybody except Rudra, I shall soon send him, with my shafts, to the regions of Yama.' Thus thinking, Arjuna, with a cheerful heart, began, O king, to shoot arrows by hundreds, resembling in splendour the rays of the sun. That downpour of shafts, however, the illustrious Creator of the worlds--the wielder of the trident--bore with a glad heart, like a mountain bearing a shower of rocks. Soon, however, the arrows of Phalguna were exhausted. And noticing this fact, Arjuna became greatly alarmed. And the son of Pandu then began to think of the illustrious god Agni who had before, during the burning of the Khandava, given him a couple of inexhaustible quivers. And he began to think, 'Alas, my arrows are all exhausted. What shall I shoot now from my bow? Who is this person that swalloweth my arrows? Slaying him with the end of my bow, as elephants are killed with lances, I shall send him to the domains of the mace-bearing Yama.' The illustrious Arjuna then, taking up his bow and dragging the Kirata with his bow-string, struck him some fierce blows that descended like thunderbolts. When, however, that slayer of hostile heroes--the son of Kunti--commenced the conflict with the end of the bow, the mountaineer snatched from his hands that celestial bow. And beholding his bow snatched from him, Arjuna took up his sword, and wishing to end the conflict, rushed at his foe. And then the Kuru prince, with the whole might of his arms, struck that sharp weapon upon the head of the Kirata, a weapon that was incapable of being resisted even by solid rocks. But that first of swords, at touch of the Kirata's crown, broke into pieces. Phalguna then commenced the conflict with trees and stones. The illustrious god in the form of the huge-bodied Kirata, however, bore that shower of trees and rocks with patience. The mighty son of Pritha then, his mouth smoking with wrath, struck the invincible god in the form of a Kirata, with hi clenched fists, blows that descended like thunderbolts. The god in the Kirata form returned Phalguna's blows with fierce blows resembling the thunderbolts of Indra. And in consequence of that conflict of blows between the son of Pandu and the Kirata, there arose in that place loud and frightful sounds. That terrible conflict of blows, resembling the conflict of yore between Vritra and Vasava, lasted but for a moment. The mighty Jishnu clasping the Kirata began to press him with his breast, but the Kirata, possessed of great strength pressed the insensible son of Pandu with force. And in consequence of the pressure of their arms and of their breasts, their bodies began to emit smoke like charcoal in fire. The great god then, smiting the already smitten son of Pandu, and attacking him in anger with his full might, deprived him of his senses. Then, O Bharata, Phalguna, thus pressed by the god of the gods, with limbs, besides, bruised and mangled, became incapable of motion and was almost reduced to a ball of flesh. And struck by the illustrious god, he became breathless and, falling down on earth without power of moving, looked like one that was dead. Soon, however, he regained consciousness, and, rising from his prostrate position, with body covered with blood, became filled with grief. Mentally prostrating himself before the gracious god of gods, and making a clay image of that deity, he worshipped it, with offerings of floral garlands. Beholding, however, the garland that he had offered to the clay image of Bhava, decking the crown of the Kirata, that best of Pandu's sons became filled with joy and regained his ease. And he prostrated himself thereupon at the feet of Bhava, and the god also was pleased with him. And Hara, beholding the wonder of Arjuna and seeing that his body had been emaciated with ascetic austerities, spake unto him in a voice deep as the roaring of the clouds, saying, 'O Phalguna, I have been pleased with thee for thy act is without a parallel. There is no Kshatriya who is equal to thee in courage, and patience. And, O sinless one, thy strength and prowess are almost equal to mine. O mighty-armed one, I have been pleased with thee. Behold me, O bull of the Bharata race! O large-eyed one! I will grant thee eyes (to see me in my true form). Thou wert a Rishi before. Thou wilt vanquish all thy foes, even the dwellers of heaven; I will as I have been pleased with thee, grant thee an irresistible weapon. Soon shall thou be able to wield that weapon of mine."

Vaisampayana continued, "Phalguna then beheld him--Mahadeva--that god of blazing splendour-that wielder of the Pinaka-that one who had his abode on the mountains (of Kailasa)--accompanied by Uma. Bending down on his knee and bowing with his head, that conqueror of hostile cities-the son of Pritha-worshipped Hara and inclined him to grace. And Arjuna said, 'O Kapardin, O chief of all gods, O destroyer of the eyes of Bhaga, O god of gods, O Mahadeva, O thou of blue throat, O thou of matted locks, I know thee as the Cause of all causes. O thou of three eyes, O lord of all! Thou art the refuge of all the gods! This universe hath sprung from thee. Thou art incapable of being vanquished by the three worlds of the celestials, the Asuras, and men. Thou art Siva in the form of Vishnu, and Vishnu in the form of Siva. Thou destroyedest of old the great sacrifice of Daksha. O Hari, O Rudra, I bow to thee. Thou hast an eye on thy forehead. O Sarva, O thou that rainest objects of desire, O bearer of the trident, O wielder of the Pinaka, O Surya, O thou of pure body, O Creator of all, I bow to thee. O lord of all created things, I worship thee to obtain thy grace. Thou art the lord of the Ganas, the source of universal blessing, the Cause of the causes of the universe. Thou art beyond the foremost of male beings, thou art the highest, thou art the subtlest, O Hara! O illustrious Sankara, it behoveth thee to pardon my fault. It was even to obtain a sight of thyself that I came to this great mountain, which is dear to thee and which is the excellent abode of ascetics. Thou art worshipped of all worlds. O lord, I worship thee to obtain thy grace. Let not this rashness of mine be regarded as a fault--this combat in which I was engaged with thee from ignorance. O Sankara, I seek thy protection. Pardon me all I have done."

Vaisampayana continued, "Endued with great might, the god whose sign was the bull, taking into his the handsome hands of Arjuna, smilingly replied unto him, saying, 'I have pardoned thee. And the illustrious Hara, cheerfully clasping Arjuna with his arms, once more consoling Arjuna said as follows."

SECTION 40

"Mahadeva said, 'Thou wert in thy former life Nara, the friend of Narayana. In Vadari wert thou engaged in fierce ascetic austerities for several thousands of years. In thee as well as in Vishnu--that first of male beings--dwelleth great might. Ye both, by your might, hold the universe; O lord, taking up that fierce bow whose twang resembled the deep roar of the clouds, thou, as well as Krishna, chastisedest the Danavas during the coronation of Indra. Even this Gandiva is that bow, O son of Pritha, fit for thy hands. O foremost of male beings, I snatched it from thee, helped by my powers of illusion. This couple of quivers, fit for thee, will again be inexhaustible, O son of Pritha! And, O son of the Kuru race, thy body will be free from pain and disease. Thy prowess is incapable of being baffled. I have been pleased with thee. And, O first of male beings, ask thou of me the boon that thou desirest. O chastiser of all foes, O giver of proper respect, (to those deserving it) not even in heaven is there any male being who is equal to thee, nor any Kshatriya who is thy superior.'

"Arjuna said, 'O illustrious god having the bull for thy sign, if thou wilt grant me my desire, I ask of thee, O lord that fierce celestial weapon wielded by thee and called Brahmasira--that weapon of terrific prowess which destroyeth, at the end of the Yuga the entire universe--that weapon by the help of which, O god of gods, I may under thy grace, obtain victory in the terrible conflict which shall take place between myself (on one side), and Karna and Bhishma and Kripa and Drona (on the other)--that weapon by which I may consume in battle Danavas and Rakshasas and evil spirits and Pisachas and Gandharvas and Nagas--that weapon which when hurled with Mantras produceth darts by thousands and fierce-looking maces and arrows like snakes of virulent poison, and by means of which I may fight with Bhishma and Drona and Kripa and Karna of ever abusive tongue, O illustrious destroyer of the eyes of Bhaga, even this is my foremost desire, viz., that I may be able to fight with them and obtain success.'

Bhava replied, 'O powerful one. I will give to thee that favourite weapon of mine called the Pasuputa. O son of Pandu, thou art capable of holding, hurling, and withdrawing it. Neither the chief himself of the gods, nor Yama, nor the king of the Yakshas, nor Varuna, nor Vayu, knoweth it. How could men know anything of it? But, O son of Pritha, this weapon should not be hurled without adequate cause; for if hurled at any foe of little might it may destroy the whole universe. In the three worlds with all their mobile and immobile creatures, there is none who is incapable of being slain by this weapon. And it may be hurled by the mind, by the eye, by words, and by the bow.'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Hearing these words, the son of Pritha purified himself. And approaching the lord of the universe with rapt attention, he said, 'Instruct me!' Mahadeva then imparted unto that best of Pandu's son the knowledge of that weapon looking like the embodiment of Yama, together with all the mysteries about hurling and withdrawing it. And that weapon thence began to wait upon Arjuna as it did upon Sankara, the lord of Uma. And Arjuna also gladly accepted it. And at the moment the whole earth, with its mountains and woods and trees and seas and forests and villages and towns and mines, trembled. And the sounds of conchs and drums and trumpets by thousands began to be heard. And at that moment hurricanes and whirlwinds began to blow. And the gods and the Danavas beheld that terrible weapon in its embodied form stay by the side of Arjuna of immeasurable energy. And whatever of evil there had been in the body of Phalguna of immeasurable energy was all dispelled by the touch of the three-eyed deity. And the three eyed god then commanded Arjuna, saying, 'Go thou into heaven.' Arjuna then, O king, worshipping the god with bent head, gazed at him, with joined hands. Then the lord of all the dwellers of heaven, the deity of blazing splendour having his abode on mountain-breasts, the husband of Uma, the god of passions under complete control, the source of all blessings, Bhava gave unto Arjuna, that foremost of men, the great bow called Gandiva, destructive of Danavas and Pisachas. And the god of gods, then leaving that blessed mountain with snowy plateaus and vales and caves, favourite resort of sky-ranging great Rishis, went up, accompanied by Uma into the skies, in the sight of that foremost of men."

SECTION 41

Vaisampayana said, "The wielder of the Pinaka, having the bull for his sign, thus disappeared in the very sight of the gazing son of Pandu, like the sun setting in the sight of the world. Arjuna, that slayer of hostile heroes, wondered much at this, saying, 'O, I have seen the great god of gods. 'Fortunate, indeed I am, and much favoured, for I have both beheld and touched with my hand the three-eyed Hara the wielder of the Pinaka, in his boon-giving form. I shall win success. I am already great. My enemies have already been vanquished by me. My purposes have been already achieved.' And while the son of Pritha, endued with immeasurable energy, was thinking thus, there came to that place Varuna the god of waters, handsome and of the splendour of the lapis lazuli accompanied by all kinds of aquatic creatures, and filling all the points of the horizon with a blazing effulgence. And accompanied by Rivers both male and female, and Nagas, and Daityas and Sadhyas and inferior deities, Varuna, the controller and lord of all aquatic creatures, arrived at that spot. There came also the lord Kuvera of body resembling pure gold, seated on his car of great splendour, and accompanied by numerous Yakshas. And the lord of treasures, possessed of great beauty, came there to see Arjuna, illuminating the firmament with his effulgence. And there came also Yama himself, of great beauty, the powerful destroyer of all the worlds, accompanied by those lords of the

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creation--the Pitris--both embodied and disembodied. And the god of justice, of inconceivable soul, the son of Surya, the destroyer of all creatures, with the mace in hand, came there on his car, illuminating the three worlds with regions of the Guhyakas, the Gandharvas and the Nagas, like a second Surya as he riseth at the end of the Yuga. Having arrived there, they beheld, from the effulgent and variegated summits of the great mountain, Arjuna engaged in ascetic austerities. And there came in a moment the illustrious Sakra also, accompanied by his queen, seated on the back of (the celestial elephant) Airavata, and surrounded also by all the deities. And in consequence of the white umbrella being held over his head, he looked like the moon amid fleecy clouds. And eulogised by Gandharvas, and Rishis endued with wealth of asceticism, the chief of the celestials alighted on a particular summit of the mountain, like a second sun. Then Yama possessed of great intelligence, and fully conversant with virtue, who had occupied a summit on the south, in a voice deep as that of the clouds, said these auspicious words, 'Arjuna, behold us, the protectors of the worlds, arrive here! We will grant thee (spiritual) vision, for thou deservest to behold us. Thou wert in thy former life a Rishi of immeasurable soul, known as Nara of great might At the command, O child, of Brahma, thou hast been born among men! O sinless one, by thee shall be vanquished in battle the highly virtuous grandsire of the Kurus--Bhishma of great energy--who is born of the Vasus. Thou shalt also defeat all the Kshatriyas of fiery energy commanded by the son of Bharadwaja in battle. Thou shalt also defeat those Danavas of fierce prowess that have been born amongst men, and those Danavas also that are called Nivatakavachas. And, O son of the Kuru race, O Dhananjaya, thou shalt also slay Karna of fierce prowess, who is even a portion of my father Surya, of energy celebrated throughout the worlds. And, O son of Kunti, smiter of all foes, thou shalt also slay all the portions of celestials and Danavas and the Rakshasas that have been incarnate on earth. And slain by thee, these shall attain to the regions earned by them according to their acts. And, O Phalguna, the fame of thy achievements will last for ever in the world: thou hast gratified Mahadeva himself in conflict. Thou shalt, with Vishnu himself, lighten the burden of the earth. O accept this weapon of mine--the mace I wield incapable of being baffled by any body. With this weapon thou wilt achieve great deeds.'"

Vaisampayana continued, "O Janamejaya, the son of Pritha then received from Yama that weapon duly, along with the Mantras and rite, and the mysteries of hurling and withdrawing it. Then Varuna, the lord of all aquatic creatures, blue as the clouds, from a summit he had occupied on the west, uttered these words, 'O son of Pritha, thou art the foremost of Kshatriyas, and engaged in Kshatriya practices. O thou of large coppery eyes, behold me! I am Varuna, the lord of waters. Hurled by me, my nooses are incapable of being resisted. O son of Kunti, accept of me these Varuna weapons along with the mysteries of hurling and withdrawing them. With these, O hero, in the battle that ensued of your on account of Taraka (the wife of Vrihaspati), thousands of mighty Daityas were seized and tied. Accept them of me. Even if Yama himself by thy foe, with these in thy hands, he will not be able to escape from thee. When thou wilt armed with these, range over the field of battle, the land, beyond doubt, will be destitute of Kshatriyas.'"

Vaisampayana continued, "After both Varuna and Yama had given away their celestial weapons, the lord of treasures having his home on the heights of Kailasa, then spake, 'O son of Pandu, O thou of great might and wisdom, I too have been pleased with thee. And this meeting with thee giveth me as much pleasure as a meeting with Krishna. O wielder of the bow with the left hand, O thou of mighty arms, thou wert a god before, eternal (as other gods). In ancient Kalpas, thou hadst every day gone through ascetic austerities along with us. O best of men, I grant thee celestial vision. O thou of mighty arms, thou wilt defeat even invincible Daityas and Danavas. Accept of me also without loss of time, an excellent weapon. With this thou wilt be able to consume the ranks of Dhritarashtra. Take then this favourite weapon of mine called Antarddhana. Endued with energy and prowess and splendour, it is capable of sending the foe to sleep. When the illustrious Sankara slew Tripura, even this was the weapon which he shot and by which many mighty Asuras were consumed. O thou of invincible prowess I take it up for giving it to thee. Endued with the dignity of the Meru, thou art competent to hold this weapon.'"

"After these words had been spoken, the Kuru prince Arjuna endued with great strength, duly received from Kuvera that celestial weapon. Then the chief of the celestials addressing Pritha's son of ceaseless deeds in sweet words, said, in a voice deep as that the clouds or the kettle-drum, 'O thou mighty-armed son of Kunti, thou art an ancient god. Thou hast already achieved the highest success, and acquired the statue of a god. But, O represser of foes, thou hast yet to accomplish the purposes of the gods. Thou must ascend to heaven. Therefore prepare thou O hero of great splendour! My own car with Matali as charioteer, will soon descend on the earth. Taking thee, O Kaurava, to heaven, I will grant thee there all my celestial weapons.'"

"Beholding those protectors of the worlds assembled together on the heights of Himavat, Dhananjaya, the son of Kunti, wondered much, Endued with great energy, he then duly worshipped the assembled Lokapalas, with words, water, and fruits. The celestials then returning that worship, went away. And the gods capable of going everywhere at will, and endued with the speed of the mind, returned to the places whence they had come."

"That bull among men--Arjuna--having obtained weapons thus, was filled with pleasure. And he regarded himself as one whose desires had been fulfilled and who was crowned with success."

SECTION 42

(Indralokagamana Parva)

Vaisampayana said, "After the Lokapalas had gone away, Arjuna--that slayer of all foes--began to think, O monarch, of the car of Indra! And as Gudakesa gifted with great intelligence was thinking of it, the car endued with great effulgence and guided by Matali, came dividing the clouds and illuminating the firmament and filling the entire welkin with its rattle deep as the roar of mighty masses of clouds. Swords, and missiles of terrible forms and maces of frightful description, and winged darts of celestials splendour and lightnings of the brightest effulgence, and thunderbolts, and propellors furnished with wheels and worked with atmosphere expansion and producing sounds loud as the roar of great masses of clouds, were on that car. And there were also on that car fierce and huge-bodied Nagas with fiery mouths, and heaps of stones white as the fleecy clouds. And the car was drawn by ten thousands of horses of golden hue, endued with the speed of the wind. And furnished with prowess of illusion, the car was drawn with such speed that the eye could hardly mark its progress. And Arjuna saw on that car the flag-staff called Vaijayanta, of blazing effulgence, resembling in hue the emerald or the dark-blue lotus, and decked with golden ornaments and straight as the bamboo. And beholding a charioteer decked in gold seated on that car, the mighty-armed son of Pritha regarded it as belonging to the celestials. And while Arjuna was occupied with his thoughts regarding the car, the charioteer Matali, bending himself after descending from the car, addressed him, saying, 'O lucky son of Sakra! Sakra himself wisheth to see thee. Ascend thou without loss of time this car that hath been sent by Indra. The chief of the immortals, thy father--that god of a hundred sacrifices--hath commanded me, saying, 'Bring the son of Kunti hither. Let the gods behold him.' And Sankara himself, surrounded by the celestials and Rishis and Gandharvas and Apsaras, waiteth to behold thee. At the command of the chastiser of Paka, therefore, ascend thou with me from this to the region of the celestials. Thou wilt return after obtaining weapons.'"

"Arjuna replied, 'O Matali, mount thou without loss of time this excellent car, a car that cannot be attained even by hundreds of Rajasuya and horse sacrifices. Even kings of great prosperity who have performed great sacrifices distinguished by large gifts (to Brahmanas), even gods and Danavas are not competent to ride this car. He that hath not ascetic merit is not competent to even see or touch this car, far less to ride on it. O blessed one, after thou hast ascended, it, and after the horses have become still, I will ascend it, like a virtuous man stepping into the high-road of honesty.'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Matali, the charioteer of Sakra, hearing these words of Arjuna, soon mounted the car and controlled the horses. Arjuna then, with a cheerful heart, purified himself by a bath in the Ganges. And the son of Kunti then duly repeated (inaudibly) his customary prayers. He then, duly and according to the ordinance, gratified the Pitris with oblations of water. And, lastly, he commenced to invoke the Mandara--that king of mountains--saying, 'O mountain, thou art ever the refuge of holy, heaven-seeking Munis of virtuous conduct and behaviour. It is through thy grace, O mountain, that Brahmanas and Kshatriyas and Vaisyas attain heaven, and their anxieties gone, sport with the celestials. O king of mountains, O mountain, thou art the asylum of Munis, and thou holdest on thy breast numerous sacred shrines. Happily have I dwelt on thy heights. I leave thee now, bidding thee farewell. Oft have I seen thy tablelands and bowers, thy springs and brooks, and the sacred shrines on thy breast. I have also eaten the savoury fruits growing on thee, and have slated my thirst with draughts of perfumed water oozing from the body. I have also drunk the water of thy springs, sweet as amrita itself. O mountain, as a child sleepeth happily on the lap of his father, so have I, O king of mountains, O excellent one, sported on thy breast, echoing with the notes of Apsaras and the chanting of the Vedas. O mountain, every day have I lived happily on thy tablelands.' Thus having bidden farewell to the mountain, that slayer of hostile heroes--Arjuna--blazing like the Sun himself, ascended the celestial car. And the Kuru prince gifted with great intelligence, with a glad heart, coursed through the firmament on that celestial car effulgent as the sun and of extra-ordinary achievements. And after he had become invisible to the mortals of the earth, he beheld thousands of cars of extra-ordinary beauty. And in that region there was no sun or moon or fire to give light, but it blazed in light of its own, generated by virtue of ascetic merit. And those brilliant regions that are seen from the earth in the form of stars, like lamps (in the sky)--so small in consequence of their distance, though very large--were beheld by the son of Pandu, stationed in their respective places, full of beauty and effulgence and blazing with splendour all their own. And there he beheld royal sages crowned with ascetic success, and heroes who had yielded up their lives in battle, and those that had acquired heaven by their ascetic austerities, by hundreds upon hundreds. And there were also Gandharvas, of bodies blazing like the sun, by thousands upon thousands, as also Guhyakas and Rishis and numerous tribes of Apsaras. And beholding those self-effulgent regions, Phalguna became filled with wonder, and made enquiries of Matali. And Matali also gladly replied unto him, saying, 'These, O son of Pritha, are virtuous persons stationed in their respective places. It is these whom thou hast seen, O exalted one, as stars, from the earth.' Then Arjuna saw standing at the gates (Indra's region) the handsome and ever victorious elephant--Airavata--furnished with four tusks, and resembling the mountain of Kailasa with its summits. And coursing along that path of the Siddhas, that foremost of the Kurus and the son of Pandu, sat in beauty like Mandhata--that best of kings. Endued with eyes like lotus leaves, he passed through the region set apart for virtuous kings. And the celebrated Arjuna having thus passed through successive regions of heaven at last beheld Amaravati, the city of Indra."

SECTION 43

Vaisampayana said, "And the city of Indra which Arjuna saw was delightful and was the resort of Siddhas and Charanas. And it was adorned with the flowers of every season, and with sacred trees of all kinds. And he beheld also celestial gardens called Nandana--the favourite resort of Apsaras. And fanned by the fragrant breezes charged with the farina of sweet-scented flowers, the trees with their lord of celestial blossoms seemed to welcome him amongst them. And the region was such that none could behold it who had not gone through ascetic austerities, or who had not poured libations on fire. It was a region for the virtuous alone, and not for those who had turned their back on the field of battle. And none were competent to see it who had not performed sacrifices or observed rigid vows, or who were without a knowledge of the Vedas, or who had not bathed in sacred waters, or who were not distinguished for sacrifices and gifts. And none were competent to see it who were disturbers of sacrifices, or who were low, or who drank intoxicating liquors, or who were violators of their preceptors' bed, or who were eaters of (unsanctified) meat, or who were wicked. And having beheld those celestial gardens resounding with celestial music, the strong-armed son of Pandu entered the favourite city of Indra. And he beheld there celestial cars by thousands, capable of going everywhere at will, stationed in proper places. And he saw tens of thousands of such cars moving in every direction. And fanned by pleasant breezes charged with the perfumes of flowers, the son of Pandu was praised by Apsaras and Gandharvas. And the celestials then, accompanied by the Gandharvas and Siddhas and great Rishis, cheerfully reverenced Pritha's son of white deeds. Benedictions were poured upon him, accompanied by the sounds of celestial music. The strong-armed son of Pritha then heard around him the music of conchs and drums. And praised all around, the son of Pritha then went, at the command of Indra, to that large and extensive starry way called by the name of Suravithi. There he met with the Sadhyas, the Viswas, the Marutas, the twin Aswins, the Adityas, the Vasus, the Rudras, the Brahmarshis of the great splendour, and numerous royal sages with Dilipa at their head, and Tumvura and Narada, and that couple of Gandharvas known by the names of Haha and Huhu. And the Kuru prince--that chastiser of foes--having met and duly saluted them, last of all beheld the chief of the celestials--the god of a hundred sacrifices. Then the strong-armed son of Pritha, alighting from the car approached the lord himself of the gods--his father--that chastiser of Paka. And a beautiful white umbrella furnished with a golden staff was held over the chief of the celestials. And he was fanned with a Chamara perfumed with celestial scents. And he was eulogised by many Gandharvas headed by Viswavasu and others, by bards and singers, and by foremost Brahmanas chanting Rik and Yajus hymns. And the mighty son of Kunti, approaching Indra, saluted him by bending his head to the ground. And Indra thereupon embraced him with his round and plump arms. And taking his hand, Sakra made him sit by him on a portion of his own seat, that sacred seat which was worshipped by gods and Rishis. And the lord of the celestials-that slayer of hostile heroes--smelt the head of Arjuna bending in humility, and even took him upon his lap. Seated on Sakra's seat at the command of that god of a thousand eyes, Pritha's son of immeasurable energy began to blaze in splendour like a second Indra. And moved by affection, the slayer of Vritra, consoling Arjuna,

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touched his beautiful face with his own perfumed hands. And the wielder of the thunderbolt, patting and rubbing gently again and again with his own hands which bore the marks of the thunderbolt the handsome and huge arms of Arjuna which resembled a couple of golden columns and which were hard in consequence of drawing the bowstring and son enhanced the beauty of the assembly, like the sun and moon god of a thousand eyes--eyeing his son of curly locks smilingly and with eyes expanded with delight, seemed scarcely to be gratified. The more he gazed, the more he liked to gaze on. And seated on one seat, the father and son enhanced the beauty of the assembly, like the sun and moon beautifying the firmament together on the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight. And a band of Gandharvas headed by Tumvuru skilled in music sacred and profane, sang many verses in melodious notes. And Ghritachi and Menaka and Rambha and Purvachitti and Swayamprabha and Urvasi and Misrakesi and Dandagauri and Varuthini and Gopali and Sahajanya and Kumbhayoni and Prajagara and Chitrasena and Chitralekha and Saha and Madhuraswana, these and others by thousands, possessed of eyes like lotus leaves, who were employed in enticing the hearts of persons practising rigid austerities, danced there. And possessing slim waists and fair large hips, they began to perform various evolutions, shaking their deep bosoms, and casting their glances around, and exhibiting other attractive attitude capable of stealing the hearts and resolutions and minds of the spectators."

SECTION 44

Vaisampayana said, "The gods and the Gandharvas then, understanding the wishes of India, procured an excellent Arghya and reverenced the son of Pritha in a hurry. And giving water to wash both his feet and face, they caused the prince to enter the palace of Indra. And thus worshipped, Jishnu continued to live in the abode of his father. And the son of Pandu continued all the while to acquire celestial weapons, together with the means of withdrawing them. And he received from the hands of Sakra his favourite weapon of irresistible force, viz., the thunder-bolt and those other weapons also, of tremendous roar, viz., the lightnings of heaven, whose flashes are inferable from the appearance of clouds and (the dancing of) peacocks. And the son of Pandu, after he had obtained those weapons, recollected his brothers. And at the command of Indra, however, he lived for full five years in heaven, surrounded by every comfort and luxury.

"After some time, when Arjuna had obtained all the weapons. Indra addressed him in due time, saying, 'O son of Kunti, learn thou music and dancing from Chitrasena. Learn the instrumental music that is current among the celestials and which existeth not in the world of men, for, O son of Kunti, it will be to thy benefit. And Purandara gave Chitrasena as a friend unto Arjuna. And the son of Pritha lived happily in peace with Chitrasena. And Chitrasena instructed Arjuna all the while in music; vocal and instrumental and in dancing. But the active Arjuna obtained no peace of mind, remembering the unfair play at dice of Sakuni, the son of Suvala, and thinking with rage of Dussasana and his death. When however, his friendship with Chitrasena had ripened fully, he at times learned the unrivalled dance and music practised among the Gandharvas. And at last having learnt various kinds of dance and diverse species of music, both vocal and instrumental, that slayer of hostile heroes obtained no peace of mind remembering his brothers and mother Kunti."

SECTION 45

Vaisampayana said, "One day, knowing that Arjuna's glances were cast upon Urvasi, Vasava, calling Chitrasena to himself, addressed him in private saying, 'O king of Gandharvas, I am pleased; go thou as my messenger to that foremost of Apsaras, Urvasi, and let her wait upon that tiger among men, Phalguna. Tell her, saying these words of mine, 'As through my instrumentality Arjuna hath learnt all the weapons and other arts, worshipped by all, so shouldst thou make him conversant with the arts of acquitting one's self in female company.' Thus addressed by Indra, the chief of the Gandharvas in obedience to that command of Vasava, soon went to Urvasi that foremost of Apsaras. And as he saw her, she recognised him and delighted him by the welcome she offered and the salutation she gave. And seated at ease he then smilingly addressed Urvasi, who also was seated at ease, saying, 'Let it be known, O thou of fair hips, that I come hither despatched by the one sole lord of heaven who asketh of thee a favour. He who is known amongst gods and men for his many inborn virtues, for his grace, behaviour, beauty of person, vows and self-control; who is noted for might and prowess, and respected by the virtuous, and ready-witted; who is endued with genius and splendid energy, is of a forgiving temper and without malice of any kind; who hath studied the four Vedas with their branches, and the Upanishads, and the Puranas also; who is endued with devotion to his preceptors and with intellect possessed of the eight attributes, who by his abstinence, ability, origin and age, is alone capable of protecting the celestial regions like Mahavat himself; who is never boastful; who showeth proper respect to all; who beholdeth the minutest things as clearly as if those were gross and large; who is sweet-speeched; who showereth diverse kinds of food and drink on his friends and dependents; who is truthful, worshipped of all, eloquent, handsome, and without pride; who is kind to those devoted to him, and universally pleasing and dear to all; who is firm in promise; who is equal to even Mahendra and Varuna in respect of every desirable attribute, viz., Arjuna, is known to thee. O Urvasi, know thou that hero is to be made to taste the joys of heaven. Commanded by Indra, let him today obtain thy feet. Do this, O amiable one, for Dhananjaya is inclined to thee.'

"Thus addressed, Urvasi of faultless features assumed a smiling face, and receiving the words of the Gandharva with high respect, answered with a glad heart, saying, 'Hearing of the virtues that should adorn men, as unfolded by thee, I would bestow my favours upon any one who happened to possess them. Why should I not then, choose Arjuna for a lover? At the command of Indra, and for my friendship for thee, and moved also by the numerous virtues of Phalguna, I am already under the influence of the god of love. Go thou, therefore, to the place thou desirest. I shall gladly go to Arjuna.'"

SECTION 46

Vaisampayana said, 'Having thus sent away the Gandharva successful in his mission, Urvasi of luminous smiles, moved by the desire of possessing Phalguna, took a bath. And having performed her ablutions, she decked herself in charming ornaments and splendid garlands of celestial odour. And inflamed by the god of love, and her heart pierced through and through by the shafts shot by Manmatha keeping in view the beauty of Arjuna, and her imagination wholly taken up by the thoughts of Arjuna, she mentally sported with him on a wide and excellent bed laid over with celestial sheets. And when the twilight had deepened and the moon was up, that Apsara of high hips sent out for the mansions of Arjuna. And in that mood and with her crisp, soft and long braids decked with bunches of flowers, she looked extremely beautiful. With her beauty and grace, and the charm of the motions of her eye-brows and of her soft accents, and her own moon like face, she seemed to tread, challenging the moon himself. And as she proceeded, her deep, finely tapering bosoms, decked with a chain of gold and adorned with celestial unguents and smeared with fragrant sandal paste, began to tremble. And in consequence of the weight of her bosoms, she was forced to slightly stoop forward at every step, bending her waist exceedingly beautiful with three folds. And her loins of faultless shape, the elegant abode of the god of love, furnished with fair and high and round hips and wide at their lower part as a hill, and decked with chains of gold, and capable of shaking the saintship of anchorites, being decked with thin attire, appeared highly graceful. And her feet with fair suppressed ankles, and possessing flat soles and straight toes of the colour of burnished copper and dorsum high and curved like tortoise back and marked by the wearing of ornaments furnished with rows of little bells, looked exceedingly handsome. And exhilarated with a little liquor which she had taken, and excited by desire, and moving in diverse attitudes and expressing a sensation of delight, she looked more handsome than usual. And though heaven abounded with many wonderful objects, yet when Urvasi proceeded in this manner, the Siddhas and Charanas and Gandharvas regarded her to be the handsomest object they had cast their eyes upon. And the upper half of her body clad in an attire of fine texture and cloudy hues, she looked resplendent like a digit of the moon in the firmament shrouded by fleecy clouds. And endued with the speed of the winds or the mind, she of luminous smiles soon reached the mansion of Phalguna, the son of Pandu. And, O best of men, Urvasi of beautiful eyes, having arrived at the gate of Arjuna's abode, sent word through the keeper in attendance. And (on receiving permission), she soon entered that brilliant and charming palace. But, O monarch, upon beholding her at night in his mansion, Arjuna, with a fearstricken heart, stepped up to receive her with respect and as soon as he saw her, the son of Pritha, from modesty, closed his eyes. And saluting her, he offered the Apsara such worship as is offered unto a superior. And Arjuna said, 'O thou foremost of the Apsaras, I reverence thee by bending my head down. O lady, let me know thy commands. I wait upon thee as thy servant.'"

Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words of Phalguna, Urvasi became deprived of her senses. And she soon represented unto Arjuna all that had passed between her and the Gandharva, Chitrasena. And she said, 'O best of men, I shall tell thee all that hath passed between me and Chitrasena, and why I have come hither. On account of thy coming here, O Arjuna, Mahendra had convened a large and charming assembly, in which celestial festivities were held. Unto that assembly came, O best of men, the Rudras and the Adityas and the Aswins and the Vasus. And there came also numbers of great Rishis and royal sages and Siddhas and Charanas and Yakshas and great Nagas. And, O thou of expansive eyes, the members of the assembly resplendent as fire or the sun or the moon, having taken their seats according to rank, honour, and prowess, O son of Sakra, the Gandharvas began to strike the Vinas and sing charming songs of celestial melody. And, O perpetuator of the Kuru race, the principal Apsaras also commenced to dance. Then, O son of Pritha, thou hadst looked on me only with a steadfast gaze. When that assembly of the celestials broke, commanded by thy father, the gods went away to their respective places. And the principal Apsaras also went away to their abodes, and others also, O slayer of foes, commanded by thy father and obtaining his leave. It was then that Chitrasena sent to me by Sakra, and arriving at my abode. O thou of eyes like lotus leaves, he addressed me, saying, 'O thou of the fairest complexion, I have been sent unto thee by the chief of the celestials. Do thou something that would be agreeable to Mahendra and myself and to thyself also. O thou of fair hips, seek thou to please Arjuna, who is brave in battle even like Sakra himself, and who is always possessed of magnanimity.' Even these, O son of Pritha, were his words. Thus, O sinless one, commanded by him and thy father also, I come to thee in order to wait upon thee, O slayer of foes. My heart hath been attracted by thy virtues, and am already under the influence of the god of love. And, O hero, even this is my wish, and I have cherished it for ever!"

Vaisampayana continued, "While in heaven, hearing her speak in this strain, Arjuna was overcome with bashfulness. And shutting his ears with his hands, he said, 'O blessed lady, fie on my sense of hearing, when thou speakest thus to me. For, O thou of beautiful face, thou art certainly equal in my estimation unto the wife of a superior. Even as Kunti here even this is my wish, and I have cherished it for ever!" [Some text is obviously missing here--JBH] of high fortune or Sachi the queen of Indra, art thou to me, O auspicious one, of this there is no doubt! That I had gazed particularly at thee, O blessed one, is true. There was a reason for it. I shall truly tell it to thee, O thou of luminous smiles! In the assembly I gazed at thee with eyes expanded in delight, thinking, 'Even this blooming lady is the mother of the Kaurava race.' O blessed Apsara, it behoveth thee not to entertain other feelings towards me, for thou art superior to my superiors, being the parent of my race.'"

"Hearing these words of Arjuna, Urvasi answered, saying, 'O son of The chief of the celestials, we Apsaras are free and unconfined in our choice. It behoveth thee not, therefore, to esteem me as thy superior. The sons and grandsons of Puru's race, that have come hither in consequence of ascetic merit do all sport with us, without incurring any sin. Relent, therefore, O hero, it behoveth thee not to send me away. I am burning with desire. I am devoted to thee. Accept me, O thou giver of proper respect.'"

"Arjuna replied, 'O beautiful lady of features perfectly faultless, listen. I truly tell thee. Let the four directions and the transverse directions, let also the gods listen. O sinless one, as Kunti, or Madri, or Sachi, is to me, so art thou, the parent of my race, an object of reverence to me. Return, O thou of the fairest complexion: I bend my head unto thee, and prostrate myself at thy feet. Thou deservest my worship as my own mother; and it behoveth thee to protect me as a son.'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Thus addressed by Partha, Urvasi was deprived of her senses by wrath. Trembling with rage, and contracting her brows, she cursed Arjuna, saying, 'Since thou disregardest a woman come to thy mansion at the command of thy father and of her own motion--a woman, besides, who is pierced by the shafts of Kama, therefore, O Partha, thou shalt have to pass thy time among females unregarded, and as a dancer, and destitute of manhood and scorned as a eunuch.'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Having cursed Arjuna thus, Urvasi's lips still quivered in anger, herself breathing heavily all the while. And she soon returned to her own abode. And that slayer of foes, Arjuna also sought Chitrasena without loss of time. And having found him, he told him all that had passed between him and Urvasi in the night. And he told Chitrasena everything as it had happened, repeatedly referring to the curse pronounced upon him. And Chitrasena also represented everything unto Sakra. And Harivahana, calling his son unto himself in private, and consoling him in sweet words, smilingly said, 'O thou best of beings, having obtained thee, O child, Pritha hath to-day become a truly blessed mother. O mighty-armed one, thou hast now vanquished even Rishis by the patience and self-control. But, O giver of proper respect, the curse that Urvasi hath denounced on thee will be to thy benefit, O child, and stand thee in good stead. O sinless one, ye will have on earth to pass the thirteenth year (of your exile), unknown to all. It is then that thou shalt suffer the curse of Urvasi. And having passed one year as a dancer without manhood, thou shalt regain thy power on the expiration of the term.'"

"Thus addressed by Sakra, that slayer of hostile heroes, Phalguna, experienced great delight and ceased to think of the curse. And Dhananjaya, the son of Pandu, sported in regions of heaven with the Gandharva Chitrasena of great celebrity."

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"The desires of the man that listeneth to this history of the son of Pandu never run after lustful ends. The foremost of men, by listening to this account of the awfully pure conduct of Phalguna, the son of the lord of the celestials, become void of pride and arrogance and wrath and other faults, and ascending to heaven, sport there in bliss."

SECTION 47

Vaisampayana said, "One day, the great Rishi Lomasa in course of his wanderings, went to the abode of Indra, desirous of beholding the lord of the celestials. And the great Muni, having approached the chief of the gods, bowed to him respectfully. And he beheld the son of Pandu occupying half of the seat of Vasava. And worshipped by the great Rishis, that foremost of Brahmanas sat on an excellent seat at the desire of Sakra. And beholding Arjuna seated on Indra's seat, the Rishi began to think as to how Arjuna who was a Kshatriya had attained to the seat of Sakra himself. What acts of merit had been performed by him and what regions, had been conquered by him (by ascetic merit), that he had obtained a seat that was worshipped by the gods themselves? And as the Rishi was employed with these thoughts, Sakra, the slayer of Vritra, came to know of them. And having known them, the lord of Sachi addressed Lomasa with a smile and said, 'Listen, O Brahmarshi, about what is now passing in thy mind. This one is no mortal though he hath taken his birth among men. O great Rishi, the mighty-armed hero is even my son born of Kunti. He hath come hither, in order to acquire weapons for some purpose. Alas! dost thou not recognise him as an ancient Rishi of the highest merit? Listen to me, O Brahamana, as I tell thee who is and why he hath come to me. Those ancient and excellent Rishis who were known by the names of Nara and Narayana are, know, O Brahmana, none else than Hrishikesa and Dhananjaya. And those Rishis, celebrated throughout the three worlds, and known by the names of Nara and Narayana have, for the accomplishment of a certain purpose, been born on earth--for the acquisition of virtue. That sacred asylum which even gods and illustrious Rishis are not competent to behold, and which is known throughout the world by the name of Vadari, and situate by the source of the Ganga, which is worshipped by the Siddhas and the Charanas, was the abode, O Brahmana, of Vishnu and Jishnu. Those Rishis of blazing splendour have, O Brahmarshi, at my desire, been born on earth, and endued with mighty energy, will lighten the burden thereof. Besides this, there are certain Asuras known as Nivatakavachas, who, proud of the boon they have acquired, are employed in doing us injuries. Boastful of their strength, they are even now planning the destruction of the gods, for, having received a boon, they no longer regard the gods. Those fierce and mighty Danavas live in the nether regions. Even all the celestials together are incapable of fighting with them. The blessed Vishnu--the slayer of Madhu--he, indeed who is known on earth as Kapila, and whose glance alone, O exalted one, destroyed the illustrious sons of Sagara, when they approached him with loud sounds in the bowels of the earth,--that illustrious and invincible Hari is capable, O Brahmana of doing us a great service. Either he or Partha or both may do us that great service, without doubt. Verily as the illustrious Hari had slain the Nagas in the great lake, he, by sight alone, is capable of slaying those Asuras called the Nivatakavachas, along with their followers. But the slayer of Madhu should not be urged when the task is insignificant. A mighty mass of energy that he is. It swelleth to increasing proportions, it may consume the whole universe. This Arjuna also is competent to encounter them all, and the hero having slain them in battle, will go back to the world of men. Go thou at my request to earth. Thou wilt behold the brave Yudhishthira living in the woods of Kamyaka. And for me tell thou the virtuous Yudhishthira of unbaffled prowess in battle, that he should not be anxious on account of Phalguna, for that hero will return to earth a thorough master of weapons, for without sanctified prowess of arms, and without skill in weapons, he would not be able to encounter Bhishma and Drona and others in battle. Thou wilt also represent unto Yudhishthira that the illustrious and mighty-armed Gudakesa, having obtained weapons, hath also mastered the science of celestial dancing and music both instrumental and vocal. And thou wilt also tell him, O king of men, O slayer of foes, thyself also, accompanied by all thy brothers, should see the various sacred shrines. For having bathed in different sacred waters, thou wilt be cleansed from thy sins, and the fever of thy heart will abate. And then thou wilt be able to enjoy thy kingdom, happy in the thought that thy sins have been washed off. And, O foremost of Brahmanas, endued with ascetic power, it behoveth thee also to protect Yudhishthira during his wandering over the earth. Fierce Rakshasas ever live in mountain fastnesses and rugged steppes. Protect thou the king from those cannibals.' "After Mahendra had spoken thus unto Lomasa, Vibhatsu also reverently addressed that Rishi, saying, 'Protect thou ever the son of Pandu. O best of men, let the king, O great Rishi, protected by thee, visit the various places of pilgrimage and give away unto Brahmanas in charity.'"

Vaisampayana continued, "The mighty ascetic Lomasa, having answered both saying, 'So be it,' set out for the earth, desirous of arriving at Kamvaka. And having arrived at those woods, he beheld the slayer of foes and son of Kunti, king Yudhishthira the Just, surrounded by ascetics and his younger brothers."

SECTION 48

Janamejaya said, "These feats of Pritha's son endued with immeasurable energy, were certainly marvellous. O Brahmana, what did Dhritarashtra of great wisdom say, when he heard of them?"

Vaisampayana said, "Amvika's son, king Dhritarashtra, having heard of Arjuna's arrival and stay at Indra's abode, from Dwaipayana, that foremost of Rishis, spake unto Sanjaya, saying, 'O charioteer, dost thou know in detail the acts of the intelligent Arjuna, of which I have heard from beginning to end? O charioteer, my wretched and sinful son is even now engaged in a policy of the most vulgar kind. Of wicked soul, he will certainly depopulate the earth. The illustrious person whose words even in jest are true, and who hath Dhananjaya to fight for him, is sure to win the three worlds. Who that is even beyond the influence of Death and Decay will be able to stay before Arjuna, when he will scatter his barbed and sharp-pointed arrows whetted on stone? My wretched sons, who have to fight with the invincible Pandavas are indeed, all doomed. Reflecting day and night, I see not the warrior amongst us that is able to stay in battle before the wielder of the Gandiva. If Drona, or Karna, or even Bhishma advance against him in battle, a great calamity is likely to befall the earth. But even in that case, I see not the way to our success Karna is kind and forgetful. The preceptor Drona is old, and the teacher (of Arjuna) Arjuna, however, is wrathful, and strong, and proud, and of firm and steady prowess. As all these warriors are invincible, a terrible fight will take place between them. All of them are heroes skilled in weapons and of great reputation. They would not wish for the sovereignty of the world, if it was to be purchased by defeat. Indeed, peace will be restored only on the death of these or of Phalguna. The slayer of Arjuna, however, existeth not, nor doth one that can vanquish him. Oh, how shall that wrath of his which hath myself for its object be pacified. Equal unto the chief of the celestials, that hero gratified Agni at Khandava and vanquished all the monarchs of the earth on the occasion of the great Rajasuya. O Sanjaya, the thunder-bolt falling on the mountain top, leaveth a portion unconsumed; but the shafts, O child, that are shot by Kiriti leave not a rack behind. As the rays of the sun heat this mobile and immobile universe, so will the shafts shot by Arjuna's hands scorch my sons. It seemeth to me that the Chamus of the Bharatas, terrified at the clatter of Arjuna's chariot-wheels, are already broken through in all directions. Vidhatri hath created Arjuna as an all-consuming Destroyer. He stayeth in battle as a foe, vomitting and scattering swarms of arrows. Who is there that will defeat him?"

SECTION 49

"Sanjaya said, 'That which hath been uttered by thee, O king, with respect to Duryodhana is all true. Nothing that thou hast said, O lord of the earth, is untrue. The Pandavas of immeasurable energy have been filled with rage at the sight of Krishna their wedded wife of pure fame--brought in the midst of the assembly. Hearing also those cruel words of Dussasana and Karna, they have been so incensed, O king, that they will not, I ween, forgive (the Kurus) on my account. I have heard, O king, how Arjuna hath gratified in battle by means of his bow the god of gods--Sthanu of eleven forms. The illustrious lord of all the gods--Kapardin himself--desirous of testing Phalguna, fought with him, having assumed the guise of a Kirata. And there it was that the Lokapala, in order to give away their weapons unto that bull of the Kuru race, showed themselves unto him of undeteriorating prowess. What other man on earth, except Phalguna, would strive to have a sight of these gods in their own forms? And, O king, who is there that will weaken in battle Arjuna, who could not be weakened by Maheswara himself possessed of eight forms? Thy sons, having dragged Draupadi, and thereby incensed the sons of Pandu, have brought this frightful and horrifying calamity upon themselves. Beholding Duryodhana showing both his thighs unto Draupadi, Bhima said with quivering lips, 'wretch! those thighs of thine will I smash with my fierce descending mace, on the expiration of thirteen years.' All the sons of Pandu are the foremost of smiters; all of them are of immeasurable energy; all of them are well-versed in every kind of weapons. For these, they are incapable of being vanquished even by the gods. Incensed at the insult offered to their wedded wife, Pritha's sons, urged by wrath, will, I ween, slay all thy sons in battle.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'O charioteer, what mischief hath been done by Karna uttering those cruel words, to the sons of Pandu! Was not the enmity sufficient that was provoked by bringing Krishna into the assembly? How can my wicked sons live, whose eldest brother and preceptor walketh not in the path of righteousness? Seeing me void of eye-sight, and incapable of exerting myself actively, my wretched son, O charioteer, believeth me to be a fool, and listeneth not to my words. Those wretches also that are his counsellors, viz., Karna and Suvala, and others, always pander to his vices, as he is incapable of understanding things rightly. The shafts that Arjuna of immeasurable prowess may lightly shoot, are capable of consuming all my sons, leave alone those shafts that he will shoot, impelled by anger. The arrows urged by the might of Arjuna's arms and shot from his large bow, and inspired with mantras capable of converting them into celestial weapons can chastise the celestials themselves. He who hath for his counsellor and protector and friend that smiter of sinful men--the lord of the three worlds--Hari himself--encountereth nothing that he cannot conquer. This, O Sanjaya, is most marvellous in Arjuna that, as we have heard, he hath been clasped by Mahadeva in his arms. That also which Phalguna, assisted by Damodara did of old towards helping Agni in the conflagration of Khandava, hath been witnessed by all the world. When, therefore, Bhima and Partha and Vasudeva of the Satwata race become enraged, surely my sons along with their friends and the Suvalas are all unequal to fight with them.'"

SECTION 50

Janamejaya said, "Having sent the heroic sons of Pandu into exile, these lamentations, O Muni, of Dhritarashtra were perfectly futile. Why did the king permit his foolish son Duryodhana to thus incense those mighty warriors, the sons of Pandu? Tell us now, O Brahmana, what was the food of the sons of Pandu, while they lived in the woods? Was it of the wilderness, or was it the produce of cultivation?"

Vaisampayana said, "Those bulls among men, collecting the produce of the wilderness and killing the deer with pure arrows, first dedicated a portion of the food to the Brahmanas, and themselves are the rest. For, O king, while those heroes wielding large bows lived in the woods, they were followed by Brahmanas of both classes, viz., those worshipping with fire and those worshipping without it. And there were ten thousand illustrious Snataka Brahmanas, all conversant with the means of salvation, whom Yudhishthira supported in the woods. And killing with arrows Rurus and the black deer and other kinds of clean animals of the wilderness, he gave them unto those Brahmanas. And no one that lived with Yudhishthira looked pale or ill, or was lean or weak, or was melancholy or terrified. And the chief of the Kurus--the virtuous king Yudhishthira--maintained his brothers as if they were his sons, and his relatives as if they were his uterine brothers. And Draupadi of pure fame fed her husbands and the Brahmanas, as if she was their mother; and last of all took her food herself. And the king himself wending towards the east, and Bhima, towards the south, and the twins, towards the west and the north, daily killed with bow in hand the deer of the forest, for the sake of meat. And it was that the Pandavas lived for five years in the woods of Kamyaka, in anxiety at the absence of Arjuna, and engaged all the while in study and prayers and sacrifices."

SECTION 51

Vaisampayana said, "That bull among men--Dhritarashtra--the son of Amvika, having heard of this wonderful way of life--so above that of men--of the sons of Pandu, was filled with anxiety and grief. And overwhelmed with melancholy and sighing heavily and hot, that monarch, addressing his charioteer Sanjaya, said, 'O charioteer, a moment's peace I have not, either during the day or the night, thinking of the terrible misbehaviour of my sons arising out of their past gambling, and thinking also of the heroism, the patience, the high intelligence, the unbearable prowess, and the extraordinary love unto one another of the sons of Pandu. Amongst the Pandavas, the illustrious Nakula and Sahadeva, of celestial origin and equal unto the chief himself of the celestials in splendour, are invincible in battle. They are firm in the wielding of weapons, capable of shooting at a long distance, resolute in battle, of remarkable lightness of hand, of wrath that is not easily quelled, possessed of great steadiness, and endued with activity. Possessed of the prowess of lions and unbearable as the Aswins themselves, when they will come to the field of battle with Bhima and Arjuna in front, I see, O Sanjaya, that my soldiers will all be slain without a remnant. Those mighty warriors of celestial origin, unrivalled in battle by anybody, filled with rage at the remembrance of that insult to Draupadi, will show no forgiveness. The mighty warriors of the Vrishnis also, and the Panchalas of great energy, and the sons of Pritha themselves, led by Vasudeva of unbaffled prowess, will blast my legions. O charioteer, all the warriors on my side assembled together, are not competent to bear the impetus of the Vrishnis alone when commanded by Rama and Krishna. And amongst them will move that great warrior Bhima of terrible prowess, armed with his iron mace held on high and capable of slaying every hero. And high above the din will be heard the twang of the Gandiva loud as the thunder of heaven. The impetus of Bhima's mace and the loud twang of the Gandiva are incapable of being stood against by any of the kings on my

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side. It is then, O Sanjaya, that obedient as I have been to the voice of Duryodhana, I shall have to call back the rejected counsels of my friends--counsels that I should have attended to in time.'"

Sanjaya said, "This hath been thy great fault, O king, viz., that though capable, thou didst not, from affection prevent thy son from doing what he hath done. The slayer of Madhu, that hero of unfading glory, hearing that the Pandavas had been defeated at dice, soon went to the woods of Kamyaka and consoled them there. And Draupadi's sons also headed by Dhrishtadyumna, and Virata, and Dhrishtaketu, and those mighty warriors, the Kekayas, all went there. All that was said by these warriors at the sight of Pandu's son defeated at dice, was learnt by me through our spies. I have also told thee all, O king. When the slayer of Madhu met the Pandavas, they requested him to become the charioteer of Phalguna in battle. Hari himself, thus requested, answered them, saying, 'so be it.' And even Krishna himself beholding the sons of Pritha dressed in deer skins, became filled with rage, and addressing Yudhishthira, said, 'That prosperity which the sons of Pritha had acquired at Indraprastha, and which, unobtainable by other kings, was beheld by me at the Rajasuya sacrifice, at which, besides, I saw all kings, even those of the Vangas and Angas and Paundras and Odras and Cholas and Dravidas and Andhakas, and the chiefs of many islands and countries on the sea-board as also of frontier states, including the rulers of the Sinhalas, the barbarous mlecchas, the natives of Lanka, and all the kings of the West by hundreds, and all the chiefs of the sea-coast, and the kings of the Pahlavas and the Daradas and the various tribes of the Kiratas and Yavanas and Sakras and the Harahunas and Chinas and Tukharas and the Sindhavas and the Jagudas and the Ramathas and the Mundas and the inhabitants of the kingdom of women and the Tanganas and the Kekayas and the Malavas and the inhabitants of Kasmira, afraid of the prowess of your weapons, present in obedience to your invitation, performing various offices,--that prosperity, O king, so unstable and waiting at present on the foe, I shall restore to thee, depriving thy foe of his very life. I shall, O chief of the Kurus, assisted by Rama and Bhima and Arjuna and the twins and Akrura and Gada and Shamva and Pradyumna and Ahuka and the heroic Dhrishtadyumna and the son of Sisupala, slay in battle in course of a day Duryodhana and Karna and Dussasana and Suvala's son and all others who may fight against us. And thou shalt, O Bharata, living at Hastinapura along with thy brothers, and snatching from Dhritarashtra's party the prosperity they are enjoying, rule this earth.' Even these, O king, were Krishna's words unto Yudhishthira, who, on the conclusion of Krishna's speech, addressed him in that meeting of heroes and in the hearing of all those brave warriors headed by Dhrishtadyumna, saying, 'O Janardana, I accept these words of thine as truth. O thou of mighty arms, do thou, however, slay my enemies along with all their followers on the expiry of thirteen years. O Kesava, promise this truly unto me. I promised in the presence of the king to live in the forest as I am now living.' Consenting to these words of king Yudhishthira the Just, his counsellors headed by Dhrishtadyumna soon pacified the incensed Kesava with sweet words and expressions suitable to the occasion. And they also said unto Draupadi of pure deeds in the hearing of Vasudeva himself, these words, 'O lady, in consequence of thy anger, Duryodhana shall lay down his life. We promise it, O thou of the fairest complexion. Therefore, grieve no more. O Krishna, those that mocked thee, beholding thee won at dice, shall reap the fruit of their act. Beasts of prey and birds shall eat their flesh, and mock them thus. Jackals and vultures will drink their blood. And, O Krishna, thou shalt behold the bodies of those wretches that dragged thee by the hair prostrate on the earth, dragged and eaten by carnivorous animals. They also that gave thee pain and disregarded thee shall lie on the earth destitute of their heads, and the earth herself shall drink their blood.' These and other speeches of various kinds were uttered there, O king, by those bulls of the Bharata race. All of them are endued with energy and bravery, and marked with the marks of battle. On the expiration of the thirteenth year, those mighty warriors, chosen by Yudhishthira and headed by Vasudeva, will come (to the field of battle). Rama and Krishna and Dhananjaya and Pradyumna and Shamva and Yuyudhana and Bhima and the sons of Madri and the Kekaya princes and the Panchala princes, accompanied by the king of Matsya, these all, illustrious and celebrated and invincible heroes, with their followers and troops, will come. Who is there that, desiring to live, will encounter these in battle, resembling angry lions of erect manes?'

"Dhritarashtra said, "What Vidura told me at the time of the game at dice, 'If thou seekest, O king, to vanquish the Pandavas (at dice), then certainly a terrible blood-shed ending in the destruction of all the Kurus will be the result,' I think it is about to be realised. As Vidura told me of old, without doubt a terrible battle will take place, as soon as the pledged period of the Pandavas expireth.'"

SECTION 52

(Nalopakhyana Parva)

Janamejaya said, "When the high-souled Partha went to Indra's region for obtaining weapons, what did Yudhishthira and the other sons of Pandu do?"

Vaisampayana said, "When the high-souled Partha went to Indra's region for obtaining weapons, those bulls of the Bharata race continued to dwell with Krishna in (the woods of) Kamyaka. One day, those foremost of the Bharatas, afflicted with grief, were seated with Krishna on a clean and solitary sward. Grieving for Dhananjaya, overwhelmed with sorrow, their voices were choked with weeping. Tortured by Dhananjaya's absence, grief afflicted them equally. And filled with sorrow at their separation from Arjuna and at the loss of their kingdom, the mighty-armed Bhima among them addressed Yudhishthira, saying, "That Bull of the Bharata race, Arjuna, O great king, on whom depend the lives of Pandu's sons, and on whose death the Panchalas as also ourselves with our sons and Satyaki and Vasudeva are sure to die, hath gone away at thy behest. What can be sadder than this that the virtuous Vibhatsu hath gone away at thy command, thinking of his many griefs? Depending upon the might of that illustrious hero's arms, regard our foes as already vanquished in battle, and the whole earth itself as already acquired by us. It was for the sake of that mighty warrior that I refrained from sending to the other world all the Dhartarashtras along with the Suvalas, in the midst of the assembly. Gifted with might of arms, and supported by Vasudeva, we have to suppress the wrath that hath been roused in us, because thou art the root of that wrath. Indeed, with Krishna's help, slaying our foes headed by Karna, we are able to rule the entire earth (thus) conquered by our own arms. Endued with manliness, we are yet overwhelmed with calamities, in consequence of thy gambling vice, while the foolish null of Dhritarashtra are growing stronger with the tributes (gathered from dependent kings). O mighty monarch, it behoveth thee to keep in view the duties of the Kshatriya. O great king, it is not the duty of a Khsatriya to live in the woods. The wise are of the opinion that to rule is the foremost duty of a Kshatriya. O king, thou art conversant with Kshatriya morality. Do not, therefore, deviate from the path of duty. Turning away from the woods, let us, summoning Partha and Janardana, slay, O king, the sons of Dhritarashtra, even before the twelve years are complete. O illustrious monarch O king of kings, even if these Dhartarashtras be surrounded by soldiers in array of battle, I shall send them to the other world by dint of might alone. I shall slay all the sons of Dhritarashtra along with the Sauvalas, indeed, Duryodhana, Karna, and any one else that will fight with me. And after I shall have slain all our foes, thou mayst come back unto the woods. By acting thus, O king, no fault will be thine. (Or if any sin be thine), O represser of foes, O mighty monarch, washing it off, O sire, by various sacrifices, we may ascend to a superior heaven. Such a consummation may come to pass, if our king proveth not unwise or procrastinating. Thou art, however, virtuous. Verily the deceitful should be destroyed by deceit. To slay the deceitful by deceit, is not regarded as sinful. O Bharata, it is, also said by those versed in morality that one day and night is, O great prince, equal unto a full year. The Veda text also, exalted one, is often heard, signifying that a year is equivalent to a day when passed in the observance of certain difficult vows. O thou of unfading glory, if the Vedas are an authority with thee, regard thou the period of a day and something more as the equivalent of thirteen years. O represser of foes, this is the time to slay Duryodhana with his adherents. Else, O king, he will beforehand bring the whole earth obedient to his will. O foremost of monarchs, all this is the result of thy addiction to gambling. We are on the verge of destruction already, in consequence of thy promise of living one year undiscovered. I do not find the country where, if we live, the wicked-minded Suyodhana may not be able to trace us by his spies. And finding us out, that wretch will again deceitfully send us into such exile in the woods. Or if that sinful one beholdeth us emerge, after the expiry of the pledged period of non-discovery, he will again invite thee, O great king, to dice, and the play will once more begin. Summoned once more, thou wilt again efface thyself at dice. Thou art not skilled at dice, and when summoned at play, thou wilt be deprived of thy senses. Therefore, O mighty monarch thou wilt have to lead a life in the woods again. If, O mighty king, it behoveth thee not to make us wretched for life, observe thou fully the ordinance of the Vedas, (which inculcateth that) verily the deceitful ought to be slain by deceit. If I but have thy command I would go (to Hastinapura) and, even as fire falling upon a heap of grass consumeth it, would slay Duryodhana, putting forth my utmost might. It behoveth thee, therefore, to grant me the permission.'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Thus addressed by Bhima, king Yudhishthira the Just, smelt the crown of that son of Pandu, and pacifying him said, 'O mighty-armed one, without doubt, thou wilt, assisted by the wielder of the Gandiva, slay Suyodhana at the expiry of the thirteenth year. But, O son of Pritha, as for thy assertion, 'O Lord, the time is complete', I cannot dare tell an untruth, for untruth is not in me. O son of Kunti, without the help of fraud, wilt thou kill the wicked and irrepressible Duryodhana, with his allies.'

"While Yudhishthira the Just, was speaking unto Bhima thus, there came the great and illustrious Rishi Vrihadaswa before them. And beholding that virtuous ascetic before him, the righteous king worshipped him according to the ordinance, with the offering of Madhuparka. And when the ascetic was seated and refreshed, the mighty-armed Yudhishthira sat by him, and looking up at the former, addressed him thus in exceedingly piteous accents:

'O holy one, summoned by cunning gamblers skilled at dice, I have been deprived of wealth and kingdom through gambling. I am not an adept at dice, and am unacquainted with deceit. Sinful men, by unfair means, vanquished me at play. They even brought into the public assembly my wife dearer unto me than life itself. And defeating me a second time, they have sent me to distressful exile in this great forest, clad in deer skins. At present I am leading a distressful life in the woods in grief of heart. Those harsh and cruel speeches they addressed me on the occasion of that gambling match, and the words of my afflicted friends relating to the match at dice and other subjects, are all stored up in my remembrance. Recollecting them I pass the whole night in (sleepless) anxiety. Deprived also (of the company) of the illustrious wielder of the Gandiva, on whom depend the lives of us all, I am almost deprived of life. Oh, when shall I see the sweet-speeched and large-hearted Vibhatsu so full of kindness and activity, return to us, having obtained all weapons? Is there a king on this earth who is more unfortunate than myself? Hast thou ever seen or heard of any such before? To my thinking, there is no man more wretched than I am.'

"Vrihadaswa said, 'O great king, O son of Pandu, thou sayest, 'There is no person more miserable than I am' O sinless monarch, if thou wilt listen, I will relate unto thee the history of a king more wretched than thyself?

Vaisampayana continued, "And thereupon the king said unto the ascetic, 'O illustrious one, tell me, I desire to hear the history of the king who had fallen into such a condition.'

"Vrihadaswa said, 'O king, O thou that never fallest off, listen attentively with thy brothers, I will narrate the history of a prince more miserable than thyself. There was a celebrated king among the Nishadhas, named Virasena. He had a son named Nala, versed in (the knowledge of) virtue and wealth. It hath been heard by us that, that king was deceitfully defeated by Pushkara, and afflicted with calamity, he dwelt in the woods with his spouse. And, O king, while he was living in the forest, he had neither slaves nor cars, neither brother nor friends with him. But thou art surrounded by thy heroic brothers like unto the celestials, and also by foremost regenerate ones like unto Brahma himself. Therefore, it behoveth thee not to grieve.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'I am anxious to hear in detail, O thou foremost of eloquent men, the history of the illustrious Nala. It behoveth thee therefore to relate it unto me.'

SECTION 53

Vrihadaswa said, "There was a king named Nala, the son of Virasena. And he was strong, and handsome, and well-versed in (the knowledge of) horses, and possessed of every desirable accomplishment. And he was at the head of all the kings, even like the lord of the celestials. And exalted over all, he resembled the sun in glory. And he was the king of the Nishadhas, intent on the welfare of the Brahmanas, versed in the Vedas, and possessed of heroism. And he was truth-telling, fond of dice, and the master of a mighty army. And he was the beloved of men and women, and of great soul and subdued passions. And he was the protector (of all), and the foremost of bowmen, and like unto Manu himself. And like him, there was among the Vidarbhas (a king named) Bhima, of terrible prowess, heroic and well-disposed towards his subjects and possessed of every virtue. (But withal) he was childless. And with a fixed mind, he tried his utmost for obtaining issue. And. O Bharata there came unto him (once) a Brahmarshi named Damana. And, O king of kings, desirous of having offspring, Bhima, versed in morality, with his queen gratified that illustrious Rishi by a respectful reception. And Damana, well-pleased, granted unto the king and his consort a boon in the form of a jewel of a daughter, and three sons possessed of lofty souls and great fame. (And they were called respectively) Damayanti, and Dama and Danta, and illustrious Damana. And the three sons were possessed of every accomplishment and terrible mien and fierce prowess. And the slender-waisted Damayanti, in beauty and brightness, in good name and grace and luck, became celebrated all over the world. And on her attaining to age, hundreds of hand-maids, and female slaves, decked in ornaments, waited upon her like Sachi herself. And Bhima's daughter of faultless features, decked in every ornament, shone in the midst of her hand-maids, like the luminous lightning of the clouds. And the large-eyed damsel was possessed of great beauty like that of Sree herself. And neither among celestials, nor among Yakshas, nor among men was anybody possessed of such beauty, seen or heard of before. And the beautiful maiden filled with gladness the hearts of even the gods. And that tiger among men, Nala also had not

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his peer in the (three) worlds: for in beauty he was like Kandarpa himself in his embodied form. And moved by admiration, the heralds again and again celebrated the praises of Nala before Damayanti and those of Damayanti before the ruler of the Nishadhas. And repeatedly hearing of each other's virtues they conceived an attachment towards each other not begot of sight, and that attachment, O son of Kunti began to grow in strength. And then Nala was unable to control the love that was in his bosom. And he began to pass much of his time in solitude in the gardens adjoining the inner apartment (of his palace). And there he saw a number of swans furnished with golden wings, wandering in those woods. And from among them he caught one with his hands. And thereupon the sky-ranging one said unto Nala. 'Deserve I not to be slain by thee. O king. I will do something that is agreeable to thee. O king of the Nishadhas. I will speak of thee before Damayanti in such a way that she will not ever desire to have any other person (for her lord).' Thus addressed, the king liberated that swan. And those swans then rose on their wings and went to the country of the Vidarbhas. And on arriving at the city of the Vidarbhas the birds alighted before Damayanti, who beheld them all. And Damayanti in the midst of her maids, beholding those birds of extraordinary appearance was filled with delight, and strove without loss of time to catch those coursers of the skies. And the swans at this, before that bevy of beauties, fled in all directions. And those maidens there pursued the birds, each (running) after one. And the swan after which Damayanti ran, having led her to a secluded spot, addressed her in human speech, saying, O Damayanti, there is a king amongst the Nishadhas named Nala. He is equal unto the Aswins in beauty, not having his peer among men. Indeed, in comeliness, he is like Kandarpa himself in his embodied form. O fair-complexioned one, O thou of slender waist, if thou becomest his wife, thy existence and this thy beauty may be of purpose. We have, indeed, beheld celestials and Gandharvas, and Nagas, and Rakshasas, and men, but never saw we before any one like Nala. Thou also art a jewel among thy sex, as Nala is the prime among men. The union of the best with the best is happy.' Thus addressed by the swan. Damayanti, O monarch, replied unto him there, saying, 'Do thou speak thus unto Nala also, 'Saying So be it, to the daughter of Vidarbha, the oviparous one, O king, returned to the country of the Nishadhas, and related everything unto Nala."

SECTION 54

"Vrihadaswa said, 'O Bharata, hearing those words of the swan, Damayanti thenceforth lost all peace of mind on account of Nala. And heaving frequent sighs she was filled with anxiety, and became melancholy and pale-faced and lean. And with her heart possessed by the god of love, she soon lost colour, and with her upturned gaze and modes of abstraction, looked like one demented. And she lost all inclination for beds and seats and object of enjoyment. And she ceased to lie down by day or night, always weeping with exclamation of Oh! and Alas! And beholding her uneasy and fallen into that condition, her hand-maids represented, O king, the matter of her illness unto the ruler of Vidarbha by indirect hints. And king Bhima, hearing of this from the handmaids of Damayanti, regarded the affair of his daughter to be serious. And he asked himself, 'Why is it that my daughter seemeth to be so ill now?' And the king, reflecting by himself that his daughter had attained to puberty, concluded that Damayanti's Swayamvara should take place. And the monarch, O exalted one, (invited) all the rulers of the earth, saying, Ye heroes, know that Damayanti's Swayamvara is at hand, And all the kings, hearing of Damayanti's Swayamvara, came unto Bhima, agreeable to his message, filling the earth with the clatter of their cars, the roar of their elephants, and the neighing of their horses, and accompanied with their fine-looking battalions decked in ornaments and graceful garlands. And the mighty-armed Bhima paid due reverence unto those illustrious monarchs. And duly honoured by him they took up their quarters there.'

"And at the juncture, those foremost of celestial Rishis possessed of great splendour, of great wisdom and great vows--namely, Narada and Parvata--having arrived in course of their wandering at the regions of Indra entered the mansion of the lord of the immortals, receiving proper worship. And Maghavat having worshipped them reverentially, inquired after their undisturbed peace and welfare as regards all respects. And Narada said, 'O lord, O divine one, peace attendeth us in every respect. And, O Maghavat, peace attendeth also O exalted one, the kings of the whole world.'

"Vrihadaswa continued. 'Hearing the words of Narada the slaver of Vala and Vritra said, 'Those righteous rulers of the earth who fight renouncing all desire of life, and who meet death when their time is come by means of weapons, without flying from the field,--theirs is this region, everlasting unto them and granting all desires, even as it is to me. Where be those Kshatriya heroes? I do not see those kings approach (now) Where are my favourite guests?' Thus addressed by Sakra, Narada replied, 'Listen, O Mahavat, why seest not thou the kings (now)? The ruler of the Vidarbhas hath a daughter--the celebrated Damayanti. In beauty she transcendeth all the women of the earth. Her Swayamvara, O Sakra, will take place shortly. Thither are going all the kings and Princes from all directions. And all the lords of the earth desire to have that pearl of the earth,--desire to have her eagerly, O slaver of Vala and Vritra.' And while they were talking thus, those foremost of the immortals, the Lokapalas with Agni among them, appeared before the lord of the celestials. And all of them heard the words of Narada fraught with grave import. And as soon as they heard them, they exclaimed in rapture, We also will go there. And, O mighty monarch, accompanied by their attendants and mounted on their (respective) vehicles, they set out for the country of Vidarbhas, whither (had gone) all the kings. And, O son of Kunti, the high-souled king Nala also hearing of that concourse of kings, set out with a cheerful heart, full of Damayanti's love. And (it came to pass) that the gods saw Nala on the way treading on the earth. And his form owing to its beauty was like that of the god of love himself. And beholding him resplendent as the sun, the Lokapalas were filled with astonishment at his wealth of beauty, and abandoned their intention. And, O king, leaving their cars in the sky the dwellers of heaven alighted from the welkin and spake unto the ruler of the Nishadhas, saying, 'O foremost of monarchs ruling the Nishadhas, O Nala, thou art devoted to truth. Do thou help us. O best of men, be thou our messenger.'"

SECTION 55

"Vrihadaswa continued, 'O Bharata, Nala pledged his word to the celestials saying, 'I will do it.' And then approaching these, he asked with folded hands. 'Who are ye? And who also is he that desireth me to be his messenger? And what, further, shall I have to do for you? O tell me truly!'--When the king of the Nishadhas spoke thus, Maghavat replied, saying, 'Know us as the immortals come hither for Damayanti's sake. I am Indra, this one is Agni, this the lord of waters, and this, O king, is even Yama the destroyer of the bodies of men. Do thou inform Damayanti of our arrival, saying, 'The guardians of the world, (consisting of) the great Indra and the others, are coming to the assembly, desirous of beholding (the Swayamvara). The gods, Sakra and Agni and Varuna and Yama, desire to obtain thee. Do thou, therefore, choose one of them for thy lord.' Thus addressed by Sakra, Nala said with joined hands, 'I have come here with the self same object. It behoveth thee not to send me (on this errand). How can a person who is himself under the influence of love bring himself to speak thus unto a lady on behalf of others? Therefore, spare me, ye gods' The gods, however, said, 'O ruler of the Nishadhas, having promised first, saying, 'I will! why wilt thou not act accordingly now? O ruler of the Nishadhas, tell us this without delay.'

"Vrihadaswa continued, 'Thus addressed by those celestials, the ruler of Nishadhas spake again, saying, 'Those mansions are well-guarded. How can I hope to enter them?' Indra replied, 'Thou shalt be able to enter.' And, saying, So be it.' Nala thereupon went to the palace of Damayanti. And having arrived there, he beheld the daughter of the king of Vidarbha surrounded by her hand-maids, blazing in beauty and excelling in symmetry of form, of limbs exceedingly delicate, of slender waist and fair eyes. And she seemed to rebuke the light of the moon by her own splendour. And as he gazed on that lady of sweet smiles. Nala's love increased, but desirous of keeping his truth, he suppressed his passion. And at the sight of Naishadha, overpowered by his effulgence, those first of women sprang up from their seats in amazement. And filled with wonder (at his sight), they praised Nala in gladness of heart. And without saying anything, they mentally paid him homage, 'Oh, what comeliness! Oh, what gentleness belongeth to this high-souled one! Who is he? Is he some god or Yaksha or Gandharva?' And those foremost of women, confounded by Nala's splendour and bashfulness would not accost him at all in speech. And Damayanti although herself struck with amazement, smilingly addressed the warlike Nala who also gently smiled at her, saying, 'What art thou, O thou of faultless features, that hast come here awakening my love? O sinless one, O hero of celestial form, I am anxious to know who thou art that hast come hither. And why hast thou come hither? And how is it that thou hast not been discovered by any one, considering that my apartments are well-guarded and the king's mandates are stern.' Thus addressed by the daughter of the king of the Vidarbhas, Nala replied, 'O beauteous lady, know that my name is Nala. I come here as the messenger of the gods. The celestials, Sakra, Agni, Varuna and Yama, desire to have thee. O beautiful lady, do thou choose one of them for thy lord. It is through their power that I have entered here unperceived, and it is for this reason that none saw me on my way or obstructed my entrance. O gentle one, I have been sent by the foremost of the celestials even for this object. Hearing this, O fortunate one, do what thou pleasest.'"

SECTION LVI

"Vrihadaswa said, 'Damayanti, having bowed down unto the gods, thus addressed Nala with a smile, 'O king, love me with proper regard, and command me what I shall do for thee. Myself and what else of wealth is mine are thine. Grant me, O exalted one, thy love in full trust. O king, the language of the swans in burning me. It is for thy sake, O hero, that I have caused the kings to meet. O giver of proper honour, if thou forsake me who adore thee, for thy sake will I resort to poison, or fire, or water or the rope.' Thus addressed by the daughter of the king of the Vidarbhas, Nala answered her saying, 'With the Lokapalas present, choosest thou a man? Do thou turn thy heart to those high-souled lords, the creators of the worlds, unto the dust of whose feet I am not equal. Displeasing the gods, a mortal cometh by death. Save me, O thou of faultless limbs! Choose thou the all-excelling celestials. By accepting the gods, do thou enjoy spotless robes, and celestial garlands of variegated hues, and excellent ornaments. What woman would not choose as her lord Hutasana--the chief of the celestials, who compassing the earth swalloweth it? What woman would not choose him as her lord the dread of whose mace induceth all creatures to tread the path of virtue? And what woman would not choose as her lord the virtuous and high-souled Mahendra, the lord of the celestials, the chastiser of Daityas and Danavas? Or, if thou couldst choose in thy heart Varuna amongst the Lokapalas, do so unhesitatingly. O accept this friendly advice.' Thus addressed by Naishadha, Damayanti, with eyes bathed in tears of grief spake thus unto Nala, 'O lord of the earth, bowing to all the gods, I choose thee for my lord. Truly do I tell thee this.' The king, who had come as the messenger of the gods, replied unto the trembling Damayanti standing with folded hands, 'O amiable one, do as thou pleasest. Having given my pledge, O blessed one, unto the gods in especial, how can I, having come on other's mission, dare seek my own interest? If seeking my own interest consists with virtue, I will seek it, and do thou also, O beauteous one, act accordingly.' Then Damayanti of luminous smiles slowly spake unto king Nala, in words choked with tears, 'O lord of men I see a blameless way, by which no sin whatever will attach unto thee. O king, do thou, O foremost of men, come to the Swayamvara in company with all the gods headed by Indra. There, O Monarch, in the presence of the Lokapalas I will, O tiger among men, choose thee--at which no blame will be thine.' Thus addressed, O monarch, by the daughter of Vidarbha, king Nala returned to where the gods were staying together. And beholding him approach those great gods, the Lokapalas, eagerly asked him about all that had happened saying, 'Hast thou, O king, seen Damayanti of sweet smiles? What hath she said unto us all? O sinless monarch, tell us everything.' Nala answered, 'Commanded by you I entered Damayanti's palace furnished with lofty portals guarded by veteran warders bearing wands. And as I entered, no one perceived me, by virtue of your power, except the princess. And I saw her hand-maids, and they also saw me. And, O exalted celestials, seeing me, they were filled with wonder. And as I spake unto her of you, the fair-faced maiden, her will fixed on me, O ye best of the gods, chose me (for her spouse).' And the maiden said, 'Let the gods, O tiger among men, come with thee to the Swayamvara, I will in their presence, choose thee. At this, O thou of mighty arms, no blame will attach to thee.' 'This is all, ye gods, that took place, as I have said. Finally, everything rests with you, ye foremost of celestials.'"

SECTION 57

"Vrihadaswa continued, 'Then at the sacred hour of the holy lunar day of the auspicious season, king Bhima summoned the kings to the Swayamvara. And hearing of it, all the lords of earth smit with love speedily came thither, desirous of (possessing) Damayanti. And the monarchs entered the amphitheatre decorated with golden pillars and a lofty portal arch, like mighty lions entering the mountain wilds. And those lords of earth decked with fragrant garlands and polished ear-rings hung with jewels seated themselves on their several seats. And that sacred assembly of Kings, graced by those tigers among men, resembled the Bhogavati swarming with the Nagas, or a mountain cavern with tigers. And their arms were robust, and resembling iron maces, and well-shaped, and graceful, and looking like five-headed snakes. And graced with beautiful locks and fine noses and eyes and brows, the countenance of the kings shone like stars in the firmament. And (when the time came), Damayanti of beauteous face, stealing the eyes and hearts of the princes by her dazzling light, entered the hall. And the glances of those illustrious kings were rivetted to those parts of her person where they had chanced to fall first, without moving at all. And when, O Bharata, the names of the monarchs were proclaimed, the daughter of Bhima saw five persons all alike in appearance. And beholding them seated there, without difference of any kind in form, doubt filled her mind, and she could not ascertain which of them was king Nala. And at whomsoever (among them) she looked, she regarded him to be the king of the Nishadhas. And filled with anxiety, the beauteous one thought within herself, 'Oh, how shall I distinguish the celestials, and how discern the royal Nala?' And thinking thus, the daughter of Vidarbha became filled with grief. And, O Bharata, recollecting the marks belonging

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to the celestials, of which she had heard, she thought, 'Those attributes of the celestials, of which I have heard from the aged, do not pertain to any of these deities present here upon the earth.' And revolving the matter long in her mind, and reflecting upon it repeatedly, she decided upon seeking the protection of the gods themselves. And bowing down unto them with mind and speech, with folded hands, she addressed them trembling, 'Since I heard the speech of the swans, I chose the king of the Nishadhas as my lord. For the sake of truth, O, let the gods reveal him to me. And as in thought or word I have never swerved from him, O, let the gods, for the sake of that truth, reveal him to me. And as the gods themselves have destined the ruler of the Nishadhas to be my lord, O, let them, for the sake of that truth, reveal him to me. And as it is for paying homage unto Nala that I have adopted this vow, for the sake of that truth, O, let the gods reveal him unto me, O, let the exalted guardians of the worlds assume their own proper forms, so that I may know the righteous king.' Hearing these piteous words of Damayanti, and ascertaining her fixed resolve, and fervent love for the king of Nishadhas, the purity of her heart and her inclination and regard and affection for Nala, the gods did as they had been adjured, and assumed their respective attributes as best they could. And thereupon she beheld the celestials unmoistened with perspiration, with winkless eyes, and unfading garlands, unstained with dust, and staying without touching the ground. And Naishadha stood revealed to his shadow, his fading garlands, himself stained with dust and sweat, resting on the ground with winking eyes. And, O Bharata, discerning the gods and the virtuous Nala the daughter of Bhima chose Naishadha according to her truth. And the large-eyed damsel then bashfully caught the hem of his garment and placed round his neck a floral wreath of exceeding grace. And when that fair-complexioned maiden had thus chosen Nala for her husband, the kings suddenly broke out into exclamations of Oh! and Alas! And, O Bharata, the gods and the great Rishis in wonder cried Excellent! Excellent!, applauding the king the while. And, O Kauravya, the royal son of Virasena, with heart filled with gladness, comforted the beauteous Damayanti, saying, 'Since thou, O blessed one, hast chosen a mortal in the presence of the celestials, know me for a husband even obedient to thy command. And, O thou of sweet smiles, truly do I tell thee this that as long as life continueth in this body of mine, I will remain thine and thine alone. Damayanti also, with folded hands paid homage unto Nala in words of like import. And the happy pair beholding Agni and the other gods mentally sought their protection. And after the daughter of Bhima had chosen Naishadha as her husband, the Lokapalas of exceeding effulgence with pleased hearts, bestowed on Nala eight boons. And Sakra, the lord of Sachi, bestowed on Nala the boon that he should be able to behold his godship in sacrifices and that he should attain to blessed legions thereafter, and Hutasana bestowed on him the boon of his own presence whenever Naishadha wished, and regions also bright as himself. And Yama granted him subtle taste in food as well as pre-eminence in virtue. And the lord of waters granted Nala his own presence whenever he desired, and also garlands of celestial fragrance. And thus each of them bestowed upon him a couple of boons. And having bestowed these the gods went to heaven. And the kings also, having witnessed with wonder Damayanti's selection of Nala, returned delighted whence they had come. And on the departure of those mighty monarchs, the high-souled Bhima, well pleased, celebrated the wedding of Nala and Damayanti. And having stayed there for a time according to his desire, Naishadha, the best of men, returned to his own city with the permission of Bhima. And having attained that pearl of a woman, the virtuous king, O monarch, began to pass his days in joy, like the slayer of Vala and Vritra in the company of Sachi. And resembling the sun in glory, the king, full of gladness, began to rule his subjects righteously, and give them great satisfaction. And like unto Yayati, the son of Nahusha, that intelligent monarch celebrated the horse sacrifice and many other sacrifices with abundant gifts to Brahmanas. And like unto a very god, Nala sported with Damayanti in romantic woods and groves. And the high-minded king begat upon Damayanti a son named Indrasena, and a daughter named Indrasena. And celebrating sacrifice, and sporting (with Damayanti) thus, the king ruled the earth abounding in wealth.'"

SECTION 58

"Vrihadaswa said, 'When the blazing guardians of the worlds were returning after the daughter of Bhima had chosen Naishadha, on their way they met Dwapara with Kali approaching towards them. And seeing Kali, Sakra the slayer of Vala and Vritra, said, 'O Kali, say whither thou art going with Dwapara.' And thereupon Kali replied unto Sakra, 'Going to Damayanti's Swayamvara, will I obtain her (for my wife), as my heart is fixed upon that damsel.' Hearing this, Indra said with a smile, 'That Swayamvara is already ended. In our sight she hath chosen Nala for her husband.' Thus answered by Sakra, Kali, that vilest of the celestials, filled with wrath, addressing all those gods spake, 'Since in the presence of the celestials she hath chosen a mortal for her lord, it is meet that she should undergo a heavy doom.' Upon hearing these words of Kali, the celestials answered, 'It is with our sanction that Damayanti hath chosen Nala. What damsel is there that would not choose king Nala endued with every virtue? Well-versed in all duties, always conducting himself with rectitude, he hath studied the four Vedas together with the Puranas that are regarded as the fifth. Leading a life of harmlessness unto all creatures, he is truth-telling and firm in his vows, and in his house the gods are ever gratified by sacrifices held according to the ordinance. In that tiger among men--that king resembling a Lokapala, is truth, and forbearance, and knowledge, and asceticism, and purity and self-control, and perfect tranquillity of soul. O Kali, the fool that wisheth to curse Nala bearing such a character, curseth himself, and destroyeth himself by his own act. And, O Kali, he that seeketh to curse Nala crowned with such virtues, sinketh into the wide bottomless pit of hell rife with torments.' Having said this to Kali and Dwapara, the gods went to heaven. And when the gods had gone away, Kali said unto Dwapara, 'I am ill able, O Dwapara, to suppress my anger. I shall possess Nala, deprive him of his kingdom, and he shall no more sport with Bhima's daughter. Entering the dice, it behoveth thee to help me.'"

SECTION 59

"Vrihadaswa said, 'Having made this compact with Dwapara, Kali came to the place where the king of the Nishadhas was. And always watching for a hole, he continued to dwell in the country of the Nishadhas for a long time. And it was in the twelfth year that Kali saw a hole. For one day after answering the call of nature, Naishadha touching water said his twilight prayers, without having previously washed his feet. And it was through this (omission) that Kali entered his person. And having possessed Nala, he appeared before Pushkara, and addressed him, saying, 'Come and play at dice with Nala. Through my assistance thou wilt surely win at the play. And defeating king Nala and acquiring his kingdom, do thou rule the Nishadhas.' Thus exhorted by Kali, Pushkara went to Nala. And Dwapara also approached Pushkara, becoming the principal die called Vrisha. And appearing before the warlike Nala, that slayer of hostile heroes, Pushkara, repeatedly said, 'Let us play together with dice.' Thus challenged in the presence of Damayanti, the lofty-minded king could not long decline it. And he accordingly fixed the time for the play. And possessed by Kali, Nala began to lose, in the game, his stakes in gold, and silver, and cars with the teams thereof, and robes. And maddened at dice, no one amongst his friends could succeed in dissuading that represser of foes from the play that went on. And thereupon, O Bharata, the citizens in a body, with the chief councillors, came thither to behold the distressed monarch and make him desist. And the charioteer coming to Damayanti spake to her of this, saying, 'O lady, the citizens and officers of the state wait at the gate. Do thou inform the king of the Nishadhas that the citizens have come here, unable to bear the calamity that hath befallen their king conversant with virtue and wealth.' Thereupon Bhima's daughter, overwhelmed with grief and almost deprived of reason by it, spake unto Nala in choked accents, 'O king, the citizens with the councillors of state, urged by loyalty, stay at the gate desirous of beholding thee. It behoveth thee to grant them an interview.' But the king, possessed by Kali, uttered not a word in reply unto his queen of graceful glances, uttering thus her lamentations. And at this, those councillors of state as also the citizens, afflicted with grief and shame, returned to their homes, saying, 'He liveth not.' And, O Yudhishthira, it was thus that Nala and Pushkara gambled together for many months, the virtuous Nala being always worsted.'"

SECTION 60

Vrihadaswa said. "Bhima's daughter, the cool-headed Damayanti, seeing the righteous king maddened and deprived of his senses at dice, was filled, O king, with alarm and grief. And she thought the affair to be a serious one with the king. And apprehensive of the calamity that threatened Nala, yet seeking his welfare and at last understanding that her lord had lost everything, she said unto her nurse and maid-servant Vrihatsena of high fame, intent upon her good, dexterous in all duties, faithful and sweet-speeched, these words, 'O Vrihatsena, go thou and summon the councillors in the name of Nala, and tell them also what of wealth and other things hath been lost and what remaineth.' The councillors then, hearing of Nala's summons, said, 'This is fortunate for us' and approached the king. And when the subjects in a body had (thus) come a second time, the daughter of Bhima informed Nala of it. But the king regarded her not. Finding her husband disregarding her words, Damayanti, filled with shame, returned to her apartments. And hearing that the dice were uniformly unfavourable to the virtuous Nala, and that he had lost everything, she again spake unto her nurse, saying, 'O Vrihatsena, go thou again in Nala's name to bring hither, O blessed one, the charioteer, Varshneya. The matter at hand is very serious.' And Vrihatsena, hearing those words of Damayanti caused Varshneya to be summoned by trusty servants. And the blameless daughter of Bhima, acquainted with conduct suitable to time and place, addressing soft words said according to the occasion, 'Thou knowest how the king hath always behaved towards thee. He is now in difficulty, and it behoveth thee to assist him. The more the king loseth to Pushkara, the greater becometh his ardour for the play. And as the dice fall obedient to Pushkara, it is seen that they are adverse to Nala in the matter of the play. And absorbed in the play, he heedeth not the words of his friends and relatives, nor even those of mine. I do not think, however, that in this the high-souled Naishadha is to blame, in as much as the king regarded not my words, being absorbed in play. O Charioteer, I seek thy protection. Do my behest. My mind misgiveth me. The king may come to grief. Yoking Nala's favourite horses endued with the fleetness of the mind, do thou take these twins (my son and daughter) on the car and hie thou to Kundina. Leaving the children there with my kindred as also the car and the horses, either stay thou there, or go to any other place as it listeth thee.' Varshneya, the charioteer of Nala, then reported in detail these words of Damayanti unto the chief officers of the king. And having settled (the matter) in consultation with them, and obtaining their assent, O mighty monarch, the charioteer started for Vidarbha, taking the children on that car. And leaving there the boy Indrasena and the girl Indrasena, as also that best of cars and those steeds, the charioteer, with a sad heart grieving for Nala, bade farewell unto Bhima. And wandering for some time, he arrived at the city of Ayodhya. And there he appeared with a sorrowful heart before king Rituparna, and entered the service of that monarch as charioteer."

SECTION 61

"Vrihadaswa said, 'After Varshneya had gone away, Pushkara won from the righteous Nala that latter's kingdom and what else of wealth he had. And unto Nala, O king, who had lost his kingdom, Pushkara laughingly said, 'Let the play go on. But what stake hast thou now? Damayanti only remaineth; all else of thine hath been won by me. Well, if thou likest, that Damayanti be our stake now.' Hearing these words of Pushkara the virtuous king felt as if his heart would burst in rage, but he spake not a word. And gazing at Pushkara in anguish, king Nala of great fame took all the ornaments off every part of his body. And attired in a single piece of cloth, his body uncovered, renouncing all his wealth, and enhancing the grief of friends, the king set out. And Damayanti, clad in one piece of cloth, followed him behind as he was leaving the city. And coming to the outskirts of the city, Nala stayed there for three nights with his wife. But Pushkara, O king, proclaimed through the city that he that should show any attention to Nala, would be doomed to death. And on account of these words of Pushkara and knowing his malice towards Nala, the citizens, O Yudhishthira, no longer showed him hospitable regards. And unregarded though deserving of hospitable regards, Nala passed three nights in the outskirts of the city, living on water alone. And afflicted with hunger, the king went away in search of fruit and roots, Damayanti following him behind. And in agony of famine, after many days, Nala saw some birds with plumage of golden hue. And thereupon the mighty lord of the Nishadhas thought within himself, 'These will be my banquet today and also my wealth.' And then he covered them with the cloth he had on--when bearing up that garment of his, the birds rose up to the sky. And beholding Nala nude and melancholy, and standing with face turned towards the ground, those rangers of the sky addressed him, saying, 'O thou of small sense, we are even those dice. We had come hither wishing to take away thy cloth, for it pleased us not that thou shouldst depart even with thy cloth on.' And finding himself deprived of his attire, and knowing also that the dice were departing (with it), the virtuous Nala, O king, thus spake unto Damayanti, 'O faultless one, they through whose anger I have been despoiled of my kingdom, they through whose influence distressed and afflicted with hunger, I am unable to procure sustenance, they for whom the Nishadhas offered me not any hospitality, they, O timid one, are carrying off my cloth, assuming the form of birds. Fallen into this dire disaster, I am afflicted with grief and deprived of my senses, I am thy lord, do thou, therefore, listen to the words I speak for thy good. These many roads lead to the southern country, passing by (the city of) Avanti and the Rikshavat mountains. This is that mighty mountain called Vindhya; yon, the river Payasvini running sea-wards, and yonder are the asylums of the ascetics, furnished with various fruit and roots. This road leadeth to the country of the Vidarbhas--and that, to the country of the Kosalas. Beyond these roads to the south is the southern country.' Addressing Bhima's daughter, O Bharata, he distressed king Nala spake those words unto Damayanti over and over again. Thereupon afflicted with grief, in a voice choked with tears, Damayanti spake unto Naishadha these piteous words, 'O king, thinking of thy purpose, my heart trembleth, and all my limbs become faint. How can I go, leaving thee in the lone woods despoiled of thy kingdom and deprived of thy wealth, thyself without a

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garment on, and worn with hunger and toil? When in the deep woods, fatigued and afflicted with hunger, thou thinkest of thy former bliss, I will, O great monarch, soothe thy weariness. In every sorrow there is no physic equal unto the wife, say the physicians. It is the truth, O Nala, that I speak unto thee.' Hearing those words of his queen, Nala replied, 'O slender-waisted Damayanti, it is even as thou hast said. To a man in distress, there is no friend or medicine that is equal unto a wife. But I do not seek to renounce thee, wherefore, O timid one, dost thou dread this? O faultless one, I can forsake myself but thee I cannot forsake.' Damayanti then said, 'If thou dost not, O mighty king, intend to forsake me, why then dost thou point out to me the way to the country of the Vidarbhas? I know, O king, that thou wouldst not desert me. But, O lord of the earth, considering that thy mind is distracted, thou mayst desert me. O best of men, thou repeatedly pointest out to me the way and it is by this, O god-like one, that thou enhancest my grief. If it is thy intention that I should go to my relatives, then if it pleaseth thee, both of us will wend to the country of the Vidarbhas. O giver of honours, there the king of the Vidarbhas will receive thee with respect. And honoured by him, O king, thou shall live happily in our home.'"

SECTION 62

"Nala said, 'Surely, thy father's kingdom is as my own. But thither I will not, by any means, repair in this extremity. Once I appeared there in glory, increasing thy joy. How can I go there now in misery, augmenting thy grief?'

"Vrihadaswa continued, 'Saying this again and again unto Damayanti, king Nala, wrapped in half a garment, comforted his blessed wife. And both attired in one cloth and wearied with hunger and thirst, in course of their wanderings, at last they came to a sheltered shed for travellers. And arrived at this place, the king of the Nishadhas sat down on the bare earth with the princes of Vidarbha. And wearing the same piece of cloth (with Damayanti), and dirty, and haggard, and stained with dust, he fell asleep with Damayanti on the ground in weariness. And suddenly plunged in distress, the innocent and delicate Damayanti with every mark of good fortune, fell into a profound slumber. And, O monarch, while she slept, Nala, with heart and mind distraught, could not slumber calmly as before. And reflecting on the loss of his kingdom, the desertion of his friends, and his distress in the woods, he thought with himself, 'What availeth my acting thus? And what if I act not thus? Is death the better for me now? Or should I desert my wife? She is truly devoted to me and suffereth this distress for my sake. Separated from me, she may perchance wander to her relatives. Devoted as she is to me, if she stayeth with me, distress will surely be hers; while it is doubtful, if I desert her. On the other hand, it is not unlikely that she may even have happiness some time.' Reflecting upon this repeatedly, and thinking of it again and again, he concluded, O monarch, that the desertion of Damayanti was the best course for him. And he also thought, 'Of high fame and auspicious fortune, and devoted to me, her husband, she is incapable of being injured by any one on the way on account of her energy.' Thus his mind that was influenced by the wicked Kali, dwelling upon Damayanti, was made up for deserting her. And then thinking of his own want of clothing, and of her being clad in a single garment, he intended to cut off for himself one half of Damayanti's attire. And he thought, 'How shall I divide this garment, so that my beloved one may not perceive?' And thinking of this, the royal Nala began to walk up and down that shed. And, O Bharata, pacing thus to and fro, he found a handsome sword lying near the shed, unsheathed. And that repressor of foes, having, with that sword cut off one half of the cloth, and throwing the instrument away, left the daughter of Vidharbha insensible in her sleep and went away. But his heart failing him, the king of the Nishadhas returned to the shed, and seeing Damayanti (again), burst into tears. And he said, 'Alas! that beloved one of mine whom neither the god of wind nor the sun had seen before, even she sleepeth to-day on the bare earth, like one forlorn. Clad in this severed piece of cloth, and lying like one distracted, how will the beauteous one of luminous smiles behave when she awaketh? How will the beautiful daughter of Bhima, devoted to her lord, all alone and separated from me, wander through these deep woods inhabited by beasts and serpents? O blessed one, may the Adityas and the Vasus, and the twin Aswins together with the Marutas protect thee, thy virtue being thy best guard.' And addressing thus his dear wife peerless on earth in beauty, Nala strove to go, reft of reason by Kali. Departing and still departing, king Nala returned again and again to that shed, dragged away by Kali but drawn back by love. And it seemed as though the heart of the wretched king was rent in twain, and like a swing, he kept going out from cabin and coming back into it. At length after lamenting long and piteously, Nala stupefied and bereft of sense by Kali went away, forsaking that sleeping wife of his. Reft of reason through Kali's touch, and thinking of his conduct, the king departed in sorrow, leaving his, wife alone in that solitary forest.'"

SECTION 63

Vrihadaswa said, "O king, after Nala had gone away, the beauteous Damayanti, now refreshed, timorously awoke in that lonely forest. And O mighty monarch, not finding her lord Naishadha, afflicted with grief and pain, she shrieked aloud in fright, saying, 'O lord? O mighty monarch! O husband, dost thou desert me? Oh, I am lost and undone, frightened in this desolate place. O illustrious prince, thou art truthful in speech, and conversant with morality. How hast thou then, having pledged thy word, deserted me asleep in the woods? Oh, why hast thou deserted thy accomplished wife, even devoted to thee, particularly one that hath not wronged thee, though wronged thou hast been by others? O king of men, it behoveth thee to act faithfull, according to those words thou hadst spoken unto me before in the presence of the guardians of the worlds. O bull among men, that thy wife liveth even a moment after thy desertion of her, is only because mortals are decreed to die at the appointed time. O bull among men, enough of this joke! O irrepressible one, I am terribly frightened. O lord, show thyself. I see thee! I see thee, o king! Thou art seen, O Naishadha, Hiding thyself behind those shrubs, why dost thou not reply unto me? It is cruel of thee, O great king, that seeing me in this plight and so lamenting, thou dost not, O king, approach and comfort me. I grieve not for myself, nor for anything else. I only grieve to think how thou wilt pass thy days alone, O king. In the evening oppressed with hunger and thirst and fatigue, underneath the trees, how wilt it take with thee when thou seest me not?' And then Damayanti, afflicted with anguish and burning with grief, began to rush hither and thither, weeping in woe. And now the helpless princess sprang up, and now she sank down in stupor; and now she shrank in terror, and now she wept and wailed aloud. And Bhima's daughter devoted to her husband, burning in anguish and sighing ever more, and faint and weeping exclaimed, 'That being through whose imprecation the afflicted Naishadha suffereth this woe, shall bear grief that is greater than ours. May that wicked being who hath brought Nala of sinless heart this, lead a more miserable life bearing greater ills.'

"Thus lamenting, the crowned consort of the illustrious (king) began to seek her lord in those woods, inhabited by beasts of prey. And the daughter of Bhima, wailing bitterly, wandered hither and thither like a maniac, exclaiming, 'Alas! Alas! Oh king!' And as she was wailing loudly like a female osprey, and grieving and indulging in piteous lamentations unceasingly, she came near a gigantic serpent. And that huge and hungry serpent thereupon suddenly seized Bhima's daughter, who had come near and was moving about within its range. And folded within serpent's coils and filled with grief, she still wept, not for herself but for Naishadha. And she said 'O lord, why dost thou not rush towards me, now that I am seized, without anybody to protect me, by this serpent in these desert wilds? And, O Naishadha, how will it fare with thee when thou rememberest me? O lord, why hast thou gone away, deserting me today in the forest? Free from thy course, when thou wilt have regained thy mind and senses and wealth, how will it be with thee when thou thinkest of me? O Naishadha, O sinless one, who will soothe thee when thou art weary, and hungry, and fainting, O tiger among kings?' And while she was wailing thus, a certain huntsman ranging the deep woods, hearing her lamentations, swiftly came to the spot. And beholding the large-eyed one in the coils of the serpent, he rushed towards it and cut off its head with his sharp weapon. And having struck the reptile dead, the huntsman set Damayanti free. And having sprinkled her body with water and fed and comforted her. O Bharata, he addressed her saying, 'O thou with eyes like those of a young gazelle, who art thou? And why also hast thou come into the woods? And, O beauteous one, how hast thou fallen into this extreme misery' And thus accosted, O monarch, by that man, Damayanti, O Bharata, related unto him all that had happened. And beholding that beautiful woman clad in half a garment, with deep bosom and round hips, and limbs delicate and faultless, and face resembling the full moon, and eyes graced with curved eye-lashes, and speech sweet as honey, the hunter became inflamed with desire. And afflicted by the god of love, the huntsman began to soothe her in winning voice and soft words. And as soon as the chaste and beauteous Damayanti, beholding him understood his intentions, she was filled with fierce wrath and seemed to blaze up in anger. But the wicked-minded wretch, burning with desire became wroth, attempted to employ force upon her, who was unconquerable as a flame of blazing fire. And Damayanti already distressed upon being deprived of husband and kingdom, in that hour of grief beyond utterance, cursed him in anger, saying, 'I have never even thought of any other person than Naishadha, therefore let this mean-minded wrath subsisting on chase, fall down lifeless.' And as soon as she said this, the hunter fell down lifeless upon the ground, like a tree consumed by fire."

SECTION 64

"Vrihadaswa continued, 'Having destroyed that hunter Damayanti of eyes like lotus leaves, went onwards through that fearful and solitary forest ringing with the chirp of crickets. And it abounded with lions, and leopards, and Rurus and tigers, and buffaloes, and bears and deer. And it swarmed with birds of various species, and was infested by thieves and mlechchha tribes. And it contained Salas, and bamboos and Dhavas, and Aswatthas, and Tindukas and Ingudas, and Kinsukas, and Arjunas, and Nimvas, and Tinisas and Salmalas, and Jamvus, and mango trees, and Lodhras, and the catechu, and the cane, and Padmakas, and Amalahas, and Plakshas, and Kadamvas, and Udumvaras and Vadaris, and Vilwas, and banians, and Piyalas, and palms, and date-trees, and Haritakas and Vibhitakas. And the princess of Vidarbha saw many mountains containing ores of various kinds, and groves resounding with the notes of winged choirs, and many glens of wondrous sight, and many rivers and lakes and tanks and various kinds of birds and beasts. And she saw numberless snakes and goblins and Rakshasas of grim visage, and pools and tanks and hillocks, and brooks and fountains of wonderful appearance. And the princess of Vidarbha saw there herds of buffaloes. And boars, and bears as well as serpents of the wilderness. And safe in virtue and glory and good fortune and patience, Damayanti wandered through those woods alone, in search of Nala. And the royal daughter of Bhima, distressed only at her separation from her lord, was not terrified at aught in that fearful forest. And, O king, seating herself down upon a stone and filled with grief, and every limb of hers trembling with sorrow on account of her husband, she began to lament thus: 'O king of the Nishadhas, O thou of broad chest and mighty arms, whither hast thou gone, O king, leaving me in this lone forest? O hero, having performed the Aswamedha and other sacrifices, with gifts in profusion (unto the Brahmanas), why hast thou, O tiger among men, played false with me alone? O best of men, O thou of great splendour, it behoveth thee. O auspicious one, to remember what thou didst declare before me, O bull among kings! And, O monarch, it behoveth thee also to call to mind what the sky-ranging swans spake in thy presence and in mine. O tiger among men, the four Vedas in all their extent, with the Angas and the Upangas, well-studied, on one side, and one single truth on the other, (are equal). Therefore, O slayer of foes, it behoveth thee, O lord of men, to make good what thou didst formerly declare before me. Alas, O hero! warrior! O Nala! O sinless one being thine, I am about to perish in this dreadful forest. Oh! wherefore dost thou not answer me? This terrible lord of the forest, of grim visage and gaping jaws, and famishing with hunger, filleth me with fright. Doth it not behove thee to deliver me? Thou wert wont to say always, 'Save thee there existeth not one dear unto me.' O blessed one, O king, do thou now make good thy words so spoken before. And, O king, why dost thou not return an answer to thy beloved wife bewailing and bereft of sense, although thou lovest her, being loved in return? O king of the earth, O respected one, O represser of foes, O thou of large eyes, why dost thou not regard me, emaciated, and distressed and pale, and discoloured, and clad in a half piece of cloth, and alone, and weeping, and lamenting like one forlorn, and like unto a solitary doe separated from the herd? O illustrious sovereign, it is, I, Damayanti, devoted to thee, who, alone in this great forest, address thee. Wherefore, then, dost thou not reply unto me? Oh, I do not behold thee today on this mountain, O chief of men, O thou of noble birth and character with every limb possesed of grace! In this terrible forest, haunted by lions and tigers, O king of the Nishadhas, O foremost of men, O enhancer of my sorrows, (Wishing to know) whether thou art lying down, or sitting, or standing, or gone, whom shall I ask, distressed and woe-stricken on thy account, saying, 'Hast thou seen in this woods the royal Nala?' Of whom shall I in this forest enquire alter the departed Nala, handsome and of high soul, and the destroyer of hostile arrays? From whom shall I today hear the sweet words, viz., 'That royal Nala, of eyes like lotus-leaves, whom thou seekest, is even here?' Yonder cometh the forest-king, that tiger of graceful mien, furnished with four teeth and prominent cheeks. Even him will I accost fearlessly: Thou art the lord of all animals, and of this forest the king. Know me for Damayanti, the daughter of the king of the Vidarbhas, and the wife of Nala, destroyer of foes, and the king of the Nishadhas. Distressed and woe-stricken, I am seeking my husband alone in these woods. Do thou, O king of beasts, comfort me (with news of Nala) if thou hast seen him. Or, O lord of the forest, if thou cannot speak of Nala, do thou, then, O best of beasts, devour me, and free me from this misery. Alas! hearing my plaintive appeal in the wilderness, this king of mountains, this high and sacred hill, crested with innumerable [...?-JBH] rolleth towards the sea. Let me, then, for tidings of the king, ask this king of mountains, this high and sacred hill, crested with innumerable heaven-kissing and many-hued and beauteous peaks, and abounding in various ores, and decked with gems of diverse kings, and rising like a banner over this broad forest, and ranged by lions and tigers and elephants and boars and bears and stags, and echoing all around with (the notes of) winged creatures of various species, and adorned with kinsukas and Asokas and Vakulas and Punnagas, with blossoming Karnikaras, and Dhavas and Plakshas, and with streams haunted by waterfowls of every kind, and abounding in crested summits, O sacred one! O best

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of mountains! O thou of wondrous sight! O celebrated hill! O refuge (of the distressed)! O highly auspicious one! I bow to thee, O pillar of the earth! Approaching, I bow to thee. Know me for a king's daughter, and a king's daughter-in-law, and king's consort, Damayanti by name that lord of earth who ruleth the Vidarbhas, that mighty warrior-king Bhima by name, who protecteth the four orders, is my sire. That best of kings celebrated the Rajasuya and Aswamedha sacrifices, with profuse gifts to the Brahmanas. Possessed of beautiful and large eyes, distinguished for devotion to the Vedas, of unblemished character, truth-telling, devoid of guile, gentle, endued with prowess, lord of immense wealth, versed in morality, and pure, he having vanquished all his foes, effectually protecteth the inhabitants of Vidarbha. Know me, O holy one, for his daughter, thus come to thee. That best of men--the celebrated ruler of the Nishadha--known by the name of Virasena of high fame, was my father-in-law. The son of that king, heroic and handsome and possessed of energy incapable of being baffled, who ruleth well the kingdom which hath descended to him from his father, is named Nala. Know, O mountain, that of that slayer of foes, called also Punyasloka, possessed of the complexion of gold, and devoted to the Brahmanas, and versed in the Vedas, and gifted with eloquence,--of that righteous and Soma-quaffing and fire-adoring king, who celebrateth sacrifices and is liberal and warlike and who adequately chastiseth (criminals), I am the innocent spouse--the chief of his queens--standing before thee. Despoiled of prosperity and deprived of (the company of my) husband without a protector, and afflicted with calamity, hither have I come, O best of mountains, seeking my husband. Hast thou, O foremost of mountains, with thy hundreds of peaks towering (into the sky) seen king Nala in this frightful forest? Hast thou seen my husband, that ruler of the Nishadhas, the illustrious Nala, with the tread of a mighty elephant, endued with intelligence, long-armed, and of fiery energy, possessed of prowess and patience and courage and high fame? Seeing me bewailing alone, overwhelmed with sorrow, wherefore, O best of mountains, dost thou not today soothe me with thy voice, as thy own daughter in distress? O hero, O warrior of prowess, O thou versed in every duty, O thou adhering to truth--O lord of the earth, if thou art in this forest, then, O king, reveal thyself unto me. Oh, when shall I again hear the voice of Nala, gentle and deep as that of the clouds, that voice, sweet as Amrita, of the illustrious king, calling me Vidharva's daughter, with accents distinct, and holy, and musical as the chanting of the Vedas and rich, and soothing all my sorrows. O king, I am frightened. Do thou, O virtuous one, comfort me.'

"Having addressed that foremost of mountain thus, Damayanti then went in a northerly direction. And having proceeded three days and nights, that best of women came to an incomparable penance grove of ascetics, resembling in beauty a celestial grove. And the charming asylum she beheld was inhabited and adorned by ascetics like Vasishtha and Bhrigu and Atri, self-denying and strict in diet, with minds under control, endued with holiness, some living on water, some on air, and some on (fallen) leaves, with passions in check, eminently blessed, seeking the way to heaven, clad in barks of trees and deer-skins, and with senses subdued. And beholding that hermitage inhabited by ascetics, and abounding in herds of deer and monkeys, Damayanti was cheered. And that best of women, the innocent and blessed Damayanti, with graceful eye-brows, and long tresses, with lovely hips and deep bosom, and face graced with fine teeth and with fine black and large eyes, in her brightness and glory entered that asylum. And saluting those ascetics grown old in practising austerities, she stood in an attitude of humility. And the ascetics living in that forest, said, 'Welcome!' And those men of ascetic wealth, paying her due homage, said, 'Sit ye down, and tell us what we may do for thee.' That best of women replied unto them, saying, 'Ye sinless and eminently blessed ascetics, is it well with your austerities, and sacrificial fire, and religious observances, and the duties of your own order? And is it well with the beasts and birds of this asylum? And they answered, 'O beauteous and illustrious lady, prosperity attendeth us in every respect. But, O thou of faultless limbs, tell us who thou art, and what thou seekest. Beholding thy beauteous form and thy bright splendour, we have been amazed. Cheer up and mourn not. Tell us, O blameless and blessed one, art thou the presiding deity of this forest, or of this mountain, or of this river?' Damayanti replied unto those ascetics, saying, 'O Brahmanas, I am not the goddess of this forest, or of this mountain, or of this stream. O Rishis of ascetic wealth, know that I am a human being. I will relate my history in detail. Do ye listen to me. There is a king--the mighty ruler of the Vidarbhas--Bhima by name. O foremost of regenerate ones, know me to be his daughter. The wise ruler of the Nishadhas, Nala by name, of great celebrity, heroic, and ever victorious in battle, and learned, is my husband. Engaged in the worship of the gods, devoted to the twice-born ones, the guardian of the line of the Nishadhas, of mighty energy, possessed of great strength, truthful, conversant with all duties, wise, unwavering in promise, the crusher of foes, devout, serving the gods, graceful, the conqueror of hostile towns, that foremost of kings, Nala by name, equal in splendour unto the lord of celestials, the slayer of foes, possessed of large eyes, and a hue resembling the full moon, is my husband. The celebrator of great sacrifices, versed in the Vedas and their branches, the destroyer of enemies in battle, and like unto the sun and the moon in splendour, is he. That king devoted to truth and religion was summoned to dice by certain deceitful persons of mean mind and uncultured soul and of crooked ways, and skilful in gambling, and was deprived of wealth and kingdom. Know that I am the wife of that bull among kings, known to all by the name of Damayanti, anxious to find out my (missing) lord. In sadness of heart am I wandering among woods, and mountains, and lakes, and rivers, and tanks and forests, in search of that husband of mine--Nala, skilled in battle, high-souled, and well-versed in the use of weapons, O hath king Nala, the lord of the Nishadhas, come to this delightful asylum of your holy selves? It is for him, O Brahmanas, that I have come to this dreary forest full of terrors and haunted by tigers and other beasts. If I do not see king Nala within a few days and nights, I shall seek my good by renouncing this body. Of what use is my life without that bull among men? How shall I live afflicted with grief on account of my husband?'

Unto Bhima's daughter, Damayanti, lamenting forlorn in that forest, the truth-telling ascetics replied, saying, 'O blessed and beauteous one, we see by ascetic power that the future will bring happiness to thee, and that thou wilt soon behold Naishadha. O daughter of Bhima, thou wilt behold Nala, the lord of the Nishadhas, the slayer of foes, and the foremost of the virtuous freed from distress. And O blessed lady, thou wilt behold the king--thy lord--freed from all sins and decked with all kinds of gems, and ruling the selfsame city, and chasting his enemies, and striking terror into the hearts of foes, and gladdening the hearts of friends, and crowned with every blessing.'

"'Having spoken unto that princess--the beloved queen of Nala--the ascetics with their sacred fires and asylum vanished from sight. And beholding that mighty wonder, the daughter-in-law of king Virasena, Damayanti of faultless limbs, was struck with amazement. And she asked herself, 'Was it a dream that I saw? What an occurrence hath taken place! Where are all those ascetics? And where is that asylum? Where, further, is that delightful river of sacred waters--the resort of diverse kinds of fowls? And where, again, are those charming trees decked with fruits and flowers?' And after thinking so for some time, Bhima's daughter, Damayanti of sweet smiles melancholy and afflicted with grief on account of her lord, lost the colour of her face (again). And going to another part of the wood, she saw an Asoka tree. And approaching that first of trees in the forest, so charming with blossoms and its load of foliage, and resounding with the notes of birds, Damayanti, with tears in her eyes and accents choked in grief, began to lament, saying, 'Oh, this graceful tree in the heart of the forest, decked in flowers, looketh beautiful, like a charming king of hills. O beauteous Asoka, do thou speedily free me from grief. Hast thou seen king Nala, the slayer of foes and the beloved husband of Damayanti,--freed from fear and grief and obstacles? Hast thou seen my beloved husband, the ruler of the Nishadhas, clad in half a piece of cloth, with delicate skin, that hero afflicted with woe and who hath come into this wilderness? O Asoka tree, do thou free me from grief! O Asoka, vindicate thy name, for Asoka meaneth destroyer of grief. And going round that tree thrice, with an afflicted heart, that best of women, Bhima's daughter, entered a more terrible part of the forest. And wandering in quest of her lord, Bhima's daughter beheld many trees and streams and delightful mountains, and many beasts and birds, and caves, and precipices, and many rivers of wonderful appearance. And as she proceeded she came upon a broad way where she saw with wonder a body of merchants, with their horses and elephants, landing on the banks of a river, full of clear and cool water, and lovely and charming to behold, and broad, and covered with bushes of canes, and echoing with the cries of cranes and ospreys and Chakravakas, and abounding in tortoises and alligators and fishes, and studded with innumerable islets. And as soon as as she saw that caravan, the beauteous and celebrated wife of Nala, wild like a maniac, oppressed with grief, clad in half a garment, lean and pale and smutted, and with hair covered with dust, drew near and entered into its midst. And beholding her, some fled in fear, and some became extremely anxious, and some cried aloud, and some laughed at her, and some hated her. And some, O Bharata, felt pity for, and even addressed, her, saying, 'O blessed one, who art thou, and whose? What seekest thou in woods? Seeing thee here we have been terrified. Art thou human? Tell us truly, O blessed one if thou art the goddess of this wood or of this mountain or of the points of the heaven. We seek thy protection. Art thou a female Yaksha, or a female Rakshasa, or a celestial damsel? O thou of faultless features, do thou bless us wholly and protect us. And, O blessed one, do thou so act that his caravan may soon go hence in prosperity and that the welfare of all of us may be secured.' Thus addressed by that caravan, the princess Damayanti, devoted to her husband and oppressed by the calamity that had befallen her, answered, saying, 'O leader of the caravan, ye merchants, ye youths, old men, and children, and ye that compose this caravan, know me for a human being. I am the daughter of a king, and the daughter in-law of a king, and the consort also of a king, eager for the sight of my lord. The ruler of the Vidarbhas is my father, and my husband is the lord of the Nishadhas, named Nala. Even now I am seeking that unvanquished and blessed one. If ye have chanced to see my beloved one, king Nala, that tiger among men, that destroyer of hostile hosts, O tell me quick.' Thereupon the leader of that great caravan, named Suchi, replied unto Damayanti of faultless limbs, saying, 'O blessed one, listen to my words. O thou of sweet smiles, I am a merchant and the leader of this caravan. O illustrious lady, I have not seen any man of the name of Nala. In this extensive forest uninhabited by men, there are only elephants and leopards and buffaloes, and tigers and bears and other animals. Except thee, I have not met with any man or woman here, so help us now Manibhadra, the king of Yakshas!' Thus addressed by them she asked those merchants as well as the leader of the host saying, 'It behoveth you to tell me whither this caravan is bound.' The leader of the band said, 'O daughter of a great king, for the purpose of profit this caravan is bound direct for the city of Suvahu, the truth-telling ruler of the Chedis.'"

SECTION 65

"Vrihadaswa said, 'Having heard the words of the leader of that caravan, Damayanti of faultless limbs proceeded with that caravan itself anxious to behold her lord. And after having proceeded for many days the merchants saw a large lake fragrant with lotuses in the midst of that dense and terrible forest. And it was beautiful all over, and exceedingly delightful, (with banks) abounding in grass and fuel and fruits and flowers. And it was inhabited by various kinds of fowls and birds, and fall of water that was pure and sweet. And it was cool and capable of captivating the heart. And the caravan, worn out with toil, resolved to halt there. And with the permission of their leader, they spread themselves around those beautiful woods. And that mighty caravan finding it was evening halted at that place. And (it came to pass that) at the hour of midnight when everything was hushed and still and the tired caravan had fallen asleep, a herd of elephants in going towards a mountain stream to drink of its water befouled by their temporal juice, saw that caravan as also the numerous elephants belonging to it. And seeing their domesticated fellows the wild elephants infuriated and with the temporal juice trickling down rushed impetuously on the former, with the intention of killing them. And the force of the rush of those elephants was hard to bear, like the impetuosity of peaks lessened from mountain summits rolling towards the plain. The rushing elephants found the forest paths to be all blocked up, for the goodly caravan was sleeping obstructing the paths around that lake of lotuses. And the elephants all of a sudden, began to crush the men lying insensible on the ground. And uttering cries of 'Oh!' and 'Alas!' the merchants, blinded by sleep, fled, in order to escape that danger, to copses and woods for refuge. And some were slain by the tusks, and some by the trunks, and some by the legs of those elephants. And innumerable camels and horses were killed, and crowds of men on foot, running in fright, killed one another. And uttering loud cries some fell down on the ground, and some in fear climbed on trees, and some dropped down on uneven ground. And, O king, thus accidentally attacked by that large herd of elephants, that goodly caravan suffered a great loss. And there arose a tremendous uproar calculated to frighten the three worlds, 'Lo! a great fire hath broken out. Rescue us.

Do ye speedily fly away. Why do ye fly? Take the heaps of jewels scattered around. All this wealth is a trifle. I do not speak falsely, 'I tell you again, (exclaimed some one) think on my words, O ye distracted one!' With such exclamation they ran about in fright. And Damayanti awoke in fear and anxiety, while that terrible slaughter was raging there. And beholding slaughter capable of awaking the fear of all the worlds, and which was so unforeseen, the damsel of eyes like lotus leaves rose up, wild with fright, and almost out of breath. And those of the caravan that had escaped unhurt, met together, and asked one another, 'Of what deed of ours is this the consequence? Surely, we have failed to worship the illustrious Manibhadras, and likewise the exalted and graceful Vaisravana, the king of the Yaksha. Perhaps, we have not worshipped the deities that cause calamities, or perhaps, we have not paid them the first homage. Or, perhaps, this evil is the certain consequence of the birds (we saw). Our stars are not unpropitious. From what other cause, then hath this disaster come?' Others, distressed and bereft of wealth and relatives, said, 'That maniac-like woman who came amongst this mighty caravan in guise that was strange and scarcely human, alas, it is by her that this dreadful illusion had been pre-arranged. Of a certainty, she is a terrible Rakshasa or a Yaksha or a Pisacha woman. All this evil is her work, what need of doubts? If we again see that wicked destroyer of merchants, that giver of innumerable woes, we shall certainly slay that injurer of ours, with stones, and dust, and grass, and

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wood, and cuffs.' And hearing these dreadful words of the merchants, Damayanti, in terror and shame and anxiety, fled into the woods apprehensive of evil. And reproaching herself she said, 'Alas! fierce and great is the wrath of God on me. Peace followeth not in my track. Of what misdeed is this the consequence? I do not remember that I did ever so little a wrong to any one in thought, word, or deed. Of what deed, then, is this the consequence? Certainly, it is on account of the great sins I had committed in a former life that such calamity hath befallen me, viz., the loss of my husband's kingdom, his defeat at the hands of his own kinsmen, this separation from my lord and my son and daughter, this my unprotected state, and my presence in this forest abounding in innumerable beasts of prey!'"

"The next day, O king, the remnant of that caravan left the place bewailing the destruction that had overtaken them and lamenting for their dead brothers and fathers and sons and friends. And the princess of Vidarbha began to lament, saying, 'Alas! What misdeed have I perpetrated! The crowd of men that I obtained in this lone forest, hath been destroyed by a herd of elephants, surely as a consequence of my ill luck. Without doubt, I shall have to suffer misery for a long time. I have heard from old men that no person dieth ere his time; it is for this that my miserable self hath not been trodden to death by that herd of elephants. Nothing that befalleth men is due to anything else than Destiny, for even in my childhood I did not commit any such sin in thought, word, or deed, whence might come this calamity. Methinks, I suffer this severance from my husband through the potency of those celestial Lokapalas, who had come to the Swayamvara but whom I disregarded for the sake of Nala.' Bewailing thus, O tiger among kings, that excellent lady, Damayanti, devoted to her husband, went, oppressed with grief and (pale) as the autumnal moon, with those Brahmanas versed in the Vedas that had survived the slaughter of the caravan. And departing speedily, towards evening, the damsel came to the mighty city of the truth-telling Suvahu, the king of the Chedis. And she entered that excellent city clad in half a garment. And the citizens saw her as she went, overcome with fear, and lean, melancholy, her hair dishevelled and soiled with dust, and maniac-like. And beholding her enter the city of the king of the Chedis, the boys of the city, from curiosity, began to follow her. And surrounded by them, she came before the palace of the king. And from the terrace the queen-mother saw her surrounded by the crowd. And she said to her nurse, 'Go and bring that woman before me. She is forlorn and is being vexed by the crowd. She hath fallen into distress and standeth in need of succour. I find her beauty to be such that it illumineth my house. The fair one, though looking like a maniac, seemeth a very Sree with her large eyes.' Thus commanded, the nurse went out and dispersing the crowd brought Damayanti to that graceful terrace. And struck with wonder, O king, she asked Damayanti, saying, 'Afflicted though thou art with such distress, thou ownest a beautiful form. Thou shinest like lightning in the midst of the clouds. Tell me who thou art, and whose. O thou possessed of celestial splendour, surely, thy beauty is not human, bereft though thou art of ornaments. And although thou art helpless, yet thou art unmoved under the outrage of these men.' Hearing these words of the nurse, the daughter of Bhima said, Know that I am a female belonging to the human species and devoted to my husband. I am a serving woman of good lineage. I live wherever I like, subsisting on fruit and roots, and whom a companion, and stay where evening overtaketh me. My husband is the owner of countless virtues and was ever devoted to me. And I also, on my part, was deeply attached to him, following him like his shadow. It chanced that once he became desperately engaged at dice. Defeated at dice, he came along into the forest. I accompanied my husband into the woods, comforting the hero clad in a single piece of cloth and maniac-like and overwhelmed with calamity. Once on a time for some cause, that hero, afflicted with hunger and thirst and grief, was forced to abandon that sole piece of covering in the forest. Destitute of garment and maniac-like and deprived of his senses as he was, I followed him, myself in a single garment. Following him, I did not sleep for nights together. Thus passed many days, until at last while I was sleeping, he cut off half of my cloth, and forsook me who had done him no wrong. I am seeking my husband but unable to find him who is of hue like the filaments of the lotus, without being able to cast my eyes on that delight of my heart, that dear lord who owneth my heart and resembleth the celestials in mien, day and night do I burn in grief."

"Unto Bhima's daughter thus lamenting with tearful eyes, and afflicted and speaking in accents choked in grief, the queen-mother herself said, 'O blessed damsel, do thou stay with me. I am well pleased with thee. O fair lady, my men shall search for thy husband. Or, perhaps he may come here of his own accord in course of his wanderings. And, O beautiful lady, residing here thou wilt regain thy (lost) lord.' Hearing these words of the queen mother, Damayanti replied, 'O mother of heroes, I may stay with thee on certain conditions. I shall not eat the leavings on any dish, nor shall I wash anybody's feet, nor shall I have to speak with other men. And if anybody shall seek me (as a wife or mistress) he should be liable to punishment at thy hands. And, further, should he solicit me over and over again, that wicked one should be punished with death. This is the vow I have made. I intend to have an interview with those Brahmanas that will set out to search for my husband. If thou canst do all this, I shall certainly live with thee. If it is otherwise, I cannot find it in my heart to reside with thee.' The queen-mother answered her with a glad heart, saying, 'I will do all this. Thou hast done well in adopting such a vow!'"

"Vrihadaswa continued, 'O king, having spoken so unto the daughter of Bhima, the queen-mother, O Bharata, said to her daughter named Sunanda, 'O Sunanda, accept this lady like a goddess as thy Sairindhri! Let her be thy companion, as she is of the same age with thee. Do thou, with heart free from care, always sport with her in joy.' And Sunanda cheerfully accepted Damayanti and led her to her own apartment accompanied by her associates. And treated with respect, Damayanti was satisfied, and she continued to reside there without anxiety of any kind, for all her wishes were duly gratified.'"

SECTION 66

"Vrihadaswa said, 'O monarch, having deserted Damayanti, king Nala saw a mighty conflagration that was raging in that dense forest. And in the midst of that conflagration, he heard the voice of some creature, repeatedly crying aloud, 'O righteous Nala, come hither.' And answering, 'Fear not,' he entered into the midst of the fire and beheld a mighty Naga lying in coils. And the Naga with joined hands, and trembling, spake unto Nala, saying, 'O king, that I am a snake, Karkotaka by name. I had deceived the great Rishi Narada of high ascetic merit, and by him have I been cursed in wrath, O king of men, even in words such as these: 'Stay thou here like an immobile thing, until one Nala taketh thee hence. And, indeed, on the spot to which he will carry thee, there shalt thou he freed from my curse. It is for that curse of his that I am unable to stir one step. I will instruct thee in respect of thy welfare. It behoveth thee to deliver me. I will be thy friend. There is no snake equal to me. I will be light in thy hands. Taking me up, do thou speedily go hence.' Having said this, that prince of snakes became as small as the thumb. And taking him up, Nala went to a spot free from fire. Having reached an open spot where there was no fire, Nala intended to drop the serpent, upon which Karkotaka again addressed him, saying, 'O king of the Nishadhas, proceed thou yet, counting a few steps of thine; meanwhile, O mighty-armed one, I will do thee great good.' And as Nala began to count his steps, the snake bit him at the tenth step. And, lo! As he was bit, his form speedily underwent a change. And beholding his change of form, Nala was amazed. And the king saw the snake also assume his own form. And the snake Karkotaka, comforting Nala, spake unto him, 'I have deprived thee of thy beauty, so that people may not recognise thee. And, O Nala, he by whom thou hast been deceived and cast into distress, shall dwell in thee tortured by my venom. And, O monarch, as long as he doth not leave thee, he will have to dwell in pain in thy body with thee every limb filled with my venom. And, O ruler of men I have saved from the hands of him who from anger and hate deceived thee, perfectly innocent though thou art and undeserving of wrong. And, O tiger among men, through my grace, thou shalt have (no longer) any fear from animals with fangs from enemies, and from Brahmanas also versed in the Vedas, O king! Nor shalt thou, O monarch, feel pain on account of my poison. And, O foremost of kings, thou shalt be ever victorious in battle. This very day, O prince, O lord of Nishadhas, go to the delightful city of Ayodhya, and present thyself before Rituparna skilled in gambling, saying, 'I am a charioteer, Vahuka by name.' And that king will give thee his skill in dice for thy knowledge of horses. Sprung from the line of Ikswaku, and possessed of prosperity, he will be thy friend. When thou wilt be an adept at dice, thou shalt then have prosperity. Thou wilt also meet with thy wife and thy children, and regain thy kingdom. I tell thee this truly. Therefore, let not thy mind be occupied by sorrow. And, O lord of men, when thou shouldst desire to behold thy proper form, thou shouldst remember me, and wear this garment. Upon wearing this, thou shalt get back thy own form.' And saying this, that Naga then gave unto Nala two pieces of celestial cloth. And, O son of the Kuru race, having thus instructed Nala, and presented him with the attire, the king of snakes, O monarch, made himself invisible there and then!'"

SECTION 67

"Vrihadaswa said, 'After the snake had vanquished, Nala, the ruler of the Nishadhas, proceeded, and on the tenth day entered the city of Rituparna. And he approached the king, saying, 'My name is Vahuka. There is no one in this world equal to me in managing steeds. My counsel also should be sought in matters of difficulty and in all affairs of skill. I also surpass others in the art of cooking. In all those arts that exists in this world, and also in every thing difficult of accomplishment, I will strive to attain success, O Rituparna, do thou maintain me.' And Rituparna replied, 'O Vahuka, stay with me! May good happen to thee. Thou wilt even perform all this. I have always particularly desired to be driven fast. Do thou concert such measures that my steeds may become fleet. I appoint thee the superintendent of my stables. Thy pay shall be ten thousand (coins). Both Varshneya and Jivala shall always be under thy direction. Thou wilt live pleasantly in their company. Therefore, O Vahuka, stay thou with me.'"

"Vrihadaswa continued, 'Thus addressed by the king, Nala began to dwell in the city of Rituparna, treated with respect and with Varshneya and Jivala as his companions. And residing there, the king (Nala), remembering the princess of Vidarbha, recited every evening the following sloka: 'Where lieth that helpless one afflicted with hunger and thirst and worn with toil, thinking of that wretch? And upon whom also doth she now wait?' And once as the king was reciting this in the night, Jivala asked him saying, 'O Vahuka, whom dost thou lament thus daily? I am curious to hear it. O thou blest with length of days, whose spouse is she whom thus lamentest?' Thus questioned, king Nala answered him, saying, 'A certain person devoid of sense had a wife well-known to many. That wretch was false in his promises. For some reason that wicked person was separated from her. Separated from her, that wretch wandered about oppressed with woe, and burning with grief he resteth not by day or night. And at night, remembering her, he singeth this sloka. Having wandered over the entire world, he hath at last found a refuge, and undeserving of the distress that hath befallen him, passeth his days, thus remembering his wife. When calamity had overtaken this man, his wife followed him into the woods. Deserted by that man of little virtue, her life itself is in danger. Alone, without knowledge of ways, ill able to bear distress, and fainting with hunger and thirst, the girl can hardly protect her life. And, O friend, she hath been deserted by that man of small fortune and having little sense, with the wide and terrible forest, ever abounding in beasts of prey'--"Thus remembering Damayanti, the king of the Nishadhas continued to live unknown in the abode of that monarch!"

SECTION 68

"Vaisampayana said, 'After Nala, despoiled of his kingdom, had, with his wife, become a bondsman, Bhima with the desire of seeing Nala sent out Brahmanas to search for him. And giving them profuse wealth, Bhima enjoined on them, saying, 'Do ye search for Nala, and also for my daughter Damayanti. He who achieveth this task, viz., ascertaining where the ruler of the Nishadhas is, bringeth him and my daughter hither, will obtain from me a thousand kine, and fields, and a village resembling a town. Even if failing to bring Damayanti and Nala here, he that succeeds learning their whereabouts, will get from me the wealth represented by a thousand kine.' Thus addressed, the Brahmanas cheerfully went out in all directions seeking Nala and his wife in cities and provinces. But Nala or his spouse they found not anywhere. Until at length searching in the beautiful city of the Chedis, a Brahmana named Sudeva, during the time of the king's prayers, saw the princess of Vidarbha in the palace of the king, seated with Sunanda. And her incomparable beauty was slightly perceptible, like the brightness of a fire enveloped in curls of smoke. And beholding that lady of large eyes, soiled and emaciated he decided her to be Damayanti, coming to that conclusion from various reasons. And Sudeva said, 'As I saw her before, this damsel is even so at present. O, I am blest, by casting my eyes on this fair one, like Sree herself delighting the worlds! Resembling the full moon, of unchanging youth, of well-rounded breasts, illumining all sides by her splendour, possessed of large eyes like beautiful lotuses, like unto Kama's Rati herself the delight of all the worlds like the rays of the full moon, O, she looketh like a lotus-stalk transplanted by adverse fortune from the Vidarbha lake and covered with mire in the process. And oppressed with grief on account of her husband, and melancholy, she looketh like the night of the full moon when Rahu hath swallowed that luminary, or like a stream whose current hath dried up. Her plight is very much like that of a ravaged lake with the leaves of its lotuses crushed by the trunks of elephants, and with its birds and fowls affrighted by the invasion. Indeed, this girl, of a delicate frame and of lovely limbs, and deserving to dwell in a mansion decked with gems, is (now) like an uprooted lotus-stalk scorched by the sun. Endued with beauty and generosity of nature, and destitute of ornaments, though deserving of them, she looketh like the moon 'new bent in haven' but covered with black clouds. Destitute of comforts and luxuries, separated from loved ones and friends, she liveth in distress, supported by the hope of beholding her lord. Verily, the husband is the best ornament of a woman, however destitute of ornaments. Without her husband beside her, this lady, though beautiful, shineth not. It is a hard feat achieved by Nala in that he liveth without succumbing to grief, though separated from such a wife. Beholding this damsel possessed of black hair and of eyes like lotus-leaves, in woe though deserving of bliss, even my heart is pained. Alas! when shall this girl graced with auspicious marks and devoted to her

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husband, crossing this ocean of woe, regain the company of her lord, like Rohini regaining the Moon's? Surely, the king of the Nishadhas will experience in regaining her the delight that a king deprived of his kingdom experienceth in regaining his kingdom. Equal to her in nature and age and extraction, Nala deserveth the daughter of Vidarbha, and this damsel of black eyes also deserveth him. It behoveth me to comfort the queen of that hero of immeasurable prowess and endued with energy and might, (since) she is so eager to meet her husband. I will console this afflicted girl of face like the full moon, and suffering distress that she had never before endured, and ever meditating on her lord.'

"Vrihadaswa continued, 'Having thus reflected on these various circumstances and signs, the Brahmana, Sudeva, approached Damayanti, and addressed her, saying, 'O princess of Vidarbha, I am Sudeva, the dear friend of thy brother. I have come here, seeking thee, at the desire of king Bhima. Thy father is well, and also thy mother, and thy brothers. And thy son and daughter, blessed with length of days, are living in peace. Thy relatives, though alive, are almost dead on thy account, and hundreds of Brahmanas are ranging the world in search of thee."

"Vrihadaswa continued, 'O Yudhishthira, Damayanti recognising Sudeva, asked him respecting all her relatives and kinsmen one after another. And, O monarch, oppressed with grief, the princess of Vidarbha began to weep bitterly, at the unexpected sight of Sudeva, that foremost of Brahmanas and the friend of her brother. And, O Bharata, beholding Damayanti weeping, and conversing in private with Sudeva, Sunanda was distressed, and going to her mother informed her, saying, 'Sairindhri is weeping bitterly in the presence of a Brahmana. If thou likest, satisfy thyself.' And thereupon the mother of the king of the Chedis, issuing from the inner apartments of the palace, came to the place where the girl (Damayanti) was with that Brahmana. Then calling Sudeva, O king, the queen-mother asked him, 'Whose wife is this fair one, and whose daughter? How hath this lady of beautiful eyes been deprived of the company of her relatives and of her husband as well? And how also hast thou come to know this lady fallen into such a plight? I wish to hear all this in detail from thee. Do truly relate unto me who am asking thee about this damsel of celestial beauty.' Then, O king, thus addressed by the queen-mother, Sudeva, that best of Brahmanas, sat at his ease, and began to relate the true history of Damayanti.'"

SECTION 69

"Sudeva said, 'There is a virtuous and illustrious ruler of the Vidarbhas, Bhima by name. This blessed lady is his daughter, and widely known by the name of Damayanti. And there is a king ruling the Nishadhas, named Nala, the son of Virasena. This blessed lady is the wife of that wise and righteous monarch. Defeated at dice by his brother, and despoiled of his kingdom, that king, accompanied by Damayanti, went away without the knowledge of any one. We have been wandering over the whole earth in search of Damayanti. And that girl is at last found in the house of thy son. No woman existeth that is her rival in beauty. Between the eye-brows of this ever-youthful damsel, there is an excellent mole from birth, resembling a lotus. Noticed by us (before) it seems to have disappeared, covered, (as her forehead is) with (a coat of) dust even like the moon hid in clouds. Placed there by the Creator himself as an indication of prosperity and wealth, that mole is visible faintly, like the cloud-covered lunar crescent of the first day of the lighted fortnight. And covered as her body is with dust, her beauty hath not disappeared. Though careless of her person, it is still manifest, and shineth like gold. And this girl--goddess-like--capable of being identified by this form of hers and that mole, hath been discovered by me as one discovereth a fire that is covered, by its heat!'

"O king, hearing these words of Sudeva, Sunanda washed the dust that covered the mole between Damayanti's eye-brows. And thereupon it became visible like the moon in the sky, just emerged from the clouds. And seeing that mole, O Bharata, Sunanda and the queen-mother began to weep, and embracing Damayanti stood silent for a while. And the queen-mother, shedding tears as she spoke, said in gentle accents, 'By this thy mole, I find that thou art the daughter of my sister. O beauteous girl, thy mother and I are both daughters of the high-souled Sudaman, the ruler of the Dasarnas. She was bestowed upon king Bhima, and I on Viravahu. I witnessed thy birth at our father's palace in the country of the Dasarnas. O beautiful one, my house is to thee even as thy father's. And this wealth, O Damayanti, is thine as much as mine.' As this, O king, Damayanti bowing down to her mother's sister with a glad heart, spake unto her these words, 'Unrecognised, I have still lived happily with thee, every want of mine satisfied and myself cared for by thee. And happy as my stay hath been, it would, without doubt, be happier still. But, mother, I have long been an exile. It behoveth thee, therefore, to grant me permission (to depart). My son and daughter, sent to my father's palace, are living there. Deprived of their father, and of their mother also, how are they passing their days stricken with sorrow. If thou wishest to do what is agreeable to me, do thou without loss of time, order a vehicle, for I wish to go to the Vidarbhas.' At this, O king, the sister to (Damayanti's) mother, with a glad heart, said, 'So be it'. And the queen-mother with her son's permission, O chief of the Bharatas, sent Damayanti in handsome litter carried by men, protected by a large escort and provided with food and drink and garments of the first quality. And soon enough she reached the country of the Vidarbhas. And all her relatives, rejoicing (in her arrival) received her with respect. And seeing her relatives, her children, both her parents, and all her maids, to be well, the illustrious Damayanti, O king, worshipped the gods and Brahmanas according to the superior method. And the king rejoiced at beholding his daughter gave unto Sudeva a thousand kine and much wealth and a village. And, O king, having spent that night at her father's mansion and recovered from fatigue, Damayanti addressed her mother, saying, 'O mother, if thou wishest me to live, I tell thee truly, do thou endeavour to bring Nala, that hero among men.' Thus addressed by Damayanti, the venerable queen became filled with sorrow. And bathed in tears, she was unable to give any answer. And beholding her in that plight, all the inmates of the inner apartments broke out into exclamation of 'Oh!' And 'Alas'! and began to cry bitterly. And then the queen addressed the mighty monarch Bhima, saying, 'Thy daughter Damayanti mourneth on account of her husband. Nay, banishing away all bashfulness, she hath herself, O king, declared her mind to me. Let thy men strive to find out (Nala) the righteous.' Thus informed by her the king sent the Brahmanas under him in all directions, saying, 'Exert ye to discover Nala.' And those Brahmanas, commanded by the ruler of the Vidarbhas (to seek Nala) appeared before Damayanti and told her of the journey they were about to undertake. And Bhima's daughter spake unto them saying, 'Do ye cry in every realm and in every assembly, 'O beloved gambler, where hast thou gone cutting off half of my garment, and deserting the dear and devoted wife asleep in the forest? And that girl, as commanded by thee stayeth expecting thee, clad in half a piece of cloth and burning with grief! O king, O hero, relent towards, and answer, her who incessantly weepeth for that grief. This and more ye will say, so that he may be inclined to pity me. Assisted by the wind, fire consumeth the forest. (Further, ye will say that) the wife is always to be protected and maintained by the husband. Why then, good as thou art and acquainted with every duty, hast thou neglected both the duties? Possessed of fame and wisdom, and lineage, and kindness, why hast thou be unkind? I fear, this is owing to the loss of my good luck! Therefore, O tiger among men, have pity on me. O bull among men! I have heard it from thee that kindness is the highest virtue. Speaking so, if anybody answereth you, that person should by all means, be known, and ye should learn who he is, and where he dwelleth. And ye foremost of regenerate ones, do ye bring me the words of him who hearing this your speech will chance to answer. Ye should also act with such care that no one may know the words ye utter to be at my command, nor that ye will come back to me. And ye should also learn whether that answers is wealthy, or poor, or destitute of power, in fact all about him.'

"Thus instructed by Damayanti, O king, the Brahmanas set out in all directions in search of Nala overtaken with such disaster. And the Brahmanas, O king, searched for him in cities and kingdoms and villages, and retreats of ascetics, and places inhabited by cow-herds. And, O monarch, wherever they went they recited the speeches that Damayanti had directed them to do."

SECTION 70

"Vrihadaswa said, 'After a long time had passed away, a Brahmana named Parnada returned to the city (of the Vidarbhas), and said unto the daughter of Bhima, 'O Damayanti, seeking Nala, the king of Nishadhas, I came to the city of Ayodhya, and appeared before the son of Bhangasura. And, O best of women, I repeated those words of thine in the presence of the blessed Rituparna. But hearing them neither that ruler of men, nor his courtiers, answered anything, although I uttered them repeatedly. Then, after I had been dismissed by the monarch, I was accosted by a person in the service of Rituparna, named Vahuka. And Vahuka is the charioteer of that king, of unsightly appearance and possessed of short arms. And he is skillful in driving with speed, and well acquainted with the culinary art. And sighing frequently, and weeping again and again, he inquired about my welfare and afterwards said these words, 'Chaste women, although fallen into distress, yet protect themselves and thus certainly secure heaven. Although they may be deserted by their lords, they do not yet become angry on that account, for women that are chaste lead their lives, encased in the armour of virtuous behaviour. It behoveth her not to be angry, since he that deserted her was overwhelmed with calamity, and deprived of every bliss. A beauteous and virtuous woman should not be angry with one that was deprived by birds of his garment while striving to procure sustenance and who is being consumed with grief. Whether treated well or ill, such a wife should never indulge in ire, beholding her husband in that plight, despoiled of kingdom and destitute of prosperity, oppressed with hunger and overwhelmed with calamity.' Hearing these words of his, I have speedily come here. Thou hast now heard all. Do what thou thinkest proper, and inform the king of it.'

"O king, having heard these words of Parnada, Damayanti with tearful eyes came to her mother, and spake unto her in private, 'O mother, king Bhima should not, by any means, be made acquainted with my purpose. In thy presence will I employ that best of Brahmanas, Sudeva! If thou desirest my welfare, act in such a way that king Bhima may not know my purpose. Let Sudeva without delay go hence to the city of Ayodhya, for the purpose of bringing Nala, O mother, having performed the same auspicious rites by virtue of which he had speedily brought me into the midst of friends.' With these words, after Parnada had recovered from fatigue, the princess of Vidarbha worshipped him with profuse wealth and also said, 'When Nala will come here, O Brahmana, I will bestow on thee wealth in abundance again. Thou hast done me the immense service which none else, indeed, can do me, for, (owing to that service of thine), O thou best of the regenerate ones, I shall speedily regain my (lost) lord.' And thus addressed by Damayanti, that high-minded Brahmana comforted her, uttering benedictory words of auspicious import, and then went home, regarding his mission to have been successful. And after he had gone away, Damayanti oppressed with grief and distress, calling Sudeva, addressed him, O Yudhishthira, in the presence of her mother, saying, 'O Sudeva, go thou to the city of Ayodhya, straight as a bird, and tell king Rituparna living there, these words: 'Bhima's daughter, Damayanti will hold another Swayamvara. All the kings and princes are going thither. Calculating the time, I find that the ceremony will take place tomorrow. O represser of foes, if it is possible for thee, go thither without delay. Tomorrow, after the sun hath risen, she will choose a second husband, as she doth not know whether the heroic Nala liveth or not. And addressed by her, O monarch thus, Sudeva set out. And he said unto Rituparna, all that he had been directed to say.'"

SECTION 71

"Vrihadaswa continued, 'Having heard the words of Sudeva king Rituparna, soothing Vahuka with gentle words, said, 'O Vahuka, thou art well-skilled in training and guiding horses. If it pleases thee, I intend to go to Damayanti's Swayamvara in course of a single day.' Thus addressed, O son of Kunti, by that king, Nala felt his heart to be bursting in grief. And the high-souled king seemed to burn in sorrow. And he thought within himself, 'Perhaps Damayanti in doing this is blinded by sorrow. Or, perhaps, she hath conceived this magnificent scheme for my sake. Alas, cruel is the deed that the innocent princess of Vidarbha intends to do, having been deceived by my sinful and low self of little sense. It is seen in the world that the nature of woman is inconstant. My offence also hath been great; perhaps she is acting so, because she hath no longer any love for me owing to my separation from her. Indeed, that girl of slender waist, afflicted with grief on my account and with despair, will not certainly do anything of the kind, when especially, she is the mother of offspring (by me). However whether this is true or false, I shall ascertain with certitude by going thither. I will, therefore, accomplish Rituparna's and my own purpose also.' Having resolved thus in his mind, Vahuka, with his heart in sorrow, spake unto king Rituparna, with joined hands, saying, 'O monarch, I bow to thy behest, and, O tiger among men, I will go to the city of the Vidarbhas in a single day. O king!' Then, O monarch, at the command of the royal son of Bhangasura, Vahuka went to the stables and began to examine the horses. And repeatedly urged by Rituparna to make haste, Vahuka after much scrutiny and careful deliberation, selected some steeds that were lean-fleshed, yet strong and capable of a long journey and endued with energy and strength of high breed and docility, free from inauspicious marks, with wide nostrils and swelling cheeks, free from faults as regards the ten hairy curls, born in (the country of) Sindhu, and fleet as the winds. And seeing those horses, the king said somewhat angrily, 'What is this, that thou wishest to do? Thou shouldst not jest with us. How can these horses of mine, weak in strength and breath, carry us? And how shall we be able to go this long way by help of these?' Vahuka replied, 'Each of these horses bears one curl on his forehead, two on his temples, four on his sides, four on his chest, and one on his back. Without doubt, these steeds will be able to go to the country of the Vidarbhas. If, O king, thou thinkest of choosing others, point them out and I shall yoke them for thee.' Rituparna rejoined, 'O Vahuka, thou art versed in the science of horses and art also skillful (in guiding them). Do thou speedily yoke those that thou thinkest to be able.' Thereupon the skillful Nala yoked upon the car four excellent steeds of good breed that were, besides, docile and fleet. And after the steeds had been yoked, the king without loss of time mounted upon the car, when those best of horses fell down upon the ground on their knees. Then, O king, that foremost of men, the blessed king Nala began to soothe horses endued with energy and strength. And raising them up with the reins and making the charioteer

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Varshneya sit on the car, he prepared to set out with great speed. And those best of steeds, duly urged by Vahuka, rose to the sky, confounding the occupant of the vehicle. And beholding those steeds gifted with the speed of the wind thus drawing the car, the blessed king of Ayodhaya was exceedingly amazed. And noticing the rattle of the car and also the management of the steeds, Varshneya reflected upon Vahuka's skill in guiding horses. And he thought, 'Is he Matali, the charioteer of the king of the celestials? I find the same magnificent indications in the heroic Vahuka. Or, hath Salihotra versed in the science of horses taken this human shape so beautiful? Or, is it king Nala the reducer of hostile towns that hath come here? Or, it may be that this Vahuka knoweth the science that Nala knoweth, for I perceive that the knowledge of Vahuka is equal to that of Nala. Further, Vahuka and Nala are of the same age. This one, again, may not be Nala of high prowess, but somebody of equal knowledge. Illustrious persons, however, walk this earth in disguise in consequence of misfortune, or agreeably to the ordinance of the scriptures. That this person is of unsightly appearance need not change my opinion; for Nala, I think, may even be despoiled of his personal features. In respect of age this one equals Nala. There is difference, however, in personal appearance. Vahuka, again is endued with every accomplishment. I think, therefore, he is Nala.' Having thus reasoned long in his mind, O mighty monarch, Varshneya, the (former) charioteer of the righteous Nala, became absorbed in thought. And that foremost of kings Rituparna, also, beholding the skill of Vahuka in equestrian science experienced great delight, along with his charioteer Varshneya. And thinking of Vahuka's application and ardour and the manner of his holding the reins, the king felt exceedingly glad.'"

SECTION 72

"Vrihadaswa said, 'Like a bird coursing through the sky, Nala soon crossed rivers and mountains, and woods and lakes. And while the car was coursing thus, that conqueror of hostile cities, the royal son of Bhangasura, saw his upper garment drop down on the ground. And at soon as his garment had dropped down the high-minded monarch, without loss of time, told Nala, 'I intend to recover it. O thou of profound intelligence, retain these steeds endued with exceeding swiftness until Varshneya bringeth back my garment.' Thereupon Nala replied unto him, 'The sheet is dropped down far away. We have travelled one yojana thence. Therefore, it is incapable of being recovered.' After Nala had addressed him thus, O king, the royal son of Bhangasura came upon a Vibhitaka tree with fruits in a forest. And seeing that tree, the king hastily said to Vahuka, 'O charioteer, do thou also behold my high proficiency in calculation. All men do not know everything. There is no one that is versed in every science of art. Knowledge in its entirety is not found in any one person, O Vahuka, the leaves and fruits of this tree that are lying on the ground respectively exceed those that are on it by one hundred and one. The two branches of the tree have fifty millions of leaves, and two thousand and ninety five fruits. Do thou examine these two branches and all their boughs.' Thereupon staying the car Vahuka addressed the king, saying, 'O crusher of foes, thou takest credit to thyself in a matter which is beyond my perception. But, O monarch, I will ascertain it by the direct evidence of my senses, by cutting down the Vibhitaka. O king, when I actually count, it will no longer be matter of speculation. Therefore, in thy presence, O monarch, I will hew down this Vibhitaka. I do not know whether it be not (as thou hast said). In thy presence, O ruler of men, I will count the fruits and leaves. Let Varshneya hold the reins of the horses for a while.' Unto the charioteer the king replied, 'There is no time to lose.' But Vahuka answered with humility, 'Stay thou a short space, or, if thou art in a hurry, go then, making Varshneya thy charioteer. The road lies direct and even.' And at this, O son of the Kuru race, soothing Vahuka, Rituparna said, 'O Vahuka, thou art the only charioteer, there is none other in this world. And, O thou versed in horse lore, it is through thy help that I expect to go to the Vidarbhas. I place myself in thy hands. It behoveth thee not to cause any obstacle. And, O Vahuka, whatever thy wish. I will grant it if taking me to the country of the Vidarbhas to-day, thou makest me see the sun rise.' At this, Vahuka answered him, saying, 'After having counted (the leaves and fruits of the) Vibhitaka, I shall proceed to Vidarbha, do thou agree to my words. Then the king reluctantly told him, 'Count. And on counting the leaves and fruits of a portion of this branch, thou wilt be satisfied of the truth of my assertion.' And thereupon Vahuka speedily alighted from the car, and felled that tree. And struck with amazement upon finding the fruits, after calculation, to be what the king had said, he addressed the king, saying, 'O monarch, this thy power is wonderful. I desire, O prince, to know the art by which thou hast ascertained all this.' And at this king, intent upon proceeding speedily, said unto Vahuka. 'Know that I am proficient at dice besides being versed in numbers. And Vahuka said unto him, 'Impart unto me this knowledge and, O bull among men, take from me my knowledge of horses.' And king Rituparna, having regard to the importance of the act that depended upon Vahuka's good-will, and tempted also by the horse-lore (that his charioteer possessed), said, 'So be it.' As solicited by thee, receive this science of dice from me, and, O Vahuka, let my equine science remain with thee in trust.' And saying this, Rituparna imparted unto Nala the science (he desired). And Nala upon becoming acquainted with the science of dice, Kali came out of his body, incessantly vomiting from his mouth the virulent poison of Karkotaka. And when Kali, afflicted (by Damayanti's curse) came out (of Nala's body), the fire of that curse also left Kali. Indeed, long had been the time for which the king had been afflicted by Kali, as if he were of unregenerate soul. And Kala the ruler of the Nishadhas, in wrath, was bent upon cursing Kali, when the latter, frightened, and trembling, said with joined hands, 'Control thy wrath, O king! I will render thee illustrious. Indrasena's mother had formerly cursed me in anger when she had been deserted by thee. Ever since that time undergoing sore affliction I resided in thee, O mighty monarch, O unconquered one, miserably and burning night and day with the venom of the prince of snakes. I seek thy protection. If thou dost not curse me who am affrighted and seek thy protection, then those men that will attentively recite thy history, shall be even free from fear on my account.' And thus addressed by Kali, king Nala controlled his wrath. And thereupon the frightened Kali speedily entered into the Vibhitaka tree. And while the Kali was conversing with Naishadha, he was invisible to others. And delivered from his afflictions, and having counted the fruits of that tree, the king, filled with great joy and of high energy, mounted on the car and proceeded with energy, urging those fleet horses. And from the touch of Kali the Vibhitaka tree from that hour fell into disrepute. And Nala, with a glad heart, began to urge those foremost of steeds which sprang into the air once and again like creatures endued with wings. And the illustrious monarch drove (the car) in the direction of the Vidarbhas. And after Nala had gone far away, Kali also returned to his abode. And abandoned by Kali, O king, that lord of earth, the royal Nala, became freed from calamity though he did not assume his native form.'"

SECTION 73

"Vrihadaswa said, 'After Rituparna of prowess incapable of being baffled had, in the evening, arrived at the city of the Vidarbhas, the people brought unto king Bhima the tidings (of his arrival). And at the invitation of Bhima, the king (of Ayodhya) entered the city of Kundina, filling with the rattle of his car all the ten points, direct and transverse, of the horizon. And the steeds of Nala that were in that city heard that sound, and hearing it they became delighted as they used to be in the presence of Nala himself. And Damayanti also heard the sound of that car driven by Nala, like the deep roar of the clouds in the rainy season. And Bhima and the steeds (of Nala) regarded the clatter of that car to be like that which they used to hear in days of yore when king Nala himself urged his own steeds. And the peacocks on the terraces, and the elephants in the stables, and the horses also, all heard the rattle of Rituparna's car. And hearing the sound, so like the roar of the clouds, the elephants and the peacocks, O king, began to utter their cries, facing that direction, and filled with delight such as they experience when they hear the actual roar of the clouds. And Damayanti said, 'Because the rattle of his car filling the whole earth, gladdens my heart, it must be King Nala (that has come). If I do not see Nala, of face bright as the moon, that hero with countless virtues, I shall certainly die. If I am not clasped today in that hero's thrilling embrace, I shall certainly cease to be. If Naishadha with voice deep as that of the clouds doth not come to me today, I shall enter into a pyre of golden brilliance. If that foremost of kings, powerful as a lion and gifted with the strength of an infuriated elephant, doth not present himself before me, I shall certainly cease to live. I do not remember a single untruth in him, or a single wrong done by him to others. Never hath he spoken an untruth even in jest. Oh, my Nala is exalted and forgiving and heroic and magnificent and superior to all other kings, and faithful to his marriage vow and like unto a eunuch in respect of other females. Night and day dwelling upon his perceptions, my heart, in absence of that dear one, is about to burst in grief.'

"Thus bewailing as if devoid of sense, Damayanti, O Bharata, ascended the terrace (of her mansion) with the desire of seeing the righteous Nala. And in the yard of the central mansion she beheld king Rituparna on the car with Varshneya and Vahuka. And Varshneya and Vahuka, descending for that excellent vehicle, unyoked the steeds, and kept the vehicle itself in a proper place. And king Rituparna also, descending from the car, presented himself before king Bhima possessed of terrible prowess. And Bhima received him with great respect, for in the absence of a proper occasion, a great person cannot be had (as a guest). And honoured by Bhima, king Rituparna looked about him again and again, but saw no traces of the Swayamvara. And the ruler of the Vidarbhas, O Bharata, approaching Rituparna, said, 'Welcome! What is the occasion of this thy visit?' And king Bhima asked this without knowing that Rituparna had come to obtain the hand of his daughter. And king Rituparna, of unbaffled prowess and gifted with intelligence, saw that there were no other kings or princes. Nor did he hear any talk relating to the Swayamvara, nor saw any concourse of Brahmanas. And at this, the king of Kosala reflected a while and at length said, 'I have come here to pay my respects to thee.' And the king Bhima was struck with astonishment, and reflected upon the (probable) cause of Rituparna's coming, having passed over a hundred yojanas. And he reflected, 'That passing by other sovereigns, and leaving behind him innumerable countries, he should come simply to pay his respect to me is scarcely the reason of his arrival. What he assigneth to be the cause of his coming appeareth to be a trifle. However, I shall learn the true reason in the future.' And although king Bhima thought so, he did not dismiss Rituparna summarily, but said unto him again and again, 'Rest, thou art weary.' And honoured thus by the pleased Bhima, king Rituparna was satisfied, and with a delighted heart, he went to his appointed quarters followed by the servants of the royal household."

"Vrihadaswa continued, 'And, O king, after Rituparna had gone away with Varshneya, Vahuka took the car to the stables. And there freeing the steeds, and tending them according to rule, and soothing them himself, sat down on a side of the car. Meanwhile, the princess of Vidharva, Damayanti, afflicted with grief, having beheld the royal son of Bhangasura, and Varshneya of the Suta race, and also Vahuka in that guise, asked herself, 'Whose is this car-rattle? It was loud as that of Nala, but I do not see the ruler of the Nishadhas. Certainly, Varshneya hath learnt the art from Nala, and it is for this the rattle of the car driven by him hath been even like that of Nala. Or, is Rituparna equally skilled with Nala so that the rattle of his car seemeth to be like that of Nala?' And reflecting thus, O monarch, the blessed and beauteous girl sent a female messenger in search of Nishada."

SECTION 74

"Damayanti said, 'O Kesini, go thou and learn who that charioteer is that sitteth by the car, unsightly and possessed of short arms. O blessed one, O faultless one, approaching him, cautiously and with suit words, make thou the usual inquiries of courtesy and learn all particulars truly. Having regard to the feeling of satisfaction my mind experienceth, and the delight my heart feeleth, I am greatly afraid this one is king Nala himself. And, O faultless one, having inquired after his welfare, thou shalt speak unto him the words of Parnada. And, O beauteous one, understand the reply he may make thereto.' Thus instructed, that female messenger, going cautiously, while the blessed Damayanti watched from the terrace, addressed Vahuka in these words, 'O foremost of men, thou art welcome. I wish thee happiness. O bull among men, hear now the words of Damayanti. When did ye all set out, and with what object have ye come hither. Tell us truly, for the princess of Vidarbha wisheth to hear it.' Thus addressed, Vahuka answered, the illustrious king of Kosala had heard from a Brahmana that a second Swayamvara of Damayanti would take place. And hearing it, he hath come here, by the help of excellent steeds fleet as the wind and capable of going a hundred yojanas. I am his charioteer. Kesini then asked, 'Whence doth the third among you come, and whose (son) is he? And whose son art thou, and how hast thou come to do this work?' Thus questioned, Vahuka replied, 'He (of whom thou inquirest) was the charioteer of the virtuous Nala, and known to all by the name of Varshneya. After Nala had, O beauteous one, left his kingdom, he came to the son of Bhangasura. I am skilled in horse-lore, and have, therefore, been appointed as charioteer. Indeed, king Rituparna hath himself chosen me as his charioteer and cook.' At this Kesini rejoined, 'Perhaps Varshneya knoweth where king Nala hath gone, and O Vahuka, he may also have spoken to thee (about his master).' Vahuka then said, 'Having brought hither the children of Nala of excellent deeds, Varshneya went away whither he listed: He doth not know where Naishadha is. Nor, O illustrious one, doth anybody else know of Nala's whereabouts; for the king (in calamity) wandereth over the world in disguise and despoiled of (his native) beauty. Nala's self only knoweth Nala. Nala never discovereth his marks of identity anywhere.' Thus addressed, Kesini returned, 'The Brahmana that had before this gone to Ayodhya, had repeatedly said these words suitable to female lips, 'O beloved gambler, where hast thou gone cutting off half my piece of cloth, and deserting me, his dear and devoted wife asleep in the woods? And she herself, as commanded by him, waiteth expecting him clad in half a garment and burning day and night in grief. O king, O hero, do thou relent towards her that weepeth ceaselessly for that calamity and do thou give her an answer. O illustrious one, do thou speak the words agreeable to her for the blameless one panteth to hear them. Hearing these words of the Brahmana thou didst formerly give a reply! The princess of Vidarbha again wisheth to hear the words thou didst then say.'"

"Vrihadaswa continued, 'O son of the Kuru race, hearing these words of Kesini, Nala's heart was pained, and his eyes

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filled with tears. And repressing his sorrow, the king who was burning in grief, said again these words, in accents choked with tears: 'Chaste women, though overtaken by calamity, yet protect themselves, and thereby secure heaven. Women that are chaste, deserted by their lords, never become angry, but continue to live, cased in virtue's mail. Deserted by one fallen into calamity, bereft of sense, and despoiled of bliss, it behoveth her not to be angry. A virtuous lady should not be angry with one that was deprived by birds of his garment while striving to procure sustenance and who is burning in misery. Whether treated well or ill she would never be angry, seeing her husband in that plight, despoiled of his kingdom, bereft of prosperity, oppressed with hunger, and overwhelmed with calamity.' And, O Bharata, while speaking thus, Nala oppressed with grief, could not restrain his tears, but began to weep. And thereupon Kesini went back to Damayanti, and acquainted her with everything about that conversation as well as that outburst of grief."

SECTION 75

"Vrihadaswa said, 'Hearing everything, Damayanti became oppressed with grief, and suspecting the person to be Nala, said unto Kesini, 'O Kesini, go thou again, and examine Vahuka, and staying in silence at his side mark thou his conduct. And, O beauteous one, whenever he happens to do anything skilful, do thou observe well his act while accomplishing it. And, O Kesini, whenever he may ask water or fire, with the view of offering him obstruction, thou shalt be in no hurry to give it. And marking everything about his behaviour, come thou and tell me. And whatever human or super-human thou seest in Vahuka, together with anything else, should all be reported unto me.' And thus addressed by Damayanti, Kesini went away, and having marked the conduct of that person versed in horse-lore, she came back. And she related unto Damayanti all that had happened, indeed, everything of human and superhuman that she had witnessed in Vahuka. And Kesini said, 'O Damayanti, a person of such control over the elements I have never before seen or heard of. Whenever he cometh to low passage, he never stoopeth down, but seeing him, the passage itself groweth in height so that he may pass through it easily. And at his approach, impassable narrow holes open wide. King Bhima had sent various kinds of meat--of diverse animals, for Rituparna's food. And many vessels had been placed there for washing the meat. And as he looked upon them, those vessels became filled (with water). And having washed the meat, as he set himself to cook, he took up a handful of grass and held it in the sun, when fire blazed up all on a sudden. Beholding this marvel, I have come hither amazed. Further, I have witnessed in him another great wonder. O beauteous one, he touched fire and was not burnt. And at his will, water falling floweth in a stream. And, I have witnessed another greater wonder still. He took up some flowers, began to press them slowly with his hands. And pressed by his hand, the flowers did not lose their original forms, but, on the contrary, became gayer and more odorous than before. Having beheld wonderful things I have come hither with speed.'"

"Vrihadaswa continued, 'Hearing of these acts of the virtuous Nala, and discovering him from his behaviour, Damayanti considered him as already recovered. And from these indications suspecting that Vahuka was her husband, Damayanti once more weepingly addressed Kesini in soft words, saying, 'O beauteous one, go thou once more, and bring from the kitchen without Vahuka's knowledge some meat that hath been boiled and dressed (by him).' Thus commanded, Kesini, ever bent on doing what was agreeable to Damayanti, went to Vahuka, and taking some hot meat came back without loss of time. And Kesini gave that meat, O son of the Kuru race, unto Damayanti. And Damayanti who had formerly often partaken of meat dressed by Nala, tasted the meat that was brought by her hand-maid. And she thereupon decided Vahuka to be Nala and wept aloud in grief of heart. And, O Bharata, overwhelmed with grief, and washing her face, she sent her two children with Kesini. And Vahuka, who was the king in disguise, recognising Indrasena with her brother, advanced hastily, and embracing them, took them up on his lap. And taking up his children like unto the children of the celestials, he began to weep aloud in sonorous accents, his heart oppressed with great sorrow. And after having repeatedly betrayed his agitation, Naishadha suddenly left children, and addressed Kesini, saying, 'O fair damsel, these twins are very like my own children. Beholding them unexpectedly, I shed tears. If thou comest to me frequently people may think evil, for we are guests from another land. Therefore. O blessed one, go at thy ease.'"

SECTION 76

"Vrihadaswa said, 'Beholding the agitation of the virtuous and wise Nala, Kesini returned unto Damayanti and related everything unto her. And thereupon Damayanti with a sorrowful heart and eager to behold Nala, again despatched Kesini to her mother, asking her to say on her behalf: Suspecting Vahuka to be Nala, I have tried him in various ways. My doubt now only relates to his appearance. I intend to examine him myself. O mother, either let him enter the palace, or give me permission to go to him. And arrange this with the knowledge of my father or without it. And thus addressed to Damayanti, that lady communicated unto Bhima the intention of his daughter, and upon learning it the king gave his consent. And, O bull of the Bharata race, having obtained the consent both of her father and mother, Damayanti caused Nala to be brought to her apartments. And as soon as he saw Damayanti unexpectedly, king Nala was overwhelmed with grief and sorrow, and bathed in tears. And that best of women, Damayanti, also, upon beholding king Nala in that condition, was sorely afflicted with grief. And, O monarch, herself clad in a piece of red cloth, and wearing matted locks, and covered with dirt and dust, Damayanti then addressed Vahuka, saying, 'O Vahuka, hast thou ever seen any person acquainted with duty, who hath gone away, deserting his sleeping wife in the forest? Who, except the virtuous Nala, could go away, deserting in the woods, his dear and unoffending wife overcome with fatigue? Of what offence was I guilty in the eyes of that monarch since my early youth that he should go away deserting me in the woods while asleep overcome with fatigue? Why should he whom I formerly chose in preference to the gods themselves abandon his ever-devoted and loving wife who had become the mother also of his children? Before the fire, and in presence also of the celestials, he had taken my hand, vowing, 'Verily I will be thine.' Oh, where was that vow when he deserted me. O represser of foes.' While Damayanti was saying all this, tears of sorrow began to flow plentifully from her eyes. And beholding her thus afflicted with grief, Nala also, shedding tears, black of those of the gazelle with extremities of reddish hue, said, 'O timid one, neither the loss of my kingdom nor my desertion of thee was my act. Both were due to Kali. And, O foremost of virtuous women, lamenting for me day and night, and overcome with sorrow, thou hadst in the woods cursed Kali, and so he began to dwell in my body, burning in consequence of thy curse. Indeed burning with thy curse, he lived within me like fire within fire. O blessed girl, that our sorrows might terminate, that wretch have I overcome by my observances and austerities. The sinful wretch hath already left me, and it is for this that I have come hither. My presence here, O fair lady, is for thy sake. I have no other object. But, O timid one, can any other woman, forsaking her loving and devoted husband, ever choose a second lord like thee? At the command of the king, messengers are ranging this entire earth, saying, 'Bhima's daughter will, of her own accord, choose a second husband worthy of her.' Immediately on hearing this, the son of Bhangasura hath arrived here.' Hearing these lamentations of Nala, Damayanti, frightened and trembling, said with joined hand, 'It behoveth thee not, O blessed one, to suspect any fault in me. O ruler of the Nishadhas, passing over the celestials themselves, I choose thee as my lord. It was to bring thee hither that the Brahmanas had gone out in all directions, even to all the sides of the horizon, singing my words, in the form of ballads. At last, O king, a learned Brahmana named Parnada had found thee in Kosala in the palace of Rituparna. When thou hadst returned a fit answer to those words of his, it was then, O Naishadha, that I devised this scheme to recover thee. Except thee, O lord of earth, there is no one in this world, who in one day can clear, O King, a hundred yojanas with horses. O monarch, touching thy feet I can swear truly that I have not, even in thought, committed any sin. May the all-witnessing Air that courseth through this world, take my life, if I have committed any sin. May the Sun that ever courseth through the sky take my life, if I have committed any sin. May the Moon, that dwelleth within every creature as a witness, take my life, if I have committed any sin. Let the three gods that sustain the triple worlds in their entirety, declare truly, or let them forsake me today.' And thus addressed by her, the Wind-god said from the sky, 'O Nala, I tell thee truly that she hath done no wrong. O king, Damayanti, well guarding the honour of thy family, hath enhanced it. Of this we are the witnesses, as we have been her protectors for these three years. It is for thy sky that she hath devised this unrivalled scheme, for, except thee, none on earth is capable of travelling in a single day a hundred yojanas. O monarch, thou hast obtained Bhima's daughter, and she hath also obtained thee. Thou needst not entertain any suspicion but be united with thy partner.' And after the Wind-god had said this, a floral shower fell there and the celestial kettle-drum began to play, and auspicious breezes began to blow. And beholding those wonders, O Bharata, king Nala, the represser of foes, cast away all his doubts in respect of Damayanti. And then that lord of earth, remembering the king of serpents, wore that pure garment and regained his native form. And beholding her righteous lord in his own form, Bhima's daughter of faultless limbs embraced him, and began to weep aloud. And king Nala also embraced Bhima's daughter devoted to him, as before, and also his children, and experienced great delight. And burying her face in his bosom, the beauteous Damayanti of large eyes began to sigh heavily, remembering her griefs. And overwhelmed with sorrow, that tiger among men stood for some time, clasping the dust-covered Damayanti of sweet smiles. And, O king, the queen-mother then, with a glad heart, told Bhima all that had passed between Nala and Damayanti. And the mighty monarch answered, 'Let Nala pass this day in peace, to-morrow I shall see him after his bath and prayers, with Damayanti by his side.' And, O king, they passed that night pleasantly, in relating to each other the past incidents of their life in the forest. And with hearts filled with joy, the princess of Vidarbha and Nala began to pass their days in the palace of king Bhima, intent upon making each other happy. And it was in the fourth year (after the loss of his kingdom) that Nala was re-united with his wife, and all his desires gratified, once more experienced the highest bliss. And Damayanti rejoiced exceedingly in having recovered her lord even as fields of tender plants on receiving a shower. And Bhima's daughter, thus recovering her lord, obtained her wish, and blazed forth in beauty, her weariness gone, her anxieties dispelled and herself swelling with joy, ever like a night that is lit by the bright disc of the moon!'"

SECTION 77

"Vrihadaswa said, 'Having passed that night, king Nala decked in ornaments and with Damayanti by his side, presented himself in due time before the king. And Nala saluted his father-in-law with becoming humility and after him the fair Damayanti paid her respects to her father. And the exalted Bhima, with great joy, received him as a son, and honouring him duly along with his devoted wife, comforted them in proper words. And duly accepting the homage rendered unto him, king Nala offered his father-in-law his services as became him. And seeing Nala arrived, the citizens were in great joy. And there arose in the city a loud uproar of delight. And the citizens decorated the city with flags and standards and garlands of flowers. And the streets were watered and decked in floral wreaths and other ornaments. And at their gates citizens piled flowers, and their temples and shrines were all adorned with flowers. And Rituparna heard that Vahuka had already been united with Damayanti. And the king was glad to hear of all this. And calling unto him king Nala, he asked his forgiveness. And the intelligent Nala also asked Rituparna's forgiveness, showing diverse reasons. And that foremost of speakers versed in the truth, king Rituparna, after being thus honoured by Nala, said, with a countenance expressive of wonder, these words unto the ruler of the Nishadhas. 'By good fortune it is that regaining the company of thy own wife, thou hast obtained happiness. O Naishadha, while dwelling in disguise at my house, I hope I did not wrong thee in any way, O lord of the earth! If knowingly I have done thee any wrong, it behoveth thee to forgive me.' Hearing this, Nala replied, 'Thou hast not, O monarch, done me ever so little an injury. And if thou hast, it hath not awakened my ire, for surely thou shouldst be forgiven by me. Thou wert formerly my friend, and, O ruler of men, thou art also related to me. Henceforth I shall find greater delight in thee. O king, with all my desires gratified, I lived happily in thy abode, in fact more happily there than in my own house. This thy horse-lore is in my keeping. If thou wishest, O king, I will make it over to thee.' Saying this, Naishadha gave unto Rituparna that science and the latter took it with the ordained rites. And, O monarch, the royal son of Bhangasura, having obtained the mysteries of equestrian science and having given unto the ruler of the Naishadhas the mysteries of dice, went to his own city, employing another person for his charioteer. And, O king, after Rituparna had gone, king Nala did not stay long in the city of Kundina!'"

SECTION 78

"Vrihadaswa said, 'O son of Kunti, the ruler of the Nishadhas having dwelt there for a month, set out from that city with Bhima's permission and accompanied by only a few (followers) for the country of the Nishadhas. With a single car white in hue, sixteen elephants, fifty horses, and six hundred infantry, that illustrious king, causing the earth itself to tremble, entered (the country of the Nishadhas) without loss of a moment and swelling with rage. And the mighty son of Virasena, approaching his brothers Pushkara said unto him, 'We will play again, for I have earned vast wealth. Let Damayanti and all else that I have be my stake, let, O Pushkara, thy kingdom be thy stake. Let the play begin again. This is my certain determination. Blessed be thou, let us stake all we have along with our lives. Having won over and acquired another's wealth or kingdom, it is a high duty, says the ordinance, to stake it when the owner demands. Or, if thou dost not relish play with dice, let the play with weapons begin. O king, let me or thyself have peace by a single combat. That this ancestral kingdom should, under all circumstances and by any means, be recovered, there is the authority of sages for holding. And, O Pushkara, choose thou one of these two things--gambling with dice or bending the bow in battle!' Thus addressed by Nishadha, Pushkara, sure of his own success, laughingly answered that monarch, saying, 'O Naishadha, it is by good fortune that thou hast earned wealth again to stake. It is by good fortune also that Damayanti's ill-luck hath at last come to an end. And O king, it is by good

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fortune that thou art still alive with thy wife, O thou of mighty arms! It is evident that Damayanti, adorned with this wealth of thine that I will win, will wait upon me like an Apsara in heaven upon Indra. O Naishadha, I daily recollect thee and am even waiting for thee, since I derive no pleasure from gambling with those that are not connected with me by blood. Winning over to-day the beauteous Damayanti of faultless features, I shall regard myself fortunate, indeed, since she it is that hath ever dwelt in my heart.' Hearing these words of that incoherent braggart, Nala in anger desired to cut off his head with a scimitar. With a smile, however, though his eyes were red in anger, king Nala said, 'Let us play. Why do you speak so now? Having vanquished me, you can say anything you like.' Then the play commenced between Pushkara and Nala. And blessed be Nala who at a single throw won his wealth and treasures back along with the life of his brother that also had been staked. And the king, having won, smilingly said unto Pushkara, 'This whole kingdom without a thorn in its side is now undisturbedly mine. And, O worst of kings, thou canst not now even look at the princess of Vidarbha. With all thy family, thou art now, O fool, reduced to the position of her slave. But my former defeat at thy hands was not due to any act of thine. Thou knowest it not, O fool, that it was Kali who did it all. I shall not, therefore, impute to thee the faults of others. Live happily as thou choosest, I grant thee thy life. I also grant thee thy portion (in the paternal kingdom) along with all necessaries. And, O hero, without doubt, my affection towards thee is now the same as before. My fraternal love also for thee will never know any diminution. O Pushkara, thou art my brother, live thou for a hundred years!'"

"And Nala of unbaffled prowess, having comforted his brother thus gave him permission to go to his own town, having embraced him repeatedly. And Pushkara himself, thus comforted by the ruler of the Nishadhas saluted that righteous king, and addressed him, O monarch, saying these words with joined hands, 'Let thy fame be immortal and live thou happily for ten thousand years, thou who grantest me, O king, both life and refuge. And entertained by the king, Pushkara dwelt there for a month and then went to his own town accompanied by large force and many obedient servants and his own kindred, his heart filled with joy. And that bull among men all the while blazed forth in beauty of person like a second Sun. And the blessed ruler of the Nishadhas, having established Pushkara and made him wealthy and freed him from troubles, entered his richly decorated palace. And the ruler of the Nishadhas, having entered his palace, comforted the citizens. And all the citizens and the subjects from the country horripilated in joy. And the people headed by the officers of state said with joined hands, 'O king, we are truly glad to-day throughout the city and the country. We have obtained to-day our ruler, like the gods their chief of a hundred sacrifice!'"

SECTION 79

"Vrihadaswa said, 'After the festivities had commenced in the city that was full of joy and without anxiety of any kind, the king with a large force brought Damayanti (from her father's home). And her father, too, that slayer of hostile heroes, Bhima of terrible prowess and immeasurable soul, sent his daughter, having honoured her duly. And upon the arrival of the princess of Vidarbha accompanied by her son and daughter, king Nala began to pass his days in joy like the chief of the celestials in the gardens of Nandana. And the king of undying fame, having regained his kingdom and becoming illustrious among monarchs of the island of Jamvu, began once more to rule it. And he duly performed numerous sacrifices with abundant gifts to Brahmanas. O great king, thou also wilt with thy kindred and relatives, so blaze forth in effulgence soon. For, O foremost of men, it was thus that subjugator of hostile cities, king Nala, had fallen into distress along with his wife, in consequence, O bull of Bharata race of dice. And, O lord of the earth, Nala suffered such dire woe all alone and recovered his prosperity, whereas thou, O son of Pandu, with heart fixed on virtue, art sporting in joy in this great forest, accompanied by thy brothers and Krishna. When thou art also, O monarch, mixing daily with blessed Brahmanas versed in the Vedas and their branches, thou hast little cause for sorrow. This history, besides, of the Naga Karkotaka, of Damayanti, of Nala and of that royal sage Rituparna, is destructive of evil. And, O thou of unfading glory, this history, destructive of the influence of Kali, is capable, O king, of comforting persons like thee when they listen to it. And reflecting upon the uncertainty (of success) of human exertion, it behoveth thee not to joy or grieve at prosperity or adversity. Having listened to this history, be comforted, O king, and yield not to grief. It behoveth thee not, O great king, to pine under calamity. Indeed, men of self-possession, reflecting upon the caprice of destiny and the fruitlessness of exertion, never suffer themselves to be depressed. They that will repeatedly recite this noble history of Nala, and that will hear it recited, will never be touched by adversity. He that listeneth to this old and excellent history hath all his purposes crowned with success and, without doubt, obtaineth fame, besides sons and grandsons and animals, a high position among men, and health, and joy. And, O king, the fear also that thou entertainest, viz., (Some one skilled in dice will summon me), I will for once dispel. O thou of invincible prowess, I know the science of dice in its entirety. I am gratified with thee; take this lore, O son of Kunti, I will tell unto thee.'"

Vaisampayana continued, "King Yudhishthira then, with a glad heart, said unto Vrihadaswa, 'O illustrious one, I desire to learn the science of dice from thee.' The Rishi then gave his dice-lore unto the high-souled son of Pandu, and having given it unto him, that great ascetic went to the sacred waters of Hayasirsha for a bath.

"And after Vrihadaswa had gone away, Yudhishthira of firm vows heard from Brahmanas and ascetics that came to him from various directions and from places of pilgrimage and mountains and forests that Arjuna of high intelligence and capable of drawing the bow with his left hand, was still engaged in the austerest of ascetic penances, living upon air alone. And he heard that the mighty-armed Partha was engaged in such fierce asceticism that none else before him had ever been engaged in such penances. And Dhananjaya, the son of Pritha, engaged in ascetic austerities with regulated vows and fixed mind and observing the vow of perfect silence, was, he heard, like the blazing god of justice himself in his embodied form. And, O king, (Yudhishthira) the son of Pandu hearing that his dear brother Jaya, the son of Kunti, was engaged in such asceticism in the great forest, began to grieve for him. And with a heart burning in grief, the eldest son of Pandu, seeking consolation in that mighty forest held converse with the Brahmanas possessed of various knowledge who were living with him there."

SECTION 80

(Tirtha-yatra Parva)

Janamejaya said, "O holy one, after my great-grandfather Partha had gone away from the woods of Kamyaka, what did the sons of Pandu do in the absence of that hero capable of drawing the bow with his left hand? It seemeth to me that mighty bowman and vanquisher of armies was their refuge, as Vishnu of the celestials. How did my heroic grandsires pass their time in the forest, deprived of the company of that hero, who resembled Indra himself in prowess and never turned his back in battle?"

Vaisampayana said, "After Arjuna of unbaffled prowess had gone away from Kamyaka, the sons of Pandu, O son, were filled with sorrow and grief. And the Pandavas with cheerless hearts very much resembled pearls unstrung from a wreath, or birds shorn of their wings. And without that hero of white steeds that forest looked like the Chaitraratha woods when deprived of the presence of Kuvera. And, O Janamejaya, those tigers among men--the sons of Pandu--deprived of the company of Arjuna, continued to live in Kamyaka in perfect cheerlessness. And, O chief of the Bharata race, those mighty warriors endowed with great prowess slew with pure arrows various kinds of sacrificial animals for the Brahmanas. And those tigers among men and repressors of foes, daily slaying those wild animals and sanctifying them properly, offered them unto the Brahmanas. And it was thus, O king, that those bulls among men afflicted with sorrow lived there with cheerless hearts after Dhananjaya's departure. The princess of Panchala in particular, remembering her third lord, addressed the anxious Yudhishthira and said, 'That Arjuna who with two hands rivals the thousand-armed Arjuna (of old), alas, without that foremost of the sons of Pandu, this forest doth not seem at all beautiful in my eyes. Without him, whenever I cast my eyes, this earth seems to be forlorn. Even this forest with its blossoming trees and so full of wonders, without Arjuna seems not so delightful as before. Without him who is like a mass of blue clouds (in hue), who hath the prowess of an infuriated elephant, and whose eyes are like the leaves of the lotus, this Kamyaka forest doth not seem beautiful to me. Remembering that hero capable of drawing the bow with his left hand, and the twang of whose bow sounds like the roar of thunder, I cannot feel any happiness, O king!' And, O monarch, hearing her lament in this strain, that slayer of hostile heroes, Bhimasena, addressed Draupadi in these words, 'O blessed lady of slender waist, the agreeable words thou utterest delight my heart like the quaffing of nectar. Without him whose arms are long and symmetrical, and stout and like unto a couple of iron maces and round and marked by the scars of the bow-strings and graced with the bow and sword and other weapons and encircled with golden bracelets and like unto a couple of five-headed snakes, without that tiger among men the sky itself seemeth to be without the sun. Without that mighty-armed one relying upon whom the Panchalas and the Kauravas fear not the sternly-exerting ranks of the celestials themselves, without that illustrious hero relying upon whose arms we all regard our foes as already vanquished and the earth itself as already conquered, without that Phalguna I cannot obtain any peace in the woods of Kamyaka. The different directions also, wherever I cast my eyes, appear to be empty!'

"After Bhima had concluded, Nakula the son of Pandu, with voice choked with tears, said, 'Without him whose extraordinary deeds on the field of battle constitute the talk of even the gods, without that foremost of warriors, what pleasure can we have in the woods? Without him who having gone towards the north had vanquished mighty Gandharva chiefs by hundreds, and who having obtained numberless handsome horses of the Tittiri and Kalmasha species all endowed with the speed of the wind, presented them from affection unto his brother the king, on the occasion of the great Rajasuya sacrifice, without that dear and illustrious one, without that terrible warrior born after Bhima, without that hero equal unto a god I do not desire to live in the Kamyaka woods any longer.'

"After Nakula's lamentations, Sahadeva said, 'He who having vanquished mighty warriors in battle won wealth and virgins and brought them unto the king on the occasion of the great Rajasuya sacrifice, that hero of immeasurable splendour who having vanquished single-handed the assembled Yadavas in battle, ravished Subhadra with the consent of Vasudeva, he, who having invaded the dominion of the illustrious Drupada gave, O Bharata, unto the preceptor Drona his tuition fee--beholding, O king, that Jishnu's bed of grass empty in our asylum, my heart refuses consolation. A migration from this forest is what, O represser of foes, I would prefer for without that hero this forest cannot be delightful."

SECTION 81

Vaisampayana said, "Hearing these words of his brothers as also of Krishna, all of whom were anxious on account of Dhananjaya, king Yudhishthira, the just, became melancholy. And at that time he saw (before him) the celestial Rishi Narada blazing with Brahmi beauty and like unto a fire flaming up in consequence of sacrificial libation. And beholding him come, king Yudhishthira with his brothers stood up and duly worshipped the illustrious one. And endued with blazing energy, the handsome chief of the Kuru race, surrounded by his brothers, shone like the god of a hundred sacrifices encircled by the celestials. And Yajnaseni in obedience to the dictates of morality adhered to her lords, the sons of Pritha, like Savitri to the Vedas or the rays of the Sun to the peak of Meru. And the illustrious Rishi Narada, accepting that worship, comforted the son of Dharma in proper terms. And, O sinless one, addressing the high-souled king Yudhishthira, the just, the Rishi said, 'Tell me, O foremost of virtuous men, what it is that thou seekest and what I can do for thee. At this, the royal son of Dharma bowing with his brothers unto Narada, who was the revered of the celestials, told him with joined hands, 'O thou that art highly blessed and worshipped by all the worlds when thou art gratified with me, I regard all my wishes in consequence of thy grace, as already fulfilled, O thou of excellent vows! If, O sinless one, I with my brothers deserve thy favour, it behoveth thee, O best of Munis, to dispel the doubt that is in my mind. It behoveth thee to tell me in detail what merit is his that goeth round the worlds, desirous of beholding the sacred waters and shrines that are on it.'"

"Narada said, 'Listen, O king, with attention, to what the intelligent Bhishma had heard before from Pulastya! Once, O blessed one, that foremost of virtuous men, Bhishma, while in the observance of the Pitrya vow, lived, O king, in the company of Munis in a delightful and sacred region, near the source of the Ganga, that is resorted to by the celestial Rishis and Gandharvas and the celestials themselves. And while living there, the resplendent one gratified with his oblations the Pitris, the gods and the Rishis, according to the rites inculcated in the scriptures. And once on a time while the illustrious one was engaged in his silent recitations, he beheld Pulastya--that best of Rishis, of wonderful appearance. And beholding that austere ascetic blazing with beauty, he was filled with great delight and exceeding wonder. And, O Bharata, that foremost of virtuous men, Bhishma, then worshipped that blessed Rishi according to the rites of the ordinance. And purifying himself and with rapt attention, he approached that best of Brahmarshis, with the Arghya on his head. And uttering aloud his name, he said, 'O thou of excellent vow, blessed be thou, I am Bhishma, thy slave. At sight of thee, I am freed from all my sins.' And saying this, that foremost of virtuous men, Bhishma, restraining speeches stood, O Yudhishthira, in silence and with joined hands. And beholding Bhishma that foremost of the Kurus, reduced and emaciated by the observance of vows and the study of the Vedas, the Muni became filled with joy."

SECTION 82

"Pulastya said, 'O thou of excellent vows, I have been much gratified with thy humility, thy self-control, and thy truth, thou blessed one versed in morality! O sinless one, it is for this virtue of thine which thou hast acquired from regard to thy ancestors, that I have been gratified with thee and thou hast, O son, obtained a sight of my person. O Bhishma. my eyes can penetrate into everything. Tell me what I may do for thee. O sinless one, O thou foremost of the Kuru race, I will grant thee whatever thou mayst ask me.'

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"Bhishma said, 'O highly blessed one, when thou who art worshipped by the three worlds hast been gratified with me and when I have obtained a sight of thy exalted self, I regard myself as already crowned with success. But, O thou foremost of virtuous persons, if I have deserved thy favour, I will tell thee my doubts and it behoveth thee to dispel them, O holy one, I have some religious doubts in respect of tirthas. Speak of those to me in detail, I desire to hear thee. O thou that resemblest a celestial himself, what is his merit, O regenerate Rishi, who goeth round the whole earth (visiting shrines). O tell me this with certainty."

"Pulastya said, 'O son, listen with attention. I will tell thee of the merit which attacheth to tirthas and which constituth the refuge of the Rishis. He whose hands and feet and mind and knowledge and asceticism and acts are under wholesome control, enjoyeth the fruits of tirthas. He who has ceased to accept gifts, he that is contented, he that is free from pride enjoys the fruits of tirthas. He that is without sin, he that acts without purpose, he that eats light, he that has his senses under control, he that is free from every sin, enjoys the fruits of tirthas. O king, he that is free from anger, he that adhereth to truth, he that is firm in vows, he that regardeth all creatures as his own self, enjoyeth the fruits of tirthas. In the Vedas the Rishis have declared in due order the sacrifices and also their fruits here and hereafter truly. O lord of earth, those sacrifices cannot be accomplished by him that is poor, for those sacrifices require various materials and diverse things in large measures. These, therefore can be performed by kings or sometimes by other men of prosperity and wealth. O lord of men, that rite, however, which men without wealth, without allies, singly, without wife and children, and destitute of means, are capable of accomplishing and the merit of which is equal unto the sacred fruits of sacrifices, I will now declare unto thee, thou best of warriors! O thou best of the Bharata race, sojourns in tirthas which are meritorious and which constitute one of the high mysteries of the Rishis, are even superior to sacrifices. He is a poor man who having gone to a tirtha hath not fasted for three nights, who hath not given away gold, and who hath not distributed kine. Indeed, one acquireth not, by the performance of the Agnishtoma and other sacrifices distinguished by large gifts, that merit which one requireth by a sojourn to a tirtha. In the world of men, there is that tirtha of the God of gods, celebrated over the three worlds by the name of Pushkara. One that sojourneth there becometh equal unto that deity. O high-souled son of the Kuru race, during the two twilights and mid-day there is the presence of hundred thousand millions of tirthas in Pushkara. The Adityas, the Vasus, the Rudras, the Sadhyas, the Maruts, the Gandharvas, and the Apsaras are ever present, O exalted one, in Pushkara. It was there, O king, that the gods, the Daityas and Brahmarshis, having performed ascetic devotions there, obtained great merit and finally attained to god-hood.'"

"Men of self-control, by even thinking mentally of Pushkara, are cleansed from their sins, and regarded in heaven. O king, the illustrious grand-sire having the lotus for his seat, had dwelt with great pleasure in this tirtha. O blessed one, it was in Pushkara that the gods with the Rishis having acquired of old great merit, finally obtained the highest success. The person who, devoted to the worship of the gods and the Pitris, batheth in this tirtha, obtaineth, it hath been said by the wise, merit that is equal to ten times that of the horse-sacrifice. Having gone to the Pushkara woods, he that feedeth even one Brahmana, becometh happy here and hereafter, O Bhishma, for that act. He that supporteth himself on vegetables and roots and fruits, may with pious regard and without disrespect, give even such fare to a Brahmana. And, O best of kings, the man of wisdom, even by such a gift, will acquire the merit of a horse-sacrifice. Those illustrious persons among Brahmanas or Kshatriyas or Vaisyas or Sudras that bathe in Pushkara are freed from the obligation of rebirth. That man in special who visits Pushkara on the full moon of the month of Karttika, acquireth ever-lasting regions in the abode of Brahma. He that thinketh with joined hands morning and evening, of the Pushkara, practically batheth, O Bharata, in every tirtha. Whether a male or a female, whatever sins one may commit since birth, are all destroyed as soon as one batheth in Pushkara. As the slayer of Madhu is the foremost of all the celestials, so is Pushkara, O king, the foremost of all tirthas. A man by residing with purity and regulated vows for twelve years in Pushkara, acquireth the merit of all the sacrifices, and goeth to the abode of Brahma. The merit of one who performeth the Agnihotra for full one hundred years, is equal to that of him who resideth for the single month of Karttika in Pushkara. There are three white hillocks and three springs known from the remotest times, we do not know why, by the name of the Pushkara. It is difficult to go to Pushkara; it is difficult to undergo ascetic austerities at Pushkara; it is difficult to give away at Pushkara; and it is difficult to live at Pushkara."

"Having dwelt for twelve nights at Pushkara with regulated diet and vows, and having walked round (the place), one must go to Jamvu-marga. One that goeth to Jamvu-marga which is resorted to by the celestials, the Rishis, and the Pitris, acquireth the merit of the horse-sacrifice and the fruition of all his wishes. The man that resideth there for five nights, hath his soul cleansed from all sins. He never sinketh into hell, but acquireth high success. Leaving Jamvu-marga one must go to Tandulikasrama. He that goeth there never sinketh into hell but ascendeth to the abode of Brahma. He that goeth to the lake of Agastya and occupieth himself with the worship of the Pitris and celestials, fasting for three nights, acquireth, O king, the fruit of the Agnishtoma. Going thither, he that liveth on vegetables or fruits acquireth the status called Kaumara. One should next proceed to the beautiful asylum of Kanwa, which is worshipped by the whole world. That sacred wood characterised by holiness, existeth, O bull of the Bharata race, from very remote times. As soon as one entereth it, he is freed from all his sins. He who with regulated diet and vows worshippeth the Pitris and the gods there, obtaineth the fruit of a sacrifice that is capable of bestowing the fruition of all one's desires. Having walked round this asylum one must then go to the spot where Yayati fell (from heaven). He that goeth thither, acquireth the merit of a horse-sacrifice. One must then go to Mahakala with regulated diet and senses subdued. And having bathed in the tirtha called Koti, one obtaineth the merit of a horse-sacrifice. A virtuous man should next proceed to the tirtha of Sthanu, the husband of Uma, known over the three worlds by the name of Bhadravata. That best of men who goeth to Bhadravata, beholdeth Isana and obtaineth the fruit of a gift of a thousand kine. And through the grace of Mahadeva, he acquireth the status of Ganapatya blessed with prosperity and peace and high grace. Having arrived then at the Narmada, that river celebrated over the three worlds, and given oblations of water to the Pitris and the gods, one acquireth the fruit of the horse-sacrifice. He that goeth into the Southern ocean, practising the Brahmacharya mode of life, and with senses subdued, acquireth the fruit of the Agnishtoma sacrifice and ascendeth to heaven. Having arrived at Charmanwati, with regulated diet and senses subdued, one acquireth, at the command of Rantideva, the merit of the Agnishtoma sacrifice. One must then go, O virtuous chief of warriors, to Arvuda, the son of Himavat, where there was a hole through the earth in days of yore. There is the asylum of Vasistha, celebrated over the three worlds. Having resided for one night, one obtaineth the merit of the gift of a thousand kine. He that, leading a Brahmacharya mode of life batheth in the tirtha called Pinga, obtaineth, O tiger among kings, the merit of the gift of a hundred Kapila kine. One must next go, O king, to that excellent tirtha called Prabhasa. There Hutasana is always present in his own person. He, the friend of Pavana, O hero, is the mouth of all the gods. The man that with subdued and sanctified soul batheth in that tirtha, obtaineth merit greater than that of the Agnishtoma or Atiratra sacrifices. Proceeding next to the spot where the Saraswati mingleth with the sea, one obtaineth the fruit of the gift of a thousand kine and heaven also besides, O bull of the Bharata race, blazing forth for all time like Agni himself. He that with subdued soul batheth in the tirtha of the king of waters, and giveth oblations of water unto the Pitris and the gods, living there for three nights, blazeth forth like the Moon, and obtaineth also the fruit of the horse-sacrifice. One should next proceed, O best of the Bharata, unto the tirtha known by the name of Varadana, where (the Rishi) Durvasa had given a boon unto Vishnu. A man by bathing in Varadana obtaineth the fruit of the gift of a thousand kine. One should next proceed with subdued senses and regulated diet to Dwaravati, where by bathing in Pindaraka, one obtaineth the fruit of the gift of gold in abundance. O blessed one, it is wonderful to relate that in that tirtha, to this day, coins with the mark of the lotus and lotuses also with the mark of the trident, are seen. O represser of heroes! And O bull among men, the presence of Mahadeva is there. Arriving then, O Bharata, at the spot where the Sindhu mingleth with the sea, one should with subdued soul bathe in that tirtha of Varuna. And bathing there and giving oblations of water to the Pitris, the Rishis, and the gods one acquireth, O bull of the Bharata race, the region of Varuna, and blazeth forth in effulgence of his own. Men of wisdom say that, by worshipping the god known by the name of Shankukarneswara, one acquireth ten times the merit of the horse-sacrifice. O bull of the Bharata race, having walked round that tirtha, one should, O thou foremost of the Kurus, go to that tirtha celebrated over the three worlds and known by the name of Drimi. That tirtha cleanseth from every sin, and it is there that the gods including Brahma worship Maheswara. Having bathed there and worshipped Rudra surrounded by the other gods, one is freed from all sins since birth. It was there, O best of men, that Drimi was adored by all the gods. Bathing there, O best of men, one obtaineth the fruit of the horse-sacrifice. O thou of great intelligence, Vishnu the creator of the universe, after slaying the Daityas and Danavas, went thither to purify himself. O virtuous one, one should next proceed to Vasudhara adored by all. The moment one arrives at that tirtha, one acquireth the fruit of the horse-sacrifice. And, O thou best of the Kurus, by bathing there with subdued soul and rapt attention, and giving oblations of water unto the gods and the Pitris one ascendeth unto the region of Vishnu and is adored there. In that tirtha, O bull of the Bharata race, there is a sacred lake of the Vasus. By bathing there and drinking of its water, one becometh regarded of the Vasus. There is a celebrated tirtha of the name of Sindhuttama, which destroyeth every sin. O best of men, by bathing there, one acquireth the fruit of the gift of gold in abundance. By arriving at Bhadratunga with sanctified soul and purity of conduct, one acquireth the region of Brahma and a high state of blessedness. There is then the tirtha of the Kumarikas of Indra, that is much resorted to by the Siddhas. O best of men, by bathing there, one obtaineth the region of Indra. In Kumarika there is another tirtha called Renuka, which is also resorted to by the Siddhas. A Brahmana by bathing there would become as bright as the Moon. Proceeding next to the tirtha called the Panchananda, with subdued sense and regulated diet, one obtaineth the fruit of the five sacrifices that have been mentioned one after another in the scriptures. Then, O king, one should go to the excellent region of Bhima. O best of the Bharatas by bathing in the tirtha there, that is called Yoni, a man (in his next birth) becometh, O king, the son of a goddess, bearing ear-rings decked with pearls, and obtaineth also the merit of the gift of a hundred thousand kine. Proceeding next to Srikunda, celebrated over the three worlds and worshipping the grandsire, one obtaineth the fruit of the gift of a thousand kine. O virtuous one, one should then go to the excellent tirtha called Vimala, where to this day may be seen fishes of golden and silver hues. By bathing there, one soon acquireth the region of Vasava, and his soul being cleansed from every sin, he attaineth to a high state of blessedness. Proceeding next to Vitasta and giving oblations of water unto the Pitris and the gods, a man, O Bharata, obtaineth the fruit of the Vajapeya sacrifice. That sin-destroying tirtha known by the name of Vitasta, is situate in the country of the Kasmiras and is the abode of the Naga Takshaka. Bathing there, a man certainly obtaineth the fruit of the Vajapeya sacrifice, and his soul cleansed from every sin, he attaineth to a high state of blessedness. One should next proceed to Vadava celebrated over the three worlds. Bathing there with due rites in the evening, one should offer rice boiled in butter and milk, according to the best of his might, unto the deity of seven flames. Men of wisdom say that a gift made here in honour of the Pitris, becometh inexhaustible. The Rishis, the Pitris, the gods, the Gandharvas, several tribes of Apsaras, the Guhyakas, the Kinnaras, the Yakshas, the Siddhas, the Vidhyadharas, the Rakshasas, Daityas, Rudras, and Brahma himself, O king, having with subdued senses, accepted a course of austerities for a thousand years in order to move Vishnu to grace, cooked rice in milk and butter and gratified Kesava with oblations, each offered with seven Riks. And, O king, the gratified Kesava thereupon conferred on them the eight-fold attributes called Aiswarya and other objects that they desired. And having bestowed upon them these, that god disappeared in their sight like lightning in the clouds. And it is for this, O Bharata, that that tirtha became known by the name of Saptacharu, and if one offereth Charu there to the seven flamed deity, he obtaineth merit superior to that of the gift of a hundred thousand kine, to that of a hundred Rajasuya sacrifices, as also of a hundred horse-sacrifices. Leaving Vadava, O king, one should then proceed to Raudrapada, and beholding Mahadeva there one obtaineth the merit of the horse-sacrifice. Proceeding then, with subdued soul and leading a Brahmacharya mode of life, to Manimat, and residing there for one night, one acquireth, O king, the merit of the Agnishtoma sacrifice. One should then go, O king, to Devika celebrated over the whole world. It was there, O bull of Bharata race, that, as heard by us, the Brahmanas first sprang into existence. There also is the region of the holder of the trident--a region that is celebrated over the world. Having bathed in Devika and worshipped Maheswara by offering him, to the best of one's might, rice boiled in milk and butter, a man obtaineth, O bull of the Bharata race, the merit of a sacrifice that is capable of filling every desire. There also is another tirtha of Rudra called Kamakhya, which is much resorted to by the gods. Bathing there, a man speedily obtaineth success. By touching also the water of Yajana. Brahmavaluka, and Pushpamva, one becometh free from sorrow in after life. The learned have said that the sacred tirtha of Devika, the resort of the gods and the Rishis, is five Yojanas in length and half a Yojana in breadth. One should then, in due order, proceed, O king, to Dirghasatra. There the gods with Brahma at their head, the Siddhas, and the greatest Rishis, with regulated vows and the recitation and acceptance of the preliminary pledge, perform the long-extending sacrifice. O king, by going only to Dirghasatra, O represser of foes, one obtaineth merit that is superior, O Bharata, to that of the Rajasuya or the horse-sacrifice. One should next proceed with subdued senses and regulated diet to Vinasana, where Saraswati disappearing on the breast of Meru, re-appeareth at Chamasa, Shivodbheda and Nagadbheda. Bathing in Chamasadbheda, one obtaineth the merit of the Agnishtoma sacrifice. Bathing in Shivodbheda, one acquireth the merit of the gift of a thousand kine. And bathing in Nagodbheda, one obtaineth the region

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of the Nagas. One should proceed, next, to the inaccessible tirtha of Shasayana, where the cranes, O Bharata, disappearing in the form of sasas, re-appear every year in the month of Karttika, and bathe, O blessed chief of the Bharata race, in the Sarsawati. Bathing there, O tiger among men, one blazeth forth like the Moon, and obtaineth, O bull of the Bharata race, the merit of the gift of a thousand kine. One should next proceed, O thou of the Kuru race, to Kumarakoti, with subdued senses, and bathing there, worship the gods and the Puris. By doing this, one obtaineth the merit of the gift of ten thousand kine, and raiseth all his ancestors to higher regions. One should next, O virtuous one, proceed with subdued soul to Rudrakoti, where in olden days, O king, ten millions of Munis had assembled. And, O king, filled with great joy at the prospect of beholding Mahadeva, the Rishis assembled there, each saying, 'I will first behold the god! I will first behold the god!' And, O king, in order to prevent disputes amongst those Rishis of subdued souls, the Lord of Yoga, by the help of his Yoga power, multiplied himself into ten million forms, and stood before every one of them. And every one of these Rishis said, 'I have seen him first!' And gratified, O king, with the deep devotion of those Munis of subdued souls, Mahadeva granted them a boon, saying, 'From this day your righteousness shall grow!' And, O tiger among men, one that bathes, with a pure mind, in Rudrakoti obtaineth the merit of the horse-sacrifice and delivereth his ancestors. One should next proceed, O king, to that highly sacred and celebrated region where the Saraswati mingles with the sea. Thither, O king, the gods with Brahma at their head and Rishis with wealth of asceticism repair for adoring Kesava on the fourteenth day of the lighted fortnight of the month of Chaitra. Bathing there, O tiger among men, one obtaineth the merit of giving away gold in abundance, and his soul being cleansed from every sin, he ascendeth to the region of Brahma. It is there, O king, that the Rishis have completed many a sacrifice. By a trip to that spot one obtaineth the merit of the gifts of a thousand kine.'"

SECTION 83

"Pulastya said, 'One should next proceed, O king, to the adored Kurukshetra at sight of which all creatures are freed from their sins. He is freed from all sins who constantly sayeth, 'I will live in Kurukshetra.' The very dust of Kurukshetra, conveyed by the wind, leadeth a sinful man to a blessed course (in after-life). They that dwell in Kurukshetra which lieth to the south of the Saraswati and the north of the Drishadwati, are said to dwell in heaven. O hero, one should reside there, O thou foremost of warriors, for a month. There, O lord of earth, the gods with Brahma at their head, the Rishis, the Siddhas, the Charanas, the Gandharvas, the Apsaras, the Yakshas and the Nagas, often repair, O Bharata, to the highly sacred Brahmakshetra. O foremost of warriors, the sins of one that desireth to repair to Kurukshetra even mentally are all destroyed, and he finally goeth into the region of Brahma. O son of the Kuru race, by repairing to Kurukshetra in a pious frame of mind, one obtaineth the fruit of the Rajasuya and horse sacrifices. By saluting next the Yaksha called Mankanaka, that mighty gate-keeper (of Kuvera), cue obtaineth the fruit of giving away a thousand kine. O virtuous king, one should next repair to the excellent region of Vishnu, where Hari is always present. Bathing there and bowing down unto Hari, the Creator of the three worlds, one obtaineth the fruit of the horse-sacrifice and repaireth to the abode of Vishnu. One should next repair to Pariplava, that tirtha celebrated over the three worlds, and (bathing there), O Bharata, one obtaineth merit that is greater than that of the Agnishtoma and the Atiratra sacrifices. Repairing next to the tirtha called Prithivi, one obtaineth the fruit of the gift of a thousand kine. The pilgrim should next, O king, proceed to Shalukini and bathing there in the Dasaswamedha one obtaineth the merit of ten horse-sacrifices. Proceeding next to Sarpadevi, that excellent tirtha of the Nagas, one obtaineth the merit of the Agnishtoma sacrifice and attaineth to the region of the Nagas. O virtuous one, one should next proceed to Tarantuka, the gatekeeper, and residing there for one night one obtaineth the merit of giving away a thousand kine. Proceeding next with subdued senses and regulated diet to Panchananda and bathing in the tirtha there, called Koti, one obtaineth the fruit of the horse-sacrifice. Proceeding then to the tirtha of the twin Aswins one obtaineth personal beauty. O virtuous one, one should next proceed to the excellent tirtha called Varaha, where Vishnu formerly stood in the form of a boar. Bathing there one obtaineth, O foremost of men, the merit of the horse-sacrifice. One should next, O king, repair to the tirtha called Sama in Jayanti. Bathing there one obtaineth the merit of Rajasuya sacrifice. By bathing in Ekahansa, a man obtaineth the merit of giving away a thousand kine. O king, a pilgrim repairing to Kritasaucha obtaineth the lotus-eyed deity (Vishnu) and perfect purity of soul. One should next proceed to Munjavata, that spot sacred to the illustrious Sthanu. Residing there without food for one night, one obtaineth the status called Ganapatya. There, O king, is the celebrated tirtha called Yakshini. O king, repairing to that tirtha and bathing there, one obtaineth fruition of all his desires. O bull of the Bharata race, that tirtha is regarded as the gate of Kurukshetra. The pilgrim should with concentrated soul, walk round it. Equal unto the Pushkaras, it was created by the high-souled Rama, the son of Jamadagni. Bathing there and worshipping the Pitris and the gods, one obtaineth, O king, the merit of the horse-sacrifice and becometh successful in everything. The pilgrim should next repair with concentrated soul to the Rama-hrada. There, O king, the heroic Rama of resplendent energy, exterminating the Kshatriyas by his might, dug five lakes and filled them, O tiger among men, with the blood of his victims, as heard by us. And having filled those lakes with Kshatriya blood, Rama offered oblations of blood to his sires and grandsires. Gratified (with the oblations) those Rishis then addressed Rama and said, 'O Rama, O Rama, O thou of great good fortune, we have been gratified with thee, O thou of the Bhrigu race, for this thy regard for the Pitris, and thy prowess, O exalted one! Blessed be thou and ask thou the boon thou choosest. What is that thou desirest, O thou of great splendour!' Thus addressed (by them), Rama, that foremost of smiters, said with joined hands these words unto the Pitris, stationed in the firmament, 'If ye have been gratified with me, if I have deserved your favour, I desire this favour of the Pitris, viz., that I may have pleasure again in ascetic austerities. Let me also, through your power, be freed from the sin I have committed by exterminating, from wrath, the Kshatriya race. Let also my lakes become tirthas celebrated over the world. The Pitris, hearing these blessed words of Rama, were highly gratified, and filled with joy they answered him saying, 'Let thy asceticism increase in consequence of thy regard for the Pitris. Thou hast exterminated the Kshatriyas from wrath. Freed art thou already from that sin, for they have perished as a consequence of their own misdeeds. Without doubt, these lakes of thine will become tirthas. And if one, bathing in these lakes, offereth oblations of the water thereof to the Pitris, the latter gratified with him will grant him desire, difficult of fulfilment in the world as also eternal heaven.' O king, having granted him these boons, the Pitris joyfully saluted Rama of the Bhrigu race and disappeared there and then. It was thus that the lakes of the illustrious Rama of the Bhrigu race became sacred. Leading a Brahmacharya mode of life and observing sacred vows, one should bathe in the lakes of Rama. Bathing therein and worshipping Rama, one obtaineth, O king, the merit of gift of gold in abundance. Proceeding next, O son of the Kuru race, to Vansamulaka, a pilgrim by bathing there, raiseth, O king, his own race. O best of the Bharatas, arriving next at the tirtha called Kayasodhana, and bathing there, one purifieth, without doubt, his body, and proceeded with purified body to the blessed region of unrivalled excellence. One should next repair, O virtuous one, to that tirtha, celebrated over the three worlds, called Lokoddara, where formerly Vishnu of great prowess had created the worlds. Arriving at that tirtha which is adored by the three worlds one earneth, O king, by bathing there, numerous worlds for himself. Repairing next with subdued soul to the tirtha called Sree, one acquires, by bathing there and worshipping the Pitris and the gods, high prosperity. Leading a Brahmacharya mode of life and with concentrated soul, one should proceed next to the tirtha called Kapila. Bathing there and worshipping one's own Pitris and the gods, a man earneth the fruit of the gift of a thousand Kapila kine. Repairing next to the tirtha called Surya and bathing there with subdued soul and worshipping the Pitris and the gods, fasting all the while, one obtaineth the fruit of the Agnishtoma sacrifice and goeth (finally) to the region of the Sun. The pilgrim by proceeding next to Gobhavana and bathing there obtaineth the merit of the gift of a thousand kine. O son of the Kuru race, a pilgrim by repairing then to the tirtha called Shankhini and bathing in the Devi-tirtha that is there, obtaineth high prowess. O king, one should then proceed to the tirtha called Tarandaka situated in the Saraswati and belonging to the illustrious chief of the Yakshas who is one of the gate-keepers (of Kuvera). O king, bathing there one obtaineth the fruit of the Agnishtoma sacrifice. O virtuous king, one should next repair to the tirtha called Brahmavarta. Bathing in Brahmavarta, one ascendeth to the abode of Brahma. O king, one should then repair to the excellent tirtha called Sutirtha. There the Pitris are ever present along with the gods. One should bathe there and worship the Pitris and the gods. By so doing, one obtaineth the merit of the horse-sacrifice and goeth (finally) into the region of the Pitris. It is for this, O virtuous one, that Sutirtha situate in Amvumati is regarded as so excellent. And, O thou best of the Bharata race, having bathed in the tirtha of Kasiswara, one becometh freed from all diseases and is adored in the abode of Brahma. There, in that tirtha, is another called Matri. One that bathes in Matri tirtha hath a large progeny and obtaineth, O king, great prosperity. One should next proceed with subdued sense and regulated diet to the tirtha called Shitavana. And, O great king, it hath been seen that one merit of that tirtha which rarely belongs to any other, is that one only going thither obtaineth holiness. By casting off his hair in that tirtha one acquireth, O Bharata, great sanctity. There, in that tirtha, is another called Shwavillomapaha, where, O tiger among men, and chief of the Bharata race, learned Brahmanas that go to tirthas obtain great satisfaction by a dip into its waters. Good Brahmanas, O king, by casting off their hair in that tirtha acquire holiness by Pranayama and finally attain to a high state. There, O king, in that tirtha is also another called Dasaswamedhika. Bathing there, O tiger among men, one attains to a high state. One should next proceed, O king, to the celebrated tirtha called Manusha where, O king, a number of black antelopes afflicted by the hunter's arrows, plunging into its waters, were transformed into human beings. Bathing in that tirtha, leading a Brahmacharya mode of life and with concentrated soul, a man becomes freed from all his sins and is adored in heaven. Distant by a krosa, O king, to the east of Manusha there is a river celebrated by the name of Apaga that is restored to by the Siddhas. The man that offereth there the syamaka grain in honour of the gods and the Pitris acquireth great religious merit. And if one Brahmana is fed there, it becomes equivalent to feeding ten millions of Brahmanas. Having bathed in that tirtha and worshipped the gods and the Pitris and resided there for one night, a man obtaineth the merit of the Agnishtoma sacrifice. One should then repair, O king, to that excellent region of Brahma which, O Bharata, is known on earth by the name of Brahmodumvara. Bathing in the tank of the seven Rishis that is there, O bull among men, with pure mind and subdued soul, as also in the tirtha called Kedara of the high-souled Kapila, and beholding Brahma who is there, one's soul being purified from all sins, one goeth to the abode of Brahma. Proceeding next to the inaccessible tirtha called Kedara of Kapila, and burning one's sins there by ascetic penances, one acquireth the power of disappearance at will. One should next proceed, O king, to the celebrated tirtha called Saraka, and beholding Mahadeva there on the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight, one obtaineth all his wishes and goeth also into heaven. O son of the Kuru race, in Saraka and Rudrakoti as also in the well and the lakes that are there, thirty millions of tirthas are present. There in that tirtha, O chief of the Bharatas, is another called Ilaspada. Bathing there and worshipping the gods and the Pitris, one never sinketh into hell but obtaineth the fruit of the Vajapeya sacrifice. Repairing next to Kindana and Kinjapya, one acquireth, O Bharata, the merit of giving away in measureless abundance and the infinite recitation of prayers. Repairing next to the tirtha called Kalasi and bathing there devoutly and with the senses under control, a man obtaineth the fruit of the Agnishtoma sacrifice. To the east of Saraka, O chief of the Kurus, there is an auspicious tirtha known by the name of Anajanma, of the high-souled Narada. He that bathes there, O Bharata, obtaineth, after death, at the command of Narada various unrivalled regions. One should next proceed, on the tenth day of the lighted fortnight, to the tirtha called Pundarika. Bathing there, O king, one obtaineth the merit of the Pundarika sacrifice. One should next proceed to the tirtha called Tripishtapa that is known over the three worlds. There in that tirtha is the sacred and sin-destroying river called Vaitarani. Bathing there and adoring the god known by the mark of the bull and holding the trident in his hand, one's soul being purified from every sin one attaineth to the highest state. One should next proceed, O king, to the excellent tirtha called Phalakivana. There in that tirtha the gods, O monarch, having been present, performed their ascetic austerities extending for many thousand years. One should then proceed to the Dhrishadwati. Bathing there and worshipping the gods, one obtaineth, O Bharata, merit that is superior to that of both the Agnishtoma and the Atiratra sacrifices. O chief of the Bharatas, bathing in that tirtha called Sarvadeva, a man obtaineth, O king, the merit of giving away a thousand kine. Bathing next in the tirtha called Panikhata and worshipping all the gods, a man obtaineth merit that is superior to that of both the Agnishtoma and the Atiratra sacrifices, besides acquiring that of the Rajasuya sacrifice and finally going into the region of the Rishis. One should next proceed, O virtuous one, to that excellent tirtha called Misraka. There, O tiger among kings, it hath been heard by us that the high-souled Vyasa, for the sake of the Brahmanas, hath mixed all the tirthas. He, therefore, that bathes in Misraka really bathes in all the tirtha. One should next proceed with subdued senses and regulated diet, to the tirtha called Vyasavana. Bathing in the tirtha called Manojava that is there, one obtaineth the merit of the gift of a thousand kine. Proceeding next to the Devi tirtha that is in Madhuvati, one that bathes there and worships the gods and the Pitris obtains at the command of the Goddess the merit of the gift of a thousand kine. Proceeding with regulated diet, he that bathes in the confluence of the Kausiki and the Drishadwati, becometh free from all his sins. One should next proceed to Vyasasthali where Vyasa of great intelligence, burning with grief for his son had resolved to cast off his body but was cheered again by the gods. Proceeding to that spot of Vyasa, one obtaineth the merit of a thousand kine. O son of the Kuru race, proceeding next to the well called Kindatta, he that throweth into it a measure of sesame, is freed from all his debts and obtaineth his success. Bathing in the tirtha called Vedi, one obtaineth the merit of the gift of a thousand kine. There are two other

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celebrated tirthas called Ahas and Sudina. Bathing there, O tiger among men, one goeth to the region of the Sun. One should next proceed to the tirtha called Mrigadhuma that is celebrated throughout the three worlds. One should bathe there, O king, in Ganga. Bathing there and worshipping Mahadeva, one obtaineth the merit of the horse-sacrifice. Bathing next in the Devi tirtha one obtaineth the merit of the gift of a thousand kine. One should then proceed to Vamanaka celebrated over the three worlds. Bathing there in Vishnupada and worshipping Vamana one's soul being purified from every sin, one goeth to the abode of Vishnu. Bathing next in Kulampuna, one sanctifieth his own race. Proceeding then to the Pavana-hrada, that excellent tirtha of the Marutas, and bathing there, O king and tiger among men, one becometh adored in the region of the Wind-god. Bathing in the Amara-hrada and worshipping with devotion the chief of the celestials, one becometh adored in heaven and courseth, seated on an excellent car, in the company of the immortals. O best of great men, bathing next with due rites in the tirtha called Sali surya, of Salihotra, one obtaineth the merit of the gift of a thousand kine. O best of the Bharatas, there is a tirtha called Sreekunja in the Saraswati. Bathing there, O best of men, one obtaineth the merit of the Agnishtoma sacrifice. O son of the Kuru race, one should next repair to Naimishakunja. O king, the Rishis engaged in ascetic austerities in the woods of Naimisha had, in days of old, taking the vow of pilgrimage, gone to Kurukshetra. There, on the banks of the Saraswati, O chief of the Bharatas, a grove was made, which might serve for a resting spot for themselves, and which was highly gratifying to them. Bathing in the Saraswati there, one obtaineth the merit of the Agnishtoma sacrifice. One should next proceed, O virtuous one, to the excellent tirtha called Kanya. Bathing there one obtaineth the merit of the gift of a thousand kine. One should next proceed to the excellent tirtha of Brahma. Bathing there, a person, of the (three) inferior orders, obtaineth the status of a Brahmana, and if one be a Brahmana, his soul being purified from every sin, he attaineth to the highest state. One should then, O best of men, proceed to the excellent tirtha called Soma. Bathing there, O king, one obtaineth the region of Soma. One should next proceed, O king, to the tirtha called Saptasaraswata, where the celebrated Rishi, Mankanaka, had obtained ascetic success. O king, it hath been heard by us that in days of old Mankanaka having cut his hand with the pointed blade of the Kusa grass, there flowed from his wound vegetable juice (instead of blood). And beholding vegetable juice flow from his wound, the Rishi began to dance with wonder-expanded eyes. And as the Rishi danced, all the mobile and immobile creatures also, overwhelmed with his prowess, began to dance with him. Then, O king, the gods with Brahma at their head and Rishis endued with the wealth of asceticism moved by the act of Mankanaka, represented the matter to Mahadeva, saying, 'It behoveth thee, O god, to act in such a way that this Rishi may not dance.' Thus addressed, Mahadeva, with heart filled with joy, approached the dancing Rishi, and moved by the desire of doing good to the gods, said, 'O great Rishi, O virtuous one, why dost thou dance? O bull among Munis, what can be the reason of this thy present joy?' The Rishi answered, 'O best of Brahmanas, I am an ascetic that tread the path of virtue. Dost thou not behold, O Brahmana, that vegetable juice floweth from the wound in my hand? Filled with great joy at sight of this, I am dancing.' Addressing the Rishi blinded by emotion, the god laughingly said, 'O Brahmana, I do not wonder at this. Behold me.' Having said this, O best of men, Mahadeva, O sinless king, pressed his thumb by the tip of his own finger. And, lo, from the wound thus inflicted, there came out ashes white as snow. And beholding this, O king, that Muni became ashamed and fell at the feet of the god. And believing that there was nothing better and greater than the god Rudra, he began to adore him in these words:

"O holder of the trident, thou art the refuge of the celestials and the Asuras, of, indeed, the universe. By thee have been created the three worlds with their mobile and immobile beings. It is thou again that swallowest everything at the end of the Yuga. Thou art incapable of being known by the gods themselves, far less by me. O sinless one, the gods with Brahma at their heads are all displayed in thee. Thou art all, the Creator himself and the Ordainer of the worlds. It is by thy grace that all the gods sport without anxiety or fear. And adoring Mahadeva thus the Rishi also said, 'O god of gods, grant me thy grace, so that my asceticism may not diminish.' Then that god of cheerful soul answered the regenerate Rishi,--saying, 'Let thy asceticism, O Brahmana, increase a thousandfold through my grace. And, O great Muni, I shall dwell with thee in this thy asylum. Bathing in Saptasaraswata, they that will worship me, shall be able to attain everything here and hereafter. And, without doubt, they shall all attain to the Saraswata region in the end.' Having said this, Mahadeva disappeared then and there.

"After visiting Saraswata, one should proceed to Ausanasa celebrated over the three worlds. There, O Bharata, the gods with Brahma at their head, and Rishis endued with wealth of asceticism, and the illustrious Kartikeya, were ever present during two twilights and the mid-day, impelled by the desire of doing good to Bhargava. There in that tirtha is another called Kapalamochana, which cleanseth from every sin. O tiger among men, bathing there one is cleansed from every sin. One should then proceed to the tirtha called Agni. Bathing there, O bull among men, one obtaineth the regions of agni and raiseth his own race (from lower regions). There in that tirtha is another, O chief of the Bharatas, that belongeth to Viswamitra. Bathing there, O best of men, one obtaineth the status of a Brahmana. Proceeding next to Brahmayoni in purity of body and with subdued soul, one obtaineth, O tiger among men, by bathing there, the abode of Brahma, and sanctifieth, without doubt, his own race to the seventh generation up and down. One should next proceed, O king, to the tirtha celebrated over the three worlds, which is called Prithudaka, belonging to Kartikeya. One should bathe there and occupy oneself in the worship of the Pitris and the gods. Whatever evil hath been committed, knowingly or unknowingly, by man or woman, impelled by human motives, is all destroyed, O Bharata, by a bath in that tirtha. Bathing there one obtaineth, too, the merit of the horse-sacrifice and heaven also. The learned have said that Kurukshetra is holy; that holier than Kurukshetra is the Saraswati; that holier than the Saraswati are all the tirthas together, and that holier than all the tirthas together is Prithudaka. He that engaged in the recitation of prayers casteth off his body at Prithudaka, which is the best of all tirthas, becometh an immortal. It hath been sung by Sanatkumara and by the high-souled Vyasa, and it is in the Vedas also, that one should, O king, go to Prithudaka, with subdued soul. O son of Kuru race, there is no tirtha which is superior to Prithudaka. Without doubt, that tirtha is purifying, holy and sin-destroying. O best of men, it hath been said by learned persons that men, however sinful, by bathing in Prithudaka, go to heaven. O best of the Bharatas, there in that tirtha is another called Madhusrava. Bathing there, O king, one obtaineth the merit of giving away a thousand kine. One should then proceed, O king, to that celebrated and sacred tirtha where the Saraswati uniteth with the Aruna. One that batheth there, having fasted for three nights, is cleansed of even the sin of slaying a Brahmana, and obtaineth also merit that is superior to that of either the Agnishtoma or Atiratra sacrifice, and rescueth his race to the seventh generation up and down. There in that tirtha is another, O perpetuator of the Kuru race, that is called Ardhakila. From compassion for the Brahmanas, that tirtha was made by Darbhi in days of old. Without doubt, by vows, by investiture of the sacred, by fasts, by rites and by Mantras, one becometh a Brahmana. O bull among men, it hath been seen, however, by learned persons of old that even one destitute of rites and Mantras, by only bathing in that tirtha becometh learned and endued with the merit of vows. Darbhi had also brought hither the four oceans. O best of men, one that batheth here, never meeteth with distress hereafter and obtaineth also the merit of giving away four thousand kine. One should next repair, O virtuous one, to the tirtha called Satasahasraka. Near to this is another called Sahasraka. Both are celebrated, and one that batheth in them, obtaineth the merit of giving away a thousand kine. Fasts and gifts there multiply a thousandfold. One should next proceed, O king, to the excellent tirtha called Renuka. One should bathe there and worship the Pitris and the gods. By this, cleansed from every sin, he obtaineth the merit of the Agnishtoma sacrifice. Bathing next in the tirtha called Vimochana with passions and senses under control, one is cleansed from all the sins generated by the acceptance of gifts. With senses under control and practising the Brahmacharya mode of life, one should next repair to the woods of Panchavati. By a sojourn thither, one earneth much virtue and becometh adored in the regions of the virtuous. One should next go to the tirtha of Varuna called Taijasa, blazing in effulgence of its own. There in that tirtha is the lord of Yoga, Sthanu himself, having for his vehicle the bull. He that sojourneth there, obtaineth success by worshipping the god of gods. It was there that the gods with Brahma at their head and Rishis endued with wealth of asceticism, installed Guha as the generalissimo of the celestials. To the east of that tirtha is another, O perpetuator of Kuru race, that is called Kuru tirtha. With senses under control and leading a Brahmacharya mode of life, he that bathes in Kuru-tirtha, becometh cleansed of all his sins and obtaineth the region of Brahma. With subdued senses and regulated diet one should next proceed to Svargadwara. Sojourning thither, one obtaineth the merit of the Agnishtoma sacrifice and goeth to the abode of Brahma. The pilgrim should then, O king, proceed to the tirtha called Anaraka. Bathing there, O king, one never meeteth with distress hereafter. There, O king, Brahma himself with the other gods having Narayana at their head, is ever present, O tiger among men! And, O royal son of the Kuru race, the wife also of Rudra is present there. Beholding the goddess, one never meeteth with distress hereafter. There in that tirtha O king, is also (an image of) Visweswara, the lord of Uma. Beholding the god of gods there, one is cleansed of all his sins. Beholding also (the image of) Narayana from whose navel had sprung the lotus, one blazeth forth, O royal represser of all foes, and goeth to the abode of Vishnu. O bull among men, he that batheth in the tirthas of all the gods, is exempted from every sorrow and blazeth forth like the Moon. The pilgrim should next proceed, O king, to Swastipura. By walking around that place, one obtaineth the merit of giving away a thousand kine. Arriving next at the tirtha called Pavana, one should offer oblations to the Pitris and the gods. By this, he obtaineth, O Bharata, the merit of the Agnishtoma sacrifice. Near to that is Ganga-hrada, and another, O Bharata, called Kupa. Thirty millions of tirthas, O king, are present in that Kupa. Bathing there, O king, a person obtaineth heaven. Bathing also in the Ganga-hrada and adoring Maheswara, one obtaineth the status of Ganapatya and rescueth his own race. One should next proceed to Sthanuvata, celebrated over the three worlds. Bathing there, O king, one obtaineth heaven. One should then proceed to Vadaripachana, the asylum of Vasishtha. Having tasted there for three nights, one should eat jujubes. He that liveth on jujubes for twelve years, and he that fasteth at the tirtha for three nights, acquireth merit that is eternal. Arriving then at Indramarga, O king, and fasting there for a day and night the pilgrim becometh adored in the abode of Indra. Arriving next at the tirtha called Ekaratra, a person that stayeth there for one night, with regulated vows and refraining from untruth, becometh adored in the abode of Brahma. One should next go, O king, to the asylum of Aditya--that illustrious god who is a mass of effulgence. Bathing in that tirtha celebrated over three worlds, and worshipping the god of light, one goeth to the region of Aditya and rescueth his own race. The pilgrim then, O king, bathing in the tirtha of Soma, obtaineth, without doubt, the region of Soma. One should next proceed, O virtuous one, to the most sacred tirtha of the illustrious Dadhicha, that sanctifying tirtha which is celebrated over the whole world. It was here that Angiras, that ocean of ascetic austerities belonging to the Saraswata race, was born, Bathing in that tirtha, one obtaineth the merit of the horse-sacrifice, and without doubt, gaineth also residence in the legion of Saraswati. With subdued senses and leading a Brahmacharya mode of life, one should next proceed to Kanyasrama. Residing there for three nights, O king, with subdued senses and regulated diet, one obtaineth a hundred celestial damsels and goeth also to the abode of Brahma. One should next, O virtuous one, proceed to the tirtha called Sannihati. Sojourning thither the gods with Brahma at their head and Rishis endued with wealth of asceticism earn much virtue. Bathing in the Saraswati during a solar eclipse, one obtaineth the merit of a hundred horse-sacrifices, and any sacrifice that one may perform there produceth merit that is eternal. Whatever tirthas exist on earth or in the firmament, all the rivers, lakes, smaller lakes, springs, tanks, large and small, and spots sacred to particular gods, without doubt, all come, O tiger among men, month after month, and mingle with Sannihati, O king of men! And it is because that all other tirthas are united together here, that this tirtha is so called. Bathing there and drinking of its water, one becometh adored in heaven. Listen now, O king, to the merit acquired by that mortal who performeth a Sraddha on the day of the new moon during a solar eclipse. The person that performeth a Sraddha there, after having bathed in that tirtha, obtaineth the merit that one earneth by properly celebrating a thousand horse-sacrifices. Whatever sins a man or woman committeth, are, without doubt, all destroyed as soon as one batheth in that tirtha. Bathing there one also ascendeth to the abode of Brahma on the lotus-coloured tar. Bathing next in Koti-tirtha, after having worshipped the Yaksha doorkeeper, Machakruka, one obtaineth the merit of giving away gold in abundance. Near to this, O best of the Bharatas, is a tirtha called Gangahrada. One should bathe there, O virtuous one, with subdued soul and leading a Brahmacharya mode of life. By this, one obtaineth merit that is greater than that of a Rajasuya and horse-sacrifices. The tirtha called Naimisha is productive of good on earth. Pushkara is productive of good in the regions of the firmament; Kurukshetra, however, is productive of good in respect of all the three worlds. Even the dust of Kurukshetra, carried by the wind, leadeth sinful men to a highly blessed state. They that reside in Kurukshetra, which lieth to the north of the Drishadwati and the south of the Saraswati, really reside in heaven. 'I will go to Kurukshetra,' 'I will dwell in Kurukshetra,' he that uttereth those words even once, becometh cleansed of all sins. The sacred Kurukshetra which is worshipped by Brahmarshis, is regarded as the sacrificial altar of the celestials. Those mortals that dwell there, have nothing to grieve for at any time. That which lieth between Tarantuka and Arantuka and the lakes of Rama and Machakruka is Kurukshetra. It is also called Samantapanchaka and is said to be the northern sacrificial altar of the Grandsire.'

SECTION 84

"Pulastya said, 'Then, O great king, one should proceed to the excellent tirtha of Dharma, where the illustrious god of justice had practised highly meritorious austerities. And it is for this that he made the spot a sacred tirtha and rendered it celebrated by his own name. Bathing there, O king, a virtuous man with concentrated soul certainly sanctifieth his family to

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the seventh generation. One should then repair, O king, to the excellent Jnanapavana. Sojourning thither, one obtaineth the merit of the Agnishtoma sacrifice, and goeth to the region of the Munis. Then, O monarch, a man should repair to the Saugandhika-vana. There dwell the celestials with Brahma at their head, Rishis endued with wealth of asceticism, the Siddhas, the Charanas, the Gandharvas, the Kinnaras and the serpents. As soon as one entereth these woods, he is cleansed of all his sins. Then, O king, should one repair to the sacred goddess Saraswati, known there as the goddess Plaksha, that best of streams and foremost of rivers. There should one bathe in the water issuing from an ant-hill. (Bathing there and) worshipping the Pitris and the gods, one obtaineth the merit of the horse-sacrifice. There existeth a rare tirtha called Isanadhyushita, lying from the ant-hill at the distance of six throws of a heavy stick. As seen in the Puranas, O tiger among men, bathing there a man obtaineth the merit of giving away a thousand Kapila kine and of the horse-sacrifice. Journeying next, O foremost of men, to Sugandha, and Satakumbha and Panchayaksha, a man becometh adored in heaven. Repairing to another tirtha there called Trisulakhata, one should bathe and set himself to worship the Pitris and the gods. Doing so, without doubt, one obtaineth, after death, the status of Ganapatya. One should next proceed, O king, to the excellent spot of the Goddess celebrated over the three worlds by the name of Sakamvari. There, for the space of a thousand celestial years, she of excellent vows, month after month, had subsisted upon herbs, O king of men! And attracted by their reverence for the Goddess, many Rishis with wealth of asceticism, came thither, O Bharata. and were entertained by her with herbs. And it is for this that they bestowed on her the name of Sakamvari. O Bharata, the man who arriveth at Sakamvari, with rapt attention and leading a Brahmacharya mode of life and passeth three nights there in purity and subsisting on herbs alone, obtaineth, at the will of the goddess, the merit of him that liveth upon herbs for twelve years. Then should one proceed to the tirtha called Suvarna, famed through the three worlds. There in days of old, Vishnu had paid his adorations to Rudra, for his grace, and obtaineth also many boons difficult of acquisition even by the gods. And, O Bharata, the gratified destroyer of Tripura said, 'O Krishna, thou shalt, without doubt, be much beloved in the world, and the foremost of everything in the universe.' Repairing thither, O king, and worshipping the deity having the bull for his mark, one obtaineth the merit of the horse-sacrifice as also the status of Ganapatya. One should next proceed to the tirtha of Dhumavati. Fasting there for three nights, one obtaineth, without doubt, all the wishes cherished by him. To the southern half of this spot of the Goddess, there is, O king, a tirtha called Rathavarta. One should, O virtuous one, go up to that place, with devout heart, and having his senses under control. By this, through the grace of Mahadeva, one attaineth to an exalted state. After walking round the place, one should, O bull of the Bharata race, proceed to the tirtha named Dhara, which, O thou of great wisdom, washeth off all sins. Bathing there, O tiger among men, a man is freed from every sorrow. One should then repair, O virtuous one, after bowing to the great mountain (Himavat), to the source of the Ganges, which is, without doubt, like the gate of heaven. There should one, with concentrated soul, bathe in the tirtha called Koti. By this, one obtaineth the merit of the Pundarika sacrifice, and delivereth his race. Residing one night there, one acquireth the merit of giving away a thousand kine. By offering oblations of water duly to the gods and the Pitris, at Saptaganga, Triganga and Sakravarta, (which are all there), becometh adored in the regions of the virtuous. Bathing next at Kanakhala, and fasting there for three nights, a person reapeth the merit of the horse-sacrifice and goeth to heaven. Then O lord of men, the pilgrim should repair to Kapilavata. Fasting for one night there, he obtaineth the merit of giving away a thousand kine. O king, there is a tirtha of the illustrious Kapila, king of the Nagas, that is celebrated, O thou best of Kurus, over all the worlds. Bathing there at the Nagatirtha one obtaineth, O king, the merit of giving away a thousand Kapila kine. One should next repair to the excellent tirtha of Santanu, called Lalitika. Bathing there, O king, one never sinketh into distress (hereafter). The man that bathes at the confluence of the Ganga and the Yamuna, obtains the merit of ten horse-sacrifices, and also rescues his race. One should next, O king, go to Sugandha, celebrated over the world. By this, cleansed of every sin, he becometh adored in the abode of Brahma. Then, O lord of men, the pilgrim should repair to Rudravarta. Bathing there, one ascendeth to heaven. Bathing at the confluence of the Ganga and the Saraswati, a person obtaineth the merit of the horse-sacrifice and also ascendeth to heaven. Proceeding next to Bhadrakarneswara and worshipping the gods duly, one, without sinking into distress, becometh adored in heaven. Then, O lord of men, the pilgrim should proceed to the tirtha called Kuvjamraka. By this he obtaineth the merit of giving away a thousand kine, and heaven also. Then, O king, the pilgrim should go to the Arundhativata. Proceeding thither with concentrated soul and practising the Brahmacharya vows, one that batheth in Samudraka and fasteth for three nights, obtaineth the merit of the horse-sacrifice and of giving away a thousand kine, and also rescueth his race. One should next proceed to Brahmavarta, with concentrated soul and practising the Brahmacharya vows. By this, one obtaineth the merit of the horse-sacrifice, and goeth to the region of Soma. The man that proceedeth to the Yamuna-prabhava, (the source of the Yamuna) and batheth there, obtaineth the merit of the horse-sacrifice and is worshipped in heaven. Arriving at Darvisankramana, that tirtha which is worshipped of the three worlds, a person obtaineth the merit of the horse-sacrifice and goeth to heaven. Repairing next to Sindhu-prabhava (the source of the Indus) which is worshipped by Siddhas and Gandharvas, and staying there for five nights, one obtaineth the merit of giving away gold in abundance. Proceeding next to the inaccessible tirtha called Vedi, one obtaineth the merit of the horse-sacrifice and ascendeth to heaven. Then, O Bharata, should one proceed to Rishikulya and Vasishtha. By visiting the latter, all orders attain to Brahmanhood. Repairing to Rishikulya and bathing there, and living a month upon herbs, and worshipping the gods and Pitris, one is cleansed of all his sins, and obtaineth the region of the Rishis. Proceeding next to Bhrigutunga a person acquireth the merit of the horse-sacrifice. Repairing then to Vipramoksha, one is freed from every sin. Proceeding then to the tirtha of Krittika and Magha, one, O Bharata, obtaineth the merit superior to that of the Agnishtoma and Atiratha sacrifices. The man who, repairing to the excellent tirtha called Vidya, batheth there in the evening, obtaineth proficiency in every kind of knowledge. One should next reside for one night at Mahasrama capable of destroying every sin, taking a single meal. By this, one obtains many auspicious regions, and delivers ten preceding and ten succeeding generations of his race. Dwelling next for a month of Mahalaya, and fasting there for three nights, one's soul is cleansed of all sins and one acquires the merit of giving away gold in abundance. Proceeding next to Vetasika worshipped by the Grandsire, one obtaineth the merit of the horse-sacrifice and the state of Usanas. Going next to the tirtha called Sundarika, worshipped by the Siddhas, one obtaineth personal beauty as witnessed by the ancients. Proceeding next to Brahmani with subdued senses and observing the Brahmacharya vow, a person ascendeth to the region of Brahma on a lotus-hued car. One should repair next to the sacred Naimisha, worshipped by the Siddhas. There dwelleth for aye Brahma with the gods. By only purposing to go to Naimisha, half one's sins are destroyed; by entering it, one is cleansed of all his sins. The pilgrim of subdued senses should stay at Naimisha for a month; for, O Bharata, all the tirthas of the earth are at Naimisha. Bathing there, with restrained senses and regulated fare, one obtains, O Bharata, the merit of the cow-sacrifice, and also sanctifies, O best of the Bharatas, his race for seven generations both upwards and downwards. He who renounceth his life at Naimisha by fasting, enjoyeth happiness in the heavenly regions. Even this is the opinion of the wise. O foremost of kings, Naimisha is ever sacred and holy. Proceeding next to Gangodbheda and fasting there for three nights, a man obtaineth the merit of the Vajapeya sacrifice, and becometh like unto Brahma himself. Journeying to the Saraswati, one should offer oblations unto the gods and the Pitris. By this, one certainly enjoyeth bliss in the regions called Saraswata. Then should one wend to Vahuda, with subdued soul and observing the Brahmacharya vow. Residing there for one night, one becometh adored in heaven, and obtaineth also, O Kaurava, the merit of the Devasatra sacrifice. Then should one repair to the holy Kshiravati, frequented by holier men. By worshipping the gods and the Pitris there, one obtains the merit of the Vajapeya sacrifice. Proceeding next to Vimalasoka, with subdued soul and observing the Brahmacharya vow, and residing there for one night, one is adored in heaven. One should next proceed to the excellent Gopratra in the Sarayu, whence Rama, O king, with all his attendants and animals, renouncing his body, ascended to heaven in consequence of the efficacy of the tirtha alone. Bathing in that tirtha, O Bharata, one's soul, through Rama's grace, and by virtue of his own deeds, being cleansed of all sins, one becometh adored in heaven. O Bharata! Proceeding next, O son of the Kuru race, to the Rama-tirtha on the Gomati, and bathing there, one obtaineth the merit of the horse-sacrifice, and sanctifieth also his own race. There, O bull of the Bharata race, is another tirtha called Satasahasrika. Bathing there, with restrained senses and regulated diet, a person reapeth, O bull of Bharata race, the merit of giving away a thousand kine. Then should one, O king, go to the unrivalled tirtha called Bhartristhana. By this, a person obtaineth the merit of the horse-sacrifice. Bathing next in the tirtha called Koti, and worshipping Kartikeya, a man reapeth, O king, the merit of giving away a thousand kine, and acquireth great energy. Proceeding next to Varanasi, and worshipping the god having the bull for his mark, after a bath in the Kapilahrada, one obtaineth the merit of the Rajasuya sacrifice. Repairing then, O perpetuator of the Kuru race, to the tirtha called Avimukta, and beholding there the god of gods, the pilgrim, from such sight alone, is immediately cleansed of even the sin of slaying a Brahmana. By renouncing one's life there, one obtaineth deliverance. Arriving next, O king, at the rare tirtha called Markandeya celebrated over the world and situated at the confluence of the Ganges, a person obtaineth the merit of Agnishtoma sacrifice, and delivereth his race. Sojourning next to Gaya, with subdued senses and observing the Brahmacharya vow, one obtaineth the merit of the horse-sacrifice and also rescueth his race. There in that tirtha is the Akshaya-vata, celebrated over the three worlds. Whatever is offered there to the Pitris is said to become inexhaustible. Bathing there at the Mahanadi, and offering oblations to the gods and the Pitris, a man acquireth eternal regions, and also rescueth his race. Proceeding then to Brahma-sara that is adorned by the woods of Dharma, and passing one night there, a man attaineth to the region of Brahma. In that lake, Brahma had raised a sacrificial pillar. By walking round this pillar, a person acquireth the merit of the Vajapeya sacrifice. One should next, O mighty monarch, go to Denuka celebrated over the world. Staying there for one night and giving away sesame and kine, one's soul being cleansed from every sin, one ascendeth, without doubt to the region of Soma. There, O king, on the mountains, the cow called Kapila used to range with her calf. There is little doubt, of this, O Bharata, the hoof-marks, of that cow and her calf are seen there to this day. By bathing in those hoof-prints, O foremost of monarchs, whatever sin a man may have incurred is, O Bharata, washed away. Then should one go to Gridhravata, the spot consecrated to the trident-bearing god. Approaching the deity having the bull for his mark one should rub himself with ashes. If a Brahmana, he obtains the merit of observing the twelve year's vow and if belonging to any of the other orders, he is freed from all his sins. One should next proceed to the Udyanta mountains, resounding with melodious notes. There, O bull of the Bharata race, is still seen the foot-print of Savitri. The Brahmana of rigid vows, who sayeth his morning, noon and evening prayers there, obtaineth the merit of performing that service for twelve years. There, O bull of the Bharata race, is the famous Yonidwara. Repairing thither, a person becometh exempted from the pain of rebirth. The person that stayeth at Gaya during both the dark and lighted fortnights, certainly sanctifieth, O king, his own race up and down to the seventh generation. One should wish for many sons so that even one may go to Gaya, or celebrate the horse-sacrifice, or offer a nila bull. Then, O king, the pilgrim should proceed to Phalgu. By this, he obtains the merit of horse-sacrifice, and acquires great success. O king, one should repair then, with subdued soul, to Dharmaprishta. There, O foremost of warriors, dwelleth Dharma for aye. Drinking of the water of a well which is there, and purifying one's self by a bath, he that offereth oblations to the gods and the Pitris is cleansed of all his sins and ascendeth to heaven. There in that tirtha is the hermitage of the great Rishi Matanga of soul under complete control. By entering that beautiful asylum capable of soothing fatigue and sorrow, one earneth the merit of the Gavayana sacrifice, and by touching (the image of) Dharma which is there, one obtaineth the fruit of the horse-sacrifice. One should next go, O king, to the excellent tirtha called Brahmasthana. Approaching Brahma, that bull among male beings, who is there, one acquireth, O mighty monarch, the merit of the Rajasuya and horse-sacrifices. The pilgrim should then repair to Rajasuya, O king of men! Bathing there, one liveth (in heaven) as happily as (the Rishi) Kakshiyan. After purifying himself, one should partake there of the offerings daily made unto the Yakshini. By this, one is freed from the sin of even slaying a Brahmana, through the Yakshini's grace. Proceeding next to Maninaga, one obtains the merit of giving away a thousand kine. O Bharata, he that eateth anything relating to the tirtha of Maninaga, if bitten by a venomous snake, doth not succumb to its poison. Residing there for one night, one is cleansed of one's sins. Then should one proceed to the favourite wood of the Brahmarshi Gautama. There bathing in the lake of Ahalya, one attaineth to an exalted state. Beholding next the image of Sree, one acquireth great prosperity. There in that tirtha is a well celebrated over the three worlds. Bathing in it, one obtaineth the merit of the horse-sacrifice. There also existeth a well sacred to the royal Rishi Janaka, which is worshipped by the gods. Bathing in the well, one ascendeth to the region of Vishnu. Then should one repair to Vinasana that destroys every sin. By a sojourn thither, one obtaineth the merit of the Vajapeya sacrifice, and goeth also to the region of Soma. Proceeding next to Gandaki which is produced by the waters of every tirtha, a person acquireth the merit of the Vajapeya sacrifice, and ascendeth also to the solar region. Proceeding next to the Visala, that river celebrated over the three worlds, one obtaineth the merit of the Agnishtoma sacrifice and ascendeth also to heaven. Repairing then, O virtuous one, to the woody seat of ascetics that is called Adhivanga, one obtains, without doubt, great happiness amongst the Guhyakas. Proceeding next to the river Kampana, visited by the Siddhas, one obtaineth the merit of the Pundarika sacrifice, and ascendeth also to heaven. Arriving then, O lord of earth, at the stream called Maheswari, one obtaineth the merit of the horse-sacrifice and also rescueth his own race. Repairing next to the tank of the

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celestials, one earneth immunity from misfortune, and also the merit of the horse-sacrifice. One should next go to Somapada, with subdued soul and leading a Brahmacharya mode of life. Bathing in Maheswarapada that is there, one reapeth the merit of the horse-sacrifice. There in that tirtha, O bull of the Bharata race, it is well known that ten millions of tirthas exist together. A wicked Asura in the shape of a tortoise had, O foremost of monarchs, been carrying it away when the powerful Vishnu recovered it from him. There in that tirtha should one perform his ablutions, for by this he acquireth the merit of the Pundarika sacrifice and ascendeth also to the region of Vishnu. Then, O best of kings, should one proceed to the place of Narayana, where, O Bharata, Narayana is ever present and dwelleth for aye. There the gods with Brahma at their head, Rishis endued with wealth of asceticism, the Adityas, the Vasus, and the Rudras, all adore Janardana, in that tirtha, and Vishnu of wonderful deeds hath become known as Salagrama. Approaching the eternal Vishnu, that lord of the three worlds, that giver of boons, one obtaineth the merit of the horse-sacrifice, and goeth to the region of Vishnu. There in that place, O virtuous one, is a well, capable of destroying every sin. The four seas are ever present in that well. He that bathes in it, O king, will have immunity from misfortune. Beholding (the image of) the boon-giving, eternal, and fierce Mahadeva who is there, one shineth, O king, like the moon emerged from the cloud. Bathing then in Jatismara, with pure mind and subdued senses, one acquireth, without doubt, the recollections of his former life. Proceeding then to Maheswarapura, and worshipping the god having the bull for his mark, fasting the while, one obtaineth, without doubt, the fruition of all his desires. Repairing then to Vamana that destroys every sin, and beholding the god Hari, one acquireth exemption from every misfortune. One should next go to the asylum of Kusika that is capable of removing every sin. Repairing then to the river Kausika that cleanseth from even great sins, one should bathe in it. By this one obtaineth the merit of Rajasuya sacrifice. One should next, O foremost of kings, proceed to the excellent woods of Champaka. By spending there one night, one acquireth the merit of giving away a thousand kine. Arriving next at Jyeshthila, that tirtha of rare worth, and passing one night there, one reapeth the fruit of the gift of a thousand kine. Beholding there (the image of) Visweswara of great splendour, with his consort the goddess, a person obtaineth, O bull among men, the region of Mitra-Varuna. By fasting there for three nights, a man acquireth the merit of the Agnishtoma sacrifice. By visiting Kanya-samvedya, with senses restrained and regulated fare, one acquireth, O bull among men, the region of Manu, the lord of creation. Rishis of rigid vows have said that he that giveth away rice or maketh any gift at the tirtha called Kanya, rendereth such gift eternal. Arriving next at Nischira celebrated over the three worlds, one obtaineth the merit of the horse-sacrifice and goeth to the legion of Vishnu. O king, those that give away at the confluence of the Nischira, ascend to the blessed region of Brahma. There in that tirtha is the asylum of Vasishtha that is known over the three worlds. Bathing there, one obtaineth the merit of the Vajapeya sacrifice. Proceeding next to Devakuta that is resorted to by celestial Rishis, one acquireth the merit of the horse-sacrifice, and also delivereth his race. Then should one, O king, go to the lake of the Muni Kausika, where Kusika's son, Viswamitra, obtained high success. Bathing there, a person acquireth the merit of the Vajapeya sacrifice. There, O hero, at Kausika, should one reside for a month, O bull of the Bharata race! By a month's residence there, one reapeth the merit of the horse-sacrifice. He that resideth at the best of tirthas called Maha-hrada, enjoys immunity from misfortune, and also obtains the merit of giving away gold in abundance. Beholding next Kartikeya who dwelleth at Virasrama, a man certainly reapeth the fruit of the horse-sacrifice. Proceeding then to Agnidhara celebrated over the three worlds, and beholding there after a bath the eternal and boon-giving Vishnu, that god of gods, one obtaineth the merit of the Agnishtoma sacrifice. Proceeding next to the Grandsire's tank near the snowcapped of mountains, and bathing in it, a man obtains the merit of the Agnishtoma sacrifice. Falling from the Grandsire's tank, is that world-sanctifying (stream), celebrated over the three worlds, called Kumara-Dhara. Bathing there, one regardeth himself as having all his purposes fulfilled. Fasting in that tirtha for three days, one is even cleansed from the sin of slaying a Brahmana. The pilgrim should next, O virtuous one, proceed to the peak of the great goddess Gauri, famed over the three worlds. Ascending it, O best of men, one should approach Stana-Kunda. By touching the waters of Stana-Kunda, a person obtaineth the merit of the Vajapeya sacrifice. Bathing in that tirtha and worshipping the gods and Pitris, one acquireth the merit of the horse-sacrifice and also ascendeth to the region of Indra. Arriving next at the well of Tamraruna, that is frequented by the gods, one acquireth, O lord of men, the merit that attaches to human sacrifice. Bathing next at the confluence of the Kirtika with the Kausiki and the Aruna, and fasting there for three nights a man of learning is cleansed of all his sins. Proceeding next to the tirtha called Urvasi, and then to Somasrama, a wise man by bathing next at Kumbhakarnasrama becometh adored in the world. The ancients knew that by touching the waters of Kokamukha, with steady vows and leading Brahmacharya mode of life, the memory of one's former life is revived. Arriving next with speed to the river called Nanda a regenerate one becometh freed from all his sins and ascendeth with soul under control to Indra's region. Proceeding next to the island called Rishabha, that is destructive of cranes, and bathing in the Saraswati, an individual blazeth forth in heaven. Proceeding next to the tirtha called Auddalaka frequented by Munis, and bathing there one is cleansed of all his sins. Repairing next to the sacred tirtha called Dharma that is visited by Brahmarshis, one acquireth the merit of the Vajapeya sacrifice and becometh respected in heaven. Proceeding next to Champa and bathing in the Bhagirathi he that sojourneth to Dandaparna, acquireth the merit of giving away a thousand kine. Then should one proceed to the sacred Lalitika that is graced by the presence of the virtuous. By this one acquireth the merit of the Rajasuya sacrifice and is regarded in heaven."

SECTION 85

"Pulastya said, 'Arriving next at the excellent tirtha called Samvedya in the evening, and touching its waters, one surely obtaineth knowledge. Created a tirtha in days of yore by Rama's energy, he that proceedeth to Lauhitya obtaineth the merit of giving away gold in abundance. Proceeding next to the river Karatoya, and fasting there for three nights, a man acquireth the merit of the horse-sacrifice. Even this is the injunction of the Creator himself. It hath been said by the wise, O king, that if a person goeth to the spot where the Ganga mingleth with the sea, he reapeth merit which is ten times that of the horse-sacrifice. Crossing over to the opposite bank of the Ganga, he that batheth there having resided for three nights is, O king, cleansed from all his sins. One should next proceed to the Vaitarani capable of destroying every sin. Arriving next at the tirtha named Viraja one shineth like the moon, and sanctifying his race rescueth it and is himself cleansed of all his sins. He that bathes in Viraja further reapeth the merit of giving away a thousand kine besides sanctifying his line. Residing with purity at the confluence of the Sona and the Jyotirathi, and offering oblations of water to the gods and the Pitris, a man reapeth the merit of the Agnishtoma sacrifice. Touching next the waters of the Vansagulma constituting the sources of both the Sona and the Narmada, one obtaineth the merit of the horse-sacrifice. Sojourning next to the tirtha called Rishabha in Kosala, O lord of men, and fasting there for three nights one earneth the merit of the Vajapeya sacrifice, and of the gift of a thousand kine, and also delivereth his race. Arriving at Kosala, a man should bathe in the tirtha named Kala. By this one surely obtaineth the merit of giving away one and ten bulls. By bathing in Pushpavati and fasting there, O king, for three nights one sanctifieth his own race, besides earning the merit of the gift of a thousand kine. Then, O foremost of the Bharata race, by bathing in the tirtha called Vadarika, one obtaineth long life, and also goeth to heaven. Arriving next at Champa, and bathing in the Bhagirathi, and seeing Danda one earneth the merit of giving away a thousand kine. Then should one go to the sacred Lapetika, graced by the presence of the pious. By so doing one reapeth the merit of the Vajapeya sacrifice and also becometh regarded by the gods. Proceeding next to the mountain called Mahendra, inhabited (of yore) by Jamadagnya, and bathing in Rama's tirtha, a person acquireth the merit of the horse-sacrifice. Here is Matanga's tirtha called Kedara, O son of the Kuru race! Bathing in it, O foremost of the Kurus, a man obtaineth the merit of giving away a thousand kine. Going to the mountain Sree, one who toucheth the waters of the stream that is there by worshipping there the god having the bull for his mark obtaineth the merit of the horse-sacrifice. On the mountain Sree dwelleth happily, the effulgent Mahadeva with the goddess, as also Brahma with the other gods. By bathing in the lake of Deva, with purity and restrained mind, one obtaineth the merit of the-horse-sacrifice, and also attaineth to the highest success."'

Proceeding next to the mountain Rishabha in Pandya, worshipped by the gods, one obtains the merit of the Vajapeya sacrifice and rejoices in heaven. One should next proceed to the river Kaveri, frequented by Apsaras. Bathing there, O monarch, one obtaineth, the merit of giving away a thousand kine. Touching next the waters of the tirtha called Kanya on the shores of the sea one is cleansed from every sin. Proceeding next to Gokarna celebrated over the three worlds, and which is situate, O best of kings, in the midst of the deep, and is reverenced by all the worlds, and where the gods headed by Brahma, and Rishis endued with wealth of asceticism, and spirits and Yakshas and Pisachas, and Kinnaras and the great Nagas, and Siddhas and Charanas and Gandharvas, and men and Pannagas, and rivers, Seas and Mountains, worship the lord of Uma, one should worship Isana, fasting there for three nights. By this, one acquireth the merit of the horse-sacrifice, and the status of Ganapatya. By staying there for twelve nights, one's soul is cleansed of all sins. One should next proceed to the tirtha known as Gayatri celebrated over the three worlds. Staying there for three nights, one acquireth the merit of giving away a thousand kine. A strange phenomenon is seen to occur there in respect to Brahmanas, O Lord of men! If a Brahmana, whether born of a Brahmani or any other woman, reciteth the Gayatri there, the recitation becomes rhythmic and musical, while, O king, a person who is not a Brahmana cannot adequately hymn it at all. Proceeding next to the inaccessible tank of the Brahmana Rishi Samvarta, one acquireth personal beauty and prosperity. Repairing next to Vena, he that offers oblations of water to the gods and the Pitris, obtains a car drawn by peacocks and cranes. Going next to the Godavari, ever frequented by the Siddhas, one earneth the merit of the cow-sacrifice, and goeth to the excellent region of Vasuki. Bathing next at the confluence of the Venna, one obtains the merit of the Vajapeya sacrifice. By a dip next at the confluence of Varada, one acquireth the merit of giving away a thousand kine. Arriving next at Brahmasthuna, one that stayeth there for three nights acquireth the merit of giving away a thousand kine, and also ascendeth to heaven. Coming next to Kusaplavana, with subdued soul and leading a Brahmacharya mode of life, and staying there for three nights he that bathes in it obtains the merit of the horse-sacrifice. Bathing next at the romantic Deva-hrada that is supplied by the waters of the Krishna-Venna, and also in the Jatismara-hrada, one acquireth the memory of one's former life. It was there that the chief of the celestials celebrated a hundred sacrifices and ascended to heaven. By a visit only to that spot, one acquireth the merit of the Agnishtoma sacrifice. Bathing next in the Sarvadeva-hrada, a person obtaineth the merit of giving away a thousand kine. Proceeding next to the highly sacred tank called Payoshni, that best of waters, he that offers oblations of water to the gods and the Pitris acquires the merit of the gift of a thousand kine. Arriving next at the sacred forest of Dandaka, a person should bathe (in the waters) there. By this, O king, one at once obtains, O Bharata, the merit of giving away a thousand kine. Proceeding next to the asylum of Sarabhanga and that of the illustrious Suka, one acquireth immunity from misfortune, besides sanctifying his race. Then should one proceed to Surparaka, where Jamadagni's son had formerly dwelt. Bathing in that tirtha of Rama, one acquireth the merit of giving away gold in abundance. Bathing next in the Saptagadavara, with the subdued sense and regulated diet, one earneth great merit, and goeth also to the region of the celestials. Proceeding next to Deva-hrada, with subdued sense and regulated diet, a man obtaineth the merit of the Devasatra sacrifice. One should proceed next to the forest of Tungaka, with subdued senses and leading a Brahmacharya mode of life It was here that in olden days Muni Saraswata taught the Vedas to the ascetics. When the Vedas had been lost (in consequence of the Munis having forgotten them), Angirasa's son, seated at ease on the upper garments of the Munis (duly spread out), pronounced distinctly and with emphasis the syllable Om. And at this, the ascetics again recollected all that they had learnt before. It was there that the Rishis and the gods Varuna, Agni, Prajapati, Narayana also called Hari, Mahadeva and the illustrious Grandsire of great splendour, appointed the resplendent Bhrigu to officiate at a sacrifice. Gratifying Agni by libations of clarified butter poured according to the ordinance, the illustrious Bhrigu once performed the Agnyadhana sacrifice for all those Rishis, after which both they and the gods went away to their respective homes one after another. One who enters the forest of Tungaka, is, O best of kings, male or female, cleansed of every sin. There in that tirtha, O hero, one should reside for a month, with subdued senses and regulated diet. By this, O king, one ascendeth to the region of Brahma, and delivereth also his race. Arriving next at Medhavika, one should offer oblations of water to the gods and the Pitris. By this, one acquires the merit of the Agnishtoma sacrifice, and also memory and intellect. There in that tirtha is the mountain known over the whole world and called Kalanjara. Bathing in the celestial lake that is there, one acquires the merit of giving away a thousand kine. He that, O king, after a bath, offereth oblations (to the gods and the Pitris) on the Kalanjara mountain, is, without doubt, regarded in heaven. Proceeding next, O monarch, to the river Mandakini capable of destroying all sins and which is on that best of mountains called Chitrakuta, he that bathes there and worships the gods and the Pitris, obtains the merit of the horse-sacrifice and attains to an exalted state. One should next, O virtuous one, proceed to the excellent tirtha called Bhartristhana, where, O king, ever dwells the celestial generalissimo Kartikeya. By a journey only to that spot, a person, O foremost of kings, attaineth to success. Bathing next at the tirtha called Koti, one earneth the merit of giving away a thousand kine. Having walked round Koti, one should proceed next to Jyeshthasthana. Beholding Mahadeva who is there, one shineth like the moon. There, O mighty monarch, is a celebrated well. O bull of the Bharata race! There in that well, O foremost of warriors, are the four seas. He that bathes there, O foremost of kings, and with subdued soul worships the gods and the Pitris, is cleansed of all his sins and attaineth to an

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exalted state. Then, O mighty king, should one proceed to the great Sringaverapura, where, O foremost of kings, formerly Rama, Dasharatha's son, had crossed (the Ganga). Bathing in that tirtha, one, O mighty-armed one, is cleansed of all his sins. Bathing with subdued senses and leading a Brahmacharya mode of life, in the Ganga, one is cleansed of every sin, and obtains also the merit of the Vajapeya sacrifice. One should next proceed to the place called Mayuravata, consecrated to Mahadeva of high intelligence. Beholding there the god, bowing down to him and walking round the spot, one acquireth, O Bharata, the Ganapatya status. Bathing in Ganga at that tirtha, one is cleansed of all his sins. Then, O king, should one proceed to Prayaga, whose praises have been sung by Rishis and where dwell the gods with Brahma at their head, the Directions with their presiding deities, the Lokapalas, the Siddhas, the Pitris adored by the worlds, the great Rishis-Sanatkumara and others, stainless Brahmarshis--Angiras and others,--the Nagas, the Suparnas, the Siddhas, the Snakes, the Rivers, the Seas, the Gandharvas, the Apsaras, and the Lord Hari with Prajapati. There in that tirtha are three fiery caverns between which the Ganga, that foremost of tirthas, rolleth rapidly. There in that region also the world-purifying daughter of the sun, Yamuna, celebrated over the three worlds, uniteth with the Ganga. The country between the Ganga and the Yamuna is regarded as the mons veneris of the world, and Prayaga as the foremost point of that region. The tirthas Prayaga, Pratisthana, Kamvala, Aswatara and Bhogavati are the sacrificial platforms of the Creator. There in those places, O foremost of warriors, the Vedas and the Sacrifices, in embodied forms, and the Rishis endued with wealth of asceticism, adore Brahma, and there the gods and rulers of territories also celebrate their sacrifices. The learned, however, say that of all these tirthas, O exalted one, Prayaga is the most sacred, in fact, the foremost of all tirthas in the three worlds. By going to that tirtha, by singing its praises, or by taking a little earth from it, one is cleansed from every sin. He that bathes in that confluence celebrated over the world, acquires all the merits of the Rajasuya and the horse-sacrifices. This sacrificial place is worshipped by the gods themselves. If a man giveth there ever so little, it increaseth, O Bharata, a thousandfold. O child, let not the texts of the Veda, nor the opinions of men dissuade thy mind from the desire of dying at Prayaga. O son of the Kuru race, the wise say that six hundred million and ten thousand tirthas exist at Prayaga. Bathing in the confluence of Ganga and Yamuna, one obtains the merit that attaches to the four kinds of knowledge and the merits also of those that are truthful. There at Prayaga is the excellent tirtha of Vasuki called Bhogavati. He that batheth in it, obtaineth the merit of the horse-sacrifice. There also in the Ganga is the tirtha famed over the three worlds, called Ramaprapatana, which conferreth the merit of ten horse-sacrifices. O son of the Kuru race! Wherever may a person bathe in the Ganga, he earneth merit equal to that of a trip to Kurukshetra. An exception, however, is made in favour of Kanakhala, while the merit attaching to Prayaga is the greatest. Having committed a hundred sins, he that bathes in the Ganga, hath all his sins washed off by the waters thereof, even as fuel is consumed by fire. It hath been said that in the Satyayuga all the tirthas were sacred; in the Treta, Pushkara alone was such; in Dwapara, Kurukshetra; and in the Kali-yuga, the Ganga alone is sacred. In Pushkara, one should practise austerities; in Mahalaya, one should give away; in the Malaya mountains, one should ascend the funeral pyre; and in Bhrigutunga, one should renounce one's body by forgoing food. Bathing in Pushkara, in Kurukshetra, in the Ganga and in the confluence (of the Ganga and the Yamuna), one sanctifieth seven generations of one's race up and down. He that reciteth the name of the Ganga is purified; while he that beholdeth her, receiveth prosperity; while he that bathes in her and drinks of her waters sanctifieth seven generations of his race up and down. As long, O king, as one's bones lie in contact with the waters of the Ganga, so long doth he live regarded in heaven, even as one liveth in heaven in consequence of the merit he earneth by pious pilgrimages to sacred tirthas and holy spots. There is no tirtha that is like unto the Ganga, there is no god like unto Kesava, and there is none superior to Brahmanas,--this hath been said even by the Grandsire. O great king, the region through which the Ganga flows should be regarded as a sacred asylum, and a spot of land that is on the Ganga's banks, should be regarded as one favourable to the attainment of ascetic success.

This truthful description (of the tirthas) one should recite only unto the regenerate ones, unto those that are pious, unto one's son and friends and disciples and dependents. This narrative, without a rival, is blessed and holy and leadeth to heaven. Holy and entertaining and sanctifying, it is productive of merit and high worth. Destructive of every sin, it is a mystery that the great Rishis cherish with care. By reciting it in the midst of Brahmanas, one is cleansed of every sin, and ascends to heaven. This description of tirthas is auspicious and heaven-giving and sacred; ever blessed as it is, it destroys one's enemies; foremost of all accounts, it sharpens the intellect. By reading this narrative the sonless obtains sons, the destitute obtains riches, a person of the royal order conquereth the whole earth, the Vaisya cometh by wealth, the Sudra obtaineth all his desires, and the Brahmana crosseth the ocean (of the world). Purifying himself, he that listens daily to the merits of the different tirthas, recollects the incidents of many previous births and rejoices in heaven. Of the tirthas that have been recited here, some are easily accessible, while others are difficult of access. But he that is inspired with the desire of beholding all tirthas, should visit them even in imagination. Desirous of obtaining merit, the Vasus, and the Sadhyas, the Adityas, the Maruts, the Aswins, and the Rishis equal unto celestials, all bathed in these tirthas. Do thou also, O thou of the Kuru race, observing the ordinance as explained by me, visit, with subdued senses, these tirthas, increasing thy merit, O thou of excellent vows. Men of piety and learning are able to visit these tirthas, by reason of their purified senses, their belief in Godhead, and their acquaintance with the Vedas. He that doth not observe vows, he that hath not his soul under control, he that is impure, he that is a thief, and he that is of crooked mind, doth not, O Kauravya, bathe in tirthas. Thou art ever observant of virtue, and art of pure character. By thy virtue, O virtuous one, thou hast always gratified thy father and thy grand-father, and great-grand-fathers, and the gods with Brahma at their head, and the Rishis also, O thou versed in virtue! Thou who resemblest Vasava, thou wilt, O Bhishma, attain to the region of the Vasus, and also eternal fame on earth!'

"Narada continued, 'Having cheerfully spoken thus, the illustrious Rishi Pulastya, well-pleased, bidding Bhishma farewell, disappeared there and then. And Bhishma also, O tiger among men, well understanding the true import of the Shastras, wandered over the world at the command of Pulastya. Thus, O thou blessed one, did Bhishma end at Prayaga his highly meritorious journey to the tirthas capable of destroying all sins. The man that ranges the earth in accordance with these injunctions, obtains the highest fruit of a hundred horse-sacrifices and earns salvation hereafter. Thou wilt, O son of Pritha, obtain merit consisting of the eight attributes, even like that which Bhishma, the foremost of the Kurus, had obtained of yore. And as thou wilt lead these ascetics to those tirthas, thy merit will be much greater. Those tirthas are infested by Rakshasas, and no one, save thyself, O son of Kuru race, can go there. Rising early he that reciteth this narrative by the celestial Rishis on the subject of the tirthas, becometh free from all sins. Those foremost of Rishis, Valmiki, and Kasyapa, and Atreya, and Kundajathara, and Viswamitra, and Gautama, and Asita, and Devala, and Markandeya, and Galava, and Bharadwaja, and Vasishtha, and the Muni Uddalaka, and Saunaka with his son, and Vyasa, that best of ascetics, and Durvasas, that foremost of Munis, and Javali of great austerities--all these illustrious Rishis endued with wealth of asceticism, are staying in expectation of thee. With these, O mighty king, do thou meet by visiting these tirthas. And, O illustrious monarch, a great Rishi of immeasurable energy, Lomasa by name, will come to thee. Do thou follow him, and me, and by turns visit these tirthas, O thou virtuous one! By this, thou wilt acquire great fame, like king Mahabhisha! O tiger among kings, even as the virtuous Yayati and king Pururavas, dost thou blaze forth with thy own virtue. Like king Bhagiratha and the illustrious Rama, dost thou shine among kings even as the Sun himself. And thou art, O great king, celebrated (in the world) even as Muni or Ikshwaku, or the highly famous Puru or Vainya! And as in days of yore the slayer of Vritra, after burning all his foes, ruled the three worlds, his mind freed from anxiety, so wilt thou rule thy subjects, after slaying all thy enemies. And, O thou of eyes like lotus leaves, having conquered the earth according to the customs of thy order, thou wilt obtain renown by thy virtue, even like Kartaviryaryuna.'"

Vaisampayana continued, "O great king, having comforted the monarch thus, the illustrious Rishi Narada, bidding farewell to the king, disappeared there and then. And the virtuous Yudhishthira, reflecting upon the subject, began to recite unto the ascetics the merit attaching to tirthas!"

SECTION 86

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having ascertained the opinion of his brothers, and of the intelligent Narada, king Yudhishthira, addressing Dhaumya, who was like unto the Grandsire himself, said, 'I have for the acquisition of arms, sent away that tiger among men, Jishnu, whose prowess is incapable of being baffled, and who is possessed of long arms and immeasurable intelligence. O thou of ascetic wealth, that hero is devoted to me, endued with ability, and well-skilled in weapons, and like unto the exalted Vasudeva himself. I know them both, Krishna and Arjuna, those destroyers of enemies, O Brahmana, endued with prowess, even as the puissant Vyasa knoweth them. I know Vasudeva and Dhananjaya to be none else than Vishnu himself, possessed of the six attributes. And this is also what Narada knoweth, for he hath always spoken so unto me. I also know them to be Rishis, Nara and Narayana. Knowing him to possess the ability, I have sent him (on the mission). Not inferior unto Indra and fully competent (for the task), I have sent that son of a god to see the lord of the celestials and obtain weapons from him. Bhishma and Drona are Atirathas. Kripa and the son of Drona are invincible; these mighty warriors have been installed by Dhritarashtra's son in the command of his army. All these are versed in the Vedas, are heroic, and possessed of the knowledge of every weapon. Endued with great strength, these always desire to encounter Arjuna in fight. And Karna also of the Suta caste is a mighty warrior versed in celestial weapons. In respect of the impetus of his weapons, he is endued with the strength of the Wind-god. Himself like a flame of fire, the arrows (proceeding from him) constitute its tongues. The slaps of his left hand cased in leathern fence constitute the crackling of that flame. The dust of the battle-field is its smoke. Urged by the sons of Dhritarashtra even as the wind urgeth the fire, Karna like unto the all-consuming fire at the end of the Yuga that is sent by Death himself, will, without doubt, consume my troops like unto a heap of straw. Only that mighty mass of clouds called Arjuna, aided by Krishna like unto a powerful wind, with celestial weapon representing its fierce lightning, the white steeds, the rows of white cranes coursing underneath and the unbearable Gandiva, the rainbow ahead, is capable of extinguishing the blazing flame represented by Karna by means of its arrowy showers let off with unflagging steadiness. That conqueror of hostile cities, Vibhatsu, will, without doubt, succeed in obtaining from Indra himself all the celestial weapons with their fullness and life. Alone he is equal, I think, unto them all. Otherwise it is impossible (for us) to vanquish in fight all those foes, who have attained to eminent success in all their purposes. We shall behold Arjuna, that repressor of foes, fully equipped with celestial weapons, for Vibhatsu having once undertaken a task, never, droopeth under its weight. Without that hero, however, that best of men, ourselves, with Krishna, cannot be at rest in Kamyaka. Therefore, do thou mention some other wood that is sacred and delightful, and abounds in food and fruits, and that is inhabited by men of pious practices:--where we may pass some time, expecting the warlike Arjuna of unbaffled prowess, like the Chataka in expectation of gathering clouds. Do thou tell us of some asylums open to the regenerate ones, and lakes and streams and beautiful mountains. O Brahmana, deprived of Arjuna, I do not like to stay in this wood of Kamyaka. We wish to go somewhere else.'"

SECTION 87

Vaisampayana said, "Beholding the Pandavas afflicted with anxiety and depressed in spirits, Dhaumya, who resembled Vrihaspati, spake thus, comforting them, 'O bull of the Bharata race, O sinless one, listen to me as I mention certain sacred asylums and regions and tirthas and mountains that are approved of by Brahmanas. O king, listen to me as I speak, thyself with the daughter of Drupada and thy brothers, wilt, O lord of men, be relieved from grief. And, O son of Pandu, by hearing only of these places, thou wilt acquire merit. And by visiting them thou wilt obtain merit a hundred times greater, O best of men! First, O king, I will, so far as I recollect, speak of the beautiful eastern country, much regarded, O Yudhishthira, by royal Rishis. In that direction, O Bharata is a place called Naimisha which is regarded by the celestials. There in that region are several sacred tirthas belonging to the gods. There also is the sacred and beautiful Gomati which is adored by celestial Rishis and there also in [possibly 'is'?--JBH] the sacrificial region of the gods and the sacrificial stake of Surya. In that quarter also is that best of hills called Gaya, which is sacred and much regarded by royal ascetics. There on that hill, is the auspicious lake called Brahmasara which is adored by celestial Rishis. It is for this that the ancients say that one should wish for many sons, so that even one among them may visit Gaya, celebrate the horse-sacrifice or give away a nila bull, and thereby deliver ten generations of his race up and down. There, O monarch, is a great river, and spot called Gayasira. In Gayasira is a banian, which is called by the Brahmanas the Eternal banian, for the food that is offered there to the Pitris becometh eternal, O exalted one! The great river that floweth by the place is known by the name of Phalgu, and its waters are all sacred. And, O bull among the Bharatas, there also, in that place, is the Kausiki, whose basin abounds in various fruit and roots, and where Viswamitra endued with wealth of asceticism acquired Brahmanahood. Towards that direction also is the sacred Ganga, on whose banks Bhagiratha celebrated many sacrifices with profuse gifts (to Brahmanas). They say that in the country of Panchala, there is a wood called Utpala, where Viswamitra of Kusika's race had performed sacrifices with his son, and where beholding the relics of Viswamitra's superhuman power, Rama, the son of Jamadagni, recited the praises of his ancestry. At Kamyaka, Kusika's son had quaffed the Soma juice with Indra. Then abandoning the Kshatriya order, he began to say, I am a Brahmana.' In that quarter, O hero is the sacred confluence of Ganga and Yamuna which is celebrated over the world. Holy and sin-destroying, that tirtha is much regarded by the Rishis. It is there that the soul of all things, the Grandsire, had, in olden days, performed his sacrifice, and it is for this, O chief of

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the Bharata race, that the place hath come to be called Prayaga. In this direction, O foremost of kings, lieth the excellent asylum of Agastya, O monarch, and the forest called Tapasa, decked by many ascetics. And there also is the great tirtha called Hiranyavinda on the Kalanjara hills, and that best of mountains called Agastya, which is beautiful, sacred and auspicious. In that quarter, O descendant of the Kuru race, is the mountain called Mahendra, sacred to the illustrious Rama of the Bhrigu race. There, O son of Kunti, the Grandsire performed sacrifices of yore. There, O Yudhishthira, the sacred Bhagiratha entereth a lake and there also, O king, is that sacred river known by the name of the merit-bestowing Brahmasara, whose banks are inhabited by persons whose sins have been washed away, and whose sight alone produceth merit. In that direction also lieth the high-souled Matanga's excellent asylum, called Kedara which is sacred and auspicious and celebrated over the world. And there also is the mountain called Kundoda, which is so delightful and abounding in fruits and roots and waters, and where the king of the Nishadhas (Nala) had slaked his thirst and rested for a while. In that quarter also is the delightful Deva-vana which is graced by ascetics. There also are the rivers Vahuda and Nanda on the mountain's crest. O mighty king, I have described unto thee all the tirthas and sacred spots in the Eastern quarter. Do thou now hear of the sacred tirthas, and rivers and mountains and holy spots in the other three quarters!'"

SECTION 88

"Dhaumya continued, 'Listen, O Bharata, I shall now narrate to thee in detail according to my knowledge, the sacred tirthas of the south. In that quarter lieth the sacred and auspicious river Godavari, full of water abounding in groves and frequented by ascetics. In that direction also are the rivers Venna and Bhimarathi, both capable of destroying sin and fear, and abounding in birds and deer, and graced with abodes of ascetics. In that region also, O bull of the Bharata race, is the tirtha of the royal ascetic, Nriga viz., the river Payoshni, which is delightful and full of waters and visited by Brahmanas. There the illustrious Markandeya, of high ascetic merit sang the praises in verse of king Nriga's line! We have heard respecting the sacrificing king Nriga that which really took place while he was performing a sacrifice in the excellent tirtha called Varaha on the Payoshni. In that sacrifice Indra became intoxicated with quaffing the Soma, and the Brahmanas, with the gifts they received. The water of the Payoshni, taken up (in vessel), or flowing along the ground, or conveyed by the wind, can cleanse a person from whatever sins he may commit till the day of his death. Higher than heaven itself, and pure, and created and bestowed by the trident-bearing god, there in that tirtha is an image of Mahadeva beholding which a mortal goeth to the region of Siva. Placing on one scale Ganga and the other rivers with their waters, and on the other, the Payoshni, the latter, in my opinion would be superior to all the tirthas, together, in point of merit! Then, O foremost of the Bharata race, on the mountain called Varunasrotasa is the sacred and auspicious wood of Mathara abounding in fruits and roots, and containing a sacrificial stake. Then, O king, it is said that in the region on the north of the Praveni, and about the sacred asylum of Kanwa, are many woody retreats of ascetics. And, O child, in the tirtha called Surparaka are two sacrificial platforms of the illustrious Jamadagni, called Pashana and Punaschandra, O Bharata! And, O son of Kunti, in that spot is the tirtha called Asoka abounding in woody retreats of ascetics. And, O Yudhishthira, in the country of the Pandyas are the tirthas named Agastya and Varuna! And, O bull among men, there, amongst the Pandavas, is the tirtha called the Kumaris. Listen, O son of Kunti, I shall now describe Tamraparni. In that asylum the gods had undergone penances impelled by the desire of obtaining salvation. In that region also is the lake of Gokarna which is celebrated over the three worlds, hath an abundance of cool waters, and is sacred, auspicious, and capable, O child, of producing great merit. That lake is extremely difficult of access to men of unpurified souls. Near to that tirtha is the sacred asylum of Agastya's disciple, the mountain Devasabha, which abounds in trees and grass, and fruits and roots. And there also is the Vaiduryya mountain, which is delightful abounding in gems and capable of bestowing great merit. There on that mountain is the asylum of Agastya abounding in fruits and roots and water.'"

"I shall now, O lord of men, describe the sacred spots, and asylums, and rivers and lakes belonging to the Surashtra country! O Yudhishthira, the Brahmanas say that on the sea-coast is the Chamasodbheda, and also Prabhasa, that tirtha which is much regarded by the gods. There also is the tirtha called Pindaraka, frequented by ascetics and capable of producing great merit. In that region is a mighty hill named Ujjayanta which conduceth to speedy success. Regarding it the celestial Rishi Narada of great intelligence hath recited an ancient sloka. Do thou listen to it, O Yudhishthira! By performing austerities on the sacred hill of Ujjayanta in Surashtra, that abounds in birds and animals, a person becometh regarded in heaven. There also is Dwaravati, producing great merit, where dwelleth the slayer of Madhu, who is the Ancient one in embodied form, and eternal virtue. Brahmanas versed in the Vedas, and persons acquainted with the philosophy of the soul say that the illustrious Krishna is eternal Virtue. Govinda is said to be the purest of all pure things, the righteous of the righteous and the auspicious of the auspicious. In all the three worlds, He of eyes like lotus-leaves is the God of gods, and is eternal. He is the pure soul and the active principle of life, is the Supreme Brahma and is the lord of all. That slayer of Madhu, Hari of inconceivable soul, dwelleth there!"

SECTION 89

"Dhaumya continued, 'I shall describe to thee those sacred spots capable of producing merit that lie on the west, in the country of the Anarttas, O Bharata, there, flows in a westward course the sacred river Narmada, graced by Priyangu and mango trees, and engarlanded with thickest of canes. All the tirthas and sacred spots, and rivers and woods and foremost of mountains that are in the three worlds, all the gods with the Grandsire, along with the Siddhas, the Rishis and the Charanas, O best of the Kurus, always come, O Bharata, to bathe in the sacred waters of the Narmada. And it hath been heard by us that the sacred asylum of the Muni Visravas, had stood there, and that there was born the lord of treasures, Kuvera, having men for his vehicles. There also is that foremost of hills, the sacred and auspicious Vaidurya peak abounding with trees that are green and which are always graced with fruit and flowers. O lord of the earth, on the top of that mountain is a sacred tank decked with full-blown lotus and resorted to by the gods and the Gandharvas. Many are the wonders, O mighty monarch, that may be seen on that sacred mountain which is like unto heaven itself and which is visited by celestial Rishis. There, O subjugator of hostile cities, is the sacred river called Viswamitra belonging to the royal sage of that name and which abounds, O king, in many sacred tirthas. It was on the banks of this river, that Yayati, the son of Nahusha, (fell from heaven) among the virtuous, and obtained once more the eternal regions of the righteous. Here also are the well-known lake called Punya, the mountain called Mainaka, and that other mountain called Asita abounding in fruits and roots. And here also is the sacred asylum of Kakshasena, and O Yudhishthira, the asylum of Chyavana also, which is famed over every country, O son of Pandu! In that spot, O exalted one, men attain to (ascetic) success without severe austerities. Here also, O mighty king, is the region called Jamvumarga, inhabited by birds and deer, and which constitutes the retreat of ascetics with souls under control, O thou foremost of those that have subdued their senses! Next lie the exceedingly sacred Ketumala, and Medhya ever graced with ascetics, and, O lord of earth, Gangadwara, and the well-known woods of Saindhava which are sacred and inhabited by the regenerate ones. There also is the celebrated tank of the Grandsire, called Pushkara, the favourite abode of the Vaikanasas, and Siddhas and Rishis. Moved by the desire of obtaining its protection, the Creator sang this verse at Pushkara, O chief of the Kurus and foremost of virtuous men! If a person of pure soul purposes a pilgrimage to the Pushkaras in imagination even, he becometh purged from all his sins and rejoiceth in heaven!'"

SECTION 90

"Dhaumya continued, 'O tiger among kings, I shall now describe those tirthas and sacred spots that lie to the north. Do thou, O exalted one, listen to me attentively. By hearing this narration, O hero, one acquireth a reverential frame of mind, which conduceth to much good. In that region is the highly sacred Saraswati abounding in tirthas and with banks easy of descent. There also, O son of Pandu, is the ocean-going and impetuous Yamuna, and the tirtha called Plakshavatarana, productive of high merit and prosperity. It was there that the regenerate ones having performed the Saraswata sacrifice, bathed on the completion there of. O sinless one, is the well-known celestial tirtha called Agnisiras, which is productive of great merit. There king Sahadeva had celebrated a sacrifice measuring out the ground by a throw of the Samya. It is for this reason, O Yudhishthira, that Indra sang the praises of Sahadeva in verse. Those verses are still current in this world, being recited by the regenerate ones, e. g., on the Yamuna Sahadeva worshipped the sacrificial fire, with gifts in a hundred thousands to Brahmanas. There the illustrious king, the imperial Bharata, performed five and thirty horse-sacrifices. O child, we have heard that Sarabhanga of yore used to fully gratify the desires of the regenerate ones. There in this region is his celebrated asylum productive of great merit. In that region also, O son of Pritha, is the river Saraswati, which is ever worshipped by the god, where, in days of yore, the Valikhilyas, O great king, performed sacrifices. In that region also, O Yudhishthira, is the well-known river Drisadwati, which is productive of great merit. Then, O chief of men, are Nyagrodhakhya, and Panchalya, and Punyaka and Dalbhyaghosha, and Dalbhya, which are, O son of Kunti, the sacred asylum in the world of illustrious Anandayasas of excellent vows and great energy, and which are celebrated over the three worlds. Here also, O lord of men, the illustrious Etavarna and Avavarana versed in the Vedas, learned in Vedic lore, and proficient in the knowledge of Vedic rites, performed meritorious sacrifices, O chief of the Bharata race! There also is Visakhayupa to which, in days of yore, came the gods with Varuna and Indra, and practised ascetic austerities. And therefore is that spot so eminently sacred. Here also is Palasaka, where the great and illustrious and highly blessed Rishi Jamadagni performed sacrifices. There all the principal rivers in their embodied forms taking their respective waters stood surrounding that best of sages. And there also, O monarch, Vibhavasu (fire) himself, beholding that high-souled one's initiation, sang the following sloka: 'The river coming to the illustrious Jamadagni while sacrificing unto the gods gratified the Brahmanas with offerings of honey.' O Yudhishthira, the spot where Ganga rusheth past, cleaving the foremost of mountains which is frequented by Gandharvas and Yakshas and Rakshasas and Apsaras, and inhabited by hunters, and Kinnaras, is called Gangadwara. O king, Sanatkumara regardeth that spot visited by Brahmarshis, as also the tirtha Kanakhala (that is near to it), as sacred. There also is the mountain named Puru which is resorted to by great Rishis and where Pururavas was born, and Bhrigu practised ascetic austerities. For this it is, O king, that asylum hath become known as the great peak of Bhrigutunga. Near that peak is the sacred and extensive Vadari, that highly meritorious asylum, famed over the three worlds, of him, O bull of the Bharata race, who is the Present, the Past and the Future, who is called Narayana and the lord Vishnu, who is eternal and the best of male beings, and who is pre-eminently illustrious. Near Vadari, the cool current of Ganga was formerly warm, and the banks there were overspread with golden sands. There the gods and Rishis of high fortune and exceeding effulgence, approaching the divine lord Narayana, always worship him. The entire universe with all its tirthas and holy spots is there where dwelleth the divine and eternal Narayana, the Supreme soul, for he is Merit, he is the Supreme Brahma, he is tirtha, he is the ascetic retreat, he is the First, he is the foremost of gods, and he is the great Lord of all creatures. He is eternal, he is the great Creator, and he is the highest state of blessedness. Learned persons versed in the scriptures attain to great happiness by knowing him. In that spot are the celestial Rishis, the Siddhas, and, indeed, all the Rishis,--where dwelleth the slayer of Madhu, that primeval Deity and mighty Yogin! Let no doubt enter thy heart that that spot is the foremost of all holy spots. These, O lord of earth, are the tirthas and sacred spots on earth, that I have recited, O best of men! These all are visited by the Vasus, the Sadhyas, the Adityas, the Marutas, the Aswins and the illustrious Rishis resembling the celestials themselves. By journeying, O son of Kunti, to those places, with the Brahmanas and ascetics that are with thee and with thy blessed brothers, thou wilt be freed from anxiety!"

SECTION 91

Vaisampayana continued, "O son of the Kuru race, while Dhaumya was speaking thus, there arrived at the spot the Rishi Lomasa of great energy. And the king, who was the eldest of Pandu's sons, with his followers and those Brahmanas sat round the highly righteous one, like celestials in heaven sitting round Sakra. And having received him duly, Yudhishthira the Just enquired after the reason of his arrival, and the object also of his wanderings. Thus asked by Pandu's son, the illustrious ascetic, well-pleased, replied in sweet words delighting the Pandavas, 'Travelling at will, O Kaunteya, over all the regions, I came to Sakra's abode, and saw there the lord of the celestials. There, I saw thy heroic brother capable of wielding the bow with his left hand, seated on the same seat with Sakra. And beholding Partha on that seat I was greatly astonished, O tiger among men! And the lord of the celestials then said unto me, 'Go thou unto the sons of Pandu.' At the request, therefore, of Indra as also of the high-souled son of Pritha have I come hither with speed, desiring to see thee with thy younger brothers. O child, I will relate what will please thee highly, O son of Pandu! Do thou listen to it, O king, with Krishna and the Rishis that are with thee. O bull of the Bharata race, Partha hath obtained from Rudra that incomparable weapon for the acquisition of which thou hadst sent him to heaven. That fierce weapon, known by the name of Brahma-sira which arose after Amrita, and which Rudra had obtained by means of ascetic austerities, hath been acquired by Arjuna together with the Mantras for hurling and withdrawing it, and the rites of expiation and revival. And, O Yudhishthira, Arjuna of immeasurable prowess hath also acquired Vajras and Dandas and other celestial weapons from Yama and Kuvera and Varuna and Indra, O son of the Kuru race! And he hath also thoroughly learnt music, both vocal and instrumental, and dancing and proper recitation of the Saman (Veda) from Vishwavasu's son. And having thus acquired weapons and mastered the Gandharva Veda, thy third brother Vibhatsu liveth happily (in heaven). Listen to me, O Yudhishthira, for I shall now deliver to thee the message of that foremost of celestials. He hath commanded me

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saying, "Thou wilt, no doubt, go to the world of men. O best of Brahmanas, tell thou Yudhishthira these words of mine. Soon will thy brother Arjuna come to thee, having acquired arms and accomplished a great deed for the celestials that is incapable of being accomplished by themselves. Do thou meanwhile devote thyself to ascetic austerities, with thy brothers. There is nothing superior to asceticism, and it is by asceticism that a person achieveth great results. And, O bull of the Bharata race, well do I know that Karna is endued with great ardour and energy and strength and prowess that is incapable of being baffled. Well do I know that, skilled in fierce conflict, he hath not his rival in battle; that he is a mighty bowman, a hero deft in the use of fierce weapons and cased in the best of mail. Well do I know that that exalted son of Aditya resembleth the son of Maheswara himself. Well do I also know the high natural prowess of the broad-shouldered Arjuna. In battle Karna is not equal unto even a sixteenth part of Pritha's son. And as for the fear of Karna which is in thy heart, O repressor of foes, I shall dispel when Savyasachin will have left heaven. And as regards thy purpose, O hero, to set out on a pilgrimage to tirthas, the great Rishi Lomasa will, without doubt, speak unto thee. And whatever that regenerate Rishi will relate unto thee touching the merits of asceticism and tirthas, thou shouldst receive with respect and not otherwise!'"

SECTION 92

"Lomasa continued, 'Listen now, O Yudhishthira, to what Dhananjaya hath said: 'Cause my brother Yudhishthira to attend to the practice of virtue which leadeth to prosperity. Endued with wealth of asceticism, thou art conversant with the highest morality, with ascetic austerities of every kind, with the eternal duties of kings blessed with prosperity, and the high and sanctifying merit that men obtain from tirthas. Persuade thou the sons of Pandu to acquire the merit attaching to tirthas. Do thou with thy whole soul persuade the king to visit the tirthas and give away kine.' This is what Arjuna said unto me. Indeed he also said, 'Let him visit all the tirthas protected by thee. Thou wilt also protect him from Rakshasas, and watch over him in inaccessible regions and rugged mountain breasts. And as Dadhichi had protected Indra, and Angiras had protected the Sun, so do thou, O best of regenerate ones, protect the sons of Kunti from Rakshasas. Along the way are many Rakshasas, huge as mountain-cliffs. But protected by thee these will not be able to approach the sons of Kunti. Obedient to the words of Indra and at the request of Arjuna also protecting thee from dangers, I shall wander with thee. Before this, O son of the Kuru race, I have twice visited the tirthas. With thee I shall repair to them for the third time. O Yudhishthira, Manu and other royal Rishis of meritorious deeds had undertaken journeys to tirthas. Indeed, a trip to them is capable of dispelling all fear, O king! They that are crooked-minded, they that have not their souls under control, they that are illiterate and perverse, do not, O Kauravya, bathe in tirthas. But thou art ever of a virtuous disposition and conversant with morality and firm in thy promises. Thou wilt surely be able to free thyself from the world. For, O son of Pandu, thou art even as king Bhagiratha, or Gaya, or Yayati, or any one, O son of Kunti, that is like them.'

"Yudhishthira answered, 'I am so overwhelmed with delight, O Brahmana, that I cannot find words to answer thee. Who can be more fortunate than he who is remembered even by the lord of the celestials? Who can be more fortunate than he who hath been favoured with thy company, who hath Dhananjaya for a brother, and who is thought of by Vasava himself? As to thy words, O illustrious one, in respect of a trip to the tirthas, my mind had already been made up at the words of Dhaumya. O Brahmana, I shall start, at whatever hour thou mayst be pleased to appoint, on the proposed journey to tirthas. Even this is my firm resolve!'

Vaisampayana continued, "Lomasa then said unto Yudhishthira, who had made up his mind to start on the proposed journey, 'O mighty king, be thou light as regards thy retinue, for by this thou wilt be able to go more easily!'

"Yudhishthira then said, 'Let those mendicants and Brahmanas and Yogis that are incapable of bearing hunger and thirst, the fatigues of travel and toil, and the severity of winter, desist. Let those Brahmanas also desist that live on sweetmeats, and they also that desire cooked viands and food that is sucked or drunk as well as meat. And let those also remain behind that are dependent on cooks. Let those citizens that have followed me from motives of loyalty, and whom I have hitherto kept on proper stipends, repair to king Dhritarashtra. He will give them their allowances in due time. If, however, that king refuses to grant them proper allowances, the king of the Panchalas will, for our satisfaction and welfare, give them these.'"

Vaisampayana continued, "And thereupon oppressed with grief, the citizens and the principal Brahmanas and Yatis set out for Hastinapura. And out of affection for Yudhishthira the Just, the royal son of Amvika received them properly, and gratified them with proper allowances. And the royal son of Kunti, with only a small number of Brahmanas, abode for three nights at Kamyaka, cheered by Lomasa."

SECTION 93

Vaisampayana said, "Those Brahmanas then, that had been dwelling (with him) in the woods, beholding the son of Kunti about to set out (on the pious pilgrimage), approached him, O king, and said, 'Thou art about to set out, O king, on thy journey to the sacred tirthas, along with thy brothers and accompanied by the illustrious Rishi Lomasa. O king, it behoveth thee, O son of Pandu, to take us with thee. Without thee, we shall not be able, O son of the Kuru race, to visit them at any time. Surrounded by dangers and difficult of access, they are infested by beasts of prey. Those tirthas, O lord of men, are inaccessible to persons in small parties. Foremost of all wielders of the bow, thy brothers are ever brave. Protected by your heroic selves, we also would proceed to them. Permit us to acquire, O lord of earth, through thy grace the blessed fruit of tirthas. Protected by thy energy, let us, O king, be cleansed of all our sins by visiting those tirthas and purified by baths therein. Bathing in those tirthas, thou also, O Bharata, wilt acquire without doubt the regions difficult of acquisition that Kartavirya and Ashtaka, the royal sage Lomapada and the imperial and heroic Bharata only had earned. In thy company, O king, we desire to behold Prabhasa and other tirthas, Mahendra and other hills, Ganga and other rivers, and Plaksha and other gigantic trees. If, O lord of men, thou hast any regard for the Brahmanas, do thou our bidding. Thou wilt surely have prosperity from this. O thou of mighty arms, the tirthas are infested by Rakshasas that ever obstruct ascetic penances. It behoveth thee to protect us from them. Protected by Lomasa and taking us with thee, go thou to all the tirthas spoken of by Dhaumya and the intelligent Narada, as also all those that have been spoken of by the celestial Rishi Lomasa, endued with great ascetic wealth, and be thou, by this, cleansed of all thy sins."

"Thus addressed respectfully by them, the king--that bull amongst the sons of Pandu--surrounded by his heroic brothers headed by Bhima, with tears of joy in his eyes, said unto all those ascetics, 'Let it be so.' With the permission then of Lomasa, as also of his priest Dhaumya, that foremost of Pandu's sons with soul under complete control, resolved, along with his brothers and Drupada's daughter of faultless features, to set out. Just at this time, the blessed Vyasa, as also Parvata and Narada, all endued with high intelligence, came to Kamyaka for seeing the son of Pandu. Beholding them, king Yudhishthira worshipped them with due rites. And worshipped by the monarch thus, those blessed ones, addressing Yudhishthira, said, 'O Yudhishthira, O Bhima, and ye twins, banish all evil thoughts from your minds. Purify your hearts and then set out for the tirthas. The Brahmanas have said that the observance of regulations in respect of the body are called earthly vows, while efforts to purify the heart, so that it may be free from evil thoughts, are called spiritual vows. O king, the mind that is free from all evil thoughts is highly pure. Purifying yourselves, therefore, harbouring only friendly feelings for all, behold ye the tirthas. Observing earthly vows in respect of your bodies and purifying your minds by spiritual vows, obtain ye the fruits as recited, of pilgrimages."

"Saying, 'So be it,' the Pandavas with Krishna, caused those celestial and human Rishis to perform the usual propitiatory ceremonies. And those heroes, having worshipped the feet of Lomasa and Dwaipayana and Narada and the celestial Rishi Parvata, O king, and accompanied by Dhaumya as also the ascetics that had been residing with them in the woods, set out on the day following the full moon of Agrahayana in which the constellation Pushya was ascendant. Dressed in barks and hides, and with matted lock on head, they were all cased in impenetrable mail and armed with swords. And O Janamejaya, the heroic sons of Pandu with quivers and arrows and scimitars and other weapons, and accompanied by Indrasena and other attendants with fourteen and one cars, a number of cooks and servants of other classes, set out with faces turned towards the east!"

SECTION 94

"Yudhishthira said, 'O best of celestial Rishis, I do not think that I am without merits. Yet am I afflicted with so much sorrow that there never was a king like me. I think, however, that my enemies are destitute of good qualities and even destitute of morality. Yet why, O Lomasa, do they prosper in this world?"

"Lomasa said, 'Grieve not ever, O king, O son of Pritha, that sinful men should often prosper in consequence of the sins they commit. A man may be seen to prosper by his sins, obtain good therefrom and vanquish his foes. Destruction, however, overtakes him to the roots. O king, I have seen many Daityas and Danavas prosper by sin but I have also seen destruction overtake them. O exalted one, I have seen all this in the righteous age of yore. The gods practised virtue, while the Asuras abandoned it. The gods visited the tirthas, while the Asuras did not visit them. And at first the sinful Asuras were possessed with pride. And pride begat vanity and vanity begat wrath. And from wrath arose every kind of evil propensities, and from these latter sprang shamelessness. And in consequence of shamelessness, good behaviour disappeared from among them. And because they had become shameless and destitute of virtuous propensities and good conduct and virtuous vows, forgiveness and prosperity and morality forsook them in no time. And prosperity then, O king, sought the gods, while adversity sought the Asuras. And when the Daityas and the Danavas, deprived of sense by pride, were possessed by adversity. Kali also sought to possess them. And, O son of Kunti, overwhelmed with pride, and destitute of rites and sacrifices, and devoid of reason and feeling, and their hearts full of vanity, destruction overtook them soon. And covered with infamy, the Daityas were soon exterminated. The gods, however, who were virtuous in their practices, going to the seas, the rivers, the lakes and the holy spots, cleansed themselves of all sins, O son of Pandu, by means of ascetic penances and sacrifices and gifts and blessings, and obtained prosperity and the consequence. And because the gods always performed sacrifices and holy deeds abandoning every practice that was evil, and visited the tirthas, as the consequence thereof they acquired great good fortune. Guided by this, O king, do thou also, with thy brothers, bathe in tirthas, for then thou wilt obtain prosperity once more. Even this is the eternal road. And, O monarch, as king Nriga and Shivi and Ausinara and Bhagiratha and Vasumanas and Gaya and Puru and Pururavas, by practising ascetic penances and visiting tirthas and touching sacred waters and beholding illustrious ascetics, obtained fame and sanctity and merit and wealth, so wilt thou also obtain prosperity that is great. And as Ikshwaku with his sons, friends and followers, as Muchukunda and Mandhatri and king Marutta, as the gods through power of asceticism and the celestial Rishis also, had all obtained fame, so wilt thou also obtain great celebrity. The sons of Dhritarashtra, on the other hand, enslaved by sinfulness and ignorance, will, without doubt, be soon exterminated like the Daityas.'"

SECTION 95

Vaisampayana said, "The heroic sons of Pandu, accompanied by their followers, proceeding from place to place, at last arrived at Naimisha. O king, reaching the Gomati, the Pandavas bathed in the sacred tirtha of that stream, and having performed their ablutions there, they gave away, O Bharata, both kine and wealth! And repeatedly offering oblations of water, O Bharata, to the gods, the pitris, and the Brahmanas, in the tirthas called Kanya, Aswa, and Go and staying (as directed) in Kalakoti and the Vishaprastha hills, the Kauravas then, O king, reached Vahuda and performed their ablution in that stream. Proceeding next, O lord of earth, to the sacrificial region of the gods known by the name Prayaga, they bathed in the confluence of Ganga and Yamuna and residing there practised ascetic penances of great merit. And the Pandavas, of truthful promises, bathing in the tirtha, cleansed themselves of every sin. The sons of Pandu then, O king of the Bharata race, accompanied by those Brahmanas, proceeded to the tirtha called Vedi, sacred to the Creator and adored by the ascetics. Residing there for some time and gratifying the Brahmanas with the fruit and roots of the wilderness and clarified butter, those heroes began to practise ascetic penances of great merit. They then proceeded to Mahidhara consecrated by that virtuous royal sage Gaya of unrivalled splendour. In that region is the hill called Gayasira, as well as the delightful river called Mahanadi, with fine banks graced by bushes of canes. On that celestial hill of holy peaks is a sacred tirtha called Brahmasara which is much adored by ascetics. There on the banks of that lake had dwelt of yore the eternal god himself of justice, and it was thither that the illustrious Rishi Agastya had repaired to behold that deity. It is from that lake that all the rivers take their rise and there in that tirtha, Mahadeva the wielder of the Pinaka, is present for aye. Arriving at that spot, the heroic sons of Pandu practised the vow that is known by the name of the Chaturmasya according to all the rites and ordinances of the great sacrifice called Rishiyajna. It is there that that mighty tree called the Eternal banian stands. Any sacrifice performed there produces merit that is eternal. In that sacrificial platform of the gods producing eternal merit, the Pandavas began to fast with concentrated souls. And there came unto them Brahmanas by hundreds endued with wealth of asceticism. And those Brahmanas also all performed the Chaturmasya sacrifice according to the rites inculcated by the Rishis. And there in that tirtha, those Brahmanas old in knowledge and ascetic merit and fully versed in the Vedas, that constituted the court of the illustrious sons of Pandu, talked in their presence upon various subject of sacred import. And it was in that place that the learned vow-observing, and sacred Shamatha, leading, besides, a life of celibacy, spake unto them, O king, of Gaya, the son of Amurttaraya. And Shamatha said, 'Gaya, the son of Amurttaraya, was one of the foremost of royal sages. Listen to me, O Bharata, as I recite his meritorious deeds. It was here, O king, that Gaya had performed many sacrifices distinguished by the enormous quantities of food (that were distributed) and the profuse gifts

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that were given away (unto Brahmanas). Those sacrifices, O king, were distinguished by mountains in hundreds and thousands of cooked rice, lakes of clarified butter and rivers of curds in many hundreds, and streams of richly-dressed curries in thousands. Day after day were these got ready and distributed amongst all comers, while, over and above this, Brahmanas and others, O king, received food that was clean and pure. During the conclusion also (of every sacrifice) when gifts were dedicated to the Brahmanas, the chanting of the Vedas reached the heavens. And so loud, indeed, was the sound of the Vedic Mantras that nothing else, O Bharata, could be heard there. Thus sacred sounds, O king, filled the earth, the points of the horizon, the sky and heaven itself. Even these were the wonders that persons noticed on those occasions. And gratified with the excellent viands and drinks that the illustrious Gaya provided, men, O bull of the Bharata race, went about singing these verses. In Gaya's great sacrifice, who is there today, amongst creatures, that still desireth to eat? There are yet twenty-five mountains of food there after all have been fed! What the royal sage Gaya of immense splendour hath achieved in his sacrifice was never achieved by men before, nor will be by any in future. The gods have been so surfeited by Gaya with clarified butter that they are not able to take anything that anybody else may offer. As sand grains on earth, as stars in the firmament, as drops showered by rain-charged clouds, cannot ever be counted by anybody, so can none count the gifts in Gaya's sacrifice!"

"O son of the Kuru race, many times did king Gaya perform sacrifices of this description, here, by the side of this Brahmasara!"

SECTION 96

Vaisampayana said, "After this the royal son of Kunti who was ever distinguished for his profuse gifts unto Brahmanas, proceeded to the asylum of Agastya and took up his abode in Durjaya. It was here that that foremost of speakers, king Yudhishthira asked Lomasa as to why Agastya had slain Vatapi there. And the king also enquired after the extent of that man-destroying Daitya's prowess, and the reason also of the illustrious Agastya's wrath being excited against that Asura.

"Thus questioned, Lomasa said, 'O son of Kuru race, there was in the city called Manimati, in days of yore, a Daitya named Ilwala, whose younger brother was Vatapi. One day that son of Diti addressed the Brahmana endued with ascetic merit, saying, 'O holy one, grant me a son equal unto Indra.' The Brahmana, however, did not grant the Asura a son like Indra. And at this, the Asura was inflamed with wrath against the Brahmana. And from that day, O king, the Asura Ilwala became a destroyer of Brahmanas. And endued with power of illusion the angry Asura transformed his brother into a ram. And Vatapi also capable of assuming any form at will, would immediately assume the shape of a ram. And the flesh of that ram, after being properly dressed, was offered to Brahmanas as food. And after they had eaten of it, they were slain. For whomsoever Ilwala summoned with his voice, he would come back to Ilwala even if he had gone to the abode of Yama, in re-embodied form endued with life, and show himself to Ilwala. And so having transformed the Asura Vatapi into a ram and properly cooked his flesh and feeding Brahmanas therewith, he would summon Vatapi. And the mighty Asura Vatapi, that foe of Brahmanas, endued with great strength and power of illusion, hearing, O king, those sounds uttered with a loud voice by Ilwala, and ripping open the flanks of the Brahmana would come laughingly out, O lord of earth! And it was thus, O monarch, that the wicked-hearted Daitya Ilwala, having fed Brahmanas, frequently took away their lives.

"Meanwhile, the illustrious Agastya beheld his deceased ancestors hanging in a pit with heads downwards. And he asked those personages thus suspended in that hole, saying, 'What is the matter with you? Thus questioned those utterers of Brahma replied, 'It is even for offspring.' And they also told him, 'We are your ancestors. It is even for offspring that we stay suspended in this pit. If O Agastya, thou canst beget us a good son, we may then be saved from this hell and thou also wilt obtain thy blessed state of those having offspring.' Endued with great energy and observant of truth and morality Agastya replied, saying, 'Ye Pitris, I will accomplish your desire. Let this anxiety of yours be dispelled.' And the illustrious Rishi then began to think of perpetuating his race. But he saw not a wife worthy of him on whom he himself could take his birth in the form of a son. The Rishi accordingly, taking those parts that were regarded as highly beautiful, from creatures possessing them, created therewith an excellent woman. And the Muni, endued with great ascetic merit, thereupon gave that girl created for himself to the king of the Vidharbhas who was then undergoing ascetic penances for obtaining offspring. And that blessed girl of sweet face (thus disposed of) then took her birth (in Vidarbha's royal line) and, beautiful as the effulgent lightning, her limbs began to grow day by day. And as soon as that lord of earth--the ruler of the Vidarbhas--saw her ushered into life, he joyfully communicated the intelligence, O Bharata, unto the Brahmanas. And the Brahmanas thereupon, O lord of earth, blessed the girl and they bestowed upon her the name Lopamudra. And possessed of great beauty, she began, O monarch, to grow quickly like unto a lotus in the midst of water or the effulgent flame of a fire. And when the girl grew and attained to puberty, a hundred virgins decked in ornaments and a hundred maids waited in obedience upon her blessed self. And surrounded by those hundred maids and virgins, she shone in their midst, endued as she was with bright effulgence, like Rohini in the firmament amid an inferior multitude of stars. And possessed as she was of good behaviour and excellent manners, none dared ask for her hand even when she attained to puberty, through fear of her father, the king of the Vidharbhas. And Lopamudra, devoted to truth, surpassing the Apsaras even in beauty, gratified her father and relatives by means of her conduct. And her father, beholding his daughter-the princess of Vidharbha-attain to puberty, began to reflect in his mind, saying, 'To whom should I give this daughter of mine?'"

SECTION 97

"Lomasa continued, 'When Agastya thought that girl to be competent for the duties of domesticity, he approached that lord of earth-the ruler of Vidharbhas-and addressing him, said, 'I solicit thee, O king, to bestow thy daughter Lopamudra on me.' Thus addressed by the Muni, the king of the Vidharbhas swooned away. And though unwilling to give the Muni his daughter, he dared not refuse. And that lord of earth then, approaching his queen, said, 'This Rishi is endued with great energy. If angry, he may consume me with the fire of his curse. O thou of sweet face, tell me what is thy wish." Hearing these words of the king, she uttered not a word. And beholding the king along with the queen afflicted with sorrow, Lopamudra approached them in due time and said, O monarch, it behoveth thee not to grieve on my account. Bestow me on Agastya, and, O father, save thyself, by giving me away.' And at these words of his daughter, O monarch, the king gave away Lopamudra unto the illustrious Agastya with due rites. And obtaining her as wife, Agastya addressed Lopamudra, saying, 'Cast thou away these costly robes and ornaments.' And at these words of her lord, that large-eyed damsel of thighs tapering as the stem of the plantain tree cast away her handsome and costly robes of fine texture. And casting them away she dressed herself in rags and barks and deerskins, and became her husband's equal in vows and acts. And proceeding then to Gangadwara that illustrious and best of Rishis began to practise the severest penances along with his helpful wife. And Lopamudra herself, well pleased, began to serve her lord from the deep respect that she bore him. And the exalted Agastya also began to manifest great love for his wife.

"After a considerable time, O king, the illustrious Rishi one day beheld Lopamudra, blazing in ascetic splendour come up after the bath in her season. And pleased with the girl, for her services, her purity, and self control, as also with her grace and beauty, he summoned her for marital intercourse. The girl, however, joining her hands, bashfully but lovingly addressed the Rishi, saying, 'The husband, without doubt, weddeth the wife for offspring. But it behoveth thee, O Rishi, to show that love to me which I have for thee. And it behoveth thee, O regenerate one, to approach me on a bed like to that which I had in the palace of my father. I also desire that thou shouldst be decked in garlands of flowers and other ornaments, and that I should approach thee adorned in those celestial ornaments that I like. Otherwise, I cannot approach thee, dressed in these rags dyed in red. Nor, O regenerate Rishi, it is sinful to wear ornaments (on such an occasion).' Hearing these words of his wife, Agastya replied, 'O blessed girl, O thou of slender waist, I have not wealth like what thy father hath, O Lopamudra!' She answered saying, 'Thou who art endued with wealth of asceticism, art certainly able to bring hither within a moment, by ascetic power, everything that exists in the world of men.' Agastya said, 'It is even so as thou hast said. That, however, would waste my ascetic merit. O bid me do that which may not loosen my ascetic merit.' Lopamudra then said, 'O thou endued with wealth of asceticism, my season will not last long, I do not desire, however, to approach thee otherwise. Nor do I desire to diminish thy (ascetic) merit in any way. It behoveth thee, however, to do as I desire, without injuring thy virtue.'

"'Agastya then said, 'O blessed girl, if this be the resolve that thou hast settled in thy heart, I will go out in quest of wealth. Meanwhile, stay thou here as it pleaseth thee.'"

SECTION 98

"Lomasa continued, 'Agastya then, O son of the Kuru race, went to king Srutarvan who was regarded as richer than other kings, to beg for wealth. And that monarch, learning of the arrival of the pot-born Rishi on the frontiers of his kingdoms, went out with his ministers and received the holy man with respect. And the king duly offering the Arghya in the first instance, submissively and with joined hands enquired then after the reason of the Rishi's arrival. And Agastya answered saying, O lord of the earth, know that I have come to thee, desirous of wealth. Give me a portion according to thy ability and without doing injury to others.'

"Lomasa continued, 'The king, then, representing unto the Rishi the equality of his expenditure and income, said, 'O learned one, take thou from my possessions the wealth thou pleasest.' Beholding, however, the equality of that monarch's expenditure with income, the Rishi who always saw both sides with equal eyes, thought that if he took anything under the circumstances, his act would result in injury to creatures. Taking, therefore, Srutarvan with him, the Rishi went to Vradhnaswa. The latter, hearing of their arrival on his frontiers, received them duly. And Vradhnaswa also offered them the Arghyas and water to wash their feet. And the monarch, with their permission, then enquired after the reason of their coming. And Agastya said, 'O lord of earth, know that we have come to thee desirous of wealth. Give us what thou canst, without doing injury to others.'"

"Lomasa continued, 'That monarch then represented unto them the equality of his expenditure and income, and said, 'Knowing this, take ye what ye desire.' The Rishi, however, who saw both sides with equal eyes, beholding the equality of that monarch's income with expenditure, thought that if he took anything under the circumstances, his act would result in injury to all creatures. Agastya and Srutarvan, with king Vradhnaswa then went to Purokutsa's son, Trasadasyu, of enormous wealth. The high-souled Trasadasyu, learning of their arrival on the confines of his kingdom went out, O king, and received them well. And that best of monarchs in Ikshvaku's line, having worshipped all of them duly, enquired after the reason of their arrival. And Agastya answered, 'O lord of earth, know that we have all come to thee, desirous of wealth. Give us what you can, without injuring others.'"

"Lomasa continued, 'That monarch then, represented unto them the equality of his income with expenditure, and said, 'Knowing this, take ye what ye desire.' Beholding, however, the equality of that monarch's expenditure with income, the Rishi who saw both sides with equal eyes, thought that if he took anything under the circumstances, his act would result in injury to all creatures. Then, O monarch, all those kings looking at one another, together spoke unto the Rishis saying, 'O Brahmana, there is a Danava of the name Ilwala who of all persons on earth, is possessed of enormous wealth. Let us all approach him to-day and beg wealth of him.'"

"Lomasa continued, 'This suggestion, O king, of begging wealth of Ilwala appeared to them to be proper. And, O monarch, all of them went together to Ilwala after this!'"

SECTION 99

"Lomasa said, 'When Ilwala learnt that those kings along with the great Rishi had arrived on the confines of his domain, he went out with his ministers and worshipped them duly. And that prince of Asuras received them hospitably, entertaining them, O son of the Kuru race, with well dressed meat supplied by his brother Vatapi (transformed into a ram). Then all those royal sages, beholding the mighty Asura Vatapi, who had been transformed into a ram thus cooked for them, became sad and cheerless and were nearly deprived of themselves. But that best of Rishis--Agastya--addressing those royal sages, said, 'Yield ye not to grief, I will eat up the great Asura.' And the mighty Rishi then sat himself down on an excellent seat, and the prince of Asuras, Ilwala, began to distribute the food smilingly. And Agastya ate up the whole of the meat supplied by Vatapi (transformed into a ram). And after the dinner was over, Ilwala began to summon his brother. But thereupon a quantity of air alone came out of the illustrious Rishi's stomach, with a sound that was as loud, O child, as the roar of the clouds. And Ilwala repeatedly said, 'Come out, O Vatapi!' Then that best of Munis--Agastya--bursting out in laughter, said, 'How can he come out? I have already digested that great Asura.' And beholding his brother already digested, Ilwala became sad and cheerless and joining his hands, along with his ministers, addressing the Rishi (and his companions), said, 'What for have ye come hither, and what can I do for you?' And Agastya smilingly answered Ilwala, saying, 'We know thee, O Asura, to be possessed of great power and also enormous wealth. These kings are not very wealthy while my need also of wealth is great. Give us what thou canst, without injuring others.' Thus addressed Ilwala saluted the Rishi and said, 'If thou say what it is that I mean to give, then will I give you wealth.' Hearing this Agastya said, 'O great Asura, thou hast even purposed to give unto each of these kings ten thousand kine and as many gold coins. And unto me thou hast purposed to give twice as much, as also a car of gold and a couple of horses fleet as thought. If thou enquirest now, thou wilt soon learn that your car is made of gold.' Thereupon, O son of Kunti, Ilwala made enquiries and learnt that the car he had intended to give away was really a golden one. And the Daitya then with a sad heart, gave away much wealth and that car, unto which were yoked two steeds called Virava and Surava. And those steeds, O Bharata, took those kings and Agastya and all that wealth to the asylum of Agastya within the twinkling of an eye. And those royal sages then obtaining Agastya's permission, went

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away to their respective cities. And Agastya also (with that wealth) did all that his wife Lopamudra had desired. And Lopamudra then said, 'O illustrious one, thou hast now accomplished all my wishes. Beget thou a child on me that shall be possessed of great energy.' And Agastya replied unto her, saying, 'O blessed and beauteous one, I have been much gratified with thy conduct. Listen thou unto me as regards the proposal I make in respect of thy offspring. Wouldst thou have a thousand sons, or a century of sons each equal to ten, or ten sons equal each to an hundred, or only one son who may vanquish a thousand?' Lopamudra answered, 'Let me have one son equal unto a thousand, O thou endued with wealth of asceticism! One good and learned son is preferable to many evil ones.'"

"Lomasa continued, 'Saying, 'So be it,' that pious Muni thereupon knew his devout wife of equal behaviour. And after she had conceived, he retired into the forest. And after the Muni had gone away, the foetus began to grow for seven years. And after the seventh year had expired, there came out of the womb, the highly learned Dridhasyu, blazing, O Bharata, in his own splendour. And the great Brahmana and illustrious ascetic, endued with mighty energy, took his birth as the Rishi's son, coming out of the womb, as if repeating the Vedas with the Upanishads and the Angas. Endued with great energy while yet a child, he used to carry loads of sacrificial fuel into the asylum of his father, and was thence called Idhmavaha (carrier of sacrificial wood). And the Muni, beholding his son possessed of such virtues, became highly glad.

"And it was thus, O Bharata, that Agastya begat an excellent son in consequence of which his ancestors, O king, obtained the regions they desired. And it is from that time that this spot hath become known on the earth as the asylum of Agastya. Indeed, O king, this is the asylum graced with numerous beauties, of that Agastya who had slain Vatapi of Prahrada's race. The sacred Bhagirathi, adored by gods and Gandharvas gently runneth by, like a breeze-shaken pennon in the welkin. Yonder also she floweth over craggy crests descending lower and lower, and looketh like an affrighted she-snake lying along the hilly slopes. Issuing out of the matted locks of Mahadeva, she passeth along, flooding the southern country and benefiting it like a mother, and ultimately mingleth with the ocean as if she were his favourite bride. Bathe ye as ye like in this sacred river, ye son of Pandu! And behold there, O Yudhisthira, the tirtha of Bhrigu that is celebrated over the three worlds and adored, O king, by great Rishis. Bathing here, Rama (of Bhrigu's race) regained his might, which had been taken away from him (by Dasaratha's son). Bathing here, O son of Pandu, with thy brothers and Krishna, thou wilt certainly regain that energy of thine that hath been taken away by Duryodhana, even as Rama regained his that had been taken away by Dasaratha's son in hostile encounter."

Vaisampayana continued, "At these words of Lomasa, Yudhishthira bathed there with his brothers and Krishna, and offered oblations of water, O Bharata, to the gods and the Pitris. And, O bull among men, after Yudhishthira had bathed in that tirtha, his body blazed forth in brighter effulgence, and he became invisible in respect of all foes. The son of Pandu then, O king, asked Lomasa, saying, 'O illustrious one, why had Rama's energy and might been taken away? And how also did he regain it? O exalted one, I ask thee, tell me everything.'"

"Lomasa said, 'Listen, O king, to the history of Rama (the son of Dasaratha) and Rama of Bhrigu's line gifted with intelligence. For the destruction of Ravana, O king, Vishnu, in his own body, took his birth as the son of illustrious Dasaratha. We saw in Ayodhya that son of Dasaratha after he had been born. It was then that Rama of Bhrigu's line, the son of Richika by Renuka, hearing of Rama the son of Dasaratha--of spotless deeds--went to Ayodhya, impelled by curiosity, and taking with him that celestial bow so fatal to the Kshatriyas, for ascertaining the prowess of Dasaratha's son. And Dasaratha, hearing that Rama of Bhrigu's race had arrived on the confines of his domains, set his own son Rama to receive the hero with respect. And beholding Dasaratha's son approach and stand before him with ready weapons, Rama of Bhrigu's line smilingly addressed him, O son of Kunti, saying, 'O king, O exalted one, string, if thou canst, with all thy mighty, this bow which in my hands was made the instrument of destroying the Kshatriya race.' Thus addressed, Dasaratha's son answered, 'O illustrious one, it behoveth thee not to insult me thus. Nor am I, amongst the regenerate classes, deficient in the virtues of the Kshatriya order. The descendants of Ikshwaku in special never boast of the prowess of their arms.' Then unto Dasaratha's son who said so, Rama of Bhrigu's line replied, 'A truce to all crafty speech, O king! Take this bow.' At this, Rama the son of Dasaratha, took in anger from the hands of Rama of Bhrigu's line that celestial bow that had dealt death to the foremost of Kshatriyas. And, O Bharata, the mighty hero smilingly strung that bow without the least exertion, and with its twang loud as the thunder-rattle, affrighted all creatures. And Rama, the son of Dasaratha, then, addressing Rama of Bhrigu's said, 'Here, I have strung this bow. What else, O Brahmana, shall I do for thee?' Then Rama, the son of Jamadagni, gave unto the illustrious son of Dasaratha a celestial arrow and said, 'Placing this on the bow-string, draw to thy ear, O hero!'

"Lomasa continued, 'Hearing this, Dasaratha's son blazed up in wrath and said, 'I have heard what thou hast said, and even pardoned thee. O son of Bhrigu's race, thou art full of vanity. Through the Grandsire's grace thou hast obtained energy that is superior to that of the Kshatriyas. And it is for this that thou insultest me. Behold me now in my native form: I give thee sight.' Then Rama of Bhrigu's race beheld in the body of Dasaratha's son the Adityas with the Vasus, the Rudras, the Sadhyas with the Marutas, the Pitris, Hutasana, the stellar constellations and the planets, the Gandharvas, the Rakshasas, the Yakshas, the Rivers, the tirthas, those eternal Rishis identified with Brahma and called the Valkhilyas, the celestial Rishis, the Seas and Mountains, the Vedas with the Upanishads and Vashats and the sacrifices, the Samans in their living form, the Science of weapons, O Bharata, and the Clouds with rain and lightning, O Yudhishthira! And the illustrious Vishnu then shot that shaft. And at this the earth was filled with sounds of thunder, and burning meteors. O Bharata, began to flash through the welkin. And showers of dust and rain fell upon the surface of the earth. And whirlwinds and frightful sounds convulsed everything, and the earth herself began to quake. And shot by the hand of Rama, that shalt, confounding by its energy the other Rama, came back blazing into Rama's hands. And Bhargava, who had thus been deprived of his senses, regaining consciousness and life, bowed unto Rama--that manifestation of Vishnu's power. And commanded by Vishnu, he proceeded to the mountains of Mahendra. And thenceforth that great ascetic began to dwell there, in terror and shame. And after the expiration of a year, the Pitris, beholding Rama dwelling there deprived of energy, his pride quelled, and himself sunk in affliction, said unto him, 'O son, having approached Vishnu, thy behaviour towards him was not proper. He deserveth for aye worship and respect in the three worlds. Go, O son, to that sacred river which goeth by name of Vadhusara! Bathing in all the tirthas of that stream, thou wilt regain thy energy! There in that river is the tirthas called Diptoda where thy grandsire Bhrigu, O Rama, in the celestial age had practised ascetic penances of great merit.' Thus addressed by them, Rama, O son of Kunti, did what the Pitris bade him, and obtained back at this tirtha, O son of Pandu, the energy he had lost. Even this O child, was what befell Rama of spotless deeds in days in of yore, after he had, O king, met Vishnu (in the form of Dasaratha's son)!'"

SECTION 100

"Yudhishthira said, 'O best of regenerate ones, I desire again to hear of the achievements in detail of Agastya--that illustrious Rishi endued with great intelligence.'"

"Lomasa said, 'Listen now, O king, to the excellent and wonderful and extraordinary history of Agastya, as also, O monarch, about the prowess of that Rishi of immeasurable energy. There were in the Krita age certain tribes of fierce Danavas that were invincible in battle. And they were known by the name of Kalakeyas and were endued with terrible prowess. Placing themselves under Vritra and arming themselves with diverse weapons they pursued the celestials with Indra at their head in all directions. The gods then all resolved upon the destruction of Vritra, and went with Indra at their head to Brahma. And beholding them standing before him with joined hands, Parameshthi addressed them all and said, "Everything is known to me, ye gods, about what ye seek. I shall indicate now the means by which ye may slay Vritra. There is a high-souled and great Rishi known by the name of Dadhicha. Go ye all together unto him and solicit of him a boon. With well-pleased heart, that Rishi of virtuous soul will even grant you the boon. Desirous as ye are of victory, go ye all together unto him and tell him, 'For the good of the three worlds, give us thy bones.' Renouncing his body, he will give you his bones. With these bones of his, make ye a fierce and powerful weapon to be called Vajra, endued with six sides and terrible roar and capable of destroying even the most powerful enemies. With that weapon will he of a hundred sacrifices slay Vritia. I have now told you all. See that all this is done speedily.' Thus addressed by him, the gods with the Grandsire's leave (came away), and with Narayana at their head proceeded to the asylum of Dadhicha. That asylum was on the other bank of the river Saraswati and covered with diverse trees and creepers. And it resounded with the hum of bees as if they were reciting Samans. And it also echoed with the melodious notes of the male Kokila and the Chakora. And buffaloes and boars and deer and Chamaras wandered there at pleasure freed from the fear of tigers. And elephants with the juice trickling down from rent temples, plunging in the stream, sported with the she-elephants and made the entire region resound with their roars. And the place also echoed with the loud roars of lions and tigers, while at intervals might be seen those grisly monarchs of the forest lying stretched in caves and glens and beautifying them with their presence And such was the asylum, like unto heaven itself, of Dadhicha, that the gods entered. And there they beheld Dadhicha looking like the sun himself in splendour and blazing in grace of person like the Grandsire himself. And the celestials saluted the feet of the Rishi and bowed unto him and begged of him the boon that the Grandsire had bade them do. Then Dadhicha, well pleased, addressing those foremost of celestials, said, 'Ye celestials, I will do what is for your benefit. I will even renounce this body of mine myself.' And that foremost of men with soul under control, having said this, suddenly renounced his life. The gods then took the bones of the deceased Rishi as directed. And the celestials, glad at heart, went to Twashtri (the celestial Artificer) and spake to him of the means of victory. And Twashtri, hearing those words of theirs, became filled with joy, and constructed (out of those bones) with great attention and care the fierce weapons called Vajra. And having manufactured it, he joyfully addressed Indra, saying, 'With this foremost of weapons, O exalted one, reduce that fierce foe of the gods to ashes. And having slain the foe, rule thou happily the entire domain of heaven, O chief of the celestials, with those that follow thee.' And thus addressed by Twashtri, Purandara took the Vajra from his hand, joyfully and with proper respect."

SECTION 101

"Lomasa said, 'Armed with the Vajra then, and supported by celestials endued with great might, Indra then approached Vritra, who was then occupying the entire earth and the heaven. And he was guarded on all sides by huge-bodied Kalakeyas with upraised weapons resembling gigantic mountains with towering peaks. And the encounter that took place between the gods and the Danavas lasted for a short while and was, O chief of the Bharatas, terrific in the extreme, appalling as it did the three worlds. And loud was the clash of swords and scimitars upraised and warded off by heroic hands in course of those fierce encounters. And heads (severed from trunks) began to roll from the firmament to the earth like fruits of the palmyra palm falling upon the ground, loosened from their stalks. And the Kalakeyas armed with iron-mounted bludgeons and cased in golden mail ran against the gods, like moving mountains on conflagration. And the gods, unable to stand the shock of that impetuous and proudly advancing host, broke and fled from fear. Purandara of a thousand eyes, beholding the gods flying in fear and Vritra growing in boldness, became deeply dejected. And the foremost of gods Purandara, himself, agitated with the fear of the Kalakeyas, without losing a moment, sought the exalted Narayana's refuge. And the eternal Vishnu beholding Indra so depressed enhanced his might by imparting unto him a portion of his own energy. And when the celestials beheld that Sakra was thus protected by Vishnu, each of them imparted unto him his own energy.

And the spotless Brahmarshis also imparted their energies unto the chief of the celestials. And favoured thus by Vishnu and all the gods and by the high-blessed Rishis also, Sakra became mightier than before. And when Vritra learnt that the chief of the celestials had been filled with might of others, he sent forth some terrific roars. And at these roars of his, the earth, the directions, the firmament, heaven, and the mountains all began to tremble. And the chief of the celestials, deeply agitated on hearing that fierce and loud roar, was filled with fear, and desiring to slay the Asura soon, hurled, O king, the mighty Vajra. And struck with Indra's Vajra the great Asura decked in gold and garlands fell head-long, like the great mountain Mandara hurled of yore from Vishnu's hands; and although the prince of Daityas was slain, yet Sakra in panic ran from the field, desiring to take shelter in a lake, thinking that the Vajra itself had not been hurled from his hands and regarding that Vritra himself was still alive. The celestials, however, and the great Rishis became filled with joy, and all of them began to cheerfully chant the praise of Indra. And mustering together, the celestials began to slay the Danavas, who were dejected at the death of their leader. And struck with panic at sight of the assembled celestial host, the afflicted Danavas fled to the depths of the sea. And having entered the fathomless deep, teeming with fishes and crocodiles, the Danavas assembled together and began to proudly conspire for the destruction of the three worlds. And some amongst them that were wise in inferences suggested courses of action, each according to his judgement. In course of time, however, the dreadful resolution arrived at those conspiring sons of Diti, was that they should, first of all, compass the destruction of all persons possessed of knowledge and ascetic virtue. The worlds are all supported by asceticism. Therefore, they said, 'Lose no time for the destruction of asceticism. Compass ye without delay the destruction of those on earth that are possessed of ascetic virtues, that are conversant with duties and the ways of morality, and that have a knowledge of Brahma; for when these are destroyed, the universe itself will be destroyed.' And all the Danavas, having arrived at this resolution for the destruction of the universe, became highly glad. And thenceforth they made the ocean--that abode of Varuna--with billows high as hills, their fort, from which to make their sallies."

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SECTION 102

"Lomasa said, 'The Kalakeyas then having recourse to that receptacle of waters, which is the abode of Varuna, began their operations for the destruction of the universe. And during the darkness of the night those angry Daityas began to devour the Munis they found in woody retreats and sacred spots. And those wicked wretches devoured in the asylum of Vasishtha, Brahmanas to the number of a hundred and eighty, besides nine other ascetics. And, proceeding to the asylum of Chyavana that was inhabited by many Brahmacharis, they devoured a century of Brahmanas that lived upon fruit and roots alone. And they began to do all this during the darkness of the night, while they entered the depths of the sea by day. And they slew a full score of Brahmanas of subdued souls and leading a Brahmacharya mode of life and living upon air and water alone, in the retreat of Bharadwaja. And it was thus that those Danavas the Kalakeyas, intoxicated with prowess of arms and their lives nearly run out, gradually invaded all the asylums of the Rishis during the darkness of the night, slaughtering numerous Brahmanas. And, O best of men, although the Danavas behaved in this way towards the ascetics in woody retreats, yet men failed to discover anything of them. And every morning people saw the dead bodies of Munis emaciated with frugal diet, lying on the ground. And many of those bodies were without flesh and without blood, without marrow, without entrails, and with limbs separated from one another. And here and there lay on the ground heaps of bones like masses of conch shells. And the earth was scattered over with the (sacrificial) contents of broken jars and shattered ladles for pouring libations of clarified butter and with the sacred fires kept with care by the ascetics. And the universe afflicted with the terror of the Kalakeyas, being destitute of Vedic studies and vashats and sacrificial festivals and religious rites, became entirely cheerless. And, O king, when men began to perish in this way, the survivors, afflicted with fear, fled for their lives in all directions. And some fled to caverns and some behind mountain-streams and springs and some through fear of death, died without much ado. And some who were brave and mighty bowmen cheerfully went out and took great trouble in tracking the Danavas. Unable, however, to find them out, for the Asuras had sought refuge in the depths of the sea, these brave men came back to their homes gratified with the search. And, O lord of men, when the universe was being thus destroyed, and when sacrificial festivals and religious rites had been suspended, the gods became deeply afflicted. And gathering together with Indra in their midst they began, from fear, to take counsel of one another. And repairing unto the exalted and uncreate Narayana--that unvanquished god of Vaikuntha--the celestials sought his protection. And bowing unto the slayer of Madhu, the gods addressed him, saying, 'O lord, thou art the creator, the protector, and the slayer of ourselves as well as of the universe. It is thou who has created this universe with its mobile and immobile creatures. O thou of eyes like lotus leaves, it was thou who in days of yore hadst for the benefit of all creatures raised from the sea the sunken earth, assuming also the form of a boar. And, O best of male beings, assuming also the form of half-man and half-lion, thou hadst slain in days of yore that ancient Daitya of mighty prowess known by the name of Hiranyakasipu. And that other great Asura also, Vali by name, was incapable of being slain by any one. Assuming the form of a dwarf, thou exiledest him from the three worlds. O lord, it was by thee that that wicked Asura, Jambha by name, who was a mighty bowman and who always obstructed sacrifices, was slain. Achievements like these, which cannot be counted, are thine. O slayer of Madhu, we who have been afflicted with fear, have thee for our refuge. It is for this, O god of gods, that we inform thee of our present troubles. Protect the worlds, the gods, and Sakra also, from a terrible fear.'"

SECTION 103

"The celestials said, 'Through thy favour it is that all born beings of the four kinds increase. And they being created, propitiate the dwellers of heaven by offerings made to the gods and the names of departed forefathers. Thus it is that people, protected by thee and free from trouble live depending on one another, and (so) increase. Now this peril hath befallen the people. We do not know by whom are Brahmanas being killed during the night. If the Brahmanas are destroyed, the earth itself will meet with destruction, and if the earth cometh to an end, heaven also will cease to exist. O mighty-armed one, O lord of the universe! we beseech thee (to act so) that all the worlds, protected by thee, may not come to an end, so it may please thee.'

"Vishnu said, 'Ye gods! To me is known the reason of the destruction of the born beings, I shall speak of it to you; listen with minds free from tribulation. There exists an exceedingly fierce host, known by the name of Kalakeyas. They, under the lead of Vritra, were devastating the whole universe. And when they saw that Vritra was slain by the sagacious Indra endued with a thousand eyes, they, to preserve their lives, entered into the ocean, that abode of Varuna. And having entered the ocean, abounding with sharks and crocodiles, they at night killed the saints at this spot with the view of exterminating the people. But they cannot be slain, as they have taken shelter within the sea. Ye should, therefore, think of some expedient to dry up the ocean. Who save Agastya is capable of drying up the sea. And without drying up the ocean, these (demons) cannot be assailed by any other means.' Hearing these words of Vishnu, the gods took the permission of Brahma, who lives at the best of all regions, and went to the hermitage of Agastya. Then they beheld the high-souled Agastya, the son of Varuna, of resplendent mien, and waited upon by saints, even as Brahma is waited upon by celestials. And approaching him, they addressed the son of Mitra and Varuna at the hermitage, magnanimous and unswerving, and looking like an embodiment of pious works piled together, and glorified him by reciting his deeds. The deities said, 'Thou wert formerly the refuge of the gods when they were oppressed by Nahusha. Thorn of the world that he was, he was thrown down from his throne of heaven--from the celestial regions. Vindhya, the foremost of all mountains, suddenly began to increase his height, from a wrathful competition with the sun (i. e., to rival him in altitude). But he hath ceased to increase, as he was unable to disobey thy command. And when darkness hath covered the world, the born beings were harassed by death, but having obtained thee for a protector, they attained the utmost security. Whenever we are beset by perils, thy reverence is always our refuge; for this reason it is that we solicit a boon from thee; as thou ever grantest the boon solicited (of thee).'"

SECTION 104

"Yudhishthira said, 'O great saint! I am desirous of hearing in detail why it was that Vindhya, made senseless with wrath, suddenly began to increase his bulk.'"

"Lomasa said, 'The sun between his rising and setting used to revolve round that monarch of mountains--the great Meru of golden lustre. And seeing this the mountain Vindhya spake to Surya saying, 'As thou every day goest round Meru and honourest him by thy circumambulations, do thou even the same by me, O maker of light!' Thus addressed, the sun replied to the great mountain, saying, 'I do not of my own will honour this mountain by my circumambulations. By those who have built this universe hath that path been assigned to me.' Thus addressed the mountain suddenly began to increase from wrath, desirous, O chastiser of foes, of obstructing the path of the Sun and the Moon. And all the assembled gods came to Vindhya, the mighty king of mountains, and tried to dissuade him from his course. But he heeded not what they said. And then all the assembled gods went to the saint, living in the hermitage, engaged in the practice of austerities, and the very best of persons devoted to virtue; and stated all that happened to Agastya, possessed of exceeding marvellous power.

"The gods said, 'This king of hills, Vindhya, giving way to wrath, is stopping the path of the Sun and the Moon, and also the course of the stars. O foremost of Brahmanas! O thou great in gifts! excepting thyself, there is none who can prevent him; therefore do thou make him desist.' Hearing these words of the gods the Brahmana came to the mountain. And he with his wife, having arrived there, came near Vindhya and spake to him, saying, 'O thou best of mountains! I wish to have a path given to me by thee, as, for some purpose, I shall have to go to the southern region. Until my return, do thou wait for me. And when I have returned, O king of mountains, thou mayst increase in bulk as much as thou pleasest.' And, O slayer of foes! having made this compact with Vindhya up to the present day Varuna's son doth not return from the southern region. Thus have I, asked by thee, narrated to thee why Vindhya doth not increase in bulk, by reason of the power of Agastya. Now, O king! hear how the Kalakeyas were killed by the gods, after they had obtained their prayer from Agastya.

"Having heard the words of the gods, Agastya, the son of Mitra, and Varuna, said, 'Wherefore are ye come? What boon do ye solicit from me?' Thus addressed by him, the deities then spake to the saint, saying, 'This deed we ask thee to achieve, viz., to drink up the great ocean. O magnanimous (saint)! Then we shall be able to slay those enemies of the gods, known by the name of Kalakeyas, together with all their adherents.' Having heard the words of the gods, the saint said, 'Let it be so--I shall do even what ye desire, and that which will conduce to the great happiness of men.' Having said this, he then proceeded to the ocean--the lord of rivers,--accompanied by sages, ripe in the practice of penances, and also by the deities, O thou who leadest an excellent life! And men and snakes, celestial choristers, Yakshas and Kinnaras followed the magnanimous saints,--desirous of witnessing that wonderful event. Then they came up all together near to the sea, of awful roar, dancing, as it were, with its billows, bounding with the breeze, and laughing with masses of froth, and stumbling at the caves, and thronged with diverse kinds of sharks, and frequented by flocks of various birds. And the deities accompanied by Agastya and celestial choristers and huge snakes and highly-gifted saints, approached the immense watery waste."

SECTION 105

"Lomasa said, 'That blessed saint, the son of Varuna, having reached the sea spake unto the assembled gods, and the saints gathered together, saying 'I surely am going to drink up the ocean--that abode of the god of waters. Be ye quickly ready with those preparations which it devolves upon you to make.' Having spoken these few words, the unswerving offspring of Mitra and Varuna, full of wrath, began to drink up the sea, while all the worlds stood observing (the deed). Then the gods, together with Indra, seeing how the sea was being drunk up, were struck with mighty amazement, and glorified him with laudatory words, saying, 'Thou art our protector, and the Providence itself for men,--and also the creator of the worlds. By thy favour the universe with its gods may possibly be saved from havoc.' And the magnanimous one, glorified by the gods--while the musical instruments of celestial choristers were playing all round, and while celestial blossoms were showered upon him--rendered waterless the wide ocean. And seeing the wide ocean rendered devoid of water, the host of gods was exceedingly glad; and taking up choice weapons of celestial forge, fell to slaying the demons with courageous hearts,--And they, assailed by the magnanimous gods, of great strength, and swift of speed, and roaring loudly, were unable to withstand the onset of their fleet and valorous (foes)--those residents of the heavenly regions, O descendant of Bharata! And those demons, attacked by the gods, bellowing loudly, for a moment carried on terrible conflict. They had been in the first instance burnt by the force of penances performed by the saints, who had matured their selves; therefore, the demons, though they tried to the utmost, were at last slaughtered by the gods. And decked with brooches of gold, and bearing on their persons ear-rings and armlets, the demons, when slain, looked beautiful indeed, like palasa trees when full of blossoms. Then, O best of men! a few--the remnant of those that were killed of the Kalakeya race, having rent asunder the goddess Earth, took refuge at the bottom of the nether regions. And the gods, when they saw that the demons were slain, with diverse speeches, glorified the mighty saint, and spake the following words. 'O thou of mighty arms, by thy favour men have attained a mighty blessing, and the Kalakeyas, of ruthless strength have been killed by thy power, O creator of beings! Fill the sea (now), O mighty-armed one; give up again the water drunk up by thee.' Thus addressed, the blessed and mighty saint replied, 'That water in sooth hath been digested by me. Some other expedient, therefore, must be thought of by you, if ye desire to make endeavour to fill the ocean.' Hearing this speech of that saint of matured soul, the assembled gods were struck with both wonder and sadness, O great king! And thereupon, having bidden adieu to each other, and bowed to the mighty saint all the born beings went their way. And the gods with Vishnu, came to Brahma. And having held consultation again, with the view of filling up the sea, they, with joined hands, spake about replenishing it."

SECTION 106

"Lomasa said, 'Then gathered together, Brahma, the grandfather of men (thus) addressed, 'Go ye, O gods! whither your pleasure may lead you, or your desire conduct you. It will take a long course of time for the ocean to resume its wonted state; the occasion will be furnished by the agnates of the great king Bhagiratha.' Hearing the words of the (universal) grandfather (Brahma), all the foremost gods went their way biding the day (when the ocean was to be filled again).'

"Yudhishthira said, 'What was that occasion, O Saint? And how did the agnates of (Bhagiratha furnish the same)? And how was the ocean refilled by the interference of Bhagiratha? O Saint, who deemest thy religious practices as thy only treasure. O thou of the priestly class! I wish to hear the account of the achievements of the king, narrated in detail by thyself.'"

"Vaisampayana said, "Thus addressed by the magnanimous and virtuous king, he, the chief of men of the priestly class, narrated the achievements of the high-souled (king) Sagara."

"Lomasa said, 'There was born in the family of the Ikshaku tribe, a ruler of the earth named Sagara, endued with beauty, and strength. And that same (king) of a dreaded name was sonless, O descendant of Bharata! And he carried havoc through the tribes of the Haihayas and the Talajanghas; brought under subjection the whole of the military caste; (and so) ruled over his own kingdom. And, O most praiseworthy of the descendants of Bharata! O chief of the Bharata race! he had two wives proud of their beauty and of their youth,--one a princess of the Vidarbha race, and the other of the royal line of Sivi. And, O chief of kings, that same ruler of men, betook himself to the mountain Kailasa, accompanied by both his wives, and with the desire of having a son became engaged in the practice of exceeding austere penances. And being engaged in the practice of rigid austerities, and (also) employed in the contemplation known by the name of Yoga, he obtained the sight of the magnanimous god with three eyes--the slayer of the demon called Tripura; the worker of blessings (for all beings); the (eternally) existent one; the ruling Being, the

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holder of the Pinaka bow; carrying in his hand his (well-known weapon)--the trident; the god of three eyes; the repository of (eternal) peace; the ruler of all those that are fierce; capable of assuming very many forms; and the lord of the goddess Uma. And that same ruler of men, of mighty arms, as soon as he beheld the god--that giver of boons--fell down at his feet, with both his queens, and proffered a prayer to have a son. And the god Siva, well pleased with him, spake (thus) to that most righteous of the rulers of men, attended by his two wives, saying, 'O lord of men! considering the (astrological) moment at which thou hast proffered thy prayer to me, sixty thousand sons, O foremost of choice men valorous and characterised by exceeding pride, will be born in one off thy two wives (here). But they all, O ruler of the earth, shall perish together. In the other wife, (however), will be born a single valiant son, who will perpetuate thy race.' Having said this to him, the god Rudra (Siva) vanished from sight at that very spot, and that same king Sagara now came (back) to his own abode accompanied by his two wives, exceedingly delighted at heart (for what had happened) then. And, O most praiseworthy of the sons of Manu! (i.e., men), there the two lotus-eyed wives of him--the princess of Vidarbha and the princess of Sivi--came (erelong) to be with child. And afterwards, on the due day, the princess of Vidarbha brought forth (something) of the shape of a gourd and the princess of Sivi gave birth to a boy as beautiful as a god. Then the ruler of the earth made up his mind to throw away the gourd,--when he heard (proceeding) from the sky a speech (uttered) in a grave and solemn voice, 'O king! do thou not be guilty of this hasty act; thou shouldst not abandon thy sons. Take out the seeds from the gourd and let them be preserved with care in steaming vessels partly filled with clarified butter. Then thou wilt get, O scion of Bharata's race! sixty thousand sons. O ruler of men! the great god (Siva) hath spoken that thy sons are to be born in this manner. Let not therefore thy mind be turned away therefrom.'"

SECTION 107

"Lomasa said, 'O most righteous of kings! When he heard these words (proceeding) from the sky, he had faith therein, and did all that he was directed to do, O chief of the men of Bharata's race! Then the ruler of men took separately each of the seeds and then placed these divisions (of the gourd) in vessels filled with clarified butter. And intent on the preservation of his sons, he provided a nurse for every (receptacle). Then after a long time there arose sixty thousand exceedingly powerful sons of that same king--gifted with unmeasured strength, they were born, O ruler of earth! to that saint-like king, by Rudra's favour. And they were terrible; and their acts were ruthless. And they were able to ascend and roam about in the sky; and being numerous themselves, despised everybody, including the gods. And they would chase even the gods, the Gandharvas, and the Rakshasas and all the born beings, being themselves valiant and addicted to fighting. Then all people, harassed by the dull-headed sons of Sagara, united with all the gods, went to Brahma as their refuge. And then addressed the blessed grandfather of all beings (Brahma), 'Go ye your way, ye gods, together with all these men. In a not very long space of time, there will come about, O gods! a great and exceedingly terrible destruction of Sagara's sons, caused by the deed perpetrated by them.' Thus addressed, those same gods, and men, O lord of the sons of Manu! bade adieu to the grandfather, and went back to whence they had come. Then, O chief of Bharata's race! after the expiry of very many days, the mighty king Sagara accepted the consecration for performing the rites of a horse-sacrifice. And his horse began to roam over the world, protected by his sons. And when the horse reached the sea, waterless and frightful to behold--although the horse was guarded with very great care--it (suddenly) vanished at the very spot (it stood upon). Then, O respected sir! those same sons of Sagara imagined the same fine horse to have been stolen; and returning to their father, narrated how it had been stolen out of sight. And thereupon he addressed them, saying, 'Go ye and search for the horse in all the cardinal points.' Then, O great king! by this command of their father, they began to search for the horse in the cardinal points and throughout the whole surface of the earth. But all those sons of Sagara, all mutually united, could not find the horse, nor the person who had stolen it. And coming back then, they with joined palms (thus addressed) their father, (standing) before them, 'O Protector of men! O ruler of the earth! O king! by thy command, the whole of this world with its hills and its forest tracts, with its seas, and its woods, and its islands, with its rivulets and rivers and caves, hath been searched through by us. But we cannot find either the horse, or the thief who had stolen the same.' And hearing the words, the same king became senseless with wrath, and then told them all, carried away by Destiny, 'Go ye all, may ye never return! Search ye again for the horse. Without that sacrificial horse, ye must never return, my boys!'"

"And those same sons of Sagara, accepted this command of their father, and once more began to search through the entire world. Now these heroes saw a rift on the surface of the earth. And having reached this pit, the sons of Sagara began to excavate it. And with spades and pickaxes they went on digging the sea, making the utmost efforts. And that same abode of Varuna (namely the ocean), being thus, excavated by the united sons of Sagara and rent and cut on all sides round, was placed in a condition of the utmost distress. And the demons and snakes and Rakshasas and various (other) animated beings began to utter distressful cries, while being killed by Sagara's sons. And hundreds and thousands of animated beings were beheld with severed heads and separated trunks and with their skins and bones and joints rent asunder and broken. Thus they went on digging the ocean, which was the abode of Varuna and an exceedingly long space of time expired in this work, but still the horse was not found. Then, O lord of earth! towards the north-eastern region of the sea, the incensed sons of Sagara dug down as far as the lower world, and there they beheld the horse, roaming about on the surface of the ground. And they saw the magnanimous Kapila, who looked like a perfect mass of splendour. And having beheld him shining with his brightness, just as the fire shineth with its flames, they, O king! seeing the horse, were flushed with delight. And they being incensed, sent forward by their fate, paid no heed to the presence of the magnanimous Kapila, and ran forward with a view to seizing the horse. Then, O great king! Kapila, the most righteous of saints,--he whom the great sages name as Kapila Vasudeva--assumed a fiery look, and the mighty saint shot flames towards them, and thereby burnt down the dull-headed sons of Sagara. And Narada, whose practice of austerities was very great, when he beheld them reduced to ashes, came to Sagara's side, and gave the information to him. And when the king learnt this terrible news which proceeded from the mouth of the saint, for nearly an hour he remained sad, and then he bethought himself of what Siva had said. Then sending for Ansuman, the son of Asamanjas, and his own grandson, he, O chief of Bharata's race! spake the following words, 'Those same sixty thousand sons of unmeasured strength having encountered Kapila's wrath, have met their death on my account. And, O my boy of stainless character! thy father also hath been forsaken by me, in order to discharge my duty (as a king), and being desirous of doing good to my subjects.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'O saint, whose sole wealth consists in religious practices! Tell me for what reason, Sagara, the foremost of kings, abandoned his own begotten son, endued with valour--an act so difficult (for all other men)."

"Lomasa said, 'A son was born to Sagara, known by the name of Asamanjas, he who was given birth to by the princess of Sivi. And he used to seize by throat the feeble children of the townsmen, and threw them while screaming into the river. And thereupon the townsmen, overwhelmed with terror and grief, met together, and all standing with joined palms, besought Sagara in the following way, 'O great king! Thou art our protector from the dreaded peril of attack from a hostile force. Therefore it is proper for thee to deliver us from the frightful danger, proceeding from Asamanjas.' And the most righteous of the rulers of men, having heard this frightful news from his subjects, for nearly an hour remained sad and then spake to his ministers, saying, 'This day from the city let my son Asamanjas be driven forth. If ye wish to do what will be acceptable to me, let this be quickly done. 'And, O protector of men! those same ministers, thus addressed by the king, performed in a hurry exactly what the king had commanded them to do. Thus have I narrated to thee how the magnanimous Sagara banished his son, with a view to the welfare of the residents of the town. I shall now fully narrate to thee what Ansuman of the powerful bow was told by Sagara. Listen to me!

"Sagara said, 'O my boy! sore am I at heart for having abandoned thy father, on account of the death of my sons, and also on being unsuccessful in getting back the horse. Therefore, O grandson! harassed with grief and confounded with the obstruction to my religious rites as I am, thou must bring back the horse and deliver me from hell.' Thus addressed by the magnanimous Sagara, Ansuman went with sorrow to that spot where the earth had been excavated. And by that very passage he entered into the sea, and beheld that illustrious Kapila and that same horse. And having beheld that ancient saint, most righteous of his order, looking like a mass of light, he bowed with his head to the ground, and informed him of the reason of his visit. Then, O great king, Kapila was pleased with Ansuman, and that saint of a virtuous soul told him to ask for a favour from him. And he in the first place prayed for the horse, for the purpose of using it in the sacrifice; in the second place he prayed for the purification of his fathers. Then the mighty chief of saints, Kapila spake to him, saying, 'I shall grant thee everything that thou desirest, O stainless (prince). May good luck be thine! In thee are fixed (the virtues of) forbearance, and truth, and righteousness. By thee hath Sagara had all his desires fulfilled. Thou are (really) a son to thy father. And by thy ability the sons of Sagara will go to heaven (i.e., will be delivered from the consequences of their unhallowed death). And the son of thy son, with a view to purifying the sons of Sagara, will obtain the favour of the great god Siva, (by means of practising great austerities), and will (thus) bring (to this world) the river that floweth in three (separate) streams, Ganga, O chief of men! May good luck be thine! Take thou with thee the sacrificial horse. Finish, my lad! the sacrificial rites of the magnanimous Sagara.' Thus addressed by the illustrious Kapila, Ansuman took the horse with him, and came back to the sacrificial yard of the mighty-minded Sagara. Then he fell prostrate at the feet of the high-souled Sagara, who smelt him on the head and narrated all the events to him, all that had been seen and heard by him, and likewise the destruction of Sagara's sons. He also announced that the horse had been brought back to the sacrificial yard. And when king Sagara heard of this, he no more grieved on account of his sons. And he praised and honoured Ansuman, and finished those same sacrificial rites. His sacrifice finished, Sagara was greeted honourably by all the gods; and he converted the sea, Varuna's dwelling place, into a son of himself. And the lotus-eyed (King Sagara) having ruled his kingdom for a period of exceeding length, placed his grandson on the throne, (full of) responsibilities and then ascended to heaven. And Ansuman likewise, O great king! virtuous in soul, ruled over the world as far as the edge of the sea, following the foot-prints of his father's father. His son was named Dilipa, versed in virtue. Upon him placing the duties of his sovereign post, Ansuman like-wise departed this life. And then when Dilipa heard what an awful fate had overtaken his forefathers, he was sorely grieved and thought of the means of raising them. And the ruler of men made every great effort towards the descent of Ganga (to the mortal world). But although trying to the utmost of his power, he could not bring about what he so much wished. And a son was born to him, known by the name of Bhagiratha beauteous, and devoted to a virtuous life, and truthful, and free from feelings of malice. And Dilipa appointed him as king, and betook himself to the forest life. And, O best of all the scions of Bharata's race! that same king (Dilipa), devoted himself to a successful course of austerities, and at the end of (sufficient) period, from the forest departed to heaven."

SECTION 108

"Lomasa said, 'That same king, of a powerful bow, standing at the head of the surrounding, (i.e., the occupant of an imperial throne) of a powerful car, (i.e., possessing every great fighting power) became the delight of the eyes and the soul of all the world. And he of the powerful arm came to learn how his forefathers had met an awful end from Kapila of mighty soul, and how they had been unable to attain the region of gods. And he with a sorrowful heart made over his kingly duties to his minister, and, O lord of men! for practising austerities, went to the side of the snowy Mountain (the Himalayas). And, O most praiseworthy of men, desirous of extinguishing his sins by leading an austere life, and (thereby) obtaining the favour of the (goddess) Ganga, he visited that foremost of mountains--Himalaya. And he beheld it adorned with peaks of diverse forms full of mineral earth; besprinkled on all sides with drops from clouds which were resting themselves upon the breeze; beautiful with rivers and groves and rocky spurs, looking like (so many) palaces (in a city); attended upon by lions and tigers that had concealed themselves in its caves and pits; and also inhabited by birds of checkered forms, which were uttering diverse sounds, such as the Bhringarajas, and ganders, and Datyuhas, and water-cocks, and peacocks and birds with a hundred feathers, and Jivanjivakas, and black birds, and Chakoras of eyes furnished with black corners, and the birds that love their young. And he saw the mountain abounding in lotus plants growing in delightful reservoirs of water. And the cranes rendered it charming with their sounds; and the Kinnaras and the celestial nymphs were seated on its stony slabs. And the elephants occupying the cardinal points had everywhere robbed its trees with the end of their tusks; and the demi-gods of the Vidyadhara class frequented the hill. And it was full of various gems, and was also infested by snakes bearing terrible poison and of glowing tongues. And the mountain at places looked like (massive) gold, and elsewhere it resembled a silvery (pile), and at some places it was like a (sable) heap of collyrium. Such was the snowy hill where the king now found himself. And that most praiseworthy of men at that spot betook himself to an awful austere course of life. And for one thousand years his subsistence was nothing but water, fruit and roots. When, however, a thousand years according to the calculation of gods had elapsed, then the great river Ganga having assumed a material form, manifested to him her (divine) self.'

"Ganga said. 'O great king! what dost thou desire of me? And what must I bestow on thee? Tell me the same, O most praiseworthy of men! I shall do as thou mayst ask me.' Thus addressed, the king then made his reply to Ganga, the daughter of the snowy Hill, saying, 'O grantress of boons! O great river! my father's fathers, while searching for the horse, were sent by Kapila to the abode of the god of death. And those same sixty thousand sons of Sagara of mighty soul, having met with the majestic Kapila, perished, (to a soul) in an instant of time. Having thus perished, there hath been no place for them in the region of heaven. O great river! So long

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as thou dost not besprinkle those same bodies with thy water, there is no salvation for these same Sagara's sons. O blessed goddess! carry thou my forefathers, Sagara's sons, to the region of heaven. O great river! on their account am I beseeching thee forsooth."

"Lomasa said, 'Ganga, the goddess saluted by the world, having heard these words of the king, was well pleased, and spake to Bhagiratha the following words: 'O great king! I am prepared to do what thou dost ask me; there is no doubt therein. But when I shall descend from the sky to the earth, the force of my fall will be difficult to sustain. O protector of men! In the three worlds there exists none who is able to sustain the same, excepting Siva, the most praiseworthy of gods, the great Lord with the throat of sable blue. O (prince) of a powerful arm! Obtain the favour, by practising austerities, of that same Siva-giver of boons. That same god will sustain my descent upon his head. Thy desire he will fulfill, the desire, namely, to be of service to thy fathers, O king!' Then the great king Bhagiratha having heard the same, went to the Kailasa hill, and betaking himself to a severe course of penances, at the expiration of a certain length of time obtained the favour of that worker of blessings (Siva). And, O protector of men! that same best of men, in order that his forefathers might have a place in heaven secured to them, received from that very Siva the fulfilment of his wish, namely the wish that the descending Ganga might be sustained.'"

SECTION 109

"Lomasa said, 'The blessed God having heard what Bhagiratha had said, and with a view to doing what was agreeable to the residents of heaven, replied to the king, saying, 'So let it be. O most righteous of the protectors of men, O (prince) of a powerful arm! For thy sake I shall sustain the river of the gods, when she will take her descent from the sky, she who is pure and blessed and divine, O (king) of a mighty arm!' Saying this, he came to the snowy mountain, surrounded by his attendants, of awful mien, and with uplifted weapons of diverse forms. And standing there, he said to Bhagiratha, the most praiseworthy of men, 'O (prince) of a powerful arm! do thou pray to the river, the daughter of the king of mountains. I shall sustain that most praiseworthy of rivers when she falls down from the third region of the world (heaven).' Having heard these words uttered by Siva, the king became devout (in heart), made obesiance and directed his thoughts towards Ganga. Then the delightful (river), of pure water in being so thought of by the king, and seeing that the great lord (Siva) was standing (to receive her fall), came down all of a sudden from the sky. And seeing that she had taken her leap from the sky, the gods, together with the mighty saints, the Gandharvas, the snakes, and the Yakshas, assembled there as spectators. Then came down from the sky Ganga, the daughter of the snowy mountain. And her whirlpools were raging, and she was teeming with fishes and sharks. O king! she directing her course towards the sea, separated herself, into three streams; and her water was bestrewn with piles of froth, which looked like so many rows of (white) ganders. And crooked and tortuous in the movement of her body, at places; and at others stumbling at it were; and covered with foam as with a robe: she went forward like a woman drunk. And elsewhere, by virtue of the roar of her waters, she uttered loud sounds. Thus assuming very many different aspects, when she fell from the sky, and reached the surface of the earth, she said to Bhagiratha, 'O great king! show me the path that I shall have to take. O lord of the earth! for thy sake have I descended to the earth.' Having heard these words, king Bhagiratha directed his course towards the spot where lay those bodies of mighty Sagara's sons, in order that, O most praiseworthy of men, the holy water might flood (the same). Having achieved the task of sustaining Ganga, Siva, saluted by men, went to Kailasa the most praiseworthy of mountains, accompanied by the celestials. And the protector of men (Bhagiratha) accompanied by Ganga reached the sea; and the sea, the abode of Varuna, was quickly filled. And the king adopted Ganga as a daughter of himself, and at that spot offered libations of water to the names of his forefathers; thus was his heart's wish fulfilled. Thus asked by thee, I have narrated the whole story how Ganga running in three streams, was brought down to the earth for filling the sea; how the mighty saint had drunk up the sea for a particular reason, and how, O lord! Vatapi, the slayer of Brahmanas, was destroyed by Agastya.'"

SECTION 110

Vaisampayana said, "O chief of the Bharata race! then the son of Kunti went at a slow pace to the two rivers Nanda and Aparananda, which had the virtue of destroying the dread of sin. And the protector of men having reached the healthy hill Hemakuta, beheld there very many strange and inconceivable sights. There the very utterance of words caused the gathering of clouds, and a thousand volleys of stones. And people at its sight, were struck sad, and were unable to ascend the hill. There the winds blew for aye, and the heavens always poured down rains; and likewise the sounds of the recitation of the sacred writ were heard, yet nobody was seen. In the evening and in the morning would be seen the blessed fire that carries offerings to the gods and there flies would bite and interrupt the practice of austerities. And there a sadness would overtake the soul, and people would become sick. The son of Pandu, having observed very many strange circumstances of this character again addressed his questions to Lomasa with reference to these wonderful things.

"Lomasa said, 'O slayer of foes! O king! I am going to tell thee as we heard it before; do thou attend to the same with intent mind. In this peak of Rishava, there was once a saint known by that name. And his life had lasted for many hundred years. And he was devoted to penances and was greatly wrathful. And he, forsooth, for having been spoken to by others, from wrath addressed the hill thus, 'Whoever should utter any words here, thou must throw stones at him, and thou must call up the winds to prevent him from making any noise.' This was what the saint said. And so at this place, as soon as a man utters any words, he is forbidden by a roaring cloud. O king! thus these deeds were performed by that great saint, and from wrath he also forbade other acts. O king! tradition says that when the gods of yore had come to the Nanda, suddenly came over (there) a number of men to look at the celestials. Those same gods at whose head stood Indra did not, however, like to be seen; and so they rendered this spot inaccessible, by raising obstructions in the form of hills. And from that day forward, O Kunti's son! men could not cast their eyes at any time on what looked like a hill, far less could they ascend the same. This big mountain is incapable of being seen by one who hath not led an austere life, nor can such a one ascend it. Therefore, O son of Kunti! keep thou thy tongue under control. Here at that time all those gods performed the best sacrificial rites. O Bharata's son! Even up to this day these marks thereof may be seen. This grass here hath the form of the sacred kusa grass: the ground here seemeth to be overspread with the sacred grass; and. O lord of men! many of these trees here look like the spots for tying the sacrificial beasts. O Bharata's son! still the Gods and saints have residence here; and their sacred fire is observed in the morning and in the evening. Here if one bathes, his sin is forthwith destroyed, O Kunti's son! O most praiseworthy of the race of Kuru! do thou, therefore, perform thy ablutions, together with thy younger brothers. Then after having washed thyself in the Nanda, thou wilt repair to the river Kausiki, the spot where the most excellent and severest form of penances was practised by Viswamitra. Then the king with his attendants, having washed his body there, proceeded to the river Kausiki, which was pure and delightful and pleasant with cool water.'

"Lomasa said, 'This is the pure divine river by name Kausiki. O chief of Bharata's race! and this is the delightful hermitage of Viswamitra, conspicuous here. And this is a hermitage, with a holy name, belonging to Kasyapa of mighty soul; whose son was Rishyasringa, devoted to penances, and of passions under control. He by force of his penances caused Indra to rain; and that god, the slayer of the demons Vala and Vritra, dreading him, poured down rain during a drought. That powerful and mighty son of Kasyapa was born of a hind. He worked a great marvel in the territory of Lomapada. And when the crops had been restored, king Lomapada gave his daughter Santa in marriage to him, as the sun gave in marriage his daughter Savitri.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'How was the son of Kasyapa, Rishyasringa, born of a hind? And how was he endowed with holiness, being the issue of a reprehensible sexual connexion? And for what reason was Indra, the slayer of the demons Vala and Vritra, afraid of that same sagacious boy, and poured down rain during a period of drought? And how beautiful was that princess Santa, pure in life, she who allured the heart of him when he had turned himself into a stag? And since the royal saint Lomapada is said to have been of a virtuous disposition, why was it that in his territory, Indra, the chastiser of the demon Paka, had withheld rain? O holy saint! all this in detail, exactly as it happened, thou wilt be pleased to narrate to me, for I am desirous of hearing the deeds of Rishyasringa's life.'

"Lomasa said, 'Hear how Rishyasringa, of dreaded name, was born as a son to Vibhandaka, who was a saint of the Brahmana caste, who had cultured his soul by means of religious austerities, whose seed never failed in causing generation, and who was learned and bright like the Lord of beings. And the father was highly honoured, and the son was possessed of a mighty spirit, and, though a boy, was respected by aged man. And that son of Kasyapa, Vibhandaka, having proceeded to a big lake, devoted himself to the practice of penances. And that same saint, comparable to a god, laboured for a long period. And once while he was washing his mouth in the waters, he beheld the celestial nymph Urvasi--whereupon came out his seminal fluid. And, O king! a hind at that time lapped it up along with the water that she was drinking, being athirst; and from this cause she became with child. That same hind had really been a daughter of the gods, and had been told of yore by the holy Brahma, the creator of the worlds, 'Thou shall be a hind; and when in that form, thou shall give birth to a saint; thou shalt then be freed.' As Destiny would have it, and as the word of the creator would not be untrue, in that same hind was born his (Vibhandaka's) son a mighty saint. And Rishyasringa, devoted to penances, always passed his days in the forest. O king! there was a horn on the head of that magnanimous saint and for this reason did he come to be known at the time by the name of Rishyasringa. And barring his father, not a man had ever before been seen by him; therefore his mind, O protector of men! was entirely devoted to the duties of a continent life. At this very period there was a ruler of the land of Anga known by the name of Lomapada who was a friend of Dasaratha. We have heard that he from love of pleasure had been guilty of a falsehood towards a Brahmana. And that same ruler of the world had at that time been shunned by all persons of the priestly class. And he was without a ministering priest (to assist him in his religious rites). And the god of a thousand eyes (Indra) suddenly abstained from giving rain in his territory; so that his people began to suffer and O lord of the earth! he questioned a number of Brahmanas, devoted to penances, of cultivated minds, and possessed of capabilities with reference to the matter of rain being granted by the lord of gods, saying, 'How may the heavens grant us the rain? Think of an expedient (for this purpose).' And those same cultured men, being thus questioned, gave expression to their respective views. And one among them--the best of saints--spake to that same king, saying, 'O lord of kings! the Brahmanas are angry with thee. Do some act (therefore) for appeasing them. O ruler of the earth! send for Rishyasringa, the son of a saint, resident of the forest knowing nothing of the female sex, and always taking delight in simplicity. O king! if he, great in the practice of penances, should show himself in thy territory, forthwith rain would be granted by the heavens, herein I have no doubt at all.' And, O king! having heard these words Lomapada made atonement for his sins. And he went away; and when the Brahmanas had been appeased, he returned again, and seeing the king returned, the people were again glad at heart. Then the king of Anga convened a meeting of his ministers, proficient in giving counsel. And he took great pains in order to settle some plan for securing a visit from Rishyasringa. And, O unswerving (prince)! with those ministers, who were versed in all branches of knowledge, and exceedingly proficient in worldly matters, and had a thorough training in practical affairs, he at last settled a plan (for gaining his object). And then he sent for a number of courtesans, women of the town, clever in everything. And when they came, that same ruler of the earth spake to them, saying, 'Ye lovely women! Ye must find some means to allure, and obtain the confidence of the son of the saint--Rishyasringa, whom ye must bring over to my territory.' And those same women, on the one hand afraid of the anger of the king and on the other, dreading a curse from the saint, became sad and confounded, and declared the business to be beyond their power. One, however, among them--a hoary woman, thus spake to the king, 'O great king! him whose wealth solely consists in penances, I shall try to bring over here. Thou wilt, however, have to procure for me certain things, in connexion with the plan. In that case, I may be able to bring over the son of the saint--Rishyasringa.' Thereupon the king gave an order that all that she might ask for should be procured. And he also gave a good deal of wealth and jewels of various kinds. And then, O Lord of the earth, she took with herself a number of women endowed with beauty and youth, and went to the forest without delay."

SECTION 111

"Lomasa said, 'O descendant of Bharata! she in order to compass the object of the king, prepared a floating hermitage, both because the king had ordered so, and also because it exactly accorded with her plan. And the floating hermitage, containing artificial trees adorned with various flowers and fruits, and surrounded by diverse shrubs and creeping plants and capable of furnishing choice and delicious fruits, was exceedingly delightful, and nice, and pleasing, and looked as if it had been created by magic. Then she moored the vessel at no great distance from the hermitage of Kasyapa's son, and sent emissaries to survey the place where that same saint habitually went about. And then she saw an opportunity; and having conceived a plan in her mind, sent forward her daughter a courtesan by trade and of smart sense. And that clever woman went to the vicinity of the religious man and arriving at the hermitage beheld the son of the saint.'" "The courtesan said, 'I hope, O saint! that is all well with the religious devotees. And I hope that thou hast a plentiful store of fruits and roots and that thou takest delight in this hermitage. Verily I come here now to pay thee a visit. I hope the practice of austerities among the saints is on the increase. I hope that thy father's spirit hath not slackened and that he is well pleased with thee. O Rishyasringa of the priestly caste! I hope thou prosecutest the studies proper for thee.'"

Rishyasringa said, 'Thou art shining with lustre, as if thou wert a (mass) of light. And I deem thee worthy of obeisance. Verily I shall give thee water for washing thy feet and such fruits and roots also as may be liked by thee, for this is what my religion hath prescribed to me. Be thou pleased to take at

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thy pleasure thy seat on a mat made of the sacred grass, covered over with a black deer-skin and made pleasant and comfortable to sit upon. And where is thy hermitage? O Brahmana! thou resemblest a god in thy mien. What is the name of this particular religious vow, which thou seemest to be observing now?'

"The courtesan said, O son of Kasyapa! on the other side of yonder hill, which covers the space of three Yojanas, is my hermitage--a delightful place. There, not to receive obeisance is the rule of my faith nor do I touch water for washing my feet. I am not worthy of obeisance from persons like thee; but I must make obeisance to thee. O Brahmana! This is the religious observance to be practised by me, namely, that thou must be clasped in my arms.'"

"Rishyasringa said, 'Let me give thee ripe fruits, such as gallnuts, myrobalans, Karushas, Ingudas from sandy tracts and Indian fig. May it please thee to take a delight in them!'"

Lomasa said, "She, however, threw aside all those edible things and then gave him unsuitable things for food. And these were exceedingly nice and beautiful to see and were very much acceptable to Rishyasringa. And she gave him garlands of an exceedingly fragrant scent and beautiful and shining garments to wear and first-rate drinks; and then played and laughed and enjoyed herself. And she at his sight played with a ball and while thus employed, looked like a creeping plant broken in two. And she touched his body with her own and repeatedly clasped Rishyasringa in her arms. Then she bent and break the flowery twigs from trees, such as the Sala, the Asoka and the Tilaka. And overpowered with intoxication, assuming a bashful look, she went on tempting the great saint's son. And when she saw that the heart of Rishyasringa had been touched, she repeatedly pressed his body with her own and casting glances, slowly went away under the pretext that she was going to make offerings on the fire. On her departure, Rishyasringa became over-powered with love and lost his sense. His mind turned constantly to her and felt itself vacant. And he began to sigh and seemed to be in great distress. At that moment appeared Vibhandaka, Kasyapa's son, he whose eyes were tawny like those of a lion, whose body was covered with hair down to the tip of the nails, who was devoted to studies proper for his caste, and whose life was pure and was passed in religious meditation. He came up and saw that his son was seated alone, pensive and sad, his mind upset and sighing again and again with upturned eyes. And Vibhandaka spake to his distressed son, saying, 'My boy! why is it that thou art not hewing the logs for fuel. I hope thou hast performed the ceremony of burnt offering today. I hope thou hast polished the sacrificial ladles and spoons and brought the calf to the milch cow whose milk furnisheth materials for making offerings on the fire. Verily thou art not in thy wonted state, O son! Thou seemest to be pensive, and to have lost thy sense. Why art thou so sad today? Let me ask thee, who hath been to this place today?'"

SECTION 112

'Rishyasringa said, 'Here came to-day a religious student with a mass of hair on his head. And he was neither short nor tall. And he was of a spirited look and a golden complexion, and endued with eye large as lotuses; and he was shining and graceful as a god. And rich was his beauty blazing like the Sun; and he was exceedingly fair with eyes graceful and black. And his twisted hair was blue-black and neat and long and of a fragrant scent and tied up with strings of gold. A beautiful ornament was shining on his neck which looked like lightning in the sky. And under the throat he had two balls of flesh without a single hair upon them and of an exceedingly beautiful form. And his waist was slender to a degree and his navel neat; and smooth also was the region about his ribs. Then again there shone a golden string from under his cloth, just like this waist-string of mine. And there was something on his feet of a wonderful shape which give forth a jingling sound. Upon his wrists likewise was tied a pair of ornaments that made a similar sound and looked just like this rosary here. And when he walked, his ornaments uttered a jingling sound like those uttered by delighted ganders upon a sheet of water. And he had on his person garments of a wonderful make; these clothes of mine are by no means beautiful like those. And his face was wonderful to behold; and his voice was calculated to gladden the heart; and his speech was pleasant like the song of the male blackbird. And while listening to the same I felt touched to my inmost soul. And as a forest in the midst of the vernal season, assumes a grace only when it is swept over by the breeze, so, O father! he of an excellent and pure smell looks beautiful when fanned by the air. And his mass of hair is neatly tied up and remains adhering to the head and forehead evenly sundered in two. And his two eyes seemed to be covered with wonderful Chakravaka birds of an exceedingly beautiful form. And he carried upon his right palm a wonderful globur fruit, which reaches the ground and again and again leaps up to the sky in a strange way. And he beats it and turns himself round and whirls like a tree moved by the breeze. And when I looked at him, O father! he seemed to be a son of the celestials, and my joy was extreme, and my pleasure unbounded. And he clasped my body, took hold of my matted hair, and bent down my mouth, and, mingling his mouth with my own, uttered a sound that was exceedingly pleasant. And he doth not care for water for washing his feet, nor for those fruits offered by me; and he told me that such was the religious observance practised by him. And he gave unto me a number of fruits. Those fruits were tasteful unto me: these here are not equal to them in taste. They have not got any rind nor any stone within them, like these. And he of a noble form gave me to drink water of an exceedingly fine flavour; and having drunk it, I experienced great pleasu e; and the ground seemed to be moving under my feet. And these are the garlands beautiful and fragrant and twined with silken threads that belong to him. And he, bright with fervent piety, having scattered these garlands here, went back to his own hermitage. His departure hath saddened my heart; and my frame seems to be in a burning sensation! And my desire is to go to him as soon as I can, and to have him every day walk about here. O father, let me this very moment go to him. Pray, what is that religious observance which is being practised by him. As he of a noble piety is practising penances, so I am desirous to live the same life with him. My heart is yearning after similar observances My soul will be in torment if I see him not,'"

SECTION 113

"Vibhandaka said, 'Those are, O son! Rakshasas. They walk about in that wonderfully beautiful form. Their strength is unrivalled and their beauty great And they always meditate obstruction to the practice of penances. And, O my boy, they assume lovely forms and try to allure by diverse means. And those fierce beings hurled the saints, the dwellers of the woods, from blessed regions (won by their pious deeds) And the saint who hath control over his soul, and who is desirous of obtaining the regions where go the righteous, ought to have nothing to do with them. And their acts are vile and their delight is in causing obstruction to those who practise penance; (therefore) a pious man should never look at them. And, O son! those were drinks unworthy to be drunk, being as they were spirituous liquors consumed by unrighteous men. And these garlands, also, bright and fragrant and of various hues, are not intended for saints.' Having thus forbidden his son by saying that those were wicked demons, Vibhandaka went in quest of her. And when by three day's search he was unable to trace where she was he then came back to his own hermitage. In the meanwhile, when the son of Kasyapa had gone out to gather fruits, then that very courtesan came again to tempt Rishyasringa in the manner described above. And as soon as Rishyasringa had her in sight, he was glad and hurriedly rushing towards him said, 'Let us go to thy hermitage before the return of my father.' Then, O king! those same courtesans by contrivances made the only son of Kasyapa enter their bark, and unmoored the vessel. And by various means they went on delighting him and at length came to the side of Anga's king. And leaving then that floating vessel of an exceedingly white tint upon the water, and having placed it within sight of the hermitage, he similarly prepared a beautiful forest known by the name of the Floating Hermitage. The king, however, kept that only son of Vibhandaka within that part of the palace destined for the females when of a sudden he beheld that rain was poured by the heavens and that the world began to be flooded with water. And Lomapada, the desire of his heart fulfilled, bestowed his daughter Santa on Rishyasringa in marriage. And with a view to appease the wrath of his father, he ordered kine to be placed, and fields to be ploughed, by the road that Vibhandaka was to take, in order to come to his son. And the king also placed plentiful cattle and stout cowherds, and gave the latter the following order:

"When the great saint Vibhandaka should enquire of you about his son, ye must join your palms and say to him that these cattle, and these ploughed fields belong to his son and that ye are his slaves, and that ye are ready to obey him in all that he might bid.' Now the saint, whose wrath was fierce, came to his hermitage, having gathered fruits and roots and searched for his son. But not finding him he became exceedingly wroth. And he was tortured with anger and suspected it to be the doing of the king. And therefore, he directed his course towards the city of Champa having made up his mind to burn the king, his city, and his whole territory. And on the way he was fatigued and hungry, when he reached those same settlements of cowherds, rich with cattle. And he was honoured in a suitable way by those cowherds and then spent the night in a manner befitting a king. And having received very great hospitality from them, he asked them, saying, 'To whom, O cowherds, do ye belong?' Then they all came up to him and said, 'All this wealth hath been provided for thy son.' At different places he was thus honoured by that best of men, and saw his son who looked like the god Indra in heaven. And he also beheld there his daughter-in-law, Santa, looking like lightning issuing from a (cloud). And having seen the hamlets and the cowpens provided for his son and having also beheld Santa, his great resentment was appeased. And O king of men! Vibhandaka expressed great satisfaction with the very ruler of the earth. And the great saint, whose power rivalled that of the sun and the god of fire, placed there his son, and thus spake, 'As soon as a son is born to thee, and having performed all that is agreeable to the king, to the forest must thou come without fail.' And Rishyasringa did exactly as his father said, and went back to the place where his father was. And, O king of men! Santa obediently waited upon him as in the firmament the star Rohini waits upon the Moon, or as the fortunate Arundhati waits upon Vasishtha, or as Lopamudra waits upon Agastya. And as Damayanti was an obedient wife to Nala, or as Sachi is to the god who holdeth the thunderbolt in his hand or as Indrasena, Narayana's daughter, was always obedient to Mudgala, so did Santa wait affectionately upon Rishyasringa, when he lived in the wood. This is the holy hermitage which belonged to him. Beautifying the great lake here, it bears holy fame. Here perform thy ablutions and have thy desire fulfilled. And having purified thyself, direct thy course towards other holy spots,'"

SECTION 114

(Tirtha-yatra Parva continued)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then, O Janamejaya, the son of Pandu started from the river Kausiki and repaired in succession to all the sacred shrines. And, O protector of men, he came to the sea where the river Ganga falls into it; and there in the centre of five hundred rivers, he performed the holy ceremony of a plunge. Then, O ruler of the earth, accompanied by his brothers, the valiant prince proceeded by the shore of the sea towards the land where the Kalinga tribes dwell."

"Lomasa said, 'There is the land, O Kunti's son, where the Kalinga tribes dwell. Through it passeth the river Vaitarani, on the banks whereof even the god of virtue performed religious river, having first placed himself under the protection of the celestials. Verily, this is the northern bank, inhabited by saints, suitable for the performance of religious rites beautified by a hill, and frequented by persons of the regenerate caste. This spot (in holiness) rivals the path whereby a virtuous man, fit for going to heaven, repairs to the region inhabited by gods. And verily at this spot in former times, other saints likewise worshipped the immortals by the performance of religious rites. And at the very spot it was that the god Rudra, O king of kings, seized the sacrificial beast and exclaimed, 'This is my share!' O chief of the descendants of Bharata, then when the beast was carried away by Siva, the gods spake to him saying, 'Cast not a covetous glance at the property of others, disregarding all the righteous rules.' Then they addressed words of glorification of a pleasing kind to the god Rudra. And they satisfied him by offering a sacrifice, and paid him suitable honours. Thereupon he gave up the beast, and went by the path trodden by the gods. Thereupon what happened to Rudra, learn from me, O Yudhishthira! Influenced by the dread of Rudra, the gods set apart for evermore, the best allotment out of all shares, such as was fresh and not stale (to be appropriated by the god). Whosoever performs his ablutions at this spot, while reciting this ancient story, beholds with his mortal eyes the path that leads to the region of the gods.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then all the sons of Pandu and likewise the daughter of Drupada--all of whom were the favoured of Fate--descended to the river Vaitarani, and made libations to the names of their fathers.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'O Lomasa, how great must be the force of a pious deed! Having taken my bath at this spot in a proper form, I seem to touch no more the region inhabited by mortal men! O saint of a virtuous life, I am beholding all the regions. And this is the noise of the magnanimous dwellers of the wood, who are reciting their audible prayers.'

"Lomasa said, 'O Yudhishthira, the place whence this noise comes and reaches thy ears is at the distance of three hundred thousand yojanas, to be sure. O lord of men, rest thou quiet and utter no word. O king, this is the divine forest of the Self-existent One, which hath now come to our view. There, O king, Viswakarma of a dreaded name performed religious rites. On the mighty occasion of that sacrifice, the Self-existent One made a gift of this entire earth with all its hilly and forest tracts, to Kasyapa, by way of gratuity, for ministering as a priest. And then, O Kuru's son, as soon as that goddess Earth was giving away, she became sad at heart, and wrathfully spake the following words to that great lord, the ruler of the worlds, 'O mighty god, it is unworthy of thee to give me away to an ordinary mortal. And this act of gift on thy part will come to nothing; (for) here am I going to descend into the bottom of the nether world.' Then when the blessed saint Kasyapa beheld the goddess Earth, despondent and sad, he, O protector of men, performed a propitiatory act calculated to appease her wrath. And then, O Pandu's son, the Earth was pleased with his pious deed. And she uprose again from within the waters, and showed herself in the form of a sacred altar. This, O king, is the spot which distinctly manifests the form of an altar. O great monarch, ascend over it, and thou wilt gain valour and strength. And, O king, this is the very altar which reaches as far as the sea, and rests itself upon its bosom. May good luck be thine, do thou mount hereupon, and of thyself cross the sea. And while thou this day

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mountest upon it, I shall administer the ceremony for averting all evil from thee; for this altar here, as soon as it gets a mortal's touch, at once enters into the sea. Salutation to the god who protects the universe! Salutation to thee that art beyond the universe! O Lord of gods, vouchsafe thy presence in this sea. O Pandu's son, thou must recite the following words of truth, and while so reciting, thou must quickly ascend this altar, 'The god of fire, and the sun, and the organ of generation, and water, and goddess and the seed of Vishnu, and the navel of nectar. The god of fire is the organ that generated the (ocean); the earth is thy body; Vishnu deposited the seed that caused thy being and thou art the navel of nectar.' Thus, O Pandu's son, the words of truth must be audibly recited, and while so reciting, one must plunge into the lord of rivers. O most praiseworthy of Kunti's son, otherwise this lord of waters of divine birth, this best storehouse of the waters (of the earth), should not be touched, O son of Kunti, even with the end of a sacred grass.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then when the ceremony for averting evil had been completed in his behalf, the magnanimous Yudhishthira went into the sea, and having performed all that the saint had bid, repaired to the skirts of the Mahendra hill, and spent the night at that spot.'"

SECTION 115

"Vaisampayana said, 'The protector of the earth spent there a single night, and with his brothers, paid the highest honours to the religious men. And Lomasa made him acquainted with the names of all of them, such as the Bhrigus, the Angiras, the Vasishthas, and the Kasyapas. And the royal saint paid visit to them all and made obeisance to them with joined palms. And then he asked the valiant Akritavrana, who was a follower of Parasurama, when will the revered Parasurama show himself to the religious men here? It is desired on that occasion to obtain a sight of the descendant of Bhrigu.'

"Akritavrana said, 'Thy journey to this spot is already known to Rama, whose soul spontaneously knows everything. And he is in every way well-pleased with thee, and he will show himself readily to thee. And the saints who practise penances here, are permitted to see him on the fourteenth and the eighth day of the lunar course. On the morrow at the end of this very night there will set in the fourteenth day of the lunar course. On that occasion thou wilt have a sight of him, clad in a sable deerskin, and wearing his hair in the form of a matted mass."

"Yudhishthira said, Thou hast been a follower of the mighty Rama, Jamadagni's son; thou must, therefore, have been the eye-witness of all the deeds achieved by him in former days. I, therefore, request thee to narrate to me how the members of the military caste were vanquished by Rama on the field of battle, and what the original cause of those conflicts was.'

"Akritavrana said, 'With pleasure shall I recite to thee that excellent story, O Bharata's son, O chief of kings, the story of the godlike deeds of Rama, the son of Jamadagni, who traced his origin to Bhrigu's race. I shall also relate the achievements of the great ruler of the Haihaya tribe. That king, Arjuna by name, the mighty lord of the Haihaya tribe was killed by Rama. He, O Pandu's son, was endued with a thousand arms; and by the favour of Dattatreya he likewise had a celestial car made of gold. And, O protector of the earth, his rule extended over the entire animated world, wheresoever located on this earth. And the car of that mighty monarch could proceed everywhere in an unobstructed course. And grown resistless by the virtue of a granted boon, he ever mounted on that car, trampled upon gods and Yakshas and saints on all sides round. And all the born beings wheresoever placed, were harassed by him. Then the celestials and the saints of a rigidly virtuous life, met together, and thus spake to Vishnu, the god of gods, the slayer of demons, and possessed of prowess that never failed, saying. 'O blessed and revered lord, for the purpose of preserving all the born beings, it is necessary that Arjuna should be killed by thee.' And the mighty ruler of the Haihaya tribe placing himself on his celestial car, affronted Indra, while that deity was enjoying himself with Sachi, his queen. Then, O Bharata's son, the blessed and the revered god (Vishhnu) held a consultation with Indra, with a view to destroying Kartavirya's son. And on that occasion, all that was for the good of the world of beings, was communicated by the lord of gods; and the blessed god worshipped by the world, to do all that was necessary, went to the delightful Vadari wood which was his own chosen retreat for practising penances. And at this very time there lived on the earth a mighty monarch in the land of Kanyakuvja, a sovereign whose military force was exceedingly great. And his name of Gadhi was famous in the world. He, however, betook himself to a forest-life. And while he was dwelling in the midst of the wood, there was born to him a daughter beautiful as a nymph of heaven. And Richika, the son of Bhrigu, asked for her to be united with himself in marriage. And then Gadhi spake to that Brahmana, who led a rigidly austere life, saying. There is a certain family custom in our race; it hath been founded by my ancestors of a bygone age. And, O most excellent of the sacerdotal caste, be it known to thee that the intending bridegroom must offer a dowry consisting of a thousand fleet steeds, whose colour must be brown and every one of whom must possess a single sable car. But, O Bhrigu's son, a reverend saint like thee cannot be asked to offer the same. Nor can my daughter be refused to a magnanimous saint of thy (exalted) rank.' Thereupon Richika said, 'I will give thee a thousand fleet steeds, brown in hue and possessing a single sable car; let thy daughter be given in marriage to me.'

"Akritavrana said. Thus having given his word, O king, he went and said to Varuna, 'Give me a thousand fleet steeds brown in colour, and each with one black ear. I want the same as dowry for my marriage.' To him Varuna forthwith gave a thousand steeds. Those steeds had issued out of the river Ganga; hence the spot hath been named: The horse's landing place. And in the city of Kanyakuvja, the daughter of Gadhi, Satyavati by name, was given in marriage; and the gods themselves were of the party of the bride. Richika, the most excellent of the sacerdotal caste, thus procured a thousand steeds, and had a sight of the dwellers of heaven and won a wife in the proper form. And he enjoyed himself with the girl of slender waist, and thus gratified all the wishes and desire that he ever had. And when the marriage had been celebrated, O king, his father Bhrigu came on a visit to see him and his wife; and he was glad to see his praiseworthy son. And the husband and wife together paid their best respects to him, who was worshipped by all the gods. And when he had seated himself, they both with joined palms, stood near him, in order that they might to his bidding. And then the revered saint, Bhrigu, glad at heart, thus spoke to his daughter-in-law, saying, 'O lovely daughter, as for a boon I am ready to grant thee any object of thy wish.' And there upon she asked for his favour in this, that a son might be born to both herself and her mother. And he vouchsafed the favour thus asked for.'

"Bhrigu said, 'During the days that your season lasts, thou and thy mother must take a bath, with the ceremony for bringing forth a male child. And ye two must then separately embrace two different trees--she a peepal tree, and thou a fig tree. And, O dutiful girl, here are two pots of rice and milk, prepared by me with the utmost care. I having ransacked the whole universe to find the drugs, the essence whereof hath been blended with this milk and rice. It must be taken as food with the greatest care.' And saying this, he vanished from sight. The two ladies, however, made an interchange both in the matter of the pots of rice, and likewise as regards the trees (to be embraced by each). Then after the lapse of very many days, the revered saint, once more came. And he came knowing (what had happened) by his attribute of divine knowledge. Then Bhrigu possessed of mighty strength, spake to Satyavati, his daughter-in-law, saying, 'O dutiful girl! O my daughter of a lovely brow, the wrong pot of rice thou tookest as food. And it was the wrong tree which was embraced by thee. It was thy mother who deluded thee. A son will be born of thee, who, though of the priestly caste, will be of a character fit for the military order; while a mighty son will be born of thy mother, who, though by birth a Kshatriya will assume a life suitable to the sacerdotal order. And his power will be great, and he will walk on the path trodden by righteous men.' Then she entreated her father-in-law again and again, saying, 'Let not my son be of this character; but let my grandson be such.' And, O Pandu's son, he replied, 'So let it be!' And thus he was pleased to grant her prayer. Then she brought forth on the expected day a son by name Jamadagni. And this son of Bhrigu was endowed with both splendour and grace. And he grew in years and in strength, and excelled he other saints in the proficiency of his Vaidik lore. O chieftain of Bharata's race, to him, rivalling in lustre the author of light (the sun), came spontaneously and without instruction the knowledge of the entire military art and of the fourfold missile arms.'"

SECTION 116

"Akritavrana said, 'Jamadagni devoted himself to the study of the Veda and the practice of sacred penances, and became famous for his great austerities. Then he pursued a methodical course of study and obtained a mastery over the entire Veda. And, O king, he paid a visit to Prasenajit and solicited the hand of Renuka in marriage. And this prayer was granted by the king. And the delight of Bhrigu's race having thus obtained Renuka for his wife, took his residence with her in a hermitage, and began to practice penances, being assisted by her. And four boys were born of her, with Rama for the fifth. And although the youngest, Rama was superior to all in merit. Now once upon a time, when her sons had gone out for the purpose of gathering fruits, Renuka who had a pure and austere life, went out to bathe. And, O king, while returning home, she happened to cast her glance towards the king of Martikavata, known by the name of Chitraratha. The king was in the water with his wives, and wearing on his breast a lotus wreath, was engaged in sport. And beholding his magnificent form, Renuka was inspired with desire. And this unlawful desire she could not control, but became polluted within the water, and came back to the hermitage frightened at heart. Her husband readily perceived what state she was in. And mighty and powerful and of a wrathful turn of mind, when he beheld that she had been giddy and that the lustre of chastity had abandoned her, he reproached her by crying out 'Fie!' At that very moment came in the eldest of Jamadagni's sons, Rumanvan; and then, Sushena, and then, Vasu, and likewise, Viswavasu. And the mighty saint directed them all one by one to put an end to the life of their mother. They, however, were quite confounded and lost heart. And they could not utter a single word. Then he in ire cursed them. And on being cursed they lost their sense and suddenly became like inanimate objects, and comparable in conduct to beasts and birds. And then Rama, the slayer of hostile heroes, came to the hermitage, last of all. Him the mighty-armed Jamadagni, of great austerities, addressed, saying, 'Kill this wicked mother of thine, without compunction, O my son.' Thereupon Rama immediately took up an axe and therewith severed his mother's head.

Then, O great king, the wrath of Jamadagni of mighty soul, was at once appeased; and well-pleased, he spake the following words, 'Thou hast, my boy, performed at my bidding this difficult task, being versed in virtue. Therefore, whatsoever wishes there may be in thy heart, I am ready to grant them all. Do thou ask me.' Thereupon Rama solicited that his mother might be restored to life, and that he might not be haunted by the remembrance of this cruel deed and that he might not be affected by any sin, and that his brothers might recover their former state, and that he might be unrivalled on the field of battle, and that he might obtain long life. And, O Bharata's son, Jamadagni, whose penances were the most rigid, granted all those desires of his son. Once, however, O lord, when his sons had gone out as before, the valourous son of Kartavirya, the lord of the country near the shore of the sea, came up to the hermitage. And when he arrived at that hermitage, the wife of the saint received him hospitably. He, however, intoxicated with a warrior's pride, was not at all pleased with the reception accorded to him, and by force and in defiance of all resistance, seized and carried off from that hermitage the chief of the cows whose milk supplied the sacred butter, not heeding the loud lowing of the cow. And he wantonly pulled down the large trees of the wood. When Rama came home, his father himself told him all that had happened. Then when Rama saw how the cow was lowing for its calf, resentment arose in his heart. And he rushed towards Kartavirya's son, whose last moments had drawn nigh. Then the descendant of Bhrigu, the exterminator of hostile heroes, put forth his valour on the field of battle, and with sharpened arrows with flattened tips, which were shot from a beautiful bow, cut down Arjuna's arms, which numbered a thousand, and were massive like (wooden) bolts for barring the door. He, already touched by the hand of death, was overpowered by Rama, his foe. Then the kinsmen of Arjuna, their wrath excited against Rama, rushed at Jamadagni in his hermitage, while Rama was away. And they slew him there; for although his strength was great, yet being at the time engaged in penances, he would not fight. And while thus attacked by his foes, he repeatedly shouted the name of Rama in a helpless and piteous way. And, O Yudhishthira, the sons of Kartavirya shot Jamadagni, with their arrows, and having thus chastised their foe, went their way. And when they had gone away, and when Jamadagni had breathed his last, Rama, the delight of Bhrigu's race, returned to the hermitage, bearing in his arms, fuel for religious rites. And the hero beheld his father who had been put to death. And grieved exceedingly he began to bewail the unworthy fate that had laid his father low."

SECTION 117

"Rama said, 'The blame is mine, O father, that like a stag in the wood, thou hast been shot dead with arrows, by those mean and stupid wretches--the sons of Kartavirya. And O father, virtuous and unswerving from the path of righteousness and inoffensive to all animated beings as thou wert, how came it to be permitted by Fate that thou shouldst die in this way? What an awful sin must have been committed by them, who have killed thee with hundreds of sharpened shafts, although thou wert an aged man, and engaged in penances at the time and absolutely averse to fighting with them. With what face will those shameless persons speak of this deed of theirs to their friends and servants, viz., that they have slain an unassisted and unresisting virtuous man?--O protector of men, thus he, great in penance, bewailed much in a piteous manner, and then performed the obsequies of his departed sire. And Rama, the conqueror of hostile cities, cremated his father on the funeral pyre, and vowed, O scion of Bharata's race, the slaughter of the entire military caste, and of exceeding strength in the field of battle, and possessed of valour suited to a heroic soul, and comparable to the god of death himself, he took up his weapon in wrathful mood, and singlehanded put Kartavirya's sons to death. And, O chieftain of the military caste, Rama, the leader of all capable of beating their foes, thrice smote down all the Kashatriya followers of Kartavirya's sons. And seven times did that powerful lord exterminate the military tribes of the earth. In the tract of land, called Samantapanchaka five lakes of blood

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were made by him. There the mightiest scion of Bhrigu's race offered libations to his forefathers--the Bhrigus, and Richika appeared to him in a visible form, and spake to him words of counsel. Then the son of Jamadagni of dreaded name, performed a mighty sacrifice and gratified the lord of the celestials, and bestowed the earth to the ministering priests. And, O protector of human beings, he raised an altar made of gold, ten Vyamas in breadth and nine in height, and made a gift of the same to the magnanimous Kasyapa. Then at Kasyapa's bidding the Brahamanas divided the altar into a number of shares, and thus they became reputed as the Khandavayamas (share takers). And the exterminator of the military race possessed of immense strength, bestowed the earth upon the high-souled Kasyapa, and then became engaged in penance of an exceedingly severe form. He now dwells in this Mahendra, monarch of hills. Thus did hostilities arise between him and the members of the military caste,--all of them who dwell on this earth; and Rama, endowed with immense strength, in this way subdued the entire world.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then on the fourteenth day of the moon, the mighty-souled Rama at the proper hour showed himself to those members of the priestly caste and also to the virtuous king (Yudhishthira) and his younger brothers. And, O king of kings, the lord together with his brothers, worshipped Rama, and, O most righteous of the rulers of men, the very highest honours were paid by him to all those members of the twice-born class. And after worshipping Jamadagni's son and having received words of praise from him, at his direction he spent the night on the Mahendra hill, and then started on his journey towards the southern regions.'"

SECTION 118

Vaisampayana said, "The magnanimous monarch pursued his journey, and at different spots on the shore of the sea visited the various bathing places, all sacred and pleasant and frequented by men of the sacerdotal caste. And O son of Parikshit! He in proper form took his bath in them together with his younger brothers and then went to an excellent river, the holiest of all. There also the magnanimous king, took his plunge, and offered libations to his forefathers and the gods, and distributed riches to the leaders of the twice-born class. Then he went to the Godavari, a river that falls directly into the sea. There he was freed from his sins. And he reached the sea in the Dravida land, and visited the holy spot passing under Agastya's name, which was exceedingly sacred and exceptionally pure. And the valiant king visited the feminine sacred spots. Here he listened to the story of that well-known feat which was achieved by Arjuna, chief of all wielders of the bow, and which was beyond the power of human beings to perform. And here he was praised by the highest members of the saintly class, and the son of Pandu experienced the greatest delight. And, O protector of the earth! the ruler of the world, accompanied by Krishnâ bathed in those holy spots, and speaking of Arjuna's valour in laudatory terms delightfully spent his time in the place. Then he gave away thousands of cows at those holy spots on the coast of the sea; and with his brothers narrated well pleased how Arjuna had made a gift of kine. And he, O king! visited one by one those holy places on the coast of the sea and many other sacred spots, and thus fulfilled his heart's desire, till he came to the holiest of all known by the name of Suparaka. Then having crossed a certain tract on the coast of the sea, he reached a forest celebrated on earth. There the deities had practised asceticism in former days, and likewise virtuous rulers of men had performed sacrificial rites. There he, possessed of long and lusty arms, beheld the celebrated altar of Richika's son, who was the foremost of all wielders of the bow. And the altar was girt round by hosts of ascetics, and was fit to be worshipped by persons of a virtuous life. Then the king beheld the holy and delightful shrines of all the gods and of the Vasus, and of the hosts of wind and of the two celestial physicians and of Yama, son of the sun and of the lord of riches, and of Indra, and of Vishnu, and of the lord Creator and of Siva, and of the moon, and of the author of day, and of the lord of waters, and of the host of Sadhyas, and of Brahma, and of the forefathers, and of Rudra together with all his followers, and of the goddess of learning, and of the host of Siddhas, and of many immortal holy gods besides. And in those shrines the king observed various fasts, and gave away large quantities of gems. He plunged his body in all the holy spots, and then came again to Surparaka. And he by the same landing-place of the sea again proceeded with his uterine brothers and came over to the holy spot Prabhasa, whereof fame hath been spread by mighty Brahmanas throughout the world. There he, possessed of a pair of large red eyes, washed himself with all his younger brothers, and offered libations to the forefathers and the celestial hosts; and so did Krishna and all those Brahmanas together with Lomasa. For twelve days he subsisted upon air and water. And he performed ablutions for days and nights and surrounded himself with fires kindled on all sides. Thus that greatest of all virtuous men engaged himself in asceticism. While he was acting thus, information reached both Valarama and Krishna that the king was practising penances of a most austere form and these two leaders of the entire Vrishni tribe accompanied with troops came to Yudhishthira of Ajamidha's race. And when the Vrishnis beheld that the sons of Pandu lay down on the ground, their bodies besmeared all over with dirt and when they beheld the daughter of Drupada in a sad state, their grief was great and they could not refrain from breaking out in loud lamentations. Then the king, whose courage was such that misfortune never could cast him down, cordially met Rama and Krishna and Samva, Krishna's son, and the grand-son of Sini and other Vrishnis, and paid honour to them in a suitable form. And they also in return paid honour to all the sons of Pritha, and were similarly honoured by Pandu's sons. And they seated themselves round about Yudhishthira, as round Indra, O king! are seated the celestial hosts. And highly pleased, he recounted to them all the machinations of his adversaries, and how also he had resided in the forest, and how Arjuna had gone to Indra's abode in order to learn the science of arms--all this he related with a gladdened heart. And they were happy to learn all this news from him; but when they saw the Pandavas so exceedingly lean, the majestic and magnanimous Vrishnis could not forbear shedding tears, which spontaneously gushed from their eyes on account of the agony they felt."

SECTION 119

Janamejaya said, "O thou of ascetic wealth! when the sons of Pandu and the Vrishnis reached the holy spot Prabhasa, what did they do and what conversation was held there by them, for all of them were of mighty souls, proficient in all the branches of science and both the Vrishnis and the sons of Pandu held one another in friendly estimation."

Vaisampayana said, "When the Vrishnis reached the holy spot Prabhasa, the sacred landing-place on the coast of the sea, they surrounded the sons of Pandu and waited upon them. Then Valarama, resembling in hue the milk of the cow and the Kunda flower and the moon and the silver and the lotus root and who wore a wreath made of wild flowers and who had the ploughshare for his arms, spake to the lotuseyed one, saying, 'O Krishna, I do not see that the practice of virtue leads to any good or that unrighteous practices can cause evil, since the magnanimous Yudhishthira is in this miserable state, with matted hair, a resident of the wood, and for his garment wearing the bark of trees. And Duryodhana is now ruling the earth, and the ground doth not yet swallow him up. From this, a person of limited sense would believe a vicious course of life is preferable to a virtuous one. When Duryodhana is in a flourishing state and Yudhishthira, robbed of his throne, is suffering thus, what should people do in such a matter?--This is the doubt that is now perplexing all men. Here is the lord of men sprung from the god of virtue, holding fast to a righteous path, strictly truthful and of a liberal heart. This son of Pritha would give up his kingdom and his pleasure but would not swerve from the righteous path, in order to thrive. How is it that Bhishma and Kripa and the Brahmana Drona and the aged king, the senior member of the house, are living happily, after having banished the sons of Pritha? Fie upon the vicious-minded leaders of Bharata's race! What will that sinner, the chieftain of the earth, say to the departed forefathers of his race, when the wretch will meet them in the world to come? Having hurled from the throne his in-offensive sons, will he be able to declare that he had treated them in a blameless way? He doth not now see with his mind's eye how he hath become so sightless, and on account of what act he hath grown blind among the kings of this entire earth. Is it not because he hath banished Kunit's son from his kingdom? I have no doubt that Vichitravirya's son, when he with his sons perpetrated this inhuman act, beheld on the spot where dead bodies are burnt, flowering trees of a golden hue. Verily he must have asked them, when those stood before him with their shoulders projected forward towards him, and with their large red eyes staring at him, and he must have listened to their evil advice, since he fearlessly sent away Yudhishthira to the forest, who had all his weapons of war with him and was borne company by his younger brothers. This Bhima here, whose voracious appetite is like that of a wolf, is able to destroy with the sole strength of his powerful arms, and without the help of any weapons of war, a formidable array of hostile troops. The forces in the field of battle were utterly unmanned on hearing his war-cry. And now the strong one is suffering from hunger and thirst, and is emaciated with toilsome journeys. But when he will take up in his hand arrows and diverse other weapons of war, and meet his foes in the field of battle, he will then remember the sufferings of his exceedingly miserable forest-life, and kill his enemies to a man: of a certainty do I anticipate this. There is not throughout the whole world a single soul who can boast of strength and prowess equal to his. And his body, alas! is emaciated with cold, and heat and winds. But when he will stand up for fight, he will not leave a single man out of his foes. This powerful hero, who is a very great warrior when mounted on a car--this Bhima, of appetite rivalling a wolf's conquered single-handed all the rulers of men in the east, together with, those who followed them in battle; and he returned from those wars safe and uninjured. And that same Bhima, miserably dressed in the bark of trees, is now leading a wretched life in the woods. This powerful Sahadeva vanquished all the kings in the south; those lords of men who had gathered on the coast of the sea,--look at him now in an anchorite's dress. Valiant in battle Nakula vanquished single-handed the kings who ruled the regions towards the west,--and he now walks about the wood, subsisting on fruit and roots, with a matted mass of hair on the head, and his body besmeared all over with dirt. This daughter of a king, who is a great soldier when mounted on a car, took her rise from beneath the altar, during the pomp of sacrificial rites. She hath been always accustomed to a life of happiness; how is she now enduring this exceedingly miserable life in this wood! And the son of the god of virtue,--virtue which stands at the head of all the there pursuits of life--and the son of the wind-god and also the son of the lord of celestials, and those two sons of the celestial physicians,--being the sons of all those gods and always accustomed to a life of happiness, how are they living in this wood, deprived of all comforts? When the son of Virtue met with defeat, and when his wife, his brothers, his followers, and himself were all driven forth, and Duryodhana began to flourish, why did not the earth subside with all its hills?"

SECTION 120

Satyaki said, "O Rama! this is not the time of lamentation; let us do that which is proper and suited to the present occasion, although Yudhishthira doth not speak a single word. Those who have persons to look after their welfare do not undertake anything of themselves; they have others to do their work, as Saivya and others did for Yayati. Likewise, O Rama! those who have appointed functionaries to undertake their work on their own responsibility, as the leaders of men, they may be said to have real patrons, and they meet with no difficulty, like helpless beings. How is it that when the sons of Pritha have for their patrons these two men, Rama and Krishna, and the two others, Pradyumna and Samva, together with myself,--these patrons being able to protect all the three worlds,--how is it that the son of Pritha is living in the wood with his brothers? It is fit that this very day the army of the Dasarhas should march out, variously armed and with checkered mails. Let Dhritarashtra's sons be overwhelmed with the forces of the Vrishinis and let them go with their friends to the abode of the god of death. Let him alone who wields the bow made of the horn (Krishna), thou alone, if roused, wouldst be able to surround even the whole of this earth. I ask thee to kill Dhritarashtra's son with all his men, as the great Indra, the lord of the gods kill Vritra. Arjuna, the son of Pritha, is my brother, and also my friend, and also my preceptor, and is like the second self of Krishna. It is for this that men desire for a worthy son, and that preceptor seeks a pupil who would contradict him not. It is for this that the time is come for that excellent work, which is the best of all tasks and difficult to perform. I shall baffle Duryodhana's volleys of arms by my own excellent weapons. I shall overpower all in the field of battle. I shall in my wrath cut off his head with my excellent shafts, little inferior to snakes and poison and fire. And with the keen edge of my sword, I shall forcibly sever his head from the trunk, in the field of battle; then I shall kill his followers, and Duryodhana, and all of Kuru's race. O son of Rohini! let the followers of Bhima look at me with joy at their heart, when I shall keep up the weapons of war in the field of battle, and when I shall go on slaying all the best fighting men on the side of the Kurus, as at the end of time fire will burn vast heaps of straw. Kripa and Drona and Vikarna and Kama are not able to bear the keen arrows shot by Pradyumna. I know the power of Arjuna's son--he conducts himself like the son of Krishna in the field of battle. Let Samva chastise by the force of his arms Dussasana; let him destroy by force Dussasana and his charioteer and his car. In the field of battle when the son of Jamvavati becomes irresistible in fight, there is nothing which can withstand his force. The army of the demon Samvara was speedily routed by him when only a boy. By him was killed in fight Asvachakra, whose thighs were round, and whose muscular arms were of exceeding length. Who is there that would be able to go forward to the car of Samva, who is great in fight, when mounted on a car? As a mortal coming under the clutches of death can never escape; so who is there that once coming under his clutches in the field of battle, is able to return with his life? The son of Vasudeva will burn down by the volleys of his fiery shafts all the hostile troops, and those two warriors, Bhishma and Drona,--who are great on a car, and Somadatta surrounded by all his sons. What is there in all the world including the gods, which Krishna cannot encounter on an equal footing, when he takes up the weapons of war, wields in his hands excellent arrows, arms himself with his dice, and thus becomes unrivalled in fight? Then let Aniruddha also take up in his hand his buckler and sword, and let him cover the surface of the earth with Dhritarashtra's sons, their heads separated from their trunks, their bodies devoid of all consciousness as in a sacrificial rite the altar is overspread with sacred grass placed upon the same. And Gada and Uluka, and Vahuka and Bhanu and Nitha and the young Nishatha valiant in battle and Sarana, and Charudeshna, irresistible in war, let them perform feats befitting their race.

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Let the united army of the Satwatas and Suras, together with the best soldiers of the Vrishnis, the Bhojas, and the Andhakas, kill those sons of Dhritarashtra in the field of battle and let them swell their expanded fame throughout the world. Then let Abhimanyu rule the world so long as this most excellent of virtuous men, the magnanimous Yudhishthira, may be engaged in fulfilling his vow,--the vow that was accepted and declared by him, the most righteous of Kuru's race, on the occasion of the famous play at dice. Afterwards the virtuous king will protect the earth, all his foes defeated in battle by shafts which will be discharged by us. Then there will remain no sons of Dhritarashtra on earth,--nor the son of the charioteer (Kama). This is the most important work for us to do, and this will surely lead to fame."

"Krishna said, 'O scion of the race of Madhu! no doubt what thou sayest is true; we accept thy words, O thou of courage that is never weak! But this bull of the Kuru race (Yudhishthira) would never accept the sovereignty of the earth, unless it were won by the prowess of his own arms. Neither for the sake of pleasure, nor from fear, nor from covetousness, would Yudhishthira ever renounce the rules of the caste; nor would these two heroes, who are mighty, when mounted on a car--Bhima and Arjuna; nor the twin brothers, nor Krishna, the daughter of Drupada. He possessing the appetite of a wolf (Bhima), and the winner of riches (Arjuna), are both unrivalled in fight throughout the world. And why should not this king rule over the entire world when he hath the two sons of Madri to espouse his cause? The high-souled ruler of Panchala together with the Kekaya king, and we also should put forth our united strength, and then would the enemies of Yudhisthira be annihilated.'"

"Yudhishthira said, 'It is not strange that thou shouldst speak thus, O scion of Madhu's race! but to me truth seems to be the first consideration, above that of my sovereign power itself. But it is Krishna alone who precisely knoweth what I am; and it is I alone who precisely know what Krishna (really) is. O thou endued with valour! O scion of Madhu's race! as soon as he will perceive that the time is come for feats of bravery, then, O most valiant of Sini's race, he also of beautiful hair (Krishna) will defeat Suyodhana. Let the brave men of the Dasarha race go back today. They are my patrons; and the foremost of human beings, they have visited me here. O ye of immeasurable strength! never fall off from the path of virtue. I shall see you again, when ye will be happily gathered together.'

"Then after mutual greeting and obeisance to seniors, and having embraced the youthful, those valiant men of the Yadu race and the sons of Pandu separated. And the Yadus reunited to their home; and the Pandavas continued their journey to the sacred spots. Then having parted with Krishna, the virtuous king, accompanied by his brothers and servants, and also by Lomasa, went to the sacred river Payosini. Its fine landing place was constructed by the king of Vidarbha. And he began to dwell on the banks of the Payosini, whose waters were mingled with the distilled Soma juice. There the high-souled Yudhishthira was greeted with excellent laudatory, terms by numerous leaders of the twice-born class, who were delighted to see him there."

SECTION 121

Lomasa said, "O king! when the Nriga performed a sacrifice here, he gratified Indra, the demolisher of hostile cities, by offering the Soma juice. And Indra was refreshed and was very much pleased. Here the gods together with Indira, and the protectors of all born beings, celebrated sacrifices of various kinds on a large scale, and paid abundant gratuities to the ministering priests. Here king Amurtarayasa, the lord of the world, satisfied Indra, the holder of the thunderbolt, by the offer of the Soma juice, when seven horse-sacrifices were performed by that king. The articles which in other sacrificial rites are uniformly made of the timber, wood and of earth, were all made of gold in the seven sacrifices performed by him. And it is said that in all those rites, seven sets of stakes, rings for the sacrificial stakes, spots, ladles, utensils, spoons were prepared by him. On each sacrificial stake, seven rings were fastened at the top. And, O Yudhishthira! the celestials together with Indira, themselves erected the sacrificial stakes of shining gold which had been prepared for his sacred rites. In all those magnificent sacrifices instituted by Gaya, the protector of the earth, Indira, was delighted by drinking the Soma juice, and the ministering priests were gratified with the gratuities paid to them. And the priests obtained untold wealth counted out to them. And as the sand-grains of the earth, or as the stars in the sky, or as the rain-drops when it raineth, cannot be counted by anyone, so the wealth Gaya gave away was incapable of being counted by figures. So untold was the wealth, O great king! that was given to the ministering priests in all those seven sacrifices that even the above-mentioned objects might be counted by figures, but the gratuities bestowed by him whose largeness exceeded all that was known before were not capable of being counted by figures. And images of the goddess of speech were made of gold by the sculptor of the gods;--and the king gratified the members of the sacerdotal caste, who had arrived from all the cardinal points, by making presents to them of those images, of gold. O protector of men! when the high-souled Gaya performed his sacrificial rites, he erected sacrificial piles at so many different spots that but little space was left on the surface of the earth. And, O scion of Bharata's race! he by that sacred act attained the regions of Indra. Whoever should bathe in the river, Payosini, would go to the regions attained by Gaya. Therefore, O lord of kings! O unswerving prince! thou and thy brothers should bathe in this river; then, O protector of the earth, thou wilt be freed from all these sins."

Vaisampayana said, "O most praiseworthy of men! Yudhishthira with his brothers performed ablutions in the Payosini river. Then, O sinless prince! the powerful monarch together with his brothers, journeyed to the hill of sapphires and the great river Narmada. The blessed saint Lomasa there named to him all the delightful holy spots and all the sacred shrines of the celestials. Then he with his brothers visited those places, according to his desire and convenience. And at various places Brahmanas by thousands received gifts from him."

"Lomasa said, 'O son of Kunti! one who visits the sapphire Hill and plunges his body in the river Narmada attains the regions inhabited by the celestials and kings. O most praiseworthy of men! this period is the junction between the Treta and the Kali age, O Kunti's son! This is the period when a person gets rid of all his sins. O respected sir! this is the spot where Saryati performed sacrificial rites, wherein Indra appeared in a visible form and drank the Soma juice, with the two celestial physicians. And Bhrigu's son of severe austerities conceived anger towards the great Indra; and the mighty Chyavana paralysed Indra, and for his wife obtained the princess, Sukanya.'"

"Yudhishthira said, 'How was the chastiser of the demon Paka, the god possessed of the six attributes, paralysed by Chyavana? And for what reason did the mighty saint conceive wrath towards Indra? And how, O Brahmana! did he raise the celestial physicians to the rank of the drinkers of Soma? All this, precisely as it happened, thy venerable self will be pleased to recount to me.'"

SECTION 122

"Lomasa said, 'A son was born to the great saint Bhrigu, Chyavana by name. And he, of an exceedingly resplendent form, began to practise austerities by the side of yonder lake. And, O Pandu's son! O protector of men! he of mighty energy assumed the posture called Vira, quiet and still like an inanimate post, and for a long period, remained at the same spot of ground. And he was turned into an anthill covered over with creepers. And after the lapse of a long period, swarms of ants enveloped him. And covered all over with ants, the sagacious saint looked exactly like a heap of earth. And he went on practising austerities, enveloped on all sides with that ant-hill. Now after the lapse of a long space of time, that ruler of earth, Saryati by name, for amusement visited this pleasant and excellent lake. With him were four thousand females, espoused by him, O son of Bharata's race! there was also his only daughter endued with beautiful brows, named Sukanya. She surrounded by her maids, and decked out with jewels fit for the celestials, while walking about, approached the anthill where Bhrigu's son was seated. And surrounded by her maids, she began to amuse herself there, viewing the beautiful scenery, and looking at the lofty trees of the wood. And she was handsome and in the prime of her youth; and she was amorous and bent on frolicking. And she began to break the twigs of the forest trees bearing blossoms. And Bhrigu's son endued with intelligence beheld her wandering like lightning, without her maids, and wearing a single piece of cloth and decked with ornaments. And seeing her in the lone forest, that ascetic of exceeding effulgence was inspired with desire. And that regenerate Rishi possessing ascetic energy, who had a low voice, called the auspicious one,--but she heard him not. Then seeing the eyes of Bhrigu's son from the ant-hill, Sukanya from curiosity and losing her sense, said, 'What is this?'--and with thorns pierced the eyes (of the Rishi). And as his eyes being pierced by her, he felt exceeding pain and became wroth. And (from anger) he obstructed the calls of nature of Saryati's forces. And on their calls of nature being obstructed, the men were greatly afflicted. And seeing this state of things, the king asked. 'Who is it that hath done wrong to the illustrious son of Bhrigu, old and ever engaged in austerities and of wrathful temper? Tell me quick if ye know it'. The soldiers (thereupon) answered him saying, 'We do not know whether any one hath done wrong to the Rishi. Do thou, as thou list, make a searching enquiry into the matter. Thereupon that ruler of earth, using (as he saw occasion) both menace and conciliation, asked his friends (about the circumstance). But they too did not know anything. Seeing that the army was distressed owing to the obstruction of the calls of nature, and also finding her father aggrieved, Sukanya said, 'Roving in the forest, I lighted in the ant-hill here upon some brilliant substance. Thereupon taking it for a glow-worm I neared it, and pierced it (with thorns); Hearing this Saryati immediately came to the ant-hill, and there saw Bhrigu's son, old both in years and austerities. Then the lord of earth with joined hands, besought (the ascetic) saying, 'It behoveth thee to forgive what my daughter through ignorance and greenness, hath done unto thee." Chyavana the son of Bhrigu, addressed the monarch saying, 'Disregarding me, this one, filled with pride hath pierced my eyes. Even her, O king, endued with beauty and who was bereft of her senses by ignorance and temptation--even thy daughter would I have for my bride, I tell thee truly, on this condition alone will I forgive thee.'

Lomasa said, "Hearing the words of the sage, Saryati, without pausing, bestowed his daughter on the high-souled Chyavana. Having received the hand of that girl, the holy one was pleased with the king. And having won the Rishi's grace, the king went to his city, accompanied by his troops. And the faultless Sukanya also having obtained that ascetic for her husband, began to tend him, practising penances, and observing the ordinance. And that one of a graceful countenance, and void of guile worshipped Chyavana, and also ministered unto guests, and the sacred fire."

SECTION 123

"Lomasa said, 'Once on a time, O king, those celestials, namely the twin Aswins, happened to behold Sukanya, when she had (just) bathed, and when her person was bare. And seeing that one of excellent limbs, and like unto the daughter of the lord of celestials, the nose-born Aswins neared her, and addressed her, saying, 'O thou of shapely thighs, whose daughter art thou? And what doest thou in this wood? O auspicious one, O thou of excellent grace, we desire to know this, do thou therefore tell us.' Thereupon she replied bashfully unto those foremost of celestials. 'Know me as Sarayati's daughter, and Chyavana's wife.' Thereat the Aswins again spake unto her, smiling. 'What for, O fortunate one, hath thy father bestowed thee on a person who is verging on death? Surely, O timid girl, thou shinest in this wood like lightning. Not in the regions of the celestials themselves, O girl, have our eyes lighted on thy like. O damsel, unadorned and without gay robes as thou art, thou beautifiest this wood exceedingly. Still, O thou of faultless limbs, thou canst not look so beautiful, when (as at present) thou art soiled with mud and dirt, as thou couldst, if decked with every ornament and wearing gorgeous apparel. Why, O excellent girl in such plight servest thou a decrepit old husband, and one that hath become incapable of realising pleasure and also of maintaining thee, O thou of luminous smiles? O divinely beautiful damsel, do thou, forsaking Chyavana accept one of us for husband. It behoveth thee not to spend thy youth fruitlessly.'"

"Thus addressed Sukanya answered the celestials saying. 'I am devoted to my husband, Chyavana: do ye not entertain any doubts (regarding my fidelity). Thereupon they again spake unto her, 'We two are the celestial physicians of note. We will make thy lord young and graceful. Do thou then select one of us, viz., ourselves and thy husband,--for thy partner. Promising this do thou, O auspicious one, bring hither thy husband.' .. O king, agreeably to their words she went to Bhrigu's son and communicated to him what the two celestials had said. Hearing her message, Chyavana said unto his wife, 'Do thou so.' Having received the permission of her lord, (she returned to the celestials) and said, 'Do ye so.' Then hearing her words, viz., 'Do ye so,' they spoke unto the king's daughter. 'Let thy husband enter into water.' Thereat Chyavana desirous of obtaining beauty, quickly entered into water. The twin Aswins also, O king, sank into the sheet of water. And the next moment they all came out of the tank in surpassingly beautiful forms, and young and wearing burnished earrings. And all, possessed of the same appearance pleasing to behold, addressed her saying, 'O fortunate one, do thou choose one of us for spouse. And O beauteous one, do thou select him for lord who may please thy fancy.' Finding, however, all of them of the same appearance she deliberated; and at last ascertaining the identity of her husband, even selected him.

"Having obtained coveted beauty and also his wife, Chyavana, of exceeding energy, well pleased, spake these words unto the nose-born celestials: 'Since at your hands, an old man, I have obtained youth, and beauty, and also this wife of mine, I will, well pleased, make you quaffers of the Soma juice in the presence of the lord of celestials himself. This I tell you truly.' Hearing this, highly delighted, the twins ascended to heaven; and Chyavana and Sukanya too passed their days happily even like celestials."

SECTION 124

"Lomasa said, 'Now the news came to Saryati that Chyavana had been turned into a youth. And well pleased he came, accompanied by his troops, to the hermitage of the son of Bhrigu. And he saw Chyavana and Sukanya, like two children sprung from celestials, and his joy and that of his wife were as great as if the king had conquered the entire world. And the ruler of earth together with his wife was received honourably by that saint. And the king seated himself near the ascetic, and entered into a delightful conversation of an auspicious kind. Then, O king, the son of Bhrigu spake to the king these words of a soothing nature: 'I

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shall, O king, officiate at a religious ceremony to be performed by thee: let the requisite articles, therefore, be procured.' Thereat, that protector of earth Saryati, experienced the very height of joy, and O great king, he expressed his approbation of the proposal made by Chyavana. And on an auspicious day, suitable for the commencement of a sacrificial ceremony, Saryati ordered the erection of a sacrificial shrine of an excellent description and splendidly furnished with all desirable things. There Chyavana, the son of Bhrigu, officiated for the king as his priest. Now listen to me relating the wonderful events which happened at that spot. Chyavana took up a quantity of the Soma juice, in order that he might offer the same to the Aswins, who were physicians to the celestials. And while the saint was taking up the intended offering for those celestial twins, Indra pronounced his interdiction, saying, These Aswins both of them in my opinion have no right to receive an offering of the Soma juice.' They are the physicians of the celestials in heaven,--this vocation of theirs hath disentitled them (in the matter of Soma). Thereupon Chyavana said, 'These two are of mighty enterprise, possessed of mighty souls, and uncommonly endued with beauty and grace. And they, O Indra, have converted me into an eternally youthful person, even like unto a celestial. Why shouldst thou and the other celestials have a right to the distilled Soma juice, and not they? O lord of the celestials, O demolisher of hostile towns! be it known to thee that the Aswins also rank as gods.' At this, Indra spake saying, These two practise the healing art,--so they are but servants. And assuming forms at their pleasure they roam about in the world of mortal beings. How can they then rightfully claim the juice of the Soma?

"Lomasa said, 'When these very identical words were spoken again and again by the lord of celestials, the son of Bhrigu, setting Indra at naught, took up the offering he had intended to make. And as he was about to take up an excellent portion of the Soma juice with the object of offering it to the two Aswins, the destroyer of the demon Vala (Indra) observed his act, and thus spoke unto him, 'If thou take up the Soma with a view to offering it to those celestials, I shall hurl at thee my thunderbolt of awful form, which is superior to all the weapons that exist.' Thus addressed by Indra, the son of Bhrigu, cast at Indra a smiling glance, and took up in due form a goodly quantity of the Soma juice, to make an offering to the Aswins. Then Sachi's lord hurled at him the thunderbolt of awful form. And as he was about to launch it, his arm was paralysed by Bhrigu's son. And having paralysed his arm, Chyavana recited sacred hymns, and made offering on the fire. His object gained, he now attempted to destroy that celestial. Then by the virtue of that saint's ascetic energy, an evil spirit came into being,--a huge demon, Mada by name, of great strength and gigantic proportions. And his body was incapable of being measured either by demons or by gods. And his mouth was terrible and of huge size, and with teeth of sharpened edge. And one of his jaws rested on the earth, and the other stretched to heaven. And he had four fangs, each extending as far as one hundred yojanas, and his other fangs were extended to the distance of ten yojanas, and were of a form resembling towers on a palace, and which might be likened to the ends of spears. And his two arms were like unto hills, and extended ten thousand yojanas, and both were of equal bulk. And his two eyes resembled the sun and the moon; and his face rivalled the conflagration at the universal dissolution. And he was licking his mouth with his tongue, which, like lightning, knew no rest. And his mouth was open, and his glance was frightful, and seemed as if he would forcibly swallow up the world. The demon rushed at the celestial by whom a hundred sacrifices had been performed. And his intent was to devour that deity. And the world resounded with the loud and frightful sounds uttered by the Asura."

SECTION 125

"Lomasa said, 'When the god who had performed a hundred sacrifices (Indra) beheld the demon Mada of a frightful mien, coming towards him with open mouth, his intention being to devour him, and looking like the god of death himself, while his own arms remained paralysed, he through fear repeatedly licked the corners of his mouth. Then the lord of the celestials, tortured with fright, spake to Chyavana saying, 'O Bhrigu's son! O Brahmana! verily I tell thee as truth itself, that from this day forward the two Aswins will be entitled to the Soma juice. Be merciful to me! My undertaking can never come to naught. Let this be the rule. And I know, O saint of the sacerdotal caste! that thy work can never come to nothing. These two Aswins will have a right to drink the Soma juice, since thou hast made them entitled to the same. And, O Bhrigu's son, I have done this but to spread the fame of thy powers, and my object was to give thee an occasion for displaying thy powers. My other object was that the fame of the father of this Sukanya here might spread everywhere. Therefore be merciful to me: let it be as thou wishest.' Being thus addressed by Indra, the wrath of Chyavana of mighty soul was quickly appeased, and he set free the demolisher of hostile cities (Indra). And the powerful saint, O king! distributed Mada (literally intoxication), and put it piece-meal in drinks, in women, in gambling, and in field sports, even this same Mada who had been created repeatedly before. Having thus cast down the demon Mada and gratified Indra with a Soma draught and assisted king Saryati in worshipping all the gods together with the two Aswins and also spread his fame for power over all the worlds, the best of those endued with speech passed his days happily in the wood, in the company of Sukanya, his loving wife. This is his lake, shining, O king! and resounding with the voice of birds. Here must thou, together with thy uterine brothers, offer libations of water to thy forefathers and the gods. And, O ruler of earth! O scion of Bharata's race! having visited it and Sikataksha also, thou shalt repair to the Saindhava wood, and behold a number of small artificial rivers. And O great king, O scion of Bharata's race! thou shalt touch the waters of all the holy lakes and reciting the hymns of the god Sthanu (Siva), meet with success in every undertaking. For this is the junction, O most praiseworthy of men, of the two ages of the world, viz., Dwapara and Treta. It is a time, O Kunti's son! capable of destroying all the sins of a person. Here do thou perform ablutions, for the spot is able to remove all the sins of an individual. Yonder is the Archika hill, a dwelling place for men of cultured minds. Fruits of all the seasons grow here at all times and the streams run for ever. It is an excellent place fit for the celestials. And there are the holy cairns of diverse forms, set up by the celestials. O Yudhishthira! this is the bathing spot belonging to the Moon. And the saints are in attendance here on all sides round--they are the dwellers of the wood and the Valakhilyas, and the Pavakas, who subsist on air only. These are three peaks and three springs. Thou mayst walk round them all, one by one: then thou mayst wash thyself at pleasure. Santanu, O king! and Sunaka the sovereign of men, and both Nara and Narayana have attained everlasting regions from this place. Here did the gods constantly lie down, as also the forefathers, together with the mighty saints. In this Archika hill, they all carried on austerities. Sacrifice to them, O Yudhishthira! Here did they, also the saints, eat rice cooked in milk, O protector of men! And here is the Yamuna of an exhaustless spring. Krishna here engaged himself in a life of penances, O Pandu's son. O thou that draggest the dead bodies of thy foes! the twin brothers, and Bhimasena and Krishnâ and all of us will accompany thee to this spot. O lord of men, this is the holy spring that belongeth to Indra. Here the creative and the dispensing deity, and Varuna also rose upwards, and here too they dwelt, O king! observing forbearance, and possessed of the highest faith. This excellent and propitious hill is fit for persons of a kindly and candid disposition. This is that celebrated Yamuna, O king! frequented by hosts of mighty saints, the scene of diverse religious rites, holy, and destructive of the dread of sin. Here did Mandhata himself, of a mighty bow, perform sacrificial rites for the gods; and so did Somaka, O Kunti's son! who was the son of Sahadeva, and a most excellent maker of gifts.

SECTION 126

"Yudhishthira said, 'O great Brahmana, how was that tiger among kings, Mandhata, Yuvanaswa's son, born,--even he who was the best of monarchs, and celebrated over the three worlds? And how did he of unmeasured lustre attain the very height of real power, since all the three worlds were as much under his subjection, as they are under that of Vishnu of mighty soul? I am desirous of hearing all this in connexion with the life and achievements of that sagacious monarch. I should also like to hear how his name of Mandhata originated, belonging as it did to him who rivalled in lustre Indra himself: and also how he of unrivalled strength was born, for thou art skilled in the art of narrating events.'

"Lomasa said, 'Hear with attention, O king! how the name of Mandhata belonging to that monarch of mighty soul hath come to be celebrated throughout all the worlds. Yuvanaswa, the ruler of the earth, was sprung from Ikshvaku's race. That protector of the earth performed many sacrificial rites noted for magnificent gifts. And the most excellent of all virtuous men performed a thousand times the ceremony of sacrificing a horse. And he also performed other sacrifices of the highest order, wherein he made abundant gifts. But that saintly king had no son. And he of mighty soul and rigid vows made over to his ministers the duties of the state, and became a constant resident of the woods. And he of cultured soul devoted himself to the pursuits enjoined in the sacred writ. And once upon a time, that protector of men, O king! had observed a fast. And he was suffering from the pangs of hunger and his inner soul seemed parched with thirst. And (in this state) he entered the hermitage of Bhrigu. On that very night, O king of kings! the great saint who was the delight of Bhrigu's race, had officiated in a religious ceremony, with the object that a son might be born to Saudyumni. O king of kings! at the spot stood a large jar filled with water, consecrated with the recitation of sacred hymns, and which had been previously deposited there. And the water was endued with the virtue that the wife of Saudyumni would by drinking the same, bring forth a god-like son. Those mighty saints had deposited the jar on the altar and had gone to sleep, having been fatigued by keeping up the night. And as Saudyumni passed them by, his palate was dry, and he was suffering greatly from thirst. And the king was very much in need of water to drink. And he entered that hermitage and asked for drink. And becoming fatigued, he cried in feeble voice, proceeding from a parched throat, which resembled the weak inarticulate utterance of a bird. And his voice reached nobody's ears. Then the king beheld the jar filled with water. And he quickly ran towards it, and having drunk the water, put the jar down. And as the water was cool, and as the king had been suffering greatly from thirst, the draught of water relieved the sagacious monarch and appeased his thirst. Then those saints together with him of ascetic wealth, awoke from sleep; and all of them observed that the water of the jar had gone. Thereupon they met together and began to enquire as to who might have done it. Then Yuvanaswa truthfully admitted that it was his act. Then the revered son of Bhrigu spoke unto him, saying. 'It was not proper. This water had an occult virtue infused into it, and had been placed there with the object that a son might be born to thee. Having performed severe austerities, I infused the virtue of my religious acts in this water, that a son might be born to thee. O saintly king of mighty valour and physical strength! a son would have been born to thee of exceeding strength and valour, and strengthened by austerities, and who would have sent by his bravery even Indra to the abode of the god of death. It was in this manner, O king! that this water had been prepared by me. By drinking this water, O king, thou hast done what was not at all right. But it is impossible now for us to turn back the accident which hath happened. Surely what thou hast done must have been the fiat of Fate. Since thou, O great king, being a thirst hast drunk water prepared with sacred hymns, and filled with the virtue of my religious labours, thou must bring forth out of thy own body a son of the character described above. To that end we shall perform a sacrifice for thee, of wonderful effect so that, valorous as thou art, thou wilt bring forth a son equal to Indra. Nor with thou experience any trouble on account of the labour pains.' Then when one hundred years had passed away, a son shining as the sun pierced the left side of the king endowed with a mighty soul, and came forth. And the son was possessed of mighty strength. Nor did Yuvanaswa die--which itself was strange. Then Indra of mighty strength came to pay him a visit. And the deities enquired of the great Indra, 'What is to be sucked by this boy?' Then Indra introduced his own forefinger into his mouth. And when the wielder of the thunderbolt said, 'He will suck me,' the dwellers of heaven together with Indra christened the boy Mandhata, (literally, Me he shall suck). Then the boy having tasted the forefinger extended by Indra, became possessed of mighty strength, and he grew thirteen cubits, O king. And O great king! the whole of sacred learning together with the holy science of arms, was acquired by that masterful boy, who gained all that knowledge by the simple and unassisted power of his thought. And all at once, the bow celebrated under the name of Ajagava and a number of shafts made of horn, together with an impenetrable coat of mail, came to his possession on the very same day, O scion of Bharata's race! And he was placed on the throne by Indra himself and he conquered the three worlds in a righteous way, as Vishnu did by his three strides. And the wheel of the car of that mighty king as irresistible in its course (throughout the world). And the gems, of their own accord, came into the possession of that saintly king. This is the tract of land, O lord of earth, which belonged to him. It abounds in wealth. He performed a number of sacrificial rites of various kinds, in which abundant gratuities were paid to the priests. O king! he of mighty force and unmeasured lustre, erected sacred piles, and performed splendid pious deeds, and attained the position of sitting at Indra's side. That sagacious king of unswerving piety sent forth his fiat, and simply by its virtue conquered the earth, together with the sea--that source of gems--and all the cities (or [of?--JBH] the earth), O great king! The sacrificial grounds prepared by him were to be found all over the earth on all sides round--not a single spot, but was marked with the same. O great king! the mighty monarch is said to have given to the Brahmanas ten thousand padmas of kine. When there was a drought, which continued for twelve consecutive years, the mighty king caused rain to come down for the growth of crops, paying no heed to Indra, the wielder of the thunder-bolt, who remained staring (at him). The mighty ruler of the Gandhara land, born in the lunar dynasty of kings, who was terrible like a a roaring cloud, was slain by him, who wounded him sorely with his shafts. O king! he of cultured soul protected the four orders of people, and by him of mighty force the worlds were kept from harm, by virtue of his austere and righteous life. This is the spot where he, lustrous like the sun, sacrificed to the god. Look at it! here it is, in the midst of the field of the Kurus, situated in a tract, the holiest of all. O preceptor of earth! requested by thee, I have thus narrated to thee the great life of Mandhata, and also the way in which he was born, which was a birth of an extraordinary kind.'"

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Vaisampayana said, "O scion of Bharata's race! Kunti's son, thus addressed by the mighty saint, Lomasa, immediately put fresh questions to him, with regard to Somaka."

SECTION 127

Yudhishthira said, 'O best of speakers! what was the extent of power and strength possessed by king Somaka? I am desirous of hearing an exact account of his deeds and of his power."

"Lomasa said, 'O Yudhishthira! there was a virtuous king Somaka by name. He had one hundred wives, O king, all suitably matched to their husband. He took great care, but could not succeed in getting a single son from any one of them, and a long time elapsed during which he continued a sonless man. Once upon a time, when he had become old, and was trying every means to have a son, a son was born to him, Jantu by name, out of that century of women. And, O ruler of men! All the mothers used to sit surrounding their son and every one giving him such objects as might conduce to his enjoyment and pleasure. And it came to pass that one day an ant stung the boy at his hip. And the boy screamed loudly on account of the pain caused by the sting. And forthwith the mothers were exceedingly distressed to see how the child had been stung by the ant. And they stood around him and set up cries. Thus there arose a tumultuous noise. And that scream of pain suddenly reached (the ears of) the sovereign of the earth, when he was seated in the midst of his ministers, with the family priest at his side. Then the king sent for information as to what it was about. And the royal usher explained to him precisely what the matter was with reference to his son. And Somaka got up together with his ministers and hastened towards the female apartments. And on coming there, O subjugator of foes! he soothed his son. And having done so and coming out from the female apartments, the king sat with his family priest and ministers.'

"Somaka then spoke thus, 'Fie on having only a single son! I had rather be a sonless man. Considering how constantly liable to disease are all organized beings, to have an only son is but a trouble. O Brahmana! O my lord! With the view that I might have many sons born to me, this century of wives hath been wedded by me, after inspection, and after I had satisfied myself that they would prove suitable to me. But issue they have none. Having tried every means, and put forth great efforts, they have borne this single son, Jantu. What grief can be greater than this? O most excellent of the twice-born caste! I am grown old in years and so are my wives too. And yet this only son is like the breath of their nostrils, and so he is to me also. But is there any ceremony, by celebrating which one may get a hundred sons? (And if there is one such), tell me whether it is great or small, and easy or difficult to perform.'

"The family priest said, 'There is a ceremony by virtue of which a man may get a century of sons. If thou art able to perform it, O Somaka, then I shall explain it to thee.'

"Somaka said, 'Whether it be a good or an evil deed, the ceremony by which a hundred sons may be born, may be taken by thee as already performed. Let thy blessed self explain it to me.'

"The family priest thereupon said, 'O king! Let me set on foot a sacrifice and thou must sacrifice thy son, Jantu in it. Then on no distant date, a century of handsome sons will be born to thee. When Jantu's fat will be put into the fire as an offering to the gods, the mothers will take a smell of that smoke, and bring forth a number of sons, valourous and strong. And Jantu also will once more be born as a self-begotten son of thine in that very (mother); and on his back there will appear a mark of gold.'"

SECTION 128

"Somaka said, 'O Brahmana! whatever is to be performed--do precisely as it may be necessary. As I am desirous of having a number of sons, I shall do all that may be prescribed by thee."

"Lomasa said, "Then the priest officiated in the sacrifice in which Jantu was offered as the victim. But the mothers is in pity forcibly snatched the son and took him away. And they cried, 'We are undone!' And they were smitten with torturing grief and they caught hold of Jantu by his right hand, and wept in a piteous way. But the officiating priest held the boy by the right hand and pulled him. And like female ospreys they screamed in agony! but the priest dragged the son killed him and made a burnt offering of his fat in the proper form. And, O delight of the race of Kuru! While the fat was being made an offering of the agonised mothers smelt its smell, and of a sudden fell to the ground (and swooned away.) And then all those lovely women became with child, and O lord of men! O scion of Bharata's race! When ten months had passed a full century of sons was born to Somaka begotten on all those women. And, O monarch of the earth! Jantu became the eldest and was born of his former mother and he became the most beloved to the women,--not so were their own sons. And on his back there was that mark of gold and of that century of sons, he was also superior in merit. Then that family priest of Somaka departed this life as also Somaka after a certain time. Now he beheld that the priest was being grilled in a terrible hell. And thereupon he questioned him, 'Why art thou, O Brahmana! being grilled in this hell?" Then the family priest exceedingly scorched with fire, spake to him saying, 'This is the outcome of my having officiated in that sacrifice of thine.' O king, hearing this, the saintly king thus spake to the god who meteth out punishments to departed souls, 'I shall enter here. Set free my officiating priest; this reversed man is being grilled by hell-fire on my account only.'

"Dharmaraja thereat answered thus, 'One cannot enjoy or suffer for another person's acts. O best of speakers! these are the fruits of thy acts; see it here.'

"Somaka said, 'Without this Brahmana here, I desire not go to the blessed regions. My desire is to dwell in company with this very man, either in the abode of the gods, or in hell, for, O Dharmaraja! my deed is identical with what hath been done by him and the fruit of our virtuous or evil deed must be the same for both of us.'

"Dharmaraja said, 'O king! If this is thy wish, then taste with him the fruit of that act, for the same period that he must do. After that thou shall go to the blessed regions.'

"Lomasa said, The lotus-eyed king did all that exactly in the way prescribed to him. And when his sins were worked off, he was set free together with the priest. O king! Fond of the priest as he was, he won all those blessings to which he had entitled himself by his meritorious acts and shared everything with the family priest. This is his hermitage which looketh lovely before our eyes. Any one would attain the blessed regions, if he should spend six nights here controlling his passions. O king of kings! O leader of the tribe of Kurus! Here, free from excitement and self-controlled, we must spend six nights. Be thou ready therefor.'"

SECTION 129

"Lomasa said, 'Here, O king! The lord of born beings himself performed a sacrifice in former times,--the ceremony called Ishtikrita, which occupied one thousand years. And Amvarisha, son of Nabhaga, sacrificed near the Yamuna river. And having sacrificed there, he gave away ten Padmas (of gold coins) to the attendant priests, and he obtained the highest success by his sacrifices and austerities. And, O Kunti's son! This is the spot where that sovereign of the entire earth, Nahusha's son, Yayati, of unmeasured force, and who led a holy life, performed his sacrificial rites. He competed with Indra and performed his sacrifice here. Behold how the ground is studded with places for the sacrificial fires of various forms, and how the earth seems to be subsiding here under the pressure of Yayati's pious works. This is the Sami tree, which hath got but a single leaf, and this is a most excellent lake. Behold these lakes of Parasurama, and the hermitage of Narayana. O protector of earth! This is the path which was followed by Richika's son, of unmeasured energy, who roamed over the earth, practising the Yoga rites in the river Raupya. And, O delight of the tribe of Kurus! Hear what a Pisacha woman (she-goblin), who was decked with pestles for her ornaments, said (to a Brahmana woman), as I was reciting here the table of genealogy. (She said), "Having eaten curd in Yugandhara, and lived in Achutasthala, and also bathed in Bhutilaya, thou shouldst live with thy sons. Having passed a single night here, if thou wilt spend the second, the events of the night will be different from those that have happened to thee in the day-time, O most righteous of Bharata's race! Today we shall spend the night at this very spot. O scion of Bharata's race! this is the threshold of the field of the Kurus. O king! At this very spot, the monarch Yayati, son of Nahusha, performed sacrificial rites, and made gifts of an abundance of gems. And Indra was pleased with those sacred rites. This is an excellent holy bathing-place on the river Yamuna, known as Plakshavatarana (descent of the banian tree). Men of cultured minds call it the entrance to the region of heaven. O respected sir! here, after having performed sacrificial rites of the Saraswata king, and making use of the sacrificial stake for their pestle, the highest order of saints performed the holy plunge prescribed at the end of a sacred ceremony. O monarch! King Bharata here performed sacrificial rites. To celebrate the horse-sacrifice, he here set free the horse who was the intended victim. That monarch had won the sovereignty of the earth by righteousness. The horse? he let go more than once were of a colour checkered with black. O tiger among men! it was here that Marutta sheltered by Samvartta, leader of saints, succeeded in performing excellent sacrifices. O sovereign of kings! Having taken his bath at this spot, one can behold all the worlds, and is purified from his evil deeds. Do thou, therefore, bathe at this spot.'"

Vaisampayana said, "Then that most praiseworthy of Pandu's sons, there bathed with his brothers, while the mighty saints were uttering laudatory words to him. And he addressed the following words to Lomasa, 'O thou whose strength lieth in truthfulness! By virtue of this pious act, I behold all the worlds. And from this place, I behold that most praiseworthy of Pandu's sons Arjuna, the rider of white steed."

'Lomasa said, 'It is even so, O thou of powerful arms! The saints of the highest order thus behold all the regions. Behold this holy Saraswati here, thronged by persons who look upon her as their sole refuge. O most praise worthy of men! having bathed here, thou wilt be free from all thy sins. O Kunti's son! here the celestial saints performed sacrificial rites of Saraswata king: and so did the saints and the royal saints. This is the altar of the lord of beings, five yojanas in extent on all sides round. And this is the field of the magnanimous Kurus, whose habit it was to perform sacrifices.'"

SECTION 130

"Lomasa said, 'O son of Bharata's race! If mortals breathe their last at this spot, they go to heaven. O king! Thousands upon thousands of men come to this place to die. A blessing was pronounced on this spot by Daksha, when he was engaged in sacrifice here, (in these words), 'Those men that shall die at this spot shall win a place in heaven.' Here is the beautiful and sacred river, Saraswati, full of water: and here, O lord of men, is the spot known as Vinasana, or the place where the Saraswati disappeared. Here is the gate of the kingdom of the Nishadas and it is from hatred for them that the Saraswati entered into the earth in order that the Nishadas might not see her. Here too is the sacred region of Chamashodbheda where the Saraswati once more became visible to them. And here she is joined by other sacred rivers running seawards. O conqueror of foes, here is that sacred spot known by the name of Sindhu--where Lopamudra accepted the great sage Agastya as her lord and, O thou whose effulgence is like unto that of the sun, here is the sacred tirtha called Prabhasa, the favoured spot of Indra and which removeth all sins. Yonder is visible the region of Vishnupada. And here is the delightful and sacred river, Vipasa. From grief for the death of his sons the great sage Vasistha had thrown himself into this stream, after binding his limbs. And when he rose from the water, lo! he was unfettered. Look, O king with thy brothers at the sacred region of Kasmeera, frequented by holy sages. Here, O scion of Bharata's race, is the spot, where a conference took place between Agni and the sage Kasyapa, and also between Nahusha's son and the sages of the north. And, O great prince, Yonder is the gate of the Manasasarovara. In the midst of this mountain, a gap hath been opened by Rama. And here. O prince of prowess incapable of being baffled, is the well-known region of Vatikhanda, which, although adjacent to the gate of Videha, lieth on the north of it. And O bull among men, there is another very remarkable thing connected with this place,--namely, that on the waning of every yuga, the god Siva, having the power to assume any shape at will, may be seen with Uma and his followers. In Yonder lake also people desirous of securing welfare to the family, propitiate with sacrifices the holder of the great bow Pinaka, in the month of Chaitra. And persons of devotion having passions under control, performing their ablutions in this lake, become free from sins and, without doubt, attain to the holy regions. Here is the sacred tirtha called Ujjanaka, where the holy sage Vasistha with his wife Arundhati and also the sage Yavakri obtained tranquillity. Yonder is the lake Kausava, where grown the lotuses called Kausesaya, and here also is the sacred hermitage of Rukmini, where she attained peace, after conquering that evil passion, anger. I think, O prince, that thou hast heard something about that man of meditations, Bhrigutunga. There, O king, before thee is that lofty peak. And, O foremost of kings, yonder is Vitasta, the sacred stream that absolveth men from all sins. The water of this stream is extremely cool and limpid, and it is largely used by the great sages. O prince, behold the holy rivers Jala and Upajala, on either side of the Yamuna. By performing a sacrifice here, king Usinara surpassed in greatness Indra himself. And, O descendant of Bharata, desirous of testing Usinara's merit and also of bestowing boons on him, Indra and Agni presented themselves at his sacrificial ground. And Indra assuming the shape of a hawk, and Agni that of a pigeon, came up to that king. And the pigeon in fear of the hawk, fell upon the king's thigh, seeking his protection.'"

SECTION 131

"The hawk said, 'All the kings of the earth represent thee as a pious ruler. Wherefore, O prince, has thou then stopped to perpetrate a deed not sanctioned by the ordinance? I have been sore afflicted with hunger. Do thou not withhold from me that which hath been appointed by the Deity for my food,--under the impression that thereby thou servest the interests of virtue, whereas in reality, thou wilt forsake it, (by committing thyself to this act). Thereupon, the king said, 'O best of the feathered race, afflicted with fear of thee, and desirous of escaping from thy hands, this bird, all in a hurry, hath come up to me asking for life. When this pigeon hath in such a manner sought my protection, why dost thou not see that the highest merit is even in my not surrendering it unto thee? And it is trembling with fear, and is agitated, and is seeking its life from me. It is therefore certainly blameworthy to forsake it. He that slayeth a Brahmana, he that slaughtered a cow--the common mother of all the worlds--and he that forsaketh one seeking for protection are equally sinful.' Thereat the hawk replied, 'O lord of earth, it is from food that all beings derive their life, and it is food also that nourisheth

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and sustaineth them. A man can live long even after forsaking what is dearest to him, but he cannot do so, after abstaining from food. Being deprived of food, my life, O ruler of men, will surely leave this body, and will attain to regions unknown to such troubles. But at my death, O pious king, my wife and children will surely perish, and by protecting this single pigeon. O prince, thou dost not protect many lives. The virtue that standeth in the way of another virtue, is certainly no virtue at all, but in reality is unrighteousness. But O king, whose prowess consisteth in truth, that virtue is worthy of the name, which is not conflicting. After instituting a comparison between opposing virtues, and weighing their comparative merits, one, O great prince, ought to espouse that which is not opposing. Do thou, therefore, O king, striking a balance between virtues, adopt that which preponderates.' At this the king said, 'O best of birds, as thou speakest words fraught with much good, I suspect thee to be Suparna, the monarch of birds. I have not the least hesitation to declare that thou art fully conversant with the ways of virtue. As thou speakest wonders about virtue, I think that there is nothing connected with it, that is unknown to thee. How canst thou then consider the forsaking of one, seeking for help, as virtuous? Thy efforts in this matter, O ranger of the skies, have been in quest of food. Thou canst, however, appease thy hunger with some other sort of food, even more copious. I am perfectly willing to procure for thee any sort of food that to thee may seem most tasteful, even if it be an ox, or a boar, or a deer, or a buffalo.' Thereupon the hawk said, 'O great king, I am not desirous of eating (the flesh of) a boar or an ox or the various species of beasts. What have I to do with any other sort of food? Therefore, O bull among the Kshatriyas, leave to me this pigeon, whom Heaven hath today ordained for my food, O ruler of earth, that hawks eat pigeons is the eternal provision. O prince, do not for support embrace a plantain tree, not knowing its want of strength.' The king said, 'Ranger of the skies, I am willing to bestow on thee this rich province of my race, or any other thing that to thee may seem desirable. With the sole exception of this pigeon, which hath approached me craving my protection, I shall be glad to give unto thee anything that thou mayst like. Let me know what I shall have to do for the deliverance of this bird. But this I shall not return to thee on any condition whatever.'"

"The hawk said, 'O great ruler of men, if thou hast conceived an affection for this pigeon, then cut off a portion of thine own flesh, and weigh it in a balance, against this pigeon. And when thou hast found it equal (in weight) to the pigeon, then do thou give it unto me, and that will be to my satisfaction.' Then the king replied, This request of thine, O hawk, I consider as a favour unto me, and, therefore, I will give unto thee even my own flesh, after weighing it in a balance.'

"Lomasa said, 'Saying this, O mighty son of Kunti, the highly virtuous king cut off a portion of his own flesh, and placed it in a balance, against the pigeon. But when he found that pigeon exceeded his flesh in weight, he once more cut off another portion of his flesh, and added it to the former. When portion after portion had been repeatedly added to weigh against the pigeon, and no more flesh was left on his body, he mounted the scale himself, utterly devoid of flesh.

"The hawk then said, 'I am Indra, O virtuous king, and this pigeon is Agni, the carrier of the sacrificial clarified butter. We had come unto thy sacrificial ground, desirous of testing thy merit. Since thou hast cut off thy own flesh from thy body, thy glory shall be resplendent, and shall surpass that of all others in the world. As long as men, O king, shall speak of thee, so long shall thy glory endure, and thou shalt inhabit the holy regions.' Saying this to the king, Indra ascended to heaven. And the virtuous king Usinara, after having filled heaven and earth with the merit of his pious deeds, ascended to heaven in a radiant shape. Behold, O king, the residence of that noble-hearted monarch. Here, O king, are seen holy sages and gods, together with virtuous and highsouled Brahmanas."

SECTION 132

"Lomasa said, 'See here, O lord of men, the sacred hermitage of Swetaketu, son of Uddalaka, whose fame as an expert in the sacred mantras is so widely spread on earth. This hermitage is graced with cocoanut trees. Here Swetaketu beheld the goddess Saraswati in her human shape, and spake unto her, saying, 'May I be endowed with the gift of speech!'" In that yuga, Swetaketu, the son of Uddalaka, and Ashtavakra, the son of Kahoda, who stood to each other in the relation of uncle and nephew, were the best of those conversant with the sacred lore. Those two Brahmanas, of matchless energy, who bore unto each other the relationship of uncle and nephew, went into the sacrificial ground of king Janaka and there defeated Vandin in a controversy. Worship, O son of Kunti, with thy brothers, the sacred hermitage of him who had for his grandson Ashtavakra, who, even when a mere child, had caused Vandin to be drowned in a river, after having defeated him in a (literary) contest.'

"Yudhishthira said, Tell me, O Lomasa, all about the power of this man, who had in that way defeated Vandin. Why was he born as Ashtavakra (crooked in eight parts in his body)?"

"Lomasa said, The sage Uddalaka had a disciple named Kahoda of subdued passions, and entirely devoted to the service of his preceptor and who had continued his studies long. The Brahmana had served his tutor long, and his preceptor, recognising his service, gave him his own daughter, Sujata, in marriage, as well as a mastery over the Shastras. And she became with child, radiant as fire. And the embryo addressed his father while employed in reading, 'O father, thou hast been reading the whole night, but (of all that) thy reading doth not seem to me correct. Even in my fetal state I have, by thy favour, become versed in the Shastras and the Vedas with their several branches. I say, O father, that what proceeds from thy mouth, is not correct.' Thus insulted in the presence of his disciples, the great sage in anger cursed his child in the womb, saying, 'Because thou speakest thus even while in the womb, therefore thou shalt be crooked in eight parts of the body.' The child was accordingly born crooked, and the great sage was ever after known by the name of Ashtavakra. Now, he had an uncle named Swetaketu who was the same age with himself. Afflicted by the growth of the child in the womb, Sujata, desirous of riches, conciliating her husband who had no wealth told him in private: 'How shall I manage, O great sage, the tenth month of my pregnancy having come? Thou hast no substance whereby I may extricate myself from the exigencies, after I have been delivered." Thus addressed by his wife, Kahoda went unto king Janaka for riches. He was there defeated in a controversy by Vandin, well versed in the science of arguments, and (in consequence) was immersed into water. And hearing that his son-in-law had been defeated in a controversy by Vandin and caused to be drowned by him, Uddalaka spake unto his daughter Sujata, saying, 'Thou shall keep it a secret from Ashtavakra.' She accordingly kept her counsel--so that Ashtavakra, when born, had heard nothing about the matter. And he regarded Uddalaka as his father and Swetaketu as his brother. And when Ashtavakra was in his twelfth year, Swetaketu one day saw the former seated on his father's lap. And thereat he pulled him by the hand, and on Ashtavakra's beginning to cry, he told him, 'It is not the lap of thy father.' This cruel communication went direct into Ashtavakra's heart and it pained him sorely. And he went home and asked his mother saying, 'Where is my father?' Thereupon Sujata who was greatly afflicted (by his question), and apprehending a curse told him all that had happened. And having heard all, the Brahmana at night said unto his uncle Swetaketu, 'Let us go unto the sacrifice of king Janaka, wherein many wonderful things are to be seen. There we shall listen to the controversy between the Brahmanas and shall partake of excellent food. Our knowledge also will increase. The recitation of the sacred Vedas is sweet to hear and is fraught with blessings.' Then they both--uncle and nephew--went unto the splendid sacrifice of king Janaka. And on being driven from the entrance, Ashtavakra met the king and addressed him in the following words."

SECTION 133

"Ashtavakra said, 'When no Brahmana is met with on the way, the way belongeth to the blind, the deaf, the women, carriers of burden, and the king respectively. But when a Brahmana is met with on the way, it belongeth to him alone.' Thereupon the king said, 'I give the privilege to enter. Do thou, therefore, go in by whatever way thou likest. No fire ever so small is to be slighted. Even Indra himself boweth unto the Brahmanas.' At this Ashtavakra said, 'We have come, O ruler of men, to witness thy sacrificial ceremony and our curiosity, O king, is very great. And we have come here as guests. We want the permission of thy order (to enter). And, O son of Indradyumna, we have come, desirous of seeing the sacrifice, and to meet king Janaka and speak to him. But thy warder obstructs us and for this our anger burneth us like fever.' The warder said, 'We carry out the orders of Vandin. Listen to what I have to say. Lads are not permitted to enter here and it is only the learned old Brahmanas that are allowed to enter.' Ashtavakra said. 'If this be the condition, O warder, that the door is open to those only that are old, then we have a right to enter. We are old and we have observed sacred vows and are in possession of energy proceeding from the Vedic lore. And we have served our superiors and subdued our passions--and have also won proficiency in knowledge. It is said that even boys are not to be slighted,--for a fire, small though it be, burneth on being touched.' The warder replied, 'O young Brahmana, I consider you a boy, and therefore recite, if you know, the verse demonstrating the existence of the Supreme Being, and adored by the divine sages, and which, although composed of one letter, is yet multifarious. Make no vain boast. Learned men are really very rare.' Ashtavakra said, 'True growth cannot be inferred from the mere development of the body, as the growth of the knots of the Salmali tree cannot signify its age. That tree is called full-grown which although slender and short, beareth fruits. But that which doth not bear fruits, is not considered as grown.' The warder said, 'Boys receive instruction from the old and they also in time grow old. Knowledge certainly is not attainable in a short time. "Wherefore then being a child, dost thou talk like an old man?' Then Ashtavakra said, 'One is not old because his head is gray. But the gods regard him as old who, although a child in years, is yet possessed of knowledge. The sages have not laid down that a man's merit consists in years, or gray hair, or wealth, or friends. To us he is great who is versed in the Vedas. I have come here, O porter, desirous of seeing Vandin in the court. Go and inform king Janaka, who hath a garland of lotuses on his neck, that I am here. Thou shalt to-day see me enter into a dispute with the learned men, and defeat Vandin in a controversy. And when others have been silenced, the Brahmanas of matured learning and the king also with his principal priests, bear witness to the superior or the inferior quality of my attainments.' The warder said, 'How canst thou, who art but in thy tenth year, hope to enter into this sacrifice, into which learned and educated men only are admitted? I shall, however, try some means for thy admittance. Do thou also try thyself'. Ashtavakra then addressing the king said, 'O king, O foremost of Janaka's race, thou art the paramount sovereign and all power reposeth in thee. In times of old, king Yayati was the celebrator of sacrifices. And in the present age, thou it is that art performer thereof. We have heard that the learned Vandin, after defeating (in controversy) men expert in discussion, causeth them to be drowned by faithful servants employed by thee. Hearing this, I have come before these Brahmanas, to expound the doctrine of the unity of the Supreme Being. Where is now Vandin? Tell me so that I may approach him, and destroy him, even as the sun destroyeth the stars. Thereupon the king said, 'Thou hopest, O Brahmana, to defeat Vandin, not knowing his power of speech. Can those who are familiar with his power, speak as thou dost? He hath been sounded by Brahmanas versed in the Vedas. Thou hopest to defeat Vandin, only because thou knowest not his powers (of speech). Many a Brahmana hath waned before him, even as the stars before the sun. Desirous of defeating him, people proud of their learning, have lost their glory on appearing before him, and have retired from his presence, without even venturing to speak with the members of the assembly.' Ashtavakra said, 'Vandin hath never entered into disputation with a man like myself, and it is for this only that he looketh upon himself as a lion, and goeth about roaring like one. But to-day meeting me he will lie down dead, even like a cart on the highway, of which the wheels have been deranged.' The king said, 'He alone is a truly learned man who understandeth the significance of the thing that hath thirty divisions, twelve parts twentyfour joints, and three hundred and sixty spokes.' Ashtavakra said, 'May that ever-moving wheel that hath twentyfour joints, six naves, twelve peripheries, and sixty spokes protect thee! ' The king said, 'Who amongst the gods beareth those two which go together like two mares (yoked to a car), and sweep like a hawk, and to what also do they give birth?' Ashtavakra said, 'May God, O king, forfend the presence of these two in thy house; aye, even in the house of thine enemies. He who appeareth, having for his charioteer the wind, begetteth them, and they also produce him.' Thereupon the king said, 'What is that doth not close its eyes even while sleeping; what is it that doth not move, even when born; what is it that hath no heart; and what doth increase even in its own speed?' Ashtavakra said, 'It is a fish that doth not close its eye-lids, while sleeping; and it is an a egg that doth not move when produced; it is stone that hath no heart; and it is a river that increase in its own speed.'

"The king said, 'It seemeth, O possessor of divine energy, that thou art no human being. I consider thee not a boy, but a matured man; there is no other man who can compare with thee in the art of speech. I therefore give thee admittance. There is Vandin.'"

SECTION 134

"Ashtavakra said, 'O king, O leader of fierce legions, in this assembly of monarchs of unrivalled power who have met together, I am unable to find out Vandin, chief of the controversialists. But I am searching for him, even as one doth for a swan on a vast expanse of water. O Vandin, thou regardest thyself as the foremost of controversialists. When though wilt engage with me in staking, thou wilt not be able to flow like the current of a river. I am like a full-flaming fire. Be silent before me, O Vandin! Do not awaken a sleeping tiger. Know that thou shalt not escape unstung, after trampling on the head of a venomous snake, licking the corners of its mouth with its tongue, and who hath been hurt by thy foot. That weak man who, in pride of strength, attempts to strike a blow at a mountain, only gets his hands and nails hurt, but no wound is left on the mountain itself. As the other mountains are inferior to the Mainaka, and as calves are inferior to the ox, so are all other kings of the earth inferior to the lord of Mithila. And as Indra is the foremost of celestials, and as the Ganga is the best of rivers, so thou alone art, O king, the greatest of monarchs. O king, cause Vandin to be brought to my presence.'

"Lomasa said, 'Saying this, O Yudhishthira, wroth with Vandin, Ashtavakra thus thundered in the assembly, and

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addressed him in these words, 'Do thou answer my questions, and I shall answer thine.' Thereat Vandin said, 'One only fire blazeth forth in various shapes; one only sun illumineth this whole world; one only hero, Indra, the lord of celestials, destroyeth enemies; and one only Yama is the sole lord of the Pitris. Ashtavakra said, 'The two friends, Indra and Agni, ever move together; the two celestial sages are Narada and Parvata; twins are the Aswinikumaras; two is the number of the wheels of a car; and it is as a couple that husband and wife live together, as ordained by the deity.' Vandin said, 'Three kinds of born beings are produced by acts; the three Vedas together perform the sacrifice, Vajapeya; at three different times, the Adhwaryus commence sacrificial rites; three is the number of words: and three also are the divine lights.' Ashtavakra said, 'Four are the Asramas of the Brahmanas; the four orders perform sacrifices; four are the cardinal points; four is the number of letters; and four also, as is ever known, are the legs of a cow.' Vandin said, 'Five is the number of fires; five are the feet of the metre called Punki; five are the sacrifices; five locks, it is said in the Vedas, are on the heads of the Apsaras; and five sacred rivers are known in the world.' Ashtavakra said. 'Six cows, it is asserted by some, and paid as a gratuity on the occasion of establishing the sacred fire; six are the seasons belonging to the wheel of time; six is the number of the senses; six stars constitute the constellation Kirtika; and six, it is found in all the Vedas, is the number of the Sadyaska sacrifice.' Vandin said, 'Seven is the number of the domesticated animals; seven are the wild animals; seven metres are used in completing a sacrifice; seven are the Rishis, seven forms of paying homage are extant (in the world); and seven, it is known, are the strings of the Vina.' Ashtavakra said, 'Eight are the bags containing a hundred fold; eight is the number of the legs of the Sarabha, which preyeth upon lions; eight Vasus, as we hear, are amongst the celestials; and eight are the angles of yupa (stake), in all sacrificial rites.' Vandin said, 'Nine is the number of the mantras used in kindling the fire in sacrifices to the Pitris; nine are the appointed functions in the processes of creation; nine letters compose the foot of the metre, Vrihati; and nine also is ever the number of the figures (in calculation).' Ashtavakra said, 'Ten is said to be the number of cardinal points, entering into the cognition of men in this world; ten times hundred make up a thousand; ten is the number of months, during which women bear; and ten are the teachers of true knowledge, and ten, the haters thereof, and ten again are those capable of learning it.' Vandin said, 'Eleven are the objects enjoyable by beings; eleven is the number of the yupas; eleven are the changes of the natural state pertaining to those having life; and eleven are the Rudras among the gods in heaven.' Ashtavakra said, Twelve months compose the year; twelve letters go to the composition of a foot of the metre called Jagati; twelve are the minor sacrifices; and twelve, according to the learned, is the number of the Adityas.' Vandin said, 'The thirteenth lunar day is considered the most auspicious; thirteen islands exist on earth.

Lomasa said, 'Having proceeded thus far, Vandin stopped. Thereupon Ashtavakra supplied the latter half of the sloka. Ashtavakra said, 'Thirteen sacrifices are presided over by Kesi; and thirteen are devoured by Atichhandas, (the longer metres) of the Veda. And seeing Ashtavakra speaking and the Suta's son silent, and pensive, and with head downcast, the assembly broke into a long uproar. And when the tumult thus arose in the splendid sacrifice performed by king Janaka, the Brahmanas well pleased, and with joined hands, approached Ashtavakra, and began to pay him homage.'

"Thereupon Ashtavakra said, 'Before this, this man, defeating the Brahmanas in controversy, used to cast them into water. Let Vandin today meet with the same fate. Seize him and drown him in water.' Vandin said. 'O Janaka, I am the son of king Varuna. Simultaneously with thy sacrifice, there also hath commenced a sacrifice extending over twelve years. It is for this that I have despatched the principal Brahmanas thither. They have gone to witness Varuna's sacrifice. Lo! there they are returning. I pay homage to the worshipful Ashtavakra, by whose grace to-day I shall join him who hath begot me.'

"Ashtavakra said, 'Defeating the Brahmanas either by words or subtlety. Vandin had cast them into the waters of the sea. (That Vedic truth which he had suppressed by false arguments), have I to-day rescued by dint of my intellect. Now let candid men judge. As Agni, who knoweth the character of both the good and the bad, leaveth unscorched by his heat the bodies of those whose designs are honest, and is thus partial to them, so good men judge the assertions of boys, although lacking the power of speech, and are favourably disposed towards them. O Janaka, thou hearest my words as if thou hast been stupefied in consequence of having eaten the fruit of the Sleshmataki tree. Or flattery hath robbed thee of thy sense, and for this it is that although pierced by my words as an elephant (by the hook), thou hearest them not.'

"Janaka said, 'Listening to thy words, I take them to be excellent and superhuman. Thy form also standeth manifest as superhuman. As thou hast to-day defeated Vandin in discussion, I place even him at thy disposal.' Ashtavakra said, 'O king, Vandin remaining alive, will not serve any purpose of mine. If his father be really Varuna, let him be drowned in the sea.'

Vandin said, 'I am King Varuna's son. I have no fear (therefore) in being drowned. Even at this moment. Ashtavakra shall see his long-lost sire, Kahoda.'

"Lomasa said, 'Then rose before Janaka all the Brahmanas, after having been duly worshipped by the magnanimous Varuna. Kahoda said, 'It is for this, O Janaka, that men pray for sons, by performing meritorious acts. That in which I had failed hath been achieved by my son. Weak persons may have sons endued with strength; dunces may have intelligent sons; and the illiterate may have sons possessed of learning.' Vandin said, 'It is with thy sharpened axe, O monarch, that even Yama severeth the heads of foes. May prosperity attend thee! In this sacrifice of king Janaka, the principal hymns relating to the Uktha rites are being chanted, and the Soma juice also is being adequately quaffed. And the gods themselves, in person, and with cheerful hearts, are accepting their sacred shares.'

"Lomasa said, 'When in enhanced splendour, the Brahmanas had risen up, Vandin, taking king Janaka's permission, entered into the waters of the sea. And then Ashtavakra worshipped his father, and he himself also was worshipped by the Brahmanas. And having thus defeated the Suta's son. Ashtavakra returned to his own excellent hermitage, in company with his uncle. Then in the presence of his mother, his father addressed him, saying, '(O son), thou speedily enter into this river, Samanga.' And accordingly, he entered (into the water). (And as he plunged beneath the water), all his (crooked) limbs were immediately made straight. And from that day that river came to be called Samanga and she became invested with the virtues of purifying (sins). He that shall bathe in her, will be freed from his sins. Therefore, O Yudhishthira, do thou with thy brothers and wife descend to the river, and perform thy ablutions. O Kunti's son, O scion of the Ajamidha race, living happily and cheerfully at this place together with thy brothers and the Brahmanas, thou wilt perform with me other acts of merit, being intent upon good deeds.'"

SECTION 135

"Lomasa said, 'Here, O king, is visible the river Samanga, whose former name was Madhuvila, and yonder is the spot named Kardamila, the bathing place of Bharata. The lord of Sachi, when fallen into misery in consequence of having slain Vritra, became freed from his sin, by performing his ablutions in this Samanga. Here, O bull among men, is the spot where the Mainaka mountain hath sunk into the interior of the earth; and it is hence called Vinasana. For obtaining sons, here Aditi in days of yore had cooked that celebrated food, (presided over by the Supreme Being). O ye bulls among men, ascended this lofty mountain and put an end to your inglorious misery unworthy to be uttered. Here, O king, before thee is the Kanakhala range, the favourite resort of sages. 'And yonder is the mighty river Ganga. Here, in ancient times, the holy sage Sanatkumara attained ascetic success. O scion of the Ajamidha race, by performing thy ablutions here in this river, thou wilt be freed from all thy sins. O son of Kunti, do thou together with thy ministers, touch (the waters) of this lake called Punya, and this mountain Bhrigutunga and also (the water of) these two rivers, called Tushniganga. Here, O Kunti's son, appeareth the hermitage of the sage Sthulasiras. Resign here thy anger and sense of self-importance. There, O son of Pandu, is seen the beautiful hermitage of Raivya, where perished Bharadwaja's son, Yavakari, profound in Vedic lore.'"

"Yudhishthira said, 'How did the mighty sage, Yavakri, son of the ascetic Bharadwaja, acquire profundity in the Vedas? And how also did he perish? I am anxious to hear all this, just as it happened. I take delight in listening to the narration of the deeds of god-like men.'"

"Lomasa said, 'Bharadwaja and Raivya were two friends. And they dwelt here, ever taking the greatest pleasure in each other's company. Now, Raivya had two sons, named Arvavasu and Paravasu. And, Bharadwaja, O Bharata's son, had an only son, named Yavakri. Raivya and his two sons were versed in the Vedas, while Bharadwaja practised asceticism. But, O son of Bharata, from their boyhood, the friendship subsisting between those two was unequalled. O sinless one, the highspirited Yavakri finding that his father, who practised asceticism, was slighted by the Brahmanas, while Raivya with his sons was greatly respected by them, was overwhelmed with sorrow, and became sore aggrieved. Thereupon, O son of Pandu, he entered upon severe austerities, for (obtaining) a knowledge of the Vedas. And he exposed his body to a flaming fire. By thus practising the most rigid austerities, he caused anxiety in the mind of Indra. Then Indra, O Yudhishthira, went to him and addressed him saying, 'Wherefore, O sage, hast thou become engaged in practising such rigid austerities?' Yavakri said, 'O thou adored of celestial hosts, I am practising severe penances, because I wish that such a knowledge of the Vedas as hath never been acquired by any Brahmana whatever, may be manifest unto me. O conqueror of Paka, these endeavours of mine have been for Vedic lore. O Kausika, by the force of my asceticism. I purpose to obtain all sorts of knowledge. O lord, a knowledge of the Vedas as learnt through teachers, is acquired in a long time. Therefore, (with the view of attaining in short time a proficiency in the Vedas), I have put forth these high endeavours.' Indra said, 'O Brahmana sage, the way that thou hast adopted is not the proper way. What for, O Brahamana, wilt thou destroy thyself? Go and learn from the lips of a preceptor.'

"Lomasa said, 'O son of Bharata, having said this, Sakra went away, and Yavakri of immeasurable energy, once more directed his attention to asceticism. O king, we have heard that carrying on severe austerities he again greatly agitated Indra. And the god Indra, slayer of Vala, again came unto that great sage, who was engaged in austere penances; and forbade him, saying, Thou art striving with the object that Vedic lore may be manifest unto thee as well as unto thy father; but thy exertions can never be successful, nor is this act of thine well-advised.' Yavakri said, 'O lord of the celestials, if thou wilt not do for me what I want, I shall, observing stricter vows, practise still severer penances. O lord of celestials! know that if thou do not fulfil all my desires, I shall then cut off my limbs and offer them as a sacrifice into a blazing fire.'

"Lomasa said, 'Knowing the determination of that high-souled sage, the sagacious Indra reflected and hit upon some expedient to dissuade him. Then Indra assumed the guise of an ascetic Brahmana, hundreds of years old, and infirm, and suffering from consumption. And he fell to throwing up a dam with sands, at that spot of the Bhagirathi to which Yavakri used to descend for performing ablutions. Because Yavakri, chief of the Brahmanas, paid no heed to Indra's words, the latter began to fill the Ganga with sands. And without cessation, he threw handfuls of sand into the Bhagirathi, and began to construct the dam attracting the notice of the sage. And when that bull among the sages, Yavakri, saw Indra thus earnestly engaged in constructing the dam, he broke into laughter, and said the following words, 'What art thou engaged in, O Brahmana, and what is thy object? Why dost thou, for nothing, make this mighty endeavour?' Indra said, 'I am trying, O my son, to dam the Ganga so that there may be a commodious passage. People experience considerable difficulty in crossing and recrossing (the river) by boat.' Yavakri said, 'O thou of ascetic wealth, thou canst not dam up this mighty current. O Brahmana, desist from, what is impracticable, and take up something that is practicable.' Indra said, 'O sage, I have imposed on myself this heavy task, even as, for obtaining a knowledge of the Vedas, thou hast begun these penances, which can never be fruitful.' Yavakri said, 'If, O chief of the celestials, those efforts of mine be fruitless, even as those of thy own, then, O lord of heavenly hosts, be thou pleased to do for me what is practicable. Vouchsafe unto me boons whereby I may excel other men.'

"Lomasa said 'Then Indra granted boons, as was prayed for by the mighty ascetic, Indra said, 'As thou desirest, the Vedas will be manifest unto thee, yea--even unto thy father. And all thy other desires will also be fulfilled. Return home, O Yavakri.'

"Having thus obtained the object of his desire, Yavakri came unto his father and said, The Vedas, O father, will be manifest unto thee as well as unto myself and I have obtained boons whereby we shall excel all men.' Thereat Bharadwaja said, 'O my son, as thou hast obtained the objects of thy desire, thou wilt be proud. And when thou art puffed up with pride and hast also become uncharitable, destruction will soon overtake thee. O my son, there is a current anecdote narrated by the gods. In ancient times, O son, there lived a sage named Valadhi, possessed of great energy. And in grief for the death of a child, he practised the severest penances to have a child that should be immortal. And he obtained a son even as he desired. But the gods, though very favourably disposed (towards him), did not yet make his son immortal like unto the gods. They said, 'On condition can a mortal being be made immortal. Thy son's life, however, shall depend on some instrumental cause.' Thereupon, Valadhi said, 'O chiefs of the celestials, these mountains have been existing eternally, and indestructible, let them be the instrumental cause of my son's life. Afterwards a son was born to the sage, named Medhavi. And he was of a very irritable temper. And hearing of (the incident of his birth), he grew haughty, and began to insult the sages. And he ranged over the earth, doing mischief to the munis. And one day, meeting with the learned sage Dhannushaksha endued with energy. Medhavi maltreated him. Thereupon, the former cursed him, saying, 'Be thou reduced to ashes.' Medhavi, however, was not reduced to ashes. Then Dhannushaksha caused the mountain which was the instrumental cause of Medhavi's life, to be shattered by buffaloes. And the boy perished, with the destruction of the instrumental cause of his life. And embracing his dead son, Medhavi's father began to bewail his fate. Now hear from me, O my son, what was chanted by the sages conversant with the Vedas, when they found the sage mourning. A mortal on no condition whatever can overcome what hath been ordained by Fate, Lo! Dhannushaksha succeeded in shattering even the mountain by buffaloes. Thus young ascetics, puffed up with

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pride for having obtained boons, perish in a short time. Be thou not one of them. This Raivya, O my son, is possessed of great energy, and his two sons are like him. Therefore, be thou vigilant--so as never to approach him. O my son, Raivya is a great ascetic of an irritable temper. When angry, he can do thee harm. Yavakri said, 'I shall do as thou biddest me. Of father, do thou not by any means entertain anxiety for that. Raivya deserveth my regard even as thou, my father.' Having replied unto his father in these sweet words, Yavakri, fearing nothing and nobody, began to delight in wantonly offending other munis."

SECTION 136

"Lomasa said, 'One day in the month of Chaitra, while fearlessly wandering at large, Yavakri approached the hermitage of Raivya. And O son of Bharata, in that beautiful hermitage, adorned with trees bearing blossoms, he happened to behold the daughter-in-law of Raivya, sauntering about like a Kinnara woman. And having lost his senses through passion, Yavakri shamelessly spake unto the bashful maiden, saying, 'Be thou attached unto me.' Thereupon, knowing his nature, and afraid of a curse, as well as thinking of Raivya's power, she went unto him saying, 'I agree.' Then, O son of Bharata, taking him in private, she kept him chained. O conqueror of foes, returning to his hermitage, Raivya found his daughter-in-law, Paravasu's wife, in tears. O Yudhishthira, thereat consoling her with soft words, he enquired of her as to the cause of her grief. Thereupon, the beautiful damsel told him all that Yavakri had said unto her, and what she also had cleverly said unto him. Hearing of this gross misbehaviour of Yavakri, the mind of the sage flamed up, and he waxed exceedingly wroth. And being thus seized with passion, the great sage of a highly irascible temper, tore off a matted lock of his hair, and with holy mantras, offered it as a sacrifice on the sacred fire. At this, there sprang out of it a female exactly resembling his daughter-in-law. And then he plucked another matted lock of his hair, and again offered it as a sacrifice into the fire. Thereupon sprang out of it a demon, terrible to behold, and having fierce eyes. Then those, two spake unto Raivya, saying, 'What shall we do?' Thereat, the angry sage said unto them, 'Go and kill Yavakri.' Then saying, 'We shall do (as thou biddest)'--they two went away with the intention of slaying Yavakri. And with her charms, the female whom the large-hearted sage had created, robbed Yavakri of his sacred water-pot. Then with his uplifted spear the demon flew at Yavakri, when he had been deprived of his water-pot and rendered unclean. And seeing the demon approach with uplifted spear for the purpose of slaying him, Yavakri rose up all on a sudden and fled towards a tank. But finding it devoid of water, he hurried towards all the rivers. But they too were all dried up. And being obstructed again and again by the fierce demon, holding the spear, Yavakri in fright attempted to enter into the Agnihotra room of his father. But there, O king, he was repulsed by a blind Sudra warder, and he remained at the door, grasped by the man. And, finding Yavakri thus grasped by the Sudra, the demon hurled his spear at him, and thereupon he fell down dead, pierced in the heart. After slaying Yavakri, the demon went back to Raivya, and with the permission of that sage, began to live with the female."

SECTION 137

"Lomasa said, 'O son of Kunti, Bharadwaja returned to his hermitage after performing the ritual duties of the day, and having collected the sacrificial fuel. And because his son had been slain, the sacrificial fires which used to welcome him everyday, did not on that day come forward to welcome him. And marking this change in the Agnihotra, the great sage asked the blind Sudra warder seated there, saying, 'Why is it. O Sudra, that the fires rejoice not at sight of me? Thou too dost not rejoice as is thy wont. Is it all well with my hermitage? I hope that my son of little sense had not gone to the sage Raivya. Answer speedily, O Sudra, all these questions of mine. My mind misgiveth me.' The Sudra said, 'Thy son of little sense had gone to the sage Raivya, and therefore it is that lie lieth prostrate (on the ground), having been slain by a powerful demon. Being attacked by the Rakshasa, holding a spear, he attempted to force his way into this room, and I therefore barred his way with my arms. Then desirous of having water in an unclean state, as he stood hopeless, he was slain by the vehement Rakshasa, carrying a spear in his hand.' On hearing from the Sudra of this great calamity, Bharadwaja, sorely afflicted with grief, began to lament, embracing his dead son. And he said, 'O my son, it is for the good of the Brahmanas that thou didst practise penances, with the intention that the Vedas unstudied by any Brahmana whatever might be manifest unto thee. Thy behaviour towards the Brahmanas had always been for their good, and thou hadst also been innocent in regard to all creatures. But, alas! (at last) thou didst lapse into rudeness. I had prohibited thee, O my son, from visiting the residence of Raivya; but alas! to that very hermitage, (destructive to thee) as the god of death himself, Yama, didst thou repair. Evil-minded is that man, who, (knowing that I am an old man), and also that (Yavakri) was my only son, had given way to wrath. It is through the agency of Raivya that I have sustained the loss of my child. Without thee, O my son, I shall give up my life, the most precious thing in the world. In grief for the death of my son, I renounce my life; but this I say that Raivya's eldest son shall in a short time kill him although he be innocent. Blessed are those to whom children have never been born, for they lead a happy life, without having to experience the grief (incident to the death of a child). Who in this world can be more wicked than those who from affliction, and deprived of their sense by sorrow consequent upon the death of a child, curse even their dearest friend! I found my son dead, and, therefore, have cursed my dearest friend. Ah! what second man can there be in this world, destined to suffer so grievous a misfortune!' Having lamented long Bharadwaja cremated his son and then himself entered into a full-blazing fire.'"

SECTION 138

"Lomasa said, 'At that very time, the mighty king, Vrihadyumna, of high fortune, who was the Yajamana of Raivya, commenced a sacrifice. And the two sons of Raivya, Arvavasu and Paravasu, were engaged by that intelligent monarch, to assist him in the performance of the ceremony. And, O son of Kunti, taking the permission of their father, they two went to the sacrifice, while Raivya with Paravasu's wife remained in the hermitage. And it came to pass that one day, desirous of seeing his wife. Paravasu returned home alone. And he met his father in the wood, wrapped in the skin of a black antelope. And the night was far advanced and dark; and Paravasu, blinded by drowsiness in that deep wood, mistook his father for a straggling deer. And mistaking him for a deer, Paravasu, for the sake of personal safety, unintentionally killed his father. Then, O son of Bharata, after performing the funeral rites (of his father), he returned to the sacrifice and there addressed his brother saying, 'Thou wilt never be able to perform this task unassisted. I again, have killed our father, mistaking him for a deer. O brother, for me do thou observe a vow, prescribed in the case of killing a Brahmana. O Muni, I shall be able to perform this work (sacrifice), without any assistant.' Arvavasu said, 'Do thou then thyself officiate at this sacrifice of the gifted Vrihadyumna; and for thee will I, bringing my senses under perfect control, observe the vow prescribed in the case of slaying a Brahmana.'

"Lomasa said, 'Having observed the vow relative to the killing of a Brahmana, the sage Arvavasu came back to the sacrifice. Seeing his brother arrive, Paravasu, in accents choked with malice, addressed Vrihadyumna, saying, 'O king, see that this slayer of a Brahmana enter not into thy sacrifice, nor look at it. Even by a glance, the killer of a Brahmana can, without doubt, do thee harm.' O lord of men, immediately on hearing this, the king ordered his attendants (to turn out Arvavasu). O king, on being driven out by the king's attendants, and repeatedly addressed by them--'O slayer of a Brahmana--Arvavasu more than once cried, 'It is not I that have killed a Brahmana. Not did he own that he had observed the vow for his own sake. He said that his brother had committed the sin, and that he had freed him therefrom.' Having said this in anger, and being reprimanded by the attendants, the Brahmana sage of austere penances, retired in silence into the woods. There betaking himself to the severest penances, the great Brahmana sought the protection of the Sun. Thereupon, the revelation teaching the mantra relative to the worship of the Sun, became manifest unto him and that eternal deity who obtaineth his share (of the sacrificial butter) first, appeared before him in an embodied form.'

"Lomasa said, 'The celestials, O king, were well pleased with Arvavasu for his acts. And they made him engaged as the chief priest in the sacrifice (of Vrihadyumna), and Paravasu to be dismissed from it. Then Agni and the other celestials (of their own accord) bestowed boons on Arvavasu. And they also prayed that his father might be restored to life. He further prayed that his brother might be absolved from his sin; that his father might have no recollection of his having been slain; that Bharadwaja and Yavakri might both be restored to life; and that the solar revelation might attain celebrity (on earth). Then the god said, 'So be it,' and conferred on him other boons also. Thereat, O Yudhishthira, all of these persons regained their life. Yavakri now addressed Agni and the other deities, saying, 'I had obtained a knowledge of all the Vedas, and also practised penances. How came it then, O chiefs of the immortals, that Raivya succeeded in killing me in that way?' Thereupon the gods said, 'O Yavakri, never act again as those have done. What thou askest about is quite possible, for thou hast learnt the Vedas without exertion, and without the help of a preceptor. But this man (Raivya) bearing various troubles, had satisfied his preceptor by his conduct, and obtained (from the latter) the excellent Vedas through great exertions and in a long time.'

"Lomasa said, 'Having said this to Yavakri, and restored all those to life, the celestials with Indra at their head, ascended to heaven. Here, O Yudhishthira, is the sacred hermitage of that sage embellished with trees bearing blossoms and fruits at all seasons. O tiger among kings, dwelling at this spot, thou wilt be delivered from all thy sins.'"

SECTION 139

"Lomasa said, 'O descendant of Bharata, O king, now hast thou left behind the mountains Usiravija, Mainaka and Sweta, as well as the Kala hills, O son of Kunti, O bull among the descendants of Bharata, here flow before thee the seven Gangas. This spot is pure and holy. Here Agni blazeth forth without intermission. No son of Manu is able to obtain a sight of this wonder. Therefore, O son of Pandu, concentrate your mind in order that he may intently behold these tirthas. Now wilt thou see the play-ground of the gods, marked with their footprints, as we have passed the mountain Kala. We shall now ascend that white rock--the mountain Mandara, inhabited by the Yakshas, Manibhadra and Kuvera, king of the Yakshas. O king, at this place eighty thousand fleet Gandharvas, and four times as many Kimpurushas and Yakshas of various shapes and forms, holding various weapons, attend upon Manibhadra, king of the Yakshas. In these regions their power is very great. And in speed they are even as the wind. They can, without doubt, displace even the lord of the celestials from his seat. Protected by them, and also watched over by the Rakshasas, these mountains have been rendered inaccessible. Therefore, O son of Pritha, do thou concentrate thy thoughts. Besides these, O son of Kunti, here are fierce ministers of Kuvera and his Rakshasa kindred. We shall have to meet them, and, therefore, O Kunti's son, gather up thy energies. O king the mountain Kailasa is six yojanas in height. It contains a gigantic jujube tree. And, O son of Kunti, numberless gods and Yakshas and Rakshasas and Kinnaras and Nagas and Suparnas and Gandharvas pass this way, in going towards Kuvera's palace. O king, protected by me, as well as by the might of Bhimasena, and also in virtue of thy own asceticism and self-command, do thou to-day mix with them. May king Varuna and Yama, conqueror of battles, and Ganga, and Yamuna, and this mountain, and the Maruts and the twin Aswins, and all rivers and lakes, vouchsafe thy safety. And, O effulgent one, mayst thou have safety from all the celestials and the Asuras, and the Vasus. O Goddess Ganga, I hear thy roar from this golden mountain, sacred to Indra. O Goddess of high fortune, in these mountainous regions, protect the king, worshipped by all of the Ajamidha race. O daughter of the mountain (Himalaya), this king is about to enter into these mountainous regions. Do thou, therefore, confer protection upon him.'

"Having thus addressed the river, Lomasa bade Yudhishthira, saying, 'Be thou careful.'"

"Yudhishthira said, This confusion of Lomasa is unprecedented. Therefore, protect ye Krishna, and be not careless. Lomasa knows this place to be certainly difficult of access. Therefore, do ye practise here the utmost cleanliness."

"Vaisampayana said, "He next addressed his brother Bhima of vast prowess, saying, 'O Bhimasena, do thou protect Krishna carefully. Whether Arjuna be near or away, Krishna in times of danger ever seeketh protection from thee alone.'"

"Then the high-souled monarch approached the twins, Nakula and Sahadeva, and after smelling their heads, and rubbing their persons, with tears said unto them, 'Do not fear. Proceed, however, with caution.'"

SECTION 140

"Yudhishthira said, 'O Vrikodara, there are mighty and powerful invisible spirits at this place. We shall, however, pass it, through the merit of our asceticism and Agnihotra sacrifices. O son of Kunti, do thou therefore, restrain thy hunger and thirst by collecting thy energies, and also, O Vrikodara have recourse to thy strength and cleverness. O Kunti's son, thou hast heard what the sage (Lomasa) had said regarding mount Kailasa. Ascertain, therefore, after deliberation, how Krishna will pass the spot. Or, O mighty Bhima of large eyes, do return from hence, taking with thee Sahadeva, and all our charioteers, cooks, servants, cars, horses, and Brahmanas worn out with travel, while I together with Nakula and the sage Lomasa of severe austerities proceed, subsisting on the lightest fare and observing vows. Do thou in expectation of my return, cautiously wait at the source of the Ganga, protecting Draupadi till I come back.'

"Bhima replied, 'O descendant of Bharata, although this blessed princess hath been sore afflicted by toil and distress, yet she easily proceedeth, in the hope of beholding him of the white steeds (Arjuna). Thy dejection also is already very great at not seeing the high-souled Arjuna, who never retreateth from fight. O Bharata, it is superfluous then to say that if thou seest neither myself nor Sahadeva nor Krishna, thy dejection will certainly increase. The Brahmanas had better return with our servants, charioteers cooks and whomsoever else thou mayst command. I never shall leave thee in these rugged and inaccessible mountainous regions, infested by Rakshasas. And, O tiger among men, also this princess of high fortune, ever devoted to her lords, desireth not to return without thee. Sahadeva is always devoted to thee; he too will never retrace his steps. His disposition is known to me. O king, O mighty monarch, we are all eager to behold Savyasachin, and therefore, will we all go together. If we are unable to go over this mountain in our cars, abounding as it doth in defiles, well, we would go on foot. Trouble thyself not, O king, I shall

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carry Panchala's daughter wherever she will be incapable of walking. O king, I have decided upon this. Therefore let not thy mind be distracted. I shall also carry over inaccessible tracts those tender-bodied heroes, the twins, the delight of their mother, wherever they will be incapable of proceeding.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'May thy strength increase, O Bhima, as thou speakest thus, and as thou boldly undertakest to carry the illustrious Panchali and these twins. Blessed be thou! Such courage dwelleth not in any other individual. May thy strength, fame, merit, and reputation increase! O long-armed one, as thou offerest to carry Krishna and our brothers the twins, exhaustion and defeat never be thine!"

Vaisampayana said, "Then the charming Krishna said with a smile, 'O descendant of Bharata, I shall be able to go, and, therefore, be thou not anxious on my account.'

"Lomasa said, 'Access to the mountain, Gandhamadana, is only to be obtained by dint of asceticism. Therefore, O son of Kunti, shall we all practise austerities, O king, Nakula, Sahadeva, Bhimasena, thou and myself shall then see him of the white steeds, O Kunti's son.'"

Vaisampayana said, "O king, thus conversing together, they saw with delight the extensive domains of Suvahu, situated on the Himalayas abounding in horses and elephants, densely inhabited by the Kiratas and the Tanganas, crowded by hundreds of Pulindas, frequented by the celestials, and rife with wonders. King Suvahu, the lord of the Pulindas, cheerfully received them at the frontiers of his dominions, paying them proper respect. Having been thus received with honour, and having dwelt comfortably at this place, they started for the mountain Himalaya, when the sun shone brightly in the firmament. And, O king, having entrusted to the care of the lord of the Pulindas, all their servants--Indrasena and the others,--and the cooks and the stewards, and Draupadi's accoutrements, and every thing else, those mighty charioteers, the son of the Kurus, endued with great prowess, set out from that country, and began to proceed cautiously with Krishna,--all of them cheerful in the expectation of beholding Arjuna."

"Yudhishthira said, 'O Bhimasena, O Panchali, and ye twins, hearken unto my words. The acts done (by a person) in a former birth do not perish, (without producing their effects). Behold! Even we have become rangers of the wilderness. Even to see Dhananjaya, exhausted and distressed as we are, we have to bear each other, and pass through impassable places. This burneth me even as fire doth a heap of cotton. O hero, I do not see Dhananjaya at my side. I reside in the wood with my younger brothers, anxious for beholding him. This thought, as also the memory of that grave insult offered to Yajanaseni, consumes me. O Vrikodara, I do not see the invincible Partha of strong bow and incomparable energy, and who is the immediate elder to Nakula. For this, O Vrikodara, I am miserable. In order to see that hero, Dhananjaya, firm in promise, for these five years have I been wandering in various tirthas, and beautiful forests and lakes and yet I do meet with him. For this, O Vrikodara, I am miserable. I do not see the long-armed Gudakesa, of dark blue hue, and leonine gait. For this, O Vrikodara, I am miserable. I do not see that foremost of Kurus, accomplished in arms, skilful in fight, and matchless among bowmen. For this, O Vrikodara, I am miserable. Distressed for I am I do not see that son of Pritha, Dhananjaya, born under the influence of the star Phalguni; ranging amidst foes even like Yama at the time of the universal dissolution; possessed of the prowess of an elephant with the temporal juice trickling down; endued with leonine shoulders; not inferior to Sakra himself in prowess and energy; elder in years to the twins; of white steeds; unrivalled in heroism; invincible; and wielding a strong bow. For this, O Vrikodara, I am miserable. And he is always of a forgiving temper,--even when insulted by the meanest individual. And he conferreth benefit and protection to the righteous; but to that tortuous person who by craft attempts to do him mischief, Dhananjaya is like unto virulent poison, albeit that one were Sakra himself. And the mighty Vibhatsu of immeasurable soul and possessing great strength, showeth mercy and extendeth protection even to a foe when fallen. And he is the refuge of us all and he crusheth his foes in fight. And he hath the power to collect any treasure whatever, and he ministereth unto our happiness. It was through his prowess that I had owned formerly measureless precious jewels of various kinds which at present Syodhana hath usurped. It was by his might, O hero, that I had possessed before that palatial amphitheatre embellished with all manner of jewels, and celebrated throughout the three worlds. O Pandu's son, in prowess, Phalguni is like unto Vasudeva, and in fight he is invincible and unrivalled, even like unto Kartavirya. Alas! I see him not, O Bhima. In might, that conqueror of foes goeth in the wake of the invincible and most powerful Sankarshana (Valarama) and Vasudeva. In strength of arms, and spirit, he is like unto Purandara himself. And in swiftness, he is even as the wind, and in grace, as the moon, and in ire, he is the eternal Death himself. O mighty-armed one, with the object of beholding that war-like tiger among men, shall we repair to the Gandhamadana mountain, where lies the hermitage of Nara and Narayana at the site of the celebrated jujube tree, and which is inhabited by the Yakshas. We shall see that best of mountains. And, practising severe austerities only on foot we shall go to Kuvera's beautiful lake guarded by Rakshasas. That place cannot be reached by vehicles, O Vrikodara. Neither can cruel or avaricious, or irascible people attain to that spot, O Bharata's son. O Bhima, in order to see Arjuna, thither shall we repair, in company, with Brahmanas of strict vows, girding on our swords, and wielding our bows. Those only that are impure, meet with flies gad-flies, mosquitoes, tigers, lions, and reptiles, but the pure never come across them. Therefore, regulating our fare, and restraining our senses, we shall go to the Gandhamadana, desirous of seeing Dhananjaya.'"

SECTION 141

"Lomasa said, O sons of Pandu, ye have seen many a mountain, and river and town and forest and beautiful tirtha; and have touched with your hands the sacred waters. Now this way leads to the celestial mountain Mandara; therefore be ye attentive and composed. Ye will now repair to the residence of the celestials and the divine sages of meritorious deeds. Here, O king, flows the mighty and beautiful river (Alakananda) of holy water adored by hosts of celestials and sages, and tracing its source to (the site of) the jujube tree. It is frequented and worshipped by high-souled Vaihayasas, Valakhilyas and Gandharvas of mighty souls. Accustomed to sing the Sama hymns, the sages, Marichi, Pulaha, Bhrigu and Angiras, chanted them at this spot. Here the lord of celestials performeth with the Maruts his daily prayers. And the Sadhyas and the Aswins attend on him. The sun, the moon and all the luminaries with the planets resort to this river, alternately by day and by night. O highly fortunate monarch, that protector of the world; Mahadeva, having a bull for his mark, received on his head the fall of the waters of this river, at the source of the Ganga. O children, approach this goddess of the six attributes and bow down before her with concentrated minds.'

"Hearing the words of the high-souled Lomasa, the son of Pandu reverentially worshipped the river (Ganga), flowing through the firmament. And after having adored her the pious sons of Pandu resumed their journey accompanied by the sages. And it came to pass that those best of men beheld at a distance some white object of vast proportions, even like Meru and stretching on all sides. And knowing that Pandu's sons were intent upon asking (him), Lomasa versed in speech said, 'Hear, O sons of Pandu! O best of men, what ye see before you, of vast proportions like unto a mountain and beautiful as the Kailasa cliff, is a collection of the bones of the mighty Daitya Naraka, Being placed on a mountain, it looketh like one. The Daitya was slain by that Supreme Soul, the eternal God Vishnu, for the good of the lord of celestials. Aiming at the possession of Indra's place, by the force of austere and Vedic lore, that mighty-minded (demon) had practised austere penances for ten thousand years. And on account of his asceticism, as also of the force and might of his arms he had grown invincible and always harassed (Indra). And O sinless one, knowing his strength and austerities and observance of religious vows, Indra became agitated and was overwhelmed with fear. And mentally he thought of the eternal deity, Vishnu. And thereat the graceful lord of the universe, who is present everywhere, appeared and stood before him manifest. And the sages and celestials began to propitiate Vishnu with prayers. And in his presence even Agni of the six attributes and of blazing beauty being overpowered by his effulgence, became shorn of radiance and seeing before him the God Vishnu, the chief of the celestials who wields the thunder-bolt, bowing with head down readily apprised Vishnu of the source of his fear. Thereupon Vishnu said, 'I know, O Sakra, that thy fear proceedeth from Naraka, that lord of the Daityas. By the merit of his successful ascetic acts he aimeth at Indra's position. Therefore, for pleasing thee, I shall certainly sever his soul from his body, although he hath achieved success in asceticism. Do thou, lord of celestials, wait for a moment.' Then the exceedingly powerful Vishnu deprived (Naraka) of his senses (by striking him) with his hand. And he fell down on the earth even like the monarch of mountains struck by (thunder). He was thus slain by a miracle and his bones lie gathered at this spot. Here also is manifest another deed of Vishnu's. Once the whole earth having been lost and sunk into the nether regions she was lifted up by him in the shape of a boar having a single tusk.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'O worshipful one, relate in particular how Vishnu, the lord of the celestials, raised up the earth sunk a hundred yojanas? In what manner also was that support of all created things--the goddess Earth of high fortune--who dispenseth blessings and bringeth forth all sorts of corn rendered stable? Through whose power had she sunk an hundred yojanas below, and under what circumstances was exhibited this greatest exploit of the Supreme Being? O chief of the twice-born race, I wish to hear all about it in detail as it happened. Certainly, it is known to thee.'

"Lomasa said, 'O Yudhishthira, listen to all at length as I relate the story, which thou hast asked me (to narrate). O child, in days of yore, there was (once) a terrible time in the Krita Yuga when the eternal and primeval Deity assumed the duties of Yama. And, O thou that never fallest off, when the God of gods began to perform the functions of Yama, there died not a creature while the births were as usual. Then there began to multiply birds and beasts and kine, and sheep, and deer and all kinds of carnivorous animals. O tiger among men and vanquisher of foes, then the human race also increased by thousands even like unto a current of water. And, O my son, when the increase of population had been so frightful, the Earth oppressed with the excessive burden, sank down for a hundred yojanas. And suffering pain in all her limbs, and being deprived of her senses by excessive pressure, the earth in distress sought the protection of Narayana, the foremost of the gods. The earth spake saying, 'It is by thy favour, O possessor of the six attributes, that I had been able to remain so long in my position. But I have been overcome with burden and now I cannot hold myself any longer. It behoveth thee, O adorable one, to relieve this load of mine. I have sought thy protection. O lord; and do thou, therefore, extend unto me thy favour.' Hearing these words of hers, the eternal lord, possessor of the six attributes, complaisantly said, in words uttered in distinct letters. Vishnu said, 'Thou need not fear, O afflicted Earth, the bearer of all treasures. I shall act so that thou mayst be made light.'

"Lomasa said, 'Having thus dismissed the Earth, who hath the mountains for her ear-rings, he suddenly became turned into a boar with one tusk, and of exceeding effulgence. Causing terror with his glowing red eyes and emitting fumes from his blazing lustre, he began to swell in magnitude in that region. O hero, then holding the earth with his single radiant tusk that being who pervadeth the Vedas, raised her up a hundred yojanas. And while she was being thus raised, there ensued a mighty agitation and all the celestials, together with the sages of ascetic wealth became agitated. And heaven, and the firmament, and also the Earth were filled with exclamations of Oh! and Alas! and neither the celestials nor men could rest in peace. Then countless celestials together with the sages went to Brahma, who was seated burning as it were in his (own) lustre. Then approaching Brahma, the lord of celestials, and the witness of the acts of all beings, they with folded hands spake the following words, 'O lord of the celestials, all created beings have become agitated and the mobile and immobile creatures are restless. O lord of the celestials, even the oceans are found to be agitated and this whole earth hath gone down a hundred yojanas. What is the matter? And by whose influence is it that the whole universe is in ferment? May it please thee to explain it unto us without delay, for we are all bewildered.' Thereupon Brahma replied, 'Ye immortals! do ye not entertain fear for the Asuras, in any matter or place. Hearken, ye celestials, to the reason to which all this commotion is owing! This agitation in the heavens hath been produced by the influence of the illustrious Being who is omnipresent, eternal and the never-perishing Soul. That Supreme soul, Vishnu hath lifted up the Earth, who had entirely sunk down hundred yojanas. This commotion hath taken place in consequence of the earth being raised up. Know ye this and dispel your doubts.' The celestials said, 'Where is that Being who with pleasure raiseth up the Earth? O possessor of the six attributes, mention unto us the place. Thither shall we repair.' Brahma said 'Go ye. May good happen to you! Ye will find him resting in the Nandana (gardens). Yonder is visible the glorious worshipful Suparna (Garuda). After having raised the Earth, the Supreme Being from whom the world become manifest, flameth even in the shape of a boar, like unto the all-consuming fire at the universal dissolution. And on his beast is really to be seen the gem Srivatsa. (Go) and behold that Being knowing no deterioration.'

"Lomasa said, 'Then the celestials, placing the grandsire at their head, came to that infinite Soul, and having listened to his praise, bade him adieu and went back to whence they had come.'"

Vaisampayana said, "O Janamejaya, having heard this story, all the Pandavas without delay and with alacrity, began to proceed by the way pointed out by Lomasa."

SECTION 142

Vaisampayana said, "O king, then those foremost of bowmen, of immeasurable prowess, holding bows stringed at full stretch and equipped with quivers and arrows and wearing finger-caps made of the guana-skin, and with their swords on, proceeded with Panchali towards the Gandhamadana, taking with them the best of Brahmanas. And on their way they saw various lakes, and rivers and mountains and forests, and trees of wide-spreading shade on mountain summits and places abounding in trees bearing flowers and fruit in all seasons and frequented by celestials and sages. And restraining their senses within their inner self and subsisting on fruits and roots, the heroes passed through rugged regions, craggy and difficult of passage, beholding many and various kinds of beasts. Thus those high-souled ones entered the mountain inhabited by the sages, the Siddhas and the celestials, and frequented by the Kinnaras and the Apsaras. And, O lord of men, as those mighty heroes were entering the

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mountain Gandhamandana, there arose a violent wind, attended with a heavy shower. And owing to this, mighty clouds of dust bearing lots of dry leaves, rose, and all on a sudden covered earth, air and firmament. And when the heavens had been covered with dust nothing could be perceived, neither could they (the Pandavas) speak to one another. And with eyes enveloped with darkness and pushed by the wind carrying particles of rocks they could not see one another. And there began to arrive mighty sounds proceeding from the tree, and also from those breaking down incessantly under the force of the wind, and falling to the ground. And distracted by gusts of the wind, they thought, 'Are the heavens falling down; or the earth and the mountains being rent?' And afraid of the wind, they felt about with their hands and took shelter under the way-side tree and ant-hills and in caverns. Then holding his bow and supporting Krishna the mighty Bhimasena stood under a tree. And Yudhishthira the Just with Dhaumya crept into the deep wood. And Sahedeva carrying the sacred fire with him took shelter in a rock. And Nakula together with Lomasa and other Brahmanas of great asceticism stood in fright, each under a tree. Then when the wind had abated and the dust subsided, there came down a shower in torrents. There also arose a loud rattling noise, like unto the thunder hurled; and quick-flashing lightning began to play gracefully upon the clouds. And being helped on by the swift wind, showers of rain poured down without intermissions, filling all sides round. And, O lord of men, all around there began to flow many rivers covered with foam and turbid with mud; and these bearing volumes of water spread over the frothy rafts rushed down with tremendous roar uprooting trees. And afterwards when that sound had ceased and the air had arisen they (each of them) cautiously came out of their coverts and met together, O descendant of Bharata. And then the heroes started for the mountain Gandhamadana."

SECTION 143

Vaisampayana said, "When the high-souled sons of Pandu had proceeded only two miles, Draupadi unaccustomed to travel on foot, sank down. Weary and afflicted as she was, the poor daughter of Panchala became faint, on account of the hailstorm and also of her extreme delicacy. And trembling with faintness, the black-eyed one supported herself on her thighs with her plump arms, becoming (her graceful form). And thus resting for support on her thighs resembling the trunk of an elephant, and which were in contract with each other, she suddenly dropped upon the ground, trembling like a plantain tree. And finding that the beautiful one was falling down like a twisted creeper, Nakula ran forward and supported, her. And he said, 'O king, this black-eyed daughter of Panchala, being weary, hath fallen down upon the ground. Do thou, therefore, tend her, O son of Bharata. Undeserving as she is of misery, this lady of slow pace hath been subject to great hardships, and she is also worn out with the fatigues of the journey. O mighty king, do thou therefore, comfort her.'"

Vaisampayana said, "Having heard these words of Nakula, the king as also Bhima and Sahadeva, became sorely afflicted, and hastily ran towards her. And finding her weak, and her countenance pale, the pious son of Kunti began to lament in grief, taking her on his lap. Yudhishthira said. 'Accustomed to ease, and deserving to sleep in wellprotected rooms, on beds spread over with fine sheets, how doth this beautiful one sleep prostrate on the ground! Alas! On my account (alone), the delicate feet and the lotus-like face of this one deserving of all excellent things, have contracted a dark-blue hue. O what have I done! Fool that I am, having been addicted to dice, I have been wandering in the forest full of wild beasts, taking Krishna in my company. This large-eyed one had been bestowed by her father, the king of the Drupadas, in the hope that the blessed girl would be happy, by obtaining the sons of Pandu for her lords. It is on account of my wretched self, that without obtaining anything hoped for, she sleepeth prostrate on the ground, tired with hardships, sorrow and travel!"

Vaisampayana said, "While king Yudhishthira the Just was lamenting thus, Dhaumya with all the other principal Brahmanas came to the spot. And they began to console him and to honour him with blessings. And they recited mantras capable of dispelling Rakshasas and (to that end) also performed rites. And on the mantras being recited by the great ascetics, in order to the restoration of (Panchali's) health, Panchali frequently touched by the Pandavas with their soothing palms and fanned by cool breezes surcharged with particles of water, felt ease, and gradually regained her senses. And finding that exhausted poor lady restored to her senses, the sons of Pritha, placing her on deer-skin, caused her to take rest. And taking her feet of red soles, bearing auspicious marks, the twins began to press them gently with their hands, scarred by the bow-string. And Yudhishthira the Just, the foremost of the Kurus, also comforted her and addressed Bhima in the following words: 'O Bhima, there yet remain many mountains (before us), rugged, and inaccessible because of snow. How, long-armed one, will Krishna pass over them?' Thereupon Bhima said, 'O king, I myself shall carry thee, together with this princess and these bulls among men, the twins; therefore, O king of kings, resign not thy mind unto despair. Or, at thy bidding, O sinless one, Hidimava's son, the mighty Ghatotkacha, who is capable of ranging the skies and who is like unto me in strength, will carry us all.'"

Vaisampayana said, "Then with Yudhishthira's permission, Bhima thought of his Rakshasa son. And no sooner was he thought of by his father, than the pious Ghatotkacha made his appearance and, saluting the Pandavas and the Brahmanas, stood with joined hands. And they also caressed him of mighty arms. He then addressed his father, Bhimasena of dreadful prowess, saying, 'Having been thought of by thee I have come here with speed, in order to serve thee. Do thou, O longarmed one, command me. I shall certainly be able to perform whatever thou bidst.' Hearing this, Bhimasena hugged the Rakshasa to his breast."

SECTION 144

"Yudhishthira said, 'O Bhima, let this mighty and heroic Rakshasa chief, thy legitimate son, devoted to us, and truthful, and conversant with virtue carry (his) mother (Draupadi) without delay. And, O possessor of dreadful prowess, depending on the strength of thy arms, I shall reach the Gandhamadana, unhurt, together with Panchala's daughter.'"

Vaisampayana said, "Hearing the words of his brother, that tiger among men, Bhimasena, commanded his son, Ghatotkacha, represser of foes, saying, 'O invincible son of Hidimva, this thy mother hath been sorely tired. Thou art, again, strong and capable of going wherever thou likest. Do thou therefore, O ranger of the skies, carry her. May prosperity attend thee! Taking her on thy shoulders, thou shalt go in our company, adopting a course not far overhead,--so that thou mayst not render her uneasy.' Thereat, Ghatotkacha said, 'Even single-handed, I am able to carry Yudhishthira the Just, and Dhaumya, and Krishna, and the twins--and what wonder then that I shall to-day carry them, when I have others to assist me? And, O sinless one, hundreds of other heroic (Rakshasas), capable of moving through the sky, and of assuming any shape at will, will together carry you all with the Brahmanas."

Vaisampayana said, "Saying this, Ghatotkacha carried Krishna in the midst of the Pandavas, and the other (Rakshasas) also began to carry the Pandavas. And by virtue of his native energy, Lomasa of incomparable effulgence moved along the path of the Siddhas, like unto a second sun. And at the command of the lord of the Rakshasas, those Rakshasas of terrific prowess began to proceed, bearing all the other Brahmanas, and beholding many a romantic wood. And they proceeded towards the gigantic jujube tree. And carried by the Rakshasas of great speed, proceeding at a rapid pace, the heroes passed over longextending ways quickly, as if over short ones. And on their way they saw various tracts crowded with Mlechchha people, and containing mines of diverse gems. And they also saw hillocks teeming with various minerals, thronged with Vidyadharas, inhabited on all sides by monkeys and Kinnaras and Kimpurushas, and Gandharvas, and filled with peacocks, and chamaras, and apes, and rurus, and bears, and gavayas, and buffaloes, intersected with a network of rivulets, and inhabited by various birds and beasts, and beautified by elephants, and abounding in trees and enraptured birds. After having thus passed many countries, and also the Uttarakurus, they saw that foremost of mountains, the Kailasa, containing many wonders. And by the side of it, they beheld the hermitage of Nara and Narayana, with celestial trees bearing flowers and fruits in all seasons. And they also beheld that beautiful jujube of round trunk. And it was fresh; and of deep shade; and of excellent beauty; and of thick, soft and sleek foliage; and healthful; and having gigantic boughs; and wide-spreading; and of incomparable lustre; and bearing full-grown, tasteful, and holy fruits dropping honey. And this celestial tree was frequented by hosts of mighty sages, and was always inhabited by various birds maddened with animal spirits. And it grew at a spot devoid of mosquitoes and gad-flies, and abounding in fruits and roots and water, and covered with green grass, and inhabited by the celestials and the Gandharvas, and of smooth surface, and naturally healthful, and beauteous and cool and of delicate feel. Having reached that (tree) together with those bulls among Brahmanas, the high-souled ones gently alighted from the shoulders of the Rakshasas. Then in company with those bulls among the twice-born ones, the Pandavas beheld that romantic asylum presided over by Nara and Narayana; devoid of gloom; and sacred; and untouched by the solar rays; and free from those rubs, viz. hunger, and thirst, heat and cold, and removing (all) sorrow; and crowded with hosts of mighty sages; and adorned with the grace proceeding from the Vedas, Saman, Rich, and Yajus; and, O king, inaccessible to men who have renounced religion; and beautified with offerings, and homas; and sacred; and well-swept and daubed; and shining all around with offerings of celestial blossoms; and spread over with altars of sacrificial fire, and sacred ladles and pots; and graced with large water-jars, and baskets and the refuge of all beings; and echoing with the chanting of the Vedas; and heavenly: and worthy of being inhabited; and removing fatigue; and attended with splendour and of incomprehensible merit; and majestic with divine qualities. And the hermitage was inhabited by hosts of great sages, subsisting on fruits and roots; and having their senses under perfect control; and clad in black deer-skins; and effulgent like unto the Sun and Agni; and of souls magnified by asceticism and intent on emancipation; and leading the Vanaprastha mode of life; and of subdued senses; and identified with the Supreme Soul; and of high fortune; and reciting Vaidic hymns. Then having purified himself and restrained his senses, that son of Dharma, the intelligent Yudhishthira of exceeding energy, accompanied by his brothers, approached those sages. And all the great sages endued with supernatural knowledge, knowing Yudhishthira arrived, received him joyfully. And those sages engaged in the recitation of the Vedas, and like unto fire itself, after having conferred blessings on Yudhishthira, cheerfully accorded him fitting reception. And they gave him clean water and flowers and roots. And Yudhishthira the Just received with regard the things gladly offered for his reception by the great sages. And then, O sinless one, Pandu's son together with Krishna and his brothers, and thousands of Brahmanas versed in the Vedas and the Vendangas, entered into that holy hermitage, like unto the abode of Sukra and pleasing the mind with heavenly odours and resembling heaven itself and attended with beauty. There the pious (Yudhishthira) beheld the hermitage of Nara and Narayana, beautified by the Bhagirathi and worshipped by the gods and the celestial sages. And seeing that hermitage inhabited by the Brahmarshis and containing fruits dropping honey, the Pandavas were filled with delight. And having reached that place, the high-souled ones began to dwell with the Brahmanas. There beholding the holy lake Vinda, and the mountain Mainaka, of golden summits and inhabited by various species of birds, the magnanimous ones lived happily with joy. The son of Pandu together with Krishna took pleasure in ranging excellent and captivating woods, shining with flowers of every season; beauteous on all sides with trees bearing blown blossoms; and bending down with the weight of fruits and attended by the numerous male kokilas and of glossy foliage; and thick and having cool shade and lovely to behold. They took delight in beholding diverse beautiful lakes of limpid water and shining all round with lotuses and lilies. And there, O lord, the balmy breeze bearing pure fragrance, blew gladdening all the Pandavas, together with Krishna. And hard by the gigantic jujube, the mighty son of Kunti saw the Bhagirathi of easy descent and cool and furnished with fresh lotuses and having stairs made of rubies and corals and graced with trees and scattered over with celestial flowers, and gladsome to the mind. And at that spot, frequented by celestials and sages, and extremely inaccessible, they, after having purified themselves offered oblations unto the pitris and the gods and the rishis in the sacred waters of the Bhagirathi. Thus those bulls among men the heroic perpetuators of the Kuru race, began to reside there with the Brahmanas offering oblations and practising meditation. And those tigers among men, the Pandavas of the god-like appearance, felt delight in witnessing the various amusements of Draupadi."

SECTION 145

Vaisampayana said, "There observing cleanliness, those tigers among men dwelt for six nights, in expectation of beholding Dhananjaya. And it came to pass that all of a sudden there blew a wind from the north-east and brought a celestial lotus of a thousand petals and effulgent as the sun. And Panchali saw that pure and charming lotus of unearthly fragrance, brought by the wind and left on the ground. And having obtained that excellent and beautiful lotus, that blessed one became exceedingly delighted, O king, and addressed Bhimasena in the following words, 'Behold, O Bhima, this most beautiful unearthly flower having within it the very source of fragrance. It gladdenth my heart, O represser of foes. This one shall be presented to Yudhishthira the Just. Do thou, therefore, procure others for my satisfaction--in order that I may carry them to our hermitage in the Kamyaka. If, O Pritha's son, I have found grace with thee, do thou then procure others of this species in large numbers. I wish to carry them to our hermitage.' Having said this, the blameless lady of beautiful glances approached Yudhishthira the Just, taking the flower. And knowing the desire of his beloved queen that bull among men, Bhima of great strength, also set out, in order to gratify her. And intent upon fetching the flowers, he began to proceed at rapid space, facing the wind, in the direction from which the flower had come. And taking the bow inlaid with gold on the back as also arrows like unto venomous snakes, he proceeded as a lion in anger or an elephant in rut. And all beings gazed at him, holding a mighty bow and arrows. And neither exhaustion, nor langour, neither fear nor confusion, ever possessed the son of Pritha and the offspring of Vayu (wind). And desirous of pleasing Draupadi the mighty one, free from fear or confusion, ascended the peak depending on the strength of his arms. And that slayer of foes began to range that beautiful peak covered

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with trees, creepers and of black rocky base; and frequented by Kinnaras; and variegated with minerals, plants, beasts, and birds of various hues; and appearing like an upraised arm of the Earth adorned with an entire set of ornaments. And that one of matchless prowess proceeded, fixing his look at the slopes of the Gandhamadana,--beautiful with flowers of every season--and revolving various thoughts in his mind and with his ears, eyes and mind rivetted to the spots resounding with the notes of male kokilas and ringing with the hum of black bees. And like an elephant in rut ranging mad in a forest that one of mighty prowess smelt the rare odour proceeding from the flowers of every season. And he was fanned by the fresh breeze of the Gandhamadana bearing the perfumes of various blossoms and cooling like unto a father's touch. On his fatigue being removed the down on his body stood on end. And in this state that represser of foes for the flowers began to survey all the mountain, inhabited by Yakshas and Gandharvas and celestials and Brahmarshis. And brushed by the leaves of Saptachchada tree, besmeared with fresh red, black and white minerals, he looked as if decorated with lines of holy unguents drawn by fingers. And with clouds stretching at its sides, the mountain seemed dancing with outspread wings. And on account of the trickling waters of springs, it appeared to be decked with necklaces of pearls. And it contained romantic caverns and groves and cascades and caves. And there were excellent peacocks dancing to the jingling of the bangles of the Apsaras. And its rocky surface was worn away by the end of tusks of the elephants presiding over the cardinal points. And with the waters of rivers falling down, the mountain looked as if its clothes were getting loosened. And that graceful son of the wind-god playfully and cheerfully went on, pushing away by his force countless intertwisted creepers. And stags in curiosity gazed at him, with grass in their mouths. And not having experienced fear (ever before), they were unalarmed, and did not flee away. And being engaged in fulfilling the desire of his love, the youthful son of Pandu, stalwart and of splendour like unto the hue of gold; and having a body strong as a lion; and treading like a mad elephant; and possessing the force of a mad elephant; and having coppery eyes like unto those of a mad elephant; and capable of checking a mad elephant began to range the romantic sides of the Gandhamadana with his beautiful eyes uplifted; and displaying as it were a novel type of beauty. And the wives of Yakshas and Gandharvas sitting invisible by the side of their husbands, stared at him, turning their faces with various motions. Intent upon gratifying Draupadi exiled unto the woods, as he was ranging the beautiful Gandhamadana, he remembered the many and various woes caused by Duryodhana. And he thought, 'Now that Arjuna sojourn in heaven and that I too have come away to procure the flowers, what will our brother Yudhishthira do at present? Surely, from affection and doubting their prowess, that foremost of men, Yudhishthira, will not let Nakula and Sahadeva come in search of us. How, again, can I obtain the flowers soon?' Thinking thus, that tiger among men proceeded in amain like unto the king of birds, his mind and sight fixed on the delightful side of the mountain. And having for his provisions on the journey the words of Draupadi, the mighty son of Pandu, Vrikodara Bhima, endued with strength and the swiftness of the wind, with his mind and sight fixed on the blooming slopes of the mountain, proceeded speedily, making the earth tremble with his tread, even as doth a hurricane at the equinox; and frightening herds of elephants and grinding lions and tigers and deer and uprooting and smashing large trees and tearing away by force plants and creepers, like unto an elephant ascending higher and higher the summit of a mountain; and roaring fiercely even as a cloud attended with thunder. And awakened by that mighty roaring of Bhima, tigers came out of their dens, while other rangers of the forest hid themselves. And the coursers of the skies sprang up (on their wing) in fright. And herds of deer hurriedly ran away. And birds left the trees (and fled). And lions forsook their dens. And the mighty lions were roused from their slumber. And the buffaloes stared. And the elephants in fright, leaving that wood, ran to more extensive forests company with their mates. And the boars and the deer and the lions and the buffaloes and the tigers and the jackals and the gavayas of the wood began to cry in herds. And the ruddy geese, and the gallinules and the ducks and the karandavas and the plavas and the parrots and the male kokilas and the herons in confusion flew in all directions, while some proud elephants urged by their mates, as also some lions and elephants in rage, flew at Bhimasena. And as they were distracted at heart through fear, these fierce animals discharging urine and dung, set up loud yells with gapping mouths. Thereupon the illustrious and graceful son of the wind-god, the mighty Pandava, depending upon the strength of his arms, began to slay one elephant with another elephant and one lion with another lion while he despatched the others with slaps. And on being struck by Bhima the lions and the tigers and the leopards, in fright gave loud cries and discharged urine and dung. And after having destroyed these the handsome son of Pandu, possessed of mighty strength, entered into the forest, making all sides resound with his shouts. And then the long-armed one saw on the slopes of the Gandhamadana a beautiful plantain tree spreading over many a yojana. And like unto a mad lion, that one of great strength proceeded amain towards that tree breaking down various plants. And that foremost of strong persons--Bhima--uprooting innumerable plantain trunks equal in height to many palm-trees (placed one above another), cast them on all sides with force. And that highly powerful one, haughty like a male lion, sent up shouts. And then he encountered countless beasts of gigantic size, and stags, and monkeys, and lions, and buffaloes, and aquatic animals. And what with the cries of these, and what with the shouts of Bhima, even the beasts and birds that were at distant parts of the wood, became all frightened. And hearing those cries of beasts and birds, myriads of aquatic fowls suddenly rose up on wetted wings. And seeing these fowls of water, that bull among the Bharatas proceeded in that direction; and saw a vast and romantic lake. And that fathomless lake was, as it were, being fanned by the golden plantain trees on the coast, shaken by the soft breezes. And immediately descending into the lake abounding in lilies and lotuses, he began to sport lustily like unto a mighty maddened elephant. Having thus sported there for a long while, he of immeasurable effulgence ascended, in order to penetrate with speed into that forest filled with trees. Then the Pandava winded with all his might his loud-blowing shell. And striking his arms with his hands, the mighty Bhima made all the points of heaven resound. And filled with the sounds of the shell, and with the shouts of Bhimasena, and also with the reports produced by the striking of his arms, the caves of the mountain seemed as if they were roaring. And hearing those loud arm-strokes, like unto the crashing of thunder, the lions that were slumbering in the caves, uttered mighty howls. And being terrified by the yelling of the lions, the elephants, O Bharata, sent forth tremendous roars, which filled the mountain. And hearing those sounds emitted, and knowing also Bhimasena to be his brother, the ape Hanuman, the chief of monkeys, with the view of doing good to Bhima, obstructed the path leading to heaven. And thinking that he (Bhima) should not pass that way,(Hanuman) lay across the narrow path, beautified by plantain trees, obstructing it for the sake of the safety of Bhima. With the object that Bhima might not come by curse or defeat, by entering into the plantain wood, the ape Hanuman of huge body lay down amidst the plantain trees, being overcome with drowsiness. And he began to yawn, lashing his long tail, raised like unto the pole consecrated to Indra, and sounding like thunder. And on all sides round, the mountains by the mouths of caves emitted those sounds in echo, like a cow lowing. And as it was being shaken by the reports produced by the lashing of the tail, the mountain with its summits tottering, began to crumble all around. And overcoming that roaring of mad elephants, the sounds of his tail spread over the varied slopes of the mountain.

"On those sounds being heard the down of Bhima's body stood on end; and he began to range that plantain wood, in search of those sounds. And that one of mighty arms saw the monkey-chief in the plantain wood, on an elevated rocky base. And he was hard to be looked at even as the lightning-flash; and of coppery hue like that of the lightning-flash: and endued with the voice of the lightning-flash; and quick moving as the lightning-flash; and having his short flesh neck supported on his shoulders; and with his waist slender in consequence of the fullness of his shoulders. And his tail covered with long hair, and a little bent at the end, was raised like unto a banner. And (Bhima) saw Hanuman's head furnished with small lips, and coppery face and tongue, and red ears, and brisk eyes, and bare white incisors sharpened at the edge.' And his head was like unto the shining moon; adorned with white teeth within the mouth; and with mane scattered over, resembling a heap of asoka flowers. And amidst the golden plantain trees, that one of exceeding effulgence was lying like unto a blazing fire, with his radiant body. And that slayer of foes as casting glances with his eyes reddened with intoxication. And the intelligent Bhima saw that mighty chief of monkeys, of huge body, lying like unto the Himalaya, obstructing the path of heaven. And seeing him alone in that mighty forest, the undaunted athletic Bhima, of long arms, approached him with rapid strides, and uttered a loud shout like unto the thunder. And at that shout of Bhima, beasts and birds became all alarmed. The powerful Hanuman, however, opening his eyes partially looked at him (Bhima) with disregard, with eyes reddened with intoxication. And then smilingly addressing him, Hanuman said the following words, 'Ill as I am, I was sleeping sweetly. Why hast thou awakened me? Thou shouldst show kindness to all creatures, as thou hast reason. Belonging to the animal species, we are ignorant of virtue. But being endued with reason, men show kindness towards creatures. Why do then reasonable persons like thee commit themselves to acts contaminating alike body, speech, and heart, and destructive of virtue? Thou knowest not what virtue is, neither hast thou taken council of the wise. And therefore it is that from ignorance, and childishness thou destroyest the lower animals. Say, who art thou, and what for hast thou come to the forest devoid of humanity and human beings? And, O foremost of men, tell thou also, whither thou wilt go to-day. Further it is impossible to proceed. Yonder hills are inaccessible. O hero, save the passage obtained by the practice of asceticism, there is no passage to that place. This is the path of the celestials; it is ever impassable by mortals. Out of kindness, O hero, do I dissuade thee. Do thou hearken unto my words. Thou canst not proceed further from this place. Therefore, O lord, do thou desist. O chief of men, to-day in very way thou art welcome to this place. If thou think it proper to accept my words, do thou then, O best of men, rest here, partaking of fruits and roots, sweet as ambrosia, and do not have thyself destroyed for naught."

SECTION 146

Vaisampayana said, "O represser of foes, hearing these words of the intelligent monkey-chief, the heroic Bhima answered, 'Who art thou? And why also hast thou assumed the shape of a monkey? It is a Kshatriya--one of a race next to the Brahmanas--that asketh thee. And he belongeth to the Kuru race and the lunar stock, and was borne by Kunti in her womb, and is one of the sons of Pandu, and is the off spring of the wind-god, and is known by the name of Bhimasena.' Hearing these words of the Kuru hero, Hanuman smiled, and that son of the wind-god (Hanuman) spake unto that offspring of the wind-god (Bhimasena), saying, 'I am a monkey, I will not allow thee the passage thou desirest. Better desist and go back. Do thou not meet with destruction.' At this Bhimasena replied. 'Destruction at anything else do I not ask thee about, O monkey. Do thou give me passage. Arise! Do not come by grief at my hands.' Hanuman said, 'I have no strength to rise; I am suffering from illness. If go thou must, do thou go by overleaping me.' Bhima said, 'The Supreme Soul void of the properties pervadeth a body all over. Him knowable alone by knowledge, I cannot disregard. And therefore, will I not overleap thee. If I had not known Him from Whom become manifest all creatures, I would have leapt over thee and also the mountain, even as Hanuman had bounded over the ocean.' Thereupon Hanuman said, 'Who is that Hanuman, who had bounded over the ocean? I ask thee, O best of men. Relate if thou canst.' Bhima replied, "He is even my brother, excellent with every perfection, and endued with intelligence and strength both of mind and body. And he is the illustrious chief of monkeys, renowned in the Ramayana. And for Rama's queen, that king of the monkeys even with one leap crossed the ocean extending over a hundred yojanas. That mighty one is my brother. I am equal unto him in energy, strength and prowess and also in fight. And able am I to punish thee. So arise. Either give me passage or witness my prowess to-day. If thou do not listen to my bidding, I shall send thee to the abode of Yama."

Vaisampayana continued. "Then knowing him (Bhima) to be intoxicated with strength, and proud of the might of his arms, Hanuman, slighting him at heart, said the following words, 'Relent thou, O sinless one. In consequence of age, I have no strength to get up. From pity for me, do thou go, moving aside my tail.' Being thus addressed by Hanuman, Bhima proud of the strength of his arms, took him for one wanting in energy and prowess, and thought within himself, 'Taking fast hold of the tail, will I send this monkey destitute of energy and prowess, to the region of Yama.' Thereat, with a smile he slightingly took hold of the tail with his left hand; but could not move that tail of the mighty monkey. Then with both arms he pulled it, resembling the pole reared in honour of Indra. Still the mighty Bhima could not raise the tail with both his arms. And his eye-brows were contracted up, and his eyes rolled, and his face was contracted into wrinkles and his body was covered with sweat; and yet he could not raise it. And when after having striven, the illustrious Bhima failed in raising the tail, he approached the side of the monkey, and stood with a bashful countenance. And bowing down, Kunti's son, with joined hands, spake these words, 'Relent thou, O foremost of monkeys; and forgive me for my harsh words. Art thou a Siddha, or a god, or a Gandharva, or a Guhyaka? I ask thee out of curiosity. Tell me who thou art that hast assumed the shape of monkey, if it be not a secret, O long-armed one, and if I can well hear it. I ask thee as a disciple, and I, O sinless one, seek thy refuge.' Thereupon Hanuman said, 'O represser of foes, even to the extent of thy curiosity to know me, shall I relate all at length. Listen, O son of Pandu! O lotus-eyed one, I was begotten by the wind-god that life of the world--upon the wife of Kesari. I am a monkey, by name Hanuman. All the mighty monkey-kings, and monkey-chiefs used to wait upon that son of the sun, Sugriva, and that son of Sakra, Vali. And, O represser of foes, a friendship subsisted between me and Sugriva, even as between the wind and fire. And for some cause, Sugriva, driven out by his brother, for a long time dwelt with me at the Hrisyamukh. And it came to pass that the mighty son of Dasaratha the heroic Rama, who is Vishnu's self in the shape of a human being, took his birth in this world. And in company with his queen and brother, taking his bow, that foremost of bowmen with the view of compassing his father's welfare, began to reside in the Dandaka forest. And from Janasthana, that mighty Rakshasa monarch, the wicked Ravana, carried away his (Rama's) queen by stratagem and force, deceiving, O sinless one, that foremost of men, through

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the agency of a Rakshasa, Maricha, who assumed the form of a deer marked with gem-like and golden spots."

SECTION 147

Hanuman said, 'And after his wife was carried away, that descendant of Raghu, while searching with his brother for his queen, met, on the summit of that mountain, with Sugriva, chief of the monkeys. Then a friendship was contracted between him and the high-souled Raghava. And the latter, having slain Vali installed Sugriva in the kingdom. And having obtained the kingdom, Sugriva sent forth monkeys by hundreds and by thousands in search of Sita. And, O best of men, I too with innumerable monkeys set out towards the south in quest of Sita, O mighty-armed one. Then a mighty vulture Sampati by name, communicated the tidings that Sita was in the abode of Ravana. Thereupon with the object of securing success unto Rama, I all of a sudden bounded over the main, extending for a hundred yojanas. And, O chief of the Bharatas, having by my own prowess crossed the ocean, that abode of sharks and crocodiles, I saw in Ravana's residence, the daughter of king Janaka, Sita, like unto the daughter of a celestial. And having interviewed that lady, Vaidehi, Rama's beloved, and burnt the whole of Lanka with its towers and ramparts and gates, and proclaimed my name there, I returned. Hearing everything from me the lotus-eyed Rama at once ascertained his course of action, and having for the passage of his army constructed a bridge across the deep, crossed it followed by myriads of monkeys. Then by prowess Rama slew those Rakshasas in battle, and also Ravana, the oppressor of the worlds together with his Rakshasa followers. And having slain the king of the Rakshasas, with his brother, and sons and kindred, he installed in the kingdom in Lanka the Rakshasa chief, Vibhishana, pious, and reverent, and kind to devoted dependants. Then Rama recovered his wife even like the lost Vaidic revelation. Then Raghu's son, Rama, with his devoted wife, returned to his own city, Ayodhya, inaccessible to enemies; and that lord of men began to dwell there. Then that foremost of kings, Rama was established in the kingdom. Thereafter, I asked a boon of the lotus-eyed Rama, saying, 'O slayer of foes, Rama, may I live as long as the history of thy deeds remaineth extant on earth!" Thereupon he said, 'So be it. O represser of foes, O Bhima, through the grace of Sita also, here all excellent objects of entertainment are supplied to me, whoever abide at this place. Rama reigned for the thousand and ten hundred years. Then he ascended to his own abode. Ever since, here Apsaras and Gandharvas delight me, singing for aye the deeds of that hero, O sinless one. O son of the Kurus, this path is impassable to mortals. For this, O Bharata, as also with the view that none might defeat or curse thee, have I obstructed thy passage to this path trod by the immortals. This is one of the paths to heaven, for the celestials; mortals cannot pass this way. But the lake in search of which thou hast come, lieth even in that direction."

SECTION 148

Vaisampayana continued, "Thus addressed, the powerful Bhimasena of mighty arms, affectionately, and with a cheerful heart, bowed unto his brother, Hanuman, the monkey-chief, and said in mild words, 'None is more fortunate than I am; now have I seen my elder brother. It is a great favour shown unto me; and I have been well pleased with thee. Now I wish that thou mayst fulfil this desire of mine. I desire to behold. O hero, that incomparable form of thine, which thou at that time hadst had, in bounding over the main, that abode of sharks and crocodiles. Thereby I shall be satisfied, and also believe in thy words.' Thus addressed, that mighty monkey said with a smile, 'That form of mine neither thou, not any one else can behold. At that age, the state of things was different, and doth not exist at present. In the Krita age, the state of things was one; and in the Treta, another; and in the Dwapara, still another. Diminution is going on this age; and I have not that form now. The ground, rivers, plants, and rocks, and siddhas, gods, and celestial sages conform to Time, in harmony with the state of things in the different yugas. Therefore, do not desire to see my former shape, O perpetuator of the Kuru race. I am conforming to the tendency of the age. Verily, Time is irresistible' Bhimasena said, 'Tell me of the duration of the different yugas, and of the different manners and customs and of virtue, pleasure and profit, and of acts, and energy, and of life and death in the different yugas.' Thereupon Hanuman said, 'O child, that yuga is called Krita when the one eternal religion was extant. And in that best of yugas, every one had religious perfection, and, therefore, there was no need of religious acts. And then virtue knew no deterioration; nor did people decrease. It is for this that this age is called Krita (perfect). But in time the yuga had come to be considered as an inferior one. And, O child, in the Krita age, there were neither gods, nor demons, nor Gandharvas, nor Yakshas, nor Rakshasas, nor Nagas. And there was no buying and selling. And the Sama, the Rich, and the Yajus did not exist. And there was no manual labour. And then the necessaries of life were obtained only by being thought of. And the only merit was in renouncing the world. And during that yuga, there was neither disease, nor decay of the senses. And there was neither malice, nor pride, nor hypocrisy, nor discord, nor ill-will, nor cunning, nor fear, nor misery, nor envy, nor covetousness. And for this, that prime refuge of Yogis, even the Supreme Brahma, was attainable to all. And Narayana wearing a white hue was the soul of all creatures. And in the Krita Yuga, the distinctive characteristics of Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras were natural and these ever stuck to their respective duties. And then Brahma was the sole refuge, and their manners and customs were naturally adapted to the attainment of Brahma and the objects of their knowledge was the sole Brahma, and all their acts also had reference to Brahma. In this way all the orders attained merit. And one uniform Soul was the object of their meditation; and there was only one mantra (the Om), and there was one ordinance. And although of different characteristics, all of them followed a single Veda; and they had one religion. And according to the divisions of time, they led the four modes of life, without aiming at any object, and so they attained emancipation. The religion consisting in the identification of self with Brahma indicates the Krita Yuga. And in the Krita Yuga, the virtue of the four orders is throughout entire in four-fold measure. Such is the Krita Yuga devoid of the three qualities. Do thou also hear from me of the character of the Treta Yuga. In this age, sacrifices are introduced, and virtue decreaseth by a quarter. And Narayana (who is the Soul of all creatures) assumeth a red colour. And men practise truth, and devote themselves to religion and religious rites. And thence sacrifices and various religious observances come into existence. And in the Treta Yuga people begin to devise means for the attainment of an object; and they attain it through acts and gifts. And they never deviate from virtue. And they are devoted to asceticism and to the bestowal of gifts. And the four orders adhere to their respective duties; and perform rites. Such are the men of the Treta Yuga. In the Dwapara Yuga, religion decreaseth by one half. And Narayana weareth a yellow hue. And the Veda becometh divided into four parts. And then some men retain (the knowledge of) the four Vedas, and some of three Vedas, and some of one Veda, while others do not know even the Richs. And on the Shastras becoming thus divided, acts become multiplied. And largely influenced by passion, people engage in asceticism and gifts. And from their incapacity to study the entire Veda, it becomes divided into several parts. And in consequence of intellect having decreased, few are established in truth. And when people fall off from truth, they become subject to various diseases; and then lust, and natural calamities ensue. And afflicted with these, people betake themselves to penances. And some celebrate sacrifices, desiring to enjoy the good things of life, or attain heaven. On the coming of the Dwapara Yuga, men become degenerate, in consequence of impiety. O son of Kunti, in the Kali Yuga a quarter only of virtue abideth. And in the beginning of this iron age, Narayana weareth a black hue. And the Vedas and the institutes, and virtue, and sacrifices, and religious observances, fall into disuse. And (then) reign iti ["Iti" means these six things, unfavourable to crops: excessive rain, drought, rats, locusts, birds, and a neighbouring hostile king.], and disease, and lassitude, and anger and other deformities, and natural calamities, and anguish, and fear of scarcity. And as the yugas wane, virtue dwindles. And as virtue dwindles away, creatures degenerate. And as creatures degenerate, their natures undergo deterioration. And the religious acts performed at the waning of the yugas, produce contrary effects. And even those that live for several yugas, conform to these changes. O represser of foes, as regards thy curiosity to know me, I say this,--Why should a wise person be eager to know a superfluous matter? (Thus), O long-armed one, have I narrated in full what thou hadst asked me regarding the characteristics of the different yugas. Good happen to thee! Do thou return.'"

SECTION 149

"Bhimasena said, 'Without beholding thy former shape, I will never go away. If I have found favour with thee, do thou then show me thine own shape."

Vaisampayana continued, "Being thus addressed by Bhima, the monkey with a smile showed him that form of his in which he had bounded over the main. And wishing to gratify his brother, Hanuman assumed a gigantic body which (both) in length and breadth increased exceedingly. And that monkey of immeasurable effulgence stood there, covering the plantain grove furnished with trees, and elevating himself to the height reached by the Vindhya. And the monkey, having attained his lofty and gigantic body like unto a mountain, furnished with coppery eyes, and sharp teeth, and a face marked by frown, lay covering all sides and lashing his long tail. And that son of the Kurus, Bhima, beholding that gigantic form of his brother, wondered, and the hairs of his body repeatedly stood on end. And beholding him like unto the sun in splendour, and unto a golden mountain, and also unto the blazing firmament, Bhima closed his eyes. Thereupon Hanuman addressed Bhima with a smile, saying, 'O sinless one, thou art capable of beholding my size up to this extent. I can, however, go on swelling my size as long as I wish. And, O Bhima, amidst foes, my size increaseth exceedingly by its own energy.'

Vaisampayana said, "Witnessing that dreadful and wonderful body of Hanuman, like unto the Vindhya mountain, the son of the wind-god became bewildered. Then with his down standing erect, the noble-minded Bhima, joining his hands, replied unto Hanuman saying (there), 'O lord, by me have been beheld the vast dimensions of thy body. Do thou (now), O highly powerful one, decrease thyself by thy own power. Surely I cannot look at thee, like unto the sun risen, and of immeasurable (power), and irrepressible, and resembling the mountain Mainaka. O hero, to-day this wonder of my heart is very great, that thou remaining by his side, Rama should have encountered Ravana personally. Depending on the strength of thy arms, thou wert capable of instantly destroying Lanka, with its warriors, and horses, elephants and chariots. Surely, O son of the wind-god, there is nothing that is incapable of being achieved by thee; and in fight, Ravana together with his followers was no match for thee single-handed."

Vaisampayana continued, "Thus addressed by Bhima, Hanuman, the chief of monkeys, answered in affectionate words uttered in solemn accents. "O mighty-armed one, O Bharata, it is even as thou sayest. O Bhimasena, that worst of Rakshasas was no match for me. But if I had slain Ravana--that thorn of the worlds--the glory of Raghu's son would have been obscured;--and for this it is that I left him alone. By slaying that lord of the Rakshasas together with his followers, and bringing back Sita unto his own city, that hero hath established his fame among men. Now, O highly wise one, being intent on the welfare of thy brothers, and protected by the wind-god, do thou go along a fortunate and auspicious way. O foremost of the Kurus, this way will lead thee to the Saugandhika wood. (Proceeding in this direction), thou wilt behold the gardens of Kuvera, guarded by Yakshas and Rakshasas. Do thou not pluck the flowers (there) personally by thy own force; for the gods deserve regard specially from mortals. O best of the Bharata race, the gods confer their favour (upon men), (being propitiated) by offerings, and homas, and reverential salutations, and recitation of mantras, and veneration, O Bharata. Do thou not, therefore, act with rashness, O child; and do thou not deviate from the duties of thy order. Sticking to the duties of thy order, do thou understand and follow the highest morality. Without knowing duties and serving the old, even persons like unto Vrihaspati cannot understand profit and religion. One should ascertain with discrimination those cases in which vice goeth under the name of virtue, and virtue goeth under the name of vice,--(cases) in which people destitute of intelligence become perplexed. From religious observances proceedeth merit; and in merit are established the Vedas; and from the Vedas sacrifices come into existence; and by sacrifices are established the gods. The gods are maintained by the (celebration of) sacrifices prescribed by the Vedas and the religious ordinances; while men maintain themselves by (following) the ordinances of Vrihaspati and Usanas and also by these avocations, by which the world is maintained,--serving for wages, (receiving) taxes, merchandise, agriculture and tending kine and sheep. The world subsisteth by profession. The (study of the) three Vedas and agriculture and trade and government constitutes, it is ordained by the wise, the professions of the twice born ones; and each order maintaineth itself by following the profession prescribed for it. And when these callings are properly pursued, the world is maintained with ease. If, however, people do not righteously lead their lives, the world becometh lawless, in consequence of the want of Vedic merit and government. And if people do not resort to (their) prescribed vocations, they perish, but by regularly following the three professions, they bring about religion. The religion of the Brahmanas consisteth in the knowledge of the soul and the hue of that order alone is universally the same. The celebration of sacrifices, and study and bestowal of gifts are well-known to be the three duties common (to all these orders). Officiating at sacrifices, teaching and the acceptance of gifts are the duties of a Brahmana. To rule (the subjects) is the duty of the Kshatriya; and to tend (cattle), that of the Vaisya, while to serve the twice-born orders is said to be the duty of the Sudra. The Sudras cannot beg alms, or perform homas, or observe vows; and they must dwell in the habitation of their masters. Thy vocation, O son of Kunti, is that of the Kshatriya, which is to protect (the subjects). Do thou carry out thy own duties, in an humble spirit, restraining thy senses. That king alone can govern, who taketh counsel of experienced men, and is helped by honest, intelligent and learned ministers; but a king who is addicted to vices, meeteth with defeat. Then only is the order of the world secured, when the king duly punisheth and conferreth favours. Therefore, it is necessary to ascertain through spies the nature of the hostile country, its fortified places and the allied force of the enemy and their prosperity and decay and the way in which they retain the adhesion of the powers they have drawn to their side. Spies are among the important auxiliaries of the king; and tact, diplomacy, prowess, chastisement, favour and cleverness lead to success. And

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success is to be attained through these, either in separation, or combined--namely, conciliation, gift, sowing dissensions, chastisement, and sight. And, O chief of the Bharatas, polity hath for its root diplomacy; and diplomacy also is the main qualification of spies. And polity, if well judged conferreth success. Therefore, in matters of polity the counsels of Brahmanas should be resorted to. And in secret affairs, these should not be consulted,--namely, a woman, a sot, a boy, a covetous person a mean-minded individual, and he that betrayeth signs of insanity. Wise men only should be consulted, and affairs are to be despatched through officers that are able. And polity must be executed through persons that are friendly; but dunces should in all affairs be excluded. In matters religious, pious men; and in matters of gain, wise men; and in guarding families, eunuchs; and in all crooked affairs, crooked men, must be employed. And the propriety or impropriety of the resolution of the enemy, as also their strength or weakness, must be ascertained through one's own as well as hostile spies. Favour should be shown to honest persons that have prudently sought protection; but lawless and disobedient individuals should be punished. And when the king justly punisheth and showeth favour, the dignity of the law is well maintained, O son of Pritha, thus have I expounded, unto thee the hard duties of kings difficult to comprehend. Do thou with equanimity observe these as prescribed for thy order. The Brahmanas attain heaven through merit, mortification of the senses, and sacrifice. The Vaisyas attain excellent state through gifts, hospitality, and religious acts. The Kshatriyas attain the celestial regions by protecting and chastising the subjects, uninfluenced by lust, malice, avarice and anger. If kings justly punish (their subjects), they go to the place whither repair meritorious persons.'

SECTION 150

Vaisampayana said, "Then contracting that huge body of his, which he had assumed at will, the monkey with his arms again embraced Bhimasena. And O Bharata, on Bhima being embraced by his brother, his fatigue went off, and all (the powers of body) as also his strength were restored. And having gained great accession of strength, he thought that there was none equal to him in physical power. And with tears in his eyes, the monkey from affection again addressed Bhima in choked utterance, saying, 'O hero, repair to thy own abode. May I be incidentally remembered by thee in thy talk! O best of Kurus, do not tell any one that I abide here. O thou of great strength, the most excellent of the wives of the gods and Gandharvas resort to this place, and the time of their arrival is nigh. My eyes have been blessed (by seeing thee). And, O Bhima, having felt a human being by coming in contact with thee, I have been put in mind of that son of Raghu, who was Vishnu himself under the name of Rama, and who delighted the heart of the world; and who was as the sun in regard to the lotus face of Sita, and also to that darkness--Ravana. Therefore, O heroic son of Kunti, let not thy meeting with me be fruitless. Do thou with fraternal feeling ask of me a boon, O Bharata. If this be thy wish, that going to Varanavata, I may destroy the insignificant sons of Dhritarashtra--even this will I immediately do. Or if this be thy wish that, that city may be ground by me with rocks, or that I may bind Duryodhana and bring him before thee, even this will I do to-day, O thou of mighty strength.'

Vaisampayana said, "Hearing those words of that high-souled one, Bhimasena with a cheerful heart answered Hanuman, saying, 'O foremost of monkeys, I take all this as already performed by thee. Good happen to thee. O mighty-armed one! I ask of thee this,--be thou well pleased with me. O powerful one, on thy having become our protector, the Pandavas have found help. Even by thy prowess shall we conquer all foes." Thus addressed, Hanuman said unto Bhimasena, 'From fraternal feeling and affection, I will do good unto thee, by diving into the army of thy foes copiously furnished with arrows and javelins. And, O highly powerful one, O hero, when thou shall give leonine roars, then shall I with my own, add force to shouts. Remaining on the flagstaff of Arjuna's car will I emit fierce shouts that will damp the energy of thy foes. Thereby ye will slay them easily.' Having said this unto Pandu's son, and also pointed him out the way. Hanuman vanished at that spot."

SECTION 151

Vaisampayana said, "When that foremost of monkeys had gone away, Bhima, the best of strong men, began to range the huge Gandhamadana along that path. And he went on, thinking of Hanuman's body and splendour unrivalled on earth, and also of the greatness and dignity of Dasaratha's son. And proceeding in search of the place filled with lotuses of that kind, Bhima beheld romantic woods, and groves, and rivers, and lakes graced with trees bearing blossoms, and flowery woodlands variegated with various flowers. And, O Bharata, he beheld herds of mad elephants besmeared with mud, resembling masses of pouring clouds. And that graceful one went on with speed, beholding by the wayside woods wherein there stood with their mates deer of quick glances, holding the grass in their mouths. And fearless from prowess, Bhimasena, as if invited by the breeze-shaken trees of the forest ever fragrant with flowers, bearing delicate coppery twigs, plunged into the mountainous regions inhabited by buffaloes, bears and leopards. And on the way, he passed by lotus-lakes haunted by maddened black-bees, having romantic descents and woods, and on account of the presence of lotus-buds, appearing as if they had joined their hands (before Bhima). And having for his provisions on the journey the words of Draupadi, Bhima went on with speed, his mind and sight fixed on the blooming slopes of the mountain. And when the sun passed the meridian, he saw in the forest scattered over with deer, a mighty river filled with fresh golden lotuses. And being crowded with swans and Karandavas, and graced with Chakravakas, the river looked like a garland of fresh lotuses put on by the mountain. And in that river that one of great strength found the extensive assemblage of Saugandhika lotuses, effulgent as the rising sun, and delightful to behold. And beholding it, Pandu's son thought within himself that his object had been gained, and also mentally presented himself before his beloved worn out by exile."

SECTION 152

Vaisampayana said, "Having reached that spot, Bhimasena saw in the vicinity of the Kailasa cliff, that beautiful lotus lake surrounded by lovely woods, and guarded by the Rakshasas. And it sprang from the cascades contiguous to the abode of Kuvera. And it was beautiful to behold, and was furnished with a wide-spreading shade and abounded in various trees and creepers and was covered with green lilies. And this unearthly lake was filled with golden lotuses, and swarmed with diverse species of birds. And its banks were beautiful and devoid of mud. And situated on the rocky elevation this expanse of excellent water was exceedingly fair. And it was the wonder of the world and healthful and of romantic sight. In that lake the son of Kunti saw, the water of ambrosial taste and cool and light and clear and fresh; and the Pandava drank of it profusely. And that unearthly receptacle of waters was covered with celestial Saugandhika lotuses, and was also spread over with beautiful variegated golden lotuses of excellent fragrance having graceful stalks of lapis lazulis. And swayed by swans and Karandavas, these lotuses were scattering fresh farina. And this lake was the sporting region of the high-souled Kuvera, the king of the Yakshas. And it was held in high regard by the Gandharvas the Apsaras and the celestials. And it was frequented by the celestial sages and the Yakshas and the Kimpurushas and the Rakshasas and the Kinnaras; and it was well-protected by Kuvera. And as soon as he beheld that river and that unearthly lake, Kunti's son, Bhimasena of mighty strength became exceedingly delighted. And agreeably to the mandate of their king, hundreds and thousands of Rakshasas, named Krodhavasas, were guarding that lake, wearing uniforms and armed with various weapons. And as that repressor of foes, Kunti's son, the heroic Bhima of dreadful prowess, clad in deer-skins and wearing golden armlets and equipped with weapons and girding his sword on, was fearlessly proceeding, with the view of gathering the lotus, those (Rakshasas) saw him and immediately began to address each other, shouting forth, 'It behoveth you to enquire for the errand on which this foremost of men, clad in deer skins, and equipped with arms, hath come.' Then they all approached the effulgent Vrikodara of mighty arms and asked, 'Who art thou? Thou shouldst answer our questions. We see thee in the guise of an ascetic and yet armed with weapons. O thou of mighty intelligence, do thou unfold unto us the object with which thou hast come (hither)."

SECTION 153

"Bhima said, 'I am the son of Pandu, and next by birth to Yudhishthira the Just, and my name is Bhimasena. O Rakshasas, I have come with my brothers to the jujube named Visala. At that place, Panchali saw an excellent Saugandhika lotus, which, of a certainty, was carried thither by the wind from this region. She wisheth to have those flowers in abundance. Know ye, ye Rakshasas, that I am engaged in fulfilling the desire of my wedded wife of faultless features, and have come hither to procure the flowers. Thereat the Rakshasas said, 'O foremost of men, this spot is dear unto Kuvera, and it is his sporting region. Men subject to death cannot sport here. O Vrikodara. the celestial sages, and the gods taking the permission of the chief of the Yakshas, drink of this lake, and sport herein. And, O Pandava, the Gandharvas and the Apsaras also divert themselves in this lake. That wicked person who, disregarding the lord of treasures, unlawfully attempteth to sport here, without doubt, meeteth with destruction. Disregarding him, thou seekest to take away the lotuses from this place by main force. Why then dost thou say that thou art the brother of Yudhishthira the Just? First, taking the permission of the lord of Yakshas, do thou drink of this lake and take away the flowers. If thou dost not do this, thou shall not be able even to glance at a single lotus Bhimasena said, 'Ye Rakshasas, I do not see the lord of wealth here And even if I did see that mighty king, I would not beseech him Kshatriyas never beseech (any body). This is the eternal morality; and I by no means wish to forsake the Kshatriya morality. And, further this lotus-lake hath sprung from the cascades of the mountain; it hath not been excavated in the mansion of Kuvera. Therefore it belongeth equally to all creatures with Vaisravana. In regard to a thing of such a nature, who goeth to beseech another?"

Vaisampayana said, "Having said this unto the Rakshasas, the mighty-armed and exceedingly unforbearing Bhimasena of great strength plunged into the lotus-lake. Thereat that powerful one was forbidden by the Rakshasas, saying, 'Do not do this;' and they from all sides began to abuse him in anger. But slighting these Rakshasas, that mighty one of dreadful prowess plunged (farther and farther). Now they all prepared for opposing him. And with eyes rolling, they upraised their arms, and rushed in wrath at Bhimasena, exclaiming, 'Seize him!' 'Bind him! Hew him! We shall cook Bhimasena, and eat him up!' Thereupon that one of great force, taking his ponderous and mighty mace inlaid with golden plates, like unto the mace of Yama himself, turned towards those, and then said, 'Stay!' At this, they darted at him with vehemence, brandishing lances, and axes, and other weapons. And wishing to destroy Bhima, the dreadful and fierce Krodhavasas surrounded Bhima on all sides. But that one, being endued with strength, had been begotten by Vayu in the womb of Kunti; and he was heroic and energetic, and the slayer of foes, and ever devoted to virtue and truth, and incapable of being vanquished by enemies through prowess. Accordingly this high-souled Bhima defeating all the manoeuveres of the foes, and breaking their arms, killed on the banks of the lake more than a hundred, commencing with the foremost. And then witnessing his prowess and strength, and the force of his skill, and also the might of his arms; and unable to bear (the onset), those prime heroes all of a sudden fled on all sides in bands.

"Beaten and pierced by Bhimasena, those Krodhavasas quitted the field of battle, and in confusion quickly fled towards the Kailasa cliff, supporting themselves in the sky. Having thus by the exercise of his prowess defeated those hosts, even as Sakra had defeated the armies of Daityas and Danavas, he (Bhima), now that he had conquered the enemy, plunged into the lake and began to gather the lotuses, with the object of gaining his purpose. And as he drank of the waters, like unto nectar, his energy and strength were again fully restored; and he fell to plucking and gathering Saugandhika lotuses of excellent fragrance. On the other hand, the Krodhavasas, being driven by the might of Bhima and exceedingly terrified, presented themselves before the lord of wealth, and gave an exact account of Bhima's prowess and strength in fight. Hearing their words, the god (Kuvera) smiled and then said, 'Let Bhima take for Krishna as many lotuses as he likes. This is already known to me.' Thereupon taking the permission of the lord of wealth, those (Rakshasas) renouncing anger, went to that foremost of the Kurus, and in that lotus-lake beheld Bhima alone, disporting in delight."

SECTION 154

Vaisampayana said, "Then, O best of the Bharatas, Bhima began to collect those rare unearthly, variegated and fresh flowers in abundance. "And it came to pass that a high and violent wind, piercing to the touch, and blowing about gravels, arose, portending battle. And frightful meteors began to shoot, with thundering sounds. And being enveloped by darkness, the sun became pale, his rays being obscured. And on Bhima displaying his prowess, dreadful sounds of explosion rang through the sky. And the earth began to tremble, and dust fell in showers. And the points of the heavens became reddened. And beasts and birds began to cry in shrill tones. And every thing became enveloped in darkness; and nothing could be distinguished. And other evil omens besides these appeared there. Witnessing these strange phenomena, Dharma's son Yudhishthira, the foremost of speakers, said, 'Who is it that will overcome us? Ye Pandavas who take delight in battle, good betide you! Do ye equip yourselves. From what I see, I infer that the time for the display of our prowess hath drawn nigh'. Having said this, the king looked around. Then not finding Bhima, that represser of foes, Dharma's son, Yudhishthira, enquired of Krishna and the twins standing near regarding his brother, Bhima, the doer of dreadful deeds in battle, saying, 'O Panchali, is Bhima intent upon performing some great feat, or hath that one delighting in daring deeds already achieved some brave deed? Portending some great danger, these omens have appeared all around, indicating a fearful battle.' When Yudhishthira said this, his beloved queen, the high-minded Krishna of sweet smiles, answered him, in order to remove his anxiety. 'O king, that Saugandhika lotus which to-day had been brought by the wind. I had out of love duly shown unto Bhimasena; and I had also said unto that hero, If thou canst find many of this species, procuring even all of them, do thou return speedily,--O Pandava, that mighty armed one, with the view of gratifying my desire, may have gone towards the north-east to bring them.' Having heard these words of hers, the king said unto twins, 'Let us together follow the path taken by Vrikodara. Let the Rakshasas carry those Brahmanas that are fatigued

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and weak. O Ghatotkacha, O thou like unto a celestial, do thou carry Krishna. I am convinced and it is plain that Bhima hath dived into the forest; for it is long since he hath gone, and in speed he resembleth the wind, and in clearing over the ground, he is swift like unto Vinata's son, and he will ever leap into the sky, and alight at his will. O Rakshasas, we shall follow him through your prowess. He will not at first do any wrong to the Siddhas versed in the Vedas. O best of the Bharatas, saying, 'So be it,' Hidimava's son and the other Rakshasas who knew the quarter where the lotus lake of Kuvera was situated, started cheerfully with Lomasa, bearing the Pandavas, and many of the Brahmanas. Having shortly reached that spot, they saw that romantic lake covered with Saugandhika and other lotuses and surrounded by beautiful woods. And on its shores they beheld the high-souled and vehement Bhima, as also the slaughtered Yakshas of large eyes, with their bodies, eyes, arms and thighs smashed, and their heads crushed. And on seeing the high-souled Bhima, standing on the shore of that lake in an angry mood, and with steadfast eyes, and biting his lip, and stationed on the shore of the lake with his mace upraised by his two hands, like unto Yama with his mace in his hand at the time of the universal dissolution. Yudhishthira the Just, embraced him again and again, and said in sweet words, 'O Kaunteya, what hast thou done? Good betide thee! If thou wishest to do good unto me, thou shouldst never again commit such a rash act, nor offend the gods.' Having thus instructed the son of Kunti, and taken the flowers those god-like ones began to sport in that very lake. At this instant, the huge-bodied warders of the gardens, equipped with rocks for weapons, presented themselves at the spot. And seeing Yudhishthira the Just and the great sage Lomasa and Nakula and Sahadeva and also the other foremost of Brahmanas, they all bowed themselves down in humility. And being pacified by Yudhishthira the Just, the Rakshasas became satisfied. And with the knowledge of Kuvera, those foremost of Kurus for a short time dwelt pleasantly at that spot on the slopes of the Gandhamadana, expecting Arjuna."

SECTION 155

Vaisampayana said, "Once upon a time Yudhishthira, while living at that place, addressed Krishna, his brother, and the Brahmanas, saying, 'By us have been attentively seen one after another sacred and auspicious tirthas, and woods, delightful to beheld, which had ere this been visited by the celestials and the high-souled sages, and which had been worshipped by the Brahmanas. And in various sacred asylums we have performed ablutions with Brahmanas, and have heard from them the lives and acts of many sages, and also of many royal sages of yore, and other pleasant stories. And with flowers and water have the gods been worshipped by us. And with offerings of fruits and roots as available at each place we have gratified the pitris. And with the high-souled ones have we performed ablutions in all sacred and beautiful mountains and lakes, and also in the highly sacred ocean. And with the Brahmanas we have bathed in the Ila, and in the Saraswati, and in the Sindhu, and in the Yamuna, and in the Narmada, and in various other romantic tirthas. And having passed the source of the Ganga, we have seen many a lovely hill and the Himalaya mountains, inhabited by various species of birds, and also the jujube named Visala, where there is the hermitage of Nara and Narayana. And (finally) we have beheld this unearthly lake, held in veneration by the Siddhas, the gods and the sages. In fact, O foremost of Brahmanas, we have one by one carefully seen all celebrated and sacred spots in company with the high-souled Lomasa. Now, O Bhima, how shall we repair to the sacred abode of Vaisravana, inhabited by the Siddhas? Do thou think of the means of entering (the same)."

Vaisampayana said, "When that king had said this, an aerial voice spake, saying. 'Thou will not be able to go to that inaccessible spot. By this very way, do thou repair from this region of Kuvera to the place whence thou hadst come even to the hermitage of Nara and Narayana, known by the name of Vadari. Thence, O Kaunteya. thou wilt repair to the hermitage of Vrishaparva, abounding in flowers and fruit, and inhabited by the Siddhas and the Charanas. Having passed that, O Partha, thou wilt proceed to the hermitage of Arshtisena, and from thence thou wilt behold the abode of Kuvera.' Just at that moment the breeze became fresh, and gladsome and cool and redolent of unearthly fragrance; and it showered blossoms, And on hearing the celestial voice from the sky, they all were amazed,--more specially those earthly rishis and the Brahmanas. On hearing this mighty marvel, the Brahmana Dhaumya, said, 'This should not be gainsaid. O Bharata, let this be so.' Thereupon, king Yudhishthira obeyed him. And having returned to the hermitage of Nara and Narayana, he began to dwell pleasantly, surrounded by Bhimasena and his other brothers, Panchali the Brahmanas."

SECTION 156

Vaisampayana continued, "Thus dwelling with the Brahmanas in that best of mountains, in expectation of Arjuna's return, when the Pandavas had grown confident and when all those Rakshasas together with Bhima's son had departed, one day while Bhimasena was away, a Rakshasa all of a sudden carried off Yudhishthira the Just and the twins and Krishna. That Rakshasa (in the guise of a Brahmana) had constantly remained in the company of the Pandavas, alleging that he was a high-class Brahmana, skilled in counsel, and versed in all the Sastras. His object was to possess himself of the bows, the quivers and the other material implements belonging to the Pandavas; and he had been watching for an opportunity of ravishing Draupadi. And that wicked and sinful one was named Jatasura. And, O king of kings, Pandu's son (Yudhishthira) had been supporting him, but knew not that wretch like unto a fire covered with ashes.

"And once on a day while that represser of foes, Bhimasena, was out a hunting, he (the Rakshasa), seeing Ghatotkacha and his followers scatter in different directions and seeing those vow-observing great rishis, of ascetic wealth, viz.; Lomasa and the rest, away for bathing and collecting flowers, assumed a different form, gigantic and monstrous and frightful; and having secured all the arms (of the Pandavas) as also Draupadi, that wicked one fled away taking the three Pandavas. Thereupon that son of Pandu, Sahadeva, extricated himself with exertion, and by force snatched the sword named Kausika from the grasp of the enemy and began to call Bhimasena, taking the direction in which that mighty one had gone. And on being carried off Yudhishthira the Just, addressed him (that Rakshasa), saying, 'O stupid one, thy merit decreaseth (even by this act of thine). Dost thou not pay heed unto the established order of nature? Whether belonging to the human race, or to the lower orders, all pay regard to virtue,--more specially the Rakshasas. In the first instance, they knew virtue better than others. Having considered all these, thou ought to adhere to virtue. O Rakshasa, the gods, the pitris, the Siddhas, the rishis, the Gandharvas, the brutes and even the worms and ants depend for their lives on men; and thou too liveth through that agency. If prosperity attendeth the human race, thy race also prospereth; and if calamities befall the former, even the celestials suffer grief. Being gratified by offerings, do the gods thrive. O Rakshasa, we are the guardians, governors and preceptors of kingdoms. If kingdoms become unprotected, whence can proceed prosperity and happiness? Unless there be offence, a Rakshasa should not violate a king. O man-eating one, we have committed no wrong, ever so little. Living on vighasa, we serve the gods and others to the best of our power. And we are never intent upon bowing down to our superiors and Brahmanas. A friend, and one confiding, and he whose food hath been partaken of, and he that hath afforded shelter, should never be injured. Thou hast lived in our place happily, being duly honoured. And, O evil-minded one, having partaken of our food, how canst thou carry us off? And as thy acts are so improper and as thou hast grown in age without deriving any benefit and as thy propensities are evil, so thou deservest to die for nothing, and for nothing wilt thou die to-day. And if thou beest really evil-disposed and devoid of all virtue, do thou render us back our weapons and ravish Draupadi after fight. But if through stupidity thou must do this deed, then in the world thou wilt only reap demerit and infamy O Rakshasa, by doing violence to this female of the human race, thou hast drunk poison, after having shaken the vessel.' Thereupon, Yudhishthira made himself ponderous to the Rakshasa. And being oppressed with the weight, he could not proceed rapidly as before. Then addressing Draupadi, Nakula and Sahadeva, Yudhishthira said, 'Do ye not entertain any fear of this wretched Rakshasa, I have checked his speed. The mighty-armed son of the Wind-god may not be far away; and on Bhima coming up at the next moment, the Rakshasa will not live.' O king, staring at the Rakshasa bereft of sense, Sahadeva addressed Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, saying, 'What can be more meritorious for a Kshatriya than to fall in fight, or defeat a foe? O repressor of foes, we will fight and either this one will slay us, or we shall slay him, O mighty-armed one. Verily this is the place and time. O king. And, O thou of unfailing prowess, the time hath come for the display of our Kshatriya virtue. It behoveth us to attain heaven either by gaining victory or being slain. If the sun sets to-day, the Rakshasa living yet, O Bharata, I will not any more say that I am a Kshatriya. Ho! Ho! Rakshasa. say! I am Pandu's son, Sahadeva. Either, after having killed me, carry off this lady, or being slain, lie senseless here.'

"Madri's son, Sahadeva, was speaking thus, when Bhimasena made his appearance, with a mace in his hand, like unto Vasava himself wielding the thunder-bolt. And here he saw his two brothers and the noble-minded Draupadi (on the shoulders of the demon), and Sahadeva on the ground rebuking the Rakshasa and also that stupid Rakshasa himself deprived of sense by Fate, going round in different directions through bewilderment caused by Destiny. And finding his brothers and Draupadi being carried off, Bhima of mighty strength was fired with wrath, and addressed the Rakshasa, saying, 'I had ere this found thee out for a wicked wight from thy scrutiny of our weapons; but as I had no apprehension of thee, so I had not slain thee at that time. Thou wert in the disguise of a Brahmana--nor didst thou say anything harsh unto us. And thou didst take delight in pleasing us. And thou also didst not do us wrong. And, furthermore, thou wert our guest. How could I, therefore, slay thee, who wert thus innocent of offence, and who wert in the disguise of a Brahmana? He that knowing such a one to be even a Rakshasa, slayeth him, goes to hell. Further, thou canst not be killed before the time cometh. Surely to-day thou hast reached the fullness of thy time in as much as thy mind hath been thus turned by the wonder-performing Fate towards carrying off Krishna. By committing thyself to this deed, thou hast swallowed up the hook fastened to the line of Fate. So like unto a fish in water, whose mouth hath been hooked, how canst thou live to-day? Thou shall not have to go whither thou intendest to, or whither thou hadst already gone mentally; but thou shall go whither have repaired Vaka and Hidimva.'

"Thus addressed by Bhima, the Rakshasa in alarm put them down; and being forced by Fate, approached for fight. And with his lips trembling in anger he spake unto Bhima, saying, 'Wretch! I have not been bewildered; I had been delaying for thee. To day will I offer oblations of thy blood to those Rakshasas who, I had heard, have been slain by thee in fight' Thus addressed, Bhima, as if bursting with wrath, like unto Yama himself at the time of the universal dissolution, rushed towards the Rakshasa, licking the corners of his mouth and staring at him as he struck his own arms with the hands. And seeing Bhima waiting in expectation of fight, the Rakshasa also darted towards him in anger, like unto Vali towards the wielder of the thunderbolt, repeatedly gaping and licking the corners of his mouth. And when a dreadful wrestling ensued between those two, both the sons of Madri, waxing exceeding wroth rushed forward; but Kunti's son, Vrikodara, forbade them with a smile and said, 'Witness ye! I am more than a match for this Rakshasa. By my own self and by my brothers, and by my merit, and by my good deeds, and by my sacrifices, do I swear that I shall slay this Rakshasa.' And after this was said, those two heroes, the Rakshasa and Vrikodara challenging each other, caught each other by the arms. And they not forgiving each other, then there ensued a conflict between the infuriated Bhima and the Rakshasa, like unto that between a god and a demon. And repeatedly uprooting trees, those two of mighty strength struck each other, shouting and roaring like two masses of clouds. And those foremost of athletes, each wishing to kill the other, and rushing at the other with vehemence, broke down many a gigantic tree by their thighs. Thus that encounter with trees, destructive of plants, went on like unto that between the two brothers Vali and Sugriva--desirous of the possession of a single woman. Brandishing trees for a moment, they struck each other with them, shouting incessantly. And when all the trees of the spot had been pulled down and crushed into fibres by them endeavouring to kill each other, then, O Bharata, those two of mighty strength, taking up rocks, began to fight for a while, like unto a mountain and a mighty mass of clouds. And not suffering each other, they fell to striking each other with hard and large crags, resembling vehement thunder-bolts. Then from strength defying each other, they again darted at each other, and grasping each other by their arms, began to wrestle like unto two elephants. And next they dealt each other fierce blows. And then those two mighty ones began to make chattering sounds by gnashing their teeth. And at length, having clenched his fist like a five-headed snake, Bhima with force dealt a blow on the neck of the Rakshasa. And when struck by that fist of Bhima, the Rakshasa became faint, Bhimasena stood, catching hold of that exhausted one. And then the god-like mighty-armed Bhima lifted him with his two arms, and dashing him with force on the ground, the son of Pandu smashed all his limbs. And striking him with his elbow, he severed from his body the head with bitten lips and rolling eyes, like unto a fruit from its stem. And Jatasura's head being severed by Bhimasena's might, he fell besmeared with gore, and having bitten lips. Having slain Jatasura, Bhima presented himself before Yudhishthira, and the foremost Brahmanas began to eulogise him (Bhima) even as the Marutas (eulogise) Vasava."

SECTION 157

Vaisampayana continued, "On that Rakshasa having been slain, that lord, the royal son of Kunti, returned to the hermitage of Narayana and began to dwell there. And once on a time, remembering his brother Jaya (Arjuna), Yudhishthira summoned all his brothers, together with Draupadi and said these words, 'We have passed these four years peacefully ranging the woods. It hath been appointed by Vibhatsu that about the fifth year he will come to that monarch of mountains, the excellent cliff Sweta, ever graced with festivities held by blooming plants and maddened Kokilas and black bees, and peacocks, and chatakas and inhabited by tigers, and boars and buffaloes, and gavayas, and deer, and ferocious beasts; and sacred; and lovely with blown lotuses of a hundred and a thousand petals, and blooming lilies and blue lilies and frequented by the celestials and the Asuras. And we also, eagerly anxious of meeting him on his arrival have made up our minds to repair thither. Partha of unrivalled prowess hath appointed with me, saying, 'I shall remain abroad for

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five years, with the object of learning military science.' In the place like unto the region of the gods, shall we behold the wielder of Gandiva, arrive after having obtained the weapons.' Having said this, the Pandava summoned the Brahmanas, and the sons of Pritha having gone round the ascetics of rigid austerities and thereby pleased them, informed them of the matter mentioned above. Thereupon the Brahmanas gave their assent, saying, 'This shall be attended by prosperity and welfare. O foremost of the Bharatas, these troubles shall result in happiness. O pious one, gaining the earth by the Kshatriya virtue, thou shall govern it.' Then in obedience to these words of the ascetics, that represser of foes, Yudhishthira, set out with his brothers and those Brahmanas, followed by the Rakshasa and protected by Lomasa. And that one of mighty energy, and of staunch vows, with his brothers, at places went on foot and at others were carried by the Rakshasas. Then king Yudhishthira, apprehending many troubles, proceeded towards the north abounding in lions and tigers and elephants. And beholding on the way the mountain Mainaka and the base of the Gandhamadana and that rocky mass Sweta and many a crystal rivulet higher and higher up the mountain, he reached on the seventeenth day the sacred slopes of the Himalayas. And, O king, not far from the Gandhamadana, Pandu's son beheld on the sacred slopes of the Himavan covered with various trees and creepers the holy hermitage of Vrishaparva surrounded by blossoming trees growing near the cascades. And when those repressers of foes, the sons of Pandu, had recovered from fatigue, they went to the royal sage, the pious Vrishaparva and greeted him. And that royal sage received with affection those foremost of Bharatas, even as his own sons. And those repressers of foes passed there seven nights, duly regarded. And when the eighth day came, taking the permission of that sage celebrated over the worlds, they prepared to start on their journey. And having one by one introduced unto Vrishaparva those Brahmanas, who, duly honoured, remained in his charge as friends; and having also entrusted the highsouled Vrishaparva with their remaining robes, the sons of Pandu, O king, left in the hermitage of Vrishaparva their sacrificial vessels together with their ornaments and jewels. And wise and pious and versed in every duty and having a knowledge of the past as well as the future, that one gave instructions unto those best of the Bharatas, as unto his own sons. Then taking his permission those high-souled ones set out towards the north. And as they set out the magnanimous Vrishaparva followed them to a certain distance. Then having entrusted the Pandavas unto the care of the Brahmanas and instructed and blessed them and given directions concerning their course, Vrishaparva of mighty energy retraced his steps.

"Then Kunti's son, Yudhishthira of unfailing prowess, together with his brothers, began to proceed on foot along the mountain path, inhabited by various kinds of beasts. And having dwelt at the mountain slopes, densely overgrown with trees, Pandu's son on the fourth day reached the Sweta mountain, like unto a mighty mass of clouds, abounding in streams and consisting of a mass of gold and gems. And taking the way directed by Vrishaparva, they reached one by one the intended places, beholding various mountains. And over and over they passed with ease many inaccessible rocks and exceedingly impassable caves of the mountain. And Dhaumya and Krishna and the Parthas and the mighty sage Lomasa went on in a body and none grew tired. And those highly fortunate ones arrived at the sacred and mighty mountain resounding with the cries of birds and beasts and covered with various trees and creepers and inhabited by monkeys, and romantic and furnished with many lotus-lakes and having marshes and extensive forests. And then with their down standing erect, they saw the mountain Gandhamadana, the abode of Kimpurushas, frequented by Siddhas and Charanas and ranged by Vidyadharis and Kinnaris and inhabited by herds of elephants and thronged with lions and tigers and resounding with the roars of Sarabhas and attended by various beasts. And the war-like sons of Pandu gradually entered into the forest of the Gandhamadana, like unto the Nandana gardens, delightful to the mind and heart and worthy of being inhabited and having beautiful groves. And as those heroes entered with Draupadi and the high-souled Brahmanas, they heard notes uttered by the mouths of birds, exceedingly sweet and graceful to the ear and causing delight and dulcet and broken by reason of excess of animal spirits. And they saw various trees bending under the weight of fruits in all seasons, and ever bright with flowers--such as mangoes and hog-plums and bhavyas and pomegranates, citrons and jacks and lakuchas and plantains and aquatic reeds and parvatas and champakas and lovely kadamvas and vilwas, wood-apples and rose-apples and kasmaris and jujbes and figs and glomerous figs and banians and aswatthas and khirikas and bhall atakas and amalkas and bibhitakas and ingudas and karamardas and tindukas of large fruits--these and many others on the slopes of the Gandhamadana, clustered with sweet and nectarine fruits. And besides these, they beheld champakas and asokas and ketakas and vakulas and punnagas and saptaparnas and karnikaras, and patals, and beautiful kutajas and mandaras, and lotuses, and parijatas, and kovidaras and devadarus, and salas, and palmyra palms, and tamalas, and pippalas, and salmalis and kinsukas, and singsapas, and saralas and these were inhabited by Chakoras, and wood-peckers and chatakas, and various other birds, singing in sweet tones pleasing to the ear. And they saw lakes beautiful on all sides with aquatic birds, and covered all around with kumudas, and pundarikas, and kokanadas, and utpalas, and kalharas, and kamalas and thronged on all sides with drakes and ruddy geese, and ospreys, and gulls and karandavas, and plavas, and swans, and cranes, and shags, and other aquatic birds. And those foremost of men saw those lotus-lakes beautified with assemblages of lotuses, and ringing with the sweet hum of bees, glad, and drowsy on account of having drunk the intoxicating honey of lotuses, and reddened with the farina falling from the lotuscups. And in the groves they beheld with their hens peacocks maddened with desire caused by the notes of cloud-trumpets; and those woods-loving glad peacocks drowsy with desire, were dancing, spreading in dalliance their gorgeous tails, and were crying in melodious notes. And some of the peacocks were sporting with their mates on kutaja trees covered with creepers. And some sat on the boughs of the kutajas, spreading their gorgeous tails, and looking like crowns worn by the trees. And in the glades they beheld the graceful sindhuvaras like unto the darts of Cupid. And on the summits of the mountain, they saw blooming karnikaras bearing blossoms of a golden hue, appearing like ear-rings of excellent make. And in the forest they saw blossoming kuruvakas, like unto the shafts of Cupid, which smiteth one with desire and maketh him uneasy. And they saw tilakas appearing like unto beauty-spots painted on the forehead of the forest. And they saw mango trees graced with blossoms hummed over by black bees, and serving the purpose of Cupid's shafts. And on the slopes of the mountain there were diverse blossoming trees, looking lovely, some bearing flowers of a golden hue, and some, of the hue of the forest-conflagration, and some, red and some sable, and some green like unto lapises. And besides these, there were ranges of salas and tamalas and patalas and vakula trees, like unto garlands put on by the summits of mountain. Thus gradually beholding on the slopes of the mountain many lakes, looking transparent like crystal, and having swans of white plumage and resounding with cries of cranes, and filled with lotuses and lilies, and furnished with waters of delicious feel; and also beholding fragrant flowers, and luscious fruits, and romantic lakes, and captivating trees, the Pandavas penetrated into the forest with eyes expanded with wonder. And (as they proceeded) they were fanned by the breeze of balmy feel, and perfumed by kamalas and utpalas and kalharas and pundarikas. Then Yudhishthira pleasantly spake unto Bhima saying, 'Ah! O Bhima, beautiful is this forest of the Gandhamadana. In this romantic forest there are various heavenly blossoming wild trees and creepers, bedecked with foliage and fruit, nor are there any trees that do not flower. On these slopes of the Gandhamadana, all the trees are of sleek foliage and fruit. And behold how these lotus-lakes with fullblown lotuses, and ringing with the hum of black bees, are being agitated by elephants with their mates. Behold another lotus-lake girt with lines of lotuses, like unto a second Sree in an embodied form wearing garlands. And in this excellent forest there are beautiful ranges of woods, rich with the aroma of various blossoms, and hummed over by the black bees. And, O Bhima, behold on all sides the excellent sporting ground of the celestials. By coming here, we have attained extra-human state, and been blessed. O Partha, on these slopes of the Gandhamadana, yon beautiful blossoming trees, being embraced by creepers with blossoms at their tops, look lovely. And, O Bhima, hark unto the notes of the peacocks crying with their hens on the mountain slopes. And birds such as chakoras, and satapatras, and maddened kokilas, and parrots, are alighting on these excellent flowering trees. And sitting on the twigs, myriads of jivajivakas of scarlet, yellow and red hues, are looking at one another. And the cranes are seen near the spots covered with green and reddish grass, and also by the side of the cascades. And those birds, bhringarajas, and upachakras, and herons are pouring forth their notes charming to all creatures. And, lo! with their mates, these elephants furnished with four tusks, and white as lotuses, are agitating that large lake of the hue of lapises. And from many cascades, torrents high as several palmyra palms (placed one upon another) are rushing down from the cliffs. And many argent minerals splendid, and of the effulgence of the sun, and like unto autumnal clouds, are beautifying this mighty mountain. And in some places there are minerals of the hue of the collyrium, and in some those like unto gold, in some, yellow orpiment and in some, vermilion, and in some, caves of red arsenic like unto the evening clouds and in some, red chalk of the hue of the rabit, and in some, minerals like unto white and sable clouds; and in some, those effulgent as the rising sun, these minerals of great lustre beautify the mountain. O Partha, as was said by Vrishaparva, the Gandharvas and the Kimpurushas, in company with their loves, are visible on the summits of the mountain. And, O Bhima, there are heard various songs of appropriate measures, and also Vedic hymns, charming to all creatures. Do thou behold the sacred and graceful celestial river Mahaganga, with swans, resorted to by sages and Kinnaras. And, O represser of foes, see this mountain having minerals, rivulets, and beautiful woods and beasts, and snakes of diverse shapes and a hundred heads and Kinnaras, Gandharvas and Apsaras.'"

Vaisampayana said, "Having attained excellent state, those valiant and warlike repressers of foes with Draupadi and the high-souled Brahmanas were exceedingly delighted at heart, and they were not satiated by beholding that monarch of mountains. Thereafter they saw the hermitage of the royal sage Arshtishena, furnished with flowers and trees bearing fruits. Then they went to Arshtishena versed in all duties of rigid austerities, skeleton-like, and having muscles bare."

SECTION 158

Vaisampayana continued, "Having approached that one, whose sins had been consumed by asceticism, Yudhishthira announced his name, and gladly greeted him, bending his head. And then Krishna, and Bhima, and the devout twins, having bowed down their heads unto the royal sage, stood (there) surrounding him. And that priest of the Pandavas, the virtuous Dhaumya, also duly approached that vow-observing sage. And by his prophetic eye that virtuous Muni had already known (the identity of) those foremost of the Kurus, the sons of Pandu. And he said unto them. 'Be ye seated.' And that one of rigid austerities, after having duly received that chief of the Kurus, when the latter with his brothers had seated himself enquired after his welfare saying, 'Dost thou not turn thy inclination upon untruth? And art thou intent upon virtue? And. O Partha, hath not thy attention to thy father and thy mother diminished? Are all thy superiors, and the aged, and those versed in the Vedas, honoured by thee? And O Pritha's son, dost thou not turn thy inclination unto sinful acts? And dost thou, O best of the Kurus, properly know how to perform meritorious acts, and to eschew wicked deeds? Dost thou not exalt thyself? And are pious men gratified, being honoured by thee? And even dwelling in the woods, dost thou follow virtue alone? And, O Partha, doth not Dhaumya grieve at thy conduct? Dost thou follow the customs of thy ancestors, by charity, and religious observances, and asceticism, and purity, and candour, and forgiveness? And dost thou go along the way taken by the royal sages? On the birth of a son in their (respective) lines, the Pitris in their regions, both laugh and grieve, thinking--Will the sinful acts of this son of ours harm us, or will meritorious deeds conduce to our welfare? He conquereth both the worlds that payeth homage unto his father, and mother, and preceptor, and Agni, and fifthly, the soul.' Yudhishthira said, 'O worshipful one, those duties have been mentioned by thee as excellent. To the best of my power I duly and properly discharge them.'

Arshtishena said, 'During the Parvas sages subsisting on air and water come unto this best of the mountains ranging through the air. And on the summits of the mountain are seen amorous Kimpurushas with their paramours, mutually attached unto each other; as also, O Partha, many Gandharvas and Apsaras clad in white silk vestments; and lovely-looking Vidyadharas, wearing garlands; and mighty Nagas, and Suparnas, and Uragas, and others. And on the summits of the mountain are heard, during the Parvas, sounds of kettle-drums, and tabors, shells and mridangas. O foremost of the Bharatas, even by staying here, ye shall hear those sounds; do ye by no means feel inclined to repair thither. Further, O best of the Bharata race, it is impossible, to proceed beyond this. That place is the sporting-region of the celestials. There is no access thither for mortals. O Bharata, at this place all creatures bear ill-will to, and the Rakshasas chastise, that man who committeth aggression, be it ever so little. Beyond the summit of this Kailasa cliff, is seen the path of the celestial sages. If any one through impudence goeth beyond this, the Rakshasas slay him with iron darts and other weapons. There, O child, during the Parvas, he that goeth about on the shoulders of men, even Vaisravana is seen in pomp and grandeur surrounded by the Apsaras. And when that lord of all the Rakshasas is seated on the summit, all creatures behold him like unto the sun arisen, O best of Bharatas, that summit is the sporting-garden of the celestials, and the Danavas, and the Siddhas, and Vaisravana. And during the Parvas, as Tumburu entertaineth the Lord of treasures, the sweet notes of his song are heard all over the Gandhamadana. O child, O Yudhishthira, here during the Parvas, all creatures see and hear marvels like this. O Pandavas, till ye meet with Arjuna, do ye stay here, partaking of luscious fruits, and the food of the Munis. O child as thou hast come hither, do thou not betray any impertinence. And, O child, after living here at thy will and diverting thyself as thou listest, thou wilt at length rule the earth, having conquered it by the force of thy arms.'"

SECTION 159

Janamejaya said, "How long did my great grandsires, the highsouled sons of Pandu of matchless prowess, dwell in the Gandhamadana mountain? And what did those exceedingly powerful ones, gifted with manliness, do? And what was the food of those high-souled ones, when those heroes of the

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worlds dwelt (there)? O excellent one, do thou relate all about this. Do thou describe the prowess of Bhimasena, and what that mighty-armed one did in the mountain Himalayan. Surely, O best of Brahmanas, he did not fight again with the Yakshas. And did they meet with Vaisravana? Surely, as Arshtishena said, the lord of wealth cometh thither. All this, O thou of ascetic wealth, I desire to hear in detail. Surely, I have not yet been fully satisfied by hearing about their acts."

Vaisampayana continued, "Having heard from that one of incomparable energy, (Arshtishena), that advice conducive to their welfare, those foremost of the Bharatas, began to behave always accordingly. Those best of men, the Pandavas, dwelt upon the Himavan, partaking of the food eaten by the Munis, and luscious fruit, and the flesh of deer killed with unpoisoned shafts and various kinds of pure honey. Living thus, they passed the fifth year, hearing to various stories told by Lomasa. O lord, saying, 'I shall be present when occasion ariseth,' Ghatotkacha, together with all the Rakshasas, had ere this already gone away. Those magnanimous ones passed many months in the hermitage of Arshtishena, witnessing many marvels. And as the Pandavas were sporting there pleasantly, there came to see them some complacent vow-observing Munis and Charanas of high fortune, and pure souls. And those foremost of the Bharata race conversed with them on earthly topics. And it came to pass that when several days has passed, Suparna all of a sudden carried off an exceedingly powerful and mighty Naga, living in the large lake. And thereupon that mighty mountain began to tremble, and the gigantic trees, break. And all the creatures and the Pandavas witnessed the wonder. Then from the brow of that excellent mountain, the wind brought before the Pandavas various fragrant and fair blossoms. And the Pandavas, and the illustrious Krishna, together with their friends, saw those unearthly blossoms of five hues. And as the mighty-armed Bhimasena was seated at ease upon the mountain, Krishna addressed him, saying, 'O best of the Bharata race, in the presence of all the creatures, these flowers of five hues, carried by the force of the wind raised by Suparna, are falling in amain on the river Aswaratha. In Khandava thy high-souled brother, firm in promise, had baffled Gandharvas and Nagas and Vasava himself, and slain fierce Rakshasas, and also obtained the bow Gandiva. Thou also art of exceeding prowess and the might of thy arms is great, and irrepressible, and unbearable like unto the might of Sakra. O Bhimasena, terrified with the force of thy arms, let all the Rakshasas betake themselves to the ten cardinal points, leaving the mountain. Then will thy friends be freed from fear and affliction, and behold the auspicious summit of this excellent mountain furnished with variegated flowers. O Bhima, I have for long cherished this thought in my mind,--that protected by the might of thy arms, I shall see that summit.'

"Thereupon, like a high-mettled bull that hath been struck, Bhimasena, considering himself as censured by Draupadi, could not bear (that). And that Pandava of the gait of a lion or a bull, and graceful, and generous, and having the splendour of gold, and intelligent, and strong, and proud, and sensitive, and heroic, and having red eyes, and broad shoulders, and gifted with the strength of mad elephants, and having leonine teeth and a broad neck, and tall like a young sala tree, and highsouled, and graceful in every limb, and of neck having the whorls of a shell and mighty-armed, took up his bow plaited at the back with gold, and also his sword. And haughty like unto a lion, and resembling a maddened elephant, that strong one rushed towards that cliff, free from fear or affliction. And all the creatures saw him equipped with bows and arrows, approaching like a lion or a maddened elephant. And free from fear or affliction, the Pandava taking his mace, proceeded to that monarch of mountains causing the delight of Draupadi. And neither exhaustion, nor fatigue, nor lassitude, nor the malice (of others), affected that son of Pritha and the Wind-god. And having arrived at a rugged path affording passage to one individual only, that one of great strength ascended that terrible summit high as several palmyra palms (placed one upon another). And having ascended that summit, and thereby gladdened Kinnaras, and great Nagas, and Munis, and Gandharvas, and Rakshasas, that foremost of the Bharata line, gifted with exceeding strength described the abode of Vaisravana, adorned with golden crystal palaces surrounded on all sides by golden walls having the splendour of all gems, furnished with gardens all around, higher than a mountain peak, beautiful with ramparts and towers, and adorned with door-ways and gates and rows of pennons. And the abode was graced with dallying damsels dancing around, and also with pennons waved by the breeze. And with bent arms, supporting himself on the end of his bow, he stood beholding with eagerness the city of the lord of treasures. And gladdening all creatures, there was blowing a breeze, carrying all perfumes, and of a balmy feel. And there were various beautiful and wonderful trees of diverse hues resounding with diverse dulcet notes. And at that place the foremost of the Bharatas surveyed the palace of the Lord of the Rakshasas scattered with heaps of gems, and adorned with variegated garlands. And renouncing all care of life the mighty-armed Bhimasena stood motionless like a rock, with his mace and sword and bow in his hands. Then he blew his shell making the down of his adversaries stand erect; and twanging his bow-string, and striking his arms with the hands he unnerved all the creatures. Thereat with their hairs standing erect, the Yakshas and Rakshasas began to rush towards the Pandavas, in the direction of those sounds. And taken by the arms of the Yakshas and Rakshasas the flamed maces and clubs and swords and spears and javelins and axes, and when, O Bharata, the fight ensued between the Rakshasas and Bhima, the latter by arrows cut off the darts, javelins and axes of those possessing great powers of illusion, and he of exceeding strength with arrows pierced the bodies of the roaring Rakshasas, both of those that were in the sky, and of those that remained on the earth. And Bhima of exceeding strength was deluged with the mighty sanguine rain sprung from the bodies of the Rakshasas with maces and clubs in their hands and flowing on all sides from their persons. And the bodies and hands of the Yakshas and Rakshasas were seen to be struck off by the weapon discharged by the might of Bhima's arms. And then all the creatures saw the graceful Pandava densely surrounded by the Rakshasas, like unto the Sun enveloped by clouds. And even as the Sun surrounds everything with his rays, that mighty-armed and strong one of unfailing prowess, covered all with arrows destroying foes. And although menacing and uttering yells, the Rakshasas did not see Bhima embarrassed. Thereupon, with their bodies mangled, the Yakshas afflicted by fear, Bhimasena began to utter frightful sounds of distress, throwing their mighty weapons. And terrified at the wielder of a strong bow, they fled towards the southern quarter, forsaking their maces and spears and swords and clubs and axes. And then there stood, holding in his hands darts and maces, the broad-chested and mighty-armed friend of Vaisravana, the Rakshasa named Maniman. And that one of great strength began to display his mastery and manliness. And seeing them forsake the fight, he addressed them with a smile, 'Going to Vaisravana's abode, how will ye say unto that lord of wealth, that numbers have been defeated by a single mortal in battle?' Having said this unto them that Rakshasa, taking in his hands clubs and javelins and maces, set out and rushed towards the Pandava. And he rushed in amain like a maddened elephant. Bhimasena pierced his sides with three choice arrows. And the mighty Maniman, on his part, in wrath taking and flourishing a tremendous mace hurled it at Bhimasena. Thereupon Bhimasena beset with innumerable shafts sharpened on stones, hurled that mighty mace in the sky, dreadful, and like unto the lightning flash. But on reaching the mace those shafts were baffled; and although discharged with force by that adept at hurling the mace, still they could not stay its career. Then the mighty Bhima of dreadful prowess, baffled his (the Rakshasa's) discharge by resorting to his skill in mace-fighting. In the meanwhile, the intelligent Rakshasa had discharged a terrible iron club, furnished with a golden shaft. And that club, belching forth flames and emitting tremendous roars, all of a sudden pierced Bhima's right arm and then fell to the ground. On being severely wounded by that club, that bowman, Kunti's son, of immeasurable prowess, with eyes rolling in ire, took up his mace. And having taken that iron mace, inlaid with golden plates, which caused the fear of foes and brought on their defeat, he darted it with speed towards the mighty Maniman, menacing (him) and uttering shouts. Then Maniman on his part, taking his huge and blazing dart, with great force discharged it at Bhima, uttering loud shouts. Thereat breaking the dart with the end of his mace, that mighty-armed one skilled in mace-fighting, speedily rushed to slay him, as Garuda (rushed) to slay a serpent. Then all of a sudden, advancing ahead in the field, that mighty-armed one sprang into the sky and brandishing his mace hurled it with shouts. And like unto the thunder-bolt hurled by Indra, that mace like a pest, with the speed of the wind destroyed the Rakshasa and then fell to the ground. Then all the creatures saw that Rakshasa of terrible strength slaughtered by Bhima, even like a bull slain by a lion. And the surviving Rakshasas seeing him slain on the ground went towards the east, uttering frightful sounds of distress.'"

SECTION 160

Vaisampayana said, "Hearing various sounds resounding in the caves of the mountain and not seeing Bhimasena, Kunti's son, Ajatasatru and the twin sons of Madri and Dhaumya and Krishna and all the Brahmanas and the friends (of the Pandavas), were filled with anxiety. Thereupon, entrusting Draupadi to the charge of Arshtishena and equipped in their arms, those valiant and mighty charioteers together began to ascend the summit of the mountain. And having reached the summit, as those repressors of foes and mighty bowmen and powerful charioteers they were looking about, saw Bhima and those huge Rakshasas of mighty strength and courage weltering in a state of unconsciousness having been struck down by Bhima. And holding his mace and sword and bow, that mighty-armed one looked like Maghavan, after he had slain the danava hosts. Then on seeing their brother, the Pandavas, who had attained excellent state, embraced him and sat down there. And with those mighty bowmen, that summit looked grand like heaven graced by those foremost of celestials, the highly fortunate Lokapalas. And seeing the abode of Kuvera and the Rakshasas, lying slain on the ground, the king addressed his brother who was seated, saying, 'Either it be through rashness, or through ignorance, thou hast, O Bhima, committed a sinful act. O hero, as thou art leading the life of an anchorite, this slaughter without cause is unlike thee. Acts, it is asserted by those versed in duties, as are calculated to displease a monarch, ought not to be committed. But thou hast, O Bhimasena, committed a deed which will offend even the gods. He that disregarding profit and duty, turneth his thoughts to sin must, O Partha, reap the fruit of his sinful actions. However, if thou seekest my good, never again commit such a deed.'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Having said this to his brother, Vrikodara the virtuous, the highly energetic and firm-minded son of Kunti, Yudhishthira versed in the particulars of (the science of) profit, ceased, and began to reflect on that matter."

"On the other hand, the Rakshasas that had survived those slain by Bhima fled in a body towards the abode of Kuvera. And they of exceeding fleetness having speedily reached Vaisravana's abode, began to utter loud cries of distress, being afflicted with the fear of Bhima. And, O king bereft of their weapons and exhausted and with their mail besmeared with gore and with dishevelled hair they spake unto Kuvera, saying. 'O lord, all thy foremost Rakshasas fighting with maces and clubs and swords and lances and barbed darts, have been slain. O lord of treasures, a mortal, trespassing into the mountain, hath, singlehanded, slaughtered all thy Krodhovasa Rakshasas assembled together. And, O lord of wealth, there lie the foremost of the Yakshas and Rakshasas senseless and dead, having been struck down; and we have been let off through his favour. And thy friend, Maniman also hath been slain. All this hath been done by a mortal. Do thou what is proper, after this.' Having heard this, that lord of all the Yaksha hosts waxing wroth, with eyes reddened in anger, exclaimed, 'What!' And hearing of Bhima's second (act of) aggression, that lord of treasures, the king of the Yakshas, was filled with wrath, and said. 'Yoke' (the horses). Thereat unto a car of the hue of dark clouds, and high as a mountain summit, they yoked steeds having golden garments. And on being yoked unto the car, those excellent horses of his, graced with every noble quality and furnished with the ten auspicious curls of hair and having energy and strength, and adorned with various gems and looking splendid, as if desirous of speeding like the wind, began to neigh at each other the neighing emitted at (the hour of) victory. And that divine and effulgent king of the Yakshas set out, being eulogised by the celestials and Gandharvas. And a thousand foremost Yakshas of reddened eyes and golden lustre and having huge bodies, and gifted with great strength, equipped with weapons and girding on their swords, followed that high-souled lord of treasures. And coursing through the firmament they (the steeds) arrived at the Gandhamadana, as if drawing forward the sky with their fleetness. And with their down standing erect, the Pandavas saw that large assemblage of horses maintained by the lord of wealth and also the highsouled and graceful Kuvera himself surrounded by the Yaksha hosts. And seeing those mighty charioteers the son of Pandu, possessed of great strength, equipped with bows and swords, Kuvera also was delighted; and he was pleased at heart, keeping in view the task of the celestials. And like unto birds, they, (the Yakshas) gifted with extreme celerity, alighted on the summit of the mountain and stood before them (the Pandavas), with the lord of treasures at their head. Then, O Bharata, seeing him pleased with the Pandavas, the Yakshas and the Gandharvas stood there, free from agitation. Then thinking themselves as having transgressed, those high-souled and mighty charioteers, the Pandavas, having bowed down unto that lord, the giver of wealth stood surrounding the lord of treasures with joined hands. And the lord of treasures sat on that excellent seat, the elegant Pushpaka, constructed by Viswakarma, painted with diverse colours. And thousands of Yakshas and Rakshasas, some having huge frames and some ears resembling pegs, and hundreds of Gandharvas and hosts of Apsaras sat in the presence of that one seated, even as the celestials sit surrounding him of a hundred sacrifices and wearing a beautiful golden garland on his head and holding in his hands his noose and sword and bow, Bhima stood, gazing at the lord of wealth. And Bhimasena did not feel depress either on having been wounded by the Rakshasas, or even in that plight seeing Kuvera arrive.

"And that one going about on the shoulders of men, on seeing Bhima stand desirous of fighting with sharpened shafts, said unto Dharma's son, 'O Partha, all the creatures know thee as engaged in their good. Do thou. therefore, with thy brothers fearlessly dwell on this summit of the mountain. And, O Pandava, be thou not angry with Bhima. These Yakshas and Rakshasas had already been slain by Destiny: thy brother hath been the instrument merely. And it is not necessary to feel shame for the act of impudence that hath been committed. This destruction of the Rakshasas had been foreseen by the

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gods. I entertain no anger towards Bhimasena. Rather, O foremost of the Bharata a race, I am pleased with him; nay,--even before coming here, I had been gratified with this deed of Bhima.'"

Vaisampayana said, "Having spoken thus unto the king, (Kuvera) said unto Bhimasena, 'O child, O best of the Kurus, I do not mind this, O Bhima, as in order to please Krishna, thou hast, disregarding the gods and me also, committed this rash act, namely, the destruction of the Yakshas and the Rakshasas, depending on the strength of thy arms, I am well-pleased with thee. O Vrikodara, to-day I have been freed from a terrible curse. For some offence, that great Rishi, Agastya, had cursed me in anger. Thou hast delivered me by this act (of thine). O Pandu's son, my disgrace had ere this been fated. No offence, therefore, in any way, attaches unto thee, O Pandava.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'O divine one, why wast thou cursed by the high-souled Agastya? O god, I am curious to hear about the occasion of that imprecation. I wonder that at that very moment, thou together with thy forces and attendants wast not consumed by the ire of that intelligent one.'

"Thereupon the lord of treasures said, 'At Kusasthali, O king, once there was held a conclave of the gods. And surrounded by grimvisaged Yakshas, numbering three hundred maha-padmas, carrying various weapons, I was going to that place. And on the way, I saw that foremost of sages, Agastya, engaged in the practice of severe austerities on the bank of the Yamuna, abounding in various birds and graced with blossoming trees. And, O king, immediately on seeing that mass of energy, flaming and brilliant as fire, seated with upraised arms, facing the sun, my friend, the graceful lord of the Rakshasas, Maniman, from stupidity, foolishness, hauteur and ignorance discharged his excrement on the crown of that Maharshi. Thereupon, as if burning all the cardinal points by his wrath, he said unto me, 'Since, O lord of treasures, in thy very presence, disregarding me, this thy friend hath thus affronted me, he, together with thy forces, shall meet with destruction at the hands of a mortal. And, O wicked-minded one, thou also, being distressed on account of thy fallen soldiers, shalt be freed from thy sin, on beholding that mortal. But if they follow thy behests, their (the soldier's) powerful sons shall not incur by this dreadful curse. This curse I received formerly from that foremost of Rishis. Now, O mighty king, have I been delivered by thy brother Bhima.'"

SECTION 161

"The lord of treasures said, 'O Yudhishthira, patience, ability, (appropriate) time and place and prowess--these five lead to success in human affairs. O Bharata, in the Krita Yuga, men were patient and able in their respective occupations and they knew how to display prowess. And, O foremost of the Kshatriyas, a Kshatriya that is endued with patience and understandeth the propriety regarding place and time and is versed in all mortal regulations, can alone govern the world for a long time,--nay, in all transactions. He that behaveth thus, acquireth, O hero, fame in this world and excellent state in the next. And by having displayed his prowess at the proper place and time, Sakra with the Vasus hath obtained the dominion of heaven. He that from anger cannot see his fall and he that being naturally wicked and evilminded followeth evil and he that knoweth not the propriety relative to acts, meet with destruction both in this world and the next. The exertions of that stupid person become fruitless, who is not conversant with the expediency regarding time and acts, and he meeteth with destruction both in this world and the next. And the object of that wicked and deceitful persons is vicious, who, aiming at mastery of every kind, committeth some rash act. O best of men, Bhimasena is fearless, and ignorant of duties, and haughty, and of the sense of a child, and unforbearing. Do thou, therefore, check him. Repairing again to the hermitage of the pious sage Arshtisena, do thou reside there during the dark fortnight, without fear or anxiety. O lord of men, deputed by me, all the Gandharvas residing at Alaka, as also those dwelling in this mountain, will, O mighty-armed one, protect thee, and these best of the Brahmanas. And, O king, O chief among virtuous men, knowing that Vrikodara hath come hither out of rashness, do thou check him. Henceforth, O monarch, beings living in the forest will meet you, wait upon you and always protect you all. And, ye foremost of men, my servants will always procure for you various meats and drinks of delicious flavour. And, O son, Yudhishthira, even as by reason of your being the progeny of spiritual intercourse, Jishnu is entitled to the protection of Mahendra, and Vrikodara, of the Wind-god, and thou, of Dharma, and the twins possessed of strength, of the Aswins,--so ye all are entitled to my protection. That one next by birth to Bhimasena, Phalguna, versed in the science of profit and all mortal regulations, is well in heaven. And, O child, those perfections that are recognised in the world as leading to heaven, are established in Dhananjaya even from his very birth. And self-restraint, and charity, and strength, and intelligence, and modesty, and fortitude, and excellent energy--even all these are established in that majestic one of magnificent soul. And, O Pandava, Jishnu never committed any shameful act through poverty of spirit. And in the world, none ever say that Partha hath uttered an untruth. And, O Bharata, honoured by the gods, pitris, and the Gandharvas, that enhancer of the glory of the Kurus is learning the science of weapons in Sakra's abode. And, O Partha, in heaven he that with justice had brought under his subjection all the rulers of the earth, even that exceedingly powerful and highly energetic monarch, the grandsire of thy father, Santanu himself, is well-pleased with the behaviour of that wielder of the Gandiva--the foremost of his race. And, O king, abiding in Indra's regions, he who on the banks of the Yamuna had worshipped the gods, the pitris, and the Brahmanas, by celebrating seven grand horse sacrifices, that great grandsire of thine, the emperor Santanu of severe austerities, who hath attained heaven, hath enquired of thy welfare.'"

Vaisampayana said, "Having heard these words of the dispenser of wealth, the Pandavas were well-pleased with them. Then lowering his club and mace and sword and bow, that foremost of the Bharatas bowed down unto Kuvera. And that giver of protection, the lord of treasures, seeing him prostrate, said, 'Be thou the destroyer of the pride of foes, and the enhancer of the delight of friends. And ye oppressors of enemies, do ye live in our romantic region. The Yakshas will not cross your desires. Gudakesa, after having acquired mastery over weapons, will come back soon. Bidden adieu by Maghavat himself, Dhananjaya will join you.'

"Having thus instructed Yudhishthira of excellent deeds, the lord of the Guhyakas, vanished from that best of mountains. And thousands upon thousands of Yakshas, and Rakshasas followed him in vehicles spread over with checkered cushions, and decorated with various jewels. And as the horses proceeded towards the abode of Kuvera, a noise arose as of birds flying in the air. And the chargers of the lord of treasures speedily coursed through the sky as if drawing forward the firmament, and devouring the air.

"Then at the command of the lord of wealth, the dead bodies of the Rakshasas were removed from the summit of the mountain. As the intelligent Agastya had fixed this period as the limit of (the duration of) his curse, so being slain in conflict, the Rakshasas were freed from the imprecation. And being honoured by the Rakshasas, the Pandavas for several nights dwelt pleasantly in those habitations."

SECTION 162

Vaisampayana continued, "Then, O represser of foes, at sunrise, having finished his daily devotions, Dhaumya came unto the Pandavas, with Arshtishena. And having bowed down unto the feet of Arshtishena and Dhaumya, they with joined hands paid homage unto all the Brahmanas. Then Dhaumya taking Yudhishthira's right hand, said these words, looking at the east, 'O mighty monarch, this king of mountains, Mandara lieth vast, covering the earth up to the ocean. O Pandava, Indra and Vaisravana preside over this point graced with woods and forests and mountains. And, O child, the intelligent sages versed in every duty, say, that this (region) is the abode of Indra and king Vaisravana. And the twice-born ones, and the sages versed in the duties, and the Sidhas, and the Sadhyas, and the celestials pay their adorations unto the Sun as he riseth from this point. And that lord of all living beings, king Yama, conversant with duty, presideth over yonder southern region whither come the spirits of the departed. And this is Sanyamana, the abode of the lord of departed spirits, sacred, and wonderful to behold, and crowned with prime prosperity. And the intelligent ones call that monarch of mountains (by the name of) Asta. Having, O king, arrived at this, the Sun ever abideth by the truth. And king Varuna protects all creatures, abiding in this king of mountains, and also in the vast deep. And, O highly fortunate one, there illumining the northern regions, lieth the puissant Mahameru, auspicious and the refuge of those knowing Brahma, where is the court of Brahma, and remaining where that soul of all creatures, Prajapati, hath created all that is mobile and immobile. And the Mahameru is the auspicious and healthy abode even of the seven mind-born sons of Brahma, of whom Daksha was the seventh. And, O child, here it is that the seven celestial rishis with Vasishtha at their head rise and set. Behold that excellent and bright summit of the Meru, where sitteth the great sire (Brahma) with the celestials happy in self-knowledge. And next to the abode of Brahma is visible the region of him who is said to be the really primal Cause or the origin of all creatures, even that prime lord, god Narayana, having neither beginning nor end. And, O king, that auspicious place composed of all energies even the celestials, cannot behold. And the region of the high-souled Vishnu, by its native splendour, exceeding in effulgence the sun or fire, cannot be beheld by the gods, or the Danavas. And the region of Narayana lieth resplendent to the east of the Meru, where, O child, that lord of all creatures, the self-create primal Cause of the universe, having manifested all beings, looketh splendid of his excellent grace. O child, not to speak of the Maharshis--even Brahmarshis have no access to that place. And, O best of the Kurus, it is the Yatis only who have access to it. And, O Pandu's son, (at that place) luminaries cannot shine by him; there that lord of inconceivable soul alone shineth transcendental. There by reverence, and severe austerities, Yatis inspired by virtue of pious practices, attain Narayana Hari. And, O Bharata, repairing thither, and attaining that universal Soul--the self-create and eternal God of gods, high-souled ones, of Yoga success, and free from ignorance and pride have not to return to this world. O highly fortunate Yudhishthira, this region is without beginning, or deterioration, or end for it is the very essence of that God. And, O son of the Kurus, the Sun and the Moon every day go round this Meru, coursing in an opposite direction. And, O sinless one. O mighty monarch, the other luminaries also go round this king of mountains in the self-same way. Thus the worshipful Sun who dispelleth darkness, goeth round this (mountain) obscuring other luminaries. Then having set, and passed the evening, that Maker of day, the Sun, taketh a northerly course. Then again nearing the Meru, the divine Sun (ever) intent on the good of all beings, again courseth, facing the east. And in this way, the divine Moon also together with the stars goeth round this mountain, dividing the month unto several sections, by his arrival at the Parvas. Having thus unerringly coursed round the mighty Meru, and, nourished all creatures, the Moon again repaireth unto the Mandar. In the same way, that destroyer of darkness--the divine Sun--also moveth on this unobstructed path, animating the universe. When, desirous of causing dew, he repaireth to the south, then there ensueth winter to all creatures. Then the Sun, turning back from the south, by his rays draweth up the energy from all creatures both mobile and immobile. Thereupon, men become subject to perspiration, fatigue, drowsiness and lassitude; and living beings always feel disposed to slumber. Thence, returning through unknown regions, that divine effulgent one causeth shower, and thereby reviveth beings. And having, by the comfort caused by the shower, wind, and warmth, cherished the mobile and the immobile, the powerful Sun resumeth his former course. O Partha, ranging thus, the Sun unerringly turneth on the wheel of Time, influencing created things. His course is unceasing; he never resteth, O Pandava. Withdrawing the energy of all beings, he again rendereth it back. O Bharata, dividing time into day and night, and Kala, and Kashtha, that lord, the Sun, dealeth life and motion to all created things.'"

SECTION 163

Vaisampayana continued, "Dwelling in that best of mountains those high-souled ones observing excellent vows, felt themselves attracted (to that place), and diverted themselves, eager to behold Arjuna. And multitudes of Gandharvas and Maharshis gladly visited those energetic ones, possessing prowess, of chaste desires and being the foremost of those endued with truth and fortitude. And having arrived at that excellent mountain furnished with trees bearing blossoms, those mighty charioteers were exceedingly delighted, even as the Marutas, on arriving at the celestial regions. And experiencing great exhilaration, they lived (there), seeing the slopes and summits of that mighty mountain, filled with flowers, and resonant with the cries of peacocks and cranes. And on that beautiful mountain they beheld lakes filled with lotuses, and having their shores covered with trees, and frequented by darkness, and karandavas and swans. And the flourishing sporting-regions, graceful on account of the various flowers, and abounding in gems, was capable of captivating that king, the dispenser of wealth (Kuvera). And always ranging (there), those foremost of ascetics (the Pandavas) were incapable of conceiving (the significance of) that Summit, furnished with mighty trees, and masses of wide-spreading clouds. And, O great hero, owing to its native splendour, and also on account of the brilliance of the annual plants, there was no difference there between night and day. And staying in the mountain, remaining in which the Sun of unrivalled energy cherisheth the mobile and immobile things, those heroes and foremost of men beheld the rising and the setting of the Sun. And having seen the rising and the setting points of the Sun and the rising and the setting mountain, and all the cardinal points, as well as the intervening spaces ever blazing with the rays of the Dispeller of darkness, those heroes, in expectation of the arrival of that mighty charioteer firm in truth, became engaged in reciting the Vedas, practising the daily rituals, chiefly discharging the religious duties, exercising sacred vows, and abiding by the truth. And saying, 'Let us even here experience delight by joining without delay Arjuna accomplished in arms,' those highly blessed Parthas became engaged in the practice of Yoga. And beholding romantic woods on that mountain, as they always thought of Kiriti, every day and night appeared unto them even as a year. From that very moment joy had taken leave of them when, with Dhaumya's permission, the high-souled Jishnu, matting his hair, departed (for the woods). So, how could they, absorbed in his contemplation, experience happiness there? They had become overwhelmed with grief ever since the moment when at the command of his brother, Yudhishthira, Jishnu of the tread of a mad elephant had departed from the Kamyaka forest. O Bharata, in this way, on that mountain those descendants of Bharata passed a month with difficulty, thinking of him of the white steeds, who had gone to Vasava's

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abode for learning arms. And Arjuna, having dwelt for five years in the abode of him of a thousand eyes, and having from that lord of celestials obtained all the celestial weapons,--such as those of Agni, of Varuna, of Soma, of Vayu, of Vishnu, of Indra, of Pasupati, of Brahma, of Parameshthi, of Prajapati, of Yama, of Dhata, of Savita, of Tvashta, and of Vaisravana; and having bowed down to and gone round him of a hundred sacrifices, and taken his (Indra's) permission, cheerfully came to the Gandhamadana."

SECTION 164

Vaisampayana continued, "And it came to pass that once a day as those mighty charioteers were thinking of Arjuna, seeing Mahendra's car, yoked with horses of the effulgence of lightning, arrive all on a sudden, they were delighted. And driven by Matali, that blazing car, suddenly illuminating the sky, looked like smokeless flaming tongues of fire, or a mighty meteor embosomed in clouds. And seated in that car appeared Kiriti wearing garlands and new-made ornaments. Then Dhananjaya possessing the prowess of the wielder of the thunder-bolt, alighted on that mountain, blazing in beauty. And that intelligent one decked in a diadem and garlands, having alighted on the mountain, first bowed down at the feet of Dhaumya, and then at those of Ajatasatru. And he also paid homage unto Vrikodara's feet; and the twins also bowed down unto him. Then going to Krishna, and having cheered her, he stood before his (elder) brother in humble guise. And on meeting with that matchless one, they were exceedingly delighted. And he also meeting with them rejoiced exceedingly, and began to eulogise the king. And seeing before them that car driving in which the slayer of Namuchi had annihilated seven phalanxes of Diti's offspring, the magnanimous Parthas went round it. And being highly pleased, they offered excellent worship unto Matali, as unto the lord of the celestials himself. And then the son of the Kuru king duly enquired of him after the health of all the gods. And Matali also greeted them. And having instructed the Parthas even as a father doth his sons, he ascended that incomparable car, and returned to the lord of the celestials.

"And when Matali had gone away, that foremost of the royal race, Sakra's son, the high-souled destroyer of all foes made over unto his love, the mother of Sutasoma, beautiful precious gems and ornaments having the splendour of the sun, which had been presented to him by Sakra. Then, sitting in the midst of those foremost of the Kurus, and those best of the Brahmanas, effulgent like unto fire or the sun, he began to relate all as it had happened, saying, "In this way, I have learnt weapons from Sakra, Vayu, and the manifest Siva; and all the celestials with Indra also have been pleased with me, on account of my good behaviour, and concentration.'

"After having briefly narrated unto them his sojourn in heaven, Kiriti of spotless deeds agreeably slept that night with the two sons of Madri."

SECTION 165

Vaisampayana said, "Then when the night had been spent, Dhananjaya, together with his brothers, paid homage unto Yudhishthira the Just. And, O Bharata, at this moment, proceeding from the celestials there arose mighty and tremendous sounds of a musical instrument, and the rattling of car-wheels, and the tolling of bells. And there at all the beasts and beasts of prey and birds emitted separate cries. And from all sides in cars resplendent as the sun, hosts of Gandharvas and Apsaras began to follow that represser of foes, the lord of the celestials. And ascending a car yoked with steeds, decorated with burnished gold, and roaring like clouds, that king of the celestials, Purandara blazing in beauty came unto the Parthas. And having arrived (at that place), he of a thousand eyes descended from his car. And as soon as Yudhishthira the Just saw that high-souled one, he together with his brothers, approached that graceful king of the immortals. And in accordance with the ordinance that generous one duly worshipped him of immeasurable soul, in consequence with his dignity. And then Dhananjaya possessed of prowess, having bowed down unto Purandara, stood before the lord of the celestials in humble guise, like unto a servant. And seeing the sinless Dhananjaya having ascetic merit, bearing clotted hair, stand in humility before the lord of celestials, Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti; of great energy, smelt (the crown) of his head. And beholding Phalguna (in that attitude), he was exceedingly glad; and by worshipping the king of the celestials, he experienced the highest bliss. Then unto that strongminded monarch, swimming in felicity, the intelligent lord of the celestials, Purandara, spake, saying, Thou shalt rule the earth, O Pandava, Blessed be thou! Do thou, O Kunti's son, again repair unto Kamyaka.'"That learned man who for a year leading the Brahmacharya mode of life, subduing his senses and observing vows, peruseth with rapt attention this meeting of Sakra with the Pandavas, liveth a hundred years free from disturbances, and enjoying happiness.'"

SECTION 166

Vaisampayana continued, "When Sakra had gone to his proper place, Vibhatsu together with his brothers and Krishna, paid homage unto the son of Dharma. Then smelling the crown of the head of that Pandava, who was thus paying homage, (Yudhishthira) in accents faltering on account of you, addressed Arjuna, saying 'O Arjuna, how didst thou pass this period in heaven? And how has thou obtained the weapons, and how also hast thou gratified the lord of the celestials? And, O Pandava, has thou adequately secured the weapons? Have the lord of the celestials and Rudra gladly granted thee the weapons? And how hast thou beheld the divine Sakra, and the wielder of Pinaka? And how has thou obtained the weapons? And in what manner didst thou worship (them)? And what service hadst thou done unto that repressor of foes, the worshipful one of a hundred sacrifices, that he said unto thee, 'By thee have I been gratified? All this, O highly effulgent one, I wish to hear in detail. And, O sinless one, the manner in which thou didst please Mahadeva and the king of the celestials and, O repressor of foes, the service thou hadst done to the wielder of the thunder-bolt,--do thou, O Dhananjaya, relate all this in detail."

"Arjuna said, 'O mighty monarch, listen how I duly beheld him of a hundred sacrifice and the divine Sankara also. O grinder of foes, O king, having acquired that science which thou hadst directed me (to learn), I at thy command went to the forest, for practising penances. From Kamyaka repairing to the Bhrigutunga, I spent there one night, being engaged in austerities And it came to pass that on the next I saw a certain Brahmana. And he asked me, saying, 'O son of Kunti, whither wilt thou go?' Thereupon, O descendant of the Kurus, I truly related unto him everything. And, O best of kings, having heard the true account, the Brahmana became well-pleased with me, and, O king, praised me. Then the Brahmana, pleased with me, said, 'O Bharata, be thou engaged in austerities. By performing penances, thou wilt in a short time behold the lord of the celestials.'

And according to his advice I ascended the Himavan, and, O mighty king, began to practise penances, (the first) month subsisting on fruit and roots. I spent the second month, subsisting on water. And, O Pandava, in the third month I totally abstained from food. And in the fourth month I remained with upraised arms. And a wonder it is that I did not lose any strength. And it came to pass that when the first day of the fifth month had been spent, there appeared before me a being wearing the form of a boar, turning up the earth with his mouth, stamping the ground with his feet, rubbing the earth with his breast, and momentarily going about in a frightful manner. And him followed a great being in the guise of a hunter furnished with the bow, arrows, and the sword, and surrounded by females. Thereupon, taking my bow and the two inexhaustible quivers, I pierced with shafts that terrible and frightful creature. And simultaneously (with me) that hunter also drawing a strong bow, more severely struck at (the animal), as if shaking my mind. And, O king, he also said unto me, 'Why hast thou, transgressing the rules of hunting, hit the animal first hit at by me? With these sharpened shafts will I destroy thy pride. Stay!' Then that mighty-bodied one holding the bow rushed at me. And with volleys of mighty shafts, he covered me entirely, even as a cloud covereth a mountain with showers. Then, on my part, I covered him with a mighty discharge of arrows. Thereupon, with steady arrows having their points aflame, and inspired with mantras, I pierced him even as (Indra) riveth a mountain with a thunderbolt. Then his person began to be multiplied a hundredfold and a thousandfold. At this, I pierced all this bodies with shafts. Then again all those forms became one, O Bharata. Thereat I struck at it. Next, he now assumed a small body with a huge head, and now a huge body with a small head. And, O king, he then assumed his former person and approached me for fight. And, O foremost of the Bharata race, when in the encounter I failed to overwhelm him with arrows, I fixed the mighty weapon of the Wind-god. But I failed to discharge it at him, and this was a wonder. And when that weapon thus failed of effect, I was struck with amazement. However, O king, exerting myself more vigorously, I again covered that being with a mighty multitude of shafts. Then taking Sthunakarna, and Varuna and Salava, and Asmavarsha weapons, I assailed him, profusely showering shafts. But, O king, he instantly swallowed up even all these weapons of mine. And when all those (weapons) had been swallowed up, I discharged the weapon presided over by Brahma. And when the blazing arrows issuing from that weapon were heaped upon him all around, and being thus heaped over by that mighty weapon discharged by me, he increased (in bulk). Then all the world became oppressed with the energy begotten of the weapon hurled by me, and the firmament and all the points of the sky became illumined. But that one of mighty energy instantly baffled even that weapon. And, O monarch, when that weapon presided over by Brahma had been baffled I was possessed with terrible fear. Thereupon immediately holding even my bow and the two inexhaustible quivers, I shot at that being, but he swallowed up all those weapons. And when all the weapons had been baffled and swallowed up, there ensued a wrestling between him and myself. And we encountered each other first with blows and then with slaps. But incapable of overcoming that being, I fell down stupefied on the ground. Thereupon, O mighty king, with a laugh, that wonderful being at my sight vanished at that spot together with the woman. Having accomplished this, O illustrious monarch, that divine one assumed another and unearthly form (clad in) wonderful raiment. And renouncing the form of a hunter, that divine lord of the gods, resumed his own unearthly appearance and that mighty god stood (there). Then appeared before me with Uma that manifest divine one, having the bull for his mark, wielding the Pinaka, bearing serpents and cable of assuming many forms. And, O repressor of foes, advancing towards me, standing even then in the field ready for conflict, that wielder of the trident addressed me saying, I am well-pleased with thee. Then that divine one held up my bows and the couple of quivers furnished with inexhaustible shafts and returned them unto me saying, 'Do thou ask some boon, O Kunti's son. I am well-pleased with thee. Tell me, what I shall do for thee. And, O hero, express the desire that dwelleth in thy heart. I will grant it. Except immortality alone, tell me as to the desire that is in thy heart. Thereat with my mind intent on the acquisition of arms, I only bowed down unto Siva and said, 'O divine one, if thou beest favourably disposed towards me, then I wish to have this boon,--I wish to learn all the weapons that are with thy god-head.' Then the god Tryamvaka said unto me, 'I will give. O Pandava, my own weapon Raudra shall attend upon thee.' Thereupon Mahadeva, well-pleased, granted to me the mighty weapon, Pasupata. And, having granted that eternal weapon, he also said unto me, This must never be hurled at mortals. If discharged at any person of small energy, it would consume the universe. Shouldst thou (at any time) be hard pressed, thou mayst discharge it. And when all thy weapons have been completely baffled, thou mayst hurl it.' Then when he having the bull for his mark, had been thus gratified, there stood manifest by my side that celestial weapon, of resistless force capable of baffling all weapons and destructive of foes and the hewer of hostile forces and unrivalled and difficult to be borne even by the celestials, the demons and the Rakshasas. Then at the command of that god, I sat me down there. And in my very sight the god vanished from the spot.'"

SECTION 167

"Arjuna said, 'O Bharata, by the grace of that god of gods the Supreme Soul, Tryamvaka, I passed the night at that place. And having passed the night, when I had finished the morning rituals, I saw that foremost of the Brahmanas whom I had seen before. And unto him I told all as it had happened, O Bharata, namely, that I had met the divine Mahadeva. Thereupon, O king of kings, well-pleased, he said unto me, 'Since thou hast beheld the great god, incapable of being beheld by any one else, soon wilt thou mix with Vaivaswata and the other Lokapalas and the lord of the celestials; and Indra too will grant thee weapons.' O king, having said this unto me and having embraced me again and again, that Bhrahmana resembling the Sun, went away whither he listed. And, O slayer of foes, it came to pass that on the evening of that day refreshing the whole world, there began to blow a pure breeze. And in my vicinity on the base of the Himalaya mountain fresh, fragrant and fair flowers began to bloom. And on all sides there were heard charming symphony and captivating hymns relating to Indra. And before the lord of the celestial hosts of Apsaras and Gandharvas chanted various songs. And ascending celestial cars, there approached the Marutas and the followers of Mahendra and the dwellers of heaven. And afterwards, Marutvan together with Sachi and all the celestials appeared on the scene in cars yoked with horses elegantly adorned. And at this very moment, O king, he that goeth about on the shoulders of men manifested himself unto me in excellent grace. And I saw Yama seated on the south and Varuna and the lord of the celestials at their respective regions. And, O foremost of men, O mighty monarch, they after having cheered me said, 'O Savyasachin, behold us--the Lokapalas--seated. For the performance of the task of the gods thou hast obtained the sight of Sankara. Do thou now receive weapons from us seated around.' Thereupon, O lord, having bowed down unto those foremost of the celestials with regard, I duly accepted those mighty weapons. And then they recognised me as one of their own. Afterwards the gods repaired to the quarter from whence they had come. And that lord of the celestials, the divine Maghavan too having ascended his glorious chariot, said, 'O Phalguna, thou shalt have to repair unto the celestial region. O Dhananjaya, even before this thy arrival I knew that thou wouldst come hither. Then I, have O best of the Bharatas, manifested myself unto thee. As formerly thou hadst performed thy ablution in the various tirthas and now hast performed severe austerities, so thou wilt be able to repair unto the celestial regions, O Pandava. Thou wilt, however, again have to practise extreme penance, for thou shouldst at any rate journey to heaven. And at my command, Matali shall take thee to the celestial regions. Thou hast already been recognised by the celestials and the celestial sages of high soul.' Thereupon I said unto Sakra, 'O

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divine one, be thou favourable unto me. With the view of learning arms do I beseech thee that thou mayst 'be my preceptor.' At this Indra said, 'O child, having learnt weapons thou wouldst perform terrible deeds and with this object thou desirest to obtain the weapons. However, obtain thou the arms, as thou desirest.' Then I said, 'O slayer of foes, I never would discharge these celestial weapons at mortals except when all my other arms should have been baffled. Do thou, O lord of the celestials, grant me the celestial weapons (so that) I may hereafter, obtain the regions attainable by warriors.' Indra said, 'O Dhananjaya it is to try thee that I have said such words unto thee. Having been begotten of me this speech of thine well becometh thee. Do thou, O Bharata, repairing unto my abode learn all the weapons of Vayu, of Agni, of the Vasus, of Varuna, of the Marutas, of the Siddhas, of Brahma, of the Gandharvas of the Uragas, of the Rakshasas, of Vishnu and of the Nairitas; and also all the weapons that are with me, O perpetuator of the Kuru race.' Having said this unto me Sakra vanished at the very spot. Then, O king, I saw the wonderful and sacred celestial car yoked with steeds arrive conducted by Matali. And when the Lokapalas went away Matali said unto me. 'O thou of mighty splendour, the lord of the celestials is desirous of seeing thee. And O mighty-armed one, do thou acquire competence and then perform thy task. Come and behold the regions, attainable by merit and come unto heaven even in this frame. O Bharata, the thousand-eyed lord of the celestials wisheth to see thee.' Thus addressed by Matali, I, taking leave of the mountain Himalaya and having gone round it ascended that excellent car. And then the exceedingly generous Matali, versed in equine lore, drove the steeds, gifted with the speed of thought or the wind. And when the chariot began to move that charioteer looking at my face as I was seated steadily, wondered and said these words, 'Today this appeareth unto me strange and unprecedented that being seated in this celestial car, thou hast not been jerked ever so little. O foremost of Bharata race, I have ever remarked that at the first pull by the steeds even the lord of the celestials himself getteth jerked. But all the while that the car had moved, thou hast been sitting unshaken. This appeareth unto me as transcending even the power of Sakra.'

"Having said this, O Bharata, Matali soared in the sky and showed me the abodes of the celestials and their palaces. Then the chariot yoked with steeds coursed upwards. And the celestials and the sages began to worship (that car), O prime of men. And I saw the regions, moving anywhere at will, and the splendour also of the highly energetic Gandharvas, Apsaras, and the celestial sages. And Sakra's charioteer, Matali, at once showed me Nandana and other gardens and groves belonging to the celestials. Next I beheld Indra's abode, Amaravati, adorned with jewels and trees yielding any sort of fruit that is desired. There the Sun doth not shed heat; nor doth heat or cold or fatigue there affect (one), O king. And, O great monarch, the celestials feel neither sorrow nor poverty of spirit, nor weakness, nor lassitude, O grinder of foes. And, O ruler of men, the celestials and the others have neither anger nor covetousness. And, O king, in the abodes of the celestials, the beings are ever contented. And there the trees ever bear verdant foliage, and fruits, and flowers; and the various lakes are embalmed with the fragrance of lotuses. And there the breeze is cool, and delicious, and fragrant, and pure, and inspiring. And the ground is variegated with all kinds of gems, and adorned with blossoms. And there were seen innumerable beautiful beasts and in the air innumerable rangers of the sky. Then I saw the Vasus, and the Rudras, and the Sadhyas with the Marutas, and the Adityas, and the two Aswins and worshipped them. And they conferred their benison on me, granting me strength and prowess, and energy, and celebrity, and (skill in) arms, and victory in battle. Then, entering that romantic city adored by the Gandharvas and the celestials, with joined hands, I stood before the thousand-eyed lord of the celestials. Thereupon, that best of bestowers gladly offered unto me half of his seat; and Vasava also with regard touched my person. And, O Bharata, with the view of acquiring arms and learning weapons, I began to dwell in heaven, together with the gods and the Gandharvas of generous souls. And Viswavana's son, Chitrasena became my friend. And he, O king, imparted unto me the entire Gandharva (science). And, O monarch, I happily lived in Sakra's abode, well cared for having all my desires gratified, learning weapons, listening to the notes of songs, and the clear sounds of musical instruments, and beholding the foremost of Apsaras dance. And without neglecting to study the arts, which I learnt properly, my attention was specially fixed on the acquisition of arms. And that lord of a thousand eyes was pleased with that purpose of mine. Living thus in heaven, O king, I passed this period.

"And when I had acquired proficiency in weapons, and gained his confidence that one having for his vehicle the horse (Uchchaisrava), (Indra), patting me on the head with his hand, said these words, 'Now even the celestials themselves cannot conquer thee,--what shall I say of imperfect mortals residing on earth? Thou hast become invulnerable in strength, irrepressible, and incomparable in fight.' Then with the hair of his body standing on end, he again accosted me saying, 'O hero, in fighting with weapons none is equal unto thee. And, O perpetuator of the Kuru race, thou art even watchful, and dexterous, and truthful, and of subdued senses, and the protector of the Brahmanas and adept in weapons, and warlike. And, O Partha, together with (a knowledge of) the five modes, using (them), thou hast obtained five and ten weapons and, therefore, there existeth none, who is thy peer. And thou hast perfectly learnt the discharge (of those weapons) and (their) withdrawal, and (their) re-discharge and re-withdrawal, and the Prayaschitta connected (with them), and also their revival, in case of their being baffled. Now, O represser of foes, the time hath arrived for thy paying the preceptor's fee. Do thou promise to pay the fee; then I shall unfold unto thee what thou wilt have to perform.' Thereat, O king, I said unto the ruler of the celestials, 'If it be in my power to do the work, do thou consider it as already accomplished by me.' O king, when I had said these words, Indra with a smile said unto me 'Nothing is there in the three worlds that is not in thy power (to achieve) My enemies, those Danavas, named, Nivata-Kavachas dwell in the womb of the ocean. And they number thirty million and are notorious, and all of equal forms and strength and splendour. Do thou slay them there, O Kunti's son; and that will be thy preceptor's fee.'

"Saying this he gave unto me the highly resplendent celestial car, conducted by Matali, furnished with hair resembling the down of peacocks. And on my head he set this excellent diadem. And he gave me ornaments for my body, like unto his own. And he granted unto me the impenetrable mail--the best of its kind, and easy to the touch; and fastened unto the Gandiva this durable string. Then I set out, ascending that splendid chariot riding on which in days of yore, the lord of the celestials and vanquished Vali--that son of Virochana. And, O ruler of men, startled by the rattling of the car, all the celestials, approached (there), taking me to be the king of the celestials. And seeing me, they asked, 'O Phalguna, what art thou going to do?' And I told them as it had fallen out,--and said, 'I shall even do this in battle. Ye that are highly fortunate, know that I have set out desirous of slaying the Nivata-Kavachas. O sinless ones, do ye bless me.' Thereupon, they began to eulogise me even as they (eulogise) the god, Purandara. And they said, 'Riding on this car, Maghavan conquered in battle Samvara, and Namuchi, and Vala, and Vritra, and Prahrada, and Naraka. And mounted on this car also Maghavan, had conquered in battle many thousands and millions and hundreds of millions of Daityas. And, O Kaunteya, thou also, riding on this car, by thy prowess shalt conquer the Nivatha-Kavachas in conflict, even as did the self-possessed Maghavan in days of yore. And here is the best of shells; by this also thou shalt defeat the Danavas And by this it is that the high souled Sakra conquered the words.' Saying this, the gods offered (unto me) this shell, Devadatta, sprung in the deep; and I accepted it for the sake of victory. And at this moment, the gods fell extolling me. And in order to be engaged in action, I proceeded to the dreadful abode of the Danavas, furnished with the shell, the mail, and arrows, and taking my bow."

SECTION 168

"Arjuna continued, 'Then at places eulogised by the Maharshis, I (proceeded, and at length) beheld the ocean--that inexhaustible lord of waters. And like unto flowing cliffs were seen on it heaving billows, now meeting together and now rolling away. And there (were seen) all around barks by thousands filled with gems. And there were seen timingilas and tortoises and makaras like unto rock submerged in water. And on all sides round thousands of shells sunk in water appeared like star in the night covered by light clouds. And thousands upon thousands of gem were floating in heaps and a violent wind was blowing about in whirls--and this was wonderful to behold. And having beheld that excellent lord of all waters with powerful tides, I saw at a short distance the city of the demons filled with the Danavas. And even there, eftsoons entering underneath the earth, Matali skilled in guiding the car, sitting fast on the chariot drove it with force; and he dashed on, frightening that city with the rattling of his chariot. And hearing that rattling of the chariot like unto the rumbling of the clouds in the sky, the Danavas, thinking me to be the lord of the celestials, became agitated. And thereupon they all, frightened at heart, stood holding in their hands bows and arrows and swords and javelins and axes and maces and clubs. Then having made arrangements for the defence of the city, the Danavas, with minds alarmed, shut the gates, so that nothing could be discovered. Thereupon taking my shell, Devadatta, of tremendous roars, I again and again winded it with exceeding cheerfulness. And filling all the firmament, those sounds produced echoes. There at mighty beings were terrified and they hid (themselves). And then, O Bharata, all of them adorned with ornaments, those offsprings of Diti--the Nivata-Kavachas--made their appearance by thousands, donning diverse mail and taking in their hands various weapons and equipped with mighty iron javelins and maces and clubs and hatchets and sabres and discs and sataghnis and bhusundis and variegated and ornamented swords. Then, after deliberating much as to the course of the car, Matali began to guide the steeds on a (piece of) level ground, O foremost of the Bharatas. And owing to the swiftness of those fleet coursers conducted by him, I could see nothing--and this was strange. Then the Danavas there began to sound thousands of musical instruments, dissonant and of odd shapes. And at those sounds, fishes by hundreds and by thousands, like unto hills, having their senses bewildered by that noise, fled suddenly. And mighty force flew at me, the demons discharging sharpened shafts by hundreds and by thousands. And then, O Bharata, there ensued a dreadful conflict between me and the demons, calculated to extinguish the Nivata-Kavachas. And there came to the mighty battle the Devarshis and the Danavarshis and the Brahmarshis and the Siddhas. And desirous of victory, the Munis eulogised me with the same sweet-speeches that (they had eulogised) Indra with, at the war, (which took place) for the sake of Tara.'"

SECTION 169

"Arjuna continued, 'Then, O Bharata, vehemently rushed at me in battle in a body the Nivata-Kavachas, equipped with arms. And obstructing the course of the car, and shouting loudly, those mighty charioteers, hemming me in on all sides, covered me with showers of shafts. Then other demons of mighty prowess, with darts and hatchets in their hands, began to throw at me spears and axes. And that mighty discharge of darts, with numerous maces and clubs incessantly hurled fell upon my car. And other dreadful and grim-visaged smiters among the Nivata-Kavachas, furnished with bows and sharpened weapons, ran at me in fight. And in the conflict, shooting from the Gandiva sundry swift arrows coursing straight, I pierced each of them with ten. And they were driven back by those stone-whetted shafts of mine. Then on my steeds being swiftly driven by Matali, they began to display various movements with the speed of the wind. And being skilfully guided by Matali, they began to trample upon the sons of Diti. And although the steeds yoked unto that mighty chariot numbered hundreds upon hundreds, yet being deftly conducted by Matali, they began to move, as if they were only a few. And by their tread, and by the rattling of the chariot wheels and by the vollies of my shafts, the Danavas began to fall by hundreds. And others accoutred in bows, being deprived of life, and having their charioteers slain, were carried about by the horses. Then, covering all sides and directions, all (the Danavas) skilled in striking entered into the contest with various weapons, and thereat my mind became afflicted.

And I witnessed (this instance of) the marvellous prowess of Matali, viz., that he guided those fiery steeds with ease. Then, O king, in the conflict, with diverse fleet weapons I pierced by hundreds and by thousands (demons) bearing arms. And, O slayer of foes, seeing me thus range the field putting forth every exertion, the heroic charioteer of Sakra was well-pleased. And oppressed by those steeds and that car, some (of them) met with annihilation; and others desisted from fight; while (other) Nivata-Kavachas, challenged by us in battle and being harassed with shafts offered opposition unto me, by (discharging) mighty showers of arrows. Thereupon, with hundreds and thousands of sundry fleet weapons inspired with the mantras relating to Brahma's weapons, I swiftly began to burn them. And being sore pressed by me, those mighty asuras waxing wroth afflicted me together, by pouring torrents of clubs and darts and swords. Then, O Bharata, I took up that favourite weapon of the lord of the celestials, Maghavan by name, prime and of fiery energy and by the energy of that weapon I cut into a thousand pieces the Tomaras, together with the swords and the tridents hurled by them. And having cut off their arms I in ire pierced them each with ten shafts. And in the field arrows were shot from the Gandiva like unto rows of black-bees; and this Matali admired. And their shafts also showered upon me; but those powerful (arrows) I cut off with my shafts. Then on being struck the Nivata-Kavachas again covered me on all sides with a mighty shower of arrows. And having neutralised the force of the arrows by excellent swift and flaming weapons capable of baffling arms, I pierced them by thousands. And blood began to flow from their torn frames, even as in the rainy season waters run down from the summits of mountains. And on being wounded by my fleet and straight-coursing shafts of the touch of Indra's thunder-bolt, they became greatly agitated. And their bodies were pierced at hundreds of places; and the force of their arms diminished. Then the Nivata-Kavachas fought me by (the help of) illusion.'"

SECTION 170

"Arjuna said, 'Then with rocks of the proportions of trees, there commenced a mighty shower of crags; and this exercised me exceedingly. And in that high encounter, I crushed (those crags) by swift-speeding showers of arrows, issuing from Mahendra's weapon, like unto the thunder-bolt itself. And when the rocks had been reduced to powder, there was generated fire; and the rocky dust fell like unto masses of flames. And when the showers of crags had been repelled, there happened near me a mightier shower of water, having currents of the proportions of an axle. And falling from the

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welkin, those thousands of powerful torrents covered the entire firmament and the directions and the cardinal points. And on account of the pouring of the shower, and of the blowing of the wind, and of roaring of the Daityas, nothing could be perceived. And touching heaven and the entire earth, and incessantly falling on the ground, the showers bewildered me. Thereupon, I discharged that celestial weapon which I had learnt from Indra--even the dreadful and flaming Visoshana: and by that the water was dried up. And, O Bharata, when the rocky shower had been destroyed, and the watery shower had been dried up, the Danavas began to spread illusions of fire and wind. Then by aqueous appliances I extinguished the flames; and by a mighty rock-issuing arm, resisted the fury of the winds. And when these had been repelled, the Danavas, irrepressible in battle, O foremost of the Bharata, simultaneously created various illusions. And there happened a tremendous horrifying shower of rocks and dreadful weapons of fire and wind. And that illusory downpour afflicted me in fight. And then on all sides there appeared a dense and thick darkness. And when the world had been enveloped in deep and dense darkness, the steeds turned away, Matali fell off, and from his hand the golden lash fell to the earth. And, O foremost of the Bharatas, being frightened, he again and again cried, 'Where art thou?' And when he had been stupefied, a terrible fear possessed me. And then in a hurry, he spake unto me, saying, 'O Partha, for the sake of nectar, there had taken place a mighty conflict between the gods and the demons. I had seen that (encounter), O sinless one. And on the occasion of the destruction of Samvara, there had occurred a dreadful and mighty contest. Nevertheless I had acted as charioteer to the lord of the celestials. In the same way, on the occasion of the slaying of Vritra, the steeds had been conducted by me. And I had also beheld the high and terrific encounter with Virochana's son, and, O Pandava, with Vala, and with Prahrada and with others also. In these exceedingly dreadful battles, I was present; but, O Pandu's son, never (before) had I lost my senses. Surely the Great-father hath ordained the destruction of all creatures; for this battle cannot be for any other purpose than destruction of the universe.' Having heard these words of his, pacifying my perturbation by my own effort, I will destroy the mighty energy of the illusion spread by the Danavas quoth I unto the terrified Matali. Behold the might of my arms, and the power of my weapons and of the bow, Gandiva. To-day even by (the help of) illusion-creating arms, will I dispel this deep gloom and also this horrible illusion of theirs. Do not fear, O charioteer. Pacify thyself.' Having said this, O lord of men, I created for the good of the celestials, an illusion of arms capable of bewildering all beings. And when (their) illusion had been dispelled, some of the foremost amongst the Asuras, of unrivalled prowess, again spread diverse kinds of illusion. Thereupon, now (the world) displayed itself, and now it was devoured by darkness; and now the world disappeared from view and now it was submerged under water. And when it had brightened up. Matali, sitting in front of the car, with the wellconducted steeds, began to range that hair-erecting field. Then the fierce Nivata-Kavachas assailed me. And finding my opportunity. I began to send them to the mansion of Yama. Thereupon, in that conflict then raging, calculated to annihilate the Nivata-Kavachas on a sudden, I could not see the Danavas concealed by illusion."

SECTION 171

"Arjuna continued, 'Remaining invisible the Daityas began to fight with the help of illusion. And I too fought with them, resorting to the energy of visible weapons. And the shafts duly discharged from the Gandiva, began to sever their heads at those different places where they were respectively stationed. And thus assailed by me in the conflict, the Nivata-Kavachas, all on a sudden withdrawing the illusion, entered into their own city. And when the Daityas had fled, and when all had become visible, I there discovered hundreds and thousands of the slain. And there I saw by hundreds their shivered weapons, ornaments, limbs, and mail. And the horses could not find room for moving from one place to another; and on a sudden with a bound, they fell to coursing in the sky. Then remaining invisible, the Nivata-Kavachas covered the entire welkin with masses of crags. And, O Bharata, other dreadful Danavas, entering into the entrails of the earth, took up horses' legs and chariot-wheels. And as I was fighting, they, hard besetting my horses with rocks, attacked me together with (my) car. And with the crags that had fallen and with others that were falling, the place where I was, seemed to be a mountain cavern. And on myself being covered with crags and on the horses being hard pressed, I became sore distressed and this was marked by Matali. And on seeing me afraid, he said unto me, 'O Arjuna, Arjuna! be thou not afraid; send that weapon, the thunder-bolt, O lord of men.' Hearing those words of his, I then discharged the favourite weapon of the king of the celestials--the dreadful thunderbolt. And inspiring the Gandiva with mantras, I, aiming at the locality of the crags, shot sharpened iron shafts of the touch of the thunder-bolt. And sent by the thunder, those adamantine arrows entered into all those illusions and into the midst of those Nivata-Kavachas. And slaughtered by the vehemence of the thunder, those Danavas resembling cliffs, fell to the earth together in masses. And entering amongst those Danavas that had carried away the steeds of the car into the interior of the earth, the shafts sent them into the mansion of Yama. And that quarter was completely covered with the Nivata-Kavachas that had been killed or baffled, comparable unto cliffs and lying scattered like crags. And then no injury appeared to have been sustained either by the horses, or by the car, or by Matali, or by me, and this seemed strange. Then, O king, Matali addressed me smiling, 'Not in the celestials themselves, O Arjuna, is seen the prowess that is seen in thee. And when the Danava hosts had been destroyed, all their females began to bewail in that city, like unto cranes in autumn. Then with Matali I entered that city, terrifying with the rattling of my car the wives of the Nivata-Kavachas. Thereupon, seeing those ten thousand horses like unto peacocks (in hue), and also that chariot resembling the sun, the women fled in swarms. And like unto (the sounds of) rocks falling on a mountain, sounds arose of the (falling) ornaments of the terrified dames. (At length), the panic-stricken wives of the Daityas entered into their respective golden places variegated with innumerable jewels.

'Beholding that excellent city, superior to the city of the celestials themselves, I asked Matali, saying, 'Why do not the celestials reside in such (a place)? Surely, this appeareth superior to the city of Purandara.' Thereat, Matali said, 'In days of yore, O Partha, even this was the city of our lord of the celestials. Afterwards the celestials were driven from hence by the Nivata-Kavachas. Having performed the most rigid austerities, they had gratified the Grand-father and had asked (and obtained) the boons--namely, that they might reside here, and that they might be free from danger in wars with the gods.' Then Sakra addressed the self-create lord saying, 'Do thou, O lord, desirous of our own welfare do what is proper.' Thereupon, O Bharata, in this matter the Lord commanded (Indra), saying, 'O slayer of foes, in another body, even thou shalt be (the destroyer of the Danavas).' Then, in order to slaughter them, Sakra rendered unto thee those weapons. The gods had been unable to slay these, who have been slain by thee. O Bharata, in the fullness of time, hadst thou come hither, in order to destroy them and thou hast done so. O foremost of men, with the object that the demons might be killed, Mahendra had conferred on thee the excellent prime energy of these weapons.'

"Arjuna continued, 'After having destroyed the Danavas, and also subdued that city, with Matali I again went to that abode of the celestials.'"

SECTION 172

"Arjuna continued, 'Then while returning, I happened to descry a mighty unearthly city, moving at will, and having the effulgence of fire or the sun. And that city contained various trees composed of gems, and sweet-voiced feathered ones. And furnished with four gates, and gate-ways, and towers, that impregnable (city) was inhabited by the Paulamas and Kalakanjas. And it was made of all sorts of jewels and was unearthly, and of wonderful appearance. And it was covered with trees of all kinds of gems, bearing fruits and flowers. And it contained exceedingly beautiful unearthly birds. And it always swarmed throughout with cheerful Asuras, wearing garlands, and bearing in their hands darts, two edged swords, maces, bows, and clubs. And, O king, on seeing this wonderful city of the Daityas, I asked Matali saying, 'What is this that looketh so wonderful?' Thereat, Matali replied, 'Once on a time a Daitya's daughter, named Pulama and a mighty female of the Asura order, Kalaka by name, practised severe austerities for a thousand celestial years. And at the end of their austerities, the self-create conferred on them boons. And, O king of kings, they received these boons,--that their offspring might never suffer misfortune; that they might be incapable of being destroyed even by the gods, the Rakshasas and the Pannagas; and that they might obtain a highly effulgent and surpassingly fair aerial city, furnished with all manner of gems and invincible even by the celestials, the Maharshis, the Yakshas, the Gandharvas, the Pannagas, the Asuras and the Rakshasas. O best of the Bharatas, this is that unearthly aerial city devoid of the celestials, which is moving about, having been created for the Kalakeyas, by Brahma himself. And this city is furnished with all desirable objects, and is unknown of grief or disease. And, O hero, celebrated under the name of Hiranyapura, this mighty city is inhabited by the Paulamas and the Kalakanjas; and it is also guarded by those mighty Asuras. And, O king, unslayed by any of the gods, there they dwell cheerfully, free from anxiety and having all their desires gratified, O foremost of kings. Formerly, Brahma had destined destruction at the hands of mortals. Do thou, O Partha, in fight, compass with that weapon--the thunder-bolt--the destruction of the mighty and irrepressible Kalakanjas.'

"Arjuna continued, 'O lord of men, learning that they were incapable of being destroyed by the celestials and the Asuras, I cheerfully said unto Matali, 'Do thou speedily repair into yonder city. With weapons will I compass the annihilation of the haters of the lord of the celestials. Surely, there exist no wicked haters of the gods who ought not to be slain by me.' Thereupon Matali took me to the vicinity of Hiranyapura on the celestial chariot yoked with steeds. And seeing me, those sons of Diti, wearing various kinds of attire and ornament and accoutred in mail, flew at me with a mighty rush. And those foremost of the Danavas, of exceeding prowess, in wrath attacked me with arrows and bhallas and clubs and two-edged swords, and tomaras. Thereat, O king, resorting to my strength of lore, I resisted that great volley of weapons by a mighty shower of shafts; and also confounded them in conflict by ranging around in my car. And being bewildered, the Danavas began to push each other down. And having been confounded, they rushed at one another. And with flaming arrows, I severed their heads by hundreds. And hard pressed by me, the offspring of Diti, taking shelter within (their) city, soared with it to the firmament, resorting to the illusion proper to the Danavas. Thereupon, O son of the Kurus, covering the way of the Daityas, with a mighty discharge of shafts I obstructed their course. Then by virtue of the bestowal of the boon, the Daityas supported themselves easily on that sky-ranging unearthly aerial city, going anywhere at will and like unto the sun. And now (the city) entered unto the earth and now it rose upwards; and at one time it went in a crooked way and at another time it submerged into water. At this, O represser of foes, I assailed that mighty city, going anywhere at will, and resembling Amaravati. And, O best of the Bharatas, I attacked the city containing those sons of Diti, with multitudes of shafts, displaying celestial weapons. And battered and broken by the straight-coursing iron shafts, shot by me, the city of the Asuras, O king, fell to the earth. And they also, wounded by my iron arrows having the speed of the thunder, began, O monarch, to go about, being urged by destiny. Then ascending to the sky, Matali, as if falling in front, swiftly descended to the earth, on that chariot of solar resplendence. Then, O Bharata, environed me sixty thousand cars belonging to those wrathful ones eager to battle with me. And with sharpened shafts graced with feathers of the vulture, I destroyed those (cars). At this, thinking, 'These our hosts are incapable of being vanquished by mortals, they became engaged in the conflict, like unto the surges of the sea.' Thereupon I gradually began to fix (on the string) unearthly weapons. At this, thousands of weapons (shot) by those wonderfully warring charioteers, by degrees opposed my unearthly arms and in the field I saw hundreds and thousands of mighty (demons) ranging on their cars, in various manoeuvres. And being furnished with variegated mail and standards and diverse ornaments, they delighted my mind. And in the conflict I could not afflict them by showers of shafts, but they did not afflict me. And being afflicted by those innumerable ones, equipped in weapons and skilled in fight, I was pained in that mighty encounter and a terrible fear seized me. Thereupon collecting (my energies) in fight, I (bowed down) unto that god of gods, Raudra, and saying, 'May welfare attend on all beings!' I fixed that mighty weapon which, celebrated under the name of Raudra, is the destroyer of all foes. Then I beheld a male person having three heads, nine eyes, three faces, and six arms. And his hair was flaming like fire or the sun. And, O slayer of foes, for his dress, he had mighty serpents, putting out their tongues. And saying, O best of the Bharatas, the dreadful and eternal Raudra, I being free from fear, set it on the Gandiva; and, bowing unto the three-eyed Sarva of immeasurable energy, let go (the weapon), with the object of vanquishing those foremost of the Danavas, O Bharata. And, O lord of men, as soon as it had been hurled, there appeared on the scene by thousands, forms of deer, and of lions, and of tigers, and of bears and of buffaloes, and of serpents, and of kine, and of sarabhas, and of elephants, and of apes in multitudes, and of bulls, and of boars, and of cats, and of dogs, and of spectres, and of all the Bhurundas, and of vultures, and of Garudas, of chamaras, and of all the leopards, and of mountains, and of seas, and of celestials, and of sages, and of all the Gandharvas, and of ghosts with the Yakshas, and of the haters of the gods, (Asuras), and of the Guhyakas in the field, and of the Nairitas and of elephant-mouthed sharks, and of owls, and of beings having the forms of fishes and horses, and of beings bearing swords and various other weapons, and of Rakshasas wielding maces and clubs. And on that weapon being hurled all the universe became filled with these as well as many others wearing various shapes. And again and again wounded by beings of various sights with (pieces of) flesh, fat, bones, and marrow on their persons,--some having three heads, and some four tusks, and some four mouths, and some four arms,--the Danavas met with destruction. And, then, O Bharata, in a moment I slew all those Danavas, with other swarms of arrows composed of the quintessence of stone, flaming like fire or the sun, and possessed of the force of the thunder-bolt. And, seeing them hewn by the Gandiva, and deprived of life, and thrown from the sky, I again bowed unto that god--the Destroyer of Tripura. And, seeing those adorned with unearthly ornaments, crushed by the weapon, the Raudra, the charioteer of the celestials, experienced the greatest delight. And having witnessed the accomplishment of that unbearable feat

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incapable of being achieved even by the celestials themselves, Matali, the charioteer of Sakra, paid homage unto me; and well-pleased, with joint hands said these words. 'The feat that hath been achieved by thee, is incapable of being borne even by the gods, nay,--in battle, the lord of the celestials himself cannot perform this deed. The sky-coursing mighty city incapable of being destroyed by the gods and the Asuras hast thou, O hero, crushed by thy own prowess and by the energy of asceticism. And when that aerial city had been destroyed, and when the Danavas also had been slain, their wives, uttering cries of distress, like unto Kurari birds, with hair dishevelled came out of the city. And bewailing for their sons and brothers and fathers, they fell on the ground and cried with distressful accents. And on being deprived for their lords, they beat their breasts, their garlands and ornaments fallen off. And that city of Danavas, in appearance like unto the city of the Gandharvas filled with lamentations and stricken with dole and distress, and bereft of grace even like unto a lake deprived of (its) elephants, or like unto a forest deprived of trees and (deprived of its) masters, looked no longer beautiful--but it vanished, like a cloud-constructed city. And when I had accomplished the task, eftsoons from the field Matali took me of delighted spirits, unto the abode of the lord of the celestials. And having slain those mighty Asuras, and destroyed Hiranyapura, and having also killed the Nivata-Kavachas, I came unto Indra. And, O exceedingly resplendent one, as it had fallen out, Matali related in detail unto Devendra that entire achievement of mine. And with the Marutas, hearing of the destruction of Hiranyapura, of the neutralisation of the illusion, and of the slaughter of the highly powerful Nivatakavachas in fight, the prosperous thousand-eyed divine Purandara was well pleased, and exclaimed, 'Well done; Well done!' And the king of the celestials together with the celestials, cheering me again and again, said these sweet words, 'By thee hath been achieved a feat incapable of being achieved by the gods and the Asuras. And, O Partha, by slaying my mighty enemies, thou hast paid the preceptor's fee. And, O Dhananjaya, thus in battle shalt thou always remain calm, and discharge the weapons unerringly, and there shall not stand thee in fight celestials, and Danavas, and Rakshasas, and Yakshas, and Asuras, and Gandharvas and birds and serpents. And, O Kaunteya, by conquering it even by the might of thy arms, Kunti's son Yudhishthira, will rule the earth.'"

SECTION 173

"Arjuna continued, 'Then firmly confident, the sovereign of the celestials considering as his own, pertinently said these words unto me wounded by cleaving shafts, 'All the celestial weapons, O Bharata, are with thee, so no man on earth will by any means be able to over-power thee. And, O son, when thou art in the field, Bhishma and Drona and Kripa and Karna and Sakuni together with other Kshatriyas shall not amount unto one-sixteenth part of thee.' And the lord Maghavan granted me this golden garland and this shell, Devadatta, of mighty roars, and also his celestial mail impenetrable and capable of protecting the body. And Indra himself set on my (head) this diadem. And Sakra presented me with these unearthly apparels and unearthly ornaments, elegant and rare. In this manner, O king, (duly) honoured, I delightfully dwelt in Indra's sacred abode with the children of the Gandharvas. Then, well-pleased, Sakra, together with the celestials, addressed me, saying, 'O Arjuna, the time hath come for thy departure; thy brothers have thought of thee.' Thus, O Bharata, remembering the dissensions arising from that gambling, did I, O king, pass those five years in the abode of Indra. Then have I come and seen thee surrounded by our brothers on the summit of this lower range of the Gandhamadana.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'O Dhananjaya, by fortune it is that the weapons have been obtained by thee; by fortune it is that the master of the immortals hath been adored by thee. O repressor of foes, by fortune it is that the divine Sthanu together with the goddess had become manifest unto thee and been gratified by thee in battle, O sinless one; by fortune it is that thou hadst met with the Lokapalas, O best of the Bharatas. O Partha, by fortune it is that we have prospered; and by fortune it is that thou hast come back. To-day I consider as if the entire earth engarlanded with cities hath already been conquered, and as if the sons of Dhritarashtra have already been subdued. Now, O Bharata, I am curious to behold those celestial weapons wherewith thou hadst slain the powerful Nivata-Kavachas.'"

"Thereat Arjuna said, 'Tomorrow in the morning thou wilt see all the celestial weapons with which I slew the fierce Nivata-Kavachas.'"

Vaisampayana said, "Thus having related (the facts touching) the arrival, Dhananjaya passed that night there, together with all his brothers."

SECTION 174

Vaisampayana continued, "And when the night had passed, Yudhishthira the Just, arose and together with his brothers, performed the necessary duties. He then spake unto Arjuna, that delight of his mother, saying, 'O Kaunteya, do thou show (me) those weapons with which thou vanquished the Danavas.' Thereat, O king, the exceedingly powerful Dhananjaya, the son of Pandu, duly practising extreme purity, showed those weapons, O Bharata, which had been given unto him by the celestials. Dhananjaya seated on the earth, as his chariot, which had the mountain for its pole, the base of the axle and the cluster of beautiful-looking bamboo trees for its socket-pole, looked resplendent with that celestial armour of great lustre, took his bow Gandiva and the conch-shell given to him by the gods, commenced to exhibit those celestial weapons in order. And as those celestial weapons had been set, the Earth being oppressed with the feet (of Arjuna), began to tremble with (its) trees; and the rivers and the mighty main became vexed; and the rocks were riven; and the air was hushed. And the sun did not shine; and fire did not flame; and by no means did the Vedas of the twice-born once shine. And, O Janamejaya, the creatures peopling the interior of the earth, on being afflicted, rose and surrounded the Pandava, trembling with joined hands and contorted countenances. And being burnt by those weapons, they besought Dhananjaya (for their lives). Then the Brahmarshis, and the Siddhas, and the Maharshis and the mobile beings--all these appeared (on the scene). And the foremost Devarshis, and the celestials and the Yakshas and the Rakshasas and the Gandharvas and the feathered tribes and the (other) sky-ranging beings--all these appeared (on the scene). And the Great-sire and all the Lokapalas and the divine Mahadeva, came thither, together with their followers. Then, O great king, bearing unearthly variegated blossoms Vayu (the Wind-god) fell to strewing them around the Pandava. And sent by the celestials, the Gandharvas chanted various ballads; and, O monarch, hosts of the Apsaras danced (there). At such a moment, O king, sent by the celestials, Narada arrived (there) and addressed Partha in these sweet words, 'O Arjuna, Arjuna, do thou not discharge the celestial weapons. These should never be discharged when there is no object (fit). And when there is an object (present), they should also by no means be hurled, unless one is sore pressed; for, O son of the Kurus, to discharge the weapons (without occasion), is fraught with great evil. And, O Dhananjaya, being duly kept as thou hast been instructed to these powerful weapons will doubtless conduce to thy strength and happiness. But if they are not properly kept, they, O Pandava, will become the instrument for the destruction of the three worlds. So thou shouldst not act in this way again. O Ajatasatru, thou too wilt behold even these weapons, when Partha will use them for grinding (thy) enemies in battle.'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Having prevented Partha the immortals with others that had come there, went to each his place, O foremost of men. And, O Kaurava, after they had all gone, the Pandavas began to dwell pleasantly in the same forest, together with Krishna."

SECTION 175

Janamejaya said, "When that prime among heroes, having been accomplished in arms, had returned from the abode of the slayer of Vritra, what did Pritha's sons do in company with the warlike Dhananjaya?"

Vaisampayana said, "In company with that hero equal unto Indra, Arjuna--that foremost of men, sported in the pleasure-gardens of the lord of treasures (situated) in those woods on that romantic and excellent mountain. And surveying those peerless and various pleasure-grounds filled with diverse trees, that chief of men, Kiriti, ever intent upon arms, ranged at large, bow in hand. And having through the grace of king Vaisravana obtained a residence, those sons of a sovereign cared not for the prosperity of men. And, O king, that period of their (lives) passed peacefully. And having Partha in their company, they spent four years there even like a single night. And as the Pandavas lived in the wood, (these four years) and the former six, numbering ten, passed smoothly with them.

"Then having seated themselves before the king, the vehement son of the Wind-god, with Jishnu and the heroic twins, like unto the lord of the celestials, earnestly addressed the king in these beneficial and pleasant words. 'It is only to render thy promise effectual and to advance thy interests, that, O king of the Kurus, forsaking the forest, we do not go to slay Suyodhana together with all his followers. Although deserving of happiness, yet have we been deprived of happiness. And this is the eleventh year that (in this state) we have been living (in the forest). And hereafter, deluding that one of evil mind and character, shall we easily live out the period of non-discovery. And at thy mandate, O monarch, free from apprehension, we have been ranging the woods, having relinquished our honour. Having been tempted by our residence in the vicinity, they (our enemies) will not believe that we have removed to a distant realm. And after having lived there undiscovered for a year, and having wreaked our revenge on that wicked wight, Suyodhana, with his followers, we shall easily root out that meanest of men, slaying him and regaining our kingdom. Therefore, O Dharmaraja, do thou descend unto the earth. For, O king, if we dwell in this region like unto heaven itself, we shall forget our sorrows. In that case, O Bharata, thy fame like, unto a fragrant flower shall vanish from the mobile and the immobile worlds. By gaining that kingdom of the Kuru chiefs, thou wilt be able to attain (great glory), and to perform various sacrifices. This that thou art receiving from Kuvera, thou wilt, O foremost of men, be able to attain any time. Now, O Bharata, turn thy mind towards the punishment and destruction of foes that committed wrongs. O king, the wielder of the thunderbolt himself is incapable of standing thy prowess. And intent upon thy welfare, he, having Suparna for his mark (Krishna), and also the grandson of Sini (Satyaki) never experience pain, even when engaged in encounter with the gods, O Dharmaraja. And Arjuna is peerless in strength, and so am I too, O best of kings. And as Krishna together with the Yadavas is intent upon thy welfare, so am I also, O foremost of monarchs, and the heroic twins accomplished in war. And encountering the enemy, we, having for our main object the attainment by thee of wealth and prosperity, will destroy them.'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Then having learnt that intention of theirs, the magnanimous and excellent son of Dharma, versed in religion and profit, and of immeasurable prowess, went round Vaisravana's abode. And Yudhishthira the Just, after bidding adieu unto the palaces, the rivers, the lakes, and all the Rakshasas, looked towards the way by which (he) had come (there). And then looking at the mountain also, the high-souled and pure-minded one besought that best of mountains, saying, 'O foremost of mountains, may I together with my friends, after having finished my task, and slain my foes, and regained my kingdom, see thee again, carrying on austerities with subdued soul.' And this also he determined on. And in company with his younger brothers and the Brahmanas, the lord of the Kurus proceeded even along that very road. And Ghatotkacha with his followers began to carry them over the mountain cascades. And as they started, the great sage Lomasa, advising them even as a father doth his son, with a cheerful heart, went unto the sacred abode of the dwellers of heaven. Then advised also by Arshtishena, those first of men, the Parthas, went alone beholding romantic tirthas and hermitages, and other mighty lakes."

SECTION 176

Vaisampayana said, "When they had left their happy home in the beautiful mountain abounding in cascades, and having birds, and the elephants of the eight quarters, and the supernatural attendants of Kuvera (as dwellers thereof), all happiness forsook those foremost of men of Bharata's race. But afterwards on beholding Kuvera's favourite mountain, Kailasa, appearing like clouds, the delight of those pre-eminent heroes of the race of Bharata, became very great. And those foremost of heroic men, equipped with scimitars and bows, proceeded contentedly, beholding elevations and defiles, and dens of lions and craggy causeways and innumerable water-falls and lowlands, in different places, as also other great forests inhabited by countless deer and birds and elephants. And they came upon beautiful woodlands and rivers and lakes and caves and mountain caverns; and these frequently by day and night became the dwelling place of those great men. And having dwelt in all sorts of inaccessible places and crossing Kailasa of inconceivable grandeur, they reached the excellent and surpassingly beautiful hermitage of Vrishaparba. And meeting king Vrishaparba and received by him being they became free from depression and then they accurately narrated in detail to Vrishaparba the story of their sojourn in the mountains. And having pleasantly passed one night in his sacred abode frequented by gods and Maharshis, those great warriors proceeded smoothly towards the jujube tree called Visala and took up their quarters there. Then all those magnanimous men having reached the place of Narayana, continued to live there, bereft of all sorrow, at beholding Kuvera's favourite lake, frequented by gods and Siddhas. And viewing that lake, those foremost of men, the sons of Pandu traversed that place, renouncing all grief even as immaculate Brahmana rishis (do) on attaining a habitation in the Nandana gardens. Then all those warriors having in due course happily lived at Badari for one month, proceeded towards the realm of Suvahu, king of the Kiratas, by following the same track by which they had come. And crossing the difficult Himalayan regions, and the countries of China, Tukhara, Darada and all the climes of Kulinda, rich in heaps of jewels, those warlike men reached the capital of Suvahu. And hearing that those sons and grandsons of kings had all reached his kingdom, Suvahu, elated with joy, advanced (to meet them). Then the best of the Kurus welcomed him also. And meeting king Suvahu, and being joined by all their charioteers with Visoka at their head and by their attendants, Indrasena and others, and also by the superintendents and servants of the kitchen, they stayed there comfortably for one night. Then taking all the chariots and chariot-men and dismissing Ghatotkacha together with his followers, they next repaired to the monarch of mountains in the vicinity of the Yamuna. In the midst of the mountain abounding in waterfalls and having grey and orange-coloured slopes and summits covered with a sheet of snow, those warlike men having then found the great forest of Visakhayupa like unto the forest of Chitraratha and inhabited

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by wild boars and various kinds of deer and birds, made it their home. Addicted to hunting as their chief occupation, the sons of Pritha peacefully dwelt in that forest for one year. There in a cavern of the mountain, Vrikodara, with a heart afflicted with distraction and grief, came across a snake of huge strength distressed with hunger and looking fierce like death itself. At this crisis Yudhishthira, the best of pious men, became the protector of Vrikodara and he, of infinite puissance, extricated Bhima whose whole body had been fast gripped by the snake with its folds. And the twelfth year of their sojourn in forests having arrived, those scions of the race of Kuru, blazing in effulgence, and engaged in asceticism, always devoted principally to the practice of archery, repaired cheerfully from that Chitraratha-like forest to the borders of the desert, and desirous of dwelling by the Saraswati they went there, and from the banks of that river they reached the lake of Dwaitabana. Then seeing them enter Dwaitabana, the dwellers of that place engaged in asceticism, religious ordinances, and self-restraining exercises and in deep and devout meditation and subsisting on things ground with stone (for want of teeth) having procured grass-mats and water-vessels, advanced to meet them. The holy fig, the rudaraksha, the rohitaka, the cane and the jujube, the catechu, the sirisha, the bel and the inguda and the karira and pilu and sami trees grew on the banks of the Saraswati. Wandering about with contentment in (the vicinity of) the Saraswati which was, as it were, the home of the celestials, and the favourite (resort) of Yakshas and Gandharvas and Maharshis, those sons of kings lived there in happiness."

SECTION 177

Janamejaya said, "How was it, O sage! that Bhima, of mighty prowess and possessing the strength of ten thousand elephants, was stricken with panic at (the sight of) that snake? Thou hast described him, that slayer of his enemies, as dismayed and appalled with fear, even him, who by fighting at the lotus lake (of Kuvera) became the destroyer of Yakshas and Rakshasas and who, in proud defiance, invited to a single combat, Pulastya's son, the dispenser of all riches. I desire to hear this (from you); great indeed is my curiosity."

Vaisampayana continued, "O king, having reached king Vrishaparva's hermitage, while those fearful warriors were living in various wonderful woods, Vrikodara roaming at pleasure, with bow in hand and armed with a scimitar, found that beautiful forest, frequented by gods and Gandharvas. And then he beheld (some) lovely spots in the Himalayan mountains, frequented by Devarshis and Siddhas and inhabited by hosts of Apsaras, resounded here and there with (the warbling of) birds--the chakora, the chakrabaka, the jibajibaka and the cuckoo and the Bhringaraja, and abounding with shady trees, soft with the touch of snow and pleasing to the eye and mind, and bearing perennial fruits and flowers. And he beheld mountain streams with waters glistening like the lapis lazuli and with ten thousand snow-white ducks and swans and with forests of deodar trees forming (as it were) a trap for the clouds; and with tugna and kalikaya forests, interspersed with yellow sandal trees. And he of mighty strength, in the pursuit of the chase, roamed in the level and desert tracts of the mountain, piercing his game with unpoisoned arrows. In that forest the famous and mighty Bhimasena, possessing the strength of a hundred elephants, killed (many) large wild boars, with the force (of his arms). And endowed with terrible prowess and mighty strength, and powerful as the lion or the tiger, and capable of resisting a hundred men, and having long arms, and possessing the strength of a hundred elephants, he killed many antelopes and wild boars and buffaloes. And here and there, in that forest he pulled out trees by the roots, with great violence and broke them too, causing the earth and the woods and the (surrounding) places to resound. And then shouting and trampling on the tops of mountains, and causing the earth to resound with his roars, and striking his arms, and uttering his war-cry, and slapping and clapping his hands, Bhimasena, exempt from decay, and ever-proud and without fear, again and again leaped about in those woods. And on hearing the shouts of Bhimasena, powerful lions and elephants of huge strength, left their lairs in fright. And in that same forest, he fearlessly strolled about in search of game; and like the denizens of the woods, that most valiant of men, the mighty Bhimasena, wandered on foot in that forest. And he penetrated the vast forest, shouting strange whoopos, and terrifying all creatures, endowed with strength and prowess. And then being terrified, the snakes hid (themselves) in caves, but he, overtaking them with promptitude, pursued them slowly. Then the mighty Bhimasena, like unto the Lord of the Celestials, saw a serpent of colossal proportions, living in one of the mountain fastnesses and covering the (entire) cave with its body and causing one's hair to stand on end (from fright). It had its huge body stretched like a hillock, and it possessed gigantic strength, and its body was speckled with spots and it had a turmeric-like (yellow) colour and a deep copper-coloured mouth of the form of a cave supplied with four teeth; and with glaring eyes, it was constantly licking the corners of its mouth. And it was the terror of all animated beings and it looked like the very image of the Destroyer Yama; and with the hissing noise of its breath it lay as if rebuking (an incomer). And seeing Bhima draw so near to him, the serpent, all on a sudden, became greatly enraged, and that goat-devouring snake violently seized Bhimasena in his grip. Then by virtue of the boon that had been received by the serpent, Bhimasena with his body in the serpent's grip, instantly lost all consciousness. Unrivalled by that of others, the might of

Bhimasena's arms equalled the might of ten thousand elephants combined. But Bhima, of great prowess, being thus vanquished by the snake, trembled slowly, and was unable to exert himself. And that one of mighty arms and of leonine shoulders, though possessed of strength often thousand elephants, yet seized by the snake, and overpowered by virtue of the boon, lost all strength. He struggled furiously to extricate himself, but did not succeed in any wise baffling this (snake)."

SECTION 178

Vaisampayana continued, "And the powerful Bhimasena, having thus come under the power of the snake, thought of its mighty and wonderful prowess; and said unto it, 'Be thou pleased to tell me, O snake, who thou art. And, O foremost of reptiles, what wilt thou do with me? I am Bhimasena, the son of Pandu, and next by birth to Yudhishthira the Just. And endued as I am with the strength of ten thousand elephants, how hast thou been able to overpower me? In fight have been encountered and slain by me innumerable lions, and tigers, and buffaloes, and elephants. And, O best of serpents, mighty Rakshasas and Pisachas, and Nagas, are unable to stand the force of my arms. Art thou possessed of any magic, or hast thou received any boon, that although exerting myself, I have been overcome by thee? Now I have been convinced that the strength of men is false, for, O serpent, by thee hath such mighty strength of men been baffled.'

Vaisampayana continued, "When the heroic Bhima of noble deed had said this, the snake caught him, and coiled him all round with his body, having thus subdued that mighty-aimed one, and freed his plump arms alone, the serpent spake these words, 'By good fortune it is that, myself being hungry, after long time the gods have to-day destined thee for my food; for life is dear unto every embodied being, I should relate unto thee the way in which I have come by this snake form. Hear, O best of the pious, I have fallen into this plight on account of the wrath of the Maharhis. Now desirous of getting rid of the curse, I will narrate unto thee all about it. Thou hast, no doubt, heard of the royal sage, Nahusha. He was the son of Ayu, and the perpetuator of the line of thy ancestors. Even I am that one. For having affronted the Brahmanas I, by (virtue of) Agastya's malediction, have come by this condition. Thou art my agnate, and lovely to behold,--so thou shouldst not be slain by me,--yet I shall to-day devour thee! Do thou behold the dispensation of Destiny! And be it a buffalo, or an elephant, none coming within my reach at the sixth division of the day, can, O best of men, escape. And, O best of the Kurus, thou hast not been taken by an animal of the lower order, having strength alone,--but this (hath been so) by reason only of the boon I have received. As I was falling rapidly from Sakra's throne placed on the front of his palace, I spake unto that worshipful sage (Agastya), 'Do thou free me from this curse.' Thereat filled with compassion, that energetic one said unto me, 'O king, thou shall be freed after the lapse of some time.' Then I fell to the earth (as a snake); but my recollection (of former life) did not renounce me. And although it be so ancient, I still recollect all that was said. And the sage said unto me, That person who conversant with the relation subsisting between the soul and the Supreme Being, shall be able to answer the questions put by thee, shall deliver thee. And, O king, taken by thee, strong beings superior to thee, shall immediately lose their strength, I heard these words of those compassionate ones, who felt attached unto me. And then the Brahmanas vanished. Thus, O highly effulgent one, having become a serpent, I, doing exceedingly sinful acts, live in unclean hell, in expectation of the (appointed) time.' The mighty-armed Bhimasena addressed the serpent, saying, 'I am not angry, O mighty snake,--nor do I blame myself. Since in regard to happiness and misery, men sometimes possess the power of bringing and dismissing them, and sometimes do not. Therefore one should not fret one's mind. Who can baffle destiny by self-exertion? I deem destiny to be supreme, and self-exertion to be of no avail. Smitten with the stroke of destiny, the prowess of my arms lost, behold me to-day fallen unto this condition without palpable cause. But to-day I do not so much grieve for my own self being slain, as I do for my brothers deprived of their kingdom, and exiled into the forest. This Himalaya is inaccessible, and abounds with Yakshas and the Rakshasas, And searching about for me, they will be distracted. And hearing that I have been killed, (my brothers) will forego all exertion, for, firm in promise, they have hitherto been controlled by my harsh speech, I being desirous of gaining the kingdom. Or the intelligent Arjuna (alone), being versed in every lore, and incapable of being overcome by gods and Rakshasas and Gandharvas, will not be afflicted with grief. That mighty-armed and exceedingly powerful one is able single-handed to speedily pull down from his place even the celestials. What shall I say of the deceitfully gambling son of Dhritarashtra, detested of all men, and filled with haughtiness and ignorance! And I also grieve for my poor mother, affectionate to her sons, who is ever solicitous for our greatness in a large measure than is attained by our enemies. O serpent, the desire that forlorn one had in me will all be fruitless in consequence of my destruction. And gifted with manliness, the twins, Nakula and Sahadeva, following their elder brother (me), and always protected by the strength of my arms, will, owing to my destruction, be depressed and deprived of their prowess, and stricken with grief. This is what I think.' In this way Vrikodara lamented profusely. And being bound by the body of the snake, he could not exert himself.

"On the other hand, Kunti's son, Yudhishthira, (seeing) and reflecting on dreadful ill omens, became alarmed. Terrified by the blaze of the points of the horizon, jackals stationing themselves on the right of that hermitage, set up frightful and inauspicious yells. And ugly Vartikas as of dreadful sight, having one wing, one eye, and one leg, were seen to vomit blood, facing the sun. And the wind began to blow dryly, and violently, attracting grits. And to the right all the beasts and birds began to cry. And in the rear the black crows cried, 'Go!' 'Go!' And momentarily his (Yudhishthira's) right arm began to twitch, and his chest and left leg shook (of themselves). And indicating evil his left eye contracted spasmodically. Thereupon, O Bharata, the intelligent Yudhishthira the Just, inferring some great calamity (to be imminent), asked Draupadi, saying, 'Where is Bhima?' Thereat Panchali said that Vrikodara had long gone out. Hearing this, that mighty-armed king set out with Dhaumya, after having said unto Dhananjaya, "Thou shouldst protect Draupadi.' And he also directed Nakula and Sahadeva to protect the Brahmanas. And issuing from the hermitage that lord, Kunti's son, following the footprints of Bhimasena, began to search for him in that mighty forest. And on coming to the east, he found mighty leaders of elephant-herds (slain) and saw the earth marked with Bhima's (foot-prints). Then seeing thousands of deer and hundreds of lions lying in the forest, the king ascertained his course. And on the way were scattered trees pulled down by the wind caused by the thighs of that hero endued with the speed of the wind as he rushed after the deer. And proceeding, guided by those marks, to a spot filled with dry winds and abounding in leafless vegetables, brackish and devoid of water, covered with thorny plants and scattered over with gravel, stumps and shrubs and difficult of access and uneven and dangerous, he saw in a mountain cavern his younger brother motionless, caught in the folds of that foremost of snakes."

SECTION 179

Vaisampayana continued, "Yudhishthira, finding his beloved brother coiled by the body of the serpent, said these words: 'O son of Kunti, how hast thou come by this misfortune! And who is this best of serpents having a body like unto a mountain mass?' Bhimasena said, 'O worshipful one, this mighty being hath caught me for food. He is the royal sage Nahusha living in the form of a serpent.' Yudhishthira said, 'O longlived one, do thou free my brother of immeasurable prowess; we will give thee some other food which will appease thy hunger.' The serpent said, 'I have got for diet even this son of a king, come to my mouth of himself. Do thou go away. Thou shouldst not stay here. (If thou remainest here) thou too shall be my fare to-morrow. O mighty-armed one, this is ordained in respect of me, that he that cometh unto my place, becometh my food and thou too art in my quarter. After a long time have I got thy younger brother as my food; I will not let him off; neither do I like to have any other food.' Thereat Yudhishthira said, 'O serpent, whether thou art a god, or a demon, or an Uraga, do thou tell me truly, it is Yudhishthira that asketh thee, wherefore, O snake, hast thou taken Bhimasena? By obtaining which, or by knowing what wilt thou receive satisfaction, O snake, and what food shall I give thee? And how mayst thou free him.' The serpent said, 'O sinless one, I was thy ancestor, the son of Ayu and fifth in descent from the Moon. And I was a king celebrated under the name of Nahusha. And by sacrifices and asceticism and study of the Vedas and self-restraint and prowess I had acquired a permanent dominion over the three worlds. And when I had obtained such dominion, haughtiness possessed me. And thousands of Brahmanas were engaged in carrying my chair. And intoxicated by supremacy, I insulted those Brahmanas. And, O lord of the earth, by Agastya have I been reduced to this pass! Yet, O Pandava, to this day the memory (of my former birth) hath not forsaken me! And, O king, even by the favour of that high-souled Agastya, during the sixth division of the day have I got for meal thy younger brother. Neither will I set him free, nor do I wish for any other food. But if to-day thou answerest the questions put by me, then, I shall deliver Vrikodara!" At this Yudhishthira said, 'O serpent, ask whatever thou listest! I shall, if I can, answer thy questions with the view of gratifying thee, O snake! Thou knowest fully what should be known by Brahmanas.

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Therefore, O king of snakes, hearing (thee) I shall answer thy queries!'

The serpent said, 'O Yudhishthira, say--Who is a Brahmana and what should be known? By thy speech I infer thee to be highly intelligent.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'O foremost of serpents, he, it is asserted by the wise, in whom are seen truth, charity, forgiveness, good conduct, benevolence, observance of the rites of his order and mercy is a Brahmana. And, O serpent, that which should be known is even the supreme Brahma, in which is neither happiness nor misery--and attaining which beings are not affected with misery; what is thy opinion?'

"The serpent said, 'O Yudhishthira, truth, charity, forgiveness, benevolence, benignity, kindness and the Veda [In as much as the rites performed by the Sudras have their origin in the Vedas.] which worketh the benefit of the four orders, which is the authority in matters of religion and which is true, are seen even in the Sudra. As regards the object to be known and which thou allegest is without both happiness and misery, I do not see any such that is devoid of these.'

"Yudhishthira said, Those characteristics that are present in a Sudra, do not exist in a Brahmana; nor do those that are in a Brahmana exist in a Sudra. And a Sudra is not a Sudra by birth alone--nor a Brahmana is Brahmana by birth alone. He, it is said by the wise, in whom are seen those virtues is a Brahmana. And people term him a Sudra in whom those qualities do not exist, even though he be a Brahmana by birth. And again, as for thy assertion that the object to be known (as asserted by me) doth not exist, because nothing exists that is devoid of both (happiness and misery), such indeed is the opinion, O serpent, that nothing exists that is without (them) both. But as in cold, heat doth not exist, nor in heat, cold, so there cannot exist an object in which both (happiness and misery) cannot exist?"

"The serpent said, 'O king, if thou recognise him as a Brahmana by characteristics, then, O long-lived one, the distinction of caste becometh futile as long as conduct doth not come into play.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'In human society, O mighty and highly intelligent serpent [This could be an allusion to the wise serpent in Judaism. The name Yudhishthira itself contains the word Yudah.], it is difficult to ascertain one's caste, because of promiscuous intercourse among the four orders. This is my opinion. Men belonging to all orders (promiscuously) beget offspring upon women of all the orders. And of men, speech, sexual intercourse, birth and death are common. And to this the Rishis have borne testimony by using as the beginning of a sacrifice such expressions as--of what caste so ever we may be, we celebrate the sacrifice. Therefore, those that are wise have asserted that character is the chief essential requisite. The natal ceremony of a person is performed before division of the umbilical cord. His mother then acts as its Savitri and his father officiates as priest. He is considered as a Sudra as long as he is not initiated in the Vedas. Doubts having arisen on this point, O prince; of serpents, Swayambhuba Manu has declared, that the mixed castes are to be regarded as better than the (other) classes, if having gone through the ceremonies of purification, the latter do not conform to the rules of good conduct, O excellent snake! Whosoever now conforms to the rules of pure and virtuous conduct, him have I, ere now, designated as a Brahmana.' The serpent replied, 'O Yudhishthira, thou art acquainted with all that is fit to be known and having listened to thy words, how can I (now) eat up thy brother Vrikodara!'"

SECTION 180

"Yudhishthira said, 'In this world, you are so learned in the Vedas and Vedangas; tell me (then), what one should do to attain salvation?'

"The serpent replied, 'O scion of the Bharata's race, my belief is that the man who bestows alms on proper objects, speaks kind words and tells the truth and abstains from doing injury to any creature goes to heaven.'

"Yudhishthira enquired, 'Which, O snake, is the higher of the two, truth or alms-giving? Tell me also the greater or less importance of kind behaviour and of doing injury to no creature.'

"The snake replied, 'The relative merits of these virtues, truth and alms-giving, kind speech and abstention from injury to any creature, are known (measured) by their objective gravity (utility). Truth is (sometimes) more praiseworthy than some acts of charity; some of the latter again are more commendable than true speech. Similarly, O mighty king, and lord of the earth, abstention from doing injury to any creature is seen to be important than good speech and vice-versa. Even so it is, O king, depending on effects. And now, if thou hast anything else to ask, say it all, I shall enlighten thee!' Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me, O snake, how the incorporal being's translation to heaven, its perception by the senses and its enjoyment of the immutable fruits of its actions (here below), can be comprehended.' The snake replied, 'By his own acts, man is seen to attain to one of the three conditions of human existence, of heavenly life, or of birth in the lower animal kingdom. Among these, the man who is not slothful, who injures no one and who is endowed with charity and other virtues, goes to heaven, after leaving this world of men. By doing the very contrary, O king, people are again born as men or as lower animals. O my son, it is particularly said in this connexion, that the man who is swayed by anger and lust and who is given to avarice and malice falls away from his human state and is born again as a lower animal, and the lower animals too are ordained to be transformed into the human state; and the cow, the horse and other animals are observed to attain to even the divine state*.' [* More literally, the state of the gods. It may appropriately be remarked here that the ordinary Hindu gods, of the post-Vedic period, like the gods of Ancient Greece and Italy, were simply a class of superhuman beings, distinctly contra-distinguished from the Supreme Spirit, the Paramatman or Parabrahma. After death, a virtuous man was supposed to be transformed into one of these so-called gods.] O my son, the sentient being, reaping the fruits of his actions, thus transmigrates through these conditions; but the regenerate and wise man reposes his soul in the everlasting Supreme Spirit. The embodied spirit, enchained by destiny and reaping the fruits of its own actions, thus undergoes birth after birth but he that has lost touch of his actions, is conscious of the immutable destiny of all born beings. [This is the well-known and popular doctrine of "transmigration of souls".]

"Yudhishthira asked, 'O snake, tell me truly and without confusion how that dissociated spirit becomes cognisant of sound, touch, form, flavour, and taste. O great-minded one, dost thou not perceive them, simultaneously by the senses? Do thou, O best of snakes, answer all these queries!' The snake replied, 'O long-lived one, the thing called Atman (spirit), betaking itself to corporeal tenement and manifesting itself through the organs of sense, becomes duly cognisant of perceptible objects. O prince of Bharata's race, know that the senses, the mind, and the intellect, assisting the soul in its perception of objects, are called Karanas. O my son, the eternal spirit, going out of its sphere, and aided by the mind, acting through the senses, the receptacles of all perceptions, successively perceives these things (sound, form, flavour, &c). O most valiant of men, the mind of living creatures is the cause of all perception, and, therefore, it cannot be cognisant of more than one thing at a time. That spirit, O foremost of men, betaking itself to the space between the eyebrows, sends the high and low intellect to different objects. What the Yogins perceive after the action of the intelligent principle by that is manifested the action of the soul.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me the distinguishing characteristics of the mind and the intellect. The knowledge of it is ordained as the chief duty of persons meditating on the Supreme Spirit.'

"The snake replied, 'Through illusion, the soul becomes subservient to the intellect. The intellect, though known to be subservient to the soul, becomes (then) the director of the latter. The intellect is brought into play by acts of perception; the mind is self-existent. The Intellect does not cause the sensation (as of pain, pleasure, &c), but the mind does. This, my son, is the difference between the mind and the intellect. You too are learned in this matter, what is your opinion?'

"Yudhishthira said, 'O most intelligent one, you have fine intelligence and you know all that is fit to be known. Why do you ask me that question? You knew all and you performed such wonderful deeds and you lived in heaven. How could then illusion overpower you? Great is my doubt on this point.' The snake replied, 'Prosperity intoxicates even the wise and valiant men. Those who live in luxury, (soon) lose their reason. So, I too, O Yudhishthira, overpowered by the infatuation of prosperity, have fallen from my high state and having recovered my self-consciousness, am enlightening thee thus! O victorious king, thou hast done me a good turn. By conversing with thy pious self, my painful curse has been expiated. In days of yore, while I used to sojourn in heaven in a celestial chariot, revelling in my pride, I did not think of anything else, I used to exact tribute from Brahmarshis, Devas, Yakshas, Gandharvas, Rakshasas, Pannagas and all other dwellers of the three worlds. O lord of earth, such was the spell of my eyes, that on whatever creature, I fixed them, I instantly destroyed his power. Thousands of Brahmarshis used to draw my chariot. The delinquency, O king, was the cause of my fall from my high prosperity. Among them, Agastya was one day drawing my conveyance, and my feet came in contact with his body; Agastya then pronounced (this curse) on me, in anger, 'Ruin seize thee, do thou become a snake.' So, losing my glory, I fell down from that excellent car and while falling, I beheld myself turned into a snake, with head downwards. I thus implored that Brahmana, 'May this curse be extinguished, O adorable one! You ought to forgive one who has been so foolish from infatuation.' Then he kindly told me this, as I was being hurled down (from heaven), "The virtuous king Yudhishthira will save thee from this curse, and when, O king, horrible sin of pride will be extinguished in thee; thou shalt attain salvation.' And I was struck with wonder on seeing (this) power of his austere virtues; and therefore, have I questioned thee about the attributes of the Supreme Spirit and of Brahmanas. Truth, charity, self-restraint, penance, abstention from doing injury to any creature, and constancy in virtue, these, O king, and not his race of family connexions, are the means, by which a man must always secure salvation. May this brother of thine, the mighty Bhimasena, meet with good luck and may happiness abide with thee! I must go to Heaven again.'"

Vaisampayana continued, "So saying, that king, Nahusha, quitted his serpentine form, and assuming his celestial shape he went back to Heaven. The glorious and pious Yudhishthira, too, returned to his hermitage with Dhaumya and his brother Bhima. Then the virtuous Yudhishthira narrated all that, in detail, to the Brahmanas who had assembled (there). On hearing that, his three brothers and all the Brahmanas and the renowned Draupadi too were covered with shame. And all those excellent Brahmanas desiring the welfare of the Pandavas, admonished Bhima for his foolhardiness, telling him not to attempt such things again, and the Pandavas too were greatly pleased at seeing the mighty Bhima out of danger, and continued to live there pleasantly."

SECTION 181

(Markandeya-Samasya Parva)

Vaisampayana said, "While they were dwelling at that place, there set in the season of the rains, the season that puts an end to the hot weather and is delightful to all animated beings. Then the black clouds, rumbling loudly, and covering the heavens and the cardinal points, ceaselessly rained during day and night. These clouds, counted by hundreds and by thousands, looked like domes in the rainy season. From the earth disappeared the effulgence of the sun; its place was taken by the stainless lustre of the lightning; the earth became delightful to all, being overgrown with grass, with gnats and reptiles in their joy; it was bathed with rain and possessed with calm. When the waters had covered all, it could not be known whether the ground was at all even or uneven;--whether there were rivers or trees or hills. At the end of the hot season, the rivers added beauty to the woods being themselves full of agitated waters, flowing with great force and resembling serpents in the hissing sound they made. The boars, the stags and the birds, while the rain was falling upon them began to utter sounds of various kinds which could be heard within the forest tracts. The chatakas, the peacocks and the host of male Kohilas and the excited frogs, all ran about in joy. Thus while the Pandavas were roaming about in the deserts and sandy tracts, the happy season of rain, so various in aspect and resounding with clouds passed away. Then set in the season of autumn, thronged with ganders and cranes and full of joy; then the forest tracts were overrun with grass; the river turned limpid; the firmament and stars shone brightly., And the autumn, thronged with beasts and birds, was joyous and pleasant for the magnanimous sons of Pandu. Then were seen nights, that were free from dust and cool with clouds and beautified by myriads of planets and stars and the moon. And they beheld rivers and ponds, adorned with lilies and white lotuses, full of cool and pleasant water. And while roving by the river Saraswati whose banks resembled the firmament itself and were overgrown with canes, and as such abounded in sacred baths, their joy was great. And those heroes who wielded powerful bows, were specially glad to see the pleasant river Saraswati, with its limpid waters full to the brim. And, O Janamejaya, the holiest night, that of the full moon in the month of Kartika in the season of autumn, was spent by them while dwelling there! And the sons of Pandu, the best of the descendants of Bharata, spent that auspicious juncture with righteous and magnanimous saints devoted to penance. And as soon as the dark fortnight set in immediately after, the sons of Pandu entered the forest named the Kamyaka, accompanied by Dhananjaya and their charioteers and cooks."

SECTION 182

Vaisampayana said, "O son of Kuru, they, Yudhishthira and others, having reached the forest of Kamyaka, were, hospitably received by hosts of saints and they lived together with Krishna. And while the sons of Pandu were dwelling in security in that place, many Brahmanas came to wait upon them. And a certain Brahmana said, 'He the beloved friend of Arjuna, of powerful arms and possessed of self control, descendant of Sura, of a lofty intellect, will come, for, O ye foremost of the descendants of Kuru, Hari knows that ye have arrived here. For, Hari has always a longing for your sight and always seeks your welfare. And Markandeya, who lived very many years devoted to great austerities, given to study and penance, will erelong come and meet you.' And the very moment that he was uttering these words, there was beheld Krishna, coming thitherward upon a car unto which were yoked the horses Saivya and Sugriva,--he the best of those that ride on cars, accompanied by Satyabhama, is like Indra by Sachi, the daughter of Pulaman. And the son of Devaki came, desirous to see those most righteous of the descendants of Kuru. And the sagacious Krishna, having alighted from the car, prostrated himself, with pleasure in his heart, before the virtuous king, in the prescribed way, and also before Bhima,

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that foremost of powerful men. And he paid his respects to Dhaumya, while the twin brothers prostrated themselves to him. And he embraced Arjuna of the curly hair; and spoke words of solace to the daughter of Drupada. And the descendant of the chief of the Dasaraha tribe, that chastiser of foes, when he saw the beloved Arjuna come near him, having seen him after a length of time, clasped him again and again. And so too Satyabhama also, the beloved consort of Krishna, embraced the daughter of Drupada, the beloved wife of the sons of Pandu. Then these sons of Pandu, accompanied by their wife and priests, paid their respects to Krishna, whose eyes resembled the white lotus and surrounded him on all sides. And Krishna, when united with Arjuna, the son of Pritha, the winner of riches and the terror of the demons assumed a beauty comparable to that of Siva, the magnanimous lord of all created beings, when he, the mighty lord, is united with Kartikeya (his son). And Arjuna, who bore a circlet of crowns on his head, gave an account of what had happened to him in the forest to Krishna, the elder brother of Gada. And Arjuna asked, saying, 'How is Subhadra, and her son Abhimanyu?' And Krishna, the slayer of Madhu, having paid his respects in the prescribed form to the son of Pritha, and to the priest, and seating himself with them there, spoke to king Yudhishthira, in words of praise. And he said, 'O king, Virtue is preferable to the winning of kingdoms; it is, in fact, practice of austerities! By you who have obeyed with truth and candour what your duty prescribed, have been won both this world and that to come! First you have studied, while performing religious duties; having acquired in a suitable way the whole science of arms, having won wealth by pursuing the methods prescribed for the military caste, you have celebrated all the time-honoured sacrificial rites. You take no delight in sensual pleasures; you do not act, O lord of men, from motives of enjoyment, nor do you swerve from virtue from greed of riches; it is for this, you have been named the Virtuous King, O son of Pritha! Having won kingdoms and riches and means of enjoyment, your best delight has been charity and truth and practice of austerities, O King, and faith and meditation and forbearance and patience! When the population of Kuru-jangala beheld Krishna outraged in the assembly hall, who but yourself could brook that conduct, O Pandu's son, which was so repugnant both to virtue and usage? No doubt, you will, before long, rule over men in a praiseworthy way, all your desires being fulfilled. Here are we prepared to chastise the Kurus, as soon as the stipulation made by you is fully performed! And Krishna, the foremost of the Dasarha tribe, then said to Dhaumya and Bhima and Yudhishthira, and the twins and Krishna, 'How fortunate that by your blessing Arjuna the bearer of the coronet, has arrived after having acquired the science of arms!" And Krishna, the leader of the Dasarha tribe, accompanied by friends, likewise spoke to Krishna, the daughter of Yajnasena, saying, 'How fortunate that you are united, safe and secure, with Arjuna, the winner of riches!' And Krishna also said, 'O Krishna, O daughter of Yajnasena, those sons of yours, are devoted to the study of the science of arms, are well-behaved and conduct themselves on the pattern, O Krishna, of their righteous friends. Your father and your uterine brothers proffer them a kingdom and territories; but the boys find no joy in the house of Drupada, or in that of their maternal uncles. Safely proceeding to the land of the Anartas, they take the greatest delight in the study of the science of arms. Your sons enter the town of the Vrishnis and take an immediate liking to the people there. And as you would direct them to conduct themselves, or as the respected Kunti would do, so does Subhadra direct them in a watchful way. Perhaps, she is still more careful of them. And, O Krishna, as Rukmini's son is the preceptor of Aniruddha, of Abhimanyu, of Sunitha, and of Bhanu; so he is the preceptor and the refuge of your sons also! And a good preceptor, would unceasingly give them lessons in the wielding of maces and swords and bucklers, in missiles and in the arts of driving cars and of riding horses, being valiant. And he, the son of Rukmini, having bestowed a very good training upon them, and having taught them the art of using various weapons in a proper way, takes satisfaction at the valorous deeds of your sons, and of Abhimanyu. O daughter of Drupada! And when your son goes out, in pursuit of (out-door) sports, each one of them is followed thither by cars and horses and vehicles and elephants.' And Krishna said to the virtuous king, Yudhishthira, The fighting men of the Dasarha tribe, and the Kukuras, and the Andhakas--let these, O king, place themselves at thy command--let them perform what thou desirest them. O lord of men, let the army of the tribe of Madhus, (resistless) like the wind, with their bows and led by Balarama whose weapon is the plough--let that army, equipped (for war), consisting of horsemen and foot soldiers and horses and cars and elephants, prepare to do your bidding. O son of Pandu! Drive Duryodhana, the son of Dhritarashtra, the vilest of sinful men, together with his followers and his hosts of friends to the path betaken by the lord of Saubha, the son of the Earth! You, O ruler of men, are welcome to stick to that stipulation which was made in the assembly-hall--but let the city of Hastina be made ready for you, when the hostile force has been slain by the soldiers of the Dasarha tribe! Having roamed at your pleasure in all those places where you may desire to go, having got rid of your grief and freed from all your sins--you will reach the city of Hastina--the well-known city situated in the midst of a fine territory!--Then the magnanimous king having been acquainted with the view, thus clearly set forth by Krishna that best of men, and, having applauded the same, and having deliberated, thus spoke with joined palms unto Kesava, 'O Kesava, no doubt, thou art the refuge of the sons of Pandu; for the sons of Pandu have their protector in thee! When the time will come, there is no doubt that thou wilt do all the work just mentioned by thee; and even more than the same! As promised by us, we have spent all the twelve years in lonely forests. O Kesava, having in the prescribed way completed the period for living unrecognised, the sons of Pandu will take refuge in thee. This should be the intention of those that associate with thee, O Krishna! The sons of Pandu swerve not from the path of truth, for the sons of Pritha with their charity and their piety with their people and their wives and with their relations have their protector in thee!"

Vaisampayana said, 'O descendant of Bharata, while Krishna, the descendant of the Vrishnis and the virtuous king, were thus talking, there appeared then the saint Markandeya, grown grey in the practise of penances. And he had seen many thousand years of life, was of a pious soul, and devoted to great austerities. Signs of old age he had none; and deathless he was, and endued with beauty and generous and many good qualities. And he looked like one only twenty-five years old. And when the aged saint, who had seen many thousand years of life, came, all the Brahamanas paid their respects to him and so did Krishna together with Pandu's son. And when that wisest saint, thus honoured, took his seat in a friendly way, Krishna addressed him, in accordance with the views of the Brahmanas and of Pandu's sons, thus,--

"The sons of Pandu, and the Brahmanas assembled here, and the daughter of Drupada, and Satyabhama, likewise myself, are all anxious to hear your most excellent words, O Markandeya! Propound to us the holy stories of events of bygone times, and the eternal rules of righteous conduct by which are guided kings and women and saints!"

Vaisampayana continued, "When they had all taken their seats, Narada also, the divine saint, of purified soul, came on a visit to Pandu's sons. Him also, then, of great soul, all those foremost men of superior intellect, honoured in the prescribed form, by offering water to wash his feet, and the well-known oblation called the Arghya. Then the godlike saint, Narada, learning that they were about to hear the speech of Markandeya, expressed his assent to the arrangement. And he, the deathless, knowing what would be opportune, said smilingly, 'O saint of the Brahmana caste, speak what you were about to say unto the sons of Pandu!' Thus addressed, Markandeya, devoted to great austerities, replied, 'Wait a moment. A great deal will be narrated.' Thus addressed, the sons of Pandu, together with those twice-born ones, waited a moment, looking at that great saint, (bright) as the mid-day sun."

Vaisampayana continued, "Pandu's son, the king of the Kuru tribe, having observed that the great saint as willing to speak, questioned him with a view to suggesting topics to speak upon, saying, 'You who are ancient (in years), know the deeds of gods and demons, and illustrious saints, and of all the royal ones. We consider you as worthy of being worshipped and honoured; and we have long yearned after your company. And here is this son of Devaki, Krishna, who has come to us on a visit. Verily, when I look at myself, fallen away from happiness, and when I contemplate the sons of Dhritarashtra, of evil life, flourishing in every way, the idea arises in me that it is man who does all acts, good or bad, and that it is he that enjoys the fruit the acts bring forth. How then is god the agent? And, O best of those that are proficient in the knowledge of God, how is it that men's actions follow them? Is it in this world? Or is it in some subsequent existence? And, O best of righteous men among the twice-born, in what way is an embodied animated being joined by his good and evil deeds that seek him out? Is it after death? Or is it in this world? And, O descendant of Bhrigu, is what we experience in this world the result of the acts of this very life? Or will the acts of this life bear fruit in the world to come? And where do the actions of an animated being who is dead find their resting place?"

"Markandeya said, 'O best of those that can speak, this question befits thee, and is just what it should be? Thou knowest all that there is to know. But thou art asking this question, simply for the sake of form. Here I shall answer thee: listen to me with an attentive mind, as to how in this world and in that to come, a man experienceth happiness and misery. The lord of born beings, himself sprung first of all, created, for all embodied beings, bodies which were stainless, pure, and obedient to virtuous impulses, O wisest of the descendants of Kuru! The ancient men had all their desires fulfilled, were given to praiseworthy courses of life, were speakers of truth, godly and pure. All were equal to the gods, could ascend to the sky at their pleasure, and could come back again; and all went about at their pleasure. And they had their death and their life also under their own control; and they had few sufferings; had no fear; and had their wishes fulfilled; and they were free from trouble; could visit the gods and the magnanimous saints; knew by heart all righteous rules; were self-controlled and free from envy. And they lived many thousand years; and had many thousand sons. Then in course of time they came to be restricted to walking solely on the surface of the earth, overpowered by lust and wrath, dependent for subsistence upon falsehood and trick, overwhelmed by greed and senselessness. Then those wicked men, when disembodied, on account of their unrighteous and unblessed deeds, went to hell in a crooked way. Again and again, they were grilled, and, again and again they began to drag their miserable existence in this wonderful world. And their desires were unfulfilled, the objects unaccomplished, and their knowledge became unavailing. And their senses were paralysed and they became apprehensive of everything and the cause of other people's sufferings. And they were generally marked by wicked deeds, and born in low families; they became wicked and afflicted with diseases, and the terror of others. And they became short-lived and sinful and they reaped the fruit of their terrible deeds. And coveting everything, they became godless and indifferent in mind, O son of Kunti! The destiny of every creature after death is determined by his acts in this world. Thou hast asked me where this treasure of acts of the sage and the ignorant remain, and where they enjoy the fruit of their good and evil deeds! Do thou listen to the regulations on this subject! Man with his subtle original body created by God lays up a great store of virtue and vice. After death he quits his frail (outer) body and is immediately born again in another order of beings. He never remains non-existent for a single moment. In his new life his actions follow him invariably as shadow and, fructifying, makes his destiny happy or miserable. The wise man, by his spiritual insight, knows all creatures to be bound to an immutable destiny by the destroyer and incapable of resisting the fruition of his actions in good or evil fortune. This, O Yudhishthira, is the doom of all creatures steeped in spiritual ignorance. Do thou now hear of the perfect way attained by men of high spiritual perception! Such men are of high ascetic virtue and are versed in all profane and holy writ, diligent in performing their religious obligations and devoted to truth. And they pay due homage to their preceptors and superiors and practise Yoga, are forgiving, continent and energetic and pious and are generally endowed with every virtue. By the conquest of the passions, they are subdued in mind; by practising yoga they become free from disease, fear and sorrow; they are not troubled (in mind). In course of birth, mature or immature, or while ensconced in the womb, in every condition, they with spiritual eyes recognize the relation of their soul to the supreme Spirit. Those great-minded Rishis of positive and intuitive knowledge passing through this arena of actions, return again to the abode of the celestials. Men, O king, attain what they have in consequence of the grace of the gods of Destiny or of their own actions. Do thou not think otherwise. O Yudhishthira, I regard that as the highest good which is regarded so in this world. Some attain happiness in this world, but not in the next; others do so in the next, but not in this. Some, again, attain happiness in this as well as in the next world; and others neither here nor in the next world. Those that have immense wealth, shine every day with well-decorated persons. O slayer of mighty foes, being addicted to carnal pleasures, they enjoy happiness only in this world, but not in the next. But those who are engaged in spiritual meditations and the study of the Vedas, who are diligent in asceticism, and who impair the vigour of their bodies by performing their duties, who have subdued their passions, and who refrain from killing any animated being, those men, O slayer of thy enemies, attain happiness in the next world, but not in this! Those who first live a pious life, and virtuously acquire wealth in due time and then marry and perform sacrifices, attain bliss both in this and the next world. Those foolish men again who do not acquire knowledge, nor are engaged in asceticism or charity or increasing their species; or in encompassing the pleasures and enjoyments of this world, attain bliss neither in this nor in the next world. But all of you are proficient in knowledge and possessed of great power and strength and celestial vigour. For the extermination (of the wicked) and for serving the purposes of the gods, ye have come from the other world and have taken your birth in this! Ye, who are so valiant, and engaged in asceticism, self-restraining exercises, and religious ordinances, and fond of exertion, after having performed great deeds and gratified the gods and Rishis and the Pitris, ye will at last in due course attain by your own acts the supreme region--the abode of all virtuous men! O ornament of Kuru's race, may no doubts cross thy mind on account of these thy sufferings, for this affliction is for thy good!"

SECTION 183

Vaisampayana continued,--"The sons of Pandu said to the high-souled Markandeya, 'We long to hear of the greatness of the Brahmanas Do thou tell us of it!' Thus asked, the revered Markandeya, of austere virtue and high spiritual energy, and proficient in all departments of knowledge, replied, 'A

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strong-limbed, handsome young prince of the race of the Haihayas, a conqueror of hostile cities, (once) went out hunting. And (while) roaming in the wilderness of big trees and thickets of grass, he saw, at no great distance from him, a Muni with the skin of a black antelope for his upper garment, and killed him for a deer. Pained at what he had done, and his senses paralysed with grief, he repaired to the presence of the more distinguished of the Haihaya chiefs. The louts-eyed prince related to them the particulars. On hearing the account, O my son, and beholding the body of the Muni who had subsisted on fruits and roots, they were sorely afflicted in mind. And they all set out enquiring here and there as they proceeded, as to whose son the Muni might be. And they soon after reached the hermitage of Arishtanemi, son of Kasyapa. And saluting that great Muni, so constant in austerity, they all remained standing, while the Muni, on his part, busied himself about their reception. And they said unto the illustrious Muni, 'By a freak of destiny, we have ceased to merit thy welcome: indeed, we have killed a Brahmana!' And the regenerate Rishi said to them, 'How hath a Brahmana come to be killed by you, and say where may be he? Do ye all witness the power of my ascetic practices!' And they, having related everything to him as it had happened went back, but found not the body of the dead Rishi on the spot (where they had left it). And having searched for him, they returned, ashamed and bereft of all perception, as in a dream. And then, O thou conqueror of hostile cities, the Muni Tarkshya, addressed them, saying, 'Ye princes, can this be the Brahmana of your killing? This Brahmana, endowed with occult gifts from spiritual exercises, is, indeed, my son!' Seeing that Rishi, O lord of the earth, they were struck with bewilderment. And they said, 'What a marvel! How hath the dead come to life again? Is it the power of his austere virtue by which he hath revived again?

We long to hear this, O Brahmana, if, indeed, it can be divulged?' To them, he replied, 'Death, O lords of men, hath no power over us! I shall tell ye the reason briefly and intelligibly. We perform our own sacred duties; therefore, have we no fear of death; we speak well of Brahmanas but never think any ill of them; therefore hath death no terror for us. Entertaining our guests with food and drink, and our dependants with plenty of food, we ourselves (then) partake of what is left; therefore we are not afraid of death. We are peaceful and austere and charitable and forbearing and fond of visiting sacred shrines, and we live in sacred places; therefore we have no fear of death. And we live in places inhabited by men who have great spiritual power; therefore hath death no terror for us. I have briefly told ye all! Return ye now all together, cured of all worldly vanity. Ye have no fear of sin!' Saying amen, O foremost scion of Bharata's race, and saluting the great Muni, all those princes joyously returned to their country."

SECTION 184

"Markandeya continued, 'Do ye again hear from me the glory of the Brahmanas! It is said that a royal sage of the name of Vainya was once engaged in performing the horse-sacrifice and that Atri desired to go to him for alms. But Atri subsequently gave up his desire of wealth, from religious scruples. After much thought he, of great power, became desirous of living in the woods, and, calling his wife and sons together, addressed them thus, 'Let us attain the highly tranquil and complete fruition of our desires. May it, therefore, be agreeable to you to repair quickly to the forest for a life of great merit.' His wife, arguing from motives of virtue also then said to him, 'Hie thee to the illustrious prince Vainya, and beg of him vast riches! Asked by thee, that royal sage, engaged in sacrifice will give thee wealth. Having gone there, O regenerate Rishi, and received from him vast wealth, thou canst distribute it among thy sons and servants and then thou canst go whithersoever thou pleasest. This, indeed, is the higher virtue as instanced by men conversant with religion.' Atri replied, 'I am informed, O virtuous one, by the high-souled Gautama, that Vainya is a pious prince, devoted to the cause of truth; but there are Brahmanas (about his persons) who are jealous of me; and as Gautama hath told me this, I do not venture to go there, for (while) there, if I were to advise what is good and calculated to secure piety and the fulfilment of one's desires, they would contradict me with words unproductive of any good. But I approve of any counsel and will go there; Vainya will give me kine and hoards of riches.'

"Markandeya continued, 'So saying, he, of great ascetic merit, hastened to Vainya's sacrifice and reaching the sacrificial altar and making his obeisance to the king and praising him with well-meaning speeches, he spoke these words, 'Blessed art thou, O king! Ruling over the earth, thou art the foremost of sovereigns! The Munis praise thee, and besides thee there is none so versed in religious lore'! To him the Rishi Gautama, of great ascetic merit, then indignantly replied saying, 'Atri, do not repeat this nonsense. (It seems) thou art not in thy proper senses. In this world of ours, Mahendra the lord of all created beings (alone) is the foremost of all sovereigns!' Then, O, great prince, Atri said to Gautama, 'As Indra, the lord of all creatures, ruleth over our destinies, so doth this king! Thou art mistaken. It is thou who hast lost thine senses from want of spiritual perception!' Gautama replied, 'I know I am not mistaken; it is thou who art labouring under a misconception in this matter. To secure the king's countenance, thou art flattering him in (this) assembly of the people. Thou dost not know what the highest virtue, is nor dost thou feel the need for it. Thou art like a child steeped in ignorance, for what then hast thou become (so) old in years?'

"Markandeya continued, 'While those two men were thus disputing in the presence of the Munis, who were engaged in Vainya's sacrifice the latter enquired, 'What is the matter with them, that maketh them talk so vociferously?' Then the very pious Kasyapa learned in all religious lore, approaching the disputants asked them what was the matter. And then Gautama, addressing that assembly of great Munis said, 'Listen, O great Brahmanas, to the point in dispute between us. Atri hath said that Vainya is the ruler of our destinies; great is our doubt on this point.'

"Markandeya continued, 'On hearing this, the great-mind Munis went instantly to Sanatkumara who was well versed in religion to clear their doubt. And then he of great ascetic merit, having heard the particulars from them addressed them these words full of religious meaning. And Sanatkumara said, 'As fire assisted by the wind burneth down forests, so a Brahmana's energy in union with a Kshatriya's or a Kshatriya's joined with a Brahmana's destroyeth all enemies. The sovereign is the distinguished giver of laws and the protector of his subjects. He is (a protector of created beings) like Indra, (a propounder of morals) like Sukra, (a counsellor) like Vrihaspati and (hence he is also called) the ruler of men's destinies. Who does not think it proper to worship the individual of whom such terms as 'preserver of created beings,' 'royal,' 'emperor,' 'Kshatriya' (or saviour of the earth), 'lord of earth', 'ruler of men', are applied in praise? The king is (also) styled the prime cause (of social order, as being the promulgator of laws), 'the virtuous in wars,' (and therefore, preserver after peace), 'the watchman,' 'the contented,' 'the lord,' 'the guide to salvation,' 'the easily victorious,' 'the Vishnu like,' 'of effective wrath,' 'the winner of battles' and 'the cherisher of the true religion.' The Rishis, fearful of sin, entrusted (the temporal) power to the Kshatriyas. As among the gods in heaven the Sun dispelleth darkness by his effulgence, so doth the king completely root out sin from this earth. Therefore is the king's greatness reduced from the evidences of the sacred books, and we are bound to pronounce for that side which hath spoken in favour of the king.'

"Markandeya continued, 'Then that illustrious prince, highly pleased with the victorious party, joyfully said to Atri, who had praised him erewhile. 'O regenerate Rishi, thou hast made and styled me the greatest and most excellent of men here, and compared me to the gods; therefore, shall I give thee vast and various sorts of wealth. My impression is that thou art omniscient. I give thee, O well-dressed and well-adorned one, a hundred millions of gold coins and also ten bharas of gold. Then Atri, of high austere virtues and great spiritual powers, thus welcomed (by the king), accepted all the gifts without any breach of propriety, and returned home. And then giving his wealth to his sons and subduing his self, he cheerfully repaired to the forest with the object of performing penances."

SECTION 185

"Markandeya continued, 'O thou conqueror of hostile cities, in this connexion Saraswati too, when interrogated by that intelligent Muni Tarkshya, had said (this). Do thou listen to her words! Tarkshya had asked, saying, 'Excellent lady, what is the best thing for a man to do here below, and how must he act so that he may not deviate from (the path of) virtue. Tell me all this, O beautiful lady, so that instructed by thee, I may not fall away from the path of virtue! When and how must one offer oblations to the (sacred) fire and when must he worship so that virtue may not be compromised? Tell me all this, O excellent lady, so that I may live without any passions, craving, or desire, in this world.'

"Markandeya continued, 'Thus questioned by that cheerful Muni and seeing him eager to learn and endued with high intelligence, Saraswati addressed these pious and beneficial words to the Brahmana, Tarkshya.'

"Saraswati said, 'He who is engaged in the study of the Vedas, and with sanctity and equanimity perceives the supreme Godhead in his proper sphere, ascends the celestial regions and attains supreme beatitude with the Immortals. Many large, beautiful, pellucid and sacred lakes are there, abounding with fish, flowers, and golden lilies. They are like shrines and their very sight is calculated to assuage grief. Pious men, distinctively worshipped by virtuous well-adorned golden-complexioned Apsaras, dwell in contentment on the shores of those lakes. He who giveth cows (to Brahmanas) attaineth the highest regions; by giving bullocks he reacheth the solar regions, by giving clothes he getteth to the lunar world, and by giving gold he attaineth to the state of the Immortals. He who giveth a beautiful cow with a fine calf, and which is easily milked and which doth not run away, is (destined) to live for as many years in the celestial regions as there are hairs on the body of that animal. He who giveth a fine, strong, powerful, young bullock, capable of drawing the plough and bearing burdens, reacheth the regions attained by men who give ten cows. When a man bestoweth a well-caparisoned kapila cow with a brazen milk-pail and with money given afterwards, that cow becoming, by its own distinguished qualities, a giver of everything reacheth the side of the man who gave her away. He who giveth away cows, reapeth innumerable fruits of his action, measured by the hairs on the body of that animal. He also saveth (from perdition) in the next world his sons and grandsons and ancestors to the seventh generation. He who presenteth to a Brahmana, sesamum made up in the form of a cow, having horns made of gold, with money besides, and a brazen milk-pail, subsequently attaineth easily to the regions of the Vasus. By his own acts man descends into the darksome lower regions, infested by evil spirits (of his own passions) like a ship tossed by the storm in the high seas; but the gift of kine to Brahmanas saves him in the next world. He who giveth his daughter in marriage, in the Brahma form, who bestoweth gifts of land on Brahmanas and who duly maketh other presents, attaineth to the regions of Purandara. O Tarkshya, the virtuous man who is constant in presenting oblations to the sacred fire for seven years, sanctifieth by his own action seven generations up and down.'

"Tarkshya said, 'O beautiful lady, explain to me who ask thee, the rules for the maintenance of the sacred fire as inculcated in the Vedas. I shall now learn from thee the time-honoured rules for perpetually keeping up the sacred fire.'"

SECTION 186

Then Yudhishthira, the son of Pandu, said to the Brahmana, Markandeya, 'Do thou now narrate the history of Vaivaswata Manu?

"Markandeya replied, 'O king, O foremost of men, there was a powerful and great Rishi of the name of Manu. He was the son of Vivaswan and was equal unto Brahma in glory. And he far excelled his father and grandfather in strength, in power, in fortune, as also in religious austerities. And standing on one leg and with uplifted hand, that lord of men did severe penance in the jujube forest called Visala. And there with head downwards and with steadfast eyes he practised the rigid and severe penance for ten thousand years. And one day, whilst he was practising austerities there with wet clothes on and matted hair on head, a fish approaching the banks of the Chirini, addressed him thus, 'Worshipful sir, I am a helpless little fish, I am afraid of the large ones; therefore, do thou, O great devotee, think it worth thy while to protect me from them; especially as this fixed custom is well established amongst us that the strong fish always preys upon the weak ones. Therefore do thou think it fit to save me from being drowned in this sea of terrors! I shall requite thee for thy good offices.' On hearing these words from the fish, Vaivaswata Manu was overpowered with pity and he took out the fish from the water with his own hands. And the fish which had a body glistening like the rays of the moon when taken out of the water was put back in an earthen water-vessel. And thus reared that fish O king, grew up in size and Manu tended it carefully like a child. And after a long while, it became so large in size, that there was no room for it in that vessel. And then seeing Manu (one day), it again addressed these words to him, 'Worshipful sir, do thou appoint some better habitation for me.' And then the adorable Manu, the conqueror of hostile cities, took it out of that vessel and carried it to a large tank and placed it there. And there again the fish grew for many a long year. And although the tank was two yojanas in length and one yojana in width, even there, O lotus-eyed son of Kunti and ruler of men, was no room for the fish to play about! And beholding Manu it said again, 'O pious and adorable father, take me to the Ganga, the favourite spouse of the Ocean so that I may live there; or do as thou listest. O sinless one, as I have grown to this great bulk by thy favour I shall do thy bidding cheerfully.' Thus asked the upright and continent and worshipful Manu took the fish to the river Ganga and he put it into the river with his own hands. And there, O conqueror of thy enemies, the fish again grew for some little time and then beholding Manu, it said again, 'O lord, I am unable to move about in the Ganga on account of my great body; therefore, worshipful sir, do thou please take me quickly to the sea!' O son of Pritha, Manu then taking it out of the Ganga, carried it to the sea and consigned it there. And despite its great bulk, Manu transported it easily and its touch and smell were also pleasant to him. And when it was thrown into the sea by Manu, it said these words to him with a smile, 'O adorable being, thou hast protected me with special care; do thou now listen to me as to what thou shouldst do in the fulness of time! O fortunate and worshipful sir, the dissolution of all this mobile and immobile world is nigh at hand. The time for the purging of this world is now ripe. Therefore do I now explain what is good for thee! The mobile and immobile divisions of the creation, those that have the power of locomotion, and those that have it not, of all these the terrible doom hath now approached. Thou shall

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build a strong massive ark and have it furnished with a long rope. On that must thou ascend, O great Muni, with the seven Rishis and take with thee all the different seeds which were enumerated by regenerate Brahmanas in days of yore, and separately and carefully must thou preserve them therein. And whilst there, O beloved of the Munis, thou shall wait for me, and I shall appear to thee like a horned animal, and thus, O ascetic, shall thou recognise me! And I shall now depart, and thou shall act according to my instructions, for, without my assistance, thou canst not save thyself from that fearful flood.' Then Manu said unto the fish, 'I do not doubt all that thou hast said, O great one! Even so shall I act!' And giving instructions to each other, they both went away. And Manu then, O great and powerful king and conqueror of thy enemies, procured all the different seeds as directed by the fish, and set sail in an excellent vessel on the surging sea. And then, O lord of the earth, he bethought himself of that fish. And the fish too, O conqueror of thy enemies and foremost scion of Bharata's race, knowing his mind, appeared there with horns on his head. And then, O tiger among men, beholding in the ocean that horned fish emerging like a rock in the form of which he had been before appraised, he lowered the ropy noose on its head. And fastened by the noose, the fish, O king and conqueror of hostile cities, towed the ark with great force through the salt waters. And it conveyed them in that vessel on the roaring and billow beaten sea. And, O conqueror of thy enemies and hostile cities, tossed by the tempest on the great ocean, the vessel reeled about like a drunken harlot. And neither land nor the four cardinal points of the compass, could be distinguished.

And there was water everywhere and the waters covered the heaven and the firmament also. And, O bull of Bharata's race, when the world was thus flooded, none but Manu, the seven Rishis and the fish could be seen. And, O king, the fish diligently dragged the boat through the flood for many a long year and then, O descendant of Kuru and ornament of Bharata's race, it towed the vessel towards the highest peak of the Himavat. And, O Bharata, the fish then told those on the vessel to tie it to the peak of the Himavat. And hearing the words of the fish they immediately tied the boat on that peak of the mountain and, O son of Kunti and ornament of Bharata's race, know that that high peak of the Himavat is still called by the name of Naubandhana (the harbour). Then the fish addressing the associated Rishis told them these words, 'I am Brahma, the Lord of all creatures; there is none greater than myself. Assuming the shape of a fish, I have saved you from this cataclysm. Manu will create (again) all beings--gods, Asuras and men, all those divisions of creation which have the power of locomotion and which have it not. By practicing severe austerities he will acquire this power, and with my blessing, illusion will have no power over him.'

"So saying the fish vanished instantly. And Vaivaswata Manu himself became desirous of creating the world. In this work of creation illusion overtook him and he, therefore, practised great asceticism. And endowed with ascetic merit, Manu, O ornament of Bharata's race, again set about his work of creating all beings in proper and exact order. This story which I have narrated to thee and the hearing of which destroyeth all sin, is celebrated as the Legend of the Fish. And the man who listeneth every day to this primeval history of Manu, attaineth happiness and all other objects of desire and goeth to heaven."

SECTION 187

"Then the virtuous king Yudhishthira in all humility again enquired of the illustrious Markandeya, saying, 'O great Muni, thou hast seen many thousands of ages pass away. In this world there is none so longlived as thou! O best of those that have attained the knowledge of Supreme Spirit, there is none equal to thee in years except the great-minded Brahma living in the most exalted place. Thou, O Brahmana, worshippest Brahma at the time of the great dissolution of the universe, when this world is without sky and without the gods and Danavas. And when that cataclysm ceaseth and the Grandsire awaketh, thou alone, O regenerate Rishi, beholdest Brahma duly re-create the four orders of beings after having filled the cardinal points with air and consigned the waters to their proper place. Thou, O great Brahmana, hast worshipped in his presence the great Lord and Grandsire of all creatures with soul rapt in meditation and entirely swallowed up in Him! And, O Brahmana, thou hast many a time witnessed with thy eyes, the primeval acts of creation, and, plunged in severe ascetic austerities, thou hast also surpassed the Prajapatis themselves! Thou art esteemed as one who is nearest to Narayana, in the next world. Many a time in days of yore hast thou beheld the Supreme Creator of the universe with eyes of spiritual abstraction and renunciation, having first opened thy pure and lotus-like heart--the only place where the multiform Vishnu of universal knowledge may be seen! It is for this, O learned Rishi, by the grace of God neither all-destroying Death, nor dotage that causeth the decay of the body, hath any power over thee! When neither the sun, nor the moon, nor fire, nor earth, nor air, nor sky remains, when all the world being destroyed looketh like one vast ocean, when the Gods and Asuras and the great Uragas are annihilated, and when the great-minded Brahma, the Lord of all creatures, taking his seat on a lotus flower, sleepeth there, then thou alone remainest to worship him! And, O best of Brahman as thou hast seen all this that occurred before, with thy own eyes. And thou alone hast witnessed many things by the senses, and never in all the worlds hath there been any thing unknown to thee! Therefore do I long to hear any discourse explaining the causes of things!"

"Markandeya replied, 'Indeed, I shall explain all, after having bowed down to that Self-existent, Primordial Being, who is eternal and undeteriorating and inconceivable, and who is at once vested with and divested of attributes. O tiger among men, this Janardana attired in yellow robes is the grand Mover and Creator of all, the Soul and Framer of all things, and the lord of all! He is also called the Great, the Incomprehensible, the Wonderful and the Immaculate. He is without beginning and without end, pervades all the world, is Unchangeable and Undeteriorating. He is the Creator of all, but is himself uncreate and is the Cause of all power. His knowledge is greater than that of all the gods together. O best of kings and pre-eminent of men, after the dissolution of the universe, all this wonderful creation again comes into life. Four thousand years have been said to constitute the Krita Yuga. Its dawn also, as well as its eve, hath been said to comprise four hundred years. The Treta-Yuga is said to comprise three thousand years, and its dawn, as well as its eve, is said to comprise three hundred years. The Yuga that comes next is called Dwapara, and it hath been computed to consist of two thousand years. Its dawn, as well as its eve, is said to comprise two hundred years. The next Yuga, called Kali, is said to comprise one thousand years and its dawn, as well as eve, is said to comprise one hundred years. Know, O king, that the duration of the dawn is the same as that of the eve of a Yuga. And after the Kali Yuga is over, the Krita Yuga comes again. A cycle of the Yugas thus comprised a period of twelve thousand years. A full thousand of such cycles would constitute a day of Brahma. O tiger among men, when all this universe is withdrawn and ensconced within its home--the Creator himself--that disappearance of all things is called by the learned to be Universal Destruction. O bull of the Bharata race, towards the end of the last mentioned period of one thousand years, i.e., when the period wanted to complete a cycle is short, men generally become addicted to falsehood in speech. O son of Pritha, then sacrifices and gifts and vows, instead of being performed by principals are suffered to be performed by representatives!

Brahmanas then perform acts that are reserved for the Sudras, and the Sudras betake themselves to the acquisition of wealth. Then Kshatriyas also betake themselves to the practice of religious acts. In the Kali age, the Brahmanas also abstain from sacrifices and the study of the Vedas, are divested of their staff and deer-skin, and in respect of food become omnivorous. And, O son, the Brahmanas in that age also abstain from prayers and meditation while the Sudras betake themselves to these! The course of the world looketh contrary, and indeed, these are the signs that foreshadow the Universal Destruction. And, O lord of men, numerous Mlecha kings then rule over the earth! And those sinful monarchs, addicted to false speech, govern their subjects on principles that are false. The Andhhas, the Sakas, the Pulindas, the Yavanas, the Kamvojas, the Valhikas and the Abhiras, then become, O best of men, possessed of bravery and the sovereignty of the earth. This, O tiger among men, becometh the state of the world during the eve, O Bharata, of the Kali age! Not a single Brahmana then adhereth to the duties of his order. And the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas also, O monarch, follow practices contrary to those that are proper for their own orders. And men become short-lived, weak in strength, energy, and prowess; and endued with small might and diminutive bodies, they become scarcely truthful in speech. And the human population dwindles away over large tracts of country, and the regions of the earth, North and South, and East and West, become crowded with animals and beasts of prey. And during this period, they also that utter Brahma, do so in vain. The Sudras address Brahmanas, saying, Bho, while the Brahmanas address Sudras, saying Respected Sir. And, O tiger among men, at the end of the Yuga, animals increase enormously. And, O king, odours and perfumes do not then become so agreeable to our sense of scent, and, O tiger among men, the very tastes of things do not then so well accord with our organs of taste as at other periods! And, O king, women then become mothers of numerous progeny, endued with low statures, and destitute of good behaviour and good manners. And they also make their very mouths serve the purposes of the organ of procreation. And famine ravages the habitations of men, and the highways are infested by women of ill fame, while females in general, O king, become at such periods hostile to their lords and destitute of modesty! And, O king, the very kine at such periods yield little milk, while the trees, sat over with swarms of crows, do not produce many flowers and fruits. And, O lord of the earth, regenerate classes, tainted with the sin of slaying Brahmanas, accept gifts from monarchs that are addicted to falsehood in speech. And filled with covetousness and ignorance, and bearing on their persons the outward symbols of religion, they set out on eleemosynary rounds, afflicting the people of the Earth. And people leading domestic lives, afraid of the burden of taxes, become deceivers, while Brahmanas, falsely assuming the garb of ascetics, earn wealth by trade, with nails and hair unpared and uncut. And, O tiger among men, many of the twice-born classes become, from avarice of wealth, religious mendicants of the Brahmacharin order. And, O monarch, men at such periods behave contrary to the modes of life to which they betake themselves, and addicted to intoxicating drinks and capable of violating the beds of their preceptors, their desires are all of this world, pursuing matters ministering to the flesh and the blood. And O tiger among men, at such period the asylums of ascetics become full of sinful and audacious wretches ever applauding lives of dependence. And the illustrious chastiser of Paka never showers rain according to the seasons and the seeds also that are scattered on earth, do not, O Bharata, all sprout forth. And men, unholy in deed and thought, take pleasure in envy and malice. And, O sinless one, the earth then becometh full of sin and immorality. And, O lord of the earth, he that becometh virtuous at such periods doth not live long. Indeed, the earth becometh reft of virtue in every shape. And, O tiger among men, the merchants and traders then full of guile, sell large quantities of articles with false weights and measures. And they that are virtuous do not prosper; while they that are sinful proper exceedingly. And virtue loseth her strength while sin becometh all powerful. And men that are devoted to virtue become poor and short-lived; while they that are sinful become long-lived and win prosperity. And in such times, people behave sinfully even in places of public amusements in cities and towns. And men always seek the accomplishment of their ends by means that are sinful. And having earned fortunes that are really small they become intoxicated with the pride of wealth. And O monarch, many men at such periods strive to rob the wealth that hath from trust been deposited with them in secrecy. And wedded to sinful practices, they shamelessly declare--there is nothing in deposit. And beasts of prey and other animals and fowl may be seen to lie down in places of public amusement in cities and towns, as well as in sacred edifices. And, O king girls of seven or eight years of age do then conceive, while boys of ten or twelve years beget offspring. An in their sixteenth year, men are overtaken with decrepitude and decay and the period of life itself is soon outrun. And O king, when men become so short-lived, more youths act like the aged; while all that is observable in youth may be noticed in the old. And women given to impropriety of conduct and marked by evil manners, deceive even the best of husbands and forget themselves with menials and slaves and even with animals. And O king, even women that are wives of heroes seek the companionship of other men and forget themselves with these during the life-time of their husbands.

"O king, towards the end of those thousands of years constituting the four Yugas and when the lives of men become so short, a drought occurs extending for many years. And then, O lord of the earth, men and creatures endued with small strength and vitality, becoming hungry die by thousands. And then, O lord of men, seven blazing Suns, appearing in the firmament, drink up all the waters of the Earth that are in rivers or seas. And, O bull of the Bharata race, then also everything of the nature of wood and grass that is wet to dry, is consumed and reduced to ashes. And then, O Bharata, the fire called Samvartaka impelled by the winds appeareth on the earth that hath already been dried to cinders by the seven Suns. And then that fire, penetrating through the Earth and making its appearance, in the nether regions also, begetteth great terror in the hearts of the gods, the Danavas and the Yakshas. And, O lord of the earth, consuming the nether regions as also everything upon this Earth that fire destroyeth all things in a moment. And that fire called Samvartaka aided by that inauspicious wind, consumeth this world extending for hundreds and thousands of yojanas. And that lord of all things, that fire, blazing forth in effulgence consumeth this universe with gods and Asuras and Gandharvas and Yakshas and Snakes and Rakshasas. And there rise in the sky deep masses of clouds, looking like herds of elephants and decked with wreaths of lightning that are wonderful to behold. And some of those clouds are of the hue of the blue lotus; and some are of the hue of the water-lily; and some resemble in tint the filaments of the lotus and some are purple and some are yellow as turmeric and some of the hue of the crows' egg. And some are bright as the petals of the lotus and some red as vermillion. And some resemble palatial cities in shape and some herds of elephants. And some are of the form of lizards and some of crocodiles and sharks. And, O king, the clouds that gather in the sky on the occasion are terrible to behold and wreathed with lightnings, roar frightfully. And those vapoury masses, charged with rain, soon cover the entire welkin. And, O king, those masses of vapour then flood with water the whole earth with her mountains and forests and mines. And, O bull among men, urged by the Supreme Lord those clouds roaring frightfully,

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soon flood over the entire surface of the earth. And pouring in a great quantity of water and filling the whole earth, they quench that terrible inauspicious fire (of which I have already spoken to thee). And urged by the illustrious Lord those clouds filling the earth with their downpour shower incessantly for twelve years. And then, O Bharata, the Ocean oversteps his continents, the mountains sunder in fragments, and the Earth sinks under the increasing flood. And then moved on a sudden by the impetus of the wind, those clouds wander along the entire expanse of the firmament and disappear from the view. And then, O ruler of men, the Self-create Lord--the first Cause of everything--having his abode in the lotus, drinketh those terrible winds and goeth to sleep, O Bharata!

"And then when the universe become one dead expanse of water, when all mobile and immobile creatures have been destroyed, when the gods and the Asuras cease to be, when the Yakshas and the Rakshasas are no more, when man is not, when trees and beasts of prey have disappeared, when the firmament itself has ceased to exist, I alone, O lord of the earth, wander in affliction. And, O best of kings, wandering over that dreadful expanse of water, my heart becometh afflicted in consequence of my not beholding any creature! And, O king, wandering without cessation, through that flood, I become fatigued, but I obtain no resting place! And some time after I behold in that expanse of accumulated waters a vast and wide-extending banian tree, O lord of earth! And I then behold, O Bharata, seated on a conch, O king, overlaid with a celestial bed and attached to a far-extended bough of that banian, a boy, O great king, of face fair as the lotus or the moon, and of eyes, O ruler of men, large as petals of a full blown lotus! And at this sight, O lord of earth, wonder filled my heart. And I asked myself, 'How doth this boy alone sit here when the world itself hath been destroyed?' And, O king, although I have full knowledge of the Past, the Present, and the Future, still I failed to learn anything of this by means of even ascetic meditation. Endued with the lustre of the Atasi flower, and decked with the mark of Sreevatsa, he seemed to me to be like the abode of Lakshmi, herself. And that boy, of eyes like the petals of the lotus, having the mark of Sreevatsa, and possessed of blazing effulgence, then addressed me in words highly pleasant to the ear, saying, 'O sire, I know thee to be fatigued and desirous of rest. O Markandeya of Bhrigu's race, rest thou here as long as thou wishest. O best of Munis, entering within my body, rest thou there. That hath been the abode assigned to thee by me. I have been pleased with thee.' Thus addressed by that boy, a sense of total disregard possessed me in respect both of my long life and state of manhood. Then that boy suddenly opened his mouth, and as fate would have it, I entered his mouth deprived of the power of motion. But O king, having suddenly entered into the stomach of that boy, I behold there the whole earth teeming with cities and kingdoms. And, O best of men, while wandering through the stomach of that illustrious one, I behold the Ganga, the Satudru, the Sita, the Yamuna, and the Kausiki; the Charmanwati, the Vetravati; the Chandrabhaga, the Saraswati, the Sindhu, the Vipasa, and the Godavari; the Vaswokasara, the Nalini and the Narmada; the Tamra, and the Venna also of delightful current and sacred waters; the Suvenna, the Krishna-venna, the Irama, and the Mahanadi; the Vitasti, O great king, and that large river, the Cavery; the one also, O tiger among men, the Visalya, and the Kimpuna also. I beheld all these and many other rivers that are on the earth! And, O slayer of foes, I also beheld there the ocean inhabited by alligators and sharks, that mine of gems, that excellent abode of waters. And I beheld there the firmament also, decked with the Sun and the Moon, blazing with effulgence, and possessed of lustre of fire of the Sun. And I beheld there, O king, the earth also, graced with woods and forests. And, O monarch, I beheld there many Brahmanas also, engaged in various sacrifices; and the Kshatriyas engaged in doing good to all the orders; and the Vaisyas employed in pursuits in agriculture; and the Sudras devoted to the service of the regenerate classes. And, O king, while wandering through the stomach of that high-souled one, I also beheld the Himavat and the mountains of Hemakuta. And I also saw Nishada, and the mountains of Sweta abounding in silver. And, O king, I saw there the mountain Gandhamadana, and, O tiger among men, also Mandara and the huge mountains of Nila. And, O great king, I saw there the golden mountains of Meru and also Mahendra and those excellent mountains called the Vindhyas. And I beheld there the mountains of Malaya and of Paripatra also. These and many other mountains that are on earth were all seen by me in his stomach. And all these were decked with jewels and gems. And, O monarch, while wandering through his stomach, I also beheld lions and tigers and boars and, indeed, all other animals that are on earth, O great king! O tiger among men, having entered his stomach, as I wandered around, I also beheld the whole tribe of the gods with their chief Sakra, the Sadhyas, the Rudras, the Adityas, the Guhyakas, the Pitris, the Snakes and the Nagas, the feathery tribes, the Vasus, the Aswins, the Gandharvas, the Apsaras, the Yakshas, the Rishis, the hordes of the Daityas and the Danavas, and the Nagas also. O king, and the sons of Singhika and all the other enemies of the gods; indeed what else of mobile and immobile creatures may be seen on earth, were all seen by me, O monarch, within the stomach of that high-souled one. And, O lord, living upon fruits I dwelt within his body for many centuries wandering over the entire universe that is there. Never did I yet, O king, behold the limits of his body. And when, O lord of earth, I failed to measure the limits of that high-souled one's body, even though I wandered within him continuously in great anxiety of mind. I then, in thought and deed sought the protection of that boon-giving and pre-eminent Deity, duly acknowledging his superiority. And when I had done this, O king, I was suddenly projected (from within his body) through that high-souled one's open mouth by means, O chief of men, of a gust of wind. And, O king, I then beheld seated on the branch of that very banian that same Being of immeasurable energy, in the form of a boy with the mark of Sreevatsa (on his breast) having, O tiger among men, swallowed up the whole universe. And that boy of blazing effulgence and bearing the mark of Sreevatsa and attired in yellow robes, gratified with me, smilingly addressed me, saying, 'O Markandeya, O best of Munis, having dwelt for some time within my body, thou hast been fatigued! I shall however speak unto thee.' And as he said this to me, at that very moment I acquired a new sight, so to speak, in consequence of which I beheld myself to be possessed of true knowledge and emancipated from the illusions of the world. And, O child, having witnessed the inexhaustible power of that Being of immeasurable energy, I then worshipped his revered and well-shaped feet with soles bright as burnished copper and well-decked with toes of mild red hue, having placed them carefully on my head and joining my palms in humility and approaching him with reverence. I beheld that Divine Being who is the soul of all things and whose eyes are like the petals of the lotus. And having bowed unto him with joined hands I addressed him saying, 'I wish to know thee, O Divine Being, as also this high and wonderful illusion of thine! O illustrious one, having entered into thy body through thy mouth, I have beheld the entire universe in thy stomach! O Divine Being, the gods, the Danavas and the Rakshasas, the Yakshas, the Gandharvas, and the Nagas, indeed, the whole universe mobile and immobile, are all within thy body! And though I have ceaselessly wandered through thy body at a quick pace, through thy grace, O God, my memory faileth me not. And, O great lord, I have come out of thy body at thy desire but not of mine! O thou of eyes like lotus leaves, I desire to know thee who art free from all faults! Why dost thou stay here in the form of a boy having swallowed up the entire universe? It behoveth thee to explain all this to me. Why, O sinless one, is the entire universe within thy body? How long also, O chastiser of foes, wilt thou stay here? Urged by a curiosity that is not improper for Brahmanas, I desire, O Lord of all the gods, to hear all this from thee, O thou of eyes like lotus leaves, with every detail and exactly as it all happens, for all I have seen, O Lord, is wonderful and inconceivable!' And thus addressed by me, that deity of deities, of blazing effulgence and great beauty, that foremost of all speakers consoling me properly, spoke unto me these words."

SECTION 188

"Markandeya continued, 'The Deity then said, 'O Brahmana, the gods even do not know me truly! As however, I have been gratified with thee, I will tell thee how I created the universe! O regenerate Rishi, thou art devoted to thy ancestors and hast also sought my protection! Thou hast also beheld me with thy eyes, and thy ascetic merit also is great! In ancient times I called the waters by the name of Nara; and because the waters have ever been my ayana or home, therefore have I been called Narayana (the water-homed). O best of regenerate ones, I am Narayana, the Source of all things, the Eternal, the Unchangeable. I am the Creator of all things, and the Destroyer also of all. I am Vishnu, I am Brahma and I am Sakra, the chief of the gods. I am king Vaisravana, and I am Yama, the lord of the deceased spirits. I am Siva, I am Soma, and I am Kasyapa the lord of the created things. And, O best of regenerate ones, I am he called Dhatri, and he also that is called Vidhatri, and I am Sacrifice embodied. Fire is my mouth, the earth my feet, and the Sun and the Moon are my eyes; the Heaven is the crown of my head, the firmament and the cardinal points are my ears; the waters are born of my sweat. Space with the cardinal points are my body, and the Air is my mind. I have performed many hundreds of sacrifices with gifts in profusion. I am always present in the sacrifices of the gods; and they that are cognisant of the Vedas and officiate therein, make their offerings to me. On earth the Kshatriya chiefs that rule over men, in performing their sacrifices from desire of obtaining heaven, and the Vaisyas also in performing theirs from desire of winning those happy regions, all worship me at such times and by those ceremonials. It is I who, assuming the form of Sesha support (on my head) this earth bounded by the four seas and decked by Meru and Mandara. And O regenerate one, it is I who, assuming the form of a boar, had raised in days of yore this earth sunk in water. And, O best of Brahmanas, it is I who, becoming the fire that issues out of the Equine mouth, drink up the waters (of the ocean) and create them again. In consequence of my energy from my mouth, my arms, my thighs, and my feet gradually sprang Brahmanas and Kshatriyas and Vaisyas and Sudras. It is from me that the Rik, the Sama, the Yajus, and the Atharvan Vedas spring, and it is in me that they all enter when the time cometh. Brahmanas devoted to asceticism, they that value Peace as the highest attribute, they that have their souls under complete control, they that are desirous of knowledge, they that are freed from lust and wrath and envy, they that are unwedded to things of the earth, they that have their sins completely washed away, they that are possessed of gentleness and virtue, and are divested of pride, they that have a full knowledge of the Soul, all worship me with profound meditation. I am the flame known as Samvartaka, I am the Wind called by that name, I am the Sun wearing that appellation, and I am the fire that hath that designation. And, O best of Brahmanas, those things that are seen in the firmament as stars, know them to be the pores of my skin. The ocean--those mines of gems and the four cardinal points, know, O Brahmana, are my robes, my bed, and my home. By me have they been distributed for serving the purposes of the gods. And, O best of men, know also that lust, wrath, joy, fear, and the over-clouding of the intellect, are all different forms of myself. And, O Brahmana, whatever is obtained by men by the practice of truth, charity, ascetic austerities, and peace and harmlessness towards all creatures, and such other handsome deeds, is obtained because of my arrangements. Governed by my ordinance, men wander within my body, their senses overwhelmed by me. They move not according to their will but as they are moved by me. Regenerate Brahmanas that have thoroughly studied the Vedas, that have tranquillity in their souls, they that have subdued their wrath, obtain a high reward by means of their numerous sacrifices. That reward, however, is unattainable by men that are wicked in their deeds, overwhelmed by covetousness, mean and disreputable with souls unblessed and impure. Therefore, must thou know, O Brahmana that this reward which is obtained by persons having their souls under control and which is unobtainable by the ignorant and the foolish,--this which is attainable by asceticism alone,--is productive of high merit. And, O best of men, at those times when virtue and morality decrease and sin and immorality increase, I create myself in new forms. And, O Muni, when fierce and malicious Daityas and Rakshasas that are incapable of being slain by even the foremost of the gods, are born on earth, I then take my birth in the families of virtuous men, and assuming human body restore tranquillity by exterminating all evils. Moved by my own maya, I create gods and men, and Gandharvas and Rakshasas, and all immobile things and then destroy them all myself (when the time cometh). For the preservation of rectitude and morality I assume a human form, and when the season for action cometh, I again assume forms that are inconceivable. In the Krita age I become white, in the Treta age I become yellow, in the Dwapara I have become red and in the Kali age I become dark in hue, I the Kali age, the proportion of immorality becometh three-fourths, (a fourth only being that of morality). And when the end of the Yuga cometh, assuming the fierce form of Death, alone I destroy all the three worlds with their mobile and immobile existences. With three steps, I cover the whole Universe; I am the Soul of the universe; I am the source of all happiness; I am the humbler of all pride; I am omnipresent; I am infinite; I am the Lord of the senses; and my prowess is great. O Brahmana, alone do I set a-going the wheel of Time; I am formless; I am the Destroyer of all creatures; and I am the cause of all efforts of all my creatures. O best of Munis, my soul completely pervadeth all my creatures, but, O foremost of all regenerate ones, no one knoweth me. It is me that the pious and the devoted worship in all the worlds. O regenerate one, whatever of pain thou hast felt within my stomach, know, O sinless one, that all that is for thy happiness and good fortune. And whatever of mobile and immobile objects thou hast seen in the world, everything hath been ordained by my Soul which is the Spring of all existence. The grandsire of all creatures is half my body; I am called Narayana, and I am bearer of the conch-shell, the discus and the mace. O regenerate Rishi, for a period measured by a thousand times the length of the Yugas, I who am the Universal Soul sleep overwhelming all creatures in insensibility. And, O best of regenerate Rishis, I stay here thus for all time, in the form of a boy though I am old, until Brahma waketh up. O foremost of Brahmanas, gratified with thee, I who am Brahma have repeatedly granted thee boons, O thou who art worshipped by regenerate Rishis! Beholding one vast expanse of water and seeing that all mobile and immobile creatures have been destroyed, thou wert afflicted with melancholy. I know this, and it is for this that I showed thee the universe (within my stomach). And while thou wert within my body, beholding the entire universe, thou wert filled with wonder and deprived of thy senses. O regenerate Rishi, it is for this that thou wert speedily brought out by me through my mouth. I have (now) told thee of that Soul which is incapable of being comprehended by the gods and the Asuras. And as long as

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that great ascetic, the holy Brahma, doth not awake, thou, O regenerate Rishi, canst happily and trustfully dwell here. And when that Grandsire of all creatures awaketh up, I will then, O best of Brahmanas, alone create all creatures endued with bodies, the firmament, the earth, light, the atmosphere, water, and indeed all else of mobile and immobile creatures (that thou mayst have seen) on the earth!'

'Markandeya continued, 'Having said so unto me that wonderful Deity vanished, O son, from my sight! I then beheld this varied and wondrous creation start into life. O king, O thou foremost of the Bharata race, I witnessed all this, so wonderful, O thou foremost of all virtuous men, at the end of the Yuga! And the Deity, of eyes large as lotus leaves, seen by me, in days of yore is this tiger among men, this Janardana who hath become thy relative! It is in consequence of the boon granted to me by this one that memory doth not fail me, that the period of my life, O son of Kunti, is so long and death itself is under my control. This is that ancient and supreme Lord Hari of inconceivable soul who hath taken his birth as Krishna of the Vrishni race, and who endued with mighty arms, seemeth to sport in this world! This one is Dhatri and Vidhatri, the Destroyer of all the Eternal, the bearer of the Sreevatsa mark on his breast, the Lord of the lord of all creatures, the highest of the high, called also Govinda! Beholding this foremost of all gods, this ever-victorious Being, attired in yellow robes, this chief of the Vrishni race, my recollection cometh back to me! This Madhava is the father and mother of all creatures! Ye bulls of the Kuru race, seek ye the refuge of this Protector!'

Vaisampayana continued, "Thus addressed, the sons of Pritha and those bulls among men--the twins, along with Draupadi, all bowed down unto Janardana. And that tiger among men deserving of every respect thus revered by the sons of Pandu, then consoled them all with words of great sweetness."

SECTION 189

"Vaisampayana said Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, once more asked the great Muni Markandeya about the future course of the government of the Earth.

"And Yudhishthira said, 'O thou foremost of all speakers, O Muni of Bhrigu's race, that which we have heard from thee about the destruction and re-birth of all things at the end of the Yuga, is, indeed, full of wonder! I am filled with curiosity, however, in respect of what may happen in the Kali age. When morality and virtue will be at an end, what will remain there! What will be the prowess of men in that age, what their food, and what their amusements? What will be the period of life at the end of the Yuga? What also is the limit, having attained which the Krita age will begin anew? Tell me all in detail, O Muni, for all that thou narratest is varied and delightful.'

"Thus addressed, that foremost of Munis began his discourse again, delighting that tiger of the Vrishni race and the sons of Pandu as well. And Markandeya said, 'Listen, O monarch, to all that hath been seen and heard by me, and to all, O king of kings, that hath been known to me by intuition from the grace of the God of gods! O bull of the Bharata race, listen to me as I narrate the future history of the world during the sinful age. O bull of the Bharata race, in the Krita age, everything was free from deceit and guile and avarice and covetousness; and morality like a bull was among men, with all the four legs complete. In the Treta age sin took away one of these legs and morality had three legs. In the Dwapara, sin and morality are mixed half and half; and accordingly morality is said to have two legs only. In the dark age (of Kali), O thou best of the Bharata race, morality mixed with three parts of sin liveth by the side of men. Accordingly morality then is said to wait on men, with only a fourth part of itself remaining. Know, O Yudhishthira, that the period of life, the energy, intellect and the physical strength of men decrease in every Yuga! O Pandava, the Brahmanas and Kshatriyas and Vaisyas and Sudras, (in the Kali age) will practise morality and virtue deceitfully and men in general will deceive their fellows by spreading the net of virtue. And men with false reputation of learning will, by their acts, cause Truth to be contracted and concealed. And in consequence of the shortness of their lives they will not be able to acquire much knowledge. And in consequence of the littleness of their knowledge, they will have no wisdom. And for this, covetousness and avarice will overwhelm them all. And wedded to avarice and wrath and ignorance and lust men will entertain animosities towards one another, desiring to take one another's lives. And Brahmanas and Kshatriyas and Vaisyas with their virtue contracted and divested of asceticism and truth will all be reduced to an equality with the Sudras. And the lowest orders of men will rise to the position of the intermediate ones, and those in intermediate stations will, without doubt, descend to the level of the lowest ones. Even such, O Yudhishthira, will become the state of the world at the end of the Yuga. Of robes those will be regarded the best that are made of flax and of grain the Paspalum frumentacea 1 will be regarded the best. Towards this period men will regard their wives as their (only) friends. And men will live on fish and milk, goats and sheep, for cows will be extinct. And towards that period, even they that are always observant of vows, will become covetous. And opposed to one another, men will, at such a time, seek one another's lives; and divested of Yuga, people will become atheists and thieves. And they will even dig the banks of streams with their spades and sow grains thereon. And even those places will prove barren for them at such a time. And those men who are devoted to ceremonial rites in honour of the deceased and of the gods, will be avaricious and will also appropriate and enjoy what belongs to others. The father will enjoy what belongs to the son; and the son, what belongs to the father. And those things will also be enjoyed by men in such times, the enjoyment of which hath been forbidden in the scriptures. And the Brahmanas, speaking disrespectfully of the Vedas, will not practise vows, and their understanding clouded by the science of disputation, they will no longer perform sacrifices and the Homa. And deceived by the false science of reasons, they will direct their hearts towards everything mean and low. And men will till low lands for cultivation and employ cows and calves that are one year old, in drawing the plough and carrying burthens. And sons having slain their sires, and sires having slain their sons will incur no opprobrium. And they will frequently save themselves from anxiety by such deeds, and even glory in them. And the whole world will be filled with mlecchа behaviour and notions and ceremonies, and sacrifices will cease and joy will be nowhere and general rejoicing will disappear. And men will rob the possession of helpless persons of those that are friendless and of wisdoms also. And, possessed of small energy and strength, without knowledge and given to avarice and folly and sinful practices men will accept with joy the gifts made by wicked people with words of contempt. And, O son of Kunti, the kings of the earth, with hearts wedded to sin without knowledge and always boastful of their wisdom, will challenge one another from desire of taking one another's life. And the Kshatriyas also towards the end of such a period will become the thorns of the earth. And filled with avarice and swelling with pride and vanity and, unable and unwilling to protect (their subjects), they will take pleasure in inflicting punishments only. And attacking and repeating their attacks upon the good and the honest, and feeling no pity for the latter, even when they will cry in grief, the Kshatriyas will, O Bharata, rob these of their wives and wealth. And no one will ask for a girl (for purposes of marriage) and no one will give away a girl (for such purposes), but the girls will themselves choose their lords, when the end of the Yuga comes. And the kings of the earth with souls steeped in ignorance, and discontented with what they have, will at such a time, rob their subjects by every means in their power. And without doubt the whole world will be mlecchified. 1 And when the end of the Yuga comes, the right hand will deceive the left; and the left, the right. And men with false reputation of learning will contract Truth and the old will betray the senselessness of the young, and the young will betray the dotage of the old. And cowards will have the reputation of bravery and the brave will be cheerless like cowards. And towards the end of the Yuga men will cease to trust one another. And full of avarice and folly the whole world will have but one kind of food. And sin will increase and prosper, while virtue will fade and cease to flourish. And Brahmanas and Kshatriyas and Vaisyas will disappear, leaving, O king, no remnants of their orders. And all men towards the end of the Yuga will become members of one common order, without distinction of any kind. And sires will not forgive sons, and sons will not forgive sires. And when the end approaches, wives will not wait upon and serve their husbands. And at such a time men will seek those countries where wheat and barley form the staple food. And, O monarch, both men and women will become perfectly free in their behaviour and will not tolerate one another's acts. And, O Yudhishthira, the whole world will be mlecchified. And men will cease to gratify the gods by offerings of Sraddhas. And no one will listen to the words of others and no one will be regarded as a preceptor by another. And, O ruler of men, intellectual darkness will envelop the whole earth, and the life of man will then be measured by sixteen years, on attaining to which age death will ensue. And girls of five or six years of age will bring forth children and boys of seven or eight years of age will become fathers. And, O tiger among kings, when the end of the Yuga will come, the wife will never be content with her husband, nor the husband with his wife. And the possessions of men will never be much, and people will falsely bear the marks of religion, and jealousy and malice will fill the world. And no one will, at that time, be a giver (of wealth or anything else) in respect to any one else. And the inhabited regions of the earth will be afflicted with dearth and famine, and the highways will be filled with lustful men and women of evil repute. And, at such a time, the women will also entertain an aversion towards their husbands. And without doubt all men will adopt the behaviour of the mlecchas, become omnivorous without distinction, and cruel in all their acts, when the end of the Yuga will come. And, O thou foremost of the Bharatas, urged by avarice, men will, at that time, deceive one another when they sell and purchase. And without a knowledge of the ordinance, men will perform ceremonies and rites, and, indeed, behave as listeth them, when the end of the Yuga comes. And when the end of the Yuga comes, urged by their very dispositions, men will act cruelly, and speak ill of one another. And people will, without compunction, destroy trees and gardens. And men will be filled with anxiety as regards the means of living. And, O king, overwhelmed with covetousness, men will kill Brahmanas and appropriate and enjoy the possessions of their victims. And the regenerate ones, oppressed by Sudras, and afflicted with fear, and crying Oh and Alas, will wander over the earth without anybody to protect them. And when men will begin to slay one another, and become wicked and fierce and without any respect for animal life, then will the Yuga come to an end. And, O king, even the foremost of the regenerate ones, afflicted by robbers, will, like crows, fly in terror and with speed, and seek refuge, O perpetuator of the Kuru race, in rivers and mountains and inaccessible regions. And always oppressed by bad rulers with burthens of taxes, the foremost of the regenerate classes, O lord of the earth, will, in those terrible times, take leave of all patience and do improper acts by becoming even the servants of the Sudras. And Sudras will expound the scriptures, and Brahmanas will wait upon and listen to them, and settle their course of duty accepting such interpretations as their guides. And the low will become the high, and the course of things will look contrary. And renouncing the gods, men will worship bones and other relics deposited within walls. And, at the end of the Yuga, the Sudras will cease to wait upon and serve the Brahmanas. And in the asylums of great Rishis, and the teaching institutions of Brahmanas, and in places sacred to the gods and sacrificial compounds, and in sacred tanks, the earth will be disfigured with tombs and pillars containing bony relics and not graced with temples dedicated to the gods. All this will take place at the end of the Yuga, and know that these are the signs of the end of the Yuga. And when men become fierce and destitute of virtue and carnivorous and addicted to intoxicating drinks, then doth the Yuga come to an end. And, O monarch, when flowers will be begot within flowers, and fruits within fruits, then will the Yuga come to an end. And the clouds will pour rain unseasonably when the end of the Yuga approaches. And, at that time, ceremonial rites of men will not follow one another in due order, and the Sudras will quarrel with the Brahmanas. And the earth will soon be full of mlecchas, and the Brahmanas will fly in all directions for fear of the burthen of taxes. And all distinctions between men will cease as regards conduct and behaviour, and afflicted with honorary tasks and offices, people will fly to woody retreats, subsisting on fruits and roots. And the world will be so afflicted, that rectitude of conduct will cease to be exhibited anywhere. And disciples will set at naught the instructions of preceptors, and seek even to injure them. And preceptors impoverished will be disregarded by men. And friends and relatives and kinsmen will perform friendly offices for the sake of the wealth only that is possessed by a person. And when the end of the Yuga comes, everybody will be in want. And all the points of the horizon will be ablaze, and the stars and stellar groups will be destitute of brilliancy, and the planets and planetary conjunctions will be inauspicious. And the course of the winds will be confused and agitated, and innumerable meteors will flash through the sky, foreboding evil. And the Sun will appear with six others of the same kind. And all around there will be din and uproar, and everywhere there will be conflagrations. And the Sun, from the hour of his rising to that of setting, will be enveloped by Rahu. And the deity of a thousand eyes will shower rain unseasonably. And when the end of the Yuga comes, crops will not grow in abundance. And the women will always be sharp in speech and pitiless and fond of weeping. And they will never abide by the commands of their husbands. And when the end of the Yuga comes, sons will slay fathers and mothers. And women, living uncontrolled, will slay their husbands and sons. And, O king, when the end of the Yuga comes, Rahu will swallow the Sun unseasonably. And fires will blaze up on all sides. And travellers unable to obtain food and drink and shelter even when they ask for these, will lie down on the wayside refraining from urging their solicitations. And when the end of the Yuga comes, crows and snakes and vultures and kites and other animals and birds will utter frightful and dissonant cries. And when the end of the Yuga comes, men will cast away and neglect their friends and relatives and attendants. And, O monarch, when the end of the Yuga comes, men abandoning the countries and directions and towns and cities of their occupation, will seek for new ones, one after another. And people will wander over the earth, uttering, 'O father, O son', and such other frightful and rending cries.

"And when those terrible times will be over, the creation will begin anew. And men will again be created and distributed into the four orders beginning with Brahmanas. And about that time, in order that men may increase, Providence, according to its pleasure, will once more become propitious. And then when the Sun, the Moon, and Vrihaspati will, with the constellation Pushya [Pushya is the eighth lunar asterism consisting of three stars, of which one is, the Cancer. (See Wilson's Diet.).] , enter the same sign, the

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Krita age will begin again. And the clouds will commence to shower seasonably, and the stars and stellar conjunctions will become auspicious. And the planets, duly revolving in their orbits, will become exceedingly propitious. And all around, there will be prosperity and abundance and health and peace. And commissioned by Time, a Brahmana of the name of Kalki will take his birth. And he will glorify Vishnu and possess great energy, great intelligence, and great prowess. And he will take his birth in a town of the name of Sambhala in an auspicious Brahmana family. And vehicles and weapons, and warriors and arms, and coats of mail will be at his disposal as soon as he will think of them. And he will be the king of kings, and ever victorious with the strength of virtue. And he will restore order and peace in this world crowded with creatures and contradictory in its course. And that blazing Brahmana of mighty intellect, having appeared, will destroy all things. And he will be the Destroyer of all, and will inaugurate a new Yuga. And surrounded by the Brahmanas, that Brahmana will exterminate all the mlecchas wherever those low and despicable persons may take refuge."

SECTION 190

"Markandeya continued, 'Having exterminated the thieves and robbers, Kalki will, at a great Horse-sacrifice, duly give away this earth to the Brahmanas, and having established anew the blessed rectitude ordained by the Self-create, Kalki, of sacred deeds and illustrious reputation, will enter a delightful forest, and the people of this earth will imitate his conduct, and when the Brahmanas will have exterminated the thieves and robbers, there will be prosperity everywhere (on earth). And as the countries of the earth will one after another be subjugated, that tiger among Brahmanas, Kalki, having placed deer skins and lances and tridents there, will roam over the earth, adored by foremost Brahmanas and showing his regard for them and engaged all the while in slaughtering thieves and robbers. And he will exterminate the thieves and robbers amid heart-rending cries of 'Oh, father--' 'Oh, mother!--'O son!' and the like, and O Bharata, when sin will thus have been rooted out and virtue will flourish on arrival of the Krita age, men will once more betake themselves to the practice of religious rites. And in the age that will set in, viz., the Krita, well-planted gardens and sacrificial compounds and large tanks and educational centres for the cultivation of Brahmanic lore and ponds and temples will re-appear everywhere. And the ceremonies and rites of sacrifices will also begin to be performed. And the Brahmanas will become good and honest, and the regenerate ones, devoted to ascetic austerities, will become Munis and the asylums of ascetics, which had before been filled with wretches will once more be homes of men devoted to truth, and men in general will begin to honour and practise truth. And all seeds, sown on earth, will grow, and, O monarch, every kind of crop will grow in every season. And men will devotedly practise charity and vows and observances, and the Brahmanas devoted to meditation and sacrifices will be of virtuous soul and always cheerful, and the rulers of the earth will govern their kingdoms virtuously, and in the Krita age, the Vaisyas will be devoted to the practices of their order. And the Brahmanas will be devoted to their six-fold duties (of study, teaching, performance of sacrifices on their own account, officiating at sacrifices performed by others, charity and acceptance of gifts), and the Kshatriyas will be devoted to feats of prowess. And Sudras will be devoted to service of the three (high) orders,

"These, O Yudhishthira, are the courses of the Krita, the Treta, the Dwapara and the succeeding age. I have now narrated to thee everything. I have also told thee, O son of Pandu, the periods embraced by the several Yugas as generally known. I have now told thee everything appertaining to both the past and the future as narrated by Vayu in the Purana (which goes by his name and) which is adored by the Rishis. Being immortal I have many a time beheld and otherwise ascertained the courses of the world. Indeed, all I have seen and felt I have now told thee. And, O thou of unfading glory, listen now with thy brothers to something else I will presently tell thee for clearing thy doubts about religion! O thou foremost of virtuous men, thou shouldst always fix thy soul on virtue, for, O monarch, a person of virtuous soul obtaineth bliss both here and hereafter. And, O sinless one, listen to the auspicious words that I will now speak to thee. Never do thou humiliate a Brahmana, for a Brahmana, if angry, may by his vow destroy the three worlds."

Vaisampayana continued, "Hearing these words of Markandeya, the royal head of the Kurus, endued with intelligence and possessed of great lustre, spoke these words of great wisdom, 'O muni, if I am to protect my subjects, to what course of conduct should I adhere? And how should I behave so that I may not fall away from the duties of my order?'

"Markandeya, hearing this, answered, 'Be merciful to all creatures, and devoted to their good. Love all creatures, scorning none. Be truthful in speech, humble, with passions under complete control, and always devoted to the protection of thy people. Practise virtue and renounce sin, and worship thou the manes and the god and whatever thou mayst have done from ignorance or carelessness, wash them off and expiate them by charity. Renouncing pride and vanity, be thou possessed to humility and good behaviour. And subjugating the whole earth, rejoice thou and let happiness be thine. This is the course of conduct that accords with virtue. I have recited to thee all that was and all that will be regarded as virtuous. There is nothing appertaining to the past or the future that is unknown to thee. Therefore, O son, take not to heart this present calamity of thine. They that are wise are never overwhelmed when they are persecuted by Time. O thou of mighty arms, the very dwellers of heaven cannot rise superior to Time. Time afflicts all creatures. O sinless one, let not doubt cross thy mind regarding the truth of what I have told thee, for, if thou sufferest doubt to enter thy heart, thy virtue will suffer diminution! O bull of the Bharata race, thou art born in the celebrated family of the Kurus. Thou shouldst practise that which I have told thee, in thought, word and deed.'

Yudhishthira answered, "O thou foremost of the regenerate ones, at thy command I will certainly act according to all the instructions thou hast given me, and which, O lord, are all so sweet to the ear. O foremost of Brahmanas, avarice and lust I have none, and neither fear nor pride nor vanity. I shall, therefore, O lord, follow all that thou hast told me."

Vaisampayana continued, "Having listened to the words of the intelligent Markandeya, the sons of Pandu, O king, along with the wielder of the bow called Saranga, and all those bulls among Brahmanas, and all others that were there, became filled with joy. And having heard those blessed words appertaining to olden time, from Markandeya gifted with wisdom, their hearts were filled with wonder."

SECTION 191

Janamejaya said, "It behoveth thee to narrate to me in full the greatness of the Brahmanas even as the mighty ascetic Markandeya had expounded it to the sons of Pandu."

"Vaisampayana said, 'The eldest son of Pandu had asked Markandeya saying, 'It behoveth thee to expound to me the greatness of Brahmanas.' Markandeya answered him saying, 'Hear, O king, about the behaviour of Brahmanas in days of old.'

"And Markandeya continued, 'There was a king, by name Parikshit in Ayodhya and belonging to the race of Ikshvaku. And once upon a time Parikshit went a-hunting. And as he was riding alone on a horse chasing deer, the animal led him to a great distance (from the habitations of men). And fatigued by the distance he had ridden and afflicted with hunger and thirst he beheld in that part of the country whither he had been led, a dark and dense forest, and the king, beholding that forest, entered it and seeing a delightful tank within the forest, both the rider and the horse bathed in it, and refreshed by the bath and placing before his horse some stalks and fibres of the lotus, the king sat by the side of the tank. And while he was lying by the side of the tank, he heard certain sweet strains of music, and hearing those strains, he reflected, 'I do not see here the foot-prints of men. Whose and whence then these strains?' And the king soon beheld a maiden of great beauty gathering flowers singing all the while, and the maiden soon came before the king, and the king thereupon asked her, 'Blessed one, who art thou and whose?' And she replied, 'I am a maiden.' And the king said, 'I ask thee to be mine.' And the maiden answered, 'Give me a pledge, for then only I can be thine, else not.' And the king then asked about the pledge and the girl answered. 'Thou wilt never make me cast my eyes on water', and the king saying, 'So be it,' married her, and king Parikshit having married her sported (with her) in great joy, and sat with her in silence, and while the king was staying there, his troops reached the spot, and those troops beholding the monarch stood surrounding him, and cheered by the presence of troops, the king entered a handsome vehicle accompanied by his (newly) wedded wife. And having arrived at his capital he began to live with her in privacy. And persons that were even near enough to the king could not obtain any interview with him and the minister-in-chief enquired of those females that waited upon the king, asking, 'What do ye do here?' And those women replied, 'We behold here a female of unrivalled beauty. And the king sporteth with her, having married her with a pledge that he would never show her water.' And hearing those words, the minister-in-chief caused an artificial forest to be created, consisting of many trees with abundant flowers and fruits, and he caused to be excavated within that forest and towards one of its sides a large tank, placed in a secluded spot and full of water that was sweet as Amrita. The tank was well covered with a net of pearls. Approaching the king one day in private, he addressed the king saying, 'This is a fine forest without water. Sport thou here joyfully!' And the king at those words of his minister entered that forest with that adorable wife of his, and the king sported with her in that delightful forest, and afflicted with hunger and thirst and fatigued and spent, the king beheld a bower of Madhavi creepers [An Indian creeper of the order of Goertnera racemosa. It bears large white flowers of much fragrance.] and entering that bower with his dear one, the king beheld a tank full of water that was transparent and bright as nectar, and beholding that tank, the king sat on its bank with her and the king told his adorable wife, 'Cheerfully do thou plunge into this water!' And she, hearing those words plunged into the tank. But having plunged into the water she appeared not above the surface, and as the king searched, he failed to discover any trace of her. And the king ordered the waters of the tank to be baled out, and thereupon he beheld a frog sitting at the mouth of a hole, and the king was enraged at this and promulgated an order saying, 'Let frogs be slaughtered everywhere in my dominions! Whoever wishes to have an interview with me must come before me with a tribute of dead frogs.' And accordingly when frogs began to be terribly slaughtered, the affrighted frogs represented all that had happened unto their king, and the king of the frogs assuming the garb of an ascetic came before the king Parikshit, and having approached the monarch, he said, 'O king, give not thyself up to wrath! Be inclined to grace. It behoveth thee not to slay the innocent frogs.' Here occurs a couple of Slokas. (They are these):--'O thou of unfading glory, slay not the frogs! Pacify thy wrath! The prosperity and ascetic merits of those that have their souls steeped in ignorance suffer diminution! Pledge thyself not to be angry with the frogs! What need hast thou to commit such sin! What purpose will be served by slaying the frogs!' Then king Parikshit whose soul was filled with woe on account of the death of her that was dear to him, answered the chief of the frogs who had spoken to him thus, 'I will not forgive the frogs. On the other hand, I will slay them. By these wicked wretches hath my dear one been swallowed up. The frogs, therefore, always deserve to be killed by me. It behoveth thee not, O learned one, to intercede on their behalf.' And hearing these words of Parikshit, the king of the frogs with his senses and mind much pained said, 'Be inclined to grace, O king! I am the king of the frogs by name Ayu. She who was thy wife is my daughter of the name of Susobhana. This, indeed, is an instance of her bad conduct. Before this, many kings were deceived by her.' The king thereupon said to him, 'I desire to have her. Let her be granted to me by thee!' The king of the frogs thereupon bestowed his daughter upon Parikshit, and addressing her said, 'Wait upon and serve the king.' And having spoken these words to his daughter, he also addressed her in wrath saying, 'Since thou hast deceived many Kings for this untruthful behaviour of thine, thy offspring will prove disrespectful to Brahmanas!' But having obtained her, the king became deeply enamoured of her in consequence of her companionable virtues, and feeling that he had, as it were, obtained the sovereignty of the three worlds, he bowed down to the king of the frogs and reverenced him in due form and then with utterance choked in joy and tears said, 'I have been favoured indeed!' And the king of the frogs obtaining the leave of his daughter, returned to the place from which he had come and some time after the king begot three sons upon her and those sons were named Sala and Dala and Vala, and some time after, their father, installing the eldest of them of all on the throne and setting his heart on asceticism, retired into the forest. One day Sala while out a-hunting, beheld a deer and pursued it, on his car, and the prince said to his charioteer, 'Drive thou fast.' And the charioteer, thus addressed, replied unto the king, saying, 'Do not entertain such a purpose. This deer is incapable of being caught by thee. If indeed Vami horses had been yoked to thy car, then couldst thou have taken it.' Thereupon the king addressed his charioteer, saying, 'Tell me all about Vami horses, otherwise I will slay thee,' Thus addressed the charioteer became dreadfully alarmed and he was afraid of the king and also of Vamadeva's curse and told not the king anything and the king then lifting up his scimitar said to him, 'Tell me soon, else I will slay thee.' At last afraid of the king, the charioteer said, 'The Vami horses are those belonging to Vamadeva; they are fleet as the mind.' And unto his charioteer who had said so, the king said, 'Repair thou to the asylum of Vamadeva.' And reaching the asylum of Vamadeva the king said unto that Rishi, 'O holy one, a deer struck by me is flying away. It behoveth thee to make it capable of being seized by me by granting me thy pair of Vami horses.' The Rishi then answered him saying, 'I give thee my pair of Vami horses. But after accomplishing thy object, my Vami pair you should soon return.' The king then taking those steeds and obtaining the leave of the Rishi pursued the deer, having yoked the Vami pair unto his car, and after he had left the asylum he spoke unto his charioteer saying, 'These jewels of steeds the Brahmanas do not deserve to possess. These should not be returned to Vamadeva.' Having said this and seized the deer he returned to his capital and placed those steeds within the inner apartments of the palace.

"Meanwhile the Rishi reflected, 'The prince is young. Having obtained an excellent pair of animals, he is sporting with it in joy without returning it to me. Alas, what a pity it is!' And reflecting in this strain, the Rishi said unto a disciple of his, after the expiration of a month, 'Go, O Atreya, and say to the king that if he has done with the Vami steeds, he should return them unto thy preceptor.' And the disciple Atreya, thereupon, repairing to the king, spoke unto him as instructed, and the king replied saying, 'This pair of steeds

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deserves to be owned by kings. The Brahmanas do not deserve to possess jewels of such value. What business have Brahmanas with horses? Return thou contentedly!' And Atreya, thus addressed by the king, returned and told his preceptor all that had happened, and hearing this sad intelligence, Vamadeva's heart was filled with wrath, and repairing in person to the king he asked him for his steeds, and the king refused to give the Rishi what the latter asked, and Vamadeva said, 'O lord of earth, give me thou my Vami horses. By them hast thou accomplished a task which was almost incapable of being accomplished by thee. By transgressing the practices of Brahmanas and Kshatriyas, subject not thyself, O king, to death by means of the terrible noose of Varuna.' And hearing this, the king answered, 'O Vamadeva, this couple of excellent well-trained, and docile bulls are fit animals for Brahmanas.

O great Rishi, (take them and) go with them wherever thou likest. Indeed, the very Vedas carry persons like thee.' Then Vamadeva said, 'O king, the Vedas do, indeed, carry persons like us. But that is in the world hereafter. In this world, however, O king, animals like these carry me and persons like me as also all others.' At this the king answered, 'Let four assess carry thee, or four mules of the best kind, or even four steeds endued with the speed of the wind. Go thou with these. This pair of Vami horses, however, deserves to be owned by Kshatriyas. Know thou, therefore, that these are not thine.' At this, Vamadeva said, 'O king, terrible vows have been ordained for the Brahmanas. If I have lived in their observance, let four fierce and mighty Rakshasas of terrible mien and iron bodies, commanded by me, pursue thee with desire of slaying, and carry thee on their sharp lances, having cut up thy body into four parts.' Hearing this, the king said, 'Let those, O Vamadeva, that know thee as a Brahmana that in thought, word, and deed, is desirous of taking life, at my command, armed with bright lances and swords prostrate thee with thy disciples before me.' Then Vamadeva answered, 'O king, having obtained these my Vami steeds, thou hadst said, 'I will return them.' Therefore, give me back my Vami steeds, so thou mayst be able to protect thy life.' Hearing this, the king said, 'Pursuit of deer hath not been ordained for the Brahmanas. I do punish thee, however, for thy untruthfulness. From this day, too, obeying all thy commands I will, O Brahmana, attain to regions of bliss.' Vamadeva then said, 'A Brahmana cannot be punished in thought, word or deed. That learned person who by ascetic austerities succeedeth in knowing a Brahmana to be so, faileth not to attain to prominence in this world.'

"Markandeya continued, 'After Vamadeva had said this, there arose, O king, (four) Rakshasas of terrible mien, and as they, with lances in their hands, approached the king for slaying him, the latter cried aloud, saying, 'If, O Brahmana, all the descendants of Ikshvaku's race, if (my brother) Dala, if all these Vaisyas acknowledge my sway, then I will not yield up the Vami steeds to Vamadeva, for these men can never be virtuous.' And while he was uttering those words, those Rakshasas slew him, and the lord of earth was soon prostrated on the ground. And the Ikshvakus, learning that their king had been slain, installed Dala on the throne, and the Brahmana Vamadeva thereupon going to the kingdom (of the Ikshvakus), addressed the new monarch, saying, 'O king, it hath been declared in all the sacred books that persons should give away unto Brahmanas. If thou fearest sin, O king, give me now the Vami steeds without delay.' And hearing these words of Vamadeva, the king in anger spoke unto his charioteer, saying, 'Bring me an arrow from those I have kept, which is handsome to behold and tempered with poison, so that pierced by it Vamadeva may lie prostrate in pain, torn by the dogs.' Hearing this, Vamadeva answered, 'I know, O king, that thou hast a son of ten years of age, called Senajita, begotten upon thy queen. Urged by my word, slay thou that dear boy of thine without delay by means of thy frightful arrows!'

"Markandeya continued, 'At these words of Vamadeva, O king, that arrow of fierce energy, shot by the monarch, slew the prince in the inner apartments, and hearing this, Dala said there and then, 'Ye people of Ikshvaku's race, I will do ye good. I shall slay this Brahmana today, grinding him with force. Bring me another arrow of fierce energy. Ye lords of earth, behold my prowess now.' And at these words of Dala, Vamadeva said, 'This arrow of terrible mien and tempered with poison, that thou aimest at me, thou shall not, O ruler of men, be able to aim nor even to shoot.' And thereupon the king said, 'Ye men of Ikshvaku's race, behold me incapable of shooting the arrow that hath been taken up by me. I fail to compass the death of this Brahmana. Let Vamadeva who is blessed with a long life live.' Then Vamadeva said, 'Touching thy queen with this arrow, thou mayst purge thyself of the sin (of attempting to take the life of a Brahmana).' And king Dala did as he was directed and the queen then addressed the Muni, and said, 'O Vamadeva, let me be able to duly instruct this wretched husband of mine from day to day, imparting unto him words of happy import; and let me always wait upon and serve the Brahmanas, and by this acquire, O Brahmana, the sacred regions hereafter.' And hearing these words of the queen, Vamadeva said, 'O thou of beautiful eyes, thou hast saved this royal race. Beg thou an incomparable boon. I will grant thee whatever thou mayst ask. And, O thou faultless one, rule thou, O princess, these thy kinsmen and this great kingdom of the Ikshvakus!' And hearing these words of Vamadeva the princess said, 'This, O holy one, is the boon I seek, viz., that my husband may now be freed from his sin, and that thou mayst be employed in thinking of the weal of his son and kinsmen. This is the boon that I ask, O thou foremost of Brahmanas!'

"Markandeya continued, 'Hearing these words of the queen, that Muni, O thou foremost of the Kuru race, said, 'So be it.' And thereupon king Dala became highly glad and gave unto the Muni his Vami steeds, having bowed down unto him with reverence!'"

SECTION 192

Vaisampayana said, "The Rishis, the Brahmanas, and Yudhishthira then asked Markandeya, saying, 'How did the Rishi Vaka become so long lived?'

"Thus asked by them, Markandeya answered, 'The royal sage Vaka is a great ascetic and endowed with long life. Ye need not enquire into the reason of this.'

"Hearing this, O Bharata, the son of Kunti, king Yudhishthira the Just, along with his brothers, then asked Markandeya saying, 'It hath been heard by us that both Vaka and Dalvya are of great souls and endowed with immortality and that those Rishis, held in universal reverence, are the friends of the chief of the gods. O Holy One, I desire to listen lo the (history of the) meeting of Vaka and Indra that is full of both joy and woe. Narrate thou that history unto us succinctly.'

"Markandeya said, 'When that horrible conflict between the gods and the Asuras was over, Indra became the ruler of the three worlds. The clouds showered rain copiously. And the dwellers of the world had abundance of harvests, and were excellent in disposition. And devoted to virtue, they always practised morality and enjoyed peace. And all persons, devoted to the duties of their respective orders, were perfectly happy and cheerful, and the slayer of Vala, beholding all the creatures of the world happy and cheerful, became himself filled with joy. And he of a hundred sacrifices, the chief of the gods seated on the back of his elephant Airavata, surveyed his happy subjects, and he cast his eyes on delightful asylums of Rishis, on various auspicious rivers, towns full of prosperity, and villages and rural regions in the enjoyment of plenty. And he also cast his eyes upon kings devoted to the practice of virtue and well-skilled in ruling their subjects. And he also looked upon tanks and reservoirs and wells and lakes and smaller lakes all full of water and adored by best of Brahmanas in the observance, besides, of various excellent vows, and then descending on the delightful earth, O king, the god of a hundred sacrifices, proceeded towards a blessed asylum teeming with animals and birds, situated by the side of the sea, in the delightful and auspicious regions of the East on a spot overgrown with abundance of vegetation. And the chief of the gods beheld Vaka in that asylum, and Vaka also, beholding the ruler of the Immortals, became highly glad, and he worshipped Indra by presenting him with water to wash his feet, a carpet to sit upon, the usual offering of the Arghya, and fruit and roots. And the boon-giving slayer of Vala, the divine ruler of those that know not old age, being seated at his ease, asked Vaka the following question, 'O sinless Muni, thou hast lived for a hundred years! Tell me, O Brahmana, what the sorrows are of those that are immortal!'

Markandeya continued, "Hearing this, Vaka answered, saying, 'Life with persons that are disagreeable, separation from those that are agreeable and beloved, companionship with the wicked, these are the evils which they that are immortal have to bear. The death of sons and wives, of kinsmen and friends, and the pain of dependence on others, are some of the greatest of evils. (These may all be noticed in a deathless life). There is no more pitiable sight in the world, as I conceive, than that of men destitute of wealth being insulted by others. The acquisition of family dignity by those that have it not, the loss of family dignity by those that have it, unions and disunions,--these all are noticeable by those that lead deathless lives. How they that have no family dignity but have prosperity, win what they have not--all this, O god of a hundred sacrifices, is before thy very eyes! What can be more pitiable than the calamities and reverses sustained by the gods, the Asuras, the Gandharvas, men, the snakes, and the Rakshasas! They that have been of good families suffer afflictions in consequence of their subjection to persons that are ill-born and the poor are insulted by the rich. What can be more pitiable than these? Innumerable examples of such contradictory dispensations are seen in the world. The foolish and the ignorant are cheerful and happy while the learned and the wise suffer misery! Plentiful instances of misery and woe are seen among men in this world! (They that lead deathless lives are destined to behold all these and suffer on that account.)'

"Indra then said, 'O thou of great good fortune, tell me again, what the joys are of those persons that lead deathless lives,--joys that are adored by gods and Rishis!'

"Vaka answered, 'If without having to associate with a wicked friend, a man cooks scanty vegetables in his own house at the eight or the twelfth part of the day, there can be nothing happier than that. 1 He in whose case the day is not counted is not called voracious. And, O Maghavan, happiness is even his own whose scanty vegetables are cooked. Earned by his own efforts, without having to depend upon any one, he that eateth even fruits and vegetables in his own house is entitled to respect. He that eateth in another's house the food given to him in contempt, even if that food be rich and sweet, doth what is despicable. This, therefore, is the opinion of the wise that fie on the food of that mean wretch who like a dog or a Rakshasa eateth at another's house. If after treating guests and servants and offering food to the manes a good Brahmana eateth what remains, there can be nothing happier than that. There is nothing sweeter or more sacred, O thou of a hundred sacrifices, than that food which such a person takes after serving the guest with the first portion thereof. Each mouthful (of rice) that the Brahmana eats after having served the guest, produces merit equal to what attaches to the gift of a thousand kine. And whatever sins such a one may have committed in his youth are all washed away of a certainty. The water in the hands of the Brahmana that hath been fed and honoured with a pecuniary gift (after the feeding is over) when touched with water (sprinkled by him that feeds), instantly purges off all the sins of the latter!'"

"Speaking of these and various other things with Vaka, the chief of the gods went away to heaven.'"

SECTION 193

Vaisampayana said, "Then the sons of Pandu again addressed Markandeya saying, 'Thou hast told us of greatness of Brahmanas. We desire now to hear of the greatness of the royal Kshatriyas!" Thus addressed by them, the great Rishi Markandeya spoke, 'Listen now to the greatness of the royal Kshatriyas. A certain king of the name of Suhotra belonging to the Kuru race went on a visit to the great Rishis. And as he was returning from that visit, he beheld king Sivi the son of Usinara, seated on his car, and as each came before the other, each saluted the other as best befitted his age and each regarding himself as the equal of the other in respect of qualities, refused to give the way to the other. And at this juncture Narada appeared there, and beholding what had happened, the celestial Rishi asked, 'Why is it that ye both stand here blocking each other's way?' And thus questioned both of them spoke to Narada saying, 'O holy one, do not speak so. The sages of old have declared that the way should be given to one who is superior or to him that is abler. We, however, that stand blocking each other's way are equal to each other in every respect. Judged properly there is no superiority amongst us.' Thus addressed by them, Narada recited three slokas. (They are these), 'O thou of the Kuru race, he that is wicked behaveth wickedly even unto him that is humble; he also that is humble behaveth with humility and honestly unto him that is wicked! He that is honest behaveth honestly even towards the dishonest. Why should he not behave honestly towards him that is honest? He that is honest regardeth the service that is done to him, as if it were a hundred times greater than it is. Is this not current amongst the gods themselves? Certainly it is the royal son of Usinara who is possessed of goodness that is greater than thine. One should conquer the mean by charity; the untruthful by truth, the man of wicked deeds by forgiveness; and the dishonest by honesty. Both of you are large-hearted. Let one amongst you stand aside, according to the indication of the above slokas.' And having said so Narada became silent, and hearing what Narada had said the king of the Kuru race walking round Sivi, and praising his numerous achievements, gave him the way and went on in his course. It was even thus that Narada had described the high blessedness of the royal Kshatriyas.'"

SECTION 194

Markandeya continued, "Listen now to another story. One day as king Yayati, the son of Nahusha, was sitting on his throne, surrounded by the citizens, there came unto him a Brahmana desirous of soliciting wealth for his preceptor, and approaching the king, the Brahmana said, 'O king, I beg of thee wealth for my preceptor according to my covenant.' And the king said, 'O Holy One, tell me what thy covenant is.' And thereupon the Brahmana said, 'O king, in this world when men are asked for alms, they entertain contempt for him that asketh it. I therefore, ask thee, O king, with what feelings thou wilt give me what I ask and upon which I have set my heart.' And the king replied saying, 'Having given away a thing, I never boast of it. I never also listen to solicitations for things that cannot be given. I listen, however, to prayers for things that can be given and giving them away I always become happy. I will give thee a thousand kine. The Brahmana that asks me for a gift is always dear to me. I am never angry with the person that begs of me and I am never sorry for having given away a thing!' And the Brahmana then obtained from the king a thousand kine and went away."

SECTION 195

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Vaisampayana said, "The son of Pandu again addressed the Rishi and said, 'Speak thou unto us of the high fortune of royal Kshatriyas!' And Markandeya said, 'There were two kings of the name of Vrishadarbha and Seduka and both of them were conversant with morals and with weapons of attack and defence. And Seduka knew that Vrishadarbha had from his boyhood an unuttered vow that he would give no other metal unto Brahmanas save gold and silver. And once on a time a Brahmana having completed his study of the Vedas came unto Seduka and uttering a benediction upon him begged of him wealth for his preceptor, saying, 'Give me a thousand steeds.' And thus addressed, Seduka said unto him, 'It is not possible for me to give thee this for thy preceptor. Therefore, go thou unto king Vrishadarbha, for, O Brahmana, he is a highly virtuous king. Go and beg of him. He will grant thy request. Even this is his unuttered vow.' Hearing these words that Brahmana went to Vrishadarbha and begged of him a thousand steeds, and the king thus solicited, struck the Brahmana with a whip and thereupon the Brahmana said, 'Innocent as I am, why dost thou attack me thus?' And the Brahmana was on the point of cursing the king, when the latter said, 'O Brahmana, dost thou curse him that doth not give thee what thou askest? Or, is this behaviour proper for a Brahmana?' And the Brahmana said, 'O king of kings, sent unto thee by Seduka, I come before thee for this.' The king said, 'I will give thee now whatever tribute may come to me before the morning expire. How indeed, can I send away the man empty-handed who hath been whipped by me.' And having said this the king gave unto that Brahmana the entire proceeds of that day and that was more than the value of a thousand horses.'"

SECTION 196

"Markandeya said, 'One day it was resolved by the gods that they should descend on the earth and try the goodness and virtue of king Sivi, the son of Usinara. And addressing each other,--'Well'--Agni and Indra came to the earth. And Agni took the form of a pigeon flying away from Indra who pursued him in the form of a hawk, and that pigeon fell upon the lap of king Sivi who was seated on an excellent seat. And the priest thereupon addressing the king said, 'Afraid of the hawk and desirous of saving its life, this pigeon hath come to thee for safety. The learned have said that the falling of a pigeon upon one's body forebodeth a great danger. Let the king that understands omens give away wealth for saving himself from the danger indicated.' And the pigeon also addressed the king and said, 'Afraid of the hawk and desirous of saving my life I have come to thee for protection. I am a Muni. Having assumed the form of a pigeon, I come to thee as a seeker of thy protection. Indeed, I seek thee as my life. Know me as one possessed of Vedic lore, as one leading the Brahmacharya mode of life, as one possessed also of self-control and ascetic virtues. And know me further as one that has never spoken disagreeably unto his preceptor, as one possessed of every virtue indeed, as one that is sinless. I repeat the Vedas, I know their prosody; indeed, I have studied all the Vedas letter by letter. I am not a pigeon. Oh, do not yield me up to the hawk. The giving up of a learned and pure Brahmana can never be a good gift.' And after the pigeon said so, the hawk addressed the king, and said, 'Creatures do not come into the world in the same particular order. In the order of creation, thou mayst, in a former birth, have been begotten by this pigeon. It is not proper for thee, O king, to interfere with my food by protecting this pigeon (even though he might have been thy father).' And thus addressed, the king said, 'Hath any one, before this, seen birds thus speak the pure speech of man? Knowing what this pigeon sayeth, and this hawk also, how can we act to-day according to virtue? He that giveth up an affrighted creature seeking protection, unto its foe, doth not obtain protection when he is in need of it himself. Indeed, the very clouds do not shower rain seasonably for him, and the seeds though scattered do not grow for him. He that giveth up an afflicted creature seeking protection unto its foe, hath to see his offspring die in childhood. The ancestor of such a person can never dwell in heaven; indeed, the very gods decline to accept the libations of clarified butter poured by him into the fire. He that giveth up an affrighted creature seeking protection, unto its foe, is struck with the thunder-bolt by the gods with Indra at their head. The food that he eateth is unsanctified, and he, of a narrow soul, falleth from heaven very soon. O hawk, let the people of the Sivi tribe place before thee a bull cooked with rice instead of this pigeon. And let them also carry to the place where thou livest in joy, meat in abundance.' And hearing this, the hawk said, 'O king, I do not ask for a bull, nor, indeed, any other meat, nor meat more in quantity than that of this pigeon. It hath been given to me by the gods. The creature, therefore, is my food today in consequence of its death that hath been ordained. Therefore, O monarch, give it up to me.' Thus addressed by the hawk, the king said, 'Let my men see and carefully carry the bull to thee with every limb entire. Let that bull be the ransom of this creature afflicted with fright and let it be carried to thee before my eyes. Oh, slay not this pigeon! I will yield up my very life, yet I would not give up this pigeon. Dost thou not know, O hawk, that this creature looketh like a sacrifice with the Soma juice? O blessed one, cease to take so much trouble for it. I cannot, by any means, yield up the pigeon to thee. Or, O hawk, if it pleases thee, command me to do some such thing which I may do for thee, which may be agreeable to thee, and upon doing which the men of the Sivi tribe may yet in joy bless me in terms of applause. I promise thee that I will do what thou mayst did me do.' And at this appeal of the king, the hawk said, 'O king, if thou givest me as much flesh as would be equal to the weight of the pigeon, cutting it off thy right thigh; then can the pigeon be properly saved by thee; then wouldst thou do what would be agreeable to me and what the men of the Sivi tribe would speak of in terms of praise.' And the king agreed to this and he cut off a piece of flesh from his right thigh and weighed it against the pigeon. But the pigeon weighed heavier. And thereupon the king cut off another piece of his flesh, but the pigeon still weighed heavier, and then the king cut off pieces of flesh from all parts of his body and placed them on the scale. But the pigeon still weighed heavier, and then the king himself ascended the scale and he felt no grief at this and beholding this, the hawk disappeared there saying--(The pigeon hath been) Saved,-- And the king asked the pigeon saying, 'O pigeon, let the Sivis know who the hawk is. None but the lord of the universe could do as he did. O Holy One, answer thou this question of mine!' And the pigeon then said, 'I am the smoke-bannered Agni called also Vaiswanara. The hawk is none other than Sachi's lord armed with the thunder-bolt. O son of Suratha, thou art a bull among men. We came to try thee. These pieces of flesh, O king, that thou hast cut off with thy sword from thy body for saving me have caused gashes in thy body. I will make these marks auspicious and handsome and they will be of the colour of gold and emit a sweet perfume, and earning great fame and respected by the gods and the Rishis thou shall long rule these subjects of thine, and a son will spring from thy flank who shall be called Kapataroman. O king, thou shalt obtain this son of the name of Kapataroman from out of thy own body and thou wilt behold him become the foremost of the Saurathas, blazing with renown, possessed of bravery and great personal beauty!"

SECTION 197

Vaisampayana said, "And the son of Pandu once more addressed Markandeya, saying, 'Tell us again of the great good fortune of kings.' And Markandeya said, 'There came unto the horse-sacrifice of king Ashtaka of Viswamitra's race, many kings. And there came unto that sacrifice the three brothers also of that king, viz., Pratardana, Vasumanas, and Sivi, the son of Usinara. And after the sacrifice was completed, Ashtaka was proceeding on his car along with his brothers when they all beheld Narada coming that way and they saluted the celestial Rishi and said unto him, 'Ride thou on this car with us. And Narada, saying, So be it, mounted on the car, and one among those kings having gratified the holy and celestial Rishi Narada, said, O Holy One, I desire, to ask thee something.' And the Rishi said, 'Ask.' And the person, thus permitted, said, 'All four of us are blessed with long lives and have indeed every virtue. We shall, therefore, be permitted to go to a certain heaven and dwell there for a long period. Who amongst us, however, O king, shall fall down first?' Thus questioned the Rishi said, 'This Ashtaka shall first come down.' And thereupon the enquirer asked, 'For what cause?' And the Rishi answered, 'I lived for a few days in the abode of Ashtaka. He carried me (one day) on his car out of the town and there I beheld thousands of kine distinguished from one another by difference of hue. And beholding those kine I asked Ashtaka whose they were and Ashtaka answered me, saying, 'I have given away these kine. By this answer he gave expression to his own praise. It is for this answer of his that Ashtaka shall have to come down.' And after Narada had said so, one of them again enquired, saying, 'Three of us then will stay in heaven. Amongst us three, who shall fall down first?' And the Rishi answered, Pratardana.' And the enquirer asked, 'For what cause?' And the Rishi answered, 'I lived for some days in the abode of Pratardana also. And he carried me on his car one day. And while doing so, a Brahmana asked him saying, 'Give me a horse!' And Pratardana replied, 'After returning, I will give thee one!' And thereupon the Brahmana said, 'Let it be given to me soon.' And as the Brahmana spoke those words, the king gave unto him the steed that had been yoked on the right-hand wheel of the car. And there came unto him another Brahmana desirous of obtaining a steed. And the king having spoken to him in the same way, gave him the steed that had been yoked on the left wheel of his car. And having given away the horse unto him, the king proceeded on his journey. And then there came unto the king another Brahmana desirous of obtaining a horse. And the king soon gave him the horse on the left front of his car, unyoking the animal. And having done so, the king proceeded on his journey. And then there came unto the king another Brahmana desirous of obtaining a horse. And the king said unto him, 'Returning, I will give thee a horse.' But the Brahmana said, 'Let the steed be given to me soon.' And the king gave him the only horse he had. And seizing the yoke of the car himself, the king began to draw it. And as he did so, he said, 'There is now nothing for the Brahmanas.' The king had given away, it is true, but he had done so with detraction. And for that speech of his, he shall have to fall down from heaven. And after the Rishi had said so, of the two that remained, one asked, 'Who amongst us two shall fall down?' And the Rishi answered, 'Vasumanas.' And the enquirer asked, 'For what reason?' And Narada said, 'In course of my wanderings I arrived at the abode of Vasumanas. And at that time the Brahmanas were performing the ceremony of Swastivachana* for the sake of a flowery car. And I approached the king's presence. And after the Brahmanas had completed the ceremony, the flowery car became visible to them. And I praised that car, and thereupon the king told me, 'Holy one, by thee hath this car been praised. Let this car, therefore, be thine.' And after this I went to Vasumanas another time when I was in need of a (flowery) car. And I admired the car, and the king said, 'It is thine.' And I went to the king a third time and admired the car again. And even then the king exhibiting the flowery car to the Brahmanas, cast his eyes on me, and said, 'O holy one, thou hast praised the flowery car sufficiently." And the king only said these words, without making me a gift of that car. And for this he will fall down from heaven.' [* The ceremony of Swastivachana is described to be "a religious rite, preparatory to any important observance, in which the Brahmanas strew boiled rice on the ground, and invoke the blessings of the gods on the ceremony about to commence" (Vide Wilson's Dict). A flowery car was, probably, one of celestial make that the kings, procured from heaven by performing costly rites and ceremonies. These were sometimes exhibited to the people, and prior to these exhibitions, the ceremony of Swastivachana was performed.]

"And one among them said, 'Of the one who is to go with thee, who will go and who will fall down?' And Narada answered, saying, 'Sivi will go, but I will fall down.' 'For what reason?' asked the enquirer. And Narada said, 'I am not the equal of Sivi. For one day a Brahmana came unto Sivi and addressing him, said, 'O Sivi, I came to thee for food.' And Sivi replied unto him, saying. 'What shall I do? Let me have thy orders.' And the Brahmana answered, 'This thy son known by the name of Vrihadgarbha should be killed. And, O king, cook him for my food.' And hearing this, I waited to see what would follow. And Sivi then killed his son and cooking him duly and placing that food in a vessel and taking it upon his head, he went out in search of the Brahmana and while Sivi was thus seeking, for the Brahmana, some one told him, The Brahmana thou seekest, having entered thy city, is setting fire to thy abode and he is also setting fire, in wrath, to thy treasury, thy arsenal, the apartments of the females and thy stables for horses and elephants.' And Sivi heard all this, without change of colour, and entering his city spoke unto the Brahmana, 'O holy one, the food has been cooked.' And the Brahmana hearing this spoke not a word and from surprise he stood with downcast looks. And Sivi with a view to gratifying the Brahmana said, 'O holy one, eat thou this.' And the Brahmana looking at Sivi for a moment said, 'Eat it thyself.' And thereupon Sivi said, 'Let it be so.' And Sivi cheerfully taking the vessel from his head desired to eat it and thereupon the Brahmana caught hold of Sivi's hand and addressing him said, 'Thou hast conquered wrath. There is nothing that thou canst not give unto the Brahmanas.' And saying this, that Brahmana adored Sivi, and then as Sivi cast his eyes before him, he beheld his son standing like a child of the gods, decked in ornaments and yielding a fragrance from his body and the Brahmana, having accomplished all this, made himself visible and it was Vidhatri himself who had thus come in that guise to try that royal sage, and after Vidhatri had disappeared, the counsellors addressed the king, saying, 'Thou knowest everything. For what didst thou do all this?' And Sivi answered, 'It was not for fame, nor for wealth, nor from desire of acquiring objects of enjoyment that I did all this. This course is not sinful. It is for this that I do all this. The path which is trodden by the virtuous is laudable. My heart always inclineth towards such a course. This high instance of Sivi's blessedness I know, and I have, therefore, narrated it duly!'"

SECTION 198

Vaisampayana said, "The sons of Pandu and those Rishis then asked Markandeya, 'Is there anybody that is blessed with longer life than thou?' And Markandeya answered them, saying, 'There is without doubt, a royal sage of the name of Indradyumna and his virtue having diminished, he fell from heaven, crying, 'My achievements are lost!' And he came unto me and asked, 'Dost thou know me?' And I answered him, saying, 'From our anxiety to acquire religious merit we do not confine ourselves to any home. We live but for a night in the same village or town. A person like us, therefore, cannot possibly know thy pursuits. The fasts and vows we observe render us weak in body and unable to follow any worldly pursuits on our own behalf. Hence, one like us cannot possibly know thee.' He then asked me, 'Is there any one who is longerlived than thou'? I answered him, saying, 'There

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liveth on the Himavat an owl of the name of Pravarakarna. He is older than I. He may know thee. The part of the Himavat where he dwelleth is far off from here.' And at this Indradyumna became a horse and carried me to where that owl lived and the king asked the owl, saying, 'Dost thou know me?' And the owl seemed to reflect for a moment and then said unto the king, 'I do not know thee.' And the royal sage Indradyumna thereupon asked the owl, 'Is there any one who is older than thou?' And thus asked the owl answered, saying, There is a lake of the name of Indradyumna. In that lake dwelleth a crane of the name of Nadijangha. He is older than we. Ask thou him.' And at this king Indradyumna taking both myself and the owl went to that lake where the crane Nadijangha dwelt. And that crane was asked by us, 'Dost thou know the king Indradyumna?' And the crane thereupon seemed to reflect a little and then said, 'I do not know king Indradyumna.' And the crane was asked by us, 'Is there any one who is older than thou?' And he answered us, saying, 'There dwelleth in this very lake a tortoise of the name of Akupara. He is older than I. He may know something of this king. Therefore, enquire ye of Akupara. And then that crane gave information to the tortoise, saying, 'It is intended by us to ask thee something. Please come to us.' And hearing this the tortoise came out of the lake to that part of the bank where we all were and as he came there we asked him, saying, 'Dost thou know this king Indradyumna?' And the tortoise reflected for a moment. And his eyes were filled with tears and his heart was much moved and he trembled all over and was nearly deprived of his senses. And he said with joined hands, 'Alas, do I not know this one? He had planted the sacrificial stake a thousand times at the time of kindling the sacrificial fire. This lake was excavated by the feet of the cows given away by this king unto the Brahmanas on the completion of the sacrifice. I have lived here ever since.' And after the tortoise had said all this, there came from the celestial regions a car. And an aerial voice was heard which said, addressing Indradyumna, 'Come thou and obtain the place thou deservest in heaven! Thy achievements are great! Come thou cheerfully to thy place! Here also are certain slokas: The report of virtuous deeds spreadeth over the earth and ascendeth to heaven. As long as that report lasts, so long is the doer said to be in heaven. The man whose evil deeds are bruited about, is said to fall down and live, as long as that evil report lasts in the lower regions. Therefore should man be virtuous in his acts if he is to gain Heaven. And he should seek refuge in virtue, abandoning a sinful heart.'

"And hearing these words, the king said, 'Let the car stay here as long as I do not take these old persons to the places whence I brought them. And having brought me and the owl Pravarakarna to our respective places, he went away, riding on that car, to the place that was fit for him. Being longlived, I witness all this."

Vaisampayana continued, "It was thus that Markandeya narrated all this unto the son of Pandu. And after Markandeya finished, the sons of Pandu said, 'Blessed be thou! Thou hadst acted properly in causing king Indradyumna who had fallen from Heaven to regain his sphere!' And Markandeya answered them, saying, 'Devaki's son, Krishna, also had thus raised the royal sage Nriga who had sunk in hell and caused him to regain Heaven!'"

SECTION 199

Vaisampayana said, "King Yudhishthira, hearing from the illustrious Markandeya the story of the royal sage Indradyumna's regaining of Heaven, again asked the Muni, saying, 'O great Muni, tell me in what condition should a man practise charity in order to gain admission into the regions of Indra? Is it by practising charity while leading a domestic mode of life, or in boyhood, or in youth, or in old age? O, tell me about the respective merits reaped from the practice of charity in these different stages of life?'

Markandeya said, 'Life that is futile is of four kinds. Charity also that is futile is of sixteen kinds. His life is vain who hath no son; and his also who is out of pale of virtue: and his too who liveth on the food of other; and, lastly, his who cooketh for himself without giving therefrom unto the Pitris, the gods, and the guests, and who eateth of it before these all. The gift to one that has fallen away from the practice of virtuous vows, as also the gift of wealth that has been earned wrongly, are both in vain. The gift to a fallen Brahmana, that to a thief, that also to a preceptor that is false, is in vain. The gift to an untruthful man, to a person that is sinful, to one that is ungrateful, to one that officiates at sacrifices performed by all classes of people residing in a village, to one that sells the Vedas*, to a Brahmana that cooks for Sudra, to one that too by birth is a Brahmana but who is destitute of the occupations of his order, is in vain. [* A man is said to sell the Vedas who lectures on the Vedas taking fees from the hearers.] The gift to one that has married a girl after the accession of puberty, to females, to one that sports with snakes, and to one that is employed in menial offices, is also in vain. These sixteen kinds of gifts are productive of no merits. That man who with mind clouded with darkness giveth away from fear or anger, enjoyeth the merit of such gift while he is in the womb of his mother. The man who (under other circumstances) maketh gifts unto the Brahmanas, enjoyeth the fruit thereof while he is in old age. Therefore, O king, the man who wishes to win the way of heaven, should under all conditions, make gifts unto Brahmanas of everything that he wishes to give away.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'By what means do Brahmanas, who accept gifts from all the four orders, save others as well as themselves?"

"Markandeya said, 'By Japa [Japa is the silent recitation of particular Mantras.], and Mantras [Mantras are particular formulae of worship. They are for the most part rhythmic compositions, believed to be of great efficacy.], and Homa [The Homa is that sacrificial rite which consists of pouring libations of clarified butter into fire.] and the study of the Vedas, the Brahmanas construct a Vedic boat [Vedamayi nou. Lit, a boat made of the Vedas.] wherewith they save both others and themselves. The gods themselves are pleased with that man who gratifieth the Brahmanas. Indeed, a man may attain heaven at the command of a Brahmana. Thou wilt, O king, without doubt ascend to regions of everlasting bliss, in consequence of thy worship of the Pitris and the gods, and thy reverence for the Brahmanas, even though thy body is filled with phlegmatic humours and withal so dull and inert! He that desires virtue and heaven should adore the Brahmanas. One should feed Brahmanas with care on occasions of Sraddhas, although those among them that are cursed or fallen should be excluded. They also should be carefully excluded that are either excessively fair or excessively black, that have diseased nails, that are lepers, that are deceitful, that are born in bastardy of widows or of women having husbands alive; and they also that support themselves by the profession of arms. That Sraddha which is censurable, consumeth the performer thereof like fire consuming fuel. If they that are to be employed in Sraddhas happen to be dumb, blind, or deaf, care should be taken to employ them along with Brahmanas conversant with the Vedas. O Yudhishthira, listen now unto whom thou shouldst give. He that knoweth all the Vedas should give only to that able Brahmana who is competent to rescue both the giver and himself, for he, indeed, is to be regarded as able who can rescue both the giver and himself. O son of Pritha, the sacred fires do not receive such gratification from libations of clarified butter, from offerings of flowers and sandal and other perfumed pastes as from the entertainment of guests. Therefore, do thou strive to entertain guests, O son of Pandu! O king, they that give unto guests water to wash their feet, butter to rub over their (tired) legs, light during the hours of darkness, food, and shelter, have not to go before Yama. The removal (after worship) of the flowery offerings unto the gods, the removal of the remnants of a Brahmana's feast, waiting (upon a Brahmana) with perfumed pastes, and the massaging of a Brahmana's limbs, are, each of them, O foremost of kings, productive of greater merit than the gift of kine. A person, without doubt, rescueth himself by the gift of a Kapila cow. Therefore, should one give away a Kapila cow decked with ornaments unto Brahmanas. O thou of the Bharata race, one should give unto a person of good lineage and conversant with the Vedas; unto a person that is poor; unto one leading a domestic mode of life but burdened with wife and children; unto one that daily adoreth the sacred fire; and unto one that hath done thee no service. Thou shouldst always give unto such persons but not to them that are in affluence. What merit is there, O thou foremost of the Bharata race, by giving unto one that is affluent? One cow must be given unto one Brahmana.

A single cow must not be given unto many. For if the cow so given away (unto many) be sold, the giver's family is lost for three generations. Such a gift would not assuredly rescue the giver nor the Brahmana that takes it. He who giveth eighty Ratis of pure gold, earneth the merit of giving away a hundred pieces of gold for ever. He that giveth away a strong bull capable also of drawing the plough, is certainly rescued from all difficulties and finally goeth to heaven. He that giveth away land unto a learned Brahmana, hath all his desires fulfilled. The tired traveller, with weakened limbs and feet besmeared with dust, asks for the name of him that may give him food. There are men who answer him by telling him the name. That wise man who informs these toil-worn ones of the name of the person who may give them food, is, without doubt, regarded as equal in merit unto the giver himself of food. Therefore, abstaining from other kinds of gift, give thou food. There is no merit (arising out of gifts) that is so great as that of giving food. The man that according to the measure of his might gives well-cooked and pure food unto the Brahmanas, acquires, by that act of his, the companionship of Prajapati (Brahma). There is nothing superior to food. Therefore, food is regarded as the first and foremost of all things (to be given away). It hath been said that food itself is Prajapati. And Prajapati is regarded as the Year. And the Year is sacrifice. And everything is established in sacrifice, for it is from sacrifice that all creatures, mobile and immobile, take their origin. For this reason, it hath been heard by us, food is the foremost of all things. They that give away lakes and large pieces of water, and tanks and wells, and shelter and food and they that have sweet words for all, have not to hear the admonitions of Yama. With him who gives rice, and wealth earned by his labour, unto Brahmana of good behaviour, the earth is satisfied. And she poureth upon him showers of wealth. The giver of food walketh first, after him the speaker of truth and he that giveth unto persons that do not solicit. But the three go to the same place.'"

Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing all this, Yudhishthira, along with his younger brothers, impelled by curiosity, again addressed the high-souled Markandeya, saying, 'O great Muni, what is the distance of Yama's region from that of men? What is its measurement? How also do men pass it over? And by what means? O, tell me all this!'

"Markandeya said, 'O king, O them foremost of virtuous men, this question of thine appertains to a great mystery. It is sacred and much applauded by the Rishis. Appertaining as it also does to virtue, I will speak of it to thee. The distance of Yama's region from the abode of men is, O king, eighty-six thousand Yojanas! The way is over space, without water, and very terrible to behold; Nowhere on that road is the shade of a tree, nowhere any water, and nowhere any resting place in which the traveller, when fatigued, may rest for some moments. And men and women and all on earth that have life, are forcibly led along this way by the messengers of Yama. Those creatures that obey the mandates of the grim king, and they, O king, that have given horses and other good conveyances unto Brahmanas, proceed along this way on those animals and vehicles. And they that have given umbrellas [Parasols] proceed along this way with umbrellas warding off the sun's rays. And they that have given food, proceed without hunger, while they that have not given food proceed afflicted with hunger. And they that have given robes, proceed along this way attired in robes while they that have given none, proceed naked. And they that have given gold, proceed in happiness, themselves decked in ornaments. And they that have given land, proceed with every desire completely gratified. And they that have given grain, proceed without being afflicted with any want. And they that have given houses, proceed happily on cars. And those men that have given something to drink, proceed with cheerful hearts unafflicted with thirst. And they that have given lights, proceed happily lighting the way before them. And they that have given kine, proceed along the way happily, freed from all their sins. And they that have fasted for a month, proceed on cars drawn by swans. And they who have fasted for six nights, proceed on cars drawn by peacocks. And, O son of Pandu, he that fasteth three nights upon only one meal without a second during this period goeth into a region free from disease and anxiety. And water hath this excellent property that it produceth happiness in the region of Yama. And they that give water find for themselves a river there of the name of Pushpodaka. And the givers of water on the earth drink cool and ambrosial draughts from that stream. And they that are of evil deeds have pus ordained for them. Thus, O great king, that river serveth all purposes. Therefore, O king, adore thou duly these Brahmanas (that are with thee). Weak in limbs owing to the way he has walked, and besmeared with the dust of the high-road, the traveller enquireth for the name of him who giveth food, and cometh in hope to his house. Adore thou him with reverent attention, for he indeed is a guest, and he is a Brahmana. The gods with Indra at their head follow him as he proceedeth. And if he is adored, the gods with Indra become gratified, and if he is not adored, the celestials with their chief become cheerless. Therefore, O thou foremost of kings, worship thou these Brahmanas duly. I have thus spoken to thee upon a hundred subjects. What dost thou desire to hear from me again?'

"Yudhishthira said, 'O master, conversant thou art with virtue and morality, and so I desire to repeatedly listen to thee as thou speakest on sacred subjects appertaining to virtue and morals.'

"Markandeya said, 'O king, I will now speak on another sacred subject appertaining to eternal interests and capable of washing off all sins. Listen thou with rapt attention. O thou foremost of the Bharatas, the merit equal to that of giving away a Kapila cow in (the tirtha called) Jyeshtha-Pushkara arises from washing the feet of Brahmanas. As long as the earth remains wet with water which a Brahmana hath touched with his feet, so long do Pitris drink water of cups made of lotus-leaves. If the guest is welcomed (with enquiries about his welfare), the deities of fire become glad; and if he is offered a seat, it is the god of a hundred sacrifices, who is gratified. If his feet are washed, it is the Pitris who are delighted; and if he is fed it is Prajapati that is pleased. One should with collected soul, give a cow when (during her throes) the feet and head of her calf are visible, before her delivery is complete.

A cow with her calf in the air in course of falling from the uterus to the earth, is to be regarded as equal to the earth herself. He, therefore, that giveth away such a cow, reapeth the merit of giving away the earth. And he that giveth away such a cow, is adored in heaven for as many thousands of Yugas as there are bristles on the bodies of the animal and her young one together. And, O Bharata, he that having accepted a thing in gift giveth it away immediately unto a person that is virtuous and honest, reapeth very great merit. Without

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doubt, he reapeth the fruit of giving away the whole earth to her utmost limits and with her oceans and seas and caves, her mountains and forests and woods. That Brahmana who eateth in silence from a plate, keeping his hands between his knees, succeedeth in rescuing others. And those Brahmanas that abstain from drink and who are never spoken of by others as having any faults and who daily read the Samhitas, are capable of rescuing others. Libations of butter and edible offerings should all be presented to a Brahmana who is learned in the Vedas. And as libations of clarified butter poured into fire never go in vain, so gift to virtuous Brahmanas learned in the Vedas can never go in vain. The Brahmanas have anger for their weapon; they never fight with arms of iron and steel. Indeed the Brahmanas slay with anger like Indra slaying the Asuras with his thunder-bolt.

Thus prelection appertaining to virtue and morality is now over. Hearing this, the Munis of the forest of Naimisha were filled with delight. And those ascetics were also freed from grief and anger by listening to it. And they were also purged of all their sins in consequence of this. And, O king, those human beings that listen to it become freed from the obligation of rebirth.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'O thou of great wisdom, what purification is there by which a Brahmana may always keep himself pure? I desire to hear of it from thee, O thou foremost of all virtuous men!"

"Markandeya answered, 'There are three kinds of purity, viz., purity in speech, purity in deed, and purity achieved by use of water. He that has recourse to these three different kinds of purity, attains, without doubt, to heaven. That Brahmana who adoreth the goddess Sandhya in the morning and the evening, and who recites meditatively the sacred goddess Gayatri who is the mother of the Vedas, sanctified by the latter, is freed from all his sins. Even if he accepts in gift the entire earth with her oceans, he doth not, on that account, suffer the least unhappiness. And those heavenly bodies in the sky including the sun that may be inauspicious and hostile towards him soon become auspicious and favourable towards him in consequence of these acts of his, while those stars that are auspicious and favourable become more auspicious and more favourable in consequence of such conduct of his. And terrible Rakshasas subsisting on animal food, or gigantic and fierce mien, all become unable to prevail over a Brahmana who practiseth these purifications. The Brahmanas are even like blazing fires. They incur no fault in consequence of teaching, of officiating at sacrifices, and of accepting gifts from others. Whether the Brahmana be cognisant of the Vedas or ignorant of them, whether they be pure or impure, they should never be insulted, for Brahmanas are like fires. As the fire that blazeth up in the place set apart for the cremation of the dead is never regarded impure on that account, so the Brahmana, be he learned or ignorant, is always pure. He is great and a very god! Cities that are adorned with walls and gates and palaces one after another, lose their beauty if they are bereft of Brahmanas. That, indeed, O king, is a city where Brahmanas accomplished in the Vedas, duly observing the duties of their order and possessed of learning and ascetic merit, reside. O son of Pritha, that spot, be it a wood or pasture land, where learned Brahmanas reside, hath been called a city. And that place, O king, becometh a tirtha also. By approaching a king that offereth protection, as also a Brahmana possessed of ascetic merit, and by offering worship unto both, a man may purge off his sins immediately. The learned have said that ablutions in the sacred tirthas, recitation of the names of holy ones, and converse with the good and virtuous, are all acts worthy of applause. They that are virtuous and honest always regard themselves as sanctified by the holy companionship of persons like themselves and by the water of pure and sacred converse. The carrying of three staffs, the vow of silence, matted hair on head, the shaving of the crown, covering one's person with barks and deerskins, the practice of vows, ablutions, the worship of fire, abode in the woods, emaciating the body, all these are useless if the heart be not pure. The indulgence of the six senses is easy, if purity be not sought in the object of enjoyment. Abstinence, however, which of itself is difficult, is scarcely easy without purity of the objects of enjoyment. O king of kings, among the six senses, the mind alone that is easily moved is the most dangerous! Those high-souled persons that do not commit sins in word, deed, heart and soul, are said to undergo ascetic austerities, and not they that suffer their bodies to be wasted by fasts and penances. He that hath no feeling of kindness for relatives cannot be free from sin even if his body be pure. That hard-heartedness of his is the enemy of his asceticism. Asceticism, again, is not mere abstinence from the pleasures of the world. He that is always pure and decked with virtue, he that practises kindness all his life, is a Muni even though he may lead a domestic life. Such a man is purged of all his sins. Fasts and other penances cannot destroy sins, however much they may weaken and dry up the body that is made of flesh and blood. The man whose heart is without holiness, suffers torture only by undergoing penances in ignorance of their meaning. He is never freed from sins of such acts. The fire he worshippeth doth not consume his sins. It is in consequence of holiness and virtue alone that men attain to regions of blessedness, and fasts and vows become efficacious. Subsistence on fruits and roots, the vow of silence, living upon air, the shaving of the crown, abandonment of a fixed home, the wearing of matted locks on the head, lying under the canopy of heaven, daily fasts, the worship of fire, immersion in water, and lying on the bare ground,--these alone cannot produce such a result. They only that are possessed of holiness succeed, by knowledge and deeds, to conquer disease, decrepitude and death, and acquire a high status. As seeds that have been scorched by fire do not sprout forth, so the pains that have been burnt by knowledge cannot effect the soul. This inert body that is only like a block of wood when destitute of souls, is, without doubt, short lived like froth in the ocean. He that obtaineth a view of his soul, the soul that resideth in every body, by help of one or half of a rhythmic line (of the Vedas), hath no more need for anything. Some obtaining a knowledge of identity with the Supreme Soul from but two letters (of the Vedas) and some from hundreds and thousands of rhythmic lines, acquire salvation, for the knowledge of one's identity with the Supreme Soul is the sure indication of salvation. The men of old, distinguished for their knowledge, have said, neither this world nor that hereafter nor bliss can be his who is disturbed by doubts. And belief of one's identity with the Supreme Soul is the indication of salvation. He that knoweth the true meaning of the Vedas, understandeth their true use. Such a man is affrighted at the Vedic ritual like a man at sight of a forest conflagration. Giving up dry disputation, have recourse to Sruti and Smriti, and seek thou, with the aid of thy reason, the knowledge of the Undecaying One that is without a second. One's search (after this knowledge) becometh futile from defect of means. Therefore, should one carefully strive to obtain that knowledge by aid of the Vedas. The Vedas are the Supreme Soul; they are His body; they are the Truth. The soul that is bounded by the animal organism is incompetent to know Him in whom all the Vedas merge. That Supreme Soul, however, is capable of being known by the pure intellect. The existence of the gods as stated in the Vedas, the efficacy of acts, and the capacity for action of being furnished with bodies, are noticeable in every Yuga. Independence of these and annihilation are to be sought from purity of the senses. Therefore, the suspension of the function of the senses is the true fasting. One may attain to heaven by asceticism, one may obtain objects of enjoyment by the practice of charity and may have his sins purged off by ablutions in tirthas. But complete emancipation cannot be had except by knowledge.'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Thus addressed, O great king, by the Rishi, Yudhishthira of great fame then said, 'O holy one, I desire to listen to the rules about that charity which is meritorious."

"Markandeya said, 'O great king, O Yudhishthira, the rules about charity which thou wishest to hear from me are always highly regarded by me. Listen now to the mysteries of charity as expounded in the sruti and the smritis! A man that performs a sraddha in the conjunction called Gajacchaya at a place that is fanned by the leaves of the Aswattha tree enjoys the fruits thereof, O Yudhishthira, for a hundred thousand kalpas. O king, he that foundeth a dharmasala and established there a person to look after all comers, is crowned with the merits of all the sacrifices. He that giveth away a horse at a tirtha where the current of the river runneth in a direction opposite to its general course, reapeth merit that is inexhaustible. The guest that comes to one's house for food is none other than Indra himself. If he is entertained with food, Indra himself conferreth on the best merit that is inexhaustible. As men cross seas by vessels, so are the givers mentioned above are saved from all their sins. So what is given unto Brahmanas produceth, like gift of curds, inexhaustible merits. A gift on particular lunations produceth merit that is twice as much as a gift on other days. That in a particular season produceth merit ten times greater that in other seasons. That in a particular year produceth merit a hundred times greater than in other years. And lastly, a gift on the last day of the last month of the year produceth merit that is inexhaustible. A gift also that is made while the Sun is on the solstitial points, one again that is made on the last day of the Sun's path through Libra, Aries, Gemini, Virgo, and Pisces, a gift again during eclipses of the Moon and the Sun, produce merit that is inexhaustible. The learned have also said that gifts made during the seasons produce merit that is ten times, those made during the change of seasons, a hundred times--and those made during the days when Rahu is visible, a thousand times--greater than what is produced by gifts at other time; while a gift made on the last day of the Sun's course through Libra and Aries produces merit that knows no diminution. O king, no one can enjoy landed possessions unless he giveth away land, and no one can go on cars and vehicles unless he giveth away these. Indeed a person on rebirth obtaineth the fruition of whatever objects he hath in view at the time of making a gift to a Brahmana. Gold hath sprung from Fire; the Earth from Vishnu; and the cows from the Sun. He, therefore, that giveth away gold, land, and kine attaineth all the regions of Agni, Vishnu, and the Sun. There is nothing so eternal as a gift. Where, therefore, in the three worlds is anything that is more auspicious? It is for this, O king, that they who have great intelligence say that there is nothing higher and greater in the three worlds than gift!'"

SECTION 200

Vaisampayana said, "Having, O great king, heard from the illustrious Markandeya the history of the attainment of heaven by the royal sage Indradyumna, Yudhishthira, that bull of the Bharata race, once more asked that sinless Muni endued with great ascetic merit and long life, saying, 'Thou knowest, O virtuous one, the entire host of the gods, the Danavas, and the Rakshasas. Thou art acquainted also with various royal genealogies and many eternal lines of Rishis! O best of Brahmanas, there is nothing in this world that thou dost not know! Thou knowest also, O Muni, many delightful stories about men, Snakes and Rakshasas; about gods, Gandharvas, and Yakshas, and about Kinnaras and Apsaras! I desire now to hear from thee, O best of Brahmanas, as to why Kuvalaswa--that unvanquished king of Ikshavaku's race changed his name, assuming another, viz., Dhundhumara. O thou best of Bhrigu's line, I desire to know in detail why the name of Kuvalaswa of great intelligence underwent such a change!'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Thus addressed by Yudhishthira, the great Muni Markandeya, O Bharata, then began the history of Dhundhumara!"

Markandeya said, 'O royal Yudhishthira, listen to me, I will tell thee all! The story of Dhundhumara is a moral one. Listen to it then! Listen now, O king, to the story of how the royal Kuvalaswa of Ikshvaku's race came to be known as Dhundhumara. O son, O Bharata, there was a celebrated Rishi of the name of Utanka and, O thou of the Kuru race, Utanka had his hermitage in a delightful wilderness. And, O great king, the Rishi Utanka underwent ascetic austerities of the severest kind and the lord Utanka underwent those penances for numberless years with the object of obtaining the favours of Vishnu, and gratified with his penances that illustrious Lord presented himself before Utanka. And beholding the Deity, the Rishi in all humility began to gratify him with many hymns, and Utanka said, 'O thou of great effulgence all creatures with the gods, Asuras and human beings, all things that are mobile or immobile, even Brahma himself, the Vedas, and all things that are capable of being known, have, O lord, been created by thee! The firmament is thy head, O god, and the sun and the moon are thy eyes! And, O Unfading One, the winds are thy breath and fire thy energy! The directions of the horizon constitute thy arms and the great ocean thy stomach! And, O god, the hills and mountains constitute thy thigh and the sky thy hips, O slayer of Madhu! The earth constitutes thy feet, and the plants the bristles on thy body. And, O lord, Indra and Soma and Agni and Varuna, indeed all the gods, the Asuras and the great Snakes all wait upon thee with humility, adoring thee with various hymns! O Lord of the Universe, created things are pervaded by thee. The great Rishis of high energy and ever plunged in ascetic meditation, always adore thee. When thou art gratified, the universe is in peace. And when thou art angry, terror pervadeth every soul. Thou art, O Lord, the great dispeller of all terrors and thou art the One Supreme Male Being! Thou art the cause of happiness of both gods and human beings! And, O Lord, by three steps of thine thou didst cover the three worlds! And it was by thee that the Asuras in the height of their power were destroyed! It is owing to thy prowess, O God, that the celestials obtained peace and happiness and, O thou of great effulgence, it was the anger that destroyed hundred great Daitya chiefs. Thou art the Creator and destroyer of all creatures in the world. It is by adoring thee that the gods have obtained happiness. It was thus, O Yudhishthira, that the high-souled Utanka praised the Lord of the senses. And Vishnu, therefore, said unto Utanka, 'I am gratified with thee. Ask thou the boon that thou desirest.' And Utanka said, 'This indeed hath, been a great boon to me, in that I have been able to behold Hari, that eternal Being, that divine Creator, that Lord of the universe!" Thus addressed Vishnu said, 'I am gratified with this absence of all desires on thy pail and with thy devotion, O thou best of men! But, O Brahmanas, O regenerate one, thou shouldst of a certainty accept some boon from me! Thus requested by Hari to accept a boon Utanka then, O thou best of Bharatas, with joined hands begged a boon saying, 'O illustrious one, O thou of eyes like lotus leaves, if thou hast been gratified with me, then let my heart always rest on virtue, truth, and self-content. And, O Lord, let my heart always turn to thee in devotion.' And hearing these words of Utanka, the holy one said, 'O regenerate one, all this shall happen to thee through my grace. And there will also appear in thee a yoga power endued with which thou shalt achieve a great thing for the dwellers of Heaven, as also for the triple world. Even now a great Asura of the name of Dhundhu is undergoing ascetic penances of fierce austerity with the object of destroying the triple world. Hear now as to who will slay that Asura. O son, there will appear a king of invincible energy and great prowess and he will be born in the race of Ikshvaku and will be known by the name of

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Vrihadaswa who will have a son of the name of Kuvalaswa endued with great holiness and self-control and celebrity. And that best of kings will be furnished with yoga power springing from me and urged and commended by thee, O regenerate Rishi, that king will be the slayer of the Asura Dhundhu.' And having said these words unto that Brahmana, Vishnu disappeared there and then."

SECTION 201

Markandeya said, "O king, after the death of Ikshvaku, a highly virtuous king of the name of Sasada, ascending the throne of Ayodhya ruled this earth. And from Sasada was descended Kakutstha of great energy. And Kakutshta had a son of name Anenas. And Anenas had a son named Prithu and Prithu had a son named Viswagaswa and from Viswagaswa sprang Adri and from Adri sprang Yuvanaswa and from Yuvanaswa sprang Sravastha and it was by this Sravastha that the city called Sravasthi was built and from Sravastha was descended Vrihadaswa and from Vrihadaswa sprang Kuvalaswa and Kuvalaswa had twentyone thousand sons and all these sons were fierce and powerful and skilled in learning. And Kuvalaswa excelled his father in every quality. And when the time came, his father Vrihadaswa installed him--the brave and highly virtuous Kuvalaswa--on the throne. And having thus made over the royal dignity to his son, that slayer of foes--king Vrihadaswa of great intelligence--retired into the woods for asceticism."

"Markandeya continued, 'O king, when the royal sage Vrihadaswa was about to retire into the woods, that best of Brahmanas, Utanka heard of it. And Utanka who was possessed of great energy and immeasurable soul, approached that foremost of all wielders of weapons and best of men. And approaching him, the Rishis began to persuade him to give up asceticism. And Utanka said, 'O king, to protect (the people) is thy duty. It behoveth thee to do that duty of thine. Let us be free from all anxiety through thy grace. Possessed as thou art of a great soul, protected by thee, the earth will be freed from all dangers. Therefore, it behoveth thee, not to retire into the woods. Great merit attaches to the act of protecting people in this world. Such merit can never be acquired in the woods. Let not thy heart, therefore, turn to this course. The merit, great king, that was acquired in days of old by great royal sages by protecting their subjects was so great that nothing equal to it could be seen. The king should always protect his subjects. It behoveth thee, therefore, to protect thy people. O lord of the earth, I cannot (at present) perform my ascetic devotions peacefully. Close to my asylum there is a sea of sands known by the name of Ujjalaka. And it occupies a level country and is without any water. And it extends many yojanas in length and breadth and in that desert dwells a chief of the Danavas called Dhundhu by name. And Dhundhu is the son of Madhu and Kaitabha, and is fierce and terrible and possessed of great prowess. And endued with immeasurable energy, that Danava, O king, dwelleth under the ground, and, O king, it behoveth thee to retire into the woods, having first slain that Asura. That Asura is now lying still in the observance of an ascetic penance of great austerity and, O king, the object he hath in view is sovereignty over the celestials as also of the three worlds. And, O king, having, obtained a boon from the Grandsire of all creatures, that Asura hath become incapable of being slain by the gods and Daityas and Rakshasas and Gandharvas. Slay though him, O king, and blessed be thou and let not thy heart turn to any other course. By slaying him thou wilt without doubt, achieve a great thing and thou wilt also obtain eternal and undying fame. And O king, when at the end of every year that wicked Asura lying covered with sands, wakes up and begins to breathe, then the whole earth with her mountains, forests and woods begins to tremble. And his breath raiseth up clouds of sands, and shroudeth the very sun, and for seven days continually the earth tremble all over, and sparks and flames of fire mixed with smoke spread far around and for all this, O king, I cannot rest in peace in my asylum. Slay thou him, O king, for the good of the world. Indeed, when that Asura is slain the triple world will be in peace and happiness. That thou art competent, O king, to slay that Asura, I fully believe. Thy energy will be enhanced by Vishnu with the addition of his own. In days of old, O king, Vishnu gave this boon that the king who should slay this fierce and great Asura would be pervaded by the invincible energy of Vishnu himself. Bearing that invincible Vaishnava energy in thyself, slay thou, O great king, that Daitya of fierce prowess. Possessed as Dhundhu is of mighty energy, no one, O king, that is endued with small energy himself will be capable of consuming him, even if he were to strive for a hundred years.'"

SECTION 202

"Markandeya said, 'Thus addressed by Utanka, that unvanquished royal sage, with joined hands, O thou foremost of the Kuru race, replied unto Utanka, saying, 'This visit of thine, O Brahmana, will not be in vain. This my son, O holy one, known by the name of Kuvalaswa is endued with steadiness and activity. In prowess also he is unequalled on earth. Without doubt he will accomplish all this that is agreeable to thee, aided by all his brave sons endued with arms like unto iron maces. Give me leave to retire, O Brahmana, for I have now given up my weapons.' Thus addressed by the king, that Muni of immeasurable energy replied unto him, saying, 'So be it." And the royal sage Vrihadaswa then, having commended his son to obey the behest of the high-souled Utanka saying, 'Let it be done by thee,' himself retired into an excellent forest.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'O holy one, O thou possessed of the wealth of asceticism, who was this Daitya of great energy? Whose son and whose grandson was he? I desire to know all this; O thou possessed of the wealth of asceticism I never heard of this mighty Daitya before. I desire to know all this truly, O holy one, and with all particulars in detail, O thou of great wisdom and ascetic wealth!'

"Markandeya said, 'O monarch, know everything as it happened, O ruler of men, as I narrate the particulars truly, O thou of great wisdom! When the world became one broad expanse of water and creatures mobile and immobile were destroyed, when, O bull of the Bharata race, the entire creation came to its end. He who is the Source and Creator of the Universe, viz., the Eternal and unfading Vishnu, He who is called by Munis crowned with ascetic success as the Supreme Lord of the Universe, that Being of great holiness, then lay in Yoga sleep on the wide hood of the Snake Sesha of immeasurable energy, and the Creator of the Universe, that highly-blessed and holy Hari, knowing no deterioration, lay on the hood of that Snake encircling the whole Earth and as the Deity lay asleep on that bed, a lotus, endued with great beauty and effulgence equal unto that of the Sun, sprang from his navel. And from that lotus possessed of effulgence like unto the Sun's, sprang the Grandsire Brahma, that lord of the worlds who is the four Vedas, who hath four forms and four faces, who is invincible in consequence of his own energy and who is endued with mighty strength and great prowess and as the Lord Hari of wondrous frame, possessed of great lustre and decked with a crown and the Kaustubha gem and attired in purple silk, lay stretched for many a yojana on that excellent bed furnished by the hood of the snake itself extending far and wide, blazing, O king, in his beauty and the lustre of his own body like a thousand Suns concentrated in one mass. He was beheld some time after by two Danavas of great prowess named Madhu and Kaitabha and beholding Hari (in that posture) and the Grandsire with eyes like lotus-leaves seated on that lotus, both Madhu and Kaitabha wandered much and they began to terrify and alarm Brahma of immeasurable prowess, and the illustrious Brahma alarmed by their continued exertions trembled on his seat, and at his trembling the stalk of the lotus on which he was seated began to tremble and when the lotus-stalk trembled, Kesava awoke. And awakened from his slumber, Govinda beheld those Danavas of mighty energy, and beholding them the Deity said unto them, 'Welcome, ye mighty ones! I am gratified with you! Therefore, I will grant you excellent boons!' And thereupon both those proud and mighty Danavas, O king, laughingly replied unto Hrishikesa, saying, 'Ask boons of us, O Divine one! O thou that art the Supreme Deity, we are disposed to grant thee a boon. Indeed, we will grant thee a boon! Therefore, ask thou of us anything that cometh to thy mind.' Thus addressed by them the holy one spoke, 'Ye brave ones, I will accept a boon from you. There is a boon that I desire. Both of you are possessed of mighty energy. There is no male person like unto any of you. O ye of unbaffled prowess, submit ye to be slain by me. Even that is what I desire to accomplish for the good of the world.' Hearing these words of the Deity, both Madhu and Kaitabha said, 'We have never before spoken an untruth; no, not even in jest; what shall we say of other occasions! O thou foremost of male Beings, know that we have ever been firm in truth and morality. In strength, in forms, in beauty, in virtue, in asceticism, in charity, in behaviour, in goodness, in self control, there is no one equal unto either of us. A great danger, O Kesava, hath approached us. Accomplish thou, therefore, what thou hast said. No one can prevail over Time. But, O Lord, there is one thing that we desire to be done by thee. O thou best and foremost of all Deities, thou must slay us at a spot that is absolutely uncovered. And, O thou of excellent eyes, we also desire to become thy sons. This is the boon that we desire, know then, O chief of the gods! Let not that O Deity, be false which thou hadst at first promised to us.' The Holy One then replied unto them saying, 'Yes, I will do as ye desire. Everything will be as ye wish!'

"Markandeya continued, 'Then Govinda began to reflect but uncovered space found he none and when he could not discover any spot that was uncovered on earth or in the sky, that foremost Deity then beheld his thighs to be absolutely uncovered. And there, O king, the illustrious Deity cut off the heads of Madhu and Kaitabha with his keenedged discus!'"

SECTION 203

"Markandeya said, 'The illustrious Dhundhu, O king, was the son of Madhu and Kaitabha, and possessed of great energy and prowess, he underwent ascetic penances of great austerity and he stood erect on one leg and reduced his body to a mass of only veins and arteries, and Brahma, gratified with him, gave him a boon. And the boon he had asked of the lord Prajapati was in these words, 'Let no one among the gods, the Danavas, the Rakshas, the Snakes, the Gandharvas and the Rakshasas be capable of slaying me. Even this is the boon that I ask of thee.' And the Grandsire replied unto him saying, 'Let it be as thou wishest. Go thy way.' And thus addressed by the Grandsire, the Danava placed the feet of the Deity on his head and having thus touched with reverence the Deity's feet he went away and possessed of mighty energy and prowess. Dhundhu, having obtained the boon hastily approached Vishnu remembering the death of his father at the hands of that Deity, and the wrathful Dhundhu having vanquished the gods with the Gandharvas began to distress all the celestials with Vishnu at their head. And at last O bull of the Bharata race, that wicked souled Asura arriving at a sea of sands known by the name of Ujjalaka, began to distress to the utmost of his might the asylum of Utanka. And endued with fierce energy, Dhundhu, the son of Madhu and Kaitabha, lay in his subterranean cave underneath the sands in the observance of fierce ascetic and severe austerities with the object of destroying the triple world, and while the Asura lay breathing near the asylum of Utanka that Rishi possessed of the splendour of fire, king Kualaswa with his troops, accompanied by the Brahmana Utanka, as also by all his sons set out for that region, O bull of the Bharata race! And after that grinder of foes, the royal Kuvalaswa, had set out, accompanied by his twenty-one thousand sons all of whom were exceedingly powerful, the illustrious Lord Vishnu filled him with his own energy at the command of Utanka and impelled by the desire of benefiting the triple world and while that invincible hero was proceeding on his way and loud voice was heard in the sky repeating the words, 'This fortunate and unslayable one will become the destroyer of Dhundhu to-day.' And the gods began to shower upon him celestial flowers. And the celestial kettle drums began to sound their music although none played upon them. And during the march of that wise one, cool breezes began to blow and the chief of the celestials poured gentle showers wetting the dust on the roads and, O Yudhishthira, the cars of the celestials could be seen high over the spot where the mighty Asura Dhundhu was. The gods and Gandharvas and great Rishis urged by curiosity, came there to behold the encounter between Dhundhu and Kuvalaswa and, O thou of the Kuru race, filled by Narayana with his own energy, king Kuvalaswa, aided by his sons, soon surrounded that sea of sands and the king ordered that wilderness to be excavated and after the king's sons had excavated that sea of sands for seven days, they could see the mighty Asura Dhundhu. And, O bull of the Bharata race, the huge body of that Asura lay within those sands, effulgent in its own energy like the Sun himself. And Dhundhu, O king, was lying covering the western region of the desert and surrounded on all sides by the sons of Kuvalaswa, the Danava was assaulted with sharp-pointed shafts and maces and heavy and short clubs and axes and clubs, with iron spikes and darts and bright and keen-edged swords, and thus assaulted, the mighty Danava rose from his recumbent posture in wrath. And enraged, the Asura began to swallow those various weapons that were hurled at him and he vomited from his mouth fiery flames like unto those of the fire called Samvarta that appeareth at the end of the Yuga and by those flames of his, the Asura consumed all the sons of the king and, O tiger among men, like the Lord Kapila of old consuming the sons of king Sagara, the infuriated Asura overwhelming the triple world with the flames vomited from his mouth, achieved that wonderful feat in a moment. And, O thou best of the Bharatas, when all those sons of king Kuvalaswa were consumed by the fire emitted by the Asura in wrath, the monarch, possessed as he was of mighty energy, then approached the Danava who, like unto a second Kumbhakarna of mighty energy, had come to the encounter after waking from his slumbers. From the body of the king, O monarch, then began to flow a mighty and copious stream of water and that stream soon extinguished, O king, the fiery flames emitted by the Asura. And, O great king, the royal Kuvalaswa, filled with Yoga force, having extinguished those flames by the water that issued from his body, consumed that Daitya of wicked prowess with the celebrated weapon called Brahma for relieving the triple world of its fears, and the royal sage Kuvalaswa, having consumed that great Asura, that foe of the celestials and slayer of all enemies, by means of that weapon became like unto a second chief of the triple world and the high-souled king Kuvalaswa having slain the Asura Dhundhu, became from that time known by the name of Dhundhumara and from that time he came to be regarded as invincible in battle, and the gods and the great Rishis who had come to witness that encounter were so far gratified with him that they addressed him saying, 'Ask thou a boon of us!' And thus solicited by the gods, the king bowed to them and filled with joy, the king said unto them, with joined hands these words, 'Let me be always able to give wealth unto superior Brahmanas! Let me be invincible as regards all foes! Let there be friendship between myself and Vishnu! Let me have no ill-feeling towards any creature! Let my heart always turn to virtue! And let me

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(finally) dwell in heaven for ever!' And the gods and the Rishis and Utanka, hearing this were exceedingly gratified and all of them said, 'Let it be as thou wishest!' And, O king, having also blessed him with many other speeches, the gods and the great Rishis then went away to their respective abodes. And, O Yudhishthira, after the slaughter of all his sons, king Kuvalaswa had still three sons left, and, O thou of the Bharata race, they were called Dridaswa and Kapilaswa and Chandraswa. It is from them, O king, that the illustrious line of kings belonging to Ikshvaku's race, all possessed of immeasurable prowess, hath sprung.

"It was thus, O best of king, that that great Daitya of the name Dhundhu, the son of Madhu and Kaitabha was slain by Kuvalaswa and it was for this also that king came to be called by the name of Dhundhumara. And indeed, the name he assumed was no empty one but was literally true.

"I have now told thee all that thou hadst asked me, viz., all about that person in consequence of whose act the story of Dhundhu's death hath become famous. He that listeneth to this holy history connected with the glory of Vishnu, becometh virtuous and obtaineth children. By listening to this story on particular lunations, one becometh blessed with long life and great good fortune. And freed from every anxiety one ceaseth to have any fear of diseases."

SECTION 204

Vaisampayana said, "O thou foremost of the Bharata race, king Yudhisthira then asked the illustrious Markandeya a difficult question about morality, saying, 'I desire to hear, O holy one, about the high and excellent virtue of women. I desire to hear from thee, O Brahmana, discourse about the subtle truths of morality. O regenerate Rishi, O best of men, the Sun, the Moon, the Wind, the Earth, the Fire, the father, the mother, the preceptor--these and other objects ordained by the gods, appear to us as Deities embodied! All these that are reverend ones are worthy of our best regard. So also is the woman who adoreth one lord. The worship that chaste wives offer unto their husbands appeareth to me to be fraught with great difficulty. O adorable one, it behoveth thee to discourse to us of the high and excellent virtue of chaste wives--of wives who restraining all their senses and keeping their hearts under complete control regard their husbands as veritable gods. O holy and adorable one, all this appears to me to be exceedingly difficult of accomplishment. O regenerate one, the worship that sons offer to their mothers and fathers and that wives offer to their husbands, both seem to me to be highly difficult. I do not behold anything that is more difficult than the severe virtue of chaste women. O Brahmana, the duties that women of good behaviour discharge with care and the conduct that is pursued by good sons towards their fathers and mothers appear to me to be most difficult of performance. Those women that are each devoted to but one lord, they that always speak the truth, they that undergo a period of gestation for full ten months--there is nothing, O Brahmana, that is more difficult than that is done by these. O worshipful one, women bring forth their offspring with great hazard to themselves and great pain and rear their children, O bull among Brahmanas, with great affection! Those persons also who being always engaged in acts of cruelty and there by incurring general hatred, succeed yet in doing their duties accomplish what, in my opinion, is exceedingly difficult. O regenerate one, tell me the truths of the duties of the Kshatriya order. It is difficult, O twice-born one, for those high-souled ones to acquire virtue who by the duties of their order are obliged to do what is cruel. O holy one, thou art capable of answering all questions; I desire to hear thee discourse on all this. O thou foremost of Bhrigu's race, I desire to listen to all this, waiting respectfully on thee, O thou of excellent vows!'

"Markandeya said, 'O thou foremost of the Bharata race, I will discourse to thee on all this truly, however difficult of answer thy question may be. Listen to me, therefore, as I speak unto thee. Some regard the mother as superior and some the father. The mother, however, that bringeth forth and some the father. The mother, however, that bringeth forth and reareth up offspring what is more difficult. Fathers also, by ascetic penances by worship of the gods, by adorations addressed to them, by bearing cold and heat, by incantations and other means desire to have children. And having by these painful expedients obtained children that are so difficult of acquisition, they then, O hero, are always anxious about the future of their sons and, O Bharata, both the father and the mother desire to see in their sons fame and achievements and prosperity and offspring and virtue. That son is virtuous who realises these hopes of his parents. And, O great king, that son with whom the father and the mother are gratified, achieveth eternal fame and eternal virtue both here and thereafter. As regards women again, neither sacrifice nor sraddhas, nor fasts are of any efficacy. By serving their husbands only they can win heaven. O king, O Yudhishthira, remembering this alone, listen thou with attention to the duties of chaste women."

SECTION 205

"Markandeya said, 'There was, O Bharata, a virtuous ascetic of the name of Kausika and endued with wealth of asceticism and devoted to the study of the Vedas, he was a very superior Brahmana and that best of Brahmanas studied all the Vedas with the Angas and the Upanishadas and one day he was reciting the Vedas at the foot of a tree and at that time there sat on the top of that tree a female crane and that she-crane happened at that time to befoul the Brahmana's body and beholding that crane the Brahmana became very angry and thought of doing her an injury and as the Brahmana cast his angry glances upon the crane and thought also of doing her an injury, she fell down on the ground and beholding the crane thus fallen from the tree and insensible in death, the Brahmana was much moved by pity and the regenerate one began to lament for the dead crane saying, 'Alas, I have done a bad deed, urged by anger and malice!'

"Markandeya continued, 'Having repeated these words many times, that learned Brahmana entered a village for procuring alms. And, O bull of the Bharata race, in course of his eleemosynary round among the houses of persons of good lineage, the Brahmana entered one such house that he knew from before. And as he entered the house, he said, 'Give'. And he was answered by a female with the word, 'Stay'. And while the housewife was engaged, O king, in cleaning the vessel from which alms are given, her husband, O thou best of the Bharatas, suddenly entered the house, very much afflicted with hunger. The chaste housewife beheld her husband and disregarding the Brahmana, gave her lord water to wash his feet and face and also a seat and after that the black-eyed lady, placing before her lord savoury food and drink, humbly stood beside him desirous of attending to all his wants. And, O Yudhishthira, that obedient wife used every day to eat the orts of her husband's plate and, always conducting herself in obedience to the wishes of the lord, that lady ever regarded her husband, and all her heart's affections inclined towards her lord. Of various and holy behaviour and skilful in all domestic duties and attentive to all her relatives, she always did what was agreeable and beneficial to her husband and she also, with rapt senses attended to the worship of the gods and the wants of guests and servants and her mother-in-law and father-in-law.

"And while the lady of handsome eyes was still engaged in waiting upon her lord, she beheld that Brahmana waiting for alms and beholding him, she remembered that she had asked him to wait. And remembering all this, she felt abashed. And then that chaste woman possessed of great fame, took something for alms and went out, O thou foremost of the Bharatas, for giving it unto that Brahmana. And when she came before him, the Brahmana said, 'O best of women, O blessed one, I am surprised at thy conduct! Having requested me to wait saying, 'Stay' thou didst not dismiss me!'

"Markandeya continued, 'O lord of men beholding that Brahmana filled with wrath and blazing with his energy, that chaste woman began to conciliate him and said, 'O learned one, it behoveth thee to forgive me. My husband is my supreme god. He came hungry and tired and was being served and waited upon by me.' Hearing this, the Brahmana said, 'With thee Brahmanas are not worthy of superior regard. Exaltest thou thy husband above them? Leading a domestic life, dost thou disregard Brahmanas? Indra himself boweth down unto them, what shall I say of men on earth. Proud woman, dost thou not know it, hast thou never heard it, that the Brahmanas are like fire and may consume the entire earth?' At these words of that Brahmana the woman answered, 'I am no she-crane, O regenerate Rishi! O thou that art endued with the wealth of asceticism, cast off this anger of thine. Engaged as thou are, what canst thou do to me with these angry glances of thine? I do not disregard Brahmanas. Endued with great energy of soul, they are like unto the gods themselves. But, O sinless one, this fault of mine it behoveth thee to forgive. I know the energy and high dignity of Brahmanas that are possessed of wisdom. The waters of the ocean have been made brackish and undrinkable by the wrath of the Brahmanas. I know also the energy of Munis of souls under complete control and endued with blazing ascetic merit. The fire of their wrath to this day hath not been extinguished in the forest of Dandaka. It was for his having disregarded the Brahmanas that the great Asura--the wicked and evil-minded Vatapi was digested when he came in contact with Agastya. It hath been heard by us that the powers and merits of high-souled Brahmanas are great. But, O Brahmana, as regenerate ones of high souls are great in wrath, so are they equally great in forgiveness. Therefore, O sinless one, it behoveth thee to forgive me in the matter of this my offence. O Brahmana, my heart inclineth to that merit which springeth from the service of my husband, for I regard my husband as the highest among all the gods. O best of Brahmanas, I practise that virtue which consists in serving my husband whom I regard as the highest Deity. Behold, O regenerate one, the merit that attaches to the service of one's husband! I know that thou hast burnt a she-crane with thy wrath! But, O best of regenerate ones, the anger that a person cherishes is the greatest of foes which that person hath. The gods know him for a Brahmana who hath cast off anger and passion. The gods know him for a Brahmana who always speaketh the truth here, who always gratifieth his preceptor, and who, though injured himself, never returneth the injury. The gods know him for a Brahmana who hath his senses under control, who is virtuous and pure and devoted to the study of the Vedas, and who hath mastery over anger and lust. The gods know him for a Brahmana who, cognisant of morals and endued with mental energy, is catholic in religion and looketh upon all equal unto himself. The gods know him for a Brahmana who studieth himself and teacheth others, who performeth sacrifices himself and officiateth at the sacrifices of others, and who giveth away to the best of his means. The gods know that bull among the regenerate ones for a Brahmana who, endued with liberality of soul, practiseth the Brahmacharya vow and is devoted to study,--in fact who is vigilantly devoted to the study of the Vedas. Whatever conduceth to the happiness of the Brahmanas is always recited before these. Ever taking pleasure in truth, the hearts of such men never find joy in untruth. O thou best of regenerate ones, it hath been said that the study of the Vedas, tranquillity of soul, simplicity of behaviour, and repression of the senses, constitute the eternal duties of the Brahmana. Those cognisant with virtue and morals have said that truth and honesty are the highest virtue. Virtue that is eternal is difficult of being understood. But whatever it is, it is based on truth. The ancients have declared that virtue dependeth on sruti. But, O foremost of regenerate ones, virtue as exposed in sruti appears to be of various kinds. It is, therefore, too subtle of comprehension. Thou, O holy one, art cognisant of virtue, pure, and devoted to the study of the Vedas. I think, however, O holy one, that thou dost not know what virtue in reality is. Repairing to the city of Mithila, enquire thou of a virtuous fowler there, if indeed, O regenerate one, thou art not really acquainted with what constitutes the highest virtue. There liveth in Mithila a fowler who is truthful and devoted to the service of his parents and who hath senses under complete control. Even he will discourse to thee on virtue. Blessed be thou, O best of regenerate ones, if thou likest, repair thither. O faultless one, it behoveth thee to forgive me, if what I have said be unpalatable, for they that are desirous of acquiring virtue are incapable of injuring women!'

"At these words of the chaste woman, the Brahmana replied, saying, 'I am gratified with thee. Blessed be thou; my anger hath subsided, O beautiful one! The reproofs uttered by thee will be of the highest advantage to me. Blessed be thou, I shall now go and accomplish what is so conducive, O handsome one, to my benefit!'

"Markandeya continued, 'Dismissed by her, Kausika, that best of regenerate ones, left her house, and, reproaching himself, returned to his own abode.'"

SECTION 206

"Markandeya said, 'Continually reflecting upon that wonderful discourse of the woman, Kausika began to reproach himself and looked very much like a guilty person and meditating on the subtle ways of morality and virtue, he said to himself, 'I should accept with reverence what the lady hath said and should, therefore, repair to Mithila. Without doubt there dwelleth in that city a fowler of soul under complete control and fully acquainted with the mysteries of virtue and morality. This very day will I repair unto that one endued with wealth of asceticism for enquiring of him about virtue.' His faith in her was assured by her knowledge of the death of the she-crane and the excellent words of virtuous import she had uttered. Kausika thus reflecting with reverence upon all she had said, set out for Mithila, filled with curiosity. And he traversed many forests and villages and towns and at last reached Mithila that was ruled over by Janaka and he beheld the city to be adorned with the flags of various creeds. And he beheld that beautiful town to be resounding with the noise of sacrifices and festivities and furnished with splendid gateways. It abounded with palatial residences and protected by walls on all sides; it had many splendid buildings to boast of. And that delightful town was also filled with innumerable cars. And its streets and roads were many and well-laid and many of them were lined with shops. And it was full of horses and cars and elephants and warriors. And the citizens were all in health and joy and they were always engaged in festivities. And having entered that city, that Brahmana beheld there many other things.

And there the Brahmana enquired about the virtuous fowler and was answered by some twice-born persons. And repairing to the place indicated by those regenerate ones, the Brahmana beheld the fowler seated in a butcher's yard and the ascetic fowler was then selling venison and buffalo meat and in consequence of the large concourse of buyers gathered round that fowler, Kausika stood at a distance. But the fowler, apprehending that the Brahmana had come to him, suddenly rose from his seat and went to that secluded spot where the Brahmana was staying and having approached him there, the fowler said, 'I salute thee, O holy one! Welcome art thou, O thou best of Brahmanas! I am the fowler. Blessed be thou! Command me as to what I may do for thee. The word that the

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chaste woman said unto thee, viz., Repair thou to Mithila, are known to me. I also know for what purpose thou hast come hither.' Hearing these words of the fowler that Brahmana was filled with surprise. And he began to reflect inwardly, saying, 'This indeed, is the second marvel that I see!' The fowler then said unto the Brahmana, saying, 'Thou art now standing in place that is scarcely proper for thee, O sinless one. If it pleasest thee, let us go to my abode, O holy one!'

"Markandeya continued, 'So be it,' said the Brahmana unto him, gladly. And thereupon, the fowler proceeded towards his home with the Brahmana walking before him. And entering his abode that looked delightful, the fowler reverenced his guest by offering him a seat. And he also gave him water to wash his feet and face. And accepting these, that best of Brahmanas sat at his ease And he then addressed the fowler, saying, 'It seems to me that this profession doth not befit thee. O fowler, I deeply regret that thou shouldst follow such a cruel trade.' At these words of the Brahmana the fowler said, 'This profession is that of my family, myself having inherited it from my sires and grandsires. O regenerate one, grieve not for me owing to my adhering to the duties that belong to me by birth. Discharging the duties ordained for me beforehand by the Creator, I carefully serve my superiors and the old. O thou best of Brahmanas! I always speak the truth, never envy others; and give to the best of my power. I live upon what remaineth after serving the gods, guests, and those that depend on me. I never speak ill of anything, small or great. O thou best of Brahmanas, the actions of a former life always follow the doer. In this world there are three principal professions, viz., agriculture, rearing of cattle, and trade. As regards the other world, the three Vedas, knowledge, and the science of morals are efficacious. Service (of the other three orders) hath been ordained to be the duty of the Sudra. Agriculture hath been ordained for the Vaisyas, and fighting for the Kshatriyas, while the practice of the Brahmacharya vow, asceticism, recitation of mantras, and truthfulness have been ordained for the Brahmanas. Over subjects adhering to their proper duties, the king should rule virtuously; while he should set those thereto that have fallen away from the duties of their order. Kings should ever be feared, because they are the lords of their subjects. They restrain those subjects of theirs that fall away from their duties as they restrain the motions of the deer by means of their shafts. O regenerate Rishi, there existeth not in the kingdom of Janaka a single subject that followeth not the duties of his birth. O thou best of the Brahmanas, all the four orders here rigidly adhere to their respective duties. King Janaka punisheth him that is wicked, even if he be his own son; but never doth he inflict pain on him that is virtuous. With good and able spies employed under him, he looketh upon all with impartial eyes. Prosperity, and kingdom, and capacity to punish, belong, O thou best of Brahmanas, to the Kshatriyas. Kings desire high prosperity through practice of the duties that belong to them. The king is the protector of all the four orders. As regards myself, O Brahmana, I always sell pork and buffalo meat without slaying those animals myself. I sell meat of animals, O regenerate Rishi, that have been slain by others. I never eat meat myself; never go to my wife except in her season; I always fast during the day, and eat, O regenerate one, in the night. Even though the behaviour of his order is bad, a person may yet be himself of good behaviour. So also a person may become virtuous, although he may be slayer of animals by profession. It is in consequence of the sinful acts of kings that virtue decreaseth greatly, and sin beginneth to prosper. And when all this taketh place the subjects of the kingdom begin to decay. And it is then, O Brahmana, that ill-looking monsters, and dwarfs, and hunch-backed and large-headed wights, and men that are blind or deaf or those that have paralysed eyes or are destitute of the power of procreation, begin to take their birth. It is from the sinfulness of kings that their subjects suffer numerous mischiefs. But this our king Janaka casteth his eyes upon all his subjects virtuously, and he is always kind unto them who, on their part, ever adhere to their respective duties. Regarding myself, I always with good deeds please those that speak well, as also those that speak ill of me. Those kings that live in the observance of their own proper duties, who are always engaged in the practice of acts that are good and honest, who are of souls under complete control and who are endued with readiness and alacrity, may not depend upon anything else for supporting their power. Gift of food to the best of one's power, endurance of heat and cold, firmness in virtue, and a regard and tenderness for all creatures,--these attributes can never find place in a person, without an innate desire being present in him of separating himself from the world. One should avoid falsehood in speech, and should do good without solicitation. One should never cast off virtue from lust, from wrath, or from malice. One should never joy immoderately at a good turn or grieve immoderately at a bad one. One should never feel depressed when overtaken by poverty, nor when so overtaken abandon the path of virtue. If at any time one doth what is wrong, he should never do its like again. One should always urge his soul to the doing of that which he regardeth as beneficial. One should never return wrong for wrong, but should act honestly by those that have wronged him. That wretched man who desireth to do what is sinful, slayeth himself. By doing what is sinful, one only imitates them that are wicked and sinful, Disbelieving in virtue they that mock the good and the pure saying, 'There is no virtue' undoubtedly meet with destruction. A sinful man swelleth up like a leather bag puffed up with wind. The thoughts of these wretches filled with pride and folly are feeble and unprofitable. It is the heart, the inner soul, that discovereth the fool like the sun that discovereth forms during the day. The food cannot always shine in the world by means of self-praise. The learned man, however, even if he be destitute of beauty, displayeth his lustre by refraining from speaking ill of others and well of himself. No example, however, can be met with, in this world, of a person shining brilliantly on account of attributes to be found in him in their reputed measure. If one repenteth of a wrong done by him, that repentance washeth off his sin. The resolution of never doing it again saveth him from future sin, even as, O thou best of Brahmanas, he may save himself from sin by any of those expiations obtained in the scriptures. Even this, O regenerate one, is the sruti that may be seen in respect of virtue. He that having before been virtuous, committeth a sin, or committeth it unknowingly may destroy that sin. For virtue, O Brahmana, driveth off the sin that men commit from ignorance. A man, after having committed a sin, should cease to regard himself any longer as a man. No man can conceal his sins. The gods behold what one does, also the Being that is within every one. He that with piety and without detraction hideth the faults of the honest and the wise like holes in his own attire, surely seeketh his salvation. If a man seeketh redemption after having committed a sin, without doubt he is purged of all his sins and looketh pure and resplendent like the moon emerged from the clouds. A man that seeketh redemption is washed of all his sins, even as the sun, upon rising, dispelleth all darkness. O best of Brahmanas, it is temptation that constitutes the basis of sin. Men that are ignorant commit sin, yielding to temptation alone. Sinful men generally cover themselves with a virtuous exterior, like wells whose mouths are covered by long grass. Outwardly they seem to possess self-control and holiness and indulge in preaching virtuous texts which, in their mouth are of little meaning. Indeed, everything may be noticed in them except conduct that is truly virtuous!'

"Markandeya continued, 'At these words, O best of men, of the fowler, that Brahmana endued with great wisdom, then asked the fowler, saying, 'How shall I know what is virtuous conduct? Blessed be thou, I desire to hear this, O thou foremost of virtuous men, from thee. Therefore, O thou of exalted soul, tell me all about it truly.' Hearing these words, the fowler replied, saying, 'O best of Brahmanas, Sacrifices, Gift, Asceticism, the Vedas, and Truth--these five holy things are ever present in conduct that is called virtuous. Having subjugated lust and wrath pride avarice, and crookedness, they that take pleasure in virtue because it is virtue, are regarded as really virtuous and worthy of the approbation of persons that are virtuous. These persons who are devoted to sacrifices; and study of the Vedas have no independent behaviour. They follow only the practices of the honest and the good. This indeed, is the second attribute of the virtuous. Waiting upon superiors, Truth, Freedom from anger, and Gift, these four, O Brahmana, are inseparably connected with behaviour that is virtuous. For the reputation that a person acquires by setting his heart on virtuous behaviour and adhering to it rigidly is incapable of acquisition except by practising the four virtues named above. The essence of the Vedas is Truth: the essence of Truth is self-control, and the essence of self-control is abstention from the pleasures of the world. These all are to be noticed in behaviour that is virtuous. They that follow those deluded fools that mock the forms of faith prevailing among men, are dragged into destruction for walking in such a sinful path. They, however, that are virtuous and engaged in the observance of vows, who are devoted to the srutis and the virtue of abstention from the pleasure of the world, they in fact who tread in virtue's path and follow the true religion, they that are obedient to the mandates of their preceptors, and who reflect upon the sense of the scriptures with patience and carefulness,--is these that are said to be possessed of behaviour that is virtuous; it is these, O Brahmana, that are said to properly guide their higher intelligence. Forsaking those that are atheists, those that transgress virtue's limits, those that are of wicked souls, those that live in sinfulness, betake thyself to knowledge reverencing those that are virtuous. Lust and temptation are even like sharks in the river of life; the waters are the five senses. Do thou cross over to the other side of this river in the boat of patience and resignation, avoiding the shoals of corporeal existence (repeated births in this world). The supreme virtue consisting in the exercise of the intelligent principle and abstraction, when gradually super-added to virtuous conduct, becomes beautiful like dye on white fabrics. Truthfulness and abstention from doing injury to any one, are virtues highly beneficial to all creatures. Of these, that latter is a cardinal virtue, and is based on truth. Our mental faculties have their proper play when their foundation is laid in truth, and in the exercise of virtue truth is of the highest value. Purity of conduct is the characteristic of all good men. Those that are distinguished for holy living are good and virtuous. All creatures follow the principles of conduct which are innate in their nature. The sinful being who has no control over self acquire lust, anger and other vices. It is the immemorial rule that virtuous actions are those that are founded on justice, and it is also ordained by holy men that all iniquitous conduct is sin. Those who are not swayed by anger, pride, haughtiness and envy, and those who are quiet and straight-forward, are men of virtuous conduct. Those who are diligent in performing the rites enjoined in the three Vedas, who are wise, and of pure and virtuous conduct, who exercise self-restraint and are full of attention to their superior, are men of virtuous conduct. The actions and conduct of such men of great power, are very difficult of attainment. They are sanctified by the purification of their own actions, and consequently sin in them dies out of itself. This virtue of good conduct is wonderful, ancient, immutable and eternal; and wise men observing this virtue with holiness, attain to heaven. These men who believe in the existence of the Deity, who are free from false pride, and versed in holy writ, and who respect regenerate (twice-born) men, go to heaven. Among holy men, virtue is differentiated in three ways--that great virtue which is inculcated in the Vedas, the other which is inculcated in the dharmashastras (the minor scriptures), and virtuous conduct. And virtuous conduct is indicated by acquisition of knowledge, pilgrimage to sacred places, truthfulness, forbearance, purity and straight-forwardness. Virtuous men are always kind to all creatures, and well-disposed towards regenerate men. They abstain from doing injury to any creature, and are never rude in speech. Those good men who know well the consequences of the fruition of their good and evil deeds, are commended by virtuous men. Those who are just and good-natured, and endowed with virtue, who wish well of all creatures, who are steadfast in the path of virtue, and have conquered heaven, who are charitable, unselfish and of unblemished character, who succour the afflicted, and are learned and respected by all, who practise austerities, and are kind to all creatures, are commended as such by the virtuous. Those who are charitably disposed attain prosperity in this world, as also the regions of bliss (hereafter). The virtuous man when solicited for assistance by good men bestow alms on them by straining to the utmost, even to the deprivation of the comforts of his wife and servants. Good men having an eye to their own welfare, as also virtue and the ways of the world, act in this way and thereby grow in virtue through endless ages. Good persons possessing the virtues of truthfulness, abstention from doing injury to any one, rectitude, abstention from evil towards any one, want of haughtiness, modesty, resignation, self-restraint, absence of passion, wisdom, patience, and kindness towards all creatures, and freedom from malice and lust, are the witnesses of the world. These three are said to constitute the perfect way of the virtuous, viz., a man must not do wrong to any body, he must bestow alms, and must always be truthful. Those high-souled good men of virtuous conduct, and settled convictions, who are kind to all and are full of compassion, depart with contentment from this world to the perfect way of virtue. Freedom from malice, forbearance, peace of mind, contentment, pleasant speech, renunciation of desire and anger, virtuous conduct and actions regulated according to the ordinances of holy writ, constitute the perfect way of the virtuous. And those who are constant in virtue follow these rules of virtuous conduct, and having reached the pinnacle of knowledge, and discriminating between the various phases of human conduct, which are either very virtuous or the reverse, they escape from the great danger. Thus, O great Brahmana, having introduced the subject of virtuous conduct, have I described to thee all this, according to my own knowledge and to what I have heard on the subject."

SECTION 207

"Markandeya continued, 'The pious fowler, O Yudhishthira, then said to that Brahmana, 'Undoubtedly my deeds are very cruel, but, O Brahmana, Destiny is all-powerful and it is difficult to evade the consequence of our past actions. And this is the karmic evil arising out of sin committed in a former life. But, O Brahmana, I am always assiduous in eradicating the evil. The Deity takes away life, the executioner acts only as a secondary agent. And we, O good Brahmana, are only such agents in regard to our karma. Those animals that are slain by me and whose meat I sell, also acquire karma, because (with their meat), gods and guests and servants are regaled with dainty food and the manes are propitiated. It is said authoritatively that herbs and vegetables, deer, birds and wild animals constitute the food of all creatures. And, O Brahmana, king Sivi, the son of Usinara, of great forbearance attained to heaven, which is hard to reach, giving away his own flesh. And in days of yore, O Brahmana, two thousand animals used to be killed every day in the kitchen of king Rantideva; and in the same manner two thousand cows were killed every day; and, O best of regenerate beings, king Rantideva acquired unrivalled reputation by distributing food with meat every

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day. For the performance of the fourmonthly rites animals ought to be sacrificed daily. 'The sacred fire is fond of animal food,' this saying has come down to us. And at sacrifices animals are invariably killed by regenerate Brahmanas, and these animals being purged of sin, by incantation of hymns, go to heaven. If, O Brahmana, the sacred fire had not been so fond of animal food in ancient times, it could never have become the food of any one. And in this matter of animal food, this rule has been laid down by Munis:--Whoever partakes of animal food after having first offered it duly and respectfully to the gods and the manes, is not polluted by the act. And such a man is not at all considered to have partaken of animal food, even, as a Brahmacharin having intercoursed with his wife during the menstrual period, is nevertheless considered to be a good Brahmana. After consideration of the propriety and impropriety of the matter, this rule has been laid down. King Saudasa, O Brahmana, when under a curse, often used to prey upon men; what is thy opinion of this matter? And, O good Brahmana, knowing this to be the consequence of my own actions, I obtain my livelihood from this profession. The forsaking of one's own occupation is considered, O Brahmana, to be a sin, and the act of sticking to one's own profession is without doubt a meritorious act. The Karma of a former existence never forsakes any creature. And in determining the various consequences of one's Karma, this rule was not lost sight of by the Creator. A person having his being under the influence of evil Karma, must always consider how he can atone for his Karma, and extricate himself from an evil doom, and the evil Karma may be expiated in various ways. Accordingly, O good Brahmana, I am charitable, truthful, assiduous in attending on my superior, full of respect towards regenerate Brahmanas, devoted to and free from pride and (idle) excessive talk. Agriculture is considered to be a praiseworthy occupation, but it is well-known that even there, great harm is done to animal life; and in the operation of digging the earth with the plough, numberless creatures lurking in the ground as also various other forms of animal life are destroyed. Dost thou not think so? O good Brahmana, Vrihi and other seeds of rice are all living organisms. What is thy opinion on this matter? Men, O Brahmana, hunt wild animals and kill them and partake of their meat; they also cut up trees and herbs; but, O Brahmana, there are numberless living organisms in trees, in fruits, as also in water; dost thou not think so? This whole creation, O Brahmana, is full of animal life, sustaining itself with food derived from living organisms. Dost thou not mark that fish preys upon fish, and that various species of animals prey upon other species, and there are species the members of which prey upon each other? Men, O Brahmana, while walking about hither and thither, kill numberless creatures lurking in the ground by trampling on them, and even men of wisdom and enlightenment destroy animal life in various ways, even while sleeping or reposing themselves. What hast thou to say to this?--The earth and the air all swarm with living organisms, which are unconsciously destroyed by men from mere ignorance. Is not this so? The commandment that people should not do harm to any creature, was ordained of old by men, who were ignorant of the true facts of the case. For, O Brahmana, there is not a man on the face of this earth, who is free from the sin of doing injury to creatures. After full consideration, the conclusion is irresistible that there is not a single man who is free from the sin of doing injury to animal life. Even the sage, O good Brahmana, whose vow is to do harm to no creature, doth inflict injury to animal life. Only, on account of greater needfulness, the harm is less. Men of noble birth and great qualities perpetrate wicked acts in defiance of all, of which they are not at all ashamed. Good men acting in an exemplary way are not commended by other good men; nor are bad men acting in a contrary way praised by their wicked compeers; and friends are not agreeable to friends, albeit endowed with high qualities; and foolish pedantic men cry down the virtues of their preceptors. This reversal of the natural order of things, O good Brahmana, is seen everywhere in this world. What is thy opinion as to the virtuousness or otherwise of this state of things? There is much that can be said of the goodness or badness of our actions. But whoever is addicted to his own proper occupation surely acquires great reputation.

SECTION 208

Markandeya continued, "O Yudhishthira, the virtuous fowler, eminent in pity, then skilfully addressed himself again to that foremost of Brahmanas, saying, 'It is the dictum of the aged that the ways of righteousness are subtle, diverse and infinite. When life is at stake and in the matter of marriage, it is proper to tell an untruth. Untruth sometimes leads to the triumph of truth, and the latter dwindles into untruth. Whichever conduces most to the good of all creatures is considered to be truth. Virtue is thus perverted; mark thou its subtle ways. O best of virtuous men, man's actions are either good or bad, and he undoubtedly reaps their fruits. The ignorant man having attained to an abject state, grossly abuses the gods, not knowing that it is the consequence of his own evil karma. The foolish, the designing and the fickle, O good Brahmana, always attain the very reverse of happiness or misery. Neither learning nor good morals, nor personal exertion can save them. And if the fruits of our exertion were not dependent on anything else, people would attain the object of their desire, by simply striving to attain it.

It is seen that able, intelligent and diligent persons are baffled in their efforts, and do not attain the fruits of their actions. On the other hand, persons who are always active in injuring others and in practising deception on the world, lead a happy life. There are some who attain prosperity without any exertion. And there are others, who with the utmost exertion, are unable to achieve their dues. Miserly persons with the object of having sons born to them worship the gods, and practise severe austerities, and those sons having remained in the womb for ten months at length turn out to be very infamous issue of their race; and others begotten under the same auspices, decently pass their lives in luxury with heaps of riches and grain accumulated by their ancestors. The diseases from which man suffer, are undoubtedly the result of their own karma. They then behave like small deer at the hands of hunters, and they are racked with mental troubles. And, O Brahmana, as hunters intercept the flight of their game, the progress of those diseases is checked by able and skilful physicians with their collections of drugs. And, the best of the cherishers of religion, thou hast observed that those who have it in their power to enjoy (the good things of this earth), are prevented from doing so from the fact of their suffering from chronic bowel-complaints, and that many others that are strong and powerful, suffer from misery, and are enabled with great difficulty to obtain a livelihood; and that every man is thus helpless, overcome by misery and illusion, and again and again tossed and overpowered by the powerful current of his own actions (karma). If there were absolute freedom of action, no creature would die, none would be subject to decay, or await his evil doom, and everybody would attain the object of his desire. All persons desire to out distance their neighbours (in the race of life), and they strive to do so to the utmost of their power; but the result turns out otherwise. Many are the persons born under the influence of the same star and the same auspices of good luck; but a great diversity is observable in the maturity of their actions. No person, O good Brahmana, can be the dispenser of his own lot. The actions done in a previous existence are seen to fructify in our present life. It is the immemorial tradition that the soul is eternal and everlasting, but the corporeal frame of all creatures is subject to destruction here (below). When therefore life is extinguished, the body only is destroyed, but the spirit, wedded to its actions, travels elsewhere.'

"The Brahmana replied, 'O best of those versed in the doctrine of karma, and in the delivery of discourses, I long to know accurately how the soul becomes eternal.' The fowler replied, 'The spirit dies not, there being simply a change of tenement. They are mistaken, who foolishly say that all creatures die. The soul betakes itself to another frame, and its change of habitation is called its death. In the world of men, no man reaps the consequences of another man's karma. Whatever one does, he is sure to reap the consequences thereof; for the consequences of the karma that is once done, can never be obviated. The virtuous become endowed with great virtues, and sinful men become the perpetrators of wicked deeds. Men's actions follow them; and influenced by these, they are born again.' The Brahmana enquired, 'Why does the spirit take its birth, and why does its nativity become sinful or virtuous, and how, O good man, does it come to belong to a sinful or virtuous race?' The fowler replied, This mystery seems to belong to the subject of procreation, but I shall briefly describe to you, O good Brahmana, how the spirit is born again with its accumulated load of karma, the righteous in a virtuous, and the wicked in a sinful nativity. By the performance of virtuous actions it attains to the state of the gods, and by a combination of good and evil, it acquires the human state; by indulgence in sensuality and similar demoralising practices it is born in the lower species of animals, and by sinful acts, it goes to the infernal regions. Afflicted with the miseries of birth and dotage, man is fated to rot here below from the evil consequences of his own actions. Passing through thousands of births as also the infernal regions, our spirits wander about, secured by the fetters of their own karma. Animate beings become miserable in the next world on account of these actions done by themselves and from the reaction of those miseries, they assume lower births and then they accumulate a new series of actions, and they consequently suffer misery over again, like sickly men partaking of unwholesome food; and although they are thus afflicted, they consider themselves to be happy and at ease and consequently their fetters are not loosened and new karma arises; and suffering from diverse miseries they turn about in this world like a wheel. If casting off their fetters they purify themselves by their actions and practise austerities and religious meditations, then, O best of Brahmanas, they attain the Elysian regions by these numerous acts and by casting off their fetters and by the purification of karma, men attain those blissful regions where misery is unknown to those who go there. The sinful man who is addicted to vices, never comes to the end of his course of iniquities. Therefore must we strive to do what is virtuous and forbear from doing what is unrighteous. Whoever with a heart full of gratefulness and free from malice strives to do what is good, attains wealth, virtue, happiness and heaven (hereafter). Those who are purified of sins, wise, forbearing, constant in righteousness, and self-restrained enjoy continuous felicity in this as well as in the next world. Man must follow the standard of virtue of the good and in his acts imitate the example of the righteous. There are virtuous men, versed in holy writ and learned in all departments of knowledge. Man's proper duty consists in following his own proper avocation, and this being the case these latter do not become confused and mixed up. The wise man delights in virtue and lives by righteousness. And, O good Brahmana, such a man with the wealth of righteousness which he hereby acquires, waters the root of the plant in which he finds most virtue. The virtuous man acts thus and his mind is calmed. He is pleased with his friends in this world and he also attains happiness hereafter. Virtuous people, O good man, acquire dominion over all and the pleasure of beauty, flavour, sound and touch according to their desire. These are known to be the rewards of virtue. But the man of enlightened vision, O great Brahmana, is not satisfied with reaping the fruits of righteousness. Not content with that, he with the light of spiritual wisdom that is in him, becomes indifferent to pain and pleasure and the vice of the world influenceth him not. Of his own free will he becometh indifferent to worldly pursuits but he forsaketh not virtue. Observing that everything worldly is evanescent, he trieth to renounce everything and counting on more chance he deviseth means for the attainment of salvation. Thus doth he renounce the pursuits of the world, shuneth the ways of sin, becometh virtuous and at last attaineth salvation. Spiritual wisdom is the prime requisite of men for salvation, resignation and forbearance are its roots. By this means he attaineth all the objects of this desire. But subduing the senses and by means of truthfulness and forbearance, he attaineth, O good Brahmana, the supreme asylum of Brahma.' The Brahmana again enquired, 'O thou most eminent in virtue and constant in the performance of the religious obligations, you talk of senses; what are they; how may they be subdued; and what is the good of subduing them; and how doth a creature reap the fruits thereof? O pious man, I beg to acquaint myself with the truth of this matter."

SECTION 209

"Markandeya continued, 'Hear, O king Yudhishthira what the virtuous fowler, thus interrogated by that Brahmana, said to him in reply. The fowler said, 'Men's minds are at first bent on the acquisition of knowledge. That acquired, O good Brahmana, they indulge in their passions and desires, and for that end, they labour and set about tasks of great magnitude and indulge in much-desired pleasures of beauty, flavour, etc. Then follows fondness, then envy, then avarice and then extinction of all spiritual light. And when men are thus influenced by avarice, and overcome by envy and fondness, their intellect ceases to be guided by righteousness and they practise the very mockery of virtue. Practising virtue with hypocrisy, they are content to acquire wealth by dishonourable means with the wealth thus acquired the intelligent principle in them becomes enamoured of those evil ways, and they are filled with a desire to commit sins. And when, O good Brahmana, their friends and men of wisdom remonstrate with them, they are ready with specious answers, which are neither sound nor convincing. From their being addicted to evil ways, they are guilty of a threefold sin. They commit sin in thought, in word, as also in action. They being addicted to wicked ways, all their good qualities die out, and these men of wicked deeds cultivate the friendship of men of similar character, and consequently they suffer misery in this world as well as in the next. The sinful man is of this nature, and now hear of the man of virtue. He discerns these evils by means of his spiritual insight, and is able to discriminate between happiness and misery, and is full of respectful attention to men of virtue, and from practising virtues, his mind becomes inclined to righteousness.' The Brahmana replied, 'Thou hast given a true exposition of religion which none else is able to expound. Thy spiritual power is great, and thou dost appear to me to be like a great Rishi.' The fowler replied, 'The great Brahmanas are worshipped with the same honours as our ancestors and they are always propitiated with offerings of food before others. Wise men in this world do what is pleasing to them, with all their heart. And I shall, O good Brahmana, describe to thee what is pleasing to them, after having bowed down to Brahmanas as a class. Do thou learn from me the Brahmanic philosophy. This whole universe unconquerable everywhere and abounding in great elements, is Brahma, and there is nothing higher than this. The earth, air, water, fire and sky are the great elements. And form, odour, sound, touch and taste are their characteristic properties. These latter too have their properties which are also correlated to each other. And of the three qualities, which are gradually characterised by each, in order of priority is consciousness which is called the mind. The seventh is

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intelligence and after that comes egoism; and then the five senses, then the soul, then the moral qualities called sattwa, rajas and tamas. These seventeen are said to be the unknown or incomprehensible qualities. I have described all this to thee, what else dost thou wish to know?'"

SECTION 210

"Markandeya continued, 'O Bharata, the Brahmana, thus interrogated by the virtuous fowler, resumed again this discourse so pleasing to the mind. The Brahmana said, 'O best of the cherishers of religion, it is said that there are five great elements; do thou describe to me in full the properties of any one of the five.' The fowler replied, 'The earth, water, fire, air and sky all have properties interlapping each other. I shall describe them to thee. The earth, O Brahmana, has five qualities, water four, fire three and the air and sky together three also. Sound, touch, form, odour and taste--these five qualities belong to earth, and sound, touch, form and taste, O austere Brahmana, have been described to thee as the properties of water, and sound, touch and form are the three properties of fire and air has two properties sound and touch, and sound is the property of sky. And, O Brahmana, these fifteen properties inherent in five elements, exist in all substances of which this universe is composed. And they are not opposed to one another; they exist, O Brahmana, in proper combination. When this whole universe is thrown into a state of confusion, then every corporeal being in the fulness of time, assumes another corpus. It arises and perishes in due order. And there are present the five elementary substances of which all the mobile and immobile world is composed. Whatever is perceptible by the senses, is called vyakta (knowable or comprehensible) and whatever is beyond the reach of the senses and can only be perceived by guesses, is known to be avyakta (not vyakta). When a per on engages in the discipline of self-examination, after having subdued the senses which have of their own proper objective play in the external conditions of sound, form, &c, then he beholds his own spirit pervading the universe, and the universe reflected in itself. He who is wedded to his previous karma, although skilled in the highest spiritual wisdom, is cognisant only of his soul's objective existence, but the person whose soul is never affected by the objective conditions around, is never subject to ills, owing to its absorption in the elementary spirit of Brahma. When a person has overcome the domination of illusion, his manly virtues consisting of the essence of spiritual wisdom, turn to the spiritual enlightenment which illumines the intelligence of sentient beings. Such a person is styled by the omnipotent, intelligent Spirit as one who is without beginning and without end, self-existent, immutable, incorporeal and incomparable. This, O Brahmana, that thou hast enquired of me is only the result of self discipline. And this self-discipline can only be acquired by subduing the senses. It cannot be otherwise, heaven and hell are both dependent on our senses. When subdued, they lead to heaven; when indulged in, they lead to perdition. This subjugation of the senses is the highest means of attaining spiritual light. Our senses are at the (cause) root of our spiritual advancement as also at the root of our spiritual degradation. By indulging in them, a person undoubtedly contracts vices, and by subduing these, he attains salvation. The self-restrained person who acquires mastery over the six senses inherent in our nature, is never tainted with sin, and consequently evil has no power over him. Man's corporeal self has been compared to a chariot, his soul to a charioteer and his senses to horses. A dexterous man drives about without confusion, like a quiet charioteer with well-broken horses. That man is an excellent driver who knows how to patiently wield the reins of those wild horses,--the six senses inherent in our nature. When our senses become ungovernable like horses on the high road, we must patiently rein them in; for with patience, we are sure to get the better of them. When a man's mind is overpowered by any one of these senses running wild, he loses his reason, and becomes like a ship tossed by storms upon the high ocean. Men are deceived by illusion in hoping to reap the fruits of those six things, whose effects are studied by persons of spiritual insight, who thereby reap the fruits of their clear perception."

SECTION 211

Markandeya continued, "O Bharata, the fowler having expounded these abstruse points, the Brahmana with great attention again enquired of him about these subtle topics. The Brahmana said, 'Do thou truly describe to me, who now duly ask thee, the respective virtues of the qualities of sattwa, rajas, and tamas.' The fowler replied, 'Very well, I shall tell thee what thou hast asked. I shall describe separately their respective virtues, do thou listen. Of them tamas is characterised by illusion (spiritual), rajas incites (men to action), sattwa is of great grandeur, and on that account, it is said to be the greatest of them. He who is greatly under the influence of spiritual ignorance, who is foolish, senseless and given to dreaming, who is idle, unenergetic and swayed by anger and haughtiness, is said to be under the influence of tamas. And, O Brahmana rishi, that excellent man who is agreeable in speech, thoughtful, free from envy, industrious in action from an eager desire to reap its fruits, and of warm temperament, is said to be under the influence of rajas. And he who is resolute, patient, not subject to anger, free from malice, and is not skilful in action from want of a selfish desire to reap its fruits, wise and forbearing, is said to be under the influence of sattwa. When a man endowed with the sattwa quality, is influenced by worldliness, he suffers misery; but he hates worldliness, when he realises its full significance. And then a feeling of indifference to worldly affairs begins to influence him. And then his pride decreases, and uprightness becomes more prominent, and his conflicting moral sentiments are reconciled. And then self-restraint in any matter becomes unnecessary. A man, O Brahmana, may be born in the Sudra caste, but if he is possessed of good qualities, he may attain the state of Vaisya and similarly that of a Kshatriya, and if he is steadfast in rectitude, he may even become a Brahmana. I have described to thee these virtues, what else dost thou wish to learn?'"

SECTION 212

"The Brahmana enquired, 'How is it that fire (vital force) in combination with the earthly element (matter), becomes the corporeal tenement (of living creatures), and how doth the vital air (the breath of life) according to the nature of its seat (the muscles and nerves) excite to action (the corporeal frame)?' Markandeya said, 'This question, O Yudhishthira, having been put to the Brahmana by the fowler, the latter, in reply, said to that high-minded Brahmana. (The fowler said):--The vital spirit manifesting itself in the seat of consciousness, causes the action of the corporeal frame. And the soul being present in both of them acts (through them). The past, the present and the future are inseparably associated with the soul. And it is the highest of a creature's possessions; it is of the essence of the Supreme Spirit and we adore it. It is the animating principle of all creatures, and it is the eternal purusha (spirit). It is great and it is the intelligence and the ego, and it is the subjective seat of the various properties of elements. Thus while seated here (in a corporeal frame) it is sustained in all its relations external or internal (to matter or mind) by the subtle ethereal air called prana, and thereafter, each creature goes its own way by the action of another subtle air called Samana. And this latter transforming itself into Apana air, and supported by the head of the stomach carries the refuse matter of the body, urine &c, to the kidneys and intestines. That same air is present in the three elements of effort, exertion and power, and in that condition it is called Udana air by persons learned in physical science, and when manifesting itself by its presence at all the junctional points of the human system, it is known by the name Vyana. And the internal heat is diffused over all the tissues of our system, and supported by these kinds of air, it transforms our food and the tissues and the humours of our system. And by the coalition of Prana and other airs, a reaction (combination) ensues, and the heat generated thereby is known as the internal heat of the human system which causes the digestion of our food. The Prana and the Apana air are interposed within the Samana and the Udana air. And the heat generated by their coalition causes the growth of the body (consisting of the seven substances, bones, muscles, &c). And that portion of its seat extending to as far as the rectum is called Apana; and from that arteries arise in the five airs Prana, etc. The Prana air, acted on by the heat strikes against the extremity of the Apana region and then recoiling, it reacts on the heat. Above the navel is the region of undigested food and below it the region of digestion. And the Prana and all other airs of the system are seated in the navel. The arteries issuing from the heart run upwards and downwards, as also in oblique directions; they carry the best essence of our food, and are acted upon by the ten Prana airs. This is the way by which patient Yogins who have overcome all difficulties, and who view things with an impartial and equal eye, with their souls seated in the brain, find the Supreme Spirit, the Prana and the Apana airs are thus present in the body of all creatures. Know that the spirit is embodied in corporeal disguise, in the eleven allotropous conditions (of the animal system), and that though eternal, its normal state is apparently modified by its accompaniments,--even like the fire purified in its pan,--eternal, yet with its course altered by its surroundings; and that the divine thing which is kindred with the body is related to the latter in the same way as a drop of water to the sleek surface of a lotus-leaf on which it rolls. Know that sattwa, rajas and tamas, are the attributes of all life and that life is the attribute of spirit, and that the latter again is an attribute of the Supreme Spirit. Inert, insensible matter is the seat of the living principle, which is active in itself and induces activity in others. That thing by which the seven worlds are incited to action is called the most high by men of high spiritual insight. Thus in all these elements, the eternal spirit does not show itself, but is perceived by the learned in spiritual science by reason of their high and keen perception. A pure-minded person, by purification of his heart, is able to destroy the good and evil effect of his actions and attains eternal beatitude by the enlightenment of his inward spirit. That state of peace and purification of heart is likened to the state of a person who in a cheerful state of mind sleeps soundly, or the brilliance of a lamp trimmed by a skillful hand. Such a pure-minded person living on spare diet perceives the Supreme Spirit reflected in his own, and by practising concentration of mind in the evening and small hours of the night, he beholds the Supreme Spirit which has no attributes, in the light of his heart, shining like a dazzling lamp, and thus he attains salvation. Avarice and anger must be subdued by all means, for this act constitutes the most sacred virtue that people can practise and is considered to be the means by which men can cross over to the other side of this sea of affliction and trouble. A man must preserve his righteousness from being overcome by the evil consequences of anger, his virtues from the effects of pride, his learning from the effects of vanity, and his own spirit from illusion. Leniency is the best of virtues, and forbearance is the best of powers, the knowledge of our spiritual nature is the best of all knowledge, and truthfulness is the best of all religious obligations. The telling of truth is good, and the knowledge of truth may also be good, but what conduces to the greatest good of all creatures, is known as the highest truth. He whose actions are performed not with the object of securing any reward or blessing, who has sacrificed all to the requirements of his renunciation, is a real Sannyasin and is really wise. And as communion with Brahma cannot be taught to us, even by our spiritual preceptor,--he only giving us a clue to the mystery--renunciation of the material world is called Yoga. We must not do harm to any creature and must live in terms of amity with all, and in this our present existence, we must not avenge ourselves on any creature. Self-abnegation, peace of mind, renunciation of hope, and equanimity,--these are the ways by which spiritual enlightenment can always be secured; and the knowledge of self (one's own spiritual nature) is the best of all knowledge. In this world as well as hereafter, renouncing all worldly desires and assuming a stoic indifference, wherein all suffering is at rest, people should fulfil their religious duties with the aid of their intelligence. The muni who desires to obtain moksha (salvation), which is very difficult to attain, must be constant in austerities, forbearing, self-restrained, and must give up that longing fondness which binds him to the things of this earth. They call these the attributes of the Supreme Spirit. The gunas (qualities or attributes) that we are conscious of, reduce themselves to agunas (non-gunas) in Him; He is not bound by anything, and is perceptible only by the expansion and development of our spiritual vision; as soon as the illusion of ignorance is dispelled, this supreme unalloyed beatitude is attained. By foregoing the objects of both pleasure and pain and by renouncing the feelings which bind him to the things of this earth, a man may attain Brahma (Supreme Spirit or salvation). O good Brahmana, I have now briefly explained to thee all this, as I have heard. What else dost thou wish to know?"

SECTION 213

"Markandeya said, 'When, O Yudhishthira, all this mystery of salvation was explained to that Brahmana, he was highly pleased and he said addressing the fowler, 'All this that thou hast explained, is rational, and it seems to me that there is nothing in connexion with the mysteries of religion which thou dost not know.' The fowler replied, 'O good and great Brahmana, thou shalt perceive with thine own eyes, all the virtue that I lay claim to, and by reason of which I have attained this blissful state. Rise, worshipful sir, and quickly enter this inner apartment. O virtuous man, it is proper that thou shouldst see my father and my mother.' Markandeya continued, 'Thus addressed the Brahmana went in, and beheld a fine beautiful mansion. It was a magnificent house divided in four suites of rooms, admired by gods and looking like one of their palaces; it was also furnished with seats and beds, and redolent of excellent perfumes. His revered parents clad in white robes, having finished their meals, were seated at ease. The fowler, beholding them, prostrated himself before them with his head at their feet. His aged parents then addressed him thus, 'Rise, O man of piety, rise, may righteousness shield thee; we are much pleased with thee for thy piety; mayst thou be blessed with a long life, and with knowledge, high intelligence, and fulfilment of thy desires. Thou art a good and dutiful son, for, we are constantly and reasonably looked after by thee, and even amongst the celestials thou hast not another divinity to worship. By constantly subduing thyself, thou hast become endowed with the self-restraining power of Brahmanas and all thy grandsires and ancestors are constantly pleased with thee for thy self-restraining virtues and for thy piety towards us. In thought, word or deed thy attention to us never flags, and it seems that at present thou hast no other thought in thy mind (save as to how to please us). As Rama, the son of Jamadagni, laboured to please his aged parents, so hast thou, O Son, done to please us, and even more. Then the fowler introduced the Brahmana to his parents and they received him with the usual salutation of welcome, and the Brahmana accepting their welcome, enquired if they, with their children and servants, were all right at home, and if they were always enjoying good health at that time (of life). The aged couple replied, 'At home, O Brahmana, we are all right,

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with all our servants. Hast thou, adorable sir, reached this place without any difficulty?' Markandeya continued, "The Brahmana replied, 'Yes, I have.' Then the fowler addressing himself to the Brahmana said to him, 'These my parents, worshipful sir, are the idols that I worship; whatever is due to the gods, I do unto them. As the thirty-three gods with Indra at their head are worshipped by men, so are these aged parents of mine worshipped by me. As Brahmanas exert themselves for the purpose of procuring offering for their gods, so do I act with diligence for these two (idols of mine). These my father and mother, O Brahmana, are my supreme gods, and I seek to please them always with offering of flowers, fruits and gems. To me they are like the three sacred fires mentioned by the learned; and, O Brahmana, they seem to me to be as good as sacrifices or the four Vedas. My five life-giving airs, my wife and children and friends are all for them (dedicated to their service). And with my wife and children I always attend on them. O good Brahmana, with my own hands I assist them in bathing and also wash their feet and give them food and I say to them only what is agreeable, leaving out what is unpleasant. I consider it to be my highest duty to do what is agreeable to them even though it be not strictly justifiable. And, O Brahmana, I am always diligent in attending on them. The two parents, the sacred fire, the soul and the spiritual preceptor, these five, O good Brahmana, are worthy of the highest reverence from a person who seeks prosperity. By serving them properly, one acquires the merit of perpetually keeping up the sacred fire. And it is the eternal and invariable duty of all householders."

SECTION 214

"Markandeya continued, 'The virtuous fowler, having introduced his (both) parents to that Brahmana as his highest gurus, again spoke to him as follows, 'Mark thou the power of this virtue of mine, by which my inner spiritual vision is extended. For this, thou wast told by that self-restrained, truthful lady, devoted to her husband, 'Hie thee to Mithila; for there lives a fowler who will explain to thee, the mysteries of religion.' The Brahmana said, 'O pious man, so constant in fulfilling thy religious obligations, bethinking myself of what that truthful good-natured lady so true to her husband, hath said, I am convinced that thou art really endowed with every high quality.' The fowler replied, 'I have no doubt, my lord, that what that lady, so faithful to her husband, said to thee about me, was said with full knowledge of the facts. I have, O Brahmana, explained to thee all this as a matter of favour. And now, good sir, listen to me. I shall explain what is good for thee. O good Brahmana, of irreproachable character, thou hast wronged thy father and thy mother, for thou hast left home without their permission, for the purpose of learning the Vedas. Thou hast not acted properly in this matter, for thy ascetic and aged parents have become entirely blind from grief at thy loss. Do thou return home to console them. May this virtue never forsake thee Thou art high-minded, of ascetic merit, and always devoted to thy religion but all these have become useless to thee. Do thou without delay return to console thy parents. Do have some regard for my words and not act otherwise; I tell thee what is good for thee, O Brahmana Rishi, Do thou return home this very day.' The Brahmana replied, 'This that thou hast said, is undoubtedly true; mayst thou, O pious man, attain prosperity; I am much pleased with thee.' The fowler said, 'O Brahmana, as thou practisest with assiduousness those divine, ancient, and eternal virtues which are so difficult of attainment even by pure-minded persons, thou appearest (to me) like a divine being. Return to the side of thy father and mother and be quick and diligent in honouring thy parents; for, I do not know if there is any virtue higher than this.' The Brahmana replied, 'By a piece of singular good luck have I arrived here, and by a piece of similar good luck have I thus been associated with thee. It is very difficult to find out, in our midst, a person who can so well expound the mysteries of religion; there is scarcely one man among thousands, who is well versed in the science of religion. I am very glad, O great man, to have secured thy friendship; mayst thou be prosperous. I was on the point of falling into hell, but was extricated by thee. It was destined to be so, for thou didst (unexpectedly) come in my way. And, O great man, as the fallen King Yayati was saved by his virtuous grandsons (daughter's sons), so, have I know been saved by thee. According to thy advice, I shall honour my father and my mother; for a man with an impure heart can never expound the mysteries of sin and righteousness. As it is very difficult for a person born in the Sudra class to learn the mysteries of the eternal religion, I do not consider thee to be a Sudra. There must surely be some mystery in connexion with this matter. Thou must have attained the Sudra's estate by reason of the fruition of thine own past karma. O magnanimous man, I long to know the truth about this matter. Do thou tell it to me with attention and according to thy own inclination.'

"The fowler replied, 'O good Brahmana, Brahmanas are worthy of all respect from me. Listen, O sinless one, to this story of a previous existence of mine. O son of an excellent Brahmana, I was formerly a Brahmana, well-read in the Vedas, and an accomplished student of the Vedangas. Through my own fault I have been degraded to my present state. A certain king, accomplished in the science of dhanurveda (science of archery), was my friend; and from his companionship, O Brahmana, I, too became skilled in archery; and one day the king, in company with his ministers and followed by his best warriors, went out on a hunting expedition. He killed a large number of deer near a hermitage. I, too, O good Brahmana, discharged a terrible arrow. And a rishi was wounded by that arrow with its head bent out. He fell down upon the ground, and screaming loudly said, 'I have harmed no one, what sinful man has done this?' And, my lord, taking him for a deer, I went up to him and found that he was pierced through the body by my arrow. On account of my wicked deed I was sorely grieved (in mind). And then I said to that rishi of severe ascetic merit, who was loudly crying, lying upon the ground, 'I have done this unwittingly, O rishi.' And also this I said to the muni: 'Do thou think it proper to pardon all this transgression.' But, O Brahmana, the rishi, lashing himself into a fury, said to me, 'Thou shalt be born as a cruel fowler in the Sudra class."

SECTION 215

"The fowler continued, 'Thus cursed by that rishi, I sought to propitiate him with these words: 'Pardon me, O muni, I have done this wicked deed unwittingly. It behooves thee to pardon all that. Do thou, worshipful sir, soothe yourself.' The rishi replied, 'The curse that I have pronounced can never be falsified, this is certain. But from kindness towards thee, I shall do thee a favour. Though born in the Sudra class thou shalt remain a pious man and thou shalt undoubtedly honour thy parents; and by honouring them thou shalt attain great spiritual perfection; thou shalt also remember the events of thy past life and shalt go to heaven; and on the expiation of this curse, thou shalt again become a Brahmana. O best of men, thus, of old was I cursed by that rishi of severe power, and thus was he propitiated by me. Then, O good Brahmana, I extricated the arrow from his body, and took him into the hermitage, but he was not deprived of his life (recovered). O good Brahmana, I have thus described to thee what happened to me of old, and also how I can go to heaven hereafter.' The Brahmana said, 'O thou of great intelligence, all men are thus subject to happiness or misery, thou shouldst not therefore grieve for that. In obedience to the customs of thy (present) race, thou hast pursued these wicked ways, but thou art always devoted to virtue and versed in the ways and mysteries of the world. And, O learned man, these being the duties of thy profession, the stain of evil karma will not attach to thee. And after dwelling here for some little time, thou shalt again become a Brahmana; and even now, I consider thee to be a Brahmana, there is no doubt about this. For the Brahmana who is vain and haughty, who is addicted to vices and wedded to evil and degrading practices, is like a Sudra. On the other hand, I consider a Sudra who is always adorned with these virtues,--righteousness, self-restraint, and truthfulness,--as a Brahmana. A man becomes a Brahmana by his character; by his own evil karma a man attains an evil and terrible doom. O good man. I believe that sin in thee has now died out. Thou must not grieve for this, for men, like thee who art so virtuous and learned in the ways and mysteries of the world, can have no cause for grief.'

"The fowler replied, 'The bodily afflictions should be cured with medicines, and the mental ones with spiritual wisdom. This is the power of knowledge. Knowing this, the wise should not behave like boys. Man of low intelligence are overpowered with grief at the occurrence of something which is not agreeable to them, or non-occurrence of something which is good or much desired. Indeed, all creatures are subject to this characteristic (of grief or happiness). It is not merely a single creature or class that is subject to misery. Cognisant of this evil, people quickly mend their ways, and if they perceive it at the very outset they succeed in curing it altogether. Whoever grieves for it, only makes himself uneasy. Those wise men whose knowledge has made them happy and contented, and who are indifferent to happiness and misery alike, are really happy. The wise are always contented and the foolish always discontented. There is no end to discontentment, and contentment is the highest happiness. People who have reached the perfect way, do not grieve, they are always conscious of the final destiny of all creatures. One must not give way to discontent* for it is like a virulent poison. [* Vishada is the original. It means discontent, but here it means more a mixture of discontent, perplexity and confusion than mere discontent.] It kills persons of undeveloped intelligence, just as child is killed by an enraged snake. That man has no manliness whose energies have left him and who is overpowered with perplexity when an occasion for the exercise of vigour presents itself. Our actions are surely followed by their consequences. Whoever merely gives himself up to passive indifference (to worldly affairs) accomplishes no good. Instead of murmuring one must try to find out the way by which he can secure exemption from (spiritual) misery; and the means of salvation found, he must then free himself from sensuality. The man who has attained a high state of spiritual knowledge is always conscious of the great deficiency (instability) of all matter. Such a person keeping in view the final doom (of all), never grieves, I too, O learned man, do not grieve; I stay here (in this life) biding my time. For this reason, O best of men, I am not perplexed (with doubts)'. The Brahmana said, 'Thou art wise and high in spiritual knowledge and vast is thy intelligence. Thou who art versed in holy writ, art content with thy spiritual wisdom. I have no cause to find fault with thee. Adieu, O best of pious men, mayst thou be prosperous, and may righteousness shield thee, and mayst thou be assiduous in the practice of virtue.'

"Markandeya continued, The fowler said to him, 'Be it so'. And the good Brahmana walked round him* and then departed. [* A form of Hindu etiquette at parting.] And the Brahmana returning home was duly assiduous in his attention to his old parents. I have thus, O pious Yudhishthira, narrated in detail to thee this history full of moral instruction, which thou, my good son, didst ask me to recite,--the virtue of women's devotion to their husbands and that of filial piety.' Yudhishthira replied, 'O most pious Brahmana and best of munis, thou hast related to me this good and wonderful moral story; and listening to thee, O learned man, my time has glided away like a moment; but, O adorable sir, I am not as yet satiated with hearing this moral discourse*.'"

[* It is so very difficult to translate the word Karma,--religion and morals were invariably associated with each other in ancient Hindu mind. Karma (Sanskrit / Prakrit: karma; Pali: kamma) means action, work, or deed. The term also refers to the spiritual principle of cause and effect, often descriptively called the principle of karma, wherein intent and actions of an individual (cause) influence the future of that individual (effect): good intent and good deeds contribute to good karma and happier rebirths, while bad intent and bad deeds contribute to bad karma and bad rebirths.

The philosophy of karma is closely associated with the idea of rebirth (which is similar to the Judeo-Christian idea of resurection) in many schools of Indian religions (particularly Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism), as well as Taoism (Daoism in China). In these schools, karma in the present affects one's future in the current life, as well as the nature and quality of future lives—one's samsara.

This idea of karma (though not by name) is also commonly implemented in Western popular culture through teachings in Judaism, Stoicism and consequently in Christianity, in which the events which happen after a person's actions may be considered natural consequences. This idea is actually the real essence of Christianity (and not the empty personal cult of Jesus) and it could be formulated as "salvation through good deeds." Critical thought of cause and effect as well as unitary ethics in form of the Golden Rule had a great influence in most civilisations.

An exception builds Islam in which those ethics apply for Muslims only but not for non-Muslims as Islam has divided ethics, the world, and humanity, into two: the "House of Peace" (the world subjugated and ruled by Islam supreme) and the "House of War" (the non-Muslim world that still has to be subjugated under the rule of Allah and Mohammed and is therefore not yet at peace).]

SECTION 216

Vaisampayana continued, "The virtuous king Yudhishthira, having listened to this excellent religious discourse, again addressed himself to the rishi Markandeya saying, 'Why did the fire-god hide himself in water in olden times, and why is it that Angiras of great splendour officiating as fire-god, used to convey oblations* during his dissolution. [* Agni or fire was supposed to convey the oblations offered by men to the gods.] There is but one fire, but according to the nature of its action, it is seen to divide itself into many. O worshipful sir, I long to be enlightened on all these points,--How the Kumara* was born, how he came to be known as the son of Agni (the fire-god) and how he was begotten by Rudra or Ganga and Krittika. [* Kumara means a boy, hence a prince. Here Kartika the war-god is meant.] O noble scion of Bhrigu's race, I desire to learn all this accurately as it happened. O great muni, I am filled with great curiosity.' Markandeya replied, 'In this connexion this old story is cited by the learned, as to how the carrier of oblations (the fire-god) in a fit of rage, sought the waters of the sea in order to perform a penance, and how the adorable Angiras transforming himself into the fire-god [By carrying their oblations to the gods.], destroyed darkness and distressed the world with his scorching rays. In olden times, O long-armed hero, the great Angiras performed a wonderful penance in his hermitage; he even excelled the fire-god, the carrier of oblations, in splendour and in that state he illumined the whole universe. At that time the fire-god was also performing a penance and was greatly distressed by his (Angirasa's) effulgence. He was greatly depressed, but did not know what to do. Then that adorable god thought within himself, 'Brahma has created another fire-god for this universe. As I have been practising austerities, my services as the presiding deity of fire have been dispensed with; and then he considered how he could re-establish himself as the god of fire. He beheld the great muni giving heat to the whole

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universe like fire, and approached him slowly with fear. But Angiras said to him, 'Do thou quickly re-establish yourself as the fire animating the universe, thou art well-known in the three stable worlds and thou wast first created by Brahma to dispel darkness. Do thou, O destroyer of darkness, quickly occupy thine own proper place.' Agni replied, 'My reputation has been injured now in this world. And thou art become the fire-god, and people will know thee, and not me, as fire. I have relinquished my god-hood of fire, do thou become the primeval fire and I shall officiate as the second or Prajapatyaka fire.' Angiras replied, 'Do thou become the fire-god and the destroyer of darkness and do thou attend to thy sacred duty of clearing people's way to heaven, and do thou, O lord, make me speedily thy first child.' Markandeya continued, 'Hearing these words of Angiras, the fire-god did as desired, and, O king, Angiras had a son named Vrihaspati. Knowing him to be the first son of Angiras by Agni, the gods, O Bharata, came and enquired about the mystery. And thus asked by the gods he then enlightened them, and the gods then accepted the explanation of Angiras. In this connexion, I shall describe to thee religious sorts of fire of great effulgence which are here variously known in the Brahmanas [Portions of the Vedas.] by their respective uses."

SECTION 217

Markandeya continued, 'O ornament of Kuru's race, he (Angiras) who was the third son of Brahma had a wife of the name of Subha. Do thou hear of the children he had by her. His son Vrihaspati, O king, was very famous, large-hearted and of great bodily vigour. His genius and learning were profound, and he had a great reputation as a counsellor. Bhanumati was his first-born daughter. She was the most beautiful of all his children. Angiras's second daughter was called Raga [Raga means love]. She was so named because she was the object of all creature's love. Siniwali was the third daughter of Angiras. Her body was of such slender make that she was visible at one time and invisible at another; and for this reason she was likened to Rudra's daughter. Archismati was his fourth daughter, she was so named from her great refulgence. And his fifth daughter was called Havishmati, so named from her accepting havis or oblations. The sixth daughter of Angiras was called Mahismati the pious. O keen-witted being, the seventh daughter of Angiras is known by the name of Mahamati, who is always present at sacrifices of great splendour, and that worshipful daughter of Angiras, whom they call unrivalled and without portion, and about whom people utter the words kuhu kuhu wonder, is known by the name of Kuhu.'

SECTION 218

"Markandeya continued, 'Vrishaspati had a wife (called Tara) belonging to the lunar world. By her, he had six sons partaking of the energy of fire, and one daughter. The fire in whose honour oblations of clarified butter are offered at the Paurnamasya and other sacrifices, was a son of Vrishaspati called Sanju; he was of great ascetic merit. At the Chaturmasya (four-monthly) and Aswamedha (horse) sacrifices, animals are offered first in his honour, and this powerful fire is indicated by numerous flames. Sanju's wife was called Satya, she was of matchless beauty and she sprang from Dharma (righteousness) for the sake of truth. The blazing fire was his son, and he had three daughters of great religious merit. The fire which is honoured with the first oblations at sacrifices is his first son called Bharadwaja. The second son of Sanju is called Bharata in whose honour oblations of clarified butter are offered with the sacrificial ladle (called Sruk) at all the full moon (Paurnamasaya) sacrifices. Beside these, three sons of whom Bharata is the senior, he had a son named Bharata and a daughter called Bharati. The Bharata fire is the son of Prajapati Bharata Agni (fire). And, O ornament of Bharata's race, because he is greatly honoured, he is also called the great. Vira is Bharadwaja's wife; she gave birth to Vira. It is said by the Brahmanas that he is worshipped like Soma (with the same hymns) with offerings of clarified butter. He is joined with Soma in the secondary oblation of clarified butter and is also called Rathaprabhu, Rathadhwana and Kumbhareta. He begot a son named Siddhi by his wife Sarayu, and enveloped the sun with his splendour and from being the presiding genius of the fire sacrifice he is ever mentioned in the hymns in praise of fire. And the fire Nischyavana praises the earth only; he never suffers in reputation, splendour and prosperity. The sinless fire Satya blazing with pure flame is his son. He is free from all taint and is not defiled by sin, and is the regulator of time. That fire has another name Nishkriti, because he accomplished the Nishkriti (relief) of all blatant creatures here. When properly worshipped he vouchsafes good fortune. His son is called Swana, who is the generator of all diseases; he inflicts severe sufferings on people for which they cry aloud, and moves in the intelligence of the whole universe. And the other fire (Vrihaspati's third son) is called Viswajit by men of spiritual wisdom. The fire, which is known as the internal heat by which the food of all creatures is digested, is the fourth son of Vrihaspati known through all the worlds, O Bharata, by the name of Viswabhuk. He is self-restrained, of great religious merit, and is a Brahmacharin and he is worshipped by Brahmanas at the Paka-sacrifices. The sacred river Gomati was his wife and by her all religious-minded men perform their rites. And that terrible water-drinking sea fire called Vadava is the fifth son of Vrihaspati. This Brahmic fire has a tendency to move upwards and hence it is called Urdhvabhag, and is seated in the vital air called Prana. The sixth son is called the great Swishtakrit; for by him oblations became swishta (su, excellently, and ishta, offered) and the udagdhara oblation is always made in his honour. And when all creatures are claimed, the fire called Manyauti becomes filled with fury. This inexorably terrible and highly irascible fire is the daughter of Vrihaspati, and is known as Swaha and is present in all matter. (By the respective influence of the three qualities of sattwa, rajas and tamas, Swaha had three sons). By reason of the first she had a son who was equalled by none in heaven in personal beauty, and from this fact he was surnamed by the gods as the Kama-fire [Kama is the God of Love.]. (By reason of the second) she had a son called the Amogha or invincible fire, the destroyer of his enemies in battle. Assured of success he curbs his anger and is armed with a bow and seated on a chariot and adorned with wreaths of flowers. (From the action of the third quality) she had a son, the great Uktha (the means of salvation) praised by (akin to) three Ukthas*. He is the originator of the great word [The word of God.] and is therefore known as the Samaswasa or the means of rest (salvation).'" [* The body, the exciting Cause of our actions is the first uktha, the soul of the vivifier of the body is the second uktha, and the Supreme Spirit, the inciter of the soul is the third uktha.]

SECTION 219

"Markandeya continued, 'He (Uktha) performed a severe penance lasting for many years, with the view of having a pious son equal unto Brahma in reputation. And when the invocation was made with the vyahriti hymns and with the aid of the five sacred fires, Kasyapa, Vasistha, Prana, the son of Prana, Chyavana, the son of Angiras, and Suvarchaka--there arose a very bright energy (force) full of the animating (creative) principle, and of five different colours. Its head was of the colour of the blazing fire, its arms were bright like the sun and its skin and eyes were golden-coloured and its feet, O Bharata, were black. Its five colours were given to it by those five men by reason of their great penance. This celestial being is therefore described as appertaining to five men, and he is the progenitor of five tribes. After having performed a penance for ten thousand years, that being of great ascetic merit produced the terrible fire appertaining to the Pitris (manes) in order to begin the work of creation, and from his head and mouth respectively he created Vrihat and Rathantara (day and night) who quickly steal away (life, etc.). He also created Siva from his navel, Indra from his might and wind and fire from his soul, and from his two arms sprang the hymns Udatta and Anudatta. He also produced the mind, and the five senses, and other creatures. Having created these, he produced the five sons of the Pitris. Of these Pranidhi was the son of Vrihadratha. Vrihadratha was the son of Kasyapa. Bhanu was the godson of Chyavana, Saurabha, the son of Suvarchaka, and Anudatta, the son of Prana. These twenty-five beings are reputed (to have been created by him). Tapa also created fifteen other gods who obstruct* sacrifices. [* In Hindu Mythology there are no gods who destroy sacrifices. It is only the Asuras who do so. The Burdwan translator renders this passage,--"fifteen other gods belonging to western nations or Asuras." It is noticeable that the beings that were denounced as Asuras by the Hindus were worshipped as Gods (Asuras) by the followers of Zarathustra / Zoroaster.] They are Subhima, Bhima, Atibhima, Bhimavala, Avala, Sumitra, Mitravana, Mitasina, Mitravardhana and Mitradharaman*, and Surapravira, Vira, Suveka, Suravarchas and Surahantri. These gods are divided into three classes of five each. [* In connexion with the names of these Mitra-gods, it is to be remembered that Mitra / Mithra was the name of the principal god of the ancient Persian Zoroastrians a whose religion had some roots in India.] Located here in this world, they destroy the sacrifices of the gods in heaven; they frustrate their objects and spoil their oblations of clarified butter. They do this only to spite the sacred fires carrying oblations to the gods. If the officiating priests are careful, they place the oblations in their honour outside of the sacrificial altar. To that particular place where the sacred fire may be placed, they cannot go. They carry the oblation of their votaries by means of wings. When appeased by hymns, they do not frustrate the sacrificial rites. Vrihaduktha, another son of Tapa, belongs to the Earth. He is worshipped here in this world by pious men performing Agnihotra sacrifices. Of the son of Tapa who is known as Rathantara, it is said by officiating priests that the sacrificial oblation offered in his honour is offered to Mitravinda. The celebrated Tapa was thus very happy with his sons."

SECTION 220

"Markandeya continued, 'The fire called Bharata was bound by severe rules of asceticism. Pushtimati is another name of his fire; for when he is satisfied he vouchsafes pushti (development) to all creatures, and for this reason he is called Bharata (or the Cherisher). And that other fire, by name Siva, is devoted to the worship of Sakti (the forces of the presiding deity of the forces of Nature), and because he always relieves the sufferings of all creatures afflicted with misery, he is called Siva (the giver of good). And on the acquisition of great ascetic wealth by Tapa, an intelligent son named Puranda was born to inherit the same. Another son named Ushma was also born. This fire is observed in the vapour of all matter. A third son Manu was born. He officiated as Prajapati. The Brahmanas who are learned in the Vedas, then speak of the exploits of the fire Sambhu. And after that the bright Avasathya fire of great refulgence is spoken of by the Brahmanas. Tapa thus created the five Urjaskara fires, all bright as gold. These all share the Soma drink in sacrifices. The great sun-god when fatigued (after his day's labours) is known as the Prasanta fire. He created the terrible Asuras and various other creatures of the earth. Angiras, too created the Prajapati Bhanu, the son of Tapa. He is also called Vrihadbhanu (the great Bhanu) by Brahmanas learned in the Vedas. Bhanu married Supraja, and Brihadbhanu the daughter of Surya (the sun-god). They gave birth to six sons; do thou hear of their progeny. The fire who gives strength to the weak is called Valada (or the giver of strength). He is the first son of Bhanu, and that other fire who looks terrible when all the elements are in a tranquil state is called the Manjuman fire; he is the second son of Bhanu. And the fire in whose honour oblations of clarified butter are enjoined to be made here at the Darsa and Paurnamasya sacrifices and who is known as Vishnu in this world, is (the third son of Bhanu) called Angiras, or Dhritiman. And the fire to whom with Indra, the Agrayana oblation is enjoined to be made is called the

Agrayana fire. He is the (fourth) son of Bhanu. The fifth son of Bhanu is Agraha who is the source of the oblations which are daily made for the performance of the Chaturmasya (four-monthly) rites. And Stuva is the sixth son of Bhanu. Nisa was the name of another wife of that Manu who is known by the name of Bhanu. She gave birth to one daughter, the two Agnishomas, and also five other fire-gods. The resplendent fire-god who is honoured with the first oblations in company with the presiding deity of the clouds is called Vaiswanara. And that other fire who is called the lord of all the worlds is Viswapati, the second son of Manu. And the daughter of Manu is called Swistakrit, because by oblations unto her one acquires great merit. Though she was the daughter of Hiranyakasipu, she yet became his wife for her evil deeds. She is, however, one of the Prajapatis. And that other fire which has its seats in the vital airs of all creatures and animates their bodies, is called Sannihita. It is the cause of our perceptions of sound and form. That divine spirit whose course is marked with black and white stains, who is the supporter of fire, and who, though free from sin, is the accomplisher of desired karma, whom the wise regard as a great Rishi, is the fire Kapila, the propounder of the Yoga system called Sankhya. The fire through whom the elementary spirits always receive the offerings called Agra made by other creatures at the performance of all the peculiar rites in this world is called Agrani. And these other bright fires famous in the world, were created for the rectification of the Agnihotra rites when marred by any defects. If the fires interlap each other by the action of the wind, then the rectification must be made with the Ashtakapala rites in honour of the fire Suchi. And if the southern fire comes in contact with the two other fires, then rectification must be made by the performance of the Ashtakapala rites in honour of the fire Viti. If the fires in their place called Nivesa come in contact with the fire called Devagni, then the Ashtakapala rites must be performed in honour of the fire Suchi for rectification. And if the perpetual fire is touched by a woman in her monthly course, then for rectification the Ashtakapala rites must be performed in honour of the fire called Dasyuman. If at the time of the performance of this Agnihotra rites the death of any creature is spoken of, or if animals die, then rectification must be made with the performance of the Ashtakapala rites in honour of the Suraman fire. The Brahmana, who while suffering from a disease is unable to offer oblations to the sacred fire for three nights, must make amends for the same by performing the Ashtakapala rites in honour of the northern fire. He who has performed the Darsa and the Paurnamasya rites must make the rectification with the performance of the Ashtakapala rites in honour of the Patikrit fire. If the fire of a lying-in room comes in contact with the perpetual sacred fire, then rectification must be made with the performance of Ashtakapala rites in honour of the Agniman fire.'"

SECTION 221

Markandeya continued, "Mudita, the favourite wife of the fire Swaha, used to live in water. And Swaha who was the regent of the earth and sky beget in that wife of his a highly sacred fire called Advanta. There is a tradition amongst learned Brahmanas that this fire is the ruler and inner soul of all creatures. He is worshipful, resplendent and the lord of all

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the great Bhutas here. And that fire, under the name of Grihapati, is ever worshipped at all sacrifices and conveys all the oblations that are made in this world. That great son of Swaha--the great Adbhuta fire is the soul of the waters and the prince and regent of the sky and the lord of everything great. His (son), the Bharata fire, consumes the dead bodies of all creatures. His first Kratu is known as Niyata at the performance of the Agnishtoma sacrifice. That powerful prime fire (Swaha) is always missed by the gods, because when he sees Niyata approaching him he hides himself in the sea from fear of contamination. Searching for him in every direction, the gods could not (once) find him out and on beholding Atharvan the fire said to him, 'O valiant being, do thou carry the oblations for the gods! I am disabled from want of strength. Attaining the state of the red-eyed fire, do thou condescend to do me this favour!' Having thus advised Atharvan, the fire went away to some other place. But his place of concealment was divulged by the finny tribe. Upon them the fire pronounced this curse in anger, 'You shall be the food of all creatures in various ways.' And then that carrier of oblations spoke unto Atharvan (as before). Though entreated by the gods, he did not agree to continue carrying their oblations. He then became insensible and instantly gave up the ghost. And leaving his material body, he entered into the bowels of the earth. Coming into contact with the earth, he created the different metals. Force and scent arose from his pus; the Deodar pine from his bones; glass from his phlegm; the Marakata jewel from his bile; and the black iron from his liver. And all the world has been embellished with these three substances (wood, stone and iron). The clouds were made from his nails, and corals from his veins. And, O king, various other metals were produced from his body. Thus leaving his material body, he remained absorbed in (spiritual) meditation. He was roused by the penance of Bhrigu and Angiras. The powerful fire thus gratified with penance, blazed forth intensely. But on beholding the Rishi (Atharvan), he again sought his watery refuse. At this extinction of the fire, the whole world was frightened, and sought the protection of Atharvan, and the gods and others began to worship him. Atharvan rummaged the whole sea in the presence of all those beings eager with expectation, and finding out the fire, himself began the work of creation. Thus in olden times the fire was destroyed and called back to life by the adorable Atharvan. But now he invariably carries the oblations of all creatures. Living in the sea and travelling about various countries, he produced the various fires mentioned in the Vedas.

The river Indus, the five rivers (of the Punjab), the Sone, the Devika, the Saraswati, the Ganga, the Satakumbha, the Sarayu, the Gandaki, the Charmanwati, the Mahi, the Medha, the Medhatithi, the three rivers Tamravati, the Vetravati, and the Kausiki; the Tamasa, the Narmada, the Godavari, the Vena, the Upavena, the Bhima, the Vadawa, the Bharati, the Suprayoga, the Kaveri, the Murmura, the Tungavenna, the Krishnavenna and the Kapila, these rivers, O Bharata, are said to be the mothers of the fires! The fire called Adbhuta had a wife of the name of Priya, and Vibhu was the eldest of his sons by her. There are as many different kinds of Soma sacrifices as the number of fires mentioned before. All this race of fires, first-born of the spirit of Brahma, sprang also from the race of Atri. Atri in his own mind conceived these sons, desirous of extending the creation. By this act, the fires came out of his own Brahmic frame. I have thus narrated to thee the history of the origin of these fires. They are great, resplendent, and unrivalled in power, and they are the destroyers of darkness. Know that the powers of those fires are the same as those of the Adbhuta fire as related in the Vedas. For all these fires are one and same. This adorable being, the first born fire, must be considered as one. For like the Jyotishtoma sacrifice he came out of Angiras body in various forms. I have thus described to thee the history of the great race of Agni (fires) who when duly worshipped with the various hymns, carry the oblations of all creatures to the gods.

SECTION 222

"Markandeya continued, 'O sinless scion of Kuru's race, I have described to thee the various branches of the race of Agni. Listen now to the story of the birth of the intelligent Kartikeya. I shall tell thee of that wonderful and famous and highly energetic son of the Adbhuta fire begotten of the wives of the Brahmarshis. In ancient times the gods and Asuras were very active in destroying one another. And the terrible Asuras always succeeded in defeating the gods. And Purandara (Indra) beholding the great slaughter of his armies by them and anxious to find out a leader for the celestial host, thought within himself, 'I must find out a mighty person who observing the ranks of the celestial army shattered by the Danavas will be able to reorganize it with vigour.' He then repaired to the Manasa mountains and was there deeply absorbed in thought of nature, when he heard the heart-rending cries of a woman to the effect, 'May some one come quick and rescue me, and either indicate a husband for me, or be my husband himself.' Purandara said to her, 'Do not be afraid, lady!' And having said these words, he saw Kesin (an Asura) adorned with a crown and mace in hand standing even like a hill of metals at a distance and holding that lady by the hand. Vasava addressed then that Asura saying, 'Why art thou bent on behaving insolently to this lady? Know that I am the god who wields the thunderbolt. Refrain thou from doing any violence to this lady.' To him Kesin replied, 'Do thou, O Sakra, leave her alone. I desire to possess her. Thinkest thou, O slayer of Paka, that thou shalt be able to return home with thy life?' With these words Kesin hurled his mace for slaying Indra. Vasava cut it up in its course with his thunderbolt. Then Kesin, furious with rage, hurled a huge mass of rock at him. Beholding that, he of a hundred sacrifices rent it asunder with his thunderbolt, and it fell down upon the ground. And Kesin himself was wounded by that falling mass of rock. Thus sorely afflicted, he fled leaving the lady behind. And when the Asura was gone, Indra said to that lady, 'Who and whose wife art thou, O lady with a beautiful face, and what has brought thee here?'"

SECTION 223

"The lady replied, 'I am a daughter of Prajapati (the lord of all creatures, Brahma) and my name is Devasena. My sister Daityasena has ere this been ravished by Kesin. We two sisters with our maids habitually used to come to these Manasa mountains for pleasures with the permission of Prajapati. And the great Asura Kesin used daily to pay his court to us. Daityasena, O conqueror of Paka, listened to him, but I did not. Daityasena was, therefore, taken away by him, but, O illustrious one, thou hast rescued me with thy might. And now, O lord of the celestials, I desire that thou shouldst select an invincible husband for me.' To this Indra replied, 'Thou art a cousin of mine, thy mother being a sister of my mother Dakshayani, and now I desire to hear thee relate thine own prowess.' The lady replied, 'O hero with long arms, I am Avala (meaning: weak; Avala is a common name of women. It means one who has no vala or strength or power. The word is also used as an adjective.) but my husband must be powerful. And by the potency of my father's boon, he will be respected by gods and Asuras alike.' Indra said, 'O blameless creature, I wish to hear from thee, what sort of power thou wishest thy husband to possess.' The lady replied, 'That manly and famous and powerful being devoted to Brahma, who is able to conquer all the celestials, Asuras, Yakshas, Kinnaras, Uragas, Rakshasas, and the evil-minded Daityas and to subdue all the worlds with thee, shall be my husband.'

"Markandeya continued, 'On hearing her speech, Indra was grieved and deeply thought within himself, 'There is no husband for this lady, answering to her own description.' And that god adorned with sun-like effulgence, then perceived the Sun rising on the Udaya hill*, and the great Soma (Moon) gliding into the Sun. [* According to the Hindus, the sun rises from and sets behind two hills respectively. He rises from the Udaya or Sun-rise hill and sets behind the Asta or sun-set hill.] It being the time of the new Moon, he of a hundred sacrifices, at the Raudra [Raudra--belonging to Rudra, the god of fury, violence, war, etc.] moment, observed the gods and Asuras fighting on the Sunrise hill. And he saw that the morning twilight was tinged with red clouds. And he also saw that the abode of Varuna had become blood-red. And he also observed Agni conveying oblations offered with various hymns by Bhrigu, Angiras, and others and entering the disc of the Sun. And he further saw the twenty four Parvas adorning the Sun, and the terrible Soma also present in the Sun under such surroundings. And observing this union of the Sun and the Moon and that fearful conjunction of theirs, Sakra thought within himself, This terrific conjunction of the Sun and the Moon forebodeth a fearful battle on the morrow. And the river Sindhu (Indus) too is flowing with a current of fresh blood and the jackals with fiery laces are crying to the Sun. This great conjunction is fearful and full of energy. This union of the Moon (Soma) with the Sun and Agni is very wonderful. And if Soma giveth birth to a son now, that son may become the husband of this lady. And Agni also hath similar surroundings now, and he too is a god. If the two begetteth a son, that son, may become the husband of this lady.' With these thoughts that illustrious celestial repaired to the regions of Brahma, taking Devasena* with him. [* Devasena literally means the celestial army. This fable seems to be an allegorical representation of the attempts made by Indra to procure a leader for the "celestial host," meaning the heavenly home of the gods. This passage could allude to the search for a messiah, a leader for the Devine Army or the Army of the Gods.] And saluting the Grandsire he said unto him, 'Do thou fix a renowned warrior as husband of this lady.' Brahma replied, 'O slayer of Asuras, it shall be; as thou hast intended. The issue of that union will be mighty and powerful accordingly. That powerful being will be the husband of this lady and the joint leader of thy forces with thee.' Thus addressed, the lord of the celestials and the lady bowed unto him and then repaired to the place where those great Brahmanas, the powerful celestial Rishis, Vasistha and others, lived. And with Indra at their head, the other gods also, desirous of drinking the Soma beverage, repaired to the sacrifices of those Rishis to receive their respective shares of the offerings. Having duly performed the ceremonies with the bright blazing fire, those great-minded persons offered oblations to the celestials. And the Adbhuta fire, that carrier of oblations, was invited with mantras. And coming out of the solar disc, that lordly fire duly repaired thither, restraining speech. And, O chief of Bharata's race, that fire entering the sacrificial fire that had been ignited and into which various offerings were made by the Rishis with recitations of hymns, took them with him and made them over to the dwellers of heaven. And while returning from that place, he observed the wives of those high-souled Rishis sleeping at their ease on their beds. And those ladies had a complexion beautiful like that of an altar of gold, spotless like moon-beams, resembling fiery flames and looking like blazing stars. And seeing those wives of the illustrious Brahmanas with eager eyes, his mind became agitated and he was smitten with their charms. Restraining his heart he considered it improper for him to be thus agitated. And he said unto himself, The wives of these great Brahmanas are chaste and faithful and beyond the reach of other people's desires. I am filled with desire to possess them. I cannot lawfully cast my eyes upon them, nor ever touch them when they are not filled with desire. I shall, therefore, gratify myself daily with only looking at them by becoming their Garhapatya (house-hold) fire.'

"Markandeya continued, The Adbhuta fire, thus transforming himself into a house-hold one, was highly gratified with seeing those gold-complexioned ladies and touching them with his flames. And influenced by their charms he dwelt there for a long time, giving them his heart and filled with an intense love for them. And baffled in all his efforts to win the hearts of those Brahmana ladies, and his own heart tortured by love, he repaired to a forest with the certain object of destroying himself. A little while before, Swaha, the daughter of Daksha, had bestowed her love on him. The excellent lady had been endeavouring for a long time to detect his weak moments; but that blameless lady did not succeed in finding out any weakness in the calm and collected fire-god. But now that the god had betaken himself to a forest, actually tortured by the pangs of love, she thought, 'As I too am distressed with love, I shall assume the guise of the wives of the seven Rishis, and in that disguise I shall seek the fire-god so smitten with their charms. This done, he will be gratified and my desire too will be satisfied.'"

SECTION 224

"Markandeya continued, 'O lord of men, the beautiful Siva endowed with great virtues and an unspotted character was the wife of Angiras (one of the seven Rishis). That excellent lady (Swaha) at first assuming the disguise of Siva, sought the presence of Agni unto whom she said, 'O Agni, I am tortured with love for thee. Do thou think it fit to woo me. And if thou dost not accede to my request, know that I shall commit self-destruction. I am Siva the wife of Angiras. I have come here according to the advice of the wives of the other Rishis, who have sent me here after due deliberation.'

Agni replied, 'How didst thou know that I was tortured with love and how could the others, the beloved wives of the seven Rishis, of whom thou hast spoken, know this?'

Swaha replied, 'Thou art always a favourite with us, but we are afraid of thee. Now having read thy mind by well-known signs, they have sent to thy presence. I have come here to gratify my desire. Be thou quick, O Agni, to encompass the object of thy desire, my sisters-in-law are awaiting me. I must return soon.'

Markandeya continued, 'Then Agni, filled with great joy and delight, married Swaha in the guise of Siva, and that lady joyfully cohabiting with him, held the semen virile in her hands. And then she thought within herself that those who would observe her in that disguise in the forest, would cast an unmerited slur upon the conduct of those Brahmana ladies in connexion with Agni. Therefore, to prevent this, she should assume the disguise of a bird, and in that state she should more easily get out of the forest.

Markandeya continued, 'Then assuming the disguise of a winged creature, she went out of the forest and reached the White Mountain begirt with clumps of heath and other plants and trees, and guarded by strange seven-headed serpents with poison in their very looks, and abounding with Rakshasas, male and female Pisachas, terrible spirits, and various kinds of birds and animals. That excellent lady quickly ascending a peak of those mountains, threw that semen into a golden lake. And then assuming successively the forms of the wives of the high-souled seven Rishis, she continued to dally with Agni. But on account of the great ascetic merit of Arundhati and her devotion to her husband (Vasishtha), she was unable to assume her form. And, O chief of Kuru's race, the lady Swaha on the first lunar day threw six times into that lake the semen of Agni. And thrown there, it produced a male child endowed with great power. And from the fact of its being regarded by the Rishis as cast off, the child born therefrom came to be called by the name of Skanda. And the child had six faces, twelve ears, as many eyes, hands, and feet, one neck, and one stomach. And it first assumed a form on the second lunar day, and it grew to the size of a little child on the third. And the

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limbs of Guha were developed on the fourth day. And being surrounded by masses of red clouds flashing forth lightning, it shone like the Sun rising in the midst of a mass of red clouds. And seizing the terrific and immense bow which was used by the destroyer of the Asura Tripura for the destruction of the enemies of the gods, that mighty being uttered such a terrible roar that the three worlds with their mobile and immobile divisions became struck with awe. And hearing that sound which seemed like the rumbling of a mass of big clouds, the great Nagas, Chitra and Airavata, were shaken with fear. And seeing them unsteady that lad shining with sun-like refulgence held them with both his hands. And with a dart in (another) hand, and with a stout, red-crested, big cock fast secured in another, that long-armed son of Agni began to sport about making a terrible noise. And holding an excellent conch-shell with two of his hands, that mighty being began to blow it to the great terror of even the most powerful creatures. And striking the air with two of his hands, and playing about on the hill-top, the mighty Mahasena of unrivalled prowess, looked as if he were on the point of devouring the three worlds, and shone like the bright Sun-god at the moment of his ascension in the heavens. And that being of wonderful prowess and matchless strength, seated on the top of that hill, looked on with his numerous faces directed towards the different cardinal points, and observing various things, he repeated his loud roars. And on hearing those roars various creatures were prostrate with fear. And frightened and troubled in mind they sought protection. And all those persons of various orders who then sought the protection of that god are known as his powerful Brahmana followers. And rising from his seat, that mighty god allayed the fears of all those people, and then drawing his bow, he discharged his arrows in the direction of the White Mountain. And with those arrows the hill Krauncha, the son of Himavat, was rent asunder. And that is the reason why swans and vultures now migrate to the Sumeru mountains. The Krauncha hill, sorely wounded, fell down uttering fearful groans. And seeing him fallen, the other hills too began to scream. And that mighty being of unrivalled prowess, hearing the groans of the afflicted, was not at all moved, but himself uplifting his mace, yelled forth his war-whoop. And that high-souled being then hurled his mace of great lustre and quickly rent in twain one of the peaks of the White Mountain. And the White Mountain being thus pierced by him was greatly afraid of him and dissociating himself from the earth fled with the other mountains. And the earth was greatly afflicted and bereft of her ornaments on all sides. And in this distress, she went over to Skanda and once more shone with all her might. And the mountains too bowed down to Skanda and came back and stuck into the earth. And all creatures then celebrated the worship of Skanda on the fifth day of the lunar month.

SECTION 225

"Markandeya continued, 'When that powerful, high-souled, and mighty being was born, various kinds of fearful phenomena occurred. And the nature of males and females, of heat and cold, and of such other pairs of contraries, was reversed. And the planets, the cardinal points and the firmaments became radiant with light and the earth began to rumble very much. And the Rishis even, seeking the welfare of the world, while they observed all these terrific prodigies on all sides, began with anxious hearts to restore tranquillity in the universe. And those who used to live in that Chitraratha forest said, This very miserable condition of ours hath been brought about by Agni cohabiting with the six wives of the seven Rishis.' Others again who had seen the goddess assume the disguise of a bird said, 'This evil hath been brought about by a bird.' No one ever imagined that Swaha was the authoress of that mischief. But having heard that the (new born) male child was hers, she went to Skanda and gradually revealed to him the fact that she was his mother. And those seven Rishis, when they heard that a son of great power had been born (to them), divorced their six wives with the exception of the adorable Arundhati, because all the dwellers of that forest protested that those six persons had been instrumental in bringing forth the child. Swaha too, O king, said again and again to the seven Rishis, saying, 'Ye ascetics, this child is mine, your wives are not his mother.'

The great Muni Viswamitra had, after the conclusion of the sacrifices of the seven Rishis, followed unseen the god of fire, while the latter was tortured with lust. He, therefore, knew everything as it happened and he was the first to seek the protection of Mahasena. And he offered divine prayers to Mahasena and all the thirteen auspicious rites appertaining to childhood, such as the natal and other ceremonies, were all performed by the great Muni in respect of that child. And for the good of the world he promulgated the virtues of the six-faced Skanda, and performed ceremonies in honour of the cock, the goddess Sakti, and the first followers of Skanda. And for this reason he became a great favourite of the celestial youth. That great Muni then informed the seven Rishis, of the transformations of Swaha and told them that their wives were perfectly innocent. But though thus informed the seven Rishis abandoned their spouses unconditionally.

Markandeya continued, The celestials having heard of the prowess of Skanda, all said to Vasava, 'O Sakra, do thou kill Skanda without delay for his prowess is unbearable. And if thou dost not exterminate him, he will conquer the three worlds with ourselves, and overpowering thee, will himself become the mighty lord of the celestials.' Perplexed in mind, Sakra replied unto them, 'This child is endowed with great prowess. He can himself destroy the Creator of the Universe, in battle putting forth his might. I venture not, therefore, to do away with him.' To this the gods replied, 'Thou hast no manliness in thee, in that thou talkest in this manner. Let the great Mothers of the Universe repair to-day to Skanda. They can master at will any degree of energy. Let then kill this child.' 'It shall be so.'--the mothers replied. And then they went away. But on beholding that he was possessed of great might, they became dispirited, and considering that he was invincible, they sought his protection and said unto him, 'Do thou, O mighty being, become our (adopted) son. We are full of affection for thee and desirous of giving thee suck. Lo, the milk oozes from our breasts!' On hearing these words, the mighty Mahasena became desirous of sucking their breasts and he received them with due respect and acceded to their request. And that mightiest of mighty creatures then beheld his father Agni come towards him. And that god, who is the doer of all that is good, was duly honoured by his son, and in company with the Mothers, he stayed there by the side of Mahasena to tend him. And that lady amongst the Mothers who was born of Anger [Anger personified is a deity.] with a spike in hand kept watch over Skanda even like a mother guarding her own offspring, and that irascible red-coloured daughter of the Sea, who lived herself on blood, hugged Mahasena in her breast and nursed him like a mother. And Agni transforming himself into a trader with a goat's mouth and followed by numerous children began to gratify that child of his with toys in that mountain abode of his."

SECTION 226

"Markandeya continued, The planets with their satellites, the Rishis and the Mothers, Agni and numerous other blazing courtiers and many other dwellers of heaven of terrible mien, waited on Mahasena along with the Mothers. And the illustrious sovereign of the gods, desirous of victory but believing success to be doubtful mounted his elephant Airavata and attended by the other gods advanced towards Skanda. That mighty being followed by all the celestials was armed with his thunderbolt. And with the object of slaying Mahasena, he marched with terrible celestial army of great-splendour, sounding their shrill war-cry and furnished with various sorts of standards, with warriors encased in various armour and armed with numerous bows and riding on various animals. When Mahasena beheld the gloriously decked Sakra, attired in his best clothes, advancing with the determination of slaying him, he (too on his part) advanced to meet that chief of the celestials. O Partha, the mighty Vasava, the lord of the celestials, then uttered a loud shout, to encourage his warriors and marching rapidly with the view of killing 'Agnis' son and praised by Tridasas* and great Rishis, he at length reached the abode of Kartikeya. [* Another name of gods, so named from their having only three stages of life--viz., infancy, childhood, and youth--and being exempt from the fourth--old age.] And then he shouted out with other gods; and Guha too in response to this, uttered a fearful war-cry resembling the roaring of the sea. On hearing that noise, the celestial army behaved like an agitated sea, and was stunned and fixed to the spot. And that son of Pavaka (the Fire-god) beholding the gods come near to him with the object of killing him, was filled with wrath, and gave out rising flame of fire from within his mouth. And these flames destroyed the celestial forces struggling on the ground. Their heads, their bodies, their arms and riding animals were all burnt in that conflagration and they appeared all on a sudden like stars displaced from their proper spheres. Thus afflicted, the god renounced all allegiance to the thunder bolt, and sought the protection of Pavaka's son; and thus peace was again secured. When he was thus forsaken by the gods, Sakra hurled his thunder-bolt at Skanda. It pierced him on the right side; and, O great king, it passed through the body of that high-souled being. And from being struck with the thunder-bolt, there arose from Skanda's body another being--a youth with a club in hand, and adorned with a celestial amulet. And because he was born on account of the piercing of the thunder-bolt, he was named Visakha. And Indra, when he beheld that another person looking like the fierce destroying Fire-god had come into being was frightened out of his wits and besought the protection of Skanda, with the palms of his hands joined together (as a mark of respect). And that excellent being Skanda, bade him renounce all fear, with his arm. The gods were then transported with joy, and their hands too struck up."

SECTION 227

"Markandeya continued, 'Now hear of those terrible and curious-looking followers of Skanda. A number of male children came into being when Skanda was struck with the thunder-bolt,--those terrific creatures that steal (spirit away) little children, whether born, or in the womb and a number of female children too of great strength were born to him. Those children adopted Visakha as their father. That adorable and dexterous Bhadrasakha, having a face like that of a goat was at the time (of the battle), surrounded by all his sons and daughters whom he guarded carefully in the presence of the great mothers. And for this reason the inhabitants of this earth call Skanda the father of Kumaras (little children). Those persons who desire to have sons born to them, worship in their places the powerful Rudra in the form of the Fire-god, and Uma in the form of Swaha. And by that means they are blessed with sons. The daughters begotten by the Fire-god, Tapa, went over to Skanda, who said to them, 'What can I do for you?' Those girls replied, 'Do us this favour; by thy blessing, may we become the good and respected mothers of all the world!' He replied, 'Be it so.' And that liberal-minded being repeated again and again, 'Ye shall be divided into Siva and Asiva' [i.e., good and evil spirits.]. And the mothers then departed, having first established Skanda's sonship, Kaki, Halima, Malini, Vrinhila, Arya, Palala and Vaimitra, these were the seven mothers of Sisu. They had a powerful, red-eyed, terrific, and very turbulent son named Sisu born by the blessing of Skanda. He was reputed as the eighth hero, born of the mothers of Skanda. But he is also known as the ninth, when that being with the face of a goat, is included. Know that the sixth face of Skanda was like that of a goat. That face, O king, is situated in the middle of the six, and is regarded constantly by the mother. That head by which Bhadrasakha created the divine energy, is reputed to be the best of all his heads O ruler of men, these virtuous wonderful events happened on the fifth day of the bright half of the lunar month, and on the sixth, a very fierce and terrific battle was fought at that place."

SECTION 228

"Markandeya continued, 'Skanda was adorned with a golden amulet and wreath, and wore a crest and a crown of gold; his eyes were golden-coloured, and he had a set of sharp teeth; he was dressed in a red garment and looked very handsome; he had a comely appearance, and was endowed with all good characteristics and was the favourite of the three worlds. He granted boons (to people who sought them) and was brave, youthful, and adorned with bright ear-rings. Whilst he was reposing himself, the goddess of fortune, looking like a lotus and assuming a personal embodiment, rendered her allegiance to him. When he became thus possessed of good fortune, that famous and delicate-looking creature appeared to all like the moon at its full. And high-minded Brahmanas worshipped that mighty being, and the Maharshis (great rishis) then said as follows to Skanda, 'O thou born of the golden egg, mayst thou be prosperous and mayst thou become an instrument of good to the universe! O best of the gods, although thou wast born only six nights (days) ago, the whole world has owned allegiance to thee (within this short time), and thou hast also allayed their fears. Therefore do thou become the Indra (lord) of the three worlds and remove their cause of apprehension.' Skanda replied, 'You gentlemen of great ascetic wealth (tell me) what Indra does with all three worlds and how that sovereign of the celestials protects the hosts of gods unremittingly.' The Rishis replied, 'Indra is the giver of strength, power, children and happiness to all creatures and when propitiated, that Lord of the celestials bestows on all the objects of their desire. He destroys the wicked and fulfils the desires of the righteous; and that Destroyer of Vala assigns to all creatures their various duties. He officiates for the sun and the moon in places where there is no sun or moon; he even when occasion requires it, acts for (serves the purposes of) fire, air, earth, and water. These are the duties of Indra; his capacities are immense. Thou too art mighty; therefore great hero, do thou become our Indra.'

Sakra said, 'O mighty being, do thou make us happy, by becoming our lord. Excellent being, thou art worthy of the honour; therefore shall we anoint thee this very day.'

Skanda replied, 'Do thou continue to rule the three worlds with self-possession, and with thy heart bent on conquest. I shall remain thy humble servant. I covet not thy sovereignty.'

Sakra replied, 'Thy prowess is unrivalled, O hero, do thou therefore vanquish the enemies of the gods. People have been struck with wonder at thy prowess. More specially as I have been bereft of my prowess, and defeated by thee, now if I were to act as Indra, I should not command the respect of all creatures, and they would be busy in bringing about dissensions between us; and then, my lord, they would become the partisans of one or other of us. And when they formed themselves into two distinct factions, war as before would be the result of that defection. And in that war, thou wouldst undoubtedly defeat me without difficulty and thyself become the lord of all worlds.'

Skanda replied, 'Thou, O Sakra, art my sovereign, as also of the three worlds; mayst thou be prosperous! Tell me if I can obey any commands of thine.'

Indra replied, 'At thy bidding, O powerful being, I shall continue to act as Indra. And if thou hast said this

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deliberately and in earnest, then hear me how thou canst gratify thy desire of serving me. Do thou, O mighty being, take the leadership of the celestial forces accordingly.'

Skanda replied, 'Do thou anoint me as leader, for the destruction of the Danavas, for the good of the celestials, and for the well-being of cows and Brahmanas.'

Markandeya continued, "Thus anointed by Indra and all other gods, and honoured by the Maharshis, he looked grand at the moment. The golden umbrella* held (over his head) looked like a halo of blazing fire. [* One of the ensigns of royalty in Hindu India.] That famous god, the Conqueror of Tripura, himself fastened the celestial wreath of gold, of Viswakarma's manufacture, round his neck. And, O great man and conqueror of thine enemies, that worshipful god with the emblem of the bull, had gone there previously with Parvati. He honoured him with a joyous heart. The Fire-god is called Rudra by Brahmanas, and from this fact Skanda is called the son of Rudra. The White Mountain was formed from discharges of Rudra's semen virile and the sensual indulgences of the Fire-god with the Krittikas took place on that same White Mountain. And as Rudra was seen by all the dwellers of heaven to heap honours on the excellent Guha (Skanda), he was for that reason reputed as the son of Rudra. This child had his being by the action of Rudra entering into the constitution of the Fire-god, and for this reason, Skanda came to be known as the son of Rudra. And, O Bharata, as Rudra, the Fire-god, Swaha, and the six wives (of the seven Rishis) were instrumental to the birth of the great god Skanda, he was for that reason reputed as the son of Rudra.

"That son of Fire-god was clad in a pair of clean red cloths, and thus he looked grand and resplendent like the Sun peeping forth from behind a mass of red clouds. And the red cock given to him by the Fire-god, formed his ensign; and when perched on the top of his chariot, it looked like the image of the all-destroying fire. And the presiding deity of the power which conduces to the victory of the god, and which is the director of the exertions of all creatures, and constitutes their glory, prop and refuge, advanced before him. And a mysterious charm entered into his constitution the charm which manifests its powers on the battlefield. Beauty, strength, piety, power, might, truthfulness, rectitude, devotion to Brahmanas, freedom from illusion or perplexity, protection of followers, destruction of foes, and care of all creatures,--these, O lord of men, are the inborn virtues of Skanda. Thus anointed by all the gods, he looked pleased and complacent; and dressed in his best style, he looked beautiful like the moon at its full. The much-esteemed incantation of Vedic hymns, the music of the celestial band, and the songs of gods and Gandharvas then rang on all sides. And surrounded by all the well-dressed Apsaras, and many other gay and happy-looking Pisachas and hosts of gods, that anointed (by gods) son of Pavaka disported himself in all his grandeur. To the dwellers of heaven, the anointed Mahasena, appeared like the Sun rising after extinction of darkness. And then the celestial forces looking upon him as their leader, surrounded him on all sides in thousands. That adorable being followed by all creatures then assumed their commands, and praised and honoured by them, he encouraged them in return.

"The Performer of a thousand sacrifices then thought of Devasena, whom he has rescued before. And considering that this being (Skanda) was undoubtedly destined to be the husband of this lady by Brahma himself, he had her brought there, dressed her with the best apparel. And the vanquisher of Vala then said to Skanda, 'O foremost of gods, this lady was, even before thy birth, destined to be thy bride by that Self-existent Being [Brahma.]. Therefore do thou duly accept her lotus-like beautiful right hand with invocation of the (marital) hymns.' Thus told, he duly married her. And Vrihaspati learned in hymns performed the necessary prayers and oblations. She who is called Shashthi, Lakshmi, Asa, Sukhaprada, Sinivali, Kuhu, Saivritti, and Aparajita, is known among men as Devasena, the wife of Skanda. When Skanda became united to Devasena in indissoluble bonds of matrimony, then the gods of prosperity in her own personal embodiment began to serve him with diligence. As Skanda attained celebrity on the fifth lunar day, that day is called Sripanchami (or the auspicious fifth day) and as he attained his object on the sixth, that lunar day is considered to be of great moment."

SECTION 229

"Markandeya continued, 'Those six ladies, the wives of the seven Rishis when they learned that good fortune had smiled on Mahasena and that he had been made leader of the celestial forces, 1 repaired to his camp. Those virtuous ladies of high religious merit had been disowned by the Rishis. They lost no time in visiting that leader of the celestial forces and then addressed him thus, 'We, O son, have been cast out by our god-like husbands, without any cause. Some people spread the rumour that we gave birth to thee. Believing in the truth of this story, they became greatly indignant, and banished us from our sacred places. It behooves thee now to save us from this infamy. We desire to adopt thee as our son, so that, O mighty being, eternal bliss may be secured to us by that favour. Do thou thus repay the obligation thou owest to us.'

"Skanda replied, 'O ladies of faultless character, do you accordingly become my mothers. I am your son and ye shall attain all the objects of your desire.'

Markandeya continued, 'Then Sakra having expressed a wish to say something to Skanda, the latter enquired, 'What is it?' Being told by Skanda to speak it out, Vasava said, The lady Abhijit, the younger sister of Rohini, being jealous of her seniority, has repaired to the woods to perform austerities. And I am at a loss to find out a substitute for the fallen star. May good luck attend on thee, do thou consult with Brahma (for the purpose of filling up the room) of this great asterism. Dhanishtha and other asterisms were created by Brahma, and Rohini used to serve the purpose of one such; and consequently their number was full. And in accordance with Sakra's advice, Krittika was assigned a place in the heavens, and that star presided over by Agni shines as if with seven heads. Vinata also said to Skanda, 'Thou art as a son to me, and entitled to offer me the funeral cakes (at my funeral obsequies). I desire, my son, to live with thee always.'

"Skanda replied, 'Be it so, all honour to thee! Do thou guide me with a mother's affection, and honoured by thy daughter-in-law, thou shalt always live with me.'"

"Markandeya continued, 'Then the great mothers spoke as follows to Skanda, 'We have been described by the learned as the mothers of all creatures. But we desire to be thy mothers, do thou honour us.'"

"Skanda replied, 'Ye are all as mothers to me, and I am your son. Tell me what I can do to please you.'"

"The mothers replied, 'The ladies (Brahmi, Maheswari, etc.) were appointed as mothers of the world in bygone ages. We desire, O great god, that they be dispossessed of that dignity, and ourselves installed in their place, and that we, instead of them, be worshipped by the world. Do thou now restore to us those of our progeny, of whom we have been deprived, by them on thy account.'"

"Skanda replied, 'Ye shall not recover those that have been once given away, but I can give you other offspring if ye like.'" The mothers replied, 'We desire that living with thee and assuming different shapes we be able to eat up the progeny of those mothers and their guardians. Do thou grant us this favour.'"

"Skanda said, 'I can grant you progeny, but this topic on which ye have just now dilated is a very painful one. May ye be prosperous! All honour to you, ladies, do ye vouchsafe to them your protecting care.'"

"The mothers replied, 'We shall protect them, O Skanda, as thou desirest. Mayst thou be prosperous! But, O mighty being, we desire to live with thee always.'"

"Skanda replied, 'So long as children of the human kind do not attain the youthful state in the sixteenth year of their age, ye shall afflict them with your various forms, and I too shall confer on you a fierce inexhaustible spirit. And with that ye shall live happily, worshipped by all.'"

"Markandeya continued, 'And then a fiery powerful being came out of the body of Skanda for the purpose of devouring the progeny of mortal beings. He fell down upon the ground, senseless and hungry. And bidden by Skanda, that genius of evil assumed a terrific form. Skandapasmara is the name by which it is known among good Brahmanas. Vinata is called the terrific Sakuni graha (spirit of evil). She who is known as Putana Rakshasi by the learned is the graha called Putana; that fierce and terrible looking Rakshasa of a hideous appearance is also called the pisacha, Sita Putana. That fierce-looking spirit is the cause of abortion in women. Aditi is also known by the name of Revati; her evil spirit is called Raivata, and that terrible graha also afflicts children. Diti, the mother of the Daityas (Asuras), is also called Muhkamandika, and that terrible creature is very fond of the flesh of little children. Those male and female children, O Kaurava, who are said to have been begotten by Skanda, are spirit of evil and they destroy the foetus in the womb. They (the Kumaras) are known as the husbands of those very ladies, and children are seized unawares by these cruel spirits. And, O king, Surabhi who is called the mother of bovine kind by the wise is best ridden by the evil spirit Sakuni, who in company with her, devours children on this earth. And Sarama, the mother of dogs, also habitually kills human beings while still in the womb. She who is the mother of all trees has her abode in a karanja tree. She grants boons and has a placid countenance and is always favourably disposed towards all creatures. Those persons who desire to have children, bow down to her, who is seated in a karanja tree. These eighteen evil spirits fond of meat and wine, and others of the same kind, invariably take up their abode in the lying-in-room for ten days. Kadru introduces herself in a subtle form into the body of a pregnant woman and there she causes the destruction of the foetus, and the mother is made to give birth to a Naga (serpent). And that mother of the Gandharvas takes away the foetus, and for this reason, conception in woman turns out to be abortive. The mother of the Apsaras removes the foetus from the womb, and for this reason such conceptions are said to be stationary by the learned. The daughter of the Divinity of the Red Sea is said to have nursed Skanda,--she is worshipped under the name of Lohitayani on Kadamva trees. Arya acts the same part among female beings, as Rudra does among male ones. She is the mother of all children and is distinctly worshipped for their welfare. These that I have described are the evil spirits presiding over the destinies of young children, and until children attain their sixteenth year, these spirits exercise their influence for evil, and after that, for good. The whole body of male and female spirits that I have now described are always denominated by men as the spirits of Skanda. They are propitiated with burnt offerings, ablutions, unguents, sacrifices and other offerings, and particularly by the worship of Skanda. And, O king, when they are honoured and worshipped with due reverence, they bestow on men whatever is good for them, as also valour and long life. And now having bowed down to Maheswara, I shall describe the nature of those spirits who influence the destinies of men after they have attained their sixteenth year.

"The man who beholds gods while sleeping, or in a wakeful state soon turns mad, and the spirit under whose influence these hallucinations take place is called the celestial spirit. When a person beholds his dead ancestors while he is seated at ease, or lying in his bed, he soon loses his reason, and the spirit which causes this illusion of sensible perception, is called the ancestral spirit. The man who shows disrespect to the Siddhas and who is cursed by them in return, soon runs mad and the evil influence by which this is brought about, is called the Siddha spirit. And the spirit by whose influence a man smells sweet odour, and becomes cognisant of various tastes (when there are no odoriferous or tasteful substances about him) and soon becomes tormented, is called the Rakshasa spirit. And the spirit by whose action celestial musicians (Gandharvas) blend their existence into the constitution of a human being, and make him run mad in no time, is called the Gandharva spirit. And that evil spirit by whose influence men are always tormented by Pisachas, is called the Paisacha spirit. When the spirit of Yakshas enters into the system of a human being by some accident, he loses his reason immediately, and such a spirit is called the Yaksha spirit. The man who loses his reason on account of his mind being demoralised with vices, runs mad in no time, and his illness must be remedied according to methods prescribed in the Sastras. Men also run mad from perplexity, from fear, as also on beholding hideous sights. The remedy lies in quieting their minds. There are three classes of spirits, some are frolicsome, some are gluttonous, and some sensual. Until men attain the age of three score and ten, these evil influences continue to torment them, and then fever becomes the only evil spirit that afflicts sentient beings. These evil spirits always avoid those who have subdued their senses, who are self-restrained, of cleanly habits, god-fearing and free from laziness and contamination. I have thus described to thee, O king, the evil spirits that mould the destinies of men. Thou who art devoted to Maheswara art never troubled by them."

SECTION 230

Markandeya continued, "When Skanda had bestowed these powers, Swaha appeared to him and said, 'Thou art my natural son,--I desire that thou shalt grant exquisite happiness to me."

"Skanda replied, 'What sort of happiness dost thou wish to enjoy?'"

"Swaha replied, 'O mighty being, I am the favourite daughter of Daksha, by name Swaha; and from my youthful days I have been in love with Hutasana (the Fire-god); but that god, my son, does not understand my feelings. I desire to live for ever with him (as his wife).'"

"Skanda replied, 'From this day, lady, all the oblations that men of virtuous character, who swerve not from the path of virtue, will offer to their gods or ancestors with incantation of purifying hymns by Brahmanas, shall always be offered (through Agni) coupled with the name of Swaha, and thus, excellent lady, wilt thou always live associated with Agni, the god of fire.'"

"Markandeya continued, Thus addressed and honoured by Skanda, Swaha was greatly pleased; and associated with her husband Pavaka (the Fire-god), she honoured him in return.'"

"Then Brahma, the lord of all creatures, said to Mahasena, 'Do thou go and visit thy father Mahadeva, the conqueror of Tripura. Rudra coalescing with Agni (the Fire-god) and Uma with Swaha have combined to make thee invincible for the well-being of all creatures. And the semen of the high-souled Rudra cast into the reproductive organ of Uma was thrown back upon this hill, and hence the twin Mujika and Minjika came into being. A portion of it fell into the Blood Sea, another portion, into the rays of the sun, another upon the earth and thus was it distributed in five portions. Learned men ought to remember that these thy various and fierce-looking followers living on the flesh of animals were produced from the semen'. 'Be it so,' so saying, the high-souled Mahasena with fatherly love, honoured his father Maheswara."

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"Markandeya continued, 'Men who are desirous of acquiring wealth, should worship those five classes of spirits with the sun flower, and for alleviation of diseases also worship must be rendered to them. The twin Mujika and Minjika begotten by Rudra must always be respected by persons desiring the welfare of little children; and persons who desire to have children born to them must always worship those female spirits who live on human flesh and are produced in trees. Thus all Pisachas are said to be divided into innumerable classes. And now, O king, listen to the origin of the bells and standards of Skanda. Airavata (Indra's elephant) is known to have had two bells of the name of Vaijayanti, and the keen-witted Sakra had them brought to him, and personally gave them to Guha. Visakha took one of those bells and Skanda the other. The standards of both Kartikeya and Visakha were of a red colour. That mighty god Mahasena was pleased with the toys that had been given to him by the gods. Surrounded by hosts of gods and Pisachas and seated on the Golden Mountain, he looked splendid in all the grandeur of prosperity. And that mountain covered with fine forests, also looked grand in his companionship, just as the Mandara hill abounding with excellent caves shines with the rays of the sun. The White Mountain was adorned with whole tracts of wood-land covered with blossoming Santanaka flowers and with forests of Karavira, Parijata, Jana and Asoke trees,--as also with wild tracts overgrown with Kadamva trees; and it abounded with herds of celestial deer and flocks of celestial birds. And the rumbling of clouds serving the purpose of musical instruments sounded like the murmur of an agitated sea, and celestial Gandharvas and Apsaras began to dance. And there arose a great sound of joy from the merriment of all creatures. Thus the whole world with Indra himself seemed to have been transferred to the White Mountain. And all the people began to observe Skanda with satisfaction in their looks, and they did not at all feel tired of doing so."

Markandeya continued, "When that adorable son of the Fire-god was anointed as leader of the celestial army, that grand and happy lord, Hara (Mahadeva) riding with Parvati in a chariot shining with sunlike refulgence repaired to a place called Bhadravata. His excellent chariot was drawn by a thousand lions and managed by Kala. They passed through blank space, and seemed as if they were about to devour the sky; and striking terror into the heart of all creatures in the mobile divisions of the worlds, those maned beasts flitted through the air, uttering fearful growls. And that lord of all animals (Mahadeva) seated in that chariot with Uma, looked like the sun with flames of lightning illuminating masses of clouds begirt with Indra's bow (rainbow). He was preceded by that adorable Lord of riches riding on the backs of human beings with his attendant Guhyakas riding in his beautiful car Pushpaka. And Sakra too riding on his elephant Airavata and accompanied by other gods brought up the rear of Mahadeva, the granter of boons, marching in this way at the head of the celestial army. And the great Yaksha Amogha with his attendants--the Jambhaka Yakshas and other Rakshasas decorated with garlands of flowers--obtained a place in the right wing of his army; and many gods of wonderful fighting powers in company with the Vasus and the Rudras, also marched with the right division of his army. And the terrible-looking Yama too in company with Death marched with him. (followed by hundreds of terrible diseases); and behind him was carried the terrible, sharp-pointed, well-decorated trident of Siva, called Vijaya. And Varuna, the adorable lord of waters with his terrible Pasa [A kind of missile.], and surrounded by numerous aquatic animals, marched slowly with the trident. And the trident Vijaya was followed by the Pattisa [Another kind of weapon.] of Rudra guarded by maces, balls, clubs and other excellent weapons. And the Pattisa, O king, was followed by the bright umbrella of Rudra and the Kamandalu served by the Maharshis; and on it progressed in the company of Bhrigu, Angiras and others. And behind all these rode Rudra in his white chariot, re-assuring the gods with the exhibition of his powers. And rivers and lakes and seas, Apsaras, Rishis, Celestials, Gandharvas and serpents, stars, planets, and the children of gods, as also many women, followed him in his train. These handsome-looking ladies proceeded scattering flowers all around; and the clouds marched, having made their obeisance to that god (Mahadeva) armed with the Pinaka bow. And some of them held a white umbrella over his head, and Agni (the Fire god) and Vayu (the god of winds) busied themselves with two hairy fans (emblems of royalty). And, O king, he was followed by the glorious Indra accompanied by the Rajarshis, and singing the praise of that god with the emblem of the bull. And Gauri, Vidya, Gandhari, Kesini, and the lady called Mitra in company with Savitri, all proceeded in the train of Parvati, as also all the Vidyas (presiding deities of all branches of knowledge) that were created by the learned. The Rakshasa spirit who delivers to different battalions the commands which are implicitly obeyed by Indra and other gods, advanced in front of the army as standard-bearer. And that foremost of Rakshasas, by name Pingala, the friend of Rudra, who is always busy in places where corpses are burnt, and who is agreeable to all people, marched with them merrily, at one time going ahead of the army, and falling behind again at another, his movements being uncertain. Virtuous actions are the offerings with which the god Rudra is worshipped by mortals. He who is also called Siva, the omnipotent god, armed with the Pinaka bow, is Maheswara. He is worshipped in various forms.

"The son of Krittika, the leader of the celestial army, respectful to Brahmanas, surrounded by the celestial forces, also followed that lord of the gods. And then Mahadeva said these weighty words to Mahasena, 'Do thou carefully command the seventh army corps of the celestial forces.'

"Skanda replied, 'Very well, my lord! I shall command the seventh army corps. Now tell me quickly if there is anything else to be done.'

"Rudra said, 'Thou shall always find me in the field of action. By looking up to me and by devotion to me shalt thou attain great welfare.'

"Markandeya continued, 'With these words Maheswara received him in his embrace, and then dismissed him. And, O great king, after the dismissal of Skanda, prodigies of various kinds occurred to disturb the equanimity of the gods.'

"The firmament with the stars was in a blaze, and the whole universe in a state of utter confusion. The earth quaked and gave forth a rumbling sound, and darkness overspread the whole world. Then observing this terrible catastrophe, Sankara with the estimable Uma, and the celestials with the great Maharshis, were much exercised in mind. And when they had fallen into this state of confusion, there appeared before them a fierce and mighty host armed with various weapons, and looking like a mass of clouds and rocks. Those terrible and countless beings, speaking different languages directed their movements towards the point where Sankara and the celestials stood. They hurled into the ranks of the celestial army flights of arrows in all directions, masses of rock, maces, sataghnis, prasas and parighas. The celestial army was thrown into a state of confusion by a shower of these terrible weapons and their ranks were seen to waver. The Danavas made a great havoc by cutting up their soldiers, horses, elephants, chariots and arms. And the celestial troops then seemed as if they were about to turn their backs upon the enemy. And numbers of them fell, slain by the Asuras, like large trees in a forest burnt in a conflagration. Those dwellers of heaven fell with their heads, separated from their bodies, and having none to lead them in that fearful battle, they were slaughtered by the enemy. And then the god Purandara (Indra), the slayer of Vala, observing that they were unsteady and hard-pressed by the Asuras, tried to rally them with this speech, 'Do not be afraid, ye heroes, may success attend your efforts! Do ye all take up your arms, and resolve upon manly conduct, and ye will meet with no more misfortune, and defeat those wicked and terrible-looking Danavas. May ye be successful! Do ye fall upon the Danavas with me.'

"The dwellers of heaven were re-assured on hearing this speech from Sakra; and under his leadership, they again rushed against the Danavas. And then the thirty-three crores of gods and all the powerful Marutas and the Sadhyas with the Vasus returned to the charge. And the arrows which they angrily discharged against the enemy drew a large quantity of blood from the bodies of the Daityas and of their horses and elephants. And those sharp arrows passing through their bodies fell upon the ground, looking like so many snakes falling from the sides of a hill. And, O king, the Daityas pierced by those arrows fell fast on all sides, looking like so many detached masses of clouds. Then the Danava host, struck with panic at that charge of the celestials on the field of battle, wavered at that shower of various weapons. Then all the gods loudly gave vent to their joy, with arms ready to strike; and the celestial bands too struck up various airs. Thus took place that encounter, so fearful to both sides: for all the battle-field was covered with blood and strewn with the bodies of both gods and Asuras. But the gods were soon worsted all on a sudden, and the terrible Danavas again made a great havoc of the celestial army. Then the Asuras, drums struck up and their shrill bugles were sounded; and the Danava chiefs yelled their terrific war-cry.

"Then a powerful Danava, taking a huge mass of rock in his hands, came out of that terrible Daitya army. He looked like the sun peering forth from against a mass of dark clouds. And, O king, the celestials, beholding that he was about to hurl that mass of rock at them, fled in confusion. But they were pursued by Mahisha, who hurled that hillock at them. And, O lord of the world, by the falling of that mass of rock, ten thousand warriors of the celestial army were crushed to the ground and breathed their last. And this act of Mahisha struck terror into the hearts of the gods, and with his attendant Danavas he fell upon them like a lion attacking a herd of deer. And when Indra and the other celestials observed that Mahisha was advancing to the charge, they fled, leaving behind their arms and colours. And Mahisha was greatly enraged at this, and he quickly advanced towards the chariot of Rudra; and reaching near, he seized its pole with his hands. And when Mahisha in a fit of rage had thus seized the chariot of Rudra, all the Earth began to groan and the great Rishis lost their senses. And Daityas of huge proportions, looking like dark clouds, were boisterous with joy, thinking that victory was assured to them. And although that adorable god (Rudra) was in that plight, yet he did not think it worth while to kill Mahisha in battle; he remembered that Skanda would deal the deathblow to that evil-minded Asura. And the fiery Mahisha, contemplating with satisfaction the prize (the chariot of Rudra) which he had secured, sounded his war-cry, to the great alarm of the gods and the joy of the Daityas. And when the gods were in that fearful predicament, the mighty Mahasena, burning with anger, and looking grand like the Sun advanced to their rescue. And that lordly being was clad in blazing red and decked with a wreath of red flowers. And cased in armour of gold he rode in a gold-coloured chariot bright as the Sun and drawn by chestnut horses. And at his sight the army of the daityas was suddenly dispirited on the field of battle. And, O great king, the mighty Mahasena discharged a bright Sakti for the destruction of Mahisha. That missile cut off the head of Mahisha, and he fell upon the ground and died. And his head massive as a hillock, falling on the ground, barred the entrance to the country of the Northern Kurus, extending in length for sixteen Yojanas though at present the people of that country pass easily by that gate.

"It was observed both by the gods and the Danavas that Skanda hurled his sakti again and again on the field of battle, and that it returned to his hands, after killing thousands of the enemy's forces. And the terrible Danavas fell in large numbers by the arrows of the wise Mahasena. And then a panic seized them, and the followers of Skanda began to slay and eat them up by thousands and drink their blood. And they joyously exterminated the Danavas in no time, just as the sun destroys darkness, or as fire destroys a forest, or as the winds drive away the clouds. And in this manner the famous Skanda defeated all his enemies. And the gods came to congratulate him, and he, in turn, paid his respects to Maheswara. And that son of Krittika looked grand like the sun in all the glory of his effulgence. And when the enemy was completely defeated by Skanda and when Maheswara left the battle-field, Purandara embraced Mahasena and said to him, 'This Mahisha, who was made invincible by the favour of Brahma hath been killed by thee. O best of warriors, the gods were like grass to him. O strong-limbed hero, thou hast removed a thorn of the celestials. Thou hast killed in battle hundreds of Danavas equal in valour to Mahisha who were all hostile to us, and who used to harass us before. And thy followers too have devoured them by hundreds. Thou art, O mighty being, invincible in battle like Uma's lord; and this victory shall be celebrated as thy first achievement, and thy fame shall be undying in the three worlds. And, O strong-armed god, all the gods will yield their allegiance to thee.' Having spoken thus to Mahasena, the husband of Sachi left the place accompanied by the gods and with the permission of the adorable three-eyed god (Siva). And Rudra returned to Bhadravata, and the celestials too returned to their respective abodes. And Rudra spoke, addressing the gods, 'Ye must render allegiance to Skanda just as ye do unto me.' And that son of the Fire-god, having killed the Danavas hath conquered the three worlds, in one day, and he hath been worshipped by the great Rishis. The Brahmana who with due attention readeth this story of the birth of Skanda, attaineth to great prosperity in this world and the companionship of Skanda hereafter."

Yudhishthira said, "O good and adorable Brahmana, I wish to know the different names of that high-souled being, by which he is celebrated throughout the three worlds."

Vaisampayana continued, "Thus addressed by the Pandava in that assembly of Rishis, the worshipful Markandeya of high ascetic merit replied, 'Agneya (Son of Agni), Skanda (Cast-off), Diptakirti (Of blazing fame), Anamaya (Always hale), Mayuraketu (Peacock-bannered), Dharmatman (The virtuous-souled), Bhutesa (The lord of all creatures), Mahishardana (The slayer of Mahisha), Kamajit (The subjugator of desires), Kamada (The fulfiller of desires), Kanta (The handsome), Satyavak (The truthful in speech), Bhuvaneswara (The lord of the universe), Sisu (The child), Sighra (The quick), Suchi (The pure), Chanda (The fiery), Diptavarna (The bright-complexioned), Subhanana (Of beautiful face), Amogha (Incapable of being baffled), Anagha (The sinless), Rudra (The terrible), Priya (The favourite), Chandranana (Of face like the moon), Dipta-sasti (The wielder of the blazing lance), Prasantatman (Of tranquil soul), Bhadrakrit (The doer of good), Kutamahana (The chamber of even the wicked), Shashthipriya (True favourite of Shashthi), Pavitra (The holy), Matrivatsala (The reverencer of his mother), Kanya-bhartri (The protector of virgins), Vibhakta (Diffused over the universe), Swaheya (The son of Swaha), Revatisuta (The child of Revati), Prabhu (The Lord), Neta (The leader), Visakha (Reared up by Visakha), Naigameya (Sprang from the Veda), Suduschara (Difficult of propitiation), Suvrata (Of excellent vows), Lalita (The beautiful), Valakridanaka-priya (Fond of toys), Khacharin (The ranger of skies), Brahmacharin (The chaste), Sura (The brave), Saravanodbhava (Born in a forest of heath), Viswamitra priya (The favourite of Viswamitra), Devasena-

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priya (The lover of Devasena), Vasudeva-priya (The beloved of Vasudeva), and Priya-krit (The doer of agreeable things)--these are the divine names of Kartikeya. Whoever repeateth them, undoubtedly secureth fame, wealth, and salvation."

'Markandeya continued, "O valiant scion of Kuru's race, I shall now with due devotion pray to that unrivalled, mighty, six-faced, and valiant Guha who is worshipped by gods and Rishis, enumerating his other titles of distinction: do thou listen to them: Thou art devoted to Brahma, begotten of Brahma, and versed in the mysteries of Brahma. Thou art called Brahmasaya, and thou art the foremost of those who are possessed of Brahma. Thou art fond of Brahma, thou art austere like the Brahmanas and art versed in the great mystery of Brahma and the leader of the Brahmanas. Thou art Swaha, thou art Swadha, and thou art the holiest of the holy, and art invoked in hymns and celebrated as the six-flamed fire. Thou art the year, thou art the six seasons, thou art the months, the (lunar) half months, the (solar) declinations, and the cardinal points of space. Thou art lotus-eyed. Thou art possessed of a lily-like face. Thou hast a thousand faces and a thousand arms. Thou art the ruler of the universe, thou art the great Oblation, and thou art the animating spirit of all the gods and the Asuras. Thou art the great leader of armies. Thou art Prachanda (furious), thou art the Lord, and thou art the great master and the conqueror of thine enemies. Thou art, Sahasrabhu (multiform), Sahasratusti (a thousand times content), Sahasrabhuk (devourer of everything), and Sahasrapad (of a thousand legs), and thou art the earth itself. Thou art possessed of infinite forms and thousand heads and great strength. According to thine own inclinations thou hast appeared as the son of Ganga, Swaha, Mahi, or Krittika. O six-faced god, thou dost play with the cock and assume different forms according to thy will. Thou art Daksha. Soma, the Maruta, Dharma, Vayu, the prince of mountains, and Indra, for all time. Thou art mighty, the most eternal of all eternal things, and the lord of all lords. Thou art the progenitor of Truth, the destroyer of Diti's progeny (Asuras), and the great conqueror of the enemies of the celestials. Thou art the personation of virtue and being thyself vast and minute, thou art acquainted with the highest and lowest points of virtuous acts, and the mysteries of Brahma. O foremost of all gods and high-souled lord of the Universe, this whole creation is over-spread with thy energy! I have thus prayed to thee according to the best of my power. I salute thee who art possessed of twelve eyes and many hands. Thy remaining attributes transcend my powers of comprehension!"

The Brahmana who with due attention readeth this story of the birth of Skanda, or relateth it unto Brahmanas, or hears it narrated by regenerate men, attaineth to wealth, long life, fame, children, as also victory, prosperity and contentment, and the companionship of Skanda."

SECTION 231

(Draupadi-Satyabhama Samvada)

Vaisampayana said, "After those Brahmanas and the illustrious sons of Pandu had taken their seats, Draupadi and Satyabhama entered the hermitage. And with hearts full of joy the two ladies laughed merrily and seated themselves at their ease. And, O king, those ladies, who always spake sweetly to each other, having met after a long time, began to talk upon various delightful topics arising out of the stories of the Kurus and the Yadus. And the slender-waisted Satyabhama, the favourite wife of Krishna and the daughter of Satrajit, then asked Draupadi in private, saying, 'By what behaviour is it, O daughter of Drupada, that thou art able to rule the sons of Pandu--those heroes endued with strength and beauty and like unto the Lokapalas themselves? Beautiful lady, how is it that they are so obedient to thee and are never angry with thee? Without doubt the sons of Pandu, O thou of lovely features, are ever submissive to thee and watchful to do thy bidding! Tell me, O lady, the reason of this. Is it practice of vows, or asceticism, or incantation or drug at the time of the bath (in season) or the efficacy of science, or the influence of youthful appearance, or the recitation of particular formulae, or Homa, or collyrium and other medicaments? Tell me now, O princess of Panchala, of that blessed and auspicious thing by which, O Krishna, Krishna may ever be obedient to me."

"When the celebrated Satyabhama, having said this, ceased, the chaste and blessed daughter of Drupada answered her, saying, 'Thou askedest me, O Satyabhama, of the practices of women that are wicked. How can I answer thee, O lady, about the cause that is pursued by wicked females? It doth not become thee, lady, to pursue the questions, or doubt me, after this, for thou art endued with intelligence and art the favourite wife of Krishna. When the husband learns that his wife is addicted to incantations and drugs, from that hour he beginneth to dread her like a serpent ensconced in his sleeping chamber. And can a man that is troubled with fear have peace, and how can one that hath no peace have happiness? A husband can never be made obedient by his wife's incantations. We hear of painful diseases being transmitted by enemies. Indeed, they that desire to slay others, send poison in the shape of customary gifts, so that the man that taketh the powders so sent, by tongue or skin, is, without doubt, speedily deprived of life. Women have sometimes caused dropsy and leprosy, decrepitude and impotence and idiocy and blindness and deafness in men. These wicked women, ever treading in the path of sin, do sometimes (by these means) injure their husbands. But the wife should never do the least injury to her lord. Hear now, O illustrious lady, of the behaviour I adopt towards the high-souled sons of Pandu. Keeping aside vanity, and controlling desire and wrath, I always serve with devotion the sons of Pandu with their wives. Restraining jealousy, with deep devotion of heart, without a sense of degradation at the services I perform, I wait upon my husbands. Ever fearing to utter what is evil or false, or to look or sit or walk with impropriety, or cast glances indicative of the feelings of the heart, do I serve the sons of Pritha--those mighty warriors blazing like the sun or fire, and handsome as the moon, those endued with fierce energy and prowess, and capable of slaying their foes by a glance of the eye. Celestial, or man, or Gandharva, young or decked with ornaments, wealthy or comely of person, none else my heart liketh. I never bathe or eat or sleep till he that is my husband hath bathed or eaten or slept,--till, in fact, our attendants have bathed, eaten, or slept. Whether returning from the field, the forest, or the town, hastily rising up I always salute my husband with water and a seat. I always keep the house and all household articles and the food that is to be taken well-ordered and clean. Carefully do I keep the rice, and serve the food at the proper time. I never indulge in angry and fretful speech, and never imitate women that are wicked. Keeping idleness at distance I always do what is agreeable. I never laugh except at a jest, and never stay for any length of time at the house-gate. I never stay long in places for answering calls of nature, nor in pleasure-gardens attached to the house. I always refrain from laughing loudly and indulging in high passion, and from everything that may give offence. Indeed, O Satyabhama, I always am engaged in waiting upon my lords. A separation from my lords is never agreeable to me. When my husband leaveth home for the sake of any relative, then renouncing flowers and fragrant paste of every kind, I begin to undergo penances. Whatever my husband drinketh not, whatever my husband eateth not, whatever my husband enjoyeth not, I ever renounce. O beautiful lady, decked in ornaments and ever controlled by the instruction imparted to me, I always devotedly seek the good of my lord. Those duties that my mother-in-law had told me of in respect of relatives, as also the duties of alms-giving, of offering worship to the gods, of oblations to the diseased, of boiling food in pots on auspicious days for offer to ancestors and guests of reverence and service to those that deserve our regards, and all else that is known to me, I always discharge day and night, without idleness of any kind. Having with my whole heart recourse to humility and approved rules I serve my meek and truthful lords ever observant of virtue, regarding them as poisonous snakes capable of being excited at a trifle. I think that to be eternal virtue for women which is based upon a regard for the husband. The husband is the wife's god, and he is her refuge. Indeed, there is no other refuge for her. How can, then, the wife do the least injury to her lord? I never, in sleeping or eating or adorning any person, act against the wishes of my lord, and always guided by my husbands, I never speak ill of my mother-in-law. O blessed lady, my husbands have become obedient to me in consequence of my diligence, my alacrity, and the humility with which I serve superiors. Personally do I wait every day with food and drink and clothes upon the revered and truthful Kunti--that mother of heroes. Never do I show any preference for myself over her in matters of food and attire, and never do I reprove in words that princess equal unto the Earth herself in forgiveness. Formerly, eight thousand Brahmanas were daily fed in the palace of Yudhishthira from off plates of gold. And eighty thousand Brahmanas also of the Snataka sect leading domestic lives were entertained by Yudhishthira with thirty serving-maids assigned to each. Besides these, ten thousand yatis with the vital seed drawn up, had their pure food carried unto them in plates of gold. All these Brahamanas that were the utterers of the Veda, I used to worship duly with food, drink, and raiment taken from stores only after a portion thereof had been dedicated to the Viswadeva. The illustrious son of Kunti had a hundred thousand well-dressed serving-maids with bracelets on arms and golden ornaments on necks, and decked with costly garlands and wreaths and gold in profusion, and sprinkled with sandal paste. And adorned with jewels and gold they were all skilled in singing and dancing. O lady, I knew the names and features of all those girls, as also what they are and what they were, and what they did not. Kunti's son of great intelligence had also a hundred thousand maid-servants who daily used to feed guests, with plates of gold in their hands. And while Yudhishthira lived in Indraprastha a hundred thousand horses and a hundred thousand elephants used to follow in his train. These were the possessions of Yudhisthira while he ruled the earth. It was I however, O lady, who regulated their number and framed the rules to be observed in respect of them; and it was I who had to listen to all complaints about them. Indeed, I knew everything about what the maid-servants of the palace and other classes of attendants, even the cow-herds and the shepherds of the royal establishment, did or did not. O blessed and illustrious lady, it was I alone amongst the Pandavas who knew the income and expenditure of the king and what their whole wealth was. And those bulls among the Bharatas, throwing upon me the burden of looking after all those that were to be fed by them, would, O thou of handsome face, pay their court to me. And this load, so heavy and incapable of being borne by persons of evil heart, I used to bear day and night, sacrificing my ease, and all the while affectionately devoted to them. And while my husbands were engaged in the pursuit of virtue, I only supervised their treasury inexhaustible like the ever-filled receptacle of Varuna. Day and night bearing hunger and thirst, I used to serve the Kuru princes, so that my nights and days were equal to me. I used to wake up first and go to bed last. This, O Satyabhama, hath ever been my charm for making my husbands obedient to me! This great art hath ever been known to me for making my husbands obedient to me. Never have I practised the charms of wicked women, nor do I ever wish to practise them."

Vaisampayana continued, "Hearing those words of virtuous import uttered by Krishna, Satyabhama, having first reverenced the virtuous princess of Panchala, answered saying, 'O princess of Panchala, I have been guilty, O daughter of Yajnasena, forgive me! Among friends, conversations in jest arise naturally, and without premeditation."

SECTION 232

"Draupadi said, 'I shall now indicate to thee, for attracting the heart of thy husbands a way that is free from deceit. By adopting it duly, dear friend, thou will be able to draw away thy lord from other females. In all the worlds, including that of the celestials, there is no god equal, O Satyabhama, unto the husband. When he is gratified with thee, thou mayst have (from thy husband) every object of desire; when he is angry, all these may be lost. It is from her husband that the wife obtaineth offspring and various articles of enjoyment. It is from thy husband that thou mayst have handsome beds and seats, and robes and garlands, and perfumes, and great fame and heaven itself hereafter. One cannot obtain happiness here by means that are easy. Indeed, the woman that is chaste, obtains weal with woe. Always adore Krishna, therefore, with friendship and love physical sufferings. And do thou also act in a way, by offering handsome seats and excellent garlands and various perfumes and prompt service, that he may be devoted to thee, thinking, 'I am truly loved by her!' Hearing the voice of thy lord at the gate, rise thou up from thy seat and stay in readiness within the room. And as soon as thou seest him enter thy chamber, worship him by promptly offering him a seat and water to wash his feet. And even when he commands a maidservant to do anything, get thou up and do it thyself. Let Krishna understand this temper of thy mind and know that thou adorest him with all thy heart. And, O Satyabhama, whatever thy lord speaketh before thee, do not blab of it even if it may not deserve concealment,--for if any of thy co-wives were to speak of it unto Vasudeva, he might be irritated with thee. Feed thou by every means in thy power those that are dear and devoted to thy lord and always seek his good. Thou shouldst, however, always keep thyself aloof from those that are hostile to and against thy lord and seek to do him injury, as also from those that are addicted to deceit. Foregoing all excitement and carelessness in the presence of men, conceal thy inclinations by observing silence, and thou shouldst not stay or converse in private even with thy sons, Pradyumna and Samva. Thou shouldst form attachments with only such females as are high-born and sinless and devoted to their lords, and thou shouldst always shun women that are wrathful, addicted to drinks, gluttonous, thievish, wicked and fickle. Behaviour such as this is reputable and productive of prosperity; and while it is capable of neutralising hostility, it also leadeth to heaven. Therefore, worship thou thy husband, decking thyself in costly garlands and ornaments and smearing thyself with unguents and excellent perfumes."

SECTION 233

Vaisampayana said, "Then Kesava, the slayer of Madhu, also called Janardana, having conversed on various agreeable themes with the illustrious sons of Pandu and with those Brahmanas that were headed by Markandeya and having bid them farewell, mounted his car and called for Satyabhama. And Satyabhama then, having embraced the daughter of Drupada, addressed her in these cordial words expressive of her feelings towards her: 'O Krishna, let there be no anxiety, no grief, for thee! Thou hast no cause to pass thy nights in sleeplessness, for thou wilt surely obtain back the earth subjugated by thy husbands, who are all equal unto the gods. O thou of black eyes, women endued with such disposition and possessed of such auspicious marks, can never suffer misfortune long. It hath been heard by me that thou shall, with thy husbands, certainly enjoy this earth peacefully and freed from all thorns! And, O daughter of Drupada, thou shalt certainly behold the earth ruled by Yudhishthira after the sons of Dhritarashtra have been slain and the deeds of their hostility avenged! Thou wilt soon behold those wives of

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the Kurus, who, deprived of sense by pride, laughed at thee while on thy way to exile, themselves reduced to a state of helplessness and despair! Know them all, O Krishna, that did thee any injury while thou wert afflicted, to have already gone to the abode of Yama. Thy brave sons, Prativindhya by Yudhishthira and Sutasoma by Bhima, and Srutakarman by Arjuna, and Satanika by Nakula, and Srutasena begot by Sahadeva, are well and have become skilled in weapons. Like Abhimanyu they are all staying at Dwaravati, delighted with the place. And Subhadra also, cheerfully and with her whole soul, looketh after them like thee, and like thee joyeth in them and deriveth much happiness from them. Indeed, she grieveth in their griefs and joyeth in their joys. And the mother of Pradyumna also loveth them with her whole soul. And Kesava with his sons Bhanu and others watcheth over them with especial affection. And my mother-in-law is ever attentive in feeding and clothing them. And the Andhakas and Vrishnis, including Rama and others, regard them with affection. And, O beautiful lady, their affection for thy sons is equal unto what they feel for Pradyumna.

"Having said these agreeable and truthful and cordial words, Satyabhama desired to go to Vasudeva's car. And the wife of Krishna then walked round the queen of the Pandavas. And having done so the beautiful Satyabhama mounted the car of Krishna. And the chief of the Yadavas, comforting Draupadi with a smile and causing the Pandavas to return, set out for his own city, with swift horses (yoked unto his car)."

SECTION 234

(Ghosha-yatra Parva)

Janamejaya said, "While those foremost of men--the sons of Pritha--were passing their days in the forest exposed to the inclemencies of the winter, the summer, the wind and the sun, what did they do, O Brahmana, after they had reached the lake and woods going by the name of Dwaita?"

Vaisampayana said, "After the sons of Pandu had arrived at that lake, they chose a residence that was removed from the habitations of men. And they began to roam through delightful woods and ever charming mountains and picturesque river-valleys. And after they had taken up their residence there, many venerable ascetics endued with Vedic lore often came to see them. And those foremost of men always received those Veda-knowing Rishis with great respect. And one day there came unto the Kaurava princes a certain Brahmana who was well known on earth for his powers of speech. And having conversed with the Pandavas for a while, he went away as pleased him to the court of the royal son of Vichitravirya. Received with respect by that chief of the Kurus, the old king, the Brahmana took his seat; and asked by the monarch he began to talk of the sons of Dharma, Pavana, Indra and of the twins, all of whom having fallen into severe misery, had become emaciated and reduced owing to exposure to wind and sun. And that Brahmana also talked of Krishna who was overwhelmed with suffering and who then had become perfectly helpless, although she had heroes for her lords. And hearing the words of that Brahmana, the royal son of Vichitravirya became afflicted with grief, at the thought of those princes of royal lineage then swimming in a river of sorrow. His inmost soul afflicted with sorrow and trembling all over with sighs, he quieted himself with a great effort, remembering that everything had arisen from his own fault. And the monarch said, 'Alas, how is it that Yudhishthira who is the eldest of my sons, who is truthful and pious and virtuous in his behaviour, who hath not a foe, who had formerly slept on beds made of soft Ranku skins, sleepeth now on the bare ground! Alas, wakened formerly by Sutas and Magadhas and other singers with his praises, melodiously recited every morning, that prince of the Kuru race, equal unto Indra himself, is now waked from the bare ground towards the small hours of the night by a multitude of birds! How doth Vrikodara, reduced by exposure to wind and sun and filled with wrath, sleep, in the presence of the princess of Panchala, on the bare ground, unfit as he is to suffer such lot! Perhaps also, the intelligent Arjuna, who is incapable of bearing pain, and who, though obedient to the will of Yudhishthira, yet feeleth himself to be pierced over all by the remembrance of his wrongs, sleepeth not in the night! Beholding the twins and Krishna and Yudhisthira and Bhima plunged in misery, Arjuna without doubt, sigheth like a serpent of fierce energy and sleepeth not from wrath in the night! The twins also, who are even like a couple of blessed celestials in heaven sunk in woe though deserving of bliss, without doubt pass their nights in restless wakefulness restrained (from avenging their wrongs) by virtue and truth! The mighty son of the Wind-god, who is equal to the Wind-god himself in strength, without doubt, sigheth and restraineth his wrath, being tied through his elder brother in the bonds of truth! Superior in battle to all warriors, he now lieth quiet on the ground, restrained by virtue and truth, and burning to slay my children, he bideth his time. The cruel words that Dussasana spoke after Yudhishthira had been deceitfully defeated at dice, have sunk deep into Vrikodara's heart, and are consuming him, like a burning bundle of straw consuming a fagot of dry wood! The son of Dharma never acteth sinfully; Dhananjaya also always obeyeth him; but Bhima's wrath, in consequence of a life of exile, is increasing like a conflagration assisted by the wind! That hero, burning with rage such as that, squeezeth his hands and breatheth hot and fierce sighs, as if consuming therewith my sons and grandsons! The wielder of the Gandiva and Vrikodara, when angry, are like Yama and Kala themselves; scattering their shafts, which are like unto thunder-bolts, they exterminate in battle the ranks of the enemy. Alas Duryodhana, and Sakuni, and the Suta's son, and Dussasana also of wicked soul, in robbing the Pandavas of their kingdom by means of dice, seem to behold the honey alone without marking the terrible ruin. A man having acted rightly or wrongly, expecteth the fruit of those acts. The fruit, however, confounding him, paralyses him fully. How can man, thereof, have salvation? If the soil is properly tilled, and the seed sown therein, and if the god (of rain) showereth in season, still the crop may not grow. This is what we often hear. Indeed, how could this saying be true unless, as I think, it be that everything here is dependent on Destiny? The gambler Sakuni hath behaved deceitfully towards the son of Pandu, who ever acteth honestly. From affection for my wicked sons I also have acted similarly. Alas, it is owing to this that the hour of destruction hath come for the Kurus! Oh, perhaps, what is inevitable must happen! The wind, impelled or not, will move. The woman that conceives will bring forth. Darkness will be dispelled at dawn, and day disappear at evening! Whatever may be earned by us or others, whether people spend it or not, when the time cometh, those possessions of ours do bring on misery. Why then do people become so anxious about earning wealth? If, indeed, what is acquired is the result of fate, then should it be protected so that it may not be divided, nor lost little by little, nor permitted to flow out at once, for if unprotected, it may break into a hundred fragments. But whatever the character of our possessions, our acts in the world are never lost. Behold what the energy of Arjuna is, who went into the abode of Indra from the woods! Having mastered the four kinds of celestial weapons he hath come back into this world! What man is there who, having gone to heaven in his human form, wisheth to come back? This would never have been but because he seeth innumerable Kurus to be at the point of death, afflicted by Time! The bowman is Arjuna, capable of wielding the bow with his left hand as well! The bow he wieldeth is the Gandiva of fierce impetus. He hath, besides, those celestial weapons of his! Who is there that would bear the energy of these three!"

"Hearing these words of the monarch, the son of Suvala, going unto Duryodhana, who was then sitting with Kama, told them everything in private. And Duryodhana, though possessed of little sense, was filled with grief at what he heard."

SECTION 235

Vaisampayana said, "Hearing those words of Dhritarashtra, Sakuni, when the opportunity presented itself, aided by Kama, spoke unto Duryodhana these words, 'Having exiled the heroic Pandavas by thy own prowess, O Bharata, rule thou this earth without a rival like the slayer of Samvara ruling the heaven! O monarch, the kings of the east, the south, the west, and the north, have all been made tributory to thee! O lord of earth, that blazing Prosperity which had before paid her court to the sons of Pandu, hath now been acquired by thee along with thy brothers! That blazing Prosperity, O king, which we not many days ago saw with heavy hearts in Yudhishthira at Indraprastha, is today seen by us to be owned by thee, she having, O mighty-armed monarch, been snatched by thee from the royal Yudhishthira by force of intellect alone. O slayer of hostile heroes, all the kings of the earth now living in subjection to thee, await thy commands, as they did before under Yudhishthira, awaiting his. O monarch, the goddess Earth with her boundless extent with girth of seas, with her mountains and forests, and towns and cities and mines, and decked with woodlands and hills is now thine! Adored by the Brahmanas and worshipped by the kings, thou blazest forth, O king, in consequence of thy prowess, like the Sun among the gods in heaven! Surrounded by the Kurus, O king, like Yama by the Rudra, or Vasava by the Maruts, thou shinest, O monarch, like the Moon among the stars! Let us, therefore, O king, go and look at the sons of Pandu--them who are now divested of prosperity, them who never obeyed commands, them who never owed subjection! It hath been heard by us, O monarch, that the Pandavas are now living on the banks of the lake called Dwaitavana, with a multitude of Brahmanas, having the wilderness for their home. Go thither, O king, in all thy prosperity, scorching the son of Pandu with a sight of thy glory, like the Sun scorching everything with his hot rays! Thyself a sovereign and they divested of sovereignty, thyself in prosperity and they divested of it, thyself possessing affluence and they in poverty, behold now, O king, the sons of Pandu. Let the sons of Pandu behold thee like Yayati, the son of Nahusha, accompanied by a large train of followers and enjoying bliss that is great. O king, that blazing Prosperity which is seen by both one's friends and foes, is regarded as well-bestowed! What happiness can be more complete than that which he enjoyeth who while himself in prosperity, looketh upon his foes in adversity, like a person on the hill top looking down upon another crawling on the earth? O tiger among kings, the happiness that one derives from beholding his foes in grief, is greater than what one may derive from the acquisition of offering or wealth or kingdom! What happiness will not be his who, himself in affluence, will cast his eyes on Dhananjaya attired in barks and deer-skins? Let thy wife dressed in costly robes look at the woeful Krishna clad in barks and deer-skins, and enhance the latter's grief! Let the daughter of Drupada reproach herself and her life, divested as she is of wealth, for the sorrow that she will feel upon beholding thy wife decked in ornaments will be far greater than what she had felt in the midst of the assembly (when Dussasana had dragged her there)!"

Vaisampayana continued, "Having thus spoken unto the king, Karna and Sakuni both remained silent, O Janamejaya, after their discourse was over."

SECTION 236

Vaisampayana said, "Having heard these words of Karna, king Duryodhana became highly pleased. Soon after, however, the prince became melancholy and addressing the speaker said, 'What thou tellest me, O Karna, is always before my mind. I shall not, however, obtain permission to repair to the place where the Pandavas are residing. King Dhritarashtra is always grieving for those heroes. Indeed, the king regarded the sons of Pandu to have become more powerful than before in consequence of their ascetic austerities. Or, if the king understands our motives, he will never, having regard to the future, grant us permission, for, O thou of great effulgence, we can have no other business in the woods of Dwaitavana than the destruction of the Pandavas in exile! Thou knowest the words that Kshatri spoke to me to thyself, and to the son of Suvala, at the time of the match at dice! Reflecting upon all those words as also upon all those lamentations (that he and others indulged in), I cannot make up my mind as to whether I should or should not go! I shall certainly be highly pleased if I cast my eyes on Bhima and Phalguna passing their days in pain with Krishna in the woods. The joy that I may feel in obtaining the sovereignty of the entire earth is nothing to that which will be mine upon beholding the sons of Pandu attired in barks of trees and deer-skins. What joy can be greater, O Karna, that will be mine upon beholding the daughter of Drupada dressed in red rags in the woods? If king Yudhishthira and Bhima, the sons of Pandu, behold me graced with great affluence, then only shall I have attained the great end of my life! I do not, however, see the means by which I may repair to those woods, by which, in fact, I may obtain the king's permission to go thither! Contrive thou, therefore, some skilful plan, with Suvala's son and Dussasana, by which we may go to those woods! I also, making up my mind today as to whether I should go or not, approach the presence of the king tomorrow. And when I shall be sitting with Bhishma--that best of the Kurus--thou wilt, with Sakuni propose the pretext which thou mayst have contrived. Hearing then the words of Bhishma and of the king on the subject of our journey, I will settle everything beseeching our grandfather.

"Saying; 'So be it,' they then all went away to their respective quarters. And as soon as the night had passed away, Karna came to the king. And coming to him, Karna smilingly spoke unto Duryodhana, saying, 'A plan hath been contrived by me. Listen to it, O lord of men! Our herds are now waiting in the woods of Dwaitavana in expectation of thee! Without doubt, we may all go there under the pretext of supervising our cattle stations, for, O monarch, it is proper that kings should frequently repair to their cattle stations. If this be the motive put forth, thy father, O prince, will certainly grant thee permission!' And while Duryodhana and Karna were thus conversing laughingly, Sakuni addressed them and said, 'This plan, free from difficulties, was what I also saw for going thither! The king will certainly grant us permission, or even send us thither of his own accord. Our herds are now all waiting in the woods of Dwaitavana expecting thee. Without doubt, we may all go there under the pretext of supervising our cattle stations!'

"They then all three laughed together, and gave their hands unto one another. And having arrived at that conclusion, they went to see the chief of Kurus."

SECTION 237

Vaisampayana said, "They then all saw king Dhritarashtra, O Janamejaya, and having seen him, enquired after his welfare, and were, in return, asked about their welfare. Then a cow-herd named Samanga, who had been instructed beforehand by them, approaching the king, spoke unto him of the cattle. Then the son of Radha and Sakuni, O king, addressing Dhritarashtra, that foremost of monarchs, said, 'O Kaurava, our cattle-stations are now in a delightful place. The time for their tale as also for marking the calves hath come. And, O monarch, this also is an excellent season for thy son to go ahunting! It behoveth thee, therefore, to grant permission to Duryodhana to go thither.'

"Dhritarashtra replied, 'The chase of the deer, as also the examination of cattle is very proper, O child! I think, indeed,

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that the herdsmen are not to be trusted. But we have heard that those tigers among men, the Pandavas, are now staying in the vicinity of those cattle stations. I think, therefore, ye should not go thither yourselves! Defeated by deceitful means they are now living in the deep forest in great suffering. O Radheya, they are mighty warriors and naturally able, they are now devoted to ascetic austerities. King Yudhishthira will not suffer his wrath to be awakened, but Bhimasena is naturally passionate. The daughter of Yajnasena is energy's self. Full of pride and folly, ye are certain to give offence. Endued with ascetic merit she will certainly consume you, or perhaps, those heroes, armed with swords and weapons! Nor, if from force of numbers, ye seek to injure them in any respect, that will be a highly improper act, although, as I think, ye will never be able to succeed. The mighty-armed Dhananjaya hath returned thence to the forest. While unaccomplished in arms, Vivatsu had subjugated the whole earth before. A mighty warrior as he is and accomplished in arms now, will he not be able to slay you all? Or, if in obedience to my words, ye behave carefully having repaired thither, ye will not be able to live happily there in consequence of the anxiety ye will feel owing to a state of continued trustlessness. Or, some soldier of yours may do some injury to Yudhishthira, and that unpremeditated act will be ascribed to your fault. Therefore, let some faithful men proceed there for the work of tale. I do not think it is proper for thee, Bharata, to go thither thyself."

"Sakuni said, 'The eldest of the sons of Pandu is cognisant of morality. He pledged in the midst of the assembly, O Bharata, that he would live for twelve years in the forest. The other sons of Pandu are all virtuous and obedient to Yudhishthira. And Yudhishthira himself, the son of Kunti, will never be angry with us. Indeed, we desire very much to go on a hunting expedition, and will avail of that opportunity for supervising the tale of our cattle. We have no mind to see the sons of Pandu. We will not go to that spot where the Pandavas have taken up their residence, and consequently no exhibition of misconduct can possibly arise on our part.'

Vaisampayana continued, "Thus addressed by Sakuni, that lord of men, Dhritarashtra, granted permission, but not very willingly, to Duryodhana and his counsellors to go to the place. And permitted by the monarch the Bharata prince born of Gandhari started, accompanied by Karna and surrounded by a large host. And he was also accompanied by Dussasana and Suvala's son of great intelligence and by many other brothers of his and by ladies in thousands. And as the mighty-armed prince started for beholding the lake that was known by the name of Dwaitavana, the citizens (of Hastina), also accompanied by their wives began to follow him to that forest. Eight thousand cars, thirty thousand elephants, nine thousand horses, and many thousands of foot-soldiers, and shops and pavilions and traders, bards and men trained in the chase by hundreds and thousands followed the prince. And as the king started, followed by this large concourse of people, the uproar that was caused there resembled, O king, the deep tumult of the ranging winds in the rainy season. And reaching the lake Dwaitavana with all his followers and vehicles, king Duryodhana took up his quarters at the distance of four miles from it."

SECTION 238

Vaisampayana said, "King Duryodhana then moving from forest to forest, at last approached the cattle-stations, and encamped his troops. And his attendants, selecting a well-known and delightful spot that abounded in water and trees and that possessed every convenience constructed an abode for him. And near enough to the royal residence they also erected separate abodes for Kama and Sakuni and the brothers of the king. And the king beheld his cattle by hundreds and thousands and examining their limbs and marks supervised their tale. And he caused the calves to be marked and took note of those that required to be tamed. And he also counted those kine whose calves had not yet been weaned. And completing the task of tale by marking and counting every calf that was three years old, the Kuru prince, surrounded by the cowherds, began to sport and wander cheerfully. And the citizens also and the soldiers by thousands began to sport, as best pleased them, in those woods, like the celestials. And the herdsmen, well skilled in singing and dancing and instrumental music, and virgins decked in ornaments, began to minister to the pleasures of Dhritarashtra's son. And the king surrounded by the ladies of the royal household began cheerfully to distribute wealth and food and drinks of various kinds amongst those that sought to please him, according to their desires.

"And the king, attended by all his followers, began also to slay hyenas and buffaloes and deer and gayals and bears and boars all around. And the king, piercing by his shafts those animals by thousands in deep forest, caused the deer to be caught in the more delightful parts of the woods. Drinking milk and enjoying, O Bharata, various other delicious articles and beholding, as he proceeded, many delightful forests and woods swarming with bees inebriate with floral honey and resounding with the notes of the peacock, the king at last reached the sacred lake of Dwaitavana. And the spot which the king reached swarmed with bees inebriate with floral honey, and echoed with the mellifluous notes of the blue-throated jay and was shaded by Saptacchadas and punnagas and Vakulas. And the king graced with high prosperity proceeded thither like the thunder-wielding chief of the celestials himself. And, O thou best of the Kuru race, King Yudhishthira the Just, endued with high intelligence, was then, O monarch, residing in the vicinity of that lake at will and celebrating with his wedded wife, the daughter of Drupada, the diurnal sacrifice called Rajarshi, according to the ordinance sanctioned for the celestials and persons living in the wilderness. And, O monarch, having reached that spot, Duryodhana commanded his men by thousands, saying, 'Let pleasure-houses be constructed soon.' Thus commanded, those doers of the king's behests replying to the Kruru chief with the words, 'So be it,' went towards the banks of the lake for constructing pleasure-houses. And as the picked soldiers of Dhritarashtra's son, having reached the region of the lake, were about to enter the gates of the wood, a number of Gandharvas appeared and forbade them to enter. For, O monarch, the king of the Gandharvas accompanied by his followers, had come thither beforehand, from the abode of Kuvera. And the king of the Gandharvas had also been accompanied by the several tribes of Apsaras, as also by the sons of the celestials And intent upon sport, he had come to that place for merriment, and occupying it, had closed it against all comers. And the attendants of the (Kuru) king, finding the lake closed by the king of the Gandharvas, went back, O monarch, to where the royal Duryodhana was. And Duryodhana having heard these words, despatched a number of his warriors difficult of being subjugated in battle, commanding them to drive away the Gandharvas. And those warriors who formed the vanguard of the Kuru army, hearing these words of the king, went back to the lake of Dwaitavana and addressing the Gandharvas, said, 'The mighty king Duryodhana--the son of Dhritarashtra--is coming, hither for sport. Stand ye aside, therefore!' Thus addressed by them, O king, the Gandharvas laughed and replied unto those men in these harsh words: 'Your wicked king Duryodhana must be destitute of sense. How else could he have thus commanded us that are dwellers of heaven, as if indeed, we were his servants? Without forethought, ye also are doubtless on the point of death; for senseless idiots as ye are, ye have dared to bring us his message! Return ye soon to where that king of the Kurus is, or else go this very day to the abode of Yama.' Thus addressed by the Gandharvas, the advanced guard of the king's army ran back to the place where the royal son of Dhritarashtra was."

SECTION 239

Vaisampayana said, "Those soldiers then, O king, all went back to Duryodhana and repeated to him every word that the Gandharvas had said. And, O Bharata, finding that his soldiers had been opposed by the Gandharvas, Dhritarashtra's son, endued with energy, was filled with rage. And the king addressed his soldiers, saying, 'Punish these wretches who desire to oppose my will, even if they have come hither to sport, accompanied by all the celestials with him of a hundred sacrifices. And hearing these words of Duryodhana, the sons and officers of Dhritarashtra all endued with great strength, as also warriors by thousands, began to arm themselves for battle. And filling the ten sides with loud leonine roars and rushing at those Gandharvas that had been guarding the gates, they entered the forest. And as the Kuru soldiers entered the forest, other Gandharvas came up and forbade them to advance. And though gently forbidden by the Gandharvas to advance, the Kuru soldiers, without regarding them in the least, began to enter that mighty forest. And when those rangers of the sky found that the warriors of Dhritarashtra along with their king could not be stopped by words they all went to their king Chitrasena and represented everything unto him. And when Chitrasena, the king of the Gandharvas, came to know all this he became filled with rage, alluding to the Kuru, and commanded his followers saying, 'Punish these wretches of wicked behaviour.' And, O Bharata, when the Gandharvas were so commanded by Chitrasena, they rushed weapons in hand, towards the Dhritarashtra ranks. And beholding the Gandharvas impetuously rushing towards them with upraised weapons, the Kuru warriors precipitously fled in all directions at the very sight of Duryodhana. And beholding the Kuru soldiers all flying from the field with their backs to the foe, the heroic Radheya alone fled not. And seeing the mighty host of the Gandharvas rushing towards him, Radheya checked them by a perfect shower of arrows. And the Suta's son, owing to his extreme lightness of hand, struck hundreds of Gandharvas with Kshurapras and arrows and Bhallas and various weapons made of bones and steel. And that mighty warrior, causing the heads of numerous Gandharvas to roll down within a short time, made the ranks of Chitrasena to yell in anguish. And although they were slaughtered in great numbers by Karna endued with great intelligence, yet the Gandharvas returned to the charge by hundreds and thousands. And in consequence of the swarms of Chitrasena's warriors rushing impetuously to the field the earth itself became soon covered by the Gandharva host. Then king Duryodhana, and Sakuni, the son of Suvala, and Dussasana, and Vikarna, and other sons of Dhritarashtra, seated on cars the clatter of whose wheels resembled the roars of Garuda, returned to the charge, following the lead of Karna, and began to slaughter that host. And desirous of supporting Karna, these princes invested the Gandharva army, with a large number of cars and a strong body of horses. Then the whole of the Gandharva host began to fight with the Kauravas. And the encounter that took place between the contending hosts was fierce in the extreme and might make one's hair stand on end. The Gandharvas, at last, afflicted with the shafts of the Kuru army, seemed to be exhausted. And the Kauravas beholding the Gandharvas so afflicted sent up a loud sound.

"And seeing the Gandharva host yielding to fear, the angry Chitrasena sprang from his seat, resolved to exterminate the Kuru army. And conversant with various modes of warfare, he waged on the fight, aided by his weapons of illusion. And the Kaurava warriors were then all deprived of their senses by the illusion of Chitrasena. And then, O Bharata, it seemed that every warrior of the Kuru army was fallen upon and surrounded by ten Gandharvas. And attacked with great vigour, the Kuru host was greatly afflicted and struck with panic. O king, all of them that liked to live, fled from the field. But while the entire Dhritarashtra host broke and fled, Karna, that offspring of the Sun, stood there, O king, immovable as a hill. Indeed, Duryodhana and Karna and Sakuni, the son of Suvala, all fought with the Gandharvas, although every one of them was much wounded and mangled in the encounter. All the Gandharvas then, desirous of slaying Karna, rushed together by hundreds and thousands towards Karna. And those mighty warriors, desirous of slaying the Suta's son, surrounded him on all sides, with swords and battle-axes and spears. And some cut down the yoke of his car, and some his flagstaff, and some the shaft of his car, and some his horses, and some his charioteer. And some cut down his umbrella and some the wooden fender round his car and some the joints of his car. It was thus that many thousands of Gandharvas, together attacking his car, broke it into minute fragments. And while his car was thus attacked, Karna leaped therefrom with sword and shield in hand, and mounting on Vikarna's car, urged the steeds for saving himself."

SECTION 240

Vaisampayana said, "After that great warrior Karna had been routed by the Gandharvas, the whole of the Kuru army, O monarch, fled from the field in the very sight of Dhritarashtra's son. And beholding all his troops flying from the field of battle with their back to the foe, king Duryodhana refused to fly. Seeing the mighty host of the Gandharvas rushing towards him, that represser of foes poured down upon them a thick shower of arrows. The Gandharvas, however, without regarding that arrowy shower, and desirous also of slaying him, surrounded that car of his. And by means of their arrows, they cut off into fragments the yoke, the shaft, the fenders, the flagstaff, the three-fold bamboo poles, and the principal turret of his car. And they also slew his charioteer and horses, hacking them to pieces. And when Duryodhana, deprived of his car, fell on the ground, the strong-armed Chitrasena rushed towards him and seized him in such a way that it seemed his life itself was taken. And after the Kuru king had been seized, the Gandharvas, surrounding Dussasana, who was seated on his car, also took him prisoner. And some Gandharvas seized Vivinsati and Chitrasena, and some Vinda and Anuvinda, while others seized all the ladies of royal household. And the warriors of Duryodhana, who were routed by the Gandharvas, joining those who had fled first, approached the Pandavas (who were living in the vicinity). And after Duryodhana had been made captive, the vehicles, the shops, the pavilions, the carriages, and the draught animals, all were made over to the Pandavas for protection. And those soldiers said, 'The mighty-armed son of Dhritarashtra, possessed of great strength and handsome mien, is being taken away captive by the Gandharvas! Ye sons of Pritha, follow them! Dussasana, Durvishasa, Durmukha, and Durjaya, are all being led away as captives in chains by the Gandharvas, as also all the ladies of the royal household!'

"Crying thus, the followers of Duryodhana, afflicted with grief and melancholy, approached Yudhishthira, desirous of effecting the release of the king. Bhima then answered those old attendants of Duryodhana, who, afflicted with grief and melancholy, were thus soliciting (the aid of Yudhishthira), saying, 'What we should have done with great efforts, arraying ourselves in line of battle, supported by horses and elephants hath, indeed, been done by the Gandharvas! They that come hither for other purposes, have been overtaken by consequences they had not foreseen! Indeed, this is the result of the evil counsels of a king who is fond of deceitful play! It hath been heard by us that the foe of a person who is powerless, is overthrown by others. The Gandharvas have, in an extraordinary way illustrated before our eyes the truth of this saying! It seems that there is still fortunately some person in the world who is desirous of doing us good who hath, indeed, taken upon his own shoulders our pleasant load,

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although we are sitting idly! The wretch had come hither to cast his eyes on us,--himself in prosperity while ourselves are sunk in adversity and emaciated by ascetic austerities and are exposed to wind, cold and heat. They that imitate the behaviour of that sinful and wretched Kaurava, are now beholding his disgrace! He that had instructed Duryodhana to do this, had certainly acted sinfully. That the sons of Kunti are not wicked and sinful, I tell it before you all!"

"And while Bhima, the son of Kunti, was speaking thus in a voice of sarcasm, king Yudhishthira told him, 'This is not time for cruel words!'"

SECTION 241

"Yudhishthira said, 'O child, why dost thou use language such as this, towards the frightened Kurus, who are now in adversity and who have come to us, solicitous of protection! O Vrikodara, disunions and disputes do take place amongst those that are connected in blood. Hostilities such as these do go on. But the honour of the family is never suffered to be interfered with. If any stranger seeketh to insult the honour of a family, they that are good never tolerate such insult coming from the stranger. The wicked-souled king of the Gandharvas knoweth that we are living here from some time. Yet disregarding us, he hath done this deed which is so disagreeable to us! O exalted one, from this forcible seizure of Duryodhana and from this insult to the ladies of our house by a stranger, our family honour is being destroyed. Therefore, ye tigers among men, arise and arm yourselves without delay for rescuing those that have sought our protection and for guarding the honour of our family. Ye tigers among men, let Arjuna and the twins and thyself also that art brave and unvanquished, liberate Duryodhana, who is even now being taken away a captive! Ye foremost of warriors, these blazing cars, furnished with golden flagstaff's and every kind of weapons belonging to Dhritarashtra's sons, are ready here. With Indrasena and other charioteers skilled in arms, for guiding them, ride ye on these everfurnished cars of deep rattle! And riding on these, exert ye with activity for fighting with the Gandharvas to liberate Duryodhana. Even an ordinary Kashatriya (amongst those that are here), would to the height of his power, protect one that hath come hither for refuge! What then, O Vrikodara, shall I say of thee! Entreated for assistance in such words as 'O hasten to my aid!' Who is there (amongst those standing around me) that is high-souled enough to assist even his foe, beholding him seeking shelter with joined hands? The bestowal of a boon, sovereignty, and the birth of a son are sources of great joy. But, ye sons of Pandu, the liberation of a foe from distress is equal to all the three put together! What can be a source of greater joy to you than that Duryodhana sunk in distress seeketh his very life as depending on the might of your arms? O Vrikodara, if the vow in which I am engaged had been over, there is little doubt that I would myself have run to his aid. Strive thou by all means, O Bharata, to liberate Duryodhana by the arts of conciliation. If, however, the king of the Gandharvas cannot be managed by the arts of conciliation, then must thou try to rescue Suyodhana by lightly skirmishing with the foe. But if the chief of the Gandharvas do not let the Kurus off even then, they must be rescued by crushing the foe by all means. O Vrikodara, this is all I can tell thee now, for my vow hath been begun and is not ended yet!"

Vaisampayana continued, "Hearing these words of Ajatasatru, Dhananjaya pledged himself, from respect for these commands of his superior, to liberate the Kauravas. And Arjuna said, 'If the Gandharvas do not set the Dhartarashtras free peacefully, the Earth shall this day drink the blood of the king of the Gandharvas!' And hearing that pledge of the truth-speaking Arjuna, the Kauravas then, O king, regained (the lost) tenor of their minds."

SECTION 242

Vaisampayana said, "Hearing the words of Yudhishthira, those bulls among men, headed by Bhimasena, rose up with faces beaming in joy. And those mighty warriors, O Bharata, then began to case themselves in impenetrable mail that were besides variegated with pure gold, and armed themselves with celestial weapons of various kinds. And the Pandavas thus cased in mail, and mounted on those chariots furnished with flagstaffs and armed with bows and arrows, looked like blazing fires. And those tigers among warriors, riding upon those well furnished cars drawn by fleet horses, proceeded to that spot without losing a moment. And beholding those mighty warriors--the sons of Pandu--thus proceeding together (for the liberation of Duryodhana), the Kuru army sent forth a loud shout. And soon did those rangers of the sky flushed with victory, and those impetuous warriors, the sons of Pandu, fearlessly encounter each other in that forest. The Gandharvas were flushed with success, and beholding the four brave sons of Pandu coming to battle seated on their cars, they all turned back towards the advancing combatants. And, the dwellers of the Gandhamadana, beholding the Pandavas looking like blazing guardians of the world provoked to ire, stood arrayed in order of battle. And, O Bharata, in accordance with words of king Yudhishthira of great wisdom, the encounter that took place was a skirmish. But when Arjuna--that persecutor of foes--saw that the foolish soldiers of the king of Gandharvas could not be made to understand what was good for them by means of a light skirmish, he addressed those invincible rangers of the skies in a conciliatory tone and said, 'Leave ye my brother king Suyodhana.' Thus addressed by the illustrious son of Pandu, the Gandharvas, laughing aloud, replied unto him saying, 'O child, there is but one in the world whose behests we obey and living under whose rule we pass our days in happiness: O Bharata, we always act as that one only person commandeth us! Besides that celestial chief there is none that can command us!' Thus addressed by the Gandharvas, Dhananjaya, the son of Kunti, replied unto them, saying, 'This contact with other people's wives and this hostile encounter with human beings are acts that are both censurable in the king of the Gandharvas and not proper for him. Therefore, leave ye these sons of Dhritarashtra all endued with mighty energy. And liberate ye also these ladies, at the command of king Yudhishthira the Just. If, ye Gandharvas, ye do not set the sons of Dhritarashtra free peacefully, I shall certainly rescue Suyodhana (and his party) by exerting my prowess.' And speaking unto them thus, Pritha's son, Dhananjaya, capable of wielding the bow with his left hand also, then rained a shower of sharp pointed sky-ranging shafts upon those rangers of the firmament. Thus attacked, the mighty Gandharvas then encountered the sons of Pandu with a shower of arrows equally thick, and the Pandavas also replied by attacking those dwellers of heaven. And the battle then, O Bharata, that ranged between the active and agile Gandharvas and the impetuous son of Pandu was fierce in the extreme."

SECTION 243

Vaisampayana said, "Then those Gandharvas decked in golden garlands and accomplished in celestial weapons, showing their blazing shafts, encountered the Pandavas from every side. And as the sons of Pandu were only four in number and the Gandharvas counted by thousands, the battle that ensued appeared to be extraordinary. And as the cars of Karna and Duryodhana had formerly been broken into a hundred fragments by the Gandharvas, so were the cars of the four heroes attempted to be broken. But those tigers among men began to encounter with their showers of arrows thousands upon thousands of Gandharvas rushing towards them. Those rangers of skies endued with great energy, thus checked on all sides by that arrowy down-pour, succeeded not in even coming near to the sons of Pandu. Then Arjuna whose ire had been provoked, aiming at the angry Gandharvas, prepared to hurl against them his celestial weapons. And in that encounter, the mighty Arjuna, by means of his Agneya weapon, sent ten hundreds of thousands of Gandharvas to the abode of Yama. And that mighty bowman, Bhima, also, that foremost of all warriors in battle, slew, by means of his sharp arrows, Gandharvas by hundreds. And the mighty sons of Madri also, battling with vigour, encountered hundreds of Gandharvas, O king, and slaughtered them all. And as Gandharvas were being thus slaughtered by the mighty warriors with their celestial weapons, they rose up to the skies, taking with them the sons of Dhritarashtra. But Dhananjaya, the son of Kunti, beholding them rise up to the skies, surrounded them on every side by a wide net of arrows. And confined within that arrowy net like birds within a cage, they showered in wrath upon Arjuna maces and darts and broad-swords. But Arjuna who was conversant with the most efficacious weapons, soon checked that shower of maces and darts and broad-swords, and in return began to mangle the limbs of the Gandharvas with his crescent-shaped arrows. And heads and legs and arms began to drop down from above resembling a shower of stones. And at that sight, the foe was struck with panic. And as the Gandharvas were being slaughtered by the illustrious son of Pandu, they began to shower from the skies a heavy downpour of shafts upon Arjuna, who was on the surface of the earth. But that chastiser of foes, Arjuna, endued with mighty energy checked that shower of arrows by means of his own weapons and began, in return, to wound them. Then Arjuna of the Kuru race shot his well-known weapons called Sthunakarna, Indrajala, Saura, Agneya and Saumya. And the Gandharvas consumed by the fiery weapons of Kunti's son, began to suffer heavily, like the sons of Diti, while being scorched by Sakra's thunder-bolt. And when they attacked Arjuna from above, they were checked by his net of arrows. And while they attacked him from all sides on the surface of the earth, they were checked by his crescent-shaped arrows. And beholding the Gandharvas put in fear by Kunti's son, Chitrasena rushed, O Bharata, at Dhananjaya, armed with a mace. And as the king of the Gandharvas was rushing at Arjuna from above with that mace in hand, the latter cut with his arrows that mace wholly made of iron into seven pieces. And beholding that mace of his cut into many pieces by Arjuna of great activity, with his arrows, Chitrasena, by means of his science, concealed himself from the view of the Pandava and began to fight with him. The heroic Arjuna, however, by means of his own celestial weapons checked all the celestial weapons that were aimed at him by the Gandharvas. And when the chief of the Gandharvas saw that he was checked by the illustrious Arjuna with those weapons of his he entirely disappeared from sight by help of his powers of illusion. And Arjuna, observing that the chief of the Gandharvas was striking at him concealed from sight, attacked his assailant with celestial weapon inspired with proper Mantras. And the multiform Dhananjaya filled with wrath, prevented the disappearance of his foe by means of his weapon known by the name of Sabda-veda. And assailed with those weapons by the illustrious Arjuna, his dear friend, the king of the Gandharvas, showed himself unto him. And Chitrasena said, 'Behold in me thy friend battling with thee!' And beholding his friend Chitrasena exhausted in the battle, that bull among the sons of Pandu withdrew the weapons he had shot. And the other sons of Pandu beholding Arjuna withdraw his weapons, checked their flying steeds and the impetus of their weapons and withdrew their bows. And Chitrasena and Bhima and Arjuna and the twins enquiring about one another's welfare, sat awhile on their respective cars."

SECTION 244

Vaisampayana said, "Then that mighty bowman of blazing splendour, Arjuna, smilingly said unto Chitrasena in the midst of the Gandharva host, 'What purpose dost thou serve, O hero, in punishing the Kauravas? O, why also hath Suyodhana with his wives been thus punished?'

"Chitrasena replied, 'O Dhananjaya, without stirring from my own abode I became acquainted with the purpose of the wicked Duryodhana and the wretched Karna in coming hither. The purpose was even this,--knowing that ye are exiles in the forest and suffering great afflictions as if ye had none to take care of you, himself in prosperity, this wretch entertained the desire of beholding you plunged in adversity and misfortune. They came hither for mocking you and the illustrious daughter of Drupada. The lord of the celestials also, having ascertained this purpose of theirs, told me, 'Go thou and bring Duryodhana hither in chains along with his counsellors. Dhananjaya also with his brother should always be protected by thee in battle, for he is thy dear friend and disciple.' At these words of the lord of the celestials I came hither speedily. This wicked prince hath also been put in chains. I will now proceed to the region of the celestials, whither I will lead this wicked wight at the command of the slayer of Paka!'

"Arjuna answered, saying, 'O Chitrasena, if thou wishest to do what is agreeable to me, set Suyodhana free, at the command of king Yudhishthira the Just, for he is our brother!'

Chitrasena said, "This sinful wretch is always full of vanity. He deserveth not to be set free. O Dhananjaya, he hath deceived and wronged both king Yudhishthira the Just and Krishna. Yudhishthira the son of Kunti as yet knoweth not the purpose on which the wretch came hither. Let the king, therefore, do what he desires after knowing everything!"

Vaisampayana continued, "After this, all of them went to king Yudhishthira the Just. And going unto the king, they represented unto him everything about Duryodhana's conduct. And Ajatasatru, hearing everything that the Gandharvas had said, liberated all the Kauravas and applauded the Gandharvas. And the king said, 'Fortunate it is for us that though gifted with great strength, ye did not yet slay the wicked son of Dhritarashtra along with all counsellors and relatives. This, O sir, hath been an act of great kindness done to me by the Gandharvas. The honour also of my family is saved by liberating this wicked wight. I am glad at seeing you all. Command me what I am to do for you. And having obtained all you wish, return ye soon whence ye came!'

"Thus addressed by the intelligent son of Pandu, the Gandharvas became well-pleased and went away with the Apsaras. And the lord of the celestials then, coming to that spot, revived those Gandharvas that had been slain in the encounter with the Kurus, by sprinkling the celestial Amrita over them. And the Pandavas also, having liberated their relatives along with the ladies of the royal household, and having achieved that difficult feat (the defeat of the Gandharvas host) became well-pleased. And those illustrious and mighty warriors worshipped by the Kurus along with their sons and wives, blazed forth in splendour like flaming fires in the sacrificial compound. And Yudhishthira then addressing the liberated Duryodhana in the midst of his brothers, from affection, told him these words: 'O child, never again do such a rash act. O Bharata, a rash wight never cometh by happiness. O son of the Kuru race, pleased be thou with all thy brothers. Go back to thy capital as pleaseth thee, without yielding thyself to despondency or cheerlessness!"

Vaisampayana continued, "Thus dismissed by the son of Pandu, king Duryodhana then saluted king Yudhishthira the Just and overwhelmed with shame, and his heart rent in twain, mechanically set out for his capital, like one destitute of life. And after the Kaurava prince had departed, the brave Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, along with his brothers, was worshipped by the Brahmanas, and surrounded by those Brahmanas endued with the wealth of asceticism, like Sakra

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himself by the celestials, he began to pass his days happily in the woods of Dwaita."

SECTION 245

Janamejaya said, "After his defeat and capture by the foe and his subsequent liberation by the illustrious sons of Pandu by force of arms, it seemeth to me that the entry into Hastinapura of the proud, wicked, boastful, vicious, insolent, and wretched Duryodhana, engaged in insulting the sons of Pandu and bragging of his own superiority, must have been exceedingly difficult. Describe to me in detail, O Vaisampayana, the entry into the capital, of that prince overwhelmed with shame and unmanned by grief!"

Vaisampayana said, "Dismissed by the king Yudhishthira the Just, Dhritarashtra's son Suyodhana, bending his head down in shame and afflicted with grief and melancholy, set out slowly. And the king, accompanied by his four kinds of forces, proceeded towards his city, his heart rent in grief and filled with thoughts of his defeat along the way in a region that abounded in grass and water. The king encamped on a delightful piece of ground as pleased him best, with his elephants and cars and cavalry and infantry stationed all around. And as the king Duryodhana was seated on an elevated bedstead endued with the effulgence of fire, himself looking like the moon under an eclipse, towards the small hours of the morning Karna, approaching him, said, 'Fortunate it is, O son of Gandhari, that thou art alive! Fortunate it is, that we have once more met! By good luck it is that thou hast vanquished the Gandharvas capable of assuming any form at will. And, O son of the Kuru race, it is by good luck alone, that I am enabled to see thy brothers--mighty warriors all--come off victorious from that encounter, having subjugated their foes! As regards myself, assailed by all the Gandharvas, I fled before thy eyes, unable to rally our flying host. Assailed by the foe with all his might, my body mangled with their arrows, I sought safety in flight. This however, O Bharata, seemed to me to be a great marvel that I behold you all come safe and sound in body, with your wives, troops, and vehicles, out of that super-human encounter. O Bharata, there is another man in this world who can achieve what thou, O king, hast achieved in battle to-day with thy brothers."

Vaisampayana continued, "Thus addressed by Karna, king Duryodhana replied unto the ruler of the Angas in a voice choked with tears."

SECTION 246

"Duryodhana said, 'O Radheya, thou knowest not what hath happened. Therefore, I do not resent thy words. Thou thinkest the hostile Gandharvas to have been vanquished by me with my own energy. O thou of mighty arms, my brothers, indeed had for a long time, aided by me fought with the Gandharvas. The slaughtered, indeed, on both sides were great. But when those brave Gandharvas, resorting to their many powers of illusion, ascended the skies and began to fight with us thence, our encounter with them ceased to be an equal one. Defeat then was ours and even captivity. And afflicted with sorrow, we along with our attendants and counsellors and children and wives and troops and vehicles were being taken by them through the skies. It was then that some soldiers of ours and some brave officers repaired in grief unto the sons of Pandu--those heroes that never refuse succour to those that ask for it. And having gone to them they said, 'Here is king Duryodhana, the son of Dhritarashtra, who with his younger brothers and friends and wives is being led away a captive by the Gandharvas along the sky. Blest be ye. Liberate the king along with the women of the royal household! Suffer no insult to be offered unto all the ladies of the Kuru race. And when they had spoken thus, the eldest of Pandu's sons, who is endued with a virtuous soul then conciliated his brothers and commanded them to liberate us. Then those bulls among men, the Pandavas, overtaking the Gandharvas, solicited our release in soft words, although fully able to effect it by force of arms. And when the Gandharvas, addressed in such conciliatory words, refused to set us at liberty, then Arjuna and Bhima and the twins endued with mighty energy, shot showers of arrows at the Gandharvas. Then the Gandharvas, abandoning the fight, fled through the sky, dragging our melancholy selves after them, filled with joy. Then we beheld a network of arrows spread all around by Dhananjaya, who was also shooting celestial weapons upon the foe. And seeing the points of the horizon covered by Arjuna with a thick network of sharp arrows, his friend, the chief of the Gandharvas, showed himself. And Chitrasena and Arjuna, embracing each other, enquired after each other's welfare. And the other sons of Pandu also embraced the chief of the Gandharvas and were embraced by him. And enquiries of courtesy passed between them also. And the brave Gandharvas then abandoning their weapons and mail mingled in a friendly spirit with the Pandavas. And Chitrasena and Dhananjaya worshipped each other with regard."

SECTION 247

Duryodhana said, "That slayer of hostile heroes, Arjuna, then approaching Chitrasena, smilingly addressed him in these manly words: 'O hero, O foremost of the Gandharvas, it behoveth thee to set my brothers at liberty. They are incapable of being insulted as long as the sons of Pandu are alive.' 'Thus addressed by the illustrious son of Pandu, the chief of the Gandharvas, O Karna, disclosed unto the Pandavas the object we had in view in proceeding to that place, viz., that we came there for casting our eyes on the sons of Pandu with their wife, all plunged in misery. And while the Gandharva was disclosing those counsels of ours, overwhelmed with shame I desired the earth to yield me a crevice, so that I might disappear there and then. The Gandharvas then, accompanied by the Pandavas, went to Yudhishthira, and, disclosing unto him also counsels, made us over, bound as we were, to him. Alas, what greater sorrow could be mine than that I should thus be offered as a tribute unto Yudhishthira, in the very sight of the women of our household, myself in chains and plunged in misery, and under the absolute control of my enemies. Alas, they, who have ever been persecuted by me, they unto whom I have ever been a foe released me from captivity, and wretch that I am, I am indebted to them for my life. If, O hero, I had met with my death in that great battle, that would have been far better than that I should have obtained my life in this way. If I had been slain by the Gandharvas, my fame would have spread over the whole earth, and I should have obtained auspicious regions of eternal bliss in the heaven of Indra. Listen to me therefore, ye bulls among men, as to what I intend to do now. I will stay here forgoing all food, while ye all return home. Let all my brothers also go to Hastinapura. Let all our friends, including Karna, and all our relatives headed by Dussasana, return now to the capital. Insulted by the foe, I myself will not repair thither. I who had before wrested from the foe his respect, I who had always enchanced the respect of my friends, have now become a source of sorrow unto friends and of joy unto enemies. What shall I now say unto the king, going to the city named after the elephant? What will Bhishma and Drona, Kripa, and Drona's son, Vidura and Sanjaya, Vahuka and Somadatta and other revered seniors,--what will the principal men of the other orders and men of independent professions, say to me and what shall I say unto them in reply? Having hitherto stayed over the heads of my enemies, having hitherto trod upon their breasts, I have fallen away from my position. How shall I ever speak with them? Insolent men having obtained prosperity and knowledge and affluence, are seldom blest for any length of time like myself puffed up with vanity. Alas, led by folly I have done a highly improper and wicked act, for which, fool that I am, I have fallen into such distress. Therefore, will I perish by starving, life having become insupportable to me. Relieved from distress by the foe, what man of spirit is there who can drag on his existence? Proud as I am, shorn of manliness, the foe hath laughed at me, for the Pandavas possessed of prowess have looked at me plunged in misery!"

Vaisampayana continued, 'While giving way to such reflections Duryodhana spoke unto Dussasana thus: 'O Dussasana, listen to these words of mine, O thou of the Bharata race! Accepting this installation that I offer thee, be thou king in my place. Rule thou the wide earth protected by Karna and Suvala's sons. Like Indra himself looking after the Maruts, cherish thou thy brothers in such a way that they may all confide in thee. Let the friends and relatives depend on thee like the gods depending on him of a hundred sacrifices. Always shouldst thou bestow pensions on Brahmanas, without idleness, and be thou ever the refuge of thy friends and relatives. Like Vishnu looking after the celestials, thou shouldst always look after all consanguineous relatives. Thou shouldst also ever cherish thy superiors. Go, rule thou the earth gladdening thy friends and reproving thy foes.' And clasping his neck, Duryodhana said, 'Go!' Hearing these words of his, Dussasana in perfect cheerlessness and overwhelmed with great sorrow, his voice choked in tears, said, with joined hands and bending his head unto his eldest brother, 'Relent!' And saying this he fell down on earth with heavy heart. And afflicted with grief that tiger among men, shedding his tears on the feet of his brother again said, 'This will never be! The earth may split, the vault of heaven may break in pieces, the sun may cast off his splendour, the moon may abandon his coolness, the wind may forsake its speed, the Himavat may be moved from its site, the waters of the ocean may dry up, and fire may abandon its heat, yet I, O king, may never rule the earth without thee.' And Dussasana repeatedly said, 'Relent, O king! Thou alone shall be king in our race for a hundred years.' And having spoken thus unto the king, Dussasana began to weep melodiously catching, O Bharata, the feet of his eldest brother deserving of worship from him.

"And beholding Dussasana and Duryodhana thus weeping, Karna in great grief approached them both and said, 'Ye, Kuru princes, why do you thus yield to sorrow like ordinary men, from senselessness? Mere weeping can never ease a sorrowing man's grief. When weeping can never remove one's griefs, what do you gain by thus giving way to sorrow? Summon patience to your aid to not gladden the foe by such conduct. O king, the Pandavas only did their duty in liberating thee. They that reside in the dominions of the king, should always do what is agreeable to the king. Protected by thee, the Pandavas are residing happily in thy dominion. It behoveth thee not to indulge in such sorrow like an ordinary person. Behold, thy uterine brothers are all sad and cheerless at seeing thee resolved to put an end to thy life by forgoing food. Blest be thou! Rise up and come to thy city and console these thy uterine brothers."

SECTION 248

"Kama continued, 'O king, this conduct of thine to-day appeareth to be childish. O hero, O slayer of foes, what is to be wondered at in this that the Pandavas liberated thee when thou wert vanquished by the foe? O son of the Kuru race, those that reside in the territories of the king, especially those (amongst them) that lead the profession of arms, should always do what is agreeable to the king whether they happen to be known to their monarch or unknown to him. It happened often that foremost men who crush the ranks of the hostile host, are vanquished by them, and are rescued by their own troops. They that leading the profession of arms, reside in the king's realm should always combine and exert themselves to the best of their power, for the king. If, therefore, O king, the Pandavas, who live in the territories, have liberated thee, what is there to be regretted at in this? That the Pandavas, O best of kings, did not follow thee when thou didst march forth to battle at the head of thy troops, has been an improper act on their part. They had before this come under thy power, becoming thy slaves. They are, therefore, bound to aid thee now, being endued with courage and might and incapable of turning away from the field of battle. Thou art enjoying all the rich possessions of the Pandavas. Behold them yet alive, O king! They have not resolved to die, forgoing all food. Blest be thou! Rise up, O king! It behoveth thee not to indulge in great sorrow long. O king, it is the certain duty of those that reside in the king's realm to do what is agreeable to the king. Where should the regret be in all this? If thou, O king, dost not act according to my words I shall stay here employed in reverentially serving thy feet. O bull among men, I do not desire to live deprived of thy company. O king, if thou resolvest to slay thyself by forgoing food, thou wilt simply be an object of laughter with other kings."

Vaisampayana continued, "Thus addressed by Karna, king Duryodhana, firmly resolved to leave the world, desired not to rise from where he sat."

SECTION 249

Vaisampayana said, "Beholding king Duryodhana, incapable of putting up with an insult, seated with the resolution of giving up life by forgoing food, Sakuni, the son of Suvala, said these words to comfort him. Sakuni said, O son of the Kuru race, you have just heard what Kama hath said. His words are, indeed fraught with wisdom. Why wouldst thou abandoning from foolishness the high prosperity that I won for thee, cast off thy life today, O king, yielding to silliness? It seemeth to me to-day that thou hast never waited upon the old. He that cannot control sudden accession of joy or grief, is lost even though he may have obtained prosperity, like an unburnt earthen vessel in water. That king who is entirely destitute of courage, who hath no spark of manliness, who is the slave of procrastination, who always acts with indiscretion, who is addicted to sensual pleasures, is seldom respected by his subjects. Benefited as thou has been, whence is this unreasonable grief of thine? Do not undo this graceful act done by the sons of Pritha, by indulging in such grief. When thou shouldst joy and reward the Pandavas, thou art grieving, O king? Indeed, this behaviour of thine is inconsistent. Be cheerful, do not cast away thy life; but remember with a pleased heart the good they have done thee. Give back unto the sons of Pritha their kingdom, and win thou both virtue and renown by such conduct. By acting in this way, thou mayst be grateful. Establish brotherly relations with the Pandavas by being friends, and give them their paternal kingdom, for then thou wilt be happy!'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Hearing these words of Sakuni, and seeing the brave Dussasana lying prostrate before him unmanned by fraternal love, the king raised Dussasana and, clasping him in his well round arms, smelt his head from affection. And hearing these words of Karna and Sauvala, king Duryodhana lost heart more than ever, and he was overwhelmed with shame and utter despair overtook his soul. And hearing all that his friends said, he answered with sorrow, 'I have nothing more to do with virtue, wealth, friendship, affluence, sovereignty, and enjoyments. Do not obstruct my purpose, but leave me all of you. I am firmly resolved to cast away my life by forgoing food. Return to the city, and treat my superiors there respectfully.'

"Thus addressed by him, they replied unto that royal grinder of foes, saying, 'O monarch, the course that is thine, is also ours, O Bharata. How can we enter the city without thee?'"

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Vaisampayana continued, "Though addressed in all manner of ways by his friends and counsellors and brothers and relatives, the king wavered not from his purpose. And the son of Dhritarashtra in accordance with his purpose spread Kusa grass on the earth, and purifying himself by touching water, sat down upon that spot. And clad in rags and Kusa grass he set himself to observe the highest vow. And stopping all speech, that tiger among kings, moved by the desire of going to heaven, began to pray and worship internally suspending all external intercourse.

"Meanwhile the fierce Daityas and the Danavas who had been defeated of old by the celestials and had been dwelling in the nether regions having ascertained Duryodhana's purpose and knowing that if the king died their party would be weakened, commenced a sacrifice with fire for summoning Duryodhana to their presence. And mantra knowing persons then commenced with the help of formulae declared by Brihaspati and Usanas, those rites that are indicated in the Atharva Veda and the Upanishads and which are capable of being achieved by mantras and prayers. And Brahmins of rigid vows, well-versed in the Vedas and the branches, began, with rapt soul, to pour libations of clarified butter and milk into the fire, uttering mantras. And after those rites were ended, a strange goddess, O king, with mouth wide open, arose (from the sacrificial fire), saying, 'What am I to do?' And the Daityas with well-pleased hearts, commanded her, saying, 'Bring thou hither the royal son of Dhritarashtra, who is even now observing the vow of starvation for getting rid of his life.' Thus commanded, she went away saying, 'So be it.' And she went in the twinkling of an eye to that spot where Suyodhana was. And taking up the king back to the nether regions, and having brought him thus in a moment, she apprised the Danavas of it. And the Danavas beholding the king brought into their midst in the night, united together, and all of them with well-pleased hearts and eyes expanded in delight addressed these flattering words to Duryodhana."

SECTION 250

"The Danavas said, 'O Suyodhana, O great king? O perpetuator of the race of Bharata, thou art ever surrounded by heroes and illustrious men. Why hast thou, then, undertaken to do such a rash act as the vow of starvation? The suicide ever sinketh into hell and becometh the subject of calumnious speech. Nor do intelligent persons like thee ever set their hands to acts that are sinful and opposed to their best interests and striking at the very root of their purposes. Restrain this resolve of thine, therefore, O king, which is destructive of morality, profit, and happiness, of fame, prowess, and energy, and which enhanceth the joy of foes O exalted king, know the truth, the celestial origin of thy soul, and the maker of thy body, and then summon thou patience to thy aid. In days of old. O king, we have obtained thee, by ascetic austerities from Maheswara. The upper part of thy body is wholly made of an assemblage of Vajras, and is, therefore, invulnerable to weapons of every description, O sinless one. The lower part of thy body, capable of captivating the female heart by its comeliness was made of flowers by the goddess herself--the wife of Mahadeva. Thy body is thus, O best of kings, the creation of Maheswara himself and his goddess. Therefore, O tiger among kings, thou art of celestial origin, not human. Other brave Kshatriyas of mighty energy headed by Bhagadatta, and all acquainted with celestial weapons, will slay thy foes. Therefore, let this grief of thine cease. Thou hast no cause for fear. For aiding thee, many heroic Danavas have been born on the earth. Other Asuras will also possess Bhishma and Drona and Kama and others. Possessed by those Asuras, these heroes will cast away their kindness and fight with thy foes. Indeed, when the Danavas will enter their heart and possess them completely, flinging all affections to a distance, becoming hard-hearted, these warriors will strike every body opposed to them in battle without sparing sons, brothers, fathers, friends, disciples, relatives, even children and old men. Blinded by ignorance and wrath, and impelled by that destiny which hath been ordained by the Creator, these tigers among men, with hearts steeped in sin, will, O thou foremost of the Kurus, depopulate the earth by hurling and shooting all kinds of weapons, with great manliness and strength and always addressing one another boastfully with words such as these, 'Thou shall not escape from me today with life.' And these illustrious sons of Pandu also, five in number, will fight with these.

And, endued with mighty strength and favoured by Fate, they will compass the destruction of these. And, O king, many Daityas and Rakshasas also that have been born in the Kshatriya order, will fight with great prowess in the battle with thy foes, using maces and clubs and lances and various weapons of a superior kind. And, O hero, with respect to the fear that is in thy heart rising from Arjuna, we have already settled the means for slaying Arjuna. The soul of the slain Naraka hath assumed the form of Karna. Recollecting his former hostility he will encounter both Kesava and Arjuna. And that mighty warrior and foremost of smiters, proud of his prowess will vanquish Arjuna in battle as also all thy enemies. The wielder of the thunder-bolt, knowing all this, and desirous of saving Arjuna, will in disguise take away from Karna his ear-rings and coat of mail. We also have for that reason appointed hundreds upon hundreds and thousands upon thousands of Daityas and Rakshasas, viz., those that are known by the name of Samsaptakas*. These celebrated warriors will slay the heroic Arjuna. Therefore, grieve not, O king. Thou wilt rule the whole earth, O monarch, without a rival. Do not yield to despondency. Conduct such as this does not suit thee. O thou of the Kuru race, if thou diest, our party becometh weak. Go thou, O hero, and let not thy mind be directed to any other course of action. Thou art ever our refuge as, indeed, the Pandavas are the refuge of the gods.'

[* Lit, Soldiers that have sworn to conquer or die. A full Akshauhini of these soldiers was owned by Krishna, who gave them to Duryodhana to fight for him. The story of Krishna's offering to Duryodhana the choice between these soldiers on the one side, and himself sworn not to fight but only to aid with his counsels on the other, is given in full in the Udyoga Parva. Duryodhana, from folly, accepted the former, who were all slain by Arjuna. An akshauhini (Sanskrit) is described in the Mahabharata as a battle formation consisting of 21,870 chariots (Sanskrit ratha); 21,870 elephants (Sanskrit gaja); 65,610 horses (Sanskrit turaga) and 109,350 infantry (Sanskrit pada sainyam) as per the Mahabharata (Adi Parva 2.15-23). Thus one akshauhini consisted of 218,700 warriors (not including the charioteers, who did not fight). The ratio is 1 chariot : 1 elephant : 3 cavalry : 5 infantry soldiers. In each of these large number groups (65,610, etc.), the digits add up to 18. It is mentioned in the Mahabharata that, in the Kurukshetra War*, the Pandava Army consisted of 7 akshauhinis (1,530,900 warriors), and Kaurava Army consisted of 11 akshauhinis (2,405,700 warriors). Thus, the total count of warriors who participated in the war, being 3,936,600. These numbers are mythologically ten- to twentyfold exaggerated by which this war is still one of the greatest wars fought in Antiquity. The Kurukshetra War (also called the Mahabharata War) is a great war described in the Indian epic poem Mahabharata. The conflict arose from a dynastic succession struggle between two groups of cousins, the Kauravas and Pandavas, for the throne of Hastinapura. It involved several ancient kingdoms participating as allies of the rival groups. This war ended with a victory for Pandavas and allies (in the western central part of northern India), and the fall of Kauravas (which was surrounding Pandavas. [Kaurava is a Sanskrit term for the descendants of King Kuru, or Kurava in Tamil; a name linguistically related to Kurush, the Iranian name of the Greek Kyros or Latin Cyrus. Iranian and Sanskrit / Prakrit / Pali are closely related Indo-Iranian languages within the Indo-European language family.] Popular tradition holds that the war marks the transition to Kali Yuga and thus dates it to 3102 BC. However, archaeology cannot support this date. The many Persian names of Zoroastrian origin, such as Mitra (Mithra), and Hebrew names, such as Yoddeva and Yaudaya (Yudah, Judaea), suggest a range of dating between 1000 and 600 BC.]

Vaisampayana continued, "Having addressed him thus, those Daityas embraced that elephant among kings, and those bulls among the Danavas cheered that irrepressible one like a son. And, O Bharata, pacifying his mind by soft speech, they permitted him to depart, saying, 'Go and attain victory!' And when they had given leave to the mighty-armed one, that very goddess carried him back to the spot where he had sat down, intent upon putting an end to his life. And having set that hero down and paid him homage, the goddess vanished, taking the king's permission. O Bharata, when she had gone, king Duryodhana considered all (that had happened) as a dream. He then thought within himself, 'I shall defeat the Pandavas in battle.' And Suyodhana thought that Karna and the Samsaptaka army were both able (to destroy) and intent upon destroying that slayer of foes, Partha. Thus, O bull of the Bharata race, the hope was strengthened of the wicked minded son of Dhritarashtra, of conquering the Pandavas. And Karna also, his soul and faculties possessed by the inmost soul of Naraka, had at that time cruelly determined to slay Arjuna. And those heroes--the Samsaptakas also--having their sense possessed by the Rakshasas, and influenced by the qualities of emotion and darkness, were desirous of slaying Phalguna. And, O king, others with Bhishma, Drona, and Kripa at their head, having their faculties influenced by the Danavas, were not so affectionate towards the sons of Pandu as they had been. But king Suyodhana did not tell any one of this.

"When the night passed away, Karna, that offspring of the Sun, with joined hands, smilingly addressed these wise words to king Duryodhana, 'No dead man conquereth his foes: it is when he is alive that he can see his good. Where is the good of the dead person; and, O Kauraveya, where is his victory? Therefore, this is no time for grief, or fear or death.' And having, with his arms embraced that mighty-armed one, he further said, 'Rise up, O king! Why dost thou lie down? Why dost thou grieve, O slayer of foes? Having afflicted thy enemies by thy prowess, why dost thou wish for death? Or (perhaps) fear hath possessed thee at the sight of Arjuna's prowess. I truly promise unto thee that I will slay Arjuna in battle. O lord of men, I swear by my weapon that when the three and ten years shall have passed away, I will bring the sons of Pritha under thy subjection.' Thus addressed by Karna, and remembering the words of the Daityas and supplications made by them (his brothers), Suyodhana rose up. And having heard those words of the Daityas that tiger among men, with a firm resolve in his heart arrayed his army, abounding in horses and elephants and cars and infantry. And, O monarch, immensely swarming with white umbrellas, and pennons, and white Chamaras, and cars, and elephants, and foot-soldiers, that mighty army, as it moved like the waters of the Ganga, looked graceful like the firmament, at a season when the clouds have dispersed and the signs of autumn have been but partially developed. And, O foremost of kings, eulogised like a monarch by the best of the Brahmanas blessing with victory, that lord of men Suyodhana, Dhritarashtra's son, receiving honours paid with innumerable joined palms, and flaming in exceeding splendour, went in the front, accompanied by Karna, and that gambler, the son of Suvala. And all his brothers with Dussasana at their head, and Bhurisrava, and Somadatta, and the mighty king Vahlika, followed that lion among kings on his way, with cars of various forms, and horses, and the best of elephants. And, O prime among monarchs, in a short time, those perpetuators of the Kuru race entered their own city."

SECTION 251

Janamejaya said, "When the high-souled sons of Pritha were living in the forest, what did those foremost of men and mighty archers--the sons of Dhritarashtra--do? And what did the offspring of the Sun, Karna, and the mighty Sakuni, and Bhishma, and Drona, and Kripa do? It behoveth thee to relate this unto me."

Vaisampayana said, "When, O mighty king, in this manner the Pandavas had gone, leaving Suyodhana, and when, having been liberated by Pandu's sons, he had come to Hastinapura, Bhishma said these words to the son of Dhritarashtra, 'O child, I had told thee before, when thou wert intent upon going to the hermitage that thy journey did not please me. But thou didst do so. And as a consequence, O hero, wert thou forcibly taken captive by the enemy, and wert delivered by the Pandavas versed in morality. Yet art thou not ashamed. Even in the presence of thee, O son of Gandhari, together with thy army, did the Suta's son, struck with panic, fly from the battle of the Gandharvas, O king. And, O foremost of kings, O son of the monarch! while thou with thy army wert crying distressfully, thou didst witness the prowess of the high-souled Pandavas, and also, O mighty-armed one, of the wicked son of the Suta, Karna. O best of kings, whether in the science of arms, or heroism, or morality, Karna, O thou devoted to virtue, is not a fourth part of the Pandavas. Therefore, for the welfare of this race, the conclusion of peace is, I think, desirable with the high-souled Pandavas."

'Having been thus addressed by Bhishma, Dhritarashtra's son the king, laughed a good deal, and then suddenly sailed out with the son of Suvala. thereupon, knowing that he was gone, those mighty bowmen with Karna, and Dussasana at their head, followed the highly powerful son of Dhritarashtra. And seeing them gone, Bhishma, the grandfather of the Kurus, hung down his head from shame, and then, O king, went to his own quarters. And, O mighty monarch, when Bhishma had left, that lord of men, Dhritarashtra's son came there again, and began to consult with his counsellors, 'What is it that is good for me? What remaineth to be done? And how we can most effectively bring about the good we shall discuss to-day.' Karna said, 'O Kuru's son, Duryodhana, do thou lay to heart tie words that I say. Bhishma always blameth us, and praiseth the Pandavas. And from the ill-will he beareth towards thee, he hateth me also. And, O lord of men, in thy presence he ever crieth me down. I shall never, O Bharata, bear these words that Bhishma had said in thy presence in relation to this matter, extolling the Pandavas, and censuring thee, O represser of foes! Do thou, O king, enjoin on me, together with servants, forces, and cars. I shall, O monarch, conquer the earth furnished with mountains and woods and forests. The earth had been conquered by the four powerful Pandavas. I shall, without doubt, conquer it for thee single-handed. Let that wretch of the Kuru race, the exceedingly wicked-minded Bhishma, see it,--he who vilifies those that do not deserve censure, and praises those that should not be praised. Let him this day witness my might, and blame himself. Do thou, O king, command me. Victory shall surely be thine. By my weapon, O monarch, I swear this before thee.'

"O king, O bull of the Bharata race, hearing those words of Karna, that lord of men, experiencing the highest delight, spoke unto Karna, saying, 'I am blessed. I have been favoured by thee,--since thou, endued with great strength, art ever intent on my welfare. My life hath borne fruit, to-day. As thou, O hero, intendest to subdue all our enemies, repair thou. May good betide thee! Do thou command me (what I am to do),' O subduer of foes, having been thus addressed by Dhritarashtra's intelligent son, Karna ordered all the necessaries for the excursion. And on an auspicious lunar day, at an auspicious moment, and under the influence of a star

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presided over by an auspicious deity, that mighty bowman, having been honoured by twice-born ones, and been bathed with auspicious and holy substances and also worshipped by speech set out, filling with the rattle of his car the three worlds, with their mobile and immobile objects."

SECTION 252

Vaisampayana continued, "Then, O bull among the Bharatas, that mighty bowman, Karna, surrounded by a large army, besieged the beautiful city of Drupada. And he, after a hard conflict, brought the hero under subjection, and, O best of monarchs, made Drupada contribute silver and gold and gems, and also pay tribute. And, O foremost of kings, having subdued him, (Karna) brought under subjection those princes that were under him (Drupada) and made them pay tribute. Then going to the north, he subdued the sovereigns (of that quarter) and having effected the defeat of Bhagadatta, Radha's son ascended that mighty mountain Himavat, all along fighting his foes. And ranging all sides, he conquered and brought under subjection all the kings inhabiting the Himavat, and made them pay dues. Then descending from the mountain and rushing to the east, he reduced the Angas, and the Bangas, and the Kalingas, and the Mandikas, and the Magadhas. the Karkakhandas; and also included with them the Avasiras, Yodhyas, and the Ahikshatras. Having (thus) conquered the eastern quarter Karna then presented himself before Batsa-bhumi. And having taken Batsa-bhumi, he reduced Kevali, and Mrittikavati, and Mohana and Patrana, and Tripura, and Kosala,--and compelled all these to pay tribute. Then going to the south, Karna vanquished the mighty charioteers (of that quarter) and in Dakshinatya, the Suta's son entered into conflict with Rukmi. After having fought dreadfully, Rukmi spake to the Suta's son saying, 'O foremost of monarchs, I have been pleased with thy might and prowess. I shall not do thee wrong: I have only fulfilled the vow of a Kshatriya. Gladly will I give thee as many gold coins as thou desirest.' Having met with Rukmi, Karna, repaired to Pandya and the mountain, Sri. And by fighting, he made Karala, king Nila, Venudari's son, and other best of kings living in the southern direction pay tribute. Then going to Sisupala's son, the son of the Suta defeated him and that highly powerful one also brought under his sway all the neighbouring rulers. And, O bull of the Bharata race, having subjugated the Avantis and concluded peace with them, and having met with the Vrishnis, he conquered the west. And, having come to the quarter of Varuna, he made all the Yavana and Varvara kings pay tribute. And, having conquered the entire earth--east, west, north and south--that hero without any aid brought under subjection all the nations of the Mlechchhas, the mountaineers, the Bhadras, the Rohitakas, the Agneyas and the Malavas. And, having conquered the mighty charioteers, headed by the Nagnajitas, the Suta's son brought the Sasakas and the Yavanas under his sway. Having thus conquered and brought under his subjection the world, the mighty charioteer and tiger among men came (back) to Hastinapura. That lord of men, Dhritarashtra's son, accompanied by his father and brothers and friends, came to that mighty bowman, who had arrived, and duly paid homage unto Karna crowned with martial merit. And the king proclaimed his feats, saying, 'What I have not received from either Bhishma, or Drona, or Kripa, or Vahlika, I have received from thee. May good betide thee! What need of speaking at length! Hear my words, O Karna! In thee, O chief of men, I have my refuge. O mighty-armed one. O tiger among men, without doubt all the Pandavas and the other kings crowned with prosperity, come not to a sixteenth part of thee. Do thou, O mighty bowman, O Karna, see Dhritarashtra, and the illustrious Gandhari, as the bearer of the thunderbolt did Aditi.'

"Then, O king, there arose in the city of Hastinapura a clamour, and sounds of Oh! and Alas! and, O lord of men, some of the kings praised him (Karna), while others censured him, while others, again, remained silent. Having thus, O foremost of monarchs, in a short time conquered this earth furnished with mountains and forests and skies, and with oceans, and fields, and filled with high and low tracts, and cities, and replete also with islands. O lord of earth, and brought the monarchs under subjection,--and having gained imperishable wealth, the Suta's son appeared before the king. Then, O represser of foes, entering into the interior of the palace that hero saw Dhritarashtra with Gandhari, O tiger among men, that one conversant with morality took hold of his feet even like a son. And Dhritarashtra embraced him affectionately, and then dismissed him. Ever since that time, O monarch, O Bharata, king Duryodhana and Sakuni, the son of Suvala, thought that Pritha's sons had already been defeated in battle by Karna."

SECTION 253

Vaisampayana continued, "O king, O lord of men, that slayer of hostile heroes, the Suta's son, said these words to Duryodhana, 'O Kaurava Duryodhana, do thou lay unto thy heart the words that I shall tell thee; and, O represser of foes, after having heard my words, it behoveth thee to act accordingly every way. Now, O best of monarchs, O hero, hath the earth been rid of foes. Do thou rule her even like the mighty-minded Sakra himself, having his foes destroyed."

Vaisampayana continued, "Having been thus addressed by Karna, the king again spake unto him, saying, 'O bull among men, nothing whatever is unattainable to him who hath thee for refuge, and to whom thou art attached and on whose welfare thou art entirely intent. Now, I have a purpose, which do thou truly listen to. Having beheld that foremost of sacrifices, the mighty Rajasuya, performed by the Pandavas, a desire hath sprung up in me (to celebrate the same). Do thou, O Suta's son, fulfil this desire of mine.' Thus addressed, Karna spake thus unto the king, 'Now that all the rulers of the earth have been brought under thy subjection, do thou summon the principal Brahmanas, and, O best of Kurus, duly procure the articles required for the sacrifice. And, O represser of foes, let Ritwijas as prescribed, and versed in the Vedas, celebrate thy rites according to the ordinance, O king. And, O bull of the Bharata race, let thy great sacrifice also, abounding in meats and drinks, and grand with parts, commence.'

"O king, having been thus addressed by Karna, Dhritarashtra's son summoned the priest, and spake unto him these words, 'Do thou duly and in proper order celebrate for me that best of sacrifices, the Rajasuya furnished with excellent Dakshinas.' Thus accosted, that best of Brahmanas spake unto the king, saying, 'O foremost of the Kauravas, while Yudhishthira is living, that best of sacrifices cannot be performed in thy family, O Prince of kings! Further, O monarch, thy father Dhritarashtra, endued with long life, liveth. For this reason also, O best of kings, this sacrifice cannot be undertaken by thee. There is, O lord, another great sacrifice, resembling the Rajasuya. Do thou, O foremost of kings, celebrate that sacrifice. Listen to these words of mine. All these rulers of the earth, who have, O king, become tributary to thee, will pay thee tribute in gold, both pure and impure. Of that gold, do thou, O best of monarchs, now make the (sacrificial) plough, and do thou, O Bharata, plough the sacrificial compound with it. At that spot, let there commence, O foremost of kings, with due rites, and without any disturbance the sacrifice, sanctified with mantras abounding in edibles. The name of that sacrifice worthy of virtuous persons, is Vaishnava. No person save the ancient Vishnu hath performed it before. This mighty sacrifice vies with that best of sacrifices--the Rajasuya itself. And, further, it liketh us--and it is also for thy welfare (to celebrate it). And, moreover, it is capable of being celebrated without any disturbance. (By undertaking this), thy desire will be fufilled.'

"Having been thus addressed by those Brahmanas, Dhritarashtra's son, the king, spake these words to Karna, his brothers and the son of Suvala, 'Beyond doubt, the words of the Brahmanas are entirely liked by me. If they are relished by you also, express it without delay.' Thus appealed, they all said unto the king, 'So be it.' Then the king one by one appointed persons to their respective tasks; and desired all the artisans to construct the (sacrificial) plough. And, O best of kings, all that had been commanded to be done, was gradually executed."

SECTION 254

Vaisampayana continued, "Then all the artisans, the principal counsellors, and the highly wise Vidura said unto Dhritarashtra's son, "All the preparations for the excellent sacrifice have been made, O king; and the time also hath come, O Bharata. And the exceedingly precious golden plough hath been constructed.' Hearing this, O monarch, that best of kings, Dhritarashtra's son commanded that prime among sacrifices to be commenced. Then commenced that sacrifice sanctified by mantras, and abounding in edibles, and the son of Gandhari was duly initiated according to the ordinance. And Dhritarashtra, and the illustrious Vidura, and Bhishma, and Drona, and Kripa, and Karna, and the celebrated Gandhari experienced great delight. And, O foremost of kings, Duryodhana despatched swift messengers to invite the princes and the Brahmanas. And mounting fleet vehicles they went to the (respective) directions assigned to them. Then to a certain messenger on the point of setting out, Dussasana said, 'Go thou speedily to the woods of Dwaita; and in that forest duly invite the Brahmanas and those wicked persons, the Pandavas.' Thereupon, he repaired thither, and bowing down to all the Pandavas, said, 'Having acquired immense wealth by his native prowess, that best of kings and foremost of Kurus, Duryodhana, O monarch, is celebrating a sacrifice. Thither are going from various directions the kings and the Brahmanas. O king, I have been sent by the high-souled Kaurava. That king and lord of men, Dhritarashtra's son, invites you. It behoveth you, therefore, to witness the delightful sacrifice of that monarch.'

"Hearing these words of the messenger, that tiger among kings, the royal Yudhishthira, said, 'By good luck it is that that enhancer of the glory of his ancestors, king Suyodhana is celebrating this best of sacrifices. We should certainly repair thither; but we cannot do now; for till (the completion of) the thirteenth year, we shall have to observe our vow.' Hearing this speech of Yudhishthira the Just, Bhima said these words, 'Then will king Yudhishthira the Just go thither, when he will cast him (Duryodhana) into the fire kindled by weapons. Do thou say unto Suyodhana. 'When after the expiration of the thirteenth year, that lord of men, the Pandava, will, in the sacrifice of battle, pour upon the Dhritarashtras, the clarified butter of his ire, then will I come!' But the other Pandavas, O king, did not say anything unpleasant. The messenger (on his return) related unto Dhritarashtra's son all as it had fallen out. Then there came to the city of Dhritarashtra many foremost of men, lords of various countries, and highly virtuous Brahmanas. And duly received in order according to the ordinance, those lords of men experienced great delight and were all well-pleased. And that foremost among monarchs--Dhritarashtra--surrounded by all the Kauravas, experienced the height of joy, and spake unto Vidura, saying, 'Do thou, O Kshatta, speedily so act that all persons in the sacrificial compound may be served with food, be refreshed and satisfied.' Thereupon, O represser of foes, assenting to that order, the learned Vidura versed in morality, cheerfully entertained all the orders in proper measure with meat and beverages to eat and drink, and fragrant garland and various kinds of attire. And having constructed pavilions (for their accommodation), that hero and foremost of kings, duly entertained the princes and the Brahmanas by thousands, and also bestowing upon them wealth of various kinds, bade them farewell. And having dismissed all the kings, he entered Hastinapura, surrounded by his brothers, and in company with Karna and Suvala's son."

SECTION 255

Vaisampayana said, "While, O great king, Duryodhana was entering (the city), the panegyrists eulogized the prince of unfailing prowess. And others also eulogized that mighty bowman and foremost of kings. And sprinkling over him fried paddy and sandal paste the citizens said, 'By good luck it is, O king, that thy sacrifice hath been completed without obstruction.' And some, more reckless of speech, that were present there, said unto that lord of the earth, 'Surely this thy sacrifice cannot be compared with Yudhishthira's: nor doth this come up to a sixteenth part of that (sacrifice).' Thus spake unto that king some that were reckless of consequences. His friends, however, said, This sacrifice of thine hath surpassed all others. Yayati and Nahusha, and Mandhata and Bharata, having been sanctified by celebrating such a sacrifice, have all gone to heaven.' Hearing such agreeable words from his friends, that monarch, O bull of the Bharata's race, well-pleased, entered the city and finally his own abode. Then, O king, worshipping the feet of his father and mother and of others headed by Bhishma, Drona and Kripa, and of the wise Vidura, and worshipped in turn by his younger brothers, that delighter of brothers sat down upon an excellent seat, surrounded by the latter. And the Suta's son, rising up, said, 'By good luck it is, O foremost of the Bharata race, that this mighty sacrifice of thine hath been brought to a close. When, however, the sons of Pritha shall have been slain in battle and thou wilt have completed the Rajasuya sacrifice, once again, O lord of men, shall I honour thee thus.' Then that mighty king, the illustrious son of Dhritarashtra, replied unto him, 'Truly hath this been spoken by thee. When, O foremost of men, the wicked-minded Pandavas have been slain, and when also the grand Rajasuya hath been celebrated by me, then thou shalt again, O hero, honour me thus.' And having said this, O Bharata, the Kaurava embraced Karna, and began, O mighty king, to think of the Rajasuya, that foremost of sacrifices. And that best of kings also addressed the Kurus around him, saying, 'When shall I, ye Kauravas, having slain all the Pandavas, celebrate that costly and foremost of sacrifices, the Rajasuya.' Then spake Karna unto him, saying, 'Hear me, O elephant among kings! So long as I do not slay Arjuna, I shall not allow any one to wash my feet, nor shall I taste meat. And I shall observe the Asura vow and whoever may solicit me (for any thing), I never shall say, 'I have it not.' When Karna had thus vowed to slay Phalguna in battle, those mighty charioteers and bowmen, the sons of Dhritarashtra, sent up a loud cheer; and Dhritarashtra's sons thought that the Pandavas had already been conquered. Then that chief of kings, the graceful Duryodhana, leaving those bulls among men, entered his apartment, like the lord Kuvera entering the garden of Chitraratha. And all those mighty bowmen also, O Bharata, went to their respective quarters.

"Meanwhile those mighty bowmen, the Pandavas, excited by the words the messenger had spoken, became anxious, and they did not (from that time) experience the least happiness. Intelligence, further, O foremost of kings, had been brought by spies regarding the vow of the Suta's son to slay Vijaya. Hearing this, O lord of men, Dharma's son became exceedingly anxious. And considering Karna of the impenetrable mail to be of wonderful prowess, and remembering all their woes, he knew no peace. And that high-souled one filled with anxiety, made up his mind to abandon the woods about Dwaitavana abounding with ferocious animals.

"Meanwhile the royal son of Dhritarashtra began to rule the earth, along with his heroic brothers as also with Bhishma

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and Drona and Kripa. And with the assistance of the Suta's son crowned with martial glory, Duryodhana remained ever intent on the welfare of the rulers of the earth, and he worshipped the foremost of Brahmanas by celebrating sacrifices with profuse gifts. And that hero and subduer of foes, O king, was engaged in doing good to his brothers, concluding for certain in his mind that giving and enjoying are the only use of riches."

SECTION 256

Janamejaya said, 'After having delivered Duryodhana, what did the mighty sons of Pandu do in that forest? It behoveth thee to tell me this.'

Vaisampayana said, "Once on a time, as Yudhishthira lay down at night in the Dwaita woods, some deer, with accents choked in tears, presented themselves before him in his dreams. To them standing with joined hands, their bodies trembling all over that foremost of monarchs said, 'Tell me what ye wish to say. Who are ye? And what do ye desire?' Thus accosted by Kunti's son--the illustrious Pandava, those deer, the remnant of those that had been slaughtered, replied unto him, saying, 'We are, O Bharata, those deer that are still alive after them that had been slaughtered. We shall be exterminated totally. Therefore, do thou change thy residence. O mighty king, all thy brothers are heroes, conversant with weapons; they have thinned the ranks of the rangers of the forest. We few--the remnants,--O mighty-minded one, remain like seed. By thy favour, O king of kings, let us increase.' Seeing these deer, which remained like seed after the rest had been destroyed trembling and afflicted with fear, Yudhishthira the Just was greatly affected with grief. And the king, intent on the welfare of all creatures, said unto them, 'So be it. I shall act as ye have said.' Awaking after such a vision, that excellent king, moved by pity towards the deer, thus spake unto his brothers assembled there, 'Those deer that are alive after them that have been slaughtered, accosted me at night, after I had awakened, saying, 'We remain like the cues of our lines. Blest be thou! Do thou have compassion on us.' And they have spoken truly. We ought to feel pity for the dwellers of the forest. We have been feeding on them for a year together and eight months. Let us, therefore, again (repair) to the romantic Kamyakas, that best of forests abounding in wild animals, situated at the head of the desert, near lake Trinavindu. And there let us pleasantly pass the rest of our time.' Then, O king, the Pandavas versed in morality, swiftly departed (thence), accompanied by the Brahmanas and all those that lived with them, and followed by Indrasena and other retainers. And proceeding along the roads walked (by travellers), furnished with excellent corn and clear water, they at length beheld the sacred asylum of Kamyaka endued with ascetic merit. And as pious men enter the celestial regions, those foremost of the Bharata race, the Kauravas, surrounded by those bulls among Brahmanas entered that forest."

SECTION 257

Vaisampayana continued, "Dwelling in the woods, O bull of the Bharata race, the high-souled Pandavas spent one and ten years in a miserable plight. And although deserving of happiness, those foremost of men, brooding over their circumstances, passed their days miserably, living on fruits and roots. And that royal sage, the mighty-armed Yudhishthira, reflecting that the extremity of misery that had befallen his brothers, was owing to his own fault, and remembering those sufferings that had arisen from his act of gambling, could not sleep peacefully. And he felt as if his heart had been pierced with a lance. And remembering the harsh words of the Suta's son, the Pandava, repressing the venom of his wrath, passed his time in humble guise, sighing heavily. And Arjuna and both the twins and the illustrious Draupadi, and the mighty Bhima--he that was strongest of all men--experienced the most poignant pain in casting their eyes on Yudhishthira. And thinking that a short time only remained (of their exile), those bulls among men, influenced by rage and hope and by resorting to various exertions and endeavours, made their bodies assume almost different shapes.

"After a little while, that mighty ascetic, Vyasa, the son of Satyavati, came there to see the Pandavas. And seeing him approach, Kunti's son, Yudhishthira, stepped forward, and duly received that high-souled one. And having gratified Vyasa by bowing down unto him, Pandu's son of subdued senses, after the Rishi had been seated, sat down before him, desirous of listening to him. And beholding his grandsons lean and living in the forest on the produce of the wilderness, that mighty sage, moved by compassion, said these words, in accents choked in tears, 'O mighty-armed Yudhishthira, O thou best of virtuous persons, those men that do not perform ascetic austerities never attain great happiness in this world. People experience happiness and misery by turns; for surely, O bull among men, no man ever enjoyeth unbroken happiness. A wise man endued with high wisdom, knowing that life hath its ups and downs, is neither filled with joy nor with grief. When happiness cometh, one should enjoy it; when misery cometh, one should bear it, as a sower of crops must bide his season. Nothing is superior to asceticism: by asceticism one acquireth mighty fruit. Do thou know, O Bharata, that there is nothing that asceticism cannot achieve. Truth, sincerity, freedom from anger, justice, self-control, restraint of the faculties, immunity from malice, guilelessness, sanctity, and mortification of the senses, these, O mighty monarch, purify a person of meritorious acts. Foolish persons addicted to vice and bestial ways, attain to brutish births in after life and never enjoy happiness. The fruit of acts done in this world is reaped in the next. Therefore should one restrain his body by asceticism and the observance of vows. And, O king, free from guile and with a cheerful spirit, one should, according to his power, bestow gifts, after going down to the recipient and paying him homage. A truth-telling person attaineth a life devoid of trouble. A person void of anger attaineth sincerity, and one free from malice acquireth supreme contentment. A person who hath subdued his senses and his inner faculties, never knoweth tribulation; nor is a person of subdued senses affected by sorrow at the height of other's prosperity. A man who giveth everyone his due, and the bestower of boons, attain happiness, and come by every object of enjoyment; while a man free from envy reapeth perfect ease. He that honoureth those to whom honour is due, attaineth birth in an illustrious line; and he that hath subdued his senses, never cometh by misfortune. A man whose mind followeth good, after having paid his debt to nature, is on this account, born again endued with a righteous mind.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'O eminently virtuous one, O mighty sage, of the bestowal of gifts and the observance of asceticism, which is of greater efficacy in the next world, and which, harder of practice?'

"Vyasa said, 'There is nothing, O child, in this world harder to practise than charity. Men greatly thirst after wealth, and wealth also is gotten with difficulty. Nay, renouncing even dear life itself, heroic men, O magnanimous one, enter into the depths of the sea and the forest for the sake of wealth. For wealth, some betake themselves to agriculture and the tending of kine, and some enter into servitude. Therefore, it is extremely difficult to part with wealth that is obtained with such trouble. Since nothing is harder to practise than charity, therefore, in my opinion, even the bestowal of boons is superior to everything. Specially is this to be borne in mind that well-earned gains should, in proper time and place, be given away to pious men. But the bestowal of ill-gotten gains can never rescue the giver from the evil of rebirth. It hath been declared, O Yudhishthira, that by bestowing, in a pure spirit, even a slight gift in due time and to a fit recipient, a man attaineth inexhaustible fruit in the next world. In this connexion is instanced the old story regarding the fruit obtained by Mudgala, for having given away only a drona [A very small measure] of corn.'"

SECTION 258

Yudhishthira said, "Why did that high-souled one give away a drona of corn? And, O eminently pious one, to whom and in what prescribed way did he give it? Do thou tell me this. Surely, I consider the life of that virtuous person as having borne fruit with whose practices the possessor himself of the six attributes, witnessing everything, was well pleased."

"Vyasa said, 'There lived, O king, in Kurukshetra a virtuous man (sage), Mudgala by name. And he was truthful, and free from malice, and of subdued senses. And he used to lead the Sila and Unchha modes of life. [Picking up for support (1st) ears of corn and (2nd) individual grains, left on the field by husbandmen after they have gathered and carried away the sheaves, are called the Sila and the Unchha modes of life.] And although living like a pigeon, yet that one of mighty austerities entertained his guests, celebrated the sacrifice called Istikrita, and performed other rites. And that sage together with his son and wife, ate for a fortnight, and during the other fortnight led the life of a pigeon, collecting a drona of corn. And celebrating the Darsa and Paurnamasya sacrifices, that one devoid of guile, used to pass his days by taking the food that remained after the deities and the guests had eaten. And on auspicious lunar days, that lord of the three worlds, Indra himself, accompanied by the celestials used, O mighty monarch, to partake of the food offered at his sacrifice. And that one, having adopted the life of a Muni, with a cheerful heart entertained his guests also with food on such days. And as that high-souled one distributed his food with alacrity, the remainder of the drona of corn increased as soon as a guest appeared. And by virtue of the pure spirit in which the sage gave a way, that food of his increased so much that hundreds upon hundreds of learned Brahmanas were fed with it.

"And, O king, it came to pass that having heard of the virtuous Mudgala observant of vows, the Muni Durvasa, having space alone for his covering [naked], his accoutrements worn like that of maniac, and his head bare of hair, came there, uttering, O Pandava various insulting words. And having arrived there that best of Munis said unto the Brahmana. 'Know thou, O foremost of Brahmanas, that I have come hither seeking for food. Thereupon Mudgala said unto the sage, 'Thou art welcome!' And then offering to that maniac of an ascetic affected by hunger, water to wash his feet and mouth, that one observant of the vow of feeding guests, respectfully placed before him excellent fare. Affected by hunger, the frantic Rishi completely exhausted the food that had been offered unto him. Thereupon, Mudgala furnished him again with food. Then having eaten up all that food, he besmeared his body with the unclean orts and went away as he had come. In this manner, during the next season, he came again and ate up all the food supplied by that wise one leading the Unchha mode of life. Thereupon, without partaking any food himself, the sage Mudgala again became engaged in collecting corn, following the Unchha mode. Hunger could not disturb his equanimity. Nor could anger, nor guile, nor a sense of degradation, nor agitation, enter into the heart of that best of Brahmanas leading the Unchha mode of life along with his son and his wife. In this way, Durvasa having made up his mind, during successive seasons presented himself for six several times before that best of sages living according to the Unchha mode; yet that Muni could not perceive any agitation in Mudgala's heart; and he found the pure heart of the pure-souled ascetic always pure. Thereupon, well-pleased, the sage addressed Mudgala, saying, There is not another guileless and charitable being like thee on earth. The pangs of hunger drive away to a distance the sense of righteousness and deprive people of all patience. The tongue, loving delicacies, attracteth men towards them. Life is sustained by food. The mind, moreover, is fickle, and it is hard to keep it in subjection. The concentration of the mind and of the senses surely constitutes ascetic austerities. It must be hard to renounce in a pure spirit a thing earned by pains. Yet, O pious one, all this hath been duly achieved by thee. In thy company we feel obliged and gratified. Self-restraint, fortitude, justice, control of the senses and of faculties, mercy, and virtue, all these are established in thee. Thou hast by the deeds conquered the different worlds and have thereby obtained admission into paths of beautitude. Ah! even the dwellers of heaven are proclaiming thy mighty deeds of charity. O thou observant of vows, thou shalt go to heaven even in thine own body.

"Whilst the Muni Durvasa was speaking thus, a celestial messenger appeared before Mudgala, upon a car yoked with swans and cranes, hung with a neat work of bells, scented with divine fragrance, painted picturesquely, and possessed of the power of going everywhere at will. And he addressed the Brahmana sage, saying, 'O sage, do thou ascend into this chariot earned by thy acts. Thou hast attained the fruit of thy asceticism!'

"As the messenger of the gods was speaking thus, the sage told him, 'O divine messenger, I desire that thou mayst describe unto me the attributes of those that reside there. What are their austerities, and what their purposes? And, O messenger of the gods, what constitutes happiness in heaven, and what are the disadvantages thereof? It is declared by virtuous men of good lineage that friendship with pious people is contracted by only walking with them seven paces. O lord, in the name of that friendship I ask thee, 'Do thou without hesitation tell me the truth, and that which is good for me now. Having heard thee, I shall, according to thy words, ascertain the course I ought to follow.'"

SECTION 259

"The messenger of the gods said, 'O great sage, thou art of simple understanding; since, having secured that celestial bliss which bringeth great honour, thou art still deliberating like an unwise person. O Muni, that region which is known as heaven, existeth there above us. Those regions tower high, and are furnished with excellent paths, and are, O sage, always ranged by celestial cars. Atheists, and untruthful persons, those that have not practised ascetic austerities and those that have not performed great sacrifices, cannot repair thither. Only men of virtuous souls, and those of subdued spirits, and those that have their faculties in subjection, and those that have controlled their senses, and those that are free from malice, and persons intent on the practice of charity; and heroes, and men bearing marks of battle, after having, with subdued senses and faculties, performed the most meritorious rites, attain those regions, O Brahmana, capable of being obtained only by virtuous acts, and inhabited by pious men. There, O Mudgala, are established separately myriads of beautiful, shining, and resplendent worlds bestowing every object of desire, owned by those celestial beings, the gods, the Sadhyas, and the Vaiswas, the great sages, Yamas, and the Dharmas, and the Gandharvas and the Apsaras. And there is that monarch of mountains the golden Meru extending over a space of thirty-three thousand Yojanas. And there, O Mudgala, are the sacred gardens of the celestials, with Nandana at their head, where sport the persons of meritorious acts. And neither hunger, nor thirst, nor lassitude, nor fear, nor anything that is disgusting or inauspicious is there. And all the odours of that place are delightful, and all the breezes delicious to the touch. And all the sounds there are captivating, O sage, to the ear and the heart. And neither grief, nor decrepitude, nor labour, nor repentance also is there. That world, O Muni, obtained as the fruit of one's own acts, is of this nature. Persons repair thither by virtue of their

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meritorious deeds. And the persons of those that dwell there look resplendent, and this, O Mudgala, solely by virtue of their own acts, and not owing to the merits of father or mothers. And there is neither sweat, nor stench, nor urine there. And, there, O Muni, dust doth not soils one's garments. And their excellent garlands, redolent of divine fragrance, never fade. And, O Brahmana, they yoke such cars as this (that I have brought). And, O mighty sage, devoid of envy and grief and fatigue and ignorance and malice, men who have attained heaven, dwell in those regions happily. And, O bull among Munis, higher and higher over such regions there are others endued with higher celestial virtues. Of these, the beautiful and resplendent regions of Brahma are the foremost. Thither, O Brahmana, repair Rishis that have been sanctified by meritorious acts. And there dwell certain beings named Ribhus. They are the gods of the gods themselves. Their regions are supremely blessed, and are adored even by the deities. These shine by their own light, and bestow every object of desire. They suffer no pangs that women might cause, do not possess worldly wealth, and are free from guile. The Ribhus do not subsist on oblations, nor yet on ambrosia. And they are endued with such celestial forms that they cannot be perceived by the senses. And these eternal gods of the celestials do not desire happiness for happiness' sake, nor do they change at the revolution of a Kalpa. Where, indeed, is their decrepitude or dissolution? For them there is neither ecstasy, nor joy, nor happiness. They have neither happiness nor misery. Wherefore should they have anger or aversion then, O Muni? O Mudgala, their supreme state is coveted even by the gods. And that crowning emancipation, hard to attain, can never be acquired by people subject to desire. The number of those deities is thirty-three. To their regions repair wise men, after having observed excellent vows, or bestowed gifts according to the ordinance. Thou also hast easily acquired that success by thy charities. Do thou, by effulgence displayed by virtue of thy ascetic austerities, enjoy that condition obtained by thy meritorious acts. Such, O Brahmana, is the bliss of heaven containing various worlds.

"Thus have I described unto thee the blessing of the celestial regions. Do thou now hear from me some of the disadvantages thereof. That in the celestial regions a person, while reaping the fruit of the acts he hath already performed, cannot be engaged in any others, and that he must enjoy the consequences of the former until they are completely exhausted, and, further, that he is subject to fall after he hath entirely exhausted his merit, form, in my opinion, the disadvantages of heaven. The fall of a person whose mind hath been steeped in happiness, must, O Mudgala, be pronounced as a fault. And the discontent and regret that must follow one's stay at an inferior seat after one hath enjoyed more auspicious and brighter regions, must be hard to bear. And the consciousness of those about to fall is stupefied, and also agitated by emotions. And as the garlands of those about to fall fade away, fear invadeth their hearts. These mighty drawbacks, O Mudgala, extend even to the regions of Brahma. In the celestial regions, the virtues of men who have performed righteous acts, are countless. And, O Muni, this is another of the attributes of the fallen that, by reason of their merits, they take birth among men. And then they attain to high fortune and happiness. If one, however, cannot acquire knowledge here, one cometh by an inferior birth. The fruits of acts done in this world are reaped in the next. This world, O Brahmana, hath been declared to be one of acts; the others, as one of fruit. Thus have I, O Mudgala, asked by thee, described all unto thee. Now, O pious one, with thy favour, we shall easily set out with speed.'

"Vyasa continued, 'Having heard this speech, Mudgala began to reflect in his mind. And having deliberated well, that best of Munis spake thus unto the celestial messenger, 'O messenger of the gods, I bow unto thee. Do thou, O sire, depart in peace. I have nothing to do with either happiness, or heaven having such prominent defects. Persons who enjoy heaven suffer, after all, huge misery and extreme regret in this world. Therefore, I do not desire heaven. I shall seek for that unfailing region repairing whither people have not to lament, or to be pained, or agitated. Thou hast described unto me these great defects belonging to the celestial regions. Do thou now describe unto me a region free from faults.' Thereupon the celestial messenger said, 'Above the abode of Brahma, there is the supreme seat of Vishnu, pure, and eternal, and luminous known by the name of Para Brahma. Thither, O Brahmana, cannot repair persons who are attached to the objects of the senses: nor can those subject to arrogance, covetousness, ignorance, anger, and envy, go to that place. It is only those that are free from affection, and those free from pride, and those free from conflicting emotions, and those that have restrained their senses, and those given to contemplation and Yoga, that can repair thither.' Having heard these words, the Muni bade farewell to the celestial messenger, and that virtuous one leading the Unchha mode of life, assumed perfect contentment. And then praise and dispraise became equal unto him; and a brickbat, stone, and gold assumed the same aspect in his eyes. And availing himself of the means of attaining Brahma, he became always engaged in meditation. And having obtained power by means of knowledge, and acquired excellent understanding, he attained that supreme state of emancipation which is regarded as Eternal. Therefore, thou also, O Kunti's son, ought not to grieve. Deprived thou hast truly been of a flourishing kingdom, but thou wilt regain it by thy ascetic austerities. Misery after happiness, and happiness after misery, revolve by turns round a man even like the point of a wheel's circumference round the axle. After the thirteenth year hath passed away, thou wilt, O thou of immeasurable might, get back the kingdom possessed before thee by thy father and grand-father. Therefore, let the fever of thy heart depart!'"

Vaisampayana continued "Having said this to Pandu's son, the worshipful Vyasa went back to his hermitage for the purpose of performing austerities."

SECTION 260

Janamejaya said, "While the high-souled Pandavas were living in those woods, delighted with the pleasant conversation they held with the Munis, and engaged in distributing the food they obtained from the sun, with various kinds of venison to Brahmanas and others that came to them for edibles till the hour of Krishna's meal, how, O great Muni, did Duryodhana and the other wicked and sinful sons of Dhritarashtra, guided by the counsels of Dussasana, Karna and Sakuni, deal with them? I ask thee this. Do thou, worshipful Sir, enlighten me."

Vaisampayana said, "When, O great king, Duryodhana heard that the Pandavas were living as happily in the woods as in a city, he longed, with the artful Karna, Dussasana and others, to do them harm. And while those evil-minded persons were employed in concerting various wicked designs, the virtuous and celebrated ascetic Durvasa, following the bent of his own will, arrived at the city of the Kurus with ten thousand disciples. And seeing the irascible ascetic arrived, Duryodhana and his brothers welcomed him with great humility, self-abasement and gentleness. And himself attending on the Rishi as a menial, the prince gave him a right worshipful reception. And the illustrious Muni stayed there for a few days, while king Duryodhana, watchful of his imprecations, attended on him diligently by day and night. And sometimes the Muni would say, 'I am hungry, O king, give me some food quickly.' And sometimes he would go out for a bath and, returning at a late hour, would say, 'I shall not eat anything today as I have no appetite,' and so saying would disappear from his sight. And sometimes, coming all on a sudden, he would say, 'Feed us quickly.' And at other times, bent on some mischief, he would awake at midnight and having caused his meals to be prepared as before, would carp at them and not partake of them at all. And trying the prince in this way for a while, when the Muni found that the king Duryodhana was neither angered, nor annoyed, he became graciously inclined towards him. And then, O Bharata, the intractable Durvasa said unto him, 'I have power to grant thee boons. Thou mayst ask of me whatever lies nearest to thy heart. May good fortune be thine. Pleased as I am with thee, thou mayst obtain from me anything that is not opposed to religion and morals.'

Vaisampayana continued, "Hearing these words of the great ascetic, Suyodhana felt himself to be inspired with new life. Indeed, it had been agreed upon between himself and Karna and Dussasana as to what the boon should be that he would ask of the Muni if the latter were pleased with his reception. And the evil-minded king, bethinking himself of what had previously been decided, joyfully solicited the following favour, saying, 'The great king Yudhishthira is the eldest and the best of our race. That pious man is now living in the forest with his brothers. Do thou, therefore, once become the guest of that illustrious one even as, O Brahmana, thou hast with thy disciples been mine for some time. If thou art minded to do me a favour, do thou go unto him at a time when that delicate and excellent lady, the celebrated princess of Panchala, after having regaled with food the Brahmanas, her husbands and herself, may lie down to rest.' The Rishi replied, 'Even so shall I act for thy satisfaction.' And having said this to Suyodhana, that great Brahmana, Durvasa, went away in the very same state in which he had come. And Suyodhana regarded himself to have attained all the objects of his desire. And holding Karna by the hand he expressed great satisfaction. And Karna, too, joyfully addressed the king in the company of his brothers, saying, 'By a piece of singular good luck, thou hast fared well and attained the objects of thy desire. And by good luck it is that thy enemies have been immersed in a sea of dangers that is difficult to cross. The sons of Pandu are now exposed to the fire of Durvasa's wrath. Through their own fault they have fallen into an abyss of darkness.'"

Vaisampayana continued, "O king, expressing their satisfaction in this strain, Duryodhana and others, bent on evil machinations, returned merrily to their respective homes."

SECTION 261

(Draupadi-harana Parva)

Vaisampayana said, "One day, having previously ascertained that the Pandavas were all seated at their ease and that Krishna was reposing herself after her meal, the sage Durvasa, surrounded by ten thousand disciples repaired to that forest. The illustrious and upright king Yudhishthira, seeing that guest arrived, advanced with his mothers to receive him. And joining the palms of his hands and pointing to a proper and excellent seat, he accorded the Rishis a fit and respectful welcome. And the king said unto him, 'Return quick, O adorable sir, after performing thy diurnal ablutions and observances.' And that sinless Muni, not knowing how the king would be able to provide a feast for him and his disciples, proceeded with the latter to perform his ablutions. And that host of the Muni, of subdued passions, went into the stream for performing their ablutions. Meanwhile, O king, the excellent princess Draupadi, devoted to her husbands, was in great anxiety about the food (to be provided for the Munis). And when after much anxious thought she came to the conclusion that means there were none for providing a feast, she inwardly prayed to Krishna, the slayer of Kansa. And the princess said, 'Krishna, O Krishna, of mighty arms, O son of Devaki, whose power is inexhaustible, O Vasudeva, O lord of the Universe, who dispellest the difficulties of those that bow down to thee, thou art the soul, the creator and the destroyer of the Universe. Thou, O lord, art inexhaustible and the saviour of the afflicted. Thou art the preserver of the Universe and of all created beings. Thou art the highest of the high, and the spring of the mental perceptions Akuli and Chiti! [unknown words; perhaps faculties of knowledge or moralily.] O Supreme and Infinite Being, O giver of all good, be thou the refuge of the helpless. O Primordial Being, incapable of being conceived by the soul or the mental faculties or otherwise, thou art the ruler of all and the lord of Brahma. I seek thy protection. O god, thou art ever kindly disposed towards those that take refuge in thee. Do thou cherish me with thy kindness. O thou with a complexion dark as the leaves of the blue lotus, and with eyes red as the corolla of the lily, and attired in yellow robes with, besides, the bright Kaustubha gem in thy bosom, thou art the beginning and the end of creation, and the great refuge of all. Thou art the supreme light and essence of the Universe! Thy face is directed towards every point. They call thee Supreme Germ and the depository of all treasures. Under thy protections, O lord of the gods, all evils lose their terror. As thou didst protect me before from Dussasana, do thou extricate me now from this difficulty."

Vaisampayana continued, "The great and sovereign God, and Lord of the earth, of mysterious movements, the lord Kesava who is ever kind to the dependents, thou adored by Krishna, and perceiving her difficulty, instantly repaired to that place leaving the bed of Rukmini who was sleeping by his side. Beholding Vasudeva, Draupadi bowed down to him in great joy and informed him of the arrival of the Munis and every other thing. And having heard everything Krishna said unto her, 'I am very much afflicted with hunger, do thou give me some food without delay, and then thou mayst go about thy work.' At these words of Kesava, Krishna became confused, and replied unto him, saying, 'The sun-given vessel remains full till I finish my meal. But as I have already taken my meal today, there is no food in it now. Then that lotus-eyed and adorable being said unto Krishna, 'This is no time for jest, O Krishna.--I am much distressed with hunger, go thou quickly to fetch the vessel and show it to me.' When Kesava, that ornament of the Yadu's race, had the vessel brought unto him,--with such persistence, he looked into it and saw a particle of rice and vegetable sticking at its rim. And swallowing it he said unto her, 'May it please the god Hari, the soul of the Universe, and may that god who partaketh at sacrifices, be satiated with this.' Then the long-armed Krishna, that soother of miseries, said unto Bhimasena, 'Do thou speedily invite the Munis to dinner. Then, O good king, the celebrated Bhimasena quickly went to invite all those Munis, Durvasa and others, who had gone to the nearest stream of transparent and cool water to perform their ablutions. Meanwhile, these ascetics, having plunged into the river, were rubbing their bodies and observing that they all felt their stomachs to be full. And coming out of the stream, they began to stare at one another. And turning towards Durvasa, all those ascetics observed, 'Having bade the king make our meals ready, we have come hither for a bath. But how, O regenerate Rishi, can we eat anything now, for our stomachs seem to be full to the throat. The repast hath been uselessly prepared for us. What is the best thing to be done now?' Durvasa replied, 'By spoiling the repast, we have done a great wrong to that royal sage, king Yudhishthira. Would not the Pandavas destroy us by looking down upon us with angry eyes? I know the royal sage Yudhishthira to be possessed of great ascetic power. Ye Brahmanas, I am afraid of men that are devoted to Hari. The high-souled Pandavas are all religious men, learned, war-like, diligent in ascetic austerities and religious observances, devoted to Vasudeva, and always observant of rules of good conduct. If provoked,

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they can consume us with their wrath as fire doth a bale of cotton. Therefore, ye disciples, do ye all run away quickly without seeing them (again)!'"

Vaisampayana continued, "All those Brahmanas, thus advised by their ascetic preceptor, became greatly afraid of the Pandavas and fled away in all directions. Then Bhimasena not beholding those excellent Munis in the celestial river, made a search after them here and there at all the landing places. And learning from the ascetics of those places that they had run away, he came back and informed Yudhishthira of what had happened. Then all the Pandavas of subdued senses, expecting them to come, remained awaiting their arrival for some time. And Yudhishthira said, 'Coming dead of night the Rishis will deceive us. Oh how, can we escape from this difficulty created by the facts?' Seeing them absorbed in such reflections and breathing long deep sighs at frequent intervals, the illustrious Krishna suddenly appeared to them and addressed them these words: 'Knowing, ye sons of Pritha, your danger from that wrathful Rishi, I was implored by Draupadi to come, and (therefore) have I come here speedily. But now ye have not the least fear from the Rishi Durvasa. Afraid of your ascetic powers, he hath made himself scarce ere this. Virtuous men never suffer. I now ask your permission to let me return home. May you always be prosperous!'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Hearing Kesava's words, the sons of Pritha, with Draupadi, became easy in mind. And cured of their fever (of anxiety), they said unto him, 'As persons drowning in the wide ocean safely reach the shore by means of a boat, so have we, by thy aid, O lord Govinda, escaped from this inextricable difficulty. Do thou now depart in peace, and may prosperity be thine.' Thus dismissed, he repaired to his capital and the Pandavas too, O blessed lord, wandering from forest to forest passed their days merrily with Draupadi. Thus, O king, have I related to thee the story which thou askedest me to repeat. And it was thus that the machinations of the wicked sons of Dhritarashtra about the Pandavas in the forest, were frustrated."

SECTION 262

Vaisampayana said, "These great warriors of the race of Bharata sojourned like immortals in the great forest of Kamyaka, employed in hunting and pleased with the sight of numerous wild tracts of country and wide reaches of woodland, gorgeous with flowers blossoming in season. And the sons of Pandu, each like unto Indra and the terror of his enemies, dwelt there for some time. And one day those valiant men, the conquerors of their foes, went about in all directions in search of game for feeding the Brahmanas in their company, leaving Draupadi alone at the hermitage, with the permission of the great ascetic Trinavindu, resplendent with ascetic grandeur, and of their spiritual guide Dhaumya. Meanwhile, the famous king of Sindhu, the son of Vriddhakshatra was, with a view to matrimony, proceeding to the kingdom of Salwa, dressed in his best royal apparel and accompanied by numerous princes. And the prince halted in the woods of Kamyaka. And in that secluded place, he found the beautiful Draupadi, the beloved and celebrated wife of the Pandavas, standing at the threshold of the hermitage. And she looked grand in the superb beauty of her form, and seemed to shed a lustre on the woodland around, like lightning illuminating masses of dark clouds. And they who saw her asked themselves, 'Is this an Apsara, or a daughter of the gods, or a celestial phantom?' And with this thought, their hands also joined together. They stood gazing on the perfect and faultless beauty of her form. And Jayadratha, the king of Sindhu, and the son of Vriddhakshatra, struck with amazement at the sight of that lady of faultless beauty, was seized with an evil intention. And inflamed with desire, he said to the prince named Kotika, 'Whose is this lady of faultless form? Is she of the human kind? I have no need to marry if I can secure this exquisitely beautiful creature. Taking her with me, I shall go back to my abode, Oh sir, and enquire who she is and whence she has come and why also that delicate being hath come into this forest beset with thorns. Will this ornament of womankind, this slender-waisted lady of so much beauty, endued with handsome teeth and large eyes, accept me as her lord? I shall certainly regard myself successful, if I obtain the hand of this excellent lady. Go, Kotika, and enquire who her husband may be.' Thus asked, Kotika, wearing a kundala, jumped out of his chariot and came near her, as a jackal approacheth a tigress, and spake unto her these words.'"

SECTION 263

Kotika said, "Excellent lady, who art thou that standest alone, leaning on a branch of the Kadamva tree at this hermitage and looking grand like a flame of fire blazing at night time, and fanned by the wind? Exquisitely beautiful as thou art, how is it that thou feelest not any fear in these forests? Methinks thou art a goddess, or a Yakshi, or a Danavi, or an excellent Apsara, or the wife of a Daitya, or a daughter of the Naga king, or a Rakshasi or the wife of Varuna, or of Yama, or of Soma, or of Kuvera, who, having assumed a human form, wanderest in these forests. Or, hast thou come from the mansions of Dhatri, or of Vidhatri, or of Savitri, or of Vibhu, or of Sakra? Thou dost not ask us who we are, nor do we know who protects thee here! Respectfully do we ask thee, good lady, who is thy powerful father, and, O, do tell us truly the names of thy husband, thy relatives, and thy race, and tell us also what thou dost here. As for us, I am king Suratha's son whom people know by the name of Kotika, and that man with eyes large as the petals of the lotus, sitting on a chariot of gold, like the sacrificial fire on the altar, is the warrior known by the name of Kshemankara, king of Trigarta. And behind him is the famous son of the king of Pulinda, who is even now gazing on thee. Armed with a mighty bow and endued with large eyes, and decorated with floral wreaths, he always liveth on the breasts of mountains. The dark and handsome young man, the scourge of his enemies, standing at the edge of that tank, is the son of Suvala of the race of Ikshwaku. And if, O excellent lady, thou hast ever heard the name of Jayadratha, the king of Sauviras, even he is there at the head of six thousand chariots, with horses and elephants and infantry, and followed by twelve Sauvira princes as his standard-bearers, named Angaraka, Kunjara, Guptaka, Satrunjaya, Srinjaya, Suprabiddha, Prabhankara, Bhramara, Ravi, Sura, Pratapa and Kuhana, all mounted on chariots drawn by chestnut horses and every one of them looking like the fire on the sacrificial altar. The brothers also of the king, viz., the powerful Valahaka, Anika, Vidarana and others, are among his followers. These strong-limbed and noble youths are the flowers of the Sauvira chivalry. The king is journeying in the company of these his friends, like Indra surrounded by the Maruts. O fine-haired lady, do tell us that are unacquainted (with these matters), whose wife and whose daughter thou art."

SECTION 264

Vaisampayana continued, "The princess Draupadi, thus questioned by that ornament of Sivi's race, moved her eyes gently, and letting go her hold of the Kadamva blanch and arranging her silken apparel she said, I am aware, O prince, that it is not proper for a person like me to address you thus, but as there is not another man or woman here to speak with thee and as I am alone here just now, let me, therefore, speak. Know, worthy sir, that being alone in this forest here, I should not speak unto thee, remembering the usages of my sex. I have learned, O Saivya, that thou art Suratha's son, whom people know by the name of Kotika. Therefore, on my part, I shall now tell thee of my relations and renowned race. I am the daughter of king Drupada, and people know me by the name of Krishna, and I have accepted as my husbands, five persons of whom you may have heard while they were living at Kahandavaprastha. Those noble persons, viz., Yudhishthira, Bhimasena, Arjuna, and the two sons of Madri, leaving me here and having assigned unto themselves the four points of the horizon, have gone out on a hunting excursion. The king hath gone to the east, Bhimasena towards the south, Arjuna to the west, and the twin brothers towards the north! Therefore, do ye now alight and dismiss your carriages so that ye may depart after receiving a due welcome from them. The high-souled son of Dharma is fond of guests and will surely be delighted to see you!' Having addressed Saivya's son in this way, the daughter of Drupada, with face beautiful as the moon, remembering well her husband's character for hospitality, entered her spacious cottage."

SECTION 265

Vaisampayana said, "O Bharata, Kotikakhya related to those princes who had been waiting, all that had passed between him and Krishna. And hearing Kotikakhya's words, Jayadratha said to that scion of the race of Sivi, 'Having listened only to her speech, my heart has been lovingly inclined towards that ornament of womankind. Why therefore, hast thou returned (thus unsuccessful)? I tell thee truly, O thou of mighty arms, that having once seen this lady, other women now seem to me like so many monkeys. I having looked at her, she has captivated my heart. Do tell me, O Saivya, if that excellent lady is of the human kind.' Kotika replied, 'This lady is the famous princess Krishna, the daughter of Drupada, and the celebrated wife of the five sons of Pandu. She is the much esteemed and beloved and chaste wife of the sons of Pritha. Taking her with thee, do thou proceed towards Sauvira!'"

Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed, the evil-minded Jayadratha, the king of Sindhu, Sauvira and other countries, said, 'I must see Draupadi.' And with six other men he entered that solitary hermitage, like a wolf entering the den of a lion. And he said unto Krishna, 'Hail to thee, excellent lady! Are thy husbands well and those, besides, whose prosperity thou always wishest.' Draupadi replied, 'Kunti's son king Yudhishthira of the race of Kuru, his brothers, myself, and all those of whom thou hast enquired of, are well. Is everything right with thy kingdom, thy government, exchequer, and thy army? Art thou, as sole ruler, governing with justice the rich countries of Saivya, Sivi, Sindhu and others that thou hast brought under thy sway? Do thou, O prince, accept this water for washing thy feet. Do thou also take this seat. I offer thee fifty animals for thy train's breakfast. Besides these, Yudhishthira himself, the son of Kunti, will give thee porcine deer and Nanku deer, and does, and antelopes, and Sarabhas, and rabbits, and Ruru deer, and bears, and Samvara deer and gayals and many other animals, besides wild boars and buffaloes and other animals of the quadruped tribe.' Hearing this Jayadratha replied, saying, 'All is well with me. By offering to provide our breakfast, thou hast in a manner actually done it. Come now and ride my chariot and be completely happy. For it becomes not thee to have any regard for the miserable sons of Pritha who are living in the woods, whose energies have been paralysed, whose kingdom hath been snatched and whose fortunes are at the lowest ebb. A woman of sense like thee doth not attach herself to a husband that is poor. She should follow her lord when he is in prosperity but abandon him when in adversity. The sons of Pandu have for ever fallen away from their high state, and have lost their kingdom for all time to come. Thou hast no need, therefore, to partake of their misery from any regard for them. Therefore, O thou of beautiful hips, forsaking the sons of Pandu, be happy by becoming my wife, and share thou with me the kingdoms of Sindhu and Sauvira.'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Hearing these frightful words of the king of Sindhu, Krishna retired from that place, her face furrowed into a frown owing to the contraction of her eye-brows. But disregarding his words from supreme contempt, the slender-waisted Krishna reproving said unto the king of Sindhu, 'Speak not thus again! Art thou not ashamed? Be on thy guard!' And that lady of irreproachable character anxiously expecting the return of her husband, began, with long speeches, to beguile him completely."

SECTION 266

Vaisampayana said, "The daughter of Drupada, though naturally handsome, was suffused with crimson arising from a fit of anger. And with eyes inflamed and eye-brows bent in wrath, she reproved the ruler of the Suviras, saying, 'Art thou not ashamed, O fool, to use such insulting words in respect of those celebrated and terrible warriors, each like unto Indra himself, and who are all devoted to their duties and who never waver in fight with even hosts of Yakshas and Rakshasas? O Sauvira, good men never speak ill of learned persons devoted to austerities and endued with learning, no matter whether they live in the wilderness or in houses. It is only wretches that are mean as thou who do so. Methinks there is none in this assemblage of Kshatriya, who is capable of holding thee by the hand to save thee from falling into the pit thou openest under thy feet. In hoping to vanquish king Yudhishthira the Just, thou really hopest to separate, stick in hand, from a herd roaming in Himalayan valleys, its leader, huge as a mountain peak and with the temporal juice trickling down its rent temples. Out of childish folly thou art kicking up into wakefulness the powerful lion lying asleep, in order to pluck the hair from off his face! Thou shalt, however, have to run away when thou seest Bhimasena in wrath! Thy courting a combat with the furious Jishnu may be likened to thy kicking up a mighty, terrible, full-grown and furious lion asleep in a mountain cave. The encounter thou speakest of with those two excellent youths--the younger Pandavas--is like unto the act of a fool that wantonly trampleth on the tails of two venomous black cobras with bifurcated tongues. The bamboo, the reed, and the plantain bear fruit only to perish and not to grow in size any further. Like also the crab that conceiveth for her own destruction, thou wilt lay hands upon me who am protected by these mighty heroes!' Jayadratha replied, 'I know all this, O Krishna, and I am well aware of the prowess of those princes. But thou canst not frighten us now with these threats. We, too, O Krishna, belong by birth to the seventeen high clans, and are endowed with the six royal qualities. [The six acts of a king are peace, war, marching, halting, sowing dissention, and seeking protection.] We, therefore, look down upon the Pandavas as inferior men! Therefore, do thou, O daughter of Drupada, ride this elephant or this chariot quickly, for thou canst not baffle us with thy words alone; or, speaking less boastfully, seek thou the mercy of the king of the Sauviras!'

Draupadi replied, "Though I am so powerful, why doth the king of Sauvira yet consider me so powerless. Well-known as I am, I cannot, from fear of violence, demean myself before that prince. Even Indra himself cannot abduct her for whose protection Krishna and Arjuna would together follow, riding in the same chariot. What shall I say, therefore, of a weak human being. When Kiriti, that slayer of foes, riding on his car, will, on my account, enter thy ranks, striking terror into every heart, he will consume everything around like fire consuming a stack of dry grass in summer. The warring princes of the Andhaka and the Vrishni races, with Janardana at their head, and the mighty bowmen of the Kaikeya tribe, will all follow in my wake with great ardour. The terrible arrows of Dhananjaya, shot from the string of the Gandiva and propelled by his arms fly with great force through the air, roaring like the very clouds. And when thou wilt behold Arjuna shooting from the Gandiva a thick mass of mighty arrows like unto a flight of locusts, then wilt thou repent of thine own folly! Bethink thyself of what thou wilt feel when

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that warrior armed with the Gandiva, blowing his conch-shell and with gloves reverberating with the strokes of his bowstring will again and again pierce thy breast with his shafts. And when Bhima will advance towards thee, mace in hand and the two sons of Madri range in all directions, vomiting forth the venom of their wrath, thou wilt then experience pangs of keen regret that will last for ever. As I have never been false to my worthy lords even in thought, so by that merit shall I now have the pleasure of beholding thee vanquished and dragged by the sons of Pritha. Thou canst not, cruel as thou art, frighten me by seizing me with violence, for as soon as those Kuru warriors will espy me they will bring me back to the woods of Kamyaka.'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Then that lady of large eyes, beholding them ready to lay violent hands on her, rebuked them and said, 'Defile me not by your touch!' And in a great alarm she then called upon her spiritual adviser, Dhaumya. Jayadratha, however, seized her by her upper garment, but she pushed him with great vigour. And pushed by the lady, that sinful wretch fell upon the ground like a tree severed from its roots. Seized, however, once more by him with great violence, she began to pant for breath. And dragged by the wretch, Krishna at last ascended his chariot having worshipped Dhaumya's feet. And Dhaumya then addressed Jayadratha and said, 'Do thou, O Jayadratha, observe the ancient custom of the Kshatriyas. Thou canst not carry her off without having vanquished those great warriors. Without doubt, thou shalt reap the painful fruits of this thy despicable act, when thou encounterest the heroic sons of Pandu with Yudhishthira the Just at their head!'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Having said these words Dhaumya, entering into the midst of Jayadratha's infantry, began to follow that renowned princess who was thus being carried away by the ravisher."

SECTION 267

Vaisampayana said, "Meanwhile those foremost of bowmen on the face of the earth, having wandered separately and ranged in all directions, and having slain plenty of deer and buffaloes, at length met together. And observing that great forest, which was crowded with hosts of deer and wild beasts, resounding with the shrill cries of birds, and hearing the shrieks and yells of the denizens of the wilderness. Yudhishthira said unto his brothers. 'These birds and wild beasts, flying towards that direction which is illuminated by the sun, are uttering dissonant cries and displaying an intense excitement. All this only shows that this mighty forest hath been invaded by hostile intruders. Without a moment's delay let us give up the chase. We have no more need of game. My heart aches and seems to burn! The soul in my body, over-powering the intellect, seems ready to fly out. As a lake rid by Garuda of the mighty snake that dwells in it, as a pot drained of its contents by thirsty men, as a kingdom reft of king and prosperity, even so doth the forest of Kamyaka seem to me.' Thus addressed, those heroic warriors drove towards their abode, on great cars of handsome make and drawn by steeds of the Saindharva breed exceedingly fleet and possessed of the speed of the hurricane. And on their way back, they beheld a jackal yelling hideously on the wayside towards their left. And king Yudhishthira, regarding it attentively, said unto Bhima and Dhananjaya, 'This jackal that belongs to a very inferior species of animals, speaking to our left, speaketh a language which plainly indicates that the sinful Kurus, disregarding us, have commenced to oppress us by resorting to violence.' After the sons of Pandu had given up the chase and said these words, they entered the grove which contained their hermitage. And there they found their beloved one's maid, the girl Dhatreyika, sobbing and weeping. And Indrasena then quickly alighting from the chariot and advancing with hasty steps towards her, questioned her, O king, in great distress of mind, saying, 'What makes thee weep thus, lying on the ground, and why is thy face so woe-begone and colourless? I hope no cruel wretches have done any harm to the princess Draupadi possessed of incomparable beauty and large eyes and who is the second self of every one of those bulls of the Kuru race? So anxious hath been Dharma's son that if the princess hath entered the bowels of the earth or hath soared to heaven or dived into the bottom of the ocean, he and his brothers will go thither in pursuit of her.

Who could that fool be that would carry away that priceless jewel belonging to the mighty and ever-victorious sons of Pandu, those grinders of foes, and which is dear unto them as their own lives? I don't know who the person could be that would think of carrying away that princess who hath such powerful protectors and who is even like a walking embodiment of the hearts of the sons of Pandu? Piercing whose breasts will terrible shafts stick to the ground to-day? Do not weep for her, O timid girl, for know thou that Krishna will come back this very day, and the sons of Pritha, having slain their foes, will again be united with Yagnaseni!' Thus addressed by him, Dhatreyika, wiping her beautiful face, replied unto Indrasena the charioteer, saying, 'Disregarding the five Indra-like sons of Pandu, Jayadratha hath carried away Krishna by force. The track pursued by him hath not yet disappeared, for the broken branches of trees have not yet faded. Therefore, turn your cars and follow her quickly, for the princess cannot have gone far by this time! Ye warriors possessed of the prowess of Indra, putting on your costly bows of handsome make, and taking up your costly bows and quivers, speed ye in pursuit of her, lest overpowered by threats or violence and losing her sense and the colour of her cheeks, she yields herself up to an undeserving wight, even as one poureth forth, from the sacrificial ladle, the sanctified oblation on a heap of ashes. O, see that the clarified butter is not poured into an unigniting fire of paddy chaff; that a garland of flowers is not thrown away in a cemetery. O, take care that the Soma juice of a sacrifice is not licked up by a dog through the carelessness of the officiating priests! O, let not the lily be rudely torn by a jackal roaming for its prey in the impenetrable forest. O, let no inferior wight touch with his lips the bright and beautiful face of your wife, fair as the beams of the moon and adorned with the finest nose and the handsomest eyes, like a dog licking clarified butter kept in the sacrificial pot! Do ye speed in this track and let not time steal a march on you.'

Yudhishthira said, 'Retire, good woman, and control thy tongue. Speak not this way before us. Kings or princes, whoever are infatuated with the possession of power, are sure to come to grief!'"

Vaisampayana continued, "With these words, they departed, following the track pointed out to them, and frequently breathing deep sighs like the hissing of snakes, and twanging the strings of their large bows. And then they observed a cloud of dust raised by the hoofs of the steeds belonging to Jayadratha's army. And they also saw Dhaumya in the midst of the ravisher's infantry, exhorting Bhima to quicken his steps. Then those princes (the sons of Pandu) with hearts undepressed, bade him be of good cheer and said unto him, 'Do thou return cheerfully!'--And then they rushed towards that host with great fury, like hawks swooping down on their prey. And possessed of the prowess of Indra, they had been filled with fury at the insult offered to Draupadi. But at sight of Jayadratha and of their beloved wife seated on his car, their fury knew no bounds. And those mighty bowmen, Bhima and Dhananjaya and the twin brothers and the king, called out Jayadratha to stop, upon which the enemy was so bewildered as to lose their knowledge of directions."

SECTION 268

Vaisampayana said, "The hostile Kshatriyas, incensed at sight of Bhimasena and Arjuna, sent up a loud shout in the forest. And the wicked king Jayadratha, when he saw the standards of those bulls of the Kuru race, lost his heart, and addressing the resplendent Yagnaseni seated on his car, said, 'Those five great warriors, O Krishna, that are coming, are I believe, thy husbands. As thou knowest the sons of Pandu well, do thou, O lady of beautiful tresses, describe them one by one to us, pointing out which of them rideth which car!' Thus addressed, Draupadi replied, 'Having done this violent deed calculated to shorten thy life, what will it avail thee now, O fool, to know the names of those great warriors, for, now that my heroic husbands are come, not one of ye will be left alive in battle. However as thou art on the point of death and hast asked me, I will tell thee everything, this being consistent with the ordinance. Beholding king Yudhishthira the Just with his younger brothers, I have not the slighest anxiety or fear from thee! That warrior at the top of whose flagstaff two handsome and sonorous tabours called Nanda and Upananda are constantly played upon,--he, O Sauvira chief, hath a correct knowledge of the morality of his own acts. Men that have attained success always walk in his train. With a complexion like that of pure gold, possessed of a prominent nose and large eyes, and endued with a slender make, that husband of mine is known among people by the name of Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma and the foremost of the Kuru race. That virtuous prince of men granteth life to even a foe that yields. Therefore, O fool, throwing down thy arms and joining thy hands, run to him for thy good, to seek his protection. And that other man whom thou seest with long arms and tall as the full-grown Sala tree, seated on his chariot, biting his lips, and contracting his forehead so as to bring the two eye-brows together, is he,--my husband Vrikodara! Steeds of the noblest breed, plump and strong, well-trained and endued with great might, draw the cars of that warrior! His achievements are superhuman. He is known, therefore, by the name of Bhima on earth. They that offend him are never suffered to live. He never forgetteth a foe. On some pretext or other he wreckeths his vengeance. Nor is he pacified even after he has wrecked a signal vengeance. And there, that foremost of bowmen, endued with intelligence and renown, with senses under complete control and reverence for the old--that brother and disciple of Yudhishthira--is my husband Dhananjaya! Virtue he never forsaketh, from lust or fear or anger! Nor doth he ever commit a deed that is cruel. Endued with the energy of fire and capable of withstanding every foe, that grinder of enemies is the son of Kunti. And that other youth, versed in every question of morality and profit, who ever dispelleth the fears of the affrighted, who is endued with high wisdom, who is considered as the handsomest person in the whole world and who is protected by all the sons of Pandu, being regarded by them as dearer to them than their own lives for his unflinching devotion to them, is my husband Nakula possessed of great prowess. Endued with high wisdom and having Sahadeva for his second, possessed of exceeding lightness of hand, he fighteth with the sword, making dexterous passes therewith. Thou, foolish man, shall witness today his performances on the field of battle, like unto those of Indra amid the ranks of Daityas! And that hero skilled in weapons and possessed of intelligence and wisdom, and intent on doing what is agreeable to the son of Dharma, that favourite and youngest born of the Pandavas, is my husband Sahadeva! Heroic, intelligent, wise and ever wrathful there is not another man equal unto him in intelligence or in eloquence amid assemblies of the wise. Dearer to Kunti than her own soul, he is always mindful of the duties of Kshatriyas, and would much sooner rush into fire or sacrifice his own life than say anything that is opposed to religion and morals. When the sons of Pandu will have killed thy warriors in battle, then wilt thou behold thy army in the miserable plight of a ship on the sea wrecked with its freight of jewels on the back of a whale. Thus have I described unto thee the prowess of the sons of Pandu, disregarding whom in thy foolishness, thou hast acted so. If thou escapest unscathed from them, then, indeed thou wilt have obtained a new lease of life.'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Then those five sons of Pritha, each like unto Indra, filled with wrath, leaving the panic-stricken infantry alone who were imploring them for mercy, rushed furiously upon the charioteers, attacking them on all sides and darkening the very air with the thick shower of arrows they shot."

SECTION 269

Vaisampayana said, "Meanwhile, the king of Sindhu was giving orders to those princes, saying, 'Halt, strike, march, quick', and like. And on seeing Bhima, Arjuna and the twin brothers with Yudhishthira, the soldiers sent up a loud shout on the field of battle. And the warriors of the Sivi, Sauvira and Sindhu tribes, at the sight of those powerful heroes looking like fierce tigers, lost heart. And Bhimasena, armed with a mace entirely of Saikya iron and embossed with gold, rushed towards the Saindhava monarch doomed to death. But Kotikakhya, speedily surrounding Vrikodara with an array of mighty charioteers, interposed between and separated the combatants. And Bhima, though assailed with numberless spears and clubs and iron arrows hurled at him by the strong arms of hostile heroes, did not waver for one moment. On the other hand, he killed, with his mace, an elephant with its driver and fourteen foot-soldiers fighting in the front of Jayadratha's car. And Arjuna also, desirous of capturing the Sauvira king, slew five hundred brave mountaineers fighting in the van of the Sindhu army. And in that encounter, the king himself slew in the twinkling of an eye, a hundred of the best warriors of the Sauviras. And Nakula too, sword in hand, jumping out of his chariot, scattered in a moment, like a tiller sowing seeds, the heads of the combatants fighting in the rear. And Sahadeva from his chariot began to fell with his iron shafts, many warriors fighting on elephants, like birds dropped from the boughs of a tree. Then the king of Trigartas, bow in hand descending from his great chariot, killed the four steeds of the king with his mace. But Kunti's son, king Yudhishthira the Just, seeing the foe approach so near, and fighting on foot, pierced his breast with a crescent-shaped arrow. And that hero, thus wounded in the breast began to vomit blood, and fell down upon the ground besides Pritha's son, like an uprooted tree. And king Yudhishthira the Just, whose steeds had been slain taking this opportunity, descended with Indrasena from his chariot and mounted that of Sahadeva. And the two warriors, Kshemankara and Mahamuksha, singling out Nakula, began to pour on him from both sides a perfect shower of keen-edged arrows. The son of Madri, however, succeeded in slaying, with a couple of long shafts, both those warriors who had been pouring on him an arrowy shower--like clouds in the rainy season. Suratha, the king of Trigartas, well-versed in elephant-charges, approaching the front of Nakula's chariot, caused it to be dragged by the elephant he rode. But Nakula, little daunted at this, leaped out of his chariot, and securing a point of vantage, stood shield and sword in hand, immovable as a hill. Thereupon Suratha, wishing to slay Nakula at once, urged towards him his huge and infuriate elephant with trunk upraised. But when the beast came near, Nakula with his sword severed from his head both trunk and tusks. And that mail-clad elephant, uttering a frightful roar, fell headlong upon the ground, crushing its riders by the fall. And having achieved this daring feat, heroic son of Madri, getting up on Bhimasena's car, obtained a little rest. And Bhima too, seeing prince Kotikakhya rush to the encounter, cut off the head of his charioteer with a horse-shoe arrow. That prince did not even perceive that his driver was killed by his strong-armed adversary, and his horses, no longer restrained by a driver, ran about on the battle-field in all directions. And seeing that prince without a driver turn his back, that foremost of smiters,

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Bhima the son of Pandu, went up to him and slew him with a bearded dart. And Dhananjaya also cut off with his sharp crescent-shaped arrows, the heads, as well as the bows of all the twelve Sauvira heroes. And the great warrior killed in battle, with the arrow, the leaders of the Ikshwakus and the hosts of Sivis and Trigartas and Saindhavas. And a great many elephants with their colours, and chariots with standards, were seen to fall by the hand of Arjuna. And heads without trunks, and trunks without heads, lay covering the entire field of battle. And dogs, and herons and ravens, and crows, and falcons, and jackals, and vultures, feasted on the flesh and blood of warriors slain on that field. And when Jayadratha, the king of Sindhu, saw that his warriors were slain, he became terrified and anxious to run away leaving Krishna behind. And in that general confusion, the wretch, setting down Draupadi there, fled for his life, pursuing the same forest path by which he had come. And king Yudhishthira the Just, seeing Draupadi with Dhaumya walking before, caused her to be taken up on a chariot by the heroic Sahadeva, the son of Madri. And when Jayadratha had fled away Bhima began to mow down with his iron-arrows such of his followers as were running away striking each trooper down after naming him. But Arjuna perceiving that Jayadratha had run away exhorted his brother to refrain from slaughtering the remnant of the Saindhava host. And Arjuna said, 'I do not find on the field of battle Jayadratha through whose fault alone we have experienced this bitter misfortune! Seek him out first and may success crown thy effort! What is the good of thy slaughtering these troopers? Why art thou bent upon this unprofitable business?'

Vaisampayana continued, "Bhimasena, thus exhorted by Arjuna of great wisdom, turning to Yudhishthira, replied, saying, 'As a great many of the enemy's warriors have been slain and as they are flying in all directions, do thou, O king, now return home, taking with thee Draupadi and the twin brothers and high-souled Dhaumya, and console the princess after getting back to our asylum! That foolish king of Sindhu I shall not let alone as long as he lives, even if he find a shelter in the internal regions or is backed by Indra himself! And Yudhishthira replied, saying, 'O thou of mighty arms remembering (our sister) Dussala and the celebrated Gandhari, thou shouldst not slay the king of Sindhu even though he is so wicked!'

Vaisampayana continued, "Hearing these words, Draupadi was greatly excited. And that highly intelligent lady in her excitement said to her two husbands, Bhima and Arjuna with indignation mixed with modesty, 'If you care to do what is agreeable to me, you must slay that mean and despicable wretch, that sinful, foolish, infamous and contemptible chief of the Saindhava clan! That foe who forcibly carries away a wife, and he that wrests a kingdom, should never be forgiven on the battle-field, even though he should supplicate for mercy!' Thus admonished, those two valiant warriors went in search of the Saindhava chief. And the king taking Krishna with him returned home, accompanied by his spiritual adviser. And on entering the hermitage, he found it was laid over with seats for the ascetics and crowded with their disciples and graced with the presence of Markandeya and other Brahmanas. And while those Brahmanas were gravely bewailing the lot of Draupadi, Yudhishthira endued with great wisdom joined their company, with his brothers. And beholding the king thus come back after having defeated the Saindhava and the Sauvira host and recovered Draupadi, they were all elated with joy! And the king took his seat in their midst. And the excellent princess Krishna entered the hermitage with the two brothers.

"Meanwhile Bhima and Arjuna, learning the enemy was full two miles ahead of them urged their horses to greater speed in pursuit of him. And the mighty Arjuna performed a wonderful deed, killing the horse of Jayadratha although they were full two miles ahead of them. Armed with celestial weapons undaunted by difficulties he achieved this difficult feat with arrows inspired with Mantras. And then the two warriors, Bhima and Arjuna, rushed towards the terrified king of Sindhu whose horses had been slain and who was alone and perplexed in mind. And the latter was greatly grieved on seeing his steeds slain. And beholding Dhananjaya do such a daring deed, and intent on running away, he followed the same forest track by which he had come. And Falguna, seeing the Saindhava chief so active in his fright, overtook him and addressed him saying, 'Possessed of so little manliness, how couldst thou dare to take away a lady by force? Turn round, O prince; it is not meet that thou shouldst run away! How canst thou act so, leaving thy followers in the midst of thy foes?' Although addressed by the sons of Pritha thus, the monarch of Sindhu did not even once turn round. And then bidding him to what he chose the mighty Bhima overtook him in an instant, but the kind Arjuna entreated him not to kill that wretch."

SECTION 270

Vaisampayana said, "Jayadratha flying for his life upon beholding those two brothers with upraised arms, was sorely grieved and bolted off with speed and coolness. But the mighty and indignant Bhimasena, descending from his chariot, ran after him thus fleeing, and seized him by the hair of his head. And holding him high up in the air, Bhima thrust him on the ground with violence. And seizing the prince by the head, he knocked him about. And when the wretch recovered consciousness, he groaned aloud and wanted to get up on his legs. But that hero endued with mighty arms kicked him on the head. And Bhima pressed him on the breast with his knees as well as with his fists. And the prince thus belaboured, soon became insensible. Then Falguna dissuaded the wrathful Bhimasena from inflicting further chastisement on the prince, by reminding him of what Yudhishthira had said regarding (their sister) Dussala. But Bhima replied, saying, 'This sinful wretch hath done a cruel injury to Krishna, who never can bear such treatment. He, therefore, deserveth to die at hands! But what can I do? The king is always overflowing with mercy, and thou, too, art constantly putting obstacles in my way from a childish sense of virtue!' Having said these words, Vrikodara, with his crescent-shaped arrow, shaved the hair of the prince's head, heaving five tufts in as many places. Jayadratha uttered not a word at this. Then Vrikodara, addressing the foe said, 'If thou wishest to live, listen to me. O fool! I shall tell thee the means to attain that wish! In public assemblies and in open courts thou must say,--I am the slave of the Pandavas.--on this condition alone, I will pardon thee thy life! This is the customary rule of conquest on the field of battle.' Thus addressed and treated, king Jayadratha said to the mighty and fierce warrior who always looked awful, 'Be it so!' And he was trembling and senseless and begrimed with dust. Then Arjuna and Vrikodara, securing him with chains, thrust him into a chariot. And Bhima, himself mounting that chariot, and accompanied by Arjuna, drove towards the hermitage. And approaching Yudhishthira seated there, he placed Jayadratha in that condition before the king. And the king, smiling, told him to set the Sindhu prince at liberty. Then Bhima said unto the king, 'Do thou tell Draupadi that this wretch hath become the slave of the Pandavas.' Then his eldest brother said unto him affectionately, 'If thou hast any regard for us, do thou set this wretch at liberty!' And Draupadi too, reading the king's mind, said, 'Let him off! He hath become a slave of the king's and thou, too, hast disfigured him by leaving five tufts of hair on his head.' Then that crest-fallen prince, having obtained his liberty, approached king Yudhishthira and bowed down unto him. And seeing those Munis there, he saluted them also. Then the kind-hearted king Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma, beholding Jayadratha in that condition, almost supported by Arjuna, said unto him, 'Thou art a free man now; I emancipate thee! Now go away and be careful not to do such thing again; shame to thee! Thou hadst intended to take away a lady by violence, even though thou art so mean and powerless! What other wretch save thee would think of acting thus?" Then that foremost king of Bharata's race eyed with pity that perpetrator of wicked deeds, and believing that he had lost his senses, said, 'Mayst thy heart grow in virtue! Never set thy heart again on immoral deeds! Thou mayst depart in peace now with thy charioteers, cavalry and infantry.' Thus addressed by Yudhishthira, the prince, O Bharata, was overpowered with shame, and bending down his head, he silently and sorrowfully wended his way to the place where the Ganga debouches on the plains. And imploring the protection of the god of three eyes, the consort of Uma, he did severe penance at that place. And the three-eyed god, pleased with his austerities deigned to accept his offerings in person. And he also granted him a boon! Do thou listen, O monarch, how the prince received that boon! Jayadratha, addressing that god, asked the boon, 'May I be able to defeat in battle all the five sons of Pandu on their chariots!' The god, however, told him 'This cannot be.' And Maheswara said, 'None can slay or conquer them in battle. Save Arjuna, however, thou shall be able to only check them (once) on the field of battle! The heroic Arjuna, with mighty arms, is the god incarnate styled Nara. He practised austerities of old in the Vadari forest. The God Narayana is his friend. Therefore, he is unconquerable of the very gods. I myself have given him the celestial weapon called Pasupata. From the regents also of all the ten cardinal points, he has acquired the thunder-bolt and other mighty weapons. And the great god Vishnu who is the Infinite Spirit, the Lord Preceptor of all the gods, is the Supreme Being without attributes, and the Soul of the Universe, and existeth pervading the whole creation. At the termination of a cycle of ages, assuming the shape of the all-consuming fire, he consumed the whole Universe with mountains and seas and islands and hills and woods and forests. And after the destruction of the Naga world also in the subterranean regions in the same way, vast masses of many-coloured and loud-pealing clouds, with streaks of lightning, spreading along the entire welkin, had appeared on high. Then pouring down water in torrents thick as axles of cars, and filling the space everywhere, these extinguishing that all-consuming fire! When at the close of four thousand Yugas the Earth thus became flooded with water, like one vast sea, and all mobile creatures were hushed in death, and the sun and the moon and the winds were all destroyed, and the Universe was devoid of planets and stars, the Supreme Being called Narayana, unknowable by the senses, adorned with a thousand heads and as many eyes and legs, became desirous of rest. And the serpent Sesha, looking terrible with his thousand hoods, and shining with the splendour of ten thousand suns, and white as the Kunda flower or the moon or a string of pearls, or the white lotus, or milk, or the fibres of a lotus stalk, served for his conch. And that adorable and omnipotent God thus slept on the bosom of the deep, enveloping all space with nocturnal gloom. And when his creative faculty was excited, he awoke and found the Universe denuded of everything. In this connexion, the following sloka is recited respecting the meaning of Narayana. "Water was created by (the Rishi) Nara, and it formed his corpus; therefore do we hear it styled as Nara. And because it formed his Ayana (resting-place) therefore is he known as Narayana." As soon as that everlasting Being was engaged in meditation for the re-creation of the Universe, a lotus flower instantaneously came into existence from his navel, and the four-faced Brahma came out of that navel-lotus. And then the Grandsire of all creatures, seating himself on that flower and finding that the whole Universe was a blank, created in his own likeness, and from his will, the (nine) great Rishis, Marichi and others. And these in their turn observing the same thing, completed the creation, by creating Yakshas, Rakshas, Pisachas, reptiles, men, and all mobile and immobile creatures. The Supreme Spirit hath three conditions. In the form of Brahma, he is the Creator, and in the form of Vishnu he is the Preserver, and in his form as Rudra, he is the Destroyer of the Universe! O king of Sindhu, hast thou not heard of the wonderful achievements of Vishnu, described to thee by the Munis and the Brahmanas learned in the Vedas? When the world was thus reduced to one vast sea of water, with only the heavens above, the Lord, like a fire-fly at night-time during the rainy season, moved about hither and thither in search of stable ground, with the view of rehabilitating his creation, and became desirous of raising the Earth submerged in water. What shape shall I take to rescue the Earth from this flood?--So thinking and contemplating with divine insight, he bethought himself of the shape of a wild boar fond of sporting in water. And assuming the shape of a sacrificial boar shining with effulgence and instinct with the Vedas and ten Yojanas in length, with pointed tusks and a complexion like dark clouds, and with a body huge as a mountain, and roaring like a conglomeration of clouds, the Lord plunged into the waters, and lifted up the Earth with one of his tusks, and replaced it in its proper sphere. At another time, the mighty Lord, assuming a wonderful form with a body half lion, half man, and squeezing his hands, repaired to the court of the ruler of the Daityas. That progenitor of the Daityas, the son of Diti, who was the enemy of the (gods), beholding the Lord's peculiar form, burst out into passion and his eyes became inflamed with rage. And Hiranya-Kasipu, the war-like son of Diti and the enemy of the gods, adorned with garlands and looking like a mass of dark clouds, taking up his trident in hand and roaring like the clouds, rushed on that being half lion, half man. Then that powerful king of wild beasts, half man, half lion, taking a leap in the air, instantly rent the Daitya in twain by means of his sharp claws. And the adorable lotus-eyed Lord of great effulgence, having thus slain the Daitya king for the well-being of all creatures, again took his birth in the womb of Aditi as son of Kasyapa. And at the expiration of a thousand years she was delivered of that superhuman conception. And then was born that Being, of the hue of rain-charged clouds with bright eyes and of dwarfish stature.

He had the ascetic's staff and water-pot in hand, and was marked with the emblem of a curl of hair on the breast. And that adorable Being wore matted locks and the sacrificial thread, and he was stout and handsome and resplendent with lustre. And that Being, arriving at the sacrificial enclosure of Vali, king of the Danavas, entered the sacrificial assembly with the aid of Vrihaspati. And beholding that dwarf-bodied Being, Vali was well-pleased and said unto him, 'I am glad to see thee, O Brahmana! Say what is it that thou wantest from me!' Thus addressed by Vali, the dwarf-god replied with a smile, saying, 'So be it! Do thou, lord of the Danavas, give me three paces of ground!' And Vali contented to give what that Brahmana of infinite power had asked. And while measuring with his paces the space he sought. Hari assumed a wonderful and extraordinary form. And with only three paces he instantly covered this illimitable world. And then that everlasting God, Vishnu, gave it away unto Indra. This history which has just been related to thee, is celebrated as the 'Incarnation of the Dwarf', And from him, all the gods had their being, and after him the world is said to be Vaishnava, or pervaded by Vishnu. And for the destruction of the wicked and the preservation of religion, even He hath taken his birth among men in the race of the Yadus. And the adorable Vishnu is styled Krishna. These, O king of Sindhu, are the achievements of the Lord whom all the worlds worship and whom the learned describe as without beginning and without end, unborn and Divine! They call Him, the unconquerable Krishna with conchshell, discus and mace, and adorned with

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the emblem of a curl of hair, Divine, clad in silken robes of yellow hue, and the best of those versed in the art of war. Arjuna is protected by Krishna the possessor of these attributes. That glorious and lotus-eyed Being of infinite power, that slayer of hostile heroes, riding in the same chariot with Pritha's son, protecteth him! He is, therefore, invincible; the very gods cannot resist his power, still less can one with human attributes vanquish the son of Pritha in battle! Therefore, O king, thou must let him alone! Thou shalt, however, be able to vanquish for a single day only, the rest of Yudhishthira's forces along with thine enemies--the four sons of Pandu!"

Vaisampayana continued, "Having said these words unto that prince, the adorable Hara of three eyes, the destroyer of all sins, the consort of Uma, and lord of wild beasts, the destroyer of (Daksha's) sacrifice, the slayer of Tripura and He that had plucked out the eyes of Bhaga, surrounded by his dwarfish and hunch-backed and terrible followers having frightful eyes and ears and uplifted arms, vanished, O tiger among kings, from that place with his consort Uma! And the wicked Jayadratha also returned home, and the sons of Pandu continued to dwell in the forest of Kamyaka."

SECTION 271

Janamejaya said, "What did those tigers among men, the Pandavas, do, after they had suffered such misery in consequence of the ravishment of Draupadi?"

Vaisampayana said, "Having defeated Jayadratha and rescued Krishna, the virtuous king Yudhishthira took his seat by the side of that best of Munis. And among those foremost of ascetics who were expressing their grief upon bearing Draupadi's misfortune, Yudhishthira, the son of Pandu, addressed Markandeya, saying, 'O adorable Sire, amongst the gods and the ascetics, thou art known to have the fullest knowledge of both the past as well as; the future. A doubt existeth in my mind, which I would ask thee to solve! This lady is the daughter of Drupada; she hath issued from the sacrificial altar and hath not been begotten of the flesh; and she is highly blessed and is also the daughter-in-law of the illustrious Pandu. I incline to think that Time, and human Destiny that dependeth on our acts, and the Inevitable, are irresistible in respect of creatures. (If it were not so), how could such a misfortune afflict this wife of ours so faithful and virtuous, like a false accusation of theft against an honest man? The daughter of Drupada hath never committed any sinful act, nor, hath she done anything that is not commendable: on the contrary, she hath assiduously practised the highest virtues towards Brahmanas. And yet the foolish king Jayadratha had carried her away by force. In consequence of this act of violence on her, that sinful wretch hath his hair shaved off his head and sustained also, with all his allies, defeat in battle. It is true we have rescued her after slaughtering the troops of Sindhu. But the disgrace of this ravishment of our wife during our hours of carelessness, hath stained us, to be sure. This life in the wilderness is full of miseries. We subsist by chase; and though dwelling in the woods, we are obliged to slay the denizens thereof that live with us! This exile also that we suffer is due to the act of deceitful kinsmen! Is there any one who is more unfortunate than I am? Hath thou ever seen or heard of such a one before?"

SECTION 272

"Markandeya said, 'O bull of the Bharata race, even Rama suffered unparalleled misery, for the evil-minded Ravana, king of the Rakshasas, having recourse to deceit and overpowering the vulture Jatayu, forcibly carried away his wife Sita from his asylum in the woods. Indeed, Rama, with the help of Sugriva, brought her back, constructing a bridge across the sea, and consuming Lanka with his keen-edged arrows.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'In what race was Rama born and what was the measure of his might and prowess? Whose son also was Ravana and for what was it that he had any misunderstanding with Rama? It behoveth thee, O illustrious one, to tell me all this in detail; for I long to hear the story of Rama of great achievements!'

"Markandeya said, 'Listen, O prince of Bharata's race, to this old history exactly as it happened! I will tell thee all about the distress suffered by Rama together with his wife. There was a great king named Aja sprung from me race of Ikshwaku. He had a son named Dasaratha who was devoted to the study of the Vedas and was ever pure. And Dasaratha had four sons conversant with morality and profit known by the names, respectively, of Rama, Lakshmana, Satrughna, and the mighty Bharata. And Rama had for his mother Kausalya, and Bharata had for his mother Kaikeyi, while those scourge of their enemies Lakshmana and Satrughna were the sons of Sumitra. And Janaka was the king of Videha, and Sita was his daughter. And Tashtri himself created her, desiring to make her the beloved wife of Rama. I have now told thee the history of both Rama's and Sita's birth. And now, O king, I will relate unto thee birth of Ravana. That Lord of all creatures and the Creator of the Universe viz., the Self-create Prajapati himself--that god possessed of great ascetic merit--is the grandfather of Ravana. And Pulastya hath a mighty son called Vaisravana begotten of a cow. But his son, leaving his father, went to his grandfather. And, O king, angered at this, his father then created a second self of himself. And with half of his own self that regenerate one became born of Visrava for wrecking a vengeance on Vaisravana. But the Grandsire, pleased with Vaisravana, gave him immortality, and sovereignty of all the wealth of the Universe, the guardianship of one of the cardinal points, the friendship of Isana, and a son named Nalakuvera. And he also gave him for his capital Lanka, which was guarded by hosts of Rakshasas, and also a chariot called Pushpaka capable of going everywhere according to the will of the rider. And the kingship of the Yakshas and the sovereignty over sovereigns were also his.'"

SECTION 273

Markandeya said, "The Muni named Visrava, who was begotten of half the soul of Pulastya, in a fit of passion, began to look upon Vaisravana with great anger. But, O monarch, Kuvera, the king of the Rakshasas, knowing that his father was angry with him, always sought to please him. And, O best of Bharata's race, that king of kings living in Lanka, and borne upon the shoulders of men, sent three Rakshasa women to wait upon his father. Their names, O king, were Pushpotkata, Raka and Malini. And they were skilled in singing and dancing and were always assiduous in their attentions on that high-souled Rishi. And those slender-waisted ladies vied with one another, O king, in gratifying the Rishi. And that high-souled and adorable being was pleased with them and granted them boons. And to every one of them he gave princely sons according to their desire. Two sons--those foremost of Rakshasas named Kumvakarna and the Ten-headed Ravana,--both unequalled on earth in prowess, were born to Pushpotkata. And Malini had a son named Vibhishana, and Raka had twin children named Khara and Surpanakha. And Vibhishana surpassed them all in beauty. And that excellent person was very pious and assiduously performed all religious rites. But that foremost of Rakshasas, with ten heads, was the eldest to them all. And he was religious, and energetic and possessed of great strength and prowess. And the Rakshasa Kumvakarna was the most powerful in battle, for he was fierce and terrible and a thorough master of the arts of illusion. And Khara was proficient in archery, and hostile to the Brahmanas, subsisting as he did on flesh. And the fierce Surpanakha was constant source of trouble to the ascetics. And the warriors, learned in the Vedas and diligent in ceremonial rites, all lived with their father in the Gandhamadana. And there they beheld Vaisravana seated with their father, possessed of riches and borne on the shoulders of men. And seized with jealousy, they resolved upon performing penances. And with ascetic penances of the most severe kind, they gratified Brahma. And the Ten-headed Ravana, supporting life by means of air alone and surrounded by the five sacred fires and absorbed in meditation, remained standing on one leg for a thousand years. And Kumvakarna with head downwards, and with restricted diet, was constant in austerities. And the wise and magnanimous Vibhishana, observing fasts and subsisting only on dry leaves and engaged in meditation, practised severe austerities for a long period. And Khara and Surpanakha, with cheerful hearts, protected and attended on them while they were performing those austerities. And at the close of a thousand years, the invincible Ten-headed One, cutting off his own heads, offered them as offering to the sacred fire. And at this act of his, the Lord of the Universe was pleased with him. And then Brahma, personally appearing to them, bade them desist from those austerities and promised to grant boons unto every one of them. And the adorable Brahma said, I am pleased with you, my sons! Cease now from these austerities and ask boons of me! Whatever your desires may be, they, with the single exception of that of immortality, will be fulfilled! As thou hast offered thy heads to the fire from great ambition, they will again adorn thy body as before, according to thy desire. And thy body will not be disfigured and thou shall be able to assume any form according to thy desire and become the conqueror of thy foes in battle. There is no doubt of this!' thereupon Ravana said, 'May I never experience defeat at the hands of Gandharvas, Celestials, Kinnaras, Asuras, Yakshas, Rakshasas, Serpents and all other creatures!' Brahma said, 'From those that hast named, thou shalt never have cause of fear; except from men (thou shalt have no occasion for fear). Good betide thee! So hath it been ordained by me!'

"Markandeya said, 'Thus addressed, the Ten-headed (Ravana) was highly gratified, for on account of his perverted understanding, the man-eating one slightened human beings. Then the great Grandsire addressed Kumbhakarna as before. His reason being clouded by darkness, he asked for long-lasting sleep. Saying, 'It shall be so' 'Brahma then addressed Vibhishana, 'O my son, I am much pleased with thee! Ask any boon thou pleasest!' Thereupon, Vibhishana replied, 'Even in great danger, may I never swerve from the path of righteousness, and though ignorant, may I, O adorable Sire, be illumined with the light of divine knowledge!' And Brahma replied, 'O scourge of thy enemies, as thy soul inclines not to unrighteousness although born in the Rakshasa race, I grant thee immortality!'

"Markandeya continued, 'Having obtained this boon, the Ten-headed Rakshasa defeated Kuvera in battle and obtained from him the sovereignty of Lanka. That adorable Being, leaving Lanka and followed by Gandharvas, Yakshas, Rakshas, and Kinnaras, went to live on mount Gandhamadana. And Ravana forcibly took from him the celestial chariot Pushpaka. And upon this Vaisravana cursed him, saying, 'This chariot shall never carry thee; it shall bear him who will slay thee in battle! And as thou hast insulted me, thy elder brother, thou shalt soon die!'

"The pious Vibhishana, O King, treading in the path followed by the virtuous and possessed of great glory, followed Kuvera. That adorable Lord of wealth, highly pleased with his younger brothers, invested him with the command of the Yaksha and Raksha hosts. On the other hand, the powerful and man-eating Rakshasas and Pisachas, having assembled together, invested the Ten-headed Ravana with their sovereignty. And Ravana, capable of assuming any form at will and terrible in prowess, and capable also of passing through the air, attacked the gods and the Daityas and wrested from them all their valuable possessions. And as he had terrified all creatures, he was called Ravana. And Ravana, capable of mustering any measure of might inspired the very gods with terror."

SECTION 274

"Markandeya said, 'Then the Brahmarshis, the Siddhas and the Devarshis, with Havyavaha as their spokesman, sought the protection of Brahma. And Agni said, 'That powerful son of Visrava, the Ten-headed cannot be slain on account of thy boon! Endued with great might he oppresseth in every possible way the creatures of the earth. Protect us, therefore, O adorable one! There is none else save thee to protect us!'

"Brahma said, 'O Agni, he cannot be conquered in battle by either the gods or the Asuras! I have already ordained that which is needful for that purpose. Indeed his death is near! Urged by me, the four-headed God hath already been incarnate for that object. Even Vishnu, that foremost of smiters will achieve that object!'

"Markandeya continued, 'Then the Grandsire also asked Sakra, in their presence, 'Be thou, with all the celestials, born on earth! And beget ye on monkeys and bears, heroic sons possessed of great strength and capable of assuming any form at will as allies of Vishnu!' And at this, the gods, the Gandharvas and the Danavas quickly assembled to take counsel as to how they should be born on earth according to their respective parts. And in their presence the boon-giving god commanded a Gandharvi, by name Dundubhi saying, 'Go there for accomplishing this object!' And Dundubhi hearing these words of the Grandsire was born in the world of men as the hunchbacked Manthara. And all the principal celestials, with Sakra and others begot offspring upon the wives of the foremost of monkeys and bears. And those sons equalled their sires in strength and fame. And they were capable of splitting mountain peaks and their weapons were stones and trees of the Sala and the Tala species. And their bodies were hard as adamant, and they were possessed of very great strength. And they were all skilled in war and capable of mustering any measure of energy at will. And they were equal to a thousand elephants in might, and they resembled the wind in speed. And some of them lived wherever they liked, while others lived in forests. And the adorable Creator of the Universe, having ordained all this, instructed Manthara as to what she would have to do. And Manthara quick as thought, understood all his words, and went hither and thither ever engaged in fomenting quarrels."

SECTION 275

"Yudhishthira said, 'O adorable one, thou hast described to me in detail the history of the birth of Rama and others. I wish to learn the cause of their exile. Do thou, O Brahmana, relate why the sons of Dasaratha--the brothers Rama and Lakshmana--went to the forest with famous princess of Mithila.'

"Markandeya said, 'The pious king Dasaratha, ever mindful of the old and assiduous in religious ceremonies, was greatly pleased when these sons were born. And his sons gradually grew up in might and they became conversant with the Vedas together with all their mysteries, and with the science of arms. And when after having gone through the Brahmacharyya vows the princes were married, king Dasaratha became happy and highly pleased. And the intelligent Rama, the eldest of them all, became the favourite of his father, and greatly pleased the people with his charming ways. And then, O Bharata, the wise king, considering himself old in years took counsel with his virtuous ministers and spiritual adviser for installing Rama as regent of the kingdom. And all those great ministers were agreed that it was time to do so. And, O scion of Kuru's race, king Dasaratha was greatly pleased to behold his son,--that enhancer of Kausalya's delight--possessed of eyes that were red, and arms that were sinewy. And his steps

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were like those of a wild elephant. And he had long arms and high shoulders and black and curly hair. And he was valiant, and glowing with splendour, and not inferior to Indra himself in battle. And he was well-versed in holy writ and was equal to Vrihaspati in wisdom. An object of love with all the people, he was skilled in every science. And with senses under complete control, his very enemies were pleased to behold him. And he was terror of the wicked and the protector of the virtuous. And possessed of intelligence and incapable of being baffled, he was victorious over all and never vanquished by any. And, O descendant of Kurus, beholding his son--that enhancer of Kausalya's joy--king Dasaratha became highly pleased. And reflecting on Rama's virtues, the powerful and mighty king cheerfully addressed the family priest, saying, 'Blessed be thou, O Brahmana! This night of the Pushya constellation will bring in a very auspicious conjunction. Let, therefore, materials be collected and let Rama also be invited. This Pushya constellation will last till tomorrow. And Rama, therefore, should be invested by me and my ministers as prince-regent of all my subjects!'

"Meanwhile Manthara (the maid of Kaikeyi), hearing these words of the king, went to her mistress, and spoke unto her as was suited to the occasion. And she said, 'Thy great ill-luck, O Kaikeyi, hath this day been proclaimed by the king! O unlucky one, mayst thou be bitten by a fierce and enraged snake of virulent poison! Kausalya, indeed, is fortunate, as it is her son that is going to be installed on the throne. Where, indeed, is thy prosperity, when thy son obtaineth not the kingdom?'

"Hearing these words of her maid, the slender-waisted and beautiful Kaikeyi put on all her ornaments, and sought her husband in a secluded place. And with a joyous heart, and smiling pleasantly, she addressed these words to him with all the blandishments of love, 'O king, thou art always true to thy promises. Thou didst promise before to grant me an object of my desire. Do thou fulfil that promise now and save thyself from the sin of unredeemed pledge!' The king replied, saying, 'I will grant thee a boon. Ask thou whatever thou wishest! What man undeserving of death shall be slain today and who that deserves death is to be set at liberty? Upon whom shall I bestow wealth to-day, or whose wealth shall be confiscated? Whatever wealth there is in this world, save what belongeth to Brahmanas, is mine! I am the king of kings in this world, and the protector of all the four classes! Tell me quickly, O blessed lady, what that object is upon which thou hast set thy heart!' Hearing these words of the king, and tying him fast to his pledge, and conscious also of her power over him, she addressed him in these words, 'I desire that Bharata be the recipient of that investiture which thou hast designed for Rama, and let Rama go into exile living in the forest of Dandaka for fourteen years as an ascetic with matted locks on head and robed in rags and deer-skins!' Hearing these disagreeable words of cruel import, the king, O chief of the Bharata race, was sorely afflicted and became utterly speechless! But the mighty and virtuous Rama, learning that his father had been thus solicited, went into the forest so that the king's truth might remain inviolate. And, blessed be thou, he was followed by the auspicious Lakshmana--that foremost of bowmen and his wife Sita, the princess of Videha and daughter of Janaka. And after Rama had gone into the forest, king Dasaratha took leave of his body, agreeably to the eternal law of time. And knowing that Rama not near and that the king was dead, queen Kaikeyi, causing Bharata to be brought before her, addressed him in these words, 'Dasaratha hath gone to heaven and both Rama and Lakshmana are in the forest! Take thou this kingdom which is so extensive and whose peace there is no rival to disturb'. Thereupon the virtuous Bharata replied unto her saying, 'Thou hast done a wicked deed, having slain thy husband and exterminated this family from lust of wealth alone! Heaping infamy on my head, O accursed woman of our race, thou hast, O mother, attained this, thy object!' And having said these words, the prince wept aloud. And having proved his innocence before all the subjects of that realm he set out in the wake of Rama, desiring to bring him back. And placing Kausalya and Sumitra and Kaikeyi in the vehicles at the van of his train, he proceeded with a heavy heart, in company with Satrughna. And he was accompanied by Vasishtha and Vamadeva, and other Brahmanas by thousands and by the people of the cities and the provinces, desiring to bring back Rama. And he saw Rama with Lakshmana, living on the mountains of Chitrakuta with bow in hand and decked with the ornaments of ascetics. Bharata, however, was dismissed by Rama, who was determined to act according to the words, of his father. And returning, Bharata ruled at Nandigrama, keeping before him, his brother's wooden sandals. And Rama fearing a repetition of intrusion by the people of Ayodhya, entered into the great forest towards the asylum of Sarabhanga. And having paid his respects to Sarabhanga, he entered the forest of Dandaka and took up his abode on the banks of beautiful river Godavari. And while living there, Rama was inveigled into hostilities with Khara, then dwelling in Janasthana, on account of Surpanakha. And for the protection of the ascetics the virtuous scion of Raghu's race slew fourteen thousand Rakshasas on earth, and having slain those mighty Rakshasas, Khara and Dushana, the wise descendant of Raghu once more made that sacred forest free from danger.'

"And after these Rakshasas had been slain, Surpanakha with mutilated nose and lips, repaired to Lanka--the abode of her brother (Ravana). And when that Rakshasa woman, senseless with grief and with dry blood-stains on her face, appeared before Ravana, she fell down at his feet. And beholding her so horribly mutilated, Ravana became senseless with wrath and grinding his teeth sprung up from his seat. And dismissing his ministers, he enquired of her in private, saying, 'Blessed sister, who hath made thee so, forgetting and disregarding me? Who is he that having got a sharp-pointed spear hath rubbed his body with it? Who is he that sleepeth in happiness and security, after placing a fire close to his head? Who is he that hath trodden upon a revengeful snake of virulent poison? Who indeed, is that person who standeth with his hand thrust into the mouth of the maned lion!' Then flames of wrath burst forth from his body, like those that are emitted at night from the hollows of a tree on fire. His sister then related unto him the prowess of Rama and the defeat of the Rakshasas with Khara and Dushana at their head. Informed of the slaughter of his relatives, Ravana, impelled by Fate, remembered Maricha for slaying Rama. And resolving upon the course he was to follow and having made arrangements for the government of his capital, he consoled his sister, and set out on an aerial voyage. And crossing the Trikuta and the Kala mountains, he beheld the vast receptacle of deep waters--the abode of the Makaras. Then crossing the Ocean, the Ten headed Ravana reached Gokarna--the favourite resort of the illustrious god armed with the trident. And there Ravana met with his old friend Maricha who, from fear of Rama himself, had adopted an ascetic mode of life.'"

SECTION 276

"Markandeya said, 'Beholding Ravana come, Maricha received him with a respectful welcome, and offered him fruits and roots. And after Ravana had taken his seat, and rested himself a while, Maricha skilled in speech, sat beside Ravana and addressed him who was himself as eloquent in speech, saying, 'Thy complexion hath assumed an unnatural hue; is it all right with thy kingdom, O king of the Rakshasas? What hath brought thee here? Do thy subjects continue to pay thee the same allegiance that they used to pay thee before? What business hath brought thee here? Know that it is already fulfilled, even if it be very difficult of fulfilment! Ravana, whose heart was agitated with wrath and humiliation informed him briefly of the acts of Rama and the measures that were to be taken.' And on hearing his story, Maricha briefly replied to him, saying, 'Thou must not provoke Rama, for I know his strength! Is there a person who is capable of withstanding the impetus of his arrows? That great man hath been the cause of my assuming my present ascetic life. What evil-minded creature hath put thee up to this course calculated to bring ruin and destruction on thee?' To this Ravana indignantly replied, reproaching him thus, 'If thou dost not obey my orders, thou shall surely die at my hands.' Maricha then thought within himself, 'When death is inevitable, I shall do his biddings; for it is better to die at the hands of one that is superior.' Then he replied to the lord of the Rakshasas saying, 'I shall surely render thee whatever help I can!' Then the Ten-headed Ravana said unto him, 'Go and tempt Sita, assuming the shape of a deer with golden horns and a golden skin! When Sita will observe thee thus, she will surely send away Rama to hunt thee. And then Sita will surely come within my power, and I shall forcibly carry her away. And then that wicked Rama will surely die of grief at the loss of his wife. Do thou help me in this way!'

"Thus addressed, Maricha performed his obsequies (in anticipation) and with a sorrowful heart, followed Ravana who was in advance of him. And having reached the hermitage of Rama of difficult achievements, they both did as arranged beforehand. And Ravana appeared in the guise of an ascetic with head shaven, and adorned with a Kamandala, and a treble staff. And Maricha appeared in the shape of a deer. And Maricha appeared before the princess of Videha in that guise. And impelled by Fate, she sent away Rama after that deer. And Rama, with the object of pleasing her, quickly took up his bow, and leaving Lakshmana behind to protect her, went in pursuit of that deer. And armed with his bow and quiver and scimitar, and his fingers encased in gloves of Guana skin, Rama went in pursuit of that deer, after the manner of Rudra following the stellar deer* in days of yore. And that Rakshasa enticed away Rama to a great distance by appearing before him at one time and disappearing from his view at another. [Tard-mrigam. Formerly Prajapati, assuming the Form of a deer, followed his daughter from lust, and Rudra, armed with a trident, pursued Prajapati and struck off his head. That deer-head of Prajapati severed from the trunk, became the star, or rather constellation, called Mrigasiras.] And when Rama at last knew who and what that deer was, viz., that he was a Rakshasa, that illustrious descendant of Raghu's race took out an infallible arrow and slew that Rakshasa, in the disguise of a deer. And struck with Rama's arrow, the Rakshasa, imitating Rama's voice, cried out in great distress, calling upon Sita and Lakshmana. And when the princess of Videha heard that cry of distress, she urged Lakshmana to run towards the quarter from whence the cry came. Then Lakshmana said to her, "Timid lady, thou hast no cause of fear! Who is so powerful as to be able to smite Rama? O thou of sweet smiles, in a moment thou wilt behold thy husband Rama!' Thus addressed, the chaste Sita, from that timidity which is natural to women, became suspicious of even the pure Lakshmana, and began to weep aloud. And that chaste lady, devoted to her husband, harshly reproved Lakshmana, saying, 'The object which thou, O fool, cherishest in thy heart, shall never be fulfilled! I would rather kill myself with a weapon or throw myself from the top of a hill or enter into a blazing fire than live with a sorry wretch like thee, forsaking my husband Rama, like a tigress under the protection of a jackal!--

When the good natured Lakshmana, who was very fond of his brother, heard these words, he shut his ears (with his hands) and set out on the track that Rama had taken. And Lakshmana set out without casting a single glance on that lady with lips soft and red like the Bimba fruit. Meanwhile, the Rakshasa Ravana, wearing a genteel guise though wicked at heart, and like unto fire enveloped in a heap of ashes, showed himself there. And he appeared there in the disguise of a hermit, for forcibly carrying away that lady of blameless character. The virtuous daughter of Janaka, seeing him come, welcomed him with fruits and root and a seat. Disregarding these and assuming his own proper shape, that bull among Rakshasas began to re-assure the princess of Videha in these words, 'I am, O Sita, the king of the Rakshasas, known by the name of Ravana! My delightful city, known by the name of Lanka is on the other side of the great ocean! There among beautiful women, thou wilt shine with me! O lady of beautiful lips, forsaking the ascetic Rama do thou become my wife!' Janaka's daughter of beautiful lips, hearing these and other words in the same strain, shut her ears and replied unto him, saying, 'Do not say so! The vault of heaven with all its stars may fall down, the Earth itself may be broken into fragments, fire itself may change its nature by becoming cool, yet I cannot forsake the descendant of Raghu! How can a she-elephant, who hath lived with the mighty leader of a herd with rent temples forsake him and live with a hog? Having once tasted the sweet wine prepared from honey or flowers, how can a woman, I fancy, relish the wretched arrak from rice?' Having uttered those words, she entered the cottage, her lips trembling in wrath and her arms moving to and fro in emotion. Ravana, however, followed her thither and intercepted her further progress. And rudely scolded by the Rakshasa, she swooned away. But Ravana seized her by the hair of her head, and rose up into the air. Then a huge vulture of the name of Jatayu living on a mountain peak, beheld that helpless lady thus weeping and calling upon Rama in great distress while being carried away by Ravana."

SECTION 277

"Markandeya said, 'That heroic king of the vultures, Jatayu, having Sampati for his uterine brother and Arjuna himself for his father, was a friend of Dasaratha. And beholding his daughter-in-law Sita on the lap of Ravana, that ranger of the skies rushed in wrath against the king of the Rakshasas. And the vulture addressed Ravana, saying, 'Leave the princess of Mithila, leave her I say! How canst thou, O Rakshasa, ravish her when I am alive? If thou dost not release my daughter-in-law, thou shalt not escape from me with life!' And having said these words Jatayu began to tear the king of the Rakshasas with his talons. And he mangled him in a hundred different parts of his body by striking him with his wings and beaks. And blood began to flow as copiously from Ravana's body as water from a mountain spring. And attacked thus by that vulture desirous of Rama's good, Ravana, taking up a sword, cut off the two wings of that bird. And having slain that king of the vultures, huge as a mountain-peak shooting forth above the clouds, the Rakshasa rose high in the air with Sita on his lap. And the princess of Videha, wherever she saw an asylum of ascetics, a lake, a river, or a tank, threw down an ornament of hers. And beholding on the top of a mountain five foremost of monkeys, that intelligent lady threw down amongst them a broad piece of her costly attire. And that beautiful and yellow piece of cloth fell, fluttering through the air, amongst those five foremost of monkeys like lightning from the clouds. And that Rakshasa soon passed a great way through the firmament like a bird through the air. And soon the Rakshasa beheld his delightful and charming city of many gates, surrounded on all sides by high walls and built by Viswakrit himself. And the king of the Rakshasa then entered his own city known by the name of Lanka, accompanied by Sita.'

"And while Sita was being carried away, the intelligent Rama, having slain the great deer, retraced his steps and saw his brother Lakshmana (on the way). And beholding his brother, Rama reproved him, saying, 'How couldst thou come hither, leaving the princess of Videha in a forest that is haunted by the Rakshasa?' And reflecting on his own enticement to a great distance by that Rakshasa in the guise of

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a deer and on the arrival of his brother (leaving Sita alone in the asylum), Rama was filled with agony. And quickly advancing towards Lakshmana while reproving him still, Rama asked him, 'O Lakshmana, is the princess of Videha still alive? I fear she is no more!' Then Lakshmana told him everything about what Sita had said, especially that unbecoming language of hers subsequently. With a burning heart Rama then ran towards the asylum. And on the way he beheld a vulture huge as a mountain, lying in agonies of death. And suspecting him to be a Rakshasa, the descendant of the Kakutstha race, along with Lakshmana rushed towards him, drawing with great force his bow to a circle. The mighty vulture, however, addressing them both, said, 'Blessed be ye, I am the king of the vultures, and friend of Dasaratha!' Hearing these words of his, both Rama and his brother put aside their excellent bow and said, 'Who is this one that speaketh the name of our father in these woods?' And then they saw that creature to be a bird destitute of two wings, and that bird then told them of his own overthrow at the hands of Ravana for the sake of Sita. Then Rama enquired of the vulture as to the way Ravana had taken. The vulture answered him by a nod of his head and then breathed his last. And having understood from the sign the vulture had made that Ravana had gone towards the south, Rama reverencing his father's friend, caused his funeral obsequies to be duly performed. Then those chastisers of foes, Rama and Lakshmana, filled with grief at the abduction of the princess of Videha, took a southern path through the Dandaka woods beholding along their way many uninhabited asylums of ascetics, scattered over with seats of Kusa grass and umbrellas of leaves and broken water-pots, and abounding with hundreds of jackals. And in that great forest, Rama along with Sumatra's son beheld many herds of deer running in all directions. And they heard a loud uproar of various creatures like what is heard during a fast spreading forest conflagration. And soon they beheld a headless Rakshasa of terrible mien. And that Rakshasa was dark as the clouds and huge as a mountain, with shoulders broad as those of a Sola tree, and with arms that were gigantic. And he had a pair of large eyes on his breast, and the opening of his mouth was placed on his capacious belly. And that Rakshasa seized Lakshmana by the hand, without any difficulty. And seized by the Rakshasa the son of Sumitra, O Bharata, became utterly confounded and helpless. And casting his glances on Rama, that headless Rakshasa began to draw Lakshmana towards that part of his body where his mouth was. And Lakshmana in grief addressed Rama, saying, 'Behold my plight! The loss of thy kingdom, and then the death of our father, and then the abduction of Sita, and finally this disaster that hath overwhelmed me! Alas, I shall not behold thee return with the princess of Videha to Kosala and seated on thy ancestral throne as the ruler of the entire Earth! They only that are fortunate will behold thy face, like unto the moon emerged from the clouds, after thy coronation bath in water sanctified with Kusa grass and fried paddy and black peas!' And the intelligent Lakshmana uttered those and other lamentations in the same strain. The illustrious descendant, however, of Kakutstha's race undaunted amid danger, replied unto Lakshmana, saying, 'Do not, O tiger among men, give way to grief! What is this thing when I am here? Cut thou off his right arm and I shall cut off his left.' And while Rama was still speaking so, the left arm of the monster was severed by him, cut off with a sharp scimitar, as if indeed, that arm were a stalk of the Tila corn. The mighty son of Sumitra then beholding his brother standing before him struck off with his sword the right arm also of that Rakshasa. And Lakshmana also began to repeatedly strike Rakshasa under the ribs, and then that huge headless monster fell upon the ground and expired quickly. And then there came out from the Rakshasa's body a person of celestial make. And he showed himself to the brothers, staying for a moment in the skies, like the Sun in his effulgence in the firmament. And Rama skilled in speech, asked him, saying, 'Who art thou? Answer me who enquire of thee? Whence could such a thing happen? All this seems to me to be exceedingly wonderful!' Thus addressed by Rama, that being replied unto him, saying, 'I am, O prince, a Gandharva of the name of Viswavasu! It was through the curse of a Brahmana that I had to assume the form and nature of a Rakshasa. As to thyself, O Rama, Sita hath been carried away with violence by king Ravana who dwelleth in Lanka. Repair thou unto Sugriva who will give thee his friendship. There, near enough to the peak of Rishyamuka is the lake known by the name of Pampa of sacred water and cranes. There dwelleth, with four of his counsellors, Sugriva, the brother of the monkey-king Vali decked with a garland of gold. Repairing unto him, inform of thy cause of sorrow. In plight very much like thy own, he will render thee assistance. This is all that we can say. Thou wilt, without doubt, see the daughter of Janaka! Without doubt Ravana and others are known to the king of the monkeys!' Having said these words, that celestial being of great effulgence made himself invisible, and those heroes, both Rama and Lakshmana, wondered much."

SECTION 278

"Markandeya said, 'Afflicted with grief at the abduction of Sita, Rama had not to go much further before he came upon Pampa--that lake which abounded with lotuses of various kinds. And fanned by the cool, delicious and fragrant breezes in those woods, Rama suddenly remembered his dear spouse. And, O mighty monarch, thinking of that dear wife of his, and afflicted at the thought of his separation from her, Rama gave way to lamentations. The son of Sumitra then addressed him saying, 'O thou that givest proper respect to those that deserve it, despondency such as this should not be suffered to approach thee, like illness that can never touch an old man leading a regular life! Thou hast obtained information of Ravana and of the princess of Videha! Liberate her now with exertion and intelligence! Let us now approach Sugriva, that foremost of monkeys, who is even now on the mountain top! Console thyself, when I, thy disciple and slave and ally, am near!' And addressed by Lakshmana in these and other words of the same import, Rama regained his own nature and attended to the business before him. And bathing in the waters of Pampa and offering oblations therewith unto their ancestors, both those heroic brothers, Rama and Lakshmana, set out (for Rishyamuka). And arriving at Rishyamuka which abounded with fruits and roots and trees, those heroes beheld five monkeys on the top of the mountain-peak. And seeing them approach, Sugriva sent his counsellor the intelligent Hanuman, huge as the Himavat-mountains, to receive them. And the brothers, having first exchanged words with Hanuman, approached Sugriva. And then, O king, Rama made friends with Sugriva. And when Rama informed Sugriva of the object he had in view, Sugriva showed him the piece of cloth that Sita had dropped among the monkeys, while being carried away by Ravana. And having obtained from him those credentials, Rama himself installed Sugriva--that foremost of monkeys--in sovereignty of all the monkeys of Earth. And Rama also pledged himself to slay Vali in battle. And having come to that understanding and placing the fullest confidence in each other, they all repaired to Kiskindhya, desirous of battle (with Vali). And arriving at Kiskindhya, Sugriva sent forth a loud roar deep as that of a cataract. Unable to bear that challenge, Vali was for coming out (but his wife) Tara stood in way, saying, 'Himself endued with great strength, the way in which Sugriva is roaring, showeth, I ween, that he hath found assistance! It behoveth thee not, therefore, to go out! Thus addressed by her, that king of the monkeys, the eloquent Vali, decked in a golden garland replied unto Tara of face beautiful as the moon, saying, 'Thou understandest the voice of every creature. Tell me after reflection whose help it is that this brother in name only of mine hath obtained!' Thus addressed by him Tara endued with wisdom and possessed of the effulgence of the moon, answered her lord after a moment's reflection, saying, 'Listen, O monarch of the monkeys! That foremost of bowmen, endued with great might, Rama the son of Dasaratha, whose spouse hath been ravished, hath made an alliance offensive and defensive with Sugriva! And his brother the intelligent Lakshmana also of mighty arms, the unvanquished son of Sumitra, standeth beside him for the success of Sugriva's object. And Mainda and Dwivida, and Hanuman the son of Pavana, and Jamvuman, the king of the bears, are beside Sugriva as his counsellors. All these illustrious ones are endued with great strength and intelligence. And these all, depending upon the might and energy of Rama, are prepared for thy destruction!' Hearing these words of hers that were for his benefit, the king of the monkeys disregarded them altogether. And filled with jealousy, he also suspected her to have set her heart on Sugriva! And addressing Tara in harsh words, he went out of his cave and coming before Sugriva who was staying by the side of the mountains of Malyavat, he spoke unto him thus, 'Frequently vanquished before by me, fond as thou art of life, thou art allowed by me to escape with life owing to thy relationship with me! What hath made thee wish for death so soon?' Thus addressed by Vali, Sugriva, that slayer of foes, as if addressing Rama himself for informing him of what had happened, replied unto his brother in these words of grave import, 'O king, robbed by thee of my wife and my kingdom also, what need have I of life? Know that it is for this that I have come!' Then addressing each other in these and other words of the same import, Vali and Sugriva rushed to the encounter, fighting with Sala and Tala trees and stones. And they struck each other down on the earth. And leaping high into the air, they struck each other with their fists. And mangled by each other's nail and teeth, both of them were covered with blood. And the two heroes shone on that account like a pair of blossoming Kinshukas. And as they fought with each other, no difference (in aspect) could be observed so as to distinguish them. Then Hanuman placed on Sugriva's neck a garland of flowers. And that hero thereupon shone with that garland on his neck, like the beautiful and huge peak of Malya with its cloudy belt. And Rama, recognising Sugriva by that sign, then drew his foremost of huge bows, aiming at Vali as his mark. And the twang of Rama's bow resembled the roar of an engine. And Vali, pierced in the heart by that arrow, trembled in fear. And Vali, his heart having been pierced through, began to vomit forth blood. And he then beheld standing before him Rama with Sumatra's son by his side. And reproving that descendant of Kakutstha's race, Vali fell down on the ground and became senseless. And Tara then beheld that lord of hers possessed of the effulgence of the Moon, lying prostrate on the bare earth. And after Vali had been thus slain, Sugriva regained possession of Kishkindhya, and along with it, of the widowed Tara also of face beautiful as the moon. And the intelligent Rama also dwelt on the beautiful breast of the Malyavat hill for four months, duly worshipped by Sugriva all the while.

"Meanwhile Ravana excited by lust, having reached his city of Lanka, placed Sita in an abode, resembling Nandana itself, within a forest of Asokas, that looked like an asylum of ascetics. And the large-eyed Sita passed her days there in distress, living on fruits and roots, practising ascetic austerities with fasts, attired in ascetic garb, and waning thin day by day, thinking of her absent lord. And the king of the Rakshasas appointed many Rakshasa women armed with bearded darts and swords and lances and battle-axes and maces and flaming brands, for guarding her. And some of these had two eyes, and some three. And some had eyes on their foreheads. And some had long tongues and some had none. And some had three breasts and some had only one leg. And some had three matted braids on their heads, and some had only one eye. And these, and others of blazing eyes and hair stiff as the camel's, stood beside Sita surrounding her day and night most watchfully. And those Pisacha women of frightful voice and terrible aspect always addressed that large-eyed lady in the harshest tones. And they said, 'Let us eat her up, let us mangle her, let us tear her into pieces, her, that is, that dwelleth here disregarding our lord!' And filled with grief at the separation from her lord, Sita drew a deep sigh and answered those Rakshasa women, saying, 'Reverend ladies, eat me up without delay! I have no desire to live without that husband of mine, of eyes like lotus-leaves and locks wavy, and blue in hue! Truly I will, without food and without the least love of life, emaciate my limbs, like a she-snake (hibernating) within a Tala tree. Know this for certain that I will never seek the protection of any other person than the descendant of Raghu. And knowing this, do what ye think fit!' And hearing these words of hers, those Rakshasas with dissonant voice went to the king of the Rakshasas, for representing unto him all she had said. And when those Rakshasas had gone away, one of their number known by the name of Trijata, who was virtuous and agreeable in speech, began to console the princess of Videha. And she said, 'Listen, O Sita! I will tell thee something! O friend, believe in what I say! O thou of fair hips, cast off thy fears, and listen to what I say. There is an intelligent and old chief of the Rakshasas known by the name of Avindhya. He always seeketh Rama's good and hath told me these words for thy sake! 'Reassuring and cheering her, tell Sita in my name, saying: 'Thy husband the mighty Rama is well and is waited upon by Lakshmana. And the blessed descendant of Raghu hath already made friends with Sugriva, the king of the monkeys, and is ready to act for thee! And, O timid lady, entertain thou no fear on account of Ravana, who is censured by the whole world, for, O daughter, thou art safe from him on account of Nalakuvera's curse. Indeed, this wretch had been cursed before for his having violated his daughter-in-law, Rambha. This lustful wretch is not able to violate any woman by force. Thy husband will soon come, protected by Sugriva and with the intelligent son of Sumitra in his train, and will soon take thee away hence! O lady, I have had a most terrible dream of evil omen, indicating the destruction of this wicked-minded wretch of Pulastya's race! This night wanderer of mean deeds is, indeed, most wicked and cruel. He inspireth terror in all by the defects of his nature and the wickedness of his conduct. And deprived of his senses by Fate, he challengeth the very gods. In my vision I have seen every indication of his downfall. I have seen the Ten-headed, with his crown shaven and body besmeared with oil, sunk in mire, and the next moment dancing on a chariot drawn by mules. I have seen Kumbhakarna and others, perfectly naked and with crowns shaven, decked with red wreaths and unguents, and running towards the southern direction. Vibhishana alone, with umbrella over his head, and graced with a turban, and with body decked with white wreaths and unguents, I beheld ascending the summit of the White hill. And I saw four of his counsellors also, decked with white wreaths and unguents, ascending the summit of that hill along with him. All this bodeth that these alone will be saved from the impending terror. The whole earth with its oceans and seas will be enveloped with Rama's arrows. O lady, thy husband will fill the whole earth with his fame. I also saw Lakshmana, consuming all directions (with his arrows) and ascending on a heap of bones and drinking thereon honey and rice boiled in milk. And thou, O lady, hast been beheld by me running towards a northernly direction, weeping and covered with blood and protected by a tiger! And, O princess of Videha, soon wilt thou find happiness, being united, O Sita, with thy lord, that descendant of Raghu accompanied by his brother!' Hearing these words of Trijata, that girl with eyes like those of a young gazelle, once more began to entertain

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hopes of a union with her lord. And when at last those fierce and cruel Pisacha guards came back, they saw her sitting with Trijata as before."

SECTION 279

"Markandeya said, 'And while the chaste Sita was dwelling there afflicted with melancholy and grief on account of her lord, attired in mean garb, with but a single jewel (on the marital thread on her wrist), and incessantly weeping, seated on a stone, and waited upon by Rakshasa women, Ravana, afflicted by the shafts of the god of desire, came to her and approached her presence. And inflamed by desire, that conquerer in battle of the gods, the Danavas, the Gandharvas, the Yakshas, and the Kimpurushas, attired in celestial robes and possessing handsome features, decked with jewelled earrings and wearing a beautiful garland and crown, entered the Asoka woods, like an embodiment of the vernal season. And dressed with care, Ravana looked like the Kalpa tree in Indra's garden. But though adorned with every embellishment, that inspired her only with awe, like a beautified banian in the midst of a cemetery. And that night wanderer, having approached the presence of that slender-waisted lady, looked like the planet Saturn in the presence of Rohini. And smitten with the shafts of the god of the flowery emblem he accosted that fair-hipped lady then affrighted like a helpless doe, and told her these words, 'Thou hast, O Sita, shown thy regard for thy lord too much! O thou of delicate limbs, be merciful unto me. Let thy person be embellished now (by these maids in waiting). O excellent lady, accept me as thy lord! And, O thou of the most beautiful complexion, attired in costly robes and ornaments, take thou the first place among all the women of my household. Many are the daughters of the celestials and also the Gandharvas that I possess! I am lord also of many Danava and Daitya ladies! One hundred and forty millions of Pisachas, twice as many man-eating Rakshasa of terrible deed, and thrice as many Yaksha do my bidding! Some of these are under the sway of my brother who is the lord of all treasures. In my drinking hall, O excellent lady of beautiful thighs, Gandharvas and Apsaras wait on me as they do on my brother! I am, again, the son of that regenerate Rishi Visravas himself of high ascetic merit. I am renowned, again, as the fifth Regent of the Universe! And, O beautiful lady, of food and edibles and drinks of the very best kind, I have as much as the Lord himself of the celestials! Let all thy troubles consequent on a life in the woods cease! O thou of fair hips, be my Queen, as Mandodari herself!' Thus addressed by him, the beautiful princess of Videha, turning away and regarding him as something less than a straw, replied unto that wanderer of the night. And at that time the princess of Videha, that girl of beautiful hips, had her deep and compact bosom copiously drenched by her inauspicious tears shed ceaselessly. And she who regarded her husband as her god, answered that mean wretch, saying, 'By sheer ill-luck it is, O king of the Rakshasas, that I am obliged to hear such words of grievous import spoken by thee! Blessed be thou, O Rakshasa fond of sensual pleasures, let thy heart be withdrawn from me! I am the wife of another, ever devoted to my husband, and, therefore, incapable of being possessed by thee! A helpless human being that I am, I cannot be a fit wife for thee! What joy can be thine by using violence towards an unwilling woman? Thy father is a wise Brahmana, born of Brahma and equal unto that Lord himself of the creation! Why dost thou not, therefore, thyself being equal to a Regent of the Universe, observe virtue? Disgracing thy brother, that king of the Yakshas, that adorable one who is the friend of Maheswara himself, that lord of treasures, how is it that thou feelest no shame?' Having said these words, Sita began to weep, her bosom shivering in agitation, and covering her neck and face with her garments. And the long and well-knit braid, black and glossy, falling from the head of the weeping lady, looked like a black snake. And hearing these cruel words uttered by Sita, the foolish Ravana, although thus rejected, addressed Sita once more, saying, 'O lady, let the god having the Makara for his emblem burn me sorely. I will, however, on no account, O thou of sweet smiles and beautiful hips, approach thee, as thou art unwilling! What can I do to thee that still feelest a regard for Rama who is only a human being and, therefore, our food?' Having said those words unto that lady of faultless features, the king of the Rakshasa made himself invisible then and there and went away to the place he liked. And Sita, surrounded by those Rakshasa women, and treated with tenderness by Trijata, continued to dwell there in grief."

SECTION 280

"Markandeya said, 'Meanwhile the illustrious descendant of Raghu, along with his brother, hospitably treated by Sugriva, continued to dwell on the breast of the Malyavat hill, beholding every day the clear blue sky. And one night, while gazing from the mountain-top on the bright moon in the cloudless sky surrounded by planets and stars and stellar bodies, that slayer of foes was suddenly awakened (to a remembrance of Sita) by the cold breezes fragrant with the perfumes of the lily, lotus and other flowers of the same species. And virtuous Rama, dejected in spirits at the thought of Sita's captivity in the abode of the Rakshasa, addressed the heroic Lakshmana in the morning saying, 'Go, Lakshmana and seek in Kishkindhya that ungrateful king off the monkeys, who understand well his own interest and is even now indulging in dissipations, that foolish wretch of his race whom I have installed on a throne and to whom all apes and monkeys and bears owe allegiance, that fellow for whose sake, O mighty-armed perpetuator of Raghu's race, Vali was slain by me with thy help in the wood of Kishkindhya! I regard that worst of monkeys on earth to be highly ungrateful, for, O Lakshmana, that wretch hath now forgotten me who am sunk in such distress! I think he is unwilling to fulfil his pledge, disregarding, from dullness of understanding, one who hath done him such services! If thou findest him lukewarm and rolling in sensual joys, thou must then send him, by the path Vali hath been made to follow, to the common goal of all creatures! If, on the other hand, thou seest that foremost of monkeys delight in our cause, then, O descendant of Kakutstha, shouldst thou bring him hither with thee! Be quick, and delay not!' Thus addressed by his brother, Lakshmana ever attentive to the behests and welfare of his superiors, set out taking with him his handsome bow with string and arrows. And reaching the gates of Kishkindhya he entered the city unchallenged. And knowing him to be angry, the monkey-king advanced to receive him. And with his wife, Sugriva the king of the monkeys, with a humble heart, joyfully received him with due honours. And the dauntless son of Sumitra then told him what Rama had said. And having heard everything in detail, O mighty monarch, Sugriva, the king of the monkeys with his wife and servants, joined his hands, and cheerfully said unto Lakshmana, that elephant among men, these words: 'I am, O Lakshmana, neither wicked, nor ungrateful, nor destitute of virtue! Hear what efforts I have made for finding out Sita's place of captivity! I have despatched diligent monkeys in all directions. All of them have stipulated to return within a month. They will, O hero, search the whole earth with her forests and hills and seas, her villages and towns and cities and mines. Only five nights are wanting to complete that month, and then thou wilt, with Rama, hear tidings of great joy!'

"Thus addressed by that intelligent king of the monkeys, the high-souled Lakshmana became appeased, and he in his turn worshipped Sugriva. And accompanied by Sugriva, he returned to Rama on the breast of the Malyavat hill. And approaching him, Lakshmana informed him of the beginning already made in respect of his undertaking. And soon thousands of monkey-chiefs began to return, after having carefully searched the three quarters of the earth, viz., the North, the East and the West. But they that had gone towards the South did not make their appearance And they that came back represented to Rama, saying that although they had searched the whole earth with her belt of seas, yet they could not find either the princess of Videha or Ravana. But that descendant of Kakutstha's race, afflicted at heart, managed to live yet, resting his hopes (of hearing Sita's tidings) on the great monkeys that had gone towards the South.

"After the lapse of two months, several monkeys seeking with haste the presence of Sugriva, addressed him, saying, 'O king, that foremost of monkeys, the son of Pavana, as also Angada, the son of Vali, and the other great monkeys whom thou hadst despatched to search the southern region, have come back and are pillaging that great and excellent orchard called Madhuvana, which was always guarded by Vali and which hath been well-guarded by thee also after him!' Hearing of this act of liberty on their part, Sugriva inferred the success of their mission, for it is only servants that have been crowned with success that can act in this way. And that intelligent and foremost of monkeys communicated his suspicions to Rama. And Rama also, from this, guessed that the princess of Mithila had been seen. Then Hanuman and the other monkeys, having refreshed themselves thus, came towards their king, who was then staying with Rama and Lakshmana. And, O Bharata, observing the gait of Hanuman and the colour of his face, Rama was confirmed in the belief that Hanuman had really seen Sita. Then those successful monkeys with Hanuman at their head, duly bowed unto Rama and Lakshmana and Sugriva. And Rama then taking up his bow and quiver, addressed those monkeys, saying, 'Have you been successful? Will ye impart life unto me? Will ye once more enable me to reign in Ayodhya after having slain my enemy in battle and rescued the daughter of Janaka? With the princess of Videha unrescued, and the foe unslain in battle, I dare not live, robbed of wife and honour!' Thus addressed by Rama, the son of Pavana, replied unto him, saying, 'I bring thee good news, O Rama; for Janaka's daughter hath been seen by me. Having searched the southern region with all its hills, forests, and mines for some time, we became very weary. At length we beheld a great cavern. And having beheld it, we entered that cavern which extended over many Yojanas. It was dark and deep and overgrown with trees and infested by worms. And having gone a great way through it, we came upon sun-shine and beheld a beautiful palace. It was, O Raghava, the abode of the Daitya Maya. And there we beheld a female ascetic named Prabhavati engaged in ascetic austerities. And she gave us food and drink of various kinds. And having refreshed ourselves therewith and regained our strength, we proceeded along the way shown by her. At last we came out of the cavern and beheld the briny sea, and on its shores, the Sahya, the Malaya and the great Dardura mountains. And ascending the mountains of Malaya, we beheld before us the vast ocean [Abode of Varuna in the original.]. And beholding it we felt sorely grieved in mind. And dejected in spirits and afflicted with pain and famishing with hunger, we despaired of returning with our lives. Casting our eyes on the great ocean extending over many hundreds of Yojanas and abounding in whales and alligators and other aquatic animals, we became anxious and filled with grief. We then sat together, resolved to die there of starvation. And in course of conversation we happened to talk of the vulture Jatayu. Just then we saw a bird huge as a mountain, of frightful form, and inspiring terror into every heart, like a second son of Vinata [Garuda.]. And coming upon us unawares for devouring us, he said, 'Who are ye that are speaking thus of my brother Jatayu? I am his elder brother, by name Sampati, and am the king of birds. Once upon a time, we two, with the desire of outstripping each other, flew towards the sun. My wings got burnt, but those of Jatayu were not. That was the last time I saw my beloved brother Jatayu, the king of vultures! My wings burnt, I fell down upon the top of this great mountain where I still am!' When he finished speaking, we informed him of the death of his brother in a few words and also of this calamity that hath befallen thee! And, O king, the powerful Sampati heating this unpleasant news from us, was greatly afflicted and again enquired of us, saying, 'Who is this Rama and why was Sita carried off and how was Jatayu slain? Ye foremost of monkeys I wish to hear everything in detail!' We then informed him of everything about this calamity of thine and of the reason also of our vow of starvation. That king of birds then urged us (to give up our vow) by these words of his: 'Ravana is, indeed, known to me. Lanka is his capital. I beheld it on the other side of the sea in a valley of the Trikuta hills! Sita must be there. I have little doubt of this!' Hearing these words of his, we rose up quickly and began, O chastiser of foes, to take counsel of one another for crossing the ocean! And when none dared to cross it, I, having recourse to my father, crossed the great ocean which is a hundred Yojanas in width. And having slain the Rakshasis on the waters, I saw the chaste Sita within Ravana's harem, observing ascetic austerities, eager to behold her lord, with matted locks on head, and body besmeared with filth, and lean, and melancholy and helpless. Recognising her as Sita by those unusual signs, and approaching that worshipful lady while alone, I said, 'I am, O Sita, an emissary of Rama and monkey begotten by Pavana [The God of the wind.] ! Desirous of having a sight of thee, hither have I come travelling through the skies! Protected by Sugriva, that monarch of all the monkeys, the royal brothers Rama and Lakshmana are in peace! And Rama, O lady, with Sumitra's son, hath enquired of thy welfare! And Sugriva also, on account of his friendship (with Rama and Lakshmana) enquireth of thy welfare. Followed by all the monkeys, thy husband will soon be here. Confide in me, O adorable lady, I am a monkey and not a Rakshasa!' Thus addressed by me, Sita seemed to meditate for a moment and then replied to me, saying, 'From the words of Avindhya I know that thou art Hanuman! O mighty-armed one, Avindhya is an old and respected Rakshasa! He told me that Sugriva is surrounded by counsellors like thee. Thou mayst depart now!' And with these words she gave me this jewel as a credential. And, indeed, it was by means of this jewel that the faultless Sita had been able to support her existence. And the daughter of Janaka further told me as a token from her, that by thee, O tiger among men, a blade of grass (inspired with Mantras and thus converted into a fatal weapon) had once been shot at a crow while ye were on the breast of the mighty hill known by the name of Chitrakuta! And this she said as evidence of my having met her and hers being really the princess of Videha. I then caused myself to be seized by Ravana's soldiers, and then set fire to the city of Lanka!'"

SECTION 281

"Markandeya said, 'It was on the breast of that very hill where Rama was seated with those foremost of monkeys that great monkey chiefs at the command of Sugriva, began to flock together. The father-in-law of Vali, the illustrious Sushena, accompanied by a thousand crores of active apes, came to Rama. And those two foremost of monkeys endued with mighty energy, viz., Gaya and Gavakshya, each accompanied by a hundred crores of monkeys, showed themselves there. And, O king, Gavakshya also of terrible mien and endued with a bovine tail, showed himself there, having collected sixty thousand crores of monkeys. And the renowned Gandhamadana, dwelling on the mountains of the same name, collected a hundred thousand crores of monkeys. And the intelligent and mighty monkey known by the name of Panasa mustered together fifty-two crores of monkeys. And that foremost and illustrious of monkeys named Dadhimukha of mighty energy mustered a large army of monkeys possessed of terrible prowess. And Jamvuvan showed himself there with

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a hundred thousand crores of black bears of terrible deeds and faces having the Tilaka mark. And these and many other chiefs of monkey-chiefs, countless in number, O king, came there for aiding Rama's cause. And endued with bodies huge as mountain-peaks and roaring like lions, loud was the uproar that was heard there made by those monkeys running restlessly from place to place. And some of them looked like mountain-peaks, and some looked like buffaloes. And some were of the hue of autumnal clouds and the faces of some were red as vermillion. And some rose high, and some fell down, and some cut capers, and some scattered the dust, as they mustered together from various directions. And that monkey army, vast as the sea at full tide, encamped there at Sugriva's bidding. And after those foremost of monkeys had mustered from every direction, the illustrious descendant of Raghu, with Sugriva by his side, set out in an auspicious moment of a very fair day under a lucky constellation, accompanied by that host arrayed in order of battle, as if for the purpose of destroying all the worlds. And Hanuman, the son of the Wind-god, was in the van of that host, while the rear was protected by the fearless son of Sumitra. And surrounded by the monkey-chiefs, those princes of Raghu's house with fingers cased in guana skin, shone, as they went, like the Sun and the Moon in the midst of the planets. And that monkey host armed with stones and Sala and Tala trees, looked very much like a far-extending field of corn under the morning sun. And that mighty army, protected by Nala and Nila and Angada and Kratha and Mainda and Dwivida, marched forth for achieving the purpose of Raghava. And encamping successively, without interruption of any kind, on wide and healthy tracts and valleys abounding with fruits and roots and water and honey and meat, the monkey host at last reached the shores of the briny sea. And like unto a second ocean, that mighty army with its countless colours, having reached the shores of sea, took up its abode there. Then the illustrious son of Dasaratha, addressing Sugriva amongst all those foremost monkeys, spoke unto him these words that were suited to the occasion, 'This army is large. The ocean also is difficult to cross. What contrivance, therefore, commends itself to thee for crossing the ocean?' At these words, many vain-glorious monkeys answered, 'We are fully able to cross the sea.' This answer, however, was not of much use, as all could not avail of that means. Some of the monkeys proposed to cross the sea in boats, and some in rafts of various kinds. Rama, however, conciliating them all, said, 'This cannot be. 'The sea here is a full hundred Yojanas in width. All the monkeys, ye heroes, will not be able to cross it. This proposal, therefore, that ye have made, is not consonant to reason. Besides we have not the number of boats necessary for carrying all our troops. How, again, can one like us raise such obstacles in the way of the merchants? Our army is very large. The foe wilt make a great havoc if a hole is detected. Therefore, to cross the sea in boats and rafts doth not recommend itself to me. I will, however, pray to the Ocean for the necessary means. Foregoing food, I will lie down on the shore. He will certainly show himself to me. If, however, he doth not show himself, I will chastise him then by means of my great weapons that are more blazing than fire itself and are incapable of being baffled!' Having said these words, both Rama and Lakshmana touched water and duly laid themselves down on a bed of kusa grass on the seashore. The divine and illustrious Ocean then that lord of male and female rivers, surrounded by aquatic animals, appeared unto Rama in a vision. And addressing Rama in sweet accents, the genius of the Ocean, surrounded by countless mines of gems, said, 'O son of Kausalya, tell me what aid, O bull among men, I am to render thee! I also have sprung from the race of Ikshwaku and am, therefore, a relative of thine!' Rama replied unto him, saying, 'O lord of rivers, male and female, I desire thee to grant me a way for my troops, passing along which I may slay the Ten-headed (Ravana), that wretch of Pulastya's race! If thou dost not grant the way I beg of thee, I will then dry thee up by means of my celestial arrows inspired with mantras!' And hearing these words of Rama, the genius of Varuna's abode, joining his hands, answered in great affliction, 'I do not desire to put any obstacle in thy way. I am no foe of thine! Listen, O Rama, to these words, and having listened, do what is proper! If, at thy command, I get a way for the passage of thy army, others then, from strength of their bows, will command me to do the same! In thy army there is a monkey of the name of Nala, who is a skilful mechanic. And endued with great strength, Nala is the son of Tashtri, the divine artificer of the Universe. And whether it is wood, or grass or stone, that he will throw into my waters, I will support the same on my surface, and thus wilt thou have a bridge (over which to pass)!' And having said these words, the genius of the Ocean disappeared. And Rama awaking, called Nala unto him and said, 'Build thou a bridge over the sea! Thou alone, I am sure, art able to do it!' And it was by this means that the descendant of Kakutstha's race caused a bridge to be built that was ten Yojanas in width and a hundred Yojanas in length. And to this day that bridge is celebrated over all the world by the name of Nala's bridge. And having completed that bridge, Nala, of body huge as a hill, came away at the command of Rama.

"And while Rama was on this side of the ocean, the virtuous Vibhishana, the brother of the king of the Rakshasas accompanied by four of his counsellors, came unto Rama. And the high-souled Rama received him with due welcome. Sugriva, however, feared, thinking he might be a spy. The son of Raghu, meanwhile perfectly satisfied (with Vibhishana) in consequence of the sincerity of his exertions and the many indications of his good conduct, worshipped him with respect. And he also installed Vibhishana in the sovereignty of all the Rakshasas and made him his own junior counsellor, and a friend of Lakshmana's. And it was under Vibhishana's guidance, O king, that Rama with all his troops crossed the great ocean by means of that bridge in course of a month. And having crossed the ocean and arrived at Lanka, Rama caused its extensive and numerous gardens to be devastated by his monkeys. And while Rama's troops were there, two of Ravana's counsellors and officers, named Suka and Sarana, who had come as spies, having assumed the shape of monkeys, were seized by Vibhishana. And when those wanderers of the night assumed their real Rakshasa forms, Rama showed them his troop and dismissed them quietly. And having quartered his troops in those woods that skirted the city, Rama then sent the monkey Angada with great wisdom as his envoy to Ravana."

SECTION 282

"Markandeya said, 'Having quartered his army in those groves abounding with food and water and with fruits and roots, the descendant of Kakutstha began to watch over them with care. Ravana, on the other hand, planted in his city many appliances constructed according to the rules of military science. And his city, naturally impregnable on account of its strong ramparts and gate-ways, had seven trenches, that were deep and full of water to the brim and that abounded with fishes and sharks and alligators, made more impregnable still by means of pointed stakes of Khadira wood. And the ramparts, heaped with stones, were made impregnable by means of catapults. And the warriors (who guarded the walls) were armed with earthen pots filled with venomous snakes, and with resinous powders of many kinds. And they were also armed with clubs, and fire-brands and arrows and lances and swords and battle-axes. And they had also Sataghnis [Lit. an engine killing a hundred. Perhaps, some kind of rude cannon.] and stout maces steeped in wax. [Perhaps, brands or torches steeped in wax, intended to be thrown in a burning state, amongst the foe. Readers of Indian history know how Lord Lake was repulsed from Bharatpore by means of huge bales of cotton, steeped in oil, rolled from the ramparts of that town, in a burning state, towards the advancing English.] And at all the gates of the city were planted movable and immovable encampments manned by large numbers of infantry supported by countless elephants and horses. And Angada, having reached one of the gates of the city, was made known to the Rakshasas. And he entered the town without suspicion or fear. And surrounded by countless Rakshasas, that hero in his beauty looked like the Sun himself in the midst of masses of clouds. And having approached the hero of Pulastya's race in the midst of his counsellors, the eloquent Angada saluted the king and began to deliver Rama's message in these words, 'That descendant of Raghu, O king, who ruleth at Kosala and whose renown hath spread over the whole world, sayeth unto thee these words suited to the occasion. Accept thou that message and act according to it! Provinces and towns, in consequence of their connexion with sinful kings incapable of controlling their souls, are themselves polluted and destroyed. By the violent abduction of Sita, thou alone hast injured me! Thou, however, wilt become the cause of death to many unoffending persons. Possessed of power and filled with pride, thou hast, before this, slain many Rishis living in the woods, and insulted the very gods. Thou hast slain also many great kings and many weeping women. For those transgressions of thine, retribution is about to overtake thee! I will slay thee with thy counsellors. Fight and show thy courage! O wanderer of the night, behold the power of my bow, although I am but a man! Release Sita, the daughter of Janaka! If thou dost not release her, I shall make the Earth divested of all Rakshasas with my keen-edged arrows!' Hearing these defiant words of the enemy, king Ravana bore them ill, becoming senseless with wrath. And thereupon four Rakshasas skilled in reading every sign of their master, seized Angada like four hawks seizing a tiger. With those Rakshasas, however, holding him fast by his limbs, Angada leaped upwards and alighted on the palace terrace. And as he leaped up with a great force, those wanderers of the night fell down the earth, and bruised by the violence of the fall, had their ribs broken. And from the golden terrace on which he had alighted, he took a downward leap. And overleaping the walls of Lanka, he alighted to where his comrades were. And approaching the presence of the lord of Kosala and informing him of everything, the monkey Angada endued with great energy retired to refresh himself, dismissed with due respect by Rama.

The descendant of Raghu then caused the ramparts of Lanka to be broken down by a united attack of all those monkeys endued with the speed of the wind. Then Lakshmana, with Vibhishana and the king of the bears marching in the van, blew up the southern gate of the city that was almost impregnable. Rama then attacked Lanka with a hundred thousand crores of monkeys, all possessed of great skill in battle, and endued with reddish complexions like those of young camels. And those crores of greyish bears with long arms, and legs and huge paws, and generally supporting themselves on their broad haunches, were also urged on to support the attack. And in consequence of those monkeys leaping up and leaping down and leaping in transverse directions, the Sun himself, his bright disc completely shaded, became invisible for the dust they raised. And the citizens of Lanka beheld the wall of their town assume all over a tawny hue, covered by monkeys of complexions yellow as the ears of paddy, and grey as Shirisha flowers, and red as the rising Sun, and white as flax or hemp. And the Rakshasas, O king, with their wives and elders, were struck with wonders at that sight. And the monkey warriors began to pull down pillars made of precious stones and the terraces and tops of palatial mansions. And breaking into fragments the propellers of catapults and other engines, they began to cast them about in all directions. And taking up the Sataghnis along with the discs, the clubs, and stones, they threw them down into the city with great force and loud noise. And attacked thus by the monkeys, those Rakshasas that had been placed on the walls to guard them, fled precipitately by hundreds and thousands.

"Then hundreds of thousands of Rakshasas, of terrible mien, and capable of assuming any form at will, came out at the command of the king. And pouring a perfect shower of arrows and driving the denizens of the forest, those warriors, displaying great prowess, adorned the ramparts. And soon those wanderers of the night, looking like masses of flesh, and of terrible mien, forced the monkeys to leave the walls. And mangled by the enemies' lances, numerous monkey-chiefs fell down from the ramparts, and crushed by the falling columns and gate-ways, numerous Rakshasas also fell down to rise no more. And the monkeys and the brave Rakshasas that commenced to eat up the foe, struggled, seizing one another by the hair, and mangling and tearing one another with their nails and teeth. And the monkeys and the Rakshasas roared and yelled frightfully, and while many of both parties were slain and fell down to rise no more, neither side gave up the contest. And Rama continued all the while to shower a thick downpour of arrows like the very clouds. And the arrows he shot, enveloping Lanka, killed large numbers of Rakshasas. And the son of Sumitra, too, that mighty bowman incapable of being fatigued in battle, naming particular Rakshasas stationed on the ramparts, slew them with his clothyard shafts. And then the monkey host, having achieved success was withdrawn at the command of Rama, after it had thus pulled down the fortifications of Lanka and made all objects within the city capable of being aimed at by the besieging force."

SECTION 283

"Markandeya said, 'And while those troops (thus withdrawn) were reposing themselves in their quarters, many little Rakshasas and Pisachas owning Ravana as their leader, penetrated amongst them. And among these were Parvana, Patana, Jambha, Khara, Krodha-vasa, Hari, Praruja, Aruja and Praghasa, and others. And as these wicked ones were penetrating (the monkey host) in their invisible forms, Vibhishana, who had the knowledge thereof, broke the spell of their invisibility. And once seen, O king, by the powerful and long-leaping monkeys, they were all slain and prostrated on the earth, deprived of life. And unable to endure this, Ravana marched out at the head of his troops. And surrounded by his terrible army of Rakshasas and Pisachas, Ravana who was conversant with the rules of warfare like a second Usanas invested the monkey host, having disposed his troops in that array which is named after Usanas himself. And beholding Ravana advancing with his army disposed in that array, Rama, following the mode recommended by Vrihaspati, disposed his troops in counter array for opposing that wanderer of the night. And coming up quickly, Ravana began to fight with Rama. And Lakshmana singled out Indrajit, and Sugriva singled out Virupakshya, and Nikharvata fought with Tara, and Nala with Tunda, and Patusa with Panasa. And each warrior, advancing up to him whom he regarded as his match, began to fight with him on that field of battle, relying on the strength of his own arms, and that encounter, so frightful to timid persons, soon became terrible and fierce like that between the gods and the Asuras in the days of old. And Ravana covered Rama with a shower of darts and lances and swords, and Rama also afflicted Ravana with his whetted arrows of iron furnished with the sharpest points, and in the same way Lakshmana smote the contending Indrajit with arrows capable of penetrating into the most vital parts and Indrajit also smote Sumitra's son with an arrowy shower. And Vibhishana showered upon Prahasta and Prahasta showered upon Vibhishana, without any regard for each other a thick downpour of winged arrows furnished with the sharpest

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points. And thus between those mighty warriors there came about an encounter of celestial weapons of great force, at which the three worlds with their mobile and immobile creatures were sorely distressed."

SECTION 284

"Markandeya said, "Then Prahasta, suddenly advancing up to Vibhishana and uttering a loud yell, struck him with his mace. But though struck with that mace of terrible force, the mighty-armed Vibhishana of great wisdom, without wavering in the least, stood still as the mountains of Himavat. Then Vibhishana, taking up a huge and mighty javelin furnished with a hundred bells, inspired it with mantras and hurled it at the head of his adversary. And by the impetuosity of that weapon rushing with the force of the thunderbolt, Prahasta's head was severed off, and he thereupon looked like a mighty tree broken by the wind. And beholding that wanderer of the night, Prahasta, thus slain in battle, Dhumraksha rushed with great impetuosity against the monkey-host. And beholding the soldiers of Dhumraksha, looking like the clouds and endued with terrible mien, advancing up towards them, the monkey-chief suddenly broke and fled. And seeing those foremost of monkeys suddenly give way, that tiger among monkeys, Hanuman, the son of Pavana, began to advance. And beholding the son of Pavana staying still on the field of battle, the retreating monkeys, O king, one and all quickly rallied. Then mighty and great and fearful was the uproar that arose there in consequence of the warriors of Rama and Ravana rushing against each other. And in that battle which raged terribly the field soon became miry with blood. And Dhumraksha afflicted the monkey-host with volleys of winged shafts. Then that vanquisher of foes, Hanuman, the son of Pavana, quickly seized that advancing leader of the Rakshasa. And the encounter that took place between that monkey and the Rakshasa hero, is desirous of defeating the other, was fierce and terrible, like that of Indra and Prahlada (in days of yore). And the Rakshasa struck the monkey with his maces and spiked clubs while the monkey struck the Rakshasa with trunks of trees unshorn of their branches. Then Hanuman, the son of Pavana, slew in great wrath that Rakshasa along with his charioteer and horses and broke his chariot also into pieces. And beholding Dhumraksha, that foremost of Rakshasa, thus slain, the monkeys, abandoning all fear, rushed against the Rakshasa army with great valour. And slaughtered in large numbers by the victorious and powerful monkeys, the Rakshasas became dispirited and fled in fear to Lanka. And the surviving wreck of the Rakshasa army, having reached the city, informed king Ravana of everything that had happened. And hearing from them that Prahasta and that mighty archer Dhumraksha, had both, with their armies, been slain by the powerful monkeys, Ravana drew a deep sigh and springing up from his excellent seat, said,--the time is come for Kumbhakarna to act.--And having said this, he awake, by means of various loud-sounding instruments, his brother Kumbhakarna from his deep and prolonged slumbers. And having awaked him with great efforts, the Rakshasa king, still afflicted with anxiety, addressed the mighty Kumbhakarna and said unto him when seated at his ease on his bed, having perfectly recovered consciousness and self-possession, these words, 'Thou, indeed, art happy, O Kumbhakarna, that canst enjoy profound and undisturbed repose, unconscious of the terrible calamity that hath overtaken us! Rama with his monkey host hath crossed the Ocean by a bridge and disregarding us all is waging a terrible war (against us). I have stealthily brought away his wife Sita, the daughter of Janaka. and it is to recover her that he hath come hither, after having made a bridge over the great Ocean. Our great kinsmen also, Prahasta and others, have already been slain by him. And, O scourge of thy enemies, there is not another person, save thee, that can slay Rama! Therefore, O warrior, putting on thy armour, do thou set out this day for the purpose of vanquishing Rama and his followers! The two younger brothers of Dushana, viz., Vajravega and Promathin, will join thee with their forces!' And having said this unto the mighty Kumbhakarna. the Rakshasa king gave instructions to Vajravega and Promathin as to what they should do. And accepting his advice, those two warlike brothers of Dushana quickly marched out of the city, preceded by Kumbhakarna."

SECTION 285

"Markandeya said, "Then Kumbhakarna set out from the city, accompanied by his followers. And soon he beheld the victorious monkey troops encamped before him. And passing them by with the object of seeking out Rama, he beheld the son of Sumitra standing at his post, bow in hand. Then the monkey warriors, speedily advancing towards him, surrounded him on all sides. And then they commenced to strike him with numberless large trees. And many amongst them fearlessly began to tear his body with their nails. And those monkeys began to fight with him in various ways approved by the laws of warfare. And they soon overwhelmed that chief of the Rakshasas with a shower of terrible weapons of various kinds. And attacked by them thus, Kumbhakarna only laughed at them and began to eat them up. And he devoured those foremost of monkeys known by the name of Chala, and Chandachala, and Vajravahu. And beholding that fearful act of the Rakshasa, other monkeys were frightened and set forth a loud wail of fear. And hearing the screams of those monkey-leaders, Sugriva boldly advanced towards Kumbhakarna. And that high-souled king of the monkeys swiftly approaching the Rakshasa, violently struck him on the head with the trunk of a Sala tree. And though the high-souled Sugriva always prompt in action broke that Sala tree on the head of Kumbhakarna, he failed to make any impression on that Rakshasa. And then, as if roused from his torpor by that blow, Kumbhakarna stretching forth his arms seized Sugriva by main force. And beholding Sugriva dragged away by the Rakshasa, the heroic son of Sumitra, that delighter of his friends, rushed towards Kumbhakarna. And that slayer of hostile heroes, Lakshmana, advancing towards Kumbhakarna, discharged at him an impetuous and mighty arrow furnished with golden wings. And that arrow, cutting through his coat of mail and penetrating into his body, passed through it outright and struck into the earth, stained with the Rakshasa's blood. Kumbhakarna then, having his breast thus bored through, released the king of monkeys. And taking up a huge mass of stone as his weapon, the mighty warrior Kumbhakarna then rushed towards the son of Sumitra, aiming it at him. And as the Rakshasa rushed towards him, Lakshmana cut off his upraised arms by means of a couple of keen-edged shafts furnished with heads resembling razors. But as soon as the two arms of the Rakshasa were thus cut off, double that number of arms soon appeared on his person. Sumitra's son, however, displaying his skill in weapon, soon by means of similar arrows cut off those arms also, each of which had seized a mass of stone. At this, that Rakshasa assumed a form enormously huge and furnished with numerous heads and legs and arms. Then the son of Sumitra rived, with a Brahma weapon, that warrior looking like an assemblage of hill. And rent by means of that celestial weapon, that Rakshasa fell on the field of battle like a huge tree with spreading branches suddenly consumed by heaven's thunderbolt. And beholding Kumbhakarna endued with great activity and resembling the Asura Vritra himself, deprived of life and prostrated on the field of battle, the Rakshasa warriors fled in fear. And beholding the Rakshasa warriors running away from the field of battle, the younger brother of Dushana, rallying them, rushed in great wrath upon the son of Sumitra. Sumitra's son, however, with a loud roar, received with his winged shafts both those wrathful warriors, Vajravega and Promathin, rushing towards him. The battle then, O son of Pritha, that took place between those two younger brothers of Dushana on the one hand and the intelligent Lakshmana on the other, was exceedingly furious and made the bristles of the spectators stand on end. And Lakshmana overwhelmed the two Rakshasas with a perfect shower of arrows. And those two Rakshasa heroes, on the other hand, both of them excited with fury, covered Lakshmana with an arrowy hail. And that terrible encounter between Vajravega and Promathin and the mighty-armed Lakshmana lasted for a short while. And Hanumana, the son of Pavana, taking up a mountain peak, rushed towards one of the brothers, and with that weapon took the life of the Rakshasa Vajravega. And that mighty monkey, Nala, also, with a large mass of rock, crushed Promathin, that other younger brother of Dushana. The deadly struggle, however, between the soldiers of Rama and Ravana, rushing against one another, instead of coming to an end even after this, raged on as before. And hundreds of Rakshasas were slain by the denizens of the forest, while many of the latter were slain by the former. The loss, however, in killed, of the Rakshasas was far greater than that of the monkeys.

SECTION 286

"Markandeya said, 'Learning that Kumbhakarna had with his followers, fallen in battle as also that great warrior Prahasta, and Dhumraksha too of mighty energy, Ravana then addressed his heroic son Indrajit saying, 'O slayer of foes, slay thou in battle Rama and Sugriva and Lakshmana. My good son, it was by thee that this blazing fame of mine had been acquired by vanquishing in battle that wielder of the thunderbolt, the thousand-eyed Lord of Sachi! Having the power of appearing and vanishing at thy will, slay thou, O smiter of foes, my enemies by means, O thou foremost of all wielders of weapons, of thy celestial arrows received as boons (from the gods)! Rama and Lakshmana and Sugriva are incapable of enduring the bare touch of thy weapons. What shall I say, therefore, of their followers? That cessation of hostilities which could not be brought about by either Prahasta or Kumbhakarna in battle, be it thine, O mighty-armed one, to bring about! Slaying my enemies with all their army by means of thy keen-edged shafts, enhance my joy to-day, O son, as thou didst once before by vanquishing Vasava!' Thus addressed by him. Indrajit said--So be it,--and encased in mail he quickly ascended his chariot, and proceeded, O king, towards the field of battle. And then that bull amongst Rakshasas loudly announcing his own name, challenged Lakshmana endued with auspicious marks, to a single combat. And Lakshmana, thus challenged, rushed towards that Rakshasa, with his bow and arrows, and striking terror into his adversary's heart by means of the flapping of his bow-string on the leathern case of his left hand. And the encounter that took place between those warriors that defied each other's prowess and each of whom was desirous of vanquishing the other, and both of whom were conversant with celestial weapons, was terrible in the extreme. But when the son of Ravana found that he could not by his arrows gain any advantage over his adversary, that foremost of mighty warriors mustered all his energy. And Indrajit then began to hurl at Lakshmana with great force numberless javelins. The son of Sumitra, however, cut them into fragments by means of his own keen-edged arrows. And those javelins, thus cut into pieces by the keen-edged arrows of Lakshmana, dropped down upon the ground. Then the handsome Angada, the son of Vali, taking up a large tree, rushed impetuously at Indrajit and struck him with it on the head. Undaunted at this, Indrajit of mighty energy sought to smite Angada with a lance. Just at that juncture, however, Lakshmana cut into pieces the lance taken up by Ravana's son. The son of Ravana then took up a mace and struck on the left flank that foremost of monkeys, the heroic Angada who was then staying close beside him. Angada, the powerful son of Vali, little recking that stroke, hurled at Indrajit a mighty Sal stem. And hurled in wrath by Angada for the destruction of Indrajit, that tree, O son of Pritha, destroyed Indrajit's chariot along with his horses and charioteer. And thereupon jumping from his horseless and driverless car, the son of Ravana disappeared from sight, O king, by aid of his powers of illusion. And beholding that Rakshasa, abundantly endued with powers of illusion, disappear so suddenly, Rama proceeded towards that spot and began to protect his troops with care. Indrajit, however, with arrows, obtained as boons from the gods, began to pierce both Rama and mighty Lakshmana in every part of their bodies. Then the heroic Rama and Lakshmana both continued to contend with their arrows against Ravana's son who had made himself invisible by his powers of illusion. But Indrajit continued to shower in wrath all over those lions among men his keen-edged shafts by hundreds and thousands. And seeking that invisible warrior who was ceaselessly showering his arrows, the monkeys penetrated into every part of the firmament, armed with huge masses of stone. Them as well as the two brothers, however, the invisible Rakshasa began to afflict with his shafts. Indeed, the son of Ravana, concealing himself by his powers of illusion, furiously attacked the monkey host. And the heroic brothers Rama and Lakshmana, pierced all over with arrows, dropped down on the ground like the Sun and the Moon fallen down from the firmament.'"

SECTION 287

"Markandeya said, 'Beholding both the brothers Rama and Lakshmana prostrate on the ground, the son of Ravana tied them in a net-work of those arrows of his which he had obtained as boons. And tied by Indrajit on the field of battle by means of that arrowy net, those heroic tigers among men resembled a couple of hawks immured in a cage. And beholding those heroes prostrate on the ground pierced with hundreds of arrows, Sugriva with all the monkeys stood surrounding them on all sides. And the king of the monkeys stood there, accompanied by Sushena and Mainda and Dwivida, and Kumuda and Angada and Hanuman and Nila and Tara and Nala. And Vibhishana, having achieved success in another part of the field, soon arrived at that spot, and roused those heroes from insensibility, awakening them by means of the weapon called, Prajna [This weapon could restore an insensible warrior to consciousness, as the Sammohana weapon could deprive one of consciousness.]. Then Sugriva soon extracted the arrows from their bodies. And by means of that most efficacious medicine called the Visalya*, applied with celestial mantras, those human heroes regained their consciousness. [* Visalya is a medicinal plant of great efficacy in healing cuts and wounds. It is still cultivated in several parts of Bengal. A medical friend of the writer tested the efficacy of the plant known by that name and found it to be much superior to either gallic acid or tannic acid in stopping blood.] And the arrow having been extracted from their bodies, those mighty warriors in a moment rose from their recumbent posture, their pains and fatigue thoroughly alleviated. And beholding Rama the descendant of Ikshwaku's race, quite at his ease, Vibhishana, O son of Pritha, joining his hands; told him these words, 'O chastiser of foes, at the command of the king of the Guhyakas, a Guhyaka hath come from the White mountains, bringing with him his water! [The Guhyakas occupy, in Hindu mythology, a position next only to that of the gods, and superior to that of the Gandharvas who are the celestial choristers. The White mountain is another name of Kailasa, the peak where Siva hath his abode.] O great king, this water is a present to thee from Kuvera, so that all creatures that are invisible may, O chastiser of foes, become visible to thee! This water laved over the eyes will make every invisible creature visible to thee, as also to any other person to whom thou mayst give it!'--Saying--So be it,--

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Rama took that sacred water, and sanctified his own eyes therewith. And the high-minded Lakshmana also did the same. And Sugriva and Jambuvan, and Hanuman and Angada, and Mainda and Dwivida, and Nila and many other foremost of the monkeys, laved their eyes with that water. And thereupon it exactly happened as Vibhishana had said, for, O Yudhishthira, soon did the eyes of all these became capable of beholding things that could not be seen by the unassisted eye!

"Meanwhile, Indrajit, after the success he had won, went to his father. And having informed him of the feats he had achieved, he speedily returned to the field of battle and placed himself at the van of his army. The son of Sumitra then, under Vibhishana's guidance, rushed towards that wrathful son of Ravana coming back, from desire of battle, to lead the attack. And Lakshmana, excited to fury and receiving a hint from Vibhishana, and desiring to slay Indrajit who had not completed his daily sacrifice, smote with his arrows that warrior burning to achieve success. And desirous of vanquishing each other, the encounter that took place between them was exceedingly wonderful like that (in days of yore) between the Lord of celestials and Prahrada. And Indrajit pierced the son of Sumitra with arrows penetrating into his very vitals. And the son of Sumitra also pierced Ravana's son with arrows of fiery energy. And pierced with Lakshmana's arrows, the son of Ravana became senseless with wrath. And he shot at Lakshmana eight shafts fierce as venomous snakes. Listen now, O Yudhishthira, as I tell thee how the heroic son of Sumitra then took his adversary's life by means of three winged arrows possessed of the energy and effulgence of fire! With one of these, he severed from Indrajit's body that arm of his enemy which had grasped the bow. With the second he caused that other arm which had held the arrows, to drop down on the ground. With the third that was bright and possessed of the keenest edge, he cut off his head decked with a beautiful nose and bright with ear-rings. And shorn of arms and head, the trunk became fearful to behold. And having slain the foe thus, that foremost of mighty men then slew with his arrows the charioteer of his adversary. And the horses then dragged away the empty chariot into the city. And Ravana then beheld that car without his son on it. And hearing that his son had been slain, Ravana suffered his heart to be overpowered with grief. And under the influence of extreme grief and affliction, the king of the Rakshasas suddenly cherished the desire of killing the princess of Mithila. And seizing a sword, the wicked Rakshasa hastily ran towards that lady staying within the Asoka wood longing to behold her lord. Then Avindhya beholding that sinful purpose of the wicked wretch, appeased his fury. Listen, O Yudhishthira, to the reasons urged by Avindhya! That wise Rakshasa said, 'Placed as thou art on the blazing throne of an empire, it behoveth thee not to slay a woman! Besides, this woman is already slain, considering that she is a captive in thy power! I think, she would not be slain if only her body were destroyed. Slay thou her husband! He being slain, she will be slain too! Indeed, not even he of an hundred sacrifices (Indra) is thy equal in prowess! The gods with Indra at their head, had repeatedly been affrighted by thee in battle!' With these and many other words of the same import, Avindhya succeeded in appeasing Ravana. And the latter did, indeed, listen to his counsellor's speech. And that wanderer of the night, then, resolved to give battle himself sheathed his sword, and issued orders for preparing his chariot.'"

SECTION 288

"Markandeya said, The Ten-necked (Ravana), excited to fury at the death of his beloved son, ascended his car decked with gold and gems. And surrounded by terrible Rakshasas with various kinds of weapons in their hands, Ravana rushed towards Rama, fighting with numerous monkey-chief. And beholding him rushing in wrath towards the monkey army, Mainda and Nila and Nala and Angada, and Hanuman and Jamvuman, surrounded him with all their troops. And those foremost of monkeys and bears began to exterminate with trunks of trees, the soldiers of the Ten-necked (Ravana), in his every sight. And beholding the enemy slaughtering his troops, the Rakshasa king, Ravana, possessed of great powers of illusion, began to put them forth. And forth from his body began to spring hundreds and thousands of Rakshasas armed with arrows and lances and double-edged swords in hand. Rama, however, with a celestial weapon slew all those Rakshasas. The king of the Rakshasas then once more put forth his prowess of illusion. The Ten-faced, producing from his body numerous warriors resembling, O Bharata, both Rama and Lakshmana, rushed towards the two brothers. And then those Rakshasas, hostile to Rama and Lakshmana and armed with bows and arrows, rushed towards Rama, and beholding that power of illusion put forth by the king of Rakshasas, that descendant of Ikshwaku's race, the son of Sumitra, addressed Rama in these heroic words, 'Slay those Rakshasas, those wretches with forms like thy own!' And Rama, thereupon slew those and other Rakshasas of forms resembling his own. And that time Matali, the charioteer of Indra, approached Rama on the field of battle, with a car effulgent as the Sun and unto which were yoked horses of a tawny hue. And Matali said, 'O son of Kakutstha's race, this excellent and victorious car, unto which have been yoked this pair of tawny horses, belonging to the Lord of celestials! It is on this excellent car, O tiger among men, that Indra hath slain in battle hundreds of Daityas and Danavas! Therefore, O tiger among men, do thou, riding on the car driven by me, quickly slay Ravana in battle!

Do not delay in achieving this!' Thus addressed by him, the descendant of Raghu's race, however, doubted the truthful words of Matali, thinking this is another illusion produced by the Rakshasas--Vibhishana then addressed him saying, 'This, O tiger among men, is no illusion of the wicked Ravana! Ascend thou this chariot quickly, for this, O thou of great effulgence, belongeth to Indra!' The descendant of Kakutstha then cheerfully said unto Vibhishana, 'So be it', and riding on that car, rushed wrathfully upon Ravana. And when Ravana, too, rushed against his antagonist, a loud wail of woe was set up by the creatures of the Earth, while the celestials in heaven sent forth a leonine roar accompanied by beating of large drums. The encounter then that took place between the Ten-necked Rakshasa and that prince of Raghu's race, was fierce in the extreme. Indeed, that combat between them hath no parallel elsewhere. And Rakshasa hurled at Rama a terrible javelin looking like Indra's thunderbolt and resembling a Brahmana's curse on the point of utterance. [According to both Vyasa and Valmiki, there is nothing so fierce as a Brahmana's curse. The very thunderbolt of Indra is weak compared to a Brahmana's curse. The reason is obvious. The thunder smites the individual at whom it may be aimed. The curse of Brahmana smites the whole race, whole generation, whole country.] Rama, however, quickly cut into fragments that javelin by means of his sharp arrows. And beholding that most difficult feat, Ravana was struck with fear. But soon his wrath was excited and the Ten-necked hero began to shower on Rama whetted arrows by thousands and tens of thousands and countless weapons of various kinds, such as rockets and javelins and maces and battle-axes and darts of various kinds and Shataghnis and whetted shafts. And beholding that terrible form of illusion displayed by the Ten-necked Rakshasa, the monkeys fled in fear in all directions. Then the descendant of Kakutstha, taking out of his quiver an excellent arrow furnished with handsome wings and golden feathers and a bright and beautiful head, fixed it on the bow with Brahmastra mantra. And beholding that excellent arrow transformed by Rama, with proper mantras into a Brahma weapon, the celestials and the Gandharvas with Indra at their head, began to rejoice. And the gods and the Danavas and the Kinnaras were led by the display of that Brahma weapon to regard the life of their Rakshasa foe almost closed. Then Rama shot that terrible weapon of unrivalled energy, destined to compass Ravana's death, and resembling the curse of a Brahmana on the point of utterance. And as soon, O Bharata, as that arrow was shot by Rama from his bow drawn to a circle, the Rakshasa king with his chariot and charioteer and horses blazed up, surrounded on all sides by a terrific fire. And beholding Ravana slain by Rama of famous achievements, the celestials, with the Gandharvas and the Charanas, rejoiced exceedingly. And deprived of universal dominion by the energy of the Brahma weapon, the five elements forsook the illustrious Ravana. And were consumed by the Brahma weapon, the physical ingredients of Ravana's body. His flesh and blood were all reduced to nothingness,--so that the ashes even could not be seen.'"

SECTION 289

"Markandeya said, 'Having slain Ravana, that wretched king of the Rakshasas and foe of the celestials, Rama with his friends and Sumitra's son rejoiced exceedingly. And after the Ten-necked (Rakshasa) hath been slain, the celestials with the Rishis at their head, worshipped Rama of mighty arms, blessing and uttering the word Jaya repeatedly. And all the celestials and the Gandharvas and the denizens of the celestial regions gratified Rama of eyes like lotus leaves, with hymns and flowery showers. And having duly worshipped Rama, they all went away to those regions whence they had come. And, O thou of unfading glory, the firmament at that time looked as if a great festival was being celebrated.

"And having slain the Ten-necked Rakshasa, the lord Rama of worldwide fame, that conqueror of hostile cities, bestowed Lanka on Vibhishana. Then that old and wise counsellor (of Ravana) known by the name of Avindhya, with Sita walking before him but behind Vibhishana who was at the front, came out of the city. And with great humility Avindhya said unto the illustrious descendant of Kakutstha, 'O illustrious one, accept thou this goddess, Janaka's daughter of excellent conduct!' Hearing these words, the descendant of Ikshwaku's race alighted from his excellent chariot and beheld Sita bathed in tears. And beholding that beautiful lady seated within her vehicle, afflicted with grief, besmeared with filth, with matted locks on head, and attired in dirty robes, Rama, afraid of the loss of his honour, said unto her, 'Daughter of Videha, go withersover thou likest! Thou art now free! What should have been done by me, hath been done! O blessed lady, owning me for thy husband, it is not meet that thou shouldst grow old in the abode of the Rakshasa! It is for this I have slain that wanderer of the night! But how can one like us, acquainted with every truth of morality embrace even for a moment a woman that had fallen into other's hands? O princess of Mithila whether thou art chaste or unchaste, I dare not enjoy thee, now that thou art like sacrificial butter lapped by a dog!' Hearing these cruel words, that adorable girl suddenly fell down in great affliction of heart, like a plantain tree severed from its roots. And the colour that was suffusing her face in consequence of the joy she had felt, quickly disappeared, like watery particles on a mirror blown thereon by the breath of the mouth. And hearing these words of Rama, all the monkeys also with Lakshmana became still as dead. Then the divine and pure-souled Brahma of four faces, that Creator of the Universe himself sprung from a lotus, showed himself on his car to Raghu's son. And Sakra and Agni and Vayu, and Yama and Varuna and the illustrious Lord of the Yakshas, and the holy Rishis, and king Dasaratha also in a celestial and effulgent form and on car drawn by swans, showed themselves. And then the firmament crowded with celestials and Gandharvas became as beautiful as the autumnal welkin spangled with stars. And rising up from the ground, the blessed and famous princess of Videha, in the midst of those present spoke unto Rama of wide chest, these words, 'O prince, I impute no fault to thee, for thou art well acquainted with the behaviour that one should adopt towards both men and women. But hear thou these words of mine! The ever-moving Air is always present within every creature. If I have sinned, let him forsake my vital forces! If I have sinned, Oh, then let Fire, and Water, and Space, and Earth, like Air (whom I have already invoked), also forsake my vital forces! And as, O hero, I have never, even in my dreams, cherished the image of any other person, so be thou my lord as appointed by the gods.' After Sita had spoken, a sacred voice, resounding through the whole of that region, was heard in the skies, gladdening the hearts of the high-souled monkeys. And the Wind-god was heard to say, O son of Raghu, what Sita hath said is true! I am the god of Wind. The princess of Mithila is sinless! Therefore, O king, be united with thy wife!' And the god of Fire said, 'O son of Raghu, I dwell within the bodies of all creatures! O descendant of Kakutstha, the princess of Mithila is not guilty of even the minutest fault!' And Varuna then said, 'O son of Raghu, the humours in every creature's body derive their existence from me! I tell thee, let the princess of Mithila be accepted by thee!' And Brahma himself then said, 'O descendant of Kakutstha, O son, in thee that art honest and pure and conversant with the duties of royal sages, this conduct is not strange. Listen, however, to these words of mine! Thou hast, O hero, slain this enemy of the gods, the Gandharvas, the Nagas, the Yakshas, the Danavas, and the great Rishis! It was through my grace that he had hitherto been unslayable of all creatures. And indeed, it was for some reason that I had tolerated him for some time! The wretch, however, abducted Sita for his own destruction. And as regards Sita, I protected her through Nalakuvera's curse. For that person had cursed Ravana of old, saying, that if he ever approached an unwilling woman, his head should certainly be split into a hundred fragments. Let no suspicion, therefore, be thine! O thou of great glory, accept thy wife! Thou hast indeed, achieved a mighty feat for the benefit of the gods, O thou that art of divine effulgence!' And last of all Dasaratha said, 'I have been gratified with thee, O child! Blessed be thou, I am thy father Dasaratha! I command thee to take back thy wife, and rule thy kingdom, O thou foremost of men!' Rama then replied, 'If thou art my father, I salute thee with reverence, O king of kings! I shall indeed, return, at thy command, to the delightful city of Ayodhya!'

"Markandeya continued, 'Thus addressed, his father, O bull of the Bharata race, gladly answered Rama, the corners of whose eyes were of a reddish hue, saying, 'Return to Ayodhya and rule thou that kingdom! O thou of great glory, thy fourteen years (of exile) have been completed.' Thus addressed by Dasaratha, Rama bowed to the gods, and saluted by his friends he was united with his wife, like the Lord of the celestials with the daughter of Puloman. And that chastiser of foes then gave a boon to Avindhya. And he also bestowed both riches and honours on the Rakshasa woman named Trijata. And when Brahma with all the celestials having India at their head, said unto Rama, 'O thou that ownest Kausalya for thy mother, what boons after thy heart shall we grant thee?' Rama, thereupon, prayed them to grant him firm adherence to virtues and invincibility in respect of all foes. And he also asked for the restoration to life of all those monkeys that had been slain by the Rakshasas, and after Brahma had said--So be it, those monkeys, O king, restored to life, rose up from the field of battle, and Sita too, of great good fortune, granted unto Hanuman a boon, saying, 'Let thy life, O son, last as long as (the fame of) Rama's achievements! And, O Hanuman of yellow eyes, let celestial viands and drinks be ever available to thee through my grace!'

"Then the celestials with Indra at their head all disappeared in the very sight of those warriors of spotless achievements. And beholding Rama united with the daughter of Janaka, the charioteer of Sakra, highly pleased, addressed him in the

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midst of friends, and said these words, 'O thou of prowess that can never be baffled thou hast dispelled the sorrow of the celestials, the Gandharvas, the Yakshas, the Asuras, the Nagas, and human beings! As long, therefore, as the Earth will hold together, so long will all creatures with the celestials, the Asuras, the Gandharvas, the Yakshas, the Rakshasas, and the Pannagas, speak of thee.' And having said these words unto Rama, Matali worshipped that son of Raghu, and having obtained the leave of that foremost of wielders of weapons, he went away, on that same chariot of solar effulgence. And Rama also, with Sumatra's son and Vibhishana, and accompanied by all the monkeys with Sugriva at their head, placing Sita in the van and having made arrangements for the protection of Lanka, recrossed the ocean by the same bridge. And he rode on that beautiful and sky-ranging chariot called the Pushpaka that was capable of going everywhere at the will of the rider. And that subduer of passions was surrounded by his principal counsellors in order of precedence. And arriving at that part of the sea-shore where he had formerly laid himself down, the virtuous king, with all the monkeys, pitched his temporary abode. And the son of Raghu then, bringing the monkeys before him in due time, worshipped them all, and gratifying them with presents of jewels and gems, dismissed them one after another. And after all the monkey-chiefs, and the apes with bovine tails, and the bears, had gone away, Rama re-entered Kishkindhya with Sugriva. And accompanied by both Vibhishana and Sugriva, Rama re-entered Kishkindhya riding on the Pushpaka car and showing the princess of Videha the woods along the way. And having arrived at Kishkindhya, Rama, that foremost of all smiters, installed the successful Angada as prince-regent of the kingdom. And accompanied by the same friends as also by Sumitra's son, Rama proceeded towards his city along the same path by which he had come. And having reached the city of Ayodhya, the king despatched Hanuman thence as envoy to Bharata. And Hanuman, having ascertained Bharata's intentions from external indications, gave him the good news (of Rama's arrival). And after the son of Pavana had come back, Rama entered Nandigrama. And having entered that town, Rama beheld Bharata besmeared with filth and attired in rags and seated with his elder brother's sandals placed before him. And being united, O bull of Bharata race, with both Bharata and Shatrughna, the mighty son of Raghu, along with Sumitra's son, began to rejoice exceedingly. And Bharata and Shatrughna also, united with their eldest brother, and beholding Sita, both derived great pleasure. And Bharata then, after having worshipped his returned brother, made over to him with great pleasure, the kingdom that had been in his hands as a sacred trust. And Vasishtha and Vamadeva then together installed that hero in the sovereignty (of Ayodhya) at the eighth Muhurta* of the day under the asterism called Sravana. [*Abhijit is lit, the eighth muhurta (hour) of the day, a muhurta being equal to an hour of 48 minutes, i.e. the thirtieth part of a whole day and night. (In other words: A day in India had 30 hours to 48 minutes each.) The Vaishnava asterism is as explained by Nilakantha, the Sravava.] And after his installation was over, Rama gave leave to well-pleased Sugriva the king of the monkeys, along with all his followers, as also to rejoicing Vibhishana of Pulastya's race, to return to their respective abodes. And having worshipped them with various articles of enjoyment, and done everything that was suitable to the occasion, Rama dismissed those friends of his with a sorrowful heart. And the son of Raghu then, having worshiped that Pushpaka chariot, joyfully gave it back unto Vaisravana. And then assisted by the celestial Rishi (Vasishtha), Rama performed on the banks of the Gomati ten horse-sacrifices without obstruction of any kind and with treble presents unto Brahmanas.'"

SECTION 290

"Markandeya said, 'It was thus, O mighty-armed one, that Rama of immeasurable energy had suffered of old such excessive calamity in consequence of his exile in the woods! O tiger among men, do not grieve, for, O chastiser of foes, thou art Kshatriya! Thou too treadest in the path in which strength of arms is to be put forth,--the path that leadeth to tangible rewards. Thou hast not even a particle of sin. Even the celestials with Indra at their head, and the Asuras have to tread in the path that is trod by thee! It was after such afflictions that the wielder of the thunderbolt, aided by the Maruts, slew Vritra, and the invincible Namuchi and the Rakshasi of long tongue! He that hath assistance, always secureth the accomplishment of all his purposes! What is that which cannot be vanquished in battle by him that hath Dhananjaya for his brother? This Bhima, also, of terrible prowess, is the foremost of mighty persons. The heroic and youthful sons of Madravati again are mighty bowmen. With allies such as these, why dost thou despair, O chastiser of foes? These are capable of vanquishing the army of the wielder himself of the thunderbolt with the Maruts in the midst. Having these mighty bowmen of celestial forms for thy allies, thou, O bull of Bharata race, art sure to conquer in battle all thy foes! Behold, this Krishna, the daughter of Drupada, forcibly abducted by the wicked-minded Saindhava from pride of strength and energy, hath been brought back by these mighty warriors after achieving terrible feats! Behold, king Jayadratha was vanquished and lay powerless before thee! The princess of Videha was rescued with almost no allies by Rama after the slaughter in battle of the Ten-necked Rakshasa of terrible prowess! Indeed, the allies of Rama (in that contest) were monkeys and black-faced bears, creatures that were not even human! Think of all this, O king in thy mind! Therefore, O foremost of Kurus, grieve not for all (that hath occurred), O bull of the Bharata race! Illustrious persons like thee never indulge in sorrow, O smiter of foes!'

Vaisampayana continued, "It was thus that the king was comforted by Markandeya. And then that high-souled one, casting off his sorrows, once more spoke unto Markandeya."

SECTION 291

(Pativrata-mahatmya Parva)

"Yudhishthira said, 'O mighty sage, I do not so much grieve for myself or these my brothers or the loss of my kingdom as I do for this daughter of Drupada. When we were afflicted at the game of the dice by those wicked-souled ones, it was Krishna that delivered us. And she was forcibly carried off from the forest by Jayadratha. Hast thou even seen or heard of any chaste and exalted lady that resembleth this daughter of Drupada?'"

"Markandeya said, 'Listen, O king, how the exalted merit of chaste ladies, O Yudhishthira, was completely obtained by a princess named Savitri. There was a king among the Madras, who was virtuous and highly pious. And he always ministered unto the Brahmanas, and was high-souled and firm in promise. And he was of subdued senses and given to sacrifices. And he was the foremost of givers, and was able, and beloved by both the citizens and the rural population. And the name of that lord of Earth was Aswapati. And he was intent on the welfare of all beings. And that forgiving (monarch) of truthful speech and subdued senses was without issue. And when he got old, he was stricken with grief at this. And with the object of raising offspring, he observed rigid vows and began to live upon frugal fare, having recourse to the Brahmacharya mode of life, and restraining his senses. And that best of kings, (daily) offering ten thousand oblations to the fire, recited Mantras in honour of Savitri [Also called Gayatri, the wife of Brahma.] and ate temperately at the sixth hour. And he passed eighteen years, practising such vows. Then when the eighteen years were full, Savitri was pleased (with him). And O king, issuing with great delight, in embodied form, from the Agnihotra fire, the goddess showed herself to that king. And intent on conferring boons, she spoke these words unto the monarch, 'I have been gratified, O king, with thy Brahmacharya practices, thy purity and self-restraint and observance of vows, and all thy endeavours and veneration! Do thou, O mighty king. O Aswapati, ask for the boon that thou desirest! Thou ought, however, by no means show any disregard for virtue.' Thereat Aswapati said, 'It is with the desire of attaining virtue that I have been engaged in this task. O goddess, may many sons be born unto me worthy of my race! If thou art pleased with me, O goddess, I ask for this boon. The twice-born ones have assured me that great merit lieth in having offspring!' Savitri replied, 'O king, having already learnt this thy intention, I had spoken unto that lord, the Grandsire, about thy sons. Through the favour granted by the Self-create, there shall speedily be born unto thee on earth a daughter of great energy. It behoveth thee not to make any reply. Well-pleased, I tell thee this at the command of the Grandsire.'

"Markandeya said, 'Having accepted Savitri's words and saying, 'So be it!' the king again gratified her and said, 'May this happen soon!' On Savitri vanishing away, the monarch entered his own city. And that hero began to live in his kingdom, ruling his subjects righteously. And when some time had elapsed, that king, observant of vows, begat offspring on his eldest queen engaged in the practice of virtue. And then, O bull of the Bharata race, the embryo in the womb of the princess of Malava increased like the lord of stars in the heavens during the lighted fortnight. And when the time came, she brought forth a daughter furnished with lotus-like eyes. And that best of monarchs, joyfully performed the usual ceremonies on her behalf. And as she had been bestowed with delight by the goddess Savitri by virtue of the oblations offered in honour of that goddess, both her father, and the Brahmanas named her Savitri. And the king's daughter grew like unto Sree herself in an embodied form. And in due time, that damsel attained her puberty. And beholding that graceful maiden of slender waist and ample hips, and resembling a golden image, people thought, 'We have received a goddess.' And overpowered by her energy, none could wed that girl of eyes like lotus-leaves, and possessed of a burning splendour.'

'And it came to pass that once on the occasion of a parva, having fasted and bathed her head, she presented herself before the (family) deity and caused the Brahmanas to offer oblations with due rites to the sacrificial fire. And taking the flowers that had been offered to the god, that lady, beautiful as Sree herself, went to her high-souled sire. And having reverenced the feet of her father and offering him the flowers she had brought, that maiden of exceeding grace, with joined hands, stood at the side of the king. And seeing his own daughter resembling a celestial damsel arrived at puberty, and unsought by people, the king became sad. And the king said, 'Daughter, the time for bestowing thee is come! Yet none asketh thee. Do thou (therefore) thyself seek for a husband equal to thee in qualities! That person who may be desired by thee should be notified to me. Do thou choose for thy husband as thou listest. I shall bestow thee with deliberation. Do thou, O auspicious one, listen to me as I tell thee the words which I heard recited by the twice-born ones. The father that doth not bestow his daughter cometh by disgrace. And the husband that knoweth not his wife in her season meeteth with disgrace. And the son that doth not protect his mother when her husband is dead, also suffereth disgrace. Hearing these words of mine, do thou engage thyself in search of a husband. Do thou act in such a way that we may not be censured by the gods!'

"Markandeya said, 'Having said these words to his daughter and his old counsellors, he instructed the attendants to follow her, saying,--Go! Thereat, bashfully bowing down unto her father's feet, the meek maid went out without hesitation, in compliance with the words of her sire. And ascending a golden car, she went to the delightful asylum of the royal sages, accompanied by her father's aged counsellors. There, O son, worshipping the feet of the aged ones, she gradually began to roam over all the woods. Thus the king's daughter distributing wealth in all sacred regions, ranged the various places belonging to the foremost of the twice-born ones.'"

SECTION 292

"Markandeya continued, 'On one occasion, O Bharata, when that king, the lord of the Madras, was seated with Narada in the midst of his court, engaged in conversation, Savitri, accompanied by the king's counsellors, came to her father's abode after having visited various sacred regions and asylums. And beholding her father seated with Narada, she worshipped the feet of both by bending down her head. And Narada then said, 'Whither had this thy daughter gone? And, O king, whence also doth she come? Why also dost thou not bestow her on a husband, now that she hath arrived at the age of puberty?' Aswapati answered, saying, 'Surely it was on this very business that she had been sent, and she returneth now (from her search). Do thou, O celestial sage, listen, even from her as to the husband she hath chosen herself!'

"Markandeya continued, 'Then the blessed maid, commanded by her father with the words,--Relate everything in detail,--regarded those words of her sire as if they were those of a god, and spoke unto him thus, 'There was, amongst the Salwas, a virtuous Kshatriya king known by the name of Dyumatsena. And it came to pass that in course of time he became blind. And that blind king possessed of wisdom had an only son. And it so happened that an old enemy dwelling in the vicinity, taking advantage of the king's mishap, deprived him of his kingdom. And thereupon the monarch, accompanied by his wife bearing a child on her breast, went into the woods. And having retired into the forests, he adopted great vows and began to practise ascetic austerities. And his son, born in the city, began to grow in the hermitage. That youth, fit to be my husband, I have accepted in my heart for my lord!' At these words of hers, Narada said, 'Alas, O king, Savitri hath committed a great wrong, since, not knowing, she hath accepted for her lord this Satyavan of excellent qualities! His father speaketh the truth and his mother also is truthful in her speech. And it is for this that the Brahmanas have named the son Satyavan. In his childhood he took great delight in horses, and used to make horses of clay. And he used also to draw pictures of horses. And for this that youth is sometimes called by the name of Chitraswa.' The king then asked, 'And is prince Satyavan, who is devoted to his father, endued with energy and intelligence and forgiveness and courage?' Narada replied, saying, 'In energy Satyavan is like unto the sun, and in wisdom like unto Vrihaspati! And he is brave like unto the lord of the celestials and forgiving like unto the Earth herself!' Aswapati then said, 'And is the prince Satyavan liberal in gifts and devoted to the Brahmanas? Is he handsome and magnanimous and lovely to behold?' Narada said, 'In bestowal of gifts according to his power, the mighty son of Dyumatsena is like unto Sankriti's son Rantideva. In truthfulness of speech and devotion unto Brahmanas, he is like Sivi, the son of Usinara. And he is magnanimous like Yayati, and beautiful like the Moon. And in beauty of person he is like either of the twin Aswins. And with senses under control, he is meek, and brave, and truthful! And with passion in subjection he is devoted to his friends, and free from malice and modest and patient. Indeed, briefly speaking, they that are possessed of great ascetic merit and are of exalted character say that he is always correct in his conduct and that honour is firmly seated on his brow.' Hearing this, Aswapati said, 'O reverend sage, thou tellest me that he is possessed of every virtue! Do thou now tell me his defects if, indeed, he hath any!' Narada then said, 'He hath one only defect that

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hath overwhelmed all his virtues. That defect is incapable of being conquered by even the greatest efforts. He hath only one defect, and no other. Within a year from this day, Satyavan, endued with a short life will cast off his body!' Hearing these words of the sage, the king said, 'Come, O Savitri, go thou and choose another for thy lord, O beautiful damsel! That one great defect (in this youth) existeth, covering all his merits. The illustrious Narada honoured by even the gods, sayeth, that Satyavan will have to cast off his body within a year, his days being numbered!' At these words of her father, Savitri said, 'The death can fall but once; a daughter can be given away but one; and once only can a person say, I give away! These three things can take place only once. Indeed, with a life short or long, possessed of virtues or bereft of them, I have, for once, selected my husband. Twice I shall not select. Having first settled a thing mentally, it is expressed in words, and then it is carried out into practice. Of this my mind is an example!' Narada then said, 'O best of men, the heart of thy daughter Savitri wavereth not! It is not possible by any means to make her swerve from this path of virtue! In no other person are those virtues that dwell in Satyavan. The bestowal of thy daughter, therefore, is approved by me!' The king said, 'What thou hast said, O illustrious one, should never be disobeyed, for thy words are true! And I shall act as thou hast said, since thou art my preceptor!' Narada said, 'May the bestowal of thy daughter Savitri be attended with peace! I shall now depart. Blessed be all of ye!'

"Markandeya continued, 'Having said this, Narada rose up into the sky and went to heaven. On the other hand, the king began to make preparations for his daughter's wedding!'"

SECTION 293

"Markandeya said, 'Having pondered over these words (of Narada) about his daughter's marriage, the king began to make arrangements about the nuptials. And summoning all the old Brahmanas, and Ritwijas together with the priests, he set out with his daughter on an auspicious day. And arriving at the asylum of Dyumatsena in the sacred forest, the king approached the royal sage on foot, accompanied by the twice-born ones. And there he beheld the blind monarch of great wisdom seated on a cushion of Kusa grass spread under Sala tree. And after duly reverencing the royal sage, the king in an humble speech introduced himself. Thereupon, offering him the Arghya, a seat, and a cow, the monarch asked his royal guest,--Wherefore is this visit?--Thus addressed the king disclosed everything about his intentions and purpose with reference to Satyavan. And Aswapati said, 'O royal sage, this beautiful girl is my daughter named Savitri. O thou versed in morality, do thou, agreeably to the customs of our order, take her from me as thy daughter-in-law!' Hearing these words, Dyumatsena said, 'Deprived of kingdom, and taking up our abode in the woods, we are engaged in the practice of virtue as ascetics with regulated lives. Unworthy of a forest life, how will thy daughter, living in the sylvan asylum, bear this hardship?' Aswapati said, 'When my daughter knoweth, as well as myself, that happiness and misery come and go (without either being stationary), such words as these are not fit to be used towards one like me! O king, I have come hither, having made up my mind! I have bowed to thee from friendship; it behoveth thee not, therefore, to destroy my hope! It behoveth thee not, also, to disregard me who, moved by love, have come to thee! Thou art my equal and fit for an alliance with me, as indeed, I am thy equal and fit for alliance with thee! Do thou, therefore, accept my daughter for thy daughter-in-law and the wife of the good Satyavan!' Hearing these words Dyumatsena said, 'Formerly I had desired an alliance with thee. But I hesitated, being subsequently deprived of my kingdom. Let this wish, therefore, that I had formerly entertained, be accomplished this very day. Thou art, indeed, a welcome guest to me!'

"Then summoning all the twice-born ones residing in the hermitages of that forest, the two kings caused the union to take place with due rites. And having bestowed his daughter with suitable robes and ornaments, Aswapati went back to his abode in great joy. And Satyavan, having obtained a wife possessed of every accomplishment, became highly glad, while she also rejoiced exceedingly upon having gained the husband after her own heart. And when her father had departed, she put off all her ornaments, and clad herself in barks and cloths dyed in red. And by her services and virtues, her tenderness and self-denial, and by her agreeable offices unto all, she pleased everybody. And she gratified her mother-in-law by attending to her person and by covering her with robes and ornaments. And she gratified her father-in-law by worshipping him as a god and controlling her speech. And she pleased her husband by her honeyed speeches, her skill in every kind of work, the evenness of her temper, and by the indications of her love in private. And thus, O Bharata, living in the asylum of those pious dwellers of the forest, they continued for some time to practise ascetic austerities. But the words spoken by Narada were present night and day in the mind of the sorrowful Savitri.'"

SECTION 294

"Markandeya said, 'At length, O king, after a long time had passed away, the hour that had been appointed for the death of Satyavan arrived. And as the words that had been spoken by Narada were ever present in the mind of Savitri, she had counted the days as they passed. And having ascertained that her husband would die on the fourth day following, the damsel fasted day and night, observing the Triratra vow. And hearing of her vow, the king became exceedingly sorrow and rising up soothed Savitri and said these words, 'This vow that thou hast begun to observe, O daughter of a king, is exceedingly hard; for it is extremely difficult to fast for three nights together!' And hearing these words, Savitri said, 'Thou needst not be sorry, O father! This vow I shall be able to observe! I have for certain undertaken this task with perseverance; and perseverance is the cause of the successful observance of vows.' And having listened to her, Dyumatsena said, 'I can by no means say unto thee, Do thou break thy vow. One like me should, on the contrary, say,--Do thou complete thy vow!' And having said this to her, the high-minded Dyumatsena stopped. And Savitri continuing to fast began to look (lean) like a wooden doll. And, O bull of the Bharata race, thinking that her husband would die on the morrow, the woe-stricken Savitri, observing a fast, spent that night in extreme anguish. And when the Sun had risen about a couple of hand Savitri thinking within herself--To-day is that day, finished her morning rites, and offered oblations to the flaming fire. And bowing down unto the aged Brahmanas, and her father-in-law, and mother-in-law, she stood before them with joined hands, concentrating her senses. And for the welfare of Savitri, all the ascetics dwelling in that hermitage, uttered the auspicious benediction that she should never suffer widowhood. And Savitri immersed in contemplation accepted those words of the ascetics, mentally saying,--So be it!--And the king's daughter, reflecting on those words of Narada, remained, expecting the hour and the moment.

Then, O best of the Bharatas, well-pleased, her father-in-law and mother-in-law said these words unto the princess seated in a corner, 'Thou hast completed the vow as prescribed. The time for thy meal hath now arrived; therefore, do thou what is proper!' Thereat Savitri said, 'Now that I have completed the purposed vow, I will eat when the Sun goes down. Even this is my heart's resolve and this my vow!'

"Markandeya continued, 'And when Savitri had spoken thus about her meal, Satyavan, taking his axe upon his shoulders, set out for the woods. And at this, Savitri said unto her husband, 'It behoveth thee not to go alone! I will accompany thee. I cannot bear to be separated from thee!' Hearing these words of hers, Satyavan said, 'Thou hast never before repaired to the forest. And, O lady, the forest-paths are hard to pass! Besides thou hast been reduced by fast on account of thy vow. How wouldst thou, therefore, be able to walk on foot?' Thus addressed, Savitri said, 'I do not feel langour because of the fast, nor do I feel exhaustion. And I have made up my mind to go. It behoveth thee not, therefore, to prevent me!' At this, Satyavan said, 'If thou desirest to go, I will gratify that desire of thine. Do thou, however, take the permission of my parents, so that I may be guilty of no fault!'

"Markandeya continued, 'Thus addressed by her lord, Savitri of high vows saluted her father-in-law and mother-in-law and addressed them, saying, 'This my husband goeth to the forest for procuring fruits. Permitted by my revered lady-mother and father-in-law, I will accompany him. For to-day I cannot bear to be separated from him. Thy son goeth out for the sake of the sacrificial fire and for his reverend superiors. He ought not, therefore, to be dissuaded. Indeed, he could be dissuaded if he went into the forest on any other errand. Do ye not prevent me! I will go into the forest with him. It is a little less than a year that I have not gone out of the asylum. Indeed, I am extremely desirous of beholding the blossoming woods!' Hearing these words Dyumatsena said, 'Since Savitri hath been bestowed by her father as my daughter-in-law, I do not remember that she hath ever spoken any words couching a request. Let my daughter-in-law, therefore, have her will in this matter. Do thou, however, O daughter, act in such a way that Satyavan's work may not be neglected!'

"Markandeya continued, 'Having received the permission of both, the illustrious Savitri, departed with her lord, in seeming smiles although her heart was racked with grief. And that lady of large eyes went on, beholding picturesque and delightful woods inhabited by swarms of peacocks. And Satyavan sweetly said unto Savitri, 'Behold these rivers of sacred currents and these excellent trees decked with flowers!' But the faultless Savitri continued to watch her lord in all his moods, and recollecting the words of the celestial sage, she considered her husband as already dead. And with heart cleft in twain, that damsel, replying to her lord, softly followed him expecting that hour.'"

SECTION 295

"Markandeya said, The powerful Satyavan then, accompanied by his wife, plucked fruits and filled his wallet with them. And he then began to fell branches of trees. And as he was hewing them, he began to perspire. And in consequence of that exercise his head began to ache. And afflicted with toil, he approached his beloved wife, and addressed her, saying, 'O Savitri, owing to this hard exercise my head acheth, and all my limbs and my heart also are afflicted sorely! O thou of restrained speech, I think myself unwell, I feel as if my head is being pierced with numerous darts. Therefore, O auspicious lady, I wish to sleep, for I have not the power to stand.' Hearing these words, Savitri quickly advancing, approached her husband, and sat down upon the ground, placing his head upon her lap. And that helpless lady, thinking of Narada's words, began to calculate the (appointed) division of the day, the hour, and the moment. The next moment she saw a person clad in red attire with his head decked with a diadem. And his body was of large proportions and effulgent as the Sun. And he was of a darkish hue, had red eyes, carried a noose in his hand, and was dreadful to behold. And he was standing beside Satyavan and was steadfastly gazing at him. And seeing him, Savitri gently placed her husband's head on the ground, and rising suddenly, with a trembling heart, spake these words in distressful accents, 'Seeing this thy superhuman form, I take thee to be a deity. If thou will, tell me, O chief of the gods, who thou art and what also thou intendst to do!' Thereat, Yama replied, 'O Savitri, thou art ever devoted to thy husband, and thou art also endued with ascetic merit. It is for this reason that I hold converse with thee. Do thou, O auspicious one, know me for Yama. This thy lord Satyavan, the son of a king, hath his days run out. I shall, therefore, take him away binding him in this noose. Know this to be my errand!' At these words Savitri said, 'I had heard that thy emissaries come to take away mortals, O worshipful one! Why then, O lord, hast thou come in person?'

"Markandeya continued, 'Thus addressed by her, the illustrious lord of Pitris, with a view to oblige her, began to unfold to her truly all about his intentions. And Yama said, 'This prince is endued with virtues and beauty of person, and is a sea of accomplishments. He deserveth not to be borne away by my emissaries. Therefore is it that I have come personally.' Saying this, Yama by main force pulled out of the body of Satyavan, a person of the measure of the thumb, bound in noose and completely under subjection. And when Satyavan's life had thus been taken out, the body, deprived of breath, and shorn of lustre, and destitute of motion, became unsightly to behold. And binding Satyavan's vital essence, Yama proceeded in a southerly direction. Thereupon, with heart overwhelmed in grief, the exalted Savitri, ever devoted to her lord and crowned with success in respect of her vows, began to follow Yama. And at this, Yama said, 'Desist, O Savitri! Go back, and perform the funeral obsequies of thy lord! Thou art freed from all thy obligations to thy lord. Thou hast come as far as it is possible to come'. Savitri replied, 'Whither my husband is being carried, or whither he goeth of his own accord, I will follow him thither. This is the eternal custom. By virtue of my asceticism, of my regard for my superiors, of my affection for my lord, of my observance of vows, as well as of thy favour, my course is unimpeded. It hath been declared by wise men endued with true knowledge that by walking only seven paces with another, one contracteth a friendship with one's companion. Keeping that friendship (which I have contracted with thee) in view, I shall speak to thee something. Do thou listen to it. They that have not their souls under control, acquire not merit by leading the four successive modes of life, viz.,--celibacy with study, domesticity, retirement into the woods, and renunciation of the world. That which is called religious merit is said to consist of true knowledge. The wise, therefore, have declared religious merit to be the foremost of all things and not the passage through the four successive modes. By practising the duties of even one of these four modes agreeable to the directions of the wise, we have attained to true merit, and, therefore, we do not desire the second or the third mode, viz., celibacy with study or renunciation. It is for this again that the wise have declared religious merit to be the foremost of all things!' Hearing these words of hers, Yama said, 'Do thou desist! I have been pleased with these words of thine couched in proper letters and accents, and based on reason. Do thou ask for a boon! Except the life of thy husband, O thou of faultless features, I will bestow on thee any boon that thou mayst solicit!' Hearing these words, Savitri said, 'Deprived of his kingdom and bereft also of sight, my father-in-law leadeth a life of retirement in our sylvan asylum. Let that king through thy favour attain his eye-sight, and become strong 'like either fire or the Sun!' Yama said, 'O thou of faultless features, I grant thee this boon! It will even be as thou hast said! It seems that thou art fatigued with thy journey. Do thou desist, therefore, and return! Suffer not thyself to be weary any longer!' Savitri said, 'What weariness can I feel in the presence of my husband? The lot that is my husband's is certainly mine also. Whither thou carriest my husband, thither will I also repair! O chief of the celestials, do thou again listen to me! Even a single interview with the pious is highly desirable; friendship with them is still more so. And intercourse with the virtuous can never be fruitless. Therefore, one should live in the company of the righteous!' Yama said, 'These words that thou hast spoken, so

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fraught with useful instruction, delight the heart and enhance the wisdom of even the learned. Therefore, O lady, solicit thou a second boon, except the life of Satyavan!' Savitri said, 'Sometime before, my wise and intelligent father-in-law was deprived of his kingdom. May that monarch regain his kingdom. And may that superior of mine never renounce his duties! Even this is the second boon that I solicit!' Then Yama said,--'The king shall soon regain his kingdom. Nor shall he ever fall off from his duties. Thus, O daughter of a king have I fulfilled thy desire. Do thou now desist! Return! Do not take any future trouble!' Savitri said, 'Thou hast restrained all creatures by thy decrees, and it is by thy decrees that thou takest them away, not according to thy will. Therefore it is, O god, O divine one, that people call thee Yama! Do thou listen to the words that I say! The eternal duty of the good towards all creatures is never to injure them in thought, word, and deed, but to bear them love and give them their due. As regards this world, everything here is like this (husband of mine). Men are destitute of both devotion and skill. The good, however, show mercy to even their foes when these seek their protection. Yama said, 'As water to the thirsty soul, so are these words uttered by thee to me! Therefore, do thou, O fair lady, if thou will, once again ask for any boon except Salyavana's life!' At these words Savitri replied, That lord of earth, my father, is without sons. That he may have a hundred sons begotten of his loins, so that his line may be perpetuated, is the third boon I would ask of thee!' Yama said, Thy sire, O auspicious lady, shall obtain a hundred illustrious sons, who will perpetuate and increase their father's race! Now, O daughter of a king, thou hast obtained thy wish. Do thou desist! Thou hast come far enough.' Savitri said, 'Staying by the side of my husband, I am not conscious of the length of the way I have walked. Indeed, my mind rusheth to yet a longer way of. Do thou again, as thou goest on, listen to the words that I will presently utter! Thou art the powerful son of Vivaswat. It is for this that thou art called Vaivaswata by the wise. And, O lord, since thou dealest out equal law unto all created things, thou hast been designated the lord of justice! One reposeth not, even in one's own self, the confidence that one doth in the righteous. Therefore, every one wisheth particularly for intimacy with the righteous. It is goodness of heart alone that inspireth the confidence of all creatures. And it is for this that people rely particularly on the righteous.' And hearing these words, Yama said, 'The words that thou utterest, O fair lady, I have not heard from any one save thee; I am highly pleased with this speech of thine. Except the life of Satyavan, solicit thou, therefore, a fourth boon, and then go thy way!' Savitri then said, 'Both of me and Satyavan's loins, begotten by both of us, let there be a century of sons possessed of strength and prowess and capable of perpetuating our race! Even this is the fourth boon that I would beg of thee!' Hearing these words of hers, Yama replied, 'Thou shalt, O lady, obtain a century of sons, possessed of strength and prowess, and causing thee great delight, O daughter of a king, let no more weariness be thine! Do thou desist! Thou hast already come too far!' Thus addressed, Savitri said, 'They that are righteous always practise eternal morality! And the communion of the pious with the pious is never fruitless! Nor is there any danger to the pious from those that are pious. And verily it is the righteous who by their truth make the Sun move in the heaven. And it is the righteous that support the earth by their austerities! And, O king, it is the righteous upon whom both the past and the future depend! Therefore, they that are righteous, are never cheerless in the company of the righteous. Knowing this to be the eternal practice of the good and righteous, they that are righteous continue to do good to others without expecting any benefit in return. A good office is never thrown away on the good and virtuous. Neither interest nor dignity suffereth any injury by such an act. And since such conduct ever adheres to the righteous, the righteous often become the protectors of all.' Hearing these words of hers, Yama replied, 'The more thou utterest such speeches that are pregnant with great import, full of honeyed phrases, instinct with morality, and agreeable to mind, the more is the respect that I feel for thee! O thou that art so devoted to thy lord, ask for some incomparable boon!' Thus addressed, Savitri said, 'O bestower of honours, the boon thou hast already given me is incapable of accomplishment without union with my husband. Therefore, among other boons, I ask for this, may this Satyavan be restored to life! Deprived of my husband, I am as one dead! Without my husband, I do not wish for happiness. Without my husband, I do not wish for heaven itself. Without my husband, I do not wish for prosperity. Without my husband, I cannot make up my mind to live! Thou thyself hast bestowed on me the boon, namely, of a century of sons; yet thou takest away my husband! I ask for this boon, 'May Satyavan be restored to life, for by that thy words will be made true.'"

"Markandeya continued, 'Thereupon saying,--So be it,--Vivaswat's son, Yama, the dispenser of justice, untied his noose, and with cheerful heart said these words to Savitri, 'Thus, O auspicious and chaste lady, is thy husband freed by me! Thou wilt be able to take him back free from disease. And he will attain to success! And along with thee, he will attain a life of four hundred years. And celebrating sacrifices with due rites, he will achieve great fame in this world. And upon thee Satyavan will also beget a century of sons. And these Kshatriyas with their sons and grandsons will all be kings, and will always be famous in connexion with thy name. And thy father also will beget a hundred sons on thy mother Malavi. And under the name of the Malavas, thy Kshatriya brothers, resembling the celestials, will be widely known along with their sons and daughters!' And having bestowed these boons on Savitri and having thus made her desist, Yama departed for his abode. Savitri, after Yama had gone away, went back to the spot where her husband's ash-coloured corpse lay, and seeing her lord on the ground, she approached him, and taking hold of him, she placed his head on her lap and herself sat down on the ground. Then Satyavan regained his consciousness, and affectionately eyeing Savitri again and again, like one come home after a sojourn in a strange land, he addressed her thus, 'Alas, I have slept long! Wherefore didst thou not awake me? And where is that same sable person that was dragging me away?' At these words of his, Savitri said, 'Thou hast, O bull among men, slept long on my lap! That restrainer of creatures, the worshipful Yama, had gone away. Thou art refreshed, O blessed one, and sleep hath forsaken thee, O son of a king! If thou art able, rise thou up! Behold, the night is deep!'"

"Markandeya continued, 'Having regained consciousness, Satyavan rose up like one who had enjoyed a sweet sleep, and seeing every side covered with woods, said, 'O girl of slender waist, I came with thee for procuring fruits. Then while I was cutting wood I felt a pain in my head. And on account of that intense pain about my head I was unable to stand for any length of time, and, therefore, I lay on thy lap and slept. All this, O auspicious lady, I remember. Then, as thou didst embrace me, sleep stole away my senses. I then saw that it was dark all around. In the midst of it I saw a person of exceeding effulgence. If thou knowest everything, do thou then, O girl of slender waist, tell me whether what I saw was only a dream or a reality!' Thereupon, Savitri addressed him, saying, The night deepens. I shall, O prince, relate everything unto thee on the morrow. Arise, arise, may good betide thee! And, O thou of excellent vows, come and behold thy parents! The sun hath set a long while ago and the night deepens. Those rangers of the night, having frightful voices, are walking about in glee. And sounds are heard, proceeding from the denizens of the forest treading through the woods. These terrible shrieks of jackals that are issuing from the south and the east make my heart tremble (in fear)!' Satyavan then said, 'Covered with deep darkness, the wilderness hath worn a dreadful aspect. Thou wilt, therefore, not be able to discern the tract, and consequently wilt not be able to go!' Then Savitri replied, 'In consequence of a conflagration having taken place in the forest today a withered tree standeth aflame, and the flames being stirred by the wind are discerned now and then. I shall fetch some fire and light these faggots around. Do thou dispel all anxiety. I will do all (this) if thou darest not go, for I find thee unwell. Nor wilt thou be able to discover the way through this forest enveloped in darkness. Tomorrow when the woods become visible, we will go hence, if thou please! If, O sinless one, it is thy wish, we shall pass this night even here!' At these words of hers, Satyavan replied, 'The pain in my head is off; and I feel well in my limbs. With thy favour I wish to behold my father and mother. Never before did I return to the hermitage after the proper time had passed away. Even before it is twilight my mother confineth me within the asylum. Even when I come out during the day, my parents become anxious on my account, and my father searcheth for me, together with all the inhabitants of the sylvan asylums. Before this, moved by deep grief, my father and mother had rebuked me many times and often, saying,--Thou comest having tarried long! I am thinking of the pass they have today come to on my account, for, surely, great grief will be theirs when they miss me. One night before this, the old couple, who love me dearly, wept from deep sorrow and said into me, 'Deprived of thee, O son, we cannot live for even a moment. As long as thou livest, so long, surely, we also will live. Thou art the crutch of these blind ones; on thee doth perpetuity of our race depend. On thee also depend our funeral cake, our fame and our descendants! My mother is old, and my father also is so. I am surely their crutch. If they see me not in the night, what, oh, will be their plight! I hate that slumber of mine for the sake of which my unoffending mother and my father have both been in trouble, and I myself also, am placed in such rending distress! Without my father and mother, I cannot bear to live. It is certain that by this time my blind father, his mind disconsolate with grief, is asking everyone of the inhabitants of the hermitage about me! I do not, O fair girl, grieve so much for myself as I do for my sire, and for my weak mother ever obedient to her lord! Surely, they will be afflicted with extreme anguish on account of me. I hold my life so long as they live. And I know that they should be maintained by me and that I should do only what is agreeable to them!'

"Markandeya continued, 'Having said this, that virtuous youth who loved and revered his parents, afflicted with grief held up his arms and began to lament in accents of woe. And seeing her lord overwhelmed with sorrow the virtuous Savitri wiped away the tears from his eyes and said, 'If I have observed austerities, and have given away in charity, and have performed sacrifice, may this night be for the good of my father-in-law, mother-in-law and husband! I do not remember having told a single falsehood, even in jest. Let my father-in-law and mother-in-law hold their lives by virtue of the truth!' Satyavan said, 'I long for the sight of my father and mother! Therefore, O Savitri, proceed without delay. O beautiful damsel, I swear by my own self that if I find any evil to have befallen my father and mother, I will not live. If thou hast any regard for virtue, if thou wishest me to live, if it is thy duty to do what is agreeable to me, proceed thou to the hermitage!' The beautiful Savitri then rose and tying up her hair, raised her husband in her arms. And Satyavan having risen, rubbed his limbs with his hands. And as he surveyed all around, his eyes fell upon his wallet. Then Savitri said unto him, 'Tomorrow thou mayst gather fruits. And I shall carry thy axe for thy ease.' Then hanging up the wallet upon the bough of a tree, and taking up the axe, she re-approached her husband. And that lady of beautiful thighs, placing her husband's left arm upon her left shoulder, and embracing him with her right arms, proceeded with elephantic gait. Then Satyavan said, 'O timid one, by virtue of habit, the (forest) paths are known to me. And further, by the light of the moon between the trees, I can see them. We have now reached the same path that we took in the morning for gathering fruits. Do thou, O auspicious one, proceed by the way that we had come: thou needst not any longer feel dubious about our path. Near that tract overgrown with Palasa tree, the way diverges into two. Do thou proceed along the path that lies to the north of it. I am now well and have got back my strength. I long to see my father and mother!' Saying this Satyavan hastily proceeded towards the hermitage.'"

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"Markandeya said, 'Meanwhile the mighty Dyumatsena, having regained his sight, could see everything. And when his vision grew clear he saw everything around him. And, O bull of the Bharata race, proceeding with his wife Saivya to all the (neighbouring) asylums in search of his son, he became extremely distressed on his account. And that night the old couple went about searching in asylums, and rivers, and woods, and floods. And whenever they heard any sound, they stood rising their heads, anxiously thinking that their son was coming, and said, 'O yonder cometh Satyavan with Savitri!' And they rushed hither and thither like maniacs, their feet torn, cracked, wounded, and bleeding, pierced with thorns and Kusa blades. Then all the Brahmanas dwelling in that hermitage came unto them, and surrounding them on all sides, comforted them, and brought them back to their own asylum. And there Dyumatsena with his wife surrounded by aged ascetics, was entertained with stories of monarchs of former times. And although that old couple desirous of seeing their son, was comforted, yet recollecting the youthful days of their son, they became exceedingly sorry. And afflicted with grief, they began to lament in piteous accents, saying, 'Alas, O son, alas, O chaste daughter-in-law, where are you?' Then a truthful Brahmana of the name of Suvarchas spake unto them, saying, 'Considering the austerities, self-restraint, and behaviour of his wife Savitri, there can be no doubt that Satyavan liveth!' And Gautama said, 'I have studied all the Vedas with their branches, and I have acquired great ascetic merit. And I have led a celibate existence, practising also the Brahmacharya mode of life. I have gratified Agni and my superiors. With rapt soul I have also observed all the vows: and I have according to the ordinance, frequently lived upon air alone. By virtue of this ascetic merit, I am cognisant of all the doings of others. Therefore, do thou take it for certain that Satyavan liveth.' Thereupon his disciple said, 'The words that have fallen from the lips of my preceptor can never be false. Therefore, Satyavan surely liveth.' And the Rishi said, 'Considering the auspicious marks that his wife Savitri beareth and all of which indicate immunity from widowhood, there can be no doubt that Satyavan liveth!'

And Varadwaja said, 'Having regard to the ascetic merit, self-restraint, and conduct of his wife Savitri, there can be no doubt that Satyavan liveth.' And Dalbhya said, 'Since thou hast regained thy sight, and since Savitri hath gone away after completion of the vow, without taking any food, there can be no doubt that Satyavan liveth.' And Apastamba said, 'From the manner in which the voices of birds and wild animals are being heard through the stillness of the atmosphere on all sides, and from the fact also of thy having regained the use of thy eyes, indicating thy usefulness for earthly purposes once more, there can be no doubt that Satyavan liveth.' And Dhauma said, 'As thy son is graced with every virtue, and as he is the beloved of all, and as he is possessed of marks betokening a long life, there can be no doubt that Satyavan liveth.'

"Markandeya continued, 'Thus cheered by those ascetics of truthful speech, Dyumatsena pondering over those points, attained a little ease. A little while after, Savitri with her

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husband Satyavan reached the hermitage during the night and entered it with a glad heart. The Brahmanas then said, 'Beholding this meeting with thy son, and thy restoration to eye-sight, we all wish thee well, O lord of earth. Thy meeting with thy son, the sight of thy daughter-in-law, and thy restoration to sight--constitute a threefold prosperity which thou hast gained. What we all have said must come to pass: there can be no doubt of this. Henceforth thou shalt rapidly grow in prosperity.' Then, O Pritha's son, the twice-born ones lighted a fire and sat themselves down before king Dyumatsena. And Saivya, and Satyavan, and Savitri who stood apart, their hearts free from grief, sat down with the permission of them all. Then, O Partha, seated with the monarch those dwellers of the woods, actuated by curiosity, asked the king's son, saying, 'Why didst thou not, O illustrious one, come back earlier with thy wife? Why hast thou come so late in the night? What obstacle prevented thee! We do not know, O son of a king, why thou hast caused such alarm to us, and to thy father and mother. It behoveth thee to tell us all about this,' Thereupon, Satyavan said, 'With the permission of my father, I went to the woods with Savitri. There, as I was hewing wood in the forest, I felt a pain in my head. And in consequence of the pain, I fell into a deep sleep.--This is all that I remember. I had never slept so long before I have come so late at night, in order that ye might not grieve (on my account). There is no other reason for this.' Gautama then said, 'Thou knowest not then the cause of thy father's sudden restoration to sight. It, therefore, behoveth Savitri to relate it. I wish to hear it (from thee), for surely thou art conversant with the mysteries of good and evil. And, O Savitri, I know thee to be like the goddess Savitri herself in splendour. Thou must know the cause of this. Therefore, do thou relate it truly! If it should not be kept a secret, do thou unfold it unto us!' At these words of Gautama Savitri said, 'It is as ye surmise. Your desire shall surely not be unfulfilled. I have no secret to keep. Listen to the truth then! The high-souled Narada had predicted the death of my husband. To-day was the appointed time. I could not, therefore, bear to be separated from my husband's company. And after he had fallen asleep, Yama, accompanied by his messengers, presented himself before him, and tying him, began to take him away towards the region inhabited by the Pitris. Thereupon I began to praise that august god, with truthful words. And he granted me five boons, of which do ye hear from me! For my father-in-law I have obtained these two boons, viz., his restoration to sight as also to his kingdom. My father also hath obtained a hundred sons. And I myself have obtained a hundred sons. And my husband Satyavan hath obtained a life of four hundred years. It was for the sake of my husband's life that I had observed that vow. Thus have I narrated unto you in detail the cause by which this mighty misfortune of mine was afterwards turned into happiness. The Rishis said, 'O chaste lady of excellent disposition, observant of vows and endued with virtue, and sprung from an illustrious line, by thee hath the race of this foremost of kings, which was overwhelmed with calamities, and was sinking in an ocean of darkness, been rescued.'

"Markandeya continued, 'Then having applauded and reverenced that best of women, those Rishis there assembled bade farewell to that foremost of kings as well as to his son. And having saluted them thus, they speedily went, in peace with cheerful hearts, to their respective abodes.'"

SECTION 297

"Markandeya continued, 'When the night had passed away, and the solar orb had risen, those ascetics, having performed their morning rites, assembled together. And although those mighty sages again and again spake unto Dyumatsena of the high fortune of Savitri, yet they were never satisfied. And it so happened, O king, that there came to that hermitage a large body of people from Salwa. And they brought tidings of the enemy of Dyumatsena having been slain by his own minister. And they related unto him all that had happened, viz., how having heard that the usurper had been slain with all his friends and allies by his minister, his troops had all fled, and how all the subjects had become unanimous (on behalf of their legitimate king), saying, 'Whether possessed of sight or not, even he shall be our king!' And they said, 'We have been sent to thee in consequence of that resolve. This car of thine, and this army also consisting of four kinds of forces, have arrived for thee! Good betide thee, O King! Do thou come! Thou hast been proclaimed in the city. Do thou for ever occupy the station belonging to thy lather and grand-father!' And beholding the king possessed of sight and able-bodied, they bowed down their heads, their eyes expanded with wonder. Then having worshipped those old and Brahmanas dwelling in the hermitage and honoured by them in return, the king set out for his city. And surrounded by the soldiers, Saivya also accompanied by Savitri, went in a vehicle furnished with shining sheets and borne on the shoulders of men. Then the priests with joyful hearts installed Dyumatsena on the throne with his high-souled son as prince-regent. And after the lapse of a long time, Savitri gave birth to a century of sons, all warlike and unretreating from battle, and enhancing the fame of Salwa's race. And she also had a century of highly powerful uterine brothers born unto Aswapati, the lord of the Madras, by Malavi. Thus, O son of Pritha, did Savitri raise from pitiable plight to high fortune, herself, and her father and mother, her father-in-law and mother-in-law, as also the race of her husband. And like that gentle lady Savitri, the auspicious daughter of Drupada, endued with excellent character, will rescue you all."

Vaisampayana said, "Thus exhorted by that high-souled sage, the son of Pandu, O king, with his mind free from anxiety, continued to live in the forest of Kamyaka. The man that listeneth with reverence to the excellent story of Savitri, attaineth to happiness, and success in everything, and never meeteth with misery!"

SECTION 298

Janamejaya said,--"What, O Brahmana, was that great fear entertained by Yudhishthira in respect of Karna, for which Lomasa had conveyed to the son of Pandu a message of deep import from Indra in these words, That intense fear of thine which thou dost never express to any one, I will remove after Dhananjaya goeth from hence? And, O best of ascetics, why was it that the virtuous Yudhishthira never expressed it to any one?"

Vaisampayana said, "As thou askest me, O tiger among kings, I will relate that history unto thee! Do thou listen to my words, O best of the Bharatas! After twelve years (of their exile) had passed away and the thirteenth year had set in, Sakra, ever friendly to the sons of Pandu, resolved to beg of Karna (his ear-rings). And, O mighty monarch, ascertaining this intention of the great chief of the celestials about (Karna's) ear-rings, Surya, having effulgence for his wealth, went unto Karna. And, O foremost of kings, while that hero devoted to the Brahmanas and truthful in speech was lying down at night at his ease on a rich bed overlaid with a costly sheet, the effulgent deity, filled with kindness and affection for his son, showed himself, O Bharata, unto him in his dreams. And assuming from ascetic power the form of a handsome Brahmana versed in the Vedas, Surya sweetly said unto Karna these words for his benefit, 'O son, do thou O Karna, listen to these words of mine, O thou foremost of truthful persons! O mighty-armed one, I tell thee to-day from affection, what is for thy great good! With the object, O Karna, of obtaining thy ear-rings, Sakra, moved by the desire of benefiting the sons of Pandu, will come unto thee, disguised as a Brahmana! He, as Well as all the world, knoweth thy character, viz., that when solicited by pious people, thou givest away but never takest in gift! Thou, O son, givest unto Brahmanas wealth or any other thing that is asked of thee and never refusest anything to anybody. Knowing thee to be such, the subduer himself of Paka will come to beg of thee thy ear-rings and coat of mail. When he beggeth the ear-rings of thee, it behoveth thee not to give them away, but to gratify him with sweet speeches to the best of thy power. Even this, is for thy supreme good! While asking thee for the ear-rings, thou shalt, with various reasons, repeatedly refuse Purandara who is desirous of obtaining them, offering him, instead, various other kinds of wealth, such as gems and women and kine, and citing various precedents. If thou, O Kama, givest away thy beautiful ear-rings born with thee, thy life being shortened, thou wilt meet with death! Arrayed in thy mail and ear-rings, thou wilt, O bestower of honours, be incapable of being slain by foes in battle! Do thou lay to heart these words of mine! Both these jewelled ornaments have sprung from Amrita. Therefore, they should be preserved by thee, if thy life is at all dear to thee."

"Hearing these words, Kama said, 'Who art thou that tellest me so, showing me such kindness? If it pleaseth thee, tell me, O illustrious one, who thou art in the guise of a Brahmana!'--The Brahmana thereupon said, 'O son, I am he of a thousand rays! Out of affection, I point out to thee the path! Act thou according to my words, as it is for thy great good to do so!' Kama replied, 'Surely, this itself is highly fortunate for me that the god himself of splendour addresses me today, seeking my welfare. Listen, however, to these words of mine! May it please thee, O bestower of boons, it is only from affection that I tell thee this! If I am dear to thee, I should not be dissuaded from the observance of my vow! O thou that are possessed of the wealth of effulgence, the whole world knoweth this to be my vow that, of a verity, I am prepared to give away life itself unto superior Brahmanas! If, O best of all rangers of the sky, Sakra cometh to me, disguised as a Brahmana, to beg for the benefit of the sons of Pandu, I will, O chief of the celestials, give him the ear-rings and the excellent mail, so that my fame which hath spread over the three worlds may not suffer any diminution! For persons like us, it is not fit to save life by a blame-worthy act. On the contrary, it is even proper for us to meet death with the approbation of the world and under circumstances bringing fame. Therefore, will I bestow upon Indra the ear-rings with my coat of mail! If the slayer himself of Vala and Vritra cometh to ask for the ear-rings for the benefit of the sons of Pandu, that will conduce to my fame, leading at the same time to his infamy! O thou possessed of splendour, I wish for fame in this world, even if it is to be purchased with life itself, for they that have fame enjoy the celestial regions, while they that are destitute of it are lost. Fame keepeth people alive in this world even like a mother, while infamy killeth men even though they may move about with bodies undestroyed. O lord of the worlds, O thou possessed of the wealth of effulgence, that fame is the life of men is evidenced by an ancient sloka sung by the Creator himself,--In the next world it is fame that is the chief support of a person, while in this world pure fame lengthens life. Therefore, by giving away my ear-rings and mail with both of which I was born I will win eternal fame! And by duly giving away the same to Brahmanas according to the ordinance, by offering up my body (as a gift to the gods) in the sacrifice of war, by achieving feats difficult of performance, and by conquering my foes in fight, I will acquire nothing but renown. And by dispelling on the field of battle the fears of the affrighted that may beg for their lives, and relieving old men and boys and Brahmanas from terror and anxiety, I will win excellent fame and the highest heaven. My fame is to be protected with the sacrifice of even my life. Even this, know thou, is my vow! By giving away such a valuable gift to Maghavan disguised as a Brahmana, I will, O god, acquire in this world the most exalted state.'"

SECTION 299

"Surya said, 'Never do, O Karna, anything that is harmful to thy self and thy friends; thy sons, thy wives, thy father, and thy mother; O thou best of those that bear life, people desire renown (in this world) and lasting fame in heaven, without wishing to sacrifice their bodies. But as thou desirest undying fame at the expense of thy life, she will, without doubt, snatch away thy life! O bull among men, in this world, the father, the mother, the son, and other relatives are of use only to him that is alive. O tiger among men, as regard kings, it is only when they are alive that prowess can be of any use to them. Do thou understand this? O thou of exceeding splendour, fame is for the good of these only that are alive! Of what use is fame to the dead whose bodies have been reduced to ashes? One that is dead cannot enjoy renown. It is only when one is alive that one can enjoy it. The fame of one that is dead is like a garland of flowers around the neck of a corpse. As thou reverest me, I tell thee this for thy benefit, because thou art a worshipper of mine! They that worship me are always protected by me. That also is another reason for my addressing thee thus! Thinking again, O mighty-armed one, that this one revereth me with great reverence, I have been inspired with love for thee! Do thou, therefore, act according to my words! There is, besides some profound mystery in all this, ordained by fate. It is for this, that I tell thee so. Do thou act without mistrust of any kind! O bull among men, it is not fit for thee to know this which is a secret to the very gods. Therefore, I do not reveal that secret unto thee. Thou wilt, however, understand it in time. I repeat what I have already said. Do thou, O Radha's son, lay my words to heart! When the wielder of the thunder-bolt asketh thee for them, do thou never give him thy ear-rings! O thou of exceeding splendour, with thy handsome ear-rings, thou lookest beautiful, even like the Moon himself in the clear firmament, between the Visakha constellation! Dost thou know that fame availeth only the person that is living. Therefore, when the lord of the celestials will ask the ear-rings, thou shouldst, O son, refuse him! Repeating again and again answers fraught with various reasons, thou wilt, O sinless one, be able to remove the eagerness of the lord of the celestial for the possession of the ear-rings. Do thou, O Karna, after Purandara's purpose by urging answers fraught with reason and grave import and adorned with sweetness and suavity. Thou dost always, O tiger among men, challenge him that can draw the bow with his left hand, and heroic Arjuna also will surely encounter thee in fight. But when furnished with thy ear-rings, Arjuna will never be able to vanquish thee in fight even if Indra himself comes to his assistance. Therefore, O Karna, if thou wishest to vanquish Arjuna in battle, these handsome ear-rings of thine should never be parted with to Sakra.'"

SECTION 300

"Karna said, 'As thou, O lord of splendour, knowest me for thy worshipper, so also thou knowest that there is nothing which I cannot give away in charity, O thou of fiery rays! Neither my wives, nor my sons, nor my own self, nor my friends, are so dear to me as thou, on account of the veneration I feel for thee, O lord of splendour! Thou knowest, O maker of light, that high-souled persons bear a loving regard for their dear worshippers. Karna revereth me and is dear to me. He knoweth no other deity in heaven,--thinking this thou hast, O lord, said unto me what is for my benefit. Yet, O thou of bright rays, again do I beseech thee with bended head, again do I place myself in thy hands. I will repeat the answer I have already given. It behoveth thee to forgive me! Death itself is not fraught with such terrors for me as untruth! As regards especially the Brahmanas, again, I do not hesitate to yield up my life even for them! And, O divine one, respecting what thou hast said unto me of Phalguna, the son of Pandu, let thy grief born of thy anxiety of heart, O lord of splendour, be dispelled touching him and myself; for I shall

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surely conquer Arjuna in battle! Thou knowest, O deity, that I have great strength of weapons obtained from Jamadagnya and the high-souled Drona. Permit me now, O foremost of celestials, to observe my vow, so that unto him of the thunderbolt coming to beg of me, I may give away even my life!'

"Surya said, 'If O son, thou givest away thy ear-rings to the wielder of the thunder-bolt, O thou of mighty strength, thou shouldst also, for the purpose of securing victory, speak unto him, saying,--O thou of a hundred sacrifices, I shall give thee ear-rings under a condition.--Furnished with the ear-rings, thou art certainly incapable of being slain by any being. Therefore, it is, O son, that desirous of beholding thee slain in battle by Arjuna, the destroyer of the Danavas desireth to deprive thee of thy ear-rings. Repeatedly adoring with truthful words that lord of the celestials, viz., Purandara armed with weapons incapable of being frustrated, do thou also beseech him, saying, 'Give me an infallible dart capable of slaying all foes, and I will, O thousand-eyed deity, give the ear-rings with the excellent coat of mail!' On this condition shouldst thou give the ear-rings unto Sakra. With that dart, O Karna, thou wilt slay foes in battle: for, O mighty-armed one, that dart of the chief of the celestials doth not return to the hand that hurleth it, without slaying enemies by hundreds and by thousands!'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Having said this, the thousand-rayed deity suddenly vanished away. The next day, after having told his prayers, Karna related his dream unto the Sun. And Vrisha related unto him the vision he had seen, and all that had passed between them in the night. Thereupon, having heard everything, that enemy of Swarbhanu, that lord, the resplendent and divine Surya, said unto him with a smile, 'It is even so!' Then Radha's son, that slayer of hostile heroes, knowing all about the matter, and desirous of obtaining the dart, remained in expectation of Vasava."

SECTION 301

Janamejaya said, "What was that secret which was not revealed to Karna by the deity of warm rays? Of what kind also were those ear-rings and of what sort was that coat of mail? Whence, too, was that mail and those ear-rings? All this, O best of men. I wish to hear! O thou possessed of the wealth of asceticism, do tell me all this!"

Vaisampayana said, "I will, O monarch, tell thee that secret which was not revealed by the deity possessed of the wealth of effulgence. I will also describe unto thee those ear-rings and that coat of mail. Once on a time, O king, there appeared before Kuntibhoja a Brahmana of fierce energy and tall stature, bearing a beard and matted locks, and carrying a staff in his hand. And, he was agreeable to the eye and of faultless limbs, and seemed to blaze forth in splendour. And he was possessed of a yellow-blue complexion like that of honey. And his speech was mellifluous, and he was adorned with ascetic merit and a knowledge of the Vedas. And that person of great ascetic merit, addressing king Kuntibhoja, said, 'O thou that are free from pride, I wish to live as a guest in thy house feeding on the food obtained as alms from thee! Neither thy followers, nor thou thyself, shall ever act in such a way as to produce my displeasure! If, O sinless one, it liketh thee, I would then live in thy house thus! I shall leave thy abode when I wish, and come back when I please. And, O king, no one shall offend me in respect of my food or bed.'--Then Kuntibhoja spake unto him these words cheerfully, 'Be it so, and more.' And he again said unto him, 'O thou of great wisdom, I have an illustrious daughter named Pritha. And she beareth an excellent character, is observant of vow, chaste, and of subdued senses. And she shall attend on thee and minister unto thee with reverence. And thou wilt be pleased with her disposition!' And having said this to that Brahmana and duly paid him homage, the king went to his daughter Pritha of large eyes, and spake thus unto her, 'O child, this eminently pious Brahmana is desirous of dwelling in my house! I have accepted his proposal, saying,--So be it, relying, O child, on thy aptitude and skill in ministering unto Brahmanas. It, therefore, behoveth thee to act in such a manner that my words may not be untrue. Do thou give him with alacrity whatever this reverend Brahmana possessed of ascetic merit and engaged in the study of the Vedas, may want. Let everything that this Brahmana asketh for be giver to him cheerfully. A Brahmana is the embodiment of pre-eminent energy: he is also the embodiment of the highest ascetic merit. It is in consequence of the virtuous practices of Brahmanas that the sun shineth in the heavens. It was for their disregard of Brahmanas that were deserving of honour that the mighty Asura Vatapi, as also Talajangha, was destroyed by the curse of the Brahmanas. For the present, O child, it is a highly virtuous one of that order that is entrusted to thy keep. Thou shouldst always tend this Brahmana with concentrated mind. O daughter, I know that, from childhood upwards, thou hast ever been attentive to Brahmanas, and superiors, and relatives, and servants, and friends, to thy mothers and myself. I know thou bearest thyself well, bestowing proper regard upon everyone. And, O thou of faultless limbs, in the city of the interior of my palace, on account of thy gentle behaviour, there is not one, even among the servants, that is dissatisfied with thee. I have, therefore, thought thee fit to wait upon all Brahmanas of wrathful temper. Thou art, O Pritha, a girl and has been adopted as my daughter. Thou art born in the race of the Vrishnis, and art the favourite daughter of Sura. Thou wert, O girl, given to me gladly by thy father himself. The sister of Vasudeva by birth, thou art (by adoption) the foremost of my children. Having promised me in these words,--I will give my first born,--thy father gladly gave thee to me while thou wert yet in thy infancy. It is for this reason that thou art my daughter. Born in such a race and reared in such a race, thou hast come from one happy state to another like a lotus transferred from one lake to another. O auspicious girl, women, specially they that are of mean extraction, although they may with difficulty be kept under restraint, become in consequence of their unripe age, generally deformed in character. But thou, O Pritha, art born in a royal race, and thy beauty also is extraordinary. And then, O girl, thou art endued with every accomplishment. Do thou, therefore, O damsel, renouncing pride and haughtiness and a sense of self-importance, wait upon and worship the boon-giving Brahmana, and thereby attain, O Pritha, to an auspicious state! By acting thus, O auspicious and sinless girl, thou wilt surely attain to auspiciousness! But if on the contrary, thou stirest up the anger of this best of the twice-born ones, my entire race will be consumed by him!'"

SECTION 302

"Kunti said, 'According to thy promise, I will, O king, with concentrated mind, serve that Brahmana. O foremost of kings, I do not say this falsely. It is my nature to worship Brahmanas. And, as in the present case, my doing so would be agreeable to thee, even this would be highly conducive to my welfare. Whether that worshipful one cometh in the evening, or in morning, or at night or even at midnight, he will have no reason to be angry with me! O foremost of kings, to do good by serving the twice-born ones, observing all thy commands, is what I consider to be highly profitable to me, O best of men! Do thou, therefore, O foremost of monarchs rely on me! That best of Brahmanas, while residing in thy house, shall never have cause for dissatisfaction. I tell thee truly. I shall, O king, be always attentive to that which is agreeable to this Brahmana, and what is fraught also with good to thee. O sinless one! I know full well that Brahmanas that are eminently virtuous, when propitiated bestow salvation, and when displeased, are capable of bringing about destruction upon the offender. Therefore, I shall please this foremost of Brahmanas. Thou wilt not, O monarch, come to any grief from that best of regenerate persons, owing to any act of mine. In consequence of the transgressions of monarchs, Brahmanas, O foremost of kings, became the cause of evil to them, as Chyavana had become, in consequence of the act of Sukanya. I will, therefore, O king, with great regularity, wait upon that best of Brahmanas according to thy instructions in that respect!' And when she had thus spoken at length, the king embraced and cheered her, and instructed her in detail as to what should be done by her. And the king said, 'Thou shall, O gentle maid, act even thus, without fear, for my good as also thy own, and for the good of thy race also, O thou of faultless limbs!' And having said this the illustrious Kuntibhoja, who was devoted to the Brahmanas, made over the girl Pritha to that Brahmana, saying, 'This my daughter, O Brahmana, is of tender age and brought up in luxury. If, therefore, she transgresses at any time, do thou not take that to heart! Illustrious Brahmanas are never angry with old men, children, and ascetics, even if these transgress frequently. In respect of even a great wrong forgiveness is due from the regenerate. The worship, therefore, O best of Brahmanas, that is offered to the best of one's power and exertion, should be acceptable!' Hearing these words of the monarch, the Brahmana said, 'So be it!' Thereupon, the king became highly pleased and assigned unto him apartments that were white as swans or the beams of the moon. And in the room intended for the sacrificial fire, the king placed a brilliant seat especially constructed for him. And the food and other things that were offered unto the Brahmana were of the same excellent kind. And casting aside idleness and all sense of self-importance, the princess addressed herself with right good will to wait upon the Brahmana. And the chaste Kunti, endued with purity of conduct, went thither for serving the Brahmana. And duly waiting upon that Brahmana as if he were a very god, she gratified him highly."

SECTION 303

Vaisampayana said, "And that maiden of rigid vows. O mighty monarch, by serving with a pure heart, that Brahmana of rigid vows, succeeded in gratifying him. And, O foremost of kings, saying, 'I will come back in the morning,' that best of Brahmanas sometimes came in the evening or in night. Him, however, the maiden worshipped at all hours with sumptuous food and drink and bed. And as day after day passed away, her attentions to him, in respect of food and seat and bed, increased instead of undergoing any diminution. And, O king, even when the Brahmana reproved her, finding fault with any of her arrangements, or addressed her in harsh words, Pritha did not do anything that was disagreeable to him. And on many occasions the Brahmana came back after the appointed hour had long passed away. And on many occasions (such as the depth of night) when food was hard to procure, he said, 'Give me food!' But on all those occasions saying, 'All is ready,'--Pritha held before him the fare. And even like a disciple, daughter, or a sister, that blameless gem of a girl with a devoted heart, O king, gratified that foremost of Brahmanas. And that best of Brahmanas became well-pleased with her conduct and ministrations. And he received those attentions of hers, valuing them rightly. And, O Bharata, her father asked her every morning and evening saying, "O daughter, is the Brahmana satisfied with thy ministrations? And that illustrious maiden used to reply, 'Exceedingly well!' And thereupon, the high-souled Kuntibhoja experienced the greatest delight. And when after a full year that best of ascetics was unable to find any fault whatever in Pritha, who was engaged in ministering unto him, well-pleased he said unto her, 'O gentle maid, I have been well-pleased with thy attentions, O beautiful girl! Do thou, O blessed girl, ask even for such boons as are difficult of being obtained by men in this world, and obtaining which, thou mayst surpass in fame all the women in this world'. At these words of his, Kunti said, 'Everything hath already been done in my behalf since thou, O chief of those that are versed in the Vedas, and my father also, have been pleased with me! As regards the boons, I consider them as already obtained by me, O Brahmana!' The Brahmana thereupon said, 'If, O gentle maid, thou dost not, O thou of sweet smiles, wish to obtain boons from me, do thou then take this mantra from me for invoking the celestials! Any one amongst the celestials whom thou mayst invoke by uttering this mantra, will appear before thee and be under thy power. Willing or not, by virtue of this mantra, that deity in gentle guise, and assuming the obedient attitude of slave, will become subject to thy power!'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Thus addressed, that faultless maiden could-not, O king, from fear of a curse, refuse tor the second time compliance with the wishes of that best of the twice-born ones. Then, O king, that Brahmana imparted unto that girl of faultless limbs those mantras which are recited in the beginning of the Atharvan Veda. And, O king, having imparted unto her those mantras, he said unto Kuntibhoja. 'I have, O monarch, dwelt happily in thy house, always worshipped with due regard and gratified by thy daughter. I shall now depart.' And saying this, he vanished there and then. And beholding that Brahmana vanish there and then, the king was struck with amazement. And the monarch then treated his daughter Pritha with proper regard."

SECTION 304

Vaisampayana said, "When that foremost of Brahmanas had gone away on some other errand, the maiden began to ponder over the virtue of those mantras. And she said to herself, 'Of what nature are those mantras that have been bestowed on me by that high-souled one? I shall without delay test their power'. And as she was thinking in this way, she suddenly perceived indications of the approach of her season. And her season having arrived, while she was yet unmarried, she blushed in shame. And it came to pass that as she was seated in her chamber on a rich bed, she beheld the solar orb rising in the east. And both the mind and the eyes of that maiden of excellent waist became rivetted fast upon the solar orb. And she gazed and gazed on that orb without being satiated with the beauty of the morning Sun. And she suddenly became gifted with celestial sight. And then she beheld that god of divine form accoutred in mail and adorned with ear-rings. And at sight of the god, O lord of men, she became curious as to the (potency of the) mantras. And thereupon that maiden resolved to invoke him. And having recourse to Pranayama, she invoked the Maker of day. And thus invoked by her, O king, the Maker of day speedily presented himself. And he was of a yellowish hue like honey, and was possessed of mighty arms, and his neck was marked with lines like those of a conchshell. And furnished with armlets, and decked with a diadem, he came smiling, and illumining all the directions. And it was by Yoga power that he divided himself in twain, one of which continued to give heat, and the other appeared before Kunti. And he addressed Kunti in words that were exceedingly sweet, saying, 'O gentle maiden, over-powered by the mantras, I come hither obedient to thee. Subject as I am to thy power, what shall I do, O queen? Tell me, for I shall do whatever thou mayst command? Hearing these words of the deity, Kunti said, 'O worshipful one, go thou back to the place thou hast come from! I invoked thee from curiosity alone. Pardon me, O worshipful one!' Surya then said, 'O damsel of slender waist, I will, even as thou hast said, return to the place I have come from! Having called a celestial, it is not, however, proper to send him away in vain. Thy intention, O blessed one, it is to have from Surya a son furnished with a coat of mail and ear-rings, and who in point of prowess would be beyond compare in this world! Do thou, therefore, O damsel of elephantine gait, surrender thy person to me! Thou shall then have, O lady, a son after thy

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wish! O gentle girl, O thou of sweet smiles, I will go back after having known thee! If thou do not gratify me to-day by obeying my word, I shall in anger curse thee, thy father and that Brahmana also. For thy fault, I will surely consume them all, and I shall inflict condign punishment on that foolish father of thine that knoweth not this transgression of thine and on that Brahmana who hath bestowed the mantras on thee without knowing thy disposition and character! Yonder are all the celestials in heaven, with Purandara at their head, who are looking at me with derisive smiles at my being deceived by thee, O lady! Look at those celestials, for thou art now possessed of celestial sight! Before this I have endued thee with celestial vision, in consequence of which thou couldst see me!'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Thereupon the princess beheld the celestials standing in the firmament, each in his proper sphere [In the original., Vimana or Vimanam, i. e., a car.], even as she saw before her that highly resplendent deity furnished with rays, viz., Surya himself. And beholding them all, the girl became frightened and her face was suffused with blushes of shame. And then she addressed Surya, saying, 'O lord of rays, go thou back to thy own region. On account of my maidenhood, this outrage of thine is fraught with woe to me! It is only one's father, mother, and other superiors, that are capable of giving away their daughter's body. Virtue I shall never sacrifice, seeing that in this world the keeping of their persons inviolate is deemed as the highest duty of women, and is held in high regard! O thou possessed of wealth of splendour, it is only to test the power of my mantras that I have, from mere childishness, summoned thee. Considering that this hath been done by a girl of tender years, it behoveth thee, O lord, to forgive her!' Then Surya said, 'It is because I consider thee a girl that, O Kunti, I am speaking to thee so mildly. To one that is not so I would not concede this. Do thou, O Kunti, surrender thyself! Thou shalt surely attain happiness thereby. Since, O timid maiden, thou hast invoked me with mantras, it is not proper for me to go away without any purpose being attained, for, if I do so I shall then. O thou of faultless limbs, be the object of laughter in the world, and, O beauteous damsel, a bye-word with all the celestials. Do thou, therefore, yield to me! By that thou shalt obtain a son even like myself, and thou shalt also be much praised in all the world.'"

SECTION 305

Vaisampayana said, "Although that noble girl addressed him in various sweet words, yet she was unable to dissuade that deity of a thousand rays. And when she failed to dissuade the dispeller of darkness, at last from fear of a curse, she reflected, O king, for a long time!--'How may my innocent father, and that Brahmana also, escape the angry Surya's curse for my sake? Although energy and asceticism are capable of destroying sins, yet even honest persons, if they be of unripe age, should not foolishly court them. By foolishly acting in that way I have today been placed in a frightful situation. Indeed, I have been placed entirely within the grasp of this deity. Ye how can I do what is sinful by taking it on myself to surrender my person to him?'

Vaisampayana continued, afflicted with fear of a curse, and thinking much within herself, an utter stupefaction of the senses came upon her. And she was so confounded that she could not settle what to do. Afraid, on the one hand, O king, of the reproach of friends if she obeyed the deity, and, on the other, of his curse if she disobeyed him, the damsel at last, O foremost of kings, said these words unto that god, in accents tremulous with bashfulness, 'O god, as my father and mother and friends are still living, this violation of duty on my part should not take place. If; O god, I commit this unlawful act with thee, the reputation of this race shall be sacrificed in this world on my account. If thou, however, O thou foremost of those that impart heat, deem this to be a meritorious act, I shall then fulfil thy desire even though my relatives may not have bestowed me on thee! May I remain chaste after having surrendered my person to thee! Surely, the virtue, the reputation, the fame, and the life of every creature are established in thee!' Hearing these words of hers, Surya replied, 'O thou of sweet smiles, neither thy father, nor thy mother, nor any other superior of thine, is competent to give thee away! May good betide thee, O beauteous damsel! Do thou listen to my words! It is because a virgin desireth the company of every one, that she hath received the appellation of Kanya, from the root kama meaning to desire. Therefore, O thou of excellent hips and the fairest complexion, a virgin is, by nature, free in this world. Thou shalt not, O lady, by any means, be guilty of any sin by complying with my request. And how can I, who am desirous of the welfare of all creatures, commit an unrighteous act? That all men and women should be bound by no restraints, is the law of nature. The opposite condition is the perversion of the natural state. Thou shalt remain a virgin after having gratified me. And thy son shall also be mighty-armed and illustrious.' Thereupon Kunti said, 'If, O dispeller of darkness, I obtain a son from thee, may he be furnished with a coat of mail and ear-rings, and may he be mighty-armed and endued with great strength!' Hearing these words of hers, Surya answered, 'O gentle maiden, thy son shall be mighty-armed and decked with ear-rings and a celestial coat of mail. And both his ear-rings and coat of mail will be made of Amrita, and his coat will also be invulnerable.' Kunti then said, 'If the excellent mail and ear-rings of the son thou wilt beget on me, be, indeed, made of Amrita, then, O god, O worshipful deity, let thy purpose be fulfilled! May he be powerful, strong, energetic, and handsome, even like thee, and may he also be endued with virtue!' Surya then said, 'O princess, O excellent damsel, these ear-rings had been given to me by Aditi. O timid lady, I will bestow them, as also this excellent mail, on thy son!' Kunti then said, 'Very well, O worshipful one! If my son, O lord of light, become so, I will, as thou sayest, gratify thee!'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Hearing these words of hers Surya said, 'So be it!' And that ranger of the skies, that enemy of Swarbhanu, with soul absorbed in Yoga, entered into Kunti, and touched her on the navel. At this, that damsel, on account of Surya's energy, became stupefied. And that reverend lady then fell down on her bed, deprived of her senses. Surya then addressed her, saying, 'I will now depart, O thou of graceful hips! Thou shalt bring forth a son who will become the foremost of all wielders of weapons. At the same time thou shalt remain a virgin.'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Then, O foremost of kings, as the highly effulgent Surya was about to depart, that girl bashfully said unto him, 'So be it!' And it was thus that the daughter of king Kuntibhoja, importuned by Surya, had after soliciting a son from him, fallen down stupefied on that excellent bed, like a broken creeper. And it was thus that deity of fierce rays, stupefying her, entered into her by virtue of Yoga power, and placed his own self within her womb. The deity, however, did not sully her by deflowering her in the flesh. And after Surya had gone away, that girl regained her consciousness."

SECTION 306

Vaisampayana said, "It was, O lord of earth, on the first day of the lighted fortnight during the tenth month of the year that Pritha conceived a son like the lord himself of the stars in the firmament. And that damsel of excellent hips from fear of her friends, concealed her conception, so that no one knew her condition. And as the damsel lived entirely in the apartments assigned to the maidens and carefully concealed her condition, no one except her nurse knew the truth. And in due time that beauteous maiden, by the grace of deity, brought forth a son resembling a very god. And even like his father, the child was equipped in a coat of mail, and decked with brilliant ear-rings. And he was possessed of leonine eyes and shoulders like those of a bull. And no sooner was the beauteous girl delivered of a child, then she consulted with her nurse and placed the infant in a commodious and smooth box made of wicker work and spread over with soft sheets and furnished with a costly pillow. And its surface was laid over with wax, and it was encased in a rich cover. And with tears in her eyes, she carried the infant to the river Aswa, and consigned the basket to its waters. And although she knew it to be improper for an unmarried girl to bear offspring, yet from parental affection, O foremost of kings, she wept piteously. Do thou listen to the words Kunti weepingly uttered, while consigning the box to the waters of the river Aswa, 'O child, may good betide thee at the hands of all that inhabit the land, the water, the sky, and the celestial regions. May all thy paths be auspicious! May no one obstruct thy way! And, O son, may all that come across thee have their hearts divested of hostility towards thee: And may that lord of waters, Varuna. protect thee in water! And may the deity that rangeth the skies completely protect thee in the sky. And may, O son, that best of those that impart heat, viz., Surya, thy father, and from whom I have obtained thee as ordained by Destiny, protect thee everywhere! And may the Adityas and the Vasus, the Rudras and the Sadhyas, the Viswadevas and the Maruts, and the cardinal points with the great Indra and the regents presiding over them, and, indeed, all the celestials, protect thee in every place! Even in foreign lands I shall be able to recognise thee by this mail of thine! Surely, thy sire, O son, the divine Surya possessed of the wealth of splendour, is blessed, for he will with his celestial sight behold thee going down the current! Blessed also is that lady who will, O thou that are begotten by a god, take thee for her son, and who will give thee suck when thou art thirsty! And what a lucky dream hath been dreamt by her that will adopt thee for her son, thee that is endued with solar splendour, and furnished with celestial mail, and adorned with celestial ear-rings, thee that hast expansive eyes resembling lotuses, a complexion bright as burnished copper or lotus leaves, a fair forehead, and hair ending in beautiful curls! O son, she that will behold thee crawl on the ground, begrimed with dust, and sweetly uttering inarticulate words, is surely blessed! And she also, O son, that will behold thee arrive at thy youthful prime like maned lion born in Himalayan forests, is surely blessed!'"

"O king, having thus bewailed long and piteously, Pritha laid the basket on the waters of the river Aswa. And the lotus-eyed damsel, afflicted with grief on account of her son and weeping bitterly, with her nurse cast the basket at dead of night, and though desirous of beholding her son often and again, returned, O monarch, to the palate, fearing lest her father should come to know of what had happened. Meanwhile, the basket floated from the river Aswa to the river Charmanwati, and from the Charmanwati it passed to the Yamuna, and so on to the Ganga. And carried by the waves of the Ganga, the child contained in the basket came to the city of Champa ruled by a person of the Suta tribe. Indeed, the excellent coat of mail and those ear-rings made of Amrita that were born with his body, as also the ordinance of Destiny, kept the child alive."

SECTION 307

Vaisampayana said, "And it came to pass that at this time a Suta named Adhiratha, who was a friend of Dhritarashtra, came to the river Ganga, accompanied by his wife. And, O king, his wife named Radha was unparalleled on earth for beauty. And although that highly blessed dame had made great endeavours to obtain a son, yet she had failed, O represser of foes, to obtain one. And on coming to the river Ganga, she beheld a box drifting along the current. And containing articles capable of protecting from dangers and decked with unguents, that box was brought before her by the waves of the Janhavi. And attracted by curiosity, the lady caused it to be seized. And she then related all unto Adhiratha of the charioteer caste. And hearing this Adhiratha took away the box from the water-side, and opened it by means of instruments. And then he beheld a boy resembling the morning Sun. And the infant was furnished with golden mail, and looked exceedingly beautiful with a face decked in ear-rings. And thereupon the charioteer, together with his wife, was struck with such astonishment that their eyes expanded in wonder. And taking the infant on his lap, Adhiratha said unto his wife, 'Ever since I was born, O timid lady, I had never seen such a wonder. This child that hath come to us must be of celestial birth. Surely, sonless as I am, it is the gods that have sent him unto me!' Saying this, O lord of earth, he gave the infant to Radha. And thereat, Radha adopted, according to the ordinance, that child of celestial form and divine origin, and possessed of the splendour of the filaments of the lotus and furnished with excellent grace. And duly reared by her, that child endued with great prowess began to grow up. And after Karna's adoption, Adhiratha had other sons begotten by himself. And seeing the child furnished with bright mail and golden ear-rings, the twice-born ones named him Vasusena. And thus did that child endued with great splendour and immeasurable prowess became the son of the charioteer, and came to be known as Vasusena and Vrisha. And Pritha learnt through spies that her own son clad in celestial mail was growing up amongst the Angas as the eldest son of a charioteer (Adhiratha). And seeing that in process of time his son had grown up, Adhiratha sent him to the city named after the elephant. And there Karna put up with Drona, for the purpose of learning arms. And that powerful youth contracted a friendship with Duryodhana. And having acquired all the four kinds of weapons from Drona, Kripa, and Rama, he became famous in the world as a mighty bowman. And after having contracted a friendship with Dhritarashtra's son, he became intent on injuring the sons of Pritha. And he was always desirous of fighting with the high-souled Falguna. And, O king, ever since they first saw each other, Karna always used to challenge Arjuna, and Arjuna, on his part, used to challenge him. This, O foremost of kings, was without doubt, the secret known to the Sun, viz., begot by himself on Kunti, Karna was being reared in the race of the Sutas. And beholding him decked with his ear-rings and mail, Yudhishthira thought him to be unslayable in fight, and was exceedingly pained at it. And when, O foremost of monarchs, Karna after rising from the water, used at mid-day to worship the effulgent Surya with joined hands, the Brahmanas used to solicit him for wealth. And at that time there was nothing that he would not give away to the twice-born ones. And Indra, assuming the guise of a Brahmana, appeared before him (at such a time) and said, 'Give me!' And thereupon Radha's son replied unto him, 'Thou art welcome!'"

SECTION 308

Vaisampayana said, "And when the king of the celestials presented himself in the guise of a Brahmana, beholding him, Kama said, 'Welcome!' And not knowing his intention, Adhiratha's son addressed the Brahmana, saying, 'Of a necklace of gold, and beauteous damsels, and villages with plenty of kine, which shall I give thee?' Thereupon the Brahmana replied, 'I ask thee not to give me either a necklace of gold, or fair damsels, or any other agreeable object. To those do thou give them that ask for them. If, O sinless one, thou art sincere in thy vow, then wilt thou, cutting off (from thy person) this coat of mail born with thy body, and these ear-rings also, bestow them on me! I desire, O chastiser of foes, that thou mayst speedily give me these; for, this one gain of mine will be considered as superior to every other gain!' Hearing these words, Kama, said, 'O Brahmana, I will give

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thee homestead land, and fair damsels, and kine, and fields; but my mail and ear-rings I am unable to give thee!'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Although thus urged with various words by Karna, still, O chief of the Bharata race, that Brahmana did not ask for any other boon. And although Karna sought to pacify him to the best of his power, and worshipped him duly, yet that best of Brahmanas did not ask for any other boon. And when that foremost of Brahmanas did not ask for any other boon, Radha's son again spake unto him with a smile, 'My mail, O regenerate one, hath been born with my body, and this pair of ear-rings hath arisen from Amrita. It is for these that I am unslayable in the worlds. Therefore, I cannot part with them. Do thou, O bull among Brahmanas, accept from me the entire kingdom of the earth, rid of enemies and full of prosperity! O foremost of regenerate ones, if I am deprived of my ear-rings, and the mail born with my body, I shall be liable to be vanquished by the foes!'

Vaisampayana continued, "When the illustrious slayer of Paka refused to ask for any other boon, Kama with a smile again addressed him, saying, 'O god of gods, even before this, I had recognised thee, O Lord! O Sakra, it is not proper for me to confer on thee any unprofitable boon, for thou art the very lord of the celestials! On the contrary, being as thou art the Creator and lord of all beings, it is thou that shouldst confer boons on me! If, O god, I give thee this coat of mail and ear-rings, then I am sure to meet with destruction, and thou shalt also undergo ridicule! Therefore, O Sakra, take my earrings and excellent mail in exchange for something conferred by thee on me! Otherwise, I will not bestow them on thee!' Thereupon Sakra replied, 'Even before I had come to thee, Surya had known of my purpose and without doubt, it is he that hath unfolded everything unto thee! O Karna, be it as thou wishest! O son, except the thunder-bolt alone, tell me what it is that thou desirest to have!'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Hearing these words of Indra, Karna was filled with delight and seeing that his purpose was about to be accomplished he approached Vasava, and intent upon obtaining a dart incapable of being baffled, he addressed Indra, saying, 'Do thou, O Vasava, in exchange for my coat of mail and ear-rings, give me a dart incapable of being baffled, and competent to destroy hosts of enemies when arrayed in order of battle!' Thereupon, O ruler of earth, fixing his mind for a moment on the dart (for bringing it there), Vasava thus spake unto Karna, 'Do thou give me thy ear-rings, and the coat of mail born with thy body, and in return take this dart on these terms! When I encounter the Daitya in battle, this dart that is incapable of being baffled, hurled by my hand, destroyeth enemies by hundreds, and cometh back to my hand after achieving its purpose. In thy hand, however, this dart, O son of Suta, will slay only one powerful enemy of thine. And having achieved that feat, it will, roaring and blazing, return to me!' Thereat Karna said, 'I desire to slay in fierce fight even one enemy of mine, who roareth fiercely and is hot as fire, and of whom I am in fear!' At this, Indra said, 'Thou shall slay such a roaring and powerful foe in battle. But that one whom thou seekest to slay, is protected by an illustrious personage. Even He whom persons versed in the Vedas call 'the invincible Boar,' and 'the incomprehensible Narayana,' even that Krishna himself, is protecting him!' Thereupon Karna replied, 'Even if this be so, do thou, O illustrious one give me the weapon that will destroy only one powerful foe! I shall, on my part, bestow on thee my mail and ear-rings, cutting them off my person. Do thou, however, grant that my body, thus wounded, may not be unsightly!' Hearing this, Indra said, 'As thou, O Karna, art bent upon observing the truth, thy person shall not be unsightly, or shall any scar remain on it. And, O thou best of those that are graced with speech, O Karna, thou shall be possessed of complexion and energy of thy father him self. And if, maddened by wrath, thou hurlest this dart, while there are still other weapons with thee, and when thy life also is not in imminent peril, it will fall even on thyself.' Karna answered, 'As thou directest me, O Sakra, I shall hurl this Vasavi dart only when I am in imminent peril! Truly I tell thee this!'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Thereupon, O king, taking the blazing dart, Karna began to peel off his natural mail. And beholding Karna cutting his own body, the entire host of celestials and men and Danavas set up a leonine roar. And Karna betrayed no contortions of face while peeling his mail. And beholding that hero among men thus cutting his body with an weapon, smiling ever and anon, celestial kettle-drums began to be played upon and celestial flowers began to be showered on him. And Karna cutting off the excellent mail from his person, gave it to Vasava, still dripping. And cutting off his ear-rings also from off his ears, he made them over to Indra. And it is for this fact that he came to be called Karna. And Sakra, having thus beguiled Karna that made him famous in the world, thought with a smile that the business of the sons of Pandu had already been completed. And having done all this, he ascended to heaven. And hearing that Karna had been beguiled, all the sons of Dhritarashtra became distressed and shorn of pride. And the sons of Pritha, on the other hand, learning that such plight had befallen the son of the charioteer, were filled with joy."

Janamejaya said, "When were those heroes, the sons of Pandu, at that time? And from whom did they hear this welcome news? And what also did they do, when the twelfth year of their exile passed away? Do thou, O illustrious one, tell me all this!"

Vaisampayana said, "Having defeated the chief of the Saindhavas, and rescued Krishna, and having outlived the entire term of their painful exile in the woods, and having listened to the ancient stories about gods and Rishis recited by Markandeya, those heroes among men returned from their asylum in Kamyaka to the sacred Dwaitavana, with all their cars, and followers, and accompanied by their charioteers, their kine, and the citizens who had followed them."

SECTION 309

(Aranya Parva)

Janamejaya said, "Having felt great affliction on account of the abduction of their wife and having rescued Krishna thereafter, what did the Pandavas next do?"

Vaisampayana said, "Having felt great affliction on account of the abduction of Krishna, king Yudhishthira of unfading glory, with his brothers, left the woods of Kamyaka and returned to the delightful and picturesque Dwaitavana abounding in trees and containing delicious fruits and roots. And the sons of Pandu with their wife Krishna began to reside there, living frugally on fruits and practising rigid vows. And while those repressers of foes, the virtuous king Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, and Bhimasena, and Arjuna, and those other sons of Pandu born of Madri, were dwelling in Dwaitavana, practising rigid vows, they underwent, for the sake of a Brahmana, great trouble, which, however, was destined to bring about their future happiness. I will tell thee all about the trouble which those foremost of Kurus underwent while living in those woods, and which in the end brought about their happiness. Do thou listen to it! Once on a time, as a deer was butting about, it chanced that the two sticks for making fire and a churning staff belonging to a Brahmana devoted to ascetic austerities, struck fast into its antlers. And, thereupon, O king, that powerful deer of exceeding fleetness with long bounds, speedily went out of the hermitage, taking those articles away. And, O foremost of Kurus, seeing those articles of his thus carried away, the Brahmana, anxious on account of his Agnihotra, quickly came before the Pandavas. And approaching without loss of time Ajatasatru seated in that forest with his brothers, the Brahmana, in great distress, spake these words, 'As a deer was butting about, it happened, O king, that my fire-sticks and churning staff which had been placed against a large tree stuck fast to its antlers.

O king, that powerful deer of exceeding fleetness hath speedily gone out of the hermitage with long bounds, taking those articles away. Tracking that powerful deer, O king, by its foot-prints, do ye, ye sons of Pandu, bring back those articles of mine, so that my Agnihotra may not be stopped!' Hearing these words of the Brahmana, Yudhishthira became exceedingly concerned. And the son of Kunti taking up his bow sallied out with his brothers. And putting on their corselets and equipped with their bows, those bulls among men, intent upon serving the Brahmana, swiftly sallied out in the wake of the deer. And descrying the deer at no great distance, those mighty warriors discharged at it barbed arrows and javelins and darts, but the sons of Pandu could not pierce it by any means. And as they struggled to pursue and slay it, that powerful deer became suddenly invisible. And losing sight of the deer, the noble-minded sons of Pandu, fatigued and disappointed and afflicted with hunger and thirst, approached a banian tree in that deep forest, and sat down in its cool shade. And when they had sat down, Nakula stricken with sorrow and urged by impatience, addressed his eldest brother of the Kuru race, saying, 'In our race, O king, virtue hath never been sacrificed, nor hath there been loss of wealth from insolence. And being asked, we have never said to any creature, Nay! Why then in the present case have we met with this disaster?"

SECTION 310

Yudhishthira said, "There is no limit to calamities. Nor is it possible to ascertain either their final or efficient cause. It is the Lord of justice alone who distributeth the fruits of both virtue and vice.' Thereupon Bhima said, 'Surely, this calamity hath befallen us, because I did not slay the Pratikamin on the very spot, when he dragged Krishna as a slave into the assembly. And Arjuna said, 'Surely, this calamity hath befallen us because I resented not those biting words piercing the very bones, uttered by the Suta's son!' And Sahadeva said, 'Surely, O Bharata, this calamity hath befallen us because I did not slay Sakuni when he defeated thee at dice!'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Then king Yudhishthira addressed Nakula saying, 'Do thou, O son of Madri, climb this tree and look around the ten points of the horizon. Do thou see whether there is water near us or such trees as grow on watery grounds! O child, these thy brothers are all fatigued and thirsty.' Thereupon saying, 'So be it,' Nakula speedily climbed up a tree, and having looked around, said unto his eldest brother, 'O king, I see many a tree that groweth by the water-side, and I hear also the cries of cranes. Therefore, without doubt, water must be somewhere here.' Hearing these words, Kunti's son Yudhishthira, firm in truth, said, 'O amiable one, go thou and fetch water in these quivers!' Saying, 'So be it,' at the command of his eldest brother Nakula quickly proceeded towards the place where there was water and soon came upon it. And beholding a crystal lake inhabited by cranes he desired to drink of it, when he heard these words from the sky, 'O child, do not commit this rash act! This lake hath already been in my possession. Do thou, O son of Madri, first answer my questions and then drink of this water and take away (as much as thou requirest). Nakula, however, who was exceedingly thirsty, disregarding these words, drank of the cool water, and having drunk of it, dropped down dead. And, O represser of foes, seeing Nakula's delay, Yudhishthira the son of Kunti said unto Sahadeva, the heroic brother of Nakula, 'O Sahadeva, it is long since our brother, he who was born immediately before thee, hath gone from hence! Do thou, therefore, go and bring back thy uterine brother, together with water.' At this, Sahadeva, saying, 'So be it,' set out in that direction; and coming to the spot, beheld his brother lying dead on the ground. And afflicted at the death of his brother, and suffering severely from thirst, he advanced towards the water, when these words were heard by him, 'O child, do not commit this rash act! This lake hath already been in my possession. First answer my question, and then drink of the water and take away as much as thou mayst require.' Sahadeva, however, who was extremely thirsty, disregarding these words, drank of the water, and having drunk of it, dropped down dead. Then Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, said unto Vijaya, 'It is long since, O Vibhatsu, that thy two brothers have gone, O represser of foes! Blessed be thou! Do thou bring them back, together with water. Thou art, O child, the refuge of us all when plunged in distress!' Thus addressed, the intelligent Gudakesa, taking his bow and arrows and also his naked sword, set out tor that lake of waters. And reaching that spot, he whose car was drawn by white steeds beheld those tigers among men, his two younger brothers who had come to fetch water, lying dead there. And seeing them as if asleep, that lion among men, exceedingly aggrieved, raised his bow and began to look around that wood. But he found none in that mighty forest. And, being fatigued, he who was capable of drawing the bow by his left hand as well, rushed in the direction of the water. And as he was rushing (towards the water), he heard these words from the sky, 'Why dost thou approach this water? Thou shalt not be able to drink of it by force. If thou, O Kaunteya, can answer the question I will put to thee, then only shalt thou drink of the water and take away as much as thou requirest, O Bharata!' Thus forbidden, the son of Pritha said, 'Do thou forbid me by appearing before me! And when thou shalt be sorely pierced with my arrows, thou wilt not then again speak in this way!' Having said this, Partha covered all sides with arrows inspired by mantras. And he also displayed his skill in shooting at an invisible mark by sound alone. And, O bull of the Bharata race, sorely afflicted with thirst, he discharged barbed darts and javelins and iron arrows, and showered on the sky innumerable shafts incapable of being baffled. Thereupon, the invisible Yaksha said, 'What need of all this trouble, O son of Pritha? Do thou drink only after answering my questions! If thou drink, however, without answering my questions, thou shalt die immediately after.' Thus addressed, Pritha's son Dhananjaya capable of drawing the bow with his left hand as well, disregarding those words, drank of the water, and immediately after dropped down dead. And (seeing Dhananjaya's delay) Kunti's son Yudhishthira addressed Bhimasena, saying, 'O represser of foes, it is a long while that Nakula and Sahadeva and Vibhatsu have gone to fetch water, and they have not come yet, O Bharata! Good betide thee! Do thou bring them back, together with water!' Thereupon saying, 'So be it,' Bhimasena set out for that place where those tigers among men, his brothers, lay dead. And beholding them, Bhima afflicted though he was with thirst, was exceedingly distressed. And that mighty armed hero thought all that to have been the act of some Yaksha or Rakshasa. And Pritha's son Vrikodara thought, 'I shall surely have to fight today. Let me, therefore, first appease my thirst.' Then that bull of the Bharata race rushed forward with the intention of drinking. Thereupon the Yaksha said, 'O child, do not commit this rash act! This lake hath already been in my possession. Do thou first answer my questions, and then drink and take away as much water as thou requirest!'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Thus addressed by that Yaksha of immeasurable energy, Bhima, without answering his questions, drank of the water. And as soon as he drank, he fell down dead on the spot. Then thinking that his brothers had left him long since, Yudhishthira waited for some time. And the king said unto himself again and again, 'Why is it that the two sons of Madri are delaying? And why doth the wielder also of the Gandiva delay? And why doth Bhima too, endued with great strength, delay? I shall go to search for them!' And resolved to do this, the mighty-armed Yudhishthira then rose up, his heart burning in grief. And that bull among men, the royal son of Kunti thought within himself. 'Is this forest

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under some malign influence? Or, is it infested by some wicked beasts? Or, have they all fallen, in consequence of having disregarded some mighty being? Or, not finding water in the spot whither those heroes had first repaired, they have spent all this time in search through the forest? What is that reason for which those bulls among men do not come back?' And speaking in this strain, that foremost of monarchs, the illustrious Yudhishthira, entered into that mighty forest where no human sound was heard and which was inhabited by deer and bears and birds, and which was adorned with trees that were bright and green, and which echoed with the hum of the black-bee and the notes of winged warblers. As he was proceeding along, he beheld that beautiful lake which looked as if it had been made by the celestial artificer himself. And it was adorned with flowers of a golden hue and with lotuses and Sindhuvars. And it abounded with canes and Ketakas and Karaviras and Pippalas, and fatigued with toil, Yudhishthira saw that tank and was struck with wonder."

SECTION 311

Vaisampayana said, "Yudhishthira saw his brothers, each possessed of the glory of Indra himself, lying dead like the Regents of the world dropped from their spheres at the end of the Yuga. And beholding Arjuna lying dead, with his bow and arrows dropped on the ground, and also Bhimasena and the twins motionless and deprived of life, the king breathed a hot and long sigh, and was bathed in tears of grief. And beholding his brothers lying dead, the mighty armed son of Dharma with heart racked in anxiety, began to lament profusely, saying, 'Thou hadst, O mighty-armed Vrikodara, vowed, saying,--I shall with mace smash the thighs of Duryodhana in battle! O enhancer of the glory of the Kurus, in thy death, O mighty-armed and high-souled one, all that hath become fruitless now! The promises of men may be ineffectual; but why have the words of the gods uttered in respect of thee been thus fruitless? O Dhananjaya, while thou wert in thy mother's lying-in-room, the gods had said,--O Kunti, this thy son shall not be inferior to him of a thousand eyes! And in the northern Paripatra mountains, all beings had sung, saying,--The prosperity (of this race), robbed by foes will be recovered by this one without delay. No one will be able to vanquish him in battle, while there will be none whom he will not be able to vanquish. Why then hath that Jishnu endued with great strength been subject to death? Oh, why doth that Dhananjaya, relying on whom we had hitherto endured all this misery, lie on the ground blighting [Samhritya--killing.] all my hopes! Why have those heroes, those mighty sons of Kunti, Bhimasena and Dhananjaya, came under the power of the enemy,--those who themselves always slew their foes, and whom no weapons could resist! Surely, this vile heart of mine must be made of adamant, since, beholding these twins lying today on the ground it doth not split! Ye bulls among men, versed in holy writ and acquainted with the properties of time and place, and endued with ascetic merit, ye who duly performed all sacred rites, why lie ye down, without performing acts deserving of you? Alas, why lie ye insensible on the earth, with your bodies unwounded, ye unvanquished ones, and with your vows untouched?' And beholding his brothers sweetly sleeping there as (they usually did) on mountain slopes, the high souled king, overwhelmed with grief and bathed in sweat, came to a distressful condition. And saying,--It is even so--that virtuous lord of men, immersed in an ocean of grief anxiously proceeded to ascertain the cause (of that catastrophe). And that mighty-armed and high-souled one, acquainted with the divisions of time and place, could not settle his course of action. Having thus bewailed much in this strain, the virtuous Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma or Tapu, restrained his soul and began to reflect in his mind as to who had slain those heroes. 'There are no strokes of weapons upon these, nor is any one's foot-print here. The being must be mighty I ween, by whom my brothers have been slain. Earnestly shall I ponder over this, or, let me first drink of the water, and then know all. It may be that the habitually crooked-minded Duryodhana hath caused this water to be secretly placed here by the king of the Gandharvas. What man of sense can trust wicked wight of evil passions with whom good and evil are alike? Or, perhaps, this may be an act of that wicked-souled one through secret messengers of his.' And it was thus that that highly intelligent one gave way to diverse reflections. He did not believe that water to have been tainted with poison, for though dead no corpse-like pallor was on them. 'The colour on the faces of these my brothers hath not faded!' And it was thus that Yudhishthira thought. And the king continued, 'Each of these foremost of men was like unto a mighty cataract.

Who, therefore, save Yama himself who in due time bringeth about the end of all things, could have baffled them thus.' And having concluded this for certain, he began to perform his ablutions in that lake. And while he descended into it, he heard these words from the sky, uttered by the Yaksha,--'I am a crane, living on tiny fish. It is by me that thy younger brothers have been brought under the sway of the lord of departed spirits. If, thou, O prince, answer not the questions put by me, even thou shalt number the fifth corpse. Do not, O child, act rashly! This lake hath already been in my possession. Having answered my questions first, do thou, O Kunti's son, drink and carry away (as much as thou requirest)!' Hearing these words, Yudhishthira said, 'Art thou the foremost of the Rudras, or of the Vasus, or of the Marutas? I ask, what god art thou? This could not have been done by a bird! Who is it that hath overthrown the four mighty mountains, viz., the Himavat, the Paripatra, the Vindhya, and the Malaya? Great is the feat done by thee, thou foremost of strong persons! Those whom neither gods, nor Gandharvas nor Asuras, nor Rakshasas could endure in mighty conflict, have been slain by thee! Therefore, exceedingly wonderful is the deed done by thee! I do not know what thy business may be, nor do I know thy purpose. Therefore, great is the curiosity and fear also that have taken possession of me? My mind is greatly agitated, and as my head also is aching, I ask thee, therefore, O worshipful one, who art thou that stayest here?' Hearing these words the Yaksha said, 'I am, good betide thee, a Yaksha, and not an amphibious bird. It is by me that all these brothers of thine, endued with mighty prowess, have been slain!'

Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these accursed words couched in harsh syllabus [Lit. Letters.], Yudhishthira, O king, approaching the Yaksha who had spoken then, stood there. And that bull among the Bharatas then beheld that Yaksha of unusual eyes and huge body tall like a palmyra-palm and looking like fire or the Sun, and irresistible and gigantic like a mountain, staying on a tree, and uttering a loud roar deep as that of the clouds. And the Yaksha said, 'These thy brothers, O king, repeatedly forbidden by me, would forcibly take away water. It is for this that they have been slain by me! He that wisheth to live, should not, O king, drink this water! O son of Pritha, act not rashly! This lake hath already been in my possession. Do thou, O son of Kunti, first answer my questions, and then take away as much as thou likest!' Yudhishthira said, 'I do not, O Yaksha, covet, what is already in thy possession! O bull among male beings, virtuous persons never approve that one should applaud his own self (without boasting, I shall, therefore, answer thy questions, according to my intelligence). Do thou ask me!' The Yaksha then said, 'What is it that maketh the Sun rise? Who keeps him company? Who causeth him to set? And in whom is he established?' Yudhishthira answered, 'Brahma maketh the Sun rise: the gods keep him company: Dharma causeth him to set: and he is established in truth.' The Yaksha asked, 'By what doth one become learned? By what doth he attain what is very great? How can one have a second? And, O king, how can one acquire intelligence?' Yudhishthira answered, 'It is by the (study of the) Srutis that a person becometh learned; it is by ascetic austerities that one acquireth what is very great: it is by intelligence that a person acquireth a second and it is by serving the old that one becometh wise.' [Nilakantha explains both Dhriti and Dwitiya in a spiritual sense. There is no need, however, of a spiritual explanation here. By Dhriti is meant steadiness of intelligence; by Dwitiya lit, a second. What Yudhishthira says is that a steady intelligence serves the purposes of a helpful companion.] The Yaksha asked, 'What constituteth the divinity of the Brahmanas? What even is their practice that is like that of the pious? What also is the human attribute of the Brahmanas? And what practice of theirs is like that of the impious?' Yudhishthira answered, 'The study of the Vedas constitutes their divinity: their asceticism constitutes behaviour that is like that of the pious; their liability to death is their human attribute and slander is their impiety.' The Yaksha asked, 'What institutes the divinity of the Kshatriyas? What even is their practice that is like that of the pious? What is their human attribute? And what practice of theirs is like that of the impious?' Yudhishthira answered, 'Arrows and weapons are their divinity: celebration of sacrifices is that act which is like that of the pious: liability to fear is their human attribute; and refusal of protection is that act of theirs which is like that of the impious.' The Yaksha asked, 'What is that which constitutes the Sama of the sacrifice? What the Yajus of the sacrifice? What is that which is the refuge of a sacrifice? And what is that which sacrifice cannot do without?' Yudhishthira answered, 'Life is the Sama of the sacrifice; the mind is the Yajus of the sacrifice: the Rik is that which is the refuge of the sacrifice; and it is Rik alone which sacrifice cannot do without.' The Yaksha asked, 'What is of the foremost value to those that cultivate? What is of the foremost value to those that sow? What is of the foremost value to those that wish for prosperity in this world? And what is of the foremost value to those that bring forth?' Yudhishthira answered, 'That which is of the foremost value to those that cultivate is rain: that of the foremost value to those that sow is seed: that of the foremost value to those that bring forth is offspring.' [Some texts read apatatam for uvapatam. If the former be the correct reading, the meaning would be--'What is the best of things that fall?' Nilakantha explains both avapatam nivapatam in a spiritual sense. By the first he understands--'They that offer oblation to the gods,' and by the second, 'They that offer oblations to the Pitris.' The necessity of a spiritual interpretation, however, is not very apparent.] The Yaksha asked, 'What person, enjoying all the objects of the senses, endued with intelligence, regarded by the world and liked by all beings, though breathing, doth not offer anything to these five, viz., gods, guests, servants, Pitris, and himself, though endued with breath, is not yet alive.' The Yaksha asked, 'What is weightier than the earth itself? What is higher than the heavens?' What is fleeter than the wind? And what is more numerous than grass?' Yudhishthira answered, 'The mother is weightier than the earth; the father is higher than the heaven; the mind is fleeter than the wind; and our thoughts are more numerous than grass.' The Yaksha asked, 'What is that which doth not close its eyes while asleep; What is that which doth not move after birth? What is that which is without heart? And what is that which swells with its own impetus?' Yudhishthira answered, 'A fish doth not close its eyes while asleep: an egg doth not move after birth: a stone is without heart: and a river swelleth with its own impetus.' The Yaksha asked, 'Who is the friend of the exile? Who is the friend of the householder? Who is the friend of him that ails? And who is the friend of one about to die?' Yudhishthira answered, 'The friend of the exile in a distant land is his companion, the friend of the householder is the wife; the friend of him that ails is the physician: and the friend of him about to die is charity. The Yaksha asked,--'Who is the guest of all creatures? What is the eternal duty? What, O foremost of kings, is Amrita? And what is this entire Universe?' Yudhishthira answered,--Agni is the guest of all creatures: the milk of kine is amrita: Homa (therewith) is the eternal duty: and this Universe consists of air alone.' [Yudhishthira has the authority of the Srutis for saying that the one pervading element of the universe is air.] The Yaksha asked,--'What is that which sojourneth alone? What is that which is re-born after its birth? What is the remedy against cold? And what is the largest field?' Yudhishthira answered,--'The sun sojourneth alone; the moon takes birth anew: fire is the remedy against cold: and the Earth is the largest field.' The Yaksha asked,--'What is the highest refuge of virtue? What of fame? What of heaven? And what, of happiness?' Yudhishthira answered,--'Liberality is the highest refuge of virtue: gift, of fame: truth, of heaven: and good behaviour, of happiness.' The Yaksha asked,--'What is the soul of man? Who is that friend bestowed on man by the gods? What is man's chief support? And what also is his chief refuge?' Yudhishthira answered,--'The son is a man's soul: the wife is the friend bestowed on man by the gods; the clouds are his chief support; and gift is his chief refuge.' The Yaksha asked,--'What is the best of all laudable things? What is the most valuable of all his possessions? What is the best of all gains? And what is the best of all kinds of happiness?' Yudhishthira answered,--"The best of all laudable things is skill; the best of all possessions is knowledge: the best of all gains is health: and contentment is the best of all kinds of happiness.' The Yaksha asked,--'What is the highest duty in the world? What is that virtue which always beareth fruit? What is that which if controlled, leadeth not to regret? And who are they with whom an alliance cannot break?' Yudhishthira answered,--'The highest of duties is to refrain from injury: the rites ordained in the Three (Vedas) always bear fruit: the mind, if controlled, leadeth to no regret: and an alliance with the good never breaketh.' The Yaksha asked,--'What is that which, if renounced, maketh one agreeable? What is that which, if renounced, leadeth to no regret? What is that which, if renounced, maketh one wealthy? And what is that which if renounced, maketh one happy?' Yudhishthira answered,--'Pride, if renounced, maketh one agreeable; wrath, if renounced leadeth to no regret: desire, if renounced, maketh one wealthy: and avarice, if renounced, maketh one happy.' The Yaksha asked,--'For what doth one give away to Brahmanas? For what to mimes and dancers? For what to servants? And for what to king?' Yudhishthira answered,--'It is for religious merit that one giveth away to Brahmanas: it is for fame that one giveth away to mimes and dancers: it is for supporting them that one giveth away to servants: and it is for obtaining relief from fear that one giveth to kings.' The Yaksha asked,--'With what is the world enveloped? What is that owing to which a thing cannot discover itself? For what are friends forsaken? And for what doth one fail to go to heaven?' Yudhishthira answered,--'The world is enveloped with darkness. Darkness doth not permit a thing to show itself. It is from avarice that friends are forsaken. And it is connexion with the world for which one faileth to go to heaven.' The Yaksha asked,--'For what may one be considered as dead? For what may a kingdom be considered as dead? For what may a Sraddha be considered as dead? And for what, a sacrifice?' Yudhishthira answered,--'For want of wealth may a man be regarded as dead. A kingdom for want of a king may be regarded as dead. A Sraddha that is performed with the aid of a priest that hath no learning may be regarded as dead. And a sacrifice in which there are no gifts to Brahmanas is dead.' The Yaksha asked,--'What constitutes the way? What, hath been spoken of as water? What, as food? And what, as poison? Tell us also what is the proper time of a Sraddha, and then drink and take away as much as thou likest!' Yudhishthira answered,--'They that are good constitute the way [The word used in the question is dik, literally, direction. Obviously, of course, it means in this

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connexion way. Yudhishthira answers that the way which one is to tread along is that of the good.]. Space hath been spoken of as water [The Srutis actually speak of space as water. These are questions to test Yudhishthira's knowledge of the Vedic cosmogony.]. The cow is food [The Srutis speak of the cow as the only food, in the following sense. The cow gives milk. The milk gives butter. The butter is used in Homa. The Homa is the cause of the clouds. The clouds give rain. The rain makes the seed to sprout forth and produce food.]. A request is poison. And a Brahmana is regarded as the proper time of a Sraddha [What Yudhishthira means to say is that there is no special time for a Sraddha. It is to be performed whenever a good and able priest may be secured.]. I do not know what thou mayst think of all this, O Yaksha?' The Yaksha asked,--'What hath been said to be the sign of asceticism? And what is true restraint? What constitutes forgiveness. And what is shame?' Yudhishthira answered,--'Staying in one's own religion is asceticism: the restraint of the mind is of all restraints the true one: forgiveness consists in enduring enmity; and shame, in withdrawing from all unworthy acts.' The Yaksha asked,--'What, O king is said to be knowledge? What, tranquillity? What constitutes mercy? And what hath been called simplicity?' Yudhishthira answered,--'True knowledge is that of Divinity. True tranquillity is that of the heart. Mercy consists in wishing happiness to all. And simplicity is equanimity of heart.' The Yaksha asked,--'What enemy is invincible? What constitutes an incurable disease for man? What sort of a man is called honest and what dishonest?' Yudhishthira answered,--'Anger is an invincible enemy. Covetousness constitutes an incurable disease. He is honest that desires the weal of all creatures, and he is dishonest who is unmerciful.' The Yaksha asked,--'What, O king, is ignorance? And what is pride? What also is to be understood by idleness? And what hath been spoken of as grief?' Yudhishthira answered,--'True ignorance consists in not knowing one's duties. Pride is a consciousness of one's being himself an actor or sufferer in life. Idleness consists in not discharging one's duties, and ignorance in grief.' The Yaksha asked,--'What hath steadiness been said by the Rishis to be? And what, patience? What also is a real ablution? And what is charity?' Yudhishthira answered,--'Steadiness consists in one's staying in one's own religion, and true patience consists in the subjugation of the senses. A true bath consists in washing the mind clean of all impurities, and charity consists in protecting all creatures.' The Yaksha asked,--'What man should be regarded as learned, and who should be called an atheist? Who also is to be called ignorant? What is called desire and what are the sources of desire? And what is envy?' Yudhishthira answered,--'He is to be called learned who knoweth his duties. An atheist is he who is ignorant and so also he is ignorant who is an atheist. Desire is due to objects of possession, and envy is nothing else than grief of heart.' The Yaksha asked,--'What is pride, and what is hypocrisy? What is the grace of the gods, and what is wickedness?' Yudhishthira answered,--'Stolid ignorance is pride. The setting up of a religious standard is hypocrisy. The grace of the gods is the fruit of our gifts, and wickedness consists in speaking ill of others.' The Yaksha asked,--'Virtue, profit, and desire are opposed to one another. How could things thus antagonistic to one another exist together?' Yudhishthira answered,--'When a wife and virtue agree with each other, then all the three thou hast mentioned may exist together.' The Yaksha asked,--'O bull of the Bharata race, who is he that is condemned to everlasting hell? It behoveth thee to soon answer the question that I ask!' Yudhishthira answered,--'He that summoneth a poor Brahmana promising to make him a gift and then tells him that he hath nothing to give, goeth to everlasting hell. He also must go to everlasting hell, who imputes falsehood to the Vedas, the scriptures, the Brahmanas, the gods, and the ceremonies in honour of the Pitris, He also goeth to everlasting hell who though in possession of wealth, never giveth away nor enjoyeth himself from avarice, saying, he hath none.' The Yaksha asked,--'By what, O king, birth, behaviour, study, or learning doth a person become a Brahmana? Tell us with certitude!' Yudhishthira answered,--'Listen, O Yaksha! It is neither birth, nor study, nor learning, that is the cause of Brahmanahood, without doubt, it is behaviour that constitutes it. One's behaviour should always be well-guarded, especially by a Brahmana. He who maintaineth his conduct unimpaired, is never impaired himself. Professors and pupils, in fact, all who study the scriptures, if addicted to wicked habits, are to be regarded as illiterate wretches. He only is learned who performeth his religious duties. He even that hath studied the four Vedas is to be regarded as a wicked wretch scarcely distinguishable from a Sudra (if his conduct be not correct). He only who performeth the Agnihotra and hath his senses under control, is called a Brahmana!' The Yaksha asked,--'What doth one gain that speaketh agreeable words? What doth he gain that always acteth with judgement? What doth he gain that hath many friends? And what he, that is devoted to virtue?'--Yudhishthira answered,--'He that speaketh agreeable words becometh agreeable to all. He that acteth with judgement obtaineth whatever he seeketh. He that hath many friends liveth happily. And he that is devoted to virtue obtaineth a happy state (in the next world).' The Yaksha asked,--'Who is truly happy? What is most wonderful? What is the path? And what is the news? Answer these four questions of mine and let thy dead brothers revive.' Yudhishthira answered,--'O amphibious creature, a man who cooketh in his own house, on the fifth or the sixth part of the day, with scanty vegetables, but who is not in debt and who stirreth not from home, is truly happy. Day after day countless creatures are going to the abode of Yama, yet those that remain behind believe themselves to be immortal. What can be more wonderful than this? Argument leads to no certain conclusion, the Srutis are different from one another; there is not even one Rishi whose opinion can be accepted by all; the truth about religion and duty is hid in caves: therefore, that alone is the path along which the great have trod. This world full of ignorance is like a pan. The sun is fire, the days and nights are fuel. The months and the seasons constitute the wooden ladle. Time is the cook that is cooking all creatures in that pan (with such aids); this is the news.' The Yaksha asked,--'Thou hast, O represser of foes, truly answered all my questions! Tell us now who is truly a man, and what man truly possesseth every kind of wealth.' Yudhishthira answered,--'The report of one's good action reacheth heaven and spreadeth over the earth. As long as that report lasteth, so long is a person to whom the agreeable and the disagreeable, weal and woe, the past and the future, are the same, is said to possess every kind of wealth.' The Yaksha said,--'Thou hast, O king truly answered who is a man, and what man possesseth every kind of wealth. Therefore, let one only amongst thy brothers, whom thou mayst wish, get up with life!' Yudhishthira answered,--'Let this one that is of darkish hue, whose eyes are red, who is tall like a large Sala tree, whose chest is broad and arms long, let this Nakula, O Yaksha, get up with life! The Yaksha rejoined,-'This Bhimasena is dear unto thee, and this Arjuna also is one upon whom all of you depend! Why, then, O king dost thou, wish a step-brother to get up with his life! How canst thou, forsaking Bhima whose strength is equal to that of ten thousand elephants, wish Nakula to live? People said that this Bhima was dear to thee. From what motive then dost thou wish a step-brother to revive? Forsaking Arjuna the might of whose arm is worshipped by all the sons of Pandu, why dost thou wish Nakula to revive?' Yudhishthira said,--'If virtue is sacrificed, he that sacrificeth it, is himself lost. So virtue also cherisheth the cherisher. Therefore taking care that virtue by being sacrificed may not sacrifice us, I never forsake virtue. Abstention from injury is the highest virtue, and is, I ween, even higher than the highest object of attainment. I endeavour to practise that virtue. Therefore, let Nakula, O Yaksha, revive! Let men know that the king is always virtuous! I will never depart from my duty. Let Nakula, therefore, revive! My father had two wives, Kunti and Madri. Let both of them have children. This is what I wish. As Kunti is to me, so also is Madri. There is no difference between them in my eye. I desire to act equally towards my mothers. Therefore, let Nakula live?' The Yaksha said,--'Since abstention from injury is regarded by thee as higher than both profit and pleasure, therefore, let all thy brothers live, O bull of Bharata race!"

SECTION 312

Vaisampayana continued,--"Then agreeable to the words of the Yaksha the Pandavas rose up; and in a moment their hunger and thirst left them. Thereupon Yudhishthira said, 'I ask thee that art incapable of being vanquished and that standest on one leg in the tank, what god art thou, for I cannot take thee for a Yaksha! Art thou the foremost of the Vasus, or of the Rudras, or of the chief of the Maruts? Or art thou the lord himself of the celestials, wielder of the thunder-bolt! Each of these my brothers is capable of fighting as hundred thousand warriors, and I see not the warrior that can slay them all! I see also that their senses have refreshed, as if they have sweetly awaked from slumber. Art thou a friend of ours, or even our father himself? At this the Yaksha replied,-'O child, I am even thy father, the Lord of justice, possessed of great prowess! Know, bull of the Bharata race, that I came hither desirous of beholding thee! Fame, truth, self-restraint, purity, candour, modesty, steadiness, charity, austerities and Brahmacharya, these are my body! And abstention from injury, impartiality, peace, penances, sanctity, and freedom from malice are the doors (through which I am accessible). Thou art always dear to me! By good luck thou art devoted to the five [That is, tranquillity of mind, self-restraint, abstention from sensual pleasures, resignation, and Yoga meditation.]; and by good luck also thou hast conquered the six [That is, hunger, thirst, sorrow, bluntness of mortal feeling, decrepitude, and death.]. Of the six, two appear in the first part of life; two in the middle part thereof; and the remaining two at the end, in order to make men repair to the next world. I am, good betide thee, the lord of justice! I came hither to test thy merit. I am well-pleased to witness thy harmlessness; and, O sinless one, I will confer boons on thee. Do thou, O foremost of kings, ask of me boons. I shall surely confer them, O sinless one! Those that revere me, never come by distress!' Yudhishthira said,--'A deer was carrying away the Brahmana's fire-sticks. Therefore, the first boon that I shall ask, is, may that Brahmana's adorations to Agni be not interrupted!' The Yaksha said,--'O Kunti's son endued with splendour, it was I who for examining thee, was carrying away, in the guise of a deer, that Brahmana's fire-sticks!"

Vaisampayana continued,--"Thereupon that worshipful one said,--'I give thee this boon! Good betide thee! O thou that are like unto an immortal, ask thou a fresh boon! Yudhishthira said,--'We have spent these twelve years in the forest; and the thirteenth year is come. May no one recognise us, as we spend this year somewhere.'

Vaisampayana continued,-'Thereat that worshipful one replied,--'I give this boon unto thee!' And then reassuring Kunti's son having truth for prowess, he also said, 'Even if, O Bharata, ye range this (entire) earth in your proper forms none in the three worlds shall recognise you. Ye perpetuators of the Kuru race, through my grace, ye will spend this thirteenth year, secretly and unrecognised, in Virata's kingdom! And every one of you will be able at will to assume any form he likes! Do ye now present the Brahmana with his fire-sticks. It was only to test you that I carried them away in the form of a deer! O amiable Yudhishthira, do thou ask for another boon that thou mayst like! I will confer it on thee. O foremost of men, I have not yet been satisfied by granting boons to thee! Do thou my son, accept a third boon that is great and incomparable! Thou, O king, art born of me, and Vidura of portion or mine!" Thereat Yudhishthira said,--'It is enough that I have beheld thee with my senses, eternal God of gods as thou art! O father, whatever boon thou wilt confer on me I shall surely accept gladly! May I, O lord, always conquer covetousness and folly and anger, and may my mind be ever devoted to charity, truth, and ascetic austerities! The Lord of justice said,--'Even by nature, O Pandava, hast thou been endued with these qualities, for thou art the Lord of justice himself! Do thou again attain what thou asked for!"

Vaisampayana continued,--"Having said these words, the worshipful Lord of justice, who is the object of contemplation of all the worlds, vanished therefrom; and the high-souled Pandavas after they had slept sweetly were united with one another. And their fatigue dispelled, those heroes returned to the hermitage, and gave back that Brahmana his firesticks. That man who pursueth this illustrious and fame-enhancing story of the revival (of the Pandavas) and the meeting of father and son (Dharma and Yudhishthira), obtaineth perfect tranquillity of mind, and sons and grandsons, and also a life extending over a hundred years! And the mind of that man that layeth this story to heart, never delighteth in unrighteousness, or in disunion among friends, or misappropriation of other person's property, or staining other people's wives, or in foul thoughts!

SECTION 313

Vaisampayana continued,--"Commanded by the Lord of justice to thus spend in disguise the thirteenth year of non-discovery, the high-souled Pandavas, observant of vows and having truth for prowess, sat before those learned and vow-observing ascetics that from regard were dwelling with them in their exile in the forest. And with joined hands they said these words, with the intention of obtaining permission to spend the thirteenth year in the manner indicated. And they said, 'Ye know well that the sons of Dhritarashtra have by deceit deprived us of our kingdom, and have also done us many other wrongs! We have passed twelve years in the forest in great affliction. The thirteenth year only, which we are to spend unrecognised, yet remaineth. It behoveth you to permit us now to spend this year in concealment! Those rancorous enemies of ours Suyodhana, the wicked-minded Kama, and Suvala's son should they discover us, would do mighty wrong to the citizens and our friends! Shall we all with the Brahmanas, be again established in our own kingdom? Having said this, that pure-spirited son of Dharma king Yudhishthira, overwhelmed with grief and with accents choked in tears, swooned away. Thereupon the Brahmanas, together with his brothers began to cheer him up. Then Dhaumya spake unto the king these words fraught with mighty meaning,--'O king, thou art learned and capable of bearing privations, art firm in promise, and of subdued sense! Men of such stamp are not overwhelmed by any calamity whatever. Even the high-souled gods themselves have wandered over various places in disguise, for the purpose of overcoming foes. Indra for the purpose of overcoming his toes, dwelt in disguise in the asylum of Giriprastha, in Nishadha and thus attained his end. Before taking his birth in the womb of Aditi, Vishnu for the purpose of destroying the Daityas passed a long time unrecognised, assuming the form of the Haya-griba (Horse-necked). Then how disguising himself in the form of a dwarf, he by his prowess deprived Vali of his kingdom, hath been heard by thee! And thou hast also heard how Hutasana entering into water and remaining in concealment, achieved the purpose of the gods. And O thou versed in duty, thou hast heard how Hari with the view of overcoming his foes, entered into Sakra's thunder-bolt, and lay concealed there. And, O sinless one, thou hast heard of the office the regenerate Rishi Aurva at one time performed for

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the gods, remaining concealed in his mother's womb. And O child, living in concealment in every part of the earth, Vivaswat, endued with excellent energy, at last entirely burnt up all his foes. And living disguised in the abode of Dasaratha, Vishnu of dreadful deeds slew the Ten-necked one in battle.' Thus remaining in disguise in various places, high-souled persons have before this conquered their enemies in battle. Thus cheered by these words of Dhaumya, the virtuous Yudhishthira, relying on his own wisdom and also that acquired from the scriptures regained his composure. Then that foremost of strong persons, the mighty-armed Bhimasena endued with great strength encouraging the king greatly, spake these words, 'Looking up to thy face (for permission), the wielder of the Gandiva, acting according to his sense of duty hath not yet, O king, shown any rashness! And although fully able to destroy the foe, Nakula and Sahadeva of dreadful prowess have been ever prevented by me! Never shall we swerve from that in which thou wilt engage us! Do thou tell us what is to be done! We shall speedily conquer our enemies! When Bhimasena had said this, the Brahmanas uttered benedictions on the Bharatas, and then obtaining their permission, went to their respective quarters. And all those foremost of Yatis and Munis versed in the Vedas, exceedingly desirous of again beholding the Pandavas, went back to their homes. And accompanied by Dhaumya, these heroes, the five learned Pandavas equipped in vows set out with Krishna. And each versed in a separate science, and all proficient in mantras and cognisant of when peace was to be concluded and when war was to be waged those tigers among men, about to enter upon a life of non-recognition, the next day proceeded for a Krose and then sat themselves down with the view of taking counsel of each other.

The End of Vana Parva

THE MAHABHARATA, BOOK 4
VIRATA PARVA

SECTION 1

(Pandava-Pravesa Parva)

OM! Having bowed down to Narayana, and Nara, the most exalted of male beings, and also to the goddess Saraswati, must the word Jaya be uttered.

Janamejaya said, "How did my great-grandfathers, afflicted with the fear of Duryodhana, pass their days undiscovered in the city of Virata? And, O Brahman, how did the highly blessed Draupadi, stricken with woe, devoted to her lords, and ever adoring the Deity*, spend her days unrecognised?" [*Brahma Vadini--Nilakantha explains this as Krishna-kirtanasila.]

Vaisampayana said, "Listen, O lord of men, how thy great grandfathers passed the period of unrecognition in the city of Virata. Having in this way obtained boons from the god of Justice, that best of virtuous men, Yudhishthira, returned to the asylum and related unto the Brahmanas all that had happened. And having related everything unto them, Yudhishthira restored to that regenerate Brahmana, who had followed him the churning staff and the fire-sticks he had lost. And, O Bharata, the son of the god of Justice, the royal Yudhishthira of high soul then called together all his younger brothers and addressed them, saying, 'Exiled from our kingdom, we have passed twelve years. The thirteenth year, hard to spend, hath now come. Do thou therefore, O Arjuna, the son of Kunti, select some spot where we may pass our days undiscovered by our enemies.'"

Arjuna replied, "Even by virtue of Dharma's boon, we shall, O lord of men, range about undiscovered by men. Still, for purposes of residence, I shall mention some spots that are both delightful and secluded. Do thou select some one of them. Surrounding the kingdom of the Kurus, are, many countries beautiful and abounding in corn, such as Panchala, Chedi, Matsya, Surasena, Pattachchara, Dasarna, Navarashtra, Malla, Salva, Yugandhara, Saurashtra, Avanti, and the spacious Kuntirashtra. Which of these, O king, wouldst thou choose, and where, O foremost of monarchs, shall we spend this year?"

Yudhishthira said "O them of mighty arms, it is even so. What that adorable Lord of all creatures hath said must become true. Surely, after consulting together, we must select some delightful, auspicious, and agreeable region for our abode, where we may live free from fear. The aged Virata, king of the Matsyas, is virtuous and powerful and charitable, and is liked by all. And he is also attached to the Pandavas. Even in the city of Virata, O child, we shall, O Bharata, spend this year, entering his service. Tell me, ye sons of the Kuru race, in what capacities ye will severally present yourselves before the king of the Matsyas!"

Arjuna said, "O god among men, what service wilt thou take in Virata's kingdom? O righteous one, in what capacity wilt thou reside in the city of Virata? Thou art mild, and charitable, and modest, and virtuous, and firm in promise. What wilt thou, O king, afflicted as thou art with calamity, do? A king is qualified to bear trouble like an ordinary person. How wilt thou overcome this great calamity that has overtaken thee?"

Yudhishthira replied, "Ye sons of the Kuru race, ye bulls among men, hear what I shall do on appearing before king Virata. Presenting myself as a Brahmana, Kanka by name, skilled in dice and fond of play, I shall become a courtier of that high-souled king. And moving upon chess-boards beautiful pawns made of ivory, of blue and yellow and red and white hue, by throws of black and red dice. I shall entertain the king with his courtiers and friends. And while I shall continue to thus delight the king, nobody will succeed in discovering me. And should the monarch ask me, I shall say, 'Formerly I was the bosom friend of Yudhishthira.' I tell you that it is thus that I shall pass my days (in the city of Virata). What office wilt thou, O Vrikodara, fill in the city of Virata?"

SECTION 2

Bhima said, "I intend to present myself before the lord of Virata as a cook bearing the name of Vallabha. I am skilled in culinary art, and I shall prepare curries for the king, and excelling all those skilful cooks that had hitherto dressed his food I shall gratify the monarch. And I shall carry mighty loads of wood. And witnessing that mighty feat, the monarch will be pleased. And, O Bharata, beholding such superhuman feats of mine, the servants of the royal household will honour me as a king. And I shall have entire control over all kinds of viands and drinks. And commanded to subdue powerful elephants and mighty bulls, I will do as bidden. And if any combatants will fight with me in the lists, then will I vanquish them, and thereby entertain the monarch. But I shall not take the life of any of them. I shall only bring them down in such way that they may not be killed. And on being asked as regards my antecedent I shall say that--Formerly I was the wrestler and cook of Yudhishthira. Thus shall I, O king, maintain myself."

Yudhishthira said, "And what office will be performed by that mighty descendant of the Kurus, Dhananjaya, the son of Kunti, that foremost of men possessed of long arms, invincible in fight, and before whom, while he was staying with Krishna, the divine Agni himself desirous of consuming the forest of Khandava had formerly appeared in the guise of a Brahmana? What office will be performed by that best of warriors, Arjuna, who proceeded to that forest and gratified Agni, vanquishing on a single car and slaying huge Nagas and Rakshasas, and who married the sister of Vasuki himself, the king of the Nagas? Even as the sun is the foremost of all heat-giving bodies, as the Brahmana is the best of all bipeds, as the cobra is the foremost of all serpents, as Fire is the first of all things possessed of energy, as the thunderbolt is the foremost of all weapons, as the humped bull is the foremost of all animals of the bovine breed, as the ocean is the foremost of all watery expanses, as clouds charged with rain are the foremost of all clouds, as Ananta is the first of all Nagas, as Airavata is the foremost of all elephants, as the son is the foremost of all beloved objects, and lastly, as the wife is the best of all friends, so, O Vrikodara, is the youthful Gudakesa, the foremost of all bowmen. And O Bharata, what office will be performed by Vibhatsu, the wielder of Gandiva, whose car is drawn by white horses, and who is not inferior to Indra or Vasudeva Himself? What office will be performed by Arjuna who, dwelling for five years in the abode of the thousand-eyed Deity (Indra) shining in celestial lustre, acquired by his own energy the science of superhuman arms with all celestial weapons, and whom I regard as the tenth Rudra, the thirteenth Aditya, the ninth Vasu, and the tenth Graha, whose arms, symmetrical and long, have the skin hardened by constant strokes of the bowstring and cicatrices which resemble those on the humps of bulls,--that foremost of warriors who is as Himavat among mountains, the ocean among expanses of water, Sakra among the celestial, Havya-vaha (fire) among the Vasus, the tiger among beasts, and Garuda among feathery tribes!"

Arjuna replied, "O lord of the Earth, I will declare myself as one of the neuter sex. O monarch, it is, indeed difficult to hide the marks of the bowstring on my arms. I will, however, cover both my cicatrized arms with bangles. Wearing brilliant rings on my ears and conch-bangles on my wrists and causing a braid to hang down from my head, I shall, O king, appear as one of the third sex, Brihannala by name. And living as a female I shall (always) entertain the king and the inmates of the inner apartments by reciting stories. And, O king, I shall also instruct the women of Virata's palace in singing and delightful modes of dancing and in musical instruments of diverse kinds. And I shall also recite the various excellent acts of men and thus conceal myself, O son of Kunti, by feigning disguise. And, O Bharata should the king enquire, I will say that, I lived as a waiting maid of Draupadi in Yudhishthira's palace. And, O foremost of kings, concealing myself by this means, as fire is concealed by ashes, I shall pass my days agreeably in the palace of Virata."

Vaisampayana continued, "Having said this, Arjuna, that best of men and foremost of virtuous persons, became silent. Then the king addressed another brother of his."

SECTION 3

Yudhishthira said, "Tender, possessed of a graceful presence, and deserving of every luxury as thou art, what office wilt thou, O heroic Nakula, discharge while living in the dominions of that king? Tell me all about it!"

Nakula said, "Under the name of Granthika, I shall become the keeper of the horses of king Virata. I have a thorough knowledge (of this work) and am skilful in tending horses. Besides, the task is agreeable to me, and I possess great skill in training and treating horses; and horses are ever dear to me as they are to thee, O king of the Kurus. At my hands even colts and mares become docile; these never become vicious in bearing a rider or drawing a car. [The sloka commencing with Adushta and ending ratheshu cha does not occur in texts except those in Bengal.] And those persons in the city of Virata that may enquire of me, I shall, O bull of the Bharata race, say,--Formerly I was employed by Yudhishthira in the charge of his horses. Thus disguised, O king, I shall spend my days delightfully in the city of Virata. No one will be able to discover me as I will gratify the monarch thus!

Yudhishthira said, "How wilt thou, O Sahadeva, bear thyself before that king? And what, O child, is that which thou wilt do in order to live in disguise."

Sahadeva replied, "I will become a keeper of the kine of Virata's king. I am skilled in milking kine and taking their history as well as in taming their fierceness. Passing under the name of Tantripal, I shall perform my duties deftly. Let thy heart's fever be dispelled. Formerly I was frequently employed to look after thy kine, and, O Lord of earth, I have a particular knowledge of that work. And, O monarch, I am well-acquainted with the nature of kine, as also with their auspicious marks and other matters relating to them. I can also discriminate bulls with auspicious marks, the scent of whose urine may make even the barren being forth child. Even thus will I live, and I always take delight in work of this kind. Indeed, no one will then be able to recognise me, and I will moreover gratify the monarch,"

Yudhishthira said, "This is our beloved wife dearer to us than our lives. Verily, she deserveth to be cherished by us like a mother, and regarded like an elder sister. Unacquainted as she is with any kind of womanly work, what office will Krishna, the daughter of Drupada, perform? Delicate and young, she is a princess of great repute. Devoted to her lords, and eminently virtuous, also, how will she live? Since her birth, she hath enjoyed only garlands and perfume? and ornaments and costly robes."

Draupadi replied, "There is a class of persons called Sairindhris [An independent female artisan working in another person's house.--Wilson.], who enter the services of other. Other females, however (that are respectable) do not do so. Of this class there are some. I shall give myself out as a Sairindhri, skilled in dressing hair. And, O Bharata, on being questioned by the king, I shall say that I served as a waiting woman of Draupadi in Yudhishthira's household. I shall thus pass my days in disguise. And I shall serve the famous Sudeshna, the wife of the king. Surely, obtaining me she will cherish me (duly). Do not grieve so, O king."

"Yudhishthira said, "O Krishna, thou speakest well. But O fair girl, thou wert born in a respectable family. Chaste as thou art, and always engaged in observing virtuous vows, thou knowest not what is sin. Do thou, therefore, conduct thyself in such a way that sinful men of evil hearts may not be gladdened by gazing at thee."

SECTION 4

Yudhishthira said, "Ye have already said what offices ye will respectively perform. I also, according to the measure of my sense, have said what office I will perform. Let our priest, accompanied by charioteers and cooks, repair to the abode of Drupada, and there maintain our Agnihotra fires. And let Indrasena and the others, taking with then the empty cars, speedily proceeded to Dwaravati. Even this is my wish. And let all these maid-servants of Draupadi go to the Panchalas, with our charioteers and cooks. And let all of them say,--We do not know where the Pandavas have gone leaving us at the lake of Dwaitavana." Vaisampayana said, "Having thus taken counsel of one another and told one another the offices they would discharge, the Pandavas sought Dhaumya's advice. And Dhaumya also gave them advice in the following words, saying, Ye sons of Pandu, the arrangements ye have made regarding the Brahmanas, yours friends, cars, weapons, and the (sacred) fires, are excellent. But it behoveth thee, O Yudhishthira, and Arjuna specially, to make provision for the protection of Draupadi. Ye king, ye are well-acquainted with the characters of men. Yet whatever may be your knowledge, friends may from affection be permitted to repeat what is already known. Even this is subservient to the eternal interests of virtue, pleasure, and profit. I shall, therefore speak to you something. Mark ye. To dwell with a king is, alas, difficult. I shall tell you, ye princes, how ye may reside in the royal household, avoiding every fault. Ye Kauravas, honourably or otherwise, ye will have to pass this year in the king's palace, undiscovered by those that know you. Then in the fourteenth year, ye will live happy. O son of Pandu, in this world, that

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cherisher and protector of all beings, the king, who is a deity in an embodied form, is as a great fire sanctified with all the mantras. One should present himself before the king, after having obtained his permission at the gate. No one should keep contact with royal secrets. Nor should one desire a seat which another may covet. He who doth not, regarding himself to be a favourite, occupy (the king's) car, or coach, or seat, or vehicle, or elephant, is alone worthy of dwelling in a royal household. He that sits not upon a seat the occupation of which is calculated raise alarm in the minds of malicious people, is alone worthy of dwelling in a royal household. No one should, unasked offer counsel (to a king). Paying homage in season unto the king, one should silently and respectfully sit beside the king, for kings take umbrage at babblers, and disgrace laying counsellors. A wise person should not contact friendship with the king's wife, nor with the inmates of the inner apartments, nor with those that are objects of royal displeasure. One about the king should do even the most unimportant acts and with the king's knowledge. Behaving thus with a sovereign, one doth not come by harm. Even if an individual attain the highest office, he should, as long as he is not asked or commanded, consider himself as born-blind, having regard to the king's dignity, for O repressers of foes, the rulers of men do not forgive even their sons and grandsons and brothers when they happen to tamper with their dignity. Kings should be served with regardful care, even as Agni and other god; and he that is disloyal to his sovereign, is certainly destroyed by him. Renouncing anger, and pride, and negligence, it behoveth a man to follow the course directed by the monarch. After carefully deliberating on all things, a person should set forth before the king those topics that are both profitable and pleasant; but should a subject be profitable without being pleasant, he should still communicate it, despite its disagreeableness. It behoveth a man to be well-disposed towards the king in all his interests, and not to indulge in speech that is alike unpleasant and profitless. Always thinking--I am not liked by the king--one should banish negligence, and be intent on bringing about what is agreeable and advantageous to him. He that swerveth not from his place, he that is not friendly to those that are hostile to the king, he that striveth not to do wrong to the king, is alone worthy to dwell in a royal household. A learned man should sit either on the king's right or the left; he should not sit behind him for that is the place appointed for armed guards, and to sit before him is always interdicted. Let none, when the king is engaged in doing anything (in respect of his servants) come forward pressing himself zealously before others, for even if the aggrieved be very poor, such conduct would still be inexcusable. It behoveth no man to reveal to others any lie the king may have told inasmuch as the king bears ill will to those that report his falsehoods. Kings also always disregard persons that regard themselves as learned. No man should be proud thinking--I am brave, or, I am intelligent, but a person obtains the good graces of a king and enjoys the good things of life, by behaving agreeably to the wishes of the king. And, O Bharata, obtaining things agreeable, and wealth also which is so hard to acquire, a person should always do what is profitable as well as pleasant to the king. What man that is respected by the wise can even think of doing mischief to one whose ire is great impediment and whose favour is productive of mighty fruits? No one should move his lips, arms and thighs, before the king. A person should speak and spit before the king only mildly. In the presence of even laughable objects, a man should not break out into loud laughter, like a maniac; nor should one show (unreasonable) gravity by containing himself, to the utmost. One should smile modestly, to show his interest (in what is before him). He that is ever mindful of the king's welfare, and is neither exhilarated by reward nor depressed by disgrace, is alone worthy of dwelling in a royal household. That learned courtier who always pleaseth the king and his son with agreeable speeches, succeedeth in dwelling in a royal household as a favourite. The favourite courtier who, having lost the royal favour for just reason, does not speak evil of the king, regains prosperity. The man who serveth the king or liveth in his domains, if sagacious, should speak in praise of the king, both in his presence and absence. The courtier who attempts to obtain his end by employing force on the king, cannot keep his place long and incurs also the risk of death. None should, for the purpose of self-interest, open communications with the king's enemies. Nor should one distinguish himself above the king in matters requiring ability and talents. He that is always cheerful and strong, brave and truthful, and mild, and of subdued senses, and who followeth his master like his shadow, is alone worthy to dwell in a royal household. He that on being entrusted with a work, cometh forward, saying,--I will do this--is alone worthy of living in a royal household. He that on being entrusted with a task, either within the king's dominion or out of it, never feareth to undertake it, is alone fit to reside in a royal household. He that living away from his home, doth no remember his dear ones, and who undergoeth (present) misery in expectation of (future) happiness, is alone worthy of dwelling in a royal household. One should not dress like the king, nor should one indulge, in laughter in the king's presence nor should one disclose royal secrets. By acting thus one may win royal favour. Commissioned to a task, one should not touch bribes for by such appropriation one becometh liable to fetters or death. The robes, ornaments, cars, and other things which the king may be pleased to bestow should always be used, for by this, one winneth the royal favour. Ye children, controlling your minds, do ye spend this year, ye sons of Pandu, behaving in this way. Regaining your own kingdom, ye may live as ye please."

Yudhishthira said, "We have been well taught by thee. Blessed be thou. There is none that could say so to us, save our mother Kunti and Vidura of great wisdom. It behoveth thee to do all that is necessary now for our departure, and for enabling us to come safely through this woe, as well as for our victory over the foe."

Vaisampayana continued, "Thus addressed by Yudhishthira, Dhaumya, that best of Brahmanas, performed according to the ordinance the rites ordained in respect of departure. And lighting up their fires, he offered, with mantras, oblations on them for the prosperity and success of the Pandavas, as for their reconquest of the whole world. And walking round those fires and round the Brahmanas of ascetic wealth, the six set out, placing Yajnaseni in their front. And when those heroes had departed, Dhaumya, that best of ascetics, taking their sacred fires, set out for the Panchalas. And Indrasena, and others already mentioned, went to the Yadavas, and looking after the horses and the cars of the Pandavas passed their time happily and in privacy."

SECTION 5

Vaisampayana said, "Girding their waists with swords, and equipped with finger-protectors made of iguana skins and with various weapons, those heroes proceeded in the direction of the river Yamuna. And those bowmen desirous of (speedily) recovering their kingdom, hitherto living in inaccessible hills and forest fastnesses, now terminated their forest-life and proceeded to the southern bank of that river. And those mighty warriors endued with great strength and hitherto leading the lives of hunters by killing the deer of the forest, passed through Yakrilloma and Surasena, leaving behind, on their right, the country of the Panchalas, and on their left, that of the Dasarnas. And those bowmen, looking wan and wearing beards and equipped with swords, entered Matsya's dominions leaving the forest, giving themselves out as hunters. And on arriving at that country, Krishna addressed Yudhishthira, saying, 'We see footpaths here, and various fields. From this it appears that Virata's metropolis is still at a distance. Pass we here what part of the night is still left, for great is my fatigue."

Yudhishthira answered, "O Dhananjaya of Bharata's race, do thou take up Panchali and carry her. Just on emerging from this forest, we arrive at the city."

Vaisampayana continued, "Thereupon like the leader of a herd of elephants, Arjuna speedily took up Draupadi, and on coming to the vicinity of the city, let her down. And on reaching the city, Ruru's son (Yudhishthira), addressed Arjuna, saying, 'Where shall we deposit our weapons, before entering the city? If, O child, we enter it with our weapons about us, we shall thereby surely excite the alarm of the citizens. Further, the tremendous bow, the Gandiva, is known to all men, so that people will, without doubt, recognise us soon. And if even one of us is discovered, we shall, according to promise, have to pass another twelve years in the forest.'"

Arjuna said, "Hard by yon cemetery and near that inaccessible peak is a mighty Sami tree, throwing-about its gigantic branches and difficult to ascend. Nor is there any human being, who, I think, O Pandu's son, will espy us depositing our arms at that place. That tree is in the midst of an out-of-the way forest abounding in beasts and snakes, and is in the vicinity of a dreary cemetery. Stowing away our weapons on the Sami tree, let us, O Bharata, go to the city, and live there, free from anxiety!"

Vaisampayana continued, "Having O bull of the Bharata race spoken thus to king Yudhishthira the Just, Arjuna prepared to deposit the weapons (on the tree). And that bull among the Kurus, then loosened the string of the large and dreadful Gandiva, ever producing thundering twang and always destructive of hostile hosts, and with which he had conquered, on a single car, gods and men and Nagas and swelling provinces. And the warlike Yudhishthira, that represser of foes, unfastened the undecaying string of that bow with which he had defended the field of Kurukshstra. And the illustrious Bhimasena unstrung that bow by means of which that sinless one had vanquished in fight the Panchals and the lord of Sindhu, and with which, during his career of conquest, he had, single-handed, opposed innumerable foes, and hearing whose twang which was like unto the roar of the thunder or the splitting of a mountain, enemies always fly (in panic) from the field of battle. And that son of Pandu of coppery complexion and mild speech who is endued with great prowess in the field, and is called Nakula in consequence of his unexampled beauty in the family, then unfastened the string of that bow with which he had conquered all the regions of the west. And the heroic Sahadeva also, possessed of a mild disposition, then united the string of that bow with which he had subjugated the countries of the south. And with their bows, they put together their long and flashing swords, their precious quivers, and their arrows sharp as razors. And Nakula ascended the tree, and deposited on it the bows and the other weapons. And he tied them fast on those parts of the tree which he thought would not break, and where the rain would not penetrate. And the Pandavas hung up a corpse (on the tree), knowing that people smelling the stench of the corpse would say--here sure, is a dead body, and avoid the tree from a distance. And on being asked by the shepherds and cowherds regarding the corpse, those repressers of foes said unto them, 'This is our mother, aged one hundred and eighty years. We have hung up her dead body, in accordance with the custom observed by our forefathers.' And then those resisters of foes approached the city. And for purposes of non-discovery Yudhisthira kept these (five) names for himself and his brothers respectively, viz., Jaya, Jayanta, Vijaya, Jayatsena, and Jayatvala. Then they entered the great city, with the view to passing the thirteenth year undiscovered in that kingdom, agreeably to the promise (to Duryodhana)."

SECTION 6

Vaisampayana said, "And while Yudhishthira was on his way to the delightful city of Virata, he began to praise mentally the Divine Durga, the Supreme Goddess of the Universe, born on the womb of Yasoda, and fond of the boons bestowed on her by Narayana, sprung from the race of cowherd Nanda, and the giver of prosperity, the enhancer (of the glory) of (the worshipper's) family, the terrifier of Kansa, and the destroyer of Asuras,--and saluted the Goddess--her who ascended the skies when dashed (by Kansa) on a stony platform, who is the sister of Vasudeva, one who is always decked in celestial garlands and attired in celestial robes,--who is armed with scimitar and shield, and always rescues the worshipper sunk in sin, like a cow in the mire, who in the hours of distress calls upon that eternal giver of blessings for relieving him of their burdens. And the king, desirous with his brothers of obtaining a sight of the Goddess, invoked her and began to praise her by reciting various names derived from (approved) hymns. And Yudhishthira said, 'Salutations to thee, O giver of boons. O thou that art identical with Krishna, O maiden, O thou that hast observed the vow of Brahmacharya, O thou of body bright as the newly-risen Sun, O thou efface beautiful as the full moon. Salutations to thee, O thou of four hands and four faces, O thou of fair round hips and deep bosom, O thou that wearest bangles made of emeralds and sapphires, O thou that bearest excellent bracelets on thy upper arm. Thou shinest, O Goddess, as Padma, the consort of Narayana. O thou that rangest the etherial regions, thy true form and thy Brahmacharya are both of the purest kind. Sable as the black clouds, thy face is beautiful as that of Sankarshana. Thou bearest two large arms long as a couple of poles raised in honour of Indra. In thy (six) other arms thou bearest a vessel, a lotus, a bell, a noose, a bow, a large discus, and various other weapons. Thou art the only female in the universe that possesses! the attribute of purity. Thou art decked with a pair of well-made ears graced with excellent rings. O Goddess, thou shinest with a face that challengeth the moon in beauty. With an excellent diadem and beautiful braid with robes made of the bodies of snakes, and with also the brilliant girdle round thy hips, thou shinest like the Mandara mountain encircled with snakes. Thou shinest also with peacock-plumes standing erect on thy head, and thou hast sanctified the celestial regions by adopting the vow of perpetual maiden-hood. It is for this, O thou that hast slain the Mahishasura*, that thou art praised and worshipped by the gods for the protection of the three worlds. [*Mahishasura, the son of Rambhasura. Durga had to fight for many many years before she could slay this formidable Asura. The story occurs in the Markandeya Purana. To this day, Bengal during the great Durga Puja festival in autumn, worships the goddess with great veneration.] O thou foremost of all deities, extend to me thy grace, show me thy mercy, and be thou the source of blessings to me. Thou art Jaya and Vijaya, and it is thou that givest victory in battle. Grant me victory, O Goddess, and give me boons also at this hour of distress. Thy eternal abode is on Vindhya--that foremost of mountains. O Kali, O Kali, thou art the great Kali, ever fond of wine and meat and animal sacrifice. Capable of going everywhere at will, and bestowing boons on thy devotees, thou art ever followed in thy journeys by Brahma and the other gods. By them that call upon thee for the relief of their burdens, and by them also that bow to thee at daybreak on Earth, there is nothing that cannot be attained in respect either of offspring or wealth. And because thou rescuest people from difficulties whether when they are afflicted in the wilderness or sinking in the great ocean, it is for this that thou art called Durga [Literally, one that rescues from difficulty.] by all. Thou art the sole refuge of men when attacked by robbers or while afflicted in crossing streams and seas or in wilderness and; forests. Those men that remember thee are never prostrated, O great Goddess. Thou art Fame, thou art Prosperity, thou art

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Steadiness, thou art Success; thou art the Wife, thou art men's Offspring, thou art Knowledge, and thou art the Intellect. Thou art the two Twilights, the Night Sleep, Light--both solar and lunar, Beauty, Forgiveness, Mercy, and every other thing. Thou dispellest, worshipped by the devotees their fetters, ignorance, loss of children and loss of wealth, disease, death, and fear. I, who have been deprived of my kingdom, seek thy protection. And as I bow to thee with bended head, O Supreme Goddess, grant me protection, O thou of eyes like lotus leaves. And be thou as boon-giving Truth unto us that are acting according to Truth. And, O Durga, kind as thou art unto all that seek thy protection, and affectionate unto all thy devotees, grant me protection!'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Thus praised by the son of Pandu, the Goddess showed herself unto him. And approaching the king, she addressed him in these words, 'O mighty armed king, listen, O Lord, to these words of mine. Having vanquished and slain the ranks of the Kauravas through my grace, victory in battle will soon be thine. Thou shalt again lord it over the entire Earth, having made thy dominions destitute of thorns. And, O king, thou shalt also, with thy brothers, obtain great happiness. And through my grace, joy and health will be thine. And they also in the world who will recite my attributes and achievements will be freed from their sins, and gratified. I will bestow upon them kingdom, long life, beauty of person, and offspring. And they, O king, who will invoke me, after thy manner, in exile or in the city, in the midst of battle or of dangers from foes, in forests or in inaccessible deserts, in seas or mountain fastnesses, there is nothing that they will not obtain in this world. And ye sons of Pandu, he will achieve success in every business of his that will listen to, or himself recite with devotion, this excellent hymn. And through my grace neither the Kuru's spies, nor those that dwell in the country of the Matsyas, will succeed in recognising you all as long as ye reside in Virata's city!' And having said these words unto Yudhishthira, that chastiser of foes, and having arranged for the protection of the sons of Pandu, the Goddess disappeared there and then."

SECTION 7

Vaisampayana said, "Then tying up in his cloth dice made of gold and set with lapis lazuli, and holding them below his arm-pit, king Yudhishthira,--that illustrious lord of men--that high-souled perpetuator of the Kuru race, regarded by kings, irrepressible in might, and like unto a snake of virulent poison,--that bull among men, endued with strength and beauty and prowess, and possessed of greatness, and resembling in form a celestial though now like unto the sun enveloped in dense clouds, or fire covered with ashes, first made his appearance when the famous king Virata was seated in his court. And beholding with his followers that son of Pandu in his court, looking like the moon hid in clouds and possessed of a face beautiful as the full moon, king Virata addressed his counsellors and the twice-born ones and the charioteers and the Vaisyas and others, saying, "Enquire ye who it is, so like a king that looketh on my court for the first time. He cannot be a Brahmana. Methinks he is a man of men, and a lord of earth. He hath neither slaves, nor cars, nor elephants with him, yet he shineth like the very Indra. The marks on his person indicate him to be one whose coronal locks have undergone the sacred investiture. Even this is my belief. He approacheth me without any hesitation, even as an elephant in rut approacheth an assemblage of lotuses!'

"And as the king was indulging in these thoughts, that bull among men, Yudhishthira, came before Virata and addressed him, saying, 'O great king, know me for a Brahmana who, having lost his all hath come to thee for the means of subsistence. I desire, O sinless one, to live here beside thee acting under thy commands*, O lord. [Kamachara is explained by Nilakantha thus, although in other places it bears a quite different meaning.] The king then, well-pleased, replied unto him saying, 'Thou art welcome. Do thou then accept the appointment thou seekest!' And having appointed the lion among kings in the post he had prayed for, king Virata addressed him with a glad heart, saying, 'O child, I ask thee from affection, from the dominions of what king dost thou come hither? Tell me also truly what is thy name and family, and what thou hast a knowledge of.'"

Yudhishthira said, "My name is Kanka, and I am a Brahmana belonging to the family known by the name of Vaiyaghra. I am skilled in casting dice, and formerly I was a friend of Yudhishthira."

Virata replied, "I will grant thee whatever boon thou mayst desire. Do thou rule the Matsyas.--I shall remain in submission to thee. Even cunning gamblers are liked by me. Thou, on the other hand, art like a god, and deservest a kingdom."

Yudhishthira said, "My first prayer, O lord of earth, is that I may not be involved in any dispute (on account of dice) with low people. Further, a person defeated by me (at dice) shall not be permitted to retain the wealth (won by me). Let this boon be granted to me through thy grace."

Virata replied, "I shall certainly slay him who may happen to displease thee, and should be one of the twice-born ones, I shall banish him from my dominions. Let the assembled subjects listen! Kanka is as much lord of this realm as I myself, Thou (Kanka) shalt be my friend and shalt ride the same vehicles as I. And there shall also be at thy disposal apparel in plenty, and various kinds of viands and drinks. And thou shalt look into my affairs, both internal and external. And for thee all my doors shall be open. When men out of employ or of strained circumstances will apply to thee, do thou at all hours bring their words unto me, and I will surely give them whatever they desire. No fear shall be thine as long as thou residest with me."

Vaisampayana said, "Having thus obtained an interview with Virata's king, and received from him boons, that heroic bull among men, began to live happily, highly regarded by all. Nor could any one discover him as he lived there."

SECTION 8

Vaisampayana said, "Then another endued with the dreadful strength and blazing in beauty, approached king Virata, with the playful gait of the lion. And holding in hand a cooking ladle and a spoon, as also an unsheathed sword of sable hue and without a spot on the blade, he came in the guise of a cook illumining all around him by his splendour like the sun discovering the whole world. And attired in black and possessed of the strength of the king of mountains, he approached the king of the Matsyas and stood before him. And beholding that king-like person before him, Virata addressed his assembled subjects saying, 'Who is that youth, that bull among men, with shoulders broad like those of a lion, and so exceedingly beautiful? That person, never seen before, is like the sun. Revolving the matter in my mind, I cannot ascertain who he is, nor can I with even serious thoughts guess the intention of that bull among men (in coming here). Beholding him, it seems to me that he is either the king of the Gandharvas, or Purandara himself. Do ye ascertain who it is that standeth before my eyes. Let him have quickly what he seeks.' Thus commanded by king Virata, his swift-footed messengers went up to the son of Kunti and informed that younger brother of Yudhishthira of everything the king had said. Then the high-souled son of Pandu, approaching Virata, addressed him in words that were not unsuited to his object, saying, 'O foremost of kings, I am a cook, Vallava by name. I am skilled in dressing dishes. Do thou employ me in the kitchen!'"

Virata said, "I do not believe, O Vallava, that cooking is thy office. Thou resemblest the deity of a thousand eyes; and in grace and beauty and prowess, thou shinest among these all as a king!'"

Bhima replied, "O king of kings, I am thy cook and servant in the first place. It is not curries only of which I have knowledge, O monarch, although king Yudhishthira always used in days gone by to taste my dishes. O lord of earth, I am also a wrestler. Nor is there one that is equal to me in strength. And engaging in fight with lions and elephants, I shall, O sinless one, always contribute to thy entertainment."

Virata said, "I will even grant thee boons. Thou wilt do what thou wishest, as thou describest thyself skilled in it. I do not, however, think, that this office is worthy of thee, for thou deservest this (entire) earth girt round by the sea. But do as thou likest. Be thou the superintendent of my kitchen, and thou art placed at the head of those who have been appointed there before by me."

Vaisampayana continued, "Thus appointed in the kitchen, Bhima soon became the favourite of king Virata. And, O king, he continued to live there unrecognised by the other servants of Virata as also by other people!"

SECTION 9

Vaisampayana said, "Binding her black, soft, fine, long and faultless tresses with crisped ends into a knotted braid, Draupadi of black eyes and sweet smiles, throwing it upon her right shoulders, concealed it by her cloth. And she wore a single piece of a black and dirty though costly cloth. And dressing herself as a Sairindhri, she began to wander hither and thither in seeming affliction. And beholding her wandering, men and women came to her hastily and addressed her, saying, 'Who are you? And what do you seek?' And she replied, 'I am a king's Sairindhri. I desire to serve any one that will maintain me.' But beholding her beauty and dress, and hearing also her speech that was so sweet, the people could not take her for a maid-servant in search of subsistence. And it came to pass that while looking this way and that from the terrace, Virata's beloved queen, daughter of the king of Kekaya, saw Draupadi. And beholding her forlorn and clad in a single piece of cloth, the queen addressed her saying, 'O beautiful one, who are you, and what do you seek?' Thereupon, Draupadi answered her, saying, 'O foremost of queen, I am Sairindhri. I will serve anybody that will maintain me.' Then Sudeshna said, 'What you say (regarding your profession) can never be compatible with so much beauty. (On the contrary) you might well be the mistress of servants both, male and female. Your heels are not prominent, and your thighs touch each other. And your intelligence is great, and your navel deep, and your words solemn. And your great toes, and bust and hips, and back and sides, and toe-nails, and palms are all well-developed. And your palms, soles, and face are ruddy. And your speech is sweet even as the voice of the swan. And your hair is beautiful, and your bust shapely, and you are possessed of the highest grace. And your hips and bust are plump. And like a Kashmerean mare you are furnished with every auspicious mark. And your eye-lashes are (beautiful) bent, and your nether-lip is like the ruddy ground. And your waist is slender, and your neck bears lines that resemble those of the conch. And your veins are scarcely visible. Indeed, your countenance is like the full moon, and your eyes resemble the leaves of the autumnal lotus, and your body is fragrant as the lotus itself. Verily, in beauty you resemble Sri herself, whose seat is the autumnal lotus. Tell me, O beautiful damsel, who thou art. Thou canst never be a maidservant. Art thou a Yakshi, a Goddess, a Gandharvi, or an Apsara? Art thou the daughter of a celestial, or art thou a female Naga? Art thou the guardian goddess of some city, a Vidyadhari, or a Kinnari,--or art thou Rohini herself? Or art thou Alamvusha, or Misrakesi, Pundarika, or Malini, or the queen of Indra, or of Varuna? Or, art thou the spouse of Viswakarma, or of the creative Lord himself? Of these goddesses who art renowned in the celestial regions, who art thou, O graceful one?'

"Draupadi replied, 'O auspicious lady, I am neither a goddess nor a Gandharvi, nor a Yakshi, nor a Rakshasi. I am a maid-servant of the Sairindhri class. I tell thee this truly. I know to dress the hair to pound (fragrant substances) for preparing unguents, and also to make beautiful and variegated garlands. O beauteous lady, of jasmines and lotuses and blue lilies and Champakas. Formerly I served Krishna's favourite queen Satyabhama, and also Draupadi, the wife of the Pandavas and the foremost beauty of the Kuru race. I wander about alone, earning good food and dress; and as long as I get these, I continue to live in the place where they are obtainable. Draupadi herself called me Malini (maker of garlands).'

"Hearing this, Sudeshna said, 'I would keep thee upon my head itself, if the doubt did not cross my mind that the king himself would be attracted towards thee with his whole heart. Attracted by thy beauty, the females of the royal household and my maids are looking at thee. What male person then is there that can resist thy attraction? Surely, O thou of well-rounded hips, O damsel of exquisite charms, beholding thy form of superhuman beauty, king Virata is sure to forsake me, and will turn to thee with his whole heart. O thou of faultless limbs, O thou that art endued with large eyes casting quick glances, he upon whom thou wilt look with desire is sure to be stricken. O thou of sweet smiles, O thou that possessest a faultless form, he that will behold thee constantly, will surely catch the flame. Even as a person that climbs up a tree for compassing his own destruction, even as the crab conceives for her own ruin, I may, O thou of sweet smiles, bring destruction upon myself by harbouring thee.'

"Draupadi replied, 'O fair lady, neither Virata nor any other person will be able to have me, for my five youthful husbands, who are Gandharvas and sons of a Gandharva king of exceeding power, always protect me. None can do me a wrong. It is the wish of my Gandharva husbands that I should serve only such persons as will not give me to touch food already partaken of by another, or tell me to wash their feet. Any man that attempts to have me like any common woman, meeteth with death that very night. No one can succeed in having me, for, O beautiful lady, O thou of sweet smiles, those beloved Gandharvas, possessed of great energy and mighty strength always protect me secretly.'

"Sudeshna said, 'O thou that bringest delight to the heart, if it is as thou sayest, I will take thee into my household. Thou shalt not have to touch food that hath been partaken of by another, or to wash another's feet.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed by Virata's wife, O Janamejaya, Krishna (Draupadi) ever devoted to her lords, began to live in that city. Nor could anyone ascertain who in reality she was!'"

SECTION 10

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then clad in a cowherd's dress, and speaking the dialect of cowherds, Sahadeva came to the cowpen of Virata's city. And beholding that bull among men, who was shining in splendour, the king was struck with amazement. And he directed his men to summon Sahadeva. And when the latter came, the king addressed him, saying, 'To whom dost thou belong? And whence dost thou come? And what work dost thou seek? I have never seen thee before. O bull among men, tell me truly about thee.'

'Having come before the king that afflicter of foes, Sahadeva answered in accents deep as the roar of the cloud, 'I am a Vaisya, Arishtanemi by name. I was employed as a cowherd in the service of those bulls of the Kuru race, the sons of Pandu. O foremost of men, I intend now to live beside thee, for I do not know where those lions among kings, the sons of Pritha, are. I cannot live without service, and, O king, I do not like to enter into the service of anyone else save thee.'

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"Hearing these words, Virata said, 'Thou must either be a Brahmana or a Kshatriya. Thou lookest as if thou wert the lord of the entire earth surrounded by the sea. Tell me truly, O thou that mowest down thy foes. The office of a Vaisya is not fit for thee. Tell me from the dominions of what king thou comest, and what thou knowest, and in what capacity thou wouldst remain with us, and also what pay thou wouldst accept.'

"Sahadeva answered, 'Yudhishthira, the eldest of the five sons of Pandu, had one division of kine numbering eight hundred and ten thousand, and another, ten thousand, and another, again, twenty thousand, and so on. I was employed in keeping those cattle. People used to call me Tantripala. I know the present, the past, and the future of all kine living within ten Yojanas, and whose tale has been taken. My merits were known to that illustrious one, and the Kuru king Yudhishthira was well-pleased with me. I am also acquainted with the means which aid kine in multiplying within a short time, and by which they may enjoy immunity from disease. Also these arts are known to me. I can also single out bulls having auspicious marks for which they are worshipped by men, and by smelling whose urine, the barren may conceive.'

"Virata said, 'I have a hundred thousand kine divided into distinct herds. All those together with their keepers, I place in thy charge. Henceforth my beasts will be in thy keep.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then, O king, undiscovered by that monarch, that lord of men, Sahadeva, maintained by Virata, began to live happily. Nor did anyone else (besides his brothers) recognise him.'"

SECTION 11

"Vaisampayana said, 'Next appeared at the gate of the ramparts another person of enormous size and exquisite beauty decked in the ornaments of women, and wearing large ear-rings and beautiful conch-bracelets overlaid with gold. And that mighty-armed individual with long and abundant hair floating about his neck, resembled an elephant in gait. And shaking the very earth with his tread, he approached Virata and stood in his court. And beholding the son of the great Indra, shining with exquisite lustre and having the gait of a mighty elephant,--that grinder of foes having his true form concealed in disguise, entering the council-hall and advancing towards the monarch, the king addressed all his courtiers, saying, 'Whence doth this person come? I have never heard of him before.' And when the men present spoke of the newcomer as one unknown to them, the king wonderingly said, 'Possessed of great strength, thou art like unto a celestial, and young and of darkish hue, thou resemblest the leader of a herd of elephants. Wearing conch-bracelets overlaid with gold, a braid, and ear-rings, thou shinest yet like one amongst those that riding on chariots wander about equipped with mail and bow and arrows and decked with garlands and fine hair. I am old and desirous of relinquishing my burden. Be thou like my son, or rule thou like myself all the Matsyas. It seemeth to me that such a person as thou can never be of the neuter sex.'

"Arjuna said, 'I sing, dance, and play on instruments. I am proficient in dance and skilled in song. O lord of men, assign me unto (the princess) Uttara. I shall be dancing-master to the royal maiden. As to how I have come by this form, what will it avail thee to hear the account which will only augment my pain? Know me, O king of men, to be Vrihannala, a son or daughter without father or mother.'

"Virata said, 'O Vrihannala, I give thee what thou desirest. Instruct my daughter, and those like her, in dancing. To me, however, this office seemeth unworthy of thee. Thou deserves! (the dominion of) the entire earth girt round by the ocean.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'The king of the Matsyas then tested Vrihannala in dancing, music, and other fine arts, and consulting with his various ministers forthwith caused him to be examined by women. And learning that this impotency was of a permanent nature, he sent him to the maiden's apartments. And there the mighty Arjuna began giving lessons in singing and instrumental music to the daughter of Virata, her friends, and her waiting-maids, and soon won their good graces. And in this manner the self-possessed Arjuna lived there in disguise, partaking of pleasures in their company, and unknown to the people within or without the palace.'"

SECTION 12

"Vaisampayana said, 'After a while, another powerful son of Pandu was seen making towards king Virata in haste. And as he advanced, he seemed to everyone like solar orb emerged from the clouds. And he began to observe the horses around. And seeing this, the king of the Matsyas said to his followers, 'I wonder whence this man, possessed of the effulgence of a celestial, cometh. He looks intently at my steeds. Verily, he must be proficient in horse-lore. Let him be ushered into my presence quickly. He is a warrior and looks like a god!' And that destroyer of foes then went up to the king and accosted him, saying, 'Victory to thee, O king, and blest be ye.' As a trainer of horses, I have always been highly esteemed by kings. I will be a clever keeper of thy horses.'

"Virata said, 'I will give thee vehicles, wealth, and spacious quarters. Thou shalt be the manager of my horses. But first tell me whence thou comest, who thou art, and how also thou happenest to come here. Tell us also all the arts thou art master of.' Nakula replied, 'O mower of enemies, know that Yudhishthira is the eldest brother of the five sons of Pandu. I was formerly employed by him to keep his horses. I am acquainted with the temper of steeds, and know perfectly the art of breaking them. I know also how to correct vicious horses, and all the methods of treating their diseases. No animal in my hands becometh weak or ill. Not to speak of horses, even mares in my hands will never be found to be vicious. People called me Granthika by name and so did Yudhishthira, the son of Pandu.'

"Virata said, 'Whatever horses I have, I consign to thy care even from today. And all the keepers of my horses and all my charioteers will from today be subordinate to thee. If this suits thee, say what remuneration is desired by thee. But, O thou that resemblest a celestial, the office of equerry is not worthy of thee. For thou lookest like a king and I esteem thee much. The appearance here hath pleased me as much as if Yudhishthira himself were here. Oh, how does that blameless son of Pandu dwell and divert himself in the forest, now destitute of servants as he is.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'That youth, like unto a chief of the Gandharvas, was treated thus respectfully by the delighted king Virata. And he conducted himself there in such a manner as to make himself dear and agreeable to all in the palace. And no one recognised him while living under Virata's protection. And it was in this manner then the sons of Pandu, the very sight of whom had never been fruitless, continued to live in the country of the Matsyas. And true to their pledge those lords of the earth bounded by her belt of seas passed their days of incognito with great composure notwithstanding their poignant sufferings.'"

SECTION 13

(Samayapalana Parva)

"Janamejaya said, 'While living thus disguised in the city of the Matsyas, what did those descendants of the Kuru race endued with great prowess, do, O regenerate one!'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Hear, O king, what those descendants of Kuru did while they dwelt thus in disguise in the city of the Matsyas, worshipping the king thereof. By the grace of the sage Trinavindu and of the high-souled lord of justice, the Pandavas continued to live unrecognised by others in the city of Virata. O lord of men, Yudhishthira, as courtier made himself agreeable to Virata and his sons as also to all the Matsyas. An adept in the mysteries of dice, the son of Pandu caused them to play at dice according to his pleasure and made them sit together in the dice-hall like a row of birds bound in a string. And that tiger among men, king Yudhishthira the Just, unknown to the monarch, distributed among his brothers, in due proportion, the wealth he won from Virata. And Bhimasena on his part, sold to Yudhishthira for price, meat and viands of various kinds which he obtained from the king. And Arjuna distributed among all his brothers the proceeds of worn-out cloths which he earned in the inner apartments of the palace. And Sahadeva, too, who was disguised as a cowherd gave milk, curds and clarified butter to his brothers. And Nakula also shared with his brothers the wealth the king gave him, satisfied with his management of the horses. And Draupadi, herself in a pitiable condition, looked after all those brothers and behaved in such a way as to remain unrecognized. And thus ministering unto one another's wants, those mighty warriors lived in the capital of Virata as hidden from view, as if they were once more in their mother's womb. And those lords of men, the sons of Pandu, apprehensive of danger from the son of Dhritarashtra, continued to dwell there in concealment, watching over their wife Draupadi. And after three months had passed away, in the fourth, the grand festival in honour of the divine Brahma which was celebrated with pomp in the country of the Matsyas, came off. And there came athletes from all quarters by thousands, like hosts of celestials to the abode of Brahma or of Siva to witness that festival. And they were endued with huge bodies and great prowess, like the demons called Kalakhanjas. And elated with their prowess and proud of their strength, they were highly honoured by the king. And their shoulders and waists and necks were like those of lions, and their bodies were very clean, and their hearts were quite at ease. And they had many a time won success in the lists in the presence of kings. And amongst them there was one who towered above the rest and challenged them all to a combat. And there was none that dared to approach him as he proudly stalked in the arena. And when all the athletes stood sad and dispirited, the king of the Matsyas made him fight with his cook. And urged by the king, Bhima made up his mind reluctantly, for he could not openly disobey the royal behest. And that tiger among men then having worshipped the king, entered the spacious arena, pacing with the careless steps of a tiger. And the son of Kunti then girded up his loins to the great delight of the spectators. And Bhima then summoned to the combat that athlete known by the name of Jimuta who was like unto the Asura Vritra whose prowess was widely known. And both of them were possessed of great courage, and both were endued with terrible prowess. And they were like a couple of infuriate and huge-bodied elephants, each sixty years old. And those brave tigers among men then cheerfully engaged in a wrestling combat, desirous of vanquishing each other. And terrible was the encounter that took place between them, like the clash of the thunderbolt against the stony mountain-breast. And both of them were exceedingly powerful and extremely delighted at each other's strength. And desirous of vanquishing each other, each stood eager to take advantage of his adversary's lapse. And both were greatly delighted and both looked like infuriate elephants of prodigious size. And various were the modes of attack and defence that they exhibited with their clenched fists. [Krita--attack; Pratikrita--warding it off; Sankata--clenched Some texts read Sankatakais. The meaning then would be 'cased in gauntlets.'] And each dashed against the other and flung his adversary to a distance. And each cast the other down and pressed him close to the ground. And each got up again and squeezed the other in his arms. And each threw the other violently off his place by boxing him on the breast. And each caught the other by the legs and whirling him round threw him down on the ground. And they slapped each other with their palms that struck as hard as the thunderbolt. And they also struck each other with their outstretched fingers, and stretching them out like spears thrust the nails into each other's body. And they gave each other violent kicks. And they struck knee and head against head, producing the crash of one stone against another. And in this manner that furious combat between those warriors raged on without weapons, sustained mainly by the power of their arms and their physical and mental energy, to the infinite delight of the concourse of spectators. And all people, O king, took deep interest in that encounter of those powerful wrestlers who fought like Indra and the Asura Vritra. And they cheered both of them with loud acclamations of applause. And the broad-chested and long-armed experts in wrestling then pulled and pressed and whirled and hurled down each other and struck each other with their knees, expressing all the while their scorn for each other in loud voices. And they began to fight with their bare arms in this way, which were like spiked maces of iron. And at last the powerful and mighty-armed Bhima, the slayer of his foes, shouting aloud seized the vociferous athlete by the arms even as the lion seizes the elephant, and taking him up from the ground and holding him aloft, began to whirl him round, to the great astonishment of the assembled athletes and the people of Matsya. And having whirled him round and round a hundred times till he was insensible, the strong-armed Vrikodara dashed him to death on the ground. And when the brave and renowned Jimuta was thus killed, Virata and his friends were filled with great delight. And in the exuberance of his joy, the noble-minded king rewarded Vallava then and there with the liberality of Kuvera. And killing numerous athletes and many other men possessed of great bodily strength, he pleased the king very much. And when no one could be found there to encounter him in the lists, the king made him fight with tigers and lions and elephants. And the king also made him battle with furious and powerful lions in the harem for the pleasure of the ladies. And Arjuna, too, pleased the king and all the ladies of the inner apartments by singing and dancing. And Nakula pleased Virata, that best of kings, by showing him fleet and well-trained steeds that followed him wherever he went. And the king, gratified with him, rewarded him with ample presents. And beholding around Sahadeva a herd of well-trained bullocks, Virata that bull among men, bestowed upon him also wealth of diverse kinds. And, O king, Draupadi distressed to see all those warriors suffer pain, sighed incessantly. And it was in this way that those eminent persons lived there in disguise, rendering services unto king Virata.'"

SECTION 14

(Kichaka-badha Parva)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Living in such disguise, those mighty warriors, the sons of Pritha, passed ten months in Matsya's city. And, O monarch, although herself deserving to be waited upon by others, the daughter of Yajnasena, O Janamejaya, passed her days in extreme misery, waiting upon Sudeshna. And residing thus in Sudeshna's apartments, the princess of Panchala pleased that lady as also the other females of the inner apartments. And it came to pass that as the year was about to expire, the redoubtable Kichaka, the Commander of Virata's forces, chanced to behold the daughter of Drupada. And beholding that lady endued with the splendour of a daughter of the celestials, treading the earth like a goddess, Kichaka, afflicted with the shafts of Kama, desired to possess her. And burning with desire's flame, Virata's general came to Sudeshna (his sister) and smilingly addressed her in these words, 'This beauteous lady had never before been seen by me in king Virata's abode. This damsel maddens me with her beauty, even as a new wine maddens one with its fragrance. Tell me, who is this graceful and captivating lady possessed of the beauty of a goddess, and whose she is, and whence she hath

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come. Surely, grinding my heart she hath reduced me to subjection. It seems to me that (save her) there is no other medicine for my illness. O, this fair hand-maid of thine seemeth to me to be possessed of the beauty of a goddess. Surely, one like her is ill suited to serve thee. Let her rule over me and whatever is mine. O, let her grace my spacious and beautiful palace, decked with various ornaments of gold, full of viands and drinks in profusion, with excellent plates, and containing every kind of plenty, besides elephants and horses and cars in myriads. And having consulted with Sudeshna thus, Kichaka went to princess Draupadi, and like a jackal in the forest accosting a lioness, spoke unto Krishna these words in a winning voice, 'Who and whose art thou, O beautiful one? And O thou of beautiful face, whence hast thou come to the city of Virata? Tell me all this, O fair lady. Thy beauty and gracefulness are of the very first order and the comeliness of thy features is unparalleled. With its loveliness thy face shineth ever like the resplendent moon. O thou of fair eye-brows, thy eyes are beautiful and large like lotus-petals. Thy speech also, O thou of beautiful limbs, resembles the notes of the cuckoo. O thou of fair hips, never before in this world have I beheld a woman possessed of beauty like thine, O thou of faultless features. Art thou Lakshmi herself having her abode in the midst of lotuses or, art thou, O slender-waisted one, she who is called Bhuti [Bhuti, Hri, Sri, Kirti and Kanti are respectively the feminine embodiments of Prosperity, Modesty, Beauty, Fame and Loveliness.]. Or, which amongst these--Hri, Sri, Kirti and Kanti,--art thou, O thou of beautiful face? Or possessed of beauty like Rati's, art thou, she who sporteth in the embraces of the God of love? O thou that possessest the fairest of eye-brows, thou shinest beautifully even like the lovely light of the moon. Who is there in the whole world that will not succumb to the influence of desire beholding thy face? Endued with unrivalled beauty and celestial grace of the most attractive kind, that face of thine is even like the full moon, its celestial effulgence resembling his radiant face, its smile resembling his soft-light, and its eye-lashes looking like the spokes on his disc? Both thy bosoms, so beautiful and well-developed and endued with unrivalled gracefulness and deep and well-rounded and without any space between them, are certainly worthy of being decked with garlands of gold. Resembling in shape the beautiful buds of the lotus, these thy breast, O thou of fair eye-brows, are even as the whips of Kama that are urging me forward, O thou of sweet smiles, O damsel of slender waist, beholding that waist of thine marked with four wrinkles and measuring but a span, and slightly stooping forward because of the weight of thy breasts, and also looking on those graceful hips of thine broad as the banks of a river, the incurable fever of desire, O beauteous lady, afflicteth me sore. The flaming fire of desire, fierce as a forest conflagration, and fanned by the hope my heart cherisheth of a union with thee is consuming me intensely. O thou of exceeding beauty quench thou that flaming fire kindled by Manmatha. Union with thee is a rain-charged cloud, and the surrender of thy person is the shower that the cloud may drop. O thou of face resembling the moon, the fierce and maddening shafts of Manmatha whetted and sharpened by the desire of a union with thee, piercing this heart of mine in their impetuous course, have penetrated into its core. O black-eyed lady, those impetuous and cruel shafts are maddening me beyond endurance. It behoveth thee to relieve me from this plight by surrendering thyself to me and favouring me with thy embraces. Decked in beautiful garlands and robes and adorned with every ornament, sport thou, O sweet damsel, with me to thy fill. O thou of the gait of an elephant in rut, deserving as thou art of happiness though deprived of it now, it behoveth thee not to dwell here in misery. Let unrivalled weal be thine. Drinking various kinds of charming and delicious and ambrosial wines, and sporting at thy pleasure in the enjoyment of diverse objects of delight, do thou, O blessed lady, attain auspicious prosperity. This beauty of thine and this prime of thy youth, O sweet lady, are now without their use. For, O beauteous and chaste damsel, endued with such loveliness, thou dost not shine, like a graceful garland lying unused and unworn. I will forsake all my old wives. Let them, O thou of sweet smiles, become thy slaves. And I also, O fair damsel, will stay by thee as thy slave, ever obedient to thee, O thou of the most handsome face.' Hearing these words of his, Draupadi replied, 'In desiring me, a female servant of low extraction, employed in the despicable office of dressing hair, O Suta's son, thou desirest one that deserves not that honour. Then, again, I am the wife of others. Therefore, good betide thee, this conduct of thine is not proper. Do thou remember the precept of morality, viz., that persons should take delight only in their wedded wives. Thou shouldst not, therefore, by any means bend thy heart to adultery. Surely abstaining from improper acts is ever the study of those that are good. Overcome by ignorance sinful men under the influence of desire come by either extreme infamy or dreadful calamity.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed by the Sairindhri, the wicked Kichaka losing control over his senses and overcome by lust, although aware of the numerous evils of fornication, evils condemned by everybody and sometimes leading to the destruction of life itself,--then spoke unto Draupadi, 'It behoveth thee not, O beauteous lady, O thou of graceful features, thus to disregard me who am, O thou of sweet smiles, under the power of Manmatha on thy account. If now, O timid one, thou disregardest me who am under thy influence and who speak to thee so fair, thou wilt, O black-eyed damsel, have to repent for it afterwards. O thou of graceful eye-brows, the real lord of this entire kingdom, O slender-waisted lady, is myself. It is me depending upon whom the people of this realm live. In energy and prowess I am unrivalled on earth. There is no other man on earth who rivals me in beauty of person, in youth, in prosperity, and in the possession of excellent objects of enjoyment. Why it is, O auspicious lady, that having it in thy power to enjoy here every object of desire and every luxury and comfort without its equal, thou preferest servitude. Becoming the mistress of this kingdom which I shall confer on thee, O thou of fair face, accept me, and enjoy, O beauteous one, all excellent objects of desire.' Addressed in these accursed words by Kichaka, that chaste daughter of Drupada answered him thus reprovingly, 'Do not, O son of a Suta, act so foolishly and do not throw away thy life. Know that I am protected by my five husbands. Thou canst not have me. I have Gandharvas for my husbands. Enraged they will slay thee. Therefore, do thou not bring destruction on thyself. Thou intendest to tread along a path that is incapable of being trod by men. Thou, O wicked one, art even like a foolish child that standing on one shore of the ocean intends to cross over to the other. Even if thou enterest into the interior of the earth, or soarest into the sky, or rushest to the other shore of the ocean, still thou wilt have no escape from the hands of those sky-ranging offspring of gods, capable of grinding all foes. Why dost thou today, O Kichaka, solicit me so persistently even as a sick person wisheth for the night that will put a stop to his existence? Why dost thou desire me, even like an infant lying on its mother's lap wishing to catch the moon? For thee that thus solicitest their beloved wife, there is no refuge either on earth or in sky. O Kichaka, hast thou no sense which leads thee to seek thy good and by which thy life may be saved?'"

SECTION 15

"Vaisampayana said, 'Rejected thus by the princess, Kichaka, afflicted with maddening lust and forgetting all sense of propriety, addressed Sudeshna saying, 'Do thou, Kekaya's daughter, so act that thy Sairindhri may come into my arms. Do thou, O Sudeshna, adopt the means by which the damsel of the gait of an elephant may accept me; I am dying of absorbing desire.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing his profuse lamentations, that gentle lady, the intelligent queen of Virata, was touched with pity. And having taken counsel with her own self and reflected on Kichaka's purpose and on the anxiety of Krishna, Sudeshna addressed the Suta's son in these words, 'Do thou, on the occasion of some festival, procure viands and wines for me. I shall then send my Sairindhri to thee on the pretence of bringing wine. And when she will repair thither do thou in solitude, free from interruption, humour her as thou likest. Thus soothed, she may incline her mind to thee.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed, he went out of his sister's apartments. And he soon procured wines well-filtered and worthy of a king. And employing skilled cooks, he prepared many and various kinds of choice viands and delicious drinks and many and various kinds of meat of different degrees of excellence. And when all this had been done, that gentle lady Sudeshna, as previously counselled by Kichaka, desired her Sairindhri to repair to Kichaka's abode, saying, 'Get up, O Sairindhri and repair to Kichaka's abode to bring wine, for, O beauteous lady, I am afflicted with thirst.' Thereupon the Sairindhri replied, 'O princess, I shall not be able to repair to Kichaka's apartments. Thou thyself knowest, O queen, how shameless he is. O thou of faultless limbs, O beauteous lady, in thy palace I shall not be able to lead a lustful life, becoming faithless to my husbands. Thou rememberest, O gentle lady, O beautiful one, the conditions I had set down before entering thy house. O thou of tresses ending in graceful curls, the foolish Kichaka afflicted by the god of desire, will, on seeing me, offer me insult. Therefore, I will not go to his quarters. Thou hast, O princess, many maids under thee. Do thou, good betide thee, send one of them. For, surely, Kichaka will insult me.' Sudeshna said, 'Sent by me, from my abode, surely he will not harm thee.' And having said this, she handed over a golden vessel furnished with a cover. And filled with apprehension, and weeping, Draupadi mentally prayed for the protection of the gods, and set out for Kichaka's abode for fetching wine. And she said, 'As I do not know another person save my husbands, by virtue of that Truth let Kichaka not be able to overpower me although I may approach his presence.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'And that helpless damsel then adored Surya for a moment. And Surya, having considered all that she urged, commanded a Rakshasa to protect her invisibly. And from that time the Rakshasa began to attend upon that blameless lady under any circumstances. And beholding Krishna in his presence like a frightened doe, the Suta rose up from his seat, and felt the joy that is felt by a person wishing to cross to the other shore, when he obtains a boat.'"

SECTION 16

"Kichaka said, 'O thou of tresses ending in beautiful curls, thou art welcome. Surely, the night that is gone hath brought me an auspicious day, for I have got thee today as the mistress of my house. Do what is agreeable to me. Let golden chains, and conchs and bright ear-rings made of gold, manufactured in various countries, and beautiful rubies and gems, and silken robes and deer-skins, be brought for thee. I have also an excellent bed prepared for thee. Come, sitting upon it do thou drink with me the wine prepared from the honey flower.' Hearing these words, Draupadi said, 'I have been sent to thee by the princess for taking away wine. Do thou speedily bring me wine, for she told me that she is exceedingly thirsty.' And this, Kichaka said, 'O gentle lady, others will carry what the princess wants.' And saying this, the Suta's son caught hold of Draupadi's right arm. And at this, Draupadi exclaimed, 'As I have never, from intoxication of the senses, been unfaithful to my husbands even at heart, by that Truth, O wretch, I shall behold thee dragged and lying powerless on the ground.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Seeing that large-eyed lady reproving him in that strain, Kichaka suddenly seized her by the end of her upper garment as she attempted to run away. And seized with violence by Kichaka, the beautiful princess, unable to tolerate it, and with frame trembling with wrath, and breathing quickly, dashed him to the ground. And dashed to the ground thus, the sinful wretch tumbled down like a tree whose roots had been cut. And having thrown Kichaka down on the ground when the latter had seized her, she, trembling all over rushed to the court, where king Yudhishthira was, for protection. And while she was running with all her speed, Kichaka (who followed her), seizing her by the hair, and bringing her down on the ground, kicked her in the very presence of the king. Thereupon, O Bharata, the Rakshasa that had been appointed by Surya to protect Draupadi, gave Kichaka a shove with a force mighty as that of the wind. And overpowered by the force of Rakshasa, Kichaka reeled and fell down senseless on the ground, even like an uprooted tree. And both Yudhishthira and Bhimasena who were seated there, beheld with wrathful eyes that outrage on Krishna by Kichaka. And desirous of compassing the destruction of the wicked Kichaka, the illustrious Bhima gnashed his teeth in rage. And his forehead was covered with sweat, and terrible wrinkles appeared thereon. And a smoky exhalation shot forth from his eyes, and his eye-lashes stood on end. And that slayer of hostile heroes pressed his forehead with his hands. And impelled by rage, he was on the point of starting up with speed. Thereat king Yudhishthira, apprehensive of discovery, squeezed his thumbs and commanded Bhima to forbear. And Bhima who then looked like an infuriate elephant eyeing a large tree, was thus forbidden by his elder brother. And the latter said, 'Lookest thou, O cook, for trees for fuel. If thou art in need of faggots, then go out and fell trees.' And the weeping Draupadi of fair hips, approaching the entrance of the court, and seeing her melancholy lords, desirous yet of keeping up the disguise duty-bound by their pledge, with eyes burning in fire, spoke these words unto the king of the Matsyas, 'Alas, the son of a Suta hath kicked today the proud and beloved wife of those whose foe can never sleep in peace even if four kingdoms intervene between him and them. Alas, the son of a Suta hath kicked today the proud and beloved wife of those truthful personages, who are devoted to Brahmanas and who always give away without asking any thing in gift. Alas! the son of a Suta hath kicked today the proud and beloved wife of those, the sounds of whose kettle-drums and the twangs of whose bow-strings are ceaselessly heard. Alas, the son of a Suta hath kicked today the proud and beloved wife of those who are possessed of abundant energy and might, and who are liberal in gifts and proud of their dignity. Alas, the son of a Suta hath kicked today the proud and beloved wife of those who, if they had not been fettered by the ties of duty, could destroy this entire world. Where, alas, are those mighty warriors today who, though living in disguise, have always granted protection unto those that solicit it? Oh, why do those heroes today, endued as they are with strength and possessed of immeasurable energy, quietly suffer, like eunuchs, their dear and chaste wife to be thus insulted by a Suta's son? Oh, where is that wrath of theirs, that prowess, and that energy, when they quietly bear their wife to be thus insulted by a wicked wretch? What can I (a weak woman) do when Virata, deficient in virtue, coolly suffereth my innocent self to be thus wronged by a wretch? Thou dost not, O king, act like a king towards this Kichaka. Thy behaviour is like that of a robber, and doth not shine in a court. That I should thus be insulted in thy very presence, O Matsya, is highly improper. Oh, let all the courtiers here look at this violence of Kichaka. Kichaka is ignorant of duty and morality, and Matsya also is equally so. These courtiers also that wait upon such a king are destitute of virtue.'

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"Vaisampayana continued, 'With these and other words of the same kind the beautiful Krishna with tearful eyes rebuked the king of the Matsyas. And hearing her, Virata said, 'I do not know what your dispute has been out of our sight. Not knowing the true cause how can I show my discrimination?' Then the courtiers, having learnt every thing, applauded Krishna, and they all exclaimed, 'Well done!' 'Well done!' and censured Kichaka. And the courtiers said, 'That person who owneth this large-eyed lady having every limb of hers endued with beauty for his wife, possesseth what is of exceeding value and hath no occasion to indulge in any grief. Surely, such a damsel of transcendent beauty and limbs perfectly faultless is rare among men. Indeed, it seems to us that she is a goddess.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'And while the courtiers, having beheld Krishna (under such circumstances), were applauding her thus, Yudhishthira's forehead, from ire, became covered with sweat. And that bull of the Kuru race then addressed that princess, his beloved spouse, saying, 'Stay not here, O Sairindhri; but retire to the apartments of Sudeshna. The wives of heroes bear affliction for the sake of their husbands, and undergoing toil in ministering unto their lords, they at last attain to region where their husbands may go. Thy Gandharva husbands, effulgent as the sun, do not, I imagine, consider this as an occasion for manifesting their wrath, inasmuch as they do not rush to thy aid. O Sairindhri, thou art ignorant of the timeliness of things, and it is for this that thou weepest as an actress, besides interrupting the play of dice in Matsya's court. Retire, O Sairindhri; the Gandharvas will do what is agreeable to thee. And they will surely display thy woe and take the life of him that hath wronged thee.' Hearing these words the Sairindhri replied, 'They of whom I am the wedded wife are, I ween, extremely kind. And as the eldest of them all is addicted to dice, they are liable to be oppressed by all.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'And having said this, the fair-hipped Krishna with dishevelled hair and eyes red in anger, ran towards the apartments of Sudhesna. And in consequence of having wept long her face looked beautiful like the lunar disc in the firmament, emerged from the clouds. And beholding her in that condition, Sudeshna asked, 'Who, O beauteous lady, hath insulted thee? Why, O amiable damsel, dost thou weep? Who, gentle one, hath done thee wrong? Whence is this thy grief?' Thus addressed, Draupadi said, 'As I went to bring wine for thee, Kichaka struck me in the court in the very presence of the king, as if in the midst of a solitary wood.' Hearing this, Sudeshna said, 'O thou of tresses ending in beautiful curls, as Kichaka, maddened by lust hath insulted thee that art incapable of being possessed by him, I shall cause him to be slain if thou wishest it.' Thereupon Draupadi answered, 'Even others will slay him,--even they whom he hath wronged, I think it is clear that he will have to go to the abode of Yama this very day!'"

SECTION 17

"Vaisampayana said, 'Thus insulted by the Suta's son, that illustrious princess, the beautiful Krishna, eagerly wishing for the destruction of Virata's general, went to her quarters. And Drupada's daughter of dark hue and slender waist then performed her ablutions. And washing her body and cloths with water Krishna began to ponder weepingly on the means of dispelling her grief. And she reflected, saying, 'What am I to do? Whither shall I go? How can my purpose be effected?' And while she was thinking thus, she remembered Bhima and said to herself, 'There is none else, save Bhima, that can today accomplish the purpose on which my heart is set!' And afflicted with great grief, the large-eyed and intelligent Krishna possessed of powerful protectors then rose up at night, and leaving her bed speedily proceeded towards the quarters of Bhimasena, desirous of beholding her lord. And possessed of great intelligence, the daughter of Drupada entered her husband's quarters, saying, 'How canst thou sleep while that wretched commander of Virata's forces, who is my foe, yet liveth, having perpetrated today that (foul act)?'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then the chamber where Bhima slept, breathing hard like a lion, being filled with the beauty of Drupada's daughter and of the high-souled Bhima, blazed forth in splendour. And Krishna of sweet smiles, finding Bhimasena in the cooking apartments, approached him with the eagerness of a three-year old cow brought up in the woods, approaching a powerful bull, in her first season, or of a she-crane living by the water-side approaching her mate in the pairing season. And the Princess of Panchala then embraced the second son of Pandu, even as a creeper embraces a huge and mighty Sala on the banks of the Gomati. And embracing him with her arms, Krishna of faultless features awaked him as a lioness awaketh a sleeping lion in a trackless forest. And embracing Bhimasena even as a she-elephant embraceth her mighty mate, the faultless Panchali addressed him in voice sweet as the sound of a stringed instrument emitting Gandhara note. And she said, 'Arise, arise! Why dost thou, O Bhimasena, lie down as one dead? Surely, he that is not dead, never suffereth a wicked wretch that hath disgraced his wife, to live.' And awakened by the princess, Bhima of mighty arms, then rose up, and sat upon his couch overlaid with a rich bed. And he of the Kuru race then addressed the princess--his beloved wife, saying, 'For what purpose hast thou come hither in such a hurry? Thy colour is gone and thou lookest lean and pale. Tell me everything in detail. I must know the truth. Whether it be pleasurable or painful, agreeable, or disagreeable, tell me all. Having heard everything, I shall apply the remedy. I alone, O Krishna, am entitled to thy confidence in all things, for it is I who deliver thee from perils again and again! Tell me quickly what is thy wish, and what is the purpose that is in thy view, and return thou to thy bed before others awake.'"

SECTION 18

"Draupadi said, 'What grief hath she not who hath Yudhishthira for her husband? Knowing all my griefs, why dost thou ask me? The Pratikamin dragged me to the court in the midst of an assembly of courtiers, calling me a slave. That grief, O Bharata, consumeth me. What other princess, save Draupadi, would live having suffered such intense misery? Who else, save myself, could bear such second insult as the wicked Saindhava offered me while residing in the forest? Who else of my position, save myself, could live, having been kicked by Kichaka in the very sight of the wicked king of the Matsyas? Of what value is life, O Bharata, when thou, O son of Kunti, dost not think me miserable, although I am afflicted with such woes? That vile and wicked wretch, O Bharata, known by the name of Kichaka, who is the brother-in-law of king Virata and the commander of his forces, every day, O tiger among men, addresses me who am residing in the palace as a Sairindhri, saying, 'Do thou become my wife.'--Thus solicited, O slayer of foes, by that wretch deserving to be slain, my heart is bursting like a fruit ripened in season. Censure thou that elder brother of thine addicted to execrable dice, through whose act alone I have been afflicted with such woe. Who else, save him that is a desperate gambler, would play, giving up kingdom and everything including even myself, in order to lead a life in the woods? If he had gambled morning and evening for many years together, staking nishkas by thousand and other kinds of substantial wealth, still his silver, and gold, and robes, and vehicles, and teams, and goats, and sheep, and multitudes of steeds and mares and mules would not have sustained any diminution. But now deprived of prosperity by the rivalry of dice, he sits dumb like a fool, reflecting on his own misdeeds. Alas, he who, while sojourning, was followed by ten thousand elephants adorned with golden garlands now supports himself by casting dice. That Yudhishthira who at Indraprastha was adored by kings of incomparable prowess by hundreds of thousands, that mighty monarch in whose kitchen a hundred thousand maid-servants, plate in hand, used every day to feed numerous guests day and night, that best of liberal men, who gave (every day) a thousand nishkas, alas, even he overwhelmed with woe in consequence of gambling which is the root of all evil, now supporteth himself by casting dice. Bards and encomiasts by thousands decked with ear-rings set with brilliant gems, and gifted with melodious voice, used to pay him homage morning and evening. Alas, that Yudhishthira, who was daily waited upon by a thousand sages of ascetic merit, versed in the Vedas and having every desire gratified, as his courtiers,--that Yudhishthira who maintained eighty-eight thousands of domestic Snatakas with thirty maid-servants assigned unto each, as also ten thousand yatis not accepting anything in gift and with vital seed drawn up,--alas, even that mighty king now liveth in such guise. That Yudhishthira who is without malice, who is full of kindness, and who giveth every creature his due, who hath all these excellent attributes, alas--even he now liveth in such guise. Possessed of firmness and unbaffled prowess, with heart disposed to give every creature his due, king Yudhishthira, moved by compassion, constantly maintained in his kingdom the blind, the old, the helpless, the parentless and all others in his dominions in such distress. Alas, that Yudhishthira becoming a dependant and a servant of Matsya, a caster of dice in his court, now calls himself Kanka. He unto whom while residing at Indraprastha, all the rulers of earth used to pay timely tribute,--alas, even he now begs for subsistence at another's hands. He to whom the kings of the earth were in subjection,--alas, even that king having lost his liberty, liveth in subjection to others. Having dazzled the entire earth like the sun by his energy, that Yudhishthira, alas, is now a courtier of king Virata. O Pandu's son, that Pandava who was respectfully waited upon in court by kings and sages, behold him now waiting upon another. Alas, beholding Yudhishthira a courtier sitting beside another and breathing adulatory speeches to the other, who can help being afflicted with grief? And beholding the highly wise and virtuous Yudhishthira, undeserving as he is of serving others, actually serving another for sustenance, who can help being afflicted with grief? And, O hero, that Bharata who was worshipped in court by the entire earth, do thou now behold him worshipping another. Why then, O Bharata, dost thou not regard me as one afflicted with diverse miseries, like one forlorn and immersed in a sea of sorrow?'"

SECTION 19

"Draupadi said, 'This O Bharata, that I am going to tell thee is another great grief of mine. Thou shouldst not blame me, for I tell thee this from sadness of heart. Who is there whose grief is not enhanced at sight of thee, O bull of the Bharata race, engaged in the ignoble office of a cook, so entirely beneath thee and calling thyself as one of Vallava caste? What can be sadder than this, that people should know thee as Virata's cook, Vallava by name, and therefore one that is sunk in servitude? Alas, when thy work of the kitchen is over, thou humbly sittest beside Virata, calling thyself as Vallava the cook, then despondency seizeth my heart. When the king of kings in joy maketh thee fight with elephants, and the women of the inner apartments (of the palace) laugh all the while, then I am sorely distressed. When thou fightest in the inner apartments with lions, tigers, and buffaloes, the princess Kaikeyi looking on, then I almost swoon away. And when Kaikeyi and those maidservants, leaving their seats, come to assist me and find that instead of suffering any injury in limbs mine is only a swoon, the princess speaks unto her women, saying, 'Surely, it is from affection and the duty begot of intercourse that this lady of sweet smiles grieveth for the exceedingly powerful cook when he fights with the beasts. Sairindhri is possessed of great beauty and Vallava also is eminently handsome. The heart of woman is hard to know, and they, I fancy, are deserving of each other. It is, therefore, likely that the Sairindhri invariably weepeth (at such times) on account of her connexion with her lover. And then, they both have entered this royal family at the same time. And speaking such words she always upbraideth me. And beholding me wroth at this, she suspects me to be attached to thee.' When she speaketh thus, great is the grief that I feel. Indeed, on beholding thee, O Bhima of terrible prowess, afflicted with such calamity, sunk as I already am in grief on account of Yudhishthira. I do not desire to live. That youth who on a single car had vanquished all celestials and men, is now, alas, the dancing master of king Virata's daughter. That Pritha's son of immeasurable soul, who had gratified Agni in the forest of Khandava, is now living in the inner apartments (of a palace) like fire hid in a well. Alas, the bull among men, Dhananjaya, who was ever the terror of foes, is now living in a guise that is despaired by all. Alas, he whose mace-like arms have been cicatrized in consequence of the strokes of his bow-string, alas that Dhananjaya is passing the days in grief covering his wrists with bracelets of conchs. Alas, that Dhananjaya the twang of whose bow-string and the sound of whose leathern fences made every foe tremble, now entertains only gladdened women with his songs. Oh, that Dhananjaya whose head was formerly decked with a diadem of solar splendour, is now wearing braids ending in unsightly curls. O Bhima, beholding that terrible bowman, Arjuna, now wearing braids and in the midst of women, my heart is stricken with woe. That high-souled hero who is master of all the celestial weapons, and who is the repository of all the sciences, now weareth ear-rings (like one of the fair sex). That youth whom kings of incomparable prowess could not overpower in fight, even as the waters of the mighty ocean cannot overleap the continents, is now the dancing-master of king Virata's daughters and waits upon them in disguise. O Bhima, that Arjuna the clatter of whose car-wheels caused the entire earth with her mountains and forests, her mobile and immobile things to tremble, and whose birth dispelled all the sorrows of Kunti, that exalted hero, that younger brother of thine, O Bhimasena, now maketh me weep for him. Beholding him coming towards me, decked in golden ear-rings and other ornaments, and wearing on the wrists bracelets of conchs, my heart is afflicted with despondency. And Dhananjaya who hath not a bowman equal unto him on earth in prowess, now passeth his days in singing, surrounded by women. Beholding that son of Pritha who in virtue, heroism and truth, was the most admired in the world, now living in the guise of a woman, my heart is afflicted with sorrow. When I behold, the godlike Partha in the music-hall like an elephant with rent temples surrounded by she-elephants in the midst of females, waiting before Virata the king of the Matsyas, then I lose all sense of directions. Surely, my mother-in-law doth not know Dhananjaya to be afflicted with such extreme distress. Nor doth she know that descendant of the Kuru race, Ajatasatru, addicted to disastrous dice, to be sunk in misery. O Bharata, beholding the youngest of you all, Sahadeva, superintending the kine, in the guise of a cowherd, I grow pale. Always thinking of Sahadeva's plight, I cannot, O Bhimasena, obtain sleep,--what to speak you of the rest? I do not know, O mighty-armed one, what sin Sahadeva may have committed for which that hero of unbaffled prowess suffereth such misery. O foremost of the Bharatas, beholding that beloved brother of thine, that bull among men, employed by Matsya in looking after his kine, I am filled with woe. Seeing that hero of proud disposition gratifying Virata, by living at the head of his cowherds, attired in robes dyed in red. I am attacked with fever. My mother-in-law always applauds the heroic Sahadeva as one possessed of nobility, excellent behaviour, and rectitude of conduct. Ardently attached to her sons, the weeping Kunti stood, embracing Sahadeva while he was

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about to set out (with us) for the great forest. And she addressed me saying, "Sahadeva is bashful and sweet-speeched, and virtuous. He is also my favourite child. Therefore, O Yajnaseni, tend him in the forest day and night. Delicate and brave, devoted to the king, and always worshipping his elder brother, do thou, O Panchali, feed him thyself.' O Pandava, beholding that foremost of warriors, Sahadeva, engaged in tending kine, and sleeping at night on calf-skins, how can I bear to live? He again who is crowned with the three attributes of beauty, arms, and intelligence, is now the superintendent of Virata's steeds. Behold the change brought on by time. Granthika (Nakula), at sight of whom hostile hosts fled from the field of battle, now traineth horses in the presence of the king, driving them with the speed. Alas, I now see that handsome youth wait upon the gorgeously decked and excellent Virata, the king of the Matsyas, and display horses before him. O son of Pritha, afflicted as I am with all these hundred kinds of misery on account of Yudhishthira, why dost thou, O chastiser of foes, yet deem me happy? Listen now to me, O son of Kunti, as I tell thee of other woes far surpassing these. What can be sadder to me than miseries so various as these should emaciate me while ye are alive.'"

SECTION 20

"Draupadi said, 'Alas, on account of that desperate gambler, I am now under Sudeshna's command, living in the palace in the guise of a Sairindhri. And, O chastiser of foes, behold the plight of poignant woe which I, a princess, am now in. I am living in expectation of the close of this stated period. [What Draupadi means is that instead of passing her days in joy and happiness, instead of being able to wish time to be stationary with her, she is obliged in consequence of her misery, to wish time to pass off quickly.] The extreme of misery, therefore, is mine. Success of purpose, victory, and defeat, as regards mortals, are transitory. It is in this belief that I am living in expectation of the return of prosperity to my husbands. Prosperity and adversity revolve like a wheel. It is in this belief that I am living in expectation of the return of prosperity to my husbands. That cause which bringeth on victory, may bring defeat as well. I live in this hope. Why dost thou not, O Bhimasena, regard me as one dead? I have heard that persons that give may beg: that they who slay may be slain; and that they who over-throw others may themselves be overthrown by foes. Nothing is difficult for Destiny and none can over-ride Destiny. It is for this that I am awaiting the return of favourable fortune. As a tank once dried, is filled up once again, so hoping for a change for the better, I await the return of prosperity. When one's business that hath been well-provided for is seen to be frustrated, a truly wise person should never strive for bringing back good fortune. Plunged as I am an sorrow, asked or unasked by thee to explain the purpose of these words spoken by me, I shall tell thee everything. Queen of the sons of Pandu and daughter of Drupada, who else, save myself, would wish to live, having fallen into such a plight? O represser of foes, the misery, therefore, that hath overtaken me, hath really humiliated the entire Kuru race, the Panchalas, and the sons of Pandu. Surrounded by numerous brothers and father-in-law and sons, what other woman having such cause for joy, save myself, would be afflicted with such woe? Surely, I must, in my childhood, have committed act highly offensive to Dhatri through whose displeasure, O bull of the Bharata race, I have been visited with such consequences. Mark, O son of Pandu, the pallour that hath come over my complexion which not even a life in the woods fraught as it was with extreme misery, could bring about. Thou, O Pritha's son, knowest what happiness, O Bhima, was formerly mine. Even, I, who was such have now sunk into servitude. Sorely distressed, I can find no rest. That the mighty-armed and terrible bowman, Dhananjaya the son of Pritha, should now live like a fire that hath been put out, maketh me think of all this as attributable to Destiny. Surely, O son of Pritha, it is impossible for men to understand the destinies of creatures (in this world). I, therefore, think this downfall of yours as something that could not be averted by forethought. Alas, she who hath you all, that resemble Indra himself to attend to her comforts--even she, so chaste and exalted, hath now to attend to the comforts of others, that are to her far inferior in rank. Behold, O Pandava, my plight. It is what I do not deserve. You are alive, yet behold this inversion of order that time hath brought. She who had the whole Earth to the verge of the sea under her control, is now under the control of Sudeshna and living in fear of her. She who had dependants to walk both before and behind her, alas, now herself walketh before and behind Sudeshna. This, O Kaunteya, is another grief of mine that is intolerable. O, listen to it. She who had never, save for Kunti, pounded unguents even for her own use, now, good betide thee, poundeth sandal (for others). O Kaunteya, behold these hands of mine which were not so before. Saying this she showed him her hands marked with corns. And she continued, she who had never feared Kunti herself nor thee and thy brothers, now standeth in fear before Virata as a slave, anxious of what that king of kings may say unto her regarding the proper preparation of the unguents, for Matsya liketh not sandal pounded by others.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Relating her woes thus, O Bharata, unto Bhimasena, Krishna began to weep silently, casting her eyes on Bhima. And then, with words choked in tears, and sighing repeatedly, she addressed Bhima in these words, powerfully stirring his heart, 'Signal, O Bhima, must have been my offence of old unto the gods, for, unfortunate as I am. I am yet alive, when, O Pandava, I should die.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then that slayer of hostile heroes, Vrikodara, covering his face with those delicate hands of his wife marked with corns, began to weep. And that mighty son of Kunti, holding the hands of Draupadi in his, shed copious tears. And afflicted with great woe, he spoke these words.'"

SECTION 21

"Bhima said, 'Fie on the might of my arms and fie on the Gandiva of Falguni, inasmuch as thy hands, red before, now become covered with corns. I would have caused a carnage in Virata's court but for the fact that Kunti's son eyed me (by way of forbidding it), or like a mighty elephant. I would, without ado, have crushed the head of Kichaka intoxicated with the pride of sovereignty. When, O Krishna, I beheld thee kicked by Kichaka, I conceived at that instant a wholesale slaughter of the Matsyas. Yudhishthira, however, forbade me by a glance, and, O beauteous lady, understanding his intention I have kept quiet. That we have been deprived of our kingdom, that I have not yet slain the Kurus, that I have not yet taken the heads of Suyodhana and Karna, and Suvala's son Sakuni, and the wicked Duhsasana, these acts and omissions, O lady, are consuming every limb of mine. The thought of those abides in my heart like a javelin implanted in it. O thou of graceful hips, do not sacrifice virtue, and, O noble-hearted lady, subdue thy wrath. If king Yudhishthira hear from thee such rebukes, he will surely put an end to his life. If also Dhananjaya and the twins hear thee speak thus, even they will renounce life. And if these, O slender-waisted maiden, give up life. I also shall not be able to bear my own. In olden days Sarjati's daughter, the beautiful Sukanya, followed into the forest Chyavana of Bhrigu's race, whose mind was under complete control, and over whom, while engaged in ascetic meditation, the ants had built a hill. Thou mayst have heard that Indrasena also who in beauty was like unto Narayani herself, followed her husband aged a thousand years. Thou mayst have heard that Janaka's daughter Sita, the princess of Videha, followed her lord while living in dense woods. And that lady of graceful hips, Rama's beloved wife, afflicted with calamities and persecuted by the Rakshasas, at length regained the company of Rama. Lopamudra also, O timid one, endued with youth and beauty, followed Agastya, renouncing all the objects of enjoyment unattainable by men. And the intelligent and faultless Savitri also followed the heroic Satyavan, the son of Dyumatsena, alone into the world of Yama. Even like these chaste and beautiful ladies that I have named, thou, O blessed girl, bloomest with every virtue. Do thou spend a short while more that is measured by even a half month. And when the thirteenth year is complete, thou wilt (again) become the Queen regnant of a king.' Hearing these words, Draupadi said, 'Unable, O Bhima, to bear my griefs, it is from grief alone that I have shed these tears. I do not censure Yudhishthira. Nor is there any use in dwelling on the past. O Bhima of mighty strength, come quickly forward to the work of the hour. O Bhima, Kaikeyi, jealous of my beauty, always pains me by her endeavours to prevent the king from taking a fancy to me. And understanding this disposition of hers, the wicked-souled Kichaka of immoral ways constantly solicits me himself. Angry with him for this, but then suppressing my wrath.

I answer that wretch deprived of sense by lust, saying, 'O Kichaka, protect thyself. I am the beloved queen and wife of five Gandharvas. Those heroes in wrath will slay thee that art so rash.' Thus addressed, Kichaka of wicked soul replied unto me, saying, 'I have not the least fear of the Gandharvas, O Sairindhri of sweet smiles. I will slay hundred thousand Gandharvas, encountering them in battle. Therefore, O timid one, do thou consent.' Hearing all this, I again addressed the lust-afflicted Suta, saying, 'Thou art no match for those illustrious Gandharvas. Of respectable percentage and good disposition, I ever adhere to virtue and never wish for the death of any one. It is for this that thou I vest, O Kichaka!' At this, that wight of wicked soul burst out into a loud laughter. And it came to pass that Kaikeyi previously urged by Kichaka, and moved by affection for her brother, and desirous of doing him a good turn, despatched me to him, saying 'Do thou, O Sairindhri, fetch wine from Kichaka's quarter's!' On beholding me the Suta's son at first addressed me in sweet words, and when that failed, he became exceedingly enraged, and intended to use violence. Understanding the purpose of the wicked Kichaka, I speedily rushed towards the place where the king was. Felling me on the ground the wretch then kicked me in the very presence of the king himself and before the eyes of Kanka and many others, including charioteers, and royal favourites, and elephant-riders, and citizens. I rebuked the king and Kanka again and again. The king, however, neither prevented Kichaka, nor inflicted any chastisement on him. The principal ally of king Virata in war, the cruel Kichaka reft of virtue is loved by both the king and the queen. O exalted one, brave, proud, sinful, adulterous, and engrossed in all objects of enjoyment, he earneth immense wealth (from the king), and robs the possessions of others even if they cry in distress. And he never walketh in the path of virtue, nor doth he any virtuous act. Of wicked soul, and vicious disposition, haughty and villainous, and always afflicted by the shafts of Kama, though repulsed repeatedly, if he sees me again, he will outrage me. I shall then surely renounce my life. Although striving to acquire virtue (on my death) your highly meritorious acts will come to naught. Ye that are now obeying your pledge, ye will lose your wife. By protecting, one's wife one's offspring are protected, and by protecting one's offspring, one's own self is protected. And it is because one begets one's own self in one's wife that the wife is called Jaya by the wise [Jayate asyas--i.e., she from whom one is born.]. The husband also should be protected by the wife, thinking,--How else will he take his birth in my womb?--I have heard it from Brahmanas expounding the duties of the several orders that a Kshatriya hath no other duty than subduing enemies. Alas, Kichaka kicked me in the very presence of Yudhishthira the Just, and also of thyself, O Bhimasena of mighty strength. It was thou, O Bhima, that didst deliver me from the terrible Jatasura. It was thou also that with thy brothers didst vanquish Jayadratha. Do thou now slay this wretch also who hath insulted me. Presuming upon his being a favourite of the king, Kichaka, O Bharata, hath enhanced my woe. Do thou, therefore, smash this lustful wight even like an earthen pot dashed upon a stone. If, O Bharata, tomorrow's sun sheds his rays upon him who is the source of many griefs of mine, I shall, surely, mixing poison (with some drink), drink it up,--for I never shall yield to Kichaka. Far better it were, O Bhima, that I should die before thee.'

"Vaisampayana Continued, 'Having said this, Krishna, hiding her face in Bhima's breast began to weep. And Bhima, embracing her, consoled her to the best of his power. And having abundantly consoled that slender-waisted daughter of Drupada by means of words fraught with grave reason and sense, he wiped with his hands her face flooded with tears. And thinking of Kichaka and licking with his tongue the corners of his mouth, Bhima, filled with wrath thus spake to that distressed lady.'"

SECTION 22

"Bhima said, 'I will, O timid one, do even as thou sayest. I will presently slay Kichaka with all his friends. O Yajnaseni of sweet smiles, tomorrow evening, renouncing sorrow and grief, manage to have a meeting with Kichaka. The dancing-hall that the king of the Matsya hath caused to be erected is used by the girls for dancing during the day. They repair, however, to their homes at night. There in that hall, is an excellent and well-placed wooden bed-stead. Even there I will make him see the spirits of his deceased grandsires. But, O beautiful one, when thou holdest converse with him, thou must manage it so that others may not espy thee."

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having thus conversed with others, and shed tears in grief, they waited for the dawn of that night with painful impatience. And when the night had passed away, Kichaka, rising in the morning, went to the palace, and accosted Draupadi saying, 'Throwing thee down in the court I kicked thee in the presence of the king. Attacked by mighty self, thou couldst not obtain protection. This Virata is in name only the king of the Matsyas. Commanding the forces of this realm it is I, who am the real lord of the Matsyas. Do thou, O timid one, accept me cheerfully. I shall become thy slave. And, O thou of graceful hips, I will immediately give thee a hundred nishkas, and engage a hundred male and a hundred female servants (to tend thee), and will also bestow on thee cars yoked with she-mules. O timid lady, let our union take place.' Draupadi replied, 'O Kichaka, know even this is my condition. Neither thy friends nor thy brothers should know thy union with me. I am a terror of detection by those illustrious Gandharvas. Promise me this, and I yield to thee.' Hearing this Kichaka said, 'I will, O thou of graceful hips, do even as thou sayest. Afflicted by the god of love, I will, O beauteous damsel, alone repair to thy abode for union with thee, O thou of thighs round and tapering like the trunks of the plantain,--so that those Gandharvas, effulgent as the sun, may not come to know of this act of thine.' Draupadi said, 'Do thou, when it is dark, go to the dancing-hall erected by the king of the Matsyas where the girls dance during the day, repairing to their respective homes at night. The Gandharvas do not know that place. We shall then without doubt, escape all censure.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Reflecting on the subject of her conversation with Kichaka, that half a day seemed to Krishna as long as a whole month. And the stupid Kichaka also, not knowing that it was Death that had assumed the form of a Sairindhri, returning home experienced the greatest delight. And deprived of sense by lust, Kichaka became speedily

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engaged in embellishing his person with unguents and garlands and ornaments. And while he was doing all this, thinking of that damsel of large eyes, the day seemed to him to be without an end. And the beauty of Kichaka, who was about to forsake his beauty for ever, seemed to heighten, like the wick of a burning lamp about to expire. And reposing the fullest confidence in Draupadi, Kichaka, deprived of his senses by lust and absorbed in the contemplation of expected meeting, did not even perceive that the day had departed. Meanwhile, the beautiful Draupadi approaching her husband Bhima of the Kuru race, stood before him in the kitchen. And that lady with tresses ending in beautiful curls then spake unto him, saying, 'O chastiser of foes, even as thou hadst directed, I have given Kichaka to understand that our meeting will take place in the dancing-hall. Alone will he come at night to the empty hall. Slay him there, O thou of mighty arms. Do thou, O son of Kunti, repair to that dancing-hall, and take the life, O Pandava, of Kichaka, that son of a Suta intoxicated with vanity. From vanity alone, that son of a Suta slights the Gandharvas. O best of smiters, lift him up from the earth even as Krishna had lifted up the Naga (Kaliya) from the Yamuna. O Pandava, afflicted as I am with grief, wipe thou my tears, and blessed be thou, protect thy own honour and that of thy race.'

"Bhima said, 'Welcome, O beauteous lady, Except the glad tidings thou bringest me, I need, O thou of exceeding beauty, no other aid whatever. The delight that I feel, O thou of great beauty, on hearing from thee about my coming encounter with Kichaka, is equal to what I felt in slaying Hidimva. I swear unto thee by Truth, by my brothers, and by morality, that I will slay Kichaka even as the lord of the celestials slew Vritra. Whether secretly or openly, I will crush Kichaka, and if the Matsyas fight for him, then I will slay them too. And slaying Duryodhana afterwards, I shall win back the earth. Let Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, continue to pay homage unto the king of Matsya.' Hearing these words of Bhima, Draupadi said, 'In order that, O lord, thou mayst not have to renounce the truth already pledged to me, do thou, O hero, slay Kichaka in secret.' Bhima assuring her said, 'Even today I shall slay Kichaka together with his friends unknown to others during the darkness of the night. I shall, O faultless lady, crush, even as an elephant crusheth a vela fruit*, the head of the wicked Kichaka who wisheth for what is unattainable by him!' [Some texts read, Vilwam nagaviodhara--i.e., 'As an elephant lifts up a vela fruit.']

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Repairing first to the place of assignation at night, Bhima sat down, disguising himself. And he waited there in expectation of Kichaka, like a lion lying in wait for a deer. And Kichaka, having embellished his person as he chose, came to the dancing-hall at the appointed time in the hope of meeting Panchali. And thinking of the assignation, he entered the chamber. And having entered that hall enveloped in deep gloom, that wretch of wicked soul came upon Bhima of incomparable prowess, who had come a little before and who was waiting in a corner. And as an insect approacheth towards a flaming fire, or a puny animal towards a lion, Kichaka approached Bhima, lying down in a bed and burning in anger at the thought of the insult offered to Krishna, as if he were the Suta's Death. And having approached Bhima, Kichaka possessed by lust, and his heart and soul filled with ecstacy smilingly said, 'O thou of pencilled eye-brows, to thee I have already given many and various kinds of wealth from the stores earned by me, as well as hundred maids and many fine robes, and also a mansion with an inner apartment adorned with beauteous and lovely and youthful maid servants and embellished by every kind of sports and amusements And having set all those apart for thee, I have speedily come hither. And all on a sudden, women have begun to praise me, saying, 'There is not in this world any other person like unto thee in beauty and dress!' Hearing this, Bhima said, 'It is well that thou art handsome, and it is well thou praisest thyself. I think, however, that thou hadst never before this such pleasurable touch! Thou hast an acute touch, and knowest the ways of gallantry. Skilled in the art of love-making, thou art a favourite with women. There is none like thee in this world!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Saying this, that son of Kunti, the mighty-armed Bhima of terrible prowess, suddenly rose up, and laughingly said, 'Thy sister, O wretch, shall today behold thee dragged by me to the ground, like a mighty elephant, huge as a mountain, dragged to the ground by a lion. Thyself slain Sairindhri will live in peace, and we, her husbands, will also live in peace.' Saying this, the mighty Bhima seized Kichaka by the hairs of his head, which were adorned with garlands. And thus seized with force by the hair, that foremost of mighty persons, Kichaka, quickly freed his hair and grasped the arms of Bhima. And then between those lions among men, fired with wrath, between that chief of the Kichaka clan, and that best of men, there ensued a hand-to-hand encounter, like that between two powerful elephants for a female elephant in the season of spring, or like that which happened in days of yore between those lions among monkeys, the brothers Vali and Sugriva. And both equally infuriate and both eager for victory, both those combatants raised their arms resembling snakes furnished with five hoods, and attacked each other with their nails and teeth, wrought up to frenzy of wrath. Impetuously assailed by the powerful Kichaka in that encounter, the resolute Bhima did not waver a single step. And locked in each other's embraces and dragging each other, they fought on like two mighty bulls. And having nails and teeth for their weapons, the encounter between them was fierce and terrible like that of two furious tigers. And felling each other in fury, they encountered each other like a couple of elephants with rent temples. And the mighty Bhima then seized Kichaka, and Kichaka, that foremost of strong persons threw Bhima down with violence. And as those mighty combatants fought on, the crash of their arms produced a loud noise that resembled the clatter of splitting bamboos. Then Vrikodara throwing Kichaka down by main force within the room, began to toss him about furiously even as a hurricane tosseth a tree. And attacked thus in battle by the powerful Bhima, Kichaka grew weak and began to tremble. For all that, however, he tugged at the Pandava to the best of his power. And attacking Bhima, and making him wave a little, the mighty Kichaka struck him with his knees and brought him down to the ground. And overthrown by the powerful Kichaka, Bhima quickly rose up like Yama himself with mace in hand. And thus that powerful Suta and the Pandava, intoxicated with strength and challenging each other, grappled with each other at midnight in that solitary place. And as they roared at each other in wrath, that excellent and strong edifice began to shake every moment. And slapped on the chest by the mighty Bhima, Kichaka fired with wrath moved not a single pace. And bearing for a moment only that onslaught incapable of being born on earth, the Suta, overpowered by Bhima's might, became enfeebled. And seeing him waning weak, Bhima endued with great strength forcibly drew Kichaka towards his breast, and began to press hard. And breathing hard again and again in wrath, that best of victors, Vrikodara, forcibly seized Kichaka by the hair. And having seized Kichaka, the mighty 'Bhima began to roar like a hungry tiger that hath killed a large animal. And finding him exceedingly exhausted, Vrikodara bound him fast with his arms, as one binds a beast with a cord. And then Bhima began for a long while, to whirl the senseless Kichaka, who began to roar frightfully like a broken trumpet [Veri means both a kettle-drum and a trumpet. The latter however conveys a better meaning here.]. And in order to pacify Krishna's wrath Vrikodara grasped Kichaka's throat with his arms and began to squeeze it. And assailing with his knees the waist of that worst of the Kichakas, all the limbs of whose body had been broken into fragments and whose eye-lids were closed, Vrikodara slew him, as one would slay a beast. And beholding Kichaka entirely motionless, the son of Pandu began to roll him about on the ground. And Bhima then said, 'Slaying this wretch who intended to violate our wife,--this thorn in the side of Sairindhri, I am freed from the debt I owed to my brothers, and have attained perfect peace.' And having said this, that foremost of men, with eyes red in wrath, relinquished his hold of Kichaka, whose dress and ornaments had been thrown off his person, whose eyes were rolling, and whose body was yet trembling. And that foremost of mighty persons, squeezing his own hands, and biting his lips in rage, again attacked his adversary and thrust his arms and legs and neck and head into his body like the wielder of the Pinaka reducing into shapeless mass the deer, which form sacrifice had assumed in order to escape his ire. And having; crushed all his limbs, and reduced him into a ball of flesh, the mighty Bhimasena showed him unto Krishna. And endued with mighty energy that hero then addressed Draupadi, that foremost of all women, saying, 'Come princess of Panchala, and see what hath become of that lustful wretch!' And saying this, Bhima of terrible prowess began to press with his feet the body of that wicked wight. And lighting a torch then and showing Draupadi the body of Kichaka, that hero addressed her, saying, 'O thou of tresses ending in beautiful curls, those that solicit thee, endued as thou art with an excellent disposition and every virtue, will be slain by me even as this Kichaka hath been, O timid one.' And having accomplished that difficult task so highly agreeable to Krishna--having indeed slain Kichaka and thereby pacified his wrath, Bhima bade farewell to Krishna, the daughter of Drupada, and quickly went back to the kitchen. And Draupadi also, that best of women, having caused Kichaka to be slain had her grief removed and experienced the greatest delight. And addressing the keepers of the dancing-hall, she said, 'Come ye and behold Kichaka who had violated after other people's wives lieth down here, slain by my Gandharva husbands.' And hearing these words the guards of the dancing hall soon came by thousands to that spot, torches in hand. And repairing to that room, they beheld the lifeless Kichaka thrown on the ground, drenched with blood. And beholding him without arms and legs, they were filled with grief. And as they gazed at Kichaka, they were struck with amazement. And seeing that superhuman act, viz., the overthrow of Kichaka, they said, 'Where is his neck, and where are his legs?' And beholding him in this plight they all concluded that he had been killed by a Gandharva.'"

SECTION 23

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then all the relatives of Kichaka, arriving at that place, beheld him there and began to wail aloud, surrounding him on all sides. And beholding Kichaka with every limb mangled, and lying like a tortoise dragged to dry ground from the water, all of them were overcome with exceeding fright, and the bristles of their bodies stood on end. And seeing him crushed all over by Bhima, like a Danava by Indra, they proceeded to take him outside, for performing his funeral obsequies. And then those persons of the Suta clan thus assembled together espied Krishna of faultless limbs hard by, who stood reclining on a pillar. And all the Kichakas assembled there, exclaimed, 'Let this unchaste woman be slain for whom Kichaka hath himself lost his life. Or, without slaying her here, let us cremate her with him that had lusted after her,--for it behoveth us to accomplish in every way what is agreeable to that deceased son of Suta.' And then they addressed Virata, saying, 'It is for her sake that Kichaka hath lost his life. Let him, therefore, be cremated along with her. It behoveth thee to grant this permission.' Thus addressed by them, king Virata, O monarch, knowing fully well the prowess of the Suta gave his assent to Sairindhri being burnt along with the Suta's son. And at this, the Kichakas approaching the frightened and stupefied Krishna of lotus-like eyes, seized her with violence. And binding that damsel of slender-waist and placing her upon the bier, they set out with great energy towards the cemetary. And, O king, while thus forcibly carried towards the cemetary by those sons of the Suta tribe, the blameless and chaste Krishna living under the protections of her lords, then wailed aloud for the help of her husbands, saying, 'Oh, let Jaya, and Jayanta, and Vijaya and Jayatsena, and Jayadvala listen to my words. The Sutas are taking me away. Let those illustrious Gandharvas endued with speed of hand, the clatter of whose cars is loud and the twang of whose bowstrings in the midst of the mighty conflict are heard like the roar of thunder, listen to my words,--the Sutas are taking me away!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing those sorrowful words and lamentations of Krishna, Bhima, without a moment's reflection started up from his bed and said, 'I have heard, O Sairindhri the words thou hast spoken. Thou hast, therefore, O timid lady, no more fear at the hands of the Sutas.

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having said this, the mighty-armed Bhima desirous of slaying the Kichakas, began to swell his body. And carefully changing his attire, he went out of the palace by a wrong egress. And climbing over a wall by the aid of a tree, he proceeded towards the cemetary whither the Kichakas had gone. And having leapt over the wall, and gone out of the excellent city, Bhima impetuously rushed to where the Sutas were. And, O monarch, proceeding towards the funeral pyre he beheld a large tree, tall as palmyra-palm, with gigantic shoulders and withered top. And that slayer of foes grasping with his arms that tree measuring ten Vyamas, uprooted it, even like an elephant, and placed it upon his shoulders. And taking up that tree with trunk and branches and measuring ten Vyamas, that mighty hero rushed towards the Sutas, like Yama himself, mace in hand. And by the impetus of his rush* banians and peepals and Kinsukas falling down on the earth lay in clusters. [* Lit., force of his thighs.] And beholding that Gandharva approach them like a lion in fury, all the Sutas trembling with fear and greatly distressed, became panic-struck. And they addressed each other, saying, 'Lo, the powerful Gandharva cometh hither, filled with rage, and with an upraised tree in hand. Let Sairindhri, therefore, from whom this danger of ours hath arisen, be set free.' And beholding the tree that had been uprooted by Bhimasena, they set Draupadi free and ran breathlessly towards the city And seeing them run away, Bhima, that mighty son of the Wind-god, despatched, O foremost of kings, by means of that tree, a hundred and five of them unto the abode of Yama, like the wielder of the thunderbolt slaying the Danavas. And setting Draupadi free from her bonds, he then, O king, comforted her. And that mighty-armed and irrepressible Vrikodara, the son of Pandu, then addressed the distressed princess of Panchala with face bathed in tears, saying, 'Thus, O timid one, are they slain that wrong thee without cause. Return, O Krishna, to the city. Thou hast no longer any fear; I myself will go to the Virata's kitchen by another route.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'It was thus, O Bharata, that a hundred and five of those Kichakas were slain. And their corpses lay on the ground, making the place look like a great forest overspread with uprooted trees after a hurricane. Thus fell those hundred and five Kichakas. And including Virata's general slain before, the slaughtered Sutas numbered one hundred and six. And beholding that exceedingly wonderful feat, men and women that assembled together, were filled with astonishment. And the power of speech, O Bharata, was suspended in every one.'"

SECTION 24

"Vaisampayana said, 'And beholding the Sutas slain, the citizens went to the king, and represented unto him what had happened, saying, 'O king, those mighty sons of the Sutas have all been slain by the Gandharvas. Indeed, they lie

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scattered on the earth like huge peaks of mountains riven by thunder. Sairindhri also, having been set free, returneth to thy palace in the city. Alas, O king, if Sairindhri cometh, thy entire kingdom will be endangered. Sairindhri is endued with great beauty; the Gandharvas also here exceedingly powerful. Men again, without doubt, are naturally sexual. Devise, therefore, O king, without delay, such means that in consequence of wrongs done to Sairindhri, thy kingdom may not meet with destruction.' Hearing those words of theirs, Virata, that lord of hosts, said unto them, 'Do ye perform the last rites of the Sutas. Let all the Kichakas be burnt, in one blazing pyre with gems and fragrant unguents in profusion.' And filled with fear, the king then addressed his queen Sudeshna, saying, 'When Sairindhri comes back, do thou tell her these words from me, 'Blessed be thou, O fair-faced Sairindhri. Go thou whithersoever thou likest. The king hath been alarmed, O thou of graceful hips, at the defeat already experienced at the hands of the Gandharvas. Protected as thou art by the Gandharvas, I dare not personally say all this to thee. A woman, however, cannot offend, and it is for this that I tell thee all this through a woman.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus delivered by Bhimasena after the slaughter of the Sutas, the intelligent and youthful Krishna relieved from all her fears, washed her limbs and clothes in water, and proceeded towards the city, like a doe frightened by a tiger. And beholding her, the citizens, O king, afflicted with the fear of the Gandharvas fled in all directions. And some of them went so far as to shut their eyes. And then, O king at the gate of the kitchen, the princess of Panchala saw Bhimasena staying, like an infuriate elephant of gigantic proportions. And looking upon him with wonder-expanded eyes, Draupadi, by means of words intelligible to them alone, said, 'I bow unto that prince of the Gandharvas, who hath rescued me.' At these words of her, Bhima said, 'Hearing these words of hers in obedience to whom those persons were hitherto living in the city, they will henceforth range here, regarding themselves as freed from the debt.' [What Bhima says is this.--Then Gandharvas, your husbands, are always obedient to thee! If they have been able to do thee a service, they have only repaid a debt.]

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then she beheld the mighty-armed Dhananjaya, in the dancing-hall instructing king Virata's daughters in dancing. And issuing with Arjuna from the dancing-hall, all those damsels came to Krishna who had arrived there, and who had been persecuted so sorely, all innocent though she was. And they said, 'By good luck also it is, O Sairindhri, that thou hast been delivered from thy dangers. By good luck it is that thou hast returned safe. And by good luck also it is that those Sutas have been slain that had wronged thee, innocent though thou art.' Hearing this, Virhannala said, 'How hast thou, O Sairindhri, been delivered? And how have those sinful wretches been slain? I wish to learn all this from thee exactly as it occurred.' Sairindhri replied, 'O blessed Vrihannala, always passing thy days happily in the apartments of the girls, what concern hast thou with Sairindhri's fate to say? Thou hast no grief to bear that Sairindhri hath to bear! It is for this, that thou askest me thus, distressed as I am in ridicule.' Thereat Vrihannala said, 'O blessed one, Vrihannala also hath unparalleled sorrows of her own. She hath become as low as a brute. Thou dost not, O girl, understand this. I have lived with thee, and thou, too hast lived with us. When, therefore, thou art afflicted with misery, who is it that will not, O thou of beautiful hips, feel it? But no one can completely read another's heart. Therefore it is, O amiable one, that thou knowest not my heart!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then Draupadi, accompanied by those girls entered the royal abode, desirous of appearing before Sudeshna. And when she came before the queen, Virata's wife addressed her at the command of the king, saying, 'Do thou, O Sairindhri, speedily go whithersoever thou likest. The king, good betide thee, hath been filled with fear at this discomfiture at the hands of the Gandharvas. Thou art, O thou of graceful eye-brows, young and unparalleled on earth in beauty. Thou art, besides, an object of desire with men. The Gandharvas again, are exceedingly wrathful.' Thereat Sairindhri said, 'O beauteous lady, let the king suffer me to live here for only thirteen days more. Without doubt, the Gandharvas also will be highly obliged at this. They will then convey me hence and do what would be agreeable to Virata. Without doubt, the king, by doing this, with his friends, will reap great benefit.'"

SECTION 25

"Vaisampayana said, 'At the slaughter of Kichaka and brothers, people, O king, thinking of this terrible feat, were filled with surprise. And in the city and the provinces it was generally bruited about that for bravery the king's Vallava and Kichaka were both mighty warriors. The wicked Kichaka, however, had been an oppressor of men and a dishonourer of other people's wives. And it was for this that wicked of sinful soul had been slain by the Gandharvas. And it was thus, O king, that people began to speak, from province to province of the invincible Kichaka, that slayer of hostile ranks.

'Meanwhile, the spies employed by Dhritarashtra's son, having searched various villages and towns and kingdoms and done all that they had been commanded to do and completed their examination, in the manner directed, of the countries indicated in their orders, returned to Nagarupa, gratified with at least one thing that they had learnt. [Krita-krita--Nilakantha explains this to mean 'imagining themselves to have achieved success in their mission' for having learnt of Kichaka's death, they could p. 48 readily guess the presence of the Pandavas there. This is too far-fetched and does not at all agree with the spirit of their report to Duryodhana below. And then the same word occurs in the very last line of the Section. I take it that in both places the word has been used in the same sense.] And seeing Dhritarashtra's son king Duryodhana of the Kuru race seated in his court with Drona and Karna and Kripa, with the high-souled Bhishma, his own brothers, and those great warriors--the Trigartas, they addressed him, saying, 'O lord of men, great hath been the care always bestowed by us in the search after the sons of Pandu in that mighty forest. Searched have we through the solitary wilderness abounding with deer and other animals and overgrown with trees and creepers of diverse kind. Searched have we also in arbours of matted woods and plants and creepers of every species, but we have failed in discovering that track by which Pritha's son of irrepressible energy may have gone. Searched have we in these and other places for their foot-prints. Searched have we closely, O king, on mountain tops and in inaccessible fastnesses, in various kingdoms and provinces teeming with people, in encampments and cities. No trace have yet been found of the sons of Pandu. Good betide thee, O bull among men, it seems that they have perished without leaving a mark behind. O foremost of warriors, although we followed in the track of those warriors, yet, O best of men, we soon lost their footprints and do not know their present residence. O lord of men, for some time we followed in the wake of their charioteers. And making our inquiries duly, we truly ascertained what we desired to know. O slayer of foes, the charioteers reached Dwaravati without the sons of Pritha among them. O king, neither the sons of Pandu, nor the chaste Krishna, are in that city of Yadavas. O bull of the Bharata race, we have not been able to discover either their track or their present abode. Salutations to thee, they are gone for good. We are acquainted with the disposition of the sons of Pandu and know something of the feats achieved by them. It behoveth thee, therefore, O lord of men, to give us instructions, O monarch, as to what we should next do in the search after the sons of Pandu. O hero, listen also to these agreeable words of ours, promising great good to thee. King Matsya's commander, Kichaka of wicked soul, by whom the Trigartas, O monarch, were repeatedly vanquished and slain with mighty force, now lieth low on the ground with all his brothers, slain, O monarch, by invisible Gandharvas during the hours of darkness, O thou of unfading glory. Having heard this delightful news about the discomfiture of our enemies, we have been exceedingly gratified, O Kauravya. Do thou now ordain what should next be done.'"

SECTION 26

(Go-harana Parva)

"Vaisampayana said, 'Having listened to these words of his spies, king Duryodhana reflected inwardly for some time and then addressed his courtiers, saying, 'It is difficult to ascertain the course of events definitely. Discern ye all, therefore, whither the sons of Pandu have gone, of this thirteenth year which they are to pass undiscovered by us all, the greater part hath already expired. What remains is by much the smaller. If, indeed, the sons of Pandu can pass undiscovered what remains of this year, devoted to the vow of truth as they are, they will then have fulfilled their pledge. They will then return like mighty elephants with temporal juice trickling down, or like snakes of virulent poison. Filled with wrath, they will, without doubt, be inflicters of terrible chastisement on the Kurus. It behoveth ye, therefore, to make such efforts without loss of time as may induce the sons of Pandu, acquainted as they are with the proprieties of time, and staying as they now are in painful disguise, to re-enter the woods suppressing their rage. Indeed, adopt ye such means as may remove all causes of quarrel and anxiety from the kingdom, making it tranquil and foeless and incapable of sustaining a diminution of territory.' Hearing these words of Duryodhana, Kama said, 'Let other spies, abler and more cunning, and capable of accomplishing their object, quickly go hence, O Bharata. Let them, well-disguised, wander through swelling kingdoms and populous provinces, prying into assemblies of the learned and delightful retreats of provinces. In the inner apartments of palaces, in shrines and holy spots, in mines and diverse other regions, the sons of Pandu should be searched after with well-directed eagerness. Let the sons of Pandu who are living in disguise be searched after by well-skilled spies in large numbers, devoted to their work, themselves well-disguised, and all well-acquainted with the objects of their search. Let the search be made on the banks of rivers, in holy regions, in villages and towns, in retreats of ascetics, in delightful mountains and mountain-caves.' When Karna ceased, Duryodhana's second brother Dussasana, wedded to a sinful disposition, then addressed his eldest brother and said, 'O monarch, O lord of men, let those spies only in whom we have confidence, receiving their rewards in advance, once more go after the search. This and what else hath been said by Karna have our fullest approval. Let all the spies engage themselves in the search according to the directions already given. Let these and others engage in the search from province to province according to approved rules. It is my belief, however, that the track the Pandavas have followed or their present abode or occupation will not be discovered. Perhaps, they are closely concealed; perhaps, they have gone to the other side of the ocean. Or, perhaps, proud as they are of their strength and Courage, they have been devoured by wild beasts; or perhaps, having been overtaken by some unusual danger, they have perished for eternity. Therefore, O prince of the Kuru race, dispelling all anxieties from thy heart, achieve what thou wilt, always acting according to thy energy.'"

SECTION 27

"Vaisampayana said, "Endued with mighty energy and possessed of great discernment, Drona then said, 'Persons like the sons of Pandu never perish nor undergo discomfiture. Brave and skilled in every science, intelligent and with senses under control, virtuous and grateful and obedient to the virtuous Yudhishthira, ever following in the wake of their eldest brother who is conversant with the conclusions of policy and virtue and profit, who is attached to them as a father, and who strictly adhereth to virtue and is firm in truth,--persons like them that are thus devoted to their illustrious and royal brother, who gifted with great intelligence, never injureth any body and who in his turn himself obeyeth his younger brothers, never perish in this way. Why, then, should not (Yudhishthira) the son of Pritha possessing a knowledge of policy, be able to restore the prosperity of his brothers who are so obedient and devoted and high-souled? It is for this that they are carefully waiting for the arrival of their opportunity. Men such as these never perish. This is what I see by my intellect. Do, therefore, quickly and without loss of time, what should now be done, after proper reflection. And let also the abode which the sons of Pandu with souls under control as regards every purpose of life, are to occupy, be now settled. Heroic and sinless and possessed of ascetic merit, the Pandavas are difficult to be discovered (within the period of non-discovery). Intelligent and possessed of every virtue, devoted to truth and versed in the principles of policy, endued with purity and holiness, and the embodiment of immeasurable energy, the son of Pritha is capable of consuming (his foes) by a glance alone of his eyes. Knowing all this, do what is proper. Let us, therefore, once more search after them, sending Brahmanas and Charanas, ascetics crowned with success, and others of this kind who may have a knowledge of those heroes!'"

SECTION 28

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then that grandsire of the Bharatas, Bhishma the son of Sutanu, conversant with the Vedas, acquainted with the proprieties of time and place, and possessing a knowledge of every duty of morality, after the conclusion of Drona's speech, applauded the words of the preceptor and spake unto the Bharatas for their benefit these words consistent with virtue, expressive of his attachment to the virtuous Yudhishthira, rarely spoken by men that are dishonest, and always meeting with the approbation of the honest. And the words that Bhishma spake were thoroughly impartial and worshipped by the wise. And the grandsire of the Kurus said, 'The words that the regenerate Drona acquainted with the truth of every affair hath uttered, are approved by me. I have no hesitation in saying so. Endued with every auspicious mark, observant of virtuous vows, possessed of Vedic lore, devoted to religious observances, conversant with various sciences, obedient to the counsels of the aged, adhering to the vow of truth, acquainted with the proprieties of time, observant of the pledge they have given (in respect of their exile), pure in their behaviour, ever adhering to the duties of the Kshatria order, always obedient to Kesava, high-souled, possessed of great strength, and ever-bearing the burthens of the wise, those heroic ones can never wither under misfortune. Aided by their own energy, sons of Pandu who are now leading a life of concealment in obedience to virtue, will surely never perish. It is even this that my mind surmiseth. Therefore, O Bharata, I am for employing the aid of honest counsel in our behaviour towards the sons of Pandu. It would not be the policy of any wise man to cause them to be discovered now by means of spies, 1 what we should do unto the sons of Pandu, I shall say, reflecting with the aid of the intellect. Know that I shall say nothing from ill will to thee. People like me should never give such counsels to him that is dishonest, for only counsels (like those I would give) should be offered unto them that are honest. Counsels, however, that are evil, should under no circumstances be offered. He, O child, that is devoted to truth and obedient to the aged, he, indeed, that is wise, while speaking in the midst of an assembly,

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should under all circumstances speak the truth, if the acquisition of virtue be an object with him. I should, therefore, say that I think differently from all those people here, in respect of the abode of Yudhishthira the Just in this the thirteenth year of his exile. The ruler, O child, of the city or the province where king Yudhishthira resides cannot have any misfortune. Charitable and liberal and humble and modest must the people be of the country where king Yudhishthira resides. Agreeable in speech, with passions under control, observant of truth, cheerful, healthy, pure in conduct, and skilful in work must the people be of the country where king Yudhishthira resides. The people of the place, where Yudhishthira is, cannot be envious or malicious, or vain, or proud, but must all adhere to their respective duties. Indeed, in the place where Yudhishthira resides, Vedic hymns will be chanted all around, sacrifices will be performed, the last full libations will always be poured [Indicating the unobstructed completion of the sacrifice.], and gifts to Brahmanas will always be in profusion. There the clouds, without doubt, pour abundant rain, and furnished with good harvest the country will ever be without fear. There the paddy will not be without grain, fruits will not be bereft of juice, floral garlands will not be without fragrance, and the conversation of men will always be full of agreeable words. There where king Yudhishthira resides, the breezes will be delicious, the meetings of men will always be friendly, and cause of fear there will be none. There kine will be plentiful, without any of them being lean-fleshed or weak, and milk and curds and butter will all be savoury and nutritious. There where king Yudhishthira resides, every kind of corn will be full of nutrition and every edible full of flavour. There where king Yudhishthira resides, the objects of all the senses, viz.,--taste, touch, smell, and hearing, will be endued with excellent attributes. There where king Yudhishthira resides, the sights and scenes will be gladdening. And the regenerate ones of that place will be virtuous and steady in observing their respective duties. Indeed, in the country where the sons of Pandu may have taken up their abode during this thirteenth year of their exile, the people will be contented and cheerful, pure in conduct and without misery of any kind. Devoted to gods and guests and the worship of these with their whole soul, they will be fond of giving away, and filled with great energy, they will all be observant of eternal virtue. There where king Yudhishthira resides, the people, eschewing all that is evil, will be desirous of achieving only what is good. Always observant of sacrifices and pure vows, and hating untruth in speech, the people of the place where king Yudhishthira may reside will always be desirous of obtaining what is good, auspicious and beneficial. There where Yudhishthira resides, the people will certainly be desirous of achieving what is good, and their hearts will always incline towards virtue, and their vows being agreeable they themselves are ever-engaged in the acquisition of religious merit. O child, that son of Pritha in whom are intelligence and charity, the highest tranquillity and undoubted forgiveness, modesty and prosperity, and fame and great energy and a love for all creatures, is incapable of being found out (now that he hath concealed himself) even by Brahmanas, let alone ordinary persons. The wise Yudhishthira is living in close disguise in regions whose characteristics I have described. Regarding his excellent mode of life, I dare not say anything more. Reflecting well upon all this, do without loss of time what thou mayst think to be beneficial, O prince of the Kuru race, if indeed, thou hast any faith in me.'"

SECTION 29

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then Saradwata's son, Kripa said, 'What the aged Bhishma hath said concerning the Pandavas is reasonable, suited to the occasion, consistent with virtue and profit, agreeable to the ear, fraught with sound reason, and worthy of him. Listen also to what I would say on this subject. It behoveth thee to ascertain the track they have followed and their abode also by means of spies, and to adopt that policy which may bring about thy welfare. O child, he that is solicitous of his welfare should not disregard even an ordinary foe. What shall I say, then, O child, of the Pandavas who are thorough masters of all weapons in battle. When, therefore, the time cometh for the reappearance of the high-souled Pandavas, who, having entered the forest, are now passing their days in close disguise, thou shouldst ascertain thy strength both in thy own kingdom and in those of other kings. Without doubt, the return of the Pandavas is at hand. When their promised term of exile is over, the illustrious and mighty sons of Pritha, endued with immeasurable prowess, will come hither bursting with energy. Do thou, therefore, in order to conclude an advantageous treaty with them, have recourse to sound policy and address thyself to increase thy forces and improve the treasury. O child, ascertaining all these, reckon thou thy own strength in respect of all thy allies weak and strong. 3 Ascertaining the efficiency, and weakness, and indifference of thy forces, as also who amongst them are well-affected and who are disaffected, we should either fight the foe or make treaty with him. Having recourse to the arts of conciliation, disunion, chastisement, bribery, presents and fair behaviour, attack thy foes and subdue the weak by might, and win over thy allies and troops and by soft speeches. When thou hast (by these means) strengthened thy army and filled thy treasury, entire success will be thine. When thou hast done all this, thou wilt be able to fight with powerful enemies that may present themselves, let alone the sons of Pandu deficient in troops animals of their own. By adopting all these expedients according to the customs of thy order, thou wilt, O foremost of men, attain enduring happiness in due time!'"

SECTION 30

"Vaisampayana said, 'Discomfited before, O monarch, many a time and oft by Matsya's Suta Kichaka aided by the Matsyas and the Salyas, the mighty king of the Trigartas, Susarman, who owned innumerable cars, regarding the opportunity to be a favourable one, then spoke the following words without losing a moment. And, O monarch, forcibly vanquished along with his relatives by the mighty Kichaka, king Susarman, eyeing Karna in askance, spoke these words unto Duryodhana, 'My kingdom hath many a time been forcibly invaded by the king of the Matsyas. The mighty Kichaka was that king's generalissimo. Crooked and wrathful and of wicked soul, of prowess famed over all the world, sinful in deeds and highly cruel, that wretch, however, hath been slain by the Gandharvas, Kichaka being dead, king Virata, shorn of pride and his refuge gone, will, I imagine, lose all courage I think, we ought now to invade that kingdom, if it pleases thee, O sinless one, as also the illustrious Karna and all the Kauravas. The accident that hath happened is, I imagine, a favourable one for us. Let us, therefore, repair to Virata's kingdom abounding in corn. We will appropriate his gems and other wealth of diverse kinds, and let us go to share with each other as regards his villages and kingdom. Or, invading his city by force, let us carry off by thousands his excellent kine of various species. Uniting, O king, the forces of the Kauravas and the Trigartas, let us lift his cattle in droves. Or, uniting our forces well, we will check his power by forcing him to sue for peace. Or, destroying his entire host, we will bring Matsya under subjection. Having brought him under subjection by just means, we will live in our kingdom happily, while thy power also will, without doubt, be enhanced.' Hearing these words of Susarman, Karna addressed the king, saying, 'Susarman hath spoken well; the opportunity is favourable and promises to be profitable to us. Therefore, if it pleases thee, O sinless one, let us, drawing up our forces in battle array and marshalling them in divisions, speedily set out. Or, let the expedition be managed as Saradwata's son Kripa, the preceptor Drona, and the wise and aged grandsire of the Kurus may think. Consulting with each other, let us, O lord of earth, speedily set out to attain our end. What business have we with the sons of Pandu, destitute as they are of wealth, might, and prowess? They have either disappeared for good or have gone to the abode of Yama? We will, O king, repair without anxiety to Virata's city, and plunder his cattle and other wealth of diverse kinds.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Accepting these words of Karna, the son of Surya, king Duryodhana speedily commanded his brother Dussasana, born immediately after him and always obedient to his wishes, saying, 'Consulting with the elders, array without delay, our forces. We will, with all the Kauravas go to the appointed place. Let also the mighty warrior, king Susarman, accompanied by a sufficient force with vehicles and animals, set out with the Trigartas for the dominions of Matsyas. And let Susarman proceed first, carefully concealing his intention. Following in their wake, we will set out the day after in close array, for the prosperous dominions of king Matsya. Let the Trigartas, however, suddenly repair to the city of Virata, and coming upon the cowherds, seize that immense wealth (of kine). We also marching in two divisions, will seize thousands of excellent kine furnished with auspicious marks.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then, O Lord of earth, those warriors, the Trigartas, accompanied by their infantry of terrible prowess, marched towards the south-eastern direction, intending to wage hostilities with Virata from the desire of seizing his kine. And Susarman set out on the seventh day of the dark fortnight for seizing the kine. And then, O king, on the eighth day following of the dark fortnight, the Kauravas also accompanied by all their troops, began to seize the kine by thousands."

SECTION 31

"Vaisampayana said, 'O mighty king, entering into king Virata's service, and dwelling in disguise in his excellent city, the high-souled Pandavas of immeasurable prowess, completed the promised period of non-discovery. And after Kichaka had been slain, that slayer of hostile heroes, the mighty king Virata began to rest his hopes on the sons of Kunti. And it was on the expiry of the thirteenth year of their exile, O Bharata, that Susarman seized Virata's cattle by thousands. And when the cattle had been seized, the herdsman of Virata came with great speed to the city, and saw his sovereign, the king of Matsyas, seated on the throne in the midst of wise councillors, and those bulls among men, the sons of Pandu, and surrounded by brave warriors decked with ear-rings and bracelets. And appearing before that enhancer of his dominion--King Virata seated in court--the herdsman bowed down unto him, and addressed him, saying, 'O foremost of kings, defeating and humiliating us in battle along with our friends the Trigartas are seizing thy cattle by hundreds and by thousands. Do thou, therefore, speedily rescue them. Oh, see that they are not lost to thee.' Hearing these words, the king arrayed for battle the Matsya force abounding in cars and elephants and horses and infantry and standards. And kings and princes speedily put on, each in its proper place, their shining and beautiful armour worthy of being worn by heroes. And Virata's beloved brother, Satanika, put on a coat of mail made of adamantine steel, adorned with burnished gold. And Madirakshya, next in birth to Satanika, put on a strong coat of mail plated with gold and capable of resisting every weapon. And the coat of mail that the king himself of the Matsyas put on was invulnerable and decked with a hundred suns, a hundred circles, a hundred spots, and a hundred eyes. And the coat of mail that Suryadatta [One of the generals of Virata.] put on was bright as the sun, plated with gold, and broad as a hundred lotuses of the fragrant (Kahlara) species. And the coat of mail that Virata's eldest son, the heroic Sanksha, put on was impenetrable and made of burnished steel, and decked with a hundred eyes of gold. And it was thus that those god-like and mighty warriors by hundreds, furnished with weapons, and eager for battle, each donned his corselet. And then they yoked unto their excellent cars of white-hue steeds equipped in mail. And then was hoisted--Matsya's glorious standard on his excellent car decked with gold and resembling the sun or the moon in its effulgence. And other Kshatriya warriors also raised on their respective cars gold-decked standards of various shapes and devices. And king Matsya then addressed his brother Satanika born immediately after him, saying, 'Kanka and Vallava and Tantripala and Damagranthi of great energy will, as it appears to me fight, without doubt. Give thou unto them cars furnished with banners and let them case their persons in beautiful coats of mail that should be both invulnerable and easy to wear. And let them also have weapons. Bearing such martial forms and possessed of arms resembling the trunk of mighty elephants, I can never persuade myself that they cannot fight.' Hearing these words of the king, Satanika, O monarch, immediately ordered cars for those sons of Pritha, viz., the royal Yudhishthira, and Bhima, and Nakula, and Sahadeva, and commanded by the king, the charioteers, with cheerful hearts and keeping loyalty in view, very soon got cars ready (for the Pandavas). And those repressers of foes then donned those beautiful coats of mail, invulnerable and easy to wear, that Virata had ordered for those heroes of spotless fame. And mounted on cars yoked with good steeds, those smiters of hostile ranks, those foremost of men, the sons of Pritha, set out with cheerful hearts. Indeed, those mighty warriors skilled in fight, those bulls of the Kuru race and sons of Pandu, those four heroic brothers possessed of prowess incapable of being baffled, mounting on cars decked with gold, together set out, following Virata's wake. And infuriate elephants of terrible mien, full sixty years of age, with shapely tusks and rent temples and juice trickling down and looking (on that account) like cloud pouring rain and mounted by trained warriors skilled in fight, followed the king like unto moving hills. And the principal warriors of Matsya who cheerfully followed the king had eight thousand cars, a thousand elephants and sixty thousand horses. And, O bull among the Bharatas, that force of Virata, O king, as it marched forth marking the footprints of the cattle looked exceedingly beautiful. And on its march that foremost of armies owned by Virata, crowded with soldiers armed with strong weapons, and abounding in elephants, horses and cars, looked really splendid.'"

SECTION 32

"Vaisampayana said, 'Marching out of the city, those heroic smiters the Matsyas, arrayed in order of battle, overtook the Trigartas when the sun had passed the meridian. And both excited to fury and both desirous of having the king, the mighty Trigartas and the Matsyas, irrepressible in battle, sent up loud roars. And then the terrible and infuriate elephants ridden over by the skilful combatants of both sides were urged on with spiked clubs and hooks. And the encounter, O king, that took place when the sun was low in the horizon, between the infantry and cavalry and chariots and elephants of both parties, was like unto that of old between the gods and the Asuras, terrible and fierce and sufficient for making one's hair stand on end and calculated to increase the population of Yama's kingdom. And as the combatants rushed against one another, smiting and slashing, thick clouds of dust began to rise, so that nothing could be discovered. And covered with the dust raised by the contending armies, birds began to drop down on the earth. And the sun himself disappeared behind the thick cloud of arrows shot, and the firmament looked bright as if with myriads of the fireflies. And shifting their bows, the staves of which were decked with gold, from one hand to another, those heroes began to strike each other

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down, discharging their arrows right and left. And cars encountered cars, and foot-soldiers fought with foot-soldiers, and horse-men with horsemen, and elephants with mighty elephants. And they furiously encountered one another with swords and axes, bearded darts and javelins, and iron clubs. And although, O king, those mighty-armed warriors furiously assailed one another in that conflict, yet neither party succeeded in prevailing over the other. And severed heads, some with beautiful noses, some with upper lips deeply gashed, some decked with ear-rings, and some divided with wounds about the well-trimmed hair were seen rolling on the ground covered with dust. And soon the field of battle was overspread with the limbs of Kshatriya warriors, cut off by means of arrows and lying like trunks of Sala trees. And scattered over with heads decked in ear-rings, and sandal-besmeared arms looking like the bodies of snakes, the field of battle became exceedingly beautiful. And as cars encountered cars, and horsemen encountered horsemen, and foot-soldiers fought with foot-soldiers, and elephants met with elephants, the frightful dust soon became drenched with torrents of blood. And some amongst the combatants began to swoon away, and the warriors began to fight reckless of consideration of humanity, friendship and relationship. And both their course and sight obstructed by the arrowy shower, vultures began to alight on the ground. But although those strong-armed combatants furiously fought with one another, yet the heroes of neither party succeeded in routing their antagonists. And Satanika having slain a full hundred of the enemy and Visalaksha full four hundred, both those mighty warriors penetrated into the heart of the great Trigarta host. And having entered into the thick of the Trigarta host, those famous and mighty heroes began to deprive their antagonists of their senses by causing a closer conflict to set in--a conflict, in which the combatants seized one another by the hair and tore one another with their nails. And eyeing the point where the cars of the Trigartas had been mustered in strong numbers, those heroes at last directed their attack towards it. And that foremost of car-warriors, king Virata also, with Suryadatta in his van and Madiraksha in his rear, having destroyed in that conflict five hundred cars, eight hundred horses, and five warriors on great cars, displayed various skilful manoeuvres on his car on that field of battle. And at last the king came upon the ruler of the Trigartas mounted on a golden chariot. And those high-souled and powerful warriors, desirous of fighting, rushed roaring against each like two bulls in a cow-pen. Then that bull among men, irrepressible in battle, Susarman, the king of the Trigartas, challenged Matsya to a single combat on car. Then those warriors excited to fury rushed against each other on their cars and began to shower their arrows upon each other like clouds pouring torrents of rain. 2 And enraged with each other, those fierce warriors, both skilled in weapons, both wielding swords and darts and maces, then moved about (on the field of battle) assailing each other with whetted arrows. Then king Virata pierced Susarman with ten shafts and each of his four horses also with five shafts. And Susarman also, irresistible in battle and conversant with fatal weapons, pierced king of Matsya with fifty whetted shafts. And then, O mighty monarch, in consequence of the dust on the field of battle, the soldiers of both Susarman and Matsya's king could not distinguish one another.'"

SECTION 33

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then, O Bharata, when the world was enveloped in dust and the gloom of night, the warriors of both sides, without breaking the order of battle, desisted for a while. [The word in the original is Muhurta ("hour") equal to 48 minutes. One day in India was divided into 30 hours. Nilakantha points out very ingeniously that the night being the seventh of the dark fortnight, the moon would not rise till after 14 Dandas from the hour of sunset, a Danda being equal to 24 minutes, meaning: a half of an Indian hour. A Muhurta, therefore implies not 48 minutes exactly, but some time.] And then, dispelling the darkness the moon arose illumining the night and gladdening the hearts of the Kshatriya warriors. And when everything became visible, the battle once more began. And it raged on so furiously that the combatants could not distinguish one another. And then Trigarta's lord, Susarman with his younger brother, and accompanied by all his cars, rushed towards the king of Matsya. And descending from their cars, those bulls among Kshatriyas, the (royal) brothers, mace in hand, rushed furiously towards the cars of the foe. And the hostile hosts fiercely assailed each other with maces and swords and scimitars, battle-axes and bearded darts with keen edges and points of excellent temper. And king Susarman, the lord of the Trigartas having by his energy oppressed and defeated the whole army of the Matsyas, impetuously rushed towards Virata himself endued with great energy. And the two brothers having severally slain Virata's two steeds and his charioteer, as also those soldiers that protected his rear, took him captive alive, when deprived of his car. Then afflicting him sorely, like a lustful man afflicting a defenceless damsel, Susarman placed Virata on his own car, and speedily rushed out of the field. And when the powerful Virata, deprived of his car, was taken captive, the Matsyas, harrassed solely by the Trigartas, began to flee in fear in all directions. And beholding them panic-stricken, Kunti's son, Yudhishthira, addressed that subduer of foes, the mighty-armed Bhima, saying, 'The king of the Matsyas hath been taken by the Trigartas. Do thou, O mighty-armed one, rescue him, so that he may not fall under the power of the enemy. As we have lived happily in Virata's city, having every desire of ours gratified, it behoveth thee, O Bhimasena, to discharge that debt (by liberating the king).' Thereat Bhimasena replied, 'I will liberate him, O king, at thy command. Mark the feat I achieve (today) in battling with the foe, relying solely on the might of my arms. Do thou, O king, stay aside, along with our brothers and witness my prowess today. Uprooting this mighty tree of huge trunk looking like a mace, I will rout the enemy.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Beholding Bhima casting his eyes on that tree like a mad elephant, the heroic king Yudhishthira the Just spake unto his brother, saying, 'Do not, O Bhima, commit such a rash act. Let the tree stand there. Thou must not achieve such feats in a super-human manner by means of that tree, for if thou dost, the people, O Bharata, will recognise thee and say, This is Bhima. Take thou, therefore, some human weapon such as a bow (and arrows), or a dart, or a sword, or a battle-axe. And taking therefore, O Bhima, some weapon that is human, liberate thou the king without giving anybody the means of knowing thee truly. The twins endued with great strength will defend thy wheels. Fighting together, O child, liberate the king of the Matsyas!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed, the mighty Bhimasena endued with great speed, quickly took up an excellent bow and impetuously shot from it a shower of arrows, thick as the downpour of a rain-charged cloud. And Bhima then rushed furiously towards Susarman of terrible deeds, and assuring Virata with the words--O good king! said unto the lord of the Trigartas,--Stay! Stay! Seeing Bhima like unto Yama himself in his rear, saying, Stay! Stay! Do thou witness this mighty feat,--this combat that is at hand!--the bull among warriors, Susarman, seriously considered (the situation), and taking up his bow turned back, along with his brothers. Within the twinkling of an eye, Bhima destroyed those cars that sought to oppose him. And soon again hundreds of thousands of cars and elephants and horses and horsemen and brave and fierce bowmen were overthrown by Bhima in the very sight of Virata. And the hostile infantry also began to be slaughtered by the illustrious Bhima, mace in hand. And beholding that terrible onslaught, Susarman, irrepressible in fight, thought within himself, 'My brother seems to have already succumbed in the midst of his mighty host. Is my army going to be annihilated?' And drawing his bow-string to his ear Susarman then turned back and began to shoot keen-edged shafts incessantly. And seeing the Pandavas return to the charge on their car, the Matsya warriors of mighty host, urging on their steeds, shot excellent weapons for grinding the Trigarta soldiers. And Virata's son also, exceedingly exasperated began to perform prodigious fears of valour. And Kunti's son Yudhishthira slew a thousand (of the foe), and Bhima showed the abode of Yama unto seven thousand. And Nakula sent seven hundred (to their last account) by means of his shafts. And powerful Sahadeva also, commanded by Yudhishthira, slew three hundred brave warriors. And having slain such numbers, that fierce and mighty warrior, Yudhishthira, with weapons upraised, rushed against Susarman. And rushing impetuously at Susarman, that foremost of car-warriors, king Yudhishthira, assailed him with vollies of shafts. And Susarman also, in great rage, quickly pierced Yudhishthira with nine arrows, and each of his four steeds with four arrows. Then, O king, Kunti's son Bhima of quick movements, approaching Susarman crushed his steeds. And having slain also those soldiers that protected his rear, he dragged from the car his antagonist's charioteer to the ground. And seeing the king of Trigarta's car without a driver, the defender of his car-wheels, the famous and brave Madiraksha speedily came to his aid. And thereat, leaping down from Susarman's car, and securing the latter's mace the powerful Virata ran in pursuit of him. And though old, he moved on the field, mace in hand, even like a lusty youth. And beholding Susarman flee Bhima addressed him, saying, 'Desist, O Prince! This flight of thine is not proper! With this prowess of thine, how couldst thou wish to carry off the cattle by force? How also, forsaking thy follower, dost thou droop so amidst foes? Thus addressed by Pritha's son, the mighty Susarman, that lord of countless cars saying unto Bhima, Stay! Stay!--suddenly turned round and rushed at him. Then Bhima, the son of Pandu, leaping down from his car, as he alone could do, rushed forward with great coolness, desirous of taking Susarman's life. And desirous of seizing Trigarta's king advancing towards him, the mighty Bhimasena rushed impetuously towards him, even like a lion rushing at a small deer. And advancing impetuously, the mighty-armed Bhima seized Susarman by the hair, and lifting him up in wrath, dashed him down on the ground. And as he lay crying in agony, the mighty-armed Bhima kicked him at the head, and placing his knee on his breast dealt him severe blows. And sorely afflicted with that kicking, the king of Trigartas became senseless. And when the king of the Trigartas deprived of his car, had been seized thus, the whole Trigarta army stricken with panic, broke and fled in all directions, and the mighty sons of Pandu, endued with modesty and observant of vows and relying on the might of their own arms, after having vanquished Susarman, and rescued the kine as well as other kinds of wealth and having thus dispelled Virata's anxiety, stood together before that monarch. And Bhimasena then said, 'This wretch given to wicked deeds doth not deserve to escape me with life. But what can I do? The king is so lenient!' And then taking Susarman by the neck as he was lying on the ground insensible and covered with dust, and binding him fast, Pritha's son Vrikodara placed him on his car, and went to where Yudhishthira was staying in the midst of the field. And Bhima then showed Susarman unto the monarch. And beholding Susarman in that plight, that tiger among men king Yudhishthira smilingly addressed Bhima--that ornament of battle,--saying, 'Let this worst of men be set free.' Thus addressed, Bhima spoke unto the mighty Susarman, saying, 'If, O wretch, thou wishest to live, listen to those words of mine. Thou must say in every court and assembly of men,--I am a slave. On this condition only I will grant thee thy life. Verily, this is the law about the vanquished.' Thereupon his elder brother affectionately addressed Bhima, saying, 'If thou regardest us as an authority, liberate this wicked wight. He hath already become king Virata's slave. And turning then to Susarman, he said, 'Thou art freed. Go thou a free man, and never act again in this way.'"

SECTION 34

"Vaisampayana said, 'Thus addressed by Yudhishthira Susarman was overwhelmed with shame and hung down his head. And liberated (from slavery), he went to king Virata, and having saluted the monarch, took his departure. And the Pandavas also replying on the might of their own arms, and endued with modesty and observant of vows, having slain their enemies and liberated Susarman, passed that night happily on the field of battle. And Virata gratified those mighty warriors, the sons of Kunti, possessed of super-human prowess with wealth and honour. And Virata said, "All these gems of mine are now as much mine as yours. Do ye according to your pleasure live here happily. And ye smiter of foes in battle, I will bestow on you damsels decked with ornaments, wealth in plenty, and other things that ye may like. Delivered from perils today by your prowess, I am now crowned with victory. Do ye all become the lords of the Matsyas.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'And when the king of the Matsyas had addressed them thus, those descendants of the Kurus with Yudhishthira at their head, joining their hands, severally replied unto him saying, 'We are well-pleased with all that thou sayest, O monarch. We, however, have been much gratified that thou hast today been freed from thy foes.' Thus answered, that foremost of kings, Virata the lord of the Matsyas, again addressed Yudhishthira, saying, 'Come, we will install thee in sovereignty of the Matsyas. And we will also bestow on thee things that are rare on earth and are objects of desire, for thou deservest everything at our hands. O foremost of Brahmanas of the Vaiyaghra order I will bestow on thee gems and kine and gold and rubies and pearls. I bow unto thee. It is owing to thee that I once more behold today my sons and kingdom. Afflicted and threatened as I had been with disaster and danger, it is through thy prowess that I have not succumbed to the foe.' Then Yudhishthira again addressed the Matsyas, saying, 'Well-pleased are we with the delightful words that thou hast spoken. Mayst thou be ever happy, always practising humanity towards all creatures. Let messengers now, at thy command, speedily repair into the city, in order to communicate the glad tidings to our friends, and proclaim thy victory. Hearing these words of him, king Matsya ordered the messengers, saying,' 'Do ye repair to the city and proclaim my victory in battle. And let damsels and courtesons, decked in ornaments, come out of the city with every kind of musical instruments.' Hearing this command uttered by the king of the Matsyas, the men, laying the mandate on their head, all departed with cheerful hearts. And having repaired to the city that very night, they proclaimed at the hour of sunrise the victory of the king about the city-gates.'"

SECTION 35

"Vaisampayana said, 'When the king of the Matsyas, anxious of recovering the kine, had set out in pursuit of the Trigartas, Duryodhana with his counsellors invaded the dominions of Virata. And Bhishma and Drona, and Karna, and Kripa acquainted with the best of weapons, Aswatthaman, and Suvala's son, and Dussasana, O lord of men, and Vivingsati and Vikarna and Chitrasena endued with great energy, and Durmukha and Dussaha,--these and many other great warriors, coming upon the Matsya dominion speedily drove off the cowherds of king Virata and forcibly took away the kine. And the Kauravas, surrounding all sides with a multitude of cars, seized sixty thousands of kine. And loud

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was the yell of woe set up by the cowherds smitten by those warriors in that terrible conflict. And the chief of the cowherds, greatly affrighted speedily mounted on a chariot and set out for the city, bewailing in affliction. And entering the city of the king, he proceeded to the place, and speedily alighting from the chariot, got in for relating (what had happened). And beholding the proud son of Matsya, named Bhuminjaya, he told him everything about the seizure of the royal kine. And he said, the Kauravas are taking away sixty thousand kine. Rise, therefore, O enhancer of the kingdom's glory, for brining back thy cattle. O prince, if thou art desirous of achieving (the kingdom's) good set out thyself without loss of time. Indeed, the king of the Matsyas left thee in the empty city. The king (thy father) boasteth of thee in court, saying, 'My son, equal unto me, is a hero and is the supporter of (the glory of) my race. My son is a warrior skilled in arrows and weapons and is always possessed of great courage.'--Oh, let the words of that lord of men be true! O chief of herd-owners, bring thou back the kine after vanquishing the Kurus, and consume thou their troops with the terrific energy of thy arrows. Do thou like a leader of elephants rushing at a herd, pierce the ranks of the foe with straight arrows of golden wings, discharged from thy bow. Thy bow is even like a Vina. Its two ends represent the ivory pillows; its string, the main chord; its staff, the finger-board; and the arrows shot from it musical notes. Do thou strike in the midst of the foe that Vina of musical sound. [To understand the comparison would require in the reader a knowledge of the mechanism of the Indian Vina. Briefly, the Vina consists of a bamboo of about p. 64 cubits attached to two gourds towards its ends. Along the bamboo which serves the purpose of a finger-board, is the main chord and several thinner wires. All these pass over a number of frets, two and a half heptachords, representing the total compass of the instrument. The wires rest towards their ends on two pieces of ivory called Upadhanas in Sanskrit or Swaris in Urdu.] Let thy steeds, O lord, of silvery hue, be yoked unto thy car, and let thy standard be hoisted, bearing the emblem of the golden lion. Let thy keen-edged arrows endued with wings of gold, shot by thy strong arms, obstruct the path of those kings and eclipse the very sun. Vanquishing all the Kurus in battle like unto the wielder of the thunderbolt defeating the Asuras, return thou again to the city having achieved great renown. Son of Matsya's king, thou art the sole refuge of this kingdom, as that foremost of virtuous warriors, Arjuna is of the sons of Pandu. Even like Arjuna of his brothers, thou art, without doubt, the refuge of those dwelling within these dominions. Indeed, we, the subject of this realm, have our protector in thee.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed by the cowherd in the presence of the females, in words breathing courage, the prince indulging in self-commendation within the female apartments, spoke these words.'"

SECTION 36

"Uttara said, 'Firm as I am in the use of the bow, I would set out this very day in the track of the kine if only some one skilled in the management of horses becomes my charioteer. I do not, however, know the man who may be my charioteer. Look ye, therefore, without delay, for a charioteer for me that am prepared for starting. My own charioteer was slain in the great battle that was fought from day to day for a whole month or at least for eight and twenty nights. As soon as I get another person conversant with the management of the steeds. I will immediately set out, hoisting high my own standard. Penetrating into the midst of the hostile army abounding with elephants and horses and chariots, I will bring back the kine, having vanquished the Kurus who are feeble in strength and weak in weapons. Like a second wielder of the thunderbolt terrifying the Danavas, I will bring back the kine this very moment, affrighting in battle Duryodhana and Bhishma and Karna and Kripa and Drona with his son, and other mighty bowmen assembled for fight. Finding none (to oppose), the Kurus are taking away the kine. What can I do when I am not there? The assembled Kurus shall witness my prowess today. And they shall say unto one another, 'Is it Arjuna himself who is opposing us?'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having heard these words spoken by the prince, Arjuna fully acquainted with the import of everything, after a little while cheerfully spake in private unto his dear wife of faultless beauty, Krishna, the princess of Panchala, Drupada's daughter of slender make, sprung from the (sacrificial) fire and endued with the virtues of truthfulness and honesty and ever attentive to the good of her husbands. And the hero said, 'Do thou, O beauteous one, at my request say unto Uttara without delay, 'This Vrihannala was formerly the accomplished resolute charioteer of Pandu's son (Arjuna). Tried in many a great battle, even he will be thy charioteer.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words uttered by the prince over and over again in the midst of the women, Panchali could not quietly bear those allusions to Vibhatsu. And bashfully stepping out from among the women, the poor princess of Panchala gently spake unto him these words, 'The handsome youth, looking like a mighty elephant and known by the name of Vrihannala, was formerly the charioteer of Arjuna. A disciple of that illustrious warrior, and inferior to none in use of the bow, he was known to me while I was living with the Pandavas. It was by him that the reins were held of Arjuna's excellent steeds when Agni consumed the forest of Khandava. It was with him as charioteer that Partha conquered all creatures at Khandava-prastha. In fact, there is no charioteer equal unto him.'

"Uttara said, 'Thou knowest, O Sairindhri, this youth. Thou knowest, what this one of the neuter sex may or may not be, I cannot, however, O blessed one, myself request Vrihannala to hold the reins of my horses.'

"Draupadi said, 'Vrihannala, O hero, will without doubt, obey the words of thy younger sister--that damsel of graceful hips. If he consents to be thy charioteer, thou wilt, without doubt, return, having vanquished the Kurus and rescued thy kine [cattle, cows].'

"Thus addressed by the Sairindhri, Uttara spake unto his sister, 'Go thyself, O thou of faultless beauty, and bring Vrihannala hither?' And despatched by her brother, she hastily repaired to the dancing-hall where that strong-armed son of Pandu was staying in disguise.'"

SECTION 37

"Vaisampayana said, 'Thus despatched by her elder brother, the far-famed daughter of king Matsya, adorned with a golden necklace, ever obedient to her brother and possessed of a waist slender as that of the wasp, endued with the splendour of Lakshmi herself, decked with the plumes of the peacock of slender make and graceful limbs, her hips encircled by a zone of pearls, her eye-lashes slightly curved, and her form endued with every grace, hastily repaired to the dancing-hall like a flash of lightning rushing towards a mass of dark clouds. And the faultless and auspicious daughter of Virata, of fine teeth and slender-waist, of thighs close unto each other and each like the trunk of an elephant, her person embellished with an excellent garland, sought the son of Pritha like a she-elephant seeking her mate. And like unto a precious gem or the very embodiment of prosperity of Indra, of exceeding beauty and large eyes, that charming and adored and celebrated damsel saluted Arjuna. And saluted by her, Partha asked that maiden of close thighs and golden complexion, saying 'What brings thee hither, a damsel decked in a necklace of gold? Why art thou in such a hurry, O gazelle-eyed maiden? Why is thy face, O beauteous lady, so cheerless? Tell me all this without delay!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Beholding, O king, his friend, the princess of large-eyes (in that plight), her friend (Arjuna) cheerfully enquired of her (in these words) the cause of her arrival there and then. And having approached that bull among men, the princess, standing in the midst of her female attendants, the displaying proper modesty, addressed him, saying, 'The kine of this realm, O Vrihannala, are being driven away by the Kurus, and it is to conquer them that my brother will set out bow in hand. Not long ago his own charioteer was slain in battle, and there is none equal unto the one slain that can act as my brother's charioteer. And unto him striving to obtain a charioteer, Sairindhri,

O Vrihannala, hath spoken about thy skill in the management of steeds. Thou wert formerly the favourite charioteer of Arjuna, and it was with thee that that bull among the sons of Pandu had alone subjugated the whole earth. Do thou, therefore, O Vrihannala, act as the charioteer of my brother. (By this time) our kine have surely been driven away by the Kurus to a great distance. Requested by me if thou dost not act up to my words, I who am asking this service of thee out of affection, will give up my life!' Thus addressed by this friend of graceful hips, that oppressor of foes, endued with immeasurable prowess, went into the prince's presence. And like unto a she-elephant running after her young one, the princess possessed of large eyes followed that hero advancing with hasty steps like unto an elephant with rent temples. And beholding him from a distance, the prince himself said, 'With thee as his charioteer, Dhananjaya the son of Kunti had gratified Agni at the Khandava forest and subjugated the whole world! The Sairindhri hath spoken of thee to me. She knoweth the Pandavas. Do thou, therefore, O Vrihannala, hold, as thou didst, the reins of my steeds, desirous as I am of righting with the Kurus and rescuing my bovine wealth. Thou wert formerly the beloved charioteer of Arjuna and it was with thee that that bull among the sons of Pandu had alone subjugated the whole earth!' Thus addressed, Vrihannala replied unto the prince, saying, 'What ability have I to act as a charioteer in the field of battle? If it is song or dance of musical instruments or such other things, I can entertain thee therewith, but where is my skill for becoming a charioteer?'

"Uttara said, 'O Vrihannala, be thou a singer or a dancer, hold thou (for the present), without loss of time, the reins of my excellent steeds, mounting upon my car!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Although that oppressor of foes, the son of Pandu, was acquainted with everything, yet in the presence of Uttara, he began to make many mistakes for the sake of fun. And when he sought to put the coat of mail on his body by raising it upwards, the large-eyed maidens, beholding it, burst out into a loud laughter. And seeing him quite ignorant of putting on armour, Uttara himself equipped Vrihannala with a costly coat of mail. And casing his own person in an excellent armour of solar effulgence, and hoisting his standard bearing the figure of a lion, the prince caused Vrihannala to become his charioteer. And with Vrihannala to hold his reins, the hero set out, taking with him many costly bows and a large number of beautiful arrows. And his friend, Uttara and her maidens then said unto Vrihannala, 'Do thou, O Vrihannala, bring for our dolls (when thou comest back) various kinds of good and fine cloths after vanquishing the Kurus assembled for battle of whom Bhishma and Drona are foremost!' Thus addressed, Partha the son of Pandu, in a voice deep as the roar of the clouds, smilingly said unto that bevy of fair maidens. If, thus 'Uttara can vanquish those mighty warriors in battle, I will certainly bring excellent and beautiful cloths.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having said these words, the heroic Arjuna urged the steeds towards the Kuru army over which floated innumerable flags. Just, however, as they were starting elderly dames and maidens, and Brahmanas of rigid vows, beholding Uttara seated on his excellent car with Vrihannala as charioteer and under that great banner hoisted on high, walked round the car to bless the hero. And the women said, 'Let the victory that Arjuna treading like a bull had achieved of old on the occasion of burning the forest of Khandava, be thine, O Vrihannala, when thou encounterest the Kurus today with prince Uttara.'"

SECTION 38

'Vaisampayana said, 'Having issued forth from the city, the dauntless son of Virata addressed his charioteer, saying, 'Proceed whither the Kurus are. Defeating the assembled Kurus who have come hither from desire of victory, and quickly rescuing my kine from them. I will return to the capital.' At these words of the prince, the son of Pandu urged those excellent steeds. And endued with the speed of the wind and decked with necklaces of gold, those steeds, urged by that lion among men, seemed to fly through the air. And they had not proceeded far when those smiters of foes, Dhananjaya and the son of Matsya, sighted the army of the powerful Kurus. And proceeding towards the cemetary, they came upon the Kurus and beheld their army arrayed in order of battle. And that large army of theirs looked like the vast sea or a forest of innumerable trees moving through the sky. And then was seen, O best among the Kurus, the dust raised by that moving army which reached the sky and obstructed the sight of all creatures. And beholding that mighty host abounding in elephants, horses and chariots, and protected by Karna and Duryodhana and Kripa and Santanu's son, and that intelligent and great bowman Drona, with his son (Aswatthaman), the son of Virata, agitated with fear and the bristles on his body standing on their ends, thus spake unto Partha, 'I dare not fight with the Kurus. See, the bristles on my body have stood on their ends. I am incapable of battling with this countless host of the Kurus, abounding in the heroic warriors, that are extremely fierce and difficult of being vanquished even by the celestials. I do not venture to penetrate into the army of the Bharatas consisting of terrible bowmen and abounding in horses and elephants and cars and footsoldiers and banners. My mind is too much perturbed by the very sight of the foe on the field of battle on which stand Drona and Bhishma, and Kripa, and Karna, and Vivingsati, and Aswatthaman and Vikarna, and Saumadatti, and Vahlika, and the heroic king Duryodhana also--that foremost of car-warriors, and many other splendid bowmen, all skilled in battle. My hairs have stood on their ends, and I am fainting with fear at the very sight of these smiters, the Kurus arrayed in order of battle.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'And the low-minded and foolish Uttara out of folly alone, began to bewail (his fate) in the presence of the high-spirited (Arjuna) disguised (as his charioteer) in these words, 'My father hath gone out to meet the Trigartas taking with him his whole army, leaving me in the empty city. There are no troops to assist me. Alone and a mere boy who has not undergone much exercise in arms, I am unable to encounter these innumerable warriors and all skilled in weapons. Do thou, therefore, O Vrihannala, cease to advance!'

"Vrihannala said, 'Why dost thou look so pale through fear and enhance the joy of thy foes? As yet thou hast done nothing on the field of battle with the enemy. It was thou that hadst ordered me, saying, Take me towards the Kauravas. I will, therefore, take thee, thither where those innumerable flags are. I will certainly take thee, O mighty-armed one, into the midst of the hostile Kurus, prepared to fight as they are for the kine like hawks for meat. I would do this, even if I regarded them to have come hither for battling for a much higher stake such as the sovereignty of the earth. Having, at the time of setting out, talked before both men and women so highly of thy manliness, why wouldst thou desist from the fight? If thou shouldst return home without recapturing the kine, brave men and even women, when they meet together, will laugh at thee (in derision). As regards myself, I cannot return to the

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city without having rescued the kine, applauded as I have been so highly by the Sairindhri in respect of my skill in driving cars. It is for those praises by the Sairindhri and for those words of thine also (that I have come). Why should I not, therefore, give battle to the Kurus? (As regards thyself), be thou still.'

"Uttara said, 'Let the Kurus rob the Matsyas off all their wealth. Let men and women, O Vrihannala, laugh at me. Let my kine perish, let the city be a desert. Let me stand exposed before my father. Still there is no need of battle.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Saying this, that much affrighted prince decked in ear-ring jumped down from his car, and throwing down his bow and arrows began to flee, sacrificing honour and pride. Vrihannala, however, exclaimed, 'This is not the practice of the brave, this flight of a Kshatriya from the field of battle. Even death in battle is better than flight from fear.' Having said this, Dhananjaya, the son of Kunti, coming down from that excellent car ran after that prince thus running away, his own long braid and pure red garments fluttering in the air. And some soldiers, not knowing that it was Arjuna who was thus running with his braid fluttering in the air, burst out into laughter at the sight. And beholding him thus running, the Kurus began to argue, 'Who is this person, thus disguised like fire concealed in ashes?

He is partly a man and partly a woman. Although bearing a neuter form, he yet resembleth Arjuna. His are the same head and neck, and his the same arms like unto a couple of maces. And this one's gait also is like unto his. He can be none else than Dhananjaya. As Indra is among the celestials, so Dhananjaya is among men. Who else in this world than Dhananjaya, would alone come against us? Virata left a single son of his in the empty city. He hath come out from childishness and not from true heroism. It is Uttara who must have come out of the city, having, without doubt, made as a charioteer Arjuna, the son of Pritha, now living in disguise. It seems that he is now flying away in panic at sight of our army. And without doubt Dhananjaya runneth after him to bring him back.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Beholding the disguised son of Pandu, the Kauravas, O Bharata, began to indulge in these surmises, but they could not come to any definite conclusion. Meanwhile, Dhananjaya, hastily pursuing the retreating Uttara, seized him by the hair within a hundred steps. And seized by Arjuna, the son of Virata began to lament most woefully like one in great affliction, and said, 'Listen, O good Vrihannala, O thou of handsome waist. Turn thou quickly the course of the car. He that liveth meeteth with prosperity. I will give thee a hundred coins of pure gold and eight lapis lazuli of great brightness set with gold, and one chariot furnished with a golden flag-staff and drawn by excellent steeds, and also ten elephants of infuriate prowess. Do thou, O Vrihannala, set me free.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed, that tiger among men laughingly dragged Uttara who was almost deprived of his senses and who was uttering these words of lamentation towards the car. And the son of Pritha then addressed the affrighted prince who had nearly lost his senses, saying, 'If, O chastiser of foes, thou dost not venture to fight with enemy, come thou and hold the reins of the steeds as I fight with the foe. Protected by the might of my arms, penetrate thou yon formidable and invincible array of cars guarded by heroic and mighty warriors. Fear not, O chastiser of foes, thou art a Kshatriya and the foremost of royal princess. Why dost thou, O tiger among men, succumb in the midst of the foe? I shall surely fight with the Kurus and recover the kine, penetrating into this formidable and inaccessible array of cars. Be thou my charioteer, O best of men, I will fight with the Kurus.' Thus speaking unto Uttara, the son of Virata, Vibhatsu, heretofore unconquered in battle, for a while comforted him. And then the son of Pritha, that foremost of smiters, raised on the car that fainting and reluctant prince stricken with fear!'"

SECTION 39

"Vaisampayana said, 'Beholding that bull among men seated on the car in the habit of a person of the third sex, driving toward the Sami tree, having taken (the flying) Uttara up, all the great car-warriors of the Kurus with Bhishma and Drona at their head, became affrighted at heart, suspecting the comer to be Dhananjaya. And seeing them so dispirited and marking also the many wonderful portents, that foremost of all wielders of arms, the preceptor Drona, son of Bharadwaja, said, 'Violent and hot are the winds that below, showering gravels in profusion. The sky also is overcast with a gloom of ashy hue. The clouds present the strange sight of being dry and waterless. Our weapons also of various kinds are coming out of their cases. The jackals are yelling hideously affrighted at the conflagrations on all sides. The horses too are shedding tears, and our banners are trembling though moved by none. Such being the inauspicious indications seen, a great danger is at hand. Stay ye with vigilance, Protect ye your own selves and array the troops in order of battle. Stand ye, expecting a terrible slaughter, and guard ye well the kine. This mighty bowman, this foremost of all wielders of weapons, this hero that hath come in the habit of a person of the third sex, is the son of Pritha. There is no doubt of this.' Then addressing Bhishma, the preceptor continued, 'O offspring of the Ganges, apparelled as a woman, this is Kiriti called after a tree, the son of the enemy of the mountains, and having on his banner the sign of devastator of the gardens of Lanka's lord. Vanquishing us he will surely take away the kine today! This chastiser of foes is the valiant son of Pritha surnamed Savyasachin. He doth not desist from conflict even with the gods and demons combined. Put to great hardship in the forest he cometh in wrath. Taught by even Indra himself, he is like unto Indra in battle. Therefore, ye Kauravas, I do not see any hero who can withstand him. It is said that the lord Mahadeva himself, disguised in the attire of a hunter, was gratified by this son of Pritha in battle on the mountains of Himavat.' Hearing these words, Karna said, 'You always censure us by speaking on the virtues of Falguna, Arjuna, however, is not equal to even a full sixteenth part of myself or Duryodhana!' And Duryodhana said, 'If this be Partha, O Radheya, then my purpose hath already been fulfilled, for then, O king, if traced out, the Pandavas shall have to wander for twelve years again. Or, if this one be any other person in a eunuch's garb, I will soon prostrate him on the earth with keen-edged arrows.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'The son of Dhritarashtra, O chastiser of foes, having said this, Bhishma and Drona and Kripa and Drona's son all applauded his manliness!'"

SECTION 40

"Vaisampayana said, 'Having reached that Sami tree, and having ascertained Virata's son to be exceedingly delicate and inexperienced in battle, Partha addressed him, saying, 'Enjoined by me, O Uttara, quickly take down (from this tree) some bows that are there. For these bows of thine are unable to bear my strength, my heavy weight when I shall grind down horses and elephants, and the stretch of my arms when I seek to vanquish the foe. Therefore, O Bhuminjaya, climb thou up this tree of thick foliage, for in this tree are tied the bows and arrows and banners and excellent coats of mail of the heroic sons of Pandu, viz., Yudhishthira and Bhima and Vibhatsu and the twins. There also is that bow of great energy, the Gandiva of Arjuna, which singly is equal to many thousands of other bows and which is capable of extending the limits of a kingdom. Large like a palmyra tree, able to bear the greatest stress, the largest of all weapons, capable of obstructing the foe, handsome, and smooth, and broad, without a knot, and adorned with gold, it is stiff and beautiful in make and beareth the heaviest weight. And the other bows also that are there, of Yudhishthira and Bhima and Vibhatsu and the twins, are equally mighty and tough.'"

SECTION 41

"Uttara said, 'It hath been heard by us that a corpse is tied in this tree. How can I, therefore, being a prince by birth, touch it with my hands? Born in the Kshatriya order, and the son of a great king, and always observant of mantras and vows, it is not becoming of me to touch it. Why shouldst thou, O Vrihannala, make me a polluted and unclean bearer of corpses, by compelling me to come in contact with a corpse?'

"Vrihannala said, 'Thou shalt, O king of kings, remain clean and unpolluted. Do not fear, there are only bows in this tree and not corpses. Heir to the king of the Matsyas, and born in a noble family, why should I, O prince, make thee do such a reproachable deed?'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Thus addressed by Partha, Virata's son, decked in ear-rings, alighted from the car, and climbed up that Sami tree reluctantly. And staying on the car, Dhananjaya, that slayer of enemies, said, unto him, 'Speedily bring thou down those bows from the top of the tree. And cutting off their wrappings first and then the ropes with which they were tied, the prince beheld the Gandiva there along with four other bows. And as they were united, the splendour of those bows radiant as the sun, began to shine with great effulgence like unto that of the planets about the time of their rising. And beholding the forms of those bows, so like unto sighing snakes, he become afflicted with fear and in a moment the bristles of his body stood on their ends. And touching those large bows of great splendour, Virata's son, O king, thus spake unto Arjuna!'"

SECTION 42

"Uttara said, 'To what warrior of fame doth this excellent bow belong, on which are a hundred golden bosses and which hath such radiant ends? Whose is this excellent bow of good sides and easy hold, on the staff of which shine golden elephants of such brightness? Whose is this excellent bow, adorned with three scores of Indragoapkas [Indian insects of a particular kind.] of pure gold, placed on the back of the staff at proper intervals? Whose is this excellent bow, furnished with three golden suns of great effulgence, blazing forth with such brilliancy? Whose is this beautiful bow which is variegated with gold and gems, and on which are golden insects set with beautiful stones? Whose are these arrows furnished with wing around, numbering a thousand, having golden heads, and cased in golden quivers? Who owneth these large shafts, so thick, furnished with vulturine wings whetted on stone, yellowish in hue, sharp-pointed, well-tempered, and entirely made of iron? Whose is this sable quiver, bearing five images of tigers, which holdeth shafts intermixed with boar-eared arrows altogether numbering ten? Whose are these seven hundred arrows, long and thick, capable of drinking (the enemy's) blood, and looking like the crescent-shaped moon? Whose are these gold-crested arrows whetted on stones, the lower halves of which are well-furnished with wings of the hue of parrots' feather and the upper halves, of well-tempered steels? Whose is this excellent sword irresistible, and terrible to adversaries, with the mark of a toad on it, and pointed like a toad's head? Cased in variegated sheath of tiger-skin, whose is this large sword of excellent blade and variegated with gold and furnished with tinkling bells? Whose is this handsome scimitar of polished blade and golden hilt? Manufactured in the country of the Nishadas, irresistible, incapable of being broken, whose is this sword of polished blade in a scabbard of cow-skin? Whose is this beautiful and long sword, sable in hue as the sky, mounted with gold, well-tempered, and cased in a sheath of goat-skin? Who owneth this heavy, well-tempered, and broad sword, just longer than the breadth of thirty fingers, polished by constant clash with other's weapons and kept in a case of gold, bright as fire? Whose is this beautiful scimitar of sable blade covered with golden bosses, capable of cutting through the bodies of adversaries, whose touch is as fatal as that of a venomous snake which is irresistible and exciteth the terror of foes? Asked by me, O Vrihannala, do thou answer me truly. Great is my wonder at the sight of all these excellent objects.'"

SECTION 43

"Vrihannala said, 'That about which thou hath first enquired is Arjuna's bow, of world-wide fame, called Gandiva, capable of devastating hostile hosts. Embellished with gold, this Gandiva, the highest and largest of all weapons belonged to Arjuna. Alone equal unto a hundred thousand weapons, and always capable of extending the confines of kingdoms, it is with this that Partha vanquisheth in battle both men and celestials. Worshipped ever by the gods, the Danavas and the Gandharvas and variegated with excellent colours, this large and smooth bow is without a knot or stain anywhere. Shiva held it first for a thousand years. Afterwards Prajapati held it for five hundred and three years. After that Sakra, for five and eighty years. And then Soma held it for five hundred years. And after that Varuna held it for a hundred years. And finally Partha, surnamed Swetavahana, hath held it for five and sixty years. Endued with great energy and of high celestial origin, this is the best of all bows. Adored among gods and men, it hath a handsome form. Partha obtained this beautiful bow from Varuna. This other bow of handsome sides and golden handle is Bhima's with which that son of Pritha, that chastiser of foes, had conquered the whole of the eastern regions. This other excellent bow of beautiful shape, adorned with images of Indragopakas, belongeth, O Virata's son, to king Yudhishthira. This other weapon with golden suns of blazing splendour shedding a dazzling effulgence around, belongeth to Nakula. And this bow adorned with golden images of insects and set also with gems and stones, belongeth to that son of Madri who is called Sahadeva. These winged arrows, thousand in number, sharp as razors and destructive as the poison of snakes, belong, O Virata's son, to Arjuna. When shooting them in battle against foes, these swift arrows blaze forth more brilliantly and become inexhaustible. And these long and thick shafts resembling the lunar crescent in shape, keen-edged and capable of thinning the enemy's ranks, belong to Bhima. And this quiver bearing five images of tigers, full of yellowish shafts whetted on stone and furnished with golden wings belong to Nakula. This is the quiver of the intelligent son of Madri, with which he had conquered in battle the whole of the western regions. And these arrows, all effulgent as, the sun, painted all over with various colours, and capable of destroying enemies by thousands are those of Sahadeva. And these short and well-tempered and thick shafts, furnished with long feathers and golden heads, and consisting of three knots, belong to king Yudhishthira. And this sword with blade long and carved with the image of a toad and head shaped as a toad's mouth, strong and irresistible belongeth to Arjuna. Cased in a sheath of tiger-skin, of long blade, handsome and irresistible, and terrible to adversaries, this sword belongeth to Bhimasena. Of excellent blade and cased in a well-painted sheath, and furnished with a golden hilt, this handsome sword belongeth to the wise Kaurava--Yudhishthira the Just. And this sword of strong blade, irresistible and intended for various excellent modes of fight and cased in a sheath of goat-skin, belongeth to Nakula. And this huge scimitar, cased in a sheath of cow-skin, strong and irresistible belongeth to Sahadeva.'"

SECTION 44

"Uttara said, 'Indeed, these weapons adorned with gold, belonging to the light-handed and high-souled Partha, look

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exceedingly beautiful. But where are that Arjuna, the son of Pritha, and Yudhishthira of the Kuru race, and Nakula, and Sahadeva, and Bhimasena, the sons of Pandu? Having lost their kingdom at dice, the high-souled Pandavas, capable of destroying all foes, are no longer heard of. Where also is Draupadi, the princess of Panchala, famed as the gem among women, who followed the sons of Pandu after their defeat at dice to the forest?'

"Arjuna said, 'I am Arjuna, called also Partha. Thy father's courtier is Yudhishthira and thy father's cook Vallava is Bhimasena, the groom of horses is Nakula, and Sahadeva is in the cow-pen. And know thou that the Sairindhri is Draupadi, for whose sake the Kichakas have been slain.'

"Uttara said, 'I would believe all this if thou canst enumerate the ten names of Partha, previously heard by me!'

"Arjuna said, 'I will, O son of Virata, tell thee my ten names. Listen thou and compare them with what thou hadst heard before. Listen to them with close attention and concentrated mind. They are Arjuna, Falguna, Jishnu, Kiritin, Swetavahana, Vibhatsu, Vijaya, Krishna, Savyasachin and Dhananjaya."

"Uttara said, 'Tell me truly why art thou called Vijaya, and why Swetavahana. Why art thou named Krishna and why Arjuna and Falguna and Jishnu and Kiritin and Vibhatsu, and for what art thou Dhananjaya and Savyasachin? I have heard before about the origin of the several names of that hero, and can put faith in thy words if thou canst tell me all about them.'

"Arjuna said, 'They called me Dhananjaya because I lived in the midst of wealth, having subjugated all the countries and taking away their treasures. They called me Vijaya because when I go out to battle with invincible kings, I never return (from the field) without vanquishing them. I am called Swetavahana because when battling with the foe, white horses decked in golden armour are always yoked unto my car. They call me Falguna because I was born on the breast of the Himavat on a day when the constellation Uttara Falguna was on the ascendent. I am named Kiritin from a diadem, resplendent like the sun, having been placed of old on my head by Indra during my encounter with the powerful Danavas. I am known as Vibhatsu among gods and men, for my never having committed a detestable deed on the battle-field. And since both of my hands are capable of drawing the Gandiva, I am known as Savyasachin among gods and men. They call me Arjuna because my complexion is very rare within the four boundaries of the earth and because also my acts are always stainless. I am known among human beings and celestials by the name of Jishnu, because I am unapproachable and incapable of being kept down, and a tamer of adversaries and son of the slayer of Paka. And Krishna, my tenth appellation, was given to me by my father out of affection towards his black-skinned boy of great purity.'

"Vaisampayana continued, "The son of Virata then, approaching nearer saluted Partha and said, 'My name is Bhuminjaya, and I am also called Uttara. It is by good luck, O Partha, that I behold thee. Thou art welcome, O Dhananjaya. O thou with red eyes, and arms that are mighty and each like unto the trunk of an elephant, it behoveth thee to pardon what I said unto thee from ignorance. And as wonderful and difficult have been the feats achieved by thee before, my fears have been dispelled, and indeed the love I bear to thee is great.'"

SECTION 45

"Uttara said, 'O hero, mounting on this large car with myself as driver, which division of the (hostile) army wouldst thou penetrate? Commanded by thee, I would drive thee thither?'

"Arjuna said, 'I am pleased with thee, O tiger among men. Thou hast no cause of fear. I will rout all thy foes in battle, O great warrior, And, O thou of mighty arms, be at thy ease. Accomplishing great and terrible feats in the melee, I will fight with thy foes. Tie quickly all those quivers to my car, and take (from among those) a sword of polished blade and adorned with gold.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words of Arjuna, Uttara cast off all inactivity. And he speedily alighted from the tree, bringing with him Arjuna's weapons. Then Arjuna addressed him, saying, 'Yes, I will fight with the Kurus and recover thy kine. Protected by me, the top of this car will be to thee as a citadel. The passages and alleys and other divisions of this car will be the streets and edifices of that fortified city. These my arms will be its ramparts and gateways. This treble pole and my quiver will constitute defensive works inaccessible to the foe. This my banner--single and grand--will it not alone be equal unto those of thy city? This my bow-string will constitute the catapults and cannons for vomiting forth missiles on the besiezing ghost. My excited wrath will make that fortress formidable, and the clatter of my car-wheels--will it not resemble the kettle-drums of thy capital? Ridden by myself wielding the Gandiva, this car will be incapable of being vanquished by the hostile host, O son of Virata, let thy fear be dispelled.'

"Uttara said, 'I am no longer afraid of these. I know thy steadiness in battle, which is even like unto that of Kesava or Indra himself. But reflecting on this, I am continually bewildered. Foolish as I am, I am incapable of arriving at certain conclusion. By what distressful circumstances could a person of such handsome limbs and auspicious signs become deprived of manhood! Indeed, thou seemest to me to be Mahadeva, or Indra, or the chief of the Gandharvas, dwelling in the guise only of one of the third sex.'

"Arjuna said, 'I tell thee truly that I am only observing this vow for a whole year agreeable to the behest of my elder brother. O thou of mighty arms, I am not truly one of the neuter sex, but I have adopted this vow of eunuchism from subservience to another's will and from desire of religious merit. O prince, know me now to have completed my vow.'

"Uttara said, 'Thou hast conferred a great favour on me today, for I now find that my suspicion was not altogether unfounded. Indeed, such a person as thou, O best of men, cannot be of the neuter sex. I have now an ally in battle. I can now fight with the celestials themselves. My fears have been dispelled. What shall I do? Command me now. Trained in driving cars by a learned preceptor I will, O bull among men, hold the reins of thy horses that are capable of breaking the ranks of hostile cars. Know me, O bull among men, to be as competent a charioteer as Daruka of Vasudeva, or Matali of Sakra. The horse that is yoked unto the right-hand pole (of thy car) and whose hoofs as they light on the ground are scarcely visible when running, is like unto Sugriva of Krishna. This other handsome horse, the foremost of his race, that is yoked unto the left pole, is, I regard, equal in speed to Meghapushpa. This (third) beautiful horse, clad in golden mail, yoked unto the rear-pole on the left, is, I regard, Sivya equal in speed to but superior in strength. And this (fourth) horse, yoked to the rear-pole on the right, is regarded as superior to Valahaka in speed and strength. This car is worthy of bearing on the field of battle a bowman like thee, and thou also art worthy of fighting on this car. This is what I think!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then Arjuna, endued with great energy, took off the bracelets from his arms and wore on his hands a pair of beautiful gloves embroidered with gold. And he then tied his black and curling locks with a piece of white cloth. And seated on that excellent car with face turned to the east, the mighty-armed hero, purifying his body and concentrating his soul, recalled to his mind all his weapons. And all the weapons came, and addressing the royal son of Partha, said, 'We are here, O illustrious one. We are thy servants, O son of Indra.' And bowing unto them, Partha received them unto his hands and replied unto them, saying, 'Dwell ye all in my memory.' And obtaining all his weapons, the hero looked cheerful. And quickly stringing his bow, the Gandiva, he twanged it. And the twang of that bow was as loud as the collision of two mighty bulls. And dreadful was the sound that filled the earth, and violent was the wind that blew on all sides. And thick was the shower of fallen meteors and all sides were enveloped in gloom. And the birds began to totter in the skies and large trees began to shake. And loud as the burst of the thunder, the Kurus knew from that sound that it was Arjuna that drew with his hands the string of his best of bows from his car. And Uttara said, 'Thou, O best of Pandavas, art alone. These mighty car-warriors are many. How wilt thou vanquish in battle all these that are skilled in every kind of weapon? Thou, O son of Kunti, art without a follower, while the Kauravas have many. It is for this, O thou of mighty arms, that I stay beside thee, stricken with fear.' Bursting out into loud laughter, Partha said unto him, 'Be not afraid, O hero, what friendly follower had I while fighting with the mighty Gandharvas on the occasion of the Ghoshayatra? Who was my ally while engaged in the terrific conflict at Khandava against so many celestials and Danavas? Who was my ally when I fought, on behalf of the lord of the celestials against the mighty Nivatakavachas and the Paulomas! And who was my ally, O child, while I encountered in battle innumerable kings at the Swayamvara to the princess of Panchala? Trained in arms by the preceptor Drona, by Sakra, and Vaisravana, and Yama, and Varuna, and Agni, and Kripa, and Krishna of Madhu's race, and by the wielder of the Pinaka (Siva), why shall I not fight with these? Drive thou my car speedily, and let thy heart's fever be dispelled.'"

SECTION 46

"Vaisampayana said, 'Making Uttara his charioteer, and circumambulating the Sami tree, the son of Pandu set out taking all his weapons with him. And that mighty car-warrior set out with Uttara as the driver of his car, having taken down that banner with the lion's figure and deposited it at the foot of the Sami tree. And he hoisted on that car his own golden banner bearing the figure of an ape with a lion's tail, which was a celestial illusion contrived by Viswakarman himself. For, as soon, indeed, as he had thought of that gift of Agni, than the latter, knowing his wish, ordered those superhuman creatures (that usually sat there) to take their place in that banner. And furnished with a beautiful flag of handsome make, with quivers attached to it, and adored with gold, that excellent flag-staff of celestial beauty than quickly fell from the firmament on his car. And beholding that banner arrived on his car, the hero circumambulated it (respectively). And then the ape-bannered Vibhatsu, the son of Kunti, called also Swetavahana, with fingers cased in leathern fences of the Iguana skin, and taking up his bow and arrows set out in a northernly direction. And that grinder of foes, possessed of great strength, then forcibly blew his large conch-shell, of thundering sound, capable of making the bristles of foes to stand on their ends. And at the sound of that conch, those steeds endued with swiftness dropped down on the ground on their knees. And Uttara also, greatly affrighted, sat down on the car. And thereupon the son of Kunti took the reins himself and raising the steeds, placed them in their proper positions. And embracing Uttara, he encouraged him also, saying, 'Fear not, O foremost of princes, thou art, O chastiser of foes, a Kshatriya by birth. Why, O tiger among men, dost thou become so dispirited in the midst of foes? Thou must have heard before the blare of many conchs and the note of many trumpets, and the roar also of many elephants in the midst of ranks arrayed for battled. Why art thou, therefore, so dispirited and agitated and terrified by the blare of this conch, as if thou wert an ordinary person?'

"Uttara said, 'Heard have I the blare of many a conch and many a trumpet and the roar of many an elephant stationed in the battle-array, but never have I heard before the blare of such conch. Nor have I ever seen a banner like this. Never before have I heard also the twang of a bow such as this. Truly, sir, with the blare of this conch, the twang of this bow, the superhuman cries of the creatures stationed on this banner, and the battle of this car, my mind is greatly bewildered. My perception of the directions also is confused, and my heart is painfully afflicted. The whole firmament seemeth to me to have been covered by this banner, and everything seemeth to be hidden from my view! My ears also have been deafened by the twang of the Gandiva!

"Arjuna said, 'Firmly stand thou on the car, pressing thy feet on it, and tightly catch hold of the bridles, for I will blow the conch again.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Arjuna then blew his conch again, that conch which filled foes with grief and enhanced the joy of friends. And the sound was so loud that it seemed to split hills and mountains, and pierce mountain-caves and the cardinal points. And Uttara once again sat down on the car, clinging to it in fear. And with the blare of the conch and the rattle of the car-wheels, and the twang of the Gandiva, the earth itself seemed to tremble. And beholding Uttara's fight, Dhananjaya began to comfort him again.'

"Meanwhile, Drona said, 'From the rattle of the car, and from the manner in which the clouds have enveloped the sky and the earth itself trembles, this warrior can be none else than Savyasachin. Our weapons do not shine, our steeds are dispirited, and our fires, though fed with fuel, do not blare up. All this is ominous. All our animals are setting up a frightful howl, gazing towards the sun. The crows are perching on our banners. All this is ominous. Yon vultures and kites on our right portend a great danger. That jackal also, running through our ranks, waileth dismally. Lo, it hath escaped unstruck. All this portends a heavy calamity. The bristles also of ye all are on their ends. Surely, this forebodes a great destruction of Kshatriyas in battle. Things endued with light are all pale; beasts and birds look fierce; and there are to be witnessed many terrific portents indicative of the destruction of Kshatriyas. And these omens forebode great havoc among ourselves. O king, thy ranks seem to be confounded by these blazing meteors, and thy animals look dispirited and seem to be weeping. Vultures and kites are wheeling all around thy troops. Thou shalt have to repent upon beholding thy army afflicted by Partha's arrows. Indeed, our ranks seem to have been already vanquished, for none is eager to go to fight. All our warriors are of pale face, and almost deprived of their senses. Sending the kine ahead we should stand here, ready to strike, with all our warriors arrayed in order of battle."

SECTION 47

"Vaisampayana said, 'King Duryodhana then, on the field of battle said unto Bhishma, and unto Drona--that tiger among warriors, and unto Kripa--that mighty car-warrior, these words, 'Both myself and Kama had said this unto the preceptors I refer to the subject again, for I am not satisfied with having said it once. Even this was the pledge of the sons of Pandu that if defeated (at dice) they would reside to our knowledge in countries and woods for twelve years, and one more year unknown to us. That thirteenth year, instead of being over, is yet running. Vibhatsu, therefore, who is still to live undiscovered hath appeared before us. And if Vibhatsu hath come before the term of exile is at end, the Pandavas shall have to pass another twelve years in the woods. Whether it is due to forgetfulness (on their part) induced by desire of dominion, or whether it is a mistake of ours, it behoveth Bhishma to calculate the shortness or excess (of the promised period). When an object of desire may or may not be attained, a doubt necessarily attaches to one of the alternatives, and what is decided in one way often ends differently. Even

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moralists are puzzled in judging of their own acts. As regards ourselves, we have come hither to fight with the Matsyas and to seize their kine stationed towards the north. If, meanwhile, it is Arjuna that hath come, what fault can attach to us? We have come hither to fight against the Matsyas on behalf of the Trigartas; and as numerous were the acts represented unto us of the oppressions committed by the Matsyas. it was for this that we promised aid to the Trigartas who were overcome with fear. And it was agreed between us that they should first seize, on the afternoon of the seventh lunar day, the enormous wealth of kine that the Matsyas have, and that we should, at sunrise of the eighteen day of the moon, seize these kine when the king of the Matsyas would be pursuing those first seized. It may be that the Trigartas are now bringing a way the kine, or being defeated, are coming towards us for negotiating with the king of the Matsyas. Or, it may be, that having driven the Trigartas off, the king of the Matsyas, at the head of this people and his whole army of fierce warriors, appeareth on the scene and advanceth to make night-attacks upon us. It may be that some one leader among them, endued with mighty energy, is advancing for vanquishing us, or, it may be that the king himself of the Matsyas is come. But be it the king of the Matsyas or Vibhatsu, we must all fight him. Even this hath been our pledge. Why are all these of foremost car-warriors,--Bhishma and Drona and Kripa and Vikarna and Drona's son,--now sitting on their cars, panic-stricken? At present there is nothing better than fighting. Therefore, make up your minds. If, for the cattle we have seized, an encounter takes place with the divine wielder himself of the thunderbolt or even with Yama, who is there that will be liable to reach Hastinapura? Pierced by the shafts (of the foe), how will the foot-soldiers, in flying through the deep forest with their backs on the field, escape with life, when escape for the cavalry is doubtful? Hearing these words of Duryodhana, Karna said, 'Disregarding the preceptor, make all arrangements. He knoweth well the intentions of the Pandavas and striketh terror in our hearts. I see that his affection for Arjuna is very great. Seeing him only coming, he chanteth his praises. Make ye such arrangements that our troops may not break. Everything is in confusion for Drona's having only heard the neigh of (Arjuna's) steeds. Make ye such arrangements that these troops, come to a distant land in this hot season and in the midst of this mighty forest, may not fall into confusion and be subjugated by the foe. The Pandavas are always the special favourites of the preceptor. The selfish Pandavas have stationed Drona amongst us. Indeed, he betrayeth himself by his speech. Who would ever extol a person upon hearing the neigh only of his steeds? Horses always neigh, whether walking or standing, the winds blow at all times; and Indra also always showereth rain. The roar of the clouds may frequently be heard. What hath Partha to do with these, and why is he to be praised for these? All this (on Drona's part), therefore, is due only to either the desire of doing good to Arjuna or to his wrath and hatred towards us. Preceptors are wise, and sinless, and very kind to all creatures. They, however, should never be consulted at times of peril. It is in luxurious palaces, and assemblies and pleasure-gardens, that learned men, capable of making speeches, seem to be in their place. Performing many wonderful things, in the assembly, it is there that learned men find their place, or even there where sacrificial utensils and their proper placing and washing are needed. In a knowledge of the lapses of others, in studying the characters of men, in the science of horses and elephants and cars, in treating the diseases of asses and camels and goats and sheeps and kine, in planning buildings and gateways, and in pointing out the defects of food and drink, the learned are truly in their own sphere. Disregarding learned men that extol the heroism of the foe, make ye such arrangements that the foe may be destroyed. Placing the kine securely, array the troops in order of battle. Place guards in proper places so that we may fight the foe.'"

SECTION 48

"Karna said, 'I behold all these blessed ones, looking as if alarmed and panic-struck and unresolved and unwilling to fight. If he that is come is the king of the Matsyas or Vibhatsu, even I will resist him as the banks resist the swelling sea. Shot from my bow these straight and flying arrows, like gliding snakes, are all sure of aim. Discharged by my light hands, these keen-edged arrows furnished with golden wings shall cover Partha all over, like locusts shrouding a tree. Strongly pressed by these winged arrows, the bow-string will cause these my leathern fences to produce sounds that will be heard to resemble those of a couple of kettle-drums. Having been engaged in ascetic austerities for the (last) eight and five years, Vibhatsu will strike me but mildly in this conflict, and the son of Kunti having become a Brahmana endued with good qualities, hath thus become a fit person to quietly receive shafts by thousands shot by me. This mighty bowman is indeed, celebrated over the three worlds. I, too, am, by no means, inferior to Arjuna, that foremost of human beings. With golden arrows furnished with vulturine wings shot on all sides, let the firmament seem today to swarm with fire-flies. Slaying Arjuna in battle, I will discharge today that debt, difficult of repayments, but promised of old by me unto Dhritarashtra's son. When man is there, even amongst all the gods and the Asuras, that will endure to stand in the teeth of the straight arrows shot from my bow? Let my flying arrows, winged and depressed at the middle, present the spectacle of the coursing of the fire-flies through the welkin. Hard though he be as Indra's thunderbolt and possessed of the energy of the chief of the celestials, I will surely grind Partha, even as one afflicts an elephant by means of burning brands. A heroic and mighty car-warrior as he is, and the foremost of all wielders of weapons I shall seize the unresisting Partha, even like Garuda seizing a snake. Irresistible like fire, and fed by the fuel of swords, darts, and arrows, the blazing Pandava-fire that consumeth foes, will be extinguished even by myself who am like unto a mighty cloud incessantly dropping an arrowy shower,--the multitude of cars (I will lead) constituting its thunder, and the speed of my horses, the wind in advance. Discharged from my bow, my arrows like venomous snakes will pierce Partha's body, like serpent penetrating through an ant-hill. Pierced with well-tempered and straight shafts endued with golden wings and great energy, behold ye today the son of Kunti decked like a hill covered with Karnikara flowers. Having obtained weapons from that best of ascetics--the son of Jamadagni, I would, relying on their energy, fight with even the celestials. Struck with my javelin, the ape stationed on his banner-top shall fall down today on the ground, uttering terrible cries. The firmament will today be filled with the cries of the (super-human) creatures stationed in the flagstaff of the foe, and afflicted by me, they will fly away in all directions. I shall today pluck up by the roots the long-existing dart in Duryodhan's heart by throwing Arjuna down from his car. The Kauravas will today behold Partha with his car broken, his horses killed, his valour gone, and himself sighing like a snake. Let the Kauravas, following their own will go away taking this wealth of kine, or, if they wish, let them stay on their cars and witness my combat.'"

SECTION 49

"Kripa said, 'O Radheya, thy crooked heart always inclineth to war. Thou knowest not the true nature of things; nor dost thou take into account their after-consequences. There are various kinds of expedients inferrable from the scriptures. Of these, a battle hath been regarded by those acquainted with the past, as the most sinful. It is only when time and place are favourable that military operations can lead to success. In the present instance, however, the time being unfavourable, no good results will be deprived. A display of prowess in proper time and place becometh beneficial. It is by the favourableness or otherwise (of time and place) that the opportuneness of an act is determined. Learned men can never act according to the ideas of a car-maker. Considering all this, an encounter with Partha is not advisible for us. Alone he saved the Kurus (from the Gandharvas), and alone he satiated Agni. Alone he led the life of a Brahmacharin for five years (on the breast of Himavat). Taking up Subhadra on his car, alone he challenged Krishna to single combat. Alone he fought with Rudra who stood before him as a forester. It was in this very forest that Partha rescued Krishna while she was being taken away (by Jayadratha). It is he alone that hath, for five years, studied the science of weapons under Indra. Alone vanquishing all foes he hath spread the fame of the Kurus. Alone that chastiser of foes vanquished in battle Chitrasena, the king of the Gandharvas and in a moment his invincible troops also. Alone he overthrew in battle the fierce Nivatakavachas and the Kalakhanchas, that were both incapable of being slain by the gods themselves. What, however, O Kama, hath been achieved by thee single-handed like any of the sons of Pandu, each of whom had alone subjugated many lords of earth? Even Indra himself is unfit to encounter Partha in battle. He, therefore, that desireth to fight with Arjuna should take a sedative. As to thyself, thou desirest to take out the fangs of an angry snake of virulent poison by stretching forth thy right hand and extending thy forefinger. Or, wandering alone in the forest thou desirest to ride an infuriate elephant and go to a boar without a hook in hand. Or, rubbed over with clarified butter and dressed in silken robes, thou desirest to pass through the midst of a blazing fire fed with fat and tallow and clarified butter. Who is there that would, binding his own hands and feet and tying a huge stone unto his neck, cross the ocean swimming with his bare arms? What manliness is there in such an act? O Kama, he is a fool that would, without, skill in weapons and without strength, desire to fight with Partha who is so mighty and skilled in weapons? Dishonestly deceived by us and liberated from thirteen years' exile, will not the illustrious hero annihilate us? Having ignorantly come to a place where Partha lay concealed like fire hidden in a well, we have, indeed, exposed to a great danger. But irresistible though he be in battle, we should fight against him. Let, therefore, our troops, clad in mail, stand here arrayed in ranks and ready to strike. Let Drona and Duryodhana and Bhishma and thyself and Drona's son and ourselves, all fight with the son of Pritha. Do not O Kama, act so rashly as to fight alone. If we six car-warriors be united, we can then be a match for and fight with that son of Pritha who is resolved to fight and who is as fierce as the wielder of the thunderbolt. Aided by our troops arrayed in ranks, ourselves--great bowmen--standing carefully will fight with Arjuna even as the Danavas encounter Vasava in battle.'"

SECTION 50

"Aswatthaman said, 'The kine, O Karna, have not yet been won, nor have they yet crossed the boundary (of their owner's dominions), nor have they yet reached Hastinapura. Why dost thou, therefore, boast of thyself? Having won numerous battles, and acquired enormous wealth, and vanquished hostile hosts, men of true heroism speak not a word of their prowess. Fire burneth mutely and mutely doth the sun shine. Mutely also doth the Earth bear creatures, both mobile and immobile. The Self-existent hath sanctioned such offices for the four orders that having recourse to them each may acquire wealth without being censurable. A Brahmana, having studied the Vedas, should perform sacrifices himself, and officiate at the sacrifices of others. And a Kshatriya, depending upon the bow, should perform sacrifices himself but should never officiate at the sacrifices of others. And of Vaisya, having earned wealth, should cause the rites enjoined in the Vedas to be performed for himself. A Sudra should always wait upon and serve the other three orders. As regards those that live by practising the profession of flowers and vendors of meat, they may earn wealth by expedients fraught with deceit and fraud. Always acting according to the dictates of the scriptures, the exalted sons of Pandu acquired the sovereignty of the whole earth, and they always act respectfully towards their superiors, even if the latter prove hostile to them. What Kshatriya is there that expressed delight at having obtained a kingdom by means of dice, like this wicked and shameless son of Dhritarashtra? Having acquired wealth in this way by deceit and fraud like a vendor of meat, who that is wise boast of it? In what single combat didst thou vanquish Dhananjaya, or Nakula, or Sahadeva, although thou hast robbed them of their wealth? In what battle didst thou defeat Yudhishthira, or Bhima that foremost of strong men? In what battle was Indraprastha conquered by thee? What thou hast done, however, O thou of wicked deeds, is to drag that princess to court while she was ill and had but one raiment on? Thou hast cut the mighty root, delicate as the sandal, of the Pandava tree. Actuated by desire of wealth, when thou madest the Pandavas act as slaves, rememberest thou what Vidura said! We see that men and others, even insects and ants, show forgiveness according to their power of endurance. The son of Pandu, however, is incapable of forgiving the sufferings of Draupadi. Surely, Dhananjaya cometh here for the destruction of the sons of Dhritarashtra. It is true, affecting great wisdom, thou art for making speeches but will not Vibhatsu, that slayer of foes, exterminate us all! If it be gods, or Gandharvas or Asuras, or Rakshasas, will Dhananjaya the son of Kunti, desist to fight from panic? Inflamed with wrath upon whomsoever he will fall, even him he will overthrow like a tree under the weight of Garuda! Superior to thee in prowess, in bowmanship equal unto the lord himself of the celestials, and in battle equal unto Vasudeva himself, who is there that would not praise Partha? Counteracting celestial weapons with celestial, and human weapons with human, what man is a match for Arjuna? Those acquainted with the scriptures declare that a disciple is no way inferior to a son, and it is for this that the son of Pandu is a favourite of Drona. Employ thou the means now which thou hadst adopted in the match at dice,--the same means, viz., by which thou hadst subjugated Indraprastha, and the same means by which thou hadst dragged Krishna to the assembly! This thy wise uncle, fully conversant with the duties of the Kshatriya order--this deceitful gambler Sakuni, the prince of Gandhara, let him fight now! The Gandiva, however, doth not cast dice such as the Krita or the Dwapara, but it shooteth upon foes blazing and keen-edged shafts by myriads. The fierce arrows shot from the Gandiva, endued with great energy and furnished with vulturine wings, car, pierce even mountains. The destroyer of all, named Yama, and Vayu, and the horse-faced Agni, leave some remnant behind, but Dhananjaya inflamed with wrath never doth so. As thou hadst, aided by thy uncle, played a dice in the assembly so do fight in this battle protected by Suvala's son. Let the preceptor, if he chooses fight; I shall not, however, fight with Dhananjaya. We are to fight with the king of the Matsyas, if indeed, he cometh in the track of the kine.'"

SECTION 51

"Bhishma said, 'Drona's son observeth well, and Kripa, too observeth rightly. As for Kama, it is only out of regard for the duties of the Kshatriya order that he desireth to fight. No man of wisdom can blame the preceptor. I, however, am of opinion that fight we must, considering both the time and the place. Why should not that man be bewildered who hath five adversaries effulgent as five suns, who are heroic combatants and who have just emerged from adversity? Even those conversant with morality are bewildered in respect of their own interests. It is for this, O king, that I tell thee this,

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whether my words be acceptable to you or not. What Karna said unto thee was only for raising our (drooping) courage. As regards thyself, O preceptor's son, forgive everything. The business at hand is very grave. When the son of Kunti hath come, this is not the time for quarrel. Everything should now be forgiven by thyself and the preceptor Kripa. Like light in the sun, the mastery of all weapons doth reside in you. As beauty is never separated from Chandramas, so are the Vedas and the Brahma weapon both established in you. It is often seen that the four Vedas dwell in one object and Kshatriya attributes in another. We have never heard of these two dwelling together in any other person than the preceptor of the Bharata race and his son. Even this is what I think. In the Vedantas, in the Puranas, and in old histories, who save Jamadagni, O king, would be Drona's superior? A combination of the Brahma weapon with the Vedas,--this is never to be seen anywhere else. O preceptor's son, do thou forgive. This is not the time for disunion. Let all of us, uniting, fight with Indra's son who hath come. Of all the calamities that may befall an army that have been enumerated by men of wisdom, the worst is disunion among the leaders. Aswatthaman said, 'O bull among men, these thy just observations, need not be uttered in our presence; the preceptor, however, filled with wrath, had spoken of Arjuna's virtues. The virtues of even an enemy should be admitted, while the faults of even one's preceptor may be pointed out; therefore one should, to the best of his power, declare the merits of a son or a disciple.'

"Duryodhana said, 'Let the preceptor grant his forgiveness and let peace be restored. If the preceptor be at one with us, whatever should be done (in view of the present emergency) would seem to have been already done.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then, O Bharata, Duryodhana assisted by Kama and Kripa, and the high-souled Bhishma pacified Drona.'

"Drona said, 'Appeased I have already been at the words first spoken by Bhishma, the son of Santanu. Let such arrangements be made that Partha may not be able to approach Duryodhana in battle. And let such arrangements be made that king Duryodhana may not be captured by the foe, in consequence either of his rashness or want of judgement. Arjuna hath not, to be sure, revealed himself before the expiry of the term of exile. Nor will he pardon this act (of ours) today, having only recovered the kine. Let such arrangements, therefore, be made that he may not succeed in attacking Dhritarashtra's son and defeating our troops. Like myself (who am doubtful of the completion of period of exile) Duryodhana also had said so before. Bearing it in mind, it behoveth the son of Ganga to say what is true.'"

SECTION 52

"Bhishma said, 'The wheel of time revolves with its divisions, viz., with Kalas and Kasthas and Muhurtas and days and fortnights and months and constellations and planets and seasons and years. In consequence of their fractional excesses and the deviations of also of the heavenly bodies, there is an increase of two months in every five years. It seems to me that calculating this wise, there would be an excess of five months and twelve nights in thirteen years. Everything, therefore, that the sons of Pandu had promised, hath been exactly fulfilled by them. Knowing this to be certain, Vibhatsu hath made his appearance. All of them are high-souled and fully conversant with the meanings of the scriptures. How would they deviate from virtue that have Yudhishthira for their guide? The sons of Kunti do not yield to temptation. They have achieved a difficult feat. If they had coveted the possession of their kingdom by unfair means, then those descendants of the Kuru race would have sought to display their prowess at the time of the match at dice. Bound in bonds of virtue, they did not deviate from the duties of the Kshatriya order. He that will regard them to have behaved falsely will surely meet with defeat. The sons of Pritha would prefer death to falsehood. When the time, however, comes, those bulls among men--the Pandava's--endued with energy like that of Sikra, would not give up what is theirs even if it is defended by the wielder himself of the thunderbolt. We shall have to oppose in battle the foremost of all wielders of weapons. Therefore, let such advantageous arrangements as have the sanction of the good and the honest be now made without loss of time so that our possessions may not be appropriated by the foe. O king of kings, O Kaurava, I have never seen a battle in which one of the parties could say,--we are sure to win. When a battle occurs, there must be victory or defeat, prosperity or adversity. Without doubt, a party to a battle must have either of the two. Therefore, O king of kings, whether a battle be now proper or not consistent with virtue or not, make thy arrangements soon, for Dhananjaya is at hand.'

"Duryodhana said, 'I will not, O grandsire, give back the Pandavas their kingdom. Let every preparation, therefore, for battle be made without delay.'

"Bhishma said, 'Listen to what I regard as proper, if it pleases thee. I should always say what is for thy good, O Kaurava. Proceed thou towards the capital, without loss of time, taking with thee a fourth part of the army. And let another fourth march, escorting the kine. With half the troops we will fight the Pandava. Myself and Drona, and Karna and Aswatthaman and Kripa will resolutely withstand Vibhatsu, or the king of the Matsyas, or Indra himself, if he approaches. Indeed, we will withstand any of these like the bank withstanding the surging sea.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'These words spoken by the high-souled Bhishma were acceptable to them, and the king of the Kauravas acted accordingly without delay. And having sent away the king and then the kine, Bhishma began to array the soldiers in order of battle. And addressing the preceptor, he said, 'O preceptor, stand thou in the centre, and let Aswatthaman stand on the left, and let the wise Kripa, son of Saradwata, defend the right wing, and let Karna of the Suta caste, clad in mail, stand in the van. I will stand in the rear of the whole army, protecting it from that point.'"

SECTION 53

"Vaisampayana said, 'After the Kauravas, O Bharata, had taken their stand in this order, Arjuna, filling the air with the rattle and din of his car, advanced quickly towards them. And the Kurus beheld his banner-top and heard the rattle and din of his car as also the twang of the Gandiva stretched repeatedly by him. And noting all this, and seeing that great car-warrior--the wielder of the Gandiva--come, Drona spoke thus, 'That is the banner-top of Partha which shineth at a distance, and this is the noise of his car, and that is the ape that roareth frightfully. Indeed, the ape striketh terror in the troops. And there stationed on that excellent car, the foremost of car-warriors draweth that best of bows, the Gandiva, whose twang is as loud as the thunder. Behold, these two shafts coming together fall at my feet, and two others pass off barely touching my ears. Completing the period of exile and having achieved many wonderful feats, Partha saluteth me and whispereth in my ears. Endued with wisdom and beloved of his relatives, this Dhananjaya, the son of Pandu, is, indeed, beheld by us after a long time, blazing with beauty and grace. Possessed of car and arrows, furnished with handsome fences and quiver and conch and banner and coat of mail, decked with diadem and scimitar and bow, the son of Pritha shineth like the blazing (Homa) fire surrounded with sacrificial ladles and fed with sacrificial butter.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Beholding the Kurus ready for battle, Arjuna addressing Matsya's son in words suitable to the occasion, said, 'O charioteer, restrain thou the steeds at such a point whence my arrows may reach the enemy. Meanwhile, let me see, where, in the midst of this army, is that vile wretch of the Kuru race. Disregarding all these, and singling out that vainest of princes I will fall upon his head, for upon the defeat of that wretch the others will regard themselves as defeated. There standeth Drona, and thereafter him his son. And there are those great bowmen--Bhishma and Kripa and Kama. I do not see, however, the king there. I suspect that anxious to save his life, he retreateth by the southern road, taking away with him the kine. Leaving this array of car-warriors, proceed to the spot where Suyodhana is. There will I fight, O son of Virata, for there the battle will not be fruitless, Defeating him I will come back, taking away the kine.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed, the son of Virata restrained the steeds with an effort and turned them by a pull at the bridle from the spot where those bulls of the Kuru race were, and urged them on towards the place where Duryodhana was. And as Arjuna went away leaving that thick array of cars, Kripa, guessing his intention, addressed his own comrades, saying, 'This Vibhatsu desireth not to take up his stand at a spot remote from the king. Let us quickly fall upon the flanks of the advancing hero. When inflamed with wrath, none else, unassisted, can encounter him in battle save the deity of a thousand eyes, or Krishna the son of Devaki. Of what use to us would the kine be or this vast wealth also, if Duryodhana were to sink, like a boat, in the ocean of Partha?' Meanwhile, Vibhatsu, having proceeded towards that division of the army, announced himself speedily by name, and covered the troops with his arrows thick as locusts. And covered with those countless shafts shot by Partha, the hostile warriors could not see anything, the earth itself and the sky becoming overwhelmed therewith. And the soldiers who had been ready for the fight were so confounded that none could even the flee from the field. And beholding the light-handedness of Partha they all applauded it mentally. And Arjuna then blew his conch which always made the bristles of the foe stand erect. And twanging his best of bows, he urged the creatures on his flagstaff to roar more frightfully. And at the blare of his conch and the rattle of his car-wheels, and the twang of the Gandiva, and the roar of the superhuman creatures stationed on his flagstaff, the earth itself began to tremble. And shaking their upraised tails and lowing together, the kine turned back, proceeding along the southern road.'"

SECTION 54

"Vaisampayana said, 'Having disorganised the hostile host by force and having recovered the kine, that foremost of bowmen, desirous of fighting again, proceeded towards Duryodhana. And beholding the kine running wild towards the city of the Matsyas, the foremost warriors of the Kurus regarded Kiritin to have already achieved success. And all of a sudden they fell upon Arjuna who was advancing towards Duryodhana. And beholding their countless divisions firmly arrayed in order of battle with countless banners waving over them, that slayer of foes, addressing the son of the king of the Matsyas, said, 'Urge on, to the best of their speed by this road, these white steeds decked with golden bridles. Strive thou well, for I would approach this crowd of Kuru lions. Like an elephant desiring an encounter with another, the Suta's son of wicked soul eagerly desireth a battle with me. Take me, O prince, to him who hath grown so proud under the patronage of Duryodhana. Thus addressed, the son of Virata by means of those large steeds endued with the speed of the wind and furnished with golden armour, broke that array of cars and took the Pandava into the midst of the battle-field. And seeing this those mighty car-warriors, Chitrasena and Sangramajit and Satrusaha and Jaya, desirous of aiding Karna, rushed with arrows and long shafts, towards the advancing hero of Bharata's race. Then that foremost of men, inflamed with wrath, began to consume by means of fiery arrows shot from his bow, that array of cars belonging to those bulls among the Kurus, like a tremendous conflagration consuming a forest. Then, when the battle began to rage furiously, the Kuru hero, Vikarna, mounted on his car, approached that foremost of car-warriors, Partha, the younger brother of Bhima,--showering upon him terrible shafts thick and long. Then cutting Vikarna's bow furnished with a tough string and horns overlaid with gold, Arjuna cut off his flagstaff. And Vikarna, beholding his flagstaff cut off, speedily took to flight. And after Vikarna's flight, Satruntapa, unable to repress his ire, began to afflict Partha, that obstructer of foes and achiever of super-human feats, by means of a perfect shower of arrows. And drowned, as it were, in the midst of the Kuru-array, Arjuna, pierced by that mighty car-warrior,--king Satruntapa--pierced the latter in return with five and then slew his car-driver with ten shafts, and pierced by that bull of the Bharata race with an arrow capable of cleaving the thickest coat of mail, Satruntapa fell dead on the field of battle, like a tree from a mountain-top torn up by the wind. And those brave bulls among men, mangled in battle by that braver bull among men, began to waver and tremble like mighty forests shaken by the violence of the wind that blows at the time of the universal dissolution. And struck in battle by Partha, the son of Vasava, those well-dressed heroes among men--those givers of wealth endued with the energy of Vasava--defeated and deprived of life, began to measure their lengths on the ground, like full-grown Himalayan elephants clad in mails of black steel decked with gold. And like unto a raging fire consuming a forest at the close of summer, that foremost of men, wielding the Gandiva, ranged the field in all directions, slaying his foes in battle thus. And as the wind rangeth at will, scattering masses of clouds and fallen leaves in the season of spring, so did that foremost of car-warriors--Kiritin--ranged in that battle, scattering all his foes before him. And soon slaying the red steeds yoked unto the car of Sangramajit, the brother of Vikatana's son, that hero decked in diadem and endued with great vigour then cut off his antagonist's head by a crescent-shaped arrow. And when his brother was slain, Vikartana's son of the Suta caste, mustering all his prowess, rushed at Arjuna, like a huge elephant with out-stretched tusks, or like a tiger at a mighty bull. And the son of Vikarna quickly pierced the son of Pandu with twelve shafts and all his steeds also in every part of their bodies and Virata's son too in his hand. And rushing impetuously against Vikarna's son who was suddenly advancing against him, Kiritin attacked him fiercely like Garuda of variegated plumage swooping down upon a snake. And both of them were foremost of bowmen, and both were endued with great strength, and both were capable of slaying foes. And seeing that an encounter was imminent between them, the Kauravas, anxious to witness it, stood aloof as lookers on. And beholding the offender Karna, the son of Pandu, excited to fury, and glad also at having him, soon made him, his horses, his car, and car-driver invisible by means of a frightful shower of countless arrows. And the warriors of the Bharatas headed by Bhishma, with their horses, elephants, and cars, pierced by Kiritin and rendered invisible by means of his shafts, their ranks also scattered and broken, began to wail aloud in grief. The illustrious and heroic Karna, however counteracting with numberless arrows of his own those shafts by Arjuna's hand, soon burst forth in view with bow and arrows like a blazing fire. And then there arose the sound of loud clapping of hands, with the blare of conchs and trumpets and kettle-drums made by the Kurus while they applauded Vikartana's son who filled the atmosphere with the sound of his bow-string flapping against his fence. And beholding Kiritin filling the air with the twang of Gandiva, and the upraised tail of the monkey that constituted his flag and that terrible creature yelling furiously from the top of his flagstaff, Karna sent forth a loud roar. And afflicting by means of his shafts, Vikartana's son along with his steeds, car and car-driver, Kiritin impetuously

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poured an arrowy shower on him, casting his eyes on the grandsire and Drona and Kripa. And Vikartana's son also poured upon Partha a heavy shower of arrows like a rain-charged cloud. And the diadem-decked Arjuna also covered Karna with a thick down-pour of keen-edged shafts. And the two heroes stationed on their cars, creating clouds of keen-edged arrows in a combat carried on by means of countless shafts and weapons, appeared to the spectators like the sun and the moon covered by clouds, and the light-handed Karna, unable to bear the sight of the foe, pierced the four horses of the diadem-decked hero with whetted arrows, and then struck his car-driver with three shafts, and his flagstaff also with three. Thus struck, that grinder of all adversaries in battle, that bull of the Kuru race, Jishnu wielding the Gandiva, like a lion awaked from slumber, furiously attacked Kama by means of straight-going arrows. And afflicted by the arrowy shower (of Karna), that illustrious achiever of super-human deeds soon displayed a thick shower of arrows in return. And he covered Karna's car with countless shafts like the sun covering the different worlds with rays. And like a lion attacked by an elephant, Arjuna, taking some keen crescent-shaped arrows from out of his quiver and drawing his bow to his ear, pierced the Suta's son on every part of his body. And that grinder of foes pierced Karna's arms and thighs and head and forehead and neck and other principal parts of his body with whetted shafts endued with the impetuosity of the thunderbolt and shot from the Gandiva in battle. And mangled and afflicted by the arrows shot by Partha the son of Pandu, Vikartana's son, quitted the van of battle, and quickly took to flight, like one elephant vanquished by another.'"

SECTION 55

"Vaisampayana said, 'After the son of Radha had fled from the field, other warriors headed by Duryodhana, one after another, fell upon the son of Pandu with their respective divisions. And like the shore withstanding the fury of the surging sea, that warrior withstood the rage of that countless host rushing towards him, arrayed in order of battle and showering clouds of arrows. And that foremost of car-warriors, Kunti's son Vibhatsu of white steeds, rushed towards the foe, discharging celestial weapons all the while. Partha soon covered all the points of the horizon with countless arrows shot from the Gandiva, like the sun covering the whole earth with his rays. And amongst those that fought on cars and horses and elephants, and amongst the mail-clad foot-soldiers, there was none that had on his body a space of even two finger's breadth unwounded with sharp arrows. And for his dexterity in applying celestial weapons, and for the training of the steeds and the skill of Uttara, and for the coursing of his weapons, and his prowess and light-handedness, people began to regard Arjuna as the fire that blazeth forth during the time of the universal dissolution for consuming all created things. And none amongst the foe could cast his eyes on Arjuna who shone like a blazing fire of great effulgence. And mangled by the arrows of Arjuna, the hostile ranks looked like newly-risen clouds on the breast of a hill reflecting the solar rays, or like groves of Asoka trees resplendent with clusters of flowers. Indeed, afflicted by the arrows of Partha, the soldiers looked like these, or like a beautiful garland whose flowers gradually wither and drop away: And the all-pervading wind bore on its wings in the sky the torn flags and umbrellas of the hostile host. And affrighted at the havoc amongst their own ranks, the steeds fled in all directions, freed from their yokes by means of Partha's arrows and dragging after them broken portions of cars and elephants, struck on their ears and ribs and tusks and nether lips and other delicate parts of the body, began to drop down on the battle-field. And the earth, bestrewn in a short time with the corpses of elephants belonging to the Kauravas, looked like the sky overcast with masses of black clouds. And as that fire of blazing flames at the end of the yuga consumeth all perishable things of the world, both mobile and immobile, so did Partha, O king, consumeth all foes in battle. And by the energy of his weapons and the twang of his bow, and the preter-natural yells of the creatures stationed on his flagstaff, and the terrible roar of the monkey, and by the blast of his conch, that mighty grinder of foes, Vibhatsu, struck terror into the hearts of all the troops of Duryodhana. And the strength of every hostile warrior seemed, as it were, to be levelled to the dust at the very sight of Arjuna. And unwilling to commit the daring act of sin of slaying them that were defenceless, Arjuna suddenly fell back and attacked the army from behind by means of clouds of keen-edged arrows proceeding towards their aims like hawks let off by fowlers. And he soon covered the entire welkin with clusters of blood-drinking arrows. And as the (infinite) rays of the powerful sun, entering a small vessel, are contracted within it for want of space, so the countless shafts of Arjuna could not find space for their expansion even within the vast welkin. Foes were able to behold Arjuna's car, when near, only once, for immediately after, they were with their horses, sent to the other world. And as his arrows unobstructed by the bodies of foes always passed through them, so his car, unimpeded by hostile ranks, always passed through the latter. And, indeed, he began to toss about and agitate the hostile troops with great violence like the thousand-headed Vasuki sporting in the great ocean. And as Kiritin incessantly shot his shafts, the noise of the bow-string, transcending every sound, was so loud that the like of it had never been heard before by created beings. And the elephants crowding the field, their bodies pierced with (blazing) arrows with small intervals between looked like black clouds coruscated with solar rays. And ranging in all directions and shooting (arrows) right and left, Arjuna's bow was always to be seen drawn to a perfect circle. And the arrows of the wielder of the Gandiva never fell upon anything except the aim, even as the eye never dwelleth on anything that is not beautiful. And as the track of a herd of elephants marching through the forest is made of itself, so was the track was made of itself for the car of Kiritin. And struck and mangled by Partha, the hostile warriors thought that,--Verily, Indra himself, desirous of Partha's victory, accompanied by all the immortals is slaying us! And they also regarded Vijaya, who was making a terrible slaughter around, to be none else than Death himself who having assumed the form of Arjuna, was slaying all creatures. And the troops of the Kurus, struck by Partha, were so mangled and shattered that the scene looked like the achievement of Partha himself and could be compared with nothing else save what was observable in Partha's combats. And he severed the heads of foes, even as reapers cut off the tops of deciduous herbs. And the Kurus all lost their energy owing to the terror begot of Arjuna. And tossed and mangled by the Arjuna-gale, the forest of Arjuna's foes reddened the earth with purple secretions. And the dust mixed with blood, uplifted by the wind, made the very rays of the sun redder still. And soon the sun-decked sky became so red that it looked very much like the evening. Indeed, the sun ceaseth to shed his rays as soon as he sets, but the son of Pandu ceased not to shoot his shafts. And that hero of inconceivable energy overwhelmed, by means of all celestial weapons, all the great bowmen of the enemy, although they were possessed of great prowess. And Arjuna then shot three and seventy arrows of sharp points at Drona, and ten at Dussaha and eight at Drona's son, and twelve at Dussasana, and three at Kripa, the son of Saradwat. And that slayer of foes pierced Bhishma, the son of Santanu, with arrows, and king Duryodhana with a hundred. And, lastly, he pierced Karna in the ear with a bearded shaft. And when that great bowmen Karna, skilled in all weapons, was thus pierced, and his horses and car and car-driver were all destroyed, the troops that supported him began to break. And beholding those soldiers break and give way the son of Virata desirous of knowing Partha's purpose, addressed him on the field of battle, and said, 'O Partha, standing on this beautiful car, with myself as charioteer, towards which division shall I go? For, commanded by thee, I would soon take thee thither.'

"Arjuna replied, 'O Uttara, yonder auspicious warrior whom thou seest cased in coat of tiger-skin and stationed on his car furnished with a blue-flag and drawn by red steeds, is Kripa. There is to be seen the van of Kripa's division. Take me thither. I shall show that great bowman my swift-handedness in archery. And that warrior whose flag beareth the device of an elegant water-pot worked in gold, is the preceptor Drona--that foremost of all wielders of weapons. He is always an object of regard with me, as also with all bearers of arms. Do thou, therefore, circumambulate that great hero cheerfully. Let us bend our heads there, for that is the eternal virtue. If Drona strikes my body first, then I shall strike him, for then he will not be able to resent it. There, close to Drona, that warrior whose flag beareth the device of a bow, is the preceptor's son, the great car-warrior Aswatthaman, who is always an object of regard with me as also with every bearer of arms. Do thou, therefore, stop again and again, while thou comest by his car. There, that warrior who stayeth on his car, cased in golden mail and surrounded by a third part of the army consisting of the most efficient troops, and whose flag beareth the device of an elephant in a ground of gold, is the illustrious king Duryodhana, the son of Dhritarashtra. O hero, take before him this thy car that is capable of grinding hostile cars. This king is difficult of being vanquished in battle and is capable of grinding all foes. He is regarded as the first of all Drona's disciples in lightness of hand. I shall, in battle, show him my superior swiftness in archery. There, that warrior whose flag beareth the device of a stout chord for binding elephants, is Karna, the son of Vikartana, already known to thee. When thou comest before that wicked son of Radha, be thou very careful, for he always challengeth me to an encounter. And that warrior whose flag is blue and beareth the device of five stars with a sun (in the centre), and who endued with great energy stayeth on his car holding a huge bow in hand and wearing excellent fences, and over whose head is an umbrella of pure white, who standeth at the head of a multitudinous array of cars with various flags and banners like the sun in advance of masses of black clouds, and whose mail of gold looks bright as the sun or the moon, and who with his helmet of gold striketh terror into my heart, is Bhishma, the son of Santanu and the grandsire of us all. Entertained with regal splendour by Duryodhana, he is very partial and well-affected towards that prince. Let him be approached last of all, for he may, even now, be an obstacle to me. While fighting with me, do thou carefully guide the steeds. Thus addressed by him, Virata's son, O king, guided Savyasachin's car with great alacrity towards the spot where Kripa stood anxious to fight.'"

SECTION 56

"Vaisampayana said, 'And the ranks of those fierce bowmen, the Kurus, looked like masses of clouds in the rainy season drifting before a gentle wind. And close (to those ranks of foot-soldiers) stood the enemy's horses ridden by terrible warriors. And there were also elephants of terrible mien, looking resplendent in beautiful armour, ridden by skilled combatants and urged on with iron crows and hooks. And, O king, mounted on a beautiful car, Sakra came there accompanied by the celestials,--the Viswas and Maruts. And crowded with gods, Yakshas, Gandharvas and Nagas, the firmament looked as resplendent as it does when bespangled with the planetary constellation in a cloudless night. And the celestials came there, each on his own car, desirous of beholding the efficacy of their weapons in human warfare, and for witnessing also the fierce and mighty combat that would take place when Bhishma and Arjuna would meet. And embellished with gems of every kind and capable of going everywhere at the will of the rider, the heavenly car of the lord of the celestials, whose roof was upheld by a hundred thousand pillars of gold with (a central) one made entirely of jewels and gems, was conspicuous in the clear sky. And there appeared on the scene three and thirty gods with Vasava (at their head), and (many) Gandharvas and Rakshasas and Nagas and Pitris, together with the great Rishis. And seated on the car of the lord of the celestials, appeared the effulgent persons of king, Vasumanas and Valakshas and Supratarddana, and Ashtaka and Sivi and Yayati and Nahusha and Gaya and Manu and Puru and Raghu and Bhanu and Krisaswa and Sagara and Nala. And there shone in a splendid array, each in its proper place the cars of Agni and Isa and Soma and Varuna and Prajapati and Dhatri and Vidhatri and Kuvera and Yama, and Alamvusha and Ugrasena and others, and of the Gandharva Tumburu. And all the celestials and the Siddhas, and all the foremost of sages came there to behold that encounter between Arjuna and the Kurus. And the sacred fragrance of celestial garlands filled the air like that of blossoming woods at the advent of spring. And the red and reddish umbrellas and robes and garlands and chamaras of the gods, as they were stationed there, looked exceedingly beautiful. And the dust of the earth soon disappeared and (celestial) effulgence lit up everything. And redolent of divine perfumes, the breeze began to soothe the combatants. And the firmament seemed ablaze and exceedingly beautiful, decked with already arrived and arriving cars of handsome and various make, all illumined with diverse sorts of jewels, and brought thither by the foremost of the celestials. And surrounded by the celestials, and wearing a garland of lotuses and lilies the powerful wielder of the thunderbolt looked exceedingly beautiful on his car. And the slayer of Vala, although he steadfastly gazed at his son on the field of battle, was not satiated with such gazing,'"

SECTION 57

"Vaisampayana said, 'Beholding the army of the Kurus arrayed in order of battle, that descendant of the Kuru race, Partha, addressing Virata's son, said, 'Do thou proceed to the spot where Kripa, the son of Saradwat, is going by the southern side of that car whose flag is seen to bear the device of a golden altar.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words of Dhananjaya, the son of Virata urged, without a moment's delay, those steeds of silvery hue decked in golden armour. And making them adopt, one after another, every kind of the swifter paces, he urged those fiery steeds resembling the moon in colour. And versed in horse-lore, Uttara, having approached the Kuru host, turned back those steeds endued with the speed of the wind. And skilled in guiding vehicles, the prince of Matsya, sometimes wheeling about, and sometimes proceeding in circular mazes, and sometimes turning to the left, began to be wilder the Kurus. And wheeling round, the intrepid and mighty son of Virata at last approached the car of Kripa, and stood confronting him. Then announcing his own name, Arjuna powerfully blew that best of conchs called Devadatta, of loud blare. And blown on the field of battle by the mighty Jishnu, the blare of that conch was heard like the splitting of a mountain. And seeing that the conch did not break into a hundred fragments when blown by Arjuna, the Kurus with all their warriors began to applaud it highly. And having reached the very heavens, that sound coming back was heard even like the crash of the thunderbolt hurled by Maghavat on the mountain breast. Thereupon that heroic and intrepid and mighty car-warrior, Saradwat's son Kripa, endued with strength and prowess, waxing wroth at Arjuna, and unable to bear that sound and eager for fight, took up his own sea-begotten conch and blew it vehemently. And filling the three worlds with that sound,

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that foremost of car-warriors took up a large bow and twanged the bow-string powerfully. And those mighty car-warriors, equal unto two suns, standing opposed to each other, shone like two masses of autumnal clouds. Then Saradwat's son quickly pierced Partha, that slayer of hostile heroes, with ten swift and whetted arrows capable of entering into the very vitals. And Pritha's son also, on his part, drawing that foremost of weapons, the Gandiva, celebrated over the world, shot innumerable iron-arrows, all capable of penetrating into the very core of the body. Thereupon Kripa, by means of whetted shafts, cut into hundreds and thousands of fragments, those blood-drinking arrows of Partha before they could come up. Then that mighty car-warrior, Partha also, in wrath displaying various manoeuvres, covered all sides with a shower of arrows. And covering the entire welkin with his shafts, that mighty warrior of immeasurable soul, the son of Pritha, enveloped Kripa with hundred of shafts. And sorely afflicted by those whetted arrows resembling flames of fire, Kripa waxed wroth and quickly afflicting the high-souled Partha of immeasurable prowess with ten thousand shafts, set up on the field of battle a loud roar. Then the heroic Arjuna quickly pierced the four steeds of his adversary with four fatal arrows shot from the Gandiva, sharp and straight, and furnished with golden wings. And pierced by means of those whetted arrows resembling flames of fire those steeds suddenly reared themselves, and in consequence Kripa reeled off his place. And seeing Gautama thrown off his place, the slayer of hostile heroes, the descendant of the Kuru race, out of regard for his opponent's dignity, ceased to discharge his shafts at him. Then regaining his proper place, Gautama quickly pierced Savyasachin with ten arrows furnished with feathers of the Kanka bird. Then with a crescent-shaped arrow of keen edge, Partha cut off Kripa's bow and leathern fences. And soon Partha cut off Kripa's coat of mail also by means of arrows capable of penetrating the very vitals, but he did not wound his person. And divested of his coat of mail, his body resembled that of a serpent which hath in season cast off its slough. And as soon as his bow had been cut off by Partha, Gautama took up another and stringed it in a trice. And strange to say, that bow of him was also cut off by Kunti's son, by means of straight shafts. And in this way that slayer of hostile heroes, the son of Pandu, cut off other bows as soon as they were taken up, one after another, by Saradwat's son. And when all his bows were thus cut off, that mighty hero hurled, from his car, at Pandu's son, a javelin like unto the blazing thunderbolt. Thereupon, as the gold-decked javelin came whizzing through the air with the flash of a meteor, Arjuna cut it off by means of ten arrows. And beholding his dart thus cut off by the intelligent Arjuna, Kripa quickly took up another bow and almost simultaneously shot a number of crescent-shaped arrows. Partha, however, quickly cut them into fragments by means of ten keen-edged shafts, and endued with great energy, the son of Pritha then, inflamed with wrath on the field of battle, discharged three and ten arrows whetted on stone and resembling flames of fire. And with one of these he cut off the yoke of his adversary's car, and with four pierced his four steeds, and with the sixth he severed the head of his antagonist's car-driver from off his body. And with three that mighty car-warrior pierced, in that encounter, the triple bamboo-pole of Kripa's car and with two, its wheels. And with the twelfth arrow he cut off Kripa's flagstaff. And with the thirteenth Falguni, who was like Indra himself as if smiling in derision, pierced Kripa in the breast. Then with his bow cut off, his car broken, his steeds slain, his car-driver killed, Kripa leapt down and taking up a mace quickly hurled it at Arjuna. But that heavy and polished mace hurled by Kripa was sent back along its course, struck by means of Arjuna's arrows. And then the warriors (of Kripa's division), desirous of rescuing wrathful son of Saradwat encountered Partha from all sides and covered him with their arrows. Then the son of Virata, turning the steed to the left began to perform circuitous evolution called Yamaka and thus withstood all those warriors. And those illustrious bulls among men, taking Kripa with them who had been deprived of his car, led him away from the vicinity of Dhananiaya, the son of Kunti.'"

SECTION 58

"Vaisampayana said, 'After Kripa had thus been taken away, the invincible Drona of red steeds, taking up his bow to which he had already stringed an arrow, rushed towards Arjuna of white steeds. And beholding at no great distance from him the preceptor advancing on his golden car, Arjuna that foremost of victorious warriors, addressing Uttara, said, 'Blessed be thou, O friend, carry me before that warrior on whose high banner-top is seen a golden altar resembling a long flame of fire and decked with numerous flags placed around, and whose car is drawn by steeds that are red and large, exceedingly handsome and highly-trained, of face pleasant and of quiet mien, and like unto corals in colour and with faces of coppery hue, for that warrior is Drona with whom I desire to fight. Of long arms and endued with mighty energy possessed of strength and beauty of person, celebrated over all the worlds for his prowess, resembling Usanas himself in intelligence and Vrihaspati in knowledge of morality, he is conversant with the four Vedas and devoted to the practice of Brahmacharya virtues. O friend, the use of the celestial weapons together with the mysteries of their withdrawal and the entire-science of weapons, always reside in him. Forgiveness, self-control, truth, abstention from injury, rectitude of conduct,--these and countless other virtues always dwell in that regenerate one. I desire to fight with that highly-blessed one on the field. Therefore, take me before the preceptor and carry me thither, O Uttara.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed by Arjuna, Virata's son urged his steeds decked with gold towards the car of Bharadwaja's son. And Drona also rushed towards the impetuously advancing Partha, the son of Pandu,--that foremost of car-warriors,--like an infuriate elephant rushing towards an infuriate compeer. And the son of Bharadwaja then blew his conch whose blare resembled that of a hundred trumpets. And at that sound the whole army become agitated like the sea in a tempest. And beholding those excellent steeds red in hue mingling in battle with Arjuna's steeds of swan-like whiteness endued with the speed of the mind, all the spectators were filled with wonder. And seeing on the field of battle those car-warriors--the preceptor Drona and his disciple Partha--both endued with prowess, both invincible, both well-trained, both possessed of great energy and great strength, engaged with each other, that mighty host of the Bharatas began to tremble frequently. And that mighty car-warrior Partha, possessed of great prowess and filled with joy upon reaching Drona's car on his own, saluted the preceptor. And that slayer of hostile heroes, the mighty armed son of Kunti, then addressed Drona in an humble and sweet tone, saying, 'Having completed our exile in the woods, we are now desirous of avenging our wrongs. Even invincible in battle, it doth not behove thee to be angry with us. O sinless one, I will not strike thee unless thou strikest me first. Even this is my intention. It behoveth thee to act as thou choosest.' Thus addressed Drona discharged at him more than twenty arrows. But the light-handed Partha cut them off before they could reach him. And at this, the mighty Drona, displaying his lightness of hand in the use of weapons, covered Partha's car with a thousand arrows. And desirous of angering, Partha, that hero of immeasurable soul, then covered his steeds of silvery whiteness with arrows whetted on stone and winged with the feathers of the Kanka bird. And when the battle between Drona and Kiritin thus commenced, both of them discharging in the encounter arrows of blazing splendour, both well-known for their achievements, both equal to the wind itself in speed, both conversant with celestial weapons, and both endued with mighty energy, began shooting clouds of arrows to bewilder the royal Kshatriyas. And all the warriors that were assembled there were filled with wonder at sight of all this. And they all admired Drona who quickly shot clouds of arrows exclaiming,--Well done! Well done! Indeed, who else save Falguna, is worthy of fighting with Drona in battle? Surely the duties of a Kshatriya are stern, for Arjuna fighteth with even his own preceptor!--And it was thus that they who stood on the field of battle said unto one another. And inflamed with fire, those mighty-armed heroes standing before other, and each incapable of overcoming the other, covered each other with arrowy showers. And Bharadwaja's son, waxing worth, drew his large and unconquerable bow plated on the back with gold, and pierced Falguna with his arrows. And discharging at Arjuna's car innumerable whetted arrows possessed of solar effulgence, he entirely shrouded the light of the sun. And that great car-warrior of mighty arms, violently pierced Pritha's son with keen-edged shafts even as the clouds shower upon a mountain. Then taking up that foremost of bows, the Gandiva, destructive of foes and capable of withstanding the greatest strain, the impetuous son of Pandu cheerfully discharged countless shafts of various kinds adorned with gold, and that powerful warrior also baffled in a moment Drona's arrowy shower by means of those shafts shot from his own bow. And at this the spectators wondered greatly. And the handsome Dhananjaya, the son of Pritha, ranging on his car, displayed his weapons on all sides at the same time. And the entire welkin covered with his arrows, became one wide expanse of shade. And at this Drona become invisible like the sun enveloped in mist. And shrouded by those excellent arrows on all sides, Drona looked like a mountain on fire. And beholding his own car completely enveloped by the arrows of Pritha's son, Drona that ornament of battle, bent his terrible and foremost of bows whose noise was as loud as that of the clouds. And drawing that first of weapons, which was like unto a circle of fire, he discharged a cloud of keen-edged shafts. And then there were heard on the field loud sounds like the splitting of bamboos set on fire. And that warrior of immeasurable soul, shooting from his bow arrows furnished with golden wings, covered all sides, shrouding the very light of the sun. And those arrows with knots well-peeled off, and furnished with golden wings, looked like flocks of birds in the sky. And the arrows discharged by Drona from his bow, touching one another at the wings, appeared like one endless line in the sky. And those heroes, thus discharging their arrows decked with gold, seemed to cover the sky with showers of meteors. And furnished with feathers of the Kanka bird, those arrows looked like rows of cranes ranging in the autumnal sky. And the fierce and terrible encounter that took place between the illustrious Drona and Arjuna resembled that between Virata and Vasava of old. And discharging arrows at each other from bows drawn at their fullest stretch, they resembled two elephants assailing each other with their tusks. And those wrathful warriors--those ornaments of battle--fighting strictly according to established usage, displayed in that conflict various celestial weapons in due order. Then that foremost of victorious men, Arjuna, by means of his keen shafts resisted the whetted arrows shot by that best of preceptors. And displaying before the spectators various weapons, that hero of terrible prowess covered the sky with various kinds of arrows. And beholding that tiger among men, Arjuna, endued with fierce energy and intent upon striking him, that foremost of warriors and best of preceptors (from affection) began to fight with him playfully by means of smooth and straight arrows. And Bharadwaja's son fought on with Falguna, resisting with his own the celestial weapons shot by the former. And the fight that took place between those enraged lions among men, incapable of bearing each other, was like unto encounter between the gods and the Danavas. And the son of Pandu repeatedly baffled with his own, the Aindra, the Vayavya, and the Agneya weapons that were shot by Drona. And discharging keen shafts, those mighty bowmen, by their arrowy showers completely covered the sky and made a wide expanse of shade. And then the arrows shot by Arjuna, falling on the bodies of hostile warriors, produced the crash of thunderbolt. O king, elephants, cars, and horses, bathed in blood, looked like Kinsuka trees crowned with flowers. And in that encounter between Drona and Arjuna, beholding the field covered with arms decked with bangles, and gorgeously-attired car-warriors, and coats of mail variegated with gold, and with banners lying scattered all about, and with warriors slain by means of Partha's arrows, the Kuru host became panic-stricken. And shaking their bows capable of bearing much strain, those combatants began to shroud and weaken each other with their shafts. And, O bull of the Bharata race, the encounter that took place between Drona and Kunti's son was dreadful in the extreme and resembled that between Vali and Vasava. And staking their very lives, they began to pierce each other straight arrows shot from their fully-stretched bow-strings. And a voice was heard in the sky applauding Drona, and saying, 'Difficult is the feat performed by Drona, inasmuch as he fighteth with Arjuna,--that grinder of foes, that warrior endued with mighty energy, of firm grasp, and invincible in battle,--that conqueror of both celestials and Daityas, that foremost of all car-warriors.' And beholding Partha's infallibility, training, fleetness of hand, and the range also of Arjuna's, arrows, Drona became amazed. And, O bull of the Bharata race, lifting up his excellent bow, the Gandiva the unforbearing Partha drew it now with one hand and now with another shot an arrowy shower. And beholding that shower resembling a flight of locusts, the spectators wondering applauded him exclaiming, 'Excellent'! 'Excellent'! And so ceaselessly did he shoot his arrows that the very air was unable to penetrate the thick array. And the spectators could not perceive any interval between the taking up of the arrows and letting them off. And in that fierce encounter characterised by lightness of hand in the discharge of weapons, Partha began to shoot his arrows more quickly than before. And then all at once hundreds and thousands of straight arrows fell upon Drona's car. And, O bull of the Bharata race, beholding Drona completely covered by the wielder of the Gandiva with his arrows, the Kuru army set up exclamation of 'Oh'! and 'Alas'! And Maghavat, together with those Gandharvas and Apsaras that have come there, applauded the fleetness of Partha's hand. And that mighty car-warrior, the preceptor's son, then resisted the Pandva with a mighty array of cars. And although enraged with Arjuna, yet Aswatthaman mentally admired that feat of the high-souled son of Pritha. And waxing wroth, he rushed towards Partha, and discharged at him an arrowy shower like a heavy down-pour by the cloud. And turning his steeds towards Drona's son, Partha gave Drona an opportunity to leave the field. And thereupon the latter, wounded in that terrible encounter, and his mail and banner gone sped away by the aid of swift horses.'"

SECTION 59

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then, O mighty king, Drona's son rushed to an encounter with Arjuna in battle. And beholding his rush to the conflict like a hurricane, showering shafts like a rain charged cloud Pritha's son received him with a cloud of arrows. And terrible was the encounter between them, like that between the gods and the Danavas. And they shot arrows at each other like Virata and Vasava. And the welkin being enveloped on all sides with arrows, the sun was completely hidden, and the air itself was hushed. And, O conqueror of hostile cities, as they assailed and struck each other, loud sounds arose as of bamboos on fire. And, O king,

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Aswatthaman's horses being sorely afflicted by Arjuna, they became bewildered and could not ascertain which way to go. And as Pritha's son ranged on the field, the powerful son of Drona finding an opportunity, cut off the string of the Gandiva with an arrow furnished with a horse-shoe head And beholding that extraordinary feat of his, the celestials applauded him highly. And exclaiming--'Well done'!---'Well done'! Drona and Bhishma, and Karna, and the mighty warrior Kripa, all applauded that feat of his greatly. And the son of Drona, drawing his excellent bow, pierced with his shafts, furnished with the feathers of the Kanka bird, the breast of Partha, that bull among warriors. Thereupon, with a loud laughter, the mighty-armed son of Pritha attached a strong and fresh string to Gandiva. And moistening his bow-string with the sweat that stood on his forehead resembling the crescent moon, Pritha's son advanced towards his adversary, even as an infuriated leader of a herd of elephants rusheth at another elephant. And the encounter that took place between those two matchless heroes on the field of battle was exceedingly fierce and made the bristles of the spectators stand on their ends. And as those heroes endued with mighty energy fought on, the two mighty elephants, the Kurus beheld them with wonder. And those brave bulls among men assailed each other with arrows of snaky forms and resembling blazing fires. And as the couple of quivers belonging to the Pandava was inexhaustible, that hero was able to remain on the field immovable as a mountain. And as Aswatthaman's arrows, in consequence of his ceaseless discharge in that conflict, were quickly exhausted, it was for this that Arjuna prevailed over his adversary. Then Karna, drawing his large bow with great force twanged the bow-string. And thereupon arose loud exclamation of 'Oh'! and 'Alas'! And Pritha's son, casting his eyes towards the spot where that bow was twanged, beheld before him the son of Radha. And at that sight his wrath was greatly excited. And inflamed with ire and desirous of slaying Karna, that bull of the Kuru race stared at him with rolling eyes. And, O king, beholding Partha turn away from Aswatthaman's side, the Kuru warriors discharged thousands of arrows on Arjuna. And the mighty-armed Dhananjaya, that conqueror of foes, leaving Drona's son, all on a sudden rushed towards Karna. And rushing towards Karna, with eyes reddened in anger the son of Kunti, desirous of a single combat with him, said these words."

SECTION 60

"Arjuna said, 'The time, O Karna, hath now come for making good thy loquacious boast in the midst of the assembly, viz., that there is none equal to thee in fight. Today, O Karna, contending with me in terrible conflict, thou shalt know thy own strength, and shalt no longer disregard others. Abandoning good breeding, thou hadst uttered many harsh words, but this that thou endeavourest to do, is, I think, exceedingly difficult. Do thou now, O Radha's son, contending with me in the sight of the Kurus, make good what thou hadst said before in disregard of myself. Thou who hadst witnessed Panchala's princess outraged by villains in the midst of the court, do thou now reap the fruit of that act of thine. Fettered by the bonds of morality before, I desisted from vengeance then. Behold now, O son of Radha, the fruit of that wrath in conflict at hand. O wicked wight, we have suffered much misery in that forest for full twelve; years. Reap thou today the fruits of our concentrated vengeance. Come, O Karna, cope with me in battle. Let these thy Kaurava warriors witness the conflict. Hearing these words, Karna replied, 'Do thou, O Partha, accomplish in deed what thou sayst in words. The world knows that thy words verily exceed thy deed. That thou hadst foreborne formerly was owing to thy inability to do anything. If we witness thy prowess even now, we may acknowledge its truth. If thy past forbearance was due to thy having been bound by the bonds of morality, truly thou art equally bound now although thou regardest thyself free. Having as thou sayst, passed thy exile in the woods in strict accordance with thy pledge and being therefore weakened by practising an ascetic course of life, how canst thou desire a combat with me now! O Pritha's son, if Sakra himself fight on thy side, still I would feel no anxiety in putting forth my prowess. Thy wish, O son of Kunti, is about to be gratified. Do thou fight with me now, and behold my strength.' Hearing this, Arjuna said, 'Even now, O Radha's son, thou hadst fled from battle with me, and it is for this that thou livest although thy younger brother hath been slain. What other person, save thee, having beheld his younger brother slain in battle would himself fly from the field, and boast as thou dost, amid good and true men?"

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having said these words unto Karna, the invincible Vibhatsu rushed at him and charged a volley, of shafts capable of penetrating through a coat of mail. But that mighty car-warrior, Karna, received with great alacrity that discharge with an arrowy shower of his own, heavy as the downpour of the clouds. And that fierce volley of arrows covered all sides and severally pierced the steeds and arms and leathern fences of the combatants. And incapable of putting up with that assault, Arjuna cut off the strings of Karna's quiver by means of a straight and sharp arrow. Thereupon, taking out from his quiver another arrow, Karna pierced the Pandava in the hand at which the latter's hold of the bow was loosened. And then the mighty-armed Partha cut off Karna's bow into fragments. And Karna replied by hurling a dart at his adversary, but Arjuna cut it off by means of his arrows. And then the warriors that followed the son of Radha rushed in crowds at Arjuna, but Partha sent them all to the abode of Yama by means of arrows shot from the Gandiva. And Vibhatsu slew the steeds of Karna by means of sharp and tough arrows shot from the bow-string drawn to the ear, and deprived of life they dropped down on the ground. And taking another sharp and blazing arrow endued with great energy, the mighty son of Kunti pierced the breast of Kama. And that arrow, cleaving through his mail, penetrated into his body. And at this, Karna's vision was obscured and his senses left him. And regaining consciousness, he felt a great pain, and leaving the combat fled in a northernly direction. And at this, the mighty car-warrior Arjuna and Uttara, both began to address him contumely.'"

SECTION 61

"Vaisampayana said, 'Having defeated Vikartana's son, Arjuna said unto the son of Virata, 'Take me towards that division where yonder device of a golden palmyra is seen. There our grandfather, Santanu's son, like unto a celestial, waiteth, desirous of an encounter with me.' Thereupon, beholding that mighty host thronged with cars and horses and elephants, Uttara, sorely pierced with arrows, said, 'O hero, I am no longer able to guide thy excellent steeds. My spirits droop and my mind is exceedingly bewildered. All the directions seem to be whirling before my eyes in consequence of the energy of the celestial weapons used by thee and the Kurus. I have been deprived of my senses by the stench of fat and blood and flesh. Beholding all this, from terror my mind is, as it were, cleft in twain. Never before had I beheld such a muster of horses in battle. And at the flapping of fences, and the blare of conchs, the leonine roars made by the warriors and the shrieks of elephants, and the twang of the Gandiva resembling the thunder, I have, O hero, been so stupefied that I have been deprived of both hearing and memory. And, O hero, beholding thee incessantly drawing to a circle, in course of the conflict, the Gandiva which resembleth a circle of fire, my sight faileth me and my heart is rent asunder. And seeing thy fierce form in battle, like that of the wielder of the Pinaka while inflamed with wrath, and looking also at the terrible arrows shot by thee, I am filled with fear. I fail to see when thou takest up thy excellent arrows, when thou fixest them on the bow-string, and when thou lettest them off. And though all this is done before my eyes, yet, deprived of my senses, I do not see it. My spirits are drooping and earth itself seems to be swimming before me. I have no strength to hold the whip and the reins.' Hearing these words, Arjuna said, 'Do thou not fear. Assure thyself. Thou also hast, on the field of battle performed, O bull among men, wonderful feats. Blessed be thou, thou art a prince and born in the illustrious line of Matsyas. It behoveth thee not to feel dispirited in chastising thy foes. Therefore, O prince, stationed on my car, muster all thy fortitude and hold the reins of my steeds, O slayer of foes, when I once more become engaged in battle.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having said this unto Virata's son, that best of men and foremost of car-warriors, the mighty-armed Arjuna, again addressed the son of Virata, saying. 'Take me without delay to the van of Bhishma's division. I will cut off his very bow-string in the battle. Thou shalt behold today the celestial weapons of blazing beauty, shot by me, look like flashes of lightning disporting amid the clouds in the sky. The Kauravas shall behold the gold decked back of my Gandiva today, and assembled together the foe shall dispute, saying,--By which hand of his, the right or the left, doth he should? And I shall cause a dreadful river (of death) to flow today towards the other world with blood for its waters and cars for its eddies, and elephants for its crocodiles. I shall today, with my straight arrows, extirpate the Kuru forest having hands and feet and heads and backs and arms for the branches of its trees. Alone, bow in hand, vanquishing the Kuru host, a hundred paths shall open before me like those of a forest in conflagration. Struck by me thou shalt today behold the Kuru army moving round and round like a wheel (unable to fly off the field). I shall show thee today my excellent training in arrows and weapons. Stay thou on my car firmly, whether the ground be smooth or uneven. I can pierce with my winged arrows even the mountain of Sumeru that stands touching the very heavens. I slew of old, at Indra's command, hundreds and thousands of Paulomas and Kalakhanjas in battle. I have obtained my firmness of grasp from Indra, and my lightness of hand from Brahman, and I have learnt various modes of fierce attack and defence amid crowds of foes from Prajapati. I vanquished, on the other side of the great ocean, sixty thousands of car-warriors--all fierce archers--residing in Hiranyapura. Behold, now I defeat the multitudinous host of the Kurus like a tempest scattering a heap of cotton. With my fiery arrows I shall today set the Kuru-forest to fire, having banners for its trees, the foot-soldiers for its shrubs, and the car-warriors for its beasts of prey. Like unto the wielder of the thunderbolt overthrowing the Danavas, alone I shall, with my straight arrows, bring down from the chambers of their cars the mighty warrior of the Kuru army stationed therein and struggling in the conflict to the best of their power. I have obtained from Rudra the Raudra, from Varuna the Varuna from Agni the Agneya, from the god of Wind the Vayava, and from Sakra the thunderbolt and other weapons. I shall certainly exterminate the fierce Dhartarashtra-forest though protected by many leonine warriors. Therefore, O Virata's son, let thy fears be dispelled.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus assured by Savyasachin, the son of Virata penetrated into that fierce array of cars protected by Bhishma. The son of Ganga, however, of fierce deeds, cheerfully withstood the mighty-armed hero advancing from desire of vanquishing the heroes in battle. Jishnu, then, confronting Bhishma, cut off his standard clean off at the roots by shooting a gold-decked arrow pierced by which it fell to the ground. And at this, four mighty warriors, Dussasana and Vikarna and Dussaha and Vivingsati, skilled in weapons and endued with great energy, and all decked with handsome garlands and ornaments, rushed towards that terrible bowman. And advancing towards Vibhatsu--that fierce archer, these all encompassed him around. Then the heroic Dussasana pierced the son of Virata with a crescent-shaped arrow and he pierced Arjuna with another arrow in the breast. And Jishnu, confronting Dussasana, cut off by means of a sharp-edged arrow furnished with vulturine wings his adversary's bow plaited with gold, and then pierced his person in the breast by means of five arrows. And afflicted by the arrows of Partha. Dussasana fled, leaving the combat. Then Vikarna, the son of Dhritarashtra, pierced Arjuna--that slayer of hostile heroes, by means of sharp and straight arrows furnished with vulturine wings. But the son of Kunti within a moment hit him also in the forehead with straight shafts. And pierced by Arjuna, he fell down from his car. And at this, Dussaha, supported by Vivingsati, covered Arjuna with a cloud of sharp arrows, impelled by the desire of rescuing his brother. Dhananjaya, however, without the least anxiety, pierced both of them almost at the same instant by means of couple of keen-edged arrows and then slew the steeds of both. And there upon, both those sons of Dhritarashtra, deprived of their steeds and their bodies mangled were taken away by the warrior behind them who had rushed forward with other cars. Then the unvanquished Vibhatsu, the mighty son of Kunti, decked with diadem and sure of aim, simultaneously attacked all sides with his arrows.'"

SECTION 62

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then, O thou of the Bharata race, all the great car-warriors of the Kurus, united together, began to assail Arjuna to the best of their might from all sides. But that hero of immeasurable soul completely covered all those mighty car-warriors with clouds of arrows, even as the mist covereth the mountains. And the roars of huge elephants and conchs, mingling together, produced a loud up roar. And penetrating through the bodies of elephants and horses as also through steel coats of mail, the arrows shot by Partha fell by thousands. And shooting shafts with the utmost celerity, the son of Pandu seemed in that contest to resemble the blazing sun of an autumnal midday. And afflicted with fear, the car-warriors began to leap down from their cars and the horse-soldiers from horse-back, while the foot-soldiers began to fly in all directions. And loud was the clatter made by Arjuna's shafts as they cleft the coats of mail belonging to mighty warriors, made of steel, silver, and copper. And the field was soon covered with the corpses of warriors mounted on elephants and horses, all mangled by the shafts of Partha of great impetuosity like unto sighing snakes. And then it seemed as if Dhananjaya, bow in hand, was dancing on the field of battle. And sorely affrighted at the twang of the Gandiva resembling the noise of the thunder, many were the combatants that fled from that terrible conflict. And the field of battle was bestrewn with severed heads decked with turbans, ear-rings and necklaces of gold, and the earth looked beautiful by being scattered all over with human trunks mangled by shafts, and arms having bows in their grasp and hands decked with ornaments. And, O bull of the Bharata race, in consequence of heads cut off by whetted shafts ceaselessly falling on the ground, it seemed as if a shower of stones fell from the sky. And that Partha of formidable prowess, displaying his fierceness, now ranged the field of battle, pouring the terrible fire of his wrath upon the sons of Dhritarashtra. And beholding the fierce prowess of Arjuna who thus scorched the hostile host, the Kuru warriors, in the very presence of Duryodhana, became dispirited and ceased to fight. And, O Bharata, having struck terror into that host and routed those mighty car-warriors, that fore-most of victors, ranged on the field. And the son of Pandu then created on the field of battle a dreadful river of blood, with waving billows, like unto the river of death that is created by Time at the end of the Yuga, having the dishevelled hair of the dead and the dying for its floating moss and straw, with bows and arrows for its boats, fierce in the extreme and having flesh

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and animal juices for its mire. And coats of mail and turbans floated thick on its surface. And elephants constituted its alligators and the cars its rafts. And marrow and fat and blood constituted its currents. And it was calculated to strike terror into the hearts of the spectators. And dreadful to behold, and fearful in the extreme, and resounding with the yells of ferocious beasts, keen edged weapons constituted its crocodiles. And Rakshasas and other cannibals haunted it from one end to the other. And strings of pearls constituted its ripples, and various excellent ornaments, its bubbles. And having swarms of arrows for its fierce eddies and steeds for its tortoises, it was incapable of being crossed. And the mighty car warrior constituted its large island, and it resounded with the bleat of conchs and the sound of drums. And the river of blood that Partha created was incapable of being crossed. Indeed, so swift-handed was Arjuna that the spectators could not perceive any interval between his taking up an arrow, and fixing it on the bow-string, and letting it off by a stretch of the Gandiva.'"

SECTION 63

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then while a great havoc was being made among the Kurus, Santanu's son, Bhishma, and grandsire of the Bharatas rushed at Arjuna, taking up an excellent bow adorned with gold, and many arrows also of keen points and capable of piercing into the very vitals of the foe and afflicting him sorely. And in consequence of a white umbrella being held over his head, that tiger among men looked beautiful like unto a hill at sunrise. And the son of Ganga, blowing his conch cheered the sons of Dhritarashtra, and wheeling along his right came upon Vibhatsu and impeded his course. And that slayer of hostile heroes, the son of Kunti, beholding him approach, received him with a glad heart, like a hill receiving a rain-charged cloud. And Bhishma, endued with great energy, pierced Partha's flag-staff with eight arrows. The arrows reaching the flag-staff of Pandu's son, struck the blazing ape and those creatures also stationed in the banner-top. And then the son of Pandu, with a mighty javelin of sharp-edge cut of Bhishma's umbrella which instantly fell on the ground. And then the light-handed son of Kunti struck his adversary's flag-staff also with many shafts, and then his steeds and then the couple of drivers that protected Bhishma's flanks. And unable to bear this, Bhishma though cognisant of the Pandava's might, covered Dhananjaya with a powerful celestial weapon. And the son of Pandu, of immeasurable soul, hurling in return a celestial weapon at Bhishma, received that from Bhishma like a hill receiving a deep mass of clouds. And the encounter that took place between Partha and Bhishma, was fierce and the Kaurava warriors with their troops stood as lookers on. And in the conflict between Bhishma and the son of Pandu, shafts striking against shafts shone in the air like fireflies in the season of rains. And, O king, in consequence of Partha's shooting arrows with both his right and left hands, the bent Gandiva seemed like a continuous circle of fire. And the son of Kunti then covered Bhishma with hundreds of sharp and keen-edged arrows, like a cloud covering the mountain-breast with its heavy downpour. And Bhishma baffled with the own arrows that arrowy shower, like the bank resisting the swelling sea, and covered the son of Pandu in return. And those warriors, cut into a thousand pieces in battle, fell fast in the vicinity of Falguna's car. And then there was a downpour, from the car of Pandu's son, of arrows furnished with golden wing, and raining through the sky like a flight of locusts. And Bhishma again repelled that arrowy shower with hundreds of whetted shafts shot by him. And then the Kauravas exclaimed.--Excellent! Excellent!--Indeed, Bhishma hath performed an exceedingly difficult feat inasmuch as he hath fought with Arjuna. Dhananjaya is mighty and youthful, and dexterous and swift of hand. Who else, save Bhishma, the son of Santanu, or Krishna, the son of Devaki, or the mighty son of Bharadwaja, the foremost of preceptors, is able to bear the impetus of Partha in battle? And repelling weapons with weapons, those two bulls of the Bharata race, both endued with great might, fought on playfully and infatuated the eyes of all created beings. And those illustrious warriors ranged on the field of battle, using the celestials weapons obtained from Prajapati and Indra, and Agni and the fierce Rudra, and Kuvera, and Varuna, and Yama, and Vayu. And all beings were greatly surprised, upon beholding those warriors engaged in combat. And they all exclaimed,--Bravo Partha of long arms? Bravo Bhishma! Indeed, this application of celestial weapons that is being witnessed in the combat between Bhishma and Partha is rare among human beings."

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus raged that conflict with weapons between those warriors conversant with all weapons. And when that conflict of celestial weapons ceased, then commenced a conflict with arrows. And Jishnu approaching his opponent, cut of with an arrow sharp like a razor the gold-decked bow of Bhishma. Within the twinkling of the eye, however, Bhishma, that mighty-armed and great car-warrior, took up another bow and stringed it. And inflamed with wrath, he showered upon Dhananjaya a cloud of arrows. And Arjuna, too, endued with great energy, rained upon Bhishma innumerable sharp-pointed and keen-edged arrows. And Bhishma also shot clouds of arrows upon Pandu's son. And conversant with celestial weapons and engaged in shooting and each other, arrows of keen points, no distinction, O king, could then be perceived between those illustrious warriors. And that mighty car-warrior, Kunti's son, covered with a diadem, and the heroic son of Santanu, obscured the ten directions with their arrows. And the Pandava covered Bhishma, and Bhishma also covered the Pandava, with clouds of shafts. And, O king, wonderful was this combat that took place in this world of men. And the heroic warriors that protected Bhishma's car, slain by the son of Pandu, fell prostrate, O monarch, beside the car of Kunti's son. And the feathery arrows of Svetavahana, shot from the Gandiva, fell in all directions as if with the object of making a wholesale slaughter of the foe. And issuing forth from his car those blazing arrows furnished with golden wings looked like rows of swans in the sky. And all the celestials with Indra, stationed in the firmament, gazed with wonder upon another celestial weapon hurled with great force by that wonderful archer Arjuna. And beholding that wonderful weapon of great beauty, the mighty Gandiva, Chitrasena, highly pleased, addressed the lord of celestials, saying, 'Behold these arrows shot by Partha coursing through the sky in one continuous line. Wonderful is the dexterity of Jishnu in evolving this celestial weapon! Human beings are incapable of shooting such a weapon, for it does not exist among men. How wonderful again is this concourse of mighty weapons existing from days of old! No interval can be perceived between his taking up the arrows, fixing them on the bow-string, and letting them off by stretching the Gandiva. The soldiers are incapable of even looking at the son of Pandu, who is like unto the midday sun blazing in the sky. So also none ventures to look at Bhishma, the son of Ganga. Both are famous for their achievements, and both are of fierce prowess. Both are equal in feats of heroism, and both are difficult of being vanquished in battle.'

'Thus addressed by the Gandharva about that combat between Partha and Bhishma, the lord of the celestials, O Bharata, paid proper respect unto both by a shower of celestial flowers. Meanwhile, Bhishma, the son of Santanu, assailed Arjuna on the left side, while that drawer of the bow with either hands was on the point of piercing him. And at this, Vibhatsu, laughing aloud, cut off with an arrow of keen edge and furnished with vulturine wings, the bow of Bhishma, that hero of solar effulgence. And then Dhananjaya, the son of Kunti, pierced Bhishma in the breast with ten shafts although the latter was contending with all his prowess. And sorely afflicted with pain Ganga's son of mighty arms and irresistible in battle, stood for a long time leaning on the pole of his car. And beholding him deprived of consciousness the driver of his car-steeds, calling to mind the instructions about protecting the warriors when in a swoon, led him away for safety.'"

SECTION 64

"Vaisampayana said, 'After Bhishma had fled, leaving the van of battle, the illustrious son of Dhritarashtra hoisting high flag approached Arjuna, bow in hand and setting up a loud roar. And with a spear-headed shaft shot from his bow stretched to the ear, he pierced on the forehead of that terrible bowman of fierce prowess, Dhanajaya, ranging amidst the foes. And pierced with that keen shaft of golden point on the forehead, that hero of famous deeds looked resplendent, O king, like unto a beautiful hill with a single peak. And cut by that arrow, the warm life-blood gushed out profusely from the wound. And the blood trickling down his body shone beautifully like a wreath of golden flowers. And struck by Duryodhana with the shaft, the swift-handed Arjuna of unfailing strength, swelling with rage, pierced the king in return, taking up arrows that were endued with the energy of snakes of virulent poison. And Duryodhana of formidable energy attacked Partha, and Partha also, that foremost of heroes, attacked Duryodhana. And it was that those foremost of men, both born in the race of Ajamida, struck each other alike in the combat. And then (seated) on an infuriate elephant huge as a mountain and supported by four cars, Vikarna rushed against Jishnu, the son of Kunti. And beholding that huge elephant, advancing with speed, Dhananjaya struck him on the head between the temples with an iron arrow of great impetus shot from the bow-string stretched to the ear. And like the thunderbolt hurled by Indra splitting a mountain, that arrow furnished with vulturine wings, shot by Partha, penetrated, up to the very feathers, into the body of that elephant huge as hill. And sorely afflicted by the shaft, that lord of the elephant species began to tremble, and deprived of strength fell down on the ground in intense anguish, like the peak of mountain riven by thunder. And that best of elephants falling down on the earth, Vikarna suddenly alighting in great terror, ran back full eight hundred paces and ascended on the car of Vivingsati. And having slain with that thunder-like arrow that elephant huge as a mighty hill and looking like a mass of clouds, the son of Pritha smote Duryodhana in the breast with another arrow of the same kind. And both the elephant and the king having thus been wounded, and Vikarna having broken and fled along with the supporters of the king's car, the other warriors, smitten with the arrows shot from the Gandiva, fled from the field in panic. And beholding the elephant slain by Partha, and all the other warriors running away, Duryodhana, the foremost of the Kurus, turning away his car precipitately fled in that direction where Partha was not. And when Duryodhana was fast running away in alarm, pierced by that arrow and vomitting forth blood, Kiritin, still eager for battle and capable of enduring every enemy, thus censured him from wrath, 'Sacrificing thy great fame and glory, why dost thou fly away, turning the back? Why are not those trumpet? sounded now, as they were when thou hadst set out from thy kingdom? Lo, I am an obedient servant of Yudhishthira, myself being the third son of Pritha, standing here for battle. Turn back, show me thy face, O son of Dhritarashtra, and bear in thy mind the behaviour of kings. The name Duryodhana bestowed on thee before is hereby rendered meaningless. When thou runnest away, leaving the battle, where is thy persistence in battle? Neither do I behold thy body-guards. O Duryodhana, before nor behind. O foremost of men, fly thou away and save thy life which is dear from the hands of Pandu's son.'"

SECTION 65

"Vaisampayana said, 'Thus summoned to battle by the illustrious hero, Dhritarashtra's son turned back stung by those censures, like an infuriate and mighty elephant pricked by a hook. And stung by those reproaches and unable to bear them, that mighty and brave car-warrior endued with great swiftness, turned back on his car, like a snake that is trampled under foot. And beholding Duryodhana turn back with his wounds, Karna, that hero among men, decked with a golden necklace, stopped the king on the way and soothing him, himself proceeded along the north of Duryodhana's car to meet Partha in battle. And the mighty-armed Bhishma also, the son of Santanu, turning back his steeds decked with gold, enormous in size, and of tawny hue, rushed bow in hand, for protecting Duryodhana from Partha's hand. And Drona and Kripa and Vivingsati and Dussasana and others also, quickly turning back, rushed forward with speed with drawn bows and arrows fixed on the bow-strings, for protecting Duryodhana. And beholding those divisions advance towards him like the swelling surges of the ocean, Dhananjaya, the son of Pritha, quickly rushed at them like a crane rushing at a descending cloud. And with celestial weapons in their hands, they completely surrounded the son of Pritha and rained on him from all sides a perfect shower of shafts, like clouds showering on the mountain breast a heavy downpour of rain, And warding off with weapons, all the weapons of those bulls among the Kurus, the wielder of the Gandiva who was capable of enduring all foes, evolved another irresistible weapon obtained from Indra, called Sanmohana. And entirely covering the cardinal and other directions with sharp and keen-edged arrows furnished with beautiful feathers, that mighty hero stupefied their senses with the twang of the Gandiva. And once more, taking up with both his hands that large conch of loud blare, Partha, that slayer of foes, blew it with force and filled the cardinal and other points, the whole earth, and sky, with that noise. And those foremost of the Kuru heroes were all deprived of their senses by the sound of that conch blown by Partha. And all of them stood still, their bows, from which they were never separated, dropping down from their hands. And when the Kuru army became insensible, Partha calling to mind the words of Uttara, addressed the son of the Matsya king, saying, 'O best of men, go thou among the Kurus, so long as they remain insensible, and bring away the white garments of Drona and Kripa, and the yellow and handsome ones of Karna, as also the blue ones of the king and Drona's son. Methinks, Bhishma is not stupefied, for he knoweth how to counteract this weapon of mine. So, pass thou on, keeping his steeds to thy left; for those that are sensible should thus be avoided,' Hearing these words, the illustrious son of Matsya, giving up the reins of the steeds, jumped down from the car and taking off the garments of the warriors, came back to his place. And the son of Virata then urged the four handsome steeds with flanks adorned with golden armours. And those white steeds, urged on, took Arjuna away from the midst of battle-field and beyond the array of the infantry bearing standards in their hands. And, Bhishma, beholding that best of men thus going away, struck him with arrows. And Partha, too, having slain Bhishma's steeds, pierced him with ten shafts. And abandoning Bhishma on the field of battle, having first slain his car-driver, Arjuna with a good-looking bow in hand came out of that multitude of cars, like the sun emerging from the clouds. And Dhritarashtra's son, that foremost of heroes among the Kurus, recovering his senses, saw the son of Pritha standing like the lord of the celestials, alone on the battle-field. And he said in hurry (unto Bhishma), 'How hath this one escape from thee? Do thou afflict him in such a way that he may not escape.' And at this, Santanu's son, smiling, said unto him, 'Where had been this sense of thine, and where had been thy prowess too, when thou hadst been in a state of unconsciousness

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renouncing thy arrows and handsome bow? Vibhatsu is not addicted to the commission of atrocious deeds; nor is his soul inclined to sin. He renounceth not his principles even for the sake of the three worlds. It is for this only that all of us have not been slain in this battle. O thou foremost of Kuru heroes, go back to the city of the Kurus, and let Partha also go away, having conquered the kine. Do thou never foolishly throw away thy own good. Indeed, that which leadeth to one's welfare ought to be accomplished.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having listened to the words of the grandsire that tended to his own welfare, the wrathful king Duryodhana no longer eager for battle, drew a deep sigh and became silent. And reflecting that the advice of Bhishma was beneficial and seeing that the Pandavas gaining in strength, the other warriors also, desirous of protecting Duryodhana, resolved to return. And beholding those foremost of Kuru heroes departing for their city, Dhananjaya, the son of Pritha, with a cheerful heart followed them for a while, desirous of addressing and worshipping them. And having worshipped the aged grandsire--the son of Santanu, as also the preceptor Drona, and having saluted with beautiful arrows Drona's son and Kripa and other venerable ones among the Kurus, the son of Pritha broke into fragments Duryodhana's crown decked with precious gems, with another arrow. And having saluted all the venerable and brave warriors thus, he filled the three worlds with the twang of the Gandiva. And suddenly blowing his conch called Devadatta, the hero pierced the hearts of all his foes. And having humbled the hostile, he looked resplendent on his car decked with a handsome flag. And beholding the Kurus depart, Kiritin cheerfully said unto Matsya's son, 'Turn back thy steeds; thy kine have been recovered; the foe is going away and do thou also return to thy city with a cheerful heart.' And the celestials also, having witnessed that most wonderful encounter between Falguna and the Kurus, were highly delighted, and went to their respective abodes, reflecting upon Partha's feats.'"

SECTION 66

"Vaisampayana said, 'Having vanquished the Kurus in battle, that one with eyes like those of a bull brought back that profuse cattle wealth of Virata. And while the Dhritarashtra, after their rout, were going away, a large number of Kuru-soldiers issuing out of the deep forest appeared with slow steps before Partha, their hearts afflicted with fear. And they stood before him with joined palms and with hair dishevelled. And fatigued with hunger and thirst, arrived in a foreign land, insensible with terror, and confused in mind, they all bowed down unto the son of Pritha and said,--We are thy slaves.'

"Arjuna said, 'Welcome, blessed be ye. Go ye away. Ye have no cause of fear. I will not take the lives of them that are afflicted. Ye have my assurance of protection.

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words of assurance, the assembled warriors greeted him with benedictions in praise of his achievements and fame and wishing him long life. And the Kauravas were unable to confront Arjuna while after routing the foe he proceeded towards the city of Virata, like an elephant with rent temples. And having routed the whole army of the Kuru like a violent wind scattering the clouds, that slayer of foes, Partha, regardfully addressing the prince of Matsya, said, 'It is known to thee alone, O child, that the sons of Pritha are all living with thy father. Do not eulogise them upon entering the city, for then the king of the Matsyas may hide himself in fear. On the other hand, entering the city, do thou proclaim in the presence of thy father that the deed is thy own, saying,--By me hath the army of the Kurus been vanquished and by me have the kine been recovered from the foe!'

"Uttara said, 'The feat thou hast achieved is beyond my power. I do not possess the ability to achieve it. I shall not, however, O Savyasachin, discover thee to my father, as long as thou wilt not tell me to do it.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having vanquished the hostile army and wrested the whole of the cattle wealth from the Kurus, Jishnu returned again to the cemetery and having approached the same Sami tree stood there with body mangled by the arrows of the enemy. Then that terrible monkey blazing like fire ascended into the sky with those other creatures in the flag-staff. And the illusion created (by Viswakarma) melted away and Uttara's own banner bearing the device of a lion was set up on the car again. And having replaced the arrows and quivers of those foremost of the Kuru princes, and also that other weapon the (Gandiva) which enhances the fierceness of a battle, the illustrious prince of Matsya set out for the city with a glad heart, having Kiritin as his charioteer. And having achieved an exceedingly mighty feat and slain the foe, Partha also, that slayer of foes, binding his hair into a braid as before, took the reins from Uttara's hands. And that illustrious hero entered the city of Virata, with a cheerful heart rehabilitating himself as Vrihannala, the car-driver of Uttara.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'When all the Kauravas utterly routed and vanquished, set out in a dejected mood for Hastinapura, Falguna, on his way back, addressed Uttara, saying, 'O prince, O hero of mighty arms, seeing the kine escorted in advance of us by the cowherds, we shall enter Virata's metropolis in the afternoon, having tended the steeds with drink and a bath. Let the cowherds, despatched by thee, speedily repair to the city with the good news and proclaim thy victory.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Agreeable to Arjuna's words, Uttara speedily ordered the messengers, saying, 'Go ye and proclaim the king's victory. The foe hath been routed, and the kine have been recovered. And the Matsya and the Bharata princes having thus consulted together re-approached the same Sami tree. And gratified with the victory they had won, and arrived at the foot of the Sami tree, they wore on their persons and took up on their car the ornaments and robes they had left there. And having vanquished the whole hostile army and recovered the whole of the wealth from the Kurus, the heroic son of Virata returned to the city with Vrihannala as his car-driver.'"

SECTION 67

"Vaisampayana said, 'Having speedily recovered his wealth Virata owning a large army entered his city with a cheerful heart, accompanied by the four Pandavas. And having vanquished the Trigartas in battle and recovered all the kine, that mighty monarch, along with the sons of Pritha, looked resplendent and blazed forth in beauty. And as the brave king, that enhancer of the joys of friends, was seated on his throne, all his subjects headed by the Brahmanas stood before him. And worshipped by them, the king of the Matsyas, at the head of his army, saluted the Brahmanas and his subjects in return and dismissed them cheerfully. And Virata, the king of the Matsyas owning a large army, enquired after Uttara, saying, 'Where hath Uttara gone?' And the women and the maidens of the palace and the other females living in the inner apartments joyfully said unto him, 'Our kine having been seized by the Kurus, Bhuminjaya incensed at this and from excess of bravery hath issued forth alone with only Vrihannala as his second, for vanquishing the six mighty car-warriors, Bhishma the son of Santanu, and Kripa, and Karna, and Duryodhana, and Drona, and Drona's son who have all come with the Kuru army.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then king Virata, hearing that his brave son had gone forth with only one car and with Vrihannala as his car-driver, became filled with grief, and addressing his chief counsellors, said, 'Without doubt, the Kauravas and other lords of earth, learning the defeat of the Trigartas, will never keep their ground. Therefore, let those of my warriors that have not been wounded by the Trigartas go out, accompanied by a mighty force, for the protection of Uttara.' And saying this, the king speedily despatched, for the sake of his son, horses and elephants and cars and a large number of foot-soldiers, equipped and decked with various kinds of weapons and ornaments. And it was thus that Virata, the king of the Matsyas, owning a large army, quickly ordered out a large division consisting of four kinds of troops. And having done this, he said, 'Learn ye, without loss of time whether the prince liveth still or not! I myself think that he who hath got a person of the neuter sex for his car-driver is not alive.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then king Yudhishthira the Just, smilingly said unto the afflicted king Virata, 'If, O monarch, Vrihannala hath been his charioteer, the foe will never be able to take away thy kine today. Protected by that charioteer, thy son will be able to vanquish in battle all the lords of earth allied with the Kurus, indeed, even the gods and the Asuras and the Siddhas and the Yakshas together.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Meanwhile, the swift-footed messengers despatched by Uttara, having reached Virata's city, gave tidings of the victory. And the minister-in-chief then informed the king of everything, viz., the great victory that had been won, the defeat of the Kurus, and the expected arrival of Uttara. And he said, 'All the kine have been brought back, the Kurus have been defeated, and Uttara, that slayer of foes, is well with his car-driver.' Then Yudhishthira said, 'By good luck it is that the kine have been recovered and the Kurus routed. I do not, however, regard it strange that thy son should have vanquished the Kurus, for his victory is assured that hath Vrihannala for his charioteer.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing of the victory of his son possessed of immeasurable might, king Virata became so glad that the bristles of his body stood erect. And having made presents of raiments unto the messengers, he ordered his ministers, saying, 'Let the highways be decorated with flags, and let all the gods and goddesses be worshipped with flowery offerings. And let princes and brave warriors, and musicians and harlots decked in ornaments, march out to receive my son. And let the bellman, speedily riding an intoxicated elephant, proclaim my victory at places where four roads meet. And let Uttara, too, in gorgeous attire and surrounded by virgins and chanters of eulogies, go forth to receive my son.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having listened to these words of the king, all the citizens with auspicious things in hand, and many amongst them with cymbals and trumpets and conchs, and beautiful women attired in gorgeous robes, and reciters of auspicious and sacred hymns, accompanied by encomiasts and minstrels, and drummers and other kinds of musicians issued forth from the city of the mighty Virata to welcome Uttara of immeasurable prowess. And having despatched troops and maidens and courtezens decked in ornaments, the wise king of the Matsyas cheerfully said these words, 'O Sairindhri, fetch the dice. And, O Kanka, let the play commence.' The son of Pandu replied, saying, 'We have heard it said that one whose heart is filled with joy should not play with a cunning gambler. I do not therefore, dare gamble with thee that are so transported with joy. I am ever desirous of doing what is for thy good. Let the play, however, commence if it pleases thee.'

"Virata said, 'My female slaves and kine, my gold and whatsoever other wealth I have, nothing of all this shall thou be able to protect today even if I do not gamble.' Kanka said in reply, 'O monarch, O bestower of honours, what business hast thou with gamble which is attended with numerous evils? Gambling is fraught with many evils; it should, therefore, be shunned. Thou mayst have seen or at least heard of Yudhishthira, the son of Pandu. He lost his extensive and prosperous kingdom and his god-like brothers at dice. For this, I am averse to gambling. But if thou likest, O king, I will play.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'While the play was going on, Matsya said unto the son of Pandu, 'Lo, the Kauravas that are so formidable have been vanquished in battle by my son.' Upon this, the illustrious king Yudhishthira said, 'Why should not he conquer that hath Vrihannala for his charioteer?'

'Thus addressed, King Matsya became angry and said unto Pandu's son, 'Thou wretch of a Brahmana, dost thou compare one of the neuter sex with my son! Hast thou no knowledge of what is proper and what improper for one to say? Without doubt, thou disregardest me. Why should not my son vanquish all those with Bhishma and Drona as their leaders? O Brahmana, for friendship only I pardon thee this thy offence. Thou must not, however, say so again if thou wishest to live.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'There where Bhishma and Drona and Drona's son and the son of Vikartana and Kripa and king Duryodhana and other royal and mighty car-warriors are assembled or there where Indra himself is surrounded by the Maruts, what other person than Vrihannala can fight, encountering them all! None hath been, none will be, his equal in strength of arms! Indeed, it is Vrihannala only whose heart is filled with joy at sight of a terrible conflict. It is he who had vanquished the celestials and the Asuras and human beings fighting together. With such a one for his ally, why should not thy son conquer the foe? Virata said, 'Repeatedly forbidden by me, thou dost not yet restrain thy tongue. If there is none to punish, no one would practise virtue.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Saying this, the king inflamed with anger forcibly struck Yudhishthira in the face with a dice, and reproached him angrily, saying, 'Let it not occur again! And having been violently struck, blood began to flow from his nose. But the son of Pritha held it in his hands before it fell on the ground. And the virtuous Yudhishthira then glanced at Draupadi who was standing by his side. Ever obedient to the wishes of her lord, the faultless Draupadi, understanding his meaning, and bringing a golden vessel filled with water, received the blood that flowed from his nose. Meanwhile; Uttara, entertained with sweet perfumes of diverse kinds and decked with floral chaplets, slowly entered the city, received with respect by the citizens, the women, and the people of the provinces. And approaching the gate of the palace he sent the news of his arrival to his father. And the porter then, approaching the king, said, 'Thy son Uttara, waiteth at the gate with Vrihannala as his companion.' And the Matsya king, with a cheerful heart, said unto him, 'Do thou usher both, as I am very anxious to see them.' Then Yudhishthira, the king of t e Kurus, gently whispered unto the ears of the warder, 'Let Uttara enter alone; Vrihannala must not come in. Such is the vow of that hero of mighty arms that whoever causeth a wound on my person or sheddeth my blood except in battle, shall not live. Inflamed with rage he will never bear patiently to see me bleeding, but will slay Virata even now with his counsellors and troops and steeds.'"

SECTION 68

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then Bhuminjaya, the eldest son of the king, entered, and having worshipped the feet of his father approached Kanka. And he beheld Kanka covered with blood, and seated on the ground at one end of the court, and waited upon by the Sairindhri. And seeing this, Uttara asked his father in a hurry, saying, 'By whom, O king, hath this one been struck? By whom hath this sinful act been perpetrated?'

"Virata said, 'This crooked Brahmana hath been struck by me. He deserveth even more than this. When I was praising thee, he praised that person of the third sex.'

"Uttara said, 'Thou hast, O king, committed an improper act. Do thou speedily propitiate him so that the virulent poison of a Brahmana's curse may not consume thee to thy roots!'

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"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having heard the words of his son, Virata, that enhancer of the limits of his kingdom, began to soothe Kunti's son, who was like unto a fire hid in ashes, for obtaining his forgiveness. And unto the king desirous of obtaining his pardon the Pandava replied, 'O king, I have long ago forgiven it. Anger I have none. Had this blood from my nostrils fallen on the ground, then, without doubt, thou, O monarch, wouldst have been destroyed with thy kingdom. I do not, however, blame thee, O king, for having struck an innocent person. For, O king, they that are powerful generally act with unreasoning severity.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'When the bleeding had stopped, Vrihannala entered (the council-room) and having saluted both Virata and Kanka, stood silent. And the king, having appeased the chief of the Kurus, began to praise, in Savyasachin's hearing, Uttara who had returned from the battle. And the king said, 'O enhancer of the joys of Kekaya's princess, in thee have I truly a son! I never had nor shall have, a son that is equal to thee! How, indeed, couldst thou, O Child, encounter that Karna who leaveth not a single mark unhit amongst even a thousand that he may aim at all at once? How couldst thou, O child, encounter that Bhishma who hath no equal in the whole world of men? How also couldst thou, O child, encounter Drona, that foremost of all wielders of weapons, that preceptor of the Vrishnis and Kauravas, twice-born one who may be regarded as the preceptor of all the Kshatriyas? How couldst thou meet in battle the celebrated Aswatthaman? How couldst thou, O child, encounter that Duryodhana, the prince who is capable of piercing even a mountain with his mighty arrows? My foes have all been thrashed. A delicious breeze seems to blow around me. And since thou hast recovered in battle the whole of my wealth that had been seized by the Kurus, it seems that all those mighty warriors were struck with panic. Without doubt, thou, O bull amongst men, has routed the foe and snatched away from them my wealth of kine, like his prey from a tiger.'"

SECTION 69

"Uttara said, 'The kine have not been recovered by me, nor have the foe been vanquished by me. All that hath been accomplished by the son of a deity. Capable of striking like a thunderbolt, that youth of celestial origin, beholding me running away in fear, stopped me and himself mounted on my car. It was by him that the kine have been recovered and the Kauravas vanquished. The deed, O father, is that hero's and not mine. It was he that repulsed with arrows Kripa and Drona and Drona's son of powerful energy, and the Suta's son and Bhishma. That mighty hero then spoke unto the affrighted prince Duryodhana who was running away like the leader of a head of elephants, these words, 'O prince of the Kuru race, I do not see that thou art safe by any means even at Hastinapura. Protect thy life by putting forth thy might. Thou shalt not escape me by flight. Therefore, make up thy mind for fight. If victorious, the sovereignty of the earth will be thine, or if slain, heaven itself will be thine.'

'Thus addressed, king Duryodhana--that tiger among men surrounded by his counsellors,--sighing on his car like a snake turned back, showered arrows endued with the speed and force of thunderbolts. Beholding all this, venerable sire, my thighs began to quake. Then that celestial youth pierced with arrows the Kuru army consisting of leonine warriors. And having pierced and afflicted that crowd of cars, that youth, stout as the lion, laughed at them and robbed them of their clothes and attires. Indeed, the six great car-warriors of the Kurus were vanquished by that hero alone, even like herds of animals ranging in the forest by a single tiger in rage.'

"Virata said, 'Where is that mighty-armed and famous youth of celestial origin, that hero who recovered in battle my wealth that had been seized by the Kurus? I am anxious to behold and worship that mighty warrior of celestial origin who hath saved thee and my kine also.'

"Uttara replied, 'The mighty son of a deity disappeared there and then. I think, however, that he will show himself either tomorrow or the day after.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Virata, that owner of a large army, remained ignorant of the son of Pandu who was thus described unto him by Uttara, and who was living in the palace in disguise. And permitted by the high-souled Virata, Partha presented with his own hands the garments he had brought, unto Virata's daughter. And the beautiful Uttara, obtaining those new and costly clothes of diverse kinds, became highly glad, along with the son of the Matsya king.'"

SECTION 70

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then, on the third day, attired in white robes after a bath, and decked in ornaments of all kinds, those great car-warriors, the five Pandava brothers, having accomplished their row, and with Yudhishthira at their head, looked resplendent as they entered the palace-gate like five intoxicated elephants. And having entered the council-hall of Virata, they took their seats on the thrones reserved for kings, and shone brilliantly like fires on the sacrificial altar. And after Pandavas had taken their seats, Virata, that lord of earth, came there for holding his council and discharging other royal offices. And beholding the illustrious Pandavas blazing like fires, the king reflected for a moment. And them, filled with wrath, the Matsya king spoke unto Kanka seated there like a celestial and looking like the lord of celestials surrounded by the Maruts [Storm deities, sons of Rudra and Diti and attendants of Indra, in Hinduism]. And he said, 'A player at dice thou wert employed by me as a courtier! How couldst thou occupy the royal seat thus attired in handsome robes and ornaments?"

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words of Virata, O king, and desirous of jesting with him, Arjuna smilingly said in reply, 'This person, O king, deserveth to occupy the same seat with Indra himself. Devoted to the Brahmanas, acquainted with the Vedas, indifferent to luxury and carnal enjoyments, habitually performing sacrifices, steady in vows, this one, indeed, is the very embodiment of virtue, The foremost of all Persons endued with energy and superior to every body on earth in intelligence, devoted to asceticism, he is conversant with various weapons. No other person among the mobile and immobile creatures of the three worlds possesseth or will ever possess such knowledge of weapons. And there is none even amongst the gods, or Asuras, or men, or Rakshasas, or Gandharvas, or Yaksha chiefs, or Kinnaras--or mighty Uragas, who is like him. Endued with great foresight and energy, beloved by the citizens and inhabitants of the provinces, he is the mightiest of car-warriors amongst the sons of Pandu. A performer of sacrifices, devoted to morality, and of subdued passions, like unto a great Rishi, this royal sage is celebrated over all the worlds. Possessed of great strength and great intelligence, able and truthful, he hath all his senses under complete control. Equal unto Indra in wealth and Kuvera in hoarding, he is the protector of the worlds like unto Manu himself of mighty prowess. Endued with great might, he is even such. Kind unto all creatures he is no other than the bull of the Kuru race, king Yudhishthira the Just. The achievements of this king resemble the sun himself of blazing effulgence. And his fame hath travelled in all directions like the rays of that luminary. And like the rays following the risen sun of blazing effulgence, ten thousand swift elephants followed him, O king, when he dwelt among the Kurus. And, O king, thirty thousand cars decked in gold and drawn by the best steeds, also used to follow him then. And full eight hundred bards adorned with ear-rings set with shining gems, and accompanied by minstrels, recited his praises in those days, like the Rishis adorning Indra. And, O king, the Kauravas and other lords of earth always waited upon him like slaves, as the celestials upon Kuvera. This eminent king, resembling the bright-rayed sun, made all lords of earth pay tribute unto him like persons of the agricultural class. And eighty-eight thousands of high-souled Snatakas depended for their subsistence upon this king practising excellent vows. This illustrious lord protected the aged and the helpless, the maimed and the blind, as his sons, and he ruled over his subjects virtuously. Steady in morality and self-control, capable of restraining his anger, bountiful, devoted to the Brahmanas, and truthful, this one is the son of Pandu. The prosperity and prowess of this one afflict king Suyodhana with his followers including Kama and Suvala's son. And, O lord of men, the virtues of this one are incapable of being enumerated. This son of Pandu is devoted to morality and always abstains from injury. Possessed of such attributes, doth not this bull among kings, this son of Pandu, deserve, O monarch, to occupy a royal seat?'"

SECTION 71

"Virata said, 'If this one, indeed, be the Kuru king Yudhisthira the son of Kunti, which amongst these is his brother Arjuna, and which, the mighty Bhima. Which of these is Nakula, and which Sahadeva and where is the celebrated Draupadi? After their defeat at dice, the sons of Pritha have not been heard of by any one.'

"Arjuna said, 'Even this one, O king, who is called Vallava and is thy cook, is that Bhima of mighty arms and terrible prowess and furious impetus. It was he who slew the furious Rakshasas on the mountains of Gandhamadana, and procured for Krishna celestial flowers of great fragrance. Even he is that Gandharva, who slew the Kichaka of wicked soul and it was he who killed tigers and bears and boars in the inner apartment of thy palace. He who had been the keeper of thy horse is that slayer of foes called Nakula, and this one is Sahadeva, the keeper of thy kine. Both these sons of Madri are great car-warriors, possessed of great fame and beauty of person. These two bulls of the Bharata race, attired in handsome robes and decked in excellent ornaments, are a match for a thousand great car-warriors. And even this lady of eyes like lotus-petals and slender-waist and sweet smiles is Drupada's daughter, thy wife's Sairindhri, for whose sake, O king, the Kichakas were slain. I am, O king, Arjuna who, it is evident, thou hast heard, is that son of Pritha, who is Bhima's junior and the senior of the twins! We have, O king, happily passed in thy abode the period of non-discovery, like infants in the womb!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'After Arjuna had pointed out those heroes--the five Pandavas, the son of Virata then spoke of Arjuna's prowess. And Uttara once again identified the sons of Pritha. And the prince said, 'That one whose complexion is bright like that of pure gold, who is stout like a full-grown lion, whose nose is so prominent, whose eyes are large and expansive, and whose face is broad and of coppery hue, is the king of the Kurus. And behold, that one whose tread is like that of an infuriate elephant, whose complexion is like that of heated gold, whose shoulders are broad and expanded, and whose arms are long and thick, is Vrikodara. And he who stands by his side, that youth of darkish hue, who is like unto a leader of a herd of elephants, whose shoulders are broad like those of a lion, whose tread is like that of a mighty elephant, and whose eyes are large and expansive like lotus-leaves, is Arjuna that foremost of bowmen. All lo, close to the king, are those foremost of men, the twins, like unto Vishnu and Indra, and who have no equals, in the world of men, in beauty, might, and behaviour. And close by them, behold, standeth Krishna, beautiful as gold, like unto the very embodiment of light, possessing the complexion of the blue lotus, like unto a celestial damsel, and resembling the living embodiment of Lakshmi herself.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then Virata's son began to describe the prowess of Arjuna, saying, 'Even this one is he that slew the foe, like unto a lion devastating a flock of deer. Even he ranged through, crowds of hostile cars, slaying their best of car-warriors. By him was slain a huge, infuriate elephant by means of a single arrow. Pierced by him, that huge beast having its flanks adorned with an armour of gold, fell down piercing the earth with his tusks. By him have the kine been recovered and the Kauravas vanquished in battle. My ears have been deafened by the blare of his conch. It was by this hero of fierce deeds that Bhishma and Drona, along with Duryodhana, were vanquished. That achievement is his and not mine.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words of his, the mighty king of the Matsyas, considering himself guilty of having offended Yudhishthira, said unto Uttara in reply, 'I think the time hath come for me to propitiate the sons of Pandu. And, if thou likest, I shall bestow my daughter Uttara upon Arjuna.'

"Uttara said, 'Worthy of our adorations and worship and respect, the time hath come for worshipping the illustrious sons of Pandu who deserve to be worshipped by us.'

"Virata said, 'When brought under the foe's subjection in battle, it was Bhimasena that rescued me. My kine also have been recovered by Arjuna. It is through the might of their arms that we have obtained victory in battle. Such being the case, all of us, with our counsellors, shall propitiate Yudhishthira the son of Kunti. Blessed be thou, with all thy brothers, O bull among the sons of Pandu. If, O king, we have ever said or done anything in ignorance to offend thee, it behoveth thee to forgive us. The son of Pandu is virtuous.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then the high-souled Virata, delighted greatly, approached king Yudhishthira and made an alliance with him, and offered him his whole kingdom together with the sceptre and treasury and metropolis. And addressing all the Pandavas, and especially Dhananjaya, the mighty king of the Matsyas repeatedly said, 'By good luck it is that I see you.' And having again and again embraced Yudhishthira and Bhima and the sons of Madri, and smelt their heads, Virata, that owner of a large army, was not satiated with gazing at them. And being highly pleased, he said unto king Yudhishthira, 'By good luck it is that I see you safe from woods. By good luck it is that ye have accomplished with difficulty the period of exile, undiscovered by those wicked wights. I make over my entire kingdom to the sons of Pritha, and what else I have. Let the sons of Pandu accept these without the slightest hesitation. And let Dhananjaya, called also Savyasachin, accept the hand of Uttara: for that best of men is fit to be her lord.' Thus addressed, king Yudhishthira the Just cast a look upon Dhananjaya, the son of Pritha. And looked at by his brother, Arjuna said unto the Matsya king, 'O monarch, I accept thy daughter as my daughter-in-law. And alliance of this kind between the Matsya and the Bharatas is, indeed, desirable.'"

SECTION 72

"Virata said, 'Why, O best among the Pandavas, dost thou not wish to accept as wife this my daughter that I bestow upon thee?'

"Arjuna said, 'Residing in thy inner apartments, I had occasion always to behold thy daughter, and she too, alone or in company trusted me as her father. Well-versed in singing and dancing, I was liked and regarded by her, and, indeed, thy daughter always regardeth me as her protector. O king, I lived for one whole year with her though she had attained the age of puberty. Under these circumstances, thyself or other men may not without reason, entertain suspicions against her or me. Therefore, O king, myself who am pure, and have my senses under control, beg to thee, O monarch, thy daughter as my daughter-in-law. Thus do I attest her purity. There is no difference between a daughter-in-law and a daughter, as also between a son and son's own-self. By adopting this course, therefore, her purity will be proved. I am afraid of slanderous

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and false accusations. I accept, therefore, O king, thy daughter Uttara as my daughter-in-law. Surpassing all in knowledge of weapons, resembling a celestial youth in beauty, my son, the mighty-armed Abhimanyu is the favourite nephew of Vasudeva, the wielder of the discus. He, O king, is fit to be thy son-in-law and the husband of thy daughter.'

"Virata said, 'It behoveth the best of the Kurus, Dhananjaya, the son of Kunti, who is so virtuous and wise, to say this. O son of Pritha, do thou carry out what thou thinkest should be done after this. He that hath Arjuna for the father of his son-in-law, hath all his desires gratified.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'The monarch having said this, Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, gave his assent to what was thus agreed upon between the Matsya king and Arjuna. And, O Bharata, the son of Kunti sent invitations to Vasudeva and to all his friends and relatives, and Virata also did the same. And then, after the expiry of the thirteenth year, the five Pandavas took up their abode in one of Virata's towns called Upaplavya, and Vibhatsu, the son of Pandu, brought over Abhimanyu and Janardana, and also many people of the Dasarha race from the Anarta country. And the king of Kasi, and also Saivya, being very friendly to Yudhishthira, arrived there, each accompanied by an Akshauhini of troops. And the mighty Drupada, also with the heroic sons of Draupadi and the unvanquished Sikhandin, and that foremost of wielder of weapons, the invincible Dhrishtadyumna came there with another Akshauhini of troops. And all the kings that came were not only lords of Akshauhini, but performers of sacrifices with gifts in profusion to Brahmanas, conversant with the Vedas endued with heroism, and ready to die in battle. And beholding them arrived, that foremost of virtuous men, the king of the Matsyas, adored them duly, and entertained their troops and servants and carriers of burdens. And he was highly pleased to bestow his daughter upon Abhimanyu. And after the kings had come there from different parts of the country, there came Vasudeva decked in floral garlands, and Halayudha, and Kritavarman, the son of Hridika, and Yuyudhana, the son of Satyaki, and Anadhristi and Akrura, and Samva and Nisatha. And these repressers of foes came there bringing with them Abhimanyu and his mother. And Indrasena and others, having lived at Dwaraka for one whole year, came there, bringing with them the well adorned cars of the Pandavas. And there came also ten thousand elephants and ten thousand cars, and hundred millions of horses and hundred billions of foot-soldiers, and innumerable Vrishni and Andhaka and Bhoja warriors of great energy, in the train of that tiger among the Vrishnis, Vasudeva of great effulgence. And Krishna gave unto each of the illustrious sons of Pandu numerous female slaves, and gems and robes. And then the nuptial festival set in between the families of the Matsya king and the Pandavas. And then conchs and cymbals and horns and drums and other musical instruments appointed by the Pandavas, began to play in the palace of Virata. And deer of various kinds and clean animals by hundreds were slain. And wines of various kinds and intoxicating juices of trees were profusely collected. And mimes and bards and encomiasts, versed in singing and legendary lore, waited upon the kings, and chanted their praises and genealogies. And the matrons of the Matsyas of symmetrical bodies and limbs, and wearing ear-rings of pearls and gems, headed by Sudeshna, came to the place where the marriage knot was to be tied. And amongst those beautiful females of fair complexion and excellent ornaments, Krishna was the foremost in beauty and fame and splendour. And they all came there, leading forth the princess Uttara decked in every ornament and resembling the daughter of the great Indra himself. And then Dhananjaya, the son of Kunti, accepted Virata's daughter of faultless limbs on behalf of his son by Subhadra. And that great king, Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, who stood there like Indra, also accepted her as his daughter-in-law. And having accepted her, the son of Pritha, with Janardana before him, caused the nuptial ceremonies to be performed of the illustrious son of Subhadra. And Virata then gave him (as dowry) seven thousand steeds endued with the speed of the wind and two hundred elephants of the best kind and much wealth also. And having duly poured libations of clarified butter on the blazing fire, and paid homage unto the twice-born ones, Virata offered to the Pandavas his kingdom, army, treasury, and his own self. And after the marriage had taken place, Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma, gave away unto the Brahmanas all the wealth that had been brought by Krishna of unfading glory. And he also gave away thousands of kine, and diverse kinds of robes, and various excellent ornaments, and vehicles, and beds, delicious viands of various kinds, and cardinal drinks of diverse species. And the king also made gifts of land unto the Brahmanas with due rites, and also cattle by thousands. And he also gave away thousands of steeds and much gold and much wealth of other kinds, unto persons of all ages. And, O bull of the Bharata race, the city of the Matsya king, thronged with men cheerful and well-fed, shone brightly like a great festival.'"

The end of Virata Parva

THE MAHABHARATA, BOOK 5
UDYOGA PARVA

SECTION 1

Om! Having bowed down to Narayana, and Nara the most exalted of male beings, and also to the goddess Saraswati, must the word Jaya be uttered.

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then those valiant descendants of Kuru, who belonged to the same party (with Virata), having joyfully celebrated the nuptials of Abhimanyu and rested themselves that night, presented themselves at dawn, well pleased, in the court of Virata, And the chamber of the king of the Matsya was full of riches, and variegated with choice gems and precious stones, with seats methodically arranged, adorned with garlands, and filled with fragrance. And those mighty monarchs of men all came to that place, And on the seats in front sat the two kings Virata and Drupada. And the revered and aged rulers of the earth, and Valarama and Krishna along with their father, all sat there. And close to the king of Panchala was seated the great hero of the race of Sini, together with the son of Rohini. And side by side with the king of the Matsya sat Krishna and Yudhishthira, and all the sons of king Drupada, and Bhima and Arjuna, and the two sons of Madri, and Pradyumna and Samva, both valiant in battle, and Abhimanyu with Virata's sons. And those princes, the sons of Draupadi, rivalling their fathers in valour, strength, grace, and prowess, sat upon excellent seats inlaid with gold. And when those mighty heroes wearing shining ornaments and robes had set themselves down, that gorgeous assembly of kings looked beautiful like the firmament spangled with resplendent stars. And those valiant men, assembled together, having conversed with one another upon various topics, remained for some time in a pensive mood, with their eyes fixed upon Krishna. And at the end of their talk, Krishna drew their attention to the affairs of the Pandavas. And those powerful kings together listened to Krishna's speech, pregnant and lofty. And Krishna said, It is known to you all, how this Yudhishthira was deceitfully defeated at dice by the son of Suvala, and how he was robbed of his kingdom and how a stipulation was made by him concerning his exile in the forest. And capable as they were of conquering the earth by force, the sons of Pandu remained firm in their plighted faith. And accordingly for six and seven years these incomparable men accomplished the cruel task imposed upon them. And this last, the thirteenth year, was exceedingly hard for them to pass. Yet unrecognised by any one they have passed it, as known to you, suffering unendurable hardships of various kinds. This is known to you all. These illustrious men have spent the thirteenth year, employed in menial service of others. This being so, it is for you to consider what will be for the good of both Yudhishthira and Duryodhana, and what, as regards the Kurus and the Pandavas, will be consistent with the rules of righteousness and, propriety and what will meet with the approbation of all. The virtuous king Yudhishthira would not unrighteously covet even the celestial kingdom. But righteously he would accept the rule even of a single village. How the sons of Dhritarashtra fraudulently robbed him of his paternal kingdom, and how he hath passed a life of unendurable hardships, are known to all the kings assembled here. The sons of Dhritarashtra are incapable of overcoming by strength Arjuna, the son of Pritha. Nevertheless, king Yudhishthira and his friends have no other desire than the good of Dhritarashtra's son. These brave sons of Kunti, and the two sons of Madri, ask for only what they themselves, achieving victory in battle, had won from the defeated kings. You, no doubt, know full well how those enemies of the Pandavas--with the object of possessing themselves of the kingdom, endeavoured by various means to destroy them, when they were yet mere boys. So wicked and rancorous they were. Consider, how grasping they are and how virtuous Yudhishthira is. Consider also the relationship that exists between them. I beseech you all to consult together and also think separately. The Pandavas have always had a regard for truth. They have fulfilled their promise to the very letter. If now treated wrongfully by the sons of Dhritarashtra, they would slay them all though banded together. They have friends, who, on being informed of their unworthy treatment at the hands of others, would stand by them, engaged in fight with their persecutors, and willingly slay them even if they should lose their own lives for it. If you suppose them to be too few to be capable of winning a victory over their enemies, you must know that united together and followed by their friends, they would, no doubt, try their utmost to destroy those enemies. What Duryodhana thinks is not exactly known, nor what he may do. When the mind of the other side is not known, what opinion can be formed by you as to what is best to be done? Therefore, let a person, virtuous and honest and of respectable birth, and wary,--an able ambassador, set out to beseech them mildly for inducing them to give half the kingdom to Yudhishthira. Having listened to the speech of Krishna, marked by prudence and a regard for virtue and showing a pacific and impartial spirit, his elder brother then addressed the assembly bestowing high encomiums on the words of the younger brother.'"

SECTION 2

"Baladeva said, 'You have all listened to the speech of him who is the elder brother of Gada, characterised as it is by a sense of virtue and prudence, and salutary alike to Yudhishthira and king Duryodhana. These valiant sons of Kunti are ready to give up half their kingdom, and they make this sacrifice for the sake of Duryodhana. The sons of Dhritarashtra, therefore, should give up half of the kingdom, and should rejoice and be exceedingly happy with us that the quarrel can be so satisfactorily settled. These mighty persons having obtained the kingdom would, no doubt, be pacified and happy, provided the opposite party behave well. For them to be pacified will redound to the welfare of men. And I should be well-pleased if somebody from here, with the view of pacifying both the Kurus and the Pandavas, should undertake a journey and ascertain what is the mind of Duryodhana and explain the views of Yudhishthira. Let him respectfully salute Bhishma the heroic scion of Kuru's race, and the magnanimous son of Vichitravirya, and Drona along with his son, and Vidura and Kripa, and the king of Gandhara, along with the Suta's son. Let him also pay his respects to all the other sons of Dhritarashtra, to all who are renowned for strength and learning, devoted to their proper duties, heroic, and conversant with signs of the times. When all these persons are gathered together and when also the elderly citizens are assembled, let him speak words full of humility and likely to serve the interests of Yudhishthira, At all events, let them not be provoked, for they have taken possession of the kingdom with a strong hand. When Yudhishthira had his throne, he forgot himself by being engaged in gambling and was dispossessed by them of his kingdom. This valiant Kuru, this descendant of Ajamida, Yudhishthira, though not skilled in dice and though dissuaded by all his friends, challenged the son of the king of Gandhara, an adept at dice, to the match. There were then at that place thousands of dice-players whom Yudhishthira could defeat in a match. Taking however, no notice of any of them, he challenged Suvala's son of all men to the game, and so he lost. And although the dice constantly went against him, he would still have Sakuni alone for his opponent. Competing with Sakuni in the play, he sustained a crushing defeat. For this, no blame can attach to Sakuni. Let the messenger make use of words characterised by humility, words intended to conciliate Vichitravirya's son. The messenger may thus bring round Dhritarashtra's son to his own views. Do not seek war with the Kurus; address Duryodhana in only a conciliatory tone, The object may possibly fail to be gained by war, but it may be gained by conciliation, and by this means also it may be gained enduringly.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'While that valiant scion of Madhu's race was even continuing his speech, the gallant son of the race of Sini suddenly rose up and indignantly condemned the words of the former by these words of his.'

SECTION 3

"Satyaki said, 'Even as a man's heart is, so doth he speak! Thou art speaking in strict conformity with the nature of thy heart. There are brave men, and likewise those that are cowards. Men may be divided into these two well defined classes. As upon a single large tree there may be two boughs one of which beareth fruits while the other doth not, so from the self-same line of progenitors may spring persons that are imbecile as well as those that are endowed with great strength O thou bearing the sign of a plough on thy banner, I do not, in sooth, condemn the words thou hast spoken, but I simply condemn those, O son of Madhu, who are listening to thy words! How, indeed, can he, who unblushingly dares attach even the slightest blame in the virtuous king Yudhishthira be permitted to speak at all in the midst of the assembly? Persons clever in the game of dice challenged the magnanimous Yudhishthira unskilled as he is in play, and confiding in them he was defeated! Can such persons be said to have virtuously won the game? If they had come to Yudhishthira while playing in this house with his brothers and defeated him there, then what they would have won would have been righteously won. But they challenged Yudhishthira who was bound in conscience to follow the rules observed by the military caste, and they won by a trick. What is there in this conduct of theirs that is righteous? And how can this Yudhishthira here, having performed to the utmost the stipulations entered into by way of stakes in the play, freed from the promise of a sojourn in the forest, and therefore entitled to his ancestral throne, humble himself? Even if Yudhishthira coveted other people's possessions, still it would not behove him to beg! How can they be said to be righteous and not intent on usurping the throne when, although the Pandavas have lived out their sojourn of concealment unrecognised, they still say that the latter had been recognised? They were besought by Bhishma and the magnanimous Drona, but they would not yet consent to give back to the Pandavas the throne that belongeth to them by right of birth. The means with which I

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would beseech them would be sharp arrows. I shall fight and with a strong hand force them to prostrate themselves at the feet of the illustrious son of Kunti. If, however, they do not bow at the feet of the wise Yudhishthira, then they and their partisans must go to the regions of Yama. When Yuyudhana (myself) is enraged and resolved to fight, they, to be sure, are unequal to withstand his impetus, as mountains are unable to resist that of the thunderbolt. Who can withstand Arjuna in fight, or him who hath the discus for his weapon in battle, or myself as well? Who can withstand the unapproachable Bhima? And who, having regard for his life, would come near the twin brothers who firmly grasp their bows and resemble the death-dealing Yama in intelligence? Who would approach Dhrishtadyumna, the son of Drupada, or these five sons of the Pandavas who have added lustre to Draupadi's name, rivalling their fathers in valour, equal to them in every respect and full of martial pride, or him of the powerful bow, Subhadra's son, irresistible by even the gods themselves; or Gada, or Pradyumna, or Samva, resembling Yama or the thunderbolt or fire? We shall slay Dhritarashtra's son and Sakuni and Karna in battle, and place the Pandava on the throne. There is no sin in slaying them that are bent on slaying us: but to be a beggar before foes is both impious and infamous. I ask you to be diligent in doing that which is heartily desired by Yudhishthira. Let Pandu's son get back the kingdom resigned by Dhritarashtra! Either Yudhishthira should get back his kingdom this very day or all our enemies shall lie down on the earth slain by me!'

SECTION 4

"Drupada said, 'O mighty-armed one, it will, without doubt, be even as thou hast said! Never will Duryodhana give up the kingdom by peaceful means, and Dhritarashtra, who dotes on his son, will follow him in his wish. And so will Bhishma and Drona from imbecility, and Karna and Sakuni from folly. The words of Valadeva command themselves to my judgement; the course pointed out by him should, indeed, be followed by a man who desires peaceful settlement. But Duryodhana should never be addressed in mild words. Vicious by nature, he, I believe cannot be brought to reason by mildness. In respect of an ass, mildness is in place; but in respect of animals of the bovine species, severity should be resorted to. If any one were to speak mild words to Duryodhana, vicious by nature that wicked wight would consider the speaker to be an imbecile person. If a mild course is adopted towards him, the fool will think that he has won. Let us do even this, let us make preparations; let us send word to our friends that they may collect an army for us. Let speedy messengers go to Salya, and Dhrishtaketu, and Jayatsena, and the prince of the Kekayas. Duryodhana also, on his part, will send word to all the kings, Rightminded persons, however, respond to the request of those that first beseech them. Therefore, I ask you to make haste in first preferring your suit to these rulers of men. Meseems that a great undertaking is awaiting us. Quickly send word to Salya, and to the kings under him, and to king Bhagadatta of immeasurable valour residing on the eastern sea-coast, and to fierce Hardikya, and Ahuka, and the king of the Mallas of powerful understanding, and Rochamana. Let Vrihanta be summoned and king Senavindu, and Vahlika and Mudjakesa and the ruler of the Chedis, and Suparsva, Suvahu; and that great hero, Paurava; and also the kings of the Sakas, the Pahlavas, and the Daradas, and Surari, and Nadija, and king Karnavest, and Nila, and the valiant king Viradharman; and Durjaya, and Dantavakra, and Rukmi, and Janamejaya; and Ashada and Vayuvega, and king Purvapali; and Bhuritejas, and Devaka, and Ekalaya with his sons; and also the kings of the Krausha race, and the valiant Kshemamurti, and the kings of the Kamboja and the Richika tribes, and of the western sea-coast; and Jayatsena and the king of Kashi, and the rulers of the land of the five rivers, and the proud son of Kratha, and the rulers of the mountain regions, and Janaki, and Susarman and Maniman, and Potimatsyaka, and the valiant Dhrishtaketu, and the ruler of the kingdom of Pansu; and Paundra, and Dandadhara, and the brave Vrihatsena; and Aparajita, and Nishada and Srenimat and Vasumat; and Vrihadvala of great strength, and Vahu the conqueror of hostile cities; and the warlike king Samudrasena with his son; and Uddhava, and Kshemaka and king Vatadhana; and Srutayus, and Dridhayus, and the gallant son of Salwa; and the king of the Kalingas, and Kumara, unconquerable in battle. Speedily send word to these. This is what recommends itself to me. And let this my priest, learned Brahmana, be sent, O king, to Dhritarashtra. Tell him the words he is to say and what Duryodhana should be told; and how Bhishma is to be addressed, and how Drona, that best of car-warriors!"

SECTION 5

"Krishna said, 'These worlds are worthy of the chief of the Somaka tribe, and are calculated to promote the interests of Pandu's son of immeasurable strength. As we are desirous of adopting a politic course, this is, no doubt, our first duty; a man acting otherwise would be a great fool. But our relationship to both the Kurus and the Pandus is equal, howsoever these two parties may behave with each other. Both you and we have been invited here on the occasion of a marriage. The marriage having now been celebrated, let us go home well-pleased. You are the foremost of kings, both in years and learning; and here we all, no doubt are as if your pupils. Dhritarashtra has always entertained a great respect for you; and you are also a friend of the preceptors Drona and Kripa. I, therefore, ask you to send a message (to the Kurus) in the interests of the Pandavas. We all resolve even upon this that you should send a message unto them. If that chief of the Kuru race should make peace on equitable terms, then the brotherly feelings between the Kuras and the Pandus will sustain no injury. If on the other hand, the son of Dhritarashtra should wax haughty and from folly refuse to make peace, then, having summoned others, summon us too. The holder of Gadiva then will be fired with wrath and the dull-headed and wicked Duryodhana, with his partisans and friends, will meet his fate.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'King Virata, then having honoured Krishna, sent him home with his followers and relatives. And after Krishna had set out for Dwaraka, Yudhishthira and his followers, with king Virata, began to make preparations for war. And Virata and his relatives sent word to all the monarchs, and king Drupada also did the same. And at the request of those lions of the Kuru race, as also of the two kings of the Matsyas and the Panchalas, many lords of the earth possessed of great strength, came to the place with cheerful hearts. And when the sons of Dhritarashtra heard that the Pandavas had collected a large army, they also assembled many rulers of the earth. And, O king, at that time the whole land became thronged with the rulers of the earth who were marching to espouse the cause of either the Kurus or the Pandavas. And the land was full of military bands composed of four kinds of forces. And from all sides the forces began to pour in. And the goddess Earth with her mountains and forests seemed to tremble beneath their tread. And the king of the Panchalas, having consulted the wishes of Yudhishthira, despatched to the Kurus his own priest, who was old both in years and understanding.'

SECTION 6

"Drupada said, 'Of beings those that are endowed with life are superior. Of living beings those that are endowed with intelligence are superior. Of intelligent creatures men are superior. Of men the twice-born are superior. Of the twice-born, students of the Veda are superior. Of students of the Veda those of cultured understanding are superior. Of cultured men practical persons are superior. And finally, of practical men those knowing the Supreme Being are superior. You, it seems to me, are at the very top of those that are of cultured understanding. You are distinguished both for age and learning. You are equal in intellect to either Sukra or Vrihaspati, the son of Angiras. You know what kind of man the chief of the Kuru race is, and what kind of man also is Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti. It was with Dhritarashtra's knowledge that the Pandavas were-deceived by their opponents. Though instructed by Vidura he yet follows his son! Sakuni advisedly challenged Yudhishthira to a gambling match although the latter was unskilled in gambling while the former was an adept in it. Unskilled in play, Yudhishthira was guileless and firm in following the rules of the military order. Having thus cheated the virtuous king Yudhishthira, they will, by no means, voluntarily yield up the kingdom. If you speak words of righteousness unto Dhritarashtra, you will certainly gain the hearts of his fighting men. Vidura also will make use of those words of yours and will thus alienate the hearts of Bhishma, and Drona, and Kripa, and others. When the officers of state are alienated and fighting men are backward, the task of the enemy will be to gain back their hearts. In the meantime, the Pandavas will, with ease and with their whole hearts, address themselves in preparing the army and in collecting stores. And when the enemy's adherents are estranged, and while you are hanging about them, they will surely not be able to make adequate preparations for war. This course seems expedient in this wise. On your meeting with Dhritarashtra it is possible that Dhritarashtra may do what you say. And as you are virtuous, you must therefore act virtuously towards them. And to the compassionate, you must descant upon the various hardships that the Pandavas have endured. And you must estrange the hearts of the aged persons by discoursing upon the family usages which were followed by their forefathers. I do not entertain the slightest doubt in this matter. Nor need you be apprehensive of any danger from them, for you are a Brahmana, versed in the Vedas; and you are going thither as an ambassador, and more specially, you are an aged man. Therefore, I ask you to set out without delay towards the Kauravas with the object of promoting the interests of the Pandavas, timing your departure under the (astrological) combination called Pushya and at that part of the day called Jaya.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus instructed by the magnanimous Drupada, the virtuous priest set out for Hastinapura (the city called after the elephant). And that learned man, well-versed in the principles of the science of politics, started with a following of disciples towards the Kurus for the sake of promoting the welfare of Pandu's sons.'

SECTION 7

"Vaisampayana said, 'Having despatched the priest to the city called after the elephant they sent messengers to the kings of various countries. And having sent messengers to other places, the Kuru hero Dhananjaya, that bull among men and son of Kunti, himself set out for Dwaraka. And after Krishna and Valadeva, the descendants of Madhu, had both departed for Dwaraka with all the Vrishnis, the Andhakas and the Bhojas, by hundreds, the royal son of Dhritarashtra had, by sending secret emissaries, furnished himself with information of all the doings of the Pandavas. And learning that Krishna was on his way, the prince went to the city of Dwaraka by means of fine horses possessing the speed of the wind, and taking with him a small number of troops. And on that very day the son of Kunti and Pandu, Dhananjaya, also speedily arrived at the beautiful city of the Anarta land. And the two scions of the Kuru race, those tigers among men, on arriving there saw that Krishna was asleep, and drew near him as he lay down. And as Krishna was sleeping, Duryodhana entered the room, and sat down on a fine seat at the head of the bed. And after him entered that wearer of the diadem the magnanimous Arjuna. And stood at the back of the bed, bowing and joining his hands. And when the descendant of Vrishni, Krishna awoke, he first cast his eyes on Arjuna. And having asked them as to the safety of their journey, and having fitly bestowed his greetings upon them, the slayer of Madhu questioned them as to the occasion of their visit. Then Duryodhana addressed Krishna, with a cheerful countenance, saying, It behoveth you to lend me your help in the impending war. Arjuna and myself are both equally your friends. And, O descendant of Madhu, you also bear the same relationship to both of us. And today, O slayer of Madhu, I have been the first to come to you. Right-minded persons take up the cause of him who comes first to them. This is how the ancients acted. And, O Krishna, you stand at the very top of all right-minded persons in the world, and are always respected. I ask you to follow the rule of conduct observed by rightminded men.' Thereat Krishna replied, 'That you have come first, O king, I do not in the least doubt. But, O king, the son of Kunti, Dhananjaya, has been first beheld by me. On account of your first arrival, and on account of my having beheld Arjuna first, I shall, no doubt, lend my assistance, O Suyodhana, to both. But it is said that those who are junior in years should have the first choice. Therefore, Dhananjaya, the son of Kunti, is entitled to first choice. There is a large body of cowherds numbering ten crores, rivalling me in strength and known as the Narayanas, all of whom are able to fight in the thick of battle. These soldiers, irresistible in battle, shall be sent to one of you and I alone, resolved not to fight on the field, and laying down my arms, will go to the other. You may, O son of Kunti, first select whichever of these two commends itself to you. For, according to law, you have the right to the first choice.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed by Krishna, Dhananjaya the son of Kunti selected Kesava who was not to fight on the battle-field, even Narayana himself, the slayer of foes, increate, born among men at his own will,--the foremost of all Kshatriyas and above all the gods and the Danavas. And Duryodhana selected for himself that entire army (composed of the Narayanas). And, O descendant of Bharata, having obtained those troops numbering thousands upon thousands, he was exceedingly delighted, although he knew that Krishna was not on his side. And having secured that army possessed of terrible prowess, Duryodhana went to the son of Rohini of great strength, and explained to him, the object of his visit. The descendant of Sura in reply addressed the following words to Dhritarashtra's son, 'Thou shouldst remember, O tiger among men, all that I said at the marriage ceremony celebrated by Vitrata. O thou delighter of the race of Kuru, for thy sake I then contradicted Krishna and spoke against his opinions. And again and again I alluded to the equality of our relationship to both the parties. But Krishna did not adopt the views I then expressed; nor can I separate myself from Krishna for even a single moment. And seeing that I cannot act against Krishna even this is resolution formed by me, viz., that I will fight neither for Kunti's sons nor for you. And, O bull of the Bharatas, born as thou art in Bharata's race that is honoured by all the kings, go and fight in accordance with the rules of propriety.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed, Duryodhana embraced that hero wielding a plough for his weapon of battle, and although knowing that Krishna had been taken away from his side, he yet regarded Arjuna as already vanquished. And the royal son of Dhritarashtra then went to Kritavarman. And Kritavarman gave him a body of troops numbering an Akshauhini. And surrounded by that military host, terrible to behold, the Kaurava marched forth delighting his friends. And after Duryodhana had departed, Krishna, the Creator of the world, clad in yellow attire, addressed Kiritin, saying, 'For what reason is it that you have selected me who will not fight at all?'

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"Thereupon Arjuna answered, 'I question not that you are able to slay them all. I also am alone capable of slaying them, O best of men. But you are an illustrious person in the world; and this renown will accompany you. I also am a suitor for fame; therefore, you have been selected by me. It hath been always my desire to have you for driving my car. I, therefore, ask you to fulfil my desire cherished for a long time.'

"Vasudeva's son thereupon said, It beseems thee well, O Kunti's son, that thou measurest thyself with me. I will act as thy charioteer; let thy wish be fulfilled.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then with a glad heart, Kunti's son, accompanied by Krishna as well as by the flower of the Dasarha race, came back to Yudhishthira.'

SECTION 8

"Vaisampayana said, 'O king, having learnt the news from the messengers, Salya, accompanied by a large body of troops and by his sons, all of whom were mighty in battle, was coming to the Pandavas. His encampment covered an area of one and a half yojana, so large was the force owned by that best of men. He was the master, O king, of an Akshauhini and had great prowess and valour. And there were in his army heroes bearing armour of various colours, with diverse kinds of banners and bows and ornaments and cars and animals, all wearing excellent garlands, and various robes and ornaments. And hundreds and thousands of foremost of Kshatriyas were the leaders of his troops, dressed and decorated in the manner of their native land. And he proceeded by slow marches, giving rest to his troops, towards the place where the Pandava was. And the creatures of the earth felt oppressed and the earth trembled under the tread of his troops. And king Duryodhana, hearing that magnanimous and mighty hero was on his way, hastened towards him and paid him honours, O best of the Bharata race and caused finely decorated places of entertainment to be constructed at different spots for his reception, on beautiful sites, and whither many artists were directed to entertain the guests. And those pavilions contained garlands and meat and the choicest viands and drinks, and wells of various forms, capable of refreshing the heart, and tanks of various forms, and edibles, and roomy apartments. And arriving at those pavilions, and waited upon like a very god by the servants of Duryodhana located at different spots, Salya reached another house of entertainment resplendent as a retreat of the celestials. And there, greeted with choice creature-comforts fit for beings superior to man, he deemed himself superior even to the lord himself of the gods and thought meanly of Indra as compared with himself. And that foremost of Kshatriyas, well-pleased, asked the servants, saying, 'Where are those men of Yudhishthira, who have prepared these places of refreshment? Let those men who made these be brought to me. I deem them worthy of being rewarded by me. I must reward them, let it so please the son of Kunti!' The servants, surprised, submitted the whole matter to Duryodhana. And when Salya was exceedingly pleased and ready to grant even his life, Duryodhana, who had remained concealed, came forward and showed himself to his maternal uncle. And the kind of the Madras saw him and understood that it was Duryodhana who had taken all the trouble to receive him. And Salya embraced Duryodhana and said, 'Accept something that you may desire.'

"Duryodhana thereupon said, 'O thou auspicious one, let thy word be true, grant me a boon. I ask thee to be the leader of all my army.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'And hearing this, Salya said, 'Be it so! What else is to be done?' And the son of Gandhari repeated again and again, 'It is done.' And Salya said, 'O Duryodhana, O best of men, go to thy own city. I shall proceed to pay a visit to Yudhishthira, the subduer of foes. O king, I shall speedily come back, O ruler of men. That best of men, Pandu's son Yudhishthira, must, by all means, be visited by me.' And bearing this Duryodhana said, 'O king, O ruler of the earth, having seen the Pandava, come speedily back. I depend entirely upon thee, O king of kings. Remember the boon that thou hast granted me.' And Salya answered, 'Good betide thee! I shall come speedily back. Repair to thy own city, O protector of men.' And then those two kings Salya and Duryodhana embraced each other. And having thus greeted Salya, Duryodhana came back to his own city. And Salya went to inform the sons of Kunti of that proceeding of his. And having reached Upaplavya, and entered the encampment, Salya saw there all the sons of Panda. And the mighty-armed Salya having met the sons of Panda, accepted as usual water for washing his feet, and the customary gifts of honour including a cow. And the king of the Madras, that slayer of foes, first asked them how they were, and then with great delight embraced Yudhishthira, and Bhima, and Arjuna, and the sons of his sister the two twin-brothers. And when all had sat down, Salya spoke to Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, saying, 'O tiger among kings, O thou delighter of the race of Kuru, is it all well with thee? O best of victors, how fortunately hast thou spent the term of thy residence in the wilderness, O king, O lord of monarchs, it was an exceedingly hard task that thou hast performed by dwelling in the wilderness together with thy brothers and this noble lady here. And awfully difficult task again was that sojourn of thine,--the period of concealment,--which task also thou hast performed, O descendant of Bharata; for one pulled down from a throne it is nothing but hardship that awaits him. O king, where is there any happiness for him! O afflicter of thy foes, in compensation for all this vast misery wrought by Dhritarashtra's son, thou wilt attain to proportional happiness after having killed thy foes, O great king, O lord of men, the ways of the world are known to thee. Therefore, O my son, thou art never guided by avarice in any of thy dealings. O descendant of Bharata, do thou treat on the foot-prints of ancient saintly kings. My son, Yudhishthira, be steady in the path of liberality, and self-abnegation, and truth. And, O royal Yudhishthira, mercy and self control, and truth and universal sympathy, and everything wonderful in this world, are to be found in thee. Thou art mild, munificent, religious, and liberal, and thou regardest virtue as the highest good. O king, many are the rules of virtue that prevail amongst men, and all those are known to thee. O my son, O afflicter of foes, thou knowest in fact everything relating to this world. O king, O best of Bharata's race, how lucky it is that thou hast come out of this difficulty of thine. How lucky, O king, O foremost of monarchs, O lord, it is that I see thee, so virtuous a soul, a treasure-house of righteousness, freed with thy followers from this.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then, O descendant of Bharata, the king spoke of his meeting with Duryodhana and gave a detailed account regarding that promise of his and that boon granted by himself. And Yudhishthira said, O valiant king, it has been well-done by thee that being pleased at heart thou hast plighted thy truth to Duryodhana. But good betide thee, O ruler of the earth, I ask thee to do one thing only. O king, O best of men, thou wilt have to do it solely for my sake, though it may not be proper to be done. O valiant one, hear what I submit to thee. O great king, thou art equal to Krishna on the field of battle. When, O best of kings, the single combat between Karna and Arjuna will take place, I have no doubt thou wilt have to drive Karna's car. On that occasion, if thou art inclined to do good to me, thou must protect Arjuna. O king, thou must likewise so act that the Suta's son Karna may be dispirited and the victory may be ours. Improper it no doubt is; but, O my uncle, for all that thou must do it. Salya said, 'Good betide thee. Listen, O son of Panda. Thou tellest me to so act that the vile son of the Suta may be dispirited in fight. To be sure, I shall be his charioteer' on the field, for he always considers me equal to Krishna. O tiger like descendant of Kuru, I shall certainly speak to him, when desirous of fighting on the field of battle, words contradictory and fraught with harm to him, so that bereft of pride and valour, he may be easily slain by his antagonist. This I tell thee truly. Asked by thee to do it, this I am determined to do, O my son. Whatever else I may be able to bring about, I shall do for thy good. Whatever troubles were suffered by thee together with Draupadi on the occasion of the game at dice, the rude inhuman words uttered by the Suta's son, the misery inflicted by the Asura Jata and by Kichaka, O illustrious one, all the miseries experienced by Draupadi, like those formerly experienced by Damayanti,--will all, O hero, end in joy. Thou shouldst not be aggrieved at this; for Destiny is all powerful in this world; and, O Yudhishthira, high-minded persons have to endure miseries of various kinds, nay, even the gods themselves, O king, have suffered misfortunes. O king, O descendant of Bharata, it is narrated that the high-minded Indra, the chief of the celestials, had to endure together with his wife very great misery, indeed.'

SECTION 9

"Yudhishthira said, 'O foremost of monarchs, I wish to know how it was that great and unparalleled misery had to be endured by the illustrious Indra together with his queen.'

"Salya said, 'Listen, O king, to me as I relate this ancient story of the events of former days,--how, O descendant of Bharata, misery befell Indra and his wife. Once Twashtri, the lord of creatures and the foremost of celestials, was engaged in practising rigid austerities. And it is said that from antipathy to Indra he created a son having three heads. And that being of universal form possessed of great lustre hankered after Indra's seat. And possessed of those three awful faces resembling the sun, the moon, and the fire, he read the Vedas with one mouth, drank wine with another, and looked with the third as if he would absorb all the cardinal points. And given to the practice of austerities, and mild being and self-controlled, he was intent upon a life of religious practices and austerities. And his practice of austerities, O subduer of foes, was rigid and terrible and of an exceedingly severe character. And beholding the austerities, courage, and truthfulness of this one possessed of immeasurable energy, Indra became anxious, fearing lest that being should take his place. And Indra reflected, 'How may he be made to addict himself to sensual enjoyments; how may he be made to cease his practice of such rigid austerities? For were the three-headed being to wax strong, he would absorb the whole universe.' And it was thus that Indra pondered in his mind; and, O best of Bharata's race, endued with intelligence, he ordered the celestial nymphs to tempt the son of Twashtri. And he commanded them, saying, 'Be quick, and go without delay, and so tempt him that the three-headed being may plunge himself into sensual enjoyment to the utmost extent. Furnished with captivating hips, array yourselves in voluptuous attires, and decking yourselves in charming necklaces, do ye display gestures and blandishments of love. Endued with loveliness, do ye tempt him and alleviate my dread. I feel restless in my heart, O lovely damsels. Avert ye, ladies, this awful peril that hangs over me. Good betide you.'

"Then the nymphs said, 'O Indra, O slayer of Vala, we shall so endeavour to allure him that thou wilt have nothing to fear at his hands. That very receptacle of austerities, sitting now as if scorching everything with his eyes, O god, we are going together to tempt. We shall try to bring him under our control, and to put an end to your fears.'

"Salya continued, 'Commanded by Indra, they then went to the three-headed being. And arriving there, those lovely damsels tempted him with various gestures of love, displaying their fine figures. But engaged in the practice of exceedingly severe austerities, although he looked at them, yet he was not influenced by desire. Of subdued senses he was like the ocean, full to the brim, in gravity. And the nymphs after having tried their best, came back to Indra. And they all with joined hands spoke to the lord of the celestials, saying, 'O, that unapproachable being is incapable of being disturbed by us. O highly gifted being, thou mayst do what now may seem proper to thee.' The high-minded Indra honoured the nymphs and then dismissed them reflecting, O Yudhishthira, solely upon other means of destroying his foe. And endued with intelligence, he fixed upon a contrivance for destroying the three-headed being. And he said, 'Let me today hurt my thunderbolt at him. By this means he will speedily be killed. Even a strong person should not overlook a rising foe, contemptible though he may be.' And thus reflecting upon the lessons inculcated in treatises of learning, he was firmly resolved upon slaying that being. Then Indra, enraged, hurled at the three-headed being his thunderbolt which looked like fire and was terrible to behold, and which inspired dread. And forcibly struck by that thunderbolt, he was slain and fell down, as falls on the earth the loosened summit of a hill. And beholding him slain by the thunderbolt, and lying down huge as a hill, the chief of the celestials found no peace, and felt as if scorched by the effulgent appearance of the dead; for though slain, he had a blazing and effulgent appearance and looked like one alive. And, strange to say, though lifeless, his heads seemed to be alive as they were beheld lying low on the field. And exceedingly afraid of that lustre, Indra remained plunged in thought. And at that time, O great king, bearing an axe on his shoulder, a carpenter came to the forest and approached the spot where lay that being. And Indra, the lord of Sachi, who was afraid, saw the carpenter come there by chance. And the chastiser of Paka said unto him immediately, 'Do this my behest. Quickly cut off this one's heads.' The carpenter thereupon said, 'His shoulders are broad: this axe will not be able to cut them off. Nor shall I be able to do what is condemned by righteous persons.' And Indra said, 'Do not fear, quickly do what I say. At my command thy axe shall equal the thunderbolt.' The carpenter said, 'Whom am I to take thee to be who hast done this frightful deed today? This I wish to learn, tell me the exact truth.' And Indra said, 'O carpenter, I am Indra, the chief of the gods. Let this be known to thee. Do thou act just as I have told thee. Do not hesitate, O carpenter! The carpenter said, 'O Indra, how is it that thou art not ashamed of this thy inhuman act? How it is that thou hast no dread of the sin of slaying a Brahmana, after having slain this son of a saint?' Indra said, 'I shall afterwards perform some religious ceremony of a rigorous kind to purify myself from this taint. This was a powerful enemy of mine whom I have killed with my thunderbolt. Even now I am uneasy, O carpenter; I, indeed, dread him even now. Do thou quickly cut off his heads, I shall bestow my favour upon thee. In sacrifices, men will give thee the head of the sacrificial beast as thy share. This is the favour I confer on thee. Do thou quickly perform what I desire.'

"Salya said, 'Hearing this, the carpenter, at the request of the great Indra, immediately severed the heads of the three-headed one with his axe. And when the heads were cut off, out flew therefrom a number of birds, viz., partridges, quails and sparrows. And from the mouth wherewith he used to recite the Vedas and to drink the Soma-juice, came out partridges in quick succession. And, O king, O son of Pandu, from the mouth with which he used to look at the cardinal points as if absorbing them all, a number of quails came forth. And from that mouth of the three-headed being which used to drink wine, out flew a number of sparrows and hawks. And the heads having been cut off Indra was freed from his trepidation, and went to heaven, glad at heart. And the carpenter also went back to his house. And the slayer of Asuras, having killed his foe, considered his object gained. Now when the lord of creatures, Twashtri, heard that his son had been slain by Indra, his eyes became red with ire, and he spoke the following words, 'Since Indra hath killed my son who had committed no offence at all, who was constantly engaged in

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the practice of austerities, who was merciful, possessed of self-control, and of subdued passions, therefore, for the destruction of Indra, I will create Vritra. Let the worlds behold what power I possess, and how mighty is the practice of austerities! Let that inhuman, wicked-minded lord of the gods also witness the same!' And saying this, that enraged one, famous for his austerities, washed his mouth with water, made offerings on the fire, created the terrible Vritra, and spoke to him, saying, 'O destined slayer of Indra, grow in might even from the strength of my austere rites.' And that Asura grew in might, towering towards the firmament, and resembling the son of fire. And he asked, 'Risen like the doomsday sun, what am I to do?' 'Kill Indra,' was the reply. And then he departed towards the celestial regions. And next ensued a great fight between Vritra and Indra, both fired with wrath. And there took place a terrible combat, O best of Kuru's race. And the heroic Vritra seized the celestial lord who had performed a hundred sacrifices. And filled with wrath, he whirled Indra and threw him into his mouth. And when Indra was swallowed up by Vritra, the terrified senior gods, possessed of great might, created Jrimbhika to kill Vritra. And as Vritra yawned and his mouth opened the slayer of the Asura, Vala contracted the different parts of his body, and came out from within Vritra's mouth. And thenceforth the yawn attaches itself to the living breath of animated beings in three worlds. And the gods rejoiced at the egress of Indra. And once again commenced the terrible fight between Vritra and Indra, both full of ire. And it was waged for a long while, O best of Bharata's race. And when Vritra, inspired with the mighty spirit of Twashtri and himself endowed with strength, got the upper hand in fight, Indra turned back And on his retreat, the gods became exceedingly distressed. And all of them together with Indra were overpowered by the might of Twashtri. And they all consulted with the saints, O descendant of Bharata. And they deliberated as to what was proper to be done, and were overwhelmed with dread. And seated on the top of the Mandara mountain, and bent on killing Vritra, they only bethought themselves of Vishnu, the indestructible one.'

SECTION 10

"Indra said, This whole indestructible universe, O gods, hath been pervaded by Vritra. There is nothing that can be equal to the task of opposing him. I was capable of yore, but now I am incapable. What good betide you, can I do? I believe him to be unapproachable. Powerful and magnanimous, possessing immeasurable strength in fight, he would be able to swallow up all the three worlds with the gods, the Asuras, and the men. Therefore, hear ye dwellers of heaven, this is my resolution. Proceeding to the abode of Vishnu, in company with that high-souled Being must we consult, and ascertain the means of slaying this ruthless wretch.'

"Salya continued, 'Indra having thus spoken, the gods with that host of Rishis repaired to the mighty god Vishnu to place themselves under the-protection of that protector of all. And afflicted with the dread of Vritra, they said unto the Supreme Lord of the deities. Thou hadst in former times covered the three worlds with three steps. Thou hadst procured the ambrosial food, O Vishnu, and destroyed the Asuras in battle. Thou didst bind the great Asura Vali and hadst raised Indra to the throne of heaven. Thou art the lord of the gods, and this entire universe is pervaded by thee. Thou art the God, the mighty Deity, saluted by all persons. Be thou the refuge of all the celestials together with Indra, O best of gods. The whole universe, O slayer of Asuras, hath been pervaded by Vritra. And Vishnu said, 'I am no doubt bound to do what is for your good. I shall, therefore, tell you of a contrivance whereby he may be annihilated. Do ye with the Rishis and the Gandharvas repair to the place where Vritra that bearer of a universal form is and adopt towards him a conciliatory policy. You will thus succeed in overthrowing him. By virtue of my power, victory, ye gods, will be won by Indra, for, remaining invisible, I shall enter into his thunderbolt, that best of weapons. O foremost of gods, depart ye with the Rishis and the Gandharvas. Let there be no delay in effecting a peace between Indra and Vritra.'

"Salya continued, 'When he had thus spoken, the Rishis and the celestials placed Indra at their head, and uniting together, went away. Approaching Indra they behold Vritra glowing and resplendent as if scorching the ten points, and swallowing all the three worlds, and resembling the sun or the moon. And then the Rishis, came up to Vritra and spoke to him in conciliatory terms, saying, 'O thou unconquerable being, the whole of this universe hath been pervaded by thy energy. Thou art not able however to overpower Indra, O best of mighty beings. A long period hath now elapsed since you began to fight. All beings, with the gods and the Asuras and men, are suffering from the effects of the fight. Let there be eternal friendship between thee and Indra. Thou shalt be happy and shall dwell eternally in Indra's regions.' And the mighty Vritra having heard the words of the saints, bowed his head unto them. And the Asura (thus) spoke, 'What you, O highly-gifted beings, and also all these Gandharvas are saying, I have heard. Ye stainless beings, hear also what I have got to say. How can there be peace between us two, Indra and myself? How can there be friendship, ye gods, between two hostile powers?' The Rishis said, 'Friendship among righteous persons happens at a single meeting. It is a desirable object. Thereafter will happen what is fated to be. The opportunity of forming friendship with a righteous person should not be sacrificed. Therefore, the friendship of the righteous should be sought. The friendship of the righteous is (like) excellent wealth, for he that is wise would give advice when it is needed. The friendship of a good person is of great use; therefore, a wise person should not desire to kill a righteous one. Indra is honoured by the righteous, and is the refuge of magnanimous persons, being veracious and unblamable, and knows what virtue is, and is possessed of a refined judgement. Let there be eternal friendship between thee and Indra, as described above. In this way, have faith (in him); let not thy heart be differently inclined.'

"Salya said, 'Hearing these words of the great Rishis, the illustrious Asura spoke to them, 'No doubt, the Rishis, endued with supernatural powers, are to be respected by me. Let what I am going to say, ye gods, be performed in its entirety; then I shall do everything that (these) best of Brahmanas have said to me. Ye lords of the Brahmana race, ordain so that Indra himself or the gods do not kill me by what is dry, or wet; by stone, or by wood; by a weapon fit for close fight, or by a missile; in the day time, or at night. On those terms eternal peace with Indra would be acceptable to me,--Very good! was what the Rishis told him, O best of Bharata race.' Thus peace having been concluded, Vritra was very much pleased. And Indra also became pleased though constantly occupied with the thought of killing Vritra. And the chief of the deities passed his time in search of a loophole, uneasy (in mind). And on a certain day when it was evening and the hour awful, Indra caught sight of the mighty Asura on the coast of the sea. And he bethought himself of the boon that was granted to the illustrious Asura, saying, 'This is the awful evening time; it is neither day, nor night; and this Vritra, my enemy, who hath stripped me of my all, must undoubtedly be killed by me. It I do not kill Vritra, this great and mighty Asura of gigantic frame, even by deceit, it will not go well with me.' And as Indra thought of all this, bearing Vishnu in mind he beheld at that instant in the sea a mass of froth as large as a hill. And he said, 'This is neither dry, nor wet, nor is it a weapon; let me hurl it at Vritra. Without doubt, he will die immediately.' And he threw at Vritra that mass of froth blended with the thunderbolt. And Vishnu, having entered within that froth, put an end to the life of Vritra. And when Vritra was killed, the cardinal points were free from gloom; and there also blew a pleasant breeze; and all beings were much pleased. And the deities with the Gandharvas and Yakshas and Rakshasas, with the great snakes and saints, glorified the mighty Indra with various laudatory hymns. And saluted by all beings, Indra spoke words of encouragement to all. And his heart was glad as also that of everyone of the gods for having killed the foe. And knowing the nature of virtue, he worshipped Vishnu, the most praiseworthy of all objects in the world. Now when the mighty Vritra, terrible to the gods, was killed, Indra became overpowered by falsehood, and he became exceedingly sad; and he was also overpowered by the sin of Brahmanicide [the murder of Bramans] on account of having killed the three-headed son of Twashtri. And he betook himself to the confines of the worlds, and became bereft of his senses and consciousness. And overpowered by his own sins, he could not be recognised. And he lay concealed in water, just like a writhing snake. And when the lord of celestials, oppressed with the dread of Brahmanicide, had vanished from sight, the earth looked as if a havoc had passed over it. And it became treeless, and its woods withered; and the course of rivers was interrupted; and the reservoirs lost all their water; and there was distress among animals on account of cessation of rains. And the deities and all the great Rishis were in exceeding fear; and the world had no king, and was overtaken by disasters. Then the deities and the divine saints in heaven, separated from the chief of the gods, became terrified, and wondered who was to be their king. And nobody had any inclination to act as the king of the gods.'

SECTION 11

"Salya said, 'Then all the Rishis and the superior gods said, "Let the handsome Nahusha be crowned as king of the gods. He is powerful and renowned, and devoted to virtue ever more.' And they all went and said to him, 'O lord of the earth, be thou our king.' And Nahusha intent on his welfare, spoke to those gods and saints accompanied by the progenitors (of mankind), 'I am feeble; I am not capable of protecting you; it is a powerful person who should be your king; it is Indra who hath always been possessed of strength.' And all the gods, led by the saints, spoke again to him, 'Aided by the virtue of our austerities, rule thou the kingdom of heaven. There is no doubt that we have all our respective fears. Be crowned, O lord of monarchs, as the king of heaven. Whatever being may stand within thy sight, whether he be a god, an Asura, a Yaksha, a saint, a Pitri, or a Gandharva, thou shalt absorb his power and (thereby) wax strong. Always placing virtue before (all other things), be thou the ruler of the worlds. Protect also the Brahmarsis (Brahmana saints) and the gods in heaven.' Then, O lord of monarchs, Nahusha was crowned king in heaven. And placing virtue before (everything else), he became the ruler of all the worlds. And though always of a virtuous disposition, yet when he obtained that precious boon and the kingdom of heaven, Nahusha assumed a sensual turn of mind. And when Nahusha became the king of the gods, he surrounded himself with celestial nymphs, and with damsels of celestial birth, and took to enjoyments of various kinds, in the Nandana groves, on mount Kailasa, on the crest of Himavat, on Mandara. the White hill Sahya, Mahendra and Malaya, as, also upon seas and rivers. And he listened to various divine narratives that captivated both the ear and the heart, and to the play of musical instruments of different sorts, and to sweet vocal strains. And Viswavasu and Narada and bevies of celestial nymphs and bands of Gandharvas and the six seasons in living shapes, attended upon the king of the gods. And fragrant breezes, refreshingly cool, blew round him. And while that wretch was thus enjoying himself, on one occasion the goddess who was the favourite queen of Indra came in his sight. And that vicious soul, having looked at her, said to the courtiers, 'Why doth not this goddess, the queen of Indra, attend upon me? I am the monarch of the gods, and also the ruler of the worlds. Let Sachi make haste and visit me at my house.' Saddened at hearing this, the goddess said to Vrihaspati, 'Protect me, O Brahmana, from this Nahusha. I come to you as my refuge. You always say, O Brahmana, that I have got on my person all the auspicious marks, being the favourite of the divine king; that I am chaste, devoted to my lord, and destined never to become a widow. All this about me you have said before. Let your words be made true. O possessor of great powers, O lord, you never spoke words that were vain. Therefore, O best of Brahmanas, this that you have said ought to be true.' Then Vrihaspati said to the queen of Indra who was beside herself through fear, 'What thou hast been told by me will come to be true, be sure, O goddess. Thou shalt see Indra, the lord of the gods, who will soon come back here. I tell thee truly, thou hast no fear from Nahusha; I shall soon unite thee with Indra.' Now Nahusha came to hear that Indra's queen had taken refuge with Vrihaspati, the son of Angiras. And at this, the king became highly enraged.'

SECTION 12

"Salya said, 'Seeing Nahusha enraged, the gods led by the saints spoke unto him, 'Who was now their king of awful mien? O king of gods, quit thy wrath. When thou art in wrath, O lord, the Universe, with its Asuras and Gandharvas, its Kinnaras, and great snakes, quaketh. Quit this wrath, thou righteous being. Persons like thee do not put themselves out. That goddess is another person's wife. Be pacified, O lord of gods! Turn back thy inclination from the sin of outraging another's wife. Thou art the king of gods, prosperity to thee! Protect thy subjects in all righteousness?' So addressed, he heeded not the saying rendered senseless by lust. And the king spoke to the gods, in allusion to Indra, 'Ahalya of spotless fame, the wife of a saint, was outraged by Indra while her husband was alive. Why did ye not prevent him? Many were the deeds of inhumanity, of unrighteousness, of deceit, committed by Indra in former times. Why did ye not prevent him? Let the goddess do my pleasure; that would be her permanent good. And so the same will ever more rebound to your safety, ye gods!'

"The gods said, 'We shall bring to thee the queen of Indra even as thou hast laid the command, 'O lord of heaven! Quit this wrath, thou valiant soul! Be pacified, O lord of gods!'

"Salya continued, 'Thus having spoken to him, the gods with the saint went to inform Vrihaspati and the queen of Indra of the said news. And they said, 'We know, O foremost of Brahmanas, that the queen of Indra hath betaken herself to thy house, for protection, and that thou hast promised her protection, O best of divine saints! But we, the gods and Gandharvas and saints, beseech thee, O thou of great lustre, to give up the queen of Indra to Nahusha. Nahusha, the king of gods, of great effulgence, is superior to Indra. Let her, that lady of choice figure and complexion, choose him as her lord!' Thus addressed, the goddess gave vent to tears; and sobbing audibly, she mourned in piteous accents. And she spoke to Vrihaspati, 'O best of divine saints, I do not desire Nahusha to be my lord. I have betaken myself to thy protection, O Brahmana! Deliver me from this great peril!'

"Vrihaspati said, 'My resolution is this, I shall not abandon one that hath sought my protection. O thou of unblamable life, I shall not abandon thee, virtuous as thou art and of a truthful disposition! I do not desire to do an improper act, specially as I am a Brahmana knowing what righteousness is, having a regard for truth, and aware also of the precepts of virtue. I shall never do it. Go your ways, ye best of gods. Hear what hath formerly been sung by Brahma with regard to the matter at hand. He that delivereth up to a foe of a person terrified and asking for protection obtaineth no protection when he himself is in need of it. His seed doth not grow at seed-time and rain doth not come to him in the season of rains. He that delivereth up to a foe a person terrified and asking for

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protection never succeedeth in anything that he undertaketh; senseless as he is, he droppeth paralysed from heaven; the god refuse offerings made by him. His progeny die an untimely death and his forefathers always quarrel (among themselves). The gods with Indra and their head dart the thunderbolt at him. Know it to be so, I shall not deliver up this Sachi here, the queen of Indra, famous in the world as his favourite consort. O ye best of gods, what may be for both her good and mine I ask you to do. Sachi I shall never deliver up!'

"Salya continued, 'Then the gods and the Gandharvas said these words to the preceptor of the gods, 'O Vrihaspati, deliberate upon something that may be conformable to sound policy!' Vrihaspati said, 'Let this goddess of auspicious looks ask for time from Nahusha in order to make up her mind to his proposal. This will be for the good of Indra's queen, and of us as well. Time, ye gods, may give rise to many impediments. Time will send time onward. Nahusha is proud and powerful by virtue of the boon granted to him!'

"Salya continued, 'Vrihaspati having spoken so, the gods, delighted then said, 'Well hast thou said, O Brahmana. This is for the good of all the gods. It is no doubt so. Only, let this goddess be propitiated.' Then the assembled gods led by Agni, with a view to the welfare of all the worlds, spoke to Indra's queen in a quiet way. And the gods said, 'Thou art supporting the whole universe of things mobile and immobile. Thou art chaste and true: go thou to Nahusha. That vicious being, lustful after thee, will shortly fall: and Indra, O goddess, will get the sovereignty of the gods!' Ascertaining this to be the result of that deliberation, Indra's queen, for attaining her end, went bashfully to Nahusha of awful mien. The vicious Nahusha also, rendered senseless by lust, saw how youthful and lovely she was, and became highly pleased.'

SECTION 13

"Salya said, 'Now then Nahusha, the king of the gods, looked at her and said, 'O thou of sweet smiles, I am the Indra of all the three worlds. O thou of beautiful thighs and fair complexion, accept me as thy lord!' That chaste goddess, thus addressed by Nahusha, was terrified and quaked like a plantain-stalk at a breezy spot. She bowed her head to Brahma, and joining her hands spoke to Nahusha, the king of the gods, of awful mien, said, 'O lord of the deities, I desire to obtain time. It is not known what hath become of Indra, or where he is. Having enquired into the truth regarding him, if, O lord, I obtain no news of him, then I shall visit thee; this tell I thee for truth.' Thus addressed by Indra's queen, Nahusha was pleased. And Nahusha said, 'Let it be so, O lady of lovely hips, even as thou art telling me. Thou wilt come, after having ascertained the news. I hope thou wilt remember thy plighted truth.' Dismissed by Nahusha, she of auspicious looks stepped out; and that famous lady went to the abode of Vrihaspati. And, O best of kings, the gods with Agni at their head, when they heard her words, deliberated, intent upon what would promote the interests of Indra. And they then joined the powerful Vishnu, the God of gods. And skilled in making speeches, the uneasy gods spoke the following words to him, 'Indra, the lord of all the gods, hath been overpowered by the sin of Brahmanicide. Thou, O lord of the gods, art the first-born, the ruler of the universe, and our refuge. Thou hadst assumed the form of Vishnu for the protection of all beings. When Vritra was killed through thy energy, Indra was overwhelmed by the sin of Brahmanicide. O best of all the gods, prescribe the means of setting him free.' Having heard these words of the gods, Vishnu said, 'Let Indra. offer sacrifice to me. Even I shall purify the holder of the thunderbolt. The chastiser of Paka, having performed the holy horse-sacrifice, will fearlessly regain his dignity as lord of the gods. And the wicked-minded Nahusha will be led to destruction by his evil deeds. For a certain period, ye gods, ye must be patient, being vigilant at the same time.' Having heard these words of Vishnu, words that were true, and pleasant like ambrosia to their ears, the gods, with their preceptor, and with the Rishis proceeded to that spot where Indra was uneasy with fear. And there, O king, was performed a great horse-sacrifice, capable of removing the sin of Brahmanicide, for the purification of the high-minded and great Indra. And the lord of the gods,--O Yudhishthira, divided the sin of Brahmanicide among trees and rivers and mountains and the earth and women. And having distributed it thus among those beings and parted with it, Indra was free from fever. And rid of his sin, he came to himself. And at that place, the slayer of the Asura Vala, quaked when he looked at Nahusha, before whom all animated beings felt cowed, and who was unapproachable by virtue of the boon the Rishis had granted to him. And the divine husband of Sachi vanished from sight once again. And invisible to all beings, he wandered biding his time. And Indra having disappeared, Sachi fell into grief. And exceedingly miserable, she bewailed, 'Alas! O Indra, if ever I have made a gift, or made offering to the gods, or have propitiated my spiritual guides, if there is any truth in me, then I pray that my chastity may remain inviolate. I bow myself to this goddess Night,--holy, pure, running her course during this the northern journey of the sun [i.e., passage of the sun from the winter to the summer solstice.] let my desire be fulfilled.' Saying this, she, in a purified condition of body and soul, worshipped the goddess Night. And in the name of her chastity and truth she had recourse to divination. [Divination was practised by reference to the stars in the night.] And she asked, 'Show me the place where the king of the gods is. Let truth be verified by truth.' And it was thus that she addressed the goddess of Divination [prediction].'

SECTION 14

"Salya said, 'Then the goddess of Divination stood near that chaste and beautiful lady. And having beheld that goddess, youthful and lovely, standing before her, Indra's queen, glad at heart, paid respects to them and said, 'I desire to know who thou art, O thou of lovely face.' And Divination said, 'I am Divination, O goddess, come near thee. Since thou art truthful, therefore, O high-minded lady, do I appear in thy sight. Since thou art devoted to thy lord, employed in controlling thyself, and engaged in the practice of religious rites, I shall show thee the god Indra, the slayer of Vritra. Quickly come after me, so may good betide thee! Thou shalt see that best of gods.' Then Divination proceeded and the divine queen of Indra went after her. And she crossed the heavenly groves, and many mountains; and then having crossed the Himavat mountains, she came to its northern side. And having reached the sea, extending over many yojanas, she came upon a large island covered with various trees and plants. And there she saw a beautiful lake, of heavenly appearance, covered with birds, eight hundred miles in length, and as many in breadth. And upon it, O descendant of Bharata, were full-blown lotuses of heavenly appearance, of five colours, hummed round by bees, and counting by thousands. And in the middle of that lake, there was a large and beautiful assemblage of lotuses having in its midst a large white lotus standing on a lofty stalk. And penetrating into the lotus-stalk, along with Sachi, she saw Indra there who had entered into its fibres. And seeing her lord lying there in a minute form, Sachi also assumed a minute form, so did the goddess of divination too. And Indra's queen began to glorify him by reciting his celebrated deeds of yore. And thus glorified, the divine Purandara spoke to Sachi, 'For what purpose hast thou come? How also have I been found out?' Then the goddess spoke of the acts of Nahusha. And she said, 'O performer of a hundred sacrifices, having obtained the sovereignty of the three worlds, powerful and haughty and of a vicious soul, he hath commanded me to visit him, and the cruel wretch hath even assigned me a definite time. If thou wilt not protect me, O lord, he will bring me under his power. For this reason, O Indra, have I come to thee in alarm. O thou of powerful arms, slay the terrible Nahusha of vicious soul. Discover thyself, O slayer of Daityas and Danavas. O lord, assume thy own strength and rule the celestial kingdom.'"

SECTION 15

"Salya said, 'Thus addressed by Sachi, the illustrious god said to her again, 'This is not the time for putting forth valour. Nahusha is stronger than I am. O beautiful lady, he hath been strengthened by the Rishis with the merits of offerings to the gods and the Pitris. I shall have recourse to policy now. Thou wilt have to carry it out, O goddess. O lady, thou must do it secretly and must not disclose it to any person. O lady of a beautiful waist, going to Nahusha in private, tell him, O lord of the Universe, thou must visit me mounted on a nice vehicle borne by Rishis. In that case I shall be pleased and shall place myself at thy disposal. This shouldst thou tell him.' And thus addressed by the king of the gods, his lotus-eyed consort expressed her consent and went to Nahusha. And Nahusha, having seen her, smilingly addressed her, saying, 'I welcome thee, O lady of lovely thighs. What is thy pleasure, O thou of sweet smiles. Accept me, O lady of propitious looks, who am devoted to thee. What is thy will, O spirited dame. I shall do thy wish, O lady of propitious looks and slender waist. Nor needst thou be bashful, O thou of lovely hips. Have trust in me. In the name of truth I swear, O goddess, that I shall do thy bidding.'

"Sachi said, 'O lord of Universe, I wanted the time that thou hast assigned to me. Thereafter, O lord of the gods, thou shalt be my husband. I have a wish. Attend and hear, O king of the gods. What it is I shall say, O king, so that thou mayst do what I like. This is an indulgence that I ask from thy love for me. If thou grantest it, I shall be at thy disposal. Indra had horses for carrying him, and elephants, and cars. I want thee to have, O king of the gods, a novel vehicle, such as never belonged to Vishnu, or Rudra, or the Asuras, or the Rakshasas, O lord. Let a number of highly dignified Rishis, united together, bear thee in a palanquin. This is what commends itself to me. Thou shouldst not liken thyself to the Asuras or the gods. Thou absorbest the strength of all by thy own strength as soon as they look at thee. There is none so strong as to be able to stand before thee.'

"Salya continued, 'Thus addressed, Nahusha was very much pleased. And the lord of the deities said to that lady of faultless features, 'O lady of the fairest complexion, thou hast spoken of a vehicle never heard of before. I like it exceedingly, O goddess. I am in thy power, O thou of lovely face. He cannot be a feeble person who employeth Rishis for bearing him. I have practised austerities, and am mighty. I am the lord of the past, the present, and the future. The Universe would be no more if I were in rage. The whole Universe is established in me. O thou of sweet smiles, the gods, the Asuras and Gandharvas, and snakes, and Rakshasas are together unable to cope with me when I am in rage. Whomsoever I gaze upon I divest him of his energy. Therefore, thy request I shall no doubt fulfil, O goddess. The seven Rishis, and also the regenerate Rishis, shall carry me. See our greatness and splendour, O lady of lovely complexion.'

"Salya continued, 'Having thus addressed that goddess of lovely face, and having dismissed her thus, he harnessed to his heavenly car a number of saints devoted to the practice of austerities. A disregarder of Brahmanas, endued with power and intoxicated with pride, capricious, and of vicious soul, he employed those saints to carry him. Meanwhile, dismissed by Nahusha, Sachi went to Vrihaspati and said, 'But little remaineth of the term assigned by Nahusha to me. But compassionate unto me who respect thee so, and quickly find out Indra.'

"The illustrious Vrihaspati then said to her, 'Very good, thou needst not, O goddess, fear, Nahusha of vicious soul. Surely, he shall not long retain his power. The wretch, in fact, is already gone, being regardless of virtue and because, O lovely dame, of his employing the great saints to carry him. And I shall perform a sacrifice for the destruction of this vicious wretch, and I shall find out Indra. Thou needst not fear. Fare thee well.' And Vrihaspati of great power then kindled a fire in the prescribed form, and put the very best offerings upon it in order to ascertain where the king of the gods was. And having put his offerings, O king, he said to the Fire, 'Search out Indra.' And there upon that revered god, the eater of burnt offerings, assumed of his own accord a wonderful feminine form and vanished from sight at that very spot. And endued with speed of the mind, he searched everywhere, mountains and forests, earth and sky, and came back to Vrihaspati within the twinkling of the eye. And Agni said, Vrihaspati, nowhere in these places do I find the king of the gods. The waters alone remain to be searched. I am always backward in entering the waters. I have no ingress therein. O Brahmana, what I am to do for thee.' The preceptor of the gods then said to him, 'O illustrious god, do thou enter the water.'

"Agni said, 'I cannot enter the water. Therein it is extinction that awaits me. I place myself in thy hand, O thou of great effulgence. Mayst thou fare well! Fire rose from water, the military caste rose from the priestly caste; and iron had its origin in stone. The power of these which can penetrate all other things, hath no operation upon the sources from which they spring.'"

SECTION 16

"Vrihaspati said, 'Thou art the mouth, O Agni, of all the gods. Thou art the carrier of sacred offerings. Thou, like a witness, hast access to the inner souls of all creatures. The poets call thee single, and again three-fold. O eater of burnt offerings, abandoned by thee the Universe would forthwith cease to be. The Brahmanas by bowing to thee, win with their wives and sons an eternal region, the reward of their own meritorious deeds. O Agni, it is thou who art the bearer of sacred offerings. Thou, O Agni, art thyself the best offering. In a sacrificial ceremony of the supreme order, it is thee that they worship with incessant gifts and offerings. O bearer of offerings, having created the three worlds, thou when the hour cometh, consumeth them in thy unkindled form. Thou art the mother of the whole Universe; and thou again, O Agni, art its termination. The wise call thee identical with the clouds and with the lightning; flames issuing from thee, support all creatures. All the waters are deposited in thee; so is this entire world. To thee, O purifier, nothing is unknown in the three worlds. Every body taketh kindly to his progenitor; do thou enter the waters without fear. I shall render thee strong with the eternal hymns of the Veda. Thus glorified, the bearer of burnt offerings, that best of poets, well-pleased, spoke laudable words to Vrihaspati. And he said, 'I shall show Indra to thee. This I tell thee for truth.'

"Salya continued, 'Then Agni entered the waters including seas and tiny ponds, and came to that reservoir, where, O best of Bharata's race, while searching the lotus flowers, he saw the king of the gods lying within the fibres of a lotus-stalk. And soon coming back, he informed Vrihaspati how Indra had taken refuge in the fibres of a lotus-stalk, assuming a minute form. Then Vrihaspati, accompanied by the gods, the saints and the Gandharvas, went and glorified the slayer of Vala by referring to his former deeds. And he said, 'O Indra, the great Asura Namuchi was killed by thee; and those two Asuras also of terrible strength, viz., Samvara and Vala. Wax strong, O performer of a hundred sacrifices, and slay all thy foes. Rise, O Indra! Behold, here are assembled the gods and the saints. O Indra, O great lord, by slaying Asuras, thou hast delivered the worlds. Having got the froth of waters, strengthened with Vishnu's energy, thou formerly slew Vritra. Thou art the refuge of all creatures and art adorable. There is no being

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equal to thee. All the creatures, O Indra, are supported by thee, Thou didst build the greatness of the gods. Deliver all, together with the worlds by assuming thy strength, O great Indra.' And thus glorified, Indra increased little by little; and having assumed his own form, he waxed strong and spoke to the preceptor Vrihaspati standing before. And he said, 'What business of yours yet remaineth; the great Asuras, son of Twashtri, hath been killed; and Vritra also, whose form was exceedingly big and who destroyed the worlds.'

"Vrihaspati said, 'The human Nahusha, a king, having, obtained the throne of heaven by virtue of the power of the divine saints, is giving us exceeding trouble.'

"Indra said, 'How hath Nahusha obtained the throne of heaven, difficult to get? What austerities did he practise? How great is his power, O Vrihaspati!'

"Vrihaspati said, 'The gods having been frightened, wished for a king of heaven, for thou hadst given up the high dignity of heaven's ruler. Then the gods, the Pitris of the universe, the saints, and the principal Gandharvas, all met together, O Indra, and went to Nahusha and said, 'Be thou our king, and the defender of the Universe!' To them said Nahusha, 'I am not able; fill me with your power and with the virtue of your austerities!' So told, the deities strengthened him, O king of the gods! And thereupon Nahusha became a person of terrible strength, and becoming thus the ruler of the three worlds, he hath put the great saints in harness, and the wretch is thus journeying from world to world. Mayst thou never see Nahusha who is terrible. He emitteth poison from his eyes, and absorbeth the energy of all. All the gods are exceedingly frightened; they go about concealed and do not cast a glance at him!'

"Salya continued, While that best of Angira's race was thus speaking, there came that guardian of the world, Kuvera, and also Yama the son of Surya, and the old god Soma, and Varuna. And arrived there they said to the great Indra, 'How lucky that the son of Twashtri hath been killed, and Vritra also! How lucky, O Indra, that we are beholding thee safe and sound, while all thy enemies have been killed!' Indra received all those guardians of the worlds, and with a glad heart greeted them in proper form with a view to requesting them in connexion with Nahusha. And he said, 'Nahusha of terrible mien is the king of the gods; therein lend me your assistance.' They replied, 'Nahusha is of awful mien; his sight is poison; we are afraid of him, O God. If thou overthrowest Nahusha, then we shall be entitled to our shares of sacrificial offerings, O Indra.' Indra said, 'Let it be so. You and the ruler of the waters, and Yama, and Kuvera shall this day be crowned along with me. Aided by all the gods, let us overthrow the foe Nahusha of terrible gaze.' Then Agni also said to Indra, 'Give me a share in sacrificial offerings. I also shall lend you my assistance.' Indra said to him, 'O Agni, thou also shalt get a share in great sacrifices,--there will be a single share (in such) for both Indra and Agni.'

"Salya continued, 'Thus did the illustrious lord Indra, the chastiser of Paka, the giver of boons, bestow, after deliberation upon Kuvera the sovereignty over the Yakshas, and all the wealth of the world; upon Yama, the sovereignty over the Pitris; and upon Varuna, that over the waters.'

SECTION 17

"Salya said, 'Now when the great Indra, the intelligent chief of the gods, was deliberating with the guardians of the world and other deities upon the means of slaying Nahusha, there appeared at that spot the venerable ascetic Agastya. And Agastya honoured the lord of the gods and said, 'How fortunate that thou art flourishing after the destruction of that being of universal form, as also that of Vritra. And how fortunate. O Purandara, Nahusha hath been hurled from the throne of heaven. How fortunate, O slayer of Vala, that I behold thee with all thy enemies killed.'

"Indra said, 'Hath thy journey hither been pleasant, O great saint, I am delighted to see thee. Accept from me water for washing thy feet and face, as also the Arghya and the cow.'

"Salya continued, 'Indra, well-pleased, began to question that best of saints and greatest of Brahmanas when he was seated on a seat after receiving due honours, thus, O revered saint, O best of Brahmanas, I wish to have it recited by thee how Nahusha of vicious soul was hurled from heaven.'

"Agastya said, 'Listen, O Indra, to the pleasant narrative how the wicked and vicious Nahusha, intoxicated with pride of strength, had been hurled from heaven. The pure-spirited Brahmanas and celestial saints, while carrying him, weary with toil, questioned that vicious one, O best of victors, saying, 'O Indra, there are certain hymns in the Vedas, directed to be recited while sprinkling the cows. Are they authentic or not? Nahusha, who had lost his senses by the operation of the Tamas, told them that they were not authentic.' The saints then said, 'Thou art tending towards unrighteousness; thou takest not to the righteous path. The greatest saints have formerly said they are authentic, O Indra.' And incited by Untruth, he touched me on my head with his foot. At this, O lord of Sachi, he became divested of power and of good looks. Then, as he was agitated and overpowered with fear, I spoke to him, 'Since thou hast pronounced as spurious the unexceptionable hymns of the Veda which have been recited by Brahmarsis (Brahmana saints), and since thou hast touched my head with thy foot, and since thou, O ignorant wretch, hast turned these unapproachable saints, equal to Brahma, into animals for carrying thee, therefore, O wretch, be divested of thy lustre, and being hurled headlong, fall thou from heaven, the effect of all thy good deeds being exhausted. For ten thousand years, thou shalt, in the form of an enormous snake, roam over the earth. When that period is full, thou mayst come back to heaven. Thus hath that wretch been hurled from the throne of heaven, O repressor of foes.' How fortunate, O Indra, that we are flourishing now. That thorn of the Brahmanas hath been killed. O lord of Sachi, repair thou to heaven, protect the worlds, subdue thy senses, subdue thy foes, and be glorified by the great saints.'

"Salya continued, 'Then, O ruler of men, the gods, and the bands of great saints were exceedingly pleased. And so also were the Pitris, the Yakshas, the Snakes, the Rakshasas, the Gandharvas, and all the bands of celestial nymphs. And the tanks, the rivers, the mountains, and the seas also were highly pleased. And all came up and said, 'How fortunate, O slayer of foes, that thou art flourishing! How fortunate, that the intelligent Agastya hath killed the vicious Nahusha! How fortunate that the vile individual hath been turned into a snake to roam over the earth!'"

SECTION 18

"Salya said, "Then Indra, glorified by the bands of Gandharvas and celestial nymphs, mounted on Airavata, the king of elephants, characterised by auspicious marks. And the illustrious Agni, and the great saint Vrihaspati, and Yama, and Varuna, and Kuvera, the lord of riches, accompanied him. And the lord Sakra, the slayer of Vritra, then went to the three worlds surrounded by the gods together with the Gandharvas and the celestial nymphs. And the performer of a hundred sacrifices, the king of the deities, was thus united with his queen. And he began to protect the worlds with exceeding gladness. Then the illustrious divine saint Angiras arrived in the assembly of Indra and worshipped him duly by reciting the hymns of the Atharva. And the great lord Indra became satisfied and granted a boon to the Atharvangiras. And Indra said, 'Thou wilt be known as a Rishi of the name Atharvangiras in the Atharva Veda, and thou wilt also get a share in sacrifices.' And having honoured Atharvangiras thus, the great lord Indra, the performer of a hundred sacrifices, parted with him, O great king. And he honoured all the deities and all the saints endued with wealth of asceticism. And, O king, Indra, well-pleased, governed the people virtuously. Thus was misery endured by Indra with his wife. And with the view of slaying his foes, even he had to pass a period in concealment. Thou shouldst not take it to heart that thou, O king of kings, hast suffered with Draupadi as also with thy high-minded brothers in the great forest. O king of kings, O descendant of Bharata, O delighter of Kuru's race, thou wilt get back thy kingdom in the same way as Indra got his, after having killed Vritra. The vicious Nahusha, that enemy of Brahmanas, of evil mind, was overthrown by the curse of Agastya, and reduced to nothing for endless years. Similarly, O slayer of foes, thy enemies, Karna and Duryodhana and others of vicious souls will quickly be destroyed. Then, O hero, thou wilt enjoy the whole of this earth, as far as the sea, with thy brothers and this Draupadi. This story of the victory of Indra, equal to the Veda in its sacred character, should be listened to by a king desirous of victory and when his forces have been arrayed in order of battle. Therefore, O best of victors, I am reciting it to thee for thy victory, O Yudhishthira. High-souled persons attain prosperity when they are glorified. O Yudhishthira, the destruction of high-souled Kshatriyas is at hand by reason of the crimes of Duryodhana, and through the might also of Bhima and Arjuna. He who readeth this story of Indra's victory with a heart full of religious faith, is cleansed of his sins, attaineth a region of bliss, and obtaineth joy both in this world and in the next. He hath no fear of his foes; he never becometh a sonless man, never encountereth any peril whatever, and enjoyeth long life. Everywhere victory declareth for him, and he knoweth not what defeat is.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'O best of Bharata's race, the king, that best of righteous men, thus encouraged by Salya, honoured him in proper form. And Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, of powerful arms, having beard the words of Salya, spoke to the king of the Madras the following words, 'There is no doubt that thou wilt act as the charioteer of Karna. Thou must damp the spirits of Karna then by recounting the praises of Arjuna.'

"Salya said, 'Let it be so. I shall do just as thou tellest me. And I shall do for thee anything else that I may be able to do.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then Salya, the king of the Madras, bade farewell to the sons of Kunti. And that handsome man then went with his army to Duryodhana, O repressor of foes.'"

SECTION 19

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then Yuyudhana, the great hero of the Satwata race, came to Yudhishthira with a large army of foot, and horses and cars and elephants. And his soldiers of great valour come from various lands, bore various weapons of war, and heroic in look they beautified the Pandava army. And that army looked splendid by reason of battleaxes, and missiles and spears, and lances, and mallets, and clubs, and staves, and cords, and stainless swords, and daggers, and arrows of various kinds, all of the best temper. And the army, beautified by those weapons, and resembling in colour the cloudy sky, assumed an appearance like to amass of clouds with lightning-flashes in its midst. And the army counted an Akshauhini of troops. And when absorbed in the troops of Yudhishthira it entirely disappeared, as doth a small river when it enters the sea. And similarly, the powerful chief of the Chedis, Dhrishtaketu, accompanied by an Akshauhini, came to the sons of Pandu of immeasurable strength. And the king of Magadha, Jayatsena of great strength, brought with him for Yudhishthira an Akshauhini of troops. And similarly, Pandya, who dwelt on the coast-land near the sea, came accompanied by troops of various kinds to Yudhishthira, the king of kings. And, O king, when all these troops had assembled, his army, finely dressed and exceedingly strong, assumed an appearance pleasant to the eye. And the army of Drupada, also was beautified by valiant soldiers who had come from various lands, and also by his mighty sons. And similarly, Virata, the king of the Matsyas, a leader of troops, accompanied by the king of the hilly regions, came to Pandu's sons. And for the high-souled sons of Pandu there were thus assembled from various directions, seven Akshauhini of troops, bristling with banners of various forms. And eager to fight with the Kurus, they gladdened the hearts of the Pandavas. And in the same way king Bhagadatta, gladdening the heart of Dhritarashtra's son, gave an Akshauhini of troops to him. And the unassailable mass of his troops, crowded with Chins and Kiratas, all looking like figures of gold, assumed a beauty like to that of a forest of Karnikara trees. And so the valiant Bhurisravas, and Salya, O son of Kuru, came to Duryodhana, with an Akshauhini of troops each. And Kritavarman, the son of Hridika, accompanied by the Bhojas, the Andhas, and the Kukuras, came to Duryodhana with an Akshauhini of troops. And the body of his troops composed of those mighty soldiers, who wore on their persons garlands of many-coloured flowers, looked as graceful as a number of sportive elephants that have passed through a wood. And others led by Jayadratha, the dwellers of the land of Sindhusauvira, came in such force that the hills seemed to tremble under their tread. And their force, counting an Akshauhini, looked like a mass of clouds moved by the wind. And Sudakshina, the king of the Kambhojas, O ruler of men, accompanied by the Yavanas and Sakas, came to the Kuru chief with an Akshauhini of troops. And the body of his troops that looked like a flight of locusts, meeting with the Kuru force, was absorbed and disappeared in it. And similarly came king Nila, the resident of the city of the Mahishmati, with mighty soldiers from the southern country who carried weapons of pretty make. And the two kings of Avanti, accompanied by a mighty force, brought to Duryodhana, each a separate Akshauhini of troops. And those tigers among men, the five royal brothers, the princes of Kekaya, hastened to Duryodhana with an Akshauhini of troops, and gladdened his heart. And from the illustrious king, of other quarters there came, O best of Bharata's race, three large divisions of troops. And thus Duryodhana had a force which numbered eleven Akshauhinis all eager to fight with the sons of Kunti, and bristling with banners of various forms. And, O descendant of Bharata, there was no space in the city of Hastinapura even for the principal leaders of Duryodhana's army. And for this reason the land of the five rivers, and the whole of the region called Kurujangala, and the forest of Rohitaka which was uniformly wild, and Ahichatra and Kalakuta, and the banks of the Ganga, and Varana, and Vatadhana, and the hill tracts on the border of the Yamuna--the whole of this extensive tract--full of abundant corn and wealth, was entirely overspread with the army of the Kauravas. And that army, so arranged, was beheld by the priest who had been sent by the king of the Panchalas to the Kurus.'"

SECTION 20

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then Drupada's priest, having approached the Kaurava chief, was honoured by Dhritarashtra as also by Bhishma and Vidura. And having first told the news of the welfare of the Pandavas, he enquired about the welfare of the Kauravas. And he spoke the following words in the midst of all the leaders of Duryodhana's army, 'The eternal duties of kings are known to you all. But though known, I shall yet recite them as an introduction to what I am going to say. Both Dhritarashtra and Pandu are known to be sons of the same father. There is no doubt that the share of each to the paternal wealth should be equal. The sons of Dhritarashtra obtained the paternal wealth. Why did not the sons of Pandu at all receive their paternal portion? Ye are aware how formerly the sons of

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Pandu did not receive their paternal property which was all usurped by Dhritarashtra's sons. The latter endeavoured in various ways to remove the sons of Pandu from their path by employment even of murderous contrivances; but as their destined terms of life had not wholly run out, the sons of Pandu could not be sent to the abode of Yama. Then again, when those high-souled princes had carved out a kingdom by their own strength, the mean-minded sons of Dhritarashtra, aided by Suvala's son, robbed them of it by deceit. This Dhritarashtra gave his sanction even to that act as hath been usual with him. And for thirteen years they were then sent to sojourn in the great wilderness. In the council-hall, they had also been subjected to indignities of various kinds, along with their wife, valiant though they were. And great also were the sufferings that they had to endure in the woods. Those virtuous princes had also to endure unspeakable woes in the city of Virata,--such as are endured only by vicious men when their souls transmigrate into the forms of inferior beings, Ye best of Kuru's race, overlooking all these injuries of yore they desire nothing but a peaceful settlement with the Kurus! Remembering their behaviour, and that of Duryodhana also, the latter's friends should entreat him to consent to peace! The heroic sons of Pandu are not eager for war with the Kurus. They desire to get back their own share without involving the world in ruin. If Dhritarashtra's son assigns a reason in favour of war, that can never be a proper reason. The sons of Pandu are more powerful. Seven Akshauhinis of troops have been collected on behalf of Yudhishthira, all eager to fight with the Kurus, and they are now awaiting his word of command. Others there are tigers among men, equal in might to a thousand Akshauhinis, such as Satyaki and Bhimasena, and the twin brothers of mighty strength. It is true that these eleven divisions of troops are arrayed on one side, but these are balanced on the other by the mighty-armed Dhananjaya of manifold form. And as Kiritin exceeds in strength even all these troops together, so also doth Vasudeva's son of great effulgence and powerful intellect. Who is there that would fight, in view of the magnitude of the opposing force, the valour of Arjuna, and the wisdom of Krishna? Therefore, I ask you to give back what should be given, as dictated by morality and compact [official agreement, a covenant]. Do not let the opportunity pass!'"

SECTION 21

"Vaisampayana said, 'Having heard his words, Bhishma, senior in wisdom, and endued with great effulgence, paid honours to him, and then spoke words suitable to the occasion. And he said, 'How fortunate that they are all well, with Krishna! How fortunate that they have procured aid, and that they are inclined to a virtuous course! How fortunate that those scions of Kuru's race desire peace with their cousins! There is no doubt that what thou hast said is true. Thy words, however, are exceedingly sharp,--the reason, I suppose, being that thou art a Brahmana. No doubt, the sons of Pandu were much harassed both here and in woods. No doubt, by law they are entitled to get all the property of their father. Arjuna, the son of Pritha, is strong trained in weapons, and is a great car-warrior. Who, in sooth, can withstand in battle Dhananjaya the son of Pandu. Even the wielder himself of the thunderbolt cannot,--other bowmen are hardly worth mention. My belief is that he is a match for all the three worlds!' And while Bhishma was thus speaking, Karna wrathfully and insolently interrupted his words, and looking at Duryodhana said, 'There is no creature in the world, O Brahmana, who is not informed of all these facts. What is the good of repeating them again and again? On behalf of Duryodhana, Sakuni formerly won in game of dice. Yudhishthira, the son of Pandu went to the woods according to a stipulation. He is now paying no regard to that stipulation, but confident of aid from the Matsyas and Panchalas, he wisheth to get back his ancestral throne. O learned man, Duryodhana would not yield even a single foot of land if thou appealest to his fears, but if justice requires, he would give up the whole earth even to a foe. If they wish to get back their ancestral throne, they should pass the specified period of time in the forest as had been stipulated. Afterwards let them live as the dependants of Duryodhana, safe and sound. From dull-headedness, however, let them not turn their mind towards an absolutely unrighteous course. If, nevertheless, abandoning the path of virtue, they desire war, then when they encounter in battle these praise-worthy Kurus, they will remember these my words.'

"Bhishma said, 'What is the use of thy talking, O Radha's son? Thou shouldst remember that occasion when Pritha's son, single-handed, over-powered in battle six car-warriors. If we do not act as this Brahmana hath said, to be sure, we shall be all slain by him in battle!"

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then Dhritarashtra pacified Bhishma with words of entreaty, rebuked the son of Radha, and spoke the following words, What Bhishma, Santanu's son, hath said is salutary for us, as also for the Pandavas, and likewise for the whole universe. I shall, however, after deliberation, send Sanjaya to the sons of Pandu. So thou needst not wait. Go thou to the son of Pandu this very day.' The Kaurava chief then honoured Drupada's priest and sent him back to the Pandavas. And summoning Sanjaya to the council-hall, he addressed him in the following words."

SECTION 22

"Dhritarashtra said, 'They say, O Sanjaya, that the Pandavas have arrived at Upaplavya. Go thou and enquire after them. Thou must greet Ajatasatru in the following words, 'By good luck it is that (emerged from the woods) thou hast reached such a city. And to all of them thou must say, O Sanjaya, these words. Are ye well, having spent that harassing period of sojourn, ye who were unworthy of such harassment?' In no time will they be appeased towards us, for though treated treacherously (by foes), yet they are righteous and good. In no case, O Sanjaya, have I ever met with any untruthfulness on the part of the Pandavas. It was by their own valour that they had won all their prosperity, and (yet) they were ever dutiful to me. Though I scrutinized their conduct, I could never find fault with them,--no, not even a single fault for which we might blame them. They always act mindful of virtue and wealth; they never give way to love of sensual enjoyments, or cold, or hunger, or thirst; they subdue steep and laziness and wrath and joy and heedlessness. The sons of Pritha, mindful of both virtue and wealth, are ever pleasant to all. On proper occasions they part with their wealth to friends. Friendship with them never loses its ardour on account of length of time; for they bestow honours and wealth on every one according to his deserts. Not a soul in the race of Ajamida ever entertains hatred for them excepting this vile, capricious, dull-headed Duryodhana, and excepting also the still more mean-minded Karna. These two always enhance the energy of those high-souled ones who have been divested of both friends and happiness. Enterprising and brought up in every indulgence, Duryodhana reckons all that to be well-done. It is childish on Duryodhana's part to think that it is possible to rob the Pandavas of their just share so long as they are alive. It is wise to yield to Yudhishthira his due share before the war,--to him whose steps are followed by Arjuna and Krishna and Bhima and Satyaki and the two sons of Madri and the warriors of the Srinjaya race. That wielder of the Gandiva, Savyasachin, seated on his car, would alone be able to devastate the whole world. And likewise the victorious and high-souled Krishna, the lord of the three worlds, incapable of defeat is able to do the same. What mortal would stand before him who is the one worthiest person in all the worlds and who discharges his multitude of arrows that roar like the clouds, covering all sides, like flights of swiftly-coursing locusts? Alone on his car, holding the Gandiva, he had conquered the northern regions as also the Kurus of the north and brought away with him all their wealth. He converted the people of the Dravida land to be a portion of his own army. It was Falguna, the wielder of the Gandiva, who defeating in the Khandava woods all the gods together with Indra, made offerings to Agni, enhancing the honour and fame of the Pandavas. Of all wielders again of the mace, there is none equal to Bhima; and there is none also who is so skilful a rider of elephants. On car, they say, he yields not to even Arjuna; and as to might of arms, he is equal to ten thousand elephants. Well-trained and active, he who hath again been rendered bitterly hostile, would in anger consume the Dhartarashtras in no time. Always wrathful, and strong of arms, he is not capable of being subdued in battle by even Indra himself. Of great heart, and strong, and endued with great lightness of hand, the two (twin) brothers, sons of Madri, carefully trained by Arjuna, would leave not a foe alive, like to a pair of hawks preying upon large flocks of birds. This our army, so full, to tell thee the truth, will be nowhere when it will encounter them. In their side will be Dhrishtadyumna, endued with great activity,--one who is regarded as one of the Pandavas themselves. The chief of the Somaka tribe, with his followers, is, I have heard, so devoted to the cause of the Pandavas that he is ready to lay down his very life for them. Who would be able to withstand Yudhishthira who hath the best of the Vrishni tribe (Krishna) for his leader? I have heard that Virata, the chief of the Matsyas, with whom the Pandavas had lived for some time and whose wishes were fulfilled by them, old in years, is devoted, along with his sons to the Pandava cause, and hath become an adherent of Yudhishthira. Deposed from the throne of the Kekaya land, and desirous of being reinstated thereon, the five mighty brothers from that land, wielding mighty bows, are now following the sons of Pritha ready to fight. All who are valiant among the lords of the earth have been brought together and are devoted to the Pandava cause. I hear that they are bold, worthy, and respectful,--they who have allied themselves to the virtuous king Yudhishthira from feelings of attachment to him. And many warriors dwelling on the hills and inaccessible fastnesses, and many that are high in lineage and old in years, and many Mlechcha tribes also wielding weapons of various kinds, have been assembled together and are devoted to the cause of the Pandavas. And there hath come Pandya also, who, hardly inferior to Indra on the field of battle, is followed when he fights by numberless warriors of great courage. Remarkably heroic and endued with prowess and energy that have no parallel, he is devoted to the Pandava cause. That same Satyaki who, I have heard, obtained weapons from Drona and Arjuna and Krishna and Kripa and Bhishma, and who is said to be equal to the son of Krishna, is devotedly attached to the Pandava cause. And the assembled kings of the Chedi and the Karusha tribes have all taken the part of the Pandavas with all their resources. That one in their midst, who, having been endued with blazing beauty, shone like the sun, whom all persons deemed unassailable in battle and the very best of all drawers of the bow on earth, was slain by Krishna in a trice, by help of his own great might, and counting for naught the bold spirit of all the Kshatriya kings. Kesava cast his eyes on that Sishupala and smote him, enhancing the fame and honour of the sons of Pandu. It was the same Sishupala who was highly honoured by those kings at whose head stood the king of the Karusha tribe. Then the other kings, deeming Krishna unassailable when seated on his car drawn by Sugriva and other steeds, left the chief of the Chedis and ran away like small animals at the sight of a lion. And it was thus that he, who, from audacity had sought to oppose and encounter Krishna in a combat hand to hand, was slain by Krishna and lay down lifeless, resembling a Karnikara tree uprooted by a gale. O Sanjaya, O son of Gavalgana, what they have told me of the activity of Krishna in cause of Pandu's sons, and what I remember of his past achievements, leave me no peace of mind. No foe whatsoever is capable of withstanding them, who are under the lead of that lion of the Vrishni tribe. My heart is trembling with fear upon learning that the two Krishnas, are seated on the selfsame car. If my dull-headed son forbear to fight with those two, then may he fare well,--else those two will consume the race of Kuru as Indra and Upendra consume the Daitya hosts. Dhananjaya is, I conceive, equal to Indra, and the greatest of the Vrishni race, Krishna, is the Eternal Vishnu himself. The son of Kunti and Pandu, Yudhishthira, is virtuous and brave and eschews deeds that bring on shame. Endued with great energy, he hath been wronged by Duryodhana. If he were not high-minded, the would in wrath burn the Dhritarashtras. I do not so much dread Arjuna or Bhima or Krishna or the twin brothers as I dread the wrath of the king, O Suta, when his wrath is excited. His austerities are great; he is devoted to Brahmacharya practices. His heart's wishes will certainly be fulfilled. When I think of his wrath, O Sanjaya, and consider how just it is, I am filled with alarm. Go thou speedily on a car, despatched by me, where the troops of the king of the Panchalas are encamped. Thou wilt ask Yudhishthira about his welfare. Thou wilt repeatedly address him in affectionate terms. Thou wilt also meet Krishna, O child, who is the chief of all brave men and who is endued with a magnanimous soul. Him also thou wilt ask on my part as to his welfare, and tell him that Dhritarashtra is desirous of peace with Pandu's sons. O Suta, there is nothing that Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, would not do at the bidding of Krishna. Kesava is as dear to them as their own selves. Possessed of great learning, he is ever devoted to their cause. Thou wilt also enquire about the welfare of all the assembled sons of Pandu and the Srinjayas and Satyaki and Virata and all the five sons of Draupadi, professing to be a messenger from me. And whatsoever also thou mayst deem to be opportune, and beneficial for the Bharata race, all that, O Sanjaya, thou must say in the midst of those kings,--everything, in sooth, that may not be unpalatable or provocative of war.'

SECTION 23

"Vaisampayana said, 'Having beard these words of king Dhritarashtra Sanjaya went to Upaplavya to see the Pandavas of immeasurable strength. And having approached king Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, he made obeisance to him first and then spoke. And the son of Gavalgana, by name Sanjaya and by caste a Suta, cheerfully spoke unto Ajatasatru, 'How lucky, O king, that I see you hale, attended by friends and little inferior to the great Indra. The aged and wise king Dhritarashtra, the son of Ambika, hath enquired about your welfare. I hope Bhimasena is well, and that Dhananjaya, that foremost of the Pandavas, and these two sons of Madri, are well. I hope princess Krishna also, the daughter of Drupada, is well,--she who never swerves from the path of truth, that lady of great energy, that wife of heroes. I hope she is well with her sons,--she in whom are centred all your dearest joys and whose welfare you constantly pray for.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'O Sanjaya, the son of Gavalgana, hath thy journey here been safe? We are pleased with thy sight. I ask thee in return how thou art. I am, O learned man, in excellent health with my younger brothers. O Suta, after a long while do I now receive news of the aged king of the Kurus, that descendant of Bharata. Having seen thee, O Sanjaya, I feel as if I have seen the king himself, so pleased I am! Is our aged grandsire Bhishma, the descendant of Kuru, endued with great energy and the highest wisdom and always devoted to the practices of his own order, O sire, in health? I hope he still retains all his former habits. I hope the high-souled king Dhritarashtra, the so-n of Vichitravirya, is in health with his sons. I hope the great king Vahlika, the son of Pratipa, endued with great learning, is also in health. I hope,

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O sire, that Somadatta is in health, and Bhurisravas, and Satyasandha, and Sala, and Drona with his son, and the Brahmana Kripa are also well. I hope all those mighty bowmen are free from disease. O Sanjaya, all those greatest and best of bowmen, endued with the highest intelligence and versed in letters, and occupying the very top of those who wield weapons, have attached themselves to the Kurus. I hope those bowmen receive their honours due. I hope they are free from disease. How happy are they in whose kingdom dwells the mighty and handsome bowman, the well-behaved son of Drona! I hope Yuyutsu, the highly intelligent son of Dhritarashtra by his Vaisya wife is in health. I hope, O sire, the adviser Karna, whose counsels are followed by the dull-headed Suyodhana, is in health. I hope, the aged ladies, the mothers of the Bharata race, and the kitchen-maidens, the bond-maids, the daughters-in-law, the boys, the sister's sons, and 'the sisters, and the daughters' sons of Dhritarashtra's house are all free from trouble. O sire, I hope the king still allows their former subsistence to the Brahmanas. I hope, O Sanjaya, Dhritarashtra's son hath not seized those gifts to the Brahmanas that I made. I hope Dhritarashtra with his sons meets in a spirit of forbearance any over-bearing conduct on the part of the Brahmanas. I hope he never neglects to make provision for them, that being the sole highway to heaven. For this is the excellent and clear light that hath been provided by the Creator in this world of living beings. If like dull-headed persons, the sons of Kuru do not treat the Brahmanas in a forbearing spirit, wholesale destruction will overtake them. I hope king Dhritarashtra and his son try to provide for the functionaries of state. I hope there are no enemies for theirs, who, disguised as friends, are conspiring for their ruin. O sire, I hope none of these Kurus talk of our having committed any crimes. I hope Drona and his son and the heroic Kripa do not talk of our having been guilty in any way. I hope all the Kurus look up to king Dhritarashtra and his sons as the protectors of their tribe. I hope when they see a horde of robbers, they remember the deeds of Arjuna, the leader in all fields of battle. I hope they remember the arrows shot from the Gandiva, which course through the air in a straight path, impelled onwards by the stretched bow-string in contact with the fingers of his hand, and making a noise loud as that of the thunder. I have not seen the warrior that excels or even rivals Arjuna who can shoot by a single effort of his hand sixty-one whetted and keen-edged shafts furnished with excellent feathers. Do they remember Bhima also, who, endued with great activity causeth hostile hosts arrayed in battle to tremble in dread, like an elephant with rent temples agitating a forest of reeds? Do they remember the mighty Sahadeva, the son of Madri, who in Dantakura conquered the Kalingas, shooting arrows by both the left and right hand? Do they remember Nakula, who, O Sanjaya, was sent, under your eye, to conquer the Sivis and the Trigartas, and who brought the western region under my power? Do they remember the disgrace that was theirs when under evil counsels they came to the woods of Dwaitavana on pretence of taking away their cattle? Those wicked ones having been over-powered by their enemies were afterwards liberated by Bhimasena and Arjuna, myself protecting the rear of Arjuna (in the fight that ensued) and Bhima protecting the rear of the sons of Madri, and the wielder of the Gandiva coming out unharmed from the press of battle having made a great slaughter of the hostile host,--do they remember that? It is not by a single good deed, O Sanjaya, that happiness can here be attained, when by all our endeavours we are unable to win over the son of Dhritarashtra!'"

SECTION 24

"Sanjaya said, 'It is even so as thou hast said, O son of Pandu! Dost thou enquire about the welfare of the Kurus and of the foremost ones among them? Free from illness of every kind and in the possession of excellent spirit are those foremost ones among the Kurus about whom, O son of Pritha, thou enquirest. Know, O son of Pandu, that there are certainly righteous and aged men, as also men that are sinful and wicked about Dhritarashtra's son. Dhritarashtra's son would make gifts even to his enemies; it is not likely, therefore, that he should withdraw the donations made to the Brahmanas. It is customary with you, Kshatriyas, to follow a rule fit for butchers, that leads you to do harm to those that bear no ill-will to you; but the practice is not good. Dhritarashtra with his sons would be guilty of the sin of intestine dissension, where he, like a bad man, to bear ill-will towards you who are righteous. He does not approve of this injury (done to you); he is exceedingly sorry for it; he grieves at his heart-the old man--O Yudhishthira,--for, having communicated with the Brahmanas, he hath learnt that provoking intestine dissensions is the greatest of all sins. O king of men, they remember thy prowess on the field, and that of Arjuna, who taketh the lead in the field of battle. They remember Bhima wielding his mace when the sound of the conch-shell and the drum rises to the highest pitch. They remember those mighty car-warriors, the two sons of Madri, who on the field of battle career in all directions, shooting incessant showers of shafts on hostile hosts, and who know not what it is to tremble in fight. I believe, O king, that which Futurity hath in store for a particular person cannot be known, since thou, O son of Pandu, who art endowed with all the virtues, hast had to suffer trouble of such unendurable kind. All this, no doubt, O Yudhishthira, thou wilt again make up by help of your intelligence. The sons of Pandu, all equal to Indra would never abandon virtue for the sake of pleasure. Thou, O Yudhishthira, wilt so make up thy intelligence that they all, viz., the sons of Dhritarashtra and Pandu and the Srinjayas, and all the kings who have been assembled here, will attain peace. O Yudhishthira, bear what thy sire Dhritarashtra having consulted with his ministers and sons, hath spoken to me. Be attentive to the same.'"

SECTION 25

"Yudhishthira said, 'Here are met the Pandavas and the Srinjayas, and Krishna, and Yuyudhana and Virata, O son of the Suta Gavalgana, tell us all that Dhritarashtra hath directed thee to say.' "Sanjaya said, 'I greet Yudhishthira, and Vrikodara and Dhananjaya, and the two sons of Madri, and Vasudeva the descendant of Sura, and Satyaki, and the aged ruler of the Panchalas, and Dhrishtadyumna, the son of Prishata. Let all listen to the words I say from a desire for the welfare of the Kurus. King Dhritarashtra, eagerly welcoming the chance of peace, hastened the preparation of my car for this journey here. Let it be acceptable to king Yudhishthira with his brothers and sons and relations. Let the son of Pandu prefer peace. The sons of Pritha are endowed with every virtue with steadiness and mildness and candour. Born in a high family, they are humane, liberal, and loath to do any act which would bring on shame. They know what is proper to be done. A base deed is not befitting you, for you are so high-minded, and have such a terrible following of troops. If you committed a sinful act, it would be a blot on your fair name, as a drop of collyrium on a white cloth. Who could knowingly be ever guilty of an act, which would result in universal slaughter, which would be sinful and lead to hell,--an act consisting in the destruction (of men), an act the result of which, whether it be victory or defeat, is or the self-same value? Blessed are they that have served their relative's cause. They are the true sons and friends and relatives (of Kuru's race) who would lay down life, life which is liable to be abused by misdeeds, in order to ensure the welfare of the Kurus. If you, ye sons of Pritha, chastise the Kurus, by defeating and slaying all your foes,--that subsequent life of yours would be equivalent to death, for what, in sooth, is life after having killed all your kinsfolk? Who, even if he were Indra himself with all the gods on his side, would be able to defeat you who are aided by Kesava and Chekitanas, and Satyaki, and are protected by Dhrishtadyumna's arms? Who again, O king, can defeat in battle the Kurus who are protected by Drona and Bhishma, and Aswatthaman, and Salya, and Kripa and Karna with a host of Kshatriya kings? Who, without loss to himself, is able to slay the vast force assembled by Dhritarashtra's son? Therefore it is, that I do not see any good either in victory or in defeat. How can the sons of Pritha, like base persons of low lineage, commit an act of unrighteousness? Therefore, I appease, I prostrate myself before Krishna and the aged kin I g of the Panchalas. I betake myself to you as my refuge, with joined hands, so that both the Kurus and the Srinjayas may be benefited. It is not likely that either Krishna or Dhananjaya will not act up to these my words. Either of them would lay down his life, if besought (to do so). Therefore, I say this for the success of my mission. This is the desire of the king and his counsellor Bhishma, that there may be confirmed peace between you (and the Kurus*).'"

[* Kuru Kingdom, c. 1200 BC–500 BC, encompassing the modern-day states of Delhi, Haryana, Punjab in northwestern India. The Kuru Kingdom and Kurush, Persian form of the name of Cyrus the Great (c. 600–530 BC), had probably the same philologic-linguistic origin. These regions had cultural exchanges with the Persian Achaemenid Empire whose founder was Cyrus and whose eastern sphere of influence he stretched right into northwestern India.

Kharoshti, whose name also can be traced back to Kurush, was the first writing system of India which was used in northwestern India and was most likely introduced by Cyrus. Kharoshti was written with Aramaic characters (See Grand Bible, Lord Henfield's Script Identification Chart No.3). The Aramaic script, a direct descendant of Phoenician, became the main script of the Neo-Assyrian Empire (911–609 BC), besides its ancient Cuneiform script. It was used therefore from Egypt to Persia. The (Semitic Phoenician) Carthaginian Empire, as well as the conquering Persians, used it too, in particular for their international correspondence. With the Persians travelled Semitic scribes from Judaea, who were freed from Babylonian captivity, because of their writing skills in Aramaic script. They served as correspondents throughout the whole Middle East. Some of these Judaeans might have been the ancestors of the many Jewish communities in the West of India.

Names, such as Yudhishthira and Yaudheya or Yoddeya (his son from his 2nd wife Devika), The Yaudheyas (a powerful tribe in northwestern India, famous for their martial skills), Yoddheya Gana (the Yoddheya Republic, an ancient militant confederation, lasting from the 5th century BC to the 4th century AD), bear witness to some Judaean influence, just as the Karoshti sript and most sacred texts from India themselves.

The Kharoshti script, also spelled Kharoshthi or Kharosthi, was an ancient Indian script used in Gandhara (now Pakistan and north-eastern Afghanistan) to write Gandhari Prakrit and Sanskrit. It was used in Central Asia as well. It was also in use in Bactria, the Kushan Empire, Sogdia, and along the Silk Road. The oldest known inscription in Karoshti was found on a silver bowl from the 4th century BC. In 1969, it was discovered in the Issyk kurgan, a burial mound, in south-eastern Kazakhstan, about 20 km east from the Talgar alluvial fan, near Issyk. The context of the burial gifts indicates that it may belong to Saka tribes. As transcription, the text says "za(ṃ)-ri ko-la(ṃ) mi(ṃ)-vaṃ vaṃ-va pa-zaṃ pa-na de-ka mi(ṃ)-ri-to // ña-ka mi pa-zaṃ vaṃ-va va-za(ṃ)-na vaṃ," translation: "The vessel should hold wine of grapes, added cooked food, so much, to the mortal, then added cooked fresh butter on." It is written in a dialect of the Saka peoples, a dialect spoken by the Kushans in Khotan, Xinjiang, China. (Ahmet Kanlidere, in: M. Ocak, H. C. Güzel, C. Oğuz, O. Karatay: The Turks: Early ages. Yeni Türkiye 2002, p.417)

In the Mahabharata, Yudhishtira is the first among the five Pandava brothers (namely, Yudhishthira (Or Dharmaraja), Bhima, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva, who are the main characters in the epic Mahabharata.). He was the son of the king Pandu of Kuru and his first wife, Kunti and was blessed to the couple by the god Dharma, who is often identified with the death god Yama. Yudhishtira is the first among the five Pandava brothers. He was the son of the king Pandu of Kuru and his first wife, Kunti and was blessed to the couple by the god Dharma, who is often identified with the death god Yama. In the epic, Yudhishthira becomes the emperor of Indraprastha and later of the Kuru Kingdom (Hastinapura). The Kurukshetra War is connected to Yudhishthira and it is named after the Kuru Kingdom, better known as the great Mahabharata War. The conflict arose from a dynastic succession struggle between two groups of cousins, the Kauravas and Pandavas, for the throne of Hastinapura. It involved several ancient kingdoms participating as allies of the rival groups.]

SECTION 26

"Yudhishthira said, 'What words from me, O Sanjaya, hast thou heard, indicative of war, that thou apprehendest war? O sire, peace is preferable to war. Who, O charioteer, having got the other alternative would wish to fight? It is known to me, O Sanjaya, that if a man can have every wish of his heart without having to do anything, he would hardly like to do anything even though it might be of the least troublesome kind, far less would he engage in war. Why should a man ever go to war? Who is so cursed by the gods that he would select war? The sons of Pritha, no doubt, desire their own happiness but their conduct is ever marked by righteousness and conducive to the good of the world. They desire only that happiness which results from righteousness. He that fondly followeth the lead of his senses, and is desirous of obtaining happiness and avoiding misery, betaketh himself to action which in its essence is nothing but misery. He that hankers after pleasure causeth his body to suffer; one free from such hankering knoweth not what misery is. As an enkindled fire, if more fuel be put upon it, blazeth forth again with augmented force, so desire is never satiated with the acquisition of its object but gaineth force like unkindled fire when clarified butter is poured upon it. Compare all this abundant fund of enjoyment which king Dhritarashtra hath with what we possess. He that is unfortunate never winneth victories. He that is unfortunate enjoyeth not the voice of music. He that is unfortunate doth not enjoy garlands and scents! nor can one that is unfortunate enjoy cool and fragrant unguents! and finally he that is unfortunate weareth not fine clothes. If this were not so, we would never have been driven from the Kurus. Although, however, all this is true, yet none cherished torments of the heart. The king being himself in trouble seeketh protection in the might of others. This is not wise. Let him, however, receive from others the same behaviour that he displays towards them. The man who casteth a burning fire at midday in the season of spring in a forest of dense underwood, hath certainly, when that fire blazeth forth by aid of the wind, to grieve for his lot if he wisheth to escape. O Sanjaya, why doth king Dhritarashtra now bewail, although he hath all this prosperity? It is because he had followed at first the counsels of his wicked son of vicious soul, addicted to crooked ways and confirmed in folly. Duryodhana disregarded the words of Vidura, the best of his well-wishers, as if the latter were hostile to him. King Dhritarashtra, desirous solely of satisfying his sons, would knowingly enter upon an unrighteous course. Indeed, on account of his fondness for his son, he would not pay heed to Vidura, who, out of all the Kurus, is the wisest and best of all

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his well-wishers, possessing vast learning, clever in speech, and righteous in act. King Dhritarashtra is desirous of satisfying his son, who, while himself seeking honours from others, is envious and wrathful, who transgresses the rules for the acquisition of virtue and wealth, whose tongue is foul, who always follows the dictates of his wrath, whose soul is absorbed in sensual pleasures, and who, full of unfriendly feelings to many, obeys no law, and whose life is evil, heart implacable, and understanding vicious. For such a son as this, king Dhritarashtra knowingly abandoned virtue and pleasure. Even then, O Sanjaya, when I was engaged in that game of dice I thought that the destruction of the Kurus was at hand, for when speaking those wise and excellent words Vidura obtained no praise from Dhritarashtra. Then, O charioteer, did trouble overtake the Kurus when they disregarded the words of Vidura. So long as they had placed themselves under the lead of his wisdom, their kingdom was in a flourishing state. Hear from me, O charioteer, who are the counsellors now of the covetous Duryodhana. They are Dussasana, and Sakuni the son of Suvala, and Karna the Suta's son! O son of Gavalgana, look at this folly of his! So I do not see, though I think about it, how there can be prosperity for the Kurus and the Srinjayas when Dhritarashtra hath taken the throne from others, and the far seeing Vidura hath been banished elsewhere. Dhritarashtra with his sons is now looking for an extensive and undisputed sovereignty over the whole world. Absolute peace is, therefore, unattainable. He regardeth what he hath already got to be his own. When Arjuna taketh up his weapon in fight, Karna believeth him capable of being withstood. Formerly there took place many great battles. Why could not Karna then be of any avail to them. It is known to Karna and Drona and the grandsire Bhishma, as also to many other Kurus, that there is no wielder of the bow, comparable to Arjuna. It is known to all the assembled rulers of the earth, how the sovereignty was obtained by Duryodhana although that repressor of foes, Arjuna, was alive. Pertinanciously doth Dhritarashtra's son believe that it is possible to rob the sons of Pandu of what is their own, although he knoweth having himself gone to the place of fight, how Arjuna comforted himself when he had nothing but a bow four cubits long for his weapon of battle. Dhritarashtra's sons are alive simply because they have not as yet heard that twang of the stretch Gandiva. Duryodhana believeth his object already gained, as long as he beholdeth not the wrathful Bhima. O sire, even Indra would forbear to rob us of our sovereignty as long as Bhima and Arjuna and the heroic Nakula and the patient Sahadeva are alive! O charioteer, the old king with his son still entertains the notion that his sons will not be perished, O Sanjaya, on the field of battle, consumed by the fiery wrath of Pandu's sons. Thou knowest, O Sanjaya, what misery we have suffered! For my respect to thee, I would forgive them all. Thou knowest what transpired between ourselves and those sons of Kuru. Thou knowest how we comforted ourselves towards Dhritarashtra's son. Let the same state of things still continue, I shall seek peace, as thou counsellest me to do. Let me have Indraprastha for my kingdom, Let this be given to me by Duryodhana, the chief of Bharata's race.'"

SECTION 27

"Sanjaya said, 'O Pandava, the world hath heard thy conduct being righteous. I see it also to be so, O son of Pritha. Life is transient, that may end in great infamy; considering this, thou shouldst not perish. O Ajatasatru, if without war, the Kurus will not yield thy share, I think, it is far better for thee to live upon alms in the kingdom of the Andhakas and the Vrishnis than obtain sovereignty by war. Since this mortal existence is for only a short period, and greatly liable to blame, subject to constant suffering, and unstable, and since it is never comparable to a good name, therefore, O Pandava, never perpetrate a sin. It is the desires, O ruler of men, which adhere to mortal men and are an obstruction to a virtuous life. Therefore, a wise man should beforehand kill them all and thereby gain a stainless fame in the world, O son of Pritha. The thirst after wealth is but like fetter in this world; the virtue of those that seek it is sure to suffer. He is wise who seeketh virtue alone; desires being increased, a man must suffer in his temporal concerns, O sire. Placing virtue before all other concerns of life, a man shineth like the sun when its splendour is great. A man devoid of virtue, and of vicious soul, is overtaken by ruin, although he may obtain the whole of this earth. Thou hast studied the Vedas, lived the life of a saintly Brahman, hast performed sacrificial rites, made charities to Brahmanas. Even remembering the highest position (attainable by beings), thou hast also devoted thy soul for years and years to the pursuit of pleasure. He who, devoting himself excessively to the pleasures and joys of life, never employeth himself in the practice of religious meditation, must be exceedingly miserable. His joys forsake him after his wealth is gone and his strong instincts goad him on towards his wonted pursuit of pleasure. Similarly, he who, never having lived a continent life, forsaketh the path of virtue and commiteth sin, hath no faith in existence of a world to come. Dull as he is after death he hath torment (for his lot). In the world to come, whether one's deeds be good or evil these deeds are in no case, annihilated. Deeds, good and evil, precede the agent (in his journey to the world to come); the agent is sure to follow in their path. Your work (in this life) is celebrated by all as comparable to that food, savoury and dainty, which is proper to be offered with reverence to the Brahmanas--the food which is offered in religious ceremonies with large donations (to the officiating priests). All acts are done, so long as this body lasts, O son of Pritha. After death there is nothing to be done. And thou hast done mighty deeds that will do good to thee in the world to come, and they are admired by righteous men. There (in the next world) one is free from death and decrepitude and fear, and from hunger and thirst, and from all that is disagreeable to the mind; there is nothing to be done in that place, unless it be to delight one's senses. Of this kind, O ruler of men, is the result of our deeds. Therefore, do not from desire act any longer in this world. Do not, O Pandu's son, betake to action in this world and thereby thus take leave of truth and sobriety and candour and humanity. Thou mayst perform the Rajasuya and the Aswamedha sacrifices, but do not even come near an action which in itself is sin! If after such a length of time, ye sons of Pritha, you now give way to hate, and commit the sinful deed, in vain, for virtue's sake, did ye dwell for years and years in the woods in such misery! It was in vain that you went to exile, after parting with all your army; for this army was entirely in your control then. And these persons who are now assisting you, have been always obedient to you,--this Krishna, and Satyaki, and Virata of the golden car, of Matsya land, with his son at the head of martial warriors. All the kings, formerly vanquished by you would have espoused your cause at first. Possessed of mighty resources, dreaded by all, having an army, and followed behind by Krishna and Arjuna, you might have slain your foremost of foes on the field of battle. You might have (then) brought low Duryodhana's pride. O Pandava, why have you allowed your foes to grow so powerful? Why have you weakened your friends? Why have you sojourned in the woods for years and years? Why are you now desirous of fighting, having let the proper opportunity slip? An unwise or an unrighteous man may win prosperity by means of fighting; but a wise and a righteous man, were he free from pride to betake to fight (against better instinct), doth only fall away from a prosperous path. O Pritha's son, your understanding inclines not to an unrighteous course. From wrath you ever committed a sinful act. Then what is the cause, and what is the reason, for which you are now intent to do this deed, against the dictates of wisdom? Wrath, O mighty king, is a bitter drug, though it has nothing to do with disease; it brings on a disease of the head, robs one of his fair fame, and leads to sinful acts. It is drunk up (controlled) by those that are righteous and not by those that are unrighteous. I ask you to swallow it and to desist from war. Who would incline himself to wrath which leads to sin? Forbearance would be more beneficial to you than love of enjoyments where Bhishma would be slain, and Drona with his son, and Kripa, and Somadatta's son, and Vikarna and Vivingsati, and Karna and Duryodhana. Having slain all these, what bliss may that be, O Pritha's son, which you will get? Tell me that! Even having won the entire sea-girt earth, you will never be free from decrepitude and death, pleasure and pain, bliss and misery. Knowing all this, do not be engaged in war. If you are desirous of taking this course, because your counsellors desire the same, then give up (everything) to them, and run away. You should not fall away from this path which leads to the region of the gods!'"

SECTION 28

"Yudhishthira said, 'Without doubt, O Sanjaya, it is true that righteous deeds are the foremost of all our acts, as thou sayest. Thou shouldst, however, ensure me having first ascertained whether it is virtue or vice that I practise. When vice assumes the aspects of virtue and virtue itself wholly seems as vice, and virtue, again, appears in its native form, they that are learned should discriminate it by means of their reason. So, again, virtue and vice, which are both eternal and absolute, exchange their aspects during seasons of distress. One should follow without deviation the duties prescribed for the order to which he belongs by birth. Know, O Sanjaya, that duties in seasons of distress are otherwise. When his means of living are totally gone, the man, that is destitute should certainly desire those other means by which he may be able to discharge the sanctioned duties of his order. One that is not destitute of his means of living, as also one that is in distress, are, O Sanjaya, both to be blamed, if they act as if the state of each were otherwise. When the Creator hath ordained expiation for those Brahmanas, who, without wishing for self-destruction, betake themselves to acts not sanctioned for them, this proves that people may, in season of distress, betake to acts not ordained for the orders to which they belong. And, O Sanjaya, thou shouldst regard them as worthy that adhere to the practices of their own order in usual times as also those that do not adhere to them in season of distress; thou shouldst censure them that act otherwise in usual times while adhering to their ordained practices during times of distress. As regards men desiring to bring their minds under control, when they endeavour to acquire a knowledge of self, the practices that are ordained for the best, viz., the Brahmanas, are equally ordained for them. As regards those, however, that are not Brahmanas and that do not endeavour to acquire knowledge of self, those practices should be followed by them that are ordained for their respective orders in seasons of distress or otherwise. Even that is the path followed by our fathers and grandfathers before us and those also that had lived before them. As regards those that are desirous of knowledge and avoiding to act, even these also hold the same view and regard themselves as orthodox. I do not, therefore, think that there is any other path. Whatsoever wealth there may be in this earth, whatsoever there may be among the gods, or whatsoever there may be unattainable by them,--the region of the Prajapati, or heaven or the region of Brahma himself, I would not, O Sanjaya, seek it by unrighteous means. Here is Krishna, the giver of virtue's fruits, who is clever, politic, intelligent, who has waited upon the Brahmanas, who knows everything' and counsels various mighty kings. Let the celebrated Krishna say whether I would be censurable if I dismiss all idea of peace, of whether if I fight, I should be abandoning the duties of my caste, for Krishna seeketh the welfare of both sides. This Satyaki, these Chedis, the Andhakas, the Vrishnis, the Bhojas, the Kukuras, the Srinjayas, adopting the counsels of Krishna, slay their foes and delight their friends. The Vrishnis and the Andhakas, at whose head stands Ugrasena, led by Krishna, have become like Indra, high-spirited, devoted to truth, mighty, and happy. Vabhru, the king of Kasi, having obtained Krishna, that fructifier of wishes, as his brother, and upon whom Krishna showers all the blessings of life, as the clouds upon all earthly creatures, when the hot season is over, hath attained the highest prosperity, O sire, so great is this Krishna! Him you must know as the great judge of the propriety or otherwise of all acts. Krishna is dear to us, and is the most illustrious of men. I never disregard what Krishna sayeth.'"

SECTION 29

"Krishna said, 'I desire, O Sanjaya, that the sons of Pandu may not be ruined; that they may prosper, and attain their wishes. Similarly, I pray for the prosperity of king Dhritarashtra whose sons are many. For evermore, O Sanjaya, my desire hath been that I should tell them nothing else than that peace would be acceptable to king Dhritarashtra. I also deem it proper for the sons of Pandu. A peaceful disposition of an exceedingly rare character hath been displayed by Pandu's son in this matter. When Dhritarashtra and his sons, however, are so covetous, I do not see why hostility should not run high? Thou canst not pretend, O Sanjaya, to be more versed than I am or Yudhishthira. is, in the niceties of right and wrong. Then why dost thou speak words of reproach with reference to the conduct of Yudhishthira who is enterprising, mindful of his own duty, and thoughtful, from the very beginning, of the welfare of his family, agreeably to the injunctions (of treatises of morality)? With regard to the topic at hand, the Brahmanas have held opinions of various kinds. Some say that success in the world to come depends upon work. Some declare that action should be shunned and that salvation is attainable by knowledge. The Brahmanas say--that though one may have a knowledge of eatable things, yet his hunger will not be appeased unless he actually eats. Those branches of knowledge that help the doing of work, bear fruit, but not other kinds, for the fruit of work is of ocular demonstration. A thirsty person drinks water, and by that act his thirst is allayed. This result proceeds, no doubt, from work. Therein lies the efficacy of work. If anyone thinks that something else is better than work, I deem, his work and his words are meaningless. In the other world, it is by virtue of work that the gods flourish. It is by work that the wind blows. It is by virtue of work that the sleepless Surya rises every day and becomes the cause of day and night, and Soma passes through the months and the fortnights and the combinations of constellations. Fire is kindled of itself and burns by virtue of work, doing good to mankind. The sleepless goddess Earth, sustains by force this very great burden. The sleepless rivers, giving satisfaction to all (organised) beings, carry their waters with speed. The sleepless Indra, possessed of a mighty force, pours down rain, resounding the heaven and the cardinal points. Desirous of being the greatest of the gods, he led a life of austerities such as a holy Brahmana leads. Indra gave up pleasure, and all things agreeable to the heart. He sedulously cherished virtue and truth and self-control, and forbearance, and impartiality, and humanity. It was by work that he attained a position the highest (of all). Following the above course of life, Indra attained the high sovereignty over the gods. Vrihaspati, intently and with self-control, led in a proper manner that life of austerities which a Brahmana leads. He gave up pleasure and controlled his senses and thereby attained the position of the preceptor of the celestials. Similarly, the constellations in the other world, by virtue of work, and the Rudras, the Adityas, the Vasus, king Yama, and Kuvera, and the Gandharvas, the Yakshas, and the celestial nymphs, all

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attained their present position by work. In the other world, the saints shine, following a life of study, austerity and work (combined). Knowing, O Sanjaya, that this is the rule followed by the best of Brahmanas, and Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas, and thou being one of the wisest men,--why art thou making this endeavour on behalf of those sons of Kurus? Thou must know that Yudhishthira is constantly engaged in the study of the Vedas. He is inclined to the horse-sacrifice and the Rajasuya. Again, he rides horses and elephants, is arrayed in armour, mounts a car, and takes up the bow and all kinds of weapons. Now, if the sons of Pritha can see a course of action not involving the slaughter of the sons of Kuru, they would adopt it. Their virtue would then be saved, and an act of religious merit also would be achieved by them, even if they would have then to force Bhima to follow a conduct marked by humanity. On the other hand, if in doing what their forefathers did, they should meet with death under inevitable destiny, then in trying their utmost to discharge their duty, such death would even be worthy of praise. Supposing thou approvest of peace alone I should like to hear what thou mayst have to say to this question,--which way doth the injunction of religious law lie, viz., whether it is proper for the king to fight or not?--Thou must, O Sanjaya, take into thy consideration the division of the four castes, and the scheme of respective duties allotted to each. Thou must hear that course of action the Pandavas are going to adopt. Then mayst thou praise or censure, just as it may please thee. A Brahmana should study, offer sacrifices, make charities, and sojourn to the best of all holy places on the earth; he should teach, minister as a priest in sacrifices offered by others worthy of such help, and accept gifts from persons who are known. Similarly, a Kshatriya should protect the people in accordance with the injunctions of the law, diligently practise the virtue of charity, offer sacrifices, study the whole Veda, take a wife, and lead a virtuous householder's life. If he be possessed of a virtuous soul, and if he practise the holy virtues, he may easily attain the religion of the Supreme Being. A Vaisya should study and diligently earn and accumulate wealth by means of commerce, agriculture, and the tending of cattle. He should so act as to please the Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas, be virtuous, do good works, and be a householder. The following are the duties declared for a Sudra from the olden times. He should serve the Brahmanas and submit to them; should not study; sacrifices are forbidden to him; he should be diligent and be constantly enterprising in doing all that is for his good. The king protects all these with (proper) care, and sets all the castes to perform their respective duties. He should not be given to sensual enjoyments. He should be impartial, and treat all his subjects on an equal footing. The King should never obey the dictates of such desires as are opposed to righteousness. If there be any body who is more praise-worthy than he, who is well-known and gifted with all the virtues, the king should instruct his subjects to see him. A bad (king), however, would not understand this. Growing strong, and inhuman and becoming a mark for destiny's wrath, he would cast covetous eye on the riches of others. Then comes war, for which purpose came into being weapons, and armour, and bows. Indra invented these contrivances, for putting the plunderers to death. He also contrived armours, and weapons, and bows. Religious merit is acquired by putting the robbers to death. Many awful evils have manifested themselves on account of the Kurus having been unrighteous, and unmindful of law and religion. This is not right, O Sanjaya. Now, king Dhritarashtra with his sons, hath unreasonably seized what lawfully belonged to Pandu's son. He minds not the immemorial law observable by kings. All the Kurus are following in the wake. A thief who steals wealth unseen and one who forcibly seizes the same, in open day-light, are both to be condemned, O Sanjaya. What is the difference between them and Dhritarashtra's sons? From avarice he regards that to be righteous which he intends to do, following the dictates of his wrath. The shares of the Pandavas is, no doubt, fixed. Why should that share of theirs be seized by that fool? This being the state of things, it would be praiseworthy for us to be even killed in fight. A paternal kingdom is preferable to sovereignty received from a stranger. These time-honoured rules of law, O Sanjaya, thou must propound to the Kurus, in the midst of the assembled kings,--I mean those dull-headed fools who have been assembled together by Dhritarashtra's son, and who are already under the clutches of death. Look once more at that vilest of all their acts,--the conduct of the Kurus in the council-hall. That those Kurus, at whose head stood Bhishma did not interfere when the beloved wife of the sons of Pandu, daughter of Drupada, of fare fame, pure life, and conduct worthy of praise, was seized, while weeping, by that slave of lust. The Kurus all, including young and old, were present there. If they had then prevented that indignity offered to her, then I should have been pleased with Dhritarashtra's behaviour. It would have been for the final good of his sons also. Dussasana forcibly took Krishna into the midst of the public hall wherein were seated her fathers-in-law. Carried there, expecting sympathy, she found none to take her part, except Vidura. The kings uttered not a word of protest, solely because they were a set of imbeciles. Vidura alone spoke words of opposition, from a sense of duty,--words conceived in righteousness addressed to that man (Duryodhana) of little sense. Thou didst not, O Sanjaya, then say what law and morality were, but now thou comest to instruct the son of Pandu! Krishna, however, having repaired to the hall at that time made everything right, for like a vessel in the sea, she rescued the Pandavas as also herself, from that gathering ocean (of misfortunes)! Then in that hall, while Krishna stood, the charioteer's son addressed her in the presence of her fathers-in-law saying, 'O Daughter of Drupada thou hast no refuge. Better betake thyself as a bond-woman to the house of Dhritarashtra's son. Thy husbands, being defeated, no longer exist. Thou hast a loving soul, choose some one else for thy lord.' This speech, proceeding from Karna, was a wordy arrow, sharp, cutting all hopes, hitting the tenderest parts of the organisation, and frightful. It buried itself deep in Arjuna's heart. When the sons of Pandu were about to adopt the garments made of the skins of black deer, Dussasana spoke the following pungent words, 'These all are mean eunuchs, ruined, and damned for a lengthened time.' And Sakuni, the king of the Gandhara land, spoke to Yudhishthira at the time of the game of dice the following words by way of a wily trick, 'Nakula hath been won by me from you, what else have you got? Now you should better stake your wife Draupadi'. You know, O Sanjaya, all these words of an approbrious kind which were spoken at the time of the game of dice. I desire to go personally to the Kurus, in order to settle this difficult matter. If without injury to the Pandava cause I succeed in bringing about this peace with the Kurus, an act of religious merit, resulting in very great blessings, will then have been done by me; and the Kurus also will have been extricated from the meshes of death. I hope that when I shall speak to the Kurus words of wisdom, resting on rules of righteousness, words fraught with sense and free from all tendency to inhumanity, Dhritarashtra's son will, in my presence, pay heed to them. I hope that when I arrive, the Kurus will pay me due respect. Else thou mayst rest assured that those vicious sons of Dhritarashtra, already scorched by their own vicious acts, will be burnt up by Arjuna and Bhima ready for battle. When Pandu's sons were defeated (at the play), Dhritarashtra's sons spoke to them words that were harsh and rude. But when the time will come, Bhima will, no doubt, take care to remind Duryodhana of those words. Duryodhana is a big tree of evil passions; Karna is its trunk; Sakuni is its branches; Dussasana forms its abundant blossoms and fruits; (while) the wise king Dhritarashtra is its toots. Yudhishthira is a big tree of righteousness; Arjuna is its trunk; and Bhima is its branches; the sons of Madri are its abundant flowers and fruits; and its roots are myself and religion and religious men. King Dhritarashtra with his sons constitutes a forest, while, O Sanjaya, the sons of Pandu are its tigers. Do not, oh, cut down the forest with its tigers, and let not the tigers be driven away from the forest. The tiger, out of the woods, is easily slain; the wood also, that is without a tiger, is easily cut down. Therefore, it is the tiger that protects the forest and the forest that shelters the tiger. The Dhritarashtras are as creepers, while, O Sanjaya, the Pandavas are Sala trees. A creeper can never flourish unless it hath a large tree to twine round. The sons of Pritha are ready to wait upon Dhritarashtra as, indeed, those repressors of foes are ready for war. Let king Dhritarashtra now do what may be proper for him to do. The virtuous and the high-souled sons of Pandu, though competent to be engaged in fight, are yet now in place (with their cousins). O learned man, represent all this truly (to Dhritarashtra).'"

SECTION 30

"Sanjaya said, 'I did thee farewell, O divine ruler of men. I will now depart, O son of Pandu. Let prosperity be thine. I hope, I have not carried away by the feelings of my heart, given utterance to anything offensive. I would also bid farewell to Janardana, to Bhima and Arjuna, to the son of Madri, to Satyaki, and to Chekitana, and take my departure. Let peace and happiness be yours. Let all the kings look at me with eyes of affection.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Permitted by us, O Sanjaya, take your leave. Peace to thee! O learned man, thou never thinkest ill of us. Both they and we know thee to be a person of pure heart in the midst of all in the court (of the Kurus). Besides, being an ambassador now, O Sanjaya, thou art faithful, beloved by us, of agreeable speech and excellent conduct, and well-affected towards us. Thy mind is never clouded, and even if addressed harshly thou art never moved to wrath. O Suta, thou never utterest harsh and cutting words, or those that are false or bitter. We know that thy words, free from malice, are always fraught with morality and grave import. Amongst envoys thou art the most dear to us. Beside thee, there is another, who may come here, and that is Vidura. Formerly, we always used to see thee. Thou art, indeed, a friend to us as dear as Dhananjaya. Proceeding hence, O Sanjaya, with all speed, thou shouldst wait upon those Brahmanas of pure energy and devoted to study according to the Brahmacharya mode,--those, namely, that are devoted to the study of the Vedas while leading lives of mendicancy, those ascetics that habitually dwell in the woods, as also the aged ones of other classes, should all be addressed by thee in my name, O Sanjaya, and then their welfare should be enquired into by thee. O Suta, repairing unto the priest of king Dhritarashtra as also unto his preceptors and Ritwijas, thou shouldst address them and enquire after their welfare. Even amongst them that are, though not well-born at least aged, endued with energy, and possessed of good behaviour and strength, who remembering speak of us and practise according to their might even the least virtue, should first be informed of my peace, O Sanjaya, and then shouldst thou enquire after their welfare. Thou shouldst also enquire after the welfare of those that live in the kingdom carrying on trade, and those that live there filling important offices of state. Our beloved preceptor Drona, who is fully versed in morality, who is our counsellor, who had practised the Brahmacharya vow for mastering the Vedas, who once again hath made the science of weapons full and complete, and who is always graciously inclined towards us, should be greeted by thee in our name. Thou shouldst also enquire into the welfare of Aswatthaman, endued with great learning, devoted to the study of the Vedas, leading the Brahmacharya mode of life, possessed of great activity, and like unto a youth of the Gandharva race, and who, besides, hath once again made the science of weapons full and complete. Thou must also, O Sanjaya, repair to the abode of Kripa, the son of Saradwat, that mighty car-warrior and foremost of all persons having a knowledge of self, and repeatedly saluting him in my name touch his feet with thy hand. Thou shouldst also, touching his feet, represent me as hale unto that foremost of the Kurus, Bhishma, in whom are combined bravery, and abstention from injury, and asceticism, and wisdom and good behaviour, and Vedic learning, and great excellence, and firmness. Saluting unto also the wise, venerable, and blind king (Dhritarashtra), who possessed of great learning and reverential to the old, is the leader of the Kurus. Thou shouldst also, O Sanjaya, enquire, O sire, about the welfare of the eldest of Dhritarashtra's sons, Suyodhana, who is wicked and ignorant and deceitful and vicious, and who now governs the entire world. Thou shouldst also enquire about the welfare of even the wicked Dussasana, that mighty bowman and hero among the Kurus, who is the younger of Duryodhana and who possesses a character like that of his elder brother. Thou shouldst, O Sanjaya, also salute the wise chief of the Vahlikas, who always cherishes no other wish save that there should be peace among the Bharatas. I think, thou shouldst also worship that Somadatta who is endued with numerous excellent qualities, who is wise and possesses a merciful heart, and who from his affection for the Kurus always controls his anger towards them. The son of Somadatta is worthy of the greatest reverence among the Kurus. He is my friend and is a brother to us. A mighty bowman and the foremost of car-warriors, he is worthy in all respects. Thou shouldst, O Sanjaya, enquire after his welfare along with that of his friends and counsellors. Others there are of youthful age and of consideration amongst the Kurus, who bear a relationship to us like that of sons, grandsons, and brothers. Unto each of these thou must speak words which thou mayst consider suitable, enquiring, O Suta, after his welfare. Thou must also enquire about the welfare of those kings that have been assembled by Dhritarashtra's son for fighting with the Pandavas, viz., the Kekayas, the Vasatis, the Salwakas, the Amvashthas, and the leading Trigartas, and of those endued with great bravery that have come from the east, the north, the south, and the west, and of those that have come from hilly countries, in fact, of all amongst them that are not cruel and that lead good lives. Thou shouldst also represent unto all those persons who ride on elephants, and horses and cars, and who fight on foot,--that mighty host composed of honourable men,--that I am well, and then thou must enquire about their own welfare. Thou must also enquire about the welfare of those that serve the king in the matter of his revenue or as his door-keepers, or as the leaders of his troops, or as the accountants of his income and outlay, or as officers constantly occupied in looking after other important concerns. Thou must, O sire, also enquire about the welfare of Dhritarashtra's son by his Vaisya wife,--that youth who is one of the best of the Kuru race,--who never falls into error, who possesseth vast wisdom, who is endued with every virtue, and who never cherishes a liking for this war! Thou shouldst also ask about the welfare of Chitrasena who is unrivalled in the tricks of dice, whose tricks are never detected by others, who plays well, who is well-versed in the art of handling the dice, and who is unconquerable in play but not in fight. Thou must also, O sire, enquire about the welfare of Sakuni, the king of the Gandharas, that native of the hilly country, who is unrivalled in deceitful games at dice, who enhances the pride of Dhritarashtra's son, and whose understanding naturally leads to falsehood. Thou must also enquire about the welfare of Karna, the son of Vikartana, that hero who is ready to vanquish, alone and unassisted, mounted on his car, the Pandavas whom no one dares assail in battle, that Karna who is unparalleled in deluding those that are already deluded. Thou must also enquire about the welfare of Vidura, O sire, who alone is devoted to us, who is our

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instructor, who reared us, who is our father and mother and friend, whose understanding finds obstruction in nought, whose ken reaches far, and who is our counsellor. Thou must also salute all the aged dames and those who are known to be possessed of merit, and those who are like mothers to us, meeting them gathered together in one place. Thou must tell them, O Sanjaya, these words at first,--Ye mothers of living sons, I hope, your sons comfort themselves towards you in a kindly, considerate, and worthy way.--Thou must then tell them that Yudhishthira is doing well with his sons. Those ladies, O Sanjaya, who are in the rank of our wives, thou must ask as to their welfare also addressing them in these words,--I hope, you are well-protected. I hope, your fair fame hath suffered no injury. I hope, you are dwelling within your abodes blamelessly and carefully. I hope, you are comforting yourselves towards your fathers-in-law in a kindly, praise-worthy and considerate way. You must steadily adopt such a conduct for yourselves as will help you to win your husband's favour! Those young ladies, O Sanjaya, who bear a relationship to us like that of your daughters-in-law, who have been brought from high families, who are possessed of merit and who are mothers of children,--thou must meet them all and tell them that Yudhishthira send his kindly greetings to them. Thou must, O Sanjaya, embrace the daughters of your house, and must ask them about their welfare on my behalf. Thou must tell them,--May your husbands be kindly and agreeable; may you be agreeable to your husbands; may you have ornaments and clothes and perfumery and cleanliness; may you be happy and have at your command the joys of life; may your looks be pretty and words pleasant; Thou must ask, O sire, the women of the house as to their welfare. Thou must also represent unto the maid-servants and man-servants there, may be of the Kurus, and also the many humpbacked and lame ones among them, that I am doing well, and thou must then ask them about their welfare. Thou must tell them,--I hope, Dhritarashtra's son still vouchsafes the same kindly treatment to you. I hope, he gives you the comforts of life.--Thou must also represent unto those that are defective in limb, those that are imbecile, the dwarfs to whom Dhritarashtra gives food and raiment from motives of humanity, those that are blind, and all those that are aged, as also to the many that have the use only of their hands being destitute of legs, that I am doing well, and that I ask them regarding their welfare, addressing them in the following words,--Fear not, nor be dispirited on account of your unhappy lives so full of sufferings; no doubt, sins must have been committed by you in your former lives. When I shall check my foes, and delight my friends, I shall satisfy you by gifts of food and clothes.--Thou shouldst also, O sire, at our request, enquire after the welfare of those that are masterless and weak, and of those that vainly strive to earn a living, and of those that are ignorant, in fact, of all those persons that are in pitiable circumstances. O charioteer, meeting those others, that coming from different quarters, have sought the protection of the Dhritarashtras, and in fact, all who deserve our greetings, thou shouldst also enquire about their welfare and peace. Thou shouldst also enquire about the welfare of those who have come to the Kurus of their own accord or who have been invited, as also of all the ambassadors arrived from all sides and then represent unto them that I am well. As regards the warriors that have been obtained by Dhritarashtra's son, there are none equal to them on earth. Virtue, however, is eternal, and virtue is my power for the destruction of my enemies. Thou shouldst, O Sanjaya, also represent unto Suyodhana, the son of Dhritarashtra, the following,--That desire of thine which torments thy heart, viz., the desire of ruling the Kurus without a rival, is very unreasonable. It had no justification. As for ourselves, we will never act in such a way as to do anything that may be disagreeable to thee! O foremost of heroes anwng the Bharatas, either give me lack my own Indraprastha or fight with me!'"

SECTION 31

"Yudhishthira said, 'O Sanjaya, the righteous and the unrighteous, the young and the old, the weak and the strong, are all under the control of the Creator, It is that Supreme Lord who imparteth knowledge to the child and childishness to the learned, according to his own will. If Dhritarashtra ask thee about our strength, tell him everything truly, having cheerfully consulted with everyone here and ascertained the truth. O son of Gavalgana, repairing unto the Kurus, thou wilt salute the mighty Dhritarashtra, and touching his feet enquire after his welfare speaking in our name. And when seated in the midst of the Kurus, tell him from us.--The sons of Pandu, O king, are living happily in consequence of thy prowess. It was through thy grace, O repressor of foes, that those children of tender years had obtained a kingdom. Having first bestowed a kingdom on them, thou shouldst not now be indifferent to them, for destruction then would overtake them! The whole of this kingdom, O Sanjaya, is not fit to be owned by one person. Tell him again, from us.--O sire, we wish to live united. Do not suffer thyself to be vanquished by foes.--Thou shouldst again, O Sanjaya, bending thy head, in my name salute the grandsire of the Bharatas, Bhishma, the son of Santanu. Having saluted our grandsire, he should then be told.--By thee, when Santanu's race was about to be extinct, it was revived. Therefore, O sire, do that according to thy own judgement by which thy grandsons may all live in amity with one another. Thou shouldst then address Vidura also, that adviser of the Kurus, saying.--Counseleth peace, O amiable one, from desire of doing good unto Yudhishthira.--Thou shouldst address the unforbearing prince Duryodhana also, when seated in the midst of the Kurus, beseeching him again and again, saying,--The insults thou hadst offered to innocent and helpless Draupadi in the midst of the assembly, we will quietly bear, simply because we have no mind to see the Kurus slain. The other injuries also, both before and after that, the sons of Pandu are quietly bearing, although they are possessed of might to avenge them. All this, indeed, the Kauravas know. O amiable one, thou hadst even exiled us dressed in deer-skins. We are bearing that also because we do not want to see the Kurus slain. Dussasana, in obedience to thee, had dragged Krishna, disregarding Kunti. That act also will be forgiven by us. But, O chastiser of foes, we must have our proper share of the kingdom. O bull among men, turn thy coveting heart from what belongeth to others. Peace then, O king, will be amongst our gladdened selves. We are desirous of peace; give us even a single province of the empire. Give us even Kusasthala, Vrikasthala, Makandi, Varanavata, and for the fifth any other that thou likest. Even this will end the quarrel. O Suyodhana, give unto thy five brothers at least five villages,--O Sanjaya, O thou of great wisdom, let there be peace between us and our cousins. Tell him also,--Let brothers follow brothers, let sires unite with sons. Let the Panchalas mingle with the Kurus in merry laughter. That I may see the Kurus and the Panchalas whole and sound, is what I desire. O bull of the Bharata race, with, cheerful hearts let us make peace. O Sanjaya, I am equally capable of war and peace. I am prepared to acquire wealth as well as to earn virtue. I am fit enough for severity as for softness.'"

SECTION 32

"Vaisampayana said, 'Dismissed with salutation by the Pandavas, Sanjaya set out for (Hastinapura) having executed all the commands of the illustrious Dhritarashtra. Reaching Hastinapura he quickly entered it, and presented himself at the gate of the inner apartments of the palace. Addressing the porter, he said, 'O gate-keeper, say unto Dhritarashtra that I, Sanjaya, have just arrived, coming from the sons of Pandu. Do not delay. If the king be awake, then only shouldst thou say so, O keeper, for I like to enter having first apprised him of my arrival. In the present instance I have something of very great importance to communicate.' Hearing this, the gate-keeper went to the king and addressed him, saying, 'O lord of earth, I bow to thee. Sanjaya is at thy gates, desirous of seeing thee. He cometh, bearing a message from the Pandavas. Issue your commands, O king, as to what he should do.'

"The king said, 'Tell Sanjaya that I am happy and hale. Let him enter. Welcome to Sanjaya. I am always ready to receive him. Why should he stay outside whose admission is never forbidden?"

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then, with the king's permission, having entered that spacious apartment, the Suta's son, with joined hands, approached the royal son of Vichitravirya who was protected by many wise, valiant, and righteous persons, and who was then seated on his throne. And Sanjaya addressed him, saying, 'I am Sanjaya, O king. I bow unto thee. O chief of men, proceeding hence I found the sons of Pandu. After having paid his salutations to thee, Pandu's son, the intelligent Yudhishthira, enquired of thy welfare. And well-pleased, he also enquireth after thy sons, and asketh thee whether thou art happy with thy sons and grandsons and friends and counsellors, and, O king, all those that depend upon thee.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'O child, giving my blessings to Ajatasatru, I ask thee, O Sanjaya, whether that king of the Kauravas, Pritha's son, is well with his sons and brothers and counsellors.'

"Sanjaya said, 'Pandu's son is well with his counsellors. He desires possessions of that which he formerly had as his own. He seeketh virtue and wealth without doing anything that is censurable, possesseth intelligence and vast learning, and is, besides, far-sighted and of excellent disposition. With that son of Pandu, abstention from injury is even superior to virtue, and virtue superior to the accumulation of wealth. His mind, O Bharata, is always inclined to happiness and joy, and to such course of action as are virtuous and conducive to the higher ends of life. Even like doll pulled this way and that by threads, man (in this world) moveth, swayed by a force not his own. Beholding the sufferings of Yudhishthira, I regard the force of destiny to be Superior to the effect of human exertion. Beholding again thy unworthy deeds, which, besides, being highly sinful and unspeakable, are sure to terminate in misery, it seemeth to me that one of thy nature winneth praise only so long as his able foe bideth his time. Renouncing all sin, even as a serpent casteth off its worn out slough which it cannot any longer retain, the heroic Ajatasatru shineth in his natural perfection, leaving his load of sins to be borne by thee. Consider, O king, thy own acts which are contrary to both religion and profit, and to the behaviour of those that are righteous. Thou hast, O king, earned a bad repute in this world, and wilt reap misery in the next. Obeying the counsels of thy son thou hopest to enjoy this doubtful property, keeping them aloof. This unrighteous deed is loudly bruited about in the world, Therefore, O foremost of the Bharatas, this deed is unworthy of thee. Calamity overtaketh him who is deficient in wisdom, or who is of low birth, or who is cruel, or who cherisheth hostility for a long time, or who is not steady in Kshatriya virtues, or is devoid of energy, or is of a bad disposition, in fact, him who hath such marks. It is by virtue of luck that a person taketh his birth in good race, or becometh strong, or famous, or versed in various lore, or possesseth the comforts of life, or becometh capable of subduing his senses, or discriminating virtue and vice that are always linked together. What person is there, who, attended upon by foremost of counsellors, possessed of intelligence, capable of discriminating between virtue and vice in times of distress, not destitute of the rituals of religion, and retaining the use of all his faculties, would commit cruel deeds. These counsellors, ever devoted to thy work, wait here united together. Even this is their firm determination (viz., that the Pandavas are not to get back their share). The destruction of the Kurus, therefore, is certain to be brought about by the force of circumstances. If, provoked by the offences, Yudhishthira wisheth for misery to thee, then Kurus will be destroyed prematurely, while, imparting all his sins to thee, the blame of that deed will be thine in this world. Indeed, what else is there save the will of the Gods, for Arjuna, the son of Pritha, leaving this world ascended to the very heavens and was honoured there very greatly. This proves that individual exertion is nothing. There is, no doubt, as to this. Seeing that the attributes of high birth, bravery, etc., depended for their development or otherwise on acts, and beholding also prosperity and adversity and stability and instability (in persons and their possessions), king Vali, in his search after causes, having failed to discover a beginning (in the chain of acts of former lives one before another), regarded the eternal Essence to be the cause of everything. The eye, the ear, the nose, the touch, and the tongue, these are the doors of a person's knowledge. If desire be curbed, these would be gratified by themselves. Therefore, cheerfully and without repining one should control the senses. Others there are that think differently. They hold that if a person's acts are well-applied, these must produce the desired result. Thus the child begot by the act of the mother and the father grows when duly tended with food and drink. Men in this world become subject to love and hate, pleasure and pain, praise and blame. A man is praised when he behaves honestly. Thee I blame, since these dissensions of the Bharatas (whose root thou art) will surely bring about the destruction of innumerable lives. If peace be not concluded, then through thy fault Arjuna will consume the Kurus like a blazing fire consuming a heap of dried grass. O ruler of men, thou alone of all the world, yielding to thy son whom no restraints can blind, hadst regarded thyself as crowned with success and abstained from avoiding dispute at the time of the match at dice. Behold now the fruit of that (weakness of thine)! O monarch, by rejecting advisers that are faithful and accepting those that deserve no confidence, this extensive and prosperous empire, O son of Kuru, thou art unable to retain owing to thy weakness. Wearied by my fast journey and very much fatigued, I solicit thy permission to go to bed now, O lion of men, for tomorrow morning will the Kurus, assembled together in the council-hall, hear the words of Ajatasatru.'"

SECTION 33

"Vaisampayana said, 'King Dhritarashtra endued with great wisdom (then) said to the orderly-in-waiting, 'I desire to see Vidura. Bring him here without delay.' Despatched by Dhritarashtra, the messenger went to Kshatri and said, 'O thou of great wisdom, our lord the mighty king desireth to see thee.' Thus addressed, Vidura (set out and) coming to the palace, spoke unto the orderly, 'Apprise Dhritarashtra of my arrival.' Thereupon the orderly went to Dhritarashtra, and said, O, foremost of kings, Vidura is here at thy command. He wisheth to behold thy feet. Command me as to what he is to do.' Thereupon Dhritarashtra said, 'Let Vidura of great wisdom and foresight enter. I am never unwilling or unprepared to see Vidura.' The orderly then went out and spoke unto Vidura, 'O Kshatri, enter the inner apartments of the wise king. The king says that he is never unwilling to see thee.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having entered Dhritarashtra's chamber, Vidura said with joined hands unto that ruler of men who was then plunged in thought, 'O thou of great wisdom, I am Vidura, arrived here at thy command. If there is anything to be done, here I am, command me!'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'O Vidura, Sanjaya hath come back. He hath gone away after rebuking me. Tomorrow he will deliver, in the midst of the court, Ajatasatru's message. I have not been able today to ascertain what the message is of the Kuru hero. Therefore, my body is burning, and that hath produced sleeplessness. Tell us what may be good for a person

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that is sleepless and burning. Thou art, O child, versed in both religion and profit. Ever since, Sanjaya hath returned from the Pandavas, my heart knoweth no peace. Filled with anxiety about what he may deliver, all my senses have been disordered'.

"Vidura said, 'Sleeplessness overtaketh thief, a lustful person, him that hath lost all his wealth, him that hath failed to achieve success, and him also that is weak and hath been attacked by a strong person. I hope, O king, that none of these grave calamities have overtaken thee. I hope, thou dost not grieve, coveting the wealth of others.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'I desire to hear from thee words that are beneficial and fraught with high morality. In this race of royal Rishis thou alone art reverenced by the wise.' Vidura replied, 'King (Yudhishthira), graced with every virtue, is worthy of being the sovereign of the three worlds; yet, O Dhritarashtra, however worthy of being kept by thy side, he was exiled by thee. Thou art, however, possessed of qualities which are thy very reverse of those possessed by him. Although virtuous and versed in morality, thou hast yet no right to a share in the kingdom owing to thy loss of sight. In consequence of his inoffensiveness and kindness, his righteousness, love of truth and energy, and his remembering the reverence that is due to thee, Yudhishthira patiently bears innumerable wrongs. Having bestowed on Duryodhana and Suvala's son and Karna, and Dussasana the management of the empire, how canst thou hope for prosperity? He that is not served from the high ends of life by the aid of self-knowledge, exertion, forbearance and steadiness in virtue, is called wise. These again are the marks of a wise man, viz., adherence to acts, worthy of praise and rejection of what is blamable, faith, and reverence. He whom neither anger nor joy, nor pride, nor false modesty, nor stupefaction, nor vanity, can draw away from the high ends of life, is considered as wise. He whose intended acts, and proposed counsels remain concealed from foes, and whose acts become known only after they have been done, is considered wise. He whose proposed actions are never obstructed by heat or cold, fear of attachment, prosperity or adversity, is considered wise. He whose judgement dissociated from desire, followeth both virtue and profit, and who disregarding pleasure chooseth such ends as are serviceable in both worlds, is considered wise. They that exert to the best of their might, and act also to the best of their might, and disregard nothing as insignificant, are called wise. He that understandeth quickly, listeneth patiently, pursueth his objects with judgement and not from desire and spendeth not his breath on the affairs of others without being asked, is said to possess the foremost mark of wisdom. They that do not strive for objects that are unattainable, that do not grieve for what is lost and gone, that do not suffer their minds to be clouded amid calamities, are regarded to possess intellects endued with wisdom. He who striveth, having commenced anything, till it is completed, who never wasteth his time, and who hath his soul under control, is regarded wise. They that are wise, O bull of the Bharata race, always delight in honest deeds, do what tendeth to their happiness and prosperity, and never sneer at what is good. He who exulteth not at honours, and grieveth not at slights, and remaineth cool and unagitated like a lake in the course of Ganga, is reckoned as wise. That man who knoweth the nature of all creatures (viz., that everything is subject to destruction), who is cognisant also of the connexions of all acts, and who is proficient in the knowledge of the means that men may resort to (for attaining their objects), is reckoned as wise. He who speaketh boldly, can converse on various subjects, knoweth the science of argumentation, possesseth genius, and can interpret the meaning of what is writ in books, is reckoned as wise. He whose studies are regulated by reason, and whose reason followeth the scriptures, and who never abstaineth from paying respect to those that are good, is called a wise man. He, on the other hand, who is ignorant of scripture yet vain, poor yet proud, and who resorteth to unfair means for the acquisition of his objects, is a fool. He who, forsaking his own, concerneth himself with the objects of others, and who practiseth deceitful means for serving his friends, is called a fool. He who wisheth for those things that should not be desired, and forsaketh those that may legitimately be desired, and who beareth malice to those that are powerful, is regarded to be a foolish soul. He who regardeth his foe as his friend, who hateth and beareth malice to his friend, and who committeth wicked deeds, is said to be a person of foolish soul. O bull of the Bharata race, he who divulgeth his projects, doubteth in all things, and spendeth a long time in doing what requireth a short time, is a fool. He who doth not perform the Sraddha for the Pitris, nor worshippeth the deities, nor acquireth noble-minded friends, is said to be a person of foolish soul. That worst of men who entereth a place uninvited, and talketh much without being asked, and reposeth trust on untrustworthy wights, is a fool. That man who being himself guilty casteth the blame on others, and who though impotent giveth vent to anger, is the most foolish of men. That man, who, without knowing his own strength and dissociated from both virtue and profit, desireth an object difficult of acquisition, without again adopting adequate means, is said to be destitute of intelligence. O king, he who punisheth one that is undeserving of punishment, payeth homage to persons without their knowledge, and waiteth upon misers, is said to be of little sense. But he that, having attained immense wealth and prosperity or acquired (vast) learning, doth not bear himself haughtily, is reckoned as wise. Who, again, is more heartless than he, who, though possessed of affluence, eateth himself and weareth excellent robes himself without distributing his wealth among his dependents? While one person committeth sins, many reap the advantage resulting therefrom; (yet in the end) it is the doer alone to whom the sin attacheth while those that enjoy the fruit escape unhurt. When a bowman shooteth an arrow, he may or may not succeed in slaying even a single person, but when an intelligent individual applieth his intelligence (viciously); it may destroy an entire kingdom with the king. Discriminating the two by means of the one, bring under thy subjection the three by means of four, and also conquering the five and knowing the six, and abstaining from the seven, be happy. Poison slayeth but one person, and a weapon also but one; wicked counsels, however, destroy an entire kingdom with king and subject. Alone one should not partake of any savoury viand, nor alone reflect on concerns of profit, nor alone go upon a journey, nor alone remain awake among sleeping companions. That Being who is One without a second, and whom, O king, thou hast not been able to comprehend, is Truth's self, and the Way to heaven, even like a boat in the ocean. There is one only defect in forgiving persons, and not another; that defect is that people take a forgiving person to be weak. That defect, however, should not be taken into consideration, for forgiveness is a great power. Forgiveness is a virtue of the weak, and an ornament of the strong. Forgiveness subdueth (all) in this world; what is there that forgiveness cannot achieve? What can a wicked person do unto him who carrieth the sabre of forgiveness in his hand? Fire falling on a grassless ground is extinguished of itself. And unforgiving individual defileth himself with many enormities. Righteousness is the one highest good; and forgiveness is the one supreme peace; knowledge is one supreme contentment; and benevolence, one sole happiness. Even as a serpent devoureth animals living in holes, the earth devoureth these two, viz., a king who is incompetent to fight, and a Brahmana who doth not sojourn to holy places. A man may attain renown in this world by doing two things, viz., by refraining from harsh speech, and by disregarding those that are wicked. O tiger among men, these two have not a will of their own, viz., those women who covet men simply because the latter are coveted by others of their sex, and that person who worships another simply because the latter is worshipped by others. These two are like sharp thorns afflicting the body, viz., the desires of a poor man, and the anger of the impotent. These two persons never shine because of their incompatible acts, viz., a householder without exertion, and a beggar busied in schemes. These two, O king, live (as it were) in a region higher than heaven itself, viz., a man of power endued with forgiveness, and poor man that is charitable. Of things honestly got, these two must be looked upon as misuse, viz., making gifts to the unworthy and refusing the worthy. These two should be thrown into the water, tightly binding weights to their necks, viz., a wealthy man that doth not give away, and a poor man that is proud. These two, O tiger among men, can pierce the orb itself of the sun, viz., a mendicant accomplished in yoga, and a warrior that hath fallen in open fight. O bull of the Bharata race, persons versed in the Vedas have said that men's means are good, middling, and bad. Men also, O king, are good, indifferent, and bad. They should, therefore, be respectively employed in that kind of work for which they may be fit. These three, O king, cannot have wealth of their own, viz., the wife, the slave, and the son, and whatever may be earned by them would be his to whom they belong. Great fear springeth from these three crimes, viz., theft of other's property, outrage on other's wives, and breach with friend. These three, besides, being destructive to one's own self, are the gates of hell, viz., lust, anger, and covetousness. Therefore, every one should renounce them. These three should never be forsaken even in imminent danger, viz., a follower, one who seeks protection, saying,--I am thine,--and lastly one who hath come to your abode. Verily, O Bharata, liberating a foe from distress, alone amounteth in point of merit, to these three taken together, viz., conferring a boon, acquiring a kingdom, and obtaining a son. Learned men have declared that a king, although powerful, should never consult with these four, viz., men of small sense, men that are procrastinating, men that are indolent, and men that are flatterers. O sire, crowned with prosperity and leading the life of a householder, let these four dwell with thee, viz., old consanguineous, relatives, high-born persons fallen into adversity, poor friends, and issueless sisters. On being asked by the chief of the celestials, Vrihaspati, O mighty king declared four things capable of fructifying or occurring within a single day, viz., the resolve of the gods, the comprehensions of intelligent persons, the humility of learned men, and the destruction of the sinful. These four that are calculated to remove fear, bring on fear when they are improperly performed, viz., the Agni-hotra, the vow of silence, study, and sacrifice (in general). O bull of the Bharata race, these five fires, should be worshipped with regard by a person, viz., father, mother, fire (proper), soul and preceptor. By serving these five, men attain great fame in this world, viz., the gods, the Pitris, men, beggars, and guests. These five follow thee wherever thou goest, viz., friends, foes, those that are indifferent, dependants, and those that are entitled to maintenance. Of the five senses beholding to man, if one springeth a leak, then from that single hole runneth out all his intelligence, even like water running out from a perforated leathern vessel. The six faults should be avoided by a person who wisheth to attain prosperity, viz., sleep, drowsiness, fear, anger, indolence and procrastination. These six should be renounced like a splitting vessel in the sea, viz., a preceptor that cannot expound the scriptures, a priest that is illiterate, a king that is unable to protect, a wife that speaketh disagreeable words, a cow-herd that doth not wish to go to the fields, and a barber that wisheth to renounce a village for the woods. Verily, those six qualities should never be forsaken by men, viz., truth, charity, diligence, benevolence, forgiveness and patience. These six are instantly destroyed, if neglected, viz., kine, service, agriculture, a wife, learning, and the wealth of a Sudra. These six forget those who have bestowed obligations on them, viz., educated disciples, their preceptors; married persons, their mothers; persons whose desires have been gratified, women; they who have achieved success, they who had rendered aid; they who have crossed a river, the boat (that carried them over); and patients that have been cured, their physicians. Health, unindebtedness, living at home, companionship with good men, certainty as regards the means of livelihood, and living without fear, these six. O king, conduce to the happiness of men. These six are always miserable, viz., the envious, the malicious, the discontented, the irascible, the ever-suspicious, and those depending upon the fortunes of others. These six, O king, comprise the happiness of men, viz., acquirement of wealth, uninterrupted health, a beloved and a sweet-speeched wife, an obedient son, and knowledge that is lucrative. He that succeedeth in gaining the mastery over the six that are always present in the human heart, being thus the master of his senses, never committeth sin, and therefore suffereth calamity. These six may be seen to subsist upon other six, viz., thieves, upon persons that are careless; physicians, on persons that are ailing; women, upon persons suffering from lust; priests, upon them that sacrifice; a king, upon persons that quarrel; and lastly men of learning, upon them that are without it. A king should renounce these seven faults that are productive of calamity, inasmuch as they are able to effect the ruin of even monarchs firmly established; these are women, dice, hunting, drinking, harshness of speech, severity of punishment, and misuse of wealth. These eight are the immediate indications of a man destined to destruction, viz., hating the Brahmanas, disputes with Brahmanas, appropriation of a Brahmana's possessions, taking the life of Brahmana, taking a pleasure in reviling Brahmanas, grieving to hear the praises of Brahmanas, forgetting them on ceremonious occasions, and giving vent to spite when they ask for anything. These transgressions a wise man should understand, and understanding, eschew. These eight, O Bharata, are the very cream of happiness, and these only are attainable here, viz., meeting with friends, accession of immense wealth, embracing a son, union for intercourse, conversation with friends in proper times, the advancement of persons belong to one's own party, the acquisition of what had been anticipated, and respect in society. These eight qualities glorify a man, viz., wisdom, high birth, self-restraint, learning, prowess, moderation in speech gift according to one's power, and gratitude. This house hath nine doors, three pillars, and five witnesses. It is presided over by the soul. That learned man who knoweth all this is truly wise. O Dhritarashtra, these ten do not know what virtue is viz., the intoxicated, inattentive, the raving, the fatigued, the angry, the starving, the hasty, the covetous, the frightened, and the lustful. Therefore, he that is wise must eschew the company of these. In this connexion is cited the old story about what transpired between Suyodhana and (Prahlada), the chief of the Asuras in relation to the latter's son. That king who renounceth lust and anger, who bestoweth wealth upon proper recipients, and is discriminating, learned, and active, is regarded as an authority of all men. Great prosperity attends upon that king who knoweth how to inspire confidence in others, who inflicteth punishment on those whose guilt hath been proved, who is acquainted with the proper measure of punishment, and who knoweth when mercy is to be shown. He is a wise person who doth not disregard even a weak foe; who proceeds with intelligence in respect of a foe, anxiously watching for an opportunity; who doth not desire hostilities with persons stronger than himself; and who displayeth his prowess in season. That illustrious person who doth not grieve when a calamity hath already come upon him, who exerteth with all his senses collected, and who patiently beareth misery in season, is certainly the foremost of persons, and all his foes are vanquished. He who doth not live away from hope uselessly, who doth not make friends with sinful persons, who never

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outrageth another's wife, who never betrayeth arrogance, and who never committeth a theft or showeth ingratitude or indulgeth in drinking is always happy. He who never boastfully striveth to attain the three objects of human pursuit, who when asked, telleth the truth, who quarreleth not even for the sake of friends, and who never becometh angry though slighted, is reckoned as wise. He who beareth not malice towards others but is kind to all, who being weak disputeth not with others, who speaketh not arrogantly, and forgeteth a quarrel, is praised everywhere. That man who never assumeth a haughty mien, who never censureth others praising himself the while, and never addresseth harsh words to others for getting himself, is ever loved by all. He who raketh not up old hostilities, who behaveth neither arrogantly nor with too much humility, and who even when distressed never committeth an improper act, is considered by respectable men a person of good conduct. He who exulteth not at his own happiness, nor delighteth in another's misery, and who repenteth not after having made a gift, is said to be a man of good nature and conduct. He who desireth to obtain a knowledge of the customs of different countries, and also the languages of different nations, and of the usages of different orders of men, knoweth at once all that is high and low; and wherever he may go, he is sure to gain an ascendancy over even those that are glad. The intelligent man who relinquisheth pride, folly, insolence, sinful acts, disloyalty towards the king, crookedness of behaviour, enmity with many, and also quarrels with men that are drunk, mad and wicked, is the foremost of his species. The very gods bestow prosperity upon him who daily practiseth self-restraint, purification, auspicious rites, worship of the gods, expiatory ceremonies, and other rites of universal observance. The acts of that learned man are well-conceived, and well-applied who formeth matrimonial alliances with persons of equal positions and not with those that are inferior, who placeth those before him that are more qualified, and who talketh, behaveth and maketh friendships with persons of equal position. He who eateth frugally after dividing the food amongst his dependants, who sleepeth little after working much, and who, when solicited giveth away even unto his foes, hath his soul under control, and calamities always keep themselves aloof from him. He whose counsels are well-kept and well-carried out into practice, and whose acts in consequence thereof are never known by others to injure men, succeedeth in securing even his most trifling objects. He who is intent upon abstaining from injury to all creatures, who is truthful, gentle, charitable, and pure in mind, shineth greatly among his kinsmen like a precious gem of the purest ray having its origin in an excellent mine. That man who feeleth shame even though his faults be not known to any save himself, is highly honoured among all men. Possessed of a pure heart and boundless energy and abstracted within himself, he shineth in consequence of his energy like the very sun. King Pandu consumed by a (Brahmana's) curse, had five sons born unto him in the woods that are like five Indras. O son of Ambika, thou hast brought up those children and taught them everything. They are obedient to thy commands. Giving them back their just share of the kingdom, O sire, filled with joy, be thou happy with thy sons. Then, O monarch, thou shalt inspire confidence in both the gods and men.'"

SECTION 34

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Tell me what may be done by a person that is sleepless and burning with anxieties, for thou alone amongst us, O child, art versed in both religion and profit. Advise me wisely, O Vidura. O thou of magnanimous heart, tell me what is thou deemest to be beneficial for Ajatasatru and what is productive of good to the Kurus. Apprehending future evils. I look back only on my previous guilt: I ask thee with anxious heart, O learned one, tell me what is exactly in Ajatasatru's mind,'

"Vidura said, 'Even if unasked, one should speak truly, whether his words be good or bad, hateful or pleasing, unto him whose defeat one doth not wish. I shall, therefore, say, O king, what is for the good of the Kurus. I shall say what is both beneficial and consistent with morality. Listen to me. Do not, O Bharata, set the heart upon means of success that are unjust and improper. A man of intelligence must not grieve if any purpose of his doth not succeed, notwithstanding the application of fair and proper means. Before one engageth in an act, one should consider the competence of the agent, the nature of the act itself, and its purpose, for all acts are dependent on these. Considering these one should begin an act, and not take it up on a sudden impulse. He that is wise should either do an act or desist from it fully considering his own ability, the nature of the act, and the consequence also of success. The king who knoweth not proportion or measure as regards territory, gain, loss, treasury, population, and punishment, cannot retain his kingdom long. He, on the other hand, who is acquainted with the measures of these as prescribed in treatises, being necessarily possessed of the knowledge of religion and profit, can retain his kingdom. As the stars are affected by the planets, so is this world affected by the senses, when they are directed, uncontrolled, to their respective objects. Like the moon during the lighted fortnight, calamities increase in respect of him who is vanquished by the five senses in their natural state, which ever lead him towards various acts. He who wisheth to control his counsellors before controlling his own self, or to subdue his adversaries before controlling his counsellors, at last succumbs deprived of strength. He, therefore, who first subdueth his own self regarding it as a foe, never faileth to subdue his counsellors and adversaries at last. Great prosperity waiteth upon him who hath subdued his senses, or controlled his soul, or who is capable of punishing all offenders, or who acteth with judgement or who is blessed with patience. One's body, O king, is one's car; the soul within is the driver; and the senses are its steeds. Drawn by those excellent steeds, when well-trained, he that is wise, pleasantly performeth the journey of life, and awake in peace. The horses that are unbroken and incapable of being controlled, always lead an unskilful driver to destruction in the course of the journey; so one's senses, unsubdued, lead only to destruction. The inexperienced wight, who, led by this unsubdued senses, hopeth to extract evil from good and good from evil, necessarily confoundeth misery with happiness. He, who, forsaking religion and profit, followeth the lead of his senses, loseth without delay prosperity, life, wealth and wife. He, who is the master of riches but not of his senses, certainly loseth his riches in consequence of his want of mastery over his senses. One should seek to know one's self by means of one's own self, controlling one's mind, intellect, and senses, for one's self is one's friend as, indeed, it is one's own foe. That man, who hath conquered self by means of self, hath his self for a friend, for one's self is ever one's friend or foe. Desire and anger, O king, break through wisdom, just as a large fish breaks through a net of thin cords. He, who in this world regarding both religion and profit, seeketh to acquire the means of success, winneth happiness, possessing all he had sought. He, who, without subduing his five inner foes of mental origin, wisheth to vanquish other adversaries, is, in fact, overpowered by the latter. It is seen that many evil-minded kings, owing to want of mastery over their senses, are ruined by acts of their own, occasioned by the lust of territory. As fuel that is wet burneth with that which is dry, so a sinless man is punished equally with the sinful in consequence of constant association with the latter. Therefore, friendship with the sinful should be avoided. He that, from ignorance, faileth to control his five greedy foes, having five distinct objects, is overwhelmed by calamities. Guilelessness and simplicity, purity and contentment, sweetness of speech and self-restraint, truth and steadiness,--these are never the attributes of the wicked. Self-knowledge and steadiness, patience and devotion to virtue, competence to keep counsels and charity,--these,--O Bharata, never exist in inferior men. Fools seek to injure the wise by false reproaches and evil speeches, The consequence is, that by this they take upon themselves the sins of the wise, while the latter, freed from their sins, are forgiven. In malice lieth the strength of the wicked; in criminal code, the strength of kings, in attentions of the weak and of women; and in forgiveness that of the virtuous. To control speech, O king, is said to be most difficult. It is not easy to hold a long conversation uttering words full of meaning and delightful to the hearers. Well-spoken speech is productive of many beneficial results; and ill-spoken speech, O king, is the cause of evils. A forest pierced by arrows, or cut down by hatchets may again grow, but one's heart wounded and censured by ill-spoken words never recovereth. Weapons, such as arrows, bullets, and bearded darts, can be easily extracted from the body, but a wordy dagger plunged deep into the heart is incapable of being taken out. Wordy arrows are shot from the mouth; smitten by them one grieveth day and night. A learned man should not discharge such arrows, for do they not touch the very vitals of others. He, to whom the gods ordain defeat, hath his senses taken away, and it is for this that he stoopeth to ignoble deeds. When the intellect becometh dim and destruction is nigh, wrong, looking like right., firmly sticketh to the heart. Thou dost not clearly see it, O bull of the Bharata race, that clouded intellect hath now possessed thy sons in consequence of their hostility to the Pandavas. Endued with every auspicious mark and deserving to rule the three worlds, Yudhishthira is obedient to thy commands. Let him, O Dhritarashtra, rule the earth, to the exclusion of all thy sons, Yudhishthira is the foremost of all thy heirs. Endued with energy and wisdom, and acquainted with the truths of religion and profit, Yudhishthira, that foremost of righteous men, hath, O king of kings, suffered much misery out of kindness and sympathy, in order to preserve thy reputation."

SECTION 35

"Dhritarashtra said, 'O thou of great intelligence, tell me again words such as these, consistent with religion and profit. My thirst for hearing them is not quenched. What thou sayst is charming!"

"Vidura said, 'Ablution in all the holy places and kindness to all creatures,--these two are equal. Perhaps, kindness to all creatures surpasseth the former. O master, show kindness unto all thy sons, for by that winning great fame in this world, thou wilt have heaven hereafter. As long as a man's good deeds are spoken of in this world, so long, O tiger among men, is he glorified in heaven. In this connexion is cited an old story about the conversation between Virochana and Sudhanwan, both suitors for Kesini's hand. Once on a time, O king, there was a maiden of the name of Kesini, unrivalled for beauty; moved by the desire of obtaining a good husband, she resolved to choose her lord in Swayamvara. Then one of the sons of Diti, Virochana by name, went to that spot, desirous of obtaining the maiden. Beholding that chief of the Daityas, Kesini addressed him, saying, 'Are Brahmanas superior, O Virochana, or are the sons of Diti superior? And why also should not Sudhanwan sit on the sofa?' Virochana said, 'Sprung from Prajapati himself, we, O Kesini, are the best and at the top of all creatures, and this world is ours without doubt. Who are the gods, and who are the Brahmanas?' Kesini said, 'We will, O Virochana, stay here in this very pavilion. Sudhanwan will come here on the morrow, and let me see both of you sitting together.' Virochana said, 'O amiable and timid girl, I will do what thou sayst. Thou wilt behold Sudhanwan and myself met together in the morning.'

"Vidura continued, 'When the night had passed away and the solar disc had risen, Sudhanwan, O best of kings, came to that place where, O master, Virochana was waiting with Kesini. And Sudhanwan saw there both Prahlada's son and Kesini. And beholding the Brahmana arrived, Kesini, O bull of the Bharata race, rising up from hers, offered him a seat, water to wash his feet, and Arghya. And asked by Virochana (to share his seat) Sudhanwan said, 'O son of Prahlada, I touch thy excellent golden seat. I cannot, however, suffer myself to be regarded as thy equal, and sit on it with thee.' Virochana said, 'A piece of wooden plank, an animal skin, or a mat of grass or straw,--these only, O Sudhanwan, are fit for thee. Thou deservest not, however, the same seat with me.' Sudhanwan said, 'Father and son. Brahmanas of the same age and equal learning, two Kshatriyas, two Vaisyas and two Sudras, can sit together on the same seat, Except these, no other can sit together. Your father used to pay his regards to me, taking a seat lower than that occupied by me. Thou art a child, brought tip in every luxury at home and thou understandest nothing.' Virochana said, 'Staking all the gold, kine, horses, and every other kind of wealth that we have among the Asuras, let us, O Sudhanwan, ask them this question that are able to answer.' Sudhanwan said, 'Let alone your gold, kine, and heroes, O Virochana? Making our lives forfeited, we will ask them this question that are competent.' Virochana said, 'Wagering our lives where shall we go? I will not appear before any of the gods and never before any among men.' Sudhanwan said, 'Having wagered our lives, we will approach thy father, for he, Prahlada, will never say an untruth even for the sake of his son.'

"Vidura continued, 'Having thus laid a wager, Virochana and Sudhanwan, both moved by rage, proceeded to that place where Prahlada was. And beholding them together, Prahlada said, 'These two who had never before been companions, are now seen together coming hither by the same road, like two angry snakes. Have ye now become companions,--ye who were never companions before? I ask thee, O Virochana, has there been friendship between thee and Sudhanwan?' Virochana said, 'There is no friendship between me and Sudhanwan. On the other hand, we have both wagered our lives. O chief of the Asuras, I shall ask thee a question, do not answer it untruly!' Prahlada said, 'Let water, and honey and curds, be brought for Sudhanwan. Thou deservest our worship, O Brahmana. A white and fat cow is ready for thee.' Sudhanwan said, 'Water and honey and curds, have been presented to me on my way hither. I shall ask thee a question. Prahlada, answer it truly! are Brahmanas superior, or is Virochana superior?' Prahlada said, O Brahmana, this one is my only son. Thou also art present here in person. How can one like us answer a question about which ye two have quarrelled? Sudhanwan said, 'Give unto thy son thy kine and other precious wealth that thou mayst have, but, O wise one, thou shouldst declare the truth when we two are disputing about it.' Prahlada said, 'How doth that misuser of his tongue suffer, O Sudhanwan, who answereth not truly but falsely, a question that is put to him? I ask thee this.' Sudhanwan said, 'The person that misuseth his tongue suffers like the deserted wife, who pineth, at night, beholding her husband sleeping in the arms of a co-wife; like a person who hath lost at dice, or who is weighed down with an unbearable load of anxieties. Such a man hath also to stay, starving outside the citygates, into which his admission is barred. Indeed, he that giveth false evidence is destined to always find his foes. He that speaketh a lie on account of an animal, casteth down from heaven five of his sires of the ascending order. He that speaketh a lie on account of a cow casteth down from heaven ten of his ancestors. A lie on account of a horse causeth the downfall of a hundred; and a lie on account of a human being, the downfall of a thousand of one's sires of the ascending order. An untruth on account of gold ruineth the members of one's race both born and unborn, while an untruth for the sake of land ruineth everything. Therefore, never speak an untruth for the sake of land.' Prahlada said, 'Angiras is superior to myself, and Sudhanwan

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is superior to thee, O Virochana. Mother also of Sudhanwan is superior to thy mother; therefore, thou, O Virochana, hath been defeated by Sudhanwan. This Sudhanwan is now the master of thy life. But, O Sudhanwan, I wish that thou shouldst grant Virochana his life.' Sudhanwan said, 'Since, O Prahlada, thou hast preferred virtue and hast not, from temptation, said an untruth, I grant thy son his life that is dear to thee. So here is thy son Virochana, O Prahlada, restored by me to thee. He shall, however, have to wash my feet in the presence of the maiden Kesini.'

"Vidura continued, 'For these reasons, O king of kings, it behoveth thee not to say an untruth for the sake of land. Saying an untruth from affection for thy son, O king, hasten not to destruction, with all thy children and counsellors. The gods do not protect men, taking up clubs in their hands after the manner of herdsmen; unto those, however, they wish to protect, they grant intelligence. There is no doubt that one's objects meet with success in proportion to the attention he directs to righteousness and morality. The Vedas never rescue from sin a deceitful person living by falsehood. On the other hand, they forsake him while he is on his death-bed, like newly fledged birds forsaking their nests. Drinking, quarrels, enmity with large numbers of men, all connexions with connubial disputes, and severance of relationship between husband and wife, internal dissensions, disloyalty to the king,--these and all paths that are sinful, should, it is said, be avoided. A palmist, a thief turned into a merchant, a fowler, a physician, an enemy, a friend, and a minstrel, these seven are incompetent as witness. An Agnihotra performed from motives of pride, abstention from speech, practised from similar motives, study and sacrifice from the same motives,--these four, of themselves innocent, become harmful when practised unduly. One that setteth fire to a dwelling house, an administerer of poison, a pander, a vendor of the Soma-juice, a maker of arrows, an astrologer, one that injureth friends, an adulterer, one that causeth abortion, a violater of his preceptor's bed, a Brahmana addicted to drink, one that is sharp-speeched, a raker of old sores, an atheist, a reviler of the Vedas, and taker of bribes, one whose investiture with the sacred thread has been delayed beyond the prescribed age, one that secretly slayeth cattle, and one that slayeth him who prayeth for protection,--these all are reckoned as equal in moral turpitude as the slayers of Brahmanas. Gold is tested by fire; a well-born person, by his deportment; an honest man, by his conduct. A brave man is tested during a season of panic; he that is self-controlled, in times of poverty; and friends and foes, in times of calamity and danger. Decrepitude destroyeth beauty; ambitious hopes, patience; death, life, envy, righteousness, anger, prosperity, companionship with the low, good behaviour; lust, modesty, and pride, everything. Prosperity taketh its birth in good deeds, groweth in consequence of activity, driveth its roots deep in consequence of skill, and acquireth stability owing to self-control. Wisdom, good lineage, self-control, acquaintance with the scriptures, prowess, absence of garrulity, gift to the extent of one's power, and grateful ness,--these eight qualities shed a lustre upon their possessor. But, O sire, there is one endowment which alone can cause all these attributes to come together; the fact is, when the king honoureth a particular person, the royal favour can cause all these attributes to shed their lustre (on the favourite). Those eight, O king, in the world of men, are indications of heaven. Of the eight (mentioned below) four are inseparably connected, with the good, and four others are always followed by the good. The first four which are inseparably connected with the good, are sacrifice, gift, study and asceticism, while the other four that are always followed by the good, are self-restraint, truth, simplicity, and abstention from injury to all.

'Sacrifice, study, charity, asceticism, truth, forgiveness, mercy, and contentment constitute the eight different paths of righteousness. The first four of these may be practised from motives of pride, but the last four can exist only in those that are truly noble. That is no assembly where there are no old men, and they are not old who do not declare what morality is. That is not morality which is separated from truth, and that is not truth which is fraught with deceit. Truth, beauty, acquaintance with the scriptures, knowledge, high birth, good behaviour, strength, wealth, bravery, and capacity for varied talk,--these ten are of heavenly origin. A sinful person, by committing sin, is overtaken by evil consequences. A virtuous man, by practising virtue, reapeth great happiness. Therefore, a man, rigidly resolved, should abstain from sin. Sin, repeatedly perpetrated, destroyeth intelligence; and the man who hath lost intelligence, repeatedly committeth sin. Virtue, repeatedly practised, enhanceth intelligence; and the man whose intelligence hath increased, repeatedly practiseth virtue. The virtuous man, by practising virtue, goeth to regions of blessedness. Therefore, a man should, firmly resolved, practise virtue. He that is envious, he that injureth others deeply, he that is cruel, he that constantly quarreleth, he that is deceitful, soon meeteth with great misery for practising these sins. He that is not envious and is possessed of wisdom, by always doing what is good, never meeteth with great misery; on the other hand, he shineth everywhere. He that draweth wisdom from them that are wise is really learned and wise. And he that is wise, by attending to both virtue and profit, succeedeth in attaining to happiness. Do that during the day which may enable thee to pass the night in happiness; and do that during eight months of the year which may enable thee to pass the season of rains happily. Do that during youth which may ensure a happy old age; and do that during thy whole life here which may enable thee to live happily hereafter. The wise prize that food which is easily digested, that wife whose youth hath passed away, that hero who is victorious and that ascetic whose efforts have been crowned with success. The gap that is sought to be filled by wealth acquired wrongfully, remaineth uncovered, while new ones appear in other places. The preceptor controlleth them whose souls are under their own control; the king controlleth persons that are wicked; while they that sin secretly have their controller in Yama, the son of Vivaswat. The greatness of Rishis, of rivers, of river-banks, of high-souled men, and the cause of woman's wickedness, cannot be ascertained. O king, he that is devoted to the worship of the Brahmanas, he that giveth away, he that behaveth righteously towards his relatives, and the Kshatriya that behaveth nobly, rule the earth for ever. He that is possessed of bravery, he that is possessed of learning, and he that knows how to protect others,--these three are always able to gather flowers of gold from the earth. Of acts, those accomplished by intelligence are first; those accomplished by the arms, second; those by the thighs, and those by bearing weights upon the head, are the very worst. Reposing the care of thy kingdom on Duryodhana, on Sakuni, on foolish Dussasana, and on Karna, how canst thou hope for prosperity? Possessed of every virtue, the Pandavas, O bull of the Bharata race, depend on thee as their father. O, repose thou on them as on thy sons!"

SECTION 36

"Vidura said, 'In this connexion is cited the old story of the discourse between the son of Atri and the deities called Sadhyas is as heard by us. In days of old, the deities known by the name of Sadhyas questioned the highly wise and great Rishi of rigid vows (the son of Atri), while the latter was wandering in the guise of one depending on eleemosynary charity for livelihood. The Sadhyas said, 'We are, O great Rishi, deities known as Sadhyas. Beholding thee, we are unable to guess who thou art. It seemeth to us, however, that thou art possessed of intelligence and self-control in consequence of acquaintance with the scriptures. It, therefore, behoveth thee to discourse to us in magnanimous words fraught with learning.' The mendicant Rishi answered, 'Ye immortals, it hath been heard by me that by untying all the knots in the heart by the aid of tranquillity, and by mastery over all the passions, and observance of true religion, one should regard both the agreeable and the disagreeable like his own self. One should not return the slanders or reproaches of others for the pain that is felt by him who beareth silently, consumeth the slanderer; and he that beareth, succeedeth also in appropriating the virtues of the slanderer. Indulge not in slanders and reproaches. Do not humiliate and insult others. Quarrel not with friends. Abstain from companionship with those that are vile and low. Be not arrogant and ignoble in conduct. Avoid words that are harsh and fraught with anger. Harsh words burn and scorch the very vitals, bones, heart, and the very sources of the life of men. Therefore, he, that is virtuous, should always abstain from harsh and angry words. That worst of men is of harsh and wrathful speech, who pierceth the vitals of others with wordy thorns, beareth hell in his tongue, and should ever be regarded as a dispenser of misery to men. The man that is wise, pierced by another's wordy arrows, sharp-pointed and smarting like fire or the sun, should, even if deeply wounded and burning with pain, bear them patiently remembering that the slanderer's merits become his. He that waiteth upon one that is good or upon one that is wicked, upon one that is possessed of ascetic merit or upon one that is a thief, soon taketh the colour from that companion of his, like a cloth from the dye in which it is soaked. The very gods desire his company, who, stung with reproach, returneth if not himself nor causeth others to return it, or who being struck doth not himself return the blow nor causeth other to do it, and who wisheth not the slightest injury to him that injureth him. Silence, it is said, is better than speech, if speak you must, then it is better to say the truth; if truth is to be said, it is better to say what is agreeable; and if what is agreeable is to be said, then it is better to say what is consistent with morality. A man becometh exactly like him with whom he liveth, or like him whom he regardeth, or like that which he wisheth to be. One is freed from those things from which one abstaineth, and if one abstaineth from everything he hath not to suffer even the least misery. Such a man neither vanquisheth others, nor is vanquished by others. He never injureth nor opposeth others. He is unmoved by praise or blame. He neither grieveth nor exalteth in joy. That man is regarded as the first of his species who wisheth for the prosperity of all and never setteth his heart on the misery of others, who is truthful in speech, humble in behaviour, and hath all his passions under control. That man is regarded as a mediocre in goodness who never consoleth others by saying what is not true; who giveth having promise; and who keepeth an eye over the weakness of others. These, however, are the indications of a bad man, viz., incapacity to be controlled; liability to be afflicted by dangers; proneness to give way to wrath, ungratefulness; inability to become another's friend, and wickedness of heart. He too is the worst of men, who is dissatisfied with any good that may come to him from others who is suspicious of his own self, and who driveth away from himself all his true friends. He that desireth prosperity to himself, should wait upon them that are good, and at times upon them that are indifferent, but never upon them that are bad. He that is wicked, earneth wealth, it is true, by putting forth his strength, by constant effort, by intelligence, and by prowess, but he can never win honest fame, nor can he acquire the virtues and manners of high families (in any of which he may be born).'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'The gods, they that regard both virtue and profit without swerving from either, and they that are possessed of great learning, express a liking for high families. I ask thee, O Vidura, this question,--what are those families that are called high?'

"Vidura said, 'Asceticism, self-restraint, knowledge of the Vedas, sacrifices, pure marriages, and gifts of food,--those families in which these seven exist or are practised duly, are regarded as high. There are high families who deviate not from the right course whose deceased ancestors are never pained (by witnessing the wrong-doings of their descendants), who cheerfully practise all the virtues, who desire to enhance the pure fame of the line in which they are born, and who avoid every kind of falsehood. Families that are high, fall down and become low owing to the absence of sacrifices, impure marriages, abandonment of the Vedas, and insults offered to Brahmanas. High families fall off and become low owing to their members disregarding or speaking ill of Brahmanas, or to the misappropriation, O Bharata, of what had been deposited with them by others. Those families that are possessed of members, wealth and kine, are not regarded as families if they be wanting in good manners and conduct, while families wanting in wealth but distinguished by manners and good conduct are regarded as such and win great reputation. Therefore, should good manners and good conduct be maintained with care, for, as regards wealth, it cometh or goeth. He that is wanting in wealth is not really wanting, but he that is wanting in manners and conduct is really in want. Those families that abound in kine and other cattle and in the produce of the field are not really worthy of regard and fame if they be wanting in manners and conduct. Let none in our race be a fomenter of quarrels, none serve a king as minister, none steal the wealth of others, none provoke intestine dissensions, none be deceitful or false in behaviour, and none eat before serving the Rishis, the gods, and guests. He, in our race, who slayeth Brahmanas, or entertaineth feelings of aversion towards them, or impedeth or otherwise injureth agriculture, doth not deserve to mix with us. Straw (for a seat), ground (for sitting upon), water (to wash the feet and face), and, fourthly sweet words,--these are never wanting in the houses of the good. Virtuous men devoted to the practice of righteous acts, when desirous of entertaining (guests), have these things ready for being offered with reverence. As the Sandal tree, O king, though thin, is competent to bear weights which timbers of other trees (much thicker) cannot; so they that belong to high families are always able to bear the weight of great cares which ordinary men cannot. He is no friend whose anger inspireth fear, or who is to be waited upon with fear. He, however, on whom one can repose confidence as on a father, is a true friend. Other friendships are nominal connexion. He that beareth himself as a friend, even though unconnected by birth of blood, is a true friend, a real refuge, and a protector. He, whose heart is unsteady, or who doth not wait upon the aged, or who is of a restless disposition cannot make friends. Success (in the attainment of objects) forsaketh the person whose heart is unsteady, or who hath no control over his mind, or who is a slave of his senses, like swans forsaking a tank whose waters have dried up. They that are of weak minds suddenly give way to anger and are gratified without sufficient cause; they are like clouds that are so inconstant. The very birds of prey abstain from touching the dead bodies of those who having been served and benefited by friends, show ingratitude to the latter. Beest thou poor or beest thou rich, thou shouldst honour thy friends. Until some service is asked, the sincerity or otherwise of friends cannot be known. Sorrow killeth beauty; sorrow killeth strength; sorrow killeth the understanding; and sorrow bringeth on disease. Grief, instead of helping the acquisition of his object, drieth up the body, and maketh one's foes glad. Therefore, do not yield to grief, Men repeatedly die and are reborn; repeatedly they wither away and grow; repeatedly they ask others for help, and they themselves are asked for help; repeatedly they lament and are lamented. Happiness and misery, plenty and want, gain and loss, life and death, are shared by all in due order. Therefore, he that is self-controlled should neither exult in joy nor repine in sorrow. The six senses are always restless.

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Through the most predominant one amongst them one's understanding escapeth in proportion to the strength it assumes, like water from a pot through its holes.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'King Yudhishthira who is like a flame of fire, has been deceived by me. He will surely exterminate in battle all my wicked sons. Everything, therefore, seems to me to be fraught with danger, and my mind is full of anxiety, O thou of great intelligence, tell me such words as may dispel my anxiety.'

"Vidura said, 'O sinless one, in nothing else than knowledge and asceticism, in nothing else than restraining the senses, in nothing else than complete abandonment of avarice, do I see thy good. Fear is dispelled by self-knowledge; by asceticism one winneth what is great and valuable; by waiting upon superiors learning is acquired; and peace is gained by self-restraint. They that desire salvation without having acquired the merit attainable by gifts, or that which is attainable by practising the ritual of the Vedas, do not sojourn through life, freed from anger and aversion. The happiness that may be derived from a judicious course of study, from a battle fought virtuously, from ascetic austerities performed rigidly, always increaseth at the end. They that are no longer in peace with their relatives, obtain no steep even if they have recourse to well-made beds; nor do they, O king, derive any plea. sure from women, or the laudatory hymns of bards and eulogists. Such persons can never practise virtue. Happiness can never be theirs, in this world. Honours can never be theirs, and peace hath no charm for them. Counsels that are for their benefit please them not. They never acquire what they have not, nor succeed in retaining what they have, O king, there is no other end for such men save destruction. As milk is possible in kine, asceticism in Brahmanas, and inconstancy in women, so fear is possible from relatives. Numerous thin threads of equal length, collected together, are competent to bear, from the strength of numbers, the constant rolling of the shuttle-cock over them. The case is even so with relatives that are good, O bull of the Bharata race, separated from one another, burning brands produce only smoke; but brought together they blaze forth into a powerful flame. The case is even so, O Dhritarashtra, with relatives. They, O Dhritarashtra, who tyrannise over Brahmanas, women, relatives, and kine, soon fall off their stalks, like fruits that are ripe. And the tree that stands singly, though gigantic and strong and deep-rooted, hath its trunk soon smashed and twisted by a mighty wind. Those trees, however, that grow in close compact are competent owing to mutual dependence to resist winds more violent still. Thus he that is single, however, endowed with all the virtues, is regarded by foes as capable of being vanquished like an isolated tree by the wind. Relatives, again, in consequence of mutual dependence and mutual aid, grow together, like lotus-stalks in a lake. These must never be slain, viz., Brahmanas, kine, relatives, children, women, those whose food is eaten, and those also that yield by asking for protection. O king, without wealth no good quality can show itself in a person. If, however, thou art in health, thou canst achieve thy good, for he is dead who is unhealthy and ill. O king, anger is a kind of bitter, pungent, acrid, and hot drink, painful in its consequences: it is a kind of headache not born of any physical illness, and they that are unwise can never digest it. Do thou, O king, swallow it up and obtain peace. They that are tortured by disease have no liking for enjoyments, nor do they desire any happiness from wealth. The sick, however, filled with sorrow, know not what happiness is or what the enjoyments of wealth are. Beholding Draupadi won at dice, I told thee before, O king, these words,--They that are honest avoid deceit in play. Therefore, stop Duryodhana! Thou didst not, however, act according to my words. That is not strength which is opposed to softness. On the other hand, strength mixed with softness constitutes true policy which should ever be pursued. That prosperity which is dependent on crookedness alone is destined to be destroyed. That prosperity, however, which depends on both strength and softness, descends to sons and grandsons in tact. Let, therefore, thy sons cherish the Pandavas, and the Pandavas also cherish thy sons. O king, let the Kurus and the Pandavas, both having same friends and same foes, live together in happiness and prosperity. Thou art, today, O king, the refuge of the sons of Kuru. Indeed, the race of Kuru, O Ajamida, is dependent on thee. O sire, preserving thy fame unsullied, cherish thou the children of Pandu, afflicted as they are with the sufferings of exile. O descendant of Kuru, make peace with the sons of Pandu. Let not thy foes discover thy holes. They all, O god among men, are devoted to truth. O king of men, withdraw Duryodhana from his evil ways.'"

SECTION 37

"Vidura said, 'O son of Vichitravirya, Manu, the son of the Self-created, hath, O king, spoken of the following seven and ten kinds of men, as those that strike empty space with their fists, or seek to bend the vapoury bow of Indra in the sky, or desire to catch the intangible rays of the sun. These seven and ten kinds of foolish men are as follow: he who seeketh to control a person that is incapable of being controlled; he who is content with small gains; he who humbly pays court to enemies; he who seeks to restrain women's frailty; he who asketh him for gifts who should never be asked; he who boasteth, having done anything; he who, born in a high family, perpetrateth an improper deed; he who being weak always wageth hostilities with one that is powerful; he who talketh to a person listening scoffingly; he who desireth to have that which is unattainable; he who being a father-in-law, jesteth with his daughter-in-law; he who boasteth at having his alarms dispelled by his daughter-in-law; he who scattereth his own seeds in another's field; he who speaketh ill of his own wife; he who having received anything from another sayeth that he doth not remember it, he who, having given away anything in words in holy places, boasteth at home when asked to make good his words, and he who striveth to prove the truth of what is false. The envoys of Yama, with nooses in hand, drag those persons to hell. One should behave towards another just as that other behaveth towards him. Even this is consistent with social polity. One may behave deceitfully towards him that behaveth deceitfully, but honestly towards him that is honest in his behaviour. Old age killeth beauty; patience, hope; death, life; the practice of virtue, worldly enjoyments; lust, modesty; companionship with the wicked, good behaviour; anger, prosperity; and pride, everything.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Man hath been spoken of in all the Vedas as having hundred years for the period of his life. For what reason then, do not all men attain the allotted period?'

"Vidura said, 'Excess of pride, excess in speech, excess in eating, anger, the desire of enjoyment, and intestine dissensions,--these, O king, are six sharp swords that cut off the period of life allotted to creatures. It is these which kill men, and not death. Knowing this, blessed be thou!'

'He who appropriates to himself the wife of one who hath confided in him; he who violates the bed of his preceptor; that Brahmana, O Bharata, who becomes the husband of a Sudra woman, or drinks wines; he who commendeth Brahmanas or becometh their master, or taketh away the lands that support them; and he who taketh the lives of those who yield asking for protection, are all guilty of the sin of slaying Brahmanas. The Vedas declare that contact with these requires expiation. He that accepts the teaching of the wise; he that is acquainted with the rules of morality; he that is liberal; he that eateth having first dedicated the food to the gods and Pitris; he that envieth none; he that is incapable of doing anything that injureth others; he that is grateful, truthful, humble and learned, succeedeth in attaining to heaven.

'They are abundant, O king, that can always speak agreeable words. The speaker, however, is rare, as also the hearer, of words that are disagreeable but medicinal. That man who, without regarding what is agreeable or disagreeable to his master but keeping virtue alone in view, sayeth what is unpalatable, but medicinal, truly addeth to the strength of the king. For the sake of the family a member may be sacrificed; for the sake of the village, a family may be sacrificed; for the sake of a kingdom a village may be sacrificed; and for the sake of one's soul, the whole earth may be sacrificed. One should protect his wealth in view of the calamities that may overtake him; by his wealth one should protect his wives, and by both his wealth and wives one should protect his own self. From very olden times it hath been seen that gambling provoketh quarrels. Therefore, he that is wise, should not resort to it even in jest. O son of Pratipa, at the time of that gambling match I told thee, O king--this is not proper. But, O son of Vichitravirya, like medicine to a sick man, those words of mine were not agreeable to thee. O king, thou desirest to vanquish the sons of Pandu, who are just as peacocks of variegated plumage, whereas thy sons are all as crows. Forsaking lions thou art protecting jackals! O king, when the time cometh, thou wilt have to grieve for all this. That master, O sire, who doth not give vent to his displeasure with devoted servants zealously pursuing his good, enlisteth the confidence of his servants. In fact, the latter adhere to him even in distress. By confiscating the grants to one's servants or stopping their pay, one should not seek to amass wealth, for even affectionate counsellors deprived of their means of life and enjoyment, turn against him and leave him (in distress). Reflecting first on all intended acts and adjusting the wages and allowances of servants with his income and expenditure, a king should make proper alliances, for there is nothing that cannot be accomplished by alliances. That officer who fully understanding the intentions of his royal master dischargeth all duties with alacrity, and who is respectable himself and devoted to his master, always telleth what is for his master's good, and who is fully acquainted with the extent of his own might and with that also of those against, whom he may be engaged, should be regarded by the king as his second self. That servant, however, who commanded (by his master) disregardeth the latter's injunctions and who enjoined to do anything refuseth to submit, proud as he is of his own intelligence and given to arguing against his master, should be got rid of without the least delay. Men of learning say that a servant should be endued with these eight qualities, viz., absence of pride, ability, absence of procrastination, kindness, cleanliness, incorruptibility, birth in a family free from the taint of disease, and weightiness of speech. No man should confidently enter an enemy's house after dusk even with notice. One should not at night lurk in the yard of another's premises, nor should one seek to enjoy a woman to whom the king himself might make love. Never set thyself against the decision to which a person hath arrived who keepeth low company and who is in the habit of consulting all he meeteth. Never tell him,--I do not believe thee,--but assigning some reason send him away on a pretext. A king who is exceedingly merciful, a woman of lewd character, the servant of a king, a son, a brother, a widow having an infant son one serving in the army, and one that hath suffered great losses, should never be engaged in pecuniary transactions of lending or borrowing. These eight qualities shed a lustre on men, viz., wisdom, high lineage, acquaintance with scriptures, self-restraint, prowess, moderation in speech, gift to the extent of one's power, and gratefulness. These high qualities, O sire, are necessarily brought together by one only by gifts. When the king favours a person, that incident (of royal favour) bringeth in all others and holdeth them together. He that performeth ablutions winneth these ten, viz., strength, beauty, a clear voice, capacity to utter all the alphabetical sounds, delicacy of touch, fineness of scent, cleanliness, gracefulness, delicacy of limbs, and beautiful women. He that eateth sparingly winneth these six, viz., health, long life, and ease; his progeny also becometh healthy, and nobody reproacheth him for gluttony. One should not give shelter to these in his house, viz., one that always acteth improperly, one that eateth too much, one that is hated by all, one that is exceedingly deceitful, one that is cruel, one that is ignorant of the proprieties of time and place, and one that dresseth indecently. A person, however distressed, should never solicit a miser for alms, or one that speaketh ill of others, or one that is unacquainted with the shastras, or a dweller in the woods, or one that is cunning, or one that doth not regard persons worthy of regard, or one that is cruel, or one that habitually quarrels with others, or one that is ungrateful. A person should never wait upon these six worst of men, viz., one that is a foe, one that always errs, one that is wedded to falsehood, one that is wanting in devotion to the gods, one that is without affection, and one that always regards himself competent to do everything. One's purposes depend (for their success) on means; and means are dependent, again, on the nature of the purposes (sought to be accomplished by them). They are intimately connected with each other, so that success depends on both. Begetting sons and rendering them independent by making some provision for them, and bestowing maiden daughters on eligible persons, one should retire to the woods, and desire to live as a Muni. One should, for obtaining the favours of the Supreme Being, do that which is for the good of all creatures as also for his own happiness, for it is this which is the root of the successful of all one's objects. What anxiety hath he for a livelihood that hath intelligence, energy, prowess, strength, alacrity and perseverance?

'Behold the evils of a rupture with the Pandavas which would sadden the very gods with Sakra. These are, first, enmity between them that are all thy sons; secondly, a life of continued anxiety; thirdly, the loss of the fair fame of the Kurus; and lastly, the joy of those that are thy enemies. The wrath of Bhishma, O thou of the splendour of Indra, of Drona, and the king Yudhishthira, will consume the whole world, like a comet of large proportions falling transversely on the earth. Thy hundred sons and Karna and the sons of Pandu can together rule the vast earth with the belt of the seas. O king, the Dhartarashtras constitute a forest of which the Pandavas are, I think, tigers. O, do not cut down that forest with its tigers! O, let not the tigers be driven from that forest! There can be no forest without tigers, and no tigers without a forest. The forest shelters the tigers and tigers guard the forest!'

They that are sinful never seek so much to ascertain the good qualities of others as to ascertain their faults. He that desires the highest success in all matters connected with worldly profit, should from the very beginning practise virtue, for true profit is never separated from heaven. He whose soul hath been dissociated from sin and firmly fixed on virtue, hath understood all things in their natural and adventitious states; he that followeth virtue, profit, and desire, in proper seasons, obtaineth, both here and hereafter, a combination of all three. He that restraineth the force of both anger and joy, and never, O king, loseth his senses under calamities, winneth prosperity. Listen to me, O king. Men are said to have five different kinds of strength, Of these, the strength of arms is regarded to be of the most inferior kind. Blessed be thou, the acquisition of good counsellors is regarded as the second kind of strength. The wise have said that the acquisition of wealth is the third kind of strength. The strength of birth, O king, which one naturally acquireth from one's sires and grandsires, is regarded as the fourth kind of strength. That, however, O Bharata, by which all these are won, and which is the foremost of all kinds of strength, is called the strength of the intellect. Having provoked the hostility of a person who is capable of inflicting great injury on a fellow creature, one should not gather assurance from the thought that one liveth at a distance from the other. Who that is wise that can place his trust on women, kings, serpents, his own master, enemies,

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enjoyments, and period of life? There are no physicians nor medicines for one that hath been struck by the arrow of wisdom. In the case of such a person neither the mantras of homa, nor auspicious ceremonies, nor the mantras of the Atharva Veda, nor any of the antidotes of poison, are of any efficacy. Serpents, fire, lions, and consanguineous relatives,--none of these, O Bharata, should be disregarded by a man; all of these are possessed of great power. Fire is a thing of great energy in this world. It lurketh in wood and never consumeth it till it is ignited by others. That very fire, when brought out by friction, consumeth by its energy not only the wood in which it lurketh, but also an entire forest and many other things. Men of high lineage are just like fire in energy. Endued with forgiveness, they betray no outward symptoms of wrath and are quiet like fire in wood. Thou, O king, with thy sons art possessed of the virtue of creepers, and the sons of Pandu are regarded as Sala trees. A creeper never groweth unless there is a large tree to twine round. O king, O son of Ambika, thy son is as a forest. O sire, know that the Pandavas are the lions of that forest. Without its lions the forest is doomed to destruction, and lions also are doomed to destruction without the forest (to shelter them).'"

SECTION 38

"Vidura said, 'The heart of a young man, when an aged and venerable person cometh to his house (as a guest), soareth aloft. By advancing forward and saluting him, he getteth it back. He that is self-controlled, first offering a seat, and bringing water and causing his guest's feet to be washed and making the usual enquiries of welcome, should then speak of his own affairs, and taking everything into consideration, offer him food. The wise have said that man liveth in vain in whose dwelling a Brahmana conversant with mantras doth not accept water, honey and curds, and kine from fear of being unable to appropriate them, or from miserliness and unwillingness with which the gifts are made. A physician, a maker of arrows, even one that hath given up the vow of Brahmacharya before it is complete, a thief, a crooked-minded man, a Brahmana that drinks, one that causeth miscarriage, one that liveth by serving in the army, and one that selleth the Vedas, when arrived as a guest, however undeserving he may be the offer of water should be regarded (by a householder) as exceedingly dear. A Brahmana should never be a seller of salt, of cooked food, curds, milk, honey, oil, clarified butter, sesame, meat, fruits, roots, potherbs, dyed clothes, all kinds of perfumery, and treacle. He that never giveth way to anger, he that is above grief, he that is no longer in need of friendship and quarrels, he that disregardeth both praise and blame, and he that standeth aloof from both what is agreeable and disagreeable, like one perfectly withdrawn from the world, is a real Yogin of the Bhikshu order. That virtuous ascetic who liveth on rice growing wild, or roots, or potherbs, who hath his soul under control, who carefully keepeth his fire for worship, and dwelling in the woods is always regardful of guests, is indeed, the foremost of his brotherhood. Having wronged an intelligent person, one should never gather assurance from the fact that one liveth at a distance from the person wronged. Long are the arms which intelligent persons have, by which they can return wrongs for wrongs done to them, One should never put trust on him who should not be trusted, nor put too much trust on him who should be trusted, for the danger that ariseth from one's having reposed trust on another cutteth off one's very roots. One should renounce envy, protect one's wives, give to others what is their due, and be agreeable in speech. One should be sweet-tongued and pleasant in his address as regards one's wives, but should never be their slave. It hath been said that wives that are highly blessed and virtuous, worthy of worship and the ornaments of their homes, are really embodiments of domestic prosperity. They should, therefore, be protected particularly. One should devolve the looking over of his inner apartments on his father; of the kitchen, on his mother; of the kine, on somebody he looks upon as his own self, but as regards agriculture, one should look over it himself. One should look after guests of the trader-caste through his servants, and those of the Brahmana caste through his sons. Fire hath its origin in water; Kshatriyas in Brahmanas; and iron in stone. The energy of those (i.e., fire, Kshatriyas, and iron) can affect all things but is neutralised as soon as the things come in contact with their progenitors. Fire lieth concealed in wood without showing itself externally. Good and forgiving men born of high families and endued with fiery energy, do not betray any outward symptoms of what is within them. That king whose counsels cannot be known by either outsiders or those about him, but who knoweth the counsels of others through his spies, enjoyeth his prosperity long. One should never speak of what one intends to do. Let anything thou doest in respect of virtue, profit, and desire, be not known till it is done. Let counsels be not divulged. Ascending on the mountain-top or on the terrace of a palace, or proceeding to a wilderness devoid of trees and plants, one should, in secrecy, mature his counsels. O Bharata, neither a friend who is without learning, nor a learned friend who hath no control over his senses, deserveth to be a repository of state secrets. O king, never make one thy minister without examining him well, for a king's finances and the keeping of his counsels both depend on his minister. That king is the foremost of rulers, whose ministers know his acts in respect of virtue, profit and desire, only after they are done. The king whose counsels are kept close, without doubt, commandeth success. He that from ignorance committeth acts that are censurable, loseth his very life in consequence of the untoward results of those acts. The doing of acts that are praise-worthy is always attended with ease. Omission to do such acts leadeth to repentance. As a Brahmana without having studied the Vedas is not fit to officiate at a Sraddha (in honour of the Pitris), so he that hath not heard of the six (means for protecting a kingdom) deserveth not to take part in political deliberations. O king, he that hath an eye upon increase, decrease, and surplus, he that is conversant with the six means and knoweth also his own self, he whose conduct is always applauded, bringeth the whole earth under subjection to himself. He whose anger and joy are productive of consequences, he who looketh over personally what should be done, he who hath his treasury under his own control, bringeth the whole earth under subjection to himself. The king should be content with the name he wins and the umbrella that is held over his head. He should divide the wealth of the kingdom among these that serve him. Alone he should not appropriate everything. A Brahmana knoweth a Brahmana, the husband understandeth the wife, the king knoweth the minister, and monarchs know monarchs. A foe that deserveth death, when brought under subjection should never be set free. If one be weak one should pay court to one's foe that is stronger, even if the latter deserves death; but one should kill that foe as soon as one commandeth sufficient strength, for, if not killed, dangers soon arise from him. One should, with an effort, control his wrath against the gods, kings, Brahmanas, old men, children, and those that are helpless. He that is wise should avoid unprofitable quarrels such as fools only engage in. By this one winneth great fame in this world and avoideth misery and unhappiness. People never desire him for a master whose grace is fruitless and whose wrath goest for nothing, like women never desiring him for a husband who is a eunuch. Intelligence doth not exist for the acquisition of wealth, nor is idleness the cause of adversity; the man of wisdom only knoweth, and not others, the cause of the diversities of condition in this world. The fool, O Bharata, always disregardeth those that are elderly in years, and eminent in conduct and knowledge, in intelligence, wealth, and lineage. Calamities soon come upon them that are of wicked disposition, devoid of wisdom, envious, or sinful, foul-tongued, and wrathful. Absence of deceitfulness, gift, observance of the established rules of intercourse, and speech well-controlled, bring all creatures under subjection. He that is without deceitfulness, he that is active, grateful, intelligent, and guileless, even if his treasury be empty, obtaineth friends, counsellors, and servants. Intelligence, tranquillity of mind, self-control, purity, absence of harsh speech and unwillingness to do anything disagreeable to friends,--these seven are regarded as the fuel of prosperity's flame. The wretch who doth not give to others their due, who is of wicked soul, who is ungrateful, and shameless, should, O king, be avoided. The guilty person who provoketh another about him that is innocent, cannot sleep peacefully at night, like a person passing the night with a snake in the same room. They, O Bharata, who upon being angry endanger one's possessions and means of acquisition, should always be propitiated like the very gods. Those objects that depend upon women, careless persons, men that have fallen away from the duties of their caste, and those that are wicked in disposition, are doubtful of success. They sink helplessly. O king, like a raft made of stone, who have a woman, a deceitful person, or a child, for their guide. They that are competent in the general principles of work, though not in particular kinds of work are regarded by men as learned and wise for particular kinds of work, are subsidiary, That man who is highly spoken of by swindlers, mimes and women of ill fame, is more dead than alive, Forsaking these mighty bowmen of immeasurable energy, viz., the son of Pandu, thou hast. O Bharata, devolved on Duryodhana, the cares of a mighty empire. Thou shalt, therefore, soon see that swelling affluence fall off, like Vali fallen off from the three worlds.'"

SECTION 39

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Man is not the disposer of either his prosperity or adversity. He is like a wooden doll moved by strings. Indeed, the Creator hath made man subject to Destiny. Go on telling me, I am attentive to what thou sayest.'

"Vidura said, 'O Bharata, by speaking words out of season even Vrihaspati himself incurreth reproach and the charge of ignorance, one becometh agreeable by gift, another by sweet words, a third by the force of incantation and drugs. He, however, that is naturally agreeable, always remaineth so. He that is hated by another is never regarded by that other as honest or intelligent or wise. One attributeth everything good to him one loveth; and everything evil to him one hateth. O king, as soon as Duryodhana was born I told thee,--thou shouldst abandon this one son, for by abandoning him thou wouldst secure the prosperity of thy hundred sons,--and by keeping him, destruction would overtake thy hundred sons, that gain should never be regarded highly which leadeth to loss. On the other hand, that loss even should be regarded highly which would bring on gain. That is no loss, O king, which bringeth on gain. That, however, should be reckoned as loss which is certain to bring about greater losses still. Some become eminent in consequence of good qualities; others become so in consequence of wealth. Avoid them, O Dhritarashtra, that are eminent in wealth but destitute of good qualities!'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'All that you sayest is approved by the wise and is for my future good. I dare not, however, abandon my son. It is well-known that where there is righteousness there is victory.'

"Vidura said, 'He that is graced with every virtue and is endued with humility, is never indifferent to even the minutest sufferings of living creatures. They, however, that are ever employed in speaking ill of others, always strive with activity quarrelling with one another and in all matters, calculated to give pain to others. There is sin in accepting gifts from, and danger in making gifts to them, whose very sight is inauspicious and whose companionship is fraught with danger. They that are quarrelsome, covetous, shameless, deceitful, are known unrighteous, and their companionship should always be avoided. One should also avoid those men that are endued with similar faults of a grave nature, When the occasion that caused the friendship is over the friendship of those that are low, the beneficial result of that connexion, and the happiness also derivable from it, all come to an end. They then strive to speak ill of their (late) friend and endeavour to inflict loss on him, and if the loss they sustain be even very small, for all that they, from want of self-control, fail to enjoy peace. He that is learned, examining everything carefully and reflecting well, should, from a distance, avoid the friendship of vile and wicked-minded persons such as these. He that helpeth his poor and wretched and helpless relatives, obtain children and animals and enjoyeth prosperity that knoweth no end. They that desire their own benefit should always succour their relatives. By every means, therefore, O king, do thou seek the growth of thy race. Prosperity will be thine, O Monarch, if thou behavest well towards all thy relatives. Even relatives that are destitute of good qualities should be protected. O bull of the Bharata race, how much more, therefore, should they be protected that are endued with every virtue and are humbly expectant of thy favours? Favour thou the heroic sons of Pandu, O monarch, and let a few villages be assigned to them for their maintenance. By acting thus, O king, fame will be thine in this world. Thou art old; thou shouldst, therefore, control thy sons. I should say what is for thy good. Know me as one that wishes well to thee. He that desireth his own good should never quarrel, O sire, with his relatives. O bull of the Bharata race, happiness should ever be enjoyed with one's relatives, and not without them, to eat with one another, to talk with one another, and to love one another, are what relatives should always do. They should never quarrel. In this world it is the relatives that rescue, and the relatives that ruin (relatives). Those amongst them that are righteous rescue; while those that are unrighteous sink (their brethren). O king, be thou, O giver of honours, righteous in thy conduct towards the sons of Pandu. Surrounded by them, thou wouldst be unconquerable by thy foes. If a relative shrinks in the presence of a prosperous relative, like a deer at sight of a hunter armed with arrows, then the prosperous relative hath to take upon himself all the sins of the other. O best of men, repentance will be thine (for this thy inaction at present) when in future thou wilt hear of the death of either the Pandavas or thy sons. O, think of all this. When life itself is unstable, one should in the very beginning avoid that act in consequence of which one would have to indulge in regrets having entered the chamber of woe. True it is that a person other than Bhargava, the author of the science of morality is liable to commit actions that go against morality. It is seen, however, that a just notion of consequence is present in all persons of intelligence. Thou art an aged scion of Kuru's race. If Duryodhana inflicted these wrongs on the sons of Pandu, it is thy duty, O king of men, to undo them all. Re-instating them in their position, thou wilt, in this world, be cleansed of all thy sins and be, O king of men, an object of worship with even those that have their souls under control. Reflecting on the well-spoken words of the wise according to their consequences, he that engageth in acts never loseth fame. The knowledge imparted by even men of learning and skill is imperfect, for that which is sought to be inculcated is ill-understood, or, if understood, is not accomplished in practice. That learned person who never doth an act, the consequences of which are sin and misery, always groweth (in prosperity). The person, however, of wicked soul, who from folly pursueth his sinful course commenced before falleth into a slough of deep mire. He that is wise should ever keep in view the (following) six conduits by which counsels become divulged, and he that desireth success and a long dynasty should ever guard himself from those six. They are, intoxication, sleep, inattention to

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spies, set over one by another, one's own demeanour as dependent on the working of one's own heart, confidence reposed on a wicked counsellor, and unskilful envoys. Knowing these six doors (through which counsels are divulged), he that keepeth them shut while pursuing the attainment of virtue, profit, and desire, succeedeth in standing over the heads of his foes. Without an acquaintance with the scriptures and without waiting upon the old, neither virtue nor profit can be known (or won) by persons blessed even with the intelligence of Vrihaspati. A thing is lost if cast into the sea; words are lost if addressed to one that listens not; the scriptures are lost on one that hath not his soul under control; and a libation of clarified butter is lost if poured over the ashes left by a fire that is extinguished. He that is endued with the intelligence maketh friendships with those that are wise, having first examined by the aid of his intelligence, repeatedly searching by his understanding, and using his ears, eyes, and judgement. Humility removeth obloquy, ears, failure, prowess; forgiveness always conquereth anger; and auspicious rites destroy all indications of evil. One's lineage, O king, is tested by his objects of enjoyment, place of birth, house, behaviour, food, and dress. When an object of enjoyment is available, even that one who hath attained emancipation is not unwilling to enjoy; what, again, need be said of him that is yet wedded to desire? A king should cherish a counsellor that worshippeth persons of wisdom, is endued with learning, virtue, agreeable appearance, friends, sweet speech, and a good heart. Whether of low or high birth, he who doth not transgress the rules of polite intercourse, who hath an eye on virtue, who is endued with humility and modesty, is superior to a hundred persons of high birth. The friendship of those persons never cooleth, whose hearts, secret pursuits, and pleasures, and acquirements, accord in every respect. He that is intelligent should avoid an ignorant person of wicked soul, like a pit whose mouth is covered with grass, for friendship with such a person can never last. The man of wisdom should never contract friendship with those that are proud, ignorant, fierce, rash and fallen off from righteousness. He that is grateful, virtuous, truthful, large-hearted, and devoted, and he that hath his senses under control, preserveth his dignity, and never forsaketh a friend, should be desired for a friend. The withdrawal of the senses from their respective objects is equivalent to death itself. Their excessive indulgence again would ruin the very gods. Humility, love of all creatures, forgiveness, and respect for friends,--these, the learned have said, lengthen life. He who with a firm resolution striveth to accomplish by a virtuous policy purposes that have once been frustrated, is said to possess real manhood. That man attaineth all his objects, who is conversant with remedies to be applied in the future, who is firmly resolved in the present, and who could anticipate in the past how an act begun would end. That which a man pursueth in word, deed, and thought, winneth him for its own; therefore, one should always seek that which is for his good. Effort after securing what is good, the properties of time, place, and means, acquaintance with the scriptures, activity, straightforwardness, and frequent meetings with those that are good,--these bring about prosperity. Perseverance is the root of prosperity, of gain, and of what is beneficial. The man that pursueth an object with perseverance and without giving it up in vexation, is really great, and enjoyeth happiness that is unending. O sire, there is nothing more conducive of happiness and nothing more proper for a man of power and energy as foregiveness in every place and at all times. He that is weak should forgive under all circumstances. He that is possessed of power should show forgiveness from motives of virtue; and he, to whom the success or failure of his objects is the same, is naturally forgiving. That pleasure the pursuit of which doth not injure one's virtue and profit, should certainly be pursued to one's fill. One should not, however, act like a fool by giving free indulgence to his senses. Prosperity never resides in one who suffers himself to be tortured by a grief, who is addicted to evil ways, who denies Godhead, who is idle, who hath not his senses under control, and who is divested of exertion. The man that is humble, and who from humility is modest is regarded as weak and persecuted by persons of misdirected intelligence. Prosperity never approacheth from fear the person that is excessively liberal, that giveth away without measure, that is possessed of extraordinary bravery, that practiseth the most rigid vows, and that is very proud of his wisdom. Prosperity doth not reside in one that is highly accomplished, nor in one that is without any accomplishment. She doth not desire a combination of all the virtues, nor is she pleased with the total absence of all virtues. Blind, like a mad cow, prosperity resides with some one who is not remarkable. The fruits of the Vedas are ceremonies performed before the (homa) fire; the fruits of an acquaintance with the scriptures are goodness of disposition and conduct. The fruits of women are the pleasures of intercourse and offspring; and the fruits of wealth are enjoyment and charity. He that performeth acts tending to secure his prosperity in the other world with wealth acquired sinfully, never reapeth the fruits of these acts in the other world, in consequence of the sinfulness of the acquisitions (spent for the purpose). In the midst of deserts, or deep woods, or inaccessible fastnesses, amid all kinds of dangers and alarms or in view of deadly weapons upraised for striking him, he that hath strength of mind entertaineth no fear. Exertion, self-control, skill, carefulness, steadiness, memory, and commencement of acts after mature deliberation,--know that these are the roots of prosperity. Austerities constitute the strength of ascetics; the Vedas are the strength of those conversant with them; in envy lieth the strength of the wicked; and in forgiveness, the strength of the virtuous. These eight, viz., water, roots, fruits, milk, clarified butter (what is done at) the desire of a Brahmana, (or at) the command of a preceptor, and medicine, are not destructive of a vow. That which is antagonistic to one's own self, should never be applied in respect of another. Briefly even this is virtue. Other kinds of virtue there are, but these proceed from caprice. Anger must be conquered by forgiveness; and the wicked must be conquered by honesty; the miser must be conquered by liberality, and falsehood must be conquered by truth. One should not place trust on a woman, a swindler, an idle person, a coward, one that is fierce, one that boasts of his own power, a thief, an ungrateful person, and an atheist. Achievements, period of life, fame, and power--these four always expand in the case of him that respectfully saluteth his superiors and waiteth upon the old. Do not set thy heart after these objects which cannot be acquired except by very painful exertion, or by sacrificing righteousness, or by bowing down to an enemy. A man without knowledge is to be pitied; an act of intercourse that is not fruitful is to be pitied; the people of a kingdom that are without food are to be pitied; and a kingdom without a king is to be pitied. These constitute the source of pain and weakness to embodied creatures; the rains, decay of hills and mountains; absence of enjoyment, anguish of women; and wordy arrows of the heart. The scum of the Vedas is want of study; of Brahmanas, absence of vows; of the Earth, the Vahlikas; of man, untruth; of the chaste woman, curiosity; of women, exile from home. The scum of gold is silver; of silver, tin; of tin, lead; and of lead, useless dross. One cannot conquer sleep by lying down; women by desire; fire by fuel; and wine by drinking. His life is, indeed, crowned with success who hath won his friends by gifts, his foes in battle, and wife by food and drink; they who have thousands live; they, who have hundreds, also live. O Dhritarashtra, forsake desire. There is none who cannot manage to live by some means or other. Thy paddy, wheat, gold, animals, and women that are on earth all cannot satiate even one person .. Reflecting on this, they that are wise never grieve for want of universal dominion. O king, I again tell thee, adopt an equal conduct towards thy children, i.e., towards the sons of Pandu and thy own sons.'"

SECTION 40

"Vidura said, 'Worshipped by the good and abandoning pride, that good man who pursueth his objects without outstepping the limits of his power, soon succeedeth in winning fame, for they that are good, when gratified with a person, are certainly competent to bestow happiness on him. He that forsaketh, of his own accord, even a great object owing to its being fraught with unrighteousness, liveth happily, casting off all foes, like a snake that hath cast off its slough. A victory gained by an untruth, deceitful conduct towards the king, and insincerity of intentions expressed before the preceptor,--these three are each equal to the sin of slaying a Brahmana. Excessive envy, death, and boastfulness, are the causes of the destruction of prosperity. Carelessness in waiting upon preceptor, haste, and boastlessness, are the three enemies of knowledge. Idleness, inattention, confusion of the intellect, restlessness, gathering for killing time, haughtiness, pride, and covetous ness,--these seven constitute, it is said, the faults of students in the pursuit of learning. How can they that desire pleasure have knowledge? Students, again, engaged in the pursuit of learning, cannot have pleasure. Votaries of pleasure must give up knowledge, and votaries of knowledge must give up pleasure. Fire is never gratified with fuel (but can consume any measure thereof). The great ocean is never gratified with the rivers it receives (but can receive any number of them). Death is never gratified even with entire living creatures. A beautiful woman is never gratified with any number of men (she may have). O king, hope killeth patience; Yama killeth growth; anger killeth prosperity; miserliness killeth fame; absence of tending killeth cattle; one angry Brahmana destroyeth a whole kingdom. Let goats, brass, silver, honey, antidotes of poison, birds, Brahmanas versed in the Vedas, old relatives, and men of high birth sunk in poverty, be always present in thy house. O Bharata, Manu hath said that goats, bulls, sandal, lyres, mirrors, honey, clarified butter, iron, copper, conch-shells, salagram (the stony-image of Vishnu with gold within) and gorochana should always be kept in one's house for the worship of the gods. Brahmanas, and guests, for all those objects are auspicious. O sire, I would impart to thee another sacred lesson productive of great fruits, and which is the highest of all teachings, viz., virtue should never be forsaken from desire, fear, or temptation, nay, nor for the sake of life itself. Virtue is everlasting; pleasure and pain are transitory; life is, indeed, everlasting but its particular phases are transitory. Forsaking those which are transitory, betake thyself to that which is everlasting, and let contentment be thine, for contentment is the highest of all acquisitions. Behold, illustrious and mighty kings, having ruled lands abounding with wealth and corn, have become the victims of the Universal Destroyer, leaving behind their kingdoms and vast sources of enjoyment. The son brought up with anxious care, when dead, is taken up and carried away by men (to the burning ground). With the dishevelled hair and crying piteously, they then cast the body into the funeral pyre, as if it were a piece of wood. Others enjoy the deceased's wealth, while birds and fire feast on the elements of his body. With two only he goeth to the other world, viz., his merits and his sins which keep him company. Throwing away the body, O sire, relatives, friends, and sons retrace their steps, like birds abandoning trees without blossoms and fruits. The person cast into the funeral pyre is followed only by his own acts. Therefore, should men carefully and gradually earn the merit of righteousness. In the world above this, and also in that below this, there are regions of great gloom and darkness. Know, O king, that those are regions where the senses of men are exceedingly afflicted. Oh, let not any of those places to thine. Carefully listening to these words, if thou canst act according to them, thou wilt obtain great fame in this world of men, and fear will not be thine here or hereafter. O Bharata, the soul is spoken of as a river; religious merit constitutes its sacred baths; truth, its water; self-control, its banks; kindness, its waves. He that is righteous purifieth himself by a bath therein, for the soul is sacred, and the absence of desire is the highest merit. O king, life is a river whose waters are the five senses, and whose crocodiles and sharks are desire and anger. Making self-control thy raft, cross thou its eddies which are represented by repeated births! Worshipping and gratifying friends that are eminent in wisdom, virtue, learning, and years, he that asketh their advice about what he should do and should not do, is never misled. One should restrain one's lust and stomach by patience; one's hands and feet by one's eyes; one's eyes and ears by one's mind; and one's mind and words by one's acts. That Brahmana who never omitteth to perform his ablutions, who always weareth his sacred thread, who always attendeth to the study of the Vedas, who always avoideth food that is unclean, who telleth the truth and performeth acts in honour of his preceptor, never falleth off from the region of Brahma. Having studied the Vedas, poured libations into fire, performed sacrifices, protected subjects, sanctified his soul by drawing weapons for protecting kine and Brahmanas, and died on the field of battle, the Kshatriya attaineth to heaven. Having studied the Vedas, and distributed in proper time, his wealth among Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, and his own dependents, and inhaled the sanctified smoke of the three kinds of fires, the Vaisya enjoyeth heavenly bliss in the other world. Having properly worshipped Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, and Vaisayas in due order, and having burnt his sins, by gratifying them, and then peacefully casting off his body, the Sudra enjoyeth the bliss of heaven. The duties of the four orders are thus set forth before thee. Listen now to the reason of my speech as I discourse it. Yudhishthira, the son of Pandu, is falling off from the duties of the Kshatriya order. Place him, therefore, O king, in a position to discharge the duties of kings.'

"Dhritarashtra said, It is even so as thou always teachest me. O amiable one, my heart also inclineth that very way of which thou tellest me. Although, however, I incline in my mind towards the Pandavas even as thou teachest me to do, yet as soon as I come in contact with Duryodhana it turneth off in a different way. No creature is able to avert fate. Indeed, Destiny, I think, is certain to take its course; individual exertion is futile.'"

SECTION 41

(Sanat-sujata Parva)

"Dhritarashtra said, 'If there is anything still left unsaid by thee, O Vidura, say it then, as I am ready to listen to thee. The discourse is, indeed, charming.'

"Vidura. said, 'O Dhritarashtra, O thou of the Bharata race, that ancient and immortal Rishi Sanat-sujata who, leading a life perpetual celibacy, hath said that there is no Death,--that foremost of all intelligent persons,--will expound to thee all the doubts, in thy mind, both expressed and unexpressed.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Dost thou not know what that immortal Rishi will say unto me? O Vidura, do thou say it, if indeed, thou hast that degree of wisdom.'

"Vidura said, 'I am born in the Sudra order and, therefore, do not venture to say more than what I have already said. The understanding, however, of that Rishi leading a life of celibacy, is regarded by me to be infinite. He that is a Brahmana by birth, by discoursing on even the profoundest mysteries, never incureth the censure of the gods. It is for this alone that I do not discourse to thee, upon the subject.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Tell me, O Vidura, how with this body of mine I can meet with that ancient and immortal one?'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then Vidura began to think of that Rishi of rigid vows. And knowing that he was thought of, the

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Rishi, O Bharata, showed himself there. Vidura then received him with the rites prescribed by ordinance. And when, having rested a while, the Rishi was seated at his ease, Vidura addressed him, saying, 'O illustrious one, there is a doubt in Dhritarashtra's mind which is incapable of being explained away by me. It behoveth thee, therefore, to expound it, so that listening to thy discourse, this chief of men may tide over all this sorrows, and to that gain and loss, what is agreeable and what disagreeable, decrepitude and death, fright and jealously, hunger and thirst, pride and prosperity, dislike, sleep, lust and wrath, and decrease and increase may all be borne by him!'"

SECTION 42

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then the illustrious and wise king Dhritarashtra, having applauded the words spoken by Vidura, questioned Sanat-sujata in secret, desirous of obtaining the highest of all knowledge. And the king questioned the Rishi saying, 'O Sanat-sujata, I hear that thou art of the opinion that there is no Death. Again it is said that the gods and the Asuras, practise ascetic austerities in order to avoid death. Of these two opinions, then, which is true?'

"Sanat-sujata said, 'Some say, death is avertable by particular acts; others' opinion there is no death; thou hast asked me which of these is true. Listen to me, O king, as I discourse to thee on this, so that thy doubts may be removed. Know, O Kshatriya, that both of these are true. The learned are of opinion that death results from ignorance. I say that ignorance is Death, and so the absence of ignorance (Knowledge) is immortality. It is from ignorance that the Asuras became subject to defeat and death, and it is from the absence of ignorance that the gods have attained the nature of Brahman. Death doth not devour creatures like a tiger; its form itself is unascertainable. Besides this, some imagine Yama to be Death. This, however, is due to the weakness of the mind. The pursuit of Brahman or self-knowledge is immortality. That (imaginary) god (Yama) holdeth his sway in the region of the Pitris, being the source of bliss to the virtuous and of woe to the sinful. It is at his command that death in the form of wrath, ignorance, and covetousness, occurreth among men. Swayed by pride, men always walk in unrighteous path. None amongst them succeeds in attaining to his real nature. With their understanding clouded, and themselves swayed by there passions, they cast off their bodies and repeatedly fall into hell. They are always followed by their senses. It is for this that ignorance receives the name of death. Those men that desire the fruits of action when the time cometh for enjoying those fruits, proceed to heaven, casting off their bodies. Hence they cannot avoid death. Embodied creatures, from inability to attain the knowledge of Brahman and from their connexion with earthly enjoyments, are obliged to sojourn in a cycle of re-births, up and down and around, The natural inclination of man towards pursuits that are unreal is alone the cause of the senses being led to error. The soul that is constantly affected by the pursuit of objects that are unreal, remembering only that with which it is always engaged, adoreth only earthly enjoyments that surround it. The desire of enjoyments first killeth men. Lust and wrath soon follow behind it. These three, viz., the desire of enjoyments, lust, and wrath, lead foolish men to death. They, however, that have conquered their souls, succeed by self-restraint, to escape death. He that hath conquered his soul without suffering himself to be excited by his ambitious desire, conquereth these, regarding them as of no value, by the aid of self-knowledge. Ignorance, assuming the form of Yama, cannot devour that learned man who controlled his desires in this manner. That man who followeth his desires is destroyed along with his desires. He, however, that can renounce desire, can certainly drive away all kinds of woe. Desire is, indeed, ignorance and darkness and hell in respect of all creatures, for swayed by it they lose their senses. As intoxicated persons in walking along a street reel towards ruts and holes, so men under the influence of desire, misled by deluding joys, run towards destruction. What can death do to a person whose soul hath not been confounded or misled by desire? To him, death hath no terrors, like a tiger made of straw. Therefore, O Kshatriya, if the existence of desire, which is ignorance, is to be destroyed, no wish, not even the slightest one, is either to be thought of or pursued. That soul, which is in thy body, associated as it is with wrath and covetousness and filled with ignorance, that is death. Knowing that death arises in this way, he that relies on knowledge, entertaineth no fear of death. Indeed, as the body is destroyed when brought under the influence of death, so death itself is destroyed when it comes under the influence of knowledge.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'The Vedas declare the emancipating capacity of those highly sacred and eternal regions, that are said to be obtainable by the regenerate classes by prayers and sacrifices. Knowing this, why should not a learned person have recourse to (religious) acts?'

"Sanat-sujata said, 'Indeed, he that is without knowledge proceedeth thither by the path indicated by thee, and the Vedas also declare that thither are both bliss and emancipation. But he that regardeth the material body to be self, if he succeeds in renouncing desire, at once attaineth emancipation (or Brahman). If, however, one seeketh emancipation without renouncing desire, one must have to proceed along the (prescribed) route of action, taking care to destroy the chances of his retracing the routes that he hath once passed over.' "Dhritarashtra said, 'Who is it that urgeth that Unborn and Ancient One? If, again, it is He that is all this Universe in consequence of His having entered everything (without desire as He is) what can be His action, or his happiness? O learned sage, tell me all this truly.'

"Sanat-sujata said, 'There is great objection in completely identifying (as here) the two that are different Creatures always spring from the union of Conditions (with what in its essence is without Conditions). This view doth not detract from the supremacy of the Unborn and the Ancient One. As for men, they also originate in the union of Conditions. All this that appears is nothing but that everlasting Supreme Soul. Indeed, the universe is created by the Supreme Soul itself undergoing transformations. The Vedas to attribute this power (of self-transformation) to the Supreme Soul. For the identity, again, of the power and its possessor, both the Vedas and others are the authority.' "Dhritarashtra said, 'In this world, some practise virtue, and some renounce action or Karma (adopting what is called Sannyasa Yoga). (Respecting those that practise virtue) I ask, is virtue competent to destroy vice, or is it itself destroyed by vice?'

"Sanat-sujata said, 'The fruits of virtue and of (perfect) inaction are both serviceable in that respect (i.e., for procuring emancipation). Indeed, both are sure means for the attainment of emancipation. The man, however, that is wise, achieveth success by knowledge (inaction). On the other hand, the materialist acquireth merit (by action) and (as the consequence thereof) emancipation. He hath also (in course of his pursuit) to incur sin. Having obtained again fruits of both virtue and vice which are transitory, (heaven having its end as also hell in respect of the virtuous and the sinful), the man of action becometh once more addicted to action as the consequence of his own previous virtues and vices. The man of action, however, who possesseth intelligence, destroyeth his sins by his virtuous acts. Virtue, therefore, is strong, and hence the success of the man of action.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Tell me, according to their gradation, of those eternal regions that are said to be attainable, as the fruits of their own virtuous acts, by regenerate persons, engaged in the practice of virtue. Speak unto me of others' regions also of a similar kind. O learned sire, I do not wish to hear of actions (towards which man's heart naturally inclineth, however interdicted or sinful they may be).'

"Sanat-sujata said, 'Those regenerate persons that take pride in their Yoga practices, like strong men in their own strength, departing hence, shine in the region of Brahman. Those regenerate persons that proudly exert in performing sacrifices and other Vedic rites, as the fruit of that knowledge which is theirs, in consequence of those acts, freed from this world, proceed to that region which is the abode of the deities. There are others, again, conversant with the Vedas, who are of opinion that the performance of the sacrifices and rites (ordained by the Vedas) is obligatory (their non-performance being sinful). Wedded to external forms, though seeking the development of the inner self (for they practise these rites for only virtue's sake and not for the accomplishment of particular aims), these persons should not be regarded very highly (although some respect should be theirs). Wherever, again, food and drink worthy of a Brahmana are abundant, like grass and reeds in a spot during the rainy season, there should the Yogin seek for his livelihood (without afflicting the householder of scanty means); by no means should he afflict his own self by hunger and thirst. In a place, where there may be both inconvenience and danger to one, for one's aversion, to disclose one's superiority, he that doth not proclaim his superiority is better than he that doth. The food offered by that person who is not pained at the sight of another disclosing his superiority, and who never eateth without offering the prescribed share to Brahmanas and guests, is approved by the righteous. As a dog oftentimes devoureth its own evacuations to its injury, so those Yogins devour their own vomit who procure their livelihood by disclosing their pre-eminence. The wise know him for a Brahmana, who, living in the midst of kindred, wishes his religious practices to remain always unknown to them. What other Brahmana deserveth to know the Supreme Soul, that is unconditioned, without attributes, unchangeable, one and alone, and without duality of any kind? In consequence of such practices, a Kshatriya can know the Supreme Soul and behold it in his own soul. He that regardeth the Soul to be the acting and feeling Self,--what sins are not committed by that thief who robbeth the soul of its attributes? A Brahmana should be without exertion, should never accept gifts, should win the respect of the righteous, should be quiet, and though conversant with the Vedas should seem to be otherwise, for then only may he attain to knowledge and know Brahman. They that are poor in earthly but rich in heavenly wealth and sacrifices, become unconquerable and fearless, and they should be regarded as embodiments of Brahman. That person even, in this world, who (by performing sacrifices) succeedeth in meeting with the gods that bestow all kinds of desirable objects (on performers of sacrifices), is not equal to him that knoweth Brahman for the performer of sacrifices hath to undergo exertions (while he that knoweth Brahman attaineth to Him without such exertions). He was said to be really honoured, who, destitute of actions, is honoured by the deities. He should never regard himself as honoured who is honoured by others. One should not, therefore, grieveth when one is not honoured by others. People act according to their nature just as they open and shut their eyelids; and it is only the learned that pay respect to others. The man that is respected should think so. They again, in this world, that are foolish, apt to sin, and adepts in deceit, never pay respect to those that are worthy of respect; on the other hand, they always show disrespect to such persons. The world's esteem and asceticism (practices of Mauna), can never exist together. Know that this world is for those that are candidates for esteem, while the other world is for those that are devoted to asceticism. Here, in this world, O Kshatriya, happiness (the world's esteem) resides in worldly prosperity. The latter, however, is an impediment (to heavenly bliss). Heavenly prosperity, on the other hand, is unattainable by one that is without true wisdom. The righteous say that there are various kinds of gates, all difficult of being guarded, for giving access to the last kind of prosperity. These are truth, uprightness, modesty, self-control, purity of mind and conduct and knowledge (of the Vedas). These six are destructive of vanity and ignorance.'"

SECTION 43

"Dhritarashtra said, 'What is the object of asceticism (mauna)? Of the two kinds of mauna (viz., the restraining of speech and meditation), which is approved by thee? O learned one, tell me the true aspect of mauna. Can a person of learning attain to a state of quietude and emancipation (moksha) by that mauna? O Muni, how also is asceticism (mauna) to be practised here?'

"Sanat-sujata said, 'Since the Supreme Soul cannot be penetrated by both the Vedas and the mind, it is for this that Soul itself is called mauna. That from which both the Vedic syllable Om and this one (ordinary sounds) have arisen, that One, O king, is displayed as the Word.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Is he that knoweth both the Rig and the Yajus Vedas, is he that knoweth the Sama Veda, sullied by sins or not when he commiteth sins?'

"Sanat-sujata said, 'I tell thee truly that the man that hath not restrained his senses is not rescued from his sinful acts by either the Sama or the Rig, or the Yajus Veda. The Vedas never rescue from sin the deceitful person living by deceit. On the other hand, like newfledged birds forsaking their nest, the Vedas forsake such a person at the end.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'O thou that hast restrained thy senses, if, indeed, the Vedas are not competent to rescue a person without the aid of virtue, whence then is this delusion of the Brahmanas that the Vedas are always destructive of sins?'

"Sanat-sujata said, 'O magnanimous one, this universe hath sprung from that Supreme Soul by the union of Conditions respecting name, form, and other attributes. The Vedas also, pointing it out duly, declare the same, and inculcate that the Supreme Soul and the universe are different and not identical. It is for attaining to that Supreme Soul that asceticism and sacrifices are ordained, and it is by these two that the man of learning earneth virtue. Destroying sin by virtue, his soul is enlightened by knowledge. The man of knowledge, by the aid of knowledge, attaineth to the Supreme Soul. Otherwise, he that coveteth the four objects of human pursuit, taking with him all that he doth here, enjoyeth their fruits hereafter, and (as those fruits) are not everlasting cometh back to the region of action (when the enjoyment is over). Indeed, the fruits of ascetic austerities performed in this world have to be enjoyed in the other world (as regards those persons who have not obtained the mastery of their souls). As regards those Brahmanas employed in ascetic practices (who have the mastery of their souls), even these regions are capable of yielding fruits.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'O Sanat-sujata, how can ascetic austerities which are all of the same kind, be sometimes successful and sometimes unsuccessful? Tell us this in order that we may know it!'

"Sanat-sujata said, 'That asceticism which is not stained by (desire and other) faults is said to be capable of procuring emancipation, and is, therefore, successful, while the asceticism that is stained by vanity and want of true devotion is regarded unsuccessful. All thy enquiries, O Kshatriya, touch the very root of asceticism. It is by asceticism that they that are learned, know Brahman and win immortality!'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'I have listened to what thou hast said about asceticism unstained by faults, and by which I have succeeded in knowing an eternal mystery. Tell me now, O Sanat-sujata, about asceticism that is stained by faults!'

"Sanat-sujata said, 'O king, the twelve, including anger, as also the thirteen kinds of wickedness, are the faults of asceticism that is stained. Anger, lust, avarice, ignorance of

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right and wrong, discontent, cruelty, malice, vanity, grief, love of pleasure, envy, and speaking ill of others, are generally the faults of human beings. These twelve should always be avoided by men. Any one amongst these can singly effect the destruction of men, O bull among men. Indeed, every one of these wait for opportunity in respect of men, like a hunter expectant of opportunities in respect of deer. Assertion of one's own superiority, desire of enjoying others' wives, humiliating others from excess of pride, wrathfulness, fickleness, and refusing to maintain those worthy of being maintained, these six acts of wickedness are always practised by sinful men defying all dangers here and hereafter. He that regards the gratification of lust to be one of life's aims, he that is exceedingly proud, he that grieves having given away, he that never spends money, he that persecutes his subjects by exacting hateful taxes, he that delights in the humiliation of others, and he that hates his own wives,--these seven are others that are also called wicked. Righteousness, truth (abstention from injury and truthfulness of speech), self-restraint, asceticism, delight in the happiness of others, modesty, forbearance, love of others, sacrifices, gifts, perseverance, knowledge of the scriptures,--these twelve constitute the practices of Brahmanas. He that succeeds in acquiring these twelve, becomes competent to sway the entire earth. He that is endued with three, two, or even one, of these, should be regarded of heavenly prosperity. Self-restraint, renunciation, and knowledge of Self,--in these are emancipation. Those Brahmanas that are endued with wisdom, say, that these are attributes in which truth predominates. Self-restraint is constituted by eighteen virtues. Breaches and non-observance of ordained acts and omissions, falsehood, malice, lust, wealth, love of (sensual) pleasure, anger, grief, thirst, avarice, deceit, joy in the misery of others, envy, injuring others, regret, aversion from pious acts, forgetfulness of duty, calumniating others, and vanity-he that is freed from these (eighteen) vices; is said by the righteous to be self-restrained. The eighteen faults (that have been enumerated) constitute what is called mada or pride. Renunciation is of six kinds. The reverse of those six again are faults called mada. (The faults, therefore, that go by the name of mada are eighteen and six). The six kinds of renunciation are all commendable. The third only is difficult of practice, but by that all sorrow is overcome. Indeed, if that kind of renunciation be accomplished in practice, he that accomplishes it overcomes all the pairs of contraries in the world.

'The six kinds of renunciation are all commendable. They are these: The first is never experiencing joy on occasions of prosperity. The second is the abandonment of sacrifices, prayers, and pious acts. That which is called the third, O king, is the abandonment of desire or withdrawing from the world. Indeed, it is in consequence of this third kind of renunciation of desire, which is evidenced by the abandonment of all objects of enjoyment (without enjoying them) and not their abandonment after having enjoyed them to the fill, nor by abandonment after acquisition, nor by abandonment only after one has become incompetent to enjoy from loss of appetite. The fourth kind of renunciation consists in this: One should not grieve nor suffer his self to be afflicted by grief when one's actions fail, notwithstanding one's possession of all the virtues and all kinds of wealth. Or, when anything disagreeable happens, one feeleth no pain. The fifth kind of renunciation consists in not soliciting even one's sons, wives, and others that may all be very dear. The sixth kind consists in giving away to a deserving person who solicits, which act of gifts is always productive of merit. By these again, one acquires the knowledge of Self. As regards this last attribute, it involves eight qualities. These are truth, meditation, distinction of subject and object, capacity for drawing inferences, withdrawal from the world, never taking what belongeth to others, the practices of Brahmacharya vows (abstinence), and non-acceptance (of gifts).

'So also the attribute of mada (the opposite of dama or self-restraint) hath faults which have all been indicated (in the scriptures). These faults should be avoided. I have spoken (to thee) of renunciation and self-knowledge. And as, self-Knowledge hath eight virtues, so the want of it hath eight faults. Those faults should be avoided. O Bharata, he that is liberated from this five senses, mind, the past and the future, becomes happy. O king, let thy soul be devoted to truth; all the worlds are established on truth; indeed, self-control, renunciation, and self-knowledge are said to have truth for their foremost attribute. Avoiding (these) faults, one should practise asceticism here. The Ordainer hath ordained that truth alone should be the vow of the righteous. Asceticism, that is dissociated from these faults and endued with these virtues, becomes the source of great prosperity, I have now briefly told these about that sin-destroying and sacred subject which thou hadst asked me and which is capable of liberating a person from birth, death, and decrepitude.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'With Akhyana (Puranas) as their fifth, the Vedas declare the Supreme Soul to be this universe consisting of mobile and immobile things. Others regard four God-heads; and others three; others again regard two; and others only one; and others regard Brahman alone as the sole existent object (there being nothing else possessing a separate existence). Amongst these, which should I know to be really possessed of the knowledge of Brahman.'

"Sanat-sujata, 'There is but one Brahman which is Truth's self. It is from ignorance of that One, that god-heads have been conceived to be diverse. But who is there, O king, that hath attained to Truth's self or Brahman? Man regardeth himself wise without knowing that One Object of knowledge, and from desire of happiness is engaged in study and the practices of charity and sacrifices. They have deviated from Truth (Brahman) and entertain purposes corresponding (with their state) and hence relying on the truth of Vedic texts thereof perform sacrifices. Some perform (or attain the object of) sacrifices by the mind (meditation), some by words (recitation of particular prayers, or Yapa); and some by acts (actual consummation of the Yatishtoma and other costly rites). The person, however, who seeketh Brahman through Truth, obtaineth his desired objects at home. When however, one's purposes become abortive (through absence of knowledge of Self), one should adopt vows of silence and such like, called Dikshavrata. Indeed, Diksha cometh from the root Diksha, meaning the observance of vows. As regards those that have knowledge of Self, with them Truth is the highest object of pursuit.'

'The fruits of knowledge are visible; asceticism yieldeth fruits hereafter. A Brahmana who (without knowledge and asceticism) hath only read much should only be known as a great reader. Therefore, O Kshatriya, never think that one can be a Brahman (Brahman-knowing) by only reading the scriptures. He, on the other hand, should be known by thee to be possessed of the knowledge of the Brahman who doth not deviate from Truth. O Kshatriya, the verses that were recited by Atharvan to a conclave of great sages, in days of old, are known by the name of Chhandas. They are not be regarded as acquainted with the Chhandas who have only read through the Vedas, without having attained to the knowledge of Him who is known through the Vedas. The Chhandas, O best of men, become the means of obtaining Brahman independently and without the necessity of anything foreign. They cannot be regarded as acquainted with the Chhandas who are acquainted only with the modes of sacrifice enjoined in the Vedas. On the other hand, having waited upon those that are acquainted with the Vedas, have not the righteous attained to the Object that is knowable by the Vedas? There is none who hath truly caught the sense of the Vedas or there may be some who have, O king, caught the sense. He that hath only read the Vedas, doth not know the Object knowable by them. He, however, that is established in Truth, know the Object knowable by the Vedas. Amongst those faculties which lead to perception of the body as the acting agent, there is none by which true knowledge may be acquired. By the mind alone one cannot acquire the knowledge of Self and Not-Self. Indeed, he that knoweth Self also knoweth what is Not-self. He, on the other hand, that knoweth only what is Not-self, doth not know Truth. He, again, that knoweth the proofs, knoweth also that which is sought to be proved. But what that Object in its nature is (which is sought to be proved) is not known to either the Vedas or those that are acquainted with the Vedas. For all that, however, those Brahmanas that are (truly) acquainted with the Vedas succeed in obtaining a knowledge of the Object knowable (by the Vedas) through the Vedas. As the branch of a particular tree is sometimes resorted to for pointing out the lunar digit of the first day of the lighted fortnight so the Vedas are used for indicating the highest attributes of the Supreme Soul. I know him to be a Brahmana (possessing a knowledge of Brahman) who expoundeth the doubts of others, having himself mastered all his own doubts, and who is possessed of the knowledge of Self. One cannot find what the Soul is by seeking in the East, the South, the West, the North, or in the subsidiary directions or horizontally. Very rarely can it be found in him who regardeth this body be to Self. Beyond the conception of even the Vedas, the man of Yoga-meditation only can behold the Supreme. Completely restraining all thy senses and thy mind also seek thou that Brahman which is known to reside in thy own Soul. He is not a Muni who practiseth only Yoga-meditation; nor he who liveth only in the woods (having retired from the world). He, however, is a Muni and is superior to all who knoweth his own nature. In consequence of one's being able to expound every object (Vyakarana), one is said to be endued with universal knowledge (Vaiyakarana); and, indeed, the science itself is called Vyakarana owing to its being able to expound every object to its very root (which is Brahman). The man who beholdeth all the regions as present before his eyes, is said to be possessed of universal knowledge. He that stayeth in Truth and knoweth Brahman is said to be a Brahmana, and a Brahmana, possesseth universal knowledge. A Kshatriya also, that practises such virtues, may behold Brahman. He may also attain to that high state by ascending step by step, according to what is indicated in the Vedas. Knowing it for certain, I tell thee this.'"

SECTION 44

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Excellent, O Sanat-sujata, as this thy discourse is, treating of the attainment of Brahman and the origin of the universe. I pray thee, O celebrated Rishi, to go on telling me words such as these, that are unconnected with objects of worldly desire and are, therefore, rare among men.'

"Sanat-sujata said, 'That Brahman about which thou askest me with such joy is not to be attained soon. After (the senses have been restrained and) the will hath been merged in the pure intellect, the state that succeeds in one of utter absence of worldly thought. Even that is knowledge (leading to the attainment of Brahman). It is attainable only by practising Brahmacharya.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Thou sayest that the knowledge of Brahman dwelleth of itself in the mind, being only discovered by Brahmacharya; that is dwelling in the mind, it requires for its manifestation no efforts (such as are necessary for work) being manifested (of itself) during the seeking (by means of Brahmacharya). How then is the immortality associated with the attainment of Brahman?'

"Sanat-sujata said, 'Though residing in and inherent to the mind, the knowledge of Brahman is still unmanifest. It is by the aid of the pure intellect and Brahmacharya that, that knowledge is made manifest. Indeed, having attained to that knowledge, Yogins forsake this world. It is always to be found among eminent preceptors. I shall now discourse to thee on that knowledge.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'What should be the nature of that Brahmacharya by which the knowledge of Brahman might be attained without much difficulty? O regenerate one, tell me this.'

"Sanat-sujata said, 'They, who, residing in the abodes of their preceptors and winning their good will and friendship, practise Brahmacharya austerities, become even in this world the embodiments of Brahman and casting off their bodies are united with the Supreme Soul. They that in this world desirous of obtaining the state of Brahman, subdue all desires, and endued as they are with righteousness, they succeed in dissociating the Soul from the body like a blade projected from a clump of heath. The body, O Bharata, is created by these, viz., the father and the mother; the (new) birth, however, that is due to the preceptor's instructions is sacred, free from decrepitude, and immortal. Discoursing upon Brahman and granting immortality, he who wraps all persons with (the mantle of) truth, should be regarded as father and mother; and bearing in mind the good he does, one should never do him any injury. A disciple must habitually salute his preceptor with respect, and with purity (of body and mind) and well-directed attention, he must betake to study. He must not consider any service as mean, and must not harbour anger. Even this is the first step of Brahmacharya. The practices of that disciple who acquires knowledge by observing the duties ordained for one of his class are regarded also as the first step of Brahmacharya. A disciple should, with his very life and all his possessions, in thought, word and deed, do all that is agreeable to the preceptor. This is regarded as the second step of Brahmacharya. He should behave towards his preceptor's wife and son also in the same way as towards his preceptor himself. This also is regarded as the second step of Brahmacharya. Bearing well in mind what has been done to him by the preceptor, and understanding also its object, the disciple should, with a delighted heart think,--I have been taught and made great by him. This is the third step of Brahmacharya. Without requiring the preceptor by payment of the final gift, a wise disciple must not betake to another mode of life; nor should he say or even think of in his mind,--I make this gift. This is the fourth step of Brahmacharya. He attaineth the first step of (knowledge of Brahman which is) the object of Brahmacharya by aid of time; the second step, through the preceptor's prelections; the third, by the power of his own understanding; and finally, the fourth, by discussion. The learned have said that Brahmacharya is constituted by the twelve virtues, the Yoga-practices are called its Angas, and perseverance in Yoga-meditation called is its Valam and one is crowned with success in this in consequence of the preceptor's aid and the understanding of the sense of the Vedas. Whatever wealth a disciple, thus engaged, may earn, should all be given to the preceptor. It is thus that the preceptor obtaineth his highly praise-worthy livelihood. And thus also should the disciple behave towards the preceptor's son. Thus stationed (in Brahmacharya), the disciple thriveth by all means in this world and obtaineth numerous progeny and fame. Men also from all directions shower wealth upon him; and many people come to his abode for practising Brahmacharya. It is through Brahmacharya of this kind that the celestials attained to their divinity, and sages, highly blessed and of great wisdom, have obtained the region of Brahman. It is by this that the Gandharvas and the Apsaras acquired such personal beauty, and it is through Brahmacharya that Surya riseth to make the day. As the seekers of the philosopher's stone derive great happiness when they obtain the object of their search those mentioned above (the celestials and others), on completing their Brahmacharya, derive great happiness in consequence of being able to have whatever they desire. He, O king, who

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devoted to the practice of ascetic austerities, betaketh himself to Brahmacharya in its entirety and thereby purifieth his body, is truly wise, for by this he becometh like a child (free from all evil passions) and triumpheth over death at last. Men, O Kshatriya, by work, however, pure, obtain only worlds that are perishable; he, however, that is blessed with Knowledge, attaineth, by the aid of that Knowledge, to Brahman which is everlasting. There is no other path (than Knowledge or the attainment of Brahman) leading to emancipation.

"Dhritarashtra said, 'The existence of Brahman, thou sayest, a wise man perceiveth in his own soul. Now, is Brahman white, or red, or black or blue, or purple? Tell me what is the true form and colour of the Omnipresent and Eternal Brahman?'

"Sanat-sujata said, 'Indeed, Brahman as (perceived) may appear as white, red, black, brown, or bright. But neither on the earth, nor in the sky, nor in the water of the ocean, is there anything like it, Neither in the stars, nor in lightning, nor in the clouds, is its form to be seen, nor is it visible in the atmosphere, nor in the deities, nor in the moon, nor in the sun. Neither in the Riks, nor among the Yajus, nor among the Atharvans, nor in the pure Samans, it is to be found. Verily, O king, it is not to be found in Rathantara or Varhadratha, nor in great sacrifices. Incapable of being compassed and lying beyond the reach of the limited intellect, even the universal Destroyer, after the Dissolution, is himself lost in it. Incapable of being gazed at, it is subtle as the edge of the razor, and grosser than mountains. It is the basis upon which everything is founded; it is unchangeable; it is this visible universe (omnipresent); it is vast; it is delightful; creatures have all sprung from it and are to return to it. Free from all kinds of duality, it is manifest as the universe and all-pervading. Men of learning say that it is without any change, except in the language used to describe it. They are emancipated that are acquainted with That in which this universe is established.'"

SECTION 45

"Sanat-sujata said, 'Sorrow, anger, covetousness, lust, ignorance, laziness, malice, self-importance, continuous desire of gain, affection, jealousy and evil speech,--these twelve, O monarch, are grave faults that are destructive of men's lives. Each of these, O monarch, wait for opportunities to seize mankind. Afflicted by them, men lose their senses and commit sinful acts. He that is covetous, he that is fierce, he that is harsh of speech, he that is garrulous, he that is given to nursing anger, he that is boastful,--these six of wicked disposition, on obtaining wealth, cannot treat others with courtesy. He that regardeth sensual gratification as the end of life, he that is self-conceited, he that boasteth having made a gift, he that never spendeth, he that is weak in mind, he that is given to self-admiration, and he that hateth his own wife,--these seven are counted as wicked men of sinful habits. Righteousness, truth, asceticism, self-restraint, contentment, modesty, renunciation, love of others, gift, acquaintance with the scriptures, patience, and forgiveness,--these twelve are the practices of a Brahmana. He that doth not fall off from these twelve, may sway the entire earth. He that is endued with three, or two, or even one, of these, doth never regard anything as his own to the exclusion of others. Self-restraint, renunciation, and knowledge,--in these reside emancipation. These are the attributes of Brahmanas endued with wisdom and regarding Brahman as the highest of all objects of attainment. True or false, it is not laudable for a Brahmana to speak ill of others; they that do this have hell for their abode. Mada hath eighteen faults which have not yet been enumerated by me. They are ill-will towards others, throwing obstacles in the way of virtuous acts, detraction, falsehood in speech, lust, anger, dependence, speaking ill of others, finding out the faults of others for report, waste of wealth, quarrel, insolence, cruelty to living creatures, malice, ignorance, disregard of those that are worthy of regard, loss of the senses of right and wrong, and always seeking to injure others. A wise man, therefore, should not give way to mada, for the accompaniments of mada are censurable. Friendship is said to possess six indications; firstly, friends delight in the prosperity of friends, and secondly, are distressed at their adversity. If any one asketh for anything which is dear to his heart, but which should not be asked for, a true friend surely giveth away even that. Fourthly, a true friend who is of a righteous disposition, when asked, can give away his very prosperity, his beloved sons, and even his own wife. Fifthly, a friend should not dwell in the house of a friend, on whom he may have bestowed everything, but should enjoy what he earneth himself. Sixthly, a friend stoppeth not to sacrifice his own good (for his friend). The man of wealth who seeketh to acquire those good qualities, and who becometh charitable and righteous restraineth his five senses from their respective objects. Such restraint of the senses is asceticism. When it groweth in degree, it is capable of winning regions of bliss hereafter (unlike Knowledge which leadeth to success even here). They that have fallen off from patience (and are incapable, therefore, of attaining to Knowledge) acquire such asceticism in consequence of the purpose they entertain, viz., the attainment of bliss in the high regions hereafter. In consequence of his ability to grasp that Truth (Brahman) from which sacrifices flow, the Yogin is capable of performing sacrifices by the mind. Another performeth sacrifices by Words (Yapa) and another by Work. Truth (Brahman) resides in him who knoweth Brahman as vested with attributes. It dwelleth more completely in him who knoweth Brahman as divested of attributes. Listen now to something else from me. This high and celebrated philosophy should be taught (to disciples). All other systems are only a farrago of words. The whole of this (universe) is established in this Yoga-philosophy. They that are acquainted with it are not subjected to death. O king, one cannot, by Work, however well-accomplished, attain to Truth (Brahman). The man that is destitute of knowledge even if he poureth homa libations or performeth sacrifices, can never, by Work, O king, attain to immortality (emancipation). Nor doth he enjoy great happiness at the end. Restraining all the external senses and alone, one should seek Brahman. Giving up Work, one should not exert mentally. One should also (while thus engaged) avoid experiencing joy at praise or anger at blame. O Kshatriya, by conducting himself in this way according to the successive steps indicated in the Vedas, one may, even here, attain to Brahman. This, O learned one, is all that I tell thee.'"

SECTION 46

"Sanat-sujata said, 'The primary Seed (of the universe), called Mahayasas, is destitute of accidents, is pure Knowledge, and blazeth with effulgence. It leadeth the senses, and it is in consequence of that Seed that Surya shineth. That Eternal One endued with Divinity is beheld by Yogins (by their mental eye). It is in consequence of that Seed (which is Joy's self) that Brahman becomes capable of Creation and it is through it that Brahman increaseth in expansion. It is that Seed which entering into luminous bodies giveth light and heat. Without deriving its light and heat from any other thing it is self-luminous, and is an object of terror to all luminous bodies. The Eternal One endued with Divinity is beheld by Yogins (by their mental eye). The body composed of the five grosser elements, that are themselves sprung from the five subtler ones,--the latter, in their turn, originating in one homogeneous substance called Brahman--is upheld (realised) in consciousness by both the creature-Soul endued with life and Iswara. (These two, during sleep and the universal dissolution, are deprived of consciousness). Brahman on the other hand, which is never bereft of consciousness, and which is the Sun's Sun, upholdeth both these two and also the Earth and the Heaven. The Eternal One endued with Divinity is beheld by Yogins (by their mental eye). The Seed upholdeth the two gods, the Earth and the Heaven, the Directions, and the whole Universe. It is from that Seed that directions (points of the compass) and rivers spring, and the vast seas also have derived their origin. The Eternal One endued with Divinity is beheld by Yogins (by their mental eye). The body is like a car destined to destruction. Its acts, however, are undying. Tied to the wheels of that car (which are represented by the acts of past lives), the senses, that are as steeds, lead, through the region of consciousness, the man of wisdom towards that Increate and Unchangeable One, that One endued with Divinity is beheld by Yogins (by their mental eye). The form of that One cannot be displayed by any comparison. None ever beholdeth Him by the eye. They that know him by the rapt faculties, the mind, and the heart, become freed from death. The Eternal One endued with Divinity is beheld by Yogins (by their mental eye). The stream of illusion is terrible; guarded by the gods, it hath twelve fruits. Drinking of its waters and beholding many sweet things in its midst, men swim along it to and fro. This stream flows from that Seed. That Eternal One endued with Divinity is beheld by Yogins (by their mental eye). Destined to sojourn to and fro, the creature-Soul, having reflected enjoyeth (in the other world) only half of the fruits of his acts. It is that creature-Soul which is Iswara, pervading everything in the universe. It is Iswara that hath ordained sacrifices. That Eternal One endued with Divinity is beheld by Yogins (by their mental eye). Souls divested of accidents, resorting to Avidya, which is like unto a tree of golden foliage, assume accidents, and take births in different orders according to their propensities. That Eternal One endued with Divinity (in Whom all those Souls are united) is beheld by Yogins (by their mental eye). Accidents (which coming in contact with Brahman make the latter assume many forms) raise the universe in its Fulness from that Brahman which is full. Those accidents also, in their Fulness, arise from Brahman in its Fulness. When one succeeds in dispelling all accidents from Brahman which is ever Full, that which remains is Brahman in its Fulness. That Eternal One endued with Divinity is beheld by Yogins (by their mental eye). It is from that Seed that the five elements have arisen, and it is in it that the power resideth for controlling them. It is from that Seed that both the consumer and the consumed (called Agni and Soma) have sprung, and it is in it that the living organisms with the senses rest. Everything should be regarded to have sprung from it. That Seed called in the Vedas TATH (Tad), we are unable to describe. That Eternal One endued with Divinity is beheld by Yogins (by their mental eye). The vital air called Apana is swallowed up by the Air called Prana; Prana is swallowed up by the Will, and the Will by the Intellect, and the Intellect by the Supreme Soul. That Eternal One endued with Divinity is beheld by Yogins (by their mental eye). The Supreme Soul endued with four legs, called respectively Waking, Dream, profound Sleep, and Turiya, like unto a swan, treading above the unfathomable ocean of worldly affairs doth not put forth one leg that is hid deep. Unto him that beholdeth that leg (viz., Turiya) as put forth for the purpose of guiding the other three, both death and emancipation are the same. That Eternal One endued with Divinity is beheld by Yogins (by their mental eye). Of the measure of the thumb, ever Full, and different from this eternal organism, coming in contact with the Vital airs, the Will, the Intellect, and the ten Senses, it moveth to and fro. That Supreme Controller, worthy of reverential hymns, capable of everything when vested with accidents and the prime cause of everything, is manifest as Knowledge in creature-Souls. Fools alone do not behold him; that Eternal One endued with Divinity is beheld by Yogins (by their mental eye). Among individuals there are those that have obtained the mastery of their minds, and those that have not. Yet in all men the Supreme Soul may be seen equally. Indeed, it resideth equally in him that is emancipate and in him that is not, with only this difference that they that are emancipate obtain honey flowing in a thick jet. That Eternal One endued with Divinity is beheld by Yogins (by their mental eye). When one maketh life's Sojourn, having attained to the knowledge of Self and Not-Self, then it matters little whether his Agni-hotra is performed or not. O monarch, let not such words as 'I am thy servant' fall from their lips. The Supreme Soul hath another name, viz., Pure Knowledge. They only that have restrained their minds obtain Him. That Eternal One endued with Divinity is beheld by Yogins (by their mental eye). Even such is He. Illustrious and Full, all living creatures are merged into Him. He that knoweth that embodiment of Fullness attaineth to his object (emancipation) even here. That Eternal One endued with Divinity is beheld by Yogins (by their mental eye). That which flieth away stretching forth thousands of wings, yea, if endued with the speed of the mind, must yet come back to the Central Spirit within the living organism (in which the most distant things reside... That Eternal One endued with Divinity) is beheld by Yogins (by their mental eye). His form cannot be an object of sight. They only, that are of pure hearts, can behold him. When one seeketh the good of all, succeedeth in controlling his mind, and never suffereth his heart to be affected by grief, then he is said to have purified his heart. Those again that can abandon the world and all its cares, become immortal. (That Supreme Soul which is undying),--that Eternal One endued with Divinity--is beheld by Yogins (by their mental eye). Like serpents concealing themselves in holes, there are persons who following the dictates of their preceptors, or by their own conduct conceal their vices from scrutiny's gaze. They that are of little sense are deceived by these. In fact, bearing themselves outwardly without any impropriety, these deceive their victims for leading them to hell. (Him, therefore, who may be attained by companionship with persons of the very opposite class), that Eternal One endued with Divinity--is beheld by Yogins (by their mental eye). He that is emancipate thinks,--this transitory organism can never make me liable to joy and grief and the other attributes inhering to it: nor can there be, in my case, anything like death and birth: and, further, when Brahman, which hath no opposing force to contend against and which is alike in all times and all places, constitutes the resting-place of both realities and unrealities, how can emancipation be mine? It is I alone that am the origin and the end of all causes and effects.--(Existing in the form of I or Self) that Eternal One endued with Divinity is beheld by Yogins (by their mental eye). The Brahman-knowing person, who is equal unto Brahman itself, is neither glorified by good acts nor defiled by bad ones. It is only in ordinary men that acts, good or bad, produce different results. The person that knoweth Brahman should be regarded as identical with Amrita or the state called Kaivalya which is incapable of being affected by either virtue or vice. One should, therefore, disposing his mind in the way indicated, attain to that essence of sweetness (Brahman). That Eternal One endued with Divinity is beheld by Yogins (by their mental eye). Slander grieveth not the heart of the person that knoweth Brahman not the thought--I have not studied (the Veda), or, I have not performed my Agni-hotra. The knowledge of Brahman soon imparteth to him that wisdom which they only obtain who have restrained their mind. (That Brahman which freeth the Soul from grief and ignorance)-that Eternal One endued with Divinity-is beheld by Yogins (by their mental eye). He, therefore, that beholdeth his own Self in everything, hath no longer to grieve, for they only have to grieve who are employed in diverse other occupations of the world. As one's purposes (appeasing thirst, etc.) may be served in a well as in a large reservoir or vast expanse, so the various purposes of the Vedas may all be derivable by him that knoweth the Soul. Dwelling in the heart, and of the measure of the thumb, that

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illustrious One--the embodiment of Fullness--is not an object of sight. Unborn he moveth, awake day and night. He that knoweth him, becometh both learned and full of joy. I am called the mother and father. I am again the son. Of all that was, and of all that we will be, I am the Soul. O Bharata, I am the old grandsire, I am the father, I am the son. Ye are staying in my soul, yet ye are not mine, nor am I yours! The Soul is the cause of my birth and procreation. I am the warp and woof of the universe. That upon which I rest is indestructible. Unborn I move, awake day and night. It is I knowing whom one becometh both learned and full of joy. Subtler than the subtle, of excellent eyes capable of looking into both the past and the future, Brahman is awake in every creature. They that knows Him know that Universal Father dwelleth in the heart of every created thing!'"

SECTION 47

"Vaisampayana said, 'Thus conversing with Sanat-sujata and the learned Vidura, the king passed that night. And after the night had passed away, all the princes and chiefs, entered the court-hall with joyous hearts and desirous of seeing that Suta (who had returned). And anxious to hear the message of Partha's, fraught with virtue and profit, all the kings with Dhritarashtra at their head, went to that beautiful hall. Spotlessly white and spacious, it was adorned with a golden floor. And effulgent as the moon and exceedingly beautiful, it was sprinkled over with sandal-water. And it was spread over with excellent seats made of gold and wood, and marble and ivory. And all the seats were wrapped with excellent covers. And Bhishma and Drona and Kripa and Salya, and Kritavarman and Jayadratha, and Aswatthaman and Vikarna, and Somadatta and Vahlika and Vidura of great wisdom and Yuyutsu, the great car-warrior,--all these heroic kings in a body, O bull among the Bharatas, having Dhritarashtra at their head, entered that hall of great beauty. And Dussasana and Chitrasena, and Sakuni, the son of Suvala, and Durmukha and Dussaha, Karna and Uluka and Vivingsati,--these also, with Duryodhana, the wrathful king of the Kurus, at their head, entered that hall, O monarch, like the celestials forming the train of Sakra himself. And filled with these heroes possessed of arms like maces of iron, that hall looked, O king, like a mountain-cave filled with lions. And all these mighty bowmen, endued with great energy and blazing, with solar effulgence, entering the hall, seated themselves on those beautiful seats. And after all those kings, O Bharata, had taken their seats, the orderly-in-waiting announced the arrival of the Suta's son, saying, 'Yonder cometh the car that was despatched to the Pandavas. Our envoy hath returned quickly, by the aid of well-trained steeds of the, Sindhu breed.' And having approached the place with speed and alighted from the car, Sanjaya adorned with ear-rings entered that hall full of high-souled kings. And the Suta said, 'Ye Kauravas, know that having gone to the Pandavas I am just returning from them. The sons of Pandu offer their congratulations to all the Kurus according to the age of each. Having offered their respects in return, the sons of Pritha have saluted the aged ones, and those that are equal to them in years, and those also that are younger, just as each should, according to his years, be saluted. Listen, ye kings, to what I, instructed before by Dhritarashtra, said to the Pandavas, having gone to them from this place.'

SECTION 48

"Dhritarashtra said, "I ask thee, O Sanjaya, in the presence of my boy and of these kings, what words were said by the illustrious Dhananjaya of might that knoweth no diminution,--that leader of warriors,--that destroyer of the lives of the wicked?'

"Sanjaya said, 'Let Duryodhana listen to the words which the high-souled Arjuna, eager for fight, uttered, with Yudhishthira's sanction and in the hearing of Kesava. Fearless (in battle) and conscious of the might of his arms, the heroic Kiritin, eager for fight, spoke thus unto me in the presence of Vasudeva, 'Do thou, O suta, say unto Dhritarashtra's son, in the presence of all the Kurus, and also in the hearing of that Suta's son, of foul tongue and wicked soul, of little sense, stupid reason, and of numbered days, who always desires to fight against me, and also in the hearing of those kings assembled for fighting against the Pandavas, and do thou see that all the words now uttered by me are heard well by that king with his counsellors.' O monarch, even as the celestials eagerly listen to the words of their chief armed with the thunderbolt, so did the Pandavas and the Srinjayas listened to those words of grave import uttered by Kiritin. Just these are the words spoken by Arjuna, the wielder of Gandiva, eager for the fight and with eyes red as the lotus, 'If Dhritarashtra's son doth not surrender to king Yudhishthira of the Ajamida race, his kingdom, then (it is evident) there must be some sinful act committed by the sons of Dhritarashtra, whose consequences are yet unreaped by them, for it can be nothing else when they desire battle with Bhimasena and Arjuna, and the Aswins and Vasudeva and Sini's son, and Dhrishtadyumna infallible in arms, and Sikhandin, and Yudhishthira, who is like Indra himself and who can consume heaven and earth by merely wishing them ill. If Dhritarashtra's son desireth war with these, then will all objects of the Pandavas be accomplished. Do not, therefore, propose peace for the sons of Pandu, but have war if thou likest. That bed of woe in the woods which was Yudhishthira's when that virtuous son of Pandu lived in exile; Oh, let a more painful bed than that, on the bare earth, be now Duryodhana's and let him lie down on it, as his last, deprived of life. Win thou over those men that were ruled by the wicked Duryodhana of unjust conduct to the side of Pandu's son endued with modesty and wisdom and asceticism and self-restraint and valour and might regulated by virtue. Endued with humility and righteousness, with asceticism and self-restraint and with valour regulated by virtue, and always speaking the truth, our king, though afflicted by numerous deceptions, hath forgiven all and hath patiently borne great wrongs. When the eldest son of Pandu, of soul under proper control, will indignantly dart at the Kurus his terrible wrath accumulated for years, then will the son of Dhritarashtra repent for this war. As a blazing fire burning all around consumeth dry grass in the hot season, so will Yudhishthira, inflamed with wrath, consume the Dhritarashtra host by glance alone of his eye. When Dhritarashtra's son will behold Bhimasena, that wrathful Pandava of terrific impetus, stationed on his car, mace in hand, vomiting the venom of his wrath, then will Duryodhana repent for this war. Indeed, when he will behold Bhimasena, who always fighteth in the van, accoutred in mail, scarcely capable of being looked at even by his own followers felling hostile heroes and devastating the enemy's ranks like Yama himself, then will the exceedingly vain Duryodhana recollect these words. When he will behold elephants, looking like mountain-peaks, felled by Bhimasena, blood flowing their broken heads like water from broken casks, then will Dhritarashtra's son repent for this war. When falling upon the sons of Dhritarashtra the fierce Bhima of terrible mien, mace in hand, will slaughter them, like a huge lion falling upon a herd of kine, then will Duryodhana repent for this war. When the heroic Bhima undaunted even in situations of great danger and skilled in weapons-when that grinder of hostile hosts in battle,--mounted on his car, and alone will crush by his mace crowds of superior cars and entire ranks of infantry, seize by his nooses strong as iron, the elephants of the hostile army, and mow down the Dhritarashtra's host, like a sturdy woodsman cutting a forest down with an axe, then will Dhritarashtra's son repent for this war. When he will behold the Dhartarashtra's host consumed like a hamlet full of straw-built huts by fire, or a field of ripe corn by lightning,--indeed when he will behold his vast army scattered, its leaders slain, and men running away with their back towards the field afflicted with fear, and all the warriors, humbled to the dust, being scorched by Bhimasena with the fire of his weapons,--then will the son of Dhritarashtra repent for this war, When Nakula, that warrior of wonderful feats, that foremost of all car-warriors, dexterously shooting arrows by hundreds, will mangle the car-warriors of Duryodhana, then will the son of Dhritarashtra repent for this war. Accustomed to enjoy all the comforts and luxuries of life, when Nakula, recollecting that bed of woe on which he had slept for a long time in the woods, will vomit the poison of his wrath like an angry snake, then will the son of Dhritarashtra repent for this war. Ready to lay down their very lives, the (allied) monarchs, O Suta, urged to battle by king Yudhishthira the Just, will furiously advance on their resplendent cars against the (hostile) army. Beholding this, the son of Dhritarashtra will certainly have to repent. When the Kuru prince will behold the five heroic sons of (Draupadi), tender in years but not in acts, and all well-versed in arms, rush, reckless of their lives, against the Kauravas, then will that son of Dhritarashtra repent for this war. When bent upon carnage Sahadeva, mounted on his car of noiseless wheels, and motion incapable of being obstructed, and set with golden stars, and drawn by well-trained steeds, will make the heads of monarchs roll on the field of battle with volleys of arrows,--indeed, beholding that warrior skilled in weapons, seated on his car in the midst of that frightful havoc, turning now to the left and now to the right and falling upon the foe in all directions, then will the son of Dhritarashtra repent for this war. Indeed, when the modest but mighty Sahadeva, skilled in battle, truthful, conversant with all the ways of morality, and endued with great activity and impetuousness, will fall upon the son of Gandhari in fierce encounter and rout all his followers, then will the son of Dhritarashtra repent for this war. When he will behold the sons of Draupadi, those great bowmen, those heroes skilled in weapons and well-versed in all the ways of chariot-fighting, dart at the foe like snakes of virulent poison, then will the son of Dhritarashtra repent for this war. When that slayer of hostile heroes, Abhimanyu, skilled in arms like Krishna himself, will overpower the foe showering upon them, like the very clouds, a thick downpour of arrows, then will the son of Dhritarashtra repent for this war. Indeed, when he will behold that son of Subhadra, a child in years but not in energy, skilled in weapons and like unto Indra himself, failing like Death's self upon the ranks of the foe, then will the son of Dhritarashtra repent for this war. When the youthful Prabhadrakas, endued with great activity, well-versed in battle, and possessed of the energy of lions will overthrow the sons of Dhritarashtra with all their troops, then will Duryodhana repent for this war. When those veteran car-warriors Virata and Drupada will assail, at the head of their respective divisions, the sons of Dhritarashtra and their ranks, then will Duryodhana repent for this war. When Drupada, skilled in weapons, and seated on his car, desirous of plucking the heads of youthful warriors, will wrathfully strike them off with arrows shot from his bow, then will the son of Dhritarashtra repent for this war. When that slayer of hostile heroes, Virata will penetrate into the ranks of the foe, grinding all before him with the aid of his Matsya warriors of cool courage, then will the son of Dhritarashtra repent for this war. When he will behold in the very van the eldest son of the Matsya king, of cool courage and collected mien, seated on his car and accoutred in mail on behalf of the Pandavas, then will the son of Dhritarashtra. repent for this war. I tell thee truly that when that foremost of Kaurava heroes, the virtuous son of Santanu, will be slain in battle by Sikhandin, then all our foes, without doubt, will perish. Indeed, when, overthrowing numerous car-warriors, Sikhandin, seated on his own well-protected car, will proceed towards Bhishma, crushing multitudes of (hostile) cars by means of his own powerful steeds, then will the son of Dhritarashtra repent for this war. When he will behold Dhristadyumna unto whom Drona hath imparted all the mysteries of the science of weapons, stationed in splendour in the very van of the Srinjaya ranks, then will the son of Dhritarashtra repent. Indeed, when the leader of the Pandava host, of immeasurable prowess and capable of withstanding the rush of any force, will proceed to attack Drona in battle, crushing with his arrows the Dhritarashtra ranks, then will Duryodhana repent for this war. What enemy can withstand him who hath, for fighting in his van, that lion of the Vrishni race, that chief of the Somakas, who is modest and intelligent, mighty and endued with great energy, and blessed with every kind of prosperity? Say also this (unto Duryodhana),--Do not covet (the kingdom). We have chosen, for our leader, the dauntless and mighty car-warrior Satyaki, the grandson of Sini, skilled in weapons and having none on earth as his equal. Of broad chest and long arms, that grinder of foes, unrivalled in battle, and acquainted with the best of weapons, the grandson of Sini, skilled in arms and perfectly dauntless, is a mighty car-warrior wielding a bow of full four cubits' length. When that slayer of foes, that chief of the Sinis, urged by me, will shower, like the very clouds, his arrows on the foe, completely overwhelming their leaders with that downpour, then will the son of Dhritarashtra repent for this war. When that illustrious warrior of long arms and firm grasp of the bow, musters his resolution for fight, the foe then, like kine getting the scent of the lion, fly away from him before even commencing the encounter. That illustrious warrior of long arms and firm grasp of the bow is capable of splitting the very hills and destroying the entire universe. Practised in weapons, skilled (in battle), and endued with exceeding lightness of hand, he shineth on the field of battle like the sun himself in the sky. That lion of the Vrishni race, that scion of Yadu's line, of superior training, hath diverse wonderful and excellent weapons. Indeed, Satyaki is possessed of a knowledge of all those uses of weapons that are said to be of the highest excellence. When he will behold in battle the golden car of Satyaki of Madhu's race, drawn by four white steeds, then will that wretch of uncontrolled passions, the son of Dhritarashtra, repent. When he will also behold my terrible car, endued with the effulgence of gold and bright gems, drawn by white steeds and furnished with the banner bearing the device of the Ape and guided by Kesava himself, then will that wretch of uncontrolled passions repent. When he will hear the fierce twang produced by the constant stretch of the bow-string with fingers cased in leather gloves,--that terrible twang, loud as the rolling of the thunder, of my bow Gandiva wielded by me in the midst of the great battle,--then will that wicked wretch, the son of Dhritarashtra repent, beholding himself abandoned by his troops, flying away like kine from the field of battle in all directions, overwhelmed with the darkness created by my arrowy downpour. When he will behold innumerable keen-edged arrows, furnished with beautiful wings, and capable of penetrating into the very vitals, shot from the string of Gandiva, like fierce and terrible flashes of lightning emitted by the clouds, destroying enemies by thousands, and devouring numberless steeds and elephants clad in mail, then will the son of Dhritarashtra repent for this war. When he will behold the arrows shot by the enemy turned off, or turned back struck by my shafts, or cut to pieces pierced transversely by my arrows, then will the foolish son of Dhritarashtra repent for this war. When broad-headed arrows shot by my hands will strike off the heads of youthful warriors, like birds picking off fruits from the tree-tops, then will the son of Dhritarashtra repent for this war. When he will behold excellent warriors of his failing down from their cars, and elephants and steeds rolling on the field, deprived of life by my arrows, then will the son of Dhritarashtra repent for this war. When he will behold his brothers, even before

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fairly coming within the range of the enemy's weapons, die all around, without having achieved anything in battle, then will the son of Dhritarashtra repent for this war. When pouring my blazing shafts incessantly, I will, like Death himself with mouth wide-open, destroy on all sides multitudes of cars and foot-soldiers, then will that wretch repent. When he will behold his own troops, covered with the dust raised by my car wander in all directions, torn to pieces by Gandiva and reft of senses, then will that wretch repent. When he will behold his whole army running away in fear in all directions, mangled in limbs, and bereft of senses; when he will behold his steeds, elephants, and foremost of heroes slain; when he will see his troops thirsty, struck with panic, wailing aloud, dead and dying, with their animals exhausted; and hair, bones and skulls lying in heaps around like half-wrought works of the Creator, then will that wretch repent. When he will behold on my car, Gandiva, Vasudeva, and the celestial conch Panchajanya, myself, my couple of inexhaustible quivers, and my conch called Devadatta as also my white steeds, then will the son of Dhritarashtra repent for this war. When I consume the Kauravas, like Agni consuming innumerable wicked souls assembled together at the time of ushering in another Yuga at the end of the last one, then Dhritarashtra with all his sons repent. When the wicked, hearted and the wrathful son of Dhritarashtra will be deprived of prosperity with brothers and army and followers, then, reft of pride and losing heart and trembling all over, will that fool repent. One morning when I had finished my water-rites and prayers, a Brahmana spoke unto me these pleasant words, 'O Partha, thou shalt have to execute a very difficult task. O Savyasachin, thou shalt have to fight with thy foes. Either Indra riding on his excellent steed and thunderbolt in hand will walk before thee slaying thy foes in battle, or Krishna, the son of Vasudeva will protect thee from behind riding on his car drawn by the steeds headed by Sugriva. Relying on those words, I have, in this battle passing over Indra, the wielder of the thunderbolt, preferred Vasudeva as my ally. That Krishna hath been obtained by me for the destruction of those wicked ones. I see the hand of the gods in all this. The person whose success is only wished for by Krishna, without the latter's actually taking up arms in his behalf, is certain to prevail over all enemies, even if those be the celestials with Indra at their head, while anxiety there is none if they be human. He that wisheth to conquer in battle that foremost of heroes, Vasudeva's son Krishna endued with great energy, wisheth to cross by his two arms alone the great ocean of wide expanse and immeasurable water. He. that wisheth to split by a slap of his palm the high Kailasa mountain, is not able to do the slightest damage to the mountain although his hand only with its nails is sure to wear away. He that would conquer Vasudeva in battle, would, with his two arms, extinguish a blazing fire, stop the Sun and the Moon, and plunder by force the Amrita of the gods,--that Vasudeva, viz., who having mowed down in battle by main force all the royal warriors of the Bhoja race, had carried off on a single car Rukmini of great fame for making her his wife; and by her was afterwards born Pradyumna of high soul. It was this favourite of the gods, who, having speedily smashed the Gandharas and conquered all the sons of Nagnajit, forcibly liberated from confinement king Sudarsana of great energy. It was he that slew king Pandya by striking his breast against his, and moved down the Kalingas in battle Burnt by him, the city of Varanasi remained for many years without e king, incapable of being defeated by others. Ekalavya, the king of the Nishadas, always used to challenge this one to battle; but slain by Krishna he lay dead like the Asura Jambha violently thrashed on a hillock. It was Krishna, who, having Baladeva for his second, slew Ugrasena's wicked son (Kansa), seated in court in the midst of the Vrishnis and the Andhakas, and then gave unto Ugrasena the kingdom. It was Krishna who fought with king Salya, the lord of Saubha, stationed in the skies, fearless in consequence of his powers of illusion; and it was he, who, at the gate of Subha caught with his hands the fierce Sataghni (hurled by Saubha's lord). What mortal is able to bear his might? The Asuras had a city named Pragjyotisha, which was formidable, inaccessible and unbearable. It was there that the mighty Naraka, the son of the Earth, kept the jewelled ear-rings of Aditi, having brought them by force. The very gods, who, fearless of death, assembled together with Sakra at their head were incapable of conquering him. Beholding Kesava's prowess and might, and weapon that is irresistible, and knowing also the object of his birth, the gods employed him for the destruction of those Asuras. Vasudeva, too, endued with all the divine attributes that ensure success, agreed to undertake that exceedingly difficult task. In the city of Nirmochana that hero slew six thousand Asuras, and cutting into pieces innumerable keen-edged shafts, he slew Mura and hosts of Rakshasas, and then entered that city. It was there, that an encounter took place between the mighty' Naraka and Vishnu of immeasurable strength. Slain by Krishna, Naraka lay lifeless there, like a Karnikara tree uprooted by the wind. Having slain the Earth's son, Naraka, and also Mura, and having recovered those jewelled ear-rings, the learned Krishna of unparalleled prowess came back, adorned with beauty and undying fame. Having witnessed his terrible feats in that battle, the gods then and there blessed him saying, 'Fatigue will never be thine in fights, neither the firmament nor the waters shall stop thy course, nor shall weapons penetrate thy body.' And Krishna, by all this, regarded himself amply rewarded. Immeasurable, and possessed of great might, in Vasudeva ever exist all the virtues. And yet the son of Dhritarashtra seeketh to vanquish that unbearable Vishnu of infinite energy, for that wretch often thinks of imprisoning him. Krishna, however, beareth all this for our sake only. That wretch seeketh to create a sudden disunion between Krishna and myself. How far, however, he is capable of taking away the affection of Krishna from the Pandavas, he will see on the field of battle. Having bowed down unto Santanu's son, and also Drona with his son, and the unrivalled son of Saradwat, I shall fight for regaining our kingdom. The God of justice himself, I am sure, will bring destruction on that sinful man who will fight with the Pandavas. Deceitfully defeated at dice by those wretches, ourselves, of royal birth, had to pass twelve years in great distress in the forest and one long year in a state of concealment. When those Pandavas are still alive, how shall the sons of Dhritarashtra rejoice, possessing rank and affluence? If they vanquish us in fight, aided by the very gods headed by Indra, the then practice of vice would be better than virtue, and surely there would be nothing like righteousness on earth. If man is affected by his acts, if we be superior to Duryodhana, then, I hope that, with Vasudeva as my second, I shall slay Duryodhana, with all his kinsmen. O lord of men, if the act of robbing us of our kingdom be wicked, if these our own good deeds be not fruitless, than beholding both this and that, it seems to me, the overthrow of Duryodhana is certain. Ye Kauravas, ye will see it with your eyes that, if they fight, the sons of Dhritarashtra shall certainly perish. If they act otherwise instead of fighting, then they may live; but in the event of a battle ensuing, none of them will be left alive. Slaying all the sons of Dhritarashtra along with Karna, I shall surely wrest the hole of their kingdom, Do ye, meanwhile, whatever ye think best, and enjoy also your wives and other sweet things of life. There are, with us, many aged Brahmanas, versed in various sciences, of amiable behaviour, well-born, acquainted with the cycle of the years, engaged in the study of astrology, capable of understanding with certainty the motions of planets and the conjunctions of stars as also of explaining the mysteries of fate, and answering questions relating to the future, acquainted with the signs of the Zodiac, and versed with the occurrences of every hour, who are prophesying the great destruction of the Kurus and the Srinjayas, and the ultimate victory of the Pandavas, so that Yudhishthira, who never made an enemy, already regardeth his objects fulfilled in consequence of the slaughter of his foes. And Janardana also, that lion among the Vrishnis, endued with the knowledge of the invisible future, without doubt, beholdeth all this. And I also, with unerring foresight, myself behold that future, for that foresight of mine, acquired of old, is not obstructed. The sons of Dhritarashtra, if they fight, will not live. My bow, Gandiva, yawneth without being handled; my bow-string trembleth without being stretched; and arrows also, issuing from my quiver's mouth, are again and again seeking to fly. My bright scimitar issueth of itself from its sheath, like a snake quitting its own worn off slough; and on the top of my flag-staff are heard terrific voices,--When shall thy car be yoked, O Kiritin? Innumerable jackals set up hideous howls at night, and Rakshasas frequently alight from the sky; deer and jackals and peacocks, crows and vultures and cranes, and wolves and birds of golden plumage, follow in the rear of my car when my white steeds are yoked unto it. Single-handed I can despatch, with arrowy showers, all warlike kings, to the regions of death. As a blazing fire consumeth a forest in the hot season, so, exhibiting diverse courses, I will hurl those great weapons called Sthur-karna, Pasupata, and Brahma, and all those that Sakra gave me, all of which are endued with fierce impetuosity. And with their aid, setting my heart on the destruction of those monarchs, I will leave no remnant of those that come to the field of battle. I will rest, having done all this. Even this is my chief and decided resolve. Tell them this, O son of Gavalgana. Look at the folly of Duryodhana! O Suta, they that are invincible in battle even if encountered with the aid of the very gods headed by Indra,--even against them that son of Dhritarashtra thinketh of warring! But so let it be even as the aged Bhishma, the son of Santanu, and Kripa, and Drona with his son, and Vidura endued with great wisdom, are saying, 'May the Kauravas all live long!"

SECTION 49

"Vaisampayana said, 'In the midst, O Bharata, of all those assembled kings, Bhishma, the son of Santanu, then said these words unto Duryodhana, 'Once on a time, Vrihaspati and Sakra went to Brahma. The Maruts also with Indra, the Vasus with Agni, the Adityas, the Sadhyas, the seven celestial Rishis, the Gandharvas, Viswavasu, and the beautiful tribes of the Apsaras, all approached the ancient Grandsire. And having bowed down unto the Lord of the universe, all those dwellers of heaven sat around him. Just then, the two ancient deities, the Rishis Nara and Narayana, as if drawing unto themselves by their own energy the minds and energies of all who were present there, left the place.' Thereupon, Vrihaspati asked Brahma, saying,--Who are these two that leave the place without worshipping thee? Tell us, O Grandsire, who are they? Thus asked, Brahma said, 'These two, endued with ascetic merit, blazing with effulgence and beauty, illuminating both the earth and the heaven, possessed of great might, and pervading and surpassing all, are Nara and Narayana, dwelling now in the region of Brahman having arrived from the other world. Endued with great might and prowess, they shine in consequence of their own asceticism. By their acts they always contribute to the joy of the world. Worshipped by the gods and the Gandharvas, they exist only for the destruction of Asuras.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Having heard these words, Sakra went to the spot where those two were practising ascetic austerities, accompanied by all the celestials and having Vrihaspati at their head. At that time, the dwellers of heaven had been very much alarmed in consequence of a war raging between themselves and the Asuras. And Indra asked that illustrious couple to grant him a boon. Thus solicited, O best of the Bharata race, those two said,--Name thou the boon.--Upon this Sakra said unto them,--Give us your aid.--They then said unto Sakra,--We will do what thou wishest. And then it was with their aid that Sakra subsequently vanquished the Daityas and the Danavas. The chastiser of foes, Nara, slew in battle hundreds and thousands of Indra's foes among the Paulomas and the Kalakhanjas. It was this Arjuna, who, riding on a whirling car, severed in battle, with a broad-headed arrow, the head of the Asura Jambha while the latter was about to swallow him. It was he who afflicted (the Daitya city of Hiranyapura) on the other side of the ocean, having vanquished in battle sixty thousands of Nivatakavachas. It was this conqueror of hostile towns, this Arjuna of mighty arms, that gratified Agni, having vanquished the very gods with Indra at their head. And Narayana also hath, in this world, destroyed in the same way numberless other Daityas and Danavas. Even such are those two of mighty energy that are now seen united with each other. It hath been heard by us that the two heroic and mighty car-warriors, Vasudeva and Arjuna, that are now united with each other, are those same ancient gods, the divine Nara and Narayana. Amongst all on earth they are incapable of being vanquished by the Asuras and the gods headed by Indra himself. That Narayana is Krishna, and that Nara is Falguna. Indeed, they are one Soul born in twain. These two, by their acts, enjoy numerous eternal and inexhaustible regions, and are repeatedly born in those worlds when destructive wars are necessary. For this reason their mission is to fight. Just this is what Narada, conversant with the Vedas, had said unto the Vrishnis. When thou, O Duryodhana, wilt see Kesava with conch-shell and discus, and mace in hand, and that terrible wielder of the bow, Arjuna, armed with weapons, when thou wilt behold those eternal and illustrious ones, the two Krishnas seated on the same car, then wilt thou, O child, remember these my words. Why should not such danger threaten the Kurus when thy intellect, O child, hath fallen off from both profit and virtue? If thou heedest not my words, thou shalt then have to hear of the slaughter of many, for all the Kauravas accept thy opinion. Thou art alone in holding as true the opinion, O bull of the Bharata race, only three persons, viz., Karna, a low-born Suta's son cursed by Rama, Sakuni, the son of Suvala, and thy mean and sinful brother Dussasana.'

'Karna said. 'It behoveth thee not, O blessed grandsire, to use such words towards me, for I have adopted the duties of the Kshatriya order without falling off from those of my own. Besides, what wickedness is there in me? I have no sin known to any one of Dhritarashtra's people. I have never done any injury to Dhritarashtra's son; on the other hand, I will slay all the Pandavas in battle. How can they that are wise make peace again with those that have before been injured? It is always my duty to do all that is agreeable to king Dhritarashtra, and especially to Duryodhana, for he is in possession of the kingdom.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having listened to these words of Karna, Bhishma the son of Santanu, addressing king Dhritarashtra, again said, 'Although this one often boasteth saying,--I shall slay the Pandavas,--yet he is not equal to even a sixteenth part of high-souled Pandavas. Know that the great calamity that is about to overtake thy sons of wicked souls, is the act of this wretched son of a Suta! Relying upon him, thy foolish son Suyodhana hath insulted those heroes of celestial descent, those chastiser of all foes. What, however, is that difficult feat achieved by this wretch before that is equal to any of those achieved of old by every one of the Pandavas? Beholding in the city of Virata his beloved brother slain by Dhananjaya who displayed such prowess, what did this one then do? When Dhananjaya, rushing against all the assembled Kurus, crushed them and took away their robes, was this one not there then? When thy son was being led away as a captive by the Gandharvas on the occasion of the tale of the cattle, where was this son of a Suta then who now belloweth like a bull? Even there, it was Bhima, and the illustrious Partha,

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and the twins, that encountered the Gandharvas and vanquished them. Ever beautiful, and always unmindful of both virtue and profit, these, O bull of the Bharata race, are the many false things, blessed be thou, that this one uttereth.'

'Having heard these words of Bhishma, the high-souled son of Bharadwaja, having paid due homage unto Dhritarashtra and the assembled kings, spoke unto him these words, 'Do that, O king, which the best of the Bharatas, Bhishma, hath said. It behoveth thee not to act according to the words of those that are covetous of wealth. Peace with the Pandavas, before the war breaks out, seems to be the best. Everything said by Arjuna and repeated here by Sanjaya, will, I know, be accomplished by that son of Pandu, for there is no bowman equal unto him in the three world!' Without regarding, however, these words spoken by both Drona and Bhishma, the king again asked Sanjaya about the Pandavas. From that moment, when the king returned not a proper answer to Bhishma and Drona, the Kauravas gave up all hopes of life.'"

SECTION 50

"Dhritarashtra said, 'What did that Pandava king, the son of Dharma, say, O Sanjaya, after hearing that a large force hath been assembled here for gladdening us? How also is Yudhishthira acting, in view of the coming strife, O Suta, who amongst his brothers and sons are looking up to his face, desirous of receiving his orders? Provoked as he is by the deceptions of my wicked sons, who, again, are dissuading that king of virtuous behaviour and conversant with virtue, saying,--Have peace?'

"Sanjaya said, 'All the Panchalas, along with the other sons of Pandu, are looking up to Yudhishthira's face, blessed be thou, and he too is restraining them all. Multitudes of cars belonging to the Pandavas and the Panchalas are coming in separate bodies for gladdening Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, ready to march to the field of battle. As the sky brightens up at the advent of the rising sun, so the Panchalas are rejoicing at their union with Kunti's son of blazing splendour, risen like a flood of light. The Panchalas, the Kekayas, and the Matsyas, along with the very herdsmen that attend on their kine and sheep, are rejoicing and gladdening Yudhishthira, the son of Pandu. Brahmana and Kshatriya girls and the very daughters of the Vaisyas, in large number, are coming in playful mood for beholding Partha accounted in coat of mail.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Tell us, O Sanjaya, of the forces of Dhrishtadyumna, as also of the Somakas, and of all others, with which the Pandavas intend to fight with us.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus interrogated, in the midst of the Kurus and in their very hall, the son of Gavalgana' became thoughtful for a moment and seemed to draw repeatedly deep and long sights; and suddenly he fell down in a swoon without any apparent reason. Then in that assembly of kings, Vidura said loudly, 'Sanjaya, O great king, hath fallen down on the ground senseless, and cannot utter a word, bereft of sense and his intellect clouded.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Without doubt, Sanjaya, having seen those mighty car-warriors, the sons of Kunti, hath his mind filled with great anxiety in consequence of those tigers among men.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having recovered consciousness, and being comforted, Sanjaya addressed king Dhritarashtra in the midst of that concourse of Kurus in that hall, saying, 'Indeed, O king of kings, I saw those great warriors, the sons of Kunti, thinned in body, in consequence of the restraint in which they had lived in the place of the king of the Matsyas. Hear, O King, with whom the Pandavas will contend against you. With that hero Dhrishtadyumna as their ally, they will fight against you. With that personage of virtuous soul, who never forsaketh truth through anger or fear, temptation, or for the sake of wealth, of disputation; and who is, O King, a very authority in matters of religion, himself being the best of those that practise virtue;--with him, who hath never made an enemy, the sons of Pandu will fight against you.' He unto whom no one on earth is equal in might of arms, and who, wielding his bow had brought all kings under subjection, and who, vanquishing of old all the people of Kasi and Anga and Magadha, as also the Kalingas;--with that Bhimasena will the sons of Pandu fight against, you. Indeed, he through whose might the four sons of Pandu quickly could alight on the earth, having issued forth from the (burning) house of lac that son of Kunti, Vrikodara, who became the means of their rescue from the cannibal Hidimva; that son of Kunti, Vrikodara, who became their refuge when the daughter of Yajnasena was being carried away by Jayadratha; indeed, with that Bhima. who rescued the assembled Pandavas from the conflagration at Varanavata; even with him (as their ally) will they fight against you. He, who for the gratification of Krishna slew the Krodhavasas, having penetrated the rugged and terrible mountains of Gandhamadana, he to whose arms hath been imparted the might of ten thousand elephants; with that Bhimasena (as their ally) the Pandavas will fight against you. That hero, who, for the gratification of Agni, with Krishna only for his second, bravely vanquished of yore Purandara in fight; he who gratified by combat that God of gods, the trident-bearing lord of Uma--Mahadeva himself having the mountains for his abode; that foremost of warriors who subjugated all the kings of the earth--with that Vijaya (as their ally) the Pandavas will encounter you in battle. That wonderful warrior Nakula, who vanquished the whole of the western world teeming with Mlechchas, is present in the Pandava camp. With that handsome hero, that unrivalled bowman, that son of Madri, O Kauravya, the Pandavas will fight against you. He who vanquished in battle the warriors of Kasi, Anga, and Kalinga,--with that Sahadeva will the Pandavas encounter you in battle. He, who in energy hath for his equals only four men on earth, viz., Aswatthaman and Dhrishtaketu and Rukmi and Pradyumna,--with that Sahadeva, youngest in years, that hero among men, that gladdener of Madri's heart, with him, O King, will you have a destructive battle. She, who, while living of yore as the daughter of the king of Kasi, had practised the austerest penances; she, who, O bull of the Bharata race, desiring even in a subsequent life to compass the destruction of Bhishma, took her birth as the daughter of Panchala, and accidentally became afterwards a male; who, O tiger among men, is conversant with the merits and demerits of both sexes; that invincible prince of the Panchala who encountered the Kalingas in battle, with what Sikhandin skilled in every weapon, will the Pandavas fight against you. She whom a Yaksha for Bhishma's destruction metamorphosed into a male, with that formidable bowman will the Pandavas fight against you. With those mighty bowmen, all, brothers those five Kekaya princes, with those heroes clad in mail will the Pandavas fight against you. With that warrior of long arms: endued with great activity in the use of weapons, possessed of intelligence and prowess incapable of being baffled, with that Yuyudhana, the lion of the Vrishni race, will you have to fight. He, who had been the refuge of the high-souled Pandavas for a time, with that Virata, will ye have an encounter in battle. The lord of Kasi, that mighty car-warrior who ruleth in Varanasi hath become an ally of theirs; with him the Pandavas will fight against you. The high-souled sons of Draupadi, tender in years but invincible in battle, and unapproachable like snakes of virulent poison, with them, will the Pandavas fight against you. He, that in energy is like unto Krishna and in self-restraint unto Yudhishthira, with that Abhimanyu, will the Pandavas fight against you. That war-like son of Sisupala, Dhrishtaketu of great fame, who in energy is beyond comparison and who when angry is incapable of being withstood in battle, with that king of the Chedis who has joined the Pandavas at the head of an Akshauhini of his own, will the sons of Pandu fight against you. He that is the refuge of the Pandavas, even as Vasava is of the celestials, with that Vasudeva, the Pandavas will fight against you. He also, O bull of Bharata race, Sarabha the brother of the king of the Chedis, who again is united with Karakarsa, with both these, the Pandavas will fight against you. Sahadeva, the son of Jarasandha, and Jayatsena, both unrivalled heroes in battle, are resolved upon fighting for the Pandavas. And Drupada too, possessed of great might, and followed by a large force, and reckless of his life, is resolved to fight for the Pandavas. Relying upon these and other kings by hundreds, of both the eastern and northern countries, king Yudhishthira the Just, is prepared for battle.'"

SECTION 51

"Dhritarashtra said, 'All these named by thee are, indeed, endued with great courage, but all of them together are equal to Bhima singly. My fear, O child, from the wrathful Bhima is, indeed, very great, like that of fat deer from an enraged tiger. I pass all my nights in sleeplessness, breathing deep and hot sighs afraid of Vrikodara, O child, like an animal of any other species afraid of the lion. Of mighty arms, and in energy equal unto Sakra himself, I see not in this whole army even one that can withstand him in battle. Exceedingly wrathful and determined in animosity, that son of Kunti and Pandu smileth not even in jest, is mad with rage, casteth his glances obliquely, and speaketh in a voice of thunder. Of great impetuosity and great courage, of long arms and great might, he will not, in battle, leave even one of my foolish sons alive. Indeed, Vrikodara, that bull among the Kurus, whirling his mace in battle, will, like a second Yama mace in hand slay all my sons who are afflicted by a heavy calamity. Even now I see that terrible mace of his, with eight sides made of steel, and adorned with gold, uplifted like a Brahmana's curse. As a lion of mighty strength among a flock of deer, Bhima will range among my troops. He only (amongst his brothers) always displayed his strength cruelly towards my sons. Eating voraciously, and endued with great impetuosity, from his very childhood he hath been behaving inimically towards my children. My heart trembleth (to remember) that even in their childhood, Duryodhana and other sons of mine, while fighting with him (sportively) were always ground down by the elephant-like Bhima. Alas, my sons have always been oppressed by his might, and it is that Bhima of terrible prowess that hath been the cause of this rupture. Even now I behold Bhima, mad with rage, fighting in the very van, and devouring the whole of my host consisting of men, elephants, and steeds. Equal unto Drona and Arjuna in weapons, his speed equal unto the velocity of the wind, and in wrath like unto Maheswara himself, who is there, O Sanjaya, that would slay that wrathful and terrible hero in battle? I think it to be a great gain that my sons were not even then slain by that slayer of enemies who is endued with such energy. How can a human being withstand the impetuosity of that warrior in battle who slew Yakshas and Rakshasas of terrible might before? O Sanjaya, even in his childhood he was never completely under my control. Injured by my wicked sons, how can that son of Pandu come under my control now? Cruel and extremely wrathful, he would break but not bend. Of oblique glances and contracted eye-brows, how can he be induced to remain quiet? Endued with heroism, of incomparable might and fair complexion, tall like a palmyra tree, and in height taller than Arjuna by the span of the thumb, the second son of Pandu surpasseth the very steeds in swiftness, and elephants in strength, speaketh in indistinct accents, and possesseth eyes having the hue of honey. As regards form and might, even such was he in his very boyhood, as I truly heard long before from the lips of Vyasa! Terrible and possessed of cruel might, when angry he will destroy in battle with his iron-mace cars and elephants and men and horses. By acting against his wishes, that foremost of smiters who is ever wrathful and furious, hath before been, O child, insulted by me. Alas, how will my sons bear that mace of his which is straight, made of steel, thick, of beautiful sides, adorned with gold, capable of slaying a hundred, and producing a terrible sound when hurled at the foe? Alas, O child, my foolish sons are desirous of crossing that inaccessible ocean constituted by Bhima, which is really shoreless, without a raft on it, immeasurable in depth, and full of currents impetuous as the course of arrows. Fools in reality though boasting of their wisdom, alas, my children do not listen to me even though I cry out. Beholding only the honey they do not see the terrible fall that is before them. They that will rush to battle with Death himself in that human shape, are certainly doomed to destruction by the Supreme Ordainer, like animals within the lion's view. Full four cubits in length, endued with six sides and great might, and having also a deadly touch, when he will hurl his mace from' the sting, how shall my sons, O child, bear its impetus? Whirling his mace and breaking therewith the heads of (hostile) elephants, licking with his tongue the corners of his mouth and drawing long breaths, when he will rush with loud roars against mighty elephants, returning the yells of those infuriated beasts that might rush against him, and when entering the close array of cars he will slay, after taking proper aim, the chief warriors before him, what mortal of my party will escape from him looking like a blazing flame? Crushing my forces and cutting a passage through them, that mighty armed hero, dancing with mace in hand, will exhibit the scene, witnessed during the universal Dissolution at the end of a Yuga. Like an infuriated elephant crushing trees adorned with flowers, Vrikodara, in battle will, furiously penetrate the ranks of my sons. Depriving my warriors of their cars, drivers, steeds, and flag-staff, and afflicting all warriors fighting from cars and the backs of elephants, that tiger among men will, O Sanjaya, like the impetuous current of Ganga throwing down diverse trees standing on its banks, crush in battle the troops of my sons. Without doubt, O Sanjaya, afflicted by the fear of Bhimasena, my sons and their dependents and all the allied kings will fly in different directions. It was this Bhima who, having entered of old, with Vasudeva's aid, the innermost apartments of Jarasandha, overthrew that king endued with great energy; that lord of Magadha, the mighty Jarasandha, having fully brought under his subjection the goddess Earth, oppressed her by his energy. That the Kauravas in consequence of Bhishma's prowess, and the Andhakas and the Vrishnis in consequence of their policy, could not be subjugated by him was due only to their good fortune. What could be more wonderful than that the heroic son of Pandu, of mighty arms and without any weapons, having approached that king, slew him in a trice? Like a venomous snake, whose poison hath accumulated for years, Bhima will, O Sanjaya, vomit in battle the poison of his wrath upon my sons! Like the foremost of the celestials, the great Indra, smiting the Danavas with his thunderbolt, Bhimasena will, mace in hand, slay all my sons! Incapable of being withstood or resisted, of fierce impetus and powers, and with eyes of a coppery hue, I behold even now that Vrikodara failing upon my sons. Without mace or bow, without car or coat of mail, fighting with his bare arms only, what man is there that can stand before him? Bhishma, that regenerate Drona, and Kripa the son of Saradwat,--these are as much acquainted as I myself with the energy of the intelligent Bhima. Acquainted with the practice of those that are noble, and desirous of death in battle, these bulls among men will take their stand in the van of our army. Destiny is everywhere powerful, especially in the case of a male person, for beholding the victory of the Pandavas in battle, I do not yet restrain my sons. These mighty bowmen of mine, desirous of treading in that ancient track leading up to heaven, will lay down their lives in battle, taking care, however, of earthly fame. O child, my sons are the same to these mighty bowmen as the Pandavas are to them, for all of them are grandsons of

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Bhishma and disciples of Drona and Kripa. O Sanjaya, the little acceptable services that we have been able to do unto these three venerable ones, will certainly be repaid by them owing to their own noble dispositions. It is said that death in battle of a Kshatriya, who hath taken up arms and desireth to observe Kshatriya practices is, indeed, both good and meritorious. I weep, however, for all those that will fight against the Pandavas. That very danger hath now come which was foreseen by Vidura at the outset. It seems, O Sanjaya, that wisdom is incapable of dispelling woe; on the other hand, it is overwhelming woe that dispelleth wisdom. When the very sages, that are emancipated from all worldly concerns and that behold, standing aloof, all the affairs of the universe, are affected by prosperity and adversity, what wonder is there that I should grieve, I who have my affections fixed on a thousand things such as sons, kingdom, wives, grandsons, and relatives? What good can possibly be in store for me on the accession of such a frightful danger? Reflecting on every circumstance, I see the certain destruction of the Kurus. That match at dice seems to be the cause of this great danger of the Kurus. Alas, this sin was committed from temptation by foolish Duryodhana, desirous of wealth; I believe all this to be the untoward effect of ever-fleeting Time that bringeth on everything. Tied to the wheel of Time, like its periphery, I am not capable of flying away from it. Tell me, O Sanjaya, where shall I go? What shall I do, and, how shall I do it? These foolish Kauravas will all be destroyed, their Time having come. Helplessly I shall have to hear the wailing of women when my hundred sons will all be slain. Oh, how may death come upon me? As a blazing fire in the summer season., when urged by the wind, consumeth dry grass, so will Bhima, mace in hand, and united with Arjuna, slay all on my side!'"

SECTION 52

"Dhritarashtra said, 'He whom we have never heard to speak a falsehood, he who hath Dhananjaya to fight for him, may have the sovereignty of even the three worlds. Reflecting from day to day I do not find the warrior who may, on his car, advance in battle against the wielder of Gandiva. When that wielder of Gandiva will shoot winged arrows and Nalikas and shafts capable of piercing the breast of warriors, there is no rival of his in battle. If those bulls among men, those heroes,--Drona and Karna,--those foremost of mighty men, versed in weapons and invincible in battle, withstand him, the result may be very doubtful, but I am sure that the victory will not be mine. Karna is both compassionate and heedless, and preceptor is aged and hath affection for this pupil. Partha, however, is able and mighty, of firm grasp (of the bow). Terrible will be the encounter between them, without resulting in any one's defeat. Conversant with weapons and endued with heroism, all of them have earned great fame. They may relinquish the very sovereignty of the gods, but not the chance of winning victory. There would be peace, without doubt, upon the fall of either of these two (Drona and Karna) or of Falguna, There is none, however, who can either slay or vanquish Arjuna. Alas, how may his wrath that hath been excited against my foolish sons be pacified. Others there are acquainted with the use of weapons, that conqueror are conquered; but it is heard that Falguna always conquereth. Three and thirty years have passed away since the time, when Arjuna, having invited Agni, gratified him at Khandava, vanquishing all the celestials. We have never heard of his defeat anywhere, O child. Like the case of Indra, victory is always Arjuna's, who hath for his charioteer in battle Hrishikesa, endued with the same character and position. We hear that the two Krishnas on the same car and the stringed Gandiva,--these three forces,--have been united together. As regards ourselves, we have not a bow of that kind, or a warrior like Arjuna, or a charioteer like Krishna. The foolish followers of Duryodhana are not aware of this. O Sanjaya, the blazing thunderbolt falling on the head leaveth something undestroyed, but the arrows, O child, shot by Kiritin leave nothing undestroyed. Even now I behold Dhanajaya shooting his arrows and committing a havoc around, picking off heads from bodies with his arrowy showers! Even now I behold the arrowy conflagration, blazing all around, issuing from the Gandiva, consuming in battle the ranks of my sons. Even now it seemeth to me that, struck with panic at the rattle of Savyasachin's car, my vast army consisting of diverse forces is running away in all directions. As a tremendous conflagration, wandering in all directions, of swelling flames and urged by the wind, consumeth dry leaves and grass, so will the great fame of Arjuna's weapons consume all my troops. Kiritin, appearing as a foe in battle, will vomit innumerable arrows and become irresistible like all destroying Death urged forward by the Supreme Ordainer. When I shall constantly hear of evil omens of diverse kinds happening in the homes of the Kurus. and around them and on the field of battle, then will destruction, without doubt, overtake the Bharats.'"

SECTION 53

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Endued with great prowess and eager for victory, even as the sons themselves of Pandu are, so are their followers, who are all resolved to sacrifice their lives and determined to win victory. Even thou, O son, hast told me of my mighty enemies, viz., the kings of the Panchalas, the Kekayas, the Matsyas, and the Magadhas. He, again, who at his will can bring under his subjection all the three worlds with Indra at their head, even that Creator of the universe, the mighty Krishna is bent on giving victory upon the Pandavas. As regards Satyaki, he acquired in no time the whole science of arms from Arjuna. That scion of Sini's race will stand on the battle-field, shooting his shafts like husbandmen sowing seeds. The prince of Panchala, Dhristadyumna, that mighty car-warrior of merciless deeds, acquainted with all superior weapons, will fight with my host. Great is my fear, O child from the wrath of Yudhishthira, from the prowess of Arjuna, and from the Twins and Bhimasena. When those lords of men will, in the midst of my army, spread their superhuman net of arrows, I fear my troops will not come out of it. It is for this, O Sanjaya, that I weep. That son of Pandu, Yudhishthira, is handsome, endued with great energy, highly blessed, possessed of Brahma force, intelligent, of great wisdom, and virtuous soul. Having allies and counsellors, united with persons ready for battle, and possessing brothers and father-in-law who are all heroes and mighty car-warriors, that tiger among men, the son of Pandu, is also endued with patience, capable of keeping his counsels, compassionate, modest, of powers incapable of being baffled, possessed of great learning, with soul under proper control, ever waiting upon the aged, and subdued senses; possessed thus of every accomplishment, he is like unto a blazing fire. What fool, doomed to destruction and deprived of sense, will jump, moth-like, into that blazing and irresistible Pandava fire! Alas, I have behaved deceitfully towards him. The king, like unto a fire of long flames, will destroy all my foolish sons in battle without leaving any alive. I, therefore, think that it is not proper to fight with them. Ye Kauravas, be ye of the same mind. Without doubt, the whole race of Kuru will be destroyed, in case of hostilities being waged. This appears to me very clearly, and if we act accordingly, my mind may have peace. If war with them doth not seem beneficial to you, then we will strive to bring about peace. Yudhishthira will never be indifferent when he sees us distressed, for he censures me only as the cause of this unjust war.'"

SECTION 54

"Sanjaya said, It is even so, O great king, as thou, O Bharata, sayest. On the event of battle, the destruction of the Kshatriyas by means of Gandiva is certain. This, however, I do not understand, how when thou art always wise and especially acquainted with the prowess of Savyasachin, thou followest yet the counsels of thy sons. Having O bull of the Bharata race, injured the sons of Pritha from the very beginning, having in fact, committed sins repeatedly, this is not, O great king, the time (to grieve). He that occupies the position of a father and a friend, if he is always watchful and of good heart, should seek the welfare (of his children); but he that injures, cannot be called a father. Hearing of the defeat of the Pandavas at dice, thou hadst, O king, laughed like a child, saying, 'This is won, this is acquired!' When the harshest speeches were addressed to the sons of Pritha, thou didst not then interfere, pleased at the prospect of thy sons winning the whole kingdom. Thou couldst not however, then see before thee inevitable fall. The country of the Kurus, including the region called Jangala is, O king, thy paternal kingdom. Thou hast, however, obtained the whole earth by those heroes. Won by the strength of their arms, the sons of Pritha made over thee this extensive empire. Thou thinkest, however, O best of kings, that all this was acquired by thee. When thy sons, seized by the king of the Gandharvas, were about to sink in a shoreless sea without a raft to save them, it was Partha, O king, that brought them back. Thou hadst, like a child, repeatedly laughed, O monarch, at the Pandavas when they were defeated at dice and were going into exile. When Arjuna poureth a shower of keen arrows, the very oceans dry up, let alone beings of flesh and blood. Falguna is the foremost of all shooters; Gandiva is the foremost of all bows; Kesava is the foremost of all beings; the Sudarsana is the foremost of all weapons; and of cars, that furnished with the banner bearing the blazing Ape on it is the foremost. That car of his, bearing all these and drawn by white steeds, will, O king, consume us all in battle like the upraised wheel of Time. O bull of the Bharata race, his is even now the whole earth and he is the foremost of all kings, who hath Bhima and Arjuna to fight for him. Beholding the host sinking in despair when smitten by Bhima, the Kauravas headed by Duryodhana will all meet destruction. Struck with the fear of Bhima and Arjuna, the sons, O king, and the kings following them, will not, O lord, be able to win victory. The Matsyas, the Panchalas, the Salways and the Surasenas, all decline to pay thee homage now and all disregard thee. Acquainted with the energy of that wise king, all of them, however, have joined that son of Pritha, and for their devotion to him they are always opposed to thy sons. He that, by his evil deeds, afflicted the sons of Pandu, who are all wedded to virtue and undeserving of destruction, he that hateth them even now,--that sinful man, O monarch, who is none else than thy son,--should, with all his adherents, be checked by all means. It behoveth thee not to bewail in this strain. Even this was said by myself as well as by the wise Vidura at the time of the gambling match at dice. These thy lamentations in connexion with the Pandavas, as if thou wert a helpless person, are, O king, all useless.'"

SECTION 55

"Duryodhana said, 'Fear not, O king. Nor shouldest thou grieve for us. O monarch, O lord, we are quite able to vanquish the foe in battle. When the Parthas had been exiled to the woods, there came unto them the slayer of Madhu with a vast army in battle array and capable of crushing hostile kingdoms; and there also came unto them the Kekayas, and Dhrishtaketu, and Dhrishtadyumna of Pritha's race and numerous other kings in their train; and all those great car-warriors were assembled in a place not far from Indraprastha; and having assembled together they censured thee and all the Kurus. And O Bharata, all those warriors with Krishna at their head paid their homage unto Yudhishthira clad in deerskin and seated in their midst. And all those kings then suggested to Yudhishthira that he should take back the kingdom. And all of them desired to slay thee with all the followers. And hearing of all this, O bull of the Bharata race, I addressed Bhishma and Drona and Kripa, struck with fear, O king, at the prospect of the ruin that threatened our kindred. And I said unto them, 'I think the Pandavas will not abide by the agreement made by them; Vasudeva desireth our utter extinction. I think also that with the exception of Vidura all of you will be slain, although the chief of the Kurus, Dhritarashtra, conversant with morality, will not be included in the slaughter, O sire, effecting our complete destruction, Janardana wisheth to bestow upon Yudhishthira the entire kingdom of the Kurus. What should be done? Shall we surrender, or fly, or shall we fight the foe giving up every hope of life? If, indeed, we stand up against them, our defeat is certain, for all the kings of the earth are under Yudhishthira's command. The people of the realm are all annoyed with us, and all our friends also are angry with us. All the kings of the earth are speaking ill of us, and especially all our friends and relatives. There can be no fault in our surrender, for from time immemorial, the weaker party is known to conclude peace. I grieve, however, for that lord of men, my, blind father, who may, on my account, be overtaken by woe and misery that is endless. [It is known to thee, O king, even before this, that thy other sons were all opposed to the foe for pleasing me only]. Those mighty car-warriors, the sons of Pandu, will, indeed, avenge their wrongs by destroying the whole race of king Dhritarashtra with all his counsellors.--(It was thus that I addressed them, and) seeing me afflicted by great anxiety and my senses tortured, Drona and Bhishma and Kripa and Drona's son then addressed me, saying, 'Fear not, O represser of foes, for if the foe wage hostilities with us, they will not be able to vanquish us when we take the field. Every one of us is singly capable of vanquishing all the kings of the earth. Let them come. With keen-edged arrows we will curb their pride. Inflamed with anger upon the death of his father, this Bhishma (amongst us) in days of old had conquered all the kings of the earth, on a single car. O Bharata, his wrath excited, that best of the Kurus smote numberless ones amongst them, whereupon from fear, they are surrendered to this Devavrata seeking his protection. That Bhishma, united with us, is still capable of vanquishing the foe in battle. Let thy fears, therefore, O bull of the Bharata race, be all dispelled.'

"Duryodhana continued, 'Even this was the resolve then formed by these heroes of immeasurable energy. The whole earth was formerly under the foe's command. Now, however, they are incapable of vanquishing us in battle, for our enemies, the sons of Pandu, are now without allies and destitute of energy. O bull of the Bharata race, the sovereignty of the earth now resteth in me, and the kings also, assembled by me, are of the same mind with me in weal or woe. Know thou, O best of the Kuru race, that all these kings, O slayer of foes, can, for my sake, enter into the fire or the sea. They are all laughing at thee, beholding thee filled with grief and including in these lamentations like one out of his wits, and affrighted at the praises of the foe. Every one amongst these kings is able to withstand the Pandavas. Indeed, sire, every one regardeth himself; let thy fears, therefore, be dispelled. Even Vasava himself is not capable of vanquishing my vast host. The Self-create Brahma himself, if desirous of slaying it, cannot annihilate it. Having given up all hopes of a city, Yudhishthira craveth only five villages, affrighted, O lord, at the army I have assembled and at my power. The belief thou entertainest in the prowess of Vrikodara, the son of Kunti, is unfounded. O Bharata, thou knowest not the extent of my prowess. There is none on earth equal to me in an encounter with the mace. None have ever surpassed me in such an encounter, nor will any surpass me. With devoted application and undergoing many privations, I have lived in my preceptor's abode. I have completed my knowledge and exercises there. It is for this that I have no fear either of Bhima or of others. When I humbly waited upon Sankarshana (my preceptor), blessed be thou, it was his firm conviction that Duryodhana hath no equal in the mace. In battle I am

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Sankarshana's equal, and in might there is none superior to me on earth. Bhima will never be able to bear the blow of my mace in battle. A single blow, O king, that I may wrathfully deal unto Bhima will certainly, O hero, carry him without delay to the abode of Yama. O king, I wish to see Vrikodara mace in hand. This hath been my long-cherished desire. Struck in battle with my mace, Vrikodara, the son of Pritha, will fall dead on the ground, his limbs shattered. Smitten with a blow of my mace, the mountains of Himavat may split into a hundred thousands fragments. Vrikodra himself knoweth this truth, as also Vasudeva and Arjuna, that there is no one equal to Duryodhana in the use of mace. Let thy fears, therefore, caused by Vrikodara. be dispelled, for I will certainly slay him in fierce conflict. Do not, O king, give way to melancholy. And after I have slain him, numerous car-warriors of equal or superior energy, will, O bull among the Bharatas, speedily throw Arjuna down. Bhishma, Drona Kripa and Drona's son, Karna and, Bhurisravas, Salya, the king of Pragjyotish, and Jayadratha, the king of the Sindhus,--every one of these, O Bharata, is singly capable of slaying the Pandavas. When united together, they will, within a moment, send Arjuna to the abode of Yama. There, indeed, is no reason why the united army of all the kings will be incapable of vanquishing Dhananjaya singly. A hundred times shrouded by immeasurable arrows shot by Bhishma and Drona and Drona's son and Kripa, and deprived of strength, Partha will have to go unto Yama's abode. Our grandsire born of Ganga is, O Bharata, superior to Santanu himself. Like unto a regenerate saint, and incapable of being withstood by the very celestials, he took his birth amongst men. There is no slayer of Bhishma, O king, on earth, for his father, being gratified, gave him the boon,--Thou shalt not die except when it is thy own wish. And Drona took his birth in a water-pot from the regenerate saint Bharadwaja. And from Drona hath taken birth his son, having a knowledge of the highest weapons. And this the foremost of preceptors. Kripa also, hath taken his birth from the great Rishi Gautama. Born in a clump of heath this illustrious one, I think, is incapable of being slain. Then again, O king, the father, mother and maternal uncle of Aswatthaman,--these three,--are not born of woman's womb. I have that hero also on my side. All these mighty car-warriors, O king, are like unto celestials, and can, O bull of the Bharata race, inflict pain on Sakra himself in battle. Arjuna is incapable of even looking at any one of these singly. When united together, these tigers among men will certainly slay Dhananjaya. Karna also, I suppose, is equal unto Bhishma and Drona and Kripa. O Bharata, Rama himself had told him,--Thou art equal unto me. Karna had two ear-rings born with him, of great brilliance and beauty; for Sachi's gratification Indra begged them of that repressor of foes, in exchange, O king, of an infallible and terrible shaft. How would Dhananjaya, therefore, escape with life from Karna who is protected by that arrow? My success, therefore, O king, is as certain as a fruit held fast in my own grasp. The utter defeat also of my foes is already bruited about on earth. This Bhishma, O Bharata, killeth every day ten thousand soldiers. Equal unto him are these bowmen, Drona, Drona's son and Kripa. Then, O repressor of foes, the ranks of the Samsaptaka warriors have made this resolution,--Either we will slay Arjuna or that Ape-bannered warrior will slay us. There are other kings also, who firm in their resolve of slaying Savyasachin, regard him as unequal to themselves. Why dost thou then apprehend danger from the Pandavas? When Bhimasena will be slain, O Bharata, who else (amongst them) will fight? Tell me this, O repressor of foes, if thou knowest any amongst the foes. The five brothers, with Dhrishtadyumna and Satyaki,--these seven warriors of the enemy, O king, are regarded as their chief strength. Those, however, amongst us, that are our chief warriors, are Bhishma, Drona, Kripa, Drona's son, Karna, Somadatta, Vahlika, and Salya, the king of Pragjyotisha, the two kings (Vindha and Anuvinda) of Avanti, and Jayadratha; and then, O king, thy sons Dussasana, Durmukha, Dussaha, Srutayu; Chitrasena, Purumitra, Vivingsati, Sala, Bhurisravas, and Vikarna. O king, I have assembled one and ten Akshauhinis. The army of the enemy is less than mine, amounting only to seven Akshauhinis. How then can I be defeated? Vrihaspati hath said that an army which is less by a third ought to be encountered. My army, O king, exceedeth that of the foe by a third. Besides, O Bharata, I know that the enemy hath many defects, while mine, O lord, are endued with many good virtues. Knowing all this, O Bharata, as also the superiority of my force and the inferiority of the Pandavas, it behoveth thee not to lose thy senses.

'Having said this, O Bharata, that conqueror of hostile chiefs, Duryodhana, asked Sanjaya again, anxious to known more about the doings of the Pandavas.'"

SECTION 56

"Duryodhana said, 'Having obtained, O Sanjaya, an army numbering seven Akshauhinis, what is Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, with the other kings in his company, doing in view of the war?'

"Sanjaya said, 'Yudhishthira, O king, is very cheerful in view of the battle. And so also are Bhimasena and Arjuna. The twins also are perfectly fearless. Desirous of making an experiment of the mantras (obtained by him). Vibhatsu, the son of Kunti, yoked his celestial car illuminating all the directions. Accoutred in mail, he looked like a mass of clouds charged with lightning. After reflecting for a while, he cheerfully addressed me, saying,--Behold, O Sanjaya, these preliminary signs. We will certainly conquer.' Indeed, what Vibhatsu said unto me appeared to me to be true.'

"Duryodhana said, 'Thou rejoicest to applaud those sons of Pritha defeated at dice. Tell us now what sort of steeds are yoked unto Arjuna's car and what sort of banners are set up on it?'

"Sanjaya said, 'O great king, the celestial artificer called Tashtri or Bhaumana, aided by Sakra and Dhatri, created forms of diverse kinds and great beauty for Arjuna's car. And displaying divine illusion they placed on his flagstaff those celestial forms, large and small, of great value. And at Bhimasena's request, Hanumat, the son of the Wind-god, will also place his own image on it. And Bhaumana has, in its creation, had recourse to such illusion that that banner covers, both perpendicularly and laterally, an area of one yojana, and even if trees stand in its way, its course cannot be impeded. Indeed, even as Sakra's bow of diverse colours is exhibited in the firmament, and nobody knows of what it is made, so hath that banner been contrived by Bhaumana, for its form is varied and ever varying. And as column of smoke mixed with fire riseth up, covering the sky and displaying many bright hues and elegant shapes, so doth that banner contrived by Bhaumana rear its head. Indeed, it hath no weight, nor is it capable of being obstructed. And unto that car are a century of excellent celestial steeds of white hue and endued with the speed of the mind, all presented by Chitrasena (the king of the Gandharvas). And neither on earth, O king, nor in the sky, nor in heaven, their course can be impeded. And formerly a boon hath been granted to the effect that their number would always remain full how often so ever they might be slain. And unto Yudhishthira's car are yoked large steeds of equal energy and white in colour like ivory. And unto Bhimasena's car are yoked courses endued with the speed of the wind and the splendour of the seven Rishis. And steeds of sable bodies and backs variegated like the wings of the Tittri bird, all presented by his gratified brother Falguna, and superior to those of the heroic Falguna himself, cheerfully carry Sahadeva. And Nakula of Ajamida's race, the son of Madri, is borne, like Indra the slayer of Vritra, by excellent steeds, presented by the great Indra himself, all mighty as the wind and endued with great speed. And excellent steed of large size, equal unto those of the Pandavas themselves in years and strength, endued with great swiftness and of handsome make, and all presented by the celestials, carry those youthful princes, the sons of Subhadra and Draupadi.'"

SECTION 57

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Whom hast thou, O Sanjaya, seen to have, from affection, arrived there, and who will, on behalf of the Pandavas, fight my son's forces?' "Sanjaya said, 'I have seen Krishna, the foremost of the Andhakas and the Vrishnis, arrived there, and Chekitana, as also Satyaki, otherwise called Yuyudhana. And those two mighty car-warriors, proud of their strength and famed over all the world, have joined the Pandavas, each with a separate Akshauhini of troops. And Drupada, the king of the Panchalas, surrounded by his ten heroic sons--Satyajit and others--headed by Dhrishtadyumna, and well-protected by Sikhandin, and having furnished his soldiers with every necessary thing, hath come there with a full Akshauhini, desirous of honouring Yudhishthira. And that lord of earth, Virata, with his two sons Sankha and Uttara, as also with those heroes Suryadatta and others--headed by Madiraksha and surrounded by one Akshauhini of troops, hath thus accompanied by brothers and sons, joined the son of Pritha. And the son of Jarasandha, the king of Magadha, and Dhrishtaketu, the king of the Chedis, have separately come there, each accompanied by an Akshauhini of troops. And the five brothers of Kekaya, all having purple flags, have joined the Pandavas, surrounded by an Akshauhini of troops. Then numbering to this extent, have I seen assembled there, and these, on behalf of the Pandavas, will encounter the Dhartarashtra host. That great car-warrior, Dhrishtadyumna, who is acquainted with human, celestial, Gandharva and Asura arrays of battle, leadeth that host. O king, Bhishma, the son of Santanu, has been assigned to Sikhandin as his share; and Virata with all his Matsya warriors will support Sikhandin. The mighty king of the Madras hath been assigned to the eldest son of Pandu as his share, though some are of opinion that those two are not well-matched. Duryodhana with his sons and his ninety-nine brothers, as also the rulers of the east and the south, have been assigned to Bhimasena as his share. Karna, the son of Vikartana, and Jayadratha the king of the Sindhus, have been assigned to Arjuna as his share. And those heroes also on the earth who are incapable of being withstood and who are proud of their might, have been accepted by Arjuna as his share. And those mighty bowmen, the five royal brothers of Kekaya, will put forth their strength in battle, accepting the Kekaya warriors (on Dhritarashtra's side) as antagonists. And in their share are included the Malavas also, and the Salwakas, as also, the two famous warriors of the Trigarta host who have sworn to conquer or die. And all the sons of Duryodhana and Dussasana, as also king Vrihadvala, have been assigned to Subhadra's son as his share. And those great bowmen, the sons of Draupadi, having cars furnished with gold-embroidered banners, all headed by Dhrishtadyumna, will, O Bharata, advance against Drona. And Chekitana on his car desireth to encounter Somadatta in single combat with him, while Satyaki is anxious to battle against the Bhoja chief, Kritavarman. And the heroic son of Madri, Sahadeva, who setteth up terrible roars in battle, hath intended to take as his share thy brother-in-law, the son of Suvala. And Nakula also, the son of Madravati, hath intended to take as his share the deceitful Uluka and the tribes of the Saraswatas. As for all the other kings of the earth, O Monarch, who will go to battle, the sons of Pandu have, by naming them, distributed them in their own respective shares. Thus hath the Pandava host been distributed into divisions. Do thou now, without delay, with thy sons, act as thou thinkest best.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Alas, all my foolish sons, addicted to deceitful dice, are already dead when it is the mighty Bhima with whom they desire to encounter in the field of battle. All the kings of the earth too, consecrated by Death himself for sacrifice, will rush to the Gandiva, like so many moths into fire. Methinks my host is already put to flight by those illustrious warriors formerly injured by me. Who, indeed, shall follow to battle my warriors, whose ranks will be broken by the sons of Pandu in the encounter? All of them are mighty car-warriors, possessed of great bravery, of famous achievements, endued with great prowess, equal unto the fiery sun in energy, and all victorious in battle. Those that have Yudhishthira for their leader, the slayer of Madhu for their protector, the heroic Savyasachin and Vrikodara for their warriors, and Nakula, and Sahadeva, and Dhrishtadyumna, the son of Prishata, and Satyaki, and Drupada, and Dhrishtaketu with his son, and Uttamaujas, and the unconquerable Yudhamanyu of the Panchalas, and Sikhandin, and Kshatradeva, and Uttara, the son of Virata, and Kasayas, the Chedis, the Matsyas, the Srinjayas, Vabhru the son of Virata, the Panchalas, and the Prabhadrakas, for fighting for them, those, indeed, from whom Indra himself cannot, if they are unwilling, snatch this earth,--those heroes, cool and steady, in fight, who can split the very mountains--alas, it is with them that are endued with every virtue and possessed of superhuman prowess that this wicked son of mine, O Sanjaya, desireth to fight, disregarding me even though I am crying myself hoarse!'

"Duryodhana said, 'Both the Pandavas and ourselves are of the same race; both they and we tread upon the same earth, why dost thou think that victory will declare itself for only the Pandavas? Bhishma, Drona, Kripa, the unconquerable Karna, Jayadratha, Somadatta, and Aswatthaman-all mighty bowmen and endued with great energy,--are incapable of being vanquished by Indra himself united with the celestials. What sayst thou then, O father of the Pandavas? Ali these noble and heroic kings of the earth, bearing weapons, O father, are quite capable, for my sake, of withstanding the Pandavas, while the latter are not capable of even gazing at my troops. I am powerful enough to encounter in battle the Pandavas with their sons. O Bharata, all those rulers of the earth, who are anxious for my welfare, will certainly seize all the Pandavas like a herd of young deer by means of net. I tell thee, in consequence of our crowds of cars and snares of arrows, the Panchalas and the Pandavas will all be routed.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'O Sanjaya, this my son speaketh like a mad man, for he is incapable of vanquishing in battle Yudhishthira the Just. This Bhishma truly knoweth the might of the famous, powerful, virtuous, and high-souled Pandavas and their sons, for he doth not wish a battle with those illustrious ones. But tell me again O Sanjaya, of their movements. Tell me, who are inciting those illustrious and mighty bowmen endued with great activity, like priests enkindling (Homa) fires with libations of clarified butter?'

"Sanjaya said, 'O Bharata, Dhrishtadyumna is always urging the Pandavas to war, saying, 'Fight ye, best among the Bharatas. Do not entertain the least fear. All those rulers of the earth, who, courted by Dhritarashtra's son, will become in that fierce encounter target of showers of weapons,--indeed, I alone will encounter all those angry kings assembled together with their relatives, like a whale seizing little fishes from the water. Bhishma and Drona and Kripa and Karna and Drona's son and Salya and Suyodhana,--them all I withstand, like the bank resisting the swelling sea.' Unto him saying thus, the virtuous king Yudhishthira said, 'The Panchalas and the Pandavas wholly depend upon thy prowess and steadiness. Rescue us safely from the war. I know, O mighty-armed one, that thou art firm in the duties of the Kshatriya order. Thou art, indeed, quite competent to smite alone the Kauravas. When the latter, eager for fight, will stand before us, what thou, O repressor of foes, wilt arrange, will certainly be for

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our good. Even this is the opinion of those acquainted with the scriptures, that the hero, who, displaying his prowess, relieth those that after the rout run away from the battle-field, seeking for protection, is to be bought with a thousand. Thou, O bull among men, art brave, mighty, and powerful. Without doubt, thou art that deliverer of those that are over-powered with fear on the field of battle.' And when the righteous Yudhishthira the son of Kunti said this, Dhrishtadyumna fearlessly addressed me in these words, 'Go thou, O Suta, without delay, and say unto all those that have come to fight for Duryodhana, say unto the Kurus of the Pratipa dynasty with the Vahlikas, the son of Saradwata and Karna and Drona, and Drona's son, and Jayadratha, and Dussasana, and Vikarna and king Duryodhana, and Bhishma,--Do not suffer yourselves to be slain by Arjuna, who is protected by the celestials. Before that happens, let some good man approach Yudhishthira and entreat that son of Pandu, that best of men, to accept the kingdom (surrendered by them) without delay. There is no warrior on the earth like unto Savyasachin, son of Pandu, of prowess incapable of being baffled. The celestial car of the holder of Gandiva is protected by the very gods. He is incapable of being vanquished by human beings. Do not, therefore, bend your mind to war!'"

SECTION 58

"Dhritarashtra said, Yudhishthira the son of Pandu is endued with Kshatriya energy and leadeth the Brahmacharya mode of life from his very youth. Alas, with him these foolish sons of mine desire to fight, disregarding me that am thus bewailing. I ask thee, O Duryodhana, O foremost of the Bharata race, desist from hostility. O chastiser of foes, under any circumstances, war is never applauded. Half the earth is quite enough for the maintenance of thyself and all thy followers. Give back unto the sons of Pandu, O chastiser of foes, their proper share. All the Kauravas deem just this to be consistent with justice, that thou shouldst make peace with the high-souled sons of Pandu. Reflect thus, O son, and thou wilt find that this thy army is for thy own death. Thou understandest not this from thy own folly. I myself do not desire war, nor Vahlika, nor Bhishma, nor Drona, nor Aswatthaman, nor Sanjaya, nor Somadatta, nor Salya, nor Kripa, nor Satyavrata, nor Purumitra, nor Bhurisravas,--in fact, none of these desireth war. Indeed, those warriors upon whom the Kauravas, when afflicted by the foe, will have to rely, do not approve of the war. O child, let that be acceptable to thee. Alas, thou dost not seek it of thy own will, but it is Karna and the evil-minded Dussasana and Sakuni, the son of Suvala, that are leading thee to it.'

"Duryodhana said, 'I challenge the Pandavas to battle, without depending upon thyself, Drona, or Aswatthaman, or Sanjaya, or Vikarna, or Kamvoja, or Kripa, or Vahlika, or Satyavrata, or Purumitra, or Bhurisravas, or others of thy party. But, O bull among men, only myself and Karna, O sire, are prepared to celebrate the sacrifice of battle with all the necessary rites, making Yudhishthira the victim. In that sacrifice, my car will be the altar; my sword will be the smaller ladle, my mace, the large one, for pouring libations; my coat of mail will be assembly of spectators; my four steeds will be the officiating priests; my arrows will be the blades of Kusa grass; and fame will be the clarified butter. O king, performing, in honour of Yama, such a sacrifice in battle, the ingredients of which will all be furnished by ourselves, we will return victoriously covered with glory, after having slain our foes. Three of us, O sire, viz., myself and Karna and my brother Dussasana,--will slay the Pandavas in battle. Either I, slaying the Pandavas, will sway this Earth, or the sons of Pandu, having slain me, will enjoy this Earth. O king, O thou of unfading glory, I would sacrifice my life, kingdom, wealth, everything, but would not be able to live side by side with the Pandavas. O venerable one, I will not surrender to the Pandavas even that much of land which may be covered by the sharp point of a needle.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'I now abandon Duryodhana for ever. 'A nevertheless grieve for you all, ye kings, that will follow this fool who is about to proceed to Yama's abode. Like tigers among a herd of deer, those foremost of smiters-the sons of Pandu,--will smite down your principal leaders assembled for battle. Methinks, the Bharata host, like a helpless woman, will be afflicted and crushed and hurled to a distance by Yuyudhana of long arms. Adding to the strength of Yudhishthira's army, which without him was already sufficient, Sini's son will take up his stand on the field of battle and scatter his arrows like seeds on a cultivated field. And Bhimasena will take up his position in the very van of the combatants, and all his soldiers will fearlessly stand in his rear, as behind a rampart. Indeed, when thou, O Duryodhana, wilt behold elephants, huge as hills, prostrated on the ground with their tusks disabled, their temples crushed and bodies dyed with gore,--in fact, when thou wilt see them lying on the field of battle like riven hills, then, afraid of a clash with him, thou wilt remember these my words. Beholding thy host consisting of cars, steeds, and elephants, consumed by Bhimasena, and presenting the spectacle of a wide-spread conflagration's track, thou wilt remember these my words. If ye do not make peace with the Pandavas, overwhelming calamity will be yours. Slain by Bhimasena with his mace, ye will rest in peace. Indeed, when thou wilt see the Kuru host levelled to the ground by Bhima, like a large forest torn up by the roots, then wilt thou remember these my words.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having said this unto all those rulers of the earth, the king addressing Sanjaya again, asked him as follows.'"

SECTION 59

Dhritarashtra said, 'Tell me, O thou of great wisdom, what high-souled Vasudeva and Dhananjaya said. I am anxious to hear from thee all about this.'

"Sanjaya said, 'Listen, O king, as I tell thee the state in which I found Krishna and Dhananjaya. I will also, O Bharata, tell thee what those heroes said; O king, with looks bent down and hands joined together, and with senses well restrained, I entered the inner apartments for conferring with those gods among men. Neither Abhimanyu nor the Twins can repair to that place where are the two Krishnas and Draupadi and lady Satyabhama. There I beheld those chastisers of foes, exhilarated with Bassia wine, their bodies adorned with garlands of flowers. Attired in excellent robes and adorned with celestial ornaments, they sat on a golden dais, decked with numerous gems, and covered over with carpets of diverse texture and hue. And I beheld Kesava's feet resting upon Arjuna's lap while those of the high-souled Arjuna rested upon the laps of Krishna and Satyabhama. Partha then pointed out to me (for a seat) a foot-stool made of gold. Touching it with my hand, I seated myself down on the ground. And when he withdraw his feet from the foot-stool, I beheld auspicious marks on both his soles. Those consisted of two longitudinal lines running from heels to fore-toe, O sire, endued with black complexions, of high statures, and erect like Sala trunks, beholding those youthful heroes, both seated on the same seat, a great fear seized me. They seemed to me to be Indra and Vishnu seated together, though Duryodhana of dull sense knoweth it no consequence of his reliance on Drona and Bhishma and on the loud vaunts of Karna. That very moment, I was convinced that the wishes of Yudhishthira the Just, who had those two for obeying his orders, were certain to succeed. Being hospitably entertained with food and drink, and honoured with other courtesies, I conveyed to them thy message, placing my joined hands on my head. Then Partha, removing Kesava's auspicious foot from his lap, with his hand scarred by the flappings of the bow-string, urged him to speak. Sitting up erect like Indra's banner, adorned with every ornament, and resembling Indra himself in energy, Krishna then addressed me. And the words which that best of speakers said were sweet, charming and mild, though awful and alarming to the son of Dhritarashtra. Indeed, the words uttered by Krishna, who alone is fit to speak, were of correct emphasis and accent, and pregnant with meaning, though heart-rending in the end. And Vasudeva said, 'O Sanjaya, say thou these words unto the wise Dhritarashtra and in the hearing of that foremost of the Kurus, Bhishma, and also of Drona, having first saluted at our request, O Suta, all the aged ones and hawing enquired after the welfare of the younger ones, 'Do ye celebrate diverse sacrifices, making presents unto the Brahmanas, and rejoice with your sons and wives, for a great danger threatens ye? Do ye give away wealth unto deserving persons, beget desirable sons, and do agreeable offices to those that are dear to thee, for king Yudhishthira is eager for victory?' While I was at a distance, Krishna with tears addressing me said, 'That debt, accumulating with time, hath not yet been paid off by me. Ye have provoked hostilities with that Savyasachin, who hath for his bow the invincible Gandiva, of fiery energy, and who hath me for his helpmate. Who, even if he were Purandara himself, would challenge Partha having me for his help-mate, unless, of course, his span of life were full? He that is capable of vanquishing Arjuna in battle is, indeed, able to uphold the Earth with his two arms, to consume all created things in anger and hurl the celestials from Heaven. Among the celestials, Asuras, and men, among Yakshas, Gandharvas, and Nagas, I do not find the person that can encounter Arjuna in battle. That wonderful story which is heard of an encounter in the city of Virata between a single person on one side and innumerable warriors on the other, is sufficient proof of this. That ye all fled in all directions being routed in the city of Virata by that son of Pandu singly, is sufficient proof of this. Might, prowess, energy, speed, lightness of hand, indefatiguableness, and patience are not to be found in any one else save Partha.' Thus spoke Hrishikesa cheering up Partha by his words and roaring like rain-charged clouds in the firmament. Having heard these words of Kesava, the diadem-decked Arjuna, of white steeds, also spoke to the same effect.'"

SECTION 60

"Vaisampayana said, 'Having heard these words of Sanjaya, the monarch endued with the eye of wisdom, took that speech into his consideration as regards its merits and demerits. And having counted in detail the merits and demerits as far as he could, and having exactly ascertained the strength and weakness of both parties, the learned and intelligent king, ever desirous of victory to his sons, then began to compare the powers of both sides. And having at last ascertained that the Pandavas were endued with strength and energy both human and divine, and that the Kurus were much weaker Dhritarashtra said unto Duryodhana, 'This anxiety, O Duryodhana, always filleth me. Indeed, it doth not leave me. Truly, it seemeth that I behold it with my eye. This conviction is not a matter of inference. All created beings show great affection for their offsprings, and do, to the best of their power, what is agreeable and beneficial to them. This is generally to be seen also in the case of benefactors. They that are good always desire to return the good done to them and to do what is highly agreeable to their benefactors. Remembering what was done to him to Khandava, Agni will, no doubt, reader aid to Arjuna in this terrible encounter between the Kurus and the Pandavas. And from parental affection, Dharma. and other celestials duly invoked, will come together to the aid of the Pandavas. I think that to save them from Bhishma and Drona and Kripa, the celestials will be filled with wrath, resembling the thunderbolt in its effects. Endued with energy and well-versed in the use of weapons, those tigers among men, the sons of Pritha, when united with the celestials, will be incapable of being even gazed upon by human warriors, He who hath the irresistible, excellent and celestial Gandiva for his bow, he who hath a couple of celestial quivers obtained from Varuna,--large, full of shafts, and inexhaustible, he on whose banner, that is unobstructed like smoke in its action, is stationed the monkey-image of celestial origin, whose car is unequalled on the earth girt by the four seas, and the rattle of which as heard by men is like the roar of the clouds, and which like the rolling of the thunder frightens the foe; he whom the whole world regards as superhuman in energy; he whom all the kings of the earth know to be the vanquisher of the very gods in battle; he that taketh up five hundred arrows at a time and in the twinkling of the eye, shooteth them, unseen by other, to a great distance; that son of Pritha and tiger among car-warriors and chastiser of foes, whom Bhishma and Drona and Kripa and Drona's son and Salya, the king of the Madras, and in fact, all impartial persons, regard as incapable of being vanquished by even earthly kings of superhuman prowess, when ready for fight who shooteth at one stretch full five hundred arrows, and who is equal unto Kartavirya in strength of arms; that great bowman, Arjuna, equal unto Indra or Upendra in prowess,--I behold that great warrior committing a great havoc in this terrible battle. O Bharata, reflecting day and night on this, I am unhappy and sleepless, through anxiety for the welfare of the Kurus. A terrible destruction is about to overtake the Kurus, if there is nothing but Peace for ending this quarrel. I am for peace with the Parthas and not for war. O child, I always deem the Pandavas mightier than the Kurus.'"

SECTION 61

"Vaisampayana said, 'Hearing these words of his father, the passionate son of Dhritarashtra inflamed with great wrath, again said these words, of envy, of 'Thou thinkest the Parthas having the celestials for their allies, are incapable of being vanquished. Let this thy fear, O best of kings, be dispelled. The gods attained to their divinity for absence of desire, covetousness, and of enmity, as also for their indifference to all worldly affairs. Formerly, Dwaipayana-Vyasa and Narada of great ascetic austerities, and Rama, the son of Jamadagni, told us this. The gods never like human beings engage in work, O bull of the Bharata race, from desire, or wrath, or covetousness, or envy. Indeed, if Agni, or Vayu, or Dharma, or Indra, or the Aswins had ever engaged themselves in works from worldly desire, then the sons of Pritha could never have fallen into distress. Do not, therefore, by any means, indulge in such anxiety, because the gods, O Bharata, always set their eyes on affairs worthy of themselves. If, however, envy or lust become noticeable in the gods in consequence of their yielding to desire, then, according to what has been ordained by the gods themselves, such envy or Just can never prevail. Charmed by me, Agni will be instantly extinguished, even if he blazes up all around for consuming all creatures. The energy with which the gods are endued is, indeed, great, but know, O Bharata, that mine is greater than that of the gods. If the Earth herself cleaves in twain, or mountain crests split, I can re-unite them, O king, by my incantations before the eyes of all. If for the destruction of this universe of animate and inanimate, mobile and immobile creatures, there happeneth a terrific tempest or stony shower of loud roar, I can always, from compassion for created beings, stop it before the eyes of all. When the waters are solidified by me, even cars and infantry can move over them. It is I who set agoing all the affairs of both gods and Asuras. Unto whatever countries I go with my Akshauhinis on any mission, my steeds move whithersoever I desire. Within my dominions there are no fearful snakes, and protected by my incantations, creatures within my territories are never injured by others that are frightful. The very clouds, O king, pour, as regards those dwelling in my dominions, showers as much as they desire and

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when they desire. All my subjects, again, are devoted to religion and are never subject to calamities of season. The Aswins, Vayu, Agni, Indra with the Maruts, and Dharma will not venture to protect my foes. If these had been able to protect by their might my adversaries, never would the sons of Pritha have fallen into such distress for three and ten years. I tell thee truly that neither gods, nor Gandharvas nor Asuras nor Rakshasas are capable of saving him who hath incurred my displeasure; I have never before been baffled as regards the reward to punishment that I intended to bestow or inflict on friend or foe. If ever, O repressor of foes, I said this is to be,--that hath always been. People, therefore, have always known me as a speaker of truth. All persons can bear witness to my greatness, the fame of which hath spread all around. I mention this, O king, for thy information and not from pride. Never had I, O king, praised myself before, for to praise one's own self is mean. Thou wilt hear of defeat of the Pandavas and the Matsyas, the Panchalas and the Kekayas, of Satyaki and Vasudeva, at my hands. Indeed, as rivers, on entering the ocean, are entirely lost in it, so the Pandavas with all their followers, on approaching me, will all be annihilated. My intelligence is superior, my energy is superior, my prowess is superior, my knowledge is superior, my resources are superior by far to those of the Pandavas. Whatever knowledge of weapons is in the Grandsire, in Drona, and Kripa, and Salya, and Shalya, exist in me as well.

'Having said these words, O Bharata, Duryodhana, that repressor of foes, again asked Sanjaya, in order to ascertain the proceedings of Yudhishthira bent upon war.'"

SECTION 62

"Vaisampayana said, 'Without much minding Dhritarashtra, the son of Vichitravirya who was about to ask of Partha, Karna said unto Dhritarashtra's son these words, cheering up the spirit of the assembled Kurus, 'Coming to know of the false pretence under which I obtained the Brahma weapon of old from Rama, the latter told me,--When thy hour will come thy memory will fail thee in respect of this weapon. Even for so great an offence I was cursed so lightly by that great Rishi, my preceptor. That great Rishi of fierce energy is capable of consuming even the entire Earth with her seas. By attention and personal bravery, I appeased his heart. I have that weapon with me still, and my period is not yet run. I am, therefore, fully competent (to win victory) Let the responsibility be mine. Having obtained the favour of that Rishi, I will slay within the twinkling of an eye the Panchalas, the Karushas, the Matsyas, and the sons of Pritha with their sons and grandsons, and bestow on thee numerous regions won by my weapons. Let the Grandsire and Drona and all the kings stay with thee. I will slay the sons of Pritha, marching forth with the chief warriors of my army. Let that task be mine.' Unto him speaking thus, Bhishma said, 'What sayest thou, O Karna? Thy intellect is clouded at the approach of thy hour. Knowest thou not, O Karna, that when the chief is slain, the sons of Dhritarashtra will all be slain? Having heard of the feat achieved by Dhananjaya, with Krishna only as his ally, at the burning of the Khandava forest, it behoveth thee with thy friends and relatives to restrain thy mind. The shaft that the illustrious and adorable chief of the celestials, the great Indra, gave thee, thou wilt see, will be broken and reduced to ashes when struck by Kesava with his discus. That other shaft of serpentine mouth that shineth (in thy quiver) and is respectfully worshipped by thee with flowery garlands, will, O Karna, when struck by the son of Pandu with his shafts, perish with thee. O Karna, the slayer of Vana and Bhumi's son (Naraka), Vasudeva himself, who hath, in the thickest of battle, slain foes equal and even superior to thee, protecteth the diadem-decked Arjuna'.

"Karna said, 'Without doubt, the chief of the Vrishnis is even so. Further, I admit, that that high-souled one is even more than that. Let, however, the Grandsire listen to the effect of the bit of harsh speech that he hath uttered. I lay down my weapons. The Grandsire will henceforth behold me in court only and not in battle. After thou hast become quiet, the rulers of the earth will behold my prowess in this world.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having said this, that great bowman (Karna), leaving the court went to his own abode. Bhishma, however, O king, addressing Duryodhana in the midst of the Kurus, and laughing aloud, said, 'How truly doth the Suta's son keep his promise. Why having repeatedly given his pledge, saying,--The kings of Avanti and Kalinga, Jayadratha, and Chediddhaja and Valhika standing as spectators, I will slay hostile warriors by thousands and tens of thousands,--how will he discharge that obligation? Having distributed his divisions in counter-array and scattering heads by thousands, behold the havoc committed by Bhimasena. Indeed, that moment, when, representing himself as a Brahmana unto the holy and blameless Rama, Vikartana's son obtained that weapon, that vile wretch lost both his virtue and asceticism.' O king of kings, when Bhishma said this after Karna had gone away giving up his weapons, Duryodhana, that foolish son of Vichitravirya's son, addressed Santanu's son in these words.'"

SECTION 63

"Duryodhana said, 'The son of Pritha are all as other men, and are, in fact, of earthly birth as other men. Why then dost thou think that they are sure to win victory? Both ourselves and they are equal in energy, in prowess, in age, in intelligence, in knowledge of the scriptures, in weapons, in the art of war, in lightness of hand, and in skill. All of us are of the of same species, all being men by birth. How then, O grandsire, dost thou know that victory will be theirs? I do not seek the accomplishment of my aims by relying upon thee, or Drona, or Kripa or Valhika, or upon the other kings. Myself, and Karna, the son of Vikartana, and my brother Dussasana, will slay in battle the five sons of Pandu by sharpened arrows. Then shall we, O king, gratify Brahmanas by performing great sacrifices of diverse kinds, with abundant Dakshinas, and by gifts of kine and horses and wealth. When my troops will drag by the aid of their mighty arms the Pandavas in battle, like hunters dragging a herd of deer by a net, or whirlpools drawing a crewless boat, then the sons of Pandu, beholding us their foe, supported by crowds and cars and elephants, will give up their pride, and not they alone but Kesava also.' Hearing this, Vidura said, 'Venerable persons of infallible knowledge say that in this world self-restraint is highly beneficial. In the case of Brahmana especially, it is his duty. He whose self-restraint followeth charity, asceticism, knowledge, and study of the Vedas, always winneth success, forgiveness, and the fruit of his gifts. Self-restraint enhanceth energy, and is an excellent and holy attribute. Freed from sin and his energy increased by Self-restraint, one acquireth even Brahma through it. People are always afraid of those that are without self-restraint, as if the latter were very Rakshasas. And it is for keeping these under check that the self-Existent created the Kshatriyas. It hath been said that Self-restraint is an excellent vow for all the four modes of life. I regard those attributes as its indications which woe their origin to self-restraint, Those indications are forgiveness, firmness of mind, abstention from injury, an equal regard for all things, truthfulness of speech, simplicity, control over the senses, patience, gentleness of speech, modesty, steadiness, liberality, mildness, contentment, and faith, he that hath self-restraint casteth off Just, avarice, pride, wrath, sleep, boastfulness, self-esteem, malice, and sorrow. Purity and absence of crookedness and fraud, are the distinctive marks of a man of self-restraint. He that is not covetous, that is satisfied with a little, that regardeth not objects provoking lust, and that is as grave as the ocean, is known as a man of self-restraint. He that is well-behaved, of good disposition and contented soul, that knoweth his own self is possessed of wisdom, winneth great regard here and attaineth to a blissful state hereafter. Possessed of mature wisdom, he that hath no fear of other creatures and whom other creatures fear not, is said to be the foremost of men. Seeking the good of all, he is a universal friend, and no one is made unhappy by him. Endued with gravity, like that of the ocean and enjoying contentment in consequence of his wisdom, such a man is always calm and cheerful. Regulating their conduct according to the acts practised by the righteous olden times and before their eyes, they that are self-restrained, being devoted to peace, rejoice in this world. Or, abandoning Action, because contented in consequence of Knowledge, such a person, with his senses under control moveth quickly in this world, waiting for the inevitable hour and absorption into Brahma. And as the track of feathery creatures in the sky is incapable of being perceived, so the path of the sage enjoying contentment in consequence of Knowledge is not visible. Abandoning, the world he that betaketh himself, in pursuit of emancipation, to the Sannyasa mode of life, hath bright and eternal regions assigned to him in heaven.'"

SECTION 64

"Vidura said, 'We have heard, O sire, from old men, that once on a time a fowler spread his net on the ground for catching feathery denizens of the air. And in that net were ensnared at the same time two birds that lived together. And taking the net up, the two winged creatures soared together into the air. And seeing them soar into the sky, the fowler, without giving way to despair, began to follow them in the direction they flew, Just then, an ascetic living in a hermitage (close by), who had finished his morning prayers, saw the fowler running in that manner hoping still to secure the feathery creatures. And seeing that tenant of the earth quickly pursuing those tenants of the air, the ascetic, O Kaurava, addressed him in this Sloka,--O fowler, it appears very strange and wonderful to me that thou, that art a treader of the earth, pursuest yet a couple of creatures that are tenants of the air. The fowler said, 'These two, united together, are taking away my snare. There, however, where they will quarrel they will come under my control.'

"Vidura continued, 'The two birds, doomed to death, soon after quarrelled. And when the foolish pair quarrelled, they both fell on the earth. And when, ensnared in the meshes of death, they began to contend angrily against each other, the fowler approached unperceived and sized them both. Even thus those kinsmen who fall out with one another for the sake of wealth fall into the hands of the enemy like the birds I have cited, in consequence of their quarrel. Eating together, talking together,--these are the duties of kinsmen, and not contention under any circumstances. Those kinsmen, that with loving hearts wait on the old, become unconquerable like a forest guarded by lions. While those, O bull of the Bharata race, that having won enormous riches nevertheless, behave like mean-minded men, always contribute to the prosperity of their foes. Kinsmen, O Dhritarashtra, O bull of the Bharata race, are like charred brands, which blaze up when united but only smoke when disunited. I will now tell thee something else that I saw on a mountain-breast. Having listened to that also, do, O Kaurava, what is for thy best. Once on a time we repaired to the northern mountain, accompanied by some hunters and a number of Brahmanas, fond of discoursing on charms and medicinal plants. That northern mountain, Gandhamadana, looked like a grove. As its breast was overgrown on all sides with trees and diverse kinds of luminous medicinal herbs, it was inhabited by Siddhas and Gandharvas. And there we all saw a quantity of honey, of a bright yellow colour and of the measure of a jar, placed on an inaccessible precipice of the mountain. That honey, which was Kuvera's favourite drink, was guarded by snakes of virulent poison. And it was such that a mortal, drinking of it would win immortality, a sightless man obtain sight, and an old man would become a youth. It was that those Brahmanas conversant with sorcery spoke about that honey. And the hunters' seeing that honey, desired, O king, to obtain it. And they all perished in that inaccessible mountain-cave abounding with snakes. In the same way, this thy son desireth to enjoy the whole earth without a rival. He beholdeth the honey, but seeth not, from folly, the terrible fall. It is true, Duryodhana desireth an encounter in battle with Savyasachin, but I do not see that energy or prowess in him which may carry him safe through it. On a single car Arjuna conquered the whole earth. At the head of their hosts Bhishma and Drona and others were frightened by Arjuna and utterly routed at the city of Virata. Remember what took place on that occasion. He forgiveth still, looking up to thy face and waiting to know what thou wouldst do. Drupada, and the king of Matsyas, and Dhananjaya, when angry, will, like flames of fire urged by the wind, leave no remnant (of thy army). O Dhritarashtra, take king Yudhishthira on thy lap since both parties can, under no circumstances, have victory when thy will be engaged in battle.'"

SECTION 65

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Consider, O Duryodhana, O dear son, what I tell thee. Like an ignorant traveller thou thinkest, the wrong path to be the right one, since thou art desirous of robbing the energy of the five sons of Pandu, who are even as the five elements of the universe in their subtle form upholding all mobile and immobile things. Without the certain sacrifice of thy life thou art unable to vanquish Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, who is the foremost of all virtuous persons in this world. Alas, like a tree defying the mighty tempest, thou chafest at Bhimasena who hath not his peer (among men) in might and who is equal unto Yama himself in battle. What man of sense would encounter in battle the wielder of Gandiva, who is the foremost of all wielders of weapons, as the Meru among mountains? What man is there whom Dhrishtadyumna, the prince of Panchala, cannot overthrow, shooting his arrows among the foes, like the chief of the celestials hurling his thunderbolt? That honoured warrior among the Andhakas and the Vrishnis, the irresistible Satyaki, ever engaged in the good of the Pandavas, will also slaughter thy host. What man of sense, again, would encounter the lotus-eyed Krishna, who, as regards the measure of his energy and power, surpasseth the three worlds? As regards Krishna, his wives, kinsmen, relatives, his own soul and the whole earth, put on one scale, weigheth with Dhananjaya on the other. That Vasudeva, upon whom Arjuna relieth, is irresistible, and that host where Kesava is, becometh irresistible everywhere. Listen, therefore, O child, to the counsels of those well-wishers of thine whose words are always for thy good. Accept thou thy aged grandsire, Bhishma, the son of Santanu, as thy guide. Listen thou to what I say, and what these well-wishers of the Kurus, Drona, and Kripa, and Vikarna, and king Vahlika say. These all are as I myself. It behoveth thee to regard them as much as thou regardest me, since, O Bharata, all these are conversant with morality and bear affection to thee as much as I myself do. The panic and rout, before thy eyes, at the city of Virata, of all thy troops with thy brothers, after surrender of the king,--indeed, that wonderful story that is heard of an encounter at that city between one and many, are sufficient proof (of the wisdom of what I say). When Arjuna singly achieves all that, what will not the Pandavas achieve when united together? Take them by the hands as thy brothers, and cherish them with a share of the kingdom.'"

SECTION 66

"Vaisampayana said, 'Having addressed Suyodhana thus, the highly blessed and wise Dhritarashtra again asked Sanjaya,

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saying, 'Tell me, O Sanjaya, what thou hast not yet said, viz., what Arjuna told thee after the conclusion of Vasudeva's speech, for great is my curiosity to hear it.'

"Sanjaya said, 'Having heard the words spoken by Vasudeva, the irresistible Dhananjaya, the son of Kunti, when the opportunity came, said these words in the hearing of Vasudeva. 'O Sanjaya, our grandsire, the son of Santanu, and Dhritarashtra, and Drona, and Kripa, and Karna, and king Vahlika, and Drona's son, and Somadatta, and Sakuni the son of Suvala; and Dussasana, and Sala, and Purumitra, and Vivingsati; Vikarna, and Chitrasena, and king Jayatsena, and Vinda and Anuvinda, the two chiefs of Avanti, and Bhurisravas, and king Bhagadatta, and king Jarasandha and other rulers of the earth, assembled there to fight for the good of the Kauravas, are all on the eve of death. They have been assembled by Dhritarashtra's son for being offered up as libations on the blazing Pandava-fire. In my name, Sanjaya, enquire after the welfare of those assembled kings according to their respective ranks, paying them proper regard at the same time. Thou shouldest also, O Sanjaya, say this, in the presence of all kings, unto Suyodhana-that foremost of all sinful men. Wrathful and wicked, of sinful soul and exceedingly covetous, do thou, O Sanjaya, see that that fool with his counsellors hears all that I say.' And with this preface, Pritha's son Dhananjaya, endued with great wisdom, and possessed of large eyes with red corners, glancing at Vasudeva, then spoke unto me these words pregnant with both virtue and profit, 'Thou hast already heard the measured words spoken by the high-souled chief of the Madhu's race. Say unto the assembled kings that those are also my words. And say this also for me, unto those kings,--Do ye together try to act in such a way that libations may not have to be poured into the arrowy fire of the great sacrifice of battle, in which the rattle of car-wheels will sound as mantras, and the rank-routing bow will act as the ladle. If, indeed, ye do not give up unto Yudhishthira, that slayer of foes, his own share in the kingdom asked back by him, I shall then, by means of my arrows, send all of you, with cavalry, infantry, and elephants, into the inauspicious regions of departed spirits.' Then bidding adieu unto Dhananjaya and Hari of four arms and bowing unto them both, I have with great speed come hither to convey those words of grave import to thee, O thou that art endued with effulgence equal that of the very gods.'

SECTION 67

"Vaisampayana said, 'When Duryodhana, the son of Dhritarashtra, showed little regard for the words spoken by Sanjaya, and when the rest remained silent, the assembled kings rose up and retired. And after all the kings of the earth had retired, king Dhritarashtra, who always followed the counsels of his son from affection, wishing success to the assembled kings, began to enquire in secret of Sanjaya about the resolve of his own party, and of the Pandavas who were hostile to him. And Dhritarashtra said, 'Tell me truly, O son of Gavalgana, in what consists the strength and weakness of our own host, Minutely acquainted as thou art with the affairs of the Pandavas, tell me in what lies their superiority and in what, their inferiority. Thou are fully conversant with the strength of both parties, Thou knowest all things, and art well-versed in all matters of virtue and profit. Asked by me, O Sanjaya, say which of the parties, when engaged in battle, will perish?'

"Sanjaya said, 'I will not say anything to thee in secret, O king, for then thou mayst entertain ill-feelings towards me. Bring thou hither, O Ajamida, thy father Vyasa of high vows and thy queen Gandhari. Conversant with morality, of keen perception, and capable of arriving at the truth, they will remove any ill-feelings thou mayst cherish against me. In their presence, O king, I will tell thee everything about the intensions of Kesava and Partha.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed, Dhritarashtra caused both Gandhari and Vyasa to be brought there. And introduced by Vidura they entered the court without delay. And understanding the intentions of both Sanjaya and his son, Krishna-Dwaipayana endued with great wisdom said, 'Say, O Sanjaya, unto the enquiring Dhritarashtra everything that he desireth to know. Tell him truly all that thou knowest about Vasudeva and Arjuna.'"

SECTION 68

"Sanjaya said, 'Those adorable bowmen, Arjuna and Vasudeva, who are perfectly equal unto each other in respect of their godlike nature, have taken their births of their own will. O lord, the discus owned by Vasudeva, of abundant energy, occupieth a space full five cubits in diameter, is capable also of being hurled at the foe (in forms large or small) according to the will of the wielder himself, and it dependeth on illusion. Always conspicuous by its effulgence, it is invisible to the Kurus; and in ascertaining the strength or weakness of the Pandavas, that discus offers the best ground. Indeed, that scion of Madhu's race, endued with great might, vanquished with an effort and in seeming playfulness the formidable Naraka and Samvara and Kansa and (Sisupala) the chief of Chedis. Possessed of divinity and of soul superior to everything, that most exalted of male beings can, by his will alone, bring the earth, firmament, and heaven under his control. Thou askest me repeatedly, O king, about the Pandavas for knowing their strength and weakness. Listen now to all that in brief. If the whole universe be placed on one scale and Janardana on the other, even then Janardana will outweigh the entire universe. Janardana, at his pleasure, can reduce the universe to ashes, but the entire universe is incapable of reducing Janardana to ashes. Wherever there is truthfulness, wherever virtue, wherever modesty, wherever simplicity, even there is Govinda. And thither where Krishna is, success must be. That soul of all creatures, most exalted of male beings, Janardana, guideth, as if in sport, the entire earth, the firmament, and the heaven. Making the Pandavas the indirect means, and beguiling the whole world. Janardana wisheth to blast thy wicked sons that are all addicted to sin. Endued with divine attributes, Kesava, by the power of his soul causeth the wheel of Time, the wheel of the Universe, and the wheel of the Yuga, to revolve incessantly. And I tell thee truly that glorious Being is alone the Lord of Time, of Death, and of this Universe of mobile and immobile objects. That great ascetic Hari, though the Lord of the whole Universe, still betaketh himself to work, like a humble labourer that tilleth the fields. Indeed, Kesava beguileth all by the aid of His illusion. Those men, however, that have attained to Him are not deceived.'"

SECTION 69

"Dhritarashtra said, 'How hast thou, O Sanjaya, been able to know Madhava as the Supreme Lord of the universe? And how is it that I am unable to know Him as such? Tell me this, O Sanjaya.'

"Sanjaya said, 'Listen, O king! Thou hast no Knowledge, whereas my Knowledge hath suffered no diminution. He that is without Knowledge and is shrouded with the darkness of ignorance, knoweth not Kesava. Aided by my knowledge, O sire, I know the slayer of Madhu to be the union of the Gross, the subtle and the Cause; and that He is the Creator of all, but is Himself increate; and also that, endued with Divinity, it is He from whom everything springs and it is He unto whom all things return.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'O son of Gavalgana, what is the nature of that Faith which thou hast in Janardana and in consequence of which thou knowest the slayer of Madhu to be the union of the Gross, the Subtle, and the Cause?'

"Sanjaya said, 'Blessed be thou, O king, I have no regard for the illusion (that is identified with worldly pleasures) and I never practise the useless virtues (of vows and work without reliance on Him and purity of Soul). Having obtained purity of Soul through Faith, I have known Janardana from the scriptures.

"Dhritarashtra said, 'O Duryodhana, seek thou the protection of Janardana, otherwise called Hrishikesa. O child, Sanjaya is one of our trustiest friends. Seek refuge with Kesava.'

"Duryodhana said, 'If the divine son of Devaki united in friendship with Arjuna, were to slay all mankind, I cannot, even then, resign myself to Kesava.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'This evil-minded son of thine, O Gandhari, is resolved to sink in misery. Envious, wicked-souled, and vain, he setteth aside the words of all his superiors.'

"Gandhari said, 'Thou covetous wretch that disregardest the commands of the aged, abandoning thy father and myself and giving up prosperity and life, enhancing the joy of thy foes, and afflicting me with deep distress, thou wilt, O fool, remember thy father's words, when struck by Bhimasena, thou wilt bite the dust.'

"Vyasa said, 'Listen to me, O king! Thou, O Dhritarashtra, art the beloved of Krishna. When Sanjaya hath been thy envoy, he will verily lead thee to thy good. He knoweth Hrishikesa,--that ancient and exalted One. If thou listenest to him with attention, he will certainly save thee from the great danger that hangs upon thee. O son of Vichitravirya, subject to wrath and joy, men are entangled in various snares. They that are not contented with their own possessions, deprived of sense as they are by avarice and desire, they repeatedly become subject to Death in consequence of their own acts, like blind men (falling into pits) when led by the blind. The path that is trod by the wise is the only one (that leadeth to Brahma). They that are superior, keeping that path of view, overcome death and reach the goal by it.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Tell me, O Sanjaya, of that path without terrors by which, obtaining Hrishikesa, salvation may be mine.'

"Sanjaya said, 'A man of uncontrolled mind can by no means know Janardana whose soul is under perfect command. The performance of sacrifices without controlling one's senses is even no means to that end. Renunciation of the objects of our excited senses is due to spiritual light; both spiritual light and abstention from injury arise doubtless from true wisdom. Therefore, O king, resolve to subdue thy senses with all possible vigour; let not thy intellect deviate from true knowledge; and restrain thy heart from worldly temptations that surround it. Learned Brahmanas describe this subjugation of the senses to be true wisdom; and this wisdom is the path by which learned men proceed to their goal. O king, Kesava is not obtainable by men who have not subdued their senses. He that hath subdued his senses, desireth spiritual knowledge, awakened by the knowledge of scriptures and the pleasure of Yaga-absorption.'

SECTION 70

"Dhritarashtra said, 'I request thee, O Sanjaya, to tell me again of the lotus-eyed Krishna; for, by being acquainted with the import of his names, I may, O son, obtain that most exalted of male beings.' "Sanjaya said, 'The auspicious names (of Kesava) have been previously heard by me. Of those I will tell thee as many as I know. Kesava, however, is immeasurable, being above the power of speech to describe. He is called Vasudeva in consequence of his enveloping all creatures with the screen of illusion, or of his glorious splendour, or of his being the support and resting-place of the gods. He is called Vishnu because of his all-pervading nature. He is called Madava, O Bharata, because of his practising as a Muni, concentration of mind on truth and Yoga-absorption. He is called Madhusudana because of his having slain the Asura Madhu, and also because of his being the substance of the twenty-four objects of knowledge. Born of the Sattwata race, he is called Krishna because he uniteth in himself what are implied by the two words Krishi which signifieth 'what existeth' and na which signifieth 'eternal peace'. He is called Pundarikaksha from Pundarika implying his high and eternal abode, and Aksha implying 'indestructible'; and he is called Janardana because he striketh fear into the hearts of all wicked beings. He is called Sattwata, because the attribute of Sattwa is never dissociated from him and also because he is never dissociated from it; and he is called Vrishabhakshana from Vrishabha implying the 'Vedas' and ikshana implying 'eye', the union of the two signifying that the Vedas are his eyes, or the Vedas are the eyes through which he may be seen, That conqueror of hosts is called Aja, or unborn', because he hath not taken his birth from any being in the ordinary way. That Supreme Soul is called Damodara because unlike the gods his effulgence is increate and his own, and also because he hath self-control and great splendour. He is called Hrishikesa, from Hrishika meaning 'eternal happiness' and Isa meaning 'the six divine attributes', the union signifying one having joy, happiness, and divinity. He is called Mahavahu, because he upholdeth the earth and the sky with his two arms. He is called Adhakshaja, because he never falleth down or suffereth any deterioration, and is called Narayana from his being the refuge of all human beings. He is called Purusottama from Puru implying 'he that createth and preserveth' and so meaning 'he that destroyeth, the union signifying one that createth, preserveth, and destroyeth the universe'. He possesseth a knowledge of all things, and, therefore, is called Sarva, Krishna is always in Truth and Truth is always in him, and Govinda is Truth's Truth. Therefore, he is called Satya. He is called Vishnu because of his prowess, and Jishnu because of his success. He is called Ananta from his eternity, and Govinda from his knowledge of speech of every kind. He maketh the unreal appear as real and thereby beguileth all creatures. Possessed of such attributes, ever devoted to righteousness, and endued with divinity, the slayer of Madhu, that mighty-armed one incapable of decay, will come hither for preventing the slaughter of the Kurus.'"

SECTION 71

"Dhritarashtra said, 'O Sanjaya, I envy those gifted with sight, who will behold before them that Vasudeva whose body endued with great beauty shineth with effulgence, illuminating the cardinal and subsidiary points of the compass; who will give utterance to words that will be listened to with respect by the Bharatas,--words that are auspicious to the Srinjayas, acceptable, by those desirous of prosperity, faultless in every respect, and unacceptable by those that are doomed to death; who is full of high resolves, eternal, possessed of unrivalled heroism, who is the bull of the Yadavas and their leader, and who is the slayer and awe-inspirer of all foes, and who is the destroyer of the fame of every enemy? The assembled Kauravas will behold that high-souled and adorable One, that slayer of foes, that chief of the Vrishnis, uttering words full of kindness, and fascinating all of my party. I put myself in the hand of that Eternal one, that Rishi endued with knowledge of Self, that ocean of eloquence, that Being who is easily attainable by ascetics, that bird called Arishta furnished with beautiful wings, that destroyer of creatures, that refuge of the universe; that one of a thousand heads, that Creator and Destroyer of all things, that Ancient one, that one without beginning, middle, or end, that one of infinite achievements, that cause of the Prime seed, that unborn one, that Eternity's self, that highest of the high, that Creator of the three worlds, that Author of gods, Asuras, Nagas, and Rakshasas, that foremost of all learned persons and rulers of men, that younger brother of Indra.'"

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SECTION 72

(Bhagwat Yana Parva)

"Janamejaya said, 'When good Sanjaya (leaving the Pandava camp) went back to the Kurus, what did my grandsires, the sons of Pandu, then do? O foremost of Brahmanas, I desire to hear all this. Tell me this, therefore.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'After Sanjaya had gone, Yudhishthira the Just, addressed Krishna of the Dasarha race--that chief of all the Sattwatas, saying, 'O thou that art devoted to friends, the time hath come for friends to show their friendship. I do not see any other persons besides thee that can save us in this season of distress. Relying on thee, O Madhava, we have fearlessly asked back our share from Duryodhana who is filled with immeasurable pride and from his counsellors. O chastiser of foes, thou protectest the Vrishnis in all their calamities, do thou now protect the Pandavas also from a great danger, for they deserve thy protection.' "Divine Krishna said, 'Here am I O mighty-armed one. Tell me what thou desirest to say, for I will, O Bharata, accomplish whatever thou wilt tell me.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou hast heard what the intention is of Dhritarashtra and his own. All that Sanjaya, O Krishna, said unto me hath certainly the assent of Dhritarashtra. Sanjaya is Dhritarashtra's soul, and spoke out his mind. An envoy speaketh according to his instructions, for if he speaketh otherwise he deserveth to be slain. Without looking equally on all that are his, moved by avarice and a sinful heart, Dhritarashtra seeketh to make peace with us without giving us back our kingdom. Indeed, at Dhritarashtra's command we spent twelve years in the woods and one additional year in concealment, well-believing, O lord, that Dhritarashtra would abide firmly by that pledge of ours. That we did not deviate from our promise is well-known to the Brahmanas who were with us. The covetous king Dhritarashtra, is now unwilling to observe Kshatriya virtues. Owing to affection for his son, he is listening to the counsels of wicked men. Abiding by counsels of Suyodhana, the king, O Janardana, actuated by avarice and seeking his own good, behaveth untruthfully towards us. What can be more sorrowful, O Janardana, than this, that I am unable to maintain my mother and my friends? Having the Kasis, the Panchalas, the Chedis, and the Matsyas, for my allies and with thee, O slayer of Madhu, for my protector, I prayed for only five villages, etc., Avishthala, Vrikasthala, Makandi, Varanavata, with any other, O Govinda, as the fifth;--Grant us, we said, five villages or towns, O sire, where we five may dwell in union, for we do not desire the destruction of the Bharatas.--The wicked-minded son of Dhritarashtra, however, regarding the lordship of the world to be; in him, doth not agree to even that. What can be more sorrowful than this? When a man born and brought up in a respectable family, covereth the possessions of others, that avarice of his destroyeth his intelligence; and intelligence being destroyed, shame is lost; and loss of shame leadeth to diminution of virtue; and loss of virtue bringeth on loss of prosperity, Destruction of prosperity, in its turn, ruineth a person, for poverty is a person's death. Kinsmen and friends and Brahmanas shun a poor man as birds avoid, O Krishna, a tree that beareth neither Rower nor fruits. Even this, O sire, is death to me that kinsmen shun me, as if I were a fallen one like the breath of life quitting 'a dead body. Samvara said that no condition of life could be more distressful than that in which one is always racked by the anxiety caused by the thought--I have no meat for today, what will become of me tomorrow?--It is said that wealth is the highest virtue, and everything depends on wealth. They that have wealth are said to live, whereas those that are without wealth are more dead than alive. They that by violence rob a man of his wealth not only kill the robbed but destroy also his virtue, profit and pleasure. Some men when overtaken by poverty choose death; others remove from cities to hamlets others retire into the wood; while others, again, become religious mendicants to destroy their lives. Some for the sake of wealth are driven to madness; others for wealth, live under Subjection to their foes; while many others, again, for the sake of wealth, betake themselves to the servitude of others. A man's poverty is even more distressful to him than death, for wealth is the sole cause or virtue and pleasure. The natural death of a person is not much regarded, for that is the eternal path of all creatures. Indeed, none among created beings can transgress it. O Krishna, a man who is poor from birth is not so much distressed as one, who, having once possessed great prosperity and having been brought up in luxury, is deprived of that prosperity. Having through his own fault fallen into distress, such a person blameth the very gods with Indra and his own self. Indeed, knowledge of even the entire scriptures faileth to mitigate his pains. Sometimes he getteth angry with his servants, and sometimes he cherisheth malice towards even his well-wishers. Subject to constant anger, he loseth his very senses, and his senses being clouded, be practiseth evil deeds. Through sinfulness such a person contributeth to a fusion of castes. A fusion of castes leadeth to hell and is the foremost of all sinful acts. If he is not awakened in time, he goeth, certainly, O Krishna, to hell., and, indeed, wisdom is the only thing that can awaken him, for if he obtaineth back the eye of wisdom, he is saved. When wisdom is regained, such a man turneth his attention to scriptures; and attention to scriptures aideth his virtue. Then shame becometh his best ornament. He that hath shame hath an aversion against sin, and his prosperity also increaseth; and he that hath prosperity truly becometh a man. He that is ever devoted to virtue, and hath his mind under control, and always acteth after deliberation, never inclineth towards unrighteousness and never engageth in any act that is sinful. He that is without shame and sense is neither man nor woman. He is incapable of earning religious merit, and is like a Sudra. He that hath shame gratifieth the gods, the Pitris, and even his own self, and by this he obtaineth emancipation, which indeed, is the highest aim of all righteous persons.'

'Thou hast, O slayer of Madhu, seen all this in me with thy own eyes. It is not unknown to thee, how, deprived of kingdom, we have lived these years. We cannot lawfully abandon that prosperity (which had been ours). Our first-efforts will be such that, O Madhava, both ourselves and the Kauravas, united in peace, will quietly enjoy our prosperity. Otherwise, we shall, after slaying the worst of the Kauravas, regain those provinces, although success through bloodshed by destruction of even despicable foes that are related to us so dearly is the worst of all fierce deeds, O Krishna. We have numerous kinsmen, and numerous also are the revered seniors that have taken this or that other side. The slaughter of these would be highly sinful. What good, therefore, can there be in battle? Alas, such sinful practices are the duties of the Kshatriya order! Ourselves have taken our births in that wretched order! Whether those practices be sinful or virtuous, any other than the profession of arms would be censurable for us. A Sudra serveth; a Vaisya liveth by trade; the Brahmana have choosen the wooden bowl (for begging), while we are to live by slaughter! A Kshatriya, slayeth a Kshatriya; fishes live on fish; a dog preyeth upon a dog! Behold, O thou of the Dasarha race, how each of these followeth his peculiar virtue. O Krishna, Kali is ever present in battle-fields; lives are lost all around. It is true, force regulated by policy is invoked; yet success and defeat are independent of the will of the combatants. The lives also of creatures are independent of their own wishes, and neither weal nor woe can be one's when the time is not come for it, O best of the Yadu's race. Sometimes one man killeth many, sometimes many and united together kill one. A coward may slay a hero, and one unknown to fame may stay a hero of celebrity. Both parties cannot win success, nor both be defeated. The loss, however, on both sides may be equal. If one flieth away, loss of both life and fame is his. Under all circumstances, however, war is a sin. Who in striking another is not himself struck? As regard the person, however, who is struck, victory and defeat, O Hrishikesa, are the same. It is true that defeat is not much removed from death, but his loss also, O Krishna, is not less who winneth victory. He himself may not be killed, but his adversaries will kill at least some one that is dear to him, or some others and thus the man, O sire, deprived of strength and not seeing before him his sons and brothers, becometh indifferent, O Krishna, to life itself. Those that are quiet, modest, virtuous, and compassionate, are generally slain in battle, while they that are wicked escape. Even after slaying one's foes, repentance, O Janardana, possesseth the heart. He that surviveth among the foes giveth trouble, for the survivor, collecting a force, seeketh to destroy the surviving victor. In hopes of terminating the dispute, one often seeketh to exterminate the foe. Thus victory createth animosity, and he that is defeated liveth in sorrow. He that is peaceful, sleepeth in happiness, giving up all thoughts of victory and defeat, whereas he that hath provoked hostility always sleepeth in misery, with, indeed, an anxious heart, as if sleeping with a snake in the same room. He that exterminates seldom winneth fame. On the other hand, such a person reapeth eternal infamy in the estimation of all. Hostilities, waged over so long, cease not; for if there is even one alive in the enemy's family, narrators are never wanted to remind him of the past. Enmity, O Kesava, is never neutralised by enmity; on the other hand, it is fomented by enmity, like fire fed by clarified butter. Therefore, there can be no peace without the annihilation of one party, for flaws may always be detected of which advantage may be taken by one side or other. They that are engaged in watching for flaws have this vice. Confidence in one's own prowess troubleth the core of one's heart like an incurable disease. Without either renouncing that at once, or death, there can be no peace. It is true, O slayer of Madhu, that exterminating the foe by the very roots, may lead to good result in the shape of great prosperity, yet such an act is most cruel. The peace that may be brought about by our renouncing the kingdom is hardly different from death, which is implied by the loss of kingdom, in consequence of the design of the enemy and the utter ruin of ourselves. We do not wish to give u the kingdom, nor do we wish to see the extinction of our race. Under these circumstances, therefore, the peace that is obtained through eve humiliation is the best. When these that strive for peace by all means without of course wishing for war, find conciliation fail, war becomes in evitable, and then is the time for the display of prowess. Indeed, when conciliation fails, frightful results follow. The learned have noticed all this in a canine contest. First, there comes the wagging of tails, then the bark, then the bark in reply, then the circumambulation, then the showing of teeth, then repeated roars, and then at last the fight. In such a contest, O Krishna., the dog that is stronger, vanquishing his antagonist, taketh the latter's meat. The same is exactly the case with men. There is no difference whatever. They that are powerful should be indifferent to avoid disputes with the weak who always bow down. The father, the king, and he that is venerable in year, always deserve regard. Dhritarashtra, therefore, O Janardana, is worthy of our respect and worship. But, O Madhava, Dhritarashtra's affection for his son is great. Obedient to his son, he will reject our submission. What dost thou, O Krishna, think best at this juncture? How may we, O Madhava, preserve both our interest and virtue? Whom also, besides thee, O slayer of Madhu, and foremost of men, shall we consult in this difficult affair? What other friend have we, O Krishna, who like thee is so dear to us, who seeketh our welfare so, who is so conversant with the course of all actions, and who is so well-acquainted with truth?'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed, Janardana replied unto Yudhishthira the Just, saying, 'I will go to the court of the Kurus for the sake of both of You. If without sacrificing your interests I can obtain peace, O king, an act of great religious merit will be mine, productive of great fruits. I shall then also save from the meshes of death the Kurus and the Srinjayas inflamed with wrath, the Pandavas and the Dhritarashtras, and, in fact, this entire earth.'

"Yudhishthira said, It is not my wish, O Krishna, that thou wilt go to the Kurus, for Suyodhana will never act according to thy words, even if thou advisest him well. All the Kshatriyas of the world, obedient to Duryodhana's command, are assembled there. I do not like that thou, O Krishna, shouldst proceed into their midst, If any mischief be done to thee, O Madhava, Jett alone happiness; nothing, not even divinity, nor even the sovereignty over all the gods will delight us.'

"The holy one said, 'I know, O monarch, the sinfulness of Dhritarashtra's son, but by going there we will escape the blame of all the kings of the earth. Like other animals before the lion, all the kings of the earth united together are not competent to stand still before me in battle when I am enraged. If, after all, they do me any injury, then I will consume all the Kurus. Even this is my intention. My going thither, O Partha, will not be fruitless, for if our object be not fulfilled, we shall at least escape all blame.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Do, O Krishna, as it pleaseth thee. Blessed be thou, go then to the Kurus. I hope to behold thee return successful and prosperous. Going unto the Kurus, make thou, O Lord, such a peace that all the sons of Bharata may live together with cheerful hearts and contentedly. Thou art our brother and friend, dear to me as much as to Vibhatsu. Such hath been our intimacy with thee that we apprehend no neglect of our interest from thee. Go thou, there for our good. Thou knowest us, thou knowest our antagonists, thou knowest what our purposes are, and thou knowest also what to say. Thou wilt, O Krishna, say unto Suyodhana such words as are for our benefit. Whether peace is to be established by (apparent) sin or by any other means, O Kesava, speak such words as may prove beneficial to us.'

SECTION 73

"The holy one said, 'I have heard Sanjaya's words and now I have heard thine. I know all about his purposes as also of thyself. Thy heart inclineth to righteousness, whereas their inclination is towards enmity. That which is obtained without war is of great value to thee. A long-life Brahmacharya is not, O lord of earth, the duty of a Kshatriya. Indeed, men of all the four orders have said that a Kshatriya should never subsist on alms; victory or death in battle, hath been eternally ordained by the Creator; even that is the duty of a Kshatriya. Cowardice is not applauded (in a Kshatriya). Subsistence, O Yudhishthira, is not possible by Cowardice, O thou of mighty arms. Display thy prowess, and vanquish, O chastiser of foes, thy enemies. The covetous son of Dhritarashtra, O chastiser of foes, living for a long time (with many kings) has by affection and friendship become very powerful. Therefore, O king, there is no hope of making his peace with thee. They regard themselves strong, having Bhishma and Drona and Kripa and others with them. As long, O king, as thou, O grinder of foes, wilt behave with them mildly, they will withhold thy kingdom. Neither from compassion, nor from mildness, nor from a sense of righteousness, will the sons of Dhritarashtra, O chastiser of foes, fulfil thy wishes. This, O son of Pandu, is another proof that they will not make peace with thee. Having pained thee so deeply by making thee put on a Kaupina, they were not stung with remorse. In the very sight of the Grandsire (Bhishma) and Drona and the wise Vidura, of many holy Brahmanas, the king, the citizens, and all the chief Kauravas, the cruel Duryodhana, deceitfully defeating thee at dice,--thee that are charitable, gentle, self-restrained, virtuous, and of rigid vows was not, O king, ashamed of his vile act. Do not, O monarch, show any compassion for that wretch of such disposition. They deserve death at the hands of

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all, how much more then of thee, O Bharata? O Bharata, with what improper speeches did Duryodhana with his brothers, filled with gladness and indulging in many a boast, afflict thee with thy brothers! He said, 'The Pandavas now have nothing of their own in this wide earth. Their very names and lineage are extinct. In time, which is never-ending, defeat will be theirs. All their virtues having merged in me, they will now be reduced to the five elements.' While the match at dice was in progress, the wretched Dussasana of most wicked soul, seizing that weeping lady by the hair dragged princess Draupadi, as if she had no protectors, to the assembly of kings, and in the presence of Bhishma and Drona and others, repeatedly called her--cow, cow! Restrained by thee, thy brothers of terrible prowess, bound also by the bonds of virtue, did nothing to avenge it; and after thou hadst been exiled to the woods, Duryodhana having uttered such and other cruel words, boasted amid his kinsmen. Knowing thee innocent, they that were assembled sat silent in the assembly-house, weeping with choked voice. The assembled kings with the Brahmanas did not applaud him for this. Indeed, all the courtiers present there censured him. To a man of noble descent, O grinder of foes, even censure is death. Death is even many times better than a life of blame. Even then, O king, he died when, upon being censured by all the kings of the earth, he felt no shame! He whose character is so abominable may easily be destroyed even like a rootless tree standing erect on a single weak root. The sinful and evil-minded Duryodhana deserveth death at the hands of every one, even like a serpent. Slay him, therefore, O killer of foes, and hesitate not in the least. It behoveth thee, O sinless one, and I like it too, that thou shouldst pay homage unto thy father Dhritarashtra and also unto Bhishma. Going thither I will remove the doubts of all men who are still undecided as to the wickedness of Duryodhana. Thither in the presence of all kings I will enumerate all those virtues of thine that are not to be met in all men, as also all the vices of Duryodhana. And hearing me speak beneficial words, pregnant with virtue and profit, the rulers of various realms will regard thee as possessed of a virtuous soul, and as a speaker of truth, while at the same time, they will understand how Duryodhana is actuated by avarice. I will also tell the vice of Duryodhana, before both the citizens and the inhabitants of the country, before both the young and the old, of all the four orders that will be collected there. And as thou askest for peace no one will charge thee sinful, while all the chiefs of the earth will censure the Kurus and Dhritarashtra; and when Duryodhana will be dead in consequence of his being forsaken by all men, there will be nothing left to do. Do then what should now be done. Going unto the Kurus, I shall strive to make peace without sacrificing thy interests, and marking their inclination for war and all their proceedings, I will soon come back, O Bharata, for thy victory. I think war with the enemy to be certain. All the omens that are noticeable by me point to that. Birds and animals set up frightful screeches and howls at the approach of dusk. The foremost of elephants and steeds assume horrible shapes; the very fire exhibiteth diverse kinds of terrible hues! This would never have been the case but for the fact of the world-destroying Havoc's self coming into our midst! Making ready their weapons, machines, coats of mail, and cars, elephants, and steeds, let all thy warriors be prepared for battle, and let them take care of their elephants and horses and cars. And, O king, collect everything that thou needest for the impending war. As long as he liveth, Duryodhana will, by no means, be able to give back unto thee. O king, that kingdom of thine which, abounding in prosperity, have before been taken by him at dice!'"

SECTION 74

"Bhima said, 'Speak thou, O slayer of Madhu, in such a strain that there may be peace with the Kurus. Do not threaten them with war. Resenting everything, his wrath always excited, hostile to his own good and arrogant, Duryodhana should not be roughly addressed. Do thou behave towards him with mildness. Duryodhana is by nature sinful of heart like that of a robber, intoxicated with the pride of prosperity, hostile to the Pandavas, without foresight, cruel in speech, always disposed to censure others, of wicked prowess, of wrath not easily to be appeased, not susceptible of being taught, of wicked soul, deceitful in behaviour, capable of giving up his very life rather than break or give up his own opinion. Peace with such a one, O Krishna, is, I suppose, most difficult. Regardless of the words of even his well-wishers, destitute of virtue, loving falsehood, he always acts against the words of his counsellors and wounds their hearts. Like a serpent hid within reeds, he naturally commits sinful acts, depending on his own wicked disposition, and obedient to the impulse of wrath. What army Duryodhana hath, what his conduct is, what his nature, what his might, and what his prowess, are all well-known to thee. Before this, the Kauravas with their son passed their days in cheerfulness, and we also with our friends rejoiced like the younger brother of Indra, with Indra himself. Alas, by Duryodhana's wrath, O slayer of Madhu, the Bharatas will all be consumed, even like forests by fire at the end of the dewy seasons, and, O slayer of Madhu, well-known are those eighteen kings that annihilated their kinsmen, friends, and relatives. Even as, when Dharma became extinct, Kali was born in the race of Asuras flourishing with prosperity and blazing with energy, so was born Udavarta among the Haihayas. Janamejaya among the Nepas, Vahula among the Talajanghas, proud Vasu among the Krimis, Ajavindu among the Suviras, Rushardhik among the Surashtras, Arkaja among the Valihas, Dhautamulaka among the Chinas, Hayagriva among the Videhas, Varayu among the Mahaujasas, Vahu among the Sundaras, Pururavas among the Diptakshas, Sahaja among the Chedis and Matsyas, Vrishaddhaja among the Praviras, Dharana among the Chandra-batsyas, Bigahana among the Mukutas and Sama among the Nandivegas. These vile individuals, O Krishna, spring up, at the end of each Yuga, in their respective races, for the destruction of their kinsmen. So hath Duryodhana, the very embodiment of sin and the disgrace of his race, been born, at the end of the Yuga, amongst us the Kurus. Therefore, O thou of fierce prowess, thou shouldst address him slowly and mildly, not in bitter but sweet words fraught with virtue and profit, and discourse fully on the subject so as to attract his heart. All of us, O Krishna, would rather in humiliation follow Duryodhana submissively, but, oh, let not the Bharatas be annihilated. O Vasudeva, act in such a way that we may rather live as strangers to the Kurus than incurring the sin of bringing about the destruction of the whole race should touch them, O Krishna, let the aged Grandsire and the other counsellors of the Kurus be asked to bring about brotherly feelings between brothers and to pacify the son of Dhritarashtra. Even this is what I say. King Yudhishthira also approveth of this, and Arjuna too is averse to war, for there is great compassion in him.'"

SECTION 75

"Vaisampayana said, 'Hearing these words from Bhima, that were fraught with such mildness and that were, as unexpected as if the hills had lost their weight and fire had become cold, Rama's younger brother Kesava of Sura's race and mighty arms, wielding the bow called Saranga, laughed aloud, and as if to stimulate Bhima by his words, like the breeze fanning a fire, addressed him who was then so overwhelmed by the impulse of kindness, saying, 'At other times, O Bhimasena, thou applaudest war only, desirous of crushing the wicked sons of Dhritarashtra that take delight in the destruction of others. O chastiser of foes, thou dost not steep but wakest the whole night, sitting up face downwards. Thou often utterest frightful exclamation of wrath, indicative of the storm within thy heart. Inflamed with the fire of thy own fury, thou sighest, O Bhima with an unquiet heart, like a flame of fire mixed with smoke. Withdrawing from company thou liest down breathing hot sighs, like a weak man pressed down by a heavy load. They, who do not know the cause regard thee as insane. As an elephant breaking into fragments uprooted trees lying on the ground grunteth in rage while trampling them under his feet, so thou also, O Bhima, runnest on, breathing deep sighs and shaking the earth under the tread. Here in the region thou takest no delight in company but passest thy time in privacy. Night or day, Nothing pleases thee so much as seclusion. Sitting apart thou sometimes laughest aloud all on a sudden, and sometimes placing thy head between thy two knees, thou continuest in that posture for a long time with closed eyes. At the other times, O Bhima, contracting thy brows frequently and biting thy lips, thou starest fiercely before thee. All this is indicative of wrath. At one time, thou hadst, in the midst of thy brothers, grasped the mace, uttering this oath, 'As the sun is seen rising in the east displaying his radiance, and as he truly setteth in the west journeying around the Meru, so do I swear that I will certainly slay insolent Duryodhana with this mace of mine, and this oath of mine will never be untrue.' How then doth that same heart of thine, O chastiser of foes, now follow the counsels of peace? Alas, when fear entereth thy heart, O Bhima, it is certain that the hearts of all who desire war are upset when war becometh actually imminent. Asleep or awake, thou beholdest, O son of Pritha, inauspicious omens. Perhaps, it is this for which thou desirest peace. Alas, like a eunuch, thou dost not display any sign indicative of manliness in thee. Thou art overwhelmed by panic, and it is for this that thy heart is upset. The heart trembleth, thy mind is overwhelmed by despair, thy thighs tremble, and it is for this that thou desirest peace. The hearts of mortals, O Partha, are surely as inconstant as the pods of the Salmali seed exposed to the force of the wind. This frame of thy mind is as strange as articulate speech in kine. Indeed, the hearts of thy brothers are about to sink in an ocean of despair,--like swimmers in the sea without a raft to rescue them. That thou, O Bhimasena, shouldst utter words so unexpected of thee is as strange as the shifting of a hill. Recollecting thy own deeds and the race also in which thou art born, arise, O Bharata, yield not, to grief, O hero, and be firm. Such langour, O repressor of foes, is not worthy of thee, for a Kshatriya never enjoyeth that which he doth not acquire through prowess.'"

SECTION 76

"Vaisampayana said, 'Thus addressed by Vasudeva, the ever-wrathful Bhima, incapable of bearing insults, was immediately awakened like a steed of high metal, and replied, without losing a moment, saying, 'O Achyuta, I wish to act in a particular way; thou, however, takest me in quite a different light. That I take great delight in war and that my prowess is incapable of being baffled, must, O Krishna. be well-known to thee in consequence of our having lived together for a long time. Or it may be, thou knowest me not, like one swimming in a lake ignorant of its depth. It is for this that thou chidest me in such unbecoming words. Who else, O Madhava, knowing me to be Bhimasena, could address me with such unbecoming words as thou dost? Therefore, I shall tell thee, O delighter of the Vrishnis, about my own prowess and unrivalled might. Although to speak of one's own prowess is always an ignoble act, yet, pierced as I am by thy unfriendly strictures, I will speak of my own might. Behold, O Krishna, these--the firmament and the earth--which are immovable, immense, and infinite, and which are the refuge of, and in which are born these countless creatures. If through anger these suddenly collide like two hills, just I, with my arms, can keep them asunder with all their mobile and immobile objects. Behold the joints of these my mace-like arms. I find not the person who can extricate himself having once come within their grasp. The Himavat, the ocean, the mighty wielder of the thunderbolt himself, viz., the slayer of Vala,--even these three cannot, with all their power extricate the person attacked by me. I will easily trample on the ground under my feet all the Kshatriyas, who will come to battle against the Pandavas. It is not known to thee, O Achyuta, with what prowess I vanquished the kings of the earth and brought them under subjection. If, indeed, thou really knowest not my prowess which is like the fierce energy of the midday sun thou wilt then know it, O Janardana, in the fierce melee of battle. Thou woundest me with thy cruel words, paining me with the pain of opening a foetid tumour. But know me to be mightier than what I have said of myself of my own accord. On that day, when the fierce and destructive havoc of battle will begin, thou will then see me felling elephants and car-warriors combatants on steeds and those on elephants, and slaying in rage the foremost of Kshatriya warriors. Thou, as well as others, wilt see me doing all this and grinding down the foremost of combatants. The marrow of my bones hath not yet decayed, nor doth my heart tremble. If the whole world rusheth against me in wrath, I do not yet feel the influence of fear. It is only for the sake of compassion, O slayer of Madhu, that I am for displaying goodwill to the foe. I am far quietly bearing all our injuries, lest the Bharata race be extirpated.'"

SECTION 77

"The holy one said, It was only through affection that I said all this, desiring to know thy mind, and not from the desire of reproaching thee, nor from pride of learning, nor from wrath, nor from desire of making a speech. I know thy magnanimity of soul, and also thy strength, and thy deeds. It is not for that reason that I reproached thee. O son of Pandu, a thousand times greater will be the benefit conferred by thee on the Pandava's cause than that which thou thinkest thyself to be capable of conferring on it. Thou, O Bhima, with thy kinsmen and friends, art exactly that which one should be that has taken his birth in a family like thine, that is regarded by all the kings of the earth. The fact, however, is that they can never arrive at the truth, who under the influence of doubt proceed to enquire about the consequences hereafter of virtue and vice, or about the strength and weakness of men. For it is seen that what is the cause of the success of a person's object becometh also the cause of his ruin. Human acts, therefore, are doubtful in their consequences. Learned men, capable of judging of the evils of actions pronounce a particular course of action as worthy of being followed. It produces, however, consequences, the very opposite of what were foreseen, very much like the course of the wind. Indeed, even those acts of men that are the results of deliberation and well-directed policy, and that are consistent with considerations of propriety, are baffled by the dispensations of Providence. Then, again, Providential dispensations, such as heat and cold and rain and hunger and thirst, that are not the consequences of human acts, may be baffled by human exertion. Then again, besides those acts which a person is pre-ordained (as the result of the act of past lives) to go through, one can always get rid of all other acts begun at his pleasure, as is testified by both the Smritis and the Srutis. Therefore, O son of Pandu, one cannot go on the world without acting. One should, hence, engage in work knowing that one's purpose would be achieved by a combination of both Destiny and Exertion. He that engageth in acts under this belief is never pained by failure, nor delighted by success. This, O Bhimasena, was the intended import of my speech. It was not intended by me that victory would be certain in an encounter with the foe. A person, when his mind is upset should not lose his cheerfulness and must yield neither to langour nor depression. It is for this that I spoke to thee in the way I did. When the morrow comes, I will go, O Pandava, to Dhritarashtra's presence. I will strive

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to make peace without sacrificing your interests. If the Kauravas make peace, then boundless fame will be mine. Your purposes will be achieved, and they also will reap great benefit. If, however, the Kauravas, without listening to my words, resolve to maintain their opinion, then there will undoubtedly be a formidable war. In this war burthen resteth on thee, O Bhimasena. That burthen should also be borne by Arjuna, while other warriors should all be led by both of you. In case of war happening, I will certainly be the driver of Vibhatsu's car, for that, indeed, is Dhananjaya's wish and not that I myself am not desirous of fighting. It is for this that, hearing thee utter thy intention, I rekindled that thy energy, O Vrikodara.'"

SECTION 78

"Arjuna said, 'O Janardana, Yudhishthira hath already said what should be said. But, O chastiser of foes, hearing what thou hast said, it seemeth to me that thou, O lord, does not think peace to be easily obtainable either in consequence of Dhritarashtra's covetousness or from our present weakness. Thou thinkest also that human prowess alone is fruitless, and also that without putting forth one's prowess one's purposes cannot be achieved. What thou hast said may be true, but at the same time it may not always be true. Nothing, however, should be regarded as impracticable. It is true, peace seemeth to thee to be impossible in consequence of our distressful condition, yet they are still acting against us without reaping the fruits of their acts. Peace, therefore, if properly proposed, O lord, may be concluded. O Krishna, strive thou, therefore, to bring about peace with the foe. Thou, O hero, art the foremost of all friends of both the Pandavas and the Kurus, even as Prajapati is of both the gods and the Asuras. Accomplish thou, therefore, that which is for the good of both the Kurus and the Pandavas. The accomplishment of our good is not, I believe, difficult for thee. If thou strivest, O Janardana, such is this act that it will be soon effected. As soon as thou goest thither, it will be accomplished. If, O hero, thou purposest to treat the evil-minded Duryodhana in any other way, that purpose of thine will be carried out exactly as thou wishest. Whether it be peace or war with the foe that thou wishest, any wish, O Krishna, that thon mayest entertain, will certainly be honoured by us. Doth not the evil-minded Duryodhana with his sons and kinsmen deserve destruction when, unable to bear the sight of Yudhishthira's prosperity and finding no other faultless expedient, that wretch, O slayer of Madhu, deprived us of our kingdom by the sinful expedient of deceitful dice? What bowman is there, who, born in the Kshatriya order, and invited to combat, turneth away from the fight even if he is sure to die? Beholding ourselves vanquished by sinful means and banished to the woods, even then, thou of the Vrishni race, I thought that Suyodhana deserved death at my hands. What thou, however, O Krishna, wishest to do for thy friends is scarcely strange, although it seems inexplicable how the object In view is capable of being effected by either mildness or its reverse. Or, if thou deemest their immediate destruction to be preferable, let it be effected soon without further deliberation. Surely, thou knowest how Draupadi was insulted in the midst of the assembly by Duryodhana of sinful soul and how also we bore it with patience. That Duryodhana, O Madhava, will behave with justice towards the Pandavas is what I cannot believe. Wise counsels will be lost on him like seed sown in a barren soil. Therefore, do without delay what thou, O thou of Vrishni race, thinkest to be proper and beneficial for the Pandavas, or what, indeed, should next be done.'"

SECTION 79

"The holy one said, 'It shall be, O thou of mighty arms, what thou, O Pandavas, sayest, I will strive to bring about that which would be beneficial to both the Pandavas and the Kurus. Between the two kinds of acts, war and peace, the latter, O Vibhatsu, is perhaps within my power. Behold, the soil is moistened and divested of weeds by human exertion. Without rain, however, O son of Kunti, is never yieldeth crops. Indeed, in the absence of rain some speak of artificial irrigation, as a means of success due to human exertion, but even then it may be seen that the water artificially let in is dried up in consequence of providential drought. Beholding all this, the wise men of old have said that human affairs are set agoing in consequence of the cooperation of both providential and human expedients. I will do all that can be done by human exertion at its best. But I shall, by no means, be able to control what is providential. The wicked-souled Duryodhana acteth, defying both virtue and the world. Nor doth he feel any regret in consequence of his acting in that way. Moreover, his sinful inclinations are fed by his counsellors Sakuni and Karna and his brother Dussasana. Suyodhana will never make peace by giving up the kingdom, without, O Partha, undergoing at our hands a wholesale destruction with his kinsmen. King Yudhishthira the Just doth not wish to give up the kingdom submissively. The wicked-minded Duryodhana also will not at our solicitation surrender the kingdom. I, therefore, think that it is scarcely proper to deliver Yudhishthira's message to him. The sinful Duryodhana of Kuru's race will not, O Bharata, accomplish the objects spoken of by Yudhishthira. If he refuses compliance, he will deserve death at the hands of all. Indeed, he deserves death at my hands, as also, O Bharata, of every one since in your childhood he always persecuted you all, and since that wicked and sinful wretch robbed you of your kingdom and could not bear the sight of Yudhishthira's prosperity. Many a time, O Partha, he strove to withdraw me from thee, but I never reckoned those wicked attempts of his. Thou knowest, O thou of mighty arms, what the cherished intentions of Duryodhana are, and thou knowest also that I seek the welfare of king Yudhishthira the Just. Knowing, therefore, Duryodhana's heart and what my most cherished wishes are, why then dost thou, O Arjuna, entertain such apprehensions in respect of myself like one unacquainted with everything? That grave act also which was ordained in heaven is known to thee, How then, O Partha, can peace be concluded with the foe? What, however, O Pandavas, is capable of being done by either speech or act, will all be done by me. Do not, however, O Partha, expect peace to be possible with the foe. About a year ago, on the occasion of attacking Virata's kine, did not Bhishma, on their way back, solicit Duryodhana about this very peace so beneficial to all? Believe me, they have been defeated even then when their defeat was resolved by thee. Indeed, Suyodhana doth not consent to part with the smallest portion of the kingdom for even the shortest period of time. As regards myself, I am ever obedient to the commands of Yudhishthira, and, therefore, the sinful acts of that wicked wretch must have again to be revolved in my mind!'"

SECTION 80

"Nakula said, 'Much hath been said, O Madhava, by king Yudhishthira the Just who is conversant with morality and endued with liberality, and thou hast heard what hath been said by Falguni also. As regards my own opinion, O hero, thou hast repeatedly expressed it, Hearing first what the wishes of the enemy are and disregarding all, do what thou regardest to be proper for the occasion. O Kesava, diverse are the conclusions arrived at as regards diverse matters. Success, however, O chastiser of foes, is won when a man doth that which ought to be done in view of the occasion. When a thing is settled in one way on one occasion, it becometh unsuitable when the occasion becometh different. Persons, therefore, in this world, O foremost of men, cannot stick to the same opinion throughout. While we were living in the woods, our hearts were inclined towards a particular course of action. While we were passing the period of concealment, our wishes were of one kind, and now, at the present time, O Krishna, when concealment is no longer necessary, our wishes have become different. O thou of the Vrishni race, while we wandered in the woods, attachment for the kingdom was not so great as now. The period of our exile having ceased, hearing, O hero, that we have returned, an army numbering full seven Akshauhinis hath, through thy grace, O Janardana, been assembled. Beholding these tigers among men, of inconceivable might and prowess, standing equipped for battle armed with weapons, what man is there that will not be struck with fear? Therefore going into the midst of the Kurus, speak thou first words fraught with mildness and then those fraught with threats, so that the wicked Suyodhana may be agitated with fear. What mortal man is there, of flesh and blood, who would encounter in battle Yudhishthira and Bhimasena, the invincible Vibhatsu and Sahadeva, myself, thyself and Rama, O Kesava, and Satyaki of mighty energy. Virata with his sons, Drupada with his allies, and Dhrishtadyumna, O Madhava, and the ruler of Kasi of great prowess and Dhrishtaketu the lord of the Chedis? No sooner wilt thou go there than thou wilt, without doubt, accomplish, O thou of mighty arms, the desired object of king Yudhishthira the Just. Vidura, and Bhishma and Drona and Vahlika, these talents, O sinless one, will understand thee when thou wouldst utter words of wisdom. They will solicit that ruler of men, Dhritarashtra and Suyodhana of sinful disposition, with his counsellors, to act according to the advice. When thou, O Janardana, art the speaker and Vidura the listener, what subject is there that cannot be rendered smooth and plain?'"

SECTION 81

"Sahadeva said, 'What hath been said by the king is, indeed, eternal virtue, but thou, O chastiser of foes, shouldst act, in such a way that war may certainly happen. Even if the Kauravas express their desire for peace with the Pandavas, still, O thou of Dasarha's race, provoke thou a war with them. Having seen, O Krishna, the princess of Panchala brought in that plight into the midst of the assembly, how can my wrath be appeased without the slaughter of Suyodhana. If, O Krishna, Bhima and Arjuna and king Yudhishthira the Just are disposed to be virtuous, abandoning virtue I desire an encounter with Duryodhana in battle.'

"Satyaki said, 'The high-souled Sahadeva, O thou of mighty arms, hath spoken the truth. The rage I feel towards Duryodhana can be appeased only by his death. Dost thou not remember the rage thou too hadst felt upon beholding in the woods the distressed Pandavas clad in rags and deer-skins? Therefore, O foremost of men, all the warriors assembled here unanimously subscribe to what the heroic son of Madri, fierce in battle, hath said!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'At these words of the high-souled Yuyudhana, a leonine roar was set up by all the warriors assembled there. And all the heroes, highly applauding those words of Satyaki, praised him, saying, 'Excellent! Excellent!' And anxious to fight, they all began to express their joy.'"

SECTION 82

"Vaisampayana said, 'Hearing the peaceful words of the king that were fraught with both virtue and profit, king Drupada's daughter Krishna, of long black tresses, afflicted with great grief, applauding Sahadeva and that mighty car-warrior Satyaki, addressed Madhava seated by his side. And beholding Bhimasena declare for peace, that intelligent lady, overwhelmed with woe and with eyes bathed in tears, said, 'O slayer of Madhu, it is known to thee, O thou of mighty arms, by what deceitful means, O righteous one, the son of Dhritarashtra with his counsellors robbed the Pandavas, O Janardana. of their happiness. Thou knowest also, O thou of Dasarha's race, what message was privately delivered to Sanjaya by the king. Thou hast also heard all that was said unto Sanjaya. O thou of great effulgence, these words were even these, 'Let only five villages be granted to us, viz., Avishthala, and Vrikasthala, and Makandi, and Varanavata, and for the fifth, any other,--O thou of mighty arms, O Kesava, even this was the message that was to have been delivered to Duryodhana and his counsellors. But, O Krishna, O thou of Dasarha's race, hearing those words of Yudhishthira, endued with modesty and anxious for peace, Suyodhana hath not acted according to them. If, O Krishna, Suyodhana desireth to make peace without surrendering the kingdom, there is no necessity of going thither for making such a peace. The Pandavas with the Srinjayas, O thou of mighty arms, are quite able to withstand the fierce Dhritarashtra host inflamed with rage. When they are no longer amenable to this arts of conciliation, it is not proper, O slayer of Madhu, that thou shouldst show them mercy. Those enemies, O Krishna, with whom peace cannot be established by either conciliation or presents, should be treated with severity by one desirous of saving his life. Therefore, O mighty-armed Achyuta, heavy should be the punishment that deserves to be speedily inflicted upon them by thyself aided by the Pandavas and the Srinjayas. Indeed, even this would become the son of Pritha, and add to thy glory, and if accomplished, will, O Krishna, be a source of great happiness to the whole Kshatriya race. He that is covetous, whether belonging to the Kshatriya or any other order, save of course a Brahmana, even if most sinful, ought surely to be slain by a Kshatriya, who is true to the duties of his own order. The exception in the case of a Brahmana, O sire, is due to a Brahmana's being the preceptor of all the other orders, as also the first sharer of everything. Persons conversant with the scriptures declare, O Janardana, that sin is incurred in slaying one that deserveth not to be slain. So there is equal sin in not slaying one that deserveth to be slain. Act thou, therefore, O Krishna, in such a way with the forces of the Pandavas and the Srinjayas, that sin may not touch thee. From excess of confidence in thee, O Janardana, I will repeat what hath been said again and again. Whatever woman, O Kesava, is there on earth like me? I am the daughter of king Drupada, risen from the sacrificial alter. I am the sister of Dhrishtadyumna, thy dear friend, O Krishna. I have by marriage become a lady of Ajamida's race,--the daughter-in-law of the illustrious Pandu. I am the queen of Pandu's sons, who resemble five Indras in splendour. I have, by these five heroes, five sons that are all mighty car-warriors, and that are morally bound to thee, O Krishna, as Abhimanyu himself. Being such, O Krishna, I was seized by the hair, dragged into the assembly and insulted in the very sight of the sons of Pandu and in thy life-time. O Kesava, the sons of Pandu, the Panchalas, and the Vrishnis being all alive, exposed to the gaze of the assembly I was treated as a slave by those sinful wretches. And when the Pandavas beholding it all sat silent without giving way to wrath, in my heart I called upon thee. O Govinda, saying,--Save me, O save me!--Then the illustrious king Dhritarashtra, my father-in-law, said unto me, 'Ask thou any boon, O princess of Panchala. Thou deservest boons and even honour at my hands.' Thus addressed I said, 'Let the Pandavas be free men with their cars and weapons.' Upon this the Pandavas, O Kesava, were freed but only to be exiled into the woods. O Janardana, thou knowest all these sorrows of mine. Rescue me, O lotus-eyed one, with my husbands, kinsmen, and relatives, from that grief. Morally, O Krishna, I am the daughter-in-law of both Bhishma and Dhritarashtra. Though such, I was yet forcibly made a slave. Fie to Partha's bowmanship, oh, fie to Bhimasena's might since Duryodhana, O Krishna, liveth for even a moment. If I deserve any favour at thy hands, if thou hast any compassion for me, let thy wrath, O Krishna, be directed towards the sons of Dhritarashtra.'

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"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having said this, the beautiful Krishna of eyes that were black in hue and large like lotus leaves, bathed in tears, and walking like a cow-elephant, approached the lotus-eyed Krishna, and taking with her left hand her own beautiful tresses of curly ends, deep-blue in hue and scented with every perfume, endued with every auspicious mark, and though gathered into a braid, yet soft and glossy like a mighty snake, spake these words, 'Lotus-eyed one that art anxious for peace with the enemy, thou shouldst, in all thy acts, call to thy mind these tresses of mine seized by Dussasana's rude hands! If Bhima and Arjuna, O Krishna, have become so low as to long for peace, my aged father then with his war like sons will avenge for me in battle. My five sons also that are endued with great energy, with Abhimanyu, O slayer of Madhu, at their head, will fight with the Kauravas. What peace can this heart of mine know unless I behold Dussasana's dark arm severed from his trunk and pulverised to atoms? Thirteen long years have I passed in expectation of better times, hiding in my heart my wrath like a smouldering fire. And now pierced by Bhima's wordy darts that heart cf mine is about to break, for the mighty-armed Bhima now casteth his eye on morality. Uttering these words with voice choked in tears, the large-eyed Krishna began to weep aloud, with convulsive sobs, and tears gushed down her cheeks. And that lady, with hips full and round, began to drench her close and deep bosom by the tears she shed which were hot as liquid fire. The mighty-armed Kesava then spoke, comforting her in these words, 'Soon wilt thou, O Krishna, behold the ladies of Bharata's race weep as thou dost. Even they, O timid one, will weep like thee, their kinsmen and friends being slain. They with whom, O lady, thou art angry, have their kinsmen and warriors already slain. With Bhima and Arjuna and the twins, at Yudhishthira's command, and agreeably to fate, and what hath been ordained by the Ordainer, I will accomplish all this. Their hour having arrived, the sons of Dhritarashtra, if they do not listen to my words, will surely lie down on the earth turned as morsels of dogs and jackals. The mountains of Himavat might shift their site, the Earth herself might spilt into a hundred fragments, the firmament itself with its myriads of stars might fall down, still my words can never be futile. Stop thy tears, I swear to thee, O Krishna, soon wilt thou see thy husbands, with their enemies slain, and with prosperity crowning them.'"

SECTION 83

"Arjuna said, 'Thou art now, O Kesava, the best friend of all the Kurus. Related with both the parties, thou art the dear friend of both. It behoveth thee to bring about peace between the Pandavas and the sons of Dhritarashtra. Thou, O Kesava, art competent and, therefore, it behoveth thee to bring about a reconciliation. O lotus-eyed one, proceeding hence for peace, O slayer of foes, say unto our ever-wrathful brother Suyodhana, what, indeed, should be said, 'If the foolish Duryodhana doth not accept thy auspicious and beneficial counsels fraught with virtue and profit, he will surely then be the victim of his fate.'

"The holy one said, 'Yes, I will go to king Dhritarashtra, desirous of accomplishing what is consistent with righteousness, what may be beneficial to us, and what also is for the good of the Kurus.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'The night having passed away, a bright sun arose in the east. The hour called Maitra set in, and the rays of the sun were still mild. The month was (Kaumuda Kartika) under the constellation Revati. It was the season of dew, Autumn having departed. The earth was covered with abundant crops all around. It was at such a time that Janardana, the foremost of mighty persons, in enjoyment of excellent health, having heard the auspicious, sacred-sounding and sweet words of gratified Brahmanas, like Vasava himself hearing the adorations of the (celestial) Rishis,--and having also gone through the customary acts and rites of the morning, purified himself by a bath, and decked his person with unguents and ornaments, worshipped both the Sun and Fire. And having touched the tail of a bull and reverently bowed to the Brahmanas, walked round the sacred fire, and cast his eyes on the (usual) auspicious articles placed in view, Janardana recollected Yudhishthira's word and addressed Sini's grandson Satyaki, seated near, saying, 'Let my car be made ready and let my conch and discus along with my mace, and quivers and darts and all kinds of weapons, offensive and defensive, be placed on it, for Duryodhana and Karna and Suvala's son are all of wicked souls, and foes, however contemptible, should never be disregarded by even a powerful person. Understanding the wishes of Kesava, the wielder of the discus and the mace, his attendants immediately addressed themselves to yoke his car. And that car resembled in effulgence the fire that shows itself at the time of the universal dissolution, and itself in speed. And it was provided with two wheels that resembled the sun and the moon in lustre. And it bore emblazonments of moons, both crescent and full, and of fishes, animals, and birds and it was adorned with garlands of diverse flowers and with pearls and gems of various kinds all around. And endued with the splendour of the rising sun, it was large and handsome. And variegated with gems and gold, it was furnished with an excellent flag-staff bearing beautiful pennons. And well-supplied with every necessary article, and incapable of being resisted by the foe, it was covered with tiger-skins, and capable of robbing the fame of every foe, it enhanced the joy of the Yadavas. And they yoked unto it those excellent steeds named Saivya and Sugriva and Meghapushpa and Valahaka, after these had been bathed and attired in beautiful harness. And enhancing the dignity of Krishna still further, Garuda, the lord of the feathery creation, came and perched on the flag-staff of that car producing a terrible rattle. And Saurin then mounted on that car, high as the summit of the Meru, and producing a rattle, deep and loud as the sound of the kettle-drum or the clouds and which resembled the celestial car coursing at the will of the rider. And taking Satyaki also upon it, that best of male beings set out, filling the earth and the welkin with the rattle of his chariot-wheels. And the sky became cloudless, and auspicious winds began to blow around, and the atmosphere freed from the dust became pure. Indeed, as Vasudeva set out, auspicious animals and birds, whirling by the right side, began to follow him, and cranes and peacocks and swans all followed the slayer of Madhu, uttering cries of good omens. The very fire, fed with Homa libations in accompaniment with Mantras, freed from smoke blazed up cheerfully, sending forth its flames towards the right. And Vasishtha and Vamadeva, and Bhuridyumna and Gaya, and Kratha and Sukra and Kusika and Bhrigu, and other Brahmarshis and celestial Rishis united together, all stood on the right side of Krishna, that delighter of the Yadavas, that younger brother of Vasava. And thus worshipped by those and other illustrious Rishis and holy men, Krishna set out for the residence of the Kurus. And while Krishna was proceeding, Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, followed him, as also Bhima and Arjuna and those other Pandavas, viz., the twin sons of Madri. And the valiant Chekitana and Dhrishtaketu, the ruler of the Chedis, and Drupada and the king of Kasi and that mighty car-warrior Sikhandin, and Dhrishtadyumna, and Virata with his sons, and the princes of Kekaya also,--all these Kshatriyas followed that bull of the Kshatriya race to honour him. And the illustrious king Yudhishthira the Just, having followed Govinda to some distance, addressed him in these words in the presence of all those kings. And the son of Kunti embraced that foremost of all persons, who never, from desire, or anger, or fear, or purpose of gain committed the least wrong, whose mind was ever steady, who was a stranger to covetousness, who was conversant with morality and endued with great intelligence and wisdom, who knew the hearts of all creatures and was the lord of all, who was the God of gods, who was eternal, who was possessed of every virtue, and who bore the auspicious mark on his breast. And embracing him the king began to indicate what he was to do.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'That lady who hath brought us from our infancy; who is ever engaged in facts and ascetic penances and propitiatory rites and ceremonies; who is devoted to the worship of the gods and guests; who is always engaged in waiting upon her superiors who is fond of her sons, bearing for them an affection that knows no bounds; who, O Janardana, is dearly loved by us; who, O grinder of foes, repeatedly saved us from the snares of Suyodhana, like a boat saving a ship-wrecked crew from the frightful terrors of the sea; and who, O Madhava, however undeserving of woe herself, hath on our account endured countless sufferings,--should be asked about her welfare-Salute and embrace, and, oh, comfort her over and over, overwhelmed with grief as she is on account of her sons by talking of the Pandavas. Ever since her marriage she hath been the victim, however undeserving, of sorrow and griefs due to the conduct of her father-in-law, and suffering hath been her position. Shall I, O Krishna, ever see the time when, O chastiser of foes, my afflictions being over, I shall be able to make my sorrowing mother happy? On the eve of our exile, from affection for her children, she ran after us in anguish, crying bitterly. But leaving her behind, we went into the woods. Sorrow doth not necessarily kill. It is possible, therefore, that she is alive, being hospitably entertained by the Anartas, though afflicted with sorrow on account of her sons. O glorious Krishna, salute her for me, the Kuru king Dhritarashtra also, and all those monarchs who are senior to us in age, and Bhishma, and Drona, and Kripa, and king Vahlika, and Drona's son and Somadatta, and in fact, every one of the Bharata race, and also Vidura endued with great wisdom, that counsellor of the Kurus, of profound intellect and intimate acquaintance with morality,--should all, O slayer of Madhu, be embraced by thee!' Having in the presence of the kings, said these words unto Kesava, Yudhishthira, with Krishna's permission, came back having at first walked round him. Then Arjuna, proceeding a few steps, further said unto his friend, that bull among men, that slayer of hostile heroes, that invincible warrior of Dasarha's race, 'It is known to all the kings, O illustrious Govinda, that at our consultation it was settled that we should ask back the kingdom. If without insulting us, if honouring thee, they honestly give us what we demand, then, O mighty armed one, they would please me greatly and would themselves escape a terrible danger. If, however, Dhritarashtra's son, who always adopts improper means, acts otherwise, then I shall surely, O Janardana, annihilate the Kshatriya race.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'When Arjuna said these words, Vrikodara was filled with delight. And that son of Pandu continually quivered with rage; and while still quivering with rage and the delight that filled his heart upon hearing Dhananjaya's words, he set forth a terrible shout. And hearing that shout of his, all the bowmen trembled in fear and steeds and elephants were seen to pass urine and excreta. And having addressed Kesava then and informed him of his resolution. Arjuna with Janardana's permission, came back, having first embraced him. And after all the kings had desisted following him, Janardana set out with a cheerful heart on his car drawn by Saivya, Sugriva, and others. And those steeds of Vasudeva, urged by Daruka, coursed onwards, devouring the sky and drinking the road. And on his way Kesava of mighty arms met with some Rishis blazing with Brahmic lustre, standing on both sides of the road, And soon alighting from his car, Janardana saluted them reverently. And worshipping them duly, he enquired of them, saying, 'Is there peace in all the world? Is virtue being duly practised? And the other three orders obedient to the Brahmanas? And having duly worshipped them, the slayer of Madhu again said, 'Where have ye been crowned with success? Whither would ye go, and for what object? What also shall I do for yourselves? What has brought your illustrious selves down on the earth?' Thus addressed, Jamadagni's son, the friend of Brahma--that lord of both gods and Asuras,--approached Govinda the slayer of Madhu, embraced him, and said, 'The celestial Rishis of pious deeds, and Brahmanas of extensive acquaintance with the scriptures, and royal sages, O Dasarha, and venerable ascetic,--these witnesses, O illustrious one, of the former feats of gods and Asuras,--are desirous of beholding all the Kshatriyas of the earth assembled from every side as also the counsellors sitting in the assembly, the kings, and thyself the embodiment of truth, O Janardana. O Kesava, we will go thither for beholding that grand sight. We are also anxious, O Madhava, to listen to those words fraught with virtue and profit, which will be spoken by thee, O chastiser of foes, unto the Kurus in the presence of all the kings. Indeed, Bhishma, and Drona, and others, as also the illustrious Vidura and thyself, O tiger among the Yadavas,--Ye all will be assembled together in conclave! We desire, O Madhava, to hear the excellent, truthful, and beneficial words that thou wilt utter and they also, O Govinda. Thou art now informed of our purpose, O thou of mighty arms. We will meet thee again. Go thither safely, O hero. We hope to see thee in the midst of the conclave, seated on an excellent seat mustering all thy energy and might.'"

SECTION 84

"Vaisampayana said, 'O smiter of foes, when Devaki's son of mighty arms set out (for Hastinapura), ten mighty car-warriors, capable of slaying hostile heroes, fully armed, followed in his train. And a thousand foot-soldiers, and a thousand horsemen, and attendants by hundreds, also formed his train, carrying, O king, provisions in abundance.'

"Janamejaya said, 'How did the illustrious slayer of Madhu, of Dasarha's race, proceed on his journey? And what omens were seen when that hero set out?'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Listen to me as I narrate all those natural and unnatural omens that were noticed at the time when the illustrious Krishna departed (for Hastinapura). Though there were no clouds in the sky, yet the roll of thunder accompanied by flashes of lightning was heard. And fleecy clouds in a clear sky rained incessantly in the rear! The seven large rivers including the Sindhu (Indus) though flowing eastwards then flowed in opposite directions. The very directions seemed to be reversed and nothing could be distinguished. Fires blazed up everywhere, O monarch, and the earth trembled repeatedly. The contents of wells and water-vessels by hundreds swelled up and ran out. The whole universe was enveloped in darkness. The atmosphere being filled with dust, neither the cardinal nor the subsidiary points of the horizon could, O king, be distinguished. Loud roars were heard in the sky without any being being visible from whom these could emanate. This wonderful phenomenon, O king, was noticed all over the country. A south-westerly wind, with the harsh rattle of the thunder, uprooting trees by the thousands, crushed the city of Hastinapura. In those places, however, O Bharata, through which he of Vrishni's race passed, delicious breezes blew and everything became auspicious. Showers of lotuses and fragrant flowers fell there. The very road became delightful, being free from prickly grass and thorns. At those places where he stayed, Brahmanas by thousands glorified that giver of wealth with (laudation) and worshipped him with dishes of curds, ghee, honey, and presents of wealth. The very women, coming out on the road, strewed wild flowers of great fragrance on the person of that illustrious hero, devoted to the welfare of all creatures. He then came upon a delightful spot called Salibhavana which was filled with every kind of crops, a spot that was delicious and sacred, after having, O bull of the Bharata race, seen various villages abounding in bees, and picturesque to the eye,

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and delightful to the heart, and after having passed through diverse cities and kingdoms. Always cheerful and of good hearts, well-protected by the Bharatas and therefore free from all anxieties on account of the designs of invaders, and unacquainted with calamities of any kind, many of the citizens of Upaplavya, coming out of their town, stood together on the way, desirous of beholding Krishna. And beholding that illustrious one resembling a blazing fire arrived at the spot, they worshipped him who deserved their worship with all the honours of a guest arrived in their abode. When at last that slayer of hostile heroes, Kesava, came to Vrikasthala, the sun seemed to redden the sky by his straggling rays of light. Alighting from his car, he duly went through the usual purificatory rites, and ordering the steeds to be unharnessed, he set himself to say his evening prayers. And Daruka also, setting the steeds free, tended them according to the rules of equine science, and taking off the yokes and traces, let them loose. After this was done, the slayer of Madhu said, 'Here must we pass the night for the sake of Yudhishthira's mission. Ascertaining that to be his intention, the attendants soon set a temporary abode and prepared in a trice excellent food and drink. Amongst the Brahmanas, O king, that resided in the village, they that were of noble and high descent, modest, and obedient to the injunctions of the Vedas in their conduct, approached that illustrious chastiser of foes, Hrishikesa, and honoured him with their benedictions and auspicious speeches. And having honoured him of Dasarha's race that deserveth honour from every one, they placed at the disposal of that illustrious person their houses, abounding in wealth. Saying unto them--'Enough'--the illustrious Krishna paid them proper homage, each according to his rank, and wending with them to their house, he returned in their company to his own (tent). And feeding all the Brahmanas with sweet-meats and himself taking his meals with them, Kesava passed the night happily there.'"

SECTION 85

"Vaisampayana said, 'Meanwhile, understanding from his spies that the slayer of Madhu had set out, Dhritarashtra, with his hair standing erect, respectfully addressing the mighty-armed Bhishma and Dorna and Sanjaya and the illustrious Vidura, said these words unto Duryodhana and his counsellors, 'O scion of Kuru's race, strange and wonderful is the news that we hear. Men, women and children, are talking of it. Others are speaking of it respectfully, and others again assembled together. Within houses where men congregate and in open spots, people and discussing it. All say that Dasarha of great prowess will come hither for the sake of Pandavas. The slayer of Madhu is, by all means, deserving of honour and worship at our hands. He is the Lord of all creatures, and on him resteth the course of every thing in the universe. Indeed, intelligence and prowess and wisdom and energy, all reside in Madhava. Worthy of honour at the hands of all righteous persons he is the foremost of all men, and is, indeed, eternal Virtue. If worshipped he is sure to bestow happiness; and if not worshipped fie is sure to inflict misery. If that smiter of foes, Dasarha be gratified with our offerings, all our wishes may be obtained by us, through his grace, in the midst of the kings. O chastiser of foes, make without loss of time every arrangement for his reception. Let pavilions be set up on the road, furnished with every object of enjoyment. O mighty-armed son of Gandhari, make such arrangements that he may be gratified with thee. What doth Bhishma think in this matter?' At this, Bhishma and others, all applauding those words of king Dhritarashtra, said,--'Excellent.' King Duryodhana then, understanding their wishes, ordered delightful sites to be chosen for the erection of pavilions. Many pavilions were thereupon constructed abounding with gems of every kind, at proper intervals and at delightful spots. And the king sent thither handsome seats endued with excellent qualities, beautiful girls, and scents and ornaments, and fine robes, and excellent viands, and drink of diverse qualities, and fragrant garlands of many kinds. And the king of the Kurus took especial care to erect, for the reception of Krishna, a highly beautiful pavilion at Vrikasthala, full of precious gems. And having made all these arrangements that were god-like and much above the capacity of human beings, king Duryodhana informed Dhritarashtra of the same. Kesava, however, of Dasarha's race, arrived at the capital of the Kurus, without casting a single glance at all those pavilions and all those gems of diverse kinds.'"

SECTION 86

"Dhritarashtra said, 'O Vidura, Janardana hath set out from Upaplavya. He is now staying at Vrikasthala and will come here tomorrow. Janardana is the leader of the Ahukas, the foremost person amongst all the members of the Sattwata race, is high-souled, and endued with great energy and great might. Indeed, Madhava is the guardian and protector of the Prosperous kingdom of Vrishnis and is the illustrious Great-Grandsire of even the three worlds. The Vrishnis adore the wisdom of the intelligent Krishna, even as the Adityas, the Vasus, and the Rudras adore the wisdom of Vrihaspati. O virtuous one, I will in thy presence, offer worship unto that illustrious scion of Dasarha's race. Listen to me about that worship. I will give him sixteen cars made of gold, each drawn by four excellent and well-adorned steeds of uniform colour and of the Vahlika breed. O Kaurava, I will give him eight elephants with temporal juice always trickling down and tusks as large as poles of ploughs, capable of smiting hostile ranks, and each having eight human attendants. I will give him a century of handsome maid-servants of the complexion of gold, all virgins, and man-servants I will give him as, many. I will give him eighteen thousand woolen blankets soft to the touch, all presented to us by the hill-men. I will also give him a thousand deer-skins brought from China and other things of the kind that may be worthy of Kesava. I will also give him this serene gem of the purest rays that shines day and night, for Kesava alone deserves it. This car of mine drawn by mules that makes a round of full fourteen Yojanas a day, I will also give him. I will place before him every-day-provisions eight times greater than what is necessary for the animals and attendants that form his train. Mounted on their cars, having their person well-adorned, all my sons and grandsons, save Duryodhana, will go out to receive him. And thousands of graceful and well-decked dancing girls will go out on foot to receive the illustrious Kesava. And the beautiful girls that will go out of the town for receiving Janardana will go out unveiled. Let all the citizens with their wives and children behold the illustrious slayer of Madhu wit h as much respect and devotion as they show when casting their eyes on the morning sun. Let the canopy all round, at my command, be crowded with pendants and banners, and let the road, by which Kesava will come, be well-watered and its dusts removed. Let Dussasana's abode, which is better than Duryodhana's, be cleansed and well-adorned without delay. That mansion consisting of many beautiful buildings, is pleasant and delightful, and abounds with the wealth of all seasons. It is in that abode that all my wealth, as also Duryodhana's, are deposited. Let all that scion of the Vrishni race deserves be given unto him.'"

SECTION 87

"Vidura said, 'O monarch, O best of men, thou art respected by three worlds. Thou, O Bharata, art loved and regarded by every body. Venerable in year as thou art, what thou wilt say at this age cap never be against the dictates of the scriptures or the conclusions of well-directed reason, for thy mind is ever calm. Thy subjects, O king, are well-assured that, like characters on stone, light in the sun, and billows in the ocean, virtue resideth in thee permanently. O monarch, every one is honoured and made happy in consequence of thy numerous virtues. Strive, therefore, with thy friends and kinsmen to retain those virtues of thine. Oh, adopt sincerity of behaviour. Do not from folly, cause a wholesale destruction of thy sons, grandsons, friends, kinsmen, and all that are dear to thee. It is much, O king, that thou wishes to give unto Kesava as thy guest. Know, however, that Kesava deserves all this and much more, aye, the whole earth itself. I truly swear by my own soul that thou dost not wish to give all this unto Krishna either from motives of virtue or for the object of doing what is agreeable to him. O giver of great wealth, all this betrays only deception, falsehood, and insincerity. By the external acts, O king, I know thy secret purpose. The five Pandavas, O king, desire only five villages. Thou, however, dost not wish to give them even that. Thou art, therefore, unwilling to make peace. Thou seekest to make the mighty-armed hero of Vrishni's race thy own by means of thy wealth; in foot, by this means, thou seekest to separate Kesava from the Pandavas. I tell thee, however, that thou art unable, by wealth, or attention, or worship, to separate Krishna from Dhananjaya. I know magnanimity of Krishna; I know firm devotion of Arjuna towards him, I know that Dhananjaya, who is Kesava's life, is incapable of being given up by the latter. Save only a vessel of water, save only the washing of his feet, save only the (usual) enquiries after the welfare (of those he will see), Janardana will not accept any other hospitality or set his eyes on any other thing. Offer him, however, O king, that hospitality which is the most agreeable to that illustrious one deserving of every respect, for there is no respect that may not be offered to Janardana. Give unto Kesava, O king, that object in expectation of which, from desire of benefiting both parties, he cometh to the Kurus. Kesava desires peace to be established between thee and Duryodhana on one side and the Pandavas on the other. Follow his counsels, O, monarch. Thou art their father, O king, and the Pandavas are thy sons. Thou art old, and they are children to thee in years, behave as father towards them, that are disposed to pay thee filial regard."

SECTION 88

"Duryodhana said, 'All that Vidura hath said about Krishna, hath indeed, been truly said; for Janardana is greatly devoted to the Pandavas and can never be separated from them. All the diverse kinds of wealth, O foremost of kings, that are proposed to be bestowed upon Janardana ought never to be bestowed upon him. Kesava is, of course, not unworthy of our worship, but both time and place are against it, for he (Krishna), O king, on receiving our worship, will very likely think that we are worshipping him out of fear. This is my certain conviction, O king, that an intelligent Kshatriya must not do that which may bring disgrace upon him. It is well-known to me that the large-eyed Krishna deserveth the most reverential worship of the three worlds. It is quite out of place, therefore, O illustrious king, to give him anything now, for war having been decided upon, it should never be put off by hospitality.'

"Vaisampayana. continued, 'Hearing these words of his, the Grandsire of the Kurus spoke these words unto the royal son of Vichitravirya, 'Worshipped or not worshipped, Janardana never becometh angry. None, however, can treat him with disrespect, for Kesava is not contemptible. Whatever, O mighty one, he purposeth to do is incapable of being frustrated by anybody by every means in his power. Do without hesitation what Krishna of mighty arms sayeth and bring about peace with the Pandavas through Vasudeva as the means. Truly Janardana, possessed of virtuous soul, will say what is consistent with religion and profit. It behoveth thee, therefore, with all thy friends, to tell him what only is agreeable to him.'

"Duryodhana said, 'O Grandsire, I can, by no means, live by sharing this swelling prosperity of mine with the Pandavas. Listen, this, indeed, is a great resolution which I have formed. I will imprison Janardana who is the refuge of the Pandavas. He will come here tomorrow morning; and when he is confined, the Vrishnis and the Pandavas, aye, the whole earth, will submit to me. What may be the means for accomplishing it, so that Janardana may not guess our purpose, and so that no danger also may overtake us, it behoveth thee to say.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these fearful words of his son about imprisoning Krishna, Dhritarashtra, with all his counsellors, was very much pained and became deeply afflicted. King Dhritarashtra then spoke those words unto Duryodhana, 'O ruler of men, never say this again, this is not immemorial custom. Hrishikesa cometh here as an ambassador. He is, besides, related to and is dear to us. He hath done us no wrong; how then doth he deserves imprisonment?'

"Bhishma said, 'This wicked son of thine, O Dhritarashtra, hath his hour come. He chooseth evil, not good, though entreated by his well-' wishers. Thou also followest in the wake of this wicked wretch of sinful surroundings, who treadeth a thorny path setting at naught the words of his well-wisher. This exceedingly wicked son of thine with all his counsellors coming in contact with Krishna of unstained acts, will be destroyed in a moment. I dare not listen to the words of this sinful and wicked wretch that hath abandoned all virtue.'

'Having said this, that aged chief of the Bharata race, Bhishma of unbaffled prowess, inflamed with rage rose and left that place.'"

SECTION 89

"Vaisampayana said, 'Rising up (from his bed) at day-dawn, Krishna went through his morning rites, and taking leave of the Bharatas, set out for the city (of the Kurus). Ana all the inhabitants of Vrikasthala, bidding farewell unto that mighty one of long arms while he was about to depart, all returned to their homes. And all the Dhartarashtras except Duryodhana, attired in excellent robes, and with Bhishma, Drona, Kripa, and others, went out to meet him. And the citizens by thousands, O king, on cars of diverse kinds, and many on foot, also came out, desirous of beholding Hrishikesa. And meeting on the way Bhishma of spotless deed, and Drona, and Dhritarashtra's sons, he entered the city, surrounded by them all. And in honour of Krishna, the city was beautifully adorned, and the principal streets were decorated with diverse jewels and gems. And, O king, O bull of the Bharata race, on that occasion no one,--man, woman, or child,--remained in doors, so eager were the citizens for beholding Vasudeva. And all the citizens came out and lined the streets and bent their heads down to the ground singing eulogies in his honour, O king, when Hrishikesa entered the city and passed through it. And substantial mansions, filled with high-born ladies, seemed to be on the point of falling down on the ground in consequence of their living weight. And although Vasudeva's steeds were endued with great speed, yet they moved very slowly through that dense mass of human beings. And that lotus-eyed grinder of foes then entered Dhritarashtra's ash-coloured palace which was enriched with numerous buildings. And having passed through the first three chambers of the palace, that chastiser of foes, Kesava, came upon the royal son of Vichitravirya. And upon that son of Dasarha's race approaching his presence, the blind monarch of great fame stood up along with Drona and Bhishma, Kripa and Somadatta, and king Vahlika also,--all stood up for honouring Janardana. And the Vrishni hero, having approached king Dhritarashtra of great fame, worshipped him and Bhishma with proper words and without losing any time. And having offered that worship unto them according to established usage, Madhava the slayer of Madhu, greeted the other kings according to their seniority in years. And Janardana then accosted the illustrious Drona and his son,

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and Vahlika, and Kripa, and Somadatta. And there in that chamber Jay a spacious seat of beautiful workmanship, made of gold and set with jewels. And at Dhritarashtra's request, Achyuta took that seat; and the priests of Dhritarashtra duly offered Janardana a cow, honey and curds and water. And after the rites of hospitality were over, Govinda remained there for a while, surrounded by the Kurus, laughing and jesting with them according to their relationship with him. And that illustrious grinder of foes, honoured and worshipped by Dhritarashtra, came out with the king's permission. And Madhava having duly greeted all the Kurus in their assembly, then went to the delightful abode of Vidura; and Vidura, having approached Janardana of Dasarha's race thus arrived at his abode, worshipped him with every auspicious and desirable offering. And he said, 'What use, O lotus-eyed one, in telling thee of the joy I feel at this advent of thine, for thou art the inner Soul of all embodied creatures.' And after the hospitable reception was over, Vidura, conversant with all the principles of morality, enquired of Govinda, the slayer of Madhu, about the welfare of Pandavas. And that scion of Dasarha's race, that chief of the Vrishnis, unto whom the past and the future were as the present, knowing that Vidura was loved by the Pandavas and friendly towards them, and learned, and firm in morality, and honest, and harbouring no wrath (against the Pandavas), and wise, began to tell him everything in detail about the doings of the sons of Pandu.'"

SECTION 90

"Vaisampayana said, 'Janardana, the chastiser of foes, after his meeting with Vidura, went then in the afternoon to his paternal aunt, Pritha. And beholding Krishna whose countenance beamed with the effulgence of the radiant sun arrived at her abode, she encircled his neck with her arms and began to pour forth her lamentations remembering her sons. And at the sight, after a long time, of Govinda of Vrishni's race, the companion of those mighty children of hers, the tears of Pritha flowed fast. And after Krishna, that foremost of warriors, had taken his seat having first received the rites of hospitality, Pritha, with a woe-begone face and voice choked with tears addressed him, saying. They, who, from their earliest years have always waited with reverence on their superiors; they, who, in friendship are attached to one another; they, who, deprived deceitfully of their kingdom had gone to seclusion, however worthy of living in the midst of friends and attendants,--they, who have subjugated both wrath and joy, are devoted to Brahman's, and truthful in speech,--those children of mine, who, abandoning kingdom and enjoyments and leaving my miserable self behind, had gone to the woods, plucking the very roots of my heart,--those illustrious sons of Pandu, O Kesava, who have suffered woe however undeserving of it,--how, alas, did they live in the deep forest abounding with lions and tigers and elephants? Deprived in their infancy of their father, they were all tenderly brought up by me. How, also, did they live in the mighty forest, without seeing both their parents? From their infancy, O Kesava, the Pandavas were aroused from their beds by the music of conchs and drums and flutes. That they who while at home, used to sleep in high palatial chambers on soft blankets and skins of the Runku deer and were waked up in the morning by the grunt of elephants, the neighing of steeds, the clatter of car-wheels and the music of conchs and cymbals in accompaniment with the notes of flutes and lyres,--who, adored at early dawn with sacred sounding hymns uttered by Brahmanas, worshipped those amongst them that deserved such worship with robes and jewels and ornaments, and who were blessed with the auspicious benedictions of those illustrious members of the regenerate order, as a return for the homage the latter received,--that they, O Janardana, could sleep in the deep woods resounding with the shrill and dissonant cries of beasts of prey can hardly be believed, undeserving as they were of so much woe. How could they, O slayer of Madhu, who were roused from their beds by music of cymbals and drums and conchs and flutes, with the honeyed strains of songstresses and the eulogies chanted by bards and professional reciters,--alas, how could they be waked in the deep woods by the yells of wild beasts? He that is endued with modesty, is firm in truth, with senses under control and compassions for all creatures,--he that hath vanquished both lust and malice and always treadeth the path of the righteous, he that ably bore the heavy burthen borne by Amvarisha and Mandhatri Yayati and Nahusha and Bharata and Dilip and Sivi the son of Usinara and other royal sages of old, he that is endued with an excellent character and disposition, he that is conversant with virtue, and whose prowess is incapable of being baffled, he that is fit to become the monarch of the three worlds in consequence of his possession of every accomplishment, he that is the foremost of all the Kurus lawfully and in respect of learning and disposition, who is handsome and mighty-armed and hath no enemy,--Oh, how is that Yudhishthira of virtuous soul, and of complexion like that of pure gold? He that hath the strength of ten thousand elephants and the speed of the wind, he that is mighty and ever wrathful amongst the sons of Pandu, he that always doth good to his brothers and is, therefore, dear to them all, he, O slayer of Madhu, that slew Kichaka with all his relatives, he that is the slayer of the Krodhavasas, of Hidimva, and of Vaka, he that in prowess is equal unto Sakra, and in might unto the Wind-god, he that is terrible, and in wrath is equal unto Madhava himself, he that is the foremost of all smiters,--that wrathful son of Pandu and chastiser of foes, who, restraining his rage, might, impatience, and controlling his soul, is obedient to the commands of his elder brother,--speak to me, O Janardana, tell me how is that smiter of immeasurable valour, that Bhimasena, who in aspect also justifies his name--that Vrikodara possessing arms like maces, that mighty second son of Pandu? O Krishna, that Arjuna of two arms who always regardeth himself as superior to his namesake of old with thousand arms, and who at one stretch shooteth five hundred arrows, that son of Pandu who in the use of weapons is equal unto king Kartavirya, in energy unto Aditya, in restraint of senses unto a great sage, in forgiveness unto the Earth, and in prowess unto Indra himself,--he, by whose prowess, O slayer of Madhu, the Kurus amongst all the kings of the earth have obtained this extensive empire, blazing with effulgence,--he, whose strength of arms is always adored by the Pandavas,--that son of Pandu, who is the foremost of all car-warriors and whose prowess is incapable of being frustrated,--he, from an encounter with whom in battle no foe ever escapeth with life,--he, O Achyuta, who is the conqueror of all, but who is incapable of being conquered by any,--he, who is the refuge of the Pandavas like Vasava of the celestials,--how, O Kesava, is that Dhananjaya now, that brother and friend of thine? He that is compassionate to all creatures, is endued with modesty and acquainted with mighty weapons, is soft and delicate and virtuous,--he that is dear to me,--that mighty bowman Sahadeva, that hero and ornament of assemblies,--he, O Krishna, who is youthful in years, is devoted to the service of his brothers, and is conversant with both virtue and profit, whose brothers, O slayer of Madhu, always applaud the disposition of that high-souled and well-behaved son of mine,--tell me, O thou of the Vrishni race, of that heroic Sahadeva, that foremost of warriors, that son of Madri, who always waiteth submissively on his elder brothers and so reverentially on me. He that is delicate and youthful in years, he that is brave and handsome in person,--that son of Pandu who is dear unto his brothers as also unto all, and who, indeed, is their very life though walking with a separate body,--he that is conversant with various modes of warfare,--he that is endued with great strength and is a mighty bowman,--tell me, O Krishna, whether that dear child of mine, Nakula, who was brought up in luxury, is now well in body and mind? O thou of mighty arms, shall I ever behold again Nakula of mine, that mighty car-warrior, that delicate youth brought up in every luxury and undeserving of woe? Behold, O hero, I am alive today, even I, who could know peace by losing sight of Nakula for the short space of time taken up by a wink of the eye. More than all my sons, O Janardana, is the daughter of Drupada dear to me. High-born and possessed of great beauty, she is endued with every accomplishment. Truthful in speech, she chose the company of her lords, giving up that of her sons, Indeed, leaving her dear children behind, she followeth the sons of Pandu. Waited upon at one time by a large train of servants, and adored by her husbands with every object of enjoyment, the possessor of every auspicious mark and accomplishment, how, O Achyuta, is that Draupadi now? Having five heroic husbands who are all smiters of foes and all mighty bowmen, each equal unto Agni in energy, alas, woe hath yet been the lot of Drupada's daughter. I have not for fourteen long years, O chastiser of foes, beheld the princess of Panchala, that daughter-in-law of mine' who herself hath been a prey to constant anxiety on account of her children, whom she hath not seen for that period. When Drupada's daughter endued with such a disposition, doth not enjoy uninterrupted happiness, it seemeth, O Govinda, that the happiness one enjoyeth is never the fruit of one's acts. When I remember the forcible dragging of Draupadi to the assembly, then neither Vibhatsu nor Yudhishthira, nor Bhima, nor Nakula, nor Sahadeva, becometh an object of affection to me. Never before had a heavier grief been mine than what pierced my heart when that wretch Dussasana, moved by wrath and covetousness, dragged Draupadi, then in her flow, and therefore clad in a single raiment, into the presence of her father-in-law in the assembly and exposed her to the gaze of all the Kurus. It is known that amongst those that were present, king Vahlika, Kripa, Somadatta, were pierced with grief at this sight, but of all present in that assembly, it was Vidura whom I worship. Neither by learning, nor by wealth doth one become worthy of homage. It is by disposition alone that one becomes respectable, O Krishna, endued with great intelligence and profound wisdom, the character of the illustrious Vidura, like unto an ornament (that he wears) adorns the whole world.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Filled with delight at the advent of Govinda, and afflicted with sorrow (on account of her sons) Pritha gave expression to all her diverse griefs. And she said, 'Can gambling and the slaughter of deer, which, O chastiser of foes, occupied all wicked kings of old, be a pleasant occupation for the Pandavas? The thought consumeth, O Kesava, that being dragged into the presence of all the Kurus in their assembly by Dhritarashtra's sons, insults worse than death were heaped on Krishna, O chastiser of foes, the banishment of my sons from their capital and their wanderings in the wilderness,--these and various other griefs, O Janardana, have been mine. Nothing could be more painful to me or to my sons themselves, O Madhava, than that they should have had to pass a period of concealment, shut up in a stranger's house. Full fourteen years have passed since the day when Duryodhana first exited my sons. If misery is destructive of fruits of sins, and happiness is dependent on the fruits of religious merit, then it seems that happiness may still be ours after so much misery. I never made any distinction between Dhritarashtra's sons and mine (so far as maternal affection is concerned). By that truth, O Krishna, I shall surely behold thee along with the Pandavas safely come out of the present strife with their foes slain, and the kingdom recovered by them. The Pandavas themselves have observed their vow with such truthfulness sticking to Dharma that they are incapable of being defeated by their enemies. In the matter of my present sorrows, however, I blame neither myself nor Suyodhana, but my father alone. Like a wealthy man giving away a sum of money in gift, my father gave me away to Kuntibhoja. While a child playing with a ball in my hands, thy grandfather, O Kesava, gave me away to his friend, the illustrious Kuntibhoja. Abandoned, O chastiser of foes, by my own father, and my father-in law, and afflicted with insufferable woes, what use, O Madhava, is there in my being alive? On the night of Savyasachin's birth, in the lying-in-room, an invisible voice told me, 'This son of thine will conquer the whole world, and his fame will reach the very heavens. Slaying the Kurus in a great battle and recovering the kingdom, thy son Dhanajaya will, with his brothers, perform three grand sacrifices.' I do not doubt the truth of that announcement. I bow unto Dharma that upholds the creation. If Dharma be not a myth, then, O Krishna, thou wilt surely achieve all that the invisible voice said. Neither the loss of my husband, O Madhava, nor loss of wealth, nor our hostility with the Kurus ever inflicted such rending pains on me as that separation from my children. What peace can my heart know when I do not see before me that wielder of Gandiva, viz., Dhananjaya, that foremost of all bearers of arms? I have not, for fourteen years, O Govinda, seen Yudhishthira, and Dhananjaya, and Vrikodara. Men perform the obsequies of those that are missed for a long time, taking them for dead. Practically, O Janardana, my children are all dead to me and I am dead to them.

'Say unto the virtuous king Yudhishthira, O Madhava, that-Thy virtue, O son, is daily decreasing. Act thou, therefore, in such a way that thy religious merit may not diminish. Fie to them that live, O Janardana, by dependence on others. Even death is better than a livelihood gained by meanness. Thou must also say unto Dhananjaya and the ever-ready Vrikodara that--The time for that event is come in view of which a Kshatriya woman bringeth forth a son. If you allow the time slip without your achieving anything, then, though at present ye are respected by all the world, ye will be only doing that which would be regarded as contemptible. And if contempt touches you, I will abandon you for ever. When the time cometh, even life, which is so dear, should be laid down, O foremost of men, thou must also say unto Madri's sons that are always devoted to Kshatriya customs.--More than life itself, strive ye to win objects of enjoyment, procurable by prowess, since objects won by prowess alone can please the heart of a person desirous of living according to Kshatriya customs. Repairing thither, O mighty-armed one, say unto that foremost of all bearers of arms, Arjuna the heroic son of Pandu,--Tread thou the path that may be pointed out to thee by Draupadi. It is known to thee, O Kesava, that when inflamed with rage, Bhima and Arjuna, each like unto the universal Destroyer himself, can slay the very gods. That was a great insult offered unto them, viz., that their wife Krishna, having been dragged into the assembly was addressed in such humiliating terms by Dussasana and Karna. Duryodhana himself hath insulted Bhima of mighty energy in the very presence of the Kuru chiefs. I am sure he will reap the fruit of that behaviour, for Vrikodara, provoked by a foe, knoweth no peace. Indeed, once provoked, Bhima forgets it not for a long while, even until that grinder of foes exterminates the enemy and his allies. The loss of kingdom did not grieve me; the defeat at dice did not grieve me. That the illustrious and beautiful princess of Panchala was dragged into the assembly while clad in a single raiment and made to hear bitter words grieved me most. What, O Krishna, could be a greater grief to me? Alas, ever devoted to Kshatriya customs and endued with great beauty, the princess, while ill, underwent that cruel treatment, and though possessing powerful protectors was then as helpless as if she had none. O slayer of Madhu, having thee and that foremost of all mighty persons, Rama, and that mighty car-warrior Pradyumna for me and my children's protectors and having, O foremost of men, my sons the invincible Bhima and

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the unretreating Vijaya both alive, that I had still such grief to bear is certainly strange!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed by her, Sauri the friend of Partha, then comforted his paternal aunt, Pritha, afflicted with grief on account of her sons. And Vasudeva said, 'What woman is there, O aunt, in the world who is like thee? The daughter of king Surasena, thou art, by marriage, admitted into Ajamida's race. High-born and highly married, thou art like a lotus transplanted from one mighty lake into another. Endued with every prosperity and great good fortune, thou wert adored by thy husband. The wife of hero, thou hast again given birth to heroic sons. Possessed of every virtue, and endued with great wisdom, it behoveth thee to bear with patience, both happiness and misery. Overcoming sleep and langour, and wrath and joy, and hunger and thirst, and cold and heat, thy children are always in the enjoyment of that happiness, which, as heroes, should by theirs. Endued with great exertion and great might, thy sons, without affecting the comforts derivable from the senses such as satisfy only the low and the mean, always pursue that happiness which as heroes they should. Nor are they satisfied like little men having mean desires. They that are wise enjoy or suffer the same of whatever enjoyable or sufferable, Indeed, ordinary persons, affecting comforts that satisfy the low and the mean, desire an equable state of dullness, without excitement of any kind. They, however, that are superior, desire either the acutest of human suffering or the highest of all enjoyments that is given to man. The wise always delight in extremes. They find no pleasure betwixt; they regard the extreme to be happiness, while that which lies between is regarded by them as misery. The Pandavas with Krishna saluteth thee through me. Representing themselves to be well, they have enquired after thy welfare. Thou wilt soon behold them become the lords of the whole world, with their foe slain, and themselves invested with prosperity.'

'Thus consoled by Krishna, Kunti, afflicted with grief on account of her sons, but soon dispelling the darkness caused by her temporary loss of understanding, replied unto Janardana, saying, 'Whatever, O mighty-armed one, thou, O slayer of Madhu, regardest as proper to be done, let that be done without sacrificing righteousness, O chastiser of foes, and without the least guile. I know, O Krishna, what the power of thy truth and of thy lineage is. I know also what judgement and what prowess thou bringest to bear upon the accomplishment of whatever concerns thy friends. In our race, thou art Virtue's self, thou art Truth, and thou art the embodiment of ascetic austerities. Thou art the great Brahma, and everything rests on thee. What, therefore, thou hast said must be true.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Bidding her farewell and respectfully walking round her, the mighty-armed Govinda then departed for Duryodhana's mansion.'"

SECTION 91

"Vaisampayana said, 'With Pritha's leave and having walked round her, the chastiser of foes, Govinda, also called Sauri, went to Duryodhana's palace that was furnished with great wealth, adorned with beautiful seats, and was like unto the abode of Purandara himself. Unobstructed by the orderlies-in-waiting, that hero of great fame crossed three spacious yards in succession and then entered that mansion looking like a mass of clouds, high as the summit of a hill, and blazing forth in splendour. And he there beheld Dhritarashtra's son of mighty arms seated on his throne in the midst of a thousand kings and surrounded by all the Kurus. And he also beheld there Dussasana and Karna and Sakuni, the son of Suvala, seated on their respective seats by the side of Duryodhana. And on that scion of Dasarha's race entering the court, Dhritarashtra's son of great fame rose up from his seat with his counsellors for honouring the slayer of Madhu. And Kesava then greeted Dhritarashtra's sons and all his counsellors as also all the kings that were present there, according to their respective ages. And Achyuta of Vrishni's race then took his seat on a beautiful seat made of gold and overlaid with carpet embroidered with gold. And the Kuru king then offered unto Janardana a cow, and honey and curds and water, and placed at his service palaces and mansions and the whole kingdom. And then the Kauravas, with all the kings there present, worshipped Govinda on his seat and resembling the sun himself in splendour. The worship being over, king Duryodhana invited him of Vrishni's race--that foremost of victors--to eat at his house, Kesava, however did not accept the invitation. The Kuru king Duryodhana seated in the midst of the Kurus, in a gentle voice but with deception lurking behind his words, eyeing Karna, and addressing Kesava, then said, 'Why, O Janardana, dost thou not accept the diverse kinds of viands and drinks, robes and beds that have all been prepared and kept ready for thee? Thou hast granted aid to both sides; thou art engaged in the good of both parties. Thou art again the foremost of Dhritarashtra's relations and much loved by him. Thou, O Govinda, also knowest fully, and all things in details, both religion and profit. I, therefore, desire to hear, O bearer of the discus and the mace, what the true reason is of this thy refusal.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'The high-souled Govinda, of eyes like lotus leaves, then raising his mighty (right) arm, and in a voice deep as that of the clouds, replied unto the king in excellent words fraught with reasons,--words that were clear, distinct, correctly pronounced, and without a single letter dropped, saying, 'Envoys, O king, eat and accept worship only after the success of their missions. Therefore, O Bharata, after my mission becomes successful, thou mayest entertain me and my attendants.' Thus answered, Dhritarashtra's son again said unto Janardana, It behoveth thee not, O Kesava, to behave towards us in this way, Whether thou becomest successful, or unsuccessful, we are endeavouring to please thee, O slayer of Madhu, because of thy relationship with us. It seems, however, that all our efforts. O thou of Dasarha's race, are fruitless. Nor do we see the reason, O slayer of Madhu, in consequence of which, O foremost of men, thou acceptest not the worship offered by us from love and friendship. With thee, O Govinda, we have no hostility, no war. Therefore, on reflection, it will seem to thee that words such as these scarcely become thee.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed by the king, Janardana of Dasarha's race, casting his eyes on Dhritarashtra's son and ah his counsellors, replied, saying, 'Not from desire, nor from wrath, nor from malice, nor for gain, nor for the sake of argument, nor from temptation, would I abandon virtue. One taketh another's food when one is in distress. At present, however, O king, thou hast not inspired love in me by any act of thine, nor have I myself been plunged into distress. Without any reason, O king, thou hatest, from the moment of their birth, thy dear and gentle brothers,--the Pandavas--endued with every virtue. This unreasonable hatred of thine for the sons of Pritha ill becometh thee. The sons of Pandu are all devoted to virtue. Who, indeed, can do them the least injury? He that hateth them, hateth me; he that loveth them, loveth me. Know that the virtuous Pandavas and my own self have but a common soul. He, who, following the impulses of lust and wrath, and from darkness of soul, hateth and seeketh to injure one that is possessed of every good quality, is regarded as the vilest of men. That wrathful wretch of every good quality, is regarded as the vilest of men. That wrathful wretch of uncontrolled soul, who, from ignorance and avarice hateth his kinsmen endued with every auspicious quality, can never enjoy his prosperity long. He, on the other hand, who, by good offices, winneth over persons endued with good qualities, even if he beareth aversion of them within his heart, enjoyeth prosperity and fame for ever and ever. Defiled by wickedness, all this food, therefore, deserveth not to be eaten by me. The food supplied by Vidura alone, should, I think, be eaten by me.'

'Having said this unto Duryodhana who was ever incapable of bearing anything against his own wishes, Kesava of mighty arms then came out of that blazing palace of Dhritarashtra's son. And the high-souled Vasudeva of mighty arms, coming out of that mansion, directed his steps towards the abode of the illustrious Vidura. And while that mighty-armed one staying within Vidura's abode, thither came unto him Drona, and Kripa, and Bhishma, and Vahlika, and many of the Kauravas. And the Kauravas that came there addressed Madhava, the heroic slayer of Madhu, saying, 'O thou of Vrishni's race, we place at thy disposal our houses with all the wealth within them.'

'The slayer of Madhu, of mighty energy, answered them saying, 'Ye may go away. I am much honoured by these your offers.' And after all the Kurus had gone away, Vidura, with great care entertained that unvanquished hero of Dasarha's race with every object of desire. And Kunti then placed before the illustrious Kesava clean and savoury food in abundance. Therewith the slayer of Madhu first gratified the Brahmanas. Indeed, from that food he first gave a portion, along with much wealth, unto a number of Brahmanas conversant with the Vedas, and then with his attendants, like Vasava in the midst of the Marutas, he dined on what remained of the clean and savoury food supplied by Vidura.'"

SECTION 92

"Vaisampayana said, 'After Kesava had dined and been refreshed, Vidura said unto him during the night, 'O Kesava, this advent of thine hath not been a well judged one, for, O Janardana, Dhritarashtra's son transgresseth the rules of both profit and religion, is wicked and wrathful, insulteth others, though himself desirous of honours, and disobeyeth the commands of the aged. He is, O Madhava, a transgressor of the scriptures, ignorant, and of wicked soul, already overtaken by fate, untractable, and disposed to do evil to those that seek his good. His soul is possessed by desire and lust. He foolishly regardeth himself as very wise. He is the enemy of all his true friends. Ever-suspicious, without any control over his soul, and ungrateful, he hath abandoned all virtue and is in love with sin. He is foolish, with understanding uncultivated, a slave of his senses, ever obedient to the impulses of lust and avarice, and irresolute in every act that should be done. He is endued with these and many other vices. Although thou wilt point out to him what is for his good, he will yet disregard it all, moved by pride and anger. He hath great faith in Bhishma, and Drona, and Kripa, and Karna, and Drona's son, and Jayadratha, and, therefore, he never setteth his heart on peace, O Janardana. Dhritarashtra's sons, with Karna, firmly believe that the Pandavas are incapable of even looking at Bhishma, Drona, and other heroes, not to speak of fighting against them. The foolish Duryodhana of limited sight, having assembled a huge army regardeth, O slayer of Madhu, that his purposes are already achieved. The foolish son of Dhritarashtra hath arrived at the conclusion that Karna, single-handed, is competent to vanquish his foes. He will, therefore, never make peace. Thou, O Kesava, desirest to establish peace and brotherly feelings between the two parties. But know that all the sons of Dhritarashtra have come to the conclusion that they would not give unto the Pandavas what, indeed, the latter have a right to. With those that are so resolved thy words will certainly prove vain. Where, O slayer of Madhu, words, good or bad, are of the same effect, no wise man would spend his breath for nothing, like a singer before the deaf. As a Brahmana before a conclave of Chandalas, thy words, O Madhava, would command no respect among those ignorant and wicked wretches that have no reverence for all that deserveth reverence. Foolish, as long as he hath strength, he will never obey thy counsels. Whatever words thou mayest speak to him will be perfectly futile. It doth not seem proper to me, O Krishna, that thou shouldst go into the midst of these wicked-minded wretches seated together. It doth not seem proper to me, O Krishna, that going thither thou shouldst utter words against those wicked-souled, foolish, unrighteous wights, strong in number. In consequence of their having never worshipped the aged, in consequence of their having been blinded by prosperity and pride, and owing to the pride of youth and wrath, they will never accept the good advice thou mayest place before them. He hath mustered a strong force, O Madhava, and he hath his suspicions of thyself. He will, therefore, never obey any counsel that thou mayest offer. The sons of Dhritarashtra, O Janardana, are inspired with the firm belief that at present Indra himself, at the head of all the celestials, is incapable of defeating them in battle. Efficacious as thy words always are, they will prove to be of no efficacy with persons impressed with such a conviction and who always follow the impulses of lust and wrath. Staying in the midst of his ranks of elephants and his army consisting of cars and heroic infantry, the foolish and wicked Duryodhana, with all fears dispelled, regardeth the whole earth to have already been subjugated by him. Indeed, Dhritarashtra's son coveteth extensive empire on the earth without any rivals. Peace, therefore, with him is unattainable. That which he hath in his possession he regardeth as unalterably his. Alas, the destruction on the earth seems to be at hand for the sake of Duryodhana, for, impelled by fate, the kings of the earth, with all the Kshatriya warriors, have assembled together, desirous of battling with the Pandavas? All those kings, O Krishna, are in enmity with thee and have all been deprived of their possessions before this by thee. Through fear of thee those heroic monarchs have joined together with Karna and made an alliance with Dhritarashtra's sons. Reckless of their very lives, all those warriors have united with Duryodhana and are filled with delight at the prospect of fighting the Pandavas. O hero of Dasarha's race, it doth not commend itself to me that thou shouldst enter into their midst. How, O grinder of foes, wilt thou repair into the midst of those numerous enemies of thine, of wicked souls, and seated together? O thou of mighty arms, thou art, indeed, incapable of being vanquished by the very gods, and I know, O slayer of foes, thy manliness and intelligence. O Madhava, the love I bear to thee is equal to that I bear to the sons of Pandu. I say, therefore, these words to thee from my affection, regard, and friendship for thee. What need is there in expressing to thee the delight that has been mine at sight of thy persons, for, thou, O thou of eyes like lotus, art the inner Soul of all embodied creatures.'"

SECTION 93

"The holy one said, 'That, indeed, which should be said by a person of great wisdom: that, indeed, which should be said by one possessed of great foresight; that indeed, which should be said by one like thee to a friend like me; that indeed, which is deserving of thee, being consistent with virtue and profit, and truth; that, O Vidura, hath been said by thee, father and mother-like, unto me. That which thou hast told me is certainly true, worthy of approbation and consistent with reason. Listen, however, with attention, O Vidura, to the reason of my coming. Well knowing the wickedness of Dhritarashtra's son and the hostility of the Kshatriyas that have sided with him. I have still, O Vidura, come to the Kurus. Great will be the merit earned by him who will liberate from the meshes of death the whole earth, with her elephants, cars and steeds, overwhelmed with a dreadful calamity. If a man striving to the best of his abilities to perform a virtuous act meets with failure, I have not the least doubt that the merit of that act becomes his, notwithstanding such failure. This also is known to those that are conversant with religion and scripture, that if a person having intended mentally to commit

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a sinful act does not actually commit it, the demerit of that act can never be his. I will sincerely endeavour, O Vidura, to bring about peace between the Kurus and the Srinjayas who are about to be slaughtered in battle. That terrible calamity (which hangs over them all) hath its origin in the conduct of the Kurus, for it is directly due to the action of Duryodhana and Karna, the other Kshatriyas only following the lead of these two. The learned regard him to be a wretch who doth not by his solicitation seek to save a friend who is about to sink in calamity. Striving to the best of his might, even to the extent of seizing him by the hair, one should seek to dissuade a friend from an improper act. In that case, he that acteth so, instead of incurring blame, reapeth praise. It behoveth Dhritarashtra's son, therefore, O Vidura, with his counsellors, to accept my good and beneficial counsels that are consistent with virtue and profit and competent to dispel the present calamity. I will, therefore, sincerely endeavour to bring about the good of Dhritarashtra's sons and of the Pandavas, as also of all the Kshatriyas on the face of the earth. If while endeavouring to bring about the good (of my friends), Duryodhana judgeth me wrongly, I shall have the satisfaction of my own conscience, and a true friend is one who assumeth the functions of an intercessor when dissensions break out between kinsmen. In order, again, that unrighteous, foolish, and inimical persons may not afterwards say that though competent, still Krishna did not make any attempt to restrain the angry Kurus and the Pandavas from slaughtering one another I have come here. Indeed, it is to serve both parties that I have come hither. Having striven to bring about peace, I will escape the censure of all the kings. If after listening to my auspicious words, fraught with virtue and profit, the foolish Duryodhana accept them not, he will only invite his fate. If without sacrificing the interests of the Pandavas I can bring about peace among the Kurus, my conduct will be regarded as highly meritorious, O high-souled one, and the Kauravas themselves will be liberated from the meshes of death. If the sons of Dhritarashtra reflect coolly on the words I shall utter--words fraught with wisdom, consistent with righteousness, and possessed of grave import,--then that peace which is my object will be brought about and the Kauravas will also worship me (as the agent thereof). If, on the other hand, they seek to injure me, I tell thee that all the kings of the earth; united together, are no match for me, like a herd of deer incapable of standing before an enraged lion.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having said these words, that bull of the Vrishni race and delighter of Yadavas, then laid himself down on his soft bed for sleep.'"

SECTION 94

"Vaisampayana said, 'In such conversation between those two distinguished persons, both of whom were endued with great intelligence, that night, lit with bright stars, passed away. Indeed, the night passed away against the wishes of the illustrious Vidura, who had been listening to the varied conversation of Krishna fraught with virtue, profit, and desire, and made up of delightful words and syllables of agreeable import; and also those of Krishna himself, of 'immeasurable prowess, listening to discourses equal in style and character. Then, at early dawn a band of choristers and bards gifted with melodious voices, awoke Kesava with sweet sounds of conchs and cymbals. And rising from bed, Janardana of Dasarha's race, that bull amongst all the Sattwatas, went through all the customary acts of the morning. And having cleansed himself by a bath, recited the sacred Mantras and poured libations of clarified butter on the sacrificial fire. Madhava decked his person and began to worship the rising sun. And while the unvanquished Krishna of Dasarha's race was still engaged in his morning devotions, Duryodhana and Suvala's son Sakuni came to him and said, 'Dhritarashtra is seated in his court, with all the Kurus headed by Bhishma and with all the kings of the earth. They are all soliciting thy presence, O Govinda, like the celestials in heaven desiring the presence of Sakra himself,--thus addressed, Govinda greeted them both with sweet and courteous enquiries. And when the sun had risen a little higher, Janardana, that chastiser of foes, summoning a number of Brahmanas, made them presents of gold and robes and kine and steeds.

And after he had thus given away much wealth and taken his seat, his driver (Daruka) came and saluted that unvanquished hero of Dasarha's race. And Daruka soon returned with his master's large and blazing car furnished with rows of tinkling bells and harnessed with excellent steeds. And understanding that his handsome car adorned with every ornament and producing a rattle, deep as the rumbling of the mighty masses of clouds, was ready, the high-souled Janardana, that delighter of all the Yadavas, walking round the sacred fire and a band of Brahmanas, and putting on the gem known by the name of Kaustubha, and blazing with beauty, surrounded by the Kurus, and well-protected by the Vrishnis, mounted on it. And Vidura, conversant with all the precepts of religion, followed on his own car that scion of Dasarha's race, that foremost of all living creatures, that first of all persons gifted with intelligence. And Duryodhana and Suvala's son Sakuni also, on one car followed Krishna, that chastiser of foes. And Satyaki and Kritavarman and the other mighty car-warriors of the Vrishni race, all rode behind Krishna on cars and steeds and elephants. And, O king, the handsome cars of those heroes, adorned with gold and drawn by excellent steeds and each producing a loud rattle, as they moved forward, shone brilliantly. And Kesava, endued with great intelligence, and beaming with beauty, soon came upon a broad street that had previously been swept and watered, and that was fit to be used by the highest of kings. And when that scion of Dasarha's race set out, cymbals began to play, and conchs began to be blown, and other instruments also to pour forth their music. And great number of youthful heroes, foremost in the world for heroism, and possessed of lion-like prowess, proceeded, surrounding Sauri's car. And many thousands of soldiers, attired in a variegated dresses, bearing swords and lances and axes, marched in advance of Kesava. And there were full five hundred elephants, and cars by thousands, that followed that unvanquished hero of Dasarha's race while he proceeded. And, O chastiser of foes, all the citizens of the capital, of all ages and both sexes, desirous of beholding Janardana came out into the streets. And the terraces and balconies of the houses were so thronged by ladies that the houses were on the point of falling down with the weight. And worshipped by the Kurus, and listening to various sweet speeches, and returning the greetings of all as each deserved, Kesava went along the street, casting his eyes on all. And at last, when Kesava reached the Kuru court, his attendants loudly blew their conchs and trumpets and filled the welkin with that blare. And, thereupon, that whole assembly of kings, of immeasurable prowess, trembled with delight at the expectation of soon setting their eyes on Krishna. And hearing the rattle of his car, that rumbled like the deep roll of rain-charged clouds, the monarchs understood Krishna to be near, and the hair of their bodies stood erect with delight. And having reached the gate of the court, Sauri, that bull among the Satwatas, alighting from his car, that resembled the summit of Kailasa, entered the court which looked like a mass of newly-risen clouds, and blazed forth with beauty, and resembled the very abode of the great Indra. And that illustrious hero entered the court, arm-in-arm with Vidura and Satyaki on either side, and overshadowing with his own the splendour of all the Kurus, like the sun overshadowing the radiance of lesser lights in the firmament. And before Vasudeva sat Karna and Duryodhana, while behind him were seated the Vrishnis with Kritavarman. And Bhishma and Drona, and others with Dhritarashtra were on the point of rising up from their seats for honouring Janardana. Indeed, as soon as he, of Dasarha's race, came, the illustrious blind monarch, Drona and Bhishma, all rose up from their seats. And when that mighty ruler of men, king Dhritarashtra, rose up from his seat, those kings by thousands around him all rose up also. And at Dhritarashtra's command, a seat beautiful all over, and adorned with gold, had been kept there for Krishna, And after taking his seat, Madhava smilingly greeted the king, and Bhishma, and Drona, and all other rulers, each according to his age. And all the kings of the earth, and all the Kurus also, beholding Kesava arrived in that assembly, worshipped him duly. And as that chastiser of foes, that vanquisher of hostile cities, that hero of Dasarha's race, was seated there, he beheld the Rishis whom he had seen while proceeding to Hastinapur, staying in the firmament. And beholding those Rishis with Narada at their head, he of Dasarha's race, slowly addressed Bhishma the son of Santanu, saying, 'O king, the Rishis have come to see this earthly conclave of ours. Invite them with offer of seats and abundant courtesy, for if they are not seated, no one here is capable of taking his seat. Let proper worship, therefore, be speedily offered unto these Rishis with souls under proper control. And beholding the Rishis then at the gate of the palace, Santanu's son quickly ordered the servants to bring seats for them. And soon enough they brought large and beautiful seats embroidered with gold and set with gems. And after the Rishis. O Bharata, had taken their seats and accepted the Arghyas offered to them, Krishna took his seat, so also all the kings. And Dussasana gave an excellent seat to Satyaki, while Vivingsati gave another golden one to Kritavarman. And not far from where Krishna sat, that illustrious and wrathful pair, Karna and Duryodhana, sat together on the same seat. And Sakuni, the king of Gandhara, surrounded by the chiefs of his country, sat there, O king, with his son beside him. And the high-souled Vidura sat on a begemmed seat covered with a white deer-skin that almost touched Krishna's seat. And all the kings in the assembly, although they gazed at Janardana of Dasarha's race for a long while, were not, however, gratified with their gaze, like drinkers of the Amrita, that are never satiated with quaffing measure after measure. And Janardana attired in yellow robes having the complexion of the Atasi flower, sat in the midst of that assembly like a sapphire mounted on gold. And after Govinda had taken his seat, a perfect silence ensued, for none present there spoke a single word.'"

SECTION 95

"Vaisampayana said, 'And after all the kings had been seated and perfect silence had ensued, Krishna possessing fine teeth and having a voice deep as that of the drum, began to speak. And Madhava although he addressed Dhritarashtra, spoke in a voice deep as the roll of clouds in the rainy season, making the whole assembly hear. And he said, 'In order that, O Bharata, peace may be established between the Kurus and the Pandavas without a slaughter of the heroes, I have come hither. Besides this, O king, I have no other beneficial words to utter, O chastiser of foes, everything that should be learnt in this world is already known to thee. This thy race, O king, owing to its learning and behaviour, and owing also to its being adorned with every accomplishment, is most distinguished among all royal dynasties. Joy in the happiness of others, grief at sight of other people's misery, desire to alleviate distress, abstention from injury, sincerity, forgiveness, and truth,--these, O Bharata, prevail amongst the Kurus. Then thy race, therefore, O king, is so noble, it would be a pity if anything improper were done by any one belonging to it, and greater pity still if it were done by thee. O chief of the Kurus, thou art the first of those that should restrain the Kurus if they behave deceitfully towards strangers or those numbering with themselves. Know, O thou of Kuru's race, that those wicked sons of thine, headed by Duryodhana, abandoning both virtue and profit, disregarding morality, and deprived of their senses by avarice, are now acting most unrighteously towards, O bull of men, their foremost of kinsmen. That terrible danger (which threatens all) hath its origin in the conduct of the Kurus. If thou becomest indifferent to it, it will then produce a universal slaughter. If, O Bharata, thou art willing, thou mayest be able to allay that danger even yet, for, O bull of Bharata's race, peace, I think, is not difficult of acquisition. The establishment of peace, O king, depends on thee and myself, O monarch. Set right thy sons, O thou of Kuru's race, and I will set the Pandavas right. Whatever be thy command, O king, it behoveth thy sons with their followers to obey it. If again they live in obedience to thee, that would be the very best they could do. If thou strivest for peace by restraining thy sons, it will be to thy profit, O king, as also to the benefit of the Pandavas. Having reflected carefully, act thou thyself, O king. Let those sons of Bharata (the Pandavas), be, O ruler of men, thy allies. Supported by the Pandavas, O king, seek thou both religion and profit. By every exertion in thy power, thou canst not have, O king, such allies as they who are such. Protected by the illustrious sons of Pandu, Indra himself at the head of the celestials will not be able to vanquish thee. How would it be possible then for mere earthly kings to withstand thy prowess? If with Bhishma, and Drona, and Kripa, and Karna, and Vivingsati, and Aswatthaman, Vikarna, and Somadatta, and Vahlika and the chief of the Sindhus, and the ruler of the Kalingas, and Sudakshina, the king of the Kamvojas, there were Yudhishthira, and Bhimasena and Savyasachin, and the twins, and if Satyaki of mighty energy, and Yuyutsu, that mighty car warrior, are stationed, who is there, O bull of Bharata's race, of such misdirected intelligence that would fight these? If, O slayer of foes, thou hast both the Kurus and the Pandavas at thy back, the sovereignty of the whole world and invincibility before all foes will be thine. All the rulers of the earth, O monarch, that are either equal to thee or superior, will then seek alliance with thee. Protected on all sides by sons, grandsons, fathers, brothers, and friends, thou wilt then be able to live in exceeding happiness. Keeping these before thee and treating them with kindness as in days of yore, thou, O monarch, wilt enjoy the sovereignty of the whole earth. With these as thy supporters and with the sons of Pandu also, thou wilt, O Bharata, be able to conquer all thy foes. Even this is thy best advantage. If, O chastiser of foes, thou art united with thy sons and kinsmen and counsellors, thou wilt' enjoy sovereignty of the whole earth won for thee by them. In battle, O great king, nothing but wholesale destruction is visible. Indeed, in the destruction of both the parties, what merit dost thou see? If the Pandavas are slaughtered in battle, or if thy own mighty sons fall, tell me, O bull of Bharata's race, what happiness wilt thou enjoy? All of them are brave and skilled in weapons. All of them are desirous of battle, the Pandavas as also thy sons. Oh, save them from the terrible danger that threatens them. After the battle thou wilt not behold all the Kurus or all the Pandavas, Car-warriors slain by car-warriors, thou wilt behold the heroes of both parties reduced in numbers and strength. All the rulers of the earth, O best of kings, have been assembled together. Inflamed with wrath, they will certainly exterminate the population of the earth. Save, O king, the world. Let not the population of the earth be exterminated. O son of Kuru's race, if thou regainest thy natural disposition, the earth may continue to be peopled as now. Save, O king, these monarchs, who are all of pure descent, endued with modesty and liberality and piety, and connected with on another in bonds of relationship or alliance, from the terrible danger that threatens them. Abandoning wrath and enmity, O chastiser of foes, let these kings, embracing one another in peace, eating and drinking with one another, dressed in excellent robes and decked with garlands,

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and doing courtesies to one another, return to their respective homes. Let the affection thou hadst for the Pandavas be revived in thy bosom, and let it, O bull of Bharata's race, lead to the establishment of peace. Deprived of their father while they were infants, they were brought up by thee. Cherish them now as becomes thee, O bull of Bharata's race, as if they were thy own sons. It is thy duty to protect them. And especially it is so when they are distressed. O bull of Bharata's race, let not thy virtue and profit be both lost. Saluting and propitiating thee, the Pandavas have said unto thee, 'At thy command we have, with our followers, suffered great misery. For these twelve years have we lived in the woods, and for the thirteenth year have we lived incognito in an uninhabited part of the world. We broke not our pledge, firmly believing that our father also would abide by his. That we violated not our word is well-known to the Brahman as who were with us. And as we, O bull of the Bharata race, have abided by our promise, also do thou abide by thine. Long have we suffered the greatest misery, but let us now have our share of the kingdom. Fully conversant as thou art with virtue and profit, it behoveth thee to rescue us. Knowing that our obedience is due to thee, we have quietly undergone much misery. Behave thou then unto us like a father or brother. A preceptor should behave as a preceptor towards his disciples, and as disciples we are willing to behave as such towards thee, our preceptor. Act thou, therefore, towards us as a preceptor should. If we go wrong, it is the duty of our father to set us right. Therefore, set us on the way and tread thou also the excellent path of righteousness.' Those sons of thine, O bull of the Bharata race, have also said unto these kings assembled in the court these words, 'If the members of an assembly are conversant with morality, nothing improper should be permitted by them to happen. Where, in the presence of the virtuous members of an assembly, righteousness is sought to be overpowered by unrighteousness, and truth by the untruth, it is those members themselves that are vanquished and slain. When righteousness, pierced by unrighteousness, seeketh the protection of an assembly, if the arrow is not extracted, it is the members themselves that are pierced by that arrow. Indeed, in that case, righteousness slayeth the members of that assembly, like a river eating away the roots of the trees on its bank.' Judge now, O bull of the Bharata race. The Pandavas, with their eyes turned towards righteousness and reflecting on everything, are maintaining a calm attitude, and what they have said is consistent with truth and virtue and justice. O ruler of men, what canst thou say unto them, but that thou art willing to give them back their kingdom? Let these rulers of earth that are sitting here say (what the answer should be)! If it appears to thee that what I have said after reflecting well on virtue to be true, save all these Kshatriyas, O bull of the Bharata race, from the meshes of death. Effect peace, O chief of Bharata's race, and yield not to anger. Giving unto the Pandavas their just share of the paternal kingdom, enjoy thou then, with thy sons, O chastiser of foes, happiness and luxury, thy wishes being all crowned with success. Know that Yudhishthira always treadeth the path that is trod by the righteous. Thou knowest also, O king, what the behaviour of Yudhishthira is towards thee and thy sons. Although thou hadst sought to burn him to death and hadst exiled him from human habitation, yet he came back and once more repose confidence in thee. Again, didst thou with thy sons, banish him to Indraprastha? While there, he brought all the kings of the earth to subjection and yet looked up to thy face, O king, without seeking to disregard thee. Although he behaved in this way, yet Suvala's son, desirous of robbing him of his dominions and wealth and possessions, applied the very efficacious means of dice. Reduced to that condition and even beholding Krishna dragged into the assembly, Yudhishthira of immeasurable soul, did not yet swerve from the duties of a Kshatriya. As regards myself, I desire, O Bharata, thy good as also theirs. For the sake of virtue, of profit, of happiness, make peace, O king, and do not allow the Earth's population to be slaughtered, regarding evil as good and good as evil. Restrain thy sons, O monarch, who have from covetousness proceeded too far. As regards the sons of Pritha, they are equally ready to wait upon thee in dutiful service or to fight. That which, O chastiser of foes, seems to thee to be for thy good, do thou adopt!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'All the rulers of earth there present highly applauded these words of Kesava within their hearts, but none of them ventured to say anything in the presence of Duryodhana.'

SECTION 96

"Vaisampayana said, 'Hearing these words uttered by the high-souled Kesava, all the persons who sat in that assembly remained silent, their hair standing on their ends. And all the kings thought within themselves that there was no man who could dare reply to that speech. And seeing that all the kings sat silent, Jamadagni's son (addressing Duryodhana) then said these words in that assembly of Kurus, 'Listen confidingly to my words illustrated by an example, and seek thy own good if my speech recommends itself to thee. There was a king of yore named Dambhodbhava, who was the Head of the earth. It hath been heard by us that his sovereignty extended over the whole world. And that mighty car-warrior, rising every morning after the night had passed away, called the Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas unto himself and asked them, saying, 'Be he a Sudra, a Vaisya, a Kshatriya, or a Brahmana, is there any one who is superior or even equal to me in battle?' And uttering these words that king wandered over the earth, intoxicated with pride and thinking of nothing else. And it so happened that certain Brahmanas endued with high souls, conversant with the Vedas, and fearing nothing on earth, counselled the monarch, repeatedly boasting of his prowess, to curb his pride. But though forbidden by those Brahmanas to boast in that way, the king continued to ask the Brahmanas as before the same question day after day. And some high-souled Brahmanas then, endued with ascetic merit and acquainted with the proofs furnished by the Vedas, were inflamed with anger, and addressing that proud and boastful king intoxicated with prosperity, told him, 'There are two persons who are foremost of all men and who are always victorious in battle. Thou, O king, wilt by no means be equal to them if thou seekest an encounter with any one of them.' And thus addressed by them, the king asked those Brahmanas, saying, 'Where may those two heroes be found? In what race are they born? What feats have they achieved? And who are they? And the Brahmanas answered him, saying, It had been heard by us that those two persons are ascetics called Nara and Narayana. They have both taken their births in the race of man. Go and fight with them, O king. It is that illustrious pair, Nara and Narayana, who are now practising the severest of penances in some hidden region of the mountains of Gandhamadana.' Hearing those words of the Brahmanas, that king speedily mustered his large army consisting of six kinds of forces, [Cars (meaning chariots), elephants, horses, infantry, vehicles other than cars, and warriors fighting from the backs of camels.] and unable to bear their reputation, marched to the spot where those unvanquished ascetics were, and arrived at the rugged and frightful mountains of Gandhamadana. He began to search after those Rishis, and at last, came upon them concealed within the woods. And beholding those two best of persons emaciated with hunger and thirst, their veins swollen and visible, and themselves much afflicted with cold winds, and the hot rays of the sun, he approached them, and touching their feet, enquired after their welfare. And the two Rishis received the king hospitably, with fruits and roots, and a seat and water. And they then enquired after the king's business, saying, 'Let it be done.' And thus addressed by them, the king said unto them the same words that he was in the habit of saying unto all. And he said, 'The whole earth has been conquered by the might of my arms. All my foes have been slain. Desiring a battle with you both I have come to this mountain. Offer me this hospitality. I have been cherishing this wish from a long time.' Thus addressed, Nara and Narayana said, 'O best of kings, wrath and covetousness have no place in this retreat. How can a battle, therefore, be possible here? There are no weapons here, and nothing of unrighteousness and malice. Seek battle elsewhere. There are many Kshatriyas on earth.'

"Rama continued, 'Although thus addressed, the king still pressed them for giving him battle. The Rishis, however, continually soothed him and overlooked his importunity. King Dambhodbhava, still desirous of battle, repeatedly summoned those Rishis to fight. Nara, then, O Bharata, taking up a handful of grass-blades, said, 'Desirous of battle as thou art, come, O Kshatriya, and fight! Take up all thy arms, and array thy troops. I will curb thy eagerness for battle hereafter!' Dambhodbhava then said, If, O ascetic, thou thinkest this weapon of thine fit to be used against us, I shall fight with thee though thou mayest use that weapon, for I have come hither desirous of fighting.' Saying this, Dambhodbhava with all his troops, desirous of slaying that ascetic, covered all sides with a shower of arrows. That ascetic, however, by means of those blades of grass, baffled all those terrible shafts of the king that were capable of mangling the bodies of hostile warriors. The invincible Rishi then let off towards the king his own terrible weapon made of grass-blades and which was incapable of being counteracted. And highly wonderful was that which happened, for that ascetic, incapable of missing his aim, pierced and cut off, by those grass-blades alone, the eyes and ears and noses of the hostile warriors, aided also by his power of illusion. And beholding the entire welkin whitened by those grass-blades, the king fell at the feet of the Rishi and said, 'Let me be blessed! Ever inclined to grant protection unto those that sought it, Nara then, O king, said unto that monarch, 'Be obedient to the Brahmanas and be virtuous. Never do so again. O king, O tiger among monarchs, a conqueror of hostile towns, a Kshatriya mindful of the duties of his own or, should never, within even his heart, be as thou art. Filled with pride, never insult anybody on any occasion, be inferior or superior to thee. Even such conduct would befit thee. Acquiring wisdom, abandoning covetousness and pride, controlling thy soul, restraining thy passions, practising forgiveness and humility, and becoming amiable, O king, go, and cherish thy subjects. Without ascertaining the strength and weakness of men, never insult any one under any circumstances. Blessed be thou, and with our leave, go hence, and never again behave in this way. At our command, enquire thou always of the Brahmanas as to what is for thy good! The king then, worshipping the feet of those two illustrious Rishis, returned to his city, and from that time began to practise righteousness. Great indeed, was that feat achieved of old by Nara. Narayana, again, became superior to Nara in consequence of many more qualities. Therefore, O king, besides such weapons as Kakudika, Suka, Naka, Akshisantarjana, Santana, Nartana, Ghora, and Asyamodaka, are placed on the string of that best of bows called Gandiva, go thou unto Dhananjaya, laying aside thy pride Struck with these weapons, men always yield up their lives. Indeed, these weapons have other means corresponding with the eight passions, such as lust, wrath, covetousness, vanity, insolence, pride, malice, and selfishness. Struck with them, men are confounded, and move about frantically deprived of their senses. Under their influence, persons always sleep heavily, cut capers, vomit, pass urine and excreta, weep, and laugh incessantly. Indeed, that Arjuna is irresistible in fight, who hath for his friend Narayana--the Creator and Lord of all the worlds--fully acquainted with the course of everything. Who is there in the three worlds, O Bharata, who would venture to vanquish that hero--the Ape-bannered Jishnu--who hath no equal in battle? Countless are the virtues that reside in Partha. Janardana again, is superior to him. Thou art thyself well-acquainted with Dhananjaya, the son of Kunti. They that were Nara and Narayana in days of yore are now Arjuna and Kesava. Know then, O great king, who those brave and foremost of persons are. If thou believest in this and dost not mistrust me adopt thou a virtuous resolution and make peace with the sons of Pandu. If thou regardest this as thy good, viz., that there should be no disunion in thy family, then make peace, O foremost of Bharata's race, and do not set thy heart upon battle. O thou, that are foremost of Kuru's line, the race to which thou belongest is highly regarded on earth. Let that regard continue to be paid to it. Blessed be thou, think of what conduces to thy own welfare.'"

SECTION 97

"Vaisampayana said, 'Having listened to the words of Jamadagnya, the illustrious Rishi Kanwa also said these words unto Duryodhana in that assembly of the Kurus.'

"Kanwa said, 'Brahman, the Grandsire of the universe, is indestructible and eternal. Those illustrious Rishis, Nara and Narayana, are of the same character. Of all the sons of Aditi, Vishnu alone is eternal. He alone is unconquerable and indestructible, existing for ever, the Lord of all, and the possessor of divine attributes. All others, such as the sun and the moon, earth and water, wind, fire and firmament, planets, and stars, are liable to destruction. All these, when the end of the universe cometh, take leave of the three worlds. They are destroyed and created again and again. Others also, such as men and animals and birds, and creatures belonging to other orders of living existence,--indeed, all that move on this world of men,--are endued with short lives. And as regards kings, all of them, having enjoyed great prosperity, reach, at last, the hour of destruction and are reborn in order to enjoy the fruits of good and evil deeds. It behoveth thee then to make peace with Yudhishthira. Let the Pandavas and the Kauravas both rule this earth. O Suyodhana, one should not think in this way, viz., I am strong!--for O bull among men, it is seen that there are persons stronger than those generally regarded strong. O son of Kuru's race, physical strength is scarcely regarded as strength by those that are really strong. As regards the Pandavas, endued as they all are with prowess equal to that of the celestials, they are also regarded as strong. In this connexion is cited an old story, as an example, the story, viz., of Matali searching for a bridegroom upon whom to bestow his daughter. The king of the three worlds (Indra) had a charioteer, named Matali, whom he dearly loved. Unto him was born a daughter celebrated over the world for beauty. Endued with the celestial beauty, that daughter of Matali was known by the name of Gunakesi. And, indeed, in both loveliness and symmetry of bodily figure, she far excelled other members of her sex. Knowing that the time for giving her way had come, Matali with his wife became very anxious, thinking, O monarch, of what he was to do next. And he thought within himself, 'Alas, the birth of a daughter in the families of those that are well-behaved and high-born and possess reputation and humility of character, is always attended with evil results. Daughters, when born in respectable families, always endanger the honour of three families, viz., their maternal and paternal families and the family into which they are adopted by marriage. Glancing in my mind's eye the worlds of gods and men, I have searched both, but no eligible bridegroom have I found.'

"Kanwa continued, 'And it so happened that amongst the gods, the Daityas and Gandharvas, men and numerous Rishis, none was regarded by Matali as an eligible husband for his daughter. And having held a consultation then in the night with his wife Sudharma, Matali set his heart upon making a journey to the world of the Nagas. And he thought within himself, 'Amongst both gods and men I have not found a

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husband fit, in respect of beauty, for my Gunakesi. Surely, one may be found amongst the Nagas.' And saying this, he took his wife's leave and sniffing the head of his daughter, Matali entered the nether regions.'"

SECTION 98

"Kanwa said, 'When Matali was wending his way, he saw the great Rishi Narada proceeding at his pleasure to pay a visit to Varuna (the god of the waters). And beholding Matali, Narada asked him, saying, 'Whither dost thou go? Is it, O charioteer, on any mission of thy own, or is it at Satakratu's command, that this journey of thine is undertaken?' Thus addressed on the way by Narada who was proceeding towards his destination, Matali duly informed Narada, of his mission. And the Rishi, informed of everything, then said unto Matali, 'We shall go together. As regards myself, it is to see the Lord of the waters that I am proceeding, having left the heavens, searching the nether regions, I shall tell you everything. After a good search there, we shall select a bridegroom, O Matali! And penetrating then into nether regions, that illustrious couple, Matali and Narada, beheld that Regent of the world--the Lord of the waters. And there Narada received worship due to a celestial Rishi, and Matali received that equal to what is offered to the great Indra. And both of them skilful in business, informed Varuna of their purpose, and obtaining his leave they began to wander in that region of the Nagas. And Narada who knew all the residents of the nether regions then began to describe in detail unto his companion all about the dwellers of the Naga world.'

"And Narada said, 'Thou hast, O charioteer, seen Varuna surrounded by his sons and grandsons. Behold the dominions of the Lord of the waters. It is delightful all round, and full of riches. The son, endued with great wisdom, of Varuna, the Lord of the Ocean, is even much distinguished for his conduct and disposition and for his holiness. Possessed of eyes like lotus leaves, this Pushkara is, indeed, Varuna's much-loved son, endued with great beauty and delightful to behold. He has been chosen by Soma's daughter as her husband. That daughter of Soma, equal in beauty unto a second Sree, is known by the name of Jyotsnakali. Indeed, it is said, that she had once before chosen the eldest and foremost of Aditi's son as her lord. Behold now, O companion of the Lord of the celestials, that abode, made entirely of gold, and full of the wine called Varuni. Indeed, having obtained that wine, the gods acquired their god-heads. These blazing weapons also of every kind that thou seest, belonged, O Matali, to the Daityas who have been deprived of their sovereignty. These weapons are incapable of deterioration, and when hurled at the foe always return into the hand that hurleth them. Obtained by the gods as the booty of war, they require considerable mental energy to be used against foes. Here dwelt in days of yore many tribes of Rakshasas and Daityas, possessed of many kinds of celestial weapons, but they were all vanquished by the gods. Behold, there, in Varuna's lake is that fire of blazing flames, and that discus of Vishnu surrounded by the lustrous splendour of mighty caloric. Behold, there lieth that knotty bow that was created for the destruction of the world. It is always protected with great vigilance by the gods, and it is from this bow that the one wielded by Arjuna hath taken its name. Endued with the strength of hundred thousand bows, the power it assumes at the hour of battle is indescribably great. It punishes all punishable wicked kings endued with the nature of Rakshasas. This fierce weapon was first created by Brahman, the utterer of the Vedas. The great preceptor Sukra hath said that this weapon is a terrible one in respect of all kings. Endued with great energy, it is held by the sons of the Lord of waters. Behold, there in the umbrella-room is the umbrella of the Lord of the waters. It droppeth refreshing showers like the clouds. The water dropped from this umbrella, though pure as the moon, is yet enveloped by such darkness that it cannot be seen by anybody. There, in these regions, O Matali, innumerable are the wonders to be seen. Your business, however, will suffer if we spend more time here. We will, therefore, leave this region soon.'"

SECTION 99

"Narada continued, 'Here in the very centre of the world of the Nagas is situated the city known by the name of Patalam. Celebrated over all the universe, it is worshipped by the Daityas and the Danavas. Creatures inhabiting the earth, if brought hither by force of the water's current, shriek loudly, afflicted with fear. Here the fire known by the name of the Asura-fire [Called also the Badava fire.] and which is fed by water, continually blazeth forth. Held fast by the flat of the celestials, it moveth not, regarding itself as bound and confined. It was here that' the gods, having first vanquished and slain their foes, quaffed the Amrita and deposited the residue. It is from this place that the waning and waxing of the moon are seen. It is here that son of Aditi, the Horse-headed (Vishnu), on the recurrence of every auspicious occasion, riseth, filling at such times the universe, otherwise called Suvarna*, with the sound of Vedic hymns and Mantras. [* The allusion is to the incarnation of Vishnu as the Horse-necked, Nilakantha explains suvarnakhyam Jagat to be Veda prancha i.e., the whole Vedas with all their contents, According to him, the sense of the passage is that Vishnu in that form swells with his own voice the Vedic notes chanted by the Brahmanas.] And because all watery forms such as the Moon and others shower their water on the region, therefore hath this excellent region been called Patala [Patauti Jalam sravantiti patalam. Thus Nilakantha.]. It is from here that the celestial elephant Airavata, for the benefit of the universe, taketh up cool water in order to impart it to the clouds, and it is that water which Indra poureth down as rain. Here dwell diverse kinds of aquatic animals, of various shapes such as the Timi and others, which subsist on the rays of the moon. O charioteer, here are many kinds of creatures that die during the day, being pierced by the rays of the sun, but all of whom revive in the night, the reason being that the moon, rising here every day, laying those deceased creatures with Amrita by means of rays, that constitute his arms, resuscitate them by that touch. Deprived of their prosperity by Vasava, it is here that many sinful Danavas live confined, defeated by him and afflicted by Time. It was here that the Lord of creatures--that great Master of all created things--Mahadeva--had practised the severest of ascetic austerities for the benefit of all creatures. Here dwell many regenerate and great Rishis observant of vows called 'Go' and emaciated with the recitation and study of the Vedas, and who, having suspended the vital air called Prana, have attained to heaven by force of their austerities. A man is said to adopt the vow called Go, when he sleepeth wherever he listeth, and when he subsisteth on anything that others place before him, and is clad with robes that others may supply. Here in the race of the celebrated elephant Supratika were born those best of elephants known by the names of Airavata, Vamana, Kumuda and Anjana, the first being the king of his tribe. Look, O Matali, if there be any bridegroom here, that is distinguished by the possession of superior merits, for then I will go to him for respectfully soliciting him to accept thy daughter. Behold, here lieth an egg in these waters, blazing with beauty. From the commencement of the creation it is here. It moveth not, nor doth it burst. I have never heard any body speaking of its birth or nature. Nobody knoweth who its father or mother is. It is said, O Matali, that when the end of the world cometh, mighty fire burst forth from within it, and spreading consumeth the three worlds with all their mobile and immobile objects.' Hearing those words of Narada, Matali answered him, saying, 'No one here seems to me to be eligible. Let us go hence, therefore, without delay!'"

SECTION 100

"Narada continued, 'Here is that spacious and celebrated city of cities, called Hiranyapura, belonging to the Daityas and Danavas, possessing a hundred diverse kinds of illusion. Here in these regions called Patala, it hath been built with great care by the divine artificer, and planned by the Danava Maya. Endued with great energy and heroism, many Danavas, having obtained boons (from Brahman) in days of old, lived here, exhibiting a thousand different kinds of illusion. They were incapable of being vanquished by Sakra or any other celestial, that is, by either Yama, or Varuna, or the Lord of treasures (Kuvera). Here dwell, O Matali, those Asuras called Kalakhanjas who sprang from Vishnu, and those Rakshasas also called Yatudhanas who sprang from the feet of Brahman. All of them are endued with frightful teeth, terrible impetus, the speed and prowess of the wind, and great energy depending on powers of illusion. Besides these, another class of Danavas called Nivatakavachas, who are invincible in battle, have their abode here. Thou knowest bow Sakra is unable to vanquish them. Many times, O Matali, thou, with thy son Gomukha, and the chief of the celestials and lord of Sachi, along with his son, had to retreat before them. Behold their homes, O Matali, that are all made of silver and gold, and well-adorned with decorations done according to the rules of art. All those mansions are decked with lapis lazuli and corals, and made effulgent with the lustre of the Arkasphatika, and the radiance of gem called Vajrasara. And many of those palatial residences seem, as if, they have been made of the shine of these gems called Padmaragas, or of bright marble, or of excellent wood. And they are also possessed of the radiance of the sun, or blazing fire. And all the edifices, adorned with gems and jewels, are very high and stand close to another. Of spacious proportions and great architectural beauty, it is impossible to say of what material these mansions are built or to describe their style of beauty. Indeed, they are exceedingly beautiful in consequence of their decorations. Behold these retreats of the Daityas for recreation and sport, these beds of theirs for sleep, these costly utensils of theirs set with precious stones, and these seats also for their use. Behold these hills of theirs, looking like clouds, those fountains of water, these trees also that move of their own will and that yield all fruits and flowers that one may ask. See, O Matali, if any bridegroom may be had here, acceptable to thee. If no one can be found, we shalt, if thou likest, go hence to some other part of the world.' Thus addressed, Matali answered Narada, saying, 'O celestial Rishi, it behoveth me not to do anything that may be disagreeable to dwellers of heaven. The gods and the Danavas, though brothers, are ever at hostility with each other. How can I, therefore, make an alliance with those that are our enemies? Let us repair, therefore, to some other place. It behoveth me not to search among the Danavas. As regards thyself, I know thy heart is ever set on fomenting quarrels.'"

SECTION 101

"Narada said, 'This region belongeth to the birds, all of whom possess excellent feathers. They all subsist on snakes. They never feel any fatigue in putting forth their prowess, or in making journeys, or in bearing burthens. This race, O charioteer, hath multiplied from the six sons of Garuda. They are Sumukha, Sunaman, Sunetra, Suvarchas, Suanch and that prince of birds called Suvala. Born of Kasyapa's line and enhancing the glory of Vinata's race, many winged creatures, the foremost of their species, have by begetting children founded and increased a thousand dynasties of birds, all endued with nobility of blood. All these creatures are endued with great prosperity, have the auspicious whirl called Sreevatsa, possess great wealth, and are inspired with great might. By their acts they may be said to belong to the Kshatriya order, but they are all without any compassion, subsisting as they do on snakes. They never attain to spiritual enlightenment in consequence of their preying on their kinsmen. I will now enumerate the chiefs by their names, listen to me, O Matali. This race is much regarded in consequence of the favour that, is shown to it by Vishnu. They all worship Vishnu, and Vishnu is their protector. Vishnu always dwelleth in their hearts, and Vishnu is their great refuge. These then are their names--Suvarnachuda, Nagasin Daruna, Chandatundaka, Anala, Vaisalaksha, Kundalin, Pankajit, Vajraviskambha, Vainateya, Vamana, Vatavega, Disachakshu, Nimisha, Animisha, Trirava, Saptarava, Valmiki, Dipaka, Daityadwipa, Saridwipa, Sarasa, Padmaketana, Sumukha, Chitraketu, Chitravara, Anagha, Meshahrit, Kumuda, Daksha, Sarpanta, Somabhojana, Gurubhara, Kapota, Suryanetra, Chirantaka, Vishnudharman, Kumara, Parivarha, Hari, Suswara, Madhuparka, Hemavarna, Malaya, Matariswan, Nisakara and Divakara. These sons of Garuda that I name dwell in only a single province of this region. I have mentioned those only that have won distinction by might, fame and achievements. If thou likest none here, come, we will go hence, O Matali. I will take thee to another region where thou mayest find an eligible husband for thy daughter.'"

SECTION 102

"Narada said, 'The region where we now are is called Rasatala and is the seventh stratum below the Earth. Here dwelleth Surabhi, the mother of all kine, she, who was born of the Amrita. She always yieldeth milk which is the essence of all the best things of the earth, and which, excellent as it is, and of one taste, springeth from the essence of the six different kinds of tastes (that are talked of). The faultless Surabhi herself sprang in days of old from the mouth of the Grandsire, gratified with drinking the Amrita and vomiting the best things. A single jet only of her milk, falling on the earth, created what is known as the sacred and the excellent "Milky Ocean." The verge of that ocean all round is always covered with white foam resembling a belt of flowers. Those best of ascetics that are known by the name of the Foam-drinkers dwell around this ocean, subsisting on that foam only. They are called Foam-drinkers because they live, O Matali, on nothing else save that foam. Engaged in the practice of the severest of austerities, the very gods are known to fear them. From her are born four other kine, O Matali, supporting the four quarters and therefore, are they called the supporters of the quarters (Dikpali). Born of Surabhi herself, she who supporteth the eastern quarter is called Surupa. She, who supporteth the southern quarter is called Hansika. That illustrious cow, O Matali, of universal form, who supporteth the western quarter ruled by Varuna is known by the name of Subhadra. The northern quarter comprising the region of virtue, and called after Kuvera the Lord of treasures, is supported by the cow named Sarva-kamadugha. The gods, uniting with the Asuras, and making the Mandara mountain their pole, churned the waters of the ocean and obtained the wine called Varuni, and (the Goddess of Prosperity and Grace called) Lakshmi, and Amrita, and that prince of steeds called Uchchhaisrava, and that best of gems called Kaustubha. Those waters, O Matali, that yielded these precious things had all been mixed with the milk of these tour cows. As regards Surabhi, the milk she yielded becometh Swaha unto those that live on Swaha, Swadha unto those that live on Swadha, and Amrita unto those that live on Amrita. The couplet that was sung by the dwellers of Rasatala in day of old, is still heard to be recited in the world by the persons of learning. That couplet is this,--Neither in the region of the Nagas, nor in Swarga, nor in Vimana, nor in Tripishtapa is residence so happy as in Rasatala!'"

SECTION 103

"Narada said, 'This foremost of cities that thou beholdest and which resembles the Amaravati of the chief of the

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celestials himself, is known by the name of Bhogavati. It is ruled over by Vasuki, the king of the Nagas. That Shesha dwelleth here, who, in consequence of his ascetic austerities of the foremost order, is able to support this earth with all her vastness. His body is like that of a white mountain. He is decked in celestial ornaments. He hath a thousand heads. His tongues are blazing like flames of fire, and he is endued with great strength. There dwell in happiness innumerable Nagas--sons of Surasa--possessed of diverse forms, and decked on ornaments of diverse kinds, bearing the signs of gems, Swastika, circles and drinking vessels. All of them endued with great strength are by nature fierce. Some have a thousand heads, some five hundred, and some three. And some have two heads, and some five, and some have seven faces. And all of them are possessed of huge bodies that resemble the mountains stretching over the earth. Millions and tens of millions are they, in fact, uncountable, even as regards those of' them that belong to a single race. Listen, however, to me as I name a few of the more famous ones amongst them. They are Vasuki, Takshaka, Karkotaka, Dhanjaya, Kaliya, Nahusha, Aswatara, Vakyakunda, Mani, Apurana, Khaga, Vamana, Elapatra, Kukura, Kukuna, Aryaka, Nandaka, Kalasa, Potaka, Kalilasaka, Pinjaraka, Airavata, Sumanmukha, Dadhimukha, Sankha, Nanda, Upanandaka, Apta, Kotaraka, Sikhi, Nishthuraka, Tittiri, Hastibhadra, Kumuda, Maylapindaka, the two Padmas, Pundarika, Pushpa, Mudgaraparnaka, Karavira, Pitharaka, Samvritta, Vritta, Pindara, Vilwapatra, Mushikada, Sirishaka, Dilipa, Sankha-sirsha, Jyotishka, Aparajita, Kauravya, Dhritarashtra, Kuhara, Krisaka, Virajas, Dharana, Savahu, Mukhara, Jaya, Vidhira, Andha, Visundi, Virasa, and Sarasa. These and many others there are amongst the sons of Kasyapa. See O Matali, if there is anybody here whom thou canst elect.'

"Kanwa continued, 'Matali, meanwhile, had been looking attentively at a person that stood by. And after Narada had ceased speaking, the celestial charioteer with gratified mind asked the Rishi, saying, 'Of what race is he the delighter--that comely youth of great radiance--who standeth before Aryaka of Kauravya's line? Who is his father, and who is his mother? Of what Naga's race is he? Indeed, of what line doth he stand as a high flag-staff? In consequence of his intelligence, his patience, his beauty, and his youth, my heart, O celestial Rishi, hath been attracted towards him. That youth will make the best of husbands for my Gunakesi.'

"Kanwa continued, 'Beholding Matali's gratification at seeing the Naga called Sumukha, Narada informed him of the nobility of his parentage and of his feats. And he said, 'Born in the race of Airavata this prince of Nagas is named Sumukha. He is the favourite grandson of Aryaka, and the daughter's son of Vamana. The father of this youth was, O Matali, the Naga called Chikura. Not long before was he slain by Vinata's Son.' Hearing this Matali became highly pleased, and addressing Narada, the charioteer said, 'This best of Nagas is, O sire, very acceptable to me for a son-in-law. Make an endeavour to secure him, for I am highly pleased at the thought of bestowing on this Naga, O Muni, my dear daughter.'"

SECTION 104

"Narada then said, 'This one is the charioteer of the name of Matali. He is besides a dear friend of Sakra. Pure in conduct, he hath an excellent disposition and possesses numerous virtues. Endued with strength of mind, he hath great energy and great might. He is the friend, counsellor, and charioteer of Sakra. It has been seen in every battle that small is the difference that exists between him and Vasava as regards prowess and strength. In all the battles between the gods and Asuras, it is this Matali that driveth, by his mind alone, that ever-victorious and best of cars belonging to Indra, which is drawn by thousand steeds. Vanquished by his management of the steeds, the enemies of the gods are subjugated by Vasava by the use of his hands. Defeated before-hand by Matali, the Asuras are subsequently slain by Indra. Matali hath an excellent daughter, who in beauty is unrivalled in the world. Truthful and possessed of every accomplishment, she is known by the name of Gunakesi. He was searching the three worlds for an eligible bridegroom. O thou that art possessed of the splendour of a celestial, thy grandson, Sumukha, hath become acceptable to him as a husband for his daughter. If O best of serpents, his proposal be acceptable to thee, quickly make up thy mind, O Aryaka, to take his daughter in gift for thy grandson. As Lakshmi in Vishnu's house, or Swaha in that of Agni so let the slender-waisted Gunakesi be a wife in thy race. Let Gunakesi, therefore be accepted by thee for thy grandson, like Sachi for Vasava who deserveth her. Although this youth hath lost his father, yet we choose him for his virtues, and for the respectability of Airavata and thy own. Indeed, it is in consequence of Sumukha's merits, his disposition, purity, self-restraint and other qualifications that Matali hath become himself desirous of giving away his daughter unto him. It behoveth thee, therefore, to honour Matali.'

"Kanwa continued, 'Thus addressed by Narada, Aryaka beholding his grandson elected as a bridegroom and remembering the death of his son was filled with delight and sorrow at the same time. And he then addressed Narada and said, 'How, O celestial Rishi, can I desire Gunakesi for a daughter-in-law'! It cannot be, O great Rishi, that thy words are not highly honoured by me, for who is there that would not desire an alliance with the friend of Indra? I hesitate, however, O great Muni, in consequence of the instability of the very cause that would not make that alliance lasting. O thou of great effulgence, the author of this youth, viz., my son, hath been devoured by Garuda. We are afflicted with sorrow on that account. But worse still, O lord, Vinata's son, at the time of leaving these regions, said, 'After a month I will devour this Sumukha also. Surely, it will happen as he hath said, for we know with whom we have to deal. At these words, therefore, of Suparna we have become cheerless!'

"Kanwa continued, 'Matali then said unto Aryaka, 'I have formed a plan. This thy grandson is elected by me as my son-in-law. Let this Naga then, proceeding with me and Narada, come to the Lord of heaven the chief of the celestials, O best of Nagas. I shall then endeavour to place obstacles in the way of Suparna, and as a last resource, we will ascertain the period of life that hath been vouchsafed to Sumukha. Blessed be thou, O Naga, let Sumukha, therefore, come with me to the presence of the Lord of the celestials.' Saying this, they took Sumukha with them, and all the four, endued with great splendour, coming to heaven beheld Sakra the chief of the gods seated in all his glory. And it so happened that the illustrious Vishnu of four arms was also present there. Narada then represented the whole story about Matali and his choice.'

"Kanwa continued, 'Hearing all that Narada said, Vishnu directed Purandara, the Lord of the universe, saying, 'Let Amrita be given to this youth, and let him be made immortal like gods themselves. Let Matali, and Narada, and Sumukha, O Vasava, all attain their cherished wish through thy grace.' Purandara, however, reflecting on the prowess of Vinata's son, said unto Vishnu, 'Let Amrita be given unto him by thee.' Thus addressed, Vishnu said, 'Thou art the Lord of all mobile and immobile creatures. Who is there, O lord, that would refuse a gift that may be made by thee'?' At these words Sakra gave unto that Naga length of days. The slayer of Vala and Vritra did not make him a drinker of Amrita. Sumukha, having obtained that boon, became Sumukha* (in reality) for his face was suffused with marks of joy. And having married Matali's daughter, he cheerfully returned home. And Narada and Aryaka also filled with delight at the success of their object, went away, after having worshipped the glorious chief of the celestials.'" [*Literally, one that hath a beautiful or excellent face.]

SECTION 105

"Kanwa said, 'Meanwhile, O Bharata, the mighty Garuda heard what had happened, viz., the bestowal by Sakra of length of days on the Naga Sumukha. And inflamed with great anger, that ranger of the firmament, Suparna, smiting the three worlds by the hurricane caused by the flappings of his wings, quickly came to Vasava. And Garuda said, 'O illustrious one, disregarding me why hast thou interfered with my sustenance. Having granted me a boon of thy own will, why dost thou now withdraw it? The Supreme Lord of all creatures hath, from the beginning, ordained what my food is to be. Why dost thou then stand in the way of that divine decree? I had selected this great Naga and had fixed time, for O god, I had intended to offer the meat of his body, as sustenance to my numerous progeny. When he, therefore, hath obtained a boon from thee and hath become indestructible by me, how can I henceforth dare kill another of his species? Dost thou sport thus, O Vasava, as thou listest? I, however, shall have to die, as also the members of my family' and the servants whom I have engaged in my house. That will, I think, gratify thee, O Vasava! Indeed, O slayer of Vala and Vritra, I deserve all this, nay more, since being the lord of the three worlds in might. I yet consented to become the servant of another. O monarch of the three worlds, Vishnu, however, is not the only cause of my inferiority, for though, O Vasava, I am quite thy equal, yet the sovereignty of the three worlds resteth on thee, O chief of the celestials. Like thee, I also have a daughter of Daksha for my mother and Kasyapa for my father. Like thee, I also can, without any fatigue, bear the weight of the three worlds. I have strength that is immeasurable and incapable of being resisted by any creature. In the war with the Daityas I also achieved grand feats. Srutasri and Srutasena and Vivaswat, and Rochanamukha, and Prasrura, and Kalakaksha amongst the sons of Diti were slain by me. Perching yet on the flag-staff of thy younger brother's car I carefully protect it in battle, and sometimes also I bear that brother of thine on my back. It is, perhaps, for this that thou disregardest me. Who else in the universe is there that is capable of bearing such heavy burthens? Who is there that is stronger than myself? Superior though I am, I yet bear on my back this younger brother of thine with all his friends. When, however, disregarding me thou hast interfered with my foods, thou hast, O Vasava, inflicted disgrace on me, like this younger brother of thine that had hitherto been disgracing me by making me bear him on my back. As regards thyself, O Vishnu, amongst all those endued with prowess and strength that have been born of Aditi's womb, thou art superior in strength. Yet thee I bear without any fatigue, with only one of my feathers. Think coolly then, O brother, who amongst us is stronger?'

"Kanwa continued, 'Hearing the proud words of that bird foreshadowing danger the bearer of the discus, provoking Tarkshya still more, said unto him, 'Though so very weak, why dost thou, O Garuda, yet regard thyself strong, O oviparous creature, it ill behoveth thee to vaunt thus in our presence. The three worlds united together cannot bear the weight of my body. I myself bear my own weight and thine also. Come now, bear thou the weight of this one right arm of mine. If thou canst bear even this, thy boast would be regarded as reasonable. Saying this, the holy one placed his arms on Garuda's shoulders. Thereupon the latter fell down, afflicted with its weight, confounded, and deprived of his senses. And Garuda, felt that the weight of that one arm of Vishnu was as great as that of the entire Earth with her mountains. Endued with might infinitely greater, Vishnu, however, did not afflict him much. Indeed, Achyuta did not take his life. That ranger of the sky, afflicted then by that immense weight, gasped for breath, and began to cast off his feathers. With every limb weakened, and utterly confounded, Garuda was almost deprived of his senses. The winged offspring of Vinata then, thus confounded and almost deprived of his senses, and rendered utterly helpless, bowing unto Vishnu with bent bead, feebly addressed him, saying, 'O illustrious Lord, the essence of that strength which sustains the universe dwelleth in this body of thine. What wonder, therefore, that I should be crushed down to the earth by a single arm of thine, stretched out at thy pleasure. It behoveth thee, O divine Lord, to forgive this winged creature that perches on thy flag-staff--this fool intoxicated with pride of strength, but now rendered utterly helpless. Thy great strength, O divine Lord, was never known to me before. It was for this that I regarded my own might to be unequalled.' Thus addressed, the illustrious Vishnu became gratified, and addressing Garuda with affection, said, 'Let not thy behaviour be such again.' And saying this, Upendra threw Sumukha with the toe of his foot upon Garuda's breast. And from that time, O king, Garuda hath ever lived in friendship with that snake. It was thus, O king, that mighty and illustrious Garuda, the son of Vinata, afflicted by the might of Vishnu, was cured of his pride.'

"Kanwa continued, 'In the same way, O son of Gandhari, thou livest, O son, as long as thou approachest not the heroic sons of Pandu in battle. Who is there whom Bhima, that foremost of smiters, that mighty son of Vayu and Dhananjaya, the son of Indra, cannot slay in battle? Vishnu himself, and Vayu and Dharma, and the Aswins,--these gods are thy enemies. Let alone an encounter with them, thou art not competent even to look at them on the field. Therefore, O prince, do not set thy heart upon war; let peace be made through the agency of Vasudeva. It behoveth thee to save thy race thus. This great ascetic Narada witnessed with his own eyes the incident (I have related to thee) which shows the greatness of Vishnu, and know that this Krishna is that bearer of the discus and the mace!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words of the Rishi, Duryodhana contracted his eye-brows and began to breathe heavily. And casting his eyes then on Radha's son, he burst out into a loud laughter. And setting at naught those words of the Rishi, that wicked wretch began to slap his thigh that resembled the trunk of an elephant. And addressing the Rishi, he said, 'I am, O great Rishi, precisely what the Creator hath made me. What is to be, must be. What also hath been ordained in my case must happen, I cannot act otherwise. What can these senseless declamations, therefore, avail?'"

SECTION 106

"Janamejaya said, 'Interminably wedded to evil, blinded by avarice, addicted to wicked courses, resolved upon bringing destruction on his head, inspiring grief in the hearts of kinsmen, enhancing the woes of friends, afflicting all his well-wishers, augmenting the joys of foes, and treading the wrong path, why did not his friends seek to restrain him, and why also did not that great friend (of Kuru's race), the holy One; with tranquil soul, or the Grandsire tell him anything from affection?'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Yes, the holy one did speak. Bhishma also spoke what was beneficial. And Narada too said much. Listen to all that these said.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Narada said, 'Persons that listen to the counsels of friends are rare. Friends again are rare that offer beneficial counsels, for a friend (in need of counsel) is never there where a friend (offering counsel) is. O son of Kuru's race, I think, the word of friends ought to be listened to. Obstinacy ought to be avoided; for it is fraught with great evil. In this connexion is cited an old story regarding Galava's having met with disgrace through obstinacy. In ancient times, in order to test Viswamitra, who was then engaged in ascetic austerities Dharma personally came to him, having assumed the form of the Rishi, Vasishtha. Thus assuming, O Bharata, the form of the one of the seven

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Rishis, and feigning himself hungry and desirous of eating, he came, O king, to the hermitage of Kausika. Thereupon, Viswamitra struck with awe, began to cook Charu (which was a preparation of rice and milk). And in consequence of the care he took in preparing that excellent food, he could not properly wait upon his guest. And it was not till after the guest had dined on the food offered by the other hermits that Viswamitra succeeded in approaching him with the Charu he had cooked and which was still steaming. 'I have already dined; wait here,'--were the words that the holy one said. And having said that the holy one went away. And thereupon, the illustrious Viswamitra, O king, waited there. And bearing that food on his head and holding it with his arms, that ascetic of rigid vow stood in his hermitage, still as a post, subsisting on air. And as he stood there, an ascetic of the name of Galava, from motives of respect and reverence and from affection and desire of doing what was agreeable, began to wait upon him. And after a hundred years had passed away, Dharma, again assuming the form of Vasishtha, came to Kausika from desire of eating. And beholding the great Rishi Viswamitra, who was endued with high wisdom, standing there with that food on his head, himself subsisting all the while on air, Dharma accepted that food which was still warm and fresh. And having eaten that food, the god said,--Gratified am I, O regenerate Rishi. And saying this, he went away. And at those words of Dharma, Viswamitra divested of Kshatriyahood because endued with the status of a Brahmana and was filled with delight*. And pleased as he was with the services and devotion of his discipline, the ascetic Galava, Viswamitra, addressed him and said, 'With my leave, O Galava, go whithersoever thou mayest wish.' Thus commanded by his preceptor, Galava, highly pleased, said in a sweet voice unto Viswamitra of great effulgence, What final gift shall I make thee in consequence of thy services as preceptor? O giver of honours, it is in consequence of the (final) present that a sacrifice becometh successful. The giver of such gifts obtains emancipation. Indeed, these gifts constitute the fruit (that one enjoys in heaven). They are regarded as peace and tranquillity personified. What, therefore, shall I procure for my preceptor? Oh, let that be said. 'The illustrious Viswamitra knew that he had really been conquered by Galava by means of the latter's services, and the Rishi, therefore, sought to dismiss him by repeatedly saying, 'Go, Go.' But thou repeatedly commanded by Viswamitra to go away, Galava still addressed him saying, 'What shall I give?' And seeing this obstinacy on the part of ascetic Galava, Viswamitra felt a slight rise of anger and at last said, 'Give me eight hundred steeds, every one of which should be as white as the rays of the moon, and every one of which should have one ear black. Go now, O Galava, and tarry not.'"

[*The story of Viswamitra's promotion to the status of a Brahmana is highly characteristic. Engaged in a dispute with the Brahmana Rishi Vasishtha, Viswamitra who was a Kshatriya king (the son of Kusika) found, by bitter experience, that Kshatriya energy and might backed by the whole science of arms, availed nothing against a Brahmana's might, for Vasishtha by his ascetic powers created myriads and myriads of fierce troops who inflicted a signal defeat on the great Kshatriya king. Baffled thus, Viswamitra retired to the breast of Himavat and paid court to Siva. The great God appeared and Viswamitra begged him for the mastery of the whole science of weapons. The god granted his prayer. Viswamitra then came back and sought an encounter with Vasishtha, but the latter by the aid only of his Brahmanical (bamboo) stick baffled the fiercest weapons of Viswamitra, of even celestial efficacy. Humiliated and disgraced, Viswamitra set his heart on becoming a Brahmana. He gave up his kingdom and retiring into the woods with his queen began to practise to severest austerities. After the expiration of ten thousand years, the Creator Brahma appeared before him and addressed him as a royal Rishi. Dispirited at this, he devoted himself to still severer austerities. At last, at Dharma's command (as here referred to) the great Kshatriya king became a Brahmana. This, in the Hindu scriptures, is the sole instance of a person belonging to a lower order becoming a Brahmana by ascetic austerities.]

SECTION 107

"Narada said, 'Thus addressed by Viswamitra of great intelligence Galava was filled with such anxiety that he could not sit or lie down, or take his food. A prey to anxiety and regret, lamenting bitterly, and burning with remorse, Galava grew pale, and was reduced to a skeleton. And smitten with sorrow, O Suyodhana, he indulged in these lamentations, 'Where shall I find affluent friends? Where shall I find money? Have I any savings? Where shall I find eight hundred steeds of lunar whiteness? What pleasure can I have in eating? What happiness can be mine in objects of enjoyment? The very love of life is extinct in me. What need have I of life? Repairing to the other shore of the great ocean, or to the furthest verge of the earth, I will relinquish my life. Of what use can life be to me? What happiness, without severe exertion, can be his who is poor, unsuccessful, deprived of all the good things of life, and burthened with debt? Death is preferable to life as regards him who having enjoyed the wealth of friends through their friendship for himself, is unable to return their favour. The religious acts of that man lose their efficacy who having promised to do an act fails to perform it and is thus stained with falsehood. One that is stained by falsehood cannot have beauty, or children, or power, or influence. How, therefore, can such a one attain to a blissful state? What ungrateful man hath ever earned fame? Where, indeed, is his place, and where his happiness? An ungrateful person can never win esteem and affection. Salvation also can never be his. He that is destitute of wealth is a wretch that can scarcely be said to live. Such a wretch cannot support his kinsmen and friends. Unable to make any return for the benefits he receiveth, he certainly meeteth with destruction. Even I am that wretch, ungrateful, destitute of resources, and stained with falsehood, for having obtained my objects from my preceptor, I am unable to do his bidding. Having first endeavoured to the utmost, I will lay down my life. Before this, I never craved for any thing from the very gods. The deities regard me for this in sacrificial place. I will go and seek the protection of Vishnu, the divine Lord of the three worlds, of Krishna the great refuge of all who are blessed with protection. Bowing down unto him, I desire to see that highest of all ascetics, the Eternal Krishna from whom flow all those possessions and enjoyments that are owned by both gods and Asuras.' And while Galava was thus lamenting, his friend Garuda, the son of Vinata, appeared in his sight. And Garuda, from desire of doing him good, cheerfully addressed him, saying, Thou art a dear friend, of mine. It is the duty of a friend, when himself in prosperity, to look to the accomplishment of the wishes of his friends. The prosperity that I have, O Brahmana, is constituted by Vasava's younger brother Vishnu. Before this, I spoke to him on thy behalf and he hath been pleased to grant my wishes. Come now, we will go together. I will bear thee comfortably to the other shore of the ocean, or to the furthest extremity of the earth. Come, O Galava, do not tarry [wait, await, linger].'"

SECTION 108

"Garuda said, 'O Galava, commanded I have been by God, who is the cause of all knowledge. I ask thee, towards which quarter shall I first take thee to see what lie there? The eastern, the southern, the western, or the northern, towards which, O best of regenerate persons, shall I go, O Galava? That quarter towards which Surya the illuminator of the universe first riseth; where, at eve, the Sadhyas engage in their ascetic austerities; where that Intelligence, which pervades the whole universe first springeth; where the two eyes of Dharma, as well as he himself, are stationed; where the clarified butter first poured in sacrifice subsequently flowed all around; that quarter, O best of all regenerate persons, is the gate of Day and Time. There the daughters of Daksha, in primeval times, gave birth to their children. There the sons of Kasyapa first multiplied. That quarter is the source of all the prosperity of the gods, for it was there that Sakra was first anointed as the king of the celestials. It was there, O regenerate Rishi, that both Indra and the gods underwent their ascetic penances. It is for this, O Brahmana, that this quarter is called Purva (the first). And because in the earliest of times this quarter was overspread by the Suras, it is for this that it is called Purva. The gods, desirous of prosperity, performed all their religious ceremonies here. It was here that the divine Creator of the universe first sang the Vedas. It was here that the Gayatri was first preached by Surya unto the reciters of that sacred hymn. It was here, O best of Brahmanas, that the Yajurvedas were delivered by Surya (unto Yajnavalkya). It was here that the Soma juice, sanctified by boons, was first drunk in sacrifices by Suras. It was here that the Homa-fires, (gratified by mantras), first drank articles of cognate origin. [These articles of cognate origin are clarified butter, milk, and other things used as libations in sacrifices.] It was here that Varuna first repaired to the nether regions, and attained to all his prosperity. It was here, O bull among the twice-born, that the birth, growth, and death of the ancient Vasishtha took place. Here first grew the hundred different branches of Om! [i.e., the subdivisions of the Pranava, the mysterious Mantra, which is the beginning of everything, were first promulgated here. Nilakantha supposes this to refer to the origin of the Vedas, the Upanishads, and the various branches of the Srutis and the Smritis.] It was here that the smoke-eating Munis are the smoke of sacrificial fires. It was in that region that myriads of boars and other animals were killed by Sakra and offered as sacrificial portions unto the gods. It is here that the thousand-rayed sun, arising, consumeth, out of ire, all those that are wicked and ungrateful among men and the Asuras. This is the gate of the three worlds. This is the path of heaven and felicity. This quarter is called Purva (east). We will go hither, if it pleaseth thee. I shall always do what is agreeable to him who is my friend. Tell me, O Galava, if any other quarter pleaseth thee, for we will then go there. Listen now to what I say of another quarter.'"

SECTION 109

"Garuda continued, 'In days of yore, Vivaswat, having performed a sacrifice, gave this quarter away as a present (Dakshina) unto his preceptor, And it is for this that this region is known by the name of Dakshina (south). It is here that the Pitris of the three worlds have their habitation. And, O Brahmana, it is said that a class of celestials subsisting upon smoke alone also live there. Those celestials also that go by the name of Viswedevas always dwell in this region along with the Pitris. Worshipped in sacrifices in all the worlds, they are equal sharers with the Pitris. This quarter is called the second door of Yama. It is here that the periods allotted to men are calculated in Trutis and Lavas [Small divisions of time.]. In this region always dwell the celestial Rishis, the Pitriloka Rishis, and the royal Rishis, in great happiness. Here are religion and truth. It is here that the acts (of persons) exhibit their fruits. This region, O best of the twice-born, is the goal of the acts of the dead. It is this region, O best of regenerate persons, whither all must repair. And as creatures are all overwhelmed by darkness, they cannot, therefore, come hither in bliss. Here, O bull among regenerate persons, are many thousands of Malevolent Rakshasas in order to be seen by the sinful. Here, O Brahmana, in the bowers on the breast of Mandara and in the abodes of regenerate Rishis, the Gandharvas chant psalms, stealing away both the heart and the intellect. It was here that Raivata (a Daitya), hearing the Sama hymns sung in a sweet voice, retired to the woods, leaving his wife and friends and kingdom. In this region, O Brahmana, Manu and Yavakrita's son together set a limit which Surya can never overstep. It was here that the illustrious descendant of Pulastya, Ravana, the king of the Rakshasas, undergoing ascetic austerities, solicited (the boon of) immortality from the gods. It was here that (the Asura) Vritra, in consequence of his wicked conduct, incurred the enmity of Sakra. It is in this region that lives of diverse forms all come and are then dissociated into their five (constituent) elements. It is in this region, O Galava, that men of wicked deeds rot (in tortures). It is here that the river Vaitarani flows, filled with the bodies of persons condemned to hell. Arrived here, persons attain to the extremes of happiness and misery. Reaching this region, the sun droppeth sweet waters and thence proceeding again to the direction named after (Vasishtha), once more droppeth dew, It was here that I once obtained (for food), a prodigious elephant battling with an enormous tortoise. It was here that the great sage Chakradhanu took his birth from Surya. That divine sage afterwards came to be known by the name of Kapila, and it was by him that the (sixty thousand) sons of Sagara were afflicted. It was here that a class of Brahmanas named Sivas, fully mastering the Vedas, became crowned with (ascetic) success. Having studied all the Vedas they at last attained eternal salvation. In this region is the city called Bhogavati that is ruled by Vasuki, by the Naga Takshaka and also by Airavata. They that have to journey hither (after death) encounter here a thick gloom. And so thick is that gloom that it cannot be penetrated by either the Sun himself or by Agni. Worthy of worship as thou art, even thou shalt have to pass this road. Tell me now if thou wishest to sojourn towards this direction. Else, I listen to an account of the western direction.'"

SECTION 110

"Garuda said, 'This quarter is the favourite one of king Varuna, the ruler of the ocean. Indeed, the lord of the waters had his origin here, and it is hither that sovereignty lieth. And since it is here that towards the day's end (paschat) the sun dismisseth his rays that this quarter, O best of the twice-born ones, is called the west (paschima). For ruling over all aquatic creatures and for the protection of the water themselves, illustrious and divine Kasyapa installed Varuna here (as the king of this region). Quaffing all the six juices of Varuna, the moon, the dispeller of darkness, becometh young again in the beginning of the fortnight. It was in the quarter, O Brahmana, that the Daityas were routed and bound fast by the wind-god. And afflicted by a mighty tempest, and breathing hard (as they fled), they at last laid themselves down in this region to sleep (the sleep that knows no waking). Hither is that mountain called Asta which is the cause of the evening twilight, and which (daily) receiveth the sun lovingly turning towards it. It is from this quarter that both Night and Sleep, issuing out at the close of day, spread themselves, as if, for robbing all living creatures of half their allotted periods of life. It was here that Sakra, beholding (his stepmother) the goddess Diti lying asleep in a state of pregnancy, cut off the foetus (into forty-nine parts), whence sprang the (forty-nine) Maruts. It is towards this direction that the roots of Himavat stretch towards the eternal Mandara (sunk in the ocean). By journeying for even a thousand years one cannot attain to the end of those roots. It is in this region that Surabhi (the mother of cows), repairing to the shores of the extensive lake, adorned with golden lotuses, poureth forth her milk. Here in the midst of the ocean is seen the headless trunk of the illustrious Swarbhanu (Rahu) who is always bent upon devouring both sun and the moon.

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Here is heard the loud chanting of the Vedas by Suvarnasiras, who is invincible and of immeasurable energy, and whose hair is eternally green. It is in this region that the daughter of Muni Harimedhas remained transfixed in the welkin in consequence of Surya's injunction couched in the words--Stop, Stop. Here, O Galava, wind, and fire, and earth, and water, are all free, both day and night, from their painful sensations. It is from this region that the sun's course begins to deviate from the straight path, and it is in this direction that all the luminous bodies (the constellations) enter the solar sphere. And having moved for twenty-eight nights with the sun, they come out of the sun's course to move in accompaniment with the moon. It is in this region that the rivers which always feed the ocean have their sources. Here, in the abode of Varuna, are the waters of the three worlds. In this region is situate the abode of Anarta, the prince of snakes. And here is the unrivalled abode also of Vishnu, who is without beginning and without end. In this region is also situate the abode of the great Rishi Kasyapa, the son of Maricha. The western quarter is thus narrated to thee in course of telling thee of the different points. Tell me now, O Galava, towards which side, O best of regenerate persons, shall we go?'"

SECTION 111

"Garuda said, 'O Brahmanas, since this quarter saveth from sin, and since one attaineth to salvation here, it is for this saying (Uttarana) power that it is called the north (uttara). And, O Galava, because the abode of all the treasures of the north stretches in a line towards the east and the west, therefore is the north sometimes called the central region (madhyama). And, O bull among the twice-born, in this region that is superior to all, none can live that is unamiable, or of unbridled passions, or unrighteous. Hither, in the asylum, known by the name of Vadari, eternally dwell Krishna who is Narayana's self, and Jishnu that most exalted, of all male beings, and Brahman (the Creator). Hither, on the breast of Himavat always dwelleth Maheswara endued with the effulgence of the fire that blazeth up at the end of the Yuga. As Purusha, he sporteth here with Prakriti (the universal mother). Except by Nara and Narayana, he is incapable of being seen by the diverse classes of Munis, the gods with Vasava at their head, the Gandharvas, the Yakshas, and the Siddhas. Though invested with Maya, him the eternal Vishnu alone, of a thousand heads and thousand legs, can behold. It was in this region that Chandramas (the moon) was installed into the sovereignty of the entire regenerate order. It was in this region, O thou foremost of all acquainted with Brahma, that Mahadeva first receiving her on his head, afterwards let (the sacred stream) Ganga fall from the heavens to the world of men. It was here that the Goddess (Uma) underwent her ascetic austerities from her desire of obtaining Maheswara (as her Lord). It was in this region that Kama, the wrath (of Siva), Himavat, and Uma, all together shone brilliantly. It was here, on the breast of Kailasa, O Galava, that Kuvera, was installed on the sovereignty of the Rakshasas, the Yakshas, and the Gandharvas. It is in this region that (Kuvera's gardens called) Chitraratha lie, and it is here that the asylum of (the Munis called the) Vaikhanasas is situate. It is here, O bull among the twice-born, that the celestial stream called Mandakini, and the mountain Mandara are to be seen. It is here that the gardens called Saugandhi-kanaka are always guarded by the Rakshasas. Here are many plains covered with grassy verdure, as also the plantain forest, and those celestial trees called the Sautanakas. It is in this, region, O Galava, that the Siddhas, with souls ever under control and always sporting at will, have their fit abodes, abounding with every object of enjoyment. It is here that the seven Rishis with Arundhati may be seen. It is here that the constellation Swati is to be seen, and it is here that it first rises to the view. It is in this region that the Grandsire Brahman dwelleth in the vicinity of Yajna (sacrifice embodied). It is in this quarter that the sun, the moon, and the other luminaries are seen to revolve regularly.

It is in this region, O foremost of Brahmanas, that those illustrious and truth-speaking Munis called by the name of Dharma, guard the source of the Ganges. The origin and physical features and ascetic penances of these Munis are not known to all. The thousand dishes they use for serving the food offered in hospitality and the edibles also they create at will, are all a mystery, The man, O Galava, that passeth beyond the point guarded by these Munis, is certain, O foremost of Brahmanas, to meet with destruction. None else, O bull among Brahmanas, save the divine Narayana, and the eternal Nara called also Jishnu, succeeded in passing beyond the point so guarded. It is in this region that the mountains of Kailasa lie, the abode of Ailavila (Kuvera). It is here that the ten Apsaras known by the name of Vidyutprabha had their origin. In covering, O Brahmana, the three worlds with three steps in the sacrifice of Vali (the Asura king), Vishnu had covered this whole northern region; and, accordingly, there is a spot here called Vishnupada. And it is so called after the footprint of Vishnu caused on that occasion. Here, in this quarter, at a place called Usiravija, by the side of the golden lake, king Marutta performed, O foremost of Brahmanas, a sacrifice. It is here that the brilliant and shining gold mines of Himavat exhibit themselves to the illustrious and regenerate Rishi Jimuta. And Jimuta gave away the whole of that wealth to the Brahmanas. And having given it away, that great Rishi solicited them to call it after his own name. And hence that wealth is known by the name of the Jaimuta gold. Here, in this region, O bull among Bharatas, the regents of the worlds, O Galava, every morning and evening, proclaim, 'What business of what person shall we do?' It is for these, O foremost of Brahmanas, and other incidents, that the northern region is superior to all quarters. And because this region is superior (uttara) to all, therefore, it is called the north (uttara). The four regions have thus, O sire, been, one after another described to thee in details. Towards which quarter then dost thou desire to go? I am ready, O foremost of Brahmanas, to show thee all the quarters of the earth!'"

SECTION 112

"Galava said, 'O Garuda, O slayer of foremost snakes, O thou of beautiful feathers, O son of Vinata, carry me, O Tarkhya, to the east where the two eyes of Dharma are first opened. O, take me to the east which thou hast first described, and whither, thou hast said, the gods are always present. Thou hast said that thither both truth and virtue reside. I desire to meet all the gods. Therefore, O younger brother of Aruna, take me thither, so that I may behold the gods.'

"Narada continued, 'Thus addressed, the son of Vinata replied unto that Brahmana saying, 'Mount thou on my back.' And thereupon, the Muni Galava rode on the back of Garuda. And Galava said, 'Thy beauty, O devourer of snakes, as thou proceedest, seemeth to be like that of the sun himself in the morning, that maker of the day endued with a thousand rays. And, O ranger of the skies, thy speed is so great that the very trees, broken by the storm caused by the flapping of thy wings, seem to pursue thee in the course. Thou seemest, O tenant of the welkin, to drag by the storm caused by the wings, the very Earth with all the waters of her oceans, and with all her mountains, woods and forests. Indeed, the tempest caused by the motion of thy wings seems to continually raise into mid air the waters of the sea, with all their fishes and snakes and crocodiles. I see fishes possessed of similar faces, and Timis and Timingilas and snakes endued with human faces, all crushed by the tempest raised by thy wings. My ears are deafened by the roar of the deep. So stunned am I that I can neither hear nor see anything. Indeed, I have forgotten my own purpose. Slacken thy speed, O ranger of the sky, remembering the risk to a Brahmana's life. O sire, neither the sun, nor the cardinal points, nor the welkin itself, is any longer perceptible to me. I see only a thick gloom around me. The body is no longer visible to me. I see only thy two eyes, O oviparous being, resembling two radiant gems. I cannot see either thy body or my own. At every step, I behold sparks of fire emitted from thy frame. Stop without delay these sparks of fire and extinguish the dazzling radiance of thy eyes. O son of Vinata, slacken this exceeding speed of thy course. O devourer of snakes, I have no business to go with thee. Desist, O blessed one, I am unable to bear this speed of thine. I have promised to give my preceptor eight hundred white steeds of lunar effulgence, each having one ear black in hue. I see no way, O oviparous being, of fulfilling my pledge. There is but one way that I can see, and that is to lay down my own life. I have no wealth of my own, nor any wealthy friend, nor can wealth, however immense, procure the accomplishment of my object.'

"Narada continued, 'Unto Galava uttering these and many other words of entreaty and sorrow, the son of Vinata, without slackening his speed, laughingly replied, saying, 'Thou hast little wisdom, O regenerate Rishi, since thou wishest to put an end to thy own life. Death can never be brought about by one's effort. Indeed, Death is God himself. Why didst thou not, before this, inform me of thy purpose? There are excellent means by which all this may be accomplished. Here is this mountain called Rishabha on the seaside. Resting here for some time and refreshing ourselves with food, I will, O Galava, return.'"

SECTION 113

"Narada said, 'Alighting then on the peak of the Rishabha, the Brahmana and the Bird beheld a Brahmana lady of the name of Sandili, engaged there on ascetic penances. And Galava and Garuda both saluted her by bending their heads, and worshipped her. And thereupon, the lady enquired after their welfare and gave them seats. And having taken their seats, both of them took the cooked food the lady offered them, after having first dedicated it to the gods with Mantras. And having taken that food, they laid themselves down on the ground and fell into a profound sleep. And Garuda, from desire of leaving that place, upon awakening, found that his wings, had fallen off. Indeed, he had become like a ball of flesh, with only his head and legs. And beholding him come to that plight, Galava sorrowfully enquired, saying, 'What is this condition that has overtaken thee as the consequence of thy sojourn here? Alas, how long shall we have to reside here? Hadst thou harboured any evil and sinful thought in thy mind? It cannot, I am sure, be any trivial sin of which thou hast been guilty.' Thus addressed, Garuda replied unto the Brahmana, saying, 'Indeed, O regenerate one, I entertained the thought of carrying away this lady crowned with ascetic success from this spot to where the Creator himself, the divine Mahadeva, the eternal Vishnu, and both Virtue and Sacrifice personified, live together, for as I thought this lady should live there. I shall now, from desire of doing myself good, prostrate myself before this holy lady, and pray unto her, saying,--with a heart full of pity, I had, indeed, entertained such a thought. Whether I acted rightly or wrongly, even this was the wish, evidently against thy own, that was cherished by me from my respect for thee. It behoveth thee, therefore, to grant me forgiveness, from the nobility of thy heart.' That lady became gratified with that prince of birds and that bull of Brahmanas. And addressing Garuda, she said, 'Fear not, O thou of beautiful feathers. Resume thy wings, and cast off thy fears. I was contempted by thee, but know that I do not pardon contempt. That sinful being who entertains contempt for me, would speedily fall away from all blissful regions. Without a single inauspicious indication about me, and perfectly blameless as I am, I have, in consequence of the purity of my conduct, attained to high ascetic success. Purity of conduct beareth virtue as its fruit. Purity of conduct beareth wealth as its fruit. It is purity of conduct that bringeth on prosperity. And it is purity of conduct that driveth away all inauspicious indications. Go thou, O blessed prince of birds, whithersoever thou wishest, from this place. Never entertain contempt for me, and take care that thou dost not contempt women that may even be truly blamable. Thou shalt again be, as before, invested with both strength and energy.' At these words of that lady Garuda had his wings again, and they became even stronger than before. And then with Sandili's leave, Garuda with Galava on his back took his departure. But they failed to find the kind of steeds they were in search of. And it so happened that Viswamitra met Galava on the way. And thereupon, that foremost of speakers addressed Galava in the presence of Vinata's son and said, 'O regenerate one, the time is already come when thou shouldst give me the wealth thou hadst promised me of thy own accord. I do not know what thou mayst. I have waited so long. I will wait for some time more. Seek thou the way by which thou mayst succeed (in the matter of thy promise).' Hearing these words, Garuda addressed cheerless Galava who was overwhelmed with sorrow, saying, 'What Viswamitra said unto thee before hath now been repeated in my presence. Come, therefore, O Galava, best of Brahmanas, we will deliberate on the matter. Without giving thy preceptor the whole of the wealth (promised by thee), thou canst not even sit down.'

SECTION 114

"Narada said, 'Garuda then, that foremost of winged beings, addressed the cheerless Galava and said, 'Because it is created by Agni, in the bowels of the earth and augmented by Vayu, and because also the earth itself is said to be Hiranmaya, therefore, is wealth called Hiranya. And because wealth supports the world and sustains life, therefore, is it called Dhana. It is for serving these ends that Dhana (wealth) exists from the beginning in the three worlds. On that Friday, when either of the two constellations--the Purvabhadra or the Uttarabhadra--is ascendant, Agni, creating wealth by a fiat of his will, bestoweth it on mankind for the increase of Kuvera's stock. The wealth that is embowelled in the Earth is guarded by the deities called the Ajaikapats and the Ahivradnas, and also by Kuvera. Exceedingly difficult of attainment, that wealth, therefore, O bull among Brahmanas, is rarely attained. Without wealth there is no chance of thy acquisition of the promised steeds. Beg thou, therefore, of some king born in the race of some royal sage, who may, without oppressing his subjects, crown our suit with success. There is a king born in the lunar race, that is my friend. We shall go to him, for he, amongst all on Earth, hath great wealth. That royal sage is known by the name of Yayati, and he is the son of Nahusha. His prowess is incapable of being baffled. Solicited by thee in person, and urged by me, he will give what we seek, for he hath immense wealth, equal unto what belongeth to Kuvera, the lord of treasures. Even thus, by accepting a gift, O learned one, pay off thy debt to thy preceptor.' Talking thus, and thinking upon what was best to be done, Garuda and Galava together went to king Yayati, who was then in his capital called Pratisthana. The king received them hospitably and gave them excellent Arghya and water to wash their feet. And the king then asked them the cause of their advent. And thereupon Garuda answered, saying, 'O son of Nahusha, this ocean of asceticism, called Galava, is my friend. He had been, O monarch, a disciple of Viswamitra for many thousand years. This holy Brahmana, when commanded by Viswamitra to go away whithersoever he chose, addressed his preceptor at that time, saying,--I desire to give something as preceptor's fee. Knowing this one's resources to be poor, Viswamitra did not ask for anything. But when he was repeatedly addressed by this Brahmana on the subject of the tutorial fee, the preceptor, under a slight accession of wrath, said, 'Give me eight hundred white steeds of good pedigree and of lunar radiance, and each having one ear black in hue. If, O Galava, thou

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desirest to give anything to thy preceptor, let this then be given!' It was thus that Viswamitra endued with wealth of asceticism said unto him in anger. And this bull among Brahmanas is on that account smarting with great grief. Unable to fulfil that command (of his preceptor), he hath now come to take thy shelter. O tiger among men, accepting this as alms from thee, and filled once more with cheerfulness, he will, after paying his preceptor's debt, devote himself again to serve ascetic penances. A royal Rishi as thou art, and, therefore, endued with wealth of asceticism of thy own, this Brahmana, by giving thee a portion of his wealth of asceticism, will make thee richer in wealth of that kind. As many hairs, O lord of men, as there are on a horse's body, so many regions of bliss, O ruler of Earth, are attained by him that giveth away a horse in gift. This one is as fit to accept a gift as thou art to make a gift. Let therefore, thy gift in this instance be like milk deposited in a conch-shell.'"

SECTION 115

"Narada said, 'Thus addressed by Suparna in excellent words fraught with truth, that performer of thousand sacrifices, that foremost of givers, that liberal ruler of all the Kasis, the lord Yayati, revolving those words in his mind and reflecting on them coolly, and seeing before him his dear friend, Tarkshya, and that bull among Brahmanas, Galava, and regarding the alms sought as an indication, highly praiseworthy, of (Galava's) ascetic merit, and in view particularly of the fact that those two came to him having passed over all the kings of the Solar race, said, 'Blessed is my life today, and the race also in which I am born, hath, indeed, been blessed today. This very province also of mine hath equally been blessed by thee, O sinless Tarkshya. There is one thing, however, O friend, that I desire to say unto thee, and that is, I am not so rich now as thou thinkest, for my wealth hath suffered a great diminution. I cannot, however, O ranger of the skies, make thy advent here a fruitless one. Nor can I venture to frustrate the hopes entertained by this regenerate Rishi. I shall, therefore, give him that which will accomplish his purpose. If one having come for alms, returneth disappointed, he may consume the (host's) race. O son of Vinata, it is said that there is no act more sinful than that of saying, 'I have nothing'--and thus destroying the hope of one that cometh, saying, 'Give.' The disappointed man whose hopes have been killed and his object not accomplished, can destroy the sons and grandsons of the person that faileth to do him good. Therefore, O Galava, take thou this daughter of mine, this perpetrator of four families. In beauty, she resembleth a daughter of the celestials. She is capable of prompting every virtue. Indeed, owing to her beauty, she is always solicited (at my hands) by gods and men, and Asuras. Let alone twice four hundred steeds each with a black ear, the kings of the earth will give away their whole kingdoms as her dower. Take thou, therefore, this daughter of mine, named Madhavi. My sole desire is that I may have a daughter's son by her. Accepting that daughter in gift, Galava then, with Garuda, went away, saying, 'We will again see thee'. And they took that maiden with them. And Galava's oviparous friend addressed him, saying, 'The means have at last been obtained whereby the steeds may be obtained.' And saying this, Garuda went away to his own abode, having obtained Galava's permission. And after the prince of birds had gone, Galava, with that maiden in his company, began to think of going to some one among the kings who would be able to give (fit) dower for the maiden. And he first thought of that best of kings, Haryyaswa of Ikshaku's race, who ruled at Ayodhya, was endued with great energy, possessed of a large army consisting of four kinds of forces, had a well-filled treasury and abundance of corn, and who was dearly loved by his subjects, and who loved the Brahmanas well. Desirous of offspring, he was living in quiet and peace, and engaged in excellent austerities. And the Brahmana Galava, repairing unto Haryyaswa, said, 'This maiden, O king of kings, will increase the family of her husband by bringing forth offspring. Accept her from me, O Haryyaswa, as thy wife, by giving me a dower. I will tell thee what dower thou shalt have to give. Hearing it, settle what thou shalt do.'"

SECTION 116

"Narada said, 'That best of monarchs, king Haryyaswa, after reflecting for a long while and breathing a long and hot sigh about the birth of a son, at last said, 'Those six limbs* that ought to be high are high in this maiden. Those seven, again, that ought to be slender are slender in her. Those three, again, which ought to be deep are deep in her. And lastly, those five that ought to be red are red in her. It seems that she is worth being looked at by even the gods and the Asuras, and is accomplished in all the arts and sciences. Possessed of all auspicious signs, she will certainly bring forth many children. She is even capable of bringing forth a son who may become an emperor. Having regard to my wealth, tell me, O foremost of Brahmanas, what should be her dower.' Galava said, 'Give me eight hundred steeds, born in a good country, of lunar whiteness, and each with one ear black in hue. This auspicious and large-eyed maiden will then become the mother of thy sons, like the fire-stick becoming the genetrix of fire.'"

[*The limbs that should be 'prominent' or 'elevated' in order to constitute an indication of beauty or auspiciousness are variously mentioned. The general opinion seems to be that these six only, viz., the back of each palm, the two dorsa, and the two bosoms should be elevated. Another opinion would seem to indicate that the two bosoms, the two hips, and the two eyes should be so. The seven that should be delicate or slender are unanimously mentioned as the skin, the hair, the teeth, the fingers of the hands, the fingers of the feet, the waist, and the neck. The three that should be deep are the navel, the voice, and the understanding. The five that should be red are the two palms, the two outer corners of the eyes, the tongue, the nether and the upper-lips, and the palate. These five also, are variously given.]

"Narada continued, 'Hearing these words, that royal sage, king Haryyaswa, filled with sorrow, but blinded by lust, addressed Galava, that foremost of Rishis, saying, 'I have only two hundred steeds about me of the kind wanted by thee, although of other kinds all worthy of sacrifice, I have many thousand moving about (in my dominions), O Galava, I desire to beget only one son upon this damsel. Kindly grant this request of mine.' Hearing these words of the king, that damsel said unto Galava, 'A reciter of Brahma granted me a boon that I would after each delivery, be a maiden again. Give me away, therefore, to this king, accepting his excellent steeds. In this way, full eight hundred steeds may be obtained by thee from four kings in succession, and I also may have four sons. Collect thou the wealth intended for thy preceptor, in this way. Even this is what I think. It depends, however, oil thee, O Brahmana, as to how thou shouldst act.' Thus addressed by that maiden, the Muni Galava said these words unto king Haryyaswa, 'O Haryyaswa, O best of men, accept this damsel for a fourth part of the dower that I have settled, and beget only one son upon her.' Taking then that maiden and worshipping Galava, the king in due time and place had by her a son of the kind wished for. And the son so born came to be called by the name of Vasumanas. Richer than all the wealthy kings of the earth, and resembling one of the Vasus themselves he became a king and giver of great wealth.

'After some time, intelligent Galava came back and approaching the delighted Haryyaswa, said unto him, 'Thou hast, O king obtained a son. Indeed, this child is like the sun himself in splendour. The time hath come, O foremost of men, for me to go to some other king for alms.' Hearing these words, Haryyaswa who was even truthful in speech and steady in acts of manliness, and remembering that the balance of six hundred steeds could not be made up by him, gave Madhavi back to Galava. And Madhavi also, abandoning that blazing, kingly prosperity, and once more becoming a maiden, followed the footsteps of Galava. And Galava too, saying, 'Let the steeds remain with thee' then went, accompanied by the maiden, to king Divodasa.'"

SECTION 117

"Narada said, 'Galava then, addressing Madhavi, said, The ruler of the Kasis is an illustrious king known by the name of Divodasa. He is the son of Bhimasena, is endued with great prowess, and is a mighty sovereign. O blessed maiden, we are now going to him. Follow me slowly and grieve not. That ruler of men is virtuous and devoted to truth and hath his passions under control.'

"Narada Continued, 'When the muni came before that king he was received with due hospitality by the latter. Galava, then, began to urge the monarch for begetting a child. Thus addressed, Divodasa said, 'I heard of all this before. Thou needest not speak much. O Brahmana. I may tell thee, O best of Brahmanas, that as soon as I heard of this matter, my heart was set upon it. This also is a mark of great honour to me that passing over all other kings thou hast come to me, Without doubt, thy object will be gained. In the matter of the steeds, O Galava, my wealth is like that of king Haryyaswa. I shall, therefore, beget only one royal son upon this maiden.' Hearing these words, that best of Brahmanas gave that damsel unto the king, and, the king, thereupon, duly wedded her. And the royal sage then sported with her, as Surya with Prabhavati, Agni with Swaha, Vasava with Sachi, Chandra with Rohini, Yama with Urmila, Varuna with Gauri, Kuvera with Riddhi, Narayana with Lakshmi, Sagara with Jahnavi, Rudra with Rudrani, the Grandsire with Saraswati, Vasishtha's son Saktri with Adrisyanti, Vasishtha with Arundhati (called also Akshamala), Chyavana with Sukanya, Pulastya with Sandhya, Agastya with the princess of Vidarbha Lopamudra, Satyavan with Savitri, Bhrigu with Puloma, Kasyapa with Aditi, Richika's son Jamadagni with Renuka, Kusika's son Viswamitra with Himavati, Vrihaspati with Tara, Sukra with Sataprava, Bhumipati with Bhumi, Pururavas with Urvasi, Richika with Satyavati, Manu with Saraswati, Dushyanta with Sakuntala, the eternal Dharma with Dhriti, Nala with Damayanti, Narada, with Satyavati, Jaratkaru with Jaratkaru, Pulastya with Pratichya, Urnayus with Menaka, Tumvuru with Rambha, Vasuki with Satasirsha, Dhananjaya with Kamari, Rama with the princess of Videha Sita, or Janardana with Rukmini. And unto king Divodasa, that sporting with and taking delight in her, Madhavi bore a son named Pratardana. And after she had borne him a son, the holy Galava came to Divodasa at the appointed time, and said unto him, 'Let the maiden come with me, and let the steeds also thou art to give me remain with thee, for I desire to go elsewhere, O ruler of Earth, for dower.' Thus addressed, the virtuous king Divodasa, who was devoted to truth, thereupon, gave back the maiden to Galava at the appointed time.'"

SECTION 118

"Narada said, 'The illustrious Madhavi, faithful to her promise, abandoning that prosperity and once more becoming a maiden, followed the footsteps of the Brahmana Galava. And Galava, whose heart was set upon the accomplishment of his own business, reflecting upon what he should do next then went to the city of the Bhojas for waiting upon king Usinara. And arrived before that king of unbaffled prowess, Galava addressed him, saying, 'This maiden will bear thee two royal sons. And, O king, begetting upon her two sons equal unto the Sun and the Moon, thou mayst attain all thy objects both here and hereafter. As her dower, however, O thou that art conversant with every duty, thou shalt have to give me four hundred steeds of lunar splendour, each having ear black of hue. This effort of mine for obtaining the steeds is only on account of my preceptor, otherwise I myself have nothing to do with them. If thou art able to accept (my terms), do as I bid thee without any hesitation. O royal sage, thou art now childless. Beget, O king, a couple of children. With offspring so begot as a raft, save they Pitris and thyself also. O royal sage, he that hath fruit in the shape of offspring to enjoy, never falleth from heaven. Nor hath such a person to go to that frightful hell whither the childless are doomed to go.' Hearing these and other words of Galava, king Usinara. replied unto him, saying, 'I have heard what thou, O Galava, hast said. My heart also is inclined to do thy bidding. The Supreme Ordainer, however, is all-powerful. I have only two hundred steeds of the kind indicated by thee, O best of Brahmanas. Of other kinds, I have many thousands moving about in my dominions. I will, O Galava, beget only one son upon her, by treading the path that hath been told by others such as Haryyaswa and Divodasa. I will act after their manner in the matter of the dower. O best of Brahmanas, my wealth exists for only my subjects residing in the city and the country, and not for my own comforts and enjoyment. That king, O virtuous one, who giveth away for his own pleasure the wealth that belongeth to others, can never earn virtue or fame. Let this maiden, endued with the radiance of a celestial girl, be presented to me. I will accept her for begetting only one child.' Hearing these and many other words that Usinara spoke, that best of Brahmanas, Galava, then applauded the monarch and gave him the maiden. And making Usinara accept that damsel, Galava went into the woods. And like a righteous man enjoying the prosperity (won by his deeds), Usinara began to sport with and enjoy that damsel in valleys and dales of mountains by fountains and falls of rivers, in mansions, delightful chambers, variegated gardens, forests and woods, agreeable places, and terraces of houses. And, in due time, was born unto him a son of the splendour of the morning sun, who afterwards became an excellent king, celebrated by the name Sivi. And after the birth of that son, the Brahmana Galava came to Usinara, and taking back from him the maiden went, O king, to see the son of Vinata.'"

SECTION 119

"Narada said, 'Seeing Galava, Vinata's son smilingly addressed him, saying, 'By good luck it is, O Brahmana, that I behold thee successful.' Galava, however, hearing the words spoken by Garuda informed him that a fourth part of the task was still un-finished.' Garuda then, that foremost of all speakers, said unto Galava, 'Do not make any endeavour (to obtain the remaining two hundred), for it will not succeed. In days of yore, Richika sought at Kanyakuyja Gadhi's daughter, Satyavati, for making her his wife.' Thereupon Gadhi, O Galava, addressing the Rishi, said, 'O holy one, let a thousand steeds of lunar brightness, each with one ear black of hue, be presented to me.' Thus requested, Richika said, 'So be it'. And then wending his way to the great mart of steeds (Aswatirtha) in Varuna's abode, the Rishi obtained what he sought and gave them unto the king. Performing a sacrifice then of the name of Pundarika, that monarch gave away those steeds (as Dakshina) unto the Brahmanas. The three kings to whom thou hadst applied had purchased those horses from the Brahmanas, each to the number of two hundred. The remaining four hundred, O best of Brahmanas, while being transported over the river, were taken by the Vitasta*. [*The latter half of this Sloka is variously read. The correct reading, I apprehend, is Niyamanani Santare Hritanyasan Vitastaya, i.e., 'while transported across, were taken (down) by the (river) Vitasta'--the latter being one of the five rivers of the Punjab.] Therefore, O Galava, thou canst never have that which is not to be had. Do thou then, O virtuous one, present unto Viswamitra this maiden as an equivalent for two

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hundred steeds, along with the six hundred thou hast already obtained. Thou wilt then, O best of Brahmanas, be freed from thy grief and crowned with success. Galava then, saying, 'So be it,' and taking with him both the maiden and the steeds, went with Garuda in his company unto Viswamitra. And arrived in his presence, Galava said, 'Here are six hundred steeds of the kind demanded by thee. And this maiden is offered as an equivalent for the remaining two hundred. Let all these be accepted by thee. Upon this maiden have been begotten three virtuous sons by three royal sages. Let a fourth, foremost of all, be begotten upon her by thee. And thus let the number of steeds, eight hundred, be regarded by thee as full, and let me also, being freed from thy debt, go and practise ascetic penances as I list.' Viswamitra then, beholding Galava in the company of the bird, and that highly beautiful maiden, said, 'Why, O Galava, didst thou not give me this maiden before? Four sons then, sanctifiers of my race, would all have been mine alone. I accept this maiden of thine for begetting upon her one son. As regards the steeds, let them graze in my asylum.' Saying this, Viswamitra of great effulgence began to pass his time happily with her, And Madhavi bore him a son of the name of Ashtaka. And as soon as that son was born, the great Muni Viswamitra addressed him to both virtue and profit, and gave him those six hundred steeds. Ashtaka then went to a city, bright as the city of Soma. And Kusika's son Viswamitra also having made over the damsel to his disciple, himself went into the Woods. And Galava also, with his friend Suparna, having in this way succeeded in giving his preceptor the fee he had demanded, with a cheerful heart addressed that maiden and said, 'Thou hast borne a son who is exceedingly charitable, and another who is exceedingly brave, and a third who is devoted to truth and righteousness, and yet another who is a performer of great sacrifices. O beautiful maiden, thou hast, by these sons, saved not only thy father, but four kings and myself, also. Go now, O thou of slender waist.' Saying this, Galava dismissed Garuda that devourer of snakes, and returning the maiden unto her father himself went into the woods.'"

SECTION 120

"Narada said, 'King Yayati then, desirous again of disposing of his daughter in Swayamvara, went to a hermitage on the confluence of the Ganga and the Yamuna, taking Madhavi with him on a chariot, her person decked with garlands of flowers. And both Puru and Yadu followed their sister to that sacred asylum. And in that spot was assembled a vast concourse of Nagas and Yakshas and human beings, of Gandharvas and animals and birds, and of dwellers of mountains and trees and forests, and of many inhabitants of that particular province. And the woods all around that asylum were filled with numerous Rishis resembling Brahman himself. And while the selection had commenced of husband, that maiden of the fairest complexion, passing over all the bridegrooms there assembled, selected the forest as her lord. Descending from her chariot and saluting all her friends, the daughter of Yayati went into the forest which is always sacred, and devoted herself to ascetic austerities. Reducing her body by means of fasts of various kinds and religious rites and rigid vows, she adopted the deer's mode of life And subsisting upon soft and green grass-blades, resembling the sprouts of lapis lazuli and which were both bitter and sweet to the taste, and drinking the sweet, pure, cool, crystal, and very superior water of sacred mountain-streams, and wandering with the deer in forests destitute of lions and tigers, in deserts free from forest-conflagration, and in thick woods, that maiden, leading the life of a wild doe, earned great religious merit by the practice of Brahmacharya austerities.

'(Meanwhile) king Yayati, following the practice of kings before him, submitted to the influence of Time, after having lived for many thousands of years. The progeny of two of his sons--those foremost of men--Puru and Yadu, multiplied greatly, and in consequence thereof, Nahusha's son won great respect both in this and the other world. O monarch, dwelling in heaven, king Yayati, resembling a great Rishi, became an object of much regard, and enjoyed the highest fruits of those regions. And after many thousands of years had passed away in great happiness, on one occasion while seated among the illustrious royal sages and great Rishis, king Yayati, from folly, ignorance, and pride, mentally disregarded all the gods and Rishis, and all human beings. Thereat the divine Sakra--the slayer of Vala--at once read his heart. And those royal sages also addressed him saying, 'Fie, fie.' And beholding the son of Nahusha, the questions were asked, 'Who is this person? What king's son is he? Why is he in heaven? By what acts hath he won success? Where did he earn ascetic merit? For what hath he been known here? Who knoweth him? The dwellers of heaven, thus speaking of-that monarch, asked one another these questions about Yayati, that ruler of men. And hundreds of heaven's charioteers, and hundreds of those that kept heaven's gates, and of those what were in charge of heaven's seats, thus questioned, all answered, 'We do not know him.' And the minds of all were temporarily clouded, so that none recognised the king and thereupon the monarch was soon divested of his splendour.'"

SECTION 121

"Narada said, 'Removed from his place and pushed away from his seat with heart trembling in fear, and consumed by burning remorse, with his garlands dimmed in lustre and his knowledge clouded, shorn of his crown and bracelets, with head swimming and every limb relaxed divested of ornaments and robes, incapable of being recognised, sometimes not seeing the other residents of heaven, filled with despair, and his understanding a perfect blank, king Yayati fell headlong towards the earth. And before the king fell down, he thought within himself, 'What inauspicious and sinful thought was entertained by me in consequence of which I am hurled from my place?' And all the kings there, as also the Siddhas and the Apsaras, laughed at seeing Yayati losing his hold, and on the point of falling down. And soon, O king, at the command of the king of the gods, there came a person whose business it was to hurl down those whose merits were exhausted. And coming there, he said unto Yayati, 'Extremely intoxicated with pride, there is none whom thou hast not disregarded. In consequence of this thy pride, heaven is no longer for thee. Thou deservest not a residence here, O son of a king. Thou art not recognised here, go and fall down.' Even thus the celestial messenger spoke unto him, Nahusha's son then said, repeating the words three times, 'If fall I must, let me fall amongst the righteous.' And saying this, that foremost of persons that had won high regions by their acts, began to think of the particular region whereon he should fall. Beholding meanwhile four mighty kings, viz., Pratardana, Vasumanas, Sivi, the son of Usinara, and Ashtaka, assembled together in the woods of Naimisha, the king fell amongst them. And those monarchs were then engaged in gratifying the lord of the celestials by performance of the sacrifice known by the name of Vajapeya. And the smoke arising from their sacrificial altar reached the very gates of heaven. And the smoke that rose thus, looked like a river connecting both the earth and the heaven. And it resembled the sacred stream Ganga while descending from heaven to earth. And smelling that smoke and guiding his course by it, Yayati, the lord of the universe, descended on the earth. And the king thus fell amongst those four lions among rulers, who were all endued with great beauty, who were foremost of all the performers of sacrifices, who were, indeed, his own relatives, and who resembled the four regents of the four quarters, and looked like four mighty sacrificial fires. And thus, in consequence of the exhaustion of his merits, the royal sage Yayati fell amongst them. And beholding him blazing with beauty, those kings asked him, saying, "Who art thou? Of what race, country, or city art thou? Art thou a Yaksha, or a god, a Gandharva, or a Rakshasa? Thou does not seem to be a human being. What object hast thou in view?' Thus questioned, Yayati answered, 'I am the royal sage Yayati. Fallen am I from heaven in consequence of the expiration of my virtue. Having desired to fall amongst the righteous, I have fallen amongst you.' The kings then said, 'O foremost of persons, may that wish of thine, be realized. Accept thou our virtues and the fruits of all our sacrifices.' Yayati replied saying, 'I am not a Brahmana competent to accept a gift. On the other hand, I am a Kshatriya. Nor is my heart inclined towards lessening the virtues of others.'

"Narada continued, 'About this time, Madhavi, in course of her purposeless wanderings, came there. Beholding her, those monarchs saluted her and said, 'What object hast thou in coming here? What command of thine shall we obey? Thou deservest to command us, for all of us are thy sons, O thou that art endued with wealth of asceticism!' Hearing these words of theirs, Madhavi was filled with delight and approaching then her father, she reverentially saluted Yayati. And touching the heads of all her sons, that lady engaged in ascetic austerities said to her father, 'Being my sons these all are thy daughter's sons, O king of kings. They are not strangers to thee. These will save thee. The practice is not new, its origin extends to antiquity. I am thy daughter Madhavi, O king, living in the woods after the manner of the deer. I also have earned virtue. Take thou a moiety. And because, O king, all men have a right to enjoy a portion of the merits earned by their offspring, it is for this that they desire to have daughter's sons. Even this was the case with thyself, O king (when thou madest me over to Galava).' At these words of their mother, those monarchs saluted her, and bowing down unto also their maternal grandsire, repeated those very words in a loud, incomparable, and sweet voice, and making, as it were, the whole earth resounded therewith, in order to rescue that maternal grandsire of theirs who had fallen down from heaven. And at that time Galava also came there, and addressing Yayati, said, 'Accepting an eighth part of my ascetic austerities, ascend thou to heaven again.'"

SECTION 122

"Narada said, 'As soon as that bull among men, king Yayati was recognised by those virtuous persons, he rose again to heaven, without having had to touch the surface of the earth. And he regained his celestial form and had all his anxieties entirely dispelled. And he rose again, decked with celestial garlands and robes, adorned with celestial ornaments, sprinkled with celestial scents, and furnished with heavenly attributes, and without having been compelled to touch the earth with his feet. Meanwhile, Vasumanas who was celebrated in the world for his liberality, first addressing the king, uttered these words in a loud voice, 'The merit that I have won on earth by my unblamable conduct towards men of all orders, I give unto thee. Be it all thine, O king. The merit that one winneth by liberality and forgiveness, the merit that is mine in consequence of the sacrifices I have performed, let all that also be thine.' After this, Pratardana, that bull among Kshatriyas, said, 'Ever devoted to virtue as also to war, the fame that hath here been mine as a Kshatriya, in consequence of the appellation of hero (by which I am known),--be that merit thine. After this, Sivi, the intelligent son of Usinara, said these sweet words, 'Unto children and women in jest, danger, or calamity, in distress, or at dice, I have never spoken a falsehood. By that truth which I never sacrificed ascend thou to heaven. I can, O king, give up all objects of desire and enjoyment, my kingdom, yea, life itself, but truth I cannot give up. By that truth, ascend thou to heaven; that truth for which Dharma, that truth for which agni, that truth for which he of a hundred sacrifices, have each been gratified with me, by that truth ascend thou to heaven.' And lastly, the royal sage Ashtaka, the offspring of Kusika's son and Madhavi, addressing Nahusha's son Yayati who had performed many hundreds of sacrifices, said, 'I have, O lord, performed hundreds of Pundarika, Gosava and Vajapeya sacrifices. Take thou the merit of these. Wealth, gems, robes, I have spared nothing for the performance of sacrifices. By that truth ascend thou to heaven.' And that king thereupon leaving the earth, began to ascend towards heaven, higher and higher, as those daughter's sons of his, one after another, said those words unto him. And it was thus that those kings by their good acts, speedily saved Yayati, who had been hurled from heaven. It was thus that those daughter's sons born in four royal lines, those multipliers of their races, by means of their virtues, sacrifices, and gifts, caused their wise maternal grandfather to ascend again to heaven. And those monarchs jointly said, 'Endued with the attributes of royalty and possessed of every virtue, we are, O king, thy daughter's sons! (By virtue of our good deeds) ascend thou to heaven.'"

SECTION 123

"Narada said, 'Sent back to heaven by those righteous kings, distinguished by the liberality of their sacrificial presents, Yayati possessed of daughter's sons, dismissed them and reached the celestial regions. Attaining to the eternal region obtained through the merit of his daughter's sons, and adorned by his own deeds, Yayati, bathed in shower of fragrant flowers and hugged by perfumed and delicious breezes, blazed forth with great beauty. And cheerfully, received back into heaven with sounds of cymbals, he was entertained with songs and dances by various tribes of Gandharvas and Asuras. And diverse celestial and royal Rishis and Charanas began to pay their adorations to him. And deities worshipped him with an excellent Arghya and delighted him with other honours. And after he had thus regained heaven and tranquillity of heart, and had once more become freed from anxiety, the Grandsire, gratifying him by his words said, 'Thou hadst earned the full measure I of virtue by thy earthly deeds, and this region (that thou hadst won) is eternal, as thy deeds are in heaven. Thou hadst, however, O royal sage, destroyed thy acquisition by thy vanity alone, and thereby covered the hearts of all the denizens of heaven with darkness in consequence of which none of them could recognise thee. And since thou couldst not be recognised, thou wert hurled hence! Saved once more by the love and affection of thy daughter's sons, thou hast once more arrived here, and regained this unchangeable, eternal, sacred, excellent, stable, and indestructible region won before by thy own deeds.' Thus addressed, Yayati said, 'O holy one, I have a doubt, which, it behoveth thee, to dispel. O Grandsire of all the worlds, it behoveth me not to ask any one else. Great was my merit, augmented by a (virtuous) rule over my subjects for many thousands of years and won by innumerable sacrifices and gifts. How could merit (so great) be exhausted so soon in consequence of which I was hurled hence? Thou knowest, O holy one, that the regions created for me were all eternal. Why were all those regions of mine destroyed, O thou of great effulgence? The Grandsire answered, saying, 'Thy merit, augmented by a (virtuous) rule over thy subjects for many thousands of years and won by innumerable sacrifices and gifts, was exhausted by only one fault, in consequence of which thou wert hurled (from this region). That fault, O king of kings, was thy vanity for which thou hadst become an object of contempt with all the residents of heaven. O royal sage, this region can never be rendered eternal by vanity, or pride of strength, or malice, or deceitfulness, or deception. Never disregard those that are inferior, or superior, or in the middle station. There is not a greater sinner than he who is consumed by the fire of vanity. Those men that will converse upon this fall and re-ascension of thine, will, without doubt, be protected even if overtaken by calamity.'

"Narada continued, 'O monarch, even such was the distress into which Yayati fell in consequence of vanity, and such was

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the distress into which Galava fell owing to his obstinacy. They that desire their own good should listen to friends that wish them well. Obstinacy should never be entertained, for obstinacy is always the root of ruin. For this reason, O son of Gandhari, forsake vanity and wrath, O hero, make peace with the sons of Pandu. Avoid anger, O king, that which is given away, that which is done, the austerities that are practised, the libations that are poured on fire, nor one of these is ever destroyed or suffereth any diminution. None else, again, enjoyeth the fruits of these save he that is their agent. He that succeedeth in understanding this truly superior and excellent history, that is approved by persons of great learning as well as by those that are freed from anger and lust, and that is enforced by various references to scriptures and reason, obtaineth a knowledge of virtue and profit and desire, and enjoyeth the sovereignty of the whole world!'"

SECTION 124

"Dhritarashtra said, 'O holy one, it is even so as thou, O Narada, sayest. My wish also is precisely such, but, O holy one, I have no power (to carry them out)!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'The Kuru king, having said these words unto Narada, then addressed Krishna and said, 'Thou hast, O Kesava, told me that which leadeth to heaven, what is beneficial to the world, consistent with virtue, and fraught with reason. I am not, however, O sire, independent. Duryodhana never doth what is agreeable to me. Do thou, therefore, O mighty-armed Krishna, O best of persons, strive to persuade that foolish and wicked son of mine, who disobeyeth my commands. O mighty-armed one, he never listeneth to the beneficial words, O Hrishikesa, of Gandhari, or of wise Vidura, or of other friends headed by Bhishma, all of whom seek his good. Do thou, therefore, thyself counsel that crooked, senseless, and wicked-souled prince, of evil disposition and sinful heart. By doing this, O Janardana, thou shalt have done that noble act which a friend should ever do.' Thus addressed, he of Vrishni's race, conversant with the truths of virtue and profit, approached nearer to the ever-wrathful Duryodhana and said unto him these sweet words, 'O Duryodhana, O best of the Kurus, listen to these words of mine, uttered especially for thy good, as also, O Bharata, for that of thy followers, Thou art born in a race that is distinguished for its great wisdom. It behoveth thee to act righteously as I indicate. Possessed of learning and endued with excellent behaviour, thou art adorned with every excellent quality. They that are born in ignoble families, or are wicked-souled, cruel, and shameless, they only, O sire, act in the way that seemeth acceptable to thee. In this world, the inclinations of those only that are righteous seem to be consistent with the dictates of virtue and profit. The inclinations, however, of those that are unrighteous seem to be perverse. O bull of Bharata's race, the disposition that thou art repeatedly manifesting is of that perverse kind. Persistence in such behaviour is sinful, frightful, highly wicked, and capable of leading to death itself. It is besides, causeless, while, again, thou canst not, O Bharata, adhere to it long. If by avoiding this which is productive only of woe, thou wilt achieve thy own good, if, O chastiser of foes, thou wilt escape from the sinful and disreputable deeds of thy brothers, followers, and counsellors, then, O tiger among men, make peace, O bull among the Bharatas, with the sons of Pandu who are all endued with great wisdom and great bravery with great exertion and great learning an all of whom have their souls under complete control. Such conduct will be agreeable to and conducive to the happiness of Dhritarashtra who is endued with great wisdom, of grandsire (Bhishma), Drona, the high-souled Kripa, Somadatta, wise Vahlika, Aswatthaman, Vikarna, Sanjaya, Vivingsati, and of many of thy kinsmen, O chastiser of foes, and many of thy friends also. The whole world, O sire, will derive benefit from that peace. Thou art endued with modesty, born in a noble race, hast learning and kindness of heart. Be obedient, O sire, to the commands of thy father, and also of thy mother, O bull of Bharata's race. They that are good sons always regard that to be beneficial which their fathers command. Indeed, when overtaken by calamity, every one recollects the injunctions of his father. Peace with the Pandavas, O sire, recommend itself to thy father. Let it, therefore, O chief of the Kurus recommend itself to thee also with thy counsellors. That mortal who having listened to the counsels of friends doth not act according to them, is consumed at the end by the consequences of his disregard, like him who swalloweth the fruit called Kimpaka. He that from folly doth not accept beneficial counsels, unnerved by procrastination and unable to attain his object, is obliged to repent at last. He, on the other hand, who having listened to beneficial counsels accepteth them at once, abandoning his opinion, always winneth happiness in the world. He that rejects the words of well-meaning friends, regarding those words as opposed to his interest, but accepts words that are really so opposed, is soon subjugated by his foes. Disregarding the opinions of the righteous he that abideth by the opinions of the wicked, soon maketh his friends weep for him in consequence of his being plunged into distress. Forsaking superior counsellors he that seeketh the advice of inferior ones, soon falleth into great distress and succeedeth not in saving himself. That companion of the sinful, who behaveth falsely and never listeneth to good friends, who honoureth strangers but hateth those that are his own, is soon, O Bharata, cast off by the Earth. O bull of Bharata's race, having quarrelled with those (the sons of Pandu), thou seekest protection from others viz., those that are sinful, incapable, and foolish. What other man is there on earth besides thee, who, disregarding kinsmen, that are all mighty charioteers, and each of whom resembleth Sakra himself, would seek protection and aid from strangers? Thou hast persecuted the sons of Kunti, from their very birth. They have not been angry with thee, for the sons of Pandu are indeed virtuous. Although thou hast behaved deceitfully towards the Pandavas from their very birth, yet, O mighty-armed one, those distinguished persons have acted generously towards thee. It behoveth thee, therefore, O bull of Bharata's race, to act towards those principal kinsmen of thine with equal generosity. Do not yield thyself to the influence of wrath. O bull of Bharata's race, the exertions of the wise are always associated with virtue, profit, and desire. If, indeed, all these three cannot be attained, men follow at least virtue and profit. If, again, these three are pursued separately, it is seen that they that have their hearts under control, choose virtue; they that are neither good nor bad but occupy a middle station, choose profit, which is always the subject of dispute; while they that are fools choose the gratification of desire. The fool that from temptation giveth up virtue and pursueth profit and desire by unrighteous means, is soon destroyed by his senses. He that speaketh profit and desire, should yet practise virtue at the outset, for neither profit nor desire is (really) dissociated from virtue. O king, it hath been said that virtue alone is the cause of the three, for he that seeketh the three, may, by the aid of virtue alone, grow like fire when brought into contact with a heap of dry grass. O bull of Bharata's race, thou seeketh, O sire, by unrighteous means this extensive empire, flourishing with prosperity and well-known to all the monarchs of the earth. O king, he that behaveth falsely towards those that live and conduct themselves righteously, certainly cutteth down his own self, like a forest with an axe. One must not seek to confound his understanding whose overthrow one doth not like, for, if one's understanding is confounded, one can never devote his attention to what is beneficial. One that hath his soul under control never, O Bharata, disregardeth anybody in the three worlds,--no, not even the commonest creature, far less those bulls among men, the sons of Pandu. He that surrendereth himself to the influence of anger loseth his sense of right and wrong. Rank growth must always be cut off. Behold, O Bharata, this is the proof. At present, O sire, union with the sons of Pandu is better for thee than thy union with the wicked. If thou makest peace with them, thou mayst obtain the fruition of all thy wishes. O best of kings, while enjoying the kingdom that has been founded by the Pandavas, thou seekest protection from others, disregarding the Pandavas themselves. Reposing the cares of thy state on Dussasana, Durvisaha, Karna, and Suvala's son, thou desirest the continuance of thy prosperity, O Bharata. These, however, are far inferior to the Pandavas in knowledge, in virtue, in capacity for acquiring wealth, and in prowess. Indeed, O Bharata, (let alone the four I have mentioned) all these kings together, with thee at their head, are incapable of even looking at the face of Bhima, when angry, on the field of battle. O sire, this force consisting of all the kings of the earth is, indeed, at thy elbow. There are also Bhishma, and Drona, and this Karna, and Kripa, and Bhurisrava, and Somadatta, and Aswatthaman, and Jayadratha. All these together are incapable of fighting against Dhananjaya. Indeed, Arjuna is incapable of being vanquished in battle even by all the gods, Asuras, men, and Gandharvas. Do not set thy heart for battle. Seest thou the man in any of the royal races of the earth, who having encountered Arjuna in battle can return home safe and sound? O bull of Bharata's race, what advantage is there in a universal slaughter? Show me a single man who will defeat that Arjuna, by defeating whom alone victory may be thine? Who will encounter that son of Pandu in battle, who had vanquished all the celestials with the Gandharvas, Yakshas and Pannagas at Khandavaprastha? Then also the marvellous account that is heard of what happened at Virata's city, touching that encounter between one and many, is sufficient proof of this, Hopest thou to vanquish in battle Arjuna who when excited with rage is invincible, irresistible, ever-victorious, and undeteriorating Arjuna, that hero, who gratified the God of gods, Siva himself in fight? With myself again as his second when that son of Pritha will rush to the field of battle against an enemy, who is there that is competent to challenge him then? Can Purandara himself do so? He that would vanquish Arjuna in battle would support the Earth on his arms, consume in rage the whole population of the Earth, and hurl the very gods from heaven. Look at thy sons, thy brothers, kinsmen, and other relatives. Let not these chiefs of Bharata's race all perish on thy account. Let not the race of Kauravas be exterminated or reduced. O king, let not people say that thou art the exterminator of thy race and the destroyer of its achievements. Those mighty car-warriors, the Pandavas (if peace be made) will install thee as the Yuvaraja, and thy father Dhritarashtra, that lord of men, as the sovereign of this extensive empire. Do not, O sire, disregard the prosperity that is awaiting thee and is sure to come. Giving to the sons of Pritha half the kingdom, win thou great prosperity. Making peace with the Pandavas and acting according to the counsels of thy friends, and rejoicing with them, thou art sure to obtain what is for thy good for ever and ever.'"

SECTION 125

"Vaisampayana said, 'Hearing, O bull of Bharata's race, these words of Kesava, Bhishma, the son of Santanu, then said unto vindictive Duryodhana, Krishna hath spoken to thee, desirous of bringing about peace between kinsmen. O sire, follow those counsels, and do not yield to the influence of wrath. If thou dost not act, O sire, according to the words of the high-souled Kesava, neither prosperity, nor happiness nor what is for thy good, wilt thou ever have. The mighty-armed Kesava, O sire, hath said unto thee what is consistent with virtue and profit. Accept thou that object, and do not, O king, exterminate the population of the earth. This resplendent prosperity of the Bharatas amongst all the kings of the earth, thou wilt, during the very life of brothers, and kinsmen, of life, if, O thou foremost of Bharata's race, thou transgressest the words of Kesava, thy father, and of wise Vidura,--words that are consistent with truth and fraught with benefit to thyself. Be not the exterminator of thy race, be not a wicked man, let not thy heart be sinful, do not tread the path of unrighteousness. Do not sink thy father and mother into an ocean of grief.' After Bhishma had concluded, Drona also said these words unto Duryodhana, who, filled with wrath, was then breathing heavily, 'O sire, the words that Kesava hath spoken unto thee are fraught with virtue and profit, Santanu's son Bhishma also hath said the same. Accept those words, O monarch. Both of them are wise, endued with great intelligence, with souls under control, desirous of doing what is for thy good, and possessed of great learning. They have said what is beneficial. Accept their words, O king, O thou possessed of great wisdom, act according to what both Krishna and Bhishma have said. O chastiser of foes, do not, from delusion of understanding, disregard Madhava. They that are always encouraging thee, are unable to give thee victory. During the time of battle they will throw the burthen of hostility on other's necks. Do not slaughter the Earth's population. Do not slay thy sons and brothers. Know that host is invincible in the midst of which are Vasudeva and Arjuna. If, O Bharata, thou dost not accept the truthful words of thy friends, Krishna and Bhishma, then, O sire, thou wilt surely have to repent. Arjuna is even greater than what Jamadagni's son hath described him to be. As regards Krishna, the son of Devaki, he is incapable of being resisted by even the gods. O bull of Bharata's race, what use is there in telling thee what is really conducive to thy happiness and good? Everything hath now been said unto thee. Do what thou wishest. I do not wish to say anything more unto thee, O foremost of Bharata's race.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'After Drona had ceased, Vidura also, otherwise called Kshattri, casting his eyes on Duryodhana, said unto that vindictive son of Dhritarashtra, 'O Duryodhana, O bull of Bharata's race, I do not grieve for thee. I grieve, however, for this old couple, viz., Gandhari and thy father. Having thee, of wicked soul for their protector (of whom they will shortly be deprived), they will have to wander with anybody to look after them, and deprived also of friends and counsellors, like a pair of birds shorn of their wings. Having begotten such a wicked son who is the exterminator of his race, alas, these two will have to wander over the earth in sorrow, subsisting on alms.' After this, king Dhritarashtra, addressing Duryodhana, seated in the midst of his brothers and surrounded by all the kings, said, 'Listen, O Duryodhana, to what the high-souled Sauri hath said. Accept those words which are eternal, highly beneficial and conducive to what is for thy highest good. With the aid of this Krishna of faultless deeds, we amongst all the kings, are sure to have all our cherished objects. Firmly united by Kesava, be reconciled, O sire, with Yudhishthira. Seek thou this great good of the Bharatas like unto an august ceremony of propitiation. Through Vasudeva's agency, bind thyself closely with the Pandavas. I think, the time for that is come. Do not let the opportunity pass away. If, however, thou disregardest Kesava, who from a desire of achieving what is for good, is soliciting thee to make peace, then victory will never be thine.'"

SECTION 126

"Vaisampayana said, 'Hearing these words of Dhritarashtra, both Bhishma and Drona who sympathised with the old king, again addressed disobedient Duryodhana and said, 'As yet the two Krishnas are not accoutred in mail, as yet Gandiva resteth inactive, as yet Dhaumya doth not consume the enemy's strength by pouring libations on the war-fire, as yet that mighty bowman Yudhishthira, having modesty for his

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ornament, doth not cast angry glances on thy troops, so let hostility cease. As yet that mighty bowman, Bhimasena, the son of Pritha, is not seen stationed in the midst of his division, so let hostility cease. As yet Bhimasena, doth not, mace in band, stalk on the field of battle, grinding (hostile) divisions, so let peace be made with the Pandavas. As yet Bhima doth not, with his hero-slaying mace, make the heads of warriors fighting from the backs of elephants roll on the field of battle, like the palmyra-fruits in the season of their ripening, so let hostility cease. As yet Nakula, and Sahadeva, Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's race, and Virata, and Sikhandin, and Sisupal's son, accoutred in mail and all well-versed in arms, do not penetrate thy ranks, like huge crocodiles penetrating the deep, and pour their arrowy showers, so let hostility cease. As yet fierce-winged shafts do not fall upon the delicate bodies of the assembled kings, so let hostility cease. As yet fierce weapons made of iron and steel, shot unerringly by mighty bowmen well-skilled in arms, endued with lightness of hand and capable of hitting howsoever long distance, do not penetrate the breasts of warriors, smeared with sandal and other fragrant unguents, and adorned with golden garlands and gems, so let hostility cease. Let that elephant among kings, Yudhishthira the Just, receive thee with an embrace while thou salutest him bending thy head. O bull of Bharata's race, let that king, distinguished for the liberality of his sacrificial presents, place on thy shoulder that right arm of his, the palm of which beareth the marks of the banner and the hook. Let him, with hands begemmed and red, adorned with fingers, pat thy back while thou art seated. Let the mighty-armed Vrikodara, with shoulder broad as those of the sala tree, embrace thee, O bull of Bharata's race, and gently converse with thee for peace. And, O king, saluted with reverence by those three, viz., Arjuna and the Twins, smell thou their heads and converse with them affectionately. And beholding the united with thy heroic brothers--the sons of Pandu--let all these monarchs shed tears of joy. Let the tidings of this cordial union be proclaimed in the cities of all the kings. Let the Earth be ruled by thee with feelings of brotherly affection (in thy bosom), and let thy heart be freed from the fever (of jealousy and wrath).'"

SECTION 127

"Vaisampayana said, 'Hearing in that assembly of the Kurus these words that were disagreeable to him, Duryodhana replied unto the mighty-armed Kesava of great fame, saying. 'It behoveth thee, O Kesava, to speak after reflecting on all circumstances. Indeed, uttering such harsh words, thou, without any reason, findest fault with me alone, addressed regardfully as thou always art by the sons of Pritha, O slayer of Madhu. But dost thou censure me, having surveyed the strength and weakness (of both sides)? Indeed, thyself and Kshattri, the King, the Preceptor, and the Grandsire, all reproach me alone and not any other monarch. I, however, do not find the least fault in myself. Yet all of you, including the (old) king himself, hate me. O repressor of foes, I do not, even after reflection, behold any grave fault in me, or even O Kesava, any fault however minute. In the game at dice, O slayer of Madhu, that was joyfully accepted by them, the Pandavas were vanquished and their kingdom was won by Sakuni. What blame can be mine as regards that? On the other hand, O slayer of Madhu, the wealth that was won from the Pandavas then, was ordered by me, to be returned unto them. It cannot, again, O foremost of victors, be any fault of ours that the invincible Pandavas, were defeated once again at dice and had to go to the Woods. Imputing what fault to us, do they regard us as their enemies? And, O Krishna, though (really) weak, why do the Pandavas yet so cheerfully seek a quarrel with us, as if they were strong? What have we done to them? For what injury (done to them) do the sons of Pandu, along with the Srinjayas, seek to slaughter the sons of Dhritarashtra? We shall not in consequence of any fierce deed, or (alarming) word (of theirs), bow down to them in fear, deprived of our senses. We cannot bow down to Indra himself, let alone the sons of Pandu. I do not, O Krishna, see the man, observant of Kshatriya virtues, who can, O slayer of foes, venture to conquer us in battle. Let alone the Pandavas, O slayer of Madhu, the very gods are not competent to vanquish Bhishma, Kripa, Drona and Karna, in battle. If, O Madhava, we are, in the observance of the practices of our order, cut off with weapons in battle, when our end comes, even that will lead us to heaven. Even this, O Janardana, is our highest duty as Kshatriyas, viz., that we should lay ourselves down on the field of battle on a bed of arrows. If, without bowing to our enemies, ours be the bed of arrows in battle, that, O Madhava, will never grieve us. Who is there, born in a noble race and conforming to Kshatriya practices, that would from fear bow to an enemy, desirous only of saving his life? Those Kshatriyas that desire their own good, accept regardfully this saying of Matanga, viz., that (as regards a Kshatriya), one should always keep himself erect, and never bow down, for exertion alone is manliness; one should rather break at the knots than bend. A person like me should only bow down to the Brahmanas for the sake of piety, without regarding anybody else. (As regards persons other than Brahmanas), one should, as long as one lives, act according to Matanga's saying. Even this is the duty of Kshatriyas; even this is ever my opinion. That share in the kingdom which was formerly given them by my father shall never again, O Kesava, be obtainable by them as long as I live. As long, O Janardana, as king Dhritarashtra liveth, both ourselves and they, sheathing our weapons, O Madhava, should live in dependence on him. Given away formerly from ignorance or fear, when I was a child and dependent on others, the kingdom, O Janardana, incapable of being given away again, shall not, O delighter of Vrishni's race, be obtainable by the Pandavas. At present, O Kesava of mighty arms, as long as I live, even that much of our land which may be covered by the point of a sharp needle shall not, O Madhava, be given by us unto the Pandavas.'"

SECTION 128

"Vaisampayana said, 'Reflecting (for a moment), with eyes red in anger, he, of Dasarha's race, addressing Duryodhana in that assembly of the Kurus, then said these words, 'Wishest thou for a bed of heroes? Verily, thou shalt have it, with thy consellors. Wait (for a short while), a great slaughter will ensue. Thou thinkest, O thou of little understanding, that thou hast committed no offence against the Pandavas? Let the (assembled) monarchs judge. Grieved at the prosperity of the high-souled Pandavas, thou conspirest, O Bharata, with Suvala's son about the gambling match. O sire, how could those virtuous, honest, and superior kinsmen of thine (otherwise) engage in such a wicked act with the deceitful Sakuni? O thou that art endued with great wisdom, gambling robs even the good of their understanding, and as regards the wicked, disunion and dire consequence spring from it. It was thou who hadst devised with thy wicked counsellors, that terrible source of calamity in the form of the gambling match, without consulting with persons of righteous behaviour. Who else is there, capable of insulting a brother's wife in the way thou didst or of dragging her into the assembly and addressing her in language thou hadst used towards Draupadi? Of noble parentage, and endued with excellent behaviour, and dearer to them than their very lives, the queen-consort of Pandu's sons was treated even thus by thee. All the Kauravas know what words were addressed in their assembly by Dussasana unto those chastisers of foes,--the sons of Kunti,--when they were about to set out for the woods. Who is there capable of behaving so wretchedly towards his own honest kinsmen, that are ever engaged in the practice of virtue, that are untainted by avarice, and that are always correct in their behaviour? Language such as becomes only those that are heartless and despicable, was frequently repeated by Karna and Dussasana and also by thee. Thou hadst taken great pains to burn to death, at Varanavata, the sons of Pandu with their mother, while they were children, although that effort of thine was not crowned with success. After this, the Pandavas with their mother were obliged to live for a long while, concealed in the town of Ekachakra in the abode of a Brahmana. With poison, with snakes and cords, thou hadst, by every means, sought the destruction of the Pandavas, although none of thy designs was successful. With such feelings when thou hadst always acted towards them so deceitfully, how canst thou say that thou hast not offended against the high-souled Pandavas? Thou art not, O sinful man, willing to give them their paternal share in the kingdom, although they are begging it of thee. Thou shalt have to give it them, this, when divested of prosperity, thou shalt be laid low. Having, like a heartless fellow, done innumerable wrongs to the Pandavas and behaved so deceitfully towards them, thou seekest now to appear in a different garb. Though repeatedly solicited by thy parents, by Bhishma, Drona, and Vidura, to make peace, thou dost not yet, O king, make peace. Great is the advantage in peace, O king, both to thyself and Yudhishthira. Peace, however, does not recommend itself to thee. To what else can it be due, but to thy loss of understanding? Transgressing the words of thy friends, thou canst never attain to what is for thy benefit. Sinful and disreputable is that act, which thou, O king, art about to do.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'While he, of Dasarha's race, was saying this, Dussasana addressed vindictive Duryodhana and said unto him these words in the midst of the Kurus, If, O king, thou dost not willingly make peace with the Pandavas, verity the Kauravas will bind thee (hand and foot) and make over thee to the son of Kunti. Bhishma, and Drona, and thy (own) father, O bull amongst men, will make over us three, viz., Vikartana's son, thyself, and myself, to the Pandavas!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words of his brother, Dhritarashtra's son, wicked, shameless, disobedient, disrespectful, and vain Suyodhana, breathing heavily like a great snake rose up from his seat in anger, and disregarding Vidura, and Dhritarashtra and the great king Vahlika, and Kripa, and Somadatta, and Bhishma, and Drona, and Janardana, in fact, all of them, went out of the court, And beholding that bull among men leave the court, his brother and all his counsellors, and all the kings, followed him. And seeing Duryodhana rise and leave the court in anger with his brothers, Santanu's son, Bhishma said, 'The enemies of that person, who, abandoning both virtue and profit, followeth the impulses of wrath, rejoice on beholding him plunged into distress at no distant date. This wicked son of Dhritarashtra, this one unacquainted with the true means (of accomplishing his objects), this fool that is wrongly vain of his sovereignty, obeyeth only the dictates of wrath and avarice. I see also, O Janardana, that the hour of all those Kshatriyas is arrived, for all those kings, from delusion, have with their counsellors followed Duryodhana.' Hearing these words of Bhishma, the lotus-eyed hero of Dasarha's race, possessed of great powers, addressing all those (that were still there) headed by Bhishma and Drona, said, 'Even this is great transgression, of which all the elders of the Kuru race are becoming guilty, for they do not forcibly seize and bind this wicked king in the enjoyment of sovereignty. Ye chastiser of foes, I think the time hath come for doing this. If this is done, it may still be productive of good. Listen to me, ye sinless ones. The words I will speak will soon lead to beneficial results, if, indeed, ye Bharatas, ye accept what I say in consequence of its recommending itself to you. The wicked son, of ill-regulated soul, of the old Bhoja king, having usurped his father's sovereignty during the latter's life-time, subjected himself to death. Indeed, Kansa, the son of Ugrasena, abandoned by his relatives, was slain by me in a great encounter, from desire of benefiting my kinsmen. Ourselves with our kinsmen then, having paid due honours to Ugrasena, the son of Ahuka, installed that extender of Bhoja's kingdom on the throne. And all the Yadavas and Andhakas and the Vrishnis, abandoning a single person, viz., Kansa for the sake of their whole race, have prospered and obtained happiness. O king, when the gods and Asuras were arrayed for battle and weapons were upraised for striking, the lord of all creatures, Parameshthin said thus (something which applies to the case at hand). Indeed, O Bharata, when the population of the worlds was divided into two parties and was about to be slaughtered, the divine and holy Cause of the universe, viz., the Creator, said, 'The Asuras and the Daityas with the Danavas will be vanquished, and the Adityas, the Vasus, the Rudras and other dwellers of heaven will be victorious. Indeed, the gods, and Asuras, and human beings, and Gandharvas, and Snakes, and Rakshasas, will in rage slaughter one another in this battle.' Thinking so, the Lord of all creatures, Parameshthin, commanded Dharma, saying, 'Binding fast, the Daityas and the Danavas, make them over to Varuna.' Thus addressed, Dharma, at the command of Parameshthin, binding the Daityas and the Danavas, made them over to Varuna. And Varuna, the Lord of the waters, having bound those Danavas, with Dharma's noose, as also with his own, keepeth them within the depths of the ocean, always guarding them carefully. Binding in the same way Duryodhana and Karna and Sakuni, the son of Suvala, and Dussasana, make them over to the Pandavas. For the sake of a family, an individual may be sacrificed. For a village, a family may be sacrificed. For the sake of a province, a village may be sacrificed. And lastly, for the sake of one's self, the whole earth may be sacrificed. O monarch, binding Duryodhana fast, make peace with the Pandavas. O bull among Kshatriyas, let not the whole Kshatriya race be slaughtered on thy account.'"

SECTION 129

"Vaisampayana said, 'Hearing these words of Krishna, king Dhritarashtra lost no time in addressing Vidura, who was conversant with all dictates of virtue. And the king said, 'Go, O child, unto Gandhari, possessed of great wisdom and foresight and bring her hither. With her I will solicit this wicked-hearted (son of mine). If she can pacify this wicked wretch, of evil heart, we may yet be able to act according to the words of our friend Krishna. It may be that speaking words in recommendation of peace, she may yet succeed in pointing out the right path to this fool, afflicted by avarice and having wicked allies, If she can dispel this great and dreadful calamity (about to be) occasioned by Duryodhana, it will then conduce to the attainment and preservation of happiness and peace for ever and ever.' Hearing these words of the king, Vidura, at Dhritarashtra's command, brought (thither) Gandhari, possessed of great foresight. And Dhritarashtra then addressed Gandhari and said, 'Behold, O Gandhari, this thy son of wicked soul, transgressing all my commands, is about to sacrifice both sovereignty and life in consequence of his lust for sovereignty. Of wicked soul and little understanding, he hath, like one of uncultivated mind, left the court, with his sinful counsellors, disregarding his superiors and setting at naught the words of his well-wishers.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Hearing these words of her husband, that princess of great fame, Gandhari, desirous of what was highly beneficial, said these words, 'Bring hither, without loss of time, that kingdom-coveting, sick son of mine. He that is of uncultivated heart and sacrificeth both virtue and profit, doth not deserve to govern a kingdom. For all that, however, Duryodhana, who is destitute of humility hath, by every means, obtained a kingdom. Indeed, O Dhritarashtra, thou so fond of thy son, art very much to be blamed for this, for knowing well his sinfulness, thou followest yet his counsel. That son of thine, completely possessed by lust and wrath is now the slave of delusion, and is, therefore, incapable, O king,

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of being now forcibly turned back by thee. Thou art now reaping the fruit, O Dhritarashtra, of having made over the kingdom to an ignorant fool of wicked soul, possessed by avarice and having wicked counsellors. Why is the king indifferent (today) to that disunion, which is about to take place between persons related so closely? Indeed, beholding thee disunited with those that are thy own, thy enemies will laugh at thee. Who is there that would use force for getting over that calamity, O king, which can be overcome by conciliation and gift?'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Kshattri then, and at Dhritarashtra's command, and of his mother's also, once more caused vindictive Duryodhana to enter the court. Expectant of his mother's words, the prince re-entered the court, with eyes red as copper from wrath, and breathing heavily as a snake. And beholding her son, who was treading in a wrong path, enter the court, Gandhari rebuked him severely and said these words for bringing about peace.'

"Gandhari said, 'O Duryodhana, attend, O dear son, to these words of mine that are beneficial to thee as also to all thy followers,--words that thou art competent to obey and that will conduce to thy happiness. O Duryodhana, obey thou the words of thy well-wishers, those words, viz., which that best of the Bharatas--thy father--and Bhishma, and Drona, and Kripa, and Kshattri, have spoken. If thou makest peace, thou wouldst by that render homage to Bhishma, to thy father, to me, and to all thy well-wishers with Drona at their head. O thou of great wisdom, nobody, O best of the Bharatas, succeedeth by his own desire alone in acquiring and keeping or enjoying a kingdom. One that hath not his senses under control, cannot enjoy sovereignty for any length of time. He that hath his soul under control and is endued with great intelligence, can rule a kingdom. Lust and wrath wean away a man from his possessions and enjoyments. Conquering these foes first, a king bringeth the earth under his subjection. Sovereignty over men is a great thing. Those that are of wicked souls may easily desire to win a kingdom, but they are not competent to retain a kingdom (when won). He that desireth to obtain extensive empire must bind his senses to both profit and virtue, for if the senses are restrained, intelligence increaseth, like fire that increaseth when fed with fuel. If not controlled, these can even slay their possessor, like unbroken and furious horses, capable of killing an unskilful driver. One that seeketh to conquer his counsellors without conquering his own self, and to conquer foes without conquering his counsellors, is soon vanquished himself and is ruined. He who conquereth his own self first, taking it for a foe, will not seek in vain to conquer his counsellors and enemies afterwards. Prosperity worshippeth greatly that person who hath conquered his senses and his counsellors, who inflicteth punishments on transgressors, who acteth after deliberation, and who is possessed of wisdom. Lust and wrath that dwell in the body are deprived of their strength by wisdom, like a couple of fishes ensnared in a net with close holes. Those two in consequence of which the gods shut the gates of heaven against one, who freed from worldly propensities is desirous of going thither, are excited by lust and wrath. That king who knoweth well how to conquer lust and wrath and avarice and boastfulness and pride, can own the sovereignty of the whole earth. That king who is desirous of gaining wealth and virtue and vanquishing his enemies, should always be engaged in controlling his passions. Influenced by lust, or from wrath, he that behaveth deceitfully towards his own kinsmen or others, can never win many allies. Uniting thyself with those chastisers of foes--the heroic sons of Pandu--who are all endued with great wisdom, thou canst, O son, enjoy the earth in happiness. What Bhishma, the son of Santanu, and that mighty car-warrior, Drona, have told thee is, O son, quite true,--Krishna and Dhananjaya are invincible. Seek thou, therefore, the protection of this mighty-armed one, this one that is not worried by exertion, for if Kesava becometh gracious, both sides will be happy. That min, who is not obedient to the wishes of wise and learned friends, always seeking his prosperity, only gladdeneth his enemies. O son, there is no good in battle, no virtue, no profit. How can it bring happiness then? Even victory is not always certain. Do not set thy heart, therefore, on battle. O thou of great wisdom, Bhishma and thy father and Vahlika (formerly) gave unto the Pandavas their share (of the kingdom) from fear. O chastiser of foes, never think of disunion with them. Thou beholdest today the fruit of that (peaceful) cession in the fact of thy sovereignty over the whole earth, with all its thorns removed by those heroes. Give, O chastiser of foes, unto the son of Pandu what is their due. If thou wishest to enjoy, with the counsellors even half (the empire), let their share then be given unto them. Half the earth is sufficient to yield the means of support unto thee and thy counsellors. By acting according to the words of thy well-wishers, thou wilt, O Bharata, win great fame. A quarrel with the sons of Pandu who are all endued with prosperity, who have their souls under complete control, who are possessed of great intelligence and have conquered their passions, will only divest thee of thy great prosperity. Dispelling the wrath of all thy well-wishers, rule thou thy kingdom as becometh thee, giving, O bull of Bharata's race, unto the sons of Pandu the share that belongeth to them. O son, persecution of the sons of Pandu for full thirteen years hath been enough. Augmented by lust and wrath, quench (that fire) now, O thou of great wisdom. Thou that covetest the wealth of the Pandavas are not a match for them, nor this Suta's son, who is exceedingly wrathful, nor this thy brother Dussasana. Indeed, when Bhishma and Drona and Kripa and Karna and Bhimasena and Dhananjaya and Dhrishtadyumna will be enraged, the population of the earth will be exterminated. Under the influence of wrath, do not, O son, exterminate the Kurus. Let not the wide earth be destroyed for thy sake. Of little understanding as thou art, thou thinkest that Bhishma, and Drona, and Kripa, all others will fight (for thee) with all their might. That will never happen, for as regards these, that are endued with self-knowledge, their affection towards the Pandavas and yourselves is equal. If for the sake of the sustenance they have obtained from the king (Dhritarashtra), they consent to yield up their very lives, they will not yet be able to cast angry glances upon king Yudhishthira. It is never seen in this world that men acquire wealth by avarice. Give up thy avarice then, O son, and desist, O bull of Bharat's race.'"

SECTION 130

"Vaisampayana said, 'Disregarding these words of grave import, spoken by his mother, Duryodhana went away, in anger, from that place to the presence of wicked persons. And wending away from the court, the Kuru prince began to consult with Suvala's royal son, Sakuni, most clever in dice. And this was the resolution which Duryodhana and Karna and Suvala's son Sakuni, with Dussasana as their fourth, arrived at, 'This Janardana, quick in action, seeketh, with the king Dhritarashtra and Santanu's son, to seize us first. We, however, shall forcibly seize this tiger among men, Hrishikesa, first, like Indra forcibly seizing Virochana's son (Vali). Hearing that this one of Vrishni's race hath been seized, the Pandavas will lose their heart and become incapable of exertion, like snakes whose fangs have been broken. This mighty-armed one is, indeed, the refuge and protection of them all. If this grantor of wishes, this bull of all the Satwatas, be confined, the Pandavas with the Somakas will become depressed and incapable of any exertion. Therefore, disregarding Dhritarashtra's cries, we will seize even here this Kesava, who is quick in action, and then fight with the foe.' After those sinful men of wicked souls had come to this sinful resolution, highly intelligent Satyaki, capable of reading the heart by signs, soon came to know of it. And because of that knowledge, he soon issued out of the court, accompanied by Hridika's son (Kritavarman). And Satyaki addressed Kritavarman, saying, 'Array the troops soon. And accoutred in mail and with thy troops arrayed for battle, wait thou at the entrance of the court, till I represent this matter unto Krishna, unwearied by exertion.' Saying this, that hero re-entered the court, like a lion entering a mountain-cave. And he (first) informed the high-souled Kesava and then Dhritarashtra, and then Vidura of that conspiracy. And having informed them of that resolution, he laughingly said, 'These wicked men intended to commit an act here, that is disapproved by the good from consideration of virtue, profit, and desire. They will, however, never be able to actually achieve it. These fools of sinful souls assembled together, these wretches overwhelmed by lust, anger and yielding themselves up to wrath and covetousness, are about to perpetrate a highly unbecoming deed. Those wretches of little understanding and desirous of seizing the lotus-eyed, are like idiots and children desiring to seize a blazing fire by means of their garments.' Hearing these words of Satyaki, Vidura, endued with great foresight, said these words unto the mighty-armed Dhritarashtra in the midst of the Kurus, 'O king, O chastiser of foes, the hour of all thy sons is come, for they are endeavouring to perpetrate a highly infamous act, however incapable they may be of actually accomplishing it. Alas, united together they desire to vanquish this younger brother of Vasava, and seize this lotus-eyed one. Indeed, encountering this tiger among men, this invincible and irresistible one, they will all perish like insects in a blazing fire. If Janardana wisheth, he can send all of them, even if they fight in a body, unto the abode of Yama, like an enraged lion dispatching a herd of elephants. He will, however, never do any such sinful and censurable act. This best of persons, of unfading glory, will never deviate from virtue.' After Vidura had said these words, Kesava, casting his eyes on Dhritarashtra, said in the midst of those well-meaning persons, who listen to others' words, 'O king, if these (men) desire to chastise me by using violence, permit them to chastise me. O monarch, as regards my chastising them, for I dare chastise all of them together that are so excited with rage, I will not, however, perpetrate any sinful and censurable act. Coveting the possessions of the Pandavas, thy sons will lose their own. If they desire to perpetrate such a deed, Yudhishthira's object will then be (easily) accomplished, for, this very day, O Bharata, seizing these with all that follow them, I can make them over to the sons of Pritha. What is there that is difficult of attainment by me? I will not, however, O Bharata, commit in thy presence, O great monarch, any such censurable deed, that can proceed only from wrath and a sinful understanding. Let it be, O king, as this Duryodhana desireth. I give permission, O monarch, to all thy sons to do it.'

"Hearing these words (of Kesava), Dhritarashtra addressed Vidura saying, 'Quickly bring hither sinful Duryodhana, who is so covetous of sovereignty, with his friends, counsellors, brothers, and followers. I shall see if indeed, making one more effort I can bring him to the right path.

'Thus addressed by Dhritarashtra, Kshattri once more caused unwilling Duryodhana to enter the court with his brothers, and surrounded by the kings (that followed him). King Dhritarashtra then addressed Duryodhana, surrounded by Karna and Dussasana and all those kings, saying, 'O wretch of accumulated sins, having for thy allies men of despicable acts, infamous is the deed that thou, uniting with sinful friends, seekest to do. Of little understanding, thou, infamy of thy race, one like thee alone can seek to do an act so infamous and disapproved by the good, however impossible it may be of being actually achieved. Uniting with sinful allies, wishest thou to chastise this invincible and irresistible one of eyes like lotus-leaves? Like a child wishing to have the moon, seekest thou, O fool, to do what cannot be done by the very gods, headed by Vasava with all their strength? Knowest thou not, that Kesava is incapable of being withstood in battle by gods and men and Gandharvas and Asuras and Uragas? Like the wind which none can seize of being seized with his hands, like the moon which no hand can reach, like the Earth which none can support on his head, Kesava is incapable by force.'

"After Dhritarashtra had said these words, Vidura (casting) his eyes on Duryodhana, addressed that vindictive son of Dhritarashtra, saying, 'O Duryodhana, listen now to these words of mine. At the gates of Saubha, that foremost of monkeys, known by the name of Dwivida, covered Kesava with a mighty shower of stones. Desirous of seizing Madhava by putting forth all his prowess and exertion, he did not yet succeed in seizing him. Seekest thou to apprehend that Kesava by force? When Sauri went to Pragjyotisha, Naraka with all the Danavas succeeded not in seizing him there. Seekest thou to seize him by force? Slaying that Naraka in battle, he brought away (from his city) a thousand damsels and married them all, according to the ordinance. In the city of Nirmochana, six thousand mighty Asuras failed to seize him with their nooses. Seekest thou to seize that Kesava by force? While only a child, he slew Putana and two Asuras assuming the shape of birds, and O bull of Bharata's race, he held up the mountains of Govardhana (on his little finger) for protecting the kine (from a continuous rain). He hath also slain Aristha, and Dhenuka and Chanura of great strength, and Aswaraja, and Kansa, the doer of evil. He hath slain Jarasandha, and Vakra, and Sisupala of mighty energy, and Vana in battle, and numerous other kings also have been slain by him. Of immeasurable might, he vanquished king Varuna and also Pavaka (Agni), and on the occasion of bringing (down from the celestial regions) the (heavenly flower called) Parijata, he defeated the lord of Sachi himself. While floating on the vast deep, he slew Madhu and Kaitabha, and in another birth he slew Hayagriva (Horse-necked). He is the maker of everything but is himself made by none. He is the Cause of all power. Whatever Sauri wisheth, he accomplisheth without any effort. Knowest thou not sinless Govinda, of terrible prowess and incapable of deterioration? This one, resembling an angry snake of virulent poison, is the never-ending source of energy. In seeking to use violence towards Krishna, endued with mighty arms and unwearied by exertion, thou wilt, with all thy followers, perish like an insect failing into fire.'"

SECTION 131

"Vaisampayana said, 'After Vidura had said this, Kesava, that slayer of hostile divisions, endued with great energy, addressed Dhritarashtra's son, Duryodhana, and said, 'From delusion, O Suyodhana, thou regardest me to be alone, and it is for this, O thou of little understanding, that thou seekest to make me a captive after vanquishing me by violence. Here, however, are all the Pandavas and all the Vrishnis and Andhakas. Here are all the Adityas, the Rudras, and the Vasus, with all the great Rishis. Saying this Kesava, that slayer of hostile heroes burst out into a loud laughter. And as the high-souled Sauri laughed, from his body, that resembled a blazing fire, issued myriads of gods, each of lightning effulgence, and not bigger than the thumb. And on his forehead appeared Brahman, and on his breast Rudra. And on his arms appeared the regents of the world, and from his mouth issued Agni, the Adityas, the Sadhyas, the Vasus, the Aswins, the Marutas, with Indra, and the Viswedevas. And myriads of Yakshas, and the Gandharvas, and Rakshasas also, of the same measure and form, issued thence. And from his two arms issued Sankarshana and Dhananjaya. And Arjuna stood on his right, bow in hand, and Rama stood on his left, armed with the plough. And behind him stood Bhima, and Yudhishthira, and the two sons of Madri, and before him were all the Andhakas and the Vrishnis with Pradyumna and other chiefs bearing mighty weapons upraised. And on his diverse arms were seen

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the conch, the discus, the mace, the bow called Saranga, the plough, the javelin, the Nandaka, and every other weapon, all shining with effulgence, and upraised for striking. And from his eyes and nose and ears and every part of his body, issued fierce sparks of fire mixed with smoke. And from the pores of his body issued sparks of fire like unto the rays of the sun. And beholding that awful form of the high-souled Kesava, all the kings closed their eyes with affrighted hearts, except Drona, and Bhishma, and Vidura, endued with great intelligence, greatly blessed Sanjaya, and the Rishis, possessed of wealth of asceticism, for the divine Janardana gave unto them this divine sight on the occasion. And beholding in the (Kuru) court that highly wonderful sight, celestial drums beat (in the sky) and a floral shower fell (upon him). And the whole Earth trembled (at the time) and the oceans were agitated. And, O bull of the Bharata's race, all the denizens of the earth were filled with great wonder. Then that tiger among men, that chastiser of foes, withdrew that divine and highly wonderful, and extremely varied and auspicious form. And arm-in-arm with Satyaki on one side and Hridika's son (Kritavarman) on the other, and obtaining permission of the Rishis, the slayer of Madhu went out. And during the uproar that then took place, the Rishis, Narada and others vanquished, for repairing to their respective places. And this also was another wonderful incident that happened. And seeing that tiger among men leave the court, the Kauravas with all the kings followed him, like the gods following Indra. Sauri, however, of immeasurable soul, without bestowing a single thought on those that followed him, issued from the court, like a blazing fire mixed with smoke. And he beheld (at the gate his charioteer) Daruka waiting with his large white car, furnished with rows of tinkling bells, decked with golden ornaments, and endued with great speed, the clatter of whose wheels resounded like the rumbling of the clouds, and which was covered all over with white tiger-skins, and unto which were harnessed his steeds Saivya (and others). And there also appeared, mounted on his car, that favourite hero of Vrishnis, the mighty car-warrior Kritavarman, the son of Hridika. And that chastiser of foes, Sauri, who had his car ready, was about to depart, king Dhritarashtra addressed him once more and said, 'O grinder of foes, thou hast seen, O Janardana, the power I wield over my sons! Thou hast, indeed, witnessed all with thy own eyes. Nothing now is unknown to thee. Seeing me endeavour to bring about peace between the Kurus, and the Pandavas, in fact, knowing the state (in which I am), it behoveth thee not to entertain any suspicion regarding me. O Kesava, I have no sinful feelings towards the Pandavas. Thou knowest what words have been spoken by me to Suyodhana. The Kauravas and all the kings of the Earth, also know, O Madhava, that I have made every endeavour to bring about peace.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'The mighty-armed Janardana then addressed Dhritarashtra, Drona, grandsire Bhishma, Kshattri, Vahlika, and Kripa and said, 'Ye have yourselves witnessed all that hath happened in the assembly of the Kurus, viz., how wicked Duryodhana, like an uneducated wretch, left the court from anger, and how king Dhritarashtra also describeth himself to be powerless. With the permission of you all, I shall now go back to Yudhishthira.' Saluting them, that bull amongst men, Sauri then mounted his car and set out. And those heroic bulls amongst the Bharatas, those mighty bowmen, viz., Bhishma, Drona, and Kripa, and Kshattri, and Aswatthaman and Vikarna, and that mighty car-warrior Yuyutsu, all began to follow him. And Kesava, on his large white car, furnished with rows of tinkling bells, proceeded then, in the very sight of the Kurus, to the abode of his paternal aunt (Kunti).'"

SECTION 132

"Vaisampayana said, 'Entering her abode and worshipping her feet, Kesava represented to her briefly all that had transpired in the assembly of the Kurus. And Vasudeva said, 'Diverse words, worthy of being accepted and fraught with reasons, were said both by myself and the Rishis, but Duryodhana accepted them not. As regards Suyodhana and his followers, their hour is come. With thy leave now, I shall speedily repair unto the Pandavas. What should I say unto the Pandavas as thy instructions to them? Tell me that, O thou endued with great wisdom. I desire to hear thy words.'

"Kunti said, 'O Kesava, say unto king Yudhishthira of virtuous soul these words, 'Thy virtue, O son, is decreasing greatly. Do not act vainly. O king, like a reader of the Vedas incapable of catching their real meaning, and, therefore, truly unlearned. Thy understanding, affected by only the words of the Vedas, vieweth virtue alone. Cast thy eyes on the duties of thy own order, as ordained by the Self-create. For all ruthless deeds and for the protection of the people, from his (Brahmana's) arms was created the Kshatriya, who is to depend upon the prowess of his own arms. Listen, an instance is cited in this connexion, that hath been heard by me from the aged. In days of yore, Vaisravana, having been gratified, made a gift of this Earth to the royal sage Muchukunda. The latter without accepting the gift, said, 'I desire to enjoy that sovereignty which is won by prowess of arms.' At this, Vaisravana was highly delighted and filled with wonder. King Muchukunda then, fully observing the duties of the Kshatriya order ruled this earth, having conquered it by the prowess of his arms. Then again, a sixth part of the virtue, practised by subjects well-protected by the king, is obtained, 'O Bharata, by the king. The virtue again that the king himself practiseth conferreth godhead on him, while if he perpetrateth sin, he goeth to hell. The penal code properly applied by the ruler, maketh the four orders adhere to their respective duties, and leadeth to an acquisition (by the ruler himself) of virtue (profit, and salvation). When the king properly abideth by the penal code, without making any portion of it a dead letter, then that best of periods called the Krita Yuga setteth in. Let not this doubt be thine, viz., whether the era is the cause of the king, or the king the cause of the era, for (know this to be certain that) the king is the cause of the era. It is the king that createth the Krita, the Treta, or the Dwapara age. Indeed, it is the king that is the cause of also the fourth Yuga (viz., the Kali). That king who causeth the Krita age to set in, enjoyeth heaven exceedingly. That king who causeth the Treta age to set in, doth enjoy heaven but not exceedingly. For thus causing the Dwapara age to set in, a king enjoyeth heaven according to his due. The king, however, who causeth the Kali age to set in, earneth sin exceedingly. Thereupon, that king of wicked deeds resideth in hell for countless years. Indeed, the king's sins affect the world, and the world's sins affect him. Observe thou those kingly duties of thine that befit thy ancestry. That is not the conduct of a royal sage in which thou wishest to abide. Indeed, he that is stained by weakness of heart and adhereth to compassion, and is unsteady, never obtaineth the merit born of cherishing his subjects with love. That understanding according to which thou art now acting was never wished (to thee) by Pandu, or myself, or thy grandsire, while we uttered blessings on thee before; sacrifice, gift, merit, and bravery, subjects and children, greatness of soul, and might, and energy, these were always prayed by me for thee. Well-wishing Brahmanas duly worshipped and gratified the gods and the Pitris for your long life, wealth, and children, by adding Swaha and Swadha. The mother and the father, as also the gods always desire for their children liberality and gift and study and sacrifice and sway over subjects. Whether all this be righteous or unrighteous, you are to practise it, in consequence of your very birth. (Behold, O Krishna, so far from doing all this), though born in a high race, they are yet destitute of the very means of support, and are afflicted with misery. Hungry men, approaching a brave and bountiful monarch, are gratified, and live by his side. What virtue can be superior to this? A virtuous person, upon acquiring a kingdom, should in this world make all persons his own, attaching some by gift, some by force, and some by sweet words. A Brahmana should adopt mendicancy; a Kshatriya should protect (subjects); a Vaisya should earn wealth; and a Sudra should serve the other three. Mendicancy, therefore, is forbidden to thee. Nor is agriculture suited to thee. Thou art a Kshatriya and therefore, the protector of all in distress. Thou art to live by the prowess of thy arms. O thou of mighty arms, recover thy paternal share of the kingdom which thou hast lost, by conciliation, or by working disunion among thy foes, or by gift of money or violence, or well-directed policy. What can be a matter of greater grief than that I, deprived of friends, should live upon food supplied by others, after having brought thee forth, thou enhancer of the joys of friends? Fight, according to the practices of kings. Do not sink thy ancestors (in infamy). With thy merit worn out, do not, with thy younger brothers, obtain a sinful end.'"

SECTION 133

"Kunti said, 'In this connexion, O chastiser of foes, is cited an old story of the conversation between Vidula and her son. It behoveth thee to say unto Yudhishthira anything that can be gathered from this or anything more beneficial than that.

'There was a high-born dame of great foresight, named Vidula. She was famous, slightly wrathful, of crooked disposition, and devoted to Kshatriya virtues. Well-educated, she was known to all the kings of the earth. Of great learning, she had listened to the speeches and instructions of diverse mien. And the princess Vidula, one day, rebuked her own son, who, after his defeat by the king of the Sindhus, lay prostrate with heart depressed by despair. And she said, 'Thou art not my son, O enhancer of the joys of foes. Begotten thou hast not been by myself and thy father! Whence hast thou come? Without wrath as thou art, thou canst not be counted as a man. Thy features betray thee to be a eunuch. Sinkest thou in despair as long as thou livest? If thou art desirous of thy own welfare, bear thou the burthen (of thy affairs on thy shoulders), Do not disgrace thy soul. Do not suffer it to be gratified with a little. Set thy heart on thy welfare, and be not afraid. Abandon thy fears. Rise, O coward. Do not lie down thus, after thy defeat, delighting all thy foes and grieving the friends, and reft of all sense of honour. Little streams are filled up with only a quantity of water. The palms of a mouse are filled with only a small quantity. A coward is soon gratified, with acquisitions that are small. Rather perish in plucking the fangs of a snake than die miserable like a dog. Put forth thy prowess even at the risk of thy life. Like a hawk that fearlessly rangeth the sky, do thou also wander fearlessly or put forth thy prowess, or silently watch thy foes for an opportunity. Why dost thou lie down like a carcass or like one smitten by thunder? Rise, O coward, do not slumber after having been vanquished by the foe. Do not disappear from the sight of all so miserably. Make thyself known by thy deeds. Never occupy the intermediate, the low, or the lowest station. Blaze up (like a well-fed fire). Like a brand of Tinduka wood, blaze up even for a moment, but never smoulder from desire, like a flameless fire of paddy chaff. It is better to blaze up for a moment than smoke for ever and ever. Let no son be born in a royal race, who is either exceedingly fierce or exceedingly mild. Repairing to the field of battle and achieving every great feat that is possible for man to achieve, a brave man is freed from the debt he oweth to the duties of the Kshatriya order. Such a person never disgraceth his own self. Whether he gaineth his object or not, he that is possessed of sense never indulgeth in grief. On the other hand, such a person accomplisheth what should be next done, without caring for even his life. Therefore, O son, display thy prowess, or obtain that end which is inevitable. Why, Indeed, dost thou live, disregarding the duties of thy order? All thy religious rites, O eunuch, and all thy achievements are gone. The every root of all thy enjoyments is cut off. What for then dost thou live? If fall and sink one must, he should seize the foe by the hips (and thus fall with the foe). Even if one's roots are cut off, he should not yet give way to despair. Horse of high mettle put forth all their prowess for dragging or bearing heavy weights. Remembering their behaviour, muster, all thy strength and sense of honour. Know also in what thy manliness consists. Exert thyself in raising that race which hath sunk, in consequence of thee. He that hath not achieved a great feat forming the subject of men's conversation, only increaseth the number of population. He is neither man nor woman. He whose fame is not founded in respect of charity, asceticism, truth, learning and acquisition of wealth, is only his mother's excreta. On the other hand, he that surpasseth others in learning, asceticism, wealth, prowess, and deeds, is (truly) a man. It behoveth thee not to adopt the idle, wretched, infamous, and miserable profession of mendicancy that is worthy only of a coward. Friends never derive any happiness on obtaining that weak person for a friend, at whose sight foes are delighted, who is despised by men, who is without seats and robes, who is gratified with small acquisitions, who is destitute, and who hath no courage, and is low. Alas, exiled from our kingdom, driven from home, deprived of all means of enjoyment and pleasure, and destitute, of resources, we shall have to perish from want of the very means of life! Misbehaving in the midst of those that are good, and the destroyer of thy race and family, by bringing thee forth, O Sanjaya, I have brought forth Kali himself in the shape of a son. Oh, let no woman bring forth such a son (as thou) that art without wrath, without exertion, without energy, and that art the joy of foes. Do not smoulder. Blaze thou up, effectively displaying thy prowess. Slay thy foes. For but a moment, for ever so small a space of time, blaze thou up on the heads of thy enemies. He is a man who cherisheth wrath and forgiveth not. He, on the other hand, who is forgiving and without wrath, is neither a man nor woman. Contentment and softness of heart and these two, viz., want of exertion and fear, are destructive of prosperity. He that is without exertion never winneth what is great. Therefore, O son, free thyself, by thy own exertions, from these faults that lead to defeat and downfall. Steel thy heart and seek to recover thy own. A man is called Purusha because he is competent to trouble his foe (param). He, therefore, who liveth like a woman is misnamed Purusha (man). A brave king of mighty strength, and who moveth like a lion, may go the way of all creatures. The subjects, however, that reside in his dominions do not yet become unhappy. That king, who, disregarding his own happiness and pleasures, seeketh the prosperity of his kingdom, succeedeth soon in gladdening his counsellors and friends.'

"Hearing these words, the son said, 'If thou dost not behold me, of what use would the whole earth be to thee, of what use thy ornaments, of what use all the means of pleasure and even life itself?' The mother said, 'Let those regions be obtained by our foes which belong to those that are low. Let those again that are friends go to those regions which are obtainable by persons whose souls are held in respect. Do not adopt the course of life that is followed by those wretched persons, who, destitute of strength, and without servants and attendants (to do their bidding) live upon the food supplied by others. Like the creatures of the earth that depend on the clouds, or the gods depending on Indra, let the Brahmanas and thy friends all depend on thee for their sustenance. His life, O Sanjaya, is not vain on whom all creatures depend for their sustenance, like birds repairing to a tree abounding with ripe fruits. The life of that brave man is, indeed, praiseworthy, through whose prowess friends derive happiness, like the gods deriving happiness through the prowess of Sakra. That man who liveth in greatness depending on the prowess of his own arms,

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succeedeth in winning fame in this world and blessed state in the next!'"

SECTION 134

"Vidula said, 'If, having fallen into such a plight, thou wishest to give up manliness, thou shalt then have, in no time, to tread the path that is trod by those that are low and wretched. That Kshatriya, who, from desire of life, displayeth not his energy according to the best of his might and prowess, is regarded as a thief. Alas, like medicine to a dying man, these words that are fraught with grave import, and are proper and reasonable, do not make any impression on thee! It is true, the king of the Sindhus hath many followers. They are, however, all discounted. From weakness, and ignorance of proper means, they are waiting for the distress of their master (without being able to effect a deliverance for themselves by their own exertions). As regards others (his open enemies), they will come to thee with their auxiliaries if they behold thee put forth thy prowess. Uniting with them, seek refuge now in mountain fastness, waiting for that season when calamity will overtake the foe, as it must, for he is not free from disease and death. By name thou art Sanjaya (the victorious). I do not, however, behold any such indication in thee. Be true to thy name. Be my son. Oh, do not make thy name untrue. Beholding thee while a child, a Brahmana of great foresight and wisdom, said, 'This one falling into great distress will again win greatness.' Remembering his words, I hope for thy victory. It is for that, O son, I tell thee so, and shall tell thee again and again. That man who pursueth the fruition of his objects according to the ways of policy and for the success of whose objects other people strive cordially, is always sure to win success. Whether what I have is gained or lost, I will not desist, with such a resolve, O Sanjaya, O learned one, engage in war, without withdrawing thyself from it. Samvara hath said, 'There is no more miserable state than that in which one is anxious for his food from day to day.' A state such as his hath beer said to be more unhappy than the death of one's husband and sons. That which hath been called poverty is only a form of death. As regards myself, born in a high race, I have been transplanted from one take into another. Possessed of every auspicious thing, and worshipped by my husband, my power extended over all. Staying in the midst of friends, our friends formerly beheld me decked in costly garlands and ornaments, with body well-washed, attired in excellent robes, and myself always cheerful. When thou wilt behold both me and thy wife weakened (from want of food), thou wilt then, O Sanjaya, scarcely desire to live. Of what use will life be to thee when thou wilt behold all our servants engaged in attending on us, our preceptors and our ordinary and extraordinary priests, leaving us from want of sustenance? If, again, I do not now see in thee those laudable and famous achievements in which thou wert formerly engaged, what peace can my heart know? If I have to say--Nay--to a Brahmana, my heart will burst, for neither I nor my husband ever said--Nay--to a Brahmana before. We were the refuge of others, without ourselves having ever taken refuge with others. Having been such, if I have to support life by depending on another, I will surely cast off my life. Be thou our means of crossing the ocean that is difficult to cross. In the absence of boats, be thou our boat. Make for us a place where place there is none. Revive us that are dead. Thou art competent to encounter all foes if thou dost not cherish the desire of life. If, however, thou art for adopting this mode of life that is fit only for a eunuch, then with troubled soul and depressed heart it would be better for thee to sacrifice thy life. A brave man winneth fame by slaying even a single foe. By slaying Vritra, Indra became the great Indra and acquired the sovereignty of all the gods and the cup for drinking Soma, and the lordship of all the worlds. Proclaiming his name in battle, challenging his foes accoutred in steel, and grinding or slaying the foremost warriors of hostile ranks, when a hero winneth far-extending fame in fair fight, his enemies then are pained and bow down unto him. They that are cowards become helpless and contribute by their own conduct to bestow every object of desire on those that are skilled and brave and that fight reckless of their lives. Whether kingdoms be overtaken by mighty ruin, or whether life itself be endangered, they that are noble never desist till they exterminate the foes within their reach. Sovereignty is either the door of heaven or Amrita. Regarding it as one of these, and bearing it in mind that is now shut against thee, fall thou like a burning brand in the midst of thy foes. O king, slay thy foes in battle. Observe the duties of thy order. Let me not behold thee cheerless, O enhancer of the fears of thy foes. Let me not in dejection behold thee standing in misery, surrounded by our sorrowing selves and rejoicing foes. Rejoice, O son, and make thyself happy in the possession of wealth in the company of the daughters of the Sauviras and do not, in weakness of heart, be ruled over by the daughters of the Saindhavas. If a young man like thee, who is possessed of beauty of person, learning and high birth, and world-wide fame, acteth in such unbecoming a way, like a vicious bull in the matter of bearing its burthen, then that, I think, would be equal to death itself. What peace can my heart know if I behold thee uttering laudatory speeches in honour of others or walking (submissively) behind them? Oh, never was one born in this race that walked behind another. O son, it behoveth thee not to live as a dependant on another. I know what the eternal essence of Kshatriya virtues is as spoken of by the old and the older ones and by those coming late and later still. Eternal and unswerving, it hath been ordained by the Creator himself. He that hath, in this world, been born as a Kshatriya in any high race and hath acquired a knowledge of the duties of that order, will never from fear or the sake of sustenance, bow down to any body on earth. One should stand erect with courage and not bow down, for exertion is manliness. One should rather break in the joints than yield in this world here to any body. A high-souled Kshatriya should always roam like an infuriated elephant. He should, O Sanjaya, bow down unto Brahmanas only, for the sake of virtue. He should rule over all other orders, destroying all evil-doers. Possessed of allies, or destitute of them, he should be so as long as he liveth.'"

SECTION 135

"Kunti said, 'Hearing these words of his mother the son said, O ruthless and wrathful mother, O thou that thinkest highly of martial heroism, thy heart is surely made of steel beat into that shape. Fie on Kshatriya practices, in accordance with which thou urgest me to battle, as if I were a stranger to thee, and for the sake of which thou speakest to me--thy only son--such words as if thou wert not my mother. If thou beholdest me not, if thou art dissociated with me--thy son, of what use then would the whole earth be to thee, of what use all thy ornaments and all the means of enjoyment, indeed, of what use would life itself be to thee?'

"The mother said, 'All the acts of those that are wise, are (undertaken), O son, for the sake of virtue and profit. Eyeing these (virtue and profit) only, I urge thee, O Sanjaya, to battle. The fit hour hath come for exhibiting thy prowess. If at such a time thou dost not resort to action, then disrespected by the people thou wouldst do that which would be most disagreeable to me. If, O Sanjaya, thou art about to be stained with infamy and I do not (from affection) tell thee anything, then that affection, worthless and unreasonable, would be like that of the she-ass's for her young. Do not tread the path that is disapproved by the wise and adopted by the fool. Great is the ignorance here. Innumerable creatures of the world have taken refuge in it. If thou, however, adoptest the behaviour of the wise, thou wilt then be dear to me. Indeed, if thou hast recourse to virtue and profit, if with God above thou reliest upon human exertion, if thy conduct becometh like that of the good, then it is by this and not by any other means that thou wilt become dear to me. He that taketh delight in sons and grandsons that are well-instructed (enjoyeth a delight that is real). He, on the other hand, that taketh delight in a son who is destitute of exertion, refractory, and wicked minded, hath not the very object accomplished for which a son is desired. Those worst of men that never do what is proper and always do what is censurable, do not obtain happiness here or hereafter. A Kshatriya, O Sanjaya, hath been created for battle and victory. Whether he winneth or perisheth, he obtaineth the region of Indra. The happiness that a Kshatriya obtaineth by reducing his foes to subjection is such that the like of it doth not exist in heaven in the sacred region of Indra. Burning with wrath, a Kshatriya of great energy, if vanquished many times, should wait desiring to vanquish his foes. Without either casting away his own life or slaying his foes, how can he obtain peace of mind by any other course? He that is possessed of wisdom regardeth anything little as disagreeable. Unto that person to whom anything little becomes agreeable, that little (ultimately) becometh a source of pain. The man that hath not what is desirable soon becometh wretched. Indeed, he soon feeleth every want and is lost like the Ganga on entering the ocean.'

"The son said, 'Thou shouldst not, O mother, give expression to such views before thy son. Show him kindness now, staying by his side, like a silent and dumb being.'

"The mother said, 'Great is my gratification since thou sayest so. I who may be urged (by thee to what is my duty) am thus urged by thee. I shall, therefore, urge thee more (for doing what thou shouldst do). I will, indeed, honour thee then when I will behold thee, crowned with complete success after the slaughter of all the Saindhavas.'

"The son said, 'Without wealth, without allies, how can success and victory be mine? Conscious of this exceedingly miserable state of mine, I have myself abstained from desire of kingdom, like an evil-doer abstaining from desire of heaven. If, therefore, O thou of mature wisdom, thou seest any means (by which all this can be effected), speak fully of it to me as I ask thee, for I shall do all that thou mayst command me to do.'

"The mother said, 'Do not disgrace thy soul, O son, by anticipations of failure. Objects unattained have been attained; while those attained have been lost. The accomplishment of objects should never be sought with wrath and folly. In all acts, O son, the attainment of success is always uncertain. Knowing that success is uncertain, people still act, so that they sometimes succeed, and sometimes do not. They, however, who abstain from action, never obtain success. In the absence of exertion, there is but one result, viz., the absence of success. There are, however, two results in the case of exertion, viz., the acquisition of success or its non-acquisition. He, O prince, who hath settled beforehand that all acts are uncertain in respect of their results, maketh both success and prosperity unattainable by himself. This will be,--with such a belief should one, casting off all sloth, exert and wake up and address himself to every act. That wise king, who, O son, engageth in acts, having performed all auspicious rites and with the gods and the Brahmanas on his side, soon winneth success. Like the sun embracing the east, the goddess of prosperity embraceth him. I see thou hast shown thyself fit for the various suggestions and means and encouraging speeches thou hast had from me. Display (now) thy prowess. It behoveth thee to win, by every exertion, the object thou hast in view. Bring together to thy own side those that are angry (with thy foes), those that are covetous, those that have been weakened (by thy foes), those that are jealous (of thy foes), those that have been humiliated (by them), those that always challenge (them) from excess of pride, and all others of this class. By this means thou wilt be able to break the mighty host (of thy enemy) like an impetuous and fierce-rising tempest scattering the clouds. Give them (thy would be allies) wealth before it is due, seek their food, be up and doing, and speak sweetly unto them all. They will then do the good, and place thee at their head. When the enemy cometh to know that his foe hath become reckless of his life, then is he troubled on the latter's account, from a snake living in his chamber? If, knowing one to be powerful, one's enemy doth not strive to subjugate him, he should at least make one friendly by the application of the arts of conciliation, gift, and the like. Even that would be tantamount to subjugation. Obtaining a respite by means of the art of conciliation, one's wealth may increase. And if one's wealth increaseth, one is worshipped and sought as a refuge by one's friends. If, again, one is deprived of wealth, one is abandoned by friends and relatives, and more than that mistrusted and even despised by them. It is perfectly impossible for him to ever regain his kingdom, who, having united himself with his foe, liveth confidently.'"

SECTION 136

"The mother said, 'Into whatever calamity a king may fail, he should not still betray it. Beholding the king afflicted with fright, the whole kingdom, the army, the counsellors, all yield to fear, and all the subjects become disunited. Some go and embrace the side of the enemy; others simply abandon the king; and others again, that had before been humiliated, strive to strike. They, however, that are intimate friends wait by his side, and though desiring his welfare yet from inability to do anything wait helplessly, like a cow whose calf hath been tethered. As friends grieve for friends that are plunged into distress, so those well-wishers also grieve upon beholding their lord plunged into grief. Even thou hast many friends whom thou hadst worshipped before. Even thou hast many friends after thy heart, who feel for thy kingdom and who desire to take a state of thy calamities on themselves. Do not frighten those friends, and do not suffer them to abandon thee on beholding thee afflicted with fear. Desiring to test thy might, manliness, and understanding, and wishing also to encourage thee, I have said all this for enhancing thy energy. If thou understandest what I have said, and if all I have said appears proper and sufficient, then, O Sanjaya, muster thy patience and gird up thy lions for victory. We have a large number of treasure-houses unknown to thee. I alone know of their existence, and no other person. I will place all these at thy disposal. Thou hast also, O Sanjaya, more than one friend who sympathise with thee in thy joys and woes, and who, O hero, never retreat from the field of battle. O grinder of foes, allies such as these, always play the part of faithful counsellors to a person who seeketh his own welfare and desireth to acquire what is agreeable to himself.'

"Kunti continued, 'Hearing this speech of his mother fraught with excellent words, and sense, the despair that had overtaken Sanjaya's heart left instantly, although that prince was not gifted with great intelligence. And the son said, 'When I have thee that are so observant of my future welfare for my guide, I shall certainly either rescue my paternal kingdom that is sunk in water or perish in the attempt. During thy discourse I was almost a silent listener. Now and then only I interposed a word. It was, however, only with the view of drawing thee out, so that I might hear more on the subject. I have not been satiated with thy words, like a person not satiated with drinking amrita. Deriving support from any allies, behold, I gird up my loins for repressing my foes and obtaining victory.'

"Kunti continued, 'Pierced by the wordy arrows of his mother, the son roused himself like a steed of proud mettle and achieved all that his mother had pointed out. When a king is afflicted by foes and overcome with despair, his minister should make him hear this excellent history that enhanceth energy and inspireth might. Indeed, this history is called Jaya and should be listened to by every one desirous of

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victory. Indeed, having listened to it, one may soon subjugate the whole earth and grind his foes. This history causeth a woman to bring forth a heroic son, the woman quick with child that listeneth to it repeatedly, certainly giveth birth to a hero. The Kshatriya woman that listeneth to it bringeth forth a brave son of irresistible prowess, one that is foremost in learning, foremost in ascetic austerities, foremost in liberality, devoted to asceticism, blazing forth with Brahmic beauty, enumerable with the good, radiant with effulgence, endued with great might, blessed, a mighty car-warrior, possessed of great intelligence, irresistible (in battle), ever victorious, invincible, a chastiser of the wicked and a protector of all practisers of virtue.'"

SECTION 137

"Kunti said, 'Say unto Arjuna, these words, when thou wert brought forth in the lying-in room and when I was sitting in the hermitage surrounded by ladies, a celestial and delightful voice was heard in the sky, saying, 'O Kunti, this thy son will rival the deity of a thousand eyes. This one will vanquish in battle all the assembled Kurus. Aided by Bhima, he will conquer the whole Earth and his fame will touch the very heavens. With Vasudeva as his ally, he will slay the Kurus in battle and recover his lost paternal share in the kingdom. Endued with great prosperity, he will, with his brothers, perform three great sacrifices.' O thou of unfading glory, thou knowest how steady, in truth, is Vibhatsu, otherwise called Savyasachin, how irresistible he is. O thou of Dasarha's race, let it be as that (celestial) voice said. If, O thou of Vrishni's race, there is anything like righteousness, those words will be true, for then, Krishna, thou wilt thyself accomplish it all. I do not doubt what that voice said. I bow to righteousness which is superior to all. It is righteousness that supports all creatures. Thou shalt say these words unto Dhananjaya. Unto Vrikodara again, who is always ready for exertion, thou shalt say these words, 'The time hath come for that in view of which Kshatriya lady bringeth forth a son! They that are foremost among men never become cheerless when they have hostilities to wage--Thou knowest what the state of Bhima's mind is. That grinder of foes is never pacified until he exterminates his foes. Thou shalt, O Madhava, next say unto the auspicious Krishna of great fame, that daughter-in-law of the high-souled Pandu, who is conversant with the details of every virtue, these words, 'O thou that art highly blessed, O thou of noble parentage, O thou that art endued with great fame, that becoming behaviour which thou always showest towards my sons is, indeed, worthy of thee.' Thou must also say unto the sons of Madri who are always devoted to Kshatriya virtues, these words, 'Covet ye more than life itself, those enjoyments that are acquired by prowess. Objects won by prowess always please the heart of a person that liveth according to Kshatriya practices. Engaged as ye are in acquiring every kind of virtue, before your eyes the princess of Panchala was addressed in cruel and abusive epithets. Who is there that can forgive that insult? The deprivation of their kingdom grieved me not. Their defeat at dice grieved me not. But that noble and fair Draupadi, however, while weeping in the midst of the assembly, had to hear those cruel and insulting words is what grieveth me most. Alas, exceedingly beautiful Krishna, ever devoted to Kshatriya virtues, found no protector on that occasion, though she was wedded to such powerful protectors. O thou of mighty arms, say unto that tiger among men, Arjuna, that foremost of all wielders of weapons, that he should always tread in the path that may be pointed out by Draupadi. Thou knowest it very well, Kesava, that Bhima and Arjuna,--that pair of fierce and all-destroying Yamas, are capable of making the very gods go the way of all creatures. Is not this an insult to them that (their wife) Krishna was dragged into the assembly? O Kesava, recall to their remembrance all those cruel and harsh words that Dussasana said unto Bhima in the very presence of all the warriors of Kuru's race. Enquire (in my name) after the welfare of the Pandavas with their children and Krishna. Say unto them, O Janardana, that I am well. Go thou on thy auspicious way, and protect my sons!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Saluting and walking round her, the mighty-armed Krishna whose gait resembled the majestic gait of the lion, then issued out of Pritha's abode. And he then dismissed those chiefs among the Kurus with Bhishma at their head (who had followed him), and taking Karna upon his chariot, left (the Kuru city), accompanied by Satyaki. And after he of Dasarha's race had departed, the Kurus assembled together and began to talk of that highly wonderful and marvellous incident connected with him. And they said, 'Overcome with ignorance, the whole earth hath been entangled in the meshes of death!' And they also said, 'Through Duryodhana's folly, all this is doomed to destruction.'

'Having issued out of the (Kuru) city, that foremost of persons proceeded, deliberating with Karna for a long time. And that delighter of all the Yadavas then dismissed Karna and urged his steeds to greater speed. And driven by Daruka, those swift coursers endued with the speed of the tempest of the mind, went on as if drinking the skies. And quickly traversing a long way like fleet hawks, they reached Upaplavya very soon, bearing the wielder of Saranga.'"

SECTION 138

"Vaisampayana said, 'Hearing the words of Kunti, the mighty car-warriors, Bhishma and Drona, then spoke these words unto the disobedient Duryodhana, 'Hast thou, O tiger among men, heard the fierce words of grave import, excellent and consistent with virtue, that Kunti had spoken in the presence of Krishna? Her sons will act according to them, especially as they are approved by Vasudeva. O Kaurava, they will not assuredly desist, without their share of the kingdom (being given to them). Thou hast inflicted much pain on the sons of Pritha. And Draupadi also was afflicted by thee in the assembly. They were, however, bound then by the bounds of truth and it was for this that, they tolerated that treatment. Obtaining Arjuna now, who is skilled in every weapon, and Bhima of firm resolution, and Gandiva and the couple of (inexhaustible) quivers, and that car (of Arjuna) and that banner (bearing the device of the ape), and Nakula and Sahadeva, both endued with great might and energy, and Vasudeva also, as his allies, Yudhishthira will not forgive (thee). O mighty-armed one, thou hast witnessed with thy own eyes how intelligent Arjuna vanquished us all in battle before, in the city of Virata. Indeed, after this, that Ape-bannered (warrior) consumed in battle, taking up his fierce weapons, those Danavas of terrible deeds called the Nivatakavachas. On the occasion also of the tale of cattle, when captured by the Gandharvas, this Karna and all these thy counsellors and thyself accoutred in mail and on thy car, were all liberated from the grasp of the Gandharvas by that Arjuna. That is a sufficient proof. Therefore, O foremost of the Bharatas, with all thy brothers make peace with the sons of Pandu. Save this whole earth from the Destruction's jaws. Yudhishthira is thy elder brother, virtuous in behaviour, affectionate towards thee, sweet-speeched and learned. Abandoning thy sinful intentions, unite thyself with that tiger among men. If Pandu's son beholdeth thee divested of thy bow, and without the wrinkles of rage on thy brow, and cheerful, even that would be for the good of our race. Approaching with all thy counsellors embrace him fraternally. O repressor of foes, salute the king respectfully as before. And let Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, the elder brother of Bhima, hold from affection, thy saluting self with his arms. And let that foremost of smiters, Bhima, possessed of leonine shoulders and thighs round, and long, and mighty arms, embrace thee. And then let that son of Kunti, Dhananjaya, called also Partha, of eyes like lotus-petals, and curly hair and conch-like neck salute thee respectfully. Then let those tigers among men, the twin Aswins, unrivalled on earth for beauty, wait on thee with affection and reverence as on their preceptor. And let all the kings with him of Dasarha's race at their head, shed tears of joy. Abandoning thy pride, unite thyself with thy brothers. Rule thou the whole earth, with thy brothers. Let all the kings joyfully return to their respective homes, having embraced one another. There is no need of battle, O king of kings. Listen to the dissuasions of thy friends. In the battle that will ensue a great destruction of the Kshatriyas is certainly indicated. The stars are all hostile. The animals and birds have all assumed fearful aspects. Diverse portents, O hero, are visible, all indicating the slaughters of the Kshatriyas. All these portents, again, are particularly visible in our abodes. Blazing meteors are afflicting thy host. Our animals are all cheerless and seem, O king, to be crying. Vultures are wheeling around thy troops. Neither the city nor the palace looks as before. Jackals, setting forth ominous yells, are running about the four quarters which are ablaze with conflagrations. Obey thou the counsels of thy father and mother as also of ourselves who are thy well-wishers. War and peace, O thou of mighty arms, are within thy control. If, O grinder of foes, thou dost not act according to the words of thy friends, thou shalt have to repent upon beholding thy army afflicted with the arrows of Partha. Hearing in battle the terrible yells uttered by the mighty Bhima and the twang of Gandiva, thou wilt remember our these words. Indeed, if what we say appears unacceptable to thee, then it will be as we say.'"

SECTION 139

"Vaisampayana said, 'Thus addressed by them, Duryodhana, contracting the space between his eye-brows, became cheerless, and with face bent down began to cast oblique glances. And he said not a word in reply. Beholding him cheerless, those bulls among men, Bhishma and Drona, looking at each other, once more addressed him, and said (these words).'

"Bhishma said, 'What can be a matter of greater grief to us than that we shall have to light against that Yudhishthira who is devoted to the service of his superiors, destitute of envy, conversant with Brahma, and truthful in speech.'

"Drona said, 'My affection for Dhananjaya is greater than that which I bear for my son Aswatthaman. There is greater reverence also and humility (towards me) in that Ape-bannered hero (than in Aswatthaman). Alas, in observance of the Kshatriya duties, I shall have to light even against that Dhananjaya who is dearer to me than my son. Fie on the Kshatriya profession. That Vibhatsu who hath no other bowman in the world as his equal, hath, through my grace, acquired this superiority over all bowmen. He that hateth his friends, he that is of wicked disposition, he that denieth Godhead, he that is crooked and deceitful, never obtaineth the worship of the righteous, like an ignorant person present at a sacrifice. Though dissuaded from sin, a sinful man would still wish to commit sinful acts; while he that is righteous, though tempted by sin, would not yet abandon righteousness. Though thou hast conducted thyself with falsehood and deceit towards them, the Pandavas are still desirous of doing what is agreeable to thee. As regards thyself, O thou best of the Bharatas, all thy faults are calculated to bring about disasters on thee. Thou hast been addressed by the eldest of the Kurus, by me, by Vidura, and by Vasudeva. Thou dost not yet understand what is beneficial for thyself. I have a large force,--with this conviction thou desirest to pierce the Pandava host, abounding with heroes, like the current of the Ganga piercing the ocean abounding with sharks and alligators and makaras. Having obtained Yudhishthira's prosperity like the cast off robes or garlands of another, thou regardest it as thy own. If the son of Pritha and Pandu stayeth even in the woods with Draupadi, and surrounded by his armed brothers, who is there, even in the possession of a kingdom, that is competent to vanquish him? In the presence of even that Ailavila (Kuvera) under whose command all the Yakshas live as servants, Yudhishthira the Just, shone with splendour. Having proceeded to Kuvera's abode and having procured wealth therefrom, the Pandavas are now desirous of attacking thy swelling kingdom and winning sovereignty for themselves. (As regards us two), we have made gifts, poured libations on fire, studied (the scriptures), and gratified the Brahmanas by presents of wealth. The (allotted) periods of our life have also run out. Know that our work has been done. (As regards thyself however), giving up happiness, kingdom, friends, and wealth, great will be thy calamity if thou seekest war with the Pandavas. How canst thou vanquish the son of Pandu, when Draupadi who is truthful in speech and devoted to rigid vows and austerities, prayeth for his success? How wilt thou vanquish that son of Pandu who hath Janardana. for his counsellor, and who hath for a brother that Dhananjaya who is the foremost of wielders of weapons? How wilt thou vanquish that son of Pandu, of severe austerities, who hath for his allies so many Brahmanas, endued with intelligence and mastery over their senses? In accordance with what a prosperity-wishing friend should do when he sees his friends sinking in an ocean of distress, I again tell thee, there is no necessity for war. Make peace with those heroes for the sake of prosperity to the Kurus. Do not court defeat, with thy sons, counsellors, and the army!'"

SECTION 140

"Dhritarashtra said, 'O Sanjaya, in the midst of all the princes and the servants, the slayer of Madhu took Karna upon his car and went out (of our city). What did that slayer of hostile heroes, that one of immeasurable soul, say unto Radha's son? What conciliatory words did Govinda speak unto the Suta's son? Tell me, O Sanjaya, what those words were, mild or fierce, that Krishna, possessed of a voice deep as that of newly-risen clouds during the rainy season said unto Karna?'

"Sanjaya said, 'Listen to me, O Bharata, as I repeat in due order those words, both intimidating and mild, agreeable and consistent with virtue, true and beneficial, and pleasing to the heart, which the slayer of Madhu, of immeasurable soul, said unto Radha's son.'

"Vasudeva said, 'O son of Radha, thou hast worshipped many Brahmanas fully conversant with the Vedas. With concentrated attention and mind free from envy thou hast also (on many an occasion) enquired of them after truth. Thou knowest, therefore, O Karna, what the eternal saying of the Vedas are. Thou art also well-versed in all the subtle conclusions of the scriptures. It is said by those conversant with the scriptures that the two kinds of sons called Kanina and Sahoda that are born of a maiden, have him for their father who weddeth the maid. Thou, O Karna, hast been born in this way. Thou art, therefore, morally the son of Pandu. Come, be a king, according to the injunction of the scriptures. On the side of thy father, thou hast the sons of Pritha, on the side of thy mother, thou hast the Vrishnis, (for thy kinsmen). O bull among men, know that thou hast these two for thy own. Proceeding this very day with me hence, O sire, let the Pandavas know thee as a son of Kunti born before Yudhishthira. The brothers, the five Pandavas, the son of Draupadi, and the invincible son of Subhadra, will all embrace thy feet. All the kings and princes, again, that have been assembled for the Pandava-cause, and all the Andhakas and Vrishnis, will also embrace thy feet. Let queens and princesses bring golden and silver and earthen jars (full of water) and delicious herbs and all kinds of seeds and gems, and creepers, for thy installation. During the sixth period, Draupadi also will come to thee (as a wife). Let that best of Brahmanas, Dhaumya, of restrained soul, pour libations of

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clarified butter on the (sacred) fire, and let those Brahmanas regarding all the four Vedas as authoritative (and who are acting as priests unto the Pandavas), perform the ceremony of thy installation. Let the family priest of the Pandavas who is devoted to Vedic rites, and those bulls among men-those brothers, the five sons of Pandu,--and the five sons of Draupadi, and the Panchalas, and the Chedis, and myself also, install thee as the lord of the whole earth. Let Dharma's son Yudhishthira, of righteous soul and rigid vows, be thy heir presumptive, ruling the kingdom under thee. Holding the white chamara in his hand (for fanning thee), let Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, ride on the same car behind thee. After thy installation is over, let that other son of Kunti, the mighty Bhimasena, hold the white umbrella over thy head. Indeed, Arjuna then will drive thy car furnished with a hundred tinkling bells, its sides covered with tiger-skins, and with white steeds harnessed to it. Then Nakula and Sahadeva, and the five sons of Draupadi, and the Panchalas with that mighty car-warrior Sikhandin, will all proceed behind thee. I myself, with all the Andhakas and the Vrishnis, will walk behind thee. Indeed, all the Dasarhas and the Dasarnas, will, O king, be numbered with thy relatives. Enjoy the sovereignty of the earth, O thou of mighty arms, with thy brothers the Pandavas, with yapas and homas and auspicious rites of diverse kinds performed in thy honour. Let the Dravidas, with the Kuntalas, the Andhras, and the Talacharas, and the Shuchupas, and the Venupas, all walk before thee. Let chanters and panegyrists praise thee with innumerable laudatory hymns. Let the Pandavas proclaim,--Victory to Vasusena. Surrounded by the Pandavas, like the moon by the stars, rule thou the kingdom, O son of Kunti, and gladden Kunti herself. Let thy friends rejoice, and thy enemies grieve. Let there be, this day, a brotherly union between thee and thy brothers, the sons of Pandu."

SECTION 141

"Karna said, 'Without doubt, O Kesava, thou hast said these words from thy love, affection, and friendship for me, as also in consequence of thy desire of doing me good, O thou of Vrishni's race. I know all that thou hast said unto me. Morally, I am the son of Pandu, as also in consequence of the injunctions of the scriptures, as thou, O Krishna, thinkest. My mother, while a maiden, bore me in her womb, O Janardana, through her connexion with Surya. And at the command of Surya himself, she abandoned me as soon as I was born. Even thus, O Krishna, I came into the world. Morally, therefore, I am the son of Pandu. Kunti, however, abandoned me without thinking of my welfare. The Suta, Adhiratha, as soon as he beheld me, took me to his home, and from her affection for me, Radha's breasts were filled with milk that very day, and she, O Madhava, cleansed my urine and evacuations. How can one like us, conversant with duties and ever engaged in listening to scriptures deprive her of her Pinda? So also Adhiratha of the Suta class regardeth me as a son, and I too, from affection, always regard him as (my) father. O Madhava, that Adhiratha, O Janardana, from paternal affection caused all the rites of infancy to be performed on my person, according to the rules prescribed in the scriptures. It is that Adhiratha, again, who caused the name Vasusena to be bestowed upon me by the Brahmanas. When also I attained to youth, I married wives according to his selections. Through them have been born my sons and grandsons, O Janardana. My heart also, O Krishna, and all the bonds of affection and love, are fixed on them. From joy or fear. O Govinda. I cannot venture to destroy those bonds even for the sake of the whole earth or heaps of gold. In consequence also of my connexion with Duryodhana of Dhritarashtra's race, I have, O Krishna, enjoyed sovereignty for thirteen years, without a thorn on my side. I have performed many sacrifices, always however in connexion with persons of the Suta tribe. All my family rites and marriage rites have been performed with the Sutas. Obtaining me, O Krishna, Duryodhana hath, O thou of Vrishni's race, made this preparations for an armed encounter and provoked hostilities with the sons of Pandu. And it is for this, O Achyuta, that in the battle (that will ensue), I, O Krishna, have been chosen as the great antagonist of Arjuna to advance against him in a single combat. For the sake of death, or the ties of blood, or fear, or temptation, I cannot venture, O Janardana, to behave falsely towards the intelligent son of Dhritarashtra. If I do not now engage in a single combat with Arjuna, this will, O Hrishikesa, be inglorious for both myself and Partha. Without doubt, O slayer of Madhu, thou hast told me all this for doing me good. The Pandavas also, obedient as they are to thee, will, without doubt, do all that thou hast said. Thou must, however, conceal this our discourse for the present, O slayer of Madhu. Therein lies our benefit, I think, O delighter of all the Yadavas. If king Yudhishthira, of virtuous soul and well-controlled senses, cometh to know me as the firstborn son of Kunti, he will never accept the kingdom. If, again, O slayer of Madhu, this mighty and swelling empire becometh mine. I shall, O repressor of foes, certainly make it over to Duryodhana only. Let Yudhishthira of virtuous soul become king for ever. He that hath Hrishikesa for his guide, and Dhananjaya and that mighty car-warrior Bhima for his combatants, as also Nakula and Sahadeva, and the sons of Draupadi, is fit, O Madhava, to rule over the whole earth. Dhrishtadyumna, the prince of the Panchalas, that mighty car-warrior Satyaki, Uttamaujas, Yudhamanyu, the prince of Somakas who is devoted to truth, the ruler of the Chedis, Chekitana, the invincible Sikhandin, the Kekaya brothers, all of the hue of Indragopaka insects, Bhimasena's uncle Kuntibhoja of high soul and possessed of steeds endued with the colours of the rainbow, the mighty car-warrior Syenajit, Sanka the son of Virata, and thyself, O Janardana, like an ocean,--great is this assemblage, O Krishna, of Kshatriyas (that hath been made by Yudhishthira). This blazing kingdom, celebrated among all the kings of the earth, is already won (by Yudhishthira). O thou of Vrishni's race, a great sacrifice of arms is about to be celebrated by Dhritarashtra's son. Thou, O Janardana, wilt be the Upadrashtri of that sacrifice. The office of Adhyaryu also, O Krishna, in that sacrifice, will be thine. The ape-bannered Vibhatsu accoutred in mail will be the Hotri (his bow), Gandiva will be the sacrificial ladle, and the prowess of the warriors will be the clarified butter (that is to be consumed). The weapons called Aindra, Pasupata, Brahma, and Sthunakarna, applied by Arjuna, will, O Madhava, be the mantras (of that sacrifice). Resembling his father, or perhaps, excelling him in prowess, Subhadra's son (Abhimanyu) will be the chief Vedic hymn to be chanted. That destroyer of elephant ranks that utterer of fierce roars in battle, that tiger among men, the exceedingly mighty Bhima, will be Udgatri and Prastotri in this sacrifice. King Yudhishthira of virtuous Soul, ever engaged in Yapa and Homa, will himself be the Brahma of that sacrifice. The sounds of conchs, tabors, and drums, and the leonine roaring rising high in the welkin, will be the calls upon the invited to eat. The two sons of Madri, Nakula and Sahadeva, of great fame and prowess, will be the slayers of the sacrificial animals; rows of bright cars furnished with standards of variegated hue, will, O Govinda, be stakes (for tying the animals), O Janardana, in this sacrifice. Barbed arrows and Nalikas, and long shafts, and arrows with heads like calf's tooth, will play the part of spoons (wherewith to distribute the Soma juice) while Tomaras will be the vessels of Soma, and bows will be pavitras. The swords will be Kapalas, the heads (of slain warriors) the Purodasas and the blood of warriors the clarified butter. O Krishna, in this sacrifice. The lances and bright maces (of the warriors) will be pokers (for stirring the sacrificial fire) and the corner stakes (for keeping the fire-wood from falling down). The disciples of Drona and Kripa, the son of Saradwat, will be the Sadasyas (assisting priests). The arrows shot by the wielder of Gandiva and by (other) mighty car-warriors, and by Drona and Drona's son, will play the part of ladles for distributing the Soma. Satyaki will discharge the duties of the chief assistant of the Adhyaryu. Of this sacrifice, Dhritarashtra's son will be installed as the performer, while this vast army will be his wife. O thou of mighty arms, when the nocturnal rites of sacrifice will begin, the mighty Ghatotkacha will play the part of the slayer of (devoted) victims. The mighty Dhrishtadyumna, who sprang into life from the sacrificial fire, having for its mouth the rites celebrated with mantras, will, O Krishna, be the Dakshina of that sacrifice. For those harsh words, O Krishna, that I said before unto the sons of Pandu for the gratification of Dhritarashtra's son,--for that wicked conduct of mine,--I am consumed with repentance. When O Krishna, thou wilt behold me slain by Arjuna, then will the Punachiti of this sacrifice commence. When the (second) son of Pandu will drink the blood of the loudly roaring Dussasana, then will the Soma-drinking of this sacrifice have taken place! When the two princes of Panchala (Dhrishtadyumna and Sikhandin) will overthrow Drona and Bhishma, then, O Janardana, will this sacrifice be suspended for an interval. When mighty Bhimasena will slay Duryodhana, then, O Madhava, will this sacrifice of Dhritarashtra's son be concluded. When the wives of Dhritarashtra's sons and grandsons assembled together, deprived, O Kesava, of their husbands and sons and without protectors, will indulge in lamentations with Gandhari in their midst, on the field of battle haunted by dogs and vultures and other carnivorous birds, then, O Janardana, will the final bath of this sacrifice take place.

'I pray to thee, O bull of the Kshatriya race, let not the Kshatriyas, old in learning and old in years, perish miserably, O Janardana, for thy sake. Oh, let this swelling host of Kshatriyas perish by means of weapons on that most sacred of all spots in the three worlds, viz. Kurukshetra, O Kesava. O thou of eyes like lotus-leaves, accomplish on this spot what thou hast in thy mind, so that, O thou of Vrishni's race, the whole Kshatriya order may attain to heaven. As long, O Janardana, as the hills and the rivers will last, so long will the fame of these achievements last. The Brahmanas will recite this great war of the Bharatas. The fame, O thou of Vrishni's race, that they achieve in battles is the wealth that Kshatriyas own. O Kesava, bring Kunti's son (Arjuna) before me for battle, keeping for ever this our discourse a secret, O chastiser of foes.'"

SECTION 142

"Sanjaya said, 'Hearing these words of Karna, Kesava, that slayer of hostile heroes, spoke unto him these words smilingly, 'Do not the means of winning an empire recommend themselves to thee. O Karna? Wishest thou not to rule over the whole earth given by me to thee? The victory of the Pandavas, therefore, is very certain. There seems to be no doubt in this. The triumphal banner of Pandu's son, with the fierce ape on it, seems to be already set up. The divine artificer, Bhaumana, hath applied such celestial illusion (in its construction) that it standeth high, displayed like Indra's banner. Various celestial creatures of terrific shape, indicating victory, are seen on that standard. Extending for a yojana upwards and all around, that beautiful standard of Arjuna, resembling fire in radiance, is never, O Karna, when set up, obstructed by hills or trees. When thou wilt behold in battle Arjuna, on his car drawn by white steeds and driven by Krishna, applying Aindra, Agneya and Maruta weapons, and when thou wilt hear the twang of Gandiva piercing the welkin like the very thunder, then all signs of the Krita, the Treta, and the Dwapara ages will disappear (but, instead, Kali embodied will be present). When thou wilt behold in battle Kunti's son, invincible Yudhishthira, devoted to Yapa and Homa and resembling the very sun in brilliance, protecting his own mighty army and burning the army of his foes, then all signs of the Krita, the Treta, and the Dwapara ages will disappear. When thou wilt behold in battle the mighty Bhimasena dancing, after having quaffed the blood of Dussasana, like a fierce elephant with rent temples after having killed a mighty antagonist, then all signs of the Krita, the Treta, and the Dwapara ages will disappear. When thou wilt behold in battle Arjuna checking Drona and Santanu's son and Kripa and king Suyodhana, and Jayadratha of Sindhu's race, all rushing fiercely to the encounter, then all signs of the Krita, the Treta and the Dwapara ages will disappear. When thou wilt behold in battle the two mighty sons of Madri,--those heroic car-warriors, capable of breaking into pieces all hostile cars,--agitating, from the very moment when weapons will begin to clash, the army of Dhritarashtra's sons like a couple of infuriated elephants, then all signs of the Krita, the Treta and the Dwapara ages will disappear. Returning hence, O Karna, say unto Drona and Santanu's son and Kripa that the present month is a delightful one, and that food, drink, and fuel are abundant now. All plants and herbs are vigorous now, all trees full of fruits, and flies there are none. The roads are free from mire, and the waters are of agreeable taste. The weather is neither very hot nor very cold and is, therefore, highly pleasant. Seven days after, will be the day of the new moon. Let the battle commence then, for that day, it hath been said, is presided over by Indra. Say also unto all the kings that have come for battling that I will fully accomplish the desire cherished by them. Indeed, all the kings and princes that are obedient to the orders of Duryodhana, obtaining death by weapons, will attain to an excellent state.'"

SECTION 143

"Sanjaya said, 'Hearing these beneficial and auspicious words of Kesava, Karna worshipped Krishna, the slayer of Madhu, and said these words, 'Knowing (everything), why dost thou yet, O thou of mighty arms, seek to beguile me? The destruction of the whole earth that is at hand for its cause, Sakuni, and myself, and Dussasana, and king Duryodhana, the son of Dhritarashtra. Without doubt, O Krishna, a great and fierce battle is at hand between the Pandavas and the Kurus which will cover the earth with bloody mire. All the kings and princes following the lead of Duryodhana, consumed by the fire of weapons will proceed to the abode of Yama. Diverse frightful visions are seen, O slayer of Madhu, and many terrible portents, and fierce disturbances also. All these omens, making the hairs (of the spectators) stand on their ends, indicate, O thou of Vrishni's race, the defeat of Dhritarashtra's son and the victory of Yudhishthira. That fierce planet of great effulgence, Sanaischara (Saturn), is afflicting the constellation called Rohini, in order to afflict greatly the creatures of the earth. The planet Angaraka (Mars), wheeling, O slayer of Madhu, towards the constellation Jeshthya, approacheth towards Anuradhas, indicating a great slaughter of friends. Without doubt, O Krishna, a terrible calamity approacheth the Kurus when specially, O thou of Vrishni's race, the planet Mahapat afflicteth the constellation Chitra. The spot on the lunar disc hath changed its position; and Rahu also approacheth towards the sun. Meteors are falling from the sky with loud noise and trembling motion. The elephants are sending forth frightful cries, while the steeds, O Madhava, are shedding tears, without taking any delight in food and drink. They say, O thou of mighty arms, that on the appearance of these portents, a terrible calamity approacheth, productive of a great slaughter. O Kesava, amongst the steeds, elephants and soldiers, in all the divisions of Duryodhana's army, it is seen, O slayer of Madhu, that while small is the food these take, ample is the excreta they evacuate. The wise have said that this is an indication of defect. The elephants and steeds of the

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Pandavas, O Krishna, all seem to be cheerful, while all the animals wheel along their right. This also is an indication of their success. The same animal, O Kesava, pass by the left side of Duryodhana's army, while incorporeal voices are constantly heard (over their heads). All this is an indication of defeat. All auspicious birds, such as peacocks, swans, cranes, Chatakas, Jivajivas, and large flights of Vakas, follow the Pandavas, while vultures, Kankas, hawks, Rakshasas, wolves and bees, in flights and herds, follow the Kauravas. The drums in the army of Dhritarashtra's son yield no sounds, while those of the Pandavas yield sounds without being struck. The wells in the midst of Duryodhana's encampment send forth loud roars like those of huge bulls. All this is an indication of defeat. The gods are showering flesh and blood, O Madhava, on Duryodhana's soldiers. Vapoury edifices of great effulgence with high walls, deep trenches, and handsome porches, are suddenly appearing in the skies (over the Kuru encampment). A black circle surrounding the solar disc appears to the view. Both twilights at sunrise and sunset indicate great terrors. The jackals yell hideously. All this is an indication of defeat. Diverse birds, each having but one wing, one eye, and one leg, utter terrible cries. All this, O slayer of Madhu, indicates defeat. Fierce birds with black wings and red legs hover over the Kuru encampment at nightfall. All this is an indication of defeat. The soldiers of Duryodhana betray hatred for Brahmanas first, and then for their preceptors, and then for all their affectionate servants. The, eastern horizon of (Duryodhana's encampment) appeareth red; the southern of the hue of weapons; and western, O slayer of Madhu, of an earthy hue. All the quarters around Duryodhana's encampment seem, O Madhava, to be ablaze. In the appearance of all these portents, great is the danger that is indicated.

'I have in a vision, O Achyuta, beheld Yudhishthira ascending with his brothers a palace supported by a thousand columns. All of them appeared with white head-gears and in white robes. And all of them appeared to me to be seated on white seats. In the midst of the same vision, thou, O Janardana, wast beheld by me to be employed in enveloping the blood-dyed earth with weapons. Yudhishthira at the same time, of immeasurable energy, ascending upon a heap of bones, was gladly eating buttered payasa of a golden cup. I further beheld Yudhishthira to be employed in swallowing the earth handed over to him by thee. This indicates that he will verily rule the earth I beheld that tiger among men, Vrikodara, of fierce deeds, standing on the summit, mace in hand, and as if devouring this earth. This plainly indicates that he will slay all of us in fierce battle. It is known to me, O lord of the senses, that victory is there where righteousness is. I saw also Dhananjaya, the wielder of Gandiva, seated on the back of a white elephant, with thee, O lord of the senses, and blazing forth with great beauty. I have no doubt, O Krishna, that ye will slay in battle all the kings headed by Duryodhana. I saw Nakula and Sahadeva and that mighty car-warrior Satyaki, adorned with white bracelets, white cuirasses, white garlands, and white robes. This tiger among men were seated upon excellent vehicles borne on the shoulders of men. And I saw that umbrellas were held over the heads of all the three. Amongst the soldiers of Dhritarashtra's son, these three, O Janardana, were beheld by me decked with white head-gears. Know, O Kesava, that those three were Aswatthaman, Kripa, and Kritavarman of Satwata's race. All other kings, O Madhava, were seen by me to have blood-red head-ears. I saw also, O thou of mighty arms, that those mighty car-warriors Bhishma and Drona, ascending on a vehicle drawn by camels, and by myself, and Dhritarashtra's son, proceeded, O lord, to the quarter, O Janardana, ruled by Agastya. This indicates that we shall soon have to proceed to Yama's abode. I have no doubt that myself and the other kings, indeed, the entire assemblage of Kshatriyas shall have to enter into the Gandiva fire.'

"Krishna said, 'Indeed, the destruction of the earth is at hand when my words, O Karna, do not become acceptable to thy heart. O sire, when the destruction of all creatures approacheth, wrong assuming the semblance of right leaveth not the heart.'

"Karna said, 'If, O Krishna, we come out of this great battle that will be so destructive of heroic Kshatriyas, with life, then, O thou of mighty arms may we meet here again. Otherwise, O Krishna, we shall certainly meet in heaven. O sinless one, it seemeth to me now that there only it is possible for us to meet.'

"Sanjaya said, 'Having spoken these words, Karna closely pressed Madhava to his bosom. Dismissed by Kesava, he then descended from the car. And riding on his own car decked with gold, Radha's son greatly dejected, came back with us!'"

SECTION 144

"Vaisampayana said, 'Upon the failure of Krishna's solicitations (for peace), and after he had started for the Pandavas from the Kurus, Kshatri approached Pritha and said these words slowly in grief, 'O mother of living children, thou knowest that my inclination is always for peace, and although I cry myself hoarse, yet Suyodhana doth not accept my words. King Yudhishthira, having the Chedis, the Panchalas, and the Kekayas, Bhima and Arjuna, Krishna, Yuyudhana, and the twins for his allies, stayeth yet at Upaplavya, and from affection for kinsmen, looketh up to righteousness only, like a weak man, though he is possessed of great strength. King Dhritarashtra here, though old in years, doth not effect peace, and intoxicated with pride of children, treadeth a sinful path. In consequence of the wickedness of Jayadratha and Karna and Dussasana and Suvala's son, intestine dissensions will break out. They that behave unrighteously towards him that is righteous, verily that sin of theirs soon produceth its consequences. Who is there that will not be filled with sorrow at the sight of the Kurus persecuting righteousness in this way? When Kesava returneth without being able to bring about peace, the Pandavas will certainly address themselves for battle. Thereupon, the sin of the Kurus will lead to a destruction of heroes. Reflecting on all this, I do not get sleep by day or by night.'

"Hearing these words uttered by Vidura, who always wished her sons the accomplishment of their objects, Kunti began to sigh heavily, afflicted with grief, and began to think within herself, 'Fie to wealth, for the sake of which this great slaughter of kinsmen is about to take place. Indeed, in this war, they that are friends will sustain defeat. What can be a greater grief than this that the Pandavas, the Chedis, the Panchalas, and the Yadavas, assembled together, will fight with the Bharatas? Verily, I behold demerit in war. (On the other hand) if we do not fight, poverty and humiliation would be ours. As regards the person that is poor, even death is beneficial (to him). (On the other band) the extermination of one's kinsmen is not victory. As I reflect on this, my heart swelleth with sorrow. The grandsire (Bhishma), the son of Santanu, the preceptor (Drona), who is the foremost of warriors, and Karna, having embraced Duryodhana's side, enhance my fears. The preceptor Drona, it seemeth to me, will never fight willingly against his pupils. As regards the Grandsire, why will he not show some affection for the Pandavas? There is only this sinful Karna then, of deluded understanding and ever following the deluded lead of the wicked Duryodhana, that hateth the Pandavas. Obstinately pursuing that which injureth the Pandavas, this Karna is, again, very powerful. It is this which burneth me at present. Proceeding to gratify him. I will today disclose the truth and seek to draw his heart towards the Pandavas. Pleased with me, while I was living in the inner apartments of the palace of my father, Kuntibhoja, the holy Durvasa gave me a boon in the form of an invocation consisting of mantras. Long reflecting with a trembling heart on the strength or weakness of those mantras and the power also of the Brahmana's words, and in consequence also of my disposition as a woman, and my nature as a girl of unripe years, deliberating repeatedly and while guarded by a confidential nurse and surrounded by my waiting-maids, and thinking also of how not to incur any reproach, how to maintain the honour of my father, and how I myself might have an accession of good fortune without being guilty of any transgression, I, at last, remembered that Brahmana and bowed to him, and having obtained that mantras from excess of curiosity and from folly, I summoned, during my maidenhood, the god Surya. He, therefore, who was held in my womb during my maidenhood,--why should he not obey my words that are certainly acceptable and beneficial to his brothers? And reflecting in this strain, Kunti formed an excellent resolution. And having formed that resolution, she went to the sacred stream called after Bhagiratha. And having reached the banks of Ganga, Pritha heard the chanting of the Vedic hymns by her son, endued with great kindness and firmly devoted to truth. And as Karna stood with face directed to the east and arms upraised, then helpless Kunti, for the sake of her interest stayed behind him, waiting the completion of prayers. And the lady of Vrishni's race, that wife of Kuru's house, afflicted by the heat of the sun began to look like a faded garland of lotuses. And, at last, she stood in the shade afforded by the upper garments of Karna. And Karna, of regulated vows, said his prayers until his back became heated by the rays of the sun. Then turning behind, he behold Kunti and was filled with surprise. And saluting him in proper form and with joined palms that foremost of virtuous persons, endued with great energy and pride, viz., Vrisha, the son of Vikartana, bowed to her and said (the following words).'"

SECTION 145

"Karna said, 'I am Karna, son of Radha and Adhiratha. For what, O lady, hast thou come here? Tell me what I am to do for thee?'

"Kunti said, 'Thou art Kunti's son, and not Radha's. Nor is Adhiratha thy father. Thou, O Karna, art not born in the Suta order. Believe what I say. Thou wert brought forth by me while a maiden. I held thee first in my womb. O son, thou wert born in the palace of Kuntiraja. O Karna, that divine Surya who blazeth forth in light and maketh everything visible, O foremost of all wielders of weapons, begat thee upon me. O irresistible one, thou, O son, wert brought forth by me in my father's abode, decked with (natural) ear-rings and accoutred in a (natural) coat of mail, and blazing forth in beauty. That thou, without knowing thy brothers, shouldst, therefore, from ignorance, wait upon Dhritarashtra's son, is not proper. It is improper in thee especially, O son. The gratification of one's father and one's mother, who is the sole displayer of affection (for her child), hath, O son, in the matter of ascertaining the duties of men, been declared to be the highest of all duties. Acquired formerly by Arjuna, the prosperity of Yudhishthira hath, from avarice, been wrested by wicked persons. Snatching it back from Dhritarashtra's sons, do thou enjoy that prosperity. Let the Kurus behold today the union of Karna and Arjuna. Beholding thee and thy brother united together in bonds of brotherly love, let those wicked persons bow down unto ye. Let Karna and Arjuna be named in the same breath as Rama and Janardana. If you two are united together, what cannot be accomplished in the world? O Karna, surrounded by thy brothers, thou wilt, without doubt, blaze forth like Brahma Himself, surrounded by the gods on the platform of a great sacrifice. Endued with every virtue, thou art the first of all my relations. Let not the epithet Suta's son attach to thee. Thou art a Partha, endued with great energy.'"

SECTION 146

"Vaisampayana said (After Kunti had said this), Karna heard an affectionate voice issued out of the solar circle. Coming from a great distance, that voice was uttered by Surya himself with paternal affection. (And it said)--The words said by Pritha are true. O Karna, act according to the words of thy mother. O tiger among men, great good will result to thee if thou fully followest those words.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Though, thus addressed by his mother, and by also his father Surya himself, Karna's heart did not yet waver, for he was firmly devoted to truth. And he said, 'O Kshatriya lady, I cannot admit what thou hast said, viz., that obedience to thy commands constituteth (in my case) the highest of my duties. O mother, I was abandoned by thee as soon as I was born. This great injury, involving risk to life itself, that thou didst me, hath been destructive of my achievements and fame. If, indeed, I am a Kshatriya, I have, for thee, been deprived of all the rites of a Kshatriya. What enemy would have done me a greater injury? Without showing me mercy, when thou shouldst have shown it, and having kept me divested of all the rites (that are obligatory in consequence of the order of my birth), thou wouldst however, lay thy command on me today! Thou hadst never before sought my good as a mother should. Thou addressest me today, however, desiring to do good to thyself. Who is there that would not be afraid of Dhananjaya having Krishna with him (for the driver of his car)? If, therefore, I go today unto the Parthas, who is there that would not regard me as doing so from fright? Hitherto, nobody knew me to be their brother. If, giving out on the eve of battle that I am their brother, I go to the Pandavas, what would all the Kshatriyas say? Furnished with every object of desire, and worshipped by them with a view to make me happy, how can I render that friendship of Dhritarashtra's sons utterly futile? Having provoked hostilities with others, they always wait on me respectfully, and always bow down to me, as the Vasus bow down to Vasava. They think that aided by my might, they are capable of encountering the foe. How can I then frustrate that cherished hope of theirs? With me as their boat, they desire to cross the impassable ocean of battle. How can I then abandon them that are desirous of crossing that ocean which hath no other ferry? This is the time when all those have been supported by Dhritarashtra's sons should exert themselves for their masters. I shall certainly act for them, reckless of even my life. Those sinful men of unsteady heart, who, well-fed and well-furnished (with every necessary) by their masters, undo the benefit received by them when the time cometh for paying back, are thieves of their master's cakes, have neither this nor the other world for them. I will not speak deceitfully unto thee. For the sake of Dhritarashtra's son, I shall fight against thy sons to the best of my strength and might. I must not, however, abandon kindness and the conduct that becometh the good. Thy words, therefore, however beneficial cannot be obeyed by me now. This thy solicitation to me will not yet be fruitless. Except Arjuna, thy other sons, Yudhishthira, Bhima, and the twins, though capable of being withstood by me in tight and capable also of being slain, shall not yet be slain by me. It is with Arjuna alone, among all the combatants of Yudhishthira, that I will fight. Slaying Arjuna in battle, I shall achieve great merit, or slain by Savyasachin, I shall be covered with glory. O famous lady, the number of thy sons will never be less than five. Five it will always be,--either with me, or with Arjuna, and myself slain.'

"Hearing these words of Karna, Kunti who was trembling with grief, embraced her son who was unmoved in consequence of his fortitude, and said, 'Indeed, O Karna, even if what thou sayest seemeth to be possible, the Kauravas will certainly be exterminated. Destiny is all. Thou hast, however, O grinder of foes, granted to four of thy brothers the pledge of safety. Let that pledge be borne in thy remembrance at the time of shooting of weapons in battle.' And having told all

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this, Pritha also addressed Karna, saying, 'Blessed be thou, and let health be thine.' And Karna replied unto her, saying, 'Be it so!' And they then left the spot, wending in different directions.'"

SECTION 147

"Vaisampayana said, 'Coming back to Upaplavya from Hastinapura, that chastiser of foes, Kesava, represented unto the Pandavas all that had happened, and conferring with them for a long space of time, and holding repeated consultations, Sauri went to his own quarters for rest. And dismissing all the kings, with Virata and others at their heads, the five brothers--the Pandavas--when the sun had set, said their evening prayers. And with hearts ever fixed on Krishna they began to think of him. And, at last, bringing Krishna of Dasarha's race into their midst, they began to deliberate again about what they should do. And Yudhishthira said, 'O thou of eyes like lotus-petals, it behoveth thee to tell us all that thou saidst unto Dhritarashtra's son in the assembly (of the Kurus), having gone to Nagapura.' Vasudeva said, 'Having gone to Nagapura, I addressed Dhritarashtra's son in the assembly such words as were true, reasonable, and beneficial. That wicked minded fellow did not, however, accept them.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'When Duryodhana desired to tread along the wrong path, what did the aged Kuru grandsire say, O Hrishikesa, unto that vindictive prince? What also did the highly-blessed preceptor--the son of Bharadwaja, say? And what did his parents Dhritarashtra and Gandhari say? What did our junior father Kshattri, who is the foremost of all persons conversant with virtue, and who is always afflicted with sorrow on account of ourselves whom he regards as his sons, say unto Dhritarashtra's son? What also did all the kings who sat in that assembly say? O Janardana, say it all unto us, exactly as it happened. Thou hast already told us all the disagreeable words that the Kuru chiefs (Bhishma and Dhritarashtra) and others in that assembly of the Kurus said unto the wicked Duryodhana who is overwhelmed with lust and covetousness, and who regardeth himself wise. Those words, however, O Kesava, have flitted away from my memory. O Govinda, I desire to hear, O lord, all those words again. Act thou in such a way that the opportunity may not pass away. Thou, O Krishna, art our refuge, thou art our lord, thou art our guide!'

"Vasudeva said, 'Hear, O king, the words that were addressed to king Suyodhana in the midst of the assembly of the Kurus, and, O king of kings, bear them in thy mind. After my words were ended, Dhritarashtra's son laughed aloud. Highly incensed at this, Bhishma then said, 'Hear, O Duryodhana, what I say for (the preservation of) our race, and having heard it, O tiger among kings, do what is beneficial to thy own house. O sire, O king, my father Santanu, was widely known in the world. I was, at first, his only son. A desire sprung up in his heart as to how he might obtain a second son, for the wise say that an only son is no son,--Let not my race be extinct may my fame be spread. Even this was his desire. Knowing this to have been his desire, I procured Kali to become my mother, having myself made a promise highly difficult to observe, for the sake of my father as also for the sake of our race. How, in consequence of that promise I could not be king and have drawn up my vital seed, are, of course, well-known to thee. (I do not grieve for that). Observing that vow of mine, behold, I am living in happiness and joy. In her, O king, was born my younger brother, that mighty-armed and handsome supporter of Kuru's race, viz., Vichitravirya of virtuous soul. After my father's ascension to heaven, I installed Vichitravirya as a ruler of the kingdom, that was mine, while I placed myself under him as a servant of his. O king of kings, I then brought him suitable wives, having vanquished many assembled monarchs. Thou hast heard of it often. Sometime after, I was engaged in a single combat with the (great) Rama. From fear of Rama, my brother fled, the more so as his subject deserted him. During this period, he became very much attached to his wives and accordingly had an attack of phthisis. Upon his death, there was anarchy in the kingdom and the chief of the gods poured not a drop of rain (on the realm).' The subjects then, afflicted by fear of hunger, hastened to me and said, 'Thy subjects are on the point of being exterminated. Be thou our king for the sake of our good. Dispel this drought. Blessed be thou, O perpetuator of Santanu's race. Thy subjects are being greatly afflicted by severe and frightful maladies. Very few of them are still alive. It behoveth thee, O son of Ganga, to save them. Dispel these tortures. O hero, cherish thy subjects righteously. When thou art alive, let not the kingdom go to destruction.' Hearing these words of theirs uttered in a weeping voice, my heart was undisturbed. Remembering the behaviour of good, I desired to maintain my vow. Then, O king, the citizens, my auspicious mother Kali herself, our servants, the priests and the preceptors (of our house), and many Brahmanas of great learning, all afflicted with great woe, solicited me to occupy the throne.' And they said, 'When thou art alive, shall the kingdom, ruled by Pratipa (of old), go to ruin? O thou of magnanimous heart, be thou the king for our good.' Thus addressed by them, I joined my hands together and, myself filled with grief and greatly afflicted, I represented to them the vow I had made from filial respect. I repeatedly informed them that for the sake of our race, I had vowed to live with vital seed drawn up and foreswearing the throne. It was especially for my mother, again, that I did so. I, therefore, begged them not to put me to the yoke. I again joined my hands and conciliated my mother, saying, 'O mother, begot by Santanu and being a member of Kuru's race, I cannot falsify my promise.' I repeatedly told her this. And, O king, I said further, It is for thee especially, O mother, that I took this vow; I am verily thy servant and slave, O mother, thou that art distinguished for parental affection.' Having begged my mother and the people thus, I then solicited the great sage Vyasa for begetting children upon the wives of my brother. Indeed, O king, both myself and my mother gratified that Rishi. At last, O king, the Rishi granted our prayers in the matter of the children. And he begot three sons in all, O best of Bharata's race. Thy father was born blind, and in consequence of this congenital defect of a sense, he could not become king. The high-souled and celebrated Pandu became king. And when Pandu became king, his sons must obtain their paternal inheritance. O sire, do not quarrel, give them half the kingdom. When I am alive, what other man is competent to reign? Do not disregard my words. I only wish that there should be peace amongst you. O sire, O king, I make no distinction between thee and then (but love all of you equally). What I have said unto thee represents also the opinion of thy father, of Gandhari, and also of Vidura. The words of those that are old should always be listened to. Do not disregard these words of mine. Do not destroy all thou hast and the earth also.'"

SECTION 148

"Vasudeva said, 'After Bhishma had said these words, Drona, always competent to speak, then addressed Duryodhana in the midst of the (assembled) monarchs and said these words that are beneficial to thee. And he said, 'O sire, as Pratipa's son, Santanu, was devoted to the welfare of his race, and as Devavrata, otherwise called Bhishma was devoted to the welfare of his race, so was the royal Pandu, that king of the Kurus, who was firmly devoted to truth, who had his passions under control, who was virtuous, of excellent vows, and attentive to all duties. (Though king by right) that perpetuator of Kuru's race yet made over the sovereignty to his elder brother, Dhritarashtra, endued with great wisdom, and to his younger brother Kshattri (Vidura). And placing this Dhritarashtra of unfading glory on the throne, that royal son of Kuru's race went to the woods with his two wives. And that tiger among men, Vidura, with great humility, placing himself in subjection to Dhritarashtra, began to wait on him like a slave, fanning him with the branch of a tender palm. And all the subjects then, O sire, duly tendered their submission to king Dhritarashtra just as they had done to king Pandu himself. And having made over the kingdom to Dhritarashtra and Vidura, that conqueror of hostile cities, Pandu, wandered over the whole earth. Always devoted to truth, Vidura then took charge of the finances, gifts, superintendence of the servants (of the state), and the feeding of all, while that conqueror of hostile cities, Bhishma, of mighty energy, supervised the making of war and peace and the necessity of making or withholding gifts to kings. When king Dhritarashtra of great strength was on the throne, the high-souled Vidura was near him. Born in Dhritarashtra's race how dost thou venture to bring about a disunion in the family? Uniting with thy brothers (the Pandavas) enjoy all objects of enjoyment. O king, I do not say this to you from cowardice, nor for the sake of wealth. I am enjoying the wealth that Bhishma gave me, and not thou, O best of kings. I do not desire, O king, to have from thee my means of sustenance. Where Bhishma is, there Drona must be. Do what Bhishma hath told thee. O grinder of foes, give unto the sons of Pandu half the kingdom. O sire, I acted as their preceptor as much as thine. Indeed, even as Aswatthaman is to me, so is Arjuna of white steeds. What use is there of much declamation? Victory is there where righteousness is.'

"Vasudeva continued, 'After Drona, of immeasurable energy, had said this, the virtuous Vidura then, O king, who is devoted to truth, said these words, turning towards his uncle (Bhishma) and looking at his face. And Vidura said, 'O Devavrata, attend to the words I speak. This race of Kuru, when it became extinct, was revived by thee. It is for this that thou art indifferent to my lamentations now. In this our race, its stain is this Duryodhana, whose inclinations are followed by thee, although he is enslaved by avarice, and is wicked and ungrateful and deprived of his senses by lust. The Kurus will certainly bear consequence of the acts of that Duryodhana who transgresseth the command of his father, observant of virtue and profit. O great king, act thou so that the Kurus may not perish. Like a painter producing a picture, it was thou, O king, who hadst caused me and Dhritarashtra to spring into life. The Creator, having created creatures, destroys them again. Do not act like him. Seeing before thy very eyes this extinction of thy race, be not indifferent to it. If, however, thy understanding is gone in consequence of the universal slaughter that is at hand, go then to the woods, taking me and Dhritarashtra with thee. Otherwise, binding this very day wicked Duryodhana that hath deceit for his wisdom, rule this kingdom with the sons of Pandu guarding it around. Relent, O tiger among kings. A great slaughter of the Pandavas, the Kurus, and of other kings of immeasurable energy is before us.'

'Having said this, Vidura ceased, his heart overflowing with sorrow. And reflecting on the matter, he began to draw repeated sighs. Then the daughter of king Suvala, alarmed at the prospect of the destruction of a whole race, said, from wrath, these words fraught with virtue and profit, to cruel Duryodhana of wicked heart, in the presence of the assembled monarchs, 'Let all the kings present in this royal assembly and let the regenerate Rishis that form the other members of this conclave, listen (to me) as I proclaim the guilt of thy sinful self backed by all thy counsellors. The kingdom of the Kurus is enjoyable in due order of succession. Even this hath always been the custom of our race. Of sinful soul and exceedingly wicked in acts, thou seekest the destruction of the Kuru kingdom by thy unrighteousness. Wise Dhritarashtra is in possession of the kingdom, having Vidura of great foresight under him (as his adviser). Passing over these two, why, O Duryodhana, dost thou, from delusion, covet the sovereignty now? Even the high-souled king and Kshattri, when Bhishma is alive, should both be subordinate to him. Indeed, this foremost of men, this offspring of Ganga, the high-souled Bhishma, in consequence of his righteousness, doth not desire the sovereignty. It is for this reason that this invincible kingdom became Pandu's. His sons, therefore, are masters today and no other. The extensive kingdom, then by paternal right, belongeth to the Pandavas, and their sons and grandsons in due order. Observing the customs of our race and the rule with respect to our kingdom, we all fully accomplish that which this high-souled and wise chief of the Kurus, Devavrata, firmly adhering to truth, sayeth, 'Let this king (Dhritarashtra) and Vidura also, at the command of Bhishma of great vows, proclaim the same thing. Even that is an act that should be done by those that are well-wishers (of this race). Keeping virtue in front, let Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma, guided by king Dhritarashtra and urged by Santanu's son, rule for many long years this kingdom of the Kurus lawfully obtainable by him.'"

SECTION 149

"Vasudeva said, 'After Gandhari had said this, that ruler of men, Dhritarashtra, then said these words to Duryodhana in the midst of the (assembled) monarchs, 'O Duryodhana, listen, O son, to what I say, and blessed be thou; do that if thou hast any respect for thy father. The lord of creatures, Soma, was the original progenitor of the Kuru race. Sixth in descent from Soma, was Yayati, the son of Nahusha. Yayati had five best of royal sages as his sons. Amongst them, lord Yadu of mighty energy was the eldest-born. Younger to Yadu was Puru, who, as our progenitor, brought forth by Sarmistha the daughter of Vrishaparvan. Yadu, O best of the Bharatas, was born of Devayani and, therefore, O sire, was the daughter's son of Sukra, otherwise called Kavya, of immeasurable energy. Endued with great strength and prowess, that progenitor of the Yadavas, filled with pride and possessed of wicked understanding, humiliated all the Kshatriyas. Intoxicated with pride of strength, he obeyed not the injunctions of his father. Invincible in battle, he insulted his father and brother. On this earth girt on four sides by the sea, Yadu became all-powerful, and reducing all to subjection, he established himself in this city called after the elephant. His father Yayati, the son of Nahusha, enraged with him, cursed that son of his, and, O son of Gandhari, even expelled him from the kingdom. Angry Yayati also cursed those brothers of Yadu who were obedient to that eldest brother of theirs, who was so proud of his strength. And having cursed his these sons, that best of kings placed on his throne his youngest son Puru who was docile and obedient to him. Thus even the eldest son may be passed over and deprived of the kingdom, and younger sons may, in consequence of their respectful behaviour to the aged, obtain the kingdom. So also, conversant with every virtue there was my father's grandfather, king Pratipa, who was celebrated over the three worlds. Unto that lion among kings, who ruled his kingdom virtuously were born three sons of great fame and resembling three gods. Of them, Devapi was the eldest, Vahlika the next and Santanu of great intelligence, who, O sire, was my grandfather, was the youngest. Devapi, endued with great energy, was virtuous, truthful in speech, and ever engaged in waiting upon his father. But that best of kings had a skin-disease. Popular with both the citizens and the subjects of the provinces, respected by the good, and dearly loved by the young and the old, Devapi was liberal firmly adhering to truth, engaged in the good of all creatures, and obedient to the instructions of his father as also of the Brahmanas. He was dearly loved by his brother Vahlika as also the high-souled Santanu. Great, indeed, was the brotherly love that prevailed between him and his high-souled brothers. In course of time, the old and best of kings, Pratipa, caused all preparations to be made according to the scriptures

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for the installation of Devapi (on the throne). Indeed, the lord Pratipa caused every auspicious preparation. The installation of Devapi, however, was forbidden by the Brahmanas and all aged persons amongst the citizens and the inhabitants of the provinces. Hearing that the installation of his son was forbidden, the voice of the old king became choked with tears and he began to grieve for his son. Thus, though Devapi was liberal, virtuous, devoted to truth, and loved by the subjects, yet in consequence of his skin-disease, he was excluded from his inheritance. The gods do not approve of a king that is defective of a limb. Thinking of this, those bulls among Brahmanas forbade king Pratipa to install his eldest son. Devapi then, who was defective of one limb, beholding the king (his father) prevented (from installing him on the throne) and filled with sorrow on his account, retired into the woods. As regards Vahlika, abandoning his (paternal) kingdom he dwelt with his maternal uncle. Abandoning his father and brother, he obtained the highly wealthy kingdom of his maternal grandfather. With Vahlika's permission, O prince, Santanu of world-wide fame, on the death of his father (Pratipa), became king and ruled the kingdom. In this way also, O Bharata, though I am the eldest, yet being defective of a limb, I was excluded from the kingdom by intelligent Pandu, no doubt, after much reflection. And Pandu himself, though younger to me in age, obtained the kingdom and became king. At his death, O chastiser of foes, that kingdom must pass to his sons. When I could not obtain the kingdom, how canst thou covet it? Thou art not the son of a king, and, therefore, hast no right to this kingdom. Thou, however, desirest to appropriate the property of others. High-souled Yudhishthira is the son of a king. This kingdom is lawfully his. Of magnanimous soul, even he is the ruler and lord of this race of Kuru. He is devoted to truth, of clear perception, obedient to the counsels of friends, honest, loved by the subjects, kind to all well-wishers, master of his passions, and the chastiser of all that are not good. Forgiveness, renunciation, self-control, knowledge of the scriptures, mercy to all creatures, competence to rule according to the dictates of virtue, of all these attributes of royalty exist in Yudhishthira. Thou art not the son of a king, and art always sinfully inclined towards thy relatives. O wretch, how canst thou succeed in appropriating this kingdom that lawfully belongeth to others? Dispelling this delusion, give half the kingdom with (a share of the) animals and other possessions. Then, O king, mayest thou hope to live for some time with thy younger brothers.'"

SECTION 150

"Vasudeva said, 'Though thus addressed by Bhishma, and Drona, and Vidura, and Gandhari, and Dhritarashtra, that wicked wight could not yet be brought to his senses. On the other hand, the wicked Duryodhana, disregarding them all, rose (and left the assembly) with eyes red in anger. And all the kings (invited by him), prepared to lay down their lives, followed him behind. King Duryodhana then repeatedly ordered those wicked-hearted rulers, saying, 'Today constellation Pushya is ascendant--march ye (this very day) to Kurukshetra. Impelled by Fate, those monarchs then, with their soldiers, gladly set out, making Bhishma their generalissimo. Eleven Akshauhinis of troops have been, O King, assembled for the Kauravas. At the head of that host, shineth Bhishma, with the device of the palmyra on the banner of his car. In view, therefore, of What hath happened, do now, O monarch, that which seemeth to be proper. I have told thee, O king, everything that, O Bharata, that was said by Bhishma, Drona, Vidura, Gandhari and Dhritarashtra, in my presence. The arts beginning with conciliation were all, O king, employed by me from desire of establishing brotherly feelings (between yourselves and your cousins), for the preservation of this race, and for the growth and prosperity of the (earth's) population. When conciliation failed, I employed the art of (producing) dissensions and mentioned, ye Pandavas, all your ordinary and extraordinary feats. Indeed, when Suyodhana showed no respect for the conciliatory words, (I spoke), I caused all the kings to be assembled together and endeavoured to produce dissension (amongst them). Extraordinary and awful and terrible and superhuman indications, O, Bharata, were then manifested by me. O lord, rebuking all the kings, making a straw of Suyodhana, terrifying Radha's son and repeatedly censuring Suvala's son for the gambling match of Dhritarashtra's sons, and once again endeavouring to disunite all the kings by means of both words and intrigues, I again had recourse to conciliation. For the unity of Kuru's race and in view of the special requirements of the business (at hand), I spoke also of gift. Indeed, I said, 'Those heroes, the sons of Pandu, sacrificing their pride, will live in dependence on Dhritarashtra, Bhishma and Vidura. Let the kingdom be given to thee. Let them have no power. Let: it all be as the king (Dhritarashtra), as Ganga's son (Bhishma) and as Vidura say for thy good. Let the kingdom be thine. Relinquish but five villages (to the Pandavas). O best of kings, without doubt they deserve to be supported by thy father. Though addressed thus, that wicked soul do not still give you your share. I, therefore, see that chastisement, and nothing else, is now the means that should be employed against those sinful persons. Indeed, all those kings have already marched to, Kurukshetra. I have now told thee everything that had happened in the assembly of the Kurus. They will not, O son of Pandu, give thee thy kingdom without battle. With death waiting before them, they have all become the cause of a universal destruction.'"

SECTION 151

"Vaisampayana said, 'Hearing these words of Janardana, king Yudhishthira the Just, of virtuous soul, addressed his brothers in the presence of Kesava and said, 'Ye have heard all that had happened in the court of the assembled Kurus. Ye have also understood the words uttered by Kesava. Ye, best of men, draw up, therefore, my troops now in battle-array in which they are to fight. Here are seven Akshauhinis of troops assembled for our victory. Hear the names of those seven celebrated warriors that would lead those seven Akshauhinis. They are Drupada, and Virata, and Dhristadyumna, and Sikhandin, and Satyaki, Chekitana, and Bhimasena of great energy. Those heroes will be the leaders of my troops. All of them are conversant with the Vedas. Endued with great bravery, all of them have practised excellent vows. Possessed of modesty, all of them are conversant with policy, and accomplished in war. Well-skilled in arrows and weapons, all of them are competent in the use of every kind of weapon. Tell us now, O Sahadeva, O son of Kuru's race, who that warrior, is conversant with all kinds of battle-array, that may become the leader of these seven and may also withstand in battle Bhishma who is like unto a fire having arrows for its flames. Give us thy own opinion, O tiger among men, as who is fit to be our generalissimo.'

"Sahadeva said, 'Closely related to us, sympathising with us in our distress, endued with great might, conversant with every virtue, skilled in weapons, and irresistible in battle, the mighty king of the Matsyas, Virata, relying upon whom we hope to recover our share of the kingdom, will be able to bear in battle both Bhishma and all those mighty car-warriors.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'After Sahadeva had said this, eloquent Nakula then said these words, 'He that in years, in knowledge of scriptures, in perseverance, in family and birth, is respectable; he that is endued with modesty, strength, and prosperity; he that is well-versed in all branches of learning; he that studied the science of weapons (with the sage Bharadwaja); he, who is irresistible and firmly devoted to truth; he that always challenges Drona and mighty Bhishma; he that belongs to one of the foremost of royal houses; he that is a famous leader of hosts; he that resembles a tree of hundred branches in consequence of sons and grandsons that surround him; that king, who, with his wife, performed, moved by wrath, the austerest of penances for the destruction of Drona; that hero, who is an ornament of assemblies; that bull among monarchs who always cherishes us like a father; that father-in-law of ours, Drupada, should be our generalissimo. It is my opinion that he will be able to withstand both Drona and Bhishma rushing to battle, for that king is the friend of Angira's descendant Drona and is conversant with celestial weapons.'

'After the two sons of Madri had thus expressed their individual opinions, Vasava's son, Savyasachin, who was equal to Vasava himself, said these words, 'This celestial person of the hue of fire and endued with mighty arms, who sprang into life through the power of ascetic penances and the gratification of sages; who issued from the sacrificial fire-hole armed with bow and sword, accoutred in armour of steel, mounted on a car unto which were yoked excellent steeds of the best breed, and the clatter of whose car-wheels was as deep as the roar of mighty masses of clouds; this hero endued with that energy and strength and resembling the very lion in his frame of body and prowess, and possessed of leonine shoulders, arms, chest, and voice like the lion's roar; this hero of great effulgence; this warrior of handsome brows, fine teeth, round cheeks, long arms, of stout make, excellent thighs, large expansive eyes, excellent legs, and strong frame; this prince who is incapable of being penetrated by weapons of any kind, and who looks like an elephant with rent temples; this Dhrishtadyumna, truthful in speech, and with passions under control, was born for the destruction of Drona. It is this Dhrishtadyumna, I think, that will be able to bear Bhishma's arrows which strike with the vehemence of the thunderbolt and look like snakes with blazing mouths, which resemble the messengers of Yama in speed, and fall like flames of fire (consuming everything they touch), and which were borne before by Rama alone in battle. I do not, O king, see the man except Dhrishtadyumna, who is able to withstand Bhishma of great vows. This is just what I think. Endued with great lightness of hand and conversant with all the modes of warfare, accoutred in coat of mail that is incapable of being penetrated by weapons, this handsome hero, resembling the leader of a herd of elephants, is according to my opinion, fit to be our generalissimo.'

"Bhima then said, 'That son of Drupada, Sikhandin, who is born for the destruction of Bhishma, as is said, 'O king, by the sages and Siddhas assembled together, whose form on the field of battle, while displaying celestial weapons, will be seen by men to resemble that of the illustrious Rama himself, I see not, O king, the person who is able to pierce with weapons that Sikhandin, when he is stationed for battle on his car, accoutred in mail. Except the heroic Sikhandin, there is no other warrior who is able to slay Bhishma in single combat. It is for this, O king, that I think Sikhandin is fit to be our generalissimo.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'O sire, the strength and weakness, might and feebleness, of everything in the universe, and the intentions of every person here, are well-known to virtuous Kesava. Skilled or unskilled in weapons, old or young, let him be the leader of my forces, who may be indicated by Krishna of Dasarha's race. Even he is the root of our success or defeat. In him are our lives, our kingdom, our prosperity and adversity, our happiness and misery. Even he is the Ordainer and Creator. In him is established the fruition of our desires. Let him, therefore, be the leader of our host, who may be named by Krishna. Let that foremost of speakers say, for the night approacheth. Having selected our leader, worshipped our weapons with offerings of flowers and perfumes, we will, at day-break, under Krishna's orders march to the field of battle!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words of the intelligent king, Yudhishthira the Just, the lotus-eyed Krishna said, eyeing Dhananjaya, the white, O king, I fully approve of all those powerful warriors whom ye have named for becoming the leaders of thy troops. All of them are competent to withstand thy foes. Indeed, they can frighten Indra himself in great battle, let alone the covetous and wicked-minded sons of Dhritarashtra. O thou of mighty arms, for thy good I made great efforts to prevent the battle by bringing about peace. By that we have been freed from the debt we owed to virtue. Fault-finding persons will not be able to reproach us for anything. Foolish Duryodhana, destitute of understanding, regardeth himself as skilled in weapons, and though really weak thinketh himself to be possessed of strength. Array thy troops soon, for slaughter is the only means by which they can be made to yield to our demands. Indeed, the sons of Dhritarashtra will never be able to keep their ground when they will behold Dhananjaya with Yuyudhana as his second, and Abhimanyu, and the five sons of Draupadi, and Virata, and Drupada, and the other kings of fierce prowess,--all lords of Akshauhinis. Our army is possessed of great strength, and is invincible and incapable of being withstood. Without doubt, it will slay the Dhartarashtra host. As regards our leader, I would name that chastiser of foes, Dhrishtadyumna.'"

SECTION 152

"Vaisampayana said, 'When Krishna had said this, all the monarchs there were filled with joy. And the shout sent forth by those delighted kings was tremendous. And the troops began to move about with great speed, saying, 'Draw up, Draw up.' And the neighing of steeds and roars of elephants and the clatter of car-wheels and the blare of conchs and the sound of drums, heard everywhere, produced a tremendous din. And teeming with cars and foot-soldiers and steeds and elephants, that invincible host of the marching Pandavas moving hither and thither, donning their coats of mail, and uttering their war-cries, looked like the impetuous current of the Ganga when at its full, agitated with fierce eddies and waves. And in the van of that host marched Bhimasena, and the two sons of Madri encased in their coats of mail, and Subhadra's son and the five sons of Draupadi and Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's race. And the Prabhadrakas and the Panchalas marched behind Bhimasena. And the din made by the marching hosts, filled with joy, was like unto the roars of the deep when the tide is highest on the day of the new moon. Indeed, the tumult was such that it seemed to reach the very heavens. And capable of breaking hostile ranks, those warriors cased in armour marched thus, filled with joy. And Kunti's son, king Yudhishthira, amongst them marched, taking with him the cars and other vehicles for transport, the food-stores and fodder, the tents, carriages, and draught-cattle, the cash-chests, the machines and weapons, the surgeons and physicians, the invalids, and all the emaciated and weak soldiers, and all the attendants and camp-followers. And truthful Draupadi, the princess of Panchala, accompanied by the ladies of the household, and surrounded by servants and maids, remained at Upaplavya. And causing their treasure and ladies to be guarded by bodies of soldiers, some of whom were placed as permanent lines of circumvallation and some ordered to move about at a distance from this line, the Pandavas set out with their mighty host. And having made presents of kine and gold to the Brahmanas, who walked around them and uttered blessings, the sons of Pandu commenced the march on their cars decked with jewels. And the princes of Kekaya, and Dhrishtaketu, and the son of the king of the Kasis, and Srenimat, and Vasudana, and the invincible Sikhandin, all hale and hearty, cased in armour and armed with weapons and decked with ornaments, marched behind Yudhishthira, keeping him in their centre. And in the rear, were Virata, Yajnasena's son of the Somaka race (Dhrishtadyumna), Susarman, Kuntibhoja,

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Dhrishtadyumna's sons, forty thousand cars, five times as much cavalry, infantry ten times more numerous (than the last), and sixty thousand elephants. And Anadhrishti, and Chekitana and Dhrishtaketu and Satyaki all marched, surrounding Vasudeva and Dhananjaya. And reaching the field of Kurukshetra with their forces in battle-array, those smiters, the sons of Pandu, looked like roaring bulls. And entering the field, those chastisers of foes blew their conchs. And Vasudeva and Dhananjaya also blew their conchs. And hearing the blare of the conch called Panchajanya, which resembled the roll of the thunder, all the warriors (of the Pandava army) were filled with joy. And the leonine roars of those warriors, endued with lightness of hand and speed of motion, mingling with the blare of conchs and beat of Drums, made the whole earth, the welkin, and the oceans resound therewith.'"

SECTION 153

"Vaisampayana said, 'King Yudhishthira then caused his troops to encamp on a part of the field that was level, cool, and abounding with grass and fuel. Avoiding cemeteries, temples and compounds consecrated to the deities, asylums of sages, shrines, and other sacred plots. Kunti's high-souled son, Yudhishthira, pitched his camp on a delightful, fertile, open and sacred part of the plain. And rising up, again, after his animals had been given sufficient rest, the king set out joyously surrounded by hundreds and thousands of monarchs. And Kesava accompanied by Partha began to move about, scattering numerous soldiers of Dhritarashtra (kept as outposts). And Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's race and that mighty car-warrior of great energy, viz., Yuyudhana, otherwise called Satyaki, measured the ground for the encampment. And arrived, O Bharata, at the holy Hiranwati which flows through Kurukshetra, which was filled with sacred water, and whose bed was divested of pointed pebbles and mire, and which was regarded as an excellent tirtha, Kesava caused a moat to be excavated there, and for its protection stationed a sufficient number of troops with proper instructions. And the rules that were observed in respect of the tents of the high-souled Pandavas, were followed by Kesava in the matter of the tents he caused to be set up for the kings (that came as their allies). And, O monarch, costly tents, incapable of being attacked, apart from one another, were, by hundreds and thousands, set up for those kings on the surface of the earth, that looked like palatial residences and abounded with fuels and edibles and drinks. And there were assembled hundreds upon hundreds of skilled mechanics, in receipt of regular wages and surgeons and physicians, well-versed in their own science, and furnished with every ingredient they might need. And king Yudhishthira caused to be placed in every pavilion large quantities, high as hills, of bow-strings and bows and coats of mail and weapons, honey and clarified butter, pounded lac, water, fodder of cattle, chaff and coals, heavy machines, long shafts, lances, battleaxes, bow-staffs, breast-plates, scimitars and quivers. And innumerable elephants cased in plates of steel with prickles thereon, huge as hills, and capable of fighting with hundreds and thousands, were seen there. And learning that the Pandavas had encamped on that field, their allies, O Bharata, with their forces and animals, began to march thither. And many kings who had practised Brahmacharya vows, drunk (consecrated) Soma and had made large presents to Brahmanas at sacrifices, came there for the success of the sons of Pandu.'"

SECTION 154

"Janamejaya said, 'Hearing that Yudhishthira had, with his troops marched from the desire of battle and encamped on Kurukshetra, protected by Vasudeva, and aided by Virata and Drupada with their sons, and surrounded by the Kekayas, the Vrishnis, and other kings by hundreds, and watched over by numerous mighty car-warriors, like the great Indra himself by the Adityas, what measures were concerted by king Duryodhana? O high-souled one, I desire to hear in detail all that happened in Kurujangala on that frightful occasion. The son of Pandu, with Vasudeva and Virata and Drupada and Dhrishtadyumna, the Panchala prince and that mighty car-warrior Sikhandin and powerful Yudhamanyu, incapable of being resisted by the very gods, might trouble the deities themselves in battle with Indra at their head. I, therefore, desire to hear in detail, O thou that art possessed of wealth of asceticism, all the acts of the Kurus and the Pandavas as they had happened.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'When he of Dasarha's race had departed (from the Kuru court), king Duryodhana, addressing Karna and Dussasana and Sakuni, said these words, 'Kesava hath gone to the sons of Pritha, without having been able to achieve his object. Filled with wrath as he is, he will surely stimulate the Pandavas. A battle between myself and Pandavas is much desired by Vasudeva. Bhimasena and Arjuna are ever of the same mind with him. Yudhishthira, again, is very much under the influence of Bhimasena. Before this, Yudhishthira with all his brothers was persecuted by me. Virata and Drupada whom I had waged hostilities with, obedient to Vasudeva, both of them have become the leaders of Yudhishthira's host. The battle, therefore, that will take place, will be a fierce and terrific one. Casting off all sloth, cause every preparation to be made for the encounter. Let the kings (my allies) pitch their tents by hundreds and thousands on Kurukshetra, all of which must be spacious, incapable of being approached by enemies, near enough to places abounding with water and fuel, in such positions that the communications thereto for sending supplies may not be stopped at any time by the foe,--full of weapons of diverse kinds, and decked with streamers and flags. Let the road from our city to the camp be made level for their march. Let it be proclaimed this very day, without loss of time, that our march will commence tomorrow.' (Hearing these words of the king), they said, 'So be it,'--and when the morrow came, those high-souled persons did everything they had been commanded to do for the accommodation of the monarchs. And all those monarchs (meanwhile), hearing the king's command, rose up from their costly seats, with wrath having the foe for its objects. And they began to slowly rub their mace-like arms, blazing with bracelets of gold, and decked with the paste of sandal and other fragrant substances. And they also commenced, with those lotus-like hands of theirs, to wear their head-gears and lower and upper garments and diverse kinds of ornaments. And many foremost of car-warriors began to superintend the furnishing of their cars, and persons conversant with horse-lore began to harness their steeds, while those versed in matters relating to elephants began to equip those huge animals. And all those warriors began to wear diverse kinds of beautiful armour made of gold, and arm themselves with diverse weapons. And the foot-soldiers began to take up various kinds of arms and case their bodies in various kinds of armour decorated with gold. And, O Bharata. the city of Duryodhana then, filled as it was with rejoicing millions, wore the bright aspect of a festive occasion. And, O king, the Kuru capital at the prospect of battle looked like the ocean on the appearance of the moon, with the vast crowds of humanity representing its waters with their eddies; the cars, elephants, and horses representing its fishes; the tumult of conchs and drums, its roar; the treasure-chests, its jewels and gems; the diverse kinds of ornaments and armour its waves; the bright weapons its white foam; the rows of houses the mountains on its beach; and the roads and shops, like lakes!'"

SECTION 155

"Vaisampayana said, 'Recollecting the words spoken by Vasudeva, Yudhishthira once more addressed that scion of Vrishni's race, saying, 'How, O Kesava, could wicked Duryodhana say it? O thou of unfading glory, what should we do in view of the occasion that hath come? By acting in what way may we keep on the track of our duty? Thou, O Vasudeva, art acquainted with the views of Duryodhana, Karna, and Sakuni, the son of Suvala. Thou knowest also what views are entertained by myself and my brothers. Thou hast heard the words uttered by both Vidura and Bhishma. O thou of great wisdom, thou hast also heard in their entirety the words of wisdom spoken by Kunti. Overlooking all these, tell us, O thou of mighty arms, after reflection, and without hesitation, what is for our good.'

"Hearing these words of king Yudhishthira the Just, that were fraught with virtue and profit. Krishna replied, in a voice deep as that of the clouds or cymbals, saying, 'Responding to his advantage and consistent with both virtue and profit, those words that were uttered by me in the Kuru court found no response in the Kuru prince Duryodhana with whom deceit supplieth the place of wisdom. That wretch of wicked understanding listeneth not in the least to the counsels of Bhishma or Vidura or mine. He transgresseth everybody. He wisheth not to earn virtue, nor doth he wish for fame. That wicked-souled wight, relying upon Karna, regardeth everything as already won. Indeed, Suyodhana of wicked heart and sinful in his resolves, even ordered my incarceration but he did not, however, obtain the fruition of that wish. Neither Bhishma nor Drona said anything on that subject. Indeed, all of them follow Duryodhana, except Vidura, O thou of unfading glory, Sakuni, the son of Suvala, and Karna, and Dussasana, all equally foolish, gave foolish and vindictive Duryodhana much improper advice regarding thee. Indeed, what use is there in my repeating to thee all that the Kuru prince hath said? In brief, that wicked-souled wight beareth no good will towards thee. Not even in all these kings together, that form thy army, is that measure of sinfulness and wickedness which resideth in Duryodhana alone. As regards ourselves, we do not desire to make peace with the Kauravas by abandoning our property. War, therefore, is that which should now take place.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words uttered by Vasudeva, all the kings (there present), O Bharata, without saying anything, looked at Yudhishthira's face. And Yudhishthira, understanding the intention of those monarchs, said, with Bhima and Arjuna and the twins, 'Draw up the troops in battle array.' And the word of command having been passed, a great uproar rose amongst the Pandava army and all the soldiers were filled with joy. King Yudhishthira the Just, however, beholding the (impending) slaughter of those that deserved not to be slain, began to sigh deeply, and addressing Bhimasena and Vijaya, said, 'That for the sake of which I accepted an exile into the woods and for which I suffered so much misery, that great calamity overtaketh us of a set purpose. That for which we strove so much leaveth us as if on account of our very striving. On the other hand, a great distress overtaketh us, although we did nothing to invite it. How shall we fight with those reverend superiors (of ours) whom we on no account can slay? What kind of victory shall we achieve by slaying our preceptors of venerable age?'

"Hearing these words of king Yudhishthira the Just, Savyasachin repeated to his elder brother all those words that Vasudeva had said. And addressing Yudhishthira, Arjuna continued, 'Thou hast, O king, certainly understood all the words spoken by Kunti and Vidura, that were repeated to thee by Devaki's son. I know it for certain that neither Vidura nor Kunti would say anything that is sinful. Besides this, O son of Kunti, we cannot withdraw without engaging in battle.'

"Hearing this speech of Savyasachin, Vasudeva also said unto Partha, 'It is even so (as thou hast said). The sons of Pandu then, O great king, made up their minds for war, and passed that night with their soldiers in great happiness.'"

SECTION 156

"Vaisampayana said, 'After that night had passed away, king Duryodhana, O Bharata, distributed (in proper order) his eleven Akshauhinis of troops. And arranging his men, elephants, cars, and steeds, into three classes, viz., superior, middling, and inferior, the king distributed them amongst his divisions (by placing them in the van, centre, and rear of the ranks). And furnished with timber and planks for repairing the damages their cars might sustain in the press of battle, with large quivers borne on cars, with tiger-skins and other stiff leather for enveloping the sides of cars, with barbed javelins to be hurled by the hand, with quivers borne on the backs of steeds and elephants, with long-handled spears of iron and missiles, with quivers borne on the backs of foot-soldiers with heavy clubs of woods, with flagstaffs and banners, with long heavy shafts shot from bows, with diverse kinds of nooses and lassoes, with armour of various kinds, with short-pointed clubs of wood, with oil, treacle, and sand, with earthen pots filled with poisonous snakes, with pulverised lac and other inflammable matter, with short spears furnished with tinkling bells, with diverse weapons of iron, and machines, for hurling hot treacle, water, and stones, with whistling clubs of hard wood, with wax and heavy mallets, with clubs of wood having iron spikes, with plough-poles and poisoned darts, with long syringes for pouring warm treacle and planks of cane, with battle-axes and forked lances with spiked gauntlets, with axes and pointed iron-spikes, with cars having their sides covered with skins of tigers, and leopards, with sharp-edged circular planks of wood, with horns, with javelins and various other weapons of attack, with axes of the kuthara species, and spades, with cloths steeped in oil, and with clarified butter, the divisions of Duryodhana, glittering with robes embroidered with gold and decked with various kinds of jewels and gems and consisting of warriors endued with handsome persons, blazed forth like fire. And cased in coats of mail and well-skilled in weapons, accomplished in horse-lore, brave persons of good birth were employed as car-drivers. And all the cars were furnished with various drugs, and with horses having rows of bells and pearls on their heads, and with banners and flagstaffs, and with ornaments gracing their steeples and turrets and with shields, swords, and lances, and javelins and spiked maces. And unto each of those cars were yoked four steeds of the best breed. And upon each of them were kept a hundred bows. And each car had one driver in charge of the couple of steeds in front, and two drivers in charge of the couple of steeds attached to the wheels on the two sides. And both of the last-mentioned drivers were skilled car-warriors, while the car-warrior himself was also skilled in driving steeds. And thousands of cars thus furnished and decked with gold, and protected like fortified town and incapable of being conquered by foes, were stationed on all sides. And the elephants also were furnished with rows of bells and pearls and decked with diverse ornaments. And on the back of each of those animals, mounted seven warriors. And in consequence of such accoutrements those animals looked like hills graced with jewels. And amongst the seven, two were armed with hooks, two were excellent bowmen, two were first-rate swords-men, and one, O king, was armed with a lance and trident. And, O king, the army of the illustrious Kuru king, teemed with innumerable infuriate elephants, bearing on their backs loads of weapons and quivers filled with arrows. And there were also thousands of steeds ridden by brave soldiers accoutred in mail, decked in ornaments, and furnished with flags. And numbering in hundreds and thousands, all those steeds were free from the habit of scratching the ground with their forehoofs. And they were all well-trained, and decked with ornaments of gold, and exceedingly obedient to their riders. And of foot-soldiers, there were hundreds of thousands

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of diverse mien, accoutred in armours of diverse kinds and armed also with weapons of diverse species, and decked with golden ornaments. And unto each car, were assigned ten elephants, and unto each elephant ten horses, and unto each horse ten foot-soldiers, as protectors. Again, a large body of troops was kept as a reserve for rallying the ranks that would be broken. And this reserve consisted of cars, unto each of which were attached fifty elephants; and unto each elephant were attached a hundred horses; and unto each horse were attached seven foot-soldiers. Five hundred cars, as many elephants (fifteen hundred horses, and two thousand five hundred foot-soldiers) constitute a Sena. Ten Senas constitute a Pritana; and ten Pritanas, a Vahini. In common parlance, however, the words Sena, Vahini, Pritana, Dhwajini, Chamu, Akshauhini, and Varuthini are used in the same sense.

'It was thus that the intelligent Kaurava arrayed his force. Between the two sides, the total number was eighteen Akshauhinis. Of this, the Pandava force consisted of seven Akshauhinis, while the Kaurava force consisted of ten Akshauhinis and one more. Five times fifty men constitute a Patti. Three Pattis make a Senamukha or Gulma. Three Gulmas make a Gana. In Duryodhana's army, there were thousands and hundred of such Ganas consisting of warriors capable of smiting (the foe) and longing for battle. And the mighty-armed king Duryodhana, selecting from among them brave and intelligent warriors, made them the leaders of his troops. And placing an Akshauhini of troops under each of those best of men, viz., Kripa, Drona, Salya, Jayadratha, the king of the Sindhus, Sudakshina the ruler of the Kamvojas, Kritavarman, Drona's son (Aswatthaman), Karna, Bhurisravas, Sakuni, the son of Suvala, and the mighty Vahlika, the king used to bring them daily before him and at all hours, and speak to them. And he repeatedly offered them worship before his very eyes. And thus appointed, all warriors, with all their followers, became desirous of doing what was most agreeable to the king.'"

SECTION 157

"Vaisampayana said, Dhritarashtra's son, accompanied by all the kings, then addressed Bhishma, son of Santanu, and with joined hands said these words, 'Without a commander, even a mighty army is routed in battle like a swarm of ants. The intelligence of two persons can never agree. Different commanders, again, are jealous of one another as regards their prowess. O thou of great wisdom, it is heard (by us) that (once on a time) the Brahmanas, raising a standard of Kusa grass, encountered in battle the Kshatriyas of the Haihaya clan endued with immeasurable energy. O grandsire, the Vaisyas and the Sudras followed the Brahmanas, so that all the three orders were on one side, while those bulls among the Kshatriyas were alone on the other. In the battles, however, that ensued, the three orders repeatedly broke, while the Kshatriyas, though alone, vanquished large army that was opposed to them. Then those best of Brahmanas enquired of the Kshatriyas themselves (as to the cause of this). O grandsire, those that were virtuous among the Kshatriyas returned the true answer to the enquirers, saying, 'In battle we obey the orders of one person endued with great intelligence, while ye are disunited from one another and act according to your individual understanding.' The Brahmanas then appointed one amongst themselves as their commander, who was brave and conversant with the ways of policy. And they then succeeded in vanquishing the Kshatriyas. Thus people always conquer their foes in battle who appoint a skilled, brave, and sinless commander, observing the good of the forces under him. As regards thee, thou art equal to Usanas himself, and always seekest my good. Incapable of being slain, thou art, again devoted to virtue. Be thou, therefore, our commander. Like the sun among all luminaries, like the moon unto all delicious herbs, like Kuvera among the Yakshas, like Vasava among the gods, like Meru among mountains, Suparna among the birds, Kumara among the gods, Havyavaha among Vasus, thou art amongst ourselves. Like the gods protected by Sakra, ourselves, protected by thee, will assuredly become invincible by the very gods. Like Agni's son (Kumara) at the head of the gods, march thou at our head, and let us follow thee like calves following the lead of a mighty bull.'

"Bhishma said, 'O mighty-armed one, it is even so, 'O Bharata, as thou sayest. But the Pandavas are as dear to me as ye yourselves. Therefore, O king, I should certainly seek their good as well, although I shall certainly fight for thee, having given thee a pledge (before) to that effect. I do not see the warrior on earth that is equal to me, except that tiger among men, Dhananjaya, the son of Kunti. Endued with great intelligence, he is conversant with innumerable celestial weapons. That son of Pandu, however, will never fight with me openly. With the power of my weapons, I can, in a trice, destroy this universe consisting of gods, Asuras, Rakshasas, and human beings. The sons of Pandu, however, O king, are incapable of being exterminated by me. I shall, therefore, slay every day ten thousand warriors. If, indeed, they do not slay me in battle first, I will continue to slaughter their forces thus. There is another understanding on which I may willingly become the commander of thy forces. It behoveth thee to listen to that. O lord of earth, either Karna should fight first, or I will fight first. The Suta's son always boasts of his prowess in battle, comparing it with mine.'

"Karna said, 'As long as Ganga's son liveth, O king, I shall never fight. After Bhishma is slain, I shall fight with the wielder of Gandiva.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'After this, Dhritarashtra's son duly made Bhishma the commander of his force, distributing large presents. And after, his installation in the command, he blazed forth with beauty. And at the king's behest, musicians cheerfully played upon drums and blew conchs by hundreds and thousands. And numerous leonine roars were sent forth and all the animals in the camp uttered their cries together. And although the sky was cloudless, a bloody shower fell and made the ground miry. And fierce whirl-winds, and earthquakes, and roars of elephants, occurring, depressed the hearts of all the warriors. Incorporeal voices and flashes of meteoric falls were heard and seen in the welkin. And jackals, howling fiercely, foreboded great calamity. And, O monarch, these and a hundred other kinds of fierce portents made their appearance when the king installed Ganga's son in the command of his troops. And after making Bhishma--that grinder of hostile hosts--his general, and having also caused by abundant gifts of kine and gold to the Brahmanas to pronounce benedictions on him, and glorified by those benedictions, and surrounded by his troops, and with Ganga's son in the van, and accompanied by his brothers, Duryodhana marched to Kurukshetra with his large host. And the Kuru king, going over the plain with Karna in his company, caused his camp to be measured out on a level part, O monarch, of that plain. And the camp, pitched on a delightful and fertile spot abounding with grass and fuel, shone like Hastinapura itself.'"

SECTION 158

"Janamejaya said, 'When Yudhishthira heard that Bhishma, the high-souled son of Ganga, the foremost of all wielders of weapons, the grandsire of the Bharatas, the head of all the kings, the rival of Vrihaspati in intellect, resembling the ocean in gravity, the mountains of Himavat in calmness, the Creator himself in nobleness, and the sun in energy, and capable of slaying hostile hosts like great Indra himself by showering his arrows, was installed, till his removal by death, in the command of the Kuru army on the eve of the great sacrifice of battle, terrific in its mien and capable of making one's hairs stand on their ends, what did that mighty-armed son of Pandu, that foremost of wielders of weapons, say? What also did Bhima and Arjuna say? And what too did Krishna say?'

"Vaisampayana said, 'When news was received of this, Yudhishthira endued with great intelligence and well-acquainted with what should be done in view of dangers and calamities summoned all his brothers and also the eternal Vasudeva (to his presence). And that foremost of speakers then said in a mild voice, 'Make your rounds among the soldiers, and remain carefully, casing yourselves in mail. Our first encounter will be with our grandsire. Look ye for (seven) leaders for the seven Akshauhinis of my troops.'

"Krishna said, 'Those words of grave import, which, O bull of the Bharata race, it behoveth thee to utter on an occasion like this, have, indeed, been uttered by thee. Even this, O mighty armed one, is what I also like. Let therefore, that be done which should be done next. Let, indeed, seven leaders be selected for thy army.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Summoning then those warriors eager for battle, viz., Drupada and Virata, and that bull of Sini's race, and Dhrishtadyumna the prince of Panchala, and king Dhrishtaketu, and prince Shikhandi of Panchala, and Sahadeva, the ruler of the Magadhas, Yudhishthira duly appointed them in the command of his seven divisions. And above them all was placed in command of all the troops that Dhrishtadyumna who had sprung from the blazing (sacrificial) fire for the destruction of Drona. And Dhananjaya, of curly hair, was made the leader of all those high-souled leaders. And handsome Janardana endued with great intelligence, he who was the younger brother of Sankarshana, was chosen as the guide of Arjuna and the driver of his steeds.'

"And beholding that a very destructive battle was about to take place, there came, O king, into the Pandava encampment, Halayudha, accompanied by Akrura, and Gada and Samva, and Uddhava, and Rukmini's son (Pradyumna), and Ahuka's sons, and Charudeshna, and others. And surrounded and guarded by those foremost warriors of the Vrishni race, resembling a herd of mighty tigers, like Vasava in the midst of the Maruts, the mighty-armed and handsome Rama, attired in garments of blue silk and resembling the peak of the Kailasa mountain, and endued with the sportive gait of the lion and possessed of eyes having their ends reddened with drink, came there (at such a time). And beholding him, king Yudhishthira the Just, and Kesava of great effulgence, and Pritha's son Vrikodara of terrible deeds, and (Arjuna) the wielder of Gandiva, and all the other kings that were, rose from their seats. And they all offered worship unto Halayudha as he came to that place. And the Pandava king touched Rama's hands with his own. And that chastiser of foes, Halayudha, in return, accosting them all with Vasudeva at their head, and saluting (respectfully) both Virata and Drupada who were senior in years, sat down on the same seat with Yudhishthira. And after all the kings had taken their seats, Rohini's son, casting his eyes on Vasudeva, began to speak. And he said, 'This fierce and terrible slaughter is inevitable. It is, without doubt, a decree of fate, and I think that it cannot be averted. Let me hope, however, to behold all of you, with your friends, come safely out of this strife, with sound bodies and perfectly hale. Without doubt, all the Kshatriyas of the world that are assembled together have their hour come. A fierce melee covering with a mire of flesh and blood is sure to take place. I said unto Vasudeva repeatedly in private, 'O slayer of Madhu, unto those that bear equal relationship to us, observe thou an equal behaviour. As are the Pandavas to us, even so is king Duryodhana. Therefore, give him also the same aid. Indeed, he repeatedly soliciteth it. For thy sake, however, the slayer of Madhu regarded not my words. Looking at Dhananjaya, he hath with his whole heart, been devoted to your cause. Even this is what I certainly think, viz., that the victory of the Pandavas is sure, for Vasudeva's wish, O Bharata, is even so. As regards myself, I dare not cast my eyes on the world without Krishna (on my side). It is for this that I follow whatever Krishna seeketh to achieve. Both of these heroes, well-skilled in encounter with the mace, are my disciples. My affection, therefore, for Bhima is equal to that for king Duryodhana. For these reasons, I shall now repair to the tirtha of the Saraswati for ablutions, for I shall not be able to behold with indifference the destruction of the Kauravas.

"Having said this, the mighty-armed Rama, obtaining the leave of the Pandavas, and making the slayer of Madhu desist (from following him farther), set out on his journey for the sacred waters.'"

SECTION 159

"Vaisampayana said, 'About this time, there came into the Pandava camp Bhishmaka's son, foremost among all persons of truthful resolution, and known widely by the name of Rukmi. The high-souled Bhishmaka, who was otherwise called king Hiranyaroman, was the friend of Indra. And he was most illustrious among the descendants of Bhoja and was the ruler of the whole southern country. And Rukmi was a disciple of that lion among the Kimpurushas who was known by the name of Drona, having his abode on the mountains of Gandhamadana. And he had learnt from his preceptor the whole science of weapons with its four divisions. And that mighty-armed warrior had obtained also the bow named Vijaya of celestial workmanship, belonging to the great Indra, and which was equal to Gandiva in energy and to also Sarnga (held by Krishna). There were three celestial bows owned by the denizens of heaven, viz., Gandiva owned by Varuna, the bow called Vijaya owned by Indra, and that other celestial bow of great energy said to have been owned by Vishnu. This last (Sarnga), capable of striking fear into the hearts of hostile warriors, was held by Krishna. The bow called Gandiva was obtained by Indra's son (Arjuna) from Agni on the occasion of the burning of Khandava, while the bow called Vijaya was obtained from Drona by Rukmi of great energy. Baffling the nooses of Mura and slaying by his might that Asura, and vanquishing Naraka, the son of the Earth, Hrishikesa, while recovering the begemmed ear-rings (of Aditi), with sixteen thousand girls and various kinds of jewels and gems, obtained that excellent bow called Sarnga. And Rukmi having obtained the bow called Vijaya whose twang resembled the roar of the clouds came to the Pandavas, as if inspiring the whole universe with dread. Formerly, proud of the might of his own arms, the heroic Rukmi could not tolerate the ravishment of his sister Rukmini by wise Vasudeva. He had set out in pursuit, having sworn that he would not return without having slain Janardana. And accompanied by a large army consisting of four kinds of forces that occupied (as it marched) a very large portion of the earth, accoutred in handsome coats of mail and armed with diverse weapons and resembling the swollen current of the Ganga, that foremost of all wielders of weapons set out in pursuit of Vasudeva of Vrishni's race. And having come up to him of Vrishni's race who was lord and master of everything obtainable by ascetic austerities, Rukmi, O king, was vanquished and covered with shame. And for this he returned not to (his city) Kundina. And on the spot where that slayer of hostile heroes was vanquished by Krishna, he built an excellent city named Bhojakata. And, O king, that city filled with large forces and teeming with elephants, steeds., is widely known on the earth by that name. Endued with great energy, that hero, cased in mail and armed with bows, fences, swords and quivers, quickly entered the Pandava camp, surrounded by an Akshauhini of troops. And Rukmi entered that vast army, under a standard effulgent as the sun, and made himself known to the Pandavas, from desire of doing what was agreeable to Vasudeva. King Yudhishthira, advancing a few steps, offered him worship. And duly worshipped and eulogised by the Pandavas, Rukmi saluted

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them in return and rested for a while with his troops. And addressing Dhananjaya, the son of Kunti in the midst of the heroes there assembled, he said, 'If, O son of Pandu, thou art afraid, I am here to render thee assistance in the battle. The assistance I will give thee will be unbearable by thy foes. There is no man in this world who is equal to me in prowess. I will slay those foes of thine whom thou, O son of Pandu, wilt assign to me. I will slay one of those heroes, viz., Drona and Kripa, and Bhishma, and Karna. Or, let all these kings of the earth stand aside. Slaying in battle thy foes myself, I will give thee Earth.' And he said this in the presence of king Yudhishthira the Just and of Kesava and in the hearing of the (assembled) monarchs and all others (in the camp). Then casting his eyes on Vasudeva and Pandu's son king Yudhishthira the Just, Dhananjaya the intelligent son of Kunti smilingly but in a friendly voice said these words, 'Born in the race of Kuru, being especially the son of Pandu, naming Drona as my preceptor, having Vasudeva for my ally, and bearing, besides the bow called Gandiva, how can I say that I am afraid? O hero, when on the occasion of the tale 'of cattle, I fought with the mighty Gandharvas, who was there to assist me? In that terrific encounter also with the Gods and Danavas banded together in great numbers at Khandava, who was my ally when I fought? When, again, I fought with the Nivatakavachas and with those other Danavas called Kalakeyas, who was my ally? When, again, at Virata's city I fought with the numberless Kurus, who was my ally in that battle? Having paid my respects, for battle's sake, to Rudra, Sakra, Vaisravana, Yama, Varuna, Pavaka, Kripa, Drona, and Madhava, and wielding that tough celestial bow of great energy called Gandiva, and accoutred with inexhaustible arrows and armed with celestial weapons, how can a person like me, O tiger among men, say, even unto Indra armed with the thunderbolt, such words as I am afraid!--words that rob one of all his fame? O thou of mighty arms, I am not afraid, nor have I any need of thy assistance. Go therefore, or stay, as it pleaseth or suiteth thee.' Hearing these words of Arjuna, Rukmi taking away with him his army vast as the sea, repaired then, O bull of Bharata's race, to Duryodhana. And king Rukmi, repairing thither, said the same words unto Duryodhana. But that king proud of his bravery, rejected him in the same way.

'Thus, O king, two persons withdrew from the battle, viz., Rohini's son (Rama) of Vrishni's race and king Rukmi. And after Rama had set out on his pilgrimage to the tirthas, and Bhishmaka's son Rukmi had departed thus, the sons of Pandu once more sat down for consulting with one another. And that conclave presided over by king Yudhishthira the Just, abounding with numerous monarchs, blazed forth like the firmament bespangled with lesser luminaries with the moon in their midst.'"

SECTION 160

"Janamejaya said, 'After the soldiers had been arrayed thus in order of battle (on the field of Kurukshetra), what, O bull among Brahmanas, did the Kauravas then do, urged as they were by destiny itself?'

"Vaisampayana said, 'After the soldiers, O bull of the Bharata race, had been arrayed thus in order of battle, Dhritarashtra, O, king, said these words to Sanjaya.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Come, O Sanjaya, tell me with the fullest details all that hath happened in the encampment of the Kuru and the Pandava troops. I regard destiny to be superior, and exertion useless, for although I understand the evil consequences of war that will lead only to ruin, still I am unable to restrain my son who rejoices in gambling and considers deceit to be wisdom. Understanding everything, I am not yet able to secure my own welfare. O Suta, my understanding is capable of seeing the defects (of measures), but when I approach Duryodhana, that understanding of mine turneth away (from that right path). When such is the case, O Sanjaya, that will be which must be. Indeed, the sacrifice of one's corporeal body in battle is the laudable duty of every Kshatriya.'

"Sanjaya said, 'This question, O great king, that thou hast put, is indeed, worthy of thee. It behoveth thee not, however, to impute entire fault to Duryodhana only. Listen to me, O king, as I speak of this exhaustively. That man who cometh by evil in consequence of his own misconduct, should never impute the fault to either time or the gods. O great king, he amongst men who perpetrateth every wicked act, deserveth to be slain in consequence of his perpetrating those acts. Afflicted with injuries in consequence of the match at dice, the sons of Pandu, however, with all their counsellors quietly bore all those injuries, looking up, O best of men, to thy face alone. Hear from me fully, O king, of the slaughter that is about to take place in battle, of steeds and elephants and kings endued with immeasurable energy. Hearing patiently, O thou that art endued with great wisdom, of the destruction of the world in the fierce battle that has been brought about, come to this conclusion and no other, viz., that man is never the agent of his acts right or wrong. Indeed, like a wooden machine, man is not an agent (in all he does). In this respect, three opinions are entertained; some say that everything is ordained by God; some say that our acts are the result of free-will; and others say that our acts are the result of those of our past lives. Listen then, therefore, with patience, to the evil that hath come upon us.'"

SECTION 161

(Uluka Dutagamana Parva)

"Sanjaya said, 'After the high-souled Pandavas, O king, had encamped by the side of the Hiranwati, the Kauravas also fixed their camps. And king Duryodhana having strongly posted his troops and paid homage to all the kings (on his side) and planted outposts and bodies of soldiers for the protection of warriors, summoned those rulers of men, viz., Karna and Dussasana and Sakuni, the son of Suvala, and began O Bharata, to consult with them. And king Duryodhana, O Bharata, having (first) consulted with Karna, and (next), O monarch, with Karna and his (own) brother Dussasana, and Suvala's son all together, then summoned, O bull among men, Uluka and bringing him into his presence in private, told him, O king, these words, 'O Uluka, O son of an adept at dice, repair thou unto the Pandavas and the Somakas. And repairing thither, repeat these my words (unto Yudhishthira) in the hearing of Vasudeva. That terrible battle between the Kurus and the Pandavas which had been expected from a long time back has, at last come. Those boastful words which Sanjaya brought to me, in the midst of the Kurus and which thou hadst, with Vasudeva and thy younger brothers, uttered in deep roar,--the time, O son of Kunti, hath at last come for making them good. Do ye achieve, therefore, all which ye have pledged yourselves to achieve. Unto the eldest son of Kunti thou must say, as my words, the following, 'Virtuous as thou art, how canst then, with all thy brothers, with the Somakas, and the Kekayas, set thy heart upon unrighteousness? How canst thou wish the destruction of the universe, when, as I think thou shouldst be the dispeller of the fears of all creatures. O bull of Bharata's race, this sloka sung of old by Prahlada when his kingdom had been wrested from him by the gods, hath been heard by us,--Ye gods, that person whose standard of righteousness is always up, but whose sins are always concealed is said to adopt the behaviour of the cat (in the story).' I will here repeat to thee, O king, this excellent story recited by Narada to my father. A wicked cat, O king, once on a time took up his abode on the banks of the Ganges, abandoning all work and with his hands upraised (after the manner of a devotee). Pretending to have purified his heart, he said unto all creatures these words, for inspiring confidence in them, viz.,--I am now practising virtue. After a long time, all oviparous creatures reposed trust in him, and coming unto him all together, O monarch, they all applauded that cat. And worshipped by all feathery creatures, that devourer of feathery creatures, regarded his purpose already accomplished, as also the purpose of his austerities. And after some more time, the mice went to that place. And these also all beheld him to be a virtuous person engaged in the observance of vows, and proudly exerting himself in a grand act. And having arrived at that settled conviction, they entertained the following wish, O king,--'Many foes we have. Let this one, therefore, become our maternal uncle, and let him always protect all the old and young ones of our race. And going at last to the cat, all of them said, 'Through thy grace we desire to roam in happiness. Thou art our gracious shelter, thou art our great friend. For this, all of us place ourselves under thy protection. Thou art always devoted to virtue, thou art always engaged in the acquisition of virtue. O thou of great wisdom, protect us, therefore, like the wielder of the thunderbolt protecting the celestials.' Thus addressed, O king, by all the mice, the cat answered them, saying, 'I do not see the consistency of these two, viz., my ascetic pursuits and this protection (that I am called upon to grant). I cannot avoid, however, doing good to you agreeably to your request. You all, at the same time, should always obey my words. Staying as I am in the observance of a severe vow, I am weakened by my ascetic practices. I do not, therefore, see the means of my moving from place to place. Ye all should, therefore, bear me hence every day to the river-side.' Saying, 'So be it,' the mice then, O bull of Bharata's race, made over all their old and young ones to that cat. Then that sinful creature of wicked soul, feeding on mice, gradually became fat and of good complexion and strong in his limbs. And thus while the mice began to be reduced in number, the cat began to grow in vigour and strength. Then all the mice, coming together, said unto one another, 'Our uncle is daily growing stout, while we are being daily reduced (in number)!' Then a certain mouse endued with wisdom, named Dindika, said, O king these words unto the large swarm of mice gathered there, 'Go all of ye to the river-side together. I will follow ye, accompanying our uncle.' 'Excellent, Excellent,' they said, and applauded that one of their number. And they all did just as those words of grave import spoken by Dindika seemed to indicate. The cat, however, not knowing all this, ate up Dindika that day. All the mice then, without losing much time, began to take counsel of one another. Then a very old mouse, named Kilika, said these just words, O king, in the presence of all his kinsfolk, 'Our uncle is not really desirous of earning virtue. He hath, like a hypocrite, become our friend when in reality he is our enemy. Indeed, the excreta of a creature that liveth only upon fruits and roots never containeth hair of fur. Then again, while his limbs are growing, our number is decaying. Besides, Dindika cannot be seen for these eight days.' Hearing these words, the mice ran away in all directions. And that cat also of wicked soul returned to whence he came. O thou of wicked soul, thou too art a practiser of such feline behaviour. Thou behavest towards thy kinsmen after the manner of the cat (in the story) towards the mice. Thy speech is of one kind, and thy conduct is of another. Thy (devotion to) scripture and thy peacefulness of behaviour are only for display before men. Giving up this hypocrisy, O king, adopt the practices of a Kshatriya and do all that one should do as such. Art thou not virtuous, O bull among men? Acquiring the earth by means of the prowess of thy arms, make gifts, O best of the Bharatas, unto the Brahmanas and to the means of thy deceased ancestors as one should. Seeking the good of that mother of thine who hath been afflicted with distress for a series of years, dry up her tears, and confer honours on her by vanquishing (thy foes) in battle. Thou hadst with great abjectness, solicited only five villages. Even that was rejected by us, for how could we bring about a battle, how could we succeed in angering the Pandavas, was all that we sought. Remembering that it was for thee that the wicked Vidura was driven (by us) and that we had tried to burn you all in the house of lac, be a man now; at the time of Krishna's setting out (from Upaplavya) for the Kuru court, thou hadst through him communicated this message (to us), viz.,--Hear, O king, I am prepared for either war or peace! Know, O monarch, that the hour hath come for battle. O Yudhishthira, I have made all these preparations in view of that. What doth a Kshatriya regard as a more estimable accession (of good fortune) than battle? Born thou hast beer in the Kshatriya order. Known also thou art in the world. Having obtained weapons again from Drona and Kripa, why, O bull of the Bharata race, dost thou rely on Vasudeva who belongeth to the same order of life as thyself and who is, not superior to thee in might.'

'Thou must also say unto Vasudeva in the presence of the Pandavas these words,--For thy own sake, as also for the sake of the Pandavas, withstand me in battle to the best of thy power! Assuming once more that form which thou hadst assumed before in the Kuru court, rush thou with Arjuna against me (on the field)! A conjuror's tricks or illusions may (sometimes) inspire fright. But as regards the person that stands armed for fight, such deceptions (instead of inspiring fight) only provoke anger! We also are competent, by our powers of illusion, to ascend to heaven or the firmament, or penetrate into the nether region, or the city of Indra! We also can display various forms in our own body! The great Ordainer bringeth all creatures to subjection by a flat of His will (and never by such conjuror's tricks)! Thou always sayest, O thou of Vrishni's race, these words, viz.,--Causing the sons of Dhritarashtra to be slain in battle, I will confer undisputed sovereignty on the sons of Pritha!--These words of thine were brought to me by Sanjaya. Thou hadst also said, 'Know, ye Kauravas that it is with Arjuna, having me for his second, ye have provoked hostilities!' Truthfully adhering to that pledge, put forth thy energy for the Pandavas and fight now in battle to the best of thy power! Show us that thou canst be a man! He is said to be truly alive, who, having ascertained (the wight of his) foes inspireth grief in them by resorting to true manliness! Without any reason, O Krishna, great hath been thy fame spread in the world! It will, however, presently be known that there are many persons, in the world that are really eunuchs though possessed of the signs of manhood. A slave of Kansa, especially as thou art, a monarch like me should not cover himself in mail against thee!

'Say (next) repeatedly, from me, O Uluka, unto that stupid, ignorant, gluttonous Bhimasena, who is even like a bull though divested of horns, these words, viz.,--O son of Pritha, a cook thou hadst become, known by the name of Vallabha, in the city of Virata! All this is evidence of thy manliness! Let not the vow thou hadst made before in the midst of the Kuru court be falsified! Let Dussasana's blood be drunk if thou art able! O son of Kunti, thou often sayest,--Speedily shall I slay Dhritarashtra's sons in battle!--The time for accomplishing it hath now come! O Bharata, thou deservest to be rewarded in cookery! The difference, however, is very great between dressing food and fighting! Fight now, be a man! Indeed, thou shalt have to lie down, deprived of life, on the earth, embracing thy mace, O Bharata! The boast in which thou hadst indulged in the midst of thy assembly is all vain, O Vrikodara!

'Say, O Uluka, unto Nakula, from me, these words, viz.,--Fight now, O Bharata, patiently! We desire, O Bharata, to behold thy manliness, thy reverence for Yudhishthira, and thy hatred of myself! Recall to mind the sufferings in their entirety that Krishna had suffered!

'Next, thou must say these words of mine unto Sahadeva in the presence of the (assembled) monarchs,--Fight in battle now, to the best of thy power! Remember all your woes!

'Say next, from me, unto both Virata and Drupada, these words, viz.,--Since the beginning of the creation, slaves,

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endued even with great accomplishments, have never been able to fully understand their masters. Nor have affluent kings been always able to understand their slaves! This king deserveth no praise,--possibly, under such a belief, ye have come against me! United together, fight ye, therefore, against me for achieving my death, and accomplish the objects ye have in view, as also those that the Pandavas have!

Say also, from me, unto Dhrishtadyumna, the prince of Panchalas, these words, viz.,--The hour hath now come for thee, and thou also hast come for thy hour! Approaching Drona in battle thou wilt know what is best for thee! Achieve thou the business of thy friend! Accomplish that feat which is difficult of accomplishment!

'Tell, next, repeatedly from me, O Uluka, unto Sikhandin, these words, viz.,--The mighty-armed Kaurava, foremost of all bowmen, Ganga's son (Bhishma), will not slay thee, knowing thee to be only a female! Fight now without any fear! Achieve in battle what canst to the best of thy power! We desire to behold thy prowess!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having said this, king Duryodhana laughed aloud. And addressing Uluka again, he said, 'Say once more unto Dhananjaya in the bearing of Vasudeva these words, viz.,--O hero, either vanquishing us rule thou this world, or vanquished by us lie thou down on the field (deprived of life)! Recalling to thy mind the sufferings occasioned by your banishment from the kingdom, the woes of your sojourn in the woods, and 'he affliction of Krishna, be a man, O son of Pandu! That for which a Kshatriya lady bringeth forth a son is now arrived! Displaying, therefore, in battle, thy might, energy, courage, manliness, and great dexterity and speed in the use of weapons, appease thy wrath! Afflicted with woe, and dispirited and exiled (from home) for a long time, and driven from his kingdom, who is there whose heart would not break? Who is there, well-born, and brave, and uncovetous of other's wealth, that would not have his wrath excited when his kingdom descending from generation to generation is attacked? Realise in deeds those high words that thou hadst said! One that only boasts without being able to do anything is regarded as a worthless man by those that are good. Recover thy kingdom and those possessions that are now owned by thy foes! Even these two are the purposes which a person desirous of war hath in view. Exert, therefore, thy manliness! Thou wert won (as a slave) at dice! Krishna was caused by us to be brought into the assembly! One that regardeth himself a man should certainly display his wrath at this! For twelve long years hadst thou been exiled from home into the woods, and one whole year hadst thou passed in Virata's service! Remembering the pangs of banishment from the kingdom and of thy sojourn in the woods, as also those which Krishna had suffered, be thou a man! Display thy wrath towards those that repeatedly utter harsh words at thee and thy brothers! indeed, wrath (such as that) would consist in manliness! Let thy anger, thy might and prowess, and knowledge, and thy lightness of hand in the use of weapons, be exhibited? Fight, O son of Pritha, and prove to be a man! The incantations in respect of all thy weapons have been performed. The field of Kurukshetra is free from mire. Thy steeds are hale and strong. Thy soldiers have received their pay. With Kesava, therefore, as (thy) second, fight (with us)! Without encountering Bhishma as yet, why dost thou indulge in such boasts? Like a fool, who, without having ascended the Gandhamadana mountains, boasts (of his would-be feat), thou, O son of Kunti, art indulging in a similar bragging, be a man! Without having vanquished in battle the invincible Karna of the Suta race, or Salya, that foremost of persons, or Drona, the first of all mighty warriors and equal unto the lord of Sachi in battle, how canst thou, O Partha, covet for thy kingdom? He that is a preceptor of both Vedic lore and bowmanship, he that hath crossed both those branches of learning, he that is foremost in battle and imperturbable (as a tower), he whose might knoweth no diminution, that commander of armies, Drona of great effulgence,--him, O Partha, thou wishest in vain to conquer! It is never heard that the Sumeru peak hath been crushed by the wind. Yet even the wind will bear away Sumeru, heaven itself will fall down on the earth, the very Yugas will be altered in respect of their course, if what thou hast said unto me becometh true! What man is there, desirous of life, be it Partha or any body else, who having approached that grinder of foes, would be able to return home with sound body? What person is there, treading upon the earth with his feet, who, encountered by Drona and Bhishma and struck with their arrows, would escape from the battle with life? Like a frog having its abode in a well, why art thou not able to realise the might of this vast army of the assembled monarchs, invincible, looking like the very celestial host, and protected by these lords of men, as the heavenly host by the gods themselves,--protected that is, by the kings of the East, the West, the South and the North, by the Kamvojas, the Sakas, the Khasas, the Salwas, the Matsyas, the Kurus of the middle country, the Mlechchhas, the Pulindas, the Dravidas, the Andhras, and the Kanchis,--this host of many nations, ready for battle, and resembling the uncrossable current of the Ganga. O thou of little understanding, how canst thou, O fool, venture to fight with me when stationed in the midst of my elephant-host? Thy inexhaustible quivers, thy car given thee by Agni, and thy celestial banner, O Partha, will all, O Bharata, be tested by us in battle! Fight, O Arjuna, without bragging! Why dost thou indulge in too much boast! Success in battle resulteth from the method in which it is fought. A battle is never gained by bragging. If, O Dhananjaya, acts in this world succeeded in consequence of vauntings, all persons would then have succeeded in their objects, for who is there that is not competent to brag? I know that thou hast Vasudeva for thy ally. I know that thy Gandiva is full six cubits long. I know that there is no warrior equal to thee. Knowing all this, I retain thy kingdom yet! A man never winneth success in consequence of the attributes of lineage. It is the Supreme Ordainer alone who by his fiat of will maketh things (hostile) friendly subservient. For these thirteen years, I have enjoyed sovereignty while ye were weeping. I shall continue to rule in the same way, slaying thee with thy kinsmen. Where was thy Gandiva then, when thou wert made slave won at stake? Where, O Falguni, was Bhima's might then? Your deliverance then came neither from Bhimasena, armed with mace, nor from you armed with Gandiva, but from the faultless Krishna. It was she, the daughter to Prishata's house, that delivered you all, sunk in slavery, engaged in occupations worthy only of the low, and working as servitors. I characterised you all as sesame seeds without kernel. That is true. For, did not Partha (some time after) bear a braid when living in Virata's city? In the cooking apartments of Virata, Bhimasena was fatigued with doing the work of a cook. Even this, O son of Pritha, is (evidence of) my manliness! Flying from an encounter with hips and braids and waist-bands, thyself binding thy hair, wert engaged in teaching the girls to dance? It is thus that Kshatriyas always inflict punishment on Kshatriyas! From fear of Vasudeva, or from fear of thyself, O Falguni, I will not give up the kingdom! Fight with Kesava as thy ally! Neither deception, nor conjuror's tricks, nor jugglery, can terrify the armed man addressed for fight. On the other hand, these provoke only his wrath. A thousand Vasudevas, a hundred Falgunis, approaching me whose arms and weapons never go for nothing, will surely fly away in all directions. Encounter Bhishma in combat, or strike the hill with thy head, or cross with the aid of thy two arms alone the vast and deep main! As regards my army, it is a veritable main with Saradwat's son as its large fish, Vivingsati as its huge snake, Bhishma as its current of immeasurable might, Drona as its unconquerable alligator, Karna and Salwa and Salya its fishes and whirlpools, the ruler of the Kamvojas its equine head emitting fire, Vrihadvala its fierce waves, Somadatta's son its whale, Yuyutsu and Durmarshana its waters, Bhagadatta its gale, Srutayus and Hridika's son its gulfs and bays, Dussasana its current, Sushena and Chitrayuda its water-elephants (hippopotamus) and crocodile, Jayadratha its (submarine) rock, Purumitra its depth, and Sakuni its shores! When having plunged into this surging ocean with its inexhaustible waves of weapons, thou wilt, from fatigue, be deprived of senses and have all thy relatives and friends slain, then will repentance possess thy heart! Then also will thy heart turn away from the thought of ruling the earth, like the heart of a person of impure deeds turning away from (hope of) heaven. Indeed, for thee to win a kingdom to rule is as impossible as for one not possessed of ascetic merit to obtain heaven!'"

SECTION 162

"Sanjaya said, 'Having reached the Pandava camp, the gambler's son (Uluka) presented himself before the Pandavas, and addressing Yudhishthira said, 'Thou art fully conversant with what envoys say! It behoveth thee not, therefore, to be angry with me if I repeat those words only which Duryodhana hath instructed me to tell!'

"Hearing this, Yudhishthira said, 'Thou hast no fear., O Uluka! Tell us, without any anxiety what are the views of the covetous Duryodhana of limited sight!' Then in the midst and presence of the illustrious and high-souled Pandavas, of the Srinjayas, and Krishna possessed of great fame, of Drupada with his sons, of Virata, and of all monarchs, Uluka said these words.'

"Uluka said, 'Even this is what the high-souled king Duryodhana hath in the presence of all the Kuru heroes, said unto thee! Listen to those words, O Yudhishthira! Thou wert defeated at dice, and Krishna was brought into the assembly! At this, a person who regardeth himself a man would be justified in giving way to wrath! For twelve years wert thou banished from home into the woods! For one whole year didst thou live in Virata's service. Remembering the reason there is for wrath, thy exile, and the persecution of Krishna, be a man, O son of Pandu! Though weak, Bhima yet, O Pandava, made a vow! Let him, if able, drink the blood of Dussasana! Thy weapons have been properly worshipped and their presiding deities have been invoked! The field of Kurukshetra also is without mire. The roads are even. Thy steeds are well-fed. Engage in battle, therefore, on the morrow, with Kesava as thy ally! Without having yet approached Bhishma in battle, why dost thou indulge in boasts? Like a fool that boasteth of his intention to ascend the mountains of Gandhamadana, thou, O son of Kunti, art indulging in a vain boast. Without having vanquished in battle the Suta's son (Karna) who is invincible, and Salya, that foremost of mighty persons, and that first of all warriors and equal unto Sachi's lord himself in combat, why, O son of Pritha, dost thou wish for sovereignty? A preceptor in both the Vedas and the bow, he hath reached the end of both these branches of learning. Thou desirest in vain, O son of Pritha, to vanquish that leader of troops, the illustrious Drona, who fightest in the van, is incapable of being agitated, and whose strength knows no diminution. Never have we heard that the mountains of Sumeru have been crushed by the wind! But the wind will bear away Sumeru, heaven itself will fall down on the earth, the very Yugas will be reversed if what thou hast said unto me really taketh place! Who is there fond of life, fighting from the back of an elephant or of a horse or from a car, that would return home (safe and sound), after having encountered that grinder of foes? What creature treading the earth with his feet, would escape with life from battle, having been attacked by Drona and Bhishma, or pierced with their terrible shafts? Like a frog within a well, why dost thou not realise the strength of this assembled host of monarchs, which resembleth the very celestial host, and which is protected by these kings like the gods protecting theirs in heaven, and which, swarming with the kings of the East, West, South, and North, with Kamvojas, Sakas, Khasas, Salwas, Matsyas, Kurus of the middle country, Mlechchhas, Pulindas, Dravidas, Andhras, and Kanchis, indeed, with many nations, all addressed for battle, is uncrossable like the swollen tide of Ganga? O fool of little understanding, how wilt thou fight with me while I am stationed in the midst of my elephant force?'

'Having said these words unto king Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma, Uluka, turning his face then towards Jishnu, said unto him these words, 'Fight without bragging, O Arjuna! Why dost thou brag so much? Success resulteth from the application of method. A battle is never won by bragging. If acts in this world, O Dhananjaya, succeeded in consequence only of boasts, then all men would have succeeded in their objects, for who is there that is not competent to brag? I know that thou hast Vasudeva for thy ally. I know that thy Gandiva is full six cubits long. I know that there is no warrior equal to thee. Knowing all this, I retain thy kingdom yet! A man never winneth success in consequence of the attribute of lineage. It is the Supreme Ordainer alone who by his fiat maketh (things hostile) friendly and subservient. For these thirteen years have I enjoyed sovereignty, while ye were weeping! I shall continue to rule in the same way, slaying thee with thy kinsmen! Where was thy Gandiva then when thou wert made a slave won at dice? Where, O Falguni, was Bhimasena's might then? Your deliverance then came neither from Bhimasena armed with mace, nor from you armed with Gandiva, but from faultless Krishna. It was she, the daughter of Prishata's house, that delivered you all, sunk in slavery, engaged in occupations worthy only of the low, and working as servitors! I characterised ye as sesame seeds without kernel. That is very true, for, did not Partha bear a braid while living in Virata's city? In the cooking apartments of Virata, Bhimasena was fatigued with doing the work of a cook. Even this, O son of Kunti, is (evidence of) thy manliness! Flying from an encounter with braids and waist-bands thyself binding thy hair into a braid, thou wert employed in teaching the girls to dance! It is thus that Kshatriyas always inflict punishment on a Kshatriya! From fear of Vasudeva, or from fear of thyself, O Falguni, I will not give up the kingdom. Fight, with Kesava as thy ally! Neither deception, nor conjuror's tricks, nor jugglery can terrify an armed man ready for fight. On the other hand, all this provokes only his wrath! A thousand Vasudevas, a hundred Falgunis, approaching me whose aim and weapons never go for nothing, will fly away in all directions, Encounter Bhishma in combat, or pierce the hills with thy head, or cross with the aid of thy two arms the vast and deep main! As regards my army, it is a veritable ocean with Saradwat's son as its large fish; Vivingsati, its smaller fish; Vrihadvala its waves; Somadatta's son its whale; Bhishma its mighty force; Drona its unconquerable alligator; Karna and Salya, its fishes and whirlpools; Kamvoja its equine head vomiting fire, Jayadratha its (submarine) rock, Purumitra its depth, Durmarshana its waters, and Sakuni its shores! When having plunged into this swelling ocean with its inexhaustible waves of weapons thou wilt from fatigue be deprived of thy senses, and have all thy relatives and friends slain, then will repentance possess thy heart! Then will thy heart turn away, O Partha, from the thought of ruling the earth like the heart of a person of impure deeds turning away from (hope of) heaven. Indeed, for thee to win a kingdom to rule is as impossible as for one not possessed of ascetic merit to obtain heaven!'"

SECTION 163

"Sanjaya said, 'O monarch, provoking Arjuna still further who was like a snake of virulent poison, by means of those wordy strokes of his Uluka once more repeated the words he had once spoken. The Pandavas had before such repetition, been sufficiently provoked, but hearing these words (a second

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time) and receiving those censures through the gambler's son, they were provoked beyond endurance. They all stood up, and began to stretch their arms. And looking like enraged snakes of virulent poison, they began to cast their eyes on one another. And Bhimasena, with face downwards, and breathing heavily like a snake, began to glance obliquely at Kesava, directing the blood-red corners of his eyes towards him. And beholding the Wind-god's son to be greatly afflicted and extremely provoked with rage, he of Dasarha's race smilingly addressed the gambler's son and said, 'Depart hence without a moment's delay. O gambler's son, and say unto Suyodhana these words, viz.,--Thy words have been heard and sense understood. Let that take place which thou desirest.' Having said this, O best of monarchs, the mighty-armed Kesava looked once more at Yudhishthira endued with great wisdom. Then in the midst and presence of all the Srinjayas, of Krishna possessed of great fame, of Drupada with his sons, of Virata, and all the kings (there assembled), Uluka once more repeated unto Arjuna the words he had said, provoking him still further thereby, like one annoying wrathful snake of virulent poison by means of a stake. And he also said unto all of them, viz.,--Krishna and others, those words that Duryodhana had instructed him to say. And hearing those harsh and highly disagreeable words uttered by Uluka, Partha was greatly excited and wiped the sweat off his forehead. And beholding Partha, O king, in that condition, that assembly of monarchs could not bear it at all. And at that insult to Krishna and the high-souled Partha, the car-warriors of the Pandavas were greatly agitated. Though endued with great steadiness of mind, those tigers among men began to burn with anger. And Dhrishtadyumna and Sikhandin and that mighty car-warrior, Satyaki, and the five Kekaya brothers, and the Rakshasa Ghatotkacha, the sons of Draupadi, and Abhimanyu, and king Dhrishtaketu, and Bhimasena, endued with great prowess, and those mighty car-warriors--the twins,--jumped up from their seats, their eyes red with anger, tossing their handsome arms decked with red sandal-paste and ornaments of gold. Then Vrikodara, the son of Kunti, understanding their gestures and hearts, sprang up from his seat. And gnashing his teeth, and licking with his tongue the corners of his mouth, and burning with rage, and squeezing his hands and turning his eyes fiercely, said these words unto Uluka, Ignorant fool, thy words have now been heard which Duryodhana said unto thee for the object of provoking us as if we were a set of imbeciles! Hear now the words which I say and which thou art to repeat unto the inaccessible Suyodhana in the midst of all the Kshatriyas and in the hearing of the Suta's son and the wicked-hearted Sakuni. We always seek to gratify our elder brother! It was for this, O thou of wicked behaviour, that we tolerated thy acts. Dost thou not regard this as highly fortunate for thee? It was for only the good of our race that king Yudhishthira the Just, endued with great intelligence, sent Hrishikesa to the Kurus for bringing about a peace! Impelled by Fate, without doubt, thou art desirous of repairing unto Yama's abode! Come, fight with us. That, however, is certainly to take place tomorrow! I have, indeed, vowed to slay thee with thy brothers! O sinful fool, do not entertain the slightest doubt, for it will be as I have vowed! The very ocean, the abode of Varuna-may all on a sudden transgress its continents. The very mountains may split, yet my words can never be false! If Yama himself, or Kuvera, or Rudra, assisteth thee, the Pandavas will still accomplish what they have vowed! I shall certainly drink Dussasana's blood according to my pleasure! And I also vow that Kshatriya whatsoever may then angrily approach me, even if he cometh with Bhishma himself at the van, I will send him to Yama's abode! That which I have said in the midst of a Kshatriya assembly will certainly be true. I swear this by my soul!

'Hearing these words of Bhimasena, the wrathful Sahadeva also, with eyes red in anger, said these words in the presence of the (assembled) troops,--words that become that proud hero. And he said, 'Listen, O sinful one, to the words I utter and which must be repeated to thy father! A difference would never have arisen between us and the Kurus, if Dhritarashtra had no relationship with thee! Of sinful acts and the exterminator of thy own race, thou hast been born as an embodiment of quarrel for the destruction of the whole world as also for the destruction of Dhritarashtra's race! From our very birth, O Uluka, that sinful father of thine hath always sought to do us injury and evil. I desire to attain the opposite shore of that hostile relation. Slaying thee first before the very eyes of Sakuni, I shall then slay Sakuni himself in the sight of all bowmen!'

'Hearing these words of both Bhima and Sahadeva, Falguni smilingly addressed Bhima, saying, 'O Bhimasena, they that have provoked hostilities with thee, cannot live! Though they may dwell happily in their homes, those fools become yet entangled in the meshes of death! O best of men, Uluka doth not deserve to be addressed harshly by thee! What fault do envoys commit, repeating as they only do what they are instructed (to say)?' And having thus addressed Bhima of terrible prowess that mighty-armed hero then addressed his heroic allies and well-wishers headed by Dhrishtadyumna, saying, 'Ye have heard the words of the sinful son of Dhritarashtra in dispraise of Vasudeva and especially of myself! And hearing them ye have been filled with anger because ye wish us well! But through Vasudeva's might and your endeavours, I do not reckon even all the Kshatriyas of the earth assembled together! With your permission I will now communicate to Uluka what the reply to those words is, what, indeed, he should say unto Duryodhana!--When the morrow cometh, stationed at the head of my division, the answer to these words shall I give through Gandiva! For they that are eunuchs, answer in words!'

'Hearing this, all those best of kings applauded Dhananjaya, wondering at the ingenuity of that reply. King Yudhishthira the Just, then, having spoken mildly unto all the kings each according to his age and as each deserved said, at last, unto Uluka these words so that he might carry them to Duryodhana. And Yudhishthira said, 'No good king should patiently bear an insult. Having so long heard what thou hadst to say, I shall now tell thee what my reply is!'

'Having heard then, O best of Bharata's race, those words of Duryodhana, Yudhishthira, that bull of the Bharata race, with eyes exceedingly red in anger and himself sighing like a snake of virulent poison, licking the corners of his mouth with his tongue, as if swelling with wrath, and casting his eyes on Janardana and his own brothers, said unto Uluka these words that were fraught with both mildness and vigour. And tossing his massive arms he said unto the gambler's son, 'Go, O Uluka, and say unto Duryodhana, that ungrateful, wicked-minded embodiment of hostilities, that infamous wretch of his race, these words, viz.,--O sinful wretch, thou always behavest with crookedness towards the Pandavas! O sinful fool, he that displayeth his prowess relying on his own might and summoneth his foes (to battle) and fulfilleth his own words, even he is a man of the Kshatriya order! Be thou a Kshatriya, O sinful wretch, and summon us to battle! O infamous one of thy race, do not come to battle, placing at thy head others for whom we profess respect! O Kaurava, relying on thy own might and on that of thy servants, summon the sons of Pritha to battle! Be Kshatriya in every way! He, who summoneth his foes, relying on the might of others, and incapable of receiving them himself is, indeed, a eunuch! Thou, however, thinkest highly of thyself, relying on the might of others! Being weak and unable thyself, why then dost thou roar so (in words) at us?'

"Krishna said, 'My words also, O gambler's son, should be communicated unto Suyodhana. Let that morrow come to thee on which the battle is to take place. O thou of wicked soul, be a man! O fool, thou thinkest Janardana will not fight, since he hath been chosen by the Pandavas to act only as a charioteer, so thou art not alarmed. That, however, will not be, even for a moment. If my wrath is excited, I may then consume all the kings (assembled by thee) like a fire consuming a heap of straw. At Yudhishthira's command, however, I shall only discharge the functions of charioteer to the high-souled Falguni, of senses under complete control and who alone, (amongst us two) will fight! If thou fliest beyond the limits of the three worlds, if thou sinkest into the depths of the earth, thou shalt, even at these places, behold Arjuna's car tomorrow morning. Thou thinkest that Bhima's words have been spoken in vain! But know that Dussasana's blood hath already been quaffed. Know this also that although thou hast uttered such cross and perverse words, yet neither Partha, nor king Yudhishthira, nor Bhimasena, nor any of the twins, regardeth thee as straw!'"

SECTION 164

"Sanjaya said, 'Having heard those words of Duryodhana, Gudakesha of great fame looked at the gambler's son with eyes exceedingly red. And eyeing Kesava also and tossing his massive arms, he addressed the gambler's son, saying, 'He, who, relying on his own strength, summoneth his foes and fighteth with them fearlessly, is spoken of as a man. He, however, who, relying on the strength of others, summoneth his foes, is an infamous Kshatriya. In consequence of his incapacity, such a one is regarded as the lowest of men. Relying on the strength of others, thou (O Duryodhana), being a coward thyself, desirest yet, O fool, to rebuke thy foes. Having installed (Bhishma) the oldest of all the Kshatriyas, whose heart is ever bent in doing what is good, who hath all his passions under control, and who is endued with great wisdom, in the command of thy troops and made him liable to certain death, thou indulgest in brag! O thou of wicked understanding, thy object (in doing this) is fully known to us, O wretch of thy race! Thou hast done it, believing that sons of Pandu will not, from kindness, slay the son of Ganga. Know, however, O Dhritarashtra's son, that I will slay that Bhishma first in the sight of all the bowmen, relying upon whose strength thou indulgest in such boasts! O gambler's son, repairing (hence) unto the Bharatas and approaching Duryodhana the son of Dhritarashtra, say unto him that Arjuna hath said,--So be it! After this night will have passed away, the fierce encounter of arms will take place. Indeed, Bhishma of unfailing might and firmly adhering to truth, hath told thee in the midst of the Kurus these words, viz.,--I will slay the army of the Srinjayas and the Salweyas. Let that be my task. Excepting Drona I can slay the whole world. Thou needest not, therefore, entertain any fear oil the Pandavas! At this, thou, O Duryodhana, regardest the kingdom as thy own and thinkest that the Pandavas have sunk into distress. Thou hast been filled with pride at this. Thou seest not, however, danger that is in thy own self. I shall, therefore, in battle, first slay before thy very eyes, Bhishma the eldest of the Kurus! At sunrise (tomorrow) at the head of the troops, with standards and cars protect ye that leader of thy forces firm in his promises. I shall, with my arrows, throw him down who is your refuge from his car before the eyes of you all! When the morrow cometh, Suyodhana will know what it is to indulge in brag, beholding the grandsire covered with my arrows! Thou shalt, O Suyodhana, very soon see the fulfilment of that which Bhimasena in anger had said, in the midst of the assembly, unto thy brother, that man of limited sight, viz., Dussasana, wedded to unrighteousness, always quarrelsome, of wicked understanding, and cruel in behaviour. Thou shalt soon see the terrible effects of vanity and pride, of wrath and arrogance, of bragging and heartlessness, cutting words and acts, of aversion from righteousness, and sinfulness and speaking ill of others, of transgressing the counsels of the aged, of oblique sight, and of all kinds of vices! O scum of humanity, how canst thou, O fool, hope for either life or kingdom, if I, having Vasudeva for my second, give way to anger? After Bhishma and Drona will have been quieted and after the Suta's son will have been overthrown, thou shalt be hopeless of life, kingdom and sons! Hearing of the slaughter of thy brothers and sons, and struck mortally by Bhimasena, thou wilt, O Suyodhana, recollect all thy misdeeds!--Tell him, O gambler's son, that I do not vow a second time. I tell thee truly that all this will be true!--Departing hence, O Uluka, say, O sire, these words of mine, unto Suyodhana! It behoveth thee not to apprehend my behaviour by the light of thy own!

Know the difference there is between thy conduct and mine, which is even the difference between truth and falsehood! I do not wish harm to even insects and ants. What shall I say, therefore, of my ever wishing harm to my kinsmen? O sire, it was for this that five villages only were solicited by me! Why, O thou of wicked understanding, dost thou not see the dire calamity that threatens thee? Thy soul overwhelmed with lust, thou indulgest in vauntings from defectiveness of understanding. It is for this also thou acceptest not the beneficial words of Vasudeva. What need now of much talk? Fight (against us) with all thy friends! Say, O gambler's son, unto the Kuru prince who always doth what is injurious to me (these words also, viz.,)--Thy words have been heard; their sense also hath been understood. Let it be as thou wishest!'

'O son of king, Bhimasena then once more said these words, 'O Uluka, say those words of mine unto the wicked-minded, deceitful, and unrighteous Suyodhana, who is an embodiment of sin, who is wedded to guile, and whose behaviour is exceedingly wicked. Thou shalt have to dwell in the stomach of a vulture or in Hastinapura. O scum of human kind, I shall assuredly fulfil the vow I have made in the midst of the assembly. I swear in the name of Truth, slaying Dussasana in battle, I shall quaff his life-blood! Slaying also thy (other) brothers, I shall smash thy own thighs. Without doubt, O Suyodhana, I am the destroyer of all the sons of Dhritarashtra, as Abhimanyu is of all the (younger) princes! I shall by my deeds, gratify you all! Hearken once more to me. O Suyodhana, slaying thee, with all thy uterine brothers, I shall strike the crown of thy head with my foot in the sight of the king Yudhishthira the Just!'

'Nakula, then, O king, said these words, 'O Uluka, say unto Dhritarashtra's son, Suyodhana, of Kuru's race that all the words uttered by him have now been heard and their sense understood. I shall, O Kauravya, do all that thou hast commended me to do.'

'And Sahadeva also, O monarch, said these words of grave import, 'O Suyodhana, it will all be as thou wishest! Thou shalt have to repent, O great king, along with thy children, kinsmen, and counsellors, even as thou art now bragging joyously in view of our sufferings.'

'Then Virata and Drupada, both venerable in years, said these words unto Uluka, It is even our wish that we become slaves of a virtuous person! Whether, however, we are slaves or masters, will be known tomorrow, as also who owns what manliness!'

'After them, Sikhandin said these words unto Uluka, 'Thou must say unto king Duryodhana who is always addicted to sinfulness, these words, viz.,--See, O king, what fierce deed is perpetrated by me in battle! I shall slay grandsire of thine from his car, relying upon whose prowess thou art certain of success in battle! Without doubt, I have been created by the high-souled Creator for the destruction of Bhishma. I shall assuredly slay Bhishma in the sight of all bowmen.'

'After this, Dhrishtadyumna also said unto Uluka, the gambler's son, these words, 'Say unto prince Suyodhana these my words, viz., I shall slay Drona with all his followers and friends. And I shall do a deed which none else will ever do.'

'King Yudhishthira once more said these high words fraught with clemency, viz.,--O monarch, I never desire the

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slaughter of my kinsmen. O thou of wicked understanding, it is from thy fault that all this will assuredly take place. I shall, of course, have to sanction the fulfilment of their great feats by all these (around me). Go hence, O Uluka, without delay or stay here, O sire, for, blessed be thou, we too are thy kinsmen.'

'Uluka, then, O king, thinking permission of Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma, went thither where king Suyodhana was. Thus addressed, the gambler's son carefully bearing in mind all he had heard, returned to the place from which he had come. And arriving there, he fully represented unto the vindictive Duryodhana all that Arjuna had charged him with. And he also faithfully communicated unto Dhritarashtra's son the words of Vasudeva, of Bhima, of king Yudhishthira the Just, of Nakula and Virata and Drupada, O Bharata and the words of Sahadeva and Dhrishtadyumna and Sikhandin, and the words also that were spoken (subsequently) by Kesava and Arjuna. And having listened to the words of the gambler's son, Duryodhana, that bull of Bharata's race, ordered Dussasana and Karna and Sakuni, O Bharata, and their own troops and the troops of the allies, and all the (assembled) kings, to be arrayed in divisions and be ready for battle before sunrise (next morrow). Messengers then, instructed by Karna and hastily mounting on cars and camels and mares and good steeds endued with great fleetness, quickly rode through the encampment. And at Karna's command they promulgated the order--Array (yourselves) before sunrise tomorrow!'"

SECTION 165

'Sanjaya said, 'Having listened to Uluka's words, Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, moved his army headed by Dhrishtadyumna and others. And that vast army commanded by Dhrishtadyumna, consisting of four kinds of forces, viz., foot-soldiers and elephants and cars and cavalry, terrible, and immovable like the earth herself, and guarded by mighty car-warriors led by Bhimasena and Arjuna, could be compared to the vast ocean lying in stillness. And at the head of that vast force was that mighty bowman, the prince of Panchalas, invincible in battle, viz., Dhrishtadyumna, desirous of obtaining Drona for his antagonist. And Dhrishtadyumna began to select combatants (from his own army) for pitting them against particular warriors of the hostile force. And he gave orders unto his car-warriors, suited to their strength and courage. And he pitted Arjuna against the Suta's son (Karna), Bhima against Duryodhana, Dhrishtaketu against Salya, Uttamaujas against Gautama's son (Kripa), Nakula against Kritavarman, Yuyudhana against the ruler of the Sindhus (Jayadratha). And he placed Sikhandin in the van, pitting him against Bhishma. And he urged Sahadeva against Sakuni, and Chekitana against Sala, and the five sons of Draupadi against the Trigartas. And he urged Subhadra's son (Abhimanyu) against Vrishasena (the son of Karna), and also against all the rest of the kings, for he regarded Abhimanyu as superior to Arjuna himself in battle. And distributing his warriors thus, individually and collectively, that mighty bowman, of the hue of blazing fire, kept Drona for his own share. And that leader of leaders of troops, the mighty and intelligent bowman Dhrishtadyumna, having arrayed his troops duly, waited for battle with a firm heart. And having arrayed the combatants, as indicated above, of the Pandavas, he waited, with collected mind, on the field for securing victory to the sons of Pandu.'"

SECTION 166

"Dhritarashtra said, After Falguni had vowed the slaughter of Bhishma in battle, what did my wicked sons headed by Duryodhana do? Alas, I already behold my father, Ganga's son, slain in battle, by that bowman of firm grasp, viz., Partha, having Vasudeva for his ally! And what also did that mighty bowman, that foremost of smiters, Bhishma, endued with immeasurable wisdom, say on hearing the words of Partha. Having accepted also the command of the Kauravas, what did that foremost of warriors, Ganga's son, of exceeding intelligence and prowess, do?'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus questioned, Sanjaya told him everything about what that eldest one of the Kurus, Bhishma of immeasurable energy, had said.'

"Sanjaya said, 'O monarch, obtaining the command, Bhishma, the son of Santanu said these words unto Duryodhana, gladdening him greatly, 'Worshipping the leader of celestial forces, viz., Kumara, armed with the lance, I shall, without doubt, be the commander of thy army today! I am well-versed in all mighty affairs, as also in various kinds of array. I know also how to make regular soldiers and volunteers act their parts. In the matter of marching the troops and arraying them, in encounters and withdrawing, I am as well-versed, O great king, as Vrihaspati (the preceptor of the celestials), is! I am acquainted with all the methods of military array prevalent amongst the celestials, Gandharvas, and human beings. With these I will confound the Pandavas. Let thy (heart's) fever be dispelled. I will fight (the foe), duly protecting thy army and according to the rules of (military) science! O king, let thy heart's fever be dispelled!'

Hearing these words, Duryodhana said, 'O Ganga's son of mighty arms, I tell thee truly, I have no fear from even all the gods and Asuras united together! How much less, therefore, is my fear when thy invincible self hath become the leader of my forces and when that tiger among men, Drona, also waiteth willingly for battle! When you two foremost of men, are addressed for battle on my side, victory, nay, the sovereignty of even the celestial cannot assuredly be unattainable by me! I desire, however, O Kaurava, to know who amongst all the warriors of the foe and my own are to be counted as Rathas and who Atirathas. Thou, O grandsire, art well-acquainted with the (prowess of the) combatants of the foe, also of ourselves! I desire to hear this, with all these lords of earth!'

"Bhishma said, 'Listen, O son of Gandhari, O king of kings, to the tale of Rathas in thy own army! Hear, O king, as to who are Rathas and who Atirathas! They are in thy army, many thousands, many millions, and many hundreds of millions of Rathas. Listen, however, to me as I name only the principal ones. Firstly, with thy country of brothers including Dussasana and others, thou art of the foremost of Rathas! All of you are skilled in striking, and proficient in cutting chariots and piercing. All of you are accomplished drivers of chariots while seated in the driver's box, and accomplished managers of elephants while seated on the necks of those animals. All of you are clever smiters with maces and bearded darts and swords and bucklers. You are accomplished in weapons and competent in bearing burthens of responsibility. Ye all are disciples of Drona and of Kripa, the son of Saradwat, in arrows and other arms. Wronged by the sons of Pandu, these Dhartarashtras, endued with energy, will assuredly slay in the encounter the Panchalas irresistible in combat. Then, O foremost of the Bharatas, come I, the leader of all thy troops, who will exterminate thy foes, vanquishing the Pandavas! It behoveth me not to speak of my own merits. I am known to thee. The foremost of all wielders of weapons, Bhoja (chief) Kritavarman is Atiratha. Without doubt, he will accomplish thy purpose in battle. Incapable of being humiliated by persons accomplished in arms, shooting or hurling his weapons to a great distance, and a severe smiter, he will destroy the ranks of the foe, as the great Indra destroying the Danavas. The ruler of the Madras, the mighty bowman Salya, is, as I think, an Atiratha. That warrior boasteth himself as Vasudeva's equal, in every battle (that he fighteth). Having abandoned his own sister's sons, that best of kings, Salya, hath become thine. He will encounter in battle the Maharathas of the Pandava party, flooding the enemy with his arrows resembling the very surges of the sea. The mighty bowman Bhurisravas, the son of Somadatta, who is accomplished in arms and is one of thy well-meaning friends, is a leader of leaders of car-divisions. He will, certainly, make a great havoc among the combatants of thy enemies. The king of the Sindhus, O monarch, is in my judgement, equal to two Rathas. That best of car-warriors will fight in battle, displaying great prowess. Humiliated, O king, by the Pandavas on the occasion of his, abducting Draupadi, and bearing that humiliation in mind, that slayer of hostile heroes will fight (for thee). Having practised after that, O king, the severest austerities, he obtained a boon, highly difficult of acquisition, for encountering the Pandavas in battle. That tiger among car-warriors, therefore, remembering his old hostility, will, O sire, fight with the Pandavas in battle, reckless of his very life which is so difficult to lay down.'"

SECTION 167

"Bhishma said, 'Sudhakshina, the ruler of the Kamvojas, is in my judgement, equal to a single Ratha. Desiring the success of thy object, he will certainly fight with the enemy in battle. O best of kings, the Kauravas will behold the prowess of this lion among car-warriors exerted for thee, to be equal to that of Indra himself in battle. As regards the car-army of this king, O monarch, those smiters of fierce impetus, the Kamvojas, will cover a large area like a flight of locusts! Coming from (the province of) Mahishmati, Nila, accoutred in blue mail, is one of thy Rathas. With his car-army he will cause a great havoc among thy foes, O child, he had hostilities with Sahadeva. O king, he will continually fight for thee, O thou of Kuru's race. Accomplished in battle, and of fierce energy and prowess, (the princes) Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti are both regarded as excellent Rathas. These two heroes among men will consume the troops of thy foes, with maces and bearded darts, and swords and long shafts, and javelins hurled from their hands. Like a couple of (elephant) leaders sporting in the midst of their herds, these two princes, O monarch, longing for battle, will range the field, each like Yama himself. The five (royal) brothers of Trigarta are, in my judgement, all foremost of Rathas. The sons of Pritha provoked hostilities with them at Virata's city on that (well-known) occasion. Like huge Makaras, O king, agitating the stream of the Ganges crested with high waves, they will agitate the ranks of the Parthas in battle. All the five, O king, are Rathas, having Satyaratha (amongst them) as their first. Remembering the wrongs inflicted on them of old by that son of Pandu who is Bhima's younger brother, when the latter, O Bharata, on his car drawn by white steeds, was engaged, O monarch, in subjugating all the kings of the earth, they will certainly exert themselves bravely in battle. Encountering many Maharathas--chief of bowmen--leaders of Kshatriyas--on the side of the Parthas, they will certainly slay them. Thy son Lakshmana and the son also of Dussasana--those tigers among men are both unretreating in battle. In prime of youth, of delicate limbs, endued with great activity, those two princes, well-versed with battles and capable of leading all, those tigers among Kurus, those car-warriors, are, I think, two of our best Rathas. Devoted to the duties of the Kshatriya order, those two heroes will achieve great feats. Dandadhara, O monarch, is, O bull among men, equal to a single Ratha. Guarded by his own soldiers, he will fight in battle for thee. Endued with great impetus and prowess, king Vrihadvala, the ruler of the Kosalas, is, in my judgement, O sire, equal to one Ratha. Fierce in arms, this mighty bowman, devoted to the good of the Dhartarashtras, will exert himself powerfully in battle, gladdening his own friends. Kripa, the son of Saradwat is, O king, a leader of leaders of car-ranks. Reckless even of life which is so dear, he will consume thy foes. Born among a clump of heath as the son of that great sage, viz., the preceptor Gautama, otherwise called Saradwat, he is invincible like Kartikeya himself. Consuming untold warriors armed with various weapons and bows, he will, O sire, roam forth on the field of battle like a blazing fire.'"

SECTION 168

"Bhishma said, 'This thy maternal uncle Sakuni is, O king, equal to a single Ratha. Having caused the (present) hostilities (to break out) with the sons of Pandu, he will fight. There is no doubt in this. His troops are irresistible when rushing to battle. Armed with various kinds of weapons in abundance, in speed, they are equal to the very wind. The mighty bowman (Aswatthaman) who is Drona's son surpasseth all bowmen. Acquainted with all modes of warfare, and of unbaffled weapons, he is a Maharatha. Like the wielder of Gandiva, the shafts of this warrior, shot from his bow, proceed in a continuous line, touching one another. If he wishes it, this Maharatha is capable of consuming the three worlds. Engaged in austerities in his hermitage, he hath, by these, increased both his fury and energy. Possessed of great intelligence, he hath been favoured by Drona with (the gift of all) celestial weapons. There is, however, O bull of Bharata's race, one great defect in him, in consequence of which, O best of kings, I do not regard him either as a Ratha or a Maharatha. This regenerate man is exceedingly fond of living, life being very dear to him. Amongst the warriors of both armies there is no one who can be regarded as his peer. On even a single car he can annihilate the very army of the celestials. Possessed of a strong frame, he can split the very mountains by the flaps of his bow-string, striking against the leathern fence on his left arm. Endued with innumerable qualities, this smiter of fierce effulgence will wander (over the field of battle), incapable of being withstood like Yama himself, mace in hand. Resembling the fire at the end of the Yuga as regards his fury, possessed of leonine neck, and endued with great lustre, Aswatthaman will extinguish the embers of this battle between the Bharata's. His father (Drona) is endued with great energy, and though aged, is still superior to many young men. He will achieve great feats in battle. I have no doubt of this. Staying immovably (on the field), he will consume Yudhishthira's troops. The Pandava army will play the part of the dry grass and fuel in which that fire will originate, while the impetus of his own weapons will be the wind for fanning it into a (mighty) flame. This bull among men, is a leader of bands of car-warriors. The son of Bharadwaja will achieve fierce feats for thy good! The preceptor of all Kshatriyas of royal lineage, the venerable preceptor, will exterminate the Srinjayas. Dhananjaya, however, is dear to him. This mighty bowman, therefore, remembering his own celebrated and highly meritorious services as preceptor, will never be able to slay Partha who is capable of achieving great feats without any trouble. O hero, Drona always boasteth of the numerous accomplishments of Partha. Indeed, Bharadwaja looketh on him with greater affection than on his own son. Endued with great prowess, he can, on a single car, beat in battle, by means of his celestial weapons, all the gods, Gandharvas, and human beings united together. That tiger among kings, is, O monarch, one of thy Maharathas. Capable of breaking the car-ranks of hostile heroes, he, in my judgement, is one of thy foremost of car-warriors. Afflicting the ranks of the enemy at the head of his own large force, he will consume the Panchalas like fire consuming a heap of dry grass. Possessed of true fame, prince Vrihadvala is equal to single Ratha. He, O monarch, will roam amid thy enemy's troops like Death himself. His troops, O king of kings, accoutred in various kinds of mail and armed with diverse kinds of weapons, will wander on the field, slaying all the warriors opposed to them. Vrishasena, the son of Karna, is one of thy foremost of car-warriors and is a Maharatha. That foremost of mighty men will consume the troops of thy enemy. Endued with great energy, Jalasandha, O king, is one of thy foremost of Rathas. Born in Madhu's race, that slayer of hostile heroes, is prepared to cast away his very life in battle. Skilled in battle, that mighty-armed warrior, scattering the enemy's ranks before him, will fight in

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battle mounted on car or from the elephant's back. That best of kings, O monarch, is in my judgement, a Ratha. He will, in fierce battle, cast away for thy sake his very life with all, his troops possessed of great prowess and acquainted with all the modes of warfare, he will, O king, fight fearlessly with thy foes in battle. Never retreating from battle, brave, and resembling Yama himself, Vahlika, O king, is in my judgement, an Atiratha. Rushing to the encounter he never cometh back. Indeed, he will slay hostile warriors in battle like the Wind-god himself. That router of hostile car-ranks, that car-warrior of wonderful feats in battle, commander of thy forces, Satyavan is, O king, a Maharatha. He never cherisheth grief at the prospect of battle. Confounding those warriors that stand in the way of his car, he falleth upon them. Always displaying his prowess against the enemy, that best of men will, for thy sake, in fierce press of battle, achieve all that a good Kshatriya should. Thai chief of Rakshasas, Alambhusha, of cruel deeds, is a Maharatha. Remembering his old hostilities (with the Pandavas), he will commit great execution among the foe. He is the best of Rathas amongst all the Rakshasa-warriors. Possessing powers of illusion, and firm in enmity, he will wander fiercely on the field. The ruler of Pragjyotisha, the brave Bhagadatta of exceeding prowess, is the foremost of those holding the elephant hook, and is skilled also in fighting from a car. An encounter took place between him and the wielder of Gandiva for days together, O king, each desirous of victory over the other. Then Bhagadatta, O son of Gandhari, who regarded Indra as his friend, made friendship with (Indra's son) the high-souled Pandava. Skilled in fight from the elephant's neck, this king will fight in battle, like Vasava among the celestials, fighting from his Airavata.'"

SECTION 169

"Bhishma said, 'Both the brothers Achala and Vrisha are Rathas. Invincible (in battle) they will slay thy foes. Endued with great strength, those tigers among men, those foremost of Gandharvas, are firm in wrath. Young and handsome, they are possessed of great strength. As regards this thy ever dear friend, this one who is always boastful of his skill in battle, this one who always urgeth thee, O king, to fight with the Pandavas, this vile braggart, Karna, the son of Surya, this one who is thy counsellor, guide, and friend, this vain wight who is destitute of sense, this Karna, is neither a Ratha nor an Atiratha. Without sense, this one hath been deprived of his natural coat of mail. Always kind, he hath also been deprived of his celestial ear-rings. In consequence of the curse of Rama (his preceptor in arms) as also of the words of a Brahmana (who cursed him on another occasion), owing also to his deprivation of the accoutrements of battle, he, in my judgement, is only half a Ratha. Having approached Falguni (in battle), he will not certainly escape with life!' Hearing this, Drona, that foremost of all wielders of weapons, said, 'It is even so as thou hast said. That is not untrue! He boasteth on the eve of every battle, but yet he is seen to retreat from every engagement. Kind (out of season) and blundering, it is for this that Karna, in my judgement, is only half a Ratha!'

"Hearing these words, Radha's son, expanding his eyes in rage, and afflicting Bhishma with words like sharp hooks, said unto Ganga's son these words, 'O grandsire, though I am innocent yet from thy aversion to me, thou manglest me thus, according to thy pleasure, with thy wordy arrows at every step. I tolerate, however, all this for the sake of Duryodhana. Indicating me as only half a Ratha, thou regardest me worthless, as if, indeed, I were a coward! What doubt is there in this? I do not speak an untruth when I say that thou, O Ganga's son, art an enemy of the whole universe, and especially of all the Kurus! The king, however, doth not know this! Who else is there that would thus seek to disunite and abate the energy of these kings that are all equal and that are all equally brave, as thou, from thy hatred of merit, seekest to do? O Kaurava, neither years, nor wrinkles, nor wealth, nor possession of friends, would entitle a Kshatriya to be regarded as a Maharatha! It hath been said that a Kshatriya acquireth eminence only through might, as Brahmanas acquire eminence through superiority in mantras, as Vaisyas through wealth, and Sudras through age. Influenced, however, by lust and envy, and acting from ignorance, thou hast indicated Rathas and Atirathas according only to thy own caprice! Blessed be thou, O mighty-armed Duryodhana, judge properly! Let this wicked Bhishma, who only wrongeth thee, be abandoned by thee! Thy warriors, once disunited, can with difficulty be united again. O tiger among men, thy main army, under such circumstances, can with difficulty be united; far greater will the difficulty be in uniting an army gathered from various provinces! Behold, O Bharata, doubt (of success) hath already arisen in the hearts of thy warriors! This Bhishma weakeneth our energy in our very presence! Where is the task of ascertaining the merits of Rathas, and where is Bhishma of little understanding? I alone will withstand the army of Pandavas. Coming in contact with me, whose arrows never go for nothing, the Pandavas and the Panchalas will fly away in all directions like oxen when they come in contact with a tiger! Where, Oh, are battle, the press of armed encounter, good counsels and well-expressed words, and where is Bhishma, who is superannuated and of wicked soul, and who is impelled by the very fates to become their victim? Alone he challengeth the whole universe! Of false vision he regardeth none else as a man. It is true the scriptures teach that the words of the old should be listened to. That, however, doth not refer to those that are very old, for these, in my judgement, become children again. Alone I will exterminate the army of the Pandavas! The fame, however, of such a feat will attach to Bhishma, O tiger among kings, for this Bhishma, O monarch, hath been made by thee the commander of thy forces, and the renown always attacheth to the leader and not to those that fight under him. I will not, therefore, O king, fight as long as Ganga's son liveth! After Bhishma, however, hath been laid low, I will fight with all the Maharathas of the enemy united together!'

"Bhishma said, 'This burden, vast as the ocean, in the matter of Duryodhana's battle (with the Pandavas), is about to be taken up by me. I have thought of it for many years. Now that the hour is come for that terrible encounter, dissensions amongst ourselves should not be created by me. It is for this, Suta's son, that thou livest! Else, superannuated though I am and young in years thou art, I would quell thy desire for battle and crush thy hope of life! (Thy preceptor) Rama, the son of Jamadagni, shooting his great weapons, could not cause me the slightest pain. What canst thou, therefore, do to me? They that are good, do not approve self-praise. Infamous wretch of thy race, know that I indulge in little boast because I am enraged. Vanquishing on a single car all the assembled Kshatriyas of the world at the Swayamvara of the daughters of the ruler of Kasi, I abducted those maidens. Alone, I stopped on the field of battle the rush of countless kings with their soldiers! Obtaining thee as embodiment of strife, a great calamity is ready to overtake the Kurus! Strive then for slaying our antagonists. Be a man, fight with that Partha, whom thou so often challengest. O thou of wicked understanding, I desire to see thee come out of that encounter with thy life!'

"King Duryodhana then said unto Bhishma, of great prowess, 'Cast thy eyes on me, O Ganga's son! Great is the business that is at hand! Think earnestly as how I may be most benefited! Both of you will render me great services! I desire now to bear of the best car-warriors among the enemy, that is, of those that are Atirathas among them and of those that are leaders of car-division. O Kaurava, I desire to hear of the strength and weakness of my foes, since when this night will dawn, our great battle will take place.'"

SECTION 170

"Bhishma said, 'I have now, O king, indicated who thy Rathas are and who thy Atirathas and half Rathas. Listen now to the tale of Rathas and Atirathas among the Pandavas. If thou feelest any curiosity, listen then, O king, with these monarchs, to the tale of Rathas in the army of the Pandavas. The king himself, son of Pandu and Kunti, is a mighty Ratha. Without doubt, O sire, he will glide along the field of battle like a blazing fire; Bhimasena, O king, is regarded equal to eight Rathas. In an encounter with the mace or even with arrows, there is none equal to him. Endued with the strength of ten thousand elephants, and filled with pride, in energy he is superhuman. Those two bulls among men, the sons of Madri, are both Rathas. In beauty, they are equal to the twin Aswinis, and they are endued with great energy. Stationed at the head of their divisions, all of them, remembering their great sufferings, without doubt, wander along the field like so many Indras! All of them are endued with high souls, and are tall in stature like the trunks of Sala trees. Taller than other men by half-a-cubit in stature, all the sons of Pandu are brave as lions and endued with great strength. All of them, O sire, have practised Brahmacharya vows and other ascetic austerities. Endued with modesty, those tigers among men are possessed of fierce strength like the veritable tigers. In speed, in smiting, and in crushing (foes), all of them are more than human. All of them, on the occasion of the campaign of universal conquest, vanquished great kings, O bull of Bharata's race! No other men can wield their weapons, maces, and shafts. Indeed, O Kaurava, there are no men that can even string their bows, or uplift their maces, or shoot their arrows in battle. In speed, in hitting the aim, in eating, and in sports on the dust, they used to beat all of you even when they were children. Possessed of fierce might they will, when they encounter this force, exterminate it in battle. A collision, therefore, with them is not desirable. Each of them can alone slay all the kings of the earth! That which happened, O great king, on the occasion of the Rajasuya sacrifice, had occurred before thy very eyes! Remembering the sufferings of Draupadi and the harsh speeches uttered after their defeat at dice, they will wander in battle like so many Rudras. As regards Gudakesha, of reddish eyes, having Narayana for his ally, there is not among both the armies any brave car-warrior that can be regarded as his equal. Let men alone, it hath not been heard by us that even among gods, Asuras, Uragas, Rakshasas and Yakshas, there ever was born before, or there ever will be born hereafter, any car-warrior like unto him! O great king, intelligent Partha owneth that car which is furnished with the banner bearing the device of the ape; the driver of that car is Vasudeva! Dhananjaya himself is the warrior who fighteth from it; his, again, is that celestial bow called Gandiva; he owneth again those steeds fleet as the wind; his coat of mail is impenetrable and of celestial make; his two large quivers are inexhaustible; his arms have been obtained from the great Indra, Rudra, Kuvera, Yama and Varuna; and upon his car, again, are those maces of frightful mien, and diverse other great weapons having the thunderbolt amongst them! What car-warrior can be regarded as his equal, who, stationed on a single car' slew in battle a thousand Danavas, having their abode in Hiranyapura? Inflamed with wrath, possessed of great might and prowess, incapable of being baffled, that mighty-armed warrior, while protecting his own army, will certainly exterminate thy troops! Myself and preceptor (Drona) among the two armies, and no third car-warrior, O great king, can advance against Dhananjaya, that scatterer of arrowy showers! Pouring his shafts, like the very clouds during the rainy season when propelled by mighty winds, that son of Kunti when Vasudeva as his second, steppeth for battle! He is skilful and young, while both of us are old and worn out!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words of Bhishma, and recollecting with trembling heart, the well-known valour of the sons of Pandu and thinking of it, as if it were present before their eyes, the massive arms of kings, decked with bracelets and smeared with sandal-paste, seemed to hang down divested of might.'"

SECTION 171

"Bhishma said, 'All the five sons of Draupadi, O monarch, are Maharathas. Virata's son Uttara is, in my judgement, one of the foremost of Rathas. The mighty-armed Abhimanyu is a leader of leaders of car-divisions. Indeed, that slayer of foes is equal in battle to Partha himself or Vasudeva. Endued with great lightness of hand in shooting weapons, and acquainted with all the modes of warfare, he is possessed of great energy and is steady in the observance of vows. Remembering the sufferings of his own father, he will put forth his prowess. The brave Satyaki of Madhu's race is a leader of leaders of car-divisions. Foremost among the heroes of the Vrishni race, he is endued with great wrath, and is perfectly dauntless. Uttamaujas also, O king, is an excellent car-warrior in my judgement. And Yudhamanyu, too, of great prowess, is, in my judgement, an excellent car-warrior. All those chiefs own many thousands of cars and elephants and horses, and they will fight, reckless of their very lives, from desire of doing what is agreeable to Kunti's sons. Uniting with the Pandavas, they will, O great king, sweep through thy ranks like fire or the wind, challenging thy warriors. Invincible in battle, those bulls among men, old Virata and old Drupada, both endued with great prowess, are, in my judgement, both Maharathas. Though old in years yet both of them are devoted to the observance of Kshatriya virtues. Treading along the path that is trod by heroes, both of them will exert to the best of their might. In consequence of their relationship (to the Pandavas) and owing also, O king, to their being endued with strength and prowess, those great bowmen devoted to pure vows, have both derived additional strength from the strength of their affection. According as the cause is, all strong-armed men become, O bull of Kuru's race, heroes or cowards. Actuated by a singleness of purpose, both these kings, who are powerful bowmen, will lay down their very lives in causing a great massacre of thy troops to the best of their might, O slayer of foes! Fierce in battle, these distinguished heroes, these mighty bowmen, regardless, O Bharata, of their lives, will, at the head of their respective Akshauhinis, achieve great feats, justifying their relationship and the confidence that is reposed on them (by the Pandavas).'"

SECTION 172

"Bhishma said, 'That subjugator of hostile cities, Sikhandin, the son of the king of the Panchalas, is, O king, in my judgement, one of the foremost of Yudhishthira's Rathas. Having divested himself on his former sex, he will fight in battle and earn great fame, O Bharata, among thy troops! He hath a large number of troops,--Panchalas and Prabhadrakas,--to support him. With those hosts of cars he will achieve great feats. Dhrishtadyumna also, O Bharata, the leader of all Yudhishthira's army, that mighty car-warrior who is also a disciple of Drona, is, O king, in my judgement, an Atiratha. Afflicting all foes in battle, he will singly sweep the field, like Pinaka,--bearing God himself in rage on the occasion of the universal dissolution. Even great warriors will speak of his car-divisions, so multitudinous are they, as resembling the very ocean or that of the gods, in battle! Kshattradharman, the son of Dhrishtadyumna, owing to his immature years, as also in consequence of his want of exercise in arms, is, in my judgement, O king, only half a Ratha. That relative of the Pandavas, the mighty bowman Dhrishtaketu, the heroic son of Sisupala, the king of the Chedis, is a Maharatha. That brave ruler of the Chedis will, O king, with his son, achieve feats such as are difficult for even a Maharatha. Kshattradeva, that subjugator of hostile cities, who is devoted

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to Kshatriya virtues, is, O great king, in my judgement, one of the best Rathas among the Pandavas. Those brave warriors among the Panchalas, viz., Jayanta and Amitaujas and the great car-warrior Satyajit are all, O king, high-souled Maharathas. They will all, O sire, fight in battle like furious elephants. Aja and Bhoja, both endued with great prowess, are both Maharathas. Possessed of great might, those two heroes will fight for the Pandavas. Both of them are endued with great lightness of hand in the use of weapons. Both of them are conversant with all the modes of warfare, both are well-skilled and possessed of firm prowess. The five Kshatriya brothers, O king, who are difficult of being vanquished, and all of whom have blood red banners, are foremost of the Rathas. Kasika, and Sukumara, and Nila, and that other one, viz., Suryadatta, and Sankha, otherwise called Madiraswa, are all in my judgement, the foremost of Rathas. Possessed of every qualification that renders them fit for battle, they are acquainted with all weapons, and all of them are endued with high souls. Vardhakshemi, O king, is in my judgement, a Maharatha. King Chitrayudha is, in my judgement, one of the best of Rathas. He is, besides, an asset in battle and devotedly attached to the diadem-decked (Arjuna). Those mighty car-warriors, those tigers among men, Chekitana, and Satyadhriti, are two of the best Rathas of the Pandavas in my judgement. Vyaghradatta, O monarch, and Chandrasena also, O Bharata, are without doubt two of the best Rathas, as I think, of the Pandavas. Senavindu, O king, otherwise called Krodhahantri by name, who, O lord, is regarded as equal of Vasudeva and of Bhimasena, will contend with great prowess in battle against your warriors. Indeed, that best of kings, ever boasting of his feats in battle, should be regarded by thee, precisely as myself, Drona and Kripa are regarded by thee! That best of men, worthy of praise, viz., Kasya, is endued with great lightness of hand in the use of weapons. Indeed, that subjugator of hostile cities is known to me as equal to one Ratha. Drupada's son, Satyajit, young in years and displaying great prowess in battle, should be regarded as equal to eight Rathas. Indeed being Dhrishtadyumna's equal, he is an Atiratha. Desirous of spreading the fame of the Pandavas, he will achieve great feats. Devoted to the Pandavas and endued with great bravery, there is another great Ratha of the Pandavas, viz., king Pandya, that bowman of mighty energy. The mighty bowman Dhridadhanwan is another Maharatha of the Pandavas. O subjugator of hostile cities, that foremost of Kurus, viz., Srenimat and king Vasudeva are both, in my judgement, Atirathas.'"

SECTION 173

"Bhishma said, 'O great king, Rochamana is another Maharatha of the Pandavas. He will, O Bharata, contend in battle against hostile warriors, like a second god. That subjugator of foes, the mighty bowman Kuntibhoja of great strength, the maternal uncle of Bhimasena, is, in my judgement, an Atiratha. This mighty and heroic bowman is well-versed and highly skilled in fight. Acquainted with all modes of warfare, this bull among car-warriors is regarded by me as exceedingly competent. Displaying his prowess he will fight, like a second Indra against the Danavas. Those celebrated soldiers that he owns are all accomplished in fight. Stationed on the side of the Pandavas and devoted to what is agreeable and beneficial to them, that hero will, for the sake of his sister's sons achieve extra-ordinary feats. That prince of Rakshasas (Ghatotkacha), O king, born of Bhima and Hidimva, and endued with ample powers of illusion, is, in my judgement, a leader of the leaders of car-divisions. Fond of battle, and endued with powers of illusion, he will, O sire, fight earnestly in battle. Those heroic Rakshasas who are his counsellors or dependents will also fight under him.

'These and many other rulers of provinces, headed by Vasudeva, have assembled for the sake of Pandu's son. These, O king, are principally the Rathas, Atirathas, and half Rathas of the high-souled Pandava, and these, O king, will lead in battle the terrible army of Yudhishthira which is protected, again, by that hero, the diadem-decked (Arjuna), who is even like the great Indra himself. It is with them (thus) endued with powers of illusion and fired by the desire of success that I shall contend in battle, expectant of victory or death. I shall advance against these two foremost of car-warriors, Vasudeva and Arjuna, bearing (respectively) Gandiva and the discus, and resembling the sun and the moon as seen together in the evening. I shall, on the field of battle, encounter also those other car-warriors of Yudhishthira (whom I have, mentioned) at the head of their respective troops.

'The Rathas and Atirathas, according to their precedence, have now been declared by me to thee, and they also that are half Rathas, belonging to thee or them, O chief of the Kauravas! Arjuna and Vasudeva and other lords of earth that may be there, all of them, upon whom my eyes may fall, I will withstand, O Bharata! But, thou of mighty arms, I will not strike or slay Sikhandin the prince of Panchalas, even if I behold him rushing against me in battle with weapons upraised. The world knows how from a desire of doing what was agreeable to my father, that I gave up the kingdom that had become mine and lived in the observance of the Brahmacharya vow. I then installed Chitrangada in the sovereignty of the Kauravas, making at the same time the child Vichitravirya the Yuvaraja. Having notified my god-like vow among all the kings of the earth, I shall never slay a woman or one that was formerly a woman. It may be known to you, O king, that Sikhandin was formerly a woman. Having been born as a daughter, she afterwards became metamorphosed into the male sex. I shall not, O Bharata, fight against him. I shall certainly smite all other kings, O bull of Bharata's race, whom I may encounter in battle. I will not, however, O king, be able to slay the sons of Kunti!'"

SECTION 174

"Duryodhana said, 'For what reason, O chief of the Bharatas, wilt thou not slay Sikhandin even if thou beholdest him approach thee as a foe with arms upraised? Thou hadst, O mighty-armed one, formerly told me,--I will slay the Panchalas with the Somakas'--O son of Ganga, tell me, O grandsire (the reason of the present reservation),'

"Bhishma said, 'Listen, O Duryodhana, to this history, with all these lords of earth, as to why I will not slay Sikhandin even if I behold him in battle! My father, Santanu, O king, was celebrated over all the world. O bull of the Bharata race, that king of virtuous soul paid his debt to nature in time, Observing my pledge, O chief of the Bharatas, I then installed my brother, Chitrangada, on the throne of the extensive kingdom of the Kurus. After Chitrangada's demise, obedient to the counsels of Satyavati, I installed, according to the ordinance, Vichitravirya as king. Although young in age, yet being installed duly by me, O monarch, the virtuous Vichitravirya looked up to me in everything. Desirous of marrying him, I set my heart upon procuring daughters from a suitable family. (At that time) I heard, O thou of mighty arms, that three maidens, all unrivalled for beauty, daughters of the ruler of Kasi, by name Amva, Amvika, and Amvalika would select husbands for themselves, and that all the kings of the earth, O bull of the Bharata's race, had been invited. Amongst those maidens Amva was the eldest, Amvika the second, while the princess Amvalika, O monarch, was the youngest. Myself repairing on a single car to the city of the ruler of Kasi, I beheld, O thou of mighty arms, the three maidens adorned with ornaments and also all the kings of the earth invited thither on the occasion. Then, O bull of Bharata's race, challenging to battle all those kings who were ready for the encounter, I took up those maidens on my car and repeatedly said unto all the kings assembled there these words--Bhishma, the son of Santanu, is carrying away by force these maidens. Ye kings, strive ye all to the best of your power for rescuing them! By force do I take them away, ye bulls among men, making you spectators of my act!--At these words of mine those rulers of the earth sprang up with weapons unsheathed. And they angrily urged the drivers of their cars, saying, 'Make ready the cars,--Make ready the cars.' And those monarchs sprang up to the rescue, with weapons unsheathed; car-warriors on their cars resembling masses of clouds, those fighting from elephants, on their elephants, and others on their stout and plump steeds. Then all those kings, O monarch, surrounded me on all sides with a multitudinous number of cars. With a shower of arrows, I stopped their onrush on all sides and vanquished them like the chief of celestials vanquishing hordes of Danavas. Laughingly, with easiness I cut down the variegated standards, decked with gold, of the advancing kings, with blazing shafts, O bull of Bharata's race! In that combat I overthrew their steeds and elephants and car-drivers, each with a single arrow. Beholding that lightness (of hand) of mine, they desisted (from the fight) and broke. And having vanquished all those rulers of the earth, I came back to Hastinapura, I then, O thou of mighty arms, made over those maidens, intending them for my brothers to Satyavati and represented unto her everything I had done.'"

SECTION 175

"Bhishma said, 'Then, O chief of the Bharatas, approaching my mother, that daughter of the Dasa clan, and saluting that parent of heroes, I said these words,--Having vanquished all the kings, these daughters of the ruler of Kasi, having beauty alone for their dowry, have been abducted by me for the sake of Vichitravirya!--Then, O king, Satyavati with eyes bathed in tears, smelt my head, and joyously said, 'By good luck it is, O child, that thou hast triumphed!' When next, with Satyavati's acquiescence, the nuptials approached, the eldest daughter of the ruler of Kasi said these words in great bashfulness,--O Bhishma, thou art conversant with morality, and art well-versed in all our scriptures! Hearing my words, it behoveth thee to do towards me that which is consistent with morality. The ruler of the Salwas was before this mentally chosen by me as my lord. By him also, without my father's knowledge, I was privately solicited. How wouldst thou, O Bhishma, born especially as thou art in Kuru's race, transgress the laws of morality and cause one that longeth for another to live in thy abode? Knowing this, O bull of Bharata's race, and deliberating in thy mind, it behoveth thee, O mighty-armed one, to accomplish what is proper. O monarch, it is clear that the ruler of the Salwas waiteth (for me). It behoveth thee, therefore, O best of the Kurus' to permit me to depart. O mighty-armed one, be merciful to me, O foremost of righteous persons! Thou, O hero, art devoted to truth, it is well-known all over the earth!'"

SECTION 176

"Bhishma said, 'I then placed the matter before (my mother) Kali, otherwise called Gandhavati, as also all our counsellors, and also before our special and ordinary priests and then permitted, O king, the eldest of those maidens, Amva, to depart. Permitted by me, that maiden then went to the city of the ruler of the Salwas. And she had for her escort a number of old Brahmanas and was also accompanied by her own nurse. And having travelled the whole distance (between Hastinapura and Salwa's city), she approached king Salwa and said these words, 'I come, O thou of mighty arms, expectant of thee, O high-souled one! Unto her, however, O king, the lord of the Salwas said with a laughter, 'O thou of the fairest complexion, I no longer desire to make a wife of thee who wast to be wedded to another. Therefore, O blessed one, go back thither unto Bhishma's presence. I no longer desire thee that was forcibly ravished by Bhishma. Indeed, when Bhishma, having vanquished the kings, took thee away, thou didst go with him cheerfully. When having humiliated and vanquished all the kings of the earth, Bhishma took thee away, I no longer desire thee, O thou of the fairest complexion, for a wife,--thee that was to have been wedded to another! How can a king like myself, who is acquainted with all branches of knowledge and who lays down laws for the guidance of others, admit (into his abode) a woman who was to have been wedded to another? O blessed lady, go whithersoever thou wishest, without spending thy time in vain!' Hearing these words of his, Amva then, O king, afflicted with the arrows of the god of love, addressed Salwa, saying, 'Say not so, O lord of the earth, for it is not so! O grinder of foes, cheerful I was not when taken away by Bhishma! He took me away by force, having routed all the kings, and I was weeping all the while. An innocent girl that I am and attached to thee, accept me, O lord of the Salwas! The abandonment (by one) of those that are attached (to him) is never applauded in the scriptures. Having solicited Ganga's son who never retreats from battle, and having at last obtained his permission, I come to thee! Indeed, the mighty-armed Bhishma, O king, desireth me not! It hath been heard by me that his action (in this matter) hath been for the sake of his brother. My two sisters Amvika and Amvalika, who were abducted with me at the same time, have, O king, been bestowed by Ganga's son on his younger brother Vichitravirya! O lord of the Salwas, I swear, O tiger among men, by touching my own head that I have never thought of any other husband than thee! I do not, O great king, come to thee as one who was to have been wedded to another! I tell thee the truth, O Salwa, truly swearing by my soul! Take me, O thou of large eyes, me--a maiden come to thee of her own accord--one unbetrothed to another, one desirous of thy grace!' Although she spoke in this strain, Salwa, however, O chief of the Bharatas, rejected that daughter of the ruler of Kasi, like a snake casting off his slough. Indeed, although that king was earnestly solicited with diverse expressions such as these, the lord of the Salwas still did not, O bull of the Bharata race, manifest any inclination for accepting the girl. Then the eldest daughter of the ruler of Kasi, filled with anger, and her eyes bathed in tears, said these words with a voice choked with tears and grief, 'Cast off, O king, by thee, whithersoever I may go, the righteous will be my protectors, for truth is indestructible!'

"It thus, O thou of Kuru's race, that the lord of the Salwas rejected that maiden who addressed him in language such as this and who was sobbing in grief so tenderly. Go, go,--were the words that Salwa said unto her repeatedly. I am in terror of Bhishma, O thou of fair hips, thou art Bhishma's capture! Thus addressed by Salwa destitute of foresight, that maiden issued out of his city sorrowfully and wailing like a she-osprey.'"

SECTION 177

"Bhishma said, 'Issuing out of the city, Amva reflected sorrowfully in this strain. 'There is not in the whole world a young woman in such a miserable plight as I! Alas, destitute of friends, I am rejected by Salwa also! I cannot go back to the city named after an elephant, for I was permitted by Bhishma to leave that city, expectant of Salwa! Whom then shall I blame? Myself? Or, the invincible Bhishma? Or, that foolish father of mine who made arrangements for my self-choice? Perhaps, it is my own fault! Why did I not leap down before from Bhishma's car, when that fierce battle took place, for coming to Salwa? That I am so afflicted now, as if deprived of my senses, is the fruit of that omission of mine! Cursed be Bhishma! Cursed be my own wretched father of foolish understanding, who had arranged prowess to be my dower, sending me out as if I were a woman (disposed) for a consideration! Cursed be myself! Cursed be king Salwa himself and cursed be my creator too! Cursed be they through whose

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fault such great misery hath been mine! Human beings always suffer what is destined for them. The cause, however, of my present affliction is Bhishma, the son of Santanu; I, therefore, see that at present my vengeance should fall upon him, either through ascetic austerities or by battle, for he is the cause of my woe! But what king is there that would venture to vanquish Bhishma in battle? Having settled this, she issued out of the city for repairing to an asylum of the high-souled ascetics of virtuous deeds. The night she stayed there, surrounded by those ascetics. And that lady of sweet smiles told those ascetics, O Bharata, all that had happened to herself with the minutest details, O mighty-armed one, about her abduction, and her rejection by Salwa.'

"There lived in that asylum an eminent Brahmana of rigid vows, and his name was Saikhavatya. Endued with ascetic merit of a high order, he was a preceptor of the scriptures and the Aranyakas. And the sage Saikhavatya, of great ascetic merit, addressed that afflicted maiden, that chaste girl sighing heavily in grief, and said, 'If it hath been so, O blessed lady, what can high-souled ascetics residing in their (woody) retreats and engaged in penances do?' That maiden, however, O king, answered him, saying, 'Let mercy be shown to me; I desire a life in the woods, having renounced the world. I will practise the severest of ascetic austerities. All that I now suffer is certainly the fruit of those sins that I had committed from ignorance in my former life. I do not venture to go back to my relatives, ye ascetics, rejected and cheerless that I am knowing that I have been humiliated by Salwa! Ye that have washed away your sins, godlike as ye are, I desire that ye should instruct me in ascetic penance! Oh, let mercy be shown to me!' Thus addressed, that sage then comforted the maiden by examples and reasons borrowed from the scriptures. And having consoled her thus, he promised, with the other Brahmanas, to do what she desired.'"

SECTION 178

"Bhishma said, 'Those virtuous ascetics then set themselves about their usual avocations, thinking all the while as to what they should do for that maiden. And some amongst them said, 'Let her be taken to her father's abode.' And some amongst them set their hearts upon reproaching ourselves. And some thought that repairing to the ruler of the Salwas, he should be solicited to accept the maiden. And some said, 'No, that should not be done, for she hath been rejected by him.' And after some time had passed thus, those ascetics of rigid vows once more said unto her, 'What, O blessed lady, can ascetics with senses under control do? Do not devote thyself to a life in the woods, renouncing the world! O blessed lady, listen to these words that are beneficial to thee! Depart hence, blessed be thou, to thy father's mansion! The king, thy father, will do what should next be done. O auspicious one, surrounded by every comfort, thou mayest live there in happiness. Thou art a woman! At present, therefore, O blessed one, thou hast no other protector save thy father. O thou of the fairest complexion, as regards a woman, she hath her father for her protector or her husband. Her husband is her protector when she is in comfortable circumstances, but when plunged in misery, she hath her father for her protector. A life in the woods is exceedingly painful, especially to one that is delicate. Thou art a princess by birth; over this, thou art, again, very delicate, O beautiful dame! O blessed lady, there are numerous discomforts and difficulties attaching to a life in a (woody) retreat, none of which, O thou of the fairest complexion, shalt thou have to bear in thy father's abode!' Other ascetics, beholding that helpless girl said to her, 'Seeing thee alone in deep and solitary woods, kings may court thee! Therefore, set not thy heart upon such a course!'

"Hearing these words, Amva said, 'I am incapable of going back to my father's abode in the city of Kasi, for without doubt I shalt then be disregarded by all my relatives. Ye ascetics, I lived there, in my father's abode, during my childhood. I cannot, however, now go to thither where my father is. Protected by the ascetics, I desire to practise ascetic austerities, so that in even future life of mine such sore afflictions may not be mine! Ye best of ascetics, I desire, therefore, to practise ascetic austerities!'

"Bhishma continued, 'When those Brahmanas were thinking thus about her, there came into that forest that best of ascetics, the royal sage Hotravahana. Then those ascetics reverenced the king with worship, enquiries of welcome and courtesy, a seat, and water. And after he was seated and had rested for a while, those denizens of the forest once more began to address that maiden in the hearing of that royal sage. Hearing the story of Amva and the king of Kasi, that royal sage of great energy became very anxious at heart. Hearing her speak in that strain, and beholding her (distressed), that royal sage of rigid austerities, viz., the high-souled Hotravahana, was filled with pity. Then, O lord, that maternal grandsire of her rose up with trembling frame and causing that maiden to sit on his lap, began to comfort her. He then acquired of her in details about that distress of hers from its beginning. And she, thereupon, represented to him minutely all that had happened. Hearing all she said, the royal sage was filled with pity and grief. And that great sage settled in mind what she would do. Trembling from agitation he addressed the afflicted maiden sunk in woe, saying, 'Do not go back to thy father's abode, O blessed lady! I am the father of thy mother. I will dispel thy grief. Rely on me, O daughter! Great, indeed, must thy affliction he when thou art so emaciated! At my advice, go unto the ascetic Rama, the son of Jamadagni. Rama will dispel this great affliction and grief of thine. He will slay Bhishma in battle if the latter obeyeth not his behest. Go, therefore, unto that foremost one of Bhrigu's race who resembleth the Yuga-fire itself in energy! That great ascetic will place thee once more on the right track!' Hearing this, that maiden, shedding tears all the while, saluted her maternal grandsire, Hotravahana, with a bend of her head and addressed him, saying, 'Go I will at thy command! But shall I succeed in obtaining a sight of that reverend sire celebrated over the world? How will he dispel this poignant grief of mine? And how shall I go to that descendant of Bhrigu? I desire to know all this.'

"Hotravahana said, 'O blessed maiden, thou wilt behold Jamadagni's son, Rama, who is devoted to truth and endued with great might and engaged in austere penances in the great forest. Rama always dwelleth in that foremost of the mountains called Mahendra. Many Rishis, learned in the Vedas, and many Gandharvas and Apsaras also dwell there. Go, blessed be thou, and tell him these words of mine, having saluted with thy bent head that sage of rigid vows and great ascetic merit. Tell him also, O blessed girl, all that thou seekest. If thou namest me, Rama will do everything for thee, for Rama, the heroic son of Jamadagni, that foremost of all bearers of arms, is a friend of mine highly pleased with me, and always wisheth me well!' And while king Hotravahana, was saying all this unto that maiden, thither appeared Akritavrana, a dear companion of Rama. And on his advent those Munis by hundreds, and the Srinjaya king Hotravahana, old in years, all stood up. And those denizens of the forest, uniting with one another, did him all the rites of hospitality. And they all took their seats surrounding him. And filled, O monarch, with gratification and joy, they then started various delightful, laudable, and charming subjects of discourse. And after their discourse was over, that royal sage, the high-souled Hotravahana enquired of Akritavrana about Rama that foremost of great sages, saying, 'O thou of mighty arms, where, O Akritavrana, may that foremost of persons acquainted with the Vedas, viz., Jamadagni's son of great prowess be seen?' Akritavrana answered him saying, 'O lord, Rama always speaketh of thee, O king, saying,--That royal sage of the Srinjayas is my dear friend,--I believe, Rama will be here tomorrow morning. Thou wilt see him even here when he cometh to behold thee. As regards this maiden, for what, O royal sage, hath she come to the wood? Whose is she, and what is she to thee? I desire to know all this.' Hotravahana. said, 'The favourite daughter of the ruler of Kasi, she is, O lord, my daughter's child! The eldest daughter of the king of Kasi, she is known by the name of Amva. Along with her two younger sisters, O sinless one, she was in the midst of her Swayamvara ceremonies. The names of her two younger sisters are Amvika and Amvalika, O thou endued with wealth of asceticism! All the Kshatriya kings of the earth were assembled together at the city of Kasi. And, O regenerate Rishi, great festivities were going on there on account of (the self-choice of) these maidens. In the midst of these, Santanu's son, Bhishma, of mighty valour, disregarding all the kings, abducted the girls. Vanquishing all the monarchs, the pure-souled prince Bhishma of Bharata's race then reached Hastinapura, and representing everything unto Satyavati, ordered his brother Vichitravirya's marriage to take place with the girls he had brought. Beholding the arrangements for those nuptials complete, this maiden, O bull among Brahmanas, then addressed Ganga's son in the presence of his ministers and said,--I have, O hero, within my heart chosen the lord of the Salwas to be my husband. Conversant as thou art with morality, it behoveth thee not to bestow me on thy brother, whose heart is given away to another!--Hearing these words of hers, Bhishma took counsel with his ministers. Deliberating on the matter, he, at last, with Satyavati's consent, dismissed this maiden, Permitted thus by Bhishma, this girl gladly repaired to Salwa, the lord of Saubha, and approaching him said,--Dismissed I have been by Bhishma. See that I do not fall off from righteousness! In my heart, I have chosen thee for my lord, O bull among kings. Salwa, however, rejected her, suspecting the purity of her conduct. Even she hath come to these woods, sacred for asceticism, being ardently inclined to devote herself to ascetic penances! She was recognised by me from the account that she gave of her parentage. As regards her sorrow, Bhishma is considered by her to be its root!' After Hotravahana had ceased, Amva herself said, 'O holy one, it is even so as this lord of earth, this author of my mother's body, Hotravahana of the Srinjaya race hath said. I cannot venture to go back to my own city, O thou that art endued with wealth of asceticism, for shame and fear of disgrace, O great Muni! At present, O holy one, even this is what hath been my determination, viz., that that would be my highest duty which the holy Rama, O best of Brahmanas, might point out to me!'"

SECTION 179

"Akritavrana said, 'Of these two afflictions of thine, for which, O blessed lady, dost thou seek a remedy? Tell me this. Is it thy wish that the lord of Saubha should be urged to wed thee, the high-souled Rama will certainly urge him from desire of doing thee good? Or, if thou wishest to behold Ganga's son, Bhishma, defeated in battle by intelligent Rama Bhargava will gratify even that wish of thine. Hearing what Srinjaya has to say, and what thou also, O thou of sweet smiles, may have to say, let that be settled this very day what should be done for thee.' Hearing these words, Amva said, 'O holy one, abducted I was by Bhishma acting from ignorance, for, O regenerate one, Bhishma knew not that my heart had been given away to Salwa. Thinking of this in thy mind, let that be resolved upon by thee which is consistent with justice, and let steps be taken for accomplishing that resolution. Do that, O Brahmana, which is proper to be done towards either that tiger among the Kurus, viz., Bhishma, singly, or towards the ruler of the Salwas, or towards both of them! I have told thee truly about the root of my grief. It behoveth thee, O holy one, to do that which is consistent with reason.'

"Akritavrana said, 'This, O blessed lady, O thou of the fairest complexion, that thou sayest with eyes fixed upon virtue, is, indeed, worthy of thee. Listen, however, to what I say! If Ganga's son had never taken thee to the city called after the elephant, then, O timid girl, Salwa would have, at Rama's behest, taken thee on his head! It is because Bhishma bore thee away by force that king Salwa's suspicions have been awakened in respect of thee, O thou of slender-waist! Bhishma is proud of his manliness and is crowned with success. Therefore, thou shouldst cause thy vengeance to fall upon Bhishma (and no other)!' Hearing these words of the sage, Amva said, 'O regenerate one, this desire hath been cherished by me also in my heart, viz., that, if possible. Bhishma should be caused by me to be slain in battle! O thou of mighty arms, be it Bhishma or be it king Salwa, punish that man whom thou thinkest to be guilty and through whose act I have been so miserable!'

"Bhishma continued, 'In conversation such as this, that day passed and the night also, O best of Bharata's race, with its delicious breeze which was neither cold nor hot. Then Rama appeared there, beaming with energy. And that sage wearing matted-locks on his bead and attired in deer-skins was surrounded by his disciples. And endued with magnanimous soul, he had his bow in hand. And bearing also a sword and a battle-axe, that sinless one, O tiger among kings, approached the Srinjaya king (Hotravahana) in that forest. And the ascetics dwelling there and that king also who was endued with great ascetic merit, beholding him, all stood up and waited, O king, with joined hands. And that helpless maiden too did the same. And they all cheerfully worshipped Bhargava with the offer of honey and curds. Being worshipped duly by them, Rama sat with them seated round him. Then, O Bharata, Jamadagni's son and Hotravahana, seated thus together, began to discourse. And after their discourse was over, the sage Hotravahana opportunately said in a sweet voice these words of grave import unto that foremost one of Bhrigu's race, viz., Rama of mighty strength, 'O Rama, this is my daughter's daughter, O lord, being the daughter of the king of Kasi. She hath something to be done for her! Oh, listen to it duly, O thou that art skilled in all tasks!' Hearing these words of his friend, Rama addressed that maiden saying. 'Tell me what thou hast to say.' At these words, Amva approached Rama who resembled a blazing fire, and worshipping both his feet with her bent head, touched them with her two hands that resembled, in radiance, a couple of lotuses and stood silently before him. And filled with grief, she wept aloud, her eyes bathed in tears. And she then sought the protection of that descendant of Bhrigu, who was the refuge of all distressed persons. And Rama said, 'Tell me what grief is in thy heart. I will act according to thy words!' Thus encouraged, Amva said, 'O thou of great vows, O holy one, today I seek thy protection! O lord, raise me from this unfathomable ocean of sorrow.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Beholding her beauty and her youthful body and its great delicacy, Rama began to think,--What will she say? And that perpetuator of Bhrigu's line, thinking inwardly of this, sat long in silence, filled with pity. He then addressed that maiden of sweet smiles again, saying, 'Tell us what thou hast to say!' Thus encouraged, she represented everything truly unto Bhargava. And Jamadagni's son, hearing these words of the princess, and having first settled what he should do, addressed that damsel of the fairest complexion, saying, 'O beautiful lady, I will send word unto Bhishma, that foremost one of Kuru's race. Having beard what my behest is, that king will certainly obey it. If, however, the son of Jahnavi do not act according to my words, I will then consume him in battle, O blessed girl, with all his counsellors! Or, O princess, if thou desirest it, I may even address the heroic ruler of the Salwas to the matter in hand.' Hearing these words of Rama, Amva said, 'Dismissed I was by Bhishma, O son of Bhrigu's race, as soon as he heard that my heart had previously been freely given away to the ruler of the Salwas. Approaching then the lord of Saubha, I addressed

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him in language that was unbecoming. Doubtful of the purity of my conduct, he refused to accept me. Reflecting on all this, with the aid of thy own understanding, it behoveth thee, O son of Bhrigu's race, to do that which should be done in view of these circumstances. Bhishma, however, of great vows is the root of my calamity, for he brought me under his power taking me up (on his car) by violence! Slay that Bhishma, O thou of mighty arms, for whose sake, O tiger of Bhrigu's race, overwhelmed with such distress, I suffer such poignant misery! Bhishma, O thou of Bhrigu's race, is covetous, and mean, and proud of his victory. Therefore, O sinless one, thou shouldst give him his deserts. While, of lord, I was being abducted by him, even this was the desire that I cherished in my heart, viz., that I should cause that hero of great vows to be slain. Therefore, O sinless Rama, gratify this desire of mine! O thou of mighty arms, slay Bhishma, even as Purandara slew Vritra.'"

SECTION 180

"Bhishma said, 'O lord, repeatedly urged by that maiden to slay Bhishma, Rama replied unto that weeping girl, saying, 'O daughter of Kasi, O thou of the fairest complexion, I do not, on any account, take up arms now except for the sake of those that are conversant with the Vedas. Tell me, therefore, what else I can do for thee? Both Bhishma and Salwa are, O princess, exceedingly obedient to me. Do not grieve, I will accomplish thy object. I will not, however, O beautiful lady, take up arms, except at the command of Brahmanas. This hath been my rule of conduct.'

"Amva said, 'My misery, O holy one, should by any means be dispelled by thee. That misery of mine hath been caused by Bhishma. Slay him, therefore, O lord, without much delay.'

"Rama said, 'O daughter of Kasi, say but the word and Bhishma, however, deserving of reverence from thee, will, at my word, take up thy feet on his head!'

"Amva said, 'O Rama, slay in battle that Bhishma who roareth like an Asura. Indeed, summoned to the encounter (by him), slay him, O Rama, if thou wishest (to do) what is agreeable to me. It behoveth thee, besides, to make thy promise true.'

"Bhishma continued, 'While, O king, Rama and Amva were talking thus with each other, the Rishi (Akritavrana) of highly virtuous soul said these words, 'It behoveth thee not, O mighty-armed one, to desert this girl that seeketh thy protection! If summoned to battle, Bhishma cometh to the encounter and sayeth--I am vanquished, or, if he obeyeth thy words, then that which this maiden seeketh will be accomplished, O son of Bhrigu's race, and the words spoken by thee, O hero, will also, O lord, be true! This also was, O great Muni, the vow then made by thee, O Rama,--the vow made by thee before Brahmanas after thou hadst conquered all the Kshatriyas, viz., that thou wouldst slay in battle the person, be he a Brahmana, a Kshatriya, a Vaisya, or a Sudra, who would be a foe to the Brahmanas. Thou hadst further promised that as long as thou wouldst live thou wouldst not abandon those that would come to thee in fright and seek thy protection, and that thou wouldst, O Bhargava, slay that proud warrior who would vanquish in battle all the assembled Kshatriyas of the earth! O Ram, even Bhishma, that perpetuator of Kuru's race, hath achieved such success (over all the Kshatriyas)! Approaching him, O son of Bhrigu's race, encounter him now in battle!'

"Rama said, 'O best of Rishis, I recollect that vow of mine made before. I will, however (in the present instance) do that which conciliation may point out. That task which the daughter of Kasi hath in her mind is a grave one, O Brahmana! Taking this maiden with me, I will repair myself to the place where Bhishma is. If Bhishma, proud of his achievements in battle, do not obey my behest, I will then slay that arrogant wight. Even this is my fixed resolve. The arrows shot by me do not stick to the bodies of embodied creatures (but pass them through). This is known to you from what you saw in my encounters with the Kshatriyas!' Having said this, Rama then, along with all those seekers of Brahma, resolved to depart from that asylum! and the great ascetic then rose from his seat. Then all those ascetics passing that night there, performed (on the next morning) their homa-rites and recited their prayers. And then they all set out, desirous of taking my life. And Rama, accompanied by all those devotees of Brahma, then came to Kurukshetra, O monarch, with that maiden, O Bharata, in their company. And those high-souled ascetics, with that foremost one of Bhrigu's race at head, having arrived on the banks of the stream of Saraswati, quartered themselves there.'"

SECTION 181

"Bhishma said, 'After he had quartered there, on third day, O king, Jamadagni's son of high vows, sent a message to me, saying, 'I have come here, do what is agreeable to me.' Hearing that Rama, of great might, had come to the confines of our kingdom, I speedily went with a joyous heart to that master who was an ocean of energy. And I went to him, O king, with a cow placed in the van of my train, and accompanied by many Brahmanas, and (ordinary) priests (of our family), and by others, resembling the very gods in splendour, employed by us on special occasions. And beholding me arrived at his presence, Jamadagni's son, of great prowess, accepted the worship I offered unto him and said these words unto me.'

"Rama said, 'Thyself, divested of desire, with what mood of mind, O 'Bhishma, didst thou abduct, on the occasion of her self-choice, his daughter of the king of Kasi and again dismiss her subsequently? By thee hath this famous lady been dissociated from virtue! Contaminated by the touch of thy hands before, who can marry her now? Rejected she hath been by Salwa, because thou, O Bharata, hadst abducted her. Take her therefore, to thyself, O Bharata, at my command. Let this daughter of a king, O tiger among men, be charged with the duties of her sex! O king, O sinless one, it is not proper that this humiliation should be hers!

'Seeing him plunged into sorrow (on account of the maiden) I said unto him,--O Brahmana, I cannot, by any means, bestow this girl on my brother. O thou of Bhrigu's race, it was to myself that she said, I am Salwa's! And it was by me that she was permitted to go to Salwa's city. As regards myself, even this is my firm vow that I cannot abandon Kshatriya practices from fear or pity, or avarice of wealth, or lust!--Hearing these words of mine, Rama addressed me, with eyes rolling in anger, saying, 'If, O bull among, men, thou dost not act according to my words, I will slay thee this very day along with all thy counsellors!' Indeed, with eyes rolling in anger, Rama in great wrath told me these words repeatedly. I, however, O chastiser of foes, then beseeched him in sweet words. But though beseeched by me, he did not cool down. Bowing down with my head unto that best of Brahmanas I then enquired of him the reason for which he sought battle with me. I also said,--O thou of mighty arms, while I was a child it was thou who instructed me in the four kinds of arms. [*The science of arms (Dhanurved) classes arms under four heads, viz., Mukta, Amukta, Muktamukta, and Yantramukta. A Mukta weapon is one that is hurled from the hand, as a discus. An Amukta is not hurled from the hand, as a sword. A Muktamukta is one that is sometimes hurled and sometimes not, as a mace. A Yantramukta is one shot from a machine, as an arrow or a ball. All Mukta weapons are Astras, while all Amukta ones are called sastras.] I am, therefore, O thou of Bhrigu's race, thy disciple! Then Rama answered me with eyes red in anger, 'Thou knowest me, O Bhishma, to be thy preceptor, and yet, O Kauravya, thou acceptest not, for pleasing me, this daughter of the ruler of Kasi! O delighter of the Kurus, I cannot be gratified unless thou actest in this way! O mighty-armed one, take this maiden and preserve thy race! Having been abducted by thee, she obtaineth not a husband. Unto Rama that subjugator of hostile cities, I replied, saying.--This cannot be, O regenerate Rishi! All thy labour is vain, O son of Jamadagni, remembering thy old preceptorship, I am striving, O holy one, to gratify thee! As regards this maiden, she hath been refused by me before knowing what the faults, productive of great evils, of the female sex are, who is there that would admit into his abode a woman whose heart is another's and who (on that account) is even like a snake of virulent poison? O thou of high vows, I would not, even from fear of Vasava, forsake duty! Be gracious unto me, or do me without delay that which thou hast thought proper. This sloka also, O thou of pure soul, is heard in the Puranas, O lord, sung by the high-souled Marutta, O thou of great intelligence! The renunciation is sanctioned by the ordinance of a preceptor who is filled with vanity, who is destitute of the knowledge of right and wrong, and who is treading in a devious path.--Thou art my preceptor and it is for this that I have from love reverenced thee greatly. Thou, however, knowest not the duty of a preceptor, and it is for this that I will fight with thee. I would not slay any preceptor in battle, especially again a Brahmana, and more specially one endued with ascetic merit. It was for this that I forgive thee. It is well-known truth, gatherable from the scriptures, that he is not guilty of slaying a Brahmana who killeth in battle a person of that order that taketh up weapons like Kshatriya and fighteth wrathfully without seeking to fly. I am a Kshatriya stationed in the practice of Kshatriya duties. One doth not incur sin, nor doth one incur any harm by behaving towards a person exactly as that person deserveth. When a person acquainted with the proprieties of time and place and well-versed in matters affecting both profit and virtue, feels doubtful, as regards anything, he should without scruples of any kind, devote himself to the acquisition of virtue which would confer the highest benefit on him. And since thou, O Rama, in a matter connected with profit of doubtful propriety, actest unrighteously, I would certainly fight with thee in a great battle. Behold the strength of my arms and my prowess that is superhuman! In view of such circumstances, I shall certainly do, O son of Bhrigu, what I can. I shall fight with thee, O regenerate one, on the field of Kurukshetra! O Rama of great effulgence, equip thyself as thou listest for single combat! Come and station thyself on the field of Kurukshetra where, afflicted with my shafts in great battle, and sanctified by my weapons, thou mayest obtain those regions that have been won by thee (thought for thy austerities). O thou of mighty arms and wealth of asceticism, there I will approach thee for battle,--thee that art so fond of battle! There, O Rama, where in days of yore thou hadst propitiated thy (deceased) fathers (with oblations of Kshatriya blood), slaying thee there, O son of Bhrigu, I will propitiate the Kshatriya slain by thee! Come there, O Rama, without delay! There, O thou that art difficult of being vanquished, I will curb thy old pride about which the Brahmanas speak! For many long years, O Rama, thou hast boasted, saying,--I have, single-handed, vanquished all the Kshatriyas of the Earth!--Listen now to what enabled thee to indulge in that boast! In those days no Bhishma was born, or no Kshatriyas like unto Bhishma! Kshatriyas really endued with valour have taken their births later on! As regards thyself, thou hast consumed only heaps of straw! The person that would easily quell thy pride of battle hath since been born! He, O mighty-armed one, is no other than myself, even Bhishma, that subjugator of hostile cities! Without doubt, O Rama, I shall just quell thy pride of battle!'

"Bhishma continued, 'Hearing these words of mine. Rama addressed me, laughingly saying, 'By good luck it is, O Bhishma, that thou desirest to fight with me in battle! O thou of Kuru's race, even now I go with thee to Kurukshetra! I will do what thou hast said! Come thither, O chastiser of foes! Let thy mother, Jahnavi, O Bhishma, behold thee dead on that plain, pierced with my shafts, and become the food of vultures, crows, and other carnivorous birds! Let that goddess worshipped by Siddhas and Charanas, that blessed daughter of Bhagiratha, in the form of a river, who begat thy wicked self, weep today, O king, beholding thee slain by me and lying miserable on that plain, however undeserving she may be of seeing such a sight! Come, O Bhishma, and follow me, O proud wight, always longing for battle! O thou of Kuru's race, take with thee, O bull of Bharatas' line, thy cars and all other equipments of battle!' Hearing these words of Rama that subjugator of hostile towns, I worshipped him with a bend of my head and answered him, saying,--So be it! Having said all this, Rama then went to Kurukshetra from desire of combat, and I also, entering our city, represented everything unto Satyavati. Then causing propitiatory ceremonies to be performed (for my victory), and being blessed also by my mother, and making the Brahmanas utter benedictions on me, I mounted on a handsome car made of silver and unto which, O thou of great glory, were yoked steeds white in hue. And every part of that car was well-built, and it was exceedingly commodious and covered on all sides with tiger-skin. And it was equipped with many great weapons and furnished with all necessaries. And it was ridden by charioteer who was well-born and brave, who was versed in horse-lore, careful in battle, and well-trained in his art, and who had seen many encounters. And I was accoutred in a coat of mail, white in hue, and had my bow in hand. And the bow I took was also white in hue. And thus equipped, I set out, O best of Bharata's race! And an umbrella, white in hue, was held over my head. And, O king, I was fanned with fans that also were white in colour. And clad in white, with also a white head-gear, all my adornments were white. And eulogised (with laudatory hymns) by Brahmanas wishing me victory. I issued out of the city named after the elephant, and proceeded to Kurukshetra, which, O bull of Bharata's race, was to be the field of battle! And those steeds, fleet as the mind or the wind, urged by my charioteer, soon bore me, O king, to that great encounter. And arrived in the field of Kurukshetra, both myself and Rama, eager for battle, became desirous of showing each other our prowess. And arrived within view of the great ascetic Rama, I took up my excellent conch and blew a loud blast. And many Brahmanas, O king, and many ascetics having their abodes in the forest, as also the gods with Indra at their head, were stationed there for beholding the great encounter. And many celestial garlands and diverse kinds of celestial music and many cloudy canopies could be noticed there. And all those ascetics who had come with Rama, desiring to become spectators of the fight, stood all around the field. Just at this juncture, O king, my divine mother devoted to the good of all creatures, appeared before me in her own form and said, 'What is this that thou seekest to do? Repairing to Jamadagni's son, O son of Kuru's race, I will repeatedly solicit him saying,--Do not fight Bhishma who is thy disciple!--O son, being a Kshatriya do not obstinately set thy heart on an encounter in battle with Jamadagni's son who is a Brahmana!' Indeed, it was thus that she reproved me. And she also said, 'O son, Rama, equal in prowess unto Mahadeva himself, is the exterminator of the Kshatriya order! It is not known to thee, that thou desirest an encounter with him.' Thus addressed by her, I saluted the goddess reverentially and replied unto her with joined hands, giving her, O chief of the Bharatas, an account of all that had transpired in that self-choice (of the daughter of Kasi). I also told her every thing, O king of kings, about how I had urged Rama (to desist from the combat). I also gave her a history of all the past acts of the (eldest) daughter of Kasi. My mother then, the great River, wending to Rama, began, for my sake, to beseech the Rishi of Bhrigu's race. And she said unto him these words, viz.,--Do not fight Bhishma who is thy disciple!--Rama, however, said unto her while she was beseeching him thus, 'Go and make

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Bhishma desist! He doth not execute out my wish! It is for this that I have challenged him!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed by Rama, Ganga, from affection for her son, came back to Bhishma. But Bhishma, with eyes rolling in anger, refused to do her bidding. Just at this time, the mighty ascetic Rama, that foremost one of Bhrigu's race, appeared in Bhishma's sight. An then that best of the twice-born ones challenged him to the encounter.'"

SECTION 182

"Bhishma said, 'I then smilingly addressed Rama stationed for battle, saying,--Myself on my car, I do not wish to fight with thee that art on the earth! Mount on a car, O hero, and case thy body in mail, O mighty-armed one, if indeed, O Rama, thou wishest to fight me in battle!--Then Rama smilingly replied unto me on that field of battle, saying, 'The Earth, O Bhishma, is my car, and Vedas, like good steeds, are the animals that carry me! The wind is my car-driver, and my coat of mail is constituted by those mothers in the Vedas (viz., Gayatri, Savitri and Saraswati). Well-covered by these in battle, O son of Kuru's race, I will fight!' Having said this, O Gandhari's son. Rama of prowess incapable of being baffled, covered me on all sides with a thick shower of arrows. I then beheld Jamadagni's son stationed on a car equipped with every kind of excellent weapons! And the car he rode was exceedingly handsome and was of wonderful appearance. And it had been created by a fiat of his will, and it was beautiful like a town. And celestial steeds were yoked unto it, and it was well-protected by the necessary defences. And it was decked all over with ornaments of gold. And it was well-covered with tough skins all around, and bore the device of the sun and the moon. Rama was armed with bow and equipped with a quiver, and with fingers cased in leathern fences! Akritavrana, the dear friend of Bhargava, well-versed in the Vedas, did the duties of a car-driver for that warrior. And he, of Bhrigu's race, repeatedly summoning me to battle, saying,--Come, come,--gladden my heart. And I then, myself, singly obtained for my adversary that invincible and mighty exterminator of the Kshatriya race, viz., Rama risen like the sun himself in splendour, desirous (on his part) of fighting singly! And after he had poured three showers of arrows on me curbing my steeds, I came down from my car and placing my bow aside I proceeded on foot to that best of Rishis. And arriving before him, I worshipped the best of Brahmanas with reverence. And having saluted him duly, I told him these excellent words,--O Rama, whether thou art equal or superior to me, I will fight with thee, my virtuous preceptor, in battle! O lord, bless me, wishing me victory!'

"Rama, thus addressed, said, 'O foremost one of Kuru's race, he that desires prosperity should act even thus! O thou of mighty arms, they that fight with warriors more eminent than themselves, have this duty to perform. O king, I would have cursed thee if thou hadst not approached me thus! Go, fight carefully and summoning all thy patience, O thou of Kuru's race! I cannot, however, wish thee victory, for I myself stand here to vanquish thee! Go, fight fairly! I am pleased with thy behaviour!--Bowing unto him, I then speedily came back, and mounting on my car, I once more blew my conch decked with gold, And then, O Bharata, the combat commenced between him and me. And it lasted for many days. each of us, O king, having been desirous of vanquishing the other. And in that battle, it was Rama who struck me first with nine hundred and sixty straight arrows furnished with vulturine wings. And with that arrowy shower, O king, my four steeds and charioteer were completely covered! Notwithstanding all this, however, I remained quiet in that encounter, accoutred in my coat of mail! Bowing unto the gods, and especially unto the Brahmanas, I then smilingly addressed Rama stationed for battle, saying,--Although thou hast shown little regard for me, yet I have fully honoured thy preceptorship! Listen again, O Brahmana, to some other auspicious duty that should be discharged if virtue is to be earned! The Vedas that are in thy body, and the high status of Brahmana that is also in thee, and the ascetic merit thou hast earned by the severest of austerities, I do not strike at these! I strike, however, at that Kshatriyahood which thou, O Rama, hast adopted! When a Brahmana taketh up weapons, he becometh a Kshatriya. Behold now the power of my bow and the energy of my arms! Speedily shall I cut off that bow of thine with a sharp shaft!--Saying this I shot at him, O bull of Bharata's race, a sharp broad-headed arrow, And cutting off one of the horns of his bow with it. I caused it to drop on the ground. I then shot at Jamadagni's car a hundred straight arrows winged with vulturine feathers. Piercing through Rama's body and borne along by the wind, those arrows coursing through space seemed to vomit blood (from their mouths) and resembled veritable snakes. Covered all over with blood and with blood issuing out of his body. Rama, O king, shone in battle, like the Sumeru mountain with streams of liquid metal rolling down its breast, or like the Asoka tree at the advent of spring, when covered with red bunches of flowers, or, O king, like the Kinsuka tree when clad in its flowery attire! Taking up then another bow, Rama, filled with wrath, showered upon me numerous arrows of excessive sharpness, furnished with golden wings. And those fierce arrows of tremendous impetus, resembling snakes, or fire, or poison, coming at me from all sides, pierced my very vitals and caused me to tremble. Summoning all my coolness then addressed myself for the encounter, and filled with rage I pierced Rama with a hundred arrows. And afflicted with those hundred blazing shafts resembling either fire, or the sun or looking like snakes of virulent poison, Rama seemed to lose his senses! Filled, O Bharata, with pity (at the sight), I stopped of my own accord and said,--Oh, fie on battle! Fie on Kshatriya practices! And overwhelmed, O king, with grief, I repeatedly said,--Alas, great is the sin committed by me through observance of Kshatriya practices, since I have afflicted with arrows my preceptor who is a Brahmana endued with a virtuous soul!--After that, O Bharata, I ceased striking Jamadagni's son any more. At this time, the thousand-rayed luminary, having heated the earth with his rays, proceeded at the close of day to his chambers in the west and the battle also between us ceased.'"

SECTION 183

"Bhishma said, 'After the battle had ceased, my charioteer, well-skilled in such operations, drew out from his own body, from the bodies of my steeds, and from my body as well, the arrows that struck there. Next morning, when the sun rose, the battle commenced again, my horses having (a little while before) been bathed and allowed to roll on the ground and having had their thirst slaked and thereby re-invigorated. And beholding me coming quickly to the encounter attired in a coat of mail and stationed on my car, the mighty Rama equipped his car with great care. And I myself also, beholding Rama coming towards me from desire of battle, placed aside my bow and quickly descended from my car. Saluting Rama I re-ascended it, O Bharata, and desirous of giving battle, stood fearlessly before that son of Jamadagni. I then overwhelmed him with a thick shower of arrows, and he too covered me with an arrowy shower in return. And filled with wrath. Jamadagni's son once more shot at me a number of fierce shafts of great force and blazing mouths looking like veritable snakes! And I too, O king, shooting sharp shafts by hundreds and thousands, repeatedly cut: off Rama's arrows in mid-air before they could come at me. Then the mighty son of Jamadagni began to hurl celestial weapons at me, all of which I repelled, desirous of achieving mightier feats, O thou of strong arms, with-my weapons. And loud was the din that then arose in the welkin all around. At that time, I hurled at Rama the weapon named Vayavya which Rama neutralised, O Bharata, by the weapon called Guhyaka. Then I applied, with proper mantras, the weapon called Agneya but the lord Rama neutralised that weapon of mine by one (of his) called Varuna. And it was in this way that I neutralised the celestial weapons of Rama, and that chastiser of foes, Rama also, endued with great energy and acquainted with celestial weapons, neutralised the weapons shot by me. Then, O monarch, that best of Brahmanas, the mighty son of Jamadagni, filled with wrath, suddenly wheeling to my right, pierced me in the breast. At this, O best of the Bharatas, I swooned on my best of cars. And beholding me, reft of consciousness, my charioteer quickly bore me away from the field. And seeing me afflicted and pierced with Rama's weapons and borne away drooping and in a swoon, all the followers of Rama, including Akritavrana and others and the princess of Kasi, filled with joy, O Bharata, began to shout aloud! Regaining consciousness then, I addressed my charioteer, saying,--Go where Rama stayeth! My pains have left me, and I am ready for battle!--Thus instructed, my charioteer soon took me where Rama was, with the aid of those exceedingly handsome steeds of mine that seemed to dance as they coursed (through the plain) and that were endued with the speed of the wind. And approaching Rama then, O thou of Kuru's race, and filled with wrath, from desire of vanquishing his angry self, I overwhelmed him with an arrowy shower! But Rama, shooting three for every single of mine, cut into fragments every one of my straight-going arrows in mid air before any of them could reach him! And beholding those well-furnished arrows of mine by hundreds and thousands, each cut off in twain by Rama's arrows, all the followers of Rama were filled with joy. Impelled then by the desire of slaying him, I shot at Rama, the son of Jamadagni, a good-looking arrow of blazing effulgence with Death's self sitting at its head. Struck very forcibly therewith and succumbing to its impetus, Rama fell into a swoon and dropped down on the ground. And when Rama thus dropped on the ground, exclamations of Oh and Alas arose on all sides, and the whole universe, O Bharata, was filled with confusion and alarm, such as may be witnessed if the sun himself were ever to fall down from the firmament! Then all those ascetics together with the princess of Kasi, quietly proceeded, O son of Kuru's race, with great anxiety towards Rama. And embracing him, O Kaurava, they began to comfort him softly with the touch of their hands, rendered cold by contact with water, and with assurances of victory. Thus comforted, Rama rose up and fixing an arrow to his bow he addressed me in an agitated voice, saying, 'Stay, O Bhishma! Thou art already slain! And let off by him, that arrow quickly pierced my left side in that fierce encounter. And struck therewith, I began to tremble like a tree shaken by the tempest. Slaying my horses then in terrific combat, Rama, fighting with great coolness, covered me with swarms of winged arrows, shot with remarkable lightness of hand. At this, O mighty-armed one, I also began to shoot arrows with great lightness of hand for obstructing Rama's arrowy shower. Then those arrows shot by myself and Rama covering the welkin all around, stayed even there (without failing down). And, thereupon, enveloped by clouds of arrows the very sun could not shed its rays through them. And the very wind, obstructed by those clouds, seemed to be unable to pass through them. Then, in consequence of the obstructed motion of the wind, the rays of the sun, and the clash of the arrows against one another, a conflagration was caused in the welkin. And then those arrows blazed forth in consequence of the fire generated by themselves, and fell on the earth, consumed into ashes! Then Rama, O Kaurava, filled with rage, covered me with hundreds and thousands and hundreds of thousands and hundreds of millions arrows! And I also, O king, with my arrows resembling snakes of virulent poison, cut into fragments all those arrows of Rama and caused them to fall down on the earth like snakes cut into pieces. And it was thus, O best of the Bharatas, that combat took place. When, however, the shades of evening approached, my preceptor withdrew from the fight.'"

SECTION 184

"Bhishma said, 'The next day, O bull of Bharata's race, frightful again was the combat that wok place between me and Rama when I encountered him once more. That hero of virtuous soul, conversant with celestial weapons,--the lord Rama, from day to day, began to use diverse kinds of celestial weapons. Regardless of life itself, which is so difficult of being sacrificed, in that fierce combat, O Bharata, I baffled all those weapons with such of mine as are capable of baffling them. And, O Bharata, when diverse weapons were in this way neutralised and baffled by means of counter-weapons, Rama, of mighty energy began to contend against me in that battle, reckless of his own life. Seeing all his weapons baffled, the high-souled son of Jamadagni then hurled at me a fierce lance, blazing like a meteor, with flaming mouth, filling the whole world, as it were, with its effulgence, and resembling the dart hurled by Death himself! I, however, with my arrows cut into three fragments that blazing dart rushing against me, and resembling in effulgence the sun that rises at end of the Yuga! At this, breezes charged with fragrant odours began to blow (around me). Beholding that dart of his cut off, Rama, burning with anger, hurled a dozen other fierce darts. Their forms, O Bharata, I am incapable of describing in consequence of their great effulgence and speed. How, indeed, shall I describe their forms? Beholding those diverse-looking darts approach me from all sides, like long tongues of fire and blazing forth with fierce energy like the dozen suns that arise at the time of the destruction of the universe, I was filled with fear. Seeing an arrowy net advancing against me, I baffled it with an arrowy downpour of mine, and then sent a dozen shafts by which I consumed those fierce-looking dozen darts of Rama. Then, O king, the high-souled son of Jamadagni showered on me numerous fierce-looking darts, furnished with variegated handles decked with gold, possessed of golden wings, and resembling flaming meteors! Baffling those fierce darts by means of my shield and sword, and causing them in that combat to fall down on the ground, I then, with clouds of excellent arrows, covered Rama's excellent steeds and his charioteer. Then that high-souled smiter of the lord of the Haihayas*, beholding those darts of mine equipped with gold-decked handles and resembling snakes emerged out of their holes, and filled with wrath at the sight, had recourse once more to celestial weapons! [*The thousand-handed Arjuna, called also Kartaviryarjuna, the vanquisher of Ravana, the chief of Haihaya clan of Kshatriyas having his capital at Mahishmati on the banks of the Narmada (Nerbuda), was slain by Rama.] Then swarms of fierce arrows, looking like flights of locusts fell upon me and overwhelmed me, my steeds, my charioteer, and my car! Indeed, O king, my car, horses, and charioteer, were covered all over with those arrows! And the yoke, shaft, wheels, and the wheel-spokes of my car, overwhelmed with that arrowy shower, at once broke. After that arrowy shower, however, was over, I also covered my preceptor with a thick shower of arrows. Thereupon, that mass of Brahmic merit, mangled with that arrowy downpour, began to bleed copiously, and continuously. Indeed, like Rama afflicted with my clouds of arrows, I too was densely pierced with his arrows. When at last in the evening, the sun set behind the western hills, our combat came to an end.'"

SECTION 185

"Bhishma said, 'Next morning, O king, when the sun rose brightly, the combat between myself and him of Bhrigu's race, again, commenced. Then Rama, that foremost of smiters, stationed on his quickly-moving car, rained on me a thick downpour of arrows like the clouds on the mountain-breast. My beloved charioteer then, afflicted by that arrowy shower,

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swerved from his place in the car, filling me with grief on his account. A total unconsciousness then came over him. And thus wounded by that arrowy downpour he fell down upon the earth in a swoon. And afflicted as he had been by Rama's shafts, he soon gave up his life. Then, O great king, fear entered my heart. And when, on the death of my charioteer, I was still lamenting for him with heart unhinged by sorrow, Rama began to shoot at me many death-dealing shafts. Indeed, even when endangered at the death of my charioteer I was lamenting for him, he of Bhrigu's race, drawing the bow with strength, pierced me deep with an arrow! O king, that blood-drinking shaft, falling upon my breast, pierced me through and fell simultaneously with my person upon the earth! Then, O bull of Bharata's race, thinking I was dead, Rama repeatedly roared aloud like the clouds and rejoiced exceedingly! indeed, O king, when thus I fell down on the earth, Rama, filled with joy, sent forth loud shouts along with his followers, while all the Kauravas who stood beside me and all those who came there to witness the combat were afflicted with great woe on seeing me fall. While lying prostrate, O lion among kings, I beheld eight Brahmanas endued with the effulgence of the sun or the fire. They stood surrounding me on that field of battle and supporting me on their arms. Indeed, borne up by those Brahmanas I had not to touch the ground. Like friends they supported me in mid-air while I was breathing heavily. And they were sprinkling me with drops of water. And bearing me up as they stood, they then, O king, repeatedly said unto me, 'Do not fear! Let prosperity be thine!' Comforted then by those words of theirs, I quickly rose up. I then beheld my mother Ganga--that foremost of the rivers, stationed on my car. Indeed, O king of the Kurus, it was that great river-goddess who had controlled my steeds in the combat (after my charioteer's fall)! Worshipping then the feet of my mother and of the spirits of my ancestors, I ascended my car. My mother then protected my car, steeds, and all the implements of battle. With joined bands I entreated her to go away. Having dismissed her, I myself restrained those steeds endued with the speed of the wind, and fought with Jamadagni's son, O Bharata, till the close of the day! Then, O chief of the Bharatas, in course of that combat, I shot at Rama a powerful and heart-piercing arrow endued with great speed. Afflicted with that shaft, Rama then, his bow loosened from his grasp, fell down upon the earth on his knees, reft of consciousness! And when Rama, that giver of many thousands (of golden coins) fell, masses of clouds covered the firmament, pouring a copious shower of blood! And meteors by hundreds fell, and thunder-rolls were heard, causing everything to tremble! And suddenly Rahu enveloped the blazing sun, and rough winds began to blow! And the earth itself began to tremble. And vultures and crows and cranes began to alight in joy! And the points of the horizon seemed to be ablaze and jackals began repeatedly to yell fiercely! And drums, unstruck (by human hands), began to produce harsh sound! Indeed, when the high-souled Rama embraced the earth, reft of consciousness, all these frightful and alarming omens of evil were seen! Then all on a sudden rising up, Rama approached me once more, O Kaurava, for battle, forgetting everything and deprived of his senses by anger. And that mighty-armed one took up his bow endued with great strength and also a deadly arrow. I, however, resisted him successfully. The great Rishis then (that stood there) were filled with pity at the sight, while he, however, of Bhrigu's race, was filled with great wrath. I then took up a shaft, resembling the blazing fire that appears at the end of the Yuga, but Rama of immeasurable soul baffled that weapon of mine. Then covered by clouds of dust, the splendour of the solar disc was dimmed, and the sun went to the western mount. And night came with its delicious and cool breezes, and then both of us desisted from the fight. In this way, O king, when evening came the fierce battle ceased, and (next day) with the re-appearance of the sun it commenced again. And it lasted for three and twenty days together.'"

SECTION 186

"Bhishma said, 'Then, O great king, during the night, having bowed unto the Brahmanas, the Rishis, the gods, and all those creatures that wander during the dark, and also all the kings of the earth, I laid myself down on my bed, and in the solitude of my room, I began to reflect in the following way.--For many days hath this fierce combat of terrible consequence lasted between myself and Jamadagni. I am unable, however, to vanquish on the field of battle that Rama of mighty energy. If indeed, I am competent to vanquish in battle that Brahmana of mighty strength, viz., Jamadagni's son of great prowess, then let the gods kindly show themselves to me this night!--Mangled with arrows as I lay asleep, O great king, that night on my right side, towards the morning, those foremost of Brahmanas who had raised me when I had fallen down from my car and held me up and said unto me--Do not fear--and who had comforted me, showed themselves to me, O king, in a dream! And they stood surrounding me and said these words. Listen to them as I repeat them to thee, O perpetuator of Kuru's race! Rise, O Ganga's son, thou needst have no fear! We will protect thee, for thou art our own body! Rama, the son of Jamadagni, will never be able to vanquish thee in battle! Thou, O bull of Bharata's race, wilt be the conqueror of Rama in combat! This beloved weapon, O Bharata, called Praswapa, appertaining to the lord of all creatures, and forged by the divine artificer, will come to thy knowledge, for it was known to thee in thy former life! Neither Rama, nor any person on earth is acquainted with it. Recollect it, therefore, O thou of mighty arms, and apply it with strength! O king of kings, O sinless one, it will come to thee of itself! With it, O Kaurava, thou wilt be able to check all persons endued with mighty energy! O king, Rama will not be slain outright by it, thou shalt not, therefore, O giver of honours, incur any sin by using it! Afflicted by the force of this thy weapon, the son of Jamadagni, will fall asleep! Vanquishing him thus, thou wilt again awaken him in battle, O Bhishma, with that dear weapon called Samvodhana! Do what we have told thee, O Kauravya, in the morning, stationed on thy car. Asleep or dead we reckon it as the same, O king, Rama will not surely die! Apply, therefore, this Praswapa weapon so happily thought of!--Having said this, O king, those foremost of Brahmanas, eight in number and resembling one another in form, and possessed of effulgent bodies, all vanished from my sight!'"

SECTION 187

"Bhishma said, 'After the night had passed away, I awoke, O Bharata, and thinking of my dream I was filled with great joy. Then, O Bharata, the combat began between him and me--a combat that was fierce and unrivalled and that made the hairs of all creatures stand on their ends. And Bhargava poured on me an arrowy shower which I baffled with an arrowy shower of mine. Then filled with wrath at what he had seen the day before and what he saw that day, Rama hurled at me a dart, hard as Indra's thunderbolt and possessed of effulgence, resembling the Yama's mace! It came towards me like a blazing flame of fire and drinking up, as it were, all the quarters of that field of battle! Then, O tiger among the Kurus, it fell, O perpetuator of Kuru's line, upon my shoulder, like the lightning's flame that ranges the sky. Wounded thus by Rama, O thou of red eyes, my blood, O mighty-armed one, began to flow copiously like streams of red earth from a mountain (after a shower)! Filled with great wrath, I then shot at Jamadagni's son a deadly shaft, fatal as the poison of a snake. That heroic and best of Brahmanas, struck therewith at the forehead, O monarch, then appeared as beautiful as a crested hill! Extremely angry, that hero then, changing his position and drawing the bow-string with great strength, aimed at me a terrible shaft resembling all-destructive Death himself, and capable of grinding all foes! That fierce arrow fell upon my breast, hissing (through the air) like a snake. Covered with blood, I fell down on the earth, O king, thus struck. Regaining consciousness, I hurled at Jamadagni's son a frightful dart, effulgent as the thunderbolt. That dart fell upon the bosom of that foremost of Brahmanas. Deprived of his senses at this, Rama began to tremble all over. That great ascetic then, viz., his friend, the regenerate Akritavrana, embraced him and with diverse words of comfort soothed him. Reassured thus, Rama of high vows was then filled with wrath and vindictiveness. He invoked the great Brahma weapon. For baffling it I also used the same excellent weapon. Clashing against each other, the two weapons began to blaze forth brightly, showing what happens at the end of the Yuga! Without being able to reach either myself or Rama, those two weapons, O best of the Bharatas, met each other in the mid-air. Then the whole welkin seemed to be ablaze, and all creatures, O monarch, became highly distressed. Afflicted by the energy of those weapons, the Rishis, the Gandharvas, and the gods were all greatly pained. Then earth, with her mountains and seas and trees began to tremble, and all creatures, heated with the energy of the weapons, were greatly afflicted. The firmament, O king, became ablaze and the ten points of the horizon became filled with smoke. Creatures, therefore, that range the welkin were unable to stay in their element. When, at all this, the whole world with the gods, the Asuras and the Rakshasas began to utter exclamations of woe.--This is the time--thought I and became desirous, O Bharata, of speedily shooting the Praswapa weapon at the command of those utterers of Brahma (that had appeared to me in my dream)! The Mantras also for invoking excellent weapon suddenly came to my mind!'"

SECTION 188

"Bhishma said, 'When I had formed this resolution, O king, a din of tumultuous voices arose in the sky. And it said,--O son of Kuru's race, do not let off the Praswapa weapon!--Notwithstanding this, I still aimed that weapon at Bhrigu's descendant. When I had aimed it, Narada addressed me, saying, 'Yonder, O Kauravya, stay the gods in the sky! Even they are forbidding thee today! Do not aim the Praswapa weapon! Rama is an ascetic possessed of Brahma merit, and he is, again, thy preceptor! Never, Kauravya, humiliate him.' While Narada was telling me this, I beheld those eight utterers of Brahma stationed in the sky. Smilingly, O king, they said unto me slowly,--O chief of the Bharatas, do even what Narada sayeth. Even that, O best of Bharata's race, is highly beneficial to the world!' I then withdrew that great weapon called Praswapa and invoked according to the ordinance the weapon called Brahma in the combat. Beholding the Praswapa weapon withdrawn, O lion among kings, Rama was in great huff, and suddenly exclaimed, 'Wretch that I am, I am vanquished, O Bhishma!' Then Jamadagni's son behold before him his venerable father and his father's fathers. They stood surrounding him there, and addressed him in these words of consolation, 'O sire, never display such 'rashness again, the rashness, viz., of engaging in battle with Bhishma, or especially with any Kshatriya, O descendant of Bhrigu's race, to fight is the duty of a Kshatriya! Study (of the Vedas) and practice of vows are the highest wealth of Brahmanas! For some reason, before 'this, thou hadst been ordered by us to take up weapons. Thou hadst then perpetrated that terrible and unbecoming feat. Let this battle with Bhishma be thy very last, for enough of it thou hadst already. O thou of mighty arms, leave the combat. Blessed be thou, let this be the very last instance of thy taking up the bow! O invincible one, throw thy bow aside, and practice ascetic austerities, O thou of Bhrigu's race! Behold, Bhishma, the son of Santanu, is forbidden by all the gods! They are endeavouring to pacify him, repeatedly saying,--Desist from this battle! Do not light with Rama who is thy preceptor. It is not proper for thee, O perpetuator of Kuru's race, to vanquish Rama in battle! O son of Ganga, show this Brahmana every honour on the field of battle! As regards thee, we are thy superiors and therefore forbid thee! Bhishma is one of the foremost of Vasus! O son, it is fortunate, that thou art still alive! Santanu's son by Ganga--a celebrated Vasu as he is,--how can he be defeated by thee? Desist, therefore, O Bhargava! That foremost of the Pandavas, Arjuna, the mighty son of Indra, hath been ordained by the Self-create to be the slayer of Bhishma!'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed by his own ancestors, Rama answered them, saying, 'I cannot give up the combat. Even this is the solemn vow I have made. Before this, I never left the field, giving up battle! Ye grandsires, if you please, cause Ganga's son to desist from the fight! As regards myself, I can, by no means, desist from the combat!' Hearing these words of his, O king, those ascetics with Richika at their head, coming to me with Narada in their company, told me, 'O sire, desist from battle! Honour that foremost of Brahmanas!' For the sake of Kshatriya morality, I replied unto them, saying. Even this is the vow I have taken in this world, viz., that I would never desist from battle turning my back, or suffer my back to be wounded with arrows! I cannot, from temptation or distress, or fear, or for the sake of wealth, abandon my eternal duty! Even this is my fixed resolution! Then all those ascetics with Narada at their head, O king, and my mother Bhagirathi, occupied the field of battle (before me). I, however, stayed quietly with arrows and bow as before, resolved to fight. They then once more turned towards Rama and addressed him, saying. 'The hearts of Brahmanas are made of butter. Be pacified, therefore, O son of Bhrigu's race! O Rama, O Rama, desist from this battle, O best of Brahmanas! Bhishma is incapable of being slain by thee, as indeed, thou, O Bhargava, art incapable of being slain by him!' Saying these words while they stood obstructing the field, the Pitris caused that descendant of Bhrigu's race to place aside his weapons. Just at this time I once more beheld those eight utterers of Brahma, blazing with effulgence and resembling bright stars risen on the firmament. Stationed for battle as I was, they said these words unto me with great affection, 'O thou of mighty arms, go unto Rama who is thy preceptor! Do what is beneficial to all the worlds. Beholding then that Rama had desisted owing to the words of his well-wishers, I also, for the good of the worlds, accepted the words of my well-wishers. Though mangled exceedingly, I still approached Rama and worshipped him. The great ascetic Rama then, smilingly, and with great affection, said unto me, 'There is no Kshatriya equal to thee on the earth! Go now, O Bhishma, for in this combat thou hast pleased me highly'! Summoning then in my presence that maiden (the daughter of Kasi), Bhargava sorrowfully said unto her these words in the midst of all those high-souled persons.'"

SECTION 189

"Rama said, 'O damsel, in the very sight of all these persons, I have fought according to the best of my power and displayed my prowess! By using even the very best of weapons I have not been able to obtain any advantage over Bhishma, that foremost of all wielders of weapons! I have exerted now to the best of my power and might. O beautiful lady, go withersoever thou wishest! What other business of thine can I accomplish? Seek the protection of Bhishma himself! Thou hast no other refuge now! Shooting mighty weapons Bhishma hath vanquished me!' Having said this, the high-souled Rama sighed and remained silent. That maiden then addressed him, saying, 'O holy one, it is even so as thy holy self hath said! This Bhishma of great intelligence is incapable of being vanquished in battle by even the gods! Thou hast done my business to the

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best of thy exertion and power. Thou hast displayed in this battle energy incapable of being baffled and weapons also of diverse kinds. Thou hast yet been unable to obtain any advantage over Bhishma in combat. As regards myself, I will not go a second time to Bhishma. I will, however, O perpetuator of Bhrigu's race, go thither, O thou endued with wealth of asceticism, where I may (obtain the means to) myself slay Bhishma in battle!' Having said the words, that maiden went away, with eyes agitated with wrath, and thinking to compass my death, she firmly resolved to devote herself to asceticism. Then that foremost one of Bhrigu's race, accompanied by those ascetics, bidding me farewell, departed, O Bharata, for the mountains whence he had come. I also, ascending my car, and praised by the Brahmanas, entered our city and represented, everything unto my mother Satyavati, everything that had transpired, and she, O great king, uttered benedictions on me. I then appointed persons endued with intelligence to ascertain the doings of that maiden. Devoted to the good of myself--their well-wisher, those spies of mine, with great application brought to me accounts of her course of action, her words and actions, from day to day. When that maiden went to the woods, resolved on ascetic austerities, even then I became melancholy, and afflicted with pain, I lost my heart's tenor. Except one acquainted with Brahma and observant of vows, that are praiseworthy owing to the austerities they involve, no Kshatriya hath ever by his prowess, vanquished me in battle! I then, O king, humbly represented to Narada as also to Vyasa all that the maiden did. They both told me, 'O Bhishma, do not give way to sorrow on account of the daughter of Kasi. Who is there that would venture to baffle destiny by individual exertion?' Meanwhile, O great king, that maiden, entering a cluster of retreats practised austerities, that were beyond human powers (of endurance). Without food, emaciated, dry, with matted-locks and begrimed with filth, for six months she lived on air only, and stood unmoved like a street-post. And that lady, possessed of wealth of asceticism, foregoing all food in consequence of the fast she kept, passed a whole year after this, standing in the waters of the Yamuna. Endued with great wrath, she passed the next whole year standing on her front toes and having eaten only one fallen leaf (of a tree). And thus for twelve years, she made the heavens hot by her austerities. And though dissuaded by her relatives, she could not by any means be weaned off (from that course of action). She then went unto Vatsabhumi resorted to by the Siddhas and Charanas, and which was the retreat of high-souled ascetics of pious deeds. Bathing frequently in the sacred waters of that retreat, the princess of Kasi roamed about according to her will. Proceeding next (one after another) to the asylum, O king, of Narada, and to the auspicious asylum of Uluka and to that of Chyavana, and to the spot sacred to Brahmana, and to Prayaga the sacrificial platform of the gods, and to that forest sacred to the gods, and to Bhogawati, and, O monarch, to the asylum of Kusika's son (Viswamitra), and to the asylum of Mandavya, and also to the asylum of Dwilipa, and to Ramhrada, and, O Kaurava, to the asylum of Garga, the princess of Kasi, O king, performed ablutions in the sacred waters of all these, observing all the while the most difficult of vows. One day, my mother from the waters asked her, O Kauravya, saying, 'O blessed lady, for what dost thou afflict thyself so? Tell me the truth!' Thus asked, O monarch, that faultless damsel answered her with joined hands, saying, 'O thou of handsome eyes, Rama hath been vanquished in battle by Bhishma. What other (Kshatriya) king then would venture to defeat the latter when ready with his weapons? As regards myself, I am practising the severest penances for the destruction of Bhishma. I wander over the earth, O goddess, so that I may slay that king! In every thing I do, O goddess, even this is the great end of my vows!' Hearing these words of hers, the Ocean-going (river Ganga) replied unto her, saying, 'O lady, thou art acting crookedly! O weak girl, this wish of thine thou shalt not be able to achieve, O faultless one? if, O princess of Kasi, thou observest these vows for destruction of Bhishma, and if thou takest leave of thy body while observing them, thou shalt (in thy next birth) become a river, crooked in her course and of water only during the rains! All the bathing places along thy course will be difficult of approach, and filled only during the rains, thou shalt be dry for eight months (during the year)! Full of terrible alligators, and creatures of frightful mien thou shalt inspire fear in all creatures! Addressing her thus, O king, my mother, that highly-blessed lady, in seeming smiles, dismissed the princess of Kasi. That highly fair damsel then once more began to practise vows, foregoing all food, aye, even water, sometimes for eight months and sometimes for ten months! And the daughter of the king of Kasi, wandering hither and thither for her passionate desire of tirthas, once more came back, O Kauravya, to Vatsabhumi. And it is there, O Bharata, that she is known to have become a river, filled only during the rainy seasons, abounding with crocodiles, crooked in her course, and destitute of easy access to her water. And, O king, in consequence of her ascetic merit only half her body became such a river in Vatsabhumi, while with the other half, she remained a maiden as before!'

SECTION 190

"Bhishma said, 'Then all those ascetics (that dwell in Vatsabhumi), beholding the princess of Kasi firmly resolved on ascetic austerities, dissuaded her and enquired of her, saying, 'What is thy business?' Thus addressed, the maiden answered those ascetics, old in ascetic penances, saying, 'Expelled I have been by Bhishma, prevented by him from the virtue that would have been mine by living with a husband! My observance of this vow is for his destruction and not for the sake of regions of bliss, ye that are endued with wealth of asceticism! Having compassed the death of Bhishma, peace will be mine. Even this is my resolve. He for whom mine hath been this state of continuous grief, he for whom I have been deprived of the region that would have been mine if I could obtain a husband, he for whom I have become neither woman nor man, without slaying in battle that son of Ganga I will not desist, ye that are endued with wealth of asceticism. Even this that I have said is the purpose that is in my heart. As a woman, I have no longer any desire. I am, however, resolved to obtain manhood, for I will be revenged upon Bhishma. I should not, therefore, be dissuaded by you.' Unto them she said these words repeatedly. Soon, the divine lord of Uma, bearing the trident, showed himself in his own form unto that female ascetic in the midst of those great Rishis. Being asked to solicit the boon she wished, she begged of the deity my defeat. Thou shalt slay him,--were the words the god said unto that lady of great force of mind. Thus assured, the maiden, however, once more said unto Rudra, 'How can it happen, O god, that being a woman I shall yet be able to achieve victory in battle. O lord of Uma, as a woman, my heart is quite stilled. Thou hast, however, promised me, O lord of creatures, the defeat of Bhishma. O lord, having the bull for thy mount, act in such a way that promise of thine may become true, that encountering Bhishma, the son of Santanu, in battle I may be able to slay him.' The god of gods, having the bull for his symbol, then said unto that maiden, 'The words I have uttered cannot be false. O blessed lady, true they will be. Thou shalt slay Bhishma, and even obtain manhood. Thou shalt also remember all the incidents (of this life) even when thou shalt obtain a new body. Born in the race of Drupada, thou shalt become a Maharatha. Quick in the use of weapons and a fierce warrior, thou shalt be well-skilled in battle. O blessed lady, all that I have said will be true. Thou shalt become a man at the expiration of sometime (from thy birth)!' Having said so, the god of gods, called also Kapardin, having the bull for his symbol, disappeared then and there, in the very sight of those Brahmanas. Upon this, that faultless maiden of the fairest complexion, the eldest daughter of the king of Kasi, procuring wood from that forest in the very sight of those great Rishis, made a large funeral pyre on the banks of the Yamuna, and having set fire to it herself, entered that blazing fire, O great king, with a heart burning with wrath, and uttering, O king, the words,--(I do so) for Bhishma's destruction!'"

SECTION 191

"Duryodhana said, 'Tell me, O grandsire, how Sikhandin, O Ganga's son, having before been born a daughter, afterwards became a man, O foremost of warriors.'

"Bhishma said, 'O great king, the eldest and beloved queen of king Drupada was, O monarch, childless (at first). During those years, king Drupada, O monarch, paid his adoration to the god Sankara for the sake of offspring, resolving in his mind to compass my destruction and practising the austerest of penances. And he begged Mahadeva, saying, 'Let a son, and not a daughter, be born unto me. I desire, O god, a son for revenging myself upon Bhishma.' Thereupon, that god of gods said unto him, 'Thou shalt have a child who will be a female and male. Desist, O king, it will not be otherwise.' Returning then to his capital, he addressed his wife, saying, 'O great goddess, great hath been the exertion made by me. Undergoing ascetic austerities, I paid my adorations to Siva, and I was told by Sambhu that my child becoming a daughter (first) would subsequently become a male person. And though I solicited him repeatedly, yet Siva said,--This is Destiny's decree. It will not be otherwise. That which is destined must take place!' Then that lady of great energy, the queen of king Drupada, when her season came, observing all the regulations (about purity), approached Drupada. And in due time the wife of Prishata conceived, agreeably to Destiny's decree, as I was informed, O king, by Narada. And that lady, of eyes like lotus-petals, continued to hold the embryo in her womb. And, O son of Kuru's race, the mighty-armed king Drupada, from paternal affection, attended to every comfort of that dear wife of his. And, O Kaurava, the wife of that lord of earth, the royal Drupada, who was childless, had all her wishes gratified. And in due time, O monarch, that goddess, the queen of Drupada, gave birth to a daughter of great beauty. Thereupon, the strong-minded wife of that king, the childless Drupada, gave out, O monarch, that the child she had brought forth was a son. And then king Drupada, O ruler of men, caused all the rites prescribed for a male child to be performed in respect of that misrepresented daughter, as if she were really a son. And saying that the child was a son, Drupada's queen kept her counsels very carefully. And no other man in the city, save Prishata, knew the sex of that child. Believing these words of that deity of unfading energy, he too concealed the real sex of his child, saying,--She is a son. And, O king, Drupada caused all the rites of infancy, prescribed for a son, to be performed in respect of that child, and he bestowed the name of Sikhandin on her. I alone, through my spies and from Narada's words, knew the truth, informed as I previously was of the words of the god and of the ascetic austerities of Amva!'"

SECTION 192

"Bhishma said, 'Drupada, O chastiser of foes, bestowed great attention on everything in connexion with that daughter of his, teaching her writing and painting and all the arts. And in arrows and weapons that child became a disciple of Drona. And the child's mother, of superior complexion, then urged the king (her husband) to find, O monarch, a wife for her, as if she were a son. Then Prishata, beholding that daughter of his to have attained the full development of youth and assured of her sex began to consult with his queen. And Drupada said, 'This daughter of mine that so enhanceth my woe, hath attained her youth. Concealed, however, she hath hitherto been by me at the words of the trident-bearing deity!' The queen replied, 'That, O great king, can never be untrue! Why, indeed, would the Lord of the three worlds say that would not occur? If it pleases thee, O king, I will speak, and listen to my words, and, O son of Prishata's race, having listened to me, follow thy own inclination! Let the wedding of this child with a wife be caused to be performed carefully. The words of that god will be true. This is my certain belief!' Then that royal couple, having settled their resolution of that affair, chose the daughter of the king of the Dasarnakas as their son's wife. After this, the royal Drupada, that lion among kings, having enquired about the purity of descent, of all the rulers of the earth, selected the daughter of the king of Dasarnakas for wife to Sikhandin. He, who was called the king of the Dasarnakas was named Hiranyavarman; and he gave away his daughter to Sikhandin. And Hiranyavarman, the king of the Dasarnakas, was a powerful monarch, incapable of being easily vanquished. Incapable of being resisted, that high-souled monarch possessed a large army. And sometimes after the wedding, the daughter of Hiranyavarman, O best of monarchs, attained her youth while the daughter of Drupada also had attained hers. And Sikhandin, after marriage, came back to Kampilya. And the former soon came to know that the latter was a woman like herself. And the daughter of Hiranyavarman, having ascertained that Sikhandin was really a woman, bashfully represented unto her nurses and companions everything about the so-called son of the king of the Panchalas. Then, O tiger among kings, those nurses of the Dasarnakas country were filled with great grief and sent emissaries unto their king. And those emissaries represented unto the king of the Dasarnakas everything about the imposture that had taken place. And, thereupon, the king of the Dasarnakas was filled with wrath. Indeed, O bull of the Bharata race, Hiranyavarman, hearing the news after the expiry of a few days was much afflicted with wrath. The ruler of the Dasarnakas then, filled with fierce wrath, sent a messenger to Drupada's abode. And the messenger of king Hiranyavarman, having alone approached Drupada, took him aside and said unto him in private, 'The king of the Dasarnakas, O monarch, deceived by thee and enraged, O sinless one, at the insult thou hast offered him, hath said these words unto thee,--Thou hast humiliated me! Without doubt it was not wisely done by thee! Thou hadst, from folly, solicited my daughter for thy daughter! O wicked one, reap now the consequence of that act of deception' I will now slay thee with all thy relatives and advisers! Wait a little!'"

SECTION 193

"Bhishma said, 'Thus addressed, O king, by that messenger, king Drupada, like a thief caught (in the act), could not speak. He exerted himself greatly, by sending sweet-speeched emissaries with his own instruction to them, saying,--This is not so,--in order to pacify his brother. King Hiranyavarman, however, ascertaining once again, that the child of the king of the Panchalas was really a daughter, issued out of his city without losing any time. He then sent messages unto all his powerful friends about that deception practised on his daughter, of which he had heard from her nurses. Then, that best of kings, having mustered a large army, resolved, O Bharata, to march against Drupada. Then, O monarch, king Hiranyavarman held a consultation with his ministers about the ruler of the Panchalas. And it was settled among those high-souled kings that if, O monarch, Sikhandin was really a daughter, they should bind the ruler of the Panchalas and drag him from his city, and installing another king over the Panchalas they should slay Drupada with Sikhandin. Taking that to be the fixed resolution (of all whom he had summoned) king Hiranyavarman once more sent an envoy to the descendant of Prishata, saying 'I will slay thee, be calm.'

"Bhishma continued, 'King Drupada was not naturally courageous. In consequence, again, of that offence of his, he

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became filled with fear. Sending his envoys again to the ruler of the Dasarnakas, king Drupada, afflicted with grief, approached his wife and took counsel with her. And possessed with great fright and with heart afflicted with grief, the king of the Panchalas said unto his favourite wife, the mother of Sikhandin, these words, 'My powerful brother, king Hiranyavarman, having mustered a large force, is coming towards me in anger. Fools that we both are, what are we now to do in respect of this our daughter? Thy son, Sikhandin, hath been suspected to be a daughter. Under this suspicion, Hiranyavarman with his allies and followed by his army wisheth to slay me thinking that he hath been received by me! O thou of beautiful hips, tell us now what is true or false in this, O beautiful lady! O blessed lady, hearing from thee first, I will settle how to act. I am very much endangered and this child, Sikhandin, also is equally so. Indeed, O queen, O lady of the fairest complexion, thou too art threatened with danger! For the relief of all, tell me who asketh thee what the truth is! O thou of beautiful hips and sweet smiles, hearing what thou hast to say I shall act suitably. Although I have been deceived by thee as to the duties I owe towards a son, yet, O beautiful lady, from kindness I will act towards you both in a suitable manner. Therefore, do not fear, nor let this daughter of thine fear anything. Indeed, I have deceived the king of the Dasarnakas. Tell me, O highly blessed lady, how may I act towards him so that all may yet turn up well!' Indeed, although the king knew everything, yet he addressed his wife in the presence of others in this way, to proclaim his own innocence before others. His queen then answered him in the following words.'"

SECTION 194

"Bhishma said. 'Then, O mighty-armed king, Sikhandin's mother represented unto her lord the truth about her daughter, Sikhandin. And she said, 'Childless, O great king, as I was, from fear of my co-wives, when Sikhandini, my daughter, was born, I represented unto you that it was a son! For thy love of me, thou also hadst corroborated it, and, O bull among kings, thou hadst performed all the rites prescribed for a son in respect of this daughter of mine! Thou then didst marry her, O king, to the daughter of the king of the Dasarnakas. I also approved of this act, remembering the words of the (great) god! Indeed, I did not prevent it, remembering the words of Siva,--Born a daughter, she will become a son!' Hearing all this, Drupada, otherwise called Yajnasena, informed all his counsellors of these facts. And, O monarch, the king then took counsel with ministers for the proper protection of his subjects (from the would-be invader). Although he had himself deceived the king of the Dasarnakas, yet giving it out that the alliance he had made was proper, he began to settle his plans with undivided attention. King Drupada's city was, O Bharata, naturally well-protected. Yet at the advent of danger, O monarch, they began to protect it all the more carefully and fortify it (with defensive works). The king, however, with his queen, was greatly afflicted, thinking of how a war might not take place with his brother. Reflecting on this, he began to pay his adorations to the gods. His respected wife, beholding him relying on the god and paying his adorations to them, than addressed him, O king, and said, 'Homage to the gods is productive of benefits! It is, therefore, approved by the righteous. What shall I say, again, of those that are sunk in an ocean of distress? Therefore, pay homage to those that are thy superiors and let all the gods also be worshipped, making large presents the while (unto the Brahmanas)! Let oblations be poured on the fire for pacifying the ruler of the Dasarnakas. O lord, think of the means by which, without a war, thou mayst be able to pacify thy brother! Through the grace of the gods all this will happen. For the preservation of this city, O thou of large eyes, thou hast taken counsel with thy ministers. Do all, O king, that those counsels seem to indicate, for reliance on the gods, when supported by human exertion, always, O king, leadeth to success, If these two do not go hand-in-hand, success becometh unattainable. Therefore, with all thy advisers, make such arrangements in thy city as are proper, and pay homage, O monarch, as thou pleasest, to the gods.' While husband and wife were conversing with each other thus, both filled with grief, their helpless daughter, Sikhandini, was filled with shame. She then reflected, saying, 'It is for me that these two are plunged into grief!' Thinking so, she resolved upon putting an end to her own life. Having formed this determination, she left home, filled with heavy sorrow, and went into a dense and solitary forest that was the haunt, O king, of a very formidable Yaksha called Sthunakarna. From fear of that Yaksha men never went into that forest. And within it stood a mansion with high walls and a gateway, plastered over with powdered earth, and rich with smoke bearing the fragrance of fried paddy. Entering that mansion, Sikhandini, the daughter of Drupada, O king, began to reduce herself by foregoing all food for many days. Thereupon, the Yaksha named Sthuna, who was endued with kindness, showed himself unto her. And he enquired of her, saying, 'For what object is this endeavour of thine? I will accomplish it, tell me without delay!' Thus asked, the maiden answered him, repeatedly saying, 'Thou art unable to accomplish it!' The Guhyaka, however, rejoined, without a moment's delay, saying, 'Accomplish it I will! I am a follower of the Lord of treasures, I can, O princess, grant boons! I will grant thee even that which cannot be given! Tell me what thou hast to say!' Thus assured, Sikhandini represented in detail everything that had happened, unto that chief of Yakshas called Sthunakarna. And she said, 'My father, O Yaksha, will soon meet with destruction. The ruler of the Dasarnakas marcheth against him in rage. That king eased in golden mail is endued with great might and great courage. Therefore, O Yaksha, save me, my mother, and my father! Indeed, thou hast already pledged thyself to relieve my distress! Through thy grace, O Yaksha, I would become a perfect man! As long as that king may not depart from my city, so long, O great Yaksha, show me grace, O Guhyaka!'"

SECTION 195

"Bhishma said, 'Hearing, O bull of Bharata's race, those words of Sikhandini, afflicted by destiny, that Yaksha, said after reflecting in his mind, these words, 'Indeed, it was ordained to be so, and, O Kaurava, it was ordained for my grief!' The Yaksha said, 'O Blessed lady, I will certainly do what thou wishest! Listen, however, to the condition I make. For a certain period I will give thee my manhood. Thou must, however, come back to me in due time. Pledge thyself to do so! Possessed of immense power, I am a ranger of the skies, wandering at my pleasure, and capable of accomplishing whatever I intend. Through my grace, save the city and thy kinsmen wholly! I will bear thy womanhood, O princess! Pledge thy truth to me, I will do what is agreeable to thee!' Thus addressed, Sikhandini said unto him, 'O holy one of excellent vows, I will give thee back thy manhood! O wanderer of the night, bear thou my womanhood for a short time! After the ruler of the Dasarnakas who is cased in a golden mail will have departed (from my city) I will once more become a maiden and thou wilt become a man!'

"Bhishma continued, 'Having said this (unto each other), they both. O king, made a covenant, and imparted unto each other's body their sexes. And the Yaksha Sthuna, O Bharata, became a female, while Sikhandini obtained the blazing form of the Yaksha. Then, O king, Sikhandini of Panchala's race, having obtained manhood, entered his city in great joy and approached his father. And he represented unto Drupada everything that had happened. And Drupada, bearing it all became highly glad. And along with his wife the king recollected the words of Maheswara. And he forthwith sent, O king, messenger unto the ruler of the Dasarnakas, saying, 'This my child is a male. Let it be believed by thee!' The king of the Dasarnakas meanwhile, filled with sorrow and grief, suddenly approached Drupada, the ruler of the Panchalas. And arrived at Kampilya, the Dasarnaka king despatched, after paying him proper honours, an envoy who was one of the foremost of those conversant with the Vedas. And he addressed the envoy, saying, 'Instructed by me, O messenger, say unto that worst of kings the ruler of the Panchalas, these words,--viz., O thou of wicked understanding, having selected my daughter as a wife for one who is thy daughter, thou shalt today, without doubt, behold the fruit of that act of deception.' Thus addressed and despatched by him, O best of kings, the Brahmana set out for Drupada's city as Dasarnaka's envoy. And having arrived at the city, the priest went unto Drupada's presence. The king of the Panchalas then, with Sikhandin, offered the envoy, O king, a cow and honey. The Brahmana, however, without accepting that worship, said unto him these words that had been communicated through him by the brave ruler of the Dasarnakas who was cased in a golden mail. And he said, 'O thou of vile behaviours, I have been deceived by thee through thy daughter (as the means)! I will exterminate thee with thy counsellors and sons and kinsmen!' Having, in the midst of his counsellors, been made by that priest to hear those words fraught with censure and uttered by the ruler of the Dasarnakas, king Drupada then, O chief of Bharata's race, assuming a mild behaviour from motives of friendship, 'said, The reply to these words of my brother that thou hast said unto me, O Brahmana, will be carried to that monarch by my envoy!' And king Drupada then, sent unto the high-souled Hiranyavarman a Brahmana learned in the Vedas as his envoy. And that envoy, going unto king Hiranyavarman, the ruler of the Dasarnakas, said unto him, 'O monarch, the word that Drupada had entrusted him with.' And he said, 'This my child is really a male. Let it be made clear by means of witness! Somebody has spoken falsely to thee. That should not be believed!' Then the king of the Dasarnakas, having heard the words of Drupada, was filled with sorrow and despatched a number of young ladies of great beauty for ascertaining whether Sikhandin was a male or female. Despatched by him, those ladies, having ascertained (the truth) joyfully told the king of the Dasarnakas everything, viz., that Sikhandin, O chief of the Kurus, was a powerful person of the masculine sex. Hearing that testimony, the ruler of the Dasarnakas was filled with great joy, and wending then unto his brother Drupada, passed a few days with him in joy. And the king, rejoiced as he was, gave unto Sikhandin much wealth, many elephants and steeds and kine. And worshipped by Drupada (as long as he stayed), the Dasarnaka king then departed, having rebuked his daughter. And after king Hiranyavarman, the ruler of the Dasarnakas had departed in joy and with his anger quelled, Sikhandin began to rejoice exceedingly. Meanwhile, sometime after (the exchange of sexes had taken place) Kuvera, who was always borne on the shoulders of human beings, in course of a journey (through the earth), came to the abode of Sthuna. Staying (in the welkin) above that mansion, the protector of all the treasures saw that the excellent abode of the Yaksha Sthuna was well-adorned with beautiful garland of flowers, and perfumed with fragrant roots of grass and many sweet scents. And it was decked with canopies, and scented incense. And it was also beautiful with standards and banners. And it was filled with edibles and drink of every kind. And beholding that beautiful abode of the Yaksha decked all over, and filled also with garlands of jewels and gems and perfumed with the fragrance of diverse kinds of flowers, and well-watered, and well-swept, the lord of the Yakshas addressed the Yakshas that followed him, saying, 'Ye that are endued with immeasurable prowess, this mansion of Sthuna is well-adorned! Why, however, doth not that wight of wicked understanding come to me? And since that wicked-souled one, knowing I am here, approacheth me not, therefore, some severe punishment should be inflicted on him! Even this is my intention!' Hearing these words of his, the Yakshas said, 'O king, the royal Drupada had a daughter born unto him, of the name of Sikhandini! Unto her, for some reason, Sthuna had given his own manhood, and having taken her womanhood upon him, he stayeth within his abode having become a woman! Bearing as he doth a feminine form, he doth not, therefore, approach thee in shame! It is for this reason, O king, that Sthuna cometh not to thee! Hearing all this, do what may be proper!' Let the car be stopped here! Let Sthuna be brought to me,--were the words that the lord of the Yakshas uttered, and repeatedly said,--I will punish him!--Summoned then by the Lord of Yakshas, Sthuna bearing a feminine form came thither, O king, and stood before him in shame. Then, O thou of Kuru's race, the giver of wealth cursed him in anger, saying, 'Ye Guhyakas, let the femininity of the wretch remain as it is!' And the high-souled lord of the Yakshas also said, 'Since humiliating all the Yakshas, thou hast, O thou of sinful deeds, given away thy own sex to Sikhandini and taken from her, O thou of wicked understanding, her femininity,--since, O wicked wretch, thou hast done what hath never been done by anybody,--therefore from this day, thou shalt remain a woman and she shall remain a man!' At these words of his, all the Yakshas began to soften Vaisravana for the sake of Sthunakarna repeatedly saying, 'Set a limit to thy curse!' The high-souled lord of the Yakshas then said unto all these Yakshas that followed him, from desire of setting a limit to his curse, these words, viz.,--After Sikhandin's death, ye Yakshas, this one will regain his own form! Therefore, let this high-souled Yaksha Sthuna be freed from his anxiety! Having said this, the illustrious and divine king of the Yakshas, receiving due worship, departed with all his followers who were capable of traversing a great distance within the shortest space of time. And Sthuna, with that curse pronounced on him, continued to live there. And when the time came, Sikhandin without losing a moment came unto that wanderer of the night. And approaching his presence he said, It have come to thee, O holy one!' Sthuna then repeatedly said unto him, 'I am pleased with thee!' Indeed, beholding that prince return to him without guile, Sthuna told Sikhandin everything that had happened. Indeed, the Yaksha said, 'O son of a king, for thee I have been cursed by Vaisravana. Go now, and live happily amongst men as thou choosest. Thy coming here and the arrival of Pulastya's son were, I think, both ordained from beforehand. All this was incapable of being prevented!'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed by the Kaksha, Sthuna, Sikhandin, O Bharata, came to his city, filled with great joy. And he worshipped with diverse scents and garlands of flower and costly presents persons of the regenerate class, deities, big trees and crossways. And Drupada, the ruler of the Panchalas, along with his son Sikhandin whose wishes had been crowned with success, and with also his kinsmen, became exceedingly glad. And the king then, O bull of Kuru's race, gave his son, Sikhandin, who had been a woman, as a pupil, O monarch, to Drona. An prince Sikhandin obtained, along with yourselves, the whole science of arms with its four divisions. And (his brother) Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's race also obtained the same. Indeed, all this way represented unto me, O sire, by the spies, disguised as idiots and as persons without the senses of vision, and hearing whom I had set upon Drupada. It is thus, O king, that that best of Rathas. Sikhandin, the son of Drupada, having first been born a female, subsequently became a person of the other sex. And it was the eldest daughter of the ruler of Kasi, celebrated by the name of Amva, who was, O bull of Bharata's race, born in Drupada's line as Sikhandin. If he approacheth me bow in hand and desirous of fight, I will not look at him even for a moment nor smite him, O thou of unfading glory! Even--this

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is my vow, known over all the world, viz., that I will not, O son of Kuru's race, shoot weapons upon a woman, or one that was a woman before or one bearing a feminine name, or one whose form resembleth a woman's. I will not, for this reason, slay Sikhandin. Even this, O sire, is the story that I have ascertained of Sikhandin's birth. I will not, therefore, slay him in battle even if he approacheth me weapon in hand. If Bhishma slayeth a woman the righteous will all speak ill of him. I will not, therefore, slay him even if I behold him waiting for battle!'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Hearing these words of Bhishma, king Duryodhana of Kuru's race, reflecting for a moment, thought even that behaviour was proper for Bhishma.'"

SECTION 196

"Sanjaya said, 'When the night passed away and morning came, thy sons once more, in the midst of all the troops, asked their grandsire, saying, 'O son of Ganga, this army that is ready for fight, of Pandu's son, that abounds with men, elephants, and steeds, that is crowded with Maharathas, that is protected by these mighty bowmen endued with great strength, viz., Bhima and Arjuna and others headed by Dhrishtadyumna and all resembling the very regents of the world, that is invincible and incapable of being withstood, that resembles the unbounded sea,--this sea of warriors incapable of being agitated by the very gods in battle, in how many days, O son of Ganga, O thou of great effulgence, canst thou annihilate it, and in what time can that mighty bowman, our preceptor (Drona), in what time also the mighty Kripa, in what time Karna who taketh a pleasure in battle, and in what time that best of Brahmanas, viz., the son of Drona, can each annihilate it? Ye that are in my army are all acquainted with celestial weapons! I desire to know this, for the curiosity I feel in my heart is great! O thou of mighty arms, it behoveth thee to say this to me!'

"Bhishma said, 'O foremost one of the Kurus, O lord of the earth, thou enquirest about the strength and weakness of the foe. This, indeed, is worthy of thee. Listen, O king, as I tell thee the utmost limit of my power in battle, or of the energy of my weapons, or of the might of my arms, O thou of mighty arms! As regards ordinary combatants, one should fight with them artlessly. As regards those that are possessed of powers of deception, one should fight with them aided by the ways of deception. Even this is what hath been laid down in respect of the duties of warriors. I can annihilate the Pandava army, O blessed monarch, taking every morning ten thousand (ordinary) warriors and one thousand car-warriors as my share from day to day. Cased in mail and always exerting myself actively, I can, O Bharata, annihilate this large force, according to this arrangement as regards both number and time. If, however, stationed in battle, I shoot my great weapons that slay hundreds and thousands at a time, then I can, O Bharata, finish the slaughter in a month.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Hearing these words of Bhishma, king Duryodhana then asked Drona, O monarch, that foremost one of Angira's race, saying, 'O preceptor, in what time canst thou annihilate the troops of Pandu's son?' Thus addressed by him, Drona said smilingly, 'I am old, O mighty-armed one! My energy and activity have both become weak. With the fire of my weapons I can consume the army of the Pandavas, like Santanu's son Bhishma, I think, in a month's time.' Even this is the limit of my power, even this is the limit of my strength.' Then Saradwat's son Kripa said that he could annihilate the foe in two month's time. Dron's son (Aswatthaman) pledged himself to annihilate the Pandava army in ten nights, Karna, however, acquainted as he was with weapons of high efficacy, pledged himself to achieve that feat in five days. Hearing the words of the Suta's son the son of the ocean-going (Ganga) laughed aloud and said, 'As long, O son of Radha, as thou encounterest not in battle Partha with his arrows, conch, and bows and rushing to the combat on his car with Vasudeva in his company, so long mayest thou think so! Why, thou art capable of saying anything, even what thou pleasest!'"

SECTION 197

"Vaisampayana said, 'Hearing these words (of the leaders of the Kuru army), Kunti's son Yudhishthira, summoning all his brothers, said unto them these words in private.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'The spies I had placed in the army of Dhritarashtra's son, brought me this news in the morning. Duryodhana. asked Ganga's son of great vows, saying, 'O lord, in what time cant thou annihilate the troops of Pandu's sons?' Indeed, the wicked Duryodhana was answered by him in these words, viz.,--In a month! Drona also declared that he could do the same feat in about the same time. Gautama (Kripa) indicated twice that period, as hath been heard by us. Drona's son acquainted with weapons of high efficacy declared the period (in his case) to be ten nights. Karna also, acquainted with weapons of high efficacy, asked in the midst of the Kurus, declared that the could complete the slaughter in five days. Therefore, I also, O Arjuna, am desirous of hearing thy words, 'In what time canst thou, O Falguni, exterminate the foe?' Thus addressed by the king, Dhananjaya of curly hair, casting a look upon Vasudeva, said these words, 'All these (Bhishma and others) are high-souled (warriors), accomplished in arms and acquainted with all modes of warfare. Without doubt, O king, they can exterminate (our forces) even thus! Let thy heart's anguish, however, be dispelled. I tell thee truly that with Vasudeva as my ally, I can, on a single car, exterminate the three worlds with even the immortals, indeed, all mobile creatures that were, are, will be, in the twinkling of the eye. This is what I think. That terrible and mighty weapon which the Lord of all creatures (Mahadeva) gave me on the occasion of my hand-to-hand encounter with him (in the guise of) a hunter, still existeth with me. Indeed, O tiger among men, that weapon which the Lord of all creatures useth at the end of Yuga for destroying created things, existeth with me. Ganga's son knoweth not that weapon; nor Drona nor Gautama (Kripa); nor Drona's son, O king! How, therefore, can the Suta's son know it. It is not, however, proper to slay ordinary men in battle by means of celestial weapons. We shall (on the other band) vanquish our foes in a fair fight. Then, these tigers among men, O king, are thy allies! All of them are well-versed in celestial weapons, and all of them are eager for battle. All of them after their initiation in the Vedas, have undergone the final bath in sacrifices. All of them are unvanquished. They are competent, O son of Pandu, to slay in battle the army of even the celestials. Thou hast for thy allies Sikhandin, and Yuyudhana and Dhristadyumna of Prishata's race; and Bhimasena, and these twins, and Yudhamanyu, and Uttamaujas, and Virata and Drupada who are equal in battle unto Bhishma and Drona; and the mighty-armed Sankha, and Hidimva's son of great might; and this latter's son Anjanparvan endued with great strength and prowess; and Sini's descendant of mighty arms and well-versed in battle, and the mighty Abhimanyu and the five sons of Draupadi! Thou art thyself, again, competent to exterminate the three worlds! O thou that art endued with effulgence equal unto that of Sakra himself, I know it, O Kaurava, for it is manifest, that that man upon whom thou mayest cast thy eyes in anger is sure to be annihilated!'"

SECTION 198

"Vaisampayana said, 'Next morning, under a cloudless sky, all the kings, urged by Dhritarashtra's son, Duryodhana,--set out against the Pandavas. And all of them had purified themselves by baths, were decked in garlands, and attired in white robes. And having poured libations on fire, caused Brahmanas to utter benedictions on them, they took up their weapons and raised their (respective) standards. And all of them were conversant with the Vedas, and endued with great bravery, and had practised excellent vows. And all of them were grantors of (other people's) wishes, and all were skilled in battle. Endued with great strength, they set out, reposing confidence on one another, and with singleness of purpose desiring to win in battle the highest regions. And first Vinda and Anuvinda, both of Avanti, and Kekayas, and the Vahlikas, all set out with Bharadwaja's son at their head. Then came Aswatthaman, and Santanu's son (Bhishma), and Jayadratha of the country of the Sindhu, and the kings of the southern and the western countries and of the hilly regions, and Sakuni, the ruler of the Gandharas, and all the chiefs of the eastern and the northern regions, and the Sakas, the Kiratas, and Yavanas, the Sivis and the Vasatis with their Maharathas at the heads of their respective divisions. All these great car-warriors marched in the second division. Then came Kritavarman at the head of his troops, and that mighty car-warrior, viz., the ruler of the Trigartas, and the king Duryodhana surrounded by his brothers, and Sala, and Bhurisravas, and Salya, and Vrihadratha, the ruler of the Kosalas. These all marched in the rear, with Dhritarashtra's sons at their head. And all these Dhartarashtras endued with great might, uniting together in proper order, and all clad in mail, took up their position at the other end of Kurukshetra, and, O Bharata, Duryodhana caused his encampment to be so adorned as to make it look like a second Hastinapura. Indeed, O king, even those that were clever among the citizens of Hastinapura could not distinguish their city from the encampment. And the Kuru king caused inaccessible pavilions, similar to his own, to be erected by hundreds and thousands for the (other) kings (in his army). And those tents, O king, for the accommodation of the troops were well-planted on an area measuring full five yojanas of that field of battle. And into those tents by thousands that were full of provisions, the rulers of the earth entered, each according to his courage according to the strength he possessed. And king Duryodhana ordered excellent provisions to be supplied for all those high-souled kings with their troops consisting of infantry, elephants, and horses, and with all their followers. And as regards all those that subsisted upon mechanical arts and all the bards, singers, and panegyrists devoted to his cause, and vendors and traders, and prostitutes, and spies, and persons who had come to witness the battle, the Kuru king made due provision for all of them.'"

SECTION 199

"Vaisampayana said, 'Like Duryodhana, king Yudhishthira also, the son of Kunti and Dharma, ordered out, O Bharata, his heroic warriors headed by Dhrishtadyumna. Indeed, he ordered that slayer of foes and commander of force, that leader, steady in prowess, of the Chedis, the Kasis, and the Karushas, viz., Dhrishtaketu, as also Virata, and Drupada, and Yuyudhana, and Sikhandin, and those two mighty bowmen, those two princes of Panchala, viz., Yudhamanyu and Uttamaujas, to set out. Those brave warriors, cased in handsome coats of mail and decked with golden ear-rings, blazed forth like fires on the sacrificial altar when fed with clarified butter. Indeed, those mighty bowmen looked resplendent like the planets in the firmament. Then that bull among men king Yudhishthira, having duly honoured all his combatants, ordered them to march. And king Yudhishthira ordered excellent provisions of food for those high-souled kings with their troops consisting of infantry, and elephants and horses, and with all their followers, as also for all those that subsisted on mechanical arts. And the son of Pandu first ordered Abhimanyu, and Vrihanta, and the five sons of Draupadi, to march with Dhrishtadyumna at their head. And he then despatched Bhima, and Dhananjaya the son of Pandu, in the second division of his forces. And the din made by the men moving and running about for harnessing their steeds and elephants and loading the cars with implements of battle, and the shouts of the cheerful combatants, seemed to touch the very heavens. And last of all, the king marched himself, accompanied by Virata and Drupada and the other monarchs (on his side). And that army of fierce bowmen commanded by Dhrishtadyumna, hitherto stationed in one place, but now extended into columns for marching, looked like the (impetuous) current of Ganga. The then intelligent Yudhishthira depending on his wisdom, disposed his divisions in a different order, confounding the sons of Dhritarashtra. And the son of Pandu ordered that those mighty bowmen, the (five) sons of Draupadi and Abhimanyu, and Nakula, and Sahadeva, and all the Prabhadrakas, and ten thousand horses, and two thousand elephants, and ten thousand foot-soldiers, and five hundred cars, constituting the first irresistible division of his army, should be placed under the command of Bhimasena. And he placed in the middle division of his army Virata and Jayatsena, and those two mighty car-warriors, viz., Yudhamanyu and Uttamauja, the two high-souled princes of Panchala, both endued with great prowess and both armed with mace and bow. And in this middle division marched Vasudeva and Dhananjaya. There were (placed) combatants highly accomplished in arms and burning with anger. Amongst them were steeds ridden by brave warriors, and five thousand elephants, and crowds of cars all around. And foot-soldiers in thousands, that were all brave and armed with bows, swords, and maces, marched behind them, as thousand marched before them. And in that part of that sea of troops, where Yudhishthira himself was, there were stationed numerous lords of earth. And there also were thousands of elephants, and steeds by ten thousands, and cars and foot-soldiers also by thousands. And there also marched, O bull among kings, Chekitana with his own large force, and king Dhrishtaketu, the leader of the Chedis. And there also was that mighty bowman, Satyaki, the foremost car-warrior of the Vrishnis, that mighty combatant, surrounded by hundreds and thousands of cars and leading (them to battle)! And those bulls among men, Kshatrahan and Kshatradeva, mounted on their cars, marched behind, protecting the rear. And there (in the rear) were the waggons, stalls, uniforms, vehicles and draft animals. There also were thousands of elephants and horses by tens of thousands. And taking all the invalids and women, and all that were emaciated and weak, and all the animals carrying his treasures, and all his granaries, with the aid of his elephant-divisions, Yudhishthira marched slowly. And he was followed by Sauchitti, who steadily adhered to truth and was invincible in battle, and Srenimat, and Vasudeva and Vibhu, the son of the ruler of Kasi, with twenty thousand cars, and hundred million steeds of high mettle, each bearing scores of bells on its limbs, and twenty thousand smiting elephants with tusks as long as plough-shares, all of good breed and divided temples and all resembling moving masses of clouds. Indeed, these usually walked behind those monarchs. Besides these, O Bharata, the elephants that Yudhishthira had in his seven Akshauhinis, numbering seventy thousand with humour trickling down their trunks and from their mouths, and resembling (on that account) showering clouds, also followed the king, like moving hills.

'Thus was arrayed that terrible force of the intelligent son of Kunti. And relying upon that force he battled with Suyodhana, the son of Dhritarashtra. Besides those already named, other men by hundreds and thousands and tens of thousands, in divisions numbering by thousands, followed (the Pandava army), roaring loudly. And the warriors by thousands and ten thousands, filled with joy, beat their drums by thousands and blew conchs by tens of thousands!'"

The End of Udyoga Parva

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THE MAHABHARATA, BOOK 6
(OF KRISHNA-DWAIPAYANA VYASA)
BHISHMA PARVA

SECTION 1
(Jamvu-khanda Nirmana Parva)

OM! HAVING BOWED down to Narayana, and Nara, the most exalted of male beings, and also to the goddess Saraswati, must the word 'Jaya' be uttered.

Janamejaya said,--"How did those heroes, the Kurus, the Pandavas, and the Somakas, and the high-souled kings assembled together from various countries, fight?"

Vaisampayana said,--"Listen thou, O lord of the earth, how those heroes,--the Kurus, the Pandavas, and the Somakas,--fought on the sacred plain of the Kurukshetra. [Tapas-kshetra because Kuru, the common ancestor of the rival houses, performed his ascetic austerities there. Since Kuru's time, many ascetics took up their abode there.] Entering Kurukshetra, the Pandavas endued with great might, along with the Somakas, advanced, desirous of victory, against the Kauravas. Accomplished in the study of the Vedas, all (of them) took great delight in battle. Expectant of success in battle, with their troops (they) faced the fight. Approaching the army of Dhritarashtra's son, those (warriors) invincible in battle stationed themselves with their troops on the western part (of the plain), their faces turned towards the east. Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, caused tents by thousands to be set up according to rule, beyond the region called Samantapanchaka. The whole earth seemed then to be empty, divested of horses and men, destitute of cars and elephants, and with only the children and the old left (at home). From the whole area of Jamvudwipa over which the sun sheds his rays [Literally, "gives heat".], was collected that force, O best of kings. Men of all races ['Varna' is used here in the sense of races and not castes.], assembled together, occupied an area extending for many Yojanas over districts, rivers, hills, and woods. That bull among men, king Yudhishthira, ordered excellent food and other articles of enjoyment for all of them along with their animals. And Yudhishthira fixed diverse watch-words for them; so that one saying this should be known as belonging to the Pandavas. And that descendant of Kuru's race also settled names and badges for all of them for recognition during time of battle.

"Beholding the standard-top of Pritha's son, the high-souled son of Dhritarashtra, with a white umbrella held over his head, in the midst of a thousand elephants, and surrounded by his century of brothers, began with all the kings (on his side) to array his troops against the son of Pandu. Seeing Duryodhana, the Panchalas who took delight in battle, were filled with joy and blew their loud-sounding conches and cymbals of sweet sounds. Beholding those troops so delighted, Pandu's son and Vasudeva of great energy had their hearts filled with joy. And those tigers among men, Vasudeva and Dhananjaya, seated on one car, having felt great joy, both blew their celestial conches. And hearing the blare of Gigantea and the loud blast of Theodotes belonging unto the two, the combatants ejected urine and excreta. As other animals are filled with fear on hearing the voice of the roaring lion, even so became that force upon hearing those blasts. A frightful dust arose and nothing could be seen, for the sun himself, suddenly enveloped by it, seemed to have set. A black cloud poured a shower of flesh and blood over the troops all around. All this seemed extraordinary. A wind rose there, bearing along the earth myriads of stony nodules, and afflicting therewith the combatants by hundreds and thousands. (For all that), O monarch, both armies, filled with joy, stood addrest for battle, on Kurukshetra like two agitated oceans. Indeed, that encounter of the two armies was highly wonderful, like that of two oceans when the end of the Yuga is arrived. The whole earth was empty, having only the children and the old left (at home), in consequence of that large army mustered by the Kauravas. Then the Kurus, the Pandavas, and the Somakas made certain covenants, and settled the rules, O bull of Bharata's race, regarding the different kinds of combat. Persons equally circumstanced must encounter each other, fighting fairly. And if having fought fairly the combatants withdraw (without fear of molestation), even that would be gratifying to us. Those who engaged in contests of words should be fought against with words. Those that left the ranks should never be slain [i.e., stragglers should not be slain.]. A car-warrior should have a car-warrior for his antagonist; he on the neck of an elephant should have a similar combatant for his foe; a horse should be met by a horse, and a foot-soldier, O Bharata; should be met by a foot-soldier. Guided by considerations of fitness, willingness, daring and might, one should strike another, giving notice. No one should strike another that is unprepared [Literally, "confiding."] or panic-struck. One engaged with another, one seeking quarter, one retreating, one whose weapon is rendered unfit, uncased in mail, should never be struck. Car-drivers, animals (yoked to cars or carrying weapons) men engaged in the transport of weapons [The Bombay text has "castropanayishu;" the Bengal texts have "castropojibishu."], players on drums and blowers of conches should never be struck. Having made these covenants, the Kurus, and the Pandavas, and the Somakas wondered much, gazing at each other. And having stationed (their forces thus), those bulls among men, those high-souled ones, with their troops, became glad at heart, their joy being reflected on their countenances."

SECTION 2

Vaisampayana said,--"Seeing then the two armies (standing) on the east and the west for the fierce battle that was impending, the holy Rishi Vyasa, the son of Satyavati, that foremost of all persons acquainted with the Vedas, that grandsire of the Bharatas, conversant with the past, the present, and the future, and beholding everything as if it were present before his eyes, said these words in private unto the royal son of Vichitravirya who was then distressed and giving way to sorrow, reflecting on the evil policy of his sons.

"Vyasa said,--'O king, thy sons and the other monarchs have their hour arrived [Rather, "have their periods run out."]. Mustered in battle they will kill one another. O Bharata, their hour having come, they will all perish. Bearing in mind the changes brought on by time, do not yield thy heart to grief. O king, if thou wish to see them (fighting) in battle, I will, O son, grant thee vision. Behold the battle."

"Dhritarashtra said,--'O best of regenerate Rishi, I like not to behold the slaughter of kinsmen. I shall, however, through thy potency hear of this battle minutely."

Vaisampayana continued.--"Upon his not wishing to see the battle but wishing to hear of it, Vyasa, that lord of boons, gave a boon to Sanjaya. (And addressing Dhritarashtra he said),--'This Sanjaya, O king, will describe the battle to thee. Nothing in the whole battle will be beyond this one's eyes.' Endued, O king with celestial vision, Sanjaya will narrate the battle to thee. He will have knowledge of everything. Manifest or concealed, (happening) by day or by night, even that which is thought of in the mind, Sanjaya shall know everything. Weapons will not cut him and exertion will not fatigue him. This son of Gavalgani will come out of the battle with life. As regards myself, O bull of Bharata's race, the fame of these Kurus, as also of all the Pandavas, I will spread. Do not grieve. This is destiny, O tiger among men. It behoveth thee not to give way to grief. It is not capable of being prevented. As regards victory, it is there where righteousness is.'"

Vaisampayana continued,--"That highly-blessed and holy grandsire of the Kurus, having said so, once more addressed Dhritarashtra and said,--'Great will the slaughter be, O monarch, in this battle. I see here also (numerous) omens indicative of terror. Hawks and vultures, and crows and herons, together with cranes, are alighting on the tops of trees and gathering in flocks. These birds, delighted at the prospect of battle, are looking down (on the field) before them. Carnivorous beasts will feed on the flesh of elephants and steeds. Fierce herons, foreboding terror, and uttering merciless cries, are wheeling across the centre towards the southern region. In both the twilights, prior and posterior, I daily behold, O Bharata, the sun during his rising and setting to be covered by headless trunks. Tri-coloured clouds with their extremities white and red and necks black, charged with lightning, and resembling maces (in figure) envelope the sun in both twilights. I have seen the sun, the moon, and the stars to be all blazing. No difference in their aspect is to be noted in the evening. I have seen this all day and all night. All this forbodes fear. On even the fifteenth night of the lighted-fortnight in (the month of) Kartika, the moon, divested of splendour, became invisible, or of the hue of fire, the firmament being of the hue of the lotus. Many heroic lords of earth, kings and princes, endued with great bravery and possessed of arms resembling maces, will be slain and sleep lying down on the earth. Daily I notice in the sky during night time the fierce cries of battling boars and cats. The images of gods and goddesses sometimes laugh, sometimes tremble, and sometimes again these vomit blood through their mouths and sometimes they sweat and sometimes fall down. O monarch! drums, without being beaten, give sounds, and the great cars of Kshatriyas move without (being drawn by) animals yoked to them. Kokilas, wood-peckers, jaws, water-cocks, parrots, crows, and peacocks, utter terrible cries. Here and there, cavalry soldiers, cased in mail, armed with weapons, send forth fierce shouts. At sun-rise flights of insects, by hundreds are seen. In both twilights, the cardinal quarters seem to be ablaze, and the clouds, O Bharata, shower dust and flesh. She, O king, who is celebrated over the three worlds and is applauded by the righteous, even that (constellation) Arundhati keepeth (her lord) Vasistha on her back. The planet Sani also, O king, appeareth afflicting (the constellation) Rohini. The sign of the deer in the Moon hath deviated from its usual position. A great terror is indicated. Even though the sky is cloudless, a terrible roar is heard there. The animals are all weeping and their tears are falling fast.'"

SECTION 3

"Vyasa said,--'Asses are taking births in kine. Some are having sexual pleasure with mothers. The trees in the forests are exhibiting unseasonable flowers and fruits. Women quick with child, and even those that are not so, are giving birth to monsters. Carnivorous beasts, mingling with (carnivorous) birds, are feeding together. Ill-omened beasts, some having three horns, some with four eyes, some with five legs, some with two sexual organs, some with two heads, some with two tails, some having fierce teeth, are being born, and with mouths wide open are uttering unholy cries. Horses with three legs, furnished with crests, having four teeth, and endued with horns, are also being born. O king! in thy city is also seen that the wives of many utterers of Brahma are bringing forth Garudas and peacocks. The mare is bringing forth the cow-calf and the bitch is bringing forth, O king, jackals and cocks, and antelopes and parrots are all uttering inauspicious cries. Certain women are bringing forth four or five daughters (at a time), and these as soon as they are born, dance and sing and laugh. The members of the lowest orders are laughing and dancing and singing, and thus indicating direful consequences. Infants, as if urged by death, are drawing armed images, and are running against one another, armed with clubs, and desirous of battle are also breaking down the towns (they erect in sport). Lotuses of different kinds and lilies are growing on trees. Strong winds are blowing fiercely and the dust ceaseth not. The earth is frequently trembling, and Rahu approacheth towards the sun. The white planet (Ketu) stayeth, having passed beyond the constellation Chitra. All this particularly bodeth the destruction of the Kurus. A fierce comet riseth, afflicting the constellation Pusya. This great planet will cause frightful mischief to both the armies. Mars wheeleth towards Magha and Vrihaspati (Jupiter) towards Sravana. The Sun's offspring (Sani) approaching towards the constellation Bhaga, afflicteth it. The planet Sukra, ascending towards Purva Bhadra, shineth brilliantly, and wheeling towards the Uttara Bhadra, looketh towards it, having effected a junction (with a smaller planet). The white planet (Ketu), blazing up like fire mixed with smoke, stayeth, having attacked the bright constellation Jeshtha that is sacred to Indra. The constellation Dhruva, blazing fiercely, wheeleth towards the right. Both the Moon and the Sun are afflicting Rohini. The fierce planet (Rahu) hath taken up its position between the constellations Chitra and Swati. The red-bodied (Mars) possessed of the effulgence of fire, wheeling circuitously, stayeth in a line with the constellation Sravana over-ridden by Vrihaspati. The earth that produceth particular crops at particular seasons is now covered with the crops of every season. Every barley-stalk is graced with five ears, and every paddy-stalk with a hundred. They that are the best of creatures in the worlds and upon whom depends the universe, viz., kine, when milked after the calves have their suck, yield only blood. Radiant rays of light emanate from bows, and swords blaze forth brilliantly. It is evident that the weapons behold (before them) the battle, as if it were already arrived. The hue of weapons and the water, as also of coats of mail and standards, is like that of fire. A great slaughter will take place. In this battle, O Bharata, of the Kurus with the Pandavas, the earth, O monarch, will be a river of blood with the standards (of warriors) as its rafts. Animals and birds on all sides, with mouths blazing like fire, uttering fierce cries, and displaying these evil omens, are foreboding terrible consequences. A (fierce) bird with but one wing, one eye, and one leg, hovering over the sky in the night, screameth frightfully in wrath, as if for making the hearers vomit blood? It seemeth, O great king, that all weapons are now blazing with radiance. The effulgence of the constellation known by the name of the seven high-souled Rishis, hath been dimmed. Those two blazing planets, viz., Vrihaspati and Sani, having approached the constellation called Visakha, have become stationary there for a whole year. Three lunations twice meeting together in course of the same lunar fortnight, the duration of the latter is shortened by two days. On the thirteenth day therefore, from the first lunation, according as it is the day of the full moon or the new moon, the moon and the sun are afflicted by Rahu. Such strange eclipses, both lunar and solar, forebode a great slaughter. All the quarters of the earth, being overwhelmed by showers of dust, look inauspicious. Fierce clouds, portentous of danger, drop bloody showers during the night. Rahu of fierce deeds is also, O monarch, afflicting the constellation Kirtika. Rough winds, portending fierce danger, are constantly blowing. All these beget a war characterised by many sad incidents. [Vishamam is battle or war, and akranda is weeping or productive of grief. The latter word may also mean a fierce battle. If understood in this sense, Vishamam may be taken as indicating hostility, or absence of peace.] The constellations are divided into three classes. Upon one or another of each class, a planet of evil omen has shed its influence, foreboding terrible dangers. [Nilakantha explains this in a long note the substance of which is appended below. Kings are divided into three classes, viz., owners of elephants (Gajapati), owners of horses (Aswapati), and owners of men (Narapati). If an evil-omened planet (papa-graha) sheds its influence upon any of the nine constellations beginning with Aswini, it forebodes danger to Aswapatis; if on any of the nine beginning with Magha, it forebodes danger to Gajapatis; and if on any of the nine beginning with Mula, it forebodes danger to Narapatis. What

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Vyasa says here, therefore, is that one or another papa-graha has shed its influence upon one another of each of the three classes of constellations, thus foreboding danger to all classes of kings.] A lunar fortnight had hitherto consisted of fourteen days, or fifteen days (as usual), or sixteen days. This, however, I never knew that the day of new-moon would be on the thirteenth day from the first lunation, or the day of full-moon on the thirteenth day from the same. And yet in course of the same month both the Moon and the Sun have undergone eclipses on the thirteenth days from the day of the first lunation. The Sun and the Moon therefore, by undergoing eclipses on unusual days, will cause a great slaughter of the creatures of the earth. Indeed, Rakshasas, though drinking blood by mouthful, will yet not be satiated. The great rivers are flowing in opposite directions. The waters of rivers have become bloody. The wells, foaming up, are bellowing like bulls. Meteors, effulgent like Indra's thunder-bolt, fall with loud hisses. When this night passeth away, evil consequences will overtake you. People, for meeting together, coming out of their houses with lighted brands, have still to encounter a thick gloom all round. Great Rishis have said that in view of such circumstances the earth drinks the blood of thousands of kings. From the mountains of Kailasa and Mandara and Himavat thousands of explosions are heard and thousands of summits are tumbling down. In consequence of the Earth's trembling, each of the four oceans having swelled greatly, seems ready to transgress its continents for afflicting the Earth. Fierce winds charged with pointed pebbles are blowing, crushing mighty trees. In villages and towns trees, ordinary and sacred, are falling down, crushed by mighty winds and struck by lightning. The (sacrificial) fire, when Brahmanas pour libations on it, becomes blue, or red, or yellow. Its flames bend towards the left, yielding a bad scent, accompanied by loud reports. Touch, smell, and taste have, O monarch, become what they were not. The standards (of warriors), repeatedly trembling are emitting smoke. Drums and cymbals are throwing off showers of coal-dust. And from the tops of tall trees all around, crows, wheeling in circles from the left, are uttering fierce cries. All of them again are uttering frightful cries of pakka, pakka and are perching upon the tops of standards for the destruction of the kings. Vicious elephants, trembling all over, are running hither and thither, urinating and ejecting excreta. The horses are all melancholy, while the elephants are resorting to the water. Hearing all this, let that be done which is suitable, so that, O Bharata, the world may not be depopulated.'"

Vaisampayana continued,--"Hearing these words of his father, Dhritarashtra said,--'I think all this hath been ordained of old. A great slaughter of human beings will take place. If the kings die in battle observing the duties of the Kshatriya order, they will then, attaining to the regions reserved for heroes, obtain only happiness. These tigers among men, casting away their lives in great battle, will win fame in this and great bliss for ever in the next world.'

Vaisampayana continued,--"O best of kings, thus addressed by his son Dhritarashtra, that prince of poets, the Muni (Vyasa) concentrated his mind in supreme Yoga. Having contemplated for only a short space of time, Vyasa once more said,--'Without doubt, O king of kings, it is Time that destroyeth the universe. It is Time also that createth the worlds. There is nothing here that is eternal. Show the path of righteousness to the Kurus, to thy kinsmen, relatives, and friends. Thou art competent to restrain them. The slaughter of kinsmen hath been said to be sinful. Do not do that which is disagreeable to me. O king, Death himself hath been born in the shape of thy son. Slaughter is never applauded in the Vedas. It can never be beneficial. The usages of one's race are as one's own body. Those usages slay him that destroyeth them. For the destruction of this race and of those kings of the earth it is Time that maketh thee deviate into the wrong path like one in distress, although thou art competent (to walk along the path of righteousness). O king, in the shape of thy kingdom hath calamity come to thee. Thy virtue is sustaining a very great diminution. Show what righteousness is unto thy sons. O thou that art invincible, of what value is that kingdom to thee which bringeth sin to thee? Take care of thy good name, thy virtue, and thy fame. Thou wilt then win heaven. Let the Pandavas have their kingdom, and let the Kauravas have peace."

"While that best of Brahmanas was saying these words in a sorrowful tone, Dhritarashtra, the son of Ambika, accomplished in speech, once more addressed him, saying.---'My knowledge of life and death is similar to thine. The truth is known to me as regards these. Man, however, in what concerns his own interests, is deprived of judgement. O sire, know me to be one who is an ordinary person. Of immeasurable power thou art. I pray thee to extend thine towards us. Of soul under complete control, thou art our refuge and instructor. My sons are not obedient to me, O great Rishi. My understanding too is not inclined to commit sin. Thou art the cause of the fame, the achievements, and the inclination for virtue, of the Bharatas. Thou art the reverend grandsire of both the Kurus and the Pandavas.'

"Vyasa said,--'O royal son of Vichitravirya, tell me freely what is in thy mind. I will remove thy doubts."

"Dhritarashtra said,--'O holy one, I desire to hear from thee of all those indications that happen unto those that become victorious in battle."

"Vyasa said,--'The (sacred) fire assumes a cheerful radiance. Its light ascends upwards. Its flame bends towards the right. It blazes up without being smoky. The libations poured on it yield a fragrant scent. It is said that these are the indications of future success. The conches and cymbals yield sounds that are deep and loud. The Sun as well as the Moon gives pure rays. It is said that these are the indications of future success. Crows, whether stationary or on their wings, utter cries that are agreeable. They again that are behind, urge the warriors to advance; while they that are ahead, forbid all advance. Where vultures, swans, parrots, cranes, and wood-peckers utter delightful cries, and wheel towards the right, the Brahmanas say that their victory in battle is certain. They whose divisions, in consequence of ornaments, coats of mail, and standards, or the melodious neigh of their steeds, become resplendent and incapable of being gazed at, always conquer their foes. They who utter cheerful shouts, those warriors, O Bharata, whose energies are not damped and whose garlands do not fade, always cross the ocean of battle. They who utter cheerful shouts having penetrated into the divisions of the foe, who utter even kind words [Such as "don't fight, for you will be dead men soon." etc], to the enemy, and who, before striking, forewarn the foe, win victory. The objects of hearing, vision, taste, touch, and smell, without undergoing any change for the worse, become auspicious. This also is another indication of a victorious army, viz., there is joy among the combatants at all time. This also is another indication of success, viz. the winds that blow, the clouds, and the birds, all become favourable; while the clouds (so favourable) and the rain-bows drop beneficial showers. These, O king, are the indications of armies to be crowned with victory, while O monarch, all these become otherwise in the case of those that are about to be destroyed. Whether the army be small or large, cheerfulness, as an attribute of the combatants, is said to be a certain indication of victory. One soldier, struck with panic, can cause even a large army to take fright and fly. And when an army, struck with panic, takes to flight, it causes even heroic warriors to take fright. If a large army is once broken and put to rout, it cannot like a herd of deer disordered in fright or a mighty current of water be easily checked. If a large army is once routed, it is incapable of being rallied; on the other hand, beholding it broken, even those well-skilled in battle, O Bharata, become heartless. Beholding soldiers struck with fear and flying, the panic spreads in other directions, and soon, O king, the whole army is broken and flies in all directions. And when an army is routed, even brave leaders, O king, at the head of large divisions consisting of the four kinds of forces, are incapable of rallying them. An intelligent man, always exerting himself with activity, should strive (to win success) by the aid of means. It is said that that success which is won by negotiation and other means is the very best. That which is achieved by producing disunion (among the foe) is indifferent. While that success, O king, which is won by battle, is the worst. In battle are many evils, the initial one, as it is said, being slaughter. Even fifty brave men who know one another, who are underpressed, who are free from family ties, and who are firmly resolved, can crush a large army. Even five, six, seven men, who are unretreating, win victory. Vinata's son Garuda, O Bharata, beholding even a large concourse of birds, asketh not the aid of many followers (to vanquish them). The strength in number, therefore of an army is not always the cause of victory. Victory is uncertain. It depends on chance. Even they that become victorious have to sustain loss.'"

SECTION 4

Vaisampayana said,--"Having said these words unto Dhritarashtra, Vyasa took his departure. And Dhritarashtra also, having heard those words, began to reflect in silence. And having reflected for only a short space of time, he began to sigh repeatedly. And, soon, O bull of Bharata's race, the king asked Sanjaya of soul worthy of praise,--saying,--'O Sanjaya, these kings, these lords of earth, so brave and taking delight in battle, are for smiting one another with weapons of diverse kinds, being prepared to lay down their very lives for the sake of earth. Incapable of being restrained, they are, indeed, smiting one another for increasing the population of Yama's domain. Desirous of prosperity connected with the possession of earth they are incapable of bearing one another. I, therefore, think that earth must be possessed of many attributes. Tell me all these, O Sanjaya, Many thousands, many millions, many tens of millions, many hundreds of millions, heroic men have come together at Kurujangala. I desire to hear, O Sanjaya, with accurate details, about the situation and dimensions of those countries and cities from which they have come. Through the potency of that regenerate Rishi Vyasa of immeasurable energy, thou art endued with the lamp of celestial perception and the eye of knowledge.

"Sanjaya said,--'O thou of great wisdom, I will recount to thee the merits of earth according to my knowledge. Behold them with thy eye of wisdom. I bow to thee, O bull of Bharata's race. Creatures in this world are of two kinds, mobile and immobile. Mobile creatures are of three kinds according to their birth, viz., oviparous, viviparous, and those engendered by heat and damp. Of mobile creatures, O king, the foremost are certainly those called viviparous. Of viviparous creatures the foremost are men and animals. Animals, O king, of diverse forms, are of fourteen species. Seven have their abodes in the woods, and seven of these are domestic. Lions, tigers, boars, buffaloes, and elephants as also bears and apes, are, O king, regarded as wild. Kine, goats, sheep, men, horses, mules, and asses,--these seven amongst animals are reckoned as domestic by the learned. These fourteen, O king, complete the tale of domestic and wild animals, mentioned, O lord of earth, in the Vedas, and on which the sacrifices rest. Of creatures that are domestic, men are foremost, while lions are the foremost of those that have their abode in the woods. All creatures support their life by living upon one another. Vegetables are said to be immobile, and they are of four species viz., trees, shrubs, creepers, creeping plants existing for only a year, and all stemless plants of the grass species. [Nilakantha explains these five species thus: trees such as the peepul; gulma (shrub), as kusa, kasa, etc., growing from a clump underneath; creepers, such as all plants growing upon the soil but requiring some support to twine round; Valli, those that creep on the earth and live for a year only, such, as the gourd, the pumpkin, etc., and lastly, Trina, such as grass and all plants that are stemless, having only their barks and leaves.] Of mobile and immobile creatures, there are thus one less twenty; and as regards their universal constituents, there are five. Twenty-four in all, these are described as Gayatri (Brahma) as is well-known to all. [When Gayatri, or Brahma or the Universe, is mentioned, these twenty-four are indicated, five of which exist independently, the remaining nineteen being the result of five in those various proportions.] He who knows these truly to be the sacred Gayatri possessed of every virtue, is not liable, O best of the Bharatas, to destruction in this world. Everything springeth from the earth and everything, when destroyed, mergeth into the Earth. The Earth is the stay and refuge of all creatures, and the Earth is eternal. He that hath the Earth, hath the entire universe with its mobile and immobile population. It is for this that longing for (the possession of the) Earth, kings slay one another.'"

SECTION 5

"Dhritarashtra said,--'The names of rivers and mountains, O Sanjaya, as also of provinces, and all other things resting on the earth, and their dimensions, O thou that are acquainted with the measures of things of the earth in its entirety and the forests, O Sanjaya, recount to me in detail.'

"Sanjaya said,--'O great king, all things in the universe, in consequence of the presence (in them) of the five elements, have been said to be equal by the wise. These elements, are space, air, fire, water, and earth. Their (respective) attributes are sound, touch, vision, taste, and scent. Every one of these elements possesses (in addition to what is especially its own) the attribute or attributes of that or those coming before it. The earth, therefore, is the foremost of them all, possessing as it does the attributes of all the other four, besides what is specially its own, as said by Rishis acquainted with truth. There are four attributes, O king, in water. Scent does not exist in it. Fire has three attributes viz., sound, touch, and vision. Sound and touch belong to air, while space has sound alone. These five attributes, O king, exist (in this way) in the five principal elements depending on which all creatures in the universe exist. They exist separately and independently when there is homogeneity in the universe. When, however, these do not exist in their natural state but with one another, then creatures spring into life, furnished with bodies. This is never otherwise. The elements are destroyed, in the order of the one succeeding, merging into the one that proceeds; and they spring also into existence, one arising from the one before it. All of these are immeasurable, their forms being Brahma itself. In the universe are seen creatures consisting of the five elements. Men endeavour to ascertain their proportions by exercising their reason. Those matters, however, that are inconceivable, should never be sought to be solved by reason. That which is above (human) nature is an indication of the inconceivable.

"'O son of Kuru's race, I will, however, describe to thee the island called Sudarsana. This island, O king, is circular and of the form of a wheel. It is covered with rivers and other pieces of water and with mountains looking like masses of clouds, and with cities and many delightful provinces. It is also full of trees furnished with flowers and fruits, and with crops of diverse kinds and other wealth. And it is surrounded on all sides with the salt ocean. As a person can see his own face in a mirror, even so is the island called Sudarsana seen in the lunar disc. Two of its parts seem to be a peepul tree, while two others look like a large hare. It is surrounded on all sides with an assemblage of every kind of deciduous plants. Besides these

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portions, the rest is all water. What remains I will describe to thee shortly. The rest I will speak of afterwards. Listen now to this that I describe in brief."

SECTION 6

"Dhritarashtra said.---"Thou art intelligent, O Sanjaya, and acquainted with the truth (about everything). Thou hast duly given a description of the island in brief. Tell us now of the island in detail. Tell us now of the dimension of the expanse of land that lies in the portion looking like a hare. Thou mayst then speak of the portion resembling peepul tree."

Vaisampayana said,--"Thus addressed by the king, Sanjaya began to say.

"Sanjaya said,--'Stretching from east to west, are these six mountains that are equal and that extend from the eastern to the western ocean. They are Himavat, Hemakuta, that best of mountains called Nishadha, Nila abounding with stones of lapis lazuli, Sweta white as the moon, and the mountains called Sringavat composed of all kinds of metals. These are the six mountains, O king, which are always the resorts of Siddhas and Charanas. The space lying between each of these measures a thousand Yojanas, and thereon are many delightful kingdoms. And these divisions are called Varshas, O Bharata. In all those kingdoms reside creatures of diverse species. This (the land where we are) is in the Varsha that is called after Bharata. Next to it (northwards) is the Varsha called after Himavat. The land that is beyond Hemakuta is called Harivarsha, South of the Nila range and on the north of the Nishadha is a mountain, O king, called Malyavat that stretches from east to west. Beyond Malyavat northwards is the mountain called Gandhamadana. Between these two (viz., Malyavat and Gandhamadana) is a globular mountain called Meru made of gold. Effulgent as the morning sun, it is like fire without smoke. It is eighty-four thousand Yojanas high, and, O king, its depth also is eighty-four Yojanas. It standeth bearing the worlds above, below and transversely. Besides Meru are situated, O lord, these four islands, viz., Bhadraswa, and Ketumala, and Jamvudwipa otherwise called Bharata, and Uttar-Kuru which is the abode of persons who have achieved the merit of righteousness. The bird Sumukha, the son of Suparna, beholding that all the birds on Meru were of golden plumage, reflected that he should leave that mountain inasmuch as there was no difference between the good, middling, and bad birds. The foremost of luminaries, the sun, always circumambulates Meru, as also the moon with (his) attendant constellation, and the Wind-god too. The mountain, O king, is endued with celestial fruits and flowers, and it is covered all over with mansions made of furnished gold. There, on that mountain, O king, the celestials, the Gandharvas, the Asuras, and the Rakshasas, accompanied by the tribes of Apsaras, always sport. There Brahman, and Rudra, and also Sakra the chief of the celestials, assembled together, performed diverse kinds of sacrifices with plentiful gifts. Tumvuru, and Narada and Viswavasu, and the Hahas and the Huhus, repairing thither, adored the foremost of the celestials with diverse hymns. The high-souled seven Rishis, and Kasyapa the lord of creatures, repair thither, blessed be thou, on every parva day. Upon the summit of that mountain, Usanas, otherwise called the Poet, sporteth with the Daityas (his disciples). The jewels and gems (that we see) and all the mountains abounding in precious stones are of Meru. Therefrom a fourth part is enjoyed by the holy Kuvera. Only a sixteenth part of that wealth he giveth unto men. On the northern side of]Mount] Meru is a delightful and excellent forest of Karnikaras, covered with the flowers of every season, and occupying a range of hills. There the illustrious Pasupati himself, the creator of all things, surrounded by his celestial attendants and accompanied by Uma, sporteth bearing a chain of Karnikara flowers (on his neck) reaching down to his feet, and blazing with radiance with his three eyes resembling three risen suns. Him Siddhas truthful in speech, of excellent vows and austere ascetic penances, can behold. Indeed, Maheswara is incapable of being seen by persons of wicked conduct. From the summit of that mountain, like a stream of milk, O ruler of men, the sacred and auspicious Ganga, otherwise called Bhagirathi, adored by the most righteous, of universal form and immeasurable and issuing out with terrific noise, falleth with impetuous force on the delightful lake of Chandramas. Indeed that sacred lake, like an ocean, hath been formed by Ganga herself. (While leaping from the mountains), Ganga, incapable of being supported by even the mountains, was held for a hundred thousand years by the bearer of Pinaka on his head. On the western side of Meru, O king, is Ketumala. And there also is Jamvukhanda. Both are great seats of humanity, O king. There, O Bharata, the measure of human life is ten thousand years. The men are all of a golden complexion, and the women are like Apsaras. And all the residents are without sickness, without sorrow, and always cheerful. The men born there are of the effulgence of melted gold. On the summits of Gandhamadana, Kuvera the lord of the Guhyakas, with many Rakshasas and accompanied by tribes of Apsaras, passeth his time in joy. Besides Gandhamadana there are many smaller mountains and hills. The measure of human life there is eleven thousand years. There, O king, the men are cheerful, and endued with great energy and great strength and the women are all of the complexion of the lotus and highly beautiful. Beyond Nila is (the Varsha called) Sweta, beyond Sweta is (the Varsha called) Hiranyaka. Beyond Hiranyaka is (the Varsha called) Airavata covered with provinces. The last Varsha in the (extreme) north and Bharata's Varsha in the (extreme) south are both, O king, of the form of a bow. These five Varshas (viz., Sweta, Hiranyaka, Elavrita, Harivarsha, and Haimavat-varsha) are in the middle, of which Elavrita exists in the very middle of all. Amongst these seven Varshas (the five already mentioned and Airavata and Bharata) that which is further north excels the one to its immediate south in respect of these attributes, viz., the period of life, stature, health, righteousness, pleasure, and profit. In these Varshas, O Bharata, creatures (though of diverse species) yet, live together. Thus, O king, is Earth covered with mountains. The huge mountains of Hemakuta are otherwise called Kailasa. There, O king, Vaisravana passeth his time in joy with his Guhyakas. Immediately to the north of Kailasa and near the mountains of Mainaka there is a huge and beautiful mountain called Manimaya endued with golden summits. Beside this mountain is a large, beautiful, crystal and delightful lake called Vindusaras with golden sands (on its beach). There king Bhagiratha, beholding Ganga (since) called after his own name, resided for many years. There may be seen innumerable sacrificial stakes made of gems, and Chaitya tree made of gold. It was there that he of a thousand eyes and great fame won (ascetic) success by performing sacrifices. There the Lord of all creatures, the eternal Creator of all the worlds, endued with supreme energy surrounded by his ghostly attendants, is adored. There Nara and Narayana, Brahman, and Manu, and Sthanu as the fifth, are (ever present). And there the celestial stream Ganga having three currents, issuing out of the region of Brahman, first showed herself, and then dividing herself into seven streams*, became Vaswokasara, Nalini, the sin-cleansing Saraswati, Jamvunadi, Sita, Ganga and Sindhu as the seventh. [*The sacred River Ganga is believed to have three currents. In heaven the current is called Mandakini; on earth, it is called Ganga; and in the subterraneous world it is called Bhogavati.] The Supreme Lord hath (himself) made the arrangement with reference to that inconceivable and celestial stream. It is there that 1 sacrifices have been performed (by gods and Rishis) on a thousand occasions after the end of the Yuga (when creation begins). As regards the Saraswati, in some parts (of her course) she becometh visible and in some parts not so. This celestial sevenfold Ganga is widely known over the three worlds. Rakshasas reside on Himavat, Guhyakas on Hemakuta, and serpents and Nagas on Nishadha, and ascetics on Gokarna. The Sweta mountains are said to be the abode of the celestial and the Asuras. The Gandharvas always reside on Nishadhas, and the regenerate Rishis on Nila. The mountains of Sringavat also are regarded as the resort of the celestials.

"'These then, O great king, are the seven Varshas of the world as they are divided. Diverse creatures, mobile 2 and immobile, are placed in them all. Diverse kinds of prosperity, both providential and human, are noticeable in them. They are incapable of being counted. Those desirous, however, of their own good believe (all this), I have now told thee of that delightful region (of land) of the form of a hare about which thou hadst asked me. At the extremities of that region are the two Varshas, viz., one on the north and the other on the south. Those two also have now been told to thee. Then again the two islands Naga-dwipa and Kasyapa-dwipa are the two ears of this region of the form of a hare. The beautiful mountains of Maleya, O king, having rocks like plates of copper, form another (prominent) part of Jamvudwipa that having its shape resembling a hare.'"

SECTION 7

"Dhritarashtra said,--'Tell me, O Sanjaya, thou of great intelligence, of the regions to the north and the east side of Meru, as also of the mountains of Malyavat, in detail.

"Sanjaya said,--'On the south of the Nila mountain and the northern side of Meru are the sacred Northern Kurus, O king, which are the residence of the Siddhas. The trees there bear sweet fruits, and are always covered with fruits and flowers. All the flowers (there) are fragrant, and the fruits of excellent taste. Some of the trees, again, O king, yield fruits according to (the) will (of the plucker). There are again some other trees, O king, that are called milk-yielding. These always yield milk and the six different kinds of food of the taste of Amrita itself. Those trees also yield cloths and in their fruits are ornaments (for the use of man). The entire land abounds with fine golden sands. A portion of the region there, extremely delightful, is seen to be possessed of the radiance of the ruby or diamond, or of the lapis lazuli or other jewels and gems. All the seasons there are agreeable and nowhere does the land become miry, O king. The tanks are charming, delicious, and full of crystal water. The men born there have dropped from the world of the celestials. All are of pure birth and all are extremely handsome in appearance. There twins (of opposite sexes) are born and the women resemble Apsaras in beauty. They drink the milk, sweet as Amrita, of those milk-yielding trees (already mentioned). And the twins born there (of opposite sexes) grow up equally. Both possessed of equal beauty, both endued with similar virtues, and both equally dressed, both grow up in love, O monarch, like a couple of chakrabakas. The people of that country are free from illness and are always cheerful. Ten thousand and ten hundred years they live, O king, and never abandon one another. A class of birds called Bharunda, furnished with sharp beaks and possessed of great strength, take them up when dead and throw them into mountain caves. I have now described to thee, O king, the Northern Kurus briefly.

"I will now describe to thee the eastern side of Meru duly. Of all the regions there, the foremost, O king, is called Bhadraswa, where there is a large forest of Bhadra-salas, as also a huge tree called Kalamra. This Kalamra, O king, is always graced with fruits and flowers. That tree again is a Yojana in height and is adored by Siddhas and the Charanas. The men there are all of a white complexion, endued with great energy, and possessed of great strength. The women are of the complexion of lilies, very beautiful, and agreeable to sight. Possessed of radiance of the moon, and white as the moon, their faces are as the full-moon. Their bodies again are as cool as the rays of the moon and they are all accomplished in singing and dancing. The period of human life there, O bull of the Bharata's race, is ten thousand years. Drinking the juice of the Kalamra they continue youthful for ever. On the south of Nila and the north of Nishadha, there is a huge Jamvu tree that is eternal. Adored by the Siddhas and Charanas, that sacred tree granteth every wish. After the name of that tree this division hath ever been called Jamvudwipa. O bull of Bharata race, a thousand and a hundred Yojanas is the height of that prince of trees, which touches the very heavens, O king of men. Two thousand and five hundred cubits measure the circumference of a fruit of that tree which bursts when ripe. In falling upon the earth these fruits make a loud noise, and then pour out, O king, a silvery juice on the ground. That juice of the Jamvu, becoming, O king, a river, and passing circuitously round Meru, cometh to the (region of the) Northern Kurus. If the juice of that fruit is quaffed, it conduces to peace of mind. No thirst is felt ever after, O king. Decrepitude never weakens them. And there a species of gold called Jamvunada and used for celestial ornaments, very brilliant and like the complexion of Indragopoka insects, is produced. The men born there are of the complexion of the morning sun.

"'On the summit of Malyavat is always seen, O bull of Bharata's race, the fire called Samvataka which blazeth forth at the end of the Yuga for the destruction of the universe. On Malyavat's summit towards the east are many small mountains and Malyavat, O king, measures eleven thousand Yojanas [A yojana, Sanskrit: a measure of distance that was used in ancient India. A yojana is about 12–15 km, i.e. 60 kosh = 1 yojana and 1 kosh is 200 m]. The men born there are of the complexion of gold. And they are all fallen from the region of Brahman and are utterers of Brahma. They undergo the severest of ascetic austerities, and their vital seed is drawn up. For the protection of creatures they all enter the sun. Numbering sixty-six thousand, they proceed in advance of Aruna, surrounding the sun. Heated with the sun's rays for sixty-six thousand years, they then enter the lunar disc.'"

SECTION 8

"Dhritarashtra said,--'Tell me truly, O Sanjaya, the names of all the Varshas, and of all the mountains, and also of all those that dwell on those mountains.

"Sanjaya said,--'On the south of Sweta and the north of Nishadha, is the Varsha, called Romanaka. The men that are born there are all of white complexion, of good parentage, and handsome features. And the men born there are also all without enemies. And they live, O king, for eleven thousand and five hundred years, being ever of cheerful hearts. On the south of Nishadha is the Varsha called Hiranmaya where is the river called Hiranwati. There, O king, liveth that foremost of birds named Garuda. And the people there, O monarch, are all followers of the Yakshas, wealthy, and of handsome features. And, O king, the men there are endued with great strength and have: cheerful hearts. And they live for twelve thousand and five hundred years., O king, which is the measure of their lives. The mountains of Sringavat, O ruler of men, have three beautiful summits. One of these is made of jewels and gems, another is very wonderful, being made of all kinds of gems and adorned with palatial mansions. There the self-luminous lady named Sandili always liveth. On the north of Sringavat and up to the margin of the sea, O king, the Varsha called Airavat. And because this jewelled mountain is there, therefore is this Varsha superior to all. The sun giveth no heat there and men are not subject to decay. And the moon there, with the stars, becoming the only source of light, covereth (the firmament). Possessing the radiance and complexion of the lotus, and endued with eyes that resemble lotus-petals, the men born there have the fragrance of the lotus. With winkless eyes, and agreeable scent

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(emanating from their bodies), they go without food and have their senses under control. They are all fallen from the region of the celestials, and are all, O king, without sin of any kind. And they live, O monarch, for thirteen thousand years, that being. O best of the Bharatas, the measure of their lives. And so on the north of the milky ocean, the Lord Hari of unlimited puissance dwelleth on his car made of gold. That vehicle is endued with eight wheels, with numerous supernatural creatures stationed on it, and having the speed of the mind. And its complexion is that of fire, and it is endued with mighty energy and adorned with Jamvunada gold. He is the Lord of all creatures, and is possessed, O bull of Bharata's race, of every kind of prosperity. In him the universe merges (when dissolution comes), and from him it again emanates (when the creative desire seizes him). He is the actor, and it is He that makes all others act. He, O monarch, is earth, water, space, air, and fire. He is Sacrifice's self unto all creatures, and fire is His mouth."

Vaisampayana continued,--"The high-souled king Dhritarashtra, thus addressed by Sanjaya, became, O monarch, absorbed in meditation about his sons. Endued with great energy, he then, having reflected, said these words: 'Without doubt, O Suta's son, it is Time that destroyeth the universe. And it is Time that again createth everything. Nothing here is eternal. It is Nara and Narayana, endued with omniscience, that destroyeth all creatures [They are but portions of the same Supreme Being.]. The gods speak of him as Vaikuntha (of immeasurable puissance), while men call him Vishnu (one that pervadeth the Universe)!'"

SECTION 9

"Dhritarashtra said,--'Tell me truly (O Sanjaya) of this Varsha that is called after Bharata, where this senseless force hath been collected, in respect of which this my son Duryodhana hath been so very covetous, which the sons of Pandu also are desirous of obtaining, and in which my mind too sinketh. O, tell me this, for thou art, in my judgement endued with intelligence.

"Sanjaya said,--'Listen to me, O king The sons of Pandu are not covetous about this country. On the other hand, it is Duryodhana that is covetous, and Sakuni the son of Suvala, as also many other Kshatriyas who are rulers of the provinces, who being covetous of this country are not able to bear one another. I will now will thee, O thou of Bharata's race, of the tract of land known by Bharata's name. This land is the beloved one of Indra, and, O thou of Bharata's race, this land, O monarch, that is called after Bharata, is also the beloved land of Manu, the son of Vivaswat, of Prithu, of Vainya, of the high-souled Ikshwaku, of Yayati, of Amvarisha, of Mandhatri, of Nahusha, of Muchukunda, of Sivi the son of Usinara, of Rishava, of Ila, of king Nriga, of Kusika, O invincible one, of the high-souled Gadhi, of Somaka, O irrepressible one, and of Dilipa, and also, O monarch, of many other mighty Kshatriyas. I will now, O chastiser of foes, describe to thee that country as I have heard of it. Listen to me, O king, as I speak of what thou hast asked me. Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Suktimat, Rakshavat, Vindhya, and Paripatra,--these seven are the Kala-mountains [i.e. mountains forming boundaries of divisions.] (of Bharatvarsha). Besides these, O king, there are thousands of mountains that are unknown, of hard make, huge, and having excellent valleys. Besides these there are many other smaller mountains inhabited by barbarous tribes. Aryans and Mlecchas, O Kauravya, and many races, O lord, mixed of the two elements, drink the waters of the following rivers, viz., magnificent Ganga, Sindhu, and Saraswati; of Godavari, and Narmada, and the large river called Yamuna; of Dhrishadwati, and Vipapa, and Vipasa and Sthulavaluka; of the river Vetravati, and that other one called Krishna-vena; of Iravati, and Vitasta, and Payosyini, and Devika; of Vedasmrita and Vedavati, and Tridiva, and Ikshumalavi; of Karishini, and Chitravaha, and the river called Chitrasena; of Gomati, and Dhutapada and the large river called Gandaki, of Kausiki, and Nischitra, and Kirtya, and Nichita, and Lohatarini; of Rashasi and Satakumbha, and also Sarayu; of Charmanwati, and Vetravati, and Hastisoma, and Disa; of the river called Saravati, and Venna, and Bhimarathi; of Kaveri, and Chuluka, and Vina, and Satavala; of Nivara, and Mahila, and Suprayoga, O king; of Pavitra, and Kundala, and Rajani, and Puramalini; of Purvabhirama, and Vira, and Bhima, and Oghavati; of Palasini, and Papahara, and Mahendra, and Patalavati, of Karishini, and Asikni, and the large river Kusachira: of Makari, and Pravara, and Mena, and Hema, and Dhritavati; of Puravati, and Anushna, and Saivya, and Kapi, O Bharata; of Sadanira, and Adhrishya, and the mighty stream Kusadhara; of Sadakanta, and Siva, and Viravati; of Vatsu, and Suvastu, and Kampana with Hiranwati; of Vara, and the mighty river Panchami, of Rathachitra, and Jyotiratha, and Viswamitra, and Kapinjala; of Upendra, and Vahula, and Kuchira, and Madhuvahini: of Vinadi, and Pinjala, and Vena, and the great river Pungavena; of Vidisa and Krishna-vena, and Tamra, and Kapila, of Salu, and Suvama, the Vedaswa, and the mighty river Harisrava; of Sighra, and Pischala, and the river Bharadwaji, of the river Kausiki, and Sona, and Chandrama; of Durgamantrasila, and Brahma-vodhya, and Vrihadvati; of Yaksha, and Rohi, and Yamvunadi; of Sunasa and Tamasa, and Dasi, and Vasa, and Varuna, and Asi; of Nila, and Dhrimati, and the mighty river Parnasa; of Pomasi, and Vrishabha, and Brahma-meddhya, and Vrihaddhani. These and many other large rivers, O king, such as Sadonirmaya and Krishna, and Mandaga, and Mandavahini; and Mahagouri, and Durga, O Bharata; and Chitropala. Chitraratha, and Manjula, and Vahini; and Mandakini, and Vaitarani, and Kosa, and Mahanadi; and Suktimati, and Ananga, and Pushpaveni, and Utpalavati; and Lohitya, Karatoya, and Vrishasabhya; and Kumari, and Rishikullya and Marisha, and Saraswati; and Mandakini, and Supunya, Sarvasanga, O Bharata, are all mothers of the universe and productive of great merit. Besides these, there are rivers, by hundreds and thousands, that are not known (by names), I have now recounted to thee, O king, all the rivers as far as I remember.

"After this, listen to the names of the provinces as I mention them. They are the Kuru-Panchalas, the Salwas, the Madreyas, the Jangalas, the Surasena, the Kalingas, the Vodhas, the Malas, the Matsyas, the Sauvalyas, the Kuntalas, the Kasi-kosalas, the Chedis, the Karushas, the Bhojas, the Sindhus, the Pulindakas, the Uttamas, the Dasarnas, the Mekalas, the Utkalas; the Panchalas, the Kausijas, the Nikarprishthas, Dhurandharas; the Sodhas, the Madrabhujingas, the Kasis, and the further-Kasis; the Jatharas, the Kukuras, O Bharata; the Kuntis, the Avantis, and the further-Kuntis; the Gomantas, the Mandakas, the Shandas, the Vidarbhas, the Rupavahikas; the Aswakas, the Pansurashtras, the Goparashtras, and the Karityas; the Adhirjayas, the Kuladyas, the Mallarashtras, the Keralas, the Varatrasyas, the Apavahas, the Chakras, the Vakratapas, the Sakas; the Videhas, the Magadhas, the Swakshas, the Malayas, the Vijayas, the Angas, the Vangas, the Kalingas, the Yakrillomans; the Mallas, the Suddellas, the Pranradas, the Mahikas, the Sasikas; the Valhikas, the Vatadhanas, the Abhiras, the Kalajoshakas; the Aparantas, the Parantas, the Pahnabhas, the Charmamandalas; the Atavisikharas, the Mahabhutas, O sire; the Upavrittas, the Anupavrittas, the Surashatras, Kekayas; the Kutas, the Maheyas, the Kakshas, the Samudranishkutas; the Andhras, and, O king, many hilly tribes, and many tribes residing on lands laying at the foot of the hills, and the Angamalajas, and the Manavanjakas; the Pravisheyas, and the Bhargavas, O king; the Pundras, the Bhargas, the Kiratas, the Sudeshnas, and the Yamunas, the Sakas, the Nishadhas, the Anartas, the Nairitas, the Durgalas, the Pratimasyas, the Kuntalas, and the Kusalas; the Tiragrahas, the Ijakas, the Kanyakagunas, the Tilabharas, the Samiras, the Madhumattas, the Sukandakas; the Kasmiras, the Sindhusauviras, the Gandharvas, and the Darsakas; the Abhisaras, the Utulas, the Saivalas, and the Valhikas; the Darvis, the Vanavadarvas, the Vatagas, the Amarathas, and the Uragas; the Vahuvadhas, the Kauravyas, the Sudamanas, the Sumalikas; the Vadhras, the Karishakas, the Kalindas, and the Upatyakas; the Vatayanas, the Romanas, and the Kusavindas; the Kacchas, the Gopalkacchas, the Kuruvarnakas; the Kiratas, the Varvasas, the Siddhas, the Vaidehas, and the Tamraliptas; the Aundras, the Paundras, the Saisikatas, and the Parvatiyas, O sire.

"'There are other kingdoms, O bull of Bharata's race, in the south. They are the Dravidas, the Keralas, the Prachyas, the Mushikas, and the Vanavashikas; the Karanatakas, the Mahishakas, the Vikalpas, and also the Mushakas; the Jhillikas, the Kuntalas, the Saunridas, and the Nalakananas; the Kankutakas, the Cholas, and the Malavayakas; the Samangas, the Kanakas, the Kukkuras, and the Angara-marishas; the Samangas, the Karakas, the Kukuras, the Angaras, the Marishas: the Dhwajinis, the Utsavas, the Sanketas, the Trigartas, and the Salwasena; the Vakas, the Kokarakas, the Pashtris, and the Lamavegavasas; the Vindhyachulakas, the Pulindas, and the Valkalas; the Malavas, the Vallavas, the further-Vallavas, the Kulindas, the Kalavas, the Kuntaukas, and the Karatas; the Mrishakas, the Tanavalas, the Saniyas; the Alidas, the Pasivatas, the Tanayas, and the Sulanyas; the Rishikas, the Vidarbhas, the Kakas, the Tanganas, and the further-Tanganas. Among the tribes of the north are the Mlecchas, and the Kruras, O best of the Bharatas; the Yavanas, the Chinas, the Kamvojas, the Darunas, and many Mleccha tribes; the Sukritvahas, the Kulatthas, the Hunas, and the Parasikas; the Ramanas, and the Dasamalikas. These countries are, besides, the abodes of many Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Sudra tribes. Then again there are the Sudra-abhiras, the Dardas, the Kasmiras, and the Pattis; the Khasiras; the Atreyas, the Bharadwajas, the Stanaposhikas, the Poshakas, the Kalingas, and diverse tribes of Kiratas; the Tomaras, the Hansamargas, and the Karamanjakas. These and other kingdoms are on the east and on the north. O lord, alluding to them briefly I have told thee all. Earth, if its resources are properly developed according to its qualities and prowess, is like an ever-yielding [Kamadhuk is that species of kine which always yield milk.] cow, from which the three-fold fruits of virtue, profit and pleasure, may be milked. Brave kings conversant with virtue and profit have become covetous of Earth. Endued with activity, they would even cast away their lives in battle, from hunger of wealth. Earth is certainly the refuge of creatures endued with celestial bodies as also of creatures endued with human bodies. [Nilakantha explains this in this way. The gods depend on sacrifices performed by human beings; and as regards human beings, their food is supplied by the Earth. Superior and inferior creatures, therefore, are all supported by the earth; the Earth then is their refuge. The word Earth in these slokas is sometimes used to signify the world and sometimes the element of that name.] Desirous of enjoying Earth, the kings, O chief of the Bharatas, have become like dogs that snatch meat from one another. Their ambition is unbounded, knowing no gratification. It is for this that the Kurus and the Pandavas are striving for possession of Earth, by negotiation, disunion, gift, and battle, O Bharata. If Earth be well looked after, it becometh the father, mother, children, firmament and heaven, of all creatures, O bull among men.'"

SECTION 10

"Dhritarashtra said,--'Tell me, O Sanjaya, of the period of life, the strength, the good and bad things, the future, past and present, of the residents, O Suta, of this Varsha of Bharata, and of the Himavat-varsha, as also of Hari-varsha, in detail."

"Sanjaya said,--'O bull of Bharata's race, four Yugas set in Bharata's Varsha, viz., Krita, Treta, Dwapara, and Kali. The Yuga that sets in first is Krita. O Lord; after the expiry of Krita comes Treta; after expiry of Treta comes Dwapara; and after that last of all, sets in Kali. Four thousand years, O best of the Kurus, are reckoned as the measure of life, O best of kings, in the Krita epoch. Three thousand years is the period in Treta, O ruler of men. At present in Dwapara, persons live on Earth for two thousand years. In Kali, however, O bull of Bharata's race, there is no fixed limit of life's measure, in so much that men die while in the womb, as also soon after birth. In the Krita age, O king, men are born and beget children, by hundreds and thousands, that are of great strength and great power, endued with the attribute of great wisdom, and possessed of wealth and handsome features. In that age are born and begotten Munis endued with wealth of asceticism, capable of great exertion, possessed of high souls, and virtuous, and truthful in speech. The Kshatriyas also, born in that age are of agreeable features, able-bodied, possessed of great energy, accomplished in the use of the bow, highly skilled in battle and exceedingly brave. In the Treta age, O king, all the Kshatriya kings were emperors ruling from sea to sea. In Treta are begotten brave Kshatriyas not subject to any one, endued with long lives, possessed of heroism, and wielding the bow in battle with great skill. When Dwapara sets in, O king, all the (four) orders born become capable of great exertion, endued with great energy, and desirous of conquering one another. The men born in Kali, O king, are endued with little energy, highly wrathful, covetous, and untruthful. Jealousy, pride, anger, deception, malice and covetousness, O Bharata, are the attributes of creatures in the Kali age. The portion that remains, O king, of this the Dwapara age, is small, O ruler of men. The Varsha known as Haimavat is superior to Bharatavarsha, while Harivarsha is superior to Hainavatvarsha, in respect of all qualities.'

SECTION 11

(Bhumi Parva)

"Dhritarashtra said,--'Thou hast, O Sanjaya, duly described Jamvukhanda to me. Tell me now its dimensions and extent truly. Tell me also, O Sanjaya, of the extent of the ocean of Sakadwipa, and Kusadwipa, of Salmalidwipa and Kraunchadwipa, truly and without leaving anything and tell me also, O son of Gavalgani, of Rahu and Soma and Surya.'

"Sanjaya said,--'There are, O king, many islands, over which the Earth extended. I will describe to thee, however, only seven islands, and the moon, and the sun, and the planet (Rahu), also. The Jamvu mountain, O king, extends over full eighteen thousand and six hundred Yojanas. The extent of the salt ocean is said to be twice this. That ocean is covered with many kingdoms, and is adorned with gems and corals. It is, besides, decked with many mountains that are variegated with metals of diverse kinds. Thickly peopled by Siddhas and Charanas, the ocean is circular in form.

"I will now tell thee truly of Sakadwipa, O Bharata. Listen to me, O son of Kuru's race, as I describe it to thee duly. That island, O ruler of men, is of twice the extent of Jamvudwipa. And the ocean also, O great king, is of twice the extent of that island. Indeed, O best of the Bharatas, Sakadwipa is surrounded on all sides by the ocean. The kingdoms there are full of righteousness, and the men there never die. How can famine take place there? The people are all endued with forgiveness and great energy. I have now, O bull of Bharata's race, given thee duly a brief description of Sakadwipa. What else, O king, dost thou wish to hear?'"

"Dhritarashtra said,--'Thou hast given me, O Sanjaya, a description of Sakadwipa in brief. O thou that art possessed of great wisdom, tell me now everything in detail truly.'

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"Sanjaya said,--'In that island, O king, there are seven mountains that are decked with jewels and that are mines of gems, precious stones. There are many rivers also in that island. Listen to me as I recount their names. Everything there, O king, is excellent and delightful, The first of these mountains is called Meru. It is the abode of the gods, Rishis, and Gandharvas. The next mountain, O king, is called Malaya stretching towards the east. It is there that the clouds are generated and it is thence that they disperse on all sides. The next, O thou of Kuru's race, is the large mountain called Jaladhara. Thence Indra daily taketh water of the best quality. It is from that water that we get showers in the season of rains, O ruler of men. Next cometh the high mountain called Raivataka, over which, in the firmament, hath been permanently placed the constellation called Revati. This arrangement hath been made by the Grandsire himself. On the north of this, O great king, is the large mountain called Syama. It hath the splendour of newly-risen clouds, is very high, beautiful and of bright body. And since the hue of those mountains is dark, the people residing there are all dark in complexion, O king.'

"Dhritarashtra said,--'A great doubt ariseth in my mind, O Sanjaya, from what thou hast said. Why, O Suta's son, would the people there be of dark complexion?'

"Sanjaya said,--'O great king, in all islands, O son of Kuru's race, men may be found that are fair, and those that are dark, and those also that are produced by a union of the fair and the dark races. But because the people there are all dark, therefore is that mountain called the Dark Mountain. After this, O chief of the Kurus, is the large mountain called Durgasaila. And then cometh the mountain called Kesari. The breezes that blow from that mountain are all charged with (odoriferous) effluvia. The measure of each of these mountains is double that of the one mentioned immediately before. O thou of Kuru's race, it hath been said by the wise that there are seven Varshas in that island. The Varsha of Meru is called Mahakasa; that of the water-giving (Malaya) is called Kumudottara. The Varsha of Jaladhara is called Sukumara: while that of Raivatak is called Kaumara; and of Syama, Manikanchana. The Varsha of Kesara is called Mandaki, and that called after the next mountain is called Mahapuman. In the midst of that island is a large tree called Saka. In height and breadth the measure of that tree is equal to that of the Jamvu tree in Jamvudwipa. And the people there always adore that tree. There in that island are, many delightful provinces where Siva is worshipped, and thither repair the Siddhas, the Charanas, and the celestials. The people there, O king, are virtuous, and all the four orders, O Bharata, are devoted to their respective occupation. No instance of theft can be seen there. Freed from decrepitude and death and gifted with long life, the people there, O king, grow like rivers during the season of rains. The rivers there are full of sacred water, and Ganga herself, distributed as she hath been into various currents, is there, Sukumari, and Kumari, and Seta, and Keveraka, and Mahanadi, O Kauravya, and the river Manijala, and Chakshus, and the river Vardhanika, O thou best of the Bharatas,--these and many other rivers by thousands and hundreds, all full of sacred water, are there, O perpetuator of Kuru's race, from which Vasava draweth water for showering it as rain. It is impossible to recount the names and lengths of rivers. All of them are foremost of rivers and sin-cleansing. As heard by all men there, in that island of Saka, are four sacred provinces. They are the Mrigas, the Masakas, the Manasas, and the Mandagas. The Mrigas for the most part are Brahmanas devoted to the occupations of their order. Amongst the Masakas are virtuous Kshatriyas granting (unto Brahmanas) every wish (entertained by them). The Manasas, O king, live by following the duties of the Vaisya order. Having every wish of theirs gratified, they are also brave and firmly devoted to virtue and profit. The Mandagas are all brave Sudras of virtuous behaviour. In these provinces, O monarch, there is no king, no punishment, no person that deserves to be punished. Conversant with the dictates of duty they are all engaged in the practice of their respective duties and protect one another. This much is capable of being said of the island called Saka. This much also should be listened to about that island endued with great energy."

SECTION 12

"Sanjaya said, 'O Kauravya, that which is heard about the islands in the north, I will recount to thee, O Great king. Listen to me now. (Thither in the north) is the ocean whose waters are clarified butter. Then is the ocean whose waters are curds. Next cometh the ocean whose waters are wine, and then is another ocean of water. The islands, O king, are double in area of one another as they proceed further and further towards the north. And they are surrounded, O king, by these oceans. In the island that is in the middle, there is a large mountain called Goura made of red arsenic; on the western island, O king, is the mountain Krishna that is the favourite (abode) of Narayana. There Kesava guardeth celestial gems (in profusion), and thence, inclined to grace, he bestoweth happiness on creatures. Along with the kingdoms there, O king, the (celestial) clump of Kusa grass in Kusadwipa, and the Salmali tree in the island of Salmalika, are adored. In the Krauncha island also, the mountain called Maha-krauncha that is a mine of all kinds of gems is, O king, always adored by all the four orders of men. (There), O monarch, is the mountain called Gomanta that is huge and consists of all kinds of metals, and whereon always resideth, mingling with those that have been emancipated, the puissant Narayana, otherwise called Hari, graced with prosperity and possessed of eyes like lotus leaves. In Kusadwipa, O king of kings, there is another mountain variegated with corals and called after the name of that island itself. This mountain is inaccessible and made of gold. Possessed of great splendour, O Kauravya, there is a third mountain there that is called Sumida. The sixth is called Harigiri. These are the six principal mountains. The intervening spaces between one another of these six mountains increaseth in the ratio of one to two as they proceed further and further towards the north. The first Varsha is called Audhido; the second is Venumandala; the third is called Suratha; the fourth is known by the name of Kamvala; the fifth Varsha is called Dhritimat; and the sixth is named Prabhakara; the seventh Varsha is called Kapila. These are the seven successive Varshas. In these, gods and Gandharvas, and other creatures of the universe, sport and take delight. In these Varshas the inhabitants never die. There, O king, are no robbers, nor any tribes of Mlecchas. All the residents are almost white in complexion, and very delicate, O king.

"'As regards the rest of the islands, O ruler of men, I will recount all that hath been heard by me. Listen, O monarch, with an attentive mind. In the Krauncha island, O great king, there is a large mountain called Krauncha. Next to Krauncha is Vamanaka; and next to Vamanaka is Andhakara. And next to Andhakara, 1 O king, is that excellent of mountains called Mainaka. After Mainaka, O monarch, is that best of mountains called Govinda; and after Govinda, O king, is the mountain called Nivida. O multiplier of thy race, the intervening spaces between one another of these mountains increaseth in the ratio of one to two. I will now tell thee the countries that lie there. Listen to me as I speak of them. The region near Krauncha is called Kusala; that near Vamanaka is Manonuga. The region next to Manonuga, O perpetuator of Kuru's race, is called Ushna. After Ushna is Pravaraka; and after Pravaraka is Andhakaraka. The country after Andhakaraka is named Munidesa. After Munidesa the region is called Dundubhiswana teeming with Siddhas and Charanas. The people are almost white in complexion, O king. All these countries, O monarch, are the habitations of gods and Gandharvas. In (the island of) Pushkara is a mountain called Pushkara that abounds with jewels and gems. There always dwelleth the divine Prajapati himself. Him all the gods and great Rishis always adore with gratifying words and worship reverently, O king. Diverse gems from Jamvudwipa are used there. In all these islands, O king, Brahmacharyya, truth, and self-control of the dwellers, as also their health and periods of life, are in the ratio of one to two as the islands are more and more remote (northwards). O king, the land in those islands, O Bharata, comprises but one country, for that is said to be one country in which one religion is met with. The Supreme Prajapati himself, upraising the rod of chastisement, always dwelleth there, protecting those islands. He, O monarch, is the king. He is their source of bliss. He is the father, and he is the grand-father. He it is, O best of men, that protecteth all creatures there, mobile or immobile. Cooked food, O Kauravya, cometh there of itself and the creatures eat it daily. O mighty-armed one. After these regions is seen a habitation of the name of Sama. It is of a starry-shape having four corners, and it hath, O king, thirty-three mandalas. There dwell, O Kauravya, four princely elephants adored by all. [Dig-gaja, i.e. an elephant supporting the globe. There are four such in Hindu mythology or ten according to some accounts.] They are, O best of the Bharatas, Vamana, and Airavata, and another, and also Supratika. [i.e., with the juice trickling down from their cheeks and mouth. In the season of rut, a peculiar kind of juice issues from several parts of an elephant's body. It is believed to be the temporal-juice. The stronger and fierce the elephant, the greater the quantity of the juice that issues out its body.] O king, with rent cheeks and mouth, I do not venture to calculate the proportions of these four elephants. Their length, breadth and thickness have for ever remained unascertained. There in those regions, O king, winds blow irregularly from all directions [lit. "unbound" or "unrestrained," i.e. freely or irregularly.]. These are seized by those elephants with the tips of their trunks which are of the complexion of the lotus and endued with great splendour and capable of drawing up everything in their way. And soon enough after seizing them they then always let them out. The winds, O king, thus let out by those respiring elephants, come over the Earth and in consequence thereof creatures draw breath and live.'

"Dhritarashtra said,--'Thou hast, O Sanjaya, told me everything about the first subject very elaborately. Thou hast also indicated the positions of the islands. 'Tell now, O Sanjaya, about what remains.'

"Sanjaya said,--'Indeed, O great king, the islands have all been described to thee. Listen now to what I truly say about the heavenly bodies and about Swarbhanu [the Earth], O chief of the Kauravas, as regards its dimensions. It is heard, O king, that the planet Swarbhanu is globular. Its diameter is twelve thousand Yojanas*, and its circumference, because it is very large, is forty-two thousand Yojanas, O sinless one, as said by the learned of olden times. The diameter of the moon, O king, is stated to be eleven thousand Yojanas. Its circumference, O chief of the Kurus, is stated to be thirty-eight thousand nine hundred Yojanas of the illustrious planet of cool rays. It hath been heard that the diameter of the beneficent, fast going and light-giving Sun, O thou of Kuru's race, is ten thousand Yojanas, and his circumference, O king, is thirty-five thousand eight hundred miles, in consequence of his largeness, O sinless one. [* The ancient author seem not to know the true diameter of the Earth; Or has the translator confused 'one yoyana' with 'one kilometre'? - A yojana (Sanskrit) is a measure of distance that was used in ancient India. A yojana is about 12–15km; i.e. 60 kosh = 1 yojana, and 1 kosh is 200m. It is a remarkable fact that the ratio between the diameter and the circumference of a circle (known as 'Pi' = 3.14159) was roughly known to the ancient Hindus of the Mahabharata Era. The circumference is nearly, as stated here, three times and a half of the diameter. The next ratio, of course, is slightly less, being three and one-seventh. By the way, the true equatorial diameter of the Earth is 12,756.27km and the circumference is 40,075km.] These are the dimensions reckoned here, O Bharata, of Arka. The planet Rahu, in consequence of his greater bulk, envelops both the Sun and the Moon in due times. I tell thee this in brief. With the eye of science, O great king, I have now told thee all that thou hadst asked. Let peace be thine. I have now told thee about the construction of the universe as indicated in the Shastras. Therefore, O Kauravya, pacify thy son Duryodhana.'

"Having listened to this charming Bhumi Parva, O chief of the Bharatas, a Kshatriya becometh endued with prosperity, obtaineth fruition of all his desires, and winneth the approbation of the righteous. 3 The king who listeneth to this on days of the full-moon or the new-moon, carefully observing vows all the while, hath the period of his life, his fame and energy, all enhanced. His (deceased) sires and grandsires become gratified. Thou hast now heard of all the merits that flow from this Varsha of Bharata where we now are!'"

SECTION 13

(Bhagavat-Gita Parva)

Vaisampayana said,--"Possessing a knowledge of the past, the present and the future, and seeing all things as if present before his eyes, the learned son of Gavalgana, O Bharata, coming quickly from the field of battle, and rushing with grief (into the court) represented unto Dhritarashtra who was plunged in thought that Bhishma the grandsire of the Bharatas had been slain."

"Sanjaya said,--'I am Sanjaya, O great king. I bow to thee, O bull of Bharata's race. Bhishma, the son of Santanu and the grandsire of the Bharatas, hath been slain. That foremost of all warriors, that grandsire of the Bharatas, hath been slain. That foremost of all warriors, that embodied energy of all bowmen, that grandsire of the Kurus lieth to-day on a bed of arrows. That Bhishma. O king, relying on whose energy thy son had been engaged in that match at dice, now lieth on the field of battle slain by Sikhandin. That mighty car-warrior who on a single car had vanquished in terrific combat at the city of Kasi all the kings of the Earth mustered together, he who had fearlessly fought in battle with Rama, the son of Jamadagni, he whom Jamadagni's son could not slay, oh, even hath he been to-day slain by Sikhandin. Resembling the great Indra himself in bravery, and Himavat in firmness, like unto the ocean itself in gravity, and the Earth herself in patience, that invincible warrior having arrows for his teeth, that bow for his mouth, and the sword for his tongue, that lion among men, hath to-day been slain by the prince of Panchala. That slayer of heroes, beholding whom when addrest for battle the mighty army of the Pandavas, unmanned by fear, used to tremble like a herd of kine when beholding a lion, alas, having protected that army (of thine) for ten nights and having achieved feats exceedingly difficult of accomplishment, hath set like the Sun. He who like Sakra himself, scattering arrows in thousands with the utmost composure, daily slew ten thousand warriors for ten days, even he slain (by the enemy), lieth, though he deserveth it not, on the bare ground like a (mighty) tree broken by the wind, in consequence, O king, of thy evil counsels, O Bharata.'"

SECTION 14

"Dhritarashtra said,--'How hath Bhishma, that bull among the Kurus, been slain by Sikhandin? How did my father, who resembled Vasava himself, fall down from his car? What became of my sons, O Sanjaya, when they were deprived of the mighty Bhishma who was like unto a celestial, and who led life of Brahmacharyya for the sake of his father? Upon the fall of that tiger among men who was endued with great wisdom,

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great capacity for exertion, great might and great energy, how did our warriors feel? Hearing that bull amongst the Kurus, that foremost of men, that unwavering hero is slain, great is the grief that pierceth my heart. While advancing (against the foe), who followed him and who proceeded ahead? Who stayed by his side? Who proceeded with him? What brave combatants followed behind (protecting his rear) that tiger among car-warriors, that wonderful archer, that bull among Kshatriyas, while he penetrated into the divisions of the foe? While seizing the hostile ranks, what warriors opposed that slayer of foes resembling the luminary of thousand rays, who spreading terror among the foe destroyed their ranks like the Sun destroying darkness, and who achieved in battle amongst the ranks of Pandu's sons feats exceedingly difficult of accomplishment? How, indeed, O Sanjaya, did the Pandavas oppose in battle the son of Santanu, that accomplished and invincible warrior when he approached them smiting? Slaughtering the (hostile) ranks, having arrows for his teeth, and full of energy, with the bow for his wide-open mouth, and with the terrible sword for his tongue, and invincible, a very tiger among men, endued with modesty, and never before vanquished, alas, how did Kunti's son overthrow in battle that unconquered one, undeserving as he was of such a fate,--that fierce bowman shooting fierce shafts, stationed on his excellent car, and plucking off the heads of foes (from their bodies)--that warrior, irresistible as the Yuga-fire, beholding whom addrest for battle the great army of the Pandavas always used to waver? Mangling the hostile troops for ten nights, alas, that slayer of ranks hath set like the Sun, having achieved feats difficult of achievement. He who, scattering like Sakra himself and inexhaustible shower of arrows, slew in battle a hundred millions of warriors in ten days, that scion of Bharata's race, now lieth, although he deserveth it not, on the bare ground, in the field of battle, deprived of life, a mighty tree uprooted by the winds, as a result of my evil counsels! Beholding Santanu's son Bhishma of terrible prowess, how indeed, could the army of the Pandavas succeed in smiting him there? How did the sons of Pandu battle with Bhishma? How is it, O Sanjaya, that Bhishma could not conquer when Drona liveth? When Kripa, again, was near him, and Drona's son (Aswatthaman) also, how could Bhishma, that foremost of smiters be slain? How could Bhishma who was reckoned as an Atiratha and who could not be resisted by the very gods, be slain in battle by Sikhandin, the prince of Panchala? He, who always regarded himself as the equal of the mighty son of Jamadagni in battle, he whom Jamadagni's son himself could not vanquish, he who resembled Indra himself in prowess,--alas, O Sanjaya, tell me how that hero, Bhishma, born in the race of Maharathas, was slain in battle, for without knowing all the particulars I cannot regain my equanimity. What great bowmen of my army, O Sanjaya, did not desert that hero of unfading glory? What heroic warriors, again, at Duryodhana's command, stood around that hero (for protecting him)? When all the Pandavas placing Sikhandin in their van advanced against Bhishma, did not all the Kurus, O Sanjaya, stay by the side of that hero of unfading prowess? Hard as my heart is, surely it must be made of adamant, for it breaketh not on hearing the death of that tiger among men, viz., Bhishma! In that irresistible bull of Bharata's race, were truth, and intelligence, and policy, to an immeasurable extent. Alas, how was he slain in battle? Like unto a mighty cloud of high altitude, having the twang of his bowstring for its roar, his arrows for its rain-drops, and the sound of his bow for its thunder, that hero showering his shafts on Kunti's sons with the Panchalas and the Srinjayas on their side, smote hostile car-warriors like the slayer of Vala smiting the Danavas. Who were the heroes that resisted, like the bank resisting the surging sea, that chastiser of foes, who was a terrible ocean of arrows and weapons, an ocean in which shafts were the irresistible crocodiles and bows were the waves, an ocean that was inexhaustible, without an island, agitated and without a raft to cross it, in which maces and swords were like sharks and steeds and elephants like eddies, and foot-soldiers like fishes in abundance, and the sound of conches and drums like its roar, and ocean that swallowed horses and elephants and foot-soldiers quickly, an ocean that devoured hostile heroes and that seethed with wrath and energy which constituted its Yadava-fire? When for Duryodhana's good, that slayer of foes, Bhishma, achieved (terrible) feats in battle, who were then in his van? Who were they that protected the right wheel of that warrior of immeasurable energy? Who were they that, mustering patience and energy, resisted hostile heroes from his rear? Who stationed themselves in his near front for protecting him? Who were those heroes that protected the fore-wheel of that brave warrior while he battled (with the foe)? Who were they that stationing themselves by his left wheel smote the Srinjayas? Who were they that protected the irresistible advance ranks of his van? Who protected the wings of that warrior who hath made the last painful journey? And who, O Sanjaya, fought with hostile heroes in the general engagement? If he was protected by (our) heroes, and if they were protected by. him, why could he not then speedily vanquish in battle the army of the Pandavas, invincible though it be? Indeed, O Sanjaya, how could the Pandavas succeed even in striking Bhishma who was like Parameshti himself, that Lord and creator of all creatures? Thou tellest me, O Sanjaya, if the disappearance of that Bhishma, that tiger among men, who was our refuge and relying upon whom the Kurus were fighting with their foes, that warrior of mighty strength relying on whose energy my son had never reckoned the Pandavas, alas, how hath he been slain by the enemy? In days of yore, all the gods while engaged in slaying the Danavas, sought the aid of that invincible warrior, viz., my father of high vows. That foremost of sons endued with great energy, on whose birth the world-renowned Santanu abandoned all grief, melancholy, and sorrows, how canst thou tell me, O Sanjaya, that that celebrated hero, that great refuge of all, that wise and holy personage who was devoted to the duties of his order and conversant with the truths of the Vedas and their branches, hath been slain? Accomplished in every weapon and endued with humility, gentle and with passions under full control, and possessed of great energy as he was, alas, hearing that son of Santanu slain I regard the rest of my army as already slain. In my judgement, unrighteousness hath now become stronger than righteousness, for the sons of Pandu desire sovereignty even by killing their venerable superior! In days of yore, Jamadagni's son Rama, who was acquainted with every weapon and whom none excelled, when addrest for battle on behalf of Amvya, was vanquished by Bhishma in combat. Thou tellest me that that Bhishma, who was the foremost of all warriors and who resembled Indra himself in the feats he achieved, hath been slain. What can be a greater grief to me than this? Endued with great intelligence, he that was not slain even by that slayer of hostile heroes, that Rama, the son of Jamadagni, who defeated in battle crowds of Kshatriyas repeatedly, he hath now been slain by Sikhandin. Without doubt, Drupada's son Sikhandin, therefore who hath slain in battle that bull of Bharata's race, that hero acquainted with the highest weapons, that brave and accomplished warrior conversant with every weapon, is superior in energy, prowess, and might to the invincible Vargava endued with the highest energy. In that encounter of arms who were the heroes that followed that slayer of foes? Tell me how the battle was fought between Bhishma and the Pandavas. The army of my son, O Sanjaya, reft of its hero, is like an unprotected woman. Indeed, that army of mine is like a panic-struck herd of kine reft of its herdsman. He in whom resided prowess superior to that of every one, when he was laid low on the field of battle, what was the state of mind of my army? What power is there, O Sanjaya, in our life, when we have caused our father of mighty energy, that foremost of righteous men in the world, to be slain? Like a person desirous of crossing the sea when he beholds the boat sunk in fathomless waters, alas, my sons, I ween, are bitterly weeping from grief on Bhishma's death. My heart, O Sanjaya, is surely made of adamant, for it rendeth not even after hearing the death of Bhishma, that tiger among men. That bull among men in whom were weapons, intelligence, and policy, to an immeasurable extent, how, alas, hath that invincible warrior been slain in battle? Neither in consequence of weapons nor of courage, nor of ascetic merit, nor of intelligence, nor of firmness, nor of gift, can a man free himself from death. Indeed, time, endued with great energy, is incapable of being transgressed by anything in the world, when thou tellest me, O Sanjaya, that Santanu's son Bhishma is dead. Burning with grief on account of my sons, in fact, overwhelmed with great sorrow, I had hoped for relief from Bhishma, the son of Santanu. When he beheld Santanu's son, O Sanjaya, lying on earth like the Sun (dropped from the firmament), what else was made by Duryodhana as his refuge? O Sanjaya, reflecting with the aid of my understanding, I do not see what the end will be of the kings belonging to my side and that of the enemy and now mustered in the opposing ranks of battle. Alas, cruel are the duties of the Kshatriya order as laid down by the Rishis, since the Pandavas are desirous of sovereignty by even compassing the death of Santanu's son, and we also are desirous of sovereignty by offering up that hero of high vows as a sacrifice. The sons of Pritha, as also my sons, are all in the observance of Kshatriya duties. They, therefore, incur no sin (by doing) this. Even a righteous person should do this, O Sanjaya, when direful calamities come. The display of prowess and the exhibition of the utmost might have been laid down among the duties of the Kshatriyas.

"'How, indeed, did the sons of Pandu oppose my father Bhishma, the son of Santanu, that unvanquished hero endued with modesty, while he was engaged in destroying the hostile ranks? How were the troops arrayed, and how did he battle with high-souled foes? How, O Sanjaya, was my father Bhishma slain by the enemy? Duryodhana and Karna and the deceitful Sakuni, the son of Suvala, and Dussasana also,--what did they say when Bhishma was slain? Thither where the dice-board is constituted by the bodies of men, elephants, and steeds, and, where arrows and javelins and large swords and bearded darts from the dice, entering that frightful mansion of destructive battle's play, who were those wretched gamblers,--those bulls among men,--that gambled, making their very lives the frightful stakes? Who won, who were vanquished, who cast the dice successfully, and who have been slain, besides Bhishma, the son of Santanu? Tell me all, O Sanjaya, for peace cannot be mine, hearing that Devavrata hath been slain,--that father of mine, of terrible deeds, that ornament of battle, viz., Bhishma! Keen anguish had penetrated my heart, born of the thought that all my children would die. Thou makest that grief of mine blaze forth, O Sanjaya, like fire by pouring clarified butter on it. My sons, I ween, are even now grieving, beholding Bhishma slain,--Bhishma celebrated in all worlds and who had taken upon himself a heavy burden. I will listen to all those sorrows arising from Duryodhana's act. Therefore, tell me, O Sanjaya, everything that happened there,--everything that happened in the battle, born of the folly of my wicked son. Ill-ordered or well-ordered, tell me everything, O Sanjaya. Whatever was achieved with the aid of energy in the battle by Bhishma desirous of victory,--by that warrior accomplished in arms,--tell me all fully and in detail. How, in fact, the battle took place between the armies of the Kurus and the manner in which each happened.'"

SECTION 15

Sanjaya said,--"Deserving as thou art, this question is, indeed, worthy of thee, O great king. It behoveth thee not, however, to impute this fault to Duryodhana. The man who incurreth evil as the consequence of his own misconduct, should not attribute that misconduct to others. O great king, the man that doth every kind of injury to other men, deserveth to be slain by all men in consequence of those censurable deeds of his. The Pandavas unacquainted with the ways of wickedness had, for a long time, with their friends and counsellors, looking up to thy face, borne the injuries (done to them) and forgiven them, dwelling in the woods.

"Of steeds and elephants and kings of immeasurable energy that which hath been seen by the aid of Yoga-power, hear, O lord of earth, and do not set thy heart on sorrow. All this was pre-destined, O king. Having bowed down to thy father, that (wise and high-souled) son of Parasara, through whose grace, (through whose boon bestowed on me,) I have obtained excellent and celestial apprehension, sight beyond the range of the visual sense, and hearing, O king, from great distance, knowledge of other people's hearts and also of the past and the future, a knowledge also of the origin of all persons transgressing the ordinances, the delightful power of coursing through the skies, and untouchableness by weapons in battles, listen to me in detail as I recite the romantic and highly wonderful battle that happened between the Bharatas, a battle that makes one's hair stand on end.

"When the combatants were arrayed according to rule and when they were addrest for battle. Duryodhana, O king, said these words to Dussasana,--O Dussasana, let cars be speedily directed for the protection of Bhishma, and do thou speedily urge all our divisions (to advance). That hath now come to me of which I had been thinking for a series of years, viz., the meeting of the Pandavas and the Kurus at the head of their respective troops. I do not think that there is any act more important (for us) in this battle than the protecting of Bhishma. If protected he will slay the Pandavas, the Somakas, and the Srinjayas. That warrior of pure soul said,--'I will not slay Sikhandin. It is heard that he was a female before. For this reason he should be renounced by me in battle. For this, Bhishma should be particularly protected. Let all my warriors take up their positions, resolved to slay Sikhandin. Let also all the troops from the east, the west, the south, and the north, accomplished in every kind of weapon, protect the grandsire. Even the lion of mighty strength, if left unprotected may be slain by the wolf. Let us not, therefore, cause Bhishma to be slain by Sikhandin like the lion slain by the jackal. Yudhamanyu protects the left wheel, and Uttamauja protects the right wheel of Phalguni. Protected by those two, Phalguni himself protects Sikhandin. O Dussasana, act in such a way that Sikhandin who is protected by Phalguni and whom Bhishma will renounce, may not slay Ganga's son."

SECTION 16

Sanjaya said,--"When the night had passed away, loud became the noise made by the kings, all exclaiming, Array! Array! 'With the blare of conches and the sound of drums that resembled leonine roars, O Bharata, with the neigh of steeds, and the clatter of car-wheels, with the noise of obstreperous elephants and the shouts, clapping of arm-pits, and cries of roaring combatants, the din caused everywhere was very great. The large armies of the Kurus and the Pandavas, O king, rising at sunrise, completed all their arrangements. Then when the Sun rose, the fierce weapons of attack and defence and the coats of mail of both thy sons and the Pandavas, and the large and splendid armies of both sides, became fully visible. There elephants and cars, adorned with gold, looked resplendent like clouds mingled with lightning. The ranks of cars, standing in profusion, looked like cities. And thy father, stationed there, shone brilliantly, like the full moon. And the warriors armed with bows and swords and scimitars and maces, javelins and lances and bright weapons of diverse kinds, took up their positions in their (respective) ranks. And

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resplendent standards were seen, set up by thousands, of diverse forms, belonging to both ourselves and the foe. And made of gold and decked with gems and blazing like fire, those banners in thousands endued with great effulgence, looked beautiful like heroic combatants cased in mail gazed [chain mail] at those standards, longing for battle. And many foremost of men, with eyes large as those of bulls endued with quivers, and with hands cased in leathern fences, stood at the heads of their divisions, with their bright weapons upraised. And Suvala's son Sakuni, and Salya, Jayadratha and the two princes of Avanti named Vinda and Anuvinda, and the Kekaya brothers, and Sudakshina the ruler of the Kamvojas and Srutayudha the ruler of the Kalingas, and king Jayatsena, and Vrihadvala the ruler of the Kosalas, and Kritavarman of Satwata's race,--these ten tigers among men, endued with great bravery and possessing arms that looked like maces,--these performers of sacrifices with plentiful gifts (to Brahmanas), stood each at the head of an Akshauhini of troops. These and many other kings and princes, mighty car-warriors conversant with policy, obedient to the commands of Duryodhana, all cased in mail, were seen stationed in their respective divisions. All of them, cased in black deer-skins, endued with great strength, accomplished in battle, and cheerfully prepared, for Duryodhana's sake, to ascend to the region of Brahma, stood there commanding ten efficient Akshauhinis. The eleventh great division of the Kauravas, consisting of the Dhartarashtra troops, stood in advance of the whole army. There in the van of that division was Santanu's son. With his white head-gear, white umbrella, and white mail, O monarch, we beheld Bhishma of unfailing prowess look like the risen moon. His standard bearing the device of a palmyra of gold himself stationed on a car made of silver, both the Kurus and the Pandavas beheld that hero looking like the moon encircled by white clouds. The great bowmen amongst the Srinjayas headed by Dhrishtadyumna, (beholding Bhishma) looked like little animals when they would behold a mighty yawning lion. Indeed, all the combatants headed by Dhrishtadyumna repeatedly trembled in fear. These, O king, were the eleven splendid divisions of thy army. So also the seven divisions belonging to the Pandavas were protected by foremost of men. Indeed, the two armies facing each other looked like two oceans at the end of the Yuga agitated by fierce Makaras, and abounding with huge crocodiles. Never before, O king, did we see or hear of two such armies encountering each other like these of the Kauravas.'

SECTION 17

Sanjaya said,--"Just as the holy Krishna-Dwaipayana Vyasa had said, in that very manner the kings of the Earth, mustered together, came to the encounter. On that day on which the battle commenced Soma approached the region of Pitris. The seven large planets, as they appeared in the firmament, all looked blazing like fire. [There are nine planets in all the Pauranic astronomy. Of these Rahu and Ketu are regarded Upagrahas, and hence, of grahas there are only seven. Thus Nilakantha, and the Burdwan pundits have made a mess of this line.] The Sun, when he rose, seemed to be divided in twain. Besides, that luminary, as it appeared in the firmament, seemed to blaze forth in flames. Carnivorous jackals and crows, expecting dead bodies to feast upon, began to utter fierce cries from all directions that seemed to be ablaze. Every day the old grandsire of the Kurus, and the son of Bharadwaja, rising from bed in the morning, with concentrated mind, said,--'Victory to the sons of Pandu'--while those chastisers of foes used (at the same time) yet to fight for thy sake according to the pledge they had given. Thy father Devavrata, fully conversant with every duty, summoning all the kings, said these words (unto them). 'Ye Kshatriyas, this broad door is open to you for entering heaven. Go ye through it to the region of Sakra and Brahman. The Rishis of olden times have showed you this eternal path [literally--"They of old and still older times"]. Honour ye yourselves by engaging in battle with attentive minds. Nabhaga, and Yayati, and Mandhatri, and Nahusa, and Nriga, were crowned with success and obtained the highest region of bliss by feats like these. To die of disease at home is sin for a Kshatriya. The death he meets with in battle is his eternal duty.'--Thus addressed, O bull of Bharata's race, by Bhishma, the kings, looking beautiful in their excellent cars, proceeded to the heads of their respective divisions. Only Vikartana's son Karna, with his friends and relatives, O bull of Bharata's race, laid aside his weapons in battle for the sake of Bhishma. Without Karna then, thy sons and all the kings on thy side proceeded, making the ten points of the horizon resound with their leonine roars. And their divisions shone brightly, O king, with white umbrellas, banners, standards, elephants, steeds, cars, and foot-soldiers. And the Earth was agitated with the sounds of drums and tabors and cymbals, and the clatter of car-wheels. And the mighty car-warriors, decked with their bracelets and armlets of gold and with their bows (variegated with gold), looked resplendent like hills of fire. And with his large palmyra-standard decked with five stars, Bhishma, the generalissimo of the Kuru army, looked like the resplendent Sun himself. Those mighty bowmen of royal birth, O bull of Bharata's race, that were on thy side, all took up their positions, O king, as Santanu's son ordered. (King) Saivya of the country of the Govasanas, accompanied by all the monarchs, went out on a princely elephant worthy of royal use and graced with a banner on its back. And Aswatthaman, of the complexion of the lotus, went out ready for every emergency, stationing himself at the very head of all the divisions, with his standard bearing the device of the lion's tail. And Srutayudha and Chitrasena and Purumitra and Vivinsati, and Salya and Bhurisravas, and that mighty car-warrior Vikarna,--these seven mighty bowmen on their carts and cased in excellent mail, followed Drona's son behind but in advance of Bhishma. The tall standards of these warriors, made of gold, beautifully set up for adorning their excellent cars, looked highly resplendent. The standard of Drona, the foremost of preceptors, bore the device of a golden altar decked with a water-pot and the figure of a bow. The standard of Duryodhana guiding many hundreds and thousands of divisions bore the device of an elephant worked in gems. Paurava and the ruler of the Kalingas, and Salya, these Rathas took up their position in Duryodhana's van. On a costly car with his standard bearing the device of a bull, and guiding the very van (of his division), the ruler of the Magadhas marched against the foe. That large force of the Easterners looking like the fleecy clouds of autumn was (besides) protected by the chief of the Angas (Karna's son Vrishaketu) and Kripa endued with great energy. Stationing himself in the van of his division with his beautiful standard of silver bearing the device of the boar, the famous Jayadratha looked highly resplendent. A hundred thousand cars, eight thousand elephants, and sixty thousand cavalry were under his command. Commanded by the royal chief of the Sindhus, that large division occupying the very van (of the army) and abounding with untold cars, elephants, and steeds, looked magnificent. With sixty thousand cars and ten thousand elephants, the ruler of the Kalingas, accompanied by Ketumat, went out. His huge elephants, looking like hills, and adorned with Yantras [Machines, perhaps catapults.], lances, quivers and standards, looked exceedingly beautiful. And the ruler of the Kalingas, with his tall standard effulgent as fire, with his white umbrella, and golden curass, and Chamaras (wherewith he was fanned), shone brilliantly. And Ketumat also, riding on an elephant with a highly excellent and beautiful hook, was stationed in battle, O King, like the Sun in the midst of (black) clouds. And king Bhagadatta, blazing with energy and riding on that elephant of his, went out like the wielder of the thunder. And the two princes of Avanti named Vinda and Anuvinda, who were regarded as equal to Bhagadatta, followed Ketumat, riding on the necks of their elephants. And, O king, arrayed by Drona and the royal son of Santanu, and Drona's son, and Valhika, and Kripa, the (Kaurava) Vyuha* consisting of many divisions of cars was such that the elephants formed its body; the kings, its head; and the steeds, its wings. With face towards all sides, that fierce Vyuha seemed to smile and ready to spring (upon the foe)." [* 'Vyuha' is an array of troops in a certain formation. Many such will be spoken of in this and the other 'parvas' devoted to the battle.]

SECTION 18

Sanjaya said,--"Soon after, O king, a loud uproar, causing the heart to tremble was heard, made by the combatants ready for the fight. Indeed, with the sounds of conches and drums, the grunts of elephants, and the clatter of car-wheels, the Earth seemed to rend in twain. And soon the welkin and the whole Earth was filled with the neigh of chargers and the shouts of combatants. O irresistible one, the troops of thy sons and of the Pandavas both trembled when they encountered each other. There (on the field of battle) elephants and cars, decked in gold, looked beautiful like clouds decked with lightning. And standards of diverse forms, O king, belonging to the combatants on thy side, and adorned with golden rings, looked resplendent like fire. And those standards of thy side and theirs, resembled, O Bharata, the banners of Indra in his celestial mansions. And the heroic warriors all accoutred and cased in golden coats of mail endued with the effulgence of the blazing Sun, themselves looked like blazing fire or the Sun. All the foremost warriors amongst the Kurus, O king, with excellent bows, and weapons upraised (for striking), with leathern fences on their hands, and with standards,--those mighty bowmen, of eyes large as those of bulls, all placed themselves at the heads of their (respective) divisions. And these amongst thy sons, O king, protected Bhishma from behind, viz.. Dussasana, and Durvishaha, and Durmukha, and Dussaha and Vivinsati, and Chitrasena, and that mighty car-warrior Vikarna. And amongst them were Satyavrata, and Purumitra, and Jaya, and Bhurisravas, and Sala. And twenty thousand car-warriors followed them. The Abhishahas, the Surasenas, the Sivis, and the Vasatis, the Swalyas, the Matsyas, the Amvashtas, the Trigartas, and the Kekayas, the Sauviras, the Kitavas, and the dwellers of the Eastern, Western, and the Northern countries,--these twelve brave races were resolved to fight reckless of the lives. And these protected the grandsire with a multitudinous array of cars. And with a division that consisted of ten thousand active elephants, the king of Magadha followed that large car division. They that protected the wheels of the cars and they that protected the elephants, numbered full six millions. And the foot-soldiers that marched in advance (of the army), armed with bows, swords, and shields, numbered many hundreds of thousands. And they fought also using their nails and bearded darts. And the ten and one Akshauhinis of thy son, O Bharata, looked, O mighty king, like Ganga separated from Yamuna."

SECTION 19

Dhritarashtra said,--"Beholding our ten and one Akshauhinis arrayed in order of battle, how did Yudhishthira, the son of Pandu, make his counter-array with his forces smaller in number? How did Kunti's son, O Sanjaya, form his counter-array against that Bhishma who was acquainted with all kinds of arrays, viz., human, celestial, Gandharva, and Asura?"

Sanjaya said,--"Seeing the Dhritarashtra divisions arrayed in order of battle, Pandu's son of virtuous soul, king Yudhishthira the Just, addressed Dhananjaya, saying,--'Men are informed from the words of that great Rishi Vrihaspati that the few must be made to fight by condensing them, while the many may be extended according to pleasure. In encounters of the few with the many, the array to be formed should be the needle-mouthed one. Our troops compared with the enemy's are few. Keeping in view this precept of the great Rishi, array our troops, O son of Pandu.' Hearing this, that son of Pandu answered king Yudhishthira the Just, saying,--That immovable array known by the name of Vajra, which was designed by the wielder of the thunder-bolt,--that invincible array is the one that I will make for thee, O best of kings. He who is like the bursting tempest, he who is incapable of being borne in battle by the foe, that Bhima the foremost of smiters, will fight at our head. That foremost of men, conversant with all the appliances of battle, becoming our leader, will fight in the van, crushing the energy of the foe. That foremost of smiters, viz., Bhima, beholding whom all the hostile warriors headed by Duryodhana will retreat in panic like smaller animals beholding the lion, all of us, our fears dispelled, will seek his shelter as if he were a wall, like the celestial seeking the shelter of Indra. The man breathes not in the world who would bear to cast his eyes upon that bull among men, Vrikodara of fierce deeds, when he is angry.'--Having said this, Dhananjaya of mighty arms did as he said. And Phalguni, quickly disposing his troops in battle-array, proceeded (against the foe). And the mighty army of the Pandavas beholding the Kuru army move, looked like the full, immovable, and quickly rolling current of Ganga. And Bhimasena, and Dhrishtadyumna endued with great energy, and Nakula, and Sahadeva, and king Dhrishtaketu, became the leaders of that force. And king Virata, surrounded by an Akshawhini of troops and accompanied by his brothers and sons, marched in their rear, protecting them from behind. The two sons of Madri, both endued with great effulgence, became the protectors of Bhima's wheels; while the (five) sons of Draupadi and the son of Subhadra all endued with great activity, protected (Bhima) from behind. And that mighty car-warrior, Dhrishtadyumna, the prince of Panchala, with those bravest of combatants and the foremost of car-warriors, viz., the Prabhadrakas, protected those princes from behind. And behind him was Sikhandin who (in his turn) was protected by Arjuna, and who, O bull of Bharata's race, advanced with concentrated attention for the destruction of Bhishma. Behind Arjuna was Yuyudhana of mighty strength; and the two princes of Panchala, viz., Yudhamanyu and Uttamaujas, became protectors of Arjuna's wheels, along with the Kekaya brothers, and Dhrishtaketu, and Chekitana of great valour--This Bhimasena, wielding his mace made of the hardest metal, and moving (on the field of battle) with fierce speed, can dry up the very ocean. And there also stay, with their counsellors looking on him. O king, the children of Dhritarashtra.--Even this, O monarch, was what Vibhatsu said, pointing out the mighty Bhimasena (to Yudhishthira). And while Partha was saying so, all the troops, O Bharata, worshipped him on the field of battle with gratulatory words. King Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, took up his position in the centre of his army, surrounded by huge and furious elephants resembling moving hills. The high-souled Yajnasena, the king of the Panchalas, endued with great prowess, stationed himself behind Virata with an Akshauhini of troops for the sake of the Pandavas. And on the cars of those kings, O monarch, were tall standards bearing diverse devices, decked with excellent ornaments of gold, and endued with the effulgence of the Sun and the Moon. Causing those kings to move and make space for him, that mighty car-warrior Dhrishtadyumna, accompanied by his brothers and sons protected Yudhishthira from behind. Transcending the huge standards on all the cars on thy side and that of the enemy, was the one gigantic ape on Arjuna's car. Foot-soldiers, by many hundreds of thousands, and armed with swords, spears, and scimitars, proceeded ahead for protecting Bhimasena. And ten thousand elephants with (temporal) juice

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trickling down their cheek and mouth, and resembling (on that account) showering clouds, endued with great courage, blazing with golden armour, huge hills, costly, and emitting the fragrance of lotuses, followed the king behind like moving mountains. And the high-souled and invincible Bhimasena, whirling his fierce mace that resembled a parigha [A thick club mounted with iron.] seemed to crush the large army (of thy son). Incapable of being looked at like the Sun himself, and scorching as it were, the hostile army (like fire), none of the combatants could bear to even look at him from any neat point. And this array, fearless and having its face turned towards all sides called Vajra, having bows for its lightning sign*, and extremely fierce, was protected by the wielder of Gandiva. Disposing their troops in this counter-array against thy army, the Pandavas waited for battle. And protected by the Pandavas, that array became invincible in the world of men. [* The name Vajra implies either a hard needle for boring diamonds and gems, or the thunder-bolt. In this sloka the word Vajra is used as associated with the thunder and therefore, as thunder is accompanied by lightning so the bows of the warriors are the lightning-marks of this particular Vajra.]

"'And as (both) the armies stood at dawn of day waiting for sunrise, a wind began to blow with drops of water (falling), and although there were no clouds, the roll of thunder was heard. And dry winds began to blow all around, bearing a shower of pointed pebbles along the ground. And as thick dust arose, covering the world with darkness. And large meteors began to fall east-wards, O bull of Bharata's race, and striking against the rising Sun, broke in fragments with loud noise. When the troops stood arrayed, O bull of Bharata's race, the Sun rose divested of splendour, and the Earth trembled with a loud sound, and cracked in many places, O chief of the Bharatas, with loud noise. And the roll of thunder, O king, was heard frequently on all sides. So thick was the dust that arose that nothing could be seen. And the tall standards (of the combatants), furnished with strings of bells, decked with golden ornaments, garlands of flowers, and rich drapery, graced with banners and resembling the Sun in splendour, being suddenly shaken by the wind, gave a loud jingling noise like that of a forest of palmyra trees (when moved by the wind). It was thus that those tigers among men, the sons of Pandu, ever taking delight in battle, stood having disposed their troops in counter-array against the army of thy son, and sucking as it were, the marrow, O bull of Bharata's race, of our warriors, and casting their eyes on Bhimasena stationed at their head, mace in hand."

SECTION 20

Dhritarashtra said,--"When the Sun rose, O Sanjaya, of my army led by Bhishma and the Pandava army led by Bhima, which first cheerfully approached the other, desirous of fight? To which side were the Sun, the Moon and the wind hostile, and against whom did the beasts of prey utter inauspicious sounds? Who were those young men, the complexions of whose faces were cheerful? Tell me all these truly and duly."

Sanjaya said,--"Both armies, when arrayed, were equally joyful, O king. Both armies looked equally beautiful, assuming the aspect of blossoming woods, and both armies were full of elephants, cars and horses. Both armies were vast and terrible in aspect; and so also, O Bharata, none of them could bear the other. Both of them were arrayed for conquering the very heavens, and both of them consisted of excellent persons. The Kauravas belonging to the Dhritarashtra party stood facing the west, while the Parthas stood facing the east, addrest for fight. The troops of the Kauravas looked like the army of the chief of the Danavas, while that of the Pandavas looked like the army of the celestials. The wind began to blow from behind the Pandavas (against the face of the Dhartarashtras), and the beasts of prey began to yell against the Dhartarashtras. The elephants belonging to thy sons could not bear the strong odour of the temporal juice emitted by the huge elephants (of the Pandavas). And Duryodhana rode on an elephant of the complexion of the lotus, with rent temples, graced with a golden Kaksha (on its back), and cased in an armour of steel net-work. And he was in the very centre of the Kurus and was adored by eulogists and bards. And a white umbrella of lunar effulgence was held over his head graced with a golden chain. Him Sakuni, the ruler of the Gandharas, followed with mountaineers of Gandhara placed all around. And the venerable Bhishma was at the head of all the troops, with a white umbrella held over his head, armed with bow and sword, with a white headgear, with a white banner (on his car), and with white steeds (yoked thereto), and altogether looking like a white mountain. In Bhishma's division were all the sons of Dhritarashtra, and also Sala who was a countryman of the Valhikas, and also all those Kshatriyas called Amvastas, and those called Sindhus, and those also that are called Sauviras, and the heroic dwellers of the country of the five rivers. And on a golden car unto which were yoked red steeds, the high-souled Drona, bow in hand and with never-failing heart, the preceptor of almost all the kings, remained behind all the troops, protecting them like Indra. And Saradwat's son, that fighter in the van, that high-souled and mighty bowman, called also Gautama, conversant with all modes of warfare, accompanied by the Sakas, the Kiratas, the Yavanas, and the Pahlavas, took up his position at the northern point of the army. That large force which was well protected by mighty car-warriors of the Vrishni and the Bhoja races, as also by the warriors of Surashtra well-armed and well-acquainted with the uses of weapons, and which was led by Kritavarman, proceeded towards the south of the army. Ten thousand cars of the Samasaptakas who were created for either the death or the fame of Arjuna, and who, accomplished in arms, intended to follow Arjuna at his heels all went out as also the brave Trigartas. In thy army, O Bharata, were a thousand elephants of the foremost fighting powers. Unto each elephant was assigned a century of cars; unto each car, a hundred horsemen; unto each horseman, ten bowmen; and unto each bowman ten combatants armed with sword and shield. Thus, O Bharata, were thy divisions arrayed by Bhishma. Thy generalissimo Bhishma, the son of Santanu, as each day dawned, sometimes disposed thy troops in the human army, sometimes in the celestial, sometimes in the Gandharva, and sometimes in the Asura. Thronged with a large number of Maharathas, and roaring like the very ocean, the Dhartarashtra army, arrayed by Bhishma, stood facing the west for battle. Illimitable as thy army was, O ruler of men, it looked terrible; but the army of the Pandavas, although it was not such (in number), yet seemed to me to be very large and invincible since Kesava and Arjuna were its leader."

SECTION 21

Sanjaya said,--"Beholding the vast Dhartarashtra army ready for battle, king Yudhisthira, the son of Kunti, gave way to grief. Seeing that impenetrable array formed by Bhishma and regarding it as really impenetrable, the king became pale and addressed Arjuna, saying,--O, mighty-armed Dhananjaya, how shall we be able to fight in battle with the Dhartarashtras who have the Grandsire for their (chief) combatant? Immovable and impenetrable is this array that hath been designed, according to the rules laid down in the scriptures, by that grinder of foes, Bhishma, of transcendent glory. With our troops we have become doubtful (of success), O grinder of foes. How, indeed, will victory be ours in the face of this mighty array?'--Thus addressed, that slayer of foes Arjuna answered Yudhisthira, the son of Pritha, who had been plunged into grief at sight, O king, of thy army, in these words,--Hear, O king, how soldiers that are few in number may vanquish the many that are possessed of every quality. Thou art without malice; I shall, therefore, tell thee means, O king. The Rishi Narada knows it, as also both Bhishma and Drona. Referring to this means, the Grandsire himself in days of old on the occasion of the battle between the Gods and the Asuras said unto Indra and the other celestials.--They that are desirous of victory do not conquer by might and energy so much as by truth, compassion, righteousness and energy. Discriminating then between righteousness, and unrighteousness, and understanding what is meant by covetousness and having recourse to exertion fight without arrogance, for victory is there where righteousness is.--For this know, O king, that to us victory is certain in (this) battle. Indeed, as Narada said,--There is victory where Krishna is.--Victory is inherent to Krishna. Indeed, it followeth Madhava. And as victory is one of its attributes, so humility is his another attribute. Govinda is possessed of energy that is infinite. Even in the midst of immeasurable foes he is without pain. He is the most eternal of male beings. And there victory is where Krishna is. Even he, indestructible and of weapons incapable of being baffled, appearing as Hari in olden days, said in a loud voice unto the Gods and the Asuras,--Who amongst you would be victorious?--Even the conquered who said.--With Krishna* in the front we will conquer.--And it was through Hari's grace that the three worlds were obtained by the gods headed by Sakra. I do not, therefore, behold the slightest cause of sorrow in thee, thee that hast the Sovereign of the Universe and the Lord himself of the celestials for wishing victory to thyself." [* The sense is that they, viz., the gods, who accepted Krishna's lead, or selected him for their leader, became victorious. The Bengal reading is evidently superior, viz., Anu Krishna literally "behind Krishna," i.e., "with Krishna in the front, or "with Krishna as a leader." The Bombay reading is Katham Krishna. If this were adopted, the meaning would be, "How O Krishna, shall we conquer?" I do not understand how victory should be theirs who answered in this way. Of course, the answer implies modesty. But modesty is not the sole requisite of victory, nor is modesty inculcated here as the chief means of victory.]

SECTION 22

Sanjaya said,--"Then, O bull of Bharata's race, king Yudhishthira, disposing his own troops in counter array against the divisions of Bhishma, urged them on, saying,--'The Pandavas have now disposed their forces in counter array agreeably to what is laid down (in the scriptures). Ye sinless ones, fight fairly, desirous of (entering) the highest heaven'.--In the centre (of the Pandava army) was Sikhandin and his troops, protected by Arjuna. And Dhristadyumna moved in the van, protected by Bhima. The southern division (of the Pandava army) was protected. O king, by that mighty bowman, the handsome Yuyudhana, that foremost combatant of the Satwata race, resembling Indra himself. Yudhisthira was stationed on a car that was worthy of bearing Mahendra himself, adorned with an excellent standard, variegated with gold and gems, and furnished with golden traces (for the steeds), in the midst of his elephant divisions. His pure white umbrella with ivory handle, raised over his head, looked exceedingly beautiful; and many great Rishis walked around the king uttering words in his praise. And many priests, and regenerate Rishis and Siddhas, uttering hymns in his praise wished him, as they walked around, the destructions of his enemies, by the aid of Japas, and Mantras, efficacious drugs, and diverse propitiatory ceremonies. That high-souled chief of the Kurus, then giving away unto the Brahmanas kine and fruits and flowers and golden coins along with cloths proceeded like Sakra, the chief of the celestials. The car of Arjuna, furnished with a hundred bells, decked with Jamvunada gold of the best kind, endued with excellent wheels, possessed of the effulgence of fire, and unto which were yoked white steeds, looked exceedingly brilliant like a thousand suns. [This is how I understand this verse, and I am supported by the Burdwan Pundits. Nilakantha, it seems, thinks that the car had a thousand wheels resembling a thousand suns.] And on that ape-bannered car the reins of which were held by Kesava, stood Arjuna with Gandiva and arrows in hand--a bowman whose peer exists not on earth, nor ever will. For crushing thy sons' troops he who assumeth the most awful form,--who, divested of weapons, with only his bare hands, poundeth to dust men, horses, and elephants,--that strong-armed Bhimasena, otherwise called Vrikodara, accompanied by the twins, became the protector of the heroic car-warriors (of the Pandava) army. Like unto a furious prince of lions of sportive gait, or like the great Indra himself with (earthly) body on the Earth, beholding that invincible Vrikodara, like unto a proud leader of an elephantine herd, stationed in the van (of the army), the warriors on thy side, their strength weakened by fear, began to tremble like elephants sunk in mire.

"Unto that invincible prince Gudakesa staying in the midst of his troops, Janardana, O chief of Bharata's race, said--He, who scorching us with his wrath, stayeth in the midst of his forces, he, who will attack our troops like a lion, he, who performed three hundred horse-sacrifices,--that banner of Kuru's race, that Bhishma,--stayeth yonder! Yon ranks around him on all sides great warriors like the clouds shrouding the bright luminary. O foremost of men, slaying yon troops, seek battle with yonder bull of Bharata's race."

SECTION 23

Sanjaya said,--"Beholding the Dhartarashtra army approach for fight, Krishna said these words for Arjuna's benefit."

"The holy one said,--'Cleansing thyself, O mighty-armed one, utter on the eve of the battle thy hymn to Durga for (compassing) the defeat of the foe."

Sanjaya continued.--Thus addressed on the eve of battle by Vasudeva endued with great intelligence, Pritha's son Arjuna, alighting from his car, said the following hymn with joined hands.

"Arjuna said,--'I bow to thee, O leader of Yogins, O thou that art identical with Brahman, O thou that dwellest in the forest of Mandara, O thou that art freed from decrepitude and decay, O Kali, O wife of Kapala, O thou that art of a black and tawny hue, I bow to thee. O bringer of benefits to thy devotees, I bow to thee, O Mahakali, O wife of the universal destroyer, I bow to thee. O proud one, O thou that rescuest from dangers, O thou that art endued with every auspicious attribute. O thou that art sprung from the Kata race, O thou that deservest the most regardful worship, O fierce one, O giver of victory, O victory's self, O thou that bearest a banner of peacock plumes, O thou that art decked with every ornament, O thou that bearest an awful spear, O thou that holdest a sword and shield, O thou that art the younger sister of the chief of cow-herds, O eldest one, O thou that wert born in the race of the cowherd Nanda! O thou that art always fond of buffalo's blood, O thou that wert born in the race of Kusika, O thou that art dressed in yellow robes, O thou that hadst devoured Asuras assuming the face of a wolf, I bow to thee that art fond of battle! O Uma, Sakambhari, O thou that art white in hue, O thou that art black in hue, O thou that hast slain the Asura Kaitabha, O thou that art yellow-eyed, O thou that art diverse-eyed, O thou of eyes that have the colour of smoke, I bow to thee. O thou that art the Vedas, the Srutis, and the highest virtue, O thou that art propitious to Brahmanas engaged in sacrifice, O thou that hast a knowledge of the past, thou that art ever present in the sacred abodes erected to thee in cities of Jamvudwipa, I bow to thee. Thou art the science of Brahma among sciences, and thou that art that sleep of creatures from which there is no waking. O mother of Skanda, O thou that possessest the six (highest) attributes, O Durga, O thou that dwellest in accessible

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regions, thou art described as Swaha, and Swadha*, as Kala, as Kashta, and as Saraswati, as Savitra the mother of the Vedas, and as the science of Vedanta. [* Both Swaha and Swadha are mantras of high efficacy. Kala and Kastha are divisions of time. Saraswati implies speech.] With inner soul cleansed, I praise thee. O great goddess, let victory always attend me through thy grace on the field of battle. In inaccessible regions, where there is fear, in places of difficulty, in the abodes of thy worshippers and in the nether regions (Patala), thou always dwellest. Thou always defeatest the Danavas. Thou art the unconsciousness, the sleep, the illusion, the modesty, the beauty of (all creatures). Thou art the twilight, thou art the day, thou art Savitri, and thou art the mother. Thou art contentment, thou art growth, thou art light. It is thou that supportest the Sun and the Moon and that makes them shine. Thou art the prosperity of those that are prosperous. The Siddhas and the Charanas behold thee in contemplation'."

Sanjaya continued,--Understanding (the measure of) Partha's devotion, Durga who is always graciously inclined towards mankind, appeared in the firmament and in the presence of Govinda, said these words. '"The goddess said,--'Within a short time thou shalt conquer thy foes, O Pandava. O invincible one, thou hast Narayana (again) for aiding thee. Thou art incapable of being defeated by foes, even by the wielder of the thunderbolt himself.'

'"Having said this, the boon-giving goddess disappeared soon. The son of Kunti, however, obtaining that boon, regarded himself as successful, and the son of Pritha then mounted his own excellent car. And then Krishna and Arjuna, seated on the same car, blew their celestial conches. The man that recites this hymn rising at dawn, hath no fear any time from Yakshas, Rakshasas, and Pisachas. He can have no enemies; he hath no fear, from snakes and all animals that have fangs and teeth, as also from kings. He is sure to be victorious in all disputes, and if bound, he is freed from his bonds. He is sure to get over all difficulties, is freed from thieves, is ever victorious in battle and winneth the goddess of prosperity for ever. With health and strength, he liveth for a hundred years. "I have known all this through the grace of Vyasa endued with great wisdom. Thy wicked sons, however, all entangled in the meshes of death, do not, from ignorance, know them to be Nara and Narayana. Nor do they, entangled in the meshes of death, know that the hour of this kingdom hath arrived. Dwaipayana and Narada, and Kanwa, and the sinless Rama, had all prevented thy son. But he did not accept their words. There where righteousness is, there are glory and beauty. There where modesty is, there are prosperity and intelligence. There where righteousness is, there is Krishna; and there where Krishna is, there is victory."

SECTION 24

Dhritarashtra said,--"There (on the field of battle) O Sanjaya, the warriors of which side first advanced to battle cheerfully? Whose hearts were filled with confidence, and who were spiritless from melancholy? In that battle which maketh the hearts of men tremble with fear, who were they that struck the first blow, mine or they belonging to the Pandavas? Tell me all this, O Sanjaya. Among whose troops did the flowery garlands and unguents emit fragrant odours? And whose troops, roaring fiercely, uttered merciful words?"

Sanjaya said,--"The combatants of both armies were cheerful then and the flowery garlands and perfumes of both troops emitted equal fragrance. And, O bull of Bharata's race, fierce was the collision that took place when the serried ranks arrayed for battle encountered each other. And the sound of musical instruments, mingled with the blare of conches and the noise of drums, and the shouts of brave warriors roaring fiercely at one another, became very loud. O bull of Bharata's race, dreadful was the collision caused by the encounter of the combatants of both armies, filled with joy and staring at one another, and the elephants uttering obstreperous grunts."

SECTION 25

(Bhagavad Gita, Chapter 1)

Dhritarashtra said,--"Assembled together on the sacred plain of Kurukshetra from desire of fighting what did my sons and the Pandavas do. O Sanjaya."

"Sanjaya said,--"Beholding the army of the Pandavas arrayed, king Duryodhana, approaching the preceptor (Drona) said these words: Behold, O preceptor, this vast army of the son of Pandu, arrayed by Drupada's son (Dhrishtadyumna), thy intelligent disciple. There (in that army) are many brave and mighty bowmen, who in battle are equal to Bhima and Arjuna. (They are) Yuyudhana, and Virata, and that mighty car-warrior Drupada, and Dhrishtaketu, and Chekitana, and the ruler of Kasi endued with great energy; and Purujit, and Kuntibhoja, and Saivya that bull among men; and Yudhamanyu of great prowess, and Uttamaujas of great energy; and Subhadra's son, and the sons of Draupadi, all of whom are mighty car-warriors. Hear, however, O best of regenerate ones, who are the distinguished ones among us, the leader of army. I will name them to thee for (thy) information. (They are) thyself, and Bhishma, and Karna, and Kripa who is ever victorious; and Aswatthaman and Vikarna, and Saumadatta, and Jayadratha. [The text of the Gita has come down to us without, it may be ventured to be stated, any interpolation. The difference of reading are few and far between. For Jayadratha some texts read tathaivacha.] Besides these, are many heroic warriors, prepared to lay down their lives for my sake, armed with diverse kinds of weapons, and all accomplished in battle. Our army, therefore, protected by Bhishma, is insufficient. This force, however, of these (the Pandavas), protected by Bhima, is sufficient. Stationing yourselves then in the entrances of the divisions that have been assigned to you, all of you protect Bhishma alone.--(Just at this time) the valiant and venerable grandsire of the Kurus, affording great joy to him (Duryodhana) by loudly uttering a leonine roar, blew (his) conch. Then conches and drums and cymbals and horns were sounded at once and the noise (made) became a loud uproar. Then Madhava and Pandu's son (Arjuna), both stationed on a great car unto which were yoked white steeds, blew their celestial conches. And Hrishikesha blew (the conch called) Panchajanya and Dhananjaya (that called) Devadatta; and Vrikodara of terrible deeds blew the huge conch (called) Paundra. And Kunti's son king Yudhishthira blew (the conch called) Anantavijaya; while Nakula and Sahadeva, (those conches called respectively) Sughosa and Manipushpaka. And that splendid bowman, the ruler of Kasi and that mighty car-warrior, Sikhandin, Dhrishtadyumna, Virata, and that unvanquished Satyaki, and Drupada, and the sons of Draupadi, and the mighty-armed son of Subhadra--all these, O lord of earth, severally blew their conches. And that blare, loudly reverberating through the welkin, and the earth, rent the hearts of the Dhartarashtras. Then beholding the Dhartarashtra troops drawn up, the ape-bannered son of Pandu, rising his bow, when, the throwing of missiles had just commenced, said these words, O lord of earth, to Hrishikesha.

"Arjuna said,--'O thou that knoweth no deterioration, place my car (once) between the two armies, so that I may observe these that stand here desirous of battle, and with whom I shall have to contend in the labours of this struggle. I will observe those who are assembled here and who are prepared to fight for doing what is agreeable in battle to the evil-minded son of Dhritarashtra.'"

Sanjaya continued,---'Thus addressed by Gudakesa, O Bharata, Hrishikesa, placing that excellent car between the two armies, in view of Bhishma and Drona and all the kings of the earth, said,--'Behold, O Partha these assembled Kurus,--And there the son of Pritha beheld, standing (his) sires and grandsons, and friends, and father-in-law and well-wishers, in both the armies. Beholding all those kinsmen standing (there), the son of Kunti, possessed by excessive pity, despondingly said (these words).

"Arjuna said,--'Beholding these kinsmen, O Krishna, assembled together and eager for the fight, my limbs, become languid, and my mouth becomes dry. My body trembles, and my hair stands on end. Gandiva slips from my hand, and my skin burns. I am unable to stand (any longer); my mind seems to wander. I behold adverse omens, too, O Kesava. I do not desire victory, O Krishna, not sovereignty, nor pleasures. Of what use would sovereignty be to us, O Govinda, or enjoyments, or even life, since they, for whose sake sovereignty, enjoyments, and pleasures are desired by us, are here arrayed for battle ready to give up life and wealth, viz., preceptors, sires, sons and grandsires, maternal uncles, father-in-laws, grandsons, brother-in-laws, and kinsmen. I wish not to slay these though they slay me, O slayer of Madhu, even for the sake of the sovereignty of the three worlds, what then for the sake of (this) earth? [The meaning is that even for the sake of such a rich reward in prospect I would not kill persons so dear and near to me. I would much rather suffer them strike me, myself not returning their blows.] What gratification can be ours, O Janardana, by slaying the Dhartarashtras? Even if they be regarded as foes, sin will overtake us if we slay them. Therefore, it behoveth us not to slay the sons of Dhritarashtra who are our own kinsmen. How, O Madhava can we be happy by killing our own kinsmen? Even if these, with judgements perverted by avarice, do not see the evil that ariseth from the extermination of a race, and the sin of internecine quarrels, why should not we, O Janarddana, who see the evils of the extermination of a race, learn to abstain from that sin? A race being destroyed, the eternal customs of that race are lost; and upon those customs being lost, sin overpowers the whole race. From the predominance of sin, O Krishna, the women of that race become corrupt. And the women becoming corrupt, an intermingling of castes happeneth, O descendant of Vrishni. This intermingling of castes leadeth to hell both the destroyer of the race and the race itself. The ancestors of those fall (from heaven), their rites of pinda and water ceasing. By these sins of destroyers of races, causing intermixture of castes, the rules of caste and the eternal rites of families become extinct. We have heard, O Janarddana, that men whose family rites become extinct, ever dwell in hell. Alas, we have resolved to perpetrate a great sin, for we are ready to slay our own kinsmen from lust of the sweets of sovereignty. Better would it be for me if the sons of Dhritarashtra, weapon in hand, should in battle slay me (myself) unavenging unarmed.--'"

Sanjaya continued,--"Having spoken thus on the field of battle, Arjuna, his mind troubled with grief, casting aside his bow and arrows, sat down on his car."

[Here ends the first lesson entitled "Survey of Forces" 1 in the dialogue between Krishna and Arjuna of the Bhagavadgita, the essence of religion, the knowledge of Brahma, and the system of Yoga, comprised within the Bhishma Parva of the Mahabharata of Vyasa containing one hundred thousand verses.]

SECTION 26

(Bhagavad Gita, Chapter 2)

Sanjaya said,--"Unto him thus possessed with pity, his eyes filled and oppressed with tears, and desponding, the slayer of Madhu said these words."

The Holy One said,--"Whence, O Arjuna, hath come upon thee, at such a crisis, this despondency that is unbecoming a person of noble birth, that shuts one out from heaven, and that is productive of infamy? Let no effeminacy be thine, O son of Kunti. This suits thee not. Shaking off this vile weakness of hearts, arise, O chastiser of foes.--"

Arjuna said,--"How, O slayer of Madhu, can I with arrows contend in battle against Bhishma and Drona, deserving as they are. O slayer of foes, of worship? 1 Without slaying (one's) preceptors of great glory, it is well (for one), to live on even alms in this world. By slaying preceptors, even if they are avaricious of wealth, I should only enjoy pleasures that are bloodstained! We know not which of the two is of greater moment to us, viz., whether we should conquer them or they should conquer us. By slaying whom we would not like to live,--even they, the sons of Dhritarashtra, stand before (us). My nature affected by the taint of compassion, my mind unsettled about (my) duty, I ask thee. Tell me what is assuredly good (for me). I am thy disciple. O, instruct me, I seek thy aid. I do not see (that) which would dispel that grief of mine blasting my very senses, even if I obtain a prosperous kingdom on earth without a foe or the very sovereignty of the gods'."

Sanjaya said,--Having said this unto Hrishikesa, that chastiser of foes-Gudakesa--(once more) addressed Govinda, saying,--'I will not fight,'--and then remained silent. Unto him overcome by despondency, Hrishikesa, in the midst of the two armies, said.

"The Holy One said,--'Thou mournest those that deserve not to be mourned. Thou speakest also the words of the (so-called) wise. Those, however, that are (really) wise, grieve neither for the dead nor for the living. It is not that, I or you or those rulers of men never were, or that all of us shall not hereafter be. Of an Embodied being, as childhood, youth, and, decrepitude are in this body, so (also) is the acquisition of another body. The man, who is wise, is never deluded in this. The contacts of the senses with their (respective) objects producing (sensations of) heat and cold, pleasure and pain, are not permanent, having (as they do) a beginning and an end. Do thou. O Bharata, endure them. For the man whom these afflict not, O bull among men, who is the same in pain and pleasure and who is firm in mind, is fit for emancipation. There is no (objective) existence of anything that is distinct from the soul; nor non-existence of anything possessing the virtues of the soul. This conclusion in respect of both these hath been arrived at by those that know the truths (of things). Know that [the soul] to be immortal by which all this [universe] is pervaded. No one can compass the destruction of that which is imperishable. It hath been said that those bodies of the Embodied (soul) which is eternal, indestructible and infinite, have an end. Do thou, therefore, fight, O Bharata. He who thinks it (the soul) to be the slayer and he who thinks it to be the slain, both of them know nothing; for it neither slays nor is slain. It is never born, nor doth it ever die; nor, having existed, will it exist no more. Unborn, unchangeable, eternal, and ancient, it is not slain upon the body being perished. That man who knoweth it to be indestructible, unchangeable, without decay, how and whom can he slay or cause to be slain? As a man, casting off robes that are worn out, putteth on others that are new, so the Embodied (soul), casting off bodies that are worn out, entereth other bodies that are new. Weapons cleave it not, fire consumeth it not; the waters do not drench it, nor doth the wind waste it. It is incapable of being cut, burnt, drenched, or dried up. It is unchangeable, all-pervading, stable, firm, and eternal. It is said to be imperceivable, inconceivable and unchangeable. Therefore, knowing it to be such, it behoveth thee not to mourn (for it). Then again even if thou regardest it as constantly born and constantly dead, it behoveth thee not yet, O mighty-armed one, to mourn (for it) thus. For, of one that is born, death is certain; and of one that is dead, birth is certain. Therefore. it behoveth thee not to mourn in a matter that is unavoidable. All beings (before birth) were unmanifest. Only during an interval (between birth and death), O Bharata, are they manifest; and then again, when death comes, they become (once more) unmanifest. What grief then is there in this? One looks upon it as a marvel; another speaks of it as a

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marvel. Yet even after having heard of it, no one apprehends it truly. The Embodied (soul), O Bharata, is ever indestructible in everyone's body. Therefore, it behoveth thee not to grieve for all (those) creatures. Casting thy eyes on the (prescribed) duties of thy order, it behoveth thee not to waver, for there is nothing else that is better for a Kshatriya than a battle fought fairly. Arrived of itself and (like unto) an open gate of heaven, happy are those Kshatriyas, O Partha, that obtain such a fight. But if thou dost not fight such a just battle, thou shalt then incur sin by abandoning the duties of thy order and thy fame. People will then proclaim thy eternal infamy, and to one that is held in respect, infamy is greater (as an evil) than death itself. All great car-warriors will regard thee as abstaining from battle from fear, and thou wilt be thought lightly by those that had (hitherto) esteemed thee highly. Thy enemies, decrying thy prowess, will say many words which should not be said. What can be more painful than that? Slain, thou wilt attain to heaven; or victorious, thou wilt enjoy the Earth. Therefore, arise, O son of Kunti, resolved for battle. Regarding pleasure and pain, gain and loss, victory and defeat, as equal, do battle for battle's sake and sin will not be thine. This knowledge, that hath been communicated to thee is (taught) in the Sankhya (system). Listen now to that (inculcated) in Yoga (system). Possessed of that knowledge, thou, O Partha, wilt cast off the bonds of action. In this (the Yoga system) there is no waste of even the first attempt. There are no impediments. Even a little of this (form of) piety delivers from great fear. Here in this path, O son of Kuru, there is only one state of mind, consisting in firm devotion (to one object, viz., securing emancipation). The minds of those, however, that are not firmly devoted (to this), are many-branched (un-settled) and attached to endless pursuits. That flowery talk which, they that are ignorant, they that delight in the words of the Vedas, they, O Partha, that say that there is nothing else, they whose minds are attached to worldly pleasures, they that regard (a) heaven (of pleasures and enjoyments) as the highest object of acquisition,--utter and promises birth as the fruit of action and concerns itself with multifarious rites of specific characters for the attainment of pleasures and power,--delude their hearts and the minds of these men who are attached to pleasures and power cannot be directed to contemplation (of the divine being) regarding it as the sole means of emancipation. The Vedas are concerned with three qualities, (viz., religion, profit, and pleasure). Be thou, O Arjuna, free from them, unaffected by pairs of contraries (such as pleasure and pain, heat and cold, etc.), ever adhering to patience without anxiety for new acquisitions or protection of those already acquired, and self-possessed, whatever objects are served by a tank or well, may all be served by a vast sheet of water extending all around; so whatever objects may be served by all the Vedas, may all be had by a Brahmana having knowledge (of self or Brahma). Thy concern is with work only, but not with the fruit (of work). Let not the fruit be thy motive for work; nor let thy inclination be for inaction. Staying in devotion, apply thyself to work, casting off attachment (to it), O Dhananjaya, and being the same in success or unsuccess. This equanimity is called Yoga (devotion). Work (with desire of fruit) is far inferior to devotion, O Dhananjaya. Seek thou the protection of devotion. They that work for the sake of fruit are miserable. He also that hath devotion throws off, even in this world, both good actions and bad actions. Therefore, apply thyself to devotion. Devotion is only cleverness in action. The wise, possessed of devotion, cast off the fruit born of action, and freed from the obligation of (repeated) birth, attain to that region where there is no unhappiness. When thy mind shall have crossed the maze of delusion, then shalt thou attain to an indifference as regards the hearable and the heard. When thy mind, distracted (now) by what thou hast heard (about the means of acquiring the diverse objects of life), will be firmly and immovably fixed on contemplation, then wilt thou attain to devotion.'

"Arjuna said,--What, O Kesava, are the indications of one whose mind is fixed on contemplation? How should one of steady mind speak, how sit, how move?"

"The Holy One said,--'When one casts off all the desires of his heart and is pleased within (his) self with self, then is one said to be of steady mind. He whose mind is not agitated amid calamities, whose craving for pleasure is gone, who is freed from attachment (to worldly objects), fear and wrath, is said to be a Muni of steady mind. His is steadiness of mind who is without affection everywhere, and who feeleth no exultation and no aversion on obtaining diverse objects that are agreeable and disagreeable. When one withdraws his senses from the objects of (those) senses as the tortoise its limbs from all sides, even his is steadiness of mind. Objects of senses fall back from an abstinent person, but not so the passion (for those objects). Even the passion recedes from one who has beheld the Supreme (being). The agitating senses, O son of Kunti, forcibly draw away the mind of even a wise man striving hard to keep himself aloof from them. Restraining them all, one should stay in contemplation, making me his sole refuge. For his is steadiness of mind whose senses are under control. Thinking of the objects of sense, a person's attachment is begotten towards them. From attachment springeth wrath; from wrath ariseth want of discrimination; from want of discrimination, loss of memory; from loss of memory, loss of understanding; and from loss of understanding (he) is utterly ruined. But the self-restrained man, enjoying objects (of sense) with senses freed from attachment and aversion under his own control, attaineth to peace (of mind). On peace (of mind) being attained, the annihilation of all his miseries taketh place, since the mind of him whose heart is peaceful soon becometh steady. He who is not self-restrained hath no contemplation (of self). He who hath no contemplation hath no peace (of mind). Whence can there be happiness for him who hath no peace (of mind)? For the heart that follows in the wake of the sense moving (among their objects) destroys his understanding like the wind destroying a boat in the waters. Therefore, O thou of mighty arms, his is steadiness of mind whose senses are restrained on all sides from the objects of sense. The restrained man is awake when it is night for all creatures; and when other creatures are awake that is night to a discerning Muni. He into whom all objects of desire enter, even as the waters enter the ocean which (though) constantly replenished still maintains its water-mark unchanged--(he) obtains peace (of mind) and not one that longeth for objects of desire. That man who moveth about, giving up all objects of desire, who is free from craving (for enjoyments) and who hath no affection and no pride, attaineth to peace (of mind). This, O Partha, is the divine state. Attaining to it, one is never deluded. Abiding in it one obtains, on death, absorption into the Supreme Self.'

SECTION 27

(Bhagavad Gita, Chapter 3)

"Arjuna said,--'If devotion, O Janardana, is regarded by thee as superior to work, why then, O Kesava, dost thou engage me in such dreadful work? By equivocal words thou seemest to confound my understanding. Therefore, tell (me) one thing definitely by which I may attain to what is good.'

"The Holy One said,--'It hath already been said by me, O sinless one, that here are, in this world, two kinds of devotion; that of the Sankhyas through knowledge and that of the yogins through work. A man doth not acquire freedom from work from (only) the non-performance of work. Nor doth he acquire final emancipation from only renunciation (of work). No one can abide even for a moment without doing work. 1 That man of deluded soul who, curbing the organs of sense, liveth mentally cherishing the objects of sense, is said to be a dissembler. He however, O Arjuna, who restraining (his) senses by his mind, engageth in devotion (in the form) of work with the organs of work, and is free from attachment, is distinguished (above all). (Therefore), do thou always apply yourself to work, for action is better than inaction. Even the support of thy body cannot be accomplished without work. 2 This world is fettered by all work other than that which is (performed) for Sacrifice. (Therefore), O son of Kunti, perform work for the sake of that, freed from attachment. 3 In olden times, the Lord of Creation, creating men and sacrifice together, said,--flourish by means of this (Sacrifice). Let this (Sacrifice) be to you (all) the dispenser of all objects cherished by you. Rear the gods with this, and let the gods (in return) rear you. Thus fulfilling the mutual interest you will obtain that which is beneficial (to you). 4 Propitiated with sacrifices the gods will bestow on you the pleasures you desire. He who enjoyeth (himself) without giving them what they have given, is assuredly a thief. The good who eat the remnant of sacrifices are freed from all sins. Those unrighteous ones incur sin who dress food for their own sake.--From food are all creatures; and sacrifice is the outcome of work. Know that work proceeds from the Vedas; Vedas have proceeded from Him who hath no decay. Therefore, the all-pervading Supreme Being is installed in sacrifice. He who conformeth not to this wheel that is thus revolving, that man of sinful life delighting (the indulgence of) his senses, liveth in vain, O Partha. The man, however, that is attached to self only, that is contented with self, and that is pleased in his self,--hath no work (to do). He hath no concern whatever with action nor with any omission here. Nor, amongst all creatures, is there any upon whom his interest dependeth. Therefore, always do work that should be done, without attachment. The man who performeth work without attachment, attaineth to the Supreme. By work alone, Janaka and others, attained the accomplishment of their objects. Having regard also to the observance by men of their duties, it behoveth thee to work. Whatever a great man doth, is also done by vulgar people. Ordinary men follow the ideal set by them (the great). There is nothing whatever for me, O Partha, to do in the three worlds, (since I have) nothing for me which hath not been acquired; still I engage in action. Because if at any time I do not, without sloth, engage in action, men would follow my path, O Partha, on all sides. The worlds would perish if I did not perform work, and I should cause intermixture of castes and ruin these people. As the ignorant work, O Bharata, having attachment to the performer, so should a wise man work without being attached, desiring to make men observant of their duties. A wise man should not cause confusion of understanding amongst ignorant persons, who have attachment to work itself; (on the other hand) he should (himself) acting with devotion engage them to all (kinds of) work. All works are, in every way, done by the qualities of nature. He, whose mind is deluded by egoism, however, regards himself as the actor. But he, O mighty-armed one, who knoweth the distinction (of self) from qualities and work, is not attached to work, considering that it is his senses alone (and not his self) that engage in their objects. Those who are deluded by the qualities of nature, become attached to the works done by the qualities. A person of perfect knowledge should not bewilder those men of imperfect knowledge. Devoting all work to me, with (thy) mind directed to self, engage in battle, without desire, without affection and with thy (heart's) weakness dispelled. Those men who always follow this opinion of mine with faith and without cavil attain to final emancipation even by work. But they who cavil at and do not follow this opinion of mine, know, that, bereft of all knowledge and without discrimination, they are ruined. Even a wise man acts according to his own nature. All living beings follow (their own) nature. What then would restraint avail? The senses have, as regards the objects of the senses, either affection or aversion fixed. One should not submit to these, for they are obstacles in one's way. One's own duty, even if imperfectly performed, is better than being done by other even if well performed. Death in (performance of) one's own duty is preferable. (The adoption of) the duty of another carries fear (with it).

"Arjuna said, 'Impelled by whom, O son of the Vrishni race, doth a man commit sin, even though unwilling and as if constrained by force'?

"The Holy One said,--'It is desire, it is wrath, born of the attribute of passion; it is all devouring, it is very sinful. Know this to be the foe in this world. [Desire, if not gratified, results in wrath. Thus say the commentators.] As fire is enveloped by smoke, a mirror by dust, the foetus by the womb, so is this enveloped by desire. Knowledge, O son of Kunti, is enveloped by this constant foe of the wise in the form of desire which is insatiable and like a fire. The senses, the mind and the understanding are said to be its abode. With these it deludeth the embodied self, enveloping (his) knowledge. Therefore, restraining (thy) senses first, O bull of Bharata's race, cast off this wicked thing, for it destroyeth knowledge derived from instruction and meditation. It hath been said that the senses are superior (to the body which is inert). Superior to the senses is the mind. Superior to the mind is the knowledge. But which is superior to knowledge is He. [He is the Supreme Soul or Being.] Thus knowing that which is superior to knowledge and restraining (thy) self by self, slay, O mighty-armed one, the enemy in the shape of desire which is difficult to conquer.'"

SECTION 28

(Bhagavad Gita, Chapter 4)

"The Holy One said,--'This imperishable (system of) devotion I declared to Vivaswat: Vivaswat declared it to Manu; and Manu communicated it to Ikshaku. Descending thus from generation, the Royal sages came to know it. But, O chastiser of foes, by (lapse of a) long time that devotion became lost to the world. Even the same (system of) devotion hath today been declared by me to thee, for thou art my devotee and friend, (and) this is a great mystery.'

"Arjuna said,--'Thy birth is posterior; Vivaswat's birth is prior. How shall I understand then that thou hadst first declared (it)?'

"The Holy One said,--'Many births of mine have passed away, O Arjuna, as also of thine. These all I know, but thou dost not, O chastiser of foes. Though (I am) unborn and of essence that knoweth no deterioration, though (I am) the lord of all creatures, still, relying on my own (material) nature I take birth by my own (powers) of illusion. Whenever, O Bharata, loss of piety and the rise of impiety occurreth, on those occasions do I create myself. For the protection of the righteous and for the destruction of the evil doers, for the sake of establishing Piety, I am born age after age. He who truly knoweth my divine birth and work to be such, casting off (his body) is not born again; (on the other hand) he cometh to me, O Arjuna. Many who have been freed from attachment, fear, wrath, who were full of me, and who relied on me, have, cleansed by knowledge and asceticism, attained to my essence. In whatsoever manner men come to me, in the selfsame manner do I accept them. It is my way, O Partha, that men follow on all sides. Those in this world who are desirous of the success of action worship the gods, for in this world of men success resulting from action is soon attained. The quadruple division of castes was created by me according to the distinction of qualities and duties. Though I am the author thereof, (yet) know me to be not their author and undecaying. [i.e., both inactive and undecaying. Work implies exertion, and, therefore, loss of energy. In me there is no action, no loss of energy and therefore, no decay.] Actions do not touch me. I have no longing for the fruits of actions. He that knoweth me thus is not impeded by actions. Knowing this, even men of old

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who were desirous of emancipation performed work. Therefore, do thou also perform work as was done by ancients of the remote past. What is action and what is inaction,--even the learned are perplexed at this. Therefore, I will tell thee about action (so that) knowing it thou mayst be freed from evil. One should have knowledge of action, and one should have knowledge of forbidden actions: one should also know of inaction. The course of action is incomprehensible. He, who sees inaction in action and action in inaction, is wise among men; he is possessed of devotion; and he is a doer of all actions. The learned call him wise whose efforts are all free from desire (of fruit) and (consequent) will, and whose actions have all been consumed by the fire of knowledge. Whoever, resigning all attachment to the fruit of action, is ever contented and is dependent on none, doth nought, indeed, although engaged in action. He who, without desire, with mind and the senses under control, and casting off all concerns, performeth action only for the preservation of the body, incurreth no sin. He who is contented with what is earned without exertion, who hath risen superior to the pairs of opposites, who is without jealousy, who is equable in success and failure, is not fettered (by action) even though he works. All his actions perish who acts for the sake of sacrifice, who is without affections, who is free (from attachments), and whose mind is fixed upon knowledge. Brahma is the vessel (with which the libation is poured); Brahma is the libation (that is offered); Brahma is the fire on which by Brahma is poured (the libation); Brahma is the goal to which he proceedeth by fixing his mind on Brahma itself which is the action. Some devotees perform sacrifice to the gods. Others, by means of sacrifice, offer up sacrifices to the fire of Brahma. [I.e., offering up sacrifice itself as a sacrifice to the Brahma fire, they cast off all action.] Others offer up (as sacrificial libation) the senses of which hearing is the first to the fire of restraint. Others (again) offer up (as libations) the objects of sense of which sound is the first to the fire of the senses. Others (again) offer up all the functions of the senses and the functions of the vital winds to the fire of devotion by self-restraint kindled by knowledge. Others again perform the sacrifice of wealth, the sacrifice of ascetic austerities, the sacrifice of meditation, the sacrifice of (Vedic) study, the sacrifice of knowledge, and others are ascetics of rigid vows. Some offer up the upward vital wind (Prana) to the downward vital wind (apana); and others, the downward vital wind to the upward vital wind; some, arresting the course of (both) the upward and the downward vital winds, are devoted to the restraint of the vital winds. Others of restricted rations, offer the vital winds to the vital winds. Even all these who are conversant with sacrifice, whose sins have been consumed by sacrifice, and who eat the remnants of sacrifice which are amrita, attain to the eternal Brahma. (Even) this world is not for him who doth not perform sacrifice. Whence then the other, O best of Kuru's race? Thus diverse are the sacrifices occurring in the Vedas. Know that all of them result from action, and knowing this thou wilt be emancipated. The sacrifice of knowledge, O chastiser of foes, is superior to every sacrifice involving (the attainment of) fruits of action, for all action, O Partha, is wholly comprehended in knowledge. Learn that (Knowledge) by prostration, enquiry, and service. They who are possessed of knowledge and can see the truth, will teach thee that knowledge, knowing which, O son of Pandu, thou wilt not again come by such delusion, and by which thou wilt see the endless creatures (of the universe) in thyself (first) and then in me. Even if thou be the greatest sinner among all that are sinful, thou shalt yet cross over all transgressions by the raft of knowledge. As a blazing fire, O Arjuna, reduceth fuel to ashes, so doth the fire of knowledge reduce all actions to ashes. For there is nothing here that is so cleansing as knowledge. One who hath attained to success by devotion finds it without effort within his own self in time. He obtaineth knowledge, who hath faith and is intent on it and who hath his senses under control; obtaining knowledge one findeth the highest tranquillity in no length of time. One who hath no knowledge and no faith, and whose minds is full of doubt, is lost. Neither this world, nor the next, nor happiness, is for him whose mind is full of doubt. Actions do not fetter him, O Dhananjaya, who hath cast off action by devotion, whose doubts have been dispelled by knowledge, and who is self-restrained. Therefore, destroying, by the sword of knowledge, this doubt of thine that is born of ignorance and that dwelleth in thy mind, betake to devotion, (and) arise, O son of Bharata.'

SECTION 29

(Bhagavad Gita, Chapter 5)

"Arjuna said,--'Thou applaudest, O Krishna, the abandonment of actions, and again the application (to them). Tell me definitely which one of these two is superior.

"The Holy One said--'Both abandonment of actions and application to actions lead to emancipation. But of these, application to action is superior to abandonment. He should always be known to be an ascetic who hath no aversion nor desire. For, being free from pairs of opposites, O thou of mighty arms, he is easily released from the bonds (of action). Fools say, but not those that are wise, that Sankhya and Yoga are distinct. One who stayeth in even one (of the two) reapeth the fruit of both. Whatever seat is attained by those who profess the Sankhya system, that too is reached by those who profess the Yoga. He seeth truly who seeth Sankhya and Yoga as one. But renunciation, O mighty-armed one, without devotion (to action), is difficult to attain. The ascetic who is engaged in devotion (by action) reacheth the Supreme Being without delay. He who is engaged in devotion (by action) and is of pure soul, who hath conquered his body and subdued his senses, and who indentifieth himself with all creatures, is not fettered though performing (action). The man of devotion, who knoweth truth, thinking--I am doing nothing--When seeing, hearing, touching, smelling, eating, moving, sleeping, breathing, talking, excreting, taking, opening the eyelids or closing them; he regardeth that it is the senses that are engaged in the objects of senses. He who renouncing attachment engageth in actions, resigning them to Brahma, is not touched by sin as the lotus-leaf (is not touched) by water. Those who are devotees, casting off attachment, perform actions (attaining) purity of self, with the body, the mind, the understanding, and even the senses (free from desire). He who is possessed of devotion, renouncing the fruit of action, attaineth to the highest tranquillity. He, who is not possessed of devotion and is attached to the fruit of action, is fettered by action performed from desire. The self-restrained embodied (self), renouncing all actions by the mind, remains at ease within the house of nine gates, neither acting himself nor causing (anything) to act. The Lord is not the cause of the capacity for action, or of the actions of men, or of the connexion of actions and (their) fruit. It is nature that engages (in action). The Lord receiveth no one's sin, nor also merit. By ignorance, knowledge is shrouded. It is for this that creatures are deluded. But of whomsoever that ignorance hath been destroyed by knowledge of self, that knowledge (which is) like the Sun discloseth the Supreme Being. Those whose mind is on Him, whose very soul is He, who abide in Him, and who have Him for their goal, depart never more to return, their sins being all destroyed by knowledge. Those, who are wise cast an equal eye on a Brahmana endued with learning and modesty, on a cow, an elephant, a dog, and a chandala. Even here has birth been conquered by them whose minds rest on equality; and since Brahma is faultless and equable, therefore, they (are said to) abide in Brahma. He whose mind is steady, who is not deluded, who knows Brahma, and who rests in Brahma, doth not exult on obtaining anything that is agreeable, nor doth he grieve on obtaining that is disagreeable. He whose mind is not attached to external objects of sense, obtaineth that happiness which is in self; and by concentrating his mind on the contemplation of Brahma, he enjoyeth a happiness that is imperishable. The enjoyments born of the contact (of the senses with their objects) are productive of sorrow. He who is wise, O son of Kunti, never taketh pleasure in these that have a beginning and an end. That man whoever here, before the dissolution of the body, is able to endure the agitations resulting from desire and wrath, is fixed on contemplation, and is happy. He who findeth happiness within himself, (and) who sporteth within himself, he whose light (of knowledge) is deprived from within himself, is a devotee, and becoming one with Brahma attaineth to absorption into Brahma. Those saintly personages whose sins have been destroyed, whose doubts have been dispelled, who are self-restrained, and who are engaged in the good of all creatures, obtain absorption into Brahma. For these devotees who are freed from desire and wrath, whose minds are under control, and who have knowledge of self, absorption into Brahma exists both here and thereafter. Excluding (from his mind) all external objects of sense, directing the visual glance between the brows, mingling (into one) the upward and the downward life-breaths and making them pass through the nostrils, the devotee, who has restrained the senses, the mind, and the understanding, being intent on emancipation, and who is freed from desire, fear, and wrath, is emancipated, indeed. Knowing me to be enjoyer of all sacrifices and ascetic austerities, the great Lord of all the worlds, and friend of all creatures, such a one obtaineth tranquillity.'

SECTION 30

(Bhagavad Gita, Chapter 6)

"The Holy One said,--'Regardless of fruit of action, he that performs the actions which should be performed, is a renouncer and devotee, and not one who discards the (sacrificial) fire, nor one that abstains from action. That which has been called renunciation, know that, O son of Pandu, to be devotion, since nobody can be a devotee who has not renounced (all) resolves. To the sage desirous of rising to devotion, action is said to be the means; and when he has risen to devotion, cessation of action is said to be the means. When one is no longer attached to the objects of the senses, nor to actions, and when one renounces all resolves, then is. One said to have risen to devotion. One should raise (his) self by self; one should not degrade (his) self; for one's own self is one's friend, and one's own self is one's enemy. To him (only) who has subjugated his self by his self is self a friend. But to him who has not subjugated his self, his self behaves inimically like an enemy. The soul of one who has subjugated his self and who is in the enjoyment of tranquillity, is steadily fixed (on itself) amid cold and heat, pleasure and pain, and also honour and dishonour. That ascetic is said to be devoted whose mind is satisfied with knowledge and experience, who hath no affection, who hath subjugated his senses, and to whom a sod, a stone and gold are alike. He, who views equally well-wishers, friends, foes, strangers that are indifferent to him, those who take part with both sides, those who are objects of aversion, those who are related (to him), those who are good, and those who are wicked, is distinguished (above all others). A devotee should always fix his mind on contemplation, remaining in a secluded place alone, restraining both mind and body, without expectations (of any kind), and without concern (with anything). Erecting his seat immovably on a clean spot, not too high nor too low, and spreading over it a piece of cloth, a deer-skin, or blades of Kusa grass, and there seated on that seat, with mind fixed on one object, and restraining the functions of the heart and the senses, one should practise contemplation for the purification of self. Holding body, head, and neck even, unmoved and steady, and casting his glance on the tip of his nose, and without looking about in any of the different directions, with mind in tranquillity, freed from fear, observant of the practices of Brahmacharins, restraining the mind, with heart fixed on me, the devotee should sit down, regarding me as the object of his attainment. Thus applying his soul constantly, the devotee whose heart is restrained, attains to that tranquillity which culminates in final absorption and assimilation with me. Devotion is not one's, O Arjuna, who eateth much, nor one's who doth not eat at all; nor one's who is addicted to too much sleep, nor one's who is always awake, devotion that is destructive of misery is his who is temperate in food and amusements, who duly exerts himself temperately in all his works, and who is temperate in sleep and vigils. When one's heart, properly restrained, is fixed on one's own self, then, indifferent to all objects of desire, he is one called a devotee. As a lamp in a windless spot doth not flicker, even that is the resemblance declared of a devotee whose heart hath been restrained and who applieth his self to abstraction. That (condition) in which the mind, restrained by practice of abstraction, taketh rest, in which beholding self by self, one is gratified within self; in which one experienceth that highest felicity which is beyond the (sphere of the) senses and which the understanding (only) can grasp, and fixed on which one never swerveth from the truth; acquiring which one regards no other acquisition greater than it, and abiding in which one is never moved by even the heaviest sorrow; that (Condition) should be known to be what is called devotion in which there is a severance of connexion with pain. That devotion should be practised with perseverance and with an undesponding heart. Renouncing all desires without exception that are born of resolves, restraining the group of the senses on all sides by mind alone, one should, by slow degrees, become quiescent (aided) by (his) understanding controlled by patience, and then directing his mind to self should think of nothing. Wheresoever the mind, which is (by nature) restless and unsteady, may run, restraining it from those, one should direct it to self alone. Indeed, unto such a devotee whose mind is in tranquillity, whose passions have been suppressed, who hath become one with Brahma and who is free from sin, the highest felicity cometh (of his own accord). Thus applying his soul constantly (to abstraction), the devotee, freed from sin, easily obtaineth that highest happiness, viz., with Brahma. He who hath devoted his self to abstraction casting an equal eye everywhere, beholdeth his self in all creatures and all creatures in his self. Unto him who beholdeth me in everything and beholdeth everything in me. I am never lost and he also is never lost to me. He who worshippeth me as abiding in all creatures, holding yet that all is one, is a devotee, and whatever mode of life he may lead, he liveth in me. That devotee, O Arjuna, who casteth an equal eye everywhere, regarding all things as his own self and the happiness and misery of others as his own, is deemed to be the best.'

"Arjuna said, 'This devotion by means of equanimity which thou hast declared, O slayer of Madhu,--on account of restlessness of the mind I do not see its stable presence. O Krishna, the mind is restless, boisterous, perverse, and obstinate. Its restraint I regard to be as difficult of accomplishment as the restraint of the wind.'

"The Holy One said, 'Without doubt, O thou of mighty arms the mind is difficult of subjugation and is restless. With practice, however, O son of Kunti, and with the abandonment of desire, it can be controlled. It is my belief that by him whose mind is not restrained, devotion is difficult of acquisition. But by one whose mind is restrained and who is assiduous, it is capable of acquisition with the aid of means.'

"Arjuna said, 'Without assiduity, though endued with faith, and with mind shaken off from devotion, what is the end of him, O Krishna, who hath not earned success in devotion? Fallen off from both*, is he lost like a separated cloud or not, being as he is without refuge, O thou of mighty arms, and deluded on the path leading to Brahma? This my doubt, O Krishna, it behoveth thee to remove without leaving anything.

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Besides thee, no dispeller of this doubt is to be had. [* Fallen off from both, i.e., from heaven (through work) and absorption into Brahma (through devotion).]

"The Holy One said, 'O son of Pritha, neither here, nor hereafter, doth ruin exist for him, since none, O sire, who performs good (acts) comes by an evil end. Attaining to the regions reserved for those that perform meritorious acts and living there for many many years, he that hath fallen off from devotion taketh birth in the abode of those that art pious and endued with prosperity, or, he is born even in the family of devotees endued with intelligence. Indeed, a birth such as this is more difficult of acquisition in this world. There in those births he obtaineth contact with that Brahmic knowledge which was his in his former life; and from that point he striveth again, O descendant of Kuru, towards perfection. And although unwilling, he still worketh on in consequence of that same former practice of his. Even one that enquireth of devotion riseth above (the fruits of) the Divine Word. Striving with great efforts, the devotee, cleaned of all his sins, attaineth to perfection after many births, and then reacheth the supreme goal. The devotee is superior to ascetics engaged in austerities; he is esteemed to be superior to even the man of knowledge. The devotee is superior to those that are engaged in action. Therefore, become a devotee, O Arjuna. Even amongst all the devotees, he who, full of faith and with inner self resting on me, worshippeth me, is regarded by me to be the most devout."

SECTION 31

(Bhagavad Gita, Chapter 7)

"The Holy One said, 'Listen, O son of Pritha, how, without doubt, thou mayst know me fully, fixing thy mind on me, practising devotion, and taking refuge in me. I will now, without leaving anything speak to thee about knowledge and experience, knowing which there would be left nothing in this world (for thee) to know. One among thousands of men striveth for perfection. Of those even that are assiduous and have attained to perfection, only some one knoweth me truly. Earth, water, fire, air, space, mind, also understanding, and consciousness,--thus hath my nature been divided eight-fold. This is a lower (form of my) nature. Different from this, know there is a higher (form of my) nature which is animate, O thou of mighty arms, and by which this universe is held. Know that all creatures have these for their source. I am the source of evolution and also of the dissolution of the entire universe. There is nothing else, O Dhananjaya, that is higher than myself. Upon me is all this like a row of pearls on a string. Taste I am in the waters, O soil of Kunti, (and) I am the splendour of both the moon and the sun, I am the Om in all the Vedas, the sound in space, and the manliness in men. I am the fragrant odour in earth, the splendour in fire, the life in all (living) creatures, and penance in ascetics. Know me, O son of Pritha, to be the eternal seed of all beings. I am the intelligence of all creatures endued with intelligence, the glory of all glorious objects. I am also the strength of all that are endued with strength, (myself) freed from desire and thirst, and, O bull of Bharata's race, am the desire, consistent with duty, in all creatures. 3 And all existences which are of the quality of goodness, and which are of the quality of passion and quality of darkness, know that they are, indeed, from me. I am, however, not in them, but they are in me. This entire universe, deluded by these three entities consisting of (these) three qualities knoweth not me that am beyond them and undecaying; since this illusion of mine, depending on the (three) qualities, is exceedingly marvellous and highly difficult of being transcended. They that resort to me alone cross this illusion. Doers of evil, ignorant men, the worst of their species, robbed of their knowledge by (my) illusion and wedded to the state of demons, do not resort to me. Four classes of doers of good deeds worship me, O Arjuna, viz., he that is distressed, that is possessed of knowledge, being always devoted and having his faith in only One, is superior to the rest, for unto the man of knowledge I am dear above everything, and he also is dear to me. All these are noble. But the man of knowledge is regarded (by me) to be my very self, since he, with soul fixed on abstraction, taketh refuge in me as the highest goal. At the end of many births, the man possessed of knowledge attaineth to me, (thinking) that Vasudeva is all this. Such a high-souled person, however, is exceedingly rare. They who have been robbed of knowledge by desire, resort to their godheads, observant of diverse regulations and controlled by their own nature. Whatever form, (of godhead or myself) any worshipper desireth to worship with faith, that faith of his unto that (form) I render steady. Endued with that faith, he payeth his adorations to that (form), and obtaineth from that all his desire, since all those are ordained by me. The fruits, however, of those persons endued with little intelligence are perishable. They that worship the divinities, go to the divinities, (while) they that worship me come even to me. They that have no discernment, regard me who am (really) unmanifest to have become manifest, because they do not know the transcendent and undecaying state of mine than which there is nothing higher. Shrouded by the illusion of my inconceivable power, I am not manifest to all. This deluded world knoweth not me that I am unborn and undecaying. I know, O Arjuna, all things that have been past, and all things that are present, and all things that are to be. But there is nobody that knoweth me. All creatures, O chastiser of foes, are deluded at the time of their birth by the delusion, O Bharata, of pairs of opposites arising from desire and aversion. But those persons of meritorious deeds whose sins have attained their end, being freed from the delusion of pairs of opposites, worship me, firm in their vow (of that worship). Those who, taking refuge in me, strive for release from decay and death, know Brahman, the entire Adhyatma, and action. And they who know me with the Adhibhuta, the Adhidaiva, and the Adhiyajna, having minds fixed on abstraction, know me at the time of their departure (from this world).

SECTION 32

(Bhagavad Gita, Chapter 8)

"Arjuna said, 'What is that Brahman, what is Adhyatma, what is action, O best of male beings? What also has been said to be Adhibhuta, and what is called Adhidaiva? Who is here Adhiyajna, and how, in this body, O slayer of Madhu? And how at the time of departure art thou to be known by those that have restrained their self'?--

"The Holy One said, 'Brahman is the Supreme and indestructible. Adhyatma is said to be its own manifestation. The offering (to any godhead in a sacrifice) which causeth the production and development of all--this is called action. Remembering me alone in (his) last moments, he that, casting off his body, departeth (hence), cometh into my essence. There is no doubt in this. Whichever form (of godhead) one remembereth when one casteth off, at the end, (his) body, unto that one he goeth, O son of Kunti, having habitually meditated on it always. Therefore, think of me at all times, and engage in battle. Fixing thy mind and understanding on me, thou wilt, without doubt, come even to me. Thinking (of the Supreme) with a mind not running to other objects and endued with abstraction in the form of uninterrupted application, one goeth, O son of Pritha, unto the Divine and Supreme male Being. He who at the time of his departure, with a steady mind, endued with reverence, with power of abstraction, and directing the life-breath called Prana between the eye-brows, thinketh of that ancient seer, who is the ruler (of all), who is minuter than the minutest atom, who is the ordainer of all, who is inconceivable in form, and who is beyond all darkness, cometh unto that Divine and Supreme Male Being, I will tell thee in brief about that seat which persons conversant with the Vedas declare to be indestructible, which is entered by ascetics freed from all longings, and in expectation of which (people) practise the vows of Brahmacharins. Casting off (this) body, he who departeth, stopping up all the doors, confining the mind within the heart, placing his own life-breath called Prana between the eye-brows, resting on continued meditation, uttering this one syllable Om which is Brahman, and thinking of me, attaineth to the highest goal. He who always thinketh of me with mind ever withdrawn from all other objects, unto that devotee always engaged on meditation, I am, O Partha, easy of access. High-souled persons who have achieved the highest perfection, attaining to me, do not incur re-birth which is the abode of sorrow and which is transient, All the worlds, O Arjuna, from the abode of Brahman downwards have to go through a round of births, on attaining to me, however, O son of Kunti, there is no re-birth. They who know a day of Brahman to end after a thousand Yugas, and a night (of his) to terminate after a thousand Yugas are persons that know day and night. On the advent of (Brahman's) day everything that is manifest springeth from the unmanifest; and when (his) night cometh, into that same which is called unmanifest all things disappear. That same assemblage of creatures, springing forth again and again, dissolveth on the advent of night, and springeth forth (again), O son of Pritha, when day cometh, constrained (by the force of action, etc.). There is, however, another entity, unmanifest and eternal, which is beyond that unmanifest, and which is not destroyed when all the entities are destroyed. It is said to be unmanifest and indestructible. They call it the highest goal, attaining which no one hath to come back. That is my Supreme seat. That Supreme Being, O son of Pritha, He within whom are all entities, and by whom all this is permeated, is to be attained by reverence undirected to any other object. I will tell thee the times, O bull of Bharata's race, in which devotees departing (from this life) go, never to return, or to return. The fire, the Light, the day, the lighted fortnight, the six months of the northern solstice, departing from here, the persons knowing Brahma go through this path to Brahma. Smoke, night, also the dark-fortnight (and) the six months of the southern solstice, (departing) through this path, devotee, attaining to the lunar light, returneth. The bright and the dark, these two paths, are regarded to be the eternal (two paths) of the universe. By the one, (one) goeth never to return; by the other, one (going) cometh back. Knowing these two paths, O son of Pritha, no devotee is deluded. Therefore, at all times, be endued with devotion, O Arjuna. The meritorious fruit that is prescribed for the (study of the) Vedas, for sacrifices, for ascetic austerities and for gifts, a devotee knowing all this (that hath been said here), attaineth to it all, and (also) attaineth the Supreme and Primeval seat.'

SECTION 33

(Bhagavad Gita, Chapter 9)

"The Holy One said, 'Now I will tell thee that art without envy that most mysterious knowledge along with experience, knowing which thou wilt be freed from evil. This is royal science, a royal mystery, highly cleansing, directly apprehensible, consistent with the sacred laws, easy to practise, (and) imperishable. Those persons, O chastiser of foes, who have no faith in this sacred doctrine, not attaining to me, return to the path of this world that is subject to destruction. This entire universe is pervaded by me in my unmanifest form. All entities are in me, but I do not reside in them. Nor yet are all entities in me. Behold my divine power. Supporting all entities and producing all entities, myself doth not (yet) reside in (those) entities. As the great and obiquitious atmosphere always occupieth space, understand that all entities reside in me in the same way. [The atmosphere occupies space without affecting it or its nature. So all things are in the Supreme Being without affecting him.] All entities, O son of Kunti, attain to my nature at the close of a Kalpa. I create them again at the beginning of a Kalpa. Regulating my own (independent) nature I create again and in this whole assemblage of entities which is plastic in consequence of its subjection to nature. Those acts, however, O Dhananjaya, do not fetter me who sitteth as one unconcerned, being unattached to those acts (of creation). Through me, the overlooker, primal nature produceth the (universe of) mobiles and immobiles. For the reason [i.e., my supervision.], O son of Kunti, the universe passeth through its rounds (of birth and destruction). Not knowing my supreme nature of the great lord of all entities, ignorant people of vain hopes, vain acts, vain knowledge, confounded minds, wedded to the delusive nature of Asuras and Rakshasas, disregard me (as one) that hath assumed a human body. But high-souled ones, O son of Pritha, possessed of divine nature, and with minds directed to nothing else, worship me, knowing (me) to be the origin of all entities and undestructible. Always glorifying me, (or) striving with firm vows, (or) bowing down to me, with reverence and ever devoted, (they) worship me. Others again, performing the sacrifice of knowledge, worship me, (some) as one, (some) as distinct, (some) as pervading the universe, in many forms. [Sreedhara says that these are different modes of worship; "with reverence and ever devoted" grammatically refers to each of the three classes of worshippers indicated.] I am the Vedic sacrifice, I am the sacrifice enjoined in the Smritis, I am Swadha, I am the medicament produced from herbs; I am the mantra, I am the sacrificial libation, I am the fire, and I am the (sacrificial) offering. I am the father of this universe, the mother, the creator, grandsire; (I am) the thing to be known, the means by which everything is cleaned, the syllable Om, the Rik, the Saman and the Yajus, (I am) the goal, the supporter, the lord, the on-looker, the abode, the refuge, the friend, the source, the destruction, the support, the receptacle; and the undestructible seed. I give heat, I produce and suspend rain; I am immortality, and also death; and I am the existent and the non-existent, O Arjuna. They who know the three branches of knowledge, also drink the Soma juice, and whose sins have been cleansed worshipping me by sacrifices, seek admission into heaven; and these attaining to the sacred region of the chief of the gods, enjoy in heaven the celestial pleasure of the gods. Having enjoyed that celestial world of vast extent, upon exhaustion of their merit they re-enter the mortal world. It is thus that they who accept the doctrines of the three Vedas and wish for objects of desires, obtain going and coming. Those persons who, thinking (of me) without directing their minds to anything else, worship me, of those who are (thus) always devoted (to me)--I make them gifts and preserve what they have. Even those devotees who, endued with faith worship other godheads even they, O son of Kunti, worship me alone, (though) irregularly. I am the enjoyer, as also the lord, of all sacrifices. They, however, do not know me truly; hence they fall off (from heaven). They whose vows are directed to the Pitris attain to the Pitris; who direct (their) worship to the inferior spirits called Bhutas attain to Bhutas; they who worship me, attain even to myself. They who offer me with reverence, leaf, flower, fruit, water--that offered with reverence, I accept from him whose self is pure. Whatever thou dost, whatever eatest, whatever drinkest, whatever givest, whatever austerities thou performest, manage it in such a way, O son of Kunti, that it may be an offering to me. Thus mayst thou be freed from the fetters of action having good and evil fruits. With self endued with renunciation and devotion, thou wilt be released and will come to me. I am alike to all creatures; there is none hateful to me, none dear. They, however, who worship me with reverence are in me and I also am in them. If even a person of exceedingly wicked conduct worshippeth me, without worshipping any one else, he should certainly be regard as good, for his efforts are well-directed. (Such a person) soon becometh of virtuous soul, and attaineth to eternal

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tranquillity. Know, O son of Kunti, that none devoted to me is ever lost. For, O son of Pritha, even they who may be of sinful birth, women, Vaisyas, and also Sudras, even they, resorting to me, attain to the supreme goal. What then (shall I say) of holy Brahmanas and saints who are my devotees? Having come to this transient and miserable world, be engaged in my worship. Fix thy mind on me; be my devotee, my worshipper; bow to me; and thus making me thy refuge and applying thy self to abstraction, thou wilt certainly come to me.'

SECTION 34

(Bhagavad Gita, Chapter 10)

"The Holy One said, 'Once more still, O mighty-armed one, listen to my supernal words which, from desire of (thy) good, I say unto thee that wouldst be pleased (therewith). The hosts of gods know not my origin, nor the great Rishis, since I am, in every way, the source of the gods and the great Rishis. He that knoweth me as the Supreme Lord of the worlds, without birth and beginning, (he), undeluded among mortals, is free from all sins. Intelligence, knowledge, the absence of delusion, forgiveness, truth, self-restraint, and tranquillity, pleasure, pain, birth, death, fear, and also security, abstention from harm, evenness of mind, contentment, ascetic austerities, gift, fame, infamy, these several attributes of creatures arise from me. The Seven great Rishis, the four Maharishis before (them), and the Manus, partaking of my nature, were born from my mind, of whom in this world are these offsprings. He that knoweth truly this pre-eminence and mystic power of mine, becometh possessed of unswerving devotion. Of this (there is) no doubt. I am the origin of all things, from me all things proceed. Thinking thus, the wise, endued with my nature, worship me. Their hearts on me, their lives devoted to me, instructing one another, and gloryfying me they are ever contented and happy. Unto them always devoted, and worshipping (me) with love, I give that devotion in the form of knowledge by which they come to me. Of them, for compassion's sake. I destroy the darkness born of ignorance, by the brilliant lamp of knowledge, (myself) dwelling in their souls.'

"Arjuna said, 'Thou art the Supreme Brahma, the Supreme Abode, the Holiest of the Holy, the eternal Male Being Divine, the First of gods Unborn, the Lord. All the Rishis proclaim thee thus, and also the celestial Rishi Narada; and Asita, Devala, (and) Vyasa; thyself also tellest me (so). All this that thou tellest me, O Kesava, I regard as true since, O Holy One, neither the gods nor the Danavas understand thy manifestation. Thou only knowest thyself by thyself. O Best of Male Beings. O Creator of all things; O Lord of all things, O God of gods, O Lord of the Universe, it behoveth thee to declare without any reservation, those divine perfections of thine by which perfections pervading these worlds thou abidest. How shall I, ever meditating, know thee, O thou of mystic powers, in what particular states mayst thou, O Holy One, be meditated upon by me? Do thou again, O Janardana, copiously declare thy mystic powers and (thy) perfections, for I am never satiated with hearing thy nectar-like words."

"The Holy One said,--'Well, unto thee I will declare my divine perfections, by means of the principal ones (among them), O chief of the Kurus, for there is no end to the extent of my (perfections). I am the soul, O thou of curly hair, seated in the heart of every being, I am the beginning, and the middle, and the end also of all beings. I am Vishnu among the Adityas, the resplendent Sun among all luminous bodies; I am Marichi among the Maruts, and the Moon among constellations. I am the Sama Veda among the Vedas; I am Vasava among the gods; I am the mind among the senses; I am the intellect in (living) beings. I am Sankara among the Rudras, the Lord of treasures among the Yakshas and the Rakshasas; I am Pavaka among the Vasus, and Meru among the peaked (mountains). Know me, O son of Pritha, to be Vrihaspati, the chief of household priests. I am Skanda among commanders of forces. I am Ocean among receptacles of water. I am Bhrigu among the great Rishis, I am the One, undestructible (syllable Om) among words. Of sacrifices I am the Japa-sacrifice. Of immobiles I am the Himavat. I am the figtree among all trees, I am Narada among the celestial Rishis. I am Chitraratha among the Gandharvas and the ascetic Kapila among ascetics crowned with Yoga success. Know me to be Uchchaisravas among horses, brought forth by (the churning for) nectar, Airavata among princely elephants, and the king among men. Among weapons I am the thunderbolt, among cows I am (she called) Kamadhuk. I am Kandarpa the cause of reproduction, I am Vasuki among serpents. I am Ananta among Nagas, I am Varuna among acquatic beings, I am Aryaman among the Pitris, and Yama among those that judge and punish. I am Prahlada among the Daityas, and Time among things that count. I am the lion among the beasts, and Vinata's son among winged creatures. Of purifiers I am the wind. I am Rama among wielders of weapons. I am the Makara among fishes, and I am Jahnavi (Ganga) among streams. Of created things I am the beginning and the end and also the middle, O Arjuna. I am the knowledge of Supreme Spirit among all kinds of knowledge, and the disputation among disputants. Among all letters I am the letter A, and (the compound called) Dwanda among all compounds. I am also Time Eternal, and I am the Ordainer with face turned on every side. I am Death that seizeth all, and the source of all, that is to be. Among females, I am Fame, Fortune, Speech, Memory, Intelligence, Constancy, Forgiveness. Of the Sama hymns, I am the Vrihat-sama and Gayatri among metres. Of the months, I am Margasirsha, of the seasons (I am) that which is productive of flowers. I am the game of dice of them that cheat, and the splendour of those that are splendid. I am Victory, I am Exertion, I am the goodness of the good. I am Vasudeva among the Vrishnis, I am Dhananjaya among the sons of Pandu. I am even Vyasa among the ascetics, and Usanas among seers. I am the Rod of those that chastise, I am the Policy of those that seek victory. I am silence among those that are secret. I am the Knowledge of those that are possessed of Knowledge. That which is the Seed of all things, I am that, O Arjuna. There is nothing mobile or immobile, which can exist without me. There is no end, O chastiser of foes, of my divine perfections. This recital of the extent of (those) perfections hath been uttered by me by way (only) of instancing them. Whatever of exalted things (there is) or glorious, or strong, understand thou that everything is born of a portion of my energy. Or rather, what hast thou to do, by knowing all this in detail, O Arjuna? Supporting this entire universe with only a portion (of myself), I stand."

SECTION 35

(Bhagavad Gita, Chapter 11)

"Arjuna said,--'This discourse about the supreme mystery, called Adhyatman, which thou hast uttered for my welfare, hath dispelled my delusion. For I have heard at large from thee of the creation and dissolution of beings, O thou of eyes like lotus petals, and also of thy greatness that knoweth no deterioration. What thou hast said about thyself, O great Lord, is even so. O best of Male Beings, I desire to behold thy sovereign form. If, O Lord, thou thinkest that I am competent to behold that (form), then, O Lord of mystic power, show me thy eternal Self.'

"The Holy One said, 'Behold, O son of Pritha, my forms by hundreds and thousands, various, divine, diverse in hue and shape. Behold the Adityas, the Vasus, the Rudras, the Aswins, and the Maruts. Behold, O Bharata, innumerable marvels unseen before (by thee). Behold, O thou of curly hair, the entire universe of mobiles and immobiles, collected together in this body of mine, whatever else thou mayst wish to see. Thou art, however, not competent to behold me with this eye of thine. I give thee celestial sight. Behold my sovereign mystic nature.'"

Sanjaya continued,--"Having said this, O monarch, Hari, the mighty Lord of mystic power, then revealed to the son of Pritha his Supreme sovereign form, with many mouths and eyes, many wonderous aspects, many celestial ornaments, many celestial weapons uplifted, wearing celestial garlands and robes, (and) with unguents of celestial fragrance, full of every wonder, resplendent, infinite, with faces turned on all sides. If the splendour of a thousand suns were to burst forth at once in the sky, (then) that would be like the splendour of that Mighty One. The son of Pandu then beheld there in the body of that God of gods the entire universe divided and sub-divided into many parts, all collected together. Then Dhananjaya, filled with amazement, (and) with hair standing on end, bowing with (his) head, with joined hands addressed the God.

"Arjuna said, 'I behold all the gods, O God, as also all the varied hosts of creatures, (and) Brahman seated on (his) lotus seat, and all the Rishis and the celestial snakes. I behold Thee with innumerable arms, stomachs, mouths, (and) eyes, on every side, O thou of infinite forms. Neither end nor middle, nor also beginning of thine do I behold, O Lord of the universe, O thou of universal form. Bearing (thy) diadem, mace, and discus, a mass of energy, glowing on all sides, do I behold thee that art hard to look at, endued on all sides with the effulgence of the blazing fire or the Sun, (and) immeasurable. Thou art indestructible, (and) the Supreme object of this universe. Thou art without decay, the guardian of eternal virtue. I regard thee to be the eternal (male) Being. I behold thee to be without beginning, mean, end, to be of infinite prowess, of innumerable arms, having the Sun and the Moon for thy eyes, the blazing fire for thy mouth, and heating this universe with energy of thy own. For the space betwixt heaven and earth is pervaded by Thee alone, as also all the points of the horizon. At sight of this marvellous and fierce form of thine, O Supreme Soul, the triple world trembleth. For these hosts of gods are entering thee. Some, afraid, are praying with joined hands. Saying Hail to Thee--the hosts of great Rishis and Siddhas praise Thee with copious hymns of praise. The Rudras, the Adityas, the Vasus, they that (called) the Siddhas, the Viswas, the Aswins, the Maruts, also the Ushmapas, the Gandharvas, the Yakshas, the Asuras, the hosts of Siddhyas, behold Thee and are all amazed. Beholding Thy mighty form with many mouths and eyes, O mighty-armed one, with innumerable arms, thighs and feet, many stomachs, (and) terrible in consequence of many tusks, all creatures are frightened and I also. Indeed, touching the very skies, of blazing radiance, many-hued, mouth wide-open, with eyes that are blazing and large, beholding thee, O Vishnu, with (my) inner soul trembling (in fright), I can no longer command courage and peace of mind. Beholding thy mouths that are terrible in consequence of (their) tusks, and that are fierce (as the all-destroying fire at the end of the Yuga), I cannot recognise the points of the horizon nor can I command peace of mind. Be gracious, O God of gods, O thou that art the refuge of the Universe. And all these sons of Dhritarashtra, together with the hosts of kings, and Bhishma, and Drona, and also this Suta's son (Karna), accompanied by even the principal warriors of our side, are quickly entering thy terrible mouths rendered fierce by thy tusks. Some, with their heads crushed, are seen striking at the interstices of (thy) teeth. As many currents of water flowing through different channels roll rapidly towards the ocean, so these heroes of the world of men enter thy mouths that flame all around. As moths with increasing speed rush for (their own) destruction to the blazing fire, so also do (these) people, with unceasing speed, enter thy mouths for (their) destruction. Swallowing all these men from every side, thou lickest them with thy flaming mouths. Filling the whole universe with (thy) energy, thy fierce splendours, O Vishnu, are heating (everything). Tell me who thou art of (such) fierce form. I bow to thee, O chief of the gods, be gracious to me. I desire to know thee that art the Primeval One, I do not understand thy action.'

The Holy One said, "I am Death, the destroyer of the worlds, fully developed. I am now engaged in slaying the race of men. Without thee all these warriors standing in the different divisions shall cease to be. Wherefore, arise, gain glory, (and) vanquishing the foe, enjoy (this) swelling kingdom. By me have all these been already slain. Be only (my) instrument. O thou that can'st draw the bow with (even) the left hand. Drona and Bhishma, and Jayadratha, and Karna, and also other heroic warriors, (already) slain by me, do thou slay. Be not dismayed, fight; thou shalt conquer in battle (thy) foes."

Sanjaya continued,--"Hearing these words of Kesava, the diadem-decked (Arjuna), trembling, (and) with joined-hands, bowed (unto him); and once more said unto Krishna, with voice choked up and overwhelmed with fear, and making his salutations (to him).--

Arjuna said, "It is meet, Hrishikesa, that the universe is delighted and charmed in uttering thy praise, and the Rakshasas flee in fear in all directions, and the hosts of the Siddhas bow down (to thee). And why should they not bow down to thee, O Supreme Soul, that are greater than even Brahman (himself), and the primal cause? O thou that art Infinite. O God of the gods, O thou that art the refuge of the universe, thou art indestructible, thou art that which is, and that which is not and that which is beyond (both). Thou art the First God, the ancient (male) Being, thou art the Supreme refuge of this universe. Thou art the Knower, thou art the Object to be known, thou art the highest abode. By thee is pervaded this universe, O thou of infinite form. Thou art Vayu, Yama, Agni, Varuna, Moon, Prajapati, and Grandsire. Obeisance be to thee a thousand times, and again and yet again obeisance to thee. Obeisance to thee in front, and also from behind. Let obeisance be to thee from every side, O thou that art all. Thou art all, of energy that is infinite, and prowess that is immeasurable. Thou embracest the All. Regarding (thee) a friend whatever hath been said by me carelessly, such as--O Krishna, O Yadava, O friend,--not knowing this thy greatness from want of judgement or from love either, whatever disrespect hath been shown thee for purpose of mirth, on occasions of play, lying, sitting, (or) at meals, while alone or in the presence of others, O undeteriorating one, I beg thy pardon for it, that art immeasurable. Thou art the father of this universe of mobiles and immobiles. Thou art the great master deserving of worship. There is none equal to thee, how can there be one greater? O thou whose power is unparalleled in even three worlds? Therefore bowing (to thee) prostrating (my) body, I ask thy grace, O Lord, O adorable one. It behoveth thee. O God, to bear (my faults) as a father (his) son's, a friend (his) friend's, a lover (his) loved one's. Beholding (thy) form (unseen) before, I have been joyful, (yet) my mind hath been troubled, with fear. Show me that (other ordinary) form, O God. Be gracious, O Lord of the gods, O thou that art the refuge of the universe. (Decked) in diadem, and (armed) with mace, discus in hand, as before, I desire to behold thee. Be of that same four-armed form, O thou of a thousand arms, thou of universal form."

"The Holy One said, 'Pleased with thee, O Arjuna, I have, by my (own) mystic power, shown thee this supreme form, full of glory, Universal, Infinite, Primeval, which hath been seen before by none save thee. Except by thee alone, hero of Kuru's race, I cannot be seen in this form in the world of men by any one else, (aided) even by the study of the Vedas and of sacrifices, by gifts, by actions, (or) by the severest austerities. Let no fear be thine, nor perplexity of mind at seeing this awful form of mine. Freed from fear with a joyful heart, thou again see Me assuming that other form.'"

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Sanjaya continued,--"Vasudeva, having said all this to Arjuna, once more showed (him) his own (ordinary) form, and that High-Souled one, assuming once more (his) gentle form, comforted him who had been afflicted."

"Arjuna said, 'Beholding this gentle human form of thine, O Janardana, I have now become of right mind and have come to my normal state.'

"The Holy One said, 'This form of mine which thou hast seen is difficult of being seen. Even the gods are always desirous of becoming spectators of this (my) form. Not by the Vedas, nor by austerities, nor by gifts, nor by sacrifices, can I be seen in this form of mine which thou hast seen. By reverence, however, that is exclusive (in its objects), O Arjuna, I can in this form be known, seen truly, and attained to, O chastiser of foes. He who doth everything for me, who hath me for his supreme object, who is freed from attachment, who is without enmity towards all beings, even he, O Arjuna, cometh to me.'

SECTION 36

(Bhagavad Gita, Chapter 12)

"Arjuna said, 'Of those worshippers who, constantly devoted, adore thee, and those who (meditate) on thee as the Immutable and Unmanifest, who are best acquainted with devotion.'

"The Holy One said, 'Fixing (their) mind on me, they that constantly adore me, being endued (besides) with the highest faith, are deemed by me to be the most devoted. They, however, who worship the Immutable, the Unmanifest, the All-pervading, the Inconceivable, the Indifferent, the Immutable, the Eternal, who, restraining the entire group of the senses, are equal-minded in respect of all around and are engaged in the good of all creatures, (also) attain to me. The trouble is the greater for those whose minds are fixed on the Unmanifest; for the path to the Unmanifest is hard to find by those that are embodied. They (again) who, reposing all action on me (and) regarding me as their highest object (of attainment), worship me, meditating on me with devotion undirected to anything else, of them whose minds are (thus) fixed on me, I, without delay, become the deliverer from the ocean of (this) mortal world. Fix thy heart on me alone, place thy understanding on me, Hereafter then shalt thou dwell in me. (There is) no doubt (in this). If however, thou art unable to fix thy heart steadily on me, then, O Dhananjaya, strive to obtain me by devotion (arising) from continuous application. If thou beest unequal to even (this) continuous application, then let actions performed for me be thy highest aim. Even performing all thy acts for my sake, thou wilt obtain perfection. If even this thou art unable to do, then resorting to devotion in me, (and) subduing thy soul, abandon the fruit of all actions. Knowledge is superior to application (in devotion); meditation is better than knowledge; the abandonment of the fruit of reaction (is better) than meditation, and tranquillity (results) immediately from abandonment. He who hath no hatred for any creature, who is friendly and compassionate also, who is free from egoism, who hath no vanity, attachment, who is alike in pleasure and pain, who is forgiving, contented, always devoted, of subdued, soul, firm of purpose, with heart and understanding fixed on me, even he is dear to me. He through whom the world is not troubled, (and) who is not troubled by the world, who is free from joy, wrath, fear and anxieties, even he is dear to me. That devotee of mine who is unconcerned, pure, diligent, unconnected (with worldly objects), and free from distress (of mind), and who renounceth every action (for fruit), even he is dear to me. He who hath no joy, no aversion, who neither grieveth nor desireth, who renounceth both good and evil, (and) who is full of faith in me, even he is dear to me. He who is alike to friend and foe, as also in honour and dishonour, who is alike in cold and heat, (and pleasure and pain), who is free from attachment, to whom censure and praise are equal, who is taciturn, who is contented with anything that cometh (to him), who is homeless, of steady mind and full of faith, even that man is dear to me. They who resort to this righteousness (leading to) immortality which hath been (already) declared,--those devotees full of faith and regarding me as the highest object (of their acquisition) are the dearest to me.'

SECTION 37

(Bhagavad Gita, Chapter 13)

"The Holy One said, 'This body, O son of Kunti, is called Kshetra. Him who knoweth it, the learned call Kshetrajna. [The learned, i.e., they that are themselves acquainted with is Kshetra and what not. As explained by Krishna himself below, Kshetra is Matter, and Kshetrajna is Soul.] Know me, O Bharata, to be Kshetras. The knowledge of Kshetra and Kshetrajna I regard to be (true) knowledge. What that Kshetra (is), and what (it is) like, and what changes it undergoes, and whence (it comes), what is he (viz., Kshetrajna), and what his powers are, hear from me in brief. All this hath in many ways been sung separately, by Rishis in various verses, in well-settled texts fraught with reason and giving indications of Brahman. The great elements, egoism, intellect, the unmanifest (viz., Prakriti), also the ten senses, the one (manas), the five objects of sense, desire, aversion, pleasure, pain, body consciousness, courage,--all this in brief hath been declared to be Kshetra in its modified form. Absence of vanity, absence of ostentation, abstention from injury, forgiveness, uprightness, devotion to preceptor, purity, constancy, self-restraint, indifference to objects of sense, absence of egoism, perception of the misery and evil of birth, death, decrepitude and disease, freedom from attachment, absence of sympathy for son, wife, home, and the rest, and constant equanimity of heart on attainment of good and evil, unswerving devotion to me without meditation on anything else, frequenting of lonely places, distaste for concourse of men, constancy in the knowledge of the relation of the individual self to the supreme, perception of the object of the knowledge of truth,--all this is called Knowledge; all that which is contrary to this is Ignorance. That which is the object of knowledge I will (now) declare (to thee), knowing which one obtaineth immortality. [It is] the Supreme Brahma having no beginning, who is said to be neither existent nor non-existent; whose hands and feet are on all sides, whose eyes, heads and faces are on all sides, who dwells pervading everything in the world, who is possessed of all the qualities of the senses (though) devoid of the senses, without attachment (yet) sustaining all things, without attributes (yet) enjoying (a) all attributes, without and within all creatures, immobile and mobile, not knowable because of (his) subtlety, remote yet near, undistributed in all beings, (yet) remaining as if distributed, who is the sustainer of (all) beings, the absorber and the creator (of all); who is the light of all luminous bodies, who is said to be beyond all darkness; who is knowledge, the Object of knowledge, the End of knowledge and seated in the hearts of all. Thus Kshetra, and Knowledge, and the Object of Knowledge, have been declared (to thee) in brief. My devotee, knowing (all) this, becomes one in spirit with me. Know that Nature and Spirit are both without beginning (and) know (also) that all modifications and all qualities spring from Nature. Nature is said to be the source of the capacity of enjoying pleasures and pains. For Spirit, dwelling in nature enjoyeth the qualities born of Nature. The cause of its births in good or evil wombs is (its) connexion with the qualities. [It is the embodied spirit only that can enjoy the qualities of Nature. Then again, the kind of connexion it has with those qualities settles its birth in good or evil wombs.] The Supreme Purusha in this body is said to be surveyor, approver, supporter, enjoyer, the mighty lord, and also the Supreme Soul. He who thus knows Spirit, and Nature, with the qualities, in whatever state he may be, is never born again. Some by meditation behold the self in the self by the self; others by devotion according to the Sankhya system; and others (again), by devotion through works. Others yet not knowing this, worship, hearing of it from others. Even these, devoted to what is heard, cross over death. Whatever entity, immobile or mobile, cometh into existence, know that, O bull of Bharata's race, to be from the connexion of Kshetra and Kshetrajna (matter and spirit). He seeth the Supreme Lord dwelling alike in all beings, the Imperishable in the Perishable. For seeing the Lord dwelling alike everywhere, one doth not destroy* himself by himself, and then reacheth the highest goal. [* Destroying self by self is to be deprived of true knowledge.] He seeth (truly) who seeth all actions to be wrought by nature alone in every way and the self likewise to be not the doer. When one seeth the diversity of entities as existing in one, and the issue (everything) from that (One), then is one said to attain to Brahma. This inexhaustible Supreme Self, O son of Kunti, being without beginning and without attributes, doth not act, nor is stained even when stationed in the body. As space, which is ubiquitous, is never, in consequence of its subtlety tainted, so the soul, stationed in every body, is never tainted. As the single Sun lights up the entire world, so the Spirit, O Bharata, lights up the entire (sphere of) matters. They that, by the eye of knowledge, know the distinction between matter and spirit, and the deliverance from the nature of all entities, attain to the Supreme.

SECTION 38

(Bhagavad Gita, Chapter 14)

"The Holy One said, 'I will again declare (to thee) that supernal science of sciences, that excellent science, knowing which all the munis have attained to the highest perfection from (the fetters of) this body. Resorting to this science, and attaining to my nature, they are not reborn even on (the occasion of) a (new) creation and are not disturbed at the universal dissolution. The mighty Brahma is a womb for me. Therein I place the (living) germ. Thence, O Bharata, the birth of all beings taketh place. Whatever (bodily) forms, O son of Kunti, are born in all wombs, of them Brahma is the mighty womb, (and) I the seed-imparting Sire. Goodness, passion, darkness, these qualities, born of nature, bind down, O thou of mighty arms, the eternal embodied [soul] in the body. Amongst these, Goodness, from its unsullied nature, being enlightening and free from misery, bindeth (the soul), O sinless one, with the attainment of happiness and of knowledge. Know that passion, having desire for its essence, is born of thirst and attachment. That, O son of Kunti, bindeth the embodied (soul) by the attachment of work. Darkness, however, know, is born of ignorance, (and) bewilders all embodied [soul]. That bindeth, O Bharata, by error, indolence, and sleep. Goodness uniteth (the soul) with pleasure; Passion, O Bharata, uniteth with work; but darkness, veiling knowledge, uniteth with error. Passion and darkness, being repressed, Goodness remaineth, O Bharata. Passion and goodness (being repressed), darkness (remaineth); (and) darkness and goodness (being repressed), passion (remaineth). When in this body, in all its gates, the light of knowledge is produced, then should one know that goodness hath been developed there. Avarice, activity, performance of works, want of tranquillity, desire,--these, O bull of Bharata's race, are born when passion is developed. Gloom, inactivity, error, and delusion also,--these, O son of Kuru's race, are born when darkness is developed. When the holder of a body goeth to dissolution while goodness is developed, then he attaineth to the spotless regions of those that know the Supreme. Going to dissolution when passion prevails, one is born among those that are attached to work. Likewise, dissolved during darkness, one is born in wombs that beget the ignorant. The fruit of good action is said to be good and untainted. The fruit, however, of passion, is misery; (and) the fruit of Darkness is ignorance. From goodness is produced knowledge; from passion, avarice; (and) from darkness are error and delusion, and also ignorance. They that dwell in goodness go on high; they that are addicted to passion dwell in the middle; (while) they that are of darkness, being addicted to the lowest quality, go down. When an observer recognises none else to be an agent save the qualities, and knows that which is beyond (the qualities), he attaineth to my nature. The embodied [soul], by transcending these three qualities which constitute the source of all bodies, enjoyeth immortality, being freed from birth, death, decrepitude, and misery.'

"Arjuna said, 'What are indications, O Lord, of one who hath transcended these three qualities? What is his conduct? How also doth one transcend these three qualities?"

"The Holy One said, 'He who hath no aversion for light, activity, and even delusion, O son of Pandu, when they are present, nor desireth them when they are absent [Light, activity, and delusion are the three qualities as indicated by their effects.], who, seated as one unconcerned, is not shaken by those qualities; who sitteth and moveth not, thinking that it is the qualities (and not he) that are engaged (in their respective functions); to whom pain and pleasure are alike, who is self-contained, and to whom a sod of earth, a stone, and gold are alike; to whom the agreeable and the disagreeable are the same; who hath discernment; to whom censure and praise are the same; to whom honour and dishonour are the same; who regardeth friend and foe alike; who hath renounced all exertion--is said to have transcended the qualities. He also who worshippeth Me with exclusive devotion, he, transcending those qualities, becometh fit for admission into the nature of Brahma. For I am the stay of Brahma, of immortality, of undestructibility, of eternal piety, and of unbroken felicity.'

SECTION 39

(Bhagavad Gita, Chapter 15)

"The Holy One said, 'They say that the Aswattha*, having its roots above and branches below, is eternal, its leaves are the Chhandas. He who knoweth it, knoweth the Vedas. [* The 'Aswattha' is the sacred Indian fig tree, here emblematical of the course of worldly life. Its roots are above; those roots are the Supreme Being. Its branches are below, these being the inferior deities. Its leaves are the sacred hymns of the Vedas, i.e., as leaves keep the tree alive and even conduce to its fruits, so the Vedas support this tree and lead to salvation.] Downwards and upwards* are stretched its branches which are enlarged by the qualities; its sprouts are the objects of senses. Downwards its roots, leading to action, are extended to this world of men. [*Upwards and downwards i.e., from the highest to the lowest of created things. Enlarged by the qualities, i.e., the qualities appearing as the body, the senses, etc. The sprouts are the objects of sense, being attached to the senses themselves as sprouts to branches. The roots extending downwards are the desires for diverse enjoyments. Thus Telang, following the commentators.] Its form cannot here (below) be thus known, nor (its) end, nor (its) beginning, nor (its) support. Cutting, with the hard weapon of unconcern, this Aswattha of roots firmly fixed, then should one seek for that place repairing whither one returneth not again (thinking)--I will seek the protection of that Primeval Sire from whom the ancient course of (worldly) life hath flowed.--Those that are free from pride and delusion, that have subdued the evil of attachment, that are steady in the contemplation of the relation of the Supreme to the individual self, from whom desire hath departed, freed from the pairs of opposites known by the names of pleasure and pain (and the like), repair, undeluded, to that eternal seat. The sun lighteth not that [seat], nor the moon, nor fire. Whither going none returneth, that is my supreme seat. An

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eternal portion of Me is that which, becoming an individual soul in the world of life, draweth to itself the (five) senses with the mind as the sixth which all depend on nature. When the sovereign (of this bodily frame) assumeth or quitteth (a) body, it departeth taking away these, like the wind (taking away) perfumes from their seats. Presiding over the ear, the eye, (the organs of) touch, taste, and smell, and also over the mind, he enjoyeth all objects of senses. They that are deluded do not see (him) when quitting or abiding in (the body), when enjoying or joined to the qualities. They (however) see that have the eye of knowledge. Devotees exerting (towards that end) behold him dwelling in themselves. They (however) that are senseless and whose minds are not restrained, behold him not, even while exerting (themselves). That splendour dwelling in the sun which illumines the vast universe, that (which is) in the moon, and that (which is) in the fire, know that splendour to be mine. Entering into the earth I uphold creatures by my force; and becoming the juicy moon I nourish all herbs. Myself becoming the vital heat (Vaiswanara) residing in the bodies of creatures that breathe, (and) uniting with the upward and the downward life-breaths, I digest the four kinds of food [which is (1st) masticated, that which is (2nd) sucked, that which is (3rd) licked, and that which is (4th) drunk.]. I am seated in the hearts of all. From Me are memory and knowledge and the loss of both. I am the objects of knowledge to be known by (the aid of) all the Vedas. I am the author of the Vedantas, and I alone am the knower of the Vedas. There are these two entities in the world, viz., the mutable and the immutable. The mutable is all (these) creatures. The unchangeable one is called the immutable. But there is another, the Supreme Being, called Paramatman, who was the Eternal Lord, pervading the three worlds, sustaineth (them) (and) since I transcend the mutable, and am higher than even the immutable; for this I am celebrated in the world (among men) and in the Veda as Purushottama (the Highest Being). He who, without being deluded, knoweth Me as this Highest Being,--he knowing all, O Bharata, worshippeth Me in every way. Thus, O sinless one, hath this knowledge, forming the greatest of mysteries, been declared by Me (to thee). Knowing this, O Bharata, one will become gifted with intelligence, and will have done all he needs do.'

SECTION 40

(Bhagavad Gita Chapter 16)

"The Holy One said, 'Fearlessness, purity of heart, perseverance in (the pursuit of) knowledge and Yoga meditation, gifts, self-restraint, sacrifice, study of the Vedas, ascetic penances, uprightness, abstention from injury, truth, freedom from anger, renunciation, tranquillity, freedom from reporting other's faults, compassion for all creatures, absence of covetousness, gentleness, modesty, absence of restlessness, vigour, forgiveness, firmness, cleanliness, absence of quarrelsomeness, freedom from vanity,--these become his, O Bharata, who is born to godlike possessions. Hypocrisy, pride, conceit, wrath, rudeness and ignorance, are, O son of Pritha, his who is born to demoniac possessions. God-like possessions are deemed to be for deliverance; the demoniac for bondage. Grieve not, O son of Pandu, for thou art born to god-like possessions. (There are) two kinds of created beings in this world, viz., the god-like and the demoniac. The god-like have been described at length. Hear now, from me, O son of Pritha, about the demoniac. Persons of demoniac nature know not inclination or disinclination. Neither purity, nor good conduct, nor truth exist in them. They say that the universe is void of truth, of guiding principle, (and) of ruler; produced by the union of one another (male and female) from lust, and nothing else. Depending on this view, these men of lost selves, little intelligence, and fierce deeds, these enemies (of the world), are born for the destruction of the universe. Cherishing desires that are insatiable, and endued with hypocrisy, conceit and folly, they adopt false notions through delusion and engage in unholy practices. Cherishing boundless thoughts limited by death (alone), and regarding the enjoyment of (their) desires as the highest end, they are persuaded that that is all. Fettered by the hundred nooses of hope, addicted to lust and wrath, they covet to obtain this wealth to-day,--This I will obtain later,--This wealth I have,--This (wealth) will be mine in addition,--This foe hath been slain by me,--I will slay even others,--I am lord,--I am the enjoyer,--I am successful, powerful, happy,--I am rich and of noble birth,--Who else is there that is like me?--I will sacrifice,--I will make gifts,--I will be merry,--thus deluded by ignorance,--tossed about by numerous thoughts, enveloped in the meshes of delusion, attached to the enjoyment of objects of desire, they sink into foul hell. Self-conceited, stubborn, filled with the pride and intoxication of wealth, they perform sacrifices that are nominally so, with hypocrisy and against the (prescribed) ordinance. Wedded to vanity, power, pride, lust and wrath, these revilers hate Me in their own bodies and those of others. These haters (of Me), cruel, the vilest among men, and unholy, I hurl continually down into demoniac wombs. Coming into demoniac wombs, deluded birth after birth, they, O son of Kunti, without attaining to Me go down to the vilest state. Three-fold is the way to hell, ruinous to the self, viz., lust, wrath, likewise avarice. Therefore, these three, one should renounce. Freed from these three gates of darkness, a man, O son of Kunti, works out his own welfare, and then repairs to his highest goal. He who, abandoning the ordinances of the scriptures, acts only under the impulses of desire, never attains to perfection, nor happiness, nor the highest goal. Therefore, the scriptures should be thy authority in determining what should be done and what should not be done. It behoveth thee to do work here, having ascertained what hath been declared by the ordinances of the scriptures.'"

SECTION 41

(Bhagavad Gita, Chapter 17)

"Arjuna said, 'What is the state, O Krishna, of those who abandoning the ordinance of the scriptures, perform sacrifices endued with faith? It is one of Goodness, or Passion, or Darkness?'

"The Holy One said, 'The faith of embodied (creatures) is of three kinds. It is (also) born of their (individual) natures. It is good, passionate, and dark. Hear now these. The faith of one, O Bharata, is conformable to his own nature. A being here is full of faith; and whatever is one's faith, one is even that. They that are of the quality of goodness worship the gods; they that are of the quality of passion (worship) the Yakshas and the Rakshasas; other people that are of the quality of darkness worship departed spirits and hosts of Bhutas. Those people who practise severe ascetic austerities not ordained by the scriptures, are given up to hypocrisy and pride, and endued with desire of attachment, and violence,--those persons possessed of no discernment, torturing the groups of organs in (their) bodies and Me also seated within (those) bodies,--should be known to be of demoniac resolves. Food which is dear to all is of three kinds. Sacrifice, penance, and gifts are likewise (of three kinds). Listen to their distinctions as follows. Those kinds of food that increase life's period, energy, strength, health, well-being, and joy, which are savoury, oleaginous, nutritive, and agreeable, are liked by God. Those kinds of food which are bitter, sour, salted, over-hot, pungent, dry, and burning, and which produce pain, grief and disease, are desired by the passionate. The food which is cold, without savour, stinking and corrupt, and which is even refuse, and filthy, is dear to men of darkness. That sacrifice is good which, being prescribed by the ordinance, is performed by persons, without any longing for the fruit (thereof) and the mind being determined (to it under the belief) that its performance is a duty. But that which is performed in expectation of fruit and even for the sake of ostentation, know that sacrifice, O chief of the sons of Bharata, to be of the quality of passion. That sacrifice which is against the ordinance, in which no food is dealt out, which is devoid of mantras (sacred verse), in which no fees are paid to the brahmanas assisting to it, and which is void of faith, is said to be of the quality of darkness. Reverence to the gods, regenerate ones, preceptors, and men of knowledge, purity, uprightness, the practices of a Brahmacharin, and abstention from injury, are said to constitute the penance of the body. The speech which causeth no agitation, which is true, which is agreeable and beneficial, and the diligent study of the Vedas, are said to be the penance of speech. Serenity of the mind, gentleness, taciturnity, self-restraint, and purity of the disposition,--these are said to be the penance of the mind. This three-fold penance performed with perfect faith, by men without desire of fruit, and with devotion, is said to be of the quality of goodness. That penance which is performed for the sake of (gaining) respect, honour, and reverence, with (and) which is unstable and transient is said to be of the quality of passion. That penance which is performed under a deluded conviction, with torture of one's self, and for the destruction of another, is said to be of the quality of darkness. That gift which is given because it ought to be given, to one who cannot return any service for it, in a proper time, and to a proper person, is said to be of the quality of goodness. That, however, which is given reluctantly, for return of services (past or expected), or even with an eye to fruit,--that gift is said to be of the quality of passion. In an unfit place and at an unfit time, the gift that is made to an unworthy object, without respect, and with contempt, is said to be of the quality of darkness. OM, TAT, SAT, this is said to be the three-fold designation of Brahma. By that (Brahma), the Brahmanas and the Vedas, and the Sacrifices, were ordained of old. Therefore, uttering the syllable OM, the sacrifices, gifts, and penances, prescribed by the ordinance, of all utterers of Brahma begin. Uttering TAT, the various rites of sacrifice, penance, and gifts, without expectation of fruit, are performed by those that are desirous of deliverance. SAT is employed to denote existence and goodness. Likewise, O son of Pritha, the word SAT is used in any auspicious act. Constancy in sacrifices, in penances and in gifts, is also called SAT, and an act, too, for the sake of That is called SAT. Whatever oblation is offered (to the fire), whatever is given away, whatever penance is performed, whatever is done, without faith, is, O son of Pritha, said to be the opposite of SAT; and that is nought both here and hereafter.'

SECTION 42

(Bhagavad Gita, Chapter 18)

"Arjuna said, 'Of renunciation, O thou of mighty arms, I desire to know the true nature, and also of abandonment, O lord of the senses distinctly, O slayer of Kesi.'

"The Holy One said, 'The rejection of the works with desire is known by the learned as renunciation. The abandonment of the fruit of all work, the discerning call abandonment. Some wise men say that work (itself) should be abandoned as evil; others (say) that the works of sacrifice, gifts, and penance, should not be abandoned. As to that abandonment, listen to my decision, O best of the sons of Bharata, for abandonment, O tiger among men, hath been declared to be of three kinds. The works of sacrifice, gifts, and penance should not be abandoned. They should, indeed, be done. Sacrifice, gift, and penance, are the purifications of the wise. But even those works should be done, abandoning attachment and fruit. This, O son of Pritha, is my excellent and decided opinion. The renunciation of an act prescribed (in the scriptures) is not proper. Its abandonment (is) from delusion, (and) is (therefore,) declared to be of the quality of darkness. (Regarding it) as (a source of) sorrow, when work is abandoned from (fear of) bodily pain, one making such an abandonment which is of the quality of passion never obtaineth the fruit of abandonment. (Regarding it) as one that should be done, when work that is prescribed (in the scriptures) is done, O Arjuna, abandoning attachment and fruit also, that abandonment is deemed to be of the quality of goodness. Possessed of intelligence and with doubts dispelled, an abandoner that is endowed with the quality of goodness hath no aversion for an unpleasant action and no attachment to pleasant (ones). Since actions cannot be absolutely abandoned by an embodied person, (therefore) he who abandons the fruit of actions is truly said to be an abandoner. Evil, good and mixed-action hath (this) three-fold fruit hereafter for those that do not abandon. But there is none whatever for the renouncer. Listen from me, O thou of mighty arms, to those five causes for the completion of all actions, declared in the Sankhya treating of the annihilation of actions. (They are) substratum, agent, the diverse kinds of organs, the diverse efforts severally, and with them the deities as the fifth. With body, speech, or mind, whatever work, just or the reverse, a man undertakes, these five are its causes. That being so, he that, owing to an unrefined understanding, beholdeth his own self as solely the agent, he, dull in mind, beholdeth not. He that hath no feeling* of egoism, whose mind is not sullied, he, even killing all these people, killeth not, nor is fettered (by action). [* Hath no feeling of egoism, i.e., doth not regard himself as the doer, Sullied, i.e., by the taint of desire of fruit.] --Knowledge, the object of knowledge, and the knower, form the three-fold impulse of action. Instrument, action, and the agent, form the three-fold complement of action. Knowledge, action, and agent, are declared in the enumeration of qualities to be three-fold, according to the difference of qualities. Listen to those also duly. That by which One Eternal Essence is viewed in all things, undivided in the divided, know that to be knowledge having the quality of goodness. That knowledge which discerneth all things as diverse essences of different kinds in consequence of their separateness, know that that knowledge hath the quality of passion. But that which is attached to (each) single object as if it were the whole, which is without reason, without truth, and mean, that knowledge hath been said to be of the quality of darkness. The action which is prescribed (by the scriptures), (done) without attachment, performed without desires and aversion, by one who longeth not for (its) fruit, is said to be of the quality of goodness. But that action which is done by one seeking objects of desire, or by one filled with egoism, and which is attended with great trouble, is said to be of the quality of passion. That action which is undertaken from delusion, without regard to consequences, loss, injury (to others), and (one's own) power also, is said to be of the quality of passion. The agent who is free from attachment, who never speaketh of himself, who is endued with constancy and energy, and is unmoved by success and defeat, is said to be of the quality of goodness. The agent who is full of affections, who wisheth for the fruit of actions, who is covetous, endued with cruelty, and impure, and who feeleth joy and sorrow, is declared to be of the quality of passion [Full of affections, i.e., for children, etc., as Sreedhara.]. The agent who is void of application, without discernment, obstinate, deceitful, malicious, slothful, desponding, and procrastinating, is said to be of the quality of darkness. Hear now, O Dhananjaya, the three-fold division of intellect and constancy, according to their qualities, which I am about to declare exhaustively and distinctly. The intellect which knoweth action and inaction, what ought to be done and what ought not to be done, fear and fearlessness, bondage and deliverance, is, O son of Pritha, of the quality of goodness. The intellect by which one imperfectly discerneth right and wrong, that which ought to be done and that which ought not to be done, is, O son of Pritha, of the quality of passion. That intellect which, shrouded by darkness, regardeth wrong to be right, and all things as reversed, is, O son of Pritha, of the quality of

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darkness. That unswerving constancy by which one controls the functions of the mind, the life-breaths, and the senses, through devotion, that constancy, is, O son of Pritha, of the quality of goodness. But that constancy, O Arjuna, by which one holds to religion, desire, and profit, through attachment, desiring fruit, that constancy, O son of Pritha, is of the quality of passion. That through which an undiscerning person abandons not sleep, fear, sorrow, despondency, and folly, that constancy is deemed to be of the quality of darkness. Hear now from me, O bull of Bharata's race, of the three kinds of happiness. That in which one findeth pleasure from repetition (of enjoyment), which bringeth an end to pain, which is like poison first but resembleth nectar in the end, that happiness born of the serenity produced by a knowledge of self, is said to be of the quality of goodness. That which is from the contact of the senses with their objects which resembleth nectar first but is like poison in the end, that happiness is held to be of the quality of passion. That happiness which in the beginning and its consequences deludeth the soul, and springeth from sleep, indolence, and stupidity, that is described to be of the quality of darkness. There is not, either on earth or heaven among the gods, the entity that is free from these three qualities born of nature. The duties of Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas, and of Sudras also, O chastiser of foes, are distinguished by (these three) qualities born of nature. Tranquillity, self-restraint, ascetic austerities, purity, forgiveness, rectitude, knowledge, experience, and belief (in an existence hereafter),--these are the duties of Brahmanas, born of (their proper) nature. Bravery, energy, firmness, skill, not flying away from battle, liberality, the bearing of a ruler,--these are the duties of Kshatriyas, born of (their proper) nature. Agriculture, tending of cattle, and trade, are the natural duties of Vaisyas. Of Sudras also, the natural duty consists in servitude. Every man, engaged in his own duties, attains to perfection. Hear now how one obtains perfection by application to his duties. Him from whom are the movements of all beings, Him by whom all this is pervaded, worshipping him by (the performance of) one's own duty, one obtaineth perfection. Better is one's own duty though performed faultily than another's duty well-performed. Performing the duty prescribed by (one's own) nature, one incurreth no sin. One must not abandon, O son of Kunti, one's natural duty though tainted with evil, for all actions are enveloped by evil like fire by smoke. He whose mind is unattached everywhere, who hath subdued his self, and whose desire hath departed, obtaineth, through renunciation, the supreme perfection of freedom from work. Learn from me, only in brief, O son of Kunti, how one, having obtained (this kind of) perfection, attaineth to Brahma which is the supreme end of knowledge. Endued with a pure mind, and restraining his self by constancy, renouncing sound and other objects of sense, and casting off affection and aversion, he who resideth in a lonely place, eateth little, and restraineth speech, body, and mind, who is ever intent on meditation and abstraction, who hath recourse to indifference, who, abandoning egoism, violence, pride, lust, wrath, and (all) surroundings, hath been freed from selfishness and is tranquil (in mind), becometh fit for assimilation with Brahma. Becoming one with Brahma, tranquil in spirit, (such a) one grieveth not, desireth not; alike to all beings, he obtaineth the highest devotion to Me. By (that) devotion he truly understandeth Me. What I am, and who I am; then understanding Me truly, he entereth into Me forthwith. Even performing all actions at all times having refuge in Me, he obtaineth, through my favour, the seat that is eternal and imperishable. Dedicating in thy heart all actions to Me, being devoted to Me, resorting to mental abstraction, fix thy thoughts constantly on Me. Fixing thy thoughts on Me, thou wilt surmount all difficulties through my grace. But if from self-conceit thou wilt not listen, thou wilt (then) utterly perish. If, having recourse to self-conceit, thou thinkest--I will not fight,--that resolution of thine would be vain, (for) Nature will constrain thee. That which, from delusion, thou dost not wish to do, thou wilt do involuntarily, bound by thy own duty springing from (thy own) nature. The Lord, O Arjuna, dwelleth in the region of the heart of beings, turning all beings as if mounted on a machine, by his illusive power. Seek shelter with Him in every way, O Bharata. Through his grace thou wilt obtain supreme tranquillity, the eternal seat. Thus hath been declared to thee by Me the knowledge that is more mysterious than any (other) matter. Reflecting on it fully, act as thou likest. Once more, listen to my supernal words, the most mysterious of all. Exceedingly dear art thou to Me, therefore, I will declare what is for thy benefit. Set thy heart on Me, become My devotee, sacrifice to Me, bow down to Me. Then shalt thou come to Me. I declare to thee truly, (for) thou art dear to Me. Forsaking all (religious) duties, come to Me as thy sole refuge. I will deliver thee from all sins. Do not grieve. This is not to be ever declared by thee to one who practiseth no austerities, to one who is not a devotee, to one who never waiteth on a preceptor, nor yet to one who calumniateth Me. He who shall inculcate this supreme mystery to those that are devoted to Me, offering Me the highest devotion, will come to Me, freed from (all his) doubts. Amongst men there is none who can do Me a dearer service than he, nor shall any other on earth be dearer to Me than he. And he who will study this holy converse between us, by him will have been offered to Me the sacrifice of knowledge. Such is my opinion. Even the man who, with faith and without cavil, will hear it (read), even he freed (from re-birth), will obtain of the blessed regions of those that perform pious acts. Hath this, O son of Pritha, been heard by thee with mind undirected to any other objects? Hath thy delusion, (caused) by ignorance, been destroyed, O Dhananjaya?'

"Arjuna said, 'My delusion hath been destroyed, and the recollection (of what I am) hath been gained by me, O Undeteriorating one, through thy favour. I am now firm. My doubts have been dispelled. I will do thy bidding.'"

Sanjaya continued, "Thus I heard this converse between Vasudeva and the high-souled son of Pritha, (that is) wonderful and causeth the hair to stand on end. Through Vyasa's favour heard I this supreme mystery, this (doctrine of) Yoga, from Krishna himself, the Lord of Yoga, who declared it in person. O King recollecting and (again) recollecting this wonderful (and) holy converse of Kesava and Arjuna, I rejoice over and over again. Recollecting again and again that wonderful form also of Hari, great is my amazement, O king, and I rejoice ever more. Thither where Krishna, the Lord of Yoga (is), thither where the great bowman (Partha) is, thither, in my opinion, are prosperity, and victory, and greatness, and eternal justice'."

End of the Bhagavad Gita (See page 6852)

SECTION 43

Sanjaya said,--"Beholding Dhananjaya then to take up once again (his) arrows and Gandiva, the mighty car-warriors (of the Pandava party) uttered a tremendous shout. And those heroes, viz., the Pandavas and the Somakas, and those who followed them, filled with joy, blew their sea-born conches. And drums, and Pesis, and Karkachas, and cow-horns were beaten and blown together, and the uproar made was very loud. And then, O ruler of men, there came the gods, with Gandharvas and the Pitris, and the hosts of Siddhas and Charanas, from desire of witnessing (the sight). And Rishis highly blessed came there in a body with him (Indra) of a hundred sacrifices at their head, for beholding that great slaughter. Then, O king, beholding the two armies, that looked like two oceans, ready for the encounter and continuously moving, the heroic king Yudhishthira, the Just, putting off his coat of mail and casting aside his excellent weapon and quickly descending from his car, with joined hands, proceeded on foot, eyeing the grandsire, with restrained speech, facing the east, towards the direction where the hostile host was (standing). And seeing him proceed (thus), Dhananjaya, the son of Kunti, speedily alighting from his car, followed him, accompanied by his (other) brothers. And the Lord Vasudeva also followed him behind. And the principal kings too (of his army), filled with anxiety, followed in the same path.

"Arjuna said, 'What is this act of thine, O king, that abandoning thy brothers, thou proceedest on foot, face eastwards, to the hostile host?'

"Bhimasena said, 'Where wilt thou go, O king of kings, having cast off thy coat of mail and weapons, towards the warriors of the foe cased in mail, and leaving thy brothers, O ruler of earth?'

"Nakula said, 'Thou art my eldest brother, O Bharata, (beholding) thee proceeding in this way, fear troubleth my bosom. Tell (us), whither wilt thou go?'

"Sahadeva said, 'When these hostile divisions, terrible and numerous, are here with whom we are to fight, whither dost thou go, O king, in the direction of our foes?'

Sanjaya continued, "Though thus addressed by his brothers, O son of Kuru's race, Yudhishthira of restrained speech said nothing but continued to proceed. Unto them (then), the high-souled Vasudeva of great wisdom smilingly said,--His object is known to me. Having paid his respects to all his superiors (such as) Bhishma, Drona, and Kripa, and Salya also, he will fight the foe. It is heard in histories of olden times that he who, having paid his respects according to the ordinance unto his preceptors, revered in years and his kinsmen, fighteth with those that are his superiors, is sure to obtain victory in battle. Even that is my opinion.--When Krishna was saying this, among the ranks of Dhritarashtra's son, a loud uproar of Alas, and Oh arose, but the other (army) remained perfectly still. Beholding Yudhishthira, the heroic warriors of Dhritarashtra's Son conversed with one another saying,--'This one is an infamous wretch of his race. It is plain that this king is coming in terror towards Bhishma's side. Yudhishthira, with his brothers, hath become a seeker after (Bhishma's) shelter. When Dhananjaya, however, is (his) protector, and Pandu's son Vrikodara, and Nakula, and Sahadeva also, why doth the (eldest) son of Pandu come (hither) in fear? Though celebrated in the world, this one, however, could never have been born in the Kshatriya order, since he is weak and his bosom is filled with fear (at the prospect) of battle.' Then those warriors all praised the Kauravas. And all of them, becoming rejoiced, with cheerful hearts waved their garments. And, O monarch, all the warriors there (then) censured Yudhishthira with all his brothers and along with Kesava too. Then the Kaurava army, having said Fie to Yudhishthira, soon again, O monarch, became perfectly still,--What will this king say? What will Bhishma say in reply? What will Bhima boastful of his powers in battle, (say), and what Krishna and Arjuna? What, indeed, hath (Yudhishthira) to say?--Great was the curiosity then, O king, of both the armies in respect of Yudhishthira. The king (meanwhile), penetrating the hostile array bristling with arrows and darts, proceeded quickly towards Bhishma, surrounded by his brothers. Seizing his feet with his two hands, the royal son of Pandu then said unto Santanu's son Bhishma who was there ready for battle, (these words).

"Yudhishthira said, 'I salute thee, O invincible one. With thee we will do battle. Grant (us) thy permission in that matter. Give (us) also (thy) blessing."

"Bhishma said, 'If, O lord of the earth, thou hadst not, in this battle come to me thus, I would have, O great king, cursed thee, O Bharata, for bringing about thy defeat. I am gratified (with thee), O son. Do battle, and obtain victory, O son of Pandu, What else may be desired by thee, obtain thou in battle. Solicit also the boon, O son of Pritha, which thou desirest to have from us. If it happens so, O great king, then defeat will not be thine. A man is the slave of wealth, but wealth is no one's slave. This is very true, O king. I have been bound by the Kauravas with (their) wealth. It is for this, O son of Kuru's race, that like a eunuch I am uttering these words, viz.,--Bound I am by the Kauravas with wealth. Battle excepted, what dost thou desire?'

"Yudhishthira said, 'O thou of great wisdom, do thou, desirous of my welfare, from day to day, consult my interests. Do battle, however for the sake of the Kauravas. Even this is always my prayer (to thee).'

"Bhishma said, 'O king, O son of Kuru's race, what aid can I render thee in this? I shall, of course, fight for (thy) foes. Tell me what thou hast to say.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Therefore, O Sire, I ask thee, I bow to thee, O grandsire, how shall we, in battle, vanquish thee that art invincible? Tell me this that is for my benefit, if indeed, thou seest any good in it."

"Bhishma said, 'I do not, O son of Kunti, see the person who, even if he were the chief of the celestials himself, can defeat me in battle when I fight.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'My salutations to thee, O grandsire. Therefore, do I ask thee (this). Tell us how thy own death may be compassed by foes in battle.'

"Bhishma said, 'I do not see the person, O sire, who can vanquish me in battle. The time also of my death is not yet come to me once again."

Sanjaya continued,--"Then, O son of Kuru's race, Yudhishthira, once more saluting him, accepted Bhishma's words with a bend of his head. And that mighty-armed one then proceeded towards the car of the preceptor (Drona) through the midst of all the soldiers who were eyeing him, accompanied by his brothers. Then saluting Drona and walking round him, the king spoke to that invincible warrior words that were for his own benefit. "Yudhishthira said, 'I ask thee, O invincible one, how I may fight without incurring sin, and how, with thy permission, O regenerate one, I may vanquish all my foes?

"Drona said, 'If, having resolved to fight, thou hadst not come to me (thus), I would have cursed thee. O king, for thy complete overthrow. I am, however, gratified, O Yudhishthira, and honoured by thee, O sinless one. I permit thee, fight and obtain victory. I will also fulfil thy wish. Say what thou hast to say. Under these circumstances, battle excepted, what dost thou wish? A man is the slave of wealth, but wealth is not one's slave. This is quite true, O king! Bound I have been with (their) wealth by the Kauravas! It is for this that like a eunuch I shall fight for the sake of the Kauravas. It is for this that like a eunuch I am uttering these words--Battle excepted, what dost thou wish? I shall fight for the sake of the Kauravas, but will pray for thy victory.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Pray for my victory, O regenerate one, and counsel what is for my good. Fight, however, for the Kauravas. This is the boon solicited by me.'

"Drona said, 'Victory, O king, is certain for thee that hast Hari for thy counsellor. I (also) grant thee that thou wilt vanquish thy foes in battle. Thither where righteousness is, thither is Krishna, and thither where Krishna is, thither is victory. Go, fight, O son of Kunti! Ask me, what shall I say unto thee?"

"Yudhishthira said, 'I ask thee, O foremost of regenerate ones, listen to what I have to say. How shall we in battle vanquish thee that art invincible?'

"Drona said, 'As long as I will fight, so long victory can never be thine. (Therefore) O king, seek with thy brothers, for my speedy slaughter.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Alas, for this, O thou of mighty arms, tell (us) the means of thy death. O preceptor, prostrating myself I ask thee this. (My) salutations to thee."

"Drona said, 'The foe, O sire, I see not who may slay me while standing in battle I am engaged in fight, with wrath

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excited, and scattering (my) arrowy showers continually. Except when addrest for death O king, having abandoned my arms and withdrawn (in Yoga meditation) from surrounding sights, none will be able to slay me. This that I tell thee is true. I also tell thee truly that I will cast off my arms in battle, having heard something very disagreeable from some one of credible speech.--'"

Sanjaya continued, "Hearing these words, O king, of the wise son of Bharadwaja, and honouring the preceptor, (Yudhishthira then) proceeded towards the son of Saradwat. And saluting Kripa and walking round him, O king, Yudhishthira, accomplished in speech, said these words unto that warrior of great valour.

"Yudhishthira said, 'Obtaining thy permission, O preceptor, I will fight without incurring sin, and permitted by thee, O sinless one, I will vanquish all (my) foes."

"Kripa said, 'If having resolved on fight, thou hadst not come to me (thus), I would have cursed thee, O king, for thy complete overthrow. A man is the slave of wealth, but wealth is no one's slave. This is very true, O king, and bound I have been with wealth by the Kauravas. I must, O king, fight for their sake. This is my opinion. I therefore, speak like a eunuch in asking thee,--Battle excepted, what dost thou desire?'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Alas, I ask thee, therefore., O preceptor, listen to my words.--Saying this, the king, greatly agitated and deprived of his sense, stood silent."

Sanjaya continued.--"Understanding, however, what he intended to say, Gautama (Kripa) replied to him, saying,--I am incapable of being slain, O king. Fight, and obtain victory. I am gratified with thy coming. Rising every day [from bed] I will pray for thy victory, O monarch. I say this to thee truly.--Hearing, O king, these words of Gautama, and paying him due honours, the king proceeded thither where the ruler of the Madra was. Saluting Salya and walking round him the king said unto that invincible warrior those words that were for his own benefit.

'Yudhishthira said,--'Obtaining thy permission, O invincible one, I will fight without incurring sin, and permitted by thee, O king, I will vanquish (my) valourous foes.'--

"Salya said, 'If, having resolved on fight, thou hadst not come to me (thus), I would have, O king, cursed thee for thy overthrow in battle. I am gratified (with thee) and honoured (by thee). Let it be as thou wishest. I grant thee permission, fight and obtain victory. Speak, O hero, for what hast thou any need? What shalt I give thee? Under these circumstances, O king, battle excepted, what dost thou desire? A man is the slave of wealth but wealth is no one's slave. This is true, O king. Bound I have been with wealth by the Kauravas, O nephew, it is for this that I am speaking to thee like a eunuch,--I will accomplish the desire thou mayst cherish. Battle excepted, what dost thou wish.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Think, O king, daily of what is for my great good. Fight, according to thy pleasure, for the sake of the foe. This is the boon that I solicit.'

"Salya said, 'Under these circumstances, say, O best of kings what aid shall I render thee? I shall, of course, fight for the sake of (thy) enemy, for I have been made one of their party by the Kauravas with their wealth. "Yudhishthira said, 'Even that is my boon, O Salya, which was solicited by me during the preparations (for the fight). The energy of the Suta's son (Karna) should be weakened by thee in battle.'

"Salya said, 'This thy wish, O Yudhishthira, shall be accomplished, O son of Kunti. Go, fight according to thy pleasure. I shall look after thy victory."

'Sanjaya continued, "Having obtained the permission of his maternal uncle, the ruler of the Madra, the son of Kunti, surrounded by his brothers, came out of that vast army. Vasudeva then went to Radha's son on the field of battle. And the elder brother of Gada, for the sake of the Pandavas, then said to Karna,--It hath been heard by me, O Karna, that from hatred of Bhishma thou wilt not fight. Come to our side, O son of Radha, and (stay with us) as long as Bhishma is not slain. After Bhishma is slain, O son of Radha, thou mayst then again engage in battle on Duryodhana's side, if thou hast no preference for any of the parties.--'

"Karna said, 'I will not do anything that is disagreeable to Dhritarashtra's son, O Kesava. Devoted to Duryodhana's good, know that I have cast off my life (for him).--Hearing these words (of Karna), Krishna ceased, O Bharata, and reunited himself with the sons of Pandu headed by Yudhishthira. Then amid all the warriors the eldest son of Pandu, loudly exclaimed,--He who will choose us, him we shall choose for our ally!--Casting his eyes then upon them, Yuyutsu said these words, with a cheerful heart, unto Kunti's son king Yudhishthira the Just,--I will fight under thee in battle, for the sake of you all, with the sons of Dhritarashtra, if, O king, thou wilt accept me, sinless one.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Come, come, all of us will fight with thy foolish brothers. O Yuyutsu, both Vasudeva and we all say to thee--I accept thee, O thou of mighty arms, fight for my cause. On thee rests, it seems, the thread of Dhritarashtra's line as also his funeral cake. O prince, O thou of great splendour, accept us that accept thee. The wrathful Duryodhana of wicked understanding will cease to live.'"

Sanjaya continued, 'Yuvutsu then, abandoning the Kurus thy sons, went over to the army of the Pandavas, with beat of drums and cymbals. Then king Yudhishthira of mighty arms, filled with joy, again put on his shining coat of mail of golden effulgence. And those bulls among men then mounted their respective cars. And they counter-arrayed their troops in battle-array as before. And they caused drums and cymbals in many hundreds to be sounded. And those bulls among men also set up diverse leonine roars. And beholding those tigers among men, viz., the sons of Pandu, on their cars, the kings (on their side) with Dhrishtadyumna and others, once more set up shouts of joy. And beholding the nobility of the sons of Pandu who had paid due honour to those that were deserving of honour, all the kings there present applauded them highly. And the monarchs, talked with one another about the friendship, the compassion, and the kindness to kinsmen, displayed at the proper season by those high-souled personages. Excellent,--Excellent,--were the delightful words everywhere bruited about, coupled with eulogistic hymns about those famous men. And in consequence of this the minds and hearts of every one there were attracted towards them. And the Mlechchhas and the Aryas there who witnessed or heard of that behaviour of the sons of Pandu, all wept with choked voices. And those warriors then, endued with great energy, caused large drums and Pushkaras by hundreds upon hundreds to be sounded and also blew their conches all white as the milk of cows'."

SECTION 44

Dhritarashtra said, 'When the divisions of both my side and the foe were thus arrayed, who struck first, the Kurus or the Pandavas?'

Sanjaya said, "Hearing those words of his (elder) brother, thy son Dussasana advanced with his troops, with Bhishma at their head, and the Pandavas also advanced with cheerful hearts, desiring battle with Bhishma, having Bhimasena at their head. Then leonine, shouts, and clamorous uproars and the noise of Krakachas, the blare of cow-horns, and the sound of drums and cymbals and tabors, arose in both armies. And the warriors of the foe rushed against us, and we also (rushed) against them with loud shouts. And the uproar (caused by this rush) was deafening. The vast hosts of the Pandavas and the Dhartarashtras, in that awfully murderous encounter shook in consequence of that uproar of conches and cymbals, like forests shaken by the wind. And the din made by those hosts teeming with kings, elephants, and steeds, rushing against one another in that evil hour, was as loud as that of oceans agitated by the tempest. And when that din, loud and causing the hair to stand on end, arose, the mighty-armed Bhimasena began to roar like a bull. And those roars of Bhimasena rose above the clamour of conches and drums, the grunts of elephants, and the leonine shouts of the combatants. Indeed, the shouts of Bhimasena transcended the noise made by the thousands of chargers neighing in (both) the armies. And hearing those shouts of Bhimasena who was roaring like the clouds, shouts that resembled the report of Sakra's thunder, thy warriors were filled with fear. And at those roars of the hero, the steeds and elephants all ejected urine and excreta like other animals at the roar of the lion. And roaring like a deep mass of clouds, and assuming an awful form, that hero frightened thy sons and fell upon them. Thereupon the brothers, viz., thy sons Duryodhana, and Durmukha and Dussaha, and that mighty car-warrior Dussasana, and Durmarshana, O king, and Vivingsati, and Chitrasena, and the great car-warrior Vikarna and also Purumitra, and Jaya, and Bhoja, and the valorous son of Somadatta, shaking their splendid bows like masses of clouds exhibiting the lightning's flashes, and taking out (of their quivers) long arrows resembling snakes that have just cast off their sloughs, surrounded that mighty bowman rushing (towards them) covering him with flights of arrows like the clouds shrouding the sun. And the (five) sons of Draupadi, and the mighty car-warrior Saubhadra [Subhadra's son Abhimanyu.], and Nakula, and Sahadeva, and Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's race, rushed against (those) Dhartarashtras, tearing them with whetted shafts like summits of mountains with the impetuous bolts of heaven. And in that first encounter characterised by the awful twang of bow-strings and their flapping against the leathern fences (of the warriors) no combatant, either on thy side or that of the foe, turned back. And, O bull of Bharata's race, I beheld the lightness of hand of the disciples of Drona (in particular), who, shooting innumerable arrows, O king, always succeeded in hitting the mark. And the twang of sounding bowstrings ceased not for a moment, and the blazing arrows shot through (the air) like meteors (falling) from the firmament. And all the other kings, O Bharata, stood like (silent) spectators witnessing that interesting and awful encounter of kinsmen. And then those mighty car-warriors, with wrath excited and remembering the injuries sustained at one another's hands, strove in battle, O king, challenging one another. And the two armies of the Kurus and the Pandavas, teeming with elephants, steeds and cars, looked exceedingly beautiful on the field of battle like painted figures on a canvas. And then the (other) kings all took up their bows. And the Sun himself was shrouded by the dust raised by the combatants. And they fell upon one another, at the heads of their (respective) troops, at the command of thy son. And the loud uproar made by the elephants and the chargers of those kings rushing to the combat, mingled with the leonine shouts of the combatants and the din made by the blare of conches and the sounds of drums. And the uproar of that ocean having arrows for its crocodiles, bows for its snakes, swords for its tortoises, and the forward leaps of the warriors for its tempest, resembled the din made by the (actual) ocean when agitated. And kings in thousands, commanded by Yudhishthira, with their (respective) troops fell upon the ranks of thy son. And the encounter between the combatants of the two hosts was fierce in the extreme. And no difference could be perceived between the combatants of our side or that of the foe, while battling, or retreating in broken array or rallying again to the fight. In that terrific and awful battle, thy father (Bhishma) shone, transcending that countless host.

SECTION 45

Sanjaya said, "On the forenoon of that awful day, O king, the terrible battle that mangled the bodies of (so many) kings commenced. And the loud shouts, resembling leonine roars of the Kurus and the Srinjayas, both desirous of victory in battle, made both the welkin and the earth resound therewith. And a tumultuous uproar was heard mingled with the flaps of leathern fences and the blare of conches. And many were the leonine roars that rose there of men shouting against one another. And, O bull of Bharata's race, the sound of bowstrings stretched by (hands cased in) fences, the heavy tread of infantry, the furious neigh of chargers, the falling of sticks and iron hooks (on the beads of elephants), the clash of weapons, the jingle of bells of elephants rushing against one another, and the clatter of cars resembling the roar of clouds, mingled together, produced a loud uproar making one's hair stand on end. And all the Kuru warriors, reckless of their very lives and with cruel intentions, rushed, with standards upraised, against the Pandavas. And Santanu's son himself, taking up a terrible bow that resembled the rod of Death, rushed, O king, on the field of battle, against Dhananjaya. And Arjuna also, endued with great energy, taking up the bow Gandiva celebrated overall the world, rushed, on the field of battle, against Ganga's son. And both those tigers among the Kurus became desirous of slaying each other. The mighty son of Ganga however, piercing in battle the son of Pritha could not make him waver. And so, O king, the son of Pandu also could not make Bhishma waver in battle. And the mighty bowman Satyaki rushed against Kritavarman. And the battle between these two was fierce in the extreme and made the hair (of onlookers) stand on end. And Satyaki afflicted Kritavarman, and Kritavarman afflicted Satyaki, with loud shouts and each weakened the other. And pierced all over with arrows those mighty warriors shone like two blossoming Kinsukas in spring adorned with flowers. And the mighty bowman Abhimanyu battled with Vrihadvala. Soon, however, in that encounter, O king, the ruler of Kosala cut off the standard and overthrew the charioteer of Subhadra's son. The son of Subhadra then upon the overthrow of his charioteer, was filled with wrath and pierced Vrihadvala, O king, with nine shafts, and with a couple of sharp arrows that grinder of foes also cut off (Vrihadvala's) standard, and with one (more) cut off one of the protectors of his car-wheels and with the other his charioteer. [With two Bhallas Abhimanyu cut off his adversary's standard; with one, one of the protectors of his car-wheels: and with another, his charioteer. Thus Nilakantha. A Parshni is altogether a different person from a Sarathi. Hence Nilakantha is assuredly right.] And those chastisers of foes continued to weaken each other with sharp arrows. And Bhimasena struggled in battle with thy son Duryodhana, that mighty car-warrior, proud and inflated, who had injured (the sons of Pandu). Both of those foremost (princes) among the Kurus, are tigers among men and mighty car-warriors. And they covered each other, on the field of battle, with their arrowy showers. And beholding those high-souled and accomplished warriors conversant with all modes of warfare, all creatures were filled with amazement of Bharata. And Dussasana, rushing against that mighty car-warrior Nakula, pierced him with many sharp arrows capable of penetrating into the very vitals. The son of Madri, then, laughing the while, cut off, with sharp arrows (of his), adversary's standard and bow, and then he struck him with five and twenty small-headed arrows. Thy son, however, then, who can with difficulty be vanquished, slew in that fierce encounter the steeds of Nakula and cut off his standard. And Durmukha rushing against the mighty Sahadeva battling in that terrific encounter, pierced him with a shower of arrows. The heroic Sahadeva then, in that fearful battle, overthrew Durmukha's charioteer with an arrow of great sharpness. Both of them, irrepressible in fight, approaching each other in combat, and each attacking the other and desirous of warding off the other's attack, began to strike terror into each

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other with terrible shafts. And king Yudhishthira himself encountered the ruler of the Madras. The chief of the Madras then in his very sight cut off in twain Yudhishthira's bow. Thereupon the son of Kunti, throwing aside that broken bow, took up another that was stronger and capable of imparting a greater velocity. The king then, with straight arrows, covered the ruler of the Madras, and in great wrath said, 'wait, wait'. And Dhrishtadyumna, O Bharata rushed against Drona. And Drona, then, in great wrath, cut off in that encounter the hard bow of the high-souled prince of Panchala that was capable of always taking the lives of foes. And at the same time he shot in that conflict a terrible arrow that was like a second rod of Death. And the arrow shot penetrated the body of the prince. Taking up then another bow and fourteen arrows, the son of Drupada pierced Drona in that encounter. And enraged with each other, they battled on fiercely. And the impetuous Sankha encountered Somadatta's son who was equally impetuous in battle and addressed him, O king, saying 'wait, wait'. And that hero then pierced his (adversary's) right arm in that combat. And thereupon the son of Somadatta struck Sankha on the shoulders. And the battle that ensued between those two proud heroes, O king, soon became as terrible as a combat between the gods and the Danavas. And that mighty car-warrior Dhrishtaketu of immeasurable soul, with wrath excited, rushed in battle, O king, against Valhika, the very embodiment of wrath. Valhika, then, O king, setting up a leonine roar, weakened the wrathful Dhrishtaketu with innumerable arrows. The king of the Chedis, however, exceedingly provoked, quickly pierced Valhika in that encounter with nine arrows. Like an infuriate elephant against an infuriate elephant, in that combat they roared against each other repeatedly, both exceedingly enraged. And they encountered each other with great wrath and looked like the planets Angaraka and Sukra ['Angaraka' is the planet Mars, and 'Sukra' is the Venus.]. And Ghatotkacha of cruel deeds encountered the Rakshasa Alamvusha of cruel deeds like Sakra (encountering) Vala in battle. And Ghatotkacha, O Bharata, pierced that infuriate and powerful Rakshasa with ninety keen-edged shafts. And Alamvusha also in that combat pierced the mighty son of Bhimasena in many places with straight arrows (of his). And mangled with arrows they shone in that encounter like the mighty Sakra and the powerful Vala in the combat (of old) between the celestials and the Asuras. The powerful Sikhandin, O king, rushed against Drona's son, Aswatthaman, however deeply piercing the angry Sikhandin stationed (before him) with a keen-edged shaft, caused him to tremble, Sikhandin also, O king, smote Drona's son with a sharp-whetted shaft of excellent temper. And they continued in that encounter to strike each other with various kinds of arrows. And against the heroic Bhagadatta in battle, Virata, the commander of a large division, rushed impetuously, O king, and then commenced (their) combat. Virata, exceedingly provoked, poured on Bhagadatta an arrowy shower like, O Bharata, the clouds showering rain on the mountain breast. But Bhagadatta, that lord of the earth, speedily enveloped Virata in that encounter (with arrows) like the clouds enveloping the risen sun. Kripa, the son of Saradwat, rushed against Vrihadkshatra, the ruler of the Kaikeyas. And Kripa, O Bharata, enveloped him with a shower of arrows. Vrihadkshatra also shrouded the infuriate son of Gautama with an arrowy downpour. And those warriors, then, having slain each other's steeds and cut off each other's bows, were both deprived of their cars. And exceedingly enraged, they then approached each other for fighting with their swords. And the combat which then took place between them was terrible in aspect and unparalleled. That chastiser of foes, king Drupada, then, in great wrath rushed against Jayadratha, the ruler of the Sindhus, cheerfully waiting (for battle). The ruler of the Sindhus pierced Drupada in that combat with three shafts, and Drupada pierced him in return. And the battle that took place between them was terrible and fierce, and productive of satisfaction in the hearts of all the spectators and resembling a conflict between the planets Sukra and Angaraka. And Vikarna, son to thee, with fleet steeds, rushed against the mighty Sutasoma and the combat between them commenced. Vikarna, however, although he pierced Sutasoma with many arrows, failed to make him waver. Neither could Sutasoma make Vikarna waver. And that appeared wonderful (to all). And against Susarman, that mighty car-warrior and tiger among men, viz., Chekitana of great prowess, rushed in exceeding wrath for the sake of the Pandavas. And Susarman also, O great king, in that encounter checked the advance of that mighty car-warrior Chekitana with plentiful shower of arrows. And Chekitana also, greatly provoked, showered on Susarman, in that terrible conflict, a shower of arrows like a mighty mass of clouds showering rain on the mountain breast. And Sakuni, endued with great prowess, rushed, O king, against Prativindhya* of great prowess, like a lion against an infuriate elephant. [*Prativindhya was Yudhishthira's son by Draupadi.] Thereupon the son of Yudhishthira, in exceeding wrath, mangled Suvala's son in that combat, with sharp arrows, like Maghavat* (mangling) a Danava. [* Maghavat is Indra, the chief of the celestials.] And Sakuni also, in that fierce conflict, pierced Prativindhya in return and mangled that warrior of great intelligence with straight arrows. And Srutakarman rushed in battle, O great king, against that mighty car-warrior Sudakshina of great prowess, the ruler of the Kamvojas. Sudakshina, however, O great king, piercing that mighty car-warrior, viz., the son of Sahadeva, failed to make him waver (for he stood) like the Mainaka mountain (against the assaults of Indra). Thereupon Srutakarman, exceedingly provoked, weakened that mighty car-warrior of the Kamvojas with innumerable arrows and mangled him in every part of his body. And Iravan, that chastiser of foes, in great wrath and exerting carefully, rushed in battle against the wrathful Srutayush. The powerful son of Arjuna, that mighty car-warrior, then slaying the steeds of his adversary, set up a loud roar, and thereupon, O king, all the warriors (who saw the feat) praised him greatly. And Srutasena also, exceedingly provoked, slew in that conflict the steeds of Falguni's son with a powerful mace, and the battle between them continued. And Vinda and Anuvinda, those two princes of Avanti, approached in battle that mighty car-warrior the heroic Kuntibhoja at the head of his troops accompanied by his son. And wonderful was the prowess we beheld of those two princes on that occasion, for they fought on very cooly though battling with a large body of troops. And Anuvinda hurled a mace at Kuntibhoja, but Kuntibhoja quickly covered him with a shower of arrows. And the son of Kuntibhoja pierced Vinda with many arrows, and the latter also pierced him in return. And the combat (between them) looked very wonderful. And the Kekaya brothers, O sire, at the head of their troops, encountered in battle the five Gandhara princes with their troops. And thy son Viravahu battled with that best of car-warriors Uttara, the son of Virata and pierced him with nine arrows. And Uttara also pierced that hero with sharp-edged arrows. And the ruler of the Chedis, O king, rushed in battle against Uluka. And he pierced Uluka with a shower of arrows, and Uluka also pierced him with sharp arrows furnished with excellent wing. And the combat that took place between them, O king, was fierce in the extreme, for unable to vanquish each other, they mangled each other terribly. And thus in that general engagement thousands of single combats took place between men on car, warriors on elephants and horsemen, and foot-soldiers, of their side and thine. For a short while only that engagement offered a beautiful sight. Soon, however, O king, it became furious and nothing could be discovered. In the battle (that ensued) elephants rushed against elephants, car-warriors against car-warriors, steed against steed and foot-soldier against foot-soldier. The conflict then became confused and fierce in the extreme, of heroes rushing against each other in the melee. And the celestial Rishi, and Siddhas and Charanas, that were present there, beheld that terrific battle to resemble the combat of the gods and the Asuras. And elephants in thousands, and cars also in thousands, and vast bodies of infantry, O sire, seemed to alter their character. And, O tiger among men, it was seen that cars and elephants and steeds and infantry fought with each other repeatedly on the same places.

SECTION 46

Sanjaya said,--"O king, I will now describe to thee the combats of hundreds and thousands of foot-soldiers. O Bharata, in utter forgetfulness of all consideration due to others. There the son recognised not the sire, the sire (recognised not) the son of his loins, the brother (recognised not) the brother, the sister's son (recognised not) the maternal uncle. The maternal uncle (recognised not) the sister's son, the friend not the friend. The Pandavas and the Kurus fought as if they were possessed by demons. Some tigers among men, fell with cars into pieces. And the shafts of cars broke clashing against shafts, and the spikes of car-yokes against spikes of car-yokes. And some (warriors) united together encountered others that were united together, all desirous of taking one another's life-And some cars, obstructed by cars, were unable to move. And huge-bodied elephants with rent temples, falling upon huge elephants, angrily tore one another in many places with their tusks. Others, O king, encountering impetuous and huge ones of their species with arched edifices and standards (on their backs) and trained to the fight struck with their tusks, shrieked in great agony. Disciplined by training and urged on by pikes and hooks, elephants not in rut rushed straight against those that were in rut. And some huge elephants, encountering compeers in rut, ran, uttering cries like those of cranes, in all directions. And many huge elephants, well-trained, and with juice trickling down from rent temples and mouth, mangle with swords, lances, and arrows, and pierced in their vital parts, shrieked aloud and falling down expired. And some, uttering frightful cries, ran in all directions. The foot-soldiers that protected the elephants, endued with broad chests, and capable of smiting effectually, with wrath excited, and armed with pikes and bows, and bright battle-axes, and with maces and clubs, and short arrows, and lances, and with shafts, and stout bludgeons mounted with iron spikes and swords, well-grasped of the brightest polish, ran hither and thither, O king, and seemed resolved to take one another's life. And the sabres of brave combatants rushing against one another steeped in human blood, seemed to shine brightly. And the whiz of swords whirled and made to descend by heroic arms and falling upon the vital parts (of the bodies) of foes, became very loud. And the heart-ending wails of combatants in multitudinous hosts, crushed with maces and clubs, and cut off with well-tempered swords, and pierced with the tusks of elephants, and grained by tuskers, calling upon one another, were heard, O Bharata, to resemble the wails of those that are doomed to hell. And horsemen, on chargers of exceeding speed and furnished with outstretched tails resembling (the Plumes of) swans, rushed against one another. And hurled by them, long-bearded darts adorned with pure gold, fleet, and polished, and sharp-pointed, fell like snakes. And some heroic horsemen, on coursers of speed, leaping high, cut off the heads of car-warriors from their cars. And (here and there) a car-warrior, getting bodies of cavalry within shooting distance, slew many with straight shafts furnished with heads. And many infuriate elephants adorned with trapping of gold, and looking like newly-risen clouds, throwing down steed, crushed them with their own legs. And some elephants struck on their frontal globes and flanks, and mangled by means of lances, shrieked aloud in great agony. And many huge elephants, in the bewildering of the melee, crushing steeds with their riders, threw them down. And some elephants, overthrowing with the points of their tusks, steeds with their riders, wandered, crushing cars with their standards. And some huge male elephants, from excess of energy and with the temporal juice gushing down in large quantities, slew steeds along with their riders by means of their trunks and legs. Fleet arrows polished and sharp-pointed and resembling snakes fell upon the heads, the temples, the flanks, and the limbs of elephants. And polished javelins of terrible mien, and looking like large meteoric flashes, hurled by heroic arms, felt hither and thither, O king, piercing through the bodies of men and horses, and cutting through coats of mail. And many taking out their polished sabres from sheaths made of the skins of leopards and tigers, slew the combatants opposed to them in battle. And many warriors, though themselves attacked and had the flanks of their bodies cut open, yet angrily fell upon (their foes) with swords, shields and battle-axes. And some elephants dragging down and overthrowing cars with their steeds by means of their trunks, began to wander in all directions, guided by the cries of those behind them. And hither and thither some pierced by javelins, and some cut asunder by battle-axes, and some crushed by elephants and others trod down by horses, and some cut by car-wheels, and some by axes, loudly called upon their kinsmen, O king. And some called upon their sons, and some upon their sires, and some upon brother and kinsmen. And some called upon their maternal uncles, and some upon their sister's sons. And some called upon others, on the field of battle. And a very large number of combatants, O Bharata, lost their weapons, or had their thighs broken. And other with arms torn off or sides pierced or cut open, were seen to wail aloud, from desire of life. And some, endued with little strength, tortured by thirst, O king, and lying on the field of battle on the bare ground, asked for water. And some, weltering in pools of blood and excessively weakened, O Bharata, greatly censured themselves and thy sons assembled together for battle. And there were brave Kshatriyas, who having injured one another, did not abandon their weapons or set up any wails, O sire, On the other hand, lying in those places where they lay, roared with joyful hearts, and biting from wrath with their teeth their own lips, looked at one another with faces rendered fierce in consequence of the contraction of their eyebrows. And others endued with great strength and tenacity in great pain, afflicted by arrows and smarting under their wounds, remained perfectly silent. And other heroic car-warriors, deprived, in the encounter, of their own cars and thrown down and wounded by huge elephants, asked to be taken up on the cars of others. And many, O king, looked beautiful in their wounds like blossoming Kinsukas. And in all the divisions were heard terrific cries, countless in number. And in that awful combat destructive of heroes, the sire slew the son, the son slew the sire, the sister's son slew the maternal uncle, the maternal uncle slew the sister's son, friend slew friend, and relatives slew kinsmen. Even thus the slaughter took place in that encounter of the Kurus with the Pandavas. And in that frightful and terrible battle in which no consideration was shown (by anybody for anybody), the divisions of the Pandavas, approaching Bhishma, began to waver. And, O bull of Bharata's race, the mighty-armed Bhishma, O king, with his standard which was made of silver and graced with the device of the palmyra with five stars, setting upon his great car, shone like the lunar orb under the peak of Meru*." [* Mount Meru, also known as Sumeru, Sineru or Mahameru, is the sacred five-peaked mountain of Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist cosmology and is considered to be the centre of all the physical, metaphysical and spiritual universes. It is 80,000 yojanas wide and 80,000 yojanas high according to the Abhidharma-kosabhasyam and 84,000 yojanas high according to the Long Agama Sutra. (Indian measure of distance: 1 yojana = 12–15 km, i.e. 60 kosh = 1

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yojana and 1 kosh is 200 m) It is also the geographical centre of the world, and Jambūdvīpa is south of it. (The dvipa, the "island" or "continent" of the terrestrial world, the realm where ordinary human beings live.) Scholars identify Mount Meru with the Pamir mountain range, northwest of Kashmir.]

SECTION 47

Sanjaya said,--"After the great part of the forenoon of that awful day had worn out, in that terrific engagement, O king, that was (so) destructive of foremost of men, Durmukha and Kritavarman, and Kripa, and Salya, and Vivinsati, urged by thy son, approached Bhishma and began to protect him. And protected by those five mighty car-warriors. O bull of Bharata's race, that great car-warrior penetrated the Pandava host. And the palmyra standard of Bhishma was seen to glide continually, O Bharata, through the Chedis, the Kasis, the Karushas, and the Panchalas. And that hero, with broad-headed shafts of great swiftness which were again perfectly straight, cut off the heads (of foes) and their cars with yokes and standards. And, O bull of Bharata's race, Bhishma seemed to dance on his car as it coursed along its track. And some elephants, struck (by him) in their vital parts, shrieked in agony. Then Abhimanyu in great wrath, stationed on his car unto which were yoked excellent steeds of a tawny hue, rushed towards Bhishma's car. And with his standard adorned with pure gold and resembling a Karnikara tree, he approached Bhishma and those (five) foremost of car-warriors. And striking with a keen-edged shaft the standard of the palmyra-bannered (warrior), that hero engaged in battle with Bhishma and those other car-warriors that protected him. Piercing Kritavarman with one arrow, and Salya with five, he weakened his great-grandsire with nine arrows. And with one arrow well shot from his bow drawn to its fullest stretch, he cut off (his adversary's) standard adorned with pure gold. And with one broad-headed shaft capable of penetrating every cover, which was perfectly straight, he cut off from his body the head of Durmukha's charioteer. And with another keen-edged arrow he cut in twain the gold-decked bow of Kripa. And them also, with many sharp-pointed shafts, that mighty car-warrior smote in great wrath, seeming to dance (the while). And beholding his lightness of hand, the very gods were gratified. And in consequence of Abhimanyu's* sureness of aim, all the car-warriors headed by Bhishma regarded him to be possessed of the capacity of Dhananjaya himself. [* Karshni is Krishna's or Arjuna's son Abhimanyu. Arjuna was sometimes called Krishna.] And his bow, emitting a twang like that of Gandiva, while stretched and re-stretched, seemed to revolve like a circle of fire. Bhishma then, that slayer of hostile heroes, rushing on him impetuously, speedily pierced the son of Arjuna in that combat with nine arrows. And he also, with three broad-headed shafts, cut off the standard of that warrior of great energy. Of rigid vows, Bhishma also struck his (adversary's) charioteer. And Kritavarman, and Kripa, and Salya also, O sire, piercing Arjuna's son, all failed to make him waver, for he stood firm like the Mainaka mountain. And the heroic son of Arjuna, though surrounded by those mighty car-warriors of the Dhartarashtra army, still showered on those five car-warriors arrowy downpours. And baffling their mighty weapons by his arrowy showers, and pouring on Bhishma his shafts, the powerful son of Arjuna set up loud shout. And struggling in the battle thus and afflicting Bhishma with (his) arrows, the strength we saw of his arms then was very great. But though endued with such prowess Bhishma also shot his arrows at him. But he cut off in that combat the arrows shot from Bhishma's bow. And then that heroic warrior of arrows that were never lost, cut off with nine arrows, in that combat, the standard of Bhishma. And at that feat the people there set up a loud shout. Decked with jewels and made of silver, that tall standard bearing the device of the palmyra, cut off, O Bharata, by the shafts of Subhadra's son, fell down on the earth. And beholding, O bull of Bharata's race, that standard failing in consequence of the shafts of Subhadra's son, the proud Bhima set up a loud shout for cheering the son of Subhadra. Then in fierce combat, the mighty Bhishma caused many celestial weapons of great efficacy to appear. And the great grandsire of immeasurable soul then covered Subhadra's son with thousands of arrows. And at this, ten great bowmen and mighty car-warriors of the Pandavas, quickly rushed on their cars for protecting the son of Subhadra. And those were Virata with his son, and Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's race, and Bhima, the five Kekaya brothers, and Satyaki also, O king. And as they were falling upon him with great impetuosity, Bhishma the son of Santanu, in that conflict, pierced the prince of Panchala with three arrows, and Satyaki with ten. And with one winged arrow, whetted and sharp-edged as a razor, and shot from his bow drawn to its fullest stretch, he cut off the standard of Bhimasena. And, O best of men, the standard of Bhimasena, made of gold and bearing the device of a lion, cut off by Bhishma, fell from the car. And Bhima then, piercing Santanu's son Bhishma in that combat with three arrows, pierced Kripa with one, and Kritavarman with eight. And Uttara also, the son of Virata, on a tusker with upraised trunk, rushed against the ruler of the Madras. Salya, however, succeeded in checking the unparalleled impetuosity of that prince of elephants rushing quickly towards his car. That prince of elephants, in great wrath, placing his leg upon the yoke of (Salya's) car, killed his four large steeds of excellent speed. The ruler of the Madras then, staying on that car whose steeds had been slain, hurled a dart, all made of iron, and resembling a snake, for slaying Uttara outright. The latter's coat of mail being cut through by that dart, he became totally deprived of his senses and fell down from his elephant's neck, with the hook and the lance loosened from his grasp. And Salya then, taking up his sword and jumping down from his excellent car, and putting forth his prowess, cut off the large trunk of that prince of elephants. His coat of mail pierced all over with a shower of arrows, and his trunk cut off, that elephant uttered a loud shriek and fell down and expired. Achieving such a feat, O king, the ruler of the Madras speedily mounted on the splendid car of Kritavarman. And beholding his brother Uttara slain and seeing Salya staying with Kritavarman, Virata's son Sweta blazed up in wrath, like fire (blazing up) with clarified butter. And that mighty warrior, stretching his large bow that resembled the bow of Sakra himself, rushed with the desire of slaying Salya the ruler of the Madras. Surrounded on all sides with a mighty division of cars, he advanced towards Salya's car pouring an arrowy shower. And beholding him rush to the fight with prowess equal to that of an infuriate elephant, seven car-warriors of thy side surrounded him on all sides, desirous of protecting the ruler of Madras who seemed to be already within the jaws of Death. And those seven warriors were Vrihadvala the ruler of the Kosalas, and Jayatsena of Magadha, and Rukmaratha, O king, who was the valourous son of Salya, and Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti, and Sudakshina the king of the Kamvojas, and Jayadratha, the ruler of the Sindhus and the kinsman of Vrihadkshatra. And the stretched bows of those high-souled warriors, decorated with diverse colours, looked like the lightning's flashes in the clouds. And they all poured on Sweta's head ceaseless showers of arrows like the clouds tossed by the wind dropping rain on the mountain breast on the expiry of summer. That mighty bowman and commander of the forces, enraged at this, with seven broad-headed arrows of great impetuosity, struck their bows, and then continued to grind them. And those bows we saw were cut off, O Bharata, and thereupon they all took up, within half the time taken up in a wink of the eye, other bows. And they then shot at Sweta seven arrows. And once again that mighty-armed warrior of immeasurable soul, with seven fleet shafts, cut off those (other) bows of these bowmen. Those warriors then, whose large bows had been cut off, those mighty car-warriors swelling (with rage), grasping (seven) darts, set up a loud shout. And, O chief of the Bharatas, they hurled those seven darts at Sweta's car. And those blazing darts which coursed (through the air) like large meteors, with the sound of thunder, were all cut off, before they could reach him, that warrior conversant with mighty weapons, by means of seven broad-headed arrows. Then taking up an arrow capable of penetrating into every part of the body, he shot it, O chief of the Bharatas, at Rukmaratha. And that mighty arrow, surpassing (the force of) the thunder-bolt, penetrated into the latter's body. Then, O king, forcibly struck by that arrow, Rukmaratha sat down on the terrace of his car and fell into a deadly swoon. His charioteer then, without betraying any fear, bore him away, senseless and in a swoon, in the very sight of all. Then taking up six other (arrows) adorned with gold, the mighty-armed Sweta cut off the standard-tops of his six adversaries. And that chastiser of foes then, piercing their steeds and charioteers also, and covering those six warriors themselves with ceaseless shafts, proceeded towards the car of Salya. And beholding that generalissimo of the (Pandava) forces proceeding quickly towards Salya's car, a loud uproar of oh and alas arose in thy army, O Bharata. Then thy mighty son, with Bhishma at the head, and supported by heroic warriors and many troops, proceeded towards Sweta's car. And he (thus) rescued the ruler of the Madras who had already entered the jaws of Death. And then commenced a battle, terrific and making the hair stand on end, between thy troops and those of the enemy, in which cars and elephants all got mixed up in confusion. And upon Subhadra's son and Bhimasena, and that mighty car-warrior Satyaki, and upon the ruler of the Kekayas, and Virata, and Dhrishtadyumna of Prishatas' race, and upon the Chedi troops, the old Kuru grandsire poured showers of arrows.

SECTION 48

Dhritarashtra said,--"When that great bowman Sweta proceeded towards Salya's car, what did the Kauravas and the Pandavas do, O Sanjaya? And what also did Bhishma the son of Santanu do? Tell me who ask thee, all this."

Sanjaya said,--"O king, hundreds and thousands of bulls among Kshatriyas, all brave and mighty car-warriors, placing the generalissimo Sweta in the van, and displaying their strength. O Bharata, unto thy royal son and with Sikhandin also at their head, desired to rescue (Sweta). And those mighty car-warriors rushed towards Bhishma's car decked with gold desirous of slaying that foremost of warriors. And the battle that ensued then was terrible. I shall describe to thee that wonderful and terrific battle as it occurred between thy troops and those of the enemy. The son of Santanu made the terraces of many cars empty, (for) that best of car-warriors showering (his) arrows, cut off many heads. Endued with energy equal to that of the Sun himself, he shrouded the very Sun with his arrows. And he removed his enemies from around him in that combat like the rising Sun dispelling the darkness around. And in that battle, O king, arrows were shot by him in hundreds and thousands that were powerful and possessed of great impetuosity and that took in that conflict the lives of numberless Kshatriyas. And in that combat he felled heads, by hundreds, of heroic warriors, O king, and elephants cased in thorny mail, like summits of mountains (felled) by heaven's bolt. And cars, O king, were seen to mingle with cars. A car might be seen upon another car, and a steed upon another steed. And impetuous chargers, O king, bore hither and thither heroic riders in the prime of youth, slain and hanging (from their saddles) with their bows (still in their grasp). With swords and quivers attached (to their persons) and coats of mail loosened (from their bodies), hundreds of warriors, deprived of life, lay on the ground, sleeping on beds (worthy) of heroes. Rushing against one another, falling down and rising up again and rushing again having risen up, the combatants fought hand to hand. Afflicted by one another, many rolled on the field of battle. Infuriate elephants rushed hither and thither, and car-warriors by hundreds were slain. And car-warriors, along with their cars, were crushed on all sides. And some warriors fell upon his car, slain by another with arrows. And a mighty car-warrior might be seen to fall down from high, his charioteer (also) having been slain. A thick dust arose, and thereupon unto the warrior struggling in battle, the twang of the (hostile) bow indicated the struggling adversary before. From the pressure also on their bodies, combatants guessed their foes. And the warriors, O king, fought on with arrows, guided by the sound of bow-strings and (hostile) division. The very hiss of the arrows shot by the combatants at one another could not be heard. And so loud was the sound of drums, that it seemed to pierce the ears. And in that tumultuous uproar making the hair stand on end, the name of the combatant uttered in the battle, while displaying his prowess, could not be heard. The sire could not recognise the son of his loins. One of the wheels being broken, or the yoke being torn off or one of the steeds being slain, the brave car-warrior was overthrown from his car, along with his charioteer, by means of straight arrows. And thus many heroic warriors, deprived of their cars, were seen to fly away. He who was slain had cut off; he who was not slain, was struck at the very vitals: but unstruck there was none, when Bhishma attacked the foe. And in that terrific battle, Sweta caused a great slaughter of the Kurus. And he slew many noble princes by hundreds upon hundreds. And he cut off, by means of his arrows, the heads of car-warriors by hundreds upon hundreds, and (their) arms decked with Angadas, and (their) bows all around. And car-warriors and car-wheels and others that were on cars, and the cars themselves, and standards both small and costly, O king, and large bodies of horses, and crowds of cars, and crowds of men, O Bharata's race, were destroyed by Sweta. Ourselves, from fear of Sweta, abandoning (Bhishma) that best of car-warriors, left the battle retreating to the rear and, therefore, do we (now) behold your lordship. And all the Kurus, O son of Kuru's race, beyond the range of arrows, and abandoning Bhishma the son of Santanu, in that battle, stood (as spectators though) armed for the combat. Cheerful in the hour of (universal) cheerlessness, that tiger among men Bhishma, alone of our army, in that terrible battle stood immovable like the mountain Meru. Taking the lives (of the foe) like the Sun at close of winter, he stood resplendent with the golden rays (of his car) like the Sun himself with his rays. And that great bowman shot clouds of arrows and struck down the Asuras. [Chakrapani is Vishnu armed with the discus.] And while being slaughtered by Bhishma in that dreadful combat, those warriors breaking away from their ranks, they all fled from him, as if from a fire fed by fuel. Encountering the single warrior (Sweta), that slayer of foes, Bhishma, was the only one (amongst us) who was cheerful and whole. Devoted to the welfare of Duryodhana, he began to consume the Pandava (warrior). Reckless of his very life which is difficult of being cast off, and abandoning all fear he slaughtered, O king, the Pandava army in that fierce conflict. And beholding the generalissimo (Sweta) smiting the (Dhartarashtra) divisions, thy father Bhishma, called also Devavrata, impetuously rushed against him. Thereupon, Sweta covered Bhishma with an extensive net-work of arrows. And Bhishma also covered Sweta with a flight of arrows. And roaring like a couple of bulls, they rushed, like two infuriate elephants of gigantic size or two raging tigers, against each other. Baffling each other's weapons by means of their weapons, those bulls among men, viz., Bhishma and Sweta fought with each other, desirous of taking each other's life. In one single day Bhishma, infuriate with anger, could consume the Pandava army with his arrows, if Sweta did not protect it. Beholding the grandsire then turned off by Sweta, the

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Pandavas were filled with joy, while thy son became cheerless. Duryodhana then, with wrath excited and surrounded by many kings, rushed with his troops against the Pandava host in battle. Then Sweta, abandoning the son of Ganga, slaughtered thy son's host with great impetuosity like the wind (uprooting) trees with violence. And the son of Virata, senseless with wrath, having routed thy army, advanced (once more), O king, to the place where Bhishma was stationed. And those two high-souled and mighty warriors then, both blazing with their arrows, battled with each other like Vritra and Vasava (of old), desirous, O king, of slaying each other. Drawing (his) bow to the fullest stretch, Sweta pierced Bhishma with seven arrows. The valourous (Bhishma) then, putting forth his prowess, quickly checked his foe's valour, like an infuriate elephant checking an infuriate compeer. And Sweta then, that delighter of Kshatriyas struck Bhishma, and Bhishma the son of Santanu also pierced him in return with ten arrows. And though pierced by him (thus), that mighty warrior stood still like a mountain. And Sweta again pierced Santanu's son with five and twenty straight arrows, at which all wondered. Then smiling and licking with his tongue the corners of his mouth, Sweta in that combat cut off Bhishma's bow into ten fragments with ten arrows. Then aiming a plumed arrow made wholly of iron, (Sweta) crushed the palmyra on the top of the standard of the high-souled (Bhishma). And beholding the standard of Bhishma cut down, thy sons thought that Bhishma was slain, having succumbed to Sweta. And the Pandavas also filled with delight, blew their conches all around. And beholding the palmyra standard of the high-souled Bhishma laid low, Duryodhana, from wrath, urged his own army to the battle. And they all began very carefully to protect Bhishma who 'was in great distress. Unto them, also unto those that stood (idle) spectators, the king said,--Either Sweta will die (today), or Bhishma the son of Santanu. I say this truly. Hearing the words of the king, the mighty car-warriors speedily with four kinds of forces, advanced protecting the son of Ganga. And Valhika and Kritavarman, and Kripa, and Salya also, O Bharata, and the son of Jarasandha, and Vikarna, and Chitrasena, and Vivinsati, with great speed, when speed was so necessary, surrounding him on all sides, poured on Sweta ceaseless showers of arrows. That mighty warrior then, of immeasurable soul, quickly checked those angry warriors by means of sharp arrows, displaying his own lightness of hand. And checking them all like a lion and a multitude of elephants, Sweta then cut off Bhishma's bow with thick shower of arrows. Then Bhishma the son of Santanu, taking up another bow in that battle, pierced Sweta, O king, with arrows furnished with feathers of Kanka bird. Then the commander (of the Pandava army), with wrath excited, pierced Bhishma in that encounter O king, with a great many shafts in the very sight of all. Beholding Bhishma, that foremost of heroes in all the world, checked in battle by Sweta, the king (Duryodhana) became greatly troubled, and great also became the distress of thy whole army. And beholding the heroic Bhishma checked and mangled by Sweta with his arrows, all thought that Bhishma, having succumbed to Sweta, was slain by him. Then thy sire Devavrata, yielding to anger, and beholding his (own) standard overthrown and the (Dhartarashtra) army checked, shot a great many arrows, O king, at Sweta. Sweta, however, that foremost of car-warriors, baffling all those arrows of Bhishma, once more cut off, with a broad-headed shaft, thy sire's bow. Throwing aside that bow, O king, Ganga's son, senseless with anger, taking up another bow larger and stronger, and aiming seven large broad-headed arrows whetted on stone, slew with four arrows the four steeds of the generalissimo Sweta, cut off his standard with two and with the seventh shaft that warrior of great prowess, exceedingly provoked, cut off his charioteer's head. Thereupon, that mighty car-warrior, jumping down from his car whose steeds and charioteer had been slain, and yielding to the influence of wrath, became exceedingly troubled. The grandsire, beholding Sweta that foremost of car-warriors, deprived of car, began to smite him on all sides with showers of arrows. And smitten in that combat with arrows shot from Bhishma's bow, Sweta, leaving his bow on his (abandoned) car took up a dart decked with gold and taking up that terrible and fierce dart which resembled the fatal rod of Death and was capable of slaying Death's self. Sweta then, in great wrath, addressed Bhishma the son of Santanu in that combat, saying,--Wait a little, and behold me, O best of men,--And having said this unto Bhishma in battle, that great bowman of exceeding prowess and immeasurable soul, hurled the dart resembling a snake, displaying his valour for the sake of the Pandavas and desiring to achieve thy evil. Then loud cries of oh and alas arose among thy sons, O king, upon beholding that terrible dart resembling the rod of Death in splendour. And hurled from Sweta's arms, (that dart), resembling a snake that had just cast off its slough, fell with great force, O king, like a large meteor from the firmament. Thy sire Devavrata then, O king, without the slightest fear, with eight sharp and winged arrows, cut off into nine fragments, that dart decked with pure gold and which seemed to be covered with flames of fire, as it coursed ablaze through the air. All thy troops then, O bull of Bharata's race, set up loud shouts of joy. The son of Virata, however, beholding his dart cut off into fragments, became senseless with anger, and like one whose heart was overcome by (the arrival of) his hour, could not settle what to do. Deprived of his senses by anger, O king, the son of Virata, then, smiling, joyfully took up a mace for Bhishma's slaughter, with eyes red in wrath, and resembling a second Yama armed with mace, he rushed against Bhishma like a swollen torrent against the rocks. Regarding his impetuosity as incapable of cheek, Bhishma endued with great prowess and conversant with the might (of others), suddenly alighted on the ground for warding off that blow. Sweta then, O king, whirling in wrath that heavy mace, hurled it on Bhishma's car like the god Maheswara. And in consequence of that mace intended for Bhishma's destruction, that car was reduced to ashes, with standard, and charioteer, and steeds and shaft. Beholding Bhishma, that foremost of car-warriors, become a combatant on foot, many car-warriors, viz., Salya and others, speedily rushed (to his rescue). Mounting then upon another car, and cheerlessly stretching his bow, Bhishma slowly advanced towards Sweta, seeing that foremost of car-warriors. Meanwhile, Bhishma heard a loud voice uttered in the skies, that was celestial and fraught with his own good. (And the voice said).--'O, Bhishma, O thou of mighty arms, strive without losing a moment. Even this is the hour fixed by the Creator of the Universe for success over this one'. Hearing those words uttered by the celestial messenger, Bhishma, filled with joy, set his heart upon Sweta's destruction. And beholding that foremost of car-warriors, Sweta become a combatant on foot, many mighty car-warriors (of the Pandava side) rushed unitedly (to his rescue). (They were) Satyaki, and Bhimasena, and Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's race; and the (five) Kekaya brothers, and Dhrishtaketu and Abhimanyu of great energy. And beholding them rushing (to the rescue), with Drona and Salya and Kripa that hero of immeasurable soul (Bhishma) checked them all like the mountain resisting the force of the wind. And when all the high-souled warriors of the Pandava side were (thus) held in check, Sweta, taking up a sword cut off Bhishma's bow. Casting aside that bow, the grandsire, quickly made up his mind for Sweta's destruction, having heard the words of the celestial messenger. Though baffled (by Sweta), thy sire Devavrata then that mighty car-warrior quickly taking up another bow that resembled the bow of Sakra himself in splendour, stringed it in a moment. Then thy sire, O chief of the Bharatas, beholding that mighty car-warrior Sweta, though the latter was then surrounded by those tigers among men with Bhimasena at their head,--(thy sire) the son of Ganga-advanced steadily for the sake of the generalissimo Sweta alone. Beholding Bhishma advance, Bhimasena of great prowess pierced him with sixty shafts. But that mighty car-warrior, thy sire Devavrata, checking both Bhimasena and Abhimanyu and other car-warriors with terrible shafts, struck him with three straight arrows. And the grandsire of the Bharatas also struck Satyaki, in that combat, with a hundred arrows, and Dhrishtadyumna with twenty and the Kekaya brothers with five. And checking all those great bowmen with terrible arrows, thy sire Devavrata advanced towards Sweta alone. Then taking out an arrow resembling Death's self and capable of bearing a great strain and incapable of being resisted, the powerful Bhishma placed it on his bowstring. And that shaft, furnished with wings and duly endued with the force of the Brahma weapon, was seen by the gods and Gandharvas and Pisachas and Uragas, and Rakshasas. And that shaft, of splendour like that of a blazing fire, piercing through his coat of mail (passed through his body and) struck into the earth, with a flash like that of heaven's bolt. Like the Sun when speedily retiring to his western chambers taking along with him the rays of light, even thus that shaft passed out of Sweta's body, bearing away with itself his life. Thus slain in battle by Bhishma, we beheld that tiger among men fall down like the loosened crest of a mountain. And all the mighty car-warriors of the Kshatriya race belonging to the Pandava side indulged in lamentations. Thy sons, however, and all the Kurus, were filled with delight. Then, O king, beholding Sweta overthrown, Dussasana danced in joy over the field in accompaniment With the loud music of conches and drums. And when that great bowman was slain by Bhishma, that ornament of battle, the mighty bowmen (of the Pandava side) with Sikhandin at their head, trembled in fear. Then when their commander was slain, Dhananjaya, O king, and he of Vrishni's race, slowly withdrew the troops (for their nightly rest). And then, O Bharata, the withdrawal took place of both theirs and thine, while thine and theirs were frequently setting up loud roars. And the mighty car-warriors of the Parthas entered (their quarters) cheerlessly, thinking, O chastiser of foes, of that awful slaughter in single combat (of their commander)."

SECTION 49

Dhritarashtra said, "When the generalissimo Sweta, O son, was slain in battle by the enemy, what did those mighty bowmen, the Panchalas with the Pandavas, do? Hearing their commander Sweta slain, what happened between those that strove for his sake and their foes that retreated before them? O Sanjaya, hearing of our victory, (thy) words please my heart? Nor doth my heart feel any shame in remembering our transgression. [The transgression of which Dhritarashtra alludes is the slaughter by Bhishma from his car, of Sweta who was then a combatant on foot. Or, it may be the very slaughter of Sweta, who was dear to the Pandavas and which act would, the king thought, provoke them more.] The old chief of Kuru's race is ever cheerful and devoted (to us). (As regards Duryodhana), having provoked hostilities with that intelligent son of his uncle, he sought at one time the protection of the sons of Pandu in consequence of his anxiety and fear due to Yudhishthira. At that time, abandoning everything he lived in misery. In consequence of the prowess of the sons of Pandu, and everywhere receiving checks--having placed himself amid entanglements--from his enemies Duryodhana had (for some time) recourse to honourable behaviour. Formerly that wicked-minded king had placed himself under their protection. Why, therefore, O Sanjaya, hath Sweta who was devoted to Yudhishthira, been slain. Indeed, this narrow-minded prince, with all his prospects, hath been hurled to the nether regions by a number of wretches. Bhishma liked not the war, nor even did the preceptor. Nor Kripa, nor Gandhari liked it. O Sanjaya, nor do I like it, nor Vasudeva of Vrishni's race, nor that just king the son of Pandu; nor Bhima, nor Arjuna, nor those bulls among men, the twins (liked it.) Always forbidden by me, by Gandhari, by Vidura, by Rama the son of Jamadagni, and by the high-souled Vyasa also, the wicked-minded and sinful Duryodhana, with Dussasana, O Sanjaya, always following the counsels of Karna and Suvala's son, behaved maliciously towards the Pandavas. I think, O Sanjaya, that he has fallen into great distress. After the slaughter of Sweta and the victory of Bhishma what did Partha, excited with rage, do in battle accompanied by Krishna? Indeed, it is from Arjuna that my fears arise, and those fears, O Sanjaya, cannot be dispelled. He, Dhananjaya. the son of Kunti, is brave and endued with great activity. I think, with his arrows he will cut into fragments the bodies of his enemies. The son of Indra, and in battle equal unto Upendra the younger brother of Indra, a warrior whose wrath and purposes are never futile, alas, beholding him what becomes the state of your minds? Brave, acquainted with Vedas, resembling the fire and the Sun in splendour, and possessing a knowledge of the Aindra weapon, that warrior of immeasurable soul is ever victorious when he falleth upon the foe? His weapons always falling upon the foe with the force of the thunderbolt and his arms wonderfully quick in drawing the bowstring, the son of Kunti is a mighty car-warrior. The formidable son of Drupada also, O Sanjaya, is endued with great wisdom. What, indeed, did Dhristadyumna do when Sweta was slain in battle? I think that in consequence of the wrongs they sustained of old, and of the slaughter of their commander, the hearts of the high-souled Pandavas blazed up. Thinking of their wrath I am never at my ease, by day or by night, on account of Duryodhana. How did the great battle take place? Tell me all about it, O Sanjaya.

Sanjaya said, "Hear, O king, quietly about thy transgressions. It behoveth thee not to impute the fruit to Duryodhana. As is the construction of an embankment when the waters have disappeared, so is thy understanding, or, it is like the digging of a well when house is on fire. When, after the forenoon had passed away, the commander Sweta was, O Bharata, slain by Bhishma in that fierce conflict, Virata's son Sankha, that grinder of hostile ranks ever delighting in battle, beholding Salya stationed with Kritavarman (on his car), suddenly blazed up with wrath, like fire with clarified butter. That mighty warrior, stretching his large bow that resembled the bow of Indra himself, rushed with the desire of slaying the ruler of the Madras in battle, himself supported on all sides by a large division of cars. And Sankha, causing an arrowy downpour rushed towards the car on which Salya was. And beholding him advancing like an infuriate elephant, seven mighty car-warriors of thy side surrounded him--desirous of rescuing the ruler of the Madras already within the jaws of death. Then the mighty-armed Bhishma, roaring like the very clouds, and taking up a bow full six cubits long, rushed towards Sankha in battle. And beholding that mighty car-warrior and great bowman thus rushing, the Pandava host began to tremble like a boat tossed by a violence of the tempest. Then Arjuna, quickly advancing, placed himself in front of Sankha, thinking that Sankha should, then be protected from Bhishma. And then the combat commenced between Bhishma and Arjuna. And loud cries of oh and alas arose among the warriors engaged in battle. And one force seemed to merge into another force. And thus all were filled with wonder. Then Salya, mace in hand, alighting from his large car, slew, O bull of Bharata's race, the four steeds of Sankha. Jumping down from his car thus deprived of steeds, and taking a sword, Sankha ran towards Vibhatsu's car and (mounting on it) was once more at his ease. And then there fell from Bhishma's car innumerable arrows by which were covered the entire welkin and the earth. And that foremost of smiters, Bhishma, slaughtered with his arrows the Panchala,

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the Matsya, the Kekaya, and the Prabhadraka host. And soon abandoning in that battle, Pandu's son (Arjuna) capable of drawing the bow with even his left hand, Bhishma rushed towards Drupada, the king of the Panchalas, surrounded by his host. And he soon covered his dear relative with innumerable arrows. Like a forest consumed by fire at the end of winter, the troops of Drupada were seen to be consumed. And Bhishma stood in that battle like a blazing fire without smoke, or like the Sun himself at midday scorching everything around with his heat. The combatants of the Pandavas were not able to even look at Bhishma. And afflicted with fear, the Pandava host cast its eyes around, and not beholding any protector, looked like a herd of kine afflicted by cold. Slaughtered or retreating in despondence being crushed the while, loud cries, O Bharata, of oh and alas arose among the troops of the Pandavas. Then Bhishma the son of Santanu, with bow always drawn to a circle, shot therefrom blazing arrows that resembled virulent poison. And creating continuous lines of arrows in all directions, that hero of rigid vows slew Pandava car-warriors, naming each, O Bharata, beforehand. And then when the troops of the Pandavas were routed and crushed all over the field, the sun set and nothing could be seen. And then beholding Bhishma, O bull of Bharata's race, proudly standing in battle, the Parthas withdrew their forces (for nightly rest)."

SECTION 50

Sanjaya said, "When the troops, O bull of Bharata's race, were withdrawn on the first day, and when Duryodhana was filled with delight upon (beholding) Bhishma excited with wrath in battle, king Yudhisthira the just, speedily repaired unto Janardana, accompanied by all his brothers and all the kings (on his side). Filled with great grief thinking of his defeat, and beholding Bhishma's prowess, O king, he addressed that scion of Vrishni's race, saying, 'Behold, O Krishna, that mighty bowman Bhishma of terrible prowess. He consumes with his arrow my troops like fire (consuming) dry grass. How shall we even look at that high-souled (warrior) who is licking up my troops like fire fed with clarified butter? Beholding; that tiger among men, that mighty warrior armed with the bow, my troops fly away, afflicted with arrows. Enraged Yama himself, or He armed with the thunder, or even Varuna noose in hand, or Kuvera armed with mace, may be vanquished in battle but the mighty car-warrior Bhishma, of great energy is incapable of being vanquished. Such being the case, I am sinking in the fathomless ocean represented by Bhishma, without a boat (to rescue me). In consequence, O Kesava, of the weakness of my understanding, having obtained Bhishma (for a foe in battle), I shall, O Govinda, retire into woods. To live there is preferable to devoting these lords of earth to Death in the form of Bhishma. Conversant with mighty weapons, Bhishma, O Krishna, will annihilate my army. As insects rush into the blazing fire for their own destruction, the combatants of my army are even so. In putting forth prowess for the sake of kingdom, O thou of Vrishni's race, I am being led to destruction. My heroic brothers also are pained and afflicted with arrows for my sake, having been deprived of both sovereignty and happiness in consequence of their love for their eldest brother. We regard life very highly, for, under these circumstances, life is too precious (to be sacrificed). During the remainder of my days I will practise the severest of ascetic austerities. I will not, O Kesava, cause these friends of mine to be slain. The mighty Bhishma incessantly stays, with his celestial weapon, many thousands of my car-warriors who are foremost of smiters. Tell me, O Madhava, without delay, what should be done that might do me good. As regards Arjuna, I see that he is an indifferent spectator in this battle. Endued with great might, this Bhima alone, remembering Kshatriya duties, fighteth putting forth the prowess of his arms and to the utmost of his power. With his hero-slaying mace, this high-souled (warrior), to the full measure of his powers, achieveth the most difficult feats upon foot-soldiers and steeds and cars and elephants. This hero, however, is incapable, O sire, of destroying in fair fight the hostile host in even a century. This thy friend (Arjuna) alone (amongst) is conversant with (mighty) weapons. He, however, beholding us consumed by Bhishma and the high-souled Drona, looketh indifferently on us. The celestial weapons of Bhishma and the high-souled Drona, incessantly applied, are consuming all the Kshatriyas. O Krishna, such is his prowess, that Bhishma, with wrath excited, aided by the kings (on his side), will, without doubt annihilate us. O Lord of Yoga, look for that great bowman, that mighty car-warrior, who will give Bhishma his quietus like rain-charged clouds quenching a forest conflagration. (Then) through thy grace, O Govinda, the son of Pandu, their foes being slain, will, after recovery of their kingdom, be happy with their kinsmen.

"Having said this, the high-souled son of Pritha, with heart afflicted by grief and mind turned within, remained silent for a long while in a reflected mood. Beholding the son of Pandu stricken with grief and deprived of his senses by sorrow, Govinda then gladdening all the Pandavas said, 'Do not grieve, O chief of the Bharatas. It behoveth thee not to grieve, when thy brothers are all heroes and renowned bowmen in the world. I also am employed in doing thee good, as also that mighty car-warrior Satyaki and Virata and Drupada, both reverend in years, and Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's line. And so also, O best of kings, all these monarchs with their (respective) troops are expectant of thy favour and devoted to thee, O king. This mighty car-warrior Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's race placed in command of thy army is always desirous of thy welfare and engaged in doing that which is agreeable to thee, as also this Sikhandin, O thou of mighty arms, who is certainly the slayer of Bhishma. Hearing these words, the king (Yudhishthira), said, unto that mighty car-warrior Dhrishtadyumna, in that very assembly and in the hearing of Vasudeva, these words, O Dhrishtadyumna, mark these words that I say unto thee, O thou of Prishata's line. The words uttered by me should not be transgressed. Approved by Vasudeva, thou hast been the commander of our forces. As Kartikeya, in days of old, was ever the commander of the celestial host, so also art thou, O bull among men, the commander of the Pandava host. Putting forth thy prowess, O tiger among men, slay the Kauravas. I will follow thee, and Bhima, and Krishna also, O sire, and the sons of Madri united together, and the sons of Draupadi accoutred in mail, and all the other foremost of kings, O bull among men. Then gladdening (the listeners) Dhrishtadyumna said, 'Ordained of old by Sambhu himself, I am, O son of Pritha, the slayer of Drona. I shall now fight in battle against Bhishma, and Drona and Kripa and Salya and Jayadratha and all the proud monarchs (on the Kuru side)'. When that foremost of princes, that slayer of foes, the son of Prishata, said this defiantly, the Pandava warriors, endued with great energy and incapable of being defeated in battle, all set up a loud shout. And then Pritha's son Yudhishthira said unto the commander of his army, the son of Prishata, (these words), 'An array known by the name of Krauncharuma, that is destructive of all foes, and that was spoken of by Vrihaspati unto Indra in days of old when the gods and the Asuras fought,--that array destructive of hostile divisions, do thou form. Unseen before, the kings behold it, along with the Kurus.' Thus addressed by that god among men, like Vishnu addressed by the wielder of the thunderbolt, he (Dhrishtadyumna), when morning dawned, placed Dhananjaya in the van of the whole army. And Dhananjaya's standard, created at Indra's command by the celestial artificer, while moving through the skies, seemed wonderfully beautiful. Decked with banners bearing hues resembling those of Indra's bow, coursing through the air like a ranger of the skies, and looking like the fleeting edifice of vapour in the welkin, it seemed, O sire to glide dancingly along the track of the car (to which it was attached). And the bearer of Gandiva with that (standard) graced with gems, and that standard itself with the bearer of Gandiva, looked highly adorned, like the Self-create with the Sun (and the Sun with the Self-create). And king Drupada, surrounded by a large number of troops, became the head (of that array). And the two kings Kuntibhoja and Saivya became its two eyes. And the ruler of the Dasarnas, and the Prayagas, with the Daserakas, and the Anupakas, and the Kiratas were placed in its neck, O bull of Bharata's race. And Yudhishthira, O king, with the Patachcharas, the Hunas, the Pauravakas and the Nishadas, became its two wings, so also the Pisachas, with the Kundavishas, and the Mandakas, the Ladakas, the Tanganas, and the Uddras, O Bharata, and the Saravas, the Tumbhumas, the Vatsas, and the Nakulas. And Nakula and Sahadeva placed themselves on the left wing. And on the joints of the wings were placed ten thousand cars and on the head a hundred thousand, and on the back a hundred millions and twenty thousand and on the neck a hundred and seventy thousand. And on the joints of the wings, the wings and the extremities of the wings proceeded elephants in large bodies, looking, O king, like blazing mountains. And the rear was protected by Virata aided by the Kekayas, and the ruler of Kasi and the king of the Chedis, with thirty thousand cars. Forming, O Bharata, their mighty array thus, the Pandavas, expectant of sunrise, waited for battle, all cased in armour. And their white umbrellas, clean and costly, and brilliant as the sun, shone resplendent on their elephants and cars."

SECTION 51

Sanjaya said, "Beholding the mighty and terrible array called Krauncha formed by Pandu's son of immeasurable energy, thy son, approaching the preceptor, and Kripa, and Salya, O sire, and Somadatta's son, and Vikarna, and Aswatthaman also, and all his brothers too, headed by Dussasana, O Bharata, and other immeasurable heroes assembled there for battle, said these timely words, gladdening them all, 'Armed with various kinds of weapons, ye all are conversant with the meaning of the scriptures. Ye mighty car-warriors, each of you is singly capable of slaying in battle the sons of Pandu with their troops. How much more then, when ye are united together. Our host, therefore, which is protected by Bhishma, is immeasurable, while that host of theirs, which is protected by Bhima, is measurable. Let the Samsthanas, the Surasenas, the Venikas, the Kukkuras, the Rechakas, the Trigartas, the Madrakas, the Yavanas, with Satrunjayas, and Dussasana, and that excellent hero Vikarna, and Nanda and Upanandaka, and Chitrasena, along with the Manibhadrakas, protect Bhishma with their (respective) troops,'--Then Bhishma and Drona and thy sons, O sire, formed a mighty array for resisting that of the Parthas. And Bhishma, surrounded by a large body of troops, advanced, leading a mighty army, like the chief of the celestials himself. And that mighty bowman, the son of Bharadwaja, endued with great energy, followed him with the Kuntalas, the Dasarnas, and the Magadhas, O king, and with the Vidarbhas, the Melakas, the Karnas, and the Pravaranas also. And the Gandharas, the Sindhusauviras, the Sivis and the Vasatis with all their combatants also, (followed) Bhishma, that ornament of battle, and Sakuni, with all his troops protected the son of Bharadwaja. And then king Duryodhana, united with all his brothers, with the Aswalakas, the Vikarnas, the Vamanas, the Kosalas, the Daradas, the Vrikas, as also the Kshudrakas and the Malavas advanced cheerfully against the Pandava host. And Bhurisravas, and Sala, and Salya, and Bhagadatta, O sire, and Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti, protected the left flank. And Somadatta, and Susarman, and Sudakshina, the ruler of the Kamvojas and Satayus, and Srutayus, were on the right flank. And Aswatthaman, and Kripa, and Kritavarman of Satwata's race, with a very large division of the troops, were, stationed at the rear of the army. And behind them were the rulers of many provinces, and Ketumat, and Vasudana, and the powerful son of the king of Kasi. Then all the troops on thy side cheerfully waiting for battle, O Bharata, blew their conches with great pleasure, and set up leonine roars. And hearing the shouts of those (combatants) filled with delight the venerable Kuru grandsire, endued with great prowess, uttering a leonine roar, blew his conch. Thereupon, conches and drums and diverse kinds of Pesis and cymbals, were sounded at once by others, and the noise made became a loud uproar. And Madhava and Arjuna, both stationed on a great car unto which were yoked white steeds, blew their excellent conches decked with gold and jewels. And Hrishikesa blew the conch called Panchajanya, and Dhananjaya (that called) Devadatta. And Vrikodara of terrible deeds blew the huge conch called Paundra. And Kunti's son king Yudhishthira blew the conch called Anantavijaya, while Nakula and Sahadeva (those conches called) Sughosa and Manipushpaka. And the ruler of Kasi, and Saivya, and Sikhandin the mighty car-warrior, and Dhrishtadyumna, and Virata, and the mighty car-warrior Satyaki, and that great bowman the king of the Panchalas, and the five sons of Draupadi, all blew their large conches and set up leonine roars. And that great uproar uttered there by those heroes, loudly reverberated through both the earth and the welkin. Thus, O great king, the Kurus and the Pandavas, both filled with delight, advanced against each other for battling again, and scorching each other thus."

SECTION 52

Dhritarashtra said, "When mine and the hostile hosts were thus formed into battle array, how did the foremost of smiters begin to strike?"

Sanjaya said, "When all the divisions were thus arrayed, the combatants waited, each cased in mail, and with their beautiful standards all upraised. And beholding the (Kuru) host that resembled the limitless ocean, thy son Duryodhana, O king, stationed within it, said unto all the combatants on thy side, 'Cased in mail (as ye are), begin ye the fight'. The combatants then, entertaining cruel intentions, and abandoning their very lives, all rushed against the Pandavas, with standards upraised. The battle that took place then was fierce and made the hair stand on end. And the cars and elephants all got mixed together. And shafts with beautiful feathers, and endued with great energy and sharp points, shot by car-warriors fell upon elephants and horses. And when the battle began in this way, the venerable Kuru grandsire, the mighty-armed Bhishma of terrible prowess, cased in mail, taking up his bow, and approaching them, showered an arrowy downpour on the heroic son of Subhadra, and the mighty car-warrior Arjuna, and the ruler of the Kekayas and Virata, and Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's race, as also upon the Chedi and the Matsya warriors. And that mighty array (of the Pandavas) wavered at the onset of that hero. And terrific was the encounter that took place between all the combatants. And horse-men and car-warriors and foremost of steeds fell fast. And the car-divisions of the Pandavas began to fly away. Then that tiger among men, Arjuna, beholding that mighty car-warrior Bhishma, angrily said unto him of Vrishni's race. 'Proceed to the place where the grandsire is. O thou of Vrishni's race, it is evident that this Bhishma, with wrath excited, will annihilate for Duryodhana's benefit my host. And this Drona, and Kripa and Salya and Vikarna, O Janardana, united with Dhritarashtra's sons headed by Duryodhana, and protected by this firm bowman, will slaughter the Panchalas. Even I, therefore, shall stay Bhishma for the sake of my troops, O Janardana.' Unto him Vasudeva then said, 'Be careful, O Dhananjaya, for I will soon take thee, O hero, towards the grandsire's car.' Having said this, O king, Saurin took that car, which was celebrated over the world, before the car of Bhishma. With numerous banners all waving,

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with steeds looking handsome like a flight of (white) cranes, with standard upraised on which was the ape roaring fiercely, upon his large car of solar effulgence and whose rattle resembled roar of the clouds, slaughtering the Kaurava divisions and the Surasenas also, the son of Pandu, that enhancer of the joys of friends speedily came to the encounter. Him (thus) rushing impetuously like an infuriate elephant and (thus) frightening in a battle brave combatants and felling them with his shafts, Bhishma the son of Santanu, protected by the warriors headed by Saindhava and by the combatants of the East and the Sauviras and the Kekayas, encountered with great impetuosity. Who else save the Kuru grandsire and those car-warriors, viz., Drona and Vikartana's son (Karna), are capable of advancing in battle against the bearer of the bow called Gandiva? Then, O great king, Bhishma, the grandsire of the Kauravas, struck Arjuna with seventy-seven arrows and Drona (struck him) with five and twenty, and Kripa with fifty, and Duryodhana with four and sixty, and Salya with nine arrows; and Drona's son, that tiger among men, with sixty, and Vikarna with three arrows; and Saindhava with nine and Sakuni with five. And Artayani O king, pierced Pandu's son with three broad-headed arrows. And (though) pierced on all sides by them with sharp arrows, that great bowman, that mighty-armed (warrior), wavered not like mountain that is pierced (with arrows). Thereupon he, the diadem-decked, of immeasurable soul, O bull of Bharata's race, in return pierced Bhishma with five and twenty, and Kripa with nine arrows, and Drona with sixty, O tiger among men, and Vikarna with three arrows; and Artayani with three arrows, and the king (Duryodhana) also with five. And then Satyaki, and Virata and Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's race, and the sons of Draupadi, and Abhimanyu, all surrounded him, (proceeding to his support). Then the prince of the Panchalas, supported by the Somakas, advanced towards the great bowman Drona who was engaged in seeking the welfare of Ganga's son. Then Bhishma, that foremost of car-warriors, speedily pierced the son of Pandu with eighty sharp arrows, upon which the combatants on thy side were much gratified. Hearing the shouts of those lions among car-warriors, Dhananjaya, endued with great prowess, then cheerfully entered into the midst of those lions among car-warriors and sported with his bow, O king, (successively) aiming those mighty car-warriors. Then that ruler of men, king Duryodhana, said unto Bhishma, beholding his own troops (thus) afflicted in battle by the son of Pritha. 'This mighty son of Pandu, O sire, accompanied by Krishna, felling all our troops, cutteth down our roots, even though thou, O son of Ganga, and that foremost of car-warriors, Drona, are alive. O monarch, it is for thee only that this Karna, laying aside his weapons, doth not fight with the sons of Pritha in battle (though) he is ever a well-wisher of mine, Do, therefore, that, O son of Ganga by which Phalguni may be slain. 'Thus addressed, O king, thy sire Devavrata, saying, 'Fie to Kshatriya usage', then proceeded towards Partha's car. And all the kings, O monarch, seeing both those warriors with white steeds yoked unto their cars stationed (for battle), set up loud leonine roars, and also blew their conches, O sire. And Drona's son and Duryodhana, and thy son Vikarna, surrounding Bhishma in that combat, stood, O sire, for battle. And so all the Pandavas, surrounding Dhananjaya, stood for fierce conflict. And the battle then commenced. And the son of Ganga pierced Partha in that combat with nine shafts. And Arjuna pierced him in return with ten shafts penetrating into the very vitals. Then, with a thousand arrows, well shot, Pandu's son Arjuna, famed for his skill in battle, shrouded Bhishma on all sides. That arrowy net, however, of Partha, O king, Bhishma the son of Santanu baffled with an arrowy net (of his own). And both well-pleased, and both delighting in battle, fought with each other without each gaining any advantage over the other, and each desirous of counteracting the other's feats. And the successive flights of arrows shot from Bhishma's bow were seen to be dispersed by the shafts of Arjuna. And so the flights of arrows shot by Arjuna, cut off by the arrows of Ganga's son, all fell down on the ground. And Arjuna pierced Bhishma with five and twenty arrows of sharp points. And Bhishma, too, in that combat, pierced Partha in return with nine arrows. And those two mighty warriors, those chastisers of foes, piercing each other's steeds, and also the shafts and the wheels of each other's cars, began to sport. Then, O king, Bhishma, that foremost of smiters, struck Vasudeva between his two breasts with three arrows. And the slayer of Madhu, struck with those shafts shot from Bhishma's bow, shone in that battle, O king, like a flowering Kinsuka. Then Arjuna, indignant at seeing Madhava, pierced in that combat the charioteer of Ganga's son with three arrows. And both heroes, striving with each other against each other's car, succeeded not in taking aim at each other in the combat. And in consequence of the ability and dexterity of the charioteers of both those warriors, both displayed, O king, beautiful circles and advancings and retreatings in respect of their moving cars. And, O monarch, seeing the opportunity to strike, they frequently changed positions, O king, for obtaining what they sought. And both the heroes blew their conches, mingling that blare with their leonine roars. And those mighty car-warriors twang their bows, both in the same manner. And with the blare of their conches and the rattle of their car-wheels, the very Earth was suddenly rent. And it began to tremble and produce subterranean noises. And nobody, O bull of Bharata's race, could detect any latches in either of them. Both of them was possessed of great might and great courage in battle, each was other's match. And by (the sight of) his standard alone, the Kauravas could approach him (for aid). And so the Pandavas approached Pritha's son (for aid), guided by his standard only. And beholding, O king, prowess thus displayed by those two foremost of men, O Bharata, all creatures (present) in that battle were filled with wonder. And none, O Bharata, observed any difference between the two, just as none finds any transgression in a person observant of morality. And both of them (at times) became perfectly invisible in consequence of clouds of arrows. And soon enough both of them in that battle became visible. And the gods with Gandharvas and the Charanas, and the great Rishis beholding their prowess, said unto one another. These mighty car-warriors when excited with rage, are incapable of ever being vanquished in battle by all the worlds with the gods, the Asuras and the Gandharvas. This highly wonderful battle would be wonderful in all the worlds. Indeed, a battle such as this will never take place again. Bhishma is incapable of being conquered in combat by Pritha's son of great intelligence, showering his arrows in battle, with bow and car and steeds. So also that great bowman, the son of Pandu, incapable of being vanquished in battle by the very gods, Bhishma is not competent to conquer in combat. As long as the world itself will last, so long will this battle continue equally. We heard these words, O king, fraught with the praise of Ganga's son and Arjuna in battle bruited about there. And while those two were engaged in displaying their prowess, other warriors of thy side and of the Pandavas, O Bharata, slew one another in battle, with sharp-edged scimitars, and polished battle-axes, and innumerable arrows, and diverse kinds of weapons. And the brave combatants of both armies cut one another down, while that terrible and murderous conflict lasted. And the encounter also, O king, that took place between Drona and the prince of the Panchalas, was awful."

SECTION 53

Dhritarashtra said, "Tell me, O Sanjaya, how that great bowman Drona and the Panchala prince of Prishata's race encounter each other in battle, each striving his best. I regard destiny to be superior, O Sanjaya, to exertion, when Santanu's son Bhishma (even) could not escape Pandu's son in battle. Indeed, Bhishma, when enraged in battle could destroy all mobile and immobile creatures, why, O Sanjaya, could he not then by his prowess, escape the son of Pandu in battle?"

Sanjaya said, 'Listen, O king, quietly to this terrific battle. The son of Pandu is incapable of being vanquished by the very gods with Vasava. Drona with diverse arrows pierced Dhrishtadyumna and felled the latter's charioteer from his niche in the car. And, O sire, the enraged hero also afflicted Dhrishtadyumna's four steeds with four excellent shafts. And the heroic Dhrishtadyumna too pierced Drona in the combat with nine sharp arrows and addressed him, saying, 'Wait--Wait'. 'Then, again, Bharadwaja's son of great prowess and immeasurable soul, covered with his arrows the wrathful Dhrishtadyumna. And he took up a dreadful arrow for the destruction of Prishata's son whose force resembled that of Sakra's bolt and which was like a second rod of death. And beholding that arrow aimed by Bharadwaja in battle, loud cries of oh and alas arose, O Bharata, among all the combatants. And then we beheld the wonderful prowess of Dhrishtadyumna insomuch that the hero stood alone, immovable like a mountain. And he cut off that terrible and blazing arrow coming towards him like his own Death, and also showered an arrowy downpour on Bharadwaja's son. And beholding that difficult feat achieved by Dhrishtadyumna, the Panchalas with the Pandavas, filled with delight, set up loud shouts. And that prince, endued with great prowess, desirous of slaying Drona hurled at him a dart of great impetuosity, decked with gold and stones of lapis lazuli. Thereupon the son of Bharadwaja, smiling the while, cut off into three fragments that dart decked with gold that was coming towards him impetuously. Beholding his dart thus baffled, Dhrishtadyumna of great prowess rained arrowy downpours on Drona, O king. Then that mighty car-warrior Drona, baffling that arrowy shower, cut off when the opportunity presented, the bow of Drupada's son. His bow (thus) cut off in the combat, that mighty warrior of great fame hurled at Drona a heavy mace endued with the strength of the mountain. And hurled from his hands, that mace coursed through the air for Drona's destruction. And then we beheld the wonderful prowess of Bharadwaja's son. By (the) lightness (of his car's motion), he baffled that mace decked with gold, and having baffled it, he shot at Prishata's son many shafts of sharp edge, well-tempered, furnished with golden wings, and whetted on stone. And these, penetrating through Prishata's coat of mail, drank his blood in that battle. Then the high-souled Dhrishtadyumna, taking up another bow, and putting forth his prowess pierced Drona in that encounter with five shafts. And then those two bulls among men, both covered with blood, looked beautiful like two blossoming Kinsukas in spring variegated with flowers. Then, O king, excited with wrath and putting forth his prowess at the head of his division, Drona once more cut off the bow of Drupada's son. And then that hero of immeasurable soul covered that warrior whose bow was cut off, with innumerable straight arrows like the clouds showering rain on a mountain. And he also felled his foe's charioteer from his niche in the car. And his four steeds, too, with four sharp arrows, Drona felled in that combat that set up a leonine roar. And with another shaft he cut off the leathern fence that cased Dhrishtadyumna's hand. His bow cut off, deprived of car, his steeds slain, and charioteer overthrown, the prince of Panchala alighted from his car, mace in hand, displaying great prowess. But before he could come down from his car, O Bharata, Drona with his shafts cut off that mace into fragments. This feat seemed wonderful to us. And then the mighty prince of the Panchalas of strong arms, taking a large and beautiful shield decked with a hundred moons, and a large scimitar of beautiful make, rushed impetuously from desire of slaying Drona, like a hungry lion in the forest towards an infuriate elephant. Then wonderful was the prowess that we behold of Bharadwaja's son, and his lightness (of hand) in the use of weapons, as also the strength of his arms, O Bharata, in as much as, alone, he checked Prishata's son with a shower of arrows. And although possessed of great might in battle, he was unable to proceed further. And we behold the mighty car-warrior Dhrishtadyumna staying where he did and warding off those clouds of arrows with his shield, using his arms with great dexterity. Then the mighty-armed Bhima endued with great strength quickly came there, desirous of aiding in battle the high-souled son of Prishata. And he pierced Drona, O king, with seven sharp-pointed arrows, and speedily caused Prishata's son to be taken up on another car. Then king Duryodhana urged the ruler of the Kalingas supported by a large division, for the protection of Bharadwaja's son. Then that terrible and mighty division of the Kalingas, O ruler of men, rushed against Bhima at the command of thy son. And Drona then, that foremost of car-warriors, abandoning the prince of Panchala, encountered Virata and Drupada together. And Dhrishtadyumna also proceeded to support king Yudhishthira in battle. And then commenced a fierce battle, making the hair stand on end, between the Kalingas and the high-souled Bhima, a battle that was destructive of the universe, terrific, and awful."

SECTION 54

Dhritarashtra said, "How did the ruler of the Kalingas, that commander of a large division, urged by my son, and supported by his troops, fight in battle with the mighty Bhimasena of wonderful feats, that hero wandering over the field of battle with his mace like Death himself club in hand?"

Sanjaya said, "Thus urged by thy son, O great king, the mighty king of the Kalingas, accompanied by a large army advanced towards Bhima's car. And Bhimasena, then, O Bharata, supported by the Chedis, rushed towards that large and mighty army of the Kalingas, abounding with cars, steeds, and elephants, and armed with mighty weapons, and advancing towards him with Ketumat, the son of the king of the Nishadas. And Srutayus also, excited with wrath, accoutred in mail [protected by chain mail], followed by his troops in battle-array, and, accompanied by king Ketumat, came before Bhima in battle. And the ruler of the Kalingas with many thousands of cars, and Ketumat with ten thousand elephants and the Nishadas, surrounded Bhimasena, O king, on all sides. Then the Chedis, the Matsyas, and Karushas, with Bhimasena at their head, with many kings impetuously rushed against the Nishadas. And then commenced the battle, fierce and terrible, between the warriors rushing at one another from desire of slaughter. And terrific was the battle that suddenly took place between Bhima and his foes, resembling the battle, O great king, between Indra and the mighty host of Diti's sons. And loud became the uproar, O Bharata, of that mighty army struggling in battle, that resembled the sound of the roaring ocean. And the combatants, O king, cutting one another, made the whole field resemble a crematorium strewn with flesh and blood. And combatants, impelled by the desire of slaughter could not distinguish friend from foe. And those brave warriors, incapable of being easily defeated in battle, even began to strike down their own friend. And terrific was the collision that took place between the few and many, between the Chedis (on the one side) and the Kalingas and the Nishadas, O king, (on the other). Displaying their manliness to the best of their power, the mighty Chedis, abandoning Bhimasena, turned back, and when the Chedis ceased to follow him, the son of Pandu, encountering all the Kalingas, did not turn back, depending upon the might of his own arms. Indeed, the mighty Bhimasena moved not, but from the terrace of his car covered the division of the Kalingas with showers of sharp arrows. Then that mighty bowman, the king of the Kalingas, and that car-warrior, his son known by the name of Sakradeva, both began to strike the son of Pandu

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with their shafts. And the mighty-armed Bhima, shaking his beautiful bow, and depending on the might of his own arms, fought with Kalinga, and Sakradeva, shooting in that battle innumerable arrows, slew Bhimasena's steeds with them. And beholding that chastiser of foes Bhimasena deprived of his car, Sakradeva rushed at him, shooting sharp arrows. And upon Bhimasena, O great king, the mighty Sakradeva showered arrowy downpours like the clouds after summer is gone. But the mighty Bhimasena, staying on his car whose steeds had been slain, hurled at Sakradeva a mace made of the hardest iron. And slain by that mace, O king, the son of the ruler of the Kalingas, from his car, fell down on the ground, with his standard and charioteer. Then that mighty car-warrior, the king of the Kalingas beholding his own son slain, surrounded Bhima on all sides with many thousands of cars. Then the mighty-armed Bhima endued with great strength, abandoning mace, took up a scimitar, desirous of achieving a fierce feat. And that bull among men also took up, O king, crescents made of gold. And the ruler of the Kalingas also, excited with wrath, and rubbing his bowstring, and taking up a terrible arrow (deadly) as poison of the snake, shot it at Bhimasena, desirous at that monarch was of slaying (the Pandava). That sharp arrow, thus shot and coursing impetuously, Bhimasena, O king, cut in twain with his huge sword. And filled with delight he set up a loud shout, terrifying the troops. And the ruler of the Kalingas, excited with rage in that combat with Bhimasena, quickly hurled at him fourteen bearded darts whetted on stone. The mighty-armed son of Pandu, however, with that best of scimitars, fearlessly cut into fragments in a trice, O king, those darts while coursing through the welkin and before they could reach him. And having in that battle (thus) cut off those fourteen darts Bhima, that bull among men, beholding Bhanumat, rushed at him. Bhanumat then covered Bhima with a shower of arrows, and set up a loud shout, making the welkin resound with it. Bhima, however, in that fierce battle, could not bear that leonine shout. Himself endued with a loud voice, he also shouted very loudly. And at these shouts of his, the army of the Kalingas became filled with fear. In that battle they no longer regarded Bhima, O bull among men, as a human being. Then, O great king, having uttered a loud shout, Bhima, sword in hand impetuously jumping on (Bhanumat's) excellent elephant aided by the latter's tusks, gained, O sire, the back of that prince of tuskers, and with his huge sword cut Bhanumat, dividing him in the middle. That chastiser of foes, then, having (thus) slain in battle the prince of the Kalingas, next made his sword which was capable of bearing a great strain, to descend upon the neck of that elephant. His head cut off, that prince of elephants fell down with a loud roar, like a crested mountain (whose base is) eaten away by the impetuous (surges of the) sea. And jumping down, O Bharata, from that failing elephant, the prince of Bharata's race, of undepressed soul, stood on the ground, sword in hand and accoutred in mail (as before). And felling numerous elephants on all sides, he wandered (over the field), making many paths (for himself). And then he seemed to be like a moving wheel of fire slaughtering whole divisions of cavalry, of elephants, and cars, and large bodies of infantry. And that lord among men, the mighty Bhima, was seen to move over the field with the activity of the hawk, quickly cutting off in that battle, with his sharp-edged sword, their bodies and heads, as also those of the combatants on elephant. And combatant on foot, excited with rage, all alone, and like Yama at the season of universal dissolution, he struck terror into his foes and confounded those brave warriors. Only they that were senseless rushed with loud shouts at him wandering in that great battle with impetuosity, sword in hand. And that grinder of foes, endued with great strength, cutting off the shafts and yokes of warriors on their cars, slew those warriors also. And Bhimasena was seen, O Bharata, to display diverse kinds of motions there. He wheeled about, and whirled about on high, and, made side-thrusts, and jumped forward, and ran above, and leapt high. And, O Bharata, he was also seen to rush forward and rush upward. And some mangled by the high-souled son of Pandu by means of his excellent sword, shrieked aloud, struck at their vitals or fell down deprived of life. And many elephants, O Bharata, some with trunks and the extremities of their tusks cut off, and others having their temporal globes cut open, deprived of riders, slew their own ranks and fell down uttering loud cries. And broken lances, O king, and the head of elephant drivers, and beautiful housings of elephants, and chords resplendent with gold, and collars, and darts and mallets and quivers, diverse kinds of machines, and beautiful bows, short arrows with polished heads, with hooks and iron crows for guiding elephants, bells of diverse shape, and hilts decked with gold, were seen by us falling down or (already) fallen along with riders of steeds. And with elephants (lying down) having the fore parts and hind parts of their bodies and their trunks cut off, or entirely slain, the field seemed to be strewn with fallen cliffs. That bull among men, having thus crushed the huge elephants, next crushed the steeds also. And, O Bharata, that hero also felled the foremost of cavalry soldiers. And the battle, O sire, that took place between him and them was fierce in the extreme. And hilts and traces, and saddle girths resplendent with gold, and covers for the back of steeds, and bearded darts, and costly swords, and coats of mail, and shields, and beautiful ornaments, were seen by us strewn over the ground in that great battle. And he caused the earth to be strewn over (with blood) as if it were variegated with lilies. And the mighty son of Pandu, jumping high and dragging some car-warriors down with his sword felled them along with (their) standards. Frequently jumping up or rushing on all sides, that hero endued with great activity, wandering along many routes, caused the combatants to be amazed. And some he slew by his legs, and dragging down others he pressed them down under the earth. And others he cut off with his sword, and others he frightened with his roars. And others he threw down on the ground by the force of his thighs (as he ran). And others, beholding him, fled away in terror. It was thus that that vast force of the Kalingas endued with great activity, surrounding the terrible Bhimasena in battle, rushed at him. Then, O bull of Bharata's race, beholding Srutayush at the head of Kalinga troops, Bhimasena rushed at him. And seeing him advancing the ruler of the Kalingas, of immeasurable soul, pierced Bhimasena between his breasts with nine arrows. Struck with those shafts shot by the ruler of the Kalingas, like an elephant pierced with the hook, Bhimasena blazed up with wrath like fire fed with fuel. Then Asoka, that best of charioteers, bringing a car decked with gold, caused Bhima to mount on it. And thereupon that slayer of foes, the son of Kunti, speedily mounted on that car. And then he rushed at the ruler of the Kalingas, saying,--'Wait, Wait'. And then the mighty Srutayush excited with wrath, shot at Bhima many sharp arrows, displaying his lightness of hand, and that mighty warrior, Bhima, forcibly struck with those nine sharp arrows shot by Kalinga from his excellent bow, yielded to great wrath, O king, like a snake struck with a rod. Then that foremost of mighty men, Bhima, the son of Pritha, excited with rage and drawing his bow with great strength, slew the ruler of the Kalingas with seven shafts made wholly of iron. And with two shafts he slew the two mighty protectors of the car-wheels of Kalinga. And he also despatched Satyadeva and Satya to the abode of Yama. Of immeasurable soul, Bhima also, with many sharp arrows and long shafts, caused Ketumat to repair unto Yama's abode. Then the Kshatriyas of the Kalinga country, excited with rage and supported by many thousands of combatants, encountered the wrathful Bhimasena in battle. And armed with darts and maces and scimitars and lances and swords and battle-axes, the Kalingas, O king, hundreds upon hundreds surrounded Bhimasena. Baffling that risen shower of arrows, that mighty warrior then took up his mace and jumped down (from his car) with great speed. And Bhima then despatched seven hundred heroes to Yama's abode. And that grinder of foes despatched, in addition, two thousand Kalingas to the region of death. And that feat seemed highly wonderful. And it was thus that the heroic Bhima of terrible prowess repeatedly felled in battle large bands of the Kalingas. And elephants deprived by Pandu's son, in that battle, of their riders, and afflicted with arrows wandered on the field, treading down their own ranks and uttering loud roars like masses of clouds driven by the wind. Then the mighty-armed Bhima, scimitar in hand, and filled with delight, blew his conch of terrible loudness. And with that blare he caused the hearts of all the Kalinga troops to quake with fear. And, O chastiser of foes, all the Kalingas seemed at the same time to be deprived of their senses. And all the combatants and all the animals shook with terror. And in consequence of Bhimasena wandering in that battle through many paths or rushing on all sides like a prince of elephants, or frequently jumping up, a trance seemed to be engendered there that deprived his foes of their senses. And the whole (Kalinga) army shook with terror of Bhimasena, like a large lake agitated by an alligator. And struck with panic in consequence of Bhima of wonderful achievements, all the Kalinga combatants fled away in all directions. When, however, they were rallied again, the commander of the Pandava army (Dhrishtadyumna), O Bharata, ordered his own troops, saying,--'Fight'. Hearing the words of their commander, many leaders (of the Pandava army) headed by Sikhandin approached Bhima, supported by many car-divisions accomplished in smiting. And Pandu's son, king Yudhishthira the Just, followed all of them with a large elephant force of the colour of the clouds. And thus urging all his divisions, the son of Prishata, surrounded by many excellent warriors, took upon himself the protection of one of the wings of Bhimasena. There exists nobody on earth, save Bhima and Satyaki, who to the prince of the Panchalas is dearer than his very life. That slayer of hostile heroes, the son of Prishata, beheld the mighty-armed Bhimasena, that slayer of foes, wandering among the Kalingas. He set up many shouts, O king, and was filled with delight, O chastiser of foes. Indeed, he blew his conch in battle and uttered a leonine roar. And Bhimasena also, beholding the red standard of Dhrishtadyumna on his car decked with gold and unto which were yoked steeds white as pigeons, became comforted. And Dhrishtadyumna of immeasurable soul, beholding Bhimasena encountered by the Kalingas rushed to the battle for his rescue. And both those heroes. Dhrishtadyumna and Vrikodara, endued with great energy, beholding Satyaki at a distance, furiously encountered the Kalingas in battle. And that bull among men, the grand son of Sini, that foremost of victorious warriors, quickly advancing to the spot took up the wing of both Bhima and Prishata's son. Bow in hand creating a great havoc there and making himself fierce in the extreme, he began to slay the enemy in battle. And Bhima caused a river to flow there of bloody current, mingled with the blood and flesh of the warriors born in Kalinga. And beholding Bhimasena then, the troops cried aloud, O king, saying. 'This is Death himself that is fighting in Bhima's shape with the Kalingas.' Then Santanu's son Bhishma, hearing those cries in battle, quickly proceeded towards Bhima, himself surrounded on all sides with combatants in army. Thereupon, Satyaki and Bhimasena and Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's race, rushed towards that car of Bhima decked with gold. And all of them quickly surrounding Ganga's son in battle, pierced Bhishma, each with three terrible shafts, without losing a moment. Thy sire Devavrata, however, in return pierced each of those mighty bowmen striving (in battle) with three straight shafts. And checking those mighty car-warriors, with thousands of arrows he Slew with his shafts the steeds of Bhima decked with golden armour. Bhima, however, endued with great energy, staying on that car whose steeds had been slain, with great impetuosity hurled a dart at Bhishma's car. Thy sire Devavrata then, in that battle, cut off that dart in twain before it could reach him, and thereupon it fell down on the earth. Then that bull among men, Bhimasena, taking up a heavy and mighty mace made of Saikya iron speedily jumped down from his car. And Dhrishtadyumna quickly taking up that foremost of car-warriors on his own car, took away, in the very sight of all the combatants, that renowned warrior. And Satyaki then from desire of doing what was agreeable to Bhima, felled with his shaft the charioteer of the reverend Kuru grand-sire. Upon his charioteer being slain, that foremost of car-warriors, Bhishma, was borne away from the field of battle by his steeds with the speed of the wind. And when that mighty car-warrior was (thus) taken away from the field, Bhimasena then, O monarch, blazed up like a mighty fire while consuming dry grass. And slaying all the Kalingas, he stayed in the midst of the troops, and none, O bull of Bharata's race, of thy side ventured to withstand him. And worshipped by the Panchalas and the Matsyas, O bull of Bharata's race, he embraced Dhrishtadyumna and then approached Satyaki. And Satyaki, the tiger among the Yadus, of prowess incapable of being baffled, then gladdening Bhimasena, said unto him, in the presence of Dhrishtadyumna, (these words). 'By good luck the king of the Kalingas, and Ketumat, the prince of the Kalingas, and Sakradeva also of that country and all the Kalingas, have been slain in battle. With the might and prowess of thy arms, by thee alone, hath been crushed the very large division of the Kalingas that abounded with elephants and steeds and cars, and with noble warriors, and heroic combatants.' Having said this, the long-armed grandson of Sini, that chastiser of foes, quickly getting upon his car, embraced the son of Pandu. And then that mighty car-warrior, coming back to his own car, began to slay thy troops excited with rage and strengthening (the hands of) Bhima.

SECTION 55

Sanjaya said, "When the forenoon of that day had passed away, O Bharata, and when the destruction of cars, elephants, steeds, foot-soldiers and horse-soldiers, proceeded on, the prince of Panchala engaged himself in battle with these three mighty car-warriors, viz., Drona's son, Salya, and the high-souled Kripa. And the mighty heir of Panchala's king with many sharp shafts, slew the steeds of Drona's son that were celebrated over all the world. Deprived then of his animals, Drona's son quickly getting up on Salya's car, showered his shafts on the hair of the Panchala king. And beholding Dhrishtadyumna engaged in battle with Drona's son, the son of Subhadra, O Bharata, quickly came up scattering his sharp arrows. And, O bull of Bharata's race, he pierced Salya with five and twenty, and Kripa with nine arrows, and Aswatthaman with eight. Drona's son, however, quickly pierced Arjuna's son with many winged arrows, and Salya pierced him with twelve, and Kripa with three sharp arrows. Thy grandson Lakshmana then, beholding Subhadra's son engaged in battle, rushed at him, excited with rage. And the battle commenced between them. And the son of Duryodhana, excited with rage, pierced Subhadra's son with sharp shafts in that combat. And that (feat), O king, seemed highly wonderful. The light-handed Abhimanyu then, O bull of Bharata's race, excited with rage, quickly pierced his cousin with five hundred arrows. Lakshmana also, with his shafts, then cut off his (cousin's) bow-staff at the middle, at which, O monarch, all the people sent forth a loud shout. Then that slayer of hostile heroes, the son of Subhadra, leaving aside that broken bow, took up another that was beautiful and tougher. And thereupon those two bulls among men, thus engaged in combat and desirous of counteracting each other's feats, pierced each other with sharp shafts. King Duryodhana

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then, O monarch, beholding his mighty son thus afflicted by thy grandson (Abhimanyu), proceeded to that spot. And when thy son turned (towards that spot), all the kings surrounded the son of Arjuna on every side with crowds of cars. Incapable of being defeated in battle and equal in prowess unto Krishna himself, that hero, O king, thus surrounded by those heroes, was not agitated in the least. Then Dhananjaya, beholding Subhadra's son engaged in battle, rushed to that spot, excited with wrath, desirous of rescuing his own son. Thereupon the kings (on the Kuru side), headed by Bhishma and Drona and with cars, elephants and steeds, rushed impetuously at Savyasachin. Then a thick earthly dust, suddenly raised by foot-soldiers and steeds and cars and cavalry troopers, covering the sky appeared on the view. And those thousands of elephants and hundreds of kings, when they came within reach of Arjuna's arrows, were all unable to make any further advance. And all creatures there set up loud wails, and the points of the compass became dark. And then the transgression of the Kurus assumed a fierce and dreadful aspect as regards its consequences. Neither the welkin, nor the cardinal points of the compass nor the earth, nor the sun, could be distinguished, O best of men, in consequence of the arrows shot by Kiritin [The sense is that all these were entirely shrouded by Arjuna's arrows.]. And many were the elephants there deprived of the standards (on their backs), and many car-warriors also, deprived of their steeds. And some leaders of car divisions were seen wandering, having abandoned their cars. And other car-warriors, deprived of their cars, were seen to wander hither and thither, weapon in hand and their arms graced with Angadas. And riders of steeds abandoning their steeds and of elephants abandoning their elephants from fear of Arjuna, O king, fled away in all directions. And kings were seen felled or falling from cars and elephants and steeds in consequence of Arjuna's shafts. And Arjuna, assuming a fierce countenance, cut off with his terrible shafts, the upraised arms of warriors, mace in grasp, and arms bearing swords, O king, or darts, or quivers, or shafts, or bows, or hooks, or standards, all over the field. And spiked maces broken in fragments, and mallets, O sire, and bearded darts, and short arrows, and swords also, in that battle, and sharp-edged battle-axes, and lances, O Bharata, and shields broken into pieces, and coats of mail also, O king, and standards, and weapons of all kinds thrown away and umbrellas furnished with golden staves, and iron hooks also, O Bharata, and goads and whips, and traces also, O sire, were seen strewn over the field of battle in heaps. There was no man in thy army, O sire, who could advance against the heroic Arjuna in battle. Whoever, O king, advanced against Pritha's son in battle, pierced by sharp shafts was despatched to the other world. When all these combatants of thine broke had fled away, Arjuna and Vasudeva blew their excellent conches. Thy sire Devavrata then, beholding the (Kuru) host routed, smilingly addressed the heroic son of Bharadwaja in the battle and said, "This mighty and heroic son of Pandu, viz., Dhananjaya, accompanied by Krishna, is dealing with (our) troops as he alone is competent to deal with them. He is incapable of being vanquished in battle today by any means, judging by his form that we see now so like unto that of the Destroyer himself at the end of the Yuga. This vast host again (of ours) is incapable of being rallied. Behold, looking at one another, our troops are flying away. Yon Sun, robbing in every way the vision of the whole world, is about to reach that best of mountains called Asta. For this, O bull among men, I think that the hour is come for the withdrawal (of the army). The warriors, who have all been tired and struck with panic, will never fight. Having said this unto Drona that best of preceptors, Bhishma, that mighty car-warrior, caused thy army to be withdrawn. And then when the sun set, the withdrawal of both thy army and theirs took place, O sire, and twilight set in."

SECTION 56

Sanjaya said,--"When the night having passed away, the dawn came, Santanu's son Bhishma, that chastiser of foes, gave the order for the (Kuru) army to prepare for battle. And the son of Santanu, the old Kuru grandsire, desirous of victory to thy sons, formed that mighty array known after the name of Garuda. And on the beak of that Garuda was thy sire Devavrata himself. And its two eyes were Bharadwaja's son and Kritavarman of Satwata's race. And those renowned warriors, Aswatthaman and Kripa, supported by the Trigartas, the Matsyas, the Kekayas, and the Vatadhanas, were in its head. And Bhurisravas and Sala, and Salya and Bhagadatta, O sire, and the Madrakas, the Sindhu-Souviras, and they that were called the Pancha-nodas, together with Jayadratha, were placed on its neck. And on its back was king Duryodhana with all his followers. And Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti, and the Kamvojas with the Sakas, and the Surasenas, O sire, formed its tail, O great king. And the Magadhas and the Kalingas, with all the tribes of the Daserakas, accoutred in mail, formed the right wing of that array. And the Karushas, the Vikunjas, the Mundas, and the Kaundivrishas, with Vrithadvala, were stationed on the left wing. Then that chastiser of foes, Savyasachin, beholding the host disposed in battle-array, aided by Dhrishtadyumna, disposed his troops in counter-array. And in opposition to that array of thine, the son of Pandu formed fierce array after the form of the half-moon. And stationed on the right horn, Bhimasena shone surrounded by kings of diverse countries abundantly armed with various weapons. Next to him were those mighty car-warriors Virata and Drupada; and next to them was Nila armed with envenomed weapons. And next to Nila was the mighty car-warrior Dhrishtaketu, surrounded by the Chedis, the Kasis, the Karushas, and the Pauravas. And Dhrishtadyumna, and Sikhandin, with the Panchalas and the Prabhadrakas, and supported by other troops, were stationed in the middle, O Bharata, for battle. And thither also was king Yudhishthira the Just, surrounded by his elephant division. And next to him were Satyaki, O king, and the five sons of Draupadi. And immediately next to them was Iravan. And next to him were Bhimasena's son (Ghatotkacha) and those mighty car-warriors, the Kekayas. And next, on the left horn (of that array), was that best of men, viz., he who had for his protector, Janardana--that protector of the whole Universe. It was thus that the Pandavas formed their mighty counter-array for the destruction of thy sons and of those who had sided with them. Then commenced the battle between thy troops and those of the foe striking one another, and in which cars and elephants mingled in the clash of combat. Large numbers of elephants and crowds of cars were seen everywhere, O king, to rush towards one another for purposes of slaughter. And the rattle of innumerable cars rushing (to join the fray), or engaged separately raised a loud uproar, mingling with the beat of drums. And the shouts of the heroic combatants belonging to thy army and theirs, O Bharata, slaying one another in that fierce encounter, reached the very heavens."

SECTION 57

Sanjaya said, "After the ranks of thy army and theirs had been disposed in battle-array, that mighty car-warrior, Dhananjaya, felling in that conflict leaders of car-divisions with his arrows, caused a great carnage, O Bharata, among the car-ranks. The Dhartarashtras, (thus) slaughtered in battle by Pritha's son, like the Destroyer himself at the end of the Yuga, still fought perseveringly with the Pandavas. Desirous. of (winning) blazing glory and (bent upon) making death (the only ground for) a cessation of the fight, with minds undirected to anything else, they broke the Pandava ranks in many places and were also themselves broken. Then both the Pandava and the Kaurava troops broke, changed positions, and fled away. Nothing could be distinguished. An earthly dust arose, shrouding the very sun. And nobody there could distinguish, either the cardinal or the subsidiary directions. And everywhere the battle raged, O king, the combatants being guided by the indications afforded by colours, by watch-words, names and tribal distinctions. And the array of the Kauravas, O king, could not be broken, duly protected as it was by Bharadwaja's son, O sire. And so the formidable array of the Pandava also, protected by Savyasachin, and well-guarded by Bhima, could not be broken. And the cars and elephants in close ranks, O king, of both the armies, and other combatants, coming out of their respective arrays, engaged in conflict. And in that fierce battle cavalry soldiers felled cavalry soldiers, with polished swords of sharp edges and long lances. And car-warriors, getting car-warriors (within reach) in that fierce conflict, felled them with shafts decked with golden wings. And elephant-riders, of thy side and theirs, felled large numbers of elephant-riders in close ranks, with broad-headed shafts and arrows and lances. And large bodies of infantry, inspired with wrath towards one another, cheerfully felled combatants of their own class with short arrows and battle-axes. And car-warriors, O king, getting elephant-riders (within reach) in that conflict, felled them along with their elephants. And elephant-riders similarly felled car-warriors. And, O bull of Bharata's race, the cavalry soldier with his lance felled the car-warrior in that conflict, and the car-warrior also felled the cavalry soldier. And both the armies the foot-soldier, felled the car-warrior in the combat, and the car-warrior felled the foot-soldiers, with sharp weapons. And elephant-riders felled horse-riders, and horse-riders felled warriors on the backs of elephants. And all this appeared exceedingly wonderful. And here and there foot-soldiers, were felled by foremost of elephant-riders, and elephant-riders were seen to be felled by the former. And bands of foot-soldiers, by hundreds and thousands, were seen to be felled by horse-riders and horse-riders by foot-soldiers. And strewn with broken standards and bows and lances and housings of elephants, and costly blankets and bearded darts, and maces, and clubs furnished with spikes, and Kampanas, and darts, and variegated coats of mail and Kunapas, and iron hooks, and polished scimitars, and shafts furnished with golden wings, the field, O best of Bharata's race, shone as if with floral wreaths. And the earth, miry with flesh and blood, became impassable with the bodies of men and steeds and elephants slain in that dreadful battle. And drenched with human blood, the earthy dust disappeared. And the cardinal points, all around, became perfectly clear, O Bharata. And innumerable headless trunks rose up all around indicating, O Bharata, of the destruction of the world. And in that terrible and awful battle, car-warriors were seen to run away in all directions. Then Bhishma and Drona, and Jayadratha, the ruler of the Sindhus and Purumitra, and Vikarna, and Sakuni the son of Suvala-these warriors invincible in battle and possessed of leonine prowess-staying in battle broke the ranks of the Pandavas. And so Bhimasena and the Rakshasa Ghatotkacha, and Satyaki, and Chekitana, and the sons of Draupadi, O Bharata, supported by all the kings (on their side), began to grind thy troops and thy sons stationed in battle, like the gods grinding the Danavas. And those bulls among Kshatriyas, striking one another in battle, became terrible to behold and covered with blood shone like Kinsukas. And the foremost warriors of both armies, vanquishing their opponents, looked, O king, like the planetary luminaries in the firmament. Then thy son Duryodhana, supported by a thousand cars, rushed to battle with the Pandavas and the Rakshasa. And so all the Pandavas, with a large body of combatants rushed in battle against those chastisers of foes, the heroic Bhishma and Drona. And the diadem-decked (Arjuna) also, excited with rage rushed against the foremost of kings. And Arjuna's son (Abhimanyu), and Satyaki, both advanced against the forces of Suvala's son. And then commenced once more a fearful battle, making the hair to stand on end, between thine and the enemy's troops both desirous of vanquishing each other."

SECTION 58

Sanjaya said, "Then those kings, excited with rage, beholding Phalguni in battle, surrounded him on all sides with many thousands of cars. And having, O Bharata surrounded him with multitudinous division of cars, they shrouded him from all sides with many thousands of shafts. And bright lances of sharp points, and maces, and clubs endued with spikes, and bearded darts and battle-axes, and mallets and bludgeons they hurled at Phalguni's car, excited with rage. And that shower of weapons approaching (towards him) like a flight of locusts, Pritha's son checked on all sides with his gold-decked arrows. And beholding there on that occasion the superhuman lightness of hand that Vibhatsu possessed, the gods, the Danavas, the Gandharvas, the Pisachas, the Uragas and the Rakshasas eulogised Phalguni, O king, saying,--'Excellent, Excellent.' And the heroic Gandharvas along with Suvala's son with a large force surrounded Satyaki and Abhimanyu. Then the brave warriors led by Suvala's son from anger, cut into pieces the excellent car of the Vrishni hero, with weapons of diverse kinds. And in course of that fierce conflict, Satyaki, abandoning that car of his, speedily mounted on Abhimanyu's car, O chastiser of foes. And those two, mounted on the same car, then began to speedily slaughter the army of Suvala's son with straight arrows of sharp points. And Drona and Bhishma, steadily struggling in battle, began to slaughter the division of king Yudhishthira the Just, with sharp shafts furnished with the feathers of the Kanka bird. Then the son of Dharma and two other sons of Pandu by Madri, in the very sight of the whole army, began to grind the division of Drona. And the battle that took place there was fierce and awful, making the hair stand on end, like the terrible battle that took place between the gods and the Asuras in days of yore. And Bhimasena and Ghatotkacha, both achieved mighty feats. Then Duryodhana, approaching, checked them both. And the prowess we then beheld of Hidimva's son was exceedingly wonderful, insomuch that he fought in battle, O Bharata, transcending his very father. And Bhimasena, the son of Pandu, excited with wrath, pierced the vindictive Duryodhana in the breast, with an arrow, smiling the while. Then king Duryodhana, afflicted by the violence of that blow, sat down on the terrace of his car and swooned away. And his charioteer then, beholding him senseless, speedily bore him away, O king, from battle. And then the troops that supported Duryodhana broke and fled. And thereupon Bhima, smiting that Kuru army thus flying away in all directions, with sharp-pointed shafts, pursued it behind. And Prishata's son (Dhrishtadyumna), that foremost of warriors, and Pandu's son king Yudhishthira, the just, in the very sight, O Bharata, of both Drona and Ganga's son, slew their army with sharp shafts capable of slaying hostile forces. That host of thy son, thus flying away in battle, those mighty car-warriors. Bhishma and Drona were incapable of checking. For though attempted to be checked by Bhishma and the high-souled Drona, that host fled away in the very sight of Drona and Bhishma. And then when (those) thousand of car-warriors fled away in all directions, Subhadra's son and that bull of Sini's race, both stationed on the same car, began, O chastiser of foes, to slaughter the army of Suvala's son of battle. And Sini's grandson and that bull of Kuru's race looked resplendent like the sun and the moon when together in the firmament after the last lunation of the dark fortnight has passed away. And then Arjuna also, O king, excited with rage, showered arrows on thy army like the clouds pouring rain in torrents. And the Kaurava army, thus slaughtered in battle with the shafts of Partha, fled away, trembling in grief and fear. And beholding the army flying away, the mighty Bhishma and Drona, excited with rage and both desirous of

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Duryodhana's welfare sought to cheek it. Then king Duryodhana himself, comforting the combatants, checked that army, then flying away in all directions. And thereupon all the mighty Kshatriya car-warriors stopped, each at the spot where he saw thy son. And then others among the common soldiers, beholding them stop, stopped of their own accord, O king, from shame and desire of displaying their courage unto one another. And the impetuosity, O king, of that army thus rallied to the fight resembled that of the surging sea at the moment of the moon's rise. And king Duryodhana, beholding that army of his rallied for the fight, quickly repaired to Santanu's son Bhishma and said these words. 'O grandsire, listen to what I say, O Bharata. When, O son of Kuru, thou art alive, and Drona, that foremost of persons conversant with weapons, along with his son and with all our other friends (is alive), and then that mighty bowman Kripa also is alive, I do not regard it as at all creditable that my army should thus fly away. I do not regard the Pandavas to be, by any means, a match for thee or for Drona, in battle, or for Drona's son, or for Kripa. Without doubt, O grandsire, the sons of Pandu are being favoured by thee, inasmuch as thou forgivest, O hero, this slaughter of my army. Thou shouldst have told me, O king, before this battle took place, that thou wouldst not fight with the Pandavas. Hearing such words from thee, as also from the preceptor, O Bharata, I would then have, with Karna, reflected upon what course I should pursue. If I do not deserve to be abandoned by you two in battle, then, O bulls among men, do ye fight according to the measure of your prowess. Hearing these words, Bhishma, laughing repeatedly, and turning up his eyes in wrath, said to thy son, 'Many a time, O king, have I said unto thee words worthy of thy acceptance and fraught with thy good. The Pandavas are incapable of being vanquished in battle by the very gods with Vasava amongst them. That, however, which my aged self is capable of doing, I will do to the extent of my power, O best of kings, in this battle. Witness it now with thy kinsmen. Today, in the very sight of all, alone I shall check the sons of Pandu at the head of their troops and with all their kinsfolk.' Thus addressed by Bhishma, thy son, O king, filled with delight, caused conches to be blown and drums to be beaten. And the Pandavas also, O king, hearing that loud uproar, blew their conches, and caused their drums and cymbals to be played upon."

SECTION 59

Dhritarashtra said, "After that dreadful vow had been made in battle by Bhishma enraged by the words of my son, what, O Sanjaya, did Bhishma do unto the sons of Pandu or what did the Panchalas do unto the grandsire? Tell it all unto me, O Sanjaya."

Sanjaya said, "After the forenoon of that day, O Bharata, had passed away, and the sun in his westward course had passed a portion of his path, and after the high-souled Pandavas had won the victory, thy sire Devavrata, conversant with the distinction of all codes of morality, rushed carried by the fleetest steeds, towards the army of the Pandavas, protected by a large force and by all thy sons. Then, O Bharata, in consequence of thy sinful policy, commenced a dreadful battle, making the hair stand on end, between ourselves and the Pandavas. And the twang of bows, the flapping of bowstrings against the leathern fences (casing the hands of the bowman), mingling together, made a loud uproar resembling that of splitting hills. Stay--Here I stand,--Know this one,--Turn back,--Stand,--I wait for thee--Strike,--these were the words heard everywhere. And the sound of falling coats of mail made of gold, of crowns and diadems, and of standards resembled the sound of falling stones on a stony ground. And heads, and arms decked with ornaments, falling by hundreds and thousands upon the ground moved in convulsions. And some brave combatants, with heads severed from their trunks, continued to stand weapons in grasp or armed with drawn bow. And a dreadful river of blood began to flow there, of impetuous current, miry with flesh and blood, and with the bodies of (dead) elephants for its (sub-aqueous) rocks. Flowing from the bodies of steeds, men, and elephants, and delightful to vultures and jackals, it ran towards the ocean represented by the next world. A battle such as that, O king, which (then) took place between thy sons, O Bharata, and the Pandavas, was never seen or heard before. And in consequence of the bodies of combatants slain in that conflict, cars could not make their way. And the field of battle in consequence of the bodies of slain elephants seemed to be strewn over with blue crests of hills. And the field of battle, strewn with variegated coats of mail and turbans, O sire, looked beautiful like the firmament autumn. And some combatants were seen who, though severely wounded, yet rushed cheerfully and proudly upon the foe in battle. And many, fallen on the field of battle, cried aloud, saying--'O father, O brother, O friend, O kinsman, O companion, O maternal uncle, do not abandon me.'--And others cried aloud, saying,--'Come! Come thou here! Why art thou frightened? Where dost thou go? I stand in battle, do not be afraid.' And in that combat Bhishma, the son of Santanu, with bow incessantly drawn to a circle, shot shafts of blazing points, resembling snakes of virulent poison. And shooting continuous line of arrows in all directions, that hero of rigid vows smote the Pandava car-warriors naming each beforehand, O Bharata. And displaying his extreme lightness of hands, and dancing (as it were) along the track of his car, he seemed, O king, to be present everywhere like a circle of fire. And in consequence of the lightness of his movements, the Pandavas in that battle, along with the Srinjayas, beheld that hero, though really alone, as multiplied a thousand-fold. And every one there regarded Bhishma as having multiplied his self by illusion. Having seen him now on the east, the next moment they saw him on the west. And so having seen him on the north, the next moment they saw him on the south. And the son of Ganga was thus seen fighting in that battle. And there was no one amongst the Pandavas capable of even looking at him. What they all saw were only the innumerable shafts shot from his bow. And heroic warriors, beholding him achieve such feats in battle, and (thus) slaughtering their ranks, uttered many lamentations. And, kings in thousands came in contact with thy sire, thus coursing over the field in a superhuman way, and fell upon that fire represented by the enraged Bhishma like flights of senseless insects (upon a blazing fire) for their own destruction. Not a single shaft of that light-handed warrior was futile, falling upon the bodies of men, elephants, and steeds, in consequence of the numbers (opposed to him). With a single straight shaft shot in that battle, he despatched a single elephant like hill riven by the thunderbolt. Two or three elephant-riders at a time, cased in mail and standing together, thy sire pierced with one shaft of sharp point. Whoever approached Bhishma, that tiger among men, in battle, seen for a moment was, next beheld to fall down on the ground. And that vast host of king Yudhishthira the Just, thus slaughtered by Bhishma of incomparable prowess, gave way in a thousand directions. And afflicted with that arrowy shower, the vast army began to tremble in the very presence of Vasudeva and the high-souled Partha. And although the heroic leaders of the Pandava army made great efforts, yet they could not check the flight of (even) the great car-warriors of their side afflicted with the shafts of Bhishma. The prowess, in consequence of which that vast army was routed, was equal to that of the chief of the gods himself. And that army was so completely routed, O great king, that no two persons could be seen together. And cars and elephants and steeds were pierced all over, and standards and shafts of cars were strewn over the field. And the army of the sons of Pandu uttered cries of oh and alas, and became deprived of senses. And the sire struck the son and the son struck the sire; and friend challenged the dearest of friends to battle as if under the influence of fate. And others amongst the combatants of Pandu's son were seen, O Bharata, to run away, throwing aside their coats of mail, and with dishevelled hair. And the army of the sons of Pandu, indulging in loud wails, including the very leaders of their best of car-warriors, was seen to be as confounded as a very herd of kine. The delighter of the Yadavas then, beholding that army thus routed, said unto Partha, stopping that best of cars (which he guided), these words, 'The hour is now come, O Partha, which was desired by thee. Strike Bhishma, O tiger among men, else, thou wilt lose the senses. O hero, formerly, in the conclave of kings, thou hadst said,--'I will slay all the warriors of Dhritarashtra's sons, headed by Bhishma and Drona--all in fact, who will fight with me in battle'. O son of Kunti, O chastiser of foes, make those words of thine true. Behold, O Vibhatsu, this army of thine is being routed on all sides. Behold, the kings in Yudhishthira's host are all flying away, seeing Bhishma in battle, who looketh like the Destroyer himself with wide-open mouth. Afflicted with fear, they are making themselves scarce like the weaker animals at sight of the lion. Thus addressed, Dhananjaya replied unto Vasudeva, saying, 'Plunging through this sea of the hostile host, urge on the steeds to where Bhishma is. I will throw down that invincible warrior, the reverend Kuru grandsire'. Then Madhava urged those steeds of silvery hue to where, O king, the car of Bhishma was, that car which, like the very sun, was incapable of being gazed at. And beholding the mighty-armed Partha thus rushing to an encounter with Bhishma, the mighty army of Yudhisthira rallied for battle. Then Bhishma, that foremost of warriors amongst the Kurus, repeatedly roaring like a lion, quickly covered Dhananjaya's car with an arrowy shower. In a moment that car of his, with standard and charioteer, became invisible, shrouded with that arrowy downpour. Vasudeva, however, endued with great might fearlessly and summoning all his patience, began to guide those steeds mangled by Bhishma's shafts. Then Partha, taking up his celestial bow whose twang resembled the roar of the clouds, caused Bhishma's bow to drop down, cutting it off with his keen shafts. The Kuru warrior, thy sire, seeing his bow cut off, took up another and stringed it within the twinkling of the eye. And he stretched that bow whose twang resembled the roar of the clouds, with his two hands. But Arjuna, excited with wrath, cut off that bow also of his. Then the son of Santanu applauded that lightness of hand (displayed by Arjuna), saying--Excellent, O Partha, O thou of mighty arms, excellent, O son of Pandu. O Dhananjaya, such a mighty feat is, indeed, worthy of thee. I have been pleased with thee. Fight hard with me, O son. And having applauded Partha thus, and taking up another large bow, that hero shot his shafts at Partha's car. And Vasudeva then displayed his great skill in the guiding of chariot, for he baffled those shafts of his, by guiding the car in quick circles. Then, O sire, Bhishma with great strength pierced both Vasudeva and Dhananjaya with keen shafts all over their bodies. And mangled by those shafts of Bhishma, those two tigers among men looked like two roaring bulls with the scratches of horns on their bodies. And once again, excited with rage, Bhishma covered the two Krishnas on all sides with shafts in hundreds and thousands. And with those keen shafts of his, the enraged Bhishma caused him of Vrishni's race to shiver. And laughing loudly he also made Krishna to wonder. Then the mighty-armed Krishna, beholding the prowess of Bhishma in battle as also the mildness with which Arjuna fought, and seeing that Bhishma was creating incessant showers of arrows in that conflict and looked like the all-consuming Sun himself in the midst of the two armies, and marking besides, that that hero was slaying the foremost of combatants in Yudhishthira's host and causing a havoc in that army as if the hour of dissolution had come,--the adorable Kesava, that slayer of hosts, endued with immeasurable soul--unable to bear what he saw, thought that Yudhishthira's army could not survive that slaughter.--In a single day Bhishma can slaughter all the Daityas and the Danavas. With how much ease then can he slay in battle the sons of Pandu with all their troops and followers. The vast army of the illustrious son of Pandu is again flying away. And the Kauravas also beholding the Somakas routed, are rushing to battle cheerfully, gladdening the grandsire. Accoutred in mail, even I will stay Bhishma to-day for the sake of the Pandavas. This burthen of the high-souled Pandavas even I will lighten. As regards Arjuna, though struck in battle with keen shafts, he knoweth not what he should do, from respect for Bhishma,--And while Krishna was reflecting thus the grandsire, excited with wrath, once again shot his shafts at Partha's car. And in consequence of very great number of those arrows all the points of the compass became entirely shrouded. And neither the welkin nor the quarters nor the earth nor the sun himself of brilliant rays, could be seen. And the winds that blew seemed to be mixed with smoke, and all the points of the compass seemed to be agitated. And Drona, and Vikarna, and Jayadratha, and Bhurisrava, and Kritavarman, and Kripa, and Srutayush and the ruler of the Amvashtas and Vinda and Anuvinda, Sudakshina and the westerners, and the diverse tribes of the Sauviras, the Vasatis, and the Kshudrakas, and the Malavas, all these, at the command of the royal son of Santanu, quickly approached Kiritin for battle. And the grandson of Sini saw that Kiritin was surrounded by many hundreds of horse, and infantry, and cars, and mighty elephants. And beholding both Vasudeva and Arjuna thus encompassed by infantry and elephants and horses and cars, on all sides, that foremost of all bearers of arms, viz., the chief of the Sinis, quickly proceeded to that spot. And that foremost of bowmen, the chief of the Sinis, quickly rushing at those troops, came to Arjuna's side like Vishnu coming to the aid of the slayer of Vritra. And that foremost warrior of Sini's race cheerfully said unto Yudhishthira's host all the combatants of which had been frightened by Bhishma and whose elephants, steeds, cars, and numberless standards had been mangled and broken into pieces, and which was flying away from the field, these words, 'Ye Kshatriyas, where do ye go? This is not the duty of the righteous as hath been declared by the ancients. Ye foremost of heroes, do not violate your pledges. Observe your own duties as heroes'. Beholding that those foremost of kings were flying together from the field of battle, and marking the mildness with which Partha fought, and beholding also that Bhishma was exerting himself very powerfully in battle, and that the Kurus were rushing from all sides, the younger brother of Vasava, the high-souled protector of all the Dasarhas, unable to bear it all, addressed the renowned grandson of Sini, and applauding him, said,--'O hero of Sini's race, they that are retreating, are, indeed, retreating. They that are yet staying, O thou of the Satwata race, let them also go away. Behold, I will soon throw Bhishma down from his car, and Drona also in battle, with all their followers. There is none in the Kuru host, O thou of the Satwata race, who is able to escape my angry self. Therefore, taking up my fierce discus, I will slay Bhishma of high vows. And slaying in battle those two foremost of car-warriors, viz., Bhishma along with his followers and Drona also, O grandson of Sini, I will gladden Dhananjaya, and the king, and Bhima, and the twin Aswins. And slaying all the sons of Dhritarashtra and all those foremost of kings who have embraced their side, I will joyfully furnish king Ajatasatru with a kingdom today.' Saying this, Vasudeva's son, abandoning (the reins of) the steeds, jumped down from the car, whirling with his (right) arm his discus of beautiful nave with edge sharp as a razor, effulgent as the sun and possessed of force equal to that of a thousand bolts of heaven. And making the earth tremble under his tread, the high-souled Krishna rushed impetuously towards Bhishma. And that grinder of foes, the younger brother of the chief of

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the gods, excited with wrath, rushed towards Bhishma staying in the midst of his troops, like a lion from desire of slaying upon a prince of elephants blinded with fury and staying proudly for the attack. And the end of his yellow garments waving in the air looked like a cloud charged with lightning in the sky. And that lotus of a discus called Sudarsana, having for its stalk the beautiful arm of Saurin, looked as beautiful as the primeval lotus, bright as the morning sun, which sprung from the navel of Narayana. And Krishna's wrath was the morning sun that caused that lotus to blow. And the beautiful leaves of that lotus were as sharp as the edge of a razor. And Krishna's body was the beautiful lake, and his (right) arm the stalk springing therefrom, upon which that lotus shone. And beholding the younger brother of Mahendra, excited with wrath and roaring loudly and armed with that discus, all creatures set out a loud wail, thinking that the destruction of the Kurus was at hand. And armed with his discus Vasudeva looked like the Samvarta fire that appears at the end of the Yuga for consuming the world. And the preceptor of the universe blazed up like a fierce comet risen for consuming all creatures. And beholding that foremost of bipeds, that divine personage, advancing armed with the discus, Santanu's son stationed on his car, bow and arrow in hand, fearlessly said, 'Come, Come, O Lord of the gods, O thou that hast the universe for thy abode. I bow to thee, O thou that art armed with mace, sword and Saranga. O lord of the universe, forcibly throw me down from this excellent car, O thou that art the refuge of all creatures in this battle. Slain here by thee, O Krishna, great will be my good fortune both in this world and the next. Great is the respect thou payest me, O Lord of the Vrishnis and the Andhakas. My dignity will be celebrated in the three worlds.' Hearing these words of Santanu's son, Krishna rushing impetuously towards him said, 'Thou art the root of this great slaughter on earth. Thou wilt behold Duryodhana slain to-day. A wise minister who treadeth in the path of righteousness should restrain a king that is addicted to the evil of gambling. That wretch again of his race who transgresseth duty should be abandoned as one whose intelligence hath been misdirected by destiny.--The royal Bhishma, hearing these words, replied unto the chief of the Yadus, saying,--Destiny is all powerful. The Yadus, for their benefit, had abandoned Kansa. I said this to the king (Dhritarashtra) but he minded it not. The listener that hath no benefit to receive becometh, for (his own) misery, of perverted understanding through (the influence of destiny).' Meanwhile, jumping down from his car, Partha, himself of massive and long arms, quickly ran on foot after that chief of Yadu's race possessed of massive and long arms, and seized him by his two hands. That first of all gods devoted in self, Krishna, was excited with rage. And therefore, though thus seized, Vishnu forcibly dragged Jishnu after him, like a tempest bearing away a single tree. The high-souled Partha, however, seizing them with great force his legs as he was proceeding at a quick pace towards Bhishma, succeeded, O king, in stopping him with difficulty at the tenth step. And when Krishna stopped, decked as he was with a beautiful garland of gold, cheerfully bowed down to him and said, 'Quell this wrath of thine. Thou art the refuge of the Pandavas, O Kesava. I swear, O Kesava, by my sons and uterine brothers that I will not withdraw from the acts to which I have pledged myself. O younger brother of Indra, at thy command I will certainly annihilate the Kurus.' Hearing that promise and oath of his, Janardana became gratified. And ever engaged as he was in doing what was agreeable to Arjuna--that best of the Kurus.--he once more, discus on arm, mounted on his car. And that slayer of foes once more took up those reins (that he had abandoned), and taking up his conch called Panchajanya, Saurin filled all the points of the compass and the welkin with its blare. And thereupon beholding Krishna decked with necklace and Angada and ear-rings, with curved eye-lashes smeared with dust, and with teeth of perfect whiteness, once more take up his conch the Kuru heroes uttered a loud cry. And the sound of cymbals and drums and kettle-drums, and the rattle of car-wheels and the noise of smaller drums, mingling with those leonine shouts, set forth from all the ranks of the Kurus, became a fierce uproar. And the twang of Partha's Gandiva, resembling the roll of the thunder, filled the welkin and all the quarters. And shot from the bow of Pandu's son, bright and blazing shafts proceeded in all directions. Then the Kuru king, with a large force, and with Bhishma and Bhurisravas also, arrow in hand, and resembling a comet risen for consuming a constellation, rushed against him. And Bhurisravas hurled at Arjuna seven javelins furnished with wings of gold, and Duryodhana a lance of fierce impetuosity, and Salya a mace, and Santanu's son a dart. Thereupon, Arjuna, baffling with seven shafts the seven javelins, fleet as arrows, shot by Bhurisravas, cut off with another keen-edged shaft the lance hurled from Duryodhana's arm. And the blazing dart coming towards him--effulgent as lightning--hurled by Santanu's son, and the mace hurled from the arm of the ruler of the Madras, that hero cut off with two (other) shafts. Then drawing with his two hands and with great force his beautiful bow Gandiva of immeasurable energy, he invoked with proper mantras the highly wonderful and terrible Mahendra weapon and caused it to appear in the welkin. And with that mighty weapon producing profuse showers of arrows endued with the effulgence of the blazing fire, that high-souled and mighty bowman, decked with diadem and garland of gold, checked the entire Kaurava host. And those shafts from Partha's bow, cutting off the arms, bows, standard-tops, and cars, penetrated into the bodies of the kings and of the huge elephants and steeds of the foe. And filling the cardinal and the subsidiary directions with those sharp and terrible shafts of his, Pritha's son decked with diadem and garland of gold, agitated the hearts of his foes by means of the twang of Gandiva. And in that awful passage at arms, the blare of conches and beat of drums and the deep rattle of cars were all silenced by the twang of Gandiva. And ascertaining that twang to be of Gandiva, king Virata and other heroes among men, and the brave Drupada, the king of the Panchalas, all proceeded to that spot with undepressed hearts. And all thy combatants stood, struck with fear, each at the spot where he heard that twang of Gandiva. And none amongst them ventured to proceed to that place whence that sound was heard. And in that awful slaughter of kings, heroic combatants were slain and car-warriors with those that guided their cars. And elephants with resplendent housings of gold and gorgeous standards (on their backs), afflicted with broad-headed shafts failing upon them, suddenly fell down, deprived of life and their bodies mangled by Kiritin. And forcibly struck by Partha with his winged arrows of great impetuosity and broad-headed shafts of keen-edge and points, the standards of innumerable kings stationed at the heads of their yantras* and Indrajalas* were cut off. [* A Yantra (Sanskrit: "machine, device, contraption") is a mystical diagram (Tantric traditions) that might have had a practical origin. The Sanskrit word Indrajala is common to most Indian languages and means Indra's net, magic, deception, fraud, illusion, conjuring, jugglery, sorcery, and interpenetration in Buddhist philosophy. It is also called Indra's net, Indra's jewels, or Indra's pearls. As concept, it is related to General Sunzi's Art of War.] And bands of infantry and car-warriors, in that battle, and steeds and elephants, fell fast on the field, their limbs paralysed, or themselves speedily deprived of life, affected by Dhananjaya with those shafts. And, O king, many were the warriors who in that terrible conflict had their coats of mail and bodies cut through by that mighty weapon called after the name of Indra. And with those terrible and sharp shafts of his, Kiritin caused an awful river to run on the field of battle, having for its waters the blood flowing from the mangled bodies of the combatants and having for its froth their fat. And its current was broad and ran fiercely. And the bodies of elephants and steeds despatched to the other world formed its banks. And its mire consisted of the entrails, the marrow, and the flesh of human beings, and prodigious Rakshasas formed the (tall) trees (standing on its banks). And the crowns of human heads in profusion, covered with hair, formed its (floating) mess, and heaps of human bodies, forming its sandbanks, caused the current to flow in a thousand directions. And the coats of mail strewn all over formed its hard pebbles. And its banks were infested by large number of jackals and wolves and cranes and vultures and crowds of Rakshasas, and packs of hyenas. And they that were alive beheld that terrible river of current consisting of fat, marrow, and blood, caused by the arrowy showers of Arjuna--that embodiment of (man's) cruelty--to look like the great Vaitarani. 1 And beholding the foremost warriors of that army of the Kurus thus slain by Phalguni, the Chedis, the Panchalas, the Kurushas, the Matsyas, and all the combatants of the Pandava side, those foremost of men, elated with victory, together set up a loud shout for frightening the Kaurava warriors. And they uttered that cry indicative of victory, beholding the foremost combatants of the (Kuru) army, the very troops protected by mighty leaders of divisions, thus slain by Kiritin, that terror of foes, who frightened them like a lion frightening herds of smaller animals. And then the bearer of Gandiva himself, and Janardana both filled with delight, uttered loud roars. And the Kurus, with Bhishma, and Drona and Duryodhana and Valhika, exceedingly mangled by the weapons (of Arjuna), beholding the sun withdraw his rays, and seeing also that awful and irresistible weapon called after the name of Indra spread out and causing (as it were) the end of the Yuga to appear, withdraw their forces for the nightly rest. And that foremost of men, Dhananjaya also, having achieved a great feat and won great renown by crushing his foes, and beholding the sun assume a red hue and the evening twilight to set in, and having completed his work, retired with his uterine brothers to the camp for nightly rest. Then when darkness was about to set in, there arose among the Kuru troops a great and terrible uproar. And all said, 'In today's battle Arjuna hath slain ten thousand car-warriors, and full seven hundred elephants. And all the westerners, and the diverse tribes of the Sauviras, and the Kshudrakas and the Malavas, have all been slain. The feat achieved by Dhananjaya is a mighty one. None else is competent to achieve it. Srutayush, the ruler of the Amvashtas, and Durmarshana, and Chitrasena, and Drona, and Kripa, and the ruler of the Sindhus, and Valhika, and Bhurisravas, and Salya, and Sala, O king, and other warriors by hundreds united together, along with Bhishma himself, have on battle, by the prowess of his own arms, been vanquished today by the angry son of Pritha, viz., Kiritin, that one mighty car-warrior in the world.' Talking thus, O Bharata, all the warriors of thy side went to their tents from the field of battle. And all the combatants of the Kuru army frightened by Kiritin, then entered their tents illumined by thousands of torches, and beautified by innumerable lamps.

SECTION 60

Sanjaya said,--"When the night passed away, O Bharata, the high-souled Bhishma, with wrath engendered, supported by a large force, and stationed at the head of the Bharata army, proceeded against the foe. And Drona and Duryodhana and Valhika, and also Durmarshana and Chitrasena, the mighty Jayadratha, and other royal warriors, supported by large divisions accompanied, surrounding him all sides. And surrounded by those great and mighty car-warriors endued with great prowess and energy, O king, he shone, O best of monarchs, in the midst of those foremost of royal warriors, like the chief of the celestials in the midst of the gods. And the magnificent standards on the backs of the elephants stationed in front of those ranks, of diverse colours, viz., red, yellow, black and brown, waving in the air, looked exceedingly beautiful. And that army with the royal son of Santanu and other mighty car-warriors and with elephants and steeds, looked resplendent like a mass of clouds charged with lightning, or like the firmament, in the season of rains, with gathering clouds. And then the fierce army of the Kurus, bent on battle and protected by Santanu's son, rushed impetuously towards Arjuna like the fierce current of the ocean-going Ganga. Pervaded by diverse kinds of forces possessed of great strength, and having in its wings elephants, steeds, infantry, and cars in profusion, that array the high-souled (Arjuna) having the prince of apes on his banner beheld from a distance to resemble a mighty mass of clouds. That high-souled hero, that bull among men, upon his car furnished with tall standard and unto which were yoked white steeds, at the head of his (own) division and surrounded by a mighty force, proceeded against the whole hostile army. And all the Kauravas with thy sons, beholding that ape-bannered (warrior) with his excellent standard and handsome car-shaft wrapped (in costly cover), accompanied by that bull of Yadu's race, his charioteer in battle, were filled with dismay. And thy army beheld that best of arrays, which was protected by that mighty car-warrior of the world, viz., Kiritin, with weapons upraised to have at each of its corners four thousand elephants. Like the array which was formed on the day before by that best of Kurus viz., king Yudhishthira the Just, and like of which had never been seen or heard before by human beings, was this one of today (that the Pandavas formed). Then on the field of battle thousand of drums were loudly beaten, and there arose from all the divisions the loud blare of conches and the notes of trumpets and many leonine shouts. Then (innumerable) bows of loud twang, stretched by heroic warriors with shaft fixed on the bowstrings, and the blare of conches, silenced that uproar of drums and cymbals. And the entire welkin filled with that blare of conches was diffused with an earthly dust that made it wonderful to behold. And with that dust the sky looked as if a vast canopy were spread overhead. And beholding that canopy the brave warriors all rushed impetuously (to battle). And car-warriors, struck by car-warriors, were overthrown with charioteers, steeds, cars, and standards. And elephants, struck by elephants, fell down, and foot-soldiers struck by foot-soldiers. And rushing horsemen, struck down by rushing horsemen with lances and swords, fell down with frightful countenances. And all this seemed exceedingly wonderful. And excellent shields decked with golden stars and possessed of solar effulgence, broken by (strokes of) battle-axes, lances and swords dropped on the field. And many car-warriors mangled and bruised by the tusks and the strong trunks of elephants, fell down with their charioteers. And many bulls among car-warriors struck by bulls among car-warriors with their shafts, fell down on the ground. And many persons hearing the wails of horsemen and foot-soldiers struck with the tusks and other limbs of elephants or crushed by the impetus of those huge creatures rushing in close ranks, fell down on the field of battle.

"Then when cavalry and foot-soldiers were falling fast, and elephants and steeds and cars were flying away in fear, Bhishma, surrounded by many mighty car-warriors, obtained sight of him who had the prince of apes on his standard. And the palmyra-bannered warrior, viz. the son of Santanu, having five palmyras on his standard, then rushed against the diadem-decked (Arjuna) whose car, in consequence of the fleetness of the excellent steeds attached to it was endued with wonderful energy and which blazed like the very lightning in consequence of the energy of his mighty weapons. And so against that son of Indra who was like unto Indra himself, rushed many (other) warriors headed by Drona and Kripa and Salya and Vivinsati and Duryodhana and also Somadatta's son, O king. Then the heroic Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna, conversant with all weapons and cased in a

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handsome and golden coat of mail, rushing out of the ranks, quickly proceeded against all those warriors. And that son of Krishna of feats incapable of being borne, baffling the mighty weapons of all those warriors of great strength, looked resplendent like the adorable Agni himself, on the sacrificial altar, of blazing flames, invoked with high mantras. Then Bhishma of mighty energy, creating in that battle a very river whose waters were the blood of foes, and quickly avoiding Subhadra's son, encountered that mighty car-warrior, viz., Partha himself. Then Arjuna decked with diadem and garlands with his Gandiva of wonderful mien and twang loud as the roar of the thunder, shooting showers of arrows, baffled that shower of mighty weapons (shot by Bhishma). And that high-souled warrior having the prince of apes on his banner, of feats incapable of being borne, then poured in return upon Bhishma, that best of all wielders of bows a shower of sharp-edged arrows and polished shafts of broad heads. And so thy troops also beheld that shower of mighty weapons shot by him who had the prince of apes on his banner, opposed and dispersed by Bhishma like the maker of day dispelling (the gloom of night). And the Kurus and the Srinjayas, and all the people there, beheld that single combat between those two foremost of men, viz., Bhishma and Dhananjaya, proceeding thus steadily and thus distinguished by the terrible twang of the bows of both."

SECTION 61

Sanjaya said, "And Drona's son, and Bhurisravas, and Chitrasena, O sire, and the son of Samyamani also, all fought with Subhadra's son. And while fighting alone with five tigers among men, people beheld him possessed of exceeding energy, like a young lion fighting with five elephants. And no one among them equalled Krishna's son in sureness of aim, in bravery, in prowess, in lightness of hand or in knowledge of weapons. And beholding his son, that chastiser of foes thus struggling and displaying his prowess in battle, Partha set up a leonine roar. And seeing thy grandson, O king, thus afflicting thy host, thy warriors, O monarch, surrounded him on all sides. Then that smiter of foes, the son of Subhadra, depending upon his prowess and might, advanced with undepressed heart against the Dhartarashtra host. And while battling with the foe in that conflict, his mighty bow endued with the effulgence of the sun, was seen by all to be incessantly stretched for striking. And piercing the son of Drona with one shaft, and Salya with five, he overthrew the standard of Samyamani's son with eight shafts. And with another sharp-edged arrow he cut off the mighty dart of golden staff, resembling a snake, that was hurled at him by Somadatta's son. And the heir of Arjuna, baffling in the very sight of Salya, his hundreds of terrible shafts, slew his four steeds. Thereupon Bhurisravas, and Salya, and Drona's son and Samyamani, and Sala struck with the fear at the strength of arms displayed by Krishna's son could not stay before him. Then, O great king, the Trigartas and the Madras, with the Kekayas, numbering five and twenty thousand urged by thy son, all of whom were foremost of men accomplished in the science of arms and who were incapable of defeat by foes in battle, surrounded Kiritin with his son for slaying them both. Then, O king, that vanquisher of foes, the commander of the Pandava army, the prince of the Panchalas, beheld the cars of the father and the son (thus) surrounded (by the foe). Supported by many thousands of elephants and cars, and by hundred thousands of cavalry and infantry, and stretching his bow in great wrath he advanced against that division of the Madras and the Kekayas, O chastiser of foes, leading his troops with him. And that division (of the Pandava army), protected by that renowned and firm bowman, and consisting of cars, elephants, and cavalry, looked resplendent as it advanced for the encounter. And while proceeding towards Arjuna, that perpetuator of Panchala's race struck Saradwat's son on his shoulder-joint with three arrows. And piercing the Madrakas then with ten sharp shafts, he speedily slew the protector of Kritavarman's rear. And that chastiser of foes then, with a shaft of broad head, slew Damana, the heir of the high-souled Paurava. Then the son of Samyamani pierced the Panchala prince incapable of defeat in the battle with ten shafts, and his charioteer also with ten shafts. Then that mighty bowman, (thus) severely pierced, licked with his tongue the corners of his mouth, and cut off his enemy's bow with a broad-headed shaft of excessive sharpness. And soon the prince of Panchala afflicted his foe with five and twenty arrows, and then slew his steeds, O king, and then both the protectors of his wings. Then, O bull of Bharata's race, Samyamani's son, standing on that car whose steeds were slain, looked at the son of the renowned king of the Panchalas. Then taking up a terrible scimitar of the best kind, made of steel, Samyamani's son walking on foot, approached Drupada's son staying on his car. And the Pandavas, soldiers and Dhrishtadyumna also of Prishata's race beheld him coming like a wave and resembling a snake fallen from the skies. And he whirled his sword and looked like the sun and advanced with the tread of an infuriate elephant. The prince of Panchala then, excited with rage, quickly taking up a mace, smashed the head of Samyamani's son thus advancing towards him, sharp-edged scimitar in grasp and shield in hand, as soon as the latter, having crossed the shooting distance, was near enough to his adversary's car. And then, O king, while falling down deprived of life, his blazing scimitar and shield, loosened from his grasp, fell down with his body on the ground. And the high-souled son of the Panchala king, of terrible prowess, having slain his foe with his mace, won great renown. And when that prince, that mighty car-warrior and great bowman, was (thus) slain, loud cries of oh and alas arose among thy troops, O sire. Then Samyamani, excited with rage upon beholding his own son slain, impetuously rushed towards the prince of Panchala who was incapable of defeat in battle. And all the kings of both the Kuru and the Pandava armies beheld those two princes and foremost of car-warriors engaged in battle. Then that slayer of hostile heroes Samyamani, excited with wrath, struck Prishata's son with three shafts like (the conductor of an elephant striking) a mighty elephant with hooks. And so Salya also, that ornament of assemblies, excited with wrath, struck the heroic son of Prishata on his breast. And then commenced (another) battle (there)."

SECTION 62

Dhritarashtra said,--"I regard destiny to be superior to exertion, O Sanjaya, inasmuch as the army of my son is continually slaughtered by the army of the Pandavas. Thou always speakest, O suta, of my troops as being slaughtered, and thou always speakest of the Pandavas as both unslain and cheerful. Indeed, O Sanjaya, thou speakest of mine as deprived of manliness, felled and falling, and slaughtered, although they are battling to the best of their powers and striving hard for victory. Thou always speakest to me of the Pandavas as obtaining victory and mine as becoming weaker and weaker. O child, I am incessantly hearing of countless cause of unbearable and poignant grief on account of Duryodhana's doing. I do not see, O Sanjaya, the means by which the Pandavas, may be weakened and sons of mine may obtain the victory in battle.

Sanjaya said, "This mighty evil hath proceeded from thee, O king. Listen now with patience to the great slaughter of men, elephants, steeds and car-warriors. Dhrishtadyumna, afflicted by Salya with nine shafts, afflicted in return the ruler of Madras with many shafts made of steel. And then we beheld the prowess of Prishata's son to be highly wonderful inasmuch as he speedily checked Salya that ornament of assemblies. The battle between them lasted for only a short space of time. While angrily engaged in combat, none beheld even a moment's rest taken by any of them. Then, O king, Salya in that battle cut off Dhrishtadyumna's bow with a broad-headed shaft of sharp edge and excellent temper. And he also covered him, O Bharata, with a shower of arrows like rain charged clouds pouring their drops on the mountain breast during the season of rains. And while Dhrishtadyumna was being thus afflicted, Abhimanyu, excited with wrath, rushed impetuously towards the car of the ruler of the Madras. Then the wrathful son of Krishna, of immeasurable soul, obtaining the car of the ruler of the Madras (within shooting distance), pierced Artayani with three sharp shafts. [Salya is called Artayani after the name of his father.] Then the warriors of thy army, O king, desirous of opposing the son of Arjuna in battle, speedily surrounded the car of the ruler of Madras. And Duryodhana, and Vikarna, and Dussasana, and Vivinsati and Durmarshana, and Dussala, and Chitrasena, and Durmukha, and Satyabrata, blessed be thou, and Purumitra, O Bharata,--these, protecting the car of the ruler of the Madras, stationed themselves there. Then Bhimasena, excited with wrath, and Dhrishtadyumna. of Prishata's race, and the five sons of Draupadi, and Abhimanyu, and the twin sons of Madri and Pandu,--these ten opposed those ten warriors of the Dhritarashtra army shooting, O king, diverse kinds of weapons. And they approached and encountered one another in battle desirous of slaying one another, in consequence, O king, of thy wicked policy. And when those ten car-warriors, excited with wrath, engaged with the ten others in that awful battle, the other car-warriors of both thy army and of the foe all stood as spectators. And those mighty car-warriors, shooting diverse kinds of weapons and roaring at one another, smote one another fiercely. With wrath engendered in their breasts, desirous of slaying one another, they uttered fierce shouts, challenging one another. And jealous of one another, O king, those kinsfolk united together, encountered one another wrathfully, shooting mighty weapons. And wonderful to say, Duryodhana, excited with rage, pierced Dhrishtadyumna in that battle with four sharp shafts. And Durmarshana pierced him with twenty, and Chitrasena with five, and Durmukha with nine, and Dussaha with seven, and Vivinsati with five, and Dussasana with three shafts. Then, O great king, that scorcher of foes, viz., Prishata's son, pierced each of them in return with five and twenty shafts, displaying his lightness of hand. And Abhimanyu, O Bharata, pierced Satyavrata and Purumitra each with ten shafts. Then the son of Madri, those delighters of their mother, covered their uncle with showers of sharp arrows. And all this seemed wonderful. Then, O monarch, Salya covered his nephews, those two foremost of car-warriors desirous of counteracting their uncle's feats, with arrows, but the sons of Madri wavered not. Then the mighty Bhimasena, the son of Pandu, beholding Duryodhana and desirous of ending the strife, took up his mace. And beholding the mighty-armed Bhimasena with upraised mace and looking like the crested Kailasa mount, thy sons fled away in terror. Duryodhana, however, excited with wrath, urged the Magadha division consisting of ten thousand elephants of great activity. Accompanied by that elephant division and placing the ruler of Magadha before him, king Duryodhana advanced towards Bhimasena. Beholding that elephant division advancing towards him, Vrikodara, mace in hand, jumped down from his car, uttering a loud roar like that of a lion. And armed with that mighty mace which was endued with great weight and strength of adamant, he rushed towards that elephant division, like the Destroyer himself with wide open mouth. And the mighty-armed Bhimasena endued with great strength, slaying elephants with his mace, wandered over the field, like the slayer of Vritra among the Danava host. And with the loud shouts of the roaring Bhima, shouts that made the mind and the heart to tremble with fear, the elephants, crouching close, lost all power of motion. Then the sons of Draupadi, and that mighty car-warrior, the son of Subhadra, and Nakula and Sahadeva, and Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's race, protecting Bhima's rear, rushed behind him, checking all by scattering their arrowy showers like the very clouds pouring rain on the mountain breast. And those Pandava warriors struck off the heads of their foes battling from the backs of elephants, with well-tempered and keen-edged shafts of diverse forms. [These were Kshuras (arrows with heads like razors), kshurapras, (arrows with horseshoe heads), bhallas (broad-headed arrows), and anjalikas (arrows with crescent-shaped-heads).] And the heads (of elephant-riders), and arms decked with ornaments, and hands with iron-hooks in grasp, falling fast, resembled a stony shower. And the headless trunk of elephant-riders on the necks of the beasts they rode, looked like headless trees on mountain summits. And we beheld mighty elephants felled and falling, slain by Dhrishtadyumna, the high-souled son of Prishata. Then the ruler of the Magadhas, in that battle, urged his elephant resembling Airavata himself, towards the car of Subhadra's son. Beholding that mighty elephant advancing towards him, that slayer of hostile heroes, the brave son of Subhadra, slew it with a single shaft. And when the ruler of the Magadhas was thus deprived of his elephant, that conqueror of hostile cities viz., the son of Krishna, then struck off that king's head with a broad-headed shaft with silver wings. And Bhimasena, the son of Pandu, having penetrated that elephant division, began to wander over the field, crushing those beasts around him like Indra himself crushing the mountains. And we beheld elephants slain in that battle by Bhimasena, each with only one stroke (of his mace), like hills riven by thunder. And many elephants, huge as hills, were slain there, having their tusks broken or temples, or bones, or backs, or frontal globes. And others, O king, deprived of life, lay there with foaming mouths. And many mighty elephants, with frontal globes completely smashed, vomited large quantities of blood. And some, from fear, laid themselves down on the ground like (so many) hillocks. And smeared with the fat and blood (of elephants) and almost bathed in their marrow, Bhima wandered over the field like the Destroyer himself, club in hand. And Vrikodara, whirling that mace of his which was wet with the blood of elephants, became terrible and awful to behold, like the wielder of Pinaka armed with Pinaka. And those huge tuskers, while (thus) crushed by the angry Bhima, suddenly fled away, afflicted, crushing thy own ranks. And these mighty bowmen and car-warriors, headed by Subhadra's son (all the while) protected that battling hero whirling his gory mace [i.e., the universal destroyer armed with his bow.] wet with the blood of elephants, like the celestials protecting the wielder of the thunder-bolt. Of terrible soul, Bhimasena then looked like the Destroyer. himself. Indeed, O Bharata, putting forth his strength on all sides, mace in arms, we beheld Bhimasena then to resemble Sankara himself dancing (at the end of the Yuga), and his fierce, heavy, and sounding mace to resemble the club of Yama and possessed of the sound of Indra's bolt. And that gory mace of his, smeared with marrow and hair, resembled (also) the angry Rudra's Pinaka while he is engaged in destroying all creatures. As a herdsman chastises his herd of cattle with a goad, so did Bhima smite that elephant division with that mace of his. And while thus slaughtered by Bhima with his mace and with shafts (by those that protected his rear), the elephants ran on all sides, crushing the cars of thy own army. Then driving away those elephants from the field like a mighty wind driving away masses of clouds, Bhima stood there like wielder of the trident on a crematorium."

SECTION 63

Sanjaya said, "When that elephant division was exterminated, thy son Duryodhana urged his entire army, commanding the warriors to slay Bhimasena. Then the entire army at the command of thy son, rushed towards Bhimasena who was uttering fierce shouts. That vast and unlimited host difficult of being borne by the very gods, incapable of being

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crossed like the surging sea on the day of full moon or new moon, abounding with cars, elephants, and steeds, resounding with the blare of conches and the beat of drums, numbering untold foot-soldiers and car-warriors, and shrouded by the dust (raised), that very sea of hostile troops incapable of being agitated, thus coming towards him, Bhimasena checked in battle, O king, like the bank resisting the ocean. That feat, O king, which we beheld, of Bhimasena the high-souled son of Pandu, was exceedingly wonderful and superhuman. With his mace, he fearlessly checked all those kings angrily rushing towards him, with their steeds and cars, and elephants. Checking that vast force with mace, that foremost of mighty men, Bhima, stood in that fierce melee, immovable as the mountain Meru. And in that dreadful, fierce, and terrific encounter his brother and sons and Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's race, and the sons of Draupadi and Abhimanyu, and the unvanquished Sikhandin--these mighty warriors,--did not abandon him from fear. Taking up his massive and weighty mace made of Saika iron, he rushed towards the warriors of thy army like the Destroyer himself, armed with his club. And pressing crowds of cars and crowds of horsemen down into the earth, Bhima wandered over the field like the fire at the end of the Yuga. And Pandu's son of infinite prowess crushing crowds of cars with the impetus of his thighs and slaying thy warriors in battle, wandered like the Destroyer himself at the end of the Yuga. And he began to grind thy troops with the greatest ease like an elephant crushing a forest of reeds. And dragging car-warriors down from their cars, and warriors fighting from the backs of heroes, and foot soldiers as they stood on the ground, in the army of thy son, the mighty-armed Bhimasena slew them all with his mace like the wind crushing trees by its force. And that mace of his, slaying elephants and steeds, became smeared with fat, marrow, flesh, and blood, and looked exceedingly terrible. And with the bodies of slain men and cavalry lying scattered about, the field of battle wore the appearance of the abode of Yama. And the terrible and slaughtering mace of Bhimasena, resembling the fierce bludgeon of Death and endued with the effulgence of Indra's bolt, looked like Pinaka of the angry Rudra while destroying living creatures. Indeed, that mace of the high-souled son of Kunti, who was slaying all around, looked fiercely resplendent like the bludgeon of the Destroyer himself at the time of the universal dissolution. And beholding him thus routing that large army repeatedly and advancing like Death's self, all the warriors became cheerless. Withersoever the son of Pandu, raising his mace, cast his eyes, in consequence of his look alone, O Bharata, all the troops there seemed to melt away. Beholding Vrikodara of terrible deeds, thus routing the army and unvanquished by even so large a force and devouring the (hostile) division like the Destroyer himself with wide-open mouth, Bhimasena speedily came towards him, on his car of solar effulgence and rattle loud as that of the clouds, (shrouding the welkin) with his arrowy showers like a vapoury canopy charged with rain. Then the mighty-armed Bhimasena, beholding Bhishma thus advancing like the Destroyer himself with wide-open mouth, rushed towards him, excited with wrath. At that moment, that foremost hero of Sini's race viz., Satyaki of sure aim, fell upon the grandsire, slaying his enemies (along the way) with his firm bow and causing thy son's army to tremble. And all the combatants who belonged to thy army were then, O Bharata, unable to impede the progress of that hero thus advancing with his steeds of silvery hue and scattering his sharp shafts furnished with handsome wings. At that time the Rakshasa Alamvusha (only) succeeded in piercing him with ten shafts. But piercing Alamvusha in return with four shafts, the grandson of Sini proceeded on his car. Beholding that hero of Vrishni's race thus advancing and rolling (as it were) through the very midst of his enemies, and checking (as he proceeded) the foremost of Kuru warriors, and repeatedly uttering loud shouts in that battle, thy warriors then like masses of clouds pouring rain in torrents on the mountain breast, showered their arrowy downpours on him. They were, however, incapable of impeding the progress of that hero who looked like the noon-day sun in his glory. And there was none who was not then cheerless, save Somadatta's son, O king, and Bhurisravas, the son of Somadatta, O Bharata, beholding the car-warriors of his own side driven away, rushed against Satyaki from desire of battle, taking up his bow of fierce impetus."

SECTION LXIV

Sanjaya said, "Then, O king, Bhurisravas, excited with great wrath, pierced Satyaki with nine arrows like the conductor of an elephant piercing an elephant with the iron hook. Satyaki also, of immeasurable soul, in the very sight of all the troops, pierced the Kaurava warrior with nine shafts. Then king Duryodhana, accompanied by his uterine brothers, surrounded Somadatta's son thus striving in battle. Similarly the Pandavas also, of great energy, quickly surrounding Satyaki in that battle took up their positions around him. And Bhimasena, excited with wrath, and with mace upraised, O Bharata, encountered all thy sons headed by Duryodhana. With many thousands of cars, and excited with wrath and vindictiveness, thy son Nandaka pierced Bhimasena of great might with keen-edged and sharp-pointed shafts whetted on stone and winged with the feathers of the kanka bird. Then Duryodhana, O king, in that great battle, excited with wrath, struck Bhimasena in the breast with nine shafts. Then the mighty-armed Bhima of great strength mounted on his own excellent car and addressing (his charioteer) Visoka, said, 'These heroic and mighty sons of Dhritarashtra, all great car-warriors, are exceedingly angry with me and desirous of slaying me in battle. I will slay all these today in thy sight, without doubt. Therefore, O charioteer, guide my steed in battle with care.' Having said this, O monarch, Pritha's son pierced thy son with sharp-pointed arrows decked with gold. And he pierced Nandaka in return with three arrows between his two breasts. Then Duryodhana having pierced the mighty Bhima with six arrows pierced Visoka in return with three other sharp arrows. And Duryodhana, O king, as if smiling the while, with three other sharp arrows cut off at the grasp the resplendent bow of Bhima in that battle. Bhima then, that bull among men, beholding his charioteer Visoka afflicted, in that conflict, with sharp shafts by thy son armed with the bow, and unable to bear it, drew another excellent bow, excited with wrath, for the destruction of thy son, O monarch. And excited with great wrath, he also took up an arrow with horse-shoe head and furnished with excellent wings. And with that (arrow) Bhima cut off the excellent bow of the king. Then thy son, excited to the highest pitch of fury, leaving that broken bow aside, speedily took up another that was tougher. And aiming a terrible shaft blazing as Death's rod, the Kuru king, excited with rage struck Bhimasena between his two breasts. Deeply pierced therewith, and greatly pained, he sat down on the terrace of his car. And while seated on the terrace of his car, he swooned away. Beholding Bhima thus unmanned, the illustrious and mighty car-warriors of the Pandava army, headed by Abhimanyu could not bear it. And those warriors then, with great steadiness, showered on thy sons' head a thick down-pour of fierce shafts. Then the mighty Bhimasena, regaining consciousness, pierced Duryodhana at first with those shafts and then with five. And that mighty bowman the son of Pandu then pierced Salya with five and twenty shafts furnished with golden wings. And pierced therewith, Salya was borne away from the battle. Then thy fourteen sons, viz., Senapati, Sushena, Jalasandha, Sulochana, Ugra, Bhimaratha, Bhima, Viravahu, Aolupa, Durmukha, Dushpradarsha, Vivitsu, Vikata, and Sama, then encountered Bhimasena in battle. United together they rushed against Bhimasena, and with eyes red in wrath, showering countless arrows, they pierced him deeply. Then the heroic and mighty Bhimasena of strong arms, beholding thy sons, licking the corners of his mouth like a wolf in the midst of smaller creatures, fell upon them with the impetuosity of Garuda. And the son of Pandu then cut off the head of Senapati with a shaft having a horse-shoe head. And with delighted soul and laughing the while, that mighty-armed warrior, piercing Jalasandha with three arrows, despatched him to Yama's abode. And next, smiting Sushena, he sent him to the presence of Death's self. And with a single broad-headed shaft he felled on the ground the head, handsome as the moon, of Ugra, decked with turban and adorned with ear-rings. And in that battle, Pandu's son Bhima, with seventy shafts, despatched Viravahu to the other world with his steeds and standard and charioteer. And smiling the while, O king, Bhimasena quickly despatched both the brothers Bhima and Bhimaratha also to Yama's abode. And then in that great battle in the very sight of all the troops, with an arrow of horse-shoe head Bhima despatched Sulochana also to Death's domain. Then the rest of thy sons that were there, O king, beholding the prowess of Bhimasena and while thus being struck by that illustrious warrior, all fled from battle from fear of Bhima. Then Santanu's son, addressing all the mighty car-warriors (of his army) said, 'That fierce bowman, Bhima, excited with wrath in battle, is slaying the mighty sons of Dhritarashtra and other heroic car-warriors united together, whatever their knowledge of weapons, and whatever their bravery. Therefore, seize ye all that son of Pandu'. Thus addressed, all the troops of the Dhritarashtra army, excited with rage, rushed towards Bhimasena endued with great might, And Bhagadatta, O king, on his elephant of rent temples, suddenly rushed thither where Bhimasena was stationed. And thither to the combat, he shrouded Bhima with his shafts whetted on stone so as to make him completely invisible, like the clouds covering the sun. Those mighty car-warriors, however, (of the Pandava army), relying on the prowess of their own arms, could not bear that shrouding of Bhima (with the arrowy showers of Bhagadatta). They, therefore, surrounding Bhagadatta on all sides, poured on him their arrowy down-pours. And they pierced his elephant also with showers of shafts. And struck by all those mighty car-warriors with showers of fierce shafts of diverse kinds that elephant, O king, of the ruler of the Pragjyotishas with blood trickling down his body, became beautiful to behold on the field of battle like a mass of clouds tinged with the rays of the sun. And that elephant with temporal juice trickling down urged by Bhagadatta, like the Destroyer, ran with double his former speed, shaking the very earth with his tread. Then all those mighty car-warriors, beholding that terrible mien of the animal, and regarding it irresistible, became cheerless. Then king Bhagadatta, that tiger among men, excited with rage, struck Bhimasena between his two breasts with a straight shaft. Deeply pierced by the king with that shaft, that great bowman and mighty car-warrior, with limbs deprived of sensation in consequence of a swoon, sat down on his car, holding his flagstaff. And beholding those mighty car-warriors terrified and Bhimasena in a swoon, Bhagadatta of great prowess uttered a loud roar. Then, O king, that terrible Rakshasa Ghatotkacha, beholding Bhima in that state, became excited with rage and there and then disappeared from the view. And creating a terrible illusion enhancing the fears of the timid, he reappeared in a moment assuming a fierce form. Himself riding on an Airavata created by his powers of illusion, the other Dik-elephants, viz., Anjana, Vamana, and Mahapadma of blazing glory, followed him. And those three mighty elephants, ridden by Rakshasas, were of huge form, with juice profusely trickling down in three lines, and endued with great speed and prowess. Then Ghatotkacha urged his own elephant to battle, desirous, O chastiser of foes, of slaying Bhagadatta with his elephant. And those other elephants, excited with fury and each endued with four tusks, urged by Rakshasas of great strength, fell from all sides upon Bhagadatta's elephant and afflicted him with their tusks. And the elephant of Bhagadatta, thus afflicted by those elephants, (already) struck with arrows and feeling great pain, uttered loud cries that resembled the thunder of Indra. And hearing those terrible and loud cries of that roaring elephant, Bhishma, addressing Drona, Suyodhana and all the kings, said, 'The mighty bowman Bhagadatta is battling with the wicked-souled son of Hidimva, and hath fallen into great distress. That Rakshasa is of huge form, and the king also is very wrathful. Engaged in battle, they would certainly prove each other's death. Loud shouts were also heard of the rejoicing Pandavas, and the cries of agony of (king Bhagadatta's) terrified elephant. Blessed be ye, let us all go there for rescuing the king, for, if left unprotected, in battle, he will soon give up his life. Ye warriors of great energy, do, as I bid, even now. Ye sinless ones, make no delay. The combat deepens and becometh fierce, making the hair to stand on end. That commander of a division is high-born, endued with great bravery, and devoted to us. Ye warriors of unfading glory, it is meet that his rescue should be effected by us.' Hearing these words of Bhishma, all the kings (of the Kuru army), headed by Bharadwaja's son, desirous of rescuing Bhagadatta, proceeded with great speed to where the ruler of the Pragjyotishas was. And beholding the enemy advancing, the Panchalas with the Pandavas, headed by Yudhishthira, pursued them behind. Then that prince of Rakshasas, endued with great prowess, beholding that division (of the enemy) advance, uttered a fierce roar, deep as that of thunder. Hearing that roar of his and beholding those battling elephants, Santanu's son Bhishma once again addressed Bharadwaja's son and said, 'I do not like to fight (to-day) with the wicked-souled son of Hidimva. Endued with great might and energy, he is at present well-supported. He is incapable of being vanquished now by the wielder of the thunder-bolt himself. Of sureness of aim, he is a great smiter. As regards ourselves, our animals are tired (today). We have also been greatly mangled by Panchalas and the Pandavas. I do not like fresh encounter with the victorious Pandavas. Let the withdrawal of our army, therefore, be proclaimed today. Tomorrow we will fight with the foe.' Hearing these words of the grandsire, the Kauravas, afflicted with the fear of Ghatotkacha, and availing of the advent of night as a pretext, gladly did what the grandsire said. And after the Kauravas had withdrawn, the Pandavas, crowned with victory uttered leonine roars, mingling them with the blare of conches and the notes of pipes. Thus did the battle take place that day, O Bharata, between the Kurus and the Pandavas headed by Ghatotkacha. And the Kauravas also, vanquished by the Pandavas and overcome with shame, retired to their own tents when night came. And those mighty car-warriors, the sons of Pandu, their bodies mangled with shafts and themselves filled with (the result of) the battle, proceeded, O king, towards their encampment, with Bhimasena and Ghatotkacha, O monarch, at their head. And filled with great joy, O king, they worshipped those heroes. And they uttered diverse kinds of shouts which were mingled with the notes of trumpets. And those high-souled warriors shouted making the very earth tremble therewith, and grinding as it were, O sire, the hearts of thy sons. And it was thus that those chastisers of foes, when night came, proceeded towards their tents. And king Duryodhana, cheerless at the death of his brothers, passed some time in thoughtfulness, overcome with grief and tears. Then making all the arrangements for his camp according to the rules (of military science), he began to pass the hours in meditation, scorched with grief and afflicted with sorrow on account of his (slain) brothers."

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SECTION 65

Dhritarashtra said, 'Hearing of those feats of the sons of Pandu which are incapable of being achieved by the gods themselves, my heart, O Sanjaya, is filled with fear and wonder. Hearing also of the humiliation of my sons in every way, great hath been my anxiety as to the consequence that will ensue. The words uttered by Vidura will, no doubt, consume my heart. Everything that hath happened seemeth to be due to Destiny, O Sanjaya. The combatants of the Pandava army are encountering and smiting those best of warriors having Bhishma for their head, those heroes conversant with every weapon. What ascetic penances have been performed by the high-souled and mighty sons of Pandu, what boon hath they obtained, O son, or what science is known to them, in consequence of which, like the stars in the firmament, they are undergoing no diminution? I cannot bear it that my army should be repeatedly slaughtered by the Pandavas. The divine chastisement, highly severe, both fallen on me alone. Tell me everything truly, O Sanjaya, about that for which the sons of Pandu have become unslayable and mine slayable. I do not see the other shore of this (sea of) distress. I am like a man desirous of crossing the vastly deep ocean with my two arms alone. I certainly think that a great calamity hath overtaken my sons. Without doubt, Bhima will slay all my sons. I do not see that hero who is able to protect my sons in battle. The death of my sons in this battle, O Sanjaya, is certain. It behoveth thee, therefore, O Suta, to tell me, who asketh thee, everything about the true cause of all these. Beholding his own troops retreating from battle, what did Duryodhana do? And what old Bhishma and Drona, and Kripa, and Suvala's son, and Jayadratha, and that mighty bowman, viz., Drona's son and Vikarna of great strength do? When also, O thou of great wisdom, my sons turned back from the fight, what O Sanjaya, became the resolve of those high-souled warriors?"

Sanjaya said, "Listen, O king, with attention, and having listened, let it go to thy heart. Nothing (in this) is the result of incantation, nothing the result of illusion of any king. Nor have the sons of Pandu created any new terrors. They are endued with might; and they are fighting by fair means in this battle. Desirous of high fame, the sons of Pritha always do every act, including even the support of their lives, agreeably to the way of morality. Endued with every kind of prosperity, and possessed of great strength, they never desist from battle, keeping their eyes on righteousness. And victory is there where righteousness is. It is for this, O king, that the sons of Pritha are unslayable in battle and always victorious. Thy sons are of wicked souls and are addicted to sinfulness. They are cruel and wedded to mean acts. It is for this that they are being weakened in battle. Thy sons, O king, like despicable men, did many cruel and deceitful acts to the sons of Pandu. Disregarding, however, all those offences of thy sons, the sons of Pandu always concealed those acts, O elder brother of Pandu. Thy sons also, O king, on numerous occasions humiliated the Pandavas. Let them now reap the terrible fruit, like poison, of that persistent course of sinfulness. That fruit should be enjoyed by thee also, O king, with thy sons and kinsmen, since thou, O king, could not be awakened even though counselled by thy well-wishers. Repeatedly forbidden by Vidura, by Bhishma, by the high-souled Drona, and by myself also thou didst not understand, rejecting our words intended for thy good and worthy of thy acceptance, like a sick man rejecting the medicine prescribed. Accepting the views of thy sons thou hadst regarded the Pandavas as already vanquished. Listen again, O king, to what thou hast asked me, viz., the true cause, O chief of the Bharatas, of the victory of the Pandavas. I will tell thee whit I have heard, O chastiser of foes. Duryodhana had asked the grandsire this very question. Beholding his brothers, all mighty car-warriors, vanquished in battle, thy son Duryodhana, O Kaurava, with heart confounded with grief, repairing with humility during the night to the grandsire possessed of great wisdom, asked him this question. Listen to me, O monarch, about it all.

"Duryodhana said, 'Drona and thou, and Salya, and Kripa, and Drona's son, and Kritavarman the son of Hridika, and Sudakshina the ruler of the Kamvojas, and Bhurisravas, and Vikarna, and Bhagadatta of exceeding prowess, are all regarded as mighty car-warriors. All of these, again, are high-born, and prepared to throw away their lives in battle. It is my opinion that these are a match for even the three worlds (united together). Even all the warriors of the Pandava army (united together) cannot bear your prowess. A doubt has arisen in my mind. Explain it to me who enquireth of thee. Who it is, relying on whom the Pandavas are vanquishing us repeatedly.'

"Bhishma said, 'Listen, O king, to the words that I will speak unto thee, O thou of Kuru's race. Frequently wert thou addressed by me to the same effect but thou didst not do what I said. Let peace be made with the Pandavas, O best of the Bharatas. I regard this to be beneficial both to the world and thee, O lord. Enjoy this earth, O king, with thy brothers and be happy, gratifying all thy well-wishers and delighting thy kinsfolk. Although I cried myself hoarse before this, thou didst not yet listen to me, O sire. Thou hadst always disregarded the sons of Pandu. The effect of all that hath now overtaken thee. Listen also, O king, from me as I speak of it, O Lord, to the reason why the Pandavas, whose achievements tire them not, are unslayable. [Aklishtakarman literally means one who is not tired with what he does; hence, one who easily achieves the highest feats. When applied to Krishna or any divine personage it means one who does everything by a fiat of his will, without being dependent on means like ordinary persons. It may also mean one of pure or white deeds.] There is not, was not, will not be, the being in all the worlds who would or will be able to vanquish the sons of Pandu who are all protected by the wielder of Saranga. Listen truly, O thou that art conversant with morality, to that ancient history which was recited to me by sages of souls under control. In days of yore, all the celestials and the Rishis, united together, waited reverentially on the Grandsire upon the mountains of Gandhamadana. And the Lord of all creatures, seated at his case in their midst, beheld an excellent car stationed in the firmament, blazing with effulgence. Having ascertained (everything about it) by meditation, joining his hands with restrained heart, Brahman, with delighted soul, made his salutations to the highest Divine Being. And the Rishis and the celestials, beholding in the firmament (the form thus) displayed, all stood up with joined hands, their eyes fixed on that wonder of wonders. Worshipping him duly, Brahma, the foremost of all conversant with Brahman, the Creator of the universe, acquainted with the highest morality, uttered these high words: Thou art the Glory of the Universe for thy form. Thou art the Lord of the Universe. O thou whose protection extendeth through the whole Universe, O thou that hath the Universe for thy work, O thou that hath thy soul under control, Thou art the Supreme Master of the Universe. Thou art Vasudeva. Therefore, I seek refuge in Thee that art the soul of Yoga and the highest Divinity. Victory to Thee that art the Supreme God of the Universe. Victory to Thee that art ever employed in the good of the worlds. Victory to Thee that art the Lord of Yoga. Thee that art all-powerful. Victory to Thee that art prior, and subsequent to Yoga. Having the lotus springing from thy navel, and having large expansive eyes, victory to Thee that art Lord of Lords of the Universe. O Lord of the Past, the Present, and the Future, victory to Thee that art the embodiment of gentleness. Thee that art the sun of suns. O thou that art the receptacle of untold attributes, victory to Thee that art the refuge of all things. Thou art Narayana, thou art incapable of being understood, victory to Thee that art the wielder of the bow called Saranga. Victory to Thee that art endued with every attribute, O thou that hast the Universe for thy form, O thou that art ever hale. O Lord of the Universe, O thou of mighty arms, victory to Thee that art always ready for benefitting the worlds. O great Snake, O huge Boar, O first Cause, O thou of tawny locks, victory to Thee that art Almighty. O thou of yellow robes, O Lord of the cardinal and the subsidiary points of the compass, O thou that hast the Universe for thy abode, O thou that art Infinite, O thou that hast no decay, O thou that art the Manifest, O thou that art the Unmanifest, O thou that art the immeasurable Space, O thou that hast all thy senses under control, O thou that always achievest what is good, O thou that art immeasurable, O thou that alone knowest thy own nature, victory to Thee that art deep, O thou that art the giver of all wishes, O thou that art without end, O thou that art known as Brahma, O thou that art Eternal, O thou that art the Creator of all creatures, O thou that art ever successful, O thou whose acts always display wisdom, O thou that art conversant with morality, O thou that givest victory, O thou of mysterious Self, O thou that art the Soul of all Yoga, O thou that art the Cause of everything that hath sprung into existence, O thou that art the knowledge of the selves of all beings, O Lord of the worlds, victory to thee that art the Creator of all beings. O thou that hath thyself for thy origin, O thou that art highly blessed, O thou that art the Destroyer of everything, O thou that art the inspirer of all mental thoughts, victory to Thee that art dear to all conversant with Brahma. O thou that art busy in creation and destruction, O controller of all wishes, O Supreme Lord, O thou that art the Cause of Amrita, O thou that art All-existent, O thou that art the first that appears at the end of the Yuga, O thou that art the giver of victory, O Divine Lord of the Lord of all creatures, O thou that hast the lotus springing from thy navel, O thou of mighty strength, O thou that art sprung from Thyself, O thou that art the great elements in their primeval state, O thou that art the soul of all (religious) rites, victory to Thee that givest all. The goddess Earth represents thy two feet, the cardinal and the subsidiary directions thy arms, and the heavens thy head. I am thy form, the celestials constitute thy limbs, and the Sun, the moon are thy two eyes. Ascetic austerities and Truth born of morality and (religious) rites, constitute thy strength. Fire is thy energy, the wind is thy breath, and the waters have sprung from thy sweat. The twins Aswins constitute thy ears, and the goddess Saraswati is thy tongue. The Vedas are thy Knowledge, and upon thee resteth this Universe. O Lord of Yoga and Yogins, we do not know thy extent, thy measure, thy energy, thy prowess, thy might, thy origin. O God, O Vishnu, filled with devotion in thee, and depending upon thee with vows and observances, we ever worship Thee as the highest Lord, the God of gods. The Rishis, the gods, Gandharvas, the Yakshas, the Rakshasas, the Pannagas, the Pisachas, human beings, beasts, birds, reptiles,--all these were created by me on Earth through Thy grace. O thou having the lotus springing from thy navel, O thou of large expansive eyes, O Krishna, O Dispeller of all woe, Thou art the Refuge of all creatures, and Thou art their Guide. Thou hast the Universe for thy mouth. Through thy grace, O Lord of the gods, the gods are ever happy. Through thy grace the Earth hath always been freed from terrors. Therefore, O thou of large eyes, take birth in the race of Yadu [Literally "be a perpetuator (son) of Yadu's race!" The name Yadu is linguistically related to Yudah, Judah, Yehudah and his righteous people.]. For the sake of establishing righteousness, for slaying the sons of Diti*, and for upholding the Universe, do what I have said, O Lord. O Vasudeva, that which is thy supreme mystery, that, O Lord hath been sung by me through Thy grace. [* In Hinduism, Diti is the mother of both the Marutas (Rudras, storm deities) and the Asuras (Daityas, demigods) with the sage Kashyapa (etymological origins unknown, the name Kashmir may have got its name from Kashyapa Rishi being a shortened form of "Kashyapa Mir", or the "lake of the sage Kashyapa." Ancient Greek texts, linked to the expedition of Alexander, called Kashmir "Kasperia"] Having created the divine Sankarshana out of thy own Self by Thyself, thou didst then, O Krishna, create Thyself as Pradyumna born of thyself. From Pradyumna thou didst then create Aniruddha who is known as the eternal Vishnu. And it was Aniruddha who created me as Brahma, the upholder of the Universe. Created out of Vasudeva's essence I have, therefore, been created by thee. Dividing Thyself into portions, take birth, O Lord, among human beings. And slaughtering the Asuras there for happiness of all the worlds, and establishing righteousness, and winning renown, Thou wilt again truly attain to Yoga. The regenerate Rishis on Earth and the gods, O thou of infinite prowess, devoted to thee, sing of thy wonderous Self under those names that belong to thee. O thou of excellent arms, all classes of creatures rest on thee, having taken refuge in Thee, thou giver of boons. The regenerate ones sing Thee as the world's bridge, having no beginning, middle and end, and as possessed of unlimited Yoga.'"

SECTION 66

"Bhishma said, 'Then that illustrious Deity, the Lord of the worlds, replied unto Brahma in a soft deep voice, saying,--'Through Yoga, O sire, all that is wished by thee is known to me. It will be even as thou wishest,--And saying this, he disappeared then and there. Then the gods, Rishis, and Gandharvas, filled with great wonder and curiosity all asked the Grandsire, saying,--'Who is that one, O Lord, that was worshipped by thy illustrious self with such humility and praised in such high words? We desire to hear,--Thus addressed, the illustrious Grandsire replied unto all the Gods, the regenerate Rishis, and the Gandharvas, in sweet words saying,--He who is called TAT, He who is Supreme, He who is existent at present and who will be for all time, He who is the highest Self, He who is the Soul of beings, and who is the great Lord, I was talking even with His ever-cheerful self, ye bulls among gods. The Lord of the Universe was solicited by me, for the good of the Universe, to take his birth among mankind in the family of Vasudeva. I said unto him,--For the slaughter of the Asuras take thy birth in the world of men!--Those Daityas and Rakshasas, of fierce form and great strength, that were slain in battle, have been born among men. Indeed, the illustrious and mighty Lord, taking birth in the human womb, will live on the Earth, accompanied by Nara. Those ancient and best of Rishis, viz., Nara and Narayana, are incapable of defeat in battle by even all the celestials united together. Of immeasurable effulgence, those Rishis viz., Nara and Narayana, when born together in the world of men, will not be known (as such) by fools. He, from whose Self, I, Brahman, the Lord of the whole Universe, have sprung that Vasudeva, that Supreme God of all the worlds, is worthy of your adoration. Endued with great energy, and bearing the conch, the discus, and the mace, he should never be disregarded as a man, ye best of deities. He is the Supreme Mystery, the Supreme refuge, the Supreme Brahma, and the Supreme glory. He is without decay, Unmanifest, and Eternal. He it is who hath been sung as Purusha, though none can comprehend him. The divine Artificer hath sung of him as the Supreme Energy, the Supreme Felicity, and the Supreme Truth. Therefore, the Lord Vasudeva of immeasurable prowess should never be disregarded as a man by all the Asuras and the gods with Indra at their head. That person of foolish understanding is called a wretch, who, from disregard, speaketh of Hrishikesa as only a man. People speak of him as one labouring under darkness who disregardeth Vasudeva, that Yogin of illustrious soul, for his entering into a human form. People speak of him as one labouring under darkness who knoweth not that Divine personage, that Soul of the mobile and the immobile creation, that one bearing the auspicious wheel (on his breast), that one of dazzling effulgence, that one from whose navel hath sprung the

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(primeval) lotus. He who disregardeth that wearer of the diadem and the Kaustuva gem, that dispeller of fears of his friends, that high-souled one, sinketh in thick darkness. Having known all these truths duly, that Lord of the worlds, viz., Vasudeva, should be adored by every one, ye best of gods.'--

"Bhishma continued,--Having said these words unto those gods and Rishis in days of yore, the illustrious Grandsire, dismissing them all, repaired to his own abode. And the gods and the Gandharvas, and the Munis and the Apsaras also, having listened to those words spoken by Brahman, were filled with delight and repaired to heaven. Even this was heard by me, O sire, from Rishis of cultured soul talking in their assembly, of Vasudeva, that ancient one. And O thou that art well-versed in scriptures, I heard this from Rama, the son of Jamadagni, and Markandeya of great wisdom, and Vyasa and Narada also. Having learnt all this and heard of the illustrious Vasudeva as the Eternal Lord, the Supreme God of all the worlds, and the great Master, from whom hath sprung Brahman himself, the Father of the Universe, why should not that Vasudeva be adored and worshipped by men? Forbidden wert thou before, O sire, by sages of cultured souls, (who said unto thee)--Never go to war with that Vasudeva armed with bow as also with the Pandavas,--This, from folly, thou couldst not apprehend. I regard thee therefore, as a wicked Rakshsa. Thou art, besides, enveloped in darkness. It is for this that thou hatest Govinda and Dhananjaya the son of Pandu, for who else among men would hate the divine Nara and Narayana? It is for this, O king, that I say unto thee that this one is Eternal and Unfading, pervading the whole Universe, Unchanging, the Ruler, Creator and Upholder of all, and the truly Existent. He it is who upholdeth the three worlds. He is the Supreme Lord of all mobile and immobile creatures, and He is the great Master, He is warrior, He is Victory, He is Victor, and He is the Lord of all nature. O king, He is full of goodness and divested of all the qualities of Darkness and Passion. There, where Krishna is, there righteousness is; and there is victory where righteousness is. It is by the Yoga of his Supreme Excellence, and the Yoga of his Self, that the sons of Pandu, O king, are supported. Victory, therefore, will surely be theirs. He it is that always imparteth to the Pandavas and understanding endued with righteousness, and strength in battle; and He it is that always protecteth them from danger. He is the Eternal God, pervading all beings, and ever blessed. He, of whom thou hadst asked me, is known by the name of Vasudeva. He it is whom Brahmanas and Kshatriyas and Vaisyas and Sudras, having distinctive features of their own, humbly serve and worship with restrained hearts and performing their own duties. He it is who, towards the close of the Dwapara Yuga and the beginning of the Kali Yuga, is sung of with Sankarshana, by believers with devotion. It is that Vasudeva that createth, Yuga after Yuga, the worlds of the gods and the mortals, all cities girt by the sea, and the region of human habitation.--"

SECTION 67

"Duryodhana said, 'In all the worlds Vasudeva is spoken of as the Supreme Being. I desire, O Grandsire, to know his origin and glory."

"Bhishma said, 'Vasudeva is the Supreme Being. He is the God of all Gods. None superior to him of eyes like lotus-petals is to be seen, O bull of Bharata's race. Markandeya speaketh of Govinda as the Most Wonderful and the Most high, as the All-being, as the All-soul, as the Highest soul, and as the Supreme male Being. Water, Air, and Fire,--these three were created by Him. That Divine Master and Lord of all the worlds created this Earth. That Supreme Being of illustrious soul laid himself down on the waters. And that Divine Being made up of all kinds of energy slept thereon in Yoga. From his mouth He created Fire, and from his breath, the Wind. Of unfading glory, He created from his mouth Speech and the Vedas. It was thus that he created first the Worlds and also the gods along with the diverse classes of Rishis. And he created decay and death also of all creatures, as well as birth and growth. He is Righteousness and of righteous soul. He is the giver of boons and the giver of all (our) wishes. He is the Actor and Action, and He is himself the Divine Master. He first made the Past, the Present, and the Future; He is the Creator of the Universe. He is of illustrious soul; He is the Master possessed of unfading glory. He created Sankarshana, the First-born of all creatures. He created the divine Sesha who is known as Ananta and who upholdeth all creatures and the Earth with her mountains. Of Supreme Energy, He it is whom the regenerate ones know by Yoga meditation. Sprung from the secretions of his ear, the great Asura known by the name of Madhu, fierce and of fierce deeds and entertaining a fierce intent and about to destroy Brahman, was slain by that Supreme Being. And O sire, in consequence of Madhu's slaughter, the gods, the Danavas, and human beings, and Rishis, call Janardana the slayer of Madhu. He is the great Boar. He is the great Lion, and He is the Three-stepped Lord. [The Three-stepped Lord, Vishnu became vamana or the dwarf for robbing the Asura Vali of his dominions. Disguised in that shape he asked of Vali three steps of land. Vali, smiling at the littleness of what was asked, gave it. But when the dwarf expanded his form and covered the heavens and the earth with only two steps of his, no space could be found for the third step. Vali was forthwith seized and bound as a promise-breaker, and sent to reside in the nether regions.] He is the Mother and the Father of all living creatures. There never was, nor will be, any superior to Him of eyes like lotus-petals. From His mouth He created the Brahmanas: and from His two arms the Kshatriyas, and from His thighs, O king, He created the Vaisyas, and from His feet He created the Sudras. One waiting dutifully on Him, observant of vows with ascetic austerities on days of the full-moon and the new-moon, is sure to obtain the Divine Kesava, that refuge of all embodied creatures that essence of Brahma and of Yoga. Kesava is the higher Energy,

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the Grandsire of all the worlds. Him, O king, the sages call Hrishikesa (the lord of the senses). Him also should all know as the Preceptor, the Father, and the Master. Inexhaustible regions (of blessedness) are won by him with whom Krishna is gratified. He also who, in a place of fear, seeketh the protection of Kesava, and he who frequently readeth this description, becometh happy and endued with every prosperity. Those men who attain to Krishna are never beguiled, Janardana always saveth those that are sunk in great terrors. Knowing this truly, O Bharata, Yudhishthira, with his whole soul, O king, hath sought the shelter of the highly blessed Kesava, the Lord of Yoga, and the Lord of the Earth."

SECTION 68

"Bhishma said, 'Hear from me, O king, this hymn that was uttered by Brahman himself. This hymn was in days of old communicated by regenerate Rishis and the gods (to men) on Earth-Narada described thee as the Master and the Lord of the god of gods and all the Sadhyas and the celestials, and as one acquainted with the nature of the Creator of the worlds. Markandeya spoke of thee as the Past, the Present, and the Future, and the sacrifice of sacrifices, and the austerity of austerities. The illustrious Bhrigu said of thee that thou art the God of the gods, that thine is the ancient form of Vishnu. Dwaipayana said of thee that thou art Vasudeva of the Vasus, the establisher of Sakra, and the God of gods and all creatures. In days of old on the occasion of procreating creatures, the sages spoke of thee as Daksha, the Father of creation. Angiras said that thou art the creator of all beings. Devala said of thee that the unmanifest all is thy body, and the manifest is in thy mind, and that the gods are all the result of thy breath. With thy heads is pervaded the heavens, and thy two arms support the Earth. In thy stomach are three worlds and thou art the Eternal Being. Even thus do men exalted by asceticism know thee. Thou art the Sat of Sat, with Rishis gratified with sight of Self [i.e., really existent among all things.]. With royal sages of liberal minds, never retreating from battle and having morality for their highest end, thou, O slayer of Madhu, art, the sole refuse. Even thus is that illustrious and Supreme Being, viz., Hari, adored and worshipped by Sanatkumar and other ascetics endued with Yoga. The truth about Kesava, O sire, is now narrated to thee, both in brief and detail. Turn thy heart in love to Kesava.'"

Sanjaya continued, "Hearing this sacred story, thy son, O great king, began to regard highly both Kesava and these mighty car-warriors, viz., the sons of Pandu. Then, O monarch, Bhishma the son of Santanu once more addressed thy son, saying, 'Thou hast now heard truly, O king, about the glory of the high-souled Kesava and of Nara about which thou hadst asked me. Thou hast also heard about the object for which both Nara and Narayana have taken their births among men. Thou hast also been told the reason why those heroes are invincible and have never been vanquished in battle, and why also, O king, the sons of Pandu are incapable of being slain in battle, by anybody. Krishna beareth great love for the illustrious sons of Pandu. It is for this, O king of kings, that I say, 'Let peace be made with the Pandavas.' Restraining thy passions enjoy thou the Earth with thy mighty brothers (around thee). By disregarding the divine Nara and Narayana, thou shalt certainly be destroyed. Having said these words, thy sire, became silent, O monarch, and dismissing the king, entered his tent. And the king also came back to his (own) tent, having worshipped the illustrious grandsire. And then, O bull of Bharata's race, he laid himself down on his white bed for passing the night in sleep."

SECTION 69

Sanjaya said, "After the night had passed away and the sun had risen, the two armies, O king, approached each other for battle. Beholding each other, each rushed in united ranks towards the other excited with rage and desirous of vanquishing the other. And in consequence of thy evil policy, O king, the Pandavas and the Dhartarashtras thus rushed, cased in mail and forming battle-array, for striking each other. And the array that Bhishma protected from all sides, O king, was of the shape of a Makara [A fabulous aquatic animal resembling an alligator.]. And so the Pandavas also, O king, protected the array they had formed (of their troops). Then thy sire Devavrata, O great king, that foremost of car-warriors, proceeded in advance, supported by a large division of cars. And others, viz., car-warriors, infantry, elephants, and cavalry, all followed him, each stationed in the place allotted. And beholding them prepared for battle, the illustrious sons of Pandu arrayed their troops in that invincible and prince of arrays called the Syena. And in the beak of that array shone Bhimasena of great strength. And in its two eyes were the invincible Sikhandin and Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's race. And in the head was the heroic Satyaki of prowess incapable of being baffled. And in its neck was Arjuna shaking his Gandiva. And in its left wing was the high-souled and blessed Drupada with his son and supported by an akshauhini of all forces. And the king of the Kekayas, owning an akshauhini, formed

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the right wing (of that array). And in its back were the sons of Draupadi, and Subhadra's son of great prowess. And in its tail was the heroic king Yudhishthira himself, of excellent prowess, supported by his twin brothers. Then in the battle (that ensued). Bhima, penetrating the Makara array (of the Kauravas) through its mouth, and approaching Bhishma, covered him with his shafts. Then in that great battle, Bhishma possessed of great prowess shot his mighty weapons, confounding the combatants of the Pandavas disposed in battle-array. And when the combatants (of the Pandava army) were thus confounded, Dhananjaya, speedily proceeding, pierced Bhishma at the van of battle with a thousand arrows. And counteracting, in that conflict, the weapons shot by Bhishma, Arjuna stood ready for the combat, supported by his own division filled with cheerfulness. Then king Duryodhana, that foremost of mighty men, that great car-warrior, beholding that terrible carnage of his troops and remembering the slaughter of his brothers (on the previous day), came quickly towards Bharadwaja's son, and addressing him, said, 'O preceptor, O sinless one, thou art ever my well-wisher,--Relying on thee as also on the grandsire Bhishma, ourselves, hope to vanquish without doubt the very gods in battle, let alone the sons of Pandu that are destitute of energy and prowess. Blessed be thou, act in such away that the Pandavas may be slain. Thus addressed in battle by thy son, Drona penetrated into the Pandava array in the very sight of Satyaki. Then O Bharata, Satyaki checked the son of Bharadwaja, (and thereupon) ensued a battle that was fierce in its incidents and awful to behold. Then Bharadwaja's son excited with rage and endued with great prowess, as if smiling the while, pierced the grandson of Sini with ten shafts at his shoulder-joint. And Bhimasena also, excited with rage, pierced Bharadwaja's son (with many shafts), desirous of protecting Satyaki, O king, from Drona that foremost of all warriors. Then Drona and Bhishma, and Salya also, O sire, excited with rage, covered Bhimasena, in that battle, with their shafts. Thereupon Abhimanyu excited with wrath, and the sons of Draupadi, O sire, pierced with their sharp-pointed shafts all those warriors with upraised weapons. Then in that fierce battle, the great bowman Sikhandin rushed against those two mighty warriors, viz., Bhishma and Drona who, excited with rage, had (thus) fallen upon the Pandavas. Firmly grasping his bow whose twang resembled the roar of the clouds, that hero, shrouding the very Sun with his arrows, quickly covered his antagonists therewith. The grandsire of the Bharatas, however, getting Sikhandin before him, avoided him, remembering the femininity of his sex. Then, O king, urged by thy son, Drona rushed to battle, desirous of protecting Bhishma in that stress. Sikhandin, however, approaching Drona that foremost of all wielders of weapons, avoided, from fear, that warrior resembling the blazing fire that appears at the end of the Yuga.

Then, O king, thy son with a large force, desirous of winning great glory, proceeded to protect Bhishma. And the Pandavas also proceeded, O king, firmly setting their hearts upon victory, and the battle then that took place between the combatants of both armies desirous of victory and fame, was fierce and highly wonderful, resembling that (in days of yore) between the gods and Danavas.

SECTION 70

Sanjaya said, "Then Bhishma the son of Santanu fought fiercely [Literally, "made a fierce battle."], desirous of protecting the sons from the fear of Bhimasena. And the battle that then took place between the kings of the Kaurava and the Pandava armies was awful in the extreme and destructive of great heroes. And in that general engagement, so fierce and terrible, tremendous was the din that arose, touching the very heavens. And in consequence of the shrieks of huge elephants and the neigh of steeds and the blare of conches and beat of drums, the uproar was deafening. Fighting for the sake of victory, the mighty combatants endued with great prowess roared at one another like bulls in a cow-pen. And heads cut off in that battle with keen-edged shafts, incessantly falling, created, O bull of Bharata's race, the appearance of a stony shower in the welkin. Indeed, O bull of Bharata's race, innumerable were the heads lying on the

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field of battle, decked with ear-rings and turbans and resplendent with ornaments of gold. And the earth was covered with limbs cut off with broad-headed shafts, with heads decked with ear-rings, and with arms adorned with ornaments. And in a moment the whole field was strewn over with bodies cased in mail, with arms decked with ornaments, with faces beautiful as the moon and having eyes with reddish corners, and with every limb, O king, of elephants, steeds and men. And the dust (raised by the warriors) looked like a thick cloud, and the bright implements of destruction, like flashes of lightning. And the noise made by the weapons resembled the roar of thunder. And that fierce and awful passage-at-arms, O Bharata, between the Kurus and the Pandavas caused a very river of blood to flow there. And in that terrible, fierce, and awful battle causing the hair stand on end, Kshatriya warriors incapable of defeat incessantly poured their arrowy showers. And the elephants of both thy army and the enemy's, afflicted with those arrowy showers, shrieked aloud and ran hither and thither in fury. And in consequence of (the twang of) bows, endued with great energy, of fierce and heroic warriors excited with fury, and of flapping of their bow-strings against their leathern fences, nothing could be distinguished. And all over the field which looked like a lake of blood, headless trunks stood up, and the kings bent upon slaying their foes, rushed to battle. And brave warriors of immeasurable energy and possessed of arms resembling stout bludgeons, slew one another with arrows and darts and maces and scimitars. And elephants, pierced with arrows and deprived of riders to guide them with hooks, and steeds destitute of riders, wildly ran in all directions. And many warriors, O best of the Bharatas, belonging to both thy army and that of the foe, deeply pierced with shafts jumped up and fell down. And in that encounter between Bhima and Bhishma, heaps of arms and heads, as also of bows and maces and spiked clubs and hands and thighs, of legs and ornaments and bracelets, were seen lying over the field. And here and there over the field, O king, were seen large bodies of unretreating elephants and steeds and cars. And the Kshatriya warriors, urged on by fate, slew one another with maces, swords, lances, and straight shafts. And others endued with great heroism and accomplished in fight, encountered one another with their bare arms that resembled spiked clubs made of iron. And other heroic warriors of thy army, engaged with the combatants of the Pandava host, fought on slaying one another with clenched fists and knees, and slaps and blows, O king. And with the fallen and falling warriors and those weltering in agony on the ground, the field of battle everywhere became, O king, terrible to behold, and car-warriors, deprived of the cars and grasping excellent swords, rushed at one another, desirous of slaughter. Then king Duryodhana, surrounded by a large division of Kalingas, and placing Bhishma ahead, rushed towards the Pandavas. And so the Pandava combatants also, supporting Vrikodara, and owning fleet animals, rushed, excited with rage, against Bhishma."

SECTION 71

Sanjaya said, "Beholding his brothers and the other kings engaged in battle with Bhishma, Dhananjaya, with weapons upraised, rushed against the son of Ganga. Hearing the blare of Panchajanya and the twang of the bow Gandiva, and seeing also the standard of Pritha's son, a great fear entered our hearts. And the standard that we behold, O king, of the wielder of Gandiva bore the device of lion's tail and looked like a blazing mountain in the welkin. Beautiful and of celestial workmanship, it was variegated with diverse hues, and looking like a risen comet it could not be obstructed by trees. And in that great battle, the warriors beheld Gandiva, the back of whose staff was decked with pure gold, and which looked beautiful like a flash of lightning in the midst of a mass of clouds in the firmament. And while slaying the combatants of thy army, the shouts we heard uttered by Arjuna seemed to resemble the loud roars of Indra himself, and the slaps also of his palms were frightfully loud. Like a roaring mass of clouds charged with lightning and aided by a raging tempest, Arjuna incessantly poured his arrowy showers on all sides, completely shrouding the ten points of the compass. Dhananjaya then possessed of terrible weapons, quickly proceeded towards the son of Ganga. Deprived of four senses in consequence of his weapons, we could not then distinguish the East from the West. And thy warriors, then, O bull of Bharata's race,--their animals tired, steeds slain, and hearts depressed,--thoroughly confounded [Kandigbhutas lit. "not knowing which point of the compass was which."] and huddling close to one another, sought Bhishma's protection along with all thy sons. And in that battle Bhishma the son of Santanu became their protector. Struck with fear, car-warriors jumping down from their cars, cavalry soldiers jumping down from the backs of their steeds, and the foot-soldiers where they stood, all began to fall down on the earth. Hearing the twang of Gandiva that resembled the roar of the thunder, all thy warriors were struck with fear and seemed, O Bharata, to melt away. Then, O king, with many huge and fleet steeds of the Kamvoja breed, and surrounded by many thousand of Gopas with a large Gopayana force and supported by the Madras, the Sauviras, the Gandharas and the Trigartas, and surrounded by all the principal Kalingas, the king of the Kalingas, and king Jayadratha accompanied by all the kings and supported by a large force of diverse races with Dussasana at their head, and fourteen thousand principal horsemen, urged by thy son, surrounded the son of Suvala (for supporting him). Then in that battle, all the Pandavas, united together, and riding on separate cars and animals, began, O bull of Bharata's race, to slaughter thy troops. And the dust raised by car-warriors and steeds and foot-soldiers, looking like a mass of clouds, made the field of battle exceedingly awful. And with a large force consisting of elephants, steeds and cars, and armed with lances and bearded darts and broad-headed shafts, Bhishma engaged in battle with the diadem decked (Arjuna). And the king of Avanti engaged with the ruler of Kasi, and the ruler of the Sindhus engaged with Bhimasena. And king Yudhishthira with his sons and counsellors engaged with Salya, the famous chief of the Madras. And Vikarna engaged with Sahadeva, and Chitrasena with Sikhandin. And the Matsyas, O king, engaged with Duryodhana, and Sakuni; and Drupada and Chekitana, and that mighty car-warrior Satyaki engaged in battle with the high-souled Drona aided by his son. And Kripa and Kritavarman both rushed against Dhrishtadyumna. And thus, all over the field, rushing bodies of horses, of elephants and cars, engaged with one another in battle. And although there were no clouds in the sky, yet flashes of lightning were seen. And all the points of the compass were covered with dust. And, O king, fierce meteors were seen failing with thundering noise. And violent winds blew and a shower of dust fell from above. And the sun, covered by the dust raised by the troops, disappeared in the firmament. And all the warriors, covered by that dust and battling with weapons, were deprived of their senses. And the sound made by weapons, all capable of penetrating through every armour and hurled from heroic arms, became a tremendous uproar. And, O bull of Bharata's race, weapons hurled from excellent arms and possessed of stellar brightness, illumined the whole welkin. And variegated shields made of bull's hides and embossed with gold were strewn, O bull of Bharata's race, all over the field. And heads and limbs were seen falling on all sides, cut off with swords and scimitars possessed of solar effulgence. And great car-warriors, the wheels, axles, and boxes of whose cars were broken, fell down on the ground, their steeds slain and their tall standards tumbling down. And many car-warriors having been slain, their steeds, mangled with weapons, fell down as they ran dragging the cars (to which they were yoked). And, in many places over the field, excellent steeds, afflicted with arrows, with limbs mangled, and with their traces on, ran, dragging the car-yokes after them. And many car-warriors, with their charioteers and steeds, were seen, O king, to be crushed by single elephants endued with great strength. And in that battle, in the midst of large forces, many elephants, scenting the odour of the temporal juice of their compeers, began to snuff the breeze repeatedly. And the whole field was strewn with slain elephants, deprived of life by means of broad-headed shafts and falling down with the wooden edifices and the guides on their backs. And many elephants, in, the midst of large forces crushed, with the standards and warriors on their backs, by huge compeers urged by their guides, fell down on the field. And many car-shafts, O king, were seen to be broken in that battle by huge elephants using their trunks, each of which resembled the trunk of the prince of elephants (called Airavata). And many car-warriors also, in that conflict, the Jalas of whose cars had been broken, were like branches of trees dragged down by tuskers, seized by the hair of their heads and, thrashed violently on the ground, were crushed into shapeless masses. And other huge elephants, dragging cars that were entangled with other cars, ran in all directions shrieking loudly. And those elephants, thus dragging those cars, looked like others of their species dragging lotus-stalks growing in lakes. And thus was that vast field of battle strewn over with cavalry soldiers and foot-soldiers and great car-warriors and standards."

SECTION 72

Sanjaya said, "Sikhandin with Virata king of the Matsyas speedily approached Bhishma that invincible and mighty bowman. And Dhananjaya encountered Drona and Kripa, and Vikarna and many other kings, brave in battle, all mighty bowmen endued with great strength, as also that mighty bowman the ruler of the Sindhus supported by his friends and kinsmen and many kings of the west and the south also, O bull of Bharata's race. And Bhimasena proceeded against that mighty bowman, viz., thy vindictive son Duryodhana, and also against Dussaha. And Sahadeva proceeded against those invincible warriors, viz., Sakuni and that mighty car-warrior Uluka, those great bowmen, who were sire and son. And that mighty car-warrior Yudhishthira, deceitfully treated by thy son, proceeded in that battle, O king, against the elephant division (of the Kauravas). And that son of Pandu and Madri, viz., the heroic Nakula capable of wringing tears from the foe, engaged in battle with the excellent car-warriors of the Trigartas. And those invincible warriors, viz., Satyaki and Chekitana, and the mighty son of Subhadra, proceeded against Salya and the Kaikeyas. And Dhrishtaketu and the Rakshasa Ghatotkacha, both invincible in battle, proceeded against the car-division of thy sons. And that mighty car-warrior Dhrishtadyumna, that generalissimo (of the Pandava forces) of immeasurable soul, engaged in battle, O king, with Drona of fierce achievements. And it was thus that those heroic and mighty bowmen of thy army and the Pandavas, engaged in battle, began to strike one another. And when the sun had reached the meridian and the sky was brilliantly illumined by his rays, the Kauravas and the Pandavas began to slay one another. Then cars, furnished with standards from whose tops pennons were afloat, variegated with gold and covered with tiger-skins, looked beautiful as they moved on the field of battle. And the shouts of warriors engaged in battle from desire of vanquishing one another, became as loud as leonine roars. And that encounter which we beheld between the heroic Srinjayas and the Kurus, was fierce in the extreme and highly wonderful. And in consequence of the arrows shot all around, we could not, O king, distinguish, O chastiser of foes, the firmament, the sun and the cardinal and the subsidiary points of the compass. And the splendour, like that of the blue lotus, of darts with polished points, of bearded lances hurled (at the foe), of well-tempered sabres and scimitars, of variegated coats of mail and of the ornaments (on the persons of the warriors), illumined the welkin and the cardinal and the subsidiary points with its effulgence. And the field of battle in many places, O king, shone in consequence of the bodies of monarchs whose effulgence resembled that of the moon and the sun. And brave car-warriors, tigers among men shone in that battle, O king, like the planets in the firmament. And Bhishma, that foremost of car-warriors, excited with rage, checked the mighty Bhimasena in the very sight of the troops. And the impetuous shafts shot by Bhishma, furnished with golden wings, and whetted on stone, and rubbed with oil pierced Bhima in that battle. Then Bhimasena endued with great strength hurled at him, O Bharata, a dart of fierce impetuosity that resembled a wrathful snake. But Bhishma in that combat cut off with straight shafts that dart with staff made of gold and difficult of being borne, as it coursed impetuously towards him. And with another broad-headed shaft, sharp and well-tempered, he cut off Bhimasena's bow, O Bharata, into two parts. Then, O king, in that battle, Satyaki, coming quickly towards Bhishma, pierced thy sire with innumerable keen-edged and sharp-pointed shafts of fierce impetuosity shot from his bowstring drawn to the ear. Then Bhishma, aiming an exceedingly fierce shaft, felled the charioteer of the Vrishni hero from his box in the car. And when the charioteer of Satyaki's car was thus slain, his steeds, O king, bolted away. Endued with the speed of the tempest or the mind, they ran wild over the field. Then cries were uttered by the whole army which became a loud uproar. And exclamation of oh and alas arose from the high-souled warriors of the Pandava army. And those cries-said--Run, seize, check the horses, go in haste. And this uproar followed Yuyudhana's car. Meanwhile, Bhishma the son of Santanu began to slay the Pandava forces like Indra slaying the Danavas. But the Panchalas and the Somakas, though slain by Bhishma thus, forming yet a laudable resolution, rushed towards Bhishma. And other warriors of the Pandava army, headed by Dhrishtadyumna, and desirous of slaughtering the ranks of thy son, rushed towards Santanu's son in that battle. And so also, O king, the warriors of thy army, headed by Bhishma and Drona, impetuously rushed towards their foes. And thereupon another battle took place."

SECTION 73

Sanjaya said, "King Virata then pierced that mighty car-warrior, viz., Bhishma, with three shafts. And that great car-warrior pierced his (antagonist's) steeds also with three shafts furnished with golden wings. And that terrible bowman and mighty car-warrior of firm hand, viz., Drona's son, pierced with six shafts the wielder of Gandiva between his two breasts. Thereupon that grinder of foes, viz., Phalguni, that slayer of hostile heroes, cut off Aswatthaman's bow and deeply pierced him in return with five shafts. Deprived of his senses by anger, and unable to bear the cutting off of his bow in that battle, Drona's son, taking up another bow that was tougher, pierced Phalguni, O king, with ninety sharp-shafts, and Vasudeva also with seventy fierce arrows. Then, with eyes red in wrath, Phalguni, with Krishna, breathing long and hot breaths, reflected for a moment. Firmly grasping the bow with his left hand, that grinder of foes, viz., the wielder of gandiva excited with rage, fixed on his bowstring a number of fierce shafts, sharp and perfectly straight, and capable of taking (the foe's) life. And that foremost of mighty men speedily pierced Drona's son, in that battle, with those arrows. And those arrows, penetrating through his armour, drank his life-blood. But though thus pierced by the wielder of Gandiva, Drona's son wavered not. Shooting in return similar arrows at Partha, he stayed unperturbed, in that battle, desirous, O king, of protecting Bhishma of high vows. And that feat of his was applauded by the foremost warriors of the Kuru army,

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consisting, as it did, of his having encountered the two Krishnas united together. Indeed, Aswatthaman daily battled fearlessly amid the forces, having obtained from Drona all weapons with the methods also of their withdrawal. This one is the son of my preceptor. He is again the dear son of Drona. He is especially a Brahmana, and, therefore, worthy of my regard. Thinking so, that scorcher of foes, the heroic Vibhatsu, that foremost of car-warriors, showed mercy to the son of Bharadwaja. Avoiding the son of Drona, Kunti's son endued with great prowess and having white steeds (yoked unto his car), began to fight, displaying great quickness of arms and causing a great carnage of thy troops. Duryodhana then pierced that great bowman Bhima with ten shafts winged with vulturine feathers, adorned with gold, and whetted on stone. Thereupon Bhimasena, excited with wrath, took up a tough and well-adorned bow capable of taking the life of the foe, and also ten sharp shafts. And steadily aiming those sharp-pointed shafts of fierce energy and impetuous velocity, and drawing the bow-string to his ear, he deeply pierced the king of the Kurus in his wide chest. Thereupon the gem hanging on his breast on threads of gold, surrounded by those shafts, looked beautiful like the Sun in the firmament surrounded by the planets. Thy son, however, endued with great energy, thus struck by Bhimasena, could not bear it (coolly), like a snake unable to bear the sounds of a man's slap. Excited with wrath and desirous of protecting his army, he then pierced Bhima in return, O king, with many shafts whetted on stone and endued with golden wings. Thus struggling in battle and mangling each other fiercely, those two mighty sons of thine looked like a pair of celestials.

"That tiger among men and slayer of hostile heroes, viz., the son of Subhadra, pierced Chitrasena with many sharp shafts and Purumitra also with seven shafts. And piercing Satyavrata too with seventy shafts, that hero resembling Indra himself in battle, began as it were to dance on the field, and caused us much pain. Chitrasena then pierced him in return with ten shafts, and Satyavrata with nine, and Purumitra with seven. Then the son of Arjuna, thus pierced, while yet covered with blood, cut off the large and beautiful bow of Chitrasena that was capable of checking foes. And cutting through his coat of mail he pierced his antagonist's breast with a shaft. Then the princes of thy army, all heroic and mighty car-warriors, excited with wrath and united together in that conflict, pierced him with sharp arrows. And Abhimanyu, acquainted with the mightiest weapons, smote them all with keen shafts. Beholding that feat of his, thy sons then surrounded the son of Arjuna, who was consuming thy army in that conflict like a swelling fire of blazing flames consuming a heap of dry grass in summer. And the son of Subhadra, while smiting thy troops (thus), seemed to glow in splendour. Seeing that conduct of his, thy grandson Lakshmana then, O monarch, quickly fell upon the son of Subhadra. Thereupon that mighty car-warrior Abhimanyu, excited with wrath, pierced Lakshmana graced with auspicious marks, as also his charioteer, with six sharp arrows. But Lakshmana also, O king, pierced Subhadra's son with many keen shafts. And that feat, O king, seemed to be highly wonderful. Then that mighty car-warrior, viz., Abhimanyu, slaying the four steeds as also the charioteer of Lakshmana with sharp shafts, rushed towards the latter. Thereupon Lakshmana, that slayer of hostile heroes, staying on that car of his whose steeds had been slain, and excited with wrath, hurled a dart towards the car of Subhadra's son. Abhimanyu, however, with his sharp arrows, cut off that irresistible dart of fierce mien, resembling a snake, and coming impetuously towards him. Then Kripa, taking Lakshmana up on his own car, bore him away from the conflict, in the very sight of all the troops. Then when that awful conflict became general, the combatants rushed against one another, desirous of taking another's life. And the mighty bowmen of thy army and the great car-warriors of the Pandava host, prepared to lay down their lives in battle, slew one another. With hair dishevelled, divested of their coats of mail, deprived of their cars, and their bows broken, the Srinjayas fought with the Kurus with their bare arms. Then the mighty-armed Bhishma, endued with great strength, and excited with wrath, slew with his celestial weapons the troops of the high-souled Pandavas. And the earth became covered with the fallen bodies of elephants deprived of their guides of men and steeds and car-warriors and cavalry-soldiers."

SECTION 74

Sanjaya said, "Then, O king, the mighty-armed Satyaki invincible in battle, drawing in that conflict an excellent bow capable of bearing a great strain shot innumerable winged arrows resembling snakes of virulent poison, displaying his wonderful lightness of hand. And while slaying his foes in battle, so quickly did he draw the bow, take out his arrows, fix them on the bowstring, and letting them off throw them among the foe, that he then seemed to be a mass of clouds pouring a thick shower of rain. Beholding him then thus blazing up (like a swelling fire), king Duryodhana, O Bharata, despatched ten thousand cars against him. But that great bowman, Satyaki, of prowess incapable of being baffled and possessed of great energy, slew with his celestial weapons all those mighty car-warriors. Having achieved, bow in hand, that fierce feat, that hero then approached Bhurisravas in battle. And Bhurisravas also, that enhancer of the fame of the Kurus, beholding the Dhartarashtra ranks thus felled by Yuyudhana, rushed in wrath against the latter. Drawing his great bow which resembled that of Indra himself in hue, he shot thousands of shafts, O monarch, looking like snakes of virulent poison and possessed of the strength of the thunder, displaying his extreme lightness of hand. Thereupon the combatants that followed Satyaki, unable to bear those shafts of fatal touch, fled away, O king, in all directions, abandoning, O monarch, the invincible Satyaki in that conflict. Beholding this, the mighty sons of Yuyudhana, all mighty car-warriors of great renown, cased in excellent mail, bearing diverse arms, and possessing excellent standards, approaching that great bowman, viz., Bhurisravas, in battle, wrathfully addressed that warrior bearing on his standard the device of a sacrificial stake, and said these words, 'Listen, O kinsman of the Kauravas, O thou that art possessed of great strength, come, fight in battle with us, i.e., with either all of us jointly or with each of us separately. Vanquishing us in battle thou mayst win great renown, or ourselves, vanquishing thee, will have great gratification.' Thus addressed by them, that mighty hero endued with great strength and proud of his prowess, that foremost of men, beholding them before him, replied unto them, saying, 'Ye heroes, ye have said well. If such be now your wish, fight ye then all together with care. I shall slay all of you in battle.' Thus addressed by him, those heroic and mighty bowmen endued with great activity covered that chastiser of foes with a thick shower of arrows. And it was towards the afternoon, O king, that that dreadful battle took place between Bhurisravas alone on one side and the many united together on the other. And those ten heroes covered that single mighty car-warrior with showers of arrows like the clouds showering rain on a mountain cliff in the season of rains. That mighty car-warrior, however, cut off, those clouds of shafts shot by them resembling the fatal darts of Death or the very thunder in effulgence, before they could reach him. They then, surrounding that mighty-armed warrior, endeavoured to slay him. But the son of Somadatta, excited with rage, cut off their bows, O Bharata, and then their heads, with sharp shafts. Thus slain, they fell down, O monarch, like mighty trees felled by the thunder. Beholding then his mighty sons thus slain in battle, the Vrishni hero (Satyaki), O king, uttering a loud roar, rushed against Bhurisravas. And those mighty warriors then each pressed his car against the other. And each of them in that combat slew the other's car-steeds. And both deprived of their cars, those mighty warriors jumped down on the ground. And both taking up large scimitars and excellent shields encountered each other. And those tigers among men, stationed for the encounter, shone brightly. Then Bhimasena, O king, quickly coming up to Satyaki thus armed with an excellent scimitar, took him up on his own car. And thy son also, O monarch, speedily took up Bhurisravas on his car, in that battle, at the very sight of all the bowmen.

"Meanwhile, during the continuance of that battle, the Pandavas, O bull of Bharata's race, excited with wrath, fought with that mighty car-warrior Bhishma. And when the sun assumed a red hue, Dhananjaya exerting himself actively, slew five and twenty thousand great car-warriors. These, urged on by Duryodhana for slaying Partha, were thus completely destroyed before they could even come up to him, like insects on a blazing fire. Then the Matsyas and the Kekayas, all accomplished in the science of arms, surrounded that mighty car-warrior Partha as also his son (for supporting them). Just at that time the sun disappeared, and all the combatants seemed to be deprived of their senses. Then at twilight, O king, thy sire Devavrata, his animals having been tired, caused the troops to be withdrawn. And the troops of both the Pandavas and the Kurus, filled with fear and anxiety in course of that dreadful encounter, proceeded to their respective camps, the Pandavas with the Srinjayas and the Kauravas also rested for the night agreeably to the rules (of military science)."

SECTION 75

Sanjaya said, "Having rested for a while, O king, both the Kurus and the Pandavas, after the night had passed away, once more went out for battle. And then loud was the uproar, O king, that arose of mighty car-warriors as they prepared for battle, and of tuskers as these were being equipped for the conflict, and of infantry as they put on their armour, and of steeds also, O Bharata. And the blare of conches and the beat of drums became deafening in all parts of the field. Then king Yudhishthira addressed Dhrishtadyumna and said, 'O mighty-armed one, dispose the troops in the array called Makara that scorcheth the foe.' Thus addressed by Pritha's son, that mighty car-warrior Dhrishtadyumna, that foremost of combatants on cars, issued the order, O great king, to the car-warriors, (for forming the Makara array). Drupada, and Dhananjaya the son of Pandu, formed the head of that array, and Sahadeva and that mighty car-warrior Nakula formed its two eyes. And the mighty Bhimasena formed its beak. And Subhadra's son, and the sons of Draupadi and the Rakshasa Ghatotkacha, and Satyaki, and king Yudhishthira the Just, were stationed in its neck. And king Virata that commander of a large division, formed its back, supported by Dhrishtadyumna and a large force. And the five Kekaya brothers consisted its left wing, and that tiger among men, viz., Dhrishtaketu, and Chekitana of great prowess, stationed in the right wing, stood for protecting that array. And its two feet, O monarch, were constituted by that mighty car-warrior the blessed Kuntibhoja, and Satanika, supported by a large force. And that great bowman, the mighty Sikhandin, surrounded by the Somakas, and Iravat, were stationed in the tail of that Makara array. And having, O Bharata, formed their great array, the Pandavas, O monarch, equipped in mail at dawn, again stood for battle. And with elephants and steeds and cars and infantry, and with standards upraised and umbrellas set up, and armed with bright, whetted weapons, they quickly proceeded against the Kauravas.

"Then thy sire Devavrata, beholding the (Pandava) army thus arrayed, disposed his army, O king, in counter-array after the form of a huge crane. And in its beak was Bharadwaja's son (Drona). And Aswatthaman and Kripa, O monarch, formed its two eyes. And that foremost, of all bowmen, viz., Kritavarman, united with the ruler of the Kamvojas and with the Valhikas was stationed, O king, in its head. And in its neck. O Bharata, were Surasena, and thy son Duryodhana, O king, surrounded by many kings. And the ruler of the Pragjyotishas, united with the Madras, the Sauviras, and the Kekayas, and surrounded by a large force, was stationed, O king, in its breasts. And Susarman the king of Prasthala, accompanied by his own troops, stood, accoutred in mail, in the left wing. And the Tusharas, the Yavanas and the Sakas, along with the Chulikas, stood in the right wing, O Bharata, of that array. And Srutayush and Sataytish and Somadatta's son, O sire, were stationed in the rear of that array protecting one another.

"Then the Pandavas, O king, rushed against the Kauravas for battle. The sun, O Bharata, had risen when the battle commenced. And elephants proceeded against elephants. And horsemen rushed against horsemen, car-warriors against car-warriors, O king, and against elephants also, in that dreadful conflict. And car-men rushed against riders of elephants, and riders of elephants against horsemen. And car-warriors engaged with foot-soldiers, and cavalry with infantry. And all the warriors, O king, excited with wrath, rushed against one another in battle. And the Pandava army, protected by Bhimasena and Arjuna and the twins, looked beautiful like the night decorated with stars. And thy army also, with Bhishma and Kripa and Drona and Salya and Duryodhana, and others, shone like the firmament spangled with the planets. And Bhimasena the son of Kunti, endued with great prowess, beholding Drona rushed against the division of Bharadwaja's son, borne by his steeds of great fleetness. Then Drona, excited with wrath in that conflict and endued with great energy, pierced Bhima with nine shafts made wholly of iron, aiming his vital limbs. Deeply pierced by Bharadwaja's son in that conflict, Bhima despatched Drona's charioteer to the region of Yama. Thereupon the son of Bharadwaja, endued with great prowess, himself restraining his steeds, began to consume the Pandava army like fire consuming a heap of cotton. And while thus slaughtered, O king, by Drona and Bhishma, the Srinjayas along with the Kekayas took to flight. And so thy troops also, mangled by Bhima and Arjuna, became deprived of their senses as they stood, like a beautiful female in her pride. And in that conflict destructive of heroes great was the distress, O Bharata, that befell both thy army and theirs. And we beheld the wonderful sight, O Bharata, of the troops fighting with one another regardless of their lives [Ekayangatas is lit. "intently."]. And the Pandavas and the Kauravas, O king, in that conflict, fought with one another counteracting one another's weapons."

SECTION 76

Dhritarashtra said, "Our army is possessed of many excellencies, consisting of diverse forces, its efficiency is great. It is again arrayed according to the rules of science and, therefore, ought to be irresistible. It is attached to us exceedingly, and always devoted to us. It is submissive, and free from the faults of drunkenness and licentiousness. Its prowess had before been tested. The soldiers are neither very old nor very young. They are neither lean nor corpulent. Of active habits, of well-developed and strong frames, they are free from disease. They are cased in mail and well-equipped with arms. They are exercised in every kind of weapons. They are skilled in encounters with swords, with bare arms, and with maces. They are well-exercised in lances, sabres, and darts, as also in iron clubs, short arrows, javelins and mallets. They are devoted to all kinds of armed exercises, and are adepts in mounting upon and descending from the backs of elephants, in moving forward and stepping back, in smiting effectually, in marching and retreating. Many a time have they been tested in the management of elephants and steeds and cars. Having been examined duly they have been

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entertained on pay, and not for the sake of lineage, nor from favour nor from relationship, nor from strength of attachments, nor from connexions of birth and blood. They are all respectable and honest, and their kinsmen have been well-treated and gratified by us. We have done them many good offices. They are, besides, all renowned men and endued with great mental vigour. O son, they are again protected by many foremost of men endued with great activity, and of famous achievements, resembling the very Regents of the world and renowned over the whole earth. Innumerable Kshatriyas, respected throughout the world, and who have of their own will sided us with their forces and followers also protect them. Indeed, our army is like the vast ocean filled with the water of innumerable rivers running from all directions.

It abounds with elephants, and with cars which though destitute of wings, yet resemble the winged tenants of the air. Vast numbers of combatants constitute the waters of that ocean, and the steeds and other animals constitute its terrible waves. Innumerable swords and maces and darts and arrows and lances constitute the oars (piled on that ocean). Abounding with standards and ornaments and adorned with cloth inlaid with gold and gems, the rushing steeds and elephants constitute the winds agitating it into fury. Our host, therefore, really resembles the vast, shoreless ocean roaring in rage. And that host is protected by Drona and Bhishma and by Kritavarman and Kripa and Dussasana, and others headed by Jayadratha. It is also protected by Bhagadatta and Vikarna by Drona's son, and Suvala's son, and Valhika and by many other mighty and high-souled heroes of the world. That our army should yet be slaughtered in battle is due only to predestined fate, O Sanjaya. Neither men nor highly blessed Rishis of old ever beheld such preparations (for battle) on earth before. That so large an army, mustered according to science, and attached (to us) by wealth, should yet be slaughtered in battle, alas, what can it be but the result of Destiny? O Sanjaya, all these seem to be unnatural. Indeed Vidura had often said what was both beneficial and desirable. But my wicked son Duryodhana would not accept it. I believe that high-souled and well-knowing person had foreseen all that is now happening and hence the counsel he gave. Or, O Sanjaya, all these, in all its details, had been pre-arranged by Him, for that which is ordained by the Creator must happen as ordained and cannot be otherwise."

SECTION 77

Sanjaya said, "Thou hast, O king, in consequence of thy own fault, been overtaken by this calamity. O bull of Bharata's race, the faults which thou, O monarch, hadst seen in that unrighteous course of conduct (towards the Pandavas), were not seen by Duryodhana. It was through thy fault, O king, that the match at dice had taken place. And it is through thy fault that this battle hath taken place with the Pandavas. Having committed a sin, do thou, therefore, reap the fruit of that sin of thine. One reapeth the fruit of acts perpetrated by one's own self. Do thou, therefore, O king, reap the fruit of thy own acts both here and hereafter. Therefore, O monarch, though overtaken by this calamity, be calm still, and listen, O sire, to the (account of the) battle as I recite it.

"The heroic Bhimasena, having with his sharp shafts broken thy mighty array, then came upon all the younger brothers of Duryodhana. The mighty Bhima, beholding Dussasana and Durvisaha and Dussaha and Durmada and Jaya, and Jayasena and Vikarna and Chitrasena and Sudarsana, and Charuchitra and Suvarman and Duskarna and Karna, and many other mighty car-warriors, excited with rage, of the Dhartarashtra host near enough to himself, penetrated into (thy) mighty array that was protected by Bhishma in that battle. Then, beholding him in their midst, all those warriors said, 'Ye kings, let us take this one's life'!--Thereupon that son of Pritha was surrounded by those cousins of his who were firmly resolved (to take his life). And Bhima then resembled Surya himself of fierce splendour surrounded by the mighty planets of evil nature, at the time of the universal destruction. And although the son of Pandu was there in the very midst of the (Kaurava) array, yet fear entered not his heart, as it did not that of Indra while surrounded by the Danavas in the fierce battle of old between the celestials and the Asuras. Then thousands of car-warriors armed with all weapons and fully prepared for battle overwhelmed his single self with terrible shafts. Thereupon the heroic Bhima, disregarding the sons of Dhritarashtra, slew in that conflict many foremost warriors (of the Kaurava army) fighting from cars or upon the back of elephants and steeds. And ascertaining the purpose harboured by those cousins of his who were bent upon his destruction, the mighty Bhima set his heart upon slaying them all. Then leaving his car and taking up his mace, the son of Pandu began to smite that very sea of Dhartarashtra troops.

"Then when Bhimasena thus penetrated the Dhartarashtra host, Dhrishtadyumna the son of Prishata, forsaking Drona (with whom he had been engaged), quickly proceeded to the spot where Suvala's son was stationed. That bull among men, baffling countless warriors of thy army, came upon the empty car of Bhimasena in that battle. And beholding in that conflict Visoka, the charioteer of Bhimasena, Dhrishtadyumna, O king, became exceedingly cheerless and almost deprived of his senses. With voice choked in tears, and sighing as he spoke, he asked Visoka, in grief, saying, 'Where is Bhima who is dear to me as my life itself?' Visoka then, joining his hands, replied unto Dhrishtadyumna saying, 'The mighty son of Pandu, endued with great strength, ordering me to wait for him here, hath alone penetrated into the Dhartarashtra host that resembleth the very ocean. That tiger among men very cheerfully said unto me these words--'Wait for me, O charioteer, restraining the steeds for a short space of time, that is, till I slay those that are bent upon my destruction.--Beholding then the mighty Bhima rushing mace in hand, all our troops (that supported him) became filled with delight. Then in this fierce and terrible battle, O prince, thy friend, breaking the mighty array (of the foe), hath penetrated into it. Hearing these words of Visoka, Prishata's son Dhrishtadyumna, endued with great strength, said unto the charioteer these words on the field of battle. 'What need have I today of life itself, if forgetting my affection for the Pandavas, I forsake Bhima in battle? If I return today without Bhima, what will the Kshatriyas say of me? What will they say of me when they will learn that while I was on the field Bhima penetrated alone into the hostile array making a single opening in it? The gods with Indra at their head visit him with evil who, forsaking his comrades in battle, returneth home unhurt! The mighty Bhima again is my friend and kinsman. He is devoted to me, and I also am devoted to that slayer of foes. Therefore, I will go thither, whither Bhima hath gone. Behold me slaying the foe like Vasava slaying the Danavas.' Having said this, the heroic Dhrishtadyumna, O Bharata, proceeded through the midst of the foe, along the tracks opened by Bhimasena and marked by elephants crushed with his mace. He then obtained sight of Bhimasena consuming the hostile ranks or felling Kshatriya warriors like the tempest devastating rows of trees. And car-warriors and horsemen and foot-soldiers and tuskers, while thus slaughtered by him, uttered loud cries of woe. And cries of ah and alas arose from thy troops, O sire, while they were slaughtered by the victorious Bhima accomplished in all moods of warfare. Then the Kaurava warriors all accomplished in arms, surrounding Vrikodara on all sides, fearlessly poured upon him their arrowy showers at the same time. Then the mighty son of Prishata, beholding that foremost of all wielders of weapons, that celebrated hero, viz., the son of Pandu, thus attacked on all sides by fierce ranks of foes in close array, mangled with shafts, treading the field on foot, and vomiting the poison of his wrath, mace in hand and looking like the Destroyer himself at the hour of the universal dissolution, quickly approached him and comforted him by his presence. And taking him upon his car, and plucking the arrows off from all his limbs, and embracing him warmly, the high-souled son of Prishata comforted Bhimasena in the very midst of the foe. Then thy son, in that terrible conflict, quickly coming up to his brothers, said unto them, 'This son of Drupada of wicked soul, is now united with Bhimasena. Let us all approach him together for slaying him. Let not the foe seek our ranks (for battle).' Hearing these words, the Dhartarashtras, thus urged on by the command of their eldest brother and unable to put up (with the foe), quickly rushed, with upraised weapons, for slaying Dhrishtadyumna like fierce comets at the hour of the universal dissolution. Taking up their beautiful bows, those heroes, making the very earth shiver with the twang of their bowstring and the rattle of their car-wheels, showered shafts on Drupada's son, like the clouds covering the mountain-breast with torrents of rain. But that hero conversant with all modes of warfare, though thus struck with sharp arrows in that battle, did not waver. On the other hand, that mighty car-warrior, the youthful son of Drupada, beholding those heroic sons of thine staying before him in battle and exerting themselves to their utmost being desirous of slaying them applied that fierce weapon called Pramohana and engaged with thy sons, O king, like Indra with the Danavas in battle. Then those heroic warriors were deprived of their senses, their minds and strength afflicted by the Pramohana weapon. And the Kauravas fled away in all directions, with their steeds and elephants and cars, beholding those sons of thine deprived of their senses in a swoon like those whose hours had come. And at that time Drona, the foremost of all wielders of weapons, approaching Drupada, pierced him with three fierce shafts. And that monarch then, O king, viz., Drupada, deeply pierced by Drona, left the battle, O Bharata, remembering his former hostility (with Bharadwaja's son). Thereupon Drona endued with great prowess having thus vanquished Drupada, blew his conch. And hearing the blare of his conch, all the Somakas were struck with fear. Then Drona, possessed of great energy, that foremost of all wielders of weapons, heard of thy sons being deprived of their senses in battle with the Pramohana weapon. Then the son of Bharadwaja, desirous of rescuing the princes, speedily left that part of the field where he was and proceeded to the place where thy sons were. And that mighty bowman viz., Bharadwaja's son of great prowess, there beheld Dhrishtadyumna and Bhima careering through the field in that dreadful conflict. And that mighty car-warrior beheld thy sons deprived of their senses. Taking up then the weapon called Prajna, he neutralised the Pramohana weapon (that Dhrishtadyumna had shot). Then thy sons those mighty car-warriors, when their senses returned, once more proceeded to battle with Bhima and Prishata's son. Then Yudhishthira, addressing his own troops said, 'Let twelve brave car-warriors cased in mail and headed by Subhadra's son, follow, to the utmost of their might, the track of Bhima and Prishata's son in battle. Let intelligence be had (of those two warriors). My heart is very uneasy.' Thus ordered by the king, those heroes possessed of great prowess in battle and proud of their manliness, saying 'Yes,' all proceeded forward when the sun had reached the meridian. And those chastisers of foes then, viz., the Kaikeyas and the sons of Draupadi, and Dhrishtaketu of great prowess, supported by a large force and with Abhimanyu at their head, and disposing themselves in the array called Suchimukha, [Suchimukha is literally "needle-mouthed." It is a wedge-like column with the thin or pointed end turned towards the side of the enemy.] penetrated into that car-division of the Dhartarashtras in battle. And thy troops, O king, struck with the fear of Bhimasena and deprived of their senses by Dhrishtadyumna, were unable to resist (the rush of) those mighty bowmen headed by Abhimanyu. And they were quite helpless, like a lady in the streets. And those mighty bowmen with standards variegated with gold cutting through (the Kaurava ranks), proceeded with great speed for rescuing Dhrishtadyumna and Vrikodara. And the latter, beholding those mighty bowmen headed by Abhimanyu, became filled with delight and continued to smite down thy ranks. And the heroic prince of Panchala, viz., the son of Prishata, seeing meanwhile his preceptor advancing towards him with great speed, no longer wished to compass the death of thy sons. Causing Vrikodara then to be taken up on the car of the king of the Kaikeyas, he rushed in great wrath against Drona accomplished in arrow and all weapons. And that slayer of foes, viz., the valiant son of Bharadwaja, excited with rage, cut off with a broad-headed shaft the bow of Prishata's son who was rushing towards him with impetuosity. And remembering the bread he had eaten of his master and desirous of doing good to Duryodhana, he also sped hundreds of shafts after Prishata's son. Then that slayer of hostile heroes, viz., the son of Prishata, taking up another bow, pierced Drona with seventy shafts whetted on stone and furnished with wings of gold. Then that grinder of foes, viz., Drona, once more cut off his bow, and despatched his four steeds to Yama's abode with four excellent arrows, and also slew his charioteer, O Bharata, with a broad-headed shaft. Then that mighty car-warrior of strong arms, viz., Dhrishtadyumna, quickly descending from that car whose steeds had been slain, ascended the great car of Abhimanyu. Then Drona caused the Pandava army consisting of cars, elephants, and steeds, to tremble, in the very sight of Bhimasena and the intelligent son of Prishata. Beholding then that army thus broken by Drona of immeasurable energy, all those mighty car-warriors were incapable of checking its flight. And that army, thus slaughtered by Drona with his sharp shafts, began to move in eddies there, like the agitated sea. And beholding the (Pandava) army in that condition, thy troops were filled with delight. And seeing the preceptor excited with rage and thus consuming the ranks of the foe, all thy warriors, O Bharata, set up loud shouts and uttered exclamations in praise of Drona."

SECTION 78

Sanjaya said, "Then king Duryodhana, regaining his senses, once more began to resist Bhima with showers of arrows. And once more those mighty car-warriors viz., thy sons, united together, began to fight valiantly with Bhimasena. And Bhimasena also of mighty arms during that battle, having got his car, ascended it and proceeded to the spot where thy sons were. And taking up a strong and very tough bow adorned with gold and capable of taking the lives of foes he pierced thy sons in that conflict, with his shafts. Then king Duryodhana struck the mighty Bhimasena at the very vitals with a long shaft of exceeding sharpness. Then that mighty bowman, pierced thus deeply by thy son, bow in hand, forcibly drawing his own with eyes red in wrath, struck Duryodhana in his two arms and the breast with three shafts. But struck thus, O king, he moved not, like a prince of mountains. Beholding then those two heroes excited with rage and smiting each other, the younger brothers of Duryodhana, all of whom were heroes prepared to lay down their lives, remembering their previously formed scheme of afflicting Vrikodara of terrible deeds, set about firmly resolved, for smiting him down. And as they fell upon him in battle, Bhimasena of great strength rushed against them, O king, like an elephant rushing against an attacking compeer. Excited with fury and endued with great energy, that celebrated hero then, O king, afflicted thy son Chitrasena with a long arrow. And as regards thy other sons, that descendant of Bharata smote them all in that battle, with diverse kinds of shafts furnished with wings of gold and endued with great impetus. Then king Yudhishthira the Just,

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disposing all his own divisions properly despatched twelve mighty car-warriors including Abhimanyu and others to follow Bhimasena behind. Those, O king, all proceeded against those mighty car-warriors, viz., thy sons. Beholding those heroes on their cars, resembling the Sun himself or the fire in splendour-those great bowmen of blazing effulgence and superb beauty, looking resplendent in that dreadful conflict with ornaments of gold,--thy mighty sons abandoned Bhima (with whom they had been fighting). The sons of Kunti, however, could not bear the sight of their abandoning the conflict alive."

SECTION 79

Sanjaya said, "Then Abhimanyu, accompanied by Bhimasena pursuing thy sons, afflicted them all. Then the mighty car-warriors of thy army, including Duryodhana and others, beholding Abhimanyu and Bhimasena united with Prishata's son in the midst of the (Kauravas) troops, took up their bows, and borne by their fleet steeds rushed to the spot where those warriors were. And on that afternoon, O king, a dreadful conflict took place between the mighty combatants of thy army and those of the foe, O Bharata. And Abhimanyu, having, in that fierce battle, slain the steeds of Vikarna, pierced the latter with five and twenty small arrows. Then that mighty car-warrior, Vikarna, abandoning that car whose steeds had been slain, mounted on the resplendent car, O king, of Chitrasena. Then thus stationed on the same car, viz., those two brothers of Kuru's race, the son of Arjuna covered, O Bharata, with showers of arrows. Then Durjaya and Vikarna pierced Abhimanyu with five shafts made wholly of iron. Abhimanyu however, shook not in the least but stood firm like the mountain Meru. Dussasana in that battle, O sire, fought with the five Kekaya brothers. All these, O great king, seemed exceedingly wonderful. The sons of Draupadi, excited with rage, resisted Duryodhana in that battle. And each of them, O king, pierced thy son with three shafts. Thy son also, invincible in battle, pierced each of the sons of Draupadi, O monarch, with sharp shafts. And pierced by them (in return) and bathed in blood, he shone like a hill with rillets of water mixed with red-chalk (gliding down its breast). And the mighty Bhishma also, in that battle, O king, afflicted the Pandava army like a herdsman belabouring his herd. Then, O monarch, the twang of Gandiva was heard, of Partha, who was engaged in slaughtering the foe on the right of the army. And in that part of the field headless trunks stood up by thousands, amongst the troops, O Bharata, of both the Kauravas and the Pandavas. And the field of battle resembled an ocean whose water was blood, and whose eddies were the shafts (shot by the combatants). And the elephants constituted the islands of that ocean, and the steeds its waves. And cars constituted the boats by which brave men crossed it. And many brave combatants, with arms cut off, divested of armour, and hideously mutilated, were seen lying there in hundreds and thousands. And with the bodies of infuriate elephants deprived of life and bathed in blood, the field of battle. O Bharata, looked as if strewn with hills. And the wonderful sight we saw there, O Bharata, was that neither in their army nor in thine was a single person that was unwilling to fight. And thus, O monarch, did those brave warriors, of both thy army and the Pandavas, fight, seeking glory and desirous of victory."

SECTION 80

Sanjaya said, "Then when the sun assumed a red hue, king Duryodhana, desirous of battle, rushed towards Bhima from desire of slaying him. Beholding that heroic warrior cherishing deep animosity (thus) coming towards him, Bhimasena, excited with great wrath, said these words,--'That hour hath come which I have desired for so many years. I will slay thee to-day if thou dost not abandon the battle. Slaying thee I shall today dispel the sorrows of Kunti as also of Draupadi and the woes that were ours during our exile in the woods. Filled with pride, thou hadst formerly humiliated the sons of Pandu. Behold, O son of Gandhari, the dire fruit of that sinful behaviour. Following the counsels of Karna as also of Suvala's son, and recking the Pandavas little, thou hadst formerly behaved towards them as thou hadst hinted. Thou hadst also disregarded Krishna who begged thee (for peace). With a joyous heart didst thou despatch Uluka (to us) with thy messages. For all these, I shall slay thee to-day with all thy kinsmen, and thus avenge all those offences of thine of former days.' Having said these words, Bhima bending his bow and stretching it repeatedly, and taking up a number of terrible shafts whose effulgence resembled that of the lightning itself, and filled with wrath, quickly sped six and thirty of them at Duryodhana. And those shafts resembled the flames of a blazing fire, and coursed straight with the force of the thunder-bolt. And then he pierced Duryodhana's bow with two shafts, and his charioteer with two. And with four shafts he despatched Duryodhana's (four) steeds to the regions of Yama. And that grinder of foes then, with two shafts shot with great force, cut off in that battle the king's umbrella from his excellent car. And with three other shafts he cut off his handsome and blazing standard. And having cut it off, he uttered a loud shout in the very sight of thy son. And that beautiful standard of the latter, decked with diverse gems, suddenly fell down on the earth from his car like a flash of lightning from the clouds. And all the kings beheld that beautiful standard of the Kuru king, bearing the device of an elephant, decked with gems, and blazing like the sun, fell down cut off (by Bhimasena). And that mighty car-warrior, viz., Bhima, then pierced Duryodhana in that battle, smiling the while, with ten shafts like a guide piercing a mighty elephant with the hook. Then that foremost of car-warriors, viz., the mighty king of the Sindhus, supported by many brave warriors, placed himself on the flank of Duryodhana. And then that great car-warrior, viz., Kripa, O king, caused the vindictive Duryodhana, that son of Kuru's race, of immeasurable energy, to mount on his own car. Then king Duryodhana, deeply pierced by Bhimasena and feeling great pain, sat down on the terrace of that car. Then Jayadratha, desirous of slaying Bhima, surrounded him on all sides with several thousands of cars. Then, O king, Dhrishtaketu and Abhimanyu of great energy, and the Kekayas, and the sons of Draupadi, all encountered thy sons. And the high-souled Abhimanyu smote them all, piercing each with five straight shafts, resembling the bolts of heaven or Death's selves, shot from his excellent bow. Thereupon, all of them, unable to bear it (coolly), showered on that foremost of car-warriors, viz., the son of Subhadra, a perfect down-pour of sharp shafts like rain-charged clouds pouring rain on the breast of the mountains of Meru. But Abhimanyu, that invisible warrior accomplished in arms, thus afflicted by them in battle, caused all thy sons, O king, to tremble like the wielder of the thunder-bolt causing the mighty Asuras to tremble in the battle between the celestials and the latter. Then that foremost of car-warriors, O Bharata, shot fourteen broad-headed shafts, fierce and looking like snakes of virulent poison, at Vikarna. Endued with great prowess and as if dancing in that battle, he felled with those shafts the standard of Vikarna from his car and slew also his charioteer and steeds. Then that mighty car-warrior, the son of Subhadra, again sped at Vikarna many other arrows that were well-tempered, straight-going, and capable of penetrating every armour. And those arrows furnished with feathers of the kanka bird, coming at Vikarna and passing through his body, entered the earth, like hissing snakes. And those arrows, with wings and points decked with gold, bathed in Vikarna's blood, seemed to vomit blood on the earth. Beholding Vikarna thus pierced, his other uterine brothers rushed, in that battle, against those car-warriors headed by Subhadra's son. And when these invincible warriors upon their (own) cars came upon those combatants (of the Pandava army) resplendent like so many suns and staying on their cars both began to pierce one another.. And Durmukha, having pierced Srutakarman with five shafts, cut off the latter's standard with a single shaft and then pierced his charioteer with seven. And advancing closer, he slew with half a dozen shafts his foe's steeds, fleet as the wind and cased in golden armour, and then felled his charioteer. Srutakarman, however, staying on that car of his, the steeds of which had been slain, hurled in great wrath a dart blazing like a fierce meteor. That dart, blazing with effulgence, passing through the renowned Durmukha's hard coat of mail, penetrated into the earth. Meanwhile the mighty Sutasoma beholding Srutakarman deprived of his car, caused him to mount upon his own car in the very sight of all the troops. The heroic Srutakirti rushed against thy son Jayatsena in that battle, desirous, O king, of slaying that renowned warrior. Then thy son Jayatsena, O king, with a sharp arrow having a horse-shoe head, smiling the while, cut off the bow of the high-souled Srutakirti as the latter came along stretching it in his hands. Then Satanika, beholding his uterine brother's bow cut off, endued as he was with great valour, quickly came at that spot repeatedly roaring like a lion. And Satanika, drawing his bow in that battle with great force, speedily pierced Jayatsena with ten shafts, and uttered a loud shout like an infuriate elephant. And with another arrow of sharp point and capable of penetrating every armour, Satanika deeply pierced Jayatsena in the chest. Just at that time, Dushkarna who was near his brother. (Jayatsena) infuriate with anger, cut off Satanika's bow and arrow. Then the mighty Satanika taking up another excellent bow capable of bearing a great strain, aimed many sharp shafts. And addressing Dushkarna in the presence of his brother (Jayatsena), saying--'Wait', 'Wait',--he sped at him those sharp and blazing shafts resembling so many snakes. And then he speedily cut off Dushkarna's bow with one arrow, and slew his charioteer, O sire, with two, and then pierced Dushkarna himself with seven arrows. And that spotless warrior then with a dozen sharp shafts slew all the steeds of Dushkarna that were fleet as the mind and of variegated hue. And then with another broad-headed arrow, well-aimed and capable of coursing swiftly, Satanika, excited with great wrath deeply pierced Dushkarna in the chest. And thereupon the latter fell down on the earth like a tree struck with lightning. Beholding Dushkarna slain, five mighty car-warriors, O king, surrounded Satanika on all sides, from desire of slaying him. And they struck the renowned Satanika with showers of arrows. Then the five Kekaya brothers, excited with wrath, approached (Satanika for rescuing him). Beholding the latter coming upon them, thy sons--those mighty car-warriors,--rushed towards them like elephants rushing against mighty elephants. (These amongst thy sons, viz.,) Durmukha and Durjaya and the youthful Durmarshana and Satranjaya and Satrusha, all renowned warriors, excited with rage, proceeded, O king, against the (five) Kekaya brothers. On their cars that resembled (fortified) towns, unto which were yoked steeds decked with ornaments, and which were graced with beautiful standards of variegated hue, those heroes wielding excellent bows and cased in beautiful coats of mail and owning excellent standards, entered the hostile army like lions entering one forest from another. Smiting one another, fierce and terrific was the battle that ensued between them and the foe, in which cars and elephants got entangled with one another. Cherishing feelings of hostility towards one another, the terrible battle in which they took part lasted for a short space of time about sunset, increasing the population of Yama's kingdom. And car-warriors and horsemen by thousands were strewn over the field. And Bhishma the son of Santanu excited with wrath, began to slaughter the troops of the high-souled Pandavas with his straight shafts. And with his arrows he began to despatch the combatants of the Panchalas to the domains of Yama. And the grandsire, having thus broken the ranks of the Pandavas at last withdrew his troops and retired, O king, to his encampment. And king Yudhishthira also, beholding both Dhrishtadyumna and Vrikodara, smelt their heads, and filled with joy, retired to his tents."

SECTION 81

Sanjaya said, "Then those heroes, O king, who cherished feelings of hostility towards one another, retired to their tents, their persons covered with blood. Having rested for a while agreeably to rule, and praising one another (for the feats of the day), they were again seen clad in mail, desirous of battle. Then thy son, O king, overwhelmed with anxiety and covered with blood trickling down (from his wounds), asked the grandsire, saying. 'Our troops are fierce and terrible and carry innumerable standards. They are, again, arrayed properly. Yet the brave and mighty car-warriors of the Pandavas, having penetrated (into our array) and afflicted and slaughtered (our troops), escaped unhurt. Confounding us all, they have won great fame in battle. Bhima again, having penetrated into our Makara array which was strong as the thunder-bolt, afflicted me with his terrible shafts each resembling the rod of Death. Beholding him excited with wrath, O king, I was deprived of my senses. Even now I cannot regain my peace of mind. Through thy grace, O thou that art firm in truth, I desire to obtain victory and slay the sons of Pandu.' Thus addressed by him, the high-souled son of Ganga, that foremost of all wielders of weapons, endued with great mental energy, understanding that Duryodhana was possessed by grief replied unto him, laughing the while though cheerless, saying, 'Penetrating into (their) army with the utmost exertions and with my whole soul, O prince, I wish to give thee victory and joy. For thy sake I do not at all dissemble. They that have become the allies of the Pandavas in this battle are fierce and numerous. Mighty car-warriors of great renown, they are exceedingly brave and accomplished in arms. Incapable of being fatigued, they vomit forth their wrath. Cherishing feelings of animosity towards thee, and swelling with prowess, they are not capable of being defeated easily. I will, however, O king, contend against those heroes with my whole soul and throwing away my very life. For thy sake, in battle, O thou of great glory, my life itself shall today be recklessly exposed. For thy sake I would consume all the worlds with the celestials and the Daityas, let alone thy foes here. I will, O king, fight with those Pandavas, and do all that is agreeable to thee. Hearing these words, Duryodhana became inspired with great confidence and his heart was filled with delight. And cheerfully he ordered all the troops, and all the kings, (in his army) saying, Advance. And at that command, O king, his army consisting of cars, steeds, foot-soldiers, and elephants, began to advance. And that large force. O king, armed with diverse kinds of weapons, was exceedingly cheerful. And that army of thine, O monarch, consisting of elephants, steeds, and foot-soldiers, on the field of battle, looked exceedingly beautiful. And huge tuskers, stationed in large bodies, and skilfully urged, looked resplendent on the field all around. And many royal combatants accomplished in diverse weapons were seen in the midst of thy troops. And the dust, red as the morning sun, raised by those cars and foot-soldiers and elephants and steeds in large bodies as they were duly moved over the field, looked beautiful, shrouding the rays of the sun. And the many-coloured banners stationed on cars and elephants, waving in the air and moving along the welkin, looked beautiful like flashes of lightning amid the clouds. And loud and fierce was the uproar made by the twang of the bows stretched by the kings, resembling the roar of the ocean while churned in the Krita age by the gods and the great Asuras. And that army of thy sons, looking so proud, consisting of (combatants of)

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diverse hues and shapes, shouting so fiercely, and capable of slaying hostile warriors, then looked like those masses of clouds that appear at the end of the Yuga'."

SECTION LXXXII

Sanjaya said, "O chief of the Bharatas, Ganga's son, once more addressing thy son who was plunged in thought, told him these delightful words, 'Myself and Drona and Salya and Kritavarman of Satwata's race, and Aswatthaman and Vikarna and Bhagadatta and Suvala's son and Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti, and Valhika with the Valhikas, and the mighty king of the Trigartas and the invincible ruler of the Magadhas, Vrihadvala the king of the Kosalas, and Chitrasena and Vivingsati and many thousands of car-warriors graced with tall standards, a large number of country-born steeds well-mounted with excellent horse-soldiers and many infuriate elephants of large size with temporal juice issuing from their mouths and cheeks, and many brave foot-soldiers armed with diverse weapons and born in diverse realms, are all prepared to do battle for thy sake. These, and many others ready for thy sake to lay down their lives, are, as I think, competent to vanquish the very gods in battle. I should, however, always tell thee, O king, what is for thy good. The Pandavas are incapable of being vanquished by the very gods with Vasava. They have Vasudeva for their ally and are equal to Mahendra himself in prowess. As regards myself, I shall, however, always do thy bidding. Either I shall vanquish the Pandavas in battle or they will vanquish me. Having said these words, the grandsire gave him an excellent herb of great efficacy for healing his wounds. And therewith thy son was cured of his wounds. Then at dawn when the sky was clear, the valiant Bhishma, that foremost of men well-versed in all kinds of array, himself disposed his troops in that array called Mandala bristling with weapons. And it abounded with foremost of warriors and with tuskers and foot-soldiers. And it was surrounded on all sides with many thousands of cars, and with large bodies of horsemen armed with swords and lances. Near unto every elephant were placed seven cars, and near unto every car were placed seven horsemen. And behind every horseman were placed seven bowmen, and behind every bowman were seven combatants with shields. And thus, O king, thy army, arrayed by mighty car-warriors, stood for fierce battle, protected by Bhishma. And ten thousand horses, and as many elephants, and ten thousand cars, and thy sons, all equipped in mail, viz., the heroic Chitrasena and others, protected the grandsire. And it was seen that Bhishma was protected by those brave warriors, and those princes themselves of great strength, accoutred in mail, were (in their turn) protected by him. And Duryodhana accoutred in mail sat upon his car on the field, and possessed of every grace, looked resplendent like Sakra himself in heaven. Then, O Bharata, loud were the shouts uttered by thy sons and deafening the clatter of cars and the uproar of musical instruments. That mighty and impenetrable array of those slayer of foes, viz., the Dhartarashtras (in the form called) Mandala, (thus) arrayed by Bhishma, began to proceed, facing the west. Incapable of being defeated by enemies, it looked beautiful in every point. Beholding then the array called Mandala that was exceedingly fierce, king Yudhishthira himself disposed his troops in the array called Vajra. And when the divisions were thus arrayed, car-warriors and horsemen, stationed in their proper places, uttered leonine shouts. Accompanied by their respective forces, the brave warriors of both armies, well versed in smiting, and longing for battle, proceeded, desirous of breaking each other's array. And Bharadwaja's son proceeded against the king of the Matsyas, and his son (Aswatthaman) against Sikhandin. And king Duryodhana himself rushed against the son of Prishata. And Nakula and Sahadeva went forth against the king of the Madras. And Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti proceeded against Iravat. And many kings together battled with Dhananjaya. And Bhimasena, exerting himself well, opposed the son of Hridika in battle. And possessed of great prowess, (Abhimanyu) the son of Arjuna, fought in battle, O king, against the sons Chitrasena and Vikarna, and Durmarshana. And Hidimva's son, that prince of the Rakshasas, rushed against that mighty bowman, the ruler of the Pragjyotishas, like one infuriate elephant against another. And the Rakshasa Alamvusha, O king, excited with wrath, rushed in battle against the invincible Satyaki in the midst of his followers. And Bhurisravas, exerting himself greatly, fought against Dhrishtaketu. And Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma, proceeded against king Srutayush. And Chekitana in that battle fought against Kripa. And others (among the Kuru warriors), exerting themselves powerfully, proceeded against that mighty car-warrior Bhima. And thousands of (other) kings surrounded Dhananjaya, with darts, lances, arrows, maces, and spiked clubs in their hands. Then Arjuna, excited with great wrath, addressing him of Vrishni's race, said, 'Behold, O Madhava, the Dhartarashtra troops in battle, arrayed by the high-souled son of Ganga, acquainted with every kind of array. Behold, O Madhava, those brave warriors, countless in number, and desirous of battle (with me). Behold, O Kesava, the ruler of the Trigartas with his brothers. This very day I shall slay them all, O Janardana, before thy eyes,--them, that is, O foremost of the Yadus, who, longing for battle (with me), are on the field.' Having said these words, the son of Kunti, rubbing his bowstring, showered his arrows on that multitude of kings. And those great bowmen also, poured on him thick showers of arrows, like clouds that fill a lake with torrents of rain in the rainy season. And loud shouts were heard in thy army, O monarch, when in that great battle the two Krishnas were seen covered with thick showers of arrows. And the gods, the celestial Rishis, and the Gandharvas with the Uragas, beholding the two Krishnas in that state, were filled with great wonder. Then Arjuna, O king, excited with wrath, invoked the Aindra weapon. And then the prowess we beheld of Vijaya seemed to be highly wonderful insomuch that those showers of weapons shot by his foes were checked by his myriads of arrows. And there among those thousands of kings and steeds and elephants, was none, O king, that was not wounded. And others, O sire, the son of Pritha pierced, each with two or three arrows. And while being thus struck by Pritha, they sought the protection of Bhishma, the son of Santanu. But Bhishma then became the rescuer of those warriors who were like men sinking in the fathomless deep. And in consequence of those warriors thus flying away and mixing with thy troops, thy broken ranks, O king, were agitated like the vast deep with a tempest."

SECTION 83

Sanjaya said, "And when the battle was thus raging and after Susarman had ceased fighting, and the (other) heroic warriors (of the Kuru army) had been routed by the high-souled son of Pandu; after, indeed, thy army, resembling the very ocean, had become quickly agitated and the son of Ganga had speedily proceeded against the car of Vijaya, king Duryodhana, beholding the prowess of Partha in battle, quickly proceeded towards those kings, and addressing them as also the heroic and mighty Susarman stationed in their van, said in their midst these words, gladdening them all, 'This Bhishma, the son of Santanu, this foremost one among the Kurus, reckless of his very life, is desirous of fighting with his whole soul against Dhananjaya. Exerting your best, ye all, united together, and accompanied by your troops, protect in battle the grandsire, of Bharata's race, who is proceeding against the hostile army.' Saying, 'Yes,' all those divisions, belonging to those kings, O monarch, proceeded, following the grandsire. Then the mighty Bhishma, the son of Santanu, (thus rushing to battle), speedily came upon Arjuna of Bharata's race who also had been coming towards him, on his exceedingly resplendent and large car unto which were yoked white steeds and upon which was set up his standard bearing the fierce ape, and whose rattle resembled the deep roll of the clouds. And thy entire army, beholding the diadem-decked Dhananjaya, thus coming to battle, uttered, from fear, many loud exclamations. And beholding Krishna, reins in hand, and looking like the mid-day sun in splendour, thy troops could not gaze at him. And so also the Pandavas were incapable of looking at Santanu's son Bhishma of white steeds and white bow and resembling the planet Sukra risen in the firmament. And the latter was surrounded on all sides by the high-souled warriors of the Trigartas headed by their king with his brothers and sons, and by many other mighty car-warriors.

"Meanwhile, Bharadwaja's son pierced with his winged arrows the king of the Matsyas in battle. And in that combat he cut off the latter's standard with one shaft, and his bow also with another. Then Virata, the commander of a large division, leaving aside that bow thus cut off, quickly took up another that was strong and capable of bearing a great strain. And he also took up a number of blazing arrows that resembled snakes of virulent poison. And he pierced Drona in return with three (of these) and his (four) steeds with four. And then he pierced Drona's standard with one arrow, and his charioteer with five. And he also pierced Drona's bow with one arrow, and (at all this) that bull among Brahmanas became highly angry. Then Drona slew Virata's steeds with eight straight shafts, and then his charioteer, O chief of the Bharatas, with one shaft. His charioteer having been slain, Virata jumped down from his car whose steeds also had been killed. And then that foremost of car-warriors speedily mounted upon the car of (his son) Sankha. Then sire and son, staying on the same car, began with great might to resist the son of Bharadwaja with a thick shower of arrows. Then the mighty son of Bharadwaja, excited with wrath, quickly shot at Sankha in that encounter, an arrow resembling a snake of virulent poison. And that arrow, piercing through Sankha's breast and drinking his blood, fell upon the earth, wet and smeared with gore. Struck with that arrow of Bharadwaja's son, Sankha speedily fell down from his car, his bow and arrows loosened from his grasp in the very presence of his sire. And beholding his son slain, Virata fled from fear, avoiding Drona in battle, who resembled Death's self with gasping mouth. The son of Bharadwaja then, without losing a moment, checked the mighty host of the Pandavas resisting combatants by hundreds and thousands.

"Sikhandin also, O king, getting at Drona's son in that battle, struck the latter between his brows with three swiftly coursing shafts. And that tiger among men, viz., Aswatthaman, pierced with those shafts looked beautiful like the mountain Meru with its three tall golden crests. Then, O king, Aswatthaman excited with rage, and within half the time taken up by a wink of the eye, overthrew in that battle Sikhandin's charioteer and standard and steeds and weapons, covering them with myriads of shafts. Then that foremost of car-warriors, viz., Sikhandin, that scorcher of foes, jumping down from that car whose steeds had been slain, and taking up a sharp and polished scimitar and a shield, excited with rage, moved on the field with great activity like a hawk. And while moving with great activity, O king, on the field sword in hand, the son of Drona failed to find an opportunity (for striking him). And all this seemed highly wonderful. And then, O bull of Bharata's race, the highly wrathful son of Drona sent after Sikhandin in that battle many thousands of shafts. But Sikhandin, that foremost of mighty men, with his sharp sword cut that fierce shower of arrows coming towards him. Then the son of Drona cut into pieces that resplendent and beautiful shield decked with a hundred moons and then that sword also of Sikhandin. And he pierced the latter's person also, O king, with a large number of winged arrows. Then Sikhandin, whirling the fragment (in his hand) of that sword of his which had been cut off by Aswatthaman with his arrows and which resembled a blazing snake, quickly hurled it at him. The son of Drona however, displaying in that battle the lightness of his arms, cut off that (broken blade) coming impetuously towards him and resembling in splendour the fire that blazeth forth at the end of the Yuga. And he pierced Sikhandin himself with innumerable arrows made of iron. Then Sikhandin, O King, exceedingly afflicted with those whetted arrows, speedily mounted on the car of (Satyaki) that high-souled scion of Madhu's race. Then Satyaki, excited with rage, pierced in that battle, with his terrible shafts the cruel Rakshasa Alamvusha on all sides. That prince of Rakshasas then, O Bharata, cut off in that combat Satyaki's bow with a crescent-shaped arrow and pierced Satyaki also with many shafts. And creating by his Rakshasa powers an illusion, he covered Satyaki with showers of arrows. But wonderful was the prowess that we then beheld of the grandson of Sini, inasmuch as struck with those whetted shafts he betrayed no fear. On the other hand, O Bharata, that son of Vrishni's race applied (with Mantras) the Aindra weapon, which that illustrious hero of Madhu's race had obtained from Vijaya [Satyaki was Arjuna's disciple in arms. Vijaya was another name of Arjuna.]. That weapon, consuming into ashes that Demoniac illusion, covered Alamvusha all over with terrible shafts, like a mass of clouds covering the mountain-breast with torrents of rain in the rainy season. Thereupon the Rakshasa, thus afflicted by that hero of Madhu's race, fled away in fear, avoiding Satyaki in battle. Then the grandson of Sini, having vanquished that prince of Rakshasas who was incapable of being vanquished by Maghavat himself, uttered a loud roar in the very sight of all thy troops. And Satyaki, of prowess incapable of being baffled, then began to slay thy troops with innumerable shafts whereupon the latter fled away in fear.

"Meanwhile, O monarch, Dhrishtadyumna, the mighty son of Drupada, covered thy royal son in battle with innumerable straight shafts. While, however, O Bharata, Dhrishtadyumna was thus shrouding him with his shafts, thy royal son was neither agitated nor struck with fear. On the other hand, he speedily pierced Dhrishtadyumna in that battle (first) with sixty and (then) with thirty shafts. And all these seemed highly wonderful. Then the commander of the Pandava army, O Bharata, excited with wrath cut off his bow. And that mighty car-warrior then slew in that combat the four steeds of thy son, and also pierced him with seven shafts of the keenest points. Thereupon (thy son), that mighty-armed warrior endued with great strength, jumping down from that car whose steeds had been slain, ran on foot, with an upraised sabre, towards the son of Prishata. Then the mighty Sakuni, devoted to the king, quickly coming to that spot, caused thy royal son to mount on his own car in the very sight of all. Then that slayer of foes, the son of Prishata, having vanquished the king, began to slaughter thy troops like the wielder of the thunder-bolt slaughtering the Asuras.

"Kritavarman, in that battle, covered with his arrows that mighty car-warrior Bhima. Indeed, he overwhelmed the latter entirely, like a mighty mass of clouds shrouding the sun. Then that chastiser of foes viz., Bhimasena, excited with wrath, and laughing the while, sped some shafts at Kritavarman. Struck therewith, that Atiratha of the Satwata race, excelling all in might, trembled not, O king, but (instead) pierced Bhima (in return) with many sharp arrows. Then the mighty Bhimasena, slaying the four steeds of Kritavarman, felled the latter's charioteer, and then his beautiful standard. And that slayer of hostile heroes (viz., Bhima) then pierced Kritavarman himself with many shafts of diverse kinds. And Kritavarman, pierced all over, seemed to be excessively mangled in every limb. Then from that car whose steeds had been slain, Kritavarman quickly went to the car of Vrishaka, in the very sight, O king,

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of both Salya and thy son. And Bhimasena. excited with rage, began to afflict thy troops. Goaded to fury, he began to slay them, like the destroyer himself armed with his club."

SECTION 84

Dhritarashtra said, "Many and wonderful, O Sanjaya, were the single combats I hear thee speak of between the Pandavas and my warriors. Thou speakest not, however, O Sanjaya, of any one of my side having been cheerful (on such occasions). Thou always speakest of the sons of Pandu as cheerful and never routed, O Suta and thou speakest of mine as cheerless, deprived of energy, and constantly vanquished in battle. All this, without doubt, is Destiny."

Sanjaya said, "Thy men, O bull of Bharata's race, exert themselves according to the measure of their might and courage, and display their valour to the utmost extent of their strength. As contact with the properties of the ocean make the sweet waters of the celestial stream Ganga brakish, so the valour, O king, of the illustrious warriors of thy army coming in contact with the heroic sons of Pandu in battle, becometh futile. Exerting themselves according to their might, and achieving the most difficult feats, thou shouldst not, O chief of the Kurus, find fault with thy troops. O monarch, this great and awful destruction of the world, swelling the (population of the) domains of Yama, hath arisen from thy misconduct and that of thy sons. It behoveth thee not, O king, to grieve for what hath arisen from thy own fault. Kings do not always in this world protect their lives. These rulers of Earth, desirous of winning by battle the regions of the righteous, daily fight, penetrating into (hostile) divisions, with heaven only for their aim.

"On the forenoon of that day, O king, great was the carnage that ensued, resembling what occurred in the battle between the gods and the Asuras (of old). Listen to it, O monarch, with undivided attention. The two princes of Avanti, those great bowmen endued with exceeding might, those excellent warriors fierce in battle, beholding Iravat, advanced against him. The battle that took place between them was fierce, making the hair stand on end. Then Iravat, excited with rage, quickly pierced those two brothers of celestial forms with many sharp and straight shafts. Those two, however, conversant with all modes of warfare, pierced him in return in that battle. Struggling their best to slaughter the foe, and desirous of counteracting each other's feats, no distinction, O king, could be observed between them as they fought. Iravat then, O monarch, with four shafts, despatched the four steeds of Anuvinda to the abode of Yama. And with a couple of sharp, broad-headed shafts, O sire, he cut off the bow and standard also of Anuvinda. And this feat, O king, seemed highly wonderful. Then Anuvinda, leaving his own car, mounted on the car of Vinda. Taking up an excellent and strong bow capable of bearing a great strain, Anuvinda, as also his brother Vinda, those foremost of car-warriors hailing from Avanti, both stationed on the same car, quickly shot many shafts at the high-souled Iravat. Shot by them, those shafts of great impetuosity decked with gold, while coursing through the air, covered the welkin [Divakaram prapya, lit, 'reaching the path of the sun,' i.e., while coursing through the sky.]. Then Iravat, excited with rage, showered on those mighty car-warriors, those two brothers (of Avanti) his arrowy down-pours, and felled their charioteer. When the charioteer, deprived of life, fell down on the ground, the horses, no longer restrained, ran away with car. Having vanquished those two warriors, that daughter's son of the king of the Nagas, displaying his prowess, then began to consume with great activity thy ranks. Then that mighty Dhartarashtra host, while thus slaughtered in battle, began to reel in many directions like a person who hath drunk poison.

"That prince of Rakshasa, the mighty son of Hidimva, on his car of solar effulgence furnished with a standard, rushed against Bhagadatta. The ruler of the Pragjyotishas was stationed on his prince of elephants like the wielder of the thunder-bolt in days of old in the battle occasioned by the ravishment of Taraka. The gods, the Gandharvas, and the Rishis had all come there. They could not, however, notice any distinction between Hidimva's son and Bhagadatta. As the chief of the celestials, excited with wrath, had inspired the Danavas with fear, so did Bhagadatta, O king, frightened the Pandava warriors. And the warriors of the Pandava army, frightened by him on all sides, failed, O Bharata, to find among their ranks any protector. We beheld however, O Bharata, the son of Bhimasena there, on his car. The other mighty car-warriors fled away with cheerless hearts. When, however, O Bharata, he troops of the Pandavas rallied, in the battle that then ensued an awful uproar arose among thy troops. Then Ghatotkatcha, O king, in that dreadful battle, covered Bhagadatta with his arrows like the clouds pouring rain on the breast of Meru. Baffling all those arrows shot from the Rakshasa's bow, the king quickly struck the son of Bhimasena in all his vital limbs. That prince of the Rakshasa, however, though struck with innumerable straight shafts, wavered not at all (but stood still) like a mountain pierced (with shafts). Then the ruler of the Pragjyotishas, excited with wrath, hurled in that combat fourteen lances, all of which, however, were cut off by the Rakshasa. Cutting off by means of his sharp shafts those lances, the mighty-armed Rakshasa pierced Bhagadatta with seventy shafts, each resembling the thunder-bolt in force. Then the ruler of the Pragjyotishas, laughing the while, O Bharata, despatched in that combat the four steeds of the Rakshasa to Death's domain. The prince of the Rakshasas, however, of great valour, staying on that car whose steeds had been slain, hurled with great force a dart at the elephant of the ruler of the Pragjyotishas. King Bhagadatta then cut off that swift dart furnished with a staff of gold and coursing impetuously towards him into three fragments, and thereupon it fell down on the ground. Beholding his dart cut off, the son of Hidimva fled from fear like Namuchi, that foremost of the Daityas, in days of old, from battle with Indra. Having vanquished in battle that hero of great valour and renowned prowess, who, O king, cannot be vanquished in battle by Yama himself or Varuna, king Bhagadatta with his elephant began to crush down the troops of the Pandavas like a wild elephant. O king, crushing as he treads the lotus-stalks (in a lake).

"The ruler of the Madras engaged in battle with his sister's sons, the twins. And the overwhelmed those sons of Pandu with clouds of arrows. Then Sahadeva, beholding his maternal uncle, engaged in battle (with him), covered him with arrows like the clouds covering the maker of day. Covered with those clouds of arrows, the ruler of the Madras wore a delighted expression, and the twins also felt great delight for the sake of their mother [The meaning seems to be that Salya was pleased in witnessing the skill of his sister's sons, while the twins themselves were pleased in displaying that skill before one who was related to them through their mother.]. Then Salya, that mighty car-warrior, smiting effectively in that battle, despatched with four excellent shafts, O king, the four steeds of Nakula to the abode of Yama. Nakula then, that mighty car-warrior, quickly jumping down from that car whose steeds had been slain, mounted upon the vehicle of his renowned brother. Stationed then on the same car, those two heroes, both fierce in battle, and both excited with rage, began to shroud the car of the ruler of Madras, (with heir arrows), drawing their bows with great strength. But that tiger among men, though thus covered by his sister's sons with innumerable straight arrows shook not in the least (but stood immovable) like a hill. Laughing the while, he smote them (in return) with showers of arrows. Then Sahadeva of great prowess, O Bharata, excited with wrath, took up a (powerful) shaft, and rushing at the ruler of the Madras, shot it at him. That shaft endued with the impetuosity of Garuda himself, shot by him, pierced the ruler of the Madras through, and fell on the earth. Thereupon that mighty car-warrior, deeply pierced and greatly pained, sat down. O king, on the terrace of his car, and went into a swoon. Beholding him (thus) afflicted by the twins, deprived of consciousness, and prostrated (on his car), his charioteer bore him away on his vehicle over the field. Seeing the car of the ruler of the Madras retreating (from battle) the Dhartarashtras all became cheerless and thought it was all over with him. 1 Then those mighty car-warriors, viz., the two sons of Madri, having vanquished in battle their maternal uncle, cheerfully blew their conches and uttered leonine roars. And then they rushed joyfully, O king, towards thy forces like the gods Indra and Upendra, O monarch, towards the Daitya host."

SECTION 85

Sanjaya said, "Then when the sun attained the meridian, king Yudhishthira, beholding Srutayush, urged on his steeds. And the king rushed at Srutayush, that chastiser of foes, striking him with nine straight shafts of keen points. That great bowman, viz., king Srutayush then, checking in that battle those arrows shot by the son of Pandu, struck Yudhishthira with seven shafts. These penetrating through his armour, drank his blood in that battle, as if sucking the very vital energies dwelling in the body of that high-souled one. The son of Pandu then, though deeply pierced by that high-souled king, pierced king Srutayush (in return), at the latter's heart, with an arrow shaped as the boar's ear. And that foremost of car-warriors, viz., the son of Pritha, with another broad-headed arrow, quickly felled on the earth the standard of the high-souled Srutayush from his car. Beholding his standard overthrown, king Srutayush then, O monarch, pierced the son of Pandu with seven sharp shafts. Thereupon Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma, blazed up with wrath, like the fire that blazeth forth at the end of the Yuga for consuming creatures. Beholding the son of Pandu excited with rage, the gods, the Gandharvas, and the Rakshasas, trembled, O king, and the universe became agitated. And even this was the thought that arose in the minds of all creatures, viz., that that king, excited with rage, would that day consume the three worlds. Indeed, when the son of Pandu was thus excited with wrath, the Rishis and the celestials prayed for the peace of the world. Filled with wrath and frequently licking the corners of his mouth, Yudhishthira assumed a terrible expression looking like the sun that riseth at the end of the Yuga. Then all thy warriors, O king, became hopeless of their lives, O Bharata. Checking, however, that wrath with patience, that great bowman endued with high renown then cut off Srutayush's bow at the grasp. And then, in the very sight of all the troops, the king in that battle pierced Srutayush whose bow had been cut off, with a long arrow in the centre of the chest. And the mighty Yudhishthira then, O king, speedily slew with his arrows the steeds of Srutayush and then, without losing a moment, his charioteer. Beholding the prowess of the king, Srutayush leaving that car whose steeds had been slain, quickly fled away from battle. After that great bowman had been vanquished in combat by the son of Dharma, all the troops of Duryodhana, O king, turned their faces. Having, O monarch, achieved this feat, Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma, began to slay thy troops like Death himself with wide-open mouth.

"Chekitana of the Vrishni race, in the very sight of all the troops, covered with his shafts Gautama, that foremost of car-warriors. Baffling all those arrows, Kripa the son of Saradwat, pierced Chekitana in return who was fighting with great care, O king, with arrows in that battle. Then, O Bharata, with another broad-headed arrow he cut off Chekitana's bow, and endued with great lightness of hand, he also felled with another broad-headed arrow the former's charioteer. Kripa then, O monarch, slew Chekitana's steeds, as also both the warriors that protected the latter's wings. Then Chekitana of the Satwata race, quickly jumped down from his car, and took up a mace. The foremost of all wielders of the mace, Chekitana, with that hero-slaying mace of his, slew the steeds of Gautama and then felled his charioteer. Then Gautama, standing on the ground, shot sixteen arrows at Chekitana. Those arrows, piercing through that hero of the Satwata race, entered the earth. Thereat, Chekitana excited with rage, once more hurled his mace, desirous of slaying Gautama, like Purandara desirous of slaying Vritra. Then Gautama with many thousands of arrows checked that huge mace, endued with the strength of adamant, that was coursing towards him. Then Chekitana, O Bharata, drawing his sabre from the sheath, rushed with great speed towards Gautama. Thereupon Gautama also, throwing away his bow, and taking up a polished sabre, rushed with great speed towards Chekitana. Both of them possessed of great strength, and both armed with excellent sabres, began to strike each other with those sharp-edged weapons of theirs. Then those bulls among men, struck with the force of each other's sabres, fell down on the earth, that (common) element of all creatures. Exhausted by the efforts they had made, the limbs of both were motionless in a swoon. Then Karakarsha impelled by friendship, quickly rushed to that spot. And that invincible warrior, beholding Chekitana in that plight, took him up on his car in the very sight of all troops. And so also the brave Sakuni, thy brother-in-law, O monarch, speedily caused Gautama, that foremost of car-warriors, to mount on his car.

"The mighty Dhrishtaketu, excited with wrath, speedily pierced the son of Somadatta, O king, with ninety shafts in the chest. And the son of Somadatta looked highly resplendent with those shafts on his chest, like the sun, O king, with his rays at mid-day. Bhurisravas, however, in that battle, with his excellent shafts, deprived Dhrishtaketu, that mighty car-warrior, of his car, slaying his charioteer and steeds. And beholding him deprived of his car, and his steeds and charioteer slain, Bhurisravas covered Dhrishtaketu in that combat with a thick shower of arrows. The high-souled Dhrishtaketu then. O sire, abandoning that car of his, mounted upon the vehicle of Satanika. Chitrasena, and Vikarna, O king, and also Durmarshana,--these car-warriors cased in golden mail,--all rushed against the son of Subhadra. Then a fierce battle took place between Abhimanyu and those warriors, like the battle of the body, O king, with wind, bile, and phlegm. That tiger among men, however, (viz., Abhimanyu), having, O king, deprived thy sons of their cars, slew them not, remembering Bhima's words. Then during the progress of the fight, Kunti's son (Arjuna), of white steeds, beholding Bhishma, who was incapable of being vanquished by very gods, proceeding to rescue thy sons in view of Abhimanyu--a boy and alone though a mighty car-warrior, addressed Vasudeva and said these words, 'Urge the steeds, O Hrishikesa, to that spot where are those numerous car-warriors. They are many in number, brave, accomplished in arms, invincible in battle. Guide the horses so, O Madhava, that the foe may not be able to slay our troops.' Thus urged by Kunti's son of immeasurable energy, he of Vrishni's race then drove that car, unto which were yoked white steeds, to battle. When Arjuna, excited with rage, thus proceeded towards thy army, a loud uproar, O sire, arose among thy troops. The son of Kunti then, having come up to those kings that were protecting Bhishma, (first) addressed Susarman, O king, and said these words, 'I know thee to be foremost in battle, and a dire enemy (of ours) of old. Behold to-day the terrible fruit of that evil behaviour (of thine). I will today cause thee to visit the manes of thy ancestors.' That leader of car-divisions, Susarman, however, hearing these harsh words uttered by that slayer of foes viz., Vibhatsu, told him nothing (in reply), well or ill. (But) approaching the heroic Arjuna, with a large number of kings in his train, and surrounding him in that

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battle, he covered him aided by thy sons, O sinless one, with arrows from all sides, viz., front, rear, and flanks, like the clouds covering the maker of day. Then, O Bharata, a dreadful battle took place between thy army and the Pandavas, in which blood ran like water."

SECTION 86

Sanjaya said, "Then the mighty Dhananjaya, struck with those shafts and drawing long breaths like a trodden snake, cut off, with great force, by means of his successive shafts, the bows of those mighty car-warriors. Cutting off in a moment, O king, the bows of those powerful monarchs in that battle, the high-souled Arjuna, desiring to exterminate them pierced all of them simultaneously with his shafts. Struck (thus) by Indra's son, O king, some of them fell down on the field, covered with blood. And some had their limbs mangled, and some had their heads struck off. And some perished with bodies mangled and coats of mail cut through. And afflicted by the arrows of Partha, many of them, falling down on the earth, perished together. Beholding then those princes slain in battle, the ruler of the Trigartas advanced on his car. And two and thirty others amongst those car-warriors, they who had been protecting the rear of the slain combatants also fell upon Partha. These all, surrounding Partha, and drawing their bows of loud twang, poured on him a thick shower of arrows like the clouds pouring torrents of water on the mountain breast. Then Dhananjaya afflicted with that arrowy downpour in that battle, became excited with wrath, and with sixty arrows steeped in oil he despatched all those protectors of the rear. Having vanquished in battle those sixty car-warriors, the illustrious Dhananjaya became cheerful at heart. And having slain also the forces of those kings, Jishnu sped for Bhishma's slaughter. Then the ruler of the Trigartas, beholding his friends those mighty car-warriors slain, speedily advanced upon Partha, with a number of (other) kings in his van, for slaying him. Then the Pandava warrior headed by Sikhandin, beholding those combatants advancing upon Dhananjaya that foremost of all conversant with arms, proceeded with whetted weapons in hand, desirous of protecting the car of Arjuna. Partha also beholding those brave men advanced towards him with the ruler of the Trigartas, mangled them in battle with arrows shot from Gandiva. Then that distinguished bowman, desirous of approaching Bhishma beheld Duryodhana and other kings headed by the ruler of the Sindhus. Fighting with great energy for a moment and checking those warriors that were desirous of protecting Bhishma, the heroic Arjuna of great valour and infinite prowess avoiding Duryodhana and Jayadratha and others,--that warrior of mighty strength and great mental vigour,--at last proceeded, bow and arrow in hand, towards the son of Ganga in battle. The high-souled Yudhishthira also, of fierce prowess and infinite renown, avoiding in battle the ruler of the Madras who had been assigned to his share, quickly proceeded, with excited wrath and accompanied by Bhima and the sons of Madri towards Bhishma, the son of Santanu, for battle. Conversant with all modes of warfare the high-souled son of Ganga and Santanu, though attacked in battle by all the sons of Pandu united together, wavered not at all. Of fierce might and great energy king Jayadratha of sure aim, advancing in battle, forcibly cut off with his own excellent bow the bows of all those mighty car-warriors. And the illustrious Duryodhana also with excited wrath and having wrath for his position, struck Yudhishthira and Bhimasena and the twins and Partha, with arrows resembling flames of fire. Pierced with arrows by Kripa and Sala and Chitrasena, O lord, the Pandavas, inflamed with rage, resembled the gods pierced with arrows by the united Daityas (in days of old). King Yudhishthira then, beholding Sikhandin flying away, having had his weapon cut off by Santanu's son became filled with anger. The high-souled Ajatasatru, angrily addressing Sikhandin in that battle, said these words, 'Thou saidst at that time, in the presence of thy sire, unto me--Even I shall slay Bhishma of high vows with my shafts of the hue of the effulgent sun. Truly do I say this.--Even this was thy oath. That oath of thine thou dost not fulfil inasmuch as thou dost not slay Devavrata in battle. O hero, be not a person of unfulfilled vow. Take care of thy virtue, race, and fame. Behold Bhishma of terrible impetuosity scorching all my troops with his innumerable arrows of fierce energy and destroying everything in a moment like Death himself. With thy bow cut off avoiding the battle, and vanquished by the royal son of Santanu, whither dost thou go, forsaking thy kinsmen and brothers? This doth not become thee. Beholding Bhishma of infinite prowess, and our army routed and flying away, thou art assuredly, O son of Drupada, frightened, since the colour of thy face is pale. Unknown to thee, O hero, Dhananjaya hath engaged in the dreadful battle. Celebrated over the whole world, why O hero, art thou afraid today of Bhishma.'--Hearing these words of king, Yudhishthira the Just, that were harsh, though fraught with sound reason, the high-souled Sikhandin, regarding them as good counsel, speedily set himself about slaying Bhishma. And while Sikhandin was proceeding to battle with great impetuosity for falling upon Bhishma, Salya began to resist him with terrible weapons that were difficult of being baffled. The son of Drupada, however, O king, of prowess equal to that of Indra himself, beholding those weapons effulgent as the fire that blazeth forth at the hour of universal dissolution (thus) displayed, was not confounded in the least. Checking those weapons by means of his own shafts, that mighty bowman, viz., Sikhandin, stayed there without moving. And then he took up another weapon, viz., the fierce Varuna weapon for baffling (those fiery weapons of Salya). Then the celestials staying in the firmament, and the kings of the earth also, all beheld Salya's weapons baffled by that Varuna weapon of Sikhandin. Meanwhile, the high-souled and heroic Bhishma, O king, in that battle, cut off the bow and the variegated standard also of Pandu's son, king Yudhishthira of the Ajamida race. Thereupon casting aside his bow and arrows upon beholding Yudhishthira overwhelmed with fear, and taking up a mace in that battle, Bhimasena rushed, on foot, at Jayadratha. Then Jayadratha, with five hundred terrible arrows of keen points and each resembling the rod of Death, pierced Bhimasena from every side who was thus rushing impetuously at him, mace in hand. Disregarding those arrows, the impetuous Vrikodara, with heart filled with rage, slew in that battle all the steeds, born in Aratta, of the king of the Sindhus. Then beholding Bhimasena on foot, thy son (Chitrasena) of unrivalled prowess and resembling the chief of the celestials himself, quickly rushed at him on his car, with upraised weapons, for giving him his quietus. Bhima also, roaring and uttering a loud shout, rushed at him impetuously, mace in hand. Thereupon the Kauravas all around beholding that upraised mace resembling the rod of Death, forsaking thy brave son, fled away, desirous of avoiding its fall (amongst them). In that fierce and awful crush (of men), O Bharata, confounding the senses, Chitrasena, however, beholding that mace coursing towards him, was not deprived of his senses. Taking up a bright scimitar and a shield, he forsook his car and became a warrior on foot in the field, for jumping down (from his vehicle) like a lion from the top of a cliff he came down upon the level ground. Meanwhile that mace, failing upon that beautiful car and destroying the vehicle itself with its steeds and charioteer in that battle, dropped on the ground like a blazing meteor, loosened from the firmament, failing upon the earth. Then thy troops, O Bharata, beholding that highly wonderful feat became filled with joy, and all of them together set up a loud shout over the field of battle. And the warriors all applauded thy son (for what they witnessed)."

SECTION 87

Sanjaya said,--"Approaching then thy son Chitrasena of great energy who had thus been deprived of his car, thy son Vikarna caused him to mount on his car. And during the progress of that general engagement, so fierce and dreadful, Bhishma, the son of Santanu, impetuously rushed at Yudhishthira. Then the Srinjayas with their cars, elephants, and horses, trembled. And they regarded Yudhishthira to be already within the jaws of Death. The lord Yudhishthira, however, of Kuru's race, accompanied by the twins, proceeded towards that mighty bowman, that tiger among men viz., Bhishma. Then the son of Pandu, shooting in that battle thousands of arrows, shrouded Bhishma like the clouds shrouding the sun. And those numberless arrows, well shot by Yudhishthira, were received by the son of Ganga in distinct sets by hundreds and thousands. [The meaning seems to be that the arrows shot by Yudhishthira were cut off by Bhishma, in numberless distinct sets, taking each set at a time.]

And so also, O sire, innumerable were the arrows shot by Bhishma (in return), which looked like flights of insects coursing through the air. In half the time taken up by a wink of the eye, Bhishma, the son of Santanu, in that battle, made Kunti's son invisible by means of his numberless shafts shot in sets. Then king Yudhishthira, excited with rage, sped at the high-souled Kaurava a long arrow resembling a snake of virulent poison. That mighty car-warrior, Bhishma, however, O king, cut off in that combat, with a horse-shoe (headed) arrow, that shaft shot from Yudhishthira's bow before it could reach him. Having cut off that long arrow resembling Death himself, Bhishma then slew in that battle the steeds, decked with gold, of that prince of Kuru's line. Then Yudhishthira the son of Pandu, abandoning that car whose steeds had been slain, quickly mounted upon the car of the high-souled Nakula. Then Bhishma that subjugator of hostile cities, excited with rage, and coming upon the twins in that battle, covered them with arrows. Beholding those two (brothers), O king, thus afflicted, with the arrows of Bhishma, Yudhishthira began to reflect earnestly desirous, O monarch, of (compassing) Bhishma's destruction. Then Yudhishthira, O king, urged his friends and the rulers (on his side), saying,--'Slay Bhishma the son of Santanu, uniting together.' Then all those rulers, hearing these words of Pritha's son, surrounded the grandsire with a large number of cars. Thy sire Devavrata then, thus surrounded on all sides, began to sport, O king, with his bow, felling (all the while) many mighty car-warriors. Him of Kuru's race, thus careering over the field of battle, the Pandavas beheld resembling a young lion in the forest amid a herd of deer. Uttering a loud roar in that battle and striking fear into the hearts of brave warriors by means of his shafts, the Kshatriyas beholding him, O king, were all struck with fear, like inferior animals upon seeing a lion. Indeed the Kshatriyas beheld the movements of that lion of Bharata's race in battle to resemble those of a conflagration aided by the wind while consuming a heap of dry grass. And Bhishma in that battle felled the heads of car-warriors like a skilful man felling (with stones) ripe (palmyra) fruits from trees that bear them. And the heads of warriors, O king, falling upon the surface of the earth produced a loud noise resembling that of a stony shower. During the progress of that fierce and dreadful battle a great confusion set in among all the troops. And in consequence of that confusion the arrays (of both armies) were broken. And the Kshatriyas summoning one another individually, approached one another for fight. Then Sikhandin, sighting the grandsire of the Bharatas, rushed at him impetuously, saying,--Wait, Wait--Remembering, however, the femininity of Sikhandin, and disregarding him on that account, Bhishma proceeded against the Srinjayas. Thereupon the Srinjayas, beholding Bhishma in that great battle, were filled with joy. And they set forth diverse kinds of loud shouts, mingled with the blare of their conches. Then commenced a fierce battle in course of which cars and elephants got entangled with one another. And it was that hour of the day, O lord, when the sun was on the other side (of the meridian). Then Dhrishtadyumna, the prince of the Panchalas, and that mighty car-warrior Satyaki, greatly afflicted the (Bharata) host with showers of arrows and lances. And with innumerable shafts, O king, these two began to smite down thy warriors in that battle. Thy combatants, however, O bull among men, though slaughtered in battle (thus) retreated not from the fight, having formed an honourable resolution in that engagement. Indeed, thy troops began to smite according to the measure of their courage. While, however, O king, thy high-souled combatants were being slaughtered by the illustrious son of Prishata, loud cries of woe were heard among them. Hearing those loud cries, that couple of mighty car-warriors of thy army, viz., Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti, quickly proceeded against Prishata's son. And those mighty car-warriors, speedily slaying his steeds, together covered Prishata's son with showers of arrows. Thereupon that mighty car-warrior, viz., the prince of the Panchalas, quickly jumping down from that car of his, mounted without loss of time the car of the high-souled Satyaki. Then king Yudhishthira, supported by a large force, proceeded against those chastisers of foes, viz., the two princes of Avanti excited with rage. Similarly thy son, O sire, with every preparation, stood, surrounding Vinda and Anuvinda in that battle (for supporting them). Arjuna also in that battle, excited with rage, fought against many bulls of the Kshatriya race, like the wielder of the thunder-bolt against the Asuras. Drona also, who always does what is agreeable to thy son, inflamed with wrath in that battle, began to consume the Panchalas like fire consuming a heap of cotton. Thy other sons, O king, owning Duryodhana as their chief, surrounding Bhishma in that battle, fought against the Pandavas. Then when the sun assumed a red hue [i.e., just before setting.], king Duryodhana, O Bharata, addressing thy troops, said,--Lose no time--And while they were thus battling and achieving feats difficult of accomplishment, the sun having become invisible in consequence of his retirement behind the western hill, there soon flowed, towards dusk, an awful river whose current and billows were of blood, and which was infested by innumerable jackals. And the field of battle became dreadful, abounding as it did with spirits and with those jackals howling hideously, forboding evil. Rakshasas and Pisachas and other cannibals were seen all round, in hundreds and thousands. Then Arjuna, having vanquished those kings headed by Susarman along with all their followers, in the midst of their division, proceeded towards his tent. And the lord Yudhishthira also of Kuru's race, accompanied by his brothers, and followed by his troops, proceeded, O king, when night set in, towards his tent. And Bhimasena, too, having vanquished those kings, viz., those warriors headed by Duryodhana, proceeded towards his tent. And king Duryodhana (with his troops), surrounding Bhishma, the son of Santanu, in that great battle proceeded towards his tent. And Drona, and Drona's son, and Kripa, and Salya, and Kritavarman of the Satwata race, surrounding the whole (Dhartarashtra) army, proceeded towards their tents. And similarly Satyaki also, O king, and Dhrishtadyumna, the son of Prishata, surrounding their army, proceeded towards their tents. It was thus, O king, that those chastisers of foes, viz., thy troops and the Pandavas, ceased to fight when darkness came. Then the Pandavas, and the Kauravas, retiring to their tents, entered the same, applauding one another. And making arrangements for the protection of their brave warriors and disposing outposts according to rule, they plucked out the arrows (from their bodies) and bathed in diverse kinds of water. And Brahmanas performed propitiatory rites for them, and bards sang their praises. And those renowned men sported for a while in accompaniment with music both vocal and instrumental. And for a while the whole scene resembled

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heaven itself. And those bulls among men for a while spoke not of battle. And when both armies abounding with tired men and elephants and steeds slept there, they became, O monarch, beautiful to behold."

SECTION 88

Sanjaya said, "Having passed the night in sound steep, those rulers of men, the Kauravas and the Pandavas, once more proceeded to battle. And when the troops of both armies were about to proceed to the field, great was the uproar heard there, resembling the loud uproar of the ocean itself. Then king Duryodhana, and Chitrasena, and Vivinsati, and that foremost of car-warriors, viz., Bhishma and Bharadwaja's son possessed of great prowess,--those mighty car-warriors, clad in mail and uniting together, O King, formed with great care the array of the Kauravas against the Pandavas. Having formed that mighty array fierce as the ocean and having for its billows and current its steeds and elephants, thy sire Bhishma, the son of Santanu, then, O king, proceeded in the van of the whole army, supported by the Malavas, and the inhabitants of the southern countries, and the Avantis. Next to him was the valiant son of Bharadwaja, accompanied by the Pulindas, the Paradas, and the Kshudraka-Malavas. Next to Drona was the valiant Bhagadatta. O king, firmly resolved on fight, accompanied by the Magadhas, the Kalingas, and the Pisachas. Behind Bhagadatta was Vrihadvala the king of the Kosalas accompanied by the Melakas, the Tripuras, and the Chichilas. Next to Vrihadvala was the brave Trigarta, the ruler of the Prasthala, accompanied by a large number of the Kamvojas, and by Yavanas in thousands. Next to the ruler of the Trigartas, O Bharata, proceeded that mighty hero, viz., the son of Drona, uttering leonine roars and filling the earth with those shouts. Next to Drona's son proceeded king Duryodhana with the whole army, surrounded by his uterine brothers. Behind Duryodhana proceeded Kripa the son of Saradwat. It was thus that that mighty array, resembling the very ocean, advanced (to battle). And standards and white umbrellas, O lord, and beautiful bracelets and costly bows shed their effulgence there. And beholding that mighty array of thy forces, that great car-warrior Yudhishthira, speedily addressed the generalissimo (of his forces), viz., Prishata's son saying, 'Behold, O great bowman, that array, already formed, resembling the ocean. Do thou also, O son of Prishata, form without delay thy counter-array. (Thus addressed), the heroic son of Prishata, O great king, formed that terrible array called Sringataka that is destructive of all hostile arrays. At the horns were Bhimasena and that mighty car-warrior, viz., Satyaki, with many thousands of cars as also of horse and infantry. Next to them was that foremost of men, (viz., Arjuna) of white steeds and having Krishna for his charioteer. In the centre were king Yudhishthira and the twin sons of Pandu by Madri. Other royal bowmen, conversant with the science of arrays, with their troops, filled up that array. In the rear were ordered Abhimanyu, and that mighty car-warrior, Virata, and the sons of Draupadi and the Rakshasa Ghatotkacha. Thus, O Bharata, having formed their mighty array, the heroic Pandavas waited on the field, longing for battle and desirous of victory. And the loud noise of drums mingling with the blare of conches and leonine roars and shouts (of the combatants) and the slapping of their armpits, became terrible and filled all the points of the compass. Then those brave warriors, approaching one another for battle, looked at one another, O king, with winkless eyes. Then O ruler of men, the warriors, first challenging each other by name, engaged with each other. Then commenced a fierce and terrible battle between thy troops and those of the foe striking one another. And in that battle, O Bharata, whetted shafts fell in showers like terrible snakes with mouths wide open. And polished darts of impetuous force, washed with oil, O king, shone like the effulgent flashes of lightning from the clouds. And maces decked with gold and attached to bright slings were seen to fall all over the field, resembling beautiful crests of hills. And sabres of the colour of the clear (blue) sky, O Bharata, and shields of bull's hides and decked with a hundred moons, as they fell everywhere over the field, O king, looked beautiful. And as the two armies, O king, were engaged in battle with each other, they looked resplendent like the celestial and the demoniac hosts battling with each other. All around they rushed against one another in battle. Foremost of royal car-warriors, impetuously dashing against car-warriors in that dreadful battle, fought on, with the yokes of their cars entangled with those of their adversaries. And, O bull of Bharata's race, all over the field flashes of fire mixed with smoke were generated, in consequence of friction, in the tusks of battling elephants. And combatants on the backs of elephants, struck with lances, were seen all around to fall down like blocks (loosened) from crests of hills. And brave foot-soldiers, battling with their bare arms or with lances, and striking one another, looked exceedingly beautiful. And the warriors of the Kaurava and the Pandava hosts, coming upon one another in that conflict, despatched one another with diverse kinds of shafts to the abode of Yama. Then Bhishma, the son of Santanu, filling (the air) with the rattle of his car, and depriving the foe of his senses by the twang of his bow, rushed against the Pandavas in battle. The car-warriors of the Pandavas, too, headed by Dhrishtadyumna, uttering fierce shouts, rushed at him, firmly resolved on fight. Then commenced, O Bharata, a battle between the infantry, car-warriors, and elephants, of theirs and thine, in which the combatants became all entangled with one another."

SECTION 89

Sanjaya said, "The Pandavas were incapable of even looking at Bhishma excited with rage in battle and scorching every side like the Sun himself shedding scorching heat. Then all the (Pandava) troops, at the command of Dharma's son, rushed at the son of Ganga who was grinding (everything) with his whetted arrows, Bhishma, however, who delighted in battle felled the mightiest of bowmen amongst the Srinjayas and the Panchalas, with his shafts. Though thus slaughtered by Bhishma, the Panchalas along with the Somakas still rushed impetuously at him, forsaking the fear of death. The heroic Bhishma, the son of Santanu, however, in that battle, cut off, O king, the arms and heads of their car-warriors. Thy sire, Devavrata deprived their car-warriors of cars. And the heads of cavalry soldiers on their chargers fell fast. And we beheld, O king, huge elephants looking like hills, deprived of their riders, and paralysed with Bhishma's weapons, lying all around. Amongst the Pandavas, O king, there was no other man save that foremost of car-warriors, the mighty Bhimasena, (who could resist Bhishma). Indeed, Bhima alone, approaching Bhishma, encountered him in battle. Then in that encounter between Bhima and Bhishma, a fierce and terrible uproar arose among all the troops (of the Kauravas). The Pandavas then, filled with joy, uttered leonine shouts. During that destructive carnage, king Duryodhana, surrounded by his uterine brothers, protected Bhishma in that battle. Then that foremost of car-warriors, viz., Bhima, slew Bhishma's charioteer. Thereupon the steeds no longer controlled, ran away from the field with car. Then that slayer of foes, viz., Bhima with a sharp arrow having a horse-shoe head, cut off the head of Sunabha. (Thus) slain, the latter fell down on the earth. When that son of thine, that mighty car-warrior and great bowman was slain, seven of his heroic brothers, O sire, could not (quietly) bear (that act). These, viz., Adityaketu and Vahvasin, and Kundadhara and Mahodara, and Aparajita, and Panditaka and the invincible Visalaksha, clad in variegated armour and with their beautiful coats of mail and weapons,--these grinders of foes desirous of battle,--rushed against the son of Pandu. And Mahodara, in that battle, pierced Bhimasena with nine winged arrows, each resembling the thunder-bolt in force, like the slayer of Vritra striking (the great Asura) Namuchi. And Adityaketu struck him with seventy shafts, and Vishnu with five. And Kundadhara struck him with ninety shafts, and Visalaksha with seven. And that conqueror of foes, the mighty car-warrior Aparajita, O king, struck Bhimasena of great strength with many arrows. And Panditaka also, in battle, pierced him with three arrows. Bhima, however, did not (quietly) bear these attacks of his foes in battle. Forcibly grasping the bow with his left hand, that grinder of foes cut off, in that battle, the head, with a straight shaft, of thy son Aparajita, graced with a fine nose. Thus vanquished by Bhima, his head then dropped on the ground. Then, in the very sight of all the troops, Bhima despatched, with another broad-headed arrow, the mighty car-warrior Kundadhara to the domain of Death. Then that hero of immeasurable soul, once more aiming an arrow, sped it, O Bharata, at Panditaka in that battle. And the arrow killing Panditaka, entered the earth, like a snake impelled by Death quickly entering the earth after despatching the person (whose hour had come). Of undepressed soul, that hero then, O king, recollecting his former woes, felled Visalaksha's head, cutting it off with three arrows. Then Bhima, in that battle, struck the mighty bowman Mahodara in the centre of the chest with a long shaft. Slain (therewith), O king, the latter fell down on the earth. Then, O Bharata, cutting off with an arrow the umbrella of Adityaketu in that battle, he severed his head with another broad-headed shaft of exceeding sharpness. Then, O monarch, excited with rage, Bhima, with another straight shaft, despatched Vahvasin towards the abode of Yama. Then thy other sons, O king, all fled away regarding the words* to be true which Bhima had uttered in the (midst of the Kaurava) assembly [* His pledge, viz., that in battle he would slay all the sons of Dhritarashtra.]. Then king Duryodhana afflicted with sorrow on account of his brothers, addressed all his troops, saying, 'There is Bhima. Let him be slain.' Thus, O king, thy sons, those mighty bowmen, beholding their brothers slain, recollected those words beneficial and peaceful, that Vidura of great wisdom had spoken. Indeed, those words of the truthful Vidura are now being realised,--those beneficial words, O king, which, influenced by covetousness and folly as also by affection for thy sons, thou couldst not then understand. From the way in which that mighty armed hero is slaying the Kauravas, it seemeth that that mighty son of Pandu hath assuredly taken his birth for the destruction of thy sons.

Meanwhile, king Duryodhana, O sire, overwhelmed with great grief, went to Bhishma, and there, overcome with sorrow, he began to lament, saying, 'My heroic brothers have been slain in battle by Bhimasena. Although, again, all our troops are fighting bravely, yet they also are failing. Thou seemest to disregard us, behaving (as thou dost) like an indifferent spectator, Alas, what course have I taken. Behold my evil destiny.'"

Sanjaya continued. "Hearing these cruel words of Duryodhana, thy sire Devavrata with eyes filled with tears, said this unto him. 'Even this was said by me before, as also by Drona, and Vidura, and the renowned Gandhari. O son, thou didst not then comprehend it. O grinder of foes, it hath also been before settled by me that neither myself, nor Drona, will ever escape with life from this battle. I tell thee truly that those upon whom Bhima will cast his eyes in battle, he will surely slay. Therefore, O king, summoning all thy patience, and firmly resolved on battle, fight with the sons of Pritha, making heaven thy goal. As regards the Pandavas, they are incapable of being vanquished by the very gods with Vasava (at their head). Therefore, setting thy heart firmly on battle, fight, O Bharata.--'"

SECTION 90

Dhritarashtra said, "Beholding my sons, so many in number, O Sanjaya, slain by a single person, what did Bhishma and Drona and Kripa do in battle? Day after day, O Sanjaya, my sons are being slain. I think, O Suta, that they are completely overtaken by evil destiny, inasmuch as my sons never conquer but are always vanquished. When my sons staying in the midst of those unretreating heroes, viz., Drona and Bhishma, and the high-souled Kripa, and Somadatta's heroic son and Bhagadatta, and Aswatthaman also, O son, and other brave warriors, are being still slain in battle, what can it be said save the result of fate? The wicked Duryodhana did not comprehend (our) words before, though admonished by me, O son, and by Bhishma and Vidura. (Though forbidden) always by Gandhari, too, from motives of doing him good, Duryodhana of wicked understanding awoke not before from folly. That (conduct) hath now borne fruit, inasmuch as Bhimasena, excited with wrath, despatcheth, day after day in battle, my insensate sons to the abode of Yama."

Sanjaya said, "Those excellent words of Vidura, uttered for thy good, but which thou didst not then understand, have now come to be realised. Vidura had said, 'Restrain thy sons from the dice.' Like a man whose hour is come refusing the proper medicine, thou didst not then listen to the words of well-wishing friends counselling thee (for thy good). Those words uttered by the righteous have now been realised before thee. Indeed, the Kauravas are now being destroyed for having rejected those words, deserving of acceptance, of Vidura and Drona and Bhishma and thy other well-wishers. These very consequences happened even then when thou declinedst to listen to those counsels. Hear now, however, to my narration of the battle exactly as it has happened. At midday the battle became exceedingly awful and fraught with great carnage. Listen to me, O king, as I describe it. Then all the troops (of the Pandava army), excited with rage, rushed, at the command of Dharma's son, against Bhishma alone from desire of slaying him. Dhrishtadyumna and Sikhandin, and the mighty car-warrior Satyaki, accompanied, O king, by their forces, proceeded against Bhishma alone. And those mighty car-warriors, viz., Virata and Drupada, with all the Somakas, rushed in battle against Bhishma alone. And the Kaikeyas, and Dhrishtaketu, and Kuntibhoja, equipped in mail and supported by their forces, rushed, O king, against Bhishma alone. And Arjuna, and the sons of Draupadi, and Chekitana of great prowess, proceeded against all the kings under the command of Duryodhana. And the heroic Abhimanyu, and that mighty car-warrior, viz., the son of Hidimva, and Bhimasena excited with wrath, rushed against the (other) Kauravas. (Thus) the Pandavas, divided into three bodies began to slaughter the Kauravas. And similarly the Kauravas also, O king, began to slaughter their foes. That foremost of car-warriors, viz., Drona excited with wrath, rushed against the Somakas and the Srinjayas, desirous of sending them to the abode of Yama. Thereupon loud cries of woe arose among the brave Srinjayas while they were being slaughtered. O king, by Bharadwaja's son bow in hand. Large numbers of Kshatriyas, struck down by Drona, were seen to all convulsing like persons writhing in the agony of disease. All over the field were continuously heard moans and shrieks and groans resembling those of persons afflicted with hunger. And so the mighty Bhimasena, excited with wrath, and like unto a second Yama, caused a terrible carnage amongst the Kaurava troops. There in that dreadful battle, in consequence of the warriors slaying one another, a terrible river began to flow whose billowy current consisted of blood. And that battle, O king, between the

Kurus and the Pandavas, becoming fierce and awful, began to swell the population of Yama's kingdom. Then in that battle Bhima excited with wrath, fell with great impetuosity upon the elephant division (of the Kauravas) and began to send many to the regions of Death. Then, O Bharata, struck

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with Bhima's shafts, some of those beasts fell down, some were paralysed, some shrieked (in pain), and some ran away in all directions. Huge elephants, their trunks cut off and limbs mangled, screaming like cranes, began, O king, to fall down on the earth. Nakula and Sahadeva fell upon the (Kaurava) cavalry. Many steeds with garlands of gold on their heads and with their necks and breasts adorned with ornaments of gold, were seen to be slain in hundreds and thousands. The earth, O king, was strewn with fallen steeds. And some were deprived of their tongues; and some breathed hard; and some uttered low moans, and some were void of life. The earth looked beautiful, O chief of men, with those steeds of such diverse kinds. At the same time, O Bharata, she looked fiercely resplendent, O monarch, with a large number of kings slain by Arjuna in that battle. And strewn with broken cars and rent banners and brilliant umbrellas, with torn chamaras and fans, and mighty weapons broken into fragments, with garlands and necklaces of gold, with bracelets, with heads decked with ear-rings, with head-gears loosened (from off heads), with standards, with beautiful bottoms of cars, O king, and with traces and reins, the earth shone as brightly as she does in spring when strewn with flowers. And it was thus, O Bharata, that the Pandava host suffered destruction when Bhishma the son of Santanu, and Drona that foremost of car-warriors, and Aswatthaman, and Kripa, and Kritavarman, were inflamed with wrath. And similarly thy army also suffered the same kind of destruction when the other side, viz., the Pandava heroes were excited with rage."

SECTION 91

Sanjaya said, "During the progress, O king, of that fierce battle fraught with the slaughter of great heroes, Sakuni the glorious son of Suvala, rushed against the Pandavas. And so also, O monarch, Hridika's son of the Satwata race, that slayer of hostile heroes, rushed in that battle against the Pandava ranks. And smiling the while, (several warriors on thy side), with a large number of steeds consisting of the best of the Kamvoja breed as also of those born in the country of the Rivers, and of those belonging to Aratta and Mahi and Sindhu, and of those of Vanayu also that were white in hue, and lastly those of hilly countries, surrounded (the Pandava army). [Steeds that are described as Nadijas would literally mean "those born in rivers." The Punjab, or some other country watered by many rivers is meant.]

And so also with horses, exceedingly swift, fleet as the very winds, and belonging to the Tittri breed, (others encompassed that army). And with many horses, clad in mail and decked with gold, the foremost of their class and fleet as the winds the mighty son of Arjuna (viz., Iravat), that slayer of foes, approached the (Kaurava) force. This handsome and valiant son of Arjuna, named Iravat, was begotten upon the daughter of the king of the Nagas by the intelligent Partha. Her husband having been slain by Garuda, she became helpless, and of cheerless soul. Childless as she was, she was bestowed (upon Arjuna) by the high-souled Airavat. Partha accepted her for wife, coming to him as she did under the influence of desire. It was thus that that son of Arjuna was begotten upon the wife of another. [Literally, "in soil belonging to another." The original is parakshetre.] Abandoned by his wicked uncle from hatred of Partha, he grew up in the region of the Nagas, protected by his mother. And he was handsome and endued with great strength, possessed of diverse accomplishments, and of prowess incapable of being baffled. Hearing that Arjuna had gone to the region of Indra, he speedily went thither. And the mighty-armed Iravat, possessed of prowess incapable of being baffled, approaching his sire, saluted him duly, standing before him with joined hands. And he introduced himself to the high-souled Arjuna, saying, 'I am Iravat. blessed be thou, and I am thy son, O lord'. And he reminded Arjuna of all the circumstances connected with the latter's meeting with his mother. And thereupon the son of Pandu recollected all those circumstances exactly as they happened. Embracing his son then who resembled himself in accomplishments, Partha, in Indra's abode, was filled with joy. The mighty-armed Iravat then, O king, in the celestial regions was, O Bharata, joyfully commanded by Arjuna, with regard to his own business, (in these words), 'When the battle takes place, assistance should be rendered by thee'. Saying 'Yes', O lord, he went away. And now at the time of battle he presented himself. O king, accompanied with a large number of steeds of great fleetness and beautiful colour. And those steeds, decked with ornaments of gold, of various colours and exceeding fleetness, suddenly coursed over the field, O king, like swans on the bosom of the vast deep. And those steeds failing upon thine of exceeding swiftness, struck their chests and noses against those of thine. Afflicted by their own impetuous clash (against thine), they suddenly fell down, O king, on the earth. And in consequence of those steeds as also of thine occasioned by that clash, loud sounds were heard resembling what occurs at Garuda's swoop. And the rider of those steeds, O king, thus dashing against one another in that battle, began to slay one another fiercely. And during that general engagement which was fierce and terrible, the chargers of both sides (escaping from press of battle) ran wildly away over the field. Weakened by one another's shafts, brave warriors, with their horses killed under them, and themselves worn out with exertion, perished fast sabring one another. Then when those cavalry divisions were thinned and a remnant only survived, the Younger brothers of Suvala's son, Possessed of great wisdom, rode out, O Bharata (from the Kaurava array) to the van of battle, mounted On excellent charges that resembled the tempest itself in both fleetness and the violence of their dash and that were well-trained and neither old nor young. [Vayuvega-samsparsam, literally, "the contact (of whose dash or collision) resembles that of the wind in force." The meaning, therefore, is that those chargers dashed against hostile division with the fury of the tempest.] Those six brothers endued with great strength, viz., Gaya, Gavaksha, Vrishava, Charmavat, Arjava, and Suka dashed out of the mighty (Kaurava) array, supported by Sakuni and by their respective forces of great valour, themselves clad in mail, skilled in battle, fierce in mien, and possessed of exceeding might. Breaking through that invincible cavalry division (of the Pandavas), O thou of mighty arms, those Gandhara warriors who could with difficulty be vanquished, supported by a large force, desirous of heaven, longing for victory, and filled with delight, penetrated into it. Beholding them filled with joy, the valiant Iravat, addressing his own warriors decked with diverse ornaments and weapons, said unto them, 'Adopt such contrivances in consequence of which these Dhritarashtra warriors with their weapons and animals may all be destroyed.' Saying 'Yes', all those warriors of Iravat began to slay those mighty and invincible Dhartarashtra soldiers. Beholding that their own warriors were thus overthrown by Iravat's division, those sons of Suvala being unable to beat it coolly, all rushed at Iravat and surrounded him on all sides. And commanding (all their followers) to attack those of Iravat with lances, those heroes swept over the field, creating a great confusion. And Iravat, pierced with lances by those high-souled warriors, and bathed in blood that trickled down (his wounds), looked like an elephant pierced with the hook. Wounded deeply on the chest, back, and flanks, singly encountering the many, he did not yet, O king, swerve from his (natural) firmness. Indeed, Iravat, excited with rage, deprived all those adversaries of their senses, piercing them, in that battle, with sharp shafts. And that chastiser of foes, tearing those lances from off his body, struck with them the sons of Suvala in battle. Then unsheathing his polished sword and taking a shield, he rushed on foot, desirous of slaying Suvala's sons in that combat. The sons of Suvala, however, recovering their senses, once more rushed at Iravat, excited with wrath. Iravat, however, proud of his might, and displaying his lightness of hand, proceeded towards all of them, armed with his sword. Moving as he did with great activity, the sons of Suvala, although they moved about on their fleet steeds, could not find an opportunity for striking that hero (on foot). Beholding him then on foot, his foes surrounded him closely and wished to take him captive. Then that crusher of foes, seeing them contiguous to himself, struck off, with his sword, both their right and left arms, and mangled their other limbs. Then those arms of theirs adorned with gold, and their weapons, fell down on the earth, and they themselves, with limbs mangled, fell down on the field, deprived of life. Only Vrishava, O king, with many wounds on his person, escaped (with life) from that dreadful battle destructive of heroes. Beholding them lying on the field of battle, thy son Duryodhana, excited with wrath said unto that Rakshasa of terrible mien, viz., Rishyasringa's son (Alamvusha), that great bowman versed in illusion, that chastiser of foes, who bore feelings of animosity against Bhimasena in consequence of the slaughter of Vaka, these words: "Behold, O hero, how the mighty son of Phalguni, versed in illusion, hath done me a severe injury by destroying my forces. Thou also, O sire, art capable of going everywhere at will and accomplished in all weapons of illusion. Thou cherishest animosity also for Partha. Therefore, do thou slay this one in battle.' Saying 'Yes', that Rakshasa of terrible mien proceeded with a leonine roar to that spot where the mighty and youthful son of Arjuna was. And he was supported by the heroic warriors of his own division, accomplished in smiting, well-mounted, skilled in battle and fighting with bright lances. Accompanied by the remnant of that excellent cavalry division (of the Kauravas), he proceeded, desirous of slaying in battle the mighty Iravat. That slayer of foes, viz., the valiant Iravat, excited with rage, and advancing speedily from desire of slaying the Rakshasa, began to resist him. Beholding him advance, the mighty Rakshasa speedily set himself about for displaying his powers of illusion. The Rakshasa then created a number of illusive chargers which were riden by terrible Rakshasas armed with spears and axes. Those two thousand accomplished smiters advancing with rage, were however, soon sent to the regions of Yama, (falling in the encounter with Iravat's forces). And when the forces of both perished, both of them, invincible in battle, encountered each other like Vritra and Vasava. Beholding the Rakshasa, who was difficult of being vanquished in battle, advancing towards him, the mighty Iravat, excited with rage, began to check his onset. And when the Rakshasa approached him nearer, Iravat with his sword quickly cut off his bow, as also each of his shafts into five fragments. Seeing his bow cut off, the Rakshasa speedily rose up into the welkin, confounding with his illusion the enraged Iravat. Then Iravat also, difficult of approach, capable of assuming any form at will, and having a knowledge of what are the vital limbs of the body, rising up into the welkin, and confounding with his illusion the Rakshasa began to cut off the latter's limbs in that battle and thus were the limbs of the Rakshasa repeatedly cut into several pieces. Then the Rakshasa, however, O king, was re-born, assuming a youthful appearance. Illusion is natural with them, and their age and form are both dependent on their will. And the limbs of that Rakshasa, O king, cut into pieces, presented a beautiful sight. Iravat, excited with rage, repeatedly cut that mighty Rakshasa with his sharp axe. 'The brave Rakshasa, thus cut into pieces like a tree by the mighty Iravat, roared fiercely'. And those roars of his became deafening. Mangled with the axe, the Rakshasa began to pour forth blood in torrents. Then (Alamvusha), the mighty son of Rishyasringa, beholding his foe blazing forth with energy, became infuriate with rage and himself put forth his prowess in that combat. Assuming a prodigious and fierce form, he endeavoured to seize the heroic son of Arjuna, viz., the renowned Iravat. In the sight of all the combatants there present, beholding that illusion of the wicked Rakshasa in the van of battle, Iravat became inflamed with rage and adopted steps for himself having recourse to illusion. And when that hero, never retreating from battle, became inflamed with wrath, a Naga related to him by his mother's side, came to him. Surrounded on all sides, in that battle by Nagas, that Naga, O king, assumed a huge form mighty as Ananta himself. With diverse kinds of Nagas then he covered the Rakshasa. While being covered by those Nagas, that bull among Rakshasas reflected for a moment, and assuming the form of Garuda, he devoured those snakes. When that Naga of his mother's line was devoured through illusion, Iravat became confounded. And while in that state, the Rakshasa slew him with his sword, Alamvusha felled on the earth Iravat's head decked with ear-rings and graced with a diadem and looking beautiful like a lotus or the moon.

"When the heroic son of Arjuna was thus slain by the Rakshasa, the Dhartarashtra host with all the kings (in it) were freed from grief. In that great battle that was so fierce, awful was the carnage that occurred among both the divisions. Horses and elephants and foot-soldiers entangled with one another, were slain by tuskers. And many steeds and tuskers were slain by foot-soldiers. And in that general engagement bodies of foot-soldiers and cars, and large numbers of horses belonging both to thy army and theirs, were slain. O king, by car-warriors. Meanwhile, Arjuna, not knowing that the son of his loins had been slaughtered, slew in that battle many kings who had been protecting Bhishma. And the warriors, O king, of thy army and the Srinjayas, by thousands, poured out their lives as libations (on the fire of battle), striking one another. And many car-warriors, with dishevelled hair, and with swords and bows fallen from their grasp fought with their bare arms, encountering one another. The mighty Bhishma also, with shafts capable of penetrating into the very vitals, slew many mighty car-warriors and caused the Pandava army to tremble (the while). By him were slain many combatants in Yudhishthira's host, and many tuskers and cavalry-soldiers and car-warriors and steeds. Beholding, O Bharata, the prowess of Bhishma in that battle, it seemed to us that it was equal to that of Sakra himself. And the prowess of Bhimasena, as also that of Parshata, was hardly less, O Bharata, (than that of Bhishma). And so also the battle fought by that great bowman (viz., Satyaki) of Satwata's race, was equally fierce. Beholding, however, the prowess of Drona, the Pandavas were struck with fear. Indeed they thought, 'Alone, Drona can slay us with all our troops. What then should be said of him when he is surrounded by a large body of warriors who for their bravery are renowned over the world? Even this, O king, was what the Partha said, afflicted by Drona. During the progress of that fierce battle, O bull of Bharata's race, the brave combatants of neither army forgave their adversaries of the other. O sire, the mighty bowmen of both thy army and that of the Pandavas, inflamed with wrath, fought furiously with one another, as if they were possessed of by the Rakshasas and demons. Indeed, he did not see any one in the battle which was so destructive of lives and which was considered as a battle of the demons, to take of life."

SECTION 92

Dhritarashtra said, "Tell me, O Sanjaya, all that the mighty Partha did in battle when they heard that Iravat had been slain." Sanjaya said, "Beholding Iravat slain in battle, the Rakshasa Ghatotkacha, the son of Bhimasena, uttered loud shouts. And in consequence of the loudness of those roars, the earth having the ocean for her robes, along with her mountains and forests, began to tremble violently. And the welkin also and the quarters both cardinal and subsidiary, all trembled. And hearing those loud roars of his, O Bharata, the thighs and other limbs of the troops began to tremble, and sweat also appeared on their persons. And all thy combatants,

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O king, became cheerless of heart. And all over the field the warriors stood still, like an elephant afraid of the lion. And the Rakshasa, uttering those loud roars resembling the rattle of thunder, assuming a terrible form, and with a blazing spear upraised in hand, and surrounded by many bulls among Rakshasas of fierce forms armed with diverse weapons, advanced, excited with rage and resembling the Destroyer himself at the end of the Yuga. Beholding him advance in wrath and with a terrible countenance, and seeing also his own troops almost all running away from fear of that Rakshasa, king Duryodhana rushed against Ghatotkacha, taking up his bow with arrow fixed on the string, and repeatedly roaring like a lion. Behind him proceeded the ruler of the Vangas, with ten thousand elephants, huge as hills, and each with juice trickling down. Beholding thy son, O king, (thus) advancing surrounded by that elephant division, that ranger of the night (viz., Ghatotkacha) was highly inflamed with rage. Then commenced a battle with utmost vehemences that made the hair stand on end, between the formidable Rakshasa and the troops of Duryodhana. And beholding also that elephant division risen (on the horizon) like a cloud, the Rakshasas, inflamed with rage, rushed towards it, weapons in hand, and uttering diverse roars like clouds charged with lightning. With arrows and darts and swords and long shafts, as also with spears and mallets and battle-axes and short arrows, they began to smite down that elephant host. And they slew huge elephants with mountain-summits and large trees. While the Rakshasas slew those elephants, O king, we saw that some of them had their frontal globes smashed, some were bathed in blood, and some had their limbs broken or cut through. At last when that elephant host was broken and thinned, Duryodhana, O king, rushed upon the Rakshasas, under the influence of rage and becoming reckless of his very life. And that mighty warrior sped clouds of sharp shafts at the Rakshasas. And that great bowman slew many of their foremost warriors. Inflamed with rage, O chief of the Bharatas, that mighty car-warrior, viz., thy son Duryodhana, then slew with four shafts four of the principal Rakshasas, viz., Vegavat, Maharudra, Vidyujihva, and Pramathin. And once again, O chief of the Bharatas, that warrior of immeasurable soul, sped at the Rakshasa host showers of arrows that could with difficulty be resisted. Beholding that great feat of thy son, O sire, the mighty son of Bhimasena blazed up with wrath. Drawing his large bow effulgent as the lightning, he rushed impetuously at the wrathful Duryodhana. Beholding him (thus) rushing like Death himself commissioned by the Destroyer, thy son Duryodhana, O king, shook not at all. With eyes red in anger, and excited with rage, Ghatotkacha, then, addressing thy son, said, 'I shall today be freed from the debt I owe to my sires, as also to my mother, they that had so long been exiled by thy cruel self. The sons of Pandu, O king, were vanquished by thee in that match at dice. Drupada's daughter Krishna also, while ill and, therefore, clad in a single raiment, was brought into the assembly and great trouble was given by thee in diverse ways, O thou most wicked, unto her. While dwelling also in her sylvan retreat, thy well-wisher, that wicked wight, viz., the ruler of the Sindhus, persecuted her further, disregarding my sires. For these and other wrongs, O wretch of thy race, I shall today take vengeance if thou dost not quit the field.' Having said these words, Hidimva's son, drawing his gigantic bow, biting his (nether) lip with his teeth, and licking the corners of his mouth, covered Duryodhana with a profuse shower, like a mass of clouds covering the mountain-breast with torrents of rain in the rainy season."

SECTION 93

Sanjaya said,--"That arrowy shower, difficult of being borne by even the Danavas, king Duryodhana, however, (quietly) bore in that battle, like a gigantic elephant bearing a shower (from the blue). Then filled with anger and sighing like a snake, thy son, O bull of Bharata's race, was placed in a position of great danger. He then shot five and twenty sharp arrows of keen points. These, O king, fell with great force on that bull among Rakshasas, like angry snakes of virulent poison on the breast of Gandhamadana. Pierced with those shafts, blood trickled down the Rakshasa's body and he looked like an elephant with rent temples. Thereupon that cannibal set his heart upon the destruction of the (Kuru) king. And he took up a huge dart that was capable of piercing even a mountain. Blazing with light, effulgent as a large meteor, it flamed with radiance like the lightning itself. And the mighty-armed Ghatotkacha, desirous of slaying thy son, raised that dart. Beholding that dart upraised, the ruler of the Vangas mounting upon an elephant huge as a hill, drove towards the Rakshasa. On the field of battle, with the mighty elephant of great speed, Bhagadatta placed himself in the very front of Duryodhana's car. And with that elephant he completely shrouded the car of thy son. Beholding then the way (to Duryodhana's car) thus covered by the intelligent king of the Vangas, the eyes of Ghatotkacha, O king, became red in anger. And he ruled that huge dart, before upraised, at that elephant. Struck, O king, with that dart hurled from the arms of Ghatotkacha, that elephant, covered with blood and in great agony, fell down and died. The mighty king of the Vangas, however, quickly jumping down from that elephant, alighted on the ground. Duryodhana then beholding the prince of elephants slain, and seeing also his troops broken and giving way, was filled with anguish. From regard, however, for a Kshatriya's duty as also his own pride, the king, though defeated, stood firm like a hill. Filled with wrath and aiming a sharp arrow that resembled the Yuga fire in energy, he sped it at that fierce wanderer of the night. Beholding that arrow, blazing as Indra's bolt, thus coursing towards him, the high-souled Ghatotkacha baffled it by the celerity of his movements. With eyes red in wrath, he once more shouted fiercely, frightening all thy troops, like the clouds that appear at the end of the Yuga. Hearing those fierce roars of the terrible Rakshasa, Bhishma the son of Santanu, approaching the preceptor, said these words, 'These fierce roars that are heard, uttered by Rakshasas, without doubt indicate that Hidimva's son is battling with king Duryodhana. That Rakshasa is incapable of being vanquished in battle by any creature. Therefore, blessed be ye, go thither and protect the king. The blessed Duryodhana hath been attacked by the high-souled Rakshasa. Therefore, ye chastisers of foes, even this is our highest duty [i.e., the rescue of the king.].' Hearing those words of the grandsire, those mighty car-warriors without loss of time and with the utmost speed, proceeded to the spot when the king of the Kurus was. They met Duryodhana and Somadatta and Valhika and Jayadratha; and Kripa and Bhurisravas and Salya, and the two princes of Avanti along with Vrihadvala, and Aswatthaman and Vikarna, and Chitrasena and Vivinsati. And many thousands of other car-warriors, including all those that followed them, proceeded, desirous of rescuing thy son Duryodhana who had been hotly pressed. Beholding that invincible division protected by those mighty car-warriors, coming towards him with hostile intentions, that best of Rakshasas, viz., the mighty-armed Ghatotkacha, stood firm like the Mainaka mountain, with a huge bow in hand, and surrounded by his kinsmen armed with clubs and mallets and diverse other kinds of weapons. Then commenced a fierce battle, making the hair stand on end, between those Rakshasas on the one side and that foremost of Duryodhana's divisions on the other. And the loud noise of twanging bows in that battle was heard, O king, on all sides resembling the noise made by burning bamboos. And the din produced by the weapons falling upon the coats of mail of the combatants resembled, O king, the noise of splitting hills. And the lances, O monarch, hurled by heroic arms, while coursing through the welkin, looked like darting snakes. Then, excited with great wrath and drawing his gigantic bow, the mighty-armed prince of the Rakshasas, uttering a loud roar, cut off, with a crescent-shaped arrow, the preceptor's bow in a rage. And overthrowing, with another broad-headed arrow, the standard of Somadatta, he uttered a loud yell. And he pierced Valhika with three shafts in the centre of the chest. And he pierced Kripa with one arrow, and Chitrasena with three. And with another arrow, well-armed and well-sped from his bow drawn to its fullest stretch, he struck Vikarna at the shoulder-joint. Thereupon the latter, covered with gore, sat down on the terrace of his car. Then that Rakshasa of immeasurable soul, excited With rage, O bull of Bharata's race, sped at Bhurisravas five and ten shafts. These, penetrating through the latter's armour, entered the earth. He then struck the chariot of Vivingsati and Aswatthaman. These fell down on the front of their cars, relinquishing the reins of the steeds. With another crescent-shaped shaft he overthrew the standard of Jayadratha bearing the device of a boar and decked with gold. And with a second arrow he cut off the latter's bow. And with eyes red in wrath, he slew with four shafts the four steeds of the high-souled king of Avanti. And with another arrow, O king, well-tempered and sharp, and shot from his bow drawn to its fullest stretch, he pierced king Vrihadvala. Deeply pierced and exceedingly pained, the latter sat down on the terrace of his car. Filled with great wrath and seated on his car, the prince of the Rakshasas then shot many bright arrows of keen points that resembled snakes of virulent poison. These, O king, succeeded in piercing Salya accomplished in battle."

SECTION 94

Sanjaya said, "Having in that battle made all those warriors (of thy army) turn their faces from the field, the Rakshasa then, O chief of the Bharatas, rushed at Duryodhana, desirous of slaying him. Beholding him rushing with great impetuosity towards the king, many warriors of thy army, incapable of defeat in battle, rushed towards him (in return) from desire of slaying him. Those mighty car-warriors, drawing their bows that measured full six cubits long, and uttering loud roars like a herd of lions, all rushed together against that single warrior. And surrounding him on all sides, they covered him with their arrowy showers like the clouds covering the mountain-breast with torrents of rain in autumn. Deeply pierced with those arrows and much pained, he resembled then an elephant pierced with the hook. Quickly then he soared up into the firmament like Garuda. And (while there) he uttered many loud roars like the autumnal clouds, making the welkin and all the points of the compass, cardinal and subsidiary, resounded with those fierce cries. Hearing those roars of the Rakshasa, O chief of the Bharatas, king Yudhishthira then, addressing Bhima, said unto that chastiser of foes these words, 'The noise that we hear uttered by the fiercely-roaring Rakshasa, without doubt, indicates that he is battling with the mighty car-warriors of the Dhartarashtra army. I see also that the burden has proved heavier than what that bull among Rakshasas is able to bear. The grandsire, too, excited with rage, is ready to slaughter the Panchalas. For protecting them Phalguni is battling with the foe. O thou of mighty arms hearing now of these two tasks, both of which demand prompt attention, go and give succour to Hidimva's son who is placed in a position of very great danger.' Listening to these words of his brother, Vrikodara, with great speed, proceeded, frightening all the kings with his leonine roars, with great impetuosity, O king, like the ocean itself during the period of the new full moon. Him followed Satyadhriti and Sauchiti difficult of being vanquished in battle, and Srenimat, and Vasudana and the powerful son of the ruler of Kasi, and many car-warriors headed by Abhimanyu, as also those mighty car-warriors, viz., the sons of Draupadi, and the valiant Kshatradeva, and Kshatradharman, and Nila, the ruler of the low countries, at the head of his own forces. And these surrounded the son of Hidimva with a large division of cars (for aiding him). And they advanced to the rescue of Ghatotkacha, that prince of the Rakshasas, with the six thousand elephants, always infuriate and accomplished in smiting. And with their loud leonine roars, and the clatter of their car-wheels, and with the tread of their horse's hoofs, they made the very earth to tremble. Hearing the din of those advancing warriors the faces of thy troops who were filled with anxiety in consequence of their fear of Bhimasena became pale. Leaving Ghatotkacha then they all fled away. Then commenced in that part of the field a dreadful battle between those high-souled warriors and thine, both of whom were unretreating. Mighty car-warriors, hurling diverse kinds of the weapons, chased and smote one another. That fierce battle striking terror into the hearts of the timid, was such that the different classes of combatants became entangled with one another. Horses engaged with elephants and foot-soldiers with car-warriors. And challenging one another, O king, they engaged in the fight. And in consequence of that clash of cars, steeds, elephants, and foot-soldiers, a thick dust appeared, raised by the car-wheels and the tread (of those combatants and animals). And that dust, thick and of the colour of reddish smoke, shrouded the field of battle. And the combatants were unable to distinguish their own from the foe. Sire recognised not the son, and son recognised not the sire, in that dreadful engagement which made the hair stand on end and in which no consideration was shown (by any one for any body). And the noise made by the hissing weapons and the shouting combatants resembled, O chief of Bharata's race, that made by departed spirits (in the infernal regions). And there flowed a river whose current consisted of the blood of elephants and steeds and men. And the hair (of the combatants) formed its weeds and moss. And in that battle heads falling from the trunks of men made a loud noise like that of a falling shower of stones. And the earth was strewn with the headless trunks of human beings, with mangled bodies of elephants and with the hacked limbs of steeds. And mighty car-warriors chased one another for smiting one another down, and hurled diverse kinds of weapons. Steeds, urged by their riders and falling upon steeds, dashed against one another and fell down deprived of life. And men, with eyes red in wrath, rushing against men and striking one another with their chests, smote one another down. And elephants, urged by their guides against hostile elephants, slew their compeers in that battle, with the points of their tusks. Covered with blood in consequence of their wounds and decked with standards (on their backs), elephants were entangled with elephants and looked like masses of clouds charged with lightning. And some amongst them mounted (by others) with the points of their tusks, and some with their frontal globes split with lances, ran hither and thither with loud shrieks like masses of roaring clouds. And some amongst them with their trunks lopped off [Literally, 'divided in twin'.], and others with mangled limbs, dropped down in that dreadful battle like mountains shorn of their wings. [Mountains, in Hindu mythology, had wings, till they were shorn of these by Indra with his thunder. Only Mainaka, the son of Himavat, saved himself by a timely flight. To this day he conceals himself within the ocean.] Other huge elephants, copiously shedding blood from their flanks, ripped open by compeers, looked like mountains with (liquified) red chalk running down their sides (after a shower). Others, slain with shafts or pierced with lances and deprived of their riders, looked like mountains deprived of their crests. Some amongst them, possessed by wrath and blinded (with fury) in consequence of the juice (trickling down their temples and cheeks). and no longer restrained with the hook, crushed cars and steeds and foot-soldiers in that battle by hundreds. And so steeds, attacked by horsemen with bearded darts and lances, rushed against their assailants, as if agitating the points of the compass. Car-

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warriors of noble parentage and prepared to lay down their lives, encountering car-warriors, fought fearlessly, relying upon their utmost might. The combatants, O king, seeking glory or heaven, struck one another in that awful press, as if in a marriage by self-choice. During however, that dreadful battle making the hair stand on end, the Dhartarashtra troops generally were made to run their backs on the field."

SECTION 95

Sanjaya said, "Beholding his own troops slain, king Duryodhana then excited with wrath, rushed towards Bhimasena, that chastiser of foes. Taking up a large bow whose effulgence resembled that of Indra's bolt, he covered the son of Pandu with a thick shower of arrows. And filled with rage, and aiming a sharp crescent-shaped shaft winged with feathers, he cut off Bhimasena's bow. And that mighty car-warrior, noticing an opportunity, quickly aimed at his adversary a whetted shaft capable of riving the very hills. With that (shaft), that mighty-armed (warrior) struck Bhimasena in the chest. Deeply pierced with that arrow, and exceedingly pained, and licking the corners of his mouth, Bhimasena of great energy caught hold of his flag-staff decked with gold. Beholding Bhimasena in that cheerless state, Ghatotkacha blazed up with wrath like an all-consuming conflagration. Then many mighty car-warriors of the Pandava army, headed by Abhimanyu and with wrath generated (in their bosoms), rushed at the king shouting loudly. Beholding them (thus) advancing (to the fight) filled with wrath and in great fury, Bharadwaja's son addressing the mighty car-warriors (of thy side), said these words,--'Go quickly, blessed be ye, and protect the king. Sinking in an ocean of distress, he is placed in a situation of great danger. These mighty car-warriors of the Pandava army, these great bowmen, placing Bhimasena at their head, are rushing towards Duryodhana, shooting and hurling diverse kinds of weapons, resolved upon winning success, uttering terrible shouts, and frightening the kings (on your side)'. Hearing these words of the preceptor, many warriors of thy side headed by Somadatta rushed upon the Pandava ranks. Kripa and Bhurisravas and Salya, and Drona's son and Vivingsati, and Chitrasena and Vikarna, and the ruler of the Sindhus, and Vrihadvala, and those two mighty bowmen, viz., the two princes of Avanti, surrounded the Kuru king. Advancing only twenty steps, the Pandavas and the Dhartarashtras began to strike, desirous of slaughtering each other. The mighty-armed son of Bharadwaja also, having said those words (unto the Dhartarashtra warriors), stretched his own large bow and pierced Bhima with six and twenty arrows. And once again that mighty car-warrior speedily covered Bhimasena with a shower of arrows like a mass of clouds dropping torrents of rain on the mountain-breasts in the rainy season. That mighty bowman Bhimasena, however, of great strength, speedily pierced him in return with ten shafts on the left side. Deeply pierced with those arrows and exceedingly pained, O Bharata, the preceptor, enfeebled as he is with age, suddenly sat down on the terrace of his car, deprived of consciousness. Beholding him thus pained, king Duryodhana himself, and Aswatthaman also, excited with wrath, both rushed towards Bhimasena. Beholding those two warriors advance, each like Yama as he shows himself at the end of the Yuga, the mighty-armed Bhimasena, quickly taking up a mace, and jumping down from his car without loss of time, stood immovable like a hill, with that heavy mace resembling the very club of Yama, upraised in battle. Beholding him with mace (thus) upraised and looking (on that account) like the crested Kailasa, both the Kuru king and Drona's son rushed towards him. Then the mighty Bhimasena himself rushed impetuously at those two foremost of men thus rushing together towards him with great speed. Beholding him thus rushing in fury and with terrible expression of face, many mighty car-warriors of the Kaurava army speedily proceeded towards him. Those car-warriors headed by Bharadwaja's son, impelled by the desire of slaughtering Bhimasena, hurled at his breast diverse kinds of weapons, and thus all of them together afflicted Bhima from all sides. Beholding that mighty car-warrior thus afflicted and placed in a situation of great peril, many mighty car-warriors of the Pandava army, headed by Abhimanyu, and prepared to lay down dear life itself, rushed to the spot, desirous of rescuing him. The heroic ruler of the low country, the dear friend of Bhima, viz., Nila, looking like a mass of blue clouds, rushed at Drona's son, filled with wrath. A great bowman, Nila always desired an encounter with Drona's son. Drawing his large bow, he pierced the son of Drona with many winged arrows, like Sakra in days of old, O king, piercing the invincible Danava Viprachitti, that terror of the celestials, who, moved by anger frightened the three worlds by his energy. Pierced after the same way by Nila with his well-shot arrows winged with feathers, Drona's son, covered with blood and exceedingly pained, was filled with wrath. Drawing then his large bow, of twang loud as the roar of Indra's thunder, that foremost of intelligent persons set his heart upon the destruction of Nila. Aiming then a few bright shafts of broad heads and sharpened by the hands of their forger, he slew the four steeds of his adversary and overthrew also his standard. And with the seventh shaft he pierced Nila himself in the chest. Deeply pierced and exceedingly pained, he sat down on the terrace of his car. Beholding king Nila, who looked like a mass of blue clouds, in a swoon, Ghatotkacha, filled with wrath and surrounded by his kinsmen, rushed impetuously towards Drona's son, that ornament of battle. Similarly many other Rakshasas, incapable of being easily defeated in battle, rushed at Aswatthaman. Beholding then that Rakshasa of terrible mien coming towards him, the valiant son of Bharadwaja impetuously rushed towards him. Filled with wrath he slew many Rakshasas of formidable visage, that is, those wrathful ones amongst them who were in Ghatotkacha's van. Beholding them repulsed from the encounter by means of the shafts shot from the bow of Drona's son, Bhimasena's son Ghatotkacha of gigantic size was filled with rage. He then exhibited a fierce and awful illusion. Therewith that prince of the Rakshasas, endued with extraordinary powers of illusion, confounded the son of Drona in that battle. Then all thy troops, in consequence of that illusion, turned their backs upon the field. They beheld one another cut down and lying prostrate on the surface of the earth, writhing convulsively, perfectly helpless, and bathed in blood. Drona and Duryodhana and Salya and Aswatthaman, and other great bowmen that were regarded as foremost among the Kauravas, also seemed to fly away. All the car-warriors seemed to be crushed, and all the kings seemed to be slain. And horses and horse-riders seemed to be cut down in thousands. Beholding all this, thy troops fled away towards their tents. And although, O king, both myself and Devavrata cried out at the top of our voices, saying, 'Fight, do not fly away, all this is Rakshasa illusion in battle, applied by Ghatotkacha.' Yet they stopped not, their senses having been confounded. Although both of us said so, still struck with panic, they gave no credit to our words. Beholding them fly away the Pandavas regarded the victory to be theirs. With Ghatotkacha (among them) they uttered many leonine shouts. And all around they filled the air with their shouts mingled with the blare of their conches and the beat of their drums. It was thus that thy whole army, routed by the wicked Ghatotkacha, towards the hour of sunset, fled away in all directions.'"

SECTION 96

Sanjaya said, "After that great battle, king Duryodhana, approaching Ganga's son and saluting him with humility, began to narrate to him all that had happened about the victory won by Ghatotkacha and his own defeat. That invincible warrior, O king, sighing repeatedly, said these words unto Bhishma, the grandsire of the Kurus, 'O lord, relying upon thee, as Vasudeva hath been (relied upon) by the foe, a fierce war hath been commenced by me with the Pandavas. These eleven Akshauhinis of celebrated troops that I have, are, with myself, obedient to thy command, O chastiser of foes. O tiger among the Bharatas, though thus situated, yet have I been defeated into battle by the Pandava warriors headed by Bhimasena relying upon Ghatotkacha. It is this that consumeth my limbs like fire consuming dry tree. O blessed one, O chastiser of foes, I therefore, desire, through thy grace, O grandsire, to slay Ghatotkacha myself, that worst of Rakshasas, relying upon thy invincible self. It behoveth thee to see that wish of mine may be fulfilled.' Hearing these words of the king, that foremost one among the Bharatas, viz., Bhishma, the son of Santanu, said these words unto Duryodhana, 'Listen, O king, to these words of mine that I say unto thee, O thou of Kuru's race, about the way in which thou, O chastiser of foes, shouldst always behave. One's own self, under all circumstances, should be protected in battle, O repressor of foes. Thou shouldst always, O sinless one, battle with king Yudhishthira--the Just, or with Arjuna, or with the twins, or with Bhimasena. Keeping the duty of a king before himself, a king striketh a king. Myself, and Drona, and Kripa, and Drona's son, and Kritavarman of the Satwata race, and Salya, and Somadatta's son, and that mighty car-warrior Vikarna, and thy heroic brothers headed by Dussasana, will all, for thy sake, battle against that mighty Rakshasas. Or if thy grief on account of that fierce prince of the Rakshasas be too great, let this one proceed in battle against that wicked warrior, that is to say, king Bhagadatta who is equal unto Purandara himself in fight'. Having said this much unto the king, the grandsire skilled in speech then addressed Bhagadatta in the presence of the (Kuru) king, saying, 'Proceed quickly, O great monarch, against that invincible warrior, viz., the son of Hidimva. Resist in battle, with care, and in view of all the bowmen, that Rakshasa of cruel deeds, like Indra in days of old resisting Taraka. Thy weapons are celestial. Thy prowess also is great, O chastiser of foes. In days of old many have been the encounters that thou hadst with Asura, O tiger among kings, thou art that Rakshasa's match in great battle. Strongly supported by thy own troops, slay, O king, that bull among Rakshasas'. Hearing these words of Bhishma the generalissimo (of the Kaurava army), Bhagadatta specially set out with a leonine roar facing the ranks of the foe. Beholding him advance towards them like a mass of roaring clouds, many mighty car-warriors of the Pandava army proceeded against him, inflamed with wrath. They were Bhimasena, and Abhimanyu and the Rakshasa Ghatotkacha; and the sons of Draupadi, and Satyadhriti, and Kshatradeva, O sire, and the rulers of the Chedis, and Vasudana, and the king of the Dasarnas. Bhagadatta then, on his elephant named Supratika, rushed against them. Then commenced a fierce and awful battle between the Pandavas and Bhagadatta, that increased the population of Yama's kingdom. Shafts of terrible energy and great impetuosity, shot by car-warriors, fell, O king, on elephants and cars. Huge elephants with rent temples and trained (to the fight) by their guides, approaching fell upon one another fearlessly. Blind (with fury) in consequence of the temporal juice trickling down their bodies, and excited with rage, attacking one another with their tusks resembling stout bludgeons, they pierced one another with the points of those weapons. Graced with excellent tails, and ridden by warriors armed with lances, steeds, urged by those riders fell fearlessly and with great impetuosity upon one another. And foot-soldiers, attacked by bodies of foot-soldiers with darts and lances, fell down on the earth by hundreds and thousands. And car-warriors upon their cars, slaughtering heroic adversaries in that battle by means of barbed arrows and muskets* and shafts, uttered leonine shouts. [* The word I render "muskets" is nalika sometime ago the Bharata (a Bengali periodical of Calcutta edited by Babu Dwijendra Nath Tagore) in a paper on Hindu weapons of warfare from certain quotations from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, argued that the nalika must have been some kind of musket vomiting bullets of iron in consequence of some kind of explosive force. The Rishis discouraged use of nalika, declaring them to be barbarous and fit only for kings that would come in the Kali age.] And during the progress of the battle making the hair stand on end, that great bowman, viz., Bhagadatta, rushed towards Bhimasena, on his elephant of rent temples and with juice trickling down in seven currents and resembling (on that account) a mountain with (as many) rillets flowing down its breast after a shower. And he came, O sinless one, scattering thousands of arrows from the head of Supratika (whereon he stood) like the illustrious Purandara himself on his Airavata. King Bhagadatta afflicted Bhimasena with that arrowy shower like the clouds afflicting the mountain breast with torrents of rain on the expiry of summer. That mighty bowman Bhimasena, however, excited with rage, slew by his arrowy showers the combatants numbering more than a hundred, that protected the flanks and rear of Bhagadatta. [Padarakshan lit., those that protected the feet (for any warrior of note). These always stood at the flanks and rear of the warrior they protected. In the case of car-warriors' these were called chakra-rakshas (protectors of the wheels). So we have Parshni-rakshas and Prishata-rakshas', etc.] Beholding them slain, the valiant Bhagadatta, filled with rage, urged his prince of elephants towards Bhimasena's car. That elephant, thus urged by him, rushed impetuously like an arrow propelled from the bowstring towards Bhimasena, that chastiser of foes. Beholding that elephant advancing, the mighty car-warriors of the Pandava army, placing Bhimasena at their head, themselves rushed towards it. Those warriors were the (five) Kekaya princes, and Abhimanyu, and the (five) sons of Draupadi and the heroic ruler of the Dasarnas, and Kshatradeva also, O sire, and the ruler of the Chedis, and Chitraketu. And all these mighty warriors came, inflamed with anger, and exhibiting their excellent celestial weapons. And they all surrounded in anger that single elephant (on which their adversary rode). Pierced with many shafts, that huge elephant, covered with gore flowing from his wounds, looked resplendent like a prince of mountain variegated with (liquified) red chalk (after a shower). The ruler of the Dasarnas then, on an elephant that resembled a mountain, rushed towards Bhagadatta's elephant. That prince of elephants, however, viz., Supratika, bore (the rush of) that advancing compeer like the continent bearing (the rush of) the surging sea. Beholding that elephant of the high souled king of the Dasarnas thus resisted, even the Pandava troops, applauding, cried out 'Excellent, excellent!' Then that best of kings, viz., the ruler of the Pragjyotishas, excited with rage, sped four and ten lances at that elephant. These, speedily penetrating through the excellent armour, decked with gold, that covered the animal's body, entered into it, like snakes entering anthills. Deeply pierced and exceedingly pained, that elephant, O chief of the Bharatas, its fury quelled, speedily turned back with great force. And it fled away with great swiftness, uttering frightful shrieks, and crushing the Pandava ranks like the tempest crushing trees with its violence. After that elephant was (thus) vanquished, the mighty car-warriors of the Pandava army, uttering loud leonine shouts, approached for battle. Placing Bhima at their head, they rushed at Bhagadatta scattering diverse kinds of arrows and diverse kinds of weapons. Hearing the fierce shouts, O king, of those advancing warriors swelling with rage and vengeance, that great bowman Bhagadatta, filled with rage and perfectly fearless, urged his own elephant. That prince of elephants then, thus urged with the hook and the toe, soon assumed the form of the (all-destructive) Samvarta fire

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(that appears at the end of the Yuga). Crushing crowds of cars and (hostile) compeers and steeds with riders, in that battle, it began, O king, to turn hither and thither. Filled with rage it also crushed foot-soldiers by hundreds and thousands. Attacked and agitated by that elephant, that large force of the Pandavas shrank in dimensions, O king, like a piece of leather exposed to the heat of fire. Beholding, then the Pandava array broken by the intelligent Bhagadatta, Ghatotkacha, of fierce mien, O king, with blazing face and eyes red as fire, filled with rage, rushed towards him. Assuming a terrible form and burning with wrath, he took up a bright dart capable of riving the very hills. Endued with great strength, he forcibly hurled that dart that emitted blazing flames from every part desirous of slaying that elephant. Beholding it coursing towards him with great impetuosity, the ruler of the Pragjyotishas sped at it a beautiful but fierce and sharp arrow with a crescent head. Possessed of great energy he cut off that dart with that arrow of his. Thereupon that dart, decked with gold, thus divided in twain, dropped down on the ground, like the bolt of heaven, hurled by Indra, flashing through the welkin. Beholding that dart (of his adversary), O king, divided in twain and fallen on the ground, Bhagadatta took up a large javelin furnished with a golden staff and resembling a flame of fire in effulgence, and hurled it at the Rakshasa, saying, 'Wait, Wait'. Seeing it coursing towards him like the bolt of heaven through the welkin, the Rakshasa jumped up and speedily seizing it uttered a loud shout. And quickly placing it against his knee, O Bharata, he broke it in the very sight of all the kings. All this seemed exceedingly wonderful. Beholding that feat achieved by the mighty Rakshasa, the celestials in the firmament, with the Gandharvas and the Munis, were filled with wonder. And the Pandava warriors also, headed by Bhimasena, filled the earth with cries of 'Excellent, Excellent'. Hearing, however, those loud shouts of the rejoicing Pandavas, that great bowman, viz., the valiant Bhagadatta, could not bear it (coolly). Drawing his large bow whose effulgence resembled that of Indra's bolt, he roared with great energy at the mighty car-warriors of the Pandava army, shooting at the same time many bright arrows of great sharpness and possessed of the effulgence of fire. And he pierced Bhima with one arrow, and the Rakshasa with nine. And he pierced Abhimanyu with three, and the Kekaya brothers with five. And with another straight arrow shot from his bow drawn to its fullest stretch, he pierced, in that battle, the right arm of Kshatradeva. Thereupon the latter's bow with arrow fixed on the bowstring dropped down from his hand. And he struck the five sons of Draupadi with five arrows. And from wrath, he slew the steeds of Bhimasena. And with three shafts winged with feathers, he cut down Bhimasena's standard bearing the device of a lion. And with three other shafts he pierced Bhima's charioteer. Deeply pierced by Bhagadatta in that battle, and exceedingly pained, Visoka thereupon, O chief of the Bharatas, sat down on the terrace of the car. Then, O king, that foremost of car-warriors, viz., Bhima, thus deprived of his car, quickly jumped down from his large vehicle taking up his mace. Beholding him with mace upraised and looking like a crested hill, all thy troops, O Bharata, became filled with great fear. Just at this time that son of Pandu who had Krishna for his charioteer, O king, slaughtering the foe on all sides as he came, appeared at that spot where those tigers among men, those mighty car-warriors, viz., Bhimasena and Ghatotkacha, sire and son, were engaged with the ruler of the Pragjyotishas. Beholding his brothers, those mighty car-warriors, engaged in battle, that son of Pandu quickly commenced to fight, profusely scattering his shafts, O chief of the Bharatas. Then that mighty car-warrior, viz., king Duryodhana, speedily urged on a division of his troops abounding with cars and elephants. Towards that mighty division of the Kauravas thus advancing with impetuosity, Arjuna of white steeds rushed with great impetuosity. Bhagadatta also, upon that elephant of his, O Bharata, crushing the Pandava ranks, rushed towards Yudhishthira. Then commenced a fierce battle between Bhagadatta, O sire, and the Panchalas, the Srinjayas, and the Kekayas, with upraised weapons. Then Bhimasena, in that battle told both Kesava and Arjuna in detail about the slaughter of Iravat as it had occurred."

SECTION 97

Sanjaya said, "Hearing that his son Iravat had been slain, Dhananjaya was filled with great grief and sighed like a snake. And addressing Vasava in the midst of battle, he said these words, 'Without doubt, the high-souled Vidura of great wisdom had before seen (with his mind's eye) this awful destruction of the Kurus and the Pandavas. It was for this that he forbade king Dhritarashtra. In this battle, O slayer of Madhu, many other heroes have been slain by the Kaurava and many amongst the Kauravas have similarly been slain by ourselves. O best of men, for the sake of wealth vile acts are being done. Fie upon that wealth for the sake of which such slaughter of kinsmen is being perpetrated. For him that hath no wealth, even death would be better than the acquisition of wealth by the slaughter of kinsmen. What, O Krishna, shall we gain by slaying our assembled kinsmen? Alas, for Duryodhana's, fault, and also of Sakuni the son of Suvala, as also through the evil counsels of Karna, the Kshatriya race is being exterminated, O slayer of Madhu, I now understand, O mighty-armed one, that the king acted wisely by begging of Suyodhana only half the kingdom, or, instead, only five villages. Alas, even that was not granted by that wicked-souled wight. Beholding so many brave Kshatriyas lying (dead) on the field of battle, I censure myself, (saying) fie upon the profession of a Kshatriya. The Kshatriyas will regard me powerless in battle. For this alone, I am battling. Else, O slayer of Madhu, this battle with kinsmen is distasteful to me. Urge the steeds on with speed towards the Dhartarashtra army, I will, with my two arms, reach the other shore of this ocean of battle that is so difficult to cross. There is no time, O Madhava, to lose in action'. Thus addressed by Partha, Kesava, that slayer of hostile heroes, urged those steeds of white hue endued with the speed of the wind. Then, O Bharata, loud was the noise that was heard among thy troops, resembling that of the ocean itself at full tide when agitated by the tempest. In the afternoon, O king, the battle that ensued between Bhishma and the Pandavas was marked by noise that resembled the roar of the clouds. Then, O king, thy sons, surrounding Drona like the Vasus surrounding Vasava, rushed in the battle against Bhimasena. Then Santanu's son, Bhishma, and that foremost of car-warriors, viz., Kripa, and Bhagadatta, and Susarman, all went towards Dhananjaya. And Hridika's son (Kritavarman) and Valhika rushed towards Satyaki. And king Amvashta placed himself before Abhimanyu. And other great car-warriors, O king, encountered other great car-warriors. Then commenced a fierce battle that was terrible to behold. Bhimasena then, I O king, beholding thy sons, blazed up with wrath in that battle, like fire with (a libation of) clarified butter. Thy sons, however, O monarch, covered that son of Kunti with their arrows like the clouds drenching the mountain-breast in the season of rains. While being (thus) covered in diverse ways by thy sons, O king, that hero, possessed of the activity of the tiger, licked the corners of his mouth. Then, O Bharata, Bhima felled Vyudoroska with a sharp horse-shoe-headed arrow. Thereupon that son of thine was deprived of life. With another broad-headed arrow, well-tempered and sharp, he then felled Kundalin like a lion overthrowing a smaller animal. Then, O sire, getting thy (other) sons (within reach of his arrows), he took up a number of shafts, sharp and well-tempered, and with careful aim speedily shot these at them. Those shafts, sped by that strong bowman, viz., Bhimasena, felled thy sons, those mighty car-warriors, from their vehicles. (These sons of thine that were thus slain were) Anadhriti, and Kundabhedin, and Virata, and Dirghalochana, and Dirghavahu, and Suvahu, and Kanykadhyaja. While falling down (from their cars), O bull of Bharata's race, those heroes looked resplendent like falling mango trees variegated with blossoms in the spring. Then thy other sons, O monarch, fled away, regarding the mighty Bhimasena as Death himself. Then like the clouds pouring torrents of rain on the mountain breast, Drona in that battle covered with arrows from every side that hero who was thus consuming thy sons. The prowess that we then beheld of Kunti's son was exceedingly wonderful, for though held in check by Drona, he still slew thy sons. Indeed, as a bull beareth a shower of rain falling from above. Bhima cheerfully bore that shower of arrows shot by Drona. Wonderful, O monarch, was the feat that Vrikodara achieved there, for he slew thy sons in that battle and resisted Drona the while. Indeed, the elder brother of Arjuna sported amongst those heroic sons o thine, like a mighty tiger, O king, among a herd of deer. As a wolf, staying in the midst of a herd of deer, would chase and frighten those animals, so did Vrikodara, in that battle chase and frighten thy sons.

"Meanwhile, Ganga's son, and Bhagadatta, and that mighty car-warrior, viz., Gautama, began to resist Arjuna, that impetuous son of Pandu. That Atiratha, baffling with his weapons the weapons of those adversaries of his in that battle, despatched many prominent heroes of thy army to the abode of Death. Abhimanyu also, with his shafts, deprived that renowned and foremost of car-warriors, viz., king Amvashta, of his car. Deprived of his car and about to be slain by the celebrated son of Subhadra, that king quickly jumped down from his car in shame, and hurled his sword in that battle at the high-souled Abhimanyu. Then, that mighty monarch got up on the car of Hridika's son, conversant with all movements in battle, Subhadra's son, that slayer of hostile heroes, beholding that sword coursing towards him, baffled it by the celerity of his movements. Seeing that sword thus baffled in that battle by Subhadra's son, loud cries of 'well done' 'well done' were, O king, heard among the troops. Other warriors headed by Dhrishtadyumna battled with thy troops, while thy troops, also, all battled with those of the Pandavas. Then, O Bharata, fierce was the engagement that took place between thine and theirs, that combatants smiting one another with great force and achieving the most difficult feats. Brave combatants, O sire, seizing one another by the hair, fought using their nails and teeth, and fists and knees, and palms and swords, and their well-proportioned arms. And seizing one another's laches, they despatched one another to the abode of Yama. Sire slew son, and son slew sire. Indeed, the combatants fought with one another, using every limb of theirs. Beautiful bows with golden staves, O Bharata, loosened from the grasp of slain warriors, and costly ornaments, and sharp shafts furnished with wings of pure gold or silver and washed with oil, looked resplendent (as they lay scattered on the field), the latter resembling, in particular, snakes that had cast off their slough. And swords furnished with ivory handles decked with gold, and the shield also of bowmen, variegated with gold, lay on the field, loosened from their grasp. Bearded darts and axes and swords and javelins, all decked with gold, beautiful coats of mail, and heavy and short bludgeons, and spiked clubs, and battle-axes, and short arrows, O sire, and elephants' housings of diverse shapes, and yak tails, and fans, lay scattered on the field. And mighty car-warriors lay on the field with diverse kinds of weapons in their hands or beside them, and looking alive, though the breath of life had gone. 1 And men lay on the field with limbs shattered with maces and heads smashed with clubs, or crushed by elephants, steeds, and cars. And the earth, strewn in many places with the bodies of slain steeds, men, and elephants, looked beautiful, O king, as if strewn with hills. And the field of battle lay covered with fallen darts and swords and arrows and lances and scimitars and axes and bearded darts and iron crows and battle-axes, and spiked clubs and short arrows and Sataghnis [Literally, hundred-slayers; supposed to be a kind of rockets.] and bodies mangled with weapons. And, O slayer of foes, covered with blood, warriors lay prostrate on the field, some deprived of life and therefore, in the silence of death, and others uttering low moans. And the earth, strewn with those bodies, presented a variegated sight. And strewn with the arms of strong warriors smeared with sandal paste and decked with leathern fences and bracelets, with tapering thighs resembling the trunks of elephants, and with fallen heads, graced with gems attached to turbans and with earrings of large-eyed combatants, O Bharata, the earth assumed a beautiful sight. And the field of battle, overspread with blood, dyed coats of mail and golden ornaments of many kinds, looked exceedingly beautiful as if with (scattered) fires of mild flames. And with ornaments of diverse kinds fallen off from their places, with bows lying about, with arrows of golden wings scattered around, with many broken cars adorned with rows of bells, with many slain steeds scattered about covered with blood and with their tongues protruding, with bottoms of cars, standards, quivers, and banners, with gigantic conches, belonging to great heroes, of milky whiteness lying about, and with trunkless elephants lying prostrate, the earth looked beautiful like a damsel adorned with diverse kinds of ornaments. And there, with other elephants pierced with lances and in great agony, and frequently uttering low moans with their trunks, the field of battle looked beautiful as if with moving hills. With blankets of diverse hue, and housings of elephants, with beautiful hooks falling about having handles decked with stones of lapis lazuli, with bells lying about that had adorned gigantic elephants, with clean and variegated cloths as also skins of the Ranku deer, with beautiful neck-chains of elephants, with gold-decked girths, with broken engines of diverse kinds, with bearded darts decked with gold, with embroidered housings of steeds, embrowned with dust, with the lopped off arms of cavalry soldiers, decked with bracelets and lying about, with polished and sharp lances and bright swords, with variegated head-gears fallen off (from heads) and scattered about, with beautiful crescent-shaped arrows decked with gold, with housings of steeds, with skins of the Ranku deer, torn and crushed, with beautiful and costly gems that decked the head-gears of kings, with their umbrellas lying about and yak tails and fans, with faces, bright as the lotus or the moon, of heroic warriors, decked with beautiful ear-rings and graced with well-cut beards, lying about and radiant with other ornaments of gold, the earth looked like the firmament besmangled with planets and stars. Thus, O Bharata, the two armies, viz., thine and theirs, encountering each other in battle, crushed each other. And after the combatants had been fatigued, routed, and crushed, O Bharata, dark night set in and the battle could no longer be seen. Thereupon both the Kurus and the Pandavas withdrew their armies, when that awful night of pitchy darkness came. And having withdrawn their troops, both the Kurus and the Pandavas took rest for the night, retiring to their respective tents.

SECTION 98

Sanjaya said, "Then king Duryodhana, and Sakuni the son of Suvala, and thy son Dussasana, and the invincible Suta's son (Karna) meeting together, consulted in the following way. How could the sons of Pandu, with their followers, be vanquished in battle? Even this was the subject of their consultation. Then king Duryodhana, addressing the Suta's son and the mighty Sakuni, said unto all those counsellors of his, 'Drona, Bhishma, and Kripa, and Salya and Somadatta's son do not resist the Parthas. I do not know what the cause is of such conduct (of theirs). Unslain by any of these, the Pandavas are destroying my forces. Therefore, O Karna, I am becoming weaker in strength and my weapons also are being

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exhausted'. I am deceived by the heroic Pandavas--they that are incapable of being vanquished by the very gods. Doubt filleth my mind as to how, indeed, I shall succeed is smiting them in battle.' Unto the king who said so, O great monarch, the Suta's son answered, 'Do not grieve, O chief of the Bharata. Even I will do what is agreeable to thee. Let Santanu's son Bhishma soon withdraw from the great battle. After Ganga's son will have withdrawn from the fight and laid aside his weapons, I will slay the Partha along with all the Somakas, in the very sight of Bhishma. I pledge my truth, O king. Indeed, Bhishma every day showeth mercy towards the Pandavas. He is, besides incapable of vanquishing those mighty car-warriors. Bhishma is proud of showing his prowess in battle. He is again, very fond of fight. Why, O sire, will he, therefore, vanquish the assembled Pandavas (for then the battle will be over)? Therefore, repairing without delay to the tent of Bhishma, solicit that old and reverend signior to lay aside his weapons. After he will have laid aside his weapons, O Bharata, think the Pandavas as already slain, with all their friends and kinsmen, O king, by myself alone.' Thus addressed by Karna, thy son Duryodhana then said unto his brother Dussasana these words, 'See, O Dussasana, that without delay that all who walk in my train be dressed.' Having said these words, O monarch, the king addressed Karna, saying, 'Having caused Bhishma, that foremost of men, to consent to this, I will, without delay, come to thee, O chastiser of foes. After Bhishma will have retired from the fight, thou wilt smite (the foe) in battle'. Then thy son, O monarch, set out without delay, accompanied by his brothers like He of a hundred sacrifices (accompanied) by the gods. Then his brother Dussasana caused that tiger among king, endued, besides, with the prowess of a tiger, to mount on his horse. Graced with bracelets, with diadem on head, and adorned with other ornaments on his arms. O king, thy son shone brightly as he proceeded along the streets. Smeared with fragrant sandal-paste of the hue of the Bhandi flower and bright as burnished gold, and clad in clean vestments, and proceeding with the sportive gait of the lion, Duryodhana looked beautiful like the Sun of brilliant radiance in the firmament. And as that tiger among men proceeded towards the tent of Bhishma, many mighty bowmen, celebrated over the world, followed him behind. And his brothers also walked in his train, like the celestials walking behind Vasava. And others, foremost of men, mounted upon steeds, and others again on elephants, O Bharata, and others on cars, surrounded him on all sides. And many amongst those that wished him well, taking up arms for the protection on his royal self, appeared there in large bodies, like the celestials surrounding Sakra in heaven. The mighty chief of the Kurus, adored by all the Kauravas, thus proceeded, O king, towards the quarters of the renowned son of Ganga. Ever followed and surrounded, by his uterine brothers, he proceeded, often raising his right arm, massive and resembling the trunk of an elephant and capable of resisting all foes. And with that arm of his, he accepted the regards that were paid to him from all sides by by-standers who stood raising towards him their joined hands. And he heard, as he journeyed, the sweet voices of the natives of diverse realms. Of great fame, he was eulogised by bards and eulogists. And in return that great king paid his regards unto them all. And many high-souled persons stood around him with lighted lamps of gold fed with fragrant oil. And surrounded with golden lamps, the king looked radiant like the Moon attended by the blazing planets around him. And (attendants) with head-gears decked with gold, having canes and Jhariharas in hand, softly caused the crowd all around to make way. The king then, having reached the excellent quarters of Bhishma, alighted from his horse. And arrived at Bhishma's presence, that ruler of men saluted Bhishma and then sat himself down on an excellent seat that was made of gold, beautiful throughout and overlaid with a rich coverlet. With hands joined, eyes bathed in tears, and voice chocked in grief, he then addressed Bhishma, saying, 'Taking thy protection, this battle, O slayer of foes, we ventured to vanquish the very gods and the Asuras with Indra at their head. What shall I say, therefore, of the sons of Pandu, heroic though they be, with their kinsmen and friends? Therefore, O son of Ganga, it behoveth thee, O lord, to show me mercy. Slay the brave sons of Pandu like Mahendra slaying the Danavas.--I will slay, O king, all the Somakas and the Panchalas and the Karushas along with the Kekayas, O Bharata-these were thy words to me. Let these words become true. Slay the assembled Parthas, and those mighty bowmen, viz., the Somakas. Make thy words true, O Bharata. If from kindness (for the Pandavas), O king, or from thy hatred of my unfortunate self, thou sparest the Pandavas, then permit Karna, that ornament of battle, to fight. He will vanquish in battle the Parthas with all their friends and kinsmen. The king, thy son Duryodhana having said this, shut his lips without saying anything more to Bhishma of terrible prowess."

SECTION 99

Sanjaya said, "The high-souled Bhishma, deeply pierced with wordy daggers by thy son, became filled with great grief. But he said not a single disagreeable word in reply. Indeed, mangled by those wordy daggers and filled with grief and rage, he sighed like a snake and reflected (in silence) for a long while. Raising his eyes then, and as if consuming, from wrath, the world with the celestials, the Asuras, and the Gandharvas, that foremost of persons conversant with the world, then addressed thy son and said unto him these tranquil words, 'Why, O Duryodhana, dost thou pierce me thus with thy wordy daggers? I always endeavour to the utmost of my might to achieve, and do achieve, what is for thy good. Indeed, from desire of doing what is agreeable to thee, I am prepared to cast away my life in battle. The Pandavas are really invincible. When the brave son of Pandu gratified Agni in the forest of Khandava, having vanquished Sakra himself in battle, even that is a sufficient indication. 1 When, O mighty-armed one, the same son of Pandu rescued thee while thou wert being led away a captive by the Gandharvas, even that is a sufficient indication. On that occasion, O lord, thy brave uterine brothers had all fled, as also Radha's son of the Suta caste. That (rescue, therefore, by Arjuna) is a sufficient indication. In Virata's city, alone he fell upon all of us united together. That is a sufficient indication. Vanquishing in battle both Drona and myself excited with rage, he took away our robes. That is a sufficient indication. On that occasion, of old, of the seizure of kine, he vanquished that mighty bowman the son of Drona, and Saradwat also. That is a sufficient indication. Having vanquished Karna also who is very boastful of his manliness, he gave the latter's robes unto Uttara. That is a sufficient indication. The son of Pritha defeated in battle the Nivatakavachas who were incapable of defeat by Vasava himself. That is a sufficient indication. Who, indeed, is capable of vanquishing in battle the son of Pandu by force, him, viz., that hath for his protector the Protector of the Universe armed with conch, discus, and mace? Vasudeva is possessed of infinite power, and is the Destroyer of the Universe. He is the highest Lord of all, the God of gods, the Supreme Soul and eternal. He hath been variously described, O king, by Narada and other great Rishis. In consequence of thy folly, however, O Suyodhana, thou knowest not what should be said and what should not. The man on the point of death beholdeth all trees to be made of gold. So thou also, O son of Gandhari, seest everything inverted. Having provoked fierce hostilities with the Pandavas and the Srinjayas, fight now (thyself) with them in battle. Let us see thee act like a man. As regards myself, I will, O tiger among men, slay all the Somakas and the Panchalas assembled together, avoiding Sikhandin alone. Slain by them in battle, I will go to Yama's abode, or slaying them in battle, I will give thee joy. Sikhandin was born in Drupada's palace as female at first. She became a male in consequence of the grant of a boon. After all, however, she is Sikhandini. Him I will not slay even if I have to lose my life, O Bharata. She is the same Sikhandini that the Creator had first made her. Pass the night in happy sleep, O son of Gandhari. Tomorrow I will fight a fierce battle about which men will speak as long as the world lasts.' Thus addressed by him, thy son, O monarch, came away. And saluting his signior with a bow of the head, he came back to his own tent. Coming back, the king dismissed his attendants. And soon then that destroyer of foes entered his abode. And having entered (his tent) the monarch passed the night (in. sleep). And when the night dawned, rising up, the king, ordered all the royal warriors, saying, Draw up the forces. Today Bhishma, excited with wrath, will slay all the Somakas.'

Hearing those copious lamentations of Duryodhana in the night, Bhishma regarded them, O king, as commands to himself. Filled with great grief and deprecating the status of servitude, Santanu's son reflected for a long time, thinking of an encounter with Arjuna in battle. Understanding from signs that Ganga's son had been thinking of that, Duryodhana, O king, commanding Dussasana, saying, 'O Dussasana, let cars be quickly appointed for protecting Bhishma. Let all the two and twenty divisions (of our army) be urged on. That hath now come about which we had been thinking for a series of years, viz., the slaughter of the Pandavas with all their troops and the acquisition (by ourselves) of the kingdom. In this matter, I think, the protection of Bhishma is our foremost duty. Protected by us, he will protect us and slay the Parthas in battle. Of cleansed soul, he said unto me,--I will not slay Sikhandini. He was a female before, O king, and, therefore, should be avoided by me in battle. The world knoweth, O thou of mighty arms, that from desire of doing good to my father, I formerly gave up a swelling kingdom. I will not, therefore, slay in battle, O foremost of men, any female or anybody that was a female before. This that I tell thee is true. This Sikhandin, O king, was first born a female. Thou hast heard that story. She was born as Sikhandini after the manner I told thee before the battle began. Taking her birth as a daughter she hath become a man. Indeed, she will fight with me, but I will never shoot my arrows at her. As regards all other Kshatriyas desirous of victory to the Pandavas, O sire, whom I may get within my reach on the field of battle, I will slay them.--These were the words that Ganga's son acquainted with the scriptures, that chief of Bharata's race, said unto me. Therefore, with my whole soul I think that protecting the son of Ganga is our foremost duty. The very wolf may slay the lion left unprotected in the great forest. Let not Ganga's son be slain by Sikhandin like the lion slain by the wolf. Let our maternal uncle Sakuni, and Salya, and Kripa, and Drona, and Vivingsati, carefully protect the son of Ganga. If he is protected, (our) victory is certain.'

"Hearing these words of Duryodhana, all surrounded Ganga's son with a large division of cars. And thy sons also, taking up their position around Bhishma, proceeded to battle. And they all went, shaking the earth and the welkin, and causing fear in the hearts of the Pandavas. The mighty car-warriors (of the Kaurava army), supported by those cars and elephants, and clad in mail, stood in battle, surrounding Bhishma. And all of them took up their positions for protecting that mighty car-warrior like the celestials in the battle between themselves and the Asuras for protecting the wielder of the thunder-bolt. Then king Duryodhana once more addressing his brother, said, 'Yudhamanyu protects the left wheel of Arjuna's car, and Uttamaujas his right wheel. And (thus protected) Arjuna protects Sikhandin. O Dussasana, adopt such steps that, protected by Partha, Sikhandin may not be able to slay Bhishma left unprotected by us.' Hearing these words of his brother, thy son Dussasana, accompanied by the troops, advanced for battle, placing Bhishma in the van. Beholding Bhishma (thus surrounded by a large number of cars), Arjuna, that foremost of car-warriors, addressed Dhrishtadyumna and said, 'O prince, place that tiger among men, Sikhandin, today in front of Bhishma, I myself will be his protector, O prince of Panchala."

SECTION 100

Sanjaya said, "Then Bhishma, the son of Santanu, went out with the troops. And he disposed his own troops in mighty array called Sarvatobhadra. Kripa, and Kritavarman, and that mighty car-warrior Saivya, and Sakuni, and the ruler of the Sindhus, and Sudakshina the ruler of the Kamvojas, these all, together with Bhishma and thy sons, O Bharata, took up their stations in the van of the whole army and in the very front of the (Kaurava) array. Drona and Bhurisravas and Salya and Bhagadatta, O sire, clad in mail, took up their position in the right wing of that array. And Aswatthaman, and Somadatta, and those great car-warriors, viz., the two princes of Avanti, accompanied by a large force, protected the left wing. Duryodhana, O monarch, surrounded on all sides by the Trigartas, took up, for encountering the Pandavas, a position in the midst of that array. That foremost of car-warriors, viz., Alamvusha, and that mighty car-warrior, viz., Srutayush, clad in mail, took up their position in the rear of that array, and therefore, of the whole army. Having, O Bharata, on that occasion formed their array thus, thy warriors, clad in mail, looked like scorching fires.

"Then king Yudhishthira, and that son of Pandu, viz., Bhimasena, and the twin sons of Madri, viz., Nakula and Sahadeva, clad in mail, took up their position in the van of that array and therefore, at the very head of all their troops. And Dhrishtadyumna, and Virata, and that mighty car-warrior, viz., Satyaki,--these destroyers of hostile ranks,--stood, supported by a large force. And Sikhandin, and Vijaya (Arjuna), and the Rakshasa Ghatotkacha, and Chekitana of mighty arms, and the valiant Kuntibhoja, stood for battle, surrounded by a large force. And that great bowman Abhimanyu, and the mighty Drupada, and the (five) Kaikeya brothers, stood for battle, clad in mail. Having formed their mighty and invincible array thus, the Pandavas, endued with great courage in battle, stood for the fight, clad in mail.

"Then the kings of thy array, O monarch, exerting themselves at their best, accompanied by their forces, and placing Bhishma at their van, rushed against the Parthas in battle. Similarly the Pandavas also, O king, headed by Bhimasena, and desirous of victory in battle proceeded, for battling with Bhishma. With leonine roars and confused cries, blowing their conches Krakachas, and cow-horns, beating their drums and cymbals and Pandavas in thousands. And uttering terrible shouts, the Pandavas advanced to battle. With the din of our drums and cymbals and conches and smaller drums, with loud leonine roars, and other kinds of shouts, ourselves also, replying to the cries of the foe, rushed against him with great impetuosity, inflamed with rage. Those sounds mingling with one another, produced a tremendous uproar. The warriors then, of the two armies, rushing at one another, began to strike. And in consequence of the din produced by that encounter, the earth seemed to tremble. And birds, uttering fierce cries, hovered in the air. The Sun, radiant as he was when he had risen, became dimmed. And fierce winds blew, indicating great terrors. Frightful jackals wandered, yelling terribly, O king, and foreboding an awful carnage at hand. The quarters seemed, O king, to be ablaze, and showers of dust fell from the blue. And a shower fell there, of pieces of bones mixed with blood. And tears fell from the eyes of the animals which were all weeping. And filled with anxiety, O king, these began to urinate and eject the contents of their stomachs. And the loud shouts of battle, O bull of Bharata's race, were rendered inaudible by the louder cries of Rakshasas and cannibals. And jackals and

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vultures and crows and dogs, uttering diverse kinds of cries, began, O sire, to fall and swoop down on the field. And blazing meteors, striking against the Sun's disc, fell with great celerity on the earth, foreboding great terrors. Then those two vast hosts belonging to the Pandavas and the Dhartarashtras, in course of that awful encounter, shook in consequence of that tremendous uproar of conches and drums like forests shaken by the tempest. And the noise made by the two armies, both of which abounded with kings, elephants, and steeds, and which encountered each other in an evil hour, resembled the noise made by oceans tossed by the tempest."

SECTION 101

Sanjaya said, "Then the noble Abhimanyu of great energy, borne by his steeds of a tawny hue, rushed at the mighty host of Duryodhana, scattering his arrowy showers like the clouds pouring torrents of rain. O son of Kuru's race, thy warriors, in that battle, were unable to resist that slayer of foes, viz., Subhadra's son, who, excited with wrath and possessed of wealth of arms, was then immersed in that inexhaustible ocean of (Kaurava) forces. Death-dealing shafts, O king, shot by him in that battle, despatched many heroic Kshatriyas to the regions of the king of the departed spirits. Indeed, excited with wrath Subhadra's son in that battle shot fierce and blazing arrows in profusion that resembled snakes of virulent poison or rods of death himself. And Phalguni's son speedily split into fragments car-warriors with their cars, steeds with their riders, and elephant-warriors along with the huge animals they rode. And the rulers of the earth, filled with joy, applauded those mighty feats in battle and praised him also that achieved them. And the son of Subhadra, O Bharata, tossed those divisions (of the Kaurava army) like the tempest tossing a heap of cotton on all sides in the welkin. Routed by him, O Bharata, the troops failed to find a protector, like elephants sunk in a slough. Then, O best of men, having routed all troops, Abhimanyu stood, O king, like a blazing fire without a curl of smoke. Indeed, O king, thy warriors were incapable of bearing that slayer of foes, like insects impelled by fate unable to bear a blazing fire. That mighty car-warrior and great bowman, having struck all the foes of the Pandavas, looked at that moment like Vasava himself armed with the thunder. And his bow, the back of whose staff was decked with gold, as it moved on every side, seemed, O king, like the lightning's flash as it spotted amid the clouds. And well-tempered and sharp shafts came from his bow-string in that battle like flights of bees, O king, from blossoming trees in the forest. And as the high-souled son of Subhadra careered on the field on his car whose limbs were decked with gold, people were incapable of finding an opportunity (for striking him). Confounding Kripa and Drona and mighty son of Drona, as also the ruler of the Sindhus, the great bowman moved on the field of battle with great activity and skill. As he consumed thy troops, O Bharata, I beheld his bow incessantly drawn to a circle and resembling on that account the circular halo of light that is sometimes seen around the Sun. Brave Kshatriyas, beholding him endued with such activity and scorching the foe thus, thought, in consequence of those feats, that the world contained two Phalgunis. Indeed, O king, the vast host of the Bharatas, afflicted by him, reeled hither and thither like a woman drunk with wine. Routing that large army and causing many mighty car-warriors to tremble, he gladdened his friends (like Vasava gladdening the celestials) after vanquishing Maya. And while being routed by him in that battle, thy troops uttered loud exclamations of woe that resembled the roar of the clouds. Hearing that awful wail thy troops, O Bharata, that resembled the roar of the very sea at full tide when agitated by the winds, Duryodhana then, O king, addressed the son of Rishyasringa and said, 'This Abhimanyu singly, O thou of mighty arms, like a second Phalguni, routeth from rage (my) army like Vritra routing the celestial host. I do not see any other efficacious medicine for him in battle than thyself, O best of Rakshasas, that art well-skilled in every science. Therefore, go speedily and slay the heroic son of Subhadra in battle. As regards ourselves, headed by Bhishma and Drona, we will slay Partha himself.' Thus addressed, the mighty and valiant Rakshasa speedily went to battle at the command of thy son, uttering loud roars like the clouds themselves in the season of rains. And in consequence of that loud noise, O king, the vast host of the Pandavas trembled throughout like the ocean when agitated by the wind. And many combatants, O king, terrified by those roars, giving up dear life, fell prostrate on the earth. Filled with joy and taking up his bow with arrow fixed on the string, and apparently dancing on the terrace of his car, that Rakshasa proceeded against Abhimanyu himself. Then the angry Rakshasa, having in that battle got Arjuna's son within reach, began to rout his ranks,--even those that stood not far from him. Indeed, the Rakshasa rushed in battle against that mighty Pandava host which he began to slaughter, like Vala rushing against the celestial host. Attacked in battle by that Rakshasa of terrible mien, the slaughter was very great, O sire, that took place amongst those troops. Exhibiting his prowess, the Rakshasa began to rout that vast force of the Pandavas, with thousands of arrows. Thus slaughtered by that Rakshasa of terrible visage, the Pandava army fled away from excess of fear. Grinding that army like an elephant grinding lotus-stalks, the mighty Rakshasa then rushed in battle against the sons of Draupadi. Then those great bowmen, accomplished in fighting, viz., the sons of Draupadi, rushed towards the Rakshasa in battle like five planets rushing against the Sun. That best of Rakshasa then was afflicted by those brothers endued with great energy, like the Moon afflicted by the five planets of the awful occasion of the dissolution of the world. Then the mighty Prativindhya quickly pierced the Rakshasa with whetted shafts, sharp as battle-axes and furnished with points capable of penetrating every armour. Thereupon that foremost of Rakshasas, with his armour pierced through, looked like a mass of clouds penetrated by the rays of the Sun. Pierced with these shafts furnished with golden wings, Rishyasringa's son, O king, looked resplendent like a mountain with blazing crests. Then those five brothers in that great battle, pierced that foremost of Rakshasas with many whetted shafts of golden wings. Pierced with those terrible shafts resembling angry snakes, Alamvusha, O king, became inflamed with rage like the king of the serpents himself. Deeply pierced, O king, within only a few moments, O sire, by those great car-warriors, the Rakshasa, much afflicted, remained senseless for a long while. Regaining his consciousness then, and swelling through rage to twice his dimensions, he cut off their arrows and standards and bows. And as if smiling the while he struck each of them with five arrows. Then that mighty Rakshasa and great car-warrior, Alamvusha, excited with wrath, and as if dancing on the terrace of his car, quickly slew the steeds, and then the charioteers, of those five illustrious adversaries of his. And burning with rage he once more pierced them with sharp arrows of diverse shades by hundreds and thousands. Then that wanderer of the night, viz., the Rakshasa Alamvusha, having deprived those great bowmen of their cars, rushed impetuously at them, wishing to despatch them to Yama's abode. Beholding them (thus) afflicted in battle by that wicked-souled Rakshasa, the son of Arjuna rushed at him. Then the battle that took place between him and the cannibal resembled that between Vritra and Vasava. And the mighty car-warriors of thy army, as also of the Pandavas, all became spectators of that engagement. Encountering each other in fierce battle, blazing with wrath, endued with great might, and with eyes red in rage, each beheld the other in that battle to resemble the Yuga fire. And that engagement between them became fierce and awful like that between Sakra and Samvara in days of old in the battle between the gods and Asuras*." [* Asuras are a class of beings in Indian religions, probably best interpreted as "titan, "demigod", or "antigod."]

SECTION 102

Dhritarashtra said, "How, O Sanjaya, did Alamvusha resist in combat the heroic son of Arjuna smiting many of our mighty car-warriors in battle? And how also did that slayer of hostile heroes, viz., the son of Subhadra, fight with Rishyasringa's son? Tell me all this in detail, exactly as it happened in that fight. What also did Bhima, that foremost of car-warriors, and the Rakshasa Ghatotkacha, and Nakula, and Sahadeva and the mighty car-warrior Satyaki, and Dhananjaya, do with my troops in battle? Tell me all this truly, O Sanjaya, for thou art skilled (in narration)."

Sanjaya said, "I will presently describe to thee, O sire, the awful battle that took place between that foremost of the Rakshasas and the son of Subhadra. I will also describe to thee the prowess that Arjuna put forth in battle, and Bhimasena the son of Pandu and Nakula, and Sahadeva, as also the warriors of thy army headed by Bhishma and Drona, all of whom fearlessly achieved wonderful feats of diverse kinds, Alamvusha, uttering loud shouts and repeatedly roaring at Abhimanyu, rushed impetuously against that mighty car-warrior in battle, saying, 'Wait, Wait'--Abhimanyu also, repeatedly roaring like a lion, rushed with at great force at that mighty bowman, viz., the son of Rishyasringa, who was an implacable foe of the former's sire. Soon then those two foremost of car-warriors, man and Rakshasa, on their cars, encountered each other, like a god and Danava. That best of Rakshasa were endued with powers of illusion, while Phalguni's son was acquainted with celestial weapons. Then Abhimanyu, O king, pierced Rishyasringa's son in that battle with three sharp shafts and once more with five. Alamvusha, also, excited with wrath, speedily pierced Abhimanyu in the chest with nine shafts like a guide piercing an elephant with hooks. Then, O Bharata, that wanderer of the night, endued with great activity, afflicted Arjuna's son in that combat with a thousand arrows. Then Abhimanyu excited with rage, pierced that prince of the Rakshasas in his wide chest with nine straight shafts of great sharpness. Piercing through his body these penetrated into his very vitals. And that best of Rakshasas, his limbs mangled by them, looked beautiful like a mountain overgrown with flowering Kinsukas. Bearing those shafts of golden wings on his body, that mighty prince of Rakshasas looked radiant like a mountain on fire. Then the vindictive son of Rishyasringa, inflamed with wrath, covered Abhimanyu, who was equal unto Mahendra himself, with clouds of winged arrows. Those sharp shafts resembling the rods of Yama himself, shot by him, pierced Abhimanyu through and entered the earth. And similarly the gold-decked arrows shot by Arjuna's son, piercing Alamvusha through, entered the earth. The son of Subhadra then, in that battle, with his straight shafts, obliged the Rakshasa to turn his back upon the field, like Sakra repulsing Maya in days of old. That scorcher of foes, the Rakshasa, then, thus repulsed and struck repeatedly by his adversary, exhibited his great powers of illusion by causing a thick darkness to set in. Then all the combatants there, O king, were covered by that darkness. Neither could Abhimanyu be seen, nor could friends be distinguished from foes in that battle. Abhimanyu, however, beholding that thick and awful gloom, invoked into existence. O son of Kuru's race, the blazing solar weapon. Thereupon, O king, the universe once more became visible. And thus he neutralised the illusion of that wicked Rakshasa. Then that prince of men, excited with wrath and endued with great energy, covered that foremost of Rakshasa in that battle with many straight shafts. Diverse other kinds of illusion were conjured up there by that Rakshasa. Conversant with all weapons, the son of Phalguni however, neutralised them all. The Rakshasa then, his illusions all destroyed, and himself struck with shafts, abandoned his car even there, and fled away in great fear. After that Rakshasa addicted to unfair fight had been thus vanquished, the son of Arjuna began to grind thy troops in battle, like a juice-blind prince of wild elephants agitating a lake overgrown with lotus. Then Bhishma the son of Santanu, beholding his troops routed, covered Subhadra's son with a thick shower of arrows. Then many mighty car-warriors of the Dhartarashtra army, standing in a ring round that single hero, began to strike him forcibly with their shafts. That hero then, who resembled his sire in prowess and who was equal to Vasudeva in valour and might,--that foremost of all wielders of weapons,--achieved diverse feats in that battle that were worthy of both his sire and maternal uncle. Then the heroic Dhananjaya, excited with wrath and desirous of rescuing his son, arrived at the spot where the latter was slaughtering thy troops as he came along. And similarly, O king, thy sire Devavrata in that battle approached Partha like Rahu approaching the sun. [In Hindu mythology, solar eclipses are caused by Rahu's attempts at swallowing the Sun.] Then thy sons, O monarch, supported by cars, elephants, and steeds, surrounded Bhishma in that battle and protected him from every side. And so also the Pandavas, O king, clad in mail and surrounding Dhananjaya, engaged in fierce battle, O bull of Bharata's race. Then Saradwat's son (Kripa), O king, pierced Arjuna who was staying in front of Bhishma, with five and twenty shafts. Thereupon, like a tiger attacking an elephant, Satyaki, approaching Kripa, pierced him with many whetted shafts from desire of doing what was agreeable to the Pandavas. Gautama in return, excited with wrath, quickly pierced him of Madhu's race in the chest with nine arrows winged with the feathers of the Kanka bird. Sini's grandson also, excited with wrath, and forcibly drawing his bow, quickly sped at him an arrow capable of taking his life. The fiery son of Drona, however, excited with wrath, cut in twain that arrow as it coursed impetuously towards Kripa, resembling Indra's bolt in effulgence. Thereupon that foremost of car-warriors, viz., Sini's grandson, abandoning Gautama, rushed in battle towards Drona's son like Rahu in the firmament against the Moon. Drona's son, however, O Bharata, cut Satyaki's bow in twain. After his bow had thus been cut off, the former began to strike the latter with his shafts. Satyaki then, taking up another bow capable of bearing a great strain and slaughtering the foe, struck Drona's son, O king, in the chest and arms with six shafts. Pierced therewith and feeling great pain, for a moment he was deprived of his senses, and he sat down on the terrace of his car, catching hold of his flag-staff. Regaining his consciousness then, the valiant son of Drona, excited with rage afflicted him of Vrishni's race in that battle, with one long shaft. That shaft, piercing Sini's grandson through, entered the earth like a vigorous young snake entering its hole in the season of spring. And with another broad-headed arrow, Drona's son in that battle cut off the excellent standard of Satyaki. And having achieved this feat he uttered a leonine roar. And once more, O Bharata, he covered his adversary with a shower of fierce shafts like the clouds, O king covering the Sun after summer is past, Satyaki also, O monarch, baffling that arrowy shower, soon covered the son of Drona with diverse showers of arrows That slayer of hostile heroes, viz., the grandson of Sini, freed from that arrowy shower like the Sun from the clouds, began to scorch the son of Drona (with his energy). Swelling with rage the mighty Satyaki once more covered his foe with a thousand arrows and uttered a loud shout. Beholding his son then thus afflicted like the Moon by Rahu, the valiant son of Bharadwaja rushed towards the grandson of Sini. Desirous, O king, of rescuing, his son who was afflicted by the Vrishni hero, Drona, in that great battle, pierced the latter with a shaft of exceeding sharpness. Satyaki then, abandoning the mighty car-warrior Aswatthaman, pierced Drona himself in that battle with twenty arrows of exceeding sharpness. Soon after, that

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scorcher of foes and mighty car-warrior, viz., Kunti's son of immeasurable soul, excited with wrath, rushed in that battle against Drona. Then Drona and Partha encountered each other in fierce combat like the planets Budha and Sukra, O king, in the firmament. [Budha is Mercury, and Sukra is Venus.]

SECTION 103

Dhritarashtra said, "How did those bulls among men, viz., that great bowman Drona, and Dhananjaya the son of Pandu, encounter each other in battle? The son of Pandu is ever dear to the wise son of Bharadwaja. The preceptor also is ever dear to Pritha's son, O Sanjaya. Both of those car-warriors delight in battle, and both of them are fierce like lions. How therefore, did Bharadwaja's son and Dhananjaya, both fighting with care encounter each other in battle?"

Sanjaya said, "In battle Drona never recognises Partha as dear to himself. Partha also, keeping a Kshatriya's duty in view, recognises not in battle his preceptor. Kshatriyas, O king, never avoid one another in battle. Without showing any regard for one another, they fight with sires and brothers. In that battle, O Bharata, Partha pierced Drona with three shafts. Drona, however, regarded not those shafts shot in battle from Partha's bow. Indeed, Partha once more covered the preceptor in the fight with a shower of arrows. Thereupon the latter blazed up with wrath like a conflagration in a deep forest. Then, O king, Drona soon covered Arjuna in that combat with many straight shafts, O Bharata. Then king Duryodhana, O monarch, despatched Susarman for taking up the wing of Drona. Then the ruler of the Trigartas, excited with rage and forcibly drawing his bow, covered Partha, O king, with a profusion of arrows furnished with iron heads. Shot by those two warriors, O king, the shafts looked beautiful in the welkin like cranes in the autumnal sky. Those shafts, O lord, reaching the son of Kunti, entered his body like birds disappearing within a tree bending with a load of tasteful fruits. Arjuna then, that foremost of car-warriors, uttering a loud roar in that battle pierced the ruler of the Trigartas and his son with his shafts. Pierced by Partha like Death himself at the end of the Yuga, they were unwilling to avoid Partha, resolved as they were on laying down their lives. And they shot showers on the car of Arjuna. Arjuna, however, received those arrowy showers with showers of his own, like a mountain, O monarch, receiving a downpour from the clouds. And the lightness of hand that we then beheld of Vibhatsu was exceedingly wonderful. For alone he baffled that unbearable shower of arrows shot by many warriors like the wind alone scattering myriads of clouds rushing upon clouds. And at that feat of Partha, the gods and the Danavas (assembled there for witnessing the fight) were highly gratified. Then, O Bharata, engaged with the Trigartas in that battle, Partha shot, O king, the Vayavya weapon against their division. Then arose a wind that agitated the welkin, felled many trees, and smote down the (hostile) troops. Then Drona, beholding the fierce Vayavya weapon, himself shot an awful weapon called the Saila. And when that weapon, O ruler of men, was shot by Drona in that battle, the wind abated and the ten quarters became calm. The heroic son of Pandu, however, made the car-warriors of the Trigarta division destitute of prowess and hope, and caused them to turn their backs on the field. Then Duryodhana and that foremost of car-warriors, viz., Kripa, and Aswatthaman, and Salya, and Sudakshina, the ruler of the Kamvojas, and Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti, and Valhika supported by the Valhikas, with a large number of cars surrounded Partha on all sides. And similarly Bhagadatta also, and the mighty Srutayush, surrounded Bhima on all sides with an elephant division. And Bhurisravas, and Sala, and Suvala's son, O monarch, began to check the twin sons of Madri with showers of bright and sharp arrows. Bhishma, however, in that battle, supported by the sons of Dhritarashtra with their troops, approaching Yudhishthira, surrounded him on all sides. Beholding that elephant division coming towards him, Pirtha's son Vrikodara, possessed of great courage, began to lick the corners of his mouth like a lion in the forest. Then Bhima, that foremost of car-warriors, taking up his mace in that great battle, quickly jumped down from his car and struck terror into the hearts of thy warriors. Beholding him mace in hand, those elephant-warriors in that battle carefully surrounded Bhimasena on all sides. Stationed in the midst of those elephants, the son of Pandu looked resplendent like the Sun in the midst of a mighty mass of clouds. Then that bull among the sons of Pandu began with his mace to consume that elephant-division like the wind dispelling a huge mass of clouds covering the welkin. Those tuskers, while being slaughtered by the mighty Bhimasena, uttered loud cries of woe like roaring masses of clouds. With diverse scratches (on his person) inflicted by those huge animals with their tusks, the son of Pritha looked beautiful on the field of battle like a flowering Kinsuka. Seizing some of the elephants by their tusks, he deprived them of those weapons. Wrenching out the tusks of others, with those very tusks he struck them on their frontal globes and felled them in battle like the Destroyer himself armed with his rod. Wielding his mace bathed in gore, and himself bespattered with fat and marrow and smeared with blood, he looked like Rudra himself. Thus slaughtered by him, the few gigantic elephants that remained, ran away on all sides, O king, crushing even friendly ranks. And in consequence of those huge elephants fleeing away on all sides, Duryodhana's troops once more, O bull of Bharata's race, fled away from the field."

SECTION 104

Sanjaya said, "At mid-day, O king, happened a fierce battle, fraught with great carnage, between Bhishma and the Somakas. That foremost of car-warriors, viz., Ganga's son began to consume the ranks of the Pandavas with keen shafts by hundreds and thousands. Thy sire Devavrata began to grind those troops like a herd of bulls grinding (with their tread) a heap of paddy sheaves. Then Dhrishtadyumna and Sikhandin and Virata and Drupada, falling upon Bhishma in that battle, struck that mighty car-warrior with numerous arrows. Bhishma then, having pierced Dhrishtadyumna and Virata each with three arrows, sped a long shaft, O Bharata, at Drupada. Thus pierced in battle by Bhishma, that grinder of foes, those great bowmen became filled with wrath O king, like snakes trod upon (by human feet). Then Sikhandin pierced the grandsire of the Bharatas (with many shafts). Of unfading glory, Bhishma, however, regarding his foe as a female struck him not. Dhrishtadyumna then, in that battle, blazing up with wrath like fire, struck the grandsire with three shafts in his arms and chest. And Drupada pierced Bhishma with five and twenty shafts, and Virata pierced him with ten, and Sikhandin with five and twenty. Deeply pierced (with those shafts) he became covered with blood, and looked beautiful like a red Asoka variegated with flowers. Then the son of Ganga pierced, in return, each of them with three straight shafts. And then, O sire, he cut off Drupada's bow with a broad-headed arrow. The latter then, taking up another bow, pierced Bhishma with five shafts. And he pierced Bhishma's charioteer also with three sharp shafts on the field of battle. Then the five sons of Draupadi, and the five Kaikeya brothers and Satyaki also of the Satwata race, headed by Yudhishthira, all rushed towards Ganga's son, desirous of protecting the Panchalas headed by Dhrishtadyumna. And so all the warriors of thy army also, O king, prepared to protect Bhishma, rushed at the head of their troops against the Pandava host. And then happened there a fierce general engagement between thy army of men and steeds and theirs, that increased the population of Yama's kingdom. And car-warriors falling upon car-warriors despatched one another to Yama's abode. And so men and elephant-riders and horse-riders, falling upon others (of their class), despatched them to the other world with straight shafts And here and there on the field, O monarch, cars, deprived of riders and charioteers by means of diverse kinds of fierce shafts, were in that battle dragged on all sides over the field. And those cars, O king, crushing large numbers of men and steeds in battle, were seen to resemble the wind itself (in speed) and vapoury edifices in the firmament (for their picturesque forms). And many car-warriors cased in mail and endued with great energy, decked with ear-rings and head-gears and adorned with garlands and bracelets, resembling the children of the celestials, equal to Sakra himself for prowess in battle, surpassing Vaisravana in wealth and Vrishaspati in intelligence, ruling over extensive territories, and possessed of great heroism, O monarch, deprived of their cars, were seen to run hither and thither like ordinary men. Huge tuskers also, O chief of men, deprived of their skilled riders, ran, crushing friendly ranks, and fell down with loud shrieks. Prodigious elephants looking like newly-risen clouds and roaring also like the clouds, were seen to run in all directions, deprived of their coats of mail. And, O sire, their Chamaras and variegated standards, their umbrellas with golden staves, and the bright lances (of their riders), lay scattered about. And elephant-riders, O king, deprived of their elephants, belonging both of thy army and theirs, were seen to run (on foot) amid that awful press. And steeds from diverse countries, decked with ornaments of gold, were seen, by hundreds and thousands, to run with the speed of the wind. And horse-riders, deprived of their horses, and armed with swords were in that battle seen to run, or made to run (by others assailing them). Elephant, meeting with a flying elephant in that dreadful battle, proceeded, quickly crushing foot-soldiers and steeds. And, similarly, O king those prodigious creatures crushed many cars in that battle, and cars also, coming upon fallen steeds crushed them (in their course). And steeds too, in the press of battle, crushed many foot-soldiers, O king (with their hoofs). And thus, O monarch, they crushed one another in diverse ways. And in that fierce and awful battle there flowed a terrible river of bloody current. And heaps of bows obstructed its straight course, and the hair (of slain warriors) formed its moss. And (broken) cars formed its lakes, and arrows its eddies. And steeds formed its fishes. And heads (severed from trunks) formed its blocks of stone. And it abounded with elephants that formed its crocodiles. And coats of mail and head-gears formed its froth. And bows (in the hands of the warriors) constituted the speed of its current, and swords its tortoises. And banners and standards in profusion formed the trees on its banks. And mortals constituted its banks which that river continually ate away. And it abounded with cannibals that formed its swans. And that stream (instead of swelling the ocean with its discharge) swelled the population of Yama's kingdom. And brave Kshatriyas,--mighty car-warriors,--casting off all fear, O king, sought to cross that river with the aid of cars, elephants, and steeds that played the part of rafts and boats. And as the river Vaitarani beareth all departed spirits towards the domains of the King of the Dead, so that river of bloody current bore away all timid men deprived of their senses in a swoon. And the Kshatriyas, beholding that awful carnage, all exclaimed, saying, 'Alas, through Duryodhana's fault the Kshatriyas are being exterminated. Why, Oh, Dhritarashtra of sinful soul, deluded by avarice, harboured envy for the sons of Pandu, who are graced with numerous virtues.' Diverse exclamations of this kind were heard there, made by one another, fraught with the praises of the Pandavas and censure of thy sons. Hearing then these words uttered by all the combatants, thy son Duryodhana, that offender against all, addressed Bhishma and Drona and Kripa and Salya, O Bharata, saying, 'Fight ye without boastfulness. Why tarry ye at all?' Then the battle was resumed between the Kurus and the Pandavas, that fierce battle, O king, caused by the match at dice and marked by an awful slaughter. Thou beholdest now, O son of Vichitravirya, the dreadful fruit of that rejection by thee (of the counsels of thy friends) though warned against it by many illustrious persons. Neither the sons of Pandu, O king, nor their troops, nor they that follow them, nor the Kauravas, show the least regard for their lives in battle. For this reason, O tiger among men, a dreadful destruction of kinsmen is taking place, caused either by Destiny or by thy evil policy, O king."

SECTION 105

Sanjaya said, "O tiger among men, Arjuna sent those Kshatriyas that followed Susarman to the abode of the King of the Dead by means of his whetted shafts. Susarman however, in that battle, pierced Partha with his shafts. And he pierced Vasudeva with seventy, and Arjuna once more with nine shafts. Checking those shafts by means of his arrowy showers, that mighty car-warrior, viz., the son of Indra, despatched Susarman's troops unto Yama's abode. Those mighty car-warriors, while being slaughtered by Partha in that battle as if by Death himself at the end of the Yuga, all fled away from the field, O king struck with panic, Some abandoning their steeds, some abandoning, O sire, their cars, and others their elephants, fled away in all directions. Others taking with them their horses, elephants, and cars, fled away, O king, with great speed. Foot-soldiers in that dreadful battle, throwing aside their weapons, and without any regard for one another, fled away hither and thither. Though forbidden by Susarman the ruler of the Trigartas, and by other foremost of kings, they stayed not yet in battle. Beholding that host routed, thy son Duryodhana himself at the head of the whole army and with Bhishma ahead, attacked Dhananjaya with all his vigour, for the sake, O king, of (protecting) the life of the ruler of the Trigartas. And he stayed in battle, scattering diverse kinds of arrows, supported by all his brothers. The rest of the men all fled away. Similarly, the Pandavas, O king, clad in mail and with all their vigour, proceeded, for the sake of Phalguni, to the spot where Bhishma was. Although acquainted with the awful prowess, in battle of the wielder of Gandiva, these yet proceeded with loud cries and great bravery to the spot where Bhishma was and surrounded him on all sides. Then the palmyra-bannered hero covered the Pandava army, in that battle, with his straight shafts. The sun having reached the meridian, the Kauravas, O king, fought with the Pandavas in one confused mass. The heroic Satyaki, having pierced Kritavarman with five arrows, stayed in battle scattering his arrows by thousands. And so king Drupada also, having pierced Drona with many whetted shafts, once more pierced him with seventy shafts and his charioteer with nine. Bhimasena also, having pierced his great grandsire king Valhika uttered a loud roar like a tiger in the forest. Arjuna's son (Abhimanyu) pierced by Chitrasena with many shafts, deeply pierced Chitrasena in the chest with three arrows. Engaged with each other in battle, those two foremost of men looked resplendent on the field like the planets, Venus and Saturn, O king, in the firmament. Then that slayer of foes, viz., the son of Subhadra, having slain his antagonist's steeds and charioteer with nine arrows, uttered a loud shout. Thereupon that mighty car-warrior, (viz., Chitrasena), quickly jumping down from that car whose steed had been slain, mounted, O king, without delay, the car of Durmukha. The valiant Drona, pierced the latter's charioteer also, Then, O king, Drupada, thus afflicted at the head of his troops, retreated by the aid of his fleet steeds, recollecting the hostility that existed from days of old (between himself and Drona). Bhimasena, within a moment, deprived king Valhika of his steeds, car and charioteer, in the very sight of all the troops. Fallen into a situation of great danger and with fear in his heart, O king, Valhika, that best of men, jumping down from that vehicle, quickly mounted upon the car of Lakshmana in that battle. Satyaki, having checked

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Kritavarman in that dreadful battle, fell upon the grandsire and rained on him shafts of diverse kinds. [Lit. "reached him with shafts etc."] Piercing the grandsire with sixty whetted shafts winged with feathers, he seemed to dance on his car, shaking his large bow. The grandsire then hurled at him a mighty dart made of iron, decked with gold, endued with great velocity, and beautiful as a daughter of the Nagas. Beholding that irresistible dart, resembling Death himself, coursing towards him, that illustrious warrior of the Vrishni race baffled it by the celerity of movements. Thereupon that fierce dart, unable to reach him of the Vrishni race, fell down on the earth like a large meteor of blazing splendour. Then he of Vrishni's race, O king, taking up with a firm hand his own dart of golden effulgence, hurled it at the car of the grandsire. That dart, hurled in that dreadful battle with the strength of Satyaki's arms, coursed impetuously like the fatal night, coursing speedily towards a (doomed) man. As it coursed, however, towards him with great force, Bhishma cut it in twain, O Bharata, with a couple of horse-shoe-headed arrows of keen edge, and thereupon it fell down on the earth. Having cut that dart, that grinder of foes, viz., Ganga's son, excited with wrath and smiling the while struck Satyaki in the chest with nine arrows. Then the Pandava warriors, O elder brother of Pandu, with their cars, elephants, and steeds, surrounded Bhishma in that battle, for the sake of rescuing him of Madhu's race. Then commenced again a fierce battle, making the hair to stand on end, between the Pandavas and the Kurus both of whom were desirous of victory."

SECTION 106

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding Bhishma excited with wrath in battle, surrounded on all sides by the Pandavas like the Sun in the firmament. O king, by the clouds at the end of summer, Duryodhana, O monarch, addressed Dussasana, saying, 'This heroic and great bowman Bhishma, this slayer of heroes, hath, O bull of Bharata's race, been surrounded on all sides by the brave Pandavas. It is thy duty, O hero, to protect that illustrious one. Protected by us in battle, our grandsire Bhishma will slay all the Panchalas along with the Pandavas. The protection of Bhishma. therefore, I think, is our highest duty, for this great bowman of his vows, viz., Bhishma, is our protector in return. Therefore, surrounding the grandsire with all our troops, do thou protect him, who always achieveth the most difficult feats in battle. Thus addressed by Duryodhana, thy son Dussasana, surrounding Bhishma with a large force on all sides took up his position. Then Suvala's son Sakuni, with hundreds and thousands of horsemen having bright spears and swords and lances in hand, and who formed a proud, well-dressed, and strong body bearing standards, and who were mingled with excellent foot-soldiers that were all well-trained and skilled in battle began to cheek Nakula, and Sahadeva, and Yudhishthira the son of Pandu, surrounding those foremost of men on all sides. Then king Duryodhana despatched ten thousand (other) brave horsemen for resisting the Pandavas. When these rushed like so many Garudas towards the enemy with great impetuosity, the earth, O king, struck with their horse-hoofs, trembled and uttered a loud noise. And the loud clatter of their hoofs was heard resembling the noise made by a large forest of bamboos, in conflagration on a mountain. And as these dashed over the field, there rose a cloud of dust, which rising to the welkin shrouded the very Sun. And in consequence of those impetuous steeds, the Pandava army was agitated like a large lake with a flight of swans suddenly alighting on its bosom. And in consequence of their neighing, nothing else could be heard there. Then king Yudhishthira, and the two sons of Pandu by Madri, quickly checked the charge of those horsemen in battle, like the continent, O king, bearing the force, at full tide, of the surging sea swollen with the waters of the rainy season. Then those (three) car-warriors, O monarch, with their straight shafts, cut off the heads of those horse-riders. Slain by those strong bowmen, they fell down, O king, (on the earth), like mighty elephants tumbling into mountain caves, slain by huge compeers. Indeed, coursing all over the field, those warriors (of the Pandavas army) cut off the heads of those cavalry soldiers with sharp-bearded darts and straight shafts. Struck with swords, those horsemen, O bull of Bharata's race, suffered their heads to drop like tall trees, dropping their fruits. All over the field, O king, steeds along with their riders were seen fallen or falling, deprived of life. And while being (thus) slaughtered, the steeds, affected with panic, fled away like smaller animals desirous of saving their lives at sight of the lion. And the Pandavas, O king, having vanquished their foes in that great battle, blew their conches and beat their drums. Then Duryodhana, filled with grief on seeing his troops vanquished, addressed the ruler of the Madras, O chief of the Bharatas, and said, 'There, the eldest son of Pandu, accompanied by the twins in battle, in thy very sight, O thou of mighty arms, routeth our troops, O lord. O mighty-armed one, resist him like the continent resisting the ocean. Thou art exceedingly well-known as possessed of might and prowess that are irresistible.' Hearing these words of thy son, the valiant Salya proceeded with a large body of cars to the spot where Yudhishthira was. Thereupon, the son of Pandu began to resist in battle that large host of Salya rushing impetuously towards him with the force of a mighty wave. And that mighty car-warrior, viz., king Yudhishthira the Just, in that battle quickly pierced the ruler of the Madras in the centre of the chest with ten shafts. And Nakula and Sahadeva struck him with seven straight shafts. The ruler of the Madras then struck each of them with three arrows. And once more he pierced Yudhishthira with sixty sharp-pointed arrows. And excited with wrath he struck each of the sons of Madri also with two shafts. Then that vanquisher of foes, the mighty-armed Bhima, beholding the king, in that great battle, staying within reach of Salya's car as if within the very jaws of Death, quickly proceeded to Yudhishthira's side. Then when the Sun, having passed the meridian, was sinking, there commenced a fierce and terrible battle (on that part of the field).

SECTION 107

Sanjaya said, "Then thy sire, excited with wrath, began to strike the Parthas and their troops all round, with excellent shafts of great sharpness. And he pierced Bhima with twelve shafts, and Satyaki with nine. And having pierced Nakula with three shafts, he pierced Sahadeva with seven. And he pierced Yudhishthira in the arms and the chest with twelve shafts. And piercing Dhrishtadyumna also, that mighty warrior uttered a loud roar. Him Nakula pierced (in return) with twelve shafts, and Satyaki with three. And Dhrishtadyumna pierced him with seventy shafts, and Bhimasena with seven. And Yudhishthira pierced the grandsire in return with twelve shafts. Drona (on the other hand), having pierced Satyaki, pierced Bhimasena next. And he pierced each of them with five sharp shafts, each of which resembled the rod of Death. Each of those two, however, pierced Drona, that bull among Brahmanas, in return, with three straight shafts. The Sauviras, the Kitavas, the Easterners, the Westerners, the Northerners, the Malavas, the Abhishahas, the Surasenas, the Sivis, and the Vasatis, did not avoid Bhishma in battle although they were incessantly slaughtered by him with sharp shafts. And similarly kings coming from diverse countries and armed with diverse weapons, approached the Pandavas (without seeking to avoid them in battle). And the Pandavas, O king, surrounded the grandsire on all sides. Surrounded on all sides, yet unvanquished by that large body of cars, Bhishma blazed up like a fire in the midst of a forest, and consumed his foes. His car was his fire-chamber; his bow constituted the (flames of that fire); swords, darts, and maces, constituted the fuel; his shafts were the sparks (of that fire); and Bhishma was himself the fire that consumed the foremost of Kshatriyas. Indeed, with shafts furnished with golden wings and vulturine feathers and endued with great energy, with barbed arrows, and nalikas, and long shafts, he covered the hostile host. And he felled elephants and car-warriors also with his sharp shafts. And he made that large body of cars resemble a forest of palmyras shorn of their leafy heads. And that mighty armed warrior, that foremost of all wielders of weapons, O king, deprived cars and elephants and steeds of their riders in that conflict. And hearing the twang of his bow-string and the noise of his palms, loud as the roar of the thunder, all the troops trembled, O Bharata. The shafts of thy sire, O bull of Bharata's race, told on the foe. Indeed, shot from Bhishma's bow they did not strike the coats of mail only (but pierced them through). And we beheld, O king, many cars destitute of their brave riders dragged over the field of battle, O monarch, by the fleet steeds yoked unto them. Fourteen thousand car-warriors, belonging to the Chedis, the Kasis, and the Karushas, of great celebrity and noble parentage, prepared to lay down their lives, unretreating from the field, and owning excellent standards decked with gold, having met with Bhishma in battle who resembled the Destroyer himself with wide-open mouth, all went to the other world along with their cars, steeds, and elephants. And we beheld there, O king, cars by hundreds and thousands, some with their axles and bottoms broken, and some, O Bharata, with broken wheels. And the earth was strewn with cars broken along with their wooden fences, with the prostrate forms of car-warriors, with shafts, with beautiful but broken coats of mail, with axes. O monarch; with maces and short arrows and sharp shafts, with bottoms of cars, with quivers and broken wheels, O sire, with innumerable bows and scimitars and heads decked with ear-rings; with leathern fences and gloves and overthrown standards, and with bows broken in various parts. And elephants, O king, destitute of riders, and slain horsemen (of the Pandava army), lay dead. The valiant Pandavas notwithstanding all their efforts, could not rally those car-warriors, who, afflicted by the shafts of Bhishma, were flying away from the field. Indeed, O king, that mighty host while being slaughtered by Bhishma endued with energy equal to that of Indra himself, broke so completely that no two persons fled together. With its cars, elephants, and steeds overthrown, and with its standards laid low in profusion, the army of the sons of Pandu, deprived of senses, uttered loud exclamations of woe. And at that time, sire slew son, and son slew sire, and friend smote dear friend, impelled by fate. And many combatants of the Pandavas army, throwing aside their armour, were seen flying in all directions with dishevelled hair. Indeed, the Pandava troops looked like bulls running wild in fear, and no longer restrained by the yoke. Indeed, loud were the exclamations, we heard of woe that they uttered.

"Then that delighter of the Yadavas, beholding the Pandava army breaking, reined the excellent car (that he guided), and addressing Vibhatsu the son of Pritha, said,--That hour is come, O Partha, which thou hadst hoped for. Strike now, O tiger among men, or thou wilt be deprived of thy senses. Formerly, O hero, thou saidst, O Partha, in that conclave of kings in Virata's city, in the presence also of Sanjaya, these words:--'I will slay all the warriors of Dhritarashtra's son, all of them with their followers, including, Bhishma and Drona, that would fight with me in battle--O son of Kunti, O chastiser of foes, make those words of thine true. Remembering the duty of a Kshatriya, fight, without any anxiety.' Thus addressed by Vasudeva, Arjuna hung down his head and looked askance at him. And Vibhatsu replied very unwillingly, saying, 'To acquire sovereignty with hell in the end, having slain those who should not be slain, or the woes of an exile in the woods,--(these are the alternatives). Which of these should I achieve? Urge the steeds, O Hrishikesa, I will do thy bidding. I will overthrow the Kuru grandsire Bhishma, that invincible warrior.'--Thus asked, Madhava urged those steeds of a silvery hue, to the spot where Bhishma, incapable of being looked at like the Sun himself, was staying. Then that large host of Yudhishthira rallied and came again to the fight, beholding the mighty-armed Partha proceeding for an encounter with Bhishma. Then Bhishma that foremost one among the Kurus, repeatedly roared like a lion. And he soon covered Dhananjaya's car with a shower of arrows. Within a trice that car of his with its steeds and charioteer, became entirely invisible in consequence of that thick shower of arrows. Vasudeva, however, without fear, mustering patience, and endued with great activity, urged those steeds mangled with Bhishma's shafts. Then Partha, taking up his celestial bow of twang loud as the roar of the clouds, caused Bhishma's bow to drop from his hands, cutting it (into fragments) by means of his sharp shafts. Then thy sire, the Kuru hero, whose bow had thus been cut off, stringed another large bow within the twinkling of the eye. Arjuna, however, excited with wrath, cut that bow also of his. The son of Santanu applauded that lightness of hand displayed by Arjuna, saying, 'Well done, Well done, O mighty-armed one. Well done, O son of Kunti.'--Having addressed him thus, Bhishma took up another beautiful bow in that battle, and shot many arrows at Partha's car. And Vasudeva showed great skill in the management of steeds, for, displaying the circling motion he baffled all those arrows (of Bhishma). Mangled with the arrows of Bhishma, those two tigers among men looked beautiful like two angry bulls marked with scratches of horns. Then that slayer of hostile heroes, viz., the mighty-armed Vasudeva of Madhu's race beholding that Partha was fighting mildly and that Bhishma was incessantly scattering his arrowy showers in battle, and that stationed between the two hosts, he latter was scorching everything like the Sun himself, smiting down the foremost of Yudhishthira's combatants, and, in fact, achieving feat on Yudhishthira's army like unto what happeneth at the end of the Yuga, could not any longer bear it. Abandoning then, O sire, Partha's steeds that looked like silver, and filled with wrath, that great lord of Yoga powers jumped down from that great car. Repeatedly roaring like a lion, the mighty Krishna of great energy and immeasurable splendour, the Lord of Universe, with eyes red as copper from rage, and having his bare arms alone for his weapons, rushed towards Bhishma, whip in hand, desirous of slaying him and seeming to split the universe itself with his tread. Beholding Madhava in the vicinity of Bhishma and about to fall upon him in that furious battle, the hearts of all the combatants seemed to be in a stupor. 'Bhishma is slain, Bhishma is slain.'--These loud exclamations were heard there, O king, caused by the fear inspired by Vasudeva. Robed in yellow silk, and himself dark as the lapis lazuli, Janarddana, when he pursued Bhishma, looked beautiful as a mass of clouds charged with lightning. Like a lion towards an elephant, or the leader of a bovine herd upon another of his species, that bull of Madhu's race, with a loud roar, impetuously rushed towards Bhishma. Beholding him of eyes like lotus petals (thus) rushing towards him in that battle, Bhishma began to fearlessly draw his large bow. And with a fearless heart he addressed Govinda, saying, 'Come, come, O thou of eyes like lotus petals. O God of the gods, I bow to thee. O best of the Satwatas, throw me down today in this great battle. O god, slain by thee in battle, O sinless one, great will be the good done to me, O Krishna, in every respect in the world. Amongst all, in the three worlds, great is the honour done to me today in battle, O Govinda. Strike me as thou pleasest, for I am thy slave, O sinless one.' Meanwhile, the mighty-armed Partha. quickly following Kesava behind, seized him by encircling him with his two arms. That best of male beings, viz., Krishna, of eyes like lotus petals, seized by Partha, still proceeded with great speed, bearing the latter away with him. The mighty Partha, that slayer of hostile heroes, however, forcibly catching hold of his

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legs, stopped Hrishikesa with great difficulty at the tenth step. Then Arjuna his dear friend, filled with sorrow, affectionately addressed Kesava, who was then sighing like a snake and whose eyes were troubled in wrath, saying, 'O thou of mighty arms, stop, O Kesava, it behoveth thee not to make those words false which thou hadst spoken before, viz., I will not fight. O Madhava, people will say that thou art a liar. All this burden resteth upon me. I will slay the grandsire. I swear, O Kesava, by my weapons, by truth, and my good deeds, that, O slayer of foes, I will do all by which the destruction of my foes may be achieved. Behold this very day that invincible and mighty car-warrior in the act of being thrown down by me, with the greatest ease, like the crescent moon at the end of the Yuga (when the destruction of the universe comes). Madhava, however, hearing these words of the high-souled Phalguni, spoke not a word, but in anger once more mounted upon the car. And then upon those two tigers among men, when stationed on their car, Bhishma the son of Santanu, once more poured his arrowy showers like the clouds pouring rain upon the mountain-breast. Thy sire Devavrata took the lives of the (hostile) warriors like the Sun sucking with his rays the energies of all things during summer. As the Pandavas had been breaking the ranks of the Kurus in battle, so thy sire broke the Pandava ranks in battle. And the routed soldiers, helpless and heartless, slaughtered in hundreds and thousands by Bhishma, were unable to even look at him in that battle,--him who resembled the mid-day Sun blazing in his own splendour. Indeed, the Pandavas afflicted with fear, timidly gazed at Bhishma who was then achieving super-human feats in that battle. And the Pandava troops, thus fleeing away, O Bharata, failed to find a protector, like a herd of kine sunk in a shoal of ants while being trod down by a strong person. Indeed, the Pandavas could not, O Bharata, look at that mighty car-warrior incapable of being shaken, who, furnished with a profusion of shafts, was scorching the kings (in the Pandava army), and who in consequence of those shafts looked like the blazing Sun shedding his fiery rays. And while he was thus grinding the Pandava army, the thousand-rayed maker of day repaired to the setting hills, and the troops, worn with fatigue, set their hearts on withdrawal (from the field)."

SECTION 108

Sanjaya said, "While they were battling, the Sun set, O Bharata, aid there came the dreadful hour of twilight and the battle could no longer be seen. Then king Yudhishthira, seeing that twilight had come and that his own troops, slaughtered by Bhishma, had thrown aside their weapons, and that stricken with fear, and turned off the field, they were seeking to flee away, and beholding Bhishma also, that mighty car-warrior, excited with wrath and afflicting everybody in fight, and noticing that the mighty car-warriors of the Somakas, having been vanquished, had all become cheerless, reflected a little, and then ordered the troops to be withdrawn. Then king Yudhishthira withdrew his forces. And similarly, the withdrawal of thy forces also took place at the same time. Then those mighty car-warriors, O chief of the Kurus, having withdrawn their forces, entered their tents, themselves mangled in battle. Afflicted by the shafts of Bhishma and reflecting upon that hero's feats in battle, the Pandavas obtained no peace of mind. Bhishma also, having vanquished the Pandavas and the Srinjayas in battle, was worshipped by thy sons and glorified by them, O Bharata. Accompanied by the rejoicing Kurus, he then entered his tent. Night then set in, that deprives all creatures of their senses. Then in that fierce hour of night, the Pandavas, the Vrishnis and the invincible Srinjayas sat down for a consultation. All those mighty persons, skilled in arriving at conclusions in council, coolly deliberated about that which was beneficial for them in view of their immediate circumstances. Then king Yudhishthira, having reflected for a long while, said these words, casting his eyes on Vasudeva, 'Behold, O Krishna, the high-souled Bhishma of fierce prowess. He crusheth my troops like an elephant crushing a forest of reeds. We dare not even look at that high-souled warrior. Like a raging conflagration he licketh up my troops. The valiant Bhishma of keen weapons, when excited with wrath in battle and bow in hand shooting his shafts, becometh as fierce as the mighty Naga Takshaka of virulent poison. Indeed, the angry Yama is capable of being vanquished, or even the chief of the celestials armed with the thunder, or Varuna himself, noose in hand, or the Lord of the Yakshas armed with mace. But Bhishma, excited with wrath, is incapable of being vanquished in battle. When this is the case, O Krishna, I am, through the weakness of my understanding, plunged in an ocean of grief having got Bhishma (as a foe) in battle. I will retire into the woods, O invincible one. My exile there would be for my benefit. Battle, O Krishna, I no longer desire. Bhishma slayeth us always. As an insect, by rushing into a blazing fire meeteth only with death, even so do I rush upon Bhishma. In putting forth prowess, O thou of Vrishni's race, for the sake of my kingdom, I am, alas, led to destruction. My brave brothers have all been exceedingly afflicted with arrows. In consequence of the affection they bear to myself their (eldest) brother they had to go into the woods, deprived of kingdom. For myself alone, O slayer of Madhu, hath Krishna been sunk into such distress. I regard life to be of high value. Indeed, even life now seemeth to be difficult of being saved. (If I can save that life), its latter remnant will I pass in the practice of excellent virtue. If, with my brothers, O Kesava, I am worthy of thy favour, tell me, O Krishna, what is for my benefit, without contravening the duties of my order. Hearing these words of his, and (describing the situation) in detail, Krishna, from compassion, said these words in reply for comforting Yudhishthira, 'O son of Dharma, O thou that art firm in truth, do thou not indulge in sorrow, thou that hast these invincible heroes, these slayers of foes, for thy brothers. Arjuna and Bhimasena are each endued with the energy of the Wind and the Fire. The twin sons of Madri also are each as valiant as the Chief of the celestials himself. From the good understanding that exists between us, do thou set me also to this task. Even I, O son of Pandu, will fight with Bhishma. Directed by thee, O great king, what is there that I may not do in great battle. Challenging that bull among men, viz., Bhishma, I will slay him in battle, in the very sight of the Dhartarashtras, if Phalguni doth not wish to slay him. If, O son of Pandu, thou seest victory to be certain on the slaughter of the heroic Bhishma, even, I, on a single car, will slay that aged grandsire of the Kurus. Behold, O king, my prowess, equal to that of the great Indra in battle. I will overthrow from his car that warrior who always shooteth mighty weapons. He that is an enemy of the sons of Pandu, without doubt, is my enemy also. They, that are yours, are mine, and so they, that are mine, are yours. Thy brother (Arjuna) is my friend, relative, and disciple. I will, O king, cut off my own flesh and give it away for the sake of Arjuna. And this tiger among men also can lay down his life for my sake. O sire, even this is our understanding, viz., that we will protect each other. Therefore, command me, O king, in what way I am to fight. Formerly, at Upaplavya, Partha had, in the presence of many persons, vowed, saying, 'I will slay the son of Ganga.' These words of the intelligent Partha should be observed (in practice). Indeed, if Partha requests me without doubt I will fulfill that vow. Or, let it be the task of Phalguni himself in battle. It is not heavy for him. He will slay Bhishma, that subjugator of hostile cities. If excited in battle, Partha can achieve feats that are incapable of being achieved by others. Arjuna can slay in battle the very gods exerting themselves actively, along with the Daityas and the Danavas. What need be said of Bhishma, therefore, O king? Endued with great energy, Bhishma, the son of Santanu, is now of perverted judgement, of intelligence decayed, and of little sense, without doubt, he knoweth not what he should do.'

"Hearing these words of Krishna, Yudhishthira said, 'It is even so, O thou of mighty arms, even as thou sayest, O thou of Madhu's race. All these together are not competent to bear thy force. I am sure of always having whatever I desire, when, O tiger among men, I have thyself staying on my side. O foremost of victorious persons, I would conquer the very gods with Indra at their head, when, O Govinda, I have thee for my protector. What need I say, therefore, of Bhishma, though he is a mighty car-warrior? But, O Krishna, I dare not, for my own glorification, falsify thy words. Therefore, O Madhava, as promised before by thee, render me aid without fighting for me. In this battle an agreement was made by me with Bhishma. He said,--I will give thee counsel, but fight I shall never for thee, since I shall have to fight for Duryodhana's sake. Know this for truth. Therefore, O Lord, Bhishma may give me sovereignty by giving me good counsel, O Madhava. Therefore, O slayer of Madhu, all of us accompanied by thee, will once more repair unto Devavrata, for asking him about the means of his own death. All of us then, O best of persons, together going to Bhishma without delay, will speedily ask him of Kuru's race his advice. O Janardana, he will truly give us beneficial counsel; and O Krishna, I will do in battle what he will say. Of austere vows, he will give us counsel, as also victory. We were children and orphans. By him were we reared. O Madhava, him, our aged grandsire, I wish to day,--him, the sire of our sire. Oh, fie upon the profession of a Kshatriyas.'

Sanjaya continued, "Hearing these words, O king, he of Vrishni's race said unto Yudhishthira, 'O thou of great wisdom, these words of thine, O king, are to my taste. Bhishma, otherwise called Devavrata, is skilled in weapons. With only his glances he can consume the foe. Repair unto that son of the Ocean-going (Ganga), for asking him about the means of his death. Asked by thee, in particular, he will certainly say the truth. We will, therefore, proceed for questioning the Kuru grandsire. Repairing unto the reverend son of Santanu, we will, O Bharata, ask him his advice and according to the advice that he will give us we will fight with the foe.' Having thus deliberated, O elder brother of Pandu, the heroic sons of Pandu, and the valiant Vasudeva, all proceeded together towards the abode of Bhishma, casting aside their coats of mail and weapons and entering then his tent, they all bowed to him, bending their heads. And the sons of Pandu, O king, worshipping that bull of Bharata's race, and bowing unto him with their heads, sought his protection. The Kuru grandsire, the mighty-armed Bhishma, then addressed them, saying, 'Welcome art thou, O thou of Vrishni's race. Welcome art thou, O Dhananjaya. Welcome to thee, O king Yudhishthira the Just, Ad to thee, O Bhima. Welcome to you also, ye twins. What am I to do now for enhancing your joy? Even if it be exceedingly difficult of achievement, I will yet do it with all my soul. Unto the son of Ganga who thus repeatedly spoke unto them with such affection, king Yudhishthira, with a cheerful heart, lovingly said, these words, 'O thou that art conversant with everything, how shall we obtain victory, and how shall we acquire sovereignty? How also may this destruction of creatures be stopped? Say all these unto me, O lord. Tell us the means of thy own death. How, O hero, shall we be able to bear thee in battle? O grandsire of the Kurus, thou givest not thy foes even a minute hole to pick in thee. Thou art seen in battle with thy bow ever drawn to a circle. When thou takest thy shafts, when aimest them, and when drawest the bow (for letting them off), no one is able to mark. O slayer of hostile heroes, constantly smiting (as thou dost) cars and steeds and men and elephants, we behold thee on thy car, O mighty-armed one, to resemble a second Sun. What man is there, O bull of Bharata's race, who can venture to vanquish thee, scattering showers of arrows in battle, and causing a great destruction. Tell me, O grandsire, the means by which we may vanquish thee in battle, by which sovereignty may be ours, and lastly, by which my army may not have to undergo such destruction. Hearing these words, Santanu's son, O elder brother of Pandu, said unto the son of Pandu, 'As long as I am alive, O son of Kunti, victory cannot be yours in battle, O thou of great wisdom. Truly do I say this unto thee. After, however, I am vanquished in fight, ye may have victory in battle, ye sons of Pandu. If, therefore, ye desire victory in the battle, smite me down without delay. I give you permission, ye sons of Pritha, strike me as ye please. I am thus known to you in what I regard to be a fortunate circumstance. [That you know me to be invincible is a fortunate circumstance, for if you had not known this, you would have fought on for days together and thus caused a tremendous destruction of creatures. By your coming to know, that destruction may be stopped.] After I am slain, all the rest will be slain. Therefore, do as I bid'.

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell us the means by which we may vanquish thee in battle, thee that art, when excited with wrath in the fight, like unto the Destroyer himself armed with mace. The wielder of the thunder-bolt may be vanquished or Varuna, or Yama. Thou, however, art incapable of being defeated in battle by even the gods and Asuras united together, with Indra at their head.'

"Bhishma said, 'That, O son of Pandu, is true, which thou sayest. O thou, of mighty arms. When with weapons and my large bow in hand I contend carefully in battle, I am incapable of being defeated by the very gods and the Asuras with Indra at their head. If, however, I lay aside my weapons, even these car-warriors can slay me. One that hath thrown away his weapons, one that hath fallen down, one whose armour hath slipped off, one whose standard is down, one who is flying away, one who is frightened, one who says--I am thine--one who is a female, one who beareth the name of a female, one no longer capable of taking care of one's self, one who hath only a single son, or one who is a vulgar fellows,--with these I do not like to battle. Hear also, O king, about my resolve formed before. Beholding any inauspicious omen I would never fight. That mighty car-warrior, the son of Drupada, O king, whom thou hast in thy army, who is known by the name of Sikhandin, who is wrathful in battle, brave, and ever victorious, was a female before but subsequently obtained manhood. How all this took place, ye all know it truly. Brave in battle and clad in mail, let Arjuna, keeping Sikhandin before him, attack me with his sharp shafts. When that inauspicious omen will be there, especially in the form of one that was a female before, I will never seek, though armed with bow and arrow, to strike him. Obtaining that opportunity, let Dhananjaya the son of Pandu quickly pierce me on every side with his shafts, O bull of Bharata's race. Except the highly blessed Krishna, and Dhananjaya the son of Pandu, I do not behold the person in the three worlds who is able to slay me while exerting myself in battle. Let Vibhatsu, therefore, armed with weapons, struggling carefully in battle, with his excellent bow in hand, placing (Sikhandin or) something else before, throw, me down (from my car). Then the victory will be certain. Do this, O great king, even this that I have said unto thee, O thou of excellent vows. Thou wilt then be able to slay all Dhartarashtras assembled together in battle.'

Sanjaya continued, "The Parthas then, having ascertained all this went back to their tents, saluting the Kuru grandsire, viz., the high-souled Bhishma. After Ganga's son, prepared to go to the other world, had said this, Arjuna. burning with grief and his face suffused in shame, said these words, 'How, O Madhava, shall I fight in battle with the grandsire who is my senior in years, who is possessed of wisdom and intelligence, and who is the oldest member of our race? While sporting in days of childhood, O Vasudeva, I used to smear the body of this high-souled and illustrious one with dust by climbing on

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his lap with my own filthy body. O elder brother of Gada, he is the sire of my sire Pandu. While a child, climbing on the lap of this high-souled one I once called him father, I am not thy father but thy father's father, O Bharata!--even this is what he said to me (in reply) in my childhood. He who said so, Oh, how can he be slain by me. O, let my army perish. Whether, it is victory or death that I obtain I will never fight that high-souled person. (Even this is what I think). What dost thou think, O Krishna!'

"Vasudeva said, 'Having vowed the slaughter of Bhishma before, O Jishnu, how canst thou abstain from slaying him, agreeably to the duties of a Kshatriya? Throw down from his car, O Partha, that Kshatriya who is invincible in battle. Victory can never be yours without slaying Ganga's son. Even thus shall he go to the abode of Yama. This hath been settled before by the gods. That which hath been destined before, O Partha, must happen. It cannot be otherwise. None save thee, O invincible one, not even the wielder of the thunder-bolt himself, would be capable of fighting with Bhishma, who is like the Destroyer with wide-open mouth. Slay Bhishma, without any anxiety. Listen also to these words of mine that are what Vrihaspati of great intelligence had said unto Sakra in days of old. One should slay even an aged person endued with every merit and worthy of reverence if he cometh as a foe, or, indeed any other who approacheth for destroying one's self--O Dhananjaya, this is the eternal duty sanctioned for the Kshatriya, viz., that they should fight, protect subjects, and perform sacrifices, all without malice.'

"Arjuna said, 'Sikhandin, O Krishna, will certainly be the cause of Bhishma's death, for Bhishma, as soon as he beholds the prince of the Panchalas, abstains from striking. Therefore, keeping Sikhandin before him and at our head, we will, by that means, overthrow the son of Ganga. Even this is what I think. I will hold in check other great bowmen with my shafts. As regards Sikhandin, he will fight with Bhishma alone, that foremost of all warriors. I have heard from that chief of the Kurus that he would not strike Sikhandin, for having been born before as a woman he subsequently became a male person.'

Sanjaya continued, "Having settled this with Bhishma's permission, the Pandavas, along with Madhava, went away with rejoicing hearts. And then those bulls among men retired to their respective beds."

SECTION 109

Dhritarashtra said, "How did Sikhandin advance against the son of Ganga in battle, and how did Bhishma also advance against the Pandavas? Say all this unto me, O Sanjaya!"

Sanjaya said, "Then all those Pandavas, towards the hour of sun-rise, with beat of drums and cymbals and smaller drums, and with the blare of conches of milky whiteness, all around, went out for battle, placing Sikhandin in their van. And they marched out, O king, having formed an array that was destructive of all foes. And Sikhandin, O monarch, was stationed in the very van of all the troops. And Bhimasena and Dhananjaya became the protectors of his car-wheels. And in his rear were the sons of Draupadi and the valiant Abhimanyu. And those mighty car-warriors, viz., Satyaki and Chekitana, became the protectors of the last. And behind them was Dhrishtadyumna protected by the Panchalas. Next to Dhrishtadyumna, behind, marched the royal lord Yudhishthira, accompanied by the twins, filling the air with leonine shouts, O bull of Bharata's race. Next behind him was Virata, surrounded by his own troops. Next to him marched Drupada, O mighty-armed one. And the five Kaikeya brothers and the valiant Dhrishtaketu, O Bharata, protected the rear of the Pandava army. Having disposed their vast army in such an array, the Pandavas rushed against thy host, prepared to cast away their lives. And similarly the Kauravas, O king, placing that mighty car-warrior Bhishma at the head of their whole host, proceeded against the Pandavas. And that invincible warrior was protected by thy mighty sons. Next behind them was the great bowman Drona, as also his mighty son (Aswatthaman). Next behind was Bhagadatta surrounded by his elephant division. And behind Bhagadatta were Kripa and Kritavarman. Behind them were Sudakshina the mighty ruler of the Kamvojas, and Jayatsena, the king of the Magadhas, and Suvala's son and Vrihadvala. And similarly, many other kings, that were all great bowmen, protected the rear of thy host, O Bharata. As each day came, Bhishma the son of Santanu, formed arrays in battle, sometimes after the manner of the Asuras, sometimes after that of the Pisachas, and sometimes after that of the Rakshasas. Then commenced the battle between thy troops, O Bharata, and theirs, both parties smiting one another and increasing the population of Yama's kingdom. And the Parthas with Arjuna at their head, placing Sikhandin in the van, proceeded against Bhishma in that battle, scattering diverse kinds of arrows. And then, O Bharata afflicted by Bhishma with his shafts, (many of) thy warriors, profusely bathed in blood, repaired to the other world. And Nakula and Sahadeva, and the mighty car-warrior Satyaki, approaching thy army, began to afflict it with great vigour. Thus slaughtered in battle, O bull of Bharata's race, thy warriors were unable to resist that vast host of the Pandavas. Then thy host, vigorously afflicted by great car-warriors and thus slaughtered by them everywhere, fled away on all sides. Slaughtered with sharp shafts by the Pandavas and the Srinjayas they found not a protector, O bull of Bharata's race."

Dhritarashtra said, "Tell me, O Sanjaya, what the valiant Bhishma, excited with rage, did in battle, upon beholding my host afflicted by the Parthas. O sinless one, tell me how that hero, that chastiser of foes, rushed against the Pandavas in battle, and slaughtered the Somakas."

Sanjaya said, "I will tell thee, O king, what thy sire did when thy sons' host was afflicted by the Pandavas and the Srinjayas. With cheerful hearts, the brave sons of Pandu, O elder brother of Pandu, encountered thy son's host, slaughtering (all whom they met). That carnage, O chief of men, of human beings, elephants and steeds, that destruction by the foe of thy army in battle, Bhishma could not brook. That invincible and great bowman, then, reckless of his very life poured upon the Pandavas, the Panchalas, and the Srinjayas, showers of long shafts and calf-toothed and crescent-shaped arrows. And with weapons, O monarch, he checked with his shafts and with showers of other weapons, both offensive and defensive, all sped with energy and wrath, the five foremost of mighty car-warriors of the Pandavas, who had been struggling vigorously in battle. Excited with wrath, he slaughtered in that battle countless elephants and steeds. And that bull among men, O monarch, throwing down many car-warriors from their cars, and horsemen from their horses, and crowds of foot soldiers, and elephant-warriors from the backs of the beasts they rode, struck terror into the foe. And the Pandava warriors all rushed together upon Bhishma singly, upon that mighty car-warrior struggling in battle with great activity, like the Asuras rushing together upon him with the thunderbolt in hand. Shooting on all sides his whetted arrows whose touch resembled that of Indra's thunder, he seemed to the enemy to have assembled a terrible visage. While fighting in that battle, his large bow, resembling that of Sakra himself, seemed to be always drawn to a circle. Beholding those feats in battle, thy sons, O monarch, filled with exceeding wonder, worshipped the grandsire. The Parthas cast their eyes, with cheerless hearts, upon thy heroic sire struggling in battle, like the celestials upon (the Asura) Viprachitti (in days of old). They could not resist that warrior who then resembled the Destroyer himself with wide-open mouth. In that battle on the tenth day, Bhishma, with his sharp shafts, consumed the division of Sikhandin like a conflagration consuming a forest. Him resembling an angry snake of virulent poison, or the Destroyer urged by Death himself, Sikhandin pierced with three shafts in the centre of the chest. Deeply pierced therewith, Bhishma saw that it was Sikhandin (who was piercing him). Excited with wrath, but unwilling (to fight with Sikhandin) Bhishma laughingly said, 'Whether thou choosest to strike me or not, I will never fight with thee. Thou art that Sikhandin still which the Creator had made thee first.' [i.e. Thou art still a woman though the sex hath been changed.] Hearing these words of his, Sikhandin, deprived of his senses by wrath, and licking the corners of his mouth addressed Bhishma in that battle, saying, 'I know thee, O mighty-armed one, to be the exterminator of the Kshatriya race. I have heard also of thy battle with Jamadagni's son. I have also heard much of thy super-human prowess. Knowing thy prowess I will still fight with thee today. For doing what is agreeable to the Pandavas and is agreeable to my own self, O chastiser of foes, I will today fight with thee in battle, O best of men. I will, of a certainty, slay thee. I swear this before thee by my troth! Hearing these words of mine, do that which thou shouldst. Whether thou choosest to strike me or not, thou shall not escape me with life. O thou that art ever victorious, O Bhishma, look thy last on this world.

Sanjaya continued, "Having said so, Sikhandin in that battle pierced Bhishma with five straight shafts, having already pierced him with his wordy shafts. Hearing those words of his, the mighty car-warrior Arjuna, regarding Sikhandin to be Bhishma's Destroyer, urged him on, saying, 'I will fight behind thee, routing the foe with my shafts. Excited with fury, rush thou against Bhishma of terrible prowess. The mighty Bhishma will not be able to afflict thee in battle. Therefore, O mighty-armed one, encounter Bhishma with vigor. If, O sire, thou returnest today without slaying Bhishma, thou wilt, with myself, be an object of ridicule to the world. Seek to do that in battle by which, O hero, we may not incur ridicule in this great battle. Stay the grandsire. O thou of great strength, I will protect thee in this battle, checking all the car-warriors (of the Kuru army). Do thou slay the grandsire. Drona, and Drona's son, and Kripa, and Suyodhana, and Chitrasena, and Vikarna, and Jayadratha the ruler of the Sindhus, Vinda and Anuvinda. of Avanti, and Sudakshina the ruler of the Kamvojas, and the brave Bhagadatta, and the mighty king of the Magadhas, and Somadatta's son, and the brave Rakshasas who is Rishyasringa's son and the ruler of the Trigartas, alone with all the other great car-warriors (of the Kuru army). I will check like the continent resisting the surging sea. Indeed, I will hold in check all the mighty warriors of the Kuru army assembled together and battling with us. Do thou slay the grandsire.'

SECTION 110

Dhritarashtra said, "How did Sikhandin the prince of the Panchalas, excited with wrath, rushed in battle against the grandsire, viz., Ganga's son of righteous soul and regulated vows. What mighty car-warriors of the Pandavas army, upraised weapons, desirous of victory, and exerting themselves with activity, protected Sikhandin on that occasion which required great activity? How also did Bhishma the son of Santanu, endued with great energy, fight on that tenth day of battle with the Pandavas and the Srinjayas? I cannot brook the idea of Sikhandin encountering Bhishma in battle. (Indeed, when Sikhandin attacked Bhishma), was Bhishma's car or his bow broken?"

Sanjaya said, "While fighting in that battle, O bull of Bharata's race, neither the bow nor the car of Bhishma had suffered any injury. He was then slaying the foe with straight shafts. Many thousands of mighty car-warriors belonging to thy army, as also elephants, O king, and steeds well harnessed, proceeded for battle, with the grandsire in the van. Agreeably to his vow, O thou of Kuru's race, the ever-victorious Bhishma was incessantly engaged in slaughtering the troops of the Parthas. The Panchalas and the Pandavas were unable to bear that great bowman battling (with them) and slaying his foes with his shafts. When the tenth day came, the hostile army was torn into pieces by Bhishma with his shafts by hundreds and thousands. O elder brother of Pandu, the sons of Pandu were incapable of defeating in battle the great bowman Bhishma who resembled the Destroyer himself armed with the lance.

"Then, O king, the unvanquished Vibhatsu or Dhananjaya, who was capable of drawing the bow with even the left hand, came to that spot, frightening all the car-warriors. Roaring loudly like a lion, and repeatedly drawing the bow-string, and scattering showers of arrows, Partha careered on the field of battle like Death himself. Frightened at those roars of his, thy warriors, O bull of Bharata's race, fled away in terror, like smaller animals, O king, at the sound of the lion. Beholding the son of Pandu crowned with victory and thus afflicting that host, Duryodhana, himself under the influence of terror addressed Bhishma and said, 'You son of Pandu, O sire, with white steeds (yoked unto his car), and having Krishna for his charioteer, consumeth all my troops like a conflagration consuming a forest. Behold, O son of Ganga, all troops, slaughtered by Pandu's son in battle, are, O foremost of warriors, fleeing away. Indeed, as the herdsman belaboureth his cattle in the forest, even so, O scorcher of foes is my army being belaboured. Broken and driven away on all sides by Dhananjaya with his shafts, the invincible Bhima is also routing that (already broken) host of mine. And Satyaki, and Chekitana, and the twin sons of Madri, and the valiant Abhimanyu,--these also are routing my troops. The brave Dhrishtadyumna, and the Rakshasa Ghatotkacha also, are vigorously breaking and driving away my army in this fierce conflict. Of these troops that are being slaughtered by all those mighty car-warriors, I do not see any other refuge in the matter of their staying and fighting on the field, O Bharata, save thee, O tiger among men, that art possessed of prowess equal to that of the celestials, Therefore, receive thou those great car-warriors without delay, and be thou the refuge of these afflicted troops. Thus addressed by him, O king, thy sire Devavrata, the son of Santanu, reflecting for a moment and settling what he should do, said these words unto thy son, comforting him (therewith), 'O Duryodhana, listen calmly to what I say, O king, O thou of great might, formerly I vowed before thee that slaying every day ten thousand high-souled Kshatriyas, I would come back from the battle. I have fulfilled that vow, O bull of Bharata's race! O thou of great might, today I will achieve even a great feat. Today I will either sleep myself being slain, or, I will slay the Pandavas. O tiger among men, I will today free myself from the debt I owe thee,--the debt, O king, arising out of the food, thou gavest me,--by casting away my life at the head of thy army.' Having said these words, O chief of the Bharatas, that invincible warrior, scattering his shafts among the Kshatriyas, attacked the Pandava host. And the Pandavas then, O bull of Bharata's race, began to resist the son of Ganga staying in the midst of his forces and excited with wrath like a snake of virulent poison. Indeed, O king, on that tenth day of the battle, Bhishma, displaying his might, slew, O son of Kuru's race, hundreds of thousands. And he drained the energies of those royal and mighty car-warriors that were the foremost among the Panchalas, like the Sun sucking up the moisture (of the earth) with his rays. Having slain ten thousand elephants of great activity and ten thousand steeds also, O king, along with their riders, and full two hundred thousands of foot-soldiers, that best of men, viz., Bhishma, shone resplendent in battle like a fire without a curl of smoke. And no one amongst the Pandavas was capable of even looking at him who then resembled the burning Sun staying in the northern solstice. The Pandavas, however, though afflicted in battle by that

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great bowman, still rushed, accompanied by the mighty car-warriors of the Srinjayas, for slaughtering him. Battling with myriads upon myriads around him, Santanu's son Bhishma then looked like the cliff of Meru covered on all sides with masses of clouds. Thy sons, however, stood, surrounding Bhishma on all sides with a large force (for protecting him). Then commenced a fierce battle (between the Kurus and the Pandavas)."

SECTION 111

Sanjaya said, "Arjuna then, O king, beholding the prowess of Bhishma in battle, addressed Sikhandin saying, 'Proceed towards the grandsire. Thou shouldst not entertain the slightest fear of Bhishma today. Even I will throw him down from his excellent car by means of my sharp shafts'. Thus addressed by Partha, Sikhandin, O bull of Bharata's race, having heard those words, rushed at the son of Ganga. And so Dhrishtadyumna also, O king, and the mighty car-warrior Abhimanyu, having heard those words of Partha, joyfully rushed at Bhishma. And old Virata and Drupada, and Kuntibhoja also, clad in mail, rushed at Bhishma in the very sight of thy son. And Nakula, Sahadeva, and the valiant king Yudhishthira also, and all the rest of the warriors, O monarch, rushed against Bhishma. As regards thy warriors O king, that rushed, according to the measure of their might and courage, against those mighty car-warriors (of the Pandava army) united together, listen to me as I speak (of them) unto thee. Like a young tiger attacking a bull, Chitrasena, O king, rushed against Chekitana who in that battle was proceeding for getting at Bhishma. Kritavarman, O king, resisted Dhrishtadyumna who had reached the presence of Bhishma and who was exerting himself with great activity and vigour in that battle. Somadatta's son, O monarch, with great activity, resisted Bhimasena excited with fury and desirous of slaying Bhishma. Similarly Vikarna, desirous of (protecting) Bhishma's life, resisted the brave Nakula who was scattering innumerable arrows around. And so, O king, Kripa the son of Saradwat, excited with rage, resisted Sahadeva proceeding towards Bhishma's car. And the mighty Durmukha rushed at that Rakshasa of cruel deeds, viz., the mighty son of Bhishmasena, desirous of Bhishma's slaughter. Thy son Duryodhana himself resisted Satyaki proceeding to battle. Sudakshina the ruler of the Kamavojas, O king, resisted Abhimanyu, O monarch, who was proceeding towards Bhishma's car. And Aswatthaman, O king, excited with rage, resisted old Virata and Drupada, those two chastisers of foes united together. And Bharadwaja's son, exerting himself with vigour in battle, resisted the eldest Pandava, that is to say, king Yudhishthira the Just, who was desirous of Bhishma's death. And that great bowman, viz., Dussasana, in that battle, resisted Arjuna who was rushing with great speed, with Sikhandin before him, desirous of coming upon Bhishma, O monarch, and illuminating the ten quarters (with his bright weapons). And other warriors of thy army resisted in that great battle other mighty car-warriors of the Pandavas proceeding against Bhishma. Dhrishtadyumna, that mighty car-warrior, excited with rage, rushed against Bhishma alone and addressing the troops, repeatedly said in a loud voice, 'There, Arjuna, that delighter of Kuru's race, is proceeding against Bhishma in battle. Rush ye against Ganga's son. Be not afraid. Bhishma will not be able to attack you in battle. [Literally, "will not get or obtain you."] Vasava himself cannot venture to fight with Arjuna in battle. What therefore, need be said of Bhishma who, though possessed of bravery in battle, is feeble and old." Hearing these words of their commander, the mighty car-warriors of the Pandava army, filled with joy, rushed towards the car of Ganga's son. Many foremost of men, however, of thy army cheerfully received and resisted those heroes coming towards Bhishma like impetuous mass of living energy. That mighty car-warrior, Dussasana, abandoning all fears, rushed against Dhananjaya, desirous of protecting the life of Bhishma. And so the heroic Pandavas also, O king, rushed in. battle against thy sons, those mighty car-warriors, stationed about Bhishma's car. And then, O king we beheld a highly wonderful incident, viz., that Partha, having proceeded as far as Dussasana's car, could not advance further. As the continent resists the surging sea, even so did thy son (Dussasana) resist the angry son of Pandu. Both of them were foremost of car-warriors. Both of them, O Bharata, were invincible. Both of them, in beauty and splendour, O Bharata, resembled the Sun or the Moon. Both of them were excited with wrath. And each of them desired to slay the other. And they encountered each other in dreadful battle like Maya and Sakra in days of old. And Dussasana, O king, in that battle pierced the son of Pandu with three shafts and Vasudeva with twenty. Then Arjuna, excited with rage upon beholding him of Vrishni's race thus afflicted, pierced Dussasana with a hundred shafts. These, penetrating through the latter's armour, drank his blood in that battle. Then Dussasana, excited with wrath, pierced Partha with five shafts. And once more, O chief of the Bharatas, he pierced Arjuna in the forehead with three sharp shafts. And with those shafts sticking to his forehead, the son of Pandu looked beautiful in that battle, like Meru, O king with its tall crests. That great bowman, viz., Partha, then thus deeply pierced by thy son wielding the bow, looked resplendent in that battle like a flowering Kinsuka. The son of Pandu then, excited with rage, afflicted Dussasana, like Rahu inflamed with rage on the fifteenth day of the lighted fortnight afflicting the Moon at full. Thus afflicted by that mighty warrior, thy son, O king, pierced Partha in that battle with many shafts whetted on stone and winged with the features of the Kanka bird. Then Partha, cutting off Dussasana's bow and splitting his car with three shafts, sped at him many fierce arrows resembling the darts of Death. Thy son, however, cut off all those shafts of Partha exerting himself with vigour before they could reach him. All this seemed highly wonderful. Then thy son pierced Partha with many shafts of great sharpness. Then Partha, excited with rage in that battle, placed on his bowstring a number of shafts whetted on stone and furnished with wings of gold and aiming them, sped them all at his foe. These, O king, penetrated the body of that high-souled warrior, like swans, O monarch, diving into a lake. Thus afflicted by the high-souled son of Pandu, thy son avoiding Partha, quickly proceeded to the car of Bhishma. Indeed, Bhishma then became an island unto him who was thus sinking into fathomless waters. Regaining consciousness then, thy son, O monarch, endued with heroism and prowess, once more began to resist Partha with sharp arrows like Purandara resisting (the Asura) Vritra. Of huge form, thy son began to pierce Arjuna, but the latter was scarcely pained (at all this)."

SECTION 112

Sanjaya said, "The mighty bowman (Alamvusha) the son of Rishyasringa, in that battle, resisted Satyaki clad in mail and proceeding towards Bhishma. He of Madhu's race, however, O king, excited with wrath, pierced the Rakshasa with nine arrows, smiling the while, O Bharata. And so the Rakshasa also, O king, excited with wrath, afflicted him of Madhu's race, viz., that bull of Sini's line, with nine arrows. Then Sini's grandson, that slayer of hostile heroes, of Madhu's race, excited with rage, sped in that battle a profusion of arrows at the Rakshasa. Then that mighty-aimed Rakshasa pierced Satyaki, of prowess incapable of being baffled, with many sharp arrows, and uttered a loud shout. Then he of Madhu's race, endued with great energy, though deeply pierced by the Rakshasa in that battle, still, relying upon his prowess, laughed (at his wounds) and uttered loud roars. Then Bhagadatta, excited with rage, afflicted him of Madhu's race in that battle with many sharp arrows like a guide piercing a huge elephant with the hook. Then that foremost of car-warriors, viz., the grandson of Sini, abandoning the Rakshasa in battle, sped many straight shafts at the ruler of the Pragjyotishas. The ruler of the Pragjyotishas then, with a broad-headed arrow of great sharpness, displaying great lightness of hand, cut off, the large bow of Satyaki. Then that slayer of hostile heroes, excited with rage and taking up another bow of greater impetus, pierced Bhagadatta in that battle with many sharp arrows. That mighty bowman, viz., Bhagadatta, then deeply pierced, began to lick the corners of his mouth. And he then hurled at his foe, in that dreadful battle, a tough dart, made wholly of iron, decked with gold and stones of lapis lazuli, and fierce as the rod of Yama himself. Sped with the might of Bhagadatta's arm and coursing towards him impetuously, Satyaki, O king, cut that dart in twain by means of his shafts. Thereupon that dart fell down suddenly, like a great meteor shorn of its splendour. Beholding the dart baffled, thy son (Duryodhana), O monarch, surrounded him of Madhu's race with a large number of cars. And seeing that mighty car-warrior among the Vrishnis thus surrounded, Duryodhana, angrily addressing all his brothers, said, 'Take such steps, ye Kauravas, that Satyaki may not, in this battle, escape you and this large division of cars, with life. If he be slain, the vast host of the Pandavas may be regarded as slain also.' Accepting Duryodhana's words with the answer--So be it,--those mighty car-warriors fought with Sini's grandson in the view of Bhishma. The mighty ruler of the Kamvojas, in that battle, resisted Abhimanyu who was proceeding against Bhishma. The son of Arjuna, having pierced the king with many straight shafts, once more pierced that monarch, O monarch, with four and sixty shafts. Sudakshina, however, desirous of Bhishma's life, pierced Abhimanyu in that battle with five arrows and his charioteer with nine. And the battle that took place there, in consequence of the meeting of those two warriors, was fierce in the extreme. That grinder of foes Sikhandin, then rushed at the of Ganga. Old Virata and Drupada, those mighty car-warriors, both excited with rage, rushed to battle with Bhishma, resisting the large host of the Kauravas as they went. That best of car-warriors, viz., Aswatthaman, excited with rage, encountered both those warriors. Then commenced a battle, O Bharata, between him and them. Virata then, O chastiser of foes, struck, with broad-headed shafts, that mighty bowman and ornament of battle, viz., Drona's son, as the latter advanced against them. And Drupada also pierced him with three sharp shafts. Then the preceptor's soil, Aswatthaman, coming upon those mighty warriors thus striking him, viz., the brave Virata and Drupada both proceeding towards Bhishma, pierced them both with many shafts. Wonderful was the conduct that we then beheld of those two old warriors, inasmuch as they checked all those fierce shafts shot by Drona's son. Like an infuriate elephant in the forest rushing against an infuriate compeer, Kripa, the son of Saradwat, proceeded against Sahadeva who was advancing upon Bhishma. And Kripa, brave in battle, quickly struck that mighty car-warrior, viz., the son of Madri, with seventy shafts decked with gold. The son of Madri, however, cut Kripa's bow in twain by means of his shafts. And cutting off his bow, Sahadeva then pierced Kripa with nine arrows. Taking up then, in that battle, another bow capable of bearing a great strain Kripa, excited with rage and desirous of Bhishma's life, cheerfully struck Madri's son in that battle with ten shafts. And so the son of Pandu, in return, desirous of Bhishma's death, excited with rage, struck the wrathful Kripa in the chest (with many shafts). And then occurred there a terrible and fierce battle. That scorcher of foes, viz., Vikarna, desirous of saving the grandsire Bhishma, excited with rage in that battle, pierced Nakula with sixty arrows. Nakula also, deeply pierced by thy intelligent son, pierced Vikarna in return with seven and seventy shafts. There those two tigers among men, those two chastisers of foes, those two heroes, struck each other for the sake of Bhishma, like two bovine bulls in a fold. Thy son Durmukha, endued with great prowess, proceeded, for the sake of Bhishma, against Ghatotkacha advancing to battle and slaughtering thy army as he came. Hidimva's son, however, O king, excited with rage, struck Durmukha, that chastiser of foes, in the chest a straight shaft. The heroic Durmukha then, shouting cheerfully, pierced Bhimasena's son on the field of battle with sixty shafts of keen points. That mighty car-warrior, viz., the son of Hridika resisted Dhrishtadyumna, that foremost of car-warriors, who was advancing to battle from desire of Bhishma's slaughter. The son of Prishata, however, having pierced Kritavarman with five shafts made wholly of iron, once more, struck him quickly in the centre of the chest fifty shafts. And similarly, O king, Prishata's son struck Kritavarman with nine sharp and blazing shaft, winged with the feathers of the Kanka bird. Encountering each other with great vigour, the battle that took place between them for Bhishma's sake was as fierce as that between Vritra and Vasava. Against Bhimasena who was advancing upon the mighty Bhishma, proceeded Bhurisravas with great speed, saying,--Wait, Wait,--And the son of Somadatta struck Bhima in the centre of the chest with an arrow of exceeding sharpness and golden wings in that battle. And the valiant Bhimasena, with that arrow on his chest, looked beautiful, O best of kings, like the Krauncha mountain in days of old with the dart of Skanda. And those two bulls among men, enraged in battle, shot at each other shafts brightly polished by their forgers and endued with effulgence of the Sun. Bhima, longing for Bhishma's death, fought with the mighty son of Somadatta, and the latter, desirous of Bhishma's victory, fought with the former, each carefully seeking to counteract the other's feats. Bharadwaja's son resisted Yudhishthira the son of Kunti, who, accompanied by a large force, was coming towards Bhishma. Hearing the rattle of Drona's car, O king, that resembled the roar of the clouds, the Prabhadrakas, O sire, began to tremble. That large force, of Pandu's son, resisted by Drona in battle, could not, exerting vigorously, advance even one step. Thy son Chitrasena, O king, resisted Chekitana of wrathful visage who was exerting vigorously for coming upon Bhishma. Possessed of great prowess and great dexterity of hand, that mighty car-warrior for the sake of Bhishma, battled with Chekitana, O Bharata, according to the utmost of his power. And Chekitana also fought with Chitrasena to the utmost of his power. And the battle that took place there in consequence of the meeting of those two warriors, was exceedingly fierce. As regards Arjuna, although he was resisted by all means, O Bharata, he still compelled thy son to turn back and then crushed thy troops. Dussasana however, to the utmost stretch of his power, began to resist Partha, wishing, O Bharata, to protect Bhishma. The army of thy son, O Bharata, undergoing such slaughter, began to be agitated here and there by many foremost car-warriors (of the Pandava)."

SECTION 113

Sanjaya said, "The heroic Drona, that great bowman endued with the prowess of an infuriate elephant, that foremost of men possessed of great might, taking up his large bow which was capable of checking even an infuriate elephant, and shaking it (in his hands), was engaged in afflicting the Pandava ranks, having penetrated into their midst. That valiant warrior acquainted with every omen, beholding the omens on all sides, addressed his son who also was scorching the hostile ranks and said these words, 'This is that day, O son, on which the mighty Partha, desirous of slaying Bhishma in battle, will exert himself to the best of his might. My arrows are coming out (of the quiver, of their own accord). My bow seems to yawn. My weapon seems unwilling to obey my behests, and my heart also is cheerless. Animals and birds are uttering fearful and incessant cries. Vultures seem to

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disappear beneath the feet of the Bharata troops. The Sun himself seems to have lost hue. The quarters are all ablaze. The Earth seems to shriek, inspire fear, and tremble everywhere. Kankas, and vultures, and cranes are frequently crying. Jackals are uttering inauspicious and fierce yells foreboding great danger. Large meteors seem to fall from the centre of the solar disc. The constellation called Parigha, with a trunkless form, appeareth around the Sun. The solar and the lunar discs have become awful, foreboding great danger to Kshatriyas about the mangling of their bodies. The idols of the Kuru king in his temples tremble and laugh and dance and weep. The illustrious Moon riseth with his horns downward. The bodies of the kings belonging to the Kuru army all seem to be pale, and though clad in mail, are shorn of splendour. The loud blare of Panchajanya and the twang of Gandiva are heard on all sides of both the armies. Without doubt, Arjuna, relying upon his great weapons and avoiding other warriors will advance upon the grandsire. The pores of my body are contracting, and my heart also is depressed, thinking, O mighty-armed one, of the encounter between Bhishma and Arjuna. Keeping on his fore the Panchala prince of sinful soul and conversant with deceit, Partha is proceeding towards Bhishma for battle. Bhishma said before that he would not slay Sikhandin. By the Creator had that one been made female, though through chance he subsequently became a male person. That mighty son of Yajnasena is also an inauspicious omen (by himself). The son of the Ocean-going (Ganga) will not strike that person of inauspicious self. Thinking of this, viz., that Arjuna, excited with wrath, is about to fall upon the aged Kuru grandsire, my heart is exceedingly depressed. The wrath of Yudhishthira, an encounter between Bhishma and Arjuna in battle, and an endeavour like this (of the shooting of weapons) by myself,--these (three) are certainly fraught with great harm to creatures. Arjuna is endued with great energy; he is powerful, brave, accomplished in weapons, and possessed of valour that is very active. Capable of shooting his arrows to a great distance and shooting them with force, he is, besides, acquainted with omens, Endued with great might and intelligence, and above fatigue, that foremost of warriors is incapable of defeat by the very gods with Vasava at their head. The son of Pandu possesses terrible weapons and is ever victorious in battle. Avoiding his path, go thou to battle (for Bhishma's victory) O thou of rigid vows. Today in this dreadful battle thou wilt behold a great carnage. The beautiful and costly coats of mail, decked with gold, of brave warriors will be pierced with straight shafts. And the tops of standards, and bearded javelins, and bows, and bright lances of sharp points, and darts bright with gold, and the standards on the backs of elephants, will all be cut off by Kiritin in wrath. O son, this is not the time when dependants should take care of their lives. Go to battle, keeping heaven before thee, and for the sake of fame and victory. There, the ape-bannered (Arjuna) crosseth on his car the river of battle that is awful and incapable of being easily crossed, and hath cars, elephants, and steeds, for its eddies. Regard for Brahmanas, self-restraint, liberality, asceticism, and noble conduct, are seen in Yudhishthira alone who hath for his brothers Dhananjaya, and the mighty Bhimasena, and the twin sons of Madri by Pandu, and who hath Vasudeva of the Vrishni race for his protector. The wrath, born of grief, of that Yudhishthira whose body hath been purified by the flames of penance, directed to the wicked-souled son of Dhritarashtra, is consuming this Bharata host. There cometh Partha, having Vasudeva for his protector, checking (as he cometh) this entire Dhartarashtra army. Behold, Kiritin is agitating this host like a large whale agitating the vast sea of crested waves. Hark, cries of distress and woe are heard in the van of the army. Go, encounter the heir of the Panchala king. As for myself, I will proceed against Yudhishthira. The heart of king Yudhishthira's very strong array is difficult of access. Inaccessible as the interior of the sea, it is guarded on all sides by Atirathas. Satyaki, and Abhimanyu and Dhrishtadyumna, and Vrikodara, and the twins, even these are protecting that ruler of men, viz., king Yudhishthira. Dark as the younger brother of Indra, and risen like a tall Sala, behold Abhimanyu advancing at the head of the (Pandava) host, like a second Phalguna! Take up thy mighty weapons, and with thy large bow in hand proceed against the royal son of Prishata (viz., Sikhandin), and against Vrikodara. Who is there that doth not wish his dear son to live for many years? Keeping the duties of a Kshatriya, however, before me, I am engaging thee (to this task). So Bhishma also, in this battle, is consuming the mighty host of the Pandavas. O son, he is, in battle, equal to Yama* or Varuna* himself'." [* Yama, also known as Yamaraja, Kala and Dharmaraja, is the Hindu god of death and justice; Varuna is the god of the sky.]

SECTION 114

Sanjaya said, "Hearing these words of the high-souled Drona, Bhagadatta and Kripa and Salya and Kritavarman, and Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti, and Jayadratha the ruler of the Sindhus, and Chitrasena and Vikarna and Durmarshana and others, these ten warriors of thy army, supported by a large host consisting of many nationalities, fought with Bhimasena, desirous of winning high renown in the battle for Bhishma's sake. And Salya struck Bhima with nine arrows, and Kritavarman struck him with three, and Kripa with nine. And Chitrasena and Vikarna and Bhagadatta, O sire, each struck him with ten arrows. And the ruler of the Sindhus struck him with three, and Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti each struck him with five arrows. And Duryodhana struck that son of Pandu with twenty sharp arrows. Bhimasena, O king, pierced in return every one of those kings, those foremost of men in the world, those mighty car-warriors of the Dhartarashtra army, one after another. The brave Pandava, that slayer of hostile heroes, pierced Salya with seven arrows, and Kritavarman with eight. And he cut off Kripa's bow with arrow fixed thereon, O Bharata, in the middle, dividing it in twain. And after thus cutting off his bow, he pierced Kripa once more with seven arrows. And he struck Vinda and Anuvinda with three arrows each. And he pierced Durmarshana with twenty arrows, and Chitrasena with five, and Vikarna with ten, and Jayadratha with five. And once more striking the ruler of the Sindhus with three arrows, he uttered a loud shout, filled with joy. Then Gautama, that foremost of car-warriors, taking up another bow, angrily pierced Bhima with ten sharp shafts. Pierced with those ten shafts like a huge elephant with the hook, the valiant Bhimasena, O king, filled with wrath, struck Gautama in that battle with many shafts. Possessed of the splendour of Yama himself, as he appears at the end of the Yuga, Bhimasena then, with three arrows, despatched unto Death's domain the steeds of the ruler of the Sindhus as also his charioteer. Thereupon that mighty car-warrior, (viz., Jayadratha), quickly jumping down from that car whose steeds had been slain, shot in that battle many sharp-pointed shafts at Bhimasena. Then, O sire, with a couple of broad-headed arrows, he cut off, O chief of the Bharatas, the bow of the high-souled king of the Sindhus in the middle. His bow cut off, himself deprived of car, his steeds and charioteer slain, Jayadratha then, O king, quickly mounted on the car of Chitrasena. Indeed, the son of Pandu achieved in that battle a most wonderful feat, for piercing all those mighty car-warriors and holding them in check, he deprived, O sire, the ruler of the Sindhus of his car in the very sight of all the army. Salya could not brook to see the prowess that Bhimasena displayed, for saying unto him,--Wait, Wait,--he aimed some sharp arrows well-polished by the forger's hands, and pierced Bhima therewith in that battle. And Kripa and Kritavarman and the valiant Bhagadatta, and Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti, and Chitrasena, and Durmarshana, and Vikarna, and the valiant ruler of the Sindhus also, in that battle,--These chastisers of foes, all quickly pierced Bhima for the sake of Salya. Bhima then pierced each of them in return with five arrows. And he pierced Salya then with seventy arrows and once more with ten. And Salya then pierced him with nine arrows and once more with five. And he pierced Bhimasena's charioteer also, deep in his vitals, with a broad-headed arrow. The valiant Bhimasena then, beholding his charioteer Visoka deeply pierced, sped three arrows at the arms and chest of the ruler of Madras. And as regards the other great bowmen, he pierced each of them in that battle With three straight arrows, and then uttered a loud roar like that of a lion. Each of those great bowmen then, exerting himself with vigour, deeply Pierced that son of Pandu skilled in battle, with three arrows in his vitals. That mighty bowman viz., Bhimasena, though pierced deeply, trembled not (but stood still) like a mountain drenched with torrents of rain by showering clouds. Then that mighty car-warrior of the Pandavas, filled with wrath, that celebrated hero, deeply, pierced the ruler of the Madras with three arrows. And he pierced the ruler of the Pragjyotishas, O king, in that battle, with a hundred arrows. Of great renown, he then pierced Kripa with many arrows, and then, displaying great dexterity, he cut off with a keen-edged shaft the bow, with arrow fixed thereon, of the high-souled Kritavarman. Then Kritavarman, that scorcher of foes, taking up another bow, struck Vrikodara between his eyebrows with a long arrow. Bhima, however, in that battle, having pierced Salya with nine arrows made wholly of iron, and Bhagadatta with three, and Kritavarman with eight, pierced each of the others with Gautama at their head, with two arrows. Those warriors also, in return, pierced him, O king, with sharp-pointed shafts. Though thus afflicted by those mighty car-warriors with all kinds of weapons, yet, regarding them all as straw, he coursed on the field without any anxiety. Those foremost of car-warriors (on the other hand), with great coolness, sped at Bhima sharp-pointed arrows by hundreds and thousands. The heroic and mighty Bhagadatta then, in that battle, hurled at him a dart of fierce impetuosity furnished with a golden staff. And the Sindhu king, of strong arms, hurled at him a lance and an axe. And Kripa, O king, hurled at him a Sataghni, and Salya an arrow. And the other great bowmen each sped at him five arrows with great force. The son of the Wind-god then cut off, with a sharp shaft, that lance in twain. And he cut off that axe also with three shafts, as if it were a sesame stalk. And with five shafts winged with the feathers of the Kanka bird, he cut that Sataghni into fragments. That mighty car-warrior then, having cut off the arrow sped by the ruler of the Madras, forcibly cut off the dart sped by Bhagadatta in that battle. As regards the other fierce shafts, Bhimasena, proud of his feats in battle, cut them each into three fragments by means of his own straight shafts. And he struck each of those great bowmen also with three shafts. Then Dhananjaya, during the progress of that dreadful battle, beholding the mighty car-warrior Bhima striking the foe and battling (against many) with his arrows, came thither on his car. Then those bulls among men, of thy army, beholding those two high-souled sons of Pandu together, gave up all hopes of victory. Then Arjuna, desirous of slaying Bhishma, placing Sikhandin before him, approached Bhima who had been fighting with those great car-warriors and fell upon those fierce combatants, numbering ten, of thy army, O Bharata. Then Vibhatsu, desirous of doing what was agreeable to Bhima, pierced all those warriors, O king, who had been battling with Bhima. Then king Duryodhana urged Susarman, for the destruction of both Arjuna and Bhimasena, saying, 'O Susarman, go thou quickly supported by a large force. Slay those two sons of Pandu, viz., Dhananjaya and Vrikodara.' Hearing these words of his, the Trigarta king who ruled the country called Prasthala, quickly rushed in battle upon those two bowmen, viz., Bhima and Dhananjaya, and surrounded them both by many thousands of cars. Then commenced a fierce battle between Arjuna and the foe."

SECTION 115

Sanjaya said, "Arjuna covered with his straight shafts the mighty car-warrior Salya who was struggling vigorously in battle. And he pierced Susarman and Kripa with three arrows each. And in that battle the Atiratha Arjuna, afflicting thy host, struck the ruler of the Pragjyotishas, and Jayadratha the king of the Sindhus, and Chitrasena, and Vikarna, and Kritavarman, and Durmarshana, O monarch, and those two mighty car-warriors, viz., the princes of Avanti, each with three arrows winged with the feathers of the Kanka and the peacock. Jayadratha, staying on the car of Chitrasena, pierced Partha (in return), O Bharata, and then, without loss of time, Bhima also, with his shafts. And Salya, and that foremost of car-warriors, viz., Kripa, both pierced Jishnu, O monarch, with diverse arrows capable of penetrating into the very vitals. Thy sons headed by Chitrasena, O king, each quickly pierced Arjuna and Bhimasena in that battle, O sire, with five sharp shafts. Those two foremost of car-warriors however, viz., those sons of Kunti, those bulls of Bharata's race, began in that battle to afflict the mighty host of the Trigartas. Susarman (in return) pierced Partha with nine swift arrows, and uttered a loud shout frightening the vast host (of the Pandavas). And other heroic car-warriors pierced Bhimasena and Dhananjaya with many straight-going arrows of keen points and golden wings. Amid these car-warriors, however, those two bulls of Bharata's race, viz., the two sons of Kunti, those great car-warriors, looked exceedingly beautiful. And they seemed to sport amid them like two furious lions amid a herd of kine. Cutting off in various ways the bows and arrows of many brave warriors in that battle, those two heroes felled the heads of combatants by hundreds upon hundreds. Innumerable cars were broken, and steeds by hundreds were slain, and many elephants, along with their riders, were laid low on the field in that dreadful battle. And car-warriors and horsemen and elephant-riders in large numbers, O king, deprived of life were seen moving in convulsions all over the field. And the earth was covered with slain elephants and foot-soldiers in large bands, and steeds deprived of life, and cars broken in diverse ways. And the prowess we beheld there of Partha was highly wonderful, in as much as holding in check all those heroes, that mighty warrior caused a great slaughter. Kripa, and Kritavarman, and Jayadratha, the ruler of the Sindhus, and Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti,--these did not forsake the battle. Then that great bowman Bhima, and that mighty car-warrior Arjuna, began in that battle to rout the fierce host of the Kauravas. The kings (in that army) quickly sped at Dhananjaya's car myriads upon myriads and millions upon millions of arrows furnished with peacock feathers. Partha, however, checking those arrows by means of his own arrowy showers, began to send those mighty car-warriors to Yama's abode. The great car-warrior Salya then, excited with wrath and as if sporting in that battle, struck Partha in the chest with some straight shafts of broad heads. Partha then, cutting off by means of five shafts Salya's bow and leathern fence, pierced the latter deeply in the very vitals with many arrows of keen points. Taking up another bow capable of bearing a great strain, the ruler of the Madras then furiously attacked Jishnu with three arrows, O king, and Vasudeva with five. And he struck Bhimasena in the arms and the chest with nine arrows. Then Drona, O king, and that mighty car-warrior, viz., the ruler of the Magadhas, commanded by Duryodhana, both came to that spot where those two mighty car-warriors, viz., Partha and Bhimasena, were slaughtering the mighty host of the Kuru king. Jayatsena (the king of the Magadhas) then, O bull of Bharata's race pierced Bhima, that wielder of awful weapons in battle, with eight sharp arrows. Bhima, however, pierced him (in return) with ten arrows, and

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once more with five. And with another broad-headed shaft he felled Jayatsena's charioteer from his niche in the car. The steeds (of his car), no longer restrained, ran wildly in all directions and thus carried away the ruler of the Magadhas (from battle) in the sight of all the troops. Meanwhile Drona, noticing an opening, pierced Bhimasena, O bull of Bharata's race, with eight keen shafts furnished with heads shaped after the frog's mouth. Bhima, however, ever delighting in battle, pierced the preceptor, who was worthy of paternal reverence, with five broad-headed arrows, and then, O Bharata, with sixty. Arjuna, again piercing Susarman with a large number of arrows made (wholly) of iron, destroyed his troops like the tempest destroying mighty masses of clouds. Then Bhishma, and the king (viz., Duryodhana), and Vrihadvala, the ruler of the Kosalas, excited with rage, advanced upon Bhimasena and Dhananjaya. At this, the heroic warriors of the Pandava army, and Dhrishtadyumna the son of Prishata, rushed in battle against Bhishma who was advancing like Death himself with wide-open mouth. Sikhandin also, sighting the grandsire of the Bharatas, was filled with joy and rushed at him, abandoning all fear of the mighty car-warrior. Then all the Parthas with Yudhishthira at their head, placing Sikhandin in the van, and uniting with the Srinjayas, fought with Bhishma in battle. And similarly all the warriors of thy army, placing Bhishma of regulated vows in their van, fought in battle with all the Parthas headed by Sikhandin. The battle then that commenced there between the Kauravas and the sons of Pandu for the sake of Bhishma's victory or victory over Bhishma, was exceedingly terrible. Indeed, in that game of battle, played for the sake of victory or the reverse, Bhishma, O monarch, became the stake on which the victory of thy army depended. Then Dhrishtadyumna, O king, commanded all the troops, saying, 'Rush against the son of Ganga. Do not fear, ye best of car-warriors. Hearing those words of their generalissimo, the army of the Pandavas quickly advanced against Bhishma, ready to lay down their lives in that dreadful battle. Bhishma then, that foremost of car-warriors, received that large host rushing towards him, like the continent receiving the surging sea."

SECTION 116

Dhritarashtra said, "How, O Sanjaya, did Santanu's son Bhishma of mighty energy fight on the tenth day of battle, with the Pandavas and the Srinjayas? How also did the Kurus resist the Pandavas in battle? Describe to me the great battle fought by Bhishma, that ornament of battle."

Sanjaya said, "I will presently describe to thee, O Bharata, how the Kauravas fought with the Pandavas, and how that battle took place. Day after day many mighty car-warriors of thy army, excited with wrath, were despatched to the other world by the diadem-decked (Arjuna) with his great weapons. The ever-victorious Kuru warrior Bhishma also, agreeably to his vow, always caused a great carnage among the Partha army. O chastiser of foes, beholding Bhishma, fighting at the head of the Kurus, and Arjuna also fighting at the head of the Panchalas, we could not say truly on which side the victory would declare itself. On the tenth day of battle, when Bhishma and Arjuna encountered each other, awful was the carnage that took place. On that day, O scorcher of foes, Santanu's son, Bhishma, conversant with high and mighty weapons, repeatedly slew thousands upon thousands of warriors. Many, O Bharata, whose names and families were not known, but who, endued with great bravery, were unretreating from battle, were on that day slain by Bhishma. Scorching the Pandava army for ten days, Bhishma of virtuous soul, gave up all desire of protecting his life. Wishing his own slaughter presently at the head of his troops,--No more shall I slay large numbers of foremost of warriors.--thought thy mighty-armed sire Devavrata. And seeing Yudhishthira near him, O king, he addressed him, saying, 'O Yudhishthira, O thou of great wisdom, O thou that art acquainted with every branch of learning, listen to these righteous and heaven-leading words, O sire, that I say. O Bharata, I no longer desire to protect, O sire, this body of mine. I have passed much time in slaying large numbers of men in battle. If thou wishest to do what is agreeable to me, strive to slay me, placing Partha with the Panchalas and the Srinjayas at thy van'. Ascertaining this to be his intention, king Yudhishthira of true sight proceeded to battle with the Srinjayas (for his support). Then Dhrishtadyumna, O king, and Pandu's son Yudhishthira, having heard those words of Bhishma urged their array on. And Yudhishthira said, 'Advance! Fight! Vanquish Bhishma in battle. Ye all will be protected by that conqueror of foes, viz., Jishnu of unbaffled aim. And this great bowman, this generalissimo (of our forces), viz., the son of Prishata, as also Bhima, will assuredly protect you. Ye Srinjayas, entertain no fear today of Bhishma in battle. Without doubt, we will vanquish Bhishma today, placing Sikhandin in our van'. Having, on the tenth day of battle, made such a vow, the Pandavas, resolved to (conquer or) go to heaven, advanced, blinded by rage, with Sikhandin and Dhananjaya the son of Pandu to the fore. And they made the most vigorous efforts for the overthrow of Bhishma. Then diverse kings, of great might, urged by thy son, and accompanied by Drona and his son and a large force, and the mighty Dussasana at the head of all his uterine brothers, proceeded towards Bhishma staying in the midst of that battle. Then those brave warriors of thy army, placing Bhishma of high vows in their van, battled with the Parthas headed by Sikhandin. Supported by the Chedis and the Panchalas, the ape-bannered Arjuna, placing Sikhandin ahead, proceeded towards Bhishma, the son of Santanu. And the grandson of Sini battled with Drona's son, and Dhrishtaketu with the descendant of Puru, and Yudhamanyu with thy son Duryodhana at the head of his followers. And Virata, at the head of his forces, encountered Jayadratha supported by his own troops. And Vardhakshatra's heir, O chastiser of foes, encountered thy son Chitrasena armed with excellent bow and arrows. And Yudhishthira proceeded against the mighty bowman Salya at the head of his troops. And Bhimasena, well-protected, proceeded against the elephant-division (of the Kaurava army). And Dhrishtadyumna, the prince of Panchala, excited with fury and accompanied by his brothers, proceeded against Drona, that foremost of all wielders of weapons, invincible, and irresistible. That chastiser of foes, viz., prince Vrihadvala, bearing on his standard the device of the lion, proceeded against Subhadra's son whose standard bore the device of the Karnikara flower. Thy sons, accompanied by many kings, proceeded against Sikhandin and Dhananjaya the son of Pritha, from desire of slaughtering both of them. When the combatants of both armies rushed against each other with awful prowess, the earth shook (under their tread). Beholding Santanu's son in battle, the divisions of thy army and of the foe, O Bharata, became mingled with one another. Tremendous was the din, O Bharata, that arose there of those warriors burning with rage and rushing against each other. And it was heard on all sides, O king. With the blare of conchs and the leonine shouts of the soldiers, the uproar became awful. The splendour, equal to that of either the Sun or the Moon, of bracelets and diadems of all the heroic kings, became dimmed. And the dust that rose looked like a cloud, the flash of bright weapons constituting its lightning. And the twang of bows, the whiz of arrows, the blare of conchs, the loud beat of drums, and the rattle of cars, of both the armies, constituted the fierce roar of those clouds. And the welkin, over the field of battle, in consequence of the bearded darts, the javelins, the swords and showers of arrows of both armies, was darkened. And car-warriors, and horsemen felled horsemen, in that dreadful battle. And elephants killed elephants, and foot-soldiers slew foot-soldiers. And the battle that took place there for Bhishma's sake, between the Kurus and the Pandavas, O tiger among men, was fierce in the extreme, like that between two hawks for a piece of flesh. Engaged in battle, that encounter between those combatants desirous of slaughtering and vanquishing one another, was extremely dreadful."

SECTION 117

Sanjaya said, "Abhimanyu, O king, displaying his prowess for the sake of Bhishma, fought with thy son who was supported by a large force. Then Duryodhana, excited with wrath, struck Abhimanyu in the chest with rune straight arrows, and once more with three. Then in that battle, Arjuna's son, inflamed with wrath, hurled at Duryodhana's car a terrible dart resembling the rod of Death himself. Thy son, however, that mighty car-warrior, O king, with a broad-headed arrow of great sharpness, cut off in twain that dart of terrible force coursing towards him with great speed. Beholding that dart of his drop down on the earth, Arjuna's wrathful son pierced Duryodhana with three shafts in his arms and chest. And once more, O Chief of the Bharatas, that mighty car-warrior of Bharata's race struck the Kuru king with ten fierce shafts in the centre of his chest. And the battle, O Bharata, that took place between those two heroes, viz., Subhadra's son, and that bull of Kuru's race, the former fighting for compassing Bhishma's death and the latter for Arjuna's defeat, was fierce and interesting to behold, and gratifying to the senses, and was applauded by all the kings. That bull among Brahmanas and chastiser of foes, viz., the son of Drona, excited with wrath in that battle, forcibly struck Satyaki in the chest with fierce arrow. The grandson of Sini also, that hero of immeasurable soul, struck the preceptor's son in every vital limbs with nine shafts winged with the feathers of the Kanka bird. Aswatthaman then, in that battle, struck Satyaki (in return) with nine shafts, and once more, quickly, with thirty, in his arms and chest. Then that great bowman Of the Satwata race, possessed of great fame, deeply pierced by Drona's son, pierced the latter (in return) with arrows. The mighty car-warrior Paurava, covering Dhrishtaketu in that battle with his shafts, mangled that great bowman exceedingly. The mighty car-warrior Dhrishtaketu, endued with great strength, quickly pierced the former with thirty arrows. Then the mighty car-warrior Paurava cut off Dhrishtaketu's bow, and uttering a loud shout, pierced him with whetted shafts. Dhrishtaketu then taking up another bow, pierced Paurava, O king, with three and seventy shafts of great sharpness. Those two great bowmen and mighty car-warriors, both of gigantic stature, pierced each other with showers of arrows. Each succeeded in cutting off the other's bow, and each slew the other's steeds. And both of them, thus deprived of their cars, then encountered each other in a battle with swords. And each took up a beautiful shield made of bull's hide and docked with a hundred moons and graced with a hundred stars. And each of them also took up a polished sword of brilliant lustre. And thus equipt, they rushed, O king at each other, like two lions in the deep forest, both seeking the companionship of the same lioness in her season. They wheeled in beautiful circles, advanced and retreated, and displayed other movements, seeking to strike each other. Then Paurava, excited with wrath, addressed Dhrishtaketu, saying--Wait, Wait,--and struck him on the frontal bone with that large scimitar of his. The king of the Chedis also, in that battle, struck Paurava, that bull among men, on his shoulder-joint, with his large scimitar of sharp edge. Those two repressors of foes thus encountering each other in dreadful battle and thus striking each other, O king, both fell down on the field. Then thy son Jayatsena, taking Paurava up on his car, removed him from the field of battle on that vehicle. And as regards Dhrishtaketu, the valiant and heroic Sahadeva, the son of Madri, possessed of great prowess, bore him away from the field.

"Chitrasena, having pierced Susarman with many arrows made wholly of iron, once more pierced him with sixty arrows and once more with nine. Susarman, however, excited with wrath in battle, pierced thy son, O king, with hundreds of arrows. Chitrasena then, O monarch, excited with rage, pierced his adversary with thirty straight shafts. Susarman, however, pierced Chitrasena again in return. [This Susarman was not the king of the Trigartas but another person who was on the Pandava side.]

"In that battle for the destruction of Bhishma, Subhadra's son, enhancing his fame and honour, fought with prince Vrihadvala, putting forth his prowess for aiding (his sire) Partha and then proceeded towards Bhishma's front. The ruler of the Kosalas, having pierced the son of Arjuna with five shafts made of iron, once more pierced him with twenty straight shafts. Then the son of Subhadra pierced the ruler of Kosalas with eight shafts made wholly of iron. He succeeded not, however, in making the ruler of the Kosalas to tremble, and, therefore, he once more pierced him with many arrows. And Phalguni's son then cut off Vrihadvala's bow, and struck him again with thirty arrows winged with feathers of the Kanka bird. Prince Vrihadvala then, taking up another bow, angrily pierced the son of Phalguni in that battle with many arrows. Verily, O scorcher of foes, the battle, for Bhishma's sake, that took place between them, both excited with rage and both conversant with every mode of fight, was like the encounter of Vali and Vasava in days of old on the occasion of the battle between the gods and the Asuras.

"Bhimasena, fighting against the elephant-division, looked highly resplendent like Sakra armed with the thunder after splitting large mountains. Indeed, elephants, huge as hills, slaughtered by Bhimasena in battle, fell down in numbers on the field, filling the earth with their shrieks. Resembling massive heaps of antimony, and of mountain-like proportions, those elephants with frontal globes split open, lying prostrate on the earth, seemed like mountains strewn over the earth's surface. The mighty bowman Yudhishthira, protected by a large force, afflicted the ruler of the Madras, encountering him in that dreadful battle. The ruler of the Madras, in return, displaying his prowess for the sake of Bhishma, afflicted the son of Dharma, that mighty car-warrior, in battle. The king of Sindhus, having pierced Virata with nine straight arrows of keen points, once more struck him with thirty. Virata, however, O king, that commander of a large division, struck Jayadratha in the centre of his chest with thirty shafts of keen points. The ruler of the Matsyas and the ruler of the Sindhus, both armed with beautiful bows and beautiful scimitars, both decked with handsome coats of mail and weapons and standards, and both of beautiful forms looked resplendent in that battle.

"Drona, encountering Dhrishtadyumna the prince of the Panchalas in dreadful battle, fought fiercely with his straight shafts. Then Drona, O king, having cut off the large bow of Prishata's son, pierced him deeply with fifty arrows. Then that slayer of hostile heroes, viz., the son of Prishata, taking up another bow, sped at Drona who was contending with him, many arrows. The mighty car-warrior Drona however, cut off all those arrows, striking them with his own. And then Drona sped at Drupada's son five fierce shafts. Then that slayer of hostile heroes, viz., the son of Prishata, excited with rage, hurled at Drona in that battle a mace resembling the rod of Death himself. Drona however, with fifty arrows checked that mace decked with gold as it coursed impetuously towards him. Thereupon that mace, cut into fragments, O king, by those shafts shot from Drona's bow, fell down on the earth. Then that scorcher of foes, viz., the son of Prishata, beholding his mace baffled, hurled at Drona an excellent dart made wholly of iron. Drona, however, O Bharata, cut that dart with nine shafts in that battle and then afflicted that great bowman, viz.,

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the son of Prishata. Thus took place, O king, that fierce and awful battle between Drona and the son of Prishata, for the sake of Bhishma.

"Arjuna, getting at the son of Ganga, afflicted him with many arrows of keen points, and rushed at him like an infuriate elephant in the forest upon another. King Bhagadatta, however, of great prowess then rushed at Arjuna, and checked his course in battle with showers of arrows. Arjuna then, in that dreadful battle, pierced Bhagadatta's elephant coming towards him, with many polished arrows of iron, that were all bright as silver and furnished with keen points. The son of Kunti, meanwhile, O king, urged Sikhandin, saying,--Proceed, proceed, towards Bhishma, and slay him!--Then, O elder brother of Pandu, the ruler of Pragjyotishas, abandoning that son of Pandu, quickly proceeded, O king, against the car of Drupada. Then Arjuna, O monarch, speedily proceeded towards Bhishma, placing Sikhandin ahead. And then there took place a fierce battle, for all the brave combatants of thy army rushed with great vigour against Arjuna, uttering loud shouts. And all this seemed extremely wonderful. Like the wind dispersing in the summer masses of clouds in the welkin, Arjuna dispersed, O king, all those diverse divisions of thy sons. Sikhandin, however, without any anxiety, coming up at the grandsire of the Bharatas, quickly pierced him with great many arrows. As regards Bhishma, his car was then his fire-chamber. His bow was the flame of that fire. And swords I and darts and maces constituted the fuel of that fire. And the showers of arrows he shot were the blazing sparks of that fire with which he was then consuming Kshatriyas in that battle. As a raging conflagration with constant supply of fuel, wandereth amid masses of dry grass when aided by the wind, so did Bhishma blaze up with his flames, scattering his celestial weapons. And the Kuru hero slew the Somakas that followed Partha in that battle. Indeed that mighty car-warrior checked also the other forces of Arjuna, by means of his straight and whetted shafts furnished with wings of gold. Filling in that dreadful battle all the points of the compass, cardinal and subsidiary, with his leonine shouts, Bhishma felled many car-warriors, O king, (from their cars) and many steeds along with their riders. And he caused large bodies of cars to look like forests of palmyras shorn of their leafy heads. That foremost of all wielders of weapons, in that battle, deprived cars and steeds and elephants, of their riders. Hearing the twang of his bow and the slap of his palms, both resembling the roll of the thunder, the troops, O king, trembled all over the field. The shafts, O chief of men, of thy sire were never bootless as they fell. Indeed, shot from Bhishma's bow they never fell only touching the bodies of the foe (but pierced them through in every case). We saw crowds of cars, O king, deprived of riders, but unto which were yoked fleet steeds, dragged on all sides with the speed of the wind. Full fourteen thousand great car-warriors of noble parentage, prepared to lay down their lives, unretreating and brave, and possessed of standards decked with gold, belonging to the Chedis, the Kasis, and the Karushas, approaching Bhishma, that hero who resembled the Destroyer himself with wide-open mouth, were despatched to the other world, with their steeds, cars and elephants. There was not, O king, a single great car-warrior among the Somakas, who, having approached Bhishma in that battle, returned with life from that engagement. Beholding Bhishma's prowess, people regarded all those warriors (who approached him) as already despatched to the abode of the king of the Dead. Indeed, no car-warrior ventured to approach Bhishma in battle, except the heroic Arjuna having white steeds (yoked unto his car) and owning Krishna for his charioteer, and Sikhandin, the prince of Panchala, of immeasurable energy."

SECTION 118

Sanjaya said,--Sikhandin, O bull among men, approaching Bhishma in battle, struck him in the centre of the chest with ten broad-headed arrows The son of Ganga, however, O Bharata, only looked at Sikhandin with wrath and as if consuming the Panchala prince with that look. Remembering his femininity, O king, Bhishma, in the very sight of all, struck him not. Sikhandin, however, understood it not. Then Arjuna, O monarch, addressed Sikhandin, saying,--'Rush quickly and slay the grandsire. What needst thou say, O hero? Slay the mighty car-warrior Bhishma. I do not see any other warrior in Yudhishthira's army who is competent to fight with Bhishma in battle, save thee, O tiger among men. I say this truly.' Thus addressed by Partha, Sikhandin, O bull of Bharata's race, quickly covered the grandsire with diverse kinds of weapons. Disregarding those shafts, thy sire Devavrata began, with his shafts, to check the angry Arjuna only in that battle. And that mighty car-warrior, O sire, began also to despatch, with his shafts of keen points, the whole army of the Pandavas to the other world. The Pandavas also, O king, after the same manner, supported by their vast host, began to overwhelm Bhishma like the clouds covering the maker of day. O bull of Bharata's race, surrounded on all sides, that Bharata hero consumed many brave warriors in that battle like a raging conflagration in the forest (consuming numberless trees). The prowess that we then beheld there of thy son (Dussasana) was wonderful, inasmuch as he battled with Partha and protected the grandsire at the same time. With that feat of thy son Dussasana, that illustrious bowman, all the people there were highly gratified. Alone he battled with all the Pandavas having Arjuna amongst them; and he fought with such vigour that the Pandavas were unable to resist him. Many car-warriors were in that battle deprived of their cars by Dussasana. And many mighty bowmen on horseback and many mighty-warriors, elephants, pierced with Dussasana's keen shafts, fell down on the earth. And many elephants, afflicted with his shafts, ran away in all directions. As a fire fiercely blazeth forth with bright flames when fed with fuel, so did thy son blaze forth, consuming the Pandava host. And no car-warrior, O Bharata, of the Pandava host ventured to vanquish or even proceed against that warrior of gigantic proportions, save Indra's son (Arjuna) owning white steeds and having Krishna for his charioteer. Then Arjuna also called Vijaya, vanquishing Dussasana in battle, O king, in the very sight of all the troops, proceeded against Bhishma. Though vanquished, thy son, however, relying upon the might of Bhishma's arms, repeatedly comforted his own side and battled with the Pandavas with great fierceness. Arjuna, O king, fighting with his foes in that battle, looked exceedingly resplendent. Then Sikhandin, in that battle, O king, pierced the grandsire with many arrows whose touch resembled that of the bolts of heaven and which were as fatal as the poison of the snake. These arrows, however, O monarch, caused thy sire little pain, for the son of Ganga received them laughingly. Indeed, as a person afflicted with heat cheerfully receives torrents of rain, even so did the son of Ganga received those arrows of Sikhandin. And the Kshatriyas there, O king, beheld Bhishma in that great battle as a being of fierce visage who was incessantly consuming the troops of the high-souled Pandavas.

"Then thy son (Duryodhana), addressing all his warriors, said unto them, 'Rush ye against Phalguni from all sides. Bhishma, acquainted with the duties of a commander, will protect you'. Thus addressed, the Kaurava troops casting off all fear, fought with the Pandavas. (And once more, Duryodhana said unto them). 'With his tall standard bearing the device of the golden palmyra, Bhishma stayeth, protecting the honour and the armour of all the Dhartarashtra warriors. The very gods, striving vigorously, cannot vanquish the illustrious and mighty Bhishma. What need be said, therefore, of the Parthas who are mortals? Therefore, ye warriors, fly not away from the field, getting Phalguni for a foe. I myself, striving vigorously, will today fight with the Pandavas.. uniting with all of you, ye lords of earth, exerting yourselves actively.' Hearing these words, O monarch, of thy son with bow in hand, many mighty combatants, excited with rage, belonging to the Videhas, the Kalingas, and the diverse tribes of the Daserkas, fell upon Phalguni. And many combatants also, belonging to the Nishadas, the Sauviras, the Valhikas, the Daradas, the Westerners, the Northerners, the Malavas, the Abhighatas, the Surasenas, the Sivis, the Vasatis, the Salwas, the Sakas, the Trigartas, the Amvashthas, and the Kekayas, similarly fell upon Partha, like flights of insects upon a fire. The mighty Dhananjaya, otherwise called Vibhatsu, then, O monarch, calling to mind diverse celestial weapons and aiming them at those great car-warriors at the heads of their respective divisions, quickly consumed them all, by means of those weapons of great force, like fire consuming a flight of insects. And while that firm bowman was (by means of his celestial weapons) creating thousands upon thousands of arrows, his Gandiva looked highly resplendent in the welkin. Then those Kshatriyas, O monarch, afflicted with those arrows with their tall standards torn and overthrown, could not even together, approach the ape-bannered (Partha). Car-warriors fell down with their standards, and horsemen with their horses, and elephant-riders with their elephants, attacked by Kiritin with his shafts. And the earth was soon covered all on all sides with the retreating troops of those kings, routed in consequence of the shafts shot from Arjuna's arms. Partha then, O monarch, having routed the Kaurava army, sped many arrows at Dussasana. Those arrows with iron heads, piercing thy son Dussasana through, all entered the earth like snakes through ant-hills. Arjuna then slew Dussasana's steeds and then felled his charioteer. And the lord Arjuna, with twenty shafts, deprived Vivingsati of his car, and struck him five straight shafts. And piercing Kripa and Vikarna and Salya with many arrows made wholly of iron, Kunti's son owning white steeds deprived all of them of their cars. Thus deprived of their cars and vanquished in battle by Savyasachin, Kripa and Salya, O sire, and Dussasana, and Vikarna and Vivingsati, all fled away. Having vanquished those mighty car-warriors, O chief of the Bharatas, in the forenoon, Partha blazed up in that battle like a smokeless conflagration. Scattering his shafts all around like the Sun shedding rays of light, Partha felled many other kings, O monarch. Making those mighty car-warriors turn their backs upon the field by means of his arrowy showers, Arjuna caused a large river of bloody current to flow in that battle between the hosts of the Kurus and the Pandavas, O Bharata. Large numbers of elephants and steeds and car-warriors were slain by car-warriors. And many were the car-warriors slain by elephants, and many also were the steeds slain by foot-soldiers. And the bodies of many elephant-riders and horsemen and car-warriors, cut off in the middle, as also their heads, fell down on every part of the field. And the field of battle, O king, was strewn with (slain) princes,--mighty car-warriors,--falling or fallen, decked with ear-rings and bracelets. And it was also strewn with the bodies of many warriors cut off by car-wheels, or trodden down by elephants. And foot-soldiers ran away, and horsemen also with their horses. And many elephants and car-warriors fell down on all sides. And many cars, with wheels and yokes and standards broken, lay scattered all about on the field. And the field of battle, dyed with the gore of large numbers of elephants, steeds, and car-warriors, looked beautiful like a red cloud, in the autumnal sky. Dogs, and crows, and vultures, and wolves, and jackals, and many other frightful beasts and birds, set up loud howls, at the sight of the food that lay before them. Diverse kinds of winds blew along all directions. And Rakshasas and evil spirits were seen there, uttering loud roars. And strings, embroidered with gold, and costly banners, were seen to wave, moved by the wind. And thousands of umbrellas and great cars with standards attached to them, were seen lying scattered about on the field. Then Bhishma, O king, invoking a celestial weapon, rushed at the son of Kunti, in the very sight of all the bowmen. Thereupon Sikhandin, clad in mail, rushed at Bhishma who was dashing towards Arjuna. At this, Bhishma withdrew that weapon resembling fire (in effulgence and energy). Meanwhile Kunti's son owning white steeds slaughtered thy troops, confounding the grandsire."

SECTION 119

Sanjaya said, "When the combatants of both armies, strong in number, were thus disposed in battle array, all those unretreating heroes, O Bharata, set their heart upon the region of Brahma. In course of the general engagement that followed, the same class of combatants did not fight with the same class of combatants. Car-warriors fought not with car-warriors, or foot-soldiers with foot-soldiers, or horsemen with horsemen, or elephant-warriors with elephant-warriors. On the other hand, O monarch, the combatants fought with one another like mad men. Great and dreadful was the calamity that overtook both the armies. In that fierce slaughter when elephants and men spread themselves on the field, all distinctions between them ceased, for they fought indiscriminately.

"Then Salya and Kripa, and Chitrasena, O Bharata, and Dussasana, and Vikarna, those heroes mounted on their bright cars, caused the Pandava host to tremble. Slaughtered in battle by those high-souled warriors, the Pandava army began to reel in diverse ways, O king, like a boat on the waters tossed by the wind. As the wintry cold cuts kine to the quick, so did Bhishma cut the sons of Pandu to the quick. As regards thy army also, many elephants, looking like newly-risen clouds, were felled by the illustrious Partha. And many foremost of warriors too were seen to be crushed by that hero. And struck with arrows and long shafts in thousands, many huge elephants fell down, uttering frightful shrieks of pain. And the field of battle looked beautiful, strewn with the bodies, still decked with ornaments of high-souled warriors deprived of life and with heads still decked with ear-rings. And in that battle, O king, which was destructive of great heroes, when Bhishma and Dhananjaya the son of Pandu put forth their prowess, thy sons, O monarch, beholding the grandsire exert himself vigorously, approached him, with all their troops placed ahead. Desirous of laying down their lives in battle and making heaven itself their goal, they approached the Pandavas in that battle, which was fraught with great carnage. The brave Pandavas also, O king, bearing in mind the many injuries of diverse kinds inflicted upon them before by thee and thy son, O monarch, and casting off all fear, and eager to win the highest heavens, cheerfully fought with thy son and the other warriors of thy army.

"Then the generalissimo of the Pandava army, viz., the mighty car-warrior Dhrishtadyumna, addressing his soldiers, said, 'Ye Somakas, accompanied by the Srinjayas, rush ye at Ganga's son.' Hearing those words of their commander the Somakas and the Srinjayas, though afflicted with showers of arrows, rushed at the son of Ganga. Thus attacked, O king, thy sire Bhishma, influenced by wrath, began to fight with the Srinjayas.

In days of old, O sire, the intelligent Rama had imparted to Bhishma of glorious achievements that instruction in weapons which was so destructive of hostile ranks. Relying on that instruction and causing a great havoc among the troops of the foe, that slayer of hostile heroes, viz., the old Kuru grandsire Bhishma, day after day, slew ten thousand warriors of the Ratha. On the tenth day, however, O bull of Bharata's race, Bhishma, single-handed, slew ten thousand elephants. And then he slew seven great car-warriors among the Matsyas and the Panchalas. In addition to all this, in that dreadful battle five thousand foot-soldiers, and one thousand tuskers, and ten thousand steeds, were also slain by thy sire, O king, through skill acquired by education. Then having thinned the ranks of

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all the kings, he slew Satanika, the dear brother of Virata. And the valiant Bhishma, having slain Satanika in battle, felled, O king, full one thousand Kshatriyas with his broad-headed shafts. Besides these, all the Kshatriyas of the Pandava army who followed Dhananjaya, as soon as they approached Bhishma, had to go to Yama's abode. Covering the Pandava host from every side with showers of arrows, Bhishma stayed in battle at the head of the Kaurava army. Achieving the most glorious feats on the tenth day, as he stayed between the two armies, bow in hand, none of the kings, O monarch, could even look at him, for he then resembled the hot mid-day Sun in the summer sky. As Sakra scorched the Daitya host in battle, even so, O Bharata, did Bhishma scorch the Pandava host. Beholding him thus put forth his prowess, the slayer of Madhu, viz., the son of Devaki, cheerfully addressing Dhananjaya, said, 'There, Bhishma, the son of Santanu, stayeth between the two armies. Slaying him by putting forth thy might, thou mayst win victory. There, at that spot, whence he breaketh our ranks, check him, putting forth thy strength. O lord, none else, save thee, ventureth to bear the arrows of Bhishma. Thus urged, the ape-bannered Arjuna at that moment made Bhishma with his car, steeds, and standard, invisible by means of his arrows. That bull, however, among the foremost of Kurus, by means of his own arrowy showers, pierced those showers of shafts shot by the son of Pandu. Then the king of the Panchalas the valiant Dhrishtaketu, Bhimasena the son of Pandu, Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's race, the twins (Nakula and Sahadeva), Chekitana, and the five Kaikaya brothers, and the mighty-armed Satyaki and Subhadra's son, and Ghatotkacha, and the (five) sons of Draupadi, and Sikhandin, and the valiant Kuntibhoja, and Susarman, and Virata, these and many other powerful warriors of the Pandava army, afflicted by the shafts of Bhishma, seemed to sink in an ocean of grief, Phalguni, however, rescued them all. Then Sikhandin, taking up a mighty weapon and protected by Kiritin, rushed impetuously towards Bhishma alone. The unvanquished Vibhatsu then, knowing what should be done after what, slew all those that followed Bhishma, and then himself rushed at him. And Satyaki, and Chekitana, and Dhristadyumna of Prishata's race, and Virata, and Drupada, and the twin sons of Madri by Pandu, all protected by that firm bowman (viz., Arjuna) rushed against Bhishma alone in that battle. And Abhimanyu, and the five sons of Draupadi also, with mighty weapons upraised, rushed against Bhishma in battle. All those firm bowmen, unretreating from battle, pierced Bhishma in diverse parts of his body with well-aimed shafts. Disregarding all those shafts, large in number, shot by those foremost of princes belonging to the Pandava host, Bhishma of undepressed soul penetrated into the Pandava ranks. And the grandsire baffled all those arrows, as if sporting the while. Frequently looking at Sikhandin the prince of the Panchalas with a laugh, he aimed not a single arrow at him, recollecting his femininity. On the other hand, he slew seven great car-warriors belonging to Drupada's division. Then confused cries of woe soon arose amongst the Matsyas, the Panchalas, and the Chedis, who were together rushing at that single hero. With large numbers of foot-soldiers and steeds and cars, and with showers of arrows, O scorcher of foes, they overwhelmed that single warrior, viz., Bhishma the son of Bhagirathi, that scorcher of foes, like the clouds overwhelming the maker of day. Then in that battle between him and them, which resembled the battle between the gods and the Asuras in days of old, the diadem-decked (Arjuna), placing Sikhandin before him, pierced Bhishma (repeatedly).'

SECTION CXX

Sanjaya said, "Thus all the Pandavas, placing Sikhandin before them pierced Bhishma in that battle repeatedly surrounding him on all sides. And all the Srinjayas, uniting together, struck him with dreadful Sataghnis, and spiked maces, and battle-axes, and mallets, and short thick clubs, and bearded darts, and other missiles, and arrows furnished with golden wing, and darts and lances and kampanas; and with long shafts, and arrows furnished with heads shaped like the calf-tooth, and rockets. Thus afflicted by many, his coat of mail was pierced everywhere. But though pierced in every vital part, Bhishma felt no pain. On the other hand, he then seemed to his enemies to resemble in appearance the (all-destructive) fire that rises at the end of Yuga. His bow and arrows constituted the blazing flames (of that fire). The flight of his weapons constituted its (friendly) breeze. The rattle of his car-wheels constituted its heat and mighty weapons constituted its splendour. His beautiful bow formed its fierce tongue, and the bodies of heroic warriors, its profuse fuel. And Bhishma was seen to roll through the midst of crowds of cars belonging to those kings, or to come out (of the press) at times, or course once more through their midst. Then, disregarding the king of the Panchalas and Dhrishtaketu, he penetrated, O monarch, into the midst of the Pandava army. He then pierced the six Pandava warriors, viz., Satyaki, and Bhima, and Dhananjaya the son of Pandu, and Drupada, and Virata, and Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's race, with many excellent arrows of great sharpness and dreadful whizz and exceeding impetuosity, and capable of piercing through every kind of armour. Those mighty car-warriors, however, checking those keen shafts, afflicted Bhishma with great force, each of them striking him with ten shafts. Those mighty shafts, whetted on stone and furnished with golden wings, which the great car-warrior Sikhandin shot, quickly penetrated into Bhishma's body. Then the diadem-decked (Arjuna), excited with wrath, and placing Sikhandin ahead rushed at Bhishma and cut off the latter's bow. Thereupon mighty car-warriors, seven in number, viz., Drona and Kritavarman, and Jayadratha the ruler of the Sindhus, and Bhurisravas, and Sala, and Salya, and Bhagadatta could not brook that act of Arjuna. Inflamed with rage, they rushed at him. Indeed, those mighty car-warriors, invoking into existence celestial weapons, fell with great wrath upon that son of Pandu, and covered him with their arrows. And as they rushed towards Phalguni's car, the noise made by them was heard to resemble that made by the ocean itself when it swelleth in rage at the end of the Yuga, Kill, Bring up (our forces), Take, Pierce, Cut off, this was the furious uproar heard about Phalguni's car. Hearing that furious uproar, the mighty car-warriors of the Pandava army rushed forward, O bull of Bharata's race, for protecting Arjuna. They were Satyaki, and Bhimasena, and Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's race, and both Virata and Drupada, and the Rakshasa Ghatotkacha, and the wrathful Abhimanyu. These seven, inflamed with rage, and armed with excellent bows, rushed with great speed. And the battle that took place between these and the Kaurava warriors was fierce, making the hair stand on end, and resembling O chief of the Bharatas, the battle of the gods with the Danavas. Sikhandin, however, that foremost of car-warriors, protected in the battle by the diadem-decked (Arjuna), pierced Bhishma, in that encounter, with ten shafts after the latter's bow had been cut off. And he struck Bhishma's charioteer with other shafts, and cut off the latter's standard with one shaft. Then the son of Ganga took up another bow that was tougher. That even was cut off by Phalguni with three sharp shafts. Indeed, that chastiser of foes, viz., Arjuna, who was capable of drawing the bow with even his left hand, excited with rage, one after another, cut off all the bows that Bhishma took up. Then Bhishma, whose bows were thus cut off, excited with rage, and licking the corners of his mouth, took up a dart that was capable of riving a hill. In rage he hurled it at Phalguni's car. Beholding its course towards him like the blazing bolt of heaven, the delighter of the Pandavas fixed five sharp broad-headed arrows (on his bow-string). And with those five arrows, O chief of the Bharatas, the angry Arjuna cut off into five fragments that dart hurled from Bhishma's arms. Thus cut off by the angry Arjuna, that dart then fell down like a flash of lightning separated from a mass of clouds. Beholding his dart cut off, Bhishma became filled with rage. That hero, that subjugator of hostile cities, then began to reflect. And he said unto himself, 'With only a single bow I could slay all the Pandavas, if the mighty Vishnu himself had not been their protector. For two reasons, however, I will not fight with the Pandavas, viz., their unslayableness, and the femininity of Sikhandin. Formerly, when my sire wedded Kali, he pleased (with me) gave me two boons, viz., that I should be incapable of being slain in battle, and that my death should depend on my own choice. I should, however, now wish my own death, this being the proper hour.' Ascertaining this to be the resolve of Bhishma of immeasurable energy, the Rishis and the Vasus stationed in the firmament, said, 'That which hath been resolved by thee is approved by us also, O son! Act according to thy resolution, O king. Withdraw thy heart from battle.' On the conclusion, of those words, fragrant and auspicious breeze charged with particles of water, began to blow along a natural direction. And celestial cymbals of loud sounds began to beat. And a flowery shower fell upon Bhishma, O sire. The words spoken by the Rishis and the Vasus, however, O king, were not heard by any one save Bhishma himself. I also heard them, through the power conferred on me by the Muni. Great was the grief, O monarch, that filled the hearts of the celestials at the thought of Bhishma, that favourite of all the worlds, falling down from his car. Having listened to these words of the celestials, Santanu's son Bhishma of great ascetic merit rushed out at Vibhatsu, even though he was then being pierced with sharp arrows capable of penetrating through every armour. Then Sikhandin, O king, excited with rage, struck the grandsire of the Bharatas in the chest with nine sharp arrows. The Kuru grandsire Bhishma, however, though struck by him in battle, thus, trembled not, O monarch, but remained unmoved like a mountain during an earthquake. Then Vibhatsu, drawing his bow Gandiva with a laugh, pierced the son of Ganga with five and twenty arrows. And once more, Dhananjaya, with great speed and excited with wrath struck him in every vital part with hundreds of arrows. Thus pierced by others, also with thousands of arrows, the mighty car-warrior Bhishma pierced those others in return with great speed. And as regards the arrows shot by those warriors, Bhishma, possessed of prowess in battle that was incapable of being baffled, equally checked them all with his own straight arrows. Those arrows, however, endued with wings of gold and whetted on stone, which the mighty car-warrior Sikhandin shot in that battle, scarcely caused Bhishma any pain. Then the diadem-decked (Arjuna), excited with rage and placing Sikhandin to the fore, approached Bhishma (nearer) and once more cut off his bow. And then piercing Bhishma with ten arrows, he cut off the latter's standard with one. And striking Bhishma's chariot with ten arrows, Arjuna caused him to tremble. The son of Ganga then took up another bow that was stronger. Within, however, the twinkling of an eye, as soon, in fact, as it was taken up, Arjuna cut that bow also into three fragments with three broad-headed shafts. And thus the son of Pandu cut off in that battle even all the bows of Bhishma. After that, Bhishma the son of Santanu, no longer desired to battle with Arjuna. The latter, however, then pierced him with five and twenty arrows. That great bowman, thus pierced greatly, then addressed Dussasana, and skid, 'Behold, Partha, that great car-warrior of the Pandavas, excited with wrath in battle, pierceth me alone with many thousands of arrows. He is incapable of being vanquished in battle by the wielder of the thunder-bolt himself. [Brahma-danda literally means a Brahmana's rod--bamboo-stick. In consequence of the Brahmana's ascetic power, this thin rod (symbolical of the Brahmana's power of chastisement) is infinitely more powerful than even Indra's bolt. The latter can strike only one, but the former can smite whole countries, and entire races from generation to generation. With only his Brahma-danda Vasishtha baffled all the mighty and celestial weapons of Viswamitra vide, Ramayana, section 56, Valakanda.] As regards myself also, O hero, the very gods, Danavas and Rakshasas united together, are incapable of vanquishing me. What I shall say then of mighty car-warriors among men?' While Bhishma was thus speaking to Dussasana, Phalguni with sharp shafts, and placing Sikhandin to the fore, pierced Bhishma in that battle. Then Bhishma, deeply and excessively pierced by the wielder of Gandiva with keen-pointed shafts, once more addressed Dussasana with a smile and said, 'These arrows coursing towards me in one continuous line, whose touch resembleth that of heaven's bolt, have been shot by Arjuna. These are not Sikhandin's. Cutting me to the quick, piercing through even my hard coat of mail, and striking me with the force of mushalas, these arrows are not Sikhandin's. Of touch as hard as that of the Brahmana's rod (of chastisement), and of impetus unbearable as that of the thunder-bolt, these arrows are afflicting my vital forces. These are not Sikhandin's. Of the touch of maces and spiked bludgeons, those arrows are destroying my vital forces like messengers of Death commissioned (by the grim king himself). These are not Sikhandin's. Like angry snakes of virulent poison, projecting their tongues out, these are penetrating into my vitals. These are not Sikhandin's--these that cut me to the quick like the cold of winter cutting kine to the quick. Save the heroic wielder of Gandiva, viz., the ape-bannered Jishnu, even all other kings united together cannot cause me pain. Saying these words, Bhishma, the valiant son of Santanu, as if for the object of consuming the Pandavas, hurled a dart at Partha. Partha, however, caused that dart to drop down, cutting it into three fragments with three shafts, in the very sight, O Bharata, of all the Kuru heroes of thy army. Desirous of obtaining either death or victory, the son of Ganga then took up a sword and a shield decked with gold. Before, however, he could come down from his car, Arjuna cut off by means of his arrows, that shield into a hundred fragments. And that feat of his seemed exceedingly wonderful. Then the king Yudhishthira urged his own troops, saying, 'Rush ye at Ganga's son. Do not entertain the slightest fear'. Then, armed with bearded darts, and lances, and arrows, from all sides, with axes, and excellent scimitars, and long shafts of great sharpness, with calf-toothed arrows, and broad-headed shafts, they all rushed at that single warrior. Then arose from among the Pandava host a loud shout. Then thy sons also, O king, desirous of Bhishma's victory, surrounded him and uttered leonine shouts. Fierce was the battle fought there between thy troops and those of the enemy on that the tenth day, O king, when Bhishma and Arjuna met together. Like unto the vortex that occurs at the spot where the Ganga meets the Ocean, for a short while a vortex occurred there where the troops of both armies met and struck one another down. And the Earth, wet with gore, assumed a fierce form. And the even and the uneven spots on her surface could no longer be distinguished. Although Bhishma was pierced in all his vital limbs, yet on that the tenth day he stayed (calmly) in battle, having slain ten thousand warriors. Then that great bowman, Partha, stationed at the head of his troops, broke the centre of the Kuru army. Ourselves then, afraid of Kunti's son Dhananjaya having white steeds attached to his car, and afflicted by him with polished weapons, fled away from the battle. The Sauviras, the Kitavas, the Easterners, the Westerners, the Northerners, the Malavas, the Abhishahas, the Surasenas, the Sivis, the Vasatis, the Salwas, the Sayas, the Trigartas, the Amvashthas, and the Kaikeyas.--these and many other illustrious warriors,--afflicted with arrows and pained by their wounds, abandoned Bhishma in that battle while he was fighting with the diadem-decked (Arjuna). Then a great many warriors, surrounding that single warrior on all sides,

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defeated the Kurus (that protected him) and covered him with shower of arrows. Throw down, Seize, Fight, Cut into pieces,--this was the furious uproar, O king, heard in the vicinity of Bhishma's car. Having slain in that battle, O monarch, (his foes) by hundreds and thousands, there was not in Bhishma's body space of even two fingers' breadth that was not pierced with arrows. Thus was thy sire mangled with arrows of keen points by Phalguni in that battle. And then he fell down from his car with his head to the east, a little before sunset, in the very sight of thy sons. And while Bhishma fell, loud cries of alas and oh, O Bharata, were heard in the welkin uttered by the celestials and the kings of the earth. And beholding the high-souled grandsire falling down (from his car), the hearts of all of us fell with him. That foremost of all bowmen, that mighty-armed hero, fell down, like an uprooted standard of Indra, making the earth tremble the while. Pierced all over with arrows, his body touched not the ground. At that moment, O bull of Bharata's race, a divine nature took possession of that great bowman lying on a bed of arrows. The clouds poured a (cool) shower (over him) and the Earth trembled. While falling he had marked that the Sun was then in the southern solstice. That hero, therefore, permitted not his senses to depart, thinking of that (inauspicious) season (of death). And all around in the welkin he heard celestial voices saying, 'Why, Oh why, should Ganga's son, that foremost of all warriors of weapons, yield up his life during the southern declension?' Hearing these words, the son of Ganga answered, 'I am alive!' Although fallen upon the earth, the Kuru grandsire Bhishma, expectant of the northern declension, suffered not his life to depart. Ascertaining that to be his resolve, Ganga, the daughter of Himavat, sent unto him the great Rishis in swanlike form. Then those Rishis in the forms of swans inhabiting the Manasa lake, quickly rose up, and came together, for obtaining a sight of the Kuru grandsire Bhishma, to that spot where that foremost of men was lying on his bed of arrows. Then those Rishis in swanlike forms, coming to Bhishma, beheld that perpetuator of Kuru's race lying on his bed of arrows. Beholding that high-souled son of Ganga, that chief of the Bharatas, they walked round him, and the Sun being then in the southern solstice, they said, addressing one another, these words, 'Being a high-souled person, why should Bhishma pass out (of the world) during the southern declension?' Having said these words, those swans went away, proceeding towards the southern direction. Endued with great intelligence, Bhishma, O Bharata. beholding them, reflected for a moment. And the son of Santanu then said unto them. 'I will never pass out (of the world) as long as the Sun is in the southern solstice. Even this is my resolve. I will proceed to my own ancient abode when the Sun reacheth the northern solstice. Ye swans, I tell you this truly. Expectant of the northern declension I will hold my life. Since I have the fullest control over the yielding up of my life, I will, therefore, hold life, expectant of death during the northern declension. The boon that was granted to me by my illustrious sire, to the effect that my death would depend on my own wish O, let that boon become true. I will hold my life, since I have control in the matter of laying it down.' Having said these words to those swans, he continued to lie down on his bed of arrows.

"When that crest of the Kuru race, viz., Bhishma of great energy, fell down, the Pandavas and the Srinjayas uttered leonine shouts. When the grandsire of the Bharatas who was endued with great might was overthrown, thy son, O bull of Bharata's race, knew not what to do. And all the Kurus were entirely deprived of their senses. And the Kurus headed by Kripa, and Duryodhana, sighed and wept. And from grief they remained for a long while deprived of their senses. And they remained perfectly still, O monarch, without setting their hearts on battle. As if seized by thighs, they stood motionless, without proceeding against the Pandavas. When Santanu's son Bhishma of mighty energy, who was (regarded as) unslayable, was slain, all of us thought that the destruction of the Kuru king was at hand. Vanquished by Savyasachin, with our foremost heroes slain, and ourselves mangled with sharp arrows, we knew not what to do. And the heroic* Pandavas possessed of massive arms that looked like spiked maces, having obtained the victory and won a highly blessed state in the other world, all blew their great conches. [* By bravery on the field of battle, which, according to the Hindu scriptures, is always thus rewarded.] And the Somakas and the Panchalas all rejoiced, O king. Then when thousands of trumpets were blown, the mighty Bhimasena slapped his arm-pits and uttered loud shouts. When the all-powerful son of Ganga was slain, the heroic warriors of both armies, laying down their weapons, began to reflect thoughtfully. And some uttered loud shrieks and some fled away, and some were deprived of their senses. And some censured the practices of the Kshatriya order and some applauded Bhishma. And the Rishis and the Pitris all applauded Bhishma of high vows. And the deceased ancestors of the Bharatas also praised Bhishma. Meanwhile the valiant and intelligent Bhishma, the son of Santanu, having recourse to that Yoga which is taught in the great Upanishads and engaged in mental prayers, remained quiet, expectant of his hour."

SECTION 121

Dhritarashtra said, 'Alas, what was the state of (my) warriors, O Sanjaya, when they were deprived of the mighty and god-like Bhishma who had become a Brahmacharin for the sake of his reverend sire? Even then I regarded the Kurus and all the others as slain by the Pandavas when Bhishma, despising the son of Drupada, struck him not. Wretch that I am, also, I hear today of my sire's slaughter. What can be a heavier sorrow than this? My heart assuredly, O Sanjaya, is made of adamant, since it breaketh not into a hundred fragments on hearing of Bhishma's death! Tell me, O thou of excellent vows, what was done by that lion among the Kurus, viz., the victory-desiring Bhishma when he was slain in battle. I cannot at all brook it that Devavrata should be slain in battle. Alas, he that was not slain by Jamadagni's son himself in days of old by means of even his celestial weapons, alas, he hath now been slain by Drupada's son Sikhandin, the prince of Panchala!--

'Sanjaya said,--"Slain in the evening the Kuru grandsire Bhishma saddened the Dhartarashtras and delighted the Panchalas. Falling down on the earth, he lay on his bed of arrows without however, touching the earth with his body. Indeed, when Bhishma, thrown down from his car fell upon the surface of the earth, cries of Oh and Alas were heard among all creatures. When that boundary-tree of the Kurus, viz., the ever victorious Bhishma, fell down, fear entered the hearts, O king, of the Kshatriyas of both the armies. Beholding Bhishma, the son of Santanu, with his standard overthrown and his armour cut open, both the Kurus and the Pandavas were inspired, O monarch, with sentiments of cheerlessness. And the welkin was enveloped with a gloom and the Sun himself became dim. The Earth seemed to utter loud shrieks when the son of Santanu was slain. This one is the foremost of those conversant with the Vedas! This one is the best of those that are conversant with the Vedas!--Even thus did creatures speak of that bull among men as he lay (on his bed of arrows).This one, formerly, ascertaining his sire Santanu to be afflicted by Kama, this bull among men, resolved to draw up his vital steed!--Even thus did the Rishis together with the Siddhas and the Charanas said of that foremost one of the Bharatas as he lay on his bed of arrows. When Santanu's son Bhishma, the grandsire of the Bharatas, was slain, thy sons, O sire, knew not what to do. Their faces wore an expression of grief. The splendour of their countenances seemed to abandon them, O Bharata! All of them stood in shame, hanging down their heads. The Pandavas, on the other hand, having, won the victory, stood at the head of their ranks. And they all blew their large conchs decked with gold. And when in consequence of their joys thousands of trumpets, O sinless one, were blown there, we beheld O monarch, the mighty Bhimasena, the son of Kunti, sporting in great glee, having quickly slain many hostile warriors endued with great strength. And a great swoon overtook all the Kurus. And Karna and Duryodhana repeatedly drew long breaths. When the Kuru grandsire Bhishma fell down, thus, cries of sorrow were heard all round, and the greatest confusion prevailed (among the Kuru army). Beholding Bhishma fallen, thy son Dussasana, with great speed, entered the division commanded by Drona. That hero, clad in mail and at the head of his own troops, had been placed by his elder brother (for the protection of Bhishma). That tiger among men now came, plunging the troops he had commanded into grief. Beholding him coming towards them, the Kauravas surrounded prince Dussasana, desirous, O monarch, of hearing what he had to say. Then Dussasana of Kuru's race informed Drona of Bhishma's slaughter. Drona then, hearing those evil tidings, suddenly fell down from his car. Then the valiant son of Bharadwaja, quickly recovering his senses, forbade the Kuru army, sire, to continue the fight. Beholding the Kurus desist from battle, the Pandavas also, through messengers on fleet horses, forbade their orders, ceased to fight, the kings of both armies, putting off their armour, all repaired to Bhishma. Desisting from the fight, thousands of (other) warriors then, proceeded towards the high-souled Bhishma like the celestials towards the Lord of all creatures. Approaching Bhishma who was then, O bull of Bharata's race, lying (on his bed of arrows), the Pandavas and the Kurus stood there, having offered him their salutations. Then Santanu's son Bhishma of righteous soul addressed the Pandavas and the Kurus who having reverenced him thus, stood before him. And he said,--Welcome to you, ye highly blessed ones! Welcome to you, ye mighty car-warriors! Gratified am I with your sight, ye that are the equals of the very gods.--Thus addressing them with his head hanging down, he once more said,--'My head is hanging down greatly. Let a pillow be given to me!--The kings (standing there) then fetched many excellent pillows that were very soft and made of very delicate fabrics. The grandsire, however, desired them not. That tiger among men then said unto those kings with a laugh,--These, ye kings, do not become a hero's bed.--Beholding them that foremost of men, that mightiest of car-warriors in all the worlds, viz., the mighty-armed Dhananjaya the son of Pandu, he said,--O Dhananjaya, O thou of mighty arms, my head hangeth down, O sire! Give me a pillow such as thou regardest to be fit!--'"

SECTION 122

"Sanjaya said,--'Stringing then his large bow and reverentially saluting the grandsire, Arjuna, with eyes filled with tears, said these words, O foremost one among the Kurus, O thou that art the first among all wielders of weapons, command me, O invincible one, for I am thy slave! What shall I do, O grandsire!--Unto him Santanu's son said,--My head, O sire, hangeth down!--O foremost one among the Kuru's O Phalguni, get me a pillow! Indeed, give me one without delay O hero, that would become my bed! Thou O Partha, art competent, thou art the foremost of all wielders of bows! Thou art conversant with the duties of Kshatriyas and thou art endued with intelligence and goodness!--Then Phalguni, saying,--So be it--desired to do Bhishma's bidding. Taking up Gandiva and a number of straight shafts, and inspiring them with mantras, and obtaining the permission of that illustrious and mighty car-warrior of Bharata's race, Arjuna then, with three keen shafts endued with great force, supported Bhishma's head. Then that chief of the Bharatas, viz., Bhishma of virtuous soul, conversant with the truths of religion, seeing that Arjuna, having divined his thought, had achieved that feat, became highly gratified. And after that pillow had thus been given to him, he applauded Dhananjaya. And casting his eyes upon all the Bharatas there, he addressed Kunti's son Arjuna, that foremost of all warriors, that enhancer of the joys of his friends and said,--Thou hast given me, O son of Pandu, a pillow that becometh my bed! If thou hadst acted otherwise, I would have cursed thee, from wrath! Even thus, O mighty-armed one, should a Kshatriya, observant of his duties, sleep on the field of battle on his bed of arrows!--Having addressed Vibhatsu thus, he then said unto all those kings and princes that were present there, these words:--Behold ye the pillow that the son of Pandu hath given me! I will sleep on this bed till the Sun turneth to the northern solstice! Those king that will then come to me will behold me (yield up my life)! When the Sun on his car of great speed and unto which are yoked seven steeds, will proceed towards the direction occupied by Vaisravana, verily, even then, will I yield up my life like a dear friend dismissing a dear friend! Let a ditch be dug here around my quarters ye kings! Thus pierced with hundreds of arrows will I pay my adorations to the Sun? As regards yourselves, abandoning enmity, cease ye from the fight, ye kings--

'Sanjaya continued,--"Then there came unto him some surgeons well trained (in their science) and skilled in plucking out arrows, with all becoming appliances (of their profession). Beholding them, the son of Ganga said unto thy son,--'Let these physicians, after proper respect being paid to them, be dismissed with presents of wealth. Brought to such a plight, what need have I now of physicians? I have won the most laudable and the highest state ordained in Kshatriya observances! Ye kings, lying as I do on a bed of arrows, it is not proper for me to submit now to the treatment of physicians. With these arrows on my body, ye rulers of men, should I be burnt!'--Hearing these words of his, thy son Duryodhana dismissed those physicians, having honoured them as they deserved. Then those kings of diverse realms, beholding that constancy in virtue displayed by Bhishma of immeasurable energy, were filled with wonder. Having given a pillow to thy sire thus, those rulers of men, those mighty car-warriors, viz., the Pandavas and the Kauravas, united together, once more approached the high-souled Bhishma lying on that excellent bed of his. Reverentially saluting that high-souled one and circumambulating him thrice, and stationing guards all around for his protection, those heroes, with bodies drenched in blood, repaired for rest towards their own tents in the evening, their hearts plunged into grief and thinking of what they had seen.

Then at the proper time, the mighty Madhava, approaching the Pandavas, those mighty car-warriors cheerfully seated together and filled with joy at the fall of Bhishma, said unto Dharma's son Yudhishthira these words,--"By good luck victory hath been thine, O thou of Kuru's rare! By good luck hath Bhishma been overthrown, who is unslayable by men, and is a mighty car-warrior of aim incapable of being baffled! Or, perhaps, as destiny would have it, that warrior who was master of every weapon, having obtained thee for a foe that canst slay with thy eyes alone, hath been consumed by thy wrathful eye!--Thus addressed by Krishna, king Yudhishthira the Just, replied unto Janardana, saying,--Through Thy grace is Victory, through Thy wrath is Defeat! Thou art dispeller of the fears of those that are devoted to thee. Thou art our refuge! It is not wonderful that they should have victory whom Thou always protectest in battle, and in whose welfare Thou art always engaged, O Kesava! Having got Thee for our refuge, I do not regard anything as wonderful! Thus addressed by him, Janardana answered with a smile,--O best of kings, these words can come from thee alone!"

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SECTION 123

"Sanjaya said,--'After the night had passed away, O monarch, all the kings, the Pandavas and the Dhartarashtras, repaired to the grandsire, Those Kshatriyas then saluted that bull of their order, that foremost one among the Kurus, that hero lying on a hero's bed, and stood in his presence. Maidens by thousands, having repaired to that place, gently showered over Santanu's son powdered sandal wood and fried paddy, and garlands of flowers. And women and old men and children, and ordinary spectators, all approached Santanu's son like creatures of the world desirous of beholding the Sun. And trumpets by hundreds and thousands, and actors, and mimes, and skilled mechanics also came to the aged Kuru grandsire. And ceasing to fight, putting aside their coats of mail, and lying aside their weapons, the Kurus and the Pandavas, united together, came to the invincible Devavrata, that chastiser of foes. And they were assembled together as in days of old, and cheerfully addressed one another according to their respective ages. And that conclave full of Bharata kings by hundreds and adorned with Bhishma, looked beautiful and blazing like a conclave of the gods in heaven. And that conclave of kings engaged in honouring the son of Ganga looked as beautiful as a conclave of the celestials engaged in adorning their Lord, viz., the Grandsire (Brahman). Bhishma, however, O bull of Bharata's race, suppressing his agonies with fortitude though burning with the arrows (still sticking to his body), was sighing like a snake. His body burning with these arrows, and himself nearly deprived of his senses in consequence of his weapon-wounds, Bhishma cast his eyes on those kings and asked for water. Then those Kshatriyas, O king, brought thither excellent viands and several vessels of cold water. Beholding that water brought for him, Santanu's son said,--I cannot, O sire, now use any article of human enjoyment! I am removed from the pale of humanity. I am lying on a bed of arrows. I am staying here, expecting only the return of the Moon and the Sun! Having spoken these words and thereby rebuked those kings, O Bharata, he said,--I wish to see Arjuna!--The mighty-armed Arjuna then came there, and reverentially saluting the grandsire stood with joined hands, and said,--What shall I do?--Beholding then that son of Pandu, O monarch, thus standing before him after having offered him respectful salutations, Bhishma of righteous soul cheerfully addressed Dhananjaya, saying,--Covered all over with thy shafts, my body is burning greatly! All the vital parts of my body are in agony. My mouth is dry. Staying as I am with body afflicted with agony, give me water, O Arjuna! Thou art a great bowman! Thou art capable of giving me water duly!--The valiant Arjuna then saying,--So be it,--mounted on his car, and striking his Gandiva with force, began to stretch it. Hearing the twang of his bow and the slap of his palms which resembled the roar of the thunder, the troops and the kings were all inspired with fear. Then that foremost of car-warriors, mounted on his car, circumambulated that prostrate chief of the Bharatas, that foremost of all wielders of weapons. Aiming then a blazing arrow, after having inspired it with Mantras and identified it with the Parjanya weapon, in the very sight of the entire army, the son of Pandu, viz., Partha, pierced the Earth a little to the south of where Bhishma lay. Then there arose a jet of water that was pure, and auspicious, and cool, and that resembling the nectar itself, was of celestial scent and taste. And with that cool jet of water Partha gratified Bhishma, that bull among the Kurus, of godlike deeds and prowess. And at that feat of Partha who resembled Sakra himself in his acts, all those rulers of Earth were filled with great wonder. And beholding that feat of Vibhatsu implying superhuman prowess, the Kurus trembled like kine afflicted with cold. And from wonder all the kings there present waved their garments (in the air). And loud was the blare of conchs and the beat of drums that were then heard all over the field. And Santanu's son, his thirst quenched, then addressed Jishnu, O monarch, and said, applauding him highly in the presence of all those kings, these words, viz.,--O thou of mighty arms, this is not wonderful in thee, O son of Kuru's race! O thou of immeasurable effulgence, even Narada spoke of thee as an ancient Rishi! Indeed, with Vasudeva as thy ally, thou wilt achieve many mighty feats which the chief of the celestials himself with all the gods, of a certainty, will not venture to achieve! They that have knowledge of such things know thee to be the destroyer of the whole Kshatriya race! Thou art the one bowman among the bowmen of the world! Thou art the foremost among men. As human beings are, in this world, foremost of all creatures, as Garuda is the foremost of all winged creatures; as the Ocean is the foremost among all receptacles of water and the cow among all quadrupeds; as the Sun is the foremost amongst all luminous bodies and Himavat among all mountains; as the Brahmana is the foremost among all castes, art thou the foremost of all bowmen! Dhritarashtra's son (Duryodhana) listened not to the words repeatedly spoken by me and Vidura and Drona and Rama and Janardana and also by Sanjaya. Reft of his senses, like unto an idiot, Duryodhana placed no reliance on those utterances. Past all instructions, he will certainly have to lie down for ever, overwhelmed by the might of Bhima!--Hearing these words of his, the Kuru king Duryodhana became of cheerless heart. Eyeing him, Santanu's son said,--Listen, O king! Abandon thy wrath! Thou hast seen, O Duryodhana how the intelligent Partha created that jet of cool and nectar-scented water! There is none else in this world capable of achieving such feat. The weapons appertaining to Agni, Varuna, Soma, Vayu, and Vishnu, as also those appertaining to Indra, Pasupati, and Paramesthi, and those of Prajapati, Dhatri, Tashtri, Savitri, and Vivaswat, all these are known to Dhananjaya alone in this world of men! Krishna, the son of Devaki, also knoweth them. But there is none else here that knoweth them. This son of Pandu, O sire, is incapable of being defeated in battle by even the gods and the Asuras together. The feats of this high-souled one are superhuman. With that truthful hero, that ornament of battle, that warrior accomplished in fight, let peace, O king, be soon made! As long as the mighty-armed Krishna is not possessed by wrath, O chief of the Kurus, it is fit, O sire, that peace should be made with the heroic Parthas! As long as this remnant of thy brothers is not slain, let peace, O monarch, be made! As long as Yudhishthira with eyes burning in wrath doth not consume thy troops in battle, let peace, O sire, be made! As long as Nakula, and Sahadeva, and Bhimasena, the sons of Pandu, do not, O monarch, exterminate thy army, it seems to me that friendly relations should be restored between thee and the heroic Pandavas! Let this battle end with my death, O sire! Make peace with the Pandavas, Let these words that are uttered to thee by me be acceptable to thee, O sinless one! Even this is what I regard to be beneficial both for thyself and the race (itself of Kuru)! Abandoning thy wrath, let peace be made with Parthas. What Phalguni hath already done is sufficient. Let friendly relations be restored with the death of Bhishma! Let this remnant (of warriors) live! Relent, O king! Let half the kingdom be given to the Pandavas. Let king Yudhishthira the Just, go to Indraprastha. O chief of the Kurus, do not achieve a sinful notoriety among the kings of the earth by incurring the reproach of meanness, becoming a fomentor of intestine dissensions! Let peace come to all with my death! Let these rulers of earth, cheerfully mix with one another! Let sire get back the son, let sister's son get back the maternal uncle! If from want of understanding and possessed by folly thou dost not harken to those timely words of mine thou wilt have to repent greatly! What I say is true. Therefore, desist even now! Having, from affection, said these words unto Duryodhana in the midst of the kings, the son of the ocean-going (Ganga) became silent. Though his vital limbs were burning with the arrow-wounds, yet, prevailing over his agonies, he applied himself to yoga.

"Sanjaya continued--'Having heard these beneficial and peaceful words fraught with both virtue and profit, thy son, however, accepted them not, like a dying man refusing medicine."

SECTION 124

"Sanjaya said,--'After Santanu's son Bhishma, O monarch, had become silent, all those rulers of earth, there present, then returned to their respective quarters. Hearing of Bhishma's slaughter that bull among men, viz., Radha's son (Karna), partially inspired with fear quickly came there. He beheld that illustrious hero lying on his bed of reeds. Then Vrisha (Karna) endued with great glory, with voice choked in tears, approaching that hero lying with eyes closed, fell at his feet. And he said,--O chief of the Kurus, I am Radha's son, who while before thy eyes, was everywhere looked upon by thee with hate!--Hearing these words, the aged chief of the Kurus, the son of Ganga, whose eyes were covered with film slowly raising his eyelids, and causing the guards to be removed, and seeing the place deserted by all, embraced Karna with one arm, like a sire embracing his son, and said these words with great affection:--Come, come! Thou art an opponent of mine who always challengest comparison with me! If thou hadst not come to me, without doubt, it would not have been well with thee! Thou art Kunti's son, not Radha's! Nor is Adhiratha thy father! O thou of mighty arms, I heard all this about thee from Narada as also from Krishna-Dwaipayana! Without doubt, all this is true! I tell thee truly, O son, that I bear thee no malice! It was only for abating thy energy that I used to say such harsh words to thee! O thou of excellent vows without any reason thou speakest ill of all the Pandavas! Sinfully didst thou come into the world. It is for this that thy heart hath been such. Through pride, and owning also to thy companionship with the low, thy heart hateth even persons of merit! It is for this that I spoke such harsh words about thee in the Kuru camp! I know thy prowess in battle, which can with difficulty be borne on earth by foes! I know also thy regard for Brahmanas. thy courage, and thy great attachment to alms-giving! O thou that resemblest a very god, amongst men there is none like thee! For fear of intestine dissensions I always spoke harsh words about thee. In bowmanship, in aiming weapon, in lightness of hand and in strength of weapons, thou art equal to Phalguni himself, or the high-souled Krishna! O Karna, proceeding to the city of Kasi, alone with thy bow, thou hadst crushed the kings in battle for procuring a bride for the Kuru king! The mighty and invincible king Jarasandha also, ever boastful of his prowess in battle, could not become thy match in fight! Thou art devoted to Brahmanas; thou always fightest fairly! In energy and strength, thou art equal to a child of the celestials and certainly much superior to men. The wrath I cherished against thee is gone. Destiny is incapable of being avoided by exertion. O slayer of foes, the heroic sons of Pandu are thy uterine brothers! If thou wishest to do what is agreeable to me, unite with them, O thou of mighty arms! O son of Surya, let these hostilities end with me! Let all the kings of Earth be to-day freed from danger!--

"'Karna said I know this, O thou of mighty arms! All this without doubt, is (as thou sayest)! As thou tellest me, O, Bhishma, I am Kunti's son, and not the son of a Suta! I was, however, abandoned by Kunti, and I have been reared by a Suta. Having (so long) enjoyed the wealth of Duryodhana, I dare not falsify it now. Like Vasudeva's son who is firmly resolved for the sake of the Pandavas, I also, O thou that makest profuse presents to Brahmanas, am prepared to cast away my possessions, my body itself, my children, and my wife, for Duryodhana's sake! Death from disease, O thou of Kuru's race, doth not become a Kshatriya! Relying upon Suyodhana I have always offended the Pandavas! This affairs is destined to take its course. It is incapable of being prevented. Who was there that would venture to overcome Destiny by exertion? Various omens indicating the destruction of the Earth. O grandsire, were noticed by thee and declared in the assembly. It is well known to me that the son of Pandu, and Vasudeva, are incapable of being conquered by other men. Even with them we venture to fight! I will vanquish the son of Pandu in battle! Even this is my firm resolve! I am not capable, of casting off this fierce animosity (that I cherish against the Pandavas)! With a cheerful heart, and keeping the duties of my order before my eye, I will contend against Dhananjaya. Firmly resolved that I am on battle, grant me thy permission, O hero! I will fight. Even this is my wish. It behoveth thee to forgive me also any harsh words that I may have at any time uttered against thee or any act that I may have done against thee from anger or inconsiderateness!--"

"'Bhishma said,--If, indeed, thou art unable to cast off this fierce animosity, I permit thee, O Karna! Fight, moved by the desire of heaven! Without anger and without vindictiveness, serve thou the king according to thy power and according to thy courage and observant of the conduct of the righteous! Have then my permission, O Karna! Obtain thou that which thou seekest! Through Dhananjaya thou wilt obtain all those regions (hereafter) which are capable of being had by fulfilling the duties of a Kshatriya! Freed from pride, and relying on thy (own) might and energy, engage in battle, since a Kshatriya cannot have a (source of) greater happiness than a righteous battle. For a long while I made great efforts for bringing about peace! But I succeeded not, O Karna, in the task! Truly do I say this unto thee!--"

"'Sanjaya continued,--'After the son of Ganga had said this, Radha's son (Karna) having saluted Bhishma and obtained his forgiveness, got up on his car and proceeded towards (the quarters of) thy son.'

The End of Bhishma Parva.

THE MAHABHARATA, BOOK 7:
DRONA PARVA
SECTION 1
(Dronabhisheka Parva)

Om! Having bowed down unto Narayan, and unto that most exalted of male beings, viz., Nara, and unto the goddess Saraswati also, must the word Jaya be uttered.

"Janamejaya said, 'Hearing that his sire Devavrata of unrivalled vigour and sturdiness, and might, energy and prowess, had been slain by Sikhandin, the prince of the Panchalas, what, indeed, O regenerate Rishi, did the powerful king Dhritarashtra with eyes bathed in tears do? O illustrious one, his son (Duryodhana) wished for sovereignty after vanquishing those mighty bowmen, viz., the sons of Panda, through Bhishma and Drona and other great car-warriors. Tell me, O thou that hast wealth of asceticism, all that he, of Kura's race, did after that chief of all bowmen had been slain.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Hearing that his sire had been slain, king Dhritarashtra of Kura's race filled with anxiety and grief, obtained no peace of mind. And while he, of Kura's race, was thus continually brooding over that sorrow, Gavalgana's son of pure soul once more came to him. Then, O monarch, Dhritarashtra, the son of Amvika, addressed Sanjaya, who had that night come back from the camp to the city called after the elephant. With a heart rendered exceedingly cheerless in consequence of his having heard of Bhishma's fall, and desirous of the victory of his sons, he indulged in these lamentations in great distress.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'After having wept for the high-souled Bhishma of terrible prowess, what, O son, did the Kauravas, urged by fate, next do? Indeed, when that high-souled and invincible hero was slain, what did the Kauravas do, sunk as they were in an ocean of grief? Indeed, that swelling and highly efficient host of the high-souled Pandavas, would, O

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Sanjaya, excite the keenest fears of even the three worlds. Tell me, therefore, O Sanjaya, what the (assembled) kings did after Devavrata, that bull of Kura's race, had fallen.'

"Sanjaya said, 'Listen, O king, with undivided attention, to me as I recite what thy sons did after Devavrata had been killed in battle. When Bhishma, O monarch, of prowess incapable of being baffled, was slain, thy warriors as also the Pandavas both reflected by themselves (on the situation). Reflecting on the duties of the Kshatriya order, they were filled with wonder and joy; but acting according to those duties of their own order, they all bowed to that high-souled warrior. Then those tigers among men contrived for Bhishma of immeasurable prowess a bed with a pillow made of straight shafts. And having made arrangements for Bhishma's protection, they addressed one another (in pleasant converse). Then bidding Ganga's son their farewell and walking round him, and looking at one another with eyes red in anger, those Kshatriyas, urged by fate, once more went out against one another for battle. Then by the blare of trumpets and the beat of drums, the divisions of thy army as also those of the foe, marched out. After the fall of Ganga's son, O king, when the best part of the day had passed away, yielding to the influence of wrath, with hearts afflicted by fate, and disregarding the words, worthy of acceptance, of the high-souled Bhishma, those foremost ones of Bharata's race went out with great speed, armed with weapons. In consequence of thy folly and of thy son's and of the slaughter of Santanu's son, the Kauravas with all the kings seemed to be summoned by Death himself. The Kurus, deprived of Devavrata, were filled with great anxiety, and resembled a herd of goats and sheep without a herdsman, in a forest abounding with beasts of prey. Indeed, after the fall of that foremost one of Bharata's race, the Kuru host looked like the firmament divested of stars, or like the sky without the atmosphere, or like the earth with blasted crops, or like an oration disfigured by bad grammar, or like the Asura host of old after Vali had been smitten down, or like a beautiful damsel deprived of husband [i.e., deprived of robes and ornaments because of her widowhood.], or like a river whose waters have been dried up, or like a roe deprived of her mate and encompassed in the woods by wolves; or like a spacious mountain cave with its lion killed by a Sarabha [A fabulous animal of eight legs supposed to be stronger than the lion.]. Indeed, O chief of the Bharatas, the Bharata host, on the fall of Ganga's son, became like a frail boat on the bosom of the ocean, tossed by a tempest blowing from every side. Exceedingly afflicted by the mighty and heroic Pandavas of sure aim, the Kaurava host, with its steeds, car-warriors and elephants much troubled, became exceedingly distressed, helpless, and panic-stricken. And the frightened kings and the common soldiers, no longer relying upon one another, of that army, deprived of Devavrata, seemed to sink into the nethermost region of the world. Then the Kauravas remembered Karna, who indeed, was equal to Devavrata himself. All hearts turned to that foremost of all wielders of arms, that one resembling a guest resplendent (with learning and ascetic austerities). And all hearts turned to him, as the heart of a man in distress turneth to a friend capable of relieving that distress. And, O Bharata, the kings then cried out saying, Karna! Karna! The son of Radha, our friend, the son of a Suta, that one who is ever prepared to lay down his life in battle! Endued with great fame, Karna, with his followers and friends, did not fight for these ten days. O, summon him soon!' The mighty-armed hero, in the presence of all the Kshatriyas, during the mention of valiant and mighty car-warriors, was by Bhishma classed as an Ardha-ratha, although that bull among men is equal to two Maharathas! Even thus was he classed during the counting of Rathas and Atirathas, he that is the foremost (of all Rathas and Atirathas), he that is respected by all heroes, he that would venture to fight even with Yama, Kuvera, Varuna, and Indra. Through anger caused by this, O king, he had said unto Ganga's son these words: 'As long as thou livest, O thou of Kuru's race, I will never fight! if thou, however, succeedest in slaying the sons of Pandu in great battle, I shall, O Kaurava, with Duryodhana's permission, retire into the woods. If, on the other hand, thou, O Bhishma, slain by the Pandavas, attainest to heaven, I shall then, on a single car, slay all of them, whom thou regardest as great car-warriors.' Having said this, mighty-armed Karna of great fame, with thy son's approval, did not fight for the first ten days. Bhishma, of great prowess in battle and of immeasurable might, slew, O Bharata, a very large number of warriors belonging to Yudhishthira's army. When, however, that hero of sure aim and great energy was slain, thy sons thought of Karna, like persons desirous of crossing a river thinking, of a boat. Thy warriors and thy sons, together with all the kings, cried out, saying, Karna! And they all said, 'Even this is the time for the display of his prowess.' Our hearts are turned to that Karna who derived his knowledge of weapons from Jamadagni's son, and whose prowess is incapable of being resisted! He, indeed, O king, is competent to save us from great dangers, like Govinda always saving the celestials from great dangers.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Unto Sanjaya who was thus repeatedly applauding Karna, Dhritarashtra sighing like a snake, said those words.'

"Dhritarashtra said, '[I understand] that the hearts of all of you are turned towards Vikartana's son Karna, and that all of you, saw that son of Radha, that hero of the Suta caste, ever prepared to lay down his life in battle. I hope that hero of prowess incapable of being baffled, did not falsify the expectations of Duryodhana and his brothers, all of whom were then afflicted with grief and fear, and desirous of being relieved from their danger. When Bhishma, that refuge of Kauravas, was slain, could Karna, that foremost of bowmen, succeed in filling up the gap caused? Filling up that gap, could Karna fill the foe with fear? Could he also crown with fruit the hopes, entertained by my sons, of victory?'"

SECTION 2

"Sanjaya said, 'Then Adhiratha's son of the Suta caste, knowing that Bhishma had been slain, became desirous of rescuing, like a brother, thy son's army from the distress into which it had fallen, and which then resembled a boat sunk in the fathomless ocean. [Indeed], O king, having heard that that mighty car-warrior and foremost of men, that hero of unfading glory, viz., Santanu's son, had been thrown down (from his car), that grinder of foes, that foremost of all wielders of bows, viz., Karna, soon came (to the field of battle). When the best of car-warriors, viz., Bhishma, was slain by the foe, Karna speedily came there, desirous of rescuing the Kuru host which resembled a boat sunk in the ocean, like a sire desirous of rescuing his children.'

"And Karna (addressing the soldiers) said, 'That Bhishma who possessed firmness, intelligence, prowess, vigour, truth, self-restraint, and all the virtues of a hero, as also celestial weapons, and humidity, and modesty, agreeable speech, and freedom from malice, that ever-grateful Bhishma, that slayer of the foes of Brahmanas, in whom were these attributes as permanently as Lakshmi in the moon, alas, when that Bhishma, that slayer of hostile heroes, hath received his quietus, I regard all other heroes as already slain. In consequence of the eternal connexion (of all things) with work, nothing exists in this world that is imperishable. When Bhisma of high vows hath been slain, who is there that would take upon himself to say with certitude that tomorrow's sun will rise? When he that was endued with prowess equal to that of the Vasus, he that was born of the energy of the Vasus, when he, that ruler of the earth, hath once more been united with the Vasus, grieve ye, therefore, for your possessions and children for this earth and the Kurus, and this host.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Upon the fall of that boon-giving hero of great might, that lord of the world, viz., Santanu's son of great energy, and upon the (consequent) defeat of the Bharatas, Karna, with cheerless heart and eyes filled with tears, began to console (the Dhartarashtras). Hearing these words of Radha's son, thy sons, O monarch, and thy troops, began to wail aloud and shed copious tears of grief corresponding with the loudness of those wails. 2 When, however, the dreadful battle once more took place and the Kaurava divisions, urged on by the Kings, once more set up loud shouts, that bull among mighty car-warriors, viz., Karna, then addressed the great car-warriors (of the Kaurava army) and said words which caused them great delight: In this transient world everything is continually flitting (towards the jaws of Death). Thinking of this, I regard everything as ephemeral. When, however, all of you were here, how could Bhishma, that bull among the Kurus, immovable as a hill, be thrown down from his car? When that mighty car-warrior, viz., the son of Santanu, hath been overthrown, who even now lieth on the ground like the Sun himself dropped (from the firmament), the Kuru kings are scarcely competent to bear Dhananjaya, like trees incapable of bearing the mountain-wind. I shall, however, now protect, as that high-souled one did, this helpless Kuru host of cheerless mien, whose foremost warriors have already been slain by the foe. Let this burden now devolve on me. I see that this universe is transient, since that foremost of heroes hath been slain in battle. Why shall I then cherish any fear of battle? Coursing, therefore, on the field I shall despatch those bulls of Kuru's race (viz., the Pandavas) to Yama's abode by means of my straight shafts. Regarding fame as the highest object in the world, I shall slay them in battle, or, slain by the foe, shall sleep on the field. Yudhishthira is possessed of firmness, intelligence, virtue, and might. Vrikodara is equal to a hundred elephant in prowess, Arjuna is young and is the son of the chief of the celestials. The Pandava host, therefore, is not capable of being easily defeated by the very celestials. That force in which are the twins, each resembling Yama himself, that force in which are Satyaki and the son of Devaki, that force is like the jaws of Death. No coward, approaching it, can come back with life. The wise oppose swelling ascetic power with ascetic austerities, so should force be opposed by force. Verily, my mind is firmly fixed upon opposing the foe and protecting my own party, O charioteer, I shall today certainly resist the might of the enemy, and vanquish him by repairing only to the field of battle. I will not tolerate this intestine feud. When the troops are broken, he that cometh (for aiding) in the endeavour to rally is a friend. I shall either achieve this righteous feat worthy of an honest man, or casting off my life shall follow Bhishma. I shall either slay all my foes united together, or slain by them proceed to the regions reserved for heroes. O charioteer, I know that even this is what I should do, when women and children cry for help, or when Duryodhana's prowess sustains a check. Therefore, I shall today conquer the foe. Reckless of my very life in this terrible battle, I shall protect the Kurus and slay the sons of Pandu. Slaying in battle all my foes banded together, I shall bestow (undisputed) sovereignty on Dhritarashtra's son. Let my armour, beautiful, made of gold, bright, and radiant with jewels and gems, be donned; and my head-gear, of effulgence equal to that of the sun; and my bows and arrows that resemble fire, poison, or snakes. Let also sixteen quivers be tied (to my car) at the proper places, and let a number of excellent bows be procured. Let also shafts, and darts and heavy maces, and my conch, variegated with gold, be got ready. Bring also my variegated, beautiful, and excellent standard, made of gold, possessed of the effulgence of the lotus, and bearing the device of the elephant's girth, cleaning it with a delicate cloth, and decking it with excellent garlands and a network of wires. 1 O charioteer's son, bring me also, with speed, some fleet steeds of the hue of tawny clouds, not lean, and bathed in water sanctified with mantras, and furnished with trappings of bright gold. Bring me also, with speed, an excellent car decked with garlands of gold, adorned gems, bright as the sun or the moon, furnished with every necessary, as also with weapons, and unto which are yoked excellent animals. Bring me also a number of excellent bows of great toughness, and a number of excellent bow-strings capable of smitting (the foe), and some quivers, large and full of shafts and some coats of mail for my body. Bring me also, with speed, O hero, every (auspicious) article needed for occasions of setting out (for battle), such as vessels of brass and gold, full of curds. Let garlands of flowers be brought, and let them be put on the (proper) limbs of my body. Let drums also be beaten for victory! Go, O charioteer, quickly to the spot where the diadem-decked (Arjuna), and Vrikodara, and Dharma's son (Yudhishthira), and the twins, are. Encountering them in battle, either I shall slay them, or, being slain by them, my foes, I shall follow Bhishma. Arjuna, and Vasudeva, and Satyaki, and the Srinjayas, that force, I think, is incapable of being conquered by the kings. If all-destroying Death himself with unremitting vigilance, were to protect Kiritin, still shall I slay him, encountering him in battle, or repair myself to Yama's abode by Bhishma's track. Verily, I say, that I will repair into the midst of those heroes. Those (kings) that are my allies are not provokers of intestine feuds, or of weak attachment to me, or of unrighteous souls.'

"Sanjaya continued, Riding on an excellent and costly car of great strength, with an excellent pole, decked with gold, auspicious, furnished with a standard, and unto which were yoked excellent steeds that were fleet as the wind, Karna proceeded (to battle) for victory. Worshipped by the foremost of Kuru car-warriors like Indra by the celestials, that high-souled and fierce bowman, endued with immeasurable energy like the Sun himself, upon his car decked with gold and jewels and gems, furnished with an excellent standard, unto which were yoked excellent steeds, and whose rattle resembled the roll of the clouds, proceeded, accompanied by a large force, to that field of battle where that bull of Bharata's race (Bhishma) had paid his debt to nature. Of beautiful person, and endued with the splendour of fire, that great bowman and mighty car-warrior, viz., the son of Adhiratha, then mounted on his own beautiful car possessed of the effulgence of fire, and shone like the lord of the celestials himself riding on his celestial car.'"

SECTION 3

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding the grandsire, viz., the venerable Bhishma, that destroyer of all the Kshatriyas, that hero of righteous soul and immeasurable energy, that great bowman thrown down (from his car) by Savyasachin with his celestial weapons, lying on a bed of arrows, and looking like the vast ocean dried up by mighty winds, the hope of thy sons for victory had disappeared along with their coats of mail and peace of mind. Beholding him who was always an island unto persons sinking in the fathomless ocean in their endeavours to cross it, beholding that hero covered with arrows that had coursed in a stream as continuous as that of Yamuna, that hero who looked like Mainaka of unbearable energy thrown down on the earth by the great Indra, that warrior lying prostrate on the earth like the Sun dropped down from the firmament, that one who looked like the inconceivable Indra himself after his defeat of old by Vritra, that depriver of all warriors of their senses, that foremost of all combatants, that signal of all bowmen, beholding that hero and bull among men, viz., thy sire Bhishma of high vows, that grandsire of the Bharatas thrown down in battle and lying covered with Arjuna's shafts, on a hero's bed. Adhiratha's son (Karna) alighted from his car, in great affliction, filled with grief, and almost senseless. Afflicted (with sorrow), and with eyes

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troubled with tears, he proceeded on foot. Saluting him with joined palms, and addressing him reverentially, he said, 'I am Karna! Blessed be thou! Speak to me, O Bharata, in sacred and auspicious words, and look at me, opening thy eyes. No man certainly enjoyeth in this world the fruits of his pious deeds, since thou, reverend in years and devoted to virtue, liest slain on the ground. O thou that art the foremost one amongst the Kurus, I do not see that there is any one else among them, who is competent (like thee) in filling the treasury, in counsels, in the matter of disposing the troops in battle array, and in the use of weapons, Alas, he that was endued with a righteous understanding, he that always protected the Kurus from every danger, alas, he, having slain numberless warriors, proceedeth to the region of the Pitris. From this day, O chief of the Bharatas, the Pandavas, excited with wrath, will slaughter the Kurus like tigers slaying deer. Today the Kauravas, acquainted with the force of Gandiva's twang, will regard Savyasachin, like the Asuras regarding the wielder of the thunder-bolt, with terror. Today the noise, resembling that of heaven's thunder, of the arrows shot from Gandiva, will inspire the Kurus and other kings with great terror. Today, O hero, like a raging conflagration of fierce flames consuming a forest, the shafts of Kiritin will consume the Dhartarashtras. In those parts of the forest through which fire and wind march together, they burn all plants and creepers and trees. Without doubt, Partha is even like a surging fire, and, without doubt, O tiger among men, Krishna is like the wind. Hearing the blare of Panchajanya and the twang of Gandiva all the Kaurava troops, O Bharata, will be filled with fear. O hero, without thee, the kings will never be able to bear the rattle of the ape-bannered car belonging to that grinder of foes, when he will advance (upon them). Who amongst the kings, save thyself, is competent to battle with that Arjuna whose feats, as described by the wise, are all superhuman? Superhuman was the battle that he fought with the high-souled (Mahadeva) of three eyes. From him he obtained a boon that is unattainable by persons of unsanctified souls. Delighted in battle, that son of Pandu is protected by Madhava. Who is there that is competent to vanquish him who could not be vanquished by thee before, although thou, endued with great energy, hadst vanquished Rama himself in battle, that fierce destroyer of the Kshatriya race, worshipped, besides, by the gods and the Danavas? Incapable of putting up with that son of Pandu, that foremost of heroes in battle, even I, with thy permission, am competent to slay, with the force of my weapons, that brave and fierce warrior who resembleth a snake of virulent poison and who slayeth his foes with his glances alone!'"

SECTION 4

"Sanjaya said, 'Unto him who was talking thus, the aged Kuru grandsire with a cheerful heart, said these words adapted to both time and place: 'Like the ocean unto rivers, like the Sun unto all luminous bodies, like the righteous unto Truth, like a fertile soil unto seeds, like the clouds unto all creatures, be thou the refuge of thy relatives and friends! Like the celestials upon him of a thousand eyes, let thy kinsmen depend on thee. Be thou the humiliator of thy foes, and the enhancer of the joys of thy friends. Be thou unto the Kauravas as Vishnu unto the dwellers of heaven. Desirous of doing what was agreeable to Dhritarashtra's son, thou didst with the might and prowess of own arms, O Karna, vanquish the Kamvojas having proceeded to Rajpura. Many kings, amongst whom Nagnajit was the foremost, while staying in Girivraja, as also the Amvashthas, the Videhas, and the Gandharvas, were all vanquished by thee. The Kiratas, fierce in battle, dwelling in the fastness of Himavat, were formerly, O Karna, made by thee to own Duryodhana's sway. And so also, the Utpalas, the Mekalas, the Paundras, the Kalingas, the Andhras, the Nishadas, the Trigartas, and the Valhikas, were all vanquished by thee, O Karna, in battle. In many other countries, O Karna, impelled by the desire of doing good to Duryodhana, thou didst, O hero, vanquish many races and kings of great energy. Like Duryodhana, O child, with his kinsmen, and relatives, and friends, be thou also the refuge of all the Kauravas. In auspicious words I command thee, go and fight with the enemy. Lead the Kurus in battle, and give victory unto Duryodhana. Thou art to us our grandson even as Duryodhana is. According to the ordinance, all of us also are as much thine as Duryodhana's! The wise, O foremost of men, say that the companionship of the righteous with the righteous is a superior relationship to that born of the same womb. Without falsifying, therefore, thy relationship with Kurus, protect thou the Kaurava host like Duryodhana, regarding it as thy own.

"Hearing these words of his, Vikartana's. son Karna, reverentially saluting Bhishma's feet, (bade him farewell) and came to that spot where all the Kaurava bowmen were. Viewing that wide and unparalleled encampment of the vast host, he began to cherish (by words of encouragement) those well-armed and broad-chested warriors. And all the Kauravas headed by Duryodhana were filled with joy. And beholding the mighty-armed and high-souled Karna come to the field and station himself at the head of the whole army, for battle, the Kauravas received him with loud shouts and slapping of arm-pits and leonine roars and twang of bows and diverse other kinds of noise.'"

SECTION 5

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding that tiger among men, viz., Karna, mounted on his car, Duryodhana, O king, filled with joy, said these words, 'This host, protected by thee, hath now, I think, got a proper leader. Let that, however, be settled now which is proper and within our power.'

'Karna said, 'Tell us thyself, O tiger among men, for thou art the wisest of kings. Another can never see so well what should be done as one seeth it whose concern it is. Those kings are all desirous of listening to what thou mayst have to say. I am sure that no improper words will be uttered by thee.'

"Duryodhana, said, 'Bhishma was our commander possessed (as he was) of years, prowess, and learning and supported by all our warriors. That high-souled one, O Karna, achieving great glory and slaying large numbers of my enemies protected us by fair fight for ten days. He achieved the most difficult of feats. But now that he is about to ascend to heaven, whom, O Karna, dost thou think fit to our commander after him? Without a leader, an army cannot stay in battle for even a short while. Thou art foremost in battle, like a boat without a helmsman in the waters. Indeed, as a boat without a helmsman, or a car without a driver, would go anywhere, so would the plight be of a host that is without a leader. Like a merchant who falleth into every kind of distress when he is unacquainted with the ways of the country he visits, an army that is without a leader is exposed to every kind of distress. Look thou, therefore, among all the high-souled warriors of our army and find out a proper leader who may succeed the son of Santanu. Him whom thou wouldst regard as a fit leader in battle, him, all of us, without doubt, will together make our leader.'

"Karna said, 'All these foremost of men are high-souled persons. Every one of them deserveth to be our leader. There is no need of any minute examination. All of them are conversant with noble genealogies and with the art of smiting; all of them are endued with prowess and intelligence, all of them are attentive and acquainted with the scriptures, possessed of wisdom, and unretreating from battle. [Kula-samhanana-jnana, i.e., 'knowledge of Kula, as also of samhanana, which latter, as Nilakantha explains, means the body. A knowledge of the body, of vital and other limbs, was possessed by every accomplished warrior who wanted to smite effectually.] All, however, cannot be leaders at the same time. Only one should be selected as leader, in whom are special merits. All of these regard one another as equals. If one amongst them, therefore, be honoured, others will be dissatisfied, and, it is evident, will no longer fight for thee from a desire of benefiting thee. This one, however, is the Preceptor (in arms) of all these warriors; is venerable in years, and worthy of respect. Therefore, Drona, this foremost of all wielders of weapons, should be made the leader. Who is there worthy of becoming a leader, when the invincible Drona, that foremost of persons conversant with Brahma, is here, that one who is equal to Sukra or Vrihaspati himself? Amongst all the kings in thy army, O Bharata, there is not a single warrior who will not follow Drona when the latter goeth to battle [i.e., who will feel it humiliating for him to walk behind Drona?]. This Drona is the foremost of all leaders of forces, the foremost of all wielders of weapons, and the foremost of all intelligent persons. He is, besides, O king, thy preceptor (in arms). Therefore, O Duryodhana, make this one the leader of thy forces without delay, as the celestials made Kartikeya their leader in battle for vanquishing the Asuras'."

SECTION 6

"Sanjaya said, 'Hearing these words of Karna, king Duryodhana. then said this unto Drona who was staying in the midst of the troops.'

"Duryodhana said, 'For the superiority of the order of thy birth, for the nobility of thy parentage, for thy learning, years and intelligence, for also thy prowess, skill, invincibility, knowledge of worldly matters, policy, and self-conquest, by reason also of thy ascetic austerities and thy gratitude, superior as thou art as regards every virtue, among these kings there is none who can make so good a leader as thou. Protect thou, therefore, ourselves, like Vasava protecting the celestials. Having thee for our leader, we desire, O best of Brahmanas, to vanquish our foes. As Kapali amongst the Rudras, Pavaka among the Vasus, Kuvera among the Yakshas, Vasava among the Maruts, Vasishtha among Brahmanas, the Sun amongst luminous bodies, Yama among the Pitris, Varuna among aquatic creatures, as the Moon among the stars, and Usanas among the sons of Diti, so art thou the foremost of all leaders of forces. Be thou, therefore, our leader. O sinless one, let these ten and one Akshauhinis of troops be obedient to thy word of command. Disposing these troops in battle array, slay thou our foes, like Indra slaying the Danavas. Proceed thou art the head of us all, like Pavaka's son (Kartikeya) at the head of the celestial forces. We will follow thee to battle, like bulls following a bovine leader. A fierce and great bowman as thou art, beholding thee stretching the bow at our head. Arjuna will not strike. Without doubt, O tiger among men, if thou becomest our leader, I will vanquish Yudhishthira with all his followers and relatives in battle.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'After Duryodhana had uttered these words, the kings (in the Kaurava army) all cried victory to Drona. And they delighted thy son by uttering a loud leonine shout. And the troops, filled with joy, and with Duryodhana at their head, desirous of winning great renown, began to glorify that best of Brahmanas. Then, O king, Drona addressed Duryodhana fin those words.'"

SECTION 7

"Drona said, 'I know the Vedas with their six branches. I know also the science of human affairs. I am acquainted also with the Saiva weapon, and diverse other species of weapons. Endeavouring to actually display all those virtues which ye, desirous of victory, have attributed to me, I will fight with the Pandavas. I will not, however, O king, be able to slay the son of Prishata. O bull among men, he hath been created for my slaughter. I will fight with the Pandavas, and slay the Somakas. As regards the Pandavas, they will not fight with me with cheerful hearts.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Thus permitted by Drona, the son, O king, then made him the commander of his forces according to the rites prescribed in the ordinance. And the kings (in the Katirava army) headed by Duryodhana performed the investiture of Drona in the command of the forces, like the celestials headed by India in days of yore performing the investiture of Skanda. After Drona's installation in the command, the joy of the army expressed itself by the sound of drums and the loud blare of conchs. Then with cries such as greet the ears en a festive day, with auspicious invocations by Brahmanas gratified with cries of Jaya uttered by foremost of Brahmanas, and with the dance of mimes, Drona was duly honoured. And Kaurava warriors regarded the Pandayas as already vanquished.'

"Sanjaya continued. 'Then that mighty car-warrior, viz., Bharadwaja's son, having obtained the command, arrayed the troops in order of battle, and went out with thy sons from desire of fighting the foe. And the ruler of the Sindhus, and the chief of the Kalingas, and thy son Vikarna, clad in mail, took up their position on the right wing (of Drona). And Sakuni, accompanied by many foremost of horsemen battling with bright lances and belonging to the Gandhara tribe, proceeded, acting as their support. And Kripa, and Kritavarman, and Chitrasena, and Vivinsati headed by Duhsasana, strove vigorously for protecting the left wing. And the Kamvojas headed by Sudakshina, and the Sakas, and the Yavanas, with steeds of great fleetness, proceeded, as the latter's support. And the Madras, the Trigartas the Amvashthas, the Westerners, the Northerners, the Malavas, the Surasenas, the Sudras the Maladas, the Sauviras, the Kaitavas, the Easterners, and the Southerners placing thy son (Duryodhana) and the Suta's son (Karna) at their head, forming the rear guard, gladdened warriors of their own army, added to the strength of the (advancing) force, Vikartana's son Karna proceeded at the head of the bowmen. 1 And his blazing and large and tall standard bearing the advice of the elephant's rope, shone with an effulgence like that of the Sun, gladdening his own divisions. Beholding Karna, none regarded the calamity caused by Bhishma's death. And the kings, along with the Kurus, all became freed from grief. And large numbers of warriors, banded together, said unto one another, 'Beholding Karna on the field, the Pandavas will never be able to stand in battle. Indeed, Karna is quite competent to vanquish in battle the very gods with Vasava at their head. What need be said, therefore, for the sons of Pandu who are destitute of energy and prowess? The mighty-armed Bhishma spared the Parthas in battle. Karna, however, will slay them in the fight with his keen shafts.' Speaking unto one another thus and filled with joy, they proceeded, applauding and worshipping the son of Radha. As regards our army, it was arrayed by Drona in the form of a Sakata (vehicle); while the array of our illustrious foes, O king, was in the form of a Krauncha (crane), as disposed, O Bharata, by king Yudhishthira the Just in great cheerfulness. At the head of their array were those two foremost of persons viz., Vishnu and Dhananjaya, with their banner set up, bearing the device of the ape. The hump of the whole army and the refuge of all bowmen, that banner of Partha, endued with immeasurable energy, as it floated in the, sky, seemed to illumine the entire host of the high-souled Yudhishthira. The banner of Partha, possessed of great intelligence, seemed to resemble the blazing Sun that riseth at the end of the Yuga for consuming the world. Amongst bowmen, Arjuna is the foremost; amongst bows, Gandiva is the foremost amongst creature Vasudeva is the first; and amongst all kinds of discs, Sudarsana is the first. Bearing these four embodiments of energy, that car unto which were yoked white steeds, took up its position in the front of the (hostile) army, like the fierce discus upraised (for striking). Thus did those two foremost of men stand at the very head of their respective forces, viz.,

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Karna at the head of thy army, and Dhananjaya at the head of the hostile one. Both excited with wrath, and each desirous of slaying the other, Karna and Arjuna looked at each other in that battle.'

"Then when that mighty car-warrior, viz.. Bharadwaja's son, proceeded to battle with great speed, the earth seemed to tremble with loud sounds of wailing. Then the thick dust, raised by the wind resembling a canopy of tawny silk, enveloped the sky and the sun. And though the firmament was cloudless, yet a shower fell of pieces of flesh, bones, and blood. And vultures and hawks and cranes and Kankas, and crows in thousands, began continually to fall upon the (Kaurava) troops. And jackals yelled aloud; and many fierce and terrible birds repeatedly wheeled to the left of thy army, from desire of eating flesh and drinking blood [Lit, "placed army to their right," i.e., these birds wheeled to the left of thy host, which is an evil omen.], and many blazing meteors, illuminating (the sky), and covering large areas with their tails, fell on the field with loud sound and trembling motion. And the wide disc of the sun O monarch, seemed to emit flashes of lightning with thundering noise, when commander of the (Kaurava) army set out. These and many other portents, fierce and indicating a destruction of heroes, were seen during the battle. Then commenced the encounter between the troops of the Kurus and the Pandavas, desirous of slaying each other. And so loud was the din that it seemed to fill the whole earth. And the Pandavas and the Kauravas, enraged with each other and skilled in smiting, began to strike each other with sharp weapons, from desire of victory. 'Then that great bowman of blazing effulgence rushed towards the troops of the Pandavas with great impetuosity, scattering hundreds of sharp arrows. Then the Pandavas and the Srinjayas, beholding Drona rush towards them, received him, O king, with showers upon showers (in distinct sets) of arrows. Agitated and broken by Drona, the large host of the Pandavas and the Panchalas broke like rows of cranes by force of the wind. Invoking into existence many celestial weapons in that battle, Drona, within a very short time, afflicted the Pandavas and the Srinjayas. Slaughtered by Drona, like Danavas by Vasava, the Panchalas headed by Dhrishtadyumna trembled in that battle. Then that mighty car-warrior, viz., Yajnasena's son (Dhrishtadyumna), that hero acquainted with celestial weapons, broke, with his arrowy showers, the division of Drona in many places. And the mighty son of Prishata baffling with his own arrowy showers the showers of arrows shot by Drona, caused a great slaughter among the Kurus. The mighty-armed Drona then, rallying his men in battle and gathering them together, rushed towards the son of Prishata. He then shot at Prishata's son a thick shower of arrows, like Maghavat excited with rage showering his arrows with great force upon the Danavas, Then the Pandavas and the Srinjayas, shaken by Drona with his shafts, repeatedly broke like a herd of inferior animals attacked by a lion. And the mighty Drona coursed through the Pandava force like a circle of fire. All this, O king, seemed highly wonderful. Mounted on his own excellent car which (then) resembled a city coursing through the skies, which was furnished with every necessary article according to (military) science, whose banner floated on the air, whose rattle resounded through the field, whose steeds were (well) urged, and the staff of whose standard was bright as crystal, Drona struck terror into the hearts of the enemy and caused a great slaughter among them.'"

SECTION 8

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding Drona thus slaying steeds and drivers and car-warriors and elephants, the Pandavas, without being troubled, encompassed him on all sides. Then king Yudhishthira, addressing Dhrishtadyumna and Dhananjaya, said unto them, 'Let the pot-born (Drona) be checked, our men surrounding him on all sides with care.' Thus addressed those mighty car-warriors, viz., Arjuna and Prishata's son, along with their followers, all received Drona as the latter came. And the Kekaya princes, and Bhimasena, and Subhadra's son and Ghatotkacha and Yudhishthira, and the twins (Nakula and Sahadeva), and the ruler of the Matsyas, and the son of Drupada, and the (five) sons of Draupadi, all filled with joy, and Dhrishtaketu, and Satyaki, and the wrathful Chitrasena, and the mighty car-warrior, Yuyutsu, and many other kings, O monarch, who followed the sons of Pandu, all achieved diverse feats in keeping with their lineage and prowess. Beholding then that host protected in that battle by those Pandava warriors, Bharadwaja's son, turning his eyes in wrath, cast his looks upon it. Inflamed with rage, that warrior, invincible in battle, consumed, as he stood upon his car, the Pandava host like the tempest destroying vast masses of clouds. Rushing on all sides at car-warriors and steeds and foot-soldiers and elephants, Drona furiously careered over the field like a young man, though bearing the weight of years. His red steeds, fleet as the wind, and of excellent breed, covered with blood, O king, assumed a beautiful appearance. Beholding that hero of regulated vows, felling them like Yama himself inflamed with wrath, the soldiers of Yudhishthira fled away on all sides. And as some fled away and other rallied, as some looked at him and others stayed on the field, the noise they made was fierce and terrible. And that noise causing delight to heroes and enhancing the fears of the timid, filled the whole sky and the earth. And once more Drona, uttering his own name in battle, made himself exceedingly fierce, scattering hundreds of arrows among the foes. Indeed, the mighty Drona, though old, yet acting like a young man, careered like Death himself, O sire, amid the divisions of Pandu's son. That fierce warrior cutting off heads and arms decked with ornaments, made the terraces of many cars empty and uttered leonine roars. And in consequence of those joyous shouts of his, as also of the force of his shafts, the warriors, O lord, (of the hostile army) trembled like a herd of cows afflicted by cold. And in consequence of the rattle of his car and the stretching of his bow-string and the twang of his bow, the whole welkin resounded with a loud noise. And the shaft.., of that hero, coursing in thousands from his bow, and enveloping all the points of the compass, fell upon the elephants and steeds and cars and foot-soldiers (of the enemy). Then the Panchalas and the Pandavas boldly approached Drona, who, armed with his bow of great force, resembled a fire having weapons for its flames. Then with their elephants and foot-soldiers and steeds he began to despatch them unto the abode of Yama. And Drona made the earth miry with blood. Scattering his mighty weapons and shooting his shafts thick on every side, Drona soon so covered all the points of the compass, that nothing could be seen except his showers of arrows. And among foot-soldiers and cars and steeds and elephants nothing could be seen save Drona's arrows. The standard of his car was all that could be seen, moving like flashes of lightning amid the cars. Of soul incapable of being depressed, Drona then, armed with bow and arrows, afflicted the five princes of Kekaya and the ruler of the Panchalas and then rushed against the division of Yudhishthira. Then Bhimasena and Dhananjaya and the grandson of Sini, and the sons of Drupada, and the ruler of Kasi, viz., the son of Saivya, and Sivi himself, cheerfully and with loud roars covered him with their arrows. Shafts in thousands, decked with wings of gold, shot from Drona's bow, piercing through the bodies of the elephants and the young horses of those warriors, entered the earth, their feathers dyed with blood. The field of battle, strewn with cars and the prostrate forms of large bands of warriors, and of elephants and steeds mangled with shafts, looked like the welkin covered with masses of black clouds. Then Drona, desirous of the prosperity of thy sons, having thus crushed the divisions of Satyaki, and Bhima, and Dhananjaya and Subhadra's son and Drupada, and the ruler of the Kasi, and having ground many other heroes in battle, indeed, that high-souled warrior, having achieved these and many other feats, and having, O chief of the Kurus, scorched the world like the Sun himself as he rises at the end of the Yuga, proceeded hence, O monarch, to heaven. That hero possessed of golden car, that grinder of hostile hosts, having achieved mighty feats and slain in thousands the warriors of the Pandava host in battle, hath at last been himself slain by Dhrishtadyumna. Having, in fact, slain more than two Akshauhinis of brave and unreturning warriors, that hero endued with intelligence, at last, attained to the highest state. Indeed, O king, having achieved the most difficult feats, he hath, at last, been slain by the Pandavas and the Panchalas of cruel deeds. When the preceptor was slain in battle, there arose in the welkin, O monarch, a loud uproar of all creatures, as also of all the troops. Resounding through heaven and earth and the intermediate space and through the cardinal and the subsidiary directions, the loud cry 'O Fie!'--of creatures; was heard. And the gods, the Pitris, and they that were his friends, all beheld that mighty car-warrior, viz., the son of Bharadwaja, thus slain. The Pandavas, having won the victory, uttered leonine shouts. And the earth trembled with those loud shouts of theirs.'"

SECTION 9

"Dhritarashtra said, 'How did the Pandavas and the Srinjayas slay Drona in battle,--Drona. who was so accomplished in weapons amongst all wielders of arms? Did his car break (in course of the fight)? Did his bow break while he was striking (the foe)? Or, was Drona careless at the time when he met with his death-blow? How, indeed, O child, could Prishata's son, (viz., Dhrishtadyumna) the prince of the Panchalas, slay that hero incapable of being humiliated by enemies, who scattered thick showers of shafts furnished with wings of gold, and who was endued with great lightness of hand, that foremost of Brahmanas, who was accomplished in everything, acquainted with all modes of warfare, capable of shooting his shafts to a great distance, and self-restrained, who was possessed of great skill in the use of weapons and armed with celestial weapons, that mighty warrior, of unfading glory, who was always careful, and who achieved the fiercest feats in battle? It is plain, it seems to me, that destiny is superior to exertion, since even brave Drona hath been slain by the high-souled son of Prishata, that hero in whom were the four kinds of weapons, alas, thou sayest that that Drona, that preceptor in bowmanship, is slain. Hearing of the slaughter of that hero who used to ride his bright car covered with tiger skins and adorned with pure gold. I cannot drive away my grief. Without doubt, O Sanjaya, no one dies of grief caused by another's calamity, since, wretch that I am, I am yet alive although I have heard of Drona's death. Destiny I regard to be all powerful, exertion is fruitless. Surely, my heart, hard as it is, is made of adamant, since it breaketh not into a hundred pieces, although I have heard of Drona's death. He who was waited up-on by Brahmanas and princes desirous of instruction in the Vedas and divination and bowmanship, alas, how could he be taken away by Death? I cannot brook the overthrow of Drona which is even like the drying up of the ocean, or the removal of Meru from its site, or the fall of the Run from the firmament. He was a restrainer of the wicked and a protector of the righteous. That scorcher of foes who hath given up his life for the wretched Duryodhana, upon whose prowess rested that hope of victory which my wicked sons entertained, who was equal to Vrihaspati or Usanas himself in intelligence, alas, how was he slain? His large steeds of red hue, covered with net of gold, fleet as the wind and incapable of being struck with any weapon in battle, endued with great strength, neighing cheerfully, well-trained and of the Sindhu breed, yoked unto his car and drawing the vehicle excellently, always preserving in the midst of battle, did they become weak and faint? Coolly bearing in battle the roar of elephants, while those huge creatures trumpeted at the blare of conchs and the beat of drums, unmoved by the twang of bows and showers of arrows and other weapons, foreboding the defeat of foes by their very appearance, never drawing long breaths (in consequence of toil), above all fatigue and pain, how were those fleet steeds that drew the car of Bharadwaja's son soon over-powered? Even such were the steeds yoked unto his golden car. Even such were the steeds yoked thereto by that foremost of human heroes. Mounted on his own excellent car decked with pure gold, why, O son, could he not cross the sea of the Pandava army? What feat were achieved in battle by Bharadwaja's son, that warrior who always drew tears from other heroes, and upon whose knowledge (of weapons) all the bowmen of the world rely? Firmly adhering to truth, and endued with great might, what, indeed, did Drona do in battle? Who were those car-warriors that encountered that achiever of fierce deeds, that foremost of all wielders of the bow, that first of heroes, who resembled Sakra himself in heaven? Did the Pandava fly away beholding him of the golden car and of mighty strength who invoked into existence celestial weapons? Or, did king Yudhishthira the Just, with his younger brothers, and having the prince of Panchala (Dhrishtadyumna) for his binding chord, 1 attack Drona, surrounding him with his troops on all sides? Verily, Partha must have, with his straight shafts, checked all the other car-warriors, and then Prishata's son of sinful deeds must have surrounded Drona. I do not see any other warrior, save the fierce Dhrishtadyumna protected by Arjuna, who could have compassed the death of that mighty hero? It seems that when those heroes, viz., the Kekayas, the Chedis, the Karushas, the Matsyas, and the other kings, surrounding the preceptor, pressed him exceedingly like ants pressing upon a snake, while he was engaged in some difficult feat, the wretched Dhrishtadyumna must have slain him then. This is what, I think. He who, having studied the four Vedas with their branches and the histories forming the fifth (Veda), became the refuge of the Brahmanas, as the ocean is of rivers, that scorcher of foes, who lived both as a Brahmana and as a Kshatriya, alas, how could that Brahmana, reverend in years, meet with his end at the edge of a weapon? Of a proud spirit, he was yet often humiliated and had to suffer, pain on my account. However undeserving of it, he yet attained at the hands of Kunti's son, the fruit of his own conduct. [The sense seems to be that having carefully attained Arjuna in arms he has got the fruit of his care and labour in the form of defeat and death at the hands of, or, at least, through, his own pupil.] He, upon whose feats depend all wielders of bows in the world, alas, how could that hero, firmly adhering to truth and possessed of great skill, be slain by persons desirous of affluence? Foremost in the world like Sakra himself in heaven, of great might and great energy, alas, how could he be slain by the Parthas, like the whale by the smaller fish? He, from whose presence no warrior desirous of victory could ever escape with life, he whom, while alive, these two sounds never left, viz., the sound of the Vedas by those desirous of Vedic lore, and the twang of bows caused by those desirous of skill in bowmanship, he who was never cheerless, alas, that tiger among men, that hero endued with prosperity and never vanquished in battle, that warrior of prowess equal to that of the lion or the elephant, hath been slain. Verily, I cannot bear the idea of his death. How could Prishata's son, in the sight of the foremost of men, slay in battle that invincible warrior whose might was never humiliated and whose fame was never tarnished? Who were they that fought in Drona's van, protecting him, standing by his side? Who proceeded in his rear and obtained that end which is so difficult of attainment? Who were those high-souled warriors that protected the right and the left wheels of Drona? Who were in the van of that hero while he struggled in battle? Who were they that, reckless of their lives on that occasion, met with death which stood face to face with them? Who were those heroes that

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went in the last journey in Drona's battle? Did any of those Kshatriyas that were assigned for Drona's protection, proving false, abandon that hero in battle? Was he slain by the foe after such desertion and while alone? Drona would never, from fear, show his back in battle, however great the danger. How then was he slain by the foe? Even in great distress, O Sanjaya, an illustrious person should do this, viz., put forth his prowess according to the measure of his might. All this was in Drona; O child, I am losing my senses. Let this discourse be suspended for a while. After regaining my senses I will once more ask thee, O Sanjaya!'"

SECTION 10

"Vaisampayana said, 'Having addressed the Suta's son in this way, Dhritarashtra, afflicted with excessive grief of heart and hopeless of his son's victory, fell down on the ground. Beholding him deprived of his senses and fallen down, his attendants sprinkled him with perfumed and cold water, fanning him the while. Seeing him fallen, the Bharata ladies O king, surrounded him on all sides and gently rubbed him with their hands. And slowly raising the king from the ground, those royal ladies, their voices chocked with tears, seated him on his seat. Seated, the King continued to be under the influence of that swoon. And he remained perfectly motionless, while they fanned him standing around. And a tremour then passed over the monarch's body and he slowly regained his senses. And once more he began to interrogate Gavalgana's son of the Suta caste about the incidents, as they occured in the battle.'

"Dhritarashtra said, [That Ajatasatru] who, like the risen sun, dispelleth darkness by his own light; who rusheth against a foe as a swift and angry elephant with rent temples, incapable of being vanquished by hostile leaders of herds, rusheth against a rival proceeding with cheerful face towards a female of the species in rust, O, what warriors (of my army) resisted that Ajatasatru as he came, for keeping him away from Drona? 1 That hero, that foremost of persons, who hath slain many brave warriors (of my army) in battle, that mighty-armed and intelligent and courageous prince of unbaffled prowess, who, unassisted by any one, can consume the entire host of Duryodhana by means of his terrible glances alone, that slayer by his sight, that one bent on winning victory, that bowman, that hero of unfading glory, that self-restrained monarch who is revered by the whole world, O, who were those heroes (of my army) that surrounded that warrior? 2 That invincible prince, that bowman of unfading glory, that tiger among men, that son of Kunti, who advancing with great celerity came upon Drona, that mighty warrior who always achieves grand feats against the foe, that hero of gigantic fame and great courage, who in strength is equal to ten thousand elephants, O, what brave combatants of my army surrounded that Bhimasena as he rushed upon my host? When that car-warrior of exceeding energy, viz., Vibhatsu, looking like a mass of clouds, came, emitting thunderbolts like the clouds themselves, shooting showers of arrows like Indra pouring rain, and making all the points of the compass resound with the slaps of his palms and the rattle of his car-wheels, when that hero whose bow was like the lightning's flash and whose car resembled a cloud having for its roars the rattle of its wheels (when that hero came) the whizz of whose arrows made him exceedingly fierce, whose wrath resembles an awful cloud, and who is fleet as the mind or the tempest, who always pierces the foe deep into his very vitals, who, armed with shafts, is terrible to look at, who like Death himself bathes all the points of the compass with human blood in profusion, and who, with fierce uproar and awful visage, wielding the bow Gandiva incessantly pours on my warriors headed by Duryodhana shafts whetted on stone and furnished with vultures' feathers, alas, when that hero of great intelligence came upon you, what became the state of your mind? When that warrior having the huge ape on his banner came, obstructing the welkin with dense showers of arrows, what became that state of your mind at sight of that Partha? Did Arjuna advance upon you, slaying your troops with the twang of the Gandiva and achieving fierce feats on the way? Did Duryodhana take, with his shafts, your lives, like the tempest destroying gathering masses of clouds or felling forests of reeds, blowing through them? What man is there that is capable of bearing in battle the wielder of the Gandiva? Hearing only that he is stationed at the head of the (hostile) force, the heart of every foe seems to rend in twain. In that battle in which the troops trembled and even heroes were struck with fear, who were they that did not desert Drona, and who were those cowards that abandoned him from fear? Who were they that, reckless of their lives met Death himself, standing face to face with them, in the shape of Dhananjaya, who hath vanquished even superhuman combatants in battle? My troops are incapable of bearing the impetus of that warrior having white steeds yoked unto his car and the twang of Gandiva, that resembles the roll of the very clouds. That car which has Vishnu himself for its driver and Dhananjaya for its warrior, that car I regard to be incapable of being vanquished by the very gods and the Asuras united together. Delicate, young, and brave, and of a very handsome countenance, that son of Pandu who is gifted with intelligence and skill and wisdom and whose prowess incapable of being baffled in battle, when Nakula with loud noise and afflicting all hostile warriors, rushed at Drona, what heroes (of my army) surrounded him? When Sahadeva who resembles an angry snake of virulent poison, when that hero owning white steeds and invincible in battle, observant of laudable vows, incapable of being baffled in his purposes, gifted with modesty, and never vanquished in fight, came upon us, what heroes (of our army) surrounded him? That warrior who, having crushed the mighty host of the Sauvira king, took for his wife the beautiful Bhoja maiden of symmetrical limbs, that bull among men, viz., Yuyudhana, in whom are always truth and firmness and bravery and Brahmacharya, that warrior gifted with great might, always practising truth, never cheerless, never vanquished, who in battle is equal to Vasudeva and is regarded as his second self, who, through Dhananjaya's instructions, hath become foremost in the use of arrows, and who is equal to Partha himself in weapons, O, what warrior (of my army) resisted that Satyaki, for keeping him away from Drona? The foremost hero among the Vrishnis, exceedingly brave among all bowmen, equal to Rama himself in (knowledge and the use of) weapons and in prowess and fame, (know, O Sanjaya, that) truth and firmness, intelligence and heroism, and knowledge of Brahma, and high weapons, are all in him (Satyaki) of the Satwata race, as the three worlds are in Kesava. What heroes (of my army), approaching that mighty bowman, Satyaki, possessed of all those accomplishments and incapable of being resisted by the very gods, surrounded him? The foremost among the Panchalas, possessed of heroism, high-born and the favourite of all high-born heroes, ever achieving good deeds in battle, viz., Uttamaujas, that Prince ever engaged in the welfare of Arjuna, born for only my evil, equal unto Yama, or Vaisaravana, or Aditya, or Mahendra, or Varuna, that prince regarded as a mighty car-warrior and prepared to lay down his life in the thick of battle, O, what heroes (of my army) surrounded him? Who (amongst my warriors) opposed Dhrishtaketu, that single warrior amongst the Chedis who, deserting them, hath embraced the side of the Pandavas, while he rushed upon Drona? Who resisted the heroic Ketumat for keeping him away from Drona, the brave Ketumat who slew prince Durjaya while the latter had taken shelter in Girivraja? What heroes (of my army) surrounded Sikhandin, that tiger among men, who knows the merits and demerits (in his own person) of manhood and femininity, that son of Yajnasena, who is always cheerful in battle, that hero who became the cause of the high-souled Bhishma's death in battle, when he rushed towards Drona? That foremost hero of the Vrishni race, that chief of all bowmen, that brave warrior in whom all accomplishments exist in a greater degree than in Dhananajaya himself, in whom are ever weapons and truth and Brahmacharya, who is equal to Vasudeva in energy and Dhananjaya in strength, who in splendour is equal to Aditya and in intelligence to Vrihaspati, viz., the high-souled Abhimanyu, resembling Death himself with wide-open mouth, O what heroes (of my army) surrounded him when he rushed towards Drona? That youth of vigorous understanding, that slayer of hostile heroes, viz., Subhadra's son, O, when he rushed towards Drona, what became the state of your mind? What heroes surrounded those tigers among men, viz., the sons of Draupadi, when they rushed in battle against Drona like rivers rushing towards the sea? Those children who, giving up all (childish) sports for twelve years, and observing excellent vows, waited upon Bhishma for the sake of weapons, those children, viz., Kshatranjaya and Kshatradeva and Kshatravarman and Manada, those heroic sons of Dhrishtadyumna, O, who resisted them, seeking to keep them away from Drona? He whom the Vrishnis regarded as superior in battle to a hundred car-warriors, O, who resisted that great bowman, viz., Chekitana, for keeping him away from Drona? Those five Kekaya brothers, virtuous and possessed of prowess, incapable of being baffled, resembling (in hue) the insects called Indragopakas, with red coats of mail, red weapons and red banners, those heroes that are the maternal cousins of the Pandavas and that always wish for victory unto the latter, O, what heroes (of my army) surrounded those valiant princes when they rushed towards Drona for slaying him? That lord of battle, that foremost of bowmen, that hero of unbaffled aim and great strength, that tiger among men, viz., Yuyutsu, whom many wrathful kings battling together for six months at Varanavata from desire of slaying him could not vanquish, and who in battle at Varanasi overthrew with a broad-headed arrow that mighty car-warrior, viz., the prince of Kasi, desirous of seizing (at a Swayamvara) a maiden for wife, O, what hero (of my army) resisted him? That mighty bowman, viz., Dhrishtadyumna, who is the chief counsellor of the Pandavas, who is engaged in doing evil to Duryodhana, who was created for Drona's destruction, O, what heroes (of my army) surrounded him when he came towards Drona, breaking through all my ranks and consuming all my warriors in battle? That foremost of all persons conversant with weapons, who has been reared almost on Drupada's lap, O, what warriors (of my army) surrounded that Sikhandin protected by (Arjuna's) weapons, for keeping him away from Drona? He who encompassed this earth by the loud rattle of his car as by a leathern belt, that mighty car-warrior and foremost of all slayers of foes, who, as (a substitute for) all sacrifices, performed, without hindrance, ten Horse sacrifices with excellent food and drink and gifts in profusion, who ruled his subjects as if they were his children, that Usinara's son who in sacrifices gave away kine countless as the grains of sand in the Ganga's stream, whose feat none amongst men have been or will ever be able to imitate, after the performance of whose difficult feats the very gods had cried out, saying, 'We do not see in the three worlds with their mobile and immobile creatures a second person other than Usinara's son who, was, has ever been, or will ever be born, who hath attained to regions (in after-life) which are unattainable by human beings, O, who (amongst my army) resisted that Saivya, that grandson of that Usinara's son, while he came upon (Drona)? What heroes (of my army) surrounded the car-division of that slayer of foes, viz.. Virata, the king of the Matsyas, while it reached Drona in battle? Who kept away from Drona the gigantic Ghatotkacha, that thorn (on the side), of my sons, that warrior who always wishes victory unto the Pandavas, that heroic Rakshasa, possessed of extensive powers of illusion, endued with great strength and great prowess, and born of Bhima in course of a single day, and of whom I entertain very great fears? [Ghatotkacha was the son of Hidimva by Bhimasena. Rakshasi women bring forth the very day they conceive, and their offspring attain to youth the very day they are born!] What, O Srinjaya, can remain unconquered by them for whose sake these and many others are prepared to Jay down their lives in battle? How can the sons of Pritha meet with defeat, they, viz., that have the greatest of all beings, the wielder of the bow called Sarnga, for their refuge and benefactor? Vasudeva is, indeed, the great Master of all the worlds, the Lord of all, and Eternal! Of celestial soul and infinite power, Narayana is the refuge of men in battle. The wise recite his celestial feats. I also will recite them with devotion, for recovering my firmness!'"

SECTION 11

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Hear, O Sanjaya, the celestial feats of Vasudeva, feats that Govinda achieved and the like of which no other person hath ever been able to achieve. Whilst being brought up, O Sanjaya, in the family of the cowherd (Nanda), that high-souled one, while yet a boy, made the might of his arms known to the three worlds. Even then he slew Hayaraja, living in the woods (on the shores) of the Yamuna, who was equal to (the celestial steed) Uchchaisravas in strength and the wind itself in speed. In childhood, he also slew with his two bare arms, the Danava, in the form of a bull, of terrible deeds, and risen like Death himself unto all the kine. Of eyes like the lotus petals, he also slew the mighty Asuras named Pralamva, and Naraka, and Jambha, and Pitha, as also Mura, that terror of the celestials. And so also Kansa of mighty energy, who was, besides, protected by Jarasandha, was, with all his followers, slain in battle by Krishna aided by his prowess alone. With Valadeva as his second, that slayer of foes, viz., Krishna, consumed in battle, with all his troops, the king of the Surasenas, viz., Sunaman, of great activity and prowess in battle, the lord of a full Akshauhini, and the valiant second brother of Kansa, the king of the Bhojas. The highly wrathful regenerate Rishi (gratified with the adoration) gave him boons. Of eyes like the lotus petals, and endued with great bravery, Krishna, vanquishing all the kings at a self-choice, bore away the daughter of the king of the Gandharas. Those angry kings, as if they were horses by birth, were yoked unto his nuptial car and were lacerated with the whip. The mighty-armed Janardana also caused Jarasandha, the lord of a full Akshauhini of troops, to be slain through the instrumentality of another. [Jarasandha, the powerful king of the Magadhas, and the sworn foe of Krishna, was slain by Bhima through Krishna's instigation.] The mighty Krishna also slew the valiant king of Chedis, that leader of kings, as if he were some animal, on the occasion of the latter's disputing about the Arghya. Putting forth his prowess, Madhava hurled unto the sea the Daitya city called Saubha, (moving) in the skies, protected by Salwa, and regarded as impregnable. The Angas, the Vangas, the Kalingas, the Magadhas, the Kasis, the Kosalas, the Vatsyas, the Gargyas, the Karushas and the Paundras,--all these he vanquished in battle. The Avantis, the Southerners, the Mountaineers, the Daserakas, the Kasmirakas, the Aurasikas, the Pisachas, the Samudgalas, the Kamvojas, the Vatadhanas, the Cholas, the Pandyas, O Sanjaya, the Trigartas, the Malavas, the Daradas difficult of being vanquished, the Khasas arrived from diverse realms, as also the Sakas, and the Yavanas with followers, were all vanquished by him of eyes like lotus-petals. In days of old, penetrating into the very sea, he vanquished in battle Varuna himself in those watery depths, surrounded by all kinds of aquatic animals. Slaying in battle (the Danava named) Panchajanya living in the depths of Patala, Hrishikesa obtained the celestial conch called Panchajanya. The mighty Kesava, accompanied by Partha, having gratified Agni at

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Khandava, obtained his invincible weapon of fire, viz., his discus (called Sudarsana). Riding on Vinata's son and frightening (the denizens of) Amaravati, the heroic Krishna brought from Mahendra himself (the celestial flower called) Parijata. Knowing Krishna's prowess, Sakra quietly bore that act [viz., the transplantation of the Parijata from Amaravati to the earth.]. We have never heard that there is any one among the kings who has not been vanquished by Krishna. That exceedingly wonderful feat also, O Sanjaya, which the lotus-eyed one performed in my court, who else is capable of performing it? And since, humbled by devotion, I was suffered to behold Krishna as the Supreme Lord; everything (about that feat) is well-known to me, myself having witnessed it with my own eyes, O Sanjaya, the end can never be seen of the (infinite) achievements of Hrishikesa. of great energy and great intelligence. Gada, and Samva, and Pradyumna, and Viduratha, and Charudeshna, and Sarana, and Ulmukha, and Nisatha, and the valiant Jhilivabhru, and Prithu, and Viprithu, and Samika, and Arimejaya,--these and other mighty Vrishni heroes, accomplished in smiting, will, standing on the field of battle, take up their position in the Pandava host, when summoned by that Vrishni hero, viz., the high-souled Kesava. Everything (on my side) will then be in great danger. Even this is what I think. And there where Janardana is, there will be the heroic Rama, equal in strength to ten thousand elephants, resembling the Kailasa peak, decked with garlands of wild flowers, and armed with the plough. That Vasudeva, O Sanjaya, whom all the regenerate ones describe as the Father of all, will that Vasudeva fight for the sake of the Pandavas? O son, O Sanjaya, if he puts on his armour for the sake of the Pandavas, there is none amongst us who can be his antagonist. If the Kauravas happen to vanquish the Pandavas, he, of the Vrishni race, will then, for the sake of the latter, take up his mighty weapon. And that tiger among men, that mighty-armed one, slaying then all the kings in battle as also the Kauravas, will give away the whole earth to Kunti's son. What car will advance in battle against that car which has Hrishikesa for its driver and Dhananjaya for its warrior? The Kurus cannot, by any means, gain victory. Tell me, then everything about how the battle took place. Arjuna is Kesava's life and Krishna is always victory; in Krishna is always fame. In all the worlds, Vibhatsu is invincible. In Kesava are infinite merits in excess. The foolish Duryodhana, who doth not know Krishna or Kesava, seems, through Destiny, to have Death's noose before him. Alas, Duryodhana knows not Krishna of Dasarha's race and Arjuna the son of Pandu. These high-souled ones are ancient gods. They are even Nara and Narayana. On earth they are seen by men as; two separate forms, though in reality they are both possessed but by one soul. With the mind alone, that invincible pair, of world-wide fame, can, if only they wish it, destroy this host. Only, in consequence of their humanity they do not wish it. [Though gods, they have taken their births as men, and, they must achieve their objects by human means. It is for this that they do not, by a fiat only of their will, destroy this host.] Like a change of the Yuga, the death of Bhishma, O child, and the slaughter of the high-souled Drona, overturn the senses. Indeed, neither by Brahmacharya, nor by the study of the Vedas, nor by (religious) rites, nor by weapons, can any one prevent death. Hearing of the slaughter of Bhishma and Drona, those heroes accomplished in weapons, respected by all the worlds, and invincible in battle, why O Sanjaya, do I yet live? In consequence of the death of Bhishma and Drona, O Sanjaya, we will henceforth have to live as dependants on that prosperity beholding which in Yudhishthira we had before been so jealous. Indeed, this destruction of the Kurus hath come in consequence only of my acts. O Suta, in killing these that are ripe for destruction, the very straw becomes thunderbolt. That prosperity is without end in this; world which Yudhishthira is about to obtain--Yudhishthira through whose wrath both Bhishma and Drona have fallen. In consequence of his very disposition, hath Righteousness gone over to the side of Yudhishthira, while it is hostile to my son. Alas, time, so cruel, that hath now come for the destruction of all, cannot be overcome. Things calculated in one way, O son, even by men of intelligence, become otherwise through Destiny. This is what I think. Therefore, tell me everything that has taken place during the progress of this unavoidable and dreadful calamity productive of the most sorrowful reflection incapable of being crossed over (by us).'"

SECTION 12

"Sanjaya said, 'Yes, as I saw everything with my own eyes, I will describe to thee how Drona fell down, slain by the Pandavas and the Srinjayas. Having obtained the command of the troops, that mighty car-warrior, viz., Bharadwaja's son, said these words unto thy son in the midst of all the troops, 'Inasmuch as, O king, thou hast honoured me with the command of the troops immediately after that bull among the Kauravas, viz., the son of the Ocean-going (Ganga), take thou, O Bharata, the adequate fruit of that act of thine. What business of thine shall I now achieve? Ask thou the boon that thou desirest.' Then king Duryodhana having consulted with Karna and Duhsasana and others, said unto the preceptor, that invincible warrior and foremost of all victors, these words, 'If thou wouldst give me a boon, then, seizing that foremost of car-warriors, viz., Yudhishthira, alive, bring him unto me here.' Then that preceptor of the Kurus, hearing those words of thy son, returned him the following answer, gladdening all the troops therewith, Praised be Kunti's son (Yudhishthira) whose seizing only thou desirest. O thou that art difficult of being vanquished, thou askest not any other boon (one for example) for his slaughter. For what reason, O tiger among men, dost thou not desire his death? Thou art, without doubt, O Duryodhana, not ignorant of policy. Why, therefore, dost thou not allude to Yudhisthira's death? It is a matter of great wonder that king Yudhisthira, the just, hath no enemy desirous of his death. Inasmuch as thou wishest him to be alive, thou (either) seekest to preserve thy race from extinction, or, O chief of the Bharatas, thou, having vanquished the Pandavas in battle, art desirous of establishing brotherly relation (with them) by giving them their kingdom. Auspicious was the birth of that intelligent prince. Truly is he called Ajatasatru (the foeless one), for even thou bearest affection for him.' Thus addressed by Drona, O Bharata, the feeling that is ever present in thy son's breast suddenly made itself known. Not even persons like Vrihaspati can conceal the expressions of their countenance. For this, thy son, O king, filled with joy, said these words, 'By the slaughter of Kunti's son in battle, O preceptor, victory cannot be mine. If Yudhishthira were slain, Partha then, without doubt, would slay all of us. All of them, again, cannot be slain by the very gods. He amongst them that will, in that case, survive, will exterminate us. Yudhishthira, however, is truthful in his promises. If brought hither (alive), vanquished once more at dice, the Pandavas will once more go to the woods, for they are all obedient to Yudhishthira. It is evident that such a victory will be an enduring one. It is for this that I do not, by any means, desire the slaughter of king Yudhishthira the Just.' Ascertaining this crooked purpose of Duryodhana, Drona who was conversant with the truths of the science of profit and gifted with great intelligence, reflected a little and gave him the boon circumscribing it in the following way.'

"Drona said, 'If the heroic Arjuna do not protect Yudhishthira in battle, thou mayst think the eldest Pandava as already brought under thy control. As regards Partha, the very gods and the Asuras together headed by Indra, cannot advance against him in battle. It is for this that I dare not do what thou askest me to do. Without doubt, Arjuna is disciple, and I was his first preceptor in arms. He is, however, young, endued with great good fortune, and excessively intent (on the achievement of his purposes). He hath obtained, again, many weapons from Indra and Rudra. He hath besides been provoked by thee. I dare not, therefore, do what thou askest me. Let Arjuna be removed, by whatsoever means that can be done, from the battle. Upon Partha being withdrawn, thou mayst regard king Yudhishthira as already vanquished. Upon his seizure is victory and not upon his slaughter, O bull among men! Even by stratagem, can his seizure be accomplished. Seizing that king devoted to truth and righteousness, I will, without doubt, O monarch, bring him to thy control this very day, if he stays before me in battle even for a moment, of course, if Dhananjaya, the son of Kunti, that tiger among men, be withdrawn from the field. In Phalguni's presence, however, O king, Yudhishthira is incapable of being taken in battle even by the gods and the Asuras headed by Indra.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'After Drona had promised the king's seizure even under these limitations, thy foolish sons regarded Yudhishthira as already taken. Thy son (Duryodhana) knew Drona's partiality for the Pandavas. In order to make Drona stick to his promise, therefore, he divulged those counsels. Then, O chastiser of foes, the fact of Drona's having promised to seize the (eldest) Pandava was proclaimed by Duryodhana unto all his troops.'"

SECTION 13

"Sanjaya said, 'After Drona had promised the kings seizure under those limitations, thy troops hearing of (that promise about) Yudhishthira's capture, uttered many leonine shouts, mingling them with the whiz of their arrows and the blare of their conchs. King Yudhishthira the Just, however, O Bharata, soon learnt in detail, through his spies, everything about the purpose upon which Bharadwaja's son was intent. Then bringing together all his brothers and all the other kings of his army, king Yudhishthira the Just addressed Dhananjaya, saying, 'Thou hast heard, O tiger among men, about the intention of Drona. Let such measures, therefore, be adopted as may prevent the accomplishment of that purpose. It is true, Drona, that grinder of foes, hath vowed his pledge, subject to limitations, however, O great bowman, rest on thee. Fight thou, therefore, today, O thou of mighty arms, in my vicinity, so that Duryodhana may not obtain from Drona the fruition of his desire.'

"Arjuna said, 'As the slaughter of my preceptor can never be accomplished by me, so, king, I can never consent to give thee up. O son of Pandu, I would rather yield up my life in battle than fight against my preceptor. This son of Dhritarashtra desireth sovereignty, having seized thee as a captive in battle. In this world he will never obtain the fruition of that desire of his. The firmament itself with its stars may fall down, the Earth herself may split into fragments, yet Drona will, surely, never succeed in seizing thee as long as I am alive. If the wielder of the thunderbolt himself, or Vishnu at the head of the gods, assist him in battle, still he shall not succeed in seizing thee on the field. As long as I am alive, O great king, it behoveth thee not to entertain any fear of Drona, although he is the foremost of all wielders of weapons. I further say unto thee. O monarch, that my promise never remains unfulfilled. I do not recollect having ever spoken any untruth. I do not recollect having ever been vanquished. I do not recollect having ever, after making a vow, left the least part of it unfulfilled.

"Sanjaya continued, 'Then, O king, conchs and drums and cymbals and smaller drums were sounded and beaten in the Pandava camp. And the high-souled Pandavas uttered many leonine shouts. These and the awful twang of their bow-strings and the slaps of palms reached the very heaven. Hearing that loud blare of conchs that arose from the camp of the mighty sons of Pandu, diverse instruments were sounded amongst thy divisions also. Then thy divisions as also those of theirs were arrayed in order of battle. And slowly they advanced against each other from desire of battle. Then commenced a battle, that was fierce and that made the hairs stand on their ends, between the Pandavas and the Kurus, and Drona and the Panchalas. The Srinjayas, though struggling vigorously, were unable to beat in battle the host of Drona as it was protected by Drona himself. And so also the mighty car-warriors of thy son, skilled in smiting, could not beat the Pandava host, as it was protected by the Diadem-decked (Arjuna). Protected by Drona and Arjuna, both the hosts seemed to stand inactive like two blossoming forests in the silence of the night. Then he, of the golden car, (viz., Drona) like the Sun himself of great splendour, crushing the ranks of the Pandavas, careered through them at will. And the Pandavas, and the Srinjayas, through fear, regarded that single warrior of great activity upon his quickly-moving car as if multiplied into many. Shot by him, terrible shafts coursed in all directions, frightening, O king, the army of Pandu's son. Indeed, Drona then seemed as the Sun himself at mid-day covered by a hundred rays of light. And as the Danavas were unable to look at Indra, so there was not one amongst the Pandavas, who. O monarch, was able to look at the angry son of Bharadwaja in that battle. The valiant son of Bharadwaja then, having confound the (hostile) troops, speedily began to consume the division of Dhrishtadyumna by means of sharp shafts. And covering and obstructing all the points of the compass by means of his straight shafts, he began to crush the Pandava force even there, where Prishata's son was.'"

SECTION 14

"Sanjaya said, 'Then Drona, causing a great confusion in the Pandava host, careered through it, like a conflagration consuming (a forest of) trees. Beholding that angry warrior, owning a golden car, consume their divisions like a raging conflagration, the Srinjayas trembled (in fear). The twang, in that battle, of the constantly stretched bow of that warrior of great activity was heard to resemble the roar of the thunder. I Fierce shafts shot by Drona, endued with great lightness of hand, began to crush car-warriors and horsemen and elephant-warriors and foot soldiers along with elephants and steeds. Showering his arrows as the roaring clouds at the close of summer, assisted by the wind, pour hail-stones, he inspired fear in the hearts of the foe. Coursing (through the hostile ranks), O king, and agitating the troops, the mighty Drona enhanced the unnatural fear entertained by the enemy. The gold-decked bow, on his quickly-moving car, was repeatedly seen to resemble the lightning's flash amid a mass of dark clouds. That hero, firm in truth, endued with wisdom, and always devoted, besides, to righteousness, caused an awful river of angry current, such as may be seen at the end of the Yuga, to flow there. And that river had its source in the impetuosity of Drona's wrath, and it was haunted by crowds of carnivorous creatures. And the combatants constituted the waves that filled its entire surface. And heroic warriors constituted the trees on its banks whose roots were constantly eaten away by its current. And its waters were constituted by the blood that was shed in that battle, and cars constituted its eddies, and elephants and steeds formed its banks. And costs of mail constituted its lilies, and the flesh of creatures the mire on its bed. And the fat, marrow, and bones (of fallen animals and men) formed the sands on its beach, and (fallen) head-gears its froth. And the battle itself that was fought there constituted the canopy above its surface. And lances constituted the fish with which it abounded. And it was inaccessible in consequence of the large number of (slain) men, elephants, and steeds (that fell in it). And the impetus of the shaft shot constituted its current. And the slain bodies themselves constituted the timber floating on it. And cars constituted its tortoises. And heads constituted the stones

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scattered on its banks and bed, and scimitars, its fish in profusion. And cars and elephants formed its lakes. And it was decked with many adornments. And mighty car-warriors constituted its hundreds of little whirlpools. And the dust of the earth constituted its wavelets. And capable of being easily crossed by those possessed of exceeding energy, it was incapable of being crossed by the timid. And heaps of dead bodies constituted the sand-banks obstructing its navigation. And it was the haunt of Kankas and vultures and other birds of prey. And it carried away thousands of mighty-car-warriors to the abode of Yama. And long spears constituted the snakes that infested it in profusion. And the living combatants constituted the fowls sporting on its waters. Torn umbrellas constituted its large swans. Diadems formed the (smaller) birds that adorned it. Wheels constituted its turtles, and maces its alligators, and arrows its smaller fish. And it was the resort of frightful swarms of crows and vultures and jackals. And that river, O best of kings, bore away in hundreds, to the region of the Pitris, the creatures that were slain by Drona in battle. Obstructed by hundreds of bodies (floating on it), the hair (of slain warriors and animals) constituted its moss and weeds. Even such was the river, enhancing the fears of the timid, that Drona caused to flow there.

"And when Drona was thus grinding the hostile army hither and thither, the Pandava warriors headed by Yudhishthira rushed at that mighty car-warrior from all sides. Then seeing them thus rushing (towards Drona), brave combatants of thy army, possessed of unyielding prowess, rushed from every side. And the battle that thereupon ensued made the hair stand on end. Sakuni, full of a hundred kinds of deceit, rushed towards Sahadeva, and pierced the latter's charioteer, and standard, and car, with many keen-pointed shafts. Sahadeva, however, without being much excited, cutting off Sauvala's standard and bow and car-driver and car, with sharp arrows, pierced Sauvala himself with sixty shafts. Thereupon, Suvala's son, taking up mace, jumped down from his excellent car, and with that mace, O king, he felled Sahadeva's driver from the latter's car. Then these two heroic and mighty warriors, O monarch, both deprived of car, and both armed with mace, sported in battle like two crests of hills. Drona, having pierced the ruler of the Panchalas with ten shafts, was, in return, pierced by the latter with many shafts. And the latter was again pierced by Drona with a larger number of shafts. Bhimasena pierced Vivinsati with sharp arrows. The latter, however, thus pierced, trembled not, which seemed to be highly wonderful. Vivinsati then, O monarch, suddenly deprived Bhimasena of his steeds and standard and bow. And thereupon all the troops worshipped him for that feat. The heroic Bhimasena, however, brooked not that exhibition of prowess by his enemy in battle. With his mace, therefore, he slew the well-trained steeds of Vivinsati. Then the mighty Vivinsati, taking up a shield (and sword) jumped down from that car whose steeds had been slain, and rushed against Bhimasena like an infuriated elephant rushing against an infuriated compeer. The heroic Salya, laughing the while, pierced, as if in dalliance, his own dear nephew, Nakula. with many shafts for angering him. The valiant Nakula, however, cutting off his uncle's steeds and umbrella and standard and charioteer and bow in that battle, blew his conch. Dhrishtaketu, engaged with Kripa, cut off diverse kinds of arrows shot at him by the latter, and then pierced Kripa, with seventy arrows. And then he cut off the device of Kripa's standard with three arrows. Kripa, however, began to oppose him with a thick shower of arrows. And resisting him in this way, the Brahmana fought on with Dhrishtaketu. Satyaki, laughing the while, pierced Kritavarman in the centre of the chest with a long arrow. And piercing him then with seventy arrows, he once more pierced him with many others. The Bhoja warrior, however, in return, pierced Satyaki with seventy arrows of keen points. Like the swiftly-coursing winds failing to move a mountain, Kritavarman was unable to move Satyaki or make him tremble. Senapati deeply struck Susarman in his vitals. Susarman also struck his antagonist with a lance on the shoulder-joint. Virata, aided by his Matsya warriors of great energy, resisted Vikartana's son in that battle. And that feat (of the Matsya king) seemed highly wonderful. Even this was regarded as an act of great valour on the part of the Suta's son, in that, he singly resisted that whole force by means of his straight shafts. King Drupada was engaged with Bhagadatta. And the battle between those two warriors became beautiful to behold. That bull among men, viz., Bhagadatta, pierced king Drupada and his driver and standard and car with many straight shafts. Then Drupada, excited with wrath, quickly pierced that mighty car-warrior in the chest with a straight shaft. Those two foremost of warriors on earth, viz., Somadatta's son and Sikhandin, both conversant with every weapon, encountered each other in fierce battle that made all creatures tremble with fear. The valiant Bhurisravas, O king, covered that mighty car-warrior, Yajnasena's son Sikhandin, with a thick shower of arrows. Sikhandin, then O monarch, excited with wrath, pierced Somadatta's son with ninety shafts, and caused him, O Bharata, to tremble. Those Rakshasas of fierce deeds, viz., Hidimba's son and Alamvusha, each desirous of vanquishing the other, battled most wonderfully. Both capable of creating a hundred illusions, both swelling with pride, battled with each other most wonderfully, relying on their powers of illusion, and each desirous of vanquishing the other. The fierce Chekitana battled with Anuvinda. They coursed on the field, disappearing at times, and causing great wonder. Lakshmana fought fiercely with Kshatradeva, even as Vishnu, O monarch, in days of old, with the (Asura) Hiranyaksha. With his fleet steeds and upon his car duly equipped, Paurava, O king, roared at Abhimanyu. Endued with great might, Paurava then rushed at Abhimanyu, desirous of battle. Then that chastiser of foes, viz., Abhimanyu fought fiercely with that foe. Paurava covered Subhadra's son with a thick shower of arrows. Thereupon, Arjuna's son felled his antagonist's standard and umbrella and bow on earth. Then piercing Paurava with seven arrows, Subhadra's son pierced the latter's driver and steeds with five arrows. Gladdening his troops thus, he then repeatedly roared like a lion. Then Arjuna's son quickly fixed an arrow on his bow-string that was certain to take away Paurava's life. Beholding however, that arrow of frightful mien fixed on Abhimanyu's bow-string, Haridika's son, with two shafts, cut off that bow and arrow. Then that slayer of hostile heroes, viz., Subhadra's son, throwing aside that broken bow, took up a bright sword and a shield. Whirling with great speed that shield decked with many stars, and whirling that sword also, he coursed on the field, exhibiting his prowess. Whirling them before him, and whirling them on high, now shaking them and now jumping up himself, from the manner of his handling those weapons, it seemed that (with him) there is no difference between that offensive and that defensive weapons. Jumping suddenly then upon the shafts of Paurava's car, he roared aloud. Mounting next upon his car, he seized Paurava by the hair, and slaying meanwhile with a kick, the latter's driver, he felled his standard with a stroke of his sword. And as regards Paurava himself, Abhimanyu raised him up, like the Garuda raising a snake from the bottom of the sea agitating the waters. Thereupon, all the kings beheld Paurava (standing helpless) with dishevelled hair, and looking like an ox deprived of its senses while on the point of being slain by a lion. Beholding Paurava thus prostrated, placed under the control of Arjuna's son, and dragged helplessly, Jayadratha was unable to brook it. Taking up a sword as also a shield that bore the device of a peacock and was decked with a hundred bells of small size suspended in rows, Jayadratha jumped down from his car with a loud roar. Then Subhadra's son (Abhimanyu), beholding the ruler of the Sindhus, let Paurava alone, and leaping up like a hawk from the latter's car, quickly alighted on the earth. The lances and aves and scimitars hurled by his foes--Arjuna's son cut off by means of his sword or warded off by his shield. Thus showing unto all the warriors the strength of his own arms the mighty [and heroic] Abhimanyu, once more upraising his large and heavy sword as also his shield, proceeded towards Vriddhakshatra's son who was a sworn foe of his (Abhimanyu's) father, like a tiger proceeding against an elephant. Approaching they cheerfully attacked each other with their swords like a tiger and a lion with their claws and teeth. And none could notice any difference between those two lions among men as regards the whirl-strokes, and descent of their swords and shields. And as regards the descent and the whiz of their swords, and the warding off of each other's blows, it seemed there was no distinction between the two. Coursing, beautifully in outward and inward tracks, those two illustrious warriors seemed to be like two winged mountains. Then Jayadratha struck on the shield of the renowned Abhimanyu when the latter stretched his sword for making a pass at him. Then, O Bharata, Jayadratha's large sword sticking into Abhimanyu's shield covered with golden plate, broke, as the ruler of the Sindhus attempted to draw it off forcibly. Seeing his sword broken, Jayadratha hastily retreated six steps and was seen within a twinkle of the eye to be mounted on his own car. Then Arjuna's son also, that combat with the sword being over, ascended his own excellent car. Many kings, then, of the Kuru army, uniting together, surrounded him on all sides. The mighty son of Arjuna, however, eyeing Jayadratha, whirled his sword and shield, and uttered a loud shout. Having vanquished the ruler of the Sindhus, Subhadra's son, that slayer of hostile heroes, then began to scorch that division of the Kaurava army like Sun scorching the world. Then in that battle Salya hurled at him a fierce dart made wholly of iron, decked with gold, and resembling a blazing flame of fire. Thereupon, Arjuna's son, jumping up, caught hold of that dart, like Garuda catching a mighty snake falling from above. And having seized it thus, Abhimanyu unsheathed his sword. Witnessing the great activity and might of that warrior of immeasurable energy, all the kings together uttered a leonine shout. Then that slayer of hostile heroes, viz., the son of Subhadra, hurled with the might of his arms at Salya himself that very dart of great effulgence, decked with stones of lapis lazuli. Resembling a snake that has recently cast off its slough, that dart, reaching Salya's car slew the latter's driver and felled him from his niche of the vehicle. Then Virata and Drupada, and Dhristaketu, and Yudhishthira, and Satyaki, and Kekaya, and Bhima, and Dhrishtadyumna, and Sikhandin, and the twins (Nakula and Sahadeva), and the five sons of Draupadi, all exclaimed, 'Excellent! Excellent!' And diverse kinds of sounds due to the shooting of arrows, and many leonine shouts, arose there, gladdening the unretreating son of Arjuna. Thy sons, however, could not brook those indications of the victory of their foe. Then all of them suddenly surrounded Subhadra's son and covered him, O king, with showers of arrows like the clouds pouring rain on the mountain-breast. Then that slayer of foes, viz., Artayani (Salya), wishing good of thy sons, and remembering the overthrow of his own driver, rushed in rage against Subhadra's son.'"

SECTION 15

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Thou hast, O Sanjaya, described to me many excellent single combats. Hearing about them, I envy those that have eyes. This battle between the Kurus and the Pandavas, resembling that (of old) between the gods and the Asuras, will be spoken of as exceedingly wonderful by all men. I am scarcely gratified by listening to thy narrations of this stirring battle. Tell me, therefore, about this combat between Artayani (Salya) and Subhadra's son.'

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding his driver slain, Salya, upraising a mace made wholly of iron, jumped down in rage from his excellent car. Bhima, then taking up his own huge mace, quickly rushed towards Salya who then resembled the blazing Yuga-fire or the Destroyer himself armed with his bludgeon. Subhadra's son also, taking up a prodigious mace resembling the bolt of heaven, addressed Salya, saying, 'Come, Come!' Bhima, however, with much ado, persuaded him to stand aside. The valiant Bhimasena, then, having persuaded Subhadra's son to stand aside, approached Salya in battle and stood immovable as a hill. The mighty ruler of Madras also, beheld Bhima, and proceeded towards him like a tiger towards an elephant. Then was heard there the loud blare of trumpets and conchs by thousands and leonine shouts, and the sound of drums. And loud cries of 'Bravo, Bravo,' arose among hundreds of Pandava and Kaurava warriors rushing towards each other. There is none else among all the kings, O Bharata, save the ruler of Madras who can venture to bear the might of Bhimasena in battle; similarly, who else save Vrikodara, in the world, can venture to bear the impetus of the illustrious Salya's mace in battle? Bound in hempen strings mixed with wires of gold, the prodigious mace, of Bhima, capable of delighting by its beauty all spectators, being grasped by him, shone, brilliantly. And similarly the mace of Salya, also, who coursed in beautiful circles, looked like a blazing flash of lightning. Both of them roared like bulls, and both coursed in circles. And both Salya and Vrikodara, standing as they did, with their maces slightly bent, looked like a couple of horned bulls. Whether as regards coursing in circles or in whirling and striking with their maces, the combat that took place between those two lions among men was in every way equal. Struck by Bhimasena with his mace, the prodigious mace of Salya, emitting fierce sparks of fire, soon broke unto fragments. And similarly, Bhimasena's mace, struck by the foe, looked beautiful like a tree covered fire-flies during the season of rains at even-tide. And the mace that the ruler of Madras hurled in that battle, irradiating the welkin, O Bharata, frequently caused sparks of fire (to fly around). Similarly, the mace hurled by Bhimasena at the foe scorched his antagonist's forces like a fierce meteor falling down (from the firmament). And both those best of maces, striking against each other, resembled sighing she-snakes and caused flashes of fire. Like two large tigers attacking each other with their claws, or like two mighty elephants with their tusks, those mighty warriors coursed in circles, encountering each other with those two foremost of maces, and soon covered with blood, those two illustrious warriors seemed to resemble a couple of flowering Kinsukas. And the blows, loud as Indra's thunder, of the maces wielded by those two lions among men were heard on all sides. Struck by the ruler of Madras with his mace on both the left and the right side, Bhima moved not in the least, like a hill riven by the thunder. Similarly, the mighty ruler of Madras, struck by Bhima with his mace, patiently stood still like a hill struck with the thunder. Both of them, with upraised maces, endued as they were with great impetus, fell upon each other, coursing in shorter circles. Quickly nearing each other, then by eight steps and falling upon each other like two elephants, they suddenly struck each other with those maces of theirs made entirely or iron. And each of those heroes, in consequence of the other's impetuosity and violence being struck with each other's mace, fell down at the same instant of time like a couple of Indra's poles. Then the mighty car-warrior Kritavarman quickly approached Salya who, deprived of his senses, was breathing hard as he lay on the field. And beholding him, O king, struck violently with the mace, and writhing like a snake, and deprived of his senses in a swoon, the mighty car-warrior Kritavarman, taking him upon his car, quickly bore the ruler of Madras away from the field. Reeling like a drunken man, the heroic Bhima of mighty

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arms, rising up within the twinkling of an eye, stood mace in hand. Thy sons then, beholding the ruler of the Madras turn away from the fight, began, O sire, to tremble, along with their elephants, and foot-soldiers, and cavalry, and cars. Ground then by the Pandavas desirous of victory, those warriors of thy army, struck with fear, fled away in all directions, like masses of clouds driven away by the wind. And those mighty car-warriors, viz., the Pandavas, having vanquished the Dhritarashtras, looked resplendent in that battle. O king, like blazing fires. And they uttered loud leonine roars, and blew their conchs, elated with joy. And they beat their drums, large and small, and cymbals and other instruments.'"

SECTION 16

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding that army of thine exceedingly broken, the valiant Vrishasena, single-handed, began to protect it, O king, displaying the illusion of his weapons. Shot by Vrishasena in that battle, thousands of arrows coursed in all directions, piercing through men and steeds and cars and elephants. Mighty arrows, of blazing effulgence, shot by him, coursed in thousands, like the rays, O monarch, of the sun, in the summer season. Afflicted and crushed therewith, O king, car-warriors and horse-men, suddenly fell down on the earth, like trees broken by the wind. The mighty car-warrior Vrishasena, O king, felled large bodies of steeds, of cars and of elephants, in that battle, by thousands. Beholding that single warrior coursing fearlessly on the field, all the kings (of the Pandava army) uniting together, surrounded him on all sides. Nakula's son, Satanika, rushed at Vrishasena and pierced him with ten arrows capable of penetrating into the vitals. The son of Karna, however, cutting off his bow, felled then his standard. Thereupon, the other sons of Draupadi, desirous of rescuing that brother of theirs, rushed at him. And soon they made Karna's son invisible by means of their arrowy showers. Against them thus smiting (the son of Karna), many car-warriors headed by Drona's son (Aswatthama) rushed. And those, O monarch, quickly covered those mighty car-warriors, viz., the sons of Draupadi, with diverse kinds of arrows like clouds pouring rain on mountain breasts. Thereupon, the Pandavas, from affection for their sons, quickly encountered those assailants. The battle then that took place between thy troops and those of the Pandavas, was exceedingly fierce and made the hairs stand on their ends, resembling as it did that between the Gods and the Danavas. Even thus did the heroic Kauravas and the Pandavas, excited with rage, fight, eyeing one another (furiously) and having incurred one another's animosity for past offences. The bodies of those heroes of immeasurable energy then seemed, in consequence of (the) wrath (that inspired them), to resemble those of Garuda and (mighty) Nagas battling in the sky. And with Bhima and Karna and Kripa and Drona and Drona's son and Prishata's son and Satyaki, the field of battle looked resplendent like the all-destructive sun that rises at the end of the Yuga. The battle that took place between those mighty men engaged with mighty antagonists and all smiting one another was fierce in the extreme, resembling that (of yore) between the Danavas and the gods. Then Yudhishthira's host, uttering a shout, loud as that of the surging sea, began to slaughter thy troops, the great car-warriors of thy army having fled away. Beholding the (Kaurava) host broken and excessively mangled by the foe, Drona said, 'Ye heroes, ye need not fly away.' Then he (Drona) owning red steeds, excited with wrath and resembling a (fierce) elephant with four tusks, penetrated into the Pandava host and rushed against Yudhishthira. Then Yudhishthira pierced the preceptor with many whetted arrows equipped with Kanka feathers; Drona, however, cutting off Yudhishthira's bow, rushed impetuously at him. Then the protector of Yudhishthira's car-wheels, Kumara, the renowned prince of the Panchalas, received the advancing Drona, like the continent receiving the surging sea. Beholding Drona, that bull among Brahmanas, held in check by Kumara, loud leonine shouts were heard there with cries of 'Excellent, Excellent!' Kumara then, in that great battle, excited with rage, pierced Drona with an arrow in the chest and uttered many leonine shouts. Having checked Drona in battle, the mighty Kumara, endued with great lightness of hand, and above all fatigue, pierced him with many thousands of arrows. Then that bull among men (Drona) slew that protector of Yudhishthira's car-wheels, Kumara, that hero observant of virtuous vows and accomplished in both mantras and weapons. And then penetrating into the midst of the (Pandava) host and careering in all directions, that bull among men, Bharadwaja's son, became the protector of thy troops. And piercing Sikhandin with twelve arrows, and Uttamaujas with twenty, and Nakula with five, and Sahadeva with seven, and Yudhishthira with twelve, and each of the (five) sons of Draupadi with three, and Satyaki with five, and the ruler of Matsyas with ten arrows, and agitating the entire host in that battle, he rushed against one after another of the foremost warriors (of the Pandavas). And then he advanced against Kunti's son, Yudhisthira, from a desire of seizing him. Then Yugandhara, O king, checked Bharadwaja's son, that mighty car-warrior, filled with rage and resembling the very ocean lashed into fury by the tempest. Bharadwaja's son, however, having pierced Yudhishthira with many straight arrows, felled Yugandhara with a broad-headed shaft from his niche in the car. Then, Virata and Drupada, and the Kaikeya princes, and Satyaki, and Sivi, and Vyaghradatta, the prince n the Panchalas, and the valiant Singhasena, these, and many others, desirous of rescuing Yudhishthira, surrounded Drona on all sides and impeded his way, scattering countless arrows. Vyaghradatta, the prince of the Panchalas, pierced Drona with fifty keen-pointed arrows, at which, O king, the troops uttered loud shouts. Then Singhasena also, quickly piercing that mighty car-warrior, Drona, roared aloud in joy, striking terror into the hearts of mighty car-warriors; Drona then expanding his eyes and rubbing his bowstring and producing loud sound of slaps by his palms, rushed against the latter. Then the mighty son of Bharadwaja, putting forth his prowess, cut off with a couple of broad-headed arrows the heads decked with earrings from the trunks of both Singhasena and Vyaghradatta. And afflicting also, with his arrowy showers, the other mighty car-warriors of the Pandavas, he stood in front of Yudhishthira's car, like all-destroying Death himself. Then, O king, loud cries were heard among the warriors of Yudhishthira's army to the effect, 'The king is slain,' when Bharadwaja's son, of regulated vows, thus, stood in his vicinity. And the warriors there all exclaimed, beholding Drona's prowess, 'Today the royal son of Dhritarashtra will be crowned with success. This very moment Drona having seized Yudhishthira, will, filled, with joy, assuredly come to us and Duryodhana's presence. While thy soldiers were indulging in such talks, Kunti's son (Arjuna) quickly came there, filling (the welkin) with the rattle of his car, and creating, as he came, owing to the carnage he caused, a river whose waters were blood, and whose eddies were cars, and which abounded with the bones and bodies of brave warriors and which bore creatures away to where the spirits of the departed dwell. And the son of Pandu came there, routing the Kurus, and quickly crossing that river whose froth was constituted by showers of arrows and which abounded with fish in the form of lances and other weapons. And the diadem-decked (Arjuna) suddenly came upon Drona's divisions, covering it with a thick net-work of arrows and confounding the very sense (of those that followed Drona). Incessantly placing his arrows on the bow-string and quickly shooting them, none could notice any lapse of time between these two acts of the renowned son of Kunti. Neither (four cardinal) directions, nor the firmament above, nor the earth, O king, could any longer be distinguished, for everything then became one dense mass of arrows. Indeed, O king, when the wielder of Gandiva caused that thick darkness by means of his arrows, nothing could be seen in that battle. Just then the sun also set, enveloped with a dusty cloud. Neither friend nor foe could any longer be distinguished. Then Drona and Duryodhana and others caused the withdrawal of their troops. And ascertaining the foe to be inspired with fear and unwilling to continue the fight, Vibhatsu also slowly caused his troops to be withdrawn. Then the Pandavas and the Srinjayas and the Panchalas, filled with joy, praised Partha with delightful speeches like the Rishis praising the Sun. Having vanquished his foes thus, Dhananjaya then, filled with joy, retired to his tent, proceeding in the rear of the whole army, with Kesava as his companion. And stationed on his beautiful car decked with the costliest specimens of sapphires and rubies and gold and silver and diamonds and corals and crystals, the son of Pandu looked resplendent like the moon in the firmament bespangled with stars.'"

SECTION 17

"Sanjaya said, 'The troops of both the armies, having proceeded to their tents, duly took up their quarters, O king, according to the divisions and the sub-divisions to which they belonged. Having withdrawn the troops, Drona, in great cheerlessness of mind, beholding Duryodhana, said these words in shame: 'I told thee before that when Dhananjaya is by Yudhishthira, he is incapable of being seized in battle by the very gods. Although all of you fell upon him in battle, yet Partha frustrated all your attempts. Do not doubt what I say, Krishna and Pandu's son (Arjuna) are invincible. If, however, Arjuna of white steeds can, by any means, be withdrawn (from Yudhishthira's side), then Yudhishthira, O king, shall soon come under thy control. Let some one challenging him (Arjuna) in battle draw him away to some other part of the field. The son of Kunti will not return without vanquishing him. Meanwhile, when Arjuna will not be by, O monarch, I will seize king Yudhishthira the Just, penetrating through the Pandava host in the very sight of Dhrishtadyumna. Thus, O monarch, I will, without doubt, bring Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma, along with his followers, under control. If that son of Pandu stays even for a moment before me in battle, I will bring him a captive from the field. That feat will be more advantageous than victory (over the Pandava army).'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Hearing those words of Drona, the ruler of the Trigartas, O monarch, with his brothers, said these words: 'We, O king, are always humiliated by the wielder of Gandiva! O bull of Bharata's race, although we have done him no injury, yet he hath always injured us. Remembering all those diverse instances of humiliation, we burn in wrath and are never able to sleep at night. By good luck, that Arjuna, armed with weapons, will stand before us. That therefore, which is in our heart and which we strive to accomplish, we are resolved to achieve now, that viz., which will be agreeable to thee, and which will bring us renown. Taking him out of the field will slay him. Let the earth today be without Arjuna or let it be without the Trigartas. We truly swear this before thee. This our vow will never be false.' And Satyaratha and Satyavarman, O Bharata, and Satyavrata and Satyeshu, and Satyakarman also, having spoken similarly, those five brothers together, with ten thousand cars, came, O king, (before Duryodhana), having taken that oath on the field of battle. And the Malavas, and the Tundikeras with thousand cars, and the tiger among men, Susarman, the ruler of Prasthala, with the Mavellakas, the Lalithas, and the Madrakas, accompanied by ten thousand cars and his brothers, and with another ten thousand cars from diverse realms came forward for taking the oath. Then bringing fire, and each making preparations for igniting one for himself, they took up ropes Kusa grass and beautiful coats of mail. And equipped in mail, bathed in clarified butter, clad in robes of Kusa grass, and with their bow-strings serving as girdles, those heroes, who had given away hundreds and thousands as presents to Brahmanas, who had performed many sacrifices, had been blessed with children, and were deserving of blessed regions hereafter, who had nothing more to do in this world, who were deserving of blessed regions hereafter, who were prepared to lay down their lives in battle, and who devoted their souls to the attainment of fame and victory, who were desirous of soon repairing by fair fight to those regions (hereafter) that are attainable by means only of sacrifices, with abundant presents to Brahmanas, and by means also of the rites, the chief amongst which are Brahmacharya and study of the Vedas, those heroes, having each gratified Brahmanas by giving them gold [Nishka, literally, a golden coin, whose weight is diversely stated by diverse authorities.], and kine [cattle], and robes, and having addressed one another in loving discourse, ignited those fires and took that vow in battle. And in the presence of those fires, firmly resolved, they took that vow. And having made that vow for the slaughter of Dhananjaya, they, in the hearing of creatures, very loudly said, Those regions that are for persons who have never adopted any vows, are for one who drinketh wine, those that are for him who hath adulterous connexion with his preceptor's wife, those that are for him who robbeth the property of a Brahmana, or for him who enjoyeth the king's grant without satisfying the condition of that grant or for him who abandoneth one asking for shelter, or for him who slayeth a candidate for his favour, those that are for persons that set fire to houses and for those that slay kine, those regions that are for those that injure others, those that are for persons harbouring malice against Brahmanas, those that are for him who from folly doth not seek the companionship of his wife in her season, those also that are for those that seek the companionship of women on the day they have to perform the Sraddha of their ancestors, those that are for persons that injure their own selves, or for those that misappropriate what is deposited with them from confidence or for those that destroy learning, or for those who battle with eunuchs, or for those that follow persons that are mean those regions that are for atheists, or for those that abandon their (sacred) fires and mothers, and those regions also that are for the sinful, those shall be ours, if without slaying Dhananjaya we return from the field, or if, ground by him on the field, we turn back from fear. If, again, we succeed in achieving in battle feats the most difficult of accomplishment in the world, we shalt then, without doubt, obtain the most desirable regions. Having said these words, O king, those heroes then marched to battle, summoning Arjuna towards the southern part of the field. That tiger among men, and subjugator of hostile cities, Arjuna, thus challenged by them, said these words unto king Yudhishthira the Just without any delay: 'Summoned, I never turn back. This is my fixed vow. These men, sworn to conquer or die, are summoning me, O king, to great battle. This Susarman here, with his brothers, summoneth me to battle. It behoveth thee to grant me permission for slaying him, with all his followers. O bull among men, I am unable to brook this challenge. I tell thee truly, know these foes to be (already) slain in battle.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou hast heard, O child, in detail, what Drona hath resolved to accomplish. Act thou in such a way that that resolve of his may become futile. Drona is endued with great might. He is a hero, accomplished in arms, and above fatigue. O mighty car-warrior, even he hath vowed my seizure.'

"Arjuna said, 'This Satyajit, O king, will today become thy protector in battle. As long as Satyajit lives, the preceptor will never be able to attain his desire. If, however, O lord, this tiger among men, Satyajit, be slain in battle, thou shouldst not then remain on the field even if surrounded by all our warriors.'

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"'Sanjaya continued, 'King Yudhishthira then gave (Arjuna) the leave (he sought). And he also embraced Arjuna and eyed him affectionately. And diverse were the benedictions that the king uttered on him. Having made this arrangement (for Yudhishthira's protection), 1 the mighty Partha went out against the Trigartas, like a hungry lion, for assuaging his hunger upon a herd of deer. Then Duryodhana's troops, filled with joy at Arjuna's absence (from Yudhishthira's side), became furious for the seizure of Yudhishthira. Then both the hosts, with a great impetuosity, encountered each other, like the Ganga and the Sarayu in the season of rains when both streams are swollen with water.'"

SECTION 18

"Sanjaya said, 'The Samsaptakas*, then, filled with joy, took their stand on a level field, having, with their cars, formed an array in the shape of the half-moon. |* Soldiers sworn to conquer or die. Instead of using a long-winded phrase each time the word occurs, it is better to repeat it in this form.] And those tigers among men, beholding the diadem-decked (Arjuna) come towards them, were, O sire, filled with delight and uttered loud shouts. That noise filled the sky and all the points of the compass, cardinal and subsidiary. And because it was an open plain covered only with men, it produced no echoes. Ascertaining them to be exceedingly delighted, Dhananjaya, with a little smile, said these words unto Krishna: 'Behold, O thou that hast Devaki for thy mother, those Trigarta brothers, who are about to perish in battle, are filled with delight at a time when they should weep. Or, this is, without doubt, the hour of delight (with them) since they will obtain those excellent regions that are unattainable by cowards.' Having said these words unto the mighty-armed Hrishikesa, Arjuna came upon the arrayed ranks of the Trigartas in battle, taking up then his conch called Devadatta decked with gold, he blew it with great force, filling all the points of the compass with its blare. Terrified by that blare, that car-host of the Samsaptakas stood motionless in battle, as if it was petrified. And all their animals stood with eyes wide open, ears and necks and lips paralysed, and legs motionless. And they passed urine and vomited blood. Regaining consciousness then, and placing their ranks in proper order, they shot their arrows all at once at the son of Pandu. Capable of displaying his prowess with great speed, Arjuna, with five and ten arrows cut off those thousands of arrows before they could reach him. They then pierced Arjuna, each with ten arrows. Partha pierced them with three arrows. Then each of them, O king, pierced Partha with five arrows. Endued with great prowess, he pierced each of them in return with two arrows. And, once again, excited with wrath, they quickly poured upon Arjuna and Kesava countless arrows like the clouds pouring upon a lake their incessant showers. Then those thousands of arrows fell upon Arjuna, like swarms of bees upon a flowering cluster of trees in the forest. Then deeply pierced Arjuna's diadem with thirty shafts, endued with the strength of adamant with those shafts equipped with wings of gold fixed on his diadem, Arjuna, as if decked with ornaments of gold, shone like the (newly) risen sun. The son of Pandu then, in that battle, with a broad-headed arrow, cut off the leathern fence of Suvahu, and covered Sudharman and Sudhanwan, and Suvahu pierced Partha with ten arrows. Partha, having the excellent ape-device on his banner, pierced all of them in return with many arrows, and also cut off, with some broad-headed shafts, their standards made of gold. And cutting off the bow of Sudhanwan, he slew with his arrows the latter's steeds. And then he cut off from his trunk the latter's head graced with turban. Upon the fall of that hero, his followers were terrified. And stricken with panic, they all fled away to where Duryodhana's forces were. Then Vasava's son, filled with wrath, smote that mighty host with incessant showers of arrows, like the sun destroying darkness by means of his incessant rays. Then when that host broke and melted away on all sides, and Arjuna was filled with wrath, the Trigartas were struck with fear. While being slaughtered by Partha with his straight shafts, they remained where they stood, deprived of their senses, like a terrified, herd of deer. Then the king of the Trigartas, filled with rage, addressed those mighty car-warrior, saying, 'Do not fly, ye heroes! It behoveth ye not to be frightened. Having, in the sight of all the troops, taken those terrible steps, repairing thither, what shall ye say unto the leaders of Duryodhana's host? Do we not incur ridicule in the world by such a (cowardly) act in battle? Therefore, stop ye all, and fight according to your strength.' Thus addressed, O king, those heroes, repeatedly uttering loud shouts, blew their conchs, gladdening one another. Then those Samsaptakas once more returned to the field, with the Narayana cow-herds, resolved to fade Death himself.'"

SECTION 19

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding those Samsaptakas once more return to the field, Arjuna addressed the high-souled Vasudeva, saying, 'Urge the steeds, O Hrishikesa, towards the Samsaptakas. They will not give up the battle alive. This is what I think. Today thou shalt witness the terrible might of my arms as also of my bow. Today I shall slay all these, like Rudra slaying creatures (at the end of the Yuga).' Hearing these words, the invincible Krishna smiled, and gladdening him with auspicious speeches, conveyed Arjuna to those places whither the latter desired to go. While borne in battle by those white steeds, that car looked exceedingly resplendent like a celestial car borne along the firmament. And like Sakra's car, O king, in the battle between the gods and the Asuras in days of old, it displayed circular, forward, backward, and diverse other kinds of motion. Then the Narayanas, excited with wrath and armed with diverse weapons, surrounded Dhananjaya, covering him with showers of arrows. And, O bull of Bharata's race, they soon made Kunti's son, Dhananjaya, together with Krishna, entirely invisible in that battle. Then Phalguni, excited with wrath, doubled his energy, and quickly rubbing its string, grasped Gandiva, (firmly) in the battle. Causing wrinkles to form themselves on his brow, sure indications of wrath, the son of Pandu blew his prodigious conch, called Devadatta, and then he shot the weapon called Tvashtra that is capable of slaying large bodies of foes together. Thereupon, thousands of separate forms started into existence there (of Arjuna himself and of Vasudeva). Confounded by those diverse images after the form of Arjuna, the troops began to strike each other, each regarding the other as Arjuna's self.' 'This is Arjuna!' 'This is Govinda!' 'They are Pandu's son and he is of Yadu's race!' Uttering such exclamations, and deprived of their senses, they slew one another in that battle. Deprived of their senses by that mighty weapon, they slew one another. Indeed, those warriors (while striking one another) looked beautiful like blossoming Kinsukas. Consuming those thousands of arrows shot by them, that (mighty) weapon despatched those heroes to Yama's abode. Then Vibhatsu, laughing, crushed with his arrows the Lalithya, the Malava, the Mavellaka, and the Trigarta warriors. While those Kshatriyas, urged by fate, were thus slaughtered by that hero, they shot at Partha showers of diverse kinds of arrows. Overwhelmed with those terrible showers of arrows, neither Arjuna, nor his car, nor Kesava, could any longer be seen. Seeing their arrows strike the aim, they uttered joyous shouts. And regarding the two Krishnas as already slain, they joyously waved their garments in the air. And those heroes also blew their conchs and beat their drums and cymbals by thousands, and uttered many leonine shouts, O sire! Then Krishna, covered with sweat, and much weakened, addressed Arjuna, saying, 'Where art thou, O Partha! I do not see thee. Art thou alive, O slayer of foes?' Hearing those words of his, Dhananjaya with great speed dispelled, by means of the Vayavya weapon, that arrowy downpour shot by his foes. Then the illustrious Vayu (the presiding deity of that mighty weapon) bore away crowds of Samsaptakas with steeds and elephants and cars and weapons, as if these were dry leaves of trees. Borne away by the wind, O king, they looked highly beautiful, like flights of birds, O monarch, flying away from trees. Then Dhananjaya, having afflicted them thus, with great speed struck hundreds and thousands of them with sharp shafts. And he cut off their heads and also hands with weapons in their grasp, by means of his broad-headed arrows. And he felled on the ground, with his shafts, their thighs, resembling the trunks of elephants. And some were wounded on their backs, arms and eyes. And thus Dhananjaya deprived his foes of diverse limbs, and cars decked and equipped according to rule, and looking like the vapour edifices in the welkin, he cut off into fragments, by means of his arrows, their riders and steeds and elephants. And in many places crowds of cars, whose standards had been cut off, looked like forests of headless palmyras. And elephants with excellent weapons, banners, hooks, and standards fell down like wooded mountains, split with Sakra's thunder. Graced with tails, looking like those of the yak, and covered with coats of mail, and with their entrails and eyes dragged out, steeds along with their riders, rolled on the ground, slain by means of Partha's shafts. No longer holding in their grasp the swords that had served for their nails, with their coats of mail tom, and the joints of their bones broken, foot-soldiers with their vital limbs cut open, helplessly laid themselves down on the field, slain by means of Arjuna's arrows. And the field of battle assumed an awful aspect in consequence of those warriors slain, or in the course of being slaughtered, falling and fallen, standing or in course of being whirled along. And the air was purified of the dust that had arisen, by means of the showers of blood (caused by Arjuna's arrows). And the earth, strewn with hundreds of headless trunks, became impassable. And the car of Vibhatsu in that battle shone fiercely like the car of Rudra himself, while engaged at the end of the Yuga in destroying all creatures. While slaughtered by Partha thus, those warriors, with their steeds and cars and elephants in great distress, ceased not to rush against him; though, deprived of life one after another, they had to become the guests of Sakra. Then the field of battle, O chief of the Bharatas, strewn with mighty car-warriors deprived of life, looked dreadful like Yama's domains, abounding with the spirits of the departed creatures. Meanwhile, when Arjuna was furiously engaged (with the Samsaptakas), Drona, at the head of his forces arrayed for battle, rushed against Yudhishthira, and many warriors, accomplished in smiting and properly arrayed, followed him, actuated by the desire of seizing Yudhishthira. The battle then that ensued became exceedingly fierce.'"

SECTION 20

"Sanjaya said, 'Having passed the night, that mighty car-warrior viz., Bharadwaja's son, addressed Suyodhana, O monarch, saying, 'I am thine! I have made arrangements for Partha's encounter with the Samsaptaka.' After Partha went out for slaying the Samsaptakas, Drona then, at the head of his troops arrayed for battle, proceeded, O chief of the Bharatas, for seizing king Yudhishthira the Just. Seeing that Drona had arrayed his forces in the form of a Garuda, Yudhishthira disposed his troops in counter array in the form of a semi-circle. In the mouth of that Garuda was the mighty car-warrior Drona himself. And its head was formed by king Duryodhana, surrounded by his uterine brothers. And Kritavarman and the illustrious Kripa formed the two eyes of that Garuda. And Bhutasarman, and Kshemasarman, and the valiant Karakaksha, and the Kalingas, the Singhalas, the Easterners, the Sudras, the Abhiras, the Daserakas, the Sakas, the Yavanas, the Kamvojas, the Hangsapadas, the Surasenas, the Daradas, the Madras, and the Kalikeyas, with hundreds and thousands of elephants, steeds, cars, and foot-soldiers were stationed at its neck. And Bhurisravah. and Salya, and Somadatta, and Valhika, these heroes, surrounded by a full Akshauhini, took up their position in the right wing. And Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti, and Sudakshina, the ruler of the Kamvojas, stationed themselves in the left wing at the head, however, of Drona's son Aswatthaman. In the back (of that Garuda) were the Kalingas, the Amvashthas, the Magadhas, the Paundras, the Madrakas, the Gandharas, the Sakunas, the Easterners, the Mountaineers, and the Vasatis. In the tail stood Vikartana's son Karna, with his sons, kinsmen and friends, and surrounded by a large force raised from diverse realms, Jayadratha, and Bhimaratha, and Sampati, and the Jays, and the Bhojas, and Bhuminjaya, and Vrisha, and Kratha, and the mighty ruler of the Nishadhas, all accomplished in battle, surrounded by a large host and keeping the region of Brahma before their eyes, stood, O king, in the heart of that array. That array, formed by Drona, in consequence of its foot-soldiers, steeds, cars and elephants, seemed to surge like the tempest-tossed ocean (as it advanced to battle). Warriors, desirous of battle, began to start out from the wings and sides of that array, like roaring clouds charged with lightning rushing from all sides (in the welkin) at summer. And in the midst of that army, the ruler of the Pragjyotishas, mounted on his duly equipped elephant, looked resplendent, O king, like the rising sun. Decked, O monarch, in garlands of flower, and with a white umbrella held over his head, he looked like the full moon when in conjunction with the constellation Krittika. And blind with the wine-like exudation, the elephant, looking like a mass of black antimony, shone like a huge mountain washed by mighty clouds (with their showers). And the ruler of the Pragjyotishas was surrounded by many heroic kings of the hilly countries, armed with diverse weapons, like Sakra himself surrounded by the celestials. Then Yudhishthira, beholding that superhuman array incapable of being vanquished by foes in battle, addressed Prishata's son, saying, 'O lord, O thou that ownest steeds white as pigeons, let such measures be adopted that I may not be taken a prisoner by the Brahmana.'

"Dhrishtadyumna said, 'O thou of excellent vows, never shalt thou be placed under the power of Drona, however much may he strive. Even I shall check Drona today with all his followers. As long as I am alive, O thou of Kuru's race, it behoveth thee not to feel any anxiety. Under no circumstances will Drona be able to vanquish me in battle.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Having said these words, the mighty son of Drupada owning steeds of the hue of pigeons, scattering his shafts, rushed himself at Drona. Beholding that (to him) evil omen in the form of Dhrishtadyumna stationed before him, Drona soon became exceedingly cheerless. Beholding this, that crusher of foes, viz., thy son Durmukha, desirous of doing what was agreeable to Drona, began to resist Dhrishtadyumna. Then a terrible and a fierce battle took place, O Bharata, between the brave son of Prishata and thy son, Durmukha. Then Prishata's son, quickly covering Durmukha, with a shower of arrows, checked Bharadwaja's son also with a thick arrowy downpour. Beholding Drona checked, thy son Durmukha quickly rushed at Prishata's son and confounded him with clouds of arrows of diverse kinds. And while the prince of the Panchalas and that foremost one of Kuru's race were thus engaged in battle, Drona consumed many sections of Yudhishthira's host. As a mass of clouds is dispersed in different directions by the wind, even so was Yudhisthira's host, in many parts of the field, scattered by Drona. For only a short while did that battle look like an ordinary combat. And then, O king, it became an encounter of infuriated persons in which no consideration was shown for anybody. And the combatants could no longer distinguish their own men from the foe. And the battle raged on, the warriors being guided by inferences and watch-words. Upon

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the gems on their headgears, upon their necklaces and other ornaments, and upon their coats of mail, rays of light like those of the Sun seemed to fall and play. And cars and elephants and steeds, decked with streaming banners, seemed in that battle to resemble masses of clouds with flocks of cranes under them. And men slew men, and steeds of fiery metal slew steeds, and car-warriors slew car-warriors and elephants slew elephants. And soon a fierce and terrible encounter took place between elephants with tall standards on their backs and mighty compeers (rushing against them). All in consequence of those huge creatures rubbing their bodies against those of hostile compeers and tearing one another (with their tusks), fires mixed with smoke were generated there by (such) friction of countless tusks with tusks. Shorn of the standards (on their backs), those elephants, in consequence of the fires caused by their tusks, looked like masses of clouds in the welkin charged with lightning. And the earth, strewn with elephants dragging (hostile compeers) and roaring and falling down, looked beautiful like the autumnal sky overspread with clouds. And the roars of those elephants while they were being slaughtered with showers of shafts and lances, sounded like the roll of clouds in the rainy season. And some huge elephants, wounded with lances and shafts, became panic-stricken. And others amongst those creatures, left the field with loud cries. 1 And some elephants there, struck by others with their tusks, uttered fierce yells of distress that resounded like the roll of the all-destroying clouds at the end of the Yuga. And some, turned back by huge antagonists, returned to the charge, urged on by sharp hooks. And crushing hostile ranks, they began to kill all who came in their way. And elephant-drivers, attacked by elephant-drivers with arrows and lances, fell down from the backs of their beasts, their weapons and hooks being loosened from their hands. And many elephants, without riders on their backs, wandered hither and thither like clouds torn from mightier masses, and then fell down, encountering one another. And some huge elephants, bearing on their backs slain and fallen warriors, or those whose weapons had fallen down, wandered in all directions singly. [Ekacharas is explained by Nilakantha as 'unable to bear the sight of others of their species,' i.e., walking by themselves, or solitarily or singly. Some of the vernacular translators are for taking this word as implying the Rhinoceros.] And in the midst of that carnage, some elephants attacked, or in course of being attacked with lances, swords and battle axes, fell down in course of that awful carnage, uttering sounds of distress. And the earth, suddenly struck with the falling bodies, huge as hills, of those creatures all around trembled and emitted sounds. And with those elephants slain along with their riders and lying all about with the standards on their backs, the earth looked beautiful as if strewn with hills. And the drivers on the backs of many elephants, with their breasts pierced by car-warriors with broad-headed shafts in that battle, fell down, their lances and hooks loosened from their grasp. And some elephants, struck with long shafts, uttered crane like cries and ran in all directions, crushing friends and foes by trampling them to death. And covered with countless bodies of elephants and steeds and car-warriors, the earth, O king, became miry with flesh and blood. And large cars with wheels and many without wheels, crushed by the points of their tusks, were thrown up by elephants, with the warriors mounted on them. Cars were seen deprived of warriors. And riderless steeds and elephants ran in all directions, afflicted with wounds. And there father slew his son, and son slew his sire, for the battle that took place was exceedingly fierce and nothing could be distinguished. Men sank ankle-deep in the gory mire and looked like tall trees whose lower parts were swallowed up in a blazing forest-conflagration. And robes and coats of mail and umbrellas and standards having been dyed with blood, everything seemed to be bloody on the field. Large bodies of slain steeds, of cars, and of men, were again cut into fragments by the rolling of car-wheels. And that sea of troops having elephants for its current, and slain men for its floating moss and weeds, and cars for its fierce, eddies, looked terribly grim. Warriors, having steeds and elephants for their large vessels, and desirous of victory as their wealth, plunged into that sea, and instead of sinking in it endeavoured to deprive their enemies of their senses. When all the warriors, each bearing particular signs, were covered with arrowy showers, there was none amongst them lost heart, though all were deprived of their signs. In that fierce and awful battle, Drona confounding the senses of his foes, (at last) rushed at Yudhishthira.'"

SECTION 21

"Sanjaya continued, 'Then Drona, beholding Yudhishthira near him fearlessly received him with a thick shower of arrows. And there arose a loud noise among the troops of Yudhishthira's army like what is made by the elephants belonging to a herd when their leader is attacked by a mighty lion. Beholding Drona, the brave Satyajit, of prowess incapable of being baffled, rushed at the Preceptor who was desirous of seizing Yudhishthira. The Preceptor and the Panchala prince, both endued with great might, fought with each other, agitating each other's troops, like Indra and Vali. Then Satyajit, of prowess incapable of being baffled, invoking a mighty weapon, pierced Drona with keen-pointed arrows. And Satyajit shot at Drona's charioteer five arrows, fatal as snake-poison and each looking like Death himself. The charioteer, thus struck, became deprived of his senses. Then Satyajit quickly Pierced Drona's steeds with ten shafts; and filled with rage, he next pierced each of his Parshni drivers with ten shafts. And then he coursed at the head of his troops on his car in a circular motion. Excited with wrath, he cut off the standard of Drona, that crushers of foes Drona then, that chastiser of foes, beholding these feats of his foe in battle, mentally resolved to despatch him to the other world. [Literally, 'thought in his mind that his hour was come.'] The Preceptor, cutting off Satyajit's bow with arrow fixed thereon, quickly pierced him with ten arrows capable of penetrating into the very vitals. Thereupon, the valiant Satyajit, quickly taking up another bow, struck Drona, O king, with thirty arrows winged with the feathers of the Kanka bird. Beholding Drona (thus) encountered in battle by Satyajit, the Pandayas, O king, shouted in joy and waved their garments. Then the mighty Vrika, O king, excited with great wrath, pierced Drona in the centre of the chest with sixty arrows. That feat seemed highly wonderful., Then that mighty car-warrior, viz., Drona, of great impetuosity, covered with the arrowy showers (of his foes) opened his eyes wide and mustered all his energy. Then cutting off the bows of both Satyajit and Vrika, Drona, with six shafts slew Vrika with his charioteer and steeds. Then Satyajit, taking up another bow that was tougher, pierced Drona with his steeds, his charioteer, and his standard. Thus afflicted in battle by the prince of the Panchalas, Drona could not brook that act. For the destruction then of his foe, he quickly shot his arrows (at him). Drona then covered with incessant showers of arrows his antagonist's steeds and standards as also the handle of his bow, and both his Parshni drivers. But though his bows were (thus) repeatedly cut off, the prince of the Panchalas conversant with the highest weapons continued to battle with him of red steeds. Beholding Satyajit swell with energy in that dreadful combat, Drona cut off that illustrious warrior's head with a crescent-shaped arrow [Literally, half-moon-shaped.']. Upon the slaughter of that foremost of combatants, that mighty car-warrior among the Panchalas, Yudhishthira, from fear of Drona, fled away, (borne) by fleet steeds. Then the Panchalas, the Kekayas, the Matsyas, the Chedis, the Karushas and the Kosalas, seeing Drona, rushed at him, desirous of rescuing Yudhishthira. The Preceptor, however, that slayer of large numbers of foes, desirous of seizing Yudhishthira, began to consume those divisions, like fire consuming heaps of cotton. Then Satanika, the younger brother of the ruler of the Matsyas, rushed at Drona who was thus engaged in incessantly destroying those divisions (of the Pandava host). And Satanika, piercing Drona along with his driver and steeds with six shafts, bright as the rays of the sun and polished by his hands of their forger, uttered loud shouts. And engaged in a cruel act, and endeavouring to accomplish what was difficult of attainment, he covered Bharadwaja's son, that mighty car-warrior with showers of arrows. Then Drona, with an arrow sharp as razor, quickly cut off from his trunk the head, decked with ear-rings of Satanika, shouting at him. Thereupon, the Matsya warriors all fled away. Having vanquished the Matsyas, the son of Bharadwaja then defeated the Chedis, the Karushas, the Kaikeyas, the Panchalas, the Srinjayas. and the Pandus repeatedly. Beholding that hero of the golden car, excited with rage and consuming their divisions, like a fire consuming a forest, the Srinjayas trembled (with fear). Endued with great activity and slaughtering the foe ceaselessly, the twang of the bow-string, as he stretched his bow, was heard in all directions. Fierce arrows shot by that warrior endued with great lightness of hand, crushed elephants and steeds and foot-soldiers and car-warriors and elephant-riders. As a mighty mass of roaring clouds in summer with violent winds (blowing) poureth a shower of hail-stones, so did Drona pour his arrowy showers and inspired fear in the hearts of his foes. That mighty hero, that great bowman, that dispeller of the fears of his friends, careered in all directions (of the field) agitating the (hostile) host. The bow, decked with gold, of Drona of immeasurable energy, was seen in all directions like the flashes of lightning in the clouds. The beautiful altar on his banner, as he careered in battle, O Bharata, was seen to resemble a crest or Himavat. The slaughter that Drona caused among the Pandava troops was very great, resembling that caused by Vishnu himself, the adored of both the gods and Asuras, among the Daitya host. Heroic, truthful in speech, endued with great wisdom and might, and possessed of prowess incapable of being baffled, the illustrious Drona caused a river to flow there that was fierce and capable of striking the timid with fear. Coats of mail formed its waves, and standards its eddies. And it carried away (as it ran) large numbers of mortal creatures. And elephants and steeds constituted its great alligators, and swords formed its fishes. And it was incapable of being easily crossed over. The bones of brave warriors formed its pebbles, and drums and cymbals its tortoises. And shields and armour formed its boats, and the hair of warriors its floating moss and weeds. And arrows constituted its wavelets and bows its current. And the arms of the combatants formed its snakes. And that river of fierce current, running over the field of battle, bore away both the Kurus and the Srinjayas. And the heads of human beings, constituted its stones, and their thighs its fishes. And maces constituted the rafts (by which many sought to cross it). And head-gears formed the forth that covered its surface, and the entrails (of animals) its reptiles. Awful (in mien), it bore away heroes (to the other world). And blood and flesh constituted its mire. And elephants formed its crocodiles, and standards, the trees (on its banks). Thousands of Kshatriyas sank in it. Fierce, clogged (dead) bodies, and having horse-soldiers and elephant-warriors for its sharks, it was extremely difficult to cross it. And that river ran towards the abode of Yama. And it abounded with Rakshasas and dogs and jackals. And it v as haunted by fierce cannibals all around.

"Then many Pandava warriors, headed by Kunti's son, rushing at Drona, that mighty car-warrior consuming their divisions like Death himself, surrounded him on all sides. Indeed, those brave warriors completely encompassed Drona who was scorching everything around him like the sun himself scorching the world with his rays. Then the kings and the princes of thy army, with upraised weapons, all rushed for supporting that hero and great bowman. Then Sikhandin pierced Drona with five straight arrows. And Kshatradharman pierced him with twenty arrows, and Vasudeva with five. And Uttamaujas pierced him with three arrows, and Kshatradeva with five. And Satyaki pierced him in that battle with a hundred arrows, and Yudhamanyu with eight. And Yudhishthira pierced Drona with a dozen shafts, and Dhrishtadyumna pierced him with ten, and Chekitana with three. Then Drona, of unbaffled aim and resembling an elephant with rent temples, getting over the car-division (of the Pandavas), overthrew Dridhasena. Approaching then king Kshema who was battling fearlessly, he struck him with nine arrows. Thereupon, Kshema, deprived of life, fell down from his car. Getting then into the midst of the (hostile) troops, he careered in all directions, protecting others, but himself in no need of Protection. He then pierced Sikhandin with twelve arrows, and Uttamaujas with twenty. And he despatched Vasudeva with a broad-headed arrow to the abode of Yama. And he pierced Kshemavarman with eighty arrows, and Sudakshina with six and twenty. And he felled Kshatradeva with a broad-headed arrow from his niche in the car. And having pierced Yudhamanyu with sixty-four arrows and Satyaki with thirty, Drona, of the golden car, quickly approached Yudhishthira. Then Yudhishthira, that best of kings, quickly fled away from the preceptor, borne by his fleet steeds. Then Panchala rushed at Drona. Drona slew the prince, cutting off his bow, and felling his steeds and charioteer along with him. Deprived of life, the prince fell down on the earth from his car, like a luminary loosened from the firmament. Upon the fall of that illustrious prince of the Panchalas, loud cries were heard thereof, 'Slay Drona, Slay Drona!' The mighty Drona then began to crush and mangle the Panchalas, the Matsyas, the Kaikeyas, the Srinjayas, and the Pandavas, all excited with rage. And supported by the Kurus, Drona, then vanquished Satyaki and Chekitana's son, and Senavindu, and Suvarchas, all these and numerous other kings. Thy warriors, O king, having obtained the victory in that great battle, slew the Pandavas as they flew away in all directions. And the Panchalas, the Kaikeyas and the Matsyas, thus slaughtered on all sides like the Danavas by Indra, began to tremble (with fear).'"

SECTION 22

"Dhritarashtra said, 'When the Pandavas were broken by Bharadwaja's son in hat dreadful battle, and the Panchalas also, was there anybody that approached Drona for battle? Alas, beholding Drona stationed in battle, like a, awning tiger, or an elephant with rent temples, ready to lay down his life in battle, well-armed, conversant with all modes of fight, that great bowman, that tiger among men, that enhancer of the fear of foes, grateful, devoted to truth, ever desirous of benefiting Duryodhana,--alas, beholding him at the head of his troops, was there no man that could approach him, with a laudable determination for battle a determination that enhances the renown of Kshatriyas, that mean-spirited persons can never form, and that is distinctive only of the foremost of persons? Tell me, O Sanjaya, who were those heroes that approached the son of Bharadwaja, beholding him at the head of his forces?'

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding the Panchalas, the Pandavas, the Matsyas, the Srinjayas, the Chedis, the Kalikeyas, thus routed after being broken in battle by Drona with his shafts, beholding them thus driven from the field by those showers of fleet arrows shot from Drona's, bow, like vessels sent adrift by the awful waves of the tempest-tossed ocean, the Kauravas with many leonine shouts and with the noise of diverse instruments, began to assail the cars and elephants and foot-soldiers (of that hostile host) from all sides. And beholding those (fleeting soldiers of the Pandavas) king Duryodhana,

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stationed in the midst of his own forces and encompassed by his own relatives and kinsmen, filled with joy, and laughing as he spoke, said these words unto Karna.'

"Duryodhana said, 'Behold, O Radha's son, the Panchalas broken by that firm bowman (Drona) with his shafts, like a herd of the wild deer frightened by a lion. These, I think, will not again come to battle. They have been broken by Drona like mighty trees by the tempest. Afflicted by that high-souled warrior with those shafts winged with gold, they are fleeing away, no two persons are together. Indeed, they seem to be dragged in eddies all over the field. Checked by the Kauravas as also by the high-souled Drona, they are huddling close to one another like (a herd of) elephants in the midst of a conflagration. Like a blossoming trees penetrated by flights of bees, these warriors, pierced with the sharp shafts of Drona, are huddling close to one another, as they are flying away from the field. There, the wrathful Bhima, abandoned by the Pandavas and the Srinjayas, and surrounded by my warriors, delighteth me greatly, O Karna! It is evident, that wicked wight beholdeth the world today to be full of Drona! Without doubt, that son of Pandu hath today become hopeless of life and kingdom.'

"Karna said, 'That mighty-armed warrior will not certainly abandon the battle as long as he is alive. Nor will he, O tiger among men, brook these leonine shouts (of ours). Nor will the Pandavas, I think, be defeated in battle. They are brave, endued with great might, accomplished in weapons, and difficult of being resisted in battle. Recollecting the woes caused them by our attempts at poisoning and burning them, and the woes that arose from the match at dice, bearing in mind also their exile in, the woods, the Pandavas, I think, will not abandon the fight. The mighty-armed Vrikodara of immeasurable energy hath already turned back (for the fight). The son of Kunti will certainly slay many of our foremost car-warriors. With sword and bow and dart, with steeds and elephants and men and cars, [Using even these as implements for striking, for Bhima's might was superhuman.] with his mace made of iron, he will slay crowds (of our soldiers). Other car-warriors [charioteers] headed by Satyajit, together with the Panchalas, the Kekayas, the Matsyas, and especially the Pandavas, are following him. They are all brave, and possessed of great might and prowess. Mighty car-warriors, they are again led by Bhima in wrath. Those bulls of the race, surrounding Vrikodara on all sides, like the clouds surrounding the Sun, begin to approach Drona from all sides. Closely intent upon one object, these will certainly afflict unprotected Drona, like flights of insects, on the point of death, striking a blazing lamp. Accomplished in weapons, they are certainly competent to resist Drona. Heavy is the burthen, I think, that now rests on Bharadwaja's son. Let us then quickly go to the spot where Drona is. Let not those slay him of regulated vows like wolves slaying a mighty elephant!'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Hearing these words of Radheya, king Duryodhana then, accompanied by his brothers, O monarch, proceeded towards Drona's car. The noise there was deafening, of Pandava warriors returned to the fight on their cars drawn by excellent steeds of diverse hue, all actuated by the desire of slaying Drona alone.'"

SECTION 23

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Tell me, O Sanjaya, the distinctive indications of the cars of all those who, excited with wrath and headed by Bhimasena, had proceeded against Drona.'

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding Vrikodara advancing (on a car drawn) by steeds of dappled hue (like: that of the antelope), the brave grandson of Sini (Satyaki) proceeded, borne by steeds of a silvery hue. The irresistible Yudhamanyu, excited with rage, proceeded against Drona, borne by excellent steeds of variegated hue. Dhristadyumna, the son of the Panchala king, proceeded, borne by steeds of great fleetness in trappings of gold and of the hue of pigeons. Desirous of protecting his sire, and wishing him complete success, Dhristadyumna's son, Kshatradharman of regulated vows, proceeded., borne by red steeds. Kshatradeva, the son of Sikhandin, himself urging well-decked steeds of the hue of lotus-leaves and with eyes of pure white, proceeded (against Drona). Beautiful steeds of the Kamvoja breed, decked with the feathers of the green parrot, bearing Nakula, quickly ran towards thy army. Dark steeds of the clouds wrathfully bore Uttamaujas, O Bharata, to battle, against the invincible Drona, standing with arrows aimed. Steeds, fleet as the wind, and of variegated hue, bore Sahadeva with upraised weapons to that fierce battle. Of great impetuosity, and possessed of the fleetness of the wind, steeds of the ivory hue and having black manes on the neck, bore Yudhishthira, that tiger among men. And many warriors followed Yudhishthira, borne on their steeds, decked in trappings of gold and all fleet as the wind. Behind the king was the royal chief of the Panchalas, viz., Drupada, with a golden umbrella over his head and himself protected by all those soldiers (that followed Yudhishthira). That great bowman among all the kings, viz., Sautabhi, proceeded, borne by beautiful steeds capable of bearing every noise. Accompanied by all the great car-warriors, Virata quickly followed the former. The Kaikeyas and Sikhandin, and Dhrishtaketu, surrounded by their respective troops, followed the ruler of Matsyas. Excellent steeds of the (pale red) hue of trumpet-flowers, looked exceedingly beautiful as they bore Virata. Fleet steeds of yellow colour and decked in chains of gold, bore with great speed the son (Uttara) of that slayer of foes, viz., Virata, the royal chief of the Matsyas. The five Kekaya brothers were borne by steeds of deep red hue. Of the splendour of gold and owning standards of the red hue, and decked with chains of gold, all of them heroes, accomplished in battle, they proceeded, clad in mail, and showering arrows like the very clouds. Excellent steeds, the gift of Tumvuru, of the hue of unbaked earthen pots, bore Sikhandin, the Panchala prince of immeasurable energy. Altogether, twelve thousand mighty car-warriors of the Panchala race proceeded to battle. Of these, six thousand followed Sikhandin. Sportive steeds, O sire, of the dappled hue of the antelope, bore the son of Sisupal, that tiger among men. That bull among the Chedis, viz., Dhrishtaketu, endued with great strength, and difficult of being vanquished in battle, proceeded, borne by Kamvoja steeds of variegated hue. Excellent steeds of the Sindhu breed, of beautiful limbs, and of the hue of the smoke of straw, quickly bore the Kaikeya prince, Vrihatkshatra. Possessed of eyes of pure white, of the hue of the lotus, born in the country of the Valhikas, and decked with ornaments, bore Sikhandin's son, the brave Kshatradeva. Decked in trappings of gold, and possessed of the hue of red silk, quiet steeds bore Senavindu, that chastiser of foes, to battle. Excellent steeds of the hue of cranes, bore to battle the youthful and delicate son of the king of the Kasis, that mighty car-warrior. White steeds with black necks, endued with the speed of the mind, O monarch, and exceedingly obedient to the driver, bore prince Prativindhya. Whitish yellow steeds bore Sutasoma, the son of Arjuna, whom the latter had obtained from Soma himself. He was born in the Kuru city known by the name of Udayendu. Endued with effulgence of a thousand moons, and because he also had won great renown in an assembly of the Somakas, he came to be called Sutasoma. Steeds of the hue of Sala flowers or of morning sun bore Nakula's son Satanika worthy of every praise. Steeds decked in trappings of gold, and endued with the hue of the peacock's neck, bore that tiger among men, Srutakarman, the son of Draupdi (by Bhima). Excellent steeds of the hue of the king-fishers bore Draupadi's son Srutkirti to that battle, who like Partha was an ocean of learning. Steeds of a tawny hue bore the youthful Abhimanyu who was regarded as superior to Krishna or Partha one and a half times in battle. Gigantic steeds bore Yuyutsu to battle, that only warrior amongst the sons of Dhritarashtra who (abandoning his brothers) hath sided with the Pandavas. Plump and well-decked steeds of the hue of the (dried) paddy stalk bore Vardhakshemi of great activity to that dreadful battle. Steeds with black legs, equipped in breast-plates of gold, and exceedingly obedient to the driver, bore youthful Sauchitti to battle. Steeds whose backs were covered with golden armour, decked with chains of gold, well-broken, and of the hue of red silk, bore Srenimat. Steeds of a red hue bore the advancing Satyadhriti accomplished in the science of arms and in the divine Vedas. That Panchala who was commander (of the Pandava army) and who took Drona as the victim allotted to his share,--that Dhrishtadyumna,--was borne by steeds of the hue of pigeons. Him followed Satyadhriti, and Sauchitti irresistible in battle, and Srenimat, and Vasudana, and Vibhu, the son of the ruler of the Kasis. These had fleet steeds of the best Kamvoja breed decked with chains of gold. Each resembling Yama or Vaisravana, they proceeded to battle, striking fear into the hearts of the hostile soldiers. The Prabhadrakas of the Kamvoja country, numbering six thousand, with upraised weapons, with excellent steeds of diverse hues on their gold-decked cars, with stretched bows and making their foes tremble with their showers of arrows and resolved to die together, [i.e., not to abandon their comrades in distress.] followed Dhristadyumna. Excellent steeds of the hue of tawny silk, decked with beautiful chains of gold, cheerfully bore Chekitana. Arjuna's maternal uncle Purujit, otherwise called Kuntibhoja, came borne by excellent steeds of the colour of the rainbow. Steeds of the colour of star-bespangled firmament bore to battle king Rochamana. Steeds of the hue of the red deer, with white streaks over their bodies, bore the Panchala prince Singhasena, the son of Gopati. That tiger among the Panchalas who is known by the name of Janamejaya, had excellent steeds of the hue of mustard flowers. Fleet, gigantic and dark blue steeds decked with chains of gold, with backs of the hue of curd and faces of the hue of the moon, bore with great speed the ruler of the Panchalas. Brave steeds with beautiful heads, (white) as the stalks of reeds, and a splendour resembling that of the firmament or the lotus, bore Dandadhara. Light brown steeds with backs of the hue of the mouse, and with necks proudly drawn up, bore Vyaghradatta to battle. Dark-spotted steeds bore that tiger among men, viz., Sudhanwan, the prince of Panchala. Of fierce impetuosity resembling that of Indra's thunder, beautiful steeds of the hue of Indragopakas, with variegated patches, bore Chitrayudha. Decked with golden chains, steeds whose bellies were of the hue of the Chakravaka bore Sukshatra, the son of the ruler of the Kosalas. Beautiful and tall steeds of variegated hue and gigantic bodies, exceedingly docile, and decked with chains of gold, bore Satyadhriti accomplished in battle. Sukla advanced to battle with his standard and armour and bow and steeds all of the same white hue. Steeds born on the sea-coast and white as the moon, bore Chandrasena of fierce energy, the son of Samudrasena. Steeds of the hue of the blue lotus and decked with ornaments of gold and adorned with beautiful floral wreaths, bore Saiva owning a beautiful car to battle. Superior steeds of the hue of Kalaya flowers, with white and red streaks, bore Rathasena difficult of being resisted in battle. White steeds bore that king who slew the Patachcharas and who is regarded as the bravest of men. Superior steeds of the hue of Kinsuka flowers bore Chitrayudha decked with beautiful garlands and owning beautiful armour and weapons and standard. King Nila advanced to battle, with standard and armour and bow and banner and steeds all of the same blue colour. Chitra advanced to battle with car-fence and standard and bow all decked with diverse kinds of gems, and beautiful steeds and banner. Excellent steeds of the hue of the lotus bore Hemavarna, the son of Rochamana. Chargers, capable of bearing all kinds of weapons, of brave achievements in battle, possessed of vertebral columns of the hue of reeds, having white testicles, and endued with the colour of the hen's egg, bore Dandaketu. The mighty Sarangadhwaja, endued with wealth of energy, the king of the Pandyas, on steeds of the hue of the moon's rays and decked with armour set with stones of lapis lazuli, advanced upon Drona, stretching his excellent bow. His country having been invaded and his kinsmen having fled, his father had been slain by Krishna in battle. Obtaining weapons then from Bhishma and Drona, Rama and Kripa, prince Sarangadhwaja became, in weapons, the equal of Rukmi and Karna and Arjuna and Achyuta. He then desired to destroy the city of Dwaraka and subjugate the whole world. Wise friends, however, from desire of doing him good, counselled him against that course. Giving up all thoughts of revenge, he is now ruling his own dominions. Steeds that were all of the hue of the Atrusa flower bore a hundred and forty thousand principle car-warriors that followed that Sarangadhwaja, the king of the Pandyas. Steeds of diverse hues and diverse kinds of forces, bore the heroic Ghatotkacha. Mighty steeds of gigantic size, of the Aratta breed, bore the mighty-armed Vrihanta of red eyes mounted on his golden car, that prince, viz., who, rejecting the opinions of all the Bharatas, hath singly, from his reverence for Yudhishthira. gone over to him, abandoning all his cherished desire. Superior steeds of the hue of gold, followed that foremost of kings viz., the virtuous Yudhishthira at his back. Large number of Prabhadrakas, of celestial shapes, advanced to battle, with steeds of diverse excellent colours. All of them owning standards of gold and prepared to struggle vigorously, proceeded with Bhimasena, and wore the aspect, O monarch, of the denizens of heaven with Indra at their head. That assembled host of Prabhadrakas was much liked by Dhristadyumna.'

SECTION 24

"Bharadwaja's son, however, O monarch, surpassed all the warriors in splendour. His standard, with a black deer-skin waving on its top and the beautiful water-pot, O monarch, that it bore, looked exceedingly beautiful. And Bhimasena's standard, bearing the device of a gigantic lion in silver with its eyes made of lapis lazuli, looked exceedingly resplendent. The standard of Yudhishthira of great energy, bearing the device of a golden moon with planets around it, looked very beautiful. Two large and beautiful kettle-drums, called Nanda and Upananda, were tied to it. Played upon by machinery, these produced excellent music that enhanced the delight of all who heard it. For terrifying the foe, we beheld that tall and fierce standard of Nakula, placed on his car bearing the device of a Sarabha with its back made of gold. A beautiful silver swan with bells and banner terrible to look at and enhancing the grief of the foe, was seen on Sahadeva's standard. The standards of the five sons of Draupadi bore on them the excellent images of Dharma, Marut, Sakra, and the twin Aswins. On the car, O king, of the youthful Abhimanyu was an excellent standard that bore a golden peacock, which was bright as heated gold. On Ghatotkacha's standard, O king, a vulture shone brightly, and his steeds also were capable of going everywhere at will, like those of Ravana in days of yore. In Yudhishthira's hands was the celestial bow called Mahendra; and in the hands of Bhimasena, O king, was the celestial bow called Vayavya. For the protection of the three worlds Brahman created a bow. That celestial and indestructible bow was held by Phalguni. The Vaishnava bow was held by Nakula, and the bow called Aswina was held by Sahadeva. That celestial and terrible bow called the Paulastya, was held by Ghatotkacha. The five jewels of bows born by the five sons of Draupadi were the Raudra, the Agneya, the Kauverya, the Yamya, and the Girisa. That excellent and best of bows, called the Raudra, which Rohini's son (Valadeva) had obtained, the latter gave unto the high-souled son of Subhadra, having been gratified with him. These and many

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other standards decked with gold, were seen there, belonging to brave warriors, all of which enhanced the fear of their foes. The host commanded by Drona, which numbered not a single coward, and in which countless standards rising together seemed to obstruct the welkin, then looked, O monarch, like images on a canvas. We heard the names and lineage, O king, of brave warriors rushing towards Drona in that battle like to what is heard, O monarch, at a self-choice. [The custom, when one warrior attacked another, was invariably to give his name and lineage before striking.]

SECTION 25

"Then royal Drupada advanced against him at the head of a mighty division. The encounter between those two old men at the heads of their respective forces became terrible like that between two mighty leaders, with rent temples, of two elephantine herds. Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti, with their troops encountered Virata, the ruler of Matsyas at the head of his forces, like Indra and Agni in days of old encountering the (Asura) Vali. That awful encounter between the Matsyas and the Kekayas, in which steeds and car-warriors and elephants fought most fearlessly, resembled that between the gods and the Asuras in days of old. Bhutakarman, otherwise called Sabhapati, kept away from Drona. Nakula's son Satanika, as the latter advanced, scattering showers of arrows. Then the heir of Nakula, with three broad-headed shafts of great sharpness, deprived Bhutakarman of both his arms and head in that battle. Vivinsati resisted the heroic Sutasoma of great prowess, as the latter advanced towards Drona, scattering showers of arrows. Sutasoma, however, excited with wrath, pierced his uncle Vivinsati with straight arrows, and cased in mail, stood ready for the combat. Bhimaratha, (brother of Duryodhana), with six sharp shafts of great swiftness and made wholly of iron, despatched Salwa along with his steeds and charioteer to Yama's abode. Chitrasena's son, O king, opposed thy (grand) son Srutakarman as the latter came, borne by steeds, looking like peacocks. Those two grandsons of thine, both difficult of being vanquished in battle, and each desirous of slaying the other, fought vigorously for the success of the objects of their respective sires. Beholding Prativindhya staying at the van of that dreadful battle, Drona's son (Aswatthaman), desirous of protecting the honour of his sire, resisted the former with his shafts. Prativindhya, then, excited with rage pierced Aswatthaman, bearing on his standard the device of a lion's tail and staying in battle for the sake of his father, with many sharp shafts. The (eldest) son of Draupadi then scattered over Drona's son showers of arrows, like a sower, O bull among men, scattering seeds on the soil at the sowing season. 1 The son of Duhsasana resisted the mighty car-warrior Srutakirti, the son of Arjuna by Draupadi, as the latter was rushing towards Drona. That son of Arjuna, however, who was equal to Arjuna himself, cutting off the former's bow and standard and charioteer with three broad-headed arrows of great sharpness, proceeded against Drona. Duryodhana's son, Lakshmana, resisted the slayer of the Patachcharas,--him, that is, O king, who is regarded by both the armies as the bravest of the brave. The latter, however, cutting off both the bow and the standard of Lakshmana, and showering upon him many arrows, flared up with splendour. The youthful Vikarna of great wisdom resisted Sikhandin, the youthful son of Yajnasena, as the latter advanced in that battle. Yajnasena's son then covered the former with showers of arrows. The mighty son Vikarna, baffling those arrowy showers, looked resplendent on the field of battle. Angada resisted with showers of arrows the heroic Uttamaujas in that battle as the latter rushed towards Drona. That encounter between those two lions among men became frightful, and it filled both them and the troops with great zeal. The great bowman Durmukha, endued with great might, resisted with his shafts the heroic Purujit as the latter proceeded towards Drona. Furujit struck Durmukha between his eye-brows with a long shaft. Thereupon, Durmukha's face looked beautiful like a lotus with its stalk. Karna resisted with showers of arrows the five Kekaya brothers, owning red standards, as they proceeded towards Drona. Scorched with the arrowy showers of Karna, those five brothers covered Karna with their arrows. Karna, in return, repeatedly covered them with showers of arrows. Covered with arrows, neither Karna nor the five brother could be seen with their steeds, charioteers, standards, and cars. Thy sons, Durjaya, Jaya, and Vijaya, resisted Nila, and the ruler of the Kasis, and Jayatsena, three against. And the combat between those warriors deepened and gladdened the hearts of the spectators like those between a lion, a tiger, and a wolf on the one side and a bear, a buffalo, and a bull on the other. The brothers Kshemadhurti and Vrihanta mangled Satyaki of the Satwata race with their keen arrows, as the latter proceeded against Drona. The battle between those two on one side and Satyaki on the other became exceedingly wonderful to behold, like that between a lion and two mighty elephants with rent temples in the forest. The king of the Chedis, excited with wrath, and shooting many warriors, kept away from Drona, king Amvashtha, that hero who always delighted, in battle. Then king Amvashtha pierced his antagonist with a long arrow capable of penetrating into the very bones. Thereupon, the latter, with bow and arrow loosened from his grasp, fell down from his car on the ground. The noble Kripa, son of Saradwata, with many small arrows resisted Vardhakshemi of the Vrishni race who was the embodiment of wrath (in battle). They that looked at Kripa, son of Saradwata, with many small arrows, resisted Vardhakshemi of the Vrishni race who was the embodiment of wrath (in battle). They that looked at Kripa and Vardhakshemi, those heroes conversant with every mode of warfare, thus engaged in encountering each other, became so absorbed in it that, they could not attend to anything else. Somadatta's son, for enhancing the glory of Drona, resisted king Manimat of great activity as the latter came to fight. Then Manimat quickly cut off the bowstring, the standard, the banner, the charioteer and the umbrella of Somadatta's son and caused them to fall down from the latter's car. The son of Somadatta then, bearing the device of the sacrificial stake on his standard, that slayer of foes, quickly jumping down from his car, cut off with his large swords, his antagonist with his steeds, charioteer, standard, and car. Re-ascending then upon his own car, and taking up another bow, and guiding his steeds himself, he began, O monarch, to consume the Pandava host. Vrishasena (the son of Karna), competent for the feat, resisted with showers of arrows king Pandava who was rushing to battle like Indra himself following the Asuras for smiting them. With maces and spiked bludgeons, and swords and axes and stones, short clubs and mallets, and discs, short arrows and battle-axes with dust and wind, and fire and water, and ashes and brick-bats, and straw and trees, afflicting and smitting, and breaking, and slaying and routing the foe, and hurling them on the hostile ranks, and terrifying them therewith, came Ghatotkacha, desirous of getting at Drona. The Rakshasa Alambusha, however, excited with rage, encountered him with diverse weapons and diverse accoutrements of war. And the battle that took place between those two foremost of Rakshasas resembled that which took place in days of old between Samvara and the chief of the celestials. Thus blessed be thou, took place hundreds of single combats between car-warriors and elephants, and steeds and foot-soldiers of thy army and theirs in the midst of the dreadful general engagement. Indeed, such a battle was never seen or heard of before as that which then took place between those warriors that were bent upon Drona's destruction and protection. Indeed, many were the encounters that were then seen on all parts of field, some of which were terrible, some beautiful, and some exceedingly fierce, O lord.'"

SECTION 26

"Dhritarashtra said, 'When the troops were thus engaged and thus proceeded against one another in separate divisions, how did Partha and the warriors of my army endued with great activity fight? What also did Arjuna do towards the car-warriors of the Samsaptakas? And what, O Sanjaya, did the Samsaptakas, in their turn, do to Arjuna?'

"Sanjaya said, 'When the troops were thus engaged and proceeded against one another, thy son Duryodhana himself rushed against Bhimasena, leading his elephant division. Like an elephant encountering an elephant, like a bull encountering a bull, Bhimasena, summoned by the king himself, rushed against that elephant division of the Kaurava army. Skilled in battle and endued with great might of arms, Pritha's son, O sire, quickly broke that elephant division. These elephants, huge as hills, and with ichor trickling down from every part of their bodies, were mangled and forced to turn back by Bhimasena with his arrows. Indeed, as the wind, when it riseth, driveth away gathering masses of clouds, so did that son of Pavana rout that elephant force of the Kauravas. And Bhima, shooting his arrows at those elephants, looked resplendent like the risen sun, striking everything in the world with his rays. Those elephants, afflicted with the shafts of Bhima, became covered with blood and looked beautiful like masses of clouds in the welkin penetrated with the rays of the sun. Then Duryodhana, excited with wrath, pierced with the sharp shafts that son of the Wind-god who was causing such a slaughter among his elephants. Then Bhima, with eyes red in wrath, desirous of despatching the king to Yama's abode, pierced him speedily with many sharp shafts. Then Duryodhana, mangled all over with arrows and excited with rage, pierced Bhima, the son of Pandu, with many shafts endued with the effulgence of solar rays, smiling the while. Then the son of Pandu, with a couple of broad-headed arrows, quickly cut off Duryodhana's bow as also his standard, bearing the device of a jewelled elephant, decked with diverse gems. Beholding Duryodhana thus afflicted, O sire, by Bhima, the ruler of the Angas on his elephant came there for afflicting the son of Pandu. Thereupon, Bhimasena deeply pierced with a long arrow that prince of elephants advancing with loud roars, between its two frontal globes. That arrow, penetrating through its body, sank deep in the earth. And at this the elephants fell down like a hill riven by the thunder. While the elephant was falling down, the Mleccha king also was falling down it. But Vrikodara, endued with great activity, cut off his head with a broad-headed arrow before his antagonist actually fell down. When the heroic ruler of the Angas fell, his divisions fled away. Steeds and elephants and car-warriors struck with panic, crushed the foot-soldiers as they fled.

"When those troops, thus broken, fled away in all directions, the ruler of the Pragjyotishas then advanced against Bhima, upon his elephant. With its two (fore) legs and trunk contracted, filled with rage, and with eyes rolling, that elephant seemed to consume the son of Pandu (like a blazing fire). And it pounded Vrikodara's car with the steed yoked thereto into dust. Then Bhima ran forward and got under the elephant's body, for he knew the science called Anjalikabedha. Indeed, the son of Pandu fled not. Getting under the elephant's body, he began to strike it frequently with his bare arms. And he smote that invincible elephant which was bent upon slaying him. Thereupon, the latter began to quickly turn round like a potter's wheel. Endued with the might of ten thousand elephants, the blessed Vrikodara, having struck that elephant thus, came out from under Supratika's body and stood facing the latter. Supratika then, seizing Bhima by its trunk, threw him down by means of its knees. Indeed, having seized him by the neck, that elephant wished to slay him. Twisting the elephant's trunk, Bhima freed himself from its twine, and once more got under the body of that huge creature. And he waited there, expecting the arrival of a hostile elephant of his own army. Coming out from under the beast's body, Bhima then ran away with great speed. Then a loud noise was heard, made by all the troops, to the effect, 'Alas, Bhima hath been slain by the elephant!' The Pandava host, frightened by that elephant, suddenly fled away, O king, to where Vrikodara was waiting. Meanwhile, king Yudhishthira, thinking Vrikodara to have been slain, surrounded Bhagadatta on all sides, aided by the Panchalas. Having surrounded him with numerous cars, king Yudhishthira that foremost of car-warriors, covered Bhagadatta with keen shafts by hundreds and thousands. Then Bhagadatta, that king of the mountainous regions, frustrating with his iron hook that shower of arrows, began to consume both the Pandavas and the Panchalas by means of that elephant of his. Indeed. O monarch, the feat that we then beheld, achieved by old Bhagadatta with his elephant, was highly wonderful. Then the ruler of the Dasarnas rushed against the king of the Pragjyotisha, on a fleet elephant with temporal sweat trickling down, for attacking Supratika in the flank. The battle then that took place between those two elephants of awful size, resembled that between two winged mountains overgrown with forests in days of old. Then the elephant of Bhagadatta, wheeling round and attacking the elephant of the king of the Dasarnas, ripped open the latter's flank and slew it outright. Then Bhagadatta himself with seven lances bright as the rays of the sun, slew his (human) antagonist seated on the elephant just when the latter was about to fall down from his seat. Piercing king Bhagadatta then (with many arrows), Yudhishthira surrounded him on all sides with a large number of cars. Staying on his elephant amid car-warriors encompassing him all around, he looked resplendent like a blazing fire on a mountain-top in the midst of a dense forest. He stayed fearlessly in the midst of those serried cars ridden by fierce bowmen, all of whom showered upon him their arrows. Then the king of the Pragjyotisha, pressing (with his toe) his huge elephant, urged him towards the car of Yuyudhana. That prodigious beast, then seizing the car of Sinis grandson, hurled it to a distance with great force. Yuyudhana, however, escaped by timely flight. His charioteer also, abandoning the large steeds of the Sindhu breed, yoked unto that car, quickly followed Satyaki and stood where the latter stopped. Meanwhile the elephant, quickly coming out of the circle of cars, began to throw down all the kings (that attempted to bar his course). These bulls among men, frightened out of their wits by that single elephant coursing swiftly, regarded it in that battle as multiplied into many. Indeed, Bhagadatta, mounted on that elephant of his, began to smite down the Pandavas, like the chief of the celestials mounted on Airavata smiting down the Danavas (in days of old). As the Panchalas fled in all directions, loud and awful was the noise that arose amongst them, made by their elephants and steeds. And while the Pandava troops were thus destroyed by Bhagadatta, Bhima, excited with rage, once more rushed against the ruler of the Pragjyotisha. The latter's elephant then frightened the steeds of advancing Bhima by drenching them with water spouted forth from its trunk, and thereupon those animals bore Bhima away from the field. Then Kriti's son, Ruchiparvan, mounted on his car, quickly rushed against Bhagadatta, scattering showers of arrows and advancing like the Destroyer himself. Then Bhagadatta, that ruler of the hilly regions, possessed of beautiful limbs, despatched Ruchiparvan with a straight shaft to Yama's abode. Upon the fall of the heroic Ruchiparvan, Subhadra's son and the sons of Draupadi, and Chekitana, and Dhrishtaketu, and Yuyutsu began to afflict the elephant. Desiring to slay that elephant, all those warriors, uttering loud shouts, began to pour their arrows on the animals, like the clouds drenching the earth with their watery down-pour. Urged then by its skilful rider with heel, hook, and toe the animal advanced quickly with trunk stretched, and eyes and

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cars fixed. Treading down Yuyutsu's steeds, the animal then slew the charioteer. Thereupon, O king, Yuyutsu, abandoning his car, fled away quickly. Then the Pandava warriors, desirous of slaying that prince of elephants, uttered loud shouts and covered it quickly with showers of arrows. At this time, thy son, excited with rage, rushed against the car of Subhadra's son. Meanwhile, king Bhagadatta on his elephant, shooting shafts on the foe, looked resplendent like the Sun himself scattering his rays on the earth. Arjuna's son then pierced him with a dozen shafts, and Yuyutsu with ten, and each of the sons of Draupadi pierced him with three shafts and Dhrishtaketu also pierced him with three. That elephant then, pierced with these shafts, shot with great care, looked resplendent like a mighty mass of clouds penetrated with the rays of the sun. Afflicted with those shafts of the foe, that elephant then, urged by its riders with skill and vigour, began to throw hostile warriors on both his flanks. Like a cowherd belabouring his cattle in the forest with a goad, Bhagadatta repeatedly smote the Pandava host. Like the cawing of quickly retreating crows when assailed by hawks, a loud and confused noise was heard among the Pandava troops who fled away with great speed. That prince of elephants, struck by its rider with hook, resembled, O king, a winged mountain of old. And it filled the hearts of the enemy with fear, like to what merchants experience at sight of the surging sea. Then elephants and car-warriors and steeds and kings, flying away in fear, made, as they fled, a loud and awful din that, O monarch, filled the earth and sky and heaven and the cardinal and subsidiary directions in that battle. Mounted on that foremost of elephants, king Bhagadatta penetrated the hostile army like the Asura Virochana in days of old into the celestial host in battle well-protected by the gods. A violent wind began to blow; a dusty cloud covered the sky and the troops; and people regarded that single elephant as multiplied into many, coursing all over the field.'"

SECTION 27

"Sanjaya said, 'Thou askest me about the feats of Arjuna in battle. Listen, O thou of mighty arms, to what Partha achieved in the fight. Beholding the risen dust and hearing the wail of the troops when Bhagadatta was performing great feats on the field, the son of Kunti addressed Krishna and said 'O slayer of Madhu, it seems that the ruler of the Pragjyotishas hath, on his elephant, with great impetuosity, advanced to battle. This loud din that we hear must be due to him. Well-versed in the art of grinding and battling from the back of an elephant, and not inferior to Indra himself in battle, he, I think, is the formost of all elephant-warriors in the world. His elephant, again, is the foremost of elephants, without a rival to encounter it in battle. Possessed of great dexterity and above all fatigue, it is, again, impervious to all weapons. Capable of bearing every weapon and even the touch of fire, it will, O sinless one, alone destroy the Pandava force today. Except us two, there is none else capable of checking that creature. Go quickly, therefore, to that spot where the ruler of the Pragjyotishas is. Proud in battle, in consequence of the strength of his elephant, and arrogant in consequence of his age, I will this very day send him as a guest to the slayer of Vala.' At these words of Arjuna, Krishna began to proceed to the place where Bhagadatta was breaking the Pandava ranks. While Arjuna was proceeding towards Bhagadatta, the mighty Samsaptaka car-warriors, numbering fourteen thousand, made up of ten thousand Gopalas or Narayanas who used to follow Vasudeva, returning to the field, summoned him to battle. Beholding the Pandava host broken by Bhagadatta, and summoned on the other hand by the Samsaptakas, Arjuna's heart was divided in twain. And he began to think, 'Which of these two act will be better for me to do today, to return from this spot for battling with Samsaptakas or to repair to Yudhishthira?' Reflecting with the aid of his understanding, O perpetuator of Kuru's race, Arjuna's heart, at last, was firmly fixed on the slaughter of the Samsaptakas. Desirous of alone slaughtering in battle thousands of car-warriors, Indra's son (Arjuna) having the foremost of apes on banner, suddenly turned back. Even this was what both Duryodhana and Karna had thought of for achieving the slaughter of Arjuna. And it was for this that they had made arrangements for the double encounter. The son of Pandu allowed his heart to waver this side and that, but, at last, resolving to slay those foremost of warriors, viz., the Samsaptakas, he baffled the purpose of his enemies. Then mighty Samsaptakas car-warriors, O king, shot at Arjuna thousands of straight arrows. Covered with those arrows, O monarch, neither Kunti's son Partha, nor Krishna, otherwise called Janardana, nor the steeds, nor the car, could be seen. Then Janardana became deprived of his senses and perspired greatly. Thereupon, Partha shot the Brahma weapon and nearly exterminated them all. Hundreds upon hundreds of arms with bows and arrows and bowstrings in grasp, cut off from trunks, and hundreds upon hundreds of standards and steeds and charioteers and car-warriors, fell down on the ground. Huge elephants, well-equipped and resembling foremost hills over-grown with woods or masses of clouds, afflicted with Partha's shafts and deprived of riders, fell down on the earth. Many elephants again, with riders on their backs, crushed by means of Arjuna's shafts, fell down, deprived of life, shorn of the embroidered cloths on their backs, and with their housings torn. Cut off by Kiritin with his broad-headed arrows, countless arms having swords and lances and rapiers for their nails or having clubs and battle-axes in grasp, fell down on the earth. Heads also, beautiful, O king, as the morning sun or the lotus or the moon, cut off by Arjuna with his arrows, dropped down on the ground. While Phalguni in rage was thus engaged in slaying the foe with diverse kinds of well-adorned and fatal shafts, that host seemed to be ablaze. Beholding Dhanunjaya crushing that host like an elephant crushing lotus-stalks, all creatures applauded him, saying, 'Excellent, Excellent!' Seeing that feat of Partha resembling that of Vasava himself, Madhava wondered much and, addressing him with joined hands, said, 'Verily, O Partha, I think that this feat which thou hast achieved, could not be performed by Sakra, or Yama, or the Lord of treasures himself. I see that thou hast today felled in battle hundreds and thousands of mighty Samsaptaka warriors an together.' Having slain the Samsaptakas then,--that is, who were engaged in battle,--Partha addressed Krishna, saying, 'Go towards Bhagadatta.'"

SECTION 28

"Sanjaya said, 'At Partha's* desire, Krishna then urged his white steeds, fleet as the mind and covered in golden armour, towards Drona's divisions. [Partha is an epithet of Arjuna that might tell us his origin: Parthia.] While that foremost one of the Kurus was thus proceeding towards his brothers who were exceedingly afflicted by Drona, Susarman with his brothers, followed him behind, desirous of battle. The ever-victorious Arjuna then addressed Krishna, saying, 'O thou of unfading glory, this Susarman here, with his brothers, challengeth me to battle! O slayer of foes, our host, again, is broken (by Drona) towards the north. In consequence of these Samsaptakas, my heart wavers today as to whether I should do this or that. Shall I slay the Samsaptakas now, or protect from harm my own troops already afflicted by the foe? Know this to be what I am thinking of, viz., 'Which of these would be better for me?' Thus addressed by him, he of Dasarha's race, turned back the car, and took the son of Pandu to where the ruler of the Trigartas was. Then Arjuna pierced Susarman with seven shafts, and cut off both his bow and standard with a couple of sharp arrows. He then, with six arrows, quickly despatched the brothers of Trigarta king to Yama's abode. Then Susarman, aiming Arjuna, hurled at him a dart made wholly of iron and looking like a snake, and aiming Vasudeva, hurled a lance at him. Cutting off that dart with three arrows and that lance also with three other arrows, Arjuna, by means of his arrowy showers, deprived Susarman of his senses on his car. Then advancing fiercely (towards thy division), scattering showers of arrows, like Vasava pouring rain, none among thy troops, O king, ventured to oppose. Like a fire consuming heaps of straw as it advances, Dhananjaya advanced, scorching all the mighty car-warriors among the Kauravas by means of his arrows. Like a living creature incapable of bearing the touch of fire, thy troops could not bear the irresistible impetuosity of that intelligent son of Kunti. Indeed, the son of Pandu, overwhelming the hostile host by means of his arrows, came upon the king of the Pragjyotishas, O monarch, like Garuda swooping down (upon his prey). He then held in his hands that Gandiva which in battle was beneficial to the innocent Pandavas and baneful to all foes, for the destruction of Kshatriyas brought about, O king, by the fault of thy son who had recourse to deceitful dice for accomplishing his end. Agitated by Partha thus, thy host then, O king, broke like a boat when it strikes against a rock. Then ten thousand bowmen, brave and fierce, firmly resolved to conquer, advanced (to encounter Arjuna). With dauntless hearts, those mighty car-warriors all surrounded him. Capable of bearing any burden, howsoever heavy in battle, Partha took up that heavy burden. As an angry elephant of sixty years, with rent temples, crushes an assemblage of lotus stalks, even so did Partha crush that division of thy army. And when that division was being thus crushed, king Bhagadatta, on that same elephant of his, impetuously rushed towards Arjuna. Thereupon, Dhananjaya, that tiger among men, staying on his car, received Bhagadatta. That encounter between Arjuna's car and Bhagadatta's elephant was fierce in the extreme. Those two heroes, viz., Bhagadatta and Dhananjaya, then coursed on the field, the one on his car and the other on his elephant, both of which were equipped according to the rules of science. Then Bhagadatta, like the lord Indra, from his elephant looking like a mass of clouds, poured on Dhananjaya showers of arrows. The valiant son of Vasava, however, with his arrows, cut off those arrowy showers of Bhagadatta before they could reach him. The king of the Pragjyotishas, then, baffling that arrowy shower of Arjuna, struck both Partha and Krishna, O king, with many shafts and overwhelming both of them with a thick shower of shafts, Bhagadatta then urged his elephant for the destruction of Krishna and Partha. Beholding that angry elephant advancing like Death himself, Janardana quickly moved his car in such a way as to keep the elephant on his left. Dhananjaya, although he thus got the opportunity of slaying that huge elephant with its rider from the back, wished not yet to avail himself of it, remembering the rules of fair fight. The elephant, however, coming upon other elephants and cars and steeds, O king, despatched them all to Yama's abode. Beholding this, Dhananjaya was filled with rage.

SECTION 29

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Filled with rage, what did Partha, the son of Pandu, do to Bhagadatta? What also did the king of the Pragjyotishas do to Partha? Tell me all this, O Sanjaya!'

"Sanjaya said, 'While Partha and Krishna were thus engaged with the ruler of the Pragjyotishas, all creatures regarded them to be very near the jaws of Death. Indeed, O monarch, from the neck of his elephant, Bhagadatta scattered showers of shafts on the two Krishnas, staying upon their car. He pierced Devaki's son with many arrows made wholly of black iron, equipped with wings of gold, whetted on stone, and shot from his bow, drawn to the fullest stretch. Those shafts whose touch resembled that of fire, equipped with beautiful feathers, and shot by Bhagadatta, passing through Devaki's son, entered the earth. Partha then cut off Bhagadatta's bow and slaying next the warrior that protected his elephant from the flank, began to fight with him as if in sport. Then Bhagadatta hurled at him fourteen lances of sharp points, that were bright as the rays of the sun. Arjuna, however, cut each of those lances into three fragments. Then Indra's son cut open the armour in which that elephant was eased, by means of a thick shower of arrows. The armour thus cut off, fell down on the earth. Exceedingly afflicted with arrows shot by Arjuna, that elephant, deprived of its coat of mail, looked like a prince of mountains destitute of its cloudy robes and with streaks of water running down its breast. Then the ruler of the Pragjyotishas hurled at Vasudeva a dart made wholly of iron and decked with gold. That dart Arjuna cut in twain. Then cutting off the king's standard and umbrella by means of his arrows Arjuna quickly pierced that ruler of the mountainous realms with ten arrows, smiling all the while. Deeply pierced with those shafts of Arjuna, that were beautifully winged with Kanka feathers, Bhagadatta, O monarch, became incensed with the son of Pandu. He then hurled some lances at Arjuna's head and uttered a loud shout. In consequence of those lances Arjuna's diadem was displaced. Arjuna, then, having placed his diadem properly, addressed the ruler of the Pragjyotishas, saying, 'Look well on this world!' Thus addressed by him, Bhagadatta became filled with rage, and taking up a bright bow showered upon both the Pandava and Govinda his arrowy down-pours. Partha then cutting off his bow and quivers, quickly struck him with two and seventy shafts, afflicting his vital limbs. Thus pierced, he was excessively pained. Filled then with rage, he with Mantras, turned his hook into the Vaishnava weapon and hurled it at Arjuna's breast. That all-slaying weapon, hurled by Bhagadatta, Kesava, covering Arjuna, received on his breast. Thereupon, that weapon became a triumphal garland on Kesava's breast. Arjuna then cheerlessly addressed Kesava, saying, 'O sinless one, without battling thyself, thou art to only guide my steed! Thou hadst said so, O lotus-eyed one! Why then dost thou not adhere to thy promise? If I sink in distress, or become unable to baffle, or resist a foe or weapon, then mayst thou act so, but not when I am standing thus. Thou knowest that with my bow and arrows I am competent to vanquish these worlds with the gods, the Asuras, and men.' Hearing these words of Arjuna, Vasudeva replied unto him, saying, 'Listen, O Partha, to this secret and ancient history as it is, O sinless one! I have four forms, eternally engaged as I am in protecting the worlds. Dividing my own Self, I ordain the good of the worlds. One form of mine, staying on the earth, is engaged in the practice of ascetic austerities. Another beholdeth the good and the evil deeds in the world. My third form, coming into the world of men, is engaged in action. My fourth form lieth down in sleep for a thousand years. The form of mine which awaketh from sleep at the end of a thousand years, granteth, upon awakening, excellent boons to persons deserving of them. The earth, knowing (on one occasion) that that time had come, asked of me a boon for (her son) Naraka. Hear, O Partha, what that boon was. Possessed of the Vaishnava weapon, let my son become incapable of being slain by the gods and the Asuras. It behoveth thee to grant me that weapon. Hearing this prayer, I then gave, in days of old, the supreme and infallible Vaishnava weapon to the Earth's son. I said also at that time these words, 'O Earth, let this weapon be infallible for the protection of Naraka. None will be able to slay him. Protected by this weapon, thy son will always, in all the worlds, be invincible and crush all hostile hosts.' Saying, So be it! the intelligent goddess went away, her wishes fulfilled. And Naraka also became invincible and always scorched his foes. It was from Naraka, O Partha, that the ruler of the Pragjyotishas got this weapon of mine. There is none, in all the world, O sire, including even Indra and Rudra, who is unslayable by this weapon. It was for thy sake, therefore, that I baffled it, violating my promise. The great Asura hath now been divested of that supreme weapon.

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Slay now, O Partha, that invincible foe of thine, viz., Bhagadatta, enemy of the gods, even as I formerly slew for the good of the worlds, the Asura Naraka.' Thus addressed by the high-souled Kesava, Partha suddenly overwhelmed Bhagadatta with clouds of whetted arrows. Then, the mighty-armed and high-souled Arjuna fearlessly struck a long arrow between the frontal globes of his enemy's elephant. That arrow, splitting the elephant like the thunder splitting a mountain, penetrated into its body to the very wings, like a snake penetrating into an ant-hill. Though urged repeatedly then by Bhagadatta, the elephant refused to obey like a poor man's wife her lord. With limbs paralysed, it fell down, striking the earth with its tusks. Uttering a cry of distress, that huge elephant gave up the ghost. The son of Pandu then, with a straight shaft furnished with a crescent-shaped head, pierced the bosom of king Bhagadatta. His breast, being pierced through by the diadem-decked (Arjuna), king Bhagadatta, deprived of life, threw down his bow and arrows. Loosened from his head, the valuable piece of cloth that had served him for a turban, fell down, like a petal from a lotus when its stalk is violently struck. And he himself, decked with golden garlands, fell down from his huge elephant adorned with golden housings, like flowering Kinsuka broken by the force of the wind from the mountain-top. The son of Indra then, having slain in battle that monarch who resembled Indra himself in prowess and who was Indra's friend, broke the other warriors of thy army inspired with hope of victory like the mighty wind breaking rows of trees.'"

SECTION 30

"Sanjaya said, Having slain Bhagadatta who was ever the favourite and I friend of Indra and who was possessed of great energy, Partha circumambulated him. Then the two sons of the king of Gandhara viz., the brothers Vrishaka and Achala, those subjugators of hostile towns, began to afflict Arjuna in battle. Those two heroic bowmen, uniting together, began to deeply pierce Arjuna from the front and from behind with whetted shafts of great impetuosity. Arjuna then with sharp shafts cut off the steeds and driver and bow and umbrella and standard and car of Vrishaka, the son of Suvala, into atoms. With clouds of arrows and diverse other weapons, Arjuna then once more severely afflicted the Gandhara troops headed by Suvala's son. Then Dhananjaya, filled with rage, despatched to Yama's abode, with his shafts, five hundred heroic Gandharas with upraised weapons. The mighty-armed hero then, quickly alighting from that car whose steeds had been slain, mounted upon the car of his brother and took up another bow. Then those two brothers, viz., Vrishaka and Achala, both mounted on the same car, began incessantly to pierce Vibhatsu with showers of arrows. Indeed, those high-souled princes, those relatives of thine by marriage, viz., Vrishaka and Achala, struck Partha very severely, like Vritra or Vala striking Indra of old. Of unfailing aim, these two princes of Gandhara, themselves unhurt, began once more to strike the son of Pandu, like the two months of summer afflicting the world with sweat-producing rays. Then Arjuna slew those princes and tigers among men, viz., Vrishaka and Achala, staying on one car side by side, with, O monarch, a single arrow. Then those mighty-armed heroes, with red eyes and looking like lions, those uterine brothers having similar features, together fell down from that car. And their bodies, dear to friends, falling down upon the earth, lay there, spreading sacred fame all around.

"Beholding their brave and unretreating maternal uncles thus slain by Arjuna, thy sons, O monarch, rained many weapons upon him. Sakuni also, conversant with a hundred different kinds of illusions, seeing his brothers slain, created illusions for confounding the two Krishnas. Then clubs, and iron balls, and rocks and Sataghnis and darts, and maces, and spiked bludgeons, and scimitars, and lances, mallets, axes, and Kampanas, and swords, and nails, and short clubs, and battle-axes, and razors, and arrows with sharp broad heads, and Nalikas, and calf-tooth headed shafts, and arrows having bony heads and discs and snake-headed shafts, and spears, and diverse other kinds of weapons, fell upon Arjuna from all sides. And asses, and camels, and buffaloes, and tigers, and lions, and deer, and leopards, and bears, and wolves and vultures, and monkeys, and various reptiles, and diverse cannibals, and swarms of crows, all hungry, and excited with rage, ran towards Arjuna. Then Dhananjaya, the son of Kunti, that hero conversant with celestial weapons, shooting clouds of arrows, assailed them all. And assailed by that hero with those excellent and strong shafts, they uttered loud cries and fell down deprived of life. Then a thick darkness appeared and covered Arjuna's car, and from within that gloom harsh voices rebuked Arjuna. The latter, however, by means of the weapons called Jyotishka, dispelled that thick and awful darkness. When that darkness was dispelled frightful waves of water appeared. For drying up those waters, Arjuna applied the weapon called Aditya. And in consequence of that weapon, the waters were almost dried up. These diverse illusions, repeatedly created by Sauvala, Arjuna destroyed speedily by means of the force of his weapons, laughing the while. Upon all his illusions being destroyed, afflicted with Arjuna's shafts and unmanned by fear, Sakuni fled away, aided by his fleet, steeds, like a vulgar wretch. Then Arjuna, acquainted with all weapons, showing his enemies the exceeding lightness of his hands, showered upon the Kaurava host clouds of arrows. That host of thy son, thus slaughtered by Partha, became divided into two streams like the current of Ganga when impeded by a mountain. And one of those streams, O bull among men, proceeded towards Drona, and the other with loud cries, proceeded towards Duryodhana. Then a thick dust arose and covered all the troops. We could not then see Arjuna. Only the twang of Gandivas was heard by us from off the field. Indeed, the twang of Gandiva was heard, rising above the blare of conchs and the beat of drums and the noise of other instruments. Then on the southern part of the field took place a fierce battle between many foremost warriors on the one side and Arjuna on the other. I, however, followed Drona. The various divisions of Yudhishthira's force smote the foe on every part of the field. The diverse divisions of thy son, O Bharata, Arjuna smote, even as the wind in the summer season destroys masses of clouds in the welkin. Indeed, as Arjuna came, scattering clouds of arrows, like Vasava pouring thick showers of rain, there was none in thy army who could resist that great fierce bowman, that tiger among men. Struck by Partha, thy warriors were in great pain. They fled away, and in flying killed many among their own number. The arrows shot by Arjuna, winged Kanka feathers and capable of penetrating into every body, fell covering all sides, like flights of locusts. Piercing steeds and car-warriors and elephants and foot-soldiers, O sire, like snakes through ant-hills, those shafts entered the earth. Arjuna never shot arrows, at any elephant, steed or man. Struck with only one arrow, each of these, severely afflicted, fell down deprived of life. With slain men and elephant and shaft-struck steeds lying all about, and echoing with yells of dogs and jackals, the field of battle presented a variegated and awful sight. Pained with arrows, sire forsook son, and friend forsook friend and son forsook sire. Indeed, every one was intent upon protecting his own self. Struck with Partha's shafts, many warriors abandoned the very animals that bore them.'"

SECTION 31

"Dhritarashtra said, 'When those divisions (of mine), O Sanjaya, were broken and routed, and all of you retreated quickly from the field, what became the state of your minds? The rallying of ranks when broken and flying away without beholding a spot whereon to stand, is always exceedingly difficult. Tell me all about it, O Sanjaya!'

"Sanjaya said, [Although thy troops were broken], yet, O monarch, many foremost of heroes in the world, inspired by the desire of doing good to thy son and of maintaining their own reputation, followed Drona. In that dreadful pass, they fearlessly followed their commander, achieving meritorious feats against the Pandava troops with weapons upraised, and Yudhishthira within accessible distance. Taking advantage of an error of Bhimasena of great energy and of heroic Satyaki and Dhrishtadyumna, O monarch, the Kuru leaders fell upon the Pandava Army. The Panchalas urged their troops, saying, 'Drona, Drona!' Thy sons, however, urged all the Kurus, saying, 'Let not Drona be slain. Let not Drona be slain!' One side saying, 'Slay Drona', 'Slay Drona,' and the other saying, 'Let not Drona be slain, 'Let not Drona be slain,' the Kurus and the Pandavas seemed to gamble, making Drona their stake. Dhrishtadyumna, the prince of the Panchalas, proceeded to the side of all those Panchala car-warriors whom Drona sought to crush. Thus no rule was observed as to the antagonist one night select for battling with him. The strife became dreadful. Heroes encountered heroes, uttering loud shouts Their foes could not make the Pandavas tremble. On the other hand, recollecting all their woes, the latter made the ranks of their enemies tremble. Though possessed of modesty, yet excited with rage and vindictiveness, and urged by energy and might, they approached that dreadful battle, reckless of their very lives for slaying Drona. That encounter of heroes of immeasurable energy, sporting in fierce battle making life itself the stake, resembled the collision of iron against adamant. The oldest men even could not recollect whether they had seen or heard of a battle as fierce as that which took place on this occasion. The earth in that encounter, marked with great carnage and afflicted with the weight of that vast host, began to tremble. The awful noise made by the Kuru army agitated and tossed by the foe, paralysing the very welkin, penetrated into the midst of even the Pandava host. Then Drona, coming upon the Pandava divisions by thousands, and careering over the field, broke them by means of his whetted shafts. When these were being thus crushed by Drona of wonderful achievements, Dhrishtadyumna, the generalissimo of the Pandava host, filled with rage himself checked Drona. The encounter that we beheld between Drona and the prince of the Panchalas was highly wonderful. It is my firm conviction that it has no parallel.

"Then Nila, resembling a veritable fire, his arrows constituting its sparks and his bow its flame, began to consume the Kuru ranks, like a conflagration consuming heaps of dry grass. The valiant son of Drona, who from before had been desirous of an encounter with him, smilingly addressed Nila as the latter came consuming the troops, and said unto him these polite words, 'O Nila, what dost thou gain by consuming so many common soldiers with thy arrowy flames? Fight with my unaided self, and filled with rage, strike me.' Thus addressed, Nila, the brightness of whose face resembled the splendour of a full-blown lotus, pierced Aswatthaman, whose body resembled an assemblage of lotuses and whose eyes were like lotus-petals with his shafts. Deeply and suddenly pierced by Nila, Drona's son with three broad-headed arrows, cut off his antagonist's bow and standard and umbrella. Quickly jumping down from his car, Nila, then, with a shield and an excellent sword, desired to sever from Aswatthaman's trunk his head like a bird (bearing away its prey in its talons). Drona's son, however, O sinless one, by means of a bearded arrow, cut off, from his antagonist's trunk, his head graced with a beautiful nose and decked with excellent ear-rings, and which rested on elevated shoulders. That hero, then, the brightness of whose face resembled the splendour of the full moon and whose eyes were like lotus-petals, whose stature was tall, and complexion like that of the lotus, thus slain, fell down on the earth. The Pandava host then, filled with great grief, began to tremble, when the Preceptor's son thus slew Nila of blazing energy. The great car-warriors of the Pandavas, O sire, all thought, 'Alas, how would Indra's son (Arjuna) be able to rescue us from the foe, when that mighty warrior is engaged on the southern part of the field in slaughtering the remnant of the Samsaptakas and the Narayana force?'"

SECTION 32

"Sanjaya said, 'Vrikodara, however, could not brook that slaughter of his army. He struck Valhika with sixty and Karna with ten arrows. Drona then, desirous of slaying Bhima, quickly struck the latter, in his very vitals, many straight and whetted shafts of keen edge. Desirous again of allowing no time, he once more struck him with, six and twenty shafts whose touch resembled that of fire and which were all like snakes of virulent poison. Then Karna pierced him with a dozen shafts, and Aswatthaman with seven, and king Duryodhana also with six. The mighty Bhimasena, in return, pierced them all. He struck Drona with fifty shafts, and Karna with ten. And piercing Duryodhana with a dozen shafts, and Drona with eight, he engaged in that battle uttering a loud shout. In that encounter in which the warriors fought reckless of their lives and in which death was easy of attainment, Ajatasattru despatched many warriors, urging them to rescue Bhima. Those heroes of immeasurable energy, viz., the two son of Madri and Pandu, and others headed by Yuyudhana, quickly proceeded to Bhimasena's side. And those bulls among men, filled with rage and uniting together, advanced to battle, desirous of breaking the army of Drona that was protected by many foremost of bowmen. Indeed, those great car-warriors of mighty energy, viz., Bhima and others, fell furiously upon Drona's host. Drona, however, that foremost of car-warriors, received without any anxiety, all those mighty car-warriors, of great strength,--those heroes accomplished in battle. Disregarding their kingdoms and casting off all fear of death, the warriors of thy army proceeded against the Pandavas. Horsemen encountered horsemen, and car-warriors encountered car-warriors.

The battle proceeded, darts against darts, swords against swords, axes against axes. A fierce encounter with swords took place, producing a terrible carnage. And in consequence of the collision of elephants against elephants the battle became furious. Some fell down from the backs of elephants, and some from the backs of steeds, with heads downwards. And others, O sire, fell down from cars, pierced with arrows. In that fierce press, as some one fell down deprived of armour, an elephant might be seen attacking him in the chest and crushing his head. Elsewhere might be seen elephants crushing numbers of men fallen down on the field. And many elephants, piercing the earth with their tusks (as they fell down), were seen to tear therewith large bodies of men. Many elephants, again, with arrows sticking to their trunks, wandered over the field, tearing and crushing men by hundreds. And some elephants were seen pressing down into the earth fallen warriors and steeds and elephants cased in armour of black iron, as if these were only thick reeds. Many kings, graced with modesty, their hour having come, laid themselves down (for the last sleep) on painful beds, overlaid with vultures' feathers. Advancing to battle on his car, sire slew son; and son also, through madness all losing regard, approached-sire in battle. The wheels of cars were broken; banners were torn; umbrellas fell down on the earth. Dragging broken yokes, steeds ran away. Arms with swords in grasp, and heads decked with ear-rings fell down. Cars, dragged by mighty elephants, thrown down on the ground, were reduced to fragments. Steeds with riders fell down, severely wounded by elephants. That fierce battle went on, without anybody showing any regard for any one. 'Oh father!--Oh son!--Where art thou, friend?--Wait!--Where dost thou go!--Strike!--Bring! Slay this one!'--these and diverse other cries, with loud laughs and shouts, and roars were uttered and heard there. The blood of

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human beings and steeds and elephants, mingled together. The earthy dust disappeared. The hearts of all timid persons became cheerless. Here a hero getting his car-wheel entangled with the car-wheel of another hero, and the distance being too near to admit of the use of other weapons, smashed that other's head by means of his mace. Brave combatants, desirous of safety where there was no safety, dragged one another by the hair, and fought fiercely with fists, and teeth and nails. Here was a hero whose upraised arm with sword in grasp was cut off, There another's arm was lopped off with bow, or arrow or hook in grasp. Here one loudly called upon another. There another turned his back on the field. Here one severed another's head from his trunk, getting him within reach. There another rushed with loud shouts Upon an enemy. Here one was filled with fear at another's roar. There another slew with sharp shafts a friend or a foe. Here an elephant, huge as a hill, slain with a long shaft, fell down en the field and lay like a flat island in a river during the summer season. There an elephant, with sweat trickling down its body, like a mountain with rills flowing adown its breast, steed, having crushed by its tread a car-warrior with his steeds and charioteer on the field. Beholding brave warriors, accomplished in arms and covered with blood, strike one another, they that were timid and of weak hearts, lost their senses. In fact, all became cheerless. Nothing could any longer be distinguished. Overwhelmed with the dust raised by the troops, the battle became furious. Then the commander of the Pandava forces saying, 'This is the time,' speedily led the Pandavas on those heroes that are always endued with great activity. Obeying his behest, the mighty-armed Pandavas, smiting (the Katirava army) proceeded towards Drona's car like swans towards a lake,--'Seize him,'---'Do not fly away,'--'Do not fear,'--'Cut into pieces,'--these uproarious cries were heard in the vicinity of Drona's car. Then Drona and Kripa, and Karna and Drona's son, and king Jayadratha, and Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti, and Salya, received those heroes. Those irresistible and invincible warriors, however, viz., the Panchalas and the Pandavas, inspired by noble sentiments, did not, though afflicted with shafts, avoid Drona. Then Drona, excited with great rage, shot hundreds of shafts, and caused a great carnage amongst the Chedis, the Panchalas, and the Pandavas. The twang of his bowstring and the slaps of his palms, were, O sire, heard on all sides. And they resembled the roar of thunder and struck fear into the hearts of all. Meanwhile, Jishnu, having vanquished large number of Samsaptakas, quickly came to that place where Drona was grinding the Pandava troops. Having crossed many large lakes whose waters were constituted by blood, and whose fierce billows and eddies were constituted by shafts, and having slain the Samsaptakas, Phalguni showed himself there. Possessed of great fame and endued as he was with the energy of the Sun himself, Arjuna's emblem, viz., his banner bearing the ape, was beheld by us to blaze with splendour. Having dried up the Samsaptaka ocean by means of weapons that constituted his rays, the son of Pandu then blasted the Kurus also, as if he were the very Sun that arises at the end of the Yuga. Indeed, Arjuna scorched all the Kurus by the heat of his weapons, like the fire* that appears at the end of the Yuga, burning down all creatures. [* The word in the original is dhumaketu. Elsewhere I have rendered it comet. It would seem, however, that is wrong. In such passages the word is used in its literal sense, viz., "(an article) having smoke for its mark," hence fire.] Struck by him with thousands of shafts, elephant warriors and horsemen and car-warriors fell down on the earth, with dishevelled hair, and exceedingly afflicted with those arrowy showers, some uttered cries of distress. Others set up loud shouts. And some struck with the shafts of Partha, fell down deprived of life. Recollecting the practices of (good) warriors, Arjuna struck not those combatants among the foe that had fallen down, or those that were retreating, or those that were unwilling to fight. Deprived of their cars and filled with wonder, almost all the Kauravas, turning away from the field, uttered cries of Oh and Alas and called upon Karna (for protection). Hearing that din made by the Kurus, desirous of protection, Adhiratha's son (Karna), loudly assuring the troops with the words 'Do not fear' proceeded to face Arjuna. Then (Karna) that foremost of Bharata car-warriors, that delighter of all the Bharatas, that first of all persons acquainted with weapons, invoked into existence the Agneya weapon. Dhananjaya, however, baffled by means of his own arrowy downpours the flights of arrows shot by Radha's son, that warrior of the blazing bow, that hero of bright shafts. And similarly, Adhiratha's son also baffled the shafts of Arjuna of supreme energy. Resisting Arjuna's weapons thus by his own, Karna uttered loud shouts and shot many shafts at his antagonist. Then Dhristadyumna and Bhima and the mighty car-warrior Satyaki, all approached Karna, and each of them pierced in with three straight shafts. The son of Radha, however, checking Arjuna's weapons by his own arrowy showers, cut off with three sharp shafts the bows of those three warriors. Their bows cut off, they looked like snakes without poison. Hurling darts at their foe from their respective cars, they uttered loud leonine shouts. Those fierce darts of great splendour and great impetuosity, looking like snakes, hurled from those mighty arms, coursed impetuously towards Karna's car. Cutting each of those darts with three straight arrows and speeding many arrows at the same time at Partha, the mighty Karna uttered a loud shout. Then Arjuna piercing Karna with seven shafts, despatched the latter's younger brother by means of his sharp shafts. Slaying Satrunjaya thus with six arrows, Partha, with a broad-headed shaft, struck off Vipatha's head as the latter stood on his car. In the very sight of the Dhritarashtras, therefore, as also of the Suta's son, the three uterine brothers of the latter were despatched by Arjuna unaided by any one. Then Bhima, jumping down from his own car, like a second Garuda, slew with his excellent sword five and ten combatants amongst those that supported Karna. Mounting once more on his car and taking up another bow, he pierced Karna with ten shafts and his charioteer and steeds with five. Dhrishtadyumna also taking up a sword and a bright shield; despatched Charmavarman and also Vrihatkshatra, the ruler of the Naishadhas. The Panchala prince then, mounting upon his own car and taking up another bow, pierced Karna with three and seventy shafts, and uttered a loud roar. Sini's grandson also, of splendour equal to that of Indra himself, taking up another bow pierced Suta's son with four and sixty shafts and roared like a lion. And cutting off Karna's bow with a couple of well-shot shafts, he once more pierced Karna on the arms and the chest with three arrows. The king Duryodhana, and Drona and Jayadratha, rescued Karna from the Satyaki-ocean, as the former was about to sink into it. And foot-soldiers and steeds and cars and elephants, belonging to thy army and numbering by hundreds, all accomplished in smitting rushed to the spot where Karna was frightening (his assailants). Then Dhrishtadyumna, and Bhima and Subhadra's son, and Arjuna himself, and Nakula, and Sahadeva, began to protect Satyaki in that battle. Even thus went on that fierce battle for the destruction of bowmen belonging to thy army and of the enemy's. All the combatants fought, reckless of their very lives. Infantry and cars and steeds and elephants were engaged with cars and infantry. Car-warriors were engaged with elephants and foot-soldiers and steeds, and cars and foot-soldiers were engaged with cars and elephants. And steeds were seen engaged with steeds, and elephants with elephants, and foot-soldiers with foot-soldiers. Even thus did that battle, marked by great confusion, take place, enhancing the delight of cannibals and carnivorous creatures, between those high-souled men facing one another fearlessly. Indeed, it largely swelled the population of Yama's kingdom. Large numbers of elephants and cars and foot-soldiers and steeds were destroyed by men, cars, steeds and elephants. And elephants were slain by elephants, and car-warriors with weapons upraised by car-warriors, and steeds by steeds, and large bodies of foot-soldiers. And elephants were slain by cars, and large steeds by large elephants and men by steeds; and steeds by foremost of car-warriors. With tongues lolling out, and teeth and eyes pressed out of their places, with coats of mail and ornaments crushed into dust, the slaughtered creatures fell down on the field. Others, again, of terrible mien were struck and thrown down on the earth by others armed with diverse and excellent weapons and sunk into the earth by the tread of steeds and elephants, and tortured and mangled by heavy cars and car wheels. And during the progress of that fierce carnage so delightful to beasts of prey and carnivorous birds and cannibals, mighty combatants, filled with wrath, and slaughtering one another careered over the field putting forth all their energy. Then when both the hosts were broken and mangled, the warriors bathed in blood, looked at each other. Meanwhile, the Sun went to his chambers in the western hills, and both the armies, O Bharata, slowly retired to their respective tents.

SECTION 33

(Abhimanyu-badha Parva)

"Sanjaya said, 'Having been first broken by Arjuna of immeasurable prowess, and owing also to the failure of Drona's vow, in consequence of Yudhishthira having been well-protected, thy warriors were regarded as defeated. All of them with coats of mail torn and covered with dust, cast anxious glances around. Retiring from the field with Drona's consent, after having been vanquished by their enemies of sure aim and humiliated by them in battle, they heard, as they proceeded, the countless merits of Phalguni praised by all creatures, and the friendship of Kesava for Arjuna spoken of by all. They passed the night like men under a curse, reflecting upon the course of events and observing perfect silence.

"Next morning, Duryodhana said unto Drona, these words, from petulance and wrath, and in great cheerlessness of heart at the sight of the prosperity of their foe. Skilled in speech, and filled with rage at the success of the foe, the king said these words in the hearing of all the troops, 'O foremost of regenerate ones, without doubt thou hast set us down for men who should be destroyed by thee. Thou didst not seize Yudhishthira today even though thou hadst got him within thy reach. That foe whom thou wouldst seize in battle is incapable of escaping thee if once thou gettest him within sight, even if he be protected by the Pandavas, aided by the very gods. Gratified, thou gavest me a boon; now, however, thou dost not act according to it. They that are noble (like thee), never falsify the hopes of one devoted to them.' Thus addressed by Duryodhana, Bharadwaja's son felt greatly ashamed. Addressing the king, he said, 'It behoveth thee not to take me to be such. I always endeavour to achieve what is agreeable to thee. The three worlds with the gods, the Asuras, the Gandharvas, the Yakshas, the Nagas and the Rakshasas, cannot defeat the force that is protected by the diadem-decked (Arjuna). There where Govinda, the Creator of the universe is, and there where Arjuna is the commander, whose might can avail, save three-eyed Mahadeva's, O lord? O sire, I tell the truly today and it will not be otherwise. Today, I will slay a mighty car-warrior, one of the foremost heroes of the Pandavas. Today I will also form an array that impenetrable by the very gods. Do, however, O king, by some means take Arjuna away from the field. There is nothing that he doth not know or cannot achieve in battle. From various places hath he acquired all that is to be known about battle.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'After Drona had said these words, the Samsaptakas once more challenged Arjuna to battle and took him away to the southern side of the field. Then an encounter took place between Arjuna and his enemies, the like of which had never been seen or heard of. On the other hand, the array formed by Drona, O king, looked resplendent. Indeed, that array was incapable of being looked at like the sun himself when in his course he reaches the meridian and scorches (everything underneath). Abhimanyu, at the command, O Bharata, of his sire's eldest brother, pierced in battle that impenetrable circular array in many places. Having achieved the most difficult feats and slain heroes by thousands, he was (at last) encountered by six heroes together. In the end, succumbing to Duhsasana's son, O lord of earth, Subhadra's son, O chastiser of foes, gave up his life. At this we were filled with great joy and the Pandavas with great grief. And after Subhadra's son had been slain, our troops were withdrawn for nightly rest.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Hearing, O Sanjaya, of the slaughter of the son (Abhimanyu), yet in his minority, of that lion among men, (viz., Arjuna), my heart seems to break into pieces. Cruel, indeed, are the duties of Kshatriyas as laid down by the legislators, in as much as brave men, desirous of sovereignty scrupled not to shoot their weapons at even a child. O son of Gavalgana, tell me how so many warriors, accomplished in arms, slew that child who, though brought up in luxury, yet careered over the field so fearlessly. Tell me, O Sanjaya, how our warriors behaved in battle with Subhadra's son immeasurable energy who had penetrated into our car-array.'

"Sanjaya said, 'That which thou askest me, O king, viz., the slaughter of Subhadra's son, I will describe to thee in detail. Listen, O monarch, with attention. I shall relate to thee how that youth, having penetrated into our ranks, played with his weapons, and how the irresistible heroes of thy army, all inspired by hope of victory, were afflicted by him. Like the denizens of a forest abounding with plants and herbs and trees, when surrounded on all sides by a forest conflagration, the warriors of thy army were all filled with fear.'"

SECTION 34

"Sanjaya said, 'Of fierce deeds in battle and above all fatigue, as proved by their feats, five sons of Pandu, with Krishna, are incapable of being resisted by the very gods. In righteousness, in deeds, in lineage, in intelligence, in achievements, in fame, in prosperity, there never was, and there never will be, another man so endued as Yudhishthira. Devoted to truth and righteousness, and with passions under control, king Yudhishthira, in consequence of his worship of the Brahmans and, diverse other virtues of similar nature, is always in the enjoyment of Heaven. The Destroyer himself at the end of the Yuga, Jamadagni's valiant son (Rama), and Bhimasena on his car,--these three, O king, are spoken of as equal. Of Partha, the wielder of Gandiva, who always achieveth his vows in battle, I do not see a proper parallel on earth. Reverence for superiors, keeping counsels, humility, self-restraint, beauty of person, and bravery--these six--are ever present in Nakula. In knowledge of scriptures, gravity, sweetness of temper, righteousness and prowess, the heroic Sahadeva is equal to the Aswins themselves. All those noble qualities that are in Krishna, all those that are in the Pandavas, all that assemblage of qualities was to be found in Abhimanyu alone. In firmness, he was equal to Yudhishthira, and in conduct to Krishna; in feats, he was the equal to Bhimasena of terrible deeds, in beauty of person, in prowess, and in knowledge of scriptures he was the equal to Dhananjaya. In humility, he was equal to Sahadeva and Nakula.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'I desire, O Suta, to hear in detail, how the invincible Abhimanyu, the son of Subhadra, hath been slain on the field of battle.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Be still, O king! Bear thy grief that is so unbearable. I shall speak to thee of the great slaughter of thy kinsmen.

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"The preceptor, O king, had formed the great circular array. In it were placed all the kings (of our side) that are each equal to Sakra himself.

At the entrance were stationed all the princes possessed of solar effulgence. All of them had taken oaths (about standing by one another). All of them had standards decked with gold. All of them were attired in red robes, and all had red ornaments. All of them had red banners and all were adorned with garlands of gold, smeared with sandal-paste and other perfumed unguents; they were decked with floral wreaths. In a body they rushed towards Arjuna's son, desirous of battle. Firm bowmen, all they numbered ten thousand. Placing thy handsome grandson, Lakshmana, at their head, all of them, sympathising with one another in joy and grief, and emulating one another in feats of courage, desiring to excel one another, and devoted to one another's good, they advanced to battle. Duryodhana, O monarch, was stationed in the midst of his forces. And the king was surrounded by the mighty car-warriors, Karna, Duhsasana, and Kripa, and had a white umbrella held over his head. And fanned with yak tails, he looked resplendent like the chief of the celestials. And at the head of that army was the commander Drona looking like the rising sun. And there stood the ruler of the Sindhus, of great beauty of person, and immovable like the cliff of Meru. Standing by the side of the ruler of the Sindhus and headed by Aswatthaman, were, O king, thy thirty sons, resembling the very gods. There also on Jayadratha's flank, were those mighty car-warriors, viz., the ruler of Gandhara, i.e., the gamester (Sakuni), and Salya, and Bhurisrava. Then commenced, the battle, fierce, and making the hairs stand on their ends, between thy warriors and those of the foe. And both sides fought, making death itself the goal.'"

SECTION 33

"Sanjaya said, 'The Parthas* then, headed by Bhimasena, approached that invincible array protected by Bharadwaja's son. [* The Parthians of Iran might be the origin of this name. The tribal homeland of the Parthians was west of the River Ochus in the northeast of the Persian Empire, near Bactria and Sogdiana. Early connexions between Iran and India are well-known. The Parthian language is Indo-Iranian.] And Satyaki, and Chekitana, and Dhrishtadyumna. the son of Prishata, and Kuntibhoja of great prowess, and the mighty car-warrior Drupada, and Arjuna's son (Abhimanyu), and Kshatradharman, and the valiant Vrihatkshatra, and Dhrishtaketu, the ruler of the Chedis, and the twin sons of Madri, (viz., Nakula and Sahadeva), and Ghatotkacha, and the powerful Yudhamanyu and the unvanquished Sikhandin, and the irresistible Uttamaujas and the mighty car-warrior Virata, and the five sons of Draupadi,--these all excited with wrath, and the valiant son of Sisupala, and the Kaikeyas of mighty energy, and the Srinjayas by thousands,--these and others, accomplished in weapons and difficult of being resisted in battle, suddenly rushed, at the head of their respective followers, against Bharadwaja's son, from a desire of battle. The valiant son of Bharadwaja, however, fearlessly checked all those warriors, as soon as they came near, with a thick shower of arrows. Like a mighty wave of waters coming against an impenetrable hill, or the surging sea itself approaching its bank, those warriors were pushed back by Drona. And the Pandavas, O king, afflicted by the shafts shot from Drona's bow, were unable to stay before him. And the strength of Drona's arms that we saw was wonderful in the extreme, inasmuch as the Panchalas and the Srinjayas failed to approach him. Beholding Drona advancing in rage. Yudhishthira thought of diverse means for checking his progress. At last, regarding Drona incapable of being resisted by any one else, Yudhishthira placed that heavy and unbearable burden on the son of Subhadra. Addressing Abhimanyu, that slayer of hostile heroes, who was not inferior to Vasudeva himself and whose energy was superior to that of Arjuna, the king said, 'O child, act in such a way that Arjuna, returning (from the Samsaptakas), may not reprove us. We do not know how to break the circular array. Thyself, or Arjuna or Krishna, or Pradyumna, can pierce that array. O mighty-armed one, no fifth person can be found (to achieve that teat). O child, it behoveth thee, O Abhimanyu, to grant the boon that thy sires, thy maternal uncles, and all these troops ask of thee. Taking up thy arms quickly, destroy this array of Drona, else Arjuna, returning from the fight, will reprove us all.'

"Abhimanyu said, 'Desiring victory to my sires, soon shall I in battle penetrate into that firm, fierce and foremost of arrays formed by Drona. I have been taught by my father the method of (penetrating and) smiting this kind of array. I shall not be able, however, to come out if any kind of danger overtakes me.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Break this array once, O foremost of warriors, and make a passage for us. All of us will follow thee in the track by which thou wilt go. In battle, thou art equal to Dhananjaya himself. Seeing thee enter, we shall follow thee, protecting thee on all sides.'

"Bhima said, 'I myself will follow thee, and Dhrishtadyumna and Satyaki, and the Panchalas, and the Prabhadrakas. After the array once is broken by thee, will enter it repeatedly and slay the foremost warriors within it.'

"Abhimanyu said, 'I will penetrate into this invincible array of Drona, like an insect filled with rage entering a blazing fire. Today, I will do that which will be beneficial to both races (viz., my sire's and my mother's). I will do that which will please my maternal uncle as also my mother. Today all creatures will behold large bodies of hostile soldiers continually slaughtered by myself, an unaided child. If anybody, encountering me, escapes today with life, I shall not then regard myself begotten by Partha and born of Subhadra. If on a single car I cannot in battle cut off the whole Kshatriya race into eight fragments, I will not regard myself the son of Arjuna.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Since protected by these tigers among men, these great bowmen endued with fierce might, these warriors that resemble the Sadhyas, the Rudras, or the Maruts, or are like the Vasus, or Agni or Aditya himself in prowess, thou venturest to pierce the invincible array of Drona, and since thou speakest so, let thy strength, O son of Subhadra be increased.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Hearing these words of Yudhishthira, Abhimanyu ordered his charioteer, Sumitra, saying, Quickly urge the steeds towards Drona's army.'"

SECTION 36

"Sanjaya said, 'Hearing these words of the intelligent Yudhishthira, the son of Subhadra, O Bharata, urged his charioteer towards Drona's array. The charioteer, urged by him with the words, 'Proceed, Proceed,' replied unto Abhimanyu, O king, in these words, 'O thou that art blest with length of days, heavy is the burthen that hath been placed upon thee by the Pandavas! Ascertaining by thy judgement as to whether thou art able to bear it or not, thou shouldst then engage in battle. The preceptor Drona is a master of superior weapons and accomplished (in battle). Thou, however, hast been brought up in great luxury and art unused to battle.'

"Hearing these words, Abhimanyu replied unto his charioteer, saying with a laugh, 'O charioteer, who is this Drona? What, again, is this vast assemblage of Kshatriyas? Sakra himself on his Airavata and aided by all the celestials, I would encounter in battle. I do not feel the slightest anxiety about all these Kshatriyas today. This hostile army doth not come up to even a sixteen part of myself. O son of a Suta, getting my maternal uncle Vishnu himself, the conqueror of the universe or my sire, Arjuna, as an antagonist in battle, fear would not enter my heart.' Abhimanyu then, thus disregarding those words of the charioteer, urged the latter, saying, 'Go with speed towards the army of Drona.' Thus commanded, the charioteer, with a heart scarcely cheerful, urged Abhimanyu's three-year old steeds, decked with golden trappings. Those coursers, urged by Sumitra towards Drona's army, rushed towards Drona himself, O king, with great speed and prowess. Beholding him coming (towards them) in that way, al! the Kauravas, headed by Drona, advanced against him, as, indeed, the Pandavas followed him behind. Then Arjuna's son, superior to Arjuna's self eased in golden mail and owning an excellent standard that bore the device of a Karnikara tree, fearlessly encountered, from desire of battle, warriors headed by Drona, like a lion-cub assailing a herd of elephants. Those warriors then, filled with joy, began to strike Abhimanyu while he endeavoured to pierce their array. And for a moment an agitation took place there, like to the eddy that is seen in the ocean where the current of the Ganga mingles with it. The battle, O king, that commenced there, between those struggling heroes striking one another, became fierce and terrible. And during the progress of that awful battle, Arjuna's son, in the very sight of Drona, breaking that array, penetrated into it. Then large bodies of elephants and steeds and cars and infantry, filled with joy, encompassed that mighty warrior after he had thus penetrated into the midst of the foe, and commenced to smite him. [Causing the earth to resound] with noise of diverse musical instruments, with shouts and slaps of arm-pits and roars, with yells and leonine shouts, with exclamations of 'Wait, Wait,' with fierce confused voices with cries of, 'Do not go, Wait, Come to me', with repeated exclamations of, 'This one, It is I, The foe,' with grunt of elephants, with the tinkling of bells and ornaments, with bursts of laughter, and the clatter of horse-hoofs and car-wheels, the (Kaurava) warriors rushed at the son of Arjuna. That mighty hero, however, endued with great lightness of hands and having a knowledge of the vital parts of the body, quickly shooting weapons capable of penetrating into the very vitals, stew those advancing warriors. Slaughtered by means of sharp shafts of diverse kinds, those warriors became perfectly helpless, and like insects falling upon a blazing fire, they continued to fall upon Abhimanyu on the field of battle. And Abhimanyu strewed the earth with their bodies and diverse limbs of their bodies like priests strewing the altar at a sacrifice with blades of Kusa grass. And Arjuna's son cut off by thousands the arms of those warriors. And some of these were eased in corslets made of iguana skin and some held bows and shafts, and some held swords or shields or iron hooks and reins; and some, lances of battle axes. And some held maces or iron balls or spears and some, rapiers and crow-bars and axes. And some grasped short arrows, or spiked maces, or darts, or Kampanas. And some had goads and prodigious conchs; and some bearded darts and Kachagrahas. And some had mallets and some other kinds of missiles. And some had nooses, and some heavy clubs, and some brickbats. And all those arms were decked with armlets and laved with delightful perfumes and unguents. And with those arms dyed with gore and looking bright the field of battle became beautiful, as if strewn, O sire, with five-headed snakes slain by Garuda. And Phalguni's son also scattered over the field of battle countless heads of foes, heads graced with beautiful noses and faces and locks, without pimples, and adorned with ear-rings. Blood flowed from those heads copiously, and the nether-lips in all were bit with wrath. Adorned with beautiful garlands and crowns and turbans and pearls and gems, and possessed of splendour equal to that of the sun or the moon, they seemed to be like lotuses severed from their stalks. Fragrant with many perfumes, while life was in them, they could speak words both agreeable and beneficial. Diverse cars, well-equipped, and looking like the vapoury edifices in the welkin, with shafts in front and excellent bamboo poles and looking beautiful with the standards set up on them, were deprived of their Janghas, and Kuvaras, and Nemis, and Dasanas, and wheels, and standards and terraces. And the utensils of war in them were all broken [Janghas, etc., are diverse limbs of cars used in battle.]. And the rich clothes with which they were overlaid, were blown away, and the warriors on them were slain by thousands. Mangling everything before him with his shafts, Abhimanyu was seen coursing on all sides. With his keen-edged weapons, he cut into pieces elephant-warriors, and elephants with standards and hooks and banners, and quivers and coats of mail, and girths and neck-ropes and blankets, and bells and trunks and tusks as also the foot-soldiers that protected those elephants from behind. And many steeds of the Vanayu, the hilly, the Kamvoja, and the Valhika breeds, with tails and ears and eyes motionless and fixed, possessed of great speed, well-trained, and ridden by accomplished warriors armed with swords and lances, were seen to be deprived of the excellent ornaments on their beautiful tails. And many lay with tongues lolling out and eyes detached from their sockets, and entrails and livers drawn out. And the riders on their backs lay lifeless by their sides. And the rows of bells that adorned them were all torn. Strewn over the field thus, they caused great delight to Rakshasas and beasts of prey. With coats of mail and other leathern armour (casing their limbs) cut open, they weltered in excreta ejected by themselves. Thus slaying many foremost of steeds of thy army, Abhimanyu looked resplendent. Alone achieving the most difficult feat, like the inconceivable Vibhu himself in days of old, Abhimanyu crushed thy vast host of three kinds of forces (cars, elephants, and steeds), like the three-eyed (Mahadeva) of immeasurable energy crushing the terrible Asura host. Indeed, Arjuna's son, having achieved in battle feats incapable of being borne by his foes, everywhere mangled large divisions of foot-soldiers belonging to thy army. Beholding then thy host extensively slaughtered by Subhadra's son single-handed with his whetted shafts like the Asura host by Skanda (the celestial generalissimo), thy warriors and thy sons cast vacant looks on all sides. Their mouths became dry; their eyes became restless; their bodies were covered with sweat; and their hairs stood on their ends. Hopeless of vanquishing their foe, they set their hearts on flying away from the field. Desirous of saving their lives, called one another by their names and the names of their families, and abandoning their wounded sons and sires and brothers and kinsmen and relatives by marriage lying around on the field, they endeavoured to fly away, urging their steeds and elephants (to their utmost speed).'"

SECTION 37

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding his army routed by Subhadra's son of immeasurable energy, Duryodhana, filled with rage, himself proceeded against the former. Seeing the king turn back towards Subhadra's son in battle, Drona, addressing all the (Kaurava) warriors, said, 'Rescue the king. Before us, in our very sight, the valiant Abhimanyu is slaying all he aims at. Rush ye, therefore, speedily against him, without fear and protect the Kuru king.' Then many grateful and mighty warriors, having Duryodhana's good at heart, and always graced with victory, inspired with fear, surrounded thy son. And Drona, and Drona's son, and Kripa and Karna and Kritavarman and Suvala's son, Vrihadvala, and the ruler of the Madras, and Bhuri, and Bhurisravas, and Sala, and Paurava and Vrishasena, shooting sharp shafts, checked Subhadra's son by means of those arrowy showers. Confounding him with those showers of shafts, they rescued Duryodhana. The son of Arjuna, however, brooked not that act of snatching a morsel from his mouth. Covering those mighty car-warriors, their charioteers, and steeds with thick showers of arrows and causing them to turn back, the son of Subhadra uttered a leonine roar. Hearing that roar of his, resembling that of a lion hungering after prey, these angry

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car-warriors, headed by Drona, brooked it not. Encompassing him on all sides, O sire, with a large body of cars they shot at him showers of diverse kinds of arrows. The grandson, however, cut them off in the welkin (before any of them could reach him) by means of sharp shafts, and then pierced all of them with his shafts. That feat of his seemed exceedingly wonderful. Provoked by him thus by means of those shafts of his that resembled snakes of virulent poison, they surrounded that unretreating son of Subhadra, desirous of slaying him. That sea of (Kaurava) troops, however, O bull of Bharata's race, the son of Arjuna singly held in check by means of his shafts, like the continent resisting the surging ocean. And among those heroes thus fighting with and striking one another, viz., Abhimanyu and his man on one side and all those warriors together on the other, none turned back from the field. In that dreadful and fierce battle, Duhsaha pierced Abhimanyu with nine shafts. And Duhsasana pierced him with a dozen; and Saradwata's son Kripa, with three. And Drona pierced him with seventeen shafts, each resembling a snake of virulent poison. And Vivinsati, pierced him with seventy shafts, and Kritavarman with seven. And Vrihadvala pierced him with eight, and Aswatthaman with seven shafts. And Bhurisrava pierced him with three shafts and the ruler of the Madras with six. And Sakuni pierced him with two, and king Duryodhana with three shafts. The valiant Abhimanyu, however, O king, seemingly dancing on his car, pierced each of those warriors in return with three shafts. Then Abhimanyu, filled with rage in consequence of thy sons' endeavouring to frighten him thus, displayed the wonderful strength he had acquired from culture and practice. Borne by his well-broken steeds, endued with the speed of Garuda or the Wind, and thoroughly obedient to the behests of him who held their reins, he quickly checked the heir of Asmaka. Staying before him, the handsome son of Asmaka, endued with great might, pierced him with ten shafts and addressing him, said, 'Wait, Wait.' Abhimanyu then, with ten shafts, cut off the former's steeds and charioteer and standard and two arms and bow and head, and caused them to fall down on the earth, smiling the while. After the heroic ruler of the Asmakas had thus been slain by the son of Subhadra, the whole of his force wavered and began to fly away from the field. Then Karna and Kripa, and Drona and Drona's son, and the ruler of the Gandharas, and Sala and Salya, and Bhurisravas and Kratha, and Somadatta, and Vivinsati, and Vrishasena, and Sushena, and Kundavedhin, and Pratardana, and Vrindaraka and Lalithya, and Pravahu, and Drighalochana, and angry Duryodhana, showered their arrows upon him. Then Abhimanyu, excessively pierced by those great bowmen with their straight shafts, shot shafts at Karna which was capable of piercing through every armour and body. That shaft, piercing through Karna's coat of mail and then his body, entered the earth like a snake piercing through an anthill. Deeply pierced, Karna felt great pain and became perfectly helpless. Indeed, Karna began to tremble in that battle like a hill during an earthquake. Then with three other shafts of great sharpness, the mighty son of Arjuna, excited with rage, slew those three warriors, viz., Sushena, Drighalochana, and Kundavedhin. Meanwhile, Karna (recovering from the shock) pierced Abhimanyu with five and twenty shafts. And Aswatthaman struck him with twenty, and Kritavarman with seven. Covered all over with arrows, that son of Sakra's son, filled with rage, careered over the field. And he was regarded by all the troops as Yama's self armed with the noose. He then scattered over Salya, who happened to be near him thick showers of arrows. That mighty-armed warrior then uttered loud shouts, frightening thy troops therewith. Meanwhile, Salya, pierced by Abhimanyu accomplished in weapons, with straight shafts penetrating into his very vitals, sat down on the terrace of his car and fainted away. Beholding Salya thus pierced by the celebrated son of Subhadra, all the troops fled away in the very sight of Bharadwaja's son. Seeing that mighty-armed warrior, viz., Salya, thus covered with shafts of golden wings, thy army fled away like a head of deer attacked by a lion. And Abhimanyu glorified by the Pitris, the gods, and Charanas, and Siddhas, as also by diverse classes of creatures on the earth, with praises about (his heroism and skill in) battle, looked resplendent like a sacrificial fire fed with clarified butter.'"

SECTION 38

"Dhritarashtra said, 'While Arjuna's son was thus grinding, by means of his straight arrows, our foremost bowmen, what warriors of my army endeavoured to check him?'

"Sanjaya said, 'Hear, O king, of the splendid prowess in battle of youthful Abhimanyu while engaged in breaking the car-ranks (of the Kauravas), protected by the son of Bharadwaja himself.'

"Beholding the ruler of the Madras disabled in battle by Subhadra's son with his shafts, the younger brother of Salya, filled with wrath, advanced against Abhimanyu, scattering his shafts. Arjuna's son however. endued with great lightness of hand, cut off his antagonist's head and charioteer, his triple bamboo-pole, his bed (on the car), his car-wheels, his yoke, and shafts and quiver, and car-bottom, by means of his arrows, as also his banner and every other implements of battle with which his car was equipped. So quick were his movements that none could obtain a sight of his person. Deprived of life, that foremost and chief of all ornaments of battle fell down on the earth, like a huge hill uprooted by a mighty tempest. His followers then, struck with fear, fled away in all directions. Beholding that feat of the son of Arjuna, all creatures were highly gratified, and cheered him, O Bharata, with loud shouts of 'Excellent, Excellent!'

"After Salya's brother had thus been slain, many followers of his, loudly proclaiming their families, places of residence, and names, rushed against Arjuna's son, filled with rage and armed With diverse weapons. Some of them were on cars, some on steeds and some on elephants; and others advanced on foot. And all of them were endued with fierce might. And they rushed frightening the son of Arjuna with the loud whiz of their arrows, the deep roar of their car-wheels, their fierce whoops and shouts and cries, their leonine roars, the loud twang of their bow-string, and the slaps of their palms. And they said, 'Thou shalt not escape us with life today!' Hearing them say so, the son of Subhadra, smiling the while, pierced with his shafts those amongst them that had pierced him first. Displaying diverse weapons of beautiful look and of great celerity, the heroic son of Arjuna battled mildly with them. Those weapons that he had received from Vasudeva and those that he had received from Dhananjaya, Abhimanyu displayed in the very same way as Vasudeva and Dhananjaya. Disregarding the heavy burthen he had taken upon himself and casting off all fear, he repeatedly shot his arrows. No interval, again, could be noticed between his aiming and letting off an arrow. Only his trembling bow drawn to a circle could be seen on every side, looking like the blazing disc of the autumnal sun. And the twang of his bow, and the slap of his palms, O Bharata, were heard to resound like the roaring of clouds charged with thunder. Modest, wrathful, reverential to superiors, and exceedingly handsome, the son of Subhadra, out of regard for the hostile heroes, fought with them mildly. Commencing gently, O king, he gradually became fierce, like the illustrious maker of the day when autumn comes after the season of the rains is over. Like the Sun himself shedding his rays, Abhimanyu, filled with wrath, shot hundreds and thousands of whetted arrows, furnished with golden wings. In the very sight of Bharadwaja's son, that celebrated warrior covered the car-division of the Kaurava army with diverse kinds of arrows. [I omit the names as they occur in the text. These are: (1st) Kshurupras, i.e., arrows sharp as razors, (2nd) Vatsadantas, i.e., arrows having heads like the calf-tooth, (3rd) Vipathas, i.e., long arrows having stout bodies, (4th) Narachas, long arrows; Ardhachandrabhais, i.e., looking like shafts furnished with heads of the form of the half-moon; it is an adjective qualifying Narachis, (5th) Anjalikas were broad-headed shafts.] Thereupon, that army thus afflicted by Abhimanyu with his shafts, turned its back on the field.'"

SECTION 39

"Dhritarashtra said, 'My heart, O Sanjaya, is agitated with different emotions, viz., shame and gratification, upon hearing that Subhadra's son singly held in cheek the whole army of my son. O son of Gavalgana, ten me everything once more in detail about the encounter of youthful Abhimanyu, which seems to have been pretty like Skanda's encounter with the Asura host.'

"Sanjaya said, 'I will relate to thee that fearful encounter that fierce battle, as it took place between one and the many. Mounted upon his car, Abhimanyu, with great daring, showered his arrows on the warriors of thy army mounted on their cars, all of whom were chastisers of foes, endued with great courage. Careering with great speed like a circle of fire, he pierced Drona and Karna, and Kripa, and Salya and Drona's son, and Kritavarman of the Bhoja race, and Vrihadvala, and Duryodhana, and Somadatta, and mighty Sakuni, and diverse kings and diverse princes and diverse bodies of troops. While engaged in slaying his foes by means of superior weapons, the valiant son of Subhadra, endued with mighty energy, seemed, O Bharata, to be present everywhere. Beholding that conduct of Subhadra's son of immeasurable energy, thy troops trembled repeatedly. Seeing that warrior of great proficiency in battle, Bharadwaja's son of great wisdom, with eyes expanded in joy, quickly came towards Kripa, and addressing him said, as if crushing (by that speech of his) the very vitals of thy son, O Bharata, the following words, 'Yonder cometh the youthful son of Subhadra at the head of the Parthas, delighting all his friends, and king Yudhishthira, and Nakula, and Sahadeva, and Bhimasena, the son of Pandu, and all his kinsmen, and relatives by marriage, and all who are watching the battle as spectators without taking any part in it. I do not regard any bowman to be his equal in battle. If only he entertains the wish, he can slay this vast host. It seems, that for some reason or other, he doth not entertain that wish.' Hearing these words of Drona, so expressive of the gratification he felt, thy son, enraged with Abhimanyu, looked at Drona, faintly smiling the while. Indeed, Duryodhana said unto Karna and king Valhika and Duhsasana and the ruler of the Madras and the many other mighty car-warriors of his army, these words, 'The preceptor of the entire order of the Kshatriyas,--he that is the foremost of all conversant with Brahma, doth not, from stupefaction, wish to slay this son of Arjuna. None can, in battle, escape the preceptor with life, not even the Destroyer himself, if the latter advanceth against the preceptor as a foe. What, O friend, shall we say then of any mortal? I say this truly. This one is the son of Arjuna, and Arjuna is the preceptor's disciple. It is for this that the preceptor protecteth this youth. Disciples and sons and their sons are always dear to the virtuous people. Protected by Drona, the youthful son of Arjuna regardeth himself valourous. He is only a fool entertaining a high opinion of himself. Crush him, therefore, without delay.' Thus addressed by the Kuru king, those warriors, O monarch, excited with rage and desirous of slaying their foe, rushed, in the very sight of Drona at the son of Subhadra that daughter of the Satwata race. Duhsasana, in particular, that tiger among the Kurus, hearing those words of Duryodhana, answered the latter, saying, 'O monarch, I tell thee that even I will slay this one in the very sight of the Pandavas and before the eyes of the Panchalas. I shall certainly devour the son of Subhadra today, like Rahu swallowing Surya (sun).' And once more addressing the Kuru king loudly, Duhsasana said, 'Hearing that Subhadra's son hath been slain by me, the two Krishnas, who are exceedingly vain, will without doubt, go to the region of the departed spirits, leaving this world of men. Hearing then of the death of the two Krishnas, it is evident that the other sons born of Pandu's wives, with all their friends, will, in course of a single day, cast away their lives from despair. It is evident, therefore, that this one foe of thine being slain, all thy foes will be slain. Wish me well, O king, even I will slay this foe of thine.' Having said these words, O king, thy son Duhsasana, filled with rage and uttering a loud roar, rushed against the son of Subhadra and covered him with showers of arrows. Abhimanyu then, O chastiser of foes, received that son of thine thus advancing upon him wrathfully, with six and twenty arrows of sharp points. Duhsasana, however, filled with rage, and looking like an infuriated elephant, fought desperately with Abhimanyu, the son of Subhadra in that battle. Both of them masters in car-fight, they fought on describing beautiful circles with their cars, one of them to the left and other to the right. The warriors then, with their Panavas and Mridangas and Dundubhis and Krakachas and great Anakas and Bheris and Jharjaras, caused a deafening noise mingled with leonine roars, such as arise from the great receptacle of salt waters!"

SECTION 40

"Sanjaya said, 'Then the intelligent Abhimanyu, with limbs mangled with arrows, smilingly addressed his foe, Duhsasana, stationed before him saying, 'By good luck it is that I behold in battle that vain hero arrived before me, who is cruel, who hath cast away all righteousness, and who brawleth out lustily his own praises. In the assembly (for the Kurus) and in the hearing of king Dhritarashtra, thou hadst, with thy harsh speeches, angered king Yudhishthira. Relying on the deception of the dice and the skill (therein) of Suvala's son, thou hadst also maddened by success, addressed many delirious speech to Bhima! 1 In consequence of the anger of those illustrious persons, thou art, at last, about to obtain the fruit of that conduct of thine! O thou of wicked understanding, obtain thou without delay the fruit* of the robbery of other people's possessions, wrathfulness, of thy hatred of peace, of avarice, of ignorance, of hostilities (with kinsmen), of injustice and persecution, of depriving my sires--those fierce bowmen--of their kingdom, and of thy own fierce temper. [*The fruit being the present encounter with Abhimanyu in which Duhsasana, according to Abhimanyu, shall have to lay down his life.] I shall today chastise thee with my arrows in the sight of the whole army. Today, I shall in battle disburden myself of that wrath which I cherish against thee. I shall today free myself of the debt I owe to angry Krishna and to my sire who always craveth for an opportunity to chastise thee. O Kaurava, today I shall free myself of the debt I owe to Bhima. With life thou shalt not escape me, if indeed, thou dost not abandon the battle.' Having said these words, that mighty-armed warrior, that slayer of hostile heroes, aimed a shaft endued with the splendour of Yama or of Agni or of the Wind-god, capable of despatching Duhsasana to the other world. Quickly approaching Duhsasana's bosom, that shaft fell upon his shoulder-joint and penetrated into his body up to the very wings, like a snake into an ant-hill. And soon Abhimanyu once more struck him with five and twenty arrows whose touch resembled that of fire, and which were sped from his bow drawn to its fullest stretch, Deeply pierced and greatly pained, Duhsasana, sat down on the terrace of his car and was, O king, overtaken by a swoon. Afflicted thus by the arrows of Subhadra's son and deprived of his senses, Duhsasana. was speedily borne away from the midst of the fight by his charioteer. Beholding this, the Pandavas, the five sons of Draupadi, Virata, the Panchalas, and the Kekayas, uttered leonine shouts. And the troops of the Pandavas, filled with joy, caused diverse kinds of musical instruments to be beat and blown. Beholding that feat of Subhadra's son they

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laughed with joy. Seeing that implacable and proud foe of theirs thus vanquished, those mighty car-warriors, viz., the (five) sons of Draupadi, who had on their banners the images of Yama and Maruta and Sakra and the twin Aswins, and Satyaki, and Chekitana, and Dhrishtadyumna, and Sikhandin, and the Kekayas, and Dhrishtaketu, and the Matsyas, Panchalas, and the Srinjayas, and the Pandavas headed by Yudhishthira, were filled with joy. And all of them rushed with speed, desirous of piercing Drona's array. Then a dreadful battle took place between the warriors and those of the foe, All of them were unretreating heroes, and inspired by desire of victory. During the progress of that dreadful encounter, Duryodhana, O monarch, addressing the son of Radha, said, 'Behold, the heroic Duhsasana, who resembleth the scorching sun who was hitherto slaying the foe in battle, hath at last himself succumbed to Abhimanyu. The Pandavas also, filled with rage and looking fierce like mighty lions, are rushing towards us, desirous of rescuing the son of Subhadra.' Thus addressed, Karna with rage and desirous of doing good to thy son, rained showers of sharp arrows on the invincible Abhimanyu. And the heroic Karna, as if in contempt of his antagonist, also pierced the latter's followers on the field of battle, with many excellent shafts of great sharpness. The high-souled Abhimanyu, however, O king, desirous of proceeding against Drona, quickly pierced Radha's son with three and seventy shafts. No car-warrior of thy army succeeded at that time in obstructing the progress towards Drona, of Abhimanyu, who was the son of Indra's son and who was afflicting all the foremost car-warriors of the Kaurava host. Then Karna, the most honoured of all bowmen, desirous of obtaining victory, pierced the son of Subhadra with hundreds of arrows, displacing his best weapons. That foremost of all persons conversant with weapons, that valiant disciple of Rama, by means of his weapons, thus afflicted Abhimanyu who was incapable of being defeated by foes. Though afflicted in battle by Radha's son with showers of weapons, still Subhadra's son who resembled a very celestial (for prowess) felt no pain. With his shafts whetted on stone and furnished with sharp points, the son of Arjuna, cutting off the bows of many heroic warriors, began to afflict Karna in return. With shafts resembling snakes of virulent poison and shot from his bow drawn to a circle, Abhimanyu quickly cut off the umbrella, standard, the charioteer, and the steeds of Karna, smiling the while. Karna then shot five straight arrows at Abhimanyu. The son of Phalguna, however, received them fearlessly. Endued with great valour and courage, the latter then, in a moment, with only a single arrow, cut off Karna's bow and standard and caused them to drop down on the ground. Beholding Karna in such distress, his younger brother, drawing the bow with great force, speedily proceeded against the son of Subhadra. The Parthas then, and their followers uttered loud shouts and beat their musical instruments and applauded the son of Subhadra [for his heroism].'"

SECTION 41

"Sanjaya said, 'Then the younger brother of Karna, uttering loud roars, bow in hand, and repeatedly stretching the bow-string, quickly placed himself between those two illustrious warriors. And Karna's brother, with ten shafts, pierced invincible Abhimanyu and his umbrella and standard and charioteer and steeds, smiling the while. Beholding Abhimanyu thus afflicted with those arrows, although he had achieved those superhuman feats in the manner of his sire and grandsire, the warriors of thy army were filled with delight. Then Abhimanyu, forcibly bending the bow and smiling the while, with one winged arrow cut off his antagonist's head. That head, severed from the trunk, fell down on the earth. Beholding his brother slain and overthrown, like a Karnikara tree shaken and thrown down by the wind from the mountain top, Karna, O monarch, was filled with pain. Meanwhile, the son of Subhadra, causing Karna by means of his arrows to turn away from the field, quickly rushed against the other great bowmen. Then Abhimanyu of fierce energy and great fame, filled with wrath, broke that host of diverse forces abounding with elephants and steeds and cars and infantry. As regards Karna, afflicted by Abhimanyu with countless shafts, he fled away from the field borne by swift steeds. The Kaurava array then broke. When the welkin was covered with Abhimanyu's shafts, like flights of locusts or thick showers of rain, nothing, O monarch, could be distinguished. Amongst thy warriors thus slaughtered by Abhimanyu with sharp shafts, none, O monarch, stayed any longer on the field of battle except the ruler of the Sindhus. Then that bull among men, viz., the son of Subhadra, blowing his conch, speedily, fell upon the Bharata host, O bull of Bharata's race! Like a burning brand thrown into the midst of dry grass, Arjuna's son began to consume his foes, quickly careering through the Kaurava army. Having pierced through their array, he mangled cars and elephants and steeds and human beings by means of his sharp shafts and caused the field of battle teem with headless trunks. Cut off by means of excellent arrows shot from the bow of Subhadra's son, the Kaurava warriors fled away, slaying, as they fled, their own comrades before them. Those fierce arrows, of terrible effect whetted on stone and, countless in number, slaying car-warriors and elephants, steeds, fell fast on the field. Arms, decked with Angadas and other ornaments of gold, cut off and hands cased in leathern covers, and arrows, and bows, and bodies and heads decked with car-rings and floral wreaths, lay in thousands on the field. Obstructed with Upashkaras and Adhishthanas and long poles also with crushed Akshas and broken wheels and yokes, numbering thousands, With darts and bows and swords and fallen standards, and with shields and bows lying all about, with the bodies, O monarch, of slain Kshatriyas and steeds and elephants, the field of battle, looking exceedingly fierce, soon became impassable. The noise made by the princes, as they called upon One another while slaughtered by Abhimanyu, became deafening and enhanced the fears of the timid. That noise, O chief of the Bharatas, filled all the points of the compass. The son of Subhadra, rushed against the (Kaurava) troops, slaying foremost of car-warriors and steeds and elephants, Quickly consuming his foes, like a fire playing in the midst of a heap of dry grass, the son of Arjuna was seen careering through the midst of the Bharata army. Encompassed as he was by our troops and covered with dust, none of us could obtain a sight of that warrior when, O Bharata, he was careening over the field in all directions, cardinal and subsidiary. And he took the lives of steeds and elephants and human warriors, O Bharata, almost incessantly. And soon after we saw him (come out of the press). Indeed, O monarch, we beheld him then scorching his foes like the meridian sun (scorching everything with his rays). Equal to Vasava himself in battle, that son of Vasava's son viz., Abhimanyu, looked resplendent in the midst of the (hostile) army.'"

SECTION 42

"Dhritarashtra said, A mere child in years, brought up in great luxury, proud of the strength of his arms, accomplished in battle, endued with great heroism, the perpetuator of his race, and prepared to lay down his life--when Abhimanyu penetrated into the Katirava army, borne on his three-years old steeds of spirited mettle, was there any of great warriors, in Yudhishthira's army, that followed the son of Arjuna?'

"Sanjaya said, 'Yudhishthira and Bhimasena, and Sikhandin and Satyaki, and the twins Nakula and Sahadeva, and Dhrishtadyumna and Virata, and Drupada, and Kekaya, and Dhristaketu, all filled with wrath, and the Matsya warrior, rushed to battle. Indeed, Abhimanyu's sires accompanied by his maternal uncles, those smiters of foes, arrayed in order of battle rushed along the self-same path that Abhimanyu had created, desirous of rescuing him.. Beholding those heroes rushing, thy troops turned away from the fight. Seeing then that vast army of thy son turning away from the fight, the son-in-law of great energy rushed to rally them. Indeed, king Jayadratha, the son of the ruler of the Sindhus, checked, with all their followers, the Parthas, desirous of rescuing their son. That fierce and great bowman, viz. the son of Vriddhakshatra, invoking into existence celestial weapons resisted the Pandavas, like an elephant sporting in a low land.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'I think, Sanjaya, that heavy was the burthen thrown upon the ruler of the Sindhus, inasmuch as alone he had to resist the angry Pandavas desirous of rescuing their son. Exceedingly wonderful, I think, was the might and heroism of the ruler of the Sindhus. Tell me what the high-souled warrior's prowess was and how he accomplished that foremost of feats. What gifts did he make, what libations had he poured, what sacrifices had he performed, what ascetic austerities had he well undergone, in consequence of which, single-handed, he succeeded in checking Parthas excited with wrath?'

"Sanjaya said, 'On the occasion of his insult to Draupadi, Jayadratha was vanquished by Bhimasena. From a keen sense of his humiliation, the king practised the severest of ascetic austerities, desirous of a boon. Restraining his senses from all objects dear to them, bearing hunger, thirst and heat, he reduced his body till his swollen veins became visible. Uttering the eternal words of the Veda, he paid his adoration to the god Mahadeva. That illustrious Deity, always inspired with compassion for his devotees, at last, became kind towards him. Indeed, Hara, appearing in a dream unto the ruler of the Sindhus, addressed him, saying 'Solicit the boon thou desirest. I am gratified with thee, O Jayadratha! What dost thou desire?' Thus addressed by Mahadeva, Jayadratha, the ruler of the Sindhus, bowed down unto him and said with joined palms and restrained soul, 'Alone, on a single car, I shall check in battle all the sons of Pandu, endued though they are with terrible energy and prowess.' Even this, O Bharata, was the boon he had solicited. Thus prayed to that foremost of the deities said unto Jayadratha, 'O amiable one, I grant thee the boon. Except Dhananjaya, the son of Pritha, thou shalt in battle check the four other sons of Pandu.' 'So be it,' said Jayadratha unto that Lord of the gods and then awoke, O monarch, from his slumber. In consequence of that boon which he had received and of the strength also of his celestial weapons, Jayadratha, single-handed, held in check the entire army of the Pandavas. The twang of his bow-string and the slaps of his palms inspired the hostile Kshatriyas with fear, filling thy troops, at the same time with delight. And the Kshatriyas (of the Kuru army), beholding that the burthen was taken up by the ruler of the Sindhus, rushed with loud shouts, O monarch, to that part of the field where Yudhishthira's army was'."

SECTION 43

"Sanjaya said, 'Thou askest me, O monarch, about the prowess of the ruler of the Sindhus. Listen to me as I describe in detail how he fought with the Pandavas. Large steeds of the Sindhu breed, well-trained and fleet as the wind, and obedient to the commands of the charioteer, bore him (on that occasion). His car, duly equipped, looked like a vapoury edifice in the welkin. His standard bearing the device of a large boar in silver, looked exceedingly beautiful. With his white umbrella and banners, and the yak-tails with which he was fanned--which are regal indications--he shone like the Moon himself in the firmament. His car-fence made of iron was decked with pearls and diamonds and gems and gold. And it looked resplendent like the firmament bespangled with luminous bodies. Drawing his large bow and scattering countless shafts, he once more filled up that array in those places where openings had been made by the son of Arjuna. And he pierced Satyaki with three arrows, and Vrikodara with eight; and having pierced Dhrishtadyumna. with sixty arrows, he pierced Drupada with five sharp ones, and Sikhandin with ten. Piercing then the Kaikeyas with five and twenty arrows, Jayadratha pierced each of the five sons of Draupadi with three arrows. And piercing Yudhishthira then with seventy arrows, the ruler of the Sindhus pierced the other heroes of the Pandava army with thick showers of shafts. And that feat of his seemed exceedingly wonderful. Then, O monarch, the valiant son of Dharma, aiming Jayadratha's bow, cut it off with a polished and well-tempered shaft, smiling the while. Within the twinkling, however, of the eye, the ruler of the Sindhus took up another bow and piercing Pratha (Yudhishthira) with ten arrows struck each of the others with three shafts. Marking that lightness of hands showed by Jayadratha, Bhima then with three broad-headed shafts, quickly felled on the earth his bow, standard and umbrella. The mighty Jayadratha then, taking up another bow, strung it and felled Bhima's standard and bow and steeds. O sire! His bow cut off, Bhimasena then jumping down from that excellent car whose steeds had been slain, mounted on the car of Satyaki, like a lion jumping to the top of a mountain. Seeing this, thy troops were filled with joy. And they loudly shouted, 'Excellent! Excellent!' And they repeatedly applauded that feat of the ruler of the Sindhus. Indeed, all creatures highly applauded that feat of his, which consisted in his resisting, single-handed, all the Pandavas together, excited with wrath. The path that the son of Subhadra had made for the Pandavas by the slaughter of numerous warriors and elephants was then filled up by the ruler of the Sindhus. Indeed, those heroes, viz., the Matsyas, the Panchalas, the Kaikeyas, and the Pandavas, exerting themselves vigorously, succeeded in approaching the presence of Jayadratha, but none of them could bear him. Everyone amongst thy enemies who endeavoured to pierce the array that had been formed by Drona, was checked by the ruler of the Sindhus in consequence of the boon he had got (from Mahadeva).'"

SECTION 44

"Sanjaya said, 'When the ruler of the Sindhus checked the Pandavas, desirous of success, the battle that took place then between thy troops and the enemy became awful. The invincible son of Arjuna, of sure aim and mighty energy, having penetrated in the (Kaurava) array agitated it like a Makara agitating the ocean. Against that chastiser of foes then, viz., the son of Subhadra, who was thus agitating the hostile host with his arrowy showers, the principal warriors of the Kaurava army rushed, each according to his rank and precedence. The clash between them of immeasurable energy, scattering their arrowy showers with great force, on the one side and Abhimanyu alone on the other, became awful. The son, of Arjuna, encompassed on all sides by those enemies with crowds of cars, slew the charioteer of Vrishasena and also cut off his bow. And the mighty Abhimanyu then pierced Vrishasena's steeds with his straight shafts, upon which those coursers, with the speed of the wind, bore Vrishasena away from the battle. Utilizing that opportunity, Abhimanyu's charioteer freed his car from that press by taking it away to another part of the field. Those numerous car-warriors then, (beholding this feat) were filled with joy and exclaimed, 'Excellent! Excellent!' Seeing the lion-like Abhimanyu angrily slaying the foe with his shafts and advancing from a distance. Vasatiya, proceeding towards him quickly fell upon him with great force. The latter pierced Abhimanyu with sixty shafts of golden wings and addressing him, said, 'As long as I am alive, thou shalt not escape with life.' Cased though he was in an iron coat of mail, the son of Subhadra pierced him in the chest with a far-reaching shaft. Thereupon Vasatiya fell down on the earth, deprived of life. Beholding Vasatiya slain, many

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bulls among Kshatriyas became filled with wrath, and surrounded thy grandson, O king, from a desire of slaying him. They approached him, stretching their countless bows of diverse kinds, and the battle then that took place between the son of Subhadra and his foes was exceedingly fierce. Then the son of Phalguni, filled with wrath, cut off their arrows and bows, and diverse limbs of their bodies, and their heads decked with ear-rings and floral garlands. And arms were seen lopped off, that were adorned with various ornaments of gold, and that Still held scimitars and spiked maces and battle-axes and the fingers of which were still cased in leathern gloves. [And the earth became strewn] with floral wreaths and ornaments and cloths, with fallen standards, with coats of mail and shields and golden chains and diadems and umbrellas and yak-tails; with Upashkaras and Adhishthanas, and Dandakas, and Vandhuras with crushed Akshas, broken wheels, and yokes, numbering thousands, [These are limbs of cars.] with Anukarashas, and banners, and charioteers, and steeds; as also with broken cars, and elephants, and steeds. The field of battle, strewn with slain Kshatriyas endued (while living) with great heroism,--rulers of diverse realms, inspired with desire of victory,--presented a fearful sight. When Abhimanyu angrily careered over the field of battle in all directions, his very form became invisible. Only his coat of mail, decked with gold, his ornaments, and bow and shafts, could be seen. Indeed, while he slew the hostile warriors by means of his shafts, staying in their midst like the sun himself in his blazing effulgence, none could gaze at him with his eyes'."

SECTION 45

"Sanjaya said, 'Engaged in taking the lives of brave warriors, Arjuna's son then resembled the Destroyer himself, when the latter takes the lives of all creatures on the arrival of the Universal Dissolution. Possessed of prowess resembling that of Sakra himself, the mighty son of Sakra's son, viz., Abhimanyu, agitating the Katirava army looked exceedingly resplendent. Penetrating into the Katirava host, O king, that destroyer of foremost Kshatriyas resembling Yama himself, seized Satvasravas, like an infuriated tiger seizing a deer. Beholding Satyasrayas, seized by him, many mighty car-warriors, taking up diverse kinds of weapons, rushed upon him. Indeed, those bulls among Kshatriyas, from a spirit of rivalry, rushed at the son of Arjuna from desire of slaying him, all exclaiming, 'I shall go first, I shall go first!' As a whale in the sea obtaining a shoal of small fish seizes them with the greatest ease, even so did Abhimanyu receive that whole division of the rushing Kshatriyas. Like rivers that never go back when they approach the sea, none amongst those unretreating Kshatriyas turned back when they approached Abhimanyu. That army then reeled like a boat tossed on the ocean when overtaken by a mighty tempest, (with its crew) afflicted with panic caused by the violence of the wind. Then the mighty Rukmaratha, son of the ruler of the Madras, for assuring the frightened troops, fearlessly said, 'Ye heroes, ye need not fear! When I am here, what is Abhimanyu? Without doubt, I will seize this one a living captive'. Having said these words, the valiant prince, borne on his beautiful and well-equipped car, rushed at Abhimanyu. Piercing Abhimanyu with three shafts in the chest, three in the right arm, and three other sharp shafts in the left arm, he uttered a loud roar. Phalguni's son, however, cutting off his bow, his right and left arms, and his head adorned with beautiful eyes and eye-brows quickly felled them on the earth. Beholding Rukmaratha, the honoured son of Salya, slain by the illustrious son of Subhadra, that Rukmaratha viz., who had vowed to consume his foe or take him alive, many princely friends of Salya's son, O king, accomplished in smiting and incapable of being easily defeated in battle, and owning standards decked with gold, (came up for the fight). Those mighty car-warriors, stretching their bows full six cubits long, surrounded the son of Arjuna, all pouring their arrowy showers upon him. Beholding the brave and invincible son of Subhadra singly encountered by all those wrathful princes endued with heroism and skill acquired by practice and strength and youth, and seeing him covered with showers of arrows, Duryodhana rejoiced greatly, and regarded Abhimanyu as one already made a guest of Yama's abode. Within the twinkling of an eye, those princes, by means of their shafts of golden wings, and of diverse forms and great impetuosity, made Arjuna's son invisible. Himself, his standard, and his car, O sire, were seen by us covered with shafts like (trees overwhelmed with) flights of locusts. Deeply pierced, he became filled with rage like an elephant struck with the hook. He then, O Bharata, applied the Gandharva weapon and the illusion consequent to it. Practising ascetic penances, Arjuna had obtained that weapon from the Gandharva Tumvuru and others. With that weapon, Abhimanyu now confounded his foes. Quickly displaying his weapons, he careered in that battle like a circle of fire, and was, O king, seen sometimes as a single individual, sometimes as a hundred, and sometimes as a thousand ones. Confounding his foes by the skill with which his car was guided and by the illusion caused by his weapons, he cut in a hundred pieces, O monarch, the bodies of the kings (opposed to him). By means of his sharp shafts the lives of living creatures were despatched. These, O king attained to the other world while their bodies fell down on the earth. Their bows, and steeds and charioteers, and standards, and armies decked with Angadar, and heads, the son of Phalguni cut off with his sharp shafts. Those hundred princes were slain and felled by Subhadra's son like a tope of five-year old mango-trees just on the point of bearing fruit (laid low by a tempest). Beholding those youthful princes brought up in every luxury, and resembling angry snakes of virulent poison, all slain by the single-handed Abhimanyu, Duryodhana was filled with fear. Seeing (his) car-warriors and elephants and steeds and foot-soldiers crushed, the Kuru king quickly proceeded in wrath against Abhimanyu. Continued for only a short space of time, the unfinished battle between them became exceedingly fierce. Thy son then, afflicted with Abhimanyu's arrows, was obliged to turn back from the fight.'

SECTION 46

"Dhritarashtra said, 'That which thou tellest me, O Suta, about the battle, fierce and terrible, between the one and the many, and the victory of that illustrious one, that story of the prowess of Subhadra's son is highly wonderful and almost incredible. I do not, however, regard it as a marvel that is absolutely beyond belief in the case of those that have righteousness for their refuge. After Duryodhana was beaten back and a hundred princes slain, what course was pursued by the warriors of my army against the son of Subhadra?'

"Sanjaya said, 'Their mouths became dry, and eyes restless. Sweat covered their bodies, and their hairs stood on their ends. Despairing of vanquishing their foe, they became ready to leave the field. Abandoning their wounded brothers and sires and sons and friends and relatives by marriage and kinsmen they fled, urging their steeds and elephants to their utmost speed. Beholding them broken and routed, Drona and Drona's son, and Vrihadvala, and Kripa, and Duryodhana, and Karna, and Kritavarman, and Suvala's son (Sakuni), rushed in great wrath against the unvanquished son of Subhadra. Almost all these, O king, were beaten back by thy grandson. Only one warrior then, viz., Lakshmana, brought up in luxury, accomplished in arrows, endued with great energy, and fearless in consequence of inexperience and pride, proceeded against the son of Arjuna. Anxious about his son, his father (Duryodhana) turned back for following him. Other mighty car warriors, turned back for following Duryodhana. All of them then drenched Abhimanyu with showers of arrows, like clouds pouring rain on the mountain-breast. Abhimanyu, however, single-handed, began to crush them like the dry wind that blows in every direction destroying gathering masses of clouds. Like one infuriated elephant encountering another, Arjuna's son then encountered thy invincible grandson, Lakshmana, of great personal beauty, endued with great bravery, staying near his father with outstretched bow, brought up in every luxury, and resembling a second prince of the Yakshas [Literally, "like another son of the Lord of Treasure".]. Encountering Lakshmana, that slayer of hostile heroes, viz., the son of Subhadra, had his two arms and chest struck with his sharp shafts. Thy grandson, the mighty-armed Abhimanyu then, filled with rage like a snake struck (with a rod), addressing, O king, thy (other) grandson, said, 'Look well on this world, for thou shalt (soon) have to go to the other. In the very sight of all thy kinsmen, I will despatch thee to Yama's abode.' Saying thus that slayer of hostile heroes, viz., the mighty-armed son of Subhadra, took out a broad-headed arrow that resembled a snake just emerged from its slough. That shaft, sped by Abhimanyu's arms, cut off the beautiful head, decked with ear-rings, of Lakshmana, that was graced with a beautiful nose, beautiful eye-brows, and exceedingly good-looking curls. Beholding Lakshmana slain, thy troops uttered exclamations of Oh and, Alas. Upon the slaughter of his dear son, Duryodhana became filled with rage. That bull among Kshatriyas then loudly urged the Kshatriyas under him, saying, 'Slay this one!' Then Drona, and Kripa, and Karna, and Drona's son and Vrihadvala, and Kritavarman, the son of Hridika,--these six car-warriors,---encompassed Abhimanyu. Piercing them with sharp arrows and beating them off from him, the son of Arjuna fell with great speed and fury upon the vast forces of Jayadratha. Thereupon, the Kalingas, the Nishadas, and the valiant son of Kratha, all clad in mail, cut off his path by encompassing him with their elephant-division. The battle then that took place between Phalguni's son and those warriors was obstinate and fierce. Then the son of Arjuna began to destroy that elephant-division as the wind coursing in every direction destroys vast masses of gathering clouds in the welkin. Then Kratha covered the son of Arjuna with showers of arrows, while many other car-warriors headed by Drona, having returned to the field, rushed at him, scattering sharp and mighty weapons. Checking all those weapons by means of his own arrows, the son of Arjuna began to afflict the son of Kratha with ceaseless showers of shafts, with great despatch and inspired by the desire of slaying his antagonist. The latter's bow and shafts, and bracelets, and arms, and head decked with diadem, and umbrella, and standard, and charioteer, and steeds, were all cut off and felled by Abhimanyu. When Kratha's son, possessed of nobility of lineage, good behaviour, acquaintance with the scriptures, great strength, fame, and power of arms, was slain, the other heroic combatants almost all turned away from the fight'."

SECTION 47

"Dhritarashtra said, 'While the youthful and invincible son of Subhadra, never retreating from battle, was, after penetrating into our array, engaged in achieving feats worthy of his lineage, borne by his three-year old steeds of great might and of the best breed, and apparently trotting in the welkin, what heroes of my army encompassed him?'

"Sanjaya said, 'Having penetrated into our array, Abhimanyu of Pandu's race, by means of his sharp shafts, made all the kings turn away from the fight. Then Drona, and Kripa, and Karna, and Drona's son, and Vrihadvala and Kritavarman, the son of Hridika,--these six car-warriors,--encompassed him. As regards the other combatants of thy army, beholding that Jayadratha had taken upon himself the heavy duty (of keeping off the Pandavas), they supported him, O king, by rushing against Yudhishthira. Many amongst them, endued with great strength, drawing their bows full six cubits long, showered on the heroic son of Subhadra arrowy downpours like torrents of rain. Subhadra's son, however, that slayer of hostile heroes, paralysed by his shafts all those great bowmen, conversant with every branch of learning. And he pierced Drona with fifty arrows and Vrihadvala with twenty. And piercing Kritavarman with eighty shafts, he pierced Kripa with sixty. And the son of Arjuna pierced Aswatthaman with ten arrows equipped with golden wings, endued with great speed and shot from his bow drawn to its fullest stretch. And the son of Phalguni pierced Karna, in the midst of his foes, in one of his cars, with a bright, well-tempered, and bearded arrow of great force. Felling the steeds yoked to Kripa's car, as also both his Parshni charioteers, Abhimanyu pierced Kripa himself in the centre of the chest with ten arrows. The mighty Abhimanyu, then, in the very sight of thy heroic sons, slew the brave Vrindaraka, that enhancer of the fame of the Kurus. While Abhimanyu was thus engaged in fearlessly slaying one after another the foremost warriors among his enemies, Drona's son Aswatthaman pierced him with five and twenty small arrows. The son of Arjuna, however, in the very sight of all the Dhartarashtras quickly pierced Aswatthaman in return, O sire, with many whetted shafts. Drona's son, however, in return, piercing Abhimanyu. with sixty fierce arrows of great impetuosity and keen sharpness, failed to make him tremble, for the latter, pierced by Aswatthaman, stood immovable like the Mainaka mountain. Endued with great energy, the mighty Abhimanyu then pierced his antagonist with three and seventy straight arrows, equipped with wings of gold. Drona then, desirous of rescuing his son, pierced Abhimanyu with a hundred arrows. And Aswatthaman pierced him with sixty arrows, desirous of rescuing his father. And Karna struck him with two and twenty broad-headed arrows and Kritavarman struck him with four and ten. And Vrihadvala pierced him with fifty such shafts, and Saradwata's son, Kripa, with ten. Abhimanyu, however, pierced each of these in return with ten shafts. The ruler of the Kosala struck Abhimanyu, in the chest with a barbed arrow. Abhimanyu, however, quickly felled on the earth his antagonist's steeds and standard and bow and charioteer. The ruler of the Kosalas, then, thus deprived of his car, took up a sword and wished to sever from Abhimanyu's trunk his beautiful head, decked with ear-rings. Abhimanyu then pierced king Vrihadvala, the ruler of the Kosalas, in the chest, with a strong arrow. The latter then, with riven heart, fell down. Beholding this, ten thousand illustrious kings broke and fled. Those kings, armed with swords and bows, fled away, uttering words inimical (to king Duryodhana's Interest). Having slain Vrihadvala thus, the son of Subhadra careered it battle, paralysing thy warriors,---those great bowmen,--by means of arrowy downpours, thick as rain.'"

SECTION 48

"Sanjaya said, 'Phalguni's son once more pierced Karna in the car with a barbed arrow, and for angering him still further, he pierced him with fifty other shafts. The son of Radha pierced Abhimanyu in return with as many shafts. Covered all over with arrows, Abhimanyu, then, O sire, looked exceedingly beautiful. Filled with rage, he caused Karna also to be bathed in blood. Mangled with arrows and covered with blood, the brave Karna also shone greatly. Both of them pierced with arrows, both bathed in blood, those illustrious warriors then resembled a couple of flowering Kinsukas. The son of Subhadra then slew six of Karna's brave counsellors, conversant with all modes of warfare, with their steeds and charioteers and cars. As regards other great bowmen Abhimanyu fearlessly pierced each of them in return, with ten arrows. That feat of his seemed highly wonderful. Slaying next the son of the ruler of the Magadhas, Abhimanyu, with six straight shafts, slew the youthful Aswaketu with his

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four steeds and charioteer. Then slaying, with a sharp razor-headed arrow, the Bhoja prince of Martikavata, bearing the device of an elephant (on his banner), the son of Arjuna uttered a loud shout and began to scatter his shafts on all sides. Then the son of Duhsasana pierced the four steeds of Abhimanyu with four shafts, his charioteer with one and Abhimanyu himself with ten. The son of Arjuna, then, piercing Duhsasana's son with ten fleet shafts, addressed him in a loud tone and with eyes red in wrath, said, 'Abandoning the battle, thy sire hath fled like a coward. It is well thou knowest how to fight. Thou shalt not, however, escape today with life.' Saying these words unto him, Abhimanyu sped a long arrow, well polished by smith's hand, at his foe. The son of Drona cut that arrow with three shafts of his own. Leaving Aswatthaman alone, Arjuna's son struck Salya, in return, fearlessly pierced him in the chest with highly nine shafts, equipped with vulture's feathers. That feat seemed highly wonderful. The son of Arjuna then cut off Salya's bow and slew both his Parshni charioteers. Abhimanyu then pierced Salya himself with six shafts made wholly of iron. Thereupon, the latter, leaving that steedless car, mounted another. Abhimanyu then slew five warriors., named Satrunjaya, and Chandraketu, and Mahamegba, and Suvarchas, and Suryabhasa. He then pierced Suvala's son. The latter piercing Abhimanyu with three arrows, said unto Duryodhana, 'Let us all together grind this one, else, fighting singly with us he will slay us all. O king, think of the means of slaying this one, taking counsel with Drona and Kripa and others.' The Karna, the son of Vikartana, said unto Drona, 'Abhimanyu grindeth us all. Tell us the means by which we may slay him.' Thus addressed, the mighty bowman, Drona, addressing them all, said, 'Observing him with vigilance, have any of you been able to detect any defeat in this youth? He is careening in all directions. Yet have any of you been able to detect today the least hole in him? Behold the lightness of hand and quickness of motion of this lion among men, this son of Arjuna. In the track of his car, only his bow drawn to a circle can be seen, so quickly is he aiming his shafts and so quickly is he letting them off. Indeed, this slayer of hostile heroes, viz., the son of Subhadra, gratifieth me although he afflicteth my vital breath and stupefieth me with shafts. Even the mightiest car-warriors, filled with wrath, are unable to detect any flaw in him. The son of Subhadra, therefore, careering on the field of battle, gratifieth me greatly. I do not see that in battle there is any difference between the wielder of Gandiva himself and this one of great lightness of hand, filling all the points of the horizon with his mighty shafts.' Hearing these words, Karna, afflicted with the shafts of Arjuna's son, once more said unto Drona, 'Exceedingly afflicted with the shafts of Abhimanyu, I am staying in battle, only because (as a warrior) I should stay here. Indeed, the arrows of this south of great energy are exceedingly fierce. Terrible as they are and possessed of the energy of fire, these arrows are weakening my heart.' The preceptor then, slowly and with a smile, said unto Karna, 'Abhimanyu is young, his prowess is great. His coat of mail is impenetrable. This one's father had been taught by me the method of wearing defensive armour. This subjugator of hostile towns assuredly knoweth the entire science (of wearing armour). With shafts well shot, you can, however, cut off his bow, bow-string, the reins of his steeds, the steeds themselves, and two Parshni charioteers. O mighty bowman, O son of Radha, if competent, do this. Making him turn back from the fight (by this means), strike him then. With his bow in hand he is incapable of being vanquished by the very gods and the Asuras together. If you wish, deprive him of his car, and divest him of his bow.'. Hearing these words of the preceptor, Vikartana's son Karna quickly cut off, by means of his shafts, the bow of Abhimanyu, as the latter was shooting with great activity. He, of Bhoja's race (viz., Kritavarman) then slew his steeds, and Kripa slew his two Parshni charioteers. The others covered him with showers of arrows after he had been divested of his bow. Those six great car-warriors, with great speed, when speed was so necessary, ruthlessly covered that carless youth, fighting single-handed with them, with showers of arrows. Bowless and carless, with an eye, however, to his duty (as a warrior), handsome Abhimanyu, taking up a sword and a shield, jumped into the sky. Displaying great strength and great activity, and describing the tracks called Kausika and others, the son of Arjuna fiercely coursed through the sky, like the prince of winged creatures (viz., Garuda.). 'He may fall upon me sword in hand,' with such thoughts, those mighty bowmen, were on the lookout for the laches of Abhimanyu, and began to pierce him in that battle, with their gaze turned upwards. Then Drona of mighty energy, that conqueror of foes with a sharp arrow quickly cut off the hilt, decked with gems, of Abhimanyu's sword. Radha's son Karna, with sharp shafts, cut off his excellent shield. Deprived of his sword and shield thus, he came down, with sound limbs, from the welkin upon the earth. Then taking up a car-wheel, he rushed in wrath against Drona. His body bright with the dust of car-wheels, and himself holding the car-wheel in his upraised arms, Abhimanyu looked exceedingly beautiful, and imitating Vasudeva (with his discus), became awfully fierce for a while in that battle. His robes dyed with the blood flowing (from his wounds), his brow formidable with the wrinkles visible thereon, himself uttering loud leonine roars, lord Abhimanyu of immeasurable might, staying in the midst of those kings, looked exceedingly resplendent on the field of battle.'"

SECTION 49

"Sanjaya said, 'That joy of Vishnu's sister (viz., Abhimanyu), that Atiratha, decked with the weapons of Vishnu himself, looked exceedingly beautiful on the field of battle and looked like a second Janardana. With the end of his locks waving in the air, with that supreme weapon upraised in his hands, his body became incapable of being looked at by the very gods. The kings beholding it and the wheel in his hands, became filled with anxiety, and cut that off in a hundred fragments. Then that great car-warrior, the son of Arjuna, took up a mighty mace. Deprived by them of his bow and car and sword, and divested also of his wheel by his foes, the mighty-armed Abhimanyu (mace in hand) rushed against Aswatthaman. Beholding that mace upraised, which looked like the blazing thunderbolt, Aswatthaman, that tiger among men, rapidly alighted from his car and took three (long) leaps (for avoiding Abhimanyu). Slaying Aswatthaman's steeds and two Parshni charioteers with that mace of his, Subhadra's son, pierced all over with arrows, looked like a porcupine. Then that hero pressed Suvala's son, Kalikeya, down into the earth, and stew seven and seventy Gandhara followers of the latter. Next, he slew ten car-warriors of the Brahma-Vasatiya race, and then ten huge elephants. Proceeding next towards the car of Duhsasana's son, he crushed the latter's car and steeds, pressing them down into the earth. The invincible son of Duhsasan, then, O sire, taking up his mace, rushed at Abhimanyu. saying, 'Wait, Wait!' Then those cousins, those two heroes, with upraised maces, began to strike each other, desirous of achieving each other's death, like three-eyed (Mahadeva) and (the Asura) Andhaka in the days of old. I ach of those chastisers of foes, struck with the other's mace-ends fell down on the earth, like two uprooted standards erected to the honour of Indra. Then Duhsasana's son, that enhancer of the fame of the Kurus, rising up first, struck Abhimanyu with the mace on the crown of his head, as the latter, was on the point of rising. Stupefied with the violence of that stroke as also with the fatigue he had undergone, that slayer of hostile hosts, viz., the son of Subhadra, fell on the earth, deprived of his senses. Thus, O king, was one slain by many in battle,--one who had ground the whole army, like an elephant grinding lotus-stalks in a lake. As he lay dead on the field, the heroic Abhimanyu looked like a wild elephant slain by the hunters, The fallen hero was then surrounded by thy troops. And he looked like an extinguished fire in the summer season after (as it lies) having consumed a whole forest, or like a tempest divested of its fury after having crushed mountain crests; 1 or like the sun arrived at the western hills after having blasted with his heat the Bharata host; or like Soma swallowed up by Rahu; or like the ocean reft of water. The mighty car-warriors of thy army beholding Abhimanyu whose face had the splendour of the full moon, and whose eyes were rendered beautiful in consequence of lashes black as the feathers of the raven, lying prostrate on the bare earth, were filled with great joy. And they repeatedly uttered leonine shouts. Indeed, O monarch, thy troops were in transports of joy, while tears fell fast from the eyes of the Pandava heroes. Beholding the heroic Abhimanyu lying on the field of battle, like the moon dropped from the firmament, diverse creatures, O king, in the welkin, said aloud, 'Alas, this one lieth on the field, slain, while fighting singly, by six mighty car-warriors of the Dhartarashtra army, headed by Drona and Karna. This act hath been, we hold, an unrighteous one.' Upon the slaughter of that hero, the earth looked exceedingly resplendent like the star-bespangled firmament with the moon. Indeed, the earth was strewn with shafts equipped with wings of gold, and covered with waves of blood. And strewn with the beautiful heads of heroes, decked with ear-rings and variegated turbans of great value, and banner and yak-tails and beautiful blankets, and begemmed weapons of great efficacy, and the bright ornaments of cars and steeds, and men and elephants, and sharp and well-tempered swords, looking like snakes freed from their sloughs, and bows, and broken shafts, and darts, and swords, and lances, and Kampanas, and diverse other kinds of weapons, she assumed a beautiful aspect. And in consequence of the steeds dead or dying, but all weltering in blood, with their riders (lying about them), felled by Subhadra's son, the earth in many places became impassable. And with iron hooks, and elephants--huge as hills--equipped with shields and weapons and standards, lying about, crushed with shafts, with excellent cars deprived of steeds and charioteers and car-warriors, lying scattered on the earth, crushed by elephants and looking like agitated lakes, with large bodies of foot-soldiers decked with diverse weapons and lying dead on the ground, the field of battle, wearing a terrible aspect, inspired all timid hearts with terror.

"Beholding Abhimanyu, resplendent as the sun or the moon, lying on the ground, thy troops were in transport of joy, while Pandavas were filled with grief. When youthful Abhimanyu, yet in his minority, fell, the Pandava divisions, O king, fled away in the very sight of king Yudhishthira. Beholding his army breaking upon the fall of Subhadra's son, Yudhishthira addressed his brave warriors, slaying, 'The heroic Abhimanyu, who without retreating from battle hath been slain, hath certainly ascended to heaven. Stay then, and fear not, for we shall yet vanquish our foes.' Endued with great energy and great splendour, king Yudhishthira the Just, that foremost of warriors, saying such words unto his soldiers inspired with grief, endeavoured to dispel their stupor. The king continued, 'Having in the first instance, slain in battle hostile princes, resembling snakes of virulent poison, the son of Arjuna hath then given up his life. Having slain ten thousand warriors, viz., the king of the Kosalas, Abhimanyu, who was even like Krishna or Arjuna himself, hath assuredly gone to the abode of Indra. Having destroyed cars and steeds and men and elephants by thousands, he was still not content with what he did. Performing as he did such meritorious feats, we should not certainly grieve for him, he hath gone to the bright regions of the righteous, regions that men acquire by meritorious deeds.'"

SECTION 50

"Sanjaya said, 'Having thus slain one of their foremost warriors, and having been afflicted with their arrows, we came back to our encampment in the evening, covered with blood. Steadfastly gazed at by the enemy, we slowly left, O monarch, the field of battle, having sustained a severe loss and nearly deprived of our senses. Then came that wonderful hour intervening between day and night. Inauspicious howls of jackals were heard. The sun, with the pale-red hue of the filaments of the lotus,--sank low in the horizon, having approached the western hills. And he took away with him the splendour of our swords and darts, rapiers and car-fences, and shields and ornaments. Causing the firmament and the earth to assume the same hue, the sun assumed his favourite form of fire. The field of battle was strewn with the motionless bodies of innumerable elephants deprived of life, Looking like crests of cloud-capped hills riven by the thunder, and lying about with their standards and hooks and riders fallen from their backs. The earth looked beautiful with large cars crushed to pieces, and with their warriors and charioteers and ornaments and steeds and standards and banners crushed, broken and torn. Those huge cars, O king, looked like living creatures deprived of their lives by the foe with his shafts. The field of battle assumed a fierce and awful aspect in consequence of large number of steeds and riders all lying dead, with costly trappings and blankets of diverse kinds scattered about, and tongues and teeth and entrails and eyes of those creatures bulging out of their places. Men decked with costly coats of mail and ornaments and robes and weapons, deprived of life, lay with slain steeds and elephants and broken cars, on the bare ground, perfectly helpless, although deserving of costly beds and blankets. Dogs and jackals, and crown and cranes and other carnivorous birds, and wolves and hyenas, and ravens and other food-drinking creatures, all diverse tribes of Rakshasas, and large number of Pisachas, on the field of battle, tearing the skins of the corpse and drinking their fat, blood and marrow, began to eat their flesh. And they began to suck also the secretions of rotten corpses, while the Rakshasas laughed horribly and sang aloud, dragging dead bodies numbering thousands. An awful river, difficult to cross, like the Vaitarani itself, was caused there by foremost of warriors. Its waters were constituted by the blood (of fallen creatures). Cars constituted the rafts (or, which to cross it), elephants formed its rocks, and the heads of human beings, its smaller stones. And it was miry with the flesh (of slain steeds and elephants and men). And diverse kinds of costly weapons constituted the garlands (floating on it or lying on its banks). And that terrible river flowed fiercely through the middle of the field of battle, wafting living creatures to the regions of the dead. And large numbers of Pisachas, of horrible and repulsive forms, rejoiced, drinking and eating in that stream. And dogs and jackals and carnivorous birds, all eating of the same food, and inspiring living creatures with terror, held their high carnival there. And the warriors, gazing on that field of battle which, enhancing the population of Yama's domain, presented such an awful sight, and where human corpses rising up, began to dance, slowly left it as they beheld the mighty car-warrior Abhimanyu who resembled Sakra himself, lying on the field, his costly ornaments displaced and fallen off, and looking like a sacrificial fire on the altar no longer drenched with clarified butter.'"

SECTION 51

"Sanjaya said, 'After the slaughter of that hero, that leader of car-divisions, viz., the son of Subhadra, the Pandava warriors, leaving their cars and putting off their armour, and throwing aside their Lows, sat, surrounding king Yudhishthira. And they were brooding over that grief of theirs, their hearts fixed upon the (deceased) Abhimanyu. Indeed, upon the fall of that heroic nephew of his, viz., the mighty car-warrior Abhimanyu, king Yudhishthira, overwhelmed with grief, indulged in (these) lamentations:

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'Alas, Abhimanyu, from desire of achieving my good, pierced the array formed by Drona and teeming with his soldiers. Encountering him in battle, mighty bowmen endued with great courage, accomplished in weapons and incapable of being easily defeated in battle, were routed and forced to retreat. Encountering our implacable foe Duhsasana in battle, he with his arrows, caused that warrior to fly away from the field, deprived of his senses. Alas, the heroic son of Arjuna, having crossed the vast sea of Drona's army, was ultimately obliged to become a guest of Yama's abode, upon encountering the son of Duhsasana. When Abhimanyu is slain, how shall I cast my eyes on Arjuna and also the blessed Subhadra deprived of her favourite son? What senseless, disjointed, and improper words shall we have to say today unto Hrishikesa and Dhananjaya! Desirous of achieving what is good, and expectant of victory, it is I who have done this great evil unto Subhadra and Kesava and Arjuna. He that is covetous never beholdth his faults. Covetousness spring from folly. Collectors of honey see not the fall that is before them; I am even like them. He who was only a child, he who should have been provided with (good) food, with vehicles, with beds, with ornaments, alas, even he was placed by us in the van of battle. How could good come to a child of tender years, unskilled in battle, in such a situation of great danger. Like a horse on proud mettle, he sacrificed himself instead of refusing to do the bidding of his master. Alas, we also shall today lay ourselves down on the bare earth, blasted by the glances of grief, cast by Arjuna filled with wrath. Dhananjaya liberal, intelligent, modest, forgiving, handsome, mighty, possessed of well-developed and beautiful limbs, respectful to superiors, heroic, beloved, and devoted to truth; of glorious achievements' the very gods applaud his feats. That valiant hero slew the Nivatakavachas and the Kalakeyas, those enemies of Indra having their abode in Hiranyapura. In the twinkling of an eye he slew the Paulomas with all their followers. Endued with great might, he granteth quarter to implacable enemies asking for quarter! Alas, we could not protect today the son of even such a person from danger. A great fear hath overtaken the Dhartarashtras endued though they might be with great strength! [The correct reading is Mahavalan Mahavalat.] Enraged at the slaughter of his son, Partha will exterminate the Kauravas. It is evident also that the mean-minded Duryodhana having mean counsellors, that destroyer of his own race and partisans, beholding this extermination of the Kaurava army, will give up his life in grief. Beholding this son of Indra's son, of unrivalled energy and prowess, on the field of battle, neither victory, nor sovereignty, nor immortality, nor abode with the very celestials, causeth me the least delight!'"

SECTION 52

"Sanjaya said, 'While Kunti's son, Yudhishthira, was indulging in such lamentations, the great Rishi Krishna Dwaipayana came to him. Worshipping him duly, and causing him to be seated, Yudhishthira, afflicted with grief on account of the death of his brother's son, said, 'Alas, while battling with many mighty bowmen, the son of Subhadra, surrounded by several great car-warriors of unrighteous propensities, hath been slain on the field. The slayer of hostile heroes, the son of Subhadra, was a child in years and of childish understanding. 1 He fought in battle against desperate odds. I asked him to open a passage for us in battle. He penetrated within the hostile army, but we could not follow him, obstructed by the ruler of the Sindhus. Alas, they that betake themselves to battle as a profession, always fight with antagonists equally circumstanced with themselves. This battle, however, that the enemy fought with Abhimanyu, was an extremely unequal one. It is that which grieves me greatly and draws tears from me. Thinking of this, I fail to regain peace of mind.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'The illustrious Vyasa, addressing Yudhishthira who was indulging in such lamentations and who was thus unmanned by an accession of sorrow, said these words.'

"Vyasa said, 'O Yudhishthira, O thou of great wisdom, O thou that art master of all branches of knowledge, persons like thee never suffer themselves to be stupefied by calamities. This brave youth, having slain numerous foes hath ascended to heaven. Indeed, that best of persons, (though a child), acted, however, like one of matured years. O Yudhishthira, this law is incapable of being transgressed. O Bharata, Death takes all viz., Gods and Dhanavas and Gandharvas (without exception).'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Alas, these lords of earth, that lie on the bare earth, slain in the midst of their forces, bereft of consciousness, were possessed of great might. Others (of their class) possessed strength equal to that of ten thousand elephants. Others, again, were endued with the impetuosity and might of the very wind. They have all perished in battle, slain by men of their own class. I do not behold the person (save one of their own class) who could slay any of them in battle. Endued with great prowess, they were possessed of great energy and great might. Alas, they who used daily to come to battle with this hope firmly implanted in their hearts, viz., that they would conquer, alas even they, possessed of great wisdom, are lying on a field, struck (with weapons) and deprived of life. The significance of the word Death hath today been made intelligible, for these lords of earth, of terrible prowess, have almost all been dead. Those heroes are lying motionless; reft of vanity, having succumbed to foes. Many princes, filled with wrath, have been victimised before the fire (of their enemies' wrath). A great doubt possesses me, viz., whence is Death? Whose (offspring) is Death? What is Death? Why does Death take away creatures? O grandsire, O thou that resemblest a god, tell me this.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Unto Kunti's son, Yudhishthira, asking him thus, the illustrious Rishi, comforting him, said these words.'

"Vyasa said, As regards the matter in hand, O king, this ancient story of what Narada had in days of old said unto Akampana is cited. King Akampana, O monarch, I know, while in this world was afflicted with very great and unbearable grief on account of the death of his son, I will now tell these the excellent story about the origin of Death. Having listened to it, thou wilt be emancipated from sorrow and the touch of affection's tie. Listen to me, O sire, as I recite this ancient history. This history is, indeed, excellent. It enhanceth the period of life, killeth grief and conduceth to health. It is sacred, destructive of large bodies of foes, and auspicious of all auspicious things. Indeed, this history is even as the study of the Vedas. O monarch, it should every morning be listened to by the foremost of kings who are desirous of longlived children and their own good.

"In days of old, O sire, there was a king named Akampana. Once, on the field of battle, he was surrounded by his foes and nearly overpowered by them. He had a son who was called Hari. Equal to Narayana himself in might, that latter was exceedingly handsome, accomplished in weapons, gifted with great intelligence, possessed of might, resembled Sakra himself in battle. Encompassed by countless foes on the field of battle, he sped thousands of shafts at those warriors and the elephants that surrounded him. Having achieved the most difficult feats in battle, O Yudhishthira, that scorcher of foes was, at last, slain in the midst of the army. Performing the obsequies of his son, king Akampana cleansed himself. [During the days of mourning a person is regarded as unclean, being unable to perform his ordinary worship and other religious rites. After the obsequies are performed the mourning is ended, he is supposed to be cleansed.] Grieving, however, for his son day and night, the king failed to regain happiness of mind. Informed of his grief on account of the death of his son, the celestial Rishi Narada came to his presence. The blessed king, beholding the celestial Rishi, told the latter everything that had happened unto him, viz., his defeat at the hands of his foes, and the slaughter of his son. And the king said, 'My son was endued with great energy, and equalled Indra or Vishnu himself in splendour. That mighty son of mine, having displayed his prowess on the field against countless foes was at last slain! O illustrious one, who is this Death? What is the measure of his energy, strength and prowess? O foremost of intelligent persons, I desire to hear all this truly.' Hearing these words of his, the boon giving lord, Narada., recited the following elaborate history, destructive of grief on account of a son's death.'

"Narada said. 'Listen, O mighty-armed king, to this long history, exactly as I have heard it, O monarch! In the beginning, the Grandsire Brahma created all creatures. Endued with mighty energy, he saw that the creation bore no signs of decay. Thereat, O king, the Creator began to think about the destruction of the universe. Reflecting on the matter, O monarch, the Creator failed to find any means of destruction. He then became angry, and in consequence of his anger a fire sprang from the sky. That fire spread in all directions for consuming everything of the universe. Then heaven, sky, and earth, all became filled with fire. And thus the Creator began to consume the whole mobile and immobile universe. Thereby all creatures, mobile and immobile, were destroyed. Indeed, the mighty Brahma, frightening everything by the force of his wrath, did all this, Then Hara, otherwise called Sthanu or Siva, with matted locks on his head, that Lord of all wanderers of the night, appealed to the divine Brahma, the Lord of the gods. When Sthanu fell (at Brahma's feet) from a desire of doing good to all creatures, the Supreme Deity to that greatest of ascetics, blazing with splendour, said, 'What wish of thine shall we accomplish, O thou that deservest to have all thy wishes fulfilled? O thou that hast been born of our wish! We shall do all that may be agreeable to thee! Tell us, O Sthanu, what is thy wish?'"

SECTION 53

"Sthanu said, 'O lord, thou hadst taken great care for creating diverse creatures. Indeed, creatures of diverse kinds were created and reared by thee. Those very creatures, again, are now being consumed through thy fire. Seeing this, I am filled with compassion. O illustrious lord, be inclined to grace.'

"Brahma said, 'I had no desire of destroying the universe, I desired good of the earth, and it was for this that wrath possessed me. The goddess Earth, afflicted with the heavy weight of creatures, always urged me for destroying the creatures on her. Urged by her, I could not however, find any means for the destruction of the infinite creation. At this wrath possessed me.'

"Rudra said, 'Be inclined to grace. O lord of the universe, cherish not the wrath for the destruction of creatures. No more let creatures, immobile and mobile, be destroyed. Through thy grace, O illustrious one, let the threefold universe, viz., the Future, the Past, and the Present exist. Thou, O Lord, hadst blazed up with wrath. From that wrath of thine, a substance like fire sprang into existence, That fire is even now blasting rocks and trees and rivers, and all kinds of herbs and grass. Indeed, that fire is exterminating the immobile and the mobile universe. The mobile and the immobile universe is being reduced to ashes. Be inclined to grace, O illustrious one! Do not give way to wrath. Even this is the boon I solicit, All created things, O divine Being, belonging to thee, are being destroyed. Therefore, let thy wrath be appeased. Let it be annihilated in thy own self. Cast thy eye on thy creatures, inspired with the desire of doing them good. Do that by which creatures endued with life may not cease to be. Let not these creatures, with their productive powers weakened be exterminated. O Creator of the worlds, thou hast appointed me their Protector, O Lord of the universe, let not the mobile and the immobile universe to be destroyed. Thou art inclined to grace, and it is for this that I say these words unto thee.'

"Narada continued, Hearing these words (of Mahadeva) the divine Brahma, from desire of benefiting creatures, held in his own inner self his wrath that had been roused. Extinguishing the fire, the divine Benefactor of the world, the great Master, declared the duties of Production and Emancipation. And while the Supreme Deity exterminated that fire born of his wrath, there came out from the doors of his diverse senses a female who was dark and red and tawny, whose tongue and face and eyes were red, and who was decked with two brilliant ear-rings and diverse other brilliant ornaments. Issuing out of his body, she smilingly looked at those two lords of the universe and then set out for the southern quarter, Then Brahma, that controller of the creation and destruction of the worlds, called after her by the name of Death. And Brahma, O king, said unto her, 'Slay these creatures of mine! Thou hast been born of that wrath of mine which I cherished for the destruction (of the universe). By doing this, kill all creatures including idiots and seers at my command. By doing this, thou wilt be benefited.' Thou lotus-lady, called Death, thus addressed by him reflected deeply, and then helplessly wept aloud in melodious accents. The Grandsire then caught the tears she had shed, with his two hands, for the benefit of all creatures, and began to implore her (with these words).'

SECTION 54

"Narada said, 'The helpless lady, suppressing her arrow within her own self, addressed, with joined hands, the Lord of the creation, bending with humility like a creeper. And she said, O foremost of speakers, created by thee how shall I, being a female, do such a cruel and evil act knowing it to be cruel and evil? I fear unrighteousness greatly. O divine Lord, be inclined to grace. Sons and friends and brothers and sires and husbands are always dear; (if I kill them), they who will suffer these losses will seek to injure me. It is this that I fear. The tears that will fall from the eyes of woe-stricken and weeping persons, inspire me with fear, O Lord! I seek thy protection. O divine Being, O foremost of gods, I will not go to Yama's abode. O boon-giving one, I implore thee or thy grace, bowing my head and joining my palms. O grandsire of the worlds, I solicit (the accomplishment of even) this wish at thy hands! I desire, with thy permission, to undergo ascetic penances, O Lord of created things! Grant me this boon, O divine Being, O great master! Permitted by thee, I will go to the excellent asylum of Dhenuka! Engaged in adoring Thyself, I will undergo the severest austerities there. I will not be able, O Lord of the gods, to take away the dear life-breaths of living creatures weeping in sorrow. Protect me from unrighteousness.'

"Brahma said, 'O Death, thou hast been intended for achieving the destruction of creatures. Go, destroy all creatures, thou needst have no scruples. Even this must be. It cannot be otherwise. Do but my behest. Nobody in the world will find any fault in thee.'

"Narada continued, 'Thus addressed, that lady became very much affrighted. 2 Looking at Brahma's face, she stood with joined hands. From desire of doing good to creatures, she did not set her heart upon their destruction. The divine Brahma also, that Lord of the lord of all creatures, remained silent. And soon the Grandsire became gratified in his own self. And casting his eyes upon all the creation he smiled. And, thereupon, creatures continued to live as before i.e., unaffected by premature death. And upon that, invincible and illustrious Lord having shaken off his wrath, that damsel left the presence of that wise Deity. Leaving Brahma, without having agreed to destroy creatures, the damsel called Death speedily proceeded to the retreat called Dhenuka. Arrived

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there, she practised excellent and highly austere vows. And she stood there on one leg for sixteen billions of years, and five times ten billions also, through pity for living creatures and from desire of doing them good, and all the time restraining her senses from their favourite objects. And once again, O king she stood there on one leg for one and twenty times ten billions of years. And then she wandered for ten times ten thousand billions of years with the creatures (of the earth), Next, repairing to the sacred Nanda that was full of cool and pure water, she passed in those waters eight thousand years. Observing rigid vows at Nanda, she cleansed herself of all her sins. Then she proceeded, first of all, to the sacred Kausiki, observant of vow. Living upon air and water only, she practised austerities there, Repairing then to Panchaganga and next to Vetasa, that cleansed damsel, by diverse kinds of especial austerities, emaciated her own body. Going next to the Ganga and thence to the great Meru, she remained motionless like a stone, suspending her life-breath. Thence going to the top of Himavat, where the gods had performed their sacrifice (in days of yore), that amiable and auspicious girl remained for a billion of years standing on the toe only of her feet. Wending then to Pushkara, and Gokarna, and Naimisha, and Malaya, she emaciated her body, practising austerities agreeable to her heart. Without acknowledging any other god, with steady devotion to the Grandsire, she lived and gratified the Grandsire in every way. Then the unchangeable Creator of the worlds, gratified said unto her, with a softened and delighted heart. 'O Death, why dost thou undergo ascetic austerities so severe?' Thus addressed, Death said unto the divine Grandsire, 'Creatures, O Lord, are living in health. They do not injure one another even by words. I shall not be able to slay them. O Lord, I desire even this boon at thy hands. I fear sin, and it is for this that I am engaged in ascetic austerities. O blessed one, undertake to remove for ever my fears. I am a woman, in distress, and without fault. I beg thee, be thou protector. Unto her the divine Brahman acquainted with the past, the present and the future, said, 'Thou shalt commit no sin, O Death, by slaying these creatures. My words can never be futile., O amiable one! Therefore, O auspicious damsel, slay these creatures of four kinds. Eternal virtue shall always be thine. That Regent of the world, viz., Yama, and the diverse disease shall become thy helpmates. I myself and all the gods will grant thee boons, so that, freed from sin and perfectly cleansed, thou mayst even acquire glory.' Thus addressed, O monarch, that lady, joining her hands, once more said these words, seeking her grace by bowing down unto him with her head, If, O Lord, this is not to be without me, then thy command I place upon my head. Listen, however, to what I say, Let covetousness, wrath, malice, jealousy, quarrel, folly and shamelessness, and other stern passions tear the bodies of all embodied creatures.'

"Brahman said, 'It will be, O Death, as thou sayest. Meanwhile, slay creatures duly. Sin shall not be thine, nor shall I seek to injure thee, O auspicious one. Those tear-drops of thine that are in my hands, even they will become diseases, springing from living creatures themselves. They will kill men; and if men are killed, sin shall not be thine. Therefore, do not fear, Indeed, sin shall not be thine. Devoted to righteousness, and observant of thy duty, thou shalt sway (all creatures). Therefore, take thou always the fives of these living creatures. Casting off both desire and wrath, take thou the life of all living creatures. Even thus will eternal virtue be thine. Sin will stay those that are of wicked behaviour. By doing my bidding cleanse thyself. It will be thine to sink them in their sins that are wicked. Therefore, cast off both desire and wrath, and kill these creatures endued with life.'

"Narada continued, 'That damsel, seeing that she was (persistently) called by the name of Death, feared (to act otherwise). And in terror also of Brahma's curse, she said, 'Yes!' Unable to do otherwise, she began, casting off desire and wrath, to take the lives of living creatures when the time came (for their dissolution). It is only living creatures that die. Diseases spring from living creatures themselves. Disease is the abnormal condition of creatures. They are pained by it. Therefore, indulge not in fruitless grief for creatures after they are dead. The senses, upon the death of creatures, go with the latter (to the other world), and achieving their (respective) functions, once more come back (with creatures when the latter are reborn). Thus all creatures, O lion among beings, the very gods included going, thither, have to act, like mortals. 1 The wind, that is awful, of terrible roars and great strength, omnipresent and endued with infinite energy, it is the wind that will rive the bodies of living creatures. It will, in this matter put forth no active energy, nor will it suspend its functions; (but do this naturally). Even all the gods have the appellation of mortals attached to them. Therefore, O lion among kings, do not grieve for thy son! Repairing to heaven, the son of thy body is passing his days in perpetual happiness, having obtained those delightful regions that are for heroes. Casting off all sorrows, he hath attained to the companionship of the righteous. Death hath been ordained by the Creator himself for all creatures! When their hour comes, creatures are destroyed duly. The death of creatures arises from the creatures themselves. Creatures kill themselves. Death doth not kill any one, armed with her bludgeon! Therefore, they that are wise, truly knowing death to be inevitable, because ordained by Brahma himself, never grieve for creatures that are dead. Knowing this death to be ordained by the Supreme God, cast off, without delay; thy grief for thy dead son!'

"Vyasa continued, 'Hearing these words of grave import spoken by Narada, king Akampana, addressing his friend, said, 'O illustrious one, O foremost of Rishi, my grief is gone, and I am contented. Hearing this history from thee, I am grateful to thee and I worship thee.' That foremost of superior Rishi, that celestial ascetic of immeasurable soul, thus addressed by the king, proceeded to the woods of Nandava. The frequent recital of this history for the hearing of others, as also the frequent hearing of this history, is regarded as cleansing, leading to fame and heaven and worthy of approbation. It enhanceth besides, the period of life. Having listened to this instructive story, cast off thy grief, O Yudhishthira, reflecting besides or, the duties of a Kshatriya and the high state (of blessedness) attainable by heroes. Abhimanyu, that mighty car-warrior, endued with mighty energy, having slain (numerous) foes before the gaze of all bowmen, hath attained to heaven. The great bowman, that mighty car-warrior, struggling on the field, hath fallen in the battle struck with sword and mace and dart, and bow. Sprung from Soma, he hath disappeared in the lunar essence, cleansed of all his impurities. Therefore, O son of Pandu, mustering all thy fortitude. thyself with thy brothers, without allowing your senses to be stupefied speedily set out, inflamed with rage, for battle.'"

SECTION 55

"Sanjaya said, 'Hearing of the origin of Death and her strange acts, king Yudhishthira, humbly addressing Vyasa, once more said these words unto him.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Many kings there were in blessed countries, of righteous deeds and of prowess equal to that of Indra himself. They were royal sages, O regenerate one, that were sinless and truth-speaking. Once more, address me in words of grave import, and console me with (accounts of) the feats of those royal sages of ancient times. What was the measure of the sacrificial gifts made by them? Who were those high-souled royal sages of righteous deeds that made them? Tell me all this, O illustrious one!'

"Vyasa said, 'There was a king of the name of Switya. He had a son who was called Srinjaya. The Rishis Narada and Parvata were his friends. One day, the two ascetics, for paying Srinjaya a visit, came to his palace. Duly worshipped by Srinjaya, they became pleased with him, and continued to live with him happily. Once on a time as Srinjaya was seated at his case with the two ascetics, his beautiful daughter of sweet smiles came to him. Saluted with reverence by his daughter, Srinjaya delighted that girl standing by his side with proper benedictions of the kind she desired. Beholding that maiden, Parvata smilingly asked Srinjaya, saying, 'Whose daughter is this damsel of restless glances and possessed of every auspicious mark? Is she the splendour of Surya, or the flame of Agni? Or, is she any of these, viz., Sri, Hri, Kirti, Dhriti, Pushti, Siddhi, and the splendour of Soma?' After the celestial Rishi (Parvata) said these words, king Srinjaya answered, saying, 'O illustrious one, this girl is my daughter. She beggeth my blessings.' Then Narada addressed king Srinjaya and said. 'If, O monarch, thou wishest for great good (to thyself), then give this daughter of thine unto me for a wife.' Delighted (with the Rishi's proposal), Srinjaya addressed Narada, saying, 'I give her unto thee.' At this, the other Rishi, viz., Parvata, indignantly addressed Narada, saying, 'Chosen before this by me, within my heart, thou hast taken this damsel as thy wife. And since thou hast done this, thou, O Brahmana, shalt not go to heaven as thy will.' Thus addressed by him, Narada answered him, saying, 'The husband's heart and speech (directed thereto), (the giver's) consent, the speeches (of both), the actual gift made by sprinkling water, and the (recital of the mantras) ordained for the seizure of the (bride's hand),--these have been declared to be indications by which one is constituted a husband. Even this ceremonial is not all. That which (above all) is essential is the walk for seven paces (by the bride in circumambulating the bridegroom). Without these thy purpose (about marriage) have been unaccomplished. Thou hast cursed. Therefore, thou also shalt not go to heaven without me.' Having cursed each other those two Rishis continued to live there. Meanwhile, king Srinjaya, desirous of (obtaining) a son, began, with cleansed soul, to carefully entertain the Brahmanas, to the utmost of his power, with food and robes. After a certain time, those foremost of Brahmanas devoted to the study of the Vedas and fully conversant with those scriptures and their branches became gratified with that monarch, desirous of getting a son. Together they came to Narada and said unto him, 'Give this king a son of the kind he desires.'--Thus addressed by the Brahmanas, Narada replied unto them, saying, 'So be it.'--and then the celestial Rishi addressed Srinjaya saying, 'O royal sage, the Brahmanas have been pleased and they wish thee a son! Solicit thou the boon, blessed be thou, about the kind of son thou desirest.' Thus addressed by him, the king, with joined hands, asked for a son possessed of every accomplishment, famous, of glorious feats, of great energy, and capable of chastising all foes. And he further asked that the urine, the excreta, the phlegm and the sweat of that child should be gold. And in due time the king had a son born unto him, who came to be named Suvarnashthivin [Of golden excreta.] on earth. And in consequence of the boon, that child began to increase (his father's) wealth beyond all limits. And king Srinjaya caused all desirable things of his to be made of gold. And his houses and walls and forts, and the houses of all Brahmanas (within his dominions), and his beds, vehicles, and plates, and all manners of pots and cups, and palace that he owned, and all implements and utensils, domestic and otherwise were made of gold. And in time his stock increased. Then certain robbers hearing of the prince and seeing him to be such, assembled together and sought to injure the king. And some amongst them said, 'We will seize the king's son himself. He is his father's mine of gold. Towards that end, therefore, we should strive.' Then those robbers inspired with avarice, penetrating into the king's palace, forcibly took away prince Suvarnashthivin. Having seized and taken him to the woods, those senseless idiots, inspired with avarice but ignorant of what to do with him, slew him there and cut his body in fragments. They saw not, however, any gold in him. After the prince was slain, all the gold, obtained in consequence of the Rishi's boon, disappeared. The ignorant and senseless robbers struck one another. And striking one another thus, they perished and with them that wonderful prince on the earth. And those men of wicked deeds sank in an unimaginable and awful hell. Seeing that son of his, obtained through the Rishi's boon thus slain, that great ascetic, viz., king Srinjaya, afflicted with deep sorrow, began to lament in piteous accents. Beholding the king afflicted with grief on account of his son, and thus weeping, the celestial Rishi Narada showed himself in his presence. Listen, O Yudhishthira, to what Narada said unto Srinjaya, having approached that king, who afflicted with grief and deprived of his senses, was indulging in piteous lamentations. Narada said, 'Srinjaya, with thy desires unfulfilled, thou shalt have to die, although we utterers of Brahma, live in thy house. Avikshit's son Marutta even, O Srinjaya, we hear, had to die. Piqued with Vrihaspati, he had caused Samvatta 1 himself to officiate at his great sacrifices! Unto that royal sage the illustrious lord (Mahadeva) himself had given wealth in the shape of a golden plateau of Himavat. (With that wealth) king Marutta had performed diverse sacrifices. Unto him, after the completion of his sacrifices diverse tribes of celestials, those creators of the universe, with Indra himself in their company and with Vrihaspati at their head, used to come. All the carpets and furnitures of his sacrificial compound were of gold. The regenerate classes, desirous of food, all ate as they pleased, at his sacrifices, food that was clean and agreeable to their desires. And in all his sacrifices, milk and cards and clarified butter and honey, and other kinds of food and edibles, all of the best order, and robes and ornaments covetable for their costliness, gratified Brahmanas, thoroughly conversant with the Vedas. The very gods used to become distributors of food in king Marutta's palace. The Viswedevas were the courtiers of that royal sage, the son of Avikshit. By him were gratified the denizens of heaven with libations of clarified butter. And gratified (therewith), these, in their turn, increased that powerful ruler's wealth of crops with copious showers of rain. He always contributed to the gratification of the Rishis, the Pitris, and the gods, and thereby made them happy, by practising Brahmacharya, study of the Vedas, obsequial rites, and all kinds of gifts. And his beds and carpets and vehicles, and his vast stores of gold difficult to be given away, in fact, all that untold wealth of his, was given away voluntarily unto the Brahmanas, Sakra himself used to wish him well. His subjects were made happy (by him), Acting always with piety, he (ultimately) repaired to those eternal regions of bliss, acquired by his religious merit. With his children and counsellors and wives and descendants and kinsmen, king Marutta, in his youth, ruled his kingdom for a thousand years. When such a king, O Srinjaya, died who was superior to thee, in respect of the four cardinal virtues (viz., ascetic penances, truth, compassion, and liberality), and who, superior to thee, was much superior to thy son, do not grieve saying 'O Swaitya, for thy son who performed no sacrifice and gave no sacrificial present.'"

SECTION 56

"Narada said, 'King Suhotra also, O Srinjaya, we hear, fell a prey to death. He was the foremost of heroes, and invincible in battle. The very gods used to come for seeing him. Acquiring his kingdom virtuously, he sought the advice of his Ritwijas and domestic priests and Brahmanas for his own good, and enquiring of them, used to obey their behests. Well-acquainted with the duty of protecting his subjects, possessed of virtue and liberality, performing sacrifices and subjugating foes, king Suhotra wished for the increase of his wealth. He adored the gods by following the ordinances of the scriptures, and defeated his foes by means of his arrows. He

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gratified all creatures by means of his own excellent accomplishments. He ruled the earth, freeing her from Mlecchas and the forest-thieves. [The word in the original Atavika, literally meaning one dwelling in the woods. It is very generally used in the sense of thieves or robbers, thus showing that these depredators from the earliest times, had the woods and the forests for their home.] The deity of the clouds showered gold unto him from year's end to year's end. In those olden days, therefore, the rivers (in his kingdom) ran (liquid) gold, and were open to everybody for use [Vahinyas rivers. Swairinyas, open to everybody.]. The deity of the clouds showered on his kingdom large number of alligators and crabs and fishes of diverse species and various objects of desire, countless in number, that were all made of gold. The artificial lakes in that king's dominions each measured full two miles. Beholding thousands of dwarfs and humpbacks and alligators and Makaras, and tortoises all made of gold, king Suhotra wondered much. That unlimited wealth of gold, the royal sage Suhotra performing a sacrifice at Kurujangala, gave away unto the Brahmanas, before the completion of the sacrifice. Having performed a thousand Horse-sacrifices, a hundred Rajasuyas, many sacred Kshatriya-sacrifices 3 in all of which he made abundant presents to the Brahmanas and having performed daily rites, almost countless in number, undergone from specified desires, the king ultimately obtained a very desirable end. When, O Srinjaya, such a king died, who was superior to thee as regards the four cardinal virtues and who, superior to thee, was therefore, much superior to thy son, thou shouldst not grieve saying, 'Oh Swaitya, Oh, Swaitya,' for thy son performed no sacrifice and made no sacrificial present.'"

SECTION 57

"Narada said, 'The heroic king Paurava also, O Srinjaya, we hear, fell a prey to death. That king gave away a thousand times thousand horses that were all white in hue. At the Horse-sacrifice performed by that royal sage, countless number of learned Brahmanas versed in the principles of Siksha* and Akshara come from diverse realms. [* Siksha, one of the six branches of Vedas; it may be called the orthoepy of the Vedas. Akshara, letters of the alphabet. The sense seems to be that these Brahmanas were good readers of the Vedas.] These Brahmanas, purified by the Vedas, by knowledge, and by vows, and liberal and of agreeable countenances, having obtained from the king costly gifts, such as, robes and houses and excellent beds and carpets and vehicles and draft-cattle, were always delighted by actors and dancers and singers, thoroughly competent and well-versed (in their respective art), engaged in spot and ever-striving for their diversion. At each of his Sacrifices in due time he gave away as sacrificial presents ten thousand elephants of golden splendour, with the temporal juice trickling down their bodies, and cars made of gold with standards and banners. He also gave away, as sacrificial presents, a thousand times thousand maidens decked with ornaments of gold, and cars and steeds and elephants for mounting, and houses and fields, and hundreds of kine, by hundreds of thousand, and thousands of cowherds decked with gold. They that are acquainted with the history of the past, sing this song, viz., that in that sacrifice, king Paurava gave away kine with calves, having golden horns and silver hoofs and brass milkpots, and female slaves and male slaves and asses and camels, and sheep, countless in number, and diverse kinds of gems and diverse hill-like mounds of food. That sacrificing king of the Angas successively performed, in the order of their merit, and according to what was competent for his own class, many auspicious sacrifices capable of yielding every object of desire. When such a king, O Srinjaya, died who was superior to thee as regards the four cardinal virtues and who, superior to thee was, therefore, much more superior to thy son, thou shouldst not, saying 'Oh, Swaitya, Oh, Swaitya,' grieve for thy son who performed no sacrifice and made no sacrificial present.'"

SECTION 58

"Narada said, Usinara's son, Sivi also, O Srinjaya, we hear, fell a prey to death. That king had, as it were, put a leathern girdle around the earth, making the earth with her mountains and islands and seas and forests resound with the clatter of his car. The vanquisher of foes, viz., king Sivi. always slew the foremost of foes. He performed many sacrifices with presents in profusion unto the Brahmanas. That monarch of great prowess and great intelligence had acquired enormous wealth. In battle: he won the applause of all Kshatriyas. Having brought the whole earth under subjection, he performed many Horse-sacrifices, without any obstruction, which were productive of great merit giving away (as sacrificial present) a thousand crores of golden nishkas, and many elephants and steeds and other kinds of animals, much grain, and many deer and sheep. And king Sivi gave away the sacred earth consisting of diverse kinds of soil unto the Brahmanas. Indeed, Usinara's son, Sivi, gave away as many kine as the number of rain-drops showered on the earth, or the number of stars in the firmament, or the number of sand-grains or, the bed of Ganga, or the number of rocks that constitute the mountain called Meru, or the number of gems or of (aquatic) animals in the ocean. The Creator himself hath not met with and will not meet within the past, the present, or the future, another king capable of bearing the burdens that king Sivi bore. Many were the sacrifices, with every kind of rites, that king Sivi performed. In those sacrifices, the stakes, the carpets, the houses, the walls, and the arches, were all made of gold. Food and drink, agreeable to the taste and perfectly clean were kept in profusion. And the Brahmanas that repaired to them could be counted by myriads and myriads. Abounding with viands of every description, nothing but agreeable words such as give away and take were heard there. Milk and curds were collected in large lakes. In his sacrificial compound, there were rivers of drink and white hills of food. 'Bathe, and drink and eat as ye like,' these were the only words heard there. Gratified with his righteous deeds, Rudra granted Sivi a boon, saying, As thou givest away, let thy wealth, thy devotion,--thy fame, thy religious acts, the love that all creatures bear thee, and the heaven (thou attain), be all inexhaustible.' Having obtained all these desirable boons, even Sivi, when the time came, left this world for heaven. When, O Srinjaya, he died who was superior to thee, was much superior to thy son, thou shouldst not, saying, 'Oh, Swaitya, Oh, Swaitya', grieve for thy son who performed no sacrifice and made no sacrificial present.'"

SECTION 59

"Narada said, 'Rama, the son of Dasaratha, O Srinjaya, we hear, fell a prey to death. His subjects were as much delighted with him, as a sire is delighted with the children of his loins. Endued with immeasurable energy, countless virtues were there in him. Of unfading glory, Rama, the elder brother of Lakshmana, at the command of his father, lived for fourteen years in the woods, with his wife. That bull among men slew in Janasthana fourteen thousand Rakshasas for the protection of the ascetics. While dwelling there, the Rakshasa called Ravana, beguiling both him and his companion (Lakshmana) abducted his wife, the princess of Videha. Like the Three-eyed (Mahadeva), in days of old, slaying (the Asura) Andhaka, Rama in wrath slew in battle that offender of Pulastya's race who had never before been vanquished by any foe. Indeed, the mighty-armed Rama slew in battle that descendant of Pulastya's race with all his kinsmen and followers, that Rakshasa who was incapable of being slain by the gods and the Asuras together, that wretch who was a thorn unto the gods and the Brahmanas. In consequence of his affectionate treatment of his subjects, the celestials worshipped Rama. Filling the entire earth with his achievements, he was much applauded even by the celestial Rishis. Compassionate unto all creatures, that king, having acquired diverse realms and protected his subjects virtuously, performed a great sacrifice without obstruction. And the lord, Rama, also performed a hundred Horse-sacrifices and the great sacrifice called Jaruthya. And with libations of clarified butter he contributed to Indra's delight. 1 And by these acts of his, Rama conquered hunger and thirst, and all the diseases to which living creatures are subject. Possessed of every accomplishment, he always blazed forth with his own energy. Indeed, Rama, the son of Dasaratha, greatly outshone all creatures. When Rama ruled his kingdom, the Rishis, the gods, and men, all lived together on the earth. The lives of living creatures were never otherwise. The life-breaths also, called Prana, Apana, Samana, and the others, when Rama ruled his kingdom, all performed their functions. All luminous bodies shone brighter, and calamities never occurred. All his subjects were long-lived. None died in youth. The dwellers of heaven highly gratified, used to get, according to (the ordinances of) the four Vedas, libations of clarified butter and other offerings of food made by men. His realms were free from flies and gnats; and of beasts of prey and poisonous reptiles, there were none. And none was of unrighteous tendencies, none was covetous, and none was ignorant. The subjects, of all the (four) orders, were engaged in righteous and desirable acts, When the Rakshasas, about this time obstructed the offerings to the Pitris and the worship of the gods in Janasthana, Lord Rama, slaying them, caused those offerings and that worship to be once more given to the Pitris and the gods. Men were each blessed with a thousand children, and the period of their lives was a thousand years. Seniors had never to perform Sraddhas of their juniors. Youthful in shape, of a dark-blue hue, of red eyes, possessed of the tread of an infuriated elephant, with arms reaching down to the knees, and beautiful and massive, of leonine shoulders, of great strength, and beloved by all creatures, Rama ruled his kingdom for eleven thousand years. His subjects always uttered his name. While Rama ruled his kingdom, the world became extremely beautiful. Taking at last his four kinds of subjects* with him Rama went to heaven, having established his own line consisting of eight houses on the earth. When even he died, O Srinjaya, who was superior to thee in respect of the four cardinal virtues and superior to thy son, thou shouldst not lament, saying 'Oh, Swaitya, Oh, Swaitya,' for thy son who performed no sacrifice and made no sacrificial present'." [The four kinds of creatures that owned Rama's sway were (1st) those that were oviparous, (2nd) those that were viviparous, (3rd) those born of filth, and (4th) the vegetables.]

SECTION 60

"Narada said, 'Even king Bhagiratha, O Srinjaya, we hear, was dead. He caused the shores of Ganga, called after his name Bhagirath to be covered with flights of steps made of gold. Surpassing all kings and all princes, he gave unto the Brahmanas a thousand times thousand damsels decked with ornaments of gold. All those damsels were upon cars. And unto every car were yoked four steeds, and behind each car were a hundred kine. And behind each cow were (many) goats and sheep. King Bhagiratha gave enormous presents at his sacrifices. For that reason a large concourse of men assembled there. Afflicted there with Ganga was much pained. 'Protect Me,' she said and sat down on his lap. And because Ganga thus sat upon his lap in days of old, therefore, she, like the celestial dancer Urvasi came to be regarded as his daughter and was named after his name. And having become the king's daughter, she became his son (by becoming like a son, the means of salvation unto his deceased ancestors). Sweet-speeched Gandharvas of celestial splendour, gratified, sang all this in the hearing of the Rishis, the gods, and human beings. Thus, O Srinjaya, did that goddess, viz., the ocean-going Ganga, select lord Bhagiratha, descendant of Ikshvaku, the performer of sacrifices with profuse gifts (to the Brahmanas), as her father. His sacrifices were always graced with (the presence of) the very gods with Indra at their head. And the gods used to take their respective shares, by removing all impediments, to facilitate those sacrifices in every way. Possessed of great ascetic merit, Bhagiratha gave unto the Brahmanas whatever benefit they desired without obliging them to stir from the place wherever they might entertain those desires. There was nothing which he could withhold from the Brahmanas. Every one received from him everything he coveted. At last, the king ascended to the region of Brahman, through the grace of the Brahmanas. For that object on which the Rishis that subsisted on the rays of the sun used to wait upon the sun and the presiding deity of the sun, for that very object they used to wait upon the lord Bhagiratha, that ornament of the three worlds. When he died, O Srinjaya, who was superior to thee, as regards the four cardinal virtues, and who, superior to thee, was much superior to thy son, thou shouldst not grieve, saying 'Oh, Swaitya, Oh, Swaitya,' for the latter who performed no sacrifice and made no sacrificial present.'"

SECTION 61

"Narada said, 'Dilipa, the son of Havila, too, O Srinjaya, we hear, fell a prey to death. Brahmanas, vested in knowledge of Truth, devoted to the performance of sacrifices, blessed with children and children's children and numbering myriads upon myriads, were present at his hundreds of sacrifices. King Dilipa, having performed various sacrifices, gave away this earth, filled with treasures, unto the Brahmanas. At the sacrifices of Dilipa, the roads were all made of gold. The very gods, with Indra at their head used to come to him regarding him as Dharma himself. The upper and lower rings of his sacrificial stake were made of gold. Eating his Raga-khandavas, many persons, at his sacrifices, were seen to lie down on the roads. While battling over the waters, the two wheels of Dilipa's car never sank in that liquid. This seemed exceedingly wonderful, and never occured to other kings, Even those that saw king Dilipa, that firm bowman, always truthful in speech and giving away profuse gifts at his sacrifices, succeeded in ascending to heaven. In the abode of Dilipa, called also Khattanga, these five sounds were always to be heard, viz., the sound of Vedic recitations, the twang of bows, and Drink, Enjoy, and Eat! When he died, O Srinjaya, who was superior to thee in respect of the four cardinal virtues and who superior to thee, was much superior to thy son, thou shouldst not, saying, 'Oh, Swaitya, Oh, Swaitya,' grieve for thy son who performed no sacrifice and made no sacrificial gifts.'"

SECTION 62

"Narada said, 'Mandhatri' the son of Yuvanaswa, O Srinjaya, we hear, fell a prey to death. That king vanquished the gods, the Asuras and men. Those celestials, viz., the twin Aswins, brought him out of his father's womb by a surgical operations. Once on a time, king Yuvanaswa while chasing the deer in the forest, became very thirsty and his steeds also became exceedingly fatigued. Beholding a wreath of smoke, the king (directed by it) went to a sacrifice and drank the sacred sacrificial butter that lay scattered there. (The king, thereupon, conceived). Beholding that Yuvanaswa was quick with child, those best of physicians, viz., the twin Aswins among the celestials, extracted the child from the king's womb. Seeing that child of celestial splendour lying on the lap on his father, the gods said unto one another, 'What shall support this child?' Then Vasava said, 'Let the child suck my fingers,' Thereupon from the fingers of Indra issued milk sweet as nectar. And since Indra from compassion, said, 'He will draw his sustenance from me [Literally "Having me for his

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sustainer."],' and showed him that kindness, therefore, the gods named that child Mandhatri. Then jets of milk and clarified butter dropped into the mouth of Yuvanaswa's son from the hand of the high-souled Indra. The boy continued to suck the hand of Indra and by that means to grow. In twelve days he became twelve cubits in stature and endued with great prowess. And he conquered the whole of this earth in the course of a single day. Of virtuous soul, possessed of great intelligence, heroic, devoted to truth and a master of his passions, Mandhatri vanquished, by his bow Janamejaya and Sudhanwan and Jaya and Suna and Vrihadratha and Nriga. And the lands lying between the hill where the sun rises and the hill where he sets, are known to this day as the dominion of Mandhatri. Having performed a hundred Horse-sacrifices and a hundred Rajasuya sacrifices also, he gave away, O monarch, unto the Brahmanas, some Rohita fish made of gold, that were ten Yojanas in length and one Yojana in breadth. Mountains of savoury food and comestibles of diverse kinds, after the Brahmanas had been entertained, were eaten by others, (who came at his sacrifices) and contributed to their gratification. Vast quantities of food and eatables and drink, and mountains of rice, looked beautiful as they stood. Many rivers, having lakes of clarified butter, with diverse kinds of soup for their mire, curds for their froth and liquid honey for their water, looking beautiful, and wafting honey and milk, encircled mountains of solid viands. Gods and Asuras and Men and Yakshas and Gandharvas and Snakes and Birds, and many Brahmanas, accomplished in the Vedas and their branches, and many Rishis came to his sacrifices. Amongst those present there, none was illiterate. King Mandhatri, having bestowed the earth bounded by the seas and full of wealth upon the Brahmanas, at last disappeared like the sun. Filling all the points of the compass with his fame, he repaired to the regions of the righteous. When he died, O Srinjaya, who excelled thee in the four cardinal virtues and who, superior to thee, was much superior to thy son, thou shouldst not grieve, saying, 'Oh, Swaitya, Oh, Swaitya' for the latter who performed no sacrifice and made no sacrificial gift.'"

SECTION 63

"Narada said, 'Yayati, the son of Nahusha, O Srinjaya, we hear, fell a prey to death. Having performed a hundred Rajasuyas, a hundred Horse-sacrifices, a thousand Pundarikas, a hundred Vajapeyas, a thousand Atiratras, innumerable Chaturmasyas, diverse Agnishtomas, and many other kinds of sacrifices, in all of which he made profuse gifts unto the Brahmanas, he gave away unto the Brahmanas, having counted it first, the whole of the wealth that existed on the earth in the possession of Mlecchas and other Brahmana-hating people. When the gods and the Asuras were arrayed for battle, king Yayati aided the gods. Having divided the earth into four parts, he gave it away unto four persons. Having performed various sacrifices and virtuously begotten excellent offspring upon (his wives) Devayani, the daughter of Usanas and Sarmishtha, king Yayati, who was like unto a celestial, roved through the celestial woods at his own pleasure, like a second Vasava. Acquainted with all the Vedas, when, however, he found that he was not satiated with the indulgence of his passions, he then, with his wives, retired into the forest, saying this: 'Whatever of paddy and wheat and gold and animals and women there are on earth, even the whole of these is not sufficient for one man. Thinking of this, one should cultivate contentment.' Thus abandoning all his desires, and attaining to contentment, the lord Yayati, installing (his son) on his throne, retired into the forest. When he died, O Srinjaya, who was superior to thee in respect of the four cardinal virtues and who, superior to thee, was much superior to thy son, thou shouldst not, saying, 'Oh, Swaitya, Oh, Swaitya', grieve for the latter who performed no sacrifice and made no sacrificial present.'"

SECTION 64

"Narada said, 'Nabhaga's son, Amvarisha, O Srinjaya, we hear, fell a prey to death. Alone he battled a thousand times with a thousand kings. Desirous of victory, those foes, accomplished in weapons, rushed against him in battle from all sides, uttering fierce exclamations. Aided by his strength and activity and the skill he had acquired by practice, he cut off, by the force of his weapons, the umbrellas, the weapons, the standards, the cars, and the lances of those enemies, and dispelled his anxieties. Desirous of saving their lives, those men, doffing their coats of mail, implored him (for mercy). They sought his protection, saying, 'We yield ourselves to thee.' Reducing them to subjection and conquering the whole earth, he performed a hundred sacrifices of the best kind, according to the rites ordained in the scriptures, O sinless one! Food possessed of every agreeable quality was eaten (at those sacrifices) by large classes of people. At those sacrifices, the Brahmanas were respectfully worshipped and greatly gratified. And the regenerate classes ate sweet-meats, and Purikas and Puras, and Apupas and Sashkalis of good taste and large size, and Karambhas and Prithumridwikas, and diverse kinds of dainties, and various kinds of soup, and Maireyaka, and Ragakhandavas, and diverse kinds of confectionary, well-prepared, soft, and of excellent fragrance, and clarified butter, and honey, and milk, and water, and sweet curds, and many kinds of fruits and roots agreeable to the taste. And they that were habituated to wine drank in due time diverse kinds of intoxicating drinks for the sake of the pleasure that those produced, and sang and played upon their musical instruments. Avid others, by thousands, intoxicated with what they drank, danced and merrily sang hymns to the praise of Amvarisha; while others, unable to keep themselves erect, fell down on the earth. In those sacrifices, king Amvarisha gave, as sacrificial presents, the kingdoms of hundreds and thousands of kings unto the ten million priests (employed by him) Having performed diverse sacrifices the king gave unto the Brahmanas, as sacrificial presents, numbers of princes and kings whose coronal locks had undergone the sacred bath, all cased in golden coats of mail, all having white umbrellas spread over their heads, all seated on golden cars, all attired in excellent robes and having large trains of followers, and all bearing their sceptres, and in possession of their treasuries. The great Rishis, seeing what he did, were highly gratified, and said, 'None amongst men in past times did, none in future will be able to do, what king Amvarisha of profuse liberality, is doing now. When he, O Srinjaya, died who was superior to thee in respect of the four cardinal virtues and who superior to thee, was, much more superior to thy son, thou shouldst not, therefore, saying, 'Oh, Swaitya, Oh, Swaitya', grieve for the latter who performed no sacrifice and made no sacrificial present.'"

SECTION 65

"Narada said, 'King Sasavindu, O Srinjaya, we hear, fell a prey to death. Of great beauty and of prowess incapable of being baffled, he performed diverse sacrifices. That high-souled monarch had one hundred thousand wives. From each of those wives were born a thousand sons. All those princes were endued with great prowess. They performed millions of sacrifices. Accomplished in the Vedas, those kings performed many foremost of sacrifices. All of them were cased (on occasions of battle) in golden coats of mail. And all of them were excellent bowmen. All these princes born of Sasavindu performed Horse-sacrifices. Their father, O best of monarchs, in the Horse-sacrifices he had performed, gave away, (as sacrificial presents), all those sons unto the Brahmanas. Behind each of those princes were hundreds upon hundreds of cars and elephants and fair maidens decked in ornaments of gold. With each maiden were a hundred elephants; with each elephant, a hundred cars; with each car a hundred steeds, adorned with garlands of gold. With each of those steeds were a thousand kine; and with each cow were fifty goats. The highly blessed Sasavindu gave away unto the Brahmanas, in the great Horse-sacrifice of his such unlimited wealth. The king caused as many sacrificial stakes of gold to be made for that great Horse-sacrifice of his as is the number, double of sacrificial stakes of wood in other sacrifices of the kind. There were mountains of food and drink of the height of about two miles each. Upon the completion of' his Horse-sacrifice, thirteen such mountains of food and drink remained (untouched). His kingdom abounded in people that were contented and well-fed. And it was free from all inroads of evil and the people were perfectly happy. Having ruled for many long years, Sasavindu, at last, ascended to heaven. When he died, O Srinjaya, who was superior to thee in respect of the four cardinal virtues and who superior to thee was, therefore, much more superior to thy son, thou shouldst not, saying, 'Oh, Swaitya, Oh Swaitya', grieve for the latter who performed no sacrifice and made no sacrificial present.'"

SECTION 66

"Narada said, 'Gaya, the son of Amartarayas, O Srinjaya, we hear, fell a prey to death, That king, for a hundred years, ate nothing but what remained of the libations of clarified butter poured into the sacrificial fire. Agni (gratified with his proof of great devotion) offered to give him a boon. Gaya solicited the boon (desired), saying, 'I desire to have a thorough knowledge of the Vedas through ascetic penances, through practice of Brahmacharya, and of vows and rules, and through the grace of my superiors. I desire also inexhaustible wealth, through practice of the duties of my own order and without injury to others. I wish also that I may always be able to make gifts unto the Brahmanas, with devotion. Let me also procreate sons upon wives belonging to my own order and not upon others. Let me be able to give away food with devotion. Let my heart always delight in righteousness. O (Agni) thou supreme cleanser, let no impediment overtake me while I am engaged in acts for the attainment of religious merit.' Saying 'Be it so,' Agni disappeared then and there. And Gaya also, acquiring all he had asked for, subjugated his foes in fair fight. King Gaya then performed, for a full hundred years, diverse kinds of sacrifices with profuse presents unto the Brahmanas and the vows called Chaturmasyas and others. Every year, for a century, the king gave (unto the Brahmanas) one hundred and sixty thousand kine, ten thousand steeds, and one crore gold (nishkas) upon rising (on the completion of his sacrifices). Under every constellation also he gave away the presents ordained for each of these occasions. Indeed, the king performed various sacrifices like another Soma or another Angiras. In his great Horse-sacrifice, king Gaya, making a golden earth, gave her away unto the Brahmanas. In that sacrifice, the stakes of king Gaya were exceedingly costly, being of gold, decked with gems delightful to all creatures. Capable of killing every wish, Gaya gave those stakes unto well-pleased Brahmanas and other people. The diverse classes of creatures dwelling in the ocean, the woods, the islands, the rivers male and female, the waters, the towns, the provinces, and even in heaven, were all gratified with wealth and food distributed at Gaya's sacrifices. And they all said, 'No other sacrifice can come up to this one of Gaya. The sacrificial altar of Gaya was thirty Yojanas in length, six and twenty Yojanas in width, and twenty Yojanas in height. And it was made entirely of gold, and overspread with pearls and diamonds and gems. And he gave away this altar unto the Brahmanas, as also robes and ornaments. And the munificent monarch also gave unto the Brahmanas other presents of the kind laid down (in the scriptures). Upon the completion of that sacrifice five and twenty hills of food remained untouched, and many lakes and several beautifully flowing rivulets of juicy drinks, and many heaps, besides, of robes and ornaments. And in consequence of the merit of that great sacrifice, Gaya came to be well-known in the three worlds. And due to that sacrifice are the eternal Banian and the sacred Brahmasara. When he died, O Srinjaya, who was superior to thee in respect of four cardinal virtues and who superior to thee, was, therefore, much superior to thy son, thou shouldst not, saying, 'Oh, Swaitya, Oh, Swaitya,' grieve for the latter who performed no sacrifice and made no sacrificial present.'"

SECTION 67

"Narada said, 'Rantideva, the son of Srinjaya, we hear, fell a prey to death. That high-souled king had two hundred thousand cooks to distribute excellent food, raw and cooked, like unto Amrita, unto the Brahmanas, by day and by night, who might come to his house as guests. The king gave away unto the Brahmanas his wealth acquired by righteous means. Having studied the Vedas, he subjugated his foes in fair fight. Of rigid vows and always engaged in due performance of sacrifices, countless animals, desirous of going to heaven, used to come to him of their own accord. [Animals slain in sacrifices are believed to go to heaven.] So large was the number of animals sacrificed in the Agnihotra of that king that the secretions flowing from his kitchen from the heaps of skins deposited there caused a veritable river which from this circumstance, came to be called the Charmanwati [Identified with the modern Chumbal.]. He, incessantly gave away nishkas of bright gold unto the Brahmanas, 'I give thee nishkas.' 'I give thee nishkas,' these were the words incessantly uttered by him. 'I give thee,' 'I give thee' saying these words he gave away thousands of nishkas. And once again, with soft words to the Brahmanas, he gave away nishkas. Having given away, in course of a single day, one crore of such coins, he thought that he had given away very little. And, therefore, he would give away more. Who else is there that would be able to give what he gave? The king gave away wealth, thinking, If I do not give wealth in the hands of Brahmanas, great and eternal grief, without doubt, will be mine.' For a hundred years, every fortnight, he gave unto thousands of Brahmanas a golden bull into each, followed by a century of kine and eight hundred pieces of nishkas. All the articles that were needed for his Agnihotra, and all that were needed for his other sacrifices, he gave away unto the Rishis, including Karukas [A kind of vessel used by Brahmanas and others for begging.] and water-pots and plates and beds and carpets and vehicles, and mansions and houses, and diverse kinds of trees, and various kinds of viands. Whatever utensils and articles Rantideva possessed were of gold. They that are acquainted with the history of ancient times seeing the superhuman affluence of Rantideva, sing this song, viz., 'We have not seen such accumulated treasures even in the abode of Kuvera; what need be said, therefore, of human beings?' And people wonderingly said, Without doubt, the kingdom of Rantideva is made of gold. [Vaswoksara means made 'of gold.' It is a feminine adjective. The substantive is omitted. The passage may mean--'The city of Rantideva is made of gold.'] On such nights, when guests were assembled in the abode of Rantideva, one and twenty thousand kine were sacrificed (for feeding them). And yet the royal cook adorned with begemmed ear-rings, had to cry out, saying, 'Eat as much soup as you like, for, of meat, there is not as much today as in other days. Whatever gold was left belonging to Rantideva, he gave even that remnant away unto the Brahmanas during the progress of one of his sacrifices. In his very sight the gods used to take the libations of clarified butter poured into the fire for them, and the Pitris the food that was offered to them, in Sraddhas. And all superior Brahmanas used to obtain from him (the means of gratifying) all their desires. When he died, O Srinjaya, who was superior to thee in respect of the four cardinal virtues and who, superior to thee was, therefore, much superior to thy son, thou shouldst not, saying, 'Oh, Swaitya, Oh, Swaitya,' grieve

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for the latter who performed no sacrifice and made no sacrificial present.'"

SECTION 68

"Narada said, 'Dushmanta's son, Bharata, O Srinjaya, we hear, fell a prey to death. While only a child (living) in the forest, he achieved feats incapable of being achieved by others. Endued with great strength, he speedily deprived the very lions, white as snow and armed with teeth and claws, of all their prowess, and dragged them and bound them (at his pleasure). He used to check tigers also, that were fiercer and more ruthless (than lions), and bring them to subjection. Seizing other beasts of prey possessed of great might, and even huge elephants, dyed with red arsenic and spotted with other liquid minerals by their teeth and tusks, he used to bring them to subjection, causing their mouths to become dry, or obliging them to fly away. Possessed of great might, he used also to drag the mightiest of buffaloes. And in consequence of his strength, he checked proud lions by hundreds, and powerful Srimaras and horned rhinoceroses and other animals. Binding them by their necks and crushing them to an inch of their lives, he used to let them go. For those feats of his the regenerate ascetics (with whom he lived) came to call him Sarvadamana (the controller of all). His mother, at last, forbade him from torturing animals in that way. Endued with great prowess he performed a hundred Horse-sacrifices on the banks of the Yamuna, three hundred such sacrifices on the banks of Saraswati, and four hundred on the banks of the Ganga. Having performed these sacrifices, he once more performed a thousand Horse-sacrifices and a hundred Rajasuyas, great sacrifices, in which his gifts also to the Brahmanas were very profuse. Other sacrifices, again, such as the Agnishtoma, the Atiratra, the Uktha and the Viswajit, he performed together with thousands and thousands of Vajapeyas, and completed without any impediment. The son of Sakuntala, having performed all these, gratified the Brahmanas with presents of wealth. Possessed of great fame, Bharata then gave ten thousand billions of coins, made of the most pure gold, unto Kanwa (who had brought up his mother Sakuntala as his own daughter). The gods with Indra at their head, accompanied by the Brahmanas, coming to his sacrifice, set up his sacrificial stake made entirely of gold, and measuring in width a hundred Vyamas [A Vyama is the space between the two arms extended at their furthest.]. And imperial Bharata, of noble soul, that victor over all foes, that monarch never conquered by any enemy, gave away unto the Brahmanas beautiful horses and elephants and cars, decked with gold, and beautiful gems of all kinds, and camels and goats and sheep, and slaves--male and female--and wealth, and grains and milch cows with calves, and villages and fields, and diverse kinds of robes, numbering by millions and millions. When he died, O Srinjaya, who was superior to thee in respect of the four cardinal virtues and who superior to thee, was, therefore, much superior to thy son, thou shouldst not, saying, 'Oh, Swaitya, Oh, Swaitya,' grieve for the latter who performed no sacrifice and made no sacrificial present.'

SECTION 69

"Narada said, 'Vena's son, king Prithu, O Srinjaya, we hear, fell a prey to death, In the Rajasuya sacrifice he performed, the great Rishis installed him as Emperor (of the world). He vanquished all, and his achievements, became known (all over the world). For this he came to be called Prithu (the celebrated). And because he protected all people from wounds and injuries, for this he became a true Kshatriya [Literally, the one that rescues another from wounds and injuries.]. Beholding Vena's son, Prithu, all his subjects said, We are highly pleased with him. In consequence of this affection that he enjoyed of his subjects he came to be called a Raja [The one who enjoys the affection of his people, and with whom they are delighted.]. During the time of Prithu, the earth, without being cultivated, yielded crops in sufficiency. All the kine, again, yielded milk whenever they were touched. Every lotus was full of honey. The Kusa blades were all of gold, agreeable to the touch, and otherwise delightful. And the subjects of Prithu made clothes of these blades and the beds also on which they lay. All the fruits were soft and sweet and like unto Amrita (in taste). And these constituted the food of his subjects, none amongst whom had ever to starve. And all men in Prithu's time were hale and hearty. And all their wishes were crowned with fruition. They had nothing to fear. On trees, or in caves, they dwelt as they liked. His dominions were not distributed into provinces and towns. The people lived happily and in joy as each desired. When king Prithu went to the sea, the waves became solid. The very mountains used to yield him openings that he might pass through them. The standard of his car never broke (obstructed by anything). Once on a time, the tall trees of the forest, the mountains, the gods, the Asuras, men, the snakes, the seven Rishis, the Apsaras, and the Pitris, all came to Prithu, seated at his ease, and addressing him, said, 'Thou art our Emperor. Thou art our king. Thou art our protector and Father. Thou art our Lord. Therefore, O great king, give us boons after our own hearts, through which we may, for ever, obtain gratification and joy.' Unto them Prithu, the son of Vena, said, So be it. Then taking up his Ajagava bow [The bow of Siva, otherwise called Pinaka.] and some terrible arrows the like of which existed not, he reflected for a moment. He then addressed the Earth, saying, 'Coming quickly, O Earth! Yield to these the milk they desire. From that, blessed be thou, I will give them the food they solicit.' Thus addressed by him, the Earth said, 'It behoveth thee, O hero, to regard me as thy daughter.' Prithu answered, So be it!--And then that great ascetic, his passions under control, made all arrangements (for milking the Earth. Then the entire assemblage of creatures began to milk the Earth). And first of all, the tall trees of the forest rose for milking her, The Earth then, full of affection, stood there desiring a calf, a milker, and vessels (wherein to hold the milk). Then the blossoming Sala became the calf, the Banian became the milker, torn buds became the milk, and the auspicious fig tree became the vessel. (Next, the mountains milked her). The Eastern hill, whereon the Sun rises, became the calf; the prince of mountains, viz., Meru, became the milker; the diverse gems and deciduous herbs became the milk; and the stones became the vessels (for holding that milk). Next, one of the gods became the milker, and all things capable of bestowing energy and strength became the coveted milk. The Asuras then milked the Earth, having wine for their milk, and using an unbaked pot for their vessel. In that act, Dwimurddhan became the milker, and Virochana, the calf. The human beings milked the Earth for cultivation and crops. The self-created Manu became their calf, and Prithu himself the milker. Next, the Snakes milked the Earth, getting poison as the milk, and using a vessel made of a gourd, Dhritarashtra became the milker, and Takshaka the calf. The seven Rishis, capable of producing everything by their fiat*, then milked the Earth, getting the Vedas as their milk. [* Aklishtakarman, literally, one who is never fatigued with work; hence one capable of obtaining the results of action by a mere fiat of the will. It may also mean, of unspotted acts.] Vrihaspati became the milker, the Chhandas were the vessel, and the excellent Soma, the calf. The Yakshas, milking the Earth, got the power of disappearance at will as the milk in an unbaked pot. Vaisravana (Kuvera) became their milker, and Vrishadhvaja their calf. The Gandharvas and the Apsaras milked all fragrant perfumes in a vessel made of a lotus-leaf. Chitraratha became their calf, and the puissant Viswaruchi their milker. The Pitris milked the Earth, getting Swaha as their milk in a vessel of silver. Yama, the son of Vivaswat, became their calf, and (the Destroyer Antaka) their milker. Even thus was the Earth milked by that assemblage of creatures who all got for milk what they each desired. The very calves and vessels employed by them are existing to this day and may always be seen. The powerful Prithu, the son of Vena, performing various sacrifices, gratified all creatures in respect of all their desires by gifts of articles agreeable to their hearts. And he caused golden images to be made of every article on earth, and bestowed them all on the Brahmanas as his great Horse-sacrifice [Parthivas, i.e., relating to the earth.], The king caused six and sixty thousand elephants to be made of gold, and all those he gave away unto the Brahmanas. And this whole earth also the king caused to be decked with jewels and gems and gold, and gave her away unto the Brahmanas. When he died, O Srinjaya, who was superior to thee as regards the four cardinal virtues and who, superior to thee, was, therefore, much superior to thy son thou shouldst not, saying 'Oh, Swaitya, Oh, Swaitya,' grieve for the latter who performed no sacrifice and made no sacrificial present.'"

SECTION 70

"Narada said, 'Even the great ascetic Rama, the hero worshipped by all heroes, that son of Jamadagni, of great fame, will die, without being contented (with the period of his life). Rooting out all evils from the earth, he caused the primeval Yuga to set in. Having obtained unrivalled prosperity, no fault could be seen in him. His father having been slain and his calf having been stolen by the Kshatriyas, he without any boast, slew Kartavirya who had never been vanquished before by foes. With his bow he slew four and sixty times ten thousand Kshatriyas already within the jaws of death. In that slaughter were included fourteen thousand Brahmana-hating Kshatriyas of the Dantakura country, all of whom he slew. Of the Haihayas, he slew a thousand with his short club, a thousand with his sword, and a thousand by hanging. Heroic warriors, with their cars, steeds, and elephants, lay dead on the field, slain by the wise son of Jamadagni, enraged at the slaughter of his father. And Rama, on that occasion, slew ten thousand Kshatriyas with his axe. He could not quietly bear the furious speeches uttered by those (foes of his). And when many foremost of Brahmans uttered exclamations, mentioning the name of Rama of Bhrigu's race, then the valiant son of Jamadagni, proceeding against the Kashmiras, the Daradas, the Kuntis, the Kshudrakas, the Malavas, the Angas, the Vangas, the Kalingas, the Videhas, the Tamraliptakas, the Rakshovahas, the Vitahotras, the Trigartas, the Martikavatas, counting by thousand, slew them all by means of his whetted shafts. Proceeding from province to province, fie thus slew thousands of crores of Kshatriyas. Creating a deluge of blood and filling many lakes also with blood as red as Indrajopakas or the wild fruit called Vandujiva, and bringing all the eighteen islands (of which the earth is composed) under his subjection, that son of Bhrigu's race performed a hundred sacrifices of great merit, all of which he completed and in all of which the presents he made unto the Brahmanas were profuse. The sacrificial altar, eighteen nalas high made entirely of gold, and constructed according to the ordinance, full of diverse kinds of jewels and gems, and decked with hundreds of standards, and this earth abounding in domestic and wild animals, were accepted by Kasyapa as sacrificial present made unto him by Rama, the son of Jamadagni. And Rama also gave him many thousand prodigious elephants, all adorned with gold. Indeed, freeing the earth from all robbers, and making her teem with honest and graceful inhabitants, Rama gave her away to Kasyapa at his great Horse-sacrifice. Having divested the earth of Kshatriyas for one and twenty times, and having performed hundreds of sacrifices, the puissant hero gave away the earth to the Brahmanas. And it was Marichi (Kasyapa) who accepted from him the earth with her seven islands. Then Kasyapa said unto Rama, 'Go out of the earth, at my command.' At the word of Kasyapa, the foremost of warriors, desirous of obeying the Brahmana's behest, caused by his arrows the very ocean to stand aside, and repairing to that best of mountains called Mahendra, continued to live there. Even that enhancer of the fame of the Bhrigus, possessed of such numberless virtues, that famous son of Jamadagni, of great splendour, will die. Superior to thy son, (even he will die). Do not, therefore, grieve for thy son who performed no sacrifice and made no sacrificial present. All these, superior to thee as regards the four cardinal virtues and as regards also a hundred other merits, all these foremost of men, have died, O Srinjaya, and they that are like them will also die.'"

SECTION 71

"Vyasa said, 'Hearing this sacred history of sixteen kings, capable of enhancing the period of life (of the listener), king Srinjaya remained silent without saying anything. The illustrious Rishi Narada then said unto him thus sitting silent, 'O thou of great splendour, hast thou heard those histories recited by me, and hast thou caught their purport? Or, are all these lost like Sraddha as performed by a person of regenerate classes having a Sudra wife?' Thus addressed, Srinjaya then replied with joined hands, 'O thou that hast wealth of asceticism, having listened to these excellent and praiseworthy histories of ancient royal sages, all of whom had performed great sacrifices with profuse presents unto the Brahmanas, my grief hath all been dispelled by wonder, like the darkness that is dispelled by the rays of the sun. I have now been cleansed of my sins, and I do not feel any pain now. Tell me, what shall I do now?'

"Narada said, 'By good luck it is that thy grief hath been dispelled. Solicit thou the boon that thou desirest. Thou wilt obtain all thou mayst ask. We never say what is not true.'

"Srinjaya said, 'I am happy with even this, viz., that thou, O holy one, art gratified with me. He with whom thou, O holy one, art gratified, hath nothing unobtainable here.'

"Narada said, 'I will once more give thee thy son who was fruitlessly slain by the robbers, like an animal, slaughtered in sacrifice, taking him out of terrible hell.'

"Vyasa said, 'Then the son of Srinjaya, of wonderful splendour, appeared, that child resembling the son of Kuvera himself, bestowed by the gratified Rishi (on the bereaved father). And king Srinjaya, once more meeting with his son, became highly delighted. And he performed many meritorious sacrifices, giving away profuse sacrificial presents upon completion. Srinjaya's son had not fulfilled the purposes of his being. He had performed no sacrifice and had no children. Destitute of bravery, he had perished miserably and not in battle. It was for this reason that he could be brought back into life. As regards Abhimanyu, he was brave and heroic. He hath fulfilled the purposes of life, for the brave son of Subhadra, having blasted his foes by thousands, hath left the world, falling in the field of battle. Those inaccessible regions that are attainable by Brahmacharya, by knowledge, by acquaintance with the scriptures, by foremost of sacrifices, even, these have been obtained by thy son. Men of knowledge always desire heaven by their righteous deeds. They that are living in heaven never prefer this world to heaven. Therefore, it is not easy for any desirable thing that might have been unattained by him to bring back into the world Arjuna's son slain in battle and now residing in heaven. Thy son has attained to that eternal goal which is attained by yogins with eyes shut in contemplation or by performers of great sacrifices, or people possessed of great ascetic merit. After death, attaining a new body that hero is shining like a king in his own immortal rays. Indeed, Abhimanyu has once more got his own body of lunar essence that is desirable by all regenerate persons. He deserveth not thy grief. Knowing this, be quiet, and slay thy foes. Let fortitude be thine. O sinless one, it is the living that stand in need of our grief, and not they that have attained to heaven. His sins increase, O king, for whom, the

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living grieve. Therefore, he that is wise, abandoning grief, should strive for (the) benefit (of the dead). The living man should think of the joy, the glory, and the happiness (of the dead). Knowing this, the wise never indulge in grief, for grief is painful. Know this to be true. Rise up! Strive (to achieve thy purpose). Do not grieve. Thou hast heard of the origin of Death, and her unexampled penances, as also the impartiality of her behaviour towards all creatures. Thou hast heard that prosperity is unstable. Thou hast heard how the dead son of Srinjaya was revived. O learned king, do not grieve. Peace be to thee, I go!'--Having said this, the holy Vyasa disappeared then and there. Upon the departure of that master of speech, that foremost of intelligent persons, viz., the holy Vyasa, whose colour was like that of the clouded sky, Yudhishthira, having derived consolation in consequence of what he had heard about the sacrificial merit and prosperity of these great monarchs of olden times, possessed of energy equal to that of the great Indra himself and all of whom had acquired wealth by righteous means, mentally applauded those illustrious persons and became freed from grief. Once more, however, with a melancholy heart he asked himself, saying, 'What shall we say unto Dhananjaya?'"

SECTION 72

"Sanjaya said, 'When that terrible day, so fraught with the slaughter of creatures, departed, and when the sun set, the beautiful twilight of the evening spread itself. The troops, O bull of Bharata's race, of both parties, had retired to their tents. Then the ape-bannered Jishnu, having slain a large number of Samsaptakas by means of his celestial weapons, proceeded towards his tent, mounted on that victorious car of his. And as he was proceeding, he asked Govinda, with voice choked with tears, 'Why is my heart afraid, O Kesava, and why both my speech falter? Evil omens encounter me, and my limbs are weak. Thoughts of disaster possess my mind without living it. On earth, on all sides, various omens strike me with fear. Of many kinds are those omens and indications, and seen everywhere, foreboding dire calamity. Is it all right with my venerable superior, viz., the king with all his friends?'

"Vasudeva said, 'It is evident that everything is right with thy brother and his friends. Do not grieve, some trifling evil in another direction will happen.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Then those two heroes (viz., Krishna and Arjuna), having adored the Twilight*, mounted on their car and proceeded, talking of the day's battle so destructive of heroes. [* Twilight is herself the goddess who is supposed to be adored by certain prayers and on the occasion.] Having achieved feats exceedingly difficult of accomplishment, Vasudeva and Arjuna, at last, reached the (Pandava) encampment. Then that slayer of hostile heroes, viz., Vibhatsu, beholding the camp joyless and melancholy and everything to be in confusion, addressed Krishna with an agonised heart, and said, 'O Janardana, no auspicious trumpet blows today, its blasts mingled with the beat of drums and the loud blare of conchs. The sweet Vina also is nowhere played upon in accompaniment with slapping of palms [These slaps mark the cadences.]. Auspicious and delightful songs fraught with praise are nowhere recited or sung by our bards amongst the troops. The warriors also, all recede hanging down their heads. They do not tell me beholding me, as before, of the feats achieved by them. O Madhava, is it all right with my brothers today? Beholding our own men plunged in grief, I know no peace. Is it all right, O giver of honours, with the ruler of the Panchalas, or Virata, or all our warriors, O thou of unfading glory? Alas, Subhadra's son, ever cheerful, doth not today, with his brothers, come out with smiles to receive me returning from battle.'

"Sanjaya said, 'Thus conversing, those two, (viz., Krishna and Arjuna), entered their own camp. And they saw that the Pandavas, all cheerless, were sitting, plunged in great grief. Beholding his brothers and sons, the ape-bannered Arjuna became very cheerless. Not seeing the son of Subhadra there, Arjuna said, 'Pale is the colour I behold of the faces of you all. I do not, again, see Abhimanyu. Nor doth he come to congratulate me. I heard that Drona had today formed the circular array. None amongst you, save the boy Abhimanyu, could break that array. I, however, did not teach him how to come out of that array, after having pierced it. Did you cause the boy to enter that array? Hath that slayer of heroes, viz., the son of Subhadra, that mighty bowman, having pierced that array, through numberless warriors of the enemy in battle, fallen, at last in the fight? Oh, tell me, how that hero of mighty arms and red eyes, born (in our line) like a lion on the mountain breast, and equal unto the younger brother of Indra himself, hath fallen on the field of battle? What warrior, deprived on his senses by Death ventured to slay that dear son of Subhadra, that favourite of Draupadi and Kesava, that child ever loved by Kunti? Equal unto the high-souled Vrishni hero, Kesava, himself in prowess and learning and dignity, how hath he been slain on the field of battle? The favourite son of that daughter of the Vrishni race, always cherished by me, alas, if I do not see him I will repair to the abode of Yama. With locks ending in soft curls, of tender years, with eyes like those of a young gazelle, with tread like that of an infuriated elephant, tall like a Sala offshoot, of sweet speech accompanied with smiles, quiet, ever obedient to the behest of his superiors, acting like one of mature years though tender in age, of agreeable speech, reft of vanity, of great courage and great energy, of large eyes resembling lotus-petals, kind to those devoted to him, self-restrained, following nothing mean, grateful, possessed of knowledge, accomplished in weapons, unretreating from battle, always delighting in fight, and enhancing the fears of foes, engaged in the welfare of kinsmen, desirous of victory into sires, never striking first, perfectly fearless in battle, alas, if I do not behold that son, I will repair to the abode of Yama. In the counting of car-warriors always reckoned as a Maharatha, superior to me one and a half times, of tender years, of mighty arms, even dear to Pradyumna and Kesava and myself, alas, if I do not behold that son I will repair to the abode of Yama. Of beautiful nose, of beautiful forehead, of fair eyes and eyebrows and lips, if I do not behold that face, what peace can my heart have? Melodious as the voice of the male Kokila, delightful, and sweet as the warblings of the Vina, without listening to his voice, what peace can my heart have? His beauty was unrivalled, rare even among the celestials. Without casting my eyes on that form, what peace can my heart have? Accomplished in saluting (his superiors) with reverence, and always obedient to the behests of his sires, alas, if I do not behold him, what peace can my heart have? Brave in battle, accustomed to every luxury, deserving of the softest bed, alas, he sleepeth today on the bare earth, as if there is none to take care of him, although he is foremost of those that have protectors to look after them. He on whom, while on his bed, the foremost of beautiful women used to attend, alas, he mangled with shafts, will have inauspicious jackals, prowling over the field, to attend upon him today. He who was formerly roused from his slumbers by singers and bards and panegyrists, alas, he will today be surely awakened by discordant beasts of prey. That beautiful face of his eminently deserved to be shaded by the umbrella, alas, the dust of battle-field will surely befoul today. O child, unfortunate that I am, death forcibly takes thee away from me, who was never satiated with looking at thee. Without doubt, that abode of Yama, which is always the goal of persons of righteous deeds, that delightful mansion, illuminated today by thy own splendours, is rendered exceedingly beautiful by thee. Without doubt, Yama and Varuna and Satakratu and Kuvera, obtaining thee as a favourite guest, are making much of thy heroic self. Thus indulging in diverse lamentations, like a merchant whose vessel has been sunken. Arjuna, afflicted with great grief, asked Yudhishthira, saying, 'O, thou of Kuru's race, hath he ascended to heaven, having caused a great slaughter among the enemy and contended with the foremost warriors in the face of battle? Without doubt, while contending single-handed with foremost of warriors, countless in number, and fighting with vigour and resolution, his heart turned towards me from a desire of help. While afflicted by Karna and Drona and Kripa and others with sharp shafts of diverse kinds and bright points, my sons of little strength, must have repeatedly thought, 'My father will in this press be my rescuer.' I think, while indulging in such lamentations, he was felled on the ground by cruel warriors. Or, perhaps, when he was begotten by me, when he was the nephew of Madhva, when he was born in Subhadra he could not have uttered such lamentations. Without doubt, my heart, hard as it is, is made of the essence of the thunder, since it breaketh not, even though I do not behold that mighty-armed hero of red eyes. How could those mighty bowmen of cruel hearts shoot their deep-piercing shafts upon that child of tender years, who, again, Was my son and the nephew of Vasudeva? That noble-hearted youth who, coming forward every day, used to congratulate me, alas, why doth he not present himself today to me when I come back having slain the foe? Without doubt, overthrown, he lieth today on the bare earth bathed in blood. Beautifying the earth by his body, he lieth like the sun fallen (from the firmament). I grieve for Subhadra, who, hearing of the death in battle of her unretreating son, will, afflicted with sorrow, cast away her life. What will Subhadra missing Abhimanyu, say unto me? What also will Draupadi say unto me? Afflicted with grief as they are, what also shall I say unto them? Without doubt, my heart is made of the essence of the thunder, since it breaketh not in a thousand fragments at the sight of my weeping daughter-in-law, pierced with grief. The leonine shouts of the Dhritarashtras swelling with pride did, indeed, enter my ears. Krishna also heard Yuyutsu, censuring the heroes (of the Dhritarashtra army in these words): 'Ye mighty car-warriors, having been unable to vanquish Vibhatsu, and having slain only a child, why do ye rejoice? Why, having done what is disagreeable to those two, viz., Kesava and Arjuna, in battle, why do you in joy roar like lions, when truly the hour for sorrow is come? The fruits of this sinful deed of Yours will soon overtake you. Heinous is the crime perpetrated by you. How long will it not bear its fruits?' Rebuking them in these words, the high-souled son of Dhritarashtra by his Vaisya wife, went away, casting off his weapons afflicted with rage and grief. O Krishna, why did you not tell me all this during the battle? I would then have consumed all those car-warriors of cruel hearts.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Then Vasudeva, consoling Partha who was afflicted with grief on account of his son, who was exceedingly anxious, whose eyes were bathed in tears, and who was, in fact, overwhelmed with this sorrow caused by the slaughter of his child, said unto him, 'Do not yield so to grief. This is the way of all brave, unretreating heroes, especially of Kshatriyas, whose profession is battle. O foremost of intelligent men, even this is the goal ordained by the authors of our scriptures for unretreating heroes engaged in battle. Death is certain for heroes that do not retreat. There is no doubt that Abhimanyu hath ascended to those regions that are reserved for persons of righteous acts. O bull of Bharata's race, even this is coveted by all that are brave, viz., that they may die in battle, facing their foes. As regards Abhimanyu, he having slain in battle many heroic and mighty princes, hath met with that death in the face of battle which is coveted by heroes. Do not grieve, O tiger among men I The legislators of old have declared this to be the eternal merit of the Kshatriyas, viz., their death in battle. O best of the Bharatas, these brothers of thine are all exceedingly cheerless, as also the king, and these thy friends, seeing thee plunged in grief. O giver of honours, comfort them in consoling words. That which should be is known to thee. It behoveth thee not to grieve.' Thus comforted by Krishna of wonderful deeds, Partha then said these words unto all his brothers, with voice choked with sorrow: 'O lord of the earth, I desire to hear how the mighty-armed Abhimanyu, how that hero of large eyes, resembling lotus-petals, fought. Ye will see that I will exterminate the foe with his elephants and cars and steeds, I will exterminate in battle those slayers of my son with all their followers and kinsmen. Ye all are accomplished in arms. Ye all were armed with weapons, how then could Subhadra's son be slain, even if it were the wielder of the thunder-bolt himself with whom he fought? Alas, if I had known that Pandavas and the Panchalas would be able to protect my son in battle, I myself would have then protected him. Ye were then on your cars, ye were shooting your shafts. Alas, how then could Abhimanyu be slain by the foe, causing a great carnage in your ranks? Alas, ye have no manliness, nor have ye any prowess, since in the very sight of you all was Abhimanyu slain. Or, I should chide my own self, since knowing that ye all are weak, cowardly, and irresolute, I went away! Alas, are your coats of mail and weapons of all kinds only ornaments for decking your persons, and were words given to you only for speaking in assemblies, that ye failed to protect my son (even though ye were clad in mail, armed from head to foot, and even though you had assured me in words of your competence)?--Having said these words, Partha sat down, holding bow and his excellent sword. Indeed, none could, at that time, even look at Vibhatsu who then resembled the Destroyer himself in wrath, repeatedly drawing deep breaths. None of his friends or kinsmen could venture to look at or speak unto Arjuna, as he sat there exceedingly afflicted with grief on account of his son, and with face bathed in tears. None! Indeed could address him, save Vasudeva or Yudhishthira. These two, under all circumstances, were acceptable to Arjuna. And because they were highly reverenced and dearly loved, therefore, could they alone address him at such times. Then king Yudhishthira addressing Partha, of eyes like lotus-petals, who was then filled with rage and exceedingly afflicted with grief on account of the death of his son, said these words.

SECTION 73

"Yudhishthira said,--O mighty-armed one, after thou hadst gone towards the army of the Samsaptakas, the preceptor Drona made fierce endeavours for seizing me. We succeeded, however, in resisting Drona at the head of the array at all points, having in that battle, disposed our vigorously contending car-divisions in counter-array. Held in check by a large number of warriors, and myself also having been well protected, Drona began to smite us with great activity, afflicting us with his whetted shafts. Thus afflicted by him, we could not then even gaze at his army, far less face it in battle. All of us then, addressing thy son by Subhadra, who was equal to thyself, O lord, in prowess said unto him, [O son, pierce this array of Drona!]--That valorous hero thus urged by us, then sought, like a good horse, to take that burden on himself, however unbearable it might have been for him. Endued as he was with thy energy, aided by that knowledge of weapons which he derived from thee, that child then penetrated unto that array, like Garuda penetrating into the ocean. As regards ourselves, we followed that hero, that son of Subhadra, desirous in that battle, of penetrating (into the Dhritarashtra army) by the same path by which Abhimanyu had entered it. Then, O sire, the wretched king of the Sindhus, viz., Jayadratha, in consequence of the boon granted to him by Rudra, checked all of us! Then Drona, Kripa and Karna and Drona's son, and the king of the Kosalas, and Kritavarman, these six car-warriors surrounded the son of Subhadra. Having surrounded that child all those great car-warriors--too many for him although he was contending to the utmost of his power, deprived him of his car. After he had

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been deprived of his car, Dussasana's son, though he himself had a hair-breadth escape, succeeded, as chance would have it, in making Abhimanyu, meet with his end. As regards Abhimanyu, he, having slain many thousands of men and steeds and elephants, and eight thousand cars, and once more nine hundred elephants, two thousand princes, and a large number of heroic warriors unknown to fame, and despatching in that battle king Vrihadvala also to heaven, at last, through ill luck, met with his own death. Thus hath occurred this event that so enhances our grief! That tiger among men hath even thus ascended to heaven! Hearing these words uttered by king Yudhishthira, Arjuna, saying--Oh son!--and breathing a deep sigh, fell down on the earth in great pain. Then all the warriors of the Pandavas, surrounding Dhananjaya with cheerless faces began, filled with grief, to look at one another with winkless eyes. Recovering consciousness then, Vasava's son became furious with rage. He seemed to be in a feverish tremor, and sighed frequently. Squeezing his hands, drawing deep breaths, with eyes bathed in tears, and casting his glances like a mad man, he said these words.'

"Arjuna said,---'Truly do I swear that tomorrow I will slay Jayadratha! If from fear of death, he doth not forsake the Dhritarashtras, or implore our protection, or the protection of Krishna that foremost of men or of thine, O king, I shall assuredly slay him tomorrow! Forgetting his friendship for me, engaged in doing what is agreeable to Dhritarashtra's son, that wretch is the cause of the child's slaughter! Tomorrow I will slay him! Whoever they may be that will encounter me in battle tomorrow for protecting him, be it Drona, or Kripa, O king, I will cover them all with my arrow! Ye bulls among men, if I do not achieve even this in (tomorrow's) battle, let me not attain the region., reserved for the righteous, ye foremost of heroes! Those regions that are for them that slay their mothers, or for them that slay their fathers, or them that violate their preceptor's beds, or them that are vile and wicked, or them that cherish envy against the righteous, or them that speak ill of others or them that appropriate the wealth confidingly deposited with them by others, or them that are betrayers of trusts, or them that speak ill of wives enjoyed by them before, or them that have slain Brahmanas, or them that have killed kine, or them that eat sugared milk and rice, or food prepared of barley, or pot-herbs, or dishes prepared of milk, sesamum, and rice, or thin cakes of powdered barley fried in clarified butter or other kinds of cakes, or meat, without having dedicated the same to the gods,--even those regions shall speedily be mine if I do not slay Jayadratha!--Those regions to which they go that offer insults to Brahmanas devoted to the study of the Vedas, or otherwise worthy of respect, or to those that are their preceptors, (those regions shall speedily be mine if I do not slay Jayadratha!) That end which becomes theirs who touch Brahmanas or fire with the feet, that end which becomes theirs who throw phlegm and excreta and eject urine into water, even that miserable end shall be mine, if I do not slay Jayadratha! That end which is his who bathes (in water) in a state of nudity, or his who does not hospitably entertain a guest, that end which is theirs who receive bribes, speak falsehood, and deceive and cheat others, that end which is theirs who offend against their own souls, or who falsely utter praises (of others), or of those low wretches who eat sweetmeats in the sight of servants and sons and wives and dependents without sharing the same with those, that awful end shall be mine if I do not slay Jayadratha! That end which overtakes the wretch of ruthless soul who without supporting a righteous and obedient protégé casts him off, or him who, without giving unto a deserving neighbour the offerings in Sraddhas, giveth them away unto those that deserve them not, that end which is his who drinks wine, or his who insults those that are worthy of respect, or his who is ungrateful, or his who speaketh ill of his brothers, that end shall soon be mine if I do not stay Jayadratha! The end of all those sinful persons whom I have not mentioned, as also of those whom I have mentioned, shall soon be attained by me, if after this night passes away, I do not slay Jayadratha tomorrow:

"--Listen now to another oath of mine! If tomorrow's sun set without my slaying that wretch, then even here I shall enter the blazing fire! Ye Asuras and gods and men. Ye birds and snakes, ye Pitris and all wanderers of the night, ye regenerate Rishis and celestial Rishis, ye mobile and immobile creatures, ye all that I have not mentioned, ye will not succeed in protecting my foe from me! If he enters the abode of the nether region, or ascends the firmament, or repairs to the celestials, or the realms of the Daityas, I shall still, with a hundred arrows, assuredly cut off, on the expiration of this night, the head of Abhimanyu's foe!--'

"Sanjaya continued,--'Having uttered these words, Arjuna began to stretch Gandiva with both his arms. Transcending Arjuna's voice the sound of that bow rose and touched the very heavens. After Arjuna had taken that oath, Janarddana, filled with wrath, blew his conch, Panchajanya. And Phalguna blew Devadatta. The great conch Panchajanya, well filled with the wind from Krishna's mouth, produced a loud blare. And that blare made the regents of the cardinal and the subsidiary points, the nether regions, and the whole universe, to shake, as it happens at the end of the Yuga. Indeed after the high-souled Arjuna had taken the oath, the sound of thousands of musical instruments and loud leonine roars arose from the Pandava camp.

SECTION 74

"Sanjaya said, 'When the spies (of Duryodhana), having heard that loud uproar made by the Pandavas desirous of victory, informed (their masters of the cause), Jayadratha, overwhelmed with sorrow, and with heart stupefied with grief, and like one sinking in a fathomless ocean of distress, slowly rose up and having reflected for a long while, proceeded to the assembly of the kings. Reflecting for a while in the presence of those gods among men, Jayadratha, in fear of Abhimanyu's father and covered with shame, said these words--He who in Pandu's soil was begotten by Indra under the influence of desire, that wicked wretch is thinking of despatching me to the abode of Yama! Blessed be ye, I shall, therefore go back to my home from desire of life! Or, ye bulls among Kshatriyas, protect me by the force of your weapons! Partha seeks to slay me, ye heroes, render me fearless! Drona and Duryodhana and Kripa, and Karna, and the ruler of the Madras, and Valhika, and Dussasana and others, are capable of protecting a person who is afflicted by Yama himself. When however, I am threatened by Phalguna alone, will not all these the lords of earth, will not all of you, joined together, be able to protect me? Having heard the shouts of joy of the Pandavas, great hath been my fear. My limbs, ye lords of earth, have become powerless like those of a person on the point of death? Without doubt, the wielder of Gandiva hath sworn for my death! It is for this that the Pandavas are shouting in joy at a time when they should weep! Let alone the rulers of men, the very gods and Gandharvas, the Asuras, the Uragas, and the Rakshasas, cannot venture to baffle a vow of Arjuna. Therefore, ye bulls among men, blessed be ye, give me permission (to leave the Kuru camp). I want to make myself scarce. The Pandavas will no longer be able to find me! While indulging in such lamentations, with heart agitated by fear, king Duryodhana, always looking upon the accomplishment of his own business to be preferable to everything else, said unto him these words-Do not fear, O tiger among men! O bull among men, who will seek to encounter thee in battle when thou will remain in the midst of these Kshatriya heroes! Myself, Vikartana's son, Karna, Chitrasena, Vivinsati, Bhurisravas, Sala, Salya, the invincible Vrishasena, Purumitra, Jaya, Bhoja, Sudakshina the ruler of the Kamvojas, Satyavrata, the mighty-armed, Vikarna, Durmukha, Dussasana, Subahu, the ruler of the Kalingas, with his weapons upraised, Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti, Drona, Drona's son, and Suvala's son (Sakuni),--these and numerous other kings will, with their forces, face the battle surrounding thee on all sides! Let the fever of thy heart, therefore, be dispelled! Thou art thyself one of the foremost of car-warriors! O thou of immeasurable splendour, thou thyself art a hero! Being what thou art how canst thou then see any cause of fear, O king of the Sindhus! The eleven Akshauhinis of troops I own will carefully fight for protecting thee! Therefore, do not fear, O king of the Sindhus! Let thy fears be dispelled!'

'Sanjaya continued, 'Thus comforted, O monarch, by thy son, the king of the Sindhus then, accompanied by Duryodhana, repaired that very night to Drona (the generalissimo of the Kuru army). Then, O king, having touched Drona's feet with reverence, and taken his seat with humility, he asked the preceptor these words--In hitting the aim, in hitting it from it distance, in tightness of hand, and in the force of the stroke, O illustrious one, tell the difference between myself and Phalguna! O preceptor, I wish to know accurately the difference as regards proficiency (in the science of arms) between myself and Arjuna! Say it unto me truly'

"Drona said, 'Of tutorial instruction, both of you, i.e., thyself and Arjuna, have had the same measure, O son! In consequence, however, of yoga and the hard life led by Arjuna, he is superior to thee! Thou shouldst not, however, for any reason, cherish fear of Partha! Without doubt, I will, O son, protect thee from this fear! The very gods, cannot prevail over him who is protected by my arms! I will form an array which Partha will not succeed in piercing! [Literally, 'in crossing.'] Therefore contained thou in battle, do not fear, observing the duties of thy own order! O mighty car-warrior, tread in the track of thy sires and grandsires! Having duly studied the Vedas, thou hast poured libations, according to the ordinance, into fire! Thou hast also performed many sacrifices: Death cannot, therefore, be an object of terror to thee! (For if thou diest), attaining then to that great good fortune which is unattainable by vile men, thou will acquire all those excellent regions in heaven that are attainable by the might of one's arms! The Kaurvas, the Pandavas, the Vrishnis, and other men, as also myself with my son, are all mortal and short-lived! Think of this. One after another, all of us, slain by Time which is all powerful, shall go to the other world, carrying with us only our respective deeds I Those regions that ascetics acquire by undergoing severe penances, those regions are acquired by heroic Kshatriyas that are observant of the duties of their order. Even thus was the ruler of the Sindhus consoled by Bharadwaja's son. Banishing his fear of Partha, he set his heart on battle. Then, O king thy troops also felt great delight, and the loud sounds of musical instruments were heard, mingled with leonine shouts.'"

SECTION 75

"Sanjaya said, 'After Partha had vowed the death of the ruler of the Sindhus, the mighty-armed Vasudeva addressed Dhananjaya and said,--With the consent of thy brothers (alone, but without consulting me), thou hast sworn, saying--I will slay the ruler of the Sindhus! This hath been an act of great rashness (on thy part)! Without consulting me, thou hast taken up a great weight (upon thy shoulders)! Alas, how shall we escape the ridicule of all men? I had sent some spies into the camp of Dhritarashtra's son. Those spies, quickly coming unto me, gave me this information, viz., that after thou, O lord, hadst vowed to slay the ruler of the Sindhus, loud leonine shouts, mingled with the sounds of (our) musical instruments, were heard by the Dhritarashtras. In consequence of that uproar, the Dhritarashtras, with their well-wishers, became terrified,--These leonine shouts are not, causeless!--thought they, and waited (for what would ensue). O thou of mighty arms, an uproarious din then arose amongst the Kauravas, of their elephants and steeds and infantry. And a terrible rattle was also heard of their cars.--Having heard of the death of Abhimanyu, Dhananjaya, deeply afflicted will in wrath come out in the night for battle!--Than king even thus, they waited (ready for battle). While preparing themselves. O thou of eyes like lotus-petals, they then learnt truly the vow about the slaughter of the ruler of the Sindhus, made by thee that art wedded to truth. Then all the counsellors of Suyodhana became heartless and frightened like little animals. As regards king Jayadratha, that ruler of the Sindhus and the Sauviras, overwhelmed with grief and becoming thoroughly cheerless he stood up and entered his own tent with all his counsellors. Having consulted (with them) about every remedy that could benefit him at a time when he stood in need of consultation, he proceeded to the assembly of the (allied) kings and there said these words unto Suyodhana--Dhananjaya thinking me to be the slayer of his son, will tomorrow encounter me in battle! He hath, in the midst of his army, vowed to stay me! That vow of Savyasachin the very gods and Gandharvas and Asuras and Uragas and Rakshasas cannot venture to frustrate! Protect me, therefore, ye all in battle! Let not Dhananjaya, placing his foot on your head, succeed in hitting the mark! Let proper arrangements be made in respect of this matter! Or, if, O delighter of the Kurus, you think that you will not succeed in protecting me in battle, grant me permission then, O king, so that I may return home! Thus addressed (by Jayadratha), Suyodhana became cheerless and sat, hanging down his head. Ascertaining that Jayadratha was in a great fright, Suyodhana began to reflect in silence. Beholding the Kuru king to be greatly afflicted, king Jayadratha, the ruler of the Sindhus, slowly said these words having a beneficial reference to himself--I do not behold here that bowman of superior energy who can baffle with his arms the weapons of Arjuna in great battle! Who, even if it be Satakratu himself, will stay in front of Arjuna having Vasudeva for his ally, while wielding the bow Gandiva? It is heard that lord Maheswara himself of supreme energy had been encountered, before this, by Partha on foot, on the mountains of Himvat! Urged by the chief of the celestials, he slew on a single car, a thousand Danavas dwelling in Hiranyapura! That son of Kunti is now allied with Vasudeva of great intelligence. I think that he is competent to destroy the three worlds including the very gods. I wish that you will either grant me permission (to leave the field for my home) or that the high-souled and heroic Drona with his son will protect me! Or, I would await thy pleasure!--O Arjuna, (thus addressed by Jayadratha) king Suyodhana humbly beseeched the preceptor in this matter [i.e. added his voice to that of Jayadratha, requesting Drona to protect the latter.]. All remedial measures have been adopted. Cars and steeds have been arranged. Karna and Bhurisravas, and Drona's son, and the invincible Vrishasena, and Kripa, and the ruler of the Madras, these six will be in (Jayadratha's) van. Drona will form an array half of which will be a Sakata [A kind of car or vehicle.] and half a lotus. In the middle of the leaves of that lotus will be a needle-mouthed array. Jayadratha, that ruler of the Sindhus, difficult of being conquered in battle, will take his stand, by it, protected by heroes! In (the use of) the bow, in weapons, in prowess, in strength, and also in lineage, those six car-warriors, O Partha are without doubt, exceedingly difficult of being borne. Without first vanquishing those six car-warriors, access to Jayadratha will not to be had. Think, O Arjuna, of the prowess of each of those six, O tiger among men, when united together, they are not capable of being easily vanquished! We should, therefore, once again, take counsel with well-wishing counsellors, conversant with policy, for our benefit and for the success of our object!'"

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SECTION 76

"Arjuna said, 'These six car-warriors of the Dhritarashtra army whom thou regardest to be so strong their (united) energy, I think is not equal to even half of mine! Thou shalt see, O slayer of Madhu, the weapons of all these cut off and baffled by me when I go against them for slaying Jayadratha! In the very sight of Drona and all his men, I will fell the head of the ruler of the Sindhus, on the earth, beholding which they will indulge in lamentations. If the Siddhas, the Rudras, the Vasus, with the Aswins, the Maruts with Indra: (at their head) the Viswadevas with other gods, the Pitris, the Gandharvas, Garuda, the Ocean, the mountains, the firmament, Heaven, Earth, the point of the compass (cardinal and subsidiary), and the regents of those points, all the creatures that are domestic and all that are wild, in fact if all the mobile and the immobile beings together, become the protectors of the ruler of the Sindhus, yet, O slayer of Madhu, shalt thou behold Jayadratha slain by me tomorrow in battle with my arrows! O Krishna, I swear by Truth, I touch my weapons (and swear by them), that I shall, O Kesava, at the very outset, encounter that Drona, that mighty bowman, who hath become the protector of that sinful wretch Jayadratha! Suyodhana thinks that this game (of battle) resteth on Drona! Therefore, piercing through the very van commanded by Drona himself, I shall get at Jayadratha! Thou shalt tomorrow behold the mightiest of bowmen riven by me in battle by means of my shafts endued with fierce energy, like summits of a hill riven by the thunder, Blood shall flow (in torrents) from the breasts of fallen men and elephants and steeds, split open by whetted shafts failing fast upon them! The shafts shot from Gandiva, fleet as the mind or the wind, will deprive thousands of men and elephants and steeds of life! Men will behold in tomorrow's battle those weapons which I have obtained from Yama and Kaurva and Varuna and Indra and Rudra! Thou shalt behold in tomorrow's battle the weapons of all those who come to protect the ruler of the Sindhus, baffled by me with my Brahma weapon! Thou shalt in tomorrow's battle, O Kesava, behold the earth strewn by me with the heads of kings cut off by the force, of my shafts! (Tomorrow) I shall gratify all cannibals, rout the foe, gladden my friends, and crush the ruler of the Sindhus! A great offender, one who hath not acted like a relative, born in a sinful country, the ruler of the Sindhu, slain by me, will sadden his own. Thou shalt behold that ruler of the Sindhus, of sinful behaviour, and brought up in every luxury, pierced by me with my shafts! On the morrow, O Krishana, I shall do that which shall make Suyodhana think that there is no other bowman in the world who is equal to me! My Gandiva is a celestial bow! I myself am the warrior. O bull among men! Thou, O Hrishikesa, art the charioteer! What is that I will not be able to vanquish? Through thy grace, O holy one, what is there unattainable by me in battle? Knowing my prowess to be incapable of being resisted, why, O Hrishikesa, dost thou, yet rebuke me? As Lakshmi is ever present in Soma, as water is ever present in the Ocean, know this, O Janarddana, that even so is my vow ever accomplished! Do not think lightly of my weapons! Do not think lightly of my tough bow! Do not think lightly of the might of my arms! Do not think lightly of Dhananjaya! I shall go to battle in such a way that I shall truly win and not lose! When I have vowed it, know that Jayadratha hath already been slain in battle! Verily, in the Brahmana is truth; verily, in the righteous is humility; verily, in sacrifice is prosperity; verily, in Narayana is victory!

"Sanjaya continued,--'Having said these words unto Hrishikesa, the son of Vasudeva, having himself said so unto his own self, Arjuna in a deep voice, once more addressed lord Kesava, saying--Thou shouldst O Krishna, so act that my car may be well equipt as soon as this night dawns, since grave is the task that is at hand!'"

SECTION 77

"Sanjaya said, 'Both Vasudeva and Dhananjaya, afflicted with sorrow and grief and frequently sighing like two snakes, got no sleep that night. Understanding that both Nara and Narayana were in rage, the gods with Vasava became very anxious thinking, 'What will come of it?' Fierce winds, that were again dry and foreboded danger, began to blow. And a headless trunk and a mace appeared on the disc of the sun. And although it was cloudless, frequent thunders were heard, of loud report, mixed with flashes of lightning. The earth with her mountains and waters and forests, shook. The seas, those habitation of Makaras, swelled O king, in agitation. The rivers ran in directions opposite to their usual course. The nether and upper lips of car-warriors and steeds and men and elephants began to tremble. And as if for gladdening the cannibals, on that occasion foreboding a great accession of population to the domain of Yama, the animals (on the field) began to eject urine and excreta, and utter loud cries of woe. Beholding these fierce omens that made the hair stand on end, and hearing also of the fierce vow of the mighty Arjuna, all thy warriors, O bull of Bharata's race became exceedingly agitated. Then the mighty-armed son of Pakasasana said unto Krishna. 'Go, and comfort thy sister Subhadra with her daughter-in-law. And, O Madhava, let also that daughter-in-law, and her companions, be comforted by thee; O lord, comfort them with soothing words that are again fraught with truth.' Thus addressed, Vasudeva, with a cheerless heart, wending to Arjuna's abode, began to comfort his sorrowing sister afflicted with grief on account of the death of her son.'

"Vasudeva said, 'O lady of Vrishni's race, do not grieve, with thy daughter-in-law, for thy son. G timid one, all creatures have but one end ordained by Time. The end thy son hath met with-that becometh a hero of proud lineage, especially who is a Kshatriya. Do not, therefore, grieve. By good luck it is that mighty car-warrior of great wisdom, of prowess equal to that of his father, hath, after the Kshatriya custom, met with an end that is coveted by heroes. Having vanquished numberless foes and despatched them unto Yama's presence, he hath himself repaired to those eternal regions, that grant the fruition of every wish, and that are for the righteous. Thy son hath attained that end which the righteous attain by penance, by Brahmacharya, by knowledge of the scriptures, and by wisdom. The mother of a hero, the wife of a hero, the daughter of a hero, and a kinsman of heroes, O amiable one, grieve not thou for thy son who hath obtained the supreme end. The wretched ruler of the Sindhus, O beautiful lady, that murderer of a child, that perpetrator of a sinful act, shall, with his friends and kinsmen, obtain the fruit of this arrogance of his on the expiry of this night. Even if he enters the abode of Indra himself he will not escape from the hands of Partha. Tomorrow thou shalt hear that the head of the Sindhus hath, in battle, been cut off from his trunk to roll on the outskirts of Samantapanchaka! Dispel thy sorrow, and do not grieve. Keeping the duties of a Kshatriya before him, thy brave son hath attained the end of the righteous, that end, viz., which we here expect to obtain as also others that bear arms as a profession. Of broad chest, mighty arms, unreturning, a crusher of car-warriors, thy son, O beautiful lady, hath gone to heaven. Drive away this fever (of thy heart). Obedient to his sires and maternal relations, that heroic and mighty car-warriors of great prowess hath fallen a prey to death, after having slain thousands of foes comfort thy-daughter-in-law, O queen! Do not grieve too much, O Kshatriya lady! Drive away thy grief, O daughter, as thou shalt hear such agreeable news on the morrow. That which Partha hath vowed must be accomplished. It cannot be otherwise. That which is sought to be done by thy husband can never remain unaccomplished. Even if all human beings and snakes and Pisachas and all the wanderers of the night and birds, and all the gods and the Asuras, help the ruler of the Sindhus on the field of battle; he shall still, with them, cease to exist tomorrow.'"

SECTION 78

"Sanjaya said, 'Hearing these words of the high-souled Kesava, Subhadra, afflicted with grief on account of the death of her son, began to indulge in these piteous lamentations: 'Oh, son of my wretched self, O thou that wast in prowess equal to thy father, O child, how couldst thou perish, going to battle! Alas, how doth that face of thine which resembleth the blue lotus and is graced with beautiful teeth and excellent eyes, now seem, now that, O child, it is covered with battle's dust! Without doubt, thee so brave and unreturning, thee fallen on the field, with beautiful head and neck and arms, with broad chest, low belly, thy limbs decked with ornaments, thee that art endued with beautiful eyes, thee that art mangled with weapon wounds, thee all creatures are, without doubt, beholding as the rising moon! Alas, thou whose bed used to be overlaid with the whitest and costliest sheets, alas, deserving as thou art of every luxury, how dost thou sleep today on the bare earth, thy body pierced with arrows? That hero of mighty arms who used of old to be waited upon by the foremost of beautiful women, alas, how can he, fallen on the field of battle, pass his time now in the company of jackals! He who of old was praised with hymns by singers and bards and panegyrists, alas, he is today greeted by fierce and yelling cannibals and beasts of prey. By whom, alas, hast thou been helplessly slain when thou hadst the Pandavas, O lord, and all the Panchalas, for thy protectors? Oh son, O sinless one, I am not yet gratified with looking at thee. Wretched as I am, it is evident that I shall have to go to Yama's abode. When again shall I cast my eyes on that face of thine, adorned, with large eyes and beautiful locks that smooth face without pimples, from which sweet words and exquisite fragrance constantly issued? Fie on the strength of Bhimasena, on the bowmanship of Partha, on the prowess of the Vrishni heroes, and the might of the Panchalas! Fie on the Kaikeyas, the Chedis, the Matsyas, and the Srinjayas, they that could not protect thee, O hero, while engaged in battle! I behold the earth today to be vacant and cheerless. Without seeing my Abhimanyu, my eyes are troubled with affliction. Thou wast the sister's son of Vasudeva, the son of the wielder of Gandiva, and thyself, a hero and an Atiratha. Alas, how shall I behold the slain! Alas, O hero, thou hast been to me like a treasure in a dream that is seen and lost. Oh, every thing human is as transitory as a bubble of water. This thy young wife is overwhelmed with grief on account of the evil that hath befallen thee. Alas, how shall I comfort her who is even like a cow without her calf! Alas, O son, thou hast prematurely fled from me at a time when thou wast about to bear fruit of greatness, although I am longing for a sight of thee. Without, doubt, the conduct of the Destroyer cannot be understood even by the wise, since although thou hast Kesava for thy protector, thou wast yet slain, as if thou wast perfectly helpless. O son, let that end be thine which is theirs that perform sacrifices and theirs that are Brahmanas of purified soul, and theirs that have practised Brahmacharya, and theirs that have bathed in sacred waters, and theirs that are grateful and charitable and devoted to the service of their preceptors, and theirs that have made sacrificial presents in profusion. That end which is theirs that are brave and unretreating while engaged in battle, or theirs that have fallen in battle, having slain their foes, let that end be thine. That auspicious end which is theirs that have given away a thousand kine, or theirs that have given away in sacrifices, or theirs that give away houses and mansions agreeable to the recipients, that end which is theirs that give away gems and jewels to deserving Brahmanas, or theirs that are punishers of crime, O, let that end be thine. That end which is attained by Munis of rigid vows by Brahmacharya, or that which is attained by those women that adhere to but one husband, O son, let that end be thine. That eternal end which is attained by kings by means of good behaviour, or by those persons that have cleansed themselves by leading, one after another, all the four modes of life, and through due observance of their duties, that end which is theirs that are compassionate to the poor and the distressed, or theirs that equitably divide sweets amongst themselves and their dependants, or theirs that are never addicted to deceit and wickedness, O son, let that end be thine! That end which is theirs that are observant of vows, or theirs that are virtuous, or theirs that are devoted to the service of preceptors, or theirs that have never sent away a guest unentertained, O son, let that end be thine. That end which is theirs that succeed in distress and the most difficult straits in preserving the equanimity of their souls, however much scorched they might be by the fire of grief, O son, let that end be thine. O son, let that end be thine which is theirs that are always devoted to the service of their fathers and mothers, or theirs that are devoted to their own wives only. O son, let that end be thine which is attained by those wise men who, restraining themselves from the wives of others, seek the companionship of only their own wives in season. O son, let that end be thine which is theirs that look upon all creatures with an eye of peace, or theirs that never give pain to others, or theirs that always forgive. O son, let that end be thine which is theirs that abstain from honey, meat, wine, pride and untruth, or theirs that have refrained from giving pain to others. Let that goal be thine which they attain that are modest, acquainted with all the scriptures, content with knowledge, and have their passions under control.'

"And while cheerless Subhadra, afflicted with grief, was indulging in such lamentations, the princess of Panchala (Draupadi), accompanied by Virata's daughter (Uttara), came to her. All of them, in great grief, wept copiously and indulged in heart-rending lamentations. And like persons reft of reason by sorrow, they fainted away and fell down on the earth. Then Krishna, who stood, ready with water, deeply afflicted, sprinkled it over his weeping, unconscious and trembling sister, pierced in her very heart, and comforting her, said what should be said on such an occasion. And the lotus-eyed one said, 'Grieve not, O Subhadra! O Panchali, console Uttara! Abhimanyu, that bull among Kshatriyas, hath obtained the most laudable goal. O thou of beautiful face, let all the other men yet alive in our race obtain that goal which Abhimanyu of great fame hath obtained. Ourselves with all our friends, wish to achieve, in this battle, that feat, the like of which, O lady, thy son, that mighty car-warrior, hath achieved without any assistance.' Having consoled his sister and Draupadi and Uttara thus, that chastiser of foes, viz., the mighty-armed (Krishna), returned to Partha's side. Then Krishna, saluting the kings, friends and Arjuna, entered the inner apartments of the (latter's) tent while those kings also repaired to respective abodes.'"

SECTION 79

"Sanjaya said, 'Then lord Kesava, of eyes like lotus-petals, having entered the unrivalled mansion of Arjuna, touched water, and spread (for Arjuna) on the auspicious and even floor an excellent bed of Kusa blades that were of the hue of the lapis lazuli. And keeping excellent weapons around that bed, he adorned it duly with garlands of flowers and fried paddy, perfumes and other auspicious articles. And after Partha (also) had touched water, meek and submissive attendants brought the usual nightly sacrifice to the Three-eyed (Mahadeva). Then Partha, with a cheerful soul, having smeared Madhava with perfumes and adorned with floral garlands, presented unto Mahadeva the nightly offering. [Nilakantha supposes that tasmai here refers to the Three-eyed and not to Krishna. This seems to be right.] Then Govinda, with a faint smile, addressed Partha, saying, 'Blessed be thou, O Partha, lay thyself down, I leave thee.' Placing door-keepers then, and also sentinels well-armed, blessed Kesava,

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followed by (his charioteer) Daruka, repaired to his own tent. He then laid himself down on his white bed, and thought of diverse measures to be adopted. And the illustrious one (Kesava) of eyes like lotus petals, began for Partha's sake, to think of various means that would dispel (Partha's) grief and anxiety and enhance his prowess and splendour. Of soul wrapt in yoga, that Supreme Lord of all, viz., Vishnu of wide-spread fame, who always did what was agreeable to Jishnu, desirous of benefiting (Arjuna), lapsed into yoga, and meditation. There was none in the Pandava camp who slept that night. Wakefulness possessed every one, O monarch. And everybody (in the Pandava camp) thought of this, viz.,--The high-souled wielder of Gandiva, burning with grief for the death of his son, hath suddenly vowed the slaughter of the Sindhus. How, indeed, will that slayer of hostile heroes, that son of Vasava, that mighty-armed warrior, accomplish his vow? The high-souled son of Pandu hath, indeed made a most difficult resolve. King Jayadratha is endued with mighty energy. Oh, let Arjuna succeed in fulfilling his vow. Difficult is that vow which he, afflicted with grief on account of his son, hath made. Duryodhana's brothers are all possessed of great prowess. His forces also are countless. The son of Dhritarashtra hath assigned all these to Jayadratha (as his protectors). Oh, let Dhananjaya come back (to the camp), having slain the ruler of the Sindhus in battle. Vanquishing his foes, let Arjuna accomplish his vow. If he fails to slay the ruler of the Sindhus tomorrow, he will certainly enter into blazing fire. Dhananjaya, the son of Pritha, will not falsify his oath. If Arjuna dies, how will the son of Dharma succeed in recovering his kingdom? Indeed, (Yudhishthira) the son of Pandu hath reposed (all his hopes of) victory of Arjuna. If we have achieved any (religious) merit, if we have ever poured libations of clarified butter into fire, let Savyasachin, aided by the fruits thereof, vanquish all his foes.' Thus talking, O lord, with one another about the victory (of the morrow), that long night, O king, of theirs, at last, passed away. In the middle of the night, Janardana, having awaked, remembered Partha's vow, and addressing (his charioteer) Daruka, said, 'Arjuna, in grief for the death of his son, hath vowed. O Daruka, that before tomorrow's sun goes down he will slay Jayadratha. Hearing of this, Duryodhana will assuredly take counsel with his counsellors, about how Partha may fail to achieve his object. His several Akshauhinis of troops will protect Jayadratha. Fully conversant with the ways of applying all weapons, Drona also, with his son, will protect him. That matchless hero, the Thousand-eyed (Indra himself), that crusher of the pride of Daityas and Danavas cannot venture to slay him in battle who is protected by Drona. I, therefore, will do that tomorrow by which Arjuna, the son of Kunti, may slay Jayadratha before the sun sets. My wives, my kinsmen, my relatives, non amongst these is dearer to me than Arjuna. O Daruka, I shall not be able to cast my eyes, even for a single moment, on the earth bereft of Arjuna. I tell thee, the earth shall not be reft to Arjuna. Myself vanquishing them all with their steeds and elephants by putting forth my strength for the sake of Arjuna, I will slay them with Karna and Suyodhana. Let the three worlds tomorrow behold my prowess in great battle, when I put forth my valour, O Daruka, for Dhananjaya's sake. Tomorrow thousands of kings and hundreds of princes, with their steeds and cars and elephants, will, O Daruka, fly away from battle. Thou shalt tomorrow, O Daruka, behold that army of kings overthrown and crushed with my discus, by myself in wrath for the sake of the son of Pandu. Tomorrow the (three) worlds with the gods, the Gandharvas, the Pisachas, the Snakes, and the Rakshasas, will know me as a (true) friend of Savyasachin. He that hateth him, hateth me. He that followeth him, followeth me. Thou hast intelligence. Know that Arjuna is half of myself. When morning comes after the expiry of this night, thou, O Daruka, equipping my excellent car according to the rules of military science, must bring it and follow me with it carefully, placing on it my celestial mace called Kaumodaki, my dart and discus, bow and arrows, and every other thing necessary. O Suta, making room on the terrace of my car for my standard and for the heroic Garuda thereon, that adorns my umbrella, and yoking thereto my foremost of steeds named Valahaka and Meghapushpa and Saivya and Sugriva, having cased them in golden mail of the splendour of the sun and fire, and thyself putting on thy armour, stay on it carefully. Upon hearing the loud and terrible blast of my conch Panchajanya emitting the shrill Rishava note, thou wilt come quickly to me. In course of a single day, O Daruka, I shall dispel the wrath and the diverse woes of my cousin, the son of my paternal aunt. By every means shall I strive so that Vibhatsu in battle may slay Jayadratha in the very sight of the Dhartarashtras. O charioteer, I tell thee that Vibhatsu will certainly succeed in slaying all these for whose slaughter he will strive.'

"Daruka said, 'He is certain to have victory whose charioteership, O tiger among men, hath been taken by thee. Whence, indeed, can defeat come to him? As regards myself, I will do that which thou hast commanded me to do. This night will bring (on its train) the auspicious morn for Arjuna's victory.'"

SECTION 80

"Sanjaya said, 'Kunti's son, Dhananjaya, of inconceivable prowess thinking of how to accomplish his vow, recollected the mantras (given to him by Vyasa). And soon he was lulled in the arms of sleep. Unto that ape-bannered hero, burning with grief and immersed in thought Kesava, having Garuda on his banner, appeared in a dream. Dhananjaya of righteous soul, inconsequence of his love and veneration for Kesava, never omitted under any circumstances to stand up and advance a few steps for receiving Krishna. Rising up, therefore, now (in his dream), he gave unto Govinda a seat. He himself, however, at that time, did not set his heart upon taking his seat. Then Krishna, of mighty energy, knowing the resolution of Partha, said, while seated, unto the son of Kunti, these words while the latter was standing: 'Do not set thy heart, O Partha, on grief. Time is unconquerable. Time forceth all creatures into the inevitable course. O foremost of men what for is this grief of thine? Grief should not be indulged in, O foremost of learned persons! Grief is an impediment to action. Accomplish that act which should be accomplished. The grief that maketh a person forgo all efforts is, indeed, O Dhananjaya, an enemy of that person. A person, by indulging in grief, gladdens his foes and saddens his friends, while the person is himself weakened. Therefore, it behoveth thee not to grieve.' Thus addressed by Vasudeva, the unvanquished Vibhatsu of great learning then said these words of grave import: 'Grave is the vow that I have made about the slaughter of Jayadratha. Even tomorrow I shall slay that wicked wretch, that slayer of my son. Even this hath been my vow, O Kesava! For frustrating my vow, Jayadratha, protected by all the mighty car-warriors, will be kept in their rear by the Dhartarashtras. Their force, number, consists, O Madhava, of remnant, after slaughter, of eleven Akshauhinis of troops, difficult of being vanquished. Surrounded in battle as he will be by all of them and by all the great car-warriors, how shall he obtain a sight, O Krishna, of the wicked rule of the Sindhus? My vow will not be accomplished, O Kesava! How can a person like me live, having failed to accomplish his vow? O hero, the non-accomplishment is evident of this (my vow which to me is a) source of great grief. (At this season of the year), I tell thee that the sun setteth quickly.' The bird-bannered Krishna hearing this cause of Partha's grief, touched water and sat with face turned to the east. And then that hero, of eyes like lotus leaves, and possessed of great energy, said these words for the benefit of Pandu's son who had resolved upon the slaughter of the ruler of the Sindhus, 'O Partha, there is an indestructible, supreme weapon of the name of Pasupata. With it the god Maheswara slew in battle all the Daityas! If thou rememberest it now, thou shalt then be able to slay Jayadratha tomorrow. If it is unknown to thee (now), adore within thy heart the god having the bull for his mark. Thinking of that god in thy mind, remember him, O Dhananjaya! Thou art his devotee. Through his grace thou shalt obtain that rich possession.' Hearing these words of Krishna, Dhananjaya, having touched water, sat on the earth with concentrated mind and thought of the god Bhava. After he had thus sat with rapt mind at that hour called Brahma of auspicious indications, Arjuna saw himself journeying through the sky with Kesava. And Partha, possessed of the speed of the mind, seemed to reach, with Kesava, the sacred foot of Himavat and the Manimat mountain abounding in many brilliant gems and frequented by Siddhas and Charanas. And the lord Kesava seemed to have caught hold of his left arm. And he seemed to see many wonderful sights as he reached (those place). And Arjuna of righteous soul then seemed to arrive at the White mountain on the north. And then he beheld, in the pleasure-gardens of Kuvera the beautiful

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lake decked with lotuses. And he also saw that foremost of rivers, viz., the Ganga full of water. And then he arrived at the regions about the Mandara mountains. Those regions were covered with trees that always bore blossoms and fruits. And they abounded with stones lying scattered about, that were all transparent crystal. And they were inhabited by lions and tigers and abounded with animals of diverse kinds. And they were adorned with many beautiful retreats of ascetics, echoing with the sweet notes of delightful warblers. And they resounded also with the songs of Kinnaras. Graced with many golden and silver peaks, they were illumined with diverse herbs and plants. And many Mandara trees with their pretty loads of flowers, adorned them. And then Arjuna reached the mountains called Kala that looked like a mound of antimony. And then he reached the summit called Brahmatunga, and then many rivers, and then many inhabited provinces. And he arrived at Satasinga, and the woods known by the name of Sharyati. And then he beheld the sacred spot known as the Horse-head, and then the region of Atharvana. And then he beheld that prince of mountains called Vrishadansa, and the great Mandara, abounding in Apsaras, and graced with the presence of the Kinnaras. And roaming on that mountain, Partha, with Krishna, beheld a spot of earth adorned with excellent fountains, decked with golden mineral, and possessed of the splendour of the lunar rays, and having many cities and towns. And he also beheld many seas of wonderful forms and diverse mines of wealth. And thus going through the sky and firmament and the earth, he reached the spot called Vishnupada. And wandering, with Krishna in his company, he came down with great velocity, like a shaft shot (from a bow). And soon Partha beheld a blazing mountain whose splendour equalled that of the planets, the constellations, or fire. And arrived at that mountain, he beheld on its top, the high-souled god having the bull for his mark, and ever engaged in ascetic penances, like a thousand suns collected together, and blazing with his own effulgence. Trident in hand, matted locks on the head, of snow-white colour, he was robed in bark and skin. Endued with great energy, his body seemed to be flaming with a thousand eyes. And he was seated with Parvati and many creatures of brilliant forms (around him). And his attendants were engaged in singing and playing upon musical instruments, in laughing and dancing, in moving and stretching their hands, and In uttering loud shouts. And the place was perfumed with fragrant odours, and Rishis that worshipped Brahma adored with excellent hymns of unfading glory, that God who was the protector of all creatures, and wielded the (great) bow (called Pinaka). Beholding him, Vasudeva of righteous soul, with Partha, touched the earth with his head, uttering the eternal words of the Veda. And Krishna adored, with speech, mind, understanding, and acts, that God who is the first source of the universe, himself uncreate, the supreme lord of unfading glory: who is the highest cause of the mind, who is space and the wind, who is the cause of all the luminous bodies (in the firmament), who is the creator of the rain, and the supreme, primordial substance of the earth, who is the object of adoration, with the gods, the Danavas, the Yakshas, and human beings; who is the supreme Brahma that is seen by Yogins and the refuge of those acquainted with Shastras, who is the creator of all mobile and immobile creatures, and their destroyer also; who is the Wrath that burns everything at the end of the Yuga; who is the supreme soul; who is the Sakra and Surya, and the origin of all attributes. And Krishna sought the protection of that Bhava, whom men of knowledge, desirous of attaining to that which is called the subtle and the spiritual, behold; that uncreate one is the soul of all causes. And Arjuna repeatedly adored that Deity, knowing that he was the origin of all creatures and the cause of the past, the future, and the present. Beholding those two, viz., Nara and Narayana arrived, Bhava of cheerful soul, smilingly said unto them, 'Welcome are ye, ye foremost of men! Rise up and let the fatigue of your journey be over. What, O heroes, is the desire in your heart? Let it be uttered quickly. What is the business that has brought you hither? I will accomplish it and do what would benefit you. I will grant everything ye may desire., Hearing those words of the god, they both rose. And then with joined hands, the faultless Vasudeva and Arjuna, both of great wisdom, began to gratify that high-souled deity with an excellent hymn. And Krishna and Arjuna said, 'We bow to Bhava, to Sarva, to Rudra, to the boon-giving deity. We bow to the lord of all creatures endued with life, to the god who is always fierce, to him who is called Kapardin! We bow to Mahadeva, to Bhima, to the Three-eyed, to him who is peace and contentment. We bow to Isana, to him who is the destroyer of (Daksha's) sacrifice. Let salutations be to the slayer of Andhaka, to the father of Kumara, to him who is of blue throat, to him who is the creator.' Let salutation be to the wielder of Pinaka, to one worthy of the offer of libations of clarified butter, to him who is truth, to him who is all-pervading. To him who is unvanquished! To him who is always of blue locks, to him who is armed with the trident, to him who is of celestial vision! To him who is Hotri, to him who protects all, to, him who is of three eyes, to him who is disease, to him whose vital seed fell on fire! To him who is inconceivable, to him who is the lord of Amvika, to him who is adored by all the gods! To him who hath the bull for his mark, to him who is bold, to him who is of matted lock, to him who is a Brahmacharin! To him who standeth as an ascetic in the water, to him who is devoted to Brahma, to him who hath never been conquered! To him who is the soul of the universe, to him who is the creator of the universe, to him who liveth pervading the whole universe! We bow to thee that art, the object of the reverence of all, to thee that art the original cause of all creatures! To thee that art called Brahmachakra, to thee that art called Sarva, Sankara, and Siva! We bow to thee that art the lord of all great beings! We bow to thee that hast a thousand heads, to thee that hast a thousand arms, to thee that art called Death! To thee that hast a thousand eyes, a thousand legs? To thee whose acts are innumerable! We bow to thee whose complexion is that of gold, to thee that art cased in golden mail, to thee that art ever compassionate to thy devotees! O lord, let our wish be accomplished.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Having adored Mahadeva in these terms, Vasudeva with Arjuna then began to gratify him for obtaining (the great) weapon (called Pasupata).'"

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SECTION 81

"Sanjaya said, 'Then Partha, with a cheerful soul and joined hands and eyes expanded (in wonder), gazed at the god having the bull for his mark and who was the receptacle of every energy. And he beheld the offerings he made every night to Vasudeva lying by the side of the Three-eyed deity. The son of Pandu then, mentally worshipping both Krishna and Sarva, said unto the latter, 'I desire (to obtain) the celestial weapon.' Hearing these words of Partha desiring the boon he sought, god Siva smilingly said unto Vasudeva and Arjuna, 'Welcome to you, ye foremost of men! I know the wish cherished by you, and the business for which you have come here. I will give you what you wish. There is a celestial lake full of Amrita, not far from this place, ye slayers of foes! There were kept some time back, that celestial bow and arrow of mine. With them I slew in battle all the enemies of the gods. Bring hither, ye Krishna, that excellent bow with arrow fixed on it.' Hearing these words of Siva, Vasudava with Arjuna answered, 'So be it.' And then accompanied by all the attendants of Siva, those two heroes set out for that celestial lake which possessed hundreds of heavenly wonders, that sacred lake, capable of granting every object, which the god, having the bull for his mark, had indicated to them, And unto that lake, the Rishis Nara and Narayana (viz., Arjuna and Vasudeva) went fearlessly. And having reached that lake, bright as the disc of the sun, Arjuna and Achyuta beheld within its waters a terrible snake. And they beheld there another foremost of snakes, that had a thousand heads. And possessed of the effulgence of fire, that snake was vomiting fierce flames. Then Krishna and Partha having touched water, joined their hands, and approached those snakes, having bowed unto the god having the bull for his mark. And as they approached the snakes, conversant as they were with the Vedas, they uttered the hundred stanzas of the Veda, to the praise of Rudra, bowing the while with their sincere souls unto Bhava of immeasurable power. Then those two terrible snakes, in consequence of the power of those adorations to Rudra, abandoned their snake-forms and assumed the forms of a foe-killing bow and arrow. Gratified (with what they saw), Krishna and Arjuna then seized that bow and arrow of great effulgence. And those high-souled heroes then brought them away and gave them unto the illustrious Mahadeva. Then from one of the sides of Siva's body there came out a Brahmacharin of tawny eyes. And he seemed to be the refuge of asceticism. Of blue throat and red locks, he was endued with great might. Taking up that best of bows that Brahmacharin stood placing (both the bow and his feet properly). And fixing the arrow on the bowstring, he began to stretch the latter duly. Beholding the manner of his seizing the handle of the bow and drawing the string and placing of his feet, and hearing also the Mantras uttered by Bhava, the son of Pandu, of inconceivable prowess, learnt everything duly. The mighty and puissant Brahmacharin then sped that arrow to that same lake. And he once more threw that bow also in that self-same lake. Then Arjuna of good memory knowing that Bhava was gratified with him, and remembering also the boon the latter had given him in the forest, and the sight also he gave him of his person, mentally entertained the desire, 'Let all this become productive of fruit!' Understanding this to be his wish, Bhava, gratified with him, gave him the boon. And the god also granted him the terrible Pasupata weapon and the accomplishment of his vow. Then having thus once more obtained the Pasupata weapon from the supreme god, the invincible Arjuna, with hair standing on end, regarded his business to be already achieved. Then Arjuna and Krishna filled with joy, paid their adorations unto the great god by bowing their heads. And permitted by Bhava both Arjuna and Kesava, those two heroes, almost immediately came back to their own camp, filled with transports of delight. Indeed, their joy was as great as that of Indra and Vishnu when those two gods, desirous of slaying Jambha, obtained the permission of Bhava that slayer of great Asuras.'"

SECTION 82

"Sanjaya said, 'While Krishna and Daruka were thus conversing together, that night, O king, passed away. (When morning dawned), king Yudhishthira rose from his bed. Paniswanikas and Magadhas and Madhuparkikas and Sutas, gratified that bull among men (with songs and music). And dancers began their dance, and sweet-voiced singers sang their sweet songs fraught with the praises of the Kuru race. And skilled musicians, well-trained (in their respective instruments), played on Mridangas and Jharjharas and Bheris, and Panavas, and Anakas, and Gomukhas, and Adamvaras, and conchs, and Dundubhis of loud sound, and diverse other instruments. That loud noise, deep as the roar of the clouds, touched the very heavens. And it awoke that foremost of kings, viz., Yudhishthira, from his slumber. Having slept happily on his excellent and costly bed, the king awoke. And the monarch, rising from his bed, proceeded to the bath-room for performing those acts that were absolutely necessary. Then a hundred and eight servants, attired in white, themselves washed, and all young, approached the king with many golden jars filled to the brim. Seated at his ease on a royal seat, attired in a thin cloth, the king bathed in several kinds of water fragrant with sandal-wood and purified with Mantras. His body was rubbed by strong and well-trained servants with water in which diverse kinds of medicinal herbs had been soaked. He then washed with adhivasha water rendered fragrant by various odoriferous substances. Obtaining then a long piece of cloth (for the head) that was as white as the feathers of the swan, and that had been kept loose before him, the king tied it round his head for drying the water. Smearing his body then with excellent sandal-paste, and wearing floral garlands, and addressing himself in clean robes, the mighty-armed monarch sat with face towards the cast, and his hands joined together. Following the path of the righteous, the son of Kunti then mentally said his prayers. And then with great humility he entered the chamber in which the blazing fire (for worship) was kept. And having worshipped the fire with faggots of sacred wood and with libations of clarified butter sanctified with Mantras, he came out of the chamber. Then that tiger among men, entering a second chamber, beheld there many bulls among Brahmanas well-acquainted with the Vedas. And they were all self-restrained, purified by the study of the Vedas and by vows. And all of them had undergone the bath on the completion of sacrifices performed by them. Worshippers of the Sun, they numbered a thousand. And, besides them, there were also eight thousand others of the same class. And the mighty-armed son of Pandu, having caused them to utter, in distinct voices, agreeable benedictions, by making presents to them of honey and clarified butter and auspicious fruits of the best kind, gave unto each of them a nishka of gold, a hundred steeds decked with ornaments, and costly robes and such other presents as were agreeable to them. And making unto them presents also of kine yielding milk whenever touched, with calves and having their horns decked with gold and their hoofs with silver, the son of Pandu circumambulated them. And then seeing and touching Swastikas fraught with increase of good fortune, and Nandyavartas made of gold, and floral garlands, water-pots and blazing fire, and vessels full of sun-dried rice and other auspicious articles, and the yellow pigment prepared from the urine of the cow, and auspicious and well-decked maidens, and curds and clarified butter and honey, and auspicious birds and diverse other things held sacred, the son of Kunti came into the outer chamber. Then, O mighty-armed one, the attendants waiting in that chamber brought an excellent and costly seat of gold that was of a circular shape. Decked with pearls and lapis lazuli, and overlaid with a very costly carpet over which was spread another cloth of fine texture, that scat was the handiwork of the artificer himself. After the high-souled monarch had taken his seat, the servants brought to him all his costly and bright ornaments. The high-souled son of Kunti put on those begemmed ornaments, whereupon his beauty became such as to enhance the grief of his foes. And when the servants began to fan him with white yak-tails of the bright effulgence of the moon and all furnished with handles of gold, the king looked resplendent like a mass of clouds charged with lightning. And bards began to sing his praises, and panegyrists uttered his eulogies. And singers began to sing unto that delighter of Kuru's race, and in a moment the voices of the panegyrists swelled into a loud noise. And then was heard the clatter of car-wheels, and the tread of horse-hoofs. And in consequence of that noise mingling with the tinkle of elephants' bells and the blare of conchs and the tread of men, the very earth seemed to tremble. Then one of the orderlies in charge of the doors, cased in mail, youthful in years, decked with ear-rings, and his sword hanging by his side, entering the private apartment, knelt down on the ground, and saluting with (a bend of) his head the monarch who deserved every adoration, represented unto that high-souled and royal son of Dharma that Hrishikesa was waiting to be introduced. Then that tiger among men, having ordered his servants, 'Let an excellent seat and an Arghya be kept ready for him,' caused him of Vrishni's race to be introduced and seated on a costly seat. And addressing Madhava with the usual enquiries of welcome, king Yudhishthira the Just duly worshipped Kesava.'

SECTION 83

"Sanjaya said, 'Then king Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, saluting Devaki's son Janardana, and cheerfully addressed him saying 'Hast thou passed the night happily, O slayer of Madhu? Are all thy perceptions clear, O thou of unfading glory? Vasudeva also made similar enquiries of Yudhishthira. Then the orderly came and represented that the other Kshatriya warriors were waiting to be introduced. Commanded by the king, the man introduced that concourse of heroes, consisting of Virata and Bhimasena and Dhrishtadyumna and Satyaki, and Dhrishtaketu, the ruler of the Chedis, and the mighty car-warriors, Drupada, and Sikhandin, and the twins (Nakula and Sahadeva), and Chekitana, and the ruler of the Kalikayas, and Yuyutsu, of Kuru's race, and Uttamaujas of the Panchalas, 'and Yudhamanyu, and Suvahu, and the (five) sons of Draupadi. These and many other Kshatriyas, approaching that high-souled bull among the Kshatriyas, sat down on excellent seats. Those mighty and high-souled heroes of great splendour viz., Krishna and Yuyudhana, both sat on the same seat. Then in the hearing of them all, Yudhishthira addressing the lotus-eyed slayer of Madhu, and said unto him these sweet words: 'Relying on thee alone, we, like the celestial one, the deity of a thousand eyes, seek, victory in battle and eternal happiness. Thou art aware, O Krishna, of the deprivation of our kingdom, our exile at the hands of the foe, and all our diverse woes. O lord of all, O thou that art compassionate unto those that are devoted to thee, upon thee wholly rests the happiness of us all and our very existence, O slayer of Madhu! O thou of Vrishni's race, do that by which my heart may ever rest on thee! Do also that, O Lord, by which the proposed vow of Arjuna may be realised. O, rescue us today from this ocean of grief and rage. O Madhava, become thou today a boat unto us that are desirous of crossing (that ocean). The car-warriors desirous of slaying the foe cannot, in battle, do that (for the success of his object) which, O Krishna, the car-driver can do, if he exerts himself carefully. O Janardana, as thou always savest the Vrishnis in all calamities, even so it behoveth thee to save us from this distress, O mighty-armed one! O bearer of the conch, discus, and mace, rescue the sons of Pandu sunk in the fathomless and boatless Kuru-ocean, by becoming a boat unto them. I bow to thee, O God of the lord of the gods, O thou that art eternal, O supreme Destroyer, O Vishnu, O Jishnu, O Hari, O Krishna, O Vaikuntha, O best of mate beings! Narada described thee as that ancient and best of Rishis (called Narayana) that giveth boons, that beareth the bow Saranga, and that is the foremost of all. O Madhava, make those words true. Thus addressed in the midst of that assembly by king Yudhishthira the Just, Kesava, that foremost of speakers, replied unto Yudhishthira in a voice deep as that of clouds charged with rain, saying, 'In all the worlds including that of the celestials, there is no bowman equal to Dhananjaya, the son of Pritha! Possessed of great energy. accomplished in weapons, of great prowess and great strength, celebrated in battle, ever wrathful, and of great energy, Arjuna is the foremost of men. Youthful in years bull-necked, and of long arms, he is endued with great strength. Treading like a lion or a bull, and exceedingly beautiful he will slay all thy foes. As regards myself, I will do that by which Arjuna, the son of Kunti, may be able to consume the troops of Dhritarashtra's son like a swelling conflagration. This very day, Arjuna will, by his arrows despatch that vile wretch of sinful deeds, that slayer of Subhadra's son, (viz., Jayadratha), to that road from which no traveller comes back. Today vultures and hawks and furious jackals and other carnivorous creatures will feed on his flesh. O Yudhishthira, if even all the gods with Indra become his protectors today, Jayadratha will still, slain in the thick of battle, repair to Yama's capital. Having slain the ruler of the Sindhus, Jishnu will come to thee (in the evening). Dispel thy grief and the fever (of thy heart), O king, and be thou graced with prosperity.'"

SECTION 84

"Sanjaya said, 'While Yudhishthira, Vasudeva, and others were thus conversing, Dhananjaya came there, desirous of beholding that foremost one of Bharata's race, viz., the king, as also his friends and well-wishers. After he had entered that auspicious chamber and having saluted him duly, had taken its stand before the king, that bull among the Pandavas, (viz., king Yudhishthira), rising up from his seat, embraced Arjuna with great affection. Smelling his head and embracing him with his arms, the king blessed him heartily. And addressing him smilingly, he said, 'It is evident, O Arjuna, that complete victory certainly awaits thee in battle, judging from thy countenance (bright and cheerful as it is), and by the fact that Janardana is well-pleased with thee. Then Jishnu related unto him that highly wonderful incident, saying, 'Blessed be thou, O monarch, I have, through Kesava's grace, beheld something exceedingly wonderful.' Then Dhananjaya related everything he had seen, about his meeting with the Three-eyed god, for assuring his friends. Then all the hearers, filled with wonder, bent their heads to the ground. And bowing unto the god having the bull for his mark, they said, 'Excellent, Excellent!' Then all the friends and well-wishers (of the Pandavas), commanded by the son of Dharma, quickly and carefully proceeded to battle, their hearts filled with rage (against the foe). Saluting the king, Yuyudhana and Kesava and Arjuna, cheerfully set out from Yudhishthira's abode. And those two invincible warriors, those two heroes, viz., Yuyudhana, and Janardana, together proceeded on the same car to Arjuna's pavilion. Arrived there, Hrishikesa, like a charioteer (by profession), began to equip that car bearing the mark of the prince of apes and belonging to that foremost of car-warriors (viz., Arjuna). And that foremost of cars, of the effulgence of heated gold, and of rattle resembling the deep roar of the clouds, equipped (by Krishna), shone brightly like the morning sun. Then that tiger among men, (viz., Vasudeva), clad in mail informed Partha, who had finished his morning prayers, of the fact that 'his car had been properly equipped. Then that foremost of men in this world, viz., the diadem-decked (Arjuna), clad in golden armour, with his bow and arrows in hand, circumambulated that car. And adored and

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blessed with benedictions about victory by Brahmanas, old in ascetic penances and knowledge and years, ever engaged in the performance of religious rites and sacrifices, and having their passions under control, Arjuna then ascended that great car, that excellent vehicle, which had previously been sanctified with mantras capable of giving victory in battle, like Surya of blazing rays ascending the eastern mountain. And that foremost of car-warriors decked with gold, in consequence or those golden ornaments of his, on his car like Surya of blazing splendour on the breast of Meru. After Partha, Yuyudhana. and Janardana mounted on that car, like the twin Aswins riding the same car with Indra while coming to the sacrifice of Saryati. Then Govinda, that foremost of charioteers, took the reins (of the steeds), like Matali taking the reins of Indra's steeds, while the latter went to battle for slaying Vritra. Mounted on that best of cars with those two friends, that slayer of large bodies of foes, viz., Partha, proceeded for achieving the slaughter of the ruler of the Sindhus, like Soma rising (in the firmament) with Budha and Sukra, for destroying the gloom of night, or like Indra proceeding with Varuna and Surya to the great battle (with the Asuras) occasioned by the abduction of Taraka (the wife of Vrihaspati). The bards and musicians gratified the heroic Arjuna, as he proceeded, with the sound of musical instruments and auspicious hymns of good omen. And the voices of the panegyrists and the bards uttering benedictions of victory and wishing good day, mingling with the sounds of musical instruments, became gratifying to those heroes. And an auspicious breeze, fraught with fragrance, blew from behind Partha, gladdening him and sucking up the energies of his foes. And at that hour, O king, many auspicious omens of various kinds appeared to view, indicating victory to the Pandavas and defeat to thy warriors, O sire! Beholding those indications of victory, Arjuna, addressing the great bowman Yuyudhana on his right, said these words: O Yuyudhana! in today's battle my victory seems to be certain, since O bull of Sini's race, all these (auspicious) omens are seen. I shall, therefore, go thither where the ruler of the Sindhus waiteth for (the display of) my energy and in expectation of repairing to the regions of Yama. Indeed, as the slaughter of the ruler of the Sindhus is one of my most imperative duties, even so is the protection of king Yudhishthira the Just another of my most imperative obligations. O thou of mighty arms, be thou today the king's protector. Thou wilt protect him even as I myself protect him. I do not behold the person in the world who would be able to vanquish thee. Thou art, in battle, equal to Vasudeva himself. The chief of the celestials himself is unable to vanquish thee. Reposing this burden on thee, or on that mighty car-warrior Pradyumna, I can, O bull among men, without anxiety slay the ruler of the Sindhus. O thou of the Satwata race, no anxiety need be entertained on my account. With thy whole heart must thou protect the king. There where the mighty-armed Vasudeva stayeth, and where I myself stay, without doubt, the slightest danger to him or me can never befall.' Thus addressed by Partha, Satyaki, that slayer of hostile heroes, replied saying, 'So be it.' And then the latter proceeded to the spot where king Yudhishthira was.'

SECTION 85

(Jayadratha-Vadha Parva)

"Dhritarashtra said, 'After Abhimanyu's slaughter when the next day came, what did the Pandavas, afflicted with grief and sorrow do? Who amongst my warriors fought with them? Knowing, as they did, the achievements of Savyasachin, O tell me, how the Kauravas, could, having perpetrated such a wrong, remain fearlessly. How could they in battle venture even to gaze at that tiger among men (viz., Arjuna), as he advanced like the all-destroying Death himself in fury, burning with grief on account of the slaughter of his son? Beholding that warrior having the prince of apes on his banner, that hero grieved on account of his son's death shaking his gigantic bow in battle, what did my warrior do? What, O Sanjaya, hath befallen unto Duryodhana? A great sorrow hath overtaken us today. I do not any longer hear the sounds of joy. Those charming sounds, highly agreeable to the ear, that were formerly heard in the abode of the Sindhu king, alas those sounds are no longer heard today. Alas, in the camp of my sons, the sounds of countless bards and panegyrists singing their praises, and of dances are no longer heard. Formerly, such sounds used to strike my ears incessantly. Alas, as they are plunged into grief I do not any longer hear those sounds uttered (in their camp). Formerly, O Sanjaya, while sitting in the abode of Somadatta who was devoted to truth, I used to hear such delightful sounds. Alas, how destitute of (religious) merit I am, for I observe the abode of my sons today to be echoing with sounds of grief and lamentations and destitute of every noise betokening life and energy. In the houses of Vivinsati, Durmukha, Chitrasena, Vikarna, and other sons of mine, I do not hear the sounds I used to hear formerly. That great bowman, viz., the son of Drona, who was the refuge of my sons, upon him Brahmanas and Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, and a large number of disciples used to wait, who took pleasure day and night in controversial disputations, in talk, in conversation, in the stirring music of diverse instruments, and in various kinds of delightful songs, who was worshipped by many persons among the Kurus, the Pandavas, and the Satwatas, alas, O Suta, in the abode of that son of Drona no sound can be heard as formerly. Singers and dancers used, in a large number, to wait closely upon that mighty bowman, viz., the son of Drona. Alas, their sounds can no longer be heard in his abode. That loud noise which rose in the camp of Vinda and Anuvinda every evening, alas, that noise is no longer heard there. Not in the camp of the Kaikeyas can that loud sound of song and slapping of palms be heard today which their soldiers, engaged in dance and revelry, used to make. Those priests competent in the performance of sacrifices who used to wait upon Somadatta's son, that refuge of scriptural rites, alas, their sounds can no longer be heard. The twang of the bowstring, the sounds of Vedic recitation, the whiz of lances and swords, and rattle of car-wheels, used incessantly to be heard in the abode of Drona. Alas, those sounds can no longer be heard there. That swell of songs of diverse realms, that loud noise of musical instruments, which used to arise there, alas, those can no longer be heard today. When Janardana of unfading glory came from Upaplavya, desirous of peace, from compassion for every creature, I then, O Suta, said unto the wicked Duryodhana: Obtaining Vasudeva as the means, make peace with the Pandavas, O son! I think the time has come (for making peace). Do not, O Duryodhana, transgress my command. If thou settest Vasudeva aside, who now begs thee for peace and addresses thee for my good, victory thou wilt never have in battle. Duryodhana, however, did set aside him of Dasarha's race, that bull among all bowmen, who then spoke what was for Duryodhana's good. By this, he embraced what was calamitous to himself. Seized by Death himself, that wicked-souled son of mine, rejecting my counsels, adopted those of Duhsasana and Karna. I myself did not approve of the game of dice. Vidura did not approve of it. The ruler of the Sindhus did not, nor Bhishma; nor Salya; nor Bhurisravas; nor Purumitra; nor Jaya; nor Aswatthaman; nor Kripa; nor Drona, O Sanjaya! If my son had conducted himself according to the counsels of these persons, he would then, with his kinsmen and friends have lived for ever in happiness and peace. Of sweet and delightful speech ever saying what is agreeable amid their kinsmen, high-born, loved by all, and possessed of wisdom, the sons of Pandu are sure to obtain happiness. The man who casteth his eye on righteousness, always and everywhere obtaineth happiness. Such a man after death, winneth benefit and grace. Possessed of sufficient might, the Pandavas deserve to enjoy half the earth. The earth girt by the seas is as much their ancestral possession (as of the Kurus). Possessed of sovereignty, the Pandavas will never deviate from the track of righteousness. O child, I have kinsmen to whose voice the Pandavas will ever listen, such, for instance, as Salya, Somadatta, the high-souled Bhishma, Drona, Vikarna, Valhika, Kripa, and others among the Bharatas that are illustrious and reverend in years. If they speak unto them on thy behalf the Pandavas will certainly act according to those beneficial recommendations. Or, who amongst these, thinkest thou, belongs to their party that will speak to them otherwise? Krishna will never abandon the path of righteousness. The Pandavas are all obedient to him. Words of righteousness spoken by myself also, those heroes will never disobey, for the Pandavas are all of righteous soul.' Piteously lamenting, O Suta, I spoke these and many such words unto my son. Foolish as he is, he listened not to me! I think all this to be the mischievous influence of Time! There where Vrikodara and Arjuna are, and the Vrishni hero, Satyaki, and Uttamaujas of the Panchalas, and the invincible Yudhamanyu, and the irrepressible Dhrishtadyumna, and the unvanquished Sikhandin, the Asmakas, the Kekayas, and Kshatradharman of 'the Somakas, the ruler of the Chedis, and Chekitana, and Vibhu, the son of the ruler of the Kasi, the sons of Draupadi, and Virata and the mighty car-warrior Drupada, and those tigers among men viz., the twins (Nakula and Sahadeva), and the stayer of Madhu to offer counsel, who is there in this world that would fight these, expecting to live? Who else, again, is there, save Duryodhana, and Karna, and Sakuni, the son of Suvala, and Duhsasana as their fourth, for I do not see the fifth that would venture to resist my foes while the latter display their celestial weapons? They who have Vishnu himself on their car, clad in mail and reins in hand, they who have Arjuna for their warrior, they can never have defeat! Doth not Duryodhana now recollect those lamentations of mine? The tiger among men, Bhishma, thou hast said, has been slain. I think, beholding the fruits of the words uttered by the far-seeing Vidura, my sons are now indulging in lamentations! I think, beholding his army overwhelmed by Sini's grandson and Arjuna, beholding the terraces of his cars empty, my sons are indulging in lamentations. As a swelling conflagration urged by the winds consumes a heap of dry grass at the close of winter, even so will Dhananjaya consume my troops. O Sanjaya, thou art accomplished in narration. Tell me everything that transpired after the doing of that great wrong to Partha in the evening. When Abhimanyu was slain, what became the state of your minds? Having, O son, greatly offended the wielder of Gandiva, my warriors are incapable of bearing in battle his achievements. What measures were resolved upon by Duryodhana and what by Karna? What also did Duhsasana and Suvala's son do? O Sanjaya, O son, that which has in battle befallen all my children assembled together, is certainly due to the evil acts of the wicked Duryodhana, who followeth in the path of avarice, who is of wicked understanding, whose judgement is perverted by wrath, who coveteth sovereignty, who is foolish, and who is deprived of reason by anger. Tell me, O Sanjaya, what measures were then adopted by Duryodhana? Were they ill-judged or well-judged?'"

SECTION 86

"Sanjaya said, 'I will tell thee all, for everything hath been witnessed by me with my own eyes. Listen calmly. Great is thy fault. Even as an embankment is useless after the waters (of the field) have flowed away, even so, O king, are these lamentations of thine useless! O bull of Bharata's race, do not grieve. Wonderful as are the decrees of the Destroyer, they are incapable of being transgressed. Do not grieve, O bull of Bharata's race, for this is not new. If thou hadst formerly restrained Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, and thy sons also from the match at dice, this calamity then would never have overtaken thee. If, again, when time for battle came, hadst thou restrained both the parties inflamed by wrath, this calamity then would never have overtaken thee. If, again, hadst thou formerly urged the Kurus to slay the disobedient Duryodhana, then this calamity would never have overtaken thee. (If thou hadst done any of these acts), the Pandavas, the Panchalas, the Vrishnis, and the other kings would then have never known thy wrong-headedness. If, again, doing, thy duty as a father, thou hadst, by placing Duryodhana in the path of righteousness, caused him to tread along it, then this calamity would never have overtaken thee. Thou art the wisest man on earth. Forsaking eternal virtue, how couldst thou follow the counsels of Duryodhana and Karna and Sakuni? These lamentations of thine, therefore, O king, that I hear,--of thine that art wedded to (worldly) wealth, seem to me to be honey mixed with poison. O monarch, formerly Krishna did not respect king Yudhishthira, the son of Pandu, or Drona, so much as he used to respect these. When, however, he came to know thee as one fallen off from the duties of a king, since then Krishna hath ceased to regard thee with respect. Thy sons had addressed various harsh speeches towards the sons of Pritha. Thou wast indifferent to those speeches then, O thou that wieldest sovereignty, unto thy sons. The consequence of that indifference of thine hath now overtaken thee. O sinless one, the ancestral sovereignty is now in danger. (If it is not so), obtain now the whole earth subjugated by the sons of Pritha. [Apavrittam is explained by Nilakantha as endangered or made doubtful. What Sanjaya says is that if it is not so, thou shalt then have to undergo the bitterness of ruling over the whole world bestowed upon thee by the Pandavas. Either the Pandavas will snatch away thy kingdom or make thee ruler of the whole after slaying thy sons. Either of these alternatives would be bitter to thee.] The kingdom that the Kurus enjoy, as also their fame had been acquired by the Pandus. The virtuous sons of Pandu added to that kingdom and that fame. Those achievements, however, of theirs became (to them) barren of fruit as they came in contact with thee, since they were deprived of even their ancestral kingdom by the covetous self. Now, O king, when the battle has begun, thou censurest thy sons indicating diverse faults of theirs. This is scarcely becoming. The Kshatriyas, while fighting, do not take care of their very lives. Indeed, those bulls among Kshatriyas fight, penetrating into the array of the Parthas. Who else, indeed, save the Kauravas, would venture to fight with that force which is protected by Krishna and Arjuna, by Satyaki and Vrikodara? Them that have Arjuna for their warrior, them that have Janardana for their counsellor, them that have Satyaki and Vrikodara for their protectors, what mortal bowman is there that would dare fight with, save the Kauravas and those that are following their lead? All that is capable of being achieved by friendly kings endued with heroism and observant of the duties of Kshatriyas, all that is being done by the warriors on the Kauravas side. Listen now, therefore, to everything that hath taken place in the terrible battle between those tigers among men viz., the Kurus and the Pandavas.'"

SECTION 87

"Sanjaya said, 'After that fight had passed away, Drona, that foremost of all wielders of weapons, began to array all his divisions for battle. Diverse sounds were heard, O monarch of angry heroes shouting in wrath and desirous of slaying one another. And some stretched their bows, and some rubbed with their hands their bow-strings. And drawing deep breaths, many of them shouted, saying, Where is that Dhananjaya? And some began to throw upwards (and again seize) their naked swords, unyielding, well-tempered, of the colour of the sky, possessed of great sharpness, and furnished with beautiful hilts. And brave warriors, desirous of battle, by thousands, were seen to perform the evolutions of swordmen and of bowmen, with skill acquired by practice. Some whirling their

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maces decked with bells, smeared with sandal paste, and adorned with gold and diamonds enquired after the sons of Pandu. Some intoxicated with the pride of strength, and possessed of massive arms, obstructed the welkin with their spiked clubs that resembled (a forest of flag) staff raised in honour of Indra. Others, brave warriors all, adorned with beautiful garlands of flowers, desirous of battle, occupied diverse portions of the field, armed with diverse weapons. 'Where is Arjuna? Where is that Govinda? Where is proud Bhima? Where also are those allies of their?' Even thus did they call upon them in battle. Then blowing his conch and himself urging the horses to great speed, Drona moved about with great celerity, arraying his troops. After all those divisions that delight in battle had taken up their stations, Bharadwaja's son, O king, said these words unto Jayadratha. 'Thyself, Somadatta's son, the mighty car-warrior Karna, Aswatthaman, Salya, Vrishasena and Kripa, with a hundred thousand horse, sixty thousand cars, four and ten thousand elephants with rent temples, one and twenty thousand foot-soldiers clad in mail take up your station behind me at the distance of twelve miles. There the very gods with Vasava at their head will not be able to attack thee, what need be said, therefore, of the Pandavas? Take comfort, O ruler of the Sindhus. Thus addressed (by Drona), Jayadratha, the ruler of the Sindhus, became comforted. And he proceeded to the spot indicated by Drona, accompanied by many Gandhara warriors, and surrounded by those great car-warriors, and with many foot-soldiers clad in mail, prepared to fight vigorously and armed with nooses. The steeds of Jayadratha, well-skilled in bearing of drawing were all, O monarch, decked with yalk-tails and ornaments of gold. And seven thousand such steeds, and three thousand other steeds of the Sindhu breed were with him.'

"Thy son Durmarshana, desirous of doing battle, stationed himself at the head of all the troops, accompanied by a thousand and five hundred infuriated elephants and awful size clad in mail and of fierce deeds, and all ridden by well-trained elephant-riders. Thy two other sons, viz., Duhsasana and Vikarna, took up their position amid the advance-divisions of the army, for the accomplishment of the objects of Jayadratha. The array that Bharadwaja's son formed, part Sakata and part a circle, was full forty-eight miles long and the width of its rear measured twenty miles. Drona himself formed that array with countless brave kings, stationed with it, and countless cars and steeds and elephants and foot-soldiers. In the rear of that array was another impenetrable array of the form of lotus. And within that lotus was another dense array called the needle. Having formed his mighty array thus, Drona took up his station. At the mouth of that needle, the great bowman Kritavarman took up his stand. Next to Kritavarman, O sire, stood the ruler of the Kamvojas and Jalasandha. Next to these, stood Duryodhana and Karna. Behind them hundreds and thousands of unreturning heroes were stationed in that Sakata for protecting its head. Behind them all, O monarch, and surrounded by a vast force, was king Jayadratha stationed at one side of that needle-shaped array. At the entrance of the Sakata, O king, was Bharadwaja's son. Behind Drona was the chief of the Bhojas, who protected him. Clad in white armour, with excellent head-gear, of broad chest and mighty arms, Drona stood, stretching his large bow, like the Destroyer himself in wrath. Beholding Drona's car which was graced with a beautiful standard and had red sacrificial altar and a black deer-skin, the Kauravas were filled with delight. Seeing that array formed by Drona, which resembled the ocean itself in agitation, the Siddhas and the Charanas were filled with wonder. And all creatures thought that array would devour the whole earth with her mountains and seas and forests, and abounding with diverse things. And king Duryodhana, beholding that mighty array in the form of a Sakata, teeming with carts and men and steeds and elephants, roaring dreadful of wonderful form, and capable of riving the hearts of foes, began to rejoice.'"

SECTION 88

"Sanjaya said, 'After the divisions of the Kuru army had been (thus) arrayed, and a loud uproar, O sire, had, arisen; after drums and Mridangas began to be beaten and played upon, after the din of the warriors and the noise of musical instruments had become audible; after conch began to be blown, and an awful roar had arisen, making the hair stand on end; after the field of battle had beer slowly covered by the Bharata heroes desirous of fight; and after the hour called Rudra had set in, Savyasachin made his appearance. Many thousands of ravens and crows, O Bharata, proceeded sporting on the front of Arjuna's car. Various animals of terrible cries, and jackals of inauspicious sight, began to yell and howl on our right as we proceeded to battle. Thousands of blazing meteors fell with great noise. The whole earth trembled on that dreadful occasion. Dry winds blew in all directions, accompanied by thunder, and driving bard pebbles and gravel when Kunti's son came at the commencement of battle. Then Nakula's son, Satanika, and Dhrishtadyumna, the son of Pritha, those two warriors possessed of great wisdom, arrayed the several divisions of the Pandavas. Then thy son Durmarshana, accompanied by a thousand cars, a hundred elephants, three thousand heroes, and ten thousand foot-soldiers, and covering a piece of ground that measured the length of fifteen hundred bows, took up his position at the very van of all the troops, and said: 'Like the continent resisting the surging sea, even I will today resist the wielder of Gandiva, that scorcher of foes, that warrior who is irresistible in battle. Let people today behold the wrathful Dhananjaya collide with me, like a mass of stone against another stony mass. Ye car-warriors that are desirous of battle, stay ye (as witness). Alone I will fight with all the Pandavas assembled together, for enhancing my honour and fame. That high-souled and noble son of thine, that great bowman saying this, stood there surrounded by many great bowmen. Then, like the Destroyer himself in wrath, or Vasava himself armed with the thunder, or Death's irresistible self armed with his club and urged on by Time, or Mahadeva armed with the trident and incapable of being ruffled, or Varuna bearing his noise, or the blazing fire at the end of the Yuga risen for consuming the creation, the slayer of the Nivatakavachas inflamed with rage and swelling with might, the ever-victorious Jaya, devoted to truth and desirous of achieving his great vow, clad in mail and armed with sword, decked in golden diadem, adorned with garlands of swords of white flowers and attired in white robes, his arms decked with beautiful Angadas and ears with excellent ear-rings, mounted on his own foremost of cars, (the incarnate) Nara, accompanied by Narayana, shaking his Gandiva in battle, shone brilliantly like the risen sun. And Dhananjaya of great prowess, placing his car, O king, at the very van of his army, where densest showers of arrows would fall, blew his conch. Then Krishna also, O sire, fearlessly blew with great force his foremost of conchs called Panchajanya as Partha blew his. And in consequence of the blare of the conchs, all the warriors in thy army, O monarch, trembled and became lost heart. And their hair stood on end at that sound. As an creatures are oppressed with fright at the sound of the thunder, even so did all thy warriors took fright at the blare of those conchs. And all the animals ejected urine and excreta. Thy whole army with its animals became filled with anxiety, O king, and in consequence of the blare of those (two) conchs, all men, O sire, lost their strength. And some amongst them, O monarch, were inspired with dread, and some lost their senses. And the ape on Arjuna's banner, opening his mouth wide, made an awful noise with the other creatures on it, for terrifying thy troops. Then conchs and horns and cymbals and Anakas were once more blown and beat for cheering thy warriors. And that noise mingled with the noise of diverse (other) musical instruments, with the shouts of warriors and the slaps of their arm-pits, and with their leonine roars uttered by great car-warriors in summoning and challenging (their antagonists). When that tumultuous uproar rose there, an uproar that enhanced the fear of the timid, the son of Pakasana, filled with great delight, addressing him of Dasarha's race, said (these words).'

"Arjuna said, 'Urge the steeds, O Hrishikesa, to where Durmarshana stayeth. Piercing through that elephant division I will penetrate into the hostile army.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Thus addressed by Savyasachin, the mighty-armed Kesava urged the steeds to where Durmarshana was staying. Fierce and awful was the encounter that commenced there between one and the many, an encounter that proved very destructive of cars and elephants and men. Then Partha, resembling a pouring cloud, covered his foes with showers of shafts, like a mass of clouds pouring rain on the mountain breast. The hostile of car-warriors also, displaying great lightness of hand, quickly covered both Krishna and Dhananjaya with clouds of arrows. The mighty-armed Partha, then, thus opposed in battle by his foes, became filled with wrath, and began to strike off with his arrows the heads of car-warriors from their trunks. And the earth became strewn with beautiful heads decked with ear-rings and turbans, the nether lips bit by the upper ones, and the faces adorned with eyes troubled with wrath. Indeed, the scattered heads of the warriors looked resplendent like an assemblage of plucked off and crushed lotuses lying strewn about the field. Golden coats of mail dyed with gore (lying thick over the field), looked like masses of clouds charged with lightning. The sound, O king, of severed heads dropping on the earth, resembled that of falling palmyra fruits ripened in due time, headless trunks arose, some with bow in hand, and some with naked swords upraised in the act of striking. Those brave warriors incapable of brooking Arjuna's feats and desirous of vanquishing him, had no distinct perception as to when their heads were struck off by Arjuna. The earth became strewn with heads of horses, trunks of elephants, and the arms and legs of heroic warriors. 'This is one Partha', 'Where is Partha? Here is Partha!', 'Even thus, O king, the warriors, of thy army became filled with the idea of Partha only. Deprived of their senses by Time, they regarded the whole world to be full of Partha only, and therefore, many of them perished, striking one another, and some struck even their own selves. Uttering yells of woe, many heroes, covered with blood, deprived of their senses, and in great agony, laid themselves down, calling upon their friends and kinsmen. Arms, bearing short arrows, or lances, or darts, or swords, or battle-axes, or pointed stakes, or scimitars, or bows, or spears, or shafts, or maces, and cased in armour and decked with Angadas and other ornaments, and looking like large snakes, and resembling huge clubs, cut off (from trunks) with mighty weapons, were seen to jump about, jerk about, and move about, with great force, as if in rage. Every one amongst those that wrathfully advanced against Partha in that battle, perished, pierced in his body with some fatal shafts of that hero. While dancing on his car as it moved, and drawing his bow, no one there could detect the minutest opportunity for striking him. The quickness with which he took his shafts, fixed them on the bow, and let them off, filled all his enemies with wonder. Indeed Phalguna, with his shafts, pierced elephants and elephant-riders, horses and horse-riders, car-warriors and drivers of cars. There was none amongst his enemies, whether staying before him or struggling in battle, or wheeling about, whom the son of Pandu did not slay. As the sun rising in the welkin destroyeth the thick gloom, even so did Arjuna destroy that elephant-force by means of his shafts winged with Kanka plumes. The field occupied by thy troops, in consequence of riven elephants fallen upon it, looked like the earth strewn with huge hills at the hour of universal dissolution. As the midday sun is incapable of being looked at by all creatures, even so was Dhananjaya, excited with wrath, incapable of being looked at, in battle, by his enemies. The troops of thy son, O chastiser of foes, afflicted (with the arrows of Dhananjaya), broke and fled in fear. Like a mass of clouds pierced and driven away by a mighty wind, that army was pierced and routed by Partha. None indeed could gaze at the hero while he was slaying the foe. Urging their heroes to great speed by spurs, by the horns of their bows, by deep growls, by encouraging behests, by whips, by cuts on their flanks, and by threatening speeches, thy men, viz., thy cavalry and thy car-warriors, as also thy foot-soldiers, struck by the shafts of Arjuna, fled away from the fields. Others (that rode on elephants), fled away, urging those huge beasts by pressing their flanks with their hooks and many warriors struck by Partha's arrows, in flying, ran against Partha himself. Indeed, thy warriors, then became all cheerless and their understandings were all confused.

SECTION 89

"Dhritarashtra said, 'When the van of my army thus slaughtered by the diadem-decked (Arjuna) broke and fled, who were those heroes that advanced against Arjuna? (Did any of them actually fight with Arjuna, or) did all, abandoning their determination enter the Sakata array, getting behind the fearless Drona, resembling a solid wall?'

"Sanjaya said, 'When Indra's son Arjuna, O sinless one, began, with his excellent arrows, to break and incessantly slay that force of ours many heroes were either slain, or becoming dispirited, fled away. None in that battle, was capable of even looking at Arjuna. Then, thy son Duhsasana, O king, beholding that state of the troops, became filled with wrath and rushed against Arjuna for battle. That hero of fierce prowess, cased in a beautiful coat of mail, made of gold, and his head covered with a turban decked with gold, caused Arjuna to be surrounded by a large elephant-force which seemed capable of devouring the whole earth. With sound of the elephants' bells, the blare of conchs, the twang of bow-strings, and the grunts of the tuskers, the earth, the points of compass, and the welkin, seemed to be entirely filled. That period of time became fierce and awful. Beholding those huge beasts with extended trunks filled with wrath and rushing quickly towards him, like winged mountains urged on with hooks, Dhananjaya, that lion among men, uttering a leonine shout, began to pierce and slay that elephant-force with his shafts. And like a Makara penetrating into the vast deep, surging into mountain waves when agitated by the tempest, the diadem-decked (Arjuna) penetrated into that elephant-host. Indeed, Partha, that subjugator of hostile cities, was then seen by all on every side to resemble the scorching sun that rises, transgressing the rule about direction and hour, on the day of the universal destruction. And in consequence of the sound of horses' hoofs, rattle of car-wheels, the shouts of combatants, the twang of bow-strings, the noise of diverse musical instruments, the blare of Panchajanya and Devadatta, and roar of Gandiva, men and elephants were dispirited and deprived of their senses. And men and elephants were riven by Savyasachin with his shafts whose touch resembled that of snakes of virulent poison. And those elephants, in that battle, were pierced all over their bodies with shafts, numbering thousands upon thousands shot from Gandiva. While thus mangled by the diadem-decked (Arjuna), they uttered loud noises and incessantly fell down on the earth like mountains shorn of their wings. Others struck at the jaw, or frontal globes, or temples with long shafts, uttered cries resembling those of cranes. The diadem-decked (Arjuna) began to cut off, with his straight arrows the heads of warriors standing on the necks of elephants. Those heads decked with ear-rings, constantly falling on the earth, resembled a multitude of lotuses that Partha was calling for an offer to his gods. And

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while the elephants wandered on the field, many warriors were seen to hang from their bodies, divested of armour, afflicted with wounds, covered with blood, and looking like painted pictures. In some instances, two or three warriors, pierced by one arrow winged with beautiful feathers and well-shot (from Gandiva), fell down on the earth. Many elephants deeply pierced with long shafts, fell down, vomiting blood from their mouths, with the riders on their backs, like hills overgrown with forests tumbling down through some convulsion of nature. Partha, by means of his straight shafts, cut into fragments the bow-strings, standards, bows, yokes, and shafts of the car-warriors opposed to him. None could notice when Arjuna took up his arrows, when he fixed them on the bow-string, when he drew the string, and when he let them off. All that could be seen was that Partha seemed to dance on his car with his bow incessantly drawn to a circle. Elephants, deeply pierced with long shafts and vomiting blood from their mouths, fell down, as soon as they were struck, on the earth. And in the midst of that great carnage, O monarch, innumerable headless trunks were seen to stand up. Arms, with bows in grasp, or whose fingers were cased in leathern gloves, holding swords, or decked with Angadas and other ornaments of gold, cut off from trunks, were seen lying about. And the field of battle was strewn with innumerable Upashkaras and Adhishthanas, and shafts, and crowns, crushed car-wheels, and broken Akshas, and yokes, and warriors armed with shields and bows, and floral garlands, and ornaments and robes and fallen standards. And in consequence of those slain elephants and steeds, and the fallen bodies of Kshatriyas, the earth there assumed an awful aspect. Duhsasana's forces, thus slaughtered, O king, by the diadem-decked (Arjuna), fled away. Their leader himself was in great pain, for Duhsasana, greatly afflicted by those shafts, overcome by fear entered with his division the Sakata array, seeking Drona as his deliverer.'"

SECTION 90

"Sanjaya said, 'Slaying the force of Duhsasana, the mighty car-warrior, Savyasachin, desirous of getting at the ruler of the Sindhus, proceeded against the division of Drona, Having approached Drona who was stationed at the entrance of the array, Partha, at Krishna's request joined his hands and said these words unto Drona: 'Wish me well, O Brahmana, and bless me, saying Swasti! Through thy grace, I wish to penetrate into this impenetrable array. Thou art to me even as my sire, or even as king Yudhishthira the Just, or even as Krishna! I tell thee this truly. O sire, O sinless one! Even as Aswatthaman deserves to be protected by thee, I also deserve to be protected by thee, O foremost of regenerate ones! Through thy grace, O foremost of men, I desire to stay the ruler of the Sindhu in battle. O lord, see that my vow is accomplished.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Thus addressed by him, the preceptor, smiling, replied unto him, saying, 'O Vibhatsu, without vanquishing me, thou shalt not be able to vanquish Jayadratha. Telling him this much, Drona, with a smile covered him with showers of sharp arrows, as also his car and steeds and standard and charioteer. Then, Arjuna baffling Drona's arrowy showers with his own arrows, rushed against Drona, shooting mightier and More awful shafts. Observant of Kshatriya duties, Arjuna then pierced Drona in that battle with nine arrows. Cutting the shafts of Arjuna by his own shafts, Drona then pierced both Krishna and Arjuna with many shafts that resembled poison or fire, Then, while Arjuna was thinking of cutting of Drona's bow with his arrows, the latter, endued with great valour, fearlessly and quickly cut off, with shafts the bow-string of the illustrious Phalguna. And he also pierced Phalguna's steeds and standard and charioteer. And the heroic Drona covered Phalguna himself with many arrows, smiling the while. Meantime, stringing his large bow anew, Partha, that foremost of all persons conversant with arms, getting the better of his preceptor, quickly shot six hundred arrows as if he had taken and shot only one arrow. And once more he shot seven hundred other arrows, and then a thousand arrows incapable of being resisted, and ten thousand other arrows. All these slew many warriors of Drona's array. Deeply pierced with those weapons by the mighty and accomplished Partha, acquainted with all modes of warfare, many men and steeds and elephants fell down deprived of life. And car-warriors, afflicted by those shafts, fell down from their foremost of cars, deprived of horses and standards and destitute of weapons and life. And elephants fell down like summits of hills, or masses of clouds, or large houses, loosened, dispersed, or burnt down by the thunder, or by the wind, or fire. Struck with Arjuna's shafts, thousands of steeds fell down like swans on the breast of Himavat, struck down by the force of watery current. Like the Sun, that rises at the end of the Yuga, drying up with his rays, vast quantities of water, the son of Pandu, by his showers of weapons and arrows, slew a vast number of car-warriors and steeds and elephants and foot-soldiers. Then like the clouds covering the sun, the Drona-cloud, with its arrowy showers, covered the Pandava-sun, whose rays in the shape of thick showers of arrows were scorching in the battle the foremost ones among the Kurus. And then the preceptor struck Dhananjaya at the breast with a long shaft shot with great force and capable of drinking the life-blood of every foe. Then Arjuna, deprived of strength, shook in all his limbs, like a hill during an earthquake. Soon, however, regaining for fortitude, Vibhatsu pierced Drona with many winged arrows. Then Drona struck Vasudeva with five arrows. And he struck Arjuna with three and seventy arrows, and his standard with three. Then, O king, the valorous Drona getting the better of his disciple, within the twinkling of an eye made Arjuna invisible by means of his arrowy showers. We then beheld the shafts of Bharadwaja's son falling in continuous lines, and his bow also was seen to present the wonderful aspect of being incessantly drawn to a circle. And those shafts, countless in number, and winged with the Kanka feathers, shot by Drona in that battle, incessantly fell, O king, on Dhananjaya and Vasudeva. Beholding then that battle between Drona and the son of Pandu, Vasudeva of great intelligence began to reflect upon the accomplishment of the (important) task. Then Vasudeva, addressing Dhananjaya, said these words: 'O Partha, O thou of mighty arms, we should not waste time. We must go on, avoiding Drona, for a more important task awaits us. In reply Partha said unto Krishna, O Kesava, as thou pleasest! Then keeping the mighty-armed Drona to their right, Arjuna proceeded onwards. Turning his face round, Vibhatsu proceeded, shooting his shafts. Then Drona, addressing Arjuna, said, Whither dost thou proceed, O son of Pandu! Is it not true that thou ceasest not (to fight) till thou hast vanquished thy foe?'

"Arjuna answered, 'Thou art my preceptor and not my foe. I am thy disciple and, therefore, like to thy son. Nor is there the man in the whole world who can vanquish thee in battle.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Saying these words, the mighty-armed Vibhatsu, desirous of slaying Jayadratha, quickly proceeded against the (Kaurava) troops. And while he penetrated into thy army, those high-souled princes of Panchala, viz., Yudhamanyu, and Uttamaujas, followed him as the protector of his wheels. Then, O King, Jaya, and Kritavarman of the Satwata race, and the ruler of the Kamvojas, and Srutayus, began to oppose the progress of Dhananjaya. And these had ten thousand car-warriors for their followers. The Abhishahas, the Surasenas, the Sivis, the Vasatis, the Mavellakas, the Lilithyas, the Kaikeyas, the Madrakas, the Narayana Gopalas, and the various tribes of the Kamvojas who had before been vanquished by Karna, all of whom were regarded as very brave, placing Bharadwaja's son at their head, and becoming regardless of their lives, rushed towards Arjuna, for resisting that angry hero, burning with grief on account of the death of his son, that warrior resembling all-destroying Death himself, clad in mail, conversant with all modes of warfare, prepared to throw away his life in thick of battle,--that mighty bowman of great prowess, that tiger among men,--who resembled an infuriate leader of elephantine herd, and who seemed ready to devour the whole hostile army. The battle then that commenced was exceedingly fierce and made the hair stand on end, between all those combatants on the one side and Arjuna on the other. And all of them, uniting together, began to resist that bull among men, advancing for the slaughter of Jayadratha, like medicines resisting a raging disease.'"

SECTION 91

"Sanjaya said, 'Held in check by them, that foremost of car-warriors, viz., Partha of great might and prowess, was quickly pursued by Drona from behind. The son of Pandu, however, like diseases scorching the body, blasted that army, scattering his sharp shafts and resembling on that account the sun himself scattering his countless rays of light. And steeds were pierced, and cars with riders were broken and mangled, and elephants were overthrown. And umbrellas were cut off and displaced, and vehicles were deprived of their wheels. And the combatants fled on all sides, exceedingly afflicted with arrows. Even thus progressed that fierce battle between those warriors and Arjuna encountering each other. Nothing could be distinguished. With his straight shafts, Arjuna, O monarch, made the hostile army tremble incessantly. Firmly devoted to truth, Arjuna then, of white steeds desirous of accomplishing his vow rushed against the foremost of car-warriors, viz., Drona of red steeds. Then the preceptor, Drona, struck his disciple, viz., the mighty bowman Arjuna, with five and twenty straight shafts capable of reaching the very vitals. Thereupon, Vibhatsu, that foremost of all wielders of weapons, quickly rushed against Drona, shooting arrows capable of baffling the force of counter arrows, shot at him. Invoking into existence then the Brahma weapon, Arjuna, of immeasurable soul, baffled with his straight shafts those shot so speedily at him by Drona. The skill we then beheld of Drona was exceedingly wonderful, since Arjuna, though young, and though struggling vigorously, could not pierce Drona with a single shaft. Like a mass of clouds pouring torrents of rain, the Drona cloud rained shower on the Partha-mountain. Possessed of great energy, Arjuna received that arrowy downpour, O king, by invoking the Brahma weapon, and cut off all those arrows by arrows of his own. Drona then afflicted Partha of white steeds with five and twenty arrows. And he struck Vasudeva with seventy arrows on the chest and arms. Partha then, of great intelligence, smiling the while resisted the preceptor in that battle who was incessantly shooting sharp arrows. Then those two foremost of car-warriors, while thus struck by Drona, avoided that invincible warrior, who resembled the raging Yuga fire. Avoiding those sharp shafts shot from Drona's bow, the diadem-decked son of Kunti, adorned with garlands of flowers, began to slaughter the host of the Bhojas. Indeed, avoiding the invincible Drona who stood immovable like the Mainaka mountain, Arjuna took up his position between Kritavarman and Sudakshina the ruler of the Kamvojas. Then that tiger among men, viz., the ruler of the Bhojas, coolly pierced that invincible and foremost descendant of Ruru with ten arrows winged with Kanka feathers. Then Arjuna pierced him, O monarch, in that battle with a hundred arrows. And once more he pierced him with three other arrows, stupefying that hero of the Satwata race. The ruler of the Bhojas then, laughing the while, pierced Partha and Vasudeva each with five and twenty arrows. Arjuna then, cutting off Kritavarman's bow, pierced him with one and twenty arrows resembling blazing flames of fire or angry snakes of virulent poison. Then Kritavarman, that mighty car-warrior, taking up another bow, pierced Arjuna in the chest, O Bharata, with five arrows. And once more he pierced Partha with five sharp arrows. Then Partha struck him in return in the centre of the chest with nine arrows. Beholding the son of Kunti obstructed before the car of Kritavarman, he of Vrishni's race thought that no time should be wasted. Then Krishna addressing Partha, said, Do not show any mercy to Kritavarman! Disregarding thy relationship (with him), crush and slay him!' Then Arjuna, stupefying Kritavarman with his arrows, proceeded, on his swift steeds, to the division of the Kamvojas. Seeing Arjuna of white steeds penetrate into the Kamvoja force, Kritavarman became filled with wrath. Taking his bow with arrows fixed thereon, he then encountered the two Panchala princes. Indeed, Kritavarman, with his arrows resisted those two Panchala princes as they advanced, following Arjuna for protecting his wheels. Then Kritavarman, the ruler of the Bhojas, pierced them both with sharp shafts, striking Yudhamanyu with three, and Uttamaujas with four. Those two princes in return each pierced him with ten arrows. And once more, Yudhamanyu shooting three arrows and Uttamaujas shooting three cut off Kritavarman's standard and bow. Then the son of Hridika, taking up another bow, and becoming infuriated with rage, deprived both those warriors of their bows and covered them with arrows. Then those two warriors, taking up and stringing two other bows, began to pierce Kritavarman. Meanwhile Vibhatsu penetrated into the hostile army. But those two princes, resisted by Kritavarman, obtained no admittance into the Dhritarashtra host, although those bulls among men struggled vigorously. Then Arjuna of white steeds quickly afflicted in that battle the divisions opposed to him. That slayer of foes, however, slew not Kritavarman although he had got him within reach.. Beholding Partha thus proceeding, the brave king Srutayudha, filled with wrath, rushed at him, shaking his large bow. And he pierced Partha with three arrows, and Janardana with seventy. And he struck the standard of Partha with a very sharp arrow having a razor-like head. Then Arjuna, filled with wrath deeply pierced his antagonist with ninety straight shafts, like (a rider) striking a mighty elephant with the hook. Srutayudha, however, could not, O king, brook that act of prowess on the part of Pandu's son. He pierced Arjuna in return with seven and seventy shafts. Arjuna then cut off Srutayudha's bow and then his quiver, and angrily struck him on the chest with seven straight shafts. Then, king Srutayudha, deprived of his senses by wrath, took up another bow and struck the son of Vasava with nine arrows on the latter's arms and chest. Then Arjuna, that chastiser of foes laughing the while, O Bharata, afflicted Srutayudha with many thousands of arrows. And that mighty car-warrior quickly slew also the latter's steeds and charioteer. Endued with great strength the son of Pandu then pierced his foe with seventy arrows. Then the valiant king Srutayudha abandoning that steedless car, rushed in that encounter against Partha, uplifting his mace. The heroic king Srutayudha was the son of Varuna, having for his mother that mighty river of cool water called Parnasa. His mother, O king, had for the sake of her son, begged Varuna saying, 'Let this my son become unslayable on earth.' Varuna, gratified (with her), had said, 'I give him a boon highly beneficial to him, viz., a celestial weapon, by virtue of which this thy son will become unslayable on earth by foes. No man can have immortality. O foremost of rivers, every one who hath taken birth must inevitably die. This child, however, will always be invincible by foes in battle, through the power of this weapon. Therefore, let thy heart's fever be dispelled.' Having said these words, Varuna gave him, with mantras, a mace. Obtaining that mace, Srutayudha became invincible on earth. Unto him, however, illustrious Lord of the waters again said, 'This mace should not be hurled at one who is not engaged in fight. If hurled at such a person, it will come back and fall upon thyself. O

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illustrious child, (if so hurled) it will then course in an opposite direction and slay the person hurling it.' It would seem that when his hour came, Srutayudha disobeyed that injunction. With that hero-slaying mace he attacked Janardana, The valiant Krishna received that mace on one of his well-formed and stout shoulders. It failed to shake Sauri, like the wind failing to shake the Vindhya mountain. That mace, returning unto Srutayudha himself, struck that brave and wrathful king staying on his car, like an ill-accomplished act of sorcery injuring the performer himself, and slaying that hero fell down on the earth. Beholding the mace turn back and Srutayudha slain, loud cries of Alas and Oh arose there among the troops, at the sight of Srutayudha that chastiser of foes, slain by a weapon of his own. 1 And because, O monarch, Srutayudha had hurled that mace at Janardana who was not engaged in fighting it slew him who had hurled it. And Srutayudha perished on the field, even in the manner that Varuna had indicated. Deprived of life, he fell down on the earth before the eyes of all the bowmen. While falling down, that dear son of Parnasa shone resplendent like a tall banian with spreading boughs broken by the wind. Then all the troops and even all the principal warriors fled away, beholding Srutayudha, that chastiser of foes, slain. Then, the son of the ruler of the Kamvojas, viz., the brave Sudakshina, rushed on his swift steeds against Phalguna that slayer of foes. Partha, then, O Bharata, sped seven shafts at him. Those shafts passing through the body of that hero, entered the earth. Deeply pierced those shafts sped in battle from Gandiva, Sudakshina pierced Arjuna in return with ten shafts winged with Kanka feathers. And piercing Vasudeva with three shafts, he once more pierced Partha with five. Then, O sire, Partha, cutting off Sudakshina's bow, lopped off the latter's standard. And the son of Pandu pierced his antagonist with a couple of broad-headed arrows of great sharpness. Sudakshina, however, piercing Partha once more with three arrows, uttered a leonine shout. Then the brave Sudakshina, filled with wrath, hurled at the wielder of Gandiva a terrible dart made wholly of iron and decked with bells. That dart blazing as a large meteor, and emitting sparks of fire, approaching that mighty car-warrior pierced him through and fell down on the earth. Deeply struck by that dart and overcome with a swoon, Arjuna soon enough recovered. Then that hero of mighty energy, licking the corners of his mouth, that son of Pandu, of inconceivable feats, pierced his foe, along with his steeds, standard, bow, and charioteer, with four and ten shafts winged with Kanka feathers. With other arrows, countless in number, Partha then cut Sudakshina's car into fragments. And then the son of Pandu pierced Sudakshina, the prince of the Kamvojas, whose purpose and prowess had both been baffled, with a sharp arrow in the chest. Then the brave prince of the Kamvojas, his coat of mail cut off, his limbs weakened, his diadem and Angadas displaced, fell head downwards, like a pole of Indra when hurled from an engine. Like a beautiful Karnikara tree in the spring, gracefully growing on a mountain summit with beautiful branches, lying on the earth when uprooted by the wind, the prince of the Kamvojas lay on the bare ground deprived of life, though deserving of the costliest bed, decked with costly ornaments. Handsome, possessed of eyes that were of a coppery hue, and bearing on his head a garland of gold, endued with the effulgence of fire, the mighty-armed Sudakshina, the son of the ruler of the Kamvojas, overthrown by Partha with his shafts, and lying on the earth, reft of fife, looked resplendent like a beautiful mountain with a level top. Then all the troops of thy son fled away, beholding Srutayudha, and Sudakshina the prince of the Kamvojas, slain.'"

SECTION 92

"Sanjaya said, 'Upon the fall of Sudakshina and of the heroic Srutayudha, O monarch, thy warriors, filled with wrath, rushed with speed at Partha. The Abhishahas, the Surasenas, the Sivis, the Vasatis began, O king, to scatter their arrowy showers on Dhananjaya. The son of Pandu then consumed by means of his arrows six hundred of them at once. Thereupon, those warriors, terrified, fled away like smaller animals from a tiger. Rallying, they once more surrounded Partha, who was slaying his foes and vanquishing them in battle. Dhananjaya then, with shafts sped from Gandiva, speedily felled the heads and arms of the combatants thus rushing upon him. Not an inch of the field of battle was unstrewn with fallen heads, and the flights of crows and vultures and ravens that hovered over the field seemed to form a cloudy canopy. Seeing their men thus exterminated, Srutayus and Achyutayus were both filled with wrath. And they continued to contend vigorously with Dhananjaya. Endued with great might, proud, heroic, of noble lineage, and possessed of strength of arms, those two bowmen, O king, solicitous of winning great fame and desirous, for the sake of thy son, to compass the destruction of Arjuna, quickly showered upon the latter their arrowy downpours at once from his right and left. Those angry heroes, with a thousand straight shafts, covered Arjuna like two masses of clouds filling a lake. Then that foremost of car-warriors viz., Srutayus filled with wrath, struck Dhananjaya with a well-tempered lance. That crusher of foes viz., Arjuna, then, deeply pierced by his mighty foe, swooned away in that battle, stupefying Kesava also (by that act). Meanwhile, the mighty car-warrior Achyutayus forcibly struck the son of Pandu with a keen-pointed spear. By the act he seemed to pour an acid upon the wound of the high-souled son of Pandu. Deeply pierced therewith, Partha supported himself by seizing the flag-staff. Then a leonine shout was sent forth by all the troops, O monarch, in the belief that Dhananjaya was deprived of life. And Krishna also was scorched with grief upon beholding Partha senseless. Then Kesava comforted Dhananjaya with soothing words.. Then those foremost of car-warriors, (viz., Srutayus and Achyutayus), of true aim, pouring their arrowy showers on all sides, in that battle, made Dhananjaya and Vasudeva of Vrishni's race invisible with their car and car-wheels and Kuvaras, their steeds and flagstaff and banner. And all this seemed wonderful. Meanwhile, O Bharata, Vibhatsu slowly regained his senses, like one come back from the very abode of the king of the dead. Beholding his car with Kesava overwhelmed with arrows and seeing also those two antagonists of his staying before him like two blazing fires, the mighty car-warriors Partha then invoked into existence the weapon named after Sakra. From that weapon flowed thousands of straight shafts. And those shafts struck Srutayus and Achyutayus, those mighty bowmen. And the arrows shot by the latter, pierced by those of Partha, coursed through the welkin. And the son of Pandu quickly baffling those arrows by the force of his own arrows, began to career over the field, encountering mighty car-warriors. Meanwhile Srutayus and Achyutayus were, by Arjuna's arrowy showers, deprived of their arms and heads. And they fell down on the earth, like a couple of tall trees broken by the wind. And the death of Srutayus and slaughter of Achyutayus created surprise equal to what men would feel at the sight of the ocean becoming dry. Then slaying fifty car-warriors amongst the followers of those two princes, Partha proceeded against the Bharata army, slaying many foremost of warriors. Beholding both Srutayus and Achyutayus slain, their sons, those foremost of men, viz., Niyatayus and Dirghayus, O Bharata, both filled with rage, rushed against the son of Kunti, scattering shafts of diverse kinds, and much pained by the calamity that had happened to their sires. Arjuna, excited with rage, in a moment despatched them both towards Yama's abode, by means of straight shafts. And those bulls among Kshatriyas (that were in the Kuru army) were unable to resist Partha who agitated the Dhartarashtra ranks, like an elephant agitating the waters of a lake filled with lotuses. Then thousands of trained elephant-riders amongst the Angas, O monarch, filled with rage, surrounded the son of Pandu with their elephant-force. Urged by Duryodhana, many kings also of the west and the south, and many others headed by the ruler of the Kalingas, also surrounded Arjuna, with their elephants huge as hills. Partha however, with shafts sped from Gandiva, quickly cut off the heads and arms, decked with ornaments, of those advancing combatants. The field of battle, strewn with those heads and arms decked with Angadas, looked like golden stones entwined by snakes. And the arms of warriors cut off therewith, while failing down, looked like birds dropping down from trees. And the elephants, pierced with thousands of arrows and shedding blood (from their wounds), looked like hills in the season of rains with liquefied red chalk streaming down their sides. Others, slain by Partha with sharp shafts, lay prostrate on the field. And many Mlecchas on the backs of elephants, of diverse kinds of ugly forms, robed in diverse attires, O king, and armed with diverse kinds of weapons, and bathed in blood, looked resplendent as they lay on the field, deprived of life by means of diverse kinds of arrows. And thousands of elephants along with their riders and those on foot that urged them forward, struck with Partha's shafts, vomited blood, or uttered shrieks of agony, or fell down, or ran ungovernably in all directions. And many, exceedingly frightened, trod down and crushed their own men. And many which were kept as reserves and which were fierce as snakes of virulent poison, did the same. And many terrible Yavanas and Paradas and Sakas and Valhikas, and Mlecchas born of the cow (belonging to Vasishtha), of fierce eyes, accomplished in smiting looking like messengers of Death, and all conversant with the deceptive powers of the Asuras and many Darvabhisaras and Daradas and Pundras numbering by thousands, of bands, and together forming a force that was countless, began to shower their sharp shafts upon the son of Pandu. Accomplished in various modes of warfare, those Mlecchas covered Arjuna with their arrows. Upon them, Dhananjaya also quickly poured his arrows. And those arrows, shot from Gandiva, looked like flights of locusts, as they coursed through the welkin. Indeed. Dhananjaya, having by his arrows caused a shade over the troops like that of the clouds, slew, by the force of his weapons, all the Mlecchas, with heads completely shaved or half-shaved or covered with matted locks, impure in habits, and of crooked faces. Those dwellers of hills, pierced with arrows, those denizens of mountain-caves, fled away in fear. And ravens and Kankas and wolves, with great glee, drank the blood of those elephants and steeds and their Mleccha-riders overthrown on the field by Partha with his sharp shafts. Indeed, Arjuna caused a fierce river to flow there whose current consisted of blood. (Slain) foot-soldiers and steeds and cars and elephants constituted its embankments. The showers of shafts poured constituted its rafts and the hairs of the combatants formed its moss and weeds. And the fingers cut off from the arms of warriors, formed its little fishes. And that river was as awful as Death itself at the end of the Yuga. And that river of blood flowed towards the region of Yama, and the bodies of stain elephants floating on it, obstructed its current. And the earth was covered all over with the blood of Kshatriyas and of elephants and steeds and their riders, and became one bloody expanse like to what is seen when Indra showers a heavy down-pour covering uplands and lowlands alike. And that bull among Kshatriyas despatched six thousand horsemen and again a thousand foremost of Kshatriyas in that battle into the jaws of death. Thousands of well-equipped elephants, pierced with arrows, lay prostrate on the field, like hills struck down by thunder. And Arjuna careered over the field, slaying steeds and car-warriors and elephants, like an elephant of rent temples crushing a forest a reeds. As a conflagration, urged by the wind, consumes a dense forest of trees and creepers and plants and dry wood and grass, even so did that fire, viz., Pandu's son Dhananjaya, having shafts for its flames and urged on by the Krishna-wind, angrily consume the forest of thy warriors. Making the terraces of cars empty, and causing the earth to be strewn, with human bodies, Dhananjaya seemed to dance bow in hand, in the midst of those vast masses of men. Deluging the earth with blood by means of his shafts, endued with the strength of the thunder, Dhananjaya, excited with wrath, penetrated into the Bharata host. While thus proceeding, Srutayus, the ruler of the Amvashthas, resisted him. Arjuna then, O sire, speedily felled with keen shafts equipped with Kanka feathers, the steeds of Srutayus struggling in battle. And cutting off with other shafts, the bow also of his antagonist, Partha careered over the field. The ruler of the Amvashthas, then with eyes troubled in wrath, took up a mace and approached the mighty car-warrior Partha and Kesava also in that battle. Then that hero, uplifting his mace, stopped the (progress of Arjuna's) car by its strokes, and struck Kesava also therewith. Then that slayer of hostile heroes, viz., Arjuna, beholding Kesava struck with that mace, became filled with wrath. And, then, O Bharata, that hero, with his shafts, equipped with wings of gold, covered the ruler of the Amvashthas, that foremost or car-warriors, armed with mace, like clouds covering the risen sun. With other shafts, Partha then cut off the mace of that high-souled warrior in fragments, reducing it almost to dust. And all this seemed highly wonderful. Beholding that mace of his cut off in fragments, the ruler of the Amvashthas took up another huge mace, and repeatedly struck both Arjuna and Kesava therewith. Then, Arjuna with a couple of sharp broad-faced arrows, cut off the uplifted arms of Srutayus which held the mace, those arms that looked like a couple of Indra's standard, and with another winged arrow, he cut off the head of that warrior. Thus slain, Srutayus fell down, O king, filling the earth with a loud noise, like a tall standard of Indra when the strings, tying it to the engine on which it is set, are cut off. Surrounded then on all sides by rounds of cars and by hundreds upon hundreds of elephants and cars, Partha became invisible like the sun covered with clouds.'"

SECTION 93

"Sanjaya said, 'After the son of Kunti, impelled by the desire of slaying the ruler of the Sindhus, had penetrated (into the Bharata host) having pierced through the irresistible divisions of both Drona and the Bhojas, after the heir of the ruler of the Kamvojas, viz., prince Sudakshina, had been slain, after Savyasachin had killed the valiant Srutayudha also, after the (Kuru) ranks had fled away and confusion had set in on all sides, thy son, beholding his army broken, repaired to Drona. Quickly coming on his car to Drona, Duryodhana said: 'That tiger among men (viz., Arjuna), having crushed this vast host hath already passed through it. Aided by thy judgement, think now what should be done next for the slaughter of Arjuna in view of awful carnage. Blessed be thou, adopt such measures that that tiger among men may not succeed in slaying Jayadratha. Thou art our sole refuge. Like a raging conflagration consuming heaps of dry grass and straw, Dhananjaya-fire, urged by the wind of his wrath, is consuming the grass and straw constituted by my troops. O scorcher of foes, seeing the son of Kunti pass, having pierced through this host, those warriors that are protecting Jayadratha have become doubtful (of their ability to resist Partha). O foremost of those acquainted with Brahma, it was the settled conviction of the kings that Dhananjaya would never, with life, succeed in transgressing Drona. O thou of great splendour, when, however, Partha has pierced through thy division in the very sight, I regard my army to be very weak. Indeed, I think that I have no troops. O thou that art highly blessed, I know thou art devoted to the welfare of the Pandavas. I lose my reason, o regenerate one, in thinking what should be done. To the best of my power, I also seek to

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gratify thee. Thou, however, dost not bear all this in mind. O thou of immeasurable prowess, although we are devoted to thee, still thou never seekest our welfare. Thou art always well-pleased with the Pandavas and always engaged in doing us evil. Though deriving thy livelihood from us, still thou art engaged in doing evil to us. I was not aware that thou art but a razor steeped in honey. If thou hadst not granted me the boon about humiliating and checking the Pandavas, I would never have prevented the ruler of the Sindhus from returning to his own country. Fool that I am, expecting protection from thee, I assured the ruler of the Sindhus, and through my folly offered him as a victim to death. A man may escape, having entered the very jaws of death, but there is no escape for Jayadratha, when once he comes within reach of Dhananjaya's arms. O thou that ownest red steeds, do that by which the ruler of the Sindhus may yet be saved. Do not give way to wrath on hearing the delirious ravings of my afflicted self, O, protect ye the ruler of the Sindhus.'

"Drona said, 'I do not find fault with thy words. Thou art as dear to me as Aswatthaman himself. I tell thee truly. Act, however, now according to my words, O king! Of all drivers of cars, Krishna is the foremost. His steeds are also the foremost of their species. Obtaining only a very small space, Dhananjaya can pass very quickly through it. Seest thou not that the shafts of the diadem-decked (Arjuna), countless in number, shot from his bow, are falling full two miles behind his car as he is proceeding? Burdened with the weight of years, I am now incapable of going so fast. The whole army of the Parthas, again, is now close upon our van. Yudhishthira also should be seized by me. Even so, O thou of mighty arms, hath been the vow made by me in the Presence of all bowmen and in the midst of all the Kshatriyas. O king! he is now staying at the head of his troops, abandoned by Dhananjaya. I shall not, therefore, abandoning the gate of our array, fight with Phalguna. It is meet that thyself, properly supported, shouldst fight With that foe of thine, who is alone and who is thy equal in lineage and feats. Do not fear. Go and fight with him. Thou art the ruler of the world. Thou art a king. Thou art a hero. Possessed of fame, thou art accomplished in vanquishing (thy foes). O brave subjugator of hostile towns, go thyself to that spot where Dhananjaya the son of Pritha is.'

"Duryodhana said, 'O preceptor, how is it possible for me to resist Dhananjaya who has transgressed even thee that art the foremost of all wielders of arms? The very chief of celestials, armed with the thunder, is capable of being vanquished in battle, but Arjuna that subjugator of hostile towns, cannot be vanquished in battle. He by whom Hridika's son (Kritavarman), the ruler of the Bhojas, and thyself equal unto a celestial, have both been vanquished by the power of his weapons, he by whom Srutayus hath been slain, as also Sudakshina, and king Srutayus too, he by whom both Srutayus and Achyutayus and myriads of Mlecchas also have been slain, how can I contend in battle with that invincible son of Pandu, that accomplished master of weapons, who is even like an all-consuming fire? How also dost thou think me competent to fight with him today? I am dependent on thee like a slave. Protect my fame.'

"Drona said, 'Thou sayest truly, O thou of Kuru's race, that Dhananjaya is irresistible. I, however, will do that by which thou shalt be able to bear him. Let all the bowmen in the world behold today the wonderful feat of the son of Kunti being held in check by thee in the very sight of Vasudeva. This thy armour of gold, O king, I will tie on thy body in such a way that no weapon used by man will be able to strike thee in battle. If even the three worlds with the Asuras and the celestials, the Yakshas, the Uragas, and the Rakshasas, together with all human beings, fight with thee today, thou needst still entertain no fear. Neither Krishna, nor the son of Kunti, nor any other wielder of weapons in battle, will be able to pierce this armour of thine with arrows. Cased in that coat of mail, quickly go thou today against angry Arjuna in battle. He will not be able to bear thee.'

"Sanjaya said, 'Having said these words, Drona, that foremost of persons conversant with Brahma, touching water, and duly uttering certain Mantras, speedily tied that highly wonderful and bright armour on Duryodhana's body for the victory of thy son in that dreadful battle and causing (by that act) all persons there to be filled with amazement. And Drona said, 'Let the Vedas, and Brahman, and the Brahmanas, bless thee. Let all the higher classes of reptiles be a source of blessings to thee, O Bharata! Let Yayati and Nahusha, and Dhundhumara, and Bhagiratha, and the other royal sages, all do what is beneficial to thee. Let blessings be to thee from creatures having but one leg, and from those that have many legs. Let blessings be to thee, in this great battle from creatures that have no legs. Let Swaha, and Swadha, and Sachi, also, all do what is beneficial to thee. O sinless one, let Lakshmi and Arundhati too do what is beneficial to thee. Let Asita, and Devala and Viswamitra, and Angiras, and Vasishtha, and Kasyapa, O king, do what is beneficial to thee. Let Dhatri, and the lord of the worlds and the points of the compass and the regents of those points, and the six-faced Karttikeya, all give thee what is beneficial. Let the divine Vivaswat benefit thee completely. Let the four elephants, of the four quarters, the earth, the firmament, the planets, and he who is underneath the earth and holds her (on his head), O king, viz., Sesha, that foremost of snakes, give thee what is for thy benefit. O son of Gandhari, formerly the Asura named Vritra, displaying his prowess in battle, had defeated the best of celestials in battle. The latter, numbering thousands upon thousands, with mangled bodies, those denizens of heaven, with Indra at their head, deprived of energy and might, all repaired to Brahman and sought his protection, afraid of the great Asura Vritra. And the gods said, 'O best of gods, O foremost of celestials, be thou the refuge of the gods now crushed by Vritra. Indeed, rescue us from this great fear.' Then Brahmana, addressing Vishnu staying beside him as also those best of celestials headed by Sakra, said unto them that were all cheerless, these words fraught with truth: Indeed, the gods with Indra at their head, and the Brahmanas also, should ever be protected by me. The energy of Tvashtri from which Vritra hath been created is invincible. Having in days of yore performed ascetic penances for a million of years, Tvashtri, then, ye gods, created Vritra, obtaining permission from Maheswara. That mighty foe of yours hath succeeded in smiting you through the grace of that god of gods. Without going to the place where Sankara stayeth, ye cannot see the divine Hara. Having seen that god, ye will be able to vanquish Vritra. Therefore, go ye without delay to the mountains of Mandara. There stayeth that origin of ascetic penances, that destroyer of Daksha's sacrifice, that wielder of Pinaka, that lord of all creatures, that slayer of the Asura called Bhaganetra.' Thus addressed by Brahman, the gods proceeding to Mandara with Brahman in their company, beheld there that heap of energy, that Supreme god endued with the splendour of a million suns. Seeing the gods Maheswara welcomed them and enquired what he was to do for them. 'The sight of ray person can never be fruitless. Let the fruition of your desires proceed from this.' Thus addressed by him, the dwellers of heaven replied, 'We have been deprived of our energy by Vritra. Be thou the refuge of the dwellers of heaven. Behold, O lord, our bodies beaten and bruised by his strokes. We seek thy protection. Be thou our refuge, O Maheswara!' The god of gods, called Sarva, then said, 'Ye gods, it is well-known to you how this action, fraught with great strength, terrible and incapable of being resisted by persons destitute of ascetic merit, originated, springing from the energy of Tvashtri (the divine artificer). As regards myself, it is certainly my duty to render aid to the dwellers of heaven. O Sakra, take this effulgent armour from off my body. And, O chief of the celestials, put it on, mentally uttering these mantras.'

"Drona continued, 'Having said these words, the boon-giving (Siva) gave that armour with the mantras (to be uttered by the wearer). Protected by that armour, Sakra proceeded against the host of Vritra in battle. And although diverse kinds of weapons were hurled at him in that dreadful battle, yet the joints of that armour could not be cut open. Then the lord of the celestials slew Vritra, and afterwards gave unto Angiras that armour, whose joints were made up of mantras. And Angiras imparted those mantras to his son Vrihaspati, having a knowledge of all mantras. And Vrihaspati imparted that knowledge to Agnivesya of great intelligence. And Agnivesya imparted it to me, and it is with the aid of those mantras, O best of kings, that I, for protecting thy body, tie this armour on thy body.'

`Sanjaya continued, Having said these words Drona, that bull among preceptors, once more addressed thy son, of great splendour, saying, 'O king, I put this armour on thy body, joining its pieces with the aid of Brahma strings. In days of yore, Brahma himself had thus put it on Vishnu in battle. Even as Brahma himself had put this celestial armour on Sakra in the battle caused by the abduction of Taraka, I put it on thee.' Having thus, with mantras, donned that armour duly on Duryodhana, the regenerate Drona sent the king to battle. And the mighty-armed king, cased in armour by the high-souled preceptor, and accomplished in smiting, and a thousand infuriated elephants endued with great prowess, and a hundred thousand horses, and many other mighty car-warriors, proceeded towards the car of Arjuna. And the mighty-armed king proceeded, with the sound of diverse kinds of musical instruments, against his foe, like Virochana's son (Vali in days of yore). Then, O Bharata, a loud uproar arose among thy troops, beholding the Kuru king proceeding like a fathomless ocean.'"

SECTION 94

"Sanjaya said, 'After that bull among men, viz., Duryodhana, had set out from behind, following Partha and him of Vrishni's race, O king, both of whom had penetrated into the Kaurava army, the Pandavas accompanied by the Somakas, quickly rushed against Drona with loud shouts. And then commenced the battle (between them and Drona's troops). And the battle that took place between the Kurus and the Pandavas at the gate of the array, was fierce and awful, making the hair stand on end. The sight filled the spectators with wonder. O king, the sun was then in the meridian. That encounter, O monarch, was truly such that we had never seen or heard of its like before. The Parthas headed by Dhrishtadyumna, all accomplished in smiting and arrayed properly covered the troops of Drona with showers of arrows. Ourselves also, placing Drona, that foremost of all wielders of weapons, at our head, covered the Parthas, gathered by Prishata's son, with our shafts. The two hosts, adorned with cars and looking beautiful, then appeared like two mighty masses of clouds in the summer sky, driven towards each other by opposite winds. Encountering each other, the two hosts increased their impetuosity, like the rivers the Ganga and the Yamuna, swollen with water during the season of the rains. Having diverse kinds of weapons for the winds that ran before them, teeming with elephants and steeds and cars charged with lightning, constituted by the maces wielded by the warriors, the fierce and mighty cloud formed by the Kuru host, urged on by the Drona-tempest, and pouring incessant shafts that constituted its torrents of rain, sought to quench the scorching Pandava-fire. Like an awful hurricane in summer agitating the ocean, that best of Brahmanas, viz., Drona, agitating the Pandava host. Exerting themselves with great vigour, the Pandavas rushed towards Drona alone for piercing his host, like a mighty torrent of water towards a strong embankment, for sweeping it away. Like an immovable hill resisting the fiercest current of water, Drona, however, resisted in that battle the enraged Pandavas and Panchalas and Kekayas. Many other kings also, endued with great strength and courage, attacking them from all sides, began to resist the Pandavas. Then that tiger among men, viz., the son of Prishata, uniting with the Pandayas, began repeatedly to strike Drona, for piercing the hostile host. Indeed, as Drona showered his arrows on Prishata's son, even so did the latter shower his on Drona. Having scimitars and swords for the winds that blew before it, well-equipped with darts and lances and sabres, with the bow-string constituting its lightning, and the (twang of the) bow for its roars, the Dhrishtadyumna-cloud poured on all sides torrents of weapons, as its showers of stones. Slaying the foremost of car-warriors and a large number of steeds, the son of Prishata seemed to deluge the hostile divisions (with his arrowy downpours). And the son of Prishata, by his arrows, turned Drona away from all those tracks amid the car-divisions of the Pandavas, through which that hero attempted to pass, striking the warriors there with his shafts. And although Drona struggled vigorously in that battle, yet his host, encountering Dhrishtadyumna, became divided into three columns. One of these retreated towards Kritavarman, the chief of the Bhojas; another towards Jalasandha; and fiercely slaughtered the while by the Pandavas, proceeded towards Drona himself. Drona, that foremost of car-warriors, repeatedly united his troops. The mighty warrior Dhrishtadyumna as often smote and separated them. Indeed, the Dhartarashtra force, divided into three bodies, was slaughtered by the Pandavas and the Srinjayas fiercely, like a herd of cattle in the woods by many beasts of prey, when unprotected by herdsmen. And people thought that in that dreadful battle, it was Death himself who was swallowing the warriors first stupefied by Dhrishtadyumna. As a kingdom of a bad king is destroyed by famine and pestilence and robbers, even so was thy host afflicted by the Pandavas. And in consequence of the rays of the sun failing upon the weapons and the warriors, and of the dust raised by the soldiers, the eyes of all were painfully afflicted. Upon the Kaurava host being divided into three bodies during that dreadful carnage by the Pandavas, Drona, filled with wrath, began to consume the Panchalas with his shafts. And while engaged in crushing those divisions and exterminating them with his shafts, the form of Drona became like that of the blazing Yuga-fire. That mighty car-warrior pierced cars, elephants, and steeds, and foot-soldiers, in that battle, each with only a single arrow, (and never employing more than one in any case). There then was no warrior in the Pandava army who was capable of bearing, O lord, the arrows shot from the bow of Drona. Scorched by the rays of the sun and blasted by the shafts of Drona, the Pandava divisions there began to reel about on the field. And thy host also, similarly slaughtered by Prishata's son, seemed to blaze up at every point like a dry forest on fire. And while both Drona and Dhrishtadyumna were slaughtering the two hosts, the warriors of both armies, in utter disregard of their lives, fought everywhere to the utmost extent of their prowess. Neither in thy host, nor in that of the enemy, O bull of Bharata's race, was there a single warrior who fled away from the battle through fear. Those uterine brothers, viz., Vivingsati and Chitrasena and the mighty car-warrior Vikarna, surrounded Kunti's son Bhimasena on all sides. And Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti, and Kshemadhurti of great prowess supported thy three sons (who contended against Bhimasena). King Valhika of great energy and noble parentage, with his own troops and counsellors, resisted the sons of Draupadi. Saivya, the chief of the Govasanas, with a thousand foremost warriors, faced the son, of great prowess, of the king of the Kasis and resisted him. King Salya, the ruler of the Madras, surrounded royal Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, who resembled a blazing fire. The brave and wrathful Duhsasana, properly supported by his own divisions, angrily

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proceeded, in that battle, against Satyaki, that foremost of car-warriors. I myself, with my own troops, cased in mail and equipped with weapons, and supported by four hundred foremost of bowmen, resisted Chekitana. Sakuni with seven hundred Gandhara warriors armed with bows, darts and swords, resisted the son of Madri (viz., Sahadeva). Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti, those two great bowmen, who had, for the sake of their friend (Duryodhana), uplifted their weapons, disregarding their lives, encountered Virata, the king of the Matsyas. King Valhika, exerting himself vigorously, resisted the mighty and unvanquished Sikhandin, the son of Yajnasena, that hero capable of resisting all foes. The chief of Avanti, with the Sauviras and the cruel Prabhadrakas, resisted wrathful Dhrishtadyumna, the prince of the Panchalas. Alamvusha quickly rushed against the brave Rakshasa Ghatotkacha. of cruel deeds, who was wrathfully advancing to battle. The mighty car-warrior Kuntibhoja, accompanied by a large force, resisted Alamvusha, that prince of Rakshasas, of fierce mien. Thus, O Bharata, hundreds of separate encounters between the warriors of thy army and theirs, took place.

"As regards the ruler of the Sindhus, he remained in the rear of the whole army protected by many foremost of bowmen and car-warriors numbering Kripa amongst them. And the ruler of the Sindhus had for the protectors of his wheels two of the foremost warriors, viz., the son of Drona on his right, O king, and the Suta's son (Karna) on the left. And for protecting his rear he had a number of warriors headed by Somadatta's son, viz., Kripa, and Vrishasena, and Sala, and the invincible Salya, who were conversant with policy and were mighty bowmen accomplished in battle. And the Kuru warriors, having made these arrangements for the protection of the ruler of the Sindhus, fought (with the Pandavas).'"

SECTION 95

"Sanjaya said, 'Listen, O king, to me as I describe to thee the wonderful battle that then took place between the Kurus and the Pandavas. Approaching Bharadwaja's son who was staying at the gate of his array, the Parthas battled vigorously for piercing through Drona's division. And Drona also, accompanied by his forces, desirous of protecting his own array, battled with the Parthas, seeking glory. Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti, excited with wrath and desirous of benefiting thy son, struck Virata with ten shafts. Virata also, O king, approaching those two warriors of great prowess staying in battle, fought with them and their followers. The battle that took place between these was fierce in the extreme, and blood ran in it like water. And it resembled an encounter in the woods between a lion and a couple of mighty elephants, with rent temples. The mighty son of Yajnasena forcibly struck king Valhika in that battle with fierce and sharp shafts capable of penetrating into the very vitals. Valhika also filled with wrath, deeply pierced Yajnasena's son with nine straight shafts of golden wings and whetted on stone. And that battle between those two warriors became exceedingly fierce, characterised as it was by dense showers of shafts and darts. And it enhanced the fears of the timid and the joy of heroes. The arrows shot by them entirely covered the welkin and all the points of the compass, so that nothing could any longer be discerned. And Saivya, the king of the Govasanas on the head of the troops, fought in that battle with the mighty car-warrior, the prince of the Kasis, like an elephant battling with another. The king of the Valhikas, excited with wrath, fighting, against those (five) mighty car-warriors, viz., the son of Draupadi, looked resplendent, like the mind contending against the five senses. And those five princes also, O foremost of embodied beings, fought with that antagonist of theirs, shooting their arrows from all sides, like the objects of the senses for ever battling with the body. Thy son Duhsasana, struck Satyaki of Vrishni's race with nine straight shafts of keen points. Deeply pierced by that strong and great bowman, Satyaki of prowess incapable of being baffled, was partially deprived of his senses. Comforted soon, he, of Vrishni's race, then quickly pierced thy son, that mighty car-warrior, with ten shafts winged with Kanka feathers. Piercing each other deeply and afflicted with each other's shafts, they looked splendid, O king, like two Kinsukas decked with flowers. Afflicted with the arrows of Kuntibhoja, Alamvusha, filled with wrath looked like a beautiful Kinsuka graced with its flowering burthen. The Rakshasa then having pierced Kuntibhoja with many arrows, uttered awful shouts at the head of thy host. And as those heroes fought with each other in that battle, they seemed to all the troops to resemble Sakra and the Asura Jambha in days of old. The two sons of Madri, filled with wrath, fiercely ground with their shafts the Gandhara prince Sakuni who had offended against them greatly. The carnage, O monarch, that set in was awful. Originated by thee, nurtured by Karna, and kept up by thy sons, the fire of wrath (of the Pandavas) hath swollen now, O monarch, and is ready to consume the whole earth. Forced to turn his back on the field by the two sons of Pandu with their shafts, Sakuni unable to put forth his valour, knew not what to do. Beholding him turn back, those mighty car-warriors, viz., the two sons of Pandu, once more showered their arrows on him like two masses of clouds pouring torrents of rain on a mighty hill. Struck with countless straight shafts, the son of Suvala fled towards the division of Drona, borne by his swift steeds. The brave Ghatotkacha rushed towards the Rakshasa Alamvusha in that battle, with impetuosity much short of what he was capable. The battle between those two became fearful to behold, like that which in days of yore had taken place between Rama and Ravana. King Yudhishthira, having in that battle pierced the ruler of the Madras with five hundred arrows, once more pierced him with seven. Then commenced that battle between them which was exceedingly wonderful, O monarch, which resembled that, in days of yore, between the Asura Samvara and the chief of the celestials. The sons Vivinsati and Chitrasena and Vikarna, surrounded by a large force, battled with Bhimasena.'"

SECTION 96

"Sanjaya said, 'When that fierce battle, causing the hair to stand on end, commenced, the Pandavas rushed against the Kauravas who had been divided into three bodies. Bhimasena rushed against the mighty-armed Jalasandha, and Yudhishthira, at the head of his troops rushed, in that battle, against Kritavarman. And Dhrishtadyumna, O king, scattering the shafts, like the sun shooting his rays, rushed against Drona. Then commenced that battle between all the bowmen, eager for the encounter, of the Kurus and the Pandavas, excited with wrath. And during the progress of that terrible carnage, when all the warriors were battling with one another fearlessly the mighty Drona fought with the mighty prince of the Panchalas. And the clouds of arrows he shot in that encounter filled all spectators with wonder. And Drona and the prince of the Panchalas, cutting off the heads of men by thousands, scattered them on the field of battle, making the latter resemble a forest of lotuses. In every division, were soon strewn on the ground robes and ornaments and weapons, and standards and coats of mail. And golden coats of mail, dyed with blood, looked like clouds charged with lightning. Other mighty car-warriors, drawing their large bows measuring full six cubits long, felled with their shafts, elephants and steeds and men. In that dreadful encounter of arms between brave and high-souled warriors, swords and shields, bows and heads and coats of mail were seen lying scattered about. Innumerable headless trunks wore seen to rise up, O king, in the midst of that fierce battle. And vultures and Kankas and jackals and swarms of other carnivorous animals, O sire, were seen there, eating the flesh of fallen men and steeds and elephants, of drinking their blood, or dragging them by the hair, or licking or pecking, O king, at their marrow, or dragging their bodies and severed limbs, or rolling their heads on the ground. Warriors, skilled in battle, accomplished in weapons, and firmly resolved in fight, struggled vigorously in the combat, solicitous only of fame. Many were the combatants that careered over the field, performing the diverse evolutions, of swordsmen. With sabres and darts and lances and spears and axes, with maces and spiked clubs and other kinds of weapons, and with even bare arms, men who had entered the arena of battle, filled with rage, slew one another. And car-warriors fought with car-warriors, and horsemen with horsemen, and elephants with foremost of elephants, and foot-soldiers with foot-soldiers. And many infuriated elephants, as if perfectly mad, uttered loud shrieks and slew one another, after the manner they do in sporting arenas.

"During the progress, O king, of that battle in which the combatants fought without any regard for one another, Dhrishtadyumna caused his own steeds to be mixed up with those of Drona. Those steeds endued with the speed of the wind, that were white as pigeons and red as blood, thus mixed with one another in battle, looked exceedingly beautiful. Indeed, they looked resplendent like clouds charged with lightning. Then that slayer of hostile heroes, viz., heroic Dhrishtadyumna, the son of Prishata, beholding Drona, O Bharata, arrived so near, cast off his bow and took up his sword and shield, for achieving a difficult feat. Seizing the shaft of Drona's car, he entered into it. And he stayed sometimes on the middle of the yoke, and sometimes on its joints and sometimes behind the steeds. And while he was moving, armed with swords, quickly upon the backs of those red steeds of Drona, the latter could not detect an opportunity for striking him. All this seemed wonderful to us. Indeed, like the sweep of a hawk in the woods from desire of food, seemed that sally of Dhrishtadyumna from his own car for the destruction of Drona. Then Drona cut off, with a hundred arrows, the shield, decked with a hundred moons, of Drupada's son, and then his sword, with ten others. And mighty Drona then, with four and sixty arrows, slew the steeds of his antagonist. And with a couple of broad-headed shafts he cut off the latter's standard and umbrella also, and then slew both his Parshni charioteers. And then with great speed drawing his bow-string to his ear, he shot at him a fatal shaft, like the wielder of the thunder hurling the thunder (at a foe). But soon Satyaki, with four and ten sharp shafts, cut off that fatal arrow of Drona. And thus the Vrishni hero, O sire, rescued Dhrishtadyumna, who had been seized by that lion among men, the foremost of preceptors, like a deer seized by the king of the forests. Even thus did that bull amongst the Sinis, the prince of the Panchalas. Beholding Satyaki to rescue the prince of the Panchalas in the dreadful battle, Drona quickly shot at him six and twenty arrows. The grandson of Sini then, in return, pierced Drona in the centre of the chest with six and twenty arrows, while the latter was engaged in devouring the Srinjayas. Then all the Panchala car-warriors, desirous of victory upon the Satwata hero, proceeding against Drona, quickly withdrew Dhrishtadyumna from the battle.'"

SECTION 97

"Dhritarashtra said, 'After that shafts of Drona had been cut off and Dhrishtadyumna thus rescued, O Sanjaya, by Yuyudhana, that foremost one of the Vrishni race, what did that great bowman, that foremost of all wielders of weapons, viz., Drona, do in battle unto that tiger among men, viz., the grandson of Sini?'

"Sanjaya said, 'Then Drona, like a mighty snake, having wrath for his poison, his stretched bow for his wide-open mouth, his sharp shafts for his teeth and whetted arrows for his fangs, with eyes red as copper from rage, and breathing hard, that mighty hero among men, perfectly fearless, borne on his red steeds of great speed, that seemed to soar into the skies or get at the top of a mountain, rushed towards Yuyudhana, scattering his arrows equipped with golden wings. Then that subjugator of hostile cities, that hero of Sini's race invincible in battle, beholding that irresistible Drona cloud having showers of arrows for its watery downpour, the rattle of car-wheels for its roar, the out-stretched bow for its volume, long shafts for its lightning-flashes, darts and swords for its thunder, wrath for the winds and urged on by those steeds that constituted the hurricane (impelling it forwards), rushed towards him, addressed his charioteer and smilingly said, O Suta, proceed quickly and cheerfully, urging the steeds to their greatest speed, against that heroic Brahmana, fallen off from the duties of his order, that refuge of Dhritarashtra's son, that dispeller of the (Kuru) king's sorrows and fear, that preceptor of all the princes, that warrior ever boastful of his prowess.' Then the excellent steeds of silvery hue belonging to him of Madhu's race, endued with the speed of the wind, quickly proceeded towards Drona. Then those two chastisers of foes, viz., Drona and Sini's grandson, fought with each other, each striking the other with thousands of shafts. Those two bulls among men filled the welkin with their arrowy showers. Indeed, the two heroes covered the ten points of the compass with their shafts. And they poured on each other their shafts like two clouds pouring their contents (on the earth) on the expiration of summer. The sun became invisible. The very wind ceased to blow. And in consequence of those showers of shafts filling the welkin, a continuous and thick gloom was caused there that became unbearable to the other heroes. And when the shafts of Drona and Sini's grandson had caused that gloom there, none beheld any cessation in shooting in either of them. They were both quick in the use of weapons, and they were both looked upon as lions among men. The sound produced by those torrents of arrows, shot by both striking against each other was heard to resemble the sound of the thunder hurled by Sakra. The forms of heroic warriors pierced with long shafts looked like those of snakes, O Bharata, hit by snakes of virulent poison. Brave warriors incessantly heard the twangs of their bows and the sounds of their palms to resemble the sound of thunder falling upon summits of mountains. The cars of both of those warriors, O king, their steeds, and their charioteers pierced with shafts of golden wings, became beautiful to behold. Fierce was the downpour, O monarch, of shafts that were bright and straight and that looked resplendent like snakes of virulent poison freed from their sloughs. The umbrellas of both were cut off, as also the standards of both. And both of them were covered with blood, and both were inspired with the hope of victory. With blood trickling down every limb of theirs, they resembled a couple of elephants with secretions trickling down their bodies. And they continued to strike each other with fatal shafts. The roars and shouts and other cries of the soldiers, the blare of conchs and the beat of drums ceased, O king, for none uttered any sound. Indeed, all the divisions became silent, and all the warriors stopped fighting. People, filled with curiosity became spectators of that single combat. Car-warriors and elephant riders and horsemen and foot-soldiers, surrounding those two bulls among men, witnessed their encounter with steadfast eyes. And the elephant-divisions stood still and so also the horse-divisions, and so also the car-divisions. All stood still, disposed in array. Variegated with pearls and corals, decked with gems and gold, adorned with standards and ornaments, with coats of mail made of gold, with triumphal banners with rich caparisons of elephants, with fine blankets, with bright and sharp weapons, with yak-tails, ornamented with gold and silver, on the heads of steeds, with garlands, round the frontal globes of elephants and rings round their tusks, O Bharata, the Kuru and the Pandava hosts then looked like a mass of clouds at the close of summer, decked with rows of cranes and myriads of fire-flies

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(under them) and adorned with rainbows and flashes of lightning. Both our men and those of Yudhishthira, beheld that battle between Yuyudhana and high-souled Drona; the gods also, headed by Brahma and Soma, and the Siddhas, and the Charanas, and the Vidyadharas, and the great Snakes, saw it, stationed on their foremost of sky-ranging cars. And beholding the diverse motion, forward and backward, of those lions among men, and their acts of striking each other, the spectators were filled with wonder. And both endued with great strength, Drona and Satyaki, displaying their lightness of hand in the use of weapons, began to pierce each other with shafts. Then he of Dasarha's race, with his mighty shafts, cut off those of the illustrious Drona in that battle, and then, within a moment, the latter's bow also. Within, however, the twinkling of an eye, the son of Bharadwaja took up another bow and strung it. Even that bow of his was cut off by Satyaki. Drona then, with utmost quickness waited with another bow in hand. As often, however, as Drona strung his bow, Satyaki cut it off. And this he did full nine and seven times. Beholding then that superhuman feat of Yuyudhana in battle, Drona, O monarch, thought in his mind, 'This force of weapons that I see in this foremost one among the Satwatas exists in Rama and Dhananjaya and was seen also in Kartavirya and that tiger among men, viz., Bhishma. The son of Bharadwaja, therefore, mentally applauded the prowess of Satyaki. Beholding that lightness of hand equal unto that of Vasava himself, that foremost of regenerate ones, that first of all persons conversant with weapons, was highly gratified with Madhava. And the gods also, with Vasava at their head, were gratified with it. The gods and the Gandharvas, O monarch, had never before witnessed that lightness of hand of the quickly moving Yuyudhana, although they and the Siddhas and the Charanas had been acquainted with the feats of which Drona was capable. Then Drona, that foremost of persons acquainted with weapons, that grinder of Kshatriyas, taking up another bow, aimed some weapons. Satyaki, however, baffling those weapons with the illusion of his own weapon struck him with some sharp shafts. All this seemed highly wonderful. Beholding that superhuman feat of his in battle, that feat of which nobody else was capable, and which displayed very great skill, those amongst thy warriors that were judges of skill, applauded it. Satyaki shot the same weapons that Drona shot. Beholding this, that scorcher of foes, viz., the preceptor, fought with a little less boldness, than usual. Then that master of military science, O king, filled with wrath, invoked celestial weapons for the destruction of Yuyudhana. Beholding that terrible foe-slaughtering Agneya weapon, Satyaki, that mighty bowman, invoked another celestial weapon, viz., the Varuna. Seeing them both take up celestial weapons, loud cries of Oh and Alas arose there. The very creatures having the sky for their element ceased to range through it. Then the Varuna and the Agneya weapons which had thus been grafted on their shafts coming against each other became fruitless. [The celestial weapons were forces dependent on mantras. Ordinary shafts, inspired with these mantras, were converted into celestial weapons.] Just at that time, the sun passed down in his course. Then king Yudhishthira and Bhimasena, the son of Pandu, and Nakula, and Sahadeva, desirous of protecting Satyaki, and the Matsyas, and the Salweya troops, speedily proceeded towards Drona. Then thousands of princes placing Duhsasana at their head, hastily proceeded towards Drona (for protecting him) who was surrounded by foes. Then, O king, commenced a fierce battle between them and thy bowmen. The earth was covered with dust and with showers of arrows shot (by both sides). And everything being thus covered, nothing could any longer be discerned. Indeed, when the troops were thus overwhelmed with dust, the battle proceeded in utter disregard (of persons and rules).'"

SECTION 98

"Sanjaya said, 'When the sun turned in his downward course towards the summit of the Asta hills, when the welkin was covered with dust, when the heat of the solar rays abated, the day began to fade fast. As regards the soldiers, some rested, some fought on, some returned to the encounter, desirous of victory. And while the troops, inspired with hope of victory, were thus engaged, Arjuna and Vasudeva proceeded towards the place where the ruler of the Sindhus was. The son of Kunti, by means of his shafts, made (through the hostile soldiers) a way sufficiently wide for his car. And it was in this way that Janardana proceeded, (guiding the car). Thither where the car of the high-souled son of Pandu proceeded, thither thy troops, O monarch, broke and yielded a way. And he of Dasarha's race, endued with great energy, displayed his skill in driving car by showing diverse kinds of circling motions. And the shafts of Arjuna, engraved with his name, well-tempered, resembling the Yuga-fire, tied round with catgut, of straight joints, thick, far-reaching, and mace either of (cleft) bamboo (or their branches) or wholly of iron, taking the lives of diverse foes, drank in that battle, with the birds (of prey assembled there), the blood of living creatures. Standing on his car, as Arjuna shot his shafts full two miles ahead, those shafts pierced and despatched his foes just as that car itself came up to the spot. [In other words. Arjuna's car shot as quickly through the enemy as the arrows themselves sped from it.] Hrishikesa proceeded, borne by those yoke-bearing steeds endued with the speed of Garuda or the wind, with such speed that he caused the whole universe to wonder at it. Indeed, O king, the car of Surya himself, or that of Rudra or that of Vaisravana, never goeth so fast. Nobody else's car had ever before moved with such speed in battle as Arjuna's car, moving with the celerity of a wish cherished in the mind. Then Kesava, O king, that slayer of hostile heroes, having taken the car of battle quickly urged the steeds, O Bharata, through the (hostile) troops. Arrived in the midst of that throng of cars, those excellent steeds bore Arjuna's car with difficulty, suffering as they did from hunger, thirst, and toil, and mangled as they had been with the weapons of many heroes delighting in battle. They frequently, however, described beautiful circles as they moved, proceeding over the bodies of slain steeds and men, over broken cars, and the bodies of dead elephants, looking like hills by thousands.

"Meanwhile O king, the two heroic brothers of Avanti, (viz., Vinda and Anuvinda), at the head of their forces, beholding the steeds of Arjuna to be tired, encountered him. Filled with joy, they pierced Arjuna with four and sixty shafts, and Janardana with seventy, and the four steeds (of Arjuna's car) with a hundred arrows. Then Arjuna, O king, filled with wrath, and having a knowledge of the vital parts of the body, struck them both in the battle, with nine straight shafts, every one of which was capable of penetrating into the very vitals. Thereupon, the two brothers, filled with rage, covered Vibhatsu and Kesava with showers of shafts and uttered leonine roars. Then Partha of white steeds, with a couple of broad-headed shafts, quickly cut off in that battle the beautiful bows of the two brothers and then their two standards, bright as gold. Vinda and Anuvinda then, O king, taking up to other bows and becoming infuriated with anger, began to grind the son of Pandu with their arrows. Then Dhananjaya, the son of Pandu, exceedingly enraged, once more, with a couple of shafts quickly cut off those two bows also of his foes. And with a few other arrows whetted on stone and equipped with wings of gold, Arjuna then slew their steeds, their charioteers, and the two combatants that protected their rear, with those that followed the latter. And with another broad-headed arrow, sharp as a razor, he cut off the head of the eldest brother, who fell down on the earth, deprived of life, like a tree broken by the wind. The mighty Anuvinda then endued with great prowess, beholding Vinda slain left his steedless car, having taken up a mace. Then that foremost of car-warriors, viz., the brother of Vinda, apparently dancing as he advanced with that mace in his arms, proceeded in that battle for avenging the slaughter of his elder brother. Filled with rage, Anuvinda struck Vasudeva on the forehead with that mace. The latter, however, trembled not, but stood still like the mountain Mainaka. Then Arjuna with six arrows, cut off his neck and two legs and two arms and head. Thus cut off (into fragments, the limbs of) Anuvinda fell down like so many hills. Beholding them both stain, their followers, O king, filled with rage rushed (towards Arjuna), scattering hundreds of arrows. Slaying them soon, O bull of Bharata's race, Arjuna looked resplendent like a fire consuming a forest on the expiry of winter. Passing over those troops with some difficulty, Dhananjaya then shone brightly like the risen sun, transgressing the clouds under which it was hid. Beholding him, the Kauravas were filled with fright. But recovering soon enough, they rejoiced once more and rushed at him from all sides. O bull of Bharata's race! Understanding that he was tired and that the ruler of the Sindhus was yet at a distance, they surrounded him, uttering leonine roars. Beholding them, tilled with wrath, Arjuna, that bull among men, smilingly, addressed him of Dasarha's race in soft words, and said, 'Our steeds are afflicted with arrows and tired. The ruler of the Sindhus is still at a distance. What do you think to be the best that should be done now? Tell me, O Krishna, truly. Thou art always the wisest of persons. The Pandavas having thee for their eyes, will vanquish their foes in battle. That which seems to me should be done next, truly shall I say unto thee. Unyoking the steeds to their case, pluck off their arrows, O Madhava!' Thus addressed by Partha, Kesava replied unto him, 'I am, also O Partha, of the opinion which thou hast expressed.'

"Arjuna then said, 'I will hold in check the whole army, O Kesava! Do thou properly perform that which should be done next.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Alighting then from the terrace of his car, Dhananjaya, taking up his bow, Gandiva, fearlessly stood there like an immovable hill. Beholding Dhananjaya standing on the ground, and regarding it a good opportunity, the Kshatriyas, desirous of victory and uttering loud shouts, rushed towards him. Him standing along, they surrounded with a large throng of cars, all stretching their bows and showering their shafts on him. Filled with wrath, they displayed diverse kinds of weapons and entirely shrouded Partha with their shafts like the clouds shrouding the sun. And the great Kshatriya warriors impetuously rushed against that bull among Kshatriyas, that lion among men, like infuriated elephants rushing towards a lion. The might then that we beheld, of Partha's arms was exceedingly great, since, filled with rage, alone, he succeeded in resisting those countless warriors. The puissant Partha, baffling with his own weapons those of the foes, quickly covered all of them with countless shafts. In that part of the welkin, O monarch, in consequence of the clash Of those dense showers of shafts, a fire was generated emitting incessant sparks. There, in consequence of hostile heroes, countless in number, all filled with wrath, and all great bowmen united together for a common Purpose, seeking victory in battle, aided by steeds, covered with blood and breathing hard, and by infuriated and foe-grinding elephants, uttering loud shrieks, the atmosphere became exceedingly hot. That uncrossable, wide, and limitless ocean of cars, incapable of being agitated, had arrows for its current, standards for its eddies, elephants for its crocodiles, foot-soldiers for its countless fishes, the blare of conchs and the beat of drums for its roar, cars for its surging waves, head-gears of combatants for its tortoises, umbrellas and banners for its froth, and the bodies of slain elephants for its (submarine) rocks: Partha resisted with his arrows, the approach of the sea like a continent. Then, in course of that battle, the mighty-armed Janardana, fearlessly addressing that dear friend of his, that foremost of men, viz., Arjuna, said unto him. 'There is no well here in the field of battle, O Arjuna, for the steeds to drink from. The steeds want water for drink, but not for a bath.' Thus addressed by Vasudeva, Arjuna cheerfully said, 'Here it is!' And so saying, he pierced the earth with a weapon and made an excellent lake from which the steeds could drink. And that lake abounded in swans and ducks, and was adorned with Chakravakas. And it was wide and full of transparent water, and abounded in full-blown lotuses of the finest species. And it teemed with diverse kinds of fish. And fathomless in depth, it was the resort of many a Rishi. And the celestial Rishi, Narada, came to have a look at that lake created there in a moment. And Partha, capable of achieving wonderful works like (the celestial artificer) Tvashtri himself, also constructed there an arrowy hall, having arrows for its beams and rafters, arrows for its pillars, and arrows for its roof. Then Govinda smiling in joy, said, 'Excellent, Excellent,' upon seeing the high-souled Partha create that arrowy hall.'"

SECTION 99

"Sanjaya said, 'After the high-souled son of Kunti had created that water, after he had commenced to hold in cheek the hostile army, and after he had built also that arrowy hall, Vasudeva of great splendour, alighting from the car, unyoked the steeds pierced and mangled with arrows. Beholding that sight never seen before, loud uproars of applause were heard there, uttered by the Siddhas and the Charanas and by all the warriors. Mighty car-warriors (assembled together) were unable to resist the son of Kunti, even when he fought on foot. All this seemed highly wonderful. Although throngs upon throngs of cars, and myriads of elephants and steeds, rushed towards him, yet Partha felt no fear but fought on, prevailing upon all his foes. And the (hostile) kings shot showers of shafts at the son of Pandu. That slayer of hostile heroes, however, viz., the son of Vasava, of virtuous soul, felt no anxiety whatever. Indeed, the valiant Partha received hundreds of arrowy showers and maces and lances coming towards him as the ocean receives hundreds upon hundreds of rivers flowing towards it. With the impetuous might of his own weapons and strength of his arms, Partha received the foremost of shafts shot at him by those foremost of kings. Although staying on the ground, and alone, he succeeded yet in baffling all those kings on their cars, like that one fault, avarice, destroying a host of accomplishments. The Kauravas, O king, applauded the highly wonderful prowess of Partha as also of Vasudeva, saying, 'What more wonderful incident hath ever taken place in this world, or will ever take place than this, viz., that Partha and Govinda, in course of battle, have unyoked their steeds? Displaying fierce energy on the field of battle and the greatest assurance, those best of men have inspired us with great thoughts.' Then Hrishikesa, of eyes like lotus-petals, smiling with the coolest assurance, as if, O Bharata, he was in the midst of an assembly of women (and not armed foes), after Arjuna had created in the field of battle that hall, made of arrows, led the steeds into it, in the very sight. O monarch, of all thy troops. And Krishna, who was well-skilled in grooming horses, then removed their fatigue, pain, froth, trembling and wounds. Then plucking out their arrows and rubbing those steeds with his own hands, and making them trot duly, he caused them to drink. Having caused them to drink, and removed their fatigue and pain, he once more carefully yoked them to that foremost of cars. Then, that foremost one among all wielders of weapons, viz., Sauri, of great energy, mounting on that car with Arjuna, proceeded with great speed. Beholding the car of that foremost of car-warriors once more equipped with these steeds, whose thirst had been slaked, the foremost ones among the Kuru army once more became cheerless. They began to sigh, O king, like snakes whose fangs had been pulled out. And they said, 'Oh,

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fie, fie on us! Both Partha and Krishna have gone, in the very sight of all the Kshatriyas, riding on the same car, and clad in mail, and slaughtering our troops with as much ease as boys sporting with a toy. Indeed, those scorchers of foes have gone away in the very sight of all the kings displaying the prowess and unimpeded by our shouting and struggling combatants.' Seeing them gone away, other warriors said, 'Ye Kauravas, speed ye for the slaughter of Krishna and the diadem-decked (Arjuna). Yoking his steeds unto his car in the very sight of all (our) bowmen, he of Dasarha's race is proceeding towards Jayadratha, slaughtering us in battle.' And some lords of earth there, O king, amongst themselves, having seen that highly wonderful incident in battle never seen before said, 'Alas, through Duryodhana's fault, these warriors of king Dhritarashtra, the Kshatriyas, and the whole earth, fallen into great distress, are being destroyed. King Duryodhana understands it not.' Thus spoke many Kshatriyas. Others, O Bharata, said, 'The ruler of the Sindhus hath already been despatched to Yama's abode. Of narrow sight and unacquainted with means, let Duryodhana now do what should be done for that king. [i.e., his funeral obsequies. The vernacular translators do not see the intended joke.] Meanwhile, the son of Pandu, seeing the sun coursing towards the Western hills, proceeded with greater speed towards the ruler of the Sindhus, on his steeds, whose thirst had been slaked. The (Kuru) warriors were unable to resist that mighty-armed hero, that foremost of all wielders of weapons, as he proceeded like the Destroyer himself in wrath. That scorcher of foes, viz., the son of Pandu, routing the warriors (before him), agitated that army, like a lion agitating a herd of deer, as he proceeded for getting at Jayadratha. Penetrating into the hostile army, he, of Dasarha's race, urged the steeds with great speeds, and blew his conch, Panchajanya, which was of the hue of the clouds. The shafts shot before by the son of Kunti began to fall behind him, so swiftly did those steeds, endued with the speed of the wind, drew that car. Then many kings, filled with rage, and many other Kshatriyas surrounded Dhananjaya who was desirous of slaying Jayadratha. When the (Kuru) warriors thus proceeded towards that bull, among men (viz., Arjuna) who had stopped for a moment, Duryodhana, proceeding quickly, followed Partha in that great battle. Many warriors, beholding the car whose rattle resembled the roar of clouds, and which was equipped with that terrible standard bearing the ape and whose banner floated upon the wind, became exceedingly cheerless. Then when the sun was almost completely shrouded by the dust (raised by the combatants), the (Kuru) warriors, afflicted with shafts, became incapable of even gazing, in that battle, at the two Krishnas.'"

SECTION 100

"Sanjaya said, 'O monarch! I beholding Vasudeva and Dhananjaya penetrate into their host, having already pierced through many divisions, the kings of the army, fled away in fear. A little while after, however, those high-souled ones, filled with rage and shame, and urged on by their might, became cool and collected, and proceeded towards Dhananjaya. But those, O king, who filled with rage and vindictiveness, proceeded against the son of Pandu in battle, returned not, like rivers never returning from the ocean. Seeing this, many ignoble Kshatriyas incurred sin and hell by flying away from battle, like atheists turning away from the Vedas. Transgressing that throng of cars those two bulls among men, at last, issued out of it, and looked like the sun and the moon freed from the jaws of Rahu. Indeed, the two Krishnas, their fatigue dispelled, having pierced through that vast host, looked like two fishes that had passed through a strong net. Having forced through that impenetrable division of Drona, the way through which was obstructed by dense showers of weapons, those two high-souled heroes looked like Yuga-suns risen (on the welkin). Piercing through those dense showers of weapons and freed from that imminent danger, those high-souled heroes, themselves obstructing the welkin with thick clouds of weapons, seemed like persons escaped from a raging conflagration, or like two fishes from the jaws of a makara. And they agitated the (Kuru) host like a couple of makaras agitating the ocean. Thy warriors and thy sons, while Partha and Krishna were in the midst of Drona's division, had thought that those two would never be able to issue out of it. Beholding, however, those two heroes of great splendour issue out of Drona's division, they no longer, O monarch, hoped for Jayadratha's life. Hitherto they had strong hopes of Jayadratha's life, for they had thought, O king, that the two Krishnas would never be able to escape from Drona and Hridika's son. Frustrating that hope, those two scorchers of foes had, O monarch, crossed the division of Drona, as also the almost uncrossable division of the Bhojas. Beholding them, therefore, ford through those divisions and look like two blazing fires, thy men became possessed with despair and no longer hoped for Jayadratha's life. Then those two fearless heroes, viz., Krishna and Dhananjaya, those enhancers of the fears of foes, began to converse between themselves about the slaughter of Jayadratha. And Arjuna said, 'This Jayadratha hath been placed in their midst by six of the foremost car-warriors among the Dhartarashtras. The ruler of the Sindhus, however, shall not escape me if once he is seen by me. If Sakra himself, with all the celestials, become his protector in battle, yet shall we slay him. Thus did the two Krishnas talk. Even so, O mighty-armed one, did they converse amongst themselves, while looking after the ruler of the Sindhus. (Having heard what they said), thy sons set up a loud wail. Those two chastisers of foes then looked like a couple of thirsty elephants of great quickness of motion, refreshed by drinking water, after having passed through a desert. Beyond death and above decrepitude, they then looked like two merchants that have passed over a mountainous country abounding with tigers and lions and elephants. Indeed, beholding them freed (from Drona and Kritavarman), thy warriors regarded the colour of Partha's and Krishna's face to be dreadful; and thy men then, from all sides, set up a loud wail. Freed from Drona who resembled a snake of virulent poison or a blazing fire, as also from the other lords of the earth, Partha and Krishna looked like two blazing suns. Indeed, those two chastisers of foes, freed from Drona's division, which resembled the very ocean, seemed to be filled with joy like persons that have safely crossed the vasty deep. Freed from those dense showers of weapons, from those divisions protected by Drona and Hridika's son, Kesava and Arjuna looked like Indra and Agni, or blazing effulgence. The two Krishnas, pierced with sharp shafts of Bharadwaja's son, and with bodies dripping with bloods, looked resplendent like two mountains decked with flowering Karnikaras. Having forded that wide lake, of which Drona constituted the alligator, darts formed the fierce snakes, shafts, the Makaras, and Kshatriyas, the deep waters, and having issued out of that cloud, constituted by Drona's weapons, whose thunders were the twang of bows and the sound of palms, and whose lightning flashes were constituted by maces and swords, Partha and Krishna looked like the sun and moon freed from darkness. Having crossed the region obstructed by the weapons of Drona, all creatures regarded those mighty and famous bowmen viz., the two Krishnas, as persons who had forded, with the aid of their arms, the five rivers, (viz., the Satadru, the Vipasa, the Ravi, the Chandrabhaga, and the Vitasta) having the ocean for their sixth, when full of water during the season of rains, and abounding with alligators. Casting their eyes, from desire of slaughter, on Jayadratha who was not far off from them, the two heroes looked like two tigers waiting from desire of falling upon a Ruru deer. Such was then the colour of their faces, that thy warriors, O monarch, regarded Jayadratha as one already slain. Possessed of red eyes, O mighty-armed one, and staying together, Krishna and the son of Pandu, at the sight of Jayadratha were filled with joy and roared repeatedly. Indeed, O monarch, the splendour then of Sauri, standing with reins in hand, and of Partha armed with bow, was like that of the sun or fire. Freed from the division of Drona, their joy, at sight of the ruler of the Sindhus, was like that of a couple of hawks at the sight of a piece of flesh. Beholding the ruler of the Sindhus not far off, they rushed in wrath towards him like a couple of hawks swooping down towards a piece of meat. Seeing Hrishikesa and Dhananjaya transgress (the divisions of Drona), thy valiant son, king Duryodhana, whose armour had been bound on his person by Drona, and who was well-versed in grooming and guiding horses, rushed, on a single car, O lord, for the protection of the Sindhus. Leaving those mighty bowmen, viz., Krishna and Partha, behind, thy son, O king, turned back, facing Kesava of lotus-like eyes. When thy son thus outran Dhananjaya, diverse musical instruments were joyfully blown and beat among all thy troops. And leonine roars were uttered mingled with the blare of conchs, beholding Duryodhana staying in the face of the two Krishnas. They also, O king, resembling blazing fires, that stood as the protectors of Jayadratha, were filled with joy upon beholding thy son in battle. Seeing Duryodhana transgress them with his followers, Krishna, O monarch, said unto Arjuna these words suited to the occasion.'"

SECTION 101

"Vasudeva said, 'Behold, O Dhananjaya, this Suyodhana who hath transgressed us! I regard this as highly wonderful. There is no car-warrior equal to him. His arrows are far-reaching. He is a great bowman. Accomplished as he is in weapons, it is exceedingly difficult to vanquish him in battle. The mighty son of Dhritarashtra strikes hard, and is conversant with all modes of warfare. Brought up in great luxury, he is much regarded by even the foremost of car-warriors. He is well-accomplished, and, O Partha, he always hates the Pandavas. For these reasons, O sinless one, I think, thou shouldst now fight with him. Upon him resteth, as upon a stake at dice, victory or the reverse. Upon him, O Partha, vomit that poison of thy wrath which thou hast cherished so long. This mighty car-warrior is the root of all the wrongs on the Pandavas. He is now within reach of thy shafts. Look after thy success. Why hath king Duryodhana, desirous as he is of kingdom, come to battle with thee? By good luck, it is that he is now arrived within reach of thy arrows. Do that, O Dhananjaya, by which he may be deprived on his very life. Reft of his senses through pride of affluence, he hath never felt any distress. O bull among men, he doth not know also thy prowess in battle. Indeed, the three worlds with the celestials, the Asuras, and human beings, cannot venture to vanquish thee in battle. What need be said, therefore, of single Duryodhana? By good luck it is, O Partha, that he hath approached the vicinity of thy car. O mighty-armed one, slay him as Purandara slew Vritra. O sinless one, this Duryodhana hath endeavoured to bring evil on you. By deceit he cheated king Yudhishthira at dice. O giver of honours, sinless though you all are, this prince of sinful soul has always done various evil acts towards him. Nobly resolved upon battle, O Partha, slay without any scruple this wicked wight, who is ever wrathful and ever cruel, and who is the very embodiment of avarice. Remembering the deprivation of your kingdom by deceit, your exile into the woods, and the wrongs of Krishna, put forth thy prowess, O son of Pandu! By good luck, it is that he stayeth within the range of the shafts. By good luck, it is that staying before thee he endeavours to resist thy purpose. By good luck, it is that he knows today that he will have to fight with thee in the battle. By good luck, it is that all your purposes, even those that are not presently entertained by you, will be crowned with fruition. Therefore, Partha, slay this wretch of his race, viz., the son of Dhritarashtra, in battle, as Indra had in days of yore, slain the Asura Jambha in the battle between the celestials and the Asuras. If he is slain by thee, thou canst then pierce through this masterless host. Cut the very root of these wicked-souled wretches. Let the avabhritha* of this hostility be now accomplished.' [* Avabhritha is the final bath undergone, on completion of as sacrifice by the person performing the sacrifice. The slaughter of Duryodhana would according to Krishna, be the avabhritha of the sacrifice of battle.]

"Sanjaya continued, 'Thus addressed, Partha replied unto Kesava saying--'So be it. Even this should be done by me. Disregarding everything else, proceed thither where Duryodhana is. Putting forth my prowess in battle, I will cut off the head of that wretch who hath for such a long period enjoyed our kingdom without a thorn on his side. Shall I not succeed, O Kesava, in avenging myself of the insult, in the shape of dragging her by the hair, offered unto Draupadi, undeserving as she was of that wrong.' Thus conversing with each other, the two Krishnas filled with joy, urged those excellent white steeds of theirs, desirous of getting at king Duryodhana. As regards thy son, O bull of Bharata's race, having approached the presence of Partha and Krishna, he entertained no fear, although, O sire, every circumstance was calculated to inspire fear. And the Kshatriyas there, on thy side, highly applauded him then, for he proceeded to face Arjuna and Hrishikesa for resisting them. Indeed, beholding the king in battle, a loud shout was heard there, O monarch, uttered by the entire Kuru army. What that terrible and awful shout arose there, thy son, pressing his foe hard, opposed his progress. Held in check by thy son armed with bow, the son of Kunti became filled with rage, and that chastiser of foes, Duryodhana, also became highly enraged with Partha. Beholding both Duryodhana and Dhananjaya enraged with each other, all the Kshatriyas, of fierce forms, began to look at them from all sides. Seeing Partha and Vasudeva both filled with rage, thy son, O sire, desirous of battle, smilingly challenged them, then he of Dasarha's race became filled with joy, and Dhananjaya also, the son of Pandu, became cheerful. Uttering loud roars, they both blew their foremost of conchs. Seeing them thus cheerful, all the Kauravas became hopeless of thy son's life. Indeed, all the Kauravas, and many even amongst the enemy, became possessed with grief, and regarded thy son as a libation already poured into the mouth of the (sacred) fire. Thy warriors, seeing Krishna and the Pandava so cheerful I loudly exclaimed, afflicted with fear, 'The king is slain.' 'The king is slain.' Hearing that loud uproar of the warriors, Duryodhana said, 'Let your fears be dispelled. I will despatch the two Krishnas unto the region of death.' Having told all his warriors these words, king Duryodhana. then, expectant of success, addressed Partha angrily and said these words: 'If, O Partha, thou art begotten by Pandu apply upon me, without loss of time, all the weapons, celestial and earthly, that Kesava also hath of either, upon me. I wish to see thy manliness. They speak of many feats achieved by thee out of our view. Show me those feats that have won the applause of many endued with great heroism!'"

SECTION 102

"Sanjaya said, 'Saying these words, king Duryodhana pierced Arjuna with three shafts of great impetuosity and capable of penetrating into the very vitals. And with four others he pierced the four steeds of his foe. And he pierced Vasudeva in the centre of the chest with ten shafts, and cutting off, with a broad-headed arrow, the whip in the latter's hands, he felled it on the ground. Then Partha, coolly and without losing a moment, shot at him four and ten shafts whetted on stone and equipped with beautiful feathers. All those shafts, however, were repelled by Duryodhana's armour. Beholding their fruitlessness, Partha once more sped at him nine and five arrows of keen points. But these too were

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repelled by Duryodhana's armour. Seeing eight and twenty arrows of his become abortive, that slayer of hostile heroes, viz., Krishna said unto Arjuna, these words: 'I see a sight never before witnessed by me, like the movements of the hills. Shafts sped by thee, O Partha, are becoming abortive. O bull of Bharata's race, hath thy Gandiva decayed in power? Have the might of thy grasp and the power of thy arms become less than what they were. Is not this to be thy last meeting with Duryodhana? Tell me, O Partha, for I ask thee. Great hath been my amazement, O Partha, upon seeing all these shafts of thine fall towards Duryodhana's car, without producing the slightest effect. Alas, what misfortune is this that these terrible shafts of thine that are endued with the might of the thunder and that always pierce the bodies of foes, fail in producing any effect.'

"Arjuna said, 'I think, O Krishna, that this armour hath been put on Duryodhana's body by Drona. This armour, tied as it hath been, is impenetrable to my weapons. In this armour, O Krishna, inhereth the might of the three worlds. Only Drona knoweth it, and from that best of men I also have learnt. This armour is not capable of being pierced by my weapons. Maghavat himself, O Govinda, cannot pierce it with his thunder. Knowing it all, O Krishna, why seekest thou to confound me? That which occurred in the three worlds, that which, O Kesava, exists now, and which is in the womb of futurity, are all known to thee. Indeed, O slayer of Madhu, no one else knoweth this better than thou dost. This Duryodhana, O Krishna, cased by Drona in this armours, is staying fearlessly in battle, wearing this coat of mail. That however, which one wearing such armour should do, is not known to him, O Madhava! He weareth it only like a woman. Behold now, O Janardana, the might of my arms and that of my bow too. Though protected by such a coat of mail, I will still vanquish the Kuru prince. The chief of the celestials gave this effulgent armour to Angiras. From the latter it was obtained by Vrihaspati. And from Vrihaspati it was got by Purandara. The Lord of the celestials once more gave it to me with the mantras to be uttered in wearing it. Even if this armour were divine, if it were created by Brahma himself, still the wretch, Duryodhana, struck with my arrows, shall not be protected by it.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Having said these words, Arjuna inspired some arrows with mantras, and began to draw them on the bow-string. And while he was thus drawing them on the bow-string, the son of Drona cut them off with a weapon that was capable of baffling every weapon. Beholding those shafts of his thus frustrated from a distance by that utterer of Brahma (Aswatthaman), Arjuna, owning white steeds, filled with amazement represented unto Kesava, saying, 'I cannot, Janardana, twice use this weapon, for if do so, it will slay my own self and my own troops. Meanwhile, Duryodhana, O king, pierced each of the Krishnas in that battle with nine shafts resembling snakes of virulent poison. And once more the Kuru king showered his shafts on Krishna and the son of Pandu. Beholding these showers of arrows (shot by their king), thy warriors were filled with joy. They beat their musical instrument and uttered leonine roar. Then Partha, excited with rage in that battle, licked the corners of his mouth. Casting his eyes on his enemy's body, he saw not any part that was not well-covered with that impenetrable armour. With some sharp-pointed shafts then, well-shot from his bow, and each of which resembled Death himself, Arjuna slew his antagonist's steeds and then his two Parshni charioteers. And soon also the valiant Partha cut off Duryodhana's bow and the leathern fence of his fingers. Then, Savyasachin commenced to cut off his enemy's car in fragments. And with a couple of keen arrows he made Duryodhana carless. And then Arjuna pierced both the palms of the Kuru king. Beholding that great bowman afflicted with the shafts of Dhananjaya and fallen into great distress, many warriors rushed to the spot, desirous of rescuing him. These, with many thousands of cars, well-equipped elephants and horses, as also with large bodies of foot-soldiers, excited with wrath, encompassed by large bodies of men, neither that car of theirs nor of Arjuna and Govinda could any longer be seen. Then Arjuna, by the might of his weapons, began to slaughter that host. And car-warriors and elephants, by hundreds, deprived of limbs, fell fast on the field. Slain, or in the act of being slain, those failed to reach the excellent car. Indeed, the car on which Arjuna rode, stood motionless full two miles from the besieging force on every side. Then the Vrishni hero (Krishna), without taking any time, said unto Arjuna these words: Draw thy bow quickly and with great force, for I will blow my conch.' Thus addressed, Arjuna drawing his bow Gandiva with great force, began to slaughter the foe, shooting dense showers of shafts and making a loud noise by stretching the bowstring with his fingers. Kesava meanwhile forcibly and very loudly blew his conch Panchajanya, his face covered with dust. In consequence of the blare of that conch and of the twang of Gandiva, the Kuru warriors, strong or weak, all fell down on the ground. The car of Arjuna then freed from that press, looked resplendent like a cloud driven by the wind. (Beholding Arjuna) the protectors of Jayadratha, with their followers, became filled with rage. Indeed, those mighty bowmen, the protectors of the ruler of Sindhus, suddenly beholding Partha, uttered loud shouts, filling the earth with that noise. The whiz of their arrows were mingled with other fierce noises and the loud blare of their conchs. Those high-souled warriors uttered leonine shouts. Hearing that awful uproar raised by thy troops, Vasudeva and Dhananjaya blew their conchs. With their loud blare (of their conchs), the whole earth, with her mountains and seas and islands and the nether regions, O monarch, seemed to be filled. Indeed, that blare, O best of Bharatas, filled all the points of the compass, and was echoed back by both the armies. Then thy car-warriors, beholding Krishna and Dhananjaya, became very much frightened. Soon, however, they recovered and put forth their activity. Indeed, the great car-warriors of thy host, beholding the two Krishnas, those highly blessed persons, cased in mail rushed towards. The sight thus presented became a wonderful one.'"

SECTION 103

"Sanjaya said, 'Thy warriors, as soon as they beheld those foremost of persons of the Vrishni-Andhaka and the Kuru races, lost no time, each striving to be first, in proceeding against them from a desire of slaughtering them. And so Vijaya also rushed against those foes of his. On their great cars, decked with gold, cased in tiger-skins, producing deep rattle, and resembling blazing fire, they rushed, illumining the ten points of the compass, armed, O king, with bows, the backs of whose staves were decked with gold, and which in consequence of their splendour, were incapable of being looked at, and uttering loud cries, and drawn by angry steeds. Bhurisravas, and Sala and Karna, and Vrishasena, and Jayadratha, and Kripa. and the ruler of the Madras, and that foremost of car-warriors, viz., the son of Drona. these eight great car-warriors, as if devouring the skies (as they proceeded) illuminated the ten points of the compass with their splendid cars, cased in tiger-skins and decked with golden moons. Clad in mail, filled with wrath and mounted upon their cars the rattle of which resembled the roar of masses of clouds, they covered Arjuna on every side with a shower of sharp shafts. Beautiful steeds of the best breed, endued with great speed, bearing those great car-warriors, looked resplendent as they illumined the points of the compass. Their cars drawn by foremost steeds of great fleetness were of diverse countries and of diverse species, some bred in mountainous regions, some in rivers, and some in the country of the Sindhus, many foremost of car-warriors among the Kurus desirous, O king, of rescuing thy son quickly rushed towards Dhananjaya's car from every side. Those foremost of men, taking up their conchs blew them, filling O king, the welkin and the earth with her seas (with that blare). Then those foremost ones among the gods, viz., Vasudeva and Dhananjaya, also blew their foremost of conchs on earth. The son of Kunti blew Devadatta, and Kesava blew Panchajanya. The loud blast of Devadatta, sent forth by Dhananjaya, filled the earth, the welkin, and ten points of the compass. And so Panchajanya also blown by Vasudeva, surpassing all sounds, filled the sky and the earth. And while that awful and fierce noise continued, a noise that inspired the timid with fear and the brave with cheers, and while drums and Jharjharas, and cymbals and Mridangas, O great king, were beat by thousands, great car-warriors invited to the Kuru side and solicitous of Dhananjaya's welfare, those great bowmen, filled with rage and unable to bear the loud blast of Arjuna's and Krishna's conchs, those kings from diverse realms supported by their respective troops, in rage blew their great conchs, desiring to answer with their own blasts the blasts of Kesava and Arjuna. The Kuru army then, urged forward by that blare of conchs, had its car-warriors, elephants, and steeds filled with anxiety and fear. Indeed, O lord, that host looked as if they that comprised it were ill. The agitated Kuru host, echoing with that blare of conchs blown by brave warriors, seemed to be like the welkin resounding with the noise of thunder and fallen down (through some convulsion of nature). [Praviddham means fallen down or loosened from its usual place. Thus Nilakantha.] That loud uproar, O monarch, resounded through the ten points and frightened that host like critical incidents at the end of the Yuga frightening all living creatures. Then, Duryodhana and those eight great car-warriors appointed for the protection of Jayadratha all surrounded the son of Pandu. The son of Drona struck Vasudeva with three and seventy shafts, and Arjuna himself with three broad-headed shafts, and his standard and (four) steeds with five others. Beholding Janardana pierced, Arjuna, filled with rage, struck Aswatthaman with hundred shafts. Then piercing Karna with ten arrows and Vrishasena with three, the valiant Dhananjaya cut off Salya's bow with arrows fixed on the string, at the handle. Salya then, taking up another bow, pierced the son of Pandu. And Bhurisravas pierced him with three arrows whetted on stone, and equipped with golden wings. And Karna pierced him with two and thirty arrows, and Vrishasena with seven. And Jayadratha pierced Arjuna with three and seventy shafts and Kripa pierced him with ten. And the ruler of the Madras also pierced Phalguna in that battle with ten arrows. And the son of Drona pierced him with sixty arrows. And he, once more, pierced Partha with five arrows, and Vasudeva with twenty. Then the tiger among men, viz., Arjuna owning white steeds and having Krishna for his driver, pierced each of those warriors in return, displaying the lightness of his hand. Piercing Karna with a dozen shafts and Vrishasena with three, Partha cut off Salya's bow at the handle. And piercing the son of Somadatta with three arrows and Salya with ten, he pierced Kripa with five and twenty arrows, and the ruler of the Sindhus with a hundred, Partha struck Drona's son with seventy arrows. Then Bhurisravas filled with rage, cut off the goad in Krishna's hand, and struck Arjuna with three and twenty shafts. Then Dhananjaya, of white steeds, filled with rage, mangled those enemies of his with hundreds upon hundreds of arrows, like a mighty tempest tearing masses of clouds.'"

SECTION 104

"Dhritarashtra, said, 'Describe to me, O Sanjaya, the diverse kinds of standards resplendent with great beauty, of both the Partha and our warriors (in that battle).'

"Sanjaya said, 'Hear, O king, of the diverse kinds of standards of those high-souled warriors. Listen to me as I describe their forms and names. Indeed, O king, upon the cars of those foremost of car-warriors were seen diverse kinds of standards that shone like blazing flames of fire. Made of gold, or decked with gold, or adorned with strings of gold and each looking like the golden mountain (Meru), diverse kinds of standards were there that were highly beautiful. And those standards of the warriors had attached all around them excellent banners. Indeed, having banners of diverse hues attached to them all around, those standards looked exceedingly beautiful. Those banners, again, moved by the wind, looked like fair ladies dancing in the midst of a sporting arena. Endued with the splendour of the rainbow, those banners, O bull of Bharata's race, of those car-warriors, floating in the breeze, highly adorned their cars. The standard, bearing the sign of the ape of fierce face and tail, like that of the lion, belonging to Dhananjaya, seemed to inspire fear in that battle. That standard, O king of the wielder of Gandiva, bearing that foremost of apes, and adorned with many banners, frightened the Kuru host. Similarly, the lion-tail standard-top of Drona's son, O Bharata, we saw, was endued with the effulgence of the rising sun Decked with gold, floating in the breeze, possessed of the splendour of the rainbow, the standard mark of Drona's son appeared on high, inspiring the foremost of Kuru warriors with joy. The standard of Adhiratha's son bore the mark of an elephant-rope made of gold. It seemed, O king, in battle to fill the whole welkin. The banner, adorned with gold and garlands, attached to the standard of Karna in battle, shaken by the wind, seemed to dance upon his car. The preceptor of the Pandavas, that Brahmana, given to ascetic penances, viz., Kripa the son of Gotama, had for his mark an excellent bovine bull. That high-souled one, O king, with that bovine bull, looked as resplendent, as the Destroyer of the three cities* looks resplendent with his bull. [* Tripura means the three cities constructed by the Asura artificer Maya. The Asura, however, who owned those cities is also called Tripura. It was Mahadeva who destroyed the three cities with all their population vide the close of the Harivansa.] Vrishasena has a peacock made of gold and adorned with jewels and gems. And it stood on his standard, as if in the act of crowing, and always adorned the wan of the army. With that peacock, the car of the high-souled Vrishasena shone, like the car, O king, of Skanda (the celestial generalissimo) shining 'with his peacock unrivalled and beautiful ploughshare made of gold and looking like flame of fire. That ploughshare, O sire, looked resplendent on his car. Salya, the ruler of the Madras, we saw, had on his standard-top an image like the presiding goddess of corn, endued with beauty and producing every seed. A silver boar adorned the standard-top of the ruler of the Sindhus. Decked with golden chains, it was of the splendour of a white crystal. With that silver mark on his barrier, the ruler of the Sindhus looked as resplendent, as Surya in days of yore in the battle between the celestials and the Asuras. The standard of Somadatta's son, devoted to sacrifices, bore the sign of the sacrificial stake. It was seen to shine like the sun or the moon. That sacrificial stake made of gold, O king of Somadatta's son, looked resplendent like the tall stake erected in the foremost of sacrifices called the Rajasuya. The standard of Salya, O monarch, bearing a huge silver-elephant was adorned, on all sides, with peacocks made of gold. The standard, O bull of Bharata's race, adorned thy troops like the huge white elephant adorning the host of the celestial king. On the standard decked with gold, of king Duryodhana, was an elephant adorned with gems. Tinkling with the sound of a hundred bells, O king, that standard stood upon the excellent car of that hero. And, O king, thy son, that bull among the Kurus, looked resplendent, O monarch, with that tall standard in battle. These nine excellent standards stood erect among thy divisions. The tenth standard seen there was of Arjuna, decked with that huge ape. And with that standard Arjuna looked highly resplendent, like Himavat with a blazing fire (on its top). Then many mighty car-warriors, all

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chastisers of foes, quickly took up their beautiful, bright and large bows for the sake of (resisting) Arjuna. Similarly, Partha also, that achiever of celestial feats, took up his foe-destroying bow Gandiva, in consequence, O king, of thy evil policy. Many royal warriors, O king, were then slain in that battle owing to thy fault. Rulers of men came from different realms invited (by thy sons). And with them perished many steeds and many elephants. Then those mighty car-warriors headed by Duryodhana (on one side) and that bull amongst the Pandavas on the other, uttered loud roars and began the encounter. And the feat that Kunti's son, having Krishna for his charioteer, achieved there, was highly wonderful, inasmuch as, alone, he encountered fearlessly all those warriors united together. And that mighty-armed hero looked resplendent as he stretched his bow Gandiva, desirous of vanquishing all those tigers among men for slaying the ruler of the Sindhus. With his shafts shot in thousands, that tiger among men, viz., Arjuna, that scorcher of foes, made all those warriors invisible (by means of his arrowy showers). On their side, those tigers among men, those mighty car-warriors, also made Partha invisible by means of their clouds of shafts shot from all sides. Beholding Arjuna, that bull of Kuru's race covered by those lions among men with their shafts, loud was the uproar made by thy troops.'

SECTION 105

"Dhritarashtra said, 'After Arjuna had got the ruler of the Sindhus within sight, what, O Sanjaya, did the Panchalas, attacked by Bharadwaja's son, do, encountering the Kurus?'

"Sanjaya said, In the afternoon of that day, O monarch, in the battle that took place between the Panchalas and the Kurus, Drona became, as it were, the stake (for which each fought on to win or lose). The Panchalas, O sire, desirous of slaying Drona, cheerfully uttered loud roars and shot dense showers of arrows. Indeed, that encounter between the Panchalas and the Kurus, fierce, awful, and highly wonderful as it was, resembled that in days of yore between the gods and the Asuras. Indeed, all the Panchalas with the Pandavas, obtaining Drona's car (within reach) used many mighty weapons, desirous of piercing through his array. Car-warriors stationed on their cars, causing the earth to shake under them, and showering their arrowy downpours, rushed towards Drona's car, without much speed. Then that mighty car-warrior among the Kaikeyas, viz., Vrihatkshatra, incessantly scattering keen shafts that resembled the thunder in force, proceeded towards Drona. Then Kshemadhurti of great fame quickly rushed against Vrihatkshatra, shooting keen arrows by thousands. Beholding this, that bull among the Chedis, viz., Dhrishtaketu, endued with great might, quickly proceeded against Kshemadhurti, like Mahendra proceeding against the Asura Samvara. Seeing him rush with great impetuosity, like the Destroyer himself with wide-open mouth, that mighty bowman viz., Viradhanwan, proceeded against him with great speed. King Yudhishthira staying there at the head of his division from desire of victory, was resisted by valiant Drona himself. Thy son Vikarna, O lord, endued with great prowess, proceeded against the rushing Nakula of great prowess, that warrior accomplished in battle. That scorcher of foes, viz., Durmukha, covered the advancing Sahadeva with many thousands of swiftly-coursing shafts. The heroic Vyughradatta resisted that tiger among men, viz., Satyaki making him repeatedly tremble by means of his sharp and keen-pointed shafts. The son of Somadatta resisted the (five) sons of Draupadi, those tigers among men, those great car-warriors, wrathfully shooting mighty shafts. That mighty car-warrior, viz., Rishyasringa's fierce son (the Rakshasa Alamvusha), of awful mien, resisted the advancing Bhimasena filled with wrath. The encounter that then took place between that man and Rakshasa resembled, O king, the battle in days of yore between Rama, and Ravana. Then, O Bharata, Yudhishthira, that chief of the Bharatas, struck Drona with ninety straight shafts in all his vital parts. Enraged by the famous son of Kunti, Drona struck him in return, O chief of the Bharatas, in the centre of the chest with five and twenty shafts. And once more, in the very sight of all the bowmen, Drona struck him, with his steeds, charioteer, and standard, with twenty shafts. Pandu's son, of virtuous soul, displaying great lightness of hand, baffled with his own arrowy showers those arrows shot by Drona, Then that great bowman Drona, filled with rage, cut off the bow of the high souled king Yudhishthira the Just. Then that great car-warrior (viz., the son of Bharadwaja) speedily covered the bowless Yudhishthira with many thousands of shafts. Beholding the king made invisible by the shafts of Bharadwaja's son, all thought that Yudhishthira was dead, and some thought that the king had fled before Drona. And many cried out, O king, saying, 'Alas the king hath been slain by the high-souled Brahmana.' Then, king Yudhishthira the Just, fallen into great distress, having laid aside that bow cut off by Bharadwaja's son in battle took up another excellent, bright and tougher bow. And that hero then cut off in that encounter all those shafts shot in thousands by Drona. All this seemed exceedingly wonderful. Having cut off those shafts, O king, Yudhishthira, with eyes red in wrath, took up in that battle a dart, capable of riving even a mountain. Equipped with a golden staff, of awful mien, having eight bells attached to it, and exceedingly terrible, the mighty Yudhishthira, taking it up, uttered a loud roar. And with that roar, O Bharata, the son of Pandu inspired all creatures with fear. Beholding that dart upraised by king Yudhishthira the Just, all creatures, as if with one accord, said, 'Good be to Drona!' Hurled from the king's arms, that dart resembling a snake just freed from its slough, coursed towards Drona, illumining the welkin and all the directions cardinal and subsidiary, like a she-snake with fiery mouth, Beholding it coursing towards him impetuously, O king, Drona, that foremost of all persons acquainted with weapons invoked into existence the weapon called Brahma. That weapon, reducing that dart of terrible mien into dust, coursed towards the car of the illustrious son of Pandu. Then, O sire, king Yudhishthira of' great wisdom baffled that weapon of Drona, thus coursing towards him by himself invoking the Brahma weapon. And then piercing Drona himself in that battle with five straight shafts, he cut off, with a sharp razor-faced shaft, the large bow of Drona. Then Drona, that grinder of Kshatriyas, throwing aside that broken bow, hurled with great force, O sire, a mace at the son of Dharma. Beholding that mace impetuously coursing towards him, Yudhishthira, O chastiser of foes, filled with rage, took up a mace. Then those two maces, both hurled with great force, encountering each other in mid-air, produced by their collision sparks of fire and then fell down on the earth. Then Drona, filled with fury, slew, O sire, the steeds of Yudhishthira, with four excellent shafts of keen points. And with another broad-headed shaft he cut off he king's bow resembling a pole erected to the honour of Indra. And with another shaft he cut off the standard of Yudhishthira, and with three he afflicted the Pandava himself. Then king Yudhishthira, speedily jumping down from that steedless car, stood weaponless and with arms upraised, O bull of Bharata's race! Beholding him carless, and especially weaponless, Drona, O lord, stupefied his foes, rather the whole army. Firmly adhering to his vow, and endued with great lightness of hands, Drona shot showers of sharp shafts and rushed towards the king, like a furious lion towards a deer. Beholding Drona, that slayer of foes, rush towards him, cries of Oh and Alas suddenly rose from the Pandava army.' And many cried out, saying, 'The king is slain by Bharadwaja's son.' Loud wails of this kind were heard, O Bharata, among the Pandava troops. Meanwhile, king Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, getting up on the car of Sahadeva, retreated from the field, borne away by swift steeds.'"

SECTION 106

"Sanjaya said, 'Kshemadhurti, O monarch, pierced the advancing Vrihatkshatra of great valour, that prince of the Kaikeyas, with many arrows in the chest. King Vrihatkshatra then, O monarch, desirous of piercing through Drona's division, quickly struck his antagonist with ninety straight shafts. Kshemadhurti, however, filled with rage, cut off, with a sharp well-tempered, and broad-headed shaft, the bow of that high-souled prince of the Kaikeyas. Having cut off his bow, Kshemadhurti then, with a keen and straight shaft, quickly pierced in that encounter that foremost of all bowmen. Then Vrihatkshatra, taking up another bow and smiling (at his foe), soon made the mighty car-warrior Kshemadhurti steedless and driverless and carless. And with another broad-headed shaft that was well-tempered and sharp, he cut off, from the trunk of his royal antagonist his head blazing with (a pair of) ear-rings. That head, graced with only locks and a diadem, suddenly cut off, fell down on the earth and looked resplendent like a luminary fallen from the firmament. Having slain his foe, the mighty car-warrior Vrihatkshatra became filled with joy and fell with great force upon thy troops for the sake of the Parthas. The great bowman Viradhanwan, O Bharata, endued with great prowess, resisted Dhrishtaketu who was advancing against Drona. Encountering each other, those two heroes having arrows for their fangs, and both endued with great activity, struck each other with many thousands of arrows. Indeed, those two tigers among men fought with each other, like two leaders of elephantine herds in the deep woods with fury. Both endued with great energy, they fought, each desirous of slaying the other, like two enraged tigers in a mountain-cave. That combat, O monarch, became exceedingly fierce. Deserving to be witnessed, it became highly wonderful. The very Siddhas and the Charanas, in large numbers, witnessed it with wonder-waiting eyes. Then Viradhanwan, O Bharata, with a laugh, cut off in rage Dhrishtaketu's bow in twain by means of broad-headed arrows. Abandoning that broken bow, the ruler of the Chedis, that mighty car-warrior took up a fierce dart made of iron and equipped with a golden staff. Bending with his hands, O Bharata, that dart of fierce energy towards the car of Viradhanwan, Dhrishtaketu hurled it carefully and with great force. Struck with great force by that hero-slaying dart, and his heart pierced by it through, Viradhanwan, quickly fell down on the earth from his car. Upon the fall of that hero, that mighty car-warrior among the Trigartas, thy army, O lord, was broken by the Pandavas. (Thy son) Durmukha sped sixty shafts at Sahadeva, and uttered a loud shout in that battle, challenging that son of Pandu. The son of Madri, then., filled with rage, pierced Durmukha with many keen arrows, smiling the while, the brother striking the brother. Be. holding the mighty Durmukha fighting furiously, Sahadeva, then, O Bharata, once more struck him with nine shafts. Endued with great strength, Sahadeva then cut off Durmukha's standard with a broad-headed arrow and struck down his four steeds with four other arrows. And then with another broad. headed arrow, well-tempered and sharp, he cut off, from his trunk, the head of Durmukha's charioteer that shone with a pair of ear-rings. And cutting off Durmukha's large bow with a razor-faced arrow, Sahadeva pierced Durmukha himself in that battle with five arrows. Durmukha fearlessly jumping down from that steedless car, mounted the car, O Bharata, of Niramitra. Then that slayer of hostile heroes, viz., Sahadeva, filled with rage slew in that great battle Niramitra in the midst of his division with a broad-headed arrow. Thereupon, prince Niramitra, the son of the ruler of the Trigartas, fell down from his car, afflicting thy army with great grief. Slaying him, the mighty-armed Sahadeva looked resplendent like Rama, the son of Dasaratha, after slaying the mighty (Rakshasa) Khara. Beholding that mighty car-warrior, viz., prince Niramitra slain, loud cries of Oh and Alas arose, O monarch, among the Trigarta warriors. Nakula, O king, in a moment vanquished thy son Vikarna of large eyes. This seemed highly wonderful. Vyaghradatta, by means of his straight shafts, made Satyaki invisible with his steeds and driver and standard in the midst of his division. The brave grandson of Sini, baffling those shafts with great lightness of hand, felled Vyaghradatta by means of his arrows, with his steeds and driver and standard. Upon the fall, O lord, of that prince of the Magadhas, the latter, struggling vigorously, rushed against Yuyudhana from all sides. Scattering their shafts and lances by thousands, and sharp arrows and spears and mallets and thick clubs, those brave warriors fought in that battle with that invincible hero of the Satwata race. Endued with great might, invincible Satyaki, that bull among men, with the greatest ease and laughing the while, vanquished them all. The Magadhas were nearly exterminated. A small remnant flew from the field. Beholding this, thy army, already afflicted with the arrows of Yuyudhana, broke, O lord! Then that foremost one of Madhu's race, having slaughtered ill battle thy troops, that illustrious hero, looked resplendent as he shook his bow. The army, O king, was thus routed by that high-souled one of the Satwata race. Indeed, frightened by that hero of long arms, none approached him for fight. Then Drona filled with rage and rolling his eyes, himself rushed impetuously towards Satyaki, of feats incapable of being baffled.'"

SECTION 107

"Sanjaya said, 'The illustrious son of Somadatta pierced each of the sons of Draupadi, those great bowmen, with five arrows, and once more with seven arrows. Much afflicted, O lord, by that fierce warrior, they were stupefied and knew not for some time what to do. Then that crusher of foes, Satanika, the son of Nakula, piercing Somadatta's son, that bull among men, with a couple of arrows, uttered in joy a loud roar. The other brothers then, struggling vigorously, quickly pierced the wrathful son of Somadatta, each with three straight shafts. Then the illustrious son of Somadatta, O monarch, sped at them five shafts, piercing each of them in the chest with one shaft. Then those five brothers, thus pierced by that high-souled warrior with his shafts, surrounded that hero on every side and began to pierce him deeply with their shafts. Then the son of Arjuna, filled with rage, despatched with keen shafts, the four steeds of Saumadatti to the region of Yama. And the son of Bhimasena, cutting off the bow of the illustrious son of Somadatta, uttered a loud shout and pierced his foe with many sharp arrows. The son of Yudhishthira then, cutting off Saumadatti's standard, felled it en the earth, while the son of Nakula felled the enemy's charioteer from his niche in the car. Then the son of Sahadeva, ascertaining the foe to be on the point of leaving the field in consequence of the brothers, cut off, with a razor-faced arrow, the head of that illustrious warrior. That head, decked with ear-rings of gold, fell on the earth and adorned the field like the sun of brilliant effulgence that rises at the end of the Yuga. Beholding the head of the high-souled son of Somadatta thus fallen on the ground, thy troops, O king, overcome with fear, fled in all directions.

"The Rakshasa Alamvusha in that battle, filled with rage, fought with the mighty Bhimasena, like Ravana's son (Indrajit) with (Rama's brother) Lakshmana. Beholding that Rakshasa and that human warrior engaged in fight, all creatures experienced both joy and wonder. Then Bhima, O king, laughing the while, pierced that wrathful prince of Rakshasa, viz., Rishyasringa's son (Alamvusha), with nine keen shafts. Then that Rakshasa, thus pierced in battle, uttered a loud and awful sound, and rushed, with all his followers, against Bhima. Piercing Bhima then with five straight shafts, he quickly destroyed in that battle, thirty cars supporting Bhima. And once more destroying four hundred cars of Bhimasena, the Rakshasa pierced Bhimasena himself

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with winged arrows. Then the mighty Bhima deeply pierced by the Rakshasa, sat down on the terrace of his car, overcome by a swoon. The son of the Wind-god then, recovering his senses, became filled with rage. Drawing his excellent and terrible bow that was capable of bearing a great strain, he afflicted Alamvusha, in every part of his body, with keen shafts. Thereupon, the Rakshasa who resembled a huge mass of antimony, looked resplendent O king, like a flowering Kinsuka. Whilst being struck in that battle with those shafts sped from the bow of Bhima, the Rakshasa recollected the slaughter of his brother (Vaka) by the illustrious Pandava. Assuming then an awful form, he addressed Bhima, saying, 'Wait a little in this battle, O Partha! Behold today my prowess. O thou of wicked understanding, that foremost of Rakshasas, viz., the mighty Vaka, was my brother. It is true he was slain by thee. But that took place out of my sight.' Having said these words unto Bhima, Alamvusha made himself invisible, and began to cover Bhimasena with a dense shower of arrows. Upon the disappearance of the Rakshasa, Bhima, O monarch, covered the welkin with straight shafts. Thus afflicted by Bhima, Alamvusha soon returned to his car. And soon again, he entered into the bowels of the earth and once more becoming little he suddenly soared into the sky. Alamvusha, assumed countless forms. Now becoming subtle and now huge and gross, he began to roar like the clouds. And he uttered diverse kinds of words and speeches all around. And from the welkin there fell thousands of arrowy torrents, as also darts, and Kunapas, and lances, and spiked maces, and short arrows, and scimitars, and swords, and thunders also. That awful downpour of arrows caused by the Rakshasa, slew the troops of Pandu's son on the field of battle. And in consequence of that arrowy downpour, many elephants also of the Pandava army were slain, and many steeds also, O king, and many foot-soldiers. And a river was caused there, whose waters were blood and whose eddies were constituted by cars. And it abounded with elephants that constituted its alligators. And the umbrellas of car-warriors constituted its swans, and the flesh and marrow of animals, its mire. And it teemed with the (cut off) arms of human beings that constituted its snakes. And it was haunted by many Rakshasas and other cannibals. And it wafted away, O king, countless Chedis and Panchalas and Srinjayas. Beholding him, O monarch, careering so fearlessly in that battle and seeing his prowess, the Pandavas became filled with anxiety; and joy filled the hearts of thy troops then. And amongst the latter, loud and terrible sounds of musical instruments, making the hair stand on end, arose. Hearing that loud uproar made by thy troops, the son of Pandu could not bear it, as a snake cannot bear the clap of human palms. With eyes red as copper in rage, with glances that like fire consumed every thing, the son of the Wind-god, like Tvashtri himself, aimed the weapon known by the name of Tvashtri. From that weapon were produced thousands of arrows on all sides. And in consequence of those arrows, a universal rout was seen among thy troops.' That weapon, shot in battle by Bhimasena, destroying the effective illusion produced by the Rakshasa, greatly afflicted the Rakshasa himself. Struck in every part of his body by Bhimasena, the Rakshasa, then abandoning Bhimasena, fled towards the division of Drona. Upon the defeat of that prince of Rakshasa by the high-souled Bhima, the Pandavas caused every point of the compass to resound with their leonine roars. And filled with joy, they worshipped the mighty son of Marut, like the Maruts worshipping Sakra after the defeat in battle of Prahlada.'"

SECTION 108

"Sanjaya said, 'Having fled away from Bhima, Alamvusha, in another part of the field, careered fearlessly in battle. And while he was thus fearlessly careering in battle, the son of Hidimva rushed impetuously at him and pierced him with keen shafts. The battle between those two lions among Rakshasas became terrible. Both of them invoked into existence illusions like Sakra and Samvara (in days of old). Alamvusha, excited with rage, attacked Ghatotkacha. Indeed, that encounter between those two foremost of Rakshasas resembled that of old between Rama and Ravana, O lord! Then Ghatotkacha having pierced Alamvusha, in the centre of the chest with twenty long shafts, repeatedly roared like a lion. Smilingly, O king, Alamvusha also, repeatedly piercing the invincible son of Hidimva, uttered loud roars in joy, filling the entire welkin. Then, those two foremost of Rakshasas, endued with great might, became filled with rage. They fought with each other, displaying their powers of illusion, but without any of them getting any advantage over the other. Each, creating a hundred illusions, stupefied the other. Both accomplished in producing' illusions, O king, that Ghatotkacha displayed in battle, were all destroyed, O monarch, by Alamvusha, producing similar illusions of his own. Beholding that prince of Rakshasas, viz., Alamvusha, who was accomplished in producing illusions, fight in that manner, the Pandavas became filled with anxiety, they then caused him to be surrounded by many foremost of car-warriors. Bhimasena and others, O monarch, all rushed in rage against him. Hemming him, O sire, on all sides by means of numberless cars, they shrouded him from every side with shafts, like men in a forest encompassing an elephant with blazing brands. Baffling that shower of weapons by means of the illusion of his own weapons, freed himself from that press of cars like an elephant from a forest conflagration. Then drawing his terrible bow whose twang resembled the thunder of Indra, he pierced the son of the Wind-god with five and twenty shafts, and Bhimasena's son with five, and Yudhishthira with three, and Sahadeva with seven, and Nakula with three and seventy, and each of the five sons of Draupadi with five shafts, and uttered a loud roar. Then Bhimasena pierced him in return with nine shafts, and Sahadeva with five. And Yudhishthira pierced the Rakshasa with a hundred shafts. And Nakula pierced him with three shafts. The son of Hidimva having pierced him with five hundred shafts, Alamvusha once more pierced him with seventy, and that mighty warrior uttered a loud roar. With that loud roar of Ghatotkacha the earth shook, O king, with her mountains and forests and with her trees and waters. Deeply pierced on all sides by those great bowmen and mighty car-warriors, Alamvusha pierced each of them in return with five arrows. Then that Rakshasa, O chief of the Bharatas, viz., the son of Hidimva, filled with rage, pierced that other angry Rakshasa in battle with many shafts. Then that mighty prince of Rakshasas, viz., Alamvusha, deeply pierced, quickly shot countless shafts equipped with wings of gold and whetted on stone. Those shafts, perfectly straight, all entered the body of Ghatotkacha, like angry snakes of great strength entering a mountain summit. Then the Pandavas, O king, filled with anxiety, and Hidimva's son Ghatotkacha, also sped at their foe from every side clouds of keen shafts. Thus struck in battle by the Pandavas, desirous of victory, Alamvusha mortal as he was, did not know what to do. Then that delighter in battle, viz., the mighty son of Bhimasena, beholding that state of Alamvusha, set his heart upon his destruction. He rushed with great impetuosity towards the car of the prince of Rakshasas, that car which resembled a burnt mountain summit or a broken heap of antimony. The son of Hidimva, inflamed with wrath, flew from his own car to that of Alamvusha, and seized the latter. He then took him up from the car, like Garuda taking up a snake. Thus dragging him up with his arms, he began to whirl him repeatedly, and then crushed him into pieces, hurling him down on the earth, like a man crushing an earthen pot into fragments by hurling it against a rock. Endued with strength and activity, possessed of great prowess, the son of Bhimasena, inflamed with wrath in battle, inspired all the troops with fear. All the limbs broken and bones reduced to fragments, the frightful Rakshasa Alamvusha, thus slain by the heroic Ghatotkacha, resembled a tall Sala uprooted and broken by the wind. Upon the slaughter of that wanderer of the night, the Parthas became very cheerful. And they uttered leonine roars and waved their garments. Thy brave warriors, however, beholding that mighty prince or Rakshasas, viz., Alamvusha, slain and lying like a crushed mountain, uttered cries, O monarch, of Oh and Alas. And people, possessed with curiosity, went to view that Rakshasa lying helplessly on the earth like a piece of charcoal (no longer capable of burning). The Rakshasa Ghatotkacha, then, that foremost of mighty beings, having thus slain his foe, uttered a loud shout, like Vasava after slaying (the Asura) Vala. Having achieved that exceedingly difficult feat, Ghatotkacha, was much applauded by his sires as also by his relatives. Indeed, having felled Alamvusha, like an Alamvusha fruit, he rejoiced exceedingly with his friends. There arose then a loud uproar (in the Pandava army) of conchs and of diverse kinds of arrows. Hearing that noise the Kauravas uttered loud shouts in reply, filling the whole earth with its echoes.'"

SECTION 109

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Tell me, O Sanjaya, how Yuyudhana rushed against the son of Bharadwaja in battle. I feel a great curiosity to hear it.'

"Sanjaya said, 'Listen, O thou of great wisdom, to the account of that battle, that makes the hair stand on end, between Drona and the Pandayas headed by Yuyudhana. Beholding the (Kuru) army slaughtered, O sire, by Yuyudhana, Drona himself rushed towards that warrior of unbaffled prowess, called also by the name of Satyaki. Satyaki pierced that mighty car-warrior, viz., the son of Bharadwaja, thus advancing against him, with five and twenty small arrows. Drona also, possessed of great prowess in battle, with deliberate aim, quickly pierced Yuyudhana, with five whetted arrows, equipped with wings of gold. Those arrows, piercing the hard mount of the foe and drinking his life-blood, entered the earth, O king, like hissing snakes. The long-armed Satyaki then, inflamed with rage like an elephant struck with the hook, pierced Drona with fifty long arrows that resembled flames of fire. Then Bharadwaja's son, thus quickly pierced in battle by Yuyudhana, pierced carefully exerting Satyaki in return with many arrows. Then that great bowman, endued with great might, and filled with rage, once more afflicted that hero of the Satwata race with many straight shafts. Thus struck in that battle by the son of Bharadwaja, Satyaki, O monarch, knew not what to do. Then, O king, Yuyudhana's face became cheerless, seeing the son of Bharadwaja shoot countless keen arrows. Beholding Satyaki thus situated, thy sons and troops, O king, becoming exceedingly cheerful, repeatedly uttered leonine roars. Hearing that terrible uproar and beholding that hero of Madhu's race thus afflicted, king Yudhishthira, O monarch, addressing all his soldiers, said, 'That foremost one among the Vrishnis, viz., the brave Satyaki, of prowess incapable of being baffled, is about to be devoured by the heroic Drona, like the sun by Rahu. Go and rush ye to the spot where Satyaki is battling.' The king, addressing Dhrishtadyumna. of the Panchala race, said, Rush thou with speed at Drona. Why dost thou tarry, O son of Prishata! Seest thou not the great danger to ourselves that has already arisen from Drona? Drona is a great bowman. He is sporting with Yuyudhana, in battle, like a boy with a bird bound in a string. Let all of you, headed by Bhimasena, and accompanied by others proceed thither where Satyaki's car is. Behind you I will follow with my troops. Rescue Satyaki today who is already within the jaws of the Destroyer.' Having said these words, O Bharata, king Yudhishthira with all his troops rushed towards Drona for the sake of Yuyudhana. Blessed be thou, great was the uproar made there by the Pandavas and the Srinjayas all fighting with Drona only. Together approaching, O tiger among men, that mighty car-warrior, viz., the son of Bharadwaja, they covered with showers of keen arrows equipped with the feathers of Kankas and peacocks. Drona, however, received all those heroes smilingly, like a householder receiving guests arrived of their own will, with seats and water. With the shafts of Bharadwaja's bow-wielding son, those heroes were well-gratified like guest, O king, with the hospitality they receive in the houses (of good hosts). And none of them, O lord, could even gaze at the son of Bharadwaja who then resembled the thousand-rayed sun at midday. Indeed, Drona, that foremost of all wielders of weapons, scorched all those great bowmen with showers of arrows like the sun scorching (everything below) with his burning rays. Thus struck, O king, by Drona, the Pandavas and the Srinjayas beheld no protector, like elephants sunk in a morass. The mighty arrows of Drona, as they coursed (through the welkin), looked like the rays of the sun blasting everything around. In that encounter, five and twenty warriors among the Panchalas were slain by Drona, who were all regarded as Maharathas and all approved (as such) by Dhrishtadyumna. And amongst all the troops of the Pandavas and the Panchalas, men quietly beheld brave Drona slaying the foremost of warriors in succession. Having slain a hundred warriors amongst the Kekayas and routing them on all sides, Drona stood, O monarch, like the Destroyer himself with wide-open mouth. The mighty-armed Drona vanquished the Panchalas, the Srinjayas, the Matsyas and the Kekayas, O monarch, by hundreds and thousands. Pierced by the arrows of Drona, the clamour made by them resembled that made in the woods by the denizens of the forest when encompassed by a conflagration. The gods, Gandharvas, and the Pitris, said, 'Behold, the Panchalas, and the Pandavas, with all their troops, are flying away.' Indeed, when Drona was thus engaged in slaughtering the Somakas in battle, none ventured to advance against him and none succeeded in piercing him. And while that dreadful encounter, so destructive of great heroes, continued, Pritha's son (Yudhishthira) suddenly heard the blare of Panchajanya. Blown by Vasudeva, that best of conchs gave loud blasts. Indeed, while the heroic protectors of the ruler of the Sindhus were fighting, and while the Dhartarashtras were roaring in front of Arjuna's car, the twang of Gandiva could not be heard. The royal son of Pandu repeatedly swooned, and thought, 'Without doubt, all is not well with Partha, since that prince of conchs (Panchajanya) is yielding such blasts and since the Kauravas also, filled with joy, are incessantly uttering such shouts.' Thinking in this way, with an anxious heart, Ajatasatru, the son of Kunti, said unto him of the Satwata race (viz., Satyaki) these words in a voice choked with tears. Though repeatedly stupefied, king Yudhishthira, however, did not lose sight of what was to be done next. Addressing Sini's grandson, that bull of his clan, (Yudhishthira said), 'O grandson of Sini, the time for that eternal duty which the righteous ones of old have indicated (for friends) towards friends in seasons of distress, hath now come. O bull amongst the Sinis, reflecting within myself, I do not, O Satyaki, see amongst all my warriors one who is a greater well wisher to us than thou art. He who is always well-affected, he who is always obedient, I think, he should be appointed to a grave commission in times of distress. As Kesava is ever the refuge of the Pandavas even, so art thou, O thou of Vrishni's race, who art like Kesava in prowess. I will, therefore, lay a burthen on thee. It behoveth thee not to frustrate my purpose. Arjuna is thy brother, friend, and preceptor, O bull among men, in this battle render him aid in time of distress. Thou art devoted to truth. Thou art a hero. Thou art the dispeller of the fears of friends. Thou art celebrated in the world, in consequence of thy acts, O hero, as one that is truthful in speech. He, O grandson of Sini, who casteth away his body while fighting in battle for friends, is equal to him who giveth away to Brahmanas the whole earth. We have heard of various kings gone to heaven, having given

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away the whole of this earth unto Brahmanas with due rites. O thou of virtuous soul, I beg of thee, with joined hands, even this viz., that, O lord, attain thou the fruit of giving away (unto Brahmanas) the whole earth, or something higher than that by incurring danger to thy life itself for helping Arjuna. There is one, viz., Krishna, that dispeller of the fears of friends, who is ever willing to cast away his life in battle (for the sake of friends). Thou, O Satyaki, art the second. None but a hero can render aid unto a hero, exerting valorously in battle, from desire of fame. An ordinary person cannot do so. In this matter, here is none else but thee who can protect Arjuna. On one occasion, while applauding thy numerous feats, Arjuna, giving me great pleasure repeatedly recited them. He said of thee that thou art endued with extreme lightness of hand, that thou art conversant with all modes of warfare, that thou art possessed of great activity and great prowess. He said, 'Satyaki is endued with great wisdom, is acquainted with every weapon, is a hero, and is never stupefied in battle. Of broad neck and broad chest, of mighty arms and broad cheeks, or great strength and great prowess, Satyaki is a high-souled Maharatha. He is my disciple and friend; I am dear to him and he is dear to me. Becoming my ally, Yuyudhana will crush the Kauravas. Even if Kesava and Rama, and Aniruddha, and the mighty car-warrior Pradyumna, and Gada, and Sarana, and Samva, with all the Vrishnis, case themselves in mail for assisting us, O king, in the field of battle, I shall yet appoint that tiger among men viz., Satyaki of unbaffled prowess, for our aid, since there is none equal to him.' Even this is what Dhananjaya told me in the Dwaita woods, in thy absence, while truly describing thy merits in an assembly of righteous persons. It behoveth thee not, O thou of the Vrishni race, to falsify that expectation of Dhananjaya, and also of myself and Bhima! When, returning from various tirthas, I proceeded to Dwaraka; there I witnessed thy reverence for Arjuna. While we were at Upaplavya I did not mark anybody else, O grandson of Sini, who showed us such affection as thou didst. Thou art of noble lineage and feelest reverence for us. For showing kindness, therefore, to one who is thy friend and preceptor, it behoveth thee, O thou of mighty arms, to act in a way deserving, O great bowman, of thy friendship and prowess and noble parentage and truthfulness. O thou of Madhu's race! Suyodhana, cased in armour by Drona himself, hath suddenly gone, following Arjuna! The other great car-warriors of Kauravas have, before that followed Arjuna. Loud uproars are being heard against Arjuna's car. O grandson of Sini, it behoveth thee, O giver of honours, to go thither quickly. Bhimasena and ourselves, well-equipped and with all our forces, will resist Drona if he advances against thee. Behold, O Grandson of Sini, the Bharata troops are flying away in battle, and as they are flying away, they are tittering loud wails. Like the very ocean at full tide agitated by a mighty tempest, the Dhartarashtra host, O sire, is agitated by Savyasachin. Behold, in consequence of countless cars and men and steeds moving quickly, the earthly dust raised is gradually spreading (over the field). See, that slayer of hostile hosts, Phalguna, is encompassed by the Sindhu-Sauviras, armed with spikes and lances and adorned with many horses in their ranks. Without vanquishing this force it will not be possible to vanquish Jayadratha. These warriors are prepared to lay down their lives for the sake of the ruler of the Sindhus. Behold the invincible Dhartarashtra force, stationed there, that bristles with arrows and darts and tall standards, and that teems with steeds and elephants. Hear the beat of their drums and the loud blare of their conchs, the tremendous leonine shouts uttered by them, and the rattle of their car-wheels. Hear the grunt of their elephants, the heavy tread of their foot-soldiers, and the stamping of their rushing cavalry which all seem to shake the very earth itself. Before him is the division of Jayadratha, and behind is that of Drona. So great is the number of the foes that he is capable of afflicting the chief of the celestials himself. Sunk in the midst of the fathomless host, Arjuna may lose his life. If he be slain in battle, how can one like me live? Is this calamity to befall me when thou art alive? Dark-blue in colour, young in years, of curled locks and exceedingly handsome is that son of Pandu. Active in the use of weapons, and conversant with every mode of warfare, the mighty-armed Arjuna hath, O sire, penetrated into the Bharata host at sunrise. The day is about to end. O thou of Vrishni's race, I do not know whether he liveth or not. The vast Kuru host is like ocean. O sire, Vibhatsu hath penetrated into it all alone. That army is incapable of being resisted by the very gods in battle. In today's battle, I fail to keep my judgement clear. Drona also is, with great might, afflicting my forces! Thou seest, O mighty-armed one, how that regenerate one is careering in battle. When several tasks present themselves together, thou art well-skilled in selecting that which would be first attended to. It behoveth thee, O giver of honours, to accomplish with activity that task which is the gravest of all. Amongst all these tasks, I myself think, that this (aiding Arjuna) is the first that demands our attention. The rescue of Arjuna in battle should be first undertaken. I do not grieve for him of Dasarha's race. He is the Protector and the Lord of the Universe. I tell thee truly that tiger among men, O sire, is able to vanquish in battle the three worlds assembled together. What need I say, therefore, of this weak Dhritarashtra host? Arjuna, however, O thou of Vrishni's race, is being afflicted by countless odds in battle. He may yield up his life. It is for this that I am so cheerless. O thou then go in his track, since persons like thee should follow a person like him, at such a season, urged on by one like me. Amongst the foremost ones of the Vrishni race, two are regarded as Atirathas. They are mighty-armed Pradyumna and thyself, O Satwata, that are so famous. In weapons, thou art equal to Narayana himself, and in strength to Sankarshana. In bravery, thou art equal to Dhananjaya, O tiger among men, and surpassest Bhishma and Drona and every one accomplished in battle. O tiger among men, the wise speak of thee, saying. O Madhava, 'There is nothing unachievable by Satyaki.' O thou of great strength, do thou, therefore, that which I say unto thee, viz., obey the wishes of all here, of myself and of Arjuna. It behoveth thee not, O mighty-armed one, to frustrate that wish. Reckless of thy very life, career thou in battle like a hero. O grandson of Sini, the scions of Dasarha's race never care to protect their lives in battle. Avoiding battle, or fighting from behind breast-works, or flying away from battle,--those practices of cowards and wretches are never practised by the Dasarhas. The virtuous-souled Arjuna is thy superior, O bull among the Sinis! Vasudeva is the superior of both thyself and intelligent Arjuna, Casting my eyes on these two reasons, I say unto thee these words. Do not discard my words, I am the superior of thy superiors. That which I am saying unto thee is approved as also by Arjuna. I tell thee this truly. Go then to the spot where Dhananjaya is. Attending to these words of mine, O thou of prowess incapable of being baffled, penetrate in this host of the wicked son of Dhritarashtra. Having penetrated into it duly, encounter the great car-warriors, and display, O Satwata, such feats as are worthy of thyself!'"

SECTION 110

"Sanjaya said, 'That bull amongst the Sinis, viz., Satyaki, hearing these words o, full affection, agreeable, fraught with sweet sounds, opportune, delightful, and equitable that were uttered by king Yudhishthira the Just, replied unto him, O chief of the Bharatas, saying, 'O thou of unfading glory, I have heard all the words thou hast said, words fraught with justice, delightful, and conducive to fame for the sake of Phalguna. At such a time, indeed, beholding one devoted (to thee) like me, it behoveth thee, O king of kings, to command him as much, as thou canst command Partha himself. As regards myself, I am prepared to cast away my life for the sake of Dhananjaya. Commanded, again, by thee, what is there I would not do in great battle? What need I say of this weak (Dhritarashtra) force? Urged by thee, I am prepared, O best of men, to battle with three worlds including the gods, the Asuras, and men. Today I will fight with the entire army of Suyodhana and vanquish it in battle. Truly do I say this unto thee, O king! Safely shall I reach Dhananjaya himself in safety, and after Jayadratha is slain, I shall, O king, come back into thy presence. I must, however, O king, inform thee of the words of Vasudeva as also those of the intelligent Arjuna. I was strongly and repeatedly solicited by Arjuna in the midst of all our warriors and in the hearing also of Vasudeva (in these words), Today, O Madhava, nobly resolved in battle, protect thou the king carefully, till I slay Jayadratha! Making over the monarch to thee, O mighty-armed one, or to that great car-warrior Pradyumna, I can go with an easy heart towards Jayadratha. Thou knowest Drona in battle, that warrior who is regarded as the foremost one among the Kurus. Thou knowest also the vow made by him in the presence of all, O lord! The son of Bharadwaja is always eager to seize the king. He is competent also in afflicting king Yudhishthira in battle. Charging thee with the protection of that best of men, viz., king Yudhishthira the Just, I will proceed today for the destruction of the ruler of the Sindhus. Slaying Jayadratha, I shall soon come back, O Madhava! See that Drona may not succeed in forcibly seizing king Yudhishthira the Just in battle. If Yudhishthira be seized by Bharadwaja's son, O Madhava, I shall not succeed in slaying Jayadratha, and great will be my grief. If that best of men, the truthful son of Pandu, be seized, it is evident that we shall have again to go into woods. My success, therefore, over Jayadratha, it is plain, will be productive of no benefit, if Drona, inflamed with rage, succeeds in seizing Yudhishthira in battle. O mighty-armed one, for doing what is agreeable to me, therefore, O Madhava, as also for the sake of my success and fame, protect the king in battle.' Thou seest, therefore, O king, thou hast been made over to me as a trust by Savyasachin, O lord, in consequence of his constant fear of Bharadwaja's son. O mighty-armed one, I myself daily see, O lord, that there is none, save Rukmini's son (Pradyumna), who can be a match for Drona in battle. I also am regarded to be a match for the intelligent son of Bharadwaja in battle. It is plain, therefore, I cannot dare falsify that reputation which I have, or disregard the commands of my preceptor (Arjuna), or leave thee, O king! The preceptor (Drona), cased as he is in impenetrable mail, in consequence of his lightness of arms, obtaining thee in battle, will sport with thee as a child with a little bird. If Krishna's son, bearing the Makara on his banner, were here, I could then have made over to him, for he would have protected thee as Arjuna himself. Thou shouldst protect thyself. When I am gone, who will protect thee, who that is, that will advance against Drona while I proceed towards Arjuna? O king, let no fear be thine today on Arjuna's account. He never becomes cheerless under any burden howsoever heavy. Those warriors that are opposed to him, viz., the Sauvirakas, the Sindhava-Pauravas, they from the north, they from the south, and they, O king, headed by Karna, that are regarded as foremost of car-warriors, do not together come up to a sixteenth part of Arjuna. The whole earth rising against him, with the gods, the Asuras, and men, with all the tribes of Rakshasas, O king, with the Kinnaras, the great snakes, and in fact, all the mobile and the immobile creatures assembled together, is no match for Arjuna in battle. Knowing this, O king, let thy fear on Dhananjaya's account be dispelled. There where those two heroes and great bowmen, viz., the two Krishnas, of prowess incapable of being baffled, are, there the slightest obstacle cannot happen to their purpose. Think of the celestial puissance, the accomplishment in weapons, the resourcefulness, the wrath in battle, the gratefulness, and the compassion of thy brother. Think also, O king, of the wonderful knowledge of weapons that Drona will display in battle when I leave this place for going to Arjuna. The preceptor, O monarch, is eagerly solicitous of seizing thee. He is eagerly desirous also, O king, of making good his vow, O Bharata! Be attentive, O king, to thy own protection. Who will protect thee when I am gone, who is he that is, confiding on whom I may go towards Pritha's son, Phalguna? I tell thee truly, O great king, that without making thee over to somebody in this great battle, I will not surely go towards Arjuna, O thou of Kuru's race! Reflecting on this, from every point of view, with the aid of thy intelligence, O foremost of all intelligent persons, and ascertaining with thy intelligence what is for thy highest good, command me, O king!'

"Yudhishthira hearing these words said, 'It is even so, O mighty-armed one, as thou sayest, O Madhava! For all that, however, O sire, my heart doth not become easy on Arjuna's account. I shall take the greatest precaution in protecting myself. Commanded by me, go thou thither where Dhananjaya hath gone. Weighing, with my judgement, my own protection in battle with the necessity of your going towards Arjuna, the latter seems to me preferable, Make thyself ready, therefore, to go thither whither Dhananjaya hath gone. The mighty Bhima will protect me. Prishata's son, with all his uterine brothers, and all the mighty kings, and the sons of Draupadi, will without doubt, protect me. The five Kekaya brothers, and the Rakshasa Ghatotkacha, and Virata, and Drupada, and the mighty car-warrior Sikhandin and Dhrishtaketu of great strength, and Kuntibhoja, O sire, Nakula, and Sahadeva, and the Panchalas, and the Srinjayas,--all these, O sire, will without doubt, very carefully protect me. Drona at the head of his troops, and Kritavarman also, in battle, will not succeed in beating us or afflicting me. That scorcher of foes, viz., Dhrishtadyumna, displaying his prowess, will resist the angry Drona, like the continent resisting the sea. There where Prishata's son, that slayer of hostile heroes, will remain, there Drona will never be able to forcibly transgress our troops. This Dhristadyumna sprang from the fire, for the destruction of Drona, clad in mail, armed with bow and arrows and sword, and decked with costly ornaments. Go, O grandson of Sini, with an easy heart, do not be anxious on my account. Dhrishtadyumna will resist angry Drona in battle.'"

SECTION 111

"Sanjaya said, 'Hearing these words of the king Yudhishthira the Just, that bull among the Sinis feared the censure of Arjuna if he left the king. Seeing, however, the certainty of an imputation of cowardice by the people (if he disobeyed Yudhishthira), he said to himself, 'Let not people say that I am afraid of proceeding towards Arjuna.' Reflecting repeatedly on this, Satyaki, that hero invincible in battle, that bull among men, said these words unto king Yudhishthira the Just, 'If thou thinkest that these arrangements will suffice for thy protection, O monarch, I will then do thy bidding and follow Vibhatsu. I tell thee truly, O king, that there is none in the three worlds who is dearer to me than Phalguna. I will follow in his track at the command, O giver of honours. There is nothing that I will not do for thy sake. O best of men, the commands of my preceptor are always of weight with me. But thy commands are still weightier with me, O lord! Thy brothers, viz., Krishna and Dhananjaya, are always engaged in doing what is agreeable to thee. Taking thy command on my head for the sake of Arjuna, O lord, I will proceed, O bull among men, piercing through this impenetrable host. Darting wrathfully through this force of Drona, like a fish through the sea, I will go thither, O monarch, where king Jayadratha, depending upon his troops, stayeth, in fear of the son of Pandu, protected by those foremost of car-warriors, viz., Drona's son Karna and Kripa! The distance from here, O king, is three Yojanas. I think, of that spot where Partha stayeth, ready to slay Jayadratha! But though Partha is three

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Yojanas distant I shall yet follow in his track with a stout heart, and stay with him, O king, till Jayadratha's slaughter. What man is there that goes to battle without the commands of his superiors? And when one is commanded, O king, as I have been by thee, who is there like me that would not fight? I know that place whither I shall have to go, O lord! Teeming as this ocean-like host doth with ploughshare and darts and maces and shields and scimitars and swords and lances and foremost of shafts, I will today agitate this ocean. This elephant division, consisting of a thousand elephants, that thou seest, all belonging to the breed known by the name of Anjana and all endued with great prowess, which are all mounted by a large number of Mlecchas, delighting in battle and accomplished in smiting,--these elephants, O king, that are shedding their juicy secretions like rain-pouring clouds,--these never retreat if urged forward by those upon their backs. They cannot be vanquished, O king, unless they are slaughtered. Then again, those car-warriors numbering thousands., that thou seest, are all of royal lineage and are all Maharathas. They are called Rukmarathas [Owners of golden cars, chariots, coaches.]. They are accomplished in weapons and battling from cars, as also in fighting from the backs of elephants. O monarch! Thorough masters of the science of weapons, they are accomplished in fighting with their fists. Skilled in battling with maces, masters also of the art of close fight, they are equally clever in striking with scimitars and in falling upon the foe with sword and shield. They are brave and learned, and animated by a spirit of rivalry. Every day, O king, they vanquish a vast number of men in battle. They are commanded by Karna and devoted to Duhsasana. Even Vasudeva applauds them as great car-warriors. Always solicitous of Karna's welfare, they are obedient to him. It is at Karna's command, O king, that returning from their pursuit of Arjuna and, therefore, unfatigued and unworn, those brave warriors, cased in impenetrable armour and armed with strong bows, are certainly waiting for me, ordered by Duryodhana also. Crushing them in battle for thy good, O Katirava, I shall then follow in the track of Savyasachin. Those other elephants, O king, seven hundred in number, that thou seest, all cased in armour and ridden by Kiratas, and decked with ornaments, the king of the Kiratas, desirous of his life, had formerly presented to Savyasachin together with many servants in their train. These, O king, were formerly employed in doing thy business. Behold the vicissitudes that time brings about, for these are now battling against thee. Those elephants are ridden by Kiratas difficult of defeat in battle. They are accomplished in fighting from elephants, and are all sprung from the race of Agni. Formerly, they were all vanquished in battle by Savyasachin. They are now waiting for me carefully, under the orders of Duryodhana. Slaying with my shafts, O king, these Kiratas difficult of defeat in battle, I shall follow in the track of Arjuna who is intent on the slaughter of the ruler of the Sindhus. Those (other) huge elephants, sprung from the race of Arjuna, of impenetrable hides, well-trained, and adorned, and from whose mouths the juicy secretions are trickling down, and which are well-adorned with armour made wholly of gold are very formidable in battle and resemble Airavata himself. They have come from the northern hills, and are ridden by fierce robbers that are of strong limbs, that are all foremost of warriors, and that are cased in steel coats of mail. There, amongst them, are persons born of the cow, or the ape, or of diverse other creatures, including those born of men. That division of the assembled Mlecchas that are all sinful and that come from the fastnesses of Himavat, seem at a distance to be of smoky colour. Obtaining these, and countless Kshatriyas, as also Kripa and that foremost of car-warriors, viz., Drona and the ruler of the Sindhus, and the Karna, he thinks lightly of the Pandavas. Impelled by fate, he regards himself crowned with success. Those I have named will, however, today be within reach of my arrows. They shall not escape me, O son of Kunti, even if they be endued with the speed of the mind. Much regarded always by Duryodhana, that prince who dependeth upon the prowess of others, those warriors, afflicted with my clouds of shafts, will meet with destruction. Those other car-warriors, O king, whom thou seest, and who have golden standards and are difficult of being resisted, are called Kamvojas. They are brave and accomplished, and firmly devoted to the science of weapons. Desiring one another's welfare they are all firmly united. They constitute a full Akshauhini of wrathful warriors, O Bharata, and are staying carefully for my sake, well-protected by the Kuru heroes. They are on the alert, O king, with their eyes on me. I shall certainly destroy them all, like fire destroying a heap of straw. Therefore, O king, let those that equip cars, place quivers and all necessaries on my car in proper places. Indeed, in such a dreadful battle, diverse kinds of weapons ought to be taken. Let the car be equipped (with necessaries) five times more than what professors of military science direct, for I shall have to encounter the Kamvojas who resemble fierce snakes of virulent poison. I shall have also to encounter the Kiratas who are armed with diverse weapons of warfare, who resemble virulent poison, who are accomplished in smiting, who have always been well-treated by Duryodhana, and who on that account are always intent on Duryodhana's welfare. I shall also have to encounter the Sakas endued with prowess equal to that of Sakra himself, who are fierce as tire, and difficult to put out like a blazing conflagration. Indeed, O king, I shall have to encounter in battle many warriors difficult of being resisted. For this let well-known steeds of best breed and graced with auspicious marks be yoked to my car, after causing their thirst to be slaked and after grooming them duly!'

"Sanjaya continued, 'After this, Yudhishthira caused quivers full of shafts, and diverse kinds o weapons, and, indeed, all necessaries, to be placed on Satyaki's car. Then, people caused his four well-harnessed and excellent steeds to drink and walk, bathe and eat, and having adorned them with golden chains and plucked out their arrows, those animals, that had (for these operations) been freed from the yoke, and that were of the hue of gold and well-trained and endued with great speed and cheerful and exceedingly docile, were duly yoked again unto his car. And upon that car was set up a tall standard bearing a lion of golden maces. And that standard had attached round it banners of the hue of white clouds and decked with gold was also placed upon that vehicle bearing a heavy weight of weapons. After those steeds, adorned with trappings of gold, had been yoked to that car, the younger brother of Daruka, who was the charioteer and the dear friend of Satyaki, came and represented unto the latter that the car had been duly equipped, like Matali representing the equipment of the car unto Vasava himself. Satyaki then, having taken a bath and purified himself and undergone every auspicious ceremony, gave nishkas of gold unto a thousand Snataka Brahmanas who uttered benedictions upon him. Blessed with those benedictions Satyaki that foremost of handsome men, that hero worthy of worship, having drunk kairata, honey, shone resplendent, with reddened eyes rolling in intoxication. Having touched a brazen mirror and filled with great joy, his energy became doubled, and himself looked like a blazing fire. Taking upon his shoulders his bow with arrows, that foremost of car-warriors, eased in armour and decked in ornaments, had the regenerate ones perform for him the rites of propitiation. And fair maidens honoured him by showering upon him fried paddy and perfumes and floral garlands. And the hero then, with joined hands, worshipped the feet of Yudhishthira, and the latter smelt his head. And having undergone all these rites, he then mounted his foremost of cars. Then those steeds, cheerful and strong and fleet as the wind, and invincible, and belonging to the Sindhu breed, bore him on that triumphant car. Similarly, Bhimasena also, honoured by king Yudhishthira the Just, and reverentially saluting the monarch, set out with Satyaki. Beholding those two chastisers of foes on the point of penetrating thy host, their enemies, viz., thy troops, all stood still with Drona at their head. Then Satyaki, seeing Bhima cased in mail and following him, saluted that hero and spoke unto him these delightful words. Indeed, heroic Satyaki, with every limb filled with joy, said unto Bhima, 'Do thou, O Bhima, protect the king. Even this is thy duty above all things. Piercing through this host whose hour hath come. I will proceed. Whether now or hence, the protection of the king is thy highest duty. Thou knowest my prowess, thou desirest my good, return, O Bhima!' Thus addressed by Satyaki, Bhima replied, Go then, for the success of thy object. O best of men, I will protect the king.' Thus addressed, he of Madhu's race answered Bhima, saying, 'Go back, O son of Pritha! My success is certain, since won over by my merits, thus, O Bhima, art today obedient to my wishes. Indeed, O Bhima, as these auspicious omens tell me, my victory is assured. After the sinful ruler of the Sindhus has been slain by the high-souled son of Pandu, I shall embrace king Yudhishthira of virtuous soul.' Having said these words unto Bhima and dismissing him with an embrace that illustrious warrior eyed thy troops, like a tiger eyeing a herd of deer. Beholding him thus looking at thy army, O king, thy troops become once more stupefied and began to tremble violently. Then, O king, Satyaki desirous of seeing Arjuna at the command of king Yudhishthira the Just, suddenly dashed against thy troops.'"

SECTION 112

"Sanjaya said, 'O king, when Yuyudhana, from desire of battle proceeded against thy troops, king Yudhishthira, surrounded by his forces, followed Yuyudhana for reaching the car of Drona. Then the son of the king of the Panchalas, viz., the invincible warrior Dhrishtadyumna, the king Vasudana, both loudly exclaimed with the Pandava host, 'Come, smite quickly, and rush against the foe, so that Satyaki, that warrior invincible battle, in might pass easily (through the Kaurava host). Many mighty car-warriors will struggle for vanquishing him.' The great car-warriors (of the Pandava army). saying this, fell impetuously upon their foes. Indeed, they all rushed, saying, 'We will vanquish those that will endeavour to vanquish Satyaki.' Then a loud uproar was heard about the car of Satyaki. Thy son's host, however, covered with Satyaki's shafts, fled away. Indeed, O king that host was broken into a hundred struggling bodies by him of the Satwata race. And while that force was breaking, that mighty car-warrior, viz., the (grandson) of Sini, crushed seven heroic and great bowmen in the front rank of the foe. And, O monarch, with his shafts that resembled blazing flames of fire, he despatched many other heroes, kings of diverse realms, unto the region of Yama. He sometimes pierced a hundred warriors with one shaft, and sometimes one warrior with a hundred shafts. Like the great Rudra destroying creatures, he slew elephant-riders and car-warriors with steeds and drivers. None amongst thy troops ventured to advance against Satyaki who was displaying such lightness of hand and who showered such clouds of shafts. Struck with panic and crushed grounded thus by that hero of long arms, those brave warriors all left the field at the sight of that proud hero. Although alone, they saw him multiplied manifold, and were stupefied by his energy. And the earth looked exceedingly beautiful with crushed cars and broken nidas [Niches or drivers boxes.], O sire, and wheels and fallen umbrellas and standards and anukarshas, and banners, and headgears decked with gold, and human arms smeared with sandal-paste and adorned with Angadas, O king, and human thighs, resembling trunks of elephants or the tapering bodies of snakes, and faces, beautiful as the moon and decked with ear-rings, of large-eyed warriors lying all about the field. And the ground there looked exceedingly beautiful with the huge bodies of fallen elephants, cut off in diverse ways, like a large plain strewn with hills. Crushed by that hero of long arms, steeds, deprived of life and fallen down on the ground, looked beautiful in their traces made of burnished gold and decked with rows of pearls, and in their carcasses of handsome make and design. Having slain diverse kinds of thy troops, he of the Satwata race entered into thy host, agitating and routing thy army. Then Satyaki desired to go by that very track by which Dhananjaya had gone before him. Then Drona came and resisted him. Encountering the son of Bharadwaja, Yuyudhana., filled with rage, stopped not like a vast expanse of water upon encountering on embankment. Drona, however, checking in that battle the mighty car-warrior Yuyudhana, pierced him with five keen shafts, capable of penetrating into the very vitals. Satyaki, however, O king, in that battle pierced Drona with seven shafts whetted on stone, equipped with golden wings and the feathers of the Kanka and the peacock. Then Drona, afflicted Satyaki, his steeds and the drivers, with six shafts. The mighty car-warrior Yuyudhana could not brook that feat of Drona. Uttering a leonine shout, he then pierced Drona with ten shafts, and then with six, and then with eight others. And once more Yuyudhana pierced Drona with ten shafts, his charioteer with one and his four steeds with four. And with another shaft, O sire, Satyaki struck Drona's standard. Then, Drona speedily covered Satyaki, his car, steeds, driver, and standard, with swiftly coursing shafts, countless in number like a flight of locusts. Similarly, Yuyudhana fearlessly covered Drona with countless shafts of great speed. Then Drona, addressing Yuyudhana, said, 'Thy preceptor (Arjuna) hath, like a coward, gone away, leaving the battle, avoiding me who was fighting with him, proceeding by my flank. O thou of Madhu's race, if like thy preceptor, thou too dost not quickly avoid me in this battle, thou shalt not escape me with life today, engaged as I am in battle with thee.

"Satyaki, hearing these words, answered, 'At the command of king Yudhishthira the Just, I shall follow in the track of Dhananjaya. Blessed be thou, O Brahmana, I would lose time (if I fight with thee). A disciple should always tread in the way trod by his preceptor. I shall, therefore follow in the track that has been trod by my preceptor.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Having said this much, the grandson of Sini avoided the preceptor and suddenly proceeded onwards, O king! And addressing his charioteer, he said, 'Drona will, by every means, endeavour to check my progress. Proceed carefully, O Suta, in battle and listen to these grave words of mine. Yonder is seen the host of great splendour of Avantis. Next to them, is the mighty host of the Southerners. And next to it, is the great host of the Valhikas. By the side of the Valhikas, stands resolved for fight the mighty host commanded by Karna. O charioteer, all these hosts are different from one another, but relying upon one another, they protect one another on the field of battle. Arrived at the space left open between these divisions cheerfully urge thou the steed. Indeed, O charioteer, bear me thither, making the steeds adopt a tolerable speed,--thither, that is, where are seen the Valhikas with diverse weapons uplifted in their arms, and the countless Southerners headed by the Suta's son and whose division is seen to present a serried array of elephants and steeds and cars and in which stand foot-soldiers from various realm.' Having said this much unto his driver, avoiding the Brahmana (Drona), he proceeded, telling his charioteer, Pass through the open space between those two divisions towards the fierce and mighty host of Karna.' Drona, however, excited with wrath, pursued him from behind, shooting at him countless shafts. Indeed, the preceptor closely followed highly blessed Yuyudhana who advanced without any desire of turning back. Smiting the great host of Karna with whetted arrows, Satyaki penetrated into the vast and limitless army of the Bharatas. When Yuyudhana, however, entered the army,

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the troops (opposed to him) fled away. At this, wrathful Kritavarman came forward to resist Satyaki. The valiant Satyaki striking the advancing Kritavarman with six shafts, quickly slew his four steeds with four other shafts. And once again, he pierced Kritavarman in the centre of the chest with four other shafts. And once again, he pierced Kritavarman in the centre of the chest with sixteen straight shafts of great speed. Thus encountered; O monarch; with many shafts of fierce energy by him of the Satwata race, Kritavarman was unable to brook it. Aiming then a calf-toothed shaft resembling a shake of virulent poison and endued With the speed of the wind, and drawing the bow-string, O monarch, to his ear, he pierced Satyaki in the chest. That shaft, equipped with beautiful feathers, penetrating through his armour and body, and dyed in blood, entered the earth. Then, O king, Kritavarman, that warrior equipped with the highest weapons, shooting many shafts, cut off the bow of Satyaki with arrows fixed thereon. And excited with rage, he then, in that battle, O king, pierced Satyaki of unbaffled prowess in the centre of the chest with ten shafts of great keenness. Upon his bow being broken, the foremost of mighty men, viz., Satyaki, hurled a dart at the right arm of Kritavarman. And taking up and drawing a tougher bow, Yuyudhana quickly shot at his foe, shafts by hundreds and thousands and entirely shrouded Kritavarman and his car with that arrowy downpour. Having thus shrouded the son of Hridika, O monarch, in that battle, Satyaki cut of, with a broad-headed arrow, the head of his foe's charioteer from his trunk. The charioteer of Hridika's son then, thus slain, fell down from that great car. At this, the steeds of Kritavarman, deprived of a driver, ran away with great speed. The ruler of the Bhojas, then, in great agitation, himself checked those steeds. That heroic warrior then, bow in hand, stood upon his car (ready for battle). Beholding this feat, his troops applauded it highly. Resting for a short space of time, Kritavarman then urged those good steeds of his. Himself devoid of fear, he inspired his foes with great fear. Satyaki, however, had by that time, left him behind, while Kritavarman himself now rushed against Bhimasena without pursuing Satyaki. Thus issuing out of the division of the Bhojas, Satyaki proceeded with great speed towards the mighty division of the Kamvojas. Resisted there by many brave and mighty car-warriors, Yuyudhana, of prowess incapable of being thwarted, could not then, O monarch, proceed a step. Meanwhile, Drona, having placed his troops in a proper position and made over the burthen of their protection to the ruler of the Bhojas, firmly resolved, proceeded with great speed towards Yuyudhana from desire of battle. Then the foremost warriors of the Pandava host, beholding Drona thus pursuing Yuyudhana from behind, cheerfully began to resist him. The Panchalas, however, who were headed by Bhimasena, having approached the son of Hridika, that foremost of car-warriors, all became cheerless. The heroic Kritavarman, O king, displaying his prowess, resisted all those warriors who, although they had become a little heartless, struggled yet with great vigour. Fearlessly he weakened, by means of his arrowy showers, the animals of his foes. The brave warriors, however, (of the Pandava army), though thus afflicted by the ruler of the Bhojas, stood, like high-born soldiers that they were, resolved to fight with the division of the Bhojas itself, from a desire of great renown.'"

SECTION 113

"Dhritarashtra said, Our army is equally possessed of many excellences. It is equally regarded as superior. It is equally arrayed according to the rules of science, and it is equally numerous, O Sanjaya! It is always well-treated by us, and is always devoted to us. It is vast in numerical strength, and presents a wonderful aspect. Its prowess had before been tested. The soldiers are neither very old nor very young. They are neither lean nor corpulent. Of active habits, of well-developed and strong frames, they are free from disease. They are cased in mail and well-equipped with arms. They are devoted to all kinds of armed exercises. They are adepts in mounting upon and descending from the backs of elephants, in moving forward and stepping back, in smiting effectually, and in marching and retreating. Oftentimes have they been tested in the management of elephants and steeds and cars. Having been examined duly, they have been entertained on pay and not for the sake of lineage, nor from favour, nor from relationship. They are not a rabble come of their own accord, nor have they been admitted into my army without pay. My army consists of well-born and respectable men, who are, again, contented, well-fed, and submissive. They are sufficiently rewarded. They are all famous and endued with great intelligence. They are, again, O son, protected by many of our foremost counsellors and others of righteous deeds, all of whom are best of men, resembling the very Regents of the world. Innumerable rulers of earth, seeking to do what is agreeable to us, and who have of their own well sided with us with their forces and followers, also protect them. Indeed, our army is like the vast ocean filled with the waters of innumerable rivers running from all directions. It abounds in steeds and cars which, though destitute of wings, still resemble the winged tenants of the air. It seems also with elephants adorned whose cheeks flow with juicy secretions. What can it, therefore, be but Destiny that even such an army should be slain? (Ocean-like it is) vast number of combatants constitute its interminable waters, and the steeds and other animals constitute its terrible waves. Innumerable swords and maces and darts and arrows and lances constitute the oars (plied on that ocean). Abounding in standards and ornaments, the pearls and gems (of the warriors) constitute the lotuses that deck it. The rushing steeds and elephants constitute the winds that agitate it into fury. Drona constitutes the fathomless cave of that ocean, Kritavarman its vast vortex. Jalasandha its mighty alligator, and Karna the rise of the moon that makes it swell with energy and pride. When that bull amongst the Pandavas, on his single car, hath speedily gone, piercing through that army of mine vast (though it be) like the ocean, and when Yuyudhana also hath followed him, I do not, O Sanjaya, see the prospect of even a remnant of my troops being left alive by Savyasachin, and that foremost of car-warriors belonging to the Satwata race. Beholding those two exceedingly active heroes pierce through (the divisions placed in the van), and seeing the ruler of the Sindhus also within reach of the shafts from Gandiva, what, indeed, was the measure adopted by the Kaurava impelled by fate? At that time, when all were fighting intently, what became of them? O sire, I regard the assembled Kurus to be overtaken by Death himself. Indeed, their prowess also in battle is no longer seen to be what it once was. Krishna and the son of Pandu have both entered the (Kuru) host unwounded. There is none in that host, O Sanjaya, capable of resisting them. Many combatants that are great car-warriors were admitted by us after examination. They are all honoured (by us) with pay as each deserves, and others with agreeable speeches. There is none, O son, amongst my troops who is not honoured with good offices (done to him). Each receives his assigned pay and rations according to the character of his services. In my army, O Sanjaya, there is none who is unskilled in battle, none who receives pay less than what he deserves, or none who does not receive any pay. The soldiers are adored by me, according to the best of my powers, with gifts and honours and seats. The same conduct is followed towards them by my sons, my kinsmen, and my friends. Yet on the very approach of Savyasachin, have they been vanquished by him and by the grandson of Sini. What can it be but Destiny? They who are protecting them, all follow the same road, the protected with the protectors! Beholding Arjuna arrived at the front of Jayadratha, what measure was adopted by my foolish son? Beholding Satyaki also entering the host, what step did Duryodhana think suitable to that occasion? Indeed, beholding those two foremost of car-warriors who are beyond the touch of all weapons, enter my host, what resolution was formed by my warriors in battle? I think, beholding Krishna of Dasarha's race and that bull of Sini's race also both engaged for Arjuna's sake my sons are filled with grief. I think, seeing both Satwata and Arjuna pass through my army and the Kurus flying away, my sons are filled with grief. I think, seeing their car-warriors retreat in despair of subjugating the foe and set their hearts upon flying away from the field, my sons are filled with grief. Their steeds and elephants and cars and heroic combatants by thousands flying away from the field in anxiety, my sons are filled with grief I think, seeing many huge elephants fly away, afflicted with the shafts of Arjuna, and others fallen and falling, my sons are filled with grief. I think, seeing steeds deprived of riders and warriors deprived of cars by Satyaki and Partha, my sons are filled with grief. I think, large bodies of steeds slain or routed by Madhava and Partha, my sons are filled with grief. I think, seeing large bodies of foot-soldiers flying away in all directions, my sons, despairing of success, are filled with grief. I think, seeing those two heroes pass through Drona's division unvanquished within a moment, my sons are filled with grief. Stupefied am I, O son, upon hearing that Krishna and Dhananjaya, those two heroes of unfading glory, have both, with Satwata, penetrated into my host. After that foremost of car-warriors among the Sinis, had entered my host, and after he had passed through the division of the Bhojas, what did the Kauravas do? Tell me also, O Sanjaya, how did the battle take place there where Drona afflicted the Pandavas on the field. Drona is endued with great might, is the foremost of all persons, is accomplished in weapons, and is incapable of being defeated in battle. How could the Panchalas pierce that great bowman in the fight? Desirous of Dhananjaya's victory, the Panchalas are inveterate foes of Drona. The mighty car-warrior Drona also is an inveterate foe of theirs. Thou art skilled in a narration, O Sanjaya! Tell me, therefore, everything about what Arjuna did for compassing the slaughter of the ruler of the Sindhus.'

"Sanjaya said, 'O bull of Bharata's race, overtaken by a calamity that is the direct result of thy own fault, thou shouldst not, O hero, indulge in such lamentations like an ordinary person. Formerly, many of thy wise well-wishers, numbering Vidura amongst them, had told thee, 'Do not, O king, abandon the sons of Pandu.' Thou didst not then heed those words. The man that heedeth not the counsels of well-wishing friends, weepeth, falling into great distress, like thyself. He of Dasarha's race, O king, had formerly begged thee for peace. For all that, Krishna of world-wide fame, obtained not his prayer. Ascertaining thy worthlessness, and thy jealousy towards the Pandavas, and understanding also thy crooked intentions towards the sons of Pandu, and hearing thy delirious lamentations, O best of kings, that puissant Lord of all the worlds, that Being, acquainted with the truth of everything in all the worlds, viz., Vasudeva, then caused the flame of war to blaze forth among the Kurus. This great and wholesale destruction hath come upon thee, brought about by thy own fault. O giver of honours, it behoveth thee not to impute the fault to Duryodhana. In the development of these incidents no merit of thine is to be seen in the beginning, in the middle, or at the end. This defeat is entirely owing to thee. Therefore, knowing as thou dost the truth about this world, be quiet and hear how this fierce battle, resembling that between the gods and the Asuras, took place. After the grandson of Sini, that warrior of prowess incapable of being baffled, had entered into thy host, the Parthas headed by Bhimasena also rushed against thy troops. The mighty car-warrior Kritavarman, however, alone, resisted, in that battle the Pandavas thus rushing in fury and wrath with their followers against thy host. As the continent resists the surgings, even so did the son of Hridika resist the troops of the Pandavas in that battle. The prowess that we then beheld of the son of Hridika was wonderful, inasmuch as the united Parthas succeeded not in transgressing his single self. Then the mighty-armed Bhima, piercing Kritavarman with three shafts, blew his conch, gladdening all the Pandavas. Then Sahadeva pierced the son of Hridika with twenty shafts, and Yudhishthira the Just pierced him with five and Nakula pierced him with a hundred. And the sons of Draupadi pierced him with three and seventy shafts, Ghatotkacha pierced him with seven. And Virata and Drupada and Drupada's son (Dhrishtadyumna) each Pierced him with five shafts, and Sikhandin, having once pierced him with five, again pierced him smilingly with five and twenty shafts. Then Kritavarman, O king, pierced every one of those great car-warriors with five shafts, and Bhima again with seven. And the son of Hridika felled both the bow and the standard of Bhima from the latter's car. Then that mighty car-warrior, with great speed, wrathfully struck Bhima, whose bow had been cut off with seventy keen shafts in the chest. Then mighty Bhima, deeply pierced with those excellent shafts of Hridika's son, trembled on his car like a mountain during an earthquake. Beholding Bhimasena in that condition, the Parthas headed by king Yudhishthira the Just afflicted Kritavarman, O king, shooting at him many shafts. Encompassing that warrior there with throngs of cars, O sire, they cheerfully began to pierce him with their shafts, desiring to protect the Wind-god's son in that battle. Then mighty Bhimasena recovering consciousness, took up in that battle a dart made of steel and equipped with a golden staff, and hurled it with great speed from his own car at the car of Kritavarman. That dart resembling a snake freed from its slough, hurled from Bhima's hands, fierce-looking, blazed forth as it proceeded towards Kritavarman. Beholding that dart endued with the splendour of the Yuga-fire coursing towards him, the son of Hridika cut it in twain with two shafts. Thereupon, that dart decked with gold, thus cut off, fell down on the earth, illumining the ten points of the compass, O king, like a large meteor falling from the firmament. Seeing his dart baffled, Bhima blazed forth in wrath. Then taking tip another bow which was tougher and whose twang was louder, Bhimasena, filled with wrath, attacked the son of Hridika in that battle. Then O king, Bhima, of terrible might, struck Kritavarman, in the centre of the chest with five shafts, in consequence of thy evil policy, O monarch! The ruler of the Bhoja then, mangled in every limb, O sire, by Bhimasena, shone resplendent in the field like a red Asoka covered with flowers. Then that mighty bowman, viz., Kritavarman, filled with rage, smilingly struck Bhimasena with three shafts, and having struck him forcibly, pierced in return every one of those great car-warriors struggling vigorously in battle, with three shafts. Each of the latter then pierced him in return with seven shafts. Then that mighty car-warrior of the Satwata race, filled with rage, cut off, smiling in that battle, with a razor-faced shaft the bow of Sikhandin. Sikhandin then, seeing his bow cut off, quickly took up a sword and a bright shield decked with a hundred moons. Whirling his large shield, decked with gold, Sikhandin sent that sword towards the car of Kritavarman. That large sword, cutting off, O king, Kritavarman's bow with arrow fixed thereon, fell down on the earth, like. O monarch, a bright luminary loosened from the firmament. Meanwhile, those mighty car-warriors quickly and deeply pierced Kritavarman with their shafts in that battle. Then that slayer of hostile heroes, viz., the son of Hridika, casting off, that broken bow, and taking up another, pierced each of the Pandavas with three straight shafts. And he pierced Sikhandin at first with three, and then with five shafts. Then the illustrious Sikhandin, taking up another bow, checked the son of Hridika with many swift-flying shafts, furnished with heads like tortoise nails. Then, O king, the son of Hridika, inflamed

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with rage in that battle, rushed impetuously at that mighty car-warrior, viz., the son of Yajnasena, that warrior, O monarch, who was the cause of the illustrious Bhishma's fall in battle. Indeed, the heroic Kritavarman rushed at Sikhandin, displaying his might, like a tiger at an elephant. Then those two chastisers of foes, who resembled a couple of huge elephants or two blazing fires, encountered each other with clouds of shafts. And they took their best of bows and aimed their arrows, and shot them in hundreds like a couple of suns shedding their rays. And those two mighty car-warriors scorched each other with their keen shafts, and shone resplendent like two Suns appearing at the end of the Yuga. And Kritavarman in that battle pierced that mighty car-warrior viz., Yajnasena's son, with three and seventy shafts and once more with seven. Deeply pierced therewith, Sikhandin sat down in pain on the terrace of his car, throwing aside his bow and arrows, and was overtaken by a swoon. Beholding that hero in a swoon, thy troops, O bull among men, worshipped the son of Hridika, and waved their garments in the air. Seeing Sikhandin thus afflicted with the shafts of Hridika's son his charioteer quickly bore that mighty car-warrior away from the battle. The Parthas, beholding Sikhandin lying senseless on the terrace of his car, soon encompassed Kritavarman in that battle with crowds of cars. The mighty car-warrior, Kritavarman, then achieved a most wonderful feat there, inasmuch as, alone, he held in check all the Parthas with their followers. Having thus vanquished the Parthas, that mighty car-warrior then vanquished the Chedis, the Panchalas, the Srinjayas, and the Kekayas, all of whom are endued with great prowess. The forces of the Pandavas then, thus slaughtered by the son of Hridika began to run in all directions, unable to stay coolly in battle. Having vanquished the sons of Pandu headed by Bhimasena himself, the son of Hridika stayed in battle like a blazing fire. Those mighty car-warriors, afflicted with torrents of shafts and routed by Hridika's son in battle, ventured not to face him.'"

SECTION 114

"Sanjaya said, 'Listen with undivided attention, O king. After the rout of that force by the high-souled son of Hridika, and upon the Parthas being humiliated with shame and thy troops elated with joy, he that became protector of the Pandavas who were solicitous of protection while sinking in that fathomless sea of distress, that hero, viz., the grandson of Sini, hearing that fierce uproar, of thy army in that terrible fight, quickly turned back and proceeded against Kritavarman. Hridika's son, Kritavarman, then excited with wrath, covered the grandson of Sini with clouds of sharp shafts. At this, Satyaki also became filled with rage. The grandson of Sini then quickly sped at Kritavarman a sharp and broad-headed arrow in the encounter and then four other arrows. These tour arrows slew the steeds of Kritavarman, and the other cut off Kritavarman's bow. Then Satyaki pierced the charioteer of his foe and those that protected the latter's rear, with many keen shafts, to afflict his antagonist's forces. The hostile division then, afflicted with Satyaki's arrows, broke down. Thereupon, Satyaki of prowess incapable of being baffled, quickly proceeded on his way. Hear now, O king, what that hero of great valour then did unto thy troops. Having, O monarch, forded the ocean constituted by Drona's division, and filled with joy at having vanquished Kritavarman in battle, that hero then addressed his charioteer, saying, 'Proceed slowly without fear.' Beholding, however, that army of thine that abounded with cars, steeds, elephants and foot-soldiers, Satyaki once more told his charioteer, 'That large division which thou seest on left of Drona's host, and which looks dark as the clouds, consists of the elephants (of the foe). Rukmaratha is its leader. Those elephants are many, O charioteer, and are difficult of being resisted in battle. Urged by Duryodhana, they wait for me, prepared to cast away their lives. All those combatants are of princely birth, and great bowmen, and capable of displaying great prowess in battle, belonging to the country of the Trigartas, they are all illustrious car-warriors, owning standards decked with gold. Those brave warriors are waiting, desirous of battle with me. Urge the steeds quickly, O charioteer and take me thither. I shall fight with the Trigartas in the very sight of Bharadwaja's son.' Thus addressed, the charioteer, obedient to Satwata's will, proceeded slowly. Upon that bright car of solar effulgence, equipped with standard, those excellent steeds harnessed thereto and perfectly obedient to the driver, endued with speed of the wind, white as the Kunda flower, or the moon, or silver, bore him (to that spot). As he advanced to battle, drawn by those excellent steeds of the hue of a conch, those brave warriors encompassed him on all sides with their elephants, scattering diverse kinds of keen arrows capable of easily piercing everything. Satwata also fought with that elephant division, shooting his keen shafts, like a mighty cloud at the end of summer pouring torrents of rain on a mountain breast. Those elephants slaughtered with those shafts, whose touch resembled thunder sped by that foremost one among the Sinis began to fly away from the field, their tusks broken, bodies covered with blood, heads and frontal globes split open, ears and faces and trunks cut off, and themselves deprived of riders, and standards cut down, riders slain, and blankets loosened, ran away, O king, in all directions. Many amongst them, O monarch, mangled by Satwata with long shafts and calf-tooth-headed arrows and broad-headed arrows and Anjalikas and razor-faced arrows and crescent-shaped ones fled away, with blood flowing down their bodies, and themselves ejecting urine and excreta and uttering loud and diverse cries, deep as the roar of clouds. And some amongst the others wandered, and some limped, and some fell down, and some became pale and cheerless. Thus afflicted by Yuyudhana, with shafts that resembled the sun or fire, that elephant division fled away in all directions. After that elephant division was exterminated, the mighty Jalasandha, exerting himself coolly, led his elephant before Yuyudhana's car drawn by white steeds. Cased in golden Angadas, with ear-rings and diadem, armed with sword, smeared with red sandal-paste, his head encircled with a blazing chain of gold, his breast covered with a cuirass, his neck adorned with a bright chain (of gold), that hero of sinless soul, stationed on the heads of his elephant, shaking his bow decked with gold, looked resplendent, O king, like a cloud charged with lightning. Like the continent resisting the surging sea, Satyaki checked that excellent elephant of the ruler of the Magadhas that approached him with such fury. Beholding the elephant checked by the excellent shafts of Yuyudhana, the mighty Jalasandha became filled with rage. Then, O king, the enraged Jalasandha, pierced Sini's grandson on his broad chest with some shafts of great force. With another sharp and well tempered broad-headed arrow, he cut off the bow of the Vrishni hero while the latter was drawing it. And then, O Bharata, smiling the while, the heroic ruler of the Magadhas pierced the bowless Satyaki with five keen shafts. The valiant and mighty-armed Satyaki, however, though pierced with many shafts by Jalasandha, trembled not in the least. All this seemed exceedingly wonderful. Then mighty Yuyudhana without any fear, thought of the shafts (he should use). Taking up another bow, addressed Jalasandha, saying, 'Wait, Wait!' Saying this much, the grandson of Sini deeply pierced Jalasandha on his broad breast with sixty arrows, smiling the while. And with another razor-faced arrow of great sharpness he cut off Jalasandha's bow at the handle, and with three more shafts he pierced Jalasandha himself. Then Jalasandha, casting aside that bow of his with an arrow fixed thereon, hurled a lance, O sire, at Satyaki. That terrible lance, passing through the left arm of Madhava in fierce battle, entered the earth, like a hissing snake of gigantic proportion. And his left arm had thus been pierced. Satyaki, of prowess incapable of being baffled, struck Jalasandha with thirty keen shafts. Then mighty Jalasandha taking up his scimitar and large shield made of bull's hide and decked with a hundred moons whirled the former for a while and hurled it at Satwata. Cutting off the bow of Sini's grandson, that scimitar fell down on the earth, and looked resplendent like a circle of fire, as it lay on the earth. Then Yuyudhana took up another bow capable of piercing everybody, large as a Sala-offshoot, and of twang resembling the roar of Indra's thunder, and filled with rage, stretched in and then pierced Jalasandha with a single shaft. And then Satyaki, that foremost one of Madhu's race, smiling the while, cut off, with a pair of razor-faced arrows, the two arms, decked with ornaments, of Jalasandha. Thereupon, those two arms, looking like a couple of spiked maces, fell down from that foremost of elephants, like a couple of five-headed snakes falling down from a Mountain. And then, with a third razor-headed arrow, Satyaki cut off his antagonist's large head endued with beautiful teeth and adorned with a pair of beautiful ear-rings. The headless and armless trunk, of fearful aspect, dyed Jalasandha's elephant with blood. Having slain Jalasandha, in battle, Satwata quickly felled the wooden structure, O king, from that elephant's back. Bathed in blood, the elephant of Jalasandha bore that costly seat, hanging down from his back. And afflicted with the arrows of Satwata, the huge beast crushed friendly ranks as it ran wildly, uttering fierce cries of pain. Then, O sire, wails of woe arose among thy troops, at the sight of Jalasandha slain by that bull among the Vrishnis. Thy warriors then, turning their faces, fled away in all directions. Indeed, despairing of success over the foe, they set their hearts on flight. Mean. while, O king, Drona, that foremost of all wielders of bows, approached the mighty car-warrior Yuyudhana, borne by his swift coursers. Many bulls among the Kurus, beholding Sini's grandson swelling (with rage-and pride), rushed at him with fury, accompanied by Drona. Then commenced a battle, O king, between the Kurus and Drona (on one side) and Yuyudhana (on the other), that resembled the awful battle of old between the gods and the Asuras.'"

SECTION 115

"Sanjaya said, 'Shooting clouds of arrows, all those warriors, accomplished in smiting, carefully, O monarch, encountered Yuyudhana. Drona struck him with seven and seventy shafts of great keenness. And Durmarshana struck him with a dozen, Duhsasana, struck him with ten shafts. And Vikarna also pierced him on the left side as also on the centre of the chest with thirty keen shafts equipped with Kanka feathers. And Durmukha struck him with ten shafts, and Duhsasana with eight, Chitrasena, O sire, pierced him with a couple of shafts. And Duryodhana, O king, and many other heroes, afflicted that mighty car-warrior with dense showers of shafts in that battle. Though checked on all sides by those mighty car-warriors, viz., thy sons, Yuyudhana of Vrishni's race pierced each of them separately with his straight shafts. Indeed, he pierced the son of Bharadwaja with three shafts, and Duhsasana with nine, and Vikarna with five and twenty, and Chitrasena with seven, and Durmarshana with a dozen, and Vivinsati with eight, and Satyavrata with nine, and Vijaya with ten shafts. And having pierced Rukmangada also that mighty car-warrior, viz., Satyaki, shaking his bow, speedily proceeded against thy son (Duryodhana). And Yuyudhana, in the sight of all men, deeply pierced with his arrows the king, that greatest of car-warriors in the whole world. Then commenced a battle between those two. Both shooting keen arrows and both aiming countless shafts, each of those mighty car-warriors made the other invisible in that battle. And Satyaki, pierced by the Kuru king, looked exceedingly resplendent as blood copiously ran adown his body, like a sandal tree shedding its juicy secretions. Thy son also pierced by Satwata with clouds of shafts, looked beautiful like a stake set up (at a sacrifice) decked all over with gold. Then Madhava, O king, in that battle, cut off with razor-faced arrow, smiling the while, the bow of the Kuru king. And then he pierced the bowless king with countless arrows. Pierced with arrows by that foe of great activity, the king could not brook this indication of the enemy's success. Duryodhana then, taking up another formidable bow, the back of whose staff was decked with gold, speedily pierced Satyaki with a hundred arrows. Deeply pierced by thy mighty son armed with the bow, Yuyudhana became inflamed with wrath and began to afflict thy son. Beholding the king thus afflicted, thy sons, those mighty car-warriors, shrouded Satyaki with dense showers of arrows, shot with great force. Whilst being thus shrouded by those mighty car-warriors, viz., thy multitude of sons, Yuyudhana pierced each of them with five arrows, and once more with seven. And soon he pierced Duryodhana with eight swift arrows and, smiling the while, cut off the latter's bow that frightened all foes. And with a few arrows he also felled the king's standard adorned with a jewelled elephant. And slaying then the four steeds of Duryodhana with four arrows, the illustrious Satyaki felled the king's charioteer with a razor-faced shaft. Meanwhile, Yuyudhana, filled with joy, pierced the mighty car-warrior, viz., the Kuru king, with many arrows capable of penetrating into the very vitals. Then, O king, thy son Duryodhana, while being thus struck in that battle with those excellent arrows of Sini's grandson, suddenly fled away. And the king, quickly mounted the car of Chitrasena, armed with the bow. Beholding the king thus attacked by Satyaki in battle, and reduced to the position of Soma in the firmament while seized by Rahu, cries of woe arose from every section of the Kuru host. Hearing that uproar, the mighty car-warrior Kritavarman quickly proceeded to that spot where the puissant Madhava. was battling. And Kritavarman proceeded, shaking his bow, and urging his steeds, and urging his charioteer with the words, 'Go with speed, Go with speed!' Beholding Kritavarman rushing towards him like the Destroyer himself with wide-open mouth, Yuyudhana, O king, addressed his driver, saying, 'That Kritavarman, armed with arrows, is rushing in his car towards me with speed. Then, with his steeds urged to their greatest speed, and on his car duly equipped, Satyaki came upon the ruler of the Bhojas, the foremost of all bowmen. Then those two tigers among men, both inflamed with rage, and both resembling fire encountered each other like two tigers endued with great activity. Kritavarman pierced Sini's grandson with six and twenty whetted arrows of keen points, and the latter's driver with five arrows. And skilled in battle, the son of Hridika pierced, with four mighty shafts, the four excellent and well-broken steeds of Satyaki that were of the Sindhu breed. Owning a standard decked with gold, and adorned with golden mail, Kritavarman, shaking his formidable bow, whose staff was decked with gold, thus checked, Yuyudhana with shafts equipped with golden wings. Then the grandson of Sini, desirous of seeing Dhananjaya, sped with great activity eight arrows at Kritavarman. That scorcher of foes, then, deeply pierced by that mighty foe,--that invincible warrior,--began to tremble like a hill during an earthquake. After this, Satyaki, of prowess incapable of being baffled, speedily pierced Kritavarman's four steeds with three and sixty keen arrows, and his driver also with seven. Indeed, Satyaki, then aiming another arrow of golden wings, that emitted blazing flames and resembled an angry snake, or the rod of the Destroyer himself, pierced Kritavarman. That terrible arrow, penetrating through his antagonist's effulgent armour decked with gold, entered the earth, dyed with blood. Afflicted with the shafts of Satwata, and bathed in blood in that battle, Kritavarman throwing aside his bow with arrow, fell upon his car. That lion-toothed hero of immeasurable prowess, that bull among men, afflicted by Satyaki with his arrows, fell on

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his knees upon the terrace of his car. Having thus resisted Kritavarman who resembled the thousand-armed Arjuna of old, or Ocean himself of immeasurable might, Satyaki proceeded onwards. Passing through Kritavarman's division bristling with swords and darts and bows, and abounding in elephants and steeds and cars, and out of the ground rendered awful in consequence of the blood shed by foremost Kshatriyas numbering by hundreds, that bull among the Sinis proceeded onwards in the very sight of all the troops, like the slayer of Vritra through the Asura array. Meanwhile, the mighty son of Hridika, taking up another huge bow, stayed where he was, resisting Pandavas in battle.'"

SECTION 116

"Sanjaya said, 'While the (Kuru) host was shaken by the grandson of Sini in these places (through which he proceeded), the son of Bharadwaja covered him with a dense shower of arrows. The encounter that then took place between Drona and Satwata in the very sight of all the troops was extremely fierce, like that between Vali and Vasava (in days of old). Then Drona pierced the grandson of Sini on the forehead with three beautiful arrows made entirely of iron and resembling' snakes of virulent poison. Thus pierced on the forehead with those straight shafts, Yuyudhana, O king, looked beautiful like a mountain with three summits. The son of Bharadwaja always on the alert for an opportunity, then sped in that battle many other arrows of Satyaki which resembled the roar of Indra's thunder. Then he of Dasarha's race, acquainted with the highest weapons, cut off all those arrows shot from Drona's bow, with two beautifully winged arrows of his. Beholding that lightness of hand (in Satyaki), Drona, O king, smiling the while, suddenly pierced that bull among the Sinis with thirty arrows. Surpassing by his own lightness the lightness of Yuyudhana, Drona, once more, pierced the latter with fifty arrows and then with a hundred. Indeed, those mangling arrows, O king, issued from Drona's car, like vigorous snakes in wrath issuing through an ant-hill. Similarly, blood-drinking arrows shot by Yuyudhana in hundreds and thousands covered the car of Drona. We did not mark any difference, however, between the lightness of hand displayed by that foremost of regenerate ones and that displayed by him of the Satwata race. Indeed, in this respect, both those bulls among men were equal. Then Satyaki, inflamed with wrath, struck Drona with nine straight arrows. And he struck Drona's standard also with many sharp shafts. And in the sight of Bharadwaja's son, he pierced the latter's driver also with a hundred arrows. Beholding the lightness of hand displayed by Yuyudhana, the mighty car-warrior Drona piercing Yuyudhana's driver with seventy shafts, and each of his (four) steeds with three, cut off with a single arrow the standard that stood on Madhava's car. With another broad-headed arrow, equipped with feathers and with wings of gold, he cut off in that battle the bow of that illustrious hero of Madhu's race. Thereupon, the mighty car-warrior Satyaki, excited with wrath, laid aside that, taking up a huge mace, hurled it at the son of Bharadwaja. Drona, however, with many arrows of diverse forms, resisted that mace, made of iron and twined round with strings, as it coursed impetuously towards him. Then Satyaki, of prowess incapable of being baffled, took up another bow and pierced the heroic son of Bharadwaja with many arrows whetted on stone. Piercing Drona thereby in that battle, Yuyudhana uttered a leonine shout. Drona, however, that foremost of all wielders of weapons, was unable to brook that roar. Taking up a dart made of iron and equipped with golden staff Drona sped it quickly at the car of Madhava. That dart, however, fatal as Death, without touching the grandson of Sini, pierced through the latter's car and entered the earth with a fierce noise. The grandson of Sini then, O king, pierced Drona with many winged arrows. Indeed, striking him on the right arm, Satyaki, O bull of Bharata's race, afflicted him greatly. Drona also, in that battle, O king, cut off the huge bow of Madhava with a crescent-shaped arrow and smote the latter's driver with a dart. Struck with that dart, Yuyudhana's driver swooned away and for a while lay motionless on the terrace of the car. Then, O Monarch, Satyaki, acting as his own driver, achieved a superhuman feat, inasmuch as he continued to fight with Drona and hold the reins himself. Then the mighty car-warrior Yuyudhana struck that Brahmana with a hundred arrows in that battle, and rejoiced exceedingly, O monarch, at the feat he had achieved. Then Drona, O Bharata, sped at Satyaki five arrows. Those fierce arrows, piercing Satyaki's armour, drank his blood in that battle. Thus pierced with those frightful arrows, Satyaki became inflamed with wrath. In return, that hero shot many shafts at him of the golden car. Then felling on the earth with a single shaft, the driver of Drona, he caused next, with his arrows, those driverless steeds of his antagonist to fly away. Thereupon that car was dragged to a distance. Indeed, the bright chariot of Drona, O king, began to trace a thousand circles in the field of battle like a sun in motion. Then all the kings and princes (of the Kaurava host) made a loud uproar, exclaiming, 'Run, Rush, Seize the steeds of Drona.' Quickly abandoning Satyaki in that battle, O monarch, all those mighty car-warriors rushed to the place where Drona was. Beholding those car-warriors run away afflicted with the arrows of Satyaki, thy troops once more broke down and became exceedingly cheerless. Meanwhile, Drona, once more proceeding to the gate of the array, took up his station there, borne away (from Satyaki's presence) by those steeds, fleet as the wind, that had been, afflicted with the shafts of the Vrishni hero. The valiant son of Bharadwaja, beholding the array broken (in his absence) by the Pandavas and the Panchalas, made no endeavour to follow the grandson of Sini, but employed himself in protecting his (broken) array. Checking the Pandavas and the Panchalas then, the Drona fire, blazing up in wrath stayed there, consuming everything, like the sun that rises at the end of the Yuga.'"

SECTION 117

"Sanjaya said, 'Having vanquished Drona and other warriors of thy army, headed by the son of Haridika, that foremost of men, viz., that bull amongst the Sinis, O foremost one of the Kurus, laughing said unto his charioteer, 'Our foes, O Suta, had already been consumed by Kesava and Phalguna. In vanquishing them (again), we have only been the (ostensible) means. Already slain by that bull among men, viz., the son of the celestial chief, we have but slain the dead.' Saying these words unto his charioteer, that bull amongst the Sinis, that foremost of bowmen, that slayer of hostile heroes, that mighty warrior, scattering with great force his arrows all around in that dreadful battle, proceeded like a hawk in search of prey. The Kuru warriors, although they attacked him from all sides, succeeded not in resisting that foremost of car-warriors, resembling the sun himself of a thousand rays, that foremost of men, who, having pierced the Kaurava ranks, was proceeding, borne by those excellent steeds of his that were white as the moon or a conch. Indeed, O Bharata, none amongst those that fought on thy side could resist Yuyudhana of irresistible prowess, of might incapable of impairment, of valour equal to that Of him of a thousand eyes, and looking like the autumnal sun in the firmament. Then that foremost of kings, viz., Sudarsana, conversant with all modes of warfare, clad in golden coat of mail, armed with bow and arrows and filled with rage, advanced against the rushing Satyaki and endeavoured to check his course. Then the encounter that took place between them was fierce in the extreme. And both thy warriors and the Somakas, O king highly applauded the encounter as between Vritra and Vasava. Sudarsana endeavoured to pierce that foremost one of the Satwata's in that battle with hundreds of keen shafts before they could reach him. Similarly, Sudarsana, stationed on his foremost of cars, cut off, by means of his own excellent shafts in two or three fragments all the shafts that Satyaki, resembling Indra himself, sped at him. Beholding his shafts baffled by the force of Satyaki's shafts, Sudarsana of fierce energy, as if to consume (his foe), wrathfully shot beautiful arrows winged with gold. And once more he pierced his enemy with three beautiful arrows resembling fire itself and equipped with wings of gold, shot from his bow-string drawn to the ear. Those piercing through Satyaki's armour, penetrated into the latter's body. Similarly, that (prince, viz., Sudarsana), aiming four other blazing arrows, smote therewith the four steeds of Satyaki that were white as silver in hue. Thus afflicted by him the grandson of Sini, endued with great activity and possessed of prowess equal to that of Indra himself speedily slew with his keen shafts the steeds of Sudarsana and uttered a loud roar. Then cutting off with a broad-headed arrow endued with the force of Sakra's thunder, the head of Sudarsana's driver, the foremost one amongst the Sinis. with a razor-faced arrow resembling the Yuga-fire, cut off from Sudarsana's trunk his head graced with ear-rings, resembling the moon at full, and decked with an exceedingly radiant face, like the wielder of the thunder, O king, in days of old, forcibly cutting off the head of the mighty Vala in battle. That high-souled bull among the Yadus then, endued with great activity thus slaying that grandson of a prince, became filled with delight and shone resplendent, O monarch, like the chief of the celestials himself. Yuyudhana, then, that hero among men, proceeded along the track by which Arjuna had passed before him, checking (as he went) by means of clouds of shafts, all thy troops, and riding on that same car of his, O king, unto which were yoked those excellent steeds and filling everybody with amazement. All the foremost of warriors there, assembled together, applauded that foremost of amazing feats achieved by him, for he consumed all foes that came within reach of his arrows, like a conflagration consuming everything in its way.'"

SECTION 118

"Sanjaya said, 'Then that bull of Vrishni's race, viz., the high-souled Satyaki of great intelligence, having slain Sudarsana, once more addressed his driver, saying, Having forded through the almost unfordable ocean of Drona's division, teeming with cars and steeds and elephants, whose waves are constituted by arrows and darts, fishes by swords and scimitars and alligators by maces, which roar with the whiz of shafts and the clash of diverse weapons,--an ocean that is fierce and destructive of life, and resounds with the noise of diverse musical instruments, whose touch is unpleasant and unbearable to warriors of victory, and whose margin is infested with fierce cannibals represented by the force of Jalasandha.--I think, the portion of the array that remains may easily be forded like a poor stream of shallow water. Urge thou the steeds, therefore, without fear. I think, I am very near to Savyasachin. Having vanquished in battle the invincible Drona with his followers, and that foremost of warriors, viz., the son of Hridika, I think, I cannot be distant from Dhananjaya. Fear never comes to my heart even if I behold countless foes before me. These to me are like a heap of straw and grass to a blazing conflagration in the woods. Behold, the track by which the diadem-decked (Arjuna), that foremost one among the Pandavas, hath gone, is rendered uneven with large bodies of foot-soldiers and steeds and car-warriors and elephants lying slain on the ground. Behold, routed by that high-souled warrior, the Kaurava army is flying away. Behold, O charioteer, a dark brown dust is raised by those retreating cars and elephants and steeds. I think, I am very near to Arjuna of white steeds having Krishna for his charioteer. Hark, the well-known twang of Gandiva of immeasurable energy is being heard. From the character of the omens that appear to my view, I am sure that Arjuna will slay the ruler of the Sindhus before the sun sets. Without causing their strength to be spent, urge the steeds slowly to where those hostile ranks are staying, that is, to where yonder warriors headed by Duryodhana, their hands cased in leathern fences, and yonder Kamvojas of fierce deeds, clad in mail and difficult of being defeated in battle, and those Yavanas armed with bow and arrows and skilled in smiting, and under Sakas and Daradas and Barbaras and Tamraliptakas, and other countless Mlecchas, armed with diverse weapons, are,--to the spot (I repeat) where, indeed, yonder warriors headed by Duryodhana, their hands cased in leathern fences,--are waiting with their faces turned towards me and inspired with the resolution of battling with me. Regard me to have already passed through this fierce fastness, O Suta, having slain in battle all these combatants with cars and elephants and steeds and foot-soldiers that are amongst them.'

"The charioteer, thus addressed, said, 'O thou of Vrishni's race, fear I have none, O thou of prowess that cannot be baffled! If thou hast before the Jamadagni's son himself in wrath, or Drona, that foremost of car-warriors, or the ruler of the Madras himself, even then fear doth not enter my heart, O thou of mighty arms, as long as I am under the shadow Of thy protection, O slayer of foes, countless Kamvojas, clad in mail, of fierce deeds, and difficult to defeat in battle, have already been vanquished by thee, as also many Yavanas armed with bow and arrows and accomplished in smiting, including Sakas and Daradas and Tamraliptakas, and many other Mlecchas armed with various weapons. Never before did I experience fear in any battle. Why shall I, therefore, O thou of great courage, experience any fear in this miserable fray? O thou that art blessed with length of days, by which way shall I take thee to where Dhananjaya is? With whom hast thou been angry, O thou of Vrishni's race? Who are they that will fly away from battle, beholding thee endued with such a prowess, resembling the Destroyer himself as he appears at the end of the Yuga, and putting forth that prowess of thine (against thy foes)? O thou of mighty arms, who are they of whom king Vaivaswata is thinking today?'

"Satyaki said, 'Like Vasava destroying the Danavas, I shall slay these warriors with shaved heads. By slaying these Kamvojas I will fulfil my vow. Bear me thither. Causing a great carnage amongst these, I shall today repair to the dear son of Pandu. The Kauravas, with Suyodhana at their head, will today behold my prowess, when this division of Mlecchas, of shaved heads, will have been exterminated and the whole Kaurava army put to the greatest distress. Hearing the loud wails of the Kaurava host, today, mangled and broken by me in battle Suyodhana will be inspired with grief. Today, I shall show unto my preceptor, the high-souled Pandava, of white steeds, the skill in weapons acquired by me from him. Beholding today thousands of foremost warriors slain with my arrows, king Duryodhana will be plunged into great grief. The Kauravas will today behold the bow in my hands to resemble a circle of fire when, light-handed, I will stretch the bowstring for shooting my host of shafts. Beholding the incessant slaughter of his troops today, their bodies covered with blood and pierced all over with my shafts, Suyodhana will be filled with grief. While I shall slay in wrath the foremost of Kuru warriors, Suyodhana will today behold to count two Arjunas. Beholding thousands of kings slain by me in battle, king Duryodhana will be filled with grief in today's great battle. Slaying thousands of kings today, I will show my love and devotion to those high-souled ones, viz., the royal sons of Pandu. The Kauravas will know today the measure of my might and energy, and my gratefulness (to the Pandavas).'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Thus addressed, the charioteer urged to their utmost speed those well-trained coursers of delightful pace and of the hue of the moon. Those excellent animals, endued with the speed of the wind or thought, proceeded, devouring the very skies, and bore Yuyudhana to the spot where those Yavanas were. Thereupon, the Yavanas, many in

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number and endued with lightness of hands, approaching unretreating Satyaki, covered him with showers of arrows. The rushing Satyaki, however, O king, cut off by means of his own straight arrows, all those shafts and weapons of the Yavanas. Inflamed with wrath, Yuyudhana. then, with his straight shafts of great sharpness, winged with gold and vulture's feathers, cut off the heads and arms of those Yavanas. Many of those arrows, again, piercing through their coats of mail, made of iron and brass, entered the earth. Struck by the brave Satyaki in that battle, the Mlecchas began to fall down on the earth in hundreds, deprived of life. With his arrows shot in continuous lines from his bow drawn to its fullest stretch, that hero began to slay five, six, seven, or eight Yavanas at a time. Thousands of Kamvojas, and Sakas, and Barbaras, were similarly slain by Satyaki. Indeed, the grandson of Sini, causing a great carnage among thy troops, made the earth impassable and miry with flesh and blood. The field of battle was strewn with the head-gears of those robbers and their shaved heads too that looked, in consequence of their long beards, like featherless birds. Indeed, the field of battle covered with headless trunks dyed all over with blood, looked beautiful like the welkin covered with coppery clouds. Slain by Satwata by means of his straight shafts whose touch resembled that of Indra's thunder, the Yavanas covered the surface of the earth. The small remnant of those mail-clad troops vanquished in battle, O king, by Satwata, becoming cheerless, their lives on the point of being taken, broke and urging their steeds with goads and whips to their utmost speed, fled from fear in all directions. Routing the invincible Kamvoja host in battle, O Bharata, as also that host of the Yavanas and that large force of the Sakas, that tiger among men who had penetrated into thy army, viz., Satyaki, of prowess incapable of being baffled, crowned with victory, urged his charioteer, saying, 'Proceed!' Beholding that feat of his in battle, never before achieved by any one else, the Charanas and the Gandharvas applauded him highly. Indeed, O king, the Charanas, as also thy warriors, beholding Yuyudhana thus proceeded for aiding Arjuna, became filled with delight (at his heroism).'

SECTION 119

"Sanjaya said, Having the vanquished the Yavanas and the Kamvojas that foremost of car-warriors, viz., Yuyudhana, proceeded towards Arjuna, right through the midst of thy troops. Like a hunter slaying deer, that tiger among men, (Satyaki), endued with beautiful teeth, clad in excellent armour, and owning a beautiful standard, slew the Kaurava troops and inspired them with fear. Proceeding on his car, he shook his bow with great force, that bow, the back of whose staff was decked with gold, whose toughness was great, and which was adorned with many golden moons. His arms decked with golden Angadas, his head-gear adorned with gold; his body clad in golden mail, his standard and bow also was so embellished with gold, that he shone like the summit of Meru. Himself shedding such effulgence, and bearing that circular bow in his hand, he looked like a second sun in autumn, That bull among men, possessing the shoulders and the tread and eyes of a bull, looked in the midst of thy troops, like a bull in a cow-pen. Thy warriors approached him from desire of slaughter like a tiger approaching the leader, with rent temples, of an elephant-herd, standing proudly in the midst of his herd, resembling as he did and possessed as he was of the tread of an infuriated elephant. Indeed, after he had passed through Drona's division, and the unfordable division of the Bhojas, after he had forded through the sea of Jalasandha's troops as also the host of the Kamvojas, after he had escaped the alligator constituted by Hridika's son, after he had traversed those ocean-like host, many car-warriors of thy army, excited with wrath, surrounded Satyaki. And Duryodhana and Chitrasena and Duhsasana and Vivinsati, and Sakuni and Duhsaha, and the youthful Durdharshana, and Kratha, and many other brave warriors well-conversant with weapons and difficult of defeat, wrathfully followed Satyaki from behind as he proceeded onwards. Then, O sire, loud was the uproar that arose among thy troops, resembling that of the ocean itself at full tide when lashed into fury by the tempest. Beholding all those warriors rushing at him, that bull among the Sinis smilingly addressed his charioteer, saying, 'Proceed slowly. The Dhartarashtra force, swelling (with rage and pride), and teeming with elephants and steeds and cars and foot-soldiers, that is rushing with speed towards me, filling the ten points of the compass with deep roar of its cars, O charioteer, and causing the earth, the welkin, and the very seas, to tremble, therewith,--this sea of troops, O driver, I will resist in great battle, like the continent resisting the ocean swelling to its utmost height at full moon. Behold, O charioteer, my prowess which is equal to that of Indra himself in great battle. I will consume this hostile force by means of my whetted arrows. Behold these foot-soldiers and horsemen and car-warriors, and elephants slain by me in thousands, their bodies pierced with my fiery arrows.' While saying these words (unto his charioteer), those combatants from desire of battle, speedily came before Satyaki of immeasurable prowess. They made a loud noise, saying as they came, 'Slay, Rush, Wait, See, See!' Of those brave warriors that said these words, Satyaki, by means of his sharp arrows, slew three hundred horsemen and four hundred elephants. The passage at arms between those united bowmen (on the one side) and Satyaki (on the other) was exceedingly fierce, resembling that between the gods and the Asuras (in days of old). An awful carnage set in. The grandson of Sini received with his shafts resembling snakes of virulent poison that force, O sire, of thy son which looked like a mass of clouds. Shrouding every side, in that battle with his arrowy downpours, that valiant hero, O monarch, fearlessly slew a large number of thy troops. Exceedingly wonderful, O king, was the sight that I witnessed there, viz., that not an arrow even, O lord, of Satyaki failed in effect. That sea of troops, abounding in cars and elephants and steeds, and full of waves constituted by foot-soldiers, stood still as soon as it came in contact with the Satyaki continent. That host consisting of panic-stricken combatants and elephants and steeds, slaughtered on all sides by Satyaki with his shafts repeatedly turned round, and wandered hither and thither as if afflicted with the chilling blasts of winter. We saw not foot-soldiers or car-warriors or elephants or horsemen or steeds that were not struck with Yuyudhana's arrows. Not even Phalguna, O king, had caused such a carnage there as Satyaki, O monarch, then caused among those troops. That bull among men, viz., the dauntless grandson of Sini, endued with great lightness of hand and displaying the utmost skill, fighteth, surpassing Arjuna himself. Then king Duryodhana pierced the charioteer of Satwata with three keen shafts and his four steeds with four shafts. And he pierced Satyaki himself with three arrows and once again with eight. And Duhsasana pierced that bull among the Sinis with sixteen arrows. And Sakuni pierced him with five and twenty arrows and Chitrasena with five. And Duhsasana pierced Satyaki in the chest with five and ten arrows. That tiger amongst the Vrishnis then, thus struck with their arrows, proudly pierced every one of them, O monarch, with three arrows. Deeply piercing all his foes with shafts endued with great energy, the grandson of Sini, possessed of great activity and prowess, careered on the field with the celerity of a hawk. Cutting off the bow of Suvala's son and the leathern fence that cased his hand. Yuyudhana pierced Duryodhana in the centre of the chest with three shafts. And he pierced Chitrasena with a hundred arrows, and Duhsaha with ten. And that bull of Sini's race then pierced Duhsasana with twenty arrows. Thy brother-in-law (Sakuni) then, O king, taking up another bow, pierced Satyaki with eight arrows and once more with five. And Duhsasana pierced him with three. And Durmukha, O king, pierced Satyaki with a dozen shafts. And Duryodhana, having pierced Madhava with three and seventy arrows, then pierced his charioteer with three keen shafts. Then Satyaki pierced each of those brave and mighty car-warriors vigorously contending in battle together with five shafts in return. Then the foremost of car-warriors, (viz., Yuyudhana) speedily struck thy son's charioteer with a broad-headed shaft; whereupon, the latter deprived of life, fell down on the earth. Upon the fall of the charioteer, O lord, thy son's car was taken away from the battle by the steeds yoked thereto, with the speed of the wind. Then thy sons, O king, and the other warriors, O monarch, setting their eyes, on the king's car fled away in hundreds. Beholding that host fly away, O Bharata, Satyaki covered it with showers of keen shafts whetted on stone and equipped with wings of gold. Routing all thy combatants counting by thousands, Satyaki, O king, proceeded towards the car of Arjuna. Indeed, thy troops worshipped Yuyudhana, beholding him shooting arrows and protecting his charioteer and himself as he fought in battle.'"

SECTION 120

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Beholding the grandson of Sini proceeding towards Arjuna, grinding as he went that large force, what, indeed, O Sanjaya, did those shameless sons of mine do? When Yuyudhana who 'is equal to Savyasachin himself was before them, how, indeed, could those wretches, that were at the point of death, set their hearts upon battle? What also did all those Kshatriyas, vanquished in battle, then, do? How, indeed, could Satyaki of world-wide renown pass through them in battle? How also, O Sanjaya, when my sons were alive, could the grandson of Sini go to battle? Tell me all this. This is exceedingly wonderful, O sire, that I have heard from thee, viz., this encounter between one and the many, the latter, again, being all mighty car-warriors. O Suta, I think, Destiny is now unpropitious to my sons, since so many mighty car-warriors have been slain by that one warrior of the Satwata race, Alas, O Sanjaya, my army is no match for even one warrior, viz., Yuyudhana inflamed with wrath. Let all the Pandavas hang up these weapons. Vanquishing in battle Drona himself who skilled in weapons and conversant with all modes of warfare, Satyaki will slay my sons, like a lion slaying smaller animals. Numerous heroes, of whom Kritavarman is the first, contending vigorously in battle, could not slay Yuyudhana. The latter, without doubt, will slay my sons. Phalguna himself fought not in the manner in which the renowned grandson of Sini has fought.'

"Sanjaya said, 'All this, O king, has been brought about by thy evil counsels and the acts of Duryodhana. Listen attentively to what, O Bharata, I say unto thee. At the command of thy son, the Samsaptakas, rallying, all resolved upon fighting fiercely. Three thousand bowmen headed by Duryodhana, with a number of Sakas and Kamvojas and Valhikas and Yavanas and Paradas, and Kalingas and Tanganas and Amvashtas and Pisachas and Barbaras and mountaineers, O monarch, inflamed with rage and armed with stone, all rushed against the grandson of Sini like insects against a blazing fire. Five hundred other warriors, O king, similarly rushed against Satyaki. And another mighty body consisting of a thousand cars, a hundred great car-warriors, a thousand elephants, two thousand heroes, and countless foot-soldiers, also rushed against the grandson of Sini. Duhsasana, O Bharata, urging all those warriors, saying, 'Slay him, surrounded Satyaki therewith. Grand and wonderful was the conduct that we then beheld of Sini's grandson, inasmuch as alone he fought fearlessly with those innumerable foes. And he slew that entire body of car-warriors and that elephant force, and all those horsemen and that entire body of robbers. Like the autumnal firmament bespangled with stars, the field of battle there became strewn with car-wheels broken and crushed by means of his mighty weapons with innumerable Akshas and beautiful cart-shafts reduced to fragments, with crushed elephants and fallen standards, with coats of mail and shields scattered all about, with garlands and ornaments and robes and Anuskarshas, O sire! Many foremost of elephants, huge as hills, and born of the race of Anjana or Vamana, O Bharata, or of other races, many foremost of tuskers, O king, lay there on the ground, deprived of life. And Satyaki slew, O monarch, many foremost of steeds of the Vanayu, the mountain, the Kamvoja and the Valhika breeds. And the grandson of Sini also slew foot-soldiers there, in hundreds and thousands, born in various realms and belonging to various nations. Whilst those soldiers were being thus slaughtered, Duhsasana, addressing the robbers said, 'Ye warriors unacquainted with morality, fight! Why do you retreat?'

Beholding them run away without paying any heed to his words, thy soil Duhsasana urged on the brave mountaineers, skilled in fighting with stones, saying, 'Ye are accomplished in battling with stones. Satyaki is ignorant of this mode of warfare. Stay ye, therefore, that warrior who, though desirous of battle, is ignorant of your mode of fight. The Kauravas also are all unacquainted with this mode of battle. Rush ye at Satyaki. Do not fear. Satyaki will not be able to approach you.' Thus urged, those Kshatriyas dwelling on the mountains, all acquainted with the method of fighting with stones, rushed towards the grandson of Sini like ministers towards a king. Those denizens of the mountain then, with stones huge as elephants' heads uplifted in their hands, stood before Yuyudhana in that battle. Others, urged by thy son, and desirous of slaying Satwata, encompassed the latter on all sides, armed with missiles. Then, Satyaki, aiming at those warriors rushing at him from desire of fighting with stones, sped at them showers of keen shafts. That bull amongst the Sinis, with those shafts looking like snakes, cut into fragments that dense shower of stones thrown by the mountaineers. The fragments of those stones, looking like a swarm of blazing fire-flies, slew many combatants there, whereupon, O sire, cries of oh and alas arose on the field. Then, again, five hundred brave warriors with huge stones uplifted in their hands, fell down, O king, on the ground, their arms cut off. And once more a full thousand, and again a hundred thousand, amongst others, fell down without being able to approach Satyaki, their arms with stones still in grasp cut off by him. Indeed, Satyaki slew many thousands of those warriors fighting with stones. All this seemed exceedingly wonderful. Then many of them, returning to the fight, hurled at Satyaki showers of stones, And armed with swords and lances many Daradas and Tanganas and Khasas and Lampakas and Pulindas, hurled their weapons at him. Satyaki however, well-conversant with the application of weapons, cut off those stones and weapons by means of his shafts. Those stones while being pierced, broken in the welkin by Satyaki's whetted shafts, produced a fierce noise, at which many car-warriors and steeds and elephants fled away from battle. And struck with the fragments of those stones, men and elephants and steeds, became incapable of staying in battle, for they felt as if they were bit by wasps. The small remnant of the elephants (that had attacked Satyaki), covered with blood, their heads, and frontal globes split open, then fled away from, Yuyudhana's car. Then there arose among thy troops, O sire, while they were being thus ground by Madhava a noise like that of the ocean at full tide. Hearing that great uproar, Drona, addressing his charioteer, said, 'O Suta, that great car-warrior of the Satwata race, excited with wrath, is tearing our army into diverse fragments, and careering in battle like the Destroyer himself. Take thou the car to that spot whence this furious uproar is coming. Without doubt, Yuyudhana is engaged with the mountaineers who battle with stones, Our car-warriors are seen also to be borne away by their wildly running steeds. Many amongst them, weaponless and armourless and wounded, are falling down. The charioteers

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are unable to check their steeds as these are rushing wildly.' Hearing these words of Bharadwaja's son, the charioteer said unto Drona, that foremost of wielders of weapons, 'Thou blest with length of days, the Katirava troops are flying away. Behold, our warriors, routed (by the foe), are flying in all directions. There, again, those heroes, viz., the Panchalas, and the Pandavas, united together, are rushing from all sides from desire of slaughtering thee, O chastiser of foes, do thou determine which of these tasks should first demand attention. Should we stay here (to meet the advancing Pandava), or should we proceed (towards Satyaki)? As regards Satyaki, he is now far ahead of us.' While the charioteer, O sire, was speaking thus unto Bharadwaja's son, the grandson of Sini suddenly appeared to the view, engaged in slaughtering a large number of car-warriors. Those troops of thine, while being thus slaughtered by Yuyudhana, in battle, fled away from Yuyudhana's car towards where Drona's division was. Those (other) car-warriors also with whom Duhsasana had proceeded, all struck with panic, similarly rushed to the spot where Drona's car was seen.

SECTION 221

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding Duhsasana's car staying near his, the son of Bharadwaja, addressing Duhsasana, said these words, 'Why, O Duhsasana, are all these cars flying away? Is the king well? Is the ruler of the Sindhus yet alive? Thou art a prince. Thou art a brother of the king. Thou art a mighty car-warrior. Why dost thou fly away from battle? (Securing the throne to thy brother), become thou that Prince-Regent. Thou hadst formerly said unto Draupadi, 'Thou art our slave, having been won by us at dice. Without being confined to thy husbands, cast aside thy chastity. Be thou a bearer of robes to the king, my eldest brother. Thy husbands are all dead. They are as worthless as grains of sesamum without kernel.' Having said these words then, why, O Duhsasana, dost thou fly from battle now? Having thyself provoked such fierce hostilities with the Panchalas and the Pandavas, why art thou afraid in battle in the presence of Satyaki alone? Taking up the dice on the occasion of the gambling match, couldst thou not divine that those dice then handled by thee would soon transform themselves into fierce shafts resembling snakes of virulent poison? It was thou that hadst formerly applied diverse abusive epithets towards the Pandavas. The woes of Draupadi have thee for their root. Where now is that pride, that insolence, that brag of thine? Why dost thou fly, having angered the Pandavas, those terrible snakes of virulent poison? When thou that art a brave brother of Suyodhana, are intent on flight, without doubt, O hero, thou shouldst today protect, relying on the energy of thy own arms, this routed and panic-stricken Kaurava host. Without doing this, thou, however, forsakest the battle in fear and enhancest the joy of thy foes. O slayer of foes, when thou that art the leader of thy host, fliest away thus, who else will stay in battle? When thou, its refuge, art frightened, who is there that will not be frightened? Fighting with a single warrior of the Satwata race, thy heart is inclined towards flight from battle. What, however, O Kaurava, wilt thou do when thou wilt see the wielder of Gandiva in battle, or Bhimasena, or the twins (Nakula and Sahadeva)? The shafts of Satyaki, frightened by which thou seekest safety in flight, are scarcely equal to those of Phalguna in battle that resemble the sun or fire in splendour. If thy heart is firmly bent on flight, let the sovereignty of the earth then, upon the conclusion of peace, be given to king Yudhishthira the Just. Before the shafts of Phalguna, resembling snakes freed from their sloughs, enter thy body, make peace with the Pandavas. Before the high-souled Parthas, slaying thy hundred brothers in battle, wrest the earth by force, make peace with the Pandavas. Before king Yudhishthira is enraged, and Krishna also, that delighter in battle, makes peace with the Pandavas. Before the mighty-armed Bhima, penetrating into this vast host, seizes thy brothers, make peace with the Pandavas. Bhishma formerly told thy brother Suyodhana, 'The Pandavas are unconquerable in battle. O amiable one, make peace with them.' Thy wicked brother Suyodhana however, did not do it. Therefore, setting thy heart firmly on battle, fight vigorously with the Pandavas. Go quickly on thy car to the spot where Satyaki is. Without thee, O Bharata, this host will fly away. For the sake of thy own self, fight in battle with Satyaki, of prowess incapable of being baffled.' Thus addressed (by Drona), thy son said not a word in reply. Feigning not to have heard the words (of Bharadwaja's son), Duhsasana proceeded to the place where Satyaki was. Accompanied by a large force of unretreating Mlecchas, and coming upon Satyaki in battle, Duhsasana fought vigorously with that hero. Drona also, that foremost of car-warriors, excited with wrath, rushed against the Panchalas and the Pandavas, with moderate speed. Penetrating into the midst of the Pandava host in that battle, Drona began to crush their warriors by hundreds and thousands. And Drona, O king, proclaiming his name in that battle, caused a great carnage among the Pandavas, the Panchalas, and the Matsyas. The illustrious Viraketu, the son of the ruler of the Panchalas, rushed against the son of Bharadwaja who thus engaged in vanquishing the Pandava ranks. Piercing Drona with five straight shafts, that prince then pierced Drona's standard with one shaft, and then his charioteer with seven. The sight that I then beheld, O monarch, in that battle, was exceedingly wonderful, inasmuch as Drona, though exerting himself vigorously could not approach the prince of the Panchalas. Then, O sire, the Panchalas, beholding Drona checked in battle, surrounded the latter on all sides, O king, from desire of king Yudhishthira's victory. And those warriors then covered Drona along with showers of fiery shafts and strong lances and various other kinds of weapons, O king! Baffling then those dense showers of weapons by means of his own numerous shafts like the wind driving away from the welkin masses of clouds, Drona looked exceedingly resplendent. Then that slayer of hostile heroes (the son of Bharadwaja), aimed a fierce shaft endued with the effulgence of the sun or the fire, at the car of Viraketu. The shaft, O monarch, piercing through the prince of Panchala, quickly entered the earth, bathed in blood and blazing like a flame of fire. Then the prince of the Panchalas quickly fell down from his car, like a Champaka tree uprooted by the wind, falling down from a mountain summit. Upon the fall of that great bowman, that prince endued with great might, the Panchalas speedily encompassed Drona on every side. Then Chitraketu, and Sudhanwan, and Chitravarman, O Bharata, and Chitraratha also, all afflicted with grief on account of their (slain) brother, together rushed against the son of Bharadwaja, desirous of battling with him, and shooting shafts (at him) like the clouds (pouring) at the end of summer. Struck from all sides by those mighty car-warriors of royal lineage, that bull among Brahmanas mustered all his energy and wrath for their destruction. Then Drona, shot showers of shafts at them. Struck with those shafts of Drona shot from his bow to its fullest stretch those princess. O best of monarchs, became confounded and know not what to do. The angry Drona, O Bharata, beholding those princes stupefied, smilingly deprived them of their steeds and charioteers and cars in that battle. Then the illustrious son of Bharadwaja, by means of his sharp arrows and broad-headed shafts, cut off their heads, like a person plucking flowers from a tree. Deprived of life, those princes there, O king of great splendour, fell down from their cars on the earth, like the (slain) Daityas and Danavas in the battle between the gods and the Asuras in days of old. Having slain them in battle, O king, the valiant son of Bharadwaja shook his invincible bow, the back of whose staff was decked with gold. Beholding those mighty car-warriors, resembling the very celestials among the Panchalas slain, Dhrishtadyumna inflamed with rage, shed tears in that battle. Excited with wrath, he rushed, in that encounter, against Drona's car. Then, O king, cries of woe suddenly arose there at the sight of Drona covered with arrows by the prince of Panchala. Completely shrouded by the high-souled son of Prishata, Drona, however, suffered no pain. On the other hand, he continued to fight, smiling the while. The prince of the Panchalas then, furious with rage, struck Drona in the chest with many straight shafts. Deeply pierced by that mighty warrior, the illustrious son Of Bharadwaja sat down on the terrace of his car and fell into a swoon. Beholding him in that condition, Dhrishtadyumna endued with great Prowess and energy, laid aside his bow and quickly took up a sword. That mighty car-warrior then, speedily jumping down from his own car, Mounted that of Bharadwaja, O 'sire, in no time, his eyes red in wrath and impelled by the desire of cutting Drona's head from off his trunk. Meanwhile, the valiant Drona, regaining his senses, took up his bow and seeing Dhrishtadyumna arrived so near him from desire of slaughter, began to pierce that mighty car-warrior with shafts measuring a span only in length and therefore, fit to be used in close fight. Those arrows of the measure of a span and fit to be used in close fight, were known to Drona, O king! And with them he succeeded in weakening Dhrishtadyumna. The mighty Dhrishtadyumna, struck with a large number of those arrows, quickly jumped down from Drona's car. Then, that hero of great prowess, his impetuosity baffled, mounted upon his own car and once more took up his large bow. And the mighty car-warrior Dhrishtadyumna once more began to pierce Drona in that battle. And Drona also, O monarch, began to pierce the son of Prishata with his arrows. There. upon, the battle that took place between Drona and the prince of the Panchalas was wonderful in the extreme, like that between Indra and Prahlada, both desirous of the sovereignty of the three worlds. Both conversant with the ways of battle, they careered over the field, displaying diverse motions of their cars and mangling each other with their shafts, And Drona and Prishata's son, stupefying the mind of the warriors, shot showers of shafts like two mighty clouds (pouring torrents of rain) in the rainy season. And those illustrious warriors shrouded with their shafts the welkin, the points of the compass, and the earth. And all creatures, viz., the Kshatriyas, O king, and all the other combatants there, highly applauded that battle between them. And the Panchalas, O king, loudly exclaimed, 'Without doubt, Drona, having encountered Dhrishtadyumna in battle, will succumb to us. Then Drona, in that battle, quickly cut off the head of Dhristadyumna's charioteer like a person plucking a ripe fruit from a tree. Then the steeds, O king, of the high-souled Dhrishtadyumna ran away and after those steeds had carried away Dhrishtadyumna from the field, Drona, endued with great prowess, began to rout the Panchalas and the Srinjayas in that battle. Having vanquished the Pandus and the Panchalas, Bharadwaja's son of great prowess, that chastiser of foes, once more took up his station in the midst of his own array. And the Pandavas, O lord, ventured not to vanquish him in battle.'

SECTION 222

"Sanjaya said, 'Meanwhile, O king, Duhsasana rushed against the grandson of Sini, scattering thousands of shafts like a mighty cloud pouring torrents of rain. Having pierced Satyaki with sixty arrows and once more with sixteen, he failed to make that hero tremble, for the latter stood it, battle, immovable as the Mainaka mountain. Accompanied by a large throng of cars hailing from diverse realms, that foremost one of Bharata's race shot numberless arrows, and filled all the points of the compass with roars deep as those of the clouds. Beholding the Kaurava coming to battle, Satyaki of mighty arms rushed towards him and shrouded him with his shafts. They that were at the van of Duhsasana, thus covered with those arrowy showers, all fled away in fear, in the very sight of thy son. After they had fled away, O monarch, thy son Duhsasana, O king, remained fearlessly in battle and began to afflict Satyaki with arrows. And piercing the four steeds of Satyaki with four arrows, his charioteer with three, and Satyaki himself with a hundred in that battle, Duhsasana uttered a loud roar, Then, O monarch, Madhava, inflamed with rage, soon made Duhsasana's car and driver and standard and Duhsasana himself invisible by means of his straight arrows. Indeed, Satyaki entirely shrouded the brave Duhsasana with arrows. Like a spider entangling a gnat within reach by means of its threads, that vanquisher of foes quickly covered Duhsasana with his shafts. Then King Duryodhana, seeing Duhsasana thus covered with arrows, urged a body of Trigartas towards the car of Yuyudhana. Those Trigarta car-warriors, of fierce deeds, accomplished in battle, and numbering three thousand, proceeded towards Yuyudhana. Firmly resolved upon battle and swearing not to retreat, all of them encompassed Yuyudhana with a large throng of cars, Soon, however, Yuyudhana struck down five hundred of their foremost warriors stationed in the van of the force as it advanced towards him in battle, shooting showers of arrows at him. Speedily slain by that foremost one amongst the Sinis with his shafts, these fell down, like tall trees from mountain-tops uprooted by a tempest. And the field of battle, strewn with mangled elephants, O monarch, and fallen standards, and bodies of steeds decked in trappings of gold, and torn and lacerated with the shafts of Sini's grandson and weltering in blood, looked beautiful, O king, like a plain overgrown with flowering Kinsukas. Those soldiers of thine, thus slaughtered by Yuyudhana, failed to find a protector like elephants sunk in a morass. Then all of them turned towards the spot where Drona's car was, like mighty snakes making towards holes from fear of the prince of birds. Having slain those five hundred brave warriors by in means of his shafts, resembling snakes of virulent poison, that hero slowly proceeded towards the place where Dhananjaya was. And as that foremost of men was thus proceeding thy son Duhsasana quickly pierced him with nine straight arrows. That mighty bowman then (Yuyudhana), pierced Duhsasana, in return, with five straight and sharp arrows equipped with golden wings and vulturine feather. Then Duhsasana, O Bharata, smiling the while, pierced Satyaki, O monarch, with three arrows, and once more with five. The grandson of Sini, then, striking thy Son with five arrows and Cutting off his bow proceeded smilingly towards Arjuna. Then Duhsasana, inflamed with wrath and desirous of slaying the Vrishni hero, hurled at him, as he proceeded, a dart made wholly of iron. Satyaki, however, O king, cut off, with his shafts, equipped with Kanka feathers, that fierce dart Of thy son. Then, O ruler of men, then, thy son, taking up another bow, pierced Satyaki with some arrows and uttered a loud roar. Then Satyaki excited with wrath, stupefying thy son in that battle, struck him in the centre of the chest with some shafts that resembled flames of fire. And once more, he pierced Duhsasana with eight shafts made wholly of iron and having very keen points. Duhsasana, however, pierced Satyaki in return with twenty arrows. Then, the highly-blessed Satyaki, O monarch, pierced Duhsasana in the centre of the chest with three straight arrows. And the mighty car-warrior Yuyudhana, with some straight shafts slew the steeds of Duhsasana; inflamed with wrath he slew, with some straight arrows, that the latter's charioteer also. With one broad-headed arrow he then cut off thy son's bow, and with five arrows he cut the leathern fence that encased his hand. Acquainted as he was with highest weapons, Satyaki, then, with a couple of broad-headed shafts, cut off Duhsasana's standard and the wooden shafts of his car. And then with a number of keen arrows he slew both the Parshni charioteers of thy son. The latter, then, bowless and carless and steedless and driverless, was taken up by the leader

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of the Trigarta warriors on his car. The grandson of Sini, then, O Bharata, pursuing him a moment, restrained himself and slew him not, for the mighty-armed hero recollected the words of Bhimasena. Indeed, Bhimasena, O Bharata, vowed in the midst of the assembly the destruction of all thy sons in battle. Then, O lord, Satyaki, having thus vanquished Duhsasana, quickly proceeded, O king, along the track by which Dhananjaya had gone before him.'"

SECTION 123

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Were there, O Sanjaya, no mighty car-warriors in that army of mine who could slay or resist that Satyaki while he proceeded (towards Arjuna)? Of prowess incapable of being baffled, and endued with might equal to that of Sakra himself, alone he achieved feats in battle like the great Indra amidst the Danavas! Or, perhaps, the track by which Satyaki proceeded was empty? Alas, possessed of true prowess, alone he hath crushed numberless warriors! Tell me, O Sanjaya, how the grandson of Sini, alone as he was, passed through that vast force struggling with him in battle?'

"Sanjaya said, 'O king, the fierce exertions and the uproar made by thy host which abounded with cars and elephants and steeds and foot-soldiers, resembled what is seen at the end of the yuga. O giver of honours, when thy assembled host was (daily) mustered, it seemed to me that another assemblage like that of thy army had never been on earth. The gods and the Charanas, who came there said, 'This muster will be the last of its kind on earth.' Indeed, O king, never had such an array been formed before as that which was formed by Drona on the day of Jayadratha's slaughter. The uproar made by those vast bodies of soldiers rushing at one another in battle resembled that of the ocean itself lashed into fury by the tempest. In that host of thine, as also in that of the Pandavas, there were hundreds and thousands of kings, O best of men. The noise made by those angry heroes of fierce deeds while engaged in battle was tremendous and made the hair-stand on end. Then Bhimasena and Dhrishtadyumna, O sire, and Nakula and Sahadeva and king Yudhishthira the Just, loudly shouted, 'Come, Strike, Rush! The brave Madhava and Arjuna have entered the hostile army! Do that quickly by which they may easily go to where Jayadratha's car is.' Saying this, they urged their soldiers. And they continued, 'If Satyaki and Arjuna be slain, Kurus will have achieved their objects, and ourselves shall be defeated. All of you, therefore, uniting together, quickly agitate this ocean-like army (of the foe) like impetuous winds agitating the deep.' The warriors, O king, thus urged by Bhimasena and the prince of the Panchalas, smothered the Kauravas, becoming reckless of their very lives. Endued with great energy, all of them, desiring death in battle, at the point or the edge of weapons in expectation of heaven, showed not the least regard for their lives in fighting for their friends. Similarly, thy warriors, O king, desirous of great renown, and nobly resolved upon battle, stood on the field, determined to fight. In that fierce and terrible battle, Satyaki having vanquished all the combatants proceeded towards Arjuna. The rays of the sun being reflected from the bright armour of the warriors, the combatants were obliged to withdraw their eyes from those. Duryodhana also, O king, penetrated the mighty host of the high-souled Pandavas vigorously struggling in battle. The encounter that took place between him on the one side and them on the other, was exceedingly fierce, and great was the carnage that occurred there on the occasion.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'When the Pandava host was thus proceeding to battle, Duryodhana, in penetrating it, must have been placed in great distress. I hope, he did not turn his back upon the field, O Suta! That encounter between one and the many in dreadful battle, the one, again, being a king, seems to me to have been very unequal. Besides, Duryodhana hath been brought up in great luxury, in wealth and possessions, he is a king of men. Alone encountering many, I hope he did not turn back from fight.'

"Sanjaya said, 'Listen to me, O king, as I describe, O Bharata, that wonderful battle fought by thy son, that encounter between one and the many. Indeed, the Pandava army was agitated by Duryodhana in that battle, like an assemblage of lotus-stalks in a lake by an elephant. Seeing then that army thus smitten by thy son, O king, the Panchalas headed by Bhimasena rushed at them. Then Duryodhana pierced Bhimasena with ten arrows and each of the twins with three and king Yudhishthira with seven. And he pierced Virata and Drupada with six arrows, and Sikhandin with a hundred. And piercing Dhrishtadyumna with twenty arrows, he struck each of the five sons of Draupadi with three arrows. With his fierce shafts he cut off hundreds of other combatants in that battle, including elephants and car-warriors, like the Destroyer himself in wrath exterminating creatures. In consequence of his skill cultured by practice and of the power of his weapons, he seemed, as he was engaged in striking down his foes, to bend his bow incessantly drawn to a circle whether when aiming or letting off his shafts. Indeed, that formidable bow of his, the back of whose staff was decked with gold, was seen by people to be drawn into a perpetual circle as he was employed in slaying his enemies. Then king Yudhishthira, with a couple of broad-headed shafts, cut off the bow of thy son, O thou of Kuru's race, as the latter struggled in fight. And Yudhishthira also pierced him deeply with ten excellent and foremost of shafts. Those arrows, however, touching the armour of Duryodhana, quickly broke into pieces. Then the Parthas, filled with delight surrounded Yudhishthira, like the celestials and great Rishis in days of old surrounding Sakra on the occasion of the slaughter of Vritra. Thy valiant son then, taking up another bow, addressed king Yudhishthira, the son of Pandu, saying, 'Wait, Wait,' and rushed against him. Beholding thy son thus advancing in great battle, the Panchalas, cheerfully and with hopes of victory, advanced to receive him. Then Drona, desirous of rescuing the (Kuru) king, received the rushing Panchalas, like a mountain receiving masses of rain-charged clouds driven by tempest. The battle then, O king, that took place there was exceedingly fierce, making the hair stand on end, between the Pandavas, O thou of mighty arms, and thy warriors. Dreadful was the carnage of all creatures that then took place, resembling the sport of Rudra himself (at the end of the Yuga). Then there arose a loud uproar at the place where Dhananjaya was. And that uproar, O lord, making the hair stand on end, rose above all other sounds. Thus, O mighty-armed one, progressed the battle between Arjuna and thy bowmen. Thus progressed the battle between Satyaki and thy men in the midst of thy army. And thus continued the fight between Drona and his enemies at the gate of the array. Thus, indeed, O lord of the earth, continued that carnage on the earth, when Arjuna and Drona and the mighty car-warrior Satyaki were all excited with wrath.'"

SECTION 124

"Sanjaya said, 'In the afternoon of that day, O king, a dreadful battle, characterised by roars, deep as those of the clouds, once more occurred between Drona and the Somakas. That foremost of men, Drona, mounted on his car of red steeds, and intent on battle rushed against the Pandavas, with moderate speed. The valiant son of Bharadwaja, that great bowman endued with mighty strength, that hero born in an excellent pot, engaged in doing what was agreeable to thee, O king, and striking down, O Bharata, many foremost of warriors with his whetted arrows, equipped with beautiful wings, seemed to sport in that battle. Then that mighty car-warrior of the Kaikeyas, Vrihatkshatra, irresistible in battle, and the eldest of five brothers, rushed against him. Shooting many keen shafts, he greatly afflicted the preceptor, like a mighty mass of clouds pouring torrents of rain on the mountain of Gandhamadana. Then Drona, O king, excited with wrath sped at him five and ten shafts whetted on stone and equipped with wings of gold. The prince of the Kekayas, however, cheerfully cut off every one of those shafts shot by Drona, and which resembled angry snakes of virulent poison, with five shafts of his own. Beholding that lightness of hand displayed by him that bull among Brahmanas, then, sped at him eight straight shafts. Seeing those shafts shot from Drona's bow, swiftly coursing towards him, Vrihatkshatra in that battle resisted them with as many sharp shafts of his. Beholding that exceedingly difficult feat achieved by Vrihatkshatra, thy troops, O king, were filled with amazement. Then Drona, O monarch, applauding Vrihatkshatra, invoked into existence the irresistible and celestial weapon called Brahma in that battle. The prince of the Kekayas, seeing it shot by Drona in battle, baffled that Brahma weapon, O monarch, by a Brahma weapon of his own. After that weapon had been thus baffled, Vrihatkshatra, O Bharata, pierced the Brahmana with sixty shafts whetted on stone and equipped with wings of gold. Then Drona, that foremost of men, pierced the prince of the Kekayas with a powerful shaft which, penetrating through the latter's armour, (passed through his body and) entered the earth. As a black cobra, O best of kings, pierces through an ant-hill, even so did that shafts enter the earth, having pierced through the body of the Kekaya prince in that battle. Deeply pierced, O monarch, with the shafts of Drona, the prince of the Kekayas, filled with rage, and rolling his beautiful eyes, pierced Drona with seventy arrows whetted on stone and equipped with wings of gold. And with another arrow he greatly afflicted Drona's charioteer in this very vitals. Pierced by Vrihatkshatra, O sire, with arrows, Drona shot showers of keen shafts at the car of the Prince of the Kekayas. Depriving the mighty car-warrior, Vrihatkshatra, of his coolness, Drona then, with four-winged arrows, slew the four steeds of the former. With another arrow he felled Vrihatkshatra's charioteer from his niche in the car. And felling on the earth, with two other arrows, his enemy's standard and umbrella, that bull among Brahmanas, with a third shaft well-shot from his bow, pierced Vrihatkshatra himself in the chest. Thereupon, the latter, thus struck in the chest, fell down from his car.

"Upon the slaughter, O king, of Vrihatkshatra, that mighty car-warrior among the Kaikeyas, the son of Sisupala, filled with rage, addressed his charioteer, saying, 'O charioteer, proceed to the spot where Drona stayeth, clad in armour and engaged in slaying the Kaikeya and the Panchala hosts.' Hearing these words of his, the charioteer soon took that foremost of car-warriors unto Drona, by means of those fleet steeds of the Kamvoja breed. Then Dhrishtaketu, that bull among the Chedis, swelling with might, rushed towards Drona for his own destruction like an insect upon a blazing fire. Soon he pierced Drona and his steeds and car and standard with sixty shafts. And once more he struck him with many other keen shafts like a man rousing a sleeping tiger. Then Drona, with a sharp razor-faced arrow winged with vulturine feathers, cut off the middle of the bow of that mighty warrior struggling in battle. Then that powerful car-warrior, viz., the son of Sisupala, taking up another bow, pierced Drona with many shafts winged with the feathers of Kankas and peacocks. Drona then, slaying with four shafts the four steeds of Dhrishtaketu, smilingly cut off the head of the latter's charioteer from his trunk. And then he pierced Dhrishtaketu himself with five and twenty arrows. The prince of the Chedis then, quickly jumping down from his car, took up a mace, and hurled it at the son of Bharadwaja like an angry snake. Beholding that heavy mace, endued with the strength of adamant and decked with gold, coursing towards him like Death, the son of Bharadwaja cut it off with many thousands of whetted arrows. That mace, cut off by Bharadwaja's son, O sire, with many shafts, fell down, O Kaurava, making the earth echo with its noise. Beholding his mace baffled, the wrathful and brave Dhrishtaketu hurled a lance and then a dart decked with gold. Cutting off that lance with five shafts, Drona cut off that dart also with five arrows. Both those missiles, thus cut off, fell down on the earth, like a couple of snakes mangled and torn by Garuda. The valiant son of Bharadwaja then, in that battle, sped for his destruction a keen shaft at Dhrishtaketu who was battling for the destruction of Bharadwaja himself. That shaft, piercing through the armour and breast of Dhrishtaketu of immeasurable energy, entered the earth, like a swan diving into a lake overgrown with lotuses. As a hungry jay seizes and devours a little insect, even so did the heroic Drona swallows up Dhrishtaketu in that great battle. Upon the slaughter of the ruler of the Chedis, his son who was conversant with the highest weapons, excited with wrath, sought to bear the burthen of his sire. Him also, Drona, smiling, despatched to the abode of Yama by means of his shafts, like a huge and mighty tiger in the deep woods slaying an infant deer.

"While the Pandavas, O Bharata, were thus being thinned, the heroic, son of Jarasandha rushed towards Drona. Like the clouds shrouding the sun, he quickly made the mighty-armed Drona invisible in that battle by means of his arrowy showers. Beholding that lightness of hand in him, Drona, that grinder of Kshatriyas, quickly shot his shafts by hundreds and thousands. Covering (with his arrows) in that battle that foremost of car-warriors stationed on his car, Drona speedily slew the son Of Jarasandha in the very sight of all bowmen. Indeed, Drona, resembling the Destroyer himself, swallowing up every one who approached him then, like the Destroyer himself, swallowing up creatures when their hour arrives. Then Drona, O monarch, proclaiming his name in that battle, covered the Pandavas with many thousands of shafts. Those shafts shot by Drona, whetted on stone and engraved with his name, slew in that battle men and elephants and steeds by hundreds. Thus slaughtered by Drona, like the Asuras by Sakra, the Panchalas began to tremble like a herd of kine afflicted with cold. Indeed, O bull of Bharata's race, when the Pandava army was thus being slaughtered by Drona, there arose an awful wail of woe from it. Scorched by the sun and slaughtered by means of those arrows, the Panchalas then became filled with anxiety. Stupefied by Bharadwaja's son with his arrowy showers in that battle the mighty car-warriors among the Panchalas felt like persons whose thighs had been seized by alligators. Then, O king, the Chedis, the Srinjayas, the Kasis, and the Kosalas, rushed cheerfully against the son of Bharadwaja from desire of battle. And the Chedis, the Panchalas, and the Srinjayas addressed one another, saying, 'Drona is slain! Drona is slain!' Saying these words, they rushed at that hero. Indeed, all these tigers among men fell with their utmost might upon the illustrious Drona, desirous of despatching him to the abode of Yama. Then the son of Bharadwaja, by means of his shafts, despatched those brave warriors struggling vigorously in battle, especially those forest ones among the Chedis, into the presence of the King of the dead. After those foremost ones among the Chedis had been exterminated, the Panchalas, afflicted with the shafts of Drona, began to tremble. Beholding, O sire, those feats of Drona, they loudly called after Bhimasena and Dhrishtadyumna, O Bharata, and said, 'This Brahmana hath, without doubt, practised the austerest of penances and acquired great ascetic merit. Inflamed with rage in battle, he consumeth the foremost of Kshatriyas. A Kshatriya's duty is battle; a Brahmana's, the highest asceticism. A Brahmana endued with ascetic merit and learning, is capable of burning everything by his glances only. Many foremost of Kshatriyas, having approached the uncrossable and fierce fire of Drona's weapons, have, O Bharata, been blasted and consumed. The illustrious Drona,

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to the measure of his might, courage, and perseverance, stupefies all creatures and slays our troops!' Hearing these words of theirs, the mighty Kshatradharman, rightly observant of the duties of a Kshatriya, wrathfully cut off with a crescent-shaped arrow the bow of Drona with arrow fixed thereon. Then Drona, that grinder of Kshatriyas, becoming more angry still, took up another bright bow, tougher than the one he had laid aside. Fixing on it a keen arrow, destructive of hostile ranks, the preceptor, endued with great strength, sped it at the prince, drawing the bowstring to his ear. That arrow, slaying Kshatradharman entered the earth. His breast pierced through, he fell down from his vehicle on the earth. Upon the slaughter of Dhrishtadyumna's son, the (Pandava) troops began to tremble. Then the mighty Chekitana fell upon Drona, Piercing Drona with ten arrows, he once more pierced him with a shaft in the centre of his chest. And he pierced Drona's charioteer with four arrows and his four steeds also with four. The Preceptor then pierced the right arm of Chekitana with sixteen arrows, and his standard with sixteen, and his charioteer with seven. Upon the charioteer being slain, Chekitana's steeds fled away, dragging the car after them. Beholding the steeds of Chekitana pierced with the arrows of Bharadwaja's son, and his car also deprived of driver, the Panchalas and the Pandavas were filled with great fear. Drona then, O sire, routing on all sides the Panchalas and the Srinjayas united together in battle looked exceedingly resplendent. The venerable Drona, full five and eighty years of age, dark in hue and with white locks descending to his cars, careered in battle like a youth of sixteen. Indeed, O king, enemies regarded the foe-slaying Drona, as he fearlessly careered in battle, to be none else than Indra himself armed with the thunder. Then, O monarch, the mighty-armed Drupada of great intelligence said, 'This one (Drona) is slaying the Kshatriyas like a hungry tiger slaying smaller animals. The sinful Duryodhana of wicked soul will assuredly obtain the most miserable regions (in the next world). It is through his covetousness that many foremost of the Kshatriyas, slain in battle, lay prostrate on the field, like mangled bulls, weltering in blood and becoming the food of dogs and jackals.' Saying these words, O monarch, Drupada, that master of an Akshauhini of troops, placing the Parthas at his head, rushed with speed towards Drona.'"

SECTION 125

"Sanjaya said, 'When the army of the Pandavas was thus agitated on all sides, the Parthas and the Panchalas and the Somakas, retreated to a great distance. During the progress of that fierce battle, making the hair stand on end, and that universal carnage like to what happens, O Bharata, at that end of the Yuga, when, indeed, Drona of great prowess was repeatedly uttering leonine shouts, and when the Panchalas were being weakened and the Pandavas slaughtered, king Yudhishthira the Just, failing in that battle to find any refuge in that distress, began, O king, to think how the matter would end. Casting his eyes around in expectation of seeing Savyasachin, Yudhishthira, however, saw neither that son of Pritha nor Madhava. Not seeing that tiger among men viz., the ape-bannered Arjuna, and not hearing also the twang of Gandiva, the monarch became filled with anxiety, not seeing Satyaki also, that foremost of car-warriors among the Vrishnis, king Yudhishthira the Just became equally anxious. Indeed, not seeing those two foremost of men, Yudhishthira knew no peace. The high-souled king Yudhishthira the Just, of mighty arms, fearing the evil opinion of the world, began to think of Satyaki's car. Sini's grandson Satyaki, of true prowess, that dispeller of the fears of friends, hath been sent by me in the track of Phalguna. I had only one source of anxiety before, but now I have two. I should have tidings of both Satyaki and Dhananjaya, the son of Pandu. Having despatched Satyaki to follow in the track of Arjuna, whom shall I now send in the track of Satyaki? If by every means I endeavour to obtain intelligence of my brother only, without enquiring after Yuyudhana, the world will reproach me. They will say that, 'Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma, having enquired after his brother, leaves Satyaki of Vrishni's race, that hero of unfailing prowess, to his fate!' Fearing, as I do, the reproach of the world, I should therefore, send Vrikodara, the son of Pritha, in the track of the high-souled Madhava. The love I bear to the Vrishni hero, to that invincible warrior of the Satwata race, (viz., Satyaki), is not less than the love I bear to Arjuna, that slayer of foes. The delighter of the Sinis hath again, been set by me to a very heavy task. That mighty warrior, however, hath, either for the sake of a friend's request or for that of honour, penetrated into the Bharata army like a Makara into the ocean. Loud is the noise I hear of unretreating heroes, fighting together against that Vrishni hero of great intelligence. Without doubt, they are too many for him. The time, therefore, is come when I should think of his rescue. It seems to me that armed with the bow, Bhimasena, the son of Pandu, should go there where those two mighty car-warriors are. There is nothing on earth that Bhima cannot bear. If he struggles with resolution, he is a match in battle for all the bowmen in the world. Depending on the might of his own arms, he can stand against all foes. Relying on the strength of arms of that high-souled warrior, we have been able to come back from our exile in the woods and we have never been vanquished in battle. If Bhimasena, the son of Pandu, proceedeth hence to Satyaki, both Satyaki and Phalguna will derive real aid. Without doubt, I should not feel any anxiety for Satyaki and Phalguna. Both of them are accomplished in weapons, and Vasudeva himself is protecting them. (For all that, I feel anxious on their account), I should certainly seek to remove my anxiety. I shall, therefore, set Bhima to follow in the wake of Satyaki. Having done this, I should regard my arrangements complete for the rescue of Satyaki.' Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma, having settled this in his mind, addressed his charioteer and said, 'Take me to Bhima.' Hearing the command of king Yudhishthira the Just, the charioteer who was versed in horse-lore, took that car decked with gold to where Bhima was. Arrived at the presence of Bhima, the king, remembering the occasion, became unmanned by grief, and pressed Bhima with diverse solicitations. Indeed, overwhelmed with grief, the monarch addressed Bhima. And these were the words, O king, that Yudhishthira the son of Kunti then said unto him, 'O Bhima, I do not behold the standard of that Arjuna, who on a single car had vanquished all the gods, the Gandharvas and Asuras!' Then Bhimasena, addressing king Yudhishthira the Just who was in that plight, said, 'Never before did I see, or hear thy 'Words afflicted with such cheerlessness. Indeed, formerly, when we were smitten with grief, it was thou who hadst been our comforter. Rise, Rise, O king of kings, say what I am to do for thee. O giver of honours, there is nothing that I cannot do. Tell me what your commands are, O foremost one of Kuru's race! Do not set your heart on grief.' Unto Bhimasena then, the king with a sorrowful face and with eyes bathed in tears, said, sighing the while like a black cobra, 'The blasts of the conch Panchajanya, wrathfully blown by Vasudeva of world-wide renown, are being heard. It seems, from this, that thy brother Dhananjaya lieth today on the field, deprived of life. Without doubt, Arjuna having been slain, Janardana is fighting. That hero of great might, relying on whose prowess the Pandavas are alive, he to whom we always turn in times of fear like the celestials towards their chief of a thousand eyes, that hero hath, in search after the ruler of Sindhus, penetrated into the Bharata host. I know this, O Bhima, viz., that he hath gone, but he hath not yet returned. Dark in complexion, youthful in years, of curly locks, exceedingly handsome mighty car-warrior, of broad chest and long arms, possessed of the tread of an infuriated elephant, of eyes of the colour of burnished copper and like those a chakra, that brother of thine enhances the fears of foes. Blessed be thou, even this is the cause of my grief, O chastiser of foes! For Arjuna's sake, O thou of mighty arms, as also for the sake of Satwata, my grief increaseth like a blazing fire fed with libations of clarified butter. I do not see his standard. For this am I stupefied with sorrow. Without doubt, he hath been slain, and Krishna, skilled in battle, is fighting. Know also that the tiger among men, that mighty car-warrior, Satwata is slain. Alas! Satyaki hath followed in the wake of that other mighty car-warrior, with thy brother. Without seeing Satyaki also, I am stupefied by grief. Therefore, O son of Kunti, go thither, where Dhananjaya is and Satyaki also of mighty energy, if, of course, thou thinkest it thy duty to obey my words, O thou that art acquainted with duty.' Remember that I am thy eldest brother. Thou shouldst think Satyaki to be dearer to thee than Arjuna himself. O son of Pritha, Satyaki hath gone, from desire of doing good to me, in the track of Arjuna, a track that is incapable of being trod by persons of vile souls. Beholding the two Krishnas and Satyaki also of the Satwata race sound and whole, send me a message, O son of Pandu, by uttering a leonine roar.'"

SECTION 126

"Bhima said, That car which formerly bore Brahma and Isana and Indra and Varuna (to battle), mounting upon that car, have two Krishnas gone. They can have no fear of danger, Taking, however, thy command on MY head, lo, I am going. Do not grieve. Meeting with those tigers among men, I shall send thee intelligence.'

"Sanjaya said, 'Having said those words, the mighty Bhima began to prepare for setting out, repeatedly making over Yudhishthira to Dhrishtadyumna and the other friends (of the Pandava cause). Indeed, Bhimasena of mighty strength addressing Dhrishtadyumna, said, 'It is known to thee, O thou of mighty arms, how the mighty car-warrior Drona is always on the alert to seize king Yudhishthira the Just by all means in his power. Indeed, O son of Prishata, I should never place my going (to Arjuna and Satyaki) above my duty of protecting the king. King Yudhishthira, however, hath commanded me to go, I dare not contradict him. I shall go thither where the ruler of the Sindhus stayeth, at the point of death. I should, in complete truthfulness, act according to the words of my brother (Arjuna) and of Satyaki endued with great intelligence. Thou shouldst, therefore, vigorously resolved on fight, protect Yudhishthira the son of Pritha today. Of all tasks, this is thy highest duty in battle.' Thus addressed by Vrikodara, O monarch, Dhrishtadyumna replied, 'I shall do what thou wishest. Go, O son of Pritha, without any anxiety of the kind. Without slaying Dhrishtadyumna in battle, Drona will never be able to humiliate king Yudhishthira in the fight.' Thus making the royal son of Pandu over to Dhrishtadyumna, and saluting his elder brother, Bhimasena, proceeded towards the spot where Phalguna was. Before dismissing him, however, king Yudhishthira the Just, O Bharata, embraced Bhimasena and smelt his head and pronounced auspicious blessings upon him. After circumambulating a number of Brahmanas, gratified with worship and presents, and touching the eight kinds of auspicious articles, and quaffing Kairataka honey, that hero, the corners of whose eyes had become red in intoxication, felt his might to be doubled. The Brahmanas performed propitiatory ceremonies for him. Various omens, indicative of success, greeted him. Beholding them, he felt the delight of anticipated victory. Favourable winds began to blow and indicate his success. Then the mighty-armed Bhimasena, the foremost of car-warriors, clad in mail, decked with earrings and Angadas, and his hands cased in leathern fences, mounted on his own excellent car. His costly coat of mail, made of black steel and decked with gold, looked like a cloud charged with lightning. His body Was beautifully covered with yellow and red and black and white robes. Wearing a coloured cuirass that protected also his neck, Bhimasena looked resplendent like a cloud decked with a rainbow.

"While Bhimasena was on the point of setting out against thy troops from desire of battle, the fierce blasts of Panchajanya were once more heard. Hearing those loud and terrible blasts, capable of filling the three Worlds with fear, the son of Dharma once more addressed Bhimasena, saying, 'There, the Vrishni hero is fiercely blowing his conch. Indeed, that Prince of conchs is filling the earth and the welkin with its sound. Without doubt, Savyasachin having fallen into great distress, the bearer of the discus and the mace is battling with all the Kurus. Without doubt, the venerable Kunti, and Draupadi, and Subhadra, are all, with their relatives and friends, beholding today exceedingly inauspicious omens. Therefore, O Bhima, go thither with speed where Dhananjaya is. All the points of the compass [directions], O Partha, seem empty to my eyes in consequence of my (unsatisfied) desire to see Dhananjaya and owing also to Satwata., Repeatedly urged by his superior to go, the valiant son of Pandu, viz., Bhimasena, O king, casing his hands in leathern fence, took up his bow. Urged by his eldest brother, that brother, Bhimasena, who was devoted to his brother's good, caused drums to be beat. And Bhima forcibly blew his conch also and uttering leonine roars, began to twang his bow. Damping the hearts of hostile heroes by those leonine roars, and assuming a dreadful form, he rushed against his foes. Swift and well-broken steeds of the foremost breed neighing furiously, bore him. Endued with the speed of the wind or thought, their reins were held by Visoka. Then the son of Pritha, drawing the bowstring with great force, began to crush the head of the hostile array, mangling and piercing the combatants there. And as that mighty-armed hero proceeded, the brave Panchalas and the Somakas followed him behind, like the celestials following Maghavat. Then the brothers Duhsasana and Chitrasena. and Kundabhedin and Vivinsati, and Durmukha and Duhsaha and Sala, and Vinda and Anuvinda and Sumukha and Dirghavahu and Sudarsana, and Suhasta and Sushena. and Dirghalochana, and Abhaya and Raudrakarman and Suvarman and Durvimochana, approaching, encompassed Bhimasena. These foremost of car-warriors, these heroes, all looking resplendent, with their troops and followers, firmly resolved upon battle, rushed against Bhimasena. That heroic and mighty car-warrior, viz., Kunti's son Bhimasena of great prowess, thus encompassed, cast his eyes on them, and rushed against them with the impetuosity of a lion against smaller animals. Those heroes, displaying celestial and mighty weapons, covered Bhima with shafts, like clouds shrouding the risen sun. Transgressing all those warriors with impetuosity, Bhimasena rushed against Drona's division, and covered the elephant-force before him with showers of arrows. The son of the Wind-god, mangling with his shafts almost in no time that elephant division dispersed it in all directions. Indeed, like animals terrified in the forest at the roar of a Sarabha, those elephants all fled away, uttering frightful cries. Passing over that ground with speed, he then approached the division of Drona. Then the preceptor checked his course, like the continent resisting the surging sea. Smilingly, he struck the son of Pandu in his forehead with a shaft. Thereupon, the son of Pandu looked resplendent like the sun with upward rays. The preceptor thought that Bhima would show him reverence as Phalguna had done before. Addressing Vrikodara, therefore, he said, 'O Bhimasena, it is beyond thy power to enter into the hostile host, without vanquishing me, thy foe, in battle, O thou of mighty strength! Although Krishna with thy younger brother hath penetrated this host with my permission, thyself, however, will never succeed in doing so.' Hearing these words of the preceptor, the dauntless Bhima, excited with wrath, and his eyes red as blood or burnished copper, quickly replied unto Drona, saying, 'O wretch of a Brahmana, it cannot be

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that Arjuna hath entered this host with thy permission. He is invisible. He would penetrate into the host commanded by Sakra himself. If he offered thee reverential worship, it was only for honouring thee. But know, O Drona, that myself, I am not compassionate like Arjuna. On the other hand, I am Bhimasena, thy foe. We regard thee as our father, preceptor, and friend. Ourselves we look upon as thy sons. Thinking so we always humble ourselves to thee. When, however, thou usest such words towards us today, it seems that all that is altered. If thou regardest thyself as our foe, let it be as thou thinkest. Being none else than Bhima, I will presently act towards thee as I should towards a foe.' Saying this, Bhima whirling a mace, like the Destroyer himself whirling his fatal rod, hurled it, O king, at Drona. Drona, however, had quickly jumped down from his car, (and that proved his safety). For that mace pressed down into the earth the car of Drona, with its steeds, driver, and standard. Then Bhima crushed numerous warriors like the tempest crushing trees with its force. Then those sons of thine once more encompassed that foremost of car-warriors. Meanwhile, Drona, that foremost of smiters mounting another chariot, proceeded to the gate of the array and stayed there for battle. Then, O king, the angry Bhima of great prowess, covered the car-division in his front with showers of shafts. Then those mighty car-warriors, viz., thy sons, thus struck in battle, endued as they were with great strength fought with Bhima from desire of victory. Then Duhsasana, excited with wrath, hurled at Bhimasena a keen dart made entirely of iron, wishing to slay the son of Pandu. Bhima however, cut in twain that fierce dart hurled by thy son, as it coursed towards him. This feat seemed exceedingly wonderful. The mighty son of Pandu, then, with three other keen shafts, slew the three brothers Kundabhedin and Sushena and Dirghanetra. And, again, amongst those heroic sons of thine battling with him, Bhima slew heroic Vrindaraka, that enhancer of the fame of the Kurus. And again, with three other shafts, Bhima slew three other sons of thine, viz., Abhaya and Raudrakarman and Durvimochana. Thus slaughtered, O king, by that mighty warrior, thy sons surrounded, Bhima, that foremost of smiters on all sides. They then showered their arrows upon that son of Pandu, of terrible deeds, like the cloud at the end of summer pouring torrents of rain on the mountain-breast. That slayer of hosts, the heir of Pandu, received that arrowy shower, like a mountain receiving a shower of stones. Indeed, the heroic Bhima felt no pain. Then the son of Kunti, smiling the while, despatched by means of his shafts thy son Vinda and Anuvinda and Suvarman to the abode of Yama. Then the son of Pandu, O bull of Bharata's race, quickly pierced in that battle thy heroic son Sudarsan. The latter, thereupon, fell down and expired. Within a very short time, the son of Pandu, casting his glances on that car-force caused it by his shafts to fly away in all directions. Then like a herd of deer frightened at the clatter of car-wheels, or a loud shout, thy sons, in that battle, O king, afflicted with the fear of Bhimasena, suddenly broke and fled. The son of Kunti, however, pursued that large force of thy sons, and began, O king, to pierce the Kauravas from every side. Thy soldiers, O monarch, thus slaughtered by Bhimasena, fled away from battle, avoiding the son of Pandu and urging their own excellent steeds to their greatest speed. The mighty Bhimasena then, having vanquished them in battle, uttered leonine roars and made a great noise by slapping his armpits. And the mighty Bhima, having made also a fierce noise with his palms, and thereby frightened that car-force and the foremost of warriors that were in it, passed towards the division of Drona, transgressing that car-force (which he had vanquished.)'

SECTION 127

"Sanjaya said, 'After the son of Pandu had crossed that car-force, the preceptor Drona, smiling the while, covered him with showers of arrows, desirous of checking his course. Stupefying thy force then with his powers of illusion, and drinking, as it were, those shafts shot from the bow of Drona, Bhimasena rushed against those brothers (viz., thy sons). Then many kings, that were all great bowmen, urged by thy sons, rushing impetuously, began to surround him. Encompassed by them, O Bharata, Bhima smiling the while and uttering a leonine roar, took up and hurled at them with great force a fierce mace destructive of hostile ranks. That mace of adamantine strength, hurled like Indra's thunder by Indra himself, crushed, O king, thy soldiers in battle. And it seemed to fill, O king, the whole earth with loud noise. And blazing forth in splendour, that fierce mace inspired thy sons with fear. Beholding that mace of impetuous course and endued with lightning flashes, coursing towards them, thy warriors fled away, uttering frightful cries. And at the unbearable sound, O sire, of that fierce mace, many men fell down where they stood, and many car-warriors also fell down from their cars. Slaughtered by Bhimasena armed with the mace, thy warriors fled away in fear from battle, like the deer attacked by a tiger. The son of Kunti, routing in battle those valorous foes of his, impetuously crossed that force like Garuda of beautiful feathers.

"While Bhimasena, that leader of leaders of car-divisions, was engaged in such carnage, Bharadwaja's son, O king, rushed at him. And Drona, checking Bhima by means of his arrowy showers, suddenly uttered a leonine roar that inspired the Pandavas with fear. The battle that took place between Drona and the high-souled Bhima was, O king, furious and terrible and resembled the encounter between the gods and the Asuras of old. Heroic warriors by hundreds and thousands in that battle slain by the keen shafts shot from the bow of Drona. The son of Pandu then, jumping down from his car shut his eyes, O king, and rushed on foot with great speed towards the car of Drona. Indeed, as a bovine bull easily bears a heavy shower of rain, even so that tiger among men, viz., Bhima, bore that arrowy downpour from Drona's bow. Struck in that battle, o sire, by Drona, the mighty Bhima, seizing Drona's car by the shaft, threw it down with great force. Thus thrown down in battle, O king, Drona, however, quickly mounting another car, proceeded towards the gate of the array, his driver urging his steeds at that time with great speed. That feat, O thou of Kuru's race, achieved by Bhimasena, seemed exceedingly wonderful. The mighty Bhima, then, mounting upon his own car, rushed impetuously towards the army of thy son. And he crushed the Kshatriyas in battle, like a tempest crushing rows of trees. Indeed, Bhima proceeded, resisting the hostile warriors like the mountain resisting the surging sea. Coming then upon the Bhoja-troops that were protected by the son of Hridika, Bhimasena, O king, ground it greatly, and passed through it. Frightening the hostile soldiers with the sound of his palms, O sire, Bhima vanquished them all like a tiger vanquishing a herd of bovine bulls. Passing through the Bhoja division and that of the Kamvojas also, and countless tribes of Mlecchas too, who were all accomplished in fight, and beholding that mighty car-warriors, Satyaki, engaged in fight, Bhimasena, the son of Kunti, O monarch proceeded resolutely and with great speed, desirous of having a sight of Dhananjaya. Transgressing all thy warriors in that battle, the son of Pandu then sighted the mighty car-warrior Arjuna engaged in the fight. The valiant Bhima, that tiger among men, beholding Arjuna putting forth his prowess for the slaughter of the ruler of the Sindhus, uttered a loud shout, like, O monarch, the clouds roaring in the season of rains. Those terrible shouts of the roaring Bhimasena were, O thou of Kuru's race, heard by both Arjuna and Vasudeva in the midst of the battle. Both those heroes, simultaneously hearing that shout of the mighty Bhima, repeatedly shouted from desire of beholding Vrikodara Then Arjuna uttering loud roar, and Madhava also doing the same, careered in battle like a couple of roaring bulls. Hearing then that roar of Bhimasena, as also that of Phalguna armed with the bow, Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma, O king, became highly gratified. And king Yudhishthira, hearing those sounds of Bhima and Arjuna, had his grief dispelled. And the lord Yudhishthira repeatedly wished success to Dhananjaya in battle.

"While the fierce Bhima was thus roaring, the mighty-armed Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma, that foremost of virtuous men, smilingly reflected a while and thus worded the thoughts that inspired his heart, 'O Bhima, thou hast truly sent me the message. Thou hast truly obeyed the commands of thy superior. They, O son of Pandu, can never have victory that have thee for their foe. By good luck it is that Dhananjaya, capable of shooting the bow with (even) his left hand, still liveth. By good luck, the heroic Satyaki also, of prowess incapable of being baffled, is safe and sound. By good luck, it is that I hear both Vasudeva and Dhananjaya uttering these roars. He who having vanquished Sakra himself in battle, had gratified the bearer of sacrificial libations, that slayer of foes, viz., Phalguna, by good luck, still liveth in this battle. He, relying upon the might of whose arms all of us are alive, that slayer of hostile armies, Phalguna, by good luck, liveth still. He by whom with the aid of a single bow the Nivatakavachas were vanquished, those Danavas, that is, that were incapable of being defeated by the very gods, he, viz., Partha, by good luck, liveth still. He who had vanquished in Matsya's city all the Kauravas assembled together for seizing Virata's kine, that Partha, by good luck, liveth still. He who, by the might of his arms, slew fourteen thousands of Kalakeyas, that Partha, by good luck, liveth still. He who, for Duryodhana's sake, had vanquished, by the energy of his weapons, the mighty king of the Gandharvas, that Partha, by good luck, liveth still. Decked with diadem and garlands (of gold), endued with great strength, having white steeds (yoked to his car) and Krishna himself for his charioteer, that Phalguna, always dear to me, by good luck, liveth still. Burning with grief on account of the death of his son, endeavouring to achieve a most difficult feat, and even now seeking to slaughter Jayadratha, alas, he that hath made that vow, viz., Dhananjaya, will he succeed in slaying the ruler of the Sindhus in battle? After he, protected by Vasudeva, will have accomplished that vow of his, shall I behold that Arjuna again, before the sun sets? Shall the ruler of the Sindhus who is devoted to Duryodhana's welfare, slain by Phalguna, gladden his foes? Shall king Duryodhana, beholding the ruler of the Sindhus slain in battle make peace with us? Beholding his brother slain in battle by Bhimasena shall the wicked Duryodhana make peace with us? Beholding other great warriors lying prostrate on the surface of the earth, shall wicked Duryodhana give way to remorse? Shall not our hostilities cease with the single sacrifice of Bhishma? Shall that Suyodhana, make peace with us for saving the remnant (of what is still left to him and us)? Diverse reflections of this kind passed through the mind of king Yudhishthira who was overwhelmed with compassion. Meanwhile, the battle (between the Pandavas and the Kauravas) raged furiously.'"

SECTION 128

"Dhritarashtra said, 'While mighty Bhimasena was uttering those loud shouts deep as the roar of the clouds or peals of thunder, what heroes (of our side) surrounded him? I do not behold that warrior, O Sanjaya, in the three worlds, who is capable of staying before the enraged Bhimasena in battle. I do not, O son, behold him that can stay on the field of battle before Bhimasena armed with mace and resembling Death himself. Who will stand before that Bhima, not excepting Sakra himself, that destroys a car with a car and an elephant with an elephant? [i.e., using cars and elephants as weapons for destroying cars and elephants.] Who, amongst those devoted to Duryodhana's welfare stood in battle before Bhimasena excited with rage and engaged in slaughtering my sons? Who were those men that stood in battle in front of Bhimasena, engaged in consuming my sons like a forest conflagration consuming dry leaves and straw? Who were they that surrounded Bhima in battle, beholding my sons slain by him one after another like Death himself cutting off all creatures? I do not fear Arjuna so much, or Krishna so much, or Satyaki so much, or him (viz., Dhrishtadyumna) so much who was born of the sacrificial fire, as I fear Bhima. Tell me, O Sanjaya, who were those heroes that rushed against that blazing fire, represented by Bhima, which so consumed my sons?'

"Sanjaya, said, 'While the mighty car-warriors Bhimasena was uttering those roars, mighty Karna, unable to bear them, rushed at him with a loud shout, stretching his bow with great force. Indeed, the mighty Karna, desirous of battle, displayed his strength and checked Bhima's course like a tall tree withstanding tempest. The heroic Bhima also, beholding Vikartana's son before him, suddenly blazed up in wrath and sped at him with great force many shafts whetted on stone. Karna received all those shafts and sped many in return. At that encounter between Bhima and Karna, hearing the sounds of their palms, the limbs of all the struggling combatants, car-warriors, and horsemen, began to tremble. Indeed, hearing the terrible roars of Bhimasena on the field of battle, even all the foremost of Kshatriyas regarded the whole earth and the welkin to be filled with that noise. And at the fierce peals uttered by the high-souled son of Pandu, the bows of all warriors in that battle dropped on the earth. And steeds and elephants, O king, dispirited, ejected urine and excreta. Various frightful omens of evil then made their appearance. The welkin was covered with flights of vultures and Kankas during that terrific encounter between Bhima and Karna. Then Karna struck Bhima with twenty arrows, and quickly pierced the latter's charioteer also with five. Smiling the while, the mighty and active Bhima then, in that battle, quickly sped at Karna four and sixty arrows. Then Karna, O king, sped four shafts at him. Bhima, by means of his straight shafts, cut them into many fragments, O king, displaying his lightness of hand. Then Karna covered him with dense showers of arrows. Thus covered by Karna, the mighty son of Pandu, however, cut off Karna's bow at the handle and then pierced Karna with ten straight arrows. The Suta's son then, that mighty car-warrior of terrible deeds, taking up another bow and stringing it quickly, pierced Bhima in that battle (with many shafts). Then Bhima, excited with rage, struck the Suta's son with great force on the chest with three straight shafts. With those arrows sticking at his breast, Karna looked beautiful, O bull of Bharata's race, like a mountain with three tall summits. Thus pierced with mighty shafts, blood began to flow from his wounds, like torrents of liquid red-chalk down the breast of a mountain. Afflicted with those shafts shot with great force, Karna became agitated a little. Fixing an arrow then on his bow, he pierced Bhima, again, O sire! And once more he began to shoot arrows by hundreds and thousands. Suddenly shrouded with shafts by that firm bowman, viz., Karna, the son of Pandu, smiling the while, cut off Karna's bow-string. And then with a broad-headed arrow, he despatched Karna's charioteer to the abode of Yama. And that mighty car-warrior, viz., Bhima, deprived the four steeds also of Karna of their lives. The mighty car-warrior Karna then speedily jumping down, O king, from his steedless car, mounted the car of Vrishasena. The valiant Bhimasena then, having vanquished Karna in battle, uttered a loud shout deep as the roar of the clouds. Hearing that roar, O Bharata, Yudhishthira became highly gratified, knowing that Karna had been vanquished by Bhimasena. And the combatants of the Pandava army blew their conchs from every side, Their enemies, viz., thy warriors, hearing that noise, roared loudly. Arjuna stretched Gandiva, and Krishna blew Panchajanya.

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Drowning, however, all those sounds, the noise made by the roaring Bhima, was, O king, heard by all the combatants, O sire! Then those two warriors, viz., Karna, and Bhima, each struck the other with straight shafts. The son of Radha, however, shot shafts mildly, but the son of Pandu shot his with great force.'"

SECTION 129

Sanjaya said, 'After that army had (thus) been routed, and Arjuna and Bhimasena had all gone after the ruler of the Sindhus, thy son (Duryodhana) proceeded towards Drona. And Duryodhana went to the preceptor, on his single car, thinking, by the way, of diverse duties. That car of thy son, endued with the speed of the wind or thought, proceeded with great celerity towards Drona. With eyes red in wrath, thy son addressed the preceptor and said, 'O grinder of foes, Arjuna and Bhimasena, and unvanquished Satyaki, and many mighty car-warriors, defeating all our troops, have succeeded in approaching the ruler of the Sindhus. Indeed, those mighty car-warriors, who vanquished all the troops, themselves unvanquished, are fighting even there. O giver of honours, how hast thou been transgressed by both Satyaki and Bhima? O foremost of Brahmanas, this thy defeat at the hands of Satwata, of Arjuna, and of Bhimasena, is like the drying of the ocean, exceedingly wonderful in this world. People are loudly asking, 'How, indeed, could Drona, that master of the science of arms, be vanquished?' Even thus all the warriors are speaking in depreciation of thee. Destruction is certain for my luckless self in battle, when three car-warriors, O tiger among men, have if, succession transgressed thee. When, however, all this hath happened, tell us what thou hast to say on the business that awaits us. What hath happened, is past. O giver of honours, think now of what is remaining. Say quickly what should next be done for the ruler of the Sindhus on the present occasion, and let what thou sayest be quickly and properly carried out.'

"Drona said, 'Listen, O great king, to what I, having reflected much, say unto thee about what should now be done. As yet only three great car-warriors among the Pandavas have transgressed us. We have as much to fear behind those three as we have to dread before them. [The fear behind them was from the Pandava army. The fear before them was from the car-warriors who had succeeded in penetrating the Kuru host.] There, however, where Krishna and Dhananjaya are, our fear must be greater. The Bharata army hath been attacked both on the front and from behind. In this pass, I think, the protection of the ruler of the Sindhus is our first duty. Jayadratha, afraid of Dhananjaya, deserves of everything else to be protected by us. The heroic Yuyudhana and Vrikodara have both gone against the ruler of the Sindhus. All this that hath come is the fruit of that match at dice conceived by Sakuni's intellect. Neither victory nor defeat took place in the (gaming) assembly. Now that we are engaged in this sport, there will be victory or defeat. Those innocent things with which Sakuni had formerly played in the Kuru assembly and which he regarded as dice, were, in reality, invincible shafts. Truly, there where, O sire, the Kauravas were congregated, they were not dice but terrible arrows capable of mangling your bodies. At present, however, O king, know the combatants for players, these shafts for dice, and the ruler of the Sindhus, without doubt, O monarch, as the stake, in this game of battle. Indeed, Jayadratha is the great stake about which we are playing today with the enemy. Under the circumstances, therefore, O monarch, all of us becoming reckless of our very lives, should make due arrangements for the protection of the ruler of the Sindhus in battle. Engaged as we are in our present sport, it is here that we shall have victory or defeat, here, that is, where those great bowmen are protecting the ruler of the Sindhus. Go thither, therefore, with speed, and protect those protectors (of Jayadratha). As regards myself, I will stay here, for despatching others (to the presence of Jayadratha) and checking the Panchalas, the Pandus and the Srinjayas united together. Thus commanded by the preceptor, Duryodhana quickly proceeded (to the place indicated) with his followers, resolutely setting himself to (the accomplishment of) a fierce task. The two protectors of the wheels of Arjuna's car, viz., the Panchala princes, Yudhamanyu and Uttamaujas, were at that time proceeding towards Savyasachin by the skirts of the Kuru array. Thou mayest remember, O king, that formerly while Arjuna penetrated thy host from desire of battle, those two princes, O monarch, had been checked in their progress by Kritavarman. Now, the Kuru king beheld them proceeding by the skirts of his host. The mighty Duryodhana of Bharata's race lost no time in engaging in a fierce battle with those two brothers thus rushing furiously. Those two foremost of Kshatriyas, reputed as mighty car-warriors, then rushed in that battle at Duryodhana, with outstretched bows. Yudhamanyu pierced Duryodhana with twenty, and his four steeds with four shafts. Duryodhana, however, with a single shaft, cut off Yudhamanyu's standard. And thy son then cut off the former's bow also with another shaft. And then with a broad-headed arrow, the Kuru king felled Yudhamanyu's charioteer from his niche in the car. And then he pierced the four steeds of the latter with four shafts. Then Yudhamanyu, excited with wrath, quickly sped, in that battle, thirty shafts at the centre of thy son's chest. Then Uttamaujas also, excited with wrath, pierced Duryodhana's charioteer with shafts decked with gold, and despatched him to Yama's abode. Duryodhana also, O monarch, then slew the four steeds as also the two Parshni charioteers of Uttamaujas, the prince of Panchalas. Then Uttamaujas, in that battle, becoming steedless and driverless, quickly ascended the car of his brother, Yudhamanyu. Ascending on the car of his brother, he struck Duryodhana's steeds with many shafts. Slain therewith, those steeds fell down on the earth. Upon the fall of his steeds, the valiant Yudhamanyu then, by a mighty weapon, quickly cut off Duryodhana's bow and then (with another shaft), his leathern fence. That bull among men then, viz., thy son, jumping down from that steedless and driverless car, took up a mace and proceeded against the two princes of Panchala. Beholding that subjugator of hostile town, thus advancing in wrath, both Yudhamanyu and Uttamaujas jumped down from the terrace of their car. Then Duryodhana armed as he was with a mace, pressed down into the earth with that mace that foremost of cars furnished with gold, with steeds and driver and standard. Thy son then, that scorcher of foes, having thus crushed that car, steedless and driverless as he himself was, quickly ascended the car of the king of the Madras. Meanwhile, those two mighty car-warriors, viz., those two foremost Panchala princes, ascending on two other cars, proceeded towards Arjuna.'"

SECTION 130

"Sanjaya said, 'During the progress, O monarch, of that battle, making the hair stand on end, and when all the combatants were filled with anxiety and greatly afflicted, the son of Radha. O bull of Bharata's race, proceeded against Bhima for battle, like an infuriated elephant in the forest proceeding against another infuriated elephant.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'How raged that battle, in the neighbourhood of Arjuna's car, between those two mighty car-warriors, viz., Bhima and Karna, both of whom are endued with great strength? Once before Karna had been vanquished by Bhimasena in battle. How, therefore, could the mighty car-warrior Karna again proceed against Bhima? How also could Bhima proceed against the Suta's son, that mighty warrior who is reckoned as the greatest of car-warriors on earth? Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma, having prevailed over Bhishma and Drona, did not fear anybody else so much as the bowman Karna. Indeed, thinking of the mighty car-warrior Karna, he passeth his nights sleeplessly from fear. How, then, could Bhima encounter that Suta's son in battle? Indeed, O Sanjaya, how could Bhima fight with Karna, that foremost of warriors, that hero devoted to the Brahmanas endued with energy and never retreating from battle? How, indeed, did those two heroes, viz., the Suta's son and Vrikodara, fight with each other in that encounter which took place in the vicinity of Arjuna's car? Informed before of his brotherhood (with the Pandavas), the Suta's son is again, compassionate. Remembering also his words to Kunti, how could he fight with Bhima? As regards Bhima also, remembering all the wrongs formerly inflicted on him by the Suta's son, how did that hero fight with Karna in battle? My son Duryodhana, O Suta, hopeth that Karna will vanquish all the Pandavas in battle. Upon whom my wretched son resteth his hope of victory in battle, how did he fight with Bhimasena of terrible deeds? That Suta's son, relying upon whom my sons chose hostilities with those mighty car-warriors (viz., the sons of Pandu), how did Bhima fight with him? Indeed, remembering the diverse wrongs and injuries done by him, how did Bhima fight with that son of Suta? How indeed, could Bhima fight with that son of a Suta, who, endued with great valour, had formerly subjugated the whole earth on a single car? How did Bhima fight with that son of a Suta, who was born with a (natural) pair of ear-rings? Thou art skilled in narration, O Sanjaya! Tell me, therefore, in detail how the battle took place between those two, and who amongst them obtained the victory?'

"Sanjaya said, 'Leaving Radha's son, that foremost of car-warriors Bhimasena, desired to proceed to the place where those two heroes, viz., Krishna and Dhananjaya were. The son of Radha, however, rushing towards him as he proceeded, covered him, O king, with dense showers of arrows, like a cloud pouring, torrents of rain on a mountain. The mighty son of Adhiratha, his face beautiful as a full-blown lotus, lighted up with a smile, challenged Bhimasena to battle, as the latter was proceeding. And Karna said, 'O Bhima, I dreamt not that thou knowest how to fight. Why then dost thou show me thy back from desire of meeting with Arjuna? O delighter of the Pandavas, this is scarcely fit for a son of Kunti. Staying, therefore, where thou art, cover me with thy arrows.' Bhimasena, hearing that challenge of Karna, brooked it not, but wheeling his car a little, began to fight with the Suta's son. The illustrious Bhimasena showered clouds of straight shafts. Desiring also to arrive at the end of those hostilities by slaying Karna, Bhima began to weaken that hero conversant with every weapon and clad in mail, and staying before him for engaging in a single combat. Then mighty Bhima, that scorcher of foes, that wrathful son of Pandu, having slain numerous Kauravas, shot diverse showers of fierce shafts at Karna, O sire! The Suta's son, endued with great strength, swallowed, by means of the power of his own weapons, all those showers of arrows shot by that hero, possessed of the tread of an infuriated elephant. Duly favoured by knowledge, that great bowman, viz., Karna, began in that battle, O monarch, to career like a preceptor (Of Military science). The wrathful son of Radha, smiling the while, seemed to mock Bhimasena as the latter was battling with great fury. The son of Kunti brooked not that smile of Karna in the midst of many brave warriors witnessing from all sides that fight of theirs. Like a driver striking a huge elephant with a hook, the mighty Bhima, excited with rage, pierced Karna whom he had obtained within reach, with many calf-toothed shafts in the centre of the chest. And once more, Bhimasena pierced the Suta's son of variegated armour with three and seventy well-shot and keen arrows equipped with beautiful wings and eased in golden armour, each with five shafts. And soon, within the twinkling of the eye, was seen a network of shafts about Bhima's car caused by Karna. Indeed, O monarch, those shafts shot from Karna's bow completely shrouded that car with its standard and driver and the Pandava himself. Then Karna pierced the impenetrable armour of Bhima with four and sixty arrows. And excited with rage he then pierced Partha himself with many straight shafts capable of penetrating into the very vitals. The mighty-armed Vrikodara, however, disregarding those shafts shot from Karna's bow fearlessly struck the Suta's son. Pierced with those shafts, resembling snakes of virulent poison, shot from Karna's bow, Bhima, O monarch, felt no pain in that battle. The valiant Bhima then, in that encounter, pierced Karna with two and thirty broad-headed shafts of keen points and fierce energy, Karna, however, with the greatest indifference, covered, in return, with his arrows, the mighty-armed Bhimasena who was desirous of Jayadratha's slaughter. Indeed, the son of Radha, in that encounter, fought mildly with Bhima, while Bhima, remembering his former wrongs, fought with him furiously. The wrathful Bhimasena could not brook that disregard by Karna. Indeed, that slayer of foes quickly shot showers of arrows at Radha's son. Those arrows, sped in that encounter by Bhimasena, fell on every limb of Karna like cooing birds. Those arrows equipped with golden wings and keen points, shot from Bhimasena's bow, covered the son of Radha like a flight of insects covering a blazing fire. Karna, however, O king, shot showers of fierce shafts in return, O Bharata. Then Vrikodara cut off, with Many broad-headed arrows, those shafts resembling thunderbolts, shot by that ornament of battle, before they could come at him. That chastiser of foes, viz., Karna, the son of Vikartana, once more, O Bharata, covered Bhimasena with his arrowy showers. We then, O Bharata, beheld Bhima so pierced in that encounter with arrows as to resemble a porcupine with its quilts erect on its body. Like the sun holding his own rays, the heroic Bhima held in that battle all those shafts, whetted on stone and equipped with wings of gold, that were shot from Karna's bow. All his limbs bathed in blood, Bhimasena looked resplendent like an Asoka tree in spring adorned with its flowery burthen. The mighty-armed Bhima could not brook that conduct, in battle, of the mighty-armed Karna. Rolling his eyes ill wrath, he pierced Karna with five and twenty long shafts. Thereupon, Karna looked like a white mountain with many snakes of virulent poison (hanging from its sides). And once more, Bhimasena, endued with the prowess of a celestial, pierced the Suta's son who was prepared to lay down his life in battle, with six and then with eight arrows. And, again, with another arrow, the valiant Bhimasena quickly cut off Karna's bow, smiling the while. And he slew also with his shafts the four steeds of Karna and then his charioteer, and then pierced Karna himself in the chest with a number of long shafts endued with the effulgence of the sun. Those winged shafts, piercing through Karna's body, entered the earth, like the rays of the sun piercing through the clouds. Afflicted with arrows and his bow cut off, Karna, though proud of his manliness, felt great pain and proceeded to another car.'"

SECTION 131

"Dhritarashtra said, 'What, indeed, O Sanjaya, did Duryodhana say when he saw that Karna turning away from the field upon whom my sons had reposed all their hopes of victory? How, indeed, did the mighty Bhima, proud of his energy, fight? What also, O son, did Karna do after this, beholding Bhimasena in that battle resemble a blazing fire?'

"Sanjaya said, 'Mounting upon another car that was duly equipped Karna once more proceeded against the son of Pandu, with the fury of the Ocean tossed by the tempest. Beholding Adhiratha's son excited with rage, thy sons, O king, regarded Bhimasena to be already poured as a libation on the (Karna) fire. With furious twang of bowstring and terrible sounds Of his palms, the son of Radha shot dense showers of shafts towards Bhimasena's car. And once more, O monarch, a terrible encounter took Place between the heroic Karna and the high-souled Bhima. Both excited with wrath, both endued

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with mighty arms, each desirous of slaying the other, those two warriors looked at each other, as if resolved to burn each O her with their (wrathful) glances. The eyes of both were red in rage, and both breathed fiercely, like a couple of snakes. Endued with great heroism, those two chastisers of foes approached and mangled each other. Indeed, they fought with each other like two hawks endued with great activity, or like two Sarabhas excited with wrath. Then that chastiser of foes, viz., Bhima recollecting all the woes suffered by him on the occasion of the match at dice, and during his exile in the woods and residence in Virata's city, and bearing in mind the robbing of their kingdom swelling with prosperity and gems, by thy sons, and the numerous other wrongs inflicted on the Pandavas by thee and the Suta's son and remembering also the fact that thou hadst conspired to burn innocent Kunti with her sons, and calling to his memory the sufferings of Krishna in the midst of the assembly at the hands of those wretches, as also the seizure of her tresses by Duhsasana, and the harsh speeches uttered, O Bharata, by Karna, to the effect, 'Take thou another husband, for all thy husbands are dead: the sons of Pritha have sunk into hell and are like sesamum seeds without kernel,'--remembering also those other words, O son of Kuru, that the Kauravas uttered in thy presence, add the fact also that thy sons had been desirous of enjoying Krishnâ as a slave, and those harsh words that Karna spoke to the sons of Pandu when the latter, attired in deer-skins were about to be banished to the woods, and the joy in which thy wrathful and foolish son, himself in prosperity, indulged, thinking the distressed sons of Pritha as veritable straw, the virtuous Bhima that slayer of foes, remembering these and all the woes he had suffered since his childhood, became reckless of his very life. Stretching his invincible and formidable bow, the back of whose staff was decked with gold, Vrikodara, that tiger of Bharata's race, utterly reckless of his life, rushed against Karna. Shooting dense showers of bright arrows whetted on stone, Bhima shrouded the very light of the sun. Adhiratha's son, however, smiling the while, quickly baffled, by means of his own winged arrows whetted on stone, that arrowy downpour of Bhimasena. Endued with great strength and mighty arms, that mighty car-warrior, the son of Adhiratha, then pierced Bhima with nine keen arrows. Struck with those arrows, like an elephant struck with the hook. Vrikodara fearlessly rushed against the Suta's son. Karna, however, rushed against that bull among the Pandavas who was thus rushing towards him with great impetuosity and might, like an infuriated elephant against an infuriated compeer. Blowing his conch then, whose blast resembled the sound of a hundred trumpets, Karna cheerfully agitated the force that supported Bhima, like the raging sea. Beholding that force of his consisting of elephants and steeds and cars and foot-soldiers, thus agitated by Karna, Bhima, approaching the former, covered him with arrows. Then Karna caused his own steeds of the hue of swans to be mingled with those of Bhimasena's of the hue of bears, and shrouded the son of Pandu with his shafts. Beholding those steeds of the hue of bears and fleet as the wind, mingled with those of the hue of swans, cries of oh and alas arose from among the troops of thy sons. Those steeds, fleet as the wind, thus mingled together, looked exceedingly beautiful like white and black clouds, O monarch, mingled together in the firmament. Beholding Karna and Vrikodara to be both excited with wrath, great car-warriors of thy army began to tremble with fear. The field of battle where they fought soon became awful like the domain of Yama. Indeed, O best of Bharatas, it became as frightful to behold as the city of the dead. The great car, warriors of thy army, looking upon that scene, as if they were spectators of a sport in an arena, beheld not any of the two to gain any advantage over the other in that dreadful encounter. They only beheld, O king, that mingling and clash of the mighty weapons of those two warriors, as a result, O monarch, of the evil policy of thyself and thy son. Those two slayers of foes-continued to cover each other with their keen shafts. Both endued with wonderful prowess, they filled the welkin with their arrowy downpours. Those two mighty car-warriors shooting at each other keen shafts from desire of taking each other's life, became exceedingly beautiful to behold like two clouds pouring torrents of rain. Those two chastisers of foes, shooting gold-decked arrows, made the welkin look bright, O king, as if with blazing meteors. Shafts equipped with vulturine feathers, shot by those two heroes, looked like rows of excited cranes in the autumn sky. Meanwhile, Krishna and Dhananjaya, those chastisers of foes, engaged in battle with the Suta's son, thought the burthen too great for Bhima to bear. As Karna and Bhima for baffling each other's shafts, shot these arrows at each other, many elephants and steeds and men deeply struck therewith, fell down deprived of life. And in consequence of those falling and fallen creatures deprived of life counting by thousands, a great carnage, O king, took place in the army of thy sons. And soon, O bull of Bharata's race, the field of battle became covered with the bodies of men and steeds and elephants deprived of life.'"

SECTION 132

"Dhritarashtra said, 'I regard Bhimasena's prowess to be exceedingly wonderful, inasmuch as he succeeded in battling with Karna of singular activity and energy. Indeed, O Sanjaya, tell me why that Karna, who is capable of resisting in battle the very celestials with the Yakshas and Asuras and men, armed with all kinds of weapons, could not vanquish in battle Pandu's son Bhima blazing with resplendence? O tell me, how that battle took place between them in which each staked his very life. I think that in an encounter between the two, success is within reach of both as, indeed, both are liable to defeat. O Suta, obtaining Karna in battle, my son Suyodhana always ventures to vanquish the sons of Pritha with Govinda and the Satwatas. Hearing, however, of the repeated defeat in battle of Karna by Bhimasena of terrible deeds, a swoon seems to come upon me, I think, the Kauravas to be already slain, in consequence of evil policy of my son. Karna will never succeed, O Sanjaya, in vanquishing those mighty bowmen, viz., the sons of Pritha. In all the battles that Karna has fought with the sons of Pandu, the latter have invariably defeated him on the field. Indeed, O son, the Pandavas are incapable of being vanquished by the very gods with Vasava at their head. Alas, my wicked son Duryodhana knoweth it not. Having robbed Pritha's son, who is like the Lord of the treasures himself, of his wealth, my son of little intelligence seeth not the fall like a searcher of honey (in the mountains). Conversant with deceit, he regardeth it to be irrevocably his and always insulteth the Pandavas. Myself also, of unrefined soul, overcome with affection for my children, scrupled not to despise the high-souled sons of Pandu that are observant of morality. Yudhishthira, the son of Pritha, of great foresight, always showed himself desirous of peace. My sons, however, regarding him incapable, despised him. Bearing in mind all those woes and all the wrongs (sustained by the Pandavas), the mighty-armed Bhimasena battled with the Suta's son. Tell me, therefore, O Sanjaya, how Bhima and Karna, those two foremost of warriors, fought with each other, desirous of taking each other's life!'

`Sanjaya said, 'Hear, O king, how the battle took place between Karna and Bhima which resembled an encounter between two elephants in the forest, desirous of slaying each other. The son of Vikartana, O king, excited with rage and putting forth his prowess, pierced that chastiser of foes, viz., the angry Bhima of great prowess with thirty shafts. Indeed, O chief of Bharata's race, Vikartana's son struck Bhima with many arrows of keen points, decked with gold, and endued with great impetuosity. Bhima, however, with three sharp shafts cut off the bow of Karna, as the latter was engaged in striking him. And with a broad-headed arrow, the son of Pandu then felled on the earth Karna's charioteer from his niche in the car. The son of Vikartana, then desirous of slaying Bhimasena, seized a dart whose shaft was adorned with gold and stones of lapis lazuli. Grasping that fierce dart, which resembled a second dart of death, and uplifting and aiming it, the mighty son of Radha hurled it at Bhimasena with a force sufficient to take away Bhima's life. Hurling that dart, like Purandara hurling the thunderbolt, Radha's son of great strength uttered a loud roar. Hearing that roar thy sons became filled with delight. Bhima, however, with seven swift arrows, cut off in the welkin that dart endued with the effulgence of the sun or fire, hurled from the hands of Karna. Cutting off that dart, resembling a snake just freed from its slough, Bhima, O sire, as if on the lookout for taking the life-breath of the Suta's son, sped, in great wrath, many shafts in that battle that were equipped with peacock-feathers and golden wings and each of which, whetted of' stone, resembled the rod of Yama. Karna also of great energy, taking up another formidable bow, the back of whose staff was adorned with gold, and drawing it with force, shot many shafts. The son of Pandu, however, cut off all those arrows with nine straight arrows of his own. Having cut off, O ruler of men those mighty shafts shot by Vasushena, Bhima, O monarch, uttered a loud roar like that of a lion. Roaring at each other like two mighty bulls for the sake of a cow in season, or like two tigers for the sake of the same piece of meat, they endeavoured to strike each other, each being desirous of finding the other's laches. At times they looked at each other with angry eyes, like two mighty bulls in a cow-pen. Then like two huge elephants striking each other with the points of their tusks, they encountered each other with shafts shot from their bows drawn to the fullest stretch. Scorching each other, O king, with their arrowy showers, they put forth their prowess upon each other, eyeing each other in great wrath. Sometimes laughing at each other, and sometimes rebuking each other, and sometimes blowing their conchs, they continued to fight with each other. Then Bhima once more cut Karna's bow at the handle, O sire, and despatched by means of his shafts the latter's steeds, white as conchs, to the abode of Yama, and the son of Pandu also felled his enemy's charioteer from his niche in the car. Then Karna, the son of Vikartana, made steedless and driverless, and covered in that battle (with shafts), became plunged into great anxiety. Stupefied by Bhima with his arrowy showers, he knew not what to do. Beholding Karna placed in the distressful plight, king Duryodhana, trembling with wrath, commended (his brother) Durjaya, saying, 'Go, O Durjaya! There the son of Pandu is about to devour the son of Radha! Slay that beardless Bhima soon, and infuse strength into Karna!' Thus addressed, the son Durjaya, saying unto Duryodhana, 'So be it', rushed towards Bhimasena engaged (with Karna) and covered him with arrows. And Durjaya struck Bhima with nine shafts, his steeds with eight, his driver with six, his standard with three, and once more Bhima himself with seven. Then Bhimasena, excited with wrath, piercing with his shafts the very vitals of Durjaya, and his steeds and driver, despatched them of Yama's abode. Then Karna, weeping in grief, circumambulated that son of thine, who, adorned with ornaments, lay on the earth, writhing like a snake. Bhima then, having made that deadly foe of his, viz., Karna, carless, smiling by covered him with shafts and made him look like a Sataghni with numberless spikes on it. The Atiratha Karna, however, that chastiser of foes, though thus pierced with arrows, did not yet avoid the enraged Bhima in battle.'"

SECTION 133

"Sanjaya said, 'Then the carless Karna, thus once more completely defeated by Bhima, mounted another car and speedily began to pierce the son of Pandu. Like two huge elephants encountering each other with the points of their tusks, they struck each other with shafts, shot from their bows drawn to the fullest stretch. Then Karna, striking Bhimasena with showers of shafts, uttered a loud roar, and once more pierced him in the chest. Bhima, however, in return, pierced Karna with ten straight arrows and once more with twenty straight arrows. Then Karna, piercing Bhima, O king, with nine arrows in the centre of the chest, struck the latter's standard with a sharp shaft. The son of Pritha then pierced Karna in return with three and sixty arrows, like a driver striking a mighty elephant with the hook, or a rider striking a steed with a whip. Deeply pierced, O king, by the illustrious son of Pandu, the heroic Karna began to lick with his tongue the corners of his mouth, and his eyes became red in rage. Then, O monarch, Karna, sped at Bhimasena, for his destruction, a shaft capable of piercing everybody, like Indra hurling his thunderbolt. That shaft equipped with beautiful feathers sped from the bow of the Suta's son, piercing Partha in that battle, sank deep into the earth. Then the mighty-armed Bhima, with eyes red in wrath, hurled without a moment's reflection, at the Suta's son, a heavy six-sided mace, adorned with gold measuring full four cubits in length, and resembling the bolt of Indra in force. Indeed, like Indra slaying the Asuras with his thunderbolt, that hero of Bharata's race, excited with wrath, slew with that mace the well-trained steeds of the foremost breed, of Adhiratha's son. Then, O bull of Bharata's race, the mighty-armed Bhima, with a couple of razor-faced arrows, cut off the standard of Karna. And then he slew, with a number of shafts his enemy's charioteer. Abandoning that steedless and driverless and standardless car, Karna. O Bharata, cheerlessly stood on the earth, drawing his bow. The prowess that we then beheld of Radha's son was extremely wonderful, inasmuch as that foremost of car-warriors, though deprived of car, continued to resist his foe. Beholding that foremost of men, viz., the son of Adhiratha, deprived of his car, Duryodhana, O monarch, said unto (his brother) Durmukha, 'There, O Durmukha, the son of Radha hath been deprived of his car by Bhimasena. Furnish that foremost of men, that mighty car-warrior with a car.' Hearing these words of Duryodhana, thy son Durmukha, O Bharata, quickly proceeded towards Karna and covered Bhima with his shafts. Beholding Durmukha desirous of supporting the Suta's son in that battle, the son of the Wind god was filled with delight and began to lick the corners of his mouth. Then resisting Karna the while with his shafts, the son of Pandu quickly drove his car towards Durmukha. And in that moment, O king, with nine straight arrows of keen points, Bhima despatched Durmukha to Yama's abode, Upon Durmukha's slaughter, the son of Adhiratha mounted upon the car of that prince and looked resplendent, O king, like the blazing sun. Beholding Durmukha lying prostrate on the field, his very vital pierced (with shafts) and his body bathed in blood, Karna with tearful eyes abstained for a moment from the fight. Circumambulating the fallen prince and leaving him there, the heroic Karna began to breathe long and hot breaths and knew not what to do. Seizing that opportunity, O king, Bhimasena shot at the Suta's son four and ten long shafts equipped with vulturine feathers. Those blood-drinking shafts of golden wings, endued with great force illuminating the ten points as they coursed through the welkin, pierced the armour of the Suta's son, and drank his life-blood, O king, and passing through his body, sank into the earth and looked resplendent like angry snakes, O monarch, urged on by Death himself, with half their bodies inserted within their holes. Then the son of Radha, without reflecting a moment, pierced Bhima in return with four and ten fierce shafts adorned with gold. Those fierce-winged arrows, piercing through Bhima's right arms, entered the earth like birds entering a grove of trees. Striking against the earth, those arrows looked resplendent, like the blazing rays of the sun while proceeding

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towards the Asta hills. Pierced in that battle with those all-piercing arrows, Bhima began to shed copious streams of blood, like a mountain ejecting streams of water. Then Bhima pierced the Suta's son in return with three shafts endued with the impetuosity of Garuda and he pierced the latter's charioteer also with seven. Then, O king, Karna thus afflicted by Bhima's might, became exceedingly distressed. And that illustrious warrior then fled, forsaking the battle, borne away by his fleet steeds. The Atiratha Bhimasena, however, drawing his bow adorned with gold, stayed in battle, looking resplendent like a blazing fire.'"

SECTION 134

"Dhritarashtra said, 'I think, Destiny is supreme. Fie on exertion which is useless, inasmuch as the son of Adhiratha, though fighting resolutely, could not vanquish the son of Pandu. Karna boasts of his competency to vanquish in battle all the Parthas with Govinda amongst them. I do not see in the world, another warrior like Karna! I often heard Duryodhana speak in this strain. Indeed, O Suta, the wretched Duryodhana used to tell me formerly, 'Karna is a mighty hero, a firm bowman, above all fatigue. If I have that Vasushena for my ally, the very gods will not be a match for me, what need be said, therefore, O monarch, of the sons of Pandu that are weak and heartless?' Tell me therefore, O Sanjaya, what Duryodhana said, beholding that Karna defeated and looking like a snake deprived of its poison and flying away from battle. Alas, deprived of his senses, Duryodhana despatched the unsupported Durmukha, unacquainted though he was with battle, into that fiery encounter, like an insect into the blazing fire. O Sanjaya, even Aswatthaman and the ruler of the Madras and Kripa, united together, could not stand before Bhimasena. Even these know the terrible might, equal to that of ten thousand elephants, of Bhima, endued with the energy of Marut himself, as also his cruel intents. Why did they provoke the fire in battle, of that hero of cruel deeds, that warrior resembling Yama himself as the latter becomes at the end of the Yuga? It seems that Suta's son, the mighty armed Karna alone, relying on the prowess of his own arms, fought in battle with Bhimasena, disregarding the latter. That son of Pandu who vanquished Karna in battle like Purandara vanquishing an Asura, is capable of being vanquished by anybody in fight. Who is there that would, hopeful of life, approach that Bhima who, in Arjuna's quest, alone entered my host, having ground Drona himself? Who, indeed, is there, O Sanjaya, that would dare stay in the face of Bhima? Who is there among the Asuras that would venture to stay before the great Indra with the thunderbolt uplifted in his hand? A man may return having entered the abode of the dead, but none, however, can return having encountered Bhimasena! Those men of weak prowess, who senselessly rushed against the angry Bhimasena were like insects falling upon a blazing fire. Without doubt, reflecting upon what the angry and fierce Bhima had said in the assembly in the hearing of the Kurus about the slaughter of my sons, and beholding the defeat of Karna, Duhsasana and his brothers ceased to encounter Bhima from fear. That wicked son also of mine, O Sanjaya, who repeatedly said in the assembly (these words, viz.,) Karna and Duhsasana and I myself will vanquish the Pandavas in battle,'--without doubt, beholding Karna defeated and deprived of his car by Bhima, is consumed with grief in consequence of his rejection of Krishna's suit! [Literally, 'disregard of Krishna.'] Beholding his mail-clad brothers slain in battle by Bhimasena, in consequence of his own fault, without doubt, my son is burning with grief. Who that is desirous of life will make a hostile advance against Pandu's son, Bhima, excited with wrath armed with terrible weapons and standing in battle like Death himself? A man may escape from the very jaws of the Vadava fire. But it is my belief that no one can escape from before Bhima's face. Indeed, neither Partha, nor the Panchalas, nor Kesava, nor Satyaki, when excited with wrath in battle, shows the least regard for (his) life. Alas, O Suta, the very lives of my sons are in danger.'

"Sanjaya said, 'Thou, O Kaurava, that art thus grieving in view of the present carnage, thou, without doubt, art the root of this destruction of the world! Obedient to the counsels of thy sons, thou hast thyself provoked this fierce hostility. Though urged (by well-wishers) thou acceptest not the proper medicine like a man fated to die. O monarch, O best of men, having thyself drunk the fiercest and the most indigestible poison, take thou all its consequences now. The combatants are fighting to the best of their might, still thou speakest ill of them. Listen, however, to me as I describe to thee how the battle raged on.

"Beholding Karna defeated by Bhimasena, five of thy sons, those uterine brothers that were great bowmen, could not, O sire, brook it. They were Durmarshana and Duhsaha and Durmada and Durdhara and Jaya. Clad in beautiful mail, all of them rushed against the son of Pandu. Encompassing the mighty-armed Vrikodara, on all sides, they shrouded all the points of the compass with their shafts looking like flights of locusts. Bhimasena, however, in the battle, smilingly received those princes of celestial beauty thus rushing suddenly against him. Beholding thy sons advancing against Bhimasena, Radha's son, Karna rushed against that mighty warrior, shooting arrows of keen points that were equipped with golden wings and whetted on stone. Bhima, however, quickly rushed against Karna, though resisted by thy sons. Then the Kurus, surrounding Karna, covered Bhimasena with showers of straight shafts. With five and twenty arrows, O king, Bhima, armed with his formidable bow, despatched all those bulls among men to Yama's abode with their steeds and charioteers. Falling down from their cars along with their charioteers, their lifeless forms looked like large trees with their weight of variegated flowers uprooted by the tempest. The prowess that we then beheld of Bhimasena was exceedingly wonderful, inasmuch as, resisting Adhiratha's son the while, he slew those sons of thine. Resisted by Bhima with whetted arrows on all sides, the Suta's son, O king, only looked at Bhima. Bhimasena also, with eyes red in wrath, began to cast angry glances on Karna, stretching his formidable bow the while.'"

SECTION 135

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding thy sons lying (on the field), Karna of great prowess filled with great wrath, became hopeless about his life. And Adhiratha's son regarded himself guilty, seeing thy sons slain before his eyes in battle by Bhima. Then Bhimasena, recollecting the wrongs formerly inflicted by Karna, became filled with rage and began with deliberate care to pierce Karna with many keen arrows. Then Karna, piercing Bhima with five arrows, smiling the while, once more pierced him with seventy arrows, equipped with golden wings and whetted on stone. Disregarding these shafts shot by Karna, Vrikodara pierced the son of Radha in that battle with a hundred straight shafts. And once more, piercing him in his vitals with five keen arrows, Bhima, O sire, cut off with a broad-headed arrow the bow of the Suta's son. The cheerless Karna then, O Bharata, taking up another bow shrouded Bhimasena on all sides with his arrows. Then Bhima, slaying Karna's steeds and charioteer, laughed a laugh, having thus counteracted Karna's feats. Then that bull amongst men, viz., Bhima, cut off with his arrows the bow of Karna. That bow, O king, of loud twang, and the back of whose staff was decked with gold, fell down (from his hand). Then the mighty car-warrior Karna alighted from his car and taking up a mace in that battle wrathfully hurled it at Bhima. Beholding that mace, O king, impetuously coursing towards him, Vrikodara resisted it with his arrows in the sight of all thy troops. Then the son of Pandu, gifted with great prowess and exerting himself with great activity, shot a thousand arrows at the Suta's son, desirous of taking the latter's life. Karna, however, in the dreadful battle, resisting all those shafts with his own, cut off Bhima's armour also with his arrows. And then he pierced Bhima with five and twenty small shafts in the sight of all the troops. All this seemed exceedingly wonderful. Then, O monarch, Bhima, excited with rage, sped nine straight shafts at the Suta's son. Those keen shafts, piercing through Karna's coat of mail and right arm, entered the earth like snakes into an ant-hill. Shrouded with showers of shafts shot from Bhimasena's bow, Karna once more turned his back upon Bhimasena. Beholding the Suta's son turn back and flying away on foot, covered all over with the arrows of Kunti's son, Duryodhana said, 'Go ye quickly from all sides towards the car of Radha's son.' 'Then, O king, thy sons, hearing these words of their brother that were to them a surprise, rushed towards the son of Pandu for battle, shooting showers of shafts. They were Chitra, and Upachitra, and Charuchitra, and Sarasan, and Chitrayudha, and Chitravarman. All of them were well-versed in every mode of warfare. The mighty car-warrior, Bhimasena, however, felled each of those sons of thine thus rushing against him, with a single arrow. Deprived of life, they fell down on the earth like trees uprooted by a tempest. Beholding those sons of thine, all mighty car-warriors, O king, thus slain, Karna, with tearful face, recollected the word of Vidura. Mounting upon another car that was duly equipped, Karna, endued with great prowess, quickly proceeded against the son of Pandu in battle. Piercing each other with whetted arrows, equipped with wings of gold, the two warriors looked resplendent like two masses of clouds penetrated by the rays of the sun. Then the son of Pandu, excited with rage, cut off the armour of Suta's son with six and thirty broad-headed arrows of great sharpness and fierce energy. The mighty-armed Suta's son also, O bull of Bharata's race, pierced the son of Kunti with fifty straight arrows. The two warriors then, smeared with red sandal-paste with many a wound caused by each other's arrows, and covered also with gore, looked resplendent like the risen sun and the moon. Their coats of mail cut off by means of arrows, and their bodies covered with blood, Karna and Bhima then looked like a couple of snakes just freed from their sloughs. Indeed, those two tigers among men mangled each other with their arrows, like two tigers mangling each other with their teeth. The two heroes incessantly showered their shafts, like two masses of clouds pouring torrents of rain. Those two chastisers of foes tore each other's body with their arrows, like two elephants tearing each other with the points of their tusks. Roaring at each other and showering their arrows upon each other, causing their cars to trace beautiful circles. They resembled a couple of mighty bulls roaring at each other in the presence of a cow in her season. Indeed, those two lions among men then looked like a couple of mighty lions endued with eyes red in wrath, these two warriors endued with great energy fought on like Sakra and Virochana's son (Prahlada). Then, O king, the mighty-armed Bhima, as he stretched his bow with his two hands, looked like a cloud charged with lightning. Then mighty Bhima-cloud, having the twang of the bow for its thunder and incessant showers of arrows for its rainy downpour, covered, O king, the Karna-mountain. And once more Pandu's son, Bhima of terrible prowess, O Bharata, shrouded Karna with a thousand shafts shot from his bow. And as he shrouded Karna with his winged shafts, equipped with Kanka feathers, thy sons witnessed his extra ordinary prowess. Gladdening Partha himself and the illustrious Kesava, Satyaki and the two protectors of (two) wheels (of Arjuna's car), Bhima fought even thus with Karna. Beholding the perseverance of Bhima who knew his own self, thy sons, O monarch, all became cheerless.'"

SECTION 136

"Sanjaya said, 'Hearing the twang of Bhimasena's bow and the sound of his palms, the son of Radha could not brook it, like an infuriated elephant incapable of brooking the roars of an infuriated rival. Returning for a moment from before Bhimasena, Karna cast his eyes upon those sons of thine that had been slain by Bhimasena, Beholding them, O best of men, Karna became cheerless and plunged in grief. Breathing hot and long sighs, he, once more, proceeded against the son of Pandu. With eyes red as copper, and sighing in wrath like a mighty snake, Karna then, as he shot his arrows, looked resplendent like the sun scattering his rays. Indeed, O bull of Bharata's race, Vrikodara was then covered with the arrows, resembling the spreading rays of the sun that were shot from Karna's bow. The beautiful shafts, equipped with peacock-feathers, shot from Karna's bow, penetrated into every part of Bhima's body, like birds into a tree for roosting there. Indeed, the arrows, equipped with wings of gold, shot from Karna's bow falling incessantly, resembled continuous rows of cranes. So numerous were the shafts shot by Adhiratha's son that, these seemed to issue not from his bow alone but from his standard, his umbrella, and the shaft and yoke and bottom of his car also. Indeed, Adhiratha's son shot his sky-ranging shafts of impetuous energy, decked with gold and equipped with vulturine feathers, in such a way as to fill the entire welkin with them. Beholding him (thus) excited with fury and rushing towards him like the Destroyer himself, Vrikodara, becoming utterly reckless of his life and prevailing over his foe, pierced him with nine shafts. Beholding the irresistible impetuosity of Karna as also that dense shower of arrows, Bhima, endued as he was with great prowess, quailed not in fear. The son of Pandu then counteracting that arrowy downpour of Adhiratha's son, pierced Karna himself with twenty other sharp shafts. Indeed, as Pritha's son himself had before been shrouded by the Suta's son, even so was the latter now shrouded by the former in that battle. Beholding the prowess of Bhimasena in battle, thy warriors, as also the Gharanas, filled with joy; applauded him. Bhurisravas, and Kripa, and Drona's son, and the ruler of the Madras, and Uttamaujas and Yudhamanyu, and Kesava, and Arjuna,--these great car-warriors: O king, among both the Kurus and the Pandavas,--loudly cheered Bhima, saying, 'Excellent, Excellent,' and uttered leonine roars. When that fierce uproar, making the hair stand on end rose, thy son Duryodhana, O king, quickly said unto all the kings and princes and particularly his uterine brothers, these words, 'Blessed be ye, proceed towards Karna for rescuing him from Vrikodara, else the shafts shot from Bhima's bow will slay the son of Radha. Ye mighty bowmen, strive ye to protect the Suta's son.' Thus commanded by Duryodhana, seven of his uterine brothers, O sire, rushing in wrath towards Bhimasena, encompassed him on all sides. Approaching the son of Kunti they covered him with showers of arrows, like clouds pouring torrents of rain on the mountain-breast in the season of rains. Excited with wrath, those seven great car-warriors began to afflict Bhimasena, O king, like the seven planets afflicting the moon at the hour of the universal dissolution. The son of Kunti, then, O monarch, drawing his beautiful bow with great force and firm grasp, and knowing that his foes were but men, aimed seven shafts. And lord Bhima in great rage sped at them those shafts, effulgent as solar rays. Indeed, Bhimasena recollecting his former wrongs, shot those shafts as if for extracting the life from out of the bodies of those sons of thine. Those arrows, O Bharata, whetted on stone and equipped with wings of gold, shot by Bhimasena, piercing through the bodies of those Bharata princes, flew into the sky. Indeed, those arrows winged with gold, piercing through the hearts of thy sons, looked beautiful, O monarch, as they passed into the sky, like birds of excellent plumage. Decked with gold and covered all over with blood, those arrows, O king, drinking the blood of thy sons passed out of their body. Pierced in their vital limbs by means of those arrows, they fell down on the earth from their cars, like tall trees growing on mountain

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precipices, broken by an elephant. The seven sons of thine that were thus slain were Satrunjaya, and Satrusaha, and Chitra, and Chitrayudha, and Dridha, and Chitrasena and Vikarna. Amongst all thy sons thus slain, Vrikodara, the son of Pandu, grieved bitterly from sorrow for Vikarna who was dear to him. And Bhima said, 'Even thus was the vow made by me, viz., that all of you should be slain by me in battle.

It is for that, O Vikarna, that thou hast been slain. My vow hath been accomplished. O hero, thou camest to battle, bearing in mind the duties of a Kshatriya. Thou wert ever engaged in our good, and especially in that of the king (our eldest brother). It is scarcely proper, therefore, for me to grieve for thy illustrious self.' Having slain those princes, O king, in the very sight of Radha's son, the son of Pandu uttered a terrible leonine roar. That loud shout of the heroic Bhima, O Bharata, informed king Yudhishthira the Just that the victory in that battle was his. Indeed, hearing that tremendous shout of Bhima armed with the bow, king Yudhishthira felt great joy in the midst of that battle. The gladdened son of Pandu, then, O king, received that leonine shout of his brother with sounds and other musical instruments. And after Vrikodara, had sent him that message by the sign agreed upon, Yudhishthira, that foremost of persons acquainted with weapons, filled with joy, rushed against Drona in battle. On the other hand, O king, beholding one and thirty of thy sons slain, Duryodhana recollected the words of Vidura.-Those beneficial words spoken by Vidura are now realised! Thinking even so, king Duryodhana was unable to do what he should. All that, during the match at dice, thy foolish and wicked son, with Karna (on his side), said unto the princes of Panchala causing her to be brought into the assembly, all the harsh words, again, that Karna said unto Krishnâ, in the same place, before thyself, O king, and the sons of Pandu, in thy hearing and that of all the Kurus, viz., O Krishna, the Pandavas are lost and have sunk into eternal hell, therefore, choose thou other husbands,--alas, the fruit of all that is now manifesting itself. Then, again, O thou of Kuru's race, diverse harsh speeches, such as sesamum seeds without kernel, etc., were applied by the wrathful sons to those high-souled ones, viz., the sons of Pandu. Bhimasena, vomiting forth the fire of wrath (which these enraged) and which he had restrained for thirteen years, is now compassing the destruction of thy sons. Indulging in copious lamentations, Viduara failed to persuade thee towards peace. O chief of the Bharatas, suffer the fruit of all that with thy sons. Thou art old, patient, and capable of foreseeing the consequences of all acts. Being so, when thou didst yet refuse to follow the counsels of thy well-wishers, it seems that all this is the result of destiny. Do not grieve, O tiger among men! All this is thy great fault. In my opinion, thou art thyself the cause of the destruction of thy sons. O monarch, Vikarna hath fallen, and Chitrasena also of great prowess. Many other mighty car-warriors and foremost ones among thy sons have also fallen. Others, again, among thy sons whom Bhima saw come within the range of his vision, O mighty-armed one, he slew in a trice. It is for thee only that I had to see our array scorched in thousands by means of the arrows shot by Pandu's son, Bhima and Vrisha (Karna)!'"

SECTION 137

"Dhritarashtra said, 'O Suta, O Sanjaya, this grievous result that has now overtaken us is, I think, certainly due to my evil policy. I had hitherto thought that what is past. But, O Sanjaya, what measures should I now adopt? I am now once more calm, O Sanjaya, therefore, tell me how this slaughter of heroes is going on, having my evil policy for its cause.'

"Sanjaya said, 'Indeed, O king, Karna and Bhima, both endued with great prowess, continued in that battle to pour their arrowy showers like two rain-charged clouds. The arrows, winged with gold and whetted on stone and marked with Bhima's name, approaching Karna, penetrated into his body, as if piercing into his very life. Similarly, Bhima also, in that battle was shrouded with the shafts of Karna in hundreds and thousands, resembling snakes of virulent poison. With their arrows, O king, failing on all sides, an agitation was produced among the troops resembling that of the very ocean. Many were the combatants, O chastiser of foes, in thy host that were deprived of life by arrows, resembling snakes of virulent poison shot from Bhima's bow. Strewn with fallen elephants and steeds mixed with the bodies of men, the field of battle looked like one covered with trees broken by a tempest. Slaughtered in battle with the arrows from Bhima's bow, thy warriors fled away, 'saying, What is this?' Indeed, that host of the Sindhus, the Sauviras, and the Kauravas, afflicted with the impetuous shafts of both Karna and Bhima, was removed to a great distance. The remnant of those brave soldiers, with their steeds and elephants killed, leaving the vicinity of both Karna and Bhima, fled away in all directions. (And they cried out), 'Verily, for the sake of the Parthas, the gods are stupefying us, since those arrows shot by both Bhima and Karna are slaying our forces. Saying those words, these troops of thine afflicted with fear avoiding the range of (Karna's and Bhima's) arrows, stood at a distance for witnessing that combat. Then, on the field of battle there began to flow a terrible river enhancing the joy of the heroes and the fears of the timid. And it was caused by the blood of elephants and steeds and men. And covered with the lifeless forms of men and elephants and steeds, with flagstaffs and the bottoms of cars, with the adornments of cars and elephants and steeds with broken cars and wheels and Akshas and Kuveras, with loud-twanged bows decked with gold, and gold-winged arrows and shafts in thousands, shot by Karna and Bhima, resembling snakes just freed from their sloughs, with countless lances and spears and scimitars and battleaxes, with maces and clubs and axes, all adorned with gold, with standards of diverse shapes, and darts and spiked clubs, and with beautiful Sataghnis, the earth, O Bharata, looked resplendent. And strewn all over with earrings and necklaces of gold and bracelets loosened (from wrists), and rings, and precious gems worn on diadems and crowns, and head-gears, and golden ornaments of diverse kinds, O sire, and coats of mail, and leathern fences, and elephants' ropes, and umbrellas displaced (from their places) and Yak-tails, and fans with the pierced bodies of elephants and steeds and men, with blood-dyed arrows, and with diverse other objects, lying about and loosened from their places, the field of battle looked resplendent like the firmament bespangled with stars. Beholding the wonderful, inconceivable, and superhuman feats of those two warriors, the Charanas and the Siddhas were exceedingly amazed. As a blazing conflagration, having the wind for its ally, courses through an (extended) heap of dry grass, even so, Adhiratha's son, engaged with Bhima, coursed fiercely in that battle. Both of them felled countless standards and cars and slew steeds and men and elephants, like a pair of elephants crushing a forest of reeds while engaged in battle with other. Thy host looked like a mass of clouds, O king, of men, and great was the carnage caused in that battle by Karna and Bhima.'"

SECTION 138

"Sanjaya said, 'Then Karna, O king, piercing Bhima with three arrows, poured countless beautiful arrows upon him. The mighty-armed Bhimasena, the son of Pandu, though thus struck by the Suta's son, showed no signs of pain but stood immovable like a hill pierced (with arrows). In return, O sire, in that battle, he deeply pierced Karna in the ear with a barbed arrow, rubbed with oil, of great keenness, and of excellent temper. (With that arrow) he felled on the earth the large and beautiful ear-ring of Karna. And it felled down, O monarch, like a blazing luminary of great effulgence from the firmament. Excited with wrath, Vrikodara, then, smiling the while, deeply pierced the Suta's son in the centre of the chest with another broad-headed arrow. And once again, O Bharata, the mighty-armed Bhima quickly shot in that battle ten long shafts that looked like snakes of virulent poison just freed from their sloughs. Shot by Bhima, those shafts, O sire, striking Karna's forehead, entered it like snakes entering an ant-hill. With those shafts sticking to his forehead, the Suta's son looked beautiful, as he did before, while his brow had been encircled with a chaplet of blue lotuses. Deeply pierced by the active son of Pandu, Karna, supporting himself on the Kuxara of his car, closed his eyes. Soon, however, regaining consciousness, Karna, that scorcher of foes, with his body bathed in blood, became mad with rage. Infuriated with rage in consequence of his being thus afflicted by that firm bowman Karna, endued with great impetuosity, rushed fiercely towards Bhimasena's car. Then, O king, the mighty and wrathful Karna, maddened with rage, shot at Bhimasena, O Bharata, a hundred shafts winged with vulturine feathers. The son of Pandu, however, disregarding his foe and setting at nought his energy, began to shoot showers of fierce arrows at him. Then Karna, O king, excited with rage, O scorcher of foes, struck the son of Pandu, that embodiment of wrath with nine arrows in the chest. Then both those tigers among men (armed with arrows and, therefore), resembling a couple of tigers with fierce teeth, poured upon each other, in that battle, their arrowy showers, like two mighty masses of clouds. They sought to frighten each other in that battle, with sounds of their palms and with showers of arrows of diverse kinds. Excited with rage, each sought in that battle to counteract the other's feat. Then that slayer of hostile heroes, viz., the mighty-armed Bhima, O Bharata, cutting off, with a razor-faced arrow, the bow of the Suta's son, uttered a loud shout. Casting off that broken bow, the Suta's son, that mighty car-warrior, took up another bow that was stronger and tougher. Beholding that slaughter of the Kuru, the Sauvira, and the Sindhu heroes, and marking that the earth was covered with coats of mail and standards and weapons lying about, and also seeing the lifeless forms of elephants, foot-soldiers and horsemen and car-warriors on all sides, the body of the Suta's son, from wrath, blazed up with effulgence. Stretching his formidable bow, decked with gold, Radha's son, O king, eyed Bhima with wrathful glances. Infuriated with rage, the Suta's son, while shooting his arrows, looked resplendent, like the autumnal sun of dazzling rays at mid-day. While employed with his hands in taking up an arrow, fixing it on the bow-string, stretching the string and letting it off, none could notice any interval between those acts. And while Karna was thus engaged in shooting his arrows right and left, his bow incessantly drawn to a circle, like a terrible circle of fire. The keen pointed arrows, equipped with wings of gold, shot from Karna's bow, covered, O king, all the points of the compass, darkening the very light of the sun. Countless flights were seen, in the welkin, of those shafts equipped with wings of gold, shot from Karna's bow. Indeed, the shafts shot from the bow of Adhiratha's son, looked like rows of cranes in the sky. The arrows that Adhiratha's son shot were all equipped with vulturine feathers, whetted on stone, decked with gold, endued with great impetuosity, and furnished with blazing points. Impelled by the force of his bow, those arrows urged by Karna, while coursing in thousands through the welkin looked beautiful like successive flights of locusts. The arrows shot from the bow of Adhiratha's son, as they coursed through the welkin, looked like one long continuously drawn arrow in the sky. Like a cloud covering a mountain with torrents of rain, Karna in rage, covered Bhima with showers of arrows. Then thy sons, O Bharata, with their troops, beheld the might, energy, prowess and perseverance of Bhima, for the latter, disregarding that arrowy downpour, resembling the raging sea, rushed in wrath against Karna, Bhima, O monarch, was armed with a formidable bow, the back of whose staff was decked with gold. He stretched it so quickly that it seemed, like a second bow of Indra, incessantly drawn to a circle. Shafts issued continuously from it seemed to fill the welkin. With those straight arrows, equipped with wings of gold, shot by Bhima, a continuous line was made in the sky that looked effulgent like a garland of gold. Then those showers of (Karna's) arrows spread in the welkin, struck by Bhimasena with his shafts, were scattered in portions and fell down on the earth. Then the sky was covered with those showers of gold-winged and swiftly-coursing arrows, of both Karna and Bhimasena, that produced sparks of fire as they clashed against each other. The very sun was then shrouded, and the very wind ceased to blow. Indeed, when the welkin was thus covered with those arrowy showers, nothing could be seen. Then the Suta's son, disregarding the energy of the high-souled Bhima, completely shrouded Bhima with other arrows and endeavoured to prevail over him. Then, O sire, those arrowy showers shot by both of them, seemed to clash against each other like two opposite currents of wind. And in consequence of that clash of the arrowy showers of those two lions among men, a conflagration, O chief of the Bharatas, seemed to be generated in the sky. Then Karna, desirous of slaying Bhima, shot at him in rage many whetted arrows equipped with wings of gold and polished by the hands of the smith. Bhima, however, cut off with his own shafts every one of those arrows into three fragments, and prevailing over the Suta's son, he cried out, 'Wait, Wait.' And the wrathful and mighty son of Pandu, like an all-consuming conflagration, once more shot in rage showers of fierce shafts. And then in consequence of their leathern fences striking against their bow-strings, loud sounds were generated. And loud also became the sound of their palms, and terrible their leonine shouts, and fierce the rattle of their car-wheels and the twang of their bow-strings. And all the combatants, O king, ceased to fight, desirous of beholding the prowess of Karna and of the son of Pandu, each of whom was desirous of slaying the other. And the celestial Rishis and Siddhas and Gandharvas, applauded them, saying, "Excellent, Excellent!' And the tribes of Vidyadharas rained flowery showers upon them. Then the wrathful and mighty-armed Bhima of fierce prowess, baffling with his own weapons the weapons of his foe, pierced the Suta's son with many shafts. Karna also, endued with great might, baffling the shafts of Bhimasena, sped at him nine long shafts in that battle. Bhima, however, with as many arrows, cut off those shafts of Suta's son in the welkin and addressed him, saying, 'Wait, Wait!' Then the mighty-armed and heroic Bhima, excited with rage, shot at Adhiratha's son an arrow resembling the rod of Yama or Death himself. Radha's son, however, smiling, cut off that arrow, O king, of Pandu's son, however, of great Prowess, with three arrows of his, as it coursed towards him through the welkin. The son of Pandu then once more shot showers of fierce shafts. Karna, however, fearlessly received all those arrows of Bhima. Then excited with rage, the Suta's son, Karna, by the power of his weapons, with his straight arrows, cut off in that encounter the couple of quivers and the bow-string of fighting Bhima, as also the traces of his steeds. And then slaying his steeds also, Karna pierced Bhima's charioteer with five shafts. The charioteer, quickly running away, proceeded to Yudhamanyu's car. Excited with rage, the son of Radha then, whose splendour resembled that of the Yuga-fire, smiling the while, cut off the flag-staff of Bhima and felled his banner. Deprived of his bow, the mighty-armed Bhima then seized a dart, such as car-warriors may use. Excited with wrath, he whirled it in his hand and then hurled it with great force at Karna's car. The son of Adhiratha then, with ten shafts, cut off, as it coursed towards him with the effulgence of a large meteor, the gold-decked dart thus hurled (by Bhima) [Literally, mustered all his rage.]. Thereupon, that dart fell down, cut off into ten fragments by those sharp shafts of the Suta's son, Karna, that warrior conversant with every mode of warfare, then battling

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for the sake of his friends. Then, the son of Kunti took up a shield decked with gold and a sword, desirous of obtaining either death or victory, Karna, however, O Bharata, smiling the while, cut off that bright shield of Bhima with many fierce shafts. Then, car-less, Bhima, O king, deprived of his shield, became mad with rage. Quickly, then, he hurled his formidable sword at Karna's car. That large sword, cutting off the stringed bow of the Suta's son, fell down on the earth, O king, like an angry snake from the sky. Then Adhiratha's son, excited with rage in that battle, smilingly took up another bow destructive of foes, having a stronger string, and tougher than the one he had lost. Desirous of slaying the son of Kunti, Karna then began to shoot thousands of arrows, O king, equipped with wings of gold and endued with great energy. Struck by those shafts shot from Karna's bow, the mighty Bhima leaped into the sky, filling Karna's heart with anguish. Beholding the conduct of Bhima, in battle desirous of victory, the son of Radha beguiled him by concealing himself in his car. Seeing Karna concealing himself with an agitated heart on the terrace of his car, Bhima catching hold of Karna's flagstaff, waited on the earth. All the Kurus and the Charanas highly applauded that attempt of Bhima of snatching Karna away from his car, like Garuda snatching away a snake. His bow cut off, himself deprived of his car, Bhima, observant of the duties of his order, stood still for battle, keeping his (broken) car behind him. The son of Radha, then, from rage, in that encounter, proceeded against the son of Pandu who was waiting for battle. Then those two mighty warriors, O king, challenging as they approached each other, those two bulls among men, roared at each other, like clouds at the close of summer. And the passage-at-arms that then took place between those two engaged lions among men that could not brook each other in battle resembled that of old between the gods and the Danavas. The son of Kunti, however, whose stock of weapons was exhausted, was (obliged to turn back) pursued by Karna. Beholding the elephants, huge as hills that had been slain by Arjuna, lying (near), unarmed Bhimasena entered into their midst, for impeding the progress of Karna's car. Approaching that multitude of elephants and getting into the midst of that fastness which was inaccessible to a car, the son of Pandu, desirous of saving his life, refrained from striking the son of Radha. Desirous of shelter, that subjugator of hostile cities viz., the son of Pritha, uplifting an elephant that had been slain by Dhananjaya with his shafts, waited there, like Hanumat uplifting the peak of Gandhamadana. [Literally, 'a mountain overgrown with medicinal herbs of great efficacy.' Of course, the allusion is to Hanumat's removal of Gandhamadana for the cure of Lakshmana.] Karna, however, with his shafts, cut off that elephant held by Bhima. The son of Pandu, thereupon, hurled at Karna the fragments of that elephant's body as also car-wheels and steeds. In fact, all objects that he saw lying there on the field, the son of Pandu, excited with rage, took up and hurled at Karna. Karna, however, with his sharp arrows, cut off every one of those objects thus thrown at him. Bhima also, raising his fierce fists that were endued with the force of the thunder, desired to slay the Suta's son. Soon, however, he recollected Arjuna's vow. The son of Pandu, therefore, though competent, spared the life of Karna, from desire of not falsifying the vow that Savyasachin had made. The Suta's son, however, with his sharp shafts, repeatedly caused the distressed Bhima, to lose the sense. But Karna, recollecting the words of Kunti, took not the life of the unarmed Bhima. Approaching quickly Karna touched him with the horn of his bow. As soon, however, as Bhimasena was touched with the bow, excited with rage and sighing like a snake, he snatched the bow from Karna and struck him with it on the head. Struck by Bhimasena, the son of Radha, with eyes red in wrath, smiling the while, said unto him repeatedly these words, viz., 'Beardless eunuch, ignorant fool and glutton.' And Karna said, 'Without skin in weapons, do not fight with me. Thou art but a child, a laggard in battle! There, son of Pandu, where occurs a profusion of eatables and drink, there, O wretch, shouldst thou be but never in battle. Subsisting on roots, flowers, and observant of vows and austerities, thou, O Bhima, shouldst pass thy days in the woods for thou art unskilled in battle. Great is the difference between battle and the austere mode of a Muni's life. Therefore, O Vrikodara, retire into the woods. O child, thou art not fit for being engaged in battle. Thou hast an aptitude for a life in the woods. Urging cooks and servants and slaves in the house to speed, thou art fit only for reproving them in wrath for the sake of thy dinner, O Vrikodara! O Bhima, O thou of a foolish understanding, betaking thyself to a Muni's mode of life, gather thou fruits (for thy food). Go to the woods, O son of Kunti, for thou art not skilled in battle. Employed in cutting fruits and roots or in waiting upon guests, thou art unfit, I think, to take a part, O Vrikodara, in any passage-at-arms.' And, O monarch, all the wrongs done to him in his younger years, were also reminded by Karna in harsh words. And as he stood there in weakness, Karna once more touched him with the bow. And laughing loudly, Vrisha once more told Bhima those words, 'Thou shouldst fight with others, O sire, but never with one like me. They that fight with persons like us have to undergo this and else! Go thither where the two Krishnas are! They will protect thee in battle. Or, O son of Kunti, go home, for, a child as thou art, what business hast thou with battle?' Hearing those harsh words of Karna, Bhimasena laughed aloud and addressing Karna said unto him these words in the hearing of all, 'O wicked wight, repeatedly hast thou been vanquished by me. How canst thou indulge, then, in such idle boast? In this world the ancients witnessed the victory and defeat of the great Indra himself. O thou of ignoble parentage, engage thyself with me in an athletic encounter with bare arms. Even as I slew the mighty Kichaka of gigantic frame, I would then slay thee in the very sight of all kings.' Understanding the motives of Bhima, Karna, that foremost of intelligent men, abstained from that combat in the very sight of all the bowmen. Indeed, having made Bhima carless, Karna, O king, reproved him in such boastful language in the sight of that lion among the Vrishnis (viz., Krishna) and of the high-souled Partha. Then the ape-bannered (Arjuna), urged by Kesava, shot at the Suta's son, O king, many shafts whetted on stone. Those arrows adorned with gold, shot by Partha's arms and issuing out of Gandiva, entered Karna's body, like cranes into the Krauncha mountains. With those arrows shot from Gandiva which entered Karna's body like so many snakes, Dhananjaya drove the Suta's son from Bhimasena's vicinity. His bow cut off by Bhima, and himself afflicted with the arrows of Dhananjaya, Karna quickly fled away from Bhima on his great car. Bhimasena also, O bull among men, mounting upon Satyaki's car, proceeded in that battle in the wake of his brother Savyasachin, the son of Pandu. Then Dhananjaya, with eyes red in wrath, aiming at Karna, quickly sped a shaft like the Destroyer urging forward Death's self. That shaft shot from Gandiva, like Garuda in the welkin in quest of a mighty snake, quickly coursed towards Karna. The son of Drona, however, that mighty car-warrior, with a winged arrow of his, cut it off in mid-air, desirous of rescuing Karna from fear of Dhananjaya. Then Arjuna, excited with wrath, pierced the son of Drona with four and sixty arrows, O king, and addressing him, said, 'Do not fly away, O Aswathaman, but wait a moment.' Drona's son, however, afflicted with the shafts of Dhananjaya, quickly entered a division of the Kaurava army that abounded with infuriated elephants and teemed with cars. The mighty son of Kunti, then, with the twang of Gandiva, drowned the noise made in that battle by all other twangings of bows, of shafts decked with gold. Then, the mighty Dhananjaya followed from behind the son of Drona who had not retreated to a great distance, frightening him all the way with his shafts. Piercing with his shafts, winged with the feathers of Kankas and peacocks, the bodies of men and elephants and steeds, Arjuna began to grind that force. Indeed, O chief of the Bharatas, Partha, the son of Indra, began to exterminate that host teeming with steeds and elephants and men.'"

SECTION 139

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Day by day, O Sanjaya, my blazing fame is being darkened. A great many warriors of mine have fallen. I think, all this is due to the reverse brought about by time. Dhananjaya, excited with rage, hath penetrated into my host which is protected by Drona's son, and Karna and which, therefore, is incapable of being penetrated by the very gods. United with those two of blazing energy viz., Krishna and Bhima, as also with that bull among the Sinis, his prowess hath been increased. Since I have heard of Dhananjaya's entry, grief is consuming my heart, like fire consuming a heap of dry grass, I see that all the kings of the earth with the ruler of the Sindhus amongst them, are affected by evil destiny. Having done a great wrong to the diadem-decked (Arjuna), how can the ruler of the Sindhus, if he falls within Arjuna's sight, save his life? From circumstantial inference, I see, O Sanjaya, how can the ruler of the Sindhus, if he falls within Arjuna's sight, save his life? From circumstantial inference, I see, O Sanjaya, that the ruler of the Sindhus is already dead. Tell me, however, truly how the battle raged. Thou art skilled in narration, O Sanjaya, tell me truly how the Vrishni hero Satyaki fought, who striving resolutely for Dhananjaya's sake, alone entered in rage the vast force, disturbing and agitating it repeatedly, like an elephant plunging into a lake overgrown with lotuses.'

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding that foremost of men, viz., Bhima, to proceed, afflicted with Karna's shafts in the midst, O king, or many heroes, that foremost warrior amongst the Sinis followed him on his car. Roaring like the clouds at the close of summer, and blazing like the autumnal sun, he began to slaughter with his formidable bow the host of thy son, causing it to tremble repeatedly. And as the foremost one of Madhu's race, O Bharata, thus proceeded along the field on his car, drawn by steeds of the hue of silver and himself roaring terribly, none amongst thy warriors could check his progress. Then that foremost of kings, viz., Alamvusha, full of rage, never retreating from battle, armed with bow, and clad in a golden coat of mail rushing quickly, impeded the progress of Satyaki, that foremost warrior of Madhu's race. The encounter, then, O Bharata, that took place between them was such that its like had never been. All thy warriors and the enemy, abstaining from the fight, became spectators of that engagement between those two ornaments of battle. Then that foremost of kings, viz., Alamvusha forcibly pierced Satyaki with ten arrows. That bull of Sini's race, however, with shafts, cut all those arrows before they could reach him. And once more, Alamvusha struck Satyaki with three sharp arrows equipped with beautiful wings, blazing as fire, and shot from his bow drawn to the ear. Those piercing through Satyaki's coat of mail, penetrated into his body. Having pierced Satyaki's body with those sharp and blazing arrows, endued with the force of fire or the wind, Alamvusha forcibly struck the four steeds of Satyaki, white as silver, with four other arrows. The grandson of Sini, endued with great activity and prowess like that of (Kesava himself), the bearer of the discus, thus struck by him, slew with four shafts of great impetuosity the four steeds of Alamvusha. Having then cut off the head, beautiful as the full moon and decked with excellent car-rings with a broad-headed arrow, fierce as the Yuga-fire. Having slain that descendant of many kings in battle, that bull among the Yadus, that hero capable of grinding hostile hosts, proceeded towards Arjuna, O king, resisting, as he went, the enemy's troops. Indeed, O king, thus careering in the midst of the foe, the Vrishni hero, while proceeding in the wake (of Arjuna), was seen repeatedly to destroy with his shafts the Kuru host, like the hurricane dispersing gathering masses of clouds. Whithersoever that lion among men desired to go, thither he was borne by those excellent steeds of his, of the Sindhu breed, well-broken, docile, white as milk of the Kunda flower or the moon or snow, and adorned with trappings of warriors, viz., Duhsasana,--their commander. Those leaders of divisions, encompassing the grandson of Sini on all sides in that battle, began to strike him. That foremost one among the Satwatas, that hero, viz., Satyaki also, resisted them all with showers of arrows. Quickly checking all of them by means of his fiery shafts, that slayer of foes, viz., the grandson of Sini, forcibly uplifting his bow, O Ajamida, slew the steeds of Duhsasana. Then, Arjuna and Krishna, beholding that foremost of men, (viz., Satyaki) in that battle, became filled with joy.'"

SECTION 140

"Sanjaya said, 'Then the great bowmen of the Trigarta country owning standards, adorned with gold, encompassed on all sides the mighty-armed Satyaki, that warrior who accomplished with great activity everything that demanded accomplishment and who, having penetrated into that host, unlimited as the sea, was rushing against Duhsasana's car from desire of Dhananjaya's success. Checking his course with a large throng of cars on all sides, those great bowmen, excited with rage, covered him with showers of arrows. Having penetrated into the midst of the Bharata army which resembled a shoreless sea, and which, filled with the sound of palms abounded with swords and darts and maces, Satyaki, of prowess incapable of being baffled, alone vanquished his foes, those fifty (Trigarta) princes shining brilliantly in that battle. On that occasion we saw that the conduct of Sini's grandson in battle was extremely wonderful. So great was the lightness (of his movements) that having seen him on the west, we immediately saw him in the east. North, south, east, west, and in the other subsidiary directions, that hero seemed to career dancingly, as if he constituted a hundred warriors in his single self. Beholding that conduct of Satyaki, endued with the sportive tread of the lion, the Trigarta warriors, unable to bear his prowess fled away towards (the division of) their own (countrymen). Then the brave warriors of the Surasenas endeavoured to check Satyaki, striking him with showers of shafts, like a driver striking an infuriated elephant with the hook. The high-souled Satyaki struggled with them for a short space of time and then that hero of inconceivable prowess began to fight with the Kalingas. Transgressing that division of the Kalingas which was incapable of being crossed, the mighty-armed Satyaki approached the presence of Dhananjaya, the son of Pritha. Like a tired swimmer in water when he reaches the land, Yuyudhana became comforted on obtaining the sight of Dhananjaya, that tiger among men. Beholding him approach, Kesava, addressing Partha, said, 'Yonder cometh the grandson of Sini, O Partha, following in thy wake. O thou of prowess incapable of being baffled, he is thy disciple and friend. That bull among men, regarding all the warriors as straw, hath vanquished them. Inflicting terrible injuries upon the Kaurava warriors, Satyaki, who is dear to thee as life, cometh towards thee, O Kiritin! Having with his shafts crushed Drona himself and Kritavarman of the Bhoja race, this Satyaki cometh to thee, O Phalguna! Intent on Yudhishthira's good, having slain many foremost of warriors, the brave Satyaki, skilled in weapons, is coming to thee, O Phalguna! Having achieved the most difficult feat in the midst of the (Kaurava) troops, the mighty Satyaki, desirous of obtaining thy sight cometh to thee, O son of Pandu! Having on a single car fought in battle many mighty car-warriors with the preceptor (Drona) on their head, Satyaki cometh to thee, O Partha! Despatched by Dharma's son, this Satyaki cometh to thee, O Partha, having pierced through the Kaurava army, relying on the might of his own

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arms. Invincible in battle, that Satyaki, who hath no warrior amongst the Kauravas equal to him, is coming to thee, O son of Kunti! Having slain, countless warriors, this Satyaki cometh to thee, O Partha, freed from amid the Kaurva troops, like a lion from amid a herd of kine. Having strewn the earth with the faces, beautiful as the lotus, of thousands of kings, this Satyaki is coming to thee, O Partha! Having vanquished in battle Duryodhana himself with his brothers, and having slain Jalasandha, Satyaki is coming quickly. Having caused a river of blood for its mire, and regarding the Kauravas as straw, Satyaki cometh towards thee.' The son of Kunti, without being cheerful, said these words unto Kesava, 'The arrival of Satyaki, O mighty-armed one, is scarcely agreeable to me. I do not, O Kesava, know how king Yudhishthira the Just is. Now that he is separated from Satwata, I doubt whether he is alive; O mighty-armed one, this Satyaki should have protected the king. Why then, O Krishna, hath this one, leaving Yudhishthira followed in my wake? The king, therefore, hath been abandoned to Drona. The ruler of the Sindhus hath not yet been slain. There, Bhurisravas is proceeding against Satyaki in battle. A heavier burthen hath been cast upon me on account of Jayadratha. I should know how the ling is and I should also protect Satyaki. I should also slay Jayadratha. The sun hangeth low. As regards the mighty-armed Satyaki, he is tired; his weapons also have been exhausted. His steeds as also their driver, are tired, O Madhava! Bhurisravas, on the other hand, is not tired, he hath supporters behind him, O Kesava! Will success be Satyaki's in this encounter? Having crossed the very ocean, will Satyaki of unbaffled prowess, will that bull amongst the Sinis, of great energy, succumb, obtaining (before him) the vestige of a cow's foot? [i.e., the little indent caused by a cow's hoof.] Encountering that foremost one amongst the Kurus, viz., the high-souled Bhurisravas, skilled in weapons, will Satyaki have good fortune? I regard this, O Kesava, to have been an error of judgement on the part of king Yudhishthira the Just. Casting of all fear of the preceptor, he hath despatched Satyaki (from away his side). Like a sky-ranging hawk after a peace of meat, Drona always endeavoureth after the seizure of king Yudhishthira the Just. Will the king be free from all danger?'

SECTION 141

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding Satwata, invincible in battle coming (towards Arjuna), Bhurisravas, in rage, O king, suddenly advanced towards him. He of Kuru's race, then, O king, addressing that bull of Sini's race, said, 'By luck it, is thou that hast today come within the range of my vision. Today in this; battle, I obtain the wish I had always cherished. If thou dost not flee away from battle, thou wilt not escape me with life. Slaying thee today in fight, thou that art ever proud of thy heroism, I will, O thou of Dasarha's race, gladden the Kuru king Suyodhana. Those heroes, viz., Kesava and Arjuna, will today together behold thee lying on the field of battle, scorched with my arrows. Hearing that thou hast been slain by me, the royal son of Dharma, who caused thee to penetrate into this host, will today be covered with shame. Pritha's son, Dhananjaya, will today behold my prowess when he sees thee slain and lying on the earth, covered with gore. This encounter with thee hath always been desired by me, like the encounter of Sakra with Vali in the battle between the gods and the Asuras in days of old. Today I will give thee dreadful battle, O Satwata! Thou shalt thence truly understand (the measure of) my energy, might, and manliness. Slain by me in battle, thou shalt today proceed to the abode of Yama, like Ravana's son (Indrajit) slain by Lakshmana, the younger brother of Rama. Today, Krishna and Partha and king Yudhishthira the Just, O thou of Madhu's race, witnessing thy slaughter will, without doubt, be overcome with despondency and will give up battle. Causing thy death today, O Madhava, with keen shafts, I will gladden the wives of all those that have been slain by thee in battle. Having come within the scope of my vision, thou shalt not escape, like a small deer from within the range of a lion's vision.' Hearing these words of his, Yuyudhana, O king, answered him with a laugh, saying, 'O thou of Kuru's race, I am never inspired with fear in battle. Thou shalt not succeed in terrifying me with thy words only. He will slay me in battle who will succeed in disarming me. He that will slay me in battle will slay (foes) for all time to come. [The sense is that he that will slay me will always be victorious in battle, will always slay the warriors with whom he may be engaged in battle. Defeat will never be his.] What is the use of such idle and long-winded boast in words? Accomplish in deed what thou sayest. Thy words seem to be as fruitless as the roar of autumnal clouds. Hearing, O hero, these roars of thine, I cannot restrain my laughter. Let that encounter, O thou of Kuru's race, which has been desired by thee so long, take place today. My heart, O sire, inspired as it is with the desire of an encounter with thee, cannot brook any delay. Before slaying thee, I shall not abstain from the fight, O wretch.' Rebuking each other in such words, those two bulls among men, both excited with great wrath, struck each other in battle, each being desirous of taking the other's life. Those great bowmen both endued with great might, encountered each other in battle, each challenging the other, like two wrathful elephants in rut for the sake of a she-elephant in her season. And those two chastisers of foes, viz., Bhurisravas and Satyaki, poured upon each other dense showers of arrows like two masses of clouds. Then Somadatta's son, having shrouded the grandson of Sini with swift coursing shafts, once more pierced the latter, O chief of the Bharatas, with many keen shafts, from desire of slaying him. Having pierced Satyaki with ten shafts, Somadatta's son sped many other keen shafts at that bull amongst the Sinis, from a desire of compassing his destruction. Satyaki, however, O lord, cut off, with the power of his weapons, all those keen shafts of Bhurisravas, O king, in the welkin, before, in fact, any of them could reach him. Those two heroes, those two warriors that enhanced the fame of the Kurus and the Vrishnis respectively, both of noble lineage, thus poured upon each other their arrowy showers. Like two tigers fighting with their claws or two huge elephants with their tusks they mangled each other with shafts and darts, such as car-warriors may use. Mangling each other's limbs, and with blood issuing out of their wounds, those two warriors engaged in a gambling match in which their lives were at the stake, checked and confounded each other. Those heroes of excellent feats, those enhancers of the fame of the Kurus and the Vrishnis, thus fought with each other, like two leaders of elephantine herds. Indeed, those warriors, both coveting the highest region, both cherishing the desire of very soon attaining the region of Brahman, thus roared at each other. Indeed, Satyaki and Somadatta's son continued to cover each other with their arrowy showers in the sight of the Dhartarashtras filled with joy. And the people there witnessed that encounter between those two foremost of warriors who were fighting like two leaders of elephantine herds for the sake of a she-elephant in her season. Then each slaying the other's steeds and cutting off the other's bow, those car-less combatants encountered each other with swords in a dreadful fight. Taking up two beautiful and large and bright shields made of bull's hide, and two naked swords, they careered on the field. Stalking in circles and in diverse other kinds of courses duly, those grinders of foes excited with rage, frequently struck each other. Armed with swords, clad in bright armour, decked with cuirass and Angadas, those two famous warriors showed diverse kinds of motion. They wheeled about on high and made side-thrusts, and ran about, and rushed forward and rushed upwards. And those chastisers of foes began to strike each other with their swords. And each of them looked eagerly for the dereliction of the other. And both of those heroes leapt beautifully and both showed their skill in that battle, began also to make skilful passes at each other, and having struck each other, O king, those heroes took rest for a moment in the sight of all the troops. Having with their swords cut in pieces each other's beautiful shield, O king, decked with a hundred moons, those tigers among men, engaged themselves in a wrestling encounter. Both having broad chests, both having long arms, both well-skilled in wrestling, they encountered each other with their arms of iron that resembled spiked maces. And they struck each other with their arms, and seized each other's arms, and each seized with his arms the other's neck. And the skill they had acquired by exercise, contributed to the joy of all the warriors that stood as spectators of the encounter. And as those heroes fought with each other, O king, in that battle, loud and terrible were the sounds produced by them, resembling the fall of the thunder upon the mountain breast. Like two elephants encountering each other with the end of their tusks, or like two bulls with their horns, those two illustrious and foremost warriors of the Kuru and the Satwata races, fought with each other, sometimes binding each other with their arms, sometimes striking each other with their heads, sometimes intertwining each other's legs, sometimes slapping their armpits, sometimes pinching each other with their nails, sometimes clasping each other tightly, sometimes twining their legs round each other's loins, sometimes rolling on the ground, sometimes advancing, sometimes receding, sometimes rising up, and sometimes leaping up. Indeed, those two and thirty kinds of separate manoeuvres that characterise encounters of that kind.

"When Satwata's weapons were exhausted during his engagement with Bhurisravas, Vâsudeva said unto Arjuna, 'Behold that foremost of all bowmen, viz., Satyaki, engaged in battle, deprived of car. He hath entered the Bharata host, having pierced through it, following in thy wake, O son of Pandu! He hath fought with all the Bharata warriors of great energy. The giver of large sacrificial presents, viz., Bhurisravas, hath encountered that foremost of warriors while tired with fatigue. Desirous of battle, Bhurisravas is about to encounter. Then that warrior invincible in battle, viz., Bhurisravas, excited with wrath, vigorously struck Satyaki, O king, like an infuriated elephant striking an infuriated compeer. Those two foremost of warriors, both upon their cars, and both excited with wrath, fought on, king, Kesava, and Arjuna witnessing their encounter. Then the mighty-armed Krishna, addressing Arjuna, said, 'Behold, that tiger among the Vrishnis and the Andhakas has succumbed to Somadatta's son. Having achieved the most difficult feats, exhausted with exertion, he hath been deprived of his car. O Arjuna, protect Satyaki, thy heroic disciple. See that foremost of men may not, for thy sake, O tiger among men, succumb to Bhurisravas, devoted to sacrifices. O puissant one, speedily do what is needed.' Dhananjaya, with a cheerful heart addressing Vâsudeva, said, 'Behold, that bull amongst the Rurus and that foremost one among the Vrishnis are sporting with each other, like a huge elephant mad with rage sporting with a mighty lion in the forest. While Dhananjaya the son of Pandu was thus speaking, loud cries of oh and alas arose among the troops, O bull of Bharata's race, since the mighty-armed Bhurisravas, exerting vigorously struck Satyaki and brought him down upon the ground. And like a lion dragging an elephant, that foremost one of Kuru's race, viz., Bhurisravas, that giver of profuse presents at sacrifices, dragging that foremost one amongst the Satwatas, looked resplendent in that battle. Then Bhurisravas in that encounter, drawing his sword from the scabbard, seized Satyaki by the hair of his head and struck him at the chest with his feet. Bhurisravas then was about to cut off from Satyaki's trunk his head decked with ear-rings. For sometime, the Satwata hero rapidly whirled his head with the arm of Bhurisravas that held it by the hair, like a potter's wheel whirled round with the staff. Beholding Satwata thus dragged in battle by Bhurisravas. Vâsudeva once more, O king, addressed Arjuna and said, 'Behold, that tiger among the Vrishnis and the Andhakas, that disciple of thine, O mighty-armed one, not inferior to thee in bowmanship, hath succumbed to Somadatta's son. O Partha, since Bhurisravas is thus prevailing over the Vrishni hero, Satyaki, of prowess incapable of being baffled, the very name of the latter is about to be falsified. Thus addressed by Vâsudeva the mighty-armed son of Pandu, mentally worshipped Bhurisravas in that battle, saying, 'I am glad that, Bhurisravas, that enhancer of the fame of the Kurus, is dragging Satyaki in battle, as if in sport. Without slaying Satyaki that foremost one among the heroes of the Vrishni race, the Kuru warrior is only dragging him like a mighty lion in the forest dragging a huge elephant.' Mentally applauding the Kuru warrior thus, O king, the mighty-armed Arjuna, the son of Pritha, replied unto Vasudeva, saying, 'My eyes having rested upon of the Sindhus, I could not, O Madhava, see Satyaki. I shall, however, for the sake of that Yadava warrior, achieve a most difficult feat.' Having said these words, in obedience to Vâsudeva, the son of Pandu, fixed on Gandiva a sharp razor-headed arrow. That arrow, shot by Partha's hand and resembling a meteor flashing down from the firmament, cut off the Kuru warrior's arm with the sword in the grasp and decked with Angada.'"

SECTION 142

"Sanjaya said, 'That arm (of Bhurisravas) decked with Angada and the sword in its grasp (thus cut off), fell down on the earth to the great grief of all living creatures. Indeed, that arm, which was to have cut off Satyaki's head itself, cut off by the unseen Arjuna, quickly dropped down on the earth, like a snake of five heads. The Kuru warrior, beholding himself incapacitated by Partha abandoned his hold on Satyaki and wrathfully reproved the son of Pandu.'

"Bhurisravas said, 'Thou hast, O son of Kunti, done a cruel and heartless deed, since without being engaged with me, thou hast, unseen by me, cut off my arm. Shalt thou not have to say unto Yudhishthira, the royal son of Dharma, even this, viz., 'Bhurisravas, while otherwise engaged, was slain by me in battle?' Wert thou taught this use of weapons by the high-souled Indra or by Rudra, O Partha, or by Drona, or by Kripa? Thou art, in this world, better acquainted with the rules about the use of weapons than all others. Why then hast thou cut off in battle the arm of a warrior who was not engaged with thee? The righteous never strike him that is heedless, or him that is terrified, or him that is made carless, or him that beggeth for life or protection, of him that hath fallen into distress. Why, then, O Partha, hast thou perpetrated such an extremely unworthy deed that is sinful, that is worthy only of a low wretch, and that is practised by only a wicked bloke! A respectable person, O Dhananjaya, can easily accomplish a deed that is respectable. A deed, however, that is disrespectable becomes difficult of accomplishment by a person that is respectable. A man quickly catches the behaviour of those with whom and amongst whom he moves. This is seen in thee, O Partha! Being of royal lineage and born, especially, in Kuru's race, how hast thou fallen off from the duties of a Kshatriya, although thou wert of good behaviour and observant of excellent vows. This mean act that thou hast perpetrated for the sake of the Vrishni warrior, is without doubt, conformable to Vâsudeva's counsels. Such an act does not suit one like thee. Who else, unless he were a friend of Krishna's, would inflict such a wrong upon lone that is heedlessly engaged with another in battle? The Vrishnis and the Andhakas are bad Kshatriyas, ever engaged in sinful deeds, and are, by nature, addicted to disreputable behaviour. Why, O Partha, hast thou taken them as model? Thus addressed in battle, Partha replied unto Bhurisravas, saying, 'It is evident that with the decrepitude of the body one's intellect also becomes decrepit, since, O lord, all those senseless words have

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been uttered by thee. Although thou knowest Hrishikesa and myself well, how is it that thou rebukest us thus? Knowing as I do the rules of battle and conversant as I am with the meaning of all the scriptures, I would never do an act that is sinful. Knowing this well, thou rebukest me yet. The Kshatriyas fight with their foes, surrounded by their own followers, their brothers, sires, sons, relatives, kinsmen, companions, and friends. These also fight, relying on the (strength of) arms of those they follow. Why, then, should I not protect Satyaki, my disciple and dear kinsman, who is fighting for our sake in this battle, regardless of life itself, that is so difficult of being laid down. Invincible in fight, Satyaki, O king, is my right arm in battle. One should not protect one's own self only, when one goes to battle, he, O king, who is engaged in the business of another should be protected (by that other). Such men being protected, the king is protected in press of battle. If I had calmly beheld Satyaki on the point of being slain in great battle (and had not interfered for saying him), sin would, then, owing to Satyaki's death, have been mine, for such negligence! Why then dost thou become angry with me for my having protected Satyaki? Thou rebukest me, O king, saying, 'Though engaged with another, I have yet been maimed by thee.' In that matter, I answer, I judged wrongly. Sometimes shaking my armour; sometimes riding on my car, sometimes drawing the bow-string, I was fighting with my enemies in the midst of a host resembling the vast deep, teeming with cars and elephants and abounding with steeds and foot-soldiers and echoing with fierce leonine shouts. Amongst friends and foes engaged with one another, how could it be possible that the Satwata warrior was engaged with only one person in battle? Having fought with many and vanquished many mighty car-warriors, Satyaki had been tired. He himself, afflicted with weapons, had become cheerless. Having, under such circumstances, vanquished the mighty car-warrior, Satyaki, and brought him under thy control, thou soughtest to display thy superiority. Thou. hadst desired to cut off, with thy sword, the head of Satyaki in battle. I could not possibly behold with indifference Satyaki reduced to that strait. Thou shouldst rather rebuke thy own self, since thou didst not take care of thyself (when seeking to injure another). Indeed, O hero, how wouldst thou have behaved towards one who is thy dependant?'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Thus addressed (by Arjuna), the mighty-armed and illustrious Bhurisravas, bearing the device of the sacrificial stake on his banner, abandoning Yuyudhana, desired to die according to the vow of Praya. Distinguished by many righteous deeds, he spread with his left hand a bed of arrows, and desirous of proceeding to the region of Brahman, committed his senses to the care of the deities presiding over them. Fixing his gaze on the sun, and setting his cleansed heart on the moon, and thinking of (the mantras in) the great Upanishad, Bhurisravas, betaking himself to Yoga, ceased to speak. Then all the persons in the entire army began to speak ill of Krishna and Dhananjaya and applauded Bhurisravas, that bull among men. Though censured, the two Krishnas, however, spoke not a word disagreeable (to the dying hero). The stake-bannered Bhurisravas also, though thus applauded, felt no joy. Then Pandu's son Dhanajaya, called also Phalguna, incapable of bearing thy sons speaking in that strain, as also of putting up with their words and the words of Bhurisravas, O Bharata, in grief and without an angry heart, and as if for reminding them all, said these words, 'All the kings are acquainted with my great vow, viz., that no one shall succeed in slaying anybody that belongs to our side, as long as the latter is within the range of my shafts. Remembering this, O stake-bannered one, it behoveth thee not to censure me. Without knowing rules of morality, it is not proper for one to censure others. That I have cut off thy arm while thou, well-armed in battle, wert on the point of slaying (the unarmed) Satyaki, is not all contrary to morality. But what righteous man is there, O sire, that would applaud the slaughter of Abhimanyu, a mere child, without arms, deprived of car, and his armour fallen off?' Thus addressed by Partha, Bhurisravas touched the ground with his left arm the right one (that had been lopped off). The stake-bannered Bhurisravas, O king of dazzling effulgence, having heard those words of Partha, remained silent, with his head hanging down. Then Arjuna said, 'O eldest brother of Sala, equal to what I bear to king Yudhishthira the Just, or Bhima, that foremost of all mighty persons, or Nakula, or Sahadeva, is the love I bear to thee. Commanded by me as also by the illustrious Krishna, repair thou to the region of the righteous, even where Sivi, the son of Usinara, is.'

"Vâsudeva also said, 'Thou hast constantly performed sacrifices and Agnihotras. Go thou then, without delay, into those pure, regions of mine that incessantly blaze forth with splendour and that are desired by the foremost of deities with Brahma as their head, and becoming equal to myself, be thou borne on the back to Garuda.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Set free by Somadatta's son, the grandson of Sini, rising up, drew his sword and desired to cut off the head of the high-souled Bhurisravas. Indeed, Satyaki desired to slay the sinless Bhurisravas, the eldest brother of Sala, that giver of plenty in sacrifices who was staying with his, senses withdrawn from battle, who had already been almost slain by the son of Pandu, who was sitting with his arm lopped off and who resembled on that account a trunkless elephant. All the warriors loudly censured him (for his intention). But deprived of reason, and forbidden by Krishna and the high-souled Partha, Bhima, and the two protectors of the two wheels (of Arjuna's car, viz., Yudhamanyu and Uttamaujas), and Aswatthaman, and Kripa and Karna, and Vrishasena, and the ruler of the Sindhus also, and while the soldiers were yet uttering shouts of disapproval, Satyaki stew Bhurisravas while in the observance of his vow. Indeed, Satyaki, with his sword, cut off the head of the Kuru warrior who had been deprived of his arm by Partha and who was then sitting in Praya for freeing his soul from the body. The warriors did not applaud Satyaki for that act of his in slaying that perpetuator of Kuru's race who had before been almost slain by Partha. The Siddhas, the Charanas, and the men there present, as also the gods, beholding the Sakra-like Bhurisravas slain in that battle, through sitting in the observance of that Praya vow, began to applaud him, amazed at the acts, accomplished by him. Thy soldiers also argued the matter, 'It is no fault of the Vrishni hero. That which was pre-ordained has happened. Therefore, we should not give way to wrath. Anger is the cause of men's sorrow. It was ordained that Bhurisravas would be slain by the Vrishni hero. There is no use of judging of its propriety or otherwise. The Creator had ordained Satyaki to be the cause of Bhurisrava's death in battle.'

"Satyaki said, 'Ye sinful Kauravas, wearing the outward garment of righteousness, ye tell me, in words of virtue, that Bhurisravas should not be slain. Where, however, did this righteousness of yours go when ye slew in battle that child, viz., the son of Subhadra, while destitute of arms? I had in a certain fit of haughtiness vowed that he who would, throwing me down alive in battle, strike me with his foot in rage, he would be slain by me even though that foe should adopt the vow of asceticism. Struggling in the encounter, with my arms and eyes hale and sound, ye had yet regarded me as dead. This was an act of folly on our part. Ye bulls among the Kurus, the slaughter of Bhurisravas, accomplished by me, hath been very proper! Partha, however, by cutting off this one's arm with sword in grasp for fulfilling, from his affection for me, his own vow (about protecting all on his side), hath simply robbed me of glory. That which is ordained must happen. It is destiny that works. Bhurisravas hath been slain in press of battle. What sin have I perpetrated? In days of yore, Valmiki sang this verse on earth, viz., 'Thou sayest, O ape, that women should not be slain. In all ages, however, men should always, with resolute care, accomplish that which gives pain to enemies.'

"Sanjaya continued, After Satyaki had said these words, none amongst the Pandavas and the Kauravas, O king, said anything. On the other hand, they mentally applauded Bhurisravas. No one there applauded the slaughter of Somadatta's illustrious son who resembled an ascetic living in the woods, or one sanctified with mantras in a great sacrifice, and who had given away thousands of gold coins. The head of that hero, graced with beautiful blue locks and eyes, red as those of pigeons, looked like the head of a horse cut off in a Horse-sacrifice and placed on the sacrificial altar. Sanctified by his prowess and the death he obtained at the edge of the weapon, the boon-giving Bhurisravas, worthy of every boon, casting off his body in great battle, repaired to regions on high, filling the welkin with his high virtues.'"

SECTION 143

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Unvanquished by Drona, and Radha's son and Vikarna and Kritavarman, how could the heroic Satyaki, never before checked in battle, having after his promise to Yudhishthira crossed the ocean of the Kaurava troops, being humiliated by the Kuru warrior Bhurisravas and forcibly thrown on the ground?'

"Sanjaya said, 'Hear, O king, about the origin, in the past times, of Sini's grandson, and of how Bhurisravas also came to be descended. This will clear thy doubts. Atri had for son Soma. Soma's son was called Vudha. Vudha had one son, of the splendour of the great Indra, called Pururavas. Pururavas had a son called Ayus. Ayus had for his son Nahusha. Nahusha had for his son Yayati who was a royal sage equal to a celestial. Yayati had by Devayani Yadu for his eldest son. In Yadu's race was born a son of the name of Devamidha of Yadu's race had a son named Sura, applauded in the three worlds. Sura had for his son that foremost of men, viz., the celebrated Vasudeva. Foremost in bowmanship, Sura was equal to Kartavirya in battle. In Sura's race and equal unto Sura in energy was, born Sini, O king! About this time, O king, occurred the Swayamvara. of the high-souled Devaka's daughter, in which all the Kshatriyas were present. In that self-choice, Sini vanquishing all the kings, quickly took up on his car the princess Devaki for the sake of Vasudeva. Beholding the princess Devaki on Sini's car, that bull among men, viz., the brave Somadatta of mighty energy could not brook the sight. A battle, O king, ensued between the two which lasted for half a day and was beautiful and wonderful to behold. The battle that took place between those two mighty men was a wrestling encounter. That bull among men, viz., Somadatta, was forcibly thrown down on the earth by Sini. Uplifting his sword and seizing him by the hair, Sini struck his foe with his foot, in the midst of many thousands of kings who stood as spectators all around. At last, from compassion, he let him off, saying, 'Live!' Reduced to that plight by Sini, Somadatta, O sire, under the influence of wrath began to pay his adorations to Mahadeva for inducing the latter to bless him. That great lord of all boon-giving deities viz., Mahadeva, became gratified with him and asked him to solicit the boon he desired. The royal Somadatta then solicited the following boon, 'I desire a soon, O divine lord, who will strike Sini's son in the midst of thousands of kings and who will in battle strike him with his foot.' Hearing these words, O king, of Somadatta, the god saying, 'So be it,' disappeared then and there. It was in consequence of the gift of that boon that Somadatta subsequently obtained the highly charitable Bhurisravas for son, and it was for this, Somadatta's son threw down Sini's descendant in battle and struck him, before the eyes of the whole army, with his foot. I have now told thee, O king, what thou hadst asked me. Indeed, the Satwata hero is incapable of being vanquished in battle by even the foremost of men. The Vrishni heroes are all of sure aim in battle, and are conversant with all modes of warfare. They are vanquishers of the very gods, the Danavas and the Gandharvas. They are never confounded. They always fight, relying upon their own energy. They are never dependent on others. None, O lord, are seen in this world to be equal to the Vrishni's. None, O bull of Bharata's race, have been, are, or will be equal in might to the Vrishni's. They never show disrespect to their kinsmen. They are always obedient to the commands of those that are reverend in years. The very gods and Asuras and Gandharvas, the Yakshas, the Uragas and the Rakshasas cannot vanquish the Vrishni heroes, what need be said of men, therefore, in battle? They never covet also the possessions of those that ever render them aid on any occasion of distress. Devoted to the Brahmanas and truthful in speech, they never display any pride although they are wealthy. The Vrishnis regard even the strong as weak and rescue them from distress. Always devoted to the gods, the Vrishnis are self-restrained, charitable, and free from pride. It is for this that the prowess, 1 of the Vrishnis is never baffled. A person may remove the mountains of Meru or swim across the ocean but cannot defeat the Vrishnis. I have told thee everything about which thou hadst thy doubts. All this, however, O king of the Kurus, that is happening is due to thy evil policy, O best of men!'"

SECTION 144

"Dhritarashtra said, 'After the Kuru warrior Bhurisravas had been slain under those circumstances, tell me, O Sanjaya, how proceeded the battle.'

"Sanjaya said, 'After Bhurisravas had proceeded to the other world, O Bharata, the mighty-armed Arjuna urged Vâsudeva, saying, "Urge the steeds, O Krishna, to greater speed for taking me to the spot where king Jayadratha is. O sinless one, the sun is quickly proceeding towards the Asta hills. O tiger among men, this great task should be achieved by me. The ruler of the Sindhus is, again, protected by many mighty car-warriors among the Kuru army. Urge thou the steeds, therefore, O Krishna, in such a way that I may, by slaying Jayadratha before the sun sets, make my vow true.' Then the mighty-armed Krishna conversant with horse-lore, urged those steeds of silvery hue towards the car of Jayadratha. Then, O king, many leaders of the Kuru army, such as Duryodhana and Karna and Vrishasena and the ruler of the Sindhus himself, rushed with speed, O king, against Arjuna whose shafts were never baffled and who was proceeding, on his car drawn by steeds of great fleetness. Vibhatsu, however, getting at the ruler of the Sindhus who was staying before him, and casting his glances upon him, seemed to scorch him with his eyes blazing with wrath. Then, king Duryodhana, quickly addressed the son of Radha. Indeed, O monarch, thy son Suyodhana said unto Karna, 'O son of Vikartana, that time of battle hath come at last. O high-souled one, exhibit now thy might. O Karna, act in such a way that Jayadratha may not be slain by Arjuna! O foremost of men, the day is about to expire, strike now the foe with clouds of shafts! If the day expire, O foremost of men, victory, O Karna, will certainly be ours! If the ruler of the Sindhus can be protected till the setting of the sun, then Partha, his vow being falsified, will enter into blazing fire. O giver of honours, the brothers, then, of Arjuna, with all their followers, will not be able to live for even a moment in a world that is destitute of Arjuna! Upon the death of the sons of Pandu, the whole of the earth, O Karna, with her mountains and waters and forests, we will enjoy without a thorn on our side! O giver of honours, it seems that Partha, who without ascertaining what is practicable and what is impracticable, made this vow in battle, was afflicted by destiny itself, his judgement having taken a misdirected course! Without doubt, O Karna, the diadem-decked son of Pandu must have made this vow about the slaughter of Jayadratha

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for his own destruction! How, O son of Radha, when thou art alive will Phalguna succeed in slaying the ruler of the Sindhus before the sun goes to the Asta hills? How will Dhananjaya slay Jayadratha in battle when the latter is protected by the king of the Madras and by the illustrious Kripa? How will Vibhatsu, who seems to have been urged on by Fate, get at the ruler of the Sindhus when the latter if protected by Drona's son, by myself, and Duhsasana? Many are the heroes engaged in fight. The sun is hanging low in the sky. Partha will not even get at Jayadratha in battle, O giver of honours. Do thou therefore, O Karna, with myself and other brave and mighty car-warriors, with Drona's son and the ruler of the Madras and Kripa fight with Partha in battle, exerting thyself with the greatest firmness and resolution.' Thus addressed by thy son, O sire, the son of Radha replied unto Duryodhana, that foremost one among the Kurus, in these words, 'Deeply hath my body been pierced in battle by the brave bowman Bhimasena, capable of striking vigorously with repeated showers of arrows. O giver of honours, that I am yet present in battle is because that one like me should be present here. Scorched with the powerful shafts of Bhimasena, every limb of mine is suffering from torturing pain I shall, however, for all that, fight to the best of my powers. My life itself is for thee. I shall strive my best so that this foremost one of the sons of Pandu may not succeed in slaying the ruler of the Sindhus. As long as I shall fight, shooting my whetted shafts, the heroic Dhananjaya, capable of drawing the bow with even his left hand, will not succeed in getting at the ruler of the Sindhus. All that a person, bearing love and affection to thee and always solicitous of thy good, may do, shall be done by me, O thou of Kuru's race! As regards victory, that depends on destiny. I shall in battle today exert myself to my utmost for the sake of the ruler of the Sindhus, and for achieving thy good. O king, victory, however, is dependent on destiny. Relying on my manliness, I shall fight with Arjuna today for thy sake, O tiger among men! Victory, however, is dependent on destiny. O chief of the Kurus, let all the troops behold today the fierce battle, making the very hair stand on end, that takes place between myself and Arjuna.' While Karna and the Kuru king were thus talking to each other in battle, Arjuna began, with his keen arrows, to slaughter thy host. With his broad-headed arrows of great sharpness he began to cut off in that battle the arms, looking like spiked clubs or the trunks of elephants, of unreturning heroes. And the mighty-armed hero also cut off their heads with whetted shafts. And Vibhatsu also cut off the trunks of elephants and the necks of steeds and the Akshas of cars all around, as also blood-dyed horsemen, armed with spears and lances, with razor-faced arrows into two or three fragments. And steeds and foremost of elephants and standards and umbrellas and bows and Yalk-tails and heads fell fast on all sides. Consuming thy host like a blazing fire consuming a heap of dry grass, Partha soon caused the earth to be covered with blood. And the mighty and invincible Partha, of prowess incapable of being baffled, causing an immense slaughter in that army of thine, soon reached the ruler of the Sindhus. Protected by Bhimasena and by Satwata, Vibhatsu, O chief of the Bharatas, looked resplendent like a blazing fire. Beholding Phalguna in that state, the mighty bowmen of thy army, those bulls among men, endued with wealth of energy, could not brook him. Then Duryodhana and Karna and Vrishasena and the ruler of the Madras, and Aswatthaman and Kripa and the ruler of the Sindhus himself, excited with wrath and fighting for the sake of the Sindhu king, encompassed the diadem-decked Arjuna on all sides. All those warriors, skilled in battle, placing the ruler of the Sindhus at their back, and desirous of slaying Arjuna and Krishna, surrounded Partha, that hero conversant with battle, who was then dancing along the track of his car, producing fierce sounds with the bowstring and his palms and resembling the Destroyer himself with wide-opened mouth. The sun then had assumed a red hue in the sky. Desirous of his (speedy) setting, the Kaurava warriors, bending their bows with arms, resembling the (tapering) bodies of snake sped their shafts in hundreds towards Phalguna, resembling the rays of the sun. Cutting off those shafts thus sped towards him, into two, three, or eight fragments the diadem-decked Arjuna, invincible in battle, pierced them all in that encounter. Then Aswatthaman, bearing on his banner the mark of a lion's tail, displaying his might, began, O king, to resist Arjuna. Indeed, the son of Saradwata's daughter piercing Partha with ten shafts and Vâsudeva with seven, stayed in the track of Arjuna's car, protecting the ruler of the Sindhus. Then, many foremost ones among the Kurus, great car-warriors, all encompassed Arjuna, on all sides with a large throng of cars. Stretching their bows and shooting countless shafts, they began to protect the ruler of the Sindhus, at the command of thy son. We then beheld the prowess of the brave Partha as also the inexhaustible character of his shafts, and the might, too, of his bow Gandiva. Baffling with his own weapons those of Drona's son and Kripa, he pierced every one of those warriors with nine shafts. Then, Drona's son pierced him with five and twenty arrows, and Vrishasena with seven, and Duryodhana pierced him with twenty, and Karma and Salya each with three. And all of them roared at him and continued to pierce him frequently, and shaking their bows, they surrounded him on all sides. And soon they caused their cars to be drawn up in a serried line around Arjuna. Desirous of the (speedy) setting of the sun, those mighty car-warriors of the Kaurava army, endued with great activity, began to roar at Arjuna, and shaking their bows, covered him with showers of keen arrows like cloud pouring rain on a mountain. Those brave warriors, with arms resembling heavy clubs, also discharged on that occasion, O king, on Dhananjaya's body celestial weapons. Having caused an immense slaughter in thy army, the mighty and invincible Dhananjaya, of prowess incapable of being baffled came upon the ruler of the Sindhus. Karna, however, O king, with his arrows, resisted him in that battle in the very sight, O Bharata, of Bhimasena and Satwata. The mighty-armed Partha, in the very sight of all the troops, pierced the Suta's son, in return, with ten arrows, on the field of battle. Then Satwata, O sire, pierced Karna with three arrows. And Bhimasena pierced him with three arrows, and Partha himself, once more, with seven. The mighty car-warrior, Karna, then pierced each of those three warriors with sixty arrows. And thus, O king, raged that battle between Karna alone (on one side) and the many (on the other). The prowess, O sire, that we then beheld of the Suta's son was wonderful in the extreme, since, excited with wrath in battle, he singly resisted those three great car-warriors. Then the mighty-armed Phalguna, in that battle, pierced Karna, the son of Vikartana, in all his limbs with a hundred arrows. All his limbs bathed in blood, the Suta's son of great prowess and bravery, pierced Phalguna in return with fifty arrows. Beholding that lightness of hand displayed by him in battle, Arjuna brooked it not. Cutting off his bow, that hero, viz., Dhananjaya, the son of Pritha, quickly pierced Karna in the centre of the chest with nine arrows, Then Dhananjaya, with great speed at a time, when speed was necessary shot in that battle a shaft of solar effulgence for the destruction of Karna. Drona's son, however, with a crescent-shaped arrow, cut off that shaft as it coursed impetuously (towards Karna). Thus cut off by Aswatthaman, that shaft fell down on the earth. Endued with great prowess, the Suta's son, then, O king, took up another bow, and covered the son of Pandu with several thousands of arrows. Partha, however, like the wind dispersing flight of locusts, dispelled with his own arrows that extraordinary shower of arrows issuing out of Karna's bow. Then Arjuna, displaying his lightness of hands, covered Karna, in that battle, with his arrows, in the very sight of all thy troops. Karna also, that slayer of hosts, desirous of counteracting Arjuna's feat, covered Arjuna with several thousands of arrows. Roaring at each other like two bulls, those lions among men, those mighty car-warriors, shrouded the welkin with clouds of straight shafts. Each rendered invisible by the other's arrowy showers, they continued to strike each other. And they roared at each other and pierced each other with their wordy darts, saying, 'I am Partha, wait'--or, 'I am Karna, wait', O Phalguna! Indeed these two heroes fought with each other wonderfully, displaying great activity and skill. And the sight they presented was such that other warriors became witnesses of that battle. And applauded by Siddhas, Charnas and Pannagas, they fought with each other, O king, each desirous of slaying the other. Then Duryodhana, O king addressing thy warriors, said, 'Carefully protect the son of Radha! Without slaying Arjuna he would not abstain from battle. Even this is what Vrisha told me.' Meanwhile, O monarch, beholding the prowess of Karna, Arjuna, of white steeds, with four shafts shot from the bow-string drawn to the ear, despatched the four steeds of Karna to Yama's domain. And he also felled with a broad-headed arrow, Karna's charioteer from his niche in the car. And he covered Karna himself with clouds of shafts in the very sight of thy son. Thus shrouded with arrows the steedless and driverless Karna, stupefied by that arrowy shower, knew not what to do. Beholding him made carless, Aswatthaman, O king, caused him to ride on his car, and continued to fight with Arjuna. Then the ruler of the Madras pierced the son of Kunti with thirty arrows. Saradwata's son pierced Vâsudeva with twenty arrows. And he struck Dhananjaya also with a dozen shafts. And the ruler of the Sindhus pierced each with four arrows, and Vrishasena also pierced each of them, O king, with seven arrows. Kunti's son, Dhananjaya, pierced all of them in return. Indeed, piercing Drona's son with four and sixty shafts, and the ruler of the Madras with a hundred, and the Sindhu king with ten broad-headed arrows, and Vrishasena with three arrows and Saradwata's son with twenty, Partha uttered a loud shout. Desirous of baffling the vow of Savyasachin, thy warriors, excited with wrath, quickly rushed at Dhananjaya from all sides. Then Arjuna, frightening the Dhartarashtras, invoked into existence the Varuna weapon on all sides. The Kauravas, however, on their costly cars, pouring showers of arrows, advanced against the son of Pandu. But, O Bharata, in course of that stupefying and fierce engagement, fraught with the greatest confusion, that price, viz., Arjuna, decked with diadem and gold chain never lost his senses. On the other hand, he continued to pour showers of arrows. Desirous of recovering the kingdom and recollecting all the wrongs he had suffered for twelve years in consequence of the Kurus, the high-souled and immeasurable Arjuna darkened all the points of the compass with shafts from Gandiva. The welkin seemed ablaze with meteors. Innumerable crows, alighting from the sky, perched on the bodies (of dead combatants). Meanwhile, Arjuna continued to slay the foe with his Gandiva, like Mahadeva slaying the Asuras with his Pinaka equipped with tawny string. Then the illustrious Kiritin, that subjugator of (hostile) ranks, dispersing the shafts of the foe by means of his own formidable bow, slaughtered with his arrows many foremost ones among the Kurus, mounted on their foremost of steeds and elephants. Then many kings, taking up heavy maces and clubs of iron and swords and darts and diverse other kinds of powerful weapons, assuming terrible forms, rushed suddenly against Partha in that battle. Then Arjuna, bending with his arms his formidable bow Gandiva which resembled the bow of Indra himself and whose twang was as loud as the roar of the clouds congregating at the end of the Yuga, and laughing the while, went on consuming thy troops and increasing the population of Yama's kingdom. Indeed, that hero caused those enraged warriors with their cars and elephants and with the foot-soldiers and bowmen supporting them, to be deprived of their arms and lives and thus to swell the population of Yama's domain.'"

SECTION 145

"Sanjaya said, 'Hearing the twang, resembling the loud call of Death himself or the frightful peal of Indra's thunder, of Dhananjaya's bow, while he stretched it, that host of thine, O king, anxious with fear and exceedingly agitated, became like the waters of the sea with fishes and makaras within them, ruffled into mountain-like waves and lashed into fury by the hurricane that arises at the end of the Yuga. Then Dhananjaya, the son of Pritha, careered in battle in such a way that he was seen at the same time to be present in all directions, displaying his wonderful weapons. Indeed, so light-handed was the son of Pandu that we could not mark when he took out his shafts, O king, when he fixed them on the bow-string, when he stretched the bow, and when he let them off. Then the mighty-armed one, O king, excited with wrath, invoked into existence the invincible Aindra weapon, frightening all the Bharatas. Hundreds and thousands of blazing shafts of fiery mouths, inspired by mantras with the force of celestial weapons, flowed from it. With those shafts resembling fire or the rays of the sun, coursing with fierce impetuosity, the welkin became incapable of being gazed at, as if filled with flashing meteors. Then that darkness which had been caused by the Katirava with their arrows, which was incapable of being dispersed even in imagination by others, the son of Pandu, careering around and displaying his prowess, destroyed by means of those shafts of his that were inspired by means of mantras with the force of celestial weapons, like the sun himself speedily dispersing at dawn of day the darkness of night by means of his rays. Then the puissant Arjuna, with those blazing shafts of his, sucked the lives of thy warriors like the summer sun sucking with his hot rays the waters of tanks and lakes. Indeed, showers of shafts endued with the force of celestial weapons, (shot by Arjuna) covered the hostile army like the rays of the sun covering the earth. Other arrows of fierce energy, sped (by Dhananjaya), quickly entered the hearts of (hostile) heroes, like dear friends. Indeed, those brave warriors that came in that battle before Arjuna, all perished like insects approaching a blazing fire. Thus crushing the lives of his foes and their fame, Partha careered in that battle like Death in embodied form. Heads decked with diadems, massive arms, adorned with Angadas, and ears with ear-rings of the foes, Partha, cut off with his shafts. The arms, with spears, of elephant-riders; those, with lances, of horsemen; those, with shields, of foot-soldiers; those with bows, of car-warriors; and those, with whips and goads, of charioteers the son of Pandu cut off. Indeed, Dhananjaya looked resplendent with his shafts of blazing points that seemed to constitute his rays, like a blazing fire with incessant sparks and rising flames. The hostile kings, mustering all their resolution, could not even gaze at Dhananjaya, that foremost of all bearers of arms, that hero equal to the chief of the gods himself, that bull among men, seen at the same time in all directions on his car, scattering his mighty weapons, dancing in the tract of his car, and producing deafening sounds with his bowstring and palms, and resembling the midday sun of scorching rays in the firmament. Bearing his shafts of blazing points, the diadem-decked Arjuna looked beautiful like a mighty mass of rain-charged clouds in the season of rains decked with a rainbow. When that perfect flood of mighty weapons was set in motion by Jishnu, many bulls among warriors sank in that frightful and unfordable flood. Strewn with infuriated elephants whose trunks or tusks had been cut off, with steeds deprived of hoofs or necks, with cars reduced to pieces, with warriors having their entrails drawn out and others with legs or other limbs cut off, with bodies lying in hundreds and thousands that were either perfectly still or moving unconsciously, we beheld the vast field, on which Partha battled, resembled the coveted arena of Death, O king, enhancing the terrors of the timid, or like the sporting ground of Rudra when he destroyed

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creatures in days of old. Portions of the field, strewn with the trunks of elephants cut off with razor-headed arrows, looked as if strewn with snakes. Portions, again, covered with the cut-off heads of warriors, looked as if strewn with garlands of lotuses. Variegated with beautiful head-gear and crowns, Keyuras and Angadas and car-rings with coats of mail decked with gold, and with the trappings and other ornaments of elephants and steeds, and scattered over with hundreds of diadems, lying here and there, and the earth looked exceedingly beautiful like a new bride. Dhananjaya then caused a fierce and terrible river full of fearful objects and enhancing the fear of the timid, to flow resembling the Vaitarani itself. The marrow and fat (of men and animals) formed its mire. Blood formed its current. Full of limbs and bones, it was fathomless in depth. The hairs of creatures formed its moss and weeds. Heads and arms formed the stones on its shores. It was decked with standards and banners that variegated its aspect. Umbrellas and bows formed the waves. And it abounded with bodies of huge elephants deprived of life, and it teemed with cars that formed hundreds of rafts floating on its surface. And the carcases of countless steeds formed its banks. And it was difficult to cross in consequence of wheels and yokes and shafts and Akshas and Kuveras of cars, and spears and swords and darts and battle-axes and shafts looking like snakes. And ravens and kankas formed its alligators. And jackals, forming its Makaras, made in terrible. And fierce vultures formed its sharks. And it became frightful in consequence of the howls of jackals. And it abounded with capering ghosts and Pisachas and thousands of other kinds of spirits. And on it floated countless bodies of warriors destitute of life. Beholding that prowess of Arjuna whose visage then resembled that of the Destroyer himself, a panic, such as had never occurred before, possessed the Kurus on the field of battle. The son of Pandu, then, baffling with his weapons those of the hostile heroes, and engaged in achieving fierce feats, gave all to understand that he was a warrior of fierce feats. Then Arjuna transgressed all those foremost of car-warriors, like the midday sun of scorching rays in the firmament, no one amongst the creatures there could even look at him. The shafts issuing out of the bow Gandiva of that illustrious hero in that battle, seemed to us to resemble a row of cranes in the welkin. Baffling with his own the weapons of all those heroes, and showing by the terrible achievements in which he was engaged that he was a warrior of fierce feats. Arjuna, desirous of slaying Jayadratha, transgressed all those foremost of car-warriors, stupefying them all by means of his shafts. Shooting his shafts on all sides, Dhananjaya, having Krishna for his charioteer, presented a beautiful sight by careering with great speed on the field of battle. The shafts in the welkin, by hundreds and thousands, of that illustrious hero, seemed to course incessantly through the sky. We never could notice when that mighty bowman took out his shafts, when indeed, that son of Pandu aimed them, and when he let them off. Then, O king, filling all the points of the compass with his shafts and afflicting all the car-warriors in battle, the son of Kunti proceeded towards Jayadratha and pierced him with four and sixty straight arrows. Then the Kuru warriors, beholding the son of Pandu proceeded towards Jayadratha, all abstained from battle. In fact, those heroes became hopeless of Jayadratha's life. Every one amongst thy warriors that rushed in that fierce battle against the son of Pandu, had his body deeply pierced, O lord, with a shaft of Arjuna. The mighty car-warrior Arjuna, that foremost of victorious persons, with his shafts blazing as fire made thy army teem with headless trunks. [A Kavandha is a headless trunk moving about as if endued with life. Tales are told of these headless beings drinking the blood of victims falling within their grasp.] Indeed, O king, thus creating a perfect confusion in thy host consisting of four kinds of forces, the son of Kunti proceeded towards Jayadratha, And he pierced the son of Drona. with fifty shafts and Vrishasena with three. And the son of Kunti mildly struck Kripa with nine arrows, and he struck Salya with sixteen arrows and Karna with two and thirty. And piercing the ruler of the Sindhus then with four and sixty arrows, he uttered a leonine shout. The ruler of the Sindhus, however, thus pierced by the wielder of Gandiva with his arrows, became filled with rage and unable to brook it, like an elephant when pierced with the hook. Bearing the device of the boar on his banner, he quickly sped towards Phalguna's car many straight shafts equipped with vulturine feathers, resembling angry snakes of virulent poison, well-polished by the hands of the smith, and shot from his bow drawn to the fullest stretch. Then piercing Govinda with three shafts, he struck Arjuna with six. And then he pierced the steeds of Arjuna with eight arrows and his standard also with one. Then Arjuna, baffling the keen arrows sped by the ruler of the Sindhus, cut off at the same time, with a pair of shafts, the head of Jayadratha's driver and the well-decked standard also of Jayadratha. Its stay cut off and itself pierced and struck with arrows, that standard fell down like a flame of fire. Meanwhile, the sun was going down quickly. Janardana then quickly addressed the son of Pandu and said, 'Behold, O Partha, the ruler of the Sindhus hath, by six mighty and heroic car-warriors, been placed in their-midst! Jayadratha also, O mighty-armed one, is waiting there in fear! Without vanquishing those six car-warriors in battle, O bull among men, thou wilt never be able to slay the ruler of the Sindhus even if thou exertest thyself without intermission. I shall, therefore, resort to Yoga for shrouding the sun. Then the ruler of the Sindhus will (in consequence) behold the sun to have set. Desirous of life, O lord, through joy that wicked wight will no longer, for his destruction, conceal himself. Availing yourself of that opportunity, thou shouldst then, O best of the Kurus, strike him. Thou shouldst not give up the enterprise, thinking the sun to have really set.' Hearing these words, Vibhatsu replied unto Kesava, saying, 'Let it be so.' Then Krishna otherwise called Hari, possessed of ascetic powers, that lord of all ascetics, having taken recourse to Yoga, created that darkness. Thy warriors, O king, thinking the sun to have set were filled with delight at the prospect of Partha's laying down his life. Indeed, thy warriors, not seeing the sun, were filled with gladness. All of them stood, with heads thrown backwards. King Jayadratha also was in the same attitude. And while the ruler of the Sindhus was thus beholding the sun, Krishna, once more addressing Dhananjaya said these words, 'Behold, the heroic ruler of the Sindhus is now looking at the sun, casting off his fear of thee, O foremost one among the Bharatas! This is the hour, O mighty-armed one, for the slaughter of that wicked-souled wretch. Speedily cut off the head and make thy vow true.' Thus addressed by Kesava the valiant son of Pandu began to slaughter thy host with his arrows resembling the sun or fire in splendour. And he pierced Kripa with twenty arrows and Karna with fifty. And he struck Salya and Duryodhana each with six. And he pierced Vrishasena with eight arrows and the ruler of the Sindhus himself with sixty. And the mighty-armed son of Pandu, O king, deeply piercing with his arrows the other warriors of thy host, rushed against Jayadratha. Beholding him in their presence like a swelling fire with its tongue of flame outstretched, the protectors of Jayadratha were sorely puzzled. Then all the warriors, O king, desirous of victory bathed the son of Indra in that battle with torrents of arrows. Shrouded with incessant showers of arrows, the son of Kunti, that mighty-armed and unvanquished descendant of Kuru, became filled with rage. Then that tiger among men, viz., the son of Indra, desirous of slaughtering thy host, created a thick net of arrows. Then those warriors of thine, O king, thus slaughtered in battle by that hero, abandoned the ruler of the Sindhus in fear and fled away. And they fled away in such a manner that no two persons could be seen flying together. The prowess that we then beheld of Kunti's son was extremely wonderful. Indeed, the like of what that illustrious warrior then did had never been nor will ever be. Like Rudra himself slaughtering creatures, Dhananjaya slaughtered elephants and elephant-riders, horses and horse-riders, and (car-warriors and) car-drivers. I did not in that battle, O king, see a single elephant or steed or human warrior that was not struck with Partha's shafts. Their vision blurred by dust and darkness, thy warriors became perfectly cheerless and unable to distinguish one another. Urged on by fate and with their vital limbs cut open and mangled with shafts, they began to wander or, limp, or fall down. And some amongst them, O Bharata, became paralysed and some became deathly pale. During that terrible carnage resembling the slaughter of creatures at the end of the Yuga, in that deadly and fierce battle from which few could escape with life, the earth became drenched with gore and the earthy dust that had arisen disappeared in consequence of the showers of blood that fell and the swift currents of wind that blew over the field. So deep was that rain of blood that the wheels of cars sank to their naves. Thousands of infuriated elephants endued with great speed, O king, of thy army, their riders slain and limbs mangled, fled away, uttering cries of pain and crushing friendly ranks with their tread. Steeds destitute of riders and foot-soldiers also, O king, fled away, O monarch, from fear, struck with the shafts of Dhananjaya. Indeed, thy soldiers, with dishevelled hair and deprived of their coats of mail, with blood streaming out of their wounds, fled away in terror, leaving the field of battle. And some, deprived of the power of motion as if their lower limbs had been seized by alligators, remained on the field. And others concealed themselves behind and under the bodies of slain elephants Routing thy host thus, O king, Dhananjaya began to strike with terrible shafts the protectors of the ruler of the Sindhus with his arrowy showers, Karna and Drona's son and Kripa and Salya and Vrishasena and Duryodhana. So quick was he in the use of weapons that no one could mark when Arjuna took out his arrows, when he fixed them on the bowstring, when he stretched---the bow and let them off. Indeed, while striking the foe, his bow was seen incessantly drawn to a circle. His arrows also were seen incessantly issuing out of his bow and scattered in all directions. Then cutting off Karna's bow as also of Vrishasena's, Arjuna felled Salya's driver from his niche in the car, with a broad-headed arrow. With many arrows that foremost of victors, viz., Dhananjaya, then deeply pierced in that battle Kripa and Aswatthaman, related as uncle and nephew to each other. Sorely afflicting those mighty car-warriors of thy army thus, the son of Pandu took up a terrible arrow of fiery splendour. Looking like the thunderbolt of Indra, and inspired with divine mantras, that formidable arrow was capable of bearing any strain. And it had been always worshipped with incense and garlands of flowers. Duly inspiring it (by mantras) with the force of the thunderbolt, that descendant, of Kuru, viz., the mighty-armed Arjuna, fixed it on Gandiva. When that arrow of fiery effulgence was fixed on the bowstring, loud shouts, O king, were heard in the welkin. Then Janardana, once more addressing Arjuna, quickly said, 'O Dhananjaya, quickly cut off the head of the wicked-souled ruler of the Sindhus! The sun is about to get at the mountain of Asta. Listen, however, to the words I say about the slaughter of Jayadratha. The father of Jayadratha is Vriddhakshatra known all over the world. It was after a long time that he got Jayadratha, that slayer of foes, for his son. (At the birth of the son) an incorporeal and invisible voice, deep as that of the clouds or of the drum, said unto king Vriddhakshatra. 'This thy son, O lord, amongst men in this world will become worthy of the two races (viz., the Solar and the Lunar) in respect of blood, behaviour, self-restraint and the other attributes. He will become one of the foremost of Kshatriyas, and will always be worshipped by heroes. But while struggling in battle, some bull among the Kshatriyas, some conspicuous person in the world, excited with wrath, will cut off this one's head.' That chastiser of foes, viz., the (old) ruler of the Sindhus, hearing these words, reflected for sometime. Overwhelmed with affection for his son, he summoned all his kinsmen and said, 'That man who will cause the head of my son to fall on the earth while the latter, struggling in battle, will be bearing a great burthen, I say that the head of that man will certainly crack into a hundred pieces.' Having spoken these words and installed Jayadratha on the throne, Vriddhakshatra, repairing to the woods, devoted himself to ascetic austerities. Endued with great energy, he is still engaged in the observance of the austerest of penances outside this very Samantapanchaka, O ape-bannered one! Therefore, cutting off Jayadratha's head in this dreadful battle, thou, O slayer of foes, shouldst, O Bharata, by thy fierce celestial weapon of wonderful feats, quickly throw that head decked with car-rings upon the lap of Vriddhakshatra himself, O younger brother of the son of the Wind-god! If thou fellest Jayadratha's head on the earth, thy own head, then, without doubt, will crack into a hundred fragments. Aided by thy celestial weapon, do thee deed in such a way that the lord of earth viz., the old Sindhu king, may not know that it is done. Truly, O Arjuna, there is nothing in the three worlds which thou canst not achieve or do, O son of Vasava!' Hearing these words (of Krishna), Dhananjaya, licking the corners of his mouth, quickly shot that arrow which he had taken up for Jayadratha's slaughter, that arrow, viz., whose touch resembled that of Indra's thunder, which was inspired with mantras and converted into a celestial weapon, which was capable of bearing any strain, and which had always been worshipped with incense and garlands. That shaft, sped from Gandiva, coursing swiftly, snatched Jayadratha's head away, like a hawk snatching away a smaller bird from the top of a tree. Dhananjaya, then, with his shafts, sent that head along in the welkin (without allowing it to fall down). For grieving his foes and gladdening his friends, the son of Pandu, by shooting his shafts repeatedly at it, sent that head outside the limits of Samantapanchaka. Meanwhile, king Vriddhakshatra, the father of thy son-in-law, endued with great energy, was, O sire, engaged in his evening prayers. Decked with black locks and adorned with ear-rings, that head of Jayadratha was thrown upon Vriddhakshatra's lap, as the latter was saying his prayers in a sitting posture. Thus thrown on his lap, that head decked with car-rings, O chastiser of foes, was not seen by king Vriddhakshatra. As the latter, however, stood up after finishing his prayers it suddenly fell down on the earth. And as the head of Jayadratha fell down on the earth, the head of Vriddhakshatra, O chastiser of foes, cracked into a hundred pieces. At the sight of this, all creatures were filled with wonder. And all of them applauded Vasudeva and the mighty Vibhatsu.

"After, O king, the ruler of the Sindhus had been slain by the diadem-decked Arjuna, that darkness, O bull of Bharata's race, was withdrawn by Vasudeva. Thy sons with their followers, O king, thus, came to know subsequently that the darkness, they had seen, had all been an illusion produced by Vasudeva. Even thus, O king, was thy son-in-law, the ruler of the Sindhus, having caused eight Akshauhinis to be slaughtered, himself slain by Partha of inconceivable energy. Beholding Jayadratha, the ruler of the Sindhus slain, tears of sorrow fell from the eyes of thy sons. After Jayadratha, O king, had been slain by Partha, Kesava blew his conch and that scorcher of foes, viz., the mighty-armed Arjuna also blew his; Bhimasena also, in that battle, as if for sending a message to Yudhishthira, filled the welkin with a tremendous leonine shout. Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma, bearing that tremendous shout understood that the ruler of the Sindhus had been slain by the high-souled Phalguna. With sounds of drums and other instruments he gladdened the warriors of his own army, and proceeded against the son of Bharadwaja from

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desire of battle. Then commenced, O king, after the sun had set, a fierce battle between Drona and the Somakas, that made the very hair stand on end. Desirous of slaying him, those mighty car-warriors after the fall of Jayadratha, fought with the son of Bharadwaja, exerting themselves to their utmost. Indeed, the Pandavas, having got the victory by slaying the ruler of the Sindhus fought with Drona, intoxicated with success. Arjuna, also, O king, having slain king Jayadratha, fought with many mighty car-warriors of thy army. Indeed, that hero decked with diadem and garlands, having accomplished his former vow, began to destroy his foes like the chief of the celestials destroying the Danavas, or the sun destroying darkness.'

SECTION 146

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Tell me, O Sanjaya, what did my warriors do after the heroic ruler of the Sindhus had been slain, by Arjuna.'

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding the ruler of the Sindhus, O sire, slain in battle by Partha, Kripa, the son of Saradwat, under the influence of wrath, covered the son of Pandu with a dense shower of arrows. Drona's son also, on his car, rushed against Phalguna, the son of Pritha. Those two foremost of car-warriors began from their cars to shower from opposite directions upon the son of Pandu their keen arrows. That foremost of car-warriors, viz., the mighty-armed Arjuna, afflicted by those arrowy showers of (Kripa and Drona's son) felt great pain. Without desiring, however, to slay his preceptor (Kripa) as also the son of (his other preceptor) Drona, Dhananjaya, the son of Kunti, began to act like a preceptor in arms. Baffling with his own weapons those of both Aswatthaman and Kripa, he sped at them, without desiring to slay them, shafts that coursed mildly. Those shafts, however (though mildly), shot by Jaya struck the two with great force, and in consequence of their number, caused great pain to Kripa and his nephew. Then Saradwat's son, O king, thus afflicted with the arrows of Arjuna, lost all strength and swooned away on the terrace of his car. Understanding his master afflicted with shafts to be deprived of his senses, and believing him to be dead, the driver of Kripa's car bore Kripa away from the fight. And after Kripa, the son of Saradwat, had thus been borne away from the battle, Aswatthaman also, from fear, fled away from the son of Pandu. Then the mighty bowman, Partha, beholding the son of Saradwat afflicted with shafts and in a swoon, began to indulge, on his car, in piteous lamentations. With a tearful face and in great dejection of heart, he uttered these words: Beholding all this (in his mental vision), Vidura of great wisdom had, on the birth of the wretched Suyodhana, that exterminator of his race, said unto Dhritarashtra, 'Let this wretch of his race be soon killed. Owing to him, a great calamity will overtake the foremost ones of Kuru's race.` Alas, these words of the truth-telling Vidura have come to be true. It is for him that I behold my preceptor today lying on a bed of arrows. Fie on the practices of Kshatriya!

Fie on my might and prowess! Who else like me would fight with a Brahmana that is, besides his preceptor? Kripa is the son of a Rishi; he is, again, my preceptor; he is also the dear friend of Drona. Alas, he lieth stretched on the terrace of his car, afflicted with my arrows. Though not wishing it, I have still been the means of crushing him with my shafts. Lying senseless on the terrace of his car, he paineth my heart exceedingly. Even though he afflicted me with shafts, I should still have only looked at that warrior of dazzling splendour (without striking him in return). Struck with numerous shafts of mine, he hath gone the way of all creatures. By that he hath pained me more than even the slaughter of my own son. Behold, O Krishna, to what plight he hath been reduced, thus lying miserably and in a senseless state on his own car. Those bulls among men that give desirable objects unto their preceptors after obtaining knowledge from them, attain to godhead. Those lowest of mortals on the other hand, who, after obtaining knowledge from their preceptors strike the latter, those wicked men, go to hell. Without doubt, this act that I have done will lead me to hell. I have deeply pierced my preceptor on his car with showers of arrows. While studying the science of arms at his feet, Kripa told me in those days, 'Do not, O thou of Kuru's race, ever strike thy preceptor. That command of my righteous and high-souled preceptor I have not obeyed, for I have struck, the very Kripa himself with my shafts. I bow to that worshipful son of Gotama, to that unretreating hero. Fie on me, O thou of Vrishni's race, since I have struck even him.' While Savyasachin was thus lamenting for Kripa, the son of Radha, beholding the ruler of the Sindhu slain, rushed towards him. Seeing the son of Radha thus rushing towards Arjuna the two Panchala princes and Satyaki suddenly rushed towards him. The mighty car-warrior, Partha, beholding the son of Radha advancing, smilingly addressed the son of Devaki and said, 'Yonder cometh the son of Adhiratha against the car of Satyaki. Without doubt, he is unable to bear the slaughter of Bhurisravas in battle. Urge my steeds, O Janardana, towards the spot whither Karna cometh. Let not Vrisha (Karna) cause the Satwata hero to follow in the wake of Bhurisravas.' Thus addressed by Savyasachin, the mighty-armed Kesava, endued with great energy, replied in these opportune words, 'The mighty-armed Satyaki is singly a match for Karna, O son of Pandu! How much superior then will this bull among the Satwatas be when he is united with the two sons of Drupada! For the present, O Partha, it is not proper for thee to fight with Karna. The latter hath with him the blazing dart, like a fierce meteor, that Vasava gave him. O slayer of hostile heroes, he hath kept it for thy sake, worshipping it with reverence. Let Karna then freely proceed against the Satwata hero. I know, O son of Kunti, this wicked wight's hour, when, indeed, thou wilt, with keen shafts, throw him down from his car.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Tell me, O Sanjaya, how the battle took place between the heroic Karna and Satyaki of the Vrishni race, after the fall of Bhurisravas and of the ruler of the Sindhus. Satyaki had been carless, upon what car then was he mounted? And how also did the two protectors of the wheels (of Arjuna's car), viz., the two Panchala princes, fight?'

"Sanjaya said, 'I will describe to thee all that happened in that dreadful battle. Listen patiently to (the consequences of) thy own evil conduct. Before even the encounter, Krishna knew it in his heart that the heroic Satyaki would be vanquished by the stake-bannered (Bhurisravas). Janardana, O king, knoweth both the past and the future. For this, summoning his charioteer, Daruka, he had commanded him, saying, 'Let my car be kept equipped tomorrow.' Even this had been the command of that mighty one. Neither the gods, nor the Gandharvas, nor the Yakshas, nor the Uragas, nor the Rakshasas, nor human beings, are capable of conquering the two Krishnas. The gods with the Grandsire at their head, as also the Siddhas, know the incomparable prowess of those two. Listen, however, now to the battle as it happened. Beholding Satyaki carless and Karna ready for battle Madhava blew his conch of loud blare in the Rishabha note. 1 Daruka, hearing the blare of (Kesava's) conch, understood the meaning, and soon took that car, equipped with a lofty standard of gold, to where Kesava was. With Kesava's permission, upon that car guided by Daruka, and which resembled the blazing fire or the sun in effulgence, ascended the grandson of Sini. Ascending upon the car which resembled a celestial vehicle and unto which were yoked those foremost of steeds, capable of going everywhere at will, viz., Saivya and Sugriva and Meghapushya and Valahaka, and which were adorned with trappings of gold, Satyaki rushed against the son of Radha, scattering countless shafts. The two protectors of (Arjuna's) car-wheels, viz., Yudhamanyu and Uttamaujas, abandoning Dhananjaya's car, proceeded against the son of Radha. Radha's son also, O king, shooting showers of shafts, angrily rushed, in that battle, against the invincible grandson of Sini. The battle that took place between them was such that its like had never been heard to have taken place on earth or in heaven between gods, Gandharvas, Asuras, Uragas, or Rakshasas. The entire host consisting of cars, steeds, men, and elephants, abstained from the fight, Beholding, O monarch, the stunning feats of two warriors. All became silent spectators of that superhuman battle between those two human heroes, O king, and of the skill of Daruka in guiding the car. Indeed, beholding the skill of the charioteer Daruka standing on the car, as he guided the vehicle forwards, backwards, sidelong, now wheeling in circles and now stopping outright, all were amazed. The gods, the Gandharvas, and the Danavas, in the welkin, intently watched that battle between Karna and the grandson of Sini. Both of them endued with great might, each challenging the other, those two warriors put forth their prowess for the sake of their friends. Karna who looked like a celestial, and Yuyudhana, O king, rained upon each other showers of shafts. Indeed, Karna ground the grandson of Sini with his arrowy downpours, unable to put up with the slaughter (by Satyaki) of the Kuru hero, Jalasandha. Filled with grief and sighing like a mighty snake, Karna, casting angry glances on the grandson of Sini in that battle, and as if burning him therewith, rushed at him furiously again and again, O Chastiser of foes! Beholding him filled with rage, Satyaki pierced him in return, shooting dense showers of arrows, like an elephant piercing (with his tusks) a rival elephant. Those two tigers among men, endued with the activity of tigers and possessed of incomparable prowess, mangled each other furiously in that battle. The grandson of Sini, then, with shafts made entirely of iron, repeatedly pierced Karna, that chastiser of foes, in all his limbs. And he also felled, with a broad-headed arrow, the charioteer of Karna from his niche in the car. And with his keen shafts, he slew the four steeds, white in hue, of Adhiratha's son. And then cutting into a hundred fragments the standard of Karna with a hundred arrows, that bull among men made Karna carless in the very sight of thy son. Then all thy warriors, O king, became cheerless. Then Vrishasena, the son of Karna, and Salya, the ruler of the Madras, and Drona's son, encompassed the grandson of Sini from all sides. Then a confusion set in, and nothing could be seen. Indeed, when the heroic Karna was made carless by Satyaki, cries of Oh and Alas arose, among all thy troops. Karna also, O king, pierced by Satwata with his arrows and exceedingly weakened ascended the car of Duryodhana, sighing deeply, remembering his friendship for thy son from his childhood and having striven to realise the promise he had made about the bestowal of sovereignty on Duryodhana. After Karna hath been made carless, thy brave sons, headed by Duhsasana, O king, were not slain by the self-restrained Satyaki because the latter wished not to falsify the vow made by Bhimasena. Desirous also of not falsifying the vow formerly made by Partha (about the slaughter of Karna), Satyaki simply made those warriors carless and weakened them exceedingly, but did not deprive them of life. It is Bhima that hath vowed the slaughter of thy sons, and it is Partha that, at the time of the second match at dice, vowed the slaughter of Karna. Although all those warriors headed by Karna made strong efforts for slaying Satyaki, yet those foremost of car-warriors, failed to slay him. Drona's son and Kritavarman and other mighty car-warriors, as also hundreds of foremost Kshatriyas, were all vanquished by Satyaki with only one bow. That hero fought, desirous of benefiting king Yudhishthira the Just, and of attaining to heaven. Indeed, Satyaki, that crusher of foes, is equal to either of the two Krishnas in energy. Smiling the while, he vanquished all thy troops, O best of men! In this world, there are only three mighty bowmen, viz., Krishna, Partha, and Satyaki. There is no fourth to be seen.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Ascending on the invincible car of Vasudeva that had Daruka for its driver, Satyaki, proud of the might of his arms and equal in battle unto Vasudeva himself, made Karna carless. Did Satyaki ride any other car (after his encounter with Karna was over)? I am desirous of hearing this, O Sanjaya! Thou art skilled in narration. I regard Satyaki to be endued with unbearable prowess. Tell me all, O Sanjaya!'

"Sanjaya said, 'Hear, O king, how it had happened. The intelligent younger brother of Daruka soon brought unto Satyaki another car, duly equipped with all necessaries. With shafts attached to it by chains of iron and gold and bands of silk, decked with a thousand stars, decked with banners and with the figure of a lion on his standard, with horses, fleet as the wind and adorned with trappings of gold, yoked unto it, and with rattle deep as the roar of the clouds, that car was brought unto him. Ascending upon it, the grandson of Sini rushed against thy troops. Daruka, meanwhile, went as he listed to Kesava's side. A new cat was brought for Karna also, O king, unto which were yoked four steeds of the best breed that were decked in trappings of gold and white as conchs or milk. Its kaksha and standard were made of gold. Furnished with banners and machines, that foremost of cars had an excellent driver. And it was furnished with a profusion of weapons of every kind. Mounting on that car, Karna also rushed against his foes. I have now told thee all that thou hadst asked me. Once more, however, O king, learn the (extent of the) destruction caused by the evil policy. Thirty one of thy sons have been slain by Bhimasena. Having Durmukha for their foremost, they were conversant with all modes of warfare. Satyaki and Arjuna also have slain hundreds of heroes with Bhimasena as their foremost, and Bhagadatta also, O sire! Even thus, O king, hath the destruction commenced, caused by thy evil counsels.'

SECTION 147

"Dhritarashtra said, When such was the condition of battle, between those heroes of their side and mine, what did Bhima then do? Tell me all, O Sanjaya!'

"Sanjaya said, 'After Bhimasena had been made carless, that hero, afflicted with the wordy darts of Karna and filled with rage, addressed Phalguna and said, 'In thy very sight, O Dhananjaya, Karna hath repeatedly said to me, 'Eunuch, fool, glutton, unskilled in weapons, do not fight, child, unable to bear the burden of battle!' He that would tell me so would be slain by me. Karna hath told me those words, O Bharata! O mighty-armed one, thou knowest the vow which I have made jointly with thee. Remember the words that were then spoken by me. O foremost of men, act in such a way that that vow of mine, O son of Kunti, as also thy own vow, may not be falsified. O Dhananjaya, do that by which that vow of mine may be made true.' Hearing these words of Bhima, Arjuna of immeasurable prowess, getting near Karna in that battle, told him, 'O Karna, thou art of false fight. O son of a Suta, thou applaudest thy own self. Of wicked understanding, listen now to what I tell thee.

Heroes meet with either of these two things in battle, viz., victory or defeat. Both of these are uncertain, O son of Radha! The case is not otherwise when Indra himself is engaged in battle. Made carless by Yuyudhana, with thy senses no longer under thy control, thou wert almost at the point of death. Remembering, however, that I had vowed to slay thee, that hero dismissed thee without taking thy life. It is true thou hadst succeeded in depriving Bhimasena of his car. Thy abuse, however, O son of Radha, of that hero was sinful. Those bulls among men that are truly righteous and brave, having vanquished a foe, never boast, nor speak ill of anybody. Thy knowledge, however, is little. It is for this, O son of a Suta, that thou indulged in such speeches. Then, again the abusive

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epithets thou didst apply to the battling Bhimasena, endued with great prowess and heroism and devoted to the practices of the righteous, were not consistent with truth. In the very sight of all the troops, of Kesava, as also of myself, thou wert many a time made carless by Bhimasena in battle. That son of Pandu, however, did not call thee a single harsh word. Since, however, thou hast addressed Vrikodara in many harsh speeches, and since thou with others hast slain the son of Subhadra out of my sight, therefore, this very day obtain the fruit of those offences of thine. It was for thy own destruction, O wicked wight, that thou didst then cut off Abhimanyu's bow; for that, O thou of little understanding, thou shalt be slain by me, with all thy followers, forces, and animals. Accomplish now all those acts which thou shouldst do, for a great calamity is impending over thee. I will slay Vrishasena in thy very sight in battle. All those other kings, again, that will fully advance against me, I will despatch unto Yama's abode. I say this truly, laying my hand on my weapon. A fool as thou art, without wisdom and full of vanity, I say that beholding thee lying on the field of battle the wicked Duryodhana will indulge in bitter lamentations.' After Arjuna had vowed the slaughter of Karna's son, a loud and tremendous uproar arose amongst the car-warriors. At that frightful time when confusion was everywhere, the thousand-rayed sun, dimming his rays, entered the Asta hill. Then, O king, Hrishikesa, stationed in the van of battle embracing Arjuna who had accomplished his vow, told him these words, By good luck, O Jishnu, thy great vow hath been accomplished. By good luck, that Vriddhakshatra hath been slain along with his son. The celestial generalissimo himself, O -Bharata, encountering the Dhartarashtra force, would, in battle, O Jishnu, lose his senses. There is no doubt of this. Except thee, O tiger among men, I do not even in thought see the person in the three worlds that could fight with this host. Many royal warriors endued with great prowess, equal to thee or superior have been united together at Duryodhana's command. Clad in mail, they could not approach thee, encountering thy angry self in battle. Thy energy and might are equal to that of Rudra or the Destroyer himself. None else is capable of putting forth such prowess in battle as thou, O scorcher of foes, alone and unsupported, didst today put forth. Thus shall I applaud thee again after Karna of wicked soul has been slain along with his followers. Thus shall I glorify thee when that foe of thine shall have been vanquished and slain.' Unto him Arjuna replied, 'Through thy grace, O Madhava, this vow that even the gods could with difficulty accomplish, hath been accomplished by me. Their victory is not at all a matter of wonder that have thee, O Kesava, for their lord. Through thy grace, Yudhishthira will obtain the whole earth. All this is due to thy power, O thou of Vrishni's race! This is thy victory, O lord! Our prosperity is thy victory, O lord! Our prosperity is thy care and we are thy servants, O slayer of Madhu!' Thus addressed, Krishna smiled softly, and slowly urged the steeds. And he showed unto Partha, as they came, the field of battle abounding with cruel sights.

"Then Krishna said, 'Desirous of victory in battle or world-wide fame many heroic kings are lying on the earth, struck with thy shafts. Their weapons and ornaments lay scattered, and their steeds, cars, and elephants are mangled and broken. With their coats of mail pierced or cut open, they have come to the greatest grief. Some of them are yet alive, and some of them are dead. Those, however, that are dead, still seem to be alive in consequence of the splendour with which they are endued. Behold the earth covered with their shafts equipped with golden wings, with their numerous other weapons of attack and defence, and with their animals (deprived of life). Indeed, the earth looks resplendent with coats of mail and necklaces of gems, with their heads decked with earrings, and headgears and diadems, and floral wreaths and jewels worn on crowns, and Kanthasutras and Angadas, and collars of gold, and with diverse other beautiful ornaments. Strewn with Anuskaras and quivers, with standards and banners, with Upaskaras and Adhishthanas, with shafts and crests of cars, with broken wheels and beautiful Akshas in profusion, with yokes and trappings of steeds, with belts and bows and arrows, with elephants, housings, with spiked maces and hooks of iron, with darts and short arrows, with spears and pikes, with Kundas and clubs, with Sataghnis and Bhushandis, with scimitars and axes, with short and heavy clubs and mallets, with maces and Kunapas, with whips decked with gold, O bull of Bharata's race, with the bells and diverse other ornaments of mighty elephants, with floral garlands and various kinds of decorations, and with costly robes all loosened from the bodies of men and animals, the earth shines brilliantly, like the autumnal firmament with planets and stars. The lords of the earth, slain for the sake of earth, are slumbering on the earth clasping with their limbs the earth like a dear wife. Like mountains shedding through their caves and fissures streams of liquid chalk, these elephants, resembling Airavata himself and huge as mountains, are shedding profuse streams of blood through the openings in their bodies caused by weapons. Behold, O hero, those huge creatures afflicted with shafts lying on the ground in convulsions. Behold, those steeds also, lying on the ground, adorned with trappings of gold. Behold also, O Partha, those riderless and driverless cars that had at one time resembled celestial vehicles or the vapoury forms in the evening sky, now lying on the ground, with standards and banners and Akshas and yokes cut into pieces, and with broken shafts and crests, O lord. Foot-soldiers also, O hero, bearing bows and shields and slain in hundreds and thousands are lying on the ground, bathed in blood and clasping the earth with every limb and their locks smeared with dust. Behold, O mighty-armed one, those warriors with bodies mangled with thy weapons. Behold the earth, strewn with Yak-tails and fans, and umbrellas and standards, and steeds and cars and elephants, and with diverse kinds of blankets, and reins of steeds, and beautiful robes and costly Varuthas (of cars), look, as if overspread with embroidered tapestry. Many warriors fallen from the backs of well-equipped elephants along with those creatures themselves that they had ridden, are looking like lions fallen from mountain summits struck down by thunder. Mingled with the steeds (they had ridden) and the bows (they had held), horsemen and foot-soldiers in large numbers, are lying on the field, covered with blood. Behold, O foremost of men, the surface of the earth is frightful to look at, covered as it is with large number of slain elephants and steeds and car-warriors, and miry with blood, fat, and rotten flesh in profusion, and on which dogs and wolves and Pisachas and diverse wanderers of the night are cantering with joy! This fame-enhancing and mighty feat on the field of battle is capable of being achieved by thee only, O puissant one, or by that chief of the gods, viz., Indra himself, who in great battle slayeth the Daityas and the Danavas.'

"Sanjaya continued, "Thus showing the field of battle unto the diadem-decked Arjuna, Krishna blew his conch Panchajanya with the gleeful soldiers of the Pandava army (blowing their respective conchs). Having shown the field of battle unto the diadem-decked hero, that slayer of foes viz., Janardana quickly proceeded towards Ajatasatru, the son of Pandu, and informed him of the slaying of Jayadratha.'"

SECTION 148

"Sanjaya said, 'After the ruler of the Sindhus had been slain by Partha, Krishna, repairing unto the king, viz., Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma, worshipped the latter with a gladdened heart. And he said, 'By good luck, O king of kings, thy prosperity increaseth. O best of men, thy foe hath been slain. By good luck, thy younger brother hath accomplished his vow.' Thus addressed by Krishna, that subjugator of hostile towns, viz., king Yudhishthira, filled with joy, came down from his car, O Bharata! His eyes filled with tears of joy, he embraced the two Krishnas and wiping his bright and lotus-like face, said these words unto Vasudeva, and Dhananjaya, the son of Pandu, 'Ye mighty car-warriors, by good luck, I behold both of you after ye have accomplished your task. By good luck, that sinful wretch, viz., the ruler of the Sindhus, hath been slain. Ye Krishnas, by good luck, ye have done that which hath filled me with great happiness. By good luck, our foes have been plunged into an ocean of grief. Thou art the sovereign lord of all the worlds, O slayer of Madhu! In the three worlds they that have thee for their preceptor can have no object incapable of accomplishment. Through thy grace, O Govinda, we will conquer our foes, like Indra conquering the Danavas in days of old. Be it the conquest of the world, or be it the conquest of the three worlds, everything is certain, O thou of the Vrishni race, in their case with whom thou art gratified, O giver of honours! They can have no sin, nor can they meet with defeat in battle with whom thou, O lord of the celestials, art gratified, O giver of honours! It is through thy grace, O Hrishikesa, that Sakra hath become the chief of the celestials. It is through thy grace, that blessed personage obtained on the field of battle the sovereignty of the three worlds! It is through thy grace, O lord of the celestials, that the latter obtained immortality, O Krishna, and enjoy eternal regions (of bliss). Having slain thousands of Daityas, with prowess having its origin in thy grace, O slayer of foes, Sakra obtained the lordship of the celestials. Through thy grace, O Hrishikesa, the mobile and immobile universe, without swerving from its (ordained) course, O hero, is engaged in prayers and homa! [Everything even the inanimate creation, exists and adores the Supreme deity.] In the beginning, this universe, enveloped in darkness, had been one vast expanse of water. Through thy grace, O mighty-armed one, the universe became manifest, O best of men! Thou art the creator of all the worlds, thou art the Supreme Soul, and thou art immutable! They that behold thee, O Hrishikesa, are never confounded. Thou art the Supreme God, thou art the God of gods, and thou art Eternal. They that seek refuge with thee, O lord of the gods, are never confounded. Without beginning and without death, thou art Divine, the Creator of all the worlds, and immutable. They that are devoted to thee, O Hrishikesa, always tide over every difficulty. Thou art Supreme, the Ancient one, the Divine-Being, and that which is the Highest of the high. He that attaineth to that viz., thy Supreme Self hath ordained for him the highest prosperity. Thou art sung in the four Vedas. The four Vedas sing of thee. Be seeking thy shelter, O high-souled one, I shall enjoy unrivalled prosperity. Thou art the Supreme God, thou art the God of the highest gods, thou art the lord of Winged creatures, and the lord of all human beings. Thou art the Supremest Lord of everything. I bow to thee, O best of beings! Thou art the Lord, the Lord of lords O puissant one! Prosperity to thee, O Madhava! O thou of large eyes, O Universal soul, Thou art the origin of all things. He, again, that is a friend of Dhananjaya or is engaged in Dhananjaya's good, obtaineth thee that art the preceptor of Dhananjaya and attaineth to happiness.' Thus addressed by him those high-souled ones, viz., Kesava and Arjuna, cheerfully said unto the king, that lord of the earth, 'The sinful king Jayadratha, hath been consumed by the fire of thy wrath. O puissant one, although the Dhartarashtra host is vast and swelleth with pride, yet, O Bharata, struck and slain, it is being exterminated. O slayer of foes, it is in consequence of thy wrath that the Kauravas are being destroyed. Having, O hero, angered thee that canst slay with thy eyes alone, the wicked-minded Suyodhana, with his friends and kinsmen, will have to lay down his life in battle. Slain before in consequence of thy ire, and struck down also by the gods themselves, the invincible Bhishma, the grandsire of the Kurus, lieth now on a bed of arrows. O slayer of foes, victory in battle is unattainable by them, and death also waiteth for them, that have thee, O son of Pandu, for their foe. Kingdom, life, dear ones, children, and diverse kinds of bliss, will soon be lost by him with whom thou, O scorcher of foes, hast been angry. I regard the Kauravas to be lost with their sons, and kinsmen, when thou, O scorcher of foes, that art observant of the duties of a king, hast been angry with them.' Then Bhima, O king, and the mighty car-warrior Satyaki, both mangled with shafts, saluted their senior. And those two mighty bowmen sat down on the ground, surrounded by the Panchalas, Beholding those two heroes filled with joy and arrived and waiting with joined hands, the son of Kunti congratulated them both, saying, 'By good luck, it is that I see you both, ye heroes, escaped with lire from that sea of (hostile) troops, that sea in which Drona acted the part of an invincible alligator, and the son of Hridika that of a fierce shark. By good luck, all the kings of the earth have been vanquished (by you two). By good luck, I see both of you victorious in battle. By good luck, Drona hath been vanquished in battle, and that mighty car-warrior also viz., the son of Hridika. By good luck, Karna hath been vanquished in battle with barbed shafts. By good luck, Salya also was obliged to turn away from the field by you both, ye bulls among men. By good luck, I behold you both come back from battle safe and sound, ye that are foremost of car-warriors and well-skilled in battle! By good luck, I behold again, ye heroes, that have forded that sea of troops in obedience to my command, ye that went to battle impelled by the desire of honouring me! Ye are heroes delighting in battle. Ye are to me as life. By good luck, I see you both.' Having said this, the son of Pandu, O king, embraced both Yuyudhana and Vrikodara, those tigers among men, and shed tears of joy. Then, O monarch, the entire host of the Pandavas became cheerful and filled with joy. And all of them once more set their hearts on battle.'"

SECTION 149

"Sanjaya said, Upon the fall, O king, of the ruler of the Sindhus, thy son Suyodhana, his face bedewed with tears, and himself filled with grief and breathing hot sighs like a snake whose fangs have been broken, that offender against the whole world, viz., thy son, experienced bitter affliction. Beholding that great terrible slaughter of his troops caused by Jishnu and Bhimasena and Satwata in battle, he became pale, dejected and melancholy, and his eyes became filled with tears. And he came to think no warrior existed on the earth that could be compared with Arjuna. Neither Drona, nor the son of Radha, nor Aswatthaman, nor Kripa, O sire, is competent to stand before Arjuna when the latter is excited with wrath, And Suyodhana, said unto himself, 'Having vanquished in battle all the mighty car-warriors of my army, Partha slew the ruler of the Sindhus. None could resist him. This my vast host hath almost been exterminated by the Pandavas. I think, there is no one that can protect my army, no, not even Purandara himself. He, relying upon whom I have been engaged in this passage-at-arms in battle, alas, that Karna hath been defeated in battle and Jayadratha slain. That Karna relying upon whose energy I regarded Krishna as straw who came to sue me for peace, alas, that Karna hath been vanquished in battle.' Grieving so within his heart, that offender against the whole world, O king, went to Drona, O bull of Bharata's race, for seeing him. Repairing unto him, he informed Drona of that immense slaughter of the Kurus, the victory of his foes, and the dire calamity of the Dhartarashtras. [Literally, 'the fact of the Dhartarashtras having sunk (into distress).'] And Suyodhana said, 'Behold, O preceptor, this immense slaughter of kings. [Literally, 'of persons whose coronal locks have undergone the sacred bath.'] I came to battle, placing that grandsire of mine, viz., the heroic Bhishma, at our head. Having slain him, Sikhandin, his aspiration fulfilled, stayeth at the very van of all the troops, surrounded by all the Panchalas, covetous of another triumph. Another disciple of thine, viz., the invincible Savyasachin,

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having slain seven. Akshauhinis of troops hath despatched king Jayadratha to Yama's abode. How, O preceptor, shall I be freed from the debt I owe to those allies of mine who, desirous of victory to me and ever engaged in my good, have gone to Yama's abode? Those lords of earth who had desired the sovereignty of the earth, are now lying on the earth, abandoning all their earthly prosperity. Truly, I am a coward. Having caused such a slaughter of friends, I dare not think that I shall be sanctified by performing even a hundred horse-sacrifices. I am covetous and sinful and a transgressor against righteousness. Through my acts alone, these lords of earth, in their desire for victory, have gone to Yama's abode. Why, in presence of those kings, does not the earth yield me a hole (through which to sink), since I am so sinful in behaviour and such a fomenter of internecine dissensions! Alas, what will the grandsire with blood-red eyes, that invincible hero who hath conquered the other world, tell me in the midst of the kings when he meets me? Behold that mighty bowman, Jalasandha, slain by Satyaki. That great car-warrior, that hero, came proudly to battle for my sake, prepared to lay down his life. Beholding the ruler of the Kamvojas slain, as also Alamvusha and many other allies of mine, what object can I have for preserving my life? Those unretreating heroes who, fighting for my sake and struggling to the utmost of their powers to vanquish my foes, have laid down their lives. I shall today, O scorcher of foes, exerting the utmost measure of my might, free myself from the debt that I owe them and gratify them with oblations of water by repairing to the Yamuna. O foremost of all bearers of arms, I tell thee truly and swear by the good acts I have performed, by the prowess I possess and by my sons, that slaying all the Panchalas with the Pandavas, I shall obtain peace of mind, or slain by them in battle I shall repair to those regions whither those allies of mine have gone. I shall certainly proceed thither whither those bulls among men, slain, while engaged in battle for my sake, by Arjuna have gone! Our allies, seeing that they are not well-protected by us, no longer desire to stand by us. O thou of mighty arms, they now regard the Pandavas to be preferable to ourselves. Thyself, of sure aim, hast ordained our extermination in battle, for thou treatest Arjuna leniently, since he is thy disciple. It is for this that all those have been slain who had endeavoured to secure victory to us. It seems that only Karna now wishes us victory. The man of weak understanding who without duly examining another, accepteth him for a friend and engageth him in concerns that require friends for their accomplishment, is certain to suffer injury even so hath this affair of mine been managed by my best friend! I am exceedingly covetous, sinful, crooked-hearted, and characterised by avarice! Alas, king Jayadratha hath been slain, and Somadatta's son also of great energy, and the Abhishahas, the Surasenas, the Sivis, and the Vasatis! I shall go thither today whither those bulls among men, slain, while engaged in battle for my sake, by Arjuna, have gone. In the absence of those bulls among men, I have no need for life. O preceptor of the sons of Pandu, let me have thy permission in this.

SECTION 150

"Dhritarashtra said, 'After the ruler of the Sindhus had been slain in battle by Savyasachin and after the fall of Bhurisravas, what became the state of your mind? After Drona also had been thus addressed by Duryodhana in the midst of the Kurus, what did the preceptor say unto him then? Tell me all this, O Sanjaya!'

"Sanjaya said, 'Loud wails arose among thy coops, O Bharata, after the slaughter of Bhurisravas and the ruler of the Sindhus. All of them disregarded the counsels of thy son, those counsels in consequence of which leaders of men, by hundreds, were slain, As regards Drona, hearing those words of thy son, he became filled with grief. Reflecting for a short while, O monarch, he said these words in great affliction.

"Drona said, O Duryodhana, why dost thou pierce me thus with wordy shafts? I told thee before that Arjuna is incapable of defeat in battle. Protected by the diadem-decked Arjuna, Sikhandin slew Bhishma. By that feat, O thou of Kuru's race, the prowess of Arjuna in battle hath been well-tested. Beholding Bhisma who was incapable of being defeated by the gods and the Danavas, actually slain in battle, even then I knew that this Bharata host is doomed. Upon the fall of him whom of all persons in the three worlds, we had regarded to be the very foremost of heroes, who else is there upon whom we are to rely? Those dice, O sire, with which Sakuni formerly played in the Kuru assembly, were not dice but keen arrows capable of slaying foes. Even those arrows, O sire, sped by Jaya, are now slaying us. Though Vidura characterised them to be such, thou didst not yet understand them to be so. Those words, again, that the wise and high-souled Vidura, with tears in his eyes had then said unto thee, those auspicious words recommending peace, thou didst not then hear. That calamity which foretold hath now come. That frightful carnage, O Duryodhana, hath now come as the result of that disobedience by thee of Vidura's words. That man of foolish understanding who, disregarding the salutary words of trusted friends, followeth his own opinion, soon falls into a pitiable plight. O son of Gandhari, this great evil, viz., that dragging in our very sight to the Kuru assembly of Krishna who never deserved such treatment, who hath been born in a noble race, and who practiseth every virtue. Know that all this is but little, for in the next world dire consequences yet will be thine. Vanquishing the Pandavas at dice by deceit, thou hadst sent them, into the woods, attired in deer-skins. What other Brahmana, except myself, in this world, would seek to injure those princes that are ever engaged in the practice of virtue and that are to me even as my own sons" With the approval of Dhritarashtra, in the midst of the Kuru assembly, thou hadst, with Sakuni as thy help-mate, provoked the ire of the Pandavas. United with Duhsasana, Karna then fanned that wrath. Disregarding the words of Vidura, thou hast repeatedly fanned it thyself. With resolute care, all of you had surrounded Arjuna, resolved to stand by the ruler of the Sindhus. Why then have all of you been vanquished and why also has Jayadratha been slain? Why, when thou art alive, and Karna, and Kripa, and Salya, and Aswatthaman, O Kauravya, hath the ruler of the Sindhus been slain? For rescuing the ruler of the Sindhus, the kings (on thy side) had put forth all their fierce energy. Why, then, hath Jayadratha been slain in their midst? Relying upon me, king Jayadratha had expected his rescue from the hands of Arjuna. He, however, obtained not the rescue he had expected. I do not also see my safety for my own self. Until I succeed in slaying the Panchalas with Sikhandin, I feel like one sinking in the Dhristadyumna-mire. Having failed, O Bharata, in rescuing the ruler of the Sindhus, why dost thou pierce me thus with thy wordy shafts, seeing that I too am burning with grief? Thou seest not any longer on the field the gold standards of Bhishma of sure aim, that warrior who was never tired in battle. How, then, canst thou hope for success? When the ruler of the Sindhus and Bhurisravas also have been slain in the very midst of so many mighty car-warriors, what do you think, will the end be? Kripa, difficult of being vanquished, is still alive, O king! That he hath not followed in the track of Jayadratha, I applaud him highly for this! When I saw Bhishma himself, that achiever of the most difficult feats (in battle), that warrior who was incapable of being slain in battle by the gods with Vasava at their head, slain in thy sight, O Kaurava, as also of thy younger brother Duhsasana, I thought then, O king, that the Earth hath abandoned thee. Yonder the troops of the Pandavas and the Srinjayas, united together, are now rushing against me. For achieving thy good in battle, O son of Dhritarashtra, I will not without slaying all the Panchalas, put off my armour. O king, go and tell my son Aswatthaman who is present in battle that even at the risk of his life he should not let the Somakas alone. 1 Thou shouldst also tell him, 'Observe all the instructions thou hast received from thy father. Be firm in acts of humility, in self-restraint, in truth and righteousness. Observant of religion, profit, and pleasure, without neglecting religion and profit, thou shouldst always accomplish those acts in which religion predominates. The Brahmanas should always be gratified with presents. All of them deserve thy worship. Thou shouldst never do anything that is injurious to them. They are like flames of fire. As regards myself, I will penetrate the hostile host, O slayer of foes, for doing great battle, pierced as I am by thee with thy wordy shafts. If thou canst, O Duryodhana, go and protect those troops. Both the Kurus and the Srinjayas have been angry. They will fight even during the night.' Having said these words, Drona proceeded against the Pandavas and set himself to over-ride the energy of the Kshatriyas like the sun overshadowing the light of the stars.'"

SECTION 151

"Sanjaya said, 'Thus urged by Drona, king Duryodhana, filled with rage set his heart on battle. And thy son, Duryodhana, then said unto Karna, 'Behold, the diadem-decked son of Pandu, with Krishna alone for helpmate, penetrated into the array formed by the preceptor, an array that the gods themselves could not pierce, and in the very sight of the illustrious Drona struggling in battle and of many other foremost of warriors, slew the ruler of the Sindhus. Behold, O son of Radha, many foremost of kings lying on the earth, slain in battle. Partha unaided by any one, in the very sight of the illustrious Drona and myself, vigorously exerting ourselves like a host of inferior animals-slain by a lion. The son of Sakra hath reduced my host to a small remnant of what it was. How, indeed, could Phalguna, in spite of the resistance offered by Drona in battle, accomplish his vow by slaying the ruler of the Sindhus? If Drona had not himself willed it, O hero, how could the son of Pandu, in battle, have pierced that impenetrable array, overcoming his struggling preceptor? Truly, Phalguna is exceedingly dear to the illustrious preceptor! For this, the latter gave him admittance, without having fought with him. Behold my misfortune! Having in the first instance promised protection unto the ruler of the Sindhus, Drona, that scorcher of foes, gave unto the diadem-decked Arjuna admittance into the array! If he had in the beginning granted permission to the ruler of the Sindhus for his return home, without doubt, such an awful carnage would then have never occurred. Alas! Jayadratha, in hopes of saving his life, had desired to return home. Having obtained from Drona a promise of protection in battle, it was I, a fool that I was, who prevented him from going. Alas, today my brothers having Chitrasena for their head, have all perished in the very sight of our wretched selves.'

"Karna said, 'Do not blame the preceptor. That Brahmana is fighting according to the measure of his power and courage and regardless of his very life. If Arjuna, of white steeds, having transgressed him, penetrated into our array, the slightest fault does not, for that, attach to the preceptor. Phalguna is accomplished in weapons, possessed of great activity, endued with youth; he is a hero who has mastered all arms; he is distinguished for the celerity of his movements. Armed with celestial weapons and mounted on his ape-bannered car, the reins of whose steeds again were in the hands of Krishna, cased in impenetrable armour, and taking his celestial bow Gandiva of unfading might, the valiant Arjuna, scattering keen arrows, and proud of the strength of his arms, transgressed Drona. There is nothing to wonder at this. The preceptor, on the other hand is, O king, old and incapable of proceeding quickly. He is also, O king, incapable of exercising his arms long. It was for this that Phalguna, of white steeds and having Krishna for his charioteer, succeeded in transgressing the preceptor. For this reason also, I do not see any fault in Drona. For all that, when Arjuna, of white steeds, penetrated into our array, having transgressed the preceptor it seems that the latter, however skilled in weapons, is incapable of vanquishing the Pandavas in battle. I think that which is ordained by Fate never occurs otherwise. And since, O Suyodhana, in spite of ourselves fighting to the utmost extent of our powers, the ruler of the Sindhus has been slain in battle, it seems that Fate is all-powerful. With thyself we had all been exerting to the utmost of our might on the field of battle. Fate, however, baffling our exertions, did not smile on us. We have always exerted to injure the Pandavas, relying both on deceit and prowess. Whatever act, O king, a person afflicted by Fate does, is frustrated by Fate, however, much the person himself may strive to achieve it. Whatever, indeed, a man endued with perseverance should do, ought to be done fearlessly. Success depends on Fate! By deceit the sons of Pritha were beguiled as also by the administration of poison, O Bharata! Burnt they were in the palace of lac, vanquished they were at dice. In accordance with the dictates of statecraft, they were exited into the woods. All these, though done by us with care, have been baffled by Fate. Fight with resolution, O king, setting Fate at nought. Between thee and them, both striving to the best of your prowess even Fate may prove auspicious to that party which excels the other. 1 No wise measures have been adopted by the Pandavas with the aid of superior intelligence. Nor, O hero, do we see, O perpetuator of Kuru's race, that thou hast done anything unwise from want of intelligence! It is Fate that decides the result of acts, wise or unwise; Fate, ever intent on its own purposes is awake when all else sleeps. Vast was thy host, and thy warriors are many. Even thus the battle began. With their small force, much greater and consisting of men capable of smiting effectually, hath been much reduced. I fear, it is the work of Fate, that has frustrated our exertions.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'While they were discoursing thus, O king, the Pandava divisions appeared for battle. Then occurred a fierce battle between thy warriors and theirs, in which cars and elephants encountered one another. All this, however, O king, was due to thy evil policy!'"

SECTION 152

(Ghatotkacha-badha Parva)

"Sanjaya said, 'That elephant force of thine, O king, swelling with might, fought everywhere, prevailing over the Pandava force. Resolved to go to the other world, the Panchalas and the Kauravas fought with one another for admission into the swelling domains of Yama. Brave warriors, encountering brave rivals, pierced one another with arrows and lances and darts, and quickly despatched one another unto Yama's abode. Dreadful was the battle that took place between car-warriors and car-warriors who struck one another and caused a fierce flow of blood. Infuriated elephants, encountering infuriated compeers, afflicted one another with their tusks. Horsemen, solicitous of glory, pierced and cut down horsemen in that terrific melee with spears and darts and battle-axes. Foot-soldiers also O mighty-armed one, in hundreds, armed with weapons, repeatedly rushed against one another with resolute courage, O scorcher of foes! So great was the confusion that the Panchalas and the Kurus could only be distinguished from each other by the tribal, the family, and the personal names we heard them utter. The warriors, despatching one another to the other world with arrows and darts and axes, careered fearlessly on the field. With thousands of arrows, however, O king, shot by the combatants the ten points were no longer illuminated as before in consequence of the Sun having set. While the Pandavas were thus fighting, O Bharata, Duryodhana, O king, penetrated into the midst of their host. Filled with great wrath at the slaughter of the ruler of Sindhus, and resolved to lay down his life, he penetrated into the hostile army. Filling

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the earth with the rattle of his car-wheels and causing her to tremble therewith, thy son approached the Pandava host. Terrific was the clash that took place between him and them, O Bharata, causing a tremendous carnage of troops. Like the sun himself at midday scorching everything with his rays, thy son scorched the hostile host with his arrowy showers. [Literally, 'with shafts resembling his rays.'] The Pandavas became incapable of even looking at their brother (Duryodhana). Despairing of vanquishing their foes, they set their hearts on flying away from the field. Slaughtered by thy illustrious son, armed with the bow, by means of his gold-winged arrows of blazing points, the Panchalas ran away in all directions. Afflicted with those keen shafts, the Pandava troops began to fall down on the ground. Indeed, the Pandavas had never succeeded in achieving such a feat in battle as was then achieved by thy royal son, O monarch! The Pandava host was crushed and ground by an elephant. [Or, 'as a lake overgrown with lotuses is agitated on every side by an elephant.'] As, again, an assemblage of lotuses becomes shorn of its beauty when the water (over which it grows) is dried up by the sun and the wind, even so became the Pandava host being dried up by thy son, O Bharata, the Panchalas, with Bhimasena then with ten shafts, and each of the sons of Madri with three, and Virata and Drupada each with six, and Sikhandin with a hundred, and Dhrishtadyumna with seventy, and Yudhishthira with seven, and the Kaikeyas and the Chedis with innumerable keen shafts, and Satwata with five, and each of the (five) sons of Draupadi with three, and Ghatotkacha also with a few, he uttered a leonine shout. Cutting off hundreds of other warriors and the bodies of elephants and steeds in that great battle by means of his fierce shafts, he behaved like the Destroyer himself in rage slaying created beings. While engaged, however, in thus slaughtering his foes, his bow, the back of whose staff was ornamented with gold, Yudhishthira, the son of Pandu, O sire, cut off into three parts with a pair of broad-headed shafts. And Yudhishthira pierced Duryodhana himself with ten keen arrows shot with great force. Piercing through Duryodhana's vital limbs, those passed out and entered the earth in a continuous line. The troops that stood around then encompassed Yudhishthira, like the celestials encompassing Purandara for the slaughter of Vritra. Then king Yudhishthira, O sire, who is incapable of being easily defeated, shot at thy son in that battle a fierce shaft. Deeply pierced therewith, Duryodhana sat down on his excellent car. Then a loud noise arose from among the Panchala troops. Even this, O monarch, was that tremendous uproar, viz., 'The king is slain!' The fierce whizz of arrows also was heard there, O Bharata. Then Drona quickly showed himself there in that battle. Meanwhile, Duryodhana recovering his senses, had firmly grasped the bow. He then rushed towards the royal son of Pandu saying, 'Wait, Wait.' Then the Panchalas also solicitous of victory, began to advance with speed. Desirous of rescuing the Kuru prince, Drona received them all. And the preceptor began to destroy them like the bright-rayed maker of day destroying tempest-tossed clouds. Then, O king, there occurred a fierce battle, fraught with immense carnage, between thine and theirs encountering one another from desire of fight.'"

SECTION 153

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Having said all those words unto my son, Duryodhana, who is ever disobedient to my commands, when that mighty bowman endued with great strength, viz., the preceptor Drona, penetrated in wrath into the Pandava host, and when that hero, stationed on his car, careered over the field, how did the Pandavas check his course? Who protected the right wheel of the preceptor's car in that dreadful battle? Who also protected his left when he fiercely slaughtered the foe? Who were those brave warriors that followed that fighting hero at his back? Who were those, then, that stood in front of that car-warrior? When that unvanquished and great bowman, that foremost of all bearers of weapons, dancing along the track of his car, entered the Pandavas host, I think, his foes felt an excessive and unseasonable cold. I think, they trembled like kine exposed to wintry blasts. How did that bull among car-warriors, who consumed all the troops of the Panchalas like a raging conflagration, meet with his death?'

"Sanjaya said, 'Having slain the ruler of the Sindhus in the evening, Partha, after his meeting with Yudhishthira and the great bowman, viz., Satyaki, both proceeded towards Drona. Then Yudhishthira, and Bhimasena, the son of Pandu, each with a separate division of the army, quickly proceeded against Drona. Similarly, the intelligent Nakula, and the invincible Sahadeva, and Dhrishtadyumna with his own division, and Virata, and the ruler of the Salwas, with a large force, proceeded against Drona in battle. Similarly, king Drupada, the father of Dhrishtadyumna, protected by the Panchalas proceeded, O king, against Drona. And the sons of Draupadi, and the Rakshasa Ghatotkacha, accompanied by their forces, proceeded against Drona of great splendour. The Prabhadraka-Panchalas also six thousand strong, and all effectual smiters, proceeded against Drona placing Sikhandin at their head. Other foremost of men and mighty car-warriors among the Pandavas, uniting together, O bull among men, proceeded against Drona. When those heroic warriors, O bull among the Bharatas, proceeded to battle, the night became pitch dark, enhancing the terrors of the timid. And during that hour of darkness, O king, many were the warriors that laid down their lives. And that night also proved the death of many elephants and steeds and foot-soldiers. On that night of pitch darkness, yelling jackals everywhere inspired great fear with their blazing mouths. Fierce owls, perching on the standards of Kauravas and hooting therefrom, foreboded fears. Then, O king, a fierce uproar arose among the troops. Mingling with the loud beat of drums and cymbals, grunts of elephants, neighings of steeds, and stampings of horse-hoofs, that uproar spread everywhere. Then, in that hour of evening, fierce was the battle that took place between Drona, O king, and all of the Srinjayas. The world having been enveloped in darkness, nothing could be noticed. The welkin was covered with the dust raised by the combatants. Blood of man and horse and elephant mingled together. The earthy dust then disappeared. All of us became perfectly cheerless. During that night, like the sounds of a burning forest of bamboos on a mountain, frightful sounds were heard of clashing weapons. With the sounds of Mridangas and Anakas and Vallakis and Patahas [Drums of diverse kinds and sizes.], with the shouts (of human beings) and the neigh (of steeds), a dreadful confusion set in everywhere, O lord! When the field of battle was enveloped in darkness, friends, O king, could not be distinguished from foes. All were possessed with a madness in that night. The earthen dust that had arisen, O king, was soon allayed with showers of blood. Then, in consequence of golden coats of mail and the bright ornaments of the warriors, that darkness was dispelled. The Bharata host then, adorned with gems and gold (and abounding with darts and standards), looked like the firmament in the night, O bull of Bharata's race, bespangled with stars. The field of battle then resounded with the yells of jackals and the cawings of crows, with the grunts of elephants, and the shouts and cries of the warriors. Those sounds, mingling together, produced a loud uproar, making the hair stand on end. That uproar filled all the points of the compass like the report of Indra's thunder. At dead of night, the Bharata host seemed illuminated with the Angadas, the ear-rings, the cuirasses, and the weapons of combatants. There elephants and cars, adorned with gold, looked in that night like clouds charged with lightning. Swords and darts and maces and scimitars and clubs and lances and axes, as they fell, looked like dazzling flashes of fire. Duryodhana was the gust of wind that was the precursor (of that tempest-like host). Cars and elephants constituted its dry clouds. The loud noise of drums and other instruments formed the peal of its thunders. Abounding with standards, bows formed to lightning flashes. Drona and the Pandavas formed its pouring clouds. Scimitars and darts and maces constituted its thunders. Shafts formed its downpour, and weapons (of other kinds) its incessant gusts of wind. And the winds that blew were both exceedingly hot and exceedingly cold. Terrible, stunning and fierce, it was destructive of life. There was nothing that could afford shelter from it. 1 Combatants, desirous of battle entered into that frightful host on that dreadful night resounding with terrible noises, enhancing the fears of the timid and the delight of heroes. And during the progress of that fierce and dreadful battle in the night, the Pandus and the Srinjayas, united together, rushed in wrath against Drona. All these, however, O king, that advanced right against the illustrious Drona, were either obliged to turn back or despatched to the abode of Yama. Indeed, on that night, Drona alone pierced with his shafts, elephants in thousands and cars in tens of thousands and millions of millions of foot-soldiers and steeds.'"

SECTION 154

"Dhritarashtra said, "When the invincible Drona, of immeasurable energy, unable to bear (the slaughter of Jayadratha), Wrathfully entered into the midst of the Srinjayas, what did all of you think? When that warrior of immeasurable soul, having said those words unto my disobedient son, Duryodhana, so entered (the hostile ranks), what steps did Partha take? When after the fall of the heroic Jayadratha and of Bhurisravas, that unvanquished warrior of great energy, that scorcher of foes, viz., the unconquerable Drona, proceeded against the Panchalas, what did Arjuna think? What also did Duryodhana think as the most seasonable step that he could adopt? Who were they that followed that boon-giving hero, that foremost of regenerated ones? Who were those heroes, O Suta, that stood behind that hero while engaged in 'battle? Who fought in his van, while he was employed in slaughter? I think, all the Pandavas, afflicted with the arrows of Bharadwaja's son, were, O Suta, like lean kine trembling under a wintry sky. Having penetrated into the midst of the Panchalas how did that great bowman, that scorcher of foes, that tiger among men, meet with his death? 1 When on that night all the troops, united together, and all the great car-warriors combined were being separately ground (by Drona), who were those intelligent men amongst you that were present there? Thou sayest that my troops were slain or huddled together, or vanquished, and that my car-warriors were made carless in those encounters. While those combatants became cheerless and were being ground by the Pandavas, what did they think when they sank in such affliction on that dark night? Thou sayest that the Pandavas were hearty and exceedingly hopeful, and that mine were melancholy and heartless and panic-stricken. How, O Sanjaya, couldst thou mark the distinction on that night between the Kurus and the unretreating Parthas?"

"Sanjaya said, 'During the progress, O king, of that fierce night-battle, the Pandavas along with the Somakas all rushed against Drona. Then Drona, with his swift-going shafts, despatched all the Kaikeyas and the sons of Dhrishtadyumna into the world of spirits. Indeed, all those mighty car-warriors, O king, that advanced right against Drona, all those lords of the earth, were despatched (by him) into the region of the dead. Then king Sivi, of great prowess, filled with rage, proceeded against that mighty car-warrior, viz., the heroic son of Bharadwaja, while the latter was thus employed in grinding (the hostile combatants). Beholding that great car-warrior of the Pandavas advancing, Drona pierced him with ten shafts made entirely of iron. Sivi, however, pierced Drona in return with thirty shafts, winged with Kanka feathers. And smiling the while, he also, with a broad-headed shaft felled the driver of Drona's car. Drona then, slaying the steeds of the illustrious Sivi as also the driver of his car, cut off from his trunk Sivi's head with head-gear on it. Then Duryodhana quickly sent unto Drona a driver for his car. The reins of his steeds having been taken up by the new man, Drona once more rushed against his foes. The sort of the ruler of the Kalingas, supported by the Kalinga troops, rushed against Bhimasena, filled with rage at the slaughter of his sire by the latter, Having pierced Bhima with five shafts he once more pierced him with seven. And he struck Visoka (the driver of Bhima's car) with three shafts and the latter's standard with one. The Vrikodara, filled with rage, leaping from his own car to that of his foe, slew with only his fists that angry hero of the Kalingas. The bones of that prince thus slain in battle by the mighty son of Pandu with only his fists, fell down on the earth separated from one another, Karna and the brother of the slain prince, (and others), could not brook that act of Bhima. All of them began to strike Bhimasena with keen shafts resembling snakes of virulent poison. Abandoning then that car of the foe (upon which he stood), Bhima proceeded to the car of Dhruva [The brother of the Kalinga prince.], and crushed, by a blow of his fist, that prince who had been striking him incessantly. Thus struck by the mighty son of Pandu. Dhruva fell down. Having slain him, O king, Bhimasena of great strength, proceeding to the car of Jayarata, began to roar repeatedly like a lion. Dragging Jayarata then with his left arm, while, employed in roaring, he slew that warrior with a slap of his palm in the very sight of Karna. Then Karna hurled at the son of Pandu, a dart decked with gold. The Pandava, however, smiling the while, seized with his hand that dart. And the invincible Vrikodara in that battle hurled that very dart back at Karna. Then Sakuni, with a shaft that had drunk oil, cut off that dart as it coursed towards Karna. Having achieved these mighty feats in battle, Bhima, of wonderful prowess, came back to his own car and rushed against thy troops. And while Bhima was thus advancing, slaughtering (thy troops) like the Destroyer himself in rage, thy sons, O monarch, attempted to resist that mighty-armed hero. Indeed, those mighty car-warriors covered him with a dense shower of arrows. Then Bhima, smiling the while, despatched in that battle, with his shafts, the driver and the steeds of Durmada unto the abode of Yama. Durmada, at this, quickly mounted upon the car of Dushkarna. Then those scorchers of foes, viz., the two brothers, riding oh the same car, both rushed against Bhima in the front rank of battle, like the Regent of the waters and Surya rushing against Taraka, that foremost of Daityas. Then thy sons, Durmada and Dushkarna, mounting on the same car, pierced Bhima with shafts. Then in the very sight of Karna, of Aswatthaman, of Duryodhana, of Kripa, of Somadatta, and of Valhika, the son of Pandu, that chastiser of foes, by a stamp of his foot, caused that car of the heroic Durmada and Dushkarna to sink into the earth. Filled with rage, Bhima struck with his fists those mighty and brave sons of thine, viz., Durmada and Dushkarna, and crushed them therewith and roared aloud. Then cries of Oh and Alas arose among the troops. And the kings, beholding Bhima said, 'That is Rudra who is fighting in Bhima's form among the Dhartarashtras.' Saying these words, O Bharata, all the kings fled away, deprived of their senses and urging the animals they rode to their greatest speed. Indeed, no two of them could be seen running together. Then, when on that night a great carnage had been caused among the (Kaurava) army, the mighty Vrikodara, with eyes beautiful as the full-blown lotus, highly applauded by many bulls among kings, repairing unto Yudhishthira, paid his regards unto him. Then the twins (Nakula and Sahadeva), and Drupada and Virata, and the Kaikeyas, and Yudhishthira also, felt great joy. And all of them paid their adorations unto Vrikodara even as the

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celestials did unto Mahadeva after Andhaka had been slain. Then thy sons, all equal unto the sons of Varuna, filled with rage and accompanied by the illustrious Preceptor and a large number of cars, foot-soldiers, and elephants encompassed Vrikodara on all sides from desire of fight. Then, O best of kings, on that terrible night, when everything was enveloped in darkness, as thick as a cloud, a dreadful battle took place between those illustrious warriors, delightful to wolves and crows and vultures.'"

SECTION 155

"Sanjaya said, 'After his son (Bhurisravas) had been slain by Satyaki while the former was sitting in Praya, Somadatta, filled with rage, said unto Satyaki these words, 'Why, O Satwata, 'having abandoned those Kshatriya duties ordained by the high-souled gods, hast thou betaken thyself to the practices of robbers? Why would one that is observant of Kshatriya duties and possessed of wisdom, strike in battle a person that is turning away from the fight, or one that has become helpless, or one that has laid aside his weapons, or one that beggeth for quarters? Two persons, indeed, among the Vrishnis are reputed to be the foremost of great car-warriors, viz., Pradyumna of mighty energy and thou also, O Satyaki! Why then didst thou behave so cruelly and sinfully towards one that had sat on Praya and that had his arms cut off by Partha? Take now in battle the consequence of that act of thine, O thou of wicked behaviour! I shall today, O wretch, putting forth my prowess, cut off thy. head with a winged arrow. I swear, O Satwata, by my two sons, by what is dear to me, and by all my meritorious acts, that, if before this night passes away, I do not slay thee, that art so proud of thy heroism, with thy sons and younger brothers, provided Jishnu, the son of Pritha, does not protect thee, then let me sink into terrible hell, O wretch of Vrishni's race!' Having said these words, the mighty Somadatta, filled with rage, blew his conch loudly and uttered a leonine roar. Then Satyaki, of eyes like lotus-petals and teeth like those of a lion, possessed of great strength, and filled with rage, said these words unto Somadatta, 'O thou of Kuru's race, whether battling with thee or with others, I do not in my heart ever experience the slightest fear. If, protected by all the troops, thou fightest with me, I would not, even then experience on thy account, any pain, O thou of Kuru's race! I am ever observant of Kshatriya practices. Thou canst not, therefore, frighten me with only words smacking of battle or with speeches that insult the good. If, O king, thou wishest to fight with me today, be cruel and strike me with keen shafts and I will also strike thee. Thy son, the mighty car-warrior Bhurisravas, O king, had been slain. Sala also, and Vrishasena, have been crushed by me. Thee also today I shall slay, with thy soils and kinsmen. Stay with resolution in battle, for thou, O Katirava, art endued with great strength. Thou art already slain in consequence of the energy of that drum-bannered king Yudhishthira in whom are always charity, and self-restraint, and purity of heart, compassion, and modesty, and intelligence, and forgiveness, and all else that is indestructible. Thou shalt meet with destruction along with Karna and Suvala's son. I swear by Krishna's feet and by all my good acts that, filled with rage, I shall, with my shafts, slay thee with thy sons in battle. If thou fliest away from battle, then mayst thou have safety.' Having thus addressed each other, with eyes red in wrath, those foremost of men began to shoot their shafts at each other. Then with a thousand cars and ten thousand horses, Duryodhana took his station, encompassing Somadatta, Sakuni also, filled with rage, and armed with every weapon and surrounded by his sons and grandsons as also by his brothers, that were equal to Indra himself in prowess (did the same). Thy brother-in-law, O king, young in years and of body hard as the thunder-bolt and possessed of wisdom, had a hundred thousand horses of the foremost valour with him. With these he encompassed the mighty bowman Somadatta. Protected by those mighty warriors, Somadatta covered Satyaki (with clouds of shafts). Beholding Satyaki thus covered with clouds of straight shafts, Dhrishtadyumna proceeded towards him in rage and accompanied by a mighty force. Then, O king, the sound that arose there of those two large hosts striking each other, resembled that of many oceans lashed into fury by frightful hurricanes. Then Somadatta pierced Satyaki, with nine arrows. Satyaki, in return, struck that foremost of Kuru warriors with nine arrows. Deeply pierced in that battle by the mighty and firm bowman (Satyaki), Somadatta sat down on the terrace of his car and lost his senses in a swoon, Beholding him deprived of his senses, his driver, with great speed, bore away from the battle that great car-warrior, viz., the heroic Somadatta. Seeing that Somadatta, afflicted with Yuyudhana's shafts, had lost his senses Drona rushed with speed, desiring to slay the Yadu hero. Beholding the Preceptor advance, many Pandava warriors headed by Yudhishthira surrounded that illustrious perpetuator of Yadu's race from desire of rescuing him. Then commenced a battle between Drona and the Pandavas, resembling that between Vali and the celestials for acquiring sovereignty oft the three worlds. Then Bharadwaja's son of great energy shrouded the Pandava host with clouds of arrows and pierced Yudhishthira also. And Drona pierced Satyaki with ten arrows, and the son of Prishata with twenty. And he pierced Bhimasena with nine arrows and Nakula with five, and Sahadeva with eight, and Sikhandin with a hundred. And the mighty-armed hero pierced each of the (five) sons of Draupadi with five arrows. And he pierced Virata with eight arrows and Drupada with ten. And he pierced Yudhamanyu with three arrows and Uttamaujas with six in that encounter. And piercing many other combatants, he rushed towards Yudhishthira. The troops of Pandu's son, slaughtered by Drona, ran away in all directions, from fear, O king, with loud wails. Beholding that host slaughtered by Drona. Phalguna, the son of Pritha, with wrath excited a little, quickly proceeded towards the preceptor. Beholding then that Drona was also proceeding towards Arjuna in that battle, that host of Yudhishthira, O king, once more rallied. Then once more occurred a battle between Drona and the Pandavas. Drona, surrounded, O king, on all sides, by thy sons, began to consume the Pandava host, like fire consuming a heap of cotton. Beholding him radiant like the sun and endued with the splendour of a blazing fire, and fiercely and continually, O king, emitting his ray-like arrows, with bow incessantly drawn to a circle and scorching everything around like the sun himself, and consuming his foes, there was none in that army that could check him. The shafts of Drona cutting off the head of all those that ventured to approach him in the face, penetrated into the earth. Thus slaughtered by that illustrious warrior, the Pandava host, once more fled away in fear in the very sight of Arjuna. Beholding that force, O Bharata, thus routed on that night by Drona, Jishnu asked Govinda to proceed towards Drona's car. Then he of Dasarha's race urged those steeds, white as silver or milk or the Kunda flower, or the moon, towards the car of Drona. Bhimasena also, beholding Phalguna proceed towards Drona, commanded his own charioteer, saying, 'Bear me towards Drona's division.' Hearing those words of Bhima, his driver Visoka urged his steeds, following in the wake, O chief of the Bharatas, of Jishnu, of sure aim. Beholding the two brothers resolutely proceeding towards Drona's division, the mighty car-warriors among the Panchalas, the Srinjayas, the Matsyas, the Chedis, the Karushas, the Kosalas, and the Kaikeyas, O king, all followed them. Then, O monarch, took place a terrible battle that made the hair stand on end. With two mighty throngs of cars, Vibhatsu and Vrikodara attacked thy host; the former on the right and the latter in the front. Seeing those tigers among men, viz., Bhimasena and Dhananjaya (thus engaged), Dhrishtadyumna, O monarch, and Satyaki of great strength, rushed behind. Then, O king, an uproar arose there in consequence of the two hosts striking each other, that resembled the noise made by many seas lashed into fury by a tempest. Beholding Satyaki in battle, Aswatthaman, filled with rage at the slaughter of Somadatta's son, rushed furiously against that Satwata hero at the van of battle. Seeing him rush in that battle against the car of Sini's grandson, Bhimasena's son, the gigantic Rakshasa, Ghatotkacha, endued with great strength, rushed at him, riding on a huge and terrible car made of black iron covered with bear-skins. Both the height and the width of that large car measured thirty nalwas [A nalwa measured four hundred cubits.]. Equipped with machines set in proper places it was; its rattle resembled that of a mighty mass of clouds. No steeds or elephants were yoked unto it, but, instead, beings that looked like elephants. On its tall standard perched a prince of vultures with outstretched wings and feet, with eyes wide-expanded, and shrieking awfully. And it was equipped with red flags and decked with the entrails of various animals. And that huge vehicle was furnished with eight wheels. Riding on it, Ghatotkacha was surrounded by a full Akshauhini of fierce-looking Rakshasas armed with lances and heavy clubs and rocks and trees. Seeing him advance with uplifted bow, resembling the mace-armed Destroyer himself in the hour of universal dissolution, the hostile kings were struck with fear. At sight of that prince of Rakshasas, viz., Ghatotkacha, looking like a mountain summit of terrible aspect, frightful, possessed of terrible teeth and fierce face, with arrow-like ears and high cheek-bones, with stiff hair rising upwards, awful eyes, sunken belly, blazing mouth, wide as a chasm, and diadem on his head, capable of striking every creature with fear, possessing jaws wide-open like those of the Destroyer, endued with great splendour and capable of agitating all foes, advancing towards them, thy son's host, afflicted with fear, became highly agitated like the current of the Ganga agitated into fierce eddies by (the action of) the wind. Terrified by the leonine roar uttered by Ghatotkacha, elephants began to eject urine and the kings began to tremble. Then, thrown by the Rakshasas who had become more powerful in consequence of the night, there began to fall on the field of battle a thick shower of stones. And a ceaseless shower of iron wheels and Bhundis and darts and lances and spears and Sataghnis and axes also fell there. Beholding that fierce and awful battle, the kings, thy sons, and Karna, also exceedingly pained, fled away. Only the proud son of Drona, ever boastful of his might in arms, stood fearlessly. And he soon dispelled that illusion that had been created by Ghatotkacha. Upon the destruction of his illusion, Ghatotkacha in rage sped fierce shafts (Aswatthaman). These pierced the son of Drona, like angry snakes speedily piercing through an ant-hill. Those arrows, having pierced through the body of Aswatthaman, dyed with blood and quickly entered the earth like snakes into an ant-hill. The light-handed Aswatthaman, however, of great prowess, filled with wrath, pierced Ghatotkacha with ten arrows. Ghatotkacha, deeply pierced in his vital parts by Drona's son, and feeling great pain, took up a wheel having a thousand spokes. Its edge was sharp as a razor, and it was resplendent as the rising sun. And it was decked with diverse gems and diamonds. Desirous of slaying him, the son of Bhimasena hurled that wheel at Aswatthaman. And as that wheel coursed swiftly towards Drona's son, the latter cut it into fragments by means of his shafts. Baffled, it fell down on the earth, like the hope cherished by an unfortunate man. Beholding his wheel baffled, Ghatotkacha quickly covered the son of Drona with his shafts, like Rahu swallowing the sun. Meanwhile, Ghatotkacha's son endued with great splendour and looking like a mass of antimony, checked the advancing son of Drona like the king of mountain (Meru) checking the (course of the) wind. Afflicted with showers of shafts by Bhimasena's grandson, viz., the brave Anjanaparvan, Aswatthaman looked like the mountain Meru bearing a torrent of rain from a mighty cloud. Then Aswatthaman, equal unto Rudra or Upendra in prowess, became filled with rage. With one shaft he cut off the standard of Anjanaparvan. With two others, his two drivers, and with three others, his Trivenuka. And he cut off the Rakshasa's bow with one arrow, and his four steeds with four other arrows, Made carless, Anjanaparvan took up a scimitar. With another keen shaft, Aswatthaman cut off in two fragments that scimitar, decked with golden stars, in the Rakshasa's hand. The grandson of Hidimva then, O king, whirling a gold adorned mace, quickly hurled it at Aswatthaman. Drona's son, however, striking it with his shafts, caused it to fall down on the earth. Soaring up then into the sky, Anjanaparvan began to roar like a cloud. And from the welkin he showered trees upon his foe. Like the sun piercing a mass of clouds with his rays, Aswatthaman then began to pierce with his shafts the son of Ghatotkacha, that receptacle of illusions, in the welkin. Gifted with great energy, the Rakshasa once more came down on his gold decked car. He then looked like a high and beautiful hill of antimony on the surface of the earth. The son of Drona then slew that son of Bhima's son, viz., Anjanaparvan, cased in an iron coat of mail, even as Mahadeva had slain in days of yore the Asura Andhaka. Beholding his mighty son slain by Aswatthaman, Ghatotkacha, coming unto the son of Drona, fearlessly addressed the heroic son of Saradwata's daughter, who was then consuming the Pandava troops like a raging forest-conflagration, in these words:

"Ghatotkacha said, 'Wait, Wait, O son of Drona! Thou shalt not escape me with life! I shall slay thee today like Agni's son slaying Krauncha.'

"Aswatthaman said, 'Go, O son, and fight with others, O thou that hast the prowess of a celestial. It is not proper, O son of Hidimva, that sire should battle with son. I do not cherish any grudge against thee, O son of Hidimva! When, however, one's ire is excited, one may kill one's own self.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Having heard these words, Ghatotkacha, filled with grief on account of the fall of his son, and with eyes red as copper in wrath, approached Aswatthaman and said, 'Am I a dastard in battle, O son of Drona, like a vulgar person, that thou dost frighten me thus with words? Thy words are improper. Verily, I have been begotten by Bhima in the celebrated race of the Kurus. I am a son of the Pandavas, those heroes that never retreat from battle. I am the king of the Rakshasas, equal to the Ten-necked (Ravana) in might. Wait, wait, O son of Drona! Thou shalt not escape me with life. I shall today, on the field of battle, dispel thy desire for fight.' Having thus replied unto Aswatthaman, that mighty Rakshasa with eyes red as copper in rage, rushed furiously against the son of Drona, like a lion against a prince of elephants. And Ghatotkacha began to shower upon that bull among car-warriors, viz., Drona's son, shafts of the measure of Aksha of battle car, like a cloud pouring torrents of rain. Drona's son however, with his own shafts, checked that arrowy shower before it could reach him. At that time, it seemed that another encounter was taking place in the welkin between shafts (as the combatants). The welkin, then, during the night, shone resplendent with the sparks caused by the clash of those weapons, as if with (myriads of) flies. Observing that his illusion was dispelled by Drona's son, proud of his prowess in battle, Ghatotkacha, once more making himself invisible, created an illusion. He assumed the form of a high mountain, crowded with cliffs and trees, and possessing fountains from which ceaselessly flowed spears and lances and swords and heavy clubs. Beholding that mountain-like mass of antimony, with countless weapons falling from it, Drona's son was not at all moved. The latter invoked into existence the Vajra weapon [i.e., the weapon endued with the force of the thunder.]. The prince of mountains, then, struck with that weapon, was quickly

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destroyed. Then the Rakshasa, becoming a mass of blue clouds in the firmament, decked with rainbow, began furiously to shower upon Drona's son in that battle a downpour of stones and rocks. Then that foremost of all persons acquainted with weapons, viz., Aswatthaman, aiming the Vayavya weapon, destroyed that blue cloud which had risen on the firmament. Drona's son, that foremost of men, covering then all the points of the compass with his shafts, slew a hundred thousand car-warriors. He then beheld Ghatotkacha fearlessly coming towards him with bent bow and accompanied by a large number of Rakshasas that resembled lions or infuriated elephants of great strength, some riding on elephants, some on cars, and some on steeds. The son of Hidimva was accompanied by those fierce followers of his, with frightful faces and heads and necks. Those Rakshasas consisted of both Paulastyas and Yatudhanas. Their prowess was equal to that of Indra himself. They were armed with diverse kinds of weapons and were cased in diverse kinds of armour. Of terrible visage, they swelled with rage. Ghatotkacha came to battle, accompanied by those Rakshasas, who were, indeed, incapable of being easily defeated in battle. Beholding them, thy son, Duryodhana, became exceedingly cheerless. Unto him the son of Drona said, 'Wait, O Duryodhana! Thou needst have no fear. Stand aside with these thy heroic brothers and these lords of earth, endued with the prowess of Indra. I will slay thy foes. Defeat thou shalt not have. I tell thee truly. Meanwhile, assure thy troops.'

"Duryodhana said, 'I do not regard what thou sayest to be at all wonderful, since thy heart is large. O son of Gautama's daughter, thy regard for us is great.'

"Sanjaya continued, Having said those words unto Aswatthaman, he then addressed the son of Suvala, saying, 'Dhananjaya is engaged in battle surrounded by a hundred thousand car-warriors of great valour. Go thou against him, with sixty thousand cars. Karna also, and Vrishasena and Kripa, and Nila, and the Northerners, and Kritavarman, and the sons of Purumitra, and Duhsasana, and Nikumbha, and Kundabhedin, and Puranjaya and Dridharatha, and Hemakampana, and Salya, and Aruni, and Indrasena, and Sanjaya, and Vijaya, and Jaya, and Purakrathin, and Jayavarman, and Sudarsana, these will follow thee, with sixty thousand foot-soldiers. O uncle, slay Bhima and the twins and king Yudhishthira the Just, like the chief of the celestials slaying the Asuras. My hope of victory is in thee. Already pierced by Drona's son with shafts, all their limbs have been exceedingly mangled. Slay the sons of Kunti, O uncle, like Kartikeya slaying the Asuras.' Thus addressed by thy son, Sakuni proceeded quickly to destroy the Pandavas, filling thy son's heart, O king, with delight.

"Meanwhile, O king, the battle that took place between the Rakshasas and the son of Drona on that night was exceedingly terrible like that between Sakra and Prahlada (in days of old). Ghatotkacha, filled with rage, struck Drona's son in the chest with ten powerful shafts fierce as poison or fire. Deeply pierced with those shafts by the son of Bhimasena, Aswatthaman trembled on the terrace of his car like a tall tree shaken by the tempest. Once more Ghatotkacha, with a broad-headed shaft, quickly cut off the bright bow that was in the hands of Drona's son. The latter, then, taking up another bow capable of bearing of great strain, showered keen arrows (upon his foe) like a cloud pouring torrents of rain. Then the son of Saradwat's daughter, O Bharata, sped many sky-ranging and foe-slaying arrows, winged with gold, towards the sky-ranging Rakshasa. Afflicted with those shafts of Aswatthaman, that vast force of broad-chested Rakshasas looked like a herd of infuriated elephants afflicted by lions. Consuming with his arrows those Rakshasas with their steeds, drivers, and elephants, he blazed forth like the adorable Agni while consuming creatures at the end of the Yuga. Having burnt with his shafts a full Akshauhini of Rakshasa troops, Aswatthaman shone resplendent like the divine Maheswara in heaven after the burning of the triple city. That foremost of victors, viz., Drona's son, having burnt thy foes, shone brilliantly like the blazing Yuga-fire after having burnt all creatures at the end of the Yuga. Then Ghatotkacha, filled with rage, urged that vast Rakshasa force on, saying, 'Slay the son of Drona!' That command of Ghatotkacha was obeyed by those terrible Rakshasa of bright teeth, large faces, frightful aspects, gaping mouths, long tongues and eyes blazing with wrath. Causing the earth to be filled with their loud leonine roars, and armed with diverse kinds of weapons, they rushed against the son of Drona for slaying him. Endued with fierce prowess, those Rakshasas, with eyes red in wrath, fearlessly hurled at Aswatthaman's head hundreds and thousands of darts, and Sataghnis, and spiked maces, and Asanis and long lances, and axes, and scimitars, and maces, and short arrows and heavy clubs, and battle-axes, and spears, and swords, and lances, and polished Kampanas and Kunapas, and Hulas, and rockets, and stones, and vessels of (hot) treacle, and thunas made of black iron, and mallets, all of terrible forms and capable of destroying foes. Beholding that thick shower of weapons falling upon the head of Drona's son, thy warriors were much pained. The son of Drona, however, fearlessly destroyed with his whetted shafts endued with the force of the thunder that frightful shower of weapons looking like a risen cloud. Then the high-souled son of Drona, with other weapons, equipped with golden wings and inspired with mantras speedily slew many Rakshasas. Afflicted with those shafts, that vast force of broad-chested Rakshasas looked like a herd of infuriated elephants afflicted by lions. Then those mighty Rakshasas, thus afflicted Drona's son, became filled with fury and rushed against the former. The prowess that the son of Drona then showed was exceedingly wonderful, for the feat he achieved is incapable of being achieved by any other being among living creatures, since, alone and unsupported, that warrior acquainted with high and mighty weapons burnt that Rakshasa force with his blazing shafts in the very sight of that prince of Rakshasas. Whilst consuming that Rakshasa force, Drona's son in that battle shone resplendent like the Samvartaka fire, while burning all creatures at the end of the Yuga. Indeed, amongst those thousands of kings and those Pandavas, O Bharata, there was none, except that mighty prince of the Rakshasa, viz., the heroic Ghatotkacha, capable of even looking at the son of Drona in that battle, who was thus employed in consuming their ranks with his shafts, resembling snakes of virulent poison. The Rakshasa, O chief of the Bharatas, with eyes rolling in wrath, striking his palms, and biting his (nether) lip, addressed his own driver, saying, 'Bear me towards the son of Drona.' Riding on that formidable car equipped with triumphal banners, that slayer of foes once more proceeded against Drona's son, desirous of a single combat with the latter. Endued with terrible prowess, the Rakshasa, uttering a loud leonine roar, hurled in that encounter at Drona's son, having whirled it (previously), a terrible Asani of celestial workmanship, and equipped with eight bells. Asani literally means the thunder. Probably, some kind of iron mace.] Drona's son, however, jumping down from his car, having left his bow thereon, seized it and hurled it back at Ghatotkacha himself. Ghatotkacha, meanwhile, had quickly alighted from his car. That formidable Asani, of dazzling effulgence, having reduced to ashes the Rakshasa's vehicle with steeds and drivers and standard, entered the earth, having pierced her through. Beholding that feat of Drona's son, viz., his having jumped down and seized that terrible Asani of celestial workmanship, all creatures applauded it. Proceeding then, O king, to Dhrishtadyumna's car, Bhimasena's son, taking up a terrible bow that resembled the large bow of Indra himself, once more shot many keen shafts at the illustrious son of Drona. Dhrishtadyumna also fearlessly shot at Aswatthaman's chest many foremost of shafts, equipped with wings of gold and resembling snakes of virulent poison. Then Drona's son shot arrows and long shafts by thousands. These two heroes, however, viz., Ghatotkacha and Dhrishtadyumna, struck and baffled Aswatthaman's shafts by means of their own shafts whose touch resembled that of fire. The battle then that took place between those two lions among men (Ghatotkacha on the one side) and the son of Drona (on the other) became fierce in the extreme and gladdened all the combatants, O bull of Bharata's race! Then, accompanied by a thousand cars, three hundred elephants, and six thousand horses, Bhimasena arrived at that spot. The virtuous son of Drona, however, endued as he was with prowess that knew no fatigue, continued to fight with the heroic son of Bhima and with Dhrishtadyumna supported by his followers. The prowess then that Drona's son displayed on that occasion was exceedingly wonderful, in as much as, O Bharata, none else amongst all creatures is capable of accomplishing such feats. Within the twinkling of an eye, he destroyed, by means of his sharp shafts, a full Akshauhini of Rakshasa troops with steeds, drivers, cars, and elephants, in the very sight of Bhimasena and Hidimva's son and Prishata's son and the twins and Dharma's son and Vijaya and Achyuta. [Achyuta, when used as a proper noun, refers to Krishna. It means of unfading glory and 'the immortal.'] Deeply struck with the straight-going shafts (of Aswatthaman), elephants fell down on elephants on the earth like crestless mountains. Strewn all around with the lopped off trunks of elephants, that moved still in convulsions, the earth looked as if overspread with moving snakes. And the earth looked resplendent with golden staves and royal umbrellas, like the firmament at the end of the Yuga, bespangled with planets and stars and many moons and suns. And Drona's son caused a bloody river of impetuous current to flow there. The blood of elephants and steeds and combatants formed its water; tall standards its frogs; drums formed its large tortoises; umbrellas, its rows of swans, yak-tails in profusion, Kankas and vultures, its crocodiles; weapons its fishes; large elephants the stones and rocks on its banks; elephants and steeds, its sharks; cars, its unstable and broad banks; and banners, its beautiful rows of trees. Having shafts for its (smaller) fishes, that frightful river had lances and darts and swords for snakes; marrow and flesh for its mire, and trunkless bodies floating on it for its rafts. And it was choked with the hair (of men and animals) for its moss. And it inspired the timid with cheerlessness and fear. And bloody waves were seen on its surface. Rendered frightful by means of the foot-soldiers with which it teemed, Yama's abode, was the ocean towards which it flowed. Having slain the Rakshasas, Drona's son then began to afflict the son of Hidimva with arrows. Filled once more with rage, the puissant son of Drona having pierced those mighty car-warriors, viz., the Parthas including Vrikodara and the sons of Prishata, slew Suratha, one of the sons of Drupada. Then he slew in that battle Suratha's younger brother named Satrunjaya. And then he slew Valanika and Jayanika, and Jaya. And once more, with a keen shaft, Drona's son' uttering a leonine roar, slew Prishdhra, and then proud Chandrasena. And then he slew with ten arrows the ten sons of Kuntibhoja. Then, O king, Drona's son despatched Srutayus to the abode of Yama. With three other keen shafts, equipped with beautiful wings and red eyes, he despatched the mighty Satrunjaya to the region of Sakra. 1 Then Aswatthaman, filled with rage, fixed on his bowstring a fierce and straight arrow. Drawing the string to his ear, he quickly shot that fierce and excellent arrow resembling the rod of Death himself, aiming at Ghatotkacha. That mighty shaft, equipped with beautiful wings, passing through the chest of that Rakshasa, O lord of the earth, entered the earth, piercing through it, Ghatotkacha thereupon fell down on the car. Beholding him fallen down and believing him to be dead, the mighty car-warrior Dhrishtadyumna took him away from the presence of Drona's son and caused him to be placed upon another car. Thus, O king, that car-force of Yudhishthira turned away from the fight. The heroic son of Drona having vanquished his foes, uttered a loud roar. And he was worshipped by all men and all thy sons, O sire.' The earth, strewn all around with the fallen bodies of dead Rakshasas, pierced and mangled with hundreds of arrows, became fierce looking and impassable, as if strewn with mountain summits. The Siddhas and Gandharvas and Pisachas, and Nagas, and birds, and Pitris and ravens and large numbers of cannibals and ghosts, and Apsaras and celestials, all combined in highly applauding the son of Drona.'"

SECTION 156

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding the sons of Drupada, as also those of Kuntibhoja, and Rakshasas too in thousands, slain by the son of Drona, Yudhishthira and Bhimasena, and Dhrishtadyumna, the son of Prishata, and Yuyudhana, uniting together, set their hearts firmly on battle. Then Somadatta, once more filled with rage upon beholding Satyaki in that battle, covered the latter, O Bharata, with a dense shower of arrows. Then took place a battle, fierce and exceedingly wonderful to behold, between thy warriors and those of the foe, both parties being solicitous of victory. Fighting on behalf of Satyaki, Bhima pierced the Katirava. hero with ten shafts. Somadatta, however, in return, pierced that hero with a hundred arrows. Then Satwata, filled with rage, pierced with ten keen shafts, endued with the force of the thunder, that old warrior afflicted with grief on account of the death of his son, and who was, besides, endued with every estimable virtue like Yayati, the son of Nahusha. Having pierced him with great force, he struck him once more with seven arrows. Then, fighting for the sake of Satyaki, Bhimasena hurled at the head of Somadatta a new, hard and terrible Parigha. Satyaki also filled with rage, shot at Somadatta's chest, in that battle, an excellent shaft, keen and equipped with goodly wings and resembling fire itself in splendour. The Parigha and the shaft, both terrible, fell simultaneously upon the body of the heroic Somadatta. That mighty car-warrior, thereupon, fell down. Beholding his son (Somadatta) thus fallen into a swoon, Valhika rushed at Satyaki scattering showers of arrows like a cloud in season. Then Bhima, for Satyaki's sake, afflicted the illustrious Valhika with nine shafts and pierced him therewith at the van of battle. Then the mighty-armed son of Pratipa, Valhika, filled with great fury, hurled a dart at the chest of Bhima, like Purandara himself hurling the thunder. Struck therewith, Bhima trembled (on his car) and swooned away. The mighty warrior then, recovering his senses, hurled a mace at his opponent. Hurled by the son of Pandu, that mace snatched away the head of Valhika, who, thereupon, fell down lifeless on the earth, like a tree struck down by lightning. Upon the slaughter of that bull among men, viz., the heroic Valhika, ten of thy sons, each of whom was equal unto Rama, the son of Dasaratha, in prowess, began to afflict Bhima. They were Nagadatta, and Dridharatha, and Viravahu, and Ayobhuja, and Dridha, and Suhasta, and Viragas and Pramatha, and Ugrayayin. Beholding them Bhimasena became filled with rage. He then took up a number of arrows, each capable of bearing a great strain. Aiming at each of them one after another, he sped those arrows at them, striking each in his vital part. Pierced therewith, they fell down from their cars, deprived of energy and life, like tall trees from mountain cliffs broken by a tempest. Having with those ten shafts slain those ten sons of thine, Bhima shrouded the favourite son of Karna with showers of arrows. Then the celebrated Vrikaratha, brother of Karna, pierced Bhima with many arrows. The mighty Pandava, however, soon disposed of him effectually. Slaying next, O Bharata, seven car-warriors among thy brother-in-law, with his shafts, the heroic Bhima pressed Satachandra down into the earth. Unable to bear the slaughter of the mighty car-warrior Satachandra, Sakuni's

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brothers, viz., the heroic Gavaksha and Sarabha and Bibhu, and Subhaga, and Bhanudatta, those five mighty car-warriors, rushing towards Bhimasena, attacked him with their keen shafts. Thus attacked with those shafts, like a mountain with torrents of rain.' Bhima slew those five mighty kings with five shafts of his. Beholding those heroes slain many great kings began to waver.

"Then Yudhishthira, filled with wrath, began to destroy thy ranks, in the sight, O sinless one, of the Pot-born (Drona) and of thy sons. Indeed, with his shafts, Yudhishthira began to despatch to the regions of Yama the Amvashthas, the Malavas, the brave Trigartas and the Sivis. And cutting off the Abhishahas, the Surasenas, the Valhikas, and the Vasatis, he caused the earth to be miry with flesh and blood. And he also despatched within a trice, by means of many shafts, to Yama's domains, the Yaudheyas, the Malavas, and large numbers, O king, of the Madrakas. Then a loud uproar arose in the vicinity of Yudhishthira's car, amid which was heard, 'Slay', Seize', 'Capture', Pierce', Cut into pieces'! Beholding him thus slaying and routing thy troops, Drona, urged on by thy son, shrouded Yudhishthira with showers of shafts. Drona filled with great wrath, struck Yudhishthira with the Vayavya weapon. The son of Pandu, however, baffled that celestial weapon with a similar weapon of his own. Seeing his weapon baffled, the son of Bharadwaja, filled with great wrath and desirous of slaying the son of Pandu, sped at Yudhishthira diverse celestial weapons such as the Varuna, the Yamya, the Agneya, the Tvashtra, and the Savitra. The mighty-armed Pandava, however, conversant with morality, fearlessly baffled all those weapons of the Pot-born that were hurled or in course of being hurled at him. Then the Pot-born, striving to accomplish his vow and desirous also for thy son's good, to slay the son of Dharma, invoked into existence, O Bharata, the Aindra and the Prajapatya weapons. Then that foremost one of Kuru's race, Yudhishthira, of the gait of the elephant or the lion, of broad chest and large and red eyes, and endued with energy scarcely inferior (to that of Drona) invoked into existence the Mahendra weapon. With that he baffled the weapon of Drona. Seeing all his weapons baffled, Drona, filled with wrath and desirous of accomplishing the destruction of Yudhishthira, invoked into existence the Brahma weapon. Enveloped as we then were by a thick gloom, we could not observe what passed. All creatures also, O monarch, were filled with great fright. Beholding the Brahma weapon uplifted, Kunti's son, Yudhishthira, O king, baffled it with a Brahma weapon of his own. Then, all the foremost warriors applauded those two bulls among men, viz., Drona and Yudhishthira, those great bowmen acquainted with every mode of warfare. Abandoning Yudhishthira, Drona then, with eyes red as copper in rage, began to consume the division of Drupada with the Vayavya weapon. Oppressed by Drona, the Panchalas fled away from fear, in the very sight of Bhimasena and of the illustrious Partha. Then the diadem-decked (Arjuna) and Bhimasena, checking that flight of their troops, suddenly encountered that hostile force with two large throngs of cars. Vibhatsu, attacking the right and Vrikodara the left, Bharadwaja's son was encountered, with two mighty showers of shafts. Then the Kaikeyas, the Srinjayas, and the Panchalas of great energy followed the two brothers, O king, accompanied by the Matsyas and the Satwatas. Then the Bharata host, slaughtered by the diadem-decked (Arjuna) and overcome with sleep and darkness, began to break. Drona, and thy son himself, endeavoured to rally them. The combatants, however, O king, were incapable of being then checked in their flight.'"

SECTION 157

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding that vast host of the Pandavas swelling with rage and regarding it to be incapable of being resisted, thy son Duryodhana. addressing Karna, said these words, 'O thou that art devoted to friends, that hour hath now come in respect of thy friends (when thy help is most needed). O Karna, save in battle all my warriors. Our combatants are now encompassed on all sides by the Panchalas, the Kaikeyas, the Matsyas, and the mighty car-warriors of the Pandavas, all filled, with rage and resembling hissing snakes. Yonder the Pandavas, solicitous of victory, are roaring in joy. The vast car-force of the Panchalas is possessed of the prowess of Sakra himself.'

"Karna replied, 'If Purandara himself were to come hither for saving Partha, quickly vanquishing even him, I would slay that son or Pandu. I tell thee truly. Be cheered, O Bharata! I will slay the son of Pandu and all the assembled Panchalas, I will give thee victory, like Pavaka's son giving victory unto Vasava. I shall do what is agreeable to thee in this battle that has begun. Amongst all the Parthas, Phalguna is the strongest. At him I will hurl the fatal dart of Sakra's workmanship. Upon the death of that great bowman, his brothers, O giver of honour, will either surrender themselves unto thee or once more retire into the forest. When I am alive, O Kauravya, never indulge in any grief. I will vanquish in battle all the Pandavas united together and all the Panchalas, the Kaikeyas, and the Vrishnis assembled together. Making porcupines of them by means of my arrowy showers, I will give thee the earth.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'While Karna was uttering those words, Kripa, the mighty armed son of Saradwat, smiling the while, addressed the Suta's son in these words, 'Thy speech is fair, O Karna! If words alone could lead to success, then with thee, O son of Radha, as his protector, this bull among the Kurus would be considered to have the amplest measure of protection. Thou boastest much, O Karna, in the presence of the Kuru chief, but thy prowess is seldom witnessed, nor, indeed, any result (of thy boastful speeches). Many a time have we seen thee encounter the sons of Pandu in battle. On every one of those occasions, O Suta's son, thou hast been vanquished by the Pandavas. While Dhritarashtra's son was being taken away (as a captive) by the Gandharvas, all the troops fought on that occasion except thy single self, who was the first to fly away. In Virata's city also, all the Kauravas, united together, including thyself and thy younger brother were vanquished by Partha in battle. Thou art not a match for even one of the sons of Pandu, viz., Phalguna, on the field of battle. How then canst thou venture to vanquish all the sons of Pandu with Krishna at their head? Thou indulgest in too much brag, O Suta's son! Engage thyself in battle without saying anything. To Put forth prowess without indulging in brag is the duty of good men. Ever roaring aloud, O Suta's son like the dry clouds of autumn, thou showest thyself, O Karna to be without substance. The king, however, does not understand it. Thou roarest, O son of Radha, as long as thou seest not the son of Pritha. These thy roars disappear when thou seest Partha near. Indeed, thou roarest as long as thou art out of the range of Phalguna's shafts. Those roars of thine disappear when thou art pierced with Partha's shafts. Kshatriyas evince their eminence by means of their arms; Brahmanas, by means of speech; Arjuna evinces his by means of the bow; but Karna, by the castles he builds in the air. Who is there that will resist that Partha who gratified Rudra himself (in battle)?' Thus railed at by Saradwat's son, Karna, that foremost of smiters, answered Kripa in the following strain, 'Heroes always roar like clouds in the season of rains, and like steeds put in the soil, quickly yield fruits. I do not see any fault in heroes that take great burdens on their shoulders, indulging in boastful speeches on the field of battle. When a person mentally resolves to bear a burden, Destiny itself aids him in the execution. Wishing in my heart bear a great burden, I always summon sufficient resolution. If, slaying the sons of Pandu with Krishna and Satwatas in battle, I indulge in such roars, what is it to thee, O Brahmana? They that are heroes never roar fruitlessly like autumnal clouds. Conscious of their own might, the wise indulge in roars! In my heart I am determined to vanquish in battle today Krishna and Partha united together and fighting with resolution! It is for this that I roar, O son of Gotama! Behold the fruit of these my roars, O Brahmana! Slaying the son of Pandu in battle, with all their followers, Krishna and Satwatas, I will bestow on Duryodhana the whole earth without a thorn in it.'

"Kripa said, 'Little do I reckon, O Suta's son, these delirious saying of thine discovering thy thoughts, not deeds. Thou always speakest in depreciation of the two Krishnas and king Yudhishthira the Just. He, O Karna, is certain, to have the victory who hath on his side those two heroes skilled in battle. Indeed, Krishna and Arjuna are incapable of being defeated by the celestials, the Gandharvas, the Yakshas, human beings, the Nagas, and the birds, all clad in mail. Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma is devoted to the Brahmanas. He is truthful in speech and self-restrained. He reverences the Pitris and the deities. He is devoted to the practice of truth and righteousness. He is, again, skilled in weapons. Possessed of great intelligence, he is also grateful. His brothers are all endued with great might and well-practised in all weapons. They are devoted to the service of their seniors. Possessed of wisdom and fame, they are also righteous in their practices. Their kinsmen and relatives are all endued with the prowess of Indra. Effectual smiters, they are all exceedingly devoted to the Pandavas. Dhrishtadyumna, and Sikhandin and Janamejaya, the son of Durmuksha and Chandrasen, and Madrasen, and Kritavarman, Dhruva, and Dhara and Vasuchandra, and Sutejana, the sons of Drupada, and Drupada himself, conversant with high and mighty weapons, and the king of the Matsyas also, with his younger brothers, all resolutely struggling for their sake, and Gajanika, and Virabhadra, and Sudarsana, and Srutadhwaja, and Valanika, and Jayanika, and Jayaprya, and Vijaya and Labhalaksha, and Jayaswa, and Kamaratha, and the handsome brothers of Virata, and the twins (Nakula and Sahadeva), and the (five) sons of Draupadi, and the Rakshasa Ghatotkacha, are all fighting for the Pandavas. The sons of Pandu, therefore, will not meet with destruction. These and many other hosts (of heroes) are for the sons of Pandu. Without doubt, the entire universe, with the celestials, Asuras, and human beings, with all the tribes of Yaksha and Rakshas and with all the elephants and snakes and other creatures, can be annihilated by Bhima and Phalguna by the prowess of their weapons. As regards Yudhishthira also, he can, with angry eyes only, consume the whole world. How, O Karna, canst thou venture to vanquish those foes in battle for whom Sauri of immeasurable might hath clad himself in mail? This, O Suta's son, is a great folly on thy part, since thou always venturest to contend with Sauri himself in battle.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Thus addressed (by Kripa), Karna the son of Radha, O bull of Bharata's race, smiling the while, said these words unto the preceptor Kripa, the son of Saradwat, 'The words thou hast spoken about the Pandavas, O Brahmana, are all true. These and many other virtues are to be seen in the sons of Pandu. It is true also that the Parthas are incapable of being vanquished by the very gods with Vasava at their head, and the Daityas, the Yakshas, and the Rakshasas. For all that I will vanquish the Parthas with the help of the dart given me by Vasava. Thou knowest, O Brahmana, that the dart given by Sakra is incapable of being baffled. With that I will slay Savyasachin in battle. Upon Arjuna's fall, Krishna and the uterine brothers of Arjuna will never be able to enjoy the (sovereignty of the) earth without Arjuna (to aid them). All of them, therefore, will perish. This earth then, with her seas, will remain subject to the chief of the Kurus, O Gautama, without costing him any efforts. In this world everything, without doubt, becomes attainable by policy. Knowing this, I indulge in these roars, O Gautama! As regards thyself, thou art old, a Brahmana by birth, and unskilled in battle. Thou bearest much love for the Pandavas. It is for this thou insultest me thus. If, O Brahmana, thou tellest me again such words as these, I shall, then, drawing out my scimitar, cut off thy tongue, O wretch! Thou desirest, O Brahmana, to applaud the Pandavas, for frightening all the troops and the Kauravas, O thou of wretched understanding! As regards this also, O Gautama, listen to what I say. Duryodhana, and Drona, and Sakuni, and Durmukha, and Jaya, and Duhsasana, and Vrishasena, and the ruler of the Madras, and thyself too and Somadatta and Drona's son, and Vivinsati,--all these heroes skilled in battle,--are here, clad in mail. What foe is there, endued with even the prowess of Sakra, that would vanquish these in battle? All those I have named a-e heroes, skilled in weapons, endued with great might, solicitous of admission into heaven, conversant with morality, and skilled in battle. They would stay the very gods in fight. These will take their places on the field for slaying the Pandavas, clad in mail on behalf of Duryodhana desirous of victory. I regard victory to be dependent on destiny, even in the case of the foremost of mighty men. When the mighty-armed Bhishma himself lieth pierced with a hundred arrows, as also Vikarna, and Jayadratha, and Bhurisravas, and Jaya, and Jalasandha, and Sudakshina, and Sala; that foremost of car-warriors, and Bhagadatta of great energy, I say, when these and many others, incapable of being easily vanquished by the very gods, heroes all and mightier (than the Pandavas), lie on the field of battle, slain by the Pandavas, what dost thou think, O wretch among men, but that all this is the result of destiny? As regards them also, viz., the foes of Duryodhana, whom thou adorest, O Brahmana, brave warriors of theirs, in hundreds and thousands, have been slain. The armies of both the Kurus and the Pandavas are diminishing in numbers; I do not, in this, behold the prowess of the Pandavas! With them, O lowest of men, whom thou always regardest to be so mighty, I shall strive, to the utmost extent of my might, to contend in battle, for Duryodhana's good. As regards victory, that depends on destiny.'"

SECTION 158

"Sanjaya said, 'Seeding his uncle thus addressed in harsh and insulting words by the Suta's son, Aswatthaman, uplifting his scimitar, furiously rushed towards the latter. Filled with fury, Drona's son rushed towards Karna, in the very sight of the Kuru king, like a lion at an infuriated elephant.

"And Aswatthaman said, 'O lowest of men, Kripa was speaking of the virtues truly possessed by Arjuna. Of wicked understanding as thou art, thou rebukest, however, my brave uncle from malice. Possessed with pride and insolence, thou braggest today of thy prowess, not regarding any of the world's bowmen in battle! 1 Where was thy prowess and where were thy weapons when vanquishing thee in battle the wielder of Gandiva slew Jayadratha in thy very sight? Vainly, O wretch of a Suta, dost thou indulge in thy mind the hope of vanquishing him who formerly contended in battle with Mahadeva himself. The very gods with the Asuras united together and with Indra at their head had failed to vanquish Arjuna, that foremost of all wielders of weapons, having Krishna only for his ally. How then, O Suta, hopest thou, aided by these kings, to vanquish that foremost of heroes in the world, viz., the unvanquished Arjuna, in battle? Behold, O Karna of wicked soul, (what I do to thee) today! O lowest of men, O thou of wretched understanding, I shall presently sever thy head from thy trunk.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Thus saying, Aswatthaman made a furious rush at Karna. The king himself, of great energy, and Kripa, that foremost of men, held him fast. Then Karna said, 'Of wicked understanding, this wretch of a Brahmana thinks himself brave and boasts of his prowess in battle. Set him at

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liberty, O chief of the Kurus. Let him come in contact with my might.'

"Aswatthaman said, 'O son of a Suta, O thou of wicked understanding, this (thy fault) is pardoned by us. Phalguna, however, will quell this risen pride of thine.'

"Duryodhana said, 'O Aswatthaman, quell thy wrath. It behoveth thee, O giver of honours, to forgive. Thou shouldst not, O sinless one, be angry with the Suta's son. Upon thee and Karna and Kripa and Drona and the ruler of the Madras and Suvala's son resteth a great burthen. Drive away thy wrath, O best of Brahmanas! Yonder, all the Pandava troops are approaching from desire of fight with Radha's son. Indeed, O Brahmana, yonder they come, challenging us all.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Thus pacified by the king, the high-souled son of Drona, O monarch, whose ire had been excited, suppressed his wrath and forgave (Karna). Then the preceptor Kripa, of noble heart, who is of a quite disposition, O monarch, and mild temper, therefore, returned soon unto him, said these words.'

"Kripa, said, 'O Suta's son of wicked heart, this (thy fault) is pardoned by us. Phalguna, however, will quell this thy risen pride.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Then the Pandavas, O king, and the Panchalas, celebrated for their prowess, uniting together approached in thousands, uttering loud shouts; Karna also, that foremost of car-warriors, endued with great energy, surrounded by many foremost ones among the Kuru warriors and resembling Sakra in the midst of the celestials, waited, drawing his bow and relying on the might of his own arms. Then commenced a battle between Karna and the Pandavas. O king, that was exceedingly dreadful and characterised by loud leonine roars. Then Pandavas, O monarch, and the Panchalas, celebrated for their prowess, beholding the mighty-armed Karna, loudly shouted, saying, 'There is Karna,' 'Where is Karna in this fierce battle.'--'O thou of wicked understanding, O lowest of men, fight with us!'--Others, beholding the son of Radha said, with eyes expanded In wrath, 'Let this arrogant wretch of little understanding, this son of a Suta, be slain by the allied kings. He hath no need to live. This sinful man is always very hostile to the Parthas. Obedient to the counsels of Duryodhana, this one is the root of these evils. Slay him.' Uttering such words, great Kshatriya car-warriors, urged by Pandu's son, rushed towards him, covering him with a dense shower of arrows, for slaying him. Beholding all those mighty Pandavas thus (advancing), the Suta's son, trembled not, nor experienced any fear. Indeed, seeing that wonderful sea of troops, resembling Death himself, that benefactor of thy sons, viz., the mighty and fight-handed Karna, never vanquished in battle, O bull of Bharata's race, began, with clouds of shafts, to resist that force on all sides. The Pandavas also fought with the foe, shooting showers of shafts. Shaking their hundreds and thousands of bows they fought with Radha's son, like the Daityas of old fighting with Sakra. The mighty Karna, however, with a dense arrowy shower of his own dispelled that downpour of arrows caused by those lords of earth on all sides. The battle that took place between them, and in which each party counteracted the feats of the other,' resembled the encounter between Sakra and the Danavas in the great battle fought of yore between the gods and the Asuras. The lightness of arm that we then behold of the Suta's son was wonderful in the extreme, inasmuch as, all his foes, fighting resolutely, could not strike him in that battle. Checking the clouds of arrows shot by the (hostile) king, that mighty car-warrior, viz., Radha's son, sped terrible arrows marked with his own name at the yokes, the shafts, the umbrellas, the cars, and the steeds (of his foes). Then those kings, afflicted by Karna and losing their coolness, began to wander on the field like a herd of kine afflicted with cold. Struck by Karna, large numbers of steeds and elephants and car-warriors were seen there to drop down deprived of life. The whole field, O king, became strewn with the fallen heads and arms of unreturning heroes. With the dead, the dying, and the wailing warriors, the field of battle, O monarch, assumed the aspect of Yama's domain. Then Duryodhana, O king, witnessing the prowess of Karna, repaired to Aswatthaman and addressing him, said, 'Behold, Karna, clad in mail, is engaged with all the (hostile) kings. Behold, the hostile army, afflicted with the arrows of Karna, is being routed like the Asura army overwhelmed with the energy of Kartikeya. Seeing his army vanquished in battle by that intelligent Karna, yonder cometh Vibhatsu from desire of slaying the Suta's son. Let such steps, therefore, be taken as may prevent the son of Pandu from slaying that mighty car-warrior viz., Suta's son, in the very sight of us all.' (Thus addressed), Drona's son, and Kripa, and Salya, and that great car-warrior, viz., the son of Hridika, beholding the son of Kunti coming (towards them) like Sakra himself towards the Daitya host, all advanced against Partha for rescuing the Suta's son. Meanwhile, Vibhatsu, O monarch, surrounded by the Panchala I advanced against Karna, like Purandara proceeding against the Asura Vritra.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Beholding Phalguna excited with fury and looking like the Destroyer himself, as he appears at the end of the Yuga what, O Suta, did Vikartana's son Karna do next? Indeed, the mighty car-warrior Karna, the son of Vikartana, had always challenged Partha. Indeed, he had always said that he was competent to vanquish the terrible Vibhatsu. What then, O Suta, did that warrior do when he thus suddenly met his ever deadly foe?'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Beholding the son of Pandu rushing towards him like an elephant towards a rival elephant, Karna fearlessly proceeded against Dhananjaya. Partha, however, soon covered Karna who was thus advancing with great impetuosity, with showers of straight shafts, equipped with wings of gold. Karna also covered Vijaya with his shafts. The son of Pandu then once more shrouded Karna with clouds of arrows. Then Karna, filled with rage, pierced Arjuna with three shafts. The mighty car-warrior, Arjuna, beholding Karna's lightness of hand, could not brook it. That scorcher of foes shot at the Suta's son thirty straight shafts, whetted on stone and equipped with blazing points. Endued with great might and energy, he also pierced him, in rage, with another long arrow on the wrist of his left arm, smiling the while. Karna's bow then dropped from that arm of his, which had thus been pierced with great force. Then the mighty Karna, taking up that bow within the twinkling of an eye, once more covered Phalguna with clouds of shafts, displaying great lightness of hard. Dhananjaya then, O Bharata, smiling the while, baffled with his own shafts, that arrowy shower shot by the Suta's son. Approaching each other, those two great bowmen, desirous of counteracting each other's feats, continued to cover each other with showers of shafts. The battle that took place between them, viz., Karna and the son of Pandu, became exceedingly wonderful, like that between the two wild elephants for the sake of a she-elephant in her season. Then the mighty bowman Partha, beholding Karna's prowess, quickly cut of the latter's bow at the handle. And he also despatched the four steeds of the Suta's son to Yama's abode with a number of broad-headed shafts. And that scorcher of foes also cut off from the trunk the head of Karna's driver. Then, the son of Pandu and Pritha pierced the bowless, the steedless, and the driverless Karna with four shafts. Then that bull among men Karna, afflicted with those shafts, specially jumping down from that steedless car, mounted upon that of Kripa. Beholding the son of Radha vanquished, thy, warriors, O bull of Bharata's race, fled away in all directions. Seeing them fly away, king Duryodhana himself checked them and said these words, 'Ye heroes, do not fly away. Ye bulls among Kshatriyas, stay in battle. I myself will now advance for slaying Partha in battle. I myself will slay Partha with the assembled Panchalas. While I shall fight with the wielder of Gandiva today, Partha will behold my prowess to resemble that of the Destroyer himself at the end of the Yuga. Today the Parthas shall behold my shafts shot in thousands to resemble flights of locusts. The combatants shall behold me today shooting, bow in hand, dense showers of shafts, like torrents of rain poured by the clouds at the end of the summer season. I shall today vanquish Partha with my straight shafts. Stay, ye heroes, in battle, and remove your fear or Phalguna. Encountering my prowess, Phalguna shall never be able to bear it, like the ocean, the abode of makaras, unable to overcome the continents.' Thus saying, the king proceeded in rage, his eyes red in wrath, surrounded by a large host, towards Phalguna. Beholding the mighty-armed Duryodhana thus proceeding, Saradwat's son, approaching Aswatthaman, said these words, 'Yonder, the mighty-armed Duryodhana, deprived of his senses by wrath, desireth to fight with Phalguna, like an insect desiring to rush into a blazing fire. Before this foremost of kings layeth down his life, in our very sight, in this battle with Partha, prevent him (from rushing into the encounter). The brave Kuru king can remain alive in battle as long only as he doth not place himself within the range of Partha's shafts. Let the king be stopped before he is consumed into ashes by the terrible shafts of Partha, that resemble snakes just freed from their sloughs. When we are here, O giver of honours, it seems to be highly improper that the king should himself go to battle to fight, as if he had none to fight for him. The life of this descendant of Kuru will be in great danger if he engages in battle with the diademdecked (Arjuna), like that of an elephant contending with a tiger.' Thus addressed by his maternal uncle, Drona's son, that foremost of all wielders of weapons, quickly repaired unto Duryodhana and addressing him, said these words, 'When I am alive, O son of Gandhari, it behoveth thee not to engage thyself in battle, disregarding me, O descendant of Kuru, that am ever desirous of thy good. Thou needst not be at all anxious about vanquishing Partha. I will check Partha! Stand here, O Suyodhana.'

"Duryodhana said, 'The preceptor (Drona) always protecteth the sons of Pandu, as if they are his own sons. Thou also always never interferest with those my foes. Or, it may be due to my misfortune, that thy prowess never becometh fierce in battle. This may be due also to thy affection for Yudhishthira or Draupadi. I myself am ignorant of the true reason. Fie on my covetous self, for whose sake all friends, desirous of making me happy, are themselves vanquished and plunged into grief. Except thee, O son of Gotama's daughter, what foremost of all wielders of weapons of there, what warrior, indeed, equal to Mahadeva himself in battle, that would not, though competent, destroy the foe? O Aswatthaman; be pleased with me and destroy my enemies. Neither the gods nor the Danavas are capable of staying within the range of thy weapons, O son of Drona, slay the Panchalas and the Somakas with all their followers. As regards the rest, we will slay them, Protected by thee. Yonder, O Brahmana, the Somakas and the Panchalas, possessed of great fame, are careering amid my troops like a forest-conflagration. O mighty-armed one, check them as also the Kailkeyas, O best of men, else, protected by the diadem-decked (Arjuna), they will annihilate us all. O Aswatthaman, O chastiser of foes, go thither with speed. Whether thou accomplishest it now or afterwards, that feat, O sire, should be accomplished by thee. Thou hast been born, O mighty-armed one, for the destruction of the Panchalas. Putting forth thy prowess, thou shalt make the world destitute of Panchalas. Even thus the reverend ones crowned with (ascetic) success, have said. It will be as they have said. Therefore, O tiger among men, slay the Panchalas with all their followers. The very gods with Vasava at their head are incapable of staying within the range of thy weapons, what need be said then of the Parthas and the Panchalas? These words of mine are true. I tell thee truly, O hero, that the Pandavas united with the Somakas are no match for thee in battle! Go, O mighty-armed one! Let there be no delay. Behold, our army, afflicted with Partha's shafts, is breaking and flying away. Thou art competent, O mighty-armed one, aided by thy own celestial energy, to afflict, O giver of honours, the Pandavas and the Panchalas.'"

SECTION 159

"Sanjaya said, 'Thus addressed by Duryodhana, Drona's son, that warrior difficult of defeat in battle, set his heart upon destroying the foe, like Indra bent upon destroying the Daityas. The mighty-armed Aswatthaman answered thy son, saying, 'It is even so as thou sayest, O descendant of Kuru! The Pandavas are always dear to both myself and my father. So also, are we both dear unto them. Not so, however, in battle. We will, according to the measure of our might, fearlessly contend in battle, reckless of our lives. Myself, Karna, Salya, Kripa, and Hridika's son, could, O best of kings, destroy the Pandava host within the twinkling of an eye. The Pandavas also, O best of the Kurus, could within the twinkling of an eye, destroy the Kaurava host, if, O mighty-armed one, we were not present in battle. We are fighting with the Pandavas to the best of our might, and they also are fighting with us to the best of their might. Energy, encountering energy, is being neutralised, O Bharata! The Pandava army is incapable of being vanquished as long as the sons of Pandu are alive. This that I tell thee is true. The sons of Pandu are endued with great might. They are, again, fighting for their own sake. Why should not they, O Bharata, be able to slay thy troops. Thou, however, O king, art exceedingly covetous. Thou, O Kaurava, art deceitful. Thou art vainglorious and suspicious of everything. For this, thou suspectest even us. I think, O king, thou art wicked, of sinful soul, and an embodiment of sin. Mean and of sinful thoughts, thou doubtest us and others. As regards myself, fighting with resolution for thy sake, I am prepared to lay down my life. I will presently go to battle for thy sake, O chief of the Kurus. I will fight with the foe and slay a large number of the enemy. I will fight with the Panchalas, the Somakas, the Kaikeyas, and the Pandayas also, in battle, for doing what is agreeable to thee, O chastiser of foes. Scorched with my arrows today, the Chedis, the Panchalas, and the Somakas, will fly away on all sides like a herd of kine afflicted by a lion. Today, the royal son of Dharma with all the Somakas, beholding my prowess, will regard the whole world to be filled with Aswatthamans. Dharma's son, Yudhishthira, will become exceedingly cheerless, beholding the Panchalas and Somakas slain (by me) in battle. I will, O Bharata, slay all those that will approach me in battle. Afflicted with the might of my arms, none of them, O hero, will escape me today with life.' Having said so unto thy son, Duryodhana, the mighty-armed (Aswatthaman) proceeded to battle, and afflicted all bowmen. That foremost of all living beings thus sought to achieve what was agreeable to thy sons. The son of Gotama's daughter, then addressing the Panchalas and the Kaikeyas, said unto them, 'Ye mighty car-warriors, strike ye all at my body. Displaying your lightness in the use of arms, fight ye with me coolly.' Thus addressed by him, all those combatants, O king, poured showers of weapons upon Drona's son like clouds pouring torrents of rain. Baffling that shower, Drona's son in that battle, slew ten brave warriors amongst them, in the very sight, O lord, of Dhrishtadyumna and the sons of Pandu. The Panchalas and the Somakas then, thus worked in battle, abandoned the son of Drona and fled away in all directions. Beholding those brave warriors, viz., the Panchalas and the Somakas, flying away, Dhrishtadyumna, O king, rushed against Drona's son in that battle. Surrounded then by a hundred brave and unreturning car-warriors mounted upon cars, decked with gold, and the rattle of whose wheels resembled the roar or rain-charged clouds, the mighty car-warrior Dhrishtadyumna, the son of the Panchala king,

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beholding his warriors slain, addressed Drona's son and said these words, 'O foolish son of the preceptor, what is the use of slaying vulgar combatants. If thou art a hero, fight then with me in battle. I will slay thee. Wait for a moment without flying away.' Saying thus, Dhrishtadyumna of great prowess struck the preceptor's son with many keen and terrible arrows capable of piercing the very vitals. Those swiftly-coursing shafts, equipped with golden wings and keen points, and capable of piercing the body of every foe proceeding in a continuous line, penetrated into Aswatthaman's body, like freely-roaming bees in search of honey entering a flowering tree. Deeply pierced and swelling with rage, like a trodden snake, the proud and fearless son of Drona, arrow in hand, addressed his foe, saying, 'O Dhrishtadyumna, wait for moment, without leaving my presence.' Soon shall I despatch thee to Yama's abode with my keen shafts.' Having said these words, that slayer of hostile heroes, viz., the son of Drona, displaying great lightness of hands, covered the son of Prishata from every side with clouds of arrows. Thus covered in that encounter (with arrows) by Drona's son, the Panchala prince, difficult to defeat in battle, said 'Thou knowest not of my origin, O Brahmana, or of my vow. O thou of wicked understanding, having first slain Drona himself, I will not, therefore, slay thee today when Drona himself is still alive. O thou of wicked understanding, after this night passeth away and bringeth in the fair dawn, I shall first slay thy sire in battle and then despatch thee also to the region of Spirits. Even this is the wish entertained by me. Standing before me, display, therefore, till then, the hatred thou bearest towards the Parthas, and the devotion thou cherishest for the Kurus. Thou shalt not escape from me with life. That, Brahmana who, abandoning the practices of a Brahmana, devoteth himself to the practices of a Kshatriya, becomes slayable by all Kshatriyas even as thou, O lowest of men.' Thus addressed by Prishata's son in language so harsh and insulting that best of Brahmanas Aswatthaman mustered all his rage and answered, saying, 'Wait, Wait!' And he gazed at Prishata's son apparently burning him with his eyes. Sighing (in rage) like a snake, the preceptor's son, then, covered Dhrishtadyumna in that battle (with a shower of arrows). The mighty-armed son of Prishata, however, that best of car-warriors, surrounded by all the Panchala troops, though thus struck with arrows in that encounter by Drona's son, did not tremble, relying as he did on his own energy. In return, he sped many arrows at Aswatthaman. Both engaged in a gambling match in which the stake was life itself, those heroes, unable to brook each other, resisted each other and checked each other's arrowy showers. And those great bowmen shot dense showers of shafts all around. Beholding that fierce battle, inspiring terror, between Drona's and Prishata's son, the Siddhas and Charanas and other sky-ranging beings applauded them highly. Filling the welkin and all the points of the compass with clouds of shafts, and creating a thick gloom therewith, those two warriors continued to fight with each other, unseen (by any of us). As if dancing in that battle, with their bows drawn to circles, resolutely aspiring to slay each other, those mighty-armed warriors, inspiring fear in every heart, fought wonderfully and with remarkable activity and skill. Applauded by thousands of foremost warriors in that battle, and thus resolutely engaged in fight like two wild elephants in the forest, both the armies, beholding them, became filled with delight. And leonine shouts were heard there, and all the combatants blew their conchs. And hundreds and thousands of musical instruments began to be sounded. That fierce fight, enhancing the terror of the timid, seemed only for a short time to be waged equally. Then Drona's son, O king, making a rush, cut off the bow, and standard, and umbrella, and the two Parshni drivers, and the principal driver, and the four steeds, of the high-souled son of Prishata. And that warrior of immeasurable soul then caused the Panchalas in hundreds and thousands, by means of his straight shafts, to fly away. Beholding those feats of Drona's son, resembling those of Vasava himself in battle, the Pandava host, O bull of Bharata race, began to tremble in fear. Slaying a hundred Panchalas with a hundred arrows, and three foremost of men with three keen arrows, in the very sight of Drupada's son and of Phalguna, that mighty car-warrior, viz., the son of Drona, slew a very large number of Panchalas that stayed before him. The Panchalas then, as also the Srinjayas, thus disconcerted in battle, fled away leaving Drona's son, with their banners torn. Then that mighty car-warrior, viz., the son of Drona, having vanquished his foes in battle, uttered a loud roar like that of a mass of clouds at the end of summer. Having slain a large number of foes, Aswatthaman looked resplendent like the blazing fire at the end of the Yuga, after having consumed all creatures. Applauded by all the Kauravas after having defeated thousands of foes in battle, the valiant son of Drona beamed forth in beauty, like the chief of the celestials himself after vanquishing his foes'."

SECTION 160

"Sanjaya said, 'Then king Yudhishthira, and Bhimasena, the son of Pandu, O monarch, encompassed Drona's son on all sides. Seeing this, king Duryodhana, aided by Bharadwaja's son, rushed against the Pandavas in that encounter. Then commenced a battle that was fierce and terrific, enhancing the fears of the timid. Yudhishthira, in wrath began to despatch vast numbers of Amvashthas, Malavas, Vangas, Sivis, and Trigartas, to the domain of the dead. Bhima also, mangling the Abhishahas, the Surasenas, and other Kshatriyas difficult to defeat in battle, made the earth miry with blood. The diademdecked (Arjuna) of white steeds despatched, O king, the Yaudheyas, the Mountaineers, the Madrakas, and the Malavas also, to the regions of the dead. Forcibly struck with swiftly-coursing shafts, elephants began to fall down on the earth like double-crested hills. Strewn with the lopped-off trunks elephants that still moved in convulsions, the earth seemed as if covered with moving snakes. Covered with the fallen umbrellas of kings that were adorned with gold, the field of battle looked resplendent like the firmament at the end of the Yuga bespangled with suns, moons and stars. About this time a fierce uproar arose near Drona's car, in the midst of which could be heard the words, 'Slay', 'Strike fearlessly', 'Pierce', 'cut in pieces'. Drona, however, filled with rage, began to destroy by means of the Vayavya weapon the foes about him, like a mighty tempest destroying gathering masses of clouds. Thus treated by Drona, the Panchalas fled away, from fear, in the very sight to Bhimasena and the high-souled Partha. Then the diadem-decked (Arjuna) and Bhimasena soon checked the flight of their troops and accompanied by a large car-force attacked the vast force of Drona. Vibhatsu attacking the right and Vrikodara the left, they both poured on Bharadwaja's son two dense showers of arrows. The mighty car-warriors among the Srinjayas and the Panchalas, with the Matsyas and the Somakas, O king, followed the two brothers thus engaged (in that encounter with Drona). Similarly, many foremost of car-warriors, skilled in smiting, belonging to thy son, accompanied by a large force, proceeded towards Drona's car (for supporting the latter). Then the Bharata host, slaughtered by the diadem-decked (Arjuna) and overcome with and afflicted by the darkness, began to break. Thy son himself, and Drona, both endevoured to rally them. Thy troops, however, O king, could not be checked in their flight. Indeed, that vast host, slaughtered by the shafts of Pandu's son, began to fly away in all directions in that hour when the world was enveloped with gloom. Many kings, abandoning the animals and vehicles they rode, fled away on all sides, O monarch, overwhelmed with fear'."

SECTION 161

"Sanjaya said 'Beholding Somadatta shaking his large bow, Satyaki, addressing his driver, said, 'Bear me towards Somadatta. I tell thee truely, O Suta, that I shall not return from battle today without having slain that foe, viz., that worst of the Kurus, the son of Valhika'. Thus addressed, the charioteer then urged to battle those fleet steeds of the Sindhu breed, white as conch and capable of bearing every weapon. Those steeds endued with the speed of the wind or the mind, bore Yuyudhana to battle like the steeds of Indra, O king, bearing the latter in days of yore when he proceeded to quell the Danavas. Beholding the Satwata hero thus advancing quickly in battle Somadatta, O king, fearlessly turned towards him. Scattering showers of shafts like the clouds pouring torrents of rain, he covered the grandson of Sini like the clouds covering the sun. Satyaki also, O bull of Bharata's race, in that encounter fearlessly covered that bull amongst the Kurus with showers of shafts. Then Somadatta pierced that hero of Madhu's race with sixty shafts in the chest. Satyaki, in turn, O king, pierced Somadatta with many whetted arrows. Mangled by each other with each-other's shafts, those two warriors looked resplendent like a couple of flowering Kinsukas in the season of spring. Dyed all over with blood, those illustrious warriors of the Kuru and the Vrishni races looked at each other with their glances. Riding on their cars that coursed in circles, those grinders of foes, of terrible countenances, resembled two clouds pouring torrents of rain. Their bodies mangled and pierced all over with arrows, they looked, O king, like two porcupines. Pierced with countless shafts, equipped with wings of gold, the two warriors looked resplendent, O monarch, like a couple of tall trees covered with fire-flies. Their bodies looking bright with the blazing arrows sticking to them, those two mighty car-warriors looked in that battle like two angry elephants decked with burning torches. Then, O monarch, the mighty car-warrior, Somadatta, in that battle, cut off with a crescent-shaped arrow the large bow of Madhava. With great speed also, at a time when speed was of the utmost consequence, the Kuru hero then pierced Satyaki with five and twenty shafts, and once again with ten. Then Satyaki, taking up a tougher bow, quickly pierced Somadatta with five shafts. With another broad-headed arrow, Satyaki also, O king, smiling the while, cut off the golden standard of Valhika's son. Somadatta, however, beholding his standard cut down, fearlessly pierced the grandson of Sini with five and twenty arrows. Satwata also, excited with rage, cut off with a razor-faced arrow the bow of Somadatta, in that encounter. And he also pierced Somadatta who then resembled a snake without fangs, with a hundred straight arrows, equipped with wings of gold. The mighty car-warrior Somadatta, then, who was endued with great strength taking up another bow, began to cover Satyaki (with showers of shafts). Satyaki too, inflamed with rage, pierced Somadatta with many shafts. Somadatta, in return, afflicted Satyaki with his arrowy showers. Then Bhima coming to the encounter, and fighting on behalf of Satyaki, struck Valhika's son with ten shafts. Somadatta, however, fearlessly struck Bhimasena with many whetted arrows. Then Satyaki, inflamed with rage, aiming at Somadatta's chest, shot a new and terrible Parigha equipped with a golden staff and hard as the thunder. The Kuru warrior, however, smiling the while, cut off that terrible Parigha advancing with speed against him in two parts. That formidable Parigha of iron, then, thus cut off into two fragments, fell down like so many crests of a mountain riven by thunder. Then Satyaki, O king, with a broad-headed arrow, cut off in that encounter Somadatta's bow, and then with five arrows, the leathern fence that cased his fingers. Then, O Bharata, with four other shafts he speedily despatched the four excellent steeds of the Kuru warrior to Yama's presence. And then that tiger among car-warriors with another straight shaft, smiling the while, cut off from his trunk the head of Somadatta's driver. Then he sought at Somadatta himself a terrible shaft of fiery effulgence, whetted on stone, steeped in oil, and equipped with wings of gold. That excellent and fierce shaft, shot by the mighty grandson of Sini, quickly fell like a hawk, O Lord, upon the chest of Somadatta. Deeply pierced by the mighty Satwata, the great car-warrior Somadatta, O monarch, fell down (from his car) and expired. Beholding the great car-warrior Somadatta slain there, thy warriors with a large throng of cars rushed against Yuyudhana. Meanwhile, the Pandava also, O king, with all the Prabhadrakas and accompanied by a large force, rushed against Drona's army. Then Yudhishthira, excited with wrath, began, with his shafts, to strike and rout the troops of Bharadwaja's son at the very sight of the latter. Beholding Yudhishthira thus agitating his troops, Drona, with eyes red in wrath, furiously rushed against him. The preceptor, then pierced the son of Pritha with seven keen arrows. Yudhishthira, in return, excited with wrath, pierced the preceptor with five arrows. Deeply pierced by the son of Pandu, the mighty bowman (Drona), licking the corners of his mouth for a moment, cut off both the standard and the bow of Yudhishthira. With great speed, at a time when speed was of the utmost consequence, that best of kings, whose bow had been cut off, took up another bow that was sufficiently tough and hard. The son of Pandu then pierced Drona with his steeds, driver, standard, and car, with a thousand arrows. All this seemed exceedingly wonderful. Afflicted with the strokes of those arrows and feeling great pain, Drona, that bull among Brahmanas, sat down for a while on the terrace of his car. Recovering his senses, sighing like a snake, and filled with great rage, the preceptor invoked into existence the Vayavya weapon. The valiant son of Pritha, bow in hand, fearlessly baffled that weapon with a similar weapon of his in that encounter. And the son of Pandu also cut in two fragments the large bow of the Brahmana. Then Drona, that grinder of Kshatriyas, took up another bow. That bull of Kuru's race, Yudhishthira, cut off that bow also, with many keen shafts. Then Vasudeva, addressing Yudhishthira. the son of Kunti, said, 'Listen, O mighty-armed Yudhishthira, to what I say. Cease, O best of the Bharatas, to fight with Drona. Drona always striveth to seize thee in battle. I do not think it fit that thou shouldst fight with him. He who hath been created for Drona's destruction will, without doubt, slay him. Leaving the preceptor, go where king Suyodhana is. Kings should fight with kings, they should not desire to fight with such as are not kings. Surrounded, therefore, by elephants and steeds and cars, repair thou thither, O son of Kunti, where Dhananjaya with myself, aided by a small force, and Bhima also, that tiger among men, are fighting with the Kurus'. Hearing these words of Vasudeva, king Yudhishthira the Just, reflecting for a moment, proceeded to that part of the field where that slayer of foes, viz., Bhima, engaged in fierce battle, was slaughtering thy troops like the Destroyer himself with wide-open mouth. Making the earth resound with the loud rattle of his car, which resembled the roar of the clouds at the end of summer, king Yudhishthira the Just, the (eldest) son of Pandu, took up the flank of Bhima, engaged in the slaughter of the foe. Drona also on that night, began to consume his foes, the Panchalas'"

SECTION 162

"Sanjaya said, 'During the progress of that fierce and terrible battle, when the world was enveloped with darkness and dust, O king, the combatants, as they stood on the field, could not see one another. Those foremost of Kshatriyas fought with each other, guided by conjectures and the personal and other names (they uttered). And during the progress, O lord, of that terrible carnage of car-warriors and elephants and steeds and foot-soldiers, those heroes, viz., Drona and Karna and Kripa, and Bhima and Prishata's son and Satwata, afflicted one another and the troops of either party, O bull of Bharata's race. The combatants of both

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armies, oppressed all around by those foremost of car-warriors, during the hour of darkness, fled away on all sides. Indeed, the warriors, broke and fled away in all directions with hearts perfectly cheerless. And as they fled away in all directions, they underwent a great carnage. Thousands of foremost car-warriors also, O king, slaughtered one another in that battle. Unable to see anything in the dark, the combatants became deprived of their senses. All this was the result of the evil counsels of thy son. Indeed, at that hour when the world was enveloped in darkness, all creatures, O Bharata, including even the foremost of warriors, overcome with panic, were deprived of their senses in that battle.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'What became the state of your mind then when, afflicted by that darkness, ye all were deprived of your energy and furiously agitated by the Pandavas! How also, O Sanjaya, when everything was enveloped in darkness, did the Pandava troops as also mine once more became visible?'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Then the remnant of the army (of the Katirava), under the orders of their leaders, were once more disposed in (compact) array. Drona placed himself at the van, and Salya at the rear. And Drona's son and Sakuni, the son of Suvala, placed themselves on the right and the left flanks. And king Duryodhana himself, O monarch, on that night, busied himself in protecting all the troops. Cheering all the foot-soldiers, O king, Duryodhana said unto them, 'Laying aside your great weapons, take ye all blazing lamps in your hands.' Thus commanded by that best of kings, the foot-soldiers joyfully took up burning lamps. The gods and Rishis, Gandharvas and celestial Rishis, and the diverse tribes of Vidyadharas and Apsaras, and Nagas and Yakshas and Uragas and Kinnaras, stationed on the welkin also joyfully took up blazing lamps. Many lamps, filled with sweet-scented oil, were seen to fall from the Regents of the cardinal and the subsidiary points of the compass. For Duryodhana's sake, many such were seen to come from Narada and Parvata in especial, lighting up that darkness. The (Kaurava) army then, disposed in compact array, looked resplendent, on that night with the light of those lamps, the costly ornaments (on the persons of combatants), and the blazing celestial weapons as those were shot or hurled by it. On each car were placed five lamps, and on each infuriated elephant three. And upon each horse was placed a large lamp. Thus was that host lighted up by the Kuru warriors. 3 Set in their places within a short time, those lamps speedily lighted up thy army. Indeed, all the troops, thus made radiant by the foot-soldiers with oil-fed lamps in their hands, looked beautiful like clouds in the nocturnal sky illumined by flashes of lightning. When the Kuru host had thus been illuminated, Drona, endued with the effulgence of fire, scorching everything around, looked radiant, O king, in his golden armour, like the midday sun of blazing ray. The light of those lamps began to be reflected from the golden ornaments, the bright cuirasses and bows, and the well-tempered weapons of the combatants. And maces twined with strings, and bright Parighas, and cars and shafts and darts, as they coursed along, repeatedly created, O Ajamidha, by their reflection myriads of lamps. And umbrellas and yak-tails and scimitars and blazing brands, O king, and necklaces of gold, as these were whirled or moved, reflecting that light, looked exceedingly beautiful. Illuminated by the light of those lamps and irradiated by the reflection from weapons and ornaments, that host, O king, blazed up with splendour. Well-tempered and beautiful weapons, red with blood, and whirled by heroes, created a blazing effulgence there, like flashes of lightning in the sky at the end of summer. The faces of warriors, impetuously pursuing foes for striking them down and themselves trembling in the ardour of the rush, looked beautiful like masses of clouds urged on by the wind. As the splendour of the sun becomes fierce on the occasion of the conflagration of a forest full of trees, even so on that terrible night became the splendour of that fierce and illuminated host. Beholding that host of ours illumined, the Parthas also, with great speed, stirring up the foot-soldiers throughout their army, acted like ourselves. On each elephant, they placed seven lamps; on each car, ten; and on the back of each steed they placed two lamps; and on the flanks and rear (of their cars) and on their standard also, they placed many lamps. And on the flanks of their host, and on the rear and the van, and all around and within, many other lamps were lighted. The Kurus having done the same, both the armies were thus lighted. Throughout the host, the foot-soldiers became mingled with elephants and cars and cavalry. And the army of Pandu's son was also illuminated by others (than foot-soldiers) standing with blazing torches in their hands. 1 With those lamps that host became fiercely effulgent, like a blazing fire made doubly resplendent by the dazzling rays of the maker of day. The splendour of both the armies, over-spreading the earth, the welkin, and all the points of the compass, seemed to increase. With that light, thy army as also theirs became distinctly visible. Awakened by that light which reached the skies, the gods, the Gandharvas, the Yakshas, the Rishis and other crowned with (ascetic) success, and the Apsaras, all came there. Crowded then with gods and Gandharvas, and Yakshas, and Rishis crowned with (ascetic) success, and Apsaras, and the spirits of slain warriors about to enter the celestial regions, the field of battle looked like a second heaven. Teeming with cars and steeds and elephants, brilliantly illumined with lamps, with angry combatants and horses slain or wandering wildly, that vast force of arrayed warriors and steeds and elephants looked like the arrays of the celestials and the Asuras in days of old. The rush of darts formed the fierce winds; great cars, the cloud; the neigh and grunt of steeds and elephants, the roars; shafts, the showers; and the blood of warriors and animals, the flood, of that tempest like nocturnal encounter between those god-like men. In the midst of that battle, that foremost of Brahmanas, viz., the high-souled Aswatthaman, scorching the Pandavas, O ruler of men, resembled the midday sun at the end of the season of rains, scorching everything with his fierce ray'."

SECTION 163

"Sanjaya said, 'When the field of battle which had before been enveloped in darkness and dust had thus become illuminated, heroic warriors encountered one another, desirous of taking one another's life. Encountering one another in battle, O king, those combatants, armed with lances and swords and other weapons, gazed at one another under the influence of rage. With thousands of lamps blazing all around and with the more blazing lamps of the gods and the Gandharvas, set upon golden stands decked with jewels, and fed with fragrant oil, the field of battle, O Bharata, looked resplendent like the firmament bespangled with stars. With hundreds upon hundreds of blazing brands, the earth looked exceedingly beautiful. Indeed, the earth seemed to be in a conflagration, like what happens at the universal destruction. All the points of the compass blazed up with those lamps all around and looked like trees covered by fire-flies at an evening in the season of rains. Heroic combatants, then, O king, engaged in battle with heroic rivals. Elephants engaged with elephants, and horsemen with horsemen, and car-warriors with car-warriors, filled with joy, on that fierce night at the command of thy son. The clash of the two armies both consisting of four kinds of forces, became terrible. Then Arjuna, O monarch, began, with great speed, to destroy the Kaurava ranks, weakening all the kings.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'When the invincible Arjuna, excited with wrath and unable to brook (the feats of the Kurus), penetrated into the army of my son, what became the state of your minds? Indeed, when that scorcher of foes entered into their midst, what did the soldiers think? What steps also did Duryodhana think fit to be adopted then? Who were those chastisers of foes that proceeded in that battle against that hero? Indeed, when Arjuna, of white steeds, entered (our army), who were they that protected Drona? Who guarded the right wheel and who the left wheel of Drona's car? Who were those heroes that protected the rear of that battling hero? Indeed, when Bharadwaja's son proceeded, slaying the foe (along his route), who were they that proceeded in his van? That mighty and invincible bowman who penetrated into the midst of the Panchalas, that tiger among men endued with great valour, who proceeded, as if dancing, along the track of his car, and consumed large throngs of Panchala cars by means of his shafts like a raging conflagration; alas, how did that Drona meet with his death? Thou always speakest of my foes as cool and unvanquished and cheerful and swelling with might in battle. Thou dost not, however, speak of mine in such words. On the other hand, thou describest them to be slain, pale, and routed, and thou speakest of my car-warriors, as always deprived of their cars in all the battles they fight!'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Understanding the wishes of Drona who was bent on battle, Duryodhana, on that night, O king, addressing his obedient brothers, viz., Vikarna and Chitrasena and Suparsva and Durdharsha and Dirghavahu, and all those that followed them, said those words, 'Ye heroes of great valour, struggling with resolution, all of you protect Drona from the rear. The son of Hridika will protect his right and Sala his left.' Saying this, thy son then urged forward placing them at the van, the remnant of the brave and mighty Trigarta car-warriors, saying, 'The preceptor is merciful. The Pandavas are fighting with great resolution.. While engaged in slaughtering the foe in battle, protect him well, uniting together. Drona is mighty in battle; is endued with great lightness of hand and great valour. He can vanquish the very gods in battle,--what need then be said of the Pandavas and the Somakas? All of you, however, united together and struggling with great resolution in this terrible battle, protect the invincible Drona from that mighty car-warrior, viz., Dhrishtadyumna. Except Dhrishtadyumna, I do not see the man amongst all the warriors of the Pandavas that can vanquish Drona in battle. I, therefore, think that we should, with our whole soul, protect the son of Bharadwaja. Protected (by us), he is sure to slay the Somakas and the Srinjayas, one after another. Upon the slaughter of all the Srinjayas at the head of the (Pandava) army, Drona's son without doubt, will slay Dhrishtadyumna in battle. Similarly, the mighty car-warrior Karna will vanquish Arjuna in battle. As regards Bhimasena and others clad in mail, I will subjugate them all in fight. The rest of the Pandavas deprived of energy, will be easily defeated by the warriors. It is evident, my success then will last for ever. For these reasons, protect the mighty car-warrior Drona in battle.' Having said these words, O chief of the Bharatas, thy son Duryodhana, urged his troops on that night of terrible darkness. Then commenced a battle, O chief of the Bharatas, between the two hosts. O Monarch, both actuated by the desire of victory. Arjuna began to afflict the Kauravas, and the Kauravas began to afflict Arjuna, with diverse kinds of weapons. Drona's son covered the, ruler of the Panchalas, and Drona himself covered the Srinjaya, with showers of straight shafts in that battle. And as the Pandava and the Panchala troops (on the one side) and the Kaurava troops (on the other), O Bharata, were engaged in slaughtering each other, there arose a furious uproar on the field. The battle that took place on that night was so terrible and fierce that its like had never been previously witnessed by ourselves or those gone before us.'"

SECTION 164

"Sanjaya said, 'During the progress of that terrible nocturnal engagement, O king, which was fraught with an indiscriminate carnage, Dharma's son Yudhishthira, addressed the Pandavas, the Panchalas, and the Somakas. Indeed, O king, for the destruction of men, cars, and elephants, king Yudhisthira commanded his own troops, saying, 'Proceed ye against Drona only, for slaying him!' At the command of the king, O monarch, the Panchalas and the Somakas rushed against Drona alone, uttering terrible shouts. Ourselves excited with rage, and loudly roaring in return, rushed against them, to the best of our prowess, courage, and might, in battle. Kritavarman, the son of Hridika, rushed against Yudhishthira, as the latter was advancing against Drona, like an infuriated elephant against an infuriated compeer. Against Sini's grandson who advanced scattering arrowy showers all around, rushed, O king, the Kuru warrior Bhuri, that grinder (of foes) in battle. Karna, the son of Vikartana, O king, resisted that mighty car-warrior, viz., Pandu's son, Sahadeva, as the letter advanced for getting at Drona. King Duryodhana, in that battle, himself rushed against that foremost of car-warriors, viz., Bhimasena, advancing on his car like the Destroyer. Sakuni, the son of Suvala, O king, proceeding quickly, resisted that foremost of warriors, viz., Nakula, who was conversant with every kind of battle. Kripa, the son of Saradwat, O king, resisted Sikhandin in that battle, that foremost of car-warrior, as the latter advanced on his car. Duhsasana, O king, contending vigorously, resisted Prativindhya as the letter advanced with resolution (on his car), drawn by steeds looking like peacocks. Aswatthaman, O monarch, resisted Bhimasena's son, viz., Rakshasa (Ghatotkacha) acquainted with a hundred kinds of illusion, as the latter advanced. Vrishasena. in that battle resisted the mighty Drupada with his troops and followers as the latter advanced for getting at Drona. The ruler of the Madras, O king, excited with wrath resisted Virata, O Bharata, as the latter quickly advanced for the slaughter of Drona; Chitrasena, in that battle, resisted, with great force and shooting many shafts, Nakula's son, Satanika, as the latter advanced for slaying Drona. The prince of the Rakshasas, viz., Alambhusha, O king, resisted Arjuna, that foremost of car-warriors, as the latter advanced. Dhrishtadyumna, the prince of the Panchalas, cheerfully resisted the great bowman Drona as the latter was engaged in slaughtering the foe. As regards the mighty car-warriors of the Pandavas, that advanced (against Drona), other car-warriors of thy army, O king, resisted them with great force. Elephant riders speedily encountering elephant riders in that dreadful battle, began to fight, with each other and grind each other by thousands. At dead of night, O monarch, as the steeds rushed against each other with impetuosity, they looked like winged hills. Horsemen, O monarch, encountered horsemen, armed with lances and darts and swords, and uttering loud shouts. Large numbers of men slaughtered one another in heaps, with maces and short clubs and diverse other weapons. Kritavarman, the son of Hridika, excited with wrath, resisted Dharma's son, Yudhishthira, like continents resisting the swelling sea. Yudhishthira, however, piercing Hridika's son with five arrows, once more pierced him with twenty, and addressing him, said, Wait, Wait.' Then Kritavarman, O sire, excited with wrath, cut off with a broad-headed shaft, the bow of king Yudhishthira the Just and pierced the latter with seven arrows. Taking up another bow, that mighty car-warrior, viz., Dharma's son, pierced the son of Hridika in the arms and chest with ten arrows. Then that warrior of Madhu's race, thus pierced, O sire, by Dharma's son in that battle, trembled with rage and afflicted Yudhishthira with seven shafts. Then Pritha's son cutting off his enemy's bow as also the leathern fence that cased his hands, sped at him five keen shafts whetted on stone. Those fierce shafts, piercing through the latter's costly armour, decked with gold, entered the earth like snakes into an ant-hill. With the twinkling of an eye, Kritavarman, taking up another bow, pierced the son of Pandu with sixty arrows and once more with ten. Of immeasurable soul, the son of Pandu, then placing his large bow on his car, sped at Kritavarman a dart

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resembling a snake. That dart decked with gold, shot by the son of Pandu, piercing through Kritavarman's right arm, entered the earth. Meanwhile, Pritha's son, taking up his formidable bow, shrouded the son of Hridika with showers of straight shafts. Then brave Kritavarman, that great car-warrior among the Vrishnis, within less than the twinkling of an eye, made Yudhishthira steedless and driverless and carless. Thereupon, the eldest son of Pandu took up a sword and a shield. Then he, of Madhu's race, cut off both those weapons in that battle. Yudhishthira then, taking up a fierce lance, equipped with a gold-decked staff, quickly sped it, in that battle, at the illustrious son of Hridika. Hridika's son, however, smiling the while, and displaying great lightness of hand, cut off into two fragments that lance hurled from the arms of Yudhishthira, as it coursed impetuously towards him. He then covered the son of Dharma with a hundred arrows in that encounter. Excited with wrath, he then cut off the latter's coat of mail with showers of shafts. Yudhishthira's armour, decked with gold, cut off by Hridika's son with his shafts, dropped down from his body, O king, like a cluster of stars dropping down from the firmament. His armour cut off, himself deprived of car and afflicted with the shafts of Kritavarman, Dharma's son, Yudhishthira, quickly retreated from battle. The mighty car-warrior Kritavarman, then, having vanquished Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma, once more began to protect the wheel of Drona's car.'"

SECTION 165

"Sanjaya said, 'Bhuri, O king, in that battle, resisted that foremost of car-warriors, viz., the grandson of Sini, who advanced like an elephant towards a lake full of water. The Satyaki, excited with wrath, pierced his foe in chest with five keen shafts. At this, the latter's blood began to flow. The Kuru warrior in that encounter similarly pierced with great speed the grandson of Sini, that hero difficult of defeat in battle, with ten shafts in the chest. Those warriors, drawing their bows to their fullest stretch, and with eyes red in wrath, began, O king, to mangle each other in that combat. The arrowy downpours of those two warriors, both, excited with rage and resembling Death himself or the sun scattering his rays, were exceedingly terrible. Shrouding each other with shafts, each stayed before the other in that battle. For a short while that battle proceeded equally. Then, O king, the grandson of Sini, excited with rage and smiling the while, cut off the bow of the illustrious Kuru warrior in that battle. Having cut off his bow, Satyaki quickly pierced him in the chest with nine keen arrows and addressing him, said, 'Wait! Wait!' That scorcher of foes deeply pierced his mighty foe, quickly took up another bow and pierced the Satwata warrior in return. Having pierced the Satwata hero with three shafts, O monarch, Bhuri, then, smiling the while, cut off his foe's bow with a sharp and broad-headed shaft. His bow being cut off, Satyaki, O king, maddened with rage, hurled an impetuous dart at the broad chest of Bhuri. Pierced with that dart, Bhuri fell down from his excellent car, covered with blood, like the sun dropping down from the firmament. Beholding him thus slain, the mighty car-warrior Aswatthaman, O Bharata, rushed impetuously against grandson of Sini. Having addressed Satyaki, O king, saying, 'Wait, Wait,' he shrouded him with showers of shafts, like the clouds pouring torrents of rain on the crest of Merit. Beholding him rushing towards the car of Sini's grandson, the mighty car-warrior Ghatotkacha, O king, uttering a loud roar, addressed saying, Wait, Wait, O son of Drona! Thou shalt not escape from me with life. I will presently slay thee like the six-faced (Karttikeya) slaying (the Asura) Mahisha. I shall today, on the field, purge thy heart of all desire of battle.' Having said these words, that slayer of hostile heroes, viz., the Rakshasa (Ghatotkacha), with eyes red like copper in wrath, rushed furiously against the son of Drona, like a lion rushing against a prince of elephants. And Ghatotkacha sped at his foe shafts of the measure of the Aksha of a car, and covered that bull among car-warriors therewith, like clouds pouring torrents of rain. With his own shafts resembling snakes of virulent poison, Drona's son, however, in that battle, quickly dispelled that arrowy shower before it could reach him. He then pierced that chastiser of foes, viz., Ghatotkacha, that prince of the Rakshasas, with hundreds of keen and swift-coursing arrows, all capable of penetrating into the very vitals. Thus pierced with those shafts by Aswatthaman, that Rakshasas, on the field of battle, looked beautiful, O monarch, like a porcupine with quills erect on its body. Then the valiant son of Bhimasena, filled with rage, mangled the son of Drona with many fierce arrows, whizzing through the air with the roar of thunder. And he rained on Aswatthaman a perfect shower of arrows of diverse kinds; some, equipped with heads like razors; some, shaped as the crescent; some, only pointed; some, frog-faced; some, with heads resembling the boar's ear; some, barbed; and some of other species. Like the wind dispersing mighty masses of clouds, Drona's son, O king, without his senses being agitated, destroyed with his own terrible arrows, inspired by mantras with the force of celestial weapons, that fierce, unbearable and unrivalled shower of weapons, whose sound resembled the roar of thunder, and which fell incessantly upon him. It seemed then that another encounter was taking place in the welkin between weapons (as the combatants), which was terrible, and which, O king, filled the warriors with awe. With the sparks all around, generated by the clash of the weapons, shot by those two warriors, the welkin looked beautiful as illumined by myriads of fire-flies in the evening. Drona's son then, filling all the points of the compass with his shafts, shrouded the Rakshasa himself, for doing what was agreeable to thy sons. Then commenced a battle once more between Drona's son and the Rakshasa on that night of thick darkness, which resembled the encounter between Sakra and Prahlada. Then Ghatotkacha, filled with rage, struck Drona's son, in that battle, on the chest with ten shafts, each resembling the Yuga-fire, Deeply pierced the Rakshasa, the mighty son of Drona began to tremble in that battle like a tall tree shaken by the wind. Supporting himself by holding the flagstaff, he swooned away. Then all thy troops, O king, uttered cries of Oh and Alas. Indeed, O monarch, all thy warriors then regarded Drona's son as slain. Beholding Aswatthaman in that plight, the Panchalas and the Srinjayas in that battle uttered leonine roars. Then that crusher of foes, viz., the mighty car-warrior Aswatthaman, recovering his senses, forcibly drawing the bow with his left hand, stretching the bowstring to his ear, quickly shot a terrible shaft resembling the rod of Yama himself, aiming at Ghatotkacha. That excellent shafts, fierce and equipped with golden wings, piercing through the chest of the Rakshasa, entered the earth, O king. Deeply pierced, O monarch, by Drona's son who was proud of his prowess in battle, that prince of Rakshasas, endued with great strength, sat down on the terrace of his car. Beholding Hidimva's son deprived of his senses, his charioteer, inspired with fear, speedily removed him from the field, bearing him away from the presence of Drona's son. Having pierced that prince of Rakshasas, viz., Ghatotkacha, in that encounter thus, Drona's son, that mighty car-warrior, uttered a loud roar. Worshipped by thy sons as also by all thy warriors, O Bharata, Aswatthaman's body blazed up like the midday sun.

"As regards Bhimasena who was battling in from of Drona's cal king Duryodhana himself pierced him with many whetted shafts. Bhimasena, however, O Bharata, pierced him in return with nine arrows. Duryodhana, then, pierced Bhimasena with twenty arrows. Covered with each other's arrows on the field of battle, those two warriors looked like the sun and the moon covered with clouds in the firmament. Then king Duryodhana, O chief of Bharatas, pierced Bhima with five winged arrows and said, 'Wait! Wait!' Bhima then, cutting off his bow as also his standard with keen shafts, pierced the Kuru king himself with ninety straight arrows. Then, Duryodhana filled with rage, taking up a more formidable bow, O chief of the Bharatas, afflicted Bhimasena, at the van of battle, with many whetted shafts, in the very sight of all the bowmen. Baffling those shafts shot from Duryodhana's bow, Bhima pierced the Kuru king with five and twenty short arrows. Duryodhana then, O sire, excited with wrath, cut off Bhimasena's bow with a razor-faced arrow and pierced Bhima himself with ten shafts in return. Then the mighty Bhimasena, taking up another bow, quickly pierced the king with seven keen shafts. Displaying great lightness of hand, Duryodhana cut off even that bow of Bhima. The second, the third, the fourth, and the fifth, bow that Bhima took up were similarly cut off. Indeed, O king, thy son, proud of his prowess and desirous of victory, cut off Bhima's bow as soon as the latter took up one. Seeing his bows repeatedly cut off, Bhima then hurled, in that battle, a dart made wholly of iron and hard as the thunder. That dart blazing as a flame of fire, resembled the sister of Death. The Kuru king, however, in the very sight of all the warriors and before the eyes of Bhima himself, cut in three fragments that dart, which coursed towards him through the welkin with the splendour of fire and dividing it, as it were by a straight line such as is visible on the head of a woman parting her tresses. Then Bhima, O king, whirling his heavy and blazing mace, hurled it with great force at the car of Duryodhana. That heavy mace speedily crushed the steeds, the driver, and the car also, of thy son in that encounter. Thy son, then, O monarch, afraid of Bhima and shrinking within the narrowest compass, ascended another car, viz., that of the illustrious Nandaka. Then Bhima, regarding Suyodhana to have been slain amid the darkness of that night, uttered a loud leonine roar challenging the Kauravas. Thy warriors regarded the king to be slain. All of them uttered loud cries of Oh and Alas. Hearing the wails of the affrighted warriors and the roars of the high souled Bhima, O king, king Yudhishthira also regarded Suyodhana to have been slain. And the eldest son of Pandu, thereupon, rushed quickly to the spot where Vrikodara, the son of Pritha, was. And the Panchalas, the Srinjayas, the Matsyas, the Kaikeyas, and the Chedis, speedily advanced, with all their might against Drona from desire of slaying him. There also occurred a dreadful battle between Drona and the enemy. And the combatants of both sides were enveloped in thick gloom and struck and slew one another'."

SECTION 166

'Sanjaya said, 'Karna, the son of Vikartana*, O king, resisted the mighty car-warrior Sahadeva in that battle, who advanced from desire of getting at Drona. [* Vaikartana may also mean one who has peeled off his skin of natural armour. To preserve dramatic propriety, the Hindu commentators explain it in this sense when it occurs in any such passage, for the real origin of Karna, viz., his procreation by the deity of the sun, became known after his death.] Piercing the son of Radha with nine shafts, Sahadeva once more pierced that warrior with nine straight arrows. Karna then pierced Sahadeva in return with a hundred straight shafts, and displaying great lightness in hand, cut off the latter's stringed bow. Then the valiant son of Madri, taking up another bow, pierced Karna with twenty arrows. This feat of his seemed exceedingly wonderful. Then Karna, slaying Sahadeva's steeds with many straight shafts, speedily despatched the latter's driver with a broad-headed shaft, to Yama's abode. This carless Sahadeva then took up a sword and a shield. Even those weapons were cut off by Karna smiling the while. Then the mighty Sahadeva, in that encounter, sped towards the car of Vikartana's son, a heavy and terrible mace decked with gold. Karna, then with his shafts, quickly cut off that mace which hurled by Sahadeva, coursed towards him impetuously, and caused it to fall down on the earth. Beholding his mace cut off, Sahadeva quickly hurled a dart at Karna. That dart also was cut off by Karna. The son of Madri, then, quickly jumping down from his excellent car, and blazing with wrath upon beholding Karna stationed before him, took up a car-wheel and hurled it at the son of Adhiratha. The Suta's son, however, with many thousands of arrows, cut off that wheel coursing towards him like the uplifted wheel of Death. When that wheel had been cut off, Sahadeva, O sire, aiming at Karna, hurled at him the shafts of his car, the traces of his steeds, the yokes of his cars, the limbs of elephants and steeds and dead human bodies. Karna cut off all these with his shafts. Seeing himself deprived of all weapons, Madri's son, Sahadeva, struck by Karna with many shafts, left the battle. Pursuing him for a while, the son of Radha, O bull of Bharata's race, smilingly addressed Sahadeva and said these cruel words, 'Do not, O hero, fight in battle with those that are superior to thee. Fight with thy equals, O son of Madri! Do not mistrust my words.' Then touching him with the horn of his bow, he once more said, 'Yonder, Arjuna is fighting resolutely with the Kurus in battle. Go there, O son of Madri, or return home if thou likest.' Having said those words, Karna, that foremost of car-warriors, smilingly proceeded on his car against the troops of the king of the Panchalas. The slayer of foes, that mighty car-warrior, devoted to truth, slew not the son of Madri although he had got the opportunity, recollecting the words of Kunti. Sahadeva, then, heartless and afflicted with arrows, and pierced with the wordy darts of Karna, no longer cherished any love for life. That mighty car-warrior then quickly ascended the car of Janamejaya, the illustrious prince of the Panchalas'."

SECTION 167

"Sanjaya said, 'The ruler of the Madras shrouded on all sides, with clouds of shafts, Virata with his troops, who was proceeding quickly for getting at Drona. The battle that took place between those two great bowmen resembled, O king, that between Vala and Vasava in days of yore. The ruler of the Madras, O monarch, with great activity, struck Virata, that commander of a large division, with a hundred straight shafts. King Virata, in return, pierced the ruler of the Madras with nine keen arrows, and once more with three and seventy, and once again with a hundred. The ruler of the Madras, then, slaying the four steeds yoked unto Virata's car, cut down with a couple of shafts, the latter's umbrella and standard. Quickly jumping down from that steedless car, the king stood, drawing his bow and shooting keen shafts. Beholding his brother deprived of his steeds, Satanika quickly approached him on his car in the very sight of all the troops. The ruler of the Madras, however, piercing the advancing Satanika with many shafts, despatched him to the abode of Yama. Upon the fall of the heroic Satanika, Virata, that commander of a large division, ascended the fallen hero's car, decked with standard and garlands, opening his eyes wide, and with prowess doubled by wrath, Virata quickly covered the car of the ruler of the Madras with winged arrows. The ruler of the Madras then, excited with rage, deeply pierced Virata, that commander of a large division, in the chest, with a hundred straight shafts. Deeply pierced by the mighty ruler of the Madras, that great car-warrior, viz., Virata, sat down on the terrace of his car and swooned away. His driver, then, beholding him mangled with shafts in that encounter, bore him away. Then that vast force, O Bharata, fled away on that night, oppressed by hundreds of arrows of Salya, that ornament of battle. Beholding the troops flying away, Vasudeva and Dhananjaya quickly advanced to that spot, O monarch, where Salya was stationed. Then that prince of the Rakshasas, viz., Alamvusha, O king, riding upon a foremost car, harnessed with eight steeds, having terrible-looking Pisachas of equine faces yoked unto it, furnished with blood-

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red banners, decked with floral garlands made of black iron, covered with bear-skins, and possessing a tall standard over which perched a terrible, fierce-looking, and incessantly shrieking vulture, of spotted wings and wide-open eyes, proceeded against those advancing heroes. That Rakshasa, O king, looked beautiful like a loose heap of antimony, and he withstood the advancing Arjuna, like Meru withstanding a tempest, scattering showers of arrows, O monarch, upon Arjuna's head. The battle then that commenced between the Rakshasa and that human warrior, was exceedingly fierce. And it filled all the spectators there, O Bharata, with wonder. And it conduced to the joy also of vultures and crows, of ravens and owls and Kanakas and jackals. Arjuna struck Alamvusha with six shafts and then cut off his standard with ten sharp arrows. With a few other arrows, he cut off his driver, and with some others his Trivenu, and with one more, his bow, and with four others his four steeds. Alamvusha strung another bow, but that also Arjuna cut off in two fragments. Then, O bull of Bharata's race, Partha pierced that prince of the Rakshasas with four keen arrows. Thus pierced, the Rakshasas fled away in fear. Having vanquished him, Arjuna quickly proceeded towards the spot where Drona was, shooting as he went, many shafts, O king, at men, elephants, and steeds. Slaughtered O monarch, by the illustrious son of Pandu, the combatants fell down on the ground, like trees laid low by a tempest. Thus treated by the illustrious son of Pandu, all of them fled like a frightened herd of deer.'"

SECTION 168

"Sanjaya said, 'Thy son, Chitrasena, O Bharata, resisted (Nakula's son) Satanika who was engaged in scorching thy host with his keen shafts. Nakula's son pierced Chitrasena with five arrows. The letter then pierced the former in return with ten whetted shafts. And once more Chitrasena, O monarch, in that battle, pierced Satanika in the chest with nine keen shafts. Then the son of Nakula with many straight shafts cut Chitrasena's armour from off his body. This feat of his seemed exceedingly wonderful. Divested of his armour, thy son, O king, looked exceedingly beautiful, like a snake, O monarch, having cast off his slough at the proper season. Then Nakula's son, with many keen shafts, cut off the struggling Chitrasena's standard, and then his bow, O monarch, in that encounter. His bow cut off in that combat, and deprived also of his armour, that mighty car-warrior, then, O king, took up another bow capable of piercing every foe. Then Chitrasena, that mighty car-warrior amongst the Bharata's, quickly pierced the son of Nakula with many straight arrows. Then mighty Satanika, excited with rage, O Bharata, slew the four steeds of Chitrasena and then his driver. The illustrious Chitrasena, endued with great strength, jumping down from that car, afflicted the son of Nakula with five and twenty arrows. Then Nakula's son with a crescent-shaped arrow, cut off in that combat the gold-decked bow of Chitrasena while the latter was engaged in thus striking him. Bowless and carless and steedless and driverless, Chitrasena then quickly ascended the car of the illustrious son Hridika.

"Vrishasena, O king, rushed with great speed, scattering shafts in hundreds, against the mighty car-warrior Drupada, advancing at the head of his troops against Drona. Yajnasena, in that encounter pierced that mighty car-warrior, viz., the son of Karna in the arms and the chest, O lord, with sixty arrows. Vrishasena, then, excited with rage, quickly pierced Yajnasena, standing on his car, with many shafts in the centre of the chest. Those two warriors mangled by arrows, and with shafts sticking to their bodies, looked beautiful like a couple of porcupines* with their quills erect. [Porcupines, also known as "quill-pig," are large rodents with coats of black-and-white, sharp spines, or quills, that protect them against predation.] Bathed in blood in consequence of the wounds caused by those straight arrows of keen points and golden wings, they looked exceedingly beautiful in that dreadful encounter. Indeed, the spectacle they presented was that of a couple of beautiful and radiant Kalpa trees or of a couple of Kinsukas rich with their flowery burthens. Then Vrishasena, O king, having pierced Drupada with nine arrows, once more pierced him with seventy, and then again with three other arrows. Then shooting thousands of arrows, Karna's son, O monarch, looked beautiful in that battle, like a cloud pouring torrents of rain. Then Drupada, inflamed with wrath, cut off Vrishasena's bow into two fragments, with a broad-headed arrow, sharp and well-tempered. Taking, then, another gold-decked bow that was new and strong, and drawing out of his quiver a strong, whetted, well-tempered, sharp and broad-headed arrow, and fixing it on his string, and carefully aiming it-at Drupada, he let it off with great force, inspiring all the Somakas with fear. That arrow, piercing through the breast of Drupada, fell on the surface of the earth. The king (of the Panchalas), then, thus pierced through with Vrishasena's arrow, swooned away. His driver, then, recollecting his own duty, bore him away from the field. After the retreat, O monarch, of that mighty car-warrior of the Panchalas, the (Kaurava) army, on that terrible night, rushed furiously against Drupada's troops whose coats of mail had been cut off by means of the arrows of the foe. In consequence of the blazing lamps dropped by the combatants all around, the earth, O king, looked beautiful like the cloudless firmament bespangled with planets and stars. With the fallen Angadas of the combatants, the earth looked resplendent, O king, like a mass of clouds in the rainy season with flashes of lightning. Afflicted with the fear of Karna's son, the Panchalas fled away on all sides, like the Danavas from fear of Indra in the great battle of yore between the gods and the Asuras. Thus afflicted in battle by Vrishasena, the Panchalas and the Somakas, O monarch, illumined by lamps, looked exceedingly beautiful. Having vanquished them in battle, Karna's son looked beautiful like the son, O Bharata, when he reaches the meridian. Amongst all those thousands of kings of thy side and their the valiant Vrishasena then seemed to be the only resplendent luminary. Having defeated in battle many heroes and all the mighty car-warriors among the Somakas, he quickly proceeded, O king, to the spot where king Yudhishthira was stationed.

"Thy son Duhsasana proceeded against that mighty car-warrior, viz., Prativindhya, who was advancing (against Drona), scorching his foes in battle. The encounter that took place between them, O king, looked beautiful, like that of Mercury and Venus in the cloudless firmament. Duhsasana pierced Prativindhya, who was accomplishing fierce feats in battle, with three arrows on the forehead. Deeply pierced by that mighty bowman, thy son, Prativindhya, O monarch, looked beautiful like a crested hill. The mighty car-warrior Prativindhya, then, piercing Duhsasana with three arrows, once more pierced him with seven, Thy son, then, O Bharata, achieved there an exceedingly difficult feat, for he felled Prativindhya's steeds with many arrows. With another broad-headed arrow he also felled the latter's driver, and then his standard. And then he cut off, O king, into a thousand fragments the car of Prativindhya, armed with the bow. Excited with rage, O lord, thy son also cut off, with his straight shafts, into numberless fragments the banner, the quivers, the strings, and the traces (of his antagonist's car). Deprived of his car, the virtuous Prativindhya stood, bow in hand, and contended with thy son scattering numberless arrows. Then Duhsasana, displaying great lightness of hand, cut off Prativindhya's bow. And then he afflicted his bowless antagonist with ten shafts. Beholding their brother, (Prativindhya) in that plight, his brothers, all mighty car-warriors, rushed impetuously to that spot with a large force. He then ascended the resplendent of Sutasoma. Taking up another bow, he continued, O king, to pierce thy son. Then many warriors on thy side, accompanied by a large force, rushed impetuously and surrounded thy son (for rescuing him). Then commenced a fierce battle between thy troops and theirs, O Bharata, at that dreadful hour of midnight, increasing the population of Yama's kingdom'."

SECTION 169

"Sanjaya said, 'Against Nakula who was engaged in smiting thy host, Suvala's son (Sakuni) in wrath, rushed with great impetuosity and addressing him, said, 'Wait! Wait!' Each enraged with the other and each desirous of slaying the other, those two heroes struck each other with shafts sped from their bows drawn to their fullest stretch. Suvala's son in that encounter displayed the same measure of skill that Nakula displayed, O king, in shooting showers of arrows. Both pierced with arrows, O king, in that battle, they looked beautiful like a couple of porcupines with quills erect on their bodies. The armour of each cut off by means of shafts with straight points and golden wings, and each bathed in blood, those two warriors looked resplendent in that dreadful battle like two beautiful and brilliant Kalpa trees, or like two flowering Kinsukas on the field of battle. Indeed, O king, those two heroes in that encounter, both pierced with arrows, looked beautiful like a couple of Salmali trees with prickly thorns on them. Casting oblique glances at each other, with eyes expanded in rage, whose corners had become red, they seemed to scorch each other by those glances. Then thy brother-in-law, excited with wrath, and smiling the while, pierced Madri's son in the chest with a barbed arrow of keen point. Deeply pierced by that great bowman, viz., thy brother-in-law, Nakula sat down on the terrace of his car and swooned away. Beholding his proud foe, that mortal enemy of his in that plight, Sakuni uttered a roar loud as that of the clouds at the end of summer. Recovering consciousness, Nakula, the son of Pandu, once more rushed against Suvala's son, like the Destroyer himself of wide-open mouth. Inflamed with rage, O bull of Bharata's race, he pierced Sakuni with sixty arrows, and more with a hundred long shafts at the centre of his chest. He then cut off Sakuni's bow with arrow fixed thereon, into two fragments, at the handle. And then cutting off in a trice Sakuni's standard, he caused it to fall down on the earth. Piercing next Sakuni's thigh with keen, sharp, and well-tempered shafts, Nakula, the son of Pandu, caused him to fall down on the terrace of his car, clasping his flag-staff, like an amorous man clasping his mistress. Beholding that brother-in-law of thine laid low and deprived of consciousness, O sinless one, his driver quickly bore him away from the van of battle. The Parthas, then, and all their followers, uttered a loud roar. Having vanquished his foes, Nakula, that scorcher of foes, addressing his driver, said, 'Beat me to the host commanded by Drona.' Hearing these words of Madri's son, his driver proceeded to the spot, O king, where Drona was stationed. [Yena and tena here are equal to yatra and tatra.] Against mighty Sikhandin proceeding towards Drona, Kripa resolutely advanced with great impetuosity. That chastiser of foes, viz., Sikhandin, then, smiling the while, pierced with nine arrows the son of Gotama thus advancing against him towards the vicinity of Drona. Then the preceptor, Kripa, that benefactor of thy sons, piercing Sikhandin first with five arrows, once more pierced him with twenty. The combat that took place, O monarch, between them, was exceedingly dreadful, like that between Samvara and the chief of the celestials in the battle between the gods and the Asuras. Those heroic and mighty car-warriors, both invincible in battle, covered the welkin with their arrows, like clouds covering the welkin on the expiry or summer. Terrible of itself, that night, O chief of the Bharatas, became more terrible still to the heroic combatants engaged in battle. Indeed, of terrible aspects and inspiring all sorts of fear, that night became, as it were, death-night (of all creatures). Then Sikhandin, O king, cut off, with a crescent-shaped arrow, the large bow of Gotama's son and shot at the latter many whetted shafts. Inflamed with wrath, O monarch, Kripa then sped at his antagonist a fierce dart, equipped with a golden shaft and keen point, and polished by the hands of the smith. Sikhandin, however, cut it off with ten shafts as it coursed towards him. That dart, then, decked with gold (thus cut off), fell down on the earth. Then Gautama, foremost of men, taking up another bow, O king, covered Sikhandin with a large number of whetted shafts. Thus covered in that battle by the illustrious son of Gotama, Sikhandin, that foremost of car-warriors sank on the terrace of his car. Beholding him thus weakened, Kripa in that encounter, struck him with many arrows, from desire of slaying him, O Bharata! (Sikhandin then was borne away by his driver). Beholding that mighty car-warrior, viz., the son of Yajnasena retreating from battle, the Panchalas and the Somakas surrounded him on all sides (for rescuing him). Similarly, thy sons also surrounded that foremost of Brahmans, Kripa, with a large force. Then commenced a battle once more, between car-warriors, O king, that struck one another. The uproar that rose became loud as the roaring of clouds, O Bharata, caused by rushing horsemen and elephants, O monarch, smiting one another down. Then, O king, the field of battle looked exceedingly fierce. With the tread of rushing infantry the earth began to tremble, O monarch, like a lady shaken with fear. Car-warriors, mounting on their cars, rushed impetuously, attacking compeers by their thousands, O king, like crows seizing winged insects (in the air). Similarly, mighty elephants with winy exudation down their bodies, pursuing similar elephants, encountered them, O Bharata, furiously. So also, horsemen, coming upon horsemen, and foot-soldiers angrily encountered one another in that battle. At dead of night, the sound of retreating and the rushing of troops and of those coming again to the encounter became deafening. The blazing lamps also, placed on cars and elephants and steeds, seemed, O king, large meteors falling from the firmament. That night, O chief of the Bharatas, lightened up by those lamps looked like day, O king, on the field of battle. As the sun, encountering the thick gloom, destroys it completely, even so the thick gloom of the battle was destroyed by those blazing lamps. Indeed, the welkin, the earth, the cardinal and the subsidiary points of the compass, enveloped by dust and darkness, became once more illuminated by that light. The splendour of weapons and coats of mail, and of the jewels of illustrious heroes, became overshadowed, by the light of those blazing lamps. During the progress of that fierce battle at night, none of the combatants, O Bharata [An ancestor of the Pandavas and the Kauravas], could know the warriors of his own side. Sire, O chief of the Bharatas, slew son, and son, from ignorance, slew sire, and friend slew friend. And relatives slew relatives, and maternal uncles slew sisters' sons, and warriors slew warriors of their own side, and foes slew their own men, in that battle, O Bharata. In that dreadful nocturnal encounter, O king, all fought furiously, ceasing to have any regard for one another.'"

SECTION 170

"Sanjaya said, 'In that fierce and terrible battle, Dhrishtadyumna, O king, proceeded against Drona. Holding his formidable bow and repeatedly stretching his bowstring, the Panchala prince rushed towards Drona's car decked with gold. And as Dhrishtadyumna proceeded for accomplishing the destruction of Drona, the Panchalas and the Pandavas, O king, surrounded him. Beholding Drona, that foremost of preceptors, thus assailed, thy son, resolutely contending in battle, protected Drona on all sides. Then those two oceans of troops encountered each other on that night, looked like two terrible oceans lashed into fury by tempest, with all living creatures within them exceedingly agitated. Then the prince of the Panchalas, O king, quickly pierced Drona in the chest

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with five arrows and uttered a leonine roar. Drona, however, O Bharata, piercing his foe in return with five and twenty arrows in that battle, cut off, with another broad-headed arrow, his bright bow. Forcibly pierced by Drona, O bull of Bharata's race, Dhrishtadyumna, quickly casting aside his bow, bit his (nether) lip in rage. Indeed, O monarch, the valiant Dhrishtadyumna, excited with wrath, took up another formidable bow for accomplishing the destruction of Drona. That slayer of hostile heroes, that warrior endued with great beauty, stretching that formidable bow to his ear, shot a terrible shaft capable of taking Drona's life. That shaft, thus sped by the mighty prince in that fierce and dreadful battle, illumined the whole army like the risen sun. Beholding that terrible shaft, the gods, the Gandharvas, and the Danavas. said these words, O king, viz., 'Prosperity to Drona!' Karna, however, O king, displaying great lightness of hand cut off into dozen fragments that shaft as it coursed towards the preceptor's car. Thus cut off into many fragments, O king, that shaft of Dhrishtadyumna, O sire, quickly fell down on the earth like a snake without poison. Having cut off with his own straight shafts those of Dhrishtadyumna in that battle, Karna then pierced Dhrishtadyumna himself with many sharp arrows. And Drona's son pierced him with five, and Drona himself with five, and Salya pierced him with nine, and Duhsasana with three. And Duryodhana pierced him with twenty arrows and Sakuni with five. Indeed, all those mighty car-warriors quickly pierced the prince of the Panchalas. Thus was he pierced by these seven heroes in that battle exerting themselves for the rescue of Drona. The prince of the Panchalas, however, pierced every one of these heroes with three arrows. Indeed, O king, Dhrishtadyumna, in that dreadful battle, quickly pierced Drona himself, and Karna, and Drona's son, and thy son. Thus pierced by that bowman, those warriors, fighting together, pierced Dhrishtadyumna again in that encounter, uttering loud roars the while. Then Drumasena, excited with wrath, O king, pierced the Panchala prince with a winged arrow, and once again quickly with three other arrows. And addressing the prince, he said, 'Wait! Wait!' Dhrishtadyumna then pierced Drumasena in return with three straight arrows, in the encounter, which were equipped with wings of gold, steeped in oil, and capable of taking the life of him at whom they are sped. With another broad-headed shaft, the prince of the Panchalas then, in that battle, cut off from Drumasena's trunk the latter's head decked with bright ear-rings of gold. That head, with (the lower) lip bit (in rage), fell on the ground like a ripe palmyra fruit separated from the stalk by the action of a strong wind. Once again, piercing all those warriors with keen shafts, that hero, with some broad-headed shafts, cut off the bow of Radha's son, that warrior conversant with all modes of warfare. Karna could not book that cutting off of his bow, like a fierce lion incapable of brooking the cutting off of his tail. Taking up another bow, Karna, with eyes red in rage, and breathing hard, covered mighty Dhrishtadyumna with clouds of arrows. Beholding Karna excited with rage, those heroes, viz., those six bulls among car-warriors, quickly encompassed the prince of the Panchalas from desire of slaying him. Seeing the latter in front of those six foremost warriors of thy side, all thy troops, O lord, regarded him to be already within the jaws of the Destroyer. Meanwhile, Satyaki, of the Dasarha race, scattering his shafts as he proceeded, reached the spot where, the valiant Dhrishtadyumna was battling. Beholding that invincible warrior of the Satwata race advancing, Radha's son pierced him in that battle with ten arrows. Satyaki, then, O king, pierced Karna with ten shafts in the very sight of all those heroes, and addressing him, said, 'Do not fly away but stay before me.' The encounter then, that took place between mighty Satyaki and the industrious Karna, resembled, O king, that between Vali and Vasava (in the days of yore). That bull among Kshatriyas, viz., Satyaki, terrifying all the Kshatriyas with the rattle of his car, pierced the lotus-eyed Karna in return (with many arrows). Making the earth tremble with the twang of his bow, the mighty son of the Suta, O monarch, contended with Satyaki. Indeed, Karna pierced the grandson of Sini in return with hundreds of long, and barbed, and pointed, and tall-toothed, and razor-headed arrows and diverse other shafts. Similarly, that foremost one of Vrishni's race, Yuyudhana, in that battle, shrouded Karna with his arrows. For a time that battle proceeded equally. Then thy son, O monarch, placing Karna at their head, all pierced Satyaki from every side with keen arrows. Resisting with his own weapons those of them all and of Karna also, O lord, Satyaki quickly pierced Vrishasena in the centre of the chest. Pierced with that arrow, the valiant Vrishasena, of great splendour, quickly fell down on his car, casting aside his bow. Then Karna, believing that mighty car-warrior, viz., Vrishasena, slain, became scorched with grief on account of the death of his son and began to afflict Satyaki with great force. Thus afflicted by Karna, the mighty car-warrior Yuyudhana, with great speed, repeatedly pierced Karna with many shafts. Once more piercing Karna with ten arrows, and Vrishasena with five, the Satwata hero cut off the leathern fences and the bows of both sire and son. Then those two warriors, stringing two other bows, capable of inspiring enemies with terror, began to pierce Yuyudhana from every side with keen shafts. During the progress of that fierce conflict that was so destructive of heroes the loud twang of Gandiva, O king, was heard over every other sound. Hearing then the rattle of Arjuna's car as also that twang of Gandiva, the Suta's son, O king, said these words unto Duryodhana, 'Slaughtering our entire army and the foremost of heroic warriors and many mighty bowmen among the Kauravas, Arjuna is loudly twanging his bow. The rattle also of his car is heard, resembling the roar of the thunder. It's evident, the son of Pandu is achieving feats worthy of his own self This son of Pritha, O monarch, will grind our large host. Many of our troops are already breaking. No one stays in battle. Indeed, our army is being dispersed like a risen mass of clouds dispersed by the wind. Encountering Arjuna, our host breaks like a boat on the ocean. The loud wails, O king, of the foremost of warriors, O monarch, flying away from the field, or falling down in consequence of the arrows sped from Gandiva, are being heard. Hear, O tiger among car-warriors, the sound of drums and cymbals near Arjuna's car at dead of night, resembling the deep roll of thunder in the welkin. Hear also the loud wails (of afflicted combatants) and the tremendous leonine shouts, and diverse other noises in the vicinity of Arjuna's car. Here, however, this Satyaki, this foremost one of the Satwata race, stayeth amid us. If this object of our aim can be struck down, we can then vanquish all our foes. Similarly, the son of the Panchala king is engaged with Drona. He is encompassed on all sides by many heroic and foremost of car-warriors. If we can slay Satyaki and Dhrishtadyumna, the son of Prishata without doubt, O king, victory will be ours. Surrounding these two heroes, these two mighty car-warriors, as we did the son of Subhadra we will strive, O king, to slay them, viz., this son of Vrishni's race and this son of Prishata. Savyasachin, O Bharata, is before us, coming towards this division of Drona, knowing that Satyaki is engaged here with many chief among the Kurus. Let a large number of our foremost of car-warriors proceed thither, so that Partha may not be able to come to the rescue of Satyaki, now encompassed by many. Let these great heroes speedily shoot clouds of shafts with great force, so that Satyaki of Madhu's race may by speedily despatched to Yama's abode.' Ascertaining this to be the opinion of Karna, thy son, addressing Suvala's son in the battle, like the illustrious Indra addressing Vishnu, said these words, Surrounded by ten thousand unretreating elephants and ten thousand cars also, proceed against Dhananjaya! Duhsasana and Durvishaha and Suvahu and Dushpradharshana--these will follow thee, surrounded by a large number of foot-soldiers. O uncle, slay those great bowmen, viz., the two Krishnas, and Yudhishtira, and Nakula, and Sahadeva, and Bhima, the son of Pandu My hope of victory resteth on thee, like that of the gods on their chief Indra. O uncle, slay the son of Kunti, like (Kartikeya) slaying the Asuras.' Thus addressed and urged by thy son, Sakuni, clad in mail, proceeded against the Parthas, accompanied by a large force as also by thy sons, in order to consume the sons of Pandu. Then commenced a great battle between the warriors of thy army and the foe. When Suvala's son, O king, (thus) proceeded against the Pandavas, the Suta's son, accompanied by a large force, quickly advanced against Satyaki, shooting many hundreds of shafts. Indeed, thy warriors, combining together, encompassed Satyaki. Then Bharadwaja's son, proceeding against the car of Dhrishtadyumna, fought a wonderful and fierce battle at dead of night, O bull of Bharata's race, with the brave Dhrishtadyumna and the Panchalas.'"

SECTION 171

"Sanjaya said, 'Then all those kings of thy army, incapable of being easily defeated in battle, angrily proceeded against Yuyudhana's car, unable to brook (his feats). Mounting on their well-equipped cars, O king, that were decked with gold and jewels, and accompanied also by cavalry and elephants, they encompassed the Satwata hero. Hemming him on all sides those mighty car-warriors, challenging that hero, uttered loud leonine roars. Those great heroes, desirous of slaying him of Madhu's race, poured their keen arrows on Satyaki of invincible prowess. Beholding them thus advancing with speed towards him, that slayer of hostile hosts, viz., the mighty-armed grandson of Sini, took up and shot many shafts. The heroic and great bowman Satyaki, invincible in battle, cut off many heads with his fierce and straight arrows. And he of Madhu's race also cut off the trunks of many elephants, the necks of many seeds, and arms decked with Angadas of many warriors, by means of razor-faced arrows. With the fallen yak-tails and white umbrellas, O Bharata, the field of battle became almost full, and resembled the firmament, O lord, with stars. The wails of the host thus slaughtered in battle, O Bharata, by Yuyudhana, became as loud as those of shrieking ghosts (in hell). With that loud uproar the earth became filled, and the night became fiercer and more terrible. Beholding his host, afflicted with Yuyudhana's arrows breaking, and hearing that tremendous uproar at dead of night making the hair stand on end, thy son, that mighty car-warrior, addressing his driver, repeatedly said, 'Urge the steeds to that spot whence this uproar cometh.' Then king Duryodhana, that firm bowman, above all modes of warfare, rushed against Yuyudhana. Madhava pierced Duryodhana with a dozen blood-drinking shafts, sped from his bow drawn to its fullest stretch. Thus afflicted with arrows by Yuyudhana first, Duryodhana, excited with rage, pierced the grandson of Sini in return with ten arrows. Meanwhile, the battle that raged between the Panchalas and all thy troops presented an exceedingly wonderful sight. Then the grandson of Sini, excited with rage in that battle, pierced thy son, that mighty car-warrior, with eighty shafts, in the chest. He then, with other shafts, despatched Duryodhana's steeds to Yama's abode. And that slayer of foes then quickly felled his antagonist's driver from the car. Thy son, O monarch, staying on that steedless car, shot many keen arrows towards Satyaki's car. The grandson of Sini, however, displaying great lightness of hand, O king, cut off those fifty shafts sped in that battle by thy son. Then Madhava, with a broad-headed shafts suddenly cut off in that encounter the formidable bow of thy son in the handle, Deprived of both his car and bow, that puissant ruler of men then mounted quickly upon the bright car of Kritavarman. Upon Duryodhana's retreat, the grandson of Sini, O monarch, afflicted and routed thy army at dead of night.

"Sakuni, meanwhile, O king, encompassing Arjuna on all sides with many thousands of cars and several thousands of elephants, and many thousands of steeds, began to fight desperately. Many of them hurled towards Arjuna celestial weapons of great power. Indeed, those Kshatriyas fought with Arjuna, incurring the certitude of death. Arjuna, however, excited with rage, checked those thousands of cars and elephants and steeds, and ultimately caused those foes to turn back. Then Suvala's son, with eyes red as copper with rage, deeply pierced Arjuna, that slayer of foes, with twenty shafts. And once more shooting a hundred shafts, he checked the progress of Partha's great car. Then Arjuna, O Bharata, pierced Sakuni with twenty arrows in that battle. And he pierced each of the great bowmen with three arrows. Checking all of them with his arrows, O king, Dhananjaya slew those warriors of thy army with excellent shafts, endued with the force of thunder. Strewn with lopped off arrows, O monarch, and (dead) bodies by thousands, the earth looked as if covered with flowers. Indeed, strewn with the heads of Kshatriyas, heads that were decked with diadems and handsome noses and beautiful ear-rings and (nether) lips bit in rage and wide open eyes,--heads that were graced with collars and crowned also with gems, and which, while life was in them, spoke sweet words,--the earth looked resplendent as if strewn with hillocks overspread with Champaka flowers. Having achieved that fierce feat, and pierced Sakuni once more, struck Uluka with an arrow in that battle. Piercing Uluka thus in the sight of his sire, viz., Suvala's son, Arjuna uttered a loud roar, filling the earth therewith. Then the son of Indra cut off Sakuni's bow. And then he despatched his four steeds to Yama's abode. Then Suvala's son, O bull of Bharata's race, jumping down from his car, quickly ascended the car of Uluka. Then those two mighty car-warriors, viz., sire and son, both riding on the same car, showered their arrows on Partha like two risen clouds pouring torrents of rain on a mountain. The son of Pandu then piercing both those warriors with keen shafts, afflicted and caused thy troops to fly away in hundreds and thousands. Like a mighty mass of clouds dispersed on all sides by the wind, that army of thine, O monarch, was dispersed on all sides. Indeed, that host, O chief of the Bharatas, thus slaughtered on the night, fled away in all directions, afflicted with fear and in the very sight (of their leaders). Many abandoning the animals they rode, other urging their animals to their greatest speed, turned back from the battle, inspired with fear, during that fierce hour of darkness. Having vanquished thy warriors thus, O bull of Bharata's race, Vasudeva and Dhananjaya cheerfully blew their conchs.

"Dhrishtadyumna, O monarch, piercing Drona with three arrows, quickly cut off the latter's bowstring with a sharp arrow. Throwing down that bow on the earth, heroic Drona, that grinder of Kshatriyas, took up another that was exceedingly tough and strong. Piercing Dhrishtadyumna then with five arrows, Drona pierced his driver also, O bull of Bharata's race, with five arrows. Checking Drona with his arrows, the mighty car-warrior Dhrishtadyumna began to destroy the Kaurava host, like Maghavat destroying the Asura army. During the slaughter of thy son's army, O sire, a terrible river, having blood for its current, began to flow. And it ran between the two hosts, bearing away men and steeds and elephants along its current. And it resembled, O king, the Vaitarani that flows, O lord, towards the domains of Yama. Agitating and routing thy army, the valiant Dhrishtadyumna, endued with great energy, blazed forth like Sakra in the midst of the celestials. Then Dhrishtadyumna and Sikhandin blew their large conchs, as also the twins (Nakula and Sahadeva), and Vrikodara, the son of Pandu. Thus those fierce warriors, vanquished thousands of kings; on thy side that were endued with great energy, at the sight of thy Son

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and of Karna and the heroic Drona and Drona's son, O monarch!'"

SECTION 172

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding his own army routed while being slaughtered by those illustrious heroes, thy son, well-acquainted with words, O monarch, quickly repairing unto Karna and Drona, that foremost of all victors in battle, wrathfully said these words, 'This battle has been set on foot by you two in rage, having seen the ruler of the Sindhus slain by Savyasachin. You are beholding with indifference the slaughter of my army by the forces of the Pandavas, although you two are fully competent to vanquish those forces. If you two now abandon me, you should have, in the beginning, told me of it, 'We two shall vanquish the sons of Pandu in battle.' Even these were the words, ye givers of honours, that ye then said unto me. Hearing these words of yours, I sanctioned these proceedings. I would never have provoked these hostilities with the Parthas,--hostilities that are so destructive of heroic combatants (if ye had told me otherwise). If I do not deserve to be abandoned by you two, ye bulls among men, then fight according to the true measure of your prowess, ye heroes endued with great prowess.' Thus pierced by the goad of speech of thy son, those two heroes once more engaged in battle, like two snakes vexed with sticks. Then those two foremost of car-warriors, those two bowmen above all bowmen in the world, rushed with speed against the Parthas headed by the grandson of Sini and by others. Similarly, the Parthas uniting together, and accompanied by all their troops, advanced against those two heroes, who were roaring repeatedly. Then the great bowman, Drona, that foremost of all wielders of weapons, excited with rage, quickly pierced (Satyaki), that bull amongst the Sinis, with ten arrows. And Karna pierced him with ten arrows, and thy son with seven, and Vrishasena pierced him with ten, and Suvala's son with seven. In that impervious wall of Kauravas around the grandson of Sini, these also stationed themselves, encompassing him. Beholding Drona slaughtering the Pandava army in that battle, the Somakas quickly pierced him from every side with showers of arrows. Then Drona began to take the lives of Kshatriyas, O monarch, like the sun destroying darkness around him by his rays. We then heard, O monarch, a loud uproar amongst the Panchalas, who called upon one another, while they were being slaughtered by Drona. Some abandoning sons, some sires, some brothers, some uncles, some their sister's sons, some their relatives and kinsmen, fled away with speed, for saving their own lives. Some, again, deprived of their senses, ran against Drona himself. Indeed, many were the combatants of the Pandava army that were then despatched to the other world. Thus afflicted by that illustrious hero, the Pandava host, that night, O king, fled away, throwing down their blazing torches all around, in the very sight of Bhimasena and Arjuna and Krishna and the twins and Yudhishthira and Prishata's son. The world being enveloped in darkness, nothing could be seen. In consequence of the light that was amongst the Katirava troops, the flight of the foe could be ascertained. Those mighty car-warriors, viz., Drona and Karna, O king, pursued the flying host, scattering numerous shafts. Seeing the Panchalas slaughtered and routed, Janardana becoming cheerless, said these words unto Phalguna, 'Dhrishtadyumna and Satyaki, accompanied by the Panchalas, had proceeded against those great bowmen, viz., Drona and Karna, shooting many shafts. This large host of ours hath been broken and routed (by them) with showers of arrows. Though their flight is sought to be checked, they are still incapable of being rallied, O son of Kunti!--Beholding the host fly away, through fear, ye Pandava warriors, cast away your fears! Accompanied by all the forces and arraying then, in good order, both of us, with uplifted weapons, are even now proceeding against Drona and the Suta's son for withstanding them.' Then Janardana beholding Vrikodara advancing, once more addressed Arjuna, the son of Pandu, as if for gladdening him, in these words, 'Yonder Bhima, who taketh delight in battle, surrounded by the Somakas and the Pandavas, is coming against those mighty car-warriors, viz., Drona and Karna. Supported by him, as also by the many mighty car-warriors among the Pandavas, fight now, O son of Pandu, for assuring all your troops.' Then those two tigers among men, viz., the son of Pandu and he of Madhu's race, approaching Drona and Karna, took up their station at the head of battle.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Then that vast force of Yudhishthira once more returned to battle, proceeding to the place where Drona and Karna were grinding their foes in battle. At dead of night, a fierce encounter took place, resembling that of two oceans swelling at moon-rise. Then the warriors of thy army, throwing away from their hands the blazing lamps held by them, fought with the Pandavas fearlessly and madly. On that terrible night when the world was enveloped with gloom and dust, the combatants fought with one another, guided only by the names they uttered. The names uttered by the kings contending in battle, were heard, O monarch, there, like what happens, O king, at a Swayamvara or self-choice. Suddenly, a silence overspread the field of battle, and lasted for a moment. Then, again, a loud uproar was heard made by the angry combatants, victors and vanquished. Thither where blazing lamps were seen, O bull of Kuru's race, thither rushed those heroes like insects (towards a blazing fire). And as the Pandavas, O king, and the Kauravas, contended with each other in battle, the darkness of night thickened around them.'"

SECTION 173

"Sanjaya said, 'Then Karna, that slayer of hostile heroes, beholding Prishata's son in battle, struck him on the chest with ten shafts capable of penetrating into the very vitals. Dhrishtadyumna quickly pierced Karna in return in that great battle, with five shafts, and addressing him, said, Wait! Wait!' Shrouding each other in that dreadful combat with showers of arrows, O king, they once more pierced each other with keen shafts, sped from bows drawn to their fullest stretch. Then Karna, in that battle, despatched to Yama's abode the driver and the four steeds or Dhrishtadyumna, that foremost warrior among the Panchalas. He then cut off his enemy's foremost bow with keen arrows, and felled, with a broad-headed shaft the latter's driver from his niche in the car. Then the valiant Dhrishtadyumna, deprived of car, steeds, and driver, quickly jumped down from his car and took up a mace. Though struck all the while with straight shafts by Karna, the Panchala prince, approaching Karna, slew the four steeds of the latter. Turning back with great speed, that slayer of hosts, viz., the son of Prishata, quickly ascended the car of Dhananjaya. Mounting upon that car, the mighty car-warrior Dhrishtadyumna desired to proceed towards Karna. Dharma's son (Yudhishthira), however, bade him desist. Then Karna endued with great energy, mingling his leonine shouts with it twanged his bow loudly and blew his conch with great force. Beholding Prishata's son vanquished in battle, those mighty car-warriors, viz., the Panchalas and the Somakas, excited with rage, and taking up all kinds of weapons, proceeded, making death itself their goal, towards Karna, from desire of slaughtering him. Meanwhile, Karna's driver had yoked other steeds unto his master's car, that were white as conchs, endued with great speed, of the Sindhu breed, and well-broken. Then Karna of sure aim, contending with vigour, afflicted those mighty car-warriors among the Panchalas with his shafts like a cloud pouring torrents of rain upon a mountain. The Panchala host, thus afflicted by Karna, fled away in fear, like a doe frightened by a lion. Horsemen were seen falling from their horses, and elephant-riders from their elephants, O monarch, and car-warriors from cars, all around. In that dreadful battle, Karna cut off with razor-faced arrows the arms of flying combatants and heads decked with car-rings. And he cut off, O king, the thighs of others that were on elephants or on the back of steeds, or on the earth, O sire! Many mighty car-warriors, as they fled away, felt not their loss of limbs or the injury in their animals, in that battle. Slaughtered by terrible shafts, the Panchalas and the Srinjayas took the motion of even a straw for Karna (so great was their fright). Deprived of their senses, the warriors took their flying friends for Karna and fled away from these in fear. Karna pursued the broken and retreating host, O Bharata, shooting his shafts on all sides. Indeed, in that battle, the retreating warriors, deprived of their senses, were slaughtered with mighty weapons by that illustrious hero, Karna. Others, only looked at by Drona, fled away on all sides. Then king Yudhishthira, beholding his army flying away, and regarding retreat to be advisable, addressed Phalguna and said, 'Behold that mighty bowman, Karna stationed there like Rudra himself armed with his bow. Behold him scorching everything around like the blazing sun himself, at this fierce hour, this dead of night. These wails are being incessantly heard, O Partha, of thy helpless friends who are uttering them, mangled by the shafts of Karna. The manner in which Karna is aiming and letting off his shafts is such that no interval can be noticed between the two acts. He will, O Partha, annihilate all our friends. Do that now, Dhananjaya, about the slaughter of Karna, which, according to thy judgement, should next be done and the time for which may have come.' Thus addressed (by Yudhishthira), Partha said unto Krishna, 'The royal son of Dharma is frightened today by the prowess of Karna. When Karna's division is thus acting (towards us) repeatedly, do thou speedily adopt that course which should now be adopted. Our army is flying away, O slayer of Madhu, our troops, broken and mangled with Drona's shafts and frightened by Karna, are unable to make a stand. I see Karna careering fearlessly. Our foremost of car-warriors are flying away. Karna is scattering his keen shafts. I cannot, like a snake incapable of putting up with the tread of a human being upon its body, bear to see him thus careering at the head of battle, before my eyes, O tiger of Vrishni's race. Proceed, therefore, to that spot where the mighty car-warrior Karna is. I will either kill him, O slayer of Madhu, or let him slay me.'

"Vasudeva said, 'I behold Karna, O son of Kunti, that tiger among men, that warrior of superhuman prowess, careering in battle like the chief of the celestials himself. O Dhananjaya, there is none else capable of advancing against him in battle, save thee, O tiger among men, and the Rakshasa Ghatotkacha. I do not, however, O sinless one, regard the time to have come, O mighty-armed one, for thee to encounter the Suta's son in battle. The blazing dart, resembling a mighty meteor, given him by Vasava, is still with him, O thou of mighty arms, kept for thee with care, by the Suta's son. He keepeth that dart by him, and hath now assumed a terrible form. As regards Ghatotkacha, he is always devoted to you and desirous of your good. Let the mighty Ghatotkacha proceed against the son of Radha. Endued with the prowess of a celestial, he has been begotten by the mighty Bhima. With him are celestial weapons as also those used by Rakshasa. The latter soon came before him, clad in mail, and armed, O king, with sword arrow, and bow. Saluting Krishna and also Dhananjaya, the son of Pandu, he proudly said, 'Here I am, command me.' Then he of Dasarha's race, addressed Hidimva's son, that Rakshasa of blazing mouth and fiery eyes and body of the hue of clouds, and said these words, 'Listen, O Ghatotkacha, attend to what I say. The time is come for the display of thy prowess, and not of anybody else. Be thou the raft in this battle to the sinking Pandavas. Thou hast diverse weapons, and many kinds of Rakshasa illusion. Behold, O son of Hidimva, the army of the Pandavas is being beaten by Karna on the field of battle, like a herd of kine by the herdsman. Yonder, the mighty bowman Karna, endued with great intelligence and steady prowess, is scorching the foremost of Kshatriyas among the divisions of the Pandava host. Afflicted by his fiery arrows, the Pandava warriors are incapable of standing in front of that firm bowman who is shooting showers of mighty shafts. Afflicted at dead of night by the Suta's son with his arrowy showers, the Panchalas are flying away like a herd of deer afflicted by a loin. Except thee, O thou of terrible prowess, there is none else that can withstand the Suta's son who is thus engaged in battle. Aided by thy energy and might, do thou, O mighty-armed one, accomplish that which is worthy of thy own self, of thy maternal race, and of thy sires. It is even for this, O son of Hidimva, that men desire children, viz., for being rescued from difficulties. Do thou now rescue thy kinsmen. O Ghatotkacha, sires desire sons for achieving their own objects. Children, those sources of good, are expected to rescue their sires both here and hereafter. Illustrious thou art, and thy might in battle is terrible and unrivalled, while contending in battle, there is none equal to thee. O scorcher of foes, be thou the means by which the Pandavas who are routed by Karna with his shafts this night, and who are now sinking in the Dhartarashtra ocean, may safely reach the shore. At night, Rakshasas, again, become endued with unlimited prowess, great might, and great courage. They become (at such an hour) warriors of great valour and incapable of defeat. Slay Karna in battle, at this dead of night, aided by thy illusions. The Parthas, with Dhrishtadyumna, will dispose of Drona.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Hearing those words of Kesava, Vibhatsu also, O Kauravya, said these words unto that chastiser of foes, viz., the Rakshasa Ghatotkacha, 'O Ghatotkacha, thyself, the long-armed Satyaki, and Bhimasena, the son of Pandu, these three, in my judgement, are the foremost ones among all our warriors. Go and encounter Karna in single combat this night. The mighty car-warrior Satyaki will protect thy rear. Assisted by Satwata hero, slay brave Karna in battle, as Indra in days of old had slain (the Asura) Taraka, aided by (the celestial generalissimo) Skanda.'

"Ghatotkacha said, 'I am match for Karna, as also for Drona, O Bharata, or for any illustrious Kshatriya accomplished in weapons. This night I shall fight such a battle with the Suta's son as will form the subject of talk as long as the world lasts. Tonight, I will spare neither the brave nor the timid nor those that will, with joined hands, pray for quarter. Following the Rakshasa usage, I shall slay all.'

"Sanjaya continued, Having said these words, that slayer of hostile heroes, viz., the son of Hidimva, rushed against Karna in that dreadful fight frightening thy troops. The Suta's son, that tiger among men, smilingly received that angry warrior of blazing mouth and blazing locks. The battle then that took place between Karna and that Rakshasa, both roaring against each other, O tiger among kings, resembled that between Indra and Prahlada (in days of yore).'

SECTION 174

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding the mighty-armed Ghatotkacha, O king, proceeding towards the car of Suta's son, Karna for slaughtering him in battle, thy son Duryodhana addressing Duhsasana, said these words, 'The Rakshasa, seeing the prowess of Karna in battle, is speedily advancing against him. Resist that mighty car-warrior. Surrounded by a mighty force proceed to that spot where the mighty Karna, the son of Vikartana, is contending with the Rakshasa in battle. O giver of honours, surrounded by troops and exerting thyself vigorously, protect Karna in battle. Let not the terrible Rakshasa slay Karna in consequence of our carelessness. Meanwhile, O king, Jatasura's mighty son, that foremost of smiters, approaching Duryodhana, said unto him, 'O Duryodhana, commanded by thee, I desire to slay, with their followers, thy foes of celebrity, viz., the Pandavas, those warriors incapable of being easily defeated in battle. My

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father was mighty Jatasura, that foremost of Rakshasa. Formerly, having performed some Rakshasa slaying incantations, the despicable sons of Pritha slew him. I desire to worship my dead sire by offering him the blood of his foes, and their flesh, O monarch! it behoveth thee to grant me permission.' The king, thus addressed, became exceedingly delighted and said unto him repeatedly, 'Aided by Drona and Karna and others, I am quite competent to vanquish my foes. Commanded, however, by me, O Rakshasa, go thou to battle and slay Ghatotkacha in the fight--that Rakshasa of fierce deeds, born of man, ever devoted to the welfare of the Pandavas, and always slaying our elephants and steeds and car-warriors in battle, himself all the while staying in the welkin, O, despatch him to Yama's abode.' Saying, 'so be it,' and summoning Ghatotkacha to the fight, Jatasura's son shrouded the son of Bhimasena with diverse kinds of weapons. The son of Hidimva, however, alone and unsupported began, to grind Alamvusha and Karna and the vast Kuru host, like the tempest crushing a mass of clouds. Seeing then the power of (Ghatotkacha's) illusion, the Rakshasa Alamvusha covered Ghatotkacha with showers of diverse kinds of arrows. Having pierced Bhimasena's son with many shafts, Alamvusha, without losing any time, began to afflict the Pandava host with his arrows. Thus afflicted by him, O Bharata, the Pandava troops, at dead of night, broke and fled away like clouds dispersed by a tempest. Similarly, thy host also, mingled with the shafts of Ghatotkacha, fled away at dead of night, O king, in thousands, throwing down their torches. Alamvusha then, excited with great wrath, struck Bhimasena's son in that dreadful battle with many shafts, like a driver striking an elephant. Then Ghatotkacha cut off into minute fragments the car, the driver, and all the weapons of his foe and laughed frightfully. Then, like the clouds pouring torrents of rain on the mountains of Meru, Ghatotkacha poured showers of arrows on Karna, Alamvusha and all the Kurus. Afflicted by the Rakshasa, the Kuru host became exceedingly agitated. The four kinds of forces, of which thy army consisted, began to press and crush one another. Then Jatasura's son, carless and driverless, wrathfully struck Ghatotkacha, in that battle, with his fists. Thus struck, Ghatotkacha trembled like a mountain with its trees and creepers and grass at the time of an earthquake. Then Bhimasena's son, mad with rage, raising his own foe-slaying arm that resembled a spiked mace, dealt a severe blow on Jatasura's son. Crushing him then in rage, Hidimva's son quickly threw him down, and seizing him with his two arms he began to press him with great force upon the earth. Then Jatasura's son freeing himself from Ghatotkacha, rose up and assailed Ghatotkacha with great impetuosity. Alamvusha also, dragging and throwing down the Rakshasa Ghatotkacha, in that battle, began to crush him in rage on the surface of the earth. The battle then that took place between those two roaring and gigantic warriors, viz., Ghatotkacha and Alamvusha, became exceedingly fierce and made the hair stand on end. Endeavouring to prevail over each other by means of their powers of illusion, those two proud warriors, endued with great energy, fought with each other like Indra and Virochana's son. Becoming fire and ocean, and, once more, Garuda and Takshaka, and once again, a cloud and a tempest, and then thunder and a large mountain, and once again, an elephant and then Rahu and the sun, they thus displayed a hundred different kinds of illusion, solicitous of destroying each other. Indeed, Alamvusha and Ghatotkacha fought most wonderfully, striking each other with spiked clubs and maces and lances and mallets and axes and short clubs and mountain-cliffs. Riding on horseback or on elephants, on foot or on car, those foremost of Rakshasas, both endued with large powers of illusion, fought with each other in battle. Then Ghatotkacha, O king, desiring to slay Alamvusha, roared aloft in rage and then alighted with great quickness like a hawk. Seizing then that gigantic prince of Rakshasas, viz., Alamvusha, who thus struggled with him, he pressed him down on the earth, like Vishnu slaying (the Asura) Maya in battle. Taking a scimitar of wonderful appearance, Ghatotkacha, of immeasurable prowess, then cut off from his trunk, O king, his fierce and mighty foe's terrible head that was still uttering awful roars. Seizing that blood-dyed head by the hair, Ghatotkacha quickly proceeded towards Duryodhana's car. Approaching (the Kuru king), the mighty-armed Rakshasa, smiling the while, threw upon Duryodhana's car that head with frightful face and hair. Uttering then a fierce roar, deep as that of the clouds in the season of rains, he addressed Duryodhana, O king, and said, 'This thy ally is now slain, he, that is, whose prowess thou hadst beheld! Thou shalt see the slaughter of Karna again, and then thy own. One that is observant of these three, viz., morality, profit and pleasure, should never see with empty hands a king, a Brahmana, or a woman. [It is for this that I see thee with this head as a tribute.] Live cheerfully till that time when I slay Karna.' Having said these words, he then, O king, proceeded towards Karna, shooting hundreds of keen arrows upon the head of Karna. The battle then that took place between that human warrior and that Rakshasa, was fierce and terrible, O king, and exceedingly wonderful'."

SECTION 175

"Dhritarashtra said, 'How, indeed, did that battle take place when at dead of night Vikartana's son, Karna, and the Rakshasa Ghatotkacha encountered each other? What aspect did that fierce Rakshasa then present? What kind of car did he ride, and what was the nature of his steeds and what of his weapons? What was the size of his steeds, of the standard of his car, and of his bow? What was the kind of armour he wore, and what head-gear had he on? Asked by me, describe all this, for thou art skilled in narration, O Sanjaya!'

"Sanjaya said, 'Of blood-red eyes, Ghatotkacha was of gigantic form. His face was of the hue of copper. His belly was low and sunken. The bristles on his body all pointed upwards. His head was green. His ears were like arrows. His cheek-bones were high. His mouth was large, extending from ear to ear. His teeth were keen, and four of these were high and pointed. His tongue and lips were very long and of a coppery hue. His brows were long-extending. His nose was thick. His body was blue, and neck red. Tall as a hill, he was terrible to behold. Of gigantic frame, gigantic arms, and gigantic head, he was endued with great might. Ugly and of hard limbs, the hair on his head was tied upwards in a frightful shape. His hips were large and his navel was deep. Of gigantic frame, the circumference of his body, however, was not great. The ornaments on his arms were proportionate. Possessed of great powers of illusion, he was decked also in Angadas. He wore a cuirass on his breast like a circle of fire on the breast of a mountain. On his head was a bright and beautiful diadem made of gold, with every part proportionate and beautiful, and looking like an arch. His ear-rings were bright as the morning sun, and his garlands were made of gold and exceedingly bright. He had on his body a gigantic armour of brass of great effulgence. His car was decked with a hundred tinkling bells, and on his standard waved numerous blood-red banners. Of prodigious proportions, and of the measure of a nalwa, that car was covered with bear-skins. Equipped with all kinds of mighty weapons, it possessed a tall standard and was adorned with garlands, having eight wheels, and its clatter resembled the roar of the clouds. His steeds were like infuriated elephants, and possessed of red eyes; of terrible aspect, they were variegated in hue, and endued with great speed and might. Above all fatigue, and adorned with long manes and neighing repeatedly, they bore that hero to battle. A Rakshasa of terrible eyes, fiery mouth, and blazing ear-rings, acted as his driver, holding the reins, bright as the rays of the sun, of his steeds in battle. With that driver he came to battle like Surya with his driver Aruna. Looking like a high mountain encircled with a mighty cloud, a very tall standard, that touched the heavens, was set up on his car. A carnivorous and awful vulture of blood-red body perched on it. He came, forcibly drawing his bow whose twang resembled the thunder of Indra, and whose string was very hard, and which measured a dozen cubits in length and one cubit in breadth [An arani is a cubit measuring from the elbow to the end of the little figure.]. Filling all the points of the compass with shafts of the measure of the Aksha of a car, the Rakshasa rushed against Karna on that night that was so destructive of heroes. Staying proudly on his car, as he stretched his bow, the twang that was heard resembled that sound of the roaring thunder. Frightened by him, O Bharata, all thy troops trembled like the surging waves of the ocean. Beholding that frightful Rakshasa of horrible eyes advancing against him, Radha's son, as if smiling, withstood him speedily. And Karna proceeded against the smiling Rakshasa, smiting him in return from a near point, like an elephant against an elephant or the leader of a bovine herd against the leader of another herd. The collision that took place between them, i.e., Karna and the Rakshasa, O king, became terrible and resembled that between Indra and Samvara. Each taking a formidable bow of loud twang, struck and covered the other with powerful shafts. With straight shafts sped from bows drawn to their fullest stretch, they mangled each other, piercing their coats of mail made of brass. With darts of the measure of Akshas, and shafts also they continued to mangle each other, like a couple of tigers or of mighty elephants with their teeth or tusks. Piercing each other's body, aiming shafts at each other, scorching each other with clouds of arrows, they became incapable of being gazed at. With limbs pierced and mangled with shafts, and bathed in streams of blood, they looked like two hills of chalk with rivulets running down their breasts. Those two mighty car-warriors, both struggling vigorously, both with limbs pierced with keen-pointed shafts, and each mangling the other, failed, however to make each other tremble For a long time, that nocturnal combat between Karna and the Rakshasas in which both seemed to sport, making life itself the stake, continued equally. Aiming keen shafts and shooting them to the utmost measure of his might, the twang of Ghatotkacha's bow inspired both friends and foes with fear. At that time, O king, Karna could not prevail over Ghatotkacha. Seeing this, that foremost of all persons acquainted with weapons, invoked into existence celestial weapons. Beholding a celestial weapon aimed at him by Karna, Ghatotkacha, that foremost of Rakshasas invoked into existence his Rakshasa illusion. He was seen surrounded by a large force of terrible-looking Rakshasas, armed with lances, large rocks and hills and clubs. Beholding Ghatotkacha advancing with a mighty weapon uplifted (in his hands) like unto the Destroyer himself of all creatures armed with his fierce and fatal club, all the kings there were struck with fear. Terrified at the leonine roars uttered by Ghatotkacha, the elephants passed urine all the combatants trembled with fear. Then there fell on all sides a thick rain of rocks and stones poured incessantly by the Rakshasas, who had, in consequence of midnight, became inspired with greater strength. [Rakshasas at certain hours were believed to be inspired with greater strength.] Iron wheels and Bhusundis, and darts, and lances and spears and Sataghnis and axes also began to fall incessantly. Beholding that fierce and terrible battle, all the kings, as also thy sons and the combatants, fled away in fear. Only one amongst them, viz., Karna, proud of the power of his weapons, and feeling a noble pride, trembled not. Indeed, with his shafts he destroyed that illusion invoked into existence by Ghatotkacha. Beholding his illusion dispelled, Ghatotkacha, filled with rage began to shoot deadly shafts from desire of slaying the Suta's son. Those shafts, bathed in blood, piercing through Karna's body in that dreadful battle, entered the earth like angry snakes. Then the valiant son of the Suta, filled with rage and possessed of great lightness of hands, prevailing over Ghatotkacha, pierced the latter with ten shafts. Then Ghatotkacha, thus pierced by the Suta's son in his vital parts and feeling great pain, took up a celestial wheel having a thousand radii. The edge of that wheel was sharp as a razor. Possessed of the splendour of the morning sun, and decked with jewels and gems, Bhimasena's son hurled that wheel at the son of Adhiratha, desirous of making an end of the latter. That wheel, however, of great power and hurled also with great might, was cut off into pieces by Karna with his shafts, and fell down, baffled of its object, like the hopes and purposes of an unfortunate man. Filled with rage upon beholding his wheel baffled, Ghatotkacha covered Karna with showers of shafts, like Rahu covering the sun. The Suta's son, however, endued with the prowess of Rudra or of Indra's younger brother or of Indra, fearlessly shrouded Ghatotkacha's car in a moment with winged arrows. Then Ghatotkacha, whirling a gold-decked mace, hurled it at Karna. Karna, however, with his shafts, cutting it off, caused it to fall down. Then soaring into the sky and roaring deep like a mass of clouds, the gigantic Rakshasa poured from the welkin a perfect shower of trees. Then Karna pierced with his shafts Bhima's son in the sky, that Rakshasa acquainted with illusions, like the sun piercing with his rays a mass of clouds. Slaying then all the steeds of Ghatotkacha, and cutting also his car into a hundred pieces, Karna began to pour upon him his arrows like a cloud pouring torrents of rain. On Ghatotkacha's body there was not even two finger's breadth of space that was not pierced with Karna's shafts. Soon the Rakshasa seemed to be like a porcupine with quills erect on his body. So completely was he shrouded with shafts that we could not in that battle, any longer see either the steeds or the car or the standard of Ghatotkacha or Ghatotkacha himself. Destroying then by his own weapon, the celestial weapon of Karna, Ghatotkacha, endued with the power of illusion, began to fight with the Suta's son, aided by his powers of illusion. Indeed, he began to fight with Karna, aided by his illusion and displaying the greatest activity. Showers of shafts fell from an invisible source from the welkin. Then Bhimasena's son, endued with great prowess of illusion, O foremost of the Kurus, assumed a fierce from, aided by those powers, began to stupefy the Kauravas, O Bharata! The valiant Rakshasa, assuming many fierce and grim heads, began to devour the celestial weapons of the Suta's son. Soon again, the gigantic Rakshasa, with a hundred wounds on his body seemed to lie cheerlessly, as if dead, on the field. The Kaurava bulls then, regarding Ghatotkacha deed, uttered loud shouts (of joy). Soon, however, he was seen on all sides, careering in new forms. Once more, he was seen to assume a prodigious form, with a hundred heads and a hundred stomachs, and looking like the Mainaka mountain. [Rakshasas at certain hours were believed to be inspired with greater strength.] Once again, becoming small about the measure of the thumb, he moved about transversely or soared aloft like the swelling surges of the sea. Tearing through the earth and rising on the surface, he dived again into the waters. Once seen here, he was next seen at a different place. Descending then from the welkin, he was seen standing, clad in mail, on a car decked with gold, having wandered through earth and sky and all the points of the compass, aided by his powers of illusion. Approaching then the vicinity of Karna's car, Ghatotkacha, with his ear-rings waving, fearlessly addressed the Suta's son, O monarch, and said, 'Wait a little, O Suta's son. Whither shalt thou go with life, avoiding me. I shall today, on the field of battle, quell thy desire of fight.' Having said those words, that Rakshasas, of cruel prowess and eyes red like copper in wrath, soared aloft into the sky and laughed aloud. Like a lion smiting a prince of elephants, he began to strike Karna, pouring upon him a shower of shafts, each of the measure the Aksha, of a car. Indeed, he poured that arrowy shower upon Karna, that bull

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among car-warriors, like a cloud pouring torrents of rain on a mountain, Karna destroyed that shower of arrows from a distance. Beholding his illusion destroyed by Karna, O bull of Bharata's race, Ghatotkacha once more created an illusion and made himself invisible. He became a high mountain with many summits and abounding with tall trees. And from that mountain incessantly issued streams of lances and spears and swords and clubs. Seeing that mountain, which resembled a mighty mass of antimony, with its streams of fierce weapons, on the welkin, Karna was not at all agitated. Smiling the while, Karna invoked into existence a celestial weapon. Cut off with that weapon, that huge mountain was destroyed. Then he fierce Ghatotkacha, becoming a blue cloud with a rainbow, in the welkin, began to pour upon the Suta's son a shower of stones. Vikartana's son, Karna, who was called also Vrisha, that foremost of all persons acquainted with weapons, aiming a Vayavya weapon, destroyed that dart-cloud. Then covering all the points of the compass with innumerable shafts, he destroyed a weapon that had been aimed at him by Ghatotkacha. The mighty son of Bhimasena then laughing loudly in that battle, once more invoked into existence an all-powerful illusion against the mighty car-warrior Karna. Once more beholding that foremost of warriors, viz., Ghatotkacha, fearlessly approaching him, surrounded by a large number of Rakshasas that resembled lions and tigers and infuriated elephants in prowess, some riding on elephants, some on cars, and some on horseback, all armed with diverse weapons and clad in diverse kinds of mail and diverse kinds of ornaments; in fact, beholding Ghatotkacha surrounded by those fierce Rakshasas like Vasava by the Maruts, the mighty bowman Karna began to battle with him fiercely. Then Ghatotkacha piercing Karna with five shafts, uttered a terrible roar frightening all the kings. Once more shooting an Anjalika weapon, Ghatotkacha quickly cut off the bow of Karna's hand along with the arrowy shower the latter had shot. Karna then taking out another bow that was strong and capable of bearing a great strain and that was as large as Indra's bow, drew it with great force. Then Karna shot some foe-slaying shafts of golden wings at those sky-ranging Rakshasas. Afflicted with those shafts, the large foes of broad chested Rakshasas looked agitated like a herd of wild elephants afflicted by a lion. Destroying with his shafts those Rakshasas along with their steeds and diverse elephants, the puissant Karna looked like the divine Agni consuming all creatures at the time of the universal dissolution. Having destroyed that Rakshasa host, the Suta's son looked resplendent like the god Maheswara in heaven after having consumed the triple city (of the Asuras). Among those thousands of kings on the Pandava side, O sire, there was not a single one, O monarch, that could even look at Karna then, save the mighty Ghatotkacha, that prince of Rakshasas, who was endued with terrible energy and strength, and who, inflamed with rage, then looked like Yama himself. From his eyes, as he was excited with wrath, flames of fire seemed to emit, like blazing drops of oil from a couple of burning brands. Striking his palm against palm and biting his nether lip, the Rakshasa was once more seen on a car that had been created by his illusion, and unto which were yoked a number of asses, looking like elephants and having the faces of Pisachas. Excited with wrath, he addressed his driver, saying, 'Bear me towards the Suta's son.'

Then that foremost of car-warriors proceeded on that terrible-looking car of his, for once more fighting a single combat with the Suta's son, O king! The Rakshasa, excited with rage, hurled at the Suta's son an Asani of Rudra's workmanship, terrible and furnished with eight wheels. Karna, placing his bow on his car, jumped down on the earth and seizing that Asani hurled it back at Ghatotkacha. The latter, however, had quickly descended from his car (before the weapon could reach it). The Asani, meanwhile, of great effulgence, having reduced the Raksha's car to ashes, with it steeds, driver, and standard, piercing through the earth, disappeared within its bowels, at which the gods were filled with wonder. Then all creatures applauded Karna, who, having jumped down from his car, had seized that Asani. Having achieved that feat, Karna once more ascended his car. The Suta's sort, that scorcher of foes, then began to shoot his shafts. Indeed, O giver of honours, there is none else amongst all living creatures who can accomplish what Karna accomplished in that frightful battle. Struck by Karna with shafts like a mountain with torrents of rain, Ghatotkacha once more disappeared from the field of battle like the melting forms of vapour in the sky. Contending in this way, the gigantic Rakshasa, that slayer of foes, destroyed the celestial weapons of Karna by means of his activity as also his power of illusion. Seeing his weapons destroyed by the Rakshasa, aided by his powers of illusion, Karna, without being inspired with fear, continued to fight with the cannibal. Then, O monarch, the mighty son of Bhimasena excited with wrath, divided his own self into many parts, frightening all the mighty car-warriors (of the Kuru army). Then there came on the field of battle lions, and tigers, and hyenas, and snakes with fiery tongues, and birds with iron beaks. As regards Ghatotkacha. himself, struck with the keen arrows that were sped from Karna's bow, that huge Rakshasa, looking like (Himavat) the prince of mountains, disappeared then and there. Then many Rakshasas and Pisachas and Yatudhanas, and large numbers of wolves and leopards, of frightful faces rushed towards Karna for devouring him. These approached the Suta's son, uttering fierce howls for frightening him. Karna pierced every one of those monsters with many swift-winged and terrible shafts that drank their blood. At last, using a celestial weapon, he destroyed that illusion of the Rakshasa. He then, with some straight and fierce shafts, struck the steeds of Ghatotkacha. These, with broken and maimed limbs, and their backs cut by those shafts, fell down on the earth, in the very sight of Ghatotkacha. The son of Hidimva, seeing his illusion dispelled, once more made himself invisible, saying unto Karna, the son of Vikartana, 'I will presently compass thy destruction.'"

SECTION 176

"Sanjaya said, 'During the progress of that battle between Karna and the Rakshasa, the valiant Alayudha, that prince of Rakshasa, appeared (on the field). Accompanied by a large force, he approached Duryodhana. Indeed, surrounded by many thousands of frightful Rakshasas of diverse forms and endued with great heroism, he appeared (on the field) recollecting his old quarrel (with the Pandavas). His kinsmen, that valiant Vaka, who ate Brahmanas, as also Kirmira of great energy, and his friend Hidimva, had been slain (by Bhima). He had waited for a long time, brooding over his old quarrel. Learning now that a nocturnal battle was raging, he came, impelled by the desire of slaying Bhima in fight, like an infuriated elephant or an angry snake. Desirous of battle, he addressed Duryodhana and said, 'It is known to thee, how my kinsmen, the Rakshasa Vaka and Kirmira and Hidimva have been slain by Bhima. What shall I say more, the virgin Hidimva was formerly deflowered by him, disregarding us and the other Rakshasas. I am here, O king, to slay that Bhima with all his followers, steeds, cars, and elephants, as also that son of Hidimva with friends. Slaying today all the sons of Kunti, Vasudeva and others that walk before them, I will devour them with all their followers. Command all thy troops to desist from battle. We will fight with the Pandavas.'

"Hearing these words of his, Duryodhana became very glad. Surrounded by his brothers, the king, accepting the words of the Rakshasa, said, 'Placing thee with thine in the van, we will fight the foe. My troops will not stand as indifferent spectators since their enmity has not cooled.' That bull amongst Rakshasa, saying, 'Let it be so,' unto the king, speedily proceeded against Bhima, accompanied by his cannibal force. Endued with a blazing form, Alayudha rode a car bright like the sun. Indeed, O monarch, that car of his was similar to Ghatotkacha's car. The rattle also of Alayudha's car was as deep as that of Ghatotkacha's, and it was decked with many arches. That large car was covered with bear-skins, and its measure was a nalwa. His steeds, like those of Ghatotkacha, were endued with great speed, resembled elephants in shape, and had the voice of asses. Subsisting on flesh and blood and gigantic in size, a hundred of them were yoked unto his vehicle. Indeed, the rattle of his car, like that of his rival, was loud and strong, and its string was as hard. His shafts also, winged with gold and whetted on stone, were as large as Ghatotkacha's, being of the measure of Akshas. The heroic Alayudha was as mighty-armed as Ghatotkacha, and the standard of his car, endued with the splendour of the sun or fire, was, like Ghatotkacha's, pierced upon by vultures and ravens. In form, he was more handsome than Ghatotkacha, and his face, agitated (with wrath) looked blazing. With blazing Angadas and blazing diadem and garlands, decked with floral wreaths and headgear and sword armed with mace and Bhushundis and short clubs and ploughs and bows and arrows, and with skin black and hard as that of the elephant, riding on that car possessed of the splendour of fire, he looked, while employed in afflicting and routing the Pandava host, like a roving cloud in the welkin, decked with flashes of lighting. (As Alayudha came to battle), the principal kings of the Pandava army endued with great might, and armed with (sword and) shield, and clad in mail, engaged in fight, O king, with joyous hearts.'"

SECTION 177

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding Alayudha of terrible deeds come to battle, all the Kauravas became filled with delight. Similarly, thy sons having Duryodhana for their head, (were filled with delight) like raftless men desirous of crossing the ocean when they meet with a raft. Indeed, the Icings in the Kuru army then regarded themselves as persons reborn after death [i.e., they thought they obtained a new lease of life.]. They all offered a respectful welcome to Alayudha, During the progress of that terrible and superhuman battle between Karna and the Rakshasa at night,--a battle which though fierce was yet delightful to behold,--the Panchalas, with all the other Kshatriyas, smilingly looked on as spectators. Meanwhile, thy soldiers, O king, though protected (by their leaders) all over the field and Drona and Drona's son and Kripa and others, uttered loud wails, saying, 'All is lost!' Indeed, beholding those feats of Hidimva's son on the field of battle, all thy warriors were agitated with fear, and uttering cries of woe became almost deprived of their senses. Thy troops, O king, became hopeless of Karna's life. Then Duryodhana, beholding Karna fallen into great distress, summoned Alayudha and said unto him, 'Yonder Vikartana's son, Karna, is engaged with the son of Hidimva, and is accomplishing such feats in battle as are worthy of his might and prowess. Behold those brave kings slain by the son of Bhimasena, struck with diverse kinds of weapons (and lying on the field) like trees broken by an elephant. Amongst all my royal warriors, let this be thy share in battle, allotted by me, with thy permission, O hero, displaying thy prowess, slay thou this Rakshasa. O crusher of foes, see that this wretch viz., Ghatotkacha, may not, relying on his powers of illusion, slay Karna, the son of Vikarana, before thou finishest him.' Thus addressed by the king, that Rakshasa of fierce prowess and mighty arms, saying, 'So be it,' rushed against Ghatotkacha. Then Bhimasena's son, O lord, abandoning Karna, began to grind his advancing foe with arrows. The battle that took place then between those angry Rakshasa princes, resembled that between two infuriated elephants in the forest, fighting for the sake of the same she-elephant in her season. Freed then from the Rakshasa, Karna, that foremost of car-warriors, rushed against Bhimasena, riding on his car of solar effulgence. Beholding Ghatotkacha engaged with Alayudha in battle and afflicted like the leader of a bovine herd when engaged with a lion, Bhima, that foremost of smiters, disregarding the advancing Karna, rushed towards Alayudha, riding on his car of solar effulgence and scattering clouds of shafts. Seeing Bhima advance, Alayudha, O lord, abandoning Ghatotkacha, proceeded against Bhima himself. Then Bhima, that exterminator of Rakshasas, impetuously rushed towards him, O lord, and covered that prince of the Rakshasas with shafts. Similarly, Alayudha, that chastiser of foes, repeatedly covered the son of Kunti with straight shafts whetted on stone. All the other Rakshasas also, of terrible forms and armed with diverse weapons solicitous for the victory of thy sons, rushed against Bhimasena. The mighty Bhimasena, thus assailed by them, pierced each of them with five whetted shafts. Then those Rakshasas of wicked understanding, thus received by Bhimasena, uttered loud wails and fled away on all sides. The mighty Rakshasa, beholding his followers frightened by Bhima, rushed impetuously against Bhima and covered him with shafts. Then Bhimasena, in that battle, weakened his foe by means of many keen-pointed arrows. Amongst those arrows sped at him by Bhima, Alayudha speedily cut off some and seized others in that battle. Then Bhima of terrible prowess, looking steadily at that prince of the Rakshasas, hurled at him with great force a mace endued with the impetuosity of thunder. That mace, coursed towards him like a flame of fire, and the cannibal struck it with a mace of his own, where-upon the latter (baffling the former) proceeded towards Bhima. Then, the son of Kunti covered that prince of Rakshasas, with showers of shafts. The Rakshasa, with his own keen shafts, baffled all those shafts of Bhima. Then all those Rakshasa warriors, of terrible forms, rallying and returning to battle, at the command of their leader, began to slay the elephants (of Bhima's force). The Panchalas and the Srinjayas, the steeds and huge elephants (of Bhima's army), exceedingly afflicted by the Rakshasas, became much agitated. Beholding that terrible battle (fought between Bhima and the Rakshasa), Vasudeva, that foremost of men addressing Dhananjaya, said these words, 'Behold, the mighty-armed Bhima is succumbing to that prince of Rakshasas. Quickly proceed in Bhima's wake, without thinking of anything else, O son of Pandu. Meanwhile, let Dhrishtadyumna and Sikhandin, and Yudhamanyu and Uttamaujas, these mighty car-warriors, uniting with the son of Draupadi, proceed against Karna. Let Nakula and Sahadeva and the valiant Yuyudhana, O son of Pandu, at thy command, slay the other Rakshasas! As regards thyself, O mighty armed one, do thou resist this division having Drona at its head. O thou of mighty arms, great is the danger that threatens us now.' After Krishna had said so, those foremost of car-warriors, as commanded, proceeded against Karna, the son of Vikartana, and against the other Rakshasas (fighting for the Kurus). Then with some shafts resembling snakes of virulent poison and sped from his bow drawn to its fullest stretch, the valiant prince of the Rakshasas cut off Bhima's bow. The mighty cannibal next, in the very sight of Bhima, O Bharata, slew the latter's steeds and driver with some whetted shafts. Steedless and driverless, Bhima, descending from the terrace of his car, uttered a loud roar and hurled a heavy mace at his foe. That heavy mace, as it coursed impetuously towards him with a terrible sound, the mighty cannibal baffled with a mace of his own. The latter then uttered a loud roar. Beholding that mighty and terrible feat of that prince of Rakshasas, Bhimasena filled with joy, seized another fierce mace. The battle then that took place between that human warrior and that Rakshasa, became dreadful. With the clash of their descending maces, the earth trembled violently. Casting aside their maces, they once more encountered each other. They struck each other with their clenched fists, failing with the sound of thunder. Excited with rage, they encountered each

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other with car-wheels, and yokes, and Akshas and Adhishthanas, and Upaskaras, in fact, with anything that came in their way. Encountering each other thus and both covered with blood, they looked like a couple of infuriated elephants of gigantic size. Then, Hrishikesa, ever devoted to the good of the Pandavas, beholding that combat, despatched Hidimva's son for protecting Bhimasena.'"

SECTION 178

"Sanjaya said, 'Seeing Bhima in that battle assailed by the cannibal, Vasudeva, approaching Ghatotkacha, said unto him these words, 'Behold, O mighty-armed one, Bhima is violently assailed by the Rakshasa in battle, in the very sight of all the troops and of thyself, O thou of great splendour! Abandoning Karna for the present, quickly slay Alayudha, O mighty armed one! Thou can afterwards slay Karna.' Hearing these words of him of Vrishni's race, the valiant Ghatotkacha, abandoning Karna, encountered Alayudha, that prince of cannibals and brother of Vaka. The battle then that took place at night between those two cannibals, viz., Alayudha and the son of Hidimva became fierce and dreadful, O Bharata. Meanwhile, the mighty car-warrior Yuyudhana, and Nakula, and Sahadeva, pierced with keen shafts the warriors of Alayudha, those terrible-looking and heroic Rakshasas, armed with bows. The diadem-decked Vibhatsu, O king, in that battle, shooting his arrows on all sides, began to overthrow many foremost of Kshatriyas. Meanwhile, Karna, O king, in that battle agitated many kings and many mighty car-warriors amongst the Panchalas headed by Dhrishtadyumna and Sikhandin and others. Beholding them slaughtered (by Karna), Bhima, of terrible prowess, rushed speedily towards Karna, shooting his shafts in that battle. Then those warriors also, viz., Nakula and Sahadeva and the mighty car-warrior, Satyaki, having slain the Rakshasas, proceeded to that place where the Suta's son was. All of them, then, began to fight with Karna, while the Panchalas encountered Drona. Then Alayudha, excited with rage, struck Ghatotkacha, that chastiser of foes, on the head, with a gigantic Parigha. With the stroke of that Parigha, the mighty son of Bhimasena, endued with great prowess, seemed to be in a state of partial swoon and sat down motionless. Recovering consciousness, the latter, then, in that encounter, hurled at his foe a gold-decked mace adorned with a hundred bells and looking like a blazing fire. Hurled forcibly by that achiever of fierce feats, that mace crushed into pieces the steeds, the driver, and the loud-rattling car of Alayudha. Having recourse to illusion, the latter, then, jumped down from that car of his, whose steeds and wheels and Akshas and standard and Kuvara had all been crushed into pieces. Relying on his illusion, he poured a copious shower of blood. The sky then seemed to be overspread with a mass of black clouds adorned with flashes of lightning. A thunder-storm was then heard, accompanied with loud reports and loud roars of clouds. Loud sounds also of chat, chat, were heard in that dreadful battle. Beholding that illusion created by the Rakshasa Alayudha, the Rakshasa Ghatotkacha, soaring aloft, destroyed it by means of his own illusion. Alayudha, beholding his own illusion destroyed by that of his foe, began to pour a heavy shower of stones on Ghatotkacha. That terrible shower of stones, the valiant Ghatotkacha dispelled by means of a shower of arrows. They then rained on each other diverse weapons, such as iron Parighas and spears and maces and short clubs and mallets, and Pinakas and swords and lances and long spears and Kampanas, and keen shafts, both long and broad-headed, and arrows and discs and battle-axes, and Ayogudas and short-arrows, and weapons with heads like those of kine, and Ulukhalas. And they struck each other, tearing up many kinds of large-branched trees such as Sami and Pilu and Karira and Champaka, O Bharata, and Inguidi and Vadari and flowering Kovidara and Arimeda and Plaksha and banian and peepul, and also with diverse mountain-summits and diverse kinds of metals. The clash of those trees and mountain-summits became very loud like the roar of driving thunder. Indeed, the battle that took place between Bhima's son and Alayudha, was, O king, dreadful in the extreme, like that in days of old, O monarch, between Vali and Sugriva, those two princes among the monkeys. They struck each other with shafts and diverse other kinds of fierce weapons, as also with sharp scimitars. Then the mighty Rakshasas, rushing against each other, seized each other by the hair. And, O king, those two gigantic warriors, with many wounds on their bodies and blood and sweat trickling down, looked like two mighty masses of clouds pouring rain. Then rushing with speed and whirling the Rakshasas on high and dashing him down, Hidimva's son cut off his large head. Then taking that head decked with a pair of ear-rings, the mighty Ghatotkacha uttered a loud roar. Beholding the gigantic brother of Vaka, that chastiser of foes, thus slain, the Panchalas and the Pandavas began to utter leonine shouts. Then, upon the fall of the Rakshasa, the Pandavas beat and blew thousands of drums and ten thousands of conchs. That night then clearly indicated the victory of the Pandavas. Illumined with torches all around, and resounding with the noise of musical instruments, the night looked exceedingly resplendent. Then the mighty son of Bhimasena threw down the head of the slain Alayudha before Duryodhana. Duryodhana, beholding the heroic Alayudha slain, became, O Bharata, filled with anxiety, for all his troops. Alayudha, having come to Duryodhana of his own accord. remembering his former quarrel, had said unto him that he would slay Bhima in battle. The Kuru king had regarded Bhima's slaughter to be certain, and had believed that his brothers would all be long-lived. Beholding that Alayudha slain by Bhimasena's son, the king regarded Bhima's vow (about the slaughter of himself and his brothers) already fulfilled.'"

SECTION 179

"Sanjaya said, 'Having slain Alayudha, the Rakshasa Ghatotkacha became filled with delight. Standing at the head of the army he began to utter diverse kinds of shouts. Hearing those loud roars of his that made elephants tremble, a great fear, O monarch, entered into the hearts of thy warriors. Beholding the mighty son of Bhimasena engaged with Alayudha, the mighty-armed Karna rushed against the Panchalas. He pierced Dhrishtadyumna and Sikhandin, each with ten strong and straight shafts sped from his bow drawn to its fullest stretch. With a number of other powerful shafts, the Suta's son then caused Yudhamanyu and Uttamaujas, and the great car-warrior Satyaki to tremble. The bows of those warriors also, O king, while they were engaged in striking Karna from all sides, were seen to be drawn into circles. On that night, the twang of their bow-strings and the rattle of their car-wheels (mingling together), became loud and deep as the roar of the clouds at the close of summer. The nocturnal battle, O monarch, resembled a gathering mass of clouds. The twang of bow-string and the rattle of car-wheels constituted its roar. The bows (of warriors) constituted its lightning flashes; and showers of shafts formed its downpour of rain. Standing immovable like a hill and possessed of the strength of a prince of mountains, that grinder of foes, viz., Vikartana's son, Karna, O king, destroyed that wonderful shower of arrows shot at him. Devoted to the good of thy sons, the high-souled Vaikartana, in the battle, began to strike his foes with lances endued with the force of thunder, and with whetted shafts, equipped with beautiful wings of gold. Soon the standard of some were broken and cut down by Karna, and the bodies of others pierced and mangled by him with keen arrows; and soon some were deprived of drivers, and some of their steeds. Exceedingly afflicted by the Suta's son in that battle, many of them entered the force of Yudhishthira. Beholding them broken and compelled to retreat, Ghatotkacha became mad with rage. Mounted on that excellent car of his that was decked with gold and jewels, he uttered a leonine roar and approaching Vikartana's son, Karna, pierced him with shafts endued with the force of thunder. Both of them began to cover the welkin with barbed arrows, and cloth-yard shafts, and frog-faced arrows, and Nalikas and Dandas and Asanis and arrows bearing heads like the calf's tooth or the boar's ear, and broad-headed shafts, and shafts pointed like horns, and others bearing heads like razors. The welkin, covered with that arrowy shower, looked, in consequence of those gold-winged shafts of blazing splendour coursing horizontally through it, as if hung with garland of beautiful flowers. Each endued with prowess equal to that of the other, they struck each other equally with powerful weapons. None could, in that battle, find any mark of superiority in either of those excellent heroes. Indeed, that battle between the son of Surya and Bhima's son, characterised by a thick and heavy shower of weapons, looked exceedingly beautiful and presented almost an unrivalled sight like the fierce encounter between Rahu and Surya in the welkin.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'When Ghatotkacha, O king, that foremost of all persons conversant with weapons, found that he could not prevail over Karna, he invoked into existence a fierce and mighty weapon. With that weapon, the Rakshasa first slew the steeds of Karna and then the latter's driver. Having achieved that feat, Hidimva's son quickly made himself invisible.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'When the Rakshasa fighting by deceitful means thus disappeared, tell me, O Sanjaya, what the warriors of my army thought.'

"Sanjaya said, Seeing the Rakshasa disappear, all the Kauravas loudly said, Appearing next, the Rakshasa, fighting deceitfully, will certainly slay Karna.' Then Karna, endued with wonderful lightness in the use of weapons, covered all sides with showers of shafts. The welkin being covered with the darkness caused by that thick arrowy shower, all creatures became invincible. So great was the lightness of hand displayed by the Suta's son, that none could mark when he touched his quivers with his fingers, when he fixed his arrows on the bowstring, and when he aimed and sped them off. The entire welkin seemed to be shrouded with his arrows. Then a fierce and terrible illusion was invoked into existence by the Rakshas in the welkin. We beheld in the sky what appeared to us to be a mass of red clouds resembling the fierce flame of a blazing fire. From that cloud issued flashes of lightning, and many blazing brands, O Kuru king! And tremendous roars also issued therefrom, like the noise of thousands of drums beat at once. And from it fell many shafts winged with gold, and darts, lances and heavy clubs, and other similar weapons, and battle-axes, and scimitars washed with oil, and axes of blazing edges, and spears, and spiked maces emitting shining rays, and beautiful maces of iron, and long darts of keen points, and heavy maces decked with gold and twined round with string's, and Sataghnis, all around. And large rocks fell from it, and thousands of thunderbolts with loud report, and many hundreds of wheels and razors of the splendour of fire. Karna shooting showers of shafts, failed to destroy that thick and blazing downpour of darts and lances and clubs. Loud became the uproar then of falling steeds slain by those shafts, and mighty elephants struck with thunder, and great car-warriors deprived of life by other weapons. Afflicted by Ghatotkacha with that terrible shower of arrows all around, that host of Duryodhana was seen to wander in great pain over the field. With cries of Oh and Alas, and exceedingly cheerless, that wandering host seemed on the point of being annihilated. The leaders, however, in consequence of the nobility of their hearts, fled not away with faces turned from the field. Beholding that exceedingly frightful and awful shower of mighty weapons, caused by the Rakshasa's illusion, failing upon the field, and seeing their vast army incessantly slaughtered, the sons became inspired with great fear. Hundreds of jackals with tongues blazing like fire and terrible yells, began to cry. And, O king, the (Kaurava) warriors beholding the yelling Rakshasas, became exceedingly distressed. Those terrible Rakshasas with fiery tongues and blazing mouths and sharp teeth, and with forms huge as hills, stationed in the welkin, with darts in grasp looked like clouds pouring torrents of rain. Struck and crushed with those fierce shafts and darts and lances and maces and spiked clubs of blazing splendour; and thunder-bolts and Pinakas and Asanis and disci and Sataghnis, the (Kaurava) troops began to fall down. The Rakshasas began to pour upon the warriors of thy son long darts, and treacle and Sataghnis, and Sthunas made of black iron and twined with strings of jute. Then all the combatants became stunned. Brave warriors, with weapons broken or loosened from their grasp, or deprived of heads, or with fractured limbs began to fall down on the field. And in consequence of the failing rocks, steeds and elephants and cars began to be crushed. Those Yatudhanas of terrible forms created by Ghatotkacha with the aid of his powers of illusion pouring that thick shower of mighty weapons spared neither those that were terrified nor those that begged for quarter. During that cruel carnage of Kuru heroes, brought on by Death himself, during that extermination of Kshatriyas the Kaurava warriors suddenly broke and fled with speed, crying aloud, 'Fly, ye Kauravas! All is lost! The gods Indra at their head are slaying us for the sake of the Pandavas!' At that time there was none that could rescue the sinking Bharata troops. During that fierce uproar and rout and extermination of the Kauravas, the camps losing their distinctive features, the parties could not be distinguished from each other. Indeed, during that terrible rout in which the soldiers showed no regard for one another, every side of the field, when looked at, seemed to be empty. Only Karna, O king, could be seen there, drowned in that shower of weapons. Then Karna covered the welkin [sky, heaven] with his shafts, contending with that celestial illusion of the Rakshasa. The Suta's son, endued with modesty and achieving the most difficult and noble feats, did not lose his senses in that battle. Then, O king, all the Saindhavas and Valhikas affrightedly looked at Karna who kept his senses in that fight. And they all worshipped him, while they looked at the triumph of the Rakshasa. Then a Sataghni equipped with wheels, hurled by Ghatotkacha, slew the four steeds of Karna simultaneously. These. dropped down on the ground, on their knees, deprived of life, teeth, eyes, and tongues. Then jumping down from his steedless car and seeing the Kauravas flying away, and beholding his own celestial weapon baffled by the Rakshasa illusion, Karna, without losing his senses, turned his mind inwards and began to reflect on what he should next do. At that time all the Kauravas, beholding Karna and that terrible illusion (of the Rakshasa) cried out saying, 'O Karna, slay the Rakshasa soon with thy dart. These Kauravas and the Dhartarashtras are on the point of being annihilated. What will Bhima and Arjuna do to us? Slay this wretched Rakshasa at dead of night, who is consuming us all. They that will escape from this dreadful encounter to-day will fight with the Parthas in battle. Therefore, slay this terrible Rakshas now with that dart given thee by Vasava. O Karna, let not these great warriors, the Kauravas, these princes that resemble Indra himself, be all destroyed in this nocturnal battle.' Then Karna, seeing the Rakshasa alive at dead of night, and the Kuru army struck with fear, and hearing also the loud wails of the latter set his heart upon hurling his dart. Inflamed with rage like a wrathful lion and unable to brook the assaults of the Rakshasa, Karna took up that foremost of victory-giving and invincible darts, desirous of compassing the destruction of Ghatotkacha. Indeed, that dart, O king, which he had kept and adored for years for (achieving) the slaughter of Pandu's son in battle, that foremost of darts which Sakra himself had

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given to the Suta's son in exchange for the latter's ear-rings, that blazing and terrible missile twined with strings and which seemed to thirst for blood, that fierce weapon which looked like the very tongue of the Destroyer or the sister of Death himself, that terrible and effulgent dart, Naikartana, was now hurled at the Rakshasa. Beholding that excellent and blazing weapon capable of piercing the body of every foe, in the hands of the Suta's son, the Rakshasa began to fly away in fear assuming a body gigantic as the foot of the Vindhya mountains. Indeed, seeing that dart in Karna's hand, all creatures in the sky, O king, uttered loud cries. Fierce winds began to blow, and thunders with loud report began to fall on the earth. Destroying that blazing illusion of Ghatotkacha and piercing right through his breast that resplendent dart soared aloft in the night and entered a starry constellation in the firmament. Having fought, using diverse beautiful weapons, with many heroic Rakshasa and human warriors, Ghatotkacha, then uttering diverse terrible roars, fell, deprived of life with that dart of Sakra. This also is another exceedingly wonderful feat that the Rakshasa accomplished for the destruction of his foes, that at a time when his heart was pierced by that dart, he shone resplendent, O king, like a mighty mountain or a mass of clouds. Indeed, having assumed that terrible and awful form, Bhimasena's son of frightful deeds fell down. When dying, O king, he fell upon a portion of thy army and pressed those troops down by the weight of his own body. Quickly falling down, the Rakshasa with his gigantic and still increasing body, desirous of benefiting the Pandavas, slew a full Akshauhini of thy troops while he himself breathed his last. Then a loud uproar arose there made up of leonine shouts and blare of conchs and the beat of drums and cymbals. The Kauravas indeed, beholding the illusion of the Rakshasa destroyed and the Rakshasa himself slain uttered loud shouts of joy. Then Karna, worshipped by the Kurus as Sakra had been by the Maruts upon the slaughter of Vritra, ascended behind the car of thy son, and becoming the observed of all, entered the Kuru host.'"

SECTION 180

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding Hidimva's son slain and lying like a riven mountain, all the Pandavas became filled with grief and began to shed copious tears. Only Vasudeva filled with transports of delight, began to utter leonine shouts, grieving the Pandavas. Indeed, uttering loud shouts he embraced Arjuna. Tying the steeds and uttering loud roars, he began to dance in a transport of joy, like a tree shaken by a tempest. Then embracing Arjuna once more, and repeatedly slapping his own armpits, Achyuta endued with great intelligence once more began to shout, standing on the terrace of the car. Beholding those tokens of delight that Kesava manifested, Dhananjaya, O king, with heart in grief, addressed him, saying, 'O slayer of Madhu, thou showest great joy at a time scarcely fit for it, indeed on an occasion for sorrow caused by the death of Hidimva's son. Our troops are flying away, beholding Ghatotkacha slain. We also are filled with anxiety in consequence of the fall of Hidimva's son. O Janardana, the cause must be very grave when at such a time thou feelest such joy. Therefore, O foremost of truthful men, asked by me, tell me truly (what that cause is). Indeed, if it be not a secret, it behoveth thee, O chastiser of foes, to say it unto me. O slayer of Madhu, tell me what has removed thy gravity today. This act of thine, O Janardana, this lightness of heart, seems to me like the drying up of the ocean or the locomotion of Meru.'

"Vasudeva said, Great is the joy I feel. Listen to me, Dhananjaya! This that I will tell thee will immediately dispel thy sorrow and infuse delight into thy heart. O thou of great splendour, know, O Dhananjaya, that Karna, his dart being baffled through Ghatotkacha, is already slain in battle. The man does not exist in this world that could not stay before Karna armed with that dart and looking like Kartikeya in battle. By good luck, his (natural) armour had been taken away. By good luck, his earrings also had been taken away. By good luck, his infallible dart also is now baffled, through Ghatotkacha. Clad in (natural) coat of mail and decked with his (natural) ear-rings, Karna, who had his senses under control, could singly vanquish the three worlds with the very gods. Neither Vasava, nor Varuna the lord of the waters, nor Yama, could venture to approach him. Indeed, if that bull among men had his armour and ear-rings, neither thyself, bending the Gandiva, nor myself, uplifting my discus, called Sudarsana, could vanquish him in battle. For thy good, Karna was divested of his ear-rings by Sakra with the help of an illusion. Similarly was that subjugator of hostile towns deprived of his (natural) armour. Indeed, because Karna, cutting off his (natural) armour and his brilliant car-rings, gave them unto Sakra, it is for that he came to be called Vaikartana. Karna now seems to me to be like an angry snake of virulent poison stupefied by power of incantation, or like a fire of mild flames. From that time, O mighty-armed one, when the high-souled Sakra gave that dart unto Karna in exchange for the latter's ear-rings, and celestial armour, that dart, viz., which has slain Ghatotkacha, from that time, Vrisha, having obtained it, had always regarded thee as slain in battle! But though deprived of that dart, O sinless one, I swear to thee that hero is still incapable of being slain by anybody else save thee. Devoted to Brahmanas, truthful in speech, engaged in penances, observant of vows, kind even unto foes, for these reasons Karna is called Vrisha. Heroic in battle, possessed of mighty arms and with bow always uplifted, like the lion in the forest depriving leaders of elephantine herds of their pride, Karna always deprives the greatest car-warriors of their pride on the field of battle, and resembles the mid-day sun at whom none can gaze. Contending with all the illustrious and foremost of warriors of thy army, O tiger among men, Karna, while shooting his arrowy showers, looked like the autumnal sun with his thousand rays. Indeed, incessantly shooting showers of shafts like the clouds pouring torrents of rain at the end of summer, Karna is like a pouring cloud charged with celestial weapons. He is incapable of being vanquished in battle by the gods, he would mangle them in such a way that their flesh and blood would fall copiously on the field. Deprived, however, of his armour as also of his car-rings, O son of Pandu, and divested also of the dart given him by Vasava, Karna is now like a man (and no longer like a god). There win occur one opportunity for his slaughter. When his car-wheels will sink in the earth, availing thyself of that opportunity, thou shouldst slay him in that distressful situation. I will make thee a sign beforehand. Warned by it, thou shouldst act. The vanquisher of Vala himself, that foremost of heroes, wielding his thunder, is incapable of slaying the invincible Karna while the latter stands weapon in hand. Indeed, O Arjuna, for thy good, with the aid of diverse contrivances I have slain, one after another, Jarasandha and the illustrious ruler of the Chedis and the mighty-armed Nishada of the name of Ekalavya. Other great Rakshasas having Hidimva and Kirmira and Vaka for their foremost, as also Alayudha, that grinder of hostile troops, and Ghatotkacha, that crusher of foes and warrior of fierce deeds, have all been slain.'"

SECTION 181

"Arjuna said, 'How, O Janardana, for our good, and by what means, were those lords of the earth, viz., Jarasandha and the others, slain?'

"Vasudeva said, If Jarasandha, and the ruler of the Chedis, and the mighty son of the Nishada king, had not been slain, they would have become terrible. Without doubt, Duryodhana would have chosen those foremost of car-warriors (for embracing his side). They had always been hostile to us, and, accordingly, they would all have adopted the side of the Kauravas. All of them were heroes and mighty bowmen accomplished in weapons and firm in battle. Like the celestials (in prowess), they would have protected Dhritarashtra's sons. Indeed, the Suta's son, and Jarasandha, and the ruler of the Chedis, and the son of the Nishada adopting the son of Suyodhana, would have succeeded in conquering the whole earth. Listen, O Dhananjaya, by what means they were slain. Indeed, without the employment of means, the very gods could not have conquered them in battle. Each of them, O Partha, could fight in battle with the whole celestial host protected by the Regents of the world. (On one occasion), assailed by Valadeva, Jarasandha, excited with wrath, hurled for our destruction a mace capable of slaying all creatures. Endued with the splendour of fire, that mace coursed towards us dividing the welkin like the line on the head that parts the tresses of a woman, and with the impetuosity of the thunder hurled by Sakra. Beholding that mace thus coursing towards us the son of Rohini hurled the weapon called Sthunakarna for baffling it. Its force destroyed by the energy of Valadeva's weapon, that mace fell down on the earth, splitting her (with its might) and making the very mountains tremble. There was a terrible Rakshasa of the name Jara, endued with great prowess. She, O prince, had united that slayer of foes, and, therefore, was the latter called Jarasandha. Jarasandha had been made up of two halves of one child. And because it was Jara that had united those two halves, it was for this that he came to be called Jarasandha. [Literally means, "united by Jara."] That Rakshasa woman, O Partha, who was there within the earth, was slain with her son and kinsmen by means-of that mace and the weapon of Sthunakarna. Deprived of his mace in that great battle, Jarasandha was afterwards slain by Bhimasena in thy presence, O Dhananjaya. 1 If the valiant Jarasandha had stood armed with his mace, the very gods with Indra at their head could not have slain him in battle. O best of men! for thy good, the Nishada's son also, of prowess incapable of being baffled, was, by an act of guile, deprived of his thumb by Drona, assuming the position of his preceptor. Proud and endued with steady prowess, the Nishada's son, with fingers cased in leathern gloves, looked resplendent like a second Rama. Undeprived of thumb, Ekalavya, O Partha, was incapable of being vanquished in battle by the gods, the Danavas, the Rakshasas, and the Uragas (together). Of firm grasp, accomplished in weapons, and capable of shooting incessantly day and night, he was incapable of being looked at by mere men. For thy good, he was slain by me on the field of battle. Endued with great prowess, the ruler of the Chedis was slain by me before thy eyes. He also was incapable of being vanquished in battle by the gods and the Asuras together. I was born to slay him as also the other enemies of the gods, with thy assistance, O tiger among men, from desire of benefiting the world. Hidimva and Vaka and Kirmira have all been slain by Bhimasena. All those Rakshasas were endued with might equal to that Ravana and all of them were destroyers of Brahmanas and sacrifices. Similarly, Alayudha, possessed of large powers of illusion, had been slain by Hidimva's son. Hidimva's son also, I have slain by the employment of means, viz., through Karna with his dart. If Karna had not slain him with his dart in great battle, I myself would have had to slay Bhima's son Ghatotkacha. From desire of benefiting you, I did not slay him before. That Rakshasa was inimical to Brahmanas and sacrifices. Because he was a destroyer of sacrifices and of a sinful soul, therefore hath he been thus slain. O sinless one, by that act as a means, the dart given by Sakra, hath also been rendered futile. O son of Pandu, they that are destroyers of righteousness are all slayable by me. Even that is the vow made by me, for establishing righteousness. Whither the Vedas and truth and self-restraint and purity and righteousness and modesty and prosperity and wisdom and forgiveness are always to be met with, thither I myself always remain. Thou needst not be at all anxious about Karna's slaughter. I will tell you the means by which you will slay him. Vrikodara also will succeed in slaying Suyodhana. I will tell thee, O son of Pandu, the means by which that will have to be compassed. Meanwhile, the uproar made by the hostile army is increasing. Thy troops also are flying away on all sides. Having achieved their objects, the Kauravas are destroying thy host. Indeed, Drona, that foremost of all smiters, is scorching us in battle.'"

SECTION 182

"Dhritarashtra said, 'When the Suta's son had such a dart as was sure to slay one person, why did he not hurt it at Partha, to the exclusion of all others? Upon Partha's slaughter by means of that dart, all the Srinjayas and the Pandavas would have been slain. Indeed, upon Phalguna's death, why should not the victory have been ours? Arjuna has made a vow to the effect that summoned to battle he would never refuse to accept the challenge. The Suta's son should have, therefore, summoned Phalguna to battle. Tell me, O Sanjaya, why did not Vrisha then engaging Phalguna in single combat, slay the latter with that dart given him by Sakra? Without doubt, my son is destitute of both intelligence and counsellors? That sinful wretch is constantly baffled by the foe. How should he then succeed in vanquishing his enemies? Indeed, that dart which was such a mighty weapon and upon which rested his victory, alas, that dart, hath, by Vasudeva, been made fruitless through Ghatotkacha. Indeed, it hath been snatched from Karna, like a fruit from the hand of a cripple, with a withered arm, by a strong person. Even so hath that fatal dart been rendered fruitless through Ghatotkacha. As in a fight between a boar and a dog, upon the death of either, the hunter is the party profited, I think, O learned one, that even so was Vasudeva the party to profit by the battle between Karna and Hidimva's son. If Ghatotkacha had slain Karna in battle, that would have been a great gain for the Pandavas. If, on the other hand, Karna had slain Ghatotkacha, that too would have been a great gain to them in consequence of the loss of Karna's dart. Endued with great wisdom, that lion among men, viz., Vasudeva, reflecting in this way, and for doing what was agreeable to and good for the Pandavas, caused Ghatotkacha to be slain by Karna in battle.'

"Sanjaya said, 'Knowing the feat that Karna desired to achieve, the slayer of Madhu, the mighty-armed Janardana, O king, commanded the prince of the Rakshasas, Ghatotkacha of mighty energy, to engage in single combat with Karna for rendering, O monarch, the latter's fatal dart fruitless. All this, O king, is the result of thy evil policy! We would certainly have achieved success, O perpetuator of Kuru's race, if Krishna had not (thus) rescued the mighty car-warrior Partha from Karna's hands. Indeed, Partha would have been destroyed with his steeds, standard, and car, in battle, Oh Dhritarashtra, if that master, that lord of Yogins, viz., Janardana had not saved him. Protected by diverse means, O king, and well-aided by Krishna, Partha approaching his foes, vanquished that fatal dart, otherwise that weapon would have quickly destroyed the son of Kunti like the lightning destroying a tree.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'My son is fond of quarrel. His advisers are foolish. He is vain of his wisdom. It is for that, that this certain means of Arjuna's death hath been baffled. Why, O Suta, did not Duryodhana, or that foremost of all wielders, viz., Karna, possessed of great intelligence, hurl that fatal dart at Dhananjaya? Why, O son of Gavalgana, didst thou too forget this great object, possessed as thou art of great wisdom, or why didst not thou remind Karna of it?'

"Sanjaya said, 'Indeed, O king, every night this formed the subject of deliberation with Duryodhana and Sakuni and myself and Duhsasana. And we said unto Karna, 'Excluding all other warriors, O Karna, slay Dhananjaya. We would then lord it over the Pandu's and the Panchalas as if these were our slaves. Or, if upon Partha's fall, he of Vrishni's race appoints

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another amongst the sons of Pandu (in this place for carrying on the fight), let Krishna himself be slain. Krishna is the root of the Pandavas, and Partha is like their risen trunk. The other sons of Pritha are like their branches, while the Panchalas may be called their leaves. The Pandavas have Krishna for their refuge, Krishna for their might, Krishna for their leader. Indeed, Krishna is their central support even as the moon is of the constellations. Therefore, O Suta's son, avoiding the leaves and branches and trunk, slay that Krishna who is everywhere and always the root of the Pandavas. Indeed, if Karna had slain him of Dasarha's race, viz., that delighter of the Yadavas, the whole earth, O king, would, without doubt, have come under thy control. Truly, O monarch, if that illustrious one, that delighter of both the Yadavas and the Pandavas, could be made to lie down on the earth, deprived of life, then certainly, O monarch, the entire earth with the mountains and forests would have owned thy supremacy. We rose every morning, having formed such a resolution in respect of that Lord of the very gods, viz., Hrishikesa of immeasurable energy. At the time of battle, however, we forget our resolution. Kesava always protected Arjuna, the son of Kunti. He never placed Arjuna before the Suta's son in battle. Indeed, Achyuta always placed other foremost of car-warriors before Karna, thinking how that fatal dart of ours might be made fruitless by ourselves. O lord! When, again, the high-souled Krishna protected Partha in this manner from Karna, why, O monarch, would not that foremost of beings protect his own self? Reflecting well, I see that there is no person in the three worlds who is able to vanquish that chastiser of foes, viz., Janardana, that hero bearing the discus in hand.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'That tiger among car-warriors, viz., Satyaki of prowess incapable of being baffled, asked the mighty-armed Krishna about the great car-warrior, Karna, saving, 'O Janardana, even this had been Karna's firm resolution, viz., that he would hurl that dart of immeasurable energy at Phalguna. Why, however, did not the Suta's son actually hurt it then at him?'

"Vasudeva said, 'Duhsasana and Karna and Sakuni and the ruler of the Sindhus, with Duryodhana at their head, had frequently debated on this subject. Addressing Karna, they used to say, 'O Karna. O great bowman, O thou of immeasurable prowess in battle, O foremost of all victors, this dart should not be hurled at any one else than that great car-warrior, viz., Kunti's son, Partha or Dhananjaya. He is the most celebrated amongst them, like Vasava amongst the gods. He being slain, all the other Pandavas with the Srinjayas will be heartless like fireless celestials!' [Fire being the mouth of the celestials, without fire, the celestials become mouthless. Thus Nilakantha. Karna having assented to this, saying 'So be it' (the desire of) slaughtering the wielder of Gandiva,] O bull amongst the Sinis, was ever present in Karna's heart. I, however, O foremost of warriors, always used to stupefy the son of Radha. It was for this that he did not hurl the dart at Pandu's son, owning white steeds. As long as I could not baffle that means of Phalguna's death, I had neither sleep, nor joy in my heart, O foremost of warriors! Beholding that dart, therefore, rendered futile through Ghatotkacha, O bull amongst the Sinis, I regarded Dhananjaya today to have been rescued from within the jaws of Death. I do not regard my sire, my mother, yourselves, my brothers, ay, my very life, so worthy of protection as Vibhatsu in battle. If there be anything more precious than the sovereignty of the three worlds, I do not, O Satwata, desire (to enjoy) it without Pritha's son, Dhananjaya (to share it with me). Beholding Dhananjaya, therefore, like one returned from the dead, these transports of delight, O Yuyudhana, have been mine. It was for this that I had despatched the Rakshasa unto Karna for battle. None else was capable of withstanding, in the night, Karna in battle.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Even thus did Devaki's son who is ever devoted to Dhananjaya's good and to what is agreeable to him, speak unto Satyaki on that occasion.'"

SECTION 183

"Dhritarashtra said, 'I see, O sire, that this act of Karna and Duryodhana and Suvala's son, Sakuni, and of thyself, in especial, hath been very much against the dictates of policy. Indeed, when you knew that dart could always slay one person in battle, and that it was incapable of being either borne or baffled by the very gods with Vasava at their head, why then, O Sanjaya, was it not hurled by Karna at Devaki's son, or Phalguna, while he was engaged with this in battle before?'

"Sanjaya said, 'Returning from battle every day, O monarch, all of us, O foremost one of Kuru's race, used to debate in the night and say unto Karna. Tomorrow morning, O Karna, this dart should be hurled at either Kesava or Arjuna.' When, however, the morning came, O king, through destiny, both Karna and the other warriors forgot that resolution. I think destiny to be supreme, since Karna, with that dart in his hands, did not slay in battle either Partha or Devaki's son, Krishna. Indeed, because his understanding was afflicted by destiny itself, it is for this that he did not, stupefied by the illusion of the gods, hurl that fatal dart of Vasava, though he had it in his hand, at Devaki's son, Krishna for his destruction or at Partha endued with prowess like Indra's, O lord!'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Ye are destroyed by destiny, by your own understanding, and by Kesava. Vasava's dart is lost, having effected the slaughter of Ghatotkacha who was as insignificant as straw. Karna, and my sons, as all the other kings, through his highly impolitic act, have already entered the abode of Yama. Tell me now how the battle once more raged between the Kurus and the Pandavas after the fall of Hidimva's son. How did they that rushed against Drona, arrayed in order of battle and well-skilled in smiting, viz., the Srinjaya and the Panchalas, fight? How, indeed, did the Pandus and Srinjaya withstand the smiting Drona, when the latter proceeding against them, penetrated into their host, excited with wrath at the slaughter of Bhurisravas and Jayadratha, reckless of his very life, and resembling a yawning tiger or the Destroyer himself with wide open mouth? What also did they do in battle, O sire, viz., Drona's son and Karna and Kripa and others headed by Duryodhana that protected the preceptor? Tell me, O Sanjaya, how my warriors in that battle covered with their shafts Dhananjaya and Vrikodara who were solicitous of slaying Bharadwaja's son. How, indeed, did these excited with wrath at the death of the ruler of the Sindhus, and those at the death of Ghatotkacha, each side unable to brook their loss, fight that nocturnal battle?'

"Sanjaya said, 'Upon the slaughter, that night, O king, of the Rakshasa, Ghatotkacha, by Karna, thy troops, filled with joy, uttered loud shouts. In that dark hour of the night, they fell impetuously upon the Pandava troops and began to slay them. Seeing all this, king Yudhishthira became exceedingly cheerless, O chastiser of foes. The mighty-armed son of Pandu, then addressed Bhimasena and said, 'O thou of mighty arms, resist Dhritarashtra host. In consequence of the slaughter of Hidimva's son, a great stupefaction overwhelms me.' Having ordered Bhimasena thus, he sat down on his car. With tearful face and sighing repeatedly, the king became exceedingly cheerless at the sight of Karna's prowess. Beholding him so afflicted, Krishna said these words, 'O son of Kunti, let not such grief be thine. Such cheerlessness does not become thee, O chief of the Bharatas, as it does an ordinary person. Rise, O king, and fight. Bear the heavy burden, O lord! If cheerlessness overtakes thee, our victory becomes uncertain.' Hearing these words of Krishna, Dharma's son, Yudhishthira, wiping his eyes with his hands, replied unto Krishna, saying, 'O thou of mighty arms, the excellent path of duty is not unknown to me. The dire consequences of a Brahmana's slaughter are his that forgets the services he receives at other's hands. Whilst we were living in the woods the high-souled son of Hidimva, although then a mere child did us many services, O Janardana! Learning that Partha, having white steeds, had departed for the acquisition of weapons, that great bowman (viz., Ghatotkacha), O Krishna, came to me at Kamyaka. He dwelt with us till Dhananjaya's reappearance. Whilst proceeding over many inaccessible fastnesses, he himself carried on his back the tired princess of Panchala. The feats he achieved, O lord, show that he was skilled in all modes of warfare. Indeed, that high-souled one accomplished many difficult feats for my benefit. My affection for Ghatotkacha, that prince of the Rakshasas is twice that, O Janardana, which I naturally bear towards Sahadeva. That mighty-armed one was devoted to me. I was dear to him and he was dear to me. It is for this that, scorched by grief, O thou of Vrishni's race, I have become so cheerless. Behold, O thou of Vrishni's race, our troops afflicted and routed by the Kauravas. Behold, those mighty car-warriors, viz., Drona and Karna, are contending earnestly in battle. Behold, the Pandava host crushed at dead of night, like an extensive forest of heath by a couple of infuriated elephants. Disregarding the might of Bhimasena's son, as also the variety of weapon that Partha bears, the Kauravas are putting forth their prowess, Yonder, Drona and Karna and king Suyodhana, having slain the Rakshasa in battle, are uttering loud roars. How, O Janardana, when we are alive and thyself too, could Hidimva's son be slain while engaged with the Suta's son? Having caused a great slaughter amongst us, and in the very sight of Savyasachin, Karna, O Krishna, hath slain Bhimasena's son of great strength, the Rakshasa, Ghatotkacha. When Abhimanyu was slain by the wicked Dhartarashtras, the mighty car-warrior Savyasachin, O Krishna, was not present in that battle. We also were all held in check by the illustrious ruler of the Sindhus. Drona, with his son (Aswatthaman), became the cause of that act. The preceptor himself told Karna the means of Abhimanyu's slaughter. While Abhimanyu was battling with the sword it was the preceptor himself that cut off that weapon. And while fallen into such distress, Kritavarman most cruelly slew the steeds and the two Parshni drivers (of the boy). Other great bowmen then despatched the son of Subhadra. For a little offence, O Krishna, was the ruler of the Sindhus slain by the wielder of Gandiva. O foremost one among the Yadavas, that act did not give me great joy. If the slaughter of foes is just and should be achieved by the Pandavas, then Drona and Karna should have been slain before this. This is what I think. O bull among men, those two are the root of our woes. Obtaining those two (as his allies) in battle, Suyodhana has become confident. Indeed, when it was Drona that should have been slain or the Suta's son with his followers, the mighty-armed Dhananjaya slew the Sindhu king whose connexion with the affair was very remote. The punishment of the Suta's son should certainly by undertaken by me. I shall, therefore, O hero, now fight for slaying the Suta's son. The mighty-armed Bhimasena is now engaged with Drona's division.' Having said these words, Yudhishthira quickly proceeded against Karna, holding his formidable bow and blowing his conch fiercely. Then, surrounded by a Panchala and Prabhadraka force of a thousand cars, three hundred elephants and five thousand horses, Sikhandin speedily followed in the wake of the king. Then the mail-clad Panchalas and the Pandavas headed by Yudhishthira beat their drums and blew their conchs. At this time Vasudeva of mighty arms, addressing Dhananjaya said, 'Filled with wrath, yonder proceedeth Yudhishthira with great speed from desire of slaying the Suta's son. It is not proper that thou shouldst rely upon him in this.' Having said these words, Hrishikesa quickly urged the steeds. Indeed, Janardana followed in the wake of the king who was now at a distance. At that time, seeing Dharma's son, Yudhishthira, whose mind was afflicted by grief and who seemed to be scorched as if by fire, rush with speed from desire of slaying the Suta's son, Vyasa approached him and said these words.'

"Vyasa said, By good luck, Phalguna liveth still although he had encountered Karna in battle. Indeed, Karna had kept his dart, desirous of slaying Savyasachin, O bull of Bharata's race, by good luck Jishnu did not engage in single combat with Karna. Each of them in that case challenging the other, would have shot his celestial weapons on all sides. The weapons of the Suta's son would have been destroyed by Arjuna. The former then afflicted by the latter, would certainly have hurled Indra's dart in that battle. O Yudhishthira! O foremost one of Bharata's race, (if this had come to pass), then great would have been thy grief. O giver of honours, by good luck the Rakshasa hath been slain in battle by the Suta's son. Indeed, Ghatotkacha hath been slain by death himself making the dart of Vasava an instrument only. For thy good it is, O sire, that the Rakshasa hath been slain in battle. Do not yield to anger, O foremost one of Bharata's race, and do not set thy heart on grief. O Yudhishthira, this is the end of all creatures in this world. Uniting with thy brothers and all the illustrious kings (of the host), fight with the Kauravas in battle, O Bharata! On the fifth day from this, the earth will be thine. O tiger among men, always think of virtue. With a cheerful heart, O son of Pandu, practise kindness (to all creatures), penances, charity, forgiveness, and truth. Victory is there where righteousness is. Having said these words unto the son of Pandu, Vyasa made himself invisible there and then'."

SECTION 184

(Drona-vadha Parva)

"Sanjaya said, 'Thus addressed by Vyasa, the heroic king Yudhishthira the Just refrained, O bull of Bharata's race, from himself seeking to slay Karna. In consequence, however of the slaughter of Ghatotkacha by the Suta's son that night, the king became filled with grief and anger. Beholding thy vast host held in check by Bhima, Yudhishthira, addressing Dhrishtadyumna, said, 'Resist the Pot-born! O scorcher of foes, thou hadst, clad in mail, and armed with bow and arrows and scimitar, sprung from fire, for the destruction of Drona! Cheerfully rush thou to battle, thou needst have no fear. Let also Janamejaya and Sikhandin and Durmukha's son and Yasodhara, rush in wrath against the Pot-born on every side. Let Nakula and Sahadeva and the sons of Draupadi and the Prabhadrakas, and Drupada and Virata with their sons and brothers, and Satyaki and the Kaikeyas and the Pandavas and Dhananjaya, rush with speed against Bharadwaja's son, from desire of slaying him. Let also all our car-warriors and all the elephants and horses we have, and all our foot-soldiers, overthrow the mighty car-warrior Drona in battle.' Thus ordered by the illustrious son of Pandu, all of them rushed impetuously against the Pot-born from desire of slaughtering him. Drona, however, that foremost of all wielders of arms, received in battle all those Pandava warriors thus rushing towards him suddenly with great force and perseverance. The king Duryodhana, desiring to protect Drona's life, rushed, filled with wrath, against the Pandavas, with great force and perseverance. Then commenced the battle between the Kurus and the Pandavas who roared at each other. The animals of both hosts as also the warriors were all tired. The great car-warriors also, O king, with eyes closing in sleep and worn out with exertion in battle, knew not what to do. That night of nine hours, so terrible and awful* and so destructive of creatures, appeared to them to be everything**. [* Triyama, literally, consisting of three Yamas, a Yama being a watch of three hours. The first hour and a half of the night and the last hour and a half, being regarded as twilight, the night, truly as such, with the ancient Hindoos, consisted of only nine hours.]; [** Literally, 'of a thousand Yamas.'] While they were being thus slain and mangled by one another, and while sleep sat heavy on their eyes, it became midnight. All the Kshatriyas

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became cheerless. Thy troops, as also those of the toe, had no more weapons and arrows. Passing the time thus (most of), the warriors (of both armies) endued with modesty and energy and observant of the duties of their order, din not abandon their divisions. Others, blind with sleep, abandoning their weapons, laid themselves down. Some laid themselves down on the backs of elephants, some on cars, and some on horseback, O Bharata! Blind with sleep, they became perfectly motionless, O king. Other warriors (that were yet awake) in that battle, despatched these to Yama's abode. Others, deprived of their senses, and dreaming in sleep, slew themselves, that is, their own comrades, as also foes. Indeed, these fought in that dreadful battle, uttering various exclamations. Many warriors, O monarch, of our army, desirous of continuing the fight with the foe, stood with eyes drowsy with sleep. Some brave warriors, during that terrible hour of darkness, though blind with sleep, yet gliding along the field, slew one another in that battle. Many amongst the foe, entirely stupefied by slumber, were slain without their being conscious (of the strokes that launched them into eternity). Beholding this condition of the soldiers, O bull among men, Vibhatsu in a very loud voice, said these words: all of you, with your animals, are worn out with exertion and blind with sleep. Ye warriors, ye are enveloped in darkness and with dust. Therefore, if ye like, ye may rest. Indeed, here, on the field of battle close your eyes for a while. Then when the moon will rise, ye Kurus and Pandavas, ye may again, having slept and taken rest, encounter each other for the sake of heaven.' Hearing these words of the virtuous Arjuna, the virtuous warriors (of the Kuru army) assented to the suggestion, and addressing one another, loudly said, 'O Karna, O Karna, O king Duryodhana, abstain from the fight. The Pandava host hath ceased to strike us.' Then at those words of Phalguna, uttered loudly by him, the Pandava army as also thine, O Bharata, abstained from battle. Indeed, these noble words of Partha were highly applauded by the gods, the high-souled Rishis, and all the gladdened soldiers. Applauding those kind words, O Bharata, all the troops, O king, worn out with exertion, laid -themselves down for sleep, O bull of Bharata's race. Then that army of thine, O Bharata, happy at the prospect of rest and sleep, sincerely blessed Arjuna saying, 'In thee are the Vedas as also all weapons! In thee are intelligence and prowess! In thee, O mighty armed one, are righteousness and compassion for all creatures, O sinless one! And since we have been comforted by thee, we wish thy good, O Partha! Let prosperity be to thee! Soon do thou get, O hero, those objects that are dear to thy heart!' Blessing him thus, O tiger among men, those great car-warriors, overcome with sleep, became silent, O monarch! Some laid themselves down on horseback, some on the car-boxes, some on the necks of elephants, and some on the bare ground. Many men, with their weapons and maces and swords and battle axes and lances and with their armours on, laid themselves down for sleep, apart from one another. Elephants, heavy with sleep, made the earth cool with the breath of their nostrils, that passed through their snake-like trunks spotted with dust. Indeed, the elephants, as they breathed on the ground, looked beautiful like hills scattered (on the field of battle) over whose breasts hissed gigantic snakes. Steeds, in trappings of gold and with manes mingling with their yokes, stamping their hoofs made even grounds uneven. Thus every one, O king, slept there with the animal he rode. Thus steeds and elephants and warriors, O bull of Bharata's race, very much worn out with exertion, slept, abstaining from battle. That slumbering host, deprived of sense and sunk in sleep, then looked like a wonderful picture drawn on canvas by skilful artists. Those Kshatriyas, decked in ear-rings and endued with youth, with limbs mangled by shafts, and immersed in sleep, having laid themselves down on the coronal globes of elephants, looked as if they were lying on the deep bosom of beautiful ladies. Then the moon, that delighter of eye and lord of lilies*, of hue white as the checks of a. beautiful lady, rose, adorning the direction presided over by Indra. [* The moon is called the lord of lilies because the water-lily is seen to bloom at moonrise, just as the sun is called the lord of the lotuses because the lotus blooms at sun-rise, The direction presided over by Indra means the East.] Indeed, like a lion of the Udaya hills, with rays constituting his manes of brilliant yellow, he issued out of his cave in the east, tearing to pieces the thick gloom of night resembling an extensive herd of elephants. That lover of all assemblage of lilies (in the world), bright as the body of Mahadeva's excellent bull, full-arched and radiant as Karna's bow, and delightful and charming as the smile on the lips of a bashful bride, bloomed in the firmament. Soon, however, that divine lord having the hare for his mark showed himself shedding brighter rays around. Indeed, the moon, after this seemed to gradually emit a bright halo of far-reaching light that resembled the splendour of gold. Then the rays of that luminary, dispelling the darkness by their splendour, slowly spread themselves over all the quarters, the welkin, and the earth. Soon, therefore, the world became illuminated. The unspeakable darkness that had hidden everything quickly fled away. When the world was thus illuminated into almost daylight by the moon, amongst the creatures that wander at night, some continued to roam about and some abstained. That host, O king, awakened by the rays of the sun. Indeed, that sea of troops was awakened by the rays of the moon bloomed (into life) like an assemblage of lotuses expanded by the rays of the sun. Indeed, that sea of troops was awakened by the risen moon like the ocean swelling up in agitated surges at the rise of that luminary. Then, O king, the battle once more commenced on earth, for the destruction of the earth's population, between men that desired to attain to heaven'."

SECTION 185

"Sanjaya said, 'At this time Duryodhana, under the influence of wrath, approached Drona and addressing him said these words, for inspiring him with joy and provoking his anger.'

"Duryodhana said, 'No mercy should have been shown to our foes while they were heartless and worn out with toil and taking rest, especially when they are all of sure aim. Desirous of doing what is agreeable to thee, we showed them kindness by then letting them alone. The tired Pandavas, however (having taken rest), have become stronger. As regards ourselves, we are, in every respect, losing in energy and strength. The Pandavas, protected by thee, are constantly gaining prosperity. All weapons that are celestial and all those that appertain to Brahma exist in thee. I tell thee truly, that neither the Pandavas, nor ourselves, nor any other bowmen in the world, can be a match for thee while thou art engaged in battle. O foremost of regenerate ones, thou art acquainted with all weapons. Without doubt, by means of thy celestial weapons thou art capable of destroying the (three) worlds with the gods, the Asuras, and the Gandharvas. The Pandavas are all afraid of thee. Thou, however, forgivest them, remembering that they were thy pupils, or, perhaps, owing to my ill luck.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Thus rebuked and angered by thy son, Drona, O king, wrathfully addressed Duryodhana and said these words: 'Although I am so old, O Duryodhana, I am still exerting myself in battle to the utmost extent of might. All these men are unacquainted with weapons. I am, however, well-versed in them. If, from desire of victory, I slay these men, there can be no more ignoble act for me to do. That, however, which is in thy mind, be it good or bad, I will accomplish, O Kaurava, at thy command. It will not be otherwise. Putting forth my prowess in battle and slaying all the Panchalas, I will doff my armour, O king! I swear this to thee truly. Thou thinkest that Arjuna, the son of Kunti, was worn out in battle. O mighty-armed Kaurava! Listen to what I truly say regarding his prowess. If Savyasachin's wrath is excited, neither Gandharvas, nor Yakshas nor Rakshasas can venture to bear him. At Khandavas, he encountered the divine chief of the celestials himself. The illustrious Arjuna, with his shafts baffled the pouring Indra. Yakshas, and Nagas, and Daityas, and all others proud of their might, were slain by that foremost of men. That also is known to thee. On the occasion of the tale of cattle, the Gandharvas headed by Chitrasena and others were vanquished by him. That firm bowman rescued you, while you were being carried away by those Gandharvas. Nivatakavachas also, those enemies of the celestials, that were unslayable in battle by the celestials, themselves, were vanquished by that hero. Thousands of Danavas dwelling in Hiranyapura, that tiger among men vanquished. How can human beings then withstand him? O monarch, thou hast seen with thy own eyes how this host of thine, although exerting themselves so heroically, hath been destroyed by the son of Pandu.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Unto Drona who was thus applauding Arjuna, thy son, O king, angered thereat, once more said these words: 'Myself and Duhsasana, and Karna, and my maternal uncle, Sakuni, dividing this Bharata host into two divisions (and taking one with us), shall to-day slay Arjuna in battle.' 'Hearing these words of his, Bharadwaja's son, laughing, sanctioned that speech of the king and said, 'Blessings to thee! What Kshatriya is there that would slay that bull amongst Kshatriyas, that unslayable one, viz., the bearer of Gandiva, that hero blazing forth with energy? Neither the Lord of treasures, nor Indra, nor Yama, nor the Asuras, the Uragas, and the Rakshasas can stay Arjuna armed with weapons. Only they that are fools say such words as those thou hast said, O Bharata! Who is there that would return home in safety, having encountered Arjuna in battle? As regards thyself, thou art sinful and cruel and suspicious of everybody. Even them that are employed in thy welfare, thou art ready to rebuke in this way. Go thou against the son of Kunti, for withstanding him for thy own sake. Thou art a well-born Kshatriya. Thou seekest battle. Why dost thou cause all these unoffending Kshatriyas to be slain? Thou art the root of this hostility. Therefore, go thou against Arjuna. This thy maternal uncle is possessed of wisdom and observant of Kshatriya duties. O son of Gandhari, let this one addicted to gambling proceed against Arjuna in battle. This one, skilled in dice, wedded to deception, addicted to gambling, versed in cunning and imposture, this gambler conversant with the ways of deceiving, will vanquish the Pandavas in battle! With Karna in thy company, thou hadst often joyfully boasted, from folly and emptiness of understanding, in the hearing of Dhritarashtra, saying, 'O sire, myself, and Karna, and my brother Duhsasana, these three, uniting together, will slay the sons of Pandu in battle.' This thy boast was heard in every meeting of the court. Accomplish thy vow, be truthful in speech, with them. There thy mortal foe, the son of Pandu, is staying before thee. Observe the duties of a Kshatriya. Thy slaughter at the hands of Jaya would be worthy of every praise. Thou hast practised charity. Thou hast eaten (everything ever desired by thee). Thou hast obtained wealth to the measure of thy wish. Thou hast no debts. Thou hast done all that one should do. Do not fear. Fight now with the son of Pandu.' These words said, the battle commenced.'"

SECTION 186

"Sanjaya said, 'When three-fourths of that night had worn away, the battle, O king, once more commenced between the Kurus and the Pandavas. Both sides were elated with joy. Soon after, Aruna, the charioteer of Surya, weakening the splendour of the moon, appeared, causing the welkin to assume a coppery hue. The east was soon reddened with the red rays of the sun that resembled a circular plate of gold. Then all the warriors of the Kuru and the Pandava hosts, alighting from cars and steeds and vehicles borne by men, stood, with joined hands, facing the sun, and uttered the prayers of the twilight of dawn. The Kuru army having been divided into two bodies, Drona, with Duryodhana before him, proceeded (with one of those divisions) against the Somakas, the Pandavas, and the Panchalas. Beholding the Kuru host divided into two bodies, Madhava addressed Arjuna and said, 'Keeping thy foes to thy left, place this division (commanded by Drona) to thy right. Obedient to the counsels of Madhava in respect of the Kurus, Dhananjaya moved to the left of those two mighty bowmen, viz., Drona, and Karna. Understanding the intentions of Krishna, that subjugator of hostile cities, viz., Bhimasena, addressing Partha who was then staying at the van of battle, said these words.

"Bhimasena said, 'O Arjuna, O Vibhatsu, listen to these words of mine. The time for that object for which Kshatriya ladies bring forth sons has now come. If at such a time thou dost not strive to win prosperity, thou shalt then act meanly like a veritable wretch. Putting forth thy prowess, pay the debt thou owest to Truth, Prosperity, Virtue, and Fame! O foremost of warriors, pierce this division, and keep these to thy right.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Thus urged by Bhima and Kesava, Savyasachin prevailing over Drona and Karna, began to resist the foe all round. Many foremost of Kshatriyas (among the Kurus), putting forth all their prowess, failed to withstand Arjuna who advanced at the very van of his troops, and who, like a raging conflagration, was consuming the foremost ones among his foes. Then Duryodhana and Karna, and Sakuni, the son of Suvala, covered Kunti's son, Dhananjaya, with showers of shafts. Baffling the weapons of all those warriors, that foremost of all persons well-skilled in weapons, O monarch, covered them (in return) with his shafts. Aiming at their weapons with his (and thus baffling them all), Arjuna, endued with great lightness of hand and possessing a complete control over his senses, pierced every one of those warriors with ten keen-pointed shafts. The welkin was then covered with dust. Thick showers of arrows fell. Darkness set in, and a loud and terrible uproar arose. When such was the state of things, neither the welkin, nor the earth, nor the points of the compass, could any longer be seen. Stupefied by the dust, all the troops became blind. Neither the foe, O king, nor we, could distinguish each other. For this reason, the kings began to fight, guided by conjecture and the names they uttered. Deprived of their cars, car-warriors, O king, encountering one another, lost all order and became a tangled mass. Their steeds killed and drivers slain, many of them, becoming inactive, preserved their lives and looked exceedingly affrighted. Slain steeds with riders deprived of lives were seen to lie on slain elephants as if stretched on mountain-breasts. Then Drona, moving away from that battle towards the north took up his station there., and seemed to resemble a smokeless fire. Beholding him move away from the battle towards the north, the Pandava troops, O king, began to tremble. Indeed, beholding Drona resplendent and handsome and blazing with energy, the enemy, inspired with fright became pale and wavered on the field, O Bharata! While summoning the hostile army to battle, and looking like an elephant in rut, the enemy became perfectly hopeless of vanquishing him, like the Danavas hopeless of vanquishing Vasava. Some among them became perfectly cheerless, and some, endued with energy, became inspired with wrath. And some were filled with wonder, and some became incapable of brooking (the challenge). And some of the kings squeezed their hands, and some deprived of their senses by rage, bit their lips. And some whirled their weapons, and some rubbed their arms; and some, possessed of great energy and souls under complete control, rushed against Drona. The Panchalas particularly, afflicted with the shafts of Drona, O monarch, though suffering great pain, continued to contend in battle. Then Drupada and

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Virata proceeded, in that battle, against Drona, that invincible warrior, who was thus careering on the field. Then, O king, the three grandsons of Drupada, and those mighty bowmen, viz., the Chedis, also proceeded against Drona in that encounter. Drona, with three sharp shafts, took the lives of the three grandsons of Drupada. Deprived of lives, the princes fell down on the earth. Drona next vanquished in that battle the Chedis, the Kaikeyas, and the Srinjayas. That mighty car-warrior, viz., the son of Bharadwaja, then vanquished all Matsyas. Then Drupada, filled with wrath, and Virata, in that battle, shot showers of shafts, O king, at Drona. Baffling that arrowy shower, Drona, that grinder of Kshatriyas, covered both Drupada and Virata with his shafts. Shrouded by Drona, both those warriors, with rage, began to pierce him on the field of battle with their arrows. Then Drona, O monarch, filled with wrath and desire of revenge, cut off, with a couple of broad-headed shafts, the bows of both his antagonists. Then Virata, filled with wrath, sped in that encounter ten lances and ten shafts at Drona from desire of slaying him. And Drupada, in anger, hurled at Drona's car a terrible dart made of iron and decked with gold and resembling a large snake. Drona cut off, with a number of sharp and broad-headed arrows, those ten lances (of Virata), and with certain other shafts that dart (of Drupada) decked with gold and stones of lapis lazuli. Then that grinder of foes, viz., the son of Bharadwaja, with a couple of well-tempered and broad-headed shafts, despatched both Drupada and Virata unto the abode of Yama. Upon the fall of Virata and Drupada, and the slaughter of the Kshatriyas, the Chedis, the Matsyas, and the Panchalas, and upon the fall of those three heroes, viz., the three grandsons of Drupada, the high-souled Dhrishtadyumna, beholding those feats of Drona, became filled with rage and grief, and swore in the midst of all the ear-warriors, saying, 'Let me lose merits of all my religious acts as also my Kshatriya and Brahma energy, if Drona escape me today with life, or if he succeed in vanquishing me!' Having taken that oath in the midst of all the bowmen, that slayer of hostile heroes, viz., the prince of the Panchalas, supported by his own division, advanced against Drona. The Panchalas then began to strike Drona from one side, and Arjuna from another. Duryodhana, and Karna, and Sakuni, the son of Suvala, and the uterine brothers of Duryodhana (stationed), according to their precedence, began to protect Drona in battle. Drona being thus protected in battle by those illustrious warriors, the Panchalas though struggling vigorously, could not even gaze at him. Then Bhimasena, O sire, became highly angry with Dhrishtadyumna and, O bull among men, that son of Pandu pierced Dhrishtadyumna with these fierce words:

"Bhimasena said, 'What man is there who being regarded as a Kshatriya and who taking his birth in the race of Drupada and who being the foremost of all persons possessing a knowledge of weapons, would only thus look at his foe stationed before him? What man having seen his sire and son slain, and especially, having sworn such an oath in the midst of the king, would thus be indifferent to his enemy? Yonder stands Drona like a fire swelling with its own energy. Indeed, with bow and arrows constituting his fuel, he is consuming with his energy all the Kshatriyas. Soon will he annihilate the Pandava army. Stand ye (as spectators) and behold my feat. Against Drona himself will I proceed. Having said these words, Vrikodara, filled with rage, penetrated into Drona's array, began to afflict and rout that host. Then the Panchala prince Dhrishtadyumna, also, penetrating into that large host, engaged himself with Drona in battle. The battle became furious. Such a fierce encounter we had never seen or heard of before, O king, as that which now took place at sunrise of that day. The cars, O sire, were seen to be entangled with one another. The bodies of embodied creatures deprived of lives were scattered all over the field. Some, while proceeding towards another part of the field, were, on the way, assailed by others. Some, while flying away, were struck on their backs, and others on their sides. That general engagement continued to rage fiercely. Soon, however, the morning sun rose'."

SECTION 187

"Sanjaya continued, 'The warrior, O king, thus clad in mail on the field of battle, adored the thousand-rayed Aditya as he rose at morn. When the thousand-rayed luminary, of splendour bright, as burning gold, arose, and the world became illumined, the battle once more commenced. The same soldiers that were engaged with each other before the sunrise, once more fought with each other, O Bharata, after, the rise of the sun. Horsemen engaged with car-warriors, and elephants with horsemen, and foot-soldiers with elephants and horsemen with horsemen, O bull of Bharata's race. Sometimes, unitedly and sometimes separately, the warriors, fell upon one another in battle. Having fought vigorously in the night, many, tired with exertion, and weak with hunger and thirst became deprived of their senses. The uproar made of the blare of conchs, the beat of drums, the roar of elephants, and the twang of out-stretched bows drawn with force touched the very heavens, O king! The noise made also by rushing infantry and falling weapons, and neighing steeds and rolling cars, and shouting and roaring of warriors, became tremendous. That loud noise increasing every minute, reached the heavens. The groans and wails of pain, on falling and fallen foot-soldiers and car-warriors and elephants, became exceedingly loud and pitiable as these were heard on the field. When the engagement became general, both side slew each other's own men and animals. Hurled from the hands of heroes upon warriors and elephants, heaps of swords were seen on the field, resembling heaps of cloths on the washing ground. The sound, again, of uplifted and descending swords in heroic arms resembled that of cloths thrashed for wash. That general engagement then, in which the warriors encountered one another with swords and scimitars and lances and battle-axes, became exceedingly dreadful. The heroic combatants caused a river there, that ran its course towards the regions of the dead. The blood of elephants and steeds and human beings formed its current. Weapons formed its fish in profusion. It was miry with blood and flesh. Wails of grief and pain formed its roar. Banners and cloth formed its froth. Afflicted with shafts and darts, worn with exertion, spent with toil on the (previous) night, and exceedingly weakened, elephants and steeds, with limbs perfectly motionless, stood on the field. With their arms (in beautiful attitudes) and with their beautiful coats of mail, and heads decked with beautiful ear-rings, the warriors, adorned with implements of battle, looked exceedingly resplendent. 1 At that time, in consequence of the carnivorous animals and the dead and the dying, there was no path for the cars all over the field. Afflicted with shafts steeds of the noblest breed and high mettle, resembling elephants (in size and strength), worn out with toil, were seen to tremble with great effort, as they drew vehicles whose wheels had sunk in the earth. The whole of that host, O Bharata, resembling the ocean for vastness, then became agitated, and afflicted, inspired with terror, with the exception only of Drona and Arjuna. Those two became the refuge, these two became the saviours, of the warriors of their respective sides. Others, encountering these two proceeded to the abode of Yama. Then the vast host of the Kurus became greatly agitated, and the Panchalas, huddled together, became no longer distinguishable. During that great carnage of the Kshatriyas on earth, on that field of battle, enhancing the terrors of the timid and looking like a crematorium neither Karna, nor Drona, nor Arjuna, nor Yudhishthira, nor Bhimasena, nor the twins, nor the Panchala prince, nor Satyaki, nor Duhsasana, nor Drona's son, nor Duryodhana nor Suvala's son, nor Kripa, nor the ruler of the Madras, nor Kritavarman, nor others, nor my own self, nor the earth, nor points of the compass, could be seen, O king, for all of them, mingled with the troops, were shrouded by clouds of dust. During the progress of that fierce and terrible battle, when that dusty cloud arose, all thought that night had once more come over the scene. Neither the Kauravas, nor the Panchalas, nor the Pandavas, could be distinguished, nor the points of the compass, nor the welkin, nor the earth, nor even land nor uneven land. The warriors, desirous of victory, slew foes and friends, in fact, all whom they could perceive by the touch of their hands. The earthly dust that had arisen was soon dispelled by the winds that blew, and drenched by the blood that was shed. Elephants and steeds and car-warriors and foot-soldiers, bathed in blood, looked beautiful like the (celestial) forest of Parijata. Then Duryodhana, Karna, Drona and Duhsasana, these four (Kauravas) warriors engaged in battle with four of the Pandava warriors, Duryodhana and his brothers, encountered the twins (Nakula and Sahadeva). And Radha's son engaged himself with Vrikodara, and Arjuna with the son of Bharadwaja, all the troops, from every side, looked on that terrible encounter. The car-warriors (of both armies quietly) beheld that beautiful, that superhuman engagement between those fierce and foremost of car-warriors conversant with every mode of warfare, riding on their own beautiful cars that performed diverse delightful evolutions. Endued with great prowess, struggling vigorously, and each solicitous of vanquishing the other, they covered each other with showers of shafts, like the clouds at the close of summer (pouring torrents of rain). Those bulls among men, riding on their cars of solar effulgence, looked beautiful like congregated masses of clouds in the autumnal sky. Then those warriors, O monarch, filled with wrath and desire of revenge, mighty bowmen all, challenging, rushed at one another with great vigour like infuriated leaders of elephantine herds. Verily, O king, death does not take place till its hour comes, since all those warriors did not simultaneously perish in that battle. Strewn with lopped off arms and legs, and heads decked with beautiful ear-rings, and bows and arrows and lances and scimitars and battle-axes and (other kinds of) axes, and Nalihas and razor-headed arrows and cloth-yard shafts and darts and diverse kinds of beautiful armour, and beautiful cars broken into pieces, and slain elephants and standardless cars broken like cities, and vehicles dragged hither and thither with the speed of the wind by driverless steeds in great fright, and a large number of well-decked warriors of great courage, and fallen fans and coats of mail and standards, and ornaments and robes and fragrant garlands, and chains of gold and diadems and crowns and head-gears and rows of bells, and jewels worn on breasts, and cuirasses and collars and gems that adorn head-gears, the field of battle looked beautiful like the firmament bespangled with stars.'

'Then there occured an encounter between Duryodhana, filled with wrath and desire of revenge, and Nakula filled with the same feelings. Madri's son cheerfully shooting hundreds of shafts, placed thy son on his right. At this loud cheers were bestowed upon him. Placed on the right by his cousin-brother in wrath, thy son king Duryodhana, filled with rage, began, in battle, to wonderfully counteract Nakula from that very side. Thereupon, Nakula, endued with great energy and acquainted with the diverse course (in which a car may be conducted), began to resist thy son who was engaged in counteracting him from his right. Duryodhana, however, afflicting Nakula with showers of shafts and resisting him on every side, caused him to turn back. All the troops applauded that feat (of thy son). Then Nakula, addressing thy son, said, 'Wait, Wait, recollecting all his woes caused by thy evil counsels.'"

SECTION 188

"Sanjaya said, 'Then Duhsasana, filled with wrath, rushed against Sahadeva, causing the earth to tremble with the fierce speed of his car, O Madri's son, however, that crusher of foes, with a broad-headed arrow, quickly cut of the head, decked with the head-gear of his rushing antagonist's driver. From the celerity with which that act was accomplished by Sahadeva, neither Duhsasana nor any of the troops knew that the driver's head had been cut off. The reins being no longer held by anybody, the steeds ran at their will. It was then that Duhsasana knew that his driver had been slain. Conversant with the management of steeds, that foremost of car-warriors, himself restraining his steeds in that battle fought beautifully and with great activity and skill. That feat of his was applauded by friends and foes, since riding on that driverless car, he careered fearlessly in that battle. Then Sahadeva pierced those steeds with keen shafts. Afflicted with those shafts, they quickly ran away, careering hither and thither. For catching hold of the reins, he once laid aside his bow, and then he took up his bow for using it, lying aside the reins. During those opportunities the son of Madri covered him with arrows. Then Karna, desirous of rescuing thy son, rushed to that spot. Thereupon, Vrikodara, with great care, pierced Karna in the chest and arms with three broad-headed shafts sped from his bow drawn to its fullest stretch. Struck with those shafts like a snake with a stick, Karna stopped and began to resist Bhimasena, shooting keen shafts. Thereupon, a fierce battle took place between Bhima and Radha's son. Both of them roared like bulls, and the eyes of both were expanded (with rage). Excited with wrath, and rushing towards each other, with great speed, they roared at each other. Those two delighters, in battle were then very close to each other. So near were they that they could not easily shoot their shafts at each other. Thereupon, an encounter with maces happened. Bhimasena speedily broke with his mace the Kuvara of Karna's car. That feat of his, O king, seemed highly wonderful. Then the valiant son of Radha, taking up a mace, hurled it at Bhima's car. Bhima, however, broke it with the mace of his own. Then taking up a heavy mace, once more, Bhima hurled it at Adhiratha's son. Karna struck that mace with numerous shafts of beautiful wings, sped with great force, and once again with other shafts, Thus struck with Karna's shafts, the mace turned back towards Bhima, like a snake afflicted with incantations. With the rebound of that mace, the huge standard of Bhima, broke and fell down. Struck with that same mace, Bhima's driver also became deprived of his senses. Then Bhima, mad with rage, sped eight shafts at Karna, and his standard and bow, and leathern fence, O Bharata. The mighty Bhimasena, that slayer of hostile heroes, with the greatest care, O Bharata, cut off, with those keen shafts, the standards, the bow, and the leathern fence of Karna. The latter then, viz., the son of Radha, taking up another invincible and gold-decked bow, shot a number of shafts, and quickly slew Bhima's steeds of the hue of bears, and then his two drivers. When his car was thus injured, Bhima, that chastiser of foes, quickly jumped into the car of Nakula like a lion jumping down upon a mountain summit.'

SECTION 189

"Meanwhile, Drona and Arjuna, those two foremost of car-warriors, preceptor and pupil, both skilled in weapon, O monarch, fought with each other in battle, stupefying the eyes and minds of men with their lightness in the use of weapons and the sureness of their aim, and with the motions of their cars. Beholding that battle, the like of which had never been witnessed before, between preceptor and pupil, the other warriors abstained from fighting with each other and trembled. Each of those heroes, displaying beautiful revolutions of his car, wished to place the other on his right. The warriors present there beheld their prowess and became filled with wonder. Indeed, that great battle between Drona and the son of Pandu resembled that, O monarch, between a couple of hawks in the welkin [sky, heaven] for the sake of a

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piece of meat. Whatever feats Drona performed for vanquishing the son of Kunti, were all counteracted by Arjuna's performing similar feats. When Drona failed to gain any ascendency over the son of Pandu, the son of Bharadwaja, that warrior acquainted with the course of all weapons, invoked into existence the Aindra, the Pasupata, the Tvashtra, the Vayavya, and the Yamya weapons. As soon as those weapons, issued from Drona's bow, Dhananjaya destroyed them quickly. When his weapons were thus duly destroyed by Arjuna with his own weapons, Drona shrouded the son of Pandu with the mightiest of celestial weapons. Every weapon, however, that Drona shot at Partha from desire of vanquishing the latter, was shot by Partha in return for baffling it. Seeing all his weapons, even the celestial ones, duly baffled by Arjuna, Drona applauded the latter in his heart. That chastiser of foes, O Bharata, regarded himself superior to every person in the world acquainted with weapons, in consequence of Arjuna having been his pupil. Thus resisted by Partha in the midst of all those illustrious warriors, Drona, struggling with vigour, cheerfully resisted Arjuna (in return), wondering all the while. Then the celestials and Gandharvas in thousands, and Rishis and bodies of Siddhas, were seen on all sides in the welkin. Filled with (those as also with) Apsaras and Yakshas and Rakshasas, it once more seemed that the welkin was darkened by gathering clouds. An invisible voice, fraught with the praises of Drona and the high-souled Partha, was heard to repeatedly course through the firmament. When in consequence of the weapons shot by Drona and Partha all sides seemed ablaze with light, the Siddhas and the Rishis that were present, said, 'This is no human nor Asura, nor Rakshasa, nor celestial, nor Gandharva battle. Without doubt this is a high Brahma encounter. This battle is exceedingly beautiful and highly wonderful. We have never seen or heard of its like. Now, the preceptor prevails over the son of Pandu, and then the son of Pandu prevails over Drona. No one can find any difference between them. If Rudra, dividing his own self into two portions, fights, himself with himself, then may an instance be had to match this. Nowhere else can an instance be found to match it. Science, gathered in one place, exists in the preceptor; science and means are in the son of Pandu. Heroism, in one place, is in Drona; heroism and might are in the son of Pandu. None of these warriors can be withstood by foes in battle. If they wish, both of them can destroy the universe with the gods. Beholding those two bulls among men, all invisible and visible creatures said these words. The high-souled Drona then, in that battle, invoked into existence the Brahma weapon, afflicting Partha and all invisible beings. Thereupon, the earth with the mountains and waters and trees trembled. Fierce winds began to blow. The seas swelled in agitation. The combatants of the Kurus and the Pandava armies, as also all other creatures, became inspired with fear, when that illustrious warrior uplifted that weapon. The Partha, O monarch, fearlessly baffled that weapon by a Brahma weapon of his own, at which all that agitation in nature was speedily pacified. At last, when none of them could vanquish his antagonist in combat, a general engagement took place between the hosts, causing a great confusion on the field. During the progress of that dreadful battle between Drona and the son of Pandu (as also of that general engagement), once more, O king, nothing could be distinguished. The welkin became covered with dense showers of shafts, as if with masses of clouds, and creatures ranging in the air could no longer find a passage through their element."

SECTION 190

"Sanjaya said, 'During that fearful carnage of men and steeds and elephants, Duhsasana, O king, encountered Dhrishtadyumna. Mounted upon hi, golden car and exceedingly afflicted with the shafts of Duhsasana, the Panchala prince wrathfully showered his shafts upon thy son's steeds. Covered with the shafts of Prishata's son, O king, Duhsasana's car, with standard and driver, soon became invisible. Afflicted with those showers of arrows, Duhsasana, O monarch, became unable to stay before the illustrious prince of the Panchalas. Forcing, by means of his shafts, Duhsasana to turn back Pritha's son, scattering his arrows, proceeded against Drona in that battle. At the time Hridika's son, Kritavarman, with three of his uterine brothers, appeared on the scene and attempted to oppose Dhrishtadyumna. Those bulls among men, however, viz., the twins, Nakula and Sahadeva following in the wake of Dhrishtadyumna who was thus proceeding like a blazing fire towards Drona, began to protect him. Then, all those great car-warriors, endued with might and excited with rage, began to strike one another, making death their goal. Of pure souls and pure conduct, O king, and keeping heaven in view, they fought according to righteous methods, desirous of vanquishing one another. Of stainless lineage and stainless acts, and endued with great intelligence, those rulers of men, keeping heaven in view, fought fair battles with another. There was nothing unfair in that fight and no weapon was used that was regarded as unfair. No barbed arrows, nor those called nalikas, nor those that are poisoned, nor those with heads, made of horns, nor those equipped with many pointed heads, nor those made of the bones of bulls and elephants, nor those having two heads, nor those having rusty heads, nor those that are not straight going, were used by any of them. [All these arrows inflicted had wounds and could not be easily extracted. Shafts of crooked courses were condemned because the combatants could not easily baffle them, not knowing at whom they would fall.] All of them used simple and fair weapons and desired to win both fame and region of great blessedness by fighting fairly. Between those four warriors of thy army and those three of the Pandava side, the battle that took place was exceedingly dreadful but divested of everything unfair. Then Dhrishtadyumna, exceedingly quick in the use of weapons, beholding those brave and mighty car warriors of thy army checked by the twins (Nakula and Sahadeva), proceeded towards Drona. Checked by those two lions among men, those four heroic warriors encountered the former like the wind assailing a couple of mountains (standing on their way). Each of the twins--those great car-warriors--was engaged with a couple of arrows against Drona. Beholding the invincible prince of the Panchalas proceeding against Drona, and those four heroes (of his own army) engaged with the twins, Duryodhana, O monarch, rushed to that spot, scattering showers of blood-drinking arrows. Seeing this, Satyaki quickly approached the Kuru king. Those two tigers among men, viz., the two descendants of Kuru and Madhu, approaching each other, became desirous of striking each other in battle. Recalling to mind their behaviour towards each other in childhood and reflecting with pleasure on the same, they gazed at each other and smiled repeatedly. 'Then king Duryodhana (mentally), blaming his own conduct, addressed his ever dear friend Satyaki, and said, 'Fie on wrath, O friend, and fie on vindictiveness! Fie on Kshatriya usage, and fie on might and prowess, since thou aimest thy weapons at me, and I too am aiming at thee, O bull of Sini's race! In those days thou wert dearer to me than life itself, and I also was such to thee! Alas, all those acts of childhood that I remember, of both thyself and mine, became quite insignificant in the field of battle! Alas, moved by wrath and convetousness, we are here to-day for fighting against each other, O thou of the Satwata race!' Unto him who said those words, O king, Satyaki, conversant with high weapons, taking up some keen arrows, smilingly replied, 'This is no assembly, O prince, nor the abode of our preceptor, where in former days we sported together.' Duryodhana answered, 'Where have those sports of our childhood gone, O bull of Sini's race, and, alas, how has this battle now come upon us? It seems that the influence of Time is irresistible. (Urged though we are) by desire of wealth, what use, however, have we of wealth that, assembled together, we are now engaged in battle, moved by the avarice of wealth.'

"Sanjaya said, 'Unto king Duryodhana who said so, Satyaki replied, 'This has always been the usage of the Kshatriyas that they have to fight even against their preceptors. If I am dear to thee, O king, then slay me without any delay. Through thee, O bull of Bharata's race, I shall then enter the region of the righteous. Exhibit, without delay, all thy might and prowess. I do not desire to witness this great calamity of friends.' Having replied and reasoned thus, Satyaki, O monarch, fearlessly and in utter disregard of life, quickly advanced against Duryodhana. Beholding him advance, thy son received him; indeed, O king, thy son poured on him of Sini's race a perfect shower of arrows. Then commenced a terrible battle between those lions of Kuru's and Madhu's races, resembling an encounter between an elephant and a lion. Then Duryodhana, filled with wrath, pierced the invincible Satyaki with many keen arrows, shot from his bow drawn to its fullest stretch. Satyaki quickly pierced the Kuru prince in return with fifty keen shafts in that battle and once more with twenty, and again with ten shafts. Then, in that encounter, O king, thy son, smiling the while, pierced Satyaki in return with thirty arrows shot from his bowstring drawn to his ear. Shooting then a razor-headed arrow, he cut off in twain the bow, with arrow fixed thereon, of Satyaki. Endued with great lightness of hand, the latter then, taking up a tougher bow, shot showers of shafts at thy son. As those lines of arrows advanced for compassing the death of Duryodhana, the latter, O king, cut them in pieces, at which the troops shouted loudly. With great swiftness, the Kuru king afflicted Satyaki with three and seventy shafts, equipped with wings of gold and steeped in oil and shot from his bow drawn to its fullest stretch. All those arrows of Duryodhana, as also his bow, with arrow fixed thereon, Satyaki quickly cut off. The Satwata hero then poured showers of shafts on his antagonist. Deeply pierced by Satyaki and feeling great pain, Duryodhana, O king, in great distress, sought shelter in another car. Having rested awhile and refreshed himself, thy son once more advanced against Satyaki, shooting showers of shafts at the latter's car. Smilingly, O king, Satyaki ceaselessly shot multitudes of shafts at Duryodhana's car.

The shafts of both mingled with one another in the welkin. In consequence of those arrows thus shot by both, falling fast on every side, loud sounds, like those of a raging fire consuming a mighty forest, arose there. With thousands of arrows shot by both, the earth was densely covered. The welkin also became filled therewith. Beholding then that foremost of car-warriors, viz., that hero of Madhu's race, to be mightier than Duryodhana, Karna rushed to that spot, desirous of rescuing thy son. Mighty Bhimasena, however, could not brook that attempt of Karna. He, therefore, quickly proceeded against Karna, shooting innumerable shafts. Cutting off all those shafts of Bhima with the greatest ease, Karna cut off Bhima's bow, arrows and driver also, with his own shafts. Then, Pandu's son, Bhima, filled with rage, took up a mace and crushed the bow, standard, and driver of his antagonist in that encounter. The mighty Bhima also broke one of the wheels of Karna's car. Karna, however, stood on that car of his, which had one of his wheels broken, immovable as (Meru), the king of mountains. That beautiful car of his which had now only one wheel, was borne by his steeds, like the single wheeled car of Surya, drawn by the seven celestial steeds. Incapable of brooking the feats of Bhimasena, Karna continued to fight with the latter, using diverse kinds of shafts in profusion and diverse kinds of other weapons in that encounter. Bhimasena also filled with wrath, continued to fight with the Suta's son. When the engagement became general ant confused, (Yudhishthira) the son of Dharma, addressing all the foremost of warriors among the Panchalas and the Matsyas, said, 'They that are our life, they that are our heads, they amongst us that are endued with great strength, those bulls among men are all engaged with the Dhartarashtras. Why do ye then stand thus, as if stupefied and deprived of your senses? Proceed thither where those car-warriors of my army are fighting. Driving away your fears and keeping in view the duties of Kshatriyas (engage in fight), for then conquering or slain ye will gain desirable goals. If you prove victors, you may perform diverse sacrifices with profuse gifts to Brahmanas. If, on the other hand, you are slain, becoming then equals of the celestials, you will win many regions of blessedness. Thus urged by the king, those heroic and mighty car-warriors engaged in battle, observant of Kshatriya duties, quickly proceeded against Drona. The Panchalas then, from one side, assailed Drona with innumerable arrows, while others headed by Bhimasena began to resist him from another side. The Pandavas had three crooked-minded mighty car-warriors amongst them. They were Bhimasena and the twins (Nakula and Sahadeva). These addressed Dhananjaya loudly and said, 'Rush, O Arjuna, with speed and drive away the Kurus from Drona's vicinity. If the preceptor can be derived of his protectors, the Panchalas may then slay him easily.' Thus addressed, Partha suddenly rushed against the Kauravas, while Drona rushed against the Panchalas headed by Dhrishtadyumna. Indeed, on that the fifth day (of Drona's command) those heroic combatants, O Bharata, were grounded and crushed with great-celerity (by Bharadwaja's son.)"

SECTION 191

"Sanjaya said, 'Then Drona caused a great carnage among the Panchalas, like the slaughter caused by Sakra himself in rage amongst the Danavas in the days of yore. The great car-warriors of the Pandava army, endued with might and energy, though slaughtered, O king, by Drona's weapons, were not yet afraid of Drona in that battle. Indeed, O monarch, those mighty car-warriors, viz., the Panchalas and the Srinjayas, all rushed against Drona himself, for fighting with him. Loud and fierce were the yells they uttered as they rushed towards Drona for encompassing him on all sides and were slaughtered by him with shafts and darts. Beholding the slaughter of the Panchalas in that battle by the illustrious Drona, and seeing his, weapons overwhelm all sides, fear entered the hearts of the Pandavas. Beholding that dreadful carnage of steeds and human beings in that battle, the Pandavas, O monarch, became hopeless of victory. (They began to say unto each other) 'Is it not evident that Drona, that warrior conversant with the mightiest of weapons, will consume us all like a raging conflagration consuming a heap of straw in the season of spring? There is none competent to even look at him in battle. Conversant with the ways of morality, Arjuna (who alone is a match for him) will not fight with him.' Beholding the sons of Kunti afflicted with the shafts of Drona and inspired with fear, Kesava, endued with great intelligence and, devoted to their welfare, addressed Arjuna and said, 'This foremost of all bowmen is incapable of being ever vanquished by force in battle, by the very gods with Vasava at their head. When, however, he lays aside his weapons, he becomes capable of being slain on the field even by human beings. Casting aside virtue, ye sons of Pandu, adopt now some contrivance for gaining the victory, so that Drona of the golden car may not slay us all in battle. Upon the full of (his son) Aswatthaman he will cease to fight, I think. Let sonic man, therefore, tell him that Aswatthaman, hath been slain in battle.' This advice, however, O kin was not approved by Kunti's son, Dhananjaya. Others approved of it. But Yudhishthira accepted it with great difficulty. Then the mighty-armed Bhima, O king, slew with a mace a foe-crushing, terrible and huge elephant named Aswatthaman, of his own army, belonging to Indravarman, the chief of the Malavas. Approaching Drona then in that battle with some bashfulness Bhimasena began to exclaim

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aloud, 'Aswatthaman hath been slain.' That elephant named Aswatthaman having been thus slain, Bhima spoke of Aswatthaman's slaughter. Keeping the true fact within his mind, he said what was untrue, Hearing those highly disagreeable words of Bhima and reflecting upon them, Drona's limbs seemed to dissolve like sands in water. Recollecting however, the prowess of his son, he soon came to regard that intelligence as false. Hearing, therefore, of his slaughter, Drona did not become unmanned. Indeed, soon recovering his senses, he became comforted, remembering that his son was incapable of being resisted by foes. Rushing towards the son of Prishata and desirous of slaying that hero who had been ordained as his slayer, he covered him with a thousand keen shafts, equipped with kanka feathers. Then twenty thousand Panchala car-warriors of great energy covered him, while he was thus careering in battle, with their shafts. Completely shrouded with those shafts, we could not any longer see that great car-warrior who then resembled, O monarch, the sun, covered with clouds in the season of rains. Filled with wrath and desirous of compassing the destruction of those brave Panchalas, that mighty car-warrior, that scorcher of foes, viz., Drona, dispelling all those shafts of the Panchalas, then invoked into existence the Brahma weapon. At that time, Drona looked resplendent like a smokeless, blazing fire. Once more filled with rage the valiant son of Bharadwaja slaughtering all the Somakas, seemed to be invested with great splendour. In that dreadful battle, he felled the heads of the Panchalas and cut off their massive arms, looking like spiked maces and decked with golden ornaments. Indeed, those Kshatriyas, slaughtered in battle by Bharadwaja's son fell down on the earth and lay scattered like trees uprooted by the tempest. In consequence of fallen elephants and steeds, O Bharata, the earth, miry with flesh and blood, became impassable. Having slain twenty thousand Panchala car-warriors, Drona, in that battle, shone resplendent like a smokeless, blazing fire. Once more filled with rage, the valiant son of Bharadwaja cut off, with a broad-headed arrow, the head of Vasudana from his trunk. Once more slaying five hundred Matsyas, and six thousand elephants, he slew ten thousand steeds. Beholding Drona stationed on the field for the extermination of the Kshatriya race, the Rishis Viswamitra, and Jamadagni, and Bharadwaja, and Gautama, and Vasishtha, and Kasyapa, and Atri, and the Srikatas, the Prisnis, Garga, the Valkhilyas, the Marichis, the descendants of Bhrigu and Angiras, and diverse other sages of subtle forms quickly came thither, with the Bearer of sacrificial libations at their head, and, desirous of taking Drona unto the region of Brahman, addressed Drona, that ornament of battle, and said, 'Thou art fighting unrighteously. The hour of thy death is come. Laying aside thy weapons in battle, O Drona, behold us stationed here. After this, it behoveth thee not to perpetrate such exceedingly cruel deeds. Thou art versed in the Vedas and their branches. Thou art devoted to the duties enjoined by truth, especially, thou art a Brahmana. Such acts do not become thee. Lay aside thy weapons. Drive away the film of error that shrouds thee. Adhere now to the eternal path. The period for which thou art to dwell in the world of men is now full. Thou hast, with the Brahma weapon, burnt men on earth that are unacquainted with weapons. This act that thou hast perpetrated, O regenerate one, is not righteous. Lay aside thy weapons in battle without delay, O Drona, do not wait longer on earth. Do not, O regenerate one, perpetrate such a sinful act.' Hearing these words of their as also those spoken by Bhimasena, and beholding Dhrishtadyumna before him, Drona became exceedingly cheerless in battle. Burning with grief and exceedingly afflicted, he enquired of Kunti's son Yudhishthira as to whether his son (Aswatthaman) had been slain or not. Drona firmly believed that Yudhishthira would never speak an untruth even for the sake of the sovereignty of the three worlds. For this reason, that bull among Brahmanas asked Yudhishthira and not any body else. He had hoped for truth from Yudhishthira from the latter's infancy.

"Meanwhile, O monarch, Govinda, knowing that Drona, that foremost of warriors, was capable of sweeping all the Pandavas off the face of the earth, became much distressed. Addressing Yudhishthira he said, 'If Drona fighteth, filled with rage, for even half-a-day, I tell thee truly, thy army will then be annihilated. Save us, then, from Drona. under such circumstances, falsehood is better than truth. By telling an untruth for saving a life, one is not touched by sin. There is no sin in untruth spoken unto women, or in marriages, or for saving king, or for rescuing a Brahmana.' While Govinda and Yudhishthira were thus talking with each other, Bhimasena (addressing the king) said, 'As soon, O monarch, as I heard of the means by which the high-souled Drona might be slain, putting forth my prowess in battle, I immediately slew a mighty elephant, like unto the elephant of Sakra himself, belonging to Indravarman, the chief of the Malavas, who was standing within thy army. I then went to Drona and told him, 'Aswatthaman has been slain, O Brahmana! Cease, then, to fight. Verily, O bull among men, the preceptor did not believe in the truth of words. Desirous of victory as thou art, accept the advice of Govinda. Tell Drona, O King, that the son of Saradwat's daughter is no more. Told by thee, that bull among Brahmanas will never fight. Thou, O ruler of men, art reputed to be truthful in the three worlds.' Hearing those words of Bhima and induced by the counsels of Krishna, and owing also to the inevitability of destiny, O monarch, Yudhishthira made up his mind to say what he desired. Fearing to utter an untruth, but earnestly desirous of victory, Yudhishthira distinctly said that Aswatthaman was dead, adding indistinctly the world elephant (after the name), Before this, Yudhishthira's car had stayed at a height of four fingers' breadth from the surface of the earth; after, however, he had said that untruth, his (vehicle and) animals touched the earth. Hearing those words from Yudhishthira, the mighty car-warrior Drona, afflicted with grief, for the (supposed) death of his son, yielded to the influence of despair. By the words, again, of the Rishis, he regarded himself a great offender against the high-souled Pandavas. Hearing now about the death of his son, he became perfectly cheerless and filled with anxiety; upon beholding Dhrishtadyumna, O king, that chastiser of foes could not fight as before.'"

SECTION 192

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding Drona filled with great anxiety and almost deprived of his senses by grief, Dhrishtadyumna, the son of the Panchala king, rushed at him. That hero had, for the destruction of Drona, been obtained by Drupada, that ruler of men, at a great sacrifice, from the Bearer of sacrificial libations. Desirous of slaying Drona, he now took up a victory-giving and formidable bow whose twang resembled the roll of the clouds, whose string was possessed of great strength, and which was irrefragable and celestial. And he fixed on it a fierce arrow, resembling a snake of virulent poison and possessed of the splendour of fire. That arrow, resembling a fire of fierce flame, while within the circle of his bow, looked like the autumnal sun of great splendour within a radiant circle. Beholding that blazing bow bent with force by Prishata's son, the troops regarded that to be the last hour (of the world). Seeing that arrow aimed at him, the valiant son of Bharadwaja thought that the last hour of his body had come. The preceptor prepared with care to baffle that shaft. The weapons, however, of that high-souled one, O monarch, no longer appeared at his bidding. [The celestial weapons were all living agents that appeared at the bidding of him who knew to invoke them. They abandoned, however, the person whose death was imminent, although invoked with the usual formulae.] His weapons had not been exhausted although he had shot them ceaselessly for four days and one night. On the expiry, however, of the third part of that of the fifth day, his arrows became exhausted. Seeing the exhaustion of his arrows and afflicted with grief on account of his son's death, and in consequence also of the unwillingness of the celestial weapons to appear at his bidding, he desired to lay aside his weapons, as requested by the words of the Rishis also. Though filled with great energy, he could not however, fight as before. Then taking up another celestial bow that Angiras had given him, and certain arrows that resembled a Brahmana's curse, he continued to fight with Dhrishtadyumna. He covered the Panchala prince with a thick shower of arrows, and filled with rage, mangled his angry antagonist. With his own keen shafts he cut off in a hundred fragments those of the prince as also the latter's standard and bow. He then his antagonist's driver. Then Dhrishtadyumna, smiling, took up another bow, and pierced Drona with a keen shaft in the centre of the chest. Deeply pierced therewith and losing his self-possession in that encounter, that mighty bowman, then, with a sharp and broad-headed arrow, once more cut off Dhrishtadyumna's bow. Indeed, the invincible Drona then cut off all the weapons, O king, and all the bows that his antagonist had, with the exception only of his mace and sword. Filled with rage, he then pierced the angry Dhrishtadyumna, O chastiser of foes, nine keen arrows, capable of taking the life of every foe. Then the mighty car-warrior Dhrishtadyumna, of immeasurable soul, invoking into existence the Brahma weapon, caused the steeds of his own car to be mingled with those of his foes. Endued with the speed of the wind, those steeds that were red and of the hue of pigeons, O bull of Bharata's race, thus mingled together, looked exceedingly beautiful. Indeed, O king, those steeds thus mingled together on the field of battle, looked beautiful like roaring clouds in the season of rains, charged with lightning. Then that twice-born one of immeasurable soul cut off the shaft-joints, the wheel-joints, and (other) car-joints of Dhrishtadyumna. Deprived of his bow, and made carless and steedless and driverless, the heroic Dhrishtadyumna, fallen into great distress, grasped a mace. Filled with rage, the mighty car-warrior, Drona, of unbaffled prowess, by means of a number of keen shafts, cut off that mace, while it was on the point of being hurled at him. Beholding his mace cut off by Drona with arrows, that tiger among men, (viz., the Panchala prince), took up a spotless sword and a bright shield decked with a hundred moons. Without doubt, under those circumstances, the Panchala prince determined to make an end of that foremost of preceptors, that high-souled warrior. Sometimes, sheltering himself in his car-box and sometimes riding on his car-shafts, the prince moved about, uplifting his swords and whirling his bright shield. The mighty car-warrior Dhrishtadyumna, desirous of achieving, from folly, a difficult feat, hoped to pierce the chest of Bharadwaja's son in that battle. Sometimes, he stayed upon the yoke, and sometimes under the haunches of Drona's red steeds. These movements of his were highly applauded by all the troops. Indeed, while he stayed amid the trappings of the yoke or behind those red steeds, Drona found no opportunity to strike him. All this seemed exceedingly wonderful. The movements of both Drona and Prishata's son in that battle resembled the fight of hawk careering through the welkin for a piece of meat. Then Drona, by means of a dart pierced the white steeds of his antagonist, one after another, not striking, however, the red ones amongst them (that belonged to himself) 1. Deprived of life, those steeds of Dhrishtadyumna fell down upon the earth. Thereupon, the red steeds of Drona himself, O king, where freed from the entanglements of Dhrishtadyumna's car. Beholding his steeds slain by that foremost of Brahmanas, Prishata's sons, that mighty car-warrior, that foremost of fighters, could not brook it. Though deprived of his car, still that foremost of all swordsmen, armed with his sword, sprang towards Drona, O monarch, like Vinata's son (Garuda) making a swoop at a snake. The form, O king, of Dhrishtadyumna at that time, when he sought to slay the son of Bharadwaja, resembled the form of Vishnu himself in days of yore when at the point of slaying Hiranyakasipu. He performed diverse evolutions, in fact. O Kauravya, the son of Prishata, careering in that battle, exhibited the well-known one and twenty different kinds of motion. Armed with the sword, and shield in hand, Prishata's son wheeled about and whirled his sword on high, and made side thrusts, and rushed forward, and ran sideways, and leapt high, and assailed the flanks of his antagonists and receded backwards, and closed with his foes, and pressed them hard. Having practised them well, he also showed the evolutions called Bharata, Kausika Satwata, as he careened in that battle for compassing the destruction of Drona, Beholding those beautiful evolutions of Dhrishtadyumna, as he careered on the field, sword and shield in hand, all the warriors, as also the celestials assembled there, were filled with wonder. The regenerate Drona then, shooting a thousand arrows in the thick of fight, cut off the sword of Dhrishtadyumna as also his shield, decked with a hundred moons. Those arrows that Drona shot, while fighting from such a near point, were of the length of a span. Such arrows are used only in close fight. None else have arrows of that kind, except Kripa, and Partha, and Aswatthaman and Karna, Pradyumna and Yuyudhana; Abhimanyu also had such arrows. Then the preceptor, desirous of slaying his disciple who was unto him even as his own son, fixed on his bow-string a shaft endued with great impetuosity. That shaft, however, Satyaki cut off by means of ten arrows, in the very sight of thy son as also of the high-souled Karna, as thus rescued Dhrishtadyumna who was on the point of succumbing to Drona. Then Kesava and Dhananjaya beheld Satyaki of prowess incapable of being baffled, who, O Bharata, was thus careering in the car-tracks (of the Kuru warriors) and within the range of the shafts of Drona and Karna and Kripa. Saying. 'Excellent, Excellent!' both of them loudly applauded Satyaki of unfading glory, who was thus destroying the celestial weapons of all those warriors. Then Kesava and Dhananjaya rushed towards the Kurus. Addressing Krishna, Dhananjaya said, 'Behold, O Kesava, that perpetuator of Madhu's race, viz., Satyaki of true prowess, sporting before the preceptor and those mighty car-warriors and gladdening me and the twins and Bhima and king Yudhishthira. With skill acquired by practice and without insolence, behold that enhancer of the fame of the Vrishnis, viz., Satyaki, careering in battle, sporting the while with those mighty car-warriors. All these troops, as also the Siddhas (in the welkin), beholding him invincible in battle, are filled with wonder, and applauding him, saying, 'Excellent, Excellent!' Indeed, O king, the warriors of both armies all applauded the Satwata hero, for his feats.'"

SECTION 193

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding those feats of the Satwata hero, Duryodhana and others, filled with rage, quickly encompassed the grandson of Sini on all sides. Kripa and Karna, of also thy sorts, O sire, in that battle, quickly approaching the grandson of Sini, began to strike him with keen arrows. Then king Yudhishthira, and the two other Pandavas, viz., the two sons of Madri and Bhimasena of great might surrounded Satyaki (for protecting him). Karna, and the mighty car-warrior Kripa, and Duryodhana and others, all resisted Satyaki, pouring showers of arrows on him. The grand son of Sini, however, contending with all those car-warriors, baffled, O monarch, that terrible downpour of arrows, so suddenly created by his foes. Indeed, in that dreadful battle, Satyaki, by means of his own celestial weapons, duly resisted all those celestial weapons aimed at him by those illustrious warriors. The field of battle became full of many cruel sights upon that encounter of those royal combatants, resembling that scene of yore when Rudra, filled with rage, had destroyed all creatures. Human arms and heads

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and bows, O Bharata, and umbrellas displaced (from cars), and yak-tails, were seen lying in heaps on the field of battle. The earth became quickly strewn with broken wheels and cars, and massive arms lopped off from trunks, and brave horsemen deprived of life. And, O foremost one among the Kurus, large number of warriors, mangled with falling arrows, were seen in that great battle to roll and writhe on the ground in agony of the last spasms of death. During the progress of that terrible battle, resembling the encounter in days of old between the celestials and the Asuras, king Yudhishthira the Just, addressing his warriors, said, Putting forth all your vigour, rush, ye great car-warriors, against the Pot-born! Yonder the heroic son of Prishata is engaged with Drona! He is endeavouring to the utmost of his might, to slay the son of Bharadwaja. Judging from the aspect he is presenting in this great battle, it is evident that filled with rage, he will today overthrow Drona. Uniting together, all of you fight with the Pot-born.' Thus ordered by Yudhishthira, the mighty car-warriors of the Srinjayas all rushed with great vigour to slay the son of Bharadwaja. That mighty car-warrior, viz., Bharadwaja's son, quickly rushed against those advancing warriors, knowing for certain that he would die. When Drona, of sure aim, thus proceeded, the earth trembled violently. Fierce winds began to blow, inspiring the (hostile) ranks with fear. Large meteors fell, seemingly issuing out of the sun, blazing fiercely as they fell and foreboding great terrors. The weapons of Drona, O sire, seemed to blaze forth. Cars seemed to produce loud rattles, and steeds to shed tears. The mighty car-warrior, Drona, seemed to be divested of his energy, His left eye and left hand began to twitch. Beholding Prishata's son, again, before him, and bearing in mind the words of the Rishis about his leaving the world for heaven, he became cheerless. He then desired to give up life by fighting fairly. Encompassed on all sides by the troops of Drupada's son, Drona began to career in battle, consuming large numbers of Kshatriyas. That grinder of foes, having slain four and twenty thousand Kshatriyas, then despatched to Yama's abode ten times ten thousand, by means of his shafts of keen points. Exerting himself with care, he seemed to stand in that battle like a smokeless fire. For the extermination of the Kshatriya race, he then had recourse to the Brahma weapon. Then the mighty Bhima, beholding the illustrious and irresistible prince of the Panchalas carless and weaponless, quickly proceeded towards him. Beholding him striking at Drona from a near point, that grinder of foes took up Dhrishtadyumna on his own car and said unto him, 'Save thee there is no other man that can venture to fight with the preceptor. Be quick to slay him. The burden of his slaughter rests upon thee.' Thus addressed by Bhima, the mighty-armed Dhrishtadyumna speedily took up a strong, a new and a superb bow capable of bearing a great strain. Filled with rage, and shooting his arrows in that battle at the irresistible Drona, Dhrishtadyumna covered the preceptor, desirous of withstanding him. Those two ornaments of battle then, both foremost of fighters and both filled with rage, invoked into existence the Brahma and diverse other celestial weapons. Indeed, O king, Dhrishtadyumna covered Drona with many mighty weapons in that encounter. Destroying all the weapons of Bharadwaja's son, the Panchala prince, that warrior of unfading glory, began to slay the Vasatis, the Sivis, the Valhikas and the Kurus, that is, them, who protected Drona in that battle. Indeed, O king, shooting showers of arrows on all sides, Dhrishtadyumna at that time looked resplendent like the sun himself shedding his thousands of rays. Drona, however, once more cut off the prince's bow and pierced the vitals of the prince himself with many arrows. Thus pierced, the prince felt great pain. Then Bhima, of great wrath, holding the car of Drona, O monarch, slowly said these words unto him: If wretches amongst Brahmanas, discontented with the avocations of their own order, but well-versed in arms, did not fight, the Kshatriya order then would not have been thus exterminated. Abstention from injury to all creatures hath been said to be the highest of all virtues. The Brahmana is the root of that virtue. As regards thyself, again, thou art the foremost of all persons acquainted with Brahma. Slaying all those Mlecchas and other warriors, who, however, are all engaged in the proper avocations of their order, moved thereto by ignorance and folly, O Brahmana, and by the desire of wealth for benefiting sons and wives; indeed, for the sake of an only son, why dost thou not feel ashamed? He for whom thou hast taken up weapons, and for whom thou livest, he, deprived of life, lieth today on the field of battle, unknown to thee and behind thy back. King Yudhishthira the Just hath told thee this. It behoveth thee not to doubt this fact.' Thus addressed by Bhima, Drona laid aside his bow. Desirous of laying aside all his weapons also, Bharadwaja's son of virtuous soul said aloud, 'O Karna, Karna, O great bowman, O Kripa, O Duryodhana, I tell you repeatedly, exert yourselves carefully in battle. Let no injury happen to you from the Pandayas. As regards myself, I lay aside my weapons.' Saying these words, he began loudly to take the name of Aswatthaman. Laying aside his weapons then in that battle, and sitting down on the terrace of his car, he devoted himself to Yoga and assured all creatures, dispelling their fears. Beholding that opportunity, Dhrishtadyumna mustered all his energy. Laying down on the car his formidable bow, with arrow fixed on the bow-string, he took up a sword, and jumping down from his vehicle, rushed quickly against Drona. All creatures, human beings and others, uttered exclamation of woe, beholding Drona thus brought under Dhrishtadyumna's power. Loud cries of Oh and Alas were uttered, as also those of Oh and Fie. As regards Drona himself, abandoning his weapons, he was then in a supremely tranquil state. Having said those words he had devoted himself to Yoga. Endued with great effulgence and possessed of high ascetic merit, he had fixed his heart on that Supreme and Ancient Being, viz., Vishnu. Bending his face slightly down, and heaving his breast forward, and closing his eyes, and resting ort the quality of goodness, and disposing his heart to contemplation, and thinking on the monosyllable Om, representing. Brahma, and remembering the puissant, supreme, and indestructible God of gods, the radiant Drona or high ascetic merit, the preceptor (of the Kurus and the Pandavas) repaired to heaven that is so difficult of being attained even by the pious. Indeed, when Drona thus proceeded to heaven it seemed to us that there were then two suns in the firmament. The whole welkin was ablaze and seemed to be one vast expanse of equal light when the sun-like Bharadwaja, of solar effulgence, disappeared. Confused sounds of joy were heard, uttered by the delighted celestials. When Drona thus repaired to the region of Brahman, Dhrishtadyumna stood, unconscious of it all, beside him. Only we five amongst men beheld the high-souled Drona rapt in Yoga proceed to the highest region of blessedness. These five were myself, Dhananjaya, the son of Pritha, and Drona's son, Aswatthaman, and Vasudeva of Vrishni's race, and king Yudhishthira the Just, the son of Pandu. Nobody else, O king, could see that glory of the wise Drona, devoted to Yoga, while passing out of the world. In fact, all human beings were unconscious of the fact that the preceptor attained to the supreme region of Brahman, a region mysterious to the very gods, and one that is the highest of all. Indeed, none of them could see the preceptor, that chastiser of foes, proceed to the region of Brahman, devoted to Yoga in the company of the foremost of Rishis, his body mangled with arrows and bathed in blood, after he had laid aside his weapons. As regards Prishata's son, though everybody cried fie on him, yet casting his eyes on the lifeless Drona's head, he began to drag it. With his sword, then, he lopped off from his foe's trunk that head,--his foe remained speechless the while. Having slain Bharadwaja's son. Dhrishtadyumna was filled with great joy, and uttered leonine shouts, whirling his sword. Of a dark complexion, with white locks hanging down to his ears, that old man of five and eighty years of age, used, for thy sake only, to career on the field of battle with the activity of a youth of sixteen. The mighty-armed Dhananjaya, the son of Kunti, (before Drona's head was cut off) had said, 'O son of Drupada, bring the preceptor alive, do not slay him. He should not be slain.' Even thus all the troops also had cried out. Arjuna, in particular, melted with pity, had cried out repeatedly. Disregarding, however, the cries of Arjuna as also these of all the kings, Dhrishtadyumna stew Drona, that bull among men, on the terrace of his car. Covered with Drona's blood, Dhrishtadyumna then Jumped from the car down upon the ground. Looking red like the sun, he then seemed to be exceedingly fierce. Thy troops beheld Drona slain even thus in that battle. Then Dhrishtadyumna. that great bowman, O king, threw down that large head of Bharadwaja's son before the warriors of thy army. Thy soldiers, O monarch, beholding the head of Bharadwaja's son, set their hearts on flight and ran away in all directions. Meanwhile Drona, ascending the skies, entered the stellar path. Through the grace of the Rishis Krishna (Dwaipayana), the son of Satyavati, I witnessed, O king, the (true circumstances about the) death of Drona. I beheld that illustrious one proceeding, after he had ascended the sky, like a smokeless brand of blazing splendour. Upon the fall of Drona, the Kurus, the Pandavas and the Srinjayas, all became cheerless and ran away with great speed. The army then broke up. Many had been slain, and many wounded by means of keen shafts. Thy warriors (in particular), upon the fall of Drona, seemed to be deprived of life. Having sustained a defeat, and being inspired with fear about the future, the Kurus regarded themselves deprived of both the worlds. Indeed, they lost all self-control. [Deprived of both the worlds, having sustained a defeat, they lost this world, and flying away from the field, they committed a sin and lost the next world.] Searching for the body of Bharadwaja's, son, O monarch, on the field covered with thousands of headless trunks, the kings could not find it. The Pandavas, having gained the victory and great prospects of renown in the future, began to make loud sounds with their arrows and conchs and uttered loud leonine roars. Then Bhimasena, O king, and Dhrishtadyumna, the son of Prishata, were seen in the midst of the (Pandava) host to embrace each other. Addressing the son of Prishata, that scorcher of foes, viz., Bhima said, 'I will again embrace thee, O son of Prishata, as one crowned with victory, when that wretch of a Suta's son shall be slain in battle, as also that other wretch, viz., Duryodhana.' Having said these words, Bhimasena, the son of Pandu, filled with transports of joy, caused the earth to tremble with slaps on his armpits. Terrified by that sound, thy troops ran away from battle, forgetting the duties of the Kshatriyas and setting their hearts on flight. The Pandavas, having become victors, became very glad, O monarch, and they felt great happiness, derived from the destruction of their foes in battle.'"

SECTION 194

"Sanjaya said, 'Upon the fall of Drona, O king, the Kurus, afflicted with weapons, deprived of their leader, broken and routed, became filled with exertion, and deprived of energy through grief. Uttering loud wails, they grief, Seeing their foes (the Pandavas) prevailing over them, they repeatedly trembled. Their eyes filled with tears, and hearts inspired with fear, they became, O king, melancholy an cheerless, and destitute of gathered round thy son. Covered with dust, trembling (with fear), casting vacant looks on all sides, and their voice choked with fear, they resembled the Daityas after the fall of Hiranyaksha in the days of yore. Surrounded by them all, as if by small animals struck with fear, thy son, unable to stay in their midst, moved away. Afflicted with hunger and thirst, and scorched by the sun, thy warriors, then, O Bharata, became exceedingly cheerless. Beholding the fall of Bharadwaja's son, which was like unto the dropping of the sun down upon the earth, or the drying up of the ocean, or the transplantation of Meru, or the defeat of Vasava, beholding that act, incapable of being quietly witnessed, the Kauravas, O king, fled away in fear,--terror lending them greater speed. The ruler of the Gandharas Sakuni, beholding Drona of the golden car slain, fled with the car-warriors of his division, with speed that was much greater. Even the Suta's son fled away in fear, taking with him his own vast division, that was retreating with great speed with all its standards. The ruler of the Madras, viz., Salya, also, casting vacant looks around, fled away in fear, taking with him his division, teeming with cars and elephants and steeds. Saradwat's son, Kripa, too, fled away, saying, 'Alas. Alas,' taking with him his division of elephants and foot-soldiers, the greater part thereof having been slain. Kritavarman, O king, also fled away, borne by his swift steeds, and surrounded by the remnant of his Bhoja, Kalinga, Aratta, and Valhika troops. Uluka, O king, beholding Drona slain, fled away with speed, afflicted with fear and accompanied by a large body of foot-soldiers. Handsome and endued with youth, and reputed for his bravery, Duhsasana, also, in great anxiety, fled away surrounded by his elephant division. Taking with him ten thousand cars and three thousand elephants, Vrishasena also fled with speed at the sight of Drona's fall. Accompanied by his elephants and horses and cars, and surrounded also by foot-soldiers, thy son, the mighty car-warrior, Duryodhana, too, fled away, O king, taking with him the remnant of the Samsaptakas whom Arjuna had not yet slaughtered. Susarman, O king, fled away, beholding Drona slain. Riding on elephants and cars and steeds, all the warriors of the Kaurava army fled away from the field, seeing Drona, of golden car, slain. Some urging their sires on, some their brothers, some their maternal uncles, some their sons, some their friends, the Kauravas fled away. Others urging on their brethren in arms or, their sisters' sons, their kinsmen, fled away on all sides. With dishevelled hair, and accoutrements loosened, all fled away in such a manner that even two persons could not be seen running together.--The Kuru army has been totally destroyed,--even this was the belief of every body. Others amongst thy troops, fled away, O king, throwing off their coats of mail. The soldiers loudly called upon one another, O bull of Bharata's race, saying,--'Wait, Wait, do not fly,' but none of them that said so themselves stood on the field. Abandoning their vehicles and cars decked with ornaments, the warriors, riding on steeds or using their legs, fled away with great speed.

"While the troops, deprived of energy, were thus flying away with speed, only Drona's son, Aswatthaman, like a huge alligator coming up against the current of a stream, rushed against his foes. A fierce battle took place between him and many warriors headed by Sikhandin and the Prabhadrakas, the Panchalas, the Chedis, and the Kaikeyas. Slaying many warriors of the Pandava army that were incapable of being defeated with ease, and escaping with difficulty from the press of battle, that hero, possessed of the tread of an infuriated elephant, saw the (Kaurava) host running away, resolved on flight. Proceeding towards Duryodhana, Drona's son, approaching the Kuru king, said, 'Why, O Bharata, are the troops flying away as if in fear? Although flying away, thus, O monarch, why dost thou not yet rally them in battle? Thyself, too, O king, dost not seem to be in thy usual frame of mind. Upon the slaughter of that lion among car-warriors, O monarch, hath thy force fallen into this plight. O Kaurava, O king, all these that are headed (even) by Karna, wait not on the field. In no battle fought before did the army fly away thus. Hath any evil befallen thy troops, O Bharata?" Hearing these words of Drona's son on that occasion, Duryodhana, that bull among kings, felt himself unable to impart the bitter intelligence. Indeed, thy son seemed to sink into an ocean of

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grief, like a foundered boat. Beholding Drona's son on his car, the king became bathed in tears. Suffused with shame, O monarch, the king then addressed Saradwat's son, saying, 'Blessed be thou, say thou, before others, why the army is thus flying away'. Then Saradwat's son, O king, repeatedly feeling great anguish, told Drona's son how his sire had been slain.'

"Kripa said, 'Placing Drona, that foremost of car-warriors, at our head, we commenced to fight with only the Panchalas. When the battle commenced, the Kurus and the Somakas, mingled together, roared at one another and began to strike down one another with their weapons. During the progress of that battle the Dhartarashtras began to be thinned. Seeing this, thy sire, filled with rage, invoked into existence a celestial weapon. Indeed, Drona, that bull among men, having invoked the Brahma weapon, slew his enemies with broad-headed arrows, by hundreds, and thousands. [Celestial weapons were invoked with mantras. They were forces which created all sorts of tangible weapons that the invoked desired. Here the Brahma weapon took the form of broad-headed arrows.] Urged by fate, the Pandavas, the Kaikeyas, the Matsyas, and the Panchalas, O foremast of regenerate ones, approaching Drona's car, began to perish. With his Brahma weapon, Drona despatched unto Yama's abode a thousand brave warriors and two thousand elephants. Of a dark complexion, with his gray locks hanging down to his ears, and full five and eighty years old, the aged Drona used to careen in battle like a youth of sixteen, When the enemy's troops were thus afflicted and the kings were being slain, the Panchalas, though filled with desire of revenge, turned back from the fight. When the enemy, turning back, partially lost their order, that vanquisher of foes, (viz., Drona), invoking celestial weapons into the existence, shone resplendent like the risen sun. Indeed, thy valiant sire, getting into the midst of the Pandavas, and having arrows for the rays that emanated from him, resembled the midday sun at whom none could gaze. Scorched by Drona, as if by the blazing sun, they became cheerless and deprived of their energy and senses. Beholding them thus afflicted by Drona with his shafts, the slayer of Madhu, desirous of victory to the son of Pandu, said these words: 'Truly, this foremost of all wielders of arms, this leader of the leaders is incapable of being vanquished in battle by the slayer of Vritra himself. Ye sons of Pandu, laying aside righteousness, take care of victory, so that Drona of the golden car may not slay all of you in battle. I think he will not fight after the fall of Aswatthaman. Let some man falsely tell him that Aswatthaman has been slain in battle.' Hearing these words Kunti's son, Dhananjaya, approved them not. The advice, however, met with the approval of all others, and even of Yudhishthira with some difficulty. Then, Bhimasena, with a tinge of bashfulness, said unto thy sire, 'Aswatthaman hath been slain.' Thy sire, however, did not believe him. Suspecting the intelligence to be false, thy father, so affectionate towards thee, enquired of Yudhishthira as to whether thou wert really dead or not. Afflicted with the fear of a lie, solicitous at the same time of victory, Yudhishthira, beholding a mighty elephant, huge as a hill and called Aswatthaman, belonging to the Malava chief, Indravarman, slain on the field by Bhima, approached Drona and answered him, saying, 'He for whom thou wieldest weapons, he, looking upon whom thou livest that ever dear son of thine, viz., Aswatthaman, hath been slain, Deprived of life he lieth on the bare ground like a young lion.' Aware fully of the evil consequences of falsehood, the king spoke those words unto that best of Brahmans, indistinctly adding elephant (after Aswatthaman). Hearing of the fall of his son, he began to wail aloud, afflicted with grief, Restraining (the force of) his celestial weapons, he fought not as before. Beholding him filled with anxiety, and almost deprived of his senses by grief, the son of the Panchala king, of cruel deeds, rushed towards him. Seeing the prince who had been ordained as his slayer, Drona, verse in all truths about men and things, abandoned all his celestial weapons and sat in Praya on the field of battle. Then Prishata's son, seizing Drona's head with his left hand and disregarding the loud admonitions of all the heroes, cut off that head.' Drona should not be slain, even these were the words uttered from every side. Similarly, Arjuna also, jumping down from his car, quickly ran towards Prishata's son, with arms upraised and repeatedly saying, 'O thou that art acquainted with the ways of morality, do not slay the preceptor but bring him alive.' Though thus forbidden by the Kauravas as also by Arjuna, Dhrishtadyumna killed thy father. For this, afflicted with fear, the troops are all flying away. Ourselves also, for the same reason, in great cheerlessness, O sinless one, are doing the same.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Hearing of the slaughter of his sire in battle, Drona's son, like a snake struck with the foot, became filled with fierce wrath. And filled with rage, O sire, Aswatthaman blazed up in that battle like a fire fed with a large quantity of fuel. As he squeezed his hands and ground his teeth, and breathed like a snake, his eyes became red as blood.'"

SECTION 195

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Hearing, O Sanjaya, of the slaughter, by unrighteous means, of his aged sire, by Dhrishtadyumna, what, did the valiant Aswatthaman say, he, that is, in whom human and Varuna and Agneya and Brahma and Aindra and Narayana weapons are always present? Indeed, learning that the preceptor, that foremost of virtuous men, had been unrighteously slain by Dhrishtadyumna in battle, what did Aswatthaman say? The high-souled Drona, having obtained the science of weapons from Rama have imparted (a knowledge of) all the celestial weapons unto his son desirous of seeing the latter adorned with all the accomplishments (of a warrior). There is only one person in this world, viz., the son, and none else, whom people desire to become superior to themselves. All high-souled preceptors have this characteristic, viz., that they impart all the mysteries of their science unto either sons or devoted disciples. Becoming his sire's pupil. O Sanjaya, and obtaining all those mysteries with every detail, the son of Saradwat's daughter has become a second Drona, and a great hero. Aswatthaman is equal to Karna in knowledge of weapons, to Purandara in battle, to Kartavirya in energy, and Vrihaspati in wisdom. In fortitude, that youth is equal to a mountain, and in energy to fire. In gravity, he is equal to an ocean, and in wrath, to the poison of the snake. He is the foremost of all car-warriors in battle, a firm bowman, and above all fatigue. In speed he is equal to the wind itself and he careens in the thick of fight like Yama in rage. While his engaged in shooting arrows in battle, the very earth becomes afflicted. Of prowess incapable of being baffled, hero is never fatigued by exertions. Purified by the Vedas and by vows, he is a thorough master of the science of arms, like Rama, the son of Dasharatha. He is like the ocean, incapable of being agitated. Hearing that the preceptor, that foremost of righteous persons, had been unrighteously slain in battle by Dhrishtadyumna, what, indeed, did Aswatthaman say? Aswatthaman hath been ordained to be the slayer of Dhrishtadyumna, even as Yajnasena's son, the prince of the Panchalas, was ordained to be the slayer of Drona. What, Oh, did Aswatthaman say, hearing that his sire, the preceptor, had been slain by the cruel, sinful, and mean Dhrishtadyumna of little foresight?'"

SECTION 196

"Sanjaya said.. 'Hearing of the slaughter of his sire by Dhrishtadyumna, of sinful deeds, Drona's son was filled with grief and rage, O bull among men. Filled with rage, O king, his body seems to blaze forth like that of the Destroyer while engaged in slaughtering creatures at the end of Yuga. Repeatedly wiping his tearful eyes, and breathing hot sighs in rage, he said unto Duryodhana, I have now learnt how my sire has been slain by those low wretches after he laid aside his weapons, and how also has a sinful act been perpetrated by Yudhishthira disguised in the grab of virtue! [Dharmadhwajin literally means a person bearing the standard of virtue, hence, hypocrite, sanctimoniously talking only virtue and morality but acting differently.] I have now heard of that unrighteous and exceedingly cruel act of Dharma's son. Indeed, to those engaged in battle, either of the two things must happen, viz., victory or defeat. Death in battle is always to be applauded. That death, in battle, of a person engaged in fight, which takes place under circumstances of righteousness, is not deserving of grief, as has been observed by the sages. Without doubt, my sire has gone to the region of heroes. He having met with such a death, I should not grieve for him. The humiliation, however, of a seizure of his locks, that he sustained in the very sight of all the troops, while he was righteously engaged in battle, is tearing the very core of my heart. Myself alive, my sire's locks were seized, why should sonless people then entertain a desire of offspring? People perpetrate unrighteous acts or humiliate others, moved by lust or wrath or folly or hatred or levity. The cruel and wicked-souled son of Prishata hath perpetrated this exceedingly sinful act in total disregard of me Dhrishtadyumna, therefore, shall surely suffer the dreadful consequence of that act, as also the false-speeched son of Pandu, that has acted so wrongly. Today, the earth shall certainly drink the blood of that king Yudhishthira the Just, who caused the preceptor, by an act of deceit to lay aside his weapons. I swear by truth, O Kauraveya, as also by my religious acts, that I shall never bear the burden of life if I fail to exterminate the Panchalas. By every means I contend with the Panchalas in dreadful strife. I shall certainly slay in battle Dhrishtadyumna, that perpetrator of unrighteous deeds. Mild or violent, let the means be what they will, I shall effect the destruction of all the Panchalas before peace becomes mine. O Kaurava! O tiger among men, persons desire children so that obtaining them they may be rescued from great fears both here and hereafter. My sire, however, fell unto that plight, like a friendless creature, although myself am alive, his disciple and son, resembling a mountain (in might). Fie on my celestial weapons. Fie on my arms. Fie on my prowess. Since Drona, although he had a son in me, had his locks seized! I shall, therefore, O chief of the Bharatas, now achieve that by which I may be freed from the debt I owe to my sire, now gone to the other world. He that is good never indulges in self-praise. Unable, however, to brook the slaughter of my sire, I speak of my prowess. Let the Pandavas, with Janardana among them, behold my energy today, while I grind all their troops, achieving what is done (by the destroyer himself) at the end of the Yuga. Neither the gods, nor the Gandharvas, nor the Asuras, the Uragas, and the Rakshasas, nor all the foremost of men, shall today be able to vanquish me on my car in battle. There is none in the world equal to me or Arjuna in knowledge of weapons. Entering into the midst of the troops, like the sun himself in the midst of his blazing rays, I shall today use my celestial weapons. Today, applied by me, innumerable shafts, sped from my bow in dreadful battle, displaying their terrible energy, I shall grind the Pandavas. Today, all the points of the compass, O king will be seen by the warriors of our army shrouded with my winged arrows of keen points, as if with torrents of rain. Scattering showers of shafts on all sides with a loud noise, I shall overthrow my foes, like a tempest felling trees. Neither Vibhatsu, nor Janardana, nor Bhimasena, nor Nakula, nor Sahadeva, nor king Yudhishthira, nor Prishata's wicked-souled son (Dhrishtadyumna), nor Sikhandin, nor Satyaki, O Kauravya, knoweth that weapon which I have, along with the mantras, for hurting and withdrawing it. Formerly on one occasion, Narayana, assuming the from of a Brahmana, came to my father. Bowing unto him, my father presented his offerings unto him in due form. Taking them himself, the divine Lord offered to give him a boon. My father then solicited that supreme weapon called Narayana. The divine Lord, the foremost of all gods, addressing my sire, said, No man shall ever become thy equal in battle. This weapon, however, O Brahmana, should never be used in haste. It never comes back without effecting the destruction of the foe. I know none whom it may not slay, O lord! Indeed, It would slay even the unslayable. Therefore, it should not be used (without the greatest deliberation). This mighty weapon, O scorcher of foes, should never be hurled upon persons that abandon their cars or weapons in battle, or upon those that seek for quarter or those that wield themselves up. He who seeketh to afflict in battle the unslayable with it, is himself exceedingly afflicted by it!'--My sire thus received that weapon. Then Lord Narayana, addressing myself also, said, 'With the aid of this weapon, thou too shalt pour diverse showers of celestial weapons in battle and blaze with energy in consequence of it. Having said these words, the divine Lord ascended to heaven. Even this is the history of the Narayana weapon which has been obtained by my sire's son. With that I will rout and slay the Pandavas, the Panchalas, the Matsyas, and the Kaikeyas, in battle, like Sachi's lord routing and slaying the Asuras. My shafts, O Bharata, will fall upon the contending foes, in those particular forms which I shall wish them to assume. Staying in battle, I will pour showers of weapons as I desire. I will rout and slay all the foremost of car warriors with sky-ranging arrows of iron-points. Without doubt, I will shower innumerable battle-axes upon the foe. With the mighty Narayana weapon, a scorcher of foes that I am, I will destroy the Pandavas, causing an immense carnage amongst them. That wretch amongst the Panchalas, (viz., Dhrishtadyumna), who is an injurer of friends and Brahmanas and of his own preceptor, who is a deceitful wretch of the most reprehensible conduct, shall never escape from me today with life.' Hearing these words of Drona's son, the (Kuru) army rallied. Then many foremost of men blew their gigantic conchs. And filled with delight, they beat their drums and dindimas by thousands. The earth resounded with loud noises, afflicted with the hoofs of steeds and the wheels of cars. That loud uproar made the earth, and the firmament also echo with it. Hearing that uproar, deep as the roll of the clouds, the Pandavas, those foremost of car-warriors, uniting together, took counsel of one another. Meanwhile, Drona's son, having said those words, O Bharata, touched water and invoked the celestial weapon called the Narayana.'"

SECTION 197

"Sanjaya said, 'When the weapon called Narayana was invoked, violent winds began to blow with showers of rain, and peals of thunder were heard although the sky was cloudless. The earth trembled, and the seas swelled up in agitation. The rivers began to run in a contrary course. The summits of mountains, O Bharata, began to split. Diverse animals began to pass by the left side of the Pandavas. [Literally, "the animals kept the Pandavas to their right."] Darkness set in, the sun became obscure. Diverse kinds of carnivorous creatures began to alight on the field in joy. The gods, the Danavas, and the Gandharvas, O monarch, all became inspired with fear. Beholding that tremendous agitation (in nature), all began to ask one another loudly about its cause. Indeed, seeing that fierce and terrible weapon invoked by Drona's son, all the kings, inspired with fear, felt great pain.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Tell me, O Sanjaya, what counsel was adopted by the Pandavas for the protection of Dhrishtadyumna when they saw the Kauravas once more

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advance to battle, rallied by Drona's son who was scorched by grief and unable to brook the slaughter of his sire?'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Having behold before the Dhartarashtras fly away, Yudhishthira, seeing them once more prepared for furious battle, addressed Arjuna, saying, 'After the preceptor Drona had been slain in battle by Dhrishtadyumna, like the mighty Asura, Vritra, by the wielder of the thunderbolt, (the Kurus), O Dhananjaya, becoming cheerless, gave up all hopes of victory. Desirous of saving themselves, all of them fled away from battle. Some kings fled, riding on cars borne along irregular course without Parshni drivers, and divested of standards and banners and umbrellas, and with their Kuvaras and boxes broken, and all their equipments displaced. Others, struck with panic and deprived of their senses, themselves striking the steeds of their cars with their feet, fled precipitately. Others, riding on cars with broken yokes and wheels and Akshas, fled afflicted with fear. Others on horseback were carried away, their bodies half displaced from their saddles. Others, dislodged from their seats, and pinned by shafts to the necks of elephants, were quickly carried away by those animals. Others wore trodden to death all around by elephants, afflicted and mangled with arrows. Others, deprived of weapons and divested of armour, fell from their vehicles and animal down upon the earth. Others were cut by car-wheels, or crushed by steeds and elephants. Others loudly calling after their sires and sons, fled away in fear, without recognising one another, deprived of all energy by grief. Some, placing their sons and sires and friends and brothers (on vehicles) and taking off their armour, were seen washing them with water. After the slaughter of Drona, (the Kuru) army, fallen into such a plight, fled away precipitously. By whom then hath it been rallied? Tell me, if thou knowest. The sound of neighing steeds and trumpeting elephants, mingled with the clatter of car-wheels, is heard loud. These sounds, so fierce, occuring in the Kuru ocean, are repeatedly swelling up and causing my troops to tremble. This terrific uproar, making the hair stand on end, that is now heard, would, it seems, swallow the three worlds with Indra at their head. I think this terrible uproar is uttered by the wielder of the thunderbolt himself. It is evident that upon the fall of Drona, Vasava himself is approaching (against us) for the sake of the Kauravas. Our hairs have stood on their ends, our foremost of car-warriors are all afflicted with anxiety. O Dhanaujaya, hearing this loud and terrible noise, I ask thee who is that mighty car-warrior, like the lord of the celestials himself, that rallying this terrible and swelling host, is causing it to return?'

"Arjuna said, 'He, relying upon whose energy the Kauravas, having addressed themselves to the accomplishment of fierce feats, are blowing their conchs and staying with patience, he about whom thou hast thy doubts. O king, as to who he may be that is roaring so loud, having rallied the Dhartarashtras after the fall of the disarmed preceptor, he, who is endued with modesty, possessed of mighty arms, has the tread of an infuriated elephant, owns a face like that of a tiger, always achieves fierce feats, and dispels the fears of the Kurus, he upon whose birth Drona gave away a thousand kine unto Brahmanas of high worth, he O king, that is roaring so loud, is Aswatthaman. As soon as he was born, that hero neighed like Indra's steed and caused the three worlds to tremble at that sound. Hearing that sound, an invisible being, O lord, (speaking audibly) bestowed upon him the name of Aswatthaman (the horse-voiced). That hero, O son of Pandu, is roaring today. Prishata's son, by an exceedingly cruel act, assailed Drona and took his life as if the latter was without a preceptor. Yonder stayeth the preceptor of that Drona. Since of the prince of the Panchalas seized my preceptor by the hair, Aswatthaman, confident of his own prowess, will never forgive him. Thou, O monarch, hath told thy preceptor a falsehood for the sake of kingdom! Although thou art acquainted with the dictates of righteousness, thou hast yet perpetrated a very sinful act. Thy ill fame, in consequence of the slaughter of Drona, will be eternal in the three worlds with their mobile and immobile creatures, like Rama's in consequence of the slaughter of Bali! [Dasaratha's son Rama, during his exile, slew the monkey-chief Bali, the brother of Sugriva, while Bali was engaged with Sugriva in battle. Bali had not done any injury to Rama. That act has always been regarded as a stain on Rama.] About thyself, Drona had thought, 'The son of Pandu is possessed of every virtue; he is, besides, my disciple. He will never speak an untruth to me.' Thinking so, he gave credence to what thou hadst said. Although in speaking of Aswatthaman's death thou hadst added the world elephant, yet thy answer to the preceptor was, after all, an untruth in the garb of truth. Thus told by thee, the puissant Drona laid aside his weapons and, as thou sawest, became indifferent (to everything), exceedingly agitated, and almost deprived of his senses. It was even a disciple who, abandoning all morality, thus slew his own preceptor, full of affection for his son, while, indeed, that preceptor was filled with grief and unwilling to fight. Having caused him, who had laid his weapons to be unrighteously slain, protect the son of Prishata if thou canst, with all thy counsellors. All of us, uniting together, shall not be able to protect Prishata's son today, who will be assailed by the preceptor's son in wrath and grief. That superhuman being who is in that habit of displaying his friendship for all creatures, that hero, hearing of the seizure of his sire's locks, will certainly consume us all in battle today. Although I cried repeatedly at the top of my voice for saving the preceptor's life, yet, disregarding my cries and abandoning mortality, a disciple took the life of that preceptor. All of us have passed the greater part of our lives. The days that remain to us are limited. This exceedingly unrighteous act that we have perpetrated has stained that remnant. In consequence of the affection he bore to us, he was a sire unto us. According to the dictates of the scriptures also, he was a sire unto us. Yet he, that preceptor of ours, has been slain by us for the sake of short-lived sovereignty. Dhritarashtra, O king, had given unto Bhishma and Drona the whole earth, and what was still more valuable, all his children. Though honoured by our foe thus, and though he had obtained such wealth from him, the preceptor still loved us as his own children. Of unfading energy and prowess, the preceptor has been slain, only because, induced by thy words he had laid aside his weapons. While engaged in fight he was incapable of being slain by Indra himself. The preceptor was venerable in years and always devoted to our welfare. Yet unrighteous that we are, and stained with a levity of behaviour, we scrupled not to injure him. Alas, exceedingly cruel and very heinous has been the sin that we have committed, for, moved by the desire of enjoying the pleasures of sovereignty, we have slain that Drona. My preceptor had all along been under the impression that in consequence of my love for him, I could, (for his sake) abandon all,--sire, brother, children, wife and life itself. And yet moved by the desire of sovereignty, I interfered not when he was about to be slain. For this fault, O king, I have, O lord, already sunk into hell, overcome with shame. Having, for the sake of kingdom, caused the slaughter of one who was a Brahmana, who was venerable in years, who was my preceptor, who had laid aside his weapons, and who was then devoted, like a great ascetic, to Yoga, death has become preferable to me to life!'

SECTION 198

"Sanjaya said, 'Hearing these words of Arjuna, the mighty car-warriors present there said not a single word, O monarch, agreeable or disagreeable, unto Dhananjaya. Then the mighty-armed Bhimasena, filled with wrath, O bull of Bharata's race, reproaching Kunti's son, Arjuna, said these words, 'Thou preachest truths of morality like an anchorite living in the woods or a Brahmana of rigid vows and senses under complete control. A person is called a Kshatriya because he rescues others from wounds and injuries. Being such, he must save himself from wounds and injuries. Showing forgiveness towards the three that are good (viz., the gods, the Brahmanas, and preceptor), a Kshatriya, by doing his duties, soon wins the earth as also piety and fame and prosperity. Thou, O perpetuator of thy race, art endued with every attribute of a Kshatriya. It does not, therefore, look well for thee to speak like an ignorant wight. O son of Kunti, thy prowess is like that of Sakra himself, the lord of Sachi. Thou dost not transgress the bounds of morality like the ocean that never transgresses its continents. Who is there that would not worship thee, seeing that thou seekest virtue, having abandoned the wrath cherished by thee for thirteen years? By good luck, O sire, thy heart today followeth in the wake of virtue. O thou of unfading glory, by good luck, thy understanding inclineth towards compassion. Though, however, thou art inclined to adopt the path of virtue, thy kingdom was snatched from thee most unrighteously. Dragging the wife Draupadi to the assembly, thy foes insulted her. Clad in barks of trees and skins of animals, all of us were exiled to the woods, and though we were undeserving of that plight, our foes nevertheless compelled us to endure it for thirteen years. O sinless one, thou hast forgiven all these circumstances, every one of which demands the exhibition of wrath. Wedded as thou art to duties of a Kshatriya, thou hast quietly borne these. Remembering all those acts of unrighteousness, I came here with thee for avenging myself of them. (When, however, I see that thou art so indifferent, why), I myself will slay those low wretches that despoiled us of our kingdom. Thou hadst formerly said these words, viz., Addressing ourselves to battle, we will exert to the utmost extent of our abilities. Today, however, thou reproachest us. Thou now seekest, virtue. Those words, therefore, that thou saidst formerly were untrue. We are already afflicted with fear. Thou cuttest, however, the very core of our hearts with these thy words, O crusher of foes, like one pouring acid upon the sores of wounded men. Afflicted with thy wordy darts, my heart is breaking. Thou art virtuous, but thou dost not know in what righteousness truly consists, since thou applaudest neither thyself nor us, though all of us are worthy of applause. When Kesava himself is here, praisest thou the son of Drona, a warrior that does not come up to even a sixteenth part of thyself, O Dhanajaya, confessing thy own faults, why dost thou not feel shame? I can rend asunder this earth in rage, or split the very mountains in whirling that terrible and heavy mace of mine, decked with gold. Like the tempest, I can break down gigantic trees looking like hills. I can, with my arrows, rout the united celestials with Indra at their head, together with all the Rakshasas, O Partha, and the Asuras, the Uragas and human beings. Knowing me, thy brother, to be such, O bull among men, it behoveth thee not, O thou of immeasurable prowess, to entertain any fear about Drona's son. Or, O Vibhatsu, stand thou here, with all these bulls amongst men. Alone and unsupported, I shall, armed with my mace, vanquish this one in great battle.' After Bhima had ended, the son of the Panchala king, addressing Partha, said these words, like Hiranyakasipu (the leader of the Daityas) unto the enraged and roaring Vishnu, 'O Vibhatsu, the sages have ordained these to be the duties of Brahmanas, viz., assisting at sacrifices, teaching, giving away, performance of sacrifices, receiving of gifts, and study as the sixth. To which of these six was that Drona devoted who has been stain by me? Fallen off from the duties of his own order and practising those of the Kshatriya order, that achiever of wicked deeds used to stay us by means of superhuman weapons. Professing himself to be a Brahmana, he was in the habit of using irresistible illusion. By an illusion itself hath he been slain today. O Partha, what is there that is improper in this? Drona having been thus punished by me, if his son, from rage, uttereth loud roars, what do you lose by that? I do not think it at all wonderful that Drona's son, urging the Kauravas to battle, will cause them to be slain, unable to protect them himself. Thou art acquainted with morality. Why then dost thou say that I am a slayer of my preceptor? It was for this that I was born as a son to the king of the Panchalas, having sprung from the (sacrificial) fire. How, O Dhananjaya, you call him a Brahmana or Kshatriya, with whom, while engaged in battle, all acts, proper and improper, were the same? O foremost of men, why should not he be slain, by any means in our power, who, deprived of his senses in wrath, used to slay with the Brahma weapons even those that were unacquainted with weapons? He that is unrighteous is said by those that are righteous to be equal to poison. Knowing this, O thou that art well versed with the truths of morality, why dost thou, O Arjuna, reproach me? That cruel car-warrior was seized and slain by me. I have done nothing that is worthy of reproach. Why then, O Vibhatsu, dost thou not congratulate me? O Partha, I have cut off that terrible head, like unto the blazing sun or virulent poison or the all-destroying Yuga fire, of Drona. Why then dost thou not applaud an act that is worthy of applause? He had slain in battle only my kinsmen and not those of any one else. I say that having only cut off his head, the fever of my heart hath not abated. The very core of my heart is being pierced for my not having thrown that head within the dominion of the Nishadas*, like that of Jayadratha! [* The Nishadas were, and to this day are, the lowest caste in India. [That the Nishadas represent the lowest caste could indicate that they were newcomers in comparison to the other castes in India. The Shanti Parva of the Mahabharata describes the Nishadas having dark skin colour similar to that of charred wood, black hair, blood red-coloured eyes, and short limbs. The later texts such as the Vishnu Purana and the Vayu Purana also emphasise the dark skin colour of the Nishadas. The Bhagavata Purana mentions the Nishadas as having copper-coloured hair, high cheekbones, and low-tipped nose. Those descriptions seem to match the physiognomy of Aborigines in Australia, natives from the Andaman Islands or other Austronesians, as well as eastern Africans.] It hath been heard, O Arjuna, that one incurreth sin by not slaying his foes. Even this is the duty of a Kshatriya, viz., to slay or be slain. Drona was my foe. He hath been righteously slain by me in battle, O son of Pandu, even as thou hast slain the brave Bhagadatta, thy friend. Having slain thy grandsire in battle, thou regardest that act to be righteous. Why then shouldst thou regard it unrighteous in me for my having slain my wretched foe? In consequence of our relationship, O Partha, I cannot raise my head in thy presence and am like a prostrate elephant with a ladder against his body (for helping puny creatures to get on his back). It, therefore, behoveth thee not to reproach me. I forgive all the faults of thy speech, O Arjuna, for the sake of Draupadi and Draupadi's children and not for any other reason. It is well known that my hostility with the preceptor has descended from sire to son. All persons in this world know it. Ye sons of Pandu, are ye not acquainted with it? The eldest son of Pandu hath not been untruthful in speech. I myself, O Arjuna, am not sinful. The wretched Drona was a hater of his disciples. Fight now. Victory will be thine.'"

SECTION 199

"Dhritarashtra said, 'That illustrious person who had duly studied the Vedas with all their branches, he, in whom the entire science of arms and modesty had dwelt, he through whose grace many foremost of men are still capable of achieving superhuman feats which the very gods cannot achieve with care, alas, when he, viz., that Drona, that son of a great Rishi was insulted in the sight of all by the low, wicked, mean minded and sinful Dhrishtadyumna, that slayer of his own preceptor, was there no Kshatriya who felt called

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upon to display his wrath? Fie on the Kshatriya order, and fie on wrath itself! Tell me, O Sanjaya, what the sons of Pritha, as also all the other royal bowmen in the world, hearing of Drona's slaughter, said unto the prince of Panchala.'

"Sanjaya said, 'Hearing these words of Drupada's son, of crooked deeds, all the persons present there, O monarch, remained perfectly silent. Arjuna, however, casting oblique glances upon Prishata's son, seemed, with tears and sighs, to reproach him, saying, 'Fie, fie.' Yudhishthira and Bhima and the twins and Krishna and the others stood bashfully. Satyaki, however, O king, said these words, 'Is there no man here that would, without delay, slay this sinful wight, this lowest of men, who is uttering such evil speeches? The Pandavas are all condemning thee for this sinful act of thine, like Brahmanas condemning a person of the Chandala class. Having committed such a heinous act, having incurred the censures of all honest men, art thou not ashamed to open thy lips in the midst of such a respectable assembly? O despicable wretch, why did not thy tongue and head split into a hundred fragments while thou wert about to slay thy own preceptor? Why wert thou not struck down by that act of sin? Since, having perpetrated such a sinful act, again applauding thyself in the midst of human beings, thou incurrest the censures of the Parthas and all the Andhakas and the Vrishnis. Having perpetrated such an atrocious act, thou art again displaying such hatred towards the preceptor. For this thou deservest death at our hands. There is no use in keeping thee alive for even a single moment. Who is there, save thee, O wretch, that would cause the death of the virtuous preceptor, seizing him by his locks? Having obtained thee, O wretch, thy ancestors, for seven generations and thy descendants also for seven generations, deprived of fame, have sunk into hell, Thou hast charged Partha, that bull among men, with the slaughter of Bhishma. The latter, however, viz., that illustrious personage, himself accomplished his own death. Truly speaking, the uterine brother, (viz., Sikhandin), that foremost of all sinners, was the cause of Bhishma's death. There is none in the world that is more sinful than the sons of the Panchala king. Thy father had created Sikhandin for the destruction of Bhishma. As regards Arjuna, he had only, protected Sikhandin while Sikhandin became the cause of the illustrious Bhishma's death. Having got thee that is condemned by all righteous men, and thy brother, amongst them, the Panchalas have fallen off from righteousness, and stained with meanness, have become haters of friends and preceptors. If thou again speakest such words in my presence, I shall then break with this mace of mine that is as strong as the thunderbolt. Beholding thee that art the slayer of a Brahmana, since thou art guilty of nothing less than the slaughter of a Brahmana., people have to look at the sun for purifying themselves. Thou wretch of a Panchala, O thou of wicked conduct, speaking all of my preceptor first and then of my preceptor's preceptor, art thou not ashamed? Wait, wait! Bear thou but one stroke of this my mace! I myself will bear many strokes of thine.' Thus rebuked by the Satwata hero, Prishata's son, filled with rage, smilingly addressed the angry Satyaki in these harsh words.'

"Dhrishtadyumna said, 'I have heard thy words, O thou of Madhu's race, but I have forgiven thee. Being thyself unrighteous and sinful, desirest thou to rebuke them that are righteous and honest? Forgiveness is applauded in the world. Sin, however, does not deserve forgiveness. He that is of sinful soul regards the forgiving person powerless. Thou art a wretch in thy behaviour. Thou art of sinful soul. Thou art wedded to unrighteousness. Thou art censurable in every respect, from the tip of thy toe to the end of their hair. Desirest thou still to speak ill of others? What can be more sinful than that act of thine, viz., thy slaughter of the armless Bhurisravas while sitting in Praya, although thou wert with the aid of celestial weapons. He had laid aside his weapons and I slew him. O thou of crooked heart, what is there in that act that is improper? How can he, O Satyaki, blame such an act who himself has in Praya like an ascetic, and whose arms had been cut off by another? That valiant enemy of thine had displayed his prowess having struck thee with his foot and thrown thee down on the earth. Why didst thou not then slay him, showing thy manliness? When Partha, however, had already vanquished him, it was then that thou, acting most unrighteously, didst kill the brave and valiant Somadatta's son. When Drona had sought to rout the forces of the Pandavas, then I proceeded, shooting thousands of arrows. Having thyself acted in such a way, like a Chandala, and having thyself become worthy of reproach, desirest thou to reproach me in such harsh words? Thou art a perpetrator of evil deeds, and not I, O wretch the Vrishni race! Thou art the abode of all sinful deeds. Do not again blame me. Be silent. It behoveth thee. Don't say anything unto me after this. This is the reply I give thee with my lips. Don't say anything more. If, from folly, thou repeatest such harsh words, I shall then, in battle, despatch thee, with my arrows, to Yama's abode. By righteousness alone, O fool, one cannot vanquish his enemies. Listen now to the unrighteous acts of the Kurus also. Pandu's son, Yudhishthira was some time back unrighteously deceived by them. O Satyaki, Draupadi also was persecuted by them unrighteously. The Pandavas, with Krishna in their company, were also exiled and they were robbed of their all, O fool, most unrighteously. By an act of unrighteousness, again, has the ruler of the Madras been withdrawn from us by the enemy. By an act of unrighteousness also was the son of Subhadra slain. On this side, it was by an act of unrighteousness that Bhishma, the Kuru grandsire, was slain. Bhurisravas, too, was, by an act of unrighteousness, slain by thee that art so acquainted with righteousness. Even thus have the enemy, as also the Pandavas, acted in this battle. Possessed of courage and acquainted with morality, all of them, O Satwata, have acted thus, for gaining victory. High morality is difficult of ascertainment. Similarly, immorality also can with difficulty be comprehended. Fight now with the Kauravas, without returning to the home of thy fathers.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Hearing these harsh and cruel words (from Dhrishtadyumna's lips), the blessed Satyaki began to tremble from head to foot. With rage his eyes assumed the hue of copper. Keeping his bow then upon his car, he grasped his mace, sighing like a Snake. Rushing, then, towards the prince of the Panchalas, he said unto him in great wrath, 'I will not speak harshly to thee, but I will slay thee, deserving as thou art of slaughter.' Seeing the mighty Satyaki rushing, from wrath and desire of revenge, at the Panchala prince, like Yama against one like his own self, the mighty Bhima, urged by Vasudeva, quickly jumped down from his car and seized him with his arms. Endued with great strength, Satyaki, who was rushing in great wrath, proceeded for a few steps, forcibly dragging after him the mighty son of Pandu who was endeavouring to hold him back. Then Bhima firmly planting his feet stopped at the sixth step that foremost of strong men, viz., that bull of Sini's race. Then Sahadeva, O king, jumping down from his own car, addressed Satyaki, thus held fast by the strong arms of Bhima, in these words, 'O tiger among men, O thou of Madhu's race, we have no friends dearer to us than the Andhakas, the Vrishnis and the Panchalas. So also the Andhakas and the Vrishnis, particularly Krishna, cannot have any friends dearer than ourselves. The Panchalas, also, O thou of Vrishni's race, even if they search the whole world to the confines of the sea, have no friends dearer to them than the Pandavas and the Vrishnis. Thou art even such a friend to this prince; and he also is a similar friend to thee. Ye all are to us even as we are to you. Acquainted as thou art with all duties, remembering now the duties thou owest to friends, restrain this wrath of thine, that has the prince of the Panchalas for its object. Be calm, O foremost one of Sini's race! Forgive the son of Prishata, and let Prishata's son also forgive thee. Ourselves also will practise forgiveness. What is there that is better than forgiveness?'

"While the scion of Sini, O sire, was thus being pacified by Sahadeva, the son of the Panchala king, smiling, said these words, 'Release Sini's grandson, O Bhima who is so proud of his prowess in battle. Let him come at me like the wind assailing the mountains, till, with my keen arrows, O son of Kunti, I quell his rage and desire for battle and take his life. Yonder come the Kauravas. I shall (after staying Satyaki) achieve this great task of the Pandavas that has presented itself. Or let Phalguna resist all the enemies in battle. As regards myself, I will fell this one's head with my arrows. He taketh me for the armless Bhurisravas in battle. Release him. Either I will slay him or he will slay me.' Hearing these words of the Panchala prince, the mighty Satyaki held fast in Bhima's clasp, sighing like a snake, began to tremble. Both of them, endued with great might and possessed of powerful arms, began to roar like a couple of bulls. Then Vasudeva, O sire, and king Yudhishthira the Just, with great effort, succeeded in pacifying those heroes. Having pacified those two great bowmen, those two heroes, whose eyes had become blood-red with rage, all the Kshatriyas (of the Pandava) army proceeded against the warriors of the hostile army for battle.'

SECTION 200

"Sanjaya said, 'Then Drona's son began to cause a great carnage amongst his foes in that battle, like the Destroyer himself at the end of the Yuga. Slaying his enemies by means of his broad-headed arrows, Aswatthaman soon piled a mountain there of the dead. The standards of cars formed its trees; and weapons its pointed summits; the lifeless elephants formed its large rocks; the steeds, its Kimpurushas; and bows, its creepers and plants. And it resounded with the cries of all carnivorous creatures, that constituted its feathery population. And the spirits that walked there formed its Yakshas [Kimpurushas were fabled creatures, half men and steeds. Not a mountain but had its Kimpurushas, according to the Hindu belief. Yakshas were a sort of superhuman beings inhabiting inaccessible halls and mountains.]. Then roaring aloud, O bull of Bharata's race, Aswatthaman once more repeated his vow in the hearing of thy son, thus, 'Since Kunti's son, Yudhishthira, assuming only the outward garb of virtue, had caused the preceptor who was (righteously) engaged in battle to lay aside his weapons, I shall, in his very sight, rout and destroy his army. Having mangled all his troops, I shall, then, slay the sinful prince of the Panchalas. Indeed, I shall slay all of them, if they contend with me in battle. I tell thee truly, therefore, rally thou thy troops.' Hearing these words of Aswatthaman, thy son rallied the troops, having dispelled their fears with a loud leonine, roar. The encounter, then, O king, that once more took place between the Kuru and the Pandava armies, became as terrible as that of two oceans at full tide. The terrified Kauravas had their fears dispelled by Drona's son. The Pandus and the Panchalas had become fierce in consequence of Drona's slaughter. Great was the violence of that collision, on the field of battle, between those warriors, all of whom were cheerful and filled with rage and inspired with certain hopes of victory. Like a mountain, striking against a mountain, or an ocean against an ocean, O monarch, was that collision between the Kurus and the Pandavas. Filled with joy, the Kuru and the Pandava warriors beat thousands of drums. The loud and stunning uproar that arose from among those troops resembled that of the ocean itself while churned (of old by the gods and the Danavas). Then Drona's son, aiming at the host of the Pandavas and the Panchalas, invoked the weapon called Narayana. Then thousands of arrows with blazing mouths appeared in the welkin, resembling snakes of fiery mouths, that continued to agitate the Pandavas. In that dreadful battle, those shafts, O king, like the very rays of the sun in a moment shrouded all the points of the compass, the welkin, and the troops. Innumerable iron balls also, O king, then appeared, like resplendent luminaries in the clear firmament. Sataghnis, some equipped with four and some with two wheels, and innumerable maces, and discs, with edges sharp as razor and resplendent like the sun, also appeared there. Beholding the welkin densely shrouded with those weapons, O bull of Bharata's race, the Pandavas, the Panchalas, and the Srinjayas, became exceedingly agitated. In all those places, O ruler of men, where the great car-warriors of the Pandavas contended in battle, that weapon became exceedingly powerful. Slaughtered by the Narayana weapon, as if consumed by a conflagration, the Pandava troops were exceedingly afflicted all over the field in that battle. Indeed, O lord, as fire consumeth a heap of dry grass in summer, even so did that weapon consume the army of the Pandus. Beholding that weapon filling every side, seeing his own troops destroyed in large numbers, king Yudhishthira the Just, O lord, became inspired with great fright. Seeing his army in course of flight and deprived of its senses, and beholding Parthas standing indifferent, Dharma's son said these words, 'O Dhrishtadyumna, fly away with your Panchala troops. O Satyaki, you also go away, surrounded by the Vrishnis and the Andhakas. Of virtuous soul, Vasudeva will himself seek the means of his own safety. He is competent to offer advice to the whole world. What need is there of telling him what he should do? We should not any longer fight. I say so unto all the troops. As regards myself, I will, with all my brothers ascend a funeral pile. Having crossed the Bhishma and the Drona oceans in this battle, that are incapable of being crossed by the timid, shall I sink with all my followers in the vestige, represented by Drona's son, of a cow's hoof? Let the wishes of king Duryodhana be crowned with success today, for I have today slain in battle the preceptor, that always cherished such friendly feelings towards us, that preceptor, who, without protecting, caused that child unacquainted with battle, viz., the son of Subhadra, to be slain by a multitude of wicked warriors, that preceptor, who with his son, sat indifferently, without answering, when Krishna in such distress, dragged into the assembly and sought to be made a slave, asked him to say the truth, that preceptor, who, white all the other warriors were fatigued, cased Duryodhana in invulnerable armour when the latter desired to slay Phalguna and who, having cased him so, appointed him to protect Jayadratha, who, being acquainted with the Brahma weapon, scrupled not to exterminate the Panchalas, headed by Satyajit, that had exerted themselves for my victory, that preceptor, who, whilst we were being unrighteously exiled from our kingdom, freely told us to go into the woods although he had been solicited by our friends to withhold his permission 1. Alas, that great friend of our hath been slain! For his sake, I will, with my friends, lay down my life. After Kunti's son, Yudhishthira had said this, he of Dasarha's race, (viz., Kesava) quickly forbidding the troops, by motion of his arms, to fly away said these words, Speedily lay down your weapons, all of you, and alight from your vehicles. Even this is the means ordained by the illustrious one, (viz., Narayana himself) for baffling this weapon. Come down on the earth, all of you from your elephants and steeds and cars. If you stand weaponless on the earth, this weapon will not slay you. In those places where you will fight for quelling the force of this weapon the Kauravas will become more powerful than you. Those men, however, that will throw down their weapons and alight from their vehicles, will not in this battle, be slain by this weapon. They, however, that will, even in imagination, contend against this weapon, will all be slain even if they seek refuge deep beneath the earth'. The warriors of the Pandava army, hearing, O Bharata, these words of Vasudeva, threw their weapons and drove away from their hearts all desire of battle. Then Bhimasena, the son of Pandu, beholding the warriors about to abandon their weapons, said these words, O king, gladdening them all: 'None should lay down his

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weapons here. I shall, with my shafts, oppose this weapon of Drona's son. With this heavy mace of mine, that is decked with gold, I shall career in this battle like the Destroyer himself, quelling this weapon of Drona's son. There is no man here that is equal to me in prowess, even as there is no luminary in the firmament that is equal to the sun. Beholding these two strong arms of mine like unto the trunks of a couple of mighty elephants, capable of pulling down the mountain of Himavat. I am the one person here that possesses the might of the thousand elephants. I am without a peer, even as Sakra is known to be in heaven among the celestials. Let people witness today the prowess of these two arms of my broad-chested self, while engaged in baffling the bright and blazing weapon of Drona's son. If there be none (else) capable of contending against the Narayana weapon, even I shall contend against it today in the very sight of all the Kurus and the Pandavas. O Arjuna, O Vibhatsu, thou shouldst not lay Gandiva aside. A stain will then attach to thee like that of the moon.' Thus addressed Bhima, Arjuna said, O Bhima, even this is my great vow, viz., that my Gandiva shall not be used against the Narayana weapon, kine, and Brahmanas. Thus answered by Arjuna, Bhima, that chastiser of foes, riding on his car of solar effulgence, whose rattle, besides, resembled the roar of the clouds, rushed against the son of Drona. Endued with great energy and prowess, the son of Kunti, in consequence of his extreme lightness of hand, within the twinkling of an eye, covered Aswatthaman with a shower of weapons. Then Drona's son, smiling at the rushing Bhima and addressing him (in proper words) covered him with arrows, inspired with mantras and equipped with blazing points. Shrouded with those shafts that vomited fire and resembled snakes of blazing mouths, as if covered with sparks of gold. The form, O king, of Bhimasena in that battle looked like that of a mountain in the evening when covered with fire. That weapon of Drona's son, directed against Bhimasena increased in energy and might, O king, like a conflagration assisted by the wind. Beholding that weapon of terrible energy thus increasing in might, a panic entered the hearts of all the combatants of the Pandava army with the exception of Bhima. Then all of them, throwing down their weapons on the earth, alighted from their cars and steeds. After they had thrown their weapons and alighted from their vehicles, that weapon of exceeding energy fell upon the head of Bhima. All creatures, especially the Pandavas, uttered cries of Oh and Alas, beholding Bhimasena overwhelmed by the energy of that weapon.'"

SECTION 201

"Sanjaya said, "Beholding Bhimasena overwhelmed by that weapon, Dhananjaya, for baffling its energy, covered him with the Varuna weapon. In consequence of the lightness of Arjuna's arms, and owing also to the fiery force that shrouded Bhima, none could see that the latter had been covered with the Varuna weapon. Shrouded with the weapon of Drona's son, Bhima, his steeds, driver, and car became incapable of being gazed at, like a fire of blazing flame in the midst of another fire. As at the close of the night, O king, all the luminaries run towards the Asta hill, even so the fiery shafts (of Aswatthaman) all began to proceed towards Bhimasena's car. Indeed, Bhima himself, his car, steeds, and driver, O sire, thus shrouded by Drona's son seemed to be in the midst of a conflagration. As the (Yuga) fire consuming the entire universe with its mobile and immobile creatures when the hour of dissolution comes, at last enters the mouth of the Creator, even so at the weapon of Drona's son began to enter the body of Bhimasena. As one cannot perceive a fire if it penetrates into the sun or the sun if it enters into a fire, even so none could perceive that energy which penetrated into Bhima's body. Beholding that weapon thus investing Bhima all around, and seeing Drona's son swelling with energy and might, the latter being then without an antagonist, and observing also that all the warriors of the Pandava army had laid down their weapons and that all the mighty car-warriors of that host headed by Yudhishthira had turned away their faces from the foe, those two heroes, viz., Arjuna and Vasudeva, both endued with great splendour, quickly alighting from their car, ran towards Bhima. Those two mighty men, diving into that energy born of the might of Aswatthaman's weapon, had resorted to the power of illusion. The fire of that weapon consumed them not, in consequence of their having laid aside their weapons, as also in consequence of the force of the Varuna weapon, and owing also to the energy possessed by themselves. Then Nara and Narayana, for the pacification of Narayana weapon, began forcibly to drag Bhima and all his weapons. Thus dragged by them, Kunti's son, that mighty car-warrior, began to roar aloud. Thereupon, that terrible and invincible weapon of Drona's son began to increase (in might and energy). Then Vasudeva, addressing Bhima, said, 'How is it, O son of Pandu, that though forbidden by us, thou, O son of Kunti, dost not yet abstain from battle? If the Kurus could now be vanquished in battle, then we, as also all these foremost of men, would certainly have continued to fight. Behold, all the warriors of thy host have alighted from their cars. For this reason, O son of Kunti, do thou also come down from thy car.' Having said these words, Krishna brought Bhima down from his car. The latter, with eyes red as blood in rage, was sighing like a snake. When, however, he was dragged down from his car and made to lay aside his weapons, the Narayana weapon, that scorcher of foes, became pacified.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'When, by this means, the unbearable energy of that weapon became stilled, all the points of the compass, cardinal and subsidiary, became clear. Sweet breezes began to blow and birds and animals all became quiet. The steeds and elephants became cheerful, as also all the warriors, O ruler of men! Indeed, when the terrible energy of that weapon, O Bharata, became stilled, Bhima. of great intelligence, shone resplendent like the morning sun. The remnant of the Pandava host, beholding the pacification of the Narayana weapon, once more stood prepared on the field for compassing the destruction of thy sons. When, after that weapon had been baffled, the Pandava host, stood arrayed, Duryodhana, O king, addressing Drona's son, said, O Aswatthaman, once more use that weapon speedily since the Panchalas are once more arrayed, desirous of victory.' Then addressed by thy son, O sire, Aswatthaman, sighing cheerlessly, replied unto the king in these words, 'That weapon, O king, cannot be brought back. It cannot be used twice. If brought back, it will without doubt, slay the person calling it back. Vasudeva, hath, by what means thou hast seen, caused it to be baffled. For this, O ruler men, the destruction of the foe hath not been compassed in battle. Defeat and death, however, are the same. Rather, defeat is worse than death. Lo, the enemy, vanquished and compelled to lay down his arms, looks as if deprived of life'. Duryodhana then said, 'O preceptor's son, if it be so, if this weapon cannot be used twice, let those slayers of their preceptor be slain with other weapons then, O foremost one of all persons acquainted with weapons! In thee are all celestial as well as in the Three eyed (Siva) of immeasurable energy. If thou wishest it not, even Purandara in rage cannot escape thee.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'After Drona had been slain with the aid of fraud, and the Narayana weapon baffled, what, indeed, did Drona's son, thus urged by Duryodhana then, do, beholding the Parthas once more arrived for battle freed from the Narayana weapon, and careering at the head of their divisions?'

"Sanjaya said, 'Remembering the slaughter of his sire, Drona's son, owning the device of the lion's tail on his banner, filled with rage and casting of all fears, rushed against the son of Prishata. Rushing at him, O bull among men, that foremost of warriors, with great impetuosity, pierced the Panchala prince with five and twenty small arrows. Then Dhrishtadyumna, O King, pierced Drona's son that resembled a blazing fire, with four and sixty shafts. And he pierced Aswatthaman's driver also with twenty arrows whetted on stone and equipped with wings of gold, and then his four steeds with four sharp arrows. Repeatedly piercing Drona's son, and causing the earth to tremble with his leonine roars. Dhrishtadyumna then seemed to be employed in taking the lives of creatures in the world in dreadful battle. Making death itself his goal, the mighty son of Prishata, O king, accomplished in weapons and endued with sureness of aim, then rushed against Drona's son alone. Of immeasurable soul, that foremost of car-warriors, viz., the prince of Panchala, poured upon Aswatthaman's head a shower of arrows. Then Drona's son, in that battle, covered the angry prince with winged shafts. And once more, he pierced the latter with ten shafts, remembering the slaughter of his father. Then cutting off the standard and bow of the Panchala prince with a couple of well-shot shafts, equipped with heads like razors. Drona's son began to grind his foe with other arrows. In that dreadful battle, Aswatthaman made his antagonist steedless and driverless and carless, and covered his followers also with thick showers of shafts. At this, the Panchala troops, O king, mangled by means of those arrowy showers fled away in fear and great affliction. Beholding the troops turning away from battle and Dhrishtadyumna exceedingly afflicted, the grandson of Sini quickly urged his car against that of Drona's son. He then afflicted Aswatthaman with eight keen shafts. And once more striking that angry warrior with twenty shafts of diverse kinds, he pierced Aswatthaman's driver, and then his four steeds with four shafts. With. great deliberations and displaying a wonderful lightness of hand, he cut off Aswatthaman's bow and standard, Satyaki then cut into fragments the gold-decked car of this foe together with its steeds. And then he deeply pierced Aswatthaman in the chest with thirty arrows in that battle. Thus afflicted, O king, (by Satyaki), and shrouded with arrows, the mighty Aswatthaman knew not what to do. When the preceptor's son had fallen into that plight, thy son, that car-warrior, accompanied by Kripa and Karna and others began to cover the Satwata hero with arrows. All of them began quickly to pierce Satyaki from every side with keen shafts, Duryodhana pierced him with twenty, Saradwat's son, Kripa, with three. And Kritavarman pierced him with ten, and Karna with fifty. And Duhsasana pierced him with a hundred arrows, and Vrishasena with seven. Satyaki, however, O king, soon made all those great car-warriors fly away from the field, deprived of their cars. Meanwhile, Aswatthaman, O bull of Bharata's race, recovering consciousness, and sighing repeatedly in sorrow, began to think of what he should do. Riding then upon another car, that scorcher of foes, viz., the son of Drona, began to resist Satyaki, shooting hundreds of arrows. Beholding Aswatthaman once more approaching him in battle, the mighty car-warrior, Satyaki, once more made him careless and caused him to turn back. Then the Pandavas, O king, beholding the prowess of Satyaki, blew their conchs with great force and uttered loud leonine roars. Having deprived Aswatthaman of his car thus, Satyaki, of unbaffled prowess, then slew three thousand mighty car-warriors of Vrishasena's division. And then he slew fifteen thousand elephants of Kripa's force and fifty thousand horses of Sakuni. Then, the valiant son of Drona, O monarch, riding upon another car, and highly enraged with Satyaki, proceeded against the latter, desirous of slaying him. Beholding him approach again, the grandson of Sini, that chastiser of foes, once more pierced and mangled him with keen shafts, fiercer than those he had used before. Deeply pierced with those arrows of diverse forms by Yuyudhana, that great bowmen, viz., the angry son of Drona, smilingly addressed his foe and said, 'O grandson of Sini, I know thy partiality for Dhrishtadyumna, that slayer of his preceptor, but thou shalt not be able to rescue him or your own self when attacked by me. I swear to thee, O grandson of Sini, by truth and by my ascetic austerities, that I shall know no peace till I slay all the Panchalas. You may unite the forces of the Pandavas and those of the Vrishnis together, but I shall still slay the Somakas. Saying this, the son of Drona shot at Satyaki an excellent and straight arrow possessed of the effulgence of the sun, even as Sakra had hurled in days of yore his thunder at the Asura Vritra. Thus shot by Aswatthaman, that arrow, piercing through the armour of Satyaki, and passing through his body, entered the earth like a hissing snake entering its hole. His armour pierced through, the heroic Satyaki, like an elephant deeply struck with the hook, became bathed in blood that flowed from his wound. His bow, with arrow fixed thereon, being then loosened from his grasp, he sat down on the terrace of his car strengthless and covered all over with blood. Seeing this his driver speedily bore him away from Drona's son. With another shaft, perfectly straight and equipped with goodly wings that scorcher of foes, viz., Aswatthaman, struck Dhrishtadyumna between his eyebrows. The Panchala prince had before this been much pierced; therefore, deeply wounded by that arrow, he became exceedingly weak and supported himself by seizing his flag-staff. Beholding Dhrishtadyumna thus afflicted by Aswatthaman, like an infuriated elephant by a lion, five heroic car-warriors of the Pandava army, viz., Kiritin, Bhimasena, Vrihatkshatra of Puru's race, the youthful prince of the Chedis, and Sudarsana, the chief of the Malavas, quickly rushed against Aswatthaman. Armed with bows, all these rushed with cries Oh and Alas. And those heroes quickly encompassed the son of Drona on all sides. Advancing twenty paces, all of them, with great care, simultaneously struck the angry son of the preceptor with five and twenty arrows. Drona's son, however, with five and twenty shafts, resembling snakes of virulent poison, cut off, almost at the same time, those five and twenty arrows shot at him. Then Aswatthaman afflicted the Paurava prince with seven sharp shafts. And he afflicted the chief of the Malavas with three, Partha with one, and Vrikodara with six shafts. Then all those great car-warriors, O king, pierced Drona's son unitedly and separately with many shafts, whetted on stone equipped with wings of gold. The youthful prince of the Chedis pierced Drona's son with twenty and Partha pierced him with three. Then Drona's son struck Arjuna with six arrows, and Vasudeva with six, and Bhima with five, and each of the other two viz., the Malava and the Paurava, with two arrows. Piercing next the driver of' Bhima's car with six arrows, Aswatthaman cut off Bhimasena's bow and standard with a couple of arrows. Then piercing Partha once more with a shower of arrows, Drona's son uttered a leonine roar. With the sharp, well-tempered, and terrible arrows shot by Drona's son, the earth, the sky, the firmament, and the points of the compass, cardinal and subsidiary, all became entirely shrouded both in his front and rear. Endued with fierce energy and equal to Indra himself in prowess, Aswatthaman with three arrows, almost simultaneously cut off the two arms, like unto Indra's poles, and the head of Sudarsana, as the latter was seated on his car. Then piercing Paurava with a dart and cutting off his car into minute fragments by means of his arrows, Aswatthaman lopped off his antagonist's two arms smeared with sandal-paste and then his head from off his trunk with a broad-headed shaft. Possessed of great activity, he then pierced with many arrows resembling blazing flames of fire in energy, the youthful and mighty prince of the Chedis who was of the hue of the dark lotus, and despatched him to Yama's abode with his driver and steeds. Beholding the chief of the Malavas, the descendant of Puru, and the youthful ruler of the Chedis slain in this very sight by the son of Drona.. Bhimasena, the mighty-armed son of Pandu, became filled with rage. The

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scorcher of foes then covered Drona's son in that battle with hundreds of keen arrows resembling angry snakes of virulent poison. Endued with mighty energy, the angry son of Drona then destroying that arrowy shower, pierced Bhimasena with sharp shafts. The mighty-armed Bhima then, possessed of great strength, cut off with a broad-headed arrow the bow of Drona's son and then pierced Drona's son himself with a powerful shaft. Throwing away that broken bow, the high-souled son of Drona took up another and pierced Bhima with his winged shafts. Then those two, viz., Drona's son and Bhima, both possessed of great prowess and might, began to shower their arrowy downpours like two masses of rain-charged clouds. Gold-winged arrows, whetted on stone and engraved with Bhima's name shrouded Drona's son, like gathering masses of clouds shrouding the sun. Similarly, Bhima was soon shrouded with hundreds and thousands of strong arrows shot by Drona's son. Though shrouded in that battle by Drona's son, that warrior of great skill, Bhima yet felt no pain, O monarch, which seemed exceedingly wonderful. Then the mighty-armed Bhima sped ten gold-decked arrows, of great keenness and resembling the darts of Yama himself, at his foe. Those shafts, O sire, failing upon the shoulders of Drona's son, quickly pierced his body, like snakes penetrating into an ant-hill. Deeply pierced by the high-souled son of Pandu, Aswatthaman, closing his eyes, supported himself by seizing his flagstaff. Recovering his senses within a moment, O king, Drona's son bathed in blood, mustered all his wrath. Forcibly struck by the high-souled son of Pandu, Aswatthaman, endued with mighty arms, rushed with great speed towards the car of Bhimasena. And then, O Bharata, he sped at Bhimasena, from his bow drawn to its fullest stretch, a hundred arrows of fierce energy, all looking like snakes of virulent poison. Pandu's son Bhima also, proud of his prowess in battle, disregarding Aswatthaman's energy, speedily showered upon him dense arrowy downpour. Then Drona's son, O king, cutting off Bhima's bow by means of his arrows, and filled with rage, struck the Pandava in the chest with many keen shafts. Incapable of brooking that feat, Bhimasena took up another bow and pierced Drona's son in that battle with five keen shafts. Indeed, showering upon each other their arrowy downpours like two masses of clouds at the close of summer, two warriors, with eyes red as copper in rage, completely covered each other in that battle with their shafts. Frightening each other with the terrible sounds they made by their palms, they continued to fight with each other, each counteracting the feats of the other. Then bending his formidable bow adorned with gold, Drona's son began to gaze steadfastly at Bhima who was thus shooting his shafts at him. At that time, Aswatthaman looked like the meridian sun of blazing rays in an autumnal day. So quickly then did he shoot his shafts that people could not see when he took them out of his quiver when he fixed them on the bowstring when he drew the string, and when he let them off. Indeed, when employed in shooting his arrows, his bow, O monarch, seemed to be incessantly drawn to fiery circle. Shafts in a hundred thousands, shot from his bow, seemed to course through the welkin like a flight of locusts. Indeed, those terrible shafts adorned with gold, shot from the bow of Drona's son, coursed incessantly towards Bhima's car. The prowess, O Bharata, that we then beheld of Bhimasena, and his might, energy, and spirit, were exceedingly wonderful, for, regarding that terrible shower of arrows thick as a gathering mass of clouds, failing around him to be nothing more than a downpour of rain at the close of summer. Bhima of terrible prowess, desirous of slaying the son of Drona, in return poured his arrows upon the latter like a cloud in the season of rains. Bhima's large and formidable bow of golden back, incessantly drawn in that battle, looked resplendent like a second bow of Indra. Shafts in hundreds and thousands, issuing from it, shrouded Drona's son, that ornament of battle in that encounter. The showers of shafts, shot by both of them were so dense, O sire, that the very wind, O king, could not find room for coursing through them. Then Drona's son, O king, desirous of slaying Bhima, sped at him many gold-decked arrows of keen points steeped in oil. Showing his superiority to Drona's son Bhimasena cut off each of those arrows into three fragments before they could come at him. The son of Pandu then said, 'Wait Wait.' And once more, the mighty son of Pandu filled with rage, and desirous of slaying the son of Drona, shot at him a terrible shower of fierce arrows. Then Drona's son that warrior acquainted with the highest weapons, quickly destroying that arrowy shower by the illusion of his own weapons, cut off Bhima's bow in that encounter. Filled with rage, he then pierced Bhima himself with innumerable shafts in that battle. Endued with great might, Bhima then, after his bow had been cut off, hurled a dart at Aswatthaman's car, having whirled it previously with great impetuosity. The son of Drona, displaying the lightness of his hand in that encounter, quickly cut off, by means of sharp shafts, that dart as it coursed towards him with the splendour of a blazing brand. Meanwhile, terrible Vrikodara, taking up a very strong bow, and smiling the while, began to pierce the son of Drona with many arrows. Then Drona's son, O monarch, with a straight shaft, pierced the forehead of Bhima's driver. The latter, deeply pierced by the mighty son of Drona, fell into a swoon, O king, abandoning the reins of the steeds. The driver of the Bhima's car having fallen into a swoon, the steeds, O king, began to fly away with great speed, in the very sight of all the bowmen. Beholding Bhima carried away from the field of battle by those running steeds, the unvanquished Aswatthaman joyfully blew his huge conch. Beholding Bhimasena borne away from the field, all the Panchalas, inspired with fear, abandoning the car of Dhrishtadyumna, fled away on every side. Then Drona's son, shooting his shafts fiercely, pursued those broken troops, causing a great carnage among them. Thus slaughtered in battle by the son of Drona, those Kshatriyas fled away in all directions from fear of that warrior.

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding that force broken, Kunti's son, Dhananjaya, of immeasurable soul, proceeded against Aswatthaman from desire of slaying him. Those troops then, O king, rallied with effort by Govinda and Arjuna, stayed on the field of battle. Only Vibhatsu, supported by the Somakas and the Matsyas, shot his arrows at the Kauravas and checked their onset. Quickly approaching Aswatthaman, that great bowman having the mark of the lion's tail on his banner, Arjuna addressed him, saying, 'Show me now the might thou hast, the energy, the knowledge, and the manliness, that are in thee, as also thy affection for the Dhartarashtras and thy hatred for us, and the high mettle of which thou art capable. Even Prishata's son, that slayer of Drona, will quell thy pride today. Come now and encounter the Panchala prince, that hero resembling the Yuga fire and like the Destroyer himself with Govinda. Thou hast displayed thy pride in battle, but I shall quell that pride of thine.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'The preceptor's son, O Sanjaya, is possessed of might and worthy of respect. He beareth great love to Dhananjaya and the high-souled Dhananjaya also loveth him in return. Vibhatsu had never addressed Drona's son before in this way. Why then did the son of Kunti address his friend in such words?'

"Sanjaya said, 'Upon the fall of the youthful prince of the Chedis, of Vrihatkshatra of Puru's race, and of Sudarsana, the chief of the Malavas, who was well-accomplished in the science of arms, and upon the defeat of Dhrishtadyumna and Satyaki and Bhima, and feeling great pain and touched to the quick by those words of Yudhishthira, and remembering a his former woes, O lord, Vibhatsu, in consequence of his grief, felt such wrath rise within him the like of which he had never experienced before. It was for this that like a vulgar person, he addressed the preceptor's son who was worthy of every respect, in such unworthy, indecent, bitter, and harsh language. Addressed, from wrath, in such harsh and cruel words by Partha, O king, Drona's son, that foremost of all mighty bowmen, became highly angry with Partha and especially with Krishna. The valiant Aswatthaman, then, staying resolutely on his car, touched water and invoked the Agneya weapon incapable of being resisted by the very gods. Aiming at all his visible and invisible foes, the preceptor's son, that slayer of hostile heroes, inspired with mantras a blazing shaft possessed of the effulgence of a smokeless fire, and let it off on all sides, filled with rage. Dense showers of arrows then issued from it in the welkin. Endued with fiery flames, those arrows encompassed Partha on all sides. Meteors flashed down from the firmament. A thick gloom suddenly shrouded the (Pandava) host. All the points of the compass also were enveloped by that darkness. Rakshasas and Pisachas, crowding together, uttered fierce cries. Inauspicious winds began to blow. The sun himself no longer gave any heat. Ravens fiercely croaked on all sides. Clouds roared in the welkin, showering blood. Birds and beasts and kine, and Munis of high vows and souls under complete control, became exceedingly uneasy. The very elements seemed to be perturbed. The sun seemed to turn. The universe, scorched with heat, seemed to be in a fever. The elephants and other creatures of the land, scorched by the energy of that weapon, ran in fright, breathing heavily and desirous of protection against that terrible force. The very waters heated, the creatures residing in that element, O Bharata, became exceedingly uneasy and seemed to burn. From all the points of the compass, cardinal and subsidiary, from the firmament and the very earth, showers of sharp and fierce arrows fell and issued with the impetuosity of Garuda or the wind. Struck and burnt by those shafts of Aswatthaman that were all endued with the impetuosity of the thunder, the hostile warriors fell down like trees burnt down by a raging fire. Huge elephants, burnt by that weapon, fell down on the earth all around, uttering fierce cries loud as the rumblings of the clouds. Other huge elephants, scorched by that fire, ran hither and thither, and roared aloud in fear, as if in the midst of a forest conflagration. The steeds, O king, and the cars also, burnt by the energy of that weapon, looked, O sire, like the tops of trees burnt in a forest-fire. Thousands of cars fell down on all sides. Indeed, O Bharata, it seemed that the divine lord Agni burnt the (Pandava) host in that battle, like the Samvarta fire consuming everything at the end of the Yuga.

'Beholding the Pandava army thus burning in that dreadful battle, thy soldiers, O king, filled with joy, uttered leonine shouts. Indeed, the combatants, desirous of victory and filled with joy, speedily blew thousands of trumpets, O Bharata, of diverse kinds. Darkness having enveloped the world during that fierce battle, the entire Pandava army, with Savyasachin, the son of Panda, could not be seen. We had never before, O king, heard of or seen the like of that weapon which Drona's son created in wrath on that occasion. Then Arjuna, O king, invoked into existence the Brahma weapon, capable of baffling every other weapon, as ordained by the Lotus-born (Brahma) himself. Within a moment that darkness was dispelled, cool winds began to blow, and all the points of the compass became clear and bright. We then beheld a wonderful sight, viz., a full Akshauhini (of the Pandava troops) laid low. Burnt by the energy of Aswatthaman's weapon, the forms of the slain could not be distinguished. Then those two heroic and mighty bowmen, viz., Kesava and Arjuna, freed from that darkness, were seen together, like the sun and the moon in the firmament. Indeed, the wielder of Gandiva and Kesava were both unwounded. Equipped with its banners and standards and steeds, with the Anukarsa unjoined; and with all the mighty weapons stored on it remaining uninjured, that car, so terrible to thy warriors, freed from that darkness, shone resplendent on the field. And soon there arose diverse sounds of life mingled with the blare of conchs and the beat of drums, from among the Pandava troops filled with joy. Both hosts thought that Kesava and Arjuna had perished Beholding Kesava and Arjuna, therefore (freed from darkness and the energy of that weapon) and seeing that reappear so quickly, the Pandavas were filled with joy, and the Kauravas with wonder. Unwounded and full of cheerfulness, those two heroes blew their excellent conchs. Indeed, seeing Partha filled with joy, thy soldiers became exceedingly melancholy. Seeing those two high-souled ones (viz., Kesava and Arjuna), freed (from the energy of his weapon) the son of Drona became very cheerless. For a moment he reflected, O sire, on what had happened. And having reflected, O king, he became filled with anxiety and grief. Breathing long and hot sighs, he became exceedingly cheerless. Laying aside his bow, then, the son of Drona speedily alighted from his car, and saying, 'O fie, fie! Every thing is untrue,' he ran away from the fight. On his way he met Vyasa, the abode of Saraswati, the compiler of the Vedas, the habitation of those scriptures, unstained by sin, and of the hue of rain-charged cloud. Beholding him, that perpetuator of Kura's race, standing on his way, the son of Drona with voice choked in grief, and like one exceedingly cheerless, saluted him and said, 'O sire, O sire, is this an illusion, or is it a caprice (on the part of the weapon)? I do not know what it is. Why, indeed, hath my weapon become fruitless? What breach (has there been in the method of invocation)? Or, is it something abnormal, or, is it a victory over Nature (achieved by the two Krishnas) since they are yet alive? It seems that Time is irresistible. Neither Asuras, nor Gandharvas, nor Pisachas, nor Rakshasas, nor Uragas, Yakshas, and birds, nor human beings, can venture to baffle this weapon shot by me. This fiery weapon, however, having slain only one Akshauhini of troops, hath been pacified. This exceedingly fierce weapon shot by me is capable of slaying all creatures. For what reason then could it not slay Kesava and Arjuna, both of whom are endued with the attributes of humanity? Asked by me, O holy one, answer me truly. O great Muni, I desire to hear all this in detail.'

"Vyasa said, 'O highly significant is this matter that thou enquirest of me from surprise. I will tell thee everything; listen attentively. He that is called Narayana is older than the oldest ones. For accomplishing some purpose, that creator of the universe took his birth as the son of Dharma. On the mountain of Himavat he underwent the severest ascetic austerities. Endued with mighty energy, and resembling fire or the sun (in splendour), he stood there with arms upraised. Possessed of eyes like: lotus-petals, he emaciated himself there for sixty-six thousand years, subsisting all the while upon air alone. Once more undergoing severe austerities of another kind for twice that period, he filled the space between earth and heaven with his energy. When by those austerities, O sire, he became: like Brahma he then beheld the Master, Origin, and Guardian of the Universe, the Lord of all the gods, the Supreme Deity, who is exceedingly difficult of being gazed at, who is minuter than the minutest and larger than, the largest, who is called Rudra [The terrible.], who is the lord of all the superior ones, who is called Hara and Sambhu, who has matted locks on his head, who is the infuser of life into every form, who is the First cause of all immobile: and mobile things, who is irresistible and of frightful aspect, who is of fierce wrath and great Soul, who is the All-destroyer, and of large heart; who beareth the celestial bow and a couple of quivers, who is cased in golden armour, and whose energy is infinite, who holdeth Pinaka, who is; armed with thunderbolt, a blazing trident, battle axe, mace, and a large sword; whose eye-brows are fair, whose locks are matted, who wieldeth the heavy short club, who hath the moon on his forehead, who is clad in tiger-skin, and who is armed with the bludgeon; who is decked with beautiful angadas, who hath snakes for his sacred thread, and who is surrounded by diverse creatures of the universe and by numerous ghosts and spirits, who is the

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One, who is the abode of ascetic austerities, and who is highly adored by persons of venerable age; who is Water, Heaven, Sky, Earth, Sun, Moon, Wind and Fire, and who is the measure of the duration of the universe. Persons of wicked behaviour can never obtain a sight of that unborn one, that slayer of all haters of Brahmanas, that giver of emancipation. [Amritasya yonim, literally, the origin or cause of immortality, i.e., he from whom immortality springs. Hence, as explained by Nilakantha, the phrase means the source of salvation, for those only that are emancipate became immortal as the Supreme Soul itself.] Only Brahmanas of righteous conduct, when cleansed of their sins and freed from the control of grief, behold him with their mind's eye. In consequence of his ascetic austerities, Narayana obtained a sight of that unfading one, that embodiment of righteousness, that adorable one, that Being having the universe for his form. Beholding that supreme Abode of all kinds of splendour, that God with a garland of Akshas round his neck, Vasudeva, with gratified soul, became filled with delight which he sought to express by words, heart, understanding, and body. Then Narayana worshipped that Divine Lord, that First cause of the universe, that giver of boons, that puissant one sporting with the fair-limbed Parvati, that high-souled Being surrounded by large bands of ghosts, spirits, that Unborn one, that Supreme Lord, that Embodiment of the unmanifest, that Essence of all causes, that One of unfading power. Having saluted Rudra, that destroyer of the Asura Andhaka, the lotus eyed Narayana, with emotion filling his heart, began to praise the Three-eyed one (in these words), 'O adorable one, O first of all the gods, the creator of everything (viz., the Prajapatis) who are the regents of the world, and who having entered the earth,--thy first work,--had, O lord, protected it before, have all sprung from thee. Gods, Asuras, Nagas, Rakshasas, Pisachas, human beings, birds, Gandharvas, Yakshas and other creatures: with the entire universe, we know, have all sprung from thee. Everything that is done for propitiating Indra, and Yama, and Varuna, and Kuvera and Pitris and Tvashtri, and Soma, is really offered to thee. Form and light, sound and sky, wind and touch, taste and water, scent and earth*, time, Brahma himself, the Vedas, the Brahmanas and all these mobile objects, have sprung from thee. [* Described here are the five attributes perceivable by the five senses, with the five objects of Nature with which they are directly connected or in which they manifest themselves.] Vapours rising from diverse receptacles of water, becoming rain-drops, which failing upon the earth, are separated from one another. When the time of the Universal dissolution comes those individual drops, separated from one another, once more unite together and make the earth one vast expanse of water. He that is learned, thus observing the origin and the destruction, of all things, understands thy oneness. Two birds (viz., Iswara and Jiva), four Aswatthas with their wordy branches (viz., the Vedas), the seven guardians (viz., the five essences or elements and the heart and the understanding), and the ten others that hold this city (viz., the ten senses that constitute the body), have all been created by thee, but thou art separate from and independent of them. The Past, the Future, and the Present, over each of which none can have any sway, are from thee, as also the seven worlds and this universe. I am thy devoted adorer,--be graceful unto me. Do not injure me, by causing evil thoughts to penetrate my heart. Thou art the Soul of souls, incapable of being known. He that knows thee as the Universal Seed, attaineth to Brahma. Desiring to pay thee respects, I am praising thee, endeavouring to ascertain thy real nature, O thou that art incapable of being understood by the very gods. Adored by me, grant me the boons I desire but which are difficult of acquisition. Do not hide thyself in thy illusion.'

"Vyasa continued, 'The blue-throated God, of inconceivable soul, that wielder of Pinaka, that divine Lord ever praised by the Rishis, then gave boons unto Vasudeva who deserved them all. The great God said, 'O Narayana, through my grace, amongst men, gods, and Gandharvas, thou shalt be of immeasurable might and soul. Neither gods, nor Asuras, nor great Uragas, nor Pisachas, nor Gandharvas, nor men, nor Rakshasas, nor birds, nor Nagas, nor any creatures in the Universe, shall ever be able to bear thy prowess. No one amongst even the celestials shall be able to vanquish thee in battle. Through my grace, none shall ever be able to cause thee pain by the weapon of thunderbolt or with any object that is wet or dry, or with any mobile or immobile thing. Thou shalt be superior to myself if thou ever goest to battle against me.' Thus were these boons acquired by Sauri in days of yore. Even that God now walketh the earth (as Vasudeva), beguiling the universe by his illusion. From Narayana's asceticism was born a great Muni of the name of Nara, equal to Narayana himself. Know that Arjuna is none else than that Nara. Those two Rishis, said to be older than the oldest gods, take their births in every Yuga for serving the purposes of the world. Thyself also, O thou of great heart, hast been born as a portion of Rudra, by virtue of all thy religious acts and as a consequence of high ascetic austerities, endued with great energy and wrath. Thou wert (in a former life) endued with great wisdom and equal to a god. Regarding the universe to consist only of Mahadeva, thou hadst emaciated thyself by diverse vows from desire of gratifying that God. Assuming the form of a very superior person, that blazes fourth with splendour, thou hast, O giver of honours, worshipped the great god with mantras, with homa, and with offerings. Thus adored by thee in thy former life, the great god became gratified with thee, and granted thee numerous boons, O learned one, that thou hadst cherished in thy heart. Like Kesava's and Arjuna's thy birth acts, and ascetic austerities are also superior. Like them, in thy worship, thou hast, in every Yuga, adored the great God in his Phallic form. Kesava is that devoted worshipper of Rudra who has sprung from Rudra himself. Kesava always worship the Lord Siva, regarding his Phallic emblem to be the origin of the universe. In Kesava is always present that knowledge, in consequence of which he views the identity of Brahman with the: universe and that other knowledge by which the Past, the Present and the Future, the near and the remote, are all seen, as if the whole are before his eyes. The gods, the Siddhas and the great Rishis, adore Kesava for obtaining that highest object in the universe, viz., Mahadeva. Kesava is the creator of everything. The Eternal Krishna should be adored with sacrifices. The Lord Kesava always worshippeth Siva in the Phallic emblem as the origin of all creatures. The God having the bull for his mark cherisheth greater regard for Kesava.'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Hearing these words of Vyasa, Drona's son, that mighty car-warrior, bowed unto Rudra and regarded Kesava as worthy of the highest regards. Having his soul under complete control, he became filled with delight, the marks whereof appeared on his body. Bowing unto the great Rishi, Aswatthaman then, casting his eyes on the (Kuru) army, caused it-to be withdrawn (for nightly rest). Indeed, when, after the fall of Drona, the cheerless Kurus retired from the field, the Pandavas also, O monarch, caused their army to be withdrawn. Having fought for five days and caused an immense carnage, that Brahman well-versed in the Vedas, viz., Drona, repaired, O king, to the region of Brahma!'."

SECTION 202

"Dhritarashtra said, Upon the slaughter of the Atiratha, viz., Drona, by Prishata's son, what did my sons and the Pandavas next do?'

"Sanjaya, said, 'After the rout of the Kuru army, upon the slaughter of that Atiratha, viz., Drona, by Prishata's son, Dhananjaya, the son of Kunti beholding a wonderful phenomenon in connexion with his own victory, asked Vyasa, O bull of Bharata's race, who came thither in course of his wanderings, saying, 'O great Rishi, while I was engaged in slaying the foe in battle with showers of bright shafts, I continually beheld before me, proceeding in advance of my car, a person of blazing hue, as if endued with the effulgence of fire. Whithersoever he proceeded with his uplifted lance, all the hostile warriors were seen to break before him. Broken in reality by him, people regarded the foe to have been broken by me. Following in his wake, I only destroyed those, already destroyed by him. O holy one, tell me who was that foremost of persons, armed with lance, resembling the sun himself in energy, that was thus seen by me? He did not touch the earth with his feet, nor did he hurl his lance even once. In consequence of his energy, thousands of lances issued out of that one lance held by him.'

"Vyasa said, 'Thou hast, O Arjuna, seen Sankara, that First cause from which have sprung the Prajapatis, that puissant Being endued with great energy, he that is the embodiment of heaven, earth and sky, the Divine Lord, the protector of the universe, the great Master, the giver of boons, called also Isana. O, seek the protection of that boon, giving Deity, that lord of the universe. He is called Mahadeva (the Supreme Deity), of Supreme Soul, the one only Lord, with matted locks (on head), the abode of auspiciousness. Of three eyes and mighty arms, he is called Rudra, with his locks tied in the shape of a crown, and his body attired in skins. That boon-giving lord of the universe, that Supreme Deity, is also called Hara and Sthanu. He is the foremost of every being in the universe, he is incapable of being vanquished, he is the delighter of the universe and its supreme ruler. The first cause, the light and refuge of the universe, he is ever victorious. The Soul and the creator of the universe, and having the universe for his form, he is possessed of great fame. The Lord of the universe, and its great Ruler, that puissant one, is also the master of all actions. Called also Sambhu, he is self-born, he is the lord of all creatures, and the origin of the Past, the Future, and the Present. He is Yoga and the lord of Yoga; he is called Sarva, and is the Lord of all the worlds. He is superior to everything. The foremost of everything in the universe, and the highest of all, he is called also Parumesthin. The Ordainer of the three worlds, he is the sole refuge of the three worlds. Incapable of being vanquished, he is the protector of the universe, and abode (the necessity of) birth, decay, and death. The Soul of knowledge, incapable of being compassed by knowledge, and the highest of all knowledge he is unknowable. Through grace, he giveth unto his worshippers the boons they desire. That Lord hath for his companions celestial beings of diverse forms, some of whom are dwarfs, some having matted locks, some with bald heads, some with short necks, some with large stomachs, some with huge bodies, some possessed of great strength and some of long ears. All of them, O Partha, have deformed faces and mouths and legs and strange attires. That Supreme Deity, called Mahadeva, is worshipped by followers that are even such. Even that Siva, O son, endued with such energy, proceedeth through kindness, in advance of thee. In that fierce battle, O Partha, making the very hair stand on end, who else, O Arjuna, than the divine Maheswara, that foremost of all bowmen, that Deity of divine form, could even in imagination venture to vanquish that force which was protected by those great smiters and bowmen, viz., Aswatthaman and Karna and Kripa? None can venture to stay before the warrior that hath Maheswara walking before him. There is no being in the three worlds that is equal to him. And the very scent of the enraged Mahadeva, foes in battle tremble and become senseless and fall in large numbers. For this, the gods in heaven adore and bow to him. Those men in this world and those other men of pious conduct, that devoutly worship the boon-giving, divine, and auspicious Rudra, obtain happiness here and attain to the highest state hereafter. O son of Kunti, bow down unto him that is peace, unto him, called Rudra of blue throat, exceedingly subtle, and of great effulgence, unto him called Kapardin, him that is terrible, him that of tawny eyes, him that is boon-giving; unto that great ordainer, of red locks and righteous conduct; unto him that always does auspicious acts; unto him that is an object of desire; him that is of tawny eyes; him that is called Sthanu; him that is called Purusha; unto him that is of tawny hair; him that is bold, him that is exceedingly subtle and of great effulgence; unto him that is the giver of light; him that is the embodiment of all sacred waters; him that is the God of gods; and him that is endued with great impetuosity; unto him that is of manifest form; him that is called Sarva; him that is of agreeable attire; unto him that has an excellent head-gear, him that is of handsome face; him that has the mountains for his habitation; him that is peace; him that is the protector; him that has barks of trees for his attire; him whose arms are decked with ornaments of gold, him who is fierce, him that is the lord of all the points of the compass; him that is the lord of the clouds and of all created beings; him that is the lord of all trees and of all kine; him that has his body shrouded with trees; him who is the celestial generalissimo; him who inspires all thought; him who has the sacrificial ladle in his hand; him who is blazing; him who wields the bow; him who is Rama's self, him who has diverse forms; him who is the lord of the universe; him who had the munja grass for his attire; him who has a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand arms, and a thousand legs. O son of Kunti, seek the protection of that boon-giving Lord of the universe, the lord of Uma, that God of three eyes, that destroyer of Daksha's sacrifice; that guardian of all created things, that being who is always cheerful, that protector of all beings, that God of unfading glory; that one with matted locks; that mover of all superior beings, that one whose navel is like that of a bull and who hath the bull for his symbol; that one who is proud like the bull, who is the lord of bulls; who is represented by the horns of the bull; and who is the bull of bulls; that one who hath the image of the bull on his banner; who is liberal to all righteous persons; who can be approached by Yoga only; and whose eyes are like those of a bull; who owneth very superior weapons: who hath Vishnu himself for his arrow; who is the embodiment of righteousness; and who is called Maheswara; who is of vast stomach and vast body; who hath a leopard's skin for his seat; who is the lord of the worlds; who is devoted to Brahma and who loveth Brahmanas; who is armed with trident; who is boon-giving; who wieldeth the sword and the shield, and who is highly auspicious, who wieldeth the bow called Pinaka, who is divested of the battle axe [Having given it away to Rama, his disciple.], and who is the protector and lord of the universe. I place myself in the hands of that divine Lord, that grantor of protection, that God attired in deer-skins. Salutations, to that Lord of the celestials who hath Vaisravana for his friend. Salutations ever to him of excellent vows; to him who hath excellent bowmen for his companions; to him who himself wieldeth the bow; to that God with whom the bow is a favourite weapon; who is himself the shaft impelled by the bow; who is the bowstring and the bow; and the preceptor teaching the use of the bow. Salutations to the God whose weapons are fierce; and who is the foremost of all the gods. Salutations to him of diverse forms; to him who hath many bowmen around him. Salutations ever to him who is called Sthanu and who has a large number of excellent bowmen for his companions. Salutations to him who destroyed the triple city. Salutations to him who slew (the Asura) Bhaga. Salutations to him who is the lord of trees and of men. Salutations to him who is the lord of the (celestial), Mothers, and of those tribes of spirits known by the name of Ganas. Salutations ever to him who is the lord of kine and of sacrifices. Salutations ever to him who is the lord of the waters and the lord of the gods, who is the destroyer of Surya's teeth, who is of three eyes, who is the grantor of boons; who is called Hara, who is blue-throated, and who is of golden locks. I will now tell thee, according to my knowledge

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and as I have heard of them, all the divine deeds of Mahadeva of Supreme wisdom. If Mahadeva becomes angry, neither gods, nor Asuras, Gandharvas, nor Rakshasas, even if they hide themselves in deep oceans, can have peace. In the days of yore, Daksha, for performing a sacrifice, had collected the necessary articles. Mahadeva destroyed that sacrifice in wrath. Indeed, He became very stern on that occasion. Shooting an arrow from his bow, he uttered terrible roars. The celestials then became filled with anxiety and fright. Indeed, when Mahadeva became angry and the Sacrifice (in its embodied form) fled away, the gods became exceedingly frightened at the twang of Mahadeva's bow and the sound of his palms. The gods and Asuras all fell down and submitted to Mahadeva. All the waters swelled up in agitations and the earth trembled. The mountains split, and all the points of the compass and the Nagas became stupefied. The universe, enveloped in a thick darkness, could no longer be seen. The splendour of all luminaries, with the sun was destroyed. The Rishis, filled with fear, became agitated, and desirous of their own good as also of all creatures, performed propitiatory rites. Surya was then eating the principal oblation. Smilingly Sankara approached him and tore out his teeth. The gods then, humbling themselves to him, fled away, trembling. Once more, Mahadeva aimed at the gods a shower of blazing and keen arrows resembling flames of fire mixed with smoke, or clouds with lightning. Beholding that arrowy shower, all the gods bowing down unto Maheswara, assigned to Rudra a substantial share in sacrifices. In fright, the gods, O prince, sought his protection. His wrath being dispelled, the great God then restored the sacrifice. The gods that had fled away came back. Indeed, they are to this day afraid of Maheswara. Formerly, the valiant Asuras had, in heaven, three cities. Each of those cities was excellent and large. One was made of iron, another of silver, and the third of gold. The golden city belonged to Kamalaksha, the silver city to Tarakaksha, and the third, made of iron, had Vidyunmalin for its lord. With all his weapons, Maghavat (Indra) was unable to make any impression on those cities. Afflicted (by the Asuras), all the gods sought the protection of Rudra. Approaching him, all the gods with Vasava at their head, said, 'These terrible dwellers of the triple city have received boons from Brahma. Filled with pride in consequence of those boons, they are greatly afflicting the universe, O Lord of the gods, none, save thee, is competent to slay them. Therefore, O Mahadeva, slay these enemies of the gods: O Rudra, creatures slain in every sacrifice shall then be thine. Thus addressed by the gods, Mahadeva thus accepted their request, moved by the desire of benefiting them, and said, 'I will overthrow these Asuras. And Hara made the two mountains, viz., Gandhamadana and Vindhya, the two poles of his car. And Sankara made the earth with her oceans and forests his battle car. And the three-eyed deity made that prince of snakes, viz., Sesha, the Aksha, of that car. And that God of gods, the wielder of Pinaka, made the moon and the sun the two wheels of that vehicle. And the triple-eyed Lord made Elapatra and Pushpadanta, the two pins of the yoke. And the valiant Mahadeva made the Malaya mountains the yoke, and the great Takshaka the string for tying the yoke to the poles, and the creatures about him the traces of the steed. And Maheswara made the four Vedas his four steeds. And that lord of the three worlds made the supplementary Vedas the bridle-bits. And Mahadeva made Gayatri and Savitri the reins, the syllable Om the whip, and Brahma the driver. And making the Mandara mountains the bow, Vasuki the bowstring, Vishnu his excellent shaft, Agni the arrow-head, and Vayu the two wings of that shafts, Yama the feathers in its tail, lightning the whetting stone, and Meru the standard, Siva, riding on that excellent car which was composed of all the celestial forces, proceeded for the destruction of the triple city. Indeed, Sthanu, that foremost of smiter, that Destroyer of Asuras, that handsome warrior of immeasurable prowess, adored by the celestials, O Partha, and by Rishis possessing wealth of asceticism, caused an excellent and unrivalled array called after his own name, and stood immovable for a thousand years. When, however, the three cities came together in the firmament, the lord Mahadeva. pierced them with that terrible shaft of his, consisting of three knots. The Danavas were unable to gaze at that shafts inspired with Yuga-fire and composed of Vishnu and Soma. While the triple city commenced to burn, the goddess Parvati repaired thither to behold the sight. She had then on her lap, a child having a bald head with five clumps of hair on it. The goddess asked the deities as to who that child was. Sakra, through ill-feeling endeavoured to strike that child with his thunderbolt. The divine lord Mahadeva (for the child was none other), smiling, quickly paralysed the arm of the enraged Sakra. Then god Sakra, with his arm paralysed accompanied by all the celestials, speedily repaired to the lord Brahma of unfading glory. Bowing unto him with their heads, they addressed Brahma with joined hands and said, 'Some wonderful creature, O Brahma, lying on the lap of Parvati, in the form of a child, was behold by us but not saluted. We have all been vanquished by him. We, therefore, desire to ask thee as to who he may be. Indeed, that boy, without fighting, hath with the greatest ease vanquished us all with Purandara at our head.' Hearing these words of theirs, Brahma. that foremost of all persons, acquainted with Brahma, reflected for a moment and understood that boy of immeasurable energy to be none else than the divine Sambhu, Addressing then, those foremost of celestials with Sakra at their head, Brahma said, 'That child is the divine Hara the Lord of the entire mobile and immobile universe. There is nothing superior to Maheswara. That Being of immeasurable splendour who was beheld by you all with Uma, that divine lord, had assumed the form of a child for Uma's sake. Let us all go unto him. That divine and illustrious one is the Supreme Lord of the world. Ye gods, ye could not recognise that master of the universe.' Then all the gods with the Grandsire repaired to that child, endued with the effulgence of the morning sun. Beholding Maheswara, and knowing that he was the Supreme Being, the Grandsire Brahma thus adored him: Thou art Sacrifice, O lord, thou art the stay and refuge of the universe. Thou art Bhava, thou art Mahadeva, thou art the abode (of all things), and thou art the highest refuge. This whole universe with its mobile and immobile creatures, is pervaded by thee. O holy one, O lord of the past and the future, O lord of the world, O protector of the universe, let Sakra, afflicted with thy wrath, have thy grace.'

"Vyasa continued, 'Hearing these words of the lotus-born Brahma, Maheswara became gratified. Desirous of extending his grace, he laughed aloud. The celestials then gratified (with praise) both Uma and Rudra. The arm of the thunder-wielding Sakra re-got its natural state. That foremost one of all the gods, that destroyer of Daksha's sacrifice, that divine lord having the bull for his sign, became gratified with the gods. He is Rudra he is Siva, he is Agni, he is everything, and he hath knowledge of everything. He is Indra, he is the Wind, he is the twin Aswins, and he is the lighting. He is Bhava, he is Parjanya, he is Mahadeva, he is sinless. He is the Moon, he is Isana, he is Surya, he is Varuna. He is Kala, he is Antaka, he is Mrityu, he is Yama. [All these terms imply Death or the Destroyer.] He is the day, and he is the night. He is the fortnight, he is the month, he is the seasons. He is the morning and evening-twilights, he is the year. He is Dhatri, he is Vidhatri, he is the Soul of the universe, and he is the doer of all acts in the universe. Though himself without body, it is he who is the embodied celestial. Endued with great splendour he is adored and praised by all the gods. He is One, he is Many, he is hundred and thousand. Brahmanas versed in the Vedas say that he hath two forms. These are the terrible and the auspicious. These two forms, again, are multifarious. His auspicious forms are water, light, and the moon. Whatever is highly mysterious in the several branches of the Vedas, in the Upanishads, in the Puranas, and in those sciences that deal with the soul, is that God, viz., Maheswara, Mahadeva is even such. That God is, again, without birth. All the attributes of that God are not capable of being enumerated by me even if, O son of Pandu, I were to recite them continually for a thousand years. Even unto those that are afflicted by all the evil planets, even unto those that are stained with every sin, that great protector, if they seek him, becomes gratified with them and granteth them salvation. He granteth, and taketh away life and health and prosperity and wealth and diverse kinds of objects of desire. The prosperity is his that is seen in Indra and other gods. He is ever engaged in the good and evil of men in this world. In consequence of his supremacy, he can always obtain whatever objects he desires. He is called Maheswara and is the lord of even the supreme ones. In many forms of many kinds he pervadeth the universe. The mouth which that God has is in the ocean. It is well-known that mouth, assuming the form of a mare's head, drinketh the sacrificial libation in the shape of water. This god always dwelleth in crematoriums. Men worship that Supreme lord in that place where none but the courageous can go. Many are the blazing and terrible forms of this God that men speak of and worship in the world. Many also are the names, of truthful import, of this Deity in all the worlds. Those names are founded upon his supremacy, his omnipotence, and his acts. In the Vedas the excellent hymn called Sata Rudriya, hath been sung in honour of that great God called the infinite Rudra. That God is the lord of all wishes that are human and heavenly. He is omnipotent, and he is the supreme master. Indeed, that God pervadeth the vast universe. The Brahmanas and the Munis describe him as the First-born of all creatures. He is the First of all the gods; from his mouth was born Vayu (the wind). And since he always protecteth the creatures (of the universe) and sporteth with them, and since also he is the lord of all creatures, therefore is he called Pasupati. And since his Phallic emblem is always supposed to be in the observance of the vow of Brahmacharya, and since he always gladden the world, therefore he is called Maheswara. The Rishis, the gods, the Gandharvas, and Apsaras, always worship his Phallic emblem which is supposed to stand upright. That worship maketh Maheswara glad. Indeed, Sankara (at such worship) becomes happy, pleased, and highly glad. And since with respect to the past, the future, and the present, that God has many forms, he is, on that account, called Vahurupa (many-formed). Possessed of one eye he blazeth forth in effulgence, or he may be regarded to have many eyes on every side of his body. And since, he possesseth the worlds, he is for that reason called Sarva. And since his form is like that of smoke, he is for that reason called Dhurjjati. And since those deities, viz., the Viswedevas are in him, he is for that reason called Viswarupa. And since three goddesses adore and have recourse to that Lord of the universe, viz., Firmament, Water and Earth, he is for that reason called Tryamvaka. And since he always increaseth all kinds of wealth and wisheth the good of mankind in all their acts, he is for that reason called Siva. He possesseth a thousand eyes, or ten thousand eyes, and hath them on all sides. And since he protecteth this vast universe, he is for that reason called Mahadeva. And since he is great and ancient and is the source of life and of its continuance, and since his Phallic emblem is everlasting, he is for that reason called Sthanu. And since the solar and the lunar rays of light that appear in the world are spoken of as the hair on the Three-eyed one, he is for that reason called Vyomakesa. And since, afflicting Brahma and Indra and Varuna and Yama and Kuvera, he destroyeth them ultimately, he is for that reason called Hara. And since, he is the Past, the Future, and the Present, and, in fact, everything in the universe, and since he is the origin of the past, the future, and the present, he is for that reason called Bhava. The word Kapi is said to mean supreme, and Vrisha is said to mean righteousness. The illustrious God of gods, therefore, is called Vrishakapi. And since Maheswara by means of his two eyes closed (in meditation), created through sheer force of will a third eye on his forehead, he is for that reason called the Three-eyed. Whatever of unsoundness there is in the bodies of living creatures, and whatever of soundness there is in them, represent that God. He is the wind, the vital airs called Prana, Apana (and the others) in the bodies of all creatures, including even those that are diseased. He who adoreth any image of the Phallic emblem of that high-souled God, always obtaineth great prosperity by that act. Downwards fiery, and half the body, that is auspiciousness is the moon. His auspiciousness is the moon. So also half his soul is fire and half the moon. His auspicious from, full of energy, is more blazing than the forms of the gods. Among men, his blazing and terrible form is called fire. With that auspicious form he practiseth Brahmacharya. With that other terrible form he as supreme Lord devoureth everything. And since he burneth, since he is fierce, since he is endued with great prowess, and since he devoureth flesh and blood and marrow, he is for this called Rudra. Even such is the deity called Mahadeva, armed with Pinaka, who, O Partha, was seen by thee engaged in slaying thy foes in advance of thy car. After thou hadst vowed to slay the ruler of the Sindhus, O sinless one, Krishna showed thee this God, in thy dream, sitting on the top of that foremost of mountains. This illustrious God proceedeth in advance of thee in battle. It is he who gave thee those weapons with which thou didst slay the Danavas. The hymn approved of the Vedas, and called Sata-Rudriya, in honour of that God of gods, that excellent, famous, life-enhancing, and sacred hymn, has now, O Partha, been explained to thee. This hymn of four divisions, capable of accomplishing every object, is sacred, destructive of all sins, and competent to drive away all stains and to kill all sorrows and all fears. The men that always listen to this succeeds in vanquishing all his foes and is highly respected in the region of Rudra. The person who always attentively reads or listens to the recitation of this excellent and auspicious account, appertaining to battle, of the illustrious Deity, and he worships with devotion that illustrious Lord of the universe, obtaineth all the objects of desire, in consequence of the three-eyed God being gratified with him. Go and fight, O son of Kunti, defeat is not for thee, that hast Janardana. on thy side for thy adviser and protector.'

"Sanjaya said, 'Having addressed Arjuna in these words, the son of Parasara, O chief of the Bharatas, went away to the place he had come from, O chastiser of foes.'

SECTION 203

"Sanjaya said, 'Having battled fiercely for five days, O king, the Brahmana (Drona) endued with great strength, fell and repaired to the region of Brahma. The fruits that arise from a study of the Vedas arise from a study of this Parva also. The great achievements of brave Kshatriyas have been described here. He who readeth or listeneth to the recitation of this Parva every day is freed from heinous sins and the most atrocious acts of his life. Brahmanas may always obtain herefrom the fruits of sacrifices. From this, Kshatriyas may obtain victory in fierce battle. The other orders (Vaisyas and Sudras) may obtain desirable sons and grandsons and all objects of desire!'"

The end of Drona Parva.

THE MAHABHARATA, BOOK 8

KARNA PARVA

SECTION 1

Om! Having bowed down unto Narayana, and unto that most exalted of male beings, Nara, and unto the goddess Sarasvati also, must the word Jaya be uttered.

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Vaishampayana said, "After Drona had been slain, O monarch, the royal warriors (of the Kaurava army) headed by Duryodhana, with hearts filled with great anxiety, all repaired to Drona's son. Lamenting the loss of Drona, and deprived of energy in consequence of their cheerlessness, they sat around the son of Sharadvata's daughter, afflicted with grief. Comforted for a little while by considerations founded upon the scriptures, when night came, those rulers of Earth proceeded to their respective tents. Those lords of Earth, however, O thou of Kuru's race, could feel no happiness in their abodes. Thinking of that immense slaughter, they could not also sleep. The Suta's son (Karna), and king Suyodhana and Duhshasana and Shakuni, in special, could not compose themselves to sleep. Those four passed that night together in Duryodhana's tent, reflecting upon the woes they had inflicted upon the high-souled Pandavas. Formerly they had brought Draupadi, plunged into woe on account of the match at dice, into the assembly. Recollecting it they experienced great regret, their hearts being filled with anxiety. Thinking of those sufferings inflicted (upon the Pandavas) in consequence of the gambling match they passed that night in sorrow, O king, as if it were really a hundred years. Then when morning came, observing the dictates of the ordinance, all of them duly went through the customary rites. Having gone through these customary rites, and comforted to some extent, O Bharata, they ordered their troops to be arrayed, and then came out for battle, having made Karna their generalissimo by tying the auspicious thread round his wrists, and having caused many foremost of brahmanas, by presents of vessels of curds, clarified butter, akshatas, coins of gold, kine, jewels and gems, and costly robes, to pray for their victory, and having caused heralds and musicians, and panegyrists to adore them with hymns about victory. The Pandavas also, O king, having gone through their morning rites, issued from their camp, resolved on battle. Then commenced a fierce battle, making the hair to stand on end, between the Kurus and the Pandavas, each desirous of vanquishing the other. During the commandership of Karna, the battle that took place between the Kuru and the Pandava troops was exceedingly fierce and lasted for two days. Then Vrisha (Karna) having made an immense slaughter of his enemies in battle, was at last slain in the sight of the Dhartarashtras, by Arjuna. Then Sanjaya, repairing to Hastinapura told Dhritarashtra all that had happened at Kurujangala."

Janamejaya said, "Having heard of the fall of Bhishma and that other mighty car-warrior, Drona, the old king Dhritarashtra the son of Ambika had been afflicted with great grief. How, O foremost of brahmanas, could he, plunged into grief, support his life having heard of the death of Karna, that well-wisher of Duryodhana? How indeed, could that descendant of Kuru support his life when he, upon whom that monarch had rested the hope of his sons' victory, had fallen? When the king did not lay down his life even after hearing of Karna's death, I think that it is very difficult for men to yield up life even under circumstances of great grief! O brahmana, when the king did not yield up his life after hearing of the fall of the venerable son of Shantanu, of Bahlika and Drona and Somadatta and Bhurishrava, as also other friends and his sons and grandsons, I think, O regenerate one, that the act of yielding up one's life is exceedingly difficult! Tell me all these in detail and as they actually happened! I am not satiated with hearing the high achievements of my ancestors!"

SECTION 2

Vaishampayana said, "Upon the fall of Karna, O monarch, the son of Gavalgana, with a cheerless heart, set out that night for Nagapura, on steeds that rivalled the wind in speed. Arrived at Hastinapura, with a heart filled with deep anxiety, he proceeded to Dhritarashtra's abode which no longer teemed with kinsmen and friends. Beholding the king deprived of all energy by grief, joining his hands he worshipped, with a bend of his head, the monarch's feet. Having duly worshipped king Dhritarashtra, he uttered an exclamation of woe and then began, 'I am Sanjaya, O lord of Earth! Art thou not happy? I hope thou art not stupefied, having through thy own faults fallen into such distress? Counsels for thy good had been uttered by Vidura and Ganga's son and Keshava. I hope thou feelest no pain now, remembering thy rejection of those counsels? Counsels for thy good had also been uttered in the assembly by Rama and Narada and Kanwa and others. I hope thou feelest no pain now, remembering their rejection by thee? I hope thou feelest no pain, remembering the slaughter in battle, by the foe, of Bhishma and Drona and others, those friends that were ever engaged in thy good?' Unto the Suta's son who with joined hands was telling him so, the monarch afflicted with grief and drawing a long and hot breath, said these words.

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Hearing, O Sanjaya, of the fall of the heroic son of Ganga, that warrior of all celestial weapons, as also of the fall of that foremost of all bowmen, Drona, my heart feeleth great pain! That hero endued with great energy and born of the Vasus themselves, who slew every day 10,000 car-warriors clad in mail, that high-souled one unto whom Bhrigu's son had given the highest weapons, that warrior who in his childhood had been trained in the science of the bow by Rama, alas, even he hath been slain by Yajnasena's son Shikhandi protected by the Pandavas! At this my heart is greatly pained! That hero through whose grace those mighty car-warriors, the royal sons of Kunti, as also many other lords of Earth, have become maharathas, alas, hearing of the slaughter of that great bowman of sure aim, Drona, by Dhrishtadyumna, my heart is exceedingly pained! Those two had not in the world a person equal to them in (knowledge and use of) the four kinds of weapons! Alas, hearing of the slaughter of these two, Bhishma and Drona, in battle my heart is exceedingly pained! That warrior who had not in the three worlds a person equal to him in knowledge of weapons, alas, hearing of the slaughter of that hero, Drona, what did the people of my side do? After the high-souled son of Pandu, Dhananjaya, exerting himself with prowess, had despatched unto Yama's abode the strong force of the samsaptakas, after the Narayana weapon of the intelligent son of Drona had been baffled, and after the (Kaurava) divisions had begun to fly away, what, indeed, did the people of my side do? I think that, after Drona's death my troops, flying away and sinking in an ocean of grief, resembled shipwrecked mariners struggling on the bosom of the vast deep. What also, O Sanjaya, became the colour of the faces of Duryodhana, and Karna, and Kritavarma the chief of the Bhojas and Shalya, the ruler of the Madras, and of my remaining sons, and of the others, when the Kuru divisions fled away from the field? Tell me all this as it truly happened in battle, O son of Gavalgana, and describe to me the prowess put forth by the Pandavas and the warriors of my side!"

"Sanjaya said, 'O sire, hearing all that has happened unto the Kauravas through thy fault, thou shouldst not feel any anguish! He that is wise never feeleth any pain at what Destiny bringeth! And since Destiny is unconquerable, human purposes may or may not become attainable. Hence, he that is wise never feeleth pain on the acquisition or the reverse of the objects cherished by him.

"Dhritarashtra said, 'I do not feel great pain, O Sanjaya! I regard all this to be the result of Destiny! Tell me all that thou wishest!'"

SECTION 3

"Sanjaya said, 'Upon the fall of the great bowman Drona, thy sons, those mighty car-warriors, became pale and deprived of their senses. Armed with weapons, all of them, O monarch, hung down their heads. Afflicted with grief and without looking at one another, they stood perfectly silent. Beholding them with such afflicted countenances, thy troops, O Bharata, themselves perturbed by grief, vacantly gazed upwards. Seeing Drona slain in battle, the weapons of many of them, O king, dyed with blood, dropped from their hands. Innumerable weapons, again, O Bharata, still retained in the grasp of the soldiers, seemed in their pendent attitude, to resemble falling meteors in the sky. Then king Duryodhana, O monarch, beholding that army of thine thus standing as if paralysed and lifeless, said, "Relying upon the might of your army I have summoned the Pandavas to battle and caused this passage-at-arms to commence! Upon the fall of Drona, however, the prospect seems to be cheerless. Warriors engaged in battle all die in battle. Engaged in battle, a warrior may have either victory or death. What can be strange then in this (viz., the death of Drona)? Fight ye with faces turned towards every direction. Behold now the high-souled Karna, the son of Vikartana, that great bowman of mighty strength, careering in battle, using his celestial weapons! Through fear of that warrior in battle, that coward, viz., Dhananjaya, the son of Kunti, always turns back like a small deer at the sight of a lion! It is he who, by the ordinary methods of human battle, brought the mighty Bhimasena endued with the strength of 10,000 elephants to that plight! It is he who, uttering a loud roar, slew with his invincible dart the brave Ghatotkaca of a 1,000 illusions and well-acquainted with celestial weapons! Behold today the inexhaustible might of arms of that intelligent warrior of sure aim and invincible energy! Let the sons of Pandu behold today the prowess of both Ashvatthama and Karna resembling that of Vishnu and Vasava! All of you are singly able to slay the sons of Pandu with their troops in battle! How much more then are you capable, when united together, of that feat! Endued with great energy and accomplished in weapons, you will today behold one another engaged in the achievement of mighty tasks!'"

"Sanjaya continued, 'Having said these words, O sinless one, thy son Duryodhana, with his brothers, made Karna the generalissimo (of the Kuru army). Obtaining the command, the mighty car-warrior Karna, so fierce in battle, uttered loud roars and fought with the foe. He caused, O sire, a great carnage among the Srinjayas, the Pancalas, the Kekayas, and the Videhas. From his bow issued innumerable lines of arrows, one close behind the wings of another, like flights of bees. Having afflicted the Pancalas and the Pandavas endued with great activity, and slain thousands of warriors, he was at last slain by Arjuna!"

SECTION 4

Vaishampayana said, "Hearing this intelligence, O monarch, Dhritarashtra the son of Ambika, feeling the acme of grief, regarded Suyodhana to be already dead. Exceedingly agitated, the king fell down on the Earth like an elephant deprived of its senses. When that foremost of the monarchs, greatly agitated, fell down on the Earth, loud wails were uttered, O best of the Bharatas, by the ladies (of the royal household). That noise was so loud that it seemed to fill the entire Earth. Immersed in a deep ocean of woe, the Bharata ladies, with hearts exceedingly agitated and scorched by grief, wept aloud. Approaching the king, Gandhari, O bull of Bharata's race, and the other ladies of the household, all fell down on the earth, deprived of their senses. Then Sanjaya, O king, began to comfort those ladies stricken with grief, bathed in tears, and reft of consciousness. Comforted (by Sanjaya), those ladies began to tremble repeatedly like a plantain grove shaken by the wind. Vidura also, sprinkling that descendant of Kuru with water, began to comfort the puissant monarch who had knowledge only for his eye. Slowly restored to consciousness, and understanding that the ladies of the household were there, the king, O monarch, remained perfectly silent for some time like one reft of reason. Having reflected then for some time, and repeatedly drawn long breaths, the king censured his own sons and applauded the Pandavas. Censuring also his own intelligence and that of Shakuni the son of Subala, the king, having reflected for a long time, began to tremble repeatedly. Controlling his mind once more, the king, with sufficient fortitude, questioned his charioteer Sanjaya the son of Gavalgana.

"Dhritarashtra said, 'I have heard, O Sanjaya, all that thou hast said. Hath my son Duryodhana, O Suta, who is ever desirous of victory, already gone to Yama's abode, despairing of success? Tell me truly, O Sanjaya, all this even if thou wilt have to repeat it!'"

Vaishampayana continued, "Thus addressed by the king, O Janamejaya, the Suta said unto him, 'The mighty car-warrior Vaikartana, O monarch, hath been slain with his sons and brothers, and other Suta warriors, all of whom were mighty bowmen ready to lay down their lives in battle! Duhshasana also hath been slain by the renowned son of Pandu. Indeed, his blood also hath been, from wrath, drunk by Bhimasena in battle!'"

SECTION 5

Vaishampayana said, "Hearing these words, O monarch, Ambika's son Dhritarashtra, with heart agitated by grief, addressed his driver Sanjaya, saying, 'Though the evil policy, O sire, of my son of little foresight, Vikartana's son hath been slain! This intelligence is cutting the very core of my heart! I am desirous of crossing this sea of grief! Remove my doubts, therefore, by telling me who are still alive and who are dead amongst the Kurus and the Pandavas!'

"Sanjaya said, 'Endued with great prowess and invincible in battle, Bhishma the son of Shantanu, O king, having slain large numbers of Srinjayas and Pancalas, hath been slain after ten days. The mighty and invincible bowman Drona of the golden car, having slaughtered the Pancala divisions in battle, hath been slain. Having slaughtered the half of what remained after the carnage by Bhishma and the illustrious Drona, Vikartana's son Karna hath been slain. Endued with great strength, O monarch, prince Vivingsati, having slain hundreds of Anarta warriors in battle, hath been slain. Thy heroic son Vikarna, deprived of steeds and weapons, stood, facing the foe, remembering the duties of Kshatriyas. Remembering the many foul wrongs inflicted upon him by Duryodhana, and bearing in mind his own vow, Bhimasena hath slain him. Possessed of great might, Vinda and Anuvinda, the two princes of Avanti, after achieving the most difficult feats, have gone to Yama's abode. That hero who had under his sway ten kingdoms, having Sindhu for their chief, him who was ever obedient to thee, Jayadratha of mighty energy, O king, Arjuna hath slain after vanquishing eleven akshauhinis of troops with his keen arrows. Endued with great activity and incapable of being easily defeated in battle, the son of Duryodhana, ever obedient to his sire's commands, hath been slain by the son of Subhadra. The brave son of Duhshasana, possessed of mighty arms and fierce in battle, hath been despatched to Yama's abode by Draupadi's son exerting himself with great prowess! The ruler of the Kiratas and other dwellers of the lowlands on the seacoast, the much respected and dear friend of the chief of the celestials himself, the virtuous king Bhagadatta, who was ever devoted to Kshatriya duties, hath been despatched to Yama's abode by Dhananjaya exerting himself great with prowess. The kinsman of the Kauravas, the son of Somadatta, the brave and celebrated Bhurishrava, O king, hath been slain by Satyaki in battle. The Amvashtha king Srutayus, that foremost of Kshatriyas, who used to career in battle most fearlessly, hath been slain by Arjuna. Thy son Duhshasana, accomplished in arms and invincible in battle, and who was always wrathful, hath, O monarch, been slain by Bhimasena. Sudakshina, O king, who had many thousands of wonderful elephants, hath been slain in battle by Arjuna. The ruler of the Kosolas,

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having slain many hundreds of foes, hath himself been despatched to Yama's abode by Subhadra's son exerting himself with prowess. Having fought with many thousands of foes and with the mighty car-warrior Bhimasena himself, thy son Citrasena hath been slain by Bhimasena. The brave younger brother of the ruler of the Madras, that enhancer of the fears of foes, that handsome warrior armed with sword and shield, hath been slain by Subhadra's son. He who was equal to Karna himself in battle, Karna's son Vrishasena, accomplished in arms, of mighty energy and steady prowess, hath, in the very sight of Karna, been despatched to Yama's abode by Dhananjaya who put forth his prowess remembering the slaughter of his own son Abhimanyu and bearing in mind the vow he had made. That lord of Earth, Srutayus, who always displayed a deep-rooted antipathy towards the Pandavas, hath been slain by Partha who reminded him of that antipathy before taking his life. Shalya's son of great prowess, O sire, Rukmaratha, hath, O king, been slain in battle by Sahadeva although the former happened to be the latter's brother, having been the son of the latter's maternal uncle. The old king Bhagiratha, and Vrihatkshatra the ruler of the Kaikeyas both endued with great prowess and might and energy, have been slain. Bhagadatta's son, O king who was possessed of great wisdom and great strength, hath been slain by Nakula who always careers in battle with the activity of the hawk. Thy grandsire Bahlika, possessed of great might and prowess, hath, with all his followers, been slain by Bhimasena. The mighty Jayatsena the son of Jarasandha, the prince of the Magadhas, O king, hath been slain in battle by the high-souled son of Subhadra. Thy son Durmukha, O king, as also thy other son Dussaha, that mighty car-warrior, both of whom were regarded as heroes, have been slain by Bhimasena with his mace. Durmarshana and Durvisaha and the mighty car-warrior Durjaya, having achieved the most difficult feats, have gone to Yama's abode. The two brothers Kalinga and Vrishaka, who were invincible in battle, having achieved very difficult feats have gone to Yama's abode. Thy counsellor Vrishavarman of the Suta caste, endued with great energy, hath been despatched to Yama's abode by Bhimasena exerting himself with prowess. So also king Paurava who was endued with the might of 10,000 elephants, hath, with all his followers, been slain by Pandu's son Arjuna. The Vasatis, O king, numbering 2,000, effectual smiters of all, as also the Surasenas endued with prowess, have all been slain in battle. The Abhishahas, clad in mail, capable of smiting effectually, and fierce in battle, also the Sivis, those foremost of car-warriors, with the Kalingas, have all been slain. Those other heroes also, (the Narayana Gopas) who live and grew in Gokula, who were exceedingly wrathful in battle, and who never retreated from the field have been slain by Savyasaci. Many thousands of Srenis, as also the samsaptakas, approaching Arjuna, have all repaired to the abode of Yama. Thy two brothers-in-law, viz., the princes Vrishaka and Achala, who were endued with great prowess, have for thy sake been slain by Savyasaci. King Shalva of mighty arms and fierce deeds, who was a great bowman both in name and feats, hath been slain by Bhimasena. Oghavat, O king, and Vrishanta, fighting together in battle and exerting themselves with great vigour for the sake of their ally, have both repaired to Yama's abode. So also that foremost of car-warriors, viz., Kshemadhurti, O monarch, hath been slain in battle by Bhimasena with his mace. So also that great bowman, viz., the mighty king Jalasandha, after causing an immense carnage, hath been slain by Satyaki in battle. That prince of Rakshasas, viz., Alayudha, unto whose vehicle were yoked asses (of monstrous shape) hath been despatched to Yama's abode by Ghatotkaca exerting himself with great prowess. Radha's son of the Suta caste, and those mighty car-warriors who were his brothers, and the Kaikeyas, the Malavas, the Madrakas the Dravidas of fierce prowess, the Yaudheyas, the Lalittyas, the Kshudrakas, the Usinaras, the Tundikeras, the Savitriputras, the Easterners, the Northerners, the Westerners, and the Southerners, O sire, have all been slain by Savyasaci. Large bands of foot-soldiers, myriads upon myriads of steeds, large number of car-warriors, and many huge elephants, have been slain. Many heroes also, with standards and weapons, and with armour and attire and ornaments, and endued with perseverance and possessed of high birth and good conduct, have been slain in battle by Partha who is never fatigued with exertion. Others, endued with immeasurable might, and desirous of slaying their foes, (have met with a similar fate). These and many other kings, numbering thousands, with their followers, have, O monarch, been slain in battle. That which thou askest me I am answering now. Even thus did the destruction take place when Arjuna and Karna fought. Even as Mahendra slew Vritra, and Rama slew Ravana; even as Krishna slew Naraka or Mura in battle; even as the mighty Rama of Bhrigu's race slew the heroic Kartavirya, invincible in battle, with all his kinsmen and friends, after fighting a terrible battle celebrated through the three worlds; even as Skanda slew (the Asura) Mahisha, and Rudra slew (the Asura) Andhaka, even so hath Arjuna, O king, in single combat, slain, with all his kinsmen, that foremost of smiters, viz., Karna, who was invincible in battle and upon whom the Dhartarashtras had placed their hopes of victory, and who was the great cause of the hostility with the Pandavas! Pandu's son hath now accomplished that which at one time thou couldst not believe him capable of accomplishing, although, O monarch, well-meaning friends failed not to apprise thee of it. That calamity, fraught with great destruction, hath now come! Thou, O king wishing them well, hast heaped those evils on the heads of thy covetous sons! The fruit of those evils is now manifesting itself!'"

SECTION 6

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Thou hast, O son, mentioned the names of those of my side that have been slain in battle by the Pandavas. Tell me now, O Sanjaya, the names of those amongst the Pandavas that have been slain by the people of my side!'

"Sanjaya said, 'The Kuntis possessed of great prowess in battle, endued with great energy and great might, have been slain in fight by Bhishma, with all their kinsmen and advisers. The Narayanas, the Valabhadras, and hundreds of other heroes, all devoted (to the Pandavas) have been slain in battle by the heroic Bhishma. Satyajit, who was equal to the diadem-decked Arjuna himself in battle as regards energy and might, hath been slain in battle by Drona of sure aim. Many mighty bowmen among the Pancalas, all of whom were skilled in battle, encountering Drona, have repaired to Yama's abode. So the two kings Virata and Drupada, both venerable in years, who exerted themselves with great prowess for their ally, have, with their sons, been slain in battle by Drona. That invincible hero, viz., Abhimanyu, who, though a child in years, was still equal in battle to Arjuna or Keshava or Baladeva, O lord, that, warrior who was highly accomplished in battle, after making an immense slaughter of the foe, was at last encompassed by six foremost of car-warriors and slain by them. Unable to resist Arjuna himself, they thus slew Arjuna's son! Deprived of his car, that hero, viz., the son of Subhadra, still stayed in battle, remembering the duties of a Kshatriya. At last, O king, Duhshasana's son slew him on the field. The slayer of the Patachchatras, viz., the handsome son of Amvashtha, surrounded by a large force, had put forth all his prowess for the sake of his allies. Having made a great slaughter among the foe, he was encountered by Duryodhana's son, the brave Lakshmana, in battle and despatched to Yama's abode. The mighty bowman Vrihanta, accomplished in arms and invincible in battle, hath been despatched to Yama's abode by Duhshasana, exerting himself with great prowess. The two kings Manimat and Dandadhara, both of whom were invincible in battle and had put forth their prowess for their allies, have been slain by Drona. Ansumat the ruler of the Bhojas, that mighty car-warrior at the head of his own forces, hath been despatched to Yama's abode by Drona exerting himself with great prowess. Citrasena, the ruler of the sea-coast, with his son, O Bharata, hath been forcibly despatched by Samudrasena to Yama's abode. Another ruler of a maritime country, viz., Nila, and Vyaghradatta of great energy, have both, O king, been despatched to Yama's abode by Ashvatthama. Citrayudha and Citrayodhin, after making a great slaughter, have both been slain in battle by Vikarna exerting himself with great prowess and displaying diverse manoeuvres of his car. The chief of the Kaikeyas, who was equal to Vrikodara himself in battle and surrounded by Kaikeya warriors, has been slain by Kaikeya, the brother by the brother. Janamejaya of the hilly country, endued with great prowess and accomplished in encounters with the mace, hath, O king, been slain by thy son Durmukha. Those two foremost of men, viz., the brothers Rochamana, like two brilliant planets, have together been despatched to heaven by Drona with his shafts. Many other kings, O monarch, endued with great prowess, have fought (for the Pandavas) Having achieved the most difficult feats, all of them have gone to Yama's abode. Purujit and Kuntibhoja, the two maternal uncles of Savyasaci, have been despatched by Drona with shafts to such regions as are attained by death in battle. Abhibhu the Kasis, at the head of many of his followers, hath been obliged by Vasudana's son to lay down his life in battle. Yudhamanyu of immeasurable prowess, and Uttamauja of great energy, after slaying hundreds of heroic warriors, have themselves been slain by our men. The Pancala prince Mitravarman, O Bharata, those two foremost of bowmen, have been despatched to Yama's abode by Drona. Shikhandi's son Kshatradeva, that foremost of warriors, possessed of great bravery, hath, O king, been slain by thy grandson Lakshmana, O sire! The two heroes Sucitra and Citravarman, who were sire and son and endued with great might, and who careered fearlessly in battle, have been slain by Drona. Vardhakshemi, O monarch, who was like the ocean at full tide, having had his weapons exhausted in battle, hath at last obtained undisturbed peace. That foremost of Sutas, viz., Senavindu, having consumed many foes in battle, hath, at last, O king been slain by Bahlika. Dhrishtaketu, O monarch, that foremost of car-warriors among the Cedis, after accomplishing the most difficult feats, hath repaired to the abode of Yama. Similarly, the heroic Satyadhriti, endued with great prowess, having made a great slaughter in battle for the sake of the Pandavas, has been despatched to Yama's abode. That lord of Earth, viz., Suketu, the son of Shishupala, having slain many foes, hath at last been slain by Drona in battle. Virata's son Sankha, as also Uttara of great strength, having accomplished the most difficult feats, have repaired to Yama's abode. Similarly, Satyadhriti of the Matsyas, and Madiraswa of great energy, and Suryadatta possessed of great prowess, have all been slain by Drona with his shafts. Srenimat also, O monarch, having fought with great prowess and accomplished the most difficult feats, hath repaired to Yama's abode. Similarly, the chief of the Magadhas, that slayer of hostile heroes, endued with great energy and acquainted with the highest weapons, sleepeth on the field of battle, slain by Bhishma. Vasudana also, having made an immense carnage in battle, has been despatched to Yama's abode by Bharadwaja's son exerting himself with great prowess. These and many other mighty car-warriors of the Pandavas have been slain by Drona exerting himself with great energy. I have now told them all that thou hadst asked me.'"

SECTION 7

"Dhritarashtra said, 'When all the foremost of my warriors, O Sanjaya have perished, I do not think that the remnant of my army will not perish! When those two heroes, those two mighty bowmen, those two foremost of the Kurus, Bhishma and Drona, have been slain, what use can I any longer have with life? I cannot also brook the death of Radha's son, that ornament of battle, the might of whose arms was as great as that of 10,000 elephants! O foremost of speakers, tell me now, O Suta, who are yet alive in my army after the death of all the foremost heroes! Thou hast told me the names of those that have fallen. It seems, however, to me that those who are still alive are almost all dead!'

"Sanjaya said, 'That hero O king, to whom Drona, that foremost of brahmanas, imparted many blazing, celestial, and mighty weapons of the four kinds, that mighty car-warrior, possessed of skill and lightness of hands, that hero of firm grasp, strong weapons, and powerful shafts, that high-souled son of Drona, capable of shooting to a great distance, is still on the field, desirous of battling for thy sake. That dweller of the Anarta country, that son of Hridika, that mighty car-warrior, that foremost one among the Satwatas, that chief of the Bhojas, Kritavarma, accomplished in arms, is on the field, desirous of battle. Artayana's son, dauntless in battle, that first of warriors, that foremost of all yet on thy side, he, that abandoned his own sister's sons, the Pandavas, for making his own words true, that hero endued with great activity who promised in the presence of Yudhishthira that he would in battle depress the proud spirit of Karna, that invincible Shalya, who is equal unto Sakra himself in energy, is still on the field, desirous of battling for thy sake. Accompanied by his own force consisting of Ajaneyas, Saindhavas, mountaineers, dwellers of riparian regions, Kambojas, and Vanayus, the king of the Gandharas stayeth on the field, desirous of battling for thy sake. Sharadvata's son called Gautama, O king, endued with mighty arms and capable of fighting with diverse weapons in diverse beautiful ways, taking up a beautiful and large bow capable of bearing great strain, stayeth on the field, desirous of battle. That mighty car-warrior, the son of the ruler of the Kaikeyas, riding on a goodly car equipped with standard and goodly steeds, stayeth on the field, O chief of Kuru's race, for battling for thy sake. Thy son also, that foremost of heroes in Kuru's race, Purumitra, O king, riding on his car possessed of the effulgence of fire or the Sun, stayeth on the field, like the Sun himself shining brilliantly in the cloudless firmament. Duryodhana also, endued with great energy, in the midst of an elephant force and accompanied by many foremost of combatants, stayeth on his car adorned with gold, desirous of engaging in battle. In the midst of many kings, that foremost of men, possessed of the splendour of a lotus, looked resplendent in his beautiful armour of gold like a fire with little smoke or the Sun emerged from the clouds. So also thy sons Sushena, armed with sword and shield, and the heroic Satyasena, are staying with Citrasena, their hearts full of joy and themselves desirous of battle. Endued with modesty, the Bharata princes Citrayudha, Srutavarman, and Jaya, Dala, and Satyavrata, and Dussala, all of whom are possessed of great might, stay on the field, desirous of battle. The ruler of the Kaitavyas, that prince proud of his courage, and capable of fearlessly careering in battle and slaying his foes, possessing foot-soldiers and cavalry, and elephants and cars, stayeth on the field, desirous of battling for thy sake. The heroic Srutayu and Srutayudha, and Citrangada and Citravarman, those foremost of men, those proud warriors capable of smiting effectually and possessed of sureness of aim, stay on the field, desirous of battle. The high-souled Satyasandha, the son of Karna, stayeth on the field, desirous of battle. Two other sons of Karna, possessing a knowledge of high weapons and endued with great lightness of hands, are both staying, O king, at the head of forces that are large and incapable of being pierced by warriors of little energy, desirous of battling for thy sake. Accompanied by these heroes and by many other

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foremost of warriors, O king, that are possessed of immeasurable might, the Kuru king (Duryodhana) is staying like a second Indra in the midst of his elephant division in expectation of victory!'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Thou hast told me duly all that are alive both amongst us and the foe. From this I plainly see on which side the victory will be. Indeed, it may be inferred from the facts.'"

Vaishampayana continued, "While saying this, Dhritarashtra the son of Ambika, having learnt that only a small portion of his army was alive, for all his foremost of warriors had died, felt his heart to be exceedingly agitated by grief. The king swooned away. Partially restored to his senses, he addressed Sanjaya, saying, 'Wait for a moment!' And the king said, 'O son, having heard of this dire calamity, my heart is greatly agitated. My senses are being stupefied, and my limbs are about to be paralysed!' Having said these words, Dhritarashtra the son of Ambika, that lord of earth, lost his senses and fell down on the earth."

SECTION 8

Janamejaya said, "Having heard of Karna's fall and the slaughter of his sons, what, O foremost of regenerate ones, did the king say, after he had been a little comforted? Indeed, poignant was the grief that he experienced, arising from the calamity that befell his sons! Tell me, I ask thee, all that the king said on that occasion!"

Vaishampayana said, "Hearing of the slaughter of Karna that was incredible and astounding, that was dreadful and capable of paralysing the senses of all creatures, that looked like the downfall of Meru, or a never-to-be-believed clouding of the intellect of the wise Shukra, or the defeat of Indra of terrible feats at the hands of his foes, or the falling down on the Earth of the resplendent Sun from the firmament, or a scarcely-to-be-comprehended drying up of the ocean, that receptacle of inexhaustible waters, or the annihilation, perfectly astounding, of the earth, the firmament, the points of the compass, and the waters, or the fruitlessness of acts both virtuous and sinful, king Dhritarashtra, having earnestly reflected for some time on it, thought that his army had been annihilated. Thinking that other creatures also, as unslayable as Karna, would meet with a similar fate, king Dhritarashtra the son of Ambika, scorched with grief and sighing like a snake, with limbs almost palsied, long breaths, highly cheerless, and filled with melancholy, began to lament, saying, 'Oh!' and 'Alas!' And the king said, 'O Sanjaya, the heroic son of Adhiratha was endued with the prowess of the lion or the elephant! His neck was as thick as that of a bull, and his eyes, gait, and voice were like the bull's! Of limbs as hard as the thunderbolt, that young man, like a bull never flying away from a bull, never desisted from battle even if his foe happened to be the great Indra himself! At the sound of his bow-string and palms and at the whizz of his arrowy showers men and steeds and cars and elephants fled away from battle. Relying upon that mighty-armed one, that slayer of large bands of foes, that warrior of unfading glory, Duryodhana had provoked hostilities with those mighty car-warriors, the sons of Pandu! How then could Karna, that foremost of car-warriors, that tiger among men, that hero of irresistible onset, be forcibly slain by Partha in battle? Relying on the might of his own arms, he always disregarded Keshava of unfading glory, and Dhananjaya, and the Vrishnis, and all other foes! Often did he use to say unto the foolish, avaricious crestfallen, kingdom-coveting, and afflicted Duryodhana even such words as these, "Alone, I shall, in battle, throw down from their foremost of cars, those two invincible warriors united together, the wielder of sarnga and the wielder of gandiva!" He had subjugated many invincible and mighty foes--the Gandharas, the Madrakas, the Matsyas, the Trigartas, the Tanganas, the Khasas, the Pancalas, the Videhas, the Kulindas, the Kasi-kosalas, the Suhmas, the Angas, the Nishadhas, the Pundras, the Kichakas, the Vatsas, the Kalingas, the Taralas, the Asmakas, and the Rishikas. Subjugating all these brave races, by means of his keen and whetted arrows equipped with kanka feathers, that foremost of car-warriors, Radha's son, had caused all of them to pay tribute to us for the aggrandisement of Duryodhana. Alas, how could that warrior acquainted with celestial weapons, that protector of armies, Karna the son of Vikartana, called also Vrisha, of mighty energy, be slain in battle by his foes, the heroic and mighty sons of Pandu? As Indra is the foremost of gods, Karna was the foremost of men. In the three worlds no third person has been heard of by us to be like them. Amongst steeds, Uccaisravas is the foremost; amongst Yakshas, Vaishravana is the foremost; amongst celestials, Indra is the foremost; amongst smiters, Karna was the foremost. Unvanquished by even the most heroic and the mightiest of monarchs, he had, Duryodhana's aggrandisement, subjugated the whole earth. The ruler of Magadha, having by conciliation and honours obtained Karna for a friend, had challenged all the Kshatriyas of the world, except the Kauravas and the Yadavas, to battle. Hearing that Karna hath been slain by Savyasaci in single combat, I am plunged in an ocean of woe like a wrecked vessel in the vast deep! Indeed, hearing that that foremost of men, that best of car-warriors, hath been slain in single combat, I am sinking in an ocean of grief like a person without a raft in the sea! When, O Sanjaya, I do not die of such grief, I think my heart is impenetrable and made of something harder than the thunderbolt. Hearing of the defeat and humiliation of kinsmen and relatives and allies, who else in the world, O Suta, save my wretched self, would not yield up his life? I desire to have poison or fire or a fall from the summit of a mountain, I am unable, O Sanjaya, to bear this heavy load of grief!'"

SECTION 9

"Sanjaya said, 'The world regards thee to be equal to Yayati the son of Nahusha, in beauty, birth, fame, asceticism, and learning! Indeed, in learning, thou art, O king, like a great rishi, highly accomplished and crowned with success! Summon thy fortitude! Do not yield to grief!'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'I think destiny is supreme, and exertion fruitless since even Karna, who was like a shala tree, hath been slain in battle! Having slaughtered Yudhishthira's army and the large throngs of the Pancala car-warriors, having scorched all the points of the compass by means of his arrowy showers, having stupefied the Parthas in battle like the wielder of the thunderbolt stupefying the asuras, alas, how could that mighty car-warrior, slain by the foe, fall down on the earth like a large tree uprooted by the tempest? Indeed, I do not behold the end of my sorrows like a drowning man unable to see the end of the ocean. My anxieties are increasing, I do not desire to live, hearing of Karna's death and Phalguni's victory! Indeed O Sanjaya, I regard the slaughter of Karna to be highly incredible. Without doubt, this hard heart of mine is made of the essence of adamant, for it does not burst into a 1,000 fragments upon hearing of the fall of Karna! Without doubt, the gods ordained, before (my birth), a very long life for me, since sore distressed on hearing of the death of Karna, I do not die! Fie, O Sanjaya, on this life of one that is destitute of friends. Brought today, O Sanjaya, to this wretched plight, miserably shall I have to live, of foolish understanding that I am, pitied by all! Having formerly been the honoured of the whole world, how shall I, O Suta, live, overridden by foes? From pain to greater pain and calamity, have I come, O Sanjaya, in consequence of the fall of Bhishma and Drona and the high-souled Karna! I do not see that anyone (of my army) will escape with life when the Suta's son hath been slain in battle! He was the great raft, O Sanjaya, to my sons! That hero, having shot innumerable arrows, hath been slain in battle! What use have I of life, without that bull among men? Without doubt, the son of Adhiratha, afflicted with arrows, fell down from his car, like a mountain-peak riven by the fall of thunder! Without doubt, bathed in blood, he lieth, adorning the Earth, like an elephant slain by an infuriate prince of elephants! He who was the strength of the Dhartarashtras, he who was an object of fear to the sons of Pandu, alas, he viz., Karna, that pride of all bowman, hath been slain by Arjuna! He was a hero, a mighty bowman, the dispeller of the fears of my sons! Alas, that hero, reft of life, lieth (on the earth), like mountain struck down by Indra! The fulfilment of Duryodhana's wishes is even like locomotion to one that is lame, or the gratification of the poor man's desire, or stray drops of water to one that is thirsty! Planned in one way, our schemes end otherwise. Alas, destiny is all powerful, and time incapable of being transgressed! Was my son Duhshasana, O Suta, slain, while flying away from the field, humbled (to the dust), of cheerless soul, and destitute of all manliness? O son, O Sanjaya, I hope he did no dastardly act on that occasion? Did not that hero meet with his death like the other kshatriyas that have fallen? The foolish Duryodhana did not accept Yudhishthira's constant advice, wholesome as medicine, against the propriety of battle. Possessed of great renown, Partha, when begged for drink by Bhishma then lying on his arrowy bed, pierced the surface of the earth! Beholding the jet of water caused by the son of Pandu, the mighty-armed (Bhishma, addressing Duryodhana), said, "O sire, make peace with the Pandavas! Hostilities ceasing, peace will be thine! Let the war between thyself and thy cousins end with me! Enjoy the earth in brotherliness with the sons of Pandu!" Having disregarded those counsels, my child is certainly repenting now. That has now come to pass which Bhishma of great foresight said. As regards myself, O Sanjaya, I am destitute of counsellors and reft of sons! In consequence of gambling, I am fallen into great misery like a bird shorn of its wings! As children engaged in sport, O Sanjaya, having seized a bird and cut off its wings, merrily release it, but the creature cannot achieve locomotion in consequence of its winglessness; even so have I become, like a bird shorn of its wings! Weak, destitute of every resource, without kinsmen and deprived of relatives and friends, cheerless and overpowered by enemies, to which point of the compass shall I go? He who vanquished all the Kambojas and the Amvashthas with the Kaikeyas, that puissant one, who, having for the accomplishment of his purpose vanquished the Gandharas and the Videhas in battle, subjugated the whole Earth for the sake of Duryodhana's aggrandisement, alas, he hath been vanquished by the heroic and strong Pandavas endued with mighty arms! Upon the slaughter, in battle, of that mighty bowman, Karna, by the diadem-decked (Arjuna), tell me, O Sanjaya, who were these heroes that stayed (on the field)! I hope he was not alone and abandoned (by friends) when slain in battle by the Pandavas? Thou hast, O sire, told me, before this, how our brave warriors have fallen. With his powerful shafts Shikhandi felled in battle that foremost of all wielders of weapons, viz., Bhishma, who did nothing to repel the attack. Similarly, Sanjaya, Drupada's son Dhrishtadyumna, uplifting his scimitar, slew the mighty bowman Drona who, already pierced with many arrows, had laid aside his weapons in battle and devoted himself to Yoga. These two were both slain at a disadvantage and especially by deceit. Even this is what I have heard about the slaughter of Bhishma and Drona! Indeed, Bhishma and Drona, while contending in fight, were incapable of being slain in battle by the wielder of the thunderbolt himself by fair means. This that I tell thee is the truth! As regards Karna, how, indeed, could Death touch him, that hero equal unto Indra himself, while he was engaged in shooting his manifold celestial weapons? He unto whom in exchange for his earrings, Purandara had given that foe slaying, gold-decked, and celestial dart of the splendour of lightning,--he who had, lying (within his quiver) amid sandal-dust, that snake-mouthed celestial arrow decked with gold, equipped with goodly wings, and capable of slaying all foes, he who, disregarding those heroic and mighty car-warriors having Bhishma and Drona at their head, had acquired from Jamadagni's son the terrible brahmastra, that mighty-armed one, who, having seen the warriors with Drona at their head afflicted with arrows and turn away from the field, had cut off with his keen shafts the bow of Subhadra's son, he who, having in a trice deprived the invincible Bhimasena endued with the might of 10,000 elephants and the speed of the wind, of his car, had laughed at him,--he who, having vanquished Sahadeva by means of his straight shafts and made him carless, slew him not from compassion and considerations of virtue,--he who, with Shakra's dart, slew that prince of rakshasas, Ghatotkaca, who from desire of victory, had invoked a 1,000 kinds of illusions,--he whose feats in battle, filling Dhananjaya with fear, had made the latter for such a long period avoid a single combat with him,--alas, how could that hero be slain in battle? How could he be slain by foes unless one of these had happened to him viz., the destruction of his car, the snapping of his bow, and the exhaustion of his weapons? Who could vanquish that tiger among men, like a real tiger, endued with great impetuosity, Karna, while shaking his formidable bow and shooting therefrom his terrible shafts and celestial weapons in battle? Surely, his bow broke, or his car sank in the earth, or his weapons became exhausted, since thou tellest me that he is slain! I do not, indeed, see any other cause for (explaining) his slaughter! That high-souled one who had made the terrible vow "I will not wash my feet till I slay Phalguni," that warrior through whose fear that bull among men, king Yudhishthira the Just, had not, in the wilderness, for thirteen years continuously, obtained a wink of sleep,--that high-souled hero of great prowess relying upon whose valour my son had forcibly dragged the wife of the Pandavas to the assembly, and there in the midst of that conclave, in the very sight of the Pandavas and in the presence of the Kurus, had addressed the princess of Pancala as the wife of slaves, that hero of the Suta caste, who in the midst of the assembly had addressed Krishna, saying, "All thy husbands, O Krishna, that are even like sesamum seeds without kernel, are no more, therefore, seek some other husband, O thou of the fairest complexion!" and in wrath had caused her to listen to other expressions equally harsh and rude, how was that hero slain by the foe? He who had said unto Duryodhana even these words, viz., "If Bhishma who boasteth of his prowess in battle or Drona who is invincible in fight, doth not, from partiality, slay the sons of Kunti, O Duryodhana, even I will slay them all, let the fever of thy heart be dispelled!" who also said, "What will (Arjuna's) gandiva and the two inexhaustible quivers do to that shaft of mine, smeared with cool sandal-paste, when it will course through the welkin?" alas, how could that warrior possessed of shoulders broad as those of the bull be slain by Arjuna? He who, disregarding the fierce touch of the arrows shot from gandiva had addressed Krishna, saying, "Thou hast no husbands now" and glared at the Pandavas, he who, O Sanjaya, relying on the might of his own arms, had entertained no fear, for even a moment, of the Parthas with their sons and Janardana,--he, I think, could not possibly meet with death at the hands of the very gods with Vasava at their head rushing against him in fury, what then need I say, O sire, of the Pandavas? The person could not be seen competent to stay before the son of Adhiratha, while the latter, putting on his fences, used to touch the bowstring! It was possible for the Earth to be destitute of the splendour of the Sun, of the Moon, or of fire, but the death of that foremost of men, who never retreated from battle, could not be possible. That foolish child of mine, of wicked understanding, who having got Karna, as also his brother Duhshasana, for his ally, had made up his mind for the rejection of Vasudeva's proposals, surely, that wight,

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beholding the slaughter of the bull-shouldered Karna and of Duhshasana, is now indulging in lamentations! Seeing Vikartana's son slain in single combat by Savyasaci, and the Pandavas crowned with victory, what indeed, did Duryodhana say? Seeing Durmarshana slain in battle and Vrishasena also, and seeing his host break when slaughtered by mighty car-warriors, beholding also the kings (of his army) turn back their faces, intent on flight, and his car-warriors already fled, I think that son of mine is now indulging in lamentations! Beholding his host dispirited, what, indeed, did the ungovernable, proud, and foolish Duryodhana, with passions not under control, say? Having himself provoked such fierce hostility though dissuaded by all his friends what, indeed, did Duryodhana, who has suffered a great loss in battle of friends and followers, say? Beholding his brother slain in battle by Bhimasena, and upon his blood being drunk, what indeed, did Duryodhana say? My son had, with the ruler of the gandharvas, said, "Karna will slay Arjuna in battle!" When he saw that Karna slain, what indeed, did he say? What, O sire, did Shakuni, the son of Subala, who had formerly been filled with joy after going through the match at dice and cheating the son of Pandu, say when he saw Karna slain? What did that mighty car-warrior among the Satwatas, that great bowman, Kritavarma the son of Hridika, say when he saw Vaikartana slain? Endued with youth, possessed of a handsome form, agreeable to the sight, and celebrated throughout the world, what, O Sanjaya, did Ashvatthama, the intelligent son of Drona, upon whom brahmanas and kshatriyas and vaishyas who are desirous of acquiring the science of arms wait, for protections, say when he saw Karna slain? What did Sharadvata's son Kripa, O sire, of Gotama's race, that foremost of car-warriors, that teacher of the science of arms, say when he saw Karna slain? What did the mighty leader of the Madras warriors, that king of the Madras, the great bowman Shalya of the Sauvira clan, that ornament of assemblies, that foremost of car-warriors (temporarily) engaged in driving the car, say when he saw Karna slain? What also did all the other warriors, difficult of defeat in battle, those lords of earth that came to fight, say, O Sanjaya, when they behold Vaikartana slain? After the fall of the heroic Drona, that tiger among car-warriors that bull among men, who, O Sanjaya, became the heads of the several division in their order? Tell me, O Sanjaya, how that foremost of car-warriors, Shalya the ruler of the Madras, became engaged in driving the car of Vaikartana! Who were they that guarded the right wheel of the Suta's son while the latter was engaged in fight, and who were they that guarded his left wheel, and who were they that stood at the rear of that hero? Who were those heroes that did not desert Karna, and who were those mean fellows that ran away? How was the mighty car-warrior Karna slain amidst your united selves? How also did those mighty car-warriors, the brave Pandavas, advance against him shooting showers of shafts like the clouds pouring torrents of rain? Tell me also, O Sanjaya, how that mighty shaft, celestial and foremost of its species, and equipped with a head like that of a serpent became futile! I do not, O Sanjaya, see the possibility of even a small remnant of my cheerless host being saved when its leaders have been crushed! Hearing of the slaughter of those two heroes, those two mighty bowmen, Bhishma and Drona, who were ever ready to lay down their lives for my sake, what use have I of life? Again and again I am unable to endure that Karna, the might of whose arms equalled that of 10,000 elephants, should be slain by the Pandavas! Tell me, O Sanjaya, all that occurred in the battle between the brave warriors of the Kauravas and their foes, after the death of Drona! Tell me also how the sons of Kunti fought the battle with Karna, and how that slayer of foes received his quietus in the fight!'"

SECTION 10

"Sanjaya said, 'After the fall of the mighty bowman Drona on that day, O Bharata, and after the purpose had been baffled of that mighty car-warriors, viz., the son of Drona, and after the vasty army, O monarch, of the Kauravas had fled away, Partha, having arrayed his own troops, stayed on the field with his brothers. Perceiving him staying on the field, thy son, O bull of Bharata's race, seeing his own army running away, rallied them with great courage. Having caused his divisions to take up their stand, thy son, O Bharata, relying on the might of his arms, fought for a long time with his foes, the Pandavas, who, having gained their end, were filled with joy and had been struggling for hours together. On the approach there of the evening twilight, he caused the troops to be withdrawn. Having caused the withdrawal of their troops, and having entered their own encampment, the Kauravas held with one another a consultation about their own welfare, seated like the celestials on costly couches overlaid with rich coverlets, and on excellent seats and luxurious beds. Then king Duryodhana, addressing those mighty bowmen in agreeable and highly sweet expression, spoke the following words suited to the occasion.

"'Duryodhana said, "Ye foremost of intelligent men, declare all of you, without delay, your opinions! Under these circumstances, ye kings, what is necessary and what is still more necessary?"'

"Sanjaya continued, 'When that prince of men had spoken those words, those lions among men, seated on their thrones, made various gestures expressive of their desire of battle. Observing the indications of those who were all desirous of pouring their lives as libations on the battle-fire, and beholding the monarch's face radiant as morning Sun, the preceptor's son endued with intelligence and accomplished in speech, said these words: "Enthusiasm, opportunity, skill and policy,--these are the means declared by the learned, to be capable of accomplishing all ends. They are, however, dependent on destiny. Those foremost of men we had on our side, equal unto the celestials, mighty car-warriors all, possessed of policy, devoted, accomplished, and loyal, have been slain. For all that we should not despair of victory. If all these means be properly applied, even destiny may be made propitious. All of us, therefore, O Bharata, shall install Karna, that foremost of men, endued besides with every accomplishment, in the command of the army! Making Karna our commander, we shall crush our foes. This Karna is endued with great might; he is a hero, accomplished in weapons, and incapable of defeat in battle. Irresistible as Yama himself, he is quite competent to vanquish our foes in battle!" Hearing these words from the preceptor's son, O king, at that time, built great hopes on Karna. Cherishing the hope in his heart that after the fall of Bhishma and Drona, Karna would vanquish the Pandavas, and comforted (by it), O Bharata, Duryodhana then, filled with joy at having heard those words of Ashvatthama, steadying his mind and relying on the might of his arms, said unto Radha's son, O monarch, these words that were fraught with affection and regard, and that were true, delightful, and beneficial to himself: "O Karna, I know thy prowess, and the great friendship thou bearest to me! For all that, O mighty-armed one, I shall address the certain words that are for my good! Having heard them, O hero, do that which may appear desirable to thee! Thou art endued with great wisdom, and thou art even my supreme refuge! Those two Atirathas that were my Generals, viz., Bhishma and Drona, have been slain. Be thou my General, thou that art mightier than they! Both of those great bowmen were advanced in years. They were, besides, partial to Dhananjaya. Still both those heroes were respected by me, O son of Radha, at thy word! Viewing his relationship of grandsire unto them, the sons of Pandu, O sire, were spared in dreadful battle by Bhishma for ten successive days! Thyself also having laid aside thy weapons, the valiant Bhishma was slain in great battle by Phalguni with Shikhandi before him! After that great bowman had fallen and betaken himself to his bed of arrows, it was at thy word, O tiger among men, that Drona was made our leader! By him also were the sons of Pritha spared, in consequence, as I think, of their relationship unto him of pupils. That old man also has been slain by Dhrishtadyumna more speedily. I do not see, even on reflection, another warrior equal to thee in battle,--thee, that is, whose prowess could not be measured by even those two foremost of warriors that have been slain in the fight! Without doubt, thou alone today art competent to win victory for us! Before, in the middle, and later on, thou hast accordingly acted for our good. Therefore, like a leader, it behoveth thee, in this battle, to bear the burden thyself. Thyself install thy own self in the Generalship. Like the celestial generalissimo, the lord Skanda of unfading prowess, (supporting the celestial army), do thou support this Dhartarashtra host! Like Mahendra slaying the Danavas, destroy thou all the throngs of our foes! Beholding thee staying in battle, the Pandavas, those mighty car-warriors, will, with the Pancalas, fly away from battle, like the Danavas at sight of Vishnu. Do thou, therefore lead this vast force! When thou shalt stand resolved on the field, the Pandavas of wicked hearts, the Pancalas, and the Srinjayas, will all fly away with their friends. As the risen Sun, scorching everything by his energy, destroyeth the thick gloom, even so do thou destroy our foes!"'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Strong became that hope, O king, in the heart of thy son, viz., that where Bhishma and Drona had been slain, Karna would vanquish the Pandavas. Cherishing that hope within his heart, he said unto Karna, "O Suta's son, Partha never wishes to fight, standing before thee!" Karna said, "I have, O son of Gandhari, said before in thy presence, even these words, vanquish all the Pandavas with their sons and Janardana!' I shall become thy General. In this there is no doubt. Tranquilise thyself, O monarch I Consider the Pandavas to be already vanquished!"'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Thus addressed, O monarch, king Duryodhana then stood up with all the monarchs, like He of a hundred sacrifices with the gods, for honouring Karna with the command of the army, like the celestials for honouring Skanda. Then, O monarch, all the kings headed by Duryodhana, desirous of victory, installed Karna in the command, according to the rites enjoined by the ordinance. With golden and earthen jars filled to the brim with water and sanctified with mantras, with tusks of elephants and horns of rhinoceroses and mighty bulls, with other vessels decked with jewels and gems, with also fragrant herbs and plants, and with other articles collected in abundance, Karna, seated at his ease on a seat made of udumvara wood and overlaid with silken cloth, was invested with the command, according to the rites in the scriptures. Brahmanas, kshatriyas, vaishyas, and respectable shudras, praised that high-souled one after he was bathed on that excellent seat. Thus installed in the command, O king, that slayer of foes, the son of Radha, caused, by presents of Niskas and kine and other wealth, many foremost of brahmanas to utter blessings on him. "Vanquish the Parthas with Govinda and all their followers," even these were the words that the eulogists and the brahmanas said (unto him), O bull among men! (And they also said) "Slay the Parthas and the Pancalas, O son of Radha, for our victory, like risen Sun ever destroying Darkness with his fierce rays! The son of Pandu with Keshava are not able to even look at the shafts shot by thee, like owls unable to gaze at the burning rays of the Sun! The Parthas with the Pancalas are incapable of standing before thee armed with weapons, like the danavas before Indra in battle!" Installed in the command, Radha's son of incomparable splendour looked resplendent in beauty and radiance like a second Sun. Having installed the son of Radha (thus) in the command of the army, thy son, urged on by Death, regarded himself as one who had his purpose accomplished. That chastiser of foes, Karna, also, O king, having obtained the command, ordered the troops to be arrayed, at the rise of the Sun. Surrounded by thy sons, O Bharata, Karna looked resplendent like Skanda surrounded by the celestials, in the battle having Saraka for its evil root.'"

SECTION 11

"Dhritarashtra said, 'After having obtained the command of the army, and after he had been addressed by the king himself in those sweet and brotherly words, and after he had ordered the troops to be arrayed at the hour of sunrise, tell me, O Sanjaya, what did Vikartana's son Karna do?'

"Sanjaya said, 'Having learnt Karna's wishes, thy sons, O bull of Bharata's race, ordered the troops to be arrayed with joyful music. While it still wanted a long period for the coming of the dawn, a loud noise of "Array, Array!" O king, suddenly arose among thy troops. And the uproar that arose, became tremendous and touched the very heavens, of foremost of elephants and fenced cars while under process of equipment, of foot-soldiers and steeds, O monarch, while putting on their armour or in course of being harnessed, and of combatants moving with activity and shouting unto one another! Then the Suta's son bearing a gold-backed bow appeared (on the field) in his car possessed of the splendour of the radiant Sun, crowned with many banners, equipped with a white standard, with steeds of the hue of cranes, bearing the device of the elephants' rope, filled with a hundred quivers, furnished with mace and wooden fence, freighted with shataghnis and rows of bells and darts and lances and spears, and supplied with many bows. And the Suta's son appeared on the field, blowing his conch, O king; decorated with a net-work of gold, and shaking his formidable bow adorned with pure gold. Beholding the mighty bowman Karna, that foremost of car-warriors, seated on his car, difficult of approach and resembling the risen Sun that destroys the gloom, none amongst the Kauravas, O tiger among men, recked, O sire, the loss of Bhishma or Drona or other men! Speeding the warriors, O sire, with the blasts of his conch, Karna caused the vast army of the Kauravas to be drawn out. Having arrayed the troops in the makara array, that mighty bowman, that scorcher of foes, viz., Karna, proceeded against the Pandavas from desire of victory. In the tip of the beak of that makara, O king, was stationed Karna himself. In the two eyes were the brave Shakuni and the mighty car-warrior Uluka. In the head was Drona's son and in the neck were all the uterine brothers. In the middle was king Duryodhana supported by a large force. In the left foot, O monarch, was stationed Kritavarma accompanied by the Narayana troops, and those invincible warriors, the gopalas. In the right foot, O king, was Gotama's son of prowess incapable of being baffled, surrounded by those mighty bowmen viz., the Trigartas and by the Southerners. In the left hind-foot was stationed Shalya with a large force raised in the country of Madras. In the right (hind-foot), O monarch, was Sushena of true vows, surrounded by a 1,000 cars and 300 elephants. In the tail were the two royal brothers of mighty energy, viz., Citra and Citrasena surrounded by a large force.

"'When, O great king, that foremost of men, Karna, thus came out, king Yudhishthira the Just, casting his eyes on Arjuna, said these words: "Behold, O Partha, how the Dhartarashtra force, O hero, in this battle, protected by heroes and mighty car-warriors, hath been arrayed by Karna! This vast Dhartarashtra force hath lost its bravest warriors. They that remain, O mighty-armed one, are feeble, equal, as I think, to straw! Only one great bowman, viz., the Suta's son, shineth in it! That foremost of car-warriors is incapable of being vanquished by the three worlds with their mobile and immobile creatures, including the gods, Asuras and Gandharvas, and the Kinnaras and great serpents! If thou slayest him today, O mighty-armed one, the victory will be thine, O Phalguna! The thorn also which for twelve years hath

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been planted in my heart will then be plucked out! Knowing this, O thou of mighty arms, form thou the array that thou wishest!" Hearing those words of his brother, that Pandava of the white steeds disposed his army in counter array after the form of the half moon. On the left side was stationed Bhimasena, and on the right was stationed the great bowman Dhrishtadyumna. In the middle of the array were the king and Dhananjaya the son of Pandu. Nakula and Sahadeva were at the rear of king Yudhishthira the Just. The two Pancala princes, Yudhamanyu and Uttamauja, became the protectors of (Arjuna's) car wheels. Protected by the diadem-decked Arjuna himself, they did not quit Arjuna for a moment. The remaining kings, possessed of great courage, clad in mail, stood in the array, each in the position assigned to him, according to the measure of his enthusiasm and resolution, O Bharata. Having thus formed their great array, O Bharata, the Pandavas, and the mighty bowmen of thy army set their hearts on battle. Beholding thy army disposed into battle array by the Suta's son in battle Duryodhana with all his brethren regarded the Pandavas to be already slain. Similarly Yudhishthira, O king, beholding the Pandava army disposed in array, regarded the Dhartarashtras with Karna to be already slain. Then conches, and kettle-drums, and tabours, and large drums, and cymbals, and Dindimas, and Jharjharas, were loudly blown and beaten on all sides! Indeed, those loud-sounding instruments were blown and beaten, O king, among both the armies. Leonine roars also arose, uttered by brave warriors for victory. And there also arose, O king, the noise of neighing steeds and grunting elephants, and the fierce clatter of car-wheels. None, O Bharata, (in the Kaurava army), at that time, felt the loss of Drona, seeing the great bowman Karna clad in mail and stationed at the head of the array. Both armies, O monarch, teeming with joyous men, stood, eager for battle and (ready) to destroy each other without delay. There, the two heroes, viz., Karna and the son of Pandu, excited with wrath at sight of each other, and both firmly resolved, stood or careered, O king, through their respective divisions. The two armies, as they advanced to meet each other, seemed to dance (in joy). From the wings and the side-wings of both, warriors desirous of battle came forth. Then commenced the battle, O monarch, of men, elephants, steeds, and cars, engaged in destroying one another.'"

SECTION 12

"Sanjaya said, 'Then those two vast armies, teeming with rejoicing men and steeds and elephants, resembling in splendour the celestial and the Asura hosts, meeting together, began to strike each other. Men, cars, steeds, elephants, and foot-soldiers of fierce prowess, made sturdy strokes destructive of bodies and sin. Lion-like men strewed the Earth with the heads of lion-like men, each resembling the full moon or the sun in splendour and the lotus in fragrance. Combatants cut off the heads of combatants, with crescent-shaped and broad-headed shafts and razor-faced arrows and axes, and battle-axes. The arms of men of long and massive arms, cut off by men of long and massive arms, falling upon the Earth, shone, decked with weapons and bracelets. With those writhing arms adorned with red fingers and palms, the Earth looked resplendent as if strewn with fierce five-headed snakes slain by Garuda. From elephants and cars and steeds, brave warriors fell down, struck by foes, like the denizens of heaven from their celestial cars on the exhaustion of their merits. Other brave warriors fell down by hundreds, crushed in that battle by brave combatants with heavy maces spiked clubs and short bludgeons. Cars also, in that tumultuous fight, were crushed by cars, and infuriate elephants by infuriate compeers, and horsemen by horsemen. Men destroyed by cars, and cars by elephants, and horsemen by foot-soldiers, and foot-soldiers by horsemen, dropped down on the field, as also cars and steeds and foot-soldiers destroyed by elephants and cars and steeds and elephants by foot-soldiers, and cars and foot-soldiers and elephants by steeds and men and elephants by cars. Great was the carnage made of car-warriors and steeds and elephants and men by men and steeds and elephants and car-warriors, using their hands and feet and weapons and cars. When that host was being thus struck and slain by heroic warriors the Parthas, headed by Vrikodara, advanced against us. They consisted of Dhrishtadyumna and Shikhandi and the five sons of Draupadi and the Prabhadrakas, and Satyaki and Chekitana with the Dravida forces, and the Pandyas, the Cholas, and the Keralas, surrounded by a mighty array, all possessed of broad chests, long arms, tall statures, and large eyes. Decked with ornaments, possessed of red teeth, endued with the prowess of infuriate elephants, attired in robes of diverse colours, smeared with powdered scents, armed with swords and nooses, capable of restraining mighty elephants, companions in death, and never deserting one another, equipped with quivers, bearing bows adorned with long locks, and agreeable in speech were the combatants of the infantry files led by Satyaki, belonging to the Andhra tribe, endued with fierce forms and great energy. Other brave warriors such as the Cedis, the Pancalas, the Kaikayas, the Karushas, the Kosalas, the Kanchis, and the Maghadhas, also rushed forward. Their cars and steeds and elephants, all of the foremost kind, and their fierce foot-soldiers, gladdened by the notes of diverse instruments, seemed to dance and laugh. In the midst of that vast force, came Vrikodara, riding on the neck of an elephant, and surrounded by many foremost of elephant-soldiers, advancing against thy army. That fierce and foremost of elephants, duly equipped, looked resplendent, like the stone-built mansion on the top of the Udaya mountain, crowned with the risen Sun. Its armour of iron, the foremost of its kind, studded with costly gems, was as resplendent as the autumnal firmament bespangled with stars. With a lance in his outstretched arm, his head decked with a beautiful diadem, and possessed of the splendour of the meridian Sun at autumn, Bhima began to burn his foes. Beholding that elephant from a distance, Kshemadhurti, himself on an elephant, challenging, rushed cheerfully towards Bhima who was more cheerful still. An encounter then took place between those two elephants of fierce forms resembling two huge hills topped with trees, each, fighting with the other as it liked. Those two heroes, then, whose elephants thus encountered each other, forcibly struck each other with lances endued with the splendour of solar rays, and uttered loud roars. Separating, they then careered in circles with their elephants, and each taking up a bow began to strike the other. Gladdening the people around with their loud roars and the slaps on their armpits and the whizz of this arrows, they continued to utter leonine shouts. Endued with great strength, both of them, accomplished in weapons, fought, using their elephants with upturned trunks and decked with banners floating on the wind. Then each cutting off the other's bow, they roared at each other, and rained on each other showers of darts and lances like two masses of clouds in the rainy season pouring torrents of rain. Then Kshemadhurti pierced Bhimasena in the centre of the chest with a lance endued with great impetuosity, and then with six others, and uttered a loud shout. With those lances sticking to his body, Bhimasena, whose form then blazed with wrath, looked resplendent like the cloud-covered Sun with his rays issuing through the interstices of that canopy. Then Bhima carefully hurled at his antagonist a lance bright as the rays of the Sun, coursing perfectly straight, and made entirely of iron. The ruler of the Kulutas then, drawing his bow, cut off that lance with ten shafts and then pierced the son of Pandu with sixty shafts. Then Bhima the son of Pandu, taking up a bow whose twang resembled the roar of the clouds, uttered a loud shout and deeply afflicted with his shafts the elephants of his antagonist. Thus afflicted in that battle by Bhimasena with his arrows, that elephant, though sought to be restrained, stayed not on the field like a wind-blown cloud. The fierce prince of elephants owned by Bhima then pursued his (flying) compeer, like a wind-blown mass of clouds pursuing another mass driven by the tempest. Restraining his own elephant valiant Kshemadhurti pierced with his shafts the pursuing elephant of Bhimasena. Then with a well-shot razor-headed arrow that was perfectly straight, Kshemadhurti cut off his antagonist's bow and then afflicted that hostile elephant. Filled with wrath, Kshemadhurti then, in that battle, pierced Bhima and struck his elephant with many long shafts in every vital part. That huge elephant of Bhima then fell down, O Bharata! Bhima, however, who had jumped down from his elephant and stood on the Earth before the fall of the beast, then crushed the elephant of his antagonist with his mace. And Vrikodara then struck Kshemadhurti also, who, jumped down from his crushed elephant, was advancing against him with uplifted weapon. Kshemadhurti, thus struck, fell down lifeless, with the sword in his arm, by the side of his elephant, like a lion struck down by thunder beside a thunder-riven hill. Beholding the celebrated king of the Kulutas slain, thy troops, O bull of Bharata's race exceedingly distressed, fled away.'"

SECTION 13

"Sanjaya said, 'Then the mighty and heroic bowman Karna began to smite the Pandava army in that battle, with his straight shafts. Similarly, those great car-warriors, viz., the Pandavas, O king, filled with wrath, began to smite the army of thy son in the very sight of Karna. Karna also, O king, in that battle slew the Pandava army with his cloth-yard shafts bright as the rays of the Sun and polished by the hands of the smith. There, O Bharata, the elephants, struck by Karna with his shafts, uttered loud cries, lost strength, became faint, and wandered on all sides. While the army was being thus destroyed by the Suta's son, Nakula rushed with speed against that mighty car-warrior. And Bhimasena rushed against Drona's son who was engaged in the accomplishment of the most difficult feats. Satyaki checked the Kaikaya princes Vinda and Anuvinda. King Citrasena rushed against the advancing Srutakarman; and Prativindhya against Citra owning a beautiful standard and a beautiful bow. Duryodhana rushed against king Yudhishthira the son of Dharma; while Dhananjaya rushed against the angry throngs of the samsaptakas. In that slaughter of great heroes, Dhrishtadyumna proceeded against Kripa. The invincible Shikhandi closed with Kritavarma. Srutakirti encountered Shalya, and Madri's son, the valiant Sahadeva, O king, encountered thy son Duhshasana. The two Kaikaya princes, in that battle, shrouded Satyaki with a shower of blazing arrows, and the latter also, O Bharata, shrouded the two Kaikaya brothers. Those two heroic brothers deeply struck Satyaki in the chest like two elephants striking with their tusks a hostile compeer in the forest. Indeed, O king, those two brothers, in that battle, their own vitals pierced with shafts, pierced Satyaki of true deeds with their shafts. Satyaki, however, O great king, covering all the points of the compass with a shower of arrows and smiling the while, checked the two brothers, O Bharata. Checked by those showers of arrows shot by the grandson of Sini, the two brothers speedily shrouded the car of Sini's grandson with their shafts. Cutting off their beautiful bows, Saurin of great fame checked them both with his keen arrows in that battle. Taking up two other beautiful bows, and a number of powerful shafts, the two began to cover Satyaki and career with great activity and skill. Shot by the two brothers, those mighty shafts equipped with the feathers of the Kanka and the peacock and decked with gold, began to fall, illumining all the points of the compass. In that dreadful battle between them, O king, the arrows they shot caused a darkness there. Those mighty car-warriors then cut off each other's bows. Then the invincible Satwata, O king, filled with rage, took up another bow in that battle, and stringing it, cut off Anuvinda's head with a keen razor-headed shaft. Decked with earrings, that large head, O king, fell like the head of Samvara slain in the great battle (of old). And it reached the Earth in no time, filling all the Kaikayas with grief. Beholding that brave warrior slain, his brother, the mighty car-warrior Vinda, stringing another bow began to resist the grandson of Sini from every side. Piercing with sixty arrows equipped with wings of gold and whetted on stone, he uttered a loud shout and said, "Wait, Wait!" Then that mighty car-warrior of the Kaikayas speedily struck Satyaki with many thousands of shafts in his arms and chest. All his limbs wounded with arrows, Satyaki, of prowess incapable of being baffled, looked resplendent in that battle, O king, like a flowering Kinsuka. Pierced by the high-souled Kaikaya in that encounter, Satyaki, with the greatest ease, pierced the Kaikaya (in return) with five and twenty arrows. Then those two foremost of car-warriors, having each cut off the other's handsome bow in that encounter, and having each quickly slain the other's driver and steeds approached each other on foot for a fight with swords. Both endued with massive arms, they looked resplendent on that extensive arena, each having taken up a shield decked with a hundred moons, and each armed with an excellent sword, like Jambha and Sakra, both endued with great might, in the battle between the gods and the Asuras (of old). Both of them, in that great battle, then began to career in circles. And then they speedily encountered each other in battle, each approaching the other near. And each of them made great efforts for the destruction of the other. Then Satwata cut in twain the shield of Kaikeya. The latter also, O king, cut in twain the shield of Satyaki. Having cut off his antagonist's shield covered with centuries of stars, Kaikeya began to career in circles, advancing and receding (at times). Then the grandson of Sini, endued with great activity, cut off by a sidestroke the prince of the Kaikeyas thus careering in that great arena armed with excellent sword. Cased in armour that great bowman, viz., the Kaikeya prince, O king, thus cut off in twain in that great battle, fell down like a hill riven with thunder. Having slain him in battle that foremost of car-warriors that scorcher of foes, viz., the brave grandson of Sini quickly got upon the car of Yudhamanyu. Afterwards riding upon another car duly equipped (with everything), Satyaki began to slay with his shafts the large force of the Kaikeyas. The vast army of the Kaikeyas, thus slaughtered in battle, leaving that foe of theirs fled away on all sides.'"

SECTION 14

"Sanjaya said, 'Srutakarman then, O king, filled with wrath, struck that lord of Earth, viz., Citrasena, in that battle, with fifty shafts. The ruler of the Abhisars (in return), striking Srutakarman, O king, with nine straight arrows, pierced his driver with five. Srutakarman then, filled with rage, struck Citrasena at the head of his forces, with a keen arrow in a vital part. Deeply pierced, O monarch, with that arrow by that high-souled prince the heroic Citrasena felt great pain and swooned away. During this interval, Srutakarman of great renown covered that lord of Earth, (viz., his insensible antagonist), with ninety arrows. The mighty car-warrior Citrasena then, recovering consciousness, cut off his antagonist's bow with a broad-headed arrow, and pierced his antagonist himself with seven arrows. Taking up another bow that was decked with gold, and capable of striking hard, Srutakarman then, with his waves of arrows, made Citrasena assume a wonderful appearance. Adorned with those arrows, the youthful king, wearing beautiful garlands, looked in that battle like a well-adorned youth in the midst of an assembly. Quickly piercing Srutakarman with an arrow in the centre of the chest, he said unto him, "Wait, Wait!" Srutakarman also, pierced with that arrow in the battle, began to shed blood, like a mountain shedding streams of liquid red chalk. Bathed in blood and dyed therewith, that hero shone in battle like a

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flowering Kinsuka. Srutakarman, then, O king, thus assailed by the foe, became filled with rage, and cut in twain the foe-resisting bow of Citrasena. The latter's bow having been cut off, Srutakarman then, O king, pierced him with three hundred arrows equipped with goodly wings, covering him completely therewith. With another broad-headed arrow, sharp-edged and keen pointed, he cut off the head, decked with head-gear of his high-souled antagonist. That blazing head of Citrasena fell down on the ground, like the moon loosened from the firmament upon the Earth at will. Beholding the king slain, the troops of Citrasena, O sire, rushed impetuously against (his slayer). That great bowman then, filled with rage, rushed, shooting his shafts, against that army, like Yama filled with fury, against all creatures at the time of the universal dissolution. Slaughtered in that battle by thy grandson armed with the bow, they quickly fled on all sides like elephants scorched by a forestconflagration. Beholding them flying away, hopeless of vanquishing the foe, Srutakarman, pursuing them with his keen arrows, looked exceedingly resplendent (on his car). Then Prativindhya, piercing Citra with five arrows, struck his driver with three and his standard with one. Him Citra pierced, striking in the arms and the chest, with nine broad-headed shafts equipped with wings of gold, having keen points, and plumed with Kanka and peacock feathers. Then Prativindhya, O Bharata, cutting off with his shafts the bow of his antagonist deeply struck the latter with five keen arrows. Then Citra, O monarch, sped at thy grandson a terrible and irresistible dart, adorned with golden bells, and resembling a flame of fire. Prativindhya, however, in that battle, cut off, with the greatest ease, into three fragments, that dart as it coursed towards him like a flashing meteor. Cut off into three fragments, with Prativindhya's shafts, that dart fell down, like the thunderbolt inspiring all creatures with fear at the end of the Yuga. Beholding that dart baffled, Citra, taking up a huge mace decked with a net-work of gold, hurled it at Prativindhya. That mace slew the latter's steeds and driver also in that great battle, and crushing, besides, his car, fell with great impetuosity on the Earth. Meanwhile, having alighted from his car, O Bharata, Prativindhya hurled at Citra a dart, well-adorned and equipped with a golden staff. Catching it as it coursed towards him, the high-souled king Citra, O Bharata, hurled the very weapon at Prativindhya. Striking the brave Prativindhya in that battle, that blazing dart, piercing through his right arm, fell down on the Earth, and falling illumined the whole region like a blast of lightning. Then Prativindhya, O king, filled with rage, and desiring to compass the destruction of Citra, sped at him a lance decked with gold. That lance penetrating through his armour and chest, entered the Earth like a mighty snake in its hole. Struck with that lance, the king fell down, stretching out his large and massive arms that resembled a couple of iron clubs. Beholding Citra slain, thy warriors, those ornaments of battle, rushed impetuously at Prativindhya from all sides. Shooting diverse kinds of shafts and Sataghnis decked with rows of bells, they soon covered Prativindhya like masses of clouds covering the Sun. The mighty-armed Prativindhya, consuming with his arrowy showers those assailants of his in that battle, routed thy army like the thunder-wielding Sakra routing the Asura host. Thus slaughtered in battle by the Pandavas, thy troops, O king, suddenly dispersed in all directions like congregated masses of clouds dispersed by the wind. While thy army, slaughtered on all sides, was thus flying away, only Drona's son singly rushed with speed against the mighty Bhimasena. All at once a fierce encounter ensued between them like to what had taken place between Vritra and Vasava in the battle between the gods and the Asuras (of old).'"

SECTION 15

"Sanjaya said, 'Endued with the greatest activity, Drona's son, O king, displaying the lightness of his arms, pierced Bhima with an arrow. Aiming at all his vital points--for he had a knowledge of all the vital points of the body--the quick-handed Ashvatthama again struck him with ninety shafts. Pierced all over with keen arrows by the son of Drona, Bhimasena looked resplendent in that battle like the Sun himself with his rays. The son of Pandu then, covering the son of Drona with a 1,000 well-directed shafts, uttered a leonine roar. Baffling with his own shafts the shafts of his foe in that battle, the son of Drona, O king, as if smiling, then struck the Pandava on the forehead with a cloth-yard shaft. The son of Pandu bore that arrow on his forehead even as the proud rhinoceros, O king, in the forest bears its horn. The valiant Bhima, then, in that battle as if smiling all the while, struck the struggling son of Drona on the forehead with three cloth-yard shafts. With those three arrows sticking on his forehead, that brahmana looked beautiful like a three-peaked mountain washed with water in the season of rains. The son of Drona then afflicted the Pandava with hundreds of arrows, but failed to shake him like the wind failing to shake the mountain. Similarly the son of Pandu, filled with joy, could not in that battle shake the son of Drona with his hundreds of keen shafts like torrents of rain failing to shake a mountain. Shrouding each other with showers of terrible shafts those two great car-warriors, those two heroes, endued with fierce might, shone resplendent on those two foremost of cars of theirs. Then they looked like two blazing Suns risen for the destruction of the world, and engaged themselves in scorching each other with their rays representing excellent arrows. Endeavouring with great care to counteract each other's feats in the great battle, and actually engaged in matching deed by deed with showers of arrows most fearlessly, those two foremost of men careered in that combat like a couple of tigers. Both invincible and terrible, arrows constituted their fangs and bows their mouths. They became invisible under those clouds of arrows on all sides like the Sun and the Moon in the firmament shrouded by masses of clouds. And then those two chastisers of foes soon became visible and blazed forth like Mars and Mercury freed from cloudy screens. Then at that instant during the progress of that awful battle, Drona's son placing Vrikodara to his right, poured hundreds of fierce arrows upon him like the clouds pouring torrents of rain upon a mountain. Bhima, however, could not brook that indication of his enemy's triumphs. The son of Pandu, O king, from that very station on Ashvatthama's right, began to counteract the latter's feats. Their cars continuing to wheel around in diverse ways and advance and retreat (according to the exigencies of the situation), the battle between those two lions among men became exceedingly furious. Careering in diverse paths, and (executing) circular manoeuvres, they continued to strike each other with arrows shot from their bows drawn to their fullest stretch. And each made the greatest endeavours to compass the destruction of the other. And each of them desired to make the other carless in that battle. Then that car-warrior, viz., the son of Drona, invoked many mighty weapons. The son of Pandu, however, in that battle, with his own weapons, counteracted all those weapons of his foe. Then, O monarch, there took place an awful encounter of weapons, like to the terrible encounter of planets at the time of the universal dissolution. Those shafts, O Bharata, let off by them, coming in collision, illuminated all the points of the compass and thy troops also all around. Covered with flights of arrows, the welkin assumed a terrible sight, like to what happens, O king, at the time of the universal dissolution, when it is covered with falling meteors. From the clash of shafts, O Bharata, fire was generated there with sparks and blazing flames. That fire began to consume both armies. Siddhas, moving there, O monarch, said these words, "O lord, this battle is the foremost of all battles. Any battle (fought before) does not come up to even a sixteenth part of this. A battle like this will never occur again. Both these persons, viz., this brahmana and this kshatriya, are endued with knowledge. Both are possessed of courage, and both are fierce in prowess. Dreadful is the might of Bhima, and wonderful is the skill of the other in weapons. How great is their energy and how wonderful the skill possessed by both! Both of them stand in this battle like two universe-destroying Yamas at the end of the Yuga. They are born like two Rudras or like two Suns. These two tigers among men, both endued with terrible forms, are like two Yamas in this battle." Such were the words of the Siddhas heard there every moment. And among the assembled denizens of heaven there arose a leonine roar. Beholding the amazing and inconceivable feats of the two warriors in that battle, the dense throngs of Siddhas, and Charanas were filled with wonder. And the gods, the Siddhas, and the great Rishis applauded them both saying, "Excellent, O mighty-armed son of Drona. Excellent, O Bhima." Meanwhile those two heroes, in that battle, O king, having done injuries to each other, glared at each other with eyes rolling in rage. With eyes red in rage, their lips also quivered in rage. And they grinded their teeth in wrath and bit their lips. And those two great car-warriors covered each other with showers of arrows, as if they were in that battle two masses of clouds that poured torrents of arrows for rain and that gleamed with weapons constituting their lightning. Having pierced each other's standards and drivers in that great battle, and having also pierced each other's steeds, they continued to strike each other. Then, O monarch, filled with rage, they took up in that dreadful encounter, two arrows, and each desirous of slaying the other shot quickly at his foe. Those two blazing arrows, resistless and endued with the force of thunder, coming, O king, to the two warriors as they stood at the head of their respective divisions, struck them both. Each of the two mighty combatants then deeply struck with those arrows, sank, on the terrace of their respective car. Understanding the son of Drona to be insensible, his driver then bore him away from the battle-field, O king, in the sight of all the troops. Similarly, O king, Bhima's driver bore away from the battle-field on his car, the son of Pandu, that scorcher of foes, who was repeatedly falling into a swoon.'"

SECTION 16

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Describe to me the battle of Arjuna with the samsaptakas, and of the other kings with the Pandavas. Narrate to me also, O Sanjaya, the battle of Arjuna with Ashvatthama, and of the other lords of the Earth with Partha.'

"Sanjaya said, 'Listen, O king, as I speak to thee as to how occurred the battle of the heroic warriors (on our side) with the foe--the battle which was destructive of bodies, sins, and lives. That slayer of foes, viz, Partha, penetrating into the Samsaptaka force that resembled the ocean, agitated it exceedingly, like a tempest agitating the vast deep. Cutting off with broad-headed arrows of keen edges the heads of brave warriors that were decked with faces possessed of the splendour of the full moon and with beautiful eyes and eyebrows and teeth, Dhananjaya speedily caused the Earth to be strewn there as if with lotuses, plucked off their stalks. And in that battle Arjuna with his razor-headed shafts, cut off the arms of his foes, that were all well rounded, large and massive, and smeared with sandal-paste and other perfumes, with weapons in grasp, with leathern gloves casing their fingers, and looking like five-headed snakes. And the son of Pandu repeatedly cut off with his broad-headed shafts, steeds, riders, drivers, and flags, and bows and arrows, and arms decked with gems. And Arjuna in that battle, O king, with many thousands of arrows, despatched to Yama's abode, car-warriors and elephants and horses and horsemen. Many foremost of warriors, filled with rage and roaring like bulls mad (like them) with excitement for a cow in season, rushed towards Arjuna, with loud cries. All of them then began to strike Arjuna with their arrows as the latter was employed in slaying them, like infuriate bulls striking one of their species with their horns. The battle that took place between him and them made the hair to stand on end, even like the battle between the Daityas and the wielder of the thunderbolt on the occasion of the conquest of the three worlds. Resisting with his own weapons the weapons of his foes on all sides. Arjuna, piercing them fast with innumerable arrows, took their lives. Like the wind destroying vast masses of clouds, Arjuna, otherwise called Jaya, that enhancer of the fears of his foes, cutting off into minute fragments large throngs of cars,--cars, that is, whose poles, wheels, and axles had previously been shattered by him, and whose warriors and steeds and drivers had been slain before, and whose weapons and quivers had been displaced, and standards crushed, and traces and reins sundered, and wooden fences and shafts broken already, and filling every body with wonder, achieved feats magnificent to behold and rivalling those of a 1,000 great car-warriors fighting together. Crowds of Siddhas and celestial Rishis and Charanas all applauded him. And celestial kettle-drums sounded, and floral showers fell upon the heads of Keshava and Arjuna. And an incorporeal voice said, "These viz., Keshava and Arjuna, are those two heroes that always possess the beauty of the moon, the splendour of fire, the force of the wind and the radiance of the sun. Stationed on the same car these two heroes are invincible even like Brahman and Isana. These two heroes the foremost of all creatures are Nara and Narayana." Hearing and beholding these wonderful things, O Bharata, Ashvatthama, with great care and resolution, rushed against Krishna and Arjuna in that battle. With his arm that held an arrow in its grasp, the son of Drona hailed the Pandava, shooting shafts equipped with foe-slaying heads, and smilingly told him these words, "If, O hero, thou regardest me a worthy guest arrived (before thee), then give me today, with the whole heart, the hospitality of battle." Thus summoned by the preceptor's son from desire of battle, Arjuna regarded himself highly honoured, and addressing Janardana said, "The samsaptakas should be slain by me, but Drona's son again is summoning me. Tell me, O Madhava, to which of these duties should I first turn? First let the services of hospitality be offered, if thou thinkest that to be proper." Thus addressed, Krishna bore Partha who had been summoned according to the rules of triumphant challenge to the vicinity of Drona's son, like Vayu bearing Indra to the sacrifice. Saluting Drona's son whose mind was fixed upon one thing, Keshava, said unto him, "O Ashvatthama, be cool, and without losing a moment strike and bear. The time has come for those that are dependent on others to repay their obligation to their masters. The disputes between brahmanas are subtle. The consequences, however, of the disputes of kshatriyas are palpable, being either victory or defeat. For obtaining those excellent rites of hospitality that from folly thou solicitest at the hands of Partha, fight coolly now with the son of Pandu." Thus addressed by Vasudeva, that foremost of regenerate ones, replied saying, "So be it!" pierced Keshava with sixty shafts and Arjuna with three. Arjuna then, filled with rage, cut off Ashvatthama's bow with three shafts. Drona's son took up another bow that was still more formidable. Stringing it within the twinkling of an eye, he pierced Arjuna and Keshava, the latter with three hundred arrows, and the former with a 1,000. And then Drona's son, with good care, stupefying Arjuna in that battle, shot thousands and tens of thousands and millions of arrows. From the quivers, the bow, the bow-string, the fingers, the arms, the hands, the chest, the face, the nose, the eyes, the ears, the heads, the limbs, the pores of the body, the armour on his person, the car, and the standard, O sire, of that utterer of Brahma, arrows began to issue. Piercing Madhava and the son of Pandu with the thick arrowy shower, Drona's son filled with joy, roared aloud like a vast mass of congregated clouds.

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Hearing that roar of his, the son of Pandu said unto Keshava of unfading glory these words "Behold, O Madhava, this wickedness towards me of the preceptor's son. He regardeth us to be slain, having shrouded us with his dense arrowy shower. I will presently, however, by my training and might, baffle his purpose." Cutting off every one of those arrows shot by Ashvatthama into three fragments, that foremost one of Bharata's race destroyed them all like the Sun destroying a thick fog. After this the son of Pandu once more pierced with his fierce shafts, the samsaptakas with their steeds, drivers, cars, elephants, standards and foot-soldiers. Every one of those that stood there as spectators, every one of those that were stationed there on foot or car or steed or elephant, regarded himself as shrouded by the arrows of Arjuna. Shot from Gandiva, those winged arrows of diverse forms slew in that battle elephants and steeds and men whether stationed in his immediate front or at the distance of two miles. The trunks, cut off with broad-headed shafts, of elephants, down whose cheeks and other limbs flowed the juice indicative of excitement, fell down like tall trees in the forest struck down with the axe. A little after down fell elephants, huge as hillocks, with their riders, like mountains crushed by Indra with his thunder. With his shafts cutting into minute portions well-equipped cars that looked like dissolving edifices of vapour in the evening sky and unto which were yoked well-trained steeds of great speed and which were ridden by warriors invincible in battle, the son of Pandu continued to shower his arrows on his enemies. And Dhananjaya continued to slay well-decked horsemen and foot-soldiers of the foe. Indeed, Dhananjaya, resembling the very Sun as he rises at the end of the Yuga, dried up the samsaptaka ocean incapable of being dried up easily, by means of keen arrows constituting his rays. Without losing a moment, the son of Pandu once more pierced Drona's son resembling a huge hill, with shafts of great impetuosity and the splendour of the Sun, like the wielder of the thunderbolt piercing a mountain with the thunder. Desirous of battle, the preceptor's son then, filled with rage, approached Arjuna for piercing him and his steeds and drivers by means of his swiftly coursing shafts. Arjuna, however, quickly cut off the shafts shot at him by Ashvatthama. The son of Pandu then filled with great wrath, proffered unto Ashvatthama, that desirable guest, quivers upon quivers of arrows, like a charitable person offering everything in his house unto a guest. Leaving the samsaptakas then the son of Pandu rushed towards Drona's son like a donor abandoning unworthy guests, for proceeding towards one that is worthy."

SECTION 17

"Sanjaya said, 'Then occurred that battle between Arjuna and Ashvatthama resembling the planets Shukra and Brihaspati in splendour, like the battle between Shukra and Brihaspati in the firmament for entering the same constellation. Afflicting each other with blazing shafts that constituted their rays, those terrifiers of the world stood like two planets both deviating from their orbits. Then Arjuna deeply pierced Ashvatthama with a shaft in the midst of his eyebrows. With that shaft the son of Drona looked resplendent like the Sun with upward rays. The two Krishnas (Nara and Narayana), also deeply afflicted by Ashvatthama with hundreds of arrows, looked like two Suns at the end of the Yuga, resplendent with their own rays. Then when Vasudeva seemed to be stupefied, Arjuna shot a weapon from which issued torrents of shafts on all sides. And he struck the son of Drona with innumerable shafts, each resembling the thunder or fire or the sceptre of Death. Endued with mighty energy, that achiever of fierce feats, (Ashvatthama) then pierced both Keshava and Arjuna with well-shot shafts which were inspired with great impetuosity and struck with which Death himself would feel pain. Checking the shafts of Drona's son, Arjuna covered him with twice as many arrows equipped with goodly wings, and shrouding that foremost of heroes and his steeds and driver and standard, began to strike the samsaptakas. With his well-shot shafts Partha began to cut off the bows and quivers and bowstrings and hands and arms and tightly grasped weapons and umbrellas and standards and steeds and car shafts and robes and floral garlands and ornaments and coats of mail and handsome shields and beautiful heads, in large numbers, of his unretreating foes. Well-equipped cars and steeds and elephants, ridden by heroes fighting with great care, were destroyed by the hundreds of shafts sped by Partha and fell down along with the heroes that rode on them. Cut off with broad-headed and crescent-shaped and razor-faced arrows, human heads, resembling the lotus, the Sun, or the full Moon in beauty and resplendent with diadems and necklaces and crowns, dropped ceaselessly on the earth. Then the Kalinga, the Vanga, and the Nishada heroes, riding on elephants, that resembled in splendour the elephant of the great foe of the daityas, rushed with speed against the queller of the pride of the danavas, the son of Pandu, from desire of slaying him. Partha cut off the vital limbs, the trunks, the riders, the standards, and the banners of those elephants, upon which those beasts fell down like mountain summits riven with thunder. When that elephant force was broken, the diadem-decked Arjuna shrouded the son of his preceptor with shafts endued with the splendour of the newly risen Sun, like the wind shrouding the risen Sun with masses of congregated clouds. Checking with his own shafts those of Arjuna, Drona's son shrouding both Arjuna and Vasudeva with his arrows, gave a loud roar, like a mass of clouds at the close of summer after shrouding the Sun or the Moon in the firmament. Deeply afflicted with those arrows, Arjuna, aiming his weapons at Ashvatthama and at those followers of his belonging to the army, speedily dispelled that darkness caused by Ashvatthama's arrows, and pierced all of them with shafts equipped with goodly wings. In that battle none could see when Savyasaci took up his shafts, when he aimed them, and when he let them off. All that could be seen was that elephants and steeds and foot-soldiers and car-warriors, struck with his arrows, fell down deprived of life. Then Drona's son without losing a moment, aiming ten foremost of arrows, sped them quickly as if they formed only one arrow. Shot with great force, five of these pierced Arjuna and the other five pierced Vasudeva. Struck with those arrows, those two foremost of men, like Kuvera and Indra, became bathed in blood. Thus afflicted, all the people there regarded those two heroes as slain by Ashvatthama the warrior who had completely mastered the science of arms. Then the chief of the Dasharhas addressed Arjuna and said, "Why errest thou in thus sparing Ashvatthama? Slay this warrior. If treated with indifference, even this one will be the cause of great woe, like a disease not sought to be put down by treatment." Replying unto Keshava of unfading glory with the words "So be it!" Arjuna of unclouded understanding began with good care to mangle the son of Drona with his shafts. Now the son of Pandu, filled with rage, quickly pierced the massive arms, smeared with sandal-paste, and the chest, the head, and the unrivalled thighs of his antagonist with shafts equipped with heads like goats' ears, and shot with great force from gandiva. Then cutting off the traces of Ashvatthama's steeds, Arjuna began to pierce the steeds themselves, whereat the latter bore Ashvatthama away to a great distance from the field. Thus borne away by these steeds endued with the speed of the wind, the intelligent son of Drona, deeply afflicted with the shafts of Partha, reflecting for some time, wished not to go back and renew the fight with Partha. Knowing that victory is ever with the chief of the Vrishnis and with Dhananjaya, that foremost one of Angirasa's race, endued with great activity, entered the army of Karna, deprived of hope and with shafts and weapons almost exhausted. Indeed, Drona's son, restraining his steeds, and having comforted himself a little, O sire, entered the force of Karna, teeming with cars and steeds and men. After Ashvatthama, that enemy of theirs, had been thus removed from the field by his steeds like a disease removed from the body by incantations and medicines and means, Keshava and Arjuna proceeded towards the samsaptakas, on their car whose rattle resembled the roar of the clouds and whose banner waved on the wind.'"

SECTION 18

"Sanjaya said, 'Meanwhile towards the northern part of the Pandava army, a loud uproar arose of cars and elephants and steeds and foot-soldiers as those were being massacred by Dandadhara. Turning the course of the car, but without stopping the steeds which were as fleet as Garuda or the wind, Keshava, addressing Arjuna, said, "The chief of the Magadhas, with his (foe-crushing) elephant is unrivalled in prowess. In training and might he is not inferior to Bhagadatta himself. Having slain him first, thou wilt then slay the samsaptakas." At the conclusion of his words, Keshava bore Partha to the presence of Dandadhara. The chief of the Magadhas, peerless in handling the elephant-hook even as the headless planet Ketu (is peerless) among all the planets, was destroying the hostile army like a fierce comet destroying the whole earth. Riding on his foe-slaying and well-equipped elephant which looked like the danava with elephantine face and form, and whose roar resembled that of a congregated mass of clouds, Dandadhara was destroying with his shafts thousands of cars and steeds and elephants and men. The elephants also, treading upon cars with their feet, pressed down into the Earth a large number of men with their steeds and drivers. Many were the elephants, also, which that foremost of elephants, crushed and slew with his two forefeet and trunk. Indeed, the beast moved like the wheel of Death. Slaying men adorned with steel coats of mail, along with their horses and foot-soldiers, the chief of the Magadhas caused these to be pressed down into the earth, like thick reeds pressed down with crackling sounds, by means of that mighty and foremost of elephants belonging to him. Then Arjuna, riding on that foremost of cars, rushed quickly towards that prince of elephants in the midst of that host teeming with thousands of cars and steeds and elephants, and resounding with the beat and blare of innumerable cymbals and drums and conchs and uproarious with the clatter of car-wheels, the twang of bow-strings, and the sound of palms. Even Dandadhara pierced Arjuna with a dozen foremost of shafts and Janardana with sixteen and each of the steeds with three, and then uttered a loud shout and laughed repeatedly. Then Partha, with a number of broad-headed shafts, cut off the bow of his antagonist with its string and arrow fixed thereon, as also his well-decked standard, and then the guides of his beast and the footmen that protected the animal. At this, the lord of Girivraja became filled with rage. Desirous of agitating Janardana with that tusker of his, whose temples had split from excitement, and which resembled a mass of clouds and was endued with the speed of the wind, Dandadhara struck Dhananjaya with many lances. The son of Pandu then, with three razor-headed arrows, cut off, almost at the same instant of time, the two arms each looking like the trunk of an elephant, and then the head, resembling the full Moon, of his foe. Then Arjuna struck the elephant of this antagonist with hundreds of arrows. Covered with the gold-decked arrows of Partha, that elephant equipped with golden armour looked as resplendent as a mountain in the night with its herbs and trees blazing in a conflagration. Afflicted with the pain and roaring like a mass of clouds, and exceedingly weakened, the elephant crying and wandering and running with tottering steps, fell down with the guide on its neck, like a mountain summit riven by thunder. Upon the fall of his brother in battle, Danda advanced against Indra's younger brother and Dhananjaya, desirous of slaying them, on his tusker white as snow and adorned with gold and looking like a Himalayan summit. Danda struck Janardana with three whetted lances bright as the rays of the sun, and Arjuna with five, and uttered a loud shout. The son of Pandu then uttering a loud shout cut off the two arms of Danda. Cut off by means of razor-headed shafts, those two arms, smeared with sandal-paste, adorned with angadas, and with lances in grasp, as they fell from the elephant's back at the same instant of time, looked resplendent like a couple of large snakes of great beauty falling down from a mountain summit. Cut off with a crescent-shaped arrow by the diadem-decked (Partha), the head also of Danda fell down on the Earth from the elephant's back, and covered with blood it looked resplendent as it lay like the sun dropped from the Asta mountain towards the western quarter. Then Partha pierced with many excellent arrows bright as the rays of the sun that elephant of his foe, resembling a mass of white clouds whereupon it fell down with a noise like a Himalayan summit riven with thunder. Then other huge elephants capable of winning victory and resembling the two already slain, were cut off by Savyasaci, in that battle, even as the two (belonging to Danda and Dandadhara) had been cut off. At this the vast hostile force broke. Then elephants and cars and steeds and men, in dense throngs, clashed against one another and fell down on the field. Tottering, they violently struck one another and fell down deprived of life. Then his soldiers, encompassing Arjuna like the celestials encompassing Purandara, began to say, "O hero, that foe of whom we had been frightened like creatures at the sight of Death himself, hath by good luck been slain by thee. If thou hadst not protected from that fear those people that were so deeply afflicted by mighty foes, then by this time our foes would have felt that delight which we now feel at their death, O slayer of enemies." Hearing these and other words uttered by friends and allies, Arjuna, with a cheerful heart, worshipped those men, each according to his deserts, and proceeded once more against the samsaptakas.'"

SECTION 19

"Sanjaya said, 'Wheeling round, like the planet Mercury in the curvature of its orbit, Jishnu (Arjuna) once more slew large number of the samsaptakas. Afflicted with the shafts of Partha, O king, men, steeds, and elephants, O Bharata, wavered and wondered and lost colour and fell down and died. Many foremost of animals tied to yokes and drivers and standards, and bows, and shafts and hands and weapons in grasp, and arms, and heads, of heroic foes fighting with him, the son of Pandu cut off in that battle, with arrows, some of which were broad-headed, some equipped with heads like razors, some crescent-shaped, and some furnished with heads like the calf's tooth. Like bulls fighting with a bull for the sake of a cow in season, brave warriors by hundreds and thousands closed upon Arjuna. The battle that took place between them and him made the hair to stand on end like the encounter between the Daityas and Indra, the wielder of the thunderbolt on the occasion of the conquest of the three worlds. Then the son of Ugrayudha pierced Partha with three shafts resembling three venomous snakes. Partha, however, cut off from his enemy's trunk the latter's head. Then those warriors, filled with rage, covered Arjuna from every side with diverse kinds of weapons like the clouds urged by the Maruts shrouding Himavat at the close of summer. Checking with his own weapons those of his foes on every side, Arjuna slew a large number of his enemies with well-shot shafts. With his arrows Arjuna then cut off the Trivenus, the steeds, the drivers, and the parshni drivers of many cars, and displaced the weapons and quivers of many, and deprived many of their wheels and standards, and broke the cords, the traces and the axles of many, and destroyed the bottoms and yokes of others, and caused all the equipment of many to fall from their places. Those cars, thus smashed and injured by Arjuna in large numbers, looked like the luxurious mansions of the rich

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destroyed by fire, wind, and rain. Elephants, their vitals pierced with shafts resembling thunderbolts in impetuosity, fell down like mansions on mountain-tops overthrown by blasts of lightning. Large numbers of steeds with their riders, struck by Arjuna, fell down on the Earth, their tongues and entrails pressed out, themselves deprived of strength and bathed in blood, and presenting an awful sight. Men and steeds and elephants, pierced by Savyasaci (Arjuna) with his shafts, wondered and tottered and fell down and uttered cries of pain and looked pale, O sire. Like Mahendra smiting down the danavas, Partha smote down large numbers of his foes, by means of shafts whetted on stone and resembling the thunder of poison in deadliness. Brave warriors, cased in costly coats of mail and decked with ornaments and armed with diverse kinds of weapons, lay on the field, with their cars and standards, slain by Partha. Vanquished (and deprived of life) persons of righteous deeds, possessed of noble birth and great knowledge, proceeded to heaven in consequence of those glorious deeds of theirs while their bodies only lay on Earth. Then the chief, belonging to thy army, of various realms, filled with wrath and accompanied by their followers, rushed against Arjuna, that foremost of car-warriors. Warriors borne on their cars and steeds and elephants, and foot-soldiers also, all desirous of slaying (Arjuna), rushed towards him, shooting diverse weapons with great speed. Then Arjuna like wind, by means of keen shafts, destroyed that thick shower of weapons dropped by those warriors constituting a mass of congregated clouds. People then beheld Arjuna crossing that raftless ocean constituted by steeds and foot-soldiers and elephants and cars, and having mighty weapons for its waves, on a bridge constituted by his own mighty weapons of offence and defence. Then Vasudeva, addressing Partha, said, "Why, O sinless one, dost thou sport in this way? Grinding these samsaptakas, haste thyself for Karna's slaughter." Saying, "So be it" unto Krishna, Arjuna then, forcibly smiting the remnant of the samsaptakas with his weapons, began to destroy them like Indra destroying the Daityas. At that time, with even the closest attention, men could not mark when Arjuna took out his shafts, when he aimed them and when he let them off quickly. Govinda himself, O Bharata, regarded it wonderful. Like swans diving into a lake the shafts of Arjuna, white and active as swans, penetrated into the hostile force. Then Govinda, beholding the field of battle during the progress of that carnage, said these words to Savyasaci, "Here, O Partha, for the sake of Duryodhana alone, occurreth this great and terrible destruction of the Bharatas and other kings of Earth. Behold, O son of Bharata, these bows, with golden backs, of many mighty bowmen, and these girdles and quivers loosened from their bodies. Behold these straight shafts equipped with wings of gold, and these long arrows washed with oil and looking like snakes freed from their sloughs. Behold these beautiful lances decked with gold lying scattered about, and these coats of mail, O Bharata, adorned with gold and fallen off from the bodies of the warriors. Behold these spears embellished with gold, these darts adorned with the same metal, and these huge maces twined round with threads of gold, and cords of hemp. Behold these swords decked with bright gold and these axes adorned with the same, and these battle-axes equipped with gold-decked handles. Behold also these spiked clubs, these short arrows, these Bhusundis, and these Kanapas; these iron Kuntas lying around, and these heavy Mushalas. These victory-longing warriors endued with great activity and armed with diverse weapons, though dead, still seem to be quick with life. Behold those thousands of warriors, their limbs crushed with maces, and heads split with Mushalas or smashed and trod by elephants and steeds and cars. O slayer of foes, the field of battle is strewn with the bodies of men and elephants and steeds, deprived of life, dreadfully mangled with shafts and darts and swords and lances and scimitars and axes and spears and Nakharas and bludgeons, and bathed in streams of blood. Strewn with arms smeared with sandal-paste and decked with Angadas and graced with auspicious indications and cased in leathern fences and adorned with Keyuras, the Earth looks resplendent, O Bharata. Strewn also with hands having fingers cased in fences, decked with ornaments, and lopped off from arms, and with severed thighs looking like the trunks of elephants, of heroes endued with great activity and with heads adorned with earrings and headgears set with gems, (the Earth looks exceedingly beautiful). Behold those beautiful cars, decked with golden bells, broken in diverse ways. Behold those numerous steeds bathed in blood, those bottoms of cars and long quivers, and diverse kinds of standards and banners and those huge conchs, of the combatants, and those yak-tails perfectly white, and those elephants with tongues lolling out and lying on the field like hills, and those beautiful with triumphal banners, and those slain elephant-warriors, and those rich coverlets, each consisting of one piece of blanket, for the backs of those huge beasts, and those beautiful and variegated and torn blankets, and those numerous bells loosened from the bodies of elephants and broken into fragments by those falling creatures, and those hooks with handles set with stones of lapis lazuli fallen upon the Earth, and those ornamental yokes of steeds, and those armours set with diamonds for their breasts and those rich cloths, adorned with gold and tied to the ends of the standards borne by horsemen, and those variegated coverlets and housings and Ranku skins, set with brilliant gems and inlaid with gold, for the backs of steeds and fallen on the ground, and those large diamonds adorning the head-gears of kings, and those beautiful necklaces of gold, and those umbrellas displaced from their positions, and those yak-tails and fans. Behold the earth strewn with faces adorned with earrings bright as the moon or stars, and embellished with well-cut beards, and each looking like the full moon. The earth, strewn with those faces looking like lilies and lotuses, resembles a lake adorned with a dense assemblage of lilies and lotuses. Behold, the earth possessing the effulgence of the bright moon and diversified as if with myriads of stars, looks like the autumnal firmament bespangled with stellar lights. O Arjuna, these feats that have been achieved by thee in great battle today are, indeed, worthy of thee or of the chief of the celestials himself in heaven." Even thus did Krishna show the field of battle unto Arjuna. And while returning (from the field to their camp), they heard a loud noise in the army of Duryodhana. Indeed the uproar that was heard consisted of the blare of conchs and the beat of cymbals and drums and Patahas and the clatter of car wheels, the neighing of steeds, the grunt of elephants, and the fierce clash of weapons. Penetrating into that force by the aid of his steeds possessing the fleetness of the wind, Krishna became filled with wonder upon beholding the army grinded by Pandya. Like Yama himself slaying creatures whose lives have run out, Pandya, that foremost of warriors skilled in shafts and weapons, was destroying crowds of foes by means of diverse kinds of shafts. Piercing the bodies of the elephants and steeds and men with sharp shafts, that foremost of smiters overthrew and deprived them of life. Cutting off with his own shafts the diverse weapons hurled at him by many foremost of foes, Pandya slew his enemies like Sakra (Indra) destroying the Danavas.'"

SECTION 20

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Thou didst mention to me before the name of Pandya, that hero of world-wide celebrity, but his feats, O Sanjaya, in battle have never been narrated by thee. Tell me today in detail of the prowess of that great hero, his skill, spirit, and energy, the measure of his might, and his pride.'

"Sanjaya said, 'Bhishma and Drona and Kripa and Drona's son and Karna and Arjuna and Janardana, those thorough masters of the science of weapons, are regarded by thee as the foremost of car-warriors. Know, however, that Pandya regarded himself superior to all these foremost of car-warriors in energy. Indeed he never regarded any one amongst the kings as equal to himself. He never admitted his equality with Karna and Bhishma. Nor did he admit within his heart that he was inferior in any respect to Vasudeva or Arjuna. Even such was Pandya, that foremost of kings, that first of wielder of weapons. Filled with rage like the Destroyer himself, Pandya at the time was slaughtering the army of Karna. That force, swelling with cars and steeds and teeming with foremost of foot-soldiers, struck by Pandya, began to turn round like the potter's wheel. Like the wind dispersing a mass of congregated clouds, Pandya, with his well shot arrows, began to disperse that force, destroying its steeds and drivers and standards and cars and causing its weapons and elephants to fall down. Like the splitter of mountains striking down mountains with his thunder, Pandya overthrew elephants with their riders, having previously cut down the standards and banners and weapons with which they were armed, as also the foot-soldiers that protected those beasts. And he cut down horses, and horsemen with their darts and lances and quivers. Mangling with his shafts the Pulindas, the Khasas, the Bahlikas, the Nishadas, the Andhakas, the Tanganas, the Southerners, and the Bhojas, all of whom, endued with great courage, were unyielding and obstinate in battle, and divesting them of their weapons and coats of mail, Pandya deprived them of their lives. Beholding Pandya destroying with his shafts in battle that host consisting of four kinds of forces, the son of Drona fearlessly proceeded towards that fearless warrior. Fearlessly addressing in sweet words that warrior who then seemed to dance on his car, Drona's son, that foremost of smiters, smiling the while, summoned him and said, "O king, O thou with eyes like the petals of the lotus, thy birth is noble and learning great. Of celebrated might and prowess, thou resemblest Indra himself. Stretching with thy two massive arms the bow held by thee and whose large string is attached to thy grasp, thou lookest beautiful like a mass of congregated clouds as thou pourest over thy foes thick showers of impetuous shafts. I do not see anybody save myself that can be a match for thee in battle. Alone thou crushest numerous cars and elephants and foot-soldiers and steeds, like the fearless lion of terrible might crushing herds of deer in the forest. Making the welkin and the Earth resound with the loud clatter of thy car-wheels thou lookest resplendent, O king, like a crop-destroying autumnal cloud of loud roars. Taking out of thy quiver and shooting thy keen shafts resembling snakes of virulent poison fight with myself only, like (the asura) Andhaka fighting with the three-eyed deity." Thus addressed, Pandya answered, "So be it." Then Drona's son, telling him "Strike," assailed him with vigour. In return, Malayadhwaja pierced the son of Drona with a barbed arrow. Then Drona's son, that best of preceptors, smiling the while, struck Pandya with some fierce arrows, capable of penetrating into the very vitals and resembling flames of fire. Then Ashvatthama once more sped at his foe some other large arrows equipped with keen points and capable of piercing the very vitals, causing them to course through the welkin with the ten different kinds of motion. Pandya, however, with nine shafts of his cut off all those arrows of his antagonist. With four other shafts he afflicted the four steeds of his foe, at which they speedily expired. Having then, with his sharp shafts, cut off the arrows of Drona's son, Pandya then cut off the stretched bow-string of Ashvatthama, endued with the splendour of the sun. Then Drona's son, that slayer of foes, stringing his unstringed bow, and seeing that his men had meanwhile speedily yoked other excellent steeds unto his car, sped thousands of arrows (at his foe). By this, that regenerate one filled the entire welkin and the ten points of the compass with his arrows. Although knowing that those shafts of the high-souled son of Drona employed in shooting were really inexhaustible, yet Pandya, that bull among men, cut them all into pieces. The antagonist of Ashvatthama, carefully cutting off all those shafts shot by the latter, then slew with his own keen shafts the two protectors of the latter's car wheels in that encounter. Beholding the lightness of hand displayed by his foe, Drona's son, drawing his bow to a circle, began to shoot his arrows like a mass of clouds pouring torrents of rain. During that space of time, O sire, which consisted only of the eighth part of a day, the son of Drona shot as many arrows as were carried on eight carts each drawn by eight bullocks. Almost all those men that then beheld Ashvatthama, who at the time looked like the Destroyer himself filled with rage, or rather the Destroyer of the Destroyer, lost their senses. Like a mass of clouds at the close of summer drenching with torrents of rain, the Earth with her mountains and trees, the preceptor's son poured on that hostile force his arrowy shower. Baffling with the Vayavya weapon that unbearable shower of arrows shot by the Ashvatthama-cloud, the Pandya-wind, filled with joy, uttered loud roars. Then Drona's son cutting off the standard, smeared with sandal-paste and other perfumed unguents and bearing the device of the Malaya mountain on it, of the roaring Pandya, slew the four steeds of the latter. Slaying then his foe's driver with a single shaft, and cutting off with a crescent-shaped arrow the bow also of that warrior whose twang resembled the roar of the clouds, Ashvatthama cut off his enemy's car into minute fragments. Checking with the weapons those of his enemy, and cutting off all the weapons of the latter, Drona's son, although he obtained the opportunity to do his enemy the crowning evil, still slew him not, from desire of battling with him for some time more. Meanwhile Karna rushed against the large elephant force of the Pandavas and began to rout and destroy it. Depriving car-warriors of their cars, he struck elephants and steeds and human warriors, O Bharata, with innumerable straight shafts. That mighty bowman, the son of Drona, although he had made Pandya, that slayer of foes and foremost of car-warriors, carless, yet he did not slay him from desire of fight. At that time a huge riderless elephant with large tusks, well-equipped with all utensils of war, treading with speed, endued with great might, quick to proceed against any enemy, struck with Ashvatthama's shafts, advanced towards the direction of Pandya with great impetuosity, roaring against a hostile compeer. Beholding that prince of elephants, looking like a cloven mountain summit, Pandya, who was well acquainted with the method of fighting from the neck of an elephant, quickly ascended that beast like a lion springing with a loud roar to the top of a mountain summit. Then that lord of the prince of mountains, striking the elephant with the hook, and inspired with rage, and with that cool care for which he was distinguished in hurling weapons with great force, quickly sped a lance, bright as Surya's rays, at the preceptor's son and uttered a loud shout. Repeatedly shouting in joy, "Thou art slain, Thou art slain!" Pandya (with that lance) crushed to pieces the diadem of Drona's son adorned with foremost of jewels and diamonds of the first water and the very best kind of gold and excellent cloth and strings of pearls. That diadem possessed of the splendour of the Sun, the Moon, the planets, or the fire, in consequence of the violence of the stroke, fell down, split into fragments, like a mountain summit riven by Indra's thunder, falling down on the Earth with great noise. At this, Ashvatthama blazed up with exceeding rage like a prince of snakes struck with the foot, and took up four and ten shafts capable of inflicting great pain upon foes and each resembling the Destroyer's rod. With five of those shafts he cut off the four feet and the trunk of his adversary's elephant, and with three the two arms and the head of the king, and with six he slew the six mighty car-warriors, endued with great effulgence, that followed king Pandya. Those long and well-rounded arms of the king, smeared with excellent sandal-paste, and adorned with gold and pearls and gems and diamonds falling

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upon the Earth, began to writhe like a couple of snakes slain by Garuda. That head also, graced with a face bright as the full Moon, having a prominent nose and a pair of large eyes, red as copper with rage, adorned with earrings, falling on the ground, looked resplendent like the Moon himself between two bright constellations. The elephant, thus cut off by that skilful warrior into six pieces with those five shafts and the king into four pieces with those three shafts lay divided in all into ten pieces that looked like the sacrificial butter distributed into ten portions intended for the ten deities. Having cut off numerous steeds and men and elephants into pieces and offered them as food into the Rakshasas, king Pandya was thus quieted by Drona's son with his shafts like a blazing fire in a crematorium, extinguished with water after it has received a libation in the shape of a lifeless body. Then like the chief of the celestials joyfully worshipping Vishnu after the subjugation of the Asura Vali, thy son, the king, accompanied by his brothers approaching the preceptor's son worshipped with great respect that warrior who is a complete master of the science of arms, after indeed, he had completed the task he had undertaken."

SECTION 21

"Dhritarashtra said, 'When Pandya had been slain and when that foremost of heroes, viz., Karna was employed in routing and destroying the foe, what, O Sanjaya, did Arjuna do in battle? That son of Pandu is a hero, endued with great might, attentive to his duties, and a complete master of the science of arms. The high-souled Sankara himself hath made him invincible among all creatures. My greatest fears proceed from that Dhananjaya, that slayer of foes. Tell me, O Sanjaya, all that Partha achieved there on that occasion.'

"Sanjaya said, 'After Pandya's fall, Krishna quickly said unto Arjuna these beneficial words, "I do not behold the King. The other Pandavas also have retreated. If the Parthas had returned, the vast force of the enemy would have been broken. In fulfilment of purposes entertained by Ashvatthama, Karna is slaying the Srinjayas. A great carnage is being made (by that warrior) of steeds and car-warriors and elephants." Thus the heroic Vasudeva represented everything unto the diadem-decked (Arjuna). Hearing of and beholding that great danger of his brother (Yudhishthira), Partha quickly addressed Krishna, saying, "Urge the steeds, O Hrishikesha." Then Hrishikesha proceeded on that irresistible car. The encounter then that once more took place became exceedingly fierce. The Kurus and the Pandavas once more fearlessly closed with each other, that is, the Parthas headed by Bhimasena and ourselves headed by the Suta's son. Then, O best of kings, there once more commenced a battle between Karna and the Pandavas that swelled the population of Yama's kingdom. With bows and arrows and spiked clubs and swords and lances and axes and short clubs and Bhushundis and darts and rapiers and battle-axes and maces and spears and polished Kuntas, and short shafts and hooks, the combatants quickly fell upon one another, desirous of taking one another's life. Filling the welkin, the cardinal points of the compass, the subsidiary ones, the firmament, and the Earth, with the whizz of arrows, the twang of bow-strings, the sound of palms, and the clatter of car-wheels, foes rushed upon foes. Gladdened by that loud noise, heroes, fought with heroes desirous of reaching the end of the hostilities. Loud became the noise caused by the sound of bow-strings and fences and bows, the grunt of elephants, and the shouts of foot-soldiers and falling men. Hearing the terrible whizz of arrows and the diverse shouts of brave warriors, the troops took fright, became pale, and fell down. Large numbers of those foes thus employed in shouting and shooting weapons, the heroic son of Adhiratha crushed with his arrows. With his shafts Karna then despatched to Yama's abode twenty car-warriors among the brave Pancala heroes, with their steeds, drivers, and standards. Then many foremost of warriors of the Pandava army, endued with great energy and quick in the use of weapons, speedily wheeling round, encompassed Karna on all sides. Karna agitated that hostile force with showers of weapons like the leader of an elephantine herd plunging into a lake adorned with lotuses and covered with swans. Penetrating into the midst of his foes, the son of Radha, shaking his best of bows, began to strike off and fell their heads with his sharp shafts. The shield and coats of mail of the warriors, cut off, fell down on the Earth. There was none amongst them that needed the touch of a second arrow of Karna's. Like a driver striking the steeds with the whip, Karna, with his shafts capable of crushing coats of mail and bodies and the life that quickened them, struck the fences (of his foes) perceivable only by their bow-strings. Like a lion grinding herds of deer, Karna speedily grinded all those Pandus and Srinjayas and Pancalas that came within range of his arrows. Then the chief of the Pancalas, and the sons of Draupadi, O sire, and the twins, and Yuyudhana, uniting together, proceeded against Karna. When those Kurus, and Pancalas and Pandus were thus engaged in battle, the other warriors, reckless of their very lives, began to strike at one another. Well-cased in armour and coats of mail and adorned with head-gears, combatants endued with great strength rushed at their foes, with maces and short clubs and spiked bludgeons looking like uplifted rods of the Destroyer, and jumping, O sire, and challenging one another, uttered loud shouts. They struck one another, and fell down, assailed by one another with blood rising from their limbs and deprived of brains and eyes and weapons. Covered with weapons, some, as they lay there with faces beautiful as pomegranates, having teeth-adorned mouths filled with blood, seemed to be alive. Others, in that vast ocean of battle, filled with rage mangled or cut or pierced or overthrew or lopped off or slew one another with battle-axes and short arrows and hooks and spears and lances. Slain by one another they fell down, covered with blood and deprived of life like sandal trees cut down with the axe falling down and shedding as they fall their cool blood-red juice. Cars destroyed by cars, elephants by elephants, men by men, and steeds by steeds, fell down in thousands. Standards, and heads, and umbrellas, and elephants, trunks, and human arms, cut off with razor-faced or broad-headed or crescent-shaped arrows, fell down on the Earth. Large numbers also of men, and elephants, and cars with steed yoked thereto, were crushed in that battle. Many brave warriors, slain by horsemen, fell down, and many tuskers, with their trunks cut off, and banners and standards (on their bodies), fell down like fallen mountains. Assailed by foot-soldiers, many elephants and cars, destroyed or in course of destruction, fell down on all sides. Horsemen, encountering foot-soldiers with activity, were slain by the latter. Similarly crowds of foot-soldiers, slain by horsemen, laid themselves down on the field. The faces and the limbs of those slain in that dreadful battle looked like crushed lotuses and faded floral wreaths. The beautiful forms of elephants and steeds and human beings, O king, then resembled cloths foul with dirt, and became exceedingly repulsive to look at.'"

SECTION 22

"Sanjaya said, 'Many elephant-warriors riding on their beasts, urged by thy son, proceeded against Dhrishtadyumna, filled with rage and desirous of compassing his destruction. Many foremost of combatants skilled in elephant-fight, belonging to the Easterners, the Southerners, the Angas, the Vangas, the Pundras, the Magadhas, the Tamraliptakas, the Mekalas, the Koshalas, the Madras, the Dasharnas, the Nishadas uniting with the Kalingas, O Bharata, and showering shafts and lances and arrows like pouring clouds, drenched the Pancala force therewith in that battle. Prishata's son covered with his arrows and shafts those (foe-crushing) elephants urged forward by their riders with heels and toes and hooks. Each of those beasts that were huge as hills, the Pancala hero pierced with ten, eight, or six whetted shafts, O Bharata. Beholding the prince of the Pancalas shrouded by those elephants like the Sun by the clouds, the Pandus and the Pancalas proceeded towards him (for his rescue) uttering loud roars and armed with sharp weapons. Pouring their weapons upon those elephants, those warriors began to dance the dance of heroes, aided by the music of their bow-strings and the sound of their palms, and urged by heroes beating the time. Then Nakula and Sahadeva, and the sons of Draupadi, and the Prabhadrakas, and Satyaki, and Shikhandi, and Chekitana endued with great energy,--all those heroes--drenched those elephants from every side with their weapons, like the clouds drenching the hills with their showers. Those furious elephants, urged on by mleccha warriors dragging down with their trunks men and steeds and cars, crushed them with their feet. And some they pierced with the points of their tusks, and some they raised aloft and dashed down on the ground; others taken aloft on the tusks of those huge beasts, fell down inspiring spectators with fear. Then Satyaki, piercing the vitals of the elephant belonging to the king of the Vangas staying before him, with a long shaft endued with great impetuosity, caused it to fall down on the field of battle. Then Satyaki pierced with another long shaft the chest of the rider whom he could not hitherto touch, just as the latter was about to jump from the back of his beast. Thus struck by Satwata, he fell down on the Earth.

"'Meanwhile Sahadeva, with three shafts shot with great care, struck the elephant of Pundra, as it advanced against him like a moving mountain, depriving it of its standard and driver and armour and life. Having thus cut off that elephant, Sahadeva proceeded against the chief of the Angas.

"'Nakula, however, causing Sahadeva to desist, himself afflicted the ruler of the Angas with three long shafts, each resembling the rod of Yama, and his foe's elephant with a hundred arrows. Then the ruler of the Angas hurled at Nakula eight hundred lances bright as the rays of the Sun. Each of these Nakula cut off into three fragments. The son of Pandu then cut off the head of his antagonist with a crescent-shaped arrow. At this that mleccha king, deprived of life, fell down with the animal he rode. Upon the fall of the prince of the Angas who was well-skilled in elephant-lore, the elephant-men of the Angas, filled with rage, proceeded with speed against Nakula, on their elephants decked with banners that waved in the air, possessing excellent mouths, adorned with housings of gold, and looking like blazing mountains, from desire of crushing him to pieces. And many Mekalas and Utkalas, and Kalingas, and Nishadas, and Tamraliptakas, also advanced against Nakula, showering their shafts and lances, desirous of slaying him. Then the Pandus, the Pancalas, and the Somakas, filled with rage, rushed with speed for the rescue of Nakula shrouded by those warriors like the Sun by the clouds. Then occurred a fierce battle between those car-warriors and elephant-men, the former showering their arrows and shafts the latter their lances by thousands. The frontal globes and other limbs and the tusks and adornments of the elephants, exceedingly pierced with shafts, were split and mangled. Then Sahadeva, with four and sixty impetuous arrows, quickly slew eight of those huge elephants which fell down with their riders. And Nakula also, that delighter of his race, bending his excellent bow with great vigour, with many straight shafts, slew many elephants. Then the Pancala prince, and the grandson of Sini (Satyaki) and the sons of Draupadi and the Prabhadrakas, and Shikhandi, drenched those huge elephants with showers of shafts. Then in consequence of those rain-charged clouds constituted by the Pandava warriors, those hills constituted by the elephants of the foe, fell, struck down by torrents of rain formed by their numerous shafts, like real mountains struck down with a thunder-storm. Those leaders of the Pandava car-warriors then, thus slaying those elephants of thine cast their eyes on the hostile army, which, as it fled away at that time resembled a river whose continents had been washed away. Those warriors of Pandu's son, having thus agitated that army of thine, agitated it once more, and then rushed against Karna.'"

SECTION 23

"Sanjaya said, 'While Sahadeva, filled with rage, was thus blasting thy host, Duhshasana, O great king, proceeded against him, the brother against the brother. Beholding those two engaged in dreadful combat, all the great car-warriors uttered leonine shouts and waved their garments. Then, O Bharata, the mighty son of Pandu was struck in the chest with three arrows by thy angry son armed with bow. Then Sahadeva, O king, having first pierced thy son with an arrow, pierced him again with seventy arrows, and then his driver with three. Then Duhshasana, O monarch, having cut off Sahadeva's bow in that great battle, pierced Sahadeva himself with three and seventy arrows in the arms and the chest. Then Sahadeva filled with rage, took up a sword, in that dreadful conflict, and whirling, hurled it quickly towards the car of thy son. Cutting off Duhshasana's bow with string and arrow fixed on it, that large sword fell down on the Earth like a snake from the firmament. Then the valiant Sahadeva taking up another bow, shot a deadly shaft at Duhshasana. The Kuru warrior, however, with his keen-edged sword, cut off into two fragments that shaft, bright as the rod of Death, as it coursed towards him. Then whirling that sharp sword, Duhshasana quickly hurled it in that battle as his foe. Meanwhile that valiant warrior took up another bow with a shaft. Sahadeva, however, with the greatest ease, cut off, with his keen shafts, that sword as it coursed towards him, and caused it to fall down in that battle. Then, O Bharata, thy son, in that dreadful battle, quickly sped four and sixty shafts at the car of Sahadeva. Sahadeva, however, O king, cut off every one of those numerous arrows as they coursed with great impetuosity towards him, with five shafts of his. Checking then those mighty shafts sped by thy son, Sahadeva, in that battle, sped a large number of arrows at his foe. Cutting off each of those shafts with three shafts of his, thy son uttered a loud shout, making the whole Earth resound with it. Then Duhshasana, O king, having pierced Sahadeva in that battle, struck the latter's driver with nine arrows. The valiant Sahadeva then, O monarch, filled with rage, fixed on his bow-string a terrible shaft resembling the Destroyer himself and forcibly drawing the bow, he sped that shaft at thy son. Piercing with great speed through his strong armour and body, that shaft entered the Earth, O king, like a snake penetrating into an ant-hill. Then thy son, that great car-warrior, swooned away, O king. Beholding him deprived of his senses, his driver quickly took away the car, himself forcibly struck all the while with keen arrows. Having vanquished the Kuru warrior thus, the son of Pandu, beholding Duryodhana's division, began to crush it on all sides. Indeed, O king, as a man excited with wrath crushes swarm of ants, even so, O Bharata did that son of Pandu begin to crush the Kaurava host.'"

SECTION 24

"Sanjaya said, 'While Nakula was employed in destroying and routing the Kaurava divisions in battle with great force, Vikartana's son Karna, filled with rage, checked him, O king. Then Nakula smiling the while, addressed Karna, and said, "After a long time, through the favour of the gods, I am seen by thee, and thou also, O wretch, dost become the object of my sight. Thou art the root of all these evils, this hostility, this quarrel. It is through thy faults that the Kauravas are being thinned, encountering one another. Slaying thee in battle today, I will regard myself as one that has achieved his object, and the fever of my heart will be dispelled." Thus addressed by Nakula, the Suta's son said unto him the following words befitting a prince and a bowman in particular, "Strike me, O hero. We desire to witness thy

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manliness. Having achieved some feats in battle, O brave warrior, thou shouldst then boast. O sire, they that are heroes fight in battle to the best of their powers, without indulging in brag. Fight now with me to the best of thy might. I will quell thy pride." Having said these words the Suta's son quickly struck the son of Pandu and pierced him, in that encounter, with three and seventy shafts. Then Nakula, O Bharata, thus pierced by the Suta's son, pierced the latter in return with eighty shafts resembling snakes of virulent poison. Then Karna, that great bowman, cutting off his antagonist's bow with a number of arrows winged with gold and whetted on stone, afflicted him with thirty arrows. Those arrows, piercing through his armour drank his blood in that battle, like the Nagas of virulent poison drinking water after having pierced through the Earth. Then Nakula, taking up another formidable bow whose back was decked with gold, pierced Karna with twenty arrows and his driver with three. Then, O monarch, that slayer of hostile heroes, viz., Nakula, filled with rage, cut off Karna's bow with a razor-headed shaft of great keenness. Smiling the while, the heroic son of Pandu then struck the bowless Karna, that foremost of car-warriors, with three hundred arrows. Beholding Karna thus afflicted, O sire, by the son of Pandu, all the carwarriors there, with the gods (in the welkin), were filled with great wonder. Then Vikartana's son Karna taking up another bow, struck Nakula with five arrows in the shoulder-joint. With those arrows sticking to him here, the son of Madri looked resplendent like the Sun with his own rays while shedding his light on the Earth. Then Nakula piercing Karna with seven shafts, once more, O sire, cut off one of the horns of Karna's bow. Then Karna, taking up in that battle a tougher bow, filled the welkin on every side of Nakula with his arrows. The mighty car-warrior, Nakula, however, thus suddenly shrouded with the arrows shot from Karna's bow quickly cut off all those shafts with shafts of his own. Then was seen overspread in the welkin a vast number of arrows like to the spectacle presented by the sky when it is filled with myriads of roving fireflies. Indeed, the sky shrouded with those hundreds of arrows shot (by both the warriors) looked, O monarch, as if it was covered with flights of locusts. Those arrows, decked with gold, issuing repeatedly in continuous lines, looked beautiful like rows of cranes while flying through the welkin. When the sky was thus covered with showers of arrows and the sun himself hid from the view, no creature ranging the air could descend on the Earth. When all sides were thus covered with showers of arrows, those two high-souled warriors looked resplendent like two Suns risen at the end of the Yuga. Slaughtered with the shafts issuing from Karna's bow the Somakas, O monarch, greatly afflicted and feeling much pain, began to breathe their last. Similarly, thy warriors, struck with the shafts of Nakula, dispersed on all sides, O king, like clouds tossed by the wind. The two armies thus slaughtered by those two warriors with their mighty celestial shafts, retreated from the range of those arrows and stood as spectators of the encounter. When both the armies were driven off by means of the shafts of Karna and Nakula, those two high-souled warriors began to pierce each other with showers of shafts. Displaying their celestial weapons on the field of battle, they quickly shrouded each other, each desirous of compassing the destruction of the other. The shafts shot by Nakula, dressed with Kanka and peacock feathers, shrouding the Suta's son, seemed to stay in the welkin. Similarly, the shafts sped by the Suta's son in that dreadful battle, shrouding the son of Pandu, seemed to stay in the welkin. Shrouded within arrowy chambers, both the warriors became invisible, like the Sun and the Moon, O king, hidden by the clouds. Then Karna, filled with rage and assuming a terrible aspect in the battle, covered the son of Pandu with showers of arrows from every side. Completely covered, O monarch, by the Suta's son, the son of Pandu felt no pain like the Maker of day when covered by the clouds. The son of Adhiratha then, smiling the while, sped arrowy lines, O sire, in hundreds and thousands, in that battle. With those shafts of the high-souled Karna, an extensive shade seemed to rest on the field of battle. Indeed, with those excellent shafts constantly issuing out (of his bow), a shade was caused there like that formed by the clouds. Then Karna, O monarch, cutting off the bow of the high-souled Nakula, felled the latter's driver from the car-niche with the greatest ease. With four keen shafts, next, he quickly despatched the four steeds of Nakula, O Bharata, to the abode of Yama. With his shafts, he also cut off into minute fragments that excellent car of his antagonist as also his standard and the protectors of his car-wheels, and mace, and sword, and shield decked with a hundred moons, and other utensils and equipments of battle. Then Nakula, steedless and carless and armourless, O monarch, quickly alighting from his car, stood, armed with a spiked bludgeon. Even that terrible bludgeon, so uplifted by the son of Pandu, the Suta's son, O king, cut off with many keen arrows capable of bearing a great strain. Beholding his adversary weaponless. Karna began to strike him with many straight shafts, but took care not to afflict him greatly. Thus struck in that battle by that mighty warrior accomplished in weapons, Nakula, O king, fled away precipitately in great affliction. Laughing repeatedly, the son of Radha pursued him and placed his stringed bow, O Bharata, around the neck of the retreating Nakula. With the large bow around his neck, O king, the son of Pandu looked resplendent like Moon in the firmament when within a circular halo of light, or a white cloud girdled round by Indra's bow. Then Karna, addressing him, said, "The words thou hadst uttered were futile. Canst thou utter them now once more in joy, repeatedly struck as thou art by me? Do not, O son of Pandu, fight again with those amongst the Kurus that are possessed of greater might. O child, fight with them that are thy equals. Do not, O son of Pandu, feel any shame for it. Return home, O son of Madri, or go thither where Krishna and Phalguna are." Having addressed him thus he abandoned him then. Acquainted with morality as the brave Karna was, he did not then slay Nakula who was already within the jaws of death. Recollecting the words of Kunti, O king, Karna let Nakula go. The son of Pandu, thus let off, O king, by that bowman, Suta's son, proceeded towards Yudhishthira's car in great shame. Scorched by the Suta's son, he then ascended his brother's car, and burning with grief he continued to sigh like a snake kept within a jar. Meanwhile Karna, having vanquished Nakula, quickly proceeded against the Pancalas, riding on that car of his which bore many gorgeous pennons and whose steeds were as white as the Moon. There, O monarch, a great uproar arose among the Pandavas when they saw the leader of the Kaurava army proceeding towards the Pancala car-throngs. The Suta's son, O monarch, made a great massacre there at that hour when the Sun had reached the meridian, that puissant warrior careering all the while with the activity of a wheel. We beheld many Pancala car-warriors borne away from the battle on their steedless and driverless cars with broken wheels and broken axles and with standards and pennons also that were broken and torn, O sire. And many elephants were seen to wander there in all directions (with limbs scorched by arrows) like individuals of their species in the wide forest with limbs scorched and burned in a forest conflagration. Others with their frontal globes split open, or bathed in blood, or with trunks lopped off, or with their armour cut down, or their tails lopped off, fell down, struck by the high-souled Karna, like straggling clouds. Other elephants, frightened by the shafts and lances of Radha's son proceeded against Radha's son himself like insects towards a blazing fire. Other huge elephants were seen striking against one another and shedding blood from various limbs like mountains with rillets running down their breasts. Steeds of the foremost breed, divested of breast-plates and their ornaments of silver and brass and gold, destitute of trappings and bridle-bits and yak-tails and saddle-cloths, with quivers fallen off from their backs, and with their heroic riders,--ornaments of battle,--slain, were seen wandering here and there on the field. Pierced and cut with lances and scimitars and swords, O Bharata, we beheld many a horseman adorned with armour and head-gear, slain or in course of being slain or trembling with fear, and deprived, O Bharata, of diverse limbs. Cars also, decked with gold, and unto which were yoked steeds of great fleetness, were seen by us dragged with exceeding speed hither and thither, their riders having been slain. Some of these had their axles and poles broken, and some, O Bharata, had their wheels broken; and some were without banners and standards, and some were divested of their shafts. Many car-warriors also were seen there, by us, O monarch, wandering all around, deprived of their cars and scorched with the shafts of the Suta's son. And some destitute of weapons and some with weapons still in their arms were seen lying lifeless on the field in large numbers. And many elephants also were seen by us, wandering in all directions, studded with clusters of stars, adorned with rows of beautiful bells, and decked with variegated banners of diverse hues. Heads and arms and chests and other limbs, cut off with shafts sped from Karna's bow, were beheld by us lying around. A great and fierce calamity overtook the warriors (of the Pandava army) as they fought with whetted arrows, and mangled as they were with the shafts of Karna. The Srinjayas, slaughtered in that battle by the Suta's son, blindly proceeded against the latter's self like insects rushing upon a blazing fire. Indeed, as that mighty car-warrior was engaged in scorching the Pandava divisions, the kshatriyas avoided him, regarding him to be the blazing Yuga fire. Those heroic and mighty car-warriors of the Pancala that survived the slaughter fled away. The brave Karna, however, pursued those broken and retreating warriors from behind, shooting his shafts at them. Endued with great energy, he pursued those combatants divested of armour and destitute of standards. Indeed, the Suta's son, possessed of great might, continued to scorch them with his shafts, like the dispeller of darkness scorching all creatures when he attains to the meridian.'"

SECTION 25

"Sanjaya said, 'Against Yuyutsu who was employed in routing the vast army of thy son, Uluka proceeded with speed saying "Wait, Wait." Then Yuyutsu, O king, with a winged arrow of keen edge struck Uluka with great force, like (Indra himself striking) a mountain with the thunderbolt. Filled with rage at this, Uluka, in that battle, cut off thy son's bow with a razor-headed arrow and struck thy son himself with a barbed shaft. Casting off that broken bow, Yuyutsu, with eyes red in wrath, took up another formidable bow endued with greater impetus. The prince then, O bull of Bharata's race, pierced Uluka with sixty arrows. Piercing next the driver of Uluka, Yuyutsu struck Uluka once more. Then Uluka, filled with rage pierced Yuyutsu with twenty shafts adorned with gold, and then cut off his standard made of gold. That lofty and gorgeous standard made of gold, O king, thus cut off (by Uluka), fell down in front of Yuyutsu's car. Beholding his standard cut off, Yuyutsu, deprived of his senses by wrath, struck Uluka with five shafts in the centre of the chest. Then Uluka, O sire, in that battle, cut off, with a broad-headed arrow steeped in oil, the head of his antagonist's driver, O best of the Bharatas. Slaying next his four steeds he struck Yuyutsu himself with five arrows. Deeply struck by the strong Uluka, Yuyutsu proceeded to another car. Having vanquished him in battle, O king, Uluka proceeded quickly towards the Pancalas and the Srinjayas and began to slaughter them with sharp shafts. Thy son Srutakarman, O monarch, within half the time taken up by a wink of the eye, fearlessly made Satanika steedless and driverless and carless. The mighty car-warrior Satanika, however, staying on his steedless car, O sire, hurled a mace, filled with rage, at thy son. That mace, reducing thy son's car with its steeds and driver into fragments, fell down upon the Earth with great speed, and pierced it through. Then those two heroes, both enhancers of the glory of the Kurus, deprived of their cars, retreated from the encounter, glaring at each other. Then thy son, overcome with fear, mounted upon the car of Vivingsu, while Satanika quickly got upon the car of Prativindhya. Shakuni, filled with rage, pierced Sutasoma with many keen shafts, but failed to make the latter tremble like a torrent of water failing to produce any impression upon a mountain. Beholding that great enemy of his father, Sutasoma covered Shakuni, O Bharata, with many thousands of arrows. Shakuni, however, that warrior of sure aim and conversant with all methods of warfare, actuated by desire of battle, quickly cut off all those shafts with his own winged arrows. Having checked those shafts with his own keen arrows in battle, Shakuni, filled with rage, struck Sutasoma with three arrows. Thy brother-in-law then, O monarch, with his arrows cut off into minute fragments the steeds, the standard, and the driver of his adversary, at which all the spectators uttered a loud shout. Deprived of his steed and car, and having his standard cut off, O sire, the great bowman (Sutasoma), jumping down from his car, stood on the Earth, having taken up a good bow. And he shot a large number of arrows equipped with golden wings and whetted on stone, and shrouded therewith the car of thy brother-in law in that battle. The son of Subala, however, beholding those showers of arrows that resembled a flight of locusts, coming towards his car, did not tremble. On the other hand, that illustrious warrior crushed all those arrows with arrows of his own. The warriors that were present there, as also the Siddhas in the firmament, were highly pleased at sight of that wonderful and incredible feat of Sutasoma, inasmuch as he contended on foot with Shakuni staying in his car. Then Shakuni, with a number of broad-headed shafts of great impetuosity, keen and perfectly straight, cut off, O king, the bow of Sutasoma as also all his quivers. Bowless, and carless, Sutasoma then, uplifting a scimitar of the hue of the blue lotus and equipped with an ivory handle, uttered a loud shout. That scimitar of the intelligent Sutasoma of the hue of the clear sky, as it was whirled by that hero, was regarded by Shakuni to be as fatal as the rod of Death. Armed with that scimitar he suddenly began to career in circles over the arena, displaying, O monarch, the fourteen different kinds of manoeuvres, endued as he was with skill and might. Indeed, he displayed in that battle all those motions such as wheeling about and whirling on high, and making side-thrusts and jumping forward and leaping on high and running above and rushing forward and rushing upwards. The valiant son of Subala then sped a number of arrows at his foe, but the latter quickly cut them off with that excellent scimitar of his as they coursed towards him. Filled with rage (at this), the son of Subala, O king, once more sped at Sutasoma a number of shafts that resembled snakes of virulent poison. Aided by his skill and might, Sutasoma cut off even these with his scimitar, displaying his great activity, and possessed as he was of prowess equal to that of Garuda himself. With a razor-headed arrow of great sharpness, Shakuni then, O king, cut off that bright scimitar of his adversary as the latter careered in circles before him. Thus cut off, (half of) that large scimitar suddenly fell down on the Earth, while half of it, O Bharata, continued in the grasp of Sutasoma. Seeing his sword cut off, the mighty car-warrior Sutasoma retreated six steps and then hurled that half (of the scimitar) which he had in his grasp at his foe. The fragment decked with gold and gems, cutting off the bow, with string, of the illustrious Shakuni, quickly fell down on the Earth. Then Sutasoma went to the great car of Srutakirti. Subala's son also, taking up another formidable and invincible bow, proceeded towards the Pandava army, slaying large numbers of foes (on the way). Beholding the son of Subala careering fearlessly in battle, a loud uproar, O king,

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arose among the Pandavas in that part of the army. People witnessed those large and proud divisions bristling with arms, routed by the illustrious son of Subala. Even as the chief of the celestials crushed the Daitya army, the son of Subala destroyed that army of the Pandavas.'"

SECTION 26

"Sanjaya said, 'Kripa, O king, resisted Dhrishtadyumna in battle, like a Sarabha in the forest resisting a proud lion. Checked by the mighty son of Gautama, Prishata's son, O Bharata, could not advance even one step. Beholding Gautama's car in front of Dhrishtadyumna's, all creatures were inspired with fright and regarded the latter's destruction to be at hand. Car-warriors and horsemen, becoming very cheerless, said, "Without doubt, this foremost of men, Sharadvata's son of mighty energy and great intelligence and versed in celestial weapon, is filled with rage at the death of Drona. Will Dhrishtadyumna today escape from the hands of Gautama? Will this vast army escape today this great danger? Will not this brahmana slay all of us together? The form that he has assumed today, even like that of the Destroyer himself, shows that he will today act after the manner of Drona himself. The preceptor Gautama, endued with great lightness of hands, is ever victorious in battle. Possessing a knowledge of weapons, he is endued with great energy and filled with rage." Diverse speeches like these, uttered by the warriors of both the armies were, O monarch, heard there as those two heroes encountered each other. Drawing deep breath in rage, Sharadvata's son Kripa, O king, began to afflict the son of Prishata in all his vital limbs while the latter stood inactive. Struck in that battle by the illustrious Gautama, Dhrishtadyumna, greatly stupefied, knew not what to do. His driver then, addressing him said, "It is not all right with thee, O son of Prishata. Never before have I seen such a calamity overtake thee in battle. It is a lucky chance, it seems, that these shafts, capable of penetrating the very vitals, sped by that foremost of brahmanas aiming at thy vital limbs, are not striking thee. I will presently cause the car to turn back, like the current of a river dashed back by the sea. I think that brahmana, by whom thy prowess hath been annihilated, is incapable of being slain by thee." Thus addressed, Dhrishtadyumna, O king, slowly said, "My mind becometh stupefied, O sire, and perspiration covereth my limbs. My body trembles and my hair stands on end. Avoiding that brahmana in battle, proceed slowly to where Arjuna is, O charioteer; arrived at the presence of either Arjuna or Bhimasena, prosperity may be mine. Even this is my certain conviction." Then, O monarch, the charioteer, urging the steeds, proceeded to the spot where the mighty bowman Bhimasena was battling with thy troops. Beholding the car, O sire, of Dhrishtadyumna speedily moving away from that spot, Gautama followed it, shooting hundreds of shafts. And that chastiser of foes also repeatedly blew his conch. Indeed, he routed the son of Prishata like Indra routing the Danava Namuci.

"'The invincible Shikhandi, the cause of Bhishma's death, was in that battle, resisted by Hridika's son who smiled repeatedly as he fought with the former. Shikhandi, however, encountering the mighty car-warrior of the Hridikas, struck him with five keen and broad-headed shafts at the shoulder-joint. Then the mighty car-warrior Kritavarma filled with rage, pierced his foe with sixty winged arrows. With a single arrow then, he cut off his bow, laughing the while. The mighty son of Drupada, filled with wrath, took up another bow, and addressing the son of Hridika, said, "Wait, Wait." Then, O monarch, Shikhandi sped at his foe ninety shafts of great impetuosity, all equipped with golden wings. Those shafts, however, all recoiled from Kritavarma's armour. Seeing those shafts recoil and scattered on the surface of the Earth, Shikhandi cut off Kritavarma's bow with a keen razor-headed arrow. Filled with wrath he struck the bowless son of Hridika, who then resembled a hornless bull, in the arms and the chest, with eighty arrows. Filled with rage but torn and mangled with shafts, Kritavarma vomited blood through his limbs like a jar disgorging the water with which it is filled. Bathed in blood, the Bhoja king looked beautiful like a mountain, O king, streaked with streams of liquefied red chalk after a shower. The puissant Kritavarma then, taking up another bow with a string and an arrow fixed thereon, struck Shikhandi in his shoulder-joint. With those shafts sticking to his shoulder-joint, Shikhandi looked resplendent like a lordly tree with its spreading branches and twigs. Having pierced each other, the two combatants were bathed in blood, and resembled a couple of bulls that have gored each other with their horns Carefully exerting themselves to slay each other, those two mighty car-warriors moved in a 1,000 circles with their respective cars on that arena. Then Kritavarma, O king, in that encounter, pierced the son of Prishata with seventy shafts all of which were equipped with wings of gold and whetted on stone. The ruler of the Bhojas then, that foremost of smiters, sped with great activity a terrible and fatal shaft at his foe. Struck therewith, Shikhandi quickly swooned away. Overcome with stupefaction, he supported himself by seizing his flag-staff. The driver then of that foremost of car-warriors speedily bore him away from the fight. Scorched with the shaft of Hridika's son he drew breath upon breath repeatedly. After the defeat of the heroic son of Drupada, O lord, the Pandava army, slaughtered on all sides, fled away from the field."

SECTION 27

"Sanjaya said, 'The white steeded (Arjuna) also, O monarch, routed thy force even as the winds, approaching a heap of cotton, scatters it on all sides. Against him rushed the Trigartas, the Sivis, the Kauravas, the Salwas, the samsaptakas, and that force which consisted of the Narayanas. And Satyasena and Candradeva, and Mitradeva and Satrunjaya, and Susruta's son, and Citrasena, and Mitravarman, O Bharata, and the king of the Trigartas surrounded by his brothers and by his sons that were all mighty bowmen accomplished in diverse weapons, suddenly advanced, shooting and scattering showers of shafts in that battle, against Arjuna, like a fierce current of water towards the ocean. Those warriors in hundreds of thousands, approaching Arjuna, seemed to melt away like snakes at sight of Garuda. Though slaughtered in battle, they did not still leave the son of Pandu like insects, O monarch, never receding from a blazing fire. Satyasena, in that encounter, pierced that son of Pandu with three arrows, and Mitradeva pierced him with three and sixty, and Candradeva with seven. And Mitravarman pierced him with three and seventy arrows, and Susruta's son with seven. And Satrunjaya pierced him with twenty, and Susharma with nine. Thus pierced in that encounter by many, Arjuna pierced all those kings in return. Indeed, piercing the son of Susruta with seven arrows, he pierced Satyasena with three, Satrunjaya with twenty and Candradeva with eight, Mitradeva with a hundred, Srutasena with three, Mitravarman with nine, and Susharma with eight. Then slaying king Satrunjaya with a number of arrows whetted on stone, he smote off from his trunk, the head, decked with headgear, of Susruta's son. Without any delay he then, with a number of other shafts, despatched Candradeva to the abode of Yama. As regards the other mighty car-warriors vigorously contending with him, he checked each of them with five arrows. Then Satyasena filled with rage, hurled a formidable lance in that battle aiming at Krishna and uttered a leonine roar. That ironmouthed lance having a golden shaft, piercing through the left arm of the high-souled Madhava, penetrated into the Earth. Madhava being thus pierced with that lance in great battle the goad and the reins, O king, fell down from his hands. Beholding Vasudeva's limb pierced through, Pritha's son Dhananjaya mustered all his wrath and addressing Vasudeva said, "O mighty-armed one, bear the car to Satyasena, O puissant one, so that I may, with keen shafts, despatch him to Yama's abode." The illustrious Keshava then, quickly taking up the goad and the reins, caused the steeds to bear the car to the front of Satyasena's vehicle. Beholding the Ruler of the Universe pierced, Pritha's son Dhananjaya, that mighty car-warrior, checking Satyasena with some keen arrows, cut off with a number of broad-headed shafts of great sharpness, the large head of that king decked with earrings, from off his trunk at the head of the army. Having thus cut off Satyasena's head, he then despatched Citravarman with a number of keen shafts, and then the latter's driver, O sire, with a keen calf-toothed arrow. Filled with rage, the mighty Partha then, with hundreds of shafts, felled the samsaptakas in hundreds and thousands. Then, O king, with a razor-headed arrow equipped with wings of silver, that mighty car-warrior cut off the head of the illustrious Mitrasena. Filled with rage he then struck Susharma in the shoulder-joint. Then all the samsaptakas, filled with wrath, encompassed Dhananjaya on all sides and began to afflict him with showers of weapons and make all the points of the compass resound with their shouts. Afflicted by them thus, the mighty car-warrior Jishnu, of immeasurable soul, endued with prowess resembling that of Sakra himself, invoked the Aindra weapon. From that weapon, thousands of shafts, O king, began to issue continually. Then O king, a loud din was heard of falling cars with standards and quivers and yokes, and axles and wheels and traces with chords, of bottoms of cars and wooden fences around them, of arrows and steeds and spears and swords, and maces and spiked clubs and darts and lances and axes, and Sataghnis equipped with wheels and arrows. Thighs and necklaces and Angadas and Keyuras, O sire, and garlands and cuirasses and coats of mail, O Bharata, and umbrellas and fans and heads decked with diadems lay on the battle-field. Heads adorned with earrings and beautiful eyes, and each resembling the full moon, looked, as they lay on the field, like stars in the firmament. Adorned with sandal-paste, beautiful garlands of flowers and excellent robes, many were the bodies of slain warriors that were seen to lie on the ground. The field of battle, terrible as it was, looked like the welkin teeming with vapoury forms. With the slain princes and kshatriyas of great might and fallen elephants and steeds, the Earth became impassable in that battle as if she were strewn with hills. There was no path on the field for the wheels of the illustrious Pandava's car, engaged as he was in continually slaying his foes and striking down elephants and steeds with his broad-headed shafts. It seemed, O sire, that the wheels of his car stopped in fright at the sight of his own self careering in that battle through that bloody mire. His steeds, however, endued with the speed of the mind or the wind, dragged with great efforts and labour those wheels that had refused to move. Thus slaughtered by Pandu's son armed with the bow, that host fled away almost entirely, without leaving even a remnant, O Bharata, contending with the foe. Having vanquished large numbers of the samsaptakas in battle, Pritha's son Jishnu looked resplendent, like a blazing fire without smoke.'"

SECTION 28

"Sanjaya said, 'King Duryodhana, O monarch, himself fearlessly received Yudhishthira, as the latter was engaged in shooting large numbers of shafts. The royal Yudhishthira the Just, speedily piercing thy son, that mighty car-warrior, as the latter was rushing towards him with impetuosity, addressed him, saying, "Wait, Wait." Duryodhana, however, pierced Yudhishthira, in return, with nine keen arrows, and filled with great wrath, struck Yudhishthira's driver also with a broad-headed shaft. Then king Yudhishthira sped at Duryodhana three and ten arrows equipped with wings of gold and whetted on stone. With four shafts that mighty car-warrior then slew the four steeds of his foe, and with the fifth he cut off from his trunk the head of Duryodhana's driver. With the sixth arrow he felled the (Kuru) king's standard on the Earth, with the seventh his bow, and with the eighth his scimitar. And then with five more shafts king Yudhishthira the Just deeply afflicted the Kuru monarch. Thy son, then, alighting from that steedless car, stood on the Earth in imminent danger. Beholding him in that situation of great peril, Karna and Drona's son and Kripa and others rushed suddenly towards the spot, desirous of rescuing the king. Then the (other) sons of Pandu, surrounding Yudhishthira, all proceeded to the encounter, upon which, O king, a fierce battle was fought. Thousands of trumpets then were blown in that great engagement, and a confused din of myriad voices arose there, O king. There where the Pancalas engaged the Kauravas, in battle, men closed with men, and elephants with foremost of elephants. And car-warriors closed with car-warriors, and horse with horse. And the various couples of battling men and animals, of great prowess and armed with diverse kinds of weapons and possessed of great skill presented a beautiful sight, O king, over the field. All those heroes endued with great impetuosity and desirous of compassing the destruction of one another, fought beautifully and with great activity and skill. Observing the (sanctioned) practices of warriors, they slew one another in battle. None of them fought from behind others. For only a very short time that battle presented a beautiful aspect. Soon it became an encounter of mad men, in which the combatants showed no regard for one another. The car-warrior, approaching the elephant, pierced the latter with keen shafts and despatched it to Yama's presence by means of straight arrows. Elephants, approaching steeds, dragged down many of them in that battle, and tore them (with their tusks) most fiercely in diverse places. Large numbers of horsemen also, encompassing many foremost of steeds, made a loud noise with their palms, and closed with them. And those horsemen slew those steeds as they ran hither and thither, as also many huge elephants as these wandered over the field, from behind and the flanks. Infuriate elephants, O king, routing large numbers of steeds, slew them with their tusks or crushed them with great force. Some elephants, filled with wrath pierced with their tusks horses with horsemen. Others seizing such with great force hurled them to the ground with violence. Many elephants, struck by foot-soldiers availing of the proper opportunities, uttered terrible cries of pain and fled away on all sides. Among the foot-soldiers that fled away in that great battle throwing down their ornaments, there were many that were quickly encompassed on the field. Elephant-warriors, riding on huge elephants, understanding indications of victory, wheeled their beasts and causing them to seize those beautiful ornaments, made the beasts to pierce them with their tusks. Other foot-soldiers endued with great impetuosity and fierce might, surrounding those elephant-warriors thus engaged in those spots began to slay them. Others in that great battle, thrown aloft into the air by elephants with their trunks, were pierced by those trained beasts with the points of their tusks as they fell down. Others, suddenly seized by other elephants, were deprived of life with their tusks. Others, borne away from their own divisions into the midst of others, were, O king, mangled by huge elephants which rolled them repeatedly on the ground. Others, whirled on high like fans, were slain in that battle. Others, hither and thither on the field, that stood full in front of other elephants had their bodies exceedingly pierced and torn. Many elephants were deeply wounded with spears and lances and darts in their cheeks and frontal globes and parts between their tusks. Exceedingly afflicted by fierce car-warriors and horsemen stationed on their flanks, many elephants, ripped open, fell down on the Earth. In that dreadful battle many horsemen on their steeds, striking foot-soldiers with their lances, pinned

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them down to the Earth or crushed them with great force. Some elephants, approaching mail-clad car-warriors, O sire, raised them aloft from their vehicles and hurled them down with great force upon the Earth in that fierce and awful fight. Some huge elephants slain by means of cloth-yard shafts, fell down on the Earth like mountain summits riven by thunder. Combatants, encountering combatants, began to strike each other with their fists, or seizing each other by the hair, began to drag and throw down and mangle each other. Others, stretching their arms and throwing down their foes on the Earth, placed their feet on their chests and with great activity cut off their heads. Some combatant, O king, struck with his feet some foe that was dead, and some, O king, struck off with his sword, the head of a falling foe, and some thrust his weapon into the body of a living foe. A fierce battle took place there, O Bharata, in which the combatants struck one another with fists or seized one another's hair or wrestled with one another with bare arms. In many instances, combatants, using diverse kinds of weapons, took the lives of combatants engaged with others and, therefore, unperceived by them. During the progress of that general engagement when all the combatants were mangled in battle, hundreds and thousands of headless trunks stood up on the field. Weapons and coats of mail, drenched with gore, looked resplendent, like cloths dyed with gorgeous red. Even thus occurred that fierce battle marked by the awful clash of weapons. Like the mad and roaring current of the Ganga it seemed to fill the whole universe with its uproar. Afflicted with shafts, the warriors failed to distinguish friends from foes. Solicitous of victory, the kings fought on because they fought that fight they should. The warriors slew both friends and foes, with whom they came in contact. The combatants of both the armies were deprived of reason by the heroes of both the armies assailing them with fury. With broken cars, O monarch, the fallen elephants, and steeds lying on the ground, and men laid low, the Earth, miry with gore and flesh, and covered with streams of blood, soon became impassable, Karna slaughtered the Pancalas while Dhananjaya slaughtered the Trigartas. And Bhimasena, O king, slaughtered the Kurus and all the elephant divisions of the latter. Even thus occurred that destruction of troops of both the Kurus and the Pandavas, both parties having been actuated by the desire of winning great fame, at that hour when the Sun had passed the meridian.'"

SECTION 29

"Dhritarashtra said, 'I have heard from thee, O Sanjaya, of many poignant and unbearable griefs as also of the losses sustained by my sons. From what thou hast said unto me, from the manner in which the battle has been fought, it is my certain conviction, O Suta, that the Kauravas are no more. Duryodhana was made carless in that dreadful battle. How did Dharma's son (then) fight, and how did the royal Duryodhana also fight in return? How also occurred that battle which was fought in the afternoon? Tell me all this in detail, for thou art skilled in narration, O Sanjaya.'

"Sanjaya said, 'When the troops of both armies were engaged in battle, according to their respective divisions, thy son Duryodhana, O king, riding on another car and filled with rage like a snake of virulent poison, beholding king Yudhishthira the Just, quickly addressed his own driver, O Bharata, saying, "Proceed, proceed, quickly take me there, O driver, where the royal son of Pandu, clad in mail shineth under yon umbrella held over his head." Thus urged by the king, the driver, in that battle, quickly urged his royal master's goodly car towards the face of Yudhishthira. At this, Yudhishthira also, filled with rage and looking like an infuriate elephant, urged his own driver saying, "Proceed to where Suyodhana is." Then those two heroes and brothers and foremost of car-warriors encountered each other. Both endued with great energy, both filled with wrath, both difficult of defeat in battle, approaching each other, those two great bowmen began to mangle each other with their arrows in that battle. Then king Duryodhana, in that encounter, O sire, with a broad-headed arrow whetted on stone, cut in twain the bow of the virtuous monarch. Filled with rage, Yudhishthira could not brook that insult. Casting aside his broken bow, with eyes red in wrath, Dharma's son took up another bow at the head of his forces, and then cut off Duryodhana's standard and bow. Duryodhana then, taking up another bow, pierced the son of Pandu. Filled with rage, they continued to shoot showers of shafts at each other. Desirous of vanquishing each other, they resembled a pair of angry lions. They struck each other in that battle like a couple of roaring bulls. Those mighty car-warriors continued to career, expecting to find each other's lapses. Then wounded with shafts sped from bows drawn to their fullest stretch the two warriors, O king, looked resplendent like flowering Kinsukas. They then, O king, repeatedly uttered leonine roars. Those two rulers of men, in that dreadful battle, also made loud sounds with their palms and caused their bows to twang loudly. And they blew their conchs too with great force. And they afflicted each other very much. Then king Yudhishthira, filled with rage, struck thy son in the chest with three irresistible shafts endued with force of thunder. Him, however, thy royal son quickly pierced, in return, with five keen shafts winged with gold and whetted on stone. Then king Duryodhana, O Bharata, hurled a dart capable of slaying everybody, exceedingly keen, and resembling a large blazing brand. As it advanced, king Yudhishthira the Just, with sharp shafts, speedily cut it off into three fragments, and then pierced Duryodhana also with five arrows. Equipped with golden staff, and producing a loud whizz, that dart then fell down, and while falling, looked resplendent like a large brand with blazing flames. Beholding the dart baffled, thy son, O monarch, struck Yudhishthira with nine sharp and keen-pointed arrows. Pierced deeply by his mighty foe, that scorcher of foes quickly took up an arrow for aiming it at Duryodhana. The mighty Yudhishthira then placed that arrow on his bow-string. Filled with rage and possessed of great valour, the son of Pandu then shot it at his foe. That arrow, striking thy son, that mighty car-warrior, stupefied him and then (passing through his body) entered the Earth. Then Duryodhana, filled with wrath, uplifting a mace of great impetuosity, rushed at king Yudhishthira the Just, for ending the hostilities (that raged between the Kurus and the Pandus). Beholding him armed with that uplifted mace and resembling Yama himself with his bludgeon, king Yudhishthira the Just hurled at thy son a mighty dart blazing with splendour, endued with great impetuosity, and looking like a large blazing brand. Deeply pierced in the chest by that dart as he stood on his car, the Kuru prince, deeply pained, fell down and swooned away. Then Bhima, recollecting his own vow, addressed Yudhishthira, saying, "This one should not be slain by thee, O king." At this Yudhishthira abstained from giving his foe the finishing blow. At that time Kritavarma, quickly advancing, came upon thy royal son then sunk in an ocean of calamity. Bhima then, taking up a mace adorned with gold and flaxen chords, rushed impetuously towards Kritavarma in that battle. Thus occurred the battle between thy troops and the foe on that afternoon, O monarch, every one of the combatants being inspired with the desire of victory.'"

SECTION 30

"Sanjaya said, 'Placing Karna at their van, thy warriors, difficult of defeat in fight, returned and fought (with the foe) a battle that resembled that between the gods and the Asuras. Excited by the loud uproar made by elephants and men and cars and steeds and conchs, elephant-men and car-warriors and foot-soldiers and horsemen, in large numbers, filled with wrath advanced against the foe and slew the latter with strokes of diverse kinds of weapons. Elephants and cars, steeds and men, in that dreadful battle were destroyed by brave warriors with sharp battle axes and swords and axes and shafts of diverse kinds and by means also of their animals. Strewn with human heads that were adorned with white teeth and fair faces and beautiful eyes and goodly noses, and graced with beautiful diadems and earrings, and everyone of which resembled the lotus, the Sun, or the Moon, the Earth looked exceedingly resplendent. Elephants and men and steeds, by thousands, were slain with hundreds of spiked clubs and short bludgeons and darts and lances and hooks and Bhusundis and maces. The blood that fell formed a river like currents on the field. In consequence of those car-warriors and men and steeds and elephants slain by the foe, and lying with ghostly features and gaping wounds, the field of battle looked like the domains of the king of the dead at the time of universal dissolution. Then, O god among men, thy troops, and those bulls amongst the Kurus, viz., thy sons resembling the children of the celestials, with a host of warriors of immeasurable might at their van, all proceeded against Satyaki, that bull of Sini's race. Thereupon that host, teeming with many foremost of men and steeds and cars and elephants, producing an uproar loud as that of the vast deep, and resembling the army of the Asuras or that of the celestials, shone with fierce beauty. Then the son of Surya, resembling the chief of the celestials himself in prowess and like unto the younger brother of Indra, struck that foremost one of Sini's race with shafts whose splendour resembled the rays of the Sun. That bull of Sini's race also, in that battle, then quickly shrouded that foremost of men, with his car and steeds and driver, with diverse kinds of shafts terrible as the poison of the snake. Then many Atirathas belonging to thy army, accompanied by elephants and cars and foot-soldiers, quickly approached that bull among car-warriors, viz., Vasusena, when they beheld the latter deeply afflicted with the shafts of that foremost hero of Sini's race. That force, however, vast as the ocean, assailed by foes possessed of great quickness viz., the Pandava warriors headed by the sons of Drupada, fled away from the field. At that time a great carnage occurred of men and cars and steeds and elephants. Then those two foremost of men, viz., Arjuna and Keshava, having said their daily prayer and duly worshipped the lord Bhava, quickly rushed against thy troops, resolved to slay those foes of theirs. Their foes (i.e., the Kurus) cast their eyes cheerlessly on that car whose rattle resembled the roar of the clouds and whose banners waved beautifully in the air and which had white steeds yoked unto it and which was coming towards them. Then Arjuna, bending Gandiva and as if dancing on his car, filled the welkin and all the points of the compass, cardinal and subsidiary, with showers of shafts, not leaving the smallest space empty. Like the tempest destroying the clouds, the son of Pandu destroyed with his arrows many cars looking like celestial vehicles, that were well-adorned, and equipped with weapons and standards, along with their drivers. Many elephants also, with the men that guided them, adorned with truimphal banners and weapons, and many horsemen with horses, and many foot-soldiers also, Arjuna despatched with his arrows to Yama's abode. Then Duryodhana singly proceeded against that mighty car-warrior who was angry and irresistible and resembled a veritable Yama, striking him with his straight shafts. Arjuna, cutting off his adversary's bow and driver and steeds and standard with seven shafts, next cut off his umbrella with one arrow. Obtaining then an opportunity, he sped at Duryodhana an excellent shaft, capable of taking the life of the person struck. Drona's son, however, cut off that shaft into seven fragments. Cutting off then the bow of Drona's son and slaying the four steeds of the latter with his arrow, the son of Pandu next cut off the formidable bow of Kripa too. Then cutting off the bow of Hridika's son, he felled the latter's standard and steeds. Then cutting off the bow of Duhshasana, he proceeded against the son of Radha. At this, Karna, leaving Satyaki quickly pierced Arjuna with three arrows and Krishna with twenty, and Partha again repeatedly. Although many were the arrows that he shot while slaying his foes in that battle, like Indra himself inspired with wrath, Karna yet felt no fatigue. Meanwhile Satyaki, coming up, pierced Karna with nine and ninety fierce arrows, and once more with a hundred. Then all the foremost heroes among the Parthas began to afflict Karna. Yudhamanyu and Shikhandi and the sons of Draupadi and the Prabhadrakas, and Uttamauja and Yuyutsu and the twins and Dhrishtadyumna, and the divisions of the Cedis and the Karushas and the Matsyas and Kaikeyas, and the mighty Chekitana, and king Yudhishthira of excellent vows, all these, accompanied by cars and steeds and elephants, and foot-soldiers of fierce prowess, encompassed Karna on all sides in that battle, and showered upon him diverse kinds of weapons, addressing him in harsh words and resolved to compass his destruction. Cutting off that shower of weapons with his sharp shafts, Karna dispersed his assailants by the power of his weapons like the wind breaking down the trees that stand on its way. Filled with wrath, Karna was seen to destroy car-warriors, and elephants with their riders, and horses with horse-men, and large bands of foot-soldiers. Slaughtered by the energy of Karna's weapons, almost the whole of that force of the Pandavas, deprived of weapons, and with limbs mangled and torn, retired from the field. Then Arjuna, smiling the while, baffled with his own weapons the weapons of Karna and covered the welkin, the Earth, and all the points of the compass with dense shower of arrows. The shafts of Arjuna fell like heavy clubs and spiked bludgeons. And some amongst them fell like Sataghnis and some fell like fierce thunderbolts. Slaughtered therewith, the Kaurava force consisting of infantry and horse and cars and elephants, shutting its eyes, uttered loud wails of woe and wandered senselessly. Many were the steeds and men and elephants that perished on that occasion. Many, again, struck with shafts and deeply afflicted fled away in fear.

"'Whilst thy warriors were thus engaged in battle from desire of victory, the Sun approaching the Setting Mountain, entered it. In consequence of the darkness, O king, but especially owing to the dust, we could not notice anything favourable or unfavourable. The mighty bowmen (amongst the Kauravas), fearing a night-battle, O Bharata, then retired from the field, accompanied by all their combatants. Upon the retirement of the Kauravas, O king, at the close of the day, the Parthas, cheerful at having obtained the victory, also retired to their own encampment, jeering at their enemies by producing diverse kinds of sounds with their musical instruments, and applauding Acyuta and Arjuna. After those heroes had thus withdrawn the army, all the troops and all the kings uttered benediction upon the Pandavas. The withdrawal having been made, those sinless men, the Pandavas, became very glad, and proceeding to their tents rested there for the night. Then rakshasas and pishacas, and carnivorous beasts, in large numbers came to that awful field of battle resembling the sporting ground of Rudra himself.'

SECTION 31

"Dhritarashtra said, 'It seems that Arjuna slew all of you at his will. Indeed, the Destroyer himself could not escape him in battle, if Arjuna took up arms against Him. Single-handed, Partha ravished Bhadra, and single-handed, he gratified Agni. Single-handed, he subjugated the whole Earth, and made all the kings pay tribute. Single-handed, with his celestial bow he slew the Nivatakavachas. Single-handed, he contended in battle with Mahadeva who stood before him in the guise of a hunter. Single-handed, he protected the Bharatas, and single-handed, he gratified Bhava. Single-handed, were vanquished by him all the kings of the Earth endued with fierce prowess.

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The Kurus cannot be blamed. On the other hand, they deserve praise (for having fought with such a warrior). Tell me now what they did. Tell me also, O Suta, what Duryodhana did after that.'

"Sanjaya said, 'Struck and wounded and overthrown from their vehicles and divested of armour and deprived of weapons and their beasts slain, with plaintive voices and burning with grief and vanquished by their foes, the vain Kauravas, entering their tents once more took counsel of one another. They then looked like snakes deprived of fangs and poison trod upon by others. Unto them, Karna, sighing like an angry snake, squeezing his hands, and eyeing thy son, said, "Arjuna is always careful, firm, possessed of skill, and endued with intelligence. Again, when the time comes, Vasudeva awakes him (to what should be done). Today, by that sudden shower of weapons we were deceived by him. Tomorrow, however, O lord of Earth, I will frustrate all his purposes." Thus addressed by Karna, Duryodhana said, "So be it," and then granted permission to those foremost of kings to retire. Bidden by the king, all those rulers proceeded to their respective tents. Having passed the night happily, they cheerfully went out for battle (the next day). They then beheld an invincible array formed by king Yudhishthira the Just, that foremost one of Kuru race, with great care, and according to the sanction of Brihaspati and Usanas. Then that slayer of foes, Duryodhana, called to mind the heroic Karna, that counteractor of foes, that warrior with neck like that of a bull, equal to Purandara himself in battle, the Maruts in might, and Kartavirya in energy. Indeed, the heart of the king turned towards Karna. And the hearts of all the troops also turned to that hero, that Suta's son, that mighty bowman, as one's heart turns to a friend in a situation of great danger.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'What did Duryodhana next do, O Suta, when the hearts of all of you turned towards Vikarna's son Karna? Did my troops cast their eyes on Radha's son like persons afflicted with cold turning their gaze towards the Sun? Upon the recommencement of the battle after the withdrawal of the troops, how, O Sanjaya, did Vikarna's son Karna fight? How also did all the Pandavas fight with the Suta's son? The mighty-armed Karna would, single-handed, slay the Parthas with the Srinjayas. The might of Karna's arms in battle equals that of Sakra or Vishnu. His weapons are fierce, and the prowess also of that high-souled one is fierce. Relying upon Karna, king Duryodhana had set his heart on battle. Beholding Duryodhana deeply afflicted by the son of Pandu, and seeing also the sons of Pandu displaying great prowess, what did that mighty car-warrior, viz., Karna, do? Alas, the foolish Duryodhana, relying on Karna, hopeth to vanquish the Parthas with their sons and Keshava in battle! Alas, it is a matter of great grief that Karna could not, with his strength, overcome the sons of Pandu in fight! Without doubt, Destiny is supreme. Alas, the terrible end of that gambling match hath now come! Alas, these heartrending sorrows, due to Duryodhana's acts, many in number and like unto terrible darts, are now being borne by, me, O Sanjaya! O sire, Subala's son used to be then regarded as a politic person. Karna also is always exceedingly attached to king Duryodhana. Alas, when such is the case, O Sanjaya, why have I then to hear of the frequent defeats and deaths of my sons? There is no one that can resist the Pandavas in battle. They penetrate into my army like a man into the midst of helpless women. Destiny, indeed, is supreme.'

"Sanjaya said, 'O king, think now of all those wrongful acts of thine like that match at dice and the others--acts that have passed away from the subjects of thought with man. One should not, however, reflect on bygone acts. One may be ruined by such reflection. That result (which thou hadst expected) is now much removed from the point of fruition, since, although possessed of knowledge, thou didst not reflect on the propriety or impropriety of thy acts then. Many a time wert thou, O king, counselled against warring with the Pandavas. Thou didst not, however, O monarch, accept those counsels, from folly. Diverse sinful acts of a grave nature were perpetrated by thee against the sons of Pandu. For those acts this awful slaughter of kings hath now come. All that, however, is now past. Do not grieve, O bull of Bharata's race. O thou of unfading glory, listen now to the details of the awful carnage that has occurred.

"'When the night dawned, Karna repaired to king Duryodhana. Approaching the king, the mighty-armed hero said, "I shall, O king, engage in battle today the illustrious son of Pandu. Either I will slay that hero today, or he will slay me. In consequence of the diverse things both myself and Partha had to do, O Bharata, an encounter, O king, could not hitherto take place between myself and Arjuna! Listen now, O monarch, to these words of mine, spoken according to my wisdom. Without slaying Partha in battle I will not come back, O Bharata. Since this army of ours hath been deprived of its foremost warriors, and since I will stand in battle, Partha will advance against me, especially because I am destitute of the dart Sakra gave me. Therefore, O ruler of men, listen now to what is beneficial. The energy of my celestial weapons is equal to the energy of Arjuna's weapons. In counteracting the feats of powerful foes, in lightness of hands, in range of the arrows shot, in skill, and in hitting the mark, Savyasaci is never my equal. In physical strength, in courage, in knowledge of (weapons), in prowess, O Bharata, in aiming, Savyasaci is never my equal. My bow, called Vijaya, is the foremost of all weapons (of its kind). Desirous of doing what was agreeable (to Indra), it was made by Vishakarman (the celestial artificer) for Indra. With that bow, O king, Indra had vanquished the Daityas. At its twang the Daityas beheld the ten points to be empty. That bow, respected by all, Sakra gave to Bhrigu's son (Rama). That celestial and foremost of bows Bhrigu's son gave to me. With that bow I will contend in battle with the mighty-armed Arjuna, that foremost of victorious warriors, like Indra fighting with the assembled Daityas. That formidable bow, the gift of Rama, is superior to Gandiva. It was with that bow that the Earth was subjugated thrice seven times (by Bhrigu's son). With that bow given to me by Rama I will contend in battle with the son of Pandu. I will, O Duryodhana, gladden thee today with thy friends, by slaying in battle that hero, viz., Arjuna, that foremost of conquerors. The whole Earth with her mountains and forest and islands, without a heroic warrior (to oppose thy wish), will, O king, become thine today, over which thyself with thy sons and grandsons will reign supreme. Today there is nothing that is incapable of being achieved by me, especially when the object is to do what is agreeable to thee, even as success is incapable of being missed by an ascetic zealously devoted to virtue and having his soul under control. Arjuna will not be able to bear me in battle, even as a tree in contact with fire is incapable of bearing that element. I must, however, declare in what respect I am inferior to Arjuna. The string of his bow is celestial, and the two large quivers of his are inexhaustible. His driver is Govinda. I have none like him. His is that celestial and foremost of bows, called Gandiva, which is irrefragible in battle. I also have that excellent, celestial, and formidable bow called Vijaya. In respect of our bows, therefore, O king, I am superior to Arjuna. Listen now to those matters in which the heroic son of Pandu is superior to me. The holder of the reins (of his steeds) is he of Dasharha's race who is adored by all the worlds. His celestial car decked with gold, given unto him by Agni, is impenetrable in every part, and his steeds also, O hero, are endued with the speed of the mind. His celestial standard, bearing the blazing Ape, is exceedingly wonderful. Again, Krishna, who is Creator of the universe, protects that car. Though inferior to Arjuna in respect of these things, I still desire to fight with him. This Shalya, however, the ornament of assemblies, is equal to Saurin. If he becomes my driver, victory will certainly be thine. Let Shalya, therefore, who is incapable of being resisted by foes be the driver of my car. Let a large number of carts bear my long shafts and those that are winged with vulturine feathers. Let a number of foremost cars, O monarch, with excellent steeds yoked unto them, always follow me, O bull of Bharata's race. By these arrangements I will, as regards the qualities mentioned, be superior to Arjuna. Shalya is superior to Krishna, and I am superior to Arjuna. As that slayer of foes, viz., he of Dasharha's race, is acquainted with horselore, even so is that mighty car-warrior, viz., Shalya acquainted with horselore. There is none equal to the chief of the Madras in might of arms. As there is none equal to myself in weapons, so there is none equal to Shalya in knowledge of steeds. So circumstanced, I will become superior to Partha. Against my car, the very gods with Vasava at their head will not dare advance. All these being attended to, when I take my stand on my car, I will become superior to Arjuna in the attributes of warrior and will then, O best of the Kurus, vanquish Phalguna. I desire, O monarch, all this to be done by thee, O scorcher of foes. Let these wishes of mine be accomplished. Let no time be suffered to elapse. If all this be accomplished, the most effectual aid will be rendered to me on every desirable point. Thou wilt then see, O Bharata, what I will achieve in battle. I will by every means vanquish the sons of Pandu in battle when they will approach me. The very gods and Asuras are not able to advance against me in battle. What need be said then of the sons of Pandu that are of human origin?"'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Thus addressed by that ornament of battle, viz., Karna, thy son, worshipping the son of Radha, answered him, with a glad heart, saying, "Accomplish that, O Karna, which thou thinkest. Equipped with goodly quivers and steeds, such cars shall follow thee in battle. Let as many cars as thou wishest bear thy long shafts and arrows equipped with vulturine feathers. Ourselves, as also all the kings, O Karna will, follow thee in battle."'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Having said these words, thy royal son, endued with great prowess, approached the ruler of the Madras and addressed him in the following words.'"

SECTION 32

"Sanjaya said, 'Thy son then, O monarch, humbly approaching that mighty car-warrior, viz., the ruler of the Madras, addressed him, from affection, in these words, "O thou of true vows, O thou of great good fortune, O enhancer of the sorrows of foes, O ruler of the Madras, O hero in battle, O thou that inspirest hostile troops with fear, thou hast heard, O foremost of speakers, how, for the sake of Karna who spoke unto me, I myself am desirous of soliciting thee among all these lions of kings. O thou of incomparable prowess, O king of the Madras, for the destruction of the foe, I solicit thee today, with humility and bow of the head. Therefore, for the destruction of Partha and for my good, it behoveth thee, O foremost of car-warriors, to accept, from love, the office of charioteer. With thee for his driver, the son of Radha will subjugate my foes. There is none else for holding the reins of Karna's steeds, except thee, O thou of great good fortune, thou that art the equal of Vasudeva in battle. Protect Karna then by every means like Brahma protecting Maheswara. Even as he of Vrishni's race protects by every means the son of Pandu in all dangers, do thou, O chief of the Madras, protect the son of Radha today. Bhishma, and Drona, and Kripa, and thyself and the valiant ruler of the Bhojas, and Shakuni the son of Subala, and Drona's son and myself, constituted the chief strength of our army. Even thus, O lord of Earth, we had divided amongst ourselves the hostile army into portion for the share of each. The share that had been allotted to Bhishma is now no more as also that which had been allotted to the high-souled Drona. Going even beyond their allotted shares, those two slew my foes. Those two tigers among men, however, were old, and both of them have been slain deceitfully. Having achieved the most difficult feats, both of them, O sinless one, have departed hence to heaven. Similarly, many other tigers among men, of our army, slain by foes in battle, have ascended to heaven, casting off their lives and having made great exertions to the best of their powers. This my host, therefore, O king, the greater portion of which has been slaughtered, has been reduced to this state by the Parthas who were at first fewer than us. What should be done for the present? Do that now, O lord of Earth, by which the mighty and the high-souled sons of Kunti, of prowess incapable of being baffled, may be prevented from exterminating the remnant of my host. O lord, the Pandavas have in battle slain the bravest warriors of this my force. The mighty-armed Karna alone is devoted to our good, as also thyself, O tiger among men, that art the foremost of car-warriors in the whole world. O Shalya, Karna wishes to contend in battle today with Arjuna. On him, O ruler of the Madras, my hopes of victory are great. There is none else in the world (save thee) that can make so good a holder of the reins for Karna. As Krishna is the foremost of all holders of reins for Partha in battle, even so, O king, be thou the foremost of all holders of reins for Karna's car. Accompanied and protected, O sire, by him in battle, the feats that Partha achieve are all before thee. Formerly, Arjuna had never slain his foes in battle in such a way. Now however, his prowess has become great, united as he is with Krishna. Day after day, O ruler of the Madras, this vast Dhritarashtra force is seen to be routed by Partha because he is united with Krishna. A portion remains of the share allotted to Karna and thyself, O thou of great splendour. Bear that share with Karna, and destroy it unitedly in battle. Even as Surya, uniting with Aruna, destroys the darkness, do thou, uniting with Karna, slay Partha in battle. Let the mighty car-warriors (of the enemy), fly away, beholding in battle those two warriors endued with the effulgence of the morning sun, viz., Karna and Shalya, resembling two Suns risen above the horizon. Even as darkness is destroyed, O sire, at the sight of Surya and Aruna, even so let the Kaunteyas (Pandavas) with the Pancalas and the Srinjayas perish beholding thee and Karna. Karna is the foremost of car-warriors, and thou art the foremost of drivers. In the clash of battle, again there is none equal to thee. As he of Vrishni's race protects the son of Pandu under all circumstances, even so let thyself protect Vikarna's son Karna in battle. With thee as his driver, Karna will become invincible, O king, in battle even with the gods having Sakra at their head! What then need be said about the Pandavas? Do not doubt my words.'"

"Sanjaya continued, 'Hearing these words of Duryodhana, Shalya, became filled with rage. Contracting his brow into three lines, and waving his arms repeatedly, and rolling his large eyes red in wrath, that warrior of massive arms proud of his lineage and wealth and knowledge and strength, said these words:

"'Shalya said "Thou insultest me, O son of Gandhari, or without doubt suspectest me, since thou solicitest me, without hesitation, saying, 'Act thou as a driver.' Regarding Karna to be superior to ourselves, thou applaudest him thus. I, however, do not regard the son of Radha as my equal in battle. Assign to me a much greater share, O lord of Earth. Destroying that in battle, I will return to the place I come from. Or, if thou wishest, I will, O delighter of the Kurus, contend, single-handed, with the enemy. While engaged in consuming the foe, behold thou my prowess today. Brooding upon an insult, O thou of Kuru's race, a person like ourselves never engageth in my task. Do not have thy doubts about me. Never shouldst thou humiliate me in battle. Behold these two massive arms of mine, strong as the thunder. Behold also my excellent bow, and these shafts that resemble snakes of virulent poison. Behold my car, unto which are yoked excellent steeds endued with the speed of the wind. Behold also, O son of Gandhari, my mace decked with gold and twined with hempen chords.

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Filled with wrath, I can split the very Earth, scatter the mountains, and dry up the oceans, with my own energy, O king. Knowing me, O monarch, to be so capable, of afflicting the foe, why dost thou appoint me to the office of driver in battle for such a low-born person as Adhiratha's son? It behoveth thee not, O king of kings, to set me to such mean tasks! Being so superior, I cannot make up my mind to obey the commands of a sinful person. He that causeth a superior person arrived of his own will and obedient from love, to yield to a sinful wight, certainly incurreth the sin of confusing the superior with the inferior. Brahman created the brahmanas from his mouth, and the kshatriyas from his arms. He created the Vaishyas from his thighs and the Shudras from his feet. In consequence of the intermixture of those four orders, O Bharata, from those four have sprung particular classes, viz., those born of men of superior classes wedding women of classes inferior to themselves, and vice versa. The kshatriyas have been described to be protectors (of the other classes) acquirers of wealth and givers of the same. The brahmanas have been established on the Earth for the sake of favouring its people by assisting at sacrifices, by teaching and acceptance of pure gifts. Agriculture and tending of cattle and gift are the occupations of the Vaishyas according to the scriptures. Shudras have been ordained to be the servants of the brahmanas, the kshatriyas, and the vaishyas. Similarly, the Sutas are the servants of kshatriyas, and not latter the servants of the former. Listen to these my words, O sinless one. As regards myself, I am one whose coronal locks have undergone the sacred bath. I am born in a race of royal sages. I am reckoned a great car-warrior. I deserve the worship and the praises that bards and eulogists render and sing. Being all this, O slayer of hostile troops, I cannot go to the extent of acting as the driver of the Suta's son in battle. I will never fight, undergoing an act of humiliation. I ask thy permission, O son of Gandhari, for returning home."

"Sanjaya continued, 'Having said these words that tiger among men and ornament of assemblies, viz., Shalya, filled with rage stood up quickly and endeavoured to get away from that concourse of kings. Thy son, however, from affection and great regard, held the king, and addressed him in these sweet and conciliatory words, that were capable of accomplishing every object, "Without doubt, O Shalya, it is even so as thou hast said. But I have a certain purpose in view. Listen to it, O ruler of men, Karna is not superior to thee, nor do I suspect thee, O king. The royal chief of the Madras will never do that which is false. Those foremost of men that were thy ancestors always told the truth. I think it is for this that thou art called Artayani (the descendant of those that had truth for their refuge). And since, O giver of honours, thou art like a barbed arrow to thy foes, therefore art thou called by the name of Shalya on earth. O thou that makest large present (to brahmanas) at sacrifices, do thou accomplish all that which, O virtuous one, thou hadst previously said thou wouldst accomplish. Neither the son of Radha nor myself am superior to thee in valour that I would select thee as the driver of those foremost of steeds (that are yoked unto Karna's car). As, however, O sire, Karna is superior to Dhananjaya in regard to many qualities, even so doth the world regard thee to be superior to Vasudeva. Karna is certainly superior to Partha in the matter of weapons, O bull among men. Thou too art superior to Krishna in knowledge of steeds and might. Without doubt O ruler of the Madras, thy knowledge of horse is double that which the high-souled Vasudeva hath."

"'Shalya said, "Since, O son of Gandhari, thou describest me, O thou of Kuru's race, in the midst of all these troops, to be superior to Devaki's son, I am gratified with thee. I will become the driver of Radha's son of great fame while he will be engaged in battle with the foremost one of Pandu's sons, as thou solicitest me. Let this, however, O hero, be my understanding with Vikartana's son that I will in his presence utter whatever speeches I desire.'"

"Sanjaya continued, 'O king, thy son, with Karna then, O Bharata, answered the prince of the Madras, O best of Bharata's race, saying, "So be it."'"

SECTION 33

"'Duryodhana said, "Listen, once more, O ruler of the Madras, to what I will say unto thee, about what happened, O lord, in the battle between the gods and the Asuras in days of yore. The great rishi Markandeya narrated it to my sire. I will now recite it without leaving out anything, O best of royal sages. Listen to that account confidingly and without mistrusting it at all. Between the gods and the Asuras, each desirous of vanquishing the other, there happened a great battle, O king, which had Taraka for its evil (root). It hath been heard by us that the Daityas were defeated by the gods. Upon the defeat of the Daityas, the three sons of Taraka, named Tarakaksha, Kamalaksha and Vidyunmalin, O king, practising the austerest penances, lived in the observance of high vows. By those penances they emaciated their bodies, O scorcher of foes. In consequence of their self-restraint, their penances, their vows and contemplation, the boongiving Grandsire became gratified with them and gave them boons. Unitedly they solicited the Grandsire of all the worlds, O king, for the boon of immunity from death at the hands of all Creatures of all times. The divine Lord and Master of all the worlds said unto them, 'There is nothing like immunity from death at the hands of all creatures. Therefore, ye Asuras, abstain from such a prayer. Solicit some other boon that may seem desirable to you.' When all of them, O king, having settled it amongst themselves after long and repeated conferences, bowed to the great Master of all the worlds and said these words, 'O god, O Grandsire, give us this boon. Residing in three cities, we will rove over this Earth, with thy grace ever before us. After a 1,000 years then, we will come together, and our three cities also, O sinless one, will become united into one. That foremost one amongst the gods who will, with one shaft, pierce those three cities united into one, will, O lord, be the cause of our destruction.' Saying unto them, 'Let it be so,' that god ascended to heaven. Those Asuras then, filled with joy at having obtained those boons and having settled it among themselves about the construction of the three cities, selected for the purpose the great Asura Maya, the celestial artificer, knowing no fatigue or decay, and worshipped by all the daityas and danavas. Then Maya, of great intelligence, by the aid of his own ascetic merit, constructed three cities, one of which was of gold, another of silver, and the third of black iron. The golden city was set in heaven, the silver city in the welkin, and the iron city was set on the Earth, all in such a way as to revolve in a circle, O lord of Earth. Each of those cities measured a hundred yojanas in breadth and a hundred in length. And they consisted of houses and mansions and lofty walls and porches. And though teeming with lordly palaces close to each other, yet the streets were wide and spacious. And they were adorned with diverse mansions and gate-ways. Each of those cities, again, O monarch, had a separate king. The beautiful city of gold belonged to the illustrious Tarakaksha: the silver city to Kamalaksha, and the iron one to Vidyunmalin. Those three Daitya kings, soon assailing the three worlds with their energy, continued to dwell and reign, and began to say, 'Who is he called the Creator?' Unto those foremost of Danavas having no heroes equal to them, came from every side millions upon millions, of proud and flesh-eating Danavas who had before been defeated by the celestials, and who now settled in the three cities, desirous of great prosperity. Unto all of them thus united, Maya became the supplier of every thing they wanted. Relying upon him, all of them resided there, in perfect fearlessness. Whoever amongst those residing in the triple city wished for any object in his heart had his wish fulfilled by Maya aided by the latter's powers of illusion. Tarakaksha had a heroic and mighty son named Hari. He underwent the austerest of penances, upon which the Grandsire became gratified with him. When the god was gratified, Hari solicited a boon of him, saying, 'Let a lake start into existence in our city, such that persons, slain by means of weapons, may, when thrown into it, come out with life, and with redoubled strength.' Obtaining this boon, the heroic Hari, son of Tarakaksha, created a lake, O lord, in his city, that was capable of reviving the dead. In whatever form and whatever guise a Daitya might have been slain, if thrown into that lake, he was restored to life, in the self-same form and guise. Obtaining alive the slain among them, the Daityas began to afflict the three worlds. Crowned with success by means of austere penances, those enhancers of the fears of the gods sustained, O king, no diminution in battle. Stupefied then by covetousness and folly, and deprived of their senses, all of them began to shamelessly exterminate the cities and towns established all over the universe. Filled with pride at the boons they had received, and driving before them, at all times and from all places, the gods with their attendants, they roamed at will over celestial forests and other realms dear to the denizens of heaven and the delightful and sacred asylums of rishis. And the wicked Danavas ceased to show any respect for anybody. While the worlds were thus afflicted, Sakra, surrounded by the Maruts, battled against the three cities by hurling his thunder upon them from every side. When, however, Purandra failed to pierce those cities made impenetrable, O king, by the Creator with his boons, the chief of celestials, filled with fear, and leaving those cities, repaired with those very gods to that chastiser of foes, viz., the Grandsire, for representing unto him the oppressions committed by the Asuras. Representing everything and bowing with their heads unto him, they asked the divine Grandsire the means by which the triple city could be destroyed. The illustrious Deity, hearing the words of Indra, told the gods, 'He that is an offender against you offends against me also. The Asuras are all of wicked souls and always hate the gods. They that give pain to you always offend against me. I am impartial to all creatures. There is no doubt in this. For all that, however, they that are unrighteous should be slain. This is my fixed vow. Those three forts are to be pierced with one shaft. By no other means can their destruction be effected. None else, save Sthanu, is competent to pierce them with one shaft. Ye Adityas, select Sthanu, otherwise called Ishana and Jishnu, who is never fatigued with work, as your warrior. It is he that will destroy those asuras.' Hearing these words of his, the gods with Sakra at their head, making Brahman take their lead, sought the protection of the Deity having the bull for his mark. Those righteous ones accompanied by rishis devoted to the severest penances and uttering the eternal words of the Vedas, sought Bhava with their whole soul. And they praised, O king, in the high words of the Vedas, that dispeller of fears in all situations of fear that Universal Soul, that Supreme Soul, that One by whom All this is pervaded with his Soul. Then the gods who, by special penances, had learnt to still all the functions of his Soul and to withdraw Soul from Matter,--they who had their soul always under control--beheld him, called Ishana,--that lord of Uma, that mass of energy, that is, who hath no equal in the universe, that source (of everything), that sinless Self. Though that Deity is one they had imagined him to be of various forms. Beholding in that high-souled one those diverse forms that each had individually conceived in own heart, all of them became filled with wonder. Beholding that Unborn one, that Lord of the universe, to be the embodiment of all creatures, the gods and the regenerate Rishis, all touched the Earth with their heads. Saluting them with the word 'Welcome' and raising them from their bent attitudes, the illustrious Sankara addressed them smilingly, saying, 'Tell us the object of your visit.' Commanded by the Three-eyed god, their hearts became easy. They then said these words unto him, 'Our repeated salutations to thee, O Lord. Salutations to thee that art the source of all the gods, to thee that art armed with the bow, to thee that art full of wrath. Salutations to thee that hadst destroyed the sacrifice of that lord of creatures (viz., Daksha) to thee that art adored by all the lords of creatures. Salutations to thee that art always praised, to thee that deservest to be praised, to thee that art Death's self. Salutations to thee that art red, to thee that art fierce, to thee that art blue-throated, to thee that art armed with the trident, to thee that art incapable of being baffled, to thee that hast eyes as beautiful as those of the gazelle, to thee that fightest with the foremost of weapons, to thee that deservest all praise, to thee that art pure, to thee that art destruction's self, to thee that art the destroyer; to thee that art irresistible, to thee that art Brahman, to thee that leadest the life of a brahmacari; to thee that art Ishana; to thee that art immeasurable, to thee that art the great controller, to thee that art robed in tatters; to thee that art ever engaged in penances, to thee that art tawny, to thee that art observant of vows, to thee that art robed in animal skins; to thee that art the sire of Kumara, to thee that art three-eyed, to thee that art armed with the foremost of weapons, to thee that destroyest the afflictions of all that seek thy shelter, to thee that destroyest all haters of brahmanas, to thee that art the lord of all trees, the lord of all men, the lord of all kine, and ever the lord of sacrifices. Salutations to thee that art always at the head of troops, to thee that art three-eyed, to thee that art endued with fierce energy. We devote ourselves to thee in thought, word and deed. Be gracious unto us.' Gratified with these adorations, the holy one, saluting them with the word 'Welcome' said unto them, 'Let your fears be dispelled. Say, what we are to do for you?'"'"

SECTION 34

"'Duryodhana said, "After the fears of those throngs of the pitris, the gods, and the Rishis had thus been dispelled by that high-souled Deity, Brahman then offered his adorations, unto Sankara, and said these words for the benefit of the universe, 'Through thy favour, O Lord of all, the Lordship of all creatures is mine. Occupying that rank, I have given a great boon to the Danavas. It behoveth none else, save thee, O Lord of the Past and the Future, to destroy those wicked wights that show no regard for any one. Thou O god, art the only person competent to slay the foes of these denizens of heaven that have sought thy protection and that solicit thee. O lord of all the gods, show favour to these. Slay the Danavas, O wielder of the trident. O giver of honours, let the universe, through thy grace, obtain happiness. O Lord of all the worlds, thou art the one whose shelter should be sought. We all seek thy shelter.'

"'"Sthanu said, 'All your foes should be slain. But, I shall not however, slay them single-handed. The enemies of the gods are possessed of might. Therefore, all of you, united together, consume those enemies of yours in battle, with half my might. Union is great strength.'

"'"The gods said, 'Theirs (Danavas') is twice the energy and might of ourselves, we think, for we have already seen their energy and might.'

"'"The holy one said, 'Those sinful wights that have offended against ye should be slain. With half of my energy and might, slay all those enemies of yours.'

"'"The gods said, 'We will not be able, O Maheswara, to bear half of thy energy. With, on the other hand, half of our united might, do thou slay those foes.'

"'"The holy one said, 'If, indeed, ye have not the ability to bear half of my might, then, endued with half of your united energy, I will slay them.'

"'Duryodhana continued, "The celestials then, addressing the god of gods, said 'So be it' O best of kings. Taking half of their energies from all of them, he became superior in might.

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Indeed, in might that god became superior to all in the universe. From that time Sankara came to be called Mahadeva. And Mahadeva then said, 'Armed with bow and shaft, I will, from my car, slay in battle those foes of yours, ye denizens of heaven. Therefore, ye gods, see now to my car and bow and shaft so that I may, this very day, throw the Asuras down on the Earth.'

"""The gods said, 'Gathering all forms that may be found in the three worlds and taking portions of each, we will each, O Lord of the gods, construct a car of great energy for thee. It will be a large car, the handiwork of Viswakarman, designed with intelligence.' Saying this, those tigers among the gods began the construction of that car. And they made Vishnu and Soma and Hutasana the arrow for Sankara's use. Agni became the staff, and Soma became the head, and Vishnu the point, O king, of that foremost of arrows. The goddess Earth, with her large cities and towns, her mountains and forests and islands, that home of diverse creatures, was made the car. The Mandara mountain was made its axle; and the great river Ganga was made its Jangha; and the points of the compass, cardinal and subsidiary became the ornaments of the car. The constellations became its shaft; the Krita age became its yoke; and that best of Snakes, viz., Vasuki, became the Kuvara of that car. Himavat and Vindhya mountains became its Apaskara and Adhishthana; and the Udaya and the Asta mountains were made the wheels of that car by those foremost ones among the gods. They made the excellent Ocean, that abode of the Danavas its other axle. The seven Rishis became the protectors of the wheels of that car. Ganga and Sarasvati and Sindhu and the Sky became its Dhura; all the other rivers and all the waters became the chords for binding the several limbs of that car. Day and Night and the other divisions of time such as Kalas and Kasthas, and the Seasons became its Amukarsha. The blazing planets and the stars became its wooden fence; Religion, Profit, and Pleasure, united together, became its Trivenu. The herbs and the creepers, decked with flowers and fruits, became its bells. Making the Sun and the Moon equal, these were made the (other two) wheels of that foremost of cars. Day and Night were made its auspicious wings on the right and left. The ten foremost of snakes having Dhritarashtra for their first, all exceedingly strong, formed the (other) shaft of that car. The Sky was made its (other) yoke, and the clouds called Samvartaka and Valahaka were the leathern strings of the yoke. The two Twilights and Dhritri and Medha and Sthiti and Sannati, and the firmament bespangled with planets and stars, were made the skins for covering that car. Those Regents of the world, viz., the Lords of the gods, of the waters, of the dead, and of treasures, were made the steeds of that car. Kalaprishtha, and Nahusha, and Karkotaka, and Dhananjaya and the other snakes became the chords for binding the manes of the steeds. The cardinal and the subsidiary directions became the reins of the steeds of that car. The Vedic sound Vashat became the goad, and Gayatri became the string attached to that goad. The four auspicious days were made the traces of the steeds, and the pitris presiding over them were made the hooks and pins. Action and truth and ascetic penances and profit were made the chords of that car. The Mind became the ground upon which that car stood, and Speech the tracks upon which it was to proceed. Beautiful banners of various hues waved in the air. With lightning and Indra's bow attached to it, that blazing car gave fierce light. That space of time which, on a former occasion, had, in the Sacrifice of the high-souled Ishana, been fixed as a Year, became the bow, and the goddess Savitri became the loud-sounding bow-string. A celestial coat of mail was made, decked with costly gems, and impenetrable and effulgent, sprung from the wheel of Time. That golden mountain, viz., the beautiful Meru, became the flagstaff, and the clouds decked with flashes of lightning became its banners. Thus equipped, that car shone brilliantly like a blazing fire in the midst of the priests officiating at a sacrifice. Beholding that car properly equipped, the gods became filled with wonder. Seeing the energies of the entire universe united together in one place, O sire, the gods wondered, and at last represented unto that illustrious Deity that the car was ready. After, O monarch, that best of cars had thus been constructed by the gods, O tiger among men, for grinding their foes, Sankara placed upon it his own celestial weapons. Making the sky its flagstaff, he placed upon it his bovine bull. The Brahmana's rod, the rod of Death, Rudra's rod, and Fever became the protectors of the sides of that car and stood with faces turned towards all sides. Atharvan and Angirasa became the protectors of the car-wheels of that illustrious warrior. The Rigveda, the Samaveda, and the Puranas stood in advance of that car. The histories and the Yajurveda became the protectors of the rear. All sacred Speeches and all the Sciences stood around it, and all hymns, O monarch, and the Vedic sound of Vashat also. And the syllable Om, O king, standing in the van of that car, made it exceedingly beautiful. Having made the Year adorned with the six seasons his bow, he made his own shadow the irrefragable string of that bow in that battle. The illustrious Rudra is Death's self. The Year became his bow; Kala Ratri the Death-night therefore, which is Rudra's shadow, became the indestructible string of that bow. Vishnu and Agni and Soma became (as already said) the arrow. The universe is said to consist of Agni and Soma. The universe is similarly said to consist of Vishnu. Vishnu is, again, the Soul of the holy Bhava of immeasurable energy. For this the touch of that bow-string became unbearable to the Asuras. And the lord Sankara cast on that arrow his own irresistible and fierce wrath, the unbearable fire of anger, viz., that which was born of wrath of Bhrigu and Angirasa. Then He called Nila Rohita (Blue and Red or smoke)--that terrible deity robed in skins,--looking like 10,000 Suns, and shrouded by the fire of superabundant Energy, blazed up with splendour. That discomfiter of even him that is difficult of being discomfited, that victor, that slayer of all haters of Brahma, called also Hara, that rescuer of the righteous and destroyer of the unrighteous, viz., the illustrious Sthanu, accompanied by many beings of terrible might and terrible forms that were endued with the speed of the mind and capable of agitating and crushing all foes, as if with all the fourteen faculties of the soul awake about him, looked exceedingly resplendent. Having his limbs for their refuge, this entire universe of mobile and immobile creatures that were present there, O king, looked beautiful, presenting a highly wonderful appearance. Beholding that car, duly equipped, he cased himself in mail and armed himself with the bow, and took up that celestial shaft born of Soma and Vishnu and Agni. The gods, O king, then commanded that foremost of celestials, viz., Wind, to breathe after that puissant Deity all the fragrance that he carries. Then Mahadeva, terrifying the very gods, and making the very Earth tremble, ascended that car resolutely. Then the great Rishis, the Gandharvas, those throngs of gods and those diverse tribes of Apsaras began to praise that Lord of the gods while he was about to ascend that car. Adored by the regenerate Rishis, and praised by the eulogists and diverse tribes of dancing Apsaras well-versed in the art of dancing, that boon-giving lord, armed with scimitar and arrow and bow, looked very beautiful. Smiling, he then asked the gods, 'Who will become my driver?' The gods answered him, saying, 'He whom thou wilt appoint, will, O Lord of the gods, without doubt, become thy driver!' Unto them the god replied, 'Reflecting yourselves, without delay make him my driver who is superior to me!' Hearing these words uttered by that high-souled Deity, the gods repaired unto the Grandsire and inclining him to grace, said these words, 'We have accomplished everything, O holy one, that thou hadst ordered us to do in the matter of afflicting the foes of celestials. The Deity having the bull for his mark has been gratified with us. A car hath been constructed by us, equipped with many wonderful weapons. We do not, however, know who is to become the driver of that foremost of cars. Therefore, let some foremost one among the gods be appointed as the driver. O holy one, it behoveth thee to make true those words that thou, O lord, hadst then said to us. Before this, O god, thou hadst even said to us that thou wouldst do us good. It behoveth thee to accomplish that promise. That irresistible and best of cars, that router of our foes, hath been constructed out of the component parts of the celestials. The Deity armed with Pinaka hath been made the warrior who is to stand on it. Striking the Danavas with fear, he is prepared for battle. The four Vedas have become the four foremost of steeds. With her mountains, the Earth has become the car of that high-souled one. The stars have become the adornments of that vehicle. (As already said) Hara is the warrior. We do not, however, see who is to become the driver. A driver should be sought for that car who is superior to all these. Equal to thee in importance is that car, O god, and Hara is the warrior. Armour, and weapons, and bow, these we have got already, O Grandsire. Except thee, we do not behold any person that can make its driver. Thou art endued with every accomplishment. Thou, O lord, art superior to all the gods. Mounting upon that car with speed, hold the reins of those foremost of steeds, for the victory of the celestials and the destruction of their foes.' It has been heard by us that bowing with their heads unto the Grandsire that Lord of the three worlds, the gods sought to gratify him for inducing him to accept the drivership.

"""The Grandsire said, 'There is nothing of untruth in all this that ye have said, ye denizens of heaven. I will hold the reins of the steeds for Kapaddin while he will be engaged in fight.' Then that illustrious god, that Creator of the worlds, the Grandsire, was appointed by the gods as the driver of the high-souled Ishana. And when he was about to ascend quickly upon that car worshipped by all, those steeds, endued with the speed of the wind, bowed themselves with their heads to the Earth. Having ascended the car the illustrious Deity, viz., the Grandsire resplendent with his own energy, took the reins and the goad. Then the illustrious god, raising those steeds addressed that foremost one among the gods, viz., Sthanu, saying, 'Ascend.' Then, taking that arrow composed of Vishnu and Soma and Agni, Sthanu ascended the car, causing the foe to tremble by means of his bow. The great Rishis, the Gandharvas, the throngs of gods, and the diverse tribes of Apsaras, then praised that Lord of the gods after he had ascended the car. Resplendent with beauty, the boon-giving Lord, armed with scimitar, shaft, and bow, stayed on the car causing the three worlds to blaze forth with his own energy. The great Deity once more said unto the gods headed by Indra, 'Ye should never grieve, doubting my ability to destroy the Asura. Know that the Asuras have already been slain by means of this arrow'. The gods then answered, saying, 'It is true! The Asuras have already been slain.' Indeed, the gods thinking that the words which the divine Lord had said could not be untrue, became exceedingly gratified. Then that Lord of the gods proceeded surrounded by all the gods, upon that large car, O king, which had nothing to compare with it. And the illustrious Deity was adored, all the while by the attendants that always wait upon him, and by others that subsisted on meat, that were invincible in battle, and that danced in joy on the present occasion, running wildly on all sides and shouting at one another, Rishis also, of great good fortune, possessed of ascetic merit and endued with high qualities, as also the gods, wished for Mahadeva's success. When that boon-giving Lord, that dispeller of the fears of the three worlds, thus proceeded, the entire universe, all the gods, O best of men, became exceedingly gratified. And the Rishis there adored the Lord of the gods with diverse hymns, and enhancing his energy, O king, took up their station there. And millions upon millions of Gandharvas played upon diverse kinds of musical instruments at the hour of his setting out. When the boon-giving Brahman, having ascended the car, set out for the Asuras, the Lord of the Universe, smiling the while, said, 'Excellent, Excellent! Proceed, O god, to the spot where the Daityas are. Urge the steeds wakefully. Behold today the might of arms while I slay the foe in battle.' Thus addressed, Brahman urged those steeds endued with the fleetness of the wind or thought towards that spot where the triple city, O king, stood, protected by the Daityas and the Danavas. With those steeds worshipped by all the worlds, and which coursed with such speed that they seemed to devour the skies, the illustrious god quickly proceeded for the victory of the denizens of heaven. Indeed, when Bhava, riding on the car, set out towards the triple city, his bull uttered tremendous roars, filling all the points of the compass. Hearing that loud and terrible roar of the bull, many of the descendants and followers of Taraka, those enemies of the gods, breathed their last. Others amongst them stood facing the foe for battle. Then Sthanu, O king, armed with trident became deprived of his senses in wrath. All creatures became frightened, and the three worlds began to tremble. Frightful portents appeared when he was on the point of aiming that shaft. In consequence, however, of the pressure caused by the weight of Soma, Agni, and Vishnu that were in that shaft, as also of the pressure caused by the weight of Brahman and Rudra and the latter's bow, that car seemed to sink. Then Narayana, issuing out of the point of that shaft, assumed the form of a bull and raised that large car. During the time the car had sunk and the foe had began to roar, the illustrious Deity, endued with great might began, from rage, to utter loud shouts, standing, O giver of honours, on the head of his bull and the back of his steeds. At that time the illustrious Rudra was employed in eyeing the Danava city. While in that posture, O best of men, Rudra cut off the teats of the horses and clove the hoofs of the bull. Blessed be thou, from the date the hoofs of all animals of the bovine species came to be cloven. And from that time, O king, horses, afflicted by the mighty Rudra of wonderful deeds, came to be without teats. Then Sarva, having stringed his bow and aimed that shaft with which he had united the Pasupata weapon, waited thinking of the triple city. And O king, as Rudra thus stood, holding his bow, the three cities during that time became united. When the three cities, losing their separate characters became united, tumultuous became the joy of the high-souled gods. Then all the gods, the Siddhas, and the great Rishis, uttered the word Jaya, adoring Maheshwara. The triple city then appeared immediately before that god of unbearable energy, that Deity of fierce and indescribable form, that warrior who was desirous of slaying the Asuras. The illustrious deity, that Lord of the universe, then drawing that celestial bow, sped that shaft which represented the might of the whole universe, at the triple city. Upon that foremost of shafts, O thou of great good fortune, being shot, loud wails of woe were heard from those cities as they began to fall down towards the Earth. Burning those Asuras, he threw them down into the Western ocean. Thus was the triple city burnt and thus were the Danavas exterminated by Maheswara in wrath, from desire of doing good to the three worlds. The fire born of his own wrath, the three-eyed god quenched, saying, 'Do not reduce the three worlds to ashes.' After this, the gods, the Rishis, and the three worlds became all restored to their natural dispositions, and gratified Sthanu of unrivalled energy with words of high import. Receiving then the permission of the great god, the gods with the Creator at their head went away to the places they came from, their object being accomplished after such effort. Thus that illustrious Deity, that Creator of the worlds, that Lord of both the Gods and the Asuras, viz., Maheswara, did that which was for the good of all the worlds. As the illustrious Brahman, the Creator of the worlds, the Grandsire, the Supreme Deity of unfading glory, acted as the driver of Rudra, so do thou restrain the steeds of the high-souled son of

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Radha like Grandsire restraining those of Rudra. There is not the slightest doubt, O tiger among kings, that thou art superior to Krishna, to Karna, and to Phalguna. In battle, Karna is like Rudra, and thou art like Brahman in policy. United, ye two, therefore, are competent to vanquish my foes that are even like the Asuras. Let, O Shalya, that be done speedily today by which this Karna, grinding the Pandava troops, may be able to slay Kunti's son owning white steeds and having Krishna for the driver of his car. Upon thee depend Karna, ourselves, our kingdom, and (our) victory in battle. Hold the reins, therefore, of the excellent steeds (of Karna). There is another story which I will narrate. Listen once more to it. A virtuous brahmana had recited it in the presence of my father. Hearing these delightful words fraught with the reasons and purposes of acts, do, O Shalya, what thou mayst settle, without entertaining any scruples. In the race of the Bhrigus was Jamadagni of severe ascetic penances. He had a son endued with energy and every virtue, who became celebrated by the name of Rama. Practising the austerest penances, of cheerful soul, bound to observances and vows, and keeping his senses under control, he gratified the god Bhava for obtaining weapons. In consequence of his devotion and tranquillity of heart. Mahadeva became gratified with him. Sankara, understanding the desire cherished in his heart, showed himself unto Rama. And Mahadeva said, 'O Rama, I am gratified with thee. Blessed be thou, thy desire is known to me. Make thy soul pure. Thou wilt then have all that thou desirest. I will give thee all weapons when thou wilt become pure. Those weapons, O son, of Bhrigu, burn a person that is incompetent and that is not deserving of them.' Thus addressed by that god of gods, that deity bearing the trident, the son of Jamadagni, bending his head unto that puissant high-souled one, said, 'O god of gods, it behoveth thee to give those weapons unto me that am always devoted to thy service, when, indeed thou wilt regard me fit for holding them.'"

"'Duryodhana continued. "With penances then, and restraining his senses, and observances of vows, and worship and offerings and with sacrifices and Homa performed with mantras, Rama adored Sarva for many long years. At last Mahadeva, pleased with the high-souled son of Bhrigu's race, described him, in the presence of his divine spouse, as possessed of many virtues: 'This Rama, of firm vows is ever devoted to me.' Gratified with him, the Lord Sankara thus repeatedly proclaimed his virtues in the presence of gods and the Rishis, O slayer of foes. Meanwhile, the Daityas became very mighty. Blinded by pride and folly, they afflicted the denizens of heaven. The gods then, uniting together, and firmly resolved to slay them, strove earnestly for the destruction of those foes. They, however, failed to vanquish them. The gods then, repairing to Maheswara, the Lord of Uma, began to gratify him with devotion, saying, 'Slay our foes.' That god, having promised the destruction of their foes unto the celestials, summoned Rama the descendant of Bhrigu. And Sankara addressed Rama, saying, 'O descendant of Bhrigu, slay all the assembled foes of the gods, from desire of doing good unto all the worlds as also for my satisfaction.' Thus addressed, Rama replied unto that boon-giving Lord of Three-eyes, saying, 'What strength have I, O chief of the gods destitute as I am of weapons, to slay in battle the assembled Danavas that are accomplished in weapons and invincible in fight? Maheswara said, 'Go thou at my command. Thou shalt slay those foes. Having vanquished all those enemies, thou shalt acquire numerous merits.' Hearing these words and accepting them all, Rama, causing propitiatory rites to be performed for his success, proceeded against the Danavas. Addressing those enemies of the gods that were endued with might and possessed with folly and pride, he said, 'Ye Daityas that are fierce in battle, give me battle. I have been sent by the God of gods to vanquish you.' Thus addressed by the descendant of Bhrigu, the Daityas began to fight. The delighter of the Bhargavas, however, slaying the Daityas in battle, with strokes whose touch resembled that of Indra's thunder, came back to Mahadeva. Jamadagni's son, that foremost of brahmanas returned with many wounds on his person inflicted by the Danavas. Touched, however by Sthanu, his wounds were immediately healed. Gratified also with that feat of his, the illustrious god gave diverse kinds of boons unto the high-souled son of Bhrigu. With satisfaction in his heart, the trident-wielding God of gods said, 'The pain thou hast suffered in consequence of the fall of weapons upon thy body evidences the super-human feat that thou hast achieved, O delighter of the Bhrigus. As desired by thee, accept from me these celestial weapons.'"

"'Duryodhana continued, "Having obtained all the celestial weapons and the boons that had been desired by him, Rama bowed unto Siva with his head. Obtaining the leave also of the gods that great ascetic went away. This is the old story that the rishi had recited. The descendant of Bhrigu gave the whole science of weapons unto the high-souled Karna, O tiger among kings with delighted heart. If Karna had any fault, O lord of Earth, the delighter of Bhrigu's race would never have given him his celestial weapons. I do not think that Karna could have been born in the Suta order. I think him to be the son of a god, born in the kshatriya order. I think that he was abandoned (in infancy) in order that the race in which he was born might be ascertained (by his features and feats). By no means, O Shalya, could this Karna have been born in the Suta order. With his (natural) earring and (natural) coat of mail, this mighty car-warrior of long arms, resembling Surya himself, could not be borne by a common woman even as a she-deer can never bear a tiger. His arms are massive, each resembling the trunk of a prince of elephants. Behold his chest that is so broad and capable of resisting every foe. Karna otherwise called Vaikartana, O king, cannot be an ordinary person. Endued with great valour, this disciple of Rama, O king of kings, is a high-souled personage.'"

SECTION 35

"'Duryodhana said, "Even thus did that illustrious Deity, that Grandsire of all the worlds, viz., Brahman, act as driver on that occasion and even thus did Rudra become the warrior. The driver of the car, O hero, should be superior to the warrior on it. Therefore, O tiger among men, do thou hold the reins of the steeds in this battle. As on that occasion the Grandsire had been selected with care by all the celestials, indeed, O great king, as one greater than Sankara, so thou that art superior to Karna art now selected by us with care. Like the Grandsire holding the reins of Rudra's steeds, do thou hold, without delay, the reins of Karna's steeds in battle, O thou of great splendour."

"'Shalya said, "O foremost of men, many a time have I heard this excellent and celestial history, recited to me, of those two lions among gods. Indeed, I have heard how the Grandsire acted as the driver of Bhava and how the Asuras also, O Bharata, were all destroyed with one shaft. Krishna also had knowledge of all this before, the knowledge, viz., of how the illustrious Grandsire had become the driver on that occasion of yore. Indeed, Krishna knoweth the past and the future with all their details. Knowing this fact, he became the driver, O Bharata, of Partha like the Self-create becoming the driver of Rudra. If the Suta's son, by some means, succeeds in slaying the son of Kunti, Keshava, beholding Partha slain, will fight himself. That bearer of the conch, the discus, and the mace, will then consume thy army. There is no king here that will stay in the ranks in front of that illustrious one of Vrishni's race when he will be excited with wrath.'"

"Sanjaya said, 'Unto the ruler of the Madras who was speaking in that strain, that chastiser of foes, viz., thy mighty-armed son of cheerful soul replied, saying, "Do not, O mighty-armed one, think disparagingly of Karna, otherwise called Vaikartana, in battle,--that warrior who is the foremost of all wielders of arms and who is acquainted with the meaning of the whole body of our scriptures. Hearing the terrible and loud twang of his bow and the sound of his palms, the Pandava troops fly away on all sides. Thou hast witnessed it with thy own eyes, O mighty-armed one, how Ghatotkaca, screened by his illusions and displaying hundreds of still slain that night (by Karna). Feeling a great fear all these days Vibhatsu could never stand, fronting Karna. The mighty Bhimasena also, moved hither and thither by the horn of Karna's bow, was, O king, addressed in very harsh words such as 'Fool' and 'Glutton.' The two brave sons of Madri also were defeated by Karna in great battle, though, from some object he had in view, he did not, O sire, slay them then. That foremost one of Vrishni's race, viz., the heroic Satyaki, the chief of the Satwata clan, was vanquished by Karna and made carless. Others, such as all the Srinjayas headed by Dhrishtadyumna, have been repeatedly defeated in battle by Karna the great car-warrior who has achieved all these feats and who excited with wrath, is competent to slay Purandara himself armed with the thunderbolt in fight. Thyself also, O hero, art acquainted with every weapon. Thou art, again, the master of all branches of learning. There is none on Earth who is thy equal in might of arms. Irresistible in prowess, thou art like a dart (Shalya) unto thy enemies. It is for this, O king, that thou O slayer of foes, art called 'Shalya.' Encountering the might of thy arms, all the Satwatas were unable to get the better of it. Is Krishna superior to thee in might of arms, O king? Indeed, as Krishna is to bear the burthen of the Pandava troops upon the slaughter of Partha, even so art thou to bear the burthen of this vast (Kaurava) force if Karna lays down his life. Why should he be able to resist my troops and why shouldst not thou be able to slay the hostile troops, O sire? For thy sake, O sire, I would willingly follow the footsteps of my (slain) brothers and the other heroic kings of the Earth."

"'Shalya said, "O son of Gandhari, when thou, O giver of honours, describest me before thy troops to be superior to the son of Devaki, I am exceedingly gratified with thee. I accept the drivership of the celebrated son of Radha when he will fight with that foremost of the sons of Pandu, as thou desirest. I have, however, O hero, a compact to make with Vaikartana, and that is this: I will utter whatever words I may wish, in this one's presence.'"

"Sanjaya continued, 'Thy son then, O king, with Karna, O sire, answered the ruler of the Madras, saying, "Let it be so" in the presence of all the kshatriyas. Assured by Shalya's acceptance of the drivership, Duryodhana, filled with joy, embraced Karna. Eulogised (by bards and panegyrists around), thy son then once more addressed Karna, saying, "Slay all the Parthas in battle, like the great Indra slaying the Danavas." Shalya having accepted the office of holding the reins of his steeds, Karna, with a cheerful heart, once more addressed Duryodhana, saying, "The ruler of the Madras does not say very cheerfully what he says. O king, solicit him once more in sweet words." Thus addressed, the mighty king Duryodhana, possessed of great wisdom and accomplished in everything, once more spoke unto that lord of Earth, viz., Shalya, the ruler of Madras, in a voice deep as that of the clouds and filling the whole region there with the sound of that voice: "O Shalya, Karna thinks that he should fight with Arjuna today. O tiger among men hold the reins of Karna's steeds in battle. Having slain all the other warriors Karna desires to slay Phalguna. I solicit thee, O king, repeatedly, in the matter of holding the reins of his steeds. As Krishna, that foremost of all drivers, is the counsellor of Partha, even so do thou protect the son of Radha today from every danger.'"

"Sanjaya continued, 'Embracing thy son then, Shalya the ruler of the Madras, joyfully answered that slayer of foes, viz., Duryodhana, saying, "If this is what is thou thinkest, O royal son of Gandhari, O thou of handsome features, I shall, for that, accomplish everything that may be agreeable to thee. O chief of the Bharatas, for whatever acts I may be fit, employing myself therein with my whole heart, I will bear the burthen of those acts of thine. Let Karna, however, and thyself pardon me all those words, agreeable or disagreeable, that I may speak unto Karna from desire of his good.'"

"'Karna said, "O ruler of the Madras, be thou ever engaged in our good as Brahman in that of Ishana, as Keshava in that of Partha."

"'Shalya said, "These four kinds of conduct--self-rebuke and self-praise, speaking ill of others, and adulation of others, are never practised by those that are respectable. That, however, O learned one, which I shall say, for inspiring thy confidence is fraught with self-adulation. For all that, listen to it duly. O puissant one, like Matali himself, I am fit to act as the driver of even Indra in watchfulness, in managing the steeds, in knowledge of coming danger and of the means of avoiding it, and in competence to avoid it in practice. When thou wilt be engaged in battle with Partha, I will hold the reins of thy steeds. Let thy anxiety be dispelled, O Suta's son."'"

SECTION 36

"'Duryodhana said, "This one, O Karna, will act as thy driver, this ruler of the Madras, who is superior to Krishna, like Matali the driver of the chief of the celestials. Indeed, as Matali taketh the management of the car unto which the steeds of Indra are attached, even so will Shalya be the driver of the steeds of thy car today. With thyself as warrior on that vehicle and the ruler of the Madras as its driver, that foremost of car will certainly vanquish the Parthas in battle.'"

"Sanjaya continued, 'When the morning came, O monarch, Duryodhana once more addressed the ruler of the Madras endued with great activity, saying, "O ruler of the Madras, hold the reins in battle of Karna's foremost of steeds. Protected by thee, the son of Radha will vanquish Dhananjaya." Thus addressed, Shalya, answering, "So be it" ascended the car, O Bharata. When Shalya approached that car, Karna with a cheerful heart addressed his driver, saying, "O charioteer, quickly equip the car for me." Having duly equipped that triumphal car, the foremost of its kind, which resembled the vapoury mansions in the sky, Shalya presented it to Karna, saying, "Blessed be thou, victory to thee." Then Karna, that foremost of car-warriors, duly worshipping that car which had in days of old been sanctified by a priest conversant with Brahma, and circumambulating it and carefully adoring the god Surya addressed the ruler of the Madras standing near, saying, "Ascend the vehicle." Thereupon Shalya of mighty energy ascended that large, invincible, and foremost of cars, belonging to Karna like a lion ascending a mountain summit. Beholding Shalya stationed, Karna ascended his excellent car like the Sun riding on a mass of clouds charged with lightning. Mounted on the same car, those two heroes endued with the splendour or the Sun of fire looked resplendent like Surya and Agni sitting together on a cloud in the firmament. Eulogised then (by bards and panegyrists), those two heroes of great effulgence looked like Indra and Agni adored with hymns in a sacrifice by Ritwiks and Sadasyas. Karna stood on that car, the reins of whose steeds were held by Shalya, stretching his formidable bow, like the Sun himself within a halo of circular light. Stationed on that foremost of cars, that tiger among men, Karna, with his shafts constituting his rays, looked beautiful like the Sun on the Mandara mountains. Unto the mighty-armed son of Radha that warrior of immeasurable energy, stationed on his car for battle. Duryodhana said these words, "O son of Adhiratha, O hero, do thou achieve that feat difficult of accomplishment which Drona and Bhishma have not achieved in the very sight of all the bowmen. I had always believed that those two mighty car-warriors, viz., Bhishma and Drona, would without doubt slay Arjuna and Bhimasena

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in battle. Like a second wielder of the thunderbolt, O son of Radha, do thou in great battle achieve that feat worthy of a hero which was not achieved by those two. Either seize king Yudhishthira the Just or slay Dhananjaya and Bhimasena, O son of Radha, and the twin sons of Madri. Blessed be thou, let victory be thine. Set out for battle, O tiger among men. Reduce to ashes all the troops of Pandu's son." Then thousands of trumpets and tens of thousands of drums, sounded together, produced a noise like that of the clouds in the welkin. Accepting those words (of Duryodhana), the foremost of car-warriors stationed on his car, viz., the son of Radha, addressed Shalya, that warrior accomplished in battle, saying, "Urge the steeds, O mighty-armed one, so that I may slay Dhananjaya and Bhimasena and both the twins and king Yudhishthira. O Shalya, let Dhananjaya behold today the might of my arms, when I will be engaged in shooting shafts winged with Kanka feathers in hundreds and thousands. Today, O Shalya, I will shoot shafts with great energy for the destruction of the Pandavas and the victory of Duryodhana."

"'"Shalya said, "O Suta's son, why dost thou think so low of the sons of Pandu, all of whom are endued with great might, all of whom are great bowmen, and all of whom are acquainted with every weapon? They are unretreating, of great good fortune, invincible, and of prowess incapable of being baffled. They are capable of inspiring fear in the heart of Indra himself. When, son of Radha thou wilt hear the twang of Gandiva in battle, resembling the peal of the thunder itself, thou wilt not then utter such speeches. When thou wilt behold Dharma's son and the twins causing a canopy, like that of the clouds in the welkin, with their sharp arrows, and the other invincible kings (of the Pandava army), endued with great lightness of hands and shooting (showers of shafts) and weakening their foes, then thou wilt not utter such words.'"

"Sanjaya continued, 'Disregarding those words spoken by the ruler of the Madras, Karna addressing him endued with great activity, saying, "Proceed."'"

SECTION 37

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding the mighty Karna take up his station from desire of battle, the Kauravas, filled with delight, uttered loud shouts from every side. With the beat of cymbals and the sound of drums, with the whizz of diverse kinds of arrows and the roars of combatants endued with great activity, all thy troops proceeded to battle, making death only the point at which to stop. When Karna set out and the warriors of the Kuru army were filled with joy, the Earth, O king, trembled and made a loud noise. The seven great planets including the Sun seemed to proceed against one another (for combat). Meteoric showers became noticeable and all the quarters seemed ablaze. Thunders fell from a cloudless sky, and fierce winds began to blow. Animals and birds in larger numbers kept thy army to their right, foreboding great calamities. After Karna had set out, his steeds tumbled down on the Earth. A frightful shower of bones fell from the sky. The weapons (of the Kuru warriors) seemed to be ablaze; their standards trembled; and their animals, O monarch, shed copious tears. These and many other terrible and awful portents appeared for the destruction of the Kurus. Stupefied by destiny, none of them regarded those portents at all. Beholding the Suta's son setting out, all the rulers of men (in the Kaurava army) cried victory to him. The Kauravas regarded the Pandavas to have been already vanquished. That slayer of hostile heroes, that foremost of car-warriors, viz., Vaikartana, as he stayed on his car recollecting the death of Bhishma and Drona, blazed up with splendour like the Sun or fire. Reflecting on the mighty feats of Partha, and burning with self-conceit and pride, and blazing with wrath and breathing long and hard, he addressed Shalya and said these words: "When stationed on my car and armed with my bow, I would not take fright at Indra himself armed with the thunder and excited with wrath. Beholding those great heroes headed by Bhishma lying on the field of battle, do not feel any anxiety. Seeing even the faultless Bhishma and Drona, equal unto Indra and Vishnu, those crushers of foremost of cars and steeds and elephants, those heroes that were unslayable, slain by the foe, I do not still experience any fear in this battle. Acquainted with mighty weapons, and himself the foremost of brahmanas, why, indeed, did not the preceptor slay in battle all foes, seeing them destroy the mightiest of our kings with their drivers and elephants and cars? Remembering that Drona in great battle, I tell you truly, listen to me, ye Kurus, there is none amongst you, save myself, that is competent to bear the advancing Arjuna, that warrior who resembles Death himself in his fiercest form. In Drona were the skills attendant on practice, and might, and bravery, and the highest of weapons and policy. When even that high-souled one had to succumb to Death, I regard all the others (of our army), strengthless and on the point of death. In this world I do not find anything, even on reflection, to be stable, in consequence of the inevitable connexion of acts. When the preceptor himself is dead, who then will indulge in the certain belief that he will live till even today's sun-rise? When the preceptor was thus slain by the enemy in battle, without doubt weapons, ordinary and celestial, and might and prowess, and achievements and wise policy, are not able to compass the happiness of man. In energy Drona was equal to fire or the Sun, in prowess he resembled Vishnu or Purandara; in policy he was equal to Brihaspati or Usana; irresistible as he was, weapons could not yet protect him. When (our) women and children are weeping and uttering loud wails, when the valour of the Dhartarashtras has been defeated, I know it, O Shalya, that it is I who am to fight. Proceed therefore, against the army of our enemies. Who else, save myself, will be able to bear those troops amongst whom are stationed the royal son of Pandu firm in truth, and Bhimasena and Arjuna, and Satyaki, and the twins? Therefore, O ruler of the Madras, proceed quickly, in this battle, towards the Pancalas, the Pandavas, and the Srinjayas. Encountering them in battle, either I will slay them, or myself to Yama's presence by the path taken by Drona. Do not think, O Shalya, that I will not go into the very midst of those heroes. These intestine dissensions cannot be tolerated by me. (Without seeking to tolerate them) I will even follow in the wake of Drona. Wise or ignorant, when his period is run out, everybody is equally regarded by the Destroyer; no one can escape, O learned one, for this, I will proceed against the Parthas. I am unable to transgress my destiny. The son of Vichitravirya's son is, O king, always engaged in doing me good. For the accomplishment of his purpose, I will cast away my life-breaths that are so dear, and this body that is so difficult of being cast away. This foremost of cars covered with tigerskins, with axle producing no sound equipped with a golden seat endued with trivenu made of silver, and unto which are yoked these foremost of steeds, Rama gave unto me. Behold, also, O Shalya, these beautiful bows, these standards, these maces, these shafts of fierce forms, this blazing sword, this mighty weapon, this white conch of fierce and loud blare. Riding upon this car decked with banners, its wheels producing a rattle deep as that of the thunder, having white steeds yoked unto it, and adorned with excellent quivers, I will, putting forth my might, slay in battle that bull among car-warriors, Arjuna. If Death himself, that universal consumer, were to protect with vigilance the son of Pandu in battle, I would still encounter him in fight and either slay him or myself go to Yama's presence following Bhishma. If Yama, Varuna, Kuvera, and Vasava, with all their followers coming hither, unitedly protect the son of Pandu in this great battle, what need of many words, I will still vanquish him with them.'"

"Sanjaya continued, 'Hearing these words of the bragging Karna who was exceedingly delighted with the prospect of battle, the valiant king of the Madras, deriding him, laughed aloud, and gave him the following reply for checking him.

"'Shalya said, "Forbear, forbear, O Karna, from such bragging. Thou art in transports of delight and sayest what thou shouldst never say. Where is Dhananjaya, that foremost of men, and where again, art thou, O lowest of men? Who else, save Arjuna, could take away the younger sister of (Keshava) that foremost of all persons, having forcibly agitated the home of the Yadus that was protected by the younger brother of Indra and that resembled heaven itself that is guarded by the chief of celestials? What man save Arjuna who is endued with prowess that is equal to the prowess of the chief of the celestials, could on the occasion of the dispute caused by the slaughter of an animal, summon Bhava the Lord of Lords, the Creator of the worlds, to battle? For the sake of honouring Agni, Jaya had vanquished asuras and gods and great snakes and men and birds and pishacas and yakshas and rakshasas with his shafts and gave unto that god the food he had desired. Dost thou remember, O Karna, the occasion when, slaughtering those foes in large numbers with his excellent shafts endued with the effulgence of the Sun, Phalguna liberated Dhritarashtra's son himself among the Kurus? Dost thou remember the occasion when, thyself having been the first to fly away, the quarrelsome sons of Dhritarashtra were liberated by the Pandavas after the latter had defeated those rangers of the skies (the gandharvas headed by Citraratha)? On the occasion also of the seizure of (Virata's) kine, the Kauravas, swelling with numbers in respect of both men and animals, and having the preceptor and the preceptor's son and Bhishma amongst them, were vanquished by that foremost of men. Why, O son of Suta, didst thou not vanquish Arjuna then? For thy destruction another excellent battle has now presented itself. If thou dost not fly away from fear of thy enemy, know O Suta's son, that as soon as thou goest to battle thou wilt be slain.'"

"Sanjaya continued, 'When the ruler of the Madras was most heartily engaged in addressing these harsh speeches to Karna and uttering these praises of the latter's foe, that scorcher of foes, viz., the commander of the Kuru army, excited with rage, said these words unto the Madra king.

"'Karna said, "Let it be so, let it be so. Why, however, dost thou indulge in Arjuna's praises? A battle is about to ensue between myself and him. If he vanquishes me in fight, then will these thy praises be regarded as well-uttered.'"

"Sanjaya continued, 'The ruler of the Madras said, "Let it be so," and gave no reply. When Karna, from desire of fight, addressed Shalya, saying, "Proceed," then that great carwarrior, having white steeds yoked unto his vehicle and owning Shalya as his charioteer, proceeded against his foes, slaying large numbers in battle along his way, like the Sun destroying the darkness. Indeed, on that car covered with tiger-skins and having white steeds yoked unto it, Karna proceeded with a cheerful heart, and beholding the army of the Pandavas, speedily enquired after Dhananjaya.'"

SECTION 38

"Sanjaya said 'After Karna, gladdening thy army, had set out for battle, he spoke unto every Pandava soldier that he met with, even these words: "Unto him that will today point out the high-souled Dhananjaya of white steeds to me, I will give whatever wealth he desires. If having got it he does not become satisfied, I shall in addition, give him,--him that is, that will discover Arjuna to me, a cart-load of jewels and gems. If that does not satisfy the person who discovers Arjuna to me, I will give him a century of kine with as many vessels of brass for milking those animals. I will give a hundred foremost of villages unto the person that discovers Arjuna to me. I will also give him that shows Arjuna to me a number of long-tressed damsels of black eyes and a car unto which shall be yoked white mules. If that does not satisfy the person that discovers Arjuna to me, I shall give him another foremost of cars, made of gold, and having six bulls yoked unto it that shall be as large as elephants. I shall also give unto him a hundred damsels decked with ornaments, with collars of gold, fair-complexioned and accomplished in singing and dancing. If that does not satisfy the person that discovers Arjuna to me, I shall give him a 100 elephants, a 100 villages and a 100 cars, and 10,000 steeds of the foremost of breed, fat, docile, endued with many excellent qualities, capable of dragging cars and well-trained. I shall also give to the person that discovers Arjuna to me four hundred kine, each with golden horns and her calf. If that does not satisfy the person that discovers Arjuna to me, I shall make him a more valuable gift, viz., five hundred steeds, adorned with trappings of gold and decked with jewelled ornaments. I shall also give eighteen other steeds of great docility. I shall also give the person that discovers Arjuna to me a bright car made of gold and adorned with diverse ornaments and having foremost of Kamboja steeds yoked unto it. If that does not satisfy the person that discovers Arjuna to me, I shall make him a more valuable gift, viz., six hundred elephants, with chains of gold around their necks, and covered with housings of gold, born in the western shores of the ocean, and trained by elephant trainers. If that does not satisfy the person that discovers Arjuna to me, I shall make him a more valuable gift, viz., fourteen Vaishya villages, teeming with people, full of wealth, situated in the proximity of forests and rivers, free from all sorts of danger, well furnished (with other necessaries), and worthy of being enjoyed by kings. To him that will discover Dhananjaya to me, I shall also give a hundred female slaves, with golden collars, belonging to the country of the Magadhas, and of very youthful age. If that does not satisfy the person that discovers Arjuna to me, I will make him a more valuable gift, that, indeed, which he himself will solicit. Sons, wives and articles of pleasure and enjoyment that I have, these all I shall give him if he desires them. Indeed, unto him who discovers Keshava and Arjuna to me, I shall, after slaying those two, give all the wealth that may be left by them." Having uttered those diverse speeches in that battle, Karna blew his excellent conch, sea-born and producing a sweet blare. Hearing these words of Suta's son that were suitable to his disposition, Duryodhana, O king, with all his followers became filled with joy. At that juncture the beat of cymbals and drums and leonine shouts, and grunts of elephants with the sounds of diverse musical instruments, arose there, O king, among the (Kaurava) troops, O bull among men. The shouts also of warriors filled with joy arose there. When the (Kaurava) troops were thus filled with joy, the ruler of the Madras, laughing in scorn, said these words unto that grinder of foes, viz., the son of Radha, that mighty car-warrior who was about to plunge into that ocean of battle and who was indulging in such vain bragging.'"

SECTION 39

"'Shalya said, "Do not, O Suta's son, give away to any man a golden car with six bulls of elephantine proportions. Thou wilt obtain a sight of Dhananjaya today. From foolishness thou art giving away wealth as if thou wert the Lord of treasures. Without any trouble, however, O son of Radha, thou wilt behold Dhananjaya today. Thou art for giving away this wealth like a senseless person; but thou seest not the demerits attaching to those gifts that are made to undeserving persons. With that large wealth which thou art desirous of giving away, thou art certainly able to perform many sacrifices. Therefore, O Suta's son, do thou perform those sacrifices. As regards thy desire, entertained from folly, that is surely vain. We have never heard of a couple of lions having been overthrown by a fox. Thou seekest what should never be sought by thee. It seems that thou hast no friends for forbidding thee that art speedily falling into a blazing fire. Thou art unable to discriminate between what thou shouldst

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do and what thou shouldst not. Without doubt thy period is full. What man desirous of living would utter speeches that are so incoherent and undeserving of being listened to? This thy endeavour is like that of a person desirous of crossing the ocean by the aid of only his two arms after having attached to his neck a heavy stone, or of one desirous of leaping down from the summit of a mountain. If thou art desirous of winning what is for thy good, fight with Dhananjaya, well protected from within thy arrayed division, and aided by all thy warriors. I say this to thee for the good of Dhritarashtra's son and not from any ill will to thee. If thou hast any wish for preserving thy life then accept the words spoken by me."

"'Karna said, "Relying on the might of my own arms I seek Arjuna in battle. Thou, however, that art a foe with the face of a friend desirest to frighten me. No person shall deter me from this resolution, not even Indra himself uplifting his thunder; what then need be said of a mortal?'"

"Sanjaya continued, 'At the conclusion of these words of Karna, Shalya, the ruler of the Madras, desirous of provoking Karna exceedingly, said these words in reply, "When keen-pointed shafts winged with Kanka feathers, shot by Phalguna of mighty arms and impelled from his bow-string and sped with all his energy will seek thee then wilt thou lament thy encounter with that hero. When Partha, called also Savyasaci, taking up his celestial bow, will scorch the (Kuru) army and afflict thee exceedingly with keen shafts, then, O Suta's son, wilt thou repent (of thy folly). As a child lying on the lap of its mother seeks to seize the Moon, even so dost thou from folly seek to vanquish the resplendent Arjuna stationed on his car. In desiring, O Karna, to fight today with Arjuna of keen-edged feats, thou art for rubbing all thy limbs against the keen edges of a trident. This thy challenge of Arjuna, O Suta's son, is like that of a foolish young little deer of activity challenging a huge lion excited with wrath. Do not, O Suta's son, challenge that prince of mighty energy like a fox gratified with meat in the forest challenging the maned monarch of the forest. Do not be destroyed, encountering Arjuna. Thou, O Karna, challengest Dhananjaya, the son of Pritha, even like a hare challenging a mighty elephant with tusks large as plough-shafts, and with the juice issuing out of its mouth and rent cheeks. From folly thou art piercing, with a piece of wood, the black cobra of virulent poison excited to fury within its hole, in desiring to fight with Partha. Endued with little understanding, thou, O Karna, disregarding that lion among men, viz., the son of Pandu, yellest at him, like a jackal that, disregarding a maned lion excited with wrath, yells at him. As a snake, for its own destruction, challenges that foremost of birds, viz., Vinata's son, possessed of beautiful plumage and great activity, even so dost thou, O Karna, challenge Dhananjaya the son of Pandu. Thou desirest to cross without a raft the terrible ocean, the receptacle of all the waters, with its mountain waves and teeming with aquatic animals, when at its height at the rise of the Moon. O Karna, thou challengest Dhananjaya, the son of Pritha, to battle even like a calf challenging a smiting bull of keen horns and neck thick as a drum. Like a frog croaking at a terrible and mighty cloud yielding copious showers of rain, thou croakest at Arjuna who is even like Parjanya among men. As a dog from within the precincts of the house of his master barks at a forest-roaming tiger, even so, O Karna, thou barkest at Dhananjaya, that tiger among men. A jackal, O Karna, residing in the forest in the midst of hares regardeth himself a lion till he actually sees a lion. Even so, O son of Radha, thou regardest thyself a lion, for thou dost not behold that repressor of foes, that tiger among men, viz., Dhananjaya. Thou regardest thyself a lion till thou beholdest the two Krishnas stationed on the same car like Surya and Candramas. As long as thou dost not hear the twang of Gandiva in great battle, so long art thou able to do what thou pleasest. Beholding Partha, causing the ten points of the compass to resound with the roar of his car and the twang of his bow, and beholding him roaring like a tiger, thou wilt become a jackal. Thou art always a jackal, and Dhananjaya always a lion. O fool, in consequence of thy envy and hatred for heroes, thou always, seemest to be like a jackal. As a mouse and a car are to each other in strength, or a dog and a tiger, a fox and a lion, or a hare and an elephant, as falsehood and truth, as poison and nectar, even so art thou and Partha known to all by your respective deeds.'"

SECTION 40

"Sanjaya said, 'Thus rebuked by Shalya of immeasurable energy, the son of Radha, feeling the propriety of his rebuker's name in consequence of his wordy darts, and becoming filled with rage, answered him thus:

"'Karna said, "The merits of meritorious men, O Shalya, are known to them that are themselves meritorious but not to them that are destitute of merit. Thou, however, art destitute of every merit. How then canst thou judge of merit and demerit? The mighty weapons of Arjuna, his wrath, his energy, his bow, his shafts and the prowess also of that high-souled hero are, O Shalya, well known to me. So also, O Shalya, thou dost not know, so as well as I myself, the greatness of Krishna, that bull among the lords of Earth. But knowing my own energy as also that of Pandu's son, I challenge him to battle, O Shalya, I do not act like an insect in respect of a blazing fire. I have this shaft, O Shalya, of keen mouth, blood-drinking, lying alone within one quiver, equipped with wings, well-steeped in oil and well-adorned. It lieth amid sandal dust, worshipped by me for long years. Partaking of the nature and form of a snake, it is poisonous and fierce and capable of killing large numbers of men and steeds and elephants of terrible form, and exceedingly awful, it is capable of piercing coats of mail and bones. Inspired with wrath, I may pierce even the mighty mountains of Meru with it. That shaft I will never shoot at any other person save Phalguna or Krishna, the son of Devaki. In this I tell thee the truth. Listen to it. With that shaft, O Shalya, I will, inspired with rage, fight with Vasudeva and Dhananjaya. That would be a feat worthy of me. Of all the heroes in the Vrishni race, it is Krishna in whom Prosperity is always established. Among all the sons of Pandu, it is Partha in whom Victory is always established. Those two tigers among men, stationed together on the same car, will advance against my single self for battle. Thou shalt, O Shalya, behold today the nobility of my lineage. Those two cousins, one of whom is the son of the aunt and the other the son of the maternal uncle, those two invincible warriors, thou shalt see, will be slain by me (with one shaft) and will look like two pearls strung together in the same string. Arjuna's gandiva and the ape-bearing banner, and Krishna's discus and the Garuda-bearing banner, inspire with fear only those that are timid. To me, however, O Shalya, they are causes of delight. Thou art a fool, of evil disposition, and unskilled in the ways of great battle. Overcome with terror, thou utterest these ravings. Or, thou art praising them for some reason not known to me. Having slain those two first, I shall then slay thee today with all thy kinsmen. Born in a sinful country thou art wicked-souled and mean, and a wretch amongst kshatriyas. Being a friend, why dost thou, like an enemy, frighten me with these praises of the two Krishnas? Either they two will slay me today or I will slay them two. Knowing as I do my own might, I do not cherish any fear of the two Krishnas. A 1,000 Vasudevas and hundreds of Phalgunas, I shall, single-handed, slay. Hold thy tongue, O thou that art born in a sinful country. Hear from me, O Shalya, the sayings, already passed into proverbs, that men, young and old, and women, and persons arrived in course of their listless wanderings, generally utter, as if those sayings formed part of their studies, about the wicked Madrakas. brahmanas also duly narrated the same things formerly in the courts of kings. Listening to those sayings attentively, O fool, thou mayst forgive or rejoin. The Madraka is always a hater of friends. He that hateth us is a Madraka. There is no friendship in the Madraka who is mean in speech and is the lowest of mankind. The Madraka is always a person of wicked soul, is always untruthful and crooked. It hath been heard by us that till the moment of death the Madrakas are wicked. (Amongst the Madrakas) the sire, the son, the mother, the mother-in-law, the brother, the grand-son, and other kinsmen, companions, strangers arrived at their homes, slaves male and female, mingle together. The women of the Madrakas mingle, at their own will, with men known and unknown. Of unrighteous conduct, and subsisting upon fried and powdered corn and fish, in their homes, they laugh and cry having drunk spirits and eaten beef. They sing incoherent songs and mingle lustfully with one another, indulging the while in the freest speeches. How then can virtue have a place amongst the Madrakas who are arrogant and notorious for all kinds of evil acts? No one should make friends with a Madraka or provoke hostilities with him. In the Madraka land there is no friendship. The Madraka is always the dirt of humanity. Amongst the Madrakas all acts of friendship are lost as purity amongst the Gandharakas and the libations poured in a sacrifice in which the king is himself the sacrificer and priest. Then again, it is truly seen that wise men treat a person bit by a scorpion and affected by its poison, even with these words: 'As a brahmana that assists at the religious ceremonies of a Shudra suffereth degradation, as one that hateth brahmanas always suffereth degradation, even so a person by making an alliance with the Madrakas becometh fallen. As there is no friendship in the Madraka, so, O scorpion, thy poison is nought.' With these mantras of the Atharvan I have duly performed the rite of exorcism. Knowing this, O learned one, hold thy tongue, or listen to something further that I will say. Those women that, intoxicated by spirits, cast off their robes and dance, those women that are not attached (to particular individuals) in the matter of intercourse and that they do as they please without owning any restrictions, I say, that being as thou art the child of one of those women, how canst thou, O Madraka, be a fit person for declaring the duties of men? Those women that live and answer calls of nature like camels and asses, being as thou art the child of one of those sinful and shameless creatures, how canst thou wish to declare the duties of men? When a Madraka woman is solicited for the gift of a little quantity of vinegar, she scratches her hips and without being desirous of giving it, says these cruel words, 'Let no man ask any vinegar of me that is so dear to me. I would give him my son, I would give him my husband, but vinegar I would not give.' The young Madraka maidens, we hear, are generally very shameless and hairy and gluttonous and impure. These and many other things of a like nature, in respect of all their acts, from the crown of their heads to the tip of their toes, are capable of being asserted of them by myself and others. How, indeed, would the Madrakas and the Sindhu-Sauviras know anything of duty, being born, as they are, in a sinful country, being mlecchas in their practices, and being totally regardless of all duties? It hath been heard by us that even this is the highest duty of a kshatriya, viz., that slain in battle, he should lie down on the Earth, applauded by the righteous. That I should lay down (my life) in this clash of arms is my foremost wish, desirous as I am of heaven through Death. I am also the dear friend of the intelligent son of Dhritarashtra. For his sake are my life-breaths and whatever wealth I have! As regards thyself, O thou that art born in a sinful country, it is evident that thou hast been tampered with by the Pandavas, since thou behavest towards us in everything like a foe. Like a righteous man that is incapable of being led astray by atheists, surely I am incapable of being dissuaded from this battle by hundreds of persons like thee. Like a deer, covered with sweat, thou art at liberty to weep or thirst. Observant as I am of the duties of a kshatriya, I am incapable of being frightened by thee. I recall to my mind the end, declared unto me in past times by my preceptor Rama, of those lions among men, those unreturning heroes, that laid down their lives in battle. Prepared for rescuing the Kauravas and slaying our foes, know that I am now determined to imitate the excellent behaviour of Pururavas. I do not, O ruler of the Madrakas, behold the person in the three worlds that can, I think, dissuade me from this purpose. Forbear to speak, knowing all this. Why dost thou rave in such a way from fear? O wretch amongst the Madrakas, I shall not now slay thee and present thy carcase as an offering to carnivorous creatures. From regard for a friend, O Shalya, for the sake of Dhritarashtra's son, and for avoiding blame, for these three reasons, thou still livest. If, O ruler of the Madras, thou speakest such words again, I shall then crush thy head with my mace that is as hard as the thunder. People will today see or hear, O thou that art born in a sinful country, either that the two Krishnas have slain Karna or that Karna has slain the two Krishnas." Having said these words, the son of Radha, O monarch, once more addressed the king of the Madras, fearlessly saying, "Proceed, proceed.'"

SECTION 41

"Sanjaya said, 'Hearing, O sire, these words of Radha's son who delighted in battle, Shalya once more addressed Karna, citing an example, "I am born in the race of men who performed great sacrifices, who never retreated from battle, who were kings whose coronal locks underwent the sacred bath. I am also myself devoted to the practice of virtue. Thou, O Vrisha, seemest to be like one that is intoxicated with spirits. For all that, I will, from friendship, seek to cure thy erring and intoxicated self. Listen, O Karna, to this simile of a crow that I am about to narrate. Having heard it, thou mayest do what thou choosest, O thou that art destitute of intelligence and that art a wretch of thy race. I do not, O Karna, remember the slightest fault in me for which, O thou of mighty arms, thou mayst desire to slay my innocent self. I must tell thee what is for thy good and what is for thy ill, acquainted as I am with both, especially as I am the driver of thy car and desirous of the good of king Duryodhana. What land is level and what not, the strength or weakness of the warrior (on my vehicle), the fatigue and faintness, at all times, of the steeds and the warrior (I am driving), a knowledge of the weapons that are available, the cries of animals and birds, what would be heavy for the steeds and what exceedingly heavy for them, the extraction of arrows and the curing of wounds which weapons counteract which, the several methods of battle, and all kinds of omens and indications, I who am so nearly connected with this car, being none else than its driver, should be familiar with. For this, O Karna, I narrate this instance to thee once more. There lived on the other side of the ocean a Vaishya who had abundance of wealth and corn. He performed sacrifices, made liberal gifts, was peaceful, devoted to the duties of his own order, and pure in habits and mind. He had many sons whom he loved, and was kind unto all creatures. He lived fearlessly in the dominions of a king that was guided by virtue. There was a crow that lived on the refuse of the dishes set before those well-behaved young children of the Vaishya. Those Vaishya children always gave the crow meat and curds, and milk, and sugared milk with rice, and honey, and butter. Thus fed with the refuse of their dishes by the young children of that Vaishya, the crow became arrogant and came to disregard all birds that were equal to him or even superior. It chanced that once certain swans of cheerful hearts, of great speed and capable of going everywhere at will and equal unto Garuda himself in range and speed of flight, came to that side of the ocean. The Vaishya boys, beholding those swans, addressed the crow and said, 'O ranger of the skies, thou art superior to all winged creatures.' Deceived by those children of little understanding, that oviparous creature from folly and pride, regarded their

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words to be true. Proud of the refuse of the children's dishes upon which he fed, the crow then, alighting in the midst of those swans capable of traversing great distances, desired to enquire as to who amongst them was their leader. The foolish crow at last challenged him amongst those birds of tireless wings whom he regarded their leader, saying, 'Let us compete in flight.' Hearing those words of the raving crow, the swans that had assembled there, those foremost of birds endued with great strength, began to laugh. The swans then, that were capable of going everywhere at will, addressed the crow, saying. 'We are swans, having our abode in the Manasa lake. We traverse the whole Earth, and amongst winged creatures we are always applauded for the length of the distances we traverse. Being, as thou art, only a crow, how canst thou, O fool, challenge a swan endued with might, capable of going everywhere at will, and doing large distances in course of his flight? Tell us, O crow, how thou shalt fly with us.' The boastful crow, in consequence of the foolishness of his species, repeatedly finding fault with the words of that swan, at last gave this answer. The crow said, 'I shall without doubt fly displaying a hundred and one different kinds of motion. Doing every hundred Yojanas in a separate and beautiful kind of motion, I shall display all those motions. Rising up, and swooping down, and whirling around, and coursing straight, and proceeding gently, and advancing steadily, and performing the diverse courses up and receding back, and soaring high, and darting forward and soaring upwards with fiercer velocity, and once more proceeding gently and then proceeding with great impetuosity, and once again swooping down and whirling around and advancing steadily, and rising up by the jerks, and soaring straight, and once more falling down and wheeling in a circle and rushing proudly, and diverse other kinds of motion, these all I shall display in the sight of all you. Ye shall then witness my strength. With one of these different kinds of motion I shall presently rise into the sky. Point out duly, ye swans, by which of these motions I shall course through space. Settling the kind of motion amongst yourselves, you will have to course with me. Adopting all those different motion, ye shall have to course with me through supportless space.' The crow having said these words, one of the swans addressed him, 'Listen, O son of Radha, to the words that the swan said. The swan spoke, 'Thou, O crow, wilt doubtless fly the hundred and one different kinds of flight. I shall, however, fly in that one kind of motion that all (other) birds know, for I do not, O crow, know any other. As regards thee, O thou of red eyes, fly thou in any kind of course that thou likest.' At these words, those crows that had been assembled there laughed aloud, saying, 'How will the swan with only one kind of flight get the better of a hundred different kinds of flight?'

"'"Then those two, viz., the swan and the crow, rose into the sky, challenging each other. Capable of going everywhere at will, the swan proceeded in one kind of motion, while the crow coursed in a hundred different kinds. And the swan flew and the crow also flew, causing each other to wonder (at his skill) and each speaking highly of his own achievements. Beholding the diverse kinds of flight at successive instants of time, the crows that were there were filled with great joy and began to caw more loudly. The swans also laughed in mockery, uttering many remarks disagreeable (to the crows). And they began to soar and alight repeatedly, here and there. And they began to come down and rise up from tree-tops and the surface of the earth. And they uttered diverse cries indicative of their victory. The swan, however, with that one kind of slow motion (with which he was familiar) began to traverse the skies. For a moment, therefore, O sire, he seemed to yield to the crow. The crows, at this, disregarding the swans, said these words: 'That swan amongst you which has soared into the sky, is evidently yielding'. Hearing these words, the (soaring) swan flew westwards with great velocity to the ocean, that abode of Makaras. Then fear entered the heart of the crow who became almost senseless at not seeing any island or trees whereon to perch when tired. And the crow thought within his heart as to where he should alight when tired, upon that vast expanse of water. The ocean, being as it is the abode of countless creatures, is irresistible. Dwelt in by hundreds of monsters, it is grander than space. Nothing can exceed it in depth, O Suta's son. Men know, O Karna, that the waters of the ocean are as limitless as space. For the extent of its waters, O Karna, what is a crow to it? The swan, having traversed a great distance in a moment, looked back at the crow, and (though capable) could not leave him behind. Having transgressed the crow, the swan cast his eyes on him and waited, thinking, 'Let the crow come up.' The crow then, exceedingly tired, came up to the swan. Beholding him succumbing, and about to sink, and desirous of rescuing him in remembrance of the practices of good folks, the swan addressed him in these words, 'Thou hadst repeatedly spoken of many kinds of flight while speaking on the subject. Thou wouldst not speak of this (thy present motion) because of its having been a mystery to us? What is the name of this kind of flight, O crow, that thou hast now adopted? Thou touchest the waters with thy wings and beak repeatedly. Which amongst those diverse kinds of flight is this, O crow, that thou art now practising? Come, come, quickly, O crow, for I am waiting for thee.'"

"'Shalya continued, "Exceedingly afflicted, and touching the water with his wings and beak, O thou of wicked soul, the crow, beheld in that state by the swan, addressed the latter. Indeed, not seeing the limit of that watery expanse and sinking down in fatigue, and exhausted with the effort of his flight the crow said unto the swan, 'We are crows, we wander hither and thither, crying-caw, caw. 'O swan, I seek thy protection, placing my life-breaths at thy hands. Oh, take me to the shores of the ocean with the wings and beak.' The crow, very much fatigued, suddenly fell down. Beholding him fallen upon the waters of the ocean with a melancholy heart, the swan, addressing the crow who was on the point of death, said these words, 'Remember, O crow, what thou hadst said in praise of thyself. The words even were that thou wouldst course through the sky in a hundred and one different kinds of flight. Thou, therefore that wouldst fly a hundred different kinds of flight, thou that art superior to me, alas, why then art thou tired and fallen down on the ocean?' Overcome with weakness, the crow then, casting his eyes upwards at the swan, and seeking to gratify him, replied, saying, 'Proud of the remains of others' dishes upon which I fed, I had, O swan, regarded myself as the equal of Garuda and disregarded all crows and many other birds. I now, however, seek thy protection and place my life-breaths at thy hands. Oh, take me to the shores of some island. If, O swan, I can, O lord, return in safety to my own country, I will never again disregard anybody. Oh rescue me now from this calamity.' Him that said so and was so melancholy and weeping and deprived of senses, him that was sinking in the ocean, uttering cries 'caw, caw,' him so drenched by the water and so disgusting to look at and trembling with fear, the swan, without a word, took up with his feet, and slowly caused him to ride on his back. Having caused the crow whose senses had deserted him to ride upon his back, the swan quickly returned to that island whence they had both flown, challenging each other. Placing down that ranger of the sky on dry land and comforting him, the swan, fleet as the mind, proceeded to the region he desired. Thus was that crow, fed on the remains of others' dinners, vanquished by the swan. The crow, then, casting off the pride of might and energy, adopted a life of peace and quiet. Indeed, even, as that crow, fed upon the remains of the dinners of the Vaishya children, disregarded his equals and superiors, so dost thou, O Karna, that art fed by the sons of Dhritarashtra upon the remains of their dishes, disregard all thy equals and superiors. Why didst thou not slay Partha at Virata's city when thou hadst the advantage of being protected by Drona and Drona's son and Kripa and Bhishma and the other Kauravas? There where, like a pack of jackals defeated by a lion, ye all were defeated with great slaughter by the diadem-decked Arjuna, what became of your prowess? Beholding also thy brother slain by Savyasaci, in the very sight of the Kuru heroes, it was thou that didst fly away first. By the skirts also of the dvaitya lake, O Karna, when thou wert assailed by the Gandharvas, it was thou that, deserting all the Kurus, didst first run away. Having vanquished in battle the Gandharvas headed by Citrasena, with great slaughter, it was Partha, O Karna, that liberated Duryodhana with his wife. Rama himself, O Karna, before the kings in the (Kuru) assembly spake of the great prowess of both Partha and Keshava. Thou didst frequently hear the words of Drona and Bhishma, speaking in the presence of all the kings, that the two Krishnas are unslayable. I have told thee a little only regarding those matters in which Dhananjaya is superior to thee like the brahmana who is superior to all created beings. Soon wilt thou see, stationed on that foremost of cars, the son of Vasudeva and the son of Kunti and Pandu. As the crow (in the story), acting with intelligence, had sought the protection of the swan, so do thou seek the protection of him of Vrishni's race, and of Pandu's son Dhananjaya. When thou shalt in battle behold Vasudeva and Dhananjaya, those two endued with great prowess, stationed together on the same car, thou shalt not then, O Karna, utter such speeches. When Partha will, with hundreds of arrows, quell thy pride, then wilt thou behold the difference between thyself and Dhananjaya. Those two best of persons are celebrated among the gods, the Asuras and human beings. Thou that art a firefly, do not, from folly, think disrespectfully of those two resplendent luminaries. Like the Sun and moon, Keshava and Arjuna are celebrated for their resplendence. Thou, however, art like a fire-fly among men. O learned one, O son of a Suta, do not think disrespectfully of Acyuta and Arjuna. Those two high-souled persons are lions among men. Forbear indulging in such boasts."'"

SECTION 42

"Sanjaya said, 'The high-souled son of Adhiratha, having listened unconvinced to these words of the ruler of the Madras, addressed Shalya, saying, "That which Vasudeva and Arjuna are is well-known to me. The skill of Saurin in the management of cars, and the might and the high weapons of Arjuna, the son of Pandu are well known to me at this hour. Thou however, O Shalya, hast no ocular proof of those matters. I shall fearlessly fight with the two Krishnas, those two foremost of all wielders of weapons. The curse, however, of Rama that best of regenerate persons, paineth me greatly today. I dwelt, in the disguise of a brahmana, with Rama in former days, desirous of obtaining celestial weapons from him. On that occasion, O Shalya, the chief of the gods, wishing to benefit Phalguna, caused an obstacle, by approaching my thigh and piercing it, having assumed the dire form of a worm. When my preceptor slept, having laid his head thereon, that worm, approaching my thigh, began to pierce it through. In consequence of the piercing of my thigh, a pool of thick blood flowed from my body. For fear of (disturbing the slumber of) my preceptor I did not move my limb. Awaking, the brahmana, however, beheld what had taken place. Witnessing my patience he addressed me, saying, 'Thou art never a brahmana. Tell me truly who thou art.' I then, O Shalya, truly informed him of myself, saying that I was a Suta. Hearing my words, the great ascetic, his heart filled with rage, cursed me, saying, 'In consequence of the deception, O Suta, by which thou hast obtained this weapon, it will never, at the time of need, when the hour of thy death comes, occur to thy memory. Brahma cannot certainly reside in one that is not a brahmana.' I have forgotten that great weapon in this fierce and terrible battle. He amongst the Bharatas, O Shalya, who is accomplished, who is an effectual smiter, who is universal destroyer, and who is exceedingly terrible, (viz., Arjuna),--that mighty crusher,--I think, will burn many foremost of kshatriyas. Know, however, O Shalya, that I will slay in battle that fierce bowman, that foremost of warriors, that hero endued with activity, that terrible person whose energy is unbearable, that warrior whose promises are accomplished, that son of Pandu, viz., Dhananjaya. I have that weapon (at least) under my control today with which I will be able to destroy large numbers of foes. I will slay in battle that scorcher of enemies, that mighty warrior accomplished in weapons, that fierce bowman of immeasurable energy, that cruel and terrible hero, that great resister of enemies, viz., Dhananjaya. The immeasurable Ocean, that lord of all waters, rusheth with fierce impetuosity for overwhelming innumerable creatures. The continent, however, holds and checks him. Today, in this world, I will resist in fight the son of Kunti, that foremost of all drawers of the bow-string, while he will be engaged in ceaselessly shooting his countless shafts equipped with goodly wings, destructive of heroes, capable of penetrating into every limb and none of which becomes futile. Like the continent resisting the Ocean, I will today resist that mightiest of the mighty, that great warrior possessing the highest weapons, that hero like unto the Ocean's self of far-reaching arrows, fierce, and having shafts for his waves, while he will be engaged in overwhelming (hostile) kings. Behold today the fierce battle I fight with him that hath no equal, I think, among men wielding the bow, and that would vanquish the very gods united with the Asuras. Exceedingly proud is that son of Pandu. Desirous of battle he will approach me with his mighty and super-human weapons. Baffling his weapons with my own weapons in battle, I shall today overthrow that Partha with my own excellent shafts. Scorching his foes like the Sun endued with fiery rays, and blazing with flame like that dispeller of the darkness, I shall, like a mass of clouds, completely shroud Dhananjaya today with my shafts. Like the clouds extinguishing a blazing fire of great energy and smoke-mixed flames, that seems ready to consume the whole Earth, I shall, with my showers of arrows, extinguish the son of Kunti in battle. With my broad-headed shafts I shall still the son of Kunti, that terrible snake of virulent poison, that is exceedingly difficult of being captured, that is endued with keen fangs, that is even like a blazing fire that flames up in wrath, and that always consumes his foes. Like Himavat bearing the mighty, all-crushing, fierce and smiting god of wind, I shall, without moving, bear the angry and vindictive Dhananjaya. I shall resist in battle Dhananjaya, that foremost of all wielders of bows in the world, that hero in fight, that warrior who is always in the van and who is competent to meet all foes, that car-warrior who is conversant with all car-tracks. Today I shall fight in battle with that person who hath, I think, no equal among men wielding the bow and who conquered the entire Earth. What other man desirous of saving his life, except myself, will fight with that Savyasaci, who vanquished all creatures including the very gods in the country called Khandava? Arjuna is proud; his weapons strike deep; he is endued with great lightness of hands; he is conversant with steeds; he agitates vast hosts; he is regarded an Atiratha. Though such, I shall yet, with my sharp shafts, strike his head from off his trunk today. O Shalya, ever keeping Death or victory in battle before me, I shall today fight with Dhananjaya. There is none else save myself that would on a single car fight with that Pandava who resembles the destroyer himself. I myself will gladly speak of the prowess of Phalguna in the midst of an assembly of kshatriyas. Why however, dost thou, a fool as thou art and of foolish understanding, speak to me of Phalguna's prowess? Thou art a doer of disagreeable deeds. Thou art cruel and mean and being thyself unforgiving, thou art a detractor of one that is forgiving. I can slay a hundred persons like thee, but I forgive thee in consequence of my forgiving disposition,

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owing to the exigency of the times. Thou art of sinful deeds. Like a fool thou hast, for the sake of Pandu's son, rebuked me and told me many disagreeable things. Crooked-hearted as thou art, thou hast said all these words unto me, that am of a sincere heart. Cursed art thou for thou art an injurer of friends,--of friends, because friendship is seven-paced. Terrible is the hour that is now passing. Duryodhana hath himself come to battle. I am solicitous of seeing his purposes achieved. Thou, however, art acting in such a way that it shows thee to have no friendship (for the Kuru king)! He is a friend who shows affection for another, who gladdens another, who makes himself agreeable to another, who protects another, who honours another, and who rejoices in the joys of another. I tell thee that I have all those attributes, and the king himself knows all this. He, on the other hand, that destroys, chastises, sharpens his weapons, injures, causes us to sigh, makes us cheerless, and wrongs us in diverse ways, is a foe. All these attributes are to be found in thee and thou discoverest all of them in me. For the sake of Duryodhana, for the sake of doing what is agreeable to thee, for the sake of victory, for the sake of myself, and for the sake of God himself, I will with vigorous exertion, fight with Partha and Vasudeva. Witness today my feats. Behold today my excellent weapons, my brahmastra and other celestial weapons, as also those that are human. I will today slay that hero of fierce prowess, like an exceedingly infuriate elephant slaying an infuriate compeer. I shall, by my mind alone, hurl today at Partha, for my victory, that weapon of immeasurable energy, called the brahmastra. Arjuna will never be able to escape that weapon, if only the wheels of my car do not sink into the Earth in battle today. Know this, O Shalya, that I would not take fright at Yama himself armed with his rod, or Varuna himself armed with his noose, or Kuvera himself armed with his mace, or Vasava himself armed with the thunderbolt, or at any other foe whatever that may approach for slaying me. Therefore, I have no fear from Partha, nor from Janardana. On the other hand, I shall encounter them both in today's destructive battle. Once on a time, while wandering for the sake of practising weapons on my bow called Vijaya, O king, I had, by shooting many fierce shafts of terrible forms, heedlessly struck the calf of a (brahmana's) homa cow with one of those shafts, and unwillingly killed it white it was wandering in a solitary forest. The brahmana then addressed me, saying, 'Since, becoming insensate, thou hast slain the offspring of my homa cow, the wheel (of thy car) will sink into the Earth while at the time of battle fear will enter thy heart.' From these words of the brahmana I am experiencing great fear. These kings of the Lunar race that are lords of (other people's) weal and woe, offered to give that brahmana a 1,000 kine and 600 bovine bulls. With even such a gift, O Shalya, the brahmana would not be gratified, O ruler of the Madras. I was then for giving him seven hundred elephants of large tusks and many hundred of slaves male and female. That foremost of brahmana would not still be gratified. Collecting next full 14,000 kine, each black in hue and having a white calf I was still unable to obtain the grace of that best of brahmana. A wealthy mansion full of every object of desire, in fact, whatever wealth I had, I wished to give him with due worship, but he refused to accept the gift. Unto me then that had offended and that had begged so importunately for his pardon, the brahmana said, 'That which, O Suta, hath been uttered by me is sure to happen. It cannot be otherwise. A false speech would destroy creatures, and sin also would be mine. Therefore, for the preservation of virtue I do not venture to speak what is false. Do not, again, destroy the means of a brahmana's support. There is none in the world that would be able to falsify my speech. Accept those words. It will be thy atonement (for the sin of having slain a calf).' Though rebuked by thee, still for friendship's sake, I have disclosed to thee all this. I know thee that art rebuking me thus. Be silent now, and hear what I will presently say.'"

SECTION 43

"Sanjaya said, 'That chastiser of foes, viz., the son of Radha, thus silencing the ruler of the Madras, once more addressed him, O monarch, saying these words, "In answer to that which, O Shalya, thou hast said unto me by way of instance, I tell thee that I am incapable of being frightened by thee in battle with thy words. If all the gods themselves with Vasava would fight with me, I would not still feel any fear, what need be said then of my fears from Pritha and Keshava? I am incapable of being frightened by means of words alone. He, O Shalya, whom thou wouldst be able to frighten in battle is some other person (and not myself)! Thou hast spoken many bitter words to me. Therein lieth the strength of a person that is low. Incapable of speaking of my merits, thou sayst many bitter things, O thou of wicked heart; Karna was never born, O Madraka, for fear in battle. On the other hand, I was born for displaying valour as also for achieving glory for my own self. For the sake of my friendship for thee, for my affection, and for thy being an ally,--for these three reasons thou still livest, O Shalya. Important is the task that has now to be done for king Dhritarashtra. That task, O Shalya, depends on me. For this, thou livest a moment. Before this, I made a compact with thee that any disagreeable speeches thou mightest utter would be pardoned by me. That compact should be observed. It is for this that thou livest, O Madraka. Without a 1,000 Salyas I would vanquish my foes. He that injureth a friend is sinful. It is for this that thou livest for the present.'"

SECTION 44

"'Shalya said, "These, O Karna, are ravings that thou utterest regarding the foe. As regards myself without a 1,000 Karnas I am able to vanquish the foe in battle.'"

"Sanjaya continued, 'Unto the ruler of Madras, of harsh features, who was saying such disagreeable things unto Karna, the latter once more said words that were twice bitter.

"'Karna said, "Listen with devoted attention to this, O ruler of the Madras, that was heard by me while it was recited in the presence of Dhritarashtra. In Dhritarashtra's abode the brahmanas used to narrate the accounts of diverse delightful regions and many kings of ancient times. A foremost one among brahmanas, venerable in years while reciting old histories, said these words, blaming the Vahikas and Madrakas, 'One should always avoid the Vahikas, those impure people that are out of the pale of virtue, and that live away from the Himavat and the Ganga and Sarasvati and Yamuna and Kurukshetra and the Sindhu and its five tributary rivers. I remember from the days of my youth that a slaughter-ground for kine and a space for storing intoxicating spirits always distinguish the entrances of the abodes of the (Vahika) kings. On some very secret mission I had to live among the Vahikas. In consequence of such residence the conduct of these people is well known to me. There is a town of the name of Sakala, a river of the name of Apaga, and a clan of the Vahikas known by the name of the Jarttikas. The practices of these people are very censurable. They drink the liquor called Gauda, and eat fried barley with it. They also eat beef with garlic. They also eat cakes of flour mixed with meat, and boiled rice that is bought from others. Of righteous practices they have none. Their women, intoxicated with drink and divested of robes, laugh and dance outside the walls of the houses in cities, without garlands and unguents, singing while drunk obscene songs of diverse kinds that are as musical as the bray of the ass or the bleat of the camel. In intercourse they are absolutely without any restraint, and in all other matters they act as they like. Maddened with drink, they call upon one another, using many endearing epithets. Addressing many drunken exclamations to their husbands and lords, the fallen women among the Vahikas, without observing restrictions even on sacred days, give themselves up to dancing. One of those wicked Vahikas,--one that is, that lived amongst those arrogant women,--who happened to live for some days in Kurujangala, burst out with cheerless heart, saying, "Alas, that (Vahika) maiden of large proportions, dressed in thin blankets, is thinking of me,--her Vahika lover--that is now passing his days in Kurujangala, at the hour of her going to bed." Crossing the Sutlej and the delightful Iravati, and arriving at my own country, when shall I cast my eyes upon those beautiful women with thick frontal bones, with blazing circlets of red arsenic on their foreheads, with streaks of jet black collyrium on their eyes, and their beautiful forms attired in blankets and skins and themselves uttering shrill cries! When shall I be happy, in the company of those intoxicated ladies amid the music of drums and kettle-drums and conchs sweet as the cries of asses and camels and mules! When shall I be amongst those ladies eating cakes of flour and meat and balls of pounded barley mixed with skimmed milk, in the forests, having many pleasant paths of Sami and Pilu and Karira! When shall I, amid my own countrymen, mustering in strength on the high-roads, fall upon passengers, and snatching their robes and attires beat them repeatedly! What man is there that would willingly dwell, even for a moment amongst the Vahikas that are so fallen and wicked, and so depraved in their practises?' Even thus did that brahmana describe the Vahikas of base behaviour, a sixth of whose merits and demerits is thine, O Shalya. Having said this, that pious brahmana began once more to say what I am about to repeat respecting the wicked Vahikas. Listen to what I say, 'In the large and populous town of Sakala, a Rakshasa woman used to sing on every fourteenth day of the dark fortnight, in accompaniment with a drum, "When shall I next sing the songs of the Vahikas in this Sakala town, having gorged myself with beef and drunk the Gauda liquor? When shall I again, decked in ornaments, and with those maidens and ladies of large proportions, gorge upon a large number of sheep and large quantities of pork and beef and the meat of fowls and asses and camels? They who do not eat sheep live in vain!"' Even thus, O Shalya, the young and old, among the inhabitants of Sakala, intoxicated with spirits, sing and cry. How can virtue be met with among such a people? Thou shouldst know this. I must, however, speak again to thee about what another brahmana had said unto us in the Kuru court, 'There where forests of Pilus stand, and those five rivers flow, viz., the Satadru, the Vipasa, the Iravati, the Candrabhaga, and the Vitasa and which have the Sindhu for their sixth, there in those regions removed from the Himavat, are the countries called by the name of the Arattas. Those regions are without virtue and religion. No one should go thither. The gods, the pitris, and the brahmanas, never accept gifts from those that are fallen, or those that are begotten by Shudras on the girls of other castes, or the Vahikas who never perform sacrifices and are exceedingly irreligious.' That learned brahmana had also said in the Kuru court, 'The Vahikas, without any feelings of revulsion, eat of wooden vessels having deep stomachs and earthen plates and vessels that have been licked by dogs and that are stained with pounded barley and other corn. The Vahikas drink the milk of sheep and camels and asses and eat curds and other preparations from those different kinds of milk. Those degraded people number many bastards among them. There is no food and no milk that they do not take. The Aratta-Vahikas that are steeped in ignorance, should be avoided.' Thou shouldst know this, O Shalya. I must, however, again speak to thee about what another brahmana had said unto me in the Kuru court, 'How can one go to heaven, having drunk milk in the town called Yugandhara, and resided in the place called Acyutasthala, and bathed in the spot called Bhutilaya? There where the five rivers flow just after issuing from the mountains, there among the Aratta-Vahikas, no respectable person should dwell even for two days. There are two Pishacas named Vahi and Hika in the river Vipasa. The Vahikas are the offspring of those two Pishacas. They are not creatures created by the Creator. Being of such low origin, how can they be conversant with the duties ordained in the scriptures? The Karashakas, the Mahishakas, the Kalingas, the Keralas, the Karkotakas, the Virakas, and other peoples of no religion, one should always avoid.' Even thus did a Rakshasa woman of gigantic hips speak unto a brahmana who on a certain occasion went to that country for bathing in a sacred water and passed a single night there. The regions are called by the name of Arattas. The people residing there are called the Vahikas. The lowest of brahmanas also are residing there from very remote times. They are without the Veda and without knowledge, without sacrifice and without the power to assist at other's sacrifices. They are all fallen and many amongst them have been begotten by Shudras upon other peoples' girls. The gods never accept any gifts from them. The Prasthalas, the Madras, the Gandharas, the Arattas, those called Khasas, the Vasatis, the Sindhus and the Sauviras are almost as blamable in their practices.'"

SECTION 45

"'Karna continued, "Thou shouldst know all this, O Shalya. I shall however, again speak unto thee. Listen with close attention to what I say. Once on a time a brahmana came to our house as a guest. Observing our practices he became highly gratified and said unto us, 'I dwelt for a long time on a peak of the Himavat quite alone. Since then I have seen diverse countries following diverse religions. Never, however, have I seen all the people of a country act unrighteously. All the races I have met will admit that to be true religion which has been declared by persons conversant with the Vedas. Travelling through various countries following various religions, I at last, O king, came among the Vahikas. There I heard that one at first becomes a brahmana and then he becomes a kshatriya. Indeed, a Vahika would, after that, become a Vaishya, and then a Shudra, and then a barber. Having become a barber, he would then again become a brahmana. Returning to the status of a brahmana, he would again become a slave. One person in a family becomes a brahmana: all the others, falling off from virtue, act as they like. The Gandharas, the Madrakas, and the Vahikas of little understanding are even such. Having travelled through the whole world I heard of these practices, destructive of virtue, of these sinful irregularities amongst the Vahikas.' Thou shouldst know all this, O Shalya. I shall, however, again speak to thee about those ugly words that another said unto me regarding the Vahikas. In former days a chaste woman was abducted by robbers (hailing) from Aratta. Sinfully was she violated by them, upon which she cursed them, saying, 'Since ye have sinfully violated a helpless girl who am not without a husband, therefore, the women of your families shall all become unchaste. Ye lowest of men, never shall ye escape from the consequences of this dreadful sin.' It is for this, O Shalya, that the sisters' sons of the Arattas, and not their own sons, become their heirs. The Kauravas with the Pancalas, the Salwas, the Matsyas, the Naimishas, the Koshalas, the Kasapaundras, the Kalingas, the Magadhas, and the Cedis who are all highly blessed, know what the eternal religion is. The wicked even of these various countries know what religion is. The Vahikas, however, live without righteousness. Beginning with the Matsyas, the residents of the Kuru and the Pancala countries, the Naimishas as well and the other respectable peoples, the pious among all races are conversant with the eternal truths of religion. This cannot be said of the Madrakas and the crooked-hearted race that resides in the country of the five rivers. Knowing all these things, O king, hold thy tongue, O Shalya, like one deprived of utterance, in all matters connected with religion and virtue. Thou art the protector and king of that people, and, therefore, the partaker of sixth part of their merits and demerits. Or perhaps,

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thou art the partaker of a sixth part of their demerits only, for thou never protectest them. A king that protects is a sharer in the merits of his subjects. Thou art not a sharer in their merits. In days of yore, when the eternal religion was reverenced in all countries, the Grandsire, observing the practices of the country of the five rivers, cried fie on them. When even in the krita age, Brahman had censured the practices of those fallen people of evil deeds who were begotten by Shudras on others' wives, what would you now say to men in the world? Even thus did the Grandsire condemn the practices of the country of the five waters. When all people were observant of the duties of their respective orders, the Grandsire had to find fault with these men. Thou shouldst know all this, O Shalya. I shall, however, again speak to thee. A Rakshasa of the name of Kalmashapada, while plunging in a tank, said, 'Eleemosynation is a kshatriya's dirt, while the non-observance of vows is a brahmana's dirt. The Vahikas are the dirt of the Earth, and the Madra women are the dirt of the whole female sex. While sinking in the stream, a king rescued the Rakshasa. Asked by the former, the latter gave this answer. I will recite it to you. Listen to me. 'The mlecchas are the dirt of mankind: the oilmen are the dirt of the Mlecchas; eunuchs are the dirt of oilmen; they who avail of the priestly ministrations of Kshatriyas, in their sacrifices, are the dirt of eunuchs. The sin of those again that have the last-named persons for their priests, of also of the Madrakas, shall be thine if thou do not abandon me.' Even this was declared by the Rakshasa to be the formula that should be used for curing a person possessed by a Rakshasa or one killed by the energy of a poison. The words that follow are all very true. The Pancalas observe the duties enjoined in the Vedas; the Kauravas observe truth; the Matsyas and the Surasenas perform sacrifices, the Easterners follow the practices of the Shudras; the Southerners are fallen; the Vahikas are thieves; the Saurashtras are bastards. They that are defiled by ingratitude, theft, drunkenness, adultery with the wives of their preceptors, harshness of speech, slaughter of kine, lustful wanderings during the night out of home, and the wearing of other people's ornaments,--what sin is there that they do not incur? Fie on the Arattas and the people of the country of the five rivers! Commencing with the Pancalas, the Kauravas, the Naimishas, the Matsyas,--all these,--know what religion is. The old men among the Northerners, the Angas, the Magadhas, (without themselves knowing what virtue is) follow the practices of the pious. Many gods, headed by Agni, dwell in the East. The pitris dwell in the South that is presided over by Yama of righteous deeds. The West is protected by the mighty Varuna who overlooks the other gods there. The north is protected by the divine Soma along with the Brahmanas. So Rakshasas and Pishacas protect the Himavat, the best of mountains. The Guhyakas, O great king, protect the mountains of Gandhamadana. Without doubt, Vishnu, otherwise, called Janardana, protects all creatures. (For all that the Vahikas have no especial protectors among the gods). The Magadhas are comprehenders of signs; the Koshalas comprehend from what they see; the Kurus and the Pancalas comprehend from a half-uttered speech; the Salwas cannot comprehend till the whole speech is uttered. The Mountaineers, like the Sivis, are very stupid. The Yavanas, O king, are omniscient; the Suras are particularly so. The mlecchas are wedded to the creations of their own fancy. Other peoples cannot understand. The Vahikas resent beneficial counsels; as regards the Madrakas there are none amongst those (mentioned above.) Thou, O Shalya, art so. Thou shouldst not reply to me. The Madrakas are regarded on Earth as the dirt of every nation. So the Madra woman is called the dirt of the whole female sex. They that have for their practices the drinking of spirits, the violation of the beds of their preceptors, the destruction of the embryo by procuring miscarriage, and the robbing of other people's wealth, there is no sin that they have not. Fie on the Arattas and the people of the country of the five rivers. Knowing this, be silent. Do not seek to oppose me. Do not let me slay Keshava and Arjuna, having slain thee first.'"

"'Shalya said, "The abandonment of the afflicted and the sale of wives and children are, O Karna, prevalent amongst the Angas whose king thou art. Recollecting those faults of thine that Bhishma recited on the occasion of the tale of Rathas and Atirathas, drive away thy wrath. Do not be angry. Brahmanas may be found everywhere; Kshatriyas may be found everywhere; so also Vaishyas and Shudras, O Karna, women of chastity and excellent vows may also be found everywhere. Everywhere men take delight in jesting with men and wounding one another. Lustful men also may be found everywhere. Everyone on every occasion can command skill in speaking of the faults of others. No one, however, knows his own faults, or knowing them, feels shame. Everywhere are kings devoted to their respective religions, and employed in chastising the wicked. Everywhere may be found virtuous men. It cannot be, O Karna, that all the people of a country are sinful. There are men in many countries that surpass the very gods by their behaviour.'"

"Sanjaya continued, 'Then king Duryodhana stopped Karna and Shalya (from going on with their wordy warfare), addressing the son of Radha as a friend, and beseeching Shalya with joined hands, Karna, O sire, was quieted by thy son and forbore saying anything more. Shalya also then faced the enemy. Then Radha's son, smiling, once more urged Shalya, saying, "Proceed."'"

SECTION 46

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding then that unrivalled array of the Parthas made by Dhrishtadyumna which was capable of resisting all hostile armies, Karna proceeded, uttering leonine shouts and causing his car to produce a loud rattle. And he made the Earth to tremble with the loud din of musical instruments. And that chastiser of foes, that hero in battle, seemed to tremble in rage. Duly disposing his own troops in counter-array, O bull of Bharata's race, that hero of great energy made a great slaughter of the Pandava forces like Maghavat slaughtering the Asura host. Striking Yudhishthira then with many arrows, he placed the eldest son of Pandu to his right.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'How, O Sanjaya, did the son of Radha dispose his forces in counter array to all the Pandavas headed by Dhristadyumna and protected by Bhimasena, viz., all those great bowmen invincible by the very gods? Who, O Sanjaya, stood in the wings and the further wings of our army? Dividing themselves properly, how were the warriors stationed? How also did the sons of Pandu dispose their army in counter-array to mine? How also did that great and awful battle commence? Where was Vibhatsu when Karna proceeded against Yudhishthira? Who could succeed in assailing Yudhishthira in the presence of Arjuna? That Arjuna who had vanquished, single-handed in former days, all creatures at Khandava, who else that is desirous of life, save the son of Radha, would fight with him?'

"Sanjaya said, 'Hear now of the formation of the arrays, the manner in which Arjuna came and how the battle was fought by both sides surrounding their respective kings. Sharadvata's son Kripa, O king, and the Magadhas endued with great activity, and Kritavarma of Satwata race, took up their position in the right wing. Shakuni, and the mighty car-warrior Uluka, standing on the right of these, and accompanied by many fearless Gandhara horsemen armed with bright lances, and many mountaineers difficult to defeat, numerous as flights of locusts, and grimlooking as Pishacas, protected the (Kaurava) army. 34,000 unreturning cars of the samsaptakas, mad with desire of battle, with thy sons in their midst, and all desirous of slaying Krishna and Arjuna, protected the left side (of the Kaurava army). On their left, the Kambojas, the Sakas, and the Yavanas, with cars and horse and foot, at the command of the Suta's son, stood, challenging Arjuna and the mighty Keshava. In the centre, at the head of that host, stood Karna, clad in armour with beautiful coat of mail and adorned with Angadas and garlands, for protecting that point. Supported by his own angry sons, that foremost of all wielders of weapons, that hero, shone resplendent at the head of the army as he drew his bow repeatedly. The mighty-armed Duhshasana, possessed of the effulgence of the sun or fire with tawny eyes and handsome features, riding on the neck of a huge elephant, surrounded by many troops, and stationed at the rear of the army gradually approached for fight. Behind him came Duryodhana himself, O monarch, protected by his uterine brothers riding on beautiful steeds and cased in beautiful mail. Protected by the united Madrakas and the Kekayas of exceeding energy, the king, O monarch, looked resplendent like Indra of a hundred sacrifices when surrounded by the celestials. Ashvatthama and the other foremost of mighty car-warriors, and many ever-infuriate elephants shedding temporal secretions like the very clouds and ridden by brave Mlecchas, followed behind that car-force. Decked with triumphal standards and blazing weapons, those huge creatures, ridden by warriors skilled in fighting from their backs, looked beautiful like hills overgrown with trees. Many thousands of brave and unreturning warriors, armed with axes and swords, became the footguards of those elephants. Gorgeously decked with horsemen and car-warriors and elephants, that foremost of arrays looked exceedingly beautiful like the array of the celestials or of the Asuras. That great array, formed according to the scheme of Brihaspati by its commander, well-versed in ways of battle, seemed to dance (as it advanced) and struck terror into the hearts of foes. Like ever-appearing clouds in the season of rains, foot-soldiers and horsemen and car-warriors and elephants, longing for battle began to issue from the wings and further wings of that array. Then king Yudhishthira, beholding Karna at the head of the (hostile) army, addressed Dhananjaya, that slayer of foes, that one hero in the world, and said these words, "Behold, O Arjuna, the mighty array formed by Karna in battle. The hostile force looks resplendent with its wings and further wings. At sight of this vast hostile force, let such measures be adopted that it may not vanquish us.' Thus addressed by the king, Arjuna replied with joined hands, 'Everything will be done as thou sayest. Nothing will be otherwise. I will, O Bharata, do that by which the destruction of the enemy may be compassed. By slaying their foremost of warriors, I will achieve their destruction."

"'Yudhishthira said, "With that view, do thou proceed against the son of Radha, and let Bhimasena proceed against Suyodhana, Nakula against Virshasena, Sahadeva against the son of Subala, Satanika against Duhshasana, that bull amongst the Sinis, viz., Satyaki, against the son of Hridika, and Pandya against the son of Drona. I myself will fight with Kripa. Let the sons of Draupadi with Shikhandi amongst them, proceed against the rest of the Dhartarashtras. Let the other warriors of our army encounter our other foes."'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Thus addressed by Yudhishthira the Just, Dhananjaya saying, "So be it," ordered his troops (to do the needful) and himself proceeded to the head of the army. That car for which the Leader of the universe, viz., Agni, who derives his effulgence from Brahman, became the steeds, that car which was known amongst the gods as belonging to Brahman because it sprang first from Brahman himself, that car which in days of old had successively borne Brahman and Ishana and Indra and Varuna one after another, riding on that primeval car, Keshava and Arjuna now proceeded to battle. Beholding that advancing car of wonderful aspect, Shalya once more said unto Adhiratha's son, that warrior of great energy in battle, these words "Yonder comes that car having white steeds yoked unto it and owning Krishna for its driver, that vehicle incapable of being resisted by all the troops, like the inevitable fruit of work. There comes the son of Kunti, slaughtering his foes along the way,--he, that is, about whom thou hadst been enquiring. Since tremendous is the uproar that is being heard, deep as the roar of the clouds, it is, without doubt, those high-souled ones, viz., Vasudeva and Dhananjaya. Yonder ascends a cloud of dust that overspreads the welkin like a canopy. The whole Earth, O Karna, seems to tremble, cut deep by the circumference of Arjuna's wheels. These violent winds are blowing on both sides of thy army. These carnivorous creatures are yelling aloud and these animals are uttering fearful cries. Behold, O Karna, the terrible and portentous Ketu of vapoury form, making the hair to stand on end, hath appeared, covering the Sun. Behold, diverse kinds of animals, all around in large packs, and many mighty wolves and tigers are looking at the Sun. Behold those terrible Kankas and those vultures, assembled together in thousands, sitting with faces towards one another, in seeming discourse. Those coloured yak-tails attached to thy great car are waving unquietly. Thy standard also is trembling. Behold these thy beautiful steeds, of huge limbs and great speed resembling that of soaring birds, are also quivering. From these portents, it is certain that kings, in hundreds and thousands, O Karna, deprived of life, will lie down on the ground for eternal sleep. The loud uproar of conchs, making the hair to stand on end, is being heard. The sound also of drums and cymbals, O son of Radha, is being heard on all sides, as also the whizz of diverse kinds of arrows, and the din made by cars and steeds and men. Listen also, O Karna, to the loud twang produced by the bow-strings of high-souled warriors. Behold, O Karna, those banners of Arjuna, that are equipped with rows of bells, and decked with golden moons and stars. Made by skilful artists out of cloths embroidered with gold and of diverse hues, they are blazing with resplendence on Arjuna's car as they are shaken by the wind, like flashes of lightning in a mass of clouds. Behold those (other) banners producing sharp sounds as they wave in the air. Those car-warriors of the high-souled Pancalas, with flag-decked standards on their vehicles, are looking resplendent, O Karna, like the very gods on their celestial cars. Behold the heroic son of Kunti, the unvanquished Vibhatsu (Arjuna) with that foremost of apes on his standard, advancing for the destruction of the foe. There, on the top of Partha's standard, is to be seen that terrible ape, that enhancer of the fears of foes, attracting the gaze (of warriors) from every side. The discus, the mace, the bow called Saranga and the conch (called Panchajanya) of the intelligent Krishna, as also his gem Kaustubha, look exceedingly beautiful in him. The wielder of Saranga and the mace, viz., Vasudeva, of great energy, cometh, urging those white steeds endued with the fleetness of the wind. Yonder twangs Gandiva, drawn by Savyasaci. Those whetted shafts, sped by that strong-armed hero, are destroying his enemies. The Earth is strewn with the heads of unretreating kings, with faces beautiful as the moon at full, and decked with large and expansive eyes of coppery hue. There the arms, looking like spiked maces, with weapons in grasp, and smeared with excellent perfumes, of warriors delighting in battle and contending with uplifted weapons, are falling. Steeds with eyes, tongues, and entrails drawn out along with their riders, are falling and fallen and deprived of life lie prostrate on the Earth. Those lifeless elephants huge as mountain summits, torn, mangled, and pierced by Partha, are falling down like veritable hills. Those cars, looking like the changeful forms of vapour in the sky, with their royal riders slain, are falling down like the celestial cars of the denizens of heaven upon the exhaustion of the latter's merits. Behold, the army is exceedingly agitated by the diadem-decked Arjuna, like herds of countless cattle by a maned lion. There the Pandava heroes, advancing for the attack, are slaying kings

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and large numbers of elephants and steeds and car-warriors and foot-soldiers of thy army engaged in battle. There Partha, shrouded (by friends and foes and weapons and dust) is not to be seen, like the Sun shrouded by clouds. Only the top of his standard may be seen and the twang of his bow-string may be heard. Thou art sure, O Karna, to behold today that hero of white steed with Krishna for his driver, engaged in slaughtering his foes in battle. Thou art sure of beholding him about whom thou hadst been enquiring. Today, O Karna, thou art sure to behold those two tigers among men, both of red eyes, both chastisers of foes, viz., Vasudeva and Arjuna, stationed on the same car. If, O son of Radha, thou succeedest in slaying him that hath Keshava for his driver and Gandiva for his bow, then thou shalt be our king. Challenged by the samsaptakas, Partha now proceedeth against them. That mighty warrior is engaged in making a great slaughter of his foes in battle." Unto the ruler of the Madras who was saying so, Karna, in rage, said, "Behold, Partha is assailed on all sides by the angry samsaptakas. Like the Sun shrouded by the clouds, Partha is no longer visible. Plunged, into that ocean of warriors, O Shalya, Arjuna is sure to perish."

"'Shalya said, "Who is there that would slay Varuna with water, or quench fire with fuel? Who is there that would seize the wind, or drink off the ocean? I regard thy act of afflicting Partha to be even such. Arjuna is incapable of being vanquished in battle by the very gods and the Asuras united together and having Indra himself at their head. Or, suffer thyself to be gratified, and be of easy mind, having said those words (about thy capacity to slay Partha) Partha cannot be conquered in battle. Accomplish some other purpose thou mayst have in thy mind. He that would uplift this Earth on his two arms, or burn all creatures in wrath, or hurl the gods from heaven, may vanquish Arjuna in battle. Behold that other heroic son of Kunti, viz., Bhima, who is never fatigued with exertion, blazing with resplendence, mighty-armed, and standing like another Meru. With wrath ever kindled and longing for revenge, Bhima of great energy stands there desirous of victory in battle, and remembering all his injuries. There that foremost of virtuous men, viz., king Yudhishthira the Just, that subjugator of hostile towns, stands difficult of being resisted by foes in battle. There stand those two tigers among men, the twin Ashvinis, the two uterine brothers Nakula and Sahadeva, both invincible in battle. Yonder may be seen the five sons of Krishna, that have the features of Pancala princes. All of them, equal to Arjuna in battle, are standing, desirous of fight. There the sons of Drupada, headed by Dhristadyumna, swelling with pride and energy,--heroes endued with great energy,--have taken up their stand. There, that foremost one among the Satwatas, viz., Satyaki, irresistible like Indra, advanceth against us, from desire of fight, like the destroyer himself in wrath before our eyes." While those two lions among men were thus addressing each other, the two armies mingled fiercely in battle, like the currents of the Ganga and Yamuna.'"

SECTION 47

"Dhritarashtra said, 'When the two armies, duly arrayed, thus mingled with each other for battle, O Sanjaya, how did Partha assail the samsaptakas, and how Karna assail the Pandavas? Tell me the incidents of the battle in detail, for thou art skilled in narration. Listening to the accounts of the prowess of heroes in battle, I am never satiated.'

"Sanjaya said, 'Observing the vast hostile force stationed in that manner, Arjuna arrayed his troops in proper form, in consequence of the evil policy of thy son. The vast Pandava force then, teeming with horsemen and elephants and foot-soldiers and cars, and headed by Dhrishtadyumna, looked exceedingly magnificent. With his steeds white as pigeons, the son of Prishata, equal in splendour to the Sun or the Moon, armed with bow, looked resplendent like Death himself in embodied form. The sons of Draupadi, desirous of battle, stood by the side of the son of Prishata. They were clad in excellent coats of mail, and armed with excellent weapons, and all of them were endued with the prowess of tigers. Possessed of effulgent bodies, they followed their maternal uncle like the stars appearing with the Moon. Beholding the samsaptakas standing in array, Arjuna, with wrath excited, rushed against them, drawing his bow Gandiva. The samsaptakas then, desirous of slaying Arjuna, rushed against Partha, firmly resolved on victory, and making death their goal. That brave host of heroes, teeming with men, steeds, infuriate elephants, and cars, began very quickly to afflict Arjuna. Their encounter with Kiritin (Arjuna) became exceedingly furious. That encounter resembled the one that took place between Arjuna and the Nivatakavachas, as we have heard. Partha cut off cars and steeds and standards and elephants and foot-soldiers engaged in fight, with shafts and bows and swords and discs and battle axes, and uplifted arms with weapons in grasp, and the heads also of foes, by thousands upon thousands. The samsaptakas, regarding the car of Partha sunk in that deep vortex of warriors, uttered loud roars. Partha, however, slaying all his foes in front, slew those that stood further off, and then those that were on his right and his back, like Rudra himself in rage slaughtering all created things endued with life. The encounter that took place when the Pancalas, the Cedis, and the Srinjayas faced thy troops was exceedingly fierce. Kripa and Kritavarma, and Shakuni the son of Subala, those heroes difficult of defeat in battle, accompanied by troops that were all cheerful, themselves filled with rage, and capable of smiting down thick ranks of cars, fought with the Koshalas, the Kasis, the Matsyas, the Karusas, the Kaikayas, and the Surasenas, all of whom were possessed of great courage. That battle fraught with great slaughter and destructive of body, life and sins, became conducive to fame, heaven, and virtue, in respect of the Kshatriya, the Vaishya, and the Shudra heroes that were engaged in it. Meanwhile the Kuru king Duryodhana with his brothers, O bull of Bharata's race, and supported by many Kuru heroes and many mighty Madraka car-warriors, protected Karna while the latter was engaged in battle with the Pandavas, the Pancalas, the Cedis, and Satyaki. Destroying that vast division with his sharp arrows, and crushing many foremost of car-warriors Karna succeeded in afflicting Yudhishthira. Cutting off the armour, the weapons, and the bodies of thousands of foes and slaying his foes by thousands and sending them to heaven and making them earn great fame, Karna caused his friends great joy. Thus, O sire, that battle destructive of men, steeds, and cars, between the Kurus and the Srinjayas, resembled the battle between the gods and the Asuras of old.'"

SECTION 48

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Tell me, O Sanjaya, how Karna, having caused a great slaughter penetrated into the midst of the Pandava troops, and struck and afflicted king Yudhishthira. Who were those foremost of heroes among the Parthas that resisted Karna? Who were they whom Karna crushed before he could succeed in afflicting Yudhishthira?'

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding the Parthas headed by Dhrishtadyumna stationed for battle, that crusher of foes, viz., Karna, rushed impetuously against the Pancalas. Like swans rushing towards the sea, the Pancalas, longing for victory, rushed as quickly against that high-souled warrior advancing to the encounter. Then the blare of thousands of conchs, as if piercing the heart by its shrillness, arose from both hosts, and the fierce peal also of thousands of drums. The sound also of diverse musical instruments and the noise made by elephants and steeds and cars, and the leonine shouts of heroes, that arose there, became exceedingly awful. It seemed that the whole Earth with her mountains and trees and oceans, the entire welkin covered with wind-tossed clouds, and the whole firmament with the Sun, the Moon, and the stars, trembled with that sound. All creatures regarded that noise to be even such and became agitated. Those amongst them that were endued with little strength fell dead. Then Karna, excited with great wrath, quickly invoking his weapons, began to smite the Pandava army like Maghavat smiting the army of the Asuras. Penetrating then into the Pandava host and shooting his arrows, Karna slew seven and seventy foremost of warriors among the Prabhadrakas. Then that foremost of car-warriors, with five and twenty sharp shafts equipped with goodly wings, slew five and twenty Pancalas. With many cloth-yard shafts equipped with wings of gold and capable of piercing the bodies of all foes, that hero slew the Cedis by hundreds and thousands. While he was employed in achieving those superhuman feats in battle, large throngs of Pancala cars, O king, quickly surrounded him on all sides. Aiming then, O Bharata, five irresistible shafts, Karna, otherwise called Vaikartana or Vrisha, slew five Pancala warriors. The five Pancalas, O Bharata, that he slew in that battle were Bhanudeva and Citrasena and Senavindu and Tapana and Surasena. While the Pancala heroes were thus being slaughtered with arrows in that great battle, loud cries of "Oh" and "Alas" arose from among the Pancala host. Then ten car-warriors among the Pancalas, O monarch, surrounded Karna. Them, too, Karna speedily slew with his shafts. The two protectors of Karna's car wheels, viz., his two invincible sons, O sire, that were named Sushena and Satyasena, began to fight, reckless of their very lives. The eldest son of Karna, viz., the mighty car-warrior Vrishasena, himself protected his father's rear. Then Dhrishtadyumna, Satyaki, and the five sons of Draupadi, and Vrikodara, Janamejaya, and Shikhandi, and many foremost warriors among the Prabhadrakas, and many amongst the Cedis, the Kaikayas, and the Pancalas, the twins (Nakula and Sahadeva), and the Matsyas, all clad in mail, rushed fiercely upon Radha's son, skilled in smiting, from desire of slaying him. Pouring upon him diverse kinds of weapons and thick showers of arrows, they began to afflict him like the clouds afflicting the mountain breast in the season of rains. Desirous of rescuing their father, the sons of Karna, all of whom were effectual smiters, and many other heroes, O king, of thy army, resisted those (Pandava) heroes. Sushena, cutting off with a broad-headed arrow the bow of Bhimasena, pierced Bhima himself with seven cloth-yard shafts in the chest, and uttered a loud roar. Then Vrikodara of terrible prowess, taking up another tough bow and stringing it quickly, cut off Sushena's bow. Excited with rage and as if dancing (on his car), he quickly pierced Sushena himself with ten arrows, and then pierced Karna, within the twinkling of an eye, with seventy sharp shafts. With ten other shafts, Bhima then felled Bhanusena, another son of Karna, with his steeds, driver, weapons, and standard, in the very sight of the latter's friends. The sightly head of that youth, graced with a face as beautiful as the Moon, cut off with a razor-headed arrow, looked like a lotus plucked from its stalk. Having slain Karna's son, Bhima began to afflict thy troops once more. Cutting off the bows then of Kripa and Hridika's son, he began to afflict those two also. Piercing Duhshasana with three arrows made wholly of iron, and Shakuni with six, he deprived both Uluka and his brother Patatri of their cars. Addressing Sushena next in these words, viz., "Thou art slain." Bhima took up an arrow. Karna, however, cut off that arrow and struck Bhima himself with three shafts. Then Bhima took up another straight arrow of great impetuosity and sped it at Sushena. But Vrisha cut that arrow also. Then Karna, desirous of rescuing his son, and wishing to make an end of the cruel Bhimasena, struck the latter with three and seventy fierce arrows. Then Sushena taking up an excellent bow capable of bearing a great strain, pierced Nakula with five arrows in the arms and the chest. Nakula, then piercing his antagonist with twenty strong shafts capable of bearing a great strain, uttered a loud roar and inspired Karna with fright. The mighty car-warrior Sushena, however, O king, piercing Nakula with ten shafts, quickly cut off the latter's bow with a razor-headed arrow. Then Nakula, insensate with rage, took up another bow, and resisted Sushena in that battle with nine shafts. That slayer of hostile heroes, O king, shrouding all the quarters with showers of arrows, slew Sushena's driver, and piercing Sushena himself again with three shafts, and then with three other broad-headed arrows, cut off his bow of great strength into three fragments. Sushena also, deprived of his senses in rage, took up another bow and pierced Nakula with sixty arrows and Sahadeva with seven. The battle raged fiercely, like that of the gods and the Asuras between those heroes striking one another. Satyaki, slaying the driver of Vrishasena with three arrows, cut off the latter's bow with a broad-headed shaft and struck his steeds with seven arrows. Crushing his standard then with another arrow, he struck Vrishasena himself with three arrows in the chest. Thus struck, Vrishasena became senseless on his car, but within the twinkling of an eye, stood up again. Deprived of his driver and steeds and car standard by Yuyudhana (Satyaki), Vrishasena then, armed with sword and shield, rushed against Yuyudhana from desire of slaying him. Satyaki, however, as his antagonist rushed towards him, struck at his sword and shield with ten arrows equipped with heads like a boar's ear. Then Duhshasana, beholding Vrishasena made carless and weaponless, quickly caused him to ascend his own car, and bearing him away from the spot, caused him to ride another vehicle. The mighty car-warrior Vrishasena then, riding on another vehicle, pierced the five sons of Draupadi with seventy and Yuyudhana with five, and Bhimasena with four and sixty, and Sahadeva with five, and Nakula with thirty, and Satanika with seven arrows, and Shikhandi with ten, and king Yudhishthira with a hundred. These and many other foremost of heroes, O king, all inspired with desire of victory that great bowman, viz., the son of Karna, O monarch, continued to afflict with his shafts. Then, in that battle, the invincible Vrishasena continued to protect the rear of Karna. The grandson of Sini, having made Duhshasana driverless and steedless and carless by means of nine times nine arrows made wholly of iron, struck Duhshasana with ten shafts in the forehead. The Kuru prince then, riding on another car that was duly equipped (with all necessary implements), once more began to fight with the Pandavas, from within the division of Karna. Then Dhristadyumna pierced Karna with ten arrows, and the sons of Draupadi pierced him with three and seventy, and Yuyudhana with seven. And Bhimasena pierced him with four and sixty arrows, and Sahadeva with seven. And Nakula pierced him with thirty arrows, and Satanika with seven. And the heroic Shikhandi pierced him with ten and king Yudhishthira with a hundred. These and other foremost of men, O monarch, all inspired with desire of victory, began to grind that great bowman, viz., the Suta's son, in that dreadful battle. That chastiser of foes, viz., the Suta's son of great heroism, performing quick evolutions with his car, pierced every one of those warriors with ten arrows. We then, O king, witnessed the lightness of hand displayed by the high-souled Karna and the power of his weapons. Indeed, what we saw appeared to be highly wonderful. People could not notice when he took up his arrows, when he aimed them, and when he let them off. They only beheld his enemies dying fast in consequence of his wrath. The sky, the firmament, the Earth, and all the quarters seemed to be entirely shrouded with sharp arrows. The firmament looked resplendent as if covered with red clouds. The valiant son of Radha, armed with the bow, and as if dancing (on his car), pierced each of his assailants with thrice as many arrows as each of them had pierced him with. And once more piercing each of them, and his steeds, driver, car, and standard with ten arrows, he uttered a loud roar. His assailants then gave him a way (through which he passed out). Having crushed those mighty bowmen with

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showers of arrows, the son of Radha, that crusher of foes, then penetrated, unresisted, into the midst of the division commanded by the Pandava king. Having destroyed thirty cars of the unreturning Cedis, the son of Radha struck Yudhishthira with many sharp arrows. Then many Pandava warriors, O king, with Shikhandi and Satyaki, desirous of rescuing the king from the son of Radha, surrounded the former. Similarly all the brave and mighty bowmen of thy army resolutely protected the irresistible Karna in that battle. The noise of diverse musical instrument arose then, O king, and the leonine shouts of brave warriors rent the sky. And the Kurus and the Pandavas once more fearlessly encountered each other, the former headed by the Suta's son and the latter by Yudhishthira.'"

SECTION 49

"Sanjaya said, 'Piercing through the Pandava host, Karna, surrounded by thousands of cars and elephants and steeds and foot-soldiers, rushed towards king Yudhishthira the Just. Cutting off with hundreds of fierce shafts the thousands of weapons sped at him by his foes, Vrisha fearlessly pierced through that host. Indeed, the Suta's son cut off the heads, the arms and the thighs of his enemies, who, deprived of life, fell down on the Earth. Others, finding their divisions broken, fled away. The Dravida, the Andhaka, and the Nishada foot-soldiers, urged on by Satyaki, once more rushed towards Karna in that battle, from desire of slaying him. Deprived of arms and head-gears, and slain by Karna with his shafts, they fell down simultaneously on the Earth, like a forest of Sala tree cut down (with the axe). Thus hundreds, thousands and ten thousands of combatants, deprived of life and filling the whole welkin with their fame, fell down with their bodies on the Earth. The Pandus and the Pancalas obstructed Karna, otherwise called Vaikartana, who careered wrathfully in battle like the Destroyer himself, even as people seek to obstruct a disease with incantations and drugs. Crushing all those assailants Karna once more rushed towards Yudhishthira, like an irresistible disease unchecked by incantations and drugs and (propitiatory) rites. At last checked by the Pandus, the Pancalas, and the Kekayas, all of whom were desirous of rescuing the king, Karna could not succeed in passing them over, like Death that is unable to vanquish persons conversant with Brahma. Then Yudhishthira, with eyes red in wrath, addressed Karna, that slayer of hostile heroes, who was held in check at a little distance from him, and said these words "O Karna, O Karna, O thou of vain sight, O son of a Suta, listen to my words. Thou always challengest the active Phalguna in battle. Obedient to the counsels of Dhritarashtra's son, thou always seekest to oppose us. Mustering thy great prowess, show thou today all thy might, all thy energy, and all the hatred thou bearest towards the sons of Pandu. Today in dreadful encounter, I will purge thee of thy desire for battle." Having said these words, the son of Pandu, O king, pierced Karna with ten shafts made entirely of iron and equipped with wings of gold. That chastiser of foes, and great bowman, viz., the Suta's son, O Bharata, pierced Yudhishthira, with the greatest care, in return, with ten arrows equipped with heads like the calf's tooth. Thus pierced by the Suta's son in contempt, O sire, the mighty-armed Yudhishthira, blazed up with wrath like a fire upon receiving butter. Bending his formidable bow decked with gold, the son of Pandu placed on his bow-string a whetted arrow capable of piercing the very hills. Drawing the bow to its fullest stretch, the king quickly sped that arrow, fatal as the rod of the Destroyer, from desire of slaying the Suta's son. Sped by the king endued with great might, that arrow whose whizz resembled the noise of the thunder, suddenly pierced Karna, that mighty car-warrior, on his left side. Deeply afflicted by the violence of that stroke, the mighty-armed Karna with weakened limbs, fell into a swoon on his car, his bow dropping from his hand. Beholding Karna in that plight, the vast Dhartarashtra host uttered cries of "Oh" and "Alas," and the faces of all the combatants became colourless. Beholding the prowess of their king, on the other hand, O monarch, amongst the Pandavas, leonine roars and shouts and confused cries of joy arose. The son of Radha, however, of cruel prowess, recovering his senses soon enough, set his heart on the destruction of Yudhishthira. Drawing his formidable bow called Vijaya that was decked with gold, the Suta's son of immeasurable soul began to resist the son of Pandu with his sharp shafts. With a couple of razor-headed arrows he slew in that encounter Candradeva and Dandadhara, the two Pancala princes, that protected the two car wheels of the high-souled Yudhishthira. Each of those heroes, standing by the side of Yudhishthira's car, looked resplendent like the constellation Punarvasu by the side of the moon. Yudhishthira, however, once more pierced Karna with thirty arrows. And he struck Sushena and Satyasena, each with three arrows. And he pierced everyone of the protectors of Karna with three straight arrows. The son of Adhiratha then, laughing and shaking his bow inflicted a cutting wound on the king's body with a broad-headed arrow, and again pierced him with sixty arrows and then uttered a loud shout. Then many foremost heroes amongst the Pandavas, desirous of rescuing the king, rushed in wrath towards Karna and began to grind him with their arrows. Satyaki and Chekitana and Yuyutsu and Shikhandi and the sons of Draupadi and the Prabhadrakas, and the twins (Nakula and Sahadeva) and Bhimasena and Shishupala and the Karushas, Matsyas, the Suras, the Kaikayas, the Kasis and the Kosalas, all these brave heroes, endued with great activity, assailed Vasusena. The Pancala prince Janamejaya then pierced Karna with many arrows. The Pandava heroes, armed with diverse kinds of arrows and diverse weapons and accompanied by cars and elephants and steeds, rushing towards Karna, encompassed him on all sides, from desire of slaying him. Thus assailed on all sides by the foremost of Pandava warriors, Karna invoked into existence the brahmastra and filled all the points of the compass with arrows. The heroic Karna then, like unto a blazing fire having shafts for its scorching flame, careered in battle, burning that forest of Pandavas troops. The high-souled Karna, that great bowman, aiming some mighty weapons, and laughing the while, cut off the bow of that foremost of men, Yudhishthira. Then aiming ninety straight arrows within the twinkling of an eye, Karna cut off, with those sharp shafts, the armour of his antagonist. That armour, decked with gold and set with gems, looked beautiful, as it fell down, like a wind-tossed cloud penetrated by the rays of the Sun. Indeed, that armour, adorned with costly brilliants, fallen off from the body of that foremost of men, looked beautiful like the firmament in the night, bespangled with stars. His armour cut off with those arrows, the son of Pritha, covered with blood, wrathfully hurled at the son of Adhiratha a dart made wholly of iron. Karna, however, cut (into pieces) that blazing dart, as it coursed through the welkin, with seven shafts. That dart, thus cut off with those shafts of great bowman, fell down on the Earth. Then Yudhishthira, striking Karna with four lances in his two arms and forehead and chest, repeatedly uttered loud shouts. Thereupon blood spouted forth from the wounds of Karna, and the latter, filled with rage and breathing like a snake, cut off his antagonist's standard and pierced the Pandava himself with three broad-headed arrows. And he also cut off the couple of quivers (that his foe had) and the car (he rode) into minute fragments. Thereupon the king, riding on another car unto which were yoked those steeds, white as ivory and having black hair on their tails, that used to bear him (to battle), turned his face and began to fly. Thus did Yudhishthira began to retreat. His Parshni driver had been slain. He became exceedingly cheerless and unable to stay before Karna. The son of Radha then, pursuing Yudhishthira, the son of Pandu, cleansed himself by touching him in the shoulder with his own fair hand (the palm of which was) graced with the auspicious signs of the thunderbolt, the umbrella, the hook, the fish, the tortoise, and the conchshell, and desired to seize him by force. He then remembered the words of Kunti. Then Shalya addressed him, and said, "Do not, O Karna, seize this best of kings. As soon as thou seizest him, he will reduce both thee and me to ashes." Then Karna, O king, laughing in mockery, addressed the son of Pandu and thus spoke unto him disparagingly. "How, indeed, born though thou art in a noble race, and observant though thou art of Kshatriya duties, wouldst thou leave the battle in fear, desiring to save thy life? I think that thou art not well-acquainted with the duties of Kshatriyas. Endued with Brahma-force, thou art indeed devoted to the study of the Vedas and the performance of sacrificial rites. Do not, O son of Kunti, fight again, and do not again approach brave warriors. Do not use harsh language towards heroes and do not come to great battles. Thou mayst use such words, O sire, towards others, but thou shouldst never address persons like us in that way. By using such words towards persons like us, thou wouldst in battle meet with this and other kinds of behaviour. Go back to thy quarters, O son of Kunti, or thither where those two, viz., Keshava and Arjuna, are. Indeed, O king, Karna will never slay one like thee." Having said these words unto the son of Pritha, the mighty Karna, setting Yudhishthira free, began to slaughter the Pandava host like the wielder of the thunderbolt slaughtering the Asura host. That ruler of men, (viz., Yudhishthira,) then, O king, quickly fled away. Beholding the king flying away, the Cedis, the Pandavas, the Pancalas, and the mighty car-warrior Satyaki, all followed that monarch of unfading glory. And the sons of Draupadi, and the Suras, and the twin sons of Madri by Pandu, also followed the king. Beholding the division of Yudhishthira retreating, the heroic Karna became highly glad with all the Kurus and began to pursue the retreating force. The din of battle-drums and conchs and cymbals and bows, and leonine shouts, arose from among the Dhartarashtra troops. Meanwhile Yudhishthira, O thou of Kuru's race, quickly riding on the car of Srutakirti, began to behold the prowess of Karna. Then king Yudhishthira, the just, seeing his troops fast slaughtered, became filled with rage, and addressing his warriors, commanded them, saying, "Slay these enemies. Why are ye inactive?" Then the mighty car-warriors of the Pandavas, headed by Bhimasena, thus commanded by the king, all rushed against thy sons. The shouts then, O Bharata, of the warriors (of both hosts), and the noise made by cars and elephants and steeds and foot-soldiers, and the clash of weapons, became tremendous. "Exert," "Strike," "Face the foe," were the words that the combatants addressed to one another as they began to slay one another in that dreadful battle. And in consequence of the showers of shafts shot by them a shadow as that of the clouds seemed to spread over the field. And in consequence of those rulers of men, covered with arrows, striking one another, they became divested of banners and standards and umbrellas and steeds and drivers and weapons in that battle. Indeed, those lords of Earth, deprived of life and limbs, fell down on the Earth. Looking like the mountain-summits in consequence of their uneven backs, huge elephants with their riders, deprived of life, fell down like mountains riven by thunder. Thousands of steeds, with their armour, equipments, and adornments all torn and broken and displaced, fell down, along with their heroic riders, deprived of life. Car-warriors with weapons loosened from their grasp, and deprived by (hostile) car-warriors of cars and life, and large bands of foot-soldiers, slain by hostile heroes in that dreadful clash, fell down in thousands. The Earth became covered with the heads of heroic combatants intoxicated with battle, heads that were adorned with large and expansive eyes of coppery hue and faces as beautiful as the lotus or the moon. And people heard noises as loud in the sky as on the surface of the Earth, in consequence of the sound of music and song proceeding from large bands of Apsaras on their celestial cars, with which those bands of heavenly choristers continually greeted the newly-arrived heroes slain in hundreds and thousands by brave enemies on Earth, and with which, placing them on celestial cars, they repaired on those vehicles (towards the region of Indra). Witnessing with their own eyes those wonderful sights, and actuated by the desire of going to heaven, heroes with cheerful hearts speedily slew one another. Car-warriors fought beautifully with car-warriors in that battle, and foot-soldiers with foot-soldiers, and elephants with elephants, and steeds with steeds. Indeed, when that battle, destructive of elephants and steeds and men, raged in this way, the field became covered with the dust raised by the troops. Then enemies slew enemies and friends slew friends. The combatants dragged one another by their locks, bit one another with their teeth, tore one another with their nails, and struck one another with clenched fists, and fought one another with bare arms in that fierce battle destructive of both life and sins. Indeed, as that battle, fraught with carnage of elephants and steeds and men, raged on so fiercely, a river of blood ran from the bodies of (slain) human beings and steeds and elephants. And that current carried away a large number of dead bodies of elephants and steeds and men. Indeed, in that vast host teeming with men, steeds, and elephants, that river formed by the blood of men and steeds and elephants and horsemen and elephant-men, became miry with flesh and exceedingly terrible. And on that current, inspiring the timid with terror, floated the bodies of men and steeds and elephants. Impelled by the desire of victory, some combatants forded it and some remained on the other side. And some plunged into its depths, and some sank in it and some rose above its surface as they swam through it. Smeared all over with blood, their armour and weapons and robes--all became bloody. Some bathed in it and some drank the liquid and some became strengthless, O bull of Bharata's race. Cars and steeds, and men and elephants and weapons and ornaments, and robes and armour, and combatants that were slain or about to be slain, and the Earth, the welkin, the firmament, and all the points of the compass, became red. With the odour, the touch, the taste, and the exceedingly red sight of that blood and its rushing sound, almost all the combatants, O Bharata, became very cheerless. The Pandava heroes then, headed by Bhimasena and Satyaki, once more rushed impetuously against that army already beaten. Beholding the impetuosity of that rush of the Pandava heroes to be irresistible, the vast force of thy sons, O king, turned its back on the field. Indeed, that host of thine, teeming with cars and steeds and elephants and men no longer in compact array, with armour and coats of mail displaced and weapons and bows loosened from their grasp, fled away in all directions, whilst being agitated by the enemy, even like a herd of elephants in the forest afflicted by lions.'"

SECTION 50

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding the Pandava heroes rushing impetuously towards thy host, Duryodhana, O monarch, endeavoured to check the warriors of his army on all sides, O bull of Bharata race. Although, however, thy son cried at the top of his voice, his flying troops, O king, still refused to stop. Then one of the wings of the army and its further wing, and Shakuni, the son of Subala, and the Kauravas well-armed turned against Bhimasena in that battle. Karna also, beholding the Dhartarashtra force with all its kings flying away, addressed the ruler of the Madras, saying, "Proceed towards the car of Bhima." Thus addressed by Karna, the ruler of the Madras began to urge those foremost of steeds, of the hue of swans, towards the spot where Vrikodara was. Thus urged by Shalya, that ornament of battle, those steeds approaching the car of Bhimasena, mingled in battle.

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Meanwhile, Bhima, beholding Karna approach, became filled with rage, and set his heart on the destruction of Karna, O bull of Bharata's race. Addressing the heroic Satyaki and Dhrishtadyumna, the son of Prishata, he said, "Go you to protect king Yudhishthira of virtuous soul. With difficulty he escaped from a situation of great peril before my very eyes. In my sight have the armour and robes of the king been cut off and torn, for Duryodhana's gratification, by Radha's son of wicked soul. I shall today reach the end of that woe, O son of Prishata. Today, either I shall slay Karna in battle, or he will slay me in dreadful battle. I tell thee truly. Today I make over the king to you as sacred pledge. With cheerful hearts exert ye today for protecting the king." Having said these words, the mighty-armed Bhima proceeded towards Adhiratha's son, making all the points of the compass resound with a loud leonine shout. Beholding Bhima, that delighter in battle, advancing quickly, the puissant king of the Madras addressed the Suta's son in the following words:

"'Shalya said, "Behold, O Karna, the mighty-armed son of Pandu, who is filled with rage. Without doubt, he is desirous of vomiting upon thee that wrath which he has cherished for many years. Never before did I see him assume such a form, not even when Abhimanyu was slain and the Rakshasa Ghatotkaca. Filled with wrath, the form he hath now assumed, endued with the splendour of the all-destroying fire at the end of the Yuga, is such that it seems he is capable of resisting the three worlds united together.'"

"Sanjaya continued, 'While the ruler of the Madras was saying these words unto the son of Radha, Vrikodara, excited with rage, came upon Karna. Beholding Bhima, that delighter in battle, approaching him in that way, the son of Radha laughingly said unto Shalya these words, "The words that thou, O ruler of the Madras, hast today spoken to me regarding Bhima, O lord, are without doubt all true. This Vrikodara is brave and is a hero full of wrath. He is reckless in protecting his body, and in strength of limbs he is superior to all. While leading a life of concealment in the city of Virata, relying then on the might of his bare arms, for doing what was agreeable to Draupadi, he secretly slew Kichaka with all his relatives. Even he stands today at the head of battle clad in mail and insensate with wrath. He is ready to engage in battle with the Destroyer armed with uplifted mace. This desire, however, hath been cherished through all my days, viz., that either I shall slay Arjuna or Arjuna will slay me. That desire of mine may be fulfilled today in consequence of my encounter with Bhima. If I slay Bhima or make him carless, Partha may come against me. That will be well for me. Settle that without delay which thou thinkest to be suitable to the hour." Hearing these words of Radha's son of immeasurable energy Shalya replied, saying, "O thou of mighty arms, proceed against Bhimasena of great might. Having checked Bhimasena, thou mayst then obtain Phalguna. That which is thy purpose, that desire which for many long years thou hast cherished in thy heart, will be accomplished, O Karna. I tell the truth." Thus addressed, Karna once more said unto Shalya, "Either I shall slay Arjuna in battle, or he will slay me. Setting thy heart on battle proceed to the spot where Vrikodara is."'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Then, O king, Shalya speedily proceeded on that car to the spot where that great bowman, viz., Bhima, was engaged in routing thy army. There rose then the blare of trumpets and the peal of drums, O monarch, when Bhima and Karna met. The mighty Bhimasena, filled with rage, began to scatter thy troops difficult of defeat, with his sharp and polished shafts, to all sides. That collision in battle, O monarch, between Karna and the son of Pandu became, O king, fierce and awful, and the noise that arose was tremendous. Beholding Bhima coming towards him, Karna, otherwise called Vaikartana or Vrisha, filled with rage, struck him with shafts in the centre of the chest. And once more, Karna of immeasurable soul, covered him with a shower of arrows. Thus pierced by the Suta's son, Bhima covered the former with winged arrows. And he once more pierced Karna with nine straight and keen shafts. Then Karna, with a number of arrows, cut in twain Bhima's bow at the handle. And after cutting off his bow, he pierced him once again in the centre of the chest with a shaft of great keenness and capable of penetrating every kind of armour. Then Vrikodara, taking up another bow, O king, and knowing full well what the vital parts of the body are, pierced the Suta's son with many keen arrows. Then Karna pierced him with five and twenty arrows, like a hunter striking a proud and infuriate elephant in the forest with a number of blazing brands. His limbs mangled with those shafts, his eyes red with rage and the desire of revenge, the son of Pandu, insensate with wrath, and impelled by the desire of slaying the Suta's son, fixed on his bow an excellent shaft of great impetuosity, capable of bearing a great strain, and competent to pierce the very mountains. Forcibly drawing the bow-string to his very ear, the son of the Wind-god, that great bowman, filled with wrath and desirous of making an end of Karna, sped that shaft. Thus sped by the mighty Bhima, that shaft, making a noise loud as that of the thunder, pierced through thunderbolt Karna in that battle, like the thunderbolt itself piercing through a mountain. Struck by Bhimasena, O perpetuator of Kuru's race, the Suta's son, that commander (of thy forces), sat down senseless on the terrace of his car. The ruler of the Madras then, beholding the Suta's son deprived of his senses, bore that ornament of battle away on his car, from that fight. Then after Karna's defeat, Bhimasena began to rout the vast Dhartarashtra host like Indra routing the danavas.'"

SECTION 51

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Exceedingly difficult of accomplishment was that feat, O Sanjaya, which was achieved by Bhima who caused the mighty-armed Karna himself to measure his length on the terrace of his car. There is only one person, Karna, who will slay the Pandavas along with the Srinjayas--even this is what Duryodhana, O Suta, used very often to say unto me. Beholding, however, that son of Radha now defeated by Bhima in battle, what did my son Duryodhana next do?'

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding Radha's son of the Suta caste turned back from the fight in that great battle, thy son, O monarch, addressed his uterine brothers, saying, "Go ye quickly, blessed be ye, and protect the son of Radha who is plunged into that fathomless ocean of calamity represented by the fear of Bhimasena." Thus commanded by the king, those princes, excited with wrath and desirous of slaying Bhimasena, rushed towards him like insects towards a blazing fire. They were Srutarvan and Durddhara and Kratha and Vivitsu and Vikata and Soma, and Nishangin and Kavashin and Pasin and Nanda and Upanandaka, and Duspradharsha and Suvahu and Vatavega and Suvarchasas, and Dhanurgraha and Durmada and Jalasandha and Sala and Saha. Surrounded by a large car-force, those princes, endued with great energy and might, approached Bhimasena and encompassed him on all sides. They sped at him from every side showers of arrows of diverse kinds. Thus afflicted by them, Bhima of great strength, O king, quickly slew fifty foremost car-warriors with five hundred others, amongst those sons of thine that advanced against him. Filled with rage, Bhimasena then, O king, with a broad-headed arrow, struck off the head of Vivitsu adorned with earrings and head-gear, and graced with a face resembling the full moon. Thus cut off, that prince fell down on the Earth. Beholding that heroic brother of theirs slain, the (other) brothers there, O lord, rushed in that battle, from every side, upon Bhima of terrible prowess. With two other broad-headed arrows then, Bhima of terrible prowess took the lives of two other sons of thine in that dreadful battle. Those two, Vikata and Saha, looking like a couple of celestial youths, O king, thereupon fell down on the Earth like a couple of trees uprooted by the tempest. Then Bhima, without losing a moment, despatched Kratha to the abode of Yama, with a long arrow of keen point. Deprived of life, that prince fell down on the Earth. Loud cries of woe then, O ruler of men, arose there when those heroic sons of thine, all great bowmen, were being thus slaughtered. When those troops were once more agitated, the mighty Bhima, O monarch, then despatched Nanda and Upananda in that battle to Yama's abode. Thereupon thy sons, exceedingly agitated and inspired with fear, fled away, seeing that Bhimasena in that battle behaved like the Destroyer himself at the end of the Yuga. Beholding those sons of thine slain, the Suta's son with a cheerless heart once more urged his steeds of the hue of swans to that place where the son of Pandu was. Those steeds, O king, urged on by the ruler of Madras, approached with great speed the car of Bhimasena and mingled in battle. The collision, O monarch, that once more took place between Karna and the son of Pandu in battle, became, O king, exceedingly fierce and awful and fraught with a loud din. Beholding, O king, those two mighty car-warriors close with each other, I became very curious to observe the course of the battle. Then Bhima, boasting of his prowess in battle, covered Karna in that encounter, O king, with showers of winged shafts in the very sight of thy sons. Then Karna, that warrior acquainted with the highest of weapons, filled with wrath, pierced Bhima with nine broad-headed and straight arrows made entirely of iron. Thereupon the mighty-armed Bhima of terrible prowess, thus struck by Karna, pierced his assailant in return with seven shafts sped from his bow-string drawn to his ear. Then Karna, O monarch, sighing like a snake of virulent poison, shrouded the son of Pandu with a thick shower of arrows. The mighty Bhima also, shrouding that mighty car-warrior with dense arrowy downpours in the very sight of the Kauravas, uttered a loud shout. Then Karna, filled with rage, grasped his strong bow and pierced Bhima with ten arrows whetted on stone and equipped with kanka feathers. With another broad-headed arrow of great sharpness, he also cut off Bhima's bow. Then the mighty-armed Bhima of great strength, taking up a terrible parigha, twined round with hempen cords and decked with gold and resembling a second bludgeon of Death himself, and desiring to slay Karna outright, hurled it at him with a loud roar. Karna, however, with a number of arrows resembling snakes of virulent poison, cut off into many fragments that spiked mace as it coursed towards him with the tremendous peal of thunder. Then Bhima, that grinder of hostile troops, grasping his bow with greater strength, covered Karna with keen shafts. The battle that took place between Karna and the son of Pandu in that meeting became awful for a moment, like that of a couple of huge lions desirous of slaying each other. Then Karna, O king, drawing the bow with great force and stretching the string to his very ear, pierced Bhimasena with three arrows. Deeply pierced by Karna, that great bowman and foremost of all persons endued with might then took up a terrible shaft capable of piercing through the body of his antagonist. That shaft, cutting through Karna's armour and piercing through his body, passed out and entered the Earth like a snake into ant-hill. In consequence of the violence of that stroke, Karna felt great pain and became exceedingly agitated. Indeed, he trembled on his car like a mountain during an earthquake. Then Karna, O king, filled with rage and the desire to retaliate, struck Bhima with five and twenty shafts, and then with many more. With one arrow he then cut off Bhimasena's standard, and with another broad-headed arrow he despatched Bhima's driver to the presence of Yama. Next quickly cutting off the bow of Pandu's son with another winged arrow, Karna deprived Bhima of terrible feats of his car. Deprived of his car, O chief of Bharata's race, the mighty-armed Bhima, who resembled the Wind-god (in prowess) took up a mace and jumped down from his excellent vehicle. Indeed, jumping down from his car with great fury, Bhima began to slay thy troops, O king, like the wind destroying the clouds of autumn. Suddenly the son of Pandu, that scorcher of foes, filled with wrath, routed seven hundred elephants, O king, endued with tusks as large as plough-shafts, and all skilled in smiting hostile troops. Possessed of great strength and a knowledge of what the vital parts of an elephant are, he struck them on their temples and frontal globes and eyes and the parts above their gums. Thereupon those animals, inspired with fear, ran away. But urged again by their drivers they surrounded Bhimasena once more, like the clouds covering the Sun. Like Indra felling mountains with thunder, Bhima with his mace prostrated those seven hundred elephants with their riders and weapons and standards. That chastiser of foes, the son of Kunti, next pressed down two and fifty elephants of great strength belonging to the son of Subala. Scorching thy army, the son of Pandu then destroyed a century of foremost cars and several hundreds of foot-soldiers in that battle. Scorched by the Sun as also by the high-souled Bhima, thy army began to shrink like a piece of leather spread over a fire. Those troops of thine, O bull of Bharata's race, filled with anxiety through fear of Bhimasena, avoided Bhima in that battle and fled away in all directions. Then five hundred car-warriors, cased in excellent mail, rushed towards Bhima with loud shouts, shooting thick showers of arrows on all sides. Like Vishnu destroying the Asuras, Bhima destroyed with his mace all those brave warriors with their drivers and cars and banners and standards and weapons. Then 3,000 horsemen, despatched by Shakuni, respected by all brave men and armed with darts and swords and lances, rushed towards Bhima. That slayer of foes, advancing impetuously towards them, and coursing in diverse tracks, slew them with his mace. Loud sounds arose from among them while they were being assailed by Bhima, like those that arise from among herd of elephants struck with large pieces of rocks. Having slain those 3,000 excellent horses of Subala's son in that way, he rode upon another car, and filled with rage proceeded against the son of Radha. Meanwhile, Karna also, O king, covered Dharma's son (Yudhishthira) that chastiser of foes, with thick showers of arrows, and felled his driver. Then that mighty car-warrior beholding Yudhishthira fly away in that battle, pursued him, shooting many straight-coursing shafts equipped with Kanka feathers. The son of the Wind-god, filled with wrath, and covering the entire welkin with his shafts, shrouded Karna with thick showers of arrows as the latter pursued the king from behind. The son of Radha then, that crusher of foes, turning back from the pursuit, quickly covered Bhima himself with sharp arrows from every side. Then Satyaki, of immeasurable soul, O Bharata, placing himself on the side of Bhima's car, began to afflict Karna who was in front of Bhima. Though exceedingly afflicted by Satyaki, Karna still approached Bhima. Approaching each other those two bulls among all wielders of bows, those two heroes endued with great energy, looked exceedingly resplendent as they sped their beautiful arrows at each other. Spread by them, O monarch, in the welkin, those flights of arrows, blazing as the backs of cranes, looked exceedingly fierce and terrible. In consequence of those thousands of arrows, O king, neither the rays of the Sun nor the points of the compass, cardinal and subsidiary, could any longer be noticed either by ourselves or by the enemy. Indeed, the blazing effulgence of the Sun shining at mid-day was dispelled by those dense showers of arrows shot by Karna and the son of Pandu. Beholding the son of Subala, and Kritavarma, and Drona's son, and Adhiratha's son, and Kripa, engaged with the Pandavas, the Kauravas rallied and came back to the fight. Tremendous became the din, O monarch, that was made by that host as it rushed impetuously against their foes, resembling that

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terrible noise that is made by many oceans swollen with rains. Furiously engaged in battle, the two hosts became filled with great joy as the warriors beheld and seized one another in that dreadful melee. The battle that commenced at that hour when the Sun had reached the meridian was such that its like had never been heard or seen by us. One vast host rushed against another, like a vast reservoir of water rushing towards the ocean. The din that arose from the two hosts as they roared at each other, was loud and deep as that which may be heard when several oceans mingle with one another. Indeed, the two furious hosts, approaching each other, mingled into one mass like two furious rivers that run into each other.

"'The battle then commenced, awful and terrible, between the Kurus and the Pandavas, both of whom were inspired with the desire of winning great fame. A perfect Babel of voices of the shouting warriors was incessantly heard there, O royal Bharata, as they addressed one another by name. He who had anything, by his father's or mother's side or in respect of his acts or conduct, that could furnish matter for ridicule, was in that battle made to hear it by his antagonist. Beholding those brave warriors loudly rebuking one another in that battle, I thought, O king, that their periods of life had been run out. Beholding the bodies of those angry heroes of immeasurable energy a great fear entered my heart, respecting the dire consequences that would ensue. Then the Pandavas, O king, and the Kauravas also, mighty car-warriors all, striking one another, began to mangle one another with their keen shafts.'"

SECTION 52

"Sanjaya said, 'Those Kshatriyas, O monarch, harbouring feelings of animosity against one another and longing to take one another's life, began to slay one another in that battle. Throngs of cars, and large bodies of horses, and teeming divisions of infantry and elephants in large numbers mingled with one another, O king, for battle. We beheld the falling of maces and spiked bludgeons and Kunapas and lances and short arrows and rockets hurled at one another in that dreadful engagement. Arrowy showers terrible to look at coursed like flights of locusts. Elephants approaching elephants routed one another. Horsemen encountering horsemen in that battle, and car-warriors encountering car-warriors, and foot-soldiers encountering foot-soldiers, and foot-soldiers meeting with horsemen, and foot-soldiers meeting with cars and elephants, and cars meeting with elephants and horsemen, and elephants of great speed meeting with the three other kinds of forces, began, O king, to crush and grind one another. In consequence of those brave combatants striking one another and shouting at the top of their voices, the field of battle became awful, resembling the slaughter-ground of creatures (of Rudra himself). The Earth, O Bharata, covered with blood, looked beautiful like a vast plain in the season of rains covered with the red coccinella. Indeed, the Earth assumed the aspect of a youthful maiden of great beauty, attired in white robes dyed with deep red. Variegated with flesh and blood, the field of battle looked as if decked all over with gold. Large numbers of heads severed from trunks and arms and thighs and earrings and other ornaments displaced from the bodies of warriors, O Bharata, and collars and cuirasses and bodies of brave bowmen, and coats of mail, and banners, lay scattered on the ground. Elephants coming against elephants tore one another with their tusks, O king. Struck with the tusks of hostile compeers, elephants looked exceedingly beautiful. Bathed in blood, those huge creatures looked resplendent like moving hills decked with metals, down whose breasts ran streams of liquid chalk. Lances hurled by horsemen, or those held horizontally by hostile combatants, were seized by many of those beasts, while many amongst them twisted and broke those weapons. Many huge elephants, whose armour had been cut off with shafts, looked, O king, like mountains divested of clouds at the advent of winter. Many foremost of elephants pierced with arrows winged with gold, looked beautiful like mountains, O sire, whose summits are lighted with blazing brands. Some of those creatures, huge as hills, struck by hostile compeers, fell down in that battle, like winged mountains (when clipped of their wings). Others, afflicted with arrows and much pained by their wounds, fell down touching the Earth, in that dreadful battle, at their frontal globes or the parts between their tusks. Others roared aloud like lions. And many, uttering terrible sounds, ran hither and thither, and many, O king, uttered cries of pain. Steeds also, in golden trappings, struck with arrows, fell down, or became weak, or ran in all directions. Others, struck with arrows and lances or dragged down, fell on the Earth and writhed in agony, making diverse kinds of motion. Men also, struck down, fell on the Earth, uttering diverse cries of pain, O sire; others, beholding their relatives and sires and grandsires, and others seeing retreating foes, shouted to one another their well-known names and the names of their races. The arms of many combatants, decked with ornaments of gold, cut off, O king, by foes, writhed on the ground, making diverse kinds of motions. Thousands of such arms fell down and sprang up, and many seemed to dart forward like five-headed snakes. Those arms, looking like the tapering bodies of snakes, and smeared with sandal paste, O king, looked beautiful, when drenched with blood, like little standards of gold. When the battle, becoming general, raged so furiously on all sides, the warriors fought with and slew one another without distinct perceptions of those they fought with or struck. A dusty cloud overspread the field of battle, and the weapons used fell in thick showers. The scene being thus darkened, the combatants could no longer distinguish friends from foes. Indeed, that fierce and awful battle proceeded thus. And soon there began to flow many mighty rivers of the bloody currents. And they abounded with the heads of combatants that formed their rocks. And the hair of the warriors constituted their floating weeds and moss. Bones formed the fishes with which they teemed, and bows and arrows and maces formed the rafts by which to cross them. Flesh and blood forming their mire, those terrible and awful rivers, with currents swelled by blood, were thus formed there, enhancing the fears of the timid and the joy of the brave. Those awful rivers led to the abode of Yama. Many plunged into those streams inspiring Kshatriyas with fear, and perished. And in consequence of various carnivorous creatures, O tiger among men, roaring and yelling on all sides, the field of battle became terrible like the domains of the king of the dead. And innumerable headless trunks rose up on all sides. And terrible creatures, gorging on flesh and drinking fat, and blood, O Bharata, began to dance around. And crows and vultures and cranes, gratified with fat and marrow and other animals relishing flesh, were seen to move about in glee. They, however, O king, that were heroes, casting off all fear which is so difficult of being cast off, and observing the vow of warriors, fearlessly did their duty. Indeed, on that field where countless arrows and darts coursed through the air, and which was crowded with carnivorous creatures of diverse kinds, brave warriors careered fearlessly, displaying their prowess. Addressing one another, O Bharata, they declared their names and families. And many amongst them, declaring the names of their sires and families, O lord, began to crush one another, O king, with darts and lances and battle-axes. During the progress of that fierce and awful battle, the Kaurava army became strengthless and unable to bear up any longer like a foundered vessel on the bosom of the ocean.'"

SECTION 53

"Sanjaya said, 'During the progress of that battle in which so many Kshatriyas sank down, the loud twang of Gandiva, O sire, was heard above the din on that spot, O king, where the son of Pandu was engaged in slaughtering the samsaptakas, the Kosalas, and the Narayana forces. Filled with rage and longing for victory, the samsaptakas, in that battle, began to pour showers of arrows on Arjuna's head. The puissant Partha, however, quickly checking those arrowy showers, O king, plunged into that battle, and began to slay many foremost of car-warriors. Plunging into the midst of that division of cars with the aid of his whetted shafts equipped with Kanka feathers, Partha came upon Susharma of excellent weapons. That foremost of car-warriors poured on Arjuna thick showers of arrows. Meanwhile the samsaptakas also covered Partha with their shafts. Then Susharma, piercing Partha with ten shafts, struck Janardana with three in the right arm. With a broad-headed arrow then, O sire, he pierced the standard of Arjuna. Thereupon that foremost of apes, of huge dimensions, the handiwork of the celestial artificer himself, began to utter loud sounds and roared very fiercely, affrighting thy troops. Hearing the roars of the ape, thy army became inspired with fear. Indeed, under the influence of a great fear, that army became perfectly inactive. That army then, as it stood inactive, O king, looked beautiful like the Citraratha forest with its flowery burthen of diverse kinds. Then those warriors, recovering their senses, O chief of the Kurus, began to drench Arjuna with their arrowy downpours like the clouds drenching the mountains. Then all of them encompassed the great car of the Pandava. Assailing him, they uttered loud roars although all the while they were being struck and slaughtered with sharp shafts. Assailing his steeds, his car-wheels, his car-shaft, and every other limb of his vehicle, with great force, O sire, they uttered many leonine roars. Some among them seized the massive arms of Keshava, and some among them, O king, seized Partha himself with great joy as he stood on his car. Then Keshava, shaking his arms on the field of battle, threw down all those that had seized them, like a wicked elephant shaking down all the riders from his back. Then Partha, encompassed by those great car-warriors, and beholding his car assailed and Keshava attacked in that manner became filled with rage, and overthrew a large number of car-warriors and foot-soldiers. And he covered all the combatants that were close to him with many arrows, that were fit for close encounters. Addressing Keshava then, he said, "Behold, O Krishna, O thou of mighty arms, these countless samsaptakas engaged in accomplishing a fearful task although slaughtered in thousands. O bull amongst the Yadus, there is none on Earth, save myself, that would be able to bear such a close attack on his car." Having said these words, Vibhatsu blew his conch. Then Krishna also blew his conch filling the welkin with its blare. Hearing that blare the army of the samsaptakas began to waver, O king, and became inspired with great fright. Then that slayer of hostile heroes, viz., the son of Pandu, paralysed the legs of the samsaptakas by repeatedly invoking, O monarch, the weapon called Naga. Thus tied with those foot-tying bands by the high-souled son of Pandu, all of them stood motionless, O king, as if they had been petrified. The son of Pandu then began to slay those motionless warriors like Indra in days of yore slaying the Daityas in the battle with Taraka. Thus slaughtered in that battle, they set the car free, and commenced to throw down all their weapons. Their legs being paralysed, they could not, O king, move a step. Then Partha slew them with his straight arrows. Indeed, all these warriors in that battle, aiming at whom Partha had invoked that foot-tying weapon, had their lower limbs encircled with snakes. Then the mighty car-warrior Susharma, O monarch, beholding his army thus paralysed, quickly invoked the weapon called Sauparna. Thereupon numerous birds began to come down and devour those snakes. The latter again, at the sight of rangers of the sky, began, O king, to fly away. Freed from that foot-tying weapon, the Samsaptaka force, O monarch, looked like the Sun himself giving light unto all creatures, when freed from clouds. Thus liberated, those warriors once more shot their arrows, O sire, and hurled their weapons at Arjuna's car. And all of them pierced Partha with numerous weapons. Cutting off with his own arrowy downpour that shower of mighty weapons Vasava's son, that slayer of hostile heroes, began to slaughter those warriors. Then Susharma, O king, with a straight arrow, pierced Arjuna in the chest, and then he pierced him with three other shafts. Deeply pierced therewith, and feeling great pain, Arjuna sat down on the terrace of his car. Then all the troops loudly cried out, saying, "Partha is slain." At this the blare of conchs, and the peal of drums, and the sound of diverse musical instruments, and loud leonine shouts, arose there. Recovering his senses, Partha of immeasurable soul, owning white steeds and having Krishna for his driver, speedily invoked the Aindra weapon. Then thousands of arrows, O sire, issuing from that weapon, were seen on all sides to slay kings and elephants. And steeds and warriors, in hundreds and thousands, were also seen to be slaughtered in that battle, with these weapons. Then while the troops were thus being slaughtered, a great fear entered the hearts of all the samsaptakas and Gopalas, O Bharata. There was no man amongst them that could fight with Arjuna. There in the very sight of all the heroes, Arjuna began to destroy thy troops. Beholding that slaughter, all of them remained perfectly inactive, without putting forth their prowess. Then the son of Pandu having slain full 10,000 combatants in that battle, looked resplendent, O monarch, like a blazing fire without smoke. And then he slew full 14,000 warriors, and 3,000 warriors, and 3,000 elephants. Then the samsaptakas once more encompassed Dhananjaya, making death or victory their goal. The battle then that took place there between thy warriors and that mighty hero, viz., the diadem-decked son of Pandu became awful.'"

SECTION 54

"Sanjaya said, 'Then Kritavarma, and Kripa, and the son of Drona and the Suta's son, O sire, and Uluka, and Subala's son (Shakuni), and the king himself, with his uterine brothers, beholding the (Kuru) army afflicted with the fear of Pandu's son, unable to stand together, like a vessel wrecked on the ocean, endeavoured to rescue it with great speed. For a short space of time, O Bharata, the battle that once more took place became exceedingly fierce, enhancing as it did the fears of timid and the joy of the brave. The dense showers of arrows shot in battle by Kripa, thick, as flights of locusts, covered the Srinjayas. Then Shikhandi, filled with rage, speedily proceeded against the grandson of Gautama (Kripa) and poured upon that bull amongst Brahmanas his arrowy downpours from all sides. Acquainted with the highest weapons Kripa then checked that arrowy downpour, and wrathfully pierced Shikhandi with ten arrows in that battle. Then Shikhandi filled with rage, deeply pierced Kripa, in that encounter, with seven straight arrows equipped with Kanka feathers. The twice-born Kripa then, that great car-warrior, deeply pierced with those keen arrows, deprived Shikhandi of his steeds, driver and car. Jumping down from his steedless vehicle, the mighty car-warrior (Shikhandi) rushed impetuously at the Brahmana, having taken up a sword and a shield. As the Pancala prince advanced, Kripa quickly covered him with many straight arrows in that encounter, which seemed exceedingly wonderful. Indeed, exceedingly wonderful was the sight that we then beheld, even like the flying of rocks, for Shikhandi, O king, (thus assailed) remained perfectly inactive in that battle. Beholding Shikhandi covered (with arrows) by Kripa, O best of the kings, the mighty car-warrior Dhrishtadyumna speedily proceeded against Kripa. The great car-warrior Kritavarma, however, rushing impetuously received Dhrishtadyumna as the latter proceeded against the son of Sharadvata (Kripa). Then Drona's son checked Yudhishthira as the latter, with his son and troops, was rushing towards the car of Sharadvata's son. Thy son

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Duryodhana, shooting a shower of arrows, received and checked Nakula and Sahadeva, those two great car-warriors endued with celerity. Karna too, otherwise called Vaikartana, O Bharata, in that battle, resisted Bhimasena, and the Karushas, the Kaikayas, and the Srinjayas. Meanwhile Sharadvata's son, in that battle, O sire, with great activity, sped many arrows at Shikhandi, as if for the purpose of burning him outright. The Pancala prince, however, whirling his sword repeatedly, cut off all those arrows, decked with gold, that had been sped at him by Kripa from all sides. The grandson of Gautama (Kripa) then quickly cut off with his arrows the shield of Prishata's son, that was decked with hundred moons. At this feat of his, the troops made a loud uproar. Deprived of his shield, O monarch, and placed under Kripa's power Shikhandi still rushed, sword in hand, (towards Kripa), like a sick man towards the jaws of Death. Then Suketu, the son of Citraketu, O king, quickly proceeded towards the mighty Shikhandi plunged into such distress and assailed in that manner by Kripa with his arrows. Indeed, the young prince of immeasurable soul rushed towards the car of Sharadvata's son and poured upon that Brahmana, in that battle, innumerable shafts of great keenness. Beholding that Brahmana observant of vows thus engaged in battle (with another), Shikhandi, O best of kings, retreated hastily from that spot. Meanwhile Suketu, O king, piercing the son of Gautama with nine arrows, once more pierced him with seventy and again with three. Then the prince, O sire, cut off Kripa's bow with arrow fixed thereon, and with another shaft struck hard the latter's driver in a vital limb. The grandson of Gautama then, filled with rage, took up a new and very strong bow and struck Suketu with thirty arrows in all his vital limbs. All his limbs exceedingly weakened, the prince trembled on his excellent car like a tree trembling exceedingly during an earthquake. With a razor-headed arrow then, Kripa struck off from the prince's trunk, while the latter was still trembling, his head decked with a pair of blazing earrings and head-protector. That head thereupon fell down on the Earth like a piece of meat from the claws of a hawk, and then his trunk also fell down, O thou of great glory. Upon the fall of Suketu, O monarch, his troops became frightened, and avoiding Kripa, fled away on all sides.

"'Encompassing the mighty Dhrishtadyumna, Kritavarma cheerfully addressed him saying, "Wait, Wait!" The encounter then that took place between the Vrishni and the Pancala warriors in that battle became exceedingly fierce, like that between two hawks, O king, for a piece of meat. Filled with rage, Dhrishtadyumna, in that battle, struck the son of Hridika (Kritavarma, the ruler of Bhoja) with nine arrows in the chest, and succeeded in afflicting him greatly. Then Kritavarma, thus deeply struck by Prishata's son in that encounter, covered his assailant, his steeds, and his car with his shafts. Thus shrouded, O king, along with his car, Dhrishtadyumna became invisible, like the Sun shrouded by rain-charged clouds. Baffling all those shafts decked with gold, Dhrishtadyumna, O king, looked resplendent in that battle in his wounds. The commander of the Pandava forces, viz., the son of Prishata, then, filled with rage, approached Kritavarma and poured upon him a fierce shower of arrows. The son of Hridika, however, in that battle, with many thousands of his own arrows, destroyed that fierce arrowy shower coursing towards him with great impetuosity. Beholding his irresistible shower of arrows checked in that battle by Kritavarma, the son of Prishata, approaching his antagonist, began to resist him. And soon he despatched Kritavarma's driver to Yama's abode with a broad-headed arrow of great sharpness. Deprived of life, the driver fell down from the car. The mighty Dhrishtadyumna, having vanquished his mighty antagonist, began then to resist the Kauravas with shafts, without losing a moment. Then thy warriors, O king, rushed towards Dhrishtadyumna, uttering loud leonine roars. At this a battle once more took place between them.'"

SECTION 55

"Sanjaya said, 'Meanwhile the son of Drona (Ashvatthama), beholding Yudhishthira protected by the grandson of Sini (Satyaki) and by the heroic sons of Draupadi, cheerfully advanced against the king, scattering many fierce arrows equipped with wings of gold and whetted on stone, and displaying diverse manoeuvres of his car and the great skill he had acquired and his exceeding lightness of hands. He filled the entire welkin with shafts inspired with the force of celestial weapons. Conversant with all weapons, Drona's son encompassed Yudhishthira in that battle. The welkin being covered with the shafts of Drona's son, nothing could be seen. The vast space in front of Ashvatthama became one expanse of arrows. The welkin then, thus covered with that dense shower of arrows decked with gold, looked beautiful, O chief of the Bharatas, as if a canopy embroidered with gold had been spread there. Indeed, the firmament, O king, having been covered with that bright shower of arrows, a shadow, as that of the clouds, appeared there on the occasion. Wonderful was the sight that we then beheld when the sky had thus become one expanse of arrows, for not one creature ranging the sky could course through his element. Then Satyaki, though struggling resolutely, and Pandu's son king Yudhishthira the Just, as also all the other warriors, could not display their prowess. Beholding the great lightness of hands displayed by the son of Drona, the mighty car-warriors (of the Pandava army) were filled with wonder. All the kings became incapable of even looking at Ashvatthama, O monarch, who then resembled the scorching Sun himself in the sky. While the Pandava troops were thus being slaughtered, those mighty car-warriors, viz., the sons of Draupadi, and Satyaki, and king Yudhishthira the Just, and the Pancala warriors, all uniting together, cast off their fears of death and rushed against the son of Drona. Then Satyaki, piercing the son of Drona with seventy arrows, once more pierced him with seven long shafts decked with gold. And Yudhishthira pierced him with three and seventy arrows, and Prativindya with seven, and Srutakarman pierced him with three arrows and Srutakirti with five. And Sutasoma pierced him with nine arrows, and Satanika with seven. And many other heroes pierced him with many arrows from every side. Filled then with rage and breathing, O king, like a snake of virulent poison, Drona's son pierced Satyaki in return with five and twenty arrows whetted on stone. And he pierced Srutakirti with nine arrows and Sutasoma with five, and with eight arrows he pierced Srutakarman, and Prativindya with three. And he pierced Satanika with nine arrows, and Dharma's son (Yudhishthira) with five. And each of the other warriors he pierced with a couple of shafts. With some keen arrows he then cut off the bow of Srutakirti. The latter then, that great car-warrior, taking up another bow, pierced Drona's son, first with three arrows and then with many others equipped with sharp points. Then, O monarch, the son of Drona covered the Pandava troops, O sire, with thick showers of arrows, O bull of Bharata's race. Of immeasurable soul, the son of Drona, next smiling the while, cut off the bow of king Yudhishthira the Just, and then pierced him with three arrows. The son of Dharma then, O king, taking up another formidable bow, pierced Drona's son with seventy arrows in the arms and the chest. Then Satyaki, filled with rage in that battle, cut off the bow of Drona's son, that great smiter, with a sharp crescent-shaped arrow and uttered a loud roar. His bow cut off, that foremost of mighty men viz., the son of Drona, quickly felled Satyaki's driver from his car with a dart. The valiant son of Drona then, taking up another bow, covered the grandson of Sini, O Bharata, with a shower of arrows. His driver having been slain, Satyaki's steeds were seen to run hither and thither, O Bharata, in that battle. Then the Pandava warriors headed by Yudhishthira, shooting sharp shafts, all rushed with impetuosity towards Drona's son, that foremost of all wielders of weapons. That scorcher of foes, however, viz., the son of Drona, beholding those warriors wrathfully advancing against him received them all in that dreadful battle. Then like a fire in the forest consuming heaps of dry grass and straw, that mighty car-warrior, viz., Drona's son, having showers of arrows for his flames, consumed the Pandava troops in that battle, who resembled a heap of dry grass and straw. That army of Pandu's son, thus scorched by the son of Drona, became exceedingly agitated, O chief of the Bharatas, like the mouth of a river by a whale. People then, O monarch, beholding the prowess of Drona's son, regarded all the Pandavas as already slain by him. Then Yudhishthira, that great car-warrior and disciple of Drona, filled with rage and the desire to retaliate, addressed Drona's son, saying "O tiger among men, thou hast no affection, thou hast no gratitude, since thou desirest to slay me today. The duties of a Brahmana are asceticism and gift and study. The bow should be bent by the Kshatriya only. It seems, therefore, that thou art a Brahmana in name only. In thy very sight, however. O thou of mighty arms, I will vanquish the Kauravas in battle. Do what thou canst in battle. I tell thee that thou art a wretch amongst Brahmanas." Thus addressed, the son of Drona. smiling, and reflecting upon what was proper and true, gave no reply. Without saying anything, he covered the son of Pandu in that battle with a shower of arrows like the destroyer himself in wrath while engaged in annihilating creatures. Thus covered by Drona's son. O sire, the son of Pritha quickly went away from that spot, leaving that large division of his. After Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma, had gone away, the high-souled son of Drona also, O king, left that spot. Then Yudhishthira, O king, avoiding the son of Drona in that great battle proceeded against thy army, resolved to achieve the cruel task of slaughter.'"

SECTION 56

"Sanjaya said, 'Meanwhile Vikartana himself, resisting Bhimasena supported by the Pancalas and the Cedis and the Kaikayas, covered him with many arrows. In the very sight of Bhimasena, Karna, slew in that battle many mighty car-warriors among the Cedis, the Karushas, and the Srinjayas. Then Bhimasena, avoiding Karna, that best of car-warriors, proceeded against the Kaurava troops like a blazing fire towards a heap of dry grass. The Suta's son also in that battle, began to slay the mighty bowmen amongst the Pancalas, the Kaikayas, and the Srinjayas, in thousands. Indeed, the three mighty car-warriors viz., Partha and Vrikodara and Karna, began to exterminate the samsaptakas, the Kauravas, and the Pancalas, respectively. In consequence of thy evil policy, O king, all these Kshatriyas, scorched with excellent shafts by those three great warriors, began to be exterminated in that battle. Then Duryodhana, O chief of the Bharatas, filled with rage, pierced Nakula and his four steeds with nine arrows. Of immeasurable soul, thy son next, O ruler of men, cut off the golden standard of Sahadeva with a razor-faced shaft. Filled with wrath, Nakula then, O king, struck thy son with three and seventy arrows in that battle, and Sahadeva struck him with five. Each of those foremost warriors of Bharata's race and foremost of all bowmen, was struck by Duryodhana in rage with five arrows. With a couple of broad-headed arrows, then, he cut off the bows of both those warriors; and then he suddenly pierced each of the twins with three and seventy arrows. Taking up then two other beautiful and foremost of bows each of which resembled the bow of Indra himself, those two heroes looked beautiful like a pair of celestial youths in that battle. Then those two brothers, both endued with great activity in battle, poured upon their cousin, O king, ceaseless showers of terrible shafts like two masses of clouds, pouring rain upon a mountain breast. Thereupon thy son, that great car-warrior, O king filled with rage, resisted those two great bowmen, viz., the twin sons of Pandu, with showers of winged arrows. The bow of Duryodhana in that battle, O Bharata, seemed to be continuously drawn into a circle, and shafts seemed to issue from it ceaselessly on all sides. Covered with Duryodhana's shafts the two sons of Pandu ceased to shine brightly, like the Sun and the Moon in the firmament, divested of splendour, when shrouded by masses of clouds. Indeed, those arrows, O king, equipped with wings of gold and whetted on stone, covered all the points of the compass like the rays of the Sun, when the welkin was thus shrouded and all that was seen was one uniform expanse of the Destroyer himself, at the end of the Yuga. Beholding on the other hand, the prowess of thy son, the great car-warriors all regarded the twin sons of Madri to be in the presence of Death. The commander then, O king, of the Pandava army, viz., the mighty car-warrior Parshata (Son of Prishata) proceeded to that spot where Duryodhana was. Transgressing those two great car-warriors, viz., the two brave sons of Madri, Dhrishtadyumna began to resist thy son with his shafts. Of immeasurable soul, that bull among men, viz., thy son, filled with the desire to retaliate, and smiling the while, pierced the prince of Pancala with five and twenty arrows. Of immeasurable soul and filled with the desire to retaliate, thy son once more pierced the prince of Pancala with sixty shafts and once again with five, and uttered a loud roar. Then the king, with a sharp razor-faced arrow, cut off, in that battle, O sire, the bow with arrow fixed thereon and the leathern fence of his antagonist. Casting aside that broken bow, the prince of Pancala, that crusher of foes, quickly took up another bow that was new and capable of bearing a great strain. Blazing with impetuosity, and with eyes red as blood from rage, the great bowman Dhrishtadyumna, with many wounds on his person looked resplendent on his car. Desirous of slaying Duryodhana, O chief of the Bharatas, the Pancala hero sped five and ten cloth-yard shafts that resembled hissing snakes. Those shafts, whetted on stone and equipped with the feathers of Kankas and peacocks, cutting through the armour decked with gold of the king passed through his body and entered the Earth in consequence of the force with which they had been shot. Deeply pierced, O monarch, thy son looked exceedingly beautiful like a gigantic Kinsuka in the season of spring with its flowery weight. His armour pierced with those shafts, and all his limbs rendered exceedingly infirm with wounds, he became filled with rage and cut off Dhrishtadyumna's bow, with a broad-headed arrow. Having cut off his assailant's bow the king then, O monarch, with great speed, struck him with ten shafts on the forehead between the two eyebrows. Those shafts, polished by the hands of the smith, adorned Dhrishtadyumna's face like a number of bees, desirous of honey, adorning a full-blown lotus. Throwing aside that broken bow, the high-souled Dhrishtadyumna quickly took up another, and with it, sixteen broad-headed arrows. With five he slew the four steeds and the driver of Duryodhana, and he cut off with another his bow decked with gold. With the remaining ten shafts, the son of Prishata cut off the car with the upashkara, the umbrella, the dart, the sword, the mace, and the standard of thy son. Indeed, all the kings beheld the beautiful standard of the Kuru king, decked with golden Angadas and bearing the device of an elephant worked in jewels, cut off by the prince of the Pancalas. Then the uterine brothers of Duryodhana, O bull of Bharata's race, rescued the carless Duryodhana who had all his weapons, besides, cut off in that battle. In the very sight of Dhrishtadyumna, Durdhara, O monarch, causing that ruler of men to ride upon his car quickly bore him away from the battle.

"'Meanwhile the mighty Karna, having vanquished Satyaki and desirous of rescuing the (Kuru) king, proceeded straight against the face of Drona's slayer, that warrior of fierce shafts. The grandson of Sini, however, quickly pursued him from behind, striking him with his arrows, like an elephant

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pursuing a rival and striking him at the hinder limbs with his tusks. Then, O Bharata, fierce became the battle that raged between the high-souled warriors of the two armies, in the space that intervened between Karna and the son of Prishata. Not a single combatant of either the Pandavas nor ourselves turned his face from the battle. Then Karna proceeded against the Pancalas with great speed. At that hour when the Sun had ascended the meridian, great slaughter, O best of men, of elephants and steeds and men, took place on both sides. The Pancalas, O king, inspired with the desire of victory, all rushed with speed against Karna like birds towards a tree. The son of Adhiratha, of great energy, filled with rage, began from their front to strike those Pancalas, with the keen points of his shafts, singling out their leaders, viz., Vyaghraketu and Susharma and Citra and Ugrayudha and Jaya and Sukla and Rochamana and the invincible Singhasena. Those heroes, speedily advancing with their cars, encompassed that foremost of men, and poured their shafts upon that angry warrior, viz., Karna, that ornament of battle. That foremost of men endued with great valour, viz., the son of Radha, afflicted those eight heroes engaged in battle with eight keen shafts. The Suta's son possessed of great prowess, O king, then slew many thousands of other warriors skilled in fight. Filled with rage, the son of Radha then slew Jishnu, and Jishnukarman, and Devapi, O king, in that battle, and Citra, and Citrayudha, and Hari, and Singhaketu and Rochamana and the great car-warrior Salabha, and many car-warriors among the Cedis bathed the form of Adhiratha's son in blood, while he himself was engaged in taking the lives of those heroes. There, O Bharata, elephants, assailed with arrows by Karna, fled away on all sides in fear and caused a great agitation on the field of battle. Others assailed with the shafts of Karna, uttered diverse cries, and fell down like mountains riven with thunder. With the fallen bodies of elephants and steeds and men and with fallen cars, the Earth became strewn along the track of Karna's car. Indeed, neither Bhishma, nor Drona, nor any other warrior of thy army had ever achieved such feats as were then achieved by Karna in that battle. Amongst elephants, amongst steeds, amongst cars and amongst men, the Suta's son caused a very great carnage, O tiger among men. As a lion is seen to career fearlessly among a herd of deer, even so Karna careered fearlessly among the Pancalas. As a lion routeth a herd of terrified deer to all points of the compass, even so Karna routed those throngs of Pancala cars to all sides. As a herd of deer that have approached the jaws of a lion can never escape with life, even so those great car-warriors that approached Karna could not escape with their lives. As people are certainly burnt if they come in contact with a blazing fire, even so the Srinjayas, O Bharata, were burnt by the Karna-fire when they came in contact with it. Many warriors among the Cedis and the Pancalas, O Bharata, that were regarded as heroes, were slain by the single-handed Karna in that battle who fought with them, proclaiming his name, in every instance. Beholding the prowess of Karna, O king, I thought that a single Pancala even would not, in that battle, escape from the son of Adhiratha. Indeed, the Suta's son in that battle repeatedly routed the Pancalas.

"'Beholding Karna thus slaughtering the Pancalas in that dreadful battle, King Yudhishthira the Just rushed in wrath towards him; Dhrishtadyumna and the sons of Draupadi also, O sire, and hundreds of warriors, encompassed that slayer of foes viz., the son of Radha. And Shikhandi, and Sahadeva, and Nakula, and Nakula's son, and Janamejaya, and the grandson of Sini, and innumerable Prabhadrakas, all endued with immeasurable energy, advancing with Dhrishtadyumna in their van, looked magnificent as they struck Karna with shafts and diverse weapons. Like Garuda falling upon a large number of snakes, the son of Adhiratha, singlehanded, fell upon all those Cedis and Pancalas and Pandavas in that encounter. The battle that took place between them and Karna, O monarch, became exceedingly fierce like that which had occurred in days of old between the gods and the Danavas. Like the Sun dispelling the surrounding darkness, Karna fearlessly and alone encountered all those great bowmen united together and pouring upon him repeated showers of arrows. While the son of Radha was thus engaged with the Pandavas, Bhimasena, filled with rage, began to slaughter the Kurus with shafts, every one of which resembled the lord of Yama. That great bowman, fighting single-handed with the Bahlikas, and the Kaikayas, the Matsyas, the Vasatas, the Madras, and Saindhavas, looked exceedingly resplendent. There, elephants, assailed in their vital limbs by Bhima with his cloth-yard shafts fell down, with their riders slain, making the Earth tremble with the violence of their fall. Steeds also, with their riders slain, and foot-soldiers deprived of life, lay down, pierced with arrows and vomiting blood in large quantities. Car-warriors in thousands fell down, their weapons loosened from their hands. Inspired with the fear of Bhima, they lay deprived of life, their bodies mangled with sounds. The Earth became strewn with car-warriors and horsemen and elephant-men and drivers and foot-soldiers and steeds and elephants all mangled with the shafts of Bhimasena. The army of Duryodhana, O king, cheerless and mangled and afflicted with the fear of Bhimasena, stood as if stupefied. Indeed that melancholy host stood motionless in that dreadful battle like the Ocean, O king, during a calm in autumn. Stupefied, that host stood even like the Ocean in calm. However endued with wrath and energy and might, the army of thy son then, divested of its pride, lost all its splendour. Indeed, the host, whilst thus being slaughtered became drenched with gore and seemed to bathe in blood. The combatants, O chief of the Bharatas, drenched with blood, were seen to approach and slaughter one another. The Suta's son, filled with rage, routed the Pandava division, while Bhimasena in rage routed the Kurus. And both of them, while thus employed, looked exceedingly resplendent. During the progress of that fierce battle filling the spectators with wonder, Arjuna, that foremost of various persons, having slain a large number of samsaptakas in the midst of their array, addressed Vasudeva, saying, "This struggling force of samsaptakas, O Janardana, is broken. Those great car-warriors amongst the samsaptakas are flying away with their followers, unable to bear my shafts, like deer unable to bear the roar of the lion. The vast force of the Srinjayas also seems to break in this great battle. There that banner of the intelligent Karna, bearing the device of the elephant's rope, O Krishna, is seen in the midst of Yudhishthira's division, where he is careering with activity. The other great car-warriors (of our army) are incapable of vanquishing Karna. Thou knowest that Karna is possessed of great energy as regards prowess in battle. Proceed thither where Karna is routing our force. Avoiding (other warriors) in battle, proceed against the Suta's son, that mighty car-warrior. This is what I wish, O Krishna. Do, however, that which thou likest." Hearing these words of his, Govinda smiled, and addressing Arjuna, said, "Slay the Kauravas, O son of Pandu, without delay." Then those steeds, white as swans, urged by Govinda, and bearing Krishna and the son of Pandu penetrated thy vast force. Indeed, thy host broke on all sides as those white steeds in trappings of gold, urged by Keshava, penetrated into its midst. That ape-bannered car, the clatter of whose wheels resembled the deep roar of the clouds and whose flags waved in the air, penetrated into the host like a celestial car passing through the welkin. Keshava and Arjuna, filled with rage, and with eyes red as blood, as they penetrated, piercing through thy vast host, looked exceedingly resplendent in their splendour. Both delighting in battle, as those two heroes, challenged by the Kurus, came to the field, they looked like the twin Ashvinis invoked with proper rites in a sacrifice by the officiating priests. Filled with rage, the impetuosity of those two tigers among men increased like that of two elephants in a large forest, enraged at the claps of hunters. Having penetrated into the midst of that car-force and those bodies of horse, Phalguna careered within those divisions like the Destroyer himself, armed with the fatal noose. Beholding him put forth such prowess within his army, thy son, O Bharata, once more urged the samsaptakas against him. Thereupon, with a 1,000 cars, and 300 elephants, and 14,000 horses, and 200,00 of foot-soldiers armed with the bow, endued with great courage, of sureness of aim and conversant with all the ways of battle, the leaders of the samsaptakas rushed (from every side) towards the son of Kunti (in the great battle) covering the Pandava, O monarch, with showers of arrows from all sides. Thus covered with shafts in that battle, Partha, that grinder of hostile forces, exhibited himself in a fierce form like the Destroyer himself, armed with the noose. While engaged in slaughtering the samsaptakas, Partha became a worthy object of sight to all. Then the welkin became filled with shafts decked with gold and possessed of the effulgence of lightning that were ceaselessly short by the diadem-decked Arjuna. Indeed, everything completely shrouded with mighty shafts sped from Arjuna's arms and falling ceaselessly all around, looked resplendent, O lord, as if covered with snakes. The son of Pandu, of immeasurable soul, shot on all sides his straight shafts equipped with wings of gold and furnished with keen points. In consequence of the sound of Partha's palms, people thought that the Earth, or the vault of the welkin, or all the points of the compass, or the several oceans, or the mountains seemed to split. Having slain 10,000 kshatriyas, Kunti's son, that mighty car-warrior, then quickly proceeded to the further wing of the samsaptakas. Repairing to that further wing which was protected by the Kambojas, Partha began to grind it forcibly with his arrows like Vasava grinding the Danavas. With broad-headed arrows he began to quickly cut off the arms, with weapons in grasp, and also the heads of foes longing to slay him. Deprived of diverse limbs, and of weapons, they began to fall down on the Earth, like trees of many boughs broken by a hurricane. While he was engaged in thus slaughtering elephants and steeds and car-warriors and foot-soldiers, the younger brother of Sudakshina (the chief of the Kambojas) began to pour showers of arrows on him. With a couple of crescent-shaped arrows, Arjuna cut off the two arms, looking like spiked maces, of his striking assailant, and then his head graced with a face as beautiful as the full moon, with a razor-headed arrow. Deprived of life, he fell down from his vehicle, his body bathed in blood, like the thunder-riven summit of a mountain of red arsenic. Indeed, people saw the tall and exceedingly handsome younger brother of Sudakshina, the chief of the Kambojas, of eyes resembling lotus petals, slain and fall down like a column of gold or like a summit of the golden Sumeru. Then commenced a battle there once more that was fierce and exceedingly wonderful. The condition of the struggling combatants varied repeatedly. Each slain with a single arrow, and combatants of the Kamboja, the Yavana, and the Saka races, fell down bathed in blood, upon which the whole field of battle became one expanse of red, O monarch. In consequence of car-warriors deprived of steeds and drivers, and steeds deprived of riders, and elephants deprived of riders, and riders deprived of elephants, battling with one another, O king, a great carnage took place. When the wing and the further wing of the samsaptakas had thus been exterminated by Savyasaci, the son of Drona quickly proceeded against Arjuna, that foremost of victorious warriors. Indeed, Drona's son rushed, shaking his formidable bow, and taking with him many terrible arrows like the Sun himself appearing with his own rays. With mouth wide open from rage and with the desire to retaliate, and with red eyes, the mighty Ashvatthama looked formidable like death himself, armed with his mace and filled with wrath as at the end of the Yuga. He then shot showers of fierce shafts. With those shafts sped by him, he began to rout the Pandava army. As soon as he beheld him of Dasharha's race (Keshava) on the car, O king, he once more sped at him, and repeated showers of fierce shafts. With those falling shafts, O monarch, sped by Drona's son, both Krishna and Dhananjaya were completely shrouded on the car. Then the valiant Ashvatthama, with hundreds of keen arrows, stupefied both Madhava and the son of Pandu in that battle. Beholding those two protectors of all mobile and immobile creatures thus covered with arrows, the universe of mobile and immobile beings uttered cries of "Oh!" and "Alas!" Crowds of Siddhas and Charanas began to repair to that spot from every side, mentally uttering this prayer, viz., "Let good be to all the worlds." Never before, O king, did I see prowess like that of Drona's son in that battle while he was engaged in shrouding the two Krishnas with shafts. The sound of Ashvatthama's bow, inspiring foes with terror, was repeatedly heard by us in that battle, O king, to resemble that of a roaring lion. While careering in that battle and striking right and left the string of his bow looked beautiful like flashes of lightning in the midst of a mass of clouds. Though endued with great firmness and lightness of hand the son of Pandu, for all that, beholding the son of Drona then, became greatly stupefied. Indeed, Arjuna then regarded his own prowess to be destroyed by his high-souled assailant. The form of Ashvatthama became such in that battle that men could with difficulty gaze at it. During the progress of that dreadful battle between Drona's son and the Pandava, during that time when the mighty son of Drona, O monarch, thus prevailed over his antagonist and the son of Kunti lost his energy, Krishna became filled with rage. Inspired with wrath he drew deep breaths, O king, and seemed to burn with his eyes both Ashvatthama and Phalguna as he looked at them repeatedly. Filled with rage, Krishna addressed Partha in an affectionate tone, saying, "This, O Partha, that I behold in battle regarding thee, is exceedingly strange, since Drona's son, O Partha, surpasseth thee today! Hast thou not now the energy and the might of thy arms thou hadst before? Hast thou not that Gandiva still in thy hands, and dost thou not stay on thy car now? Are not thy two arms sound? Hath thy fist suffered any hurt? Why is it then that I see the son of Drona prevail over thee in battle? Do not, O Partha, spare thy assailant, regarding him as the son of thy preceptor, O bull of Bharata's race. This is not the time for sparing him." Thus addressed by Krishna, Partha speedily took up four and ten broad-headed arrows at a time, when speed was of the highest moment, and with them he cut off Ashvatthama's bow and standard and umbrella and banners and car and dart and mace. With a few calf-toothed arrows he then deeply struck the son of Drona in the latter's shoulder. Thereupon overcome with a deep swoon, Ashvatthama sat down, supporting himself on his flagstaff. The latter's driver then, O monarch, desirous of protecting him from Dhananjaya, bore him away insensible and thus deeply afflicted by the foe. Meanwhile that scorcher of foes, viz., Vijaya, slaughtered thy troops by hundreds and thousands, in the very sight of that hero, viz., thy son, O sire. Thus, O king, in consequence of thy evil counsels, a cruel and awful destruction and carnage commenced as thy warriors were engaged with the enemy. Within a short time Vibhatsu routed the samsaptakas: Vrikodara, the Kurus, and Vasusena, the Pancalas. During the progress of the battle destructive of great heroes, there rose many headless trunks all around. Meanwhile Yudhishthira, O chief of the Bharatas, in great pain owing to his wounds, retreating about two miles from the battle, rested himself for some time.'"

SECTION 57

"Sanjaya said, 'Then Duryodhana, O chief of Bharatas, repairing to Karna, said unto him as also unto the ruler of the Madras and the other lords of Earth present there, these words, "Without seeking hath this occasion arrived, when the

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gates of heaven have become wide open. Happy are those Kshatriyas, O Karna, that obtain such a battle. Brave heroes fighting in battle with brave Kshatriyas equal to them in might and prowess, obtain great good, O son of Radha. The occasion that hath come is even such. Either let these brave Kshatriyas, slaying the Pandavas in battle, obtain the broad Earth, or let them, slain in battle by the foe, win the blessed region reserved for heroes." Hearing these words of Duryodhana, those bulls among Kshatriyas cheerfully uttered loud shouts and beat and blew their musical instruments. When Duryodhana's force became thus filled with joy, the son of Drona, gladdening all thy warriors further said, "In the very sight of all the troops, and before the eyes of you all, my father after he had laid aside his weapons, was slain by Dhrishtadyumna. By that wrath which such an act might kindle, and for the sake also of my friend, ye kings, I swear truly before you all. Listen then to that oath of mine. Without slaying Dhrishtadyumna I shall not doff my armour. If this vow of mine be not fulfilled, let me not go to heaven. Be it Arjuna, be it Bhimasena, or be it anybody else, whoever will come against me I will crush him or all of them. There is no doubt in this." After Ashvatthama had uttered these words, the entire Bharata army, united together, rushed against the Pandavas, and the latter also rushed against the former. The collision of brave leaders of car-divisions, O Bharata, became exceedingly awful. A destruction of life then set in at the van of the Kurus and the Srinjayas, that resembled what takes place at the last great universal dissolution. Upon the commencement of that passage-at-arms, various (superior) beings, with the gods, came there accompanied by the Apsaras, for beholding those foremost of men. Filled with joy, the Apsaras began to cover those foremost of men devoted to the duties of their order, with celestial garlands, with diverse kinds of celestial perfumes, and with diverse species of gems. Soft winds bore those excellent odours to the nostrils of all the foremost of warriors. Having smelt those perfumes in consequence of the action of the wind, the warriors once more engaged in battle, and striking one another began to fall down on the Earth. Strewn with celestial flowers, with beautiful shafts equipped with wings of gold, and with many foremost of warriors, the Earth looked beautiful like the firmament bespangled with myriads of stars. Then in consequence of cheers coming from the welkin and the noise of musical instruments, the furious passage-at-arms distinguished by twang of bows and clatter of car-wheels and shouts of warriors became exceedingly fierce.'"

SECTION 58

"Sanjaya said, 'Thus raged that great battle between those lords of Earth when Arjuna and Karna and Bhimasena, the son of Pandu became angry. Having vanquished the son of Drona, and other great car-warriors, Arjuna, O king, addressing Vasudeva, said, "Behold, O Krishna of mighty arms, the Pandava army is flying away. Behold, Karna is slaying our great car-warriors in this battle. I do not, O thou of Dasaratha's race, see king Yudhishthira the Just. Nor is the standard of Dharma's son, foremost of warriors, visible. The third part of the day still remaineth, Janardana. No one amongst the Dhartarashtras cometh against me for fight. For doing, therefore, what is agreeable to me, proceed to the spot where Yudhishthira is. Beholding Dharma's son safe and sound with his younger brothers in battle, I will again fight with the foe, O thou of Vrishni's race." At these words of Vibhatsu, Hari (Krishna) quickly proceeded on that car to that spot where king Yudhishthira, along with the mighty Srinjaya car-warriors of great strength, were fighting with the foe, making death their goal. During the progress of that great carnage, Govinda, beholding the field of battle, addressed Savyasaci, saying, "Behold, O Partha, how great and awful is this carnage, O Bharata, of Kshatriyas on Earth for the sake of Duryodhana. Behold, O Bharata, the gold-backed bows of slain warriors, as also their costly quivers displaced from their shoulders. Behold those straight shafts equipped with wings of gold, and those clothyard arrows washed with oil and looking like snakes freed from their sloughs. Behold, O Bharata, those scimitars, decked with gold, and having ivory handles, and those displaced shields embossed with gold. Behold those lances decked with gold, those darts having golden ornaments, and those huge maces twined round with gold. Behold those swords adorned with gold, those axes with golden ornaments, and the heads of those battle-axes fallen off from their golden handles. Behold those iron Kuntas, those short clubs exceedingly heavy, those beautiful rockets, those huge bludgeons with spiked heads, those discs displaced from the arms of their wielders, and those spears (that have been used) in this dreadful battle. Endued (while living) with great activity, warriors that came to battle, having taken up diverse weapons, are lying, though deprived of life, as if still alive. Behold, thousands of warriors lying on the field, with limbs crushed by means of maces, or heads broken by means of heavy clubs, or torn and mangled by elephants and steeds and cars. The field of battle is covered with shafts and darts and swords and axes and scimitars and spiked maces and lances and iron Kuntas and battle-axes, and the bodies of men and steeds and elephants, hacked with many wounds and covered with streams of blood and deprived of life, O slayer of foes. The Earth looks beautiful, O Bharata, with arms smeared with sandal, decked with Angadas of gold and with Keyuras, and having their ends cased in leathern fences. With hands cased in leathern fences, with displaced ornaments, with severed thighs looking like elephants' trunks of many active warriors, with fallen heads, decked with costly gems and earrings, of heroes having large expansive eyes, the Earth looks exceedingly beautiful. With headless trunks smeared all over with blood with severed limbs and heads and hips, the Earth looks, O best of the Bharatas, like an altar strewn with extinguished fires. Behold those beautiful cars with rows of golden bells, broken in diverse ways, and those slain steeds lying scattered on the field, with arrows yet sticking to their bodies. Behold those bottoms of cars, those quivers, those banners, those diverse kinds of standards, those gigantic conchs of car-warriors, white in hue and scattered all over the field. Behold those elephants, huge as hills, lying on the Earth, with tongues lolling out, and those other elephants and steeds, deprived of life and decked with triumphal banners. Behold those housings of elephants, and those skins and blankets, and those other beautiful and variegated and torn blankets. Behold those rows of bells torn and broken in diverse ways in consequence of falling elephants of gigantic size, and those beautiful goads set with stones of lapis lazuli, and those hooks falling upon the ground. Behold those whips, adorned with gold, and variegated with gems, still in the grasp of (slain) horsemen, and those blankets and skins of the Ranku deer falling on the ground but which had served for seats on horse back. Behold those gems for adorning the diadems of kings, and those beautiful necklaces of gold, and those displaced umbrellas and yak-tails for fanning. Behold the Earth, miry with blood, strewn with the faces of heroes, decked with beautiful earrings and well-cut beards and possessed of the splendour of the moon and stars. Behold those wounded warriors in whom life is not yet extinct and who, lying all around, are uttering wails of woe. Their relatives, O prince, casting aside their weapons are tending them, weeping incessantly. Having covered many warriors with arrows and deprived them of life, behold those combatants, endued with activity longing for victory, and swelling with rage, are once more proceeding for battle against their antagonists. Others are running hither and thither on the field. Being begged for water by fallen heroes, others related to them have gone in quest of drink. Many, O Arjuna, are breathing their last meanwhile. Returning their brave relatives, seeing them become senseless are throwing down the water they brought and are running wildly, shouting at one another. Behold, many have died after having slaked their thirst, and many, O Bharata, are dying while drinking. Others, though affectionate towards relatives, are still seen to rush towards foes in great battle deserting their dear relatives. Others, again, O best of men, biting their nether lips, and with faces rendered terrible in consequence of the contraction of their brows, are surveying the field all around." While saying these words unto Arjuna, Vasudeva proceeded towards Yudhishthira. Arjuna also, beholding the king in that great battle, repeatedly urged Govinda, saying, "Proceed, Proceed." Having shown the field of battle to Partha, Madhava, while proceeding quickly, slowly said unto Partha once more, "Behold those kings rushing towards king Yudhishthira. Behold Karna, who resembles a blazing fire, on the arena of the battle. Yonder the mighty-bowman Bhima is proceeding to battle. They that are the foremost among the Pancalas, the Srinjayas, and the Pandavas--they, that is, that have Dhrishtadyumna for their head, are following Bhima. The vast army of the enemy is again broken by the rushing Parthas. Behold, O Arjuna, Karna is trying to rally the flying Kauravas. Resembling the Destroyer himself in impetuosity and Indra himself in prowess, yonder proceedeth Drona's son, O thou of Kuru's race, that hero who is the foremost of all wielders of weapons. The mighty carwarrior Dhrishtadyumna is rushing against that hero. The Srinjayas are following the lead of Dhristadyumna. Behold, the Srinjayas are falling." Thus did the invincible Vasudeva describe everything unto the diadem-decked Arjuna. Then, O king, commenced a terrible and awful battle. Loud leonine shouts arose as the two hosts encountered each other, O monarch, making death their goal. Even thus, O king, in consequence of thy evil counsels, did that destruction set in on Earth, O lord of Earth, of both thy warriors and those of the enemy.'"

SECTION 59

"Sanjaya said, 'Then the Kurus and the Srinjayas once more fearlessly encountered each other in battle, the Parthas being headed by Yudhishthira, and ourselves headed by the Suta's son. Then commenced a terrible battle, making the hair to stand on end, between Karna and the Pandavas, that increased the population of Yama's kingdom. After that furious battle, producing rivers of blood, had commenced, and when a remnant only of the brave samsaptakas, O Bharata, were left unslaughtered, Dhrishtadyumna, O monarch, with all the kings (on the Pandava side) and those mighty car-warriors--the Pandavas themselves, all rushed against Karna only. Like the mountain receiving a vast body of water, Karna, unaided by anyone, received in that battle all those advancing warriors filled with joy and longing for victory. Those mighty car-warriors encountering Karna, were beat off and broken like a mass of water, and beat back on all sides when it encounters a mountain. The battle, however, that took place between them and Karna made the hair stand on end. Then Dhrishtadyumna assailed the son of Radha with a straight shaft in that battle, and addressing him said, "Wait, Wait." The mighty car-warrior Karna, filled with rage, shook his foremost of bows called Vijaya, and cutting off the bow of Dhrishtadyumna, as also his arrows resembling snakes of virulent poison assailed Dhrishtadyumna himself with nine arrows. Those arrows, O sinless one, piercing through the gold-decked armour of the high-souled son of Prishata, became bathed in blood and looked beautiful like so many cochineal. The mighty car-warrior Dhrishtadyumna, casting aside that broken bow, took up another bow and a number of shafts resembling snakes of virulent poison. With those straight shafts numbering seventy, he pierced Karna. Similarly, O king, Karna, in that battle, covered Prishata's son, that scorcher of foes, with many shafts resembling snakes of virulent poison. The slayer of Drona, that great bowman, retaliated by piercing Karna with many keen shafts. Filled with rage, Karna then, O monarch, sped at his antagonist a gold-decked shaft that resembled a second rod of death. That terrible shaft, O monarch, as it coursed impetuously towards Prishata's son, the grandson of Sini, O king, cut off into seven fragments, displaying great lightness of hand. Beholding his shaft baffled by the arrows of Satyaki, O king, Karna resisted Satyaki with showers of arrows from every side. And he pierced Satyaki in that encounter with seven clothyard shafts. The grandson of Sini, however, pierced him in return with many arrows decked with gold. The battle then that took place, O king, between those two warriors was such as to fill both spectators and listeners with fear. Though awful, soon it became beautiful and deserving objects of sight. Beholding the feats, in that encounter, of Karna and the grandson of Sini, the hair of all the creatures there present seemed to stand on end. Meanwhile the mighty son of Drona rushed against Prishata's son, that chastiser of foes and queller of the prowess of all enemies. Filled with rage, Drona's son, that subjugator of hostile towns, addressing Dhrishtadyumna, said, "Wait, wait, O slayer of a Brahmana, thou shalt not escape me today with life." Having said these words, that mighty car-warrior of great lightness of hand striving resolutely, deeply pierced the brave son of Prishata, who also strove to the utmost of his prowess, with many keen and terrible shafts endued with great impetuosity. As Drona (while alive), beholding the son of Prishata, O sire, had become cheerless and regarded him as his death, even so the son of Prishata, that slayer of hostile heroes, beholding Drona's son in that battle, now regarded him as his death. Soon, however, remembering that he was unslayable in battle by means of weapons, he rushed with great speed against Drona's son, like the Destroyer running against the Destroyer at the time of the universal dissolution. Drona's heroic son, however, O monarch, beholding Dhrishtadyumna stationed before him, drew deep breaths, in wrath, and rushed towards him. Both of them were filled with great rage at the sight of each other. Endued with great activity, the valiant son of Drona then, O monarch, said these words unto Dhrishtadyumna staying not far from him, "O wretch amongst the Pancalas, I shall today despatch thee to Yama. The sin thou hast committed before by slaying Drona will fill thee today with regret, to thy great evil, if thou stayest in battle without being protected by Partha, or if thou dost not fly away, O fool, I tell thee truly." Thus addressed, the valiant Dhrishtadyumna replied, saying, "That same sword of mine which answered thy sire, resolutely engaged in battle, will today answer this speech of thine. If Drona could be slain by me, O thou that art a Brahmana in name only, why should I not then, putting forth my prowess, slay thee also in battle today?" Having said these words, the wrathful commander of the Pandava forces, viz., the son of Prishata, pierced Drona's son with a keen arrow. Then Drona's son filled with great rage, shrouded every side of Dhrishtadyumna, O king, in that battle, with straight arrows. Shrouded with thousands of arrows, neither the welkin, nor the points of the compass, nor the combatants all around, could, O monarch, be any longer seen. Similarly, the son of Prishata, O king, shrouded Drona's son, that ornament of battle, with arrows, in the very sight of Karna. The son of Radha, too, O monarch, singly resisted the Pancalas and the Pandavas and the (five) sons of Draupadi and Yudhamanyu and the mighty car-warrior Satyaki, in consequence of which feat he became the cynosure of all eyes. Then Dhrishtadyumna in that battle cut off the very tough and formidable bow of Drona's son, as also all his arrows resembling snakes of virulent poison. Drona's son, however, with his arrows, destroyed within the twinkling of an eye the bow, the dart, the mace, the standard, the steeds, the driver, and the car of Prishata's son. Bowless and carless and steedless and driverless, the son of Prishata then took up a huge scimitar and a blazing shield decked with a hundred moons.

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Endued with great lightness of hand, and possessed of mighty weapons, that mighty car-warrior, viz., the heroic son of Drona, O king, quickly cut off, in that battle, with many broad-headed arrows, those weapons also of Dhrishtadyumna before the latter could come down from his car. All this seemed exceedingly wonderful. The mighty car-warrior Ashvatthama, however, though struggling vigorously, could not, O chief of the Bharatas, slay the carless and steedless and bowless Dhrishtadyumna, although pierced and exceedingly mangled with many arrows. When, therefore, O king, the son of Drona found that he could not slay his enemy with arrows, he laid aside his bow and quickly proceeded towards the son of Prishata. The impetuosity of that high-souled one, as he rushed towards his foe, resembled that of Garuda swooping down for seizing a large snake. Meanwhile Madhava, addressing Arjuna, said, "Behold, O Partha, how the son of Drona is rushing with great speed towards the car of Prishata's son. Without doubt, he will slay the prince. O mighty-armed one, O crusher of foes, rescue the son of Prishata, who is now within the jaws of Drona's son as if within the jaws of Death himself." Having said these words, the valiant Vasudeva urged the steeds towards that spot where Drona's son was. Those steeds, of the splendour of the moon, urged by Keshava, proceeded towards the car of Drona's son, devouring the very skies. Beholding those two of great energy, viz., Krishna and Dhananjaya, coming towards him, the mighty Ashvatthama made great efforts for slaying Dhrishtadyumna soon. Seeing Dhrishtadyumna dragged, O ruler of men by his enemy, the mighty Partha sped many arrows at the son of Drona. Those arrows, decked with gold and sped from Gandiva, approached the son of Drona and pierced him deeply like snakes penetrating into an ant-hill. Thus pierced with those terrible arrows, the valiant son of Drona, O king, abandoned the Pancala prince of immeasurable energy. Indeed, the hero, thus afflicted with Dhananjaya's shafts, mounted on his car, and taking up his own excellent bow, began to pierce Partha with many shafts. Meanwhile, the heroic Sahadeva, O ruler of men, bore away on his car the son of Prishata, that scorcher of foes. Arjuna then, O king, pierced Drona's son with many arrows. Filled with rage, Drona's son struck Arjuna in the arms and the chest. Thus provoked, Partha, in that battle, sped at Drona's son, a long shaft that resembled a second rod of Death, or rather, Death himself. That arrow of great splendour fell upon the shoulder of the Brahmana hero. Exceedingly agitated, O monarch, in that battle, by the violence of the stroke, he sat down on the terrace of his car and swooned away. Then Karna, O monarch, shook his bow Vijaya and, filled with rage, repeatedly eyed Arjuna in that battle, desiring a single combat with him. Meanwhile the driver of Drona's son, beholding the latter senseless, quickly bore him away on his car from the field of battle. Beholding Prishata's son rescued and Drona's son afflicted, the Pancalas, O king, expectant of victory, began to utter loud shouts. Thousands of sweet instruments began to be sounded. Seeing such wonderful feats in battle, the combatants uttered leonine roars. Having achieved that feat, Partha addressed Vasudeva, saying "Proceed, O Krishna, towards the samsaptakas, for this is greatly desired by me." Hearing those words of Pandu's son, he of Dasharha's race proceeded on that car graced with many banners and whose speed resembled that of the wind or the mind.'"

SECTION 60

"Sanjaya said, 'Meanwhile Krishna, pointing out king Yudhishthira the Just, unto Kunti's son Partha, addressed him in these words: "Yonder, O son of Pandu, your brother (Yudhishthira) is being pursued by many mighty and great bowmen amongst the Dhartarashtras, all inspired with the desire of slaughtering him. The mighty Pancalas, difficult of defeat in battle, are proceeding after the high-souled Yudhishthira from desire of rescuing him. Yonder, Duryodhana, O Partha, the king of the whole world, clad in mail and accompanied by a large car force, is pursuing the Pandava king. Impelled by the desire of slaughtering his rival, the mighty Duryodhana, O tiger among men, is pursuing him, accompanied by his brothers, the touch of whose weapons is as fatal as that of poisonous snakes and who are all conversant with every mode of warfare. Those Dhartarashtra elephants and horses and car-warriors and foot-soldiers are advancing to seize Yudhishthira like poor men after a precious gem. Behold, checked by Satyaki and Bhima, they have again been stupefied, like the Daityas, that desired to take away the Amrita, made motionless by Sakra and Agni. The mighty car-warriors (of the Kuru army), however, in consequence of the vastness of their numbers, are again proceeding towards Yudhishthira like a vast quantity of water in the season of rains rushing towards the ocean. Those mighty bowmen are uttering leonine roars, blowing their conchs, and shaking their bows. I regard Kunti's son Yudhishthira, thus brought under the influence of Duryodhana, to be already within the jaws of Death or already poured as a libation on the sacrificial fire. The army of Dhritarashtra's son, O Pandava, is arrayed and equipped duly. Sakra himself, coming within the range of its arrows, can scarcely escape. Who will in battle bear the impetuosity of the heroic Duryodhana who shoots showers of arrows with the greatest celerity and who, when angry, resembles the Destroyer himself? The force of the heroic Duryodhana's shafts, or Drona's son's or Kripa's or Karna's would break down the very mountains. That scorcher of foes, viz., king Yudhishthira, was once compelled by Karna to turn his back upon the field. The son of Radha is endued with great might and great lightness of hand. Possessed of great skill, he is accomplished in battle. He is competent to afflict the eldest son of Pandu in fight, specially when he is united with the mighty and brave son of Dhritarashtra. Of rigid vows, when the son of Pritha (Yudhishthira) had been engaged in battle with all those warriors, other great car-warriors had struck him and contributed to his defeat. The king, O best of the Bharatas, is exceedingly emaciated in consequence of his fasts. He is endued with Brahma-force, but the puissant one is not endued with much of Kshatriya-might. Assailed, however, by Karna, the royal son of Pandu, Yudhishthira, that scorcher of foes, hath been placed in a situation of great peril. I think, O Partha, that king Yudhishthira has fallen. Indeed, since that chastiser of foes, the wrathful Bhimasena, coolly heareth the leonine roars of the frequently shouting Dhartarashtra's longing for victory and blowing their conchs, I think, O bull among men, that Pandu's son Yudhishthira is dead. Yonder Karna urges forward the mighty car-warriors of the Dhartarashtras towards the son of Pritha with the weapons called Sthunakarna, Indrasjaha and Pasupata, and with clubs and other weapons. The king, O Bharata, must be deeply afflicted and exceedingly weakened, because the Pancalas and the Pandavas, those foremost of all wielders of weapons, are seen to proceed with great speed towards him at a time when speed is of the highest moment like strong men rushing to the rescue of a person sinking in a bottomless sea. The king's standard is no longer visible. It has probably been struck down by Karna with his shafts. In the very sight of the twins, O Partha, and of Satyaki and Shikhandi, and Dhrishtadyumna and Bhima and Satanika, O lord, as also of all the Pancalas and the Cedis, O Bharata, yonder Karna is destroying the Pandava division with his arrows, like an elephant destroying an assemblage of lotuses. There, those car-warriors of thy army, O son of Pandu, are flying away. See, see, O Partha, how those great warriors are retreating. Those elephants, O Bharata, assailed by Karna in battle, are flying away in all directions, uttering cries of pain. There those crowds of car-warriors, routed in battle, O Partha, by Karna, that crusher of foes, are flying away in all directions. Behold, O Partha, that foremost of standards, of the Suta's son, on his car, bearing the device of the elephant's rope, is seen to move all over the field. There, the son of Radha is now rushing against Bhimasena, scattering hundreds of shafts as he proceeds and slaughtering thy army therewith. There, those mighty car-warriors of the Pancalas are being routed (by Karna) even as the Daityas had been routed by Sakra in dreadful battle. There, Karna, having vanquished the Pancalas, the Pandus, and the Srinjayas, is casting his eyes on all sides, I think, for seeking thee. Behold, O Partha, Karna, as he beautifully draws his foremost of bows, looketh exceedingly beautiful even as Sakra in the midst of the celestials, after vanquishing his foes. There the Kauravas, beholding the prowess of Karna, are roaring and inspiring the Pandus and the Srinjayas with fear on every side. There, Karna himself, terrifying the Pandus with his whole soul, in dreadful battle, is addressing all the troops, O giver of honours, saying, 'Blessed be ye, advance, ye Kauravas and rush with such speed that no Srinjaya may, in this battle escape with life. United together, do this all of you. As regards ourselves, we will follow behind you.' Saying these words, he is advancing behind (his troops), scattering his shafts. Behold Karna, adorned with his white umbrella in this battle and looking like the Udaya hills adorned by the moon. With his beautiful umbrella of a hundred ribs, resembling the moon in full, held over his head, O Bharata, in this battle, Karna, O prince, is casting his glances after thee. Without doubt, he will, in this battle, come hither, with great speed. Behold him, O mighty-armed one, as he shaketh his formidable bow and shooteth, in this dreadful battle, his shafts resembling snakes of virulent poison. There, the son of Radha turneth towards this direction, beholding thy banner bearing the ape, and desiring, O Partha, an encounter with thee, O scorcher of foes. Indeed, he cometh for his own destruction, even like an insect into the mouth of a lamp. Wrathful and brave, he is ever engaged in the good of Dhritarashtra's son. Of wicked understanding, he is always unable to put up with thee. Beholding Karna alone and unsupported, Dhritarashtra's son, O Bharata, turneth towards him with great resolution, accompanied by his car-force, for protecting him. Let that wicked-souled one, along with all those allies of his, be slain by thee, putting forth thy vigour, from desire of winning fame, kingdom and happiness. Both of you are endued with great strength. Both of you are possessed of great celebrity. When encountering each other in battle, O Partha, like a celestial and a Danava in the great battle between the gods and the Asuras, let all the Kauravas behold thy prowess. Beholding thee filled with great rage and Karna also excited to fury, O bull of Bharata's race, Duryodhana in wrath will not be able to do anything. Remembering thyself to be of purified soul, O bull of Bharata's race, and remembering also that the son of Radha harboureth a great animosity for the virtuous Yudhishthira, achieve that, O son of Kunti, which should now be achieved. Righteously setting thy heart on battle, advance against that leader of car-warriors. There, five hundred foremost of car-warriors, O thou best of car-warriors, that are endued with great might and fierce energy, and 5,000 elephants, and twice as many horses, and innumerable foot-soldiers, all united together, O son of Kunti, and protecting one another, O hero, are advancing against thee. Show thyself, of thy own will, unto that great bowman, viz., the Suta's son. Advance, O bull of Bharata's race, towards him with great speed. There, Karna, filled with great wrath is rushing against the Pancalas. I see his standard approaching towards the car of Dhrishtadyumna. I think he will exterminate the Pancalas. I will tell thee, O bull of Bharata's race, some good news, O Partha. King Yudhishthira the Just is living. There, the mighty-armed Bhima, having returned, is stationed at the head of the army, supported by the Srinjayas and by Satyaki, O Bharata. There, the Kauravas are being slaughtered with keen shafts by Bhimasena, O son of Kunti, and the high-souled Pancalas. The troops of Dhritarashtra's son, with their faces turned from the field, and with blood streaming down from their wounds, are speedily flying away from battle, struck by Bhima with his shafts. Bathed in blood, the Bharata army, O chief of Bharata's race, presents an exceedingly cheerless aspect like that of the Earth when divested of crops. Behold, O son of Kunti, Bhimasena, that foremost of combatants, filled with rage like a snake of virulent poison, and engaged in routing the (Kaurava) host. Yellow and red and black and white banners, adorned with stars and moons and suns as also many umbrellas, O Arjuna, lie scattered about. Made of gold or silver or brass and other metals, standards are lying about, and elephants and steeds also, scattered all over the field. There, those car-warriors are falling from their cars, deprived of life by the unreturning Pancalas with shafts of diverse kinds. There the Pancalas of great speed, O Dhananjaya, are rushing against the riderless Dhartarashtra elephants and steeds and cars. Reckless of their very lives, O chastiser of foes, those warriors, difficult of defeat in battle aided by the might of Bhimasena are crushing, O tiger among men, the hostile force. There, the Pancalas are uttering loud roars and blowing their conchs as they are rushing against their foes and crushing them with their shafts in battle. Behold their great energy and power. Through sheer valour, the Pancalas are slaughtering the Dhartarashtras like angry lions slaying elephants. Unarmed they are snatching the weapons of their armed foes and with those weapons thus snatched, they are slaying their foes that are effectual smiters, and uttering loud roars. The heads and arms of their foes are being struck off and felled on the field. The Pancala cars and elephants and horses are all worthy of the highest praise. Like swans of great speed leaving the Manasa lake and rushing into the Ganga, the Pancalas are rushing against the Kauravas, and every part of the vast Dhartarashtra force is assailed by them. Like bulls resisting bulls, the heroic Kripa and Karna and other leaders are putting forth all their valour for resisting the Pancalas. The Pancala heroes headed by Dhrishtadyumna are slaying thousands of their foes, viz., the great car-warriors of the Dhartarashtra army already sinking in the ocean of Bhima's weapons. Beholding the Pancalas overwhelmed by their foes, the fearless son of the Wind-god, assailing the hostile force, is shooting his shafts and uttering loud roars. The greater portion of the vast Dhartarashtra army has become exceedingly frightened. Behold those elephants, pierced by Bhima with his cloth-yard shafts, are falling down like mountain summits riven by the thunderbolt of Indra. There, those huge elephants, deeply pierced with the straight shafts of Bhimasena are flying away, crushing their own ranks. Dost thou not recognise the unbearable leonine shouts, O Arjuna, of the terribly-roaring Bhimasena inspired with desire of victory in battle? There, the prince of the Nishadas, filled with rage, is coming against the son of Pandu, on his foremost of elephants, from desire of slaying him with his lances, even like Destroyer himself armed with his bludgeon. Struck by Bhima with ten keen cloth-yard shafts endued with the splendour of the fire or the Sun, the two arms of the roaring prince, with lances in grasp, are lopped off. Staying the prince, Bhima proceedeth against other elephants looking like masses of blue clouds and ridden by riders guiding them with skill. Behold those riders striking Vrikodara with darts and lances in profusion. Slaying with his keen shafts those elephants, seven at a time, their triumphal standards also, O Partha, are cut down by thy elder brother. As regards those other elephants, each of them is being slain with ten shafts by him. The shouts of the Dhartarashtras are no longer heard, now that Bhima, O bull of Bharata's race, who is equal to Purandara himself, is engaged in battle. Full three akshauhinis of Duryodhana's soldiers had been assembled

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together (in front of Bhima). They have all been checked by that lion among men, Bhimasena, in wrath.'"

"Sanjaya continued, 'Behold that feat, difficult of accomplishment, achieved by Bhimasena. Arjuna, with his keen shafts, destroyed the remnant of his foes. The mighty samsaptakas, O lord, slaughtered in battle and routed (by Arjuna), fled away in all directions, overcome with fear. Many amongst them (that fell) became the guests of Shakra and attained to great happiness. As regards Partha, that tiger among men, he continued, with his straight shafts, to slaughter the Dhartarashtra host consisting of four kinds of forces.'"

SECTION 61

"Dhritarashtra said, 'When Bhima and Pandu's son Yudhishthira were engaged in battle, when my troops were being slaughtered by the Pandus and the Srinjayas, when, indeed, my vast army being broken and routed repeatedly became cheerless, tell me, O Sanjaya, what the Kauravas did.'

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding the mighty-armed Bhima, the Suta's son of great valour, with eyes red in wrath, O king, rushed towards him. Seeing thy army fly away from Bhimasena, the mighty Karna, O king, rallied it with great efforts. The mighty-armed Karna, having rallied thy son's host, proceeded against the Pandavas, those heroes difficult of defeat in battle. The great car-warriors of the Pandavas also, shaking their bows and shooting their shafts, proceeded against the son of Radha. Bhimasena, and the grandson of Sini, and Shikhandi and Janamejaya, and Dhrishtadyumna of great strength, and all the Prabhadrakas, and those tigers among men, the Pancalas, filled with rage and inspired with desire of victory, rushed in that battle from every side against thy army. Similarly, the great car-warriors of thy army, O king, quickly proceeded against the Pandava host, desirous of slaughtering it. Teeming with cars and elephants and horses, and abounding with foot-soldiers and standards, the two armies then, O tiger among men, assumed a wonderful aspect. Shikhandi proceeded against Karna, and Dhrishtadyumna proceeded against thy son Duhshasana, accompanied by a large force. Nakula proceeded against Vrishasena, while Yudhishthira against Citrasena. Sahadeva, O king, in that battle, proceeded against Uluka. Satyaki proceeded against Shakuni, and the sons of Draupadi against the other Kauravas. The mighty car-warrior Ashvatthama proceeded, with great care, against Arjuna. Sharadvata's son Kripa proceeded against the mighty bowman Yudhamanyu, while Kritavarma of great strength proceeded against Uttamauja. The mighty-armed Bhimasena, O sire, alone and unsupported, resisted all the Kurus and thy sons at the head of their division. The slayer of Bhishma, Shikhandi, then, O monarch, with his winged arrows, resisted Karna, careering fearlessly in that battle. Held in check, Karna then, his lips trembling in rage, assailed Shikhandi with three arrows in the midst of his eyebrows. With those three arrows sticking on his forehead, Shikhandi looked highly beautiful like a silver mountain with three elevated crests. Deeply pierced by the Suta's son in that encounter, the mighty bowman Shikhandi pierced Karna, in return, with ninety keen shafts. The mighty car-warrior Karna then, slaying Shikhandi's steeds and next his driver with three arrows, cut off his standard with a razor-faced arrow. That mighty car-warrior then, that scorcher of foes, filled with rage, jumped down from his steedless car and hurled a dart at Karna. Cutting off that dart with three shafts in that encounter, Karna then, O Bharata, pierced Shikhandi with nine keen arrows. Avoiding then the shafts sped from Karna's bow, that best of men, Shikhandi, exceedingly mangled, retreated speedily from that spot. Then Karna, O monarch, began to scatter the troops of the Pandavas, like a mighty wind scattering a heap of cotton. Meanwhile Dhrishtadyumna, O monarch, afflicted by thy son, pierced Duhshasana, in return, with three arrows in the centre of the chest. Then Duhshasana, O sire, pierced his assailant's left arm with a broad-headed shaft, sharp and straight and equipped with wings of gold. Thus pierced, Dhrishtadyumna, filled with wrath and the desire to retaliate, sped a terrible shaft, O Bharata, at Duhshasana. Thy son, however, O king, with three shafts of his, cut off that impetuous arrow sped by Dhrishtadyumna as it coursed towards him. Approaching Dhrishtadyumna then, he struck him in the arms and the chest with seventeen other broad-headed shafts adorned with gold. Thereat Prishata's son, filled with rage, cut off Duhshasana's bow, O sire, with a sharp razor-headed arrow, at which all the troops there uttered a loud shout. Taking up then another bow, thy son, as if smiling, held Dhrishtadyumna in check with showers of arrows from every side. Beholding the prowess of that high-souled son of thine, the combatants, as also the siddhas and the apsaras, became all filled with wonder. We then saw the mighty Dhrishtadyumna thus assailed by Duhshasana to resemble a huge elephant, held in check by a lion. Then many Pancala car-warriors and elephants and horses, O elder brother of Pandu, desirous of rescuing the commander (of the Pandava army) encompassed thy son. The battle that commenced, O scorcher of foes, between thy warriors and the enemy, presented as frightful a sight as that which may be seen at the destruction of all creatures at the end of the Yuga.

"'Vrishasena, staying by the side of his father, having pierced Nakula with five arrows made wholly of iron, pierced him once again with three other arrows. The heroic Nakula then, as if smiling, deeply pierced Vrishasena in the chest with a cloth-yard shaft of great keenness. Thus pierced by his mighty foe, that scorcher of foes, viz., Vrishasena, pierced his assailant with twenty arrows and was himself pierced by him with five. Then those two bulls among men shrouded each other with thousands of arrows, at which the divisions that supported them broke. Beholding the troops of Dhritarashtra's son flying away, the Suta's son, following them, O king, began to forcibly stop them. After Karna had gone away, Nakula proceeded against the Kauravas. Karna's son also, avoiding Nakula, proceeded quickly, O sire, to where his father, the son of Radha, was for protecting his car-wheel.

"'The angry Uluka was held in check by Sahadeva. Having slain his four steeds, the valiant Sahadeva then despatched his foe's driver to the abode of Yama. Uluka then, that delighter of his father, jumping down from his car, O king, quickly proceeded and entered the division of the Trigartas. Satyaki, having pierced Shakuni with twenty keen arrows, easily cut off the standard of Subala's son with a broad-headed arrow. The valiant son of Subala, filled with rage, O king, in that encounter, pierced Satyaki's armour and then cut off his golden standard. Then Satyaki pierced him in return with many keen arrows, and struck his driver, O monarch, with three arrows. With great speed then, he despatched with other shafts the steeds of Shakuni to Yama's abode. Speedily alighting then, O bull among men, from his car, Shakuni, that mighty car-warrior, quickly ascended the car of Uluka. The latter then bore away with great speed his father from Sini's grandson, that warrior skilled in battle. Then Satyaki, O king, rushed in that battle against thy army with great impetuosity, at which that army broke. Shrouded with the arrows of Sini's grandson, thy army, O monarch, fled away on all sides with great speed, and fell down deprived of life.

"'Thy son resisted Bhimasena in that battle, in a trice Bhima made that ruler of men steedless and driverless and carless and standardless, at which the (Pandava) troops became highly glad. Then thy son, O king, went away from Bhimasena's presence. The whole Kuru army, at this, rushed against Bhimasena. Tremendous became the din made by those combatants inspired with the desire of slaying Bhimasena. Yudhamanyu, piercing Kripa, quickly cut off his bow. Then Kripa, that foremost of all wielders of weapons, taking up another bow, felled Yudhamanyu's standard and driver and umbrella on the Earth. At this, the mighty car-warrior Yudhamanyu retreated on his car, driving it himself. Uttamauja covered the terrible son of Hridika, endued with terrible prowess, with a thick shower of arrows like a cloud pouring torrents of rain on a mountain. The battle between them, O scorcher of foes, became so awful that its like, O monarch, I had never seen before. Then Kritavarma, O king, in that encounter, suddenly pierced Uttamauja in the chest, at which the latter sat down on the terrace of his car. His driver then bore away that foremost of car-warriors. Then the whole Kuru army rushed at Bhimasena. Duhshasana and Subala's son, encompassing the son of Pandu with a large elephant force, began to strike him with small arrows. Then Bhima, causing the wrathful Duryodhana to turn his back on the field by means of hundreds of arrows, quickly rushed towards that elephant force. Beholding that elephant-force advance impetuously against him, Vrikodara became filled with great rage and invoked his celestial weapons. And he began to strike elephants with elephants like Indra striking the Asuras. While engaged in slaughtering those elephants, Vrikodara, in that battle, covered the welkin with his shafts like myriads of insects covering a fire. Like the wind scattering masses of clouds, Bhima quickly scattered and destroyed crowds of elephants united together in thousands. Covered all over with networks of gold, as also with many gems, the elephants looked exceedingly beautiful in that battle like clouds charged with lightning. Slaughtered by Bhima, those elephants, O king, began to fly away. Some amongst them, with their hearts pierced, fell down on the Earth. With those fallen and failing elephants adorned with gold, the Earth looked beautiful there, as if strewn with broken mountains. With the fallen elephant-warriors of blazing resplendence and adorned with gems, the Earth looked beautiful as if strewn with planets of exhausted merit. Then elephants, with their temples, frontal globes, and trunks deeply pierced, fled in hundreds in that battle, afflicted with the shafts of Bhimasena. Some amongst them, huge as hills, afflicted with fear and vomiting blood, ran away, their limbs mangled with arrows, and looked on that account, like mountains with liquid metals running down their sides. People then beheld the two arms of Bhima, resembling two mighty snakes, smeared with sandal-paste and other pounded unguents, continually employed in drawing the bow. Hearing the sound of his bow-string and palms that resembled the peal of thunder, those elephants, ejecting urine and excreta, ran away in fear. The feats of the single-handed Bhima of great intelligence, on that occasion, shone like those of Rudra, himself, while engaged in destroying all creatures.'"

SECTION 62

"Sanjaya said, 'The handsome Arjuna then, on that foremost car of his, unto which were yoked white steeds, and which was urged by Narayana himself, appeared on the scene. Like the tempest agitating the ocean, Vijaya, O foremost of kings, in that battle, agitated that host of thine teeming with horsemen. When the white-steeded Arjuna was otherwise engaged, thy son Duryodhana, filled with rage and surrounded by half his troops, approached suddenly, and encompassed the advancing Yudhishthira inspired with the desire of revenge. The Kuru king then pierced the son of Pandu with three and seventy razor-headed arrows. At this, Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, became inflamed with ire, and quickly struck thy son with thirty broad-headed arrows. The Kaurava troops then rushed impetuously for seizing Yudhishthira. Understanding the wicked intentions of the enemy, the great car-warriors of the Pandava army, uniting together, rushed towards Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, for rescuing him. Indeed, Nakula and Sahadeva and Dhrishtadyumna, the son of Prishata, surrounded by a full Akshauhini of troops, thus proceeded towards Yudhishthira. Bhimasena also, in that battle, crushing the great car-warriors of thy army, proceeded towards the king surrounded by foes. Karna, otherwise called Vaikartana, O king, shooting dense showers of arrows, checked, single-handed, all those mighty bowmen thus advancing (to the rescue). Though they shot dense showers of arrows and hurled innumerable lances, fighting with determination, yet they were unable even to look at the son of Radha. Indeed, the son of Radha, that master of all weapons offensive and defensive, by shooting dense showers of shafts checked all those great bowmen. The high-souled Sahadeva, however, quickly approaching (the spot where Duryodhana was), and invoking without loss of time a (celestial) weapon, pierced Duryodhana with twenty arrows. Thus pierced by Sahadeva, the Kuru king, covered with blood, looked beautiful, like a huge elephant of split temples. Beholding thy son deeply pierced with many arrows of great energy, that foremost of car-warriors, viz., the son of Radha, filled with rage, rushed to that spot. Seeing Duryodhana reduced to that plight, Karna, invoking his weapons quickly, began to slaughter the troops of Yudhishthira and Prishata's son. Thus slaughtered by the high-souled Karna, Yudhishthira's troops, O king, afflicted with the arrows of the Suta's son, soon fled away. Showers of shafts fell together. Indeed, those sped subsequently from the bow of the Suta's son touched with their heads the wings of those sped before. In consequence of those falling showers, of shafts, O monarch, colliding with one another, a conflagration seemed to blaze forth in the welkin. Soon Karna shrouded the ten points of the compass, O king, with arrows capable of piercing the bodies of foes, as if with advancing flights of locusts. Displaying the highest weapons, Karna began to wave with great force his two arms smeared with red sandal-paste and adorned with jewels and gold. Then stupefying all sides, O king, with his shafts, Karna deeply afflicted Yudhishthira the Just. Filled with rage at this, Dharma's son Yudhishthira struck Karna with fifty keen shafts. In consequence then of the darkness caused by those showers of arrows, the battle became awful to look at. Loud cries of woe arose from among thy troops, O monarch, whilst they were being slaughtered by Dharma's son, O sire, with diverse kinds of keen shafts equipped with Kanka feathers and whetted on stone, with numerous broad-headed arrows, and with diverse kinds of darts and swords and clubs. Thither where Pandu's son of virtuous soul cast his eyes with the desire of producing evil, thither thy army broke, O bull of Bharata's race. Inflamed with great rage, Karna also, of immeasurable soul, inspired with the desire of retaliating, his face flushed in anger, rushed in that battle against Pandu's son, king Yudhishthira the Just, shooting cloth-yard shafts and crescent-shaped arrows and those equipped with heads like the calf's tooth. Yudhishthira also pierced him with many whetted arrows equipped with wings of gold. As if smiling the while, Karna pierced the royal son of Pandu in the chest with three broad-headed arrows, whetted on stone, and equipped with Kanka feathers. Deeply afflicted therewith, king Yudhishthira the Just, sitting down on the terrace of his car, ordered his driver to retreat. Thereupon all the Dhartarashtras, with their king, set up a loud shout, saying, "Seize! Seize!" and all of them then pursued the (Pandava) king. Then seventeen hundred Kekaya troops, skilled in smiting, united with a body of the Pancala troops, O king, checked the Dhartarashtras. During the progress of that fierce and terrible battle, Duryodhana and Bhima, those two warriors endued with great might, encountered each other.'"

SECTION 63

"Sanjaya said, 'Meanwhile Karna also began, with his arrowy showers, to afflict the mighty car-warriors of the Kaikayas, viz., those great bowmen that stood before him.

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Indeed, the son of Radha despatched to Yama's abode full five hundred of those warriors that were employed in checking him in that battle. Beholding the son of Radha to be irresistible in that battle, those warriors, afflicted with the arrows of their assailant, repaired to the presence of Bhimasena. Breaking that car-force into many parts by means of his arrows, Karna, singly and riding on that same car of his, pursued Yudhishthira, who then, exceedingly mangled with arrows and almost insensible, was proceeding slowly for reaching the Pandava encampment with Nakula and Sahadeva on his two sides. Having approached the king, the Suta's son, from desire of doing good to Duryodhana, pierced the son of Pandu with three formidable arrows. In return, the king pierced Radha's son in the centre of the chest and then his driver with three shafts. Then those two scorchers of foes, viz., the twin sons of Madri, those two protectors of Yudhishthira's car-wheels, rushed towards Karna so that the latter might not succeed in slaying the king. Then Nakula and Sahadeva, both shooting showers of shafts with great care, covered the son of Radha therewith. The valiant son of the Suta, however, in return, pierced those two high-souled chastisers of foes with two broad-headed arrows of great sharpness. The son of Radha then slew Yudhishthira's excellent steeds, white as ivory and fleet as the mind, and having black hair in their tails. Then, smiling the while, the Suta's son, that great bowman, with another broadheaded shaft, felled the head-gear of Kunti's son. Similarly, the valiant Karna, having slain the steeds of Nakula, cut off the car shafts and bow of that intelligent son of Madri. Those two steedless and carless sons of Pandu,--those two brothers,--thereupon ascended the car of Sahadeva. Beholding those two brothers made carless, that slayer of hostile heroes, viz., their maternal uncle, the ruler of the Madras, moved by compassion, addressed the son of Radha and said, "Thou art to fight today with Pritha's son Phalguna. Why dost thou then, with rage inflamed to such a pitch, battle with Dharma's royal son? Thou art suffering thy weapons to be exhausted. Thy own armour is being weakened. With thy shafts reduced, and without quivers, with thy driver and steeds fatigued, and thyself mangled by foes with weapons, when thou wilt approach Partha, O son of Radha, thou wilt be an object of derision and mirth." Though thus addressed by the ruler of the Madras, Karna still, filled with rage, continued to assail Yudhishthira in battle. And he continued to pierce the two sons of Madri by Pandu with many keen arrows. Smiling the while, by means of his shafts he made Yudhishthira turn his face from the battle. Then Shalya, laughing, once more said unto Karna as the latter, excited with great wrath and resolved upon Yudhishthira's destruction stood on his car, these words, "Him for whose sake Dhritarashtra's son always honours thee, slay that Partha, O son of Radha. What wouldst thou gain by slaying Yudhishthira? The two Krishnas are blowing their conchs, whose loud blare is being heard. The twang also of Arjuna's bow is being heard, like the roar of the clouds in the season of rains. There, Arjuna, striking down the foremost of our car-warriors with his arrowy down-pours, is devouring all our troops. Behold him, O Karna, in this battle. The two that are protecting his rear are Yudhamanyu and Uttamauja. The brave Satyaki is protecting his left wheel, and Dhrishtadyumna is protecting his right wheel. There, Bhimasena is fighting with the royal son of Dhritarashtra. Act in such way, O son of Radha, that Bhima may not be able to slay the king today in the sight of us all,--that the king may, indeed, escape him. Behold, Duryodhana is brought under the power of Bhimasena, that ornament of battle. Approaching if thou canst rescue him, it will, indeed, be a very wonderful feat. Going thither, rescue the king, for a great peril has overtaken him. What wilt thou gain by slaying the sons of Madri or king Yudhishthira?" Hearing these words of Shalya, O lord of Earth, and beholding Duryodhana overpowered by Bhima in that dreadful battle, the valiant son of Radha, thus urged by the words of Shalya and exceedingly desirous of rescuing the king, left Ajatasatru and the twin sons of Madri by Pandu, and rushed for rescuing thy son. He was borne by his steeds that were fleet as birds and that were urged by the ruler of the Madras. After Karna had gone away, Kunti's son Yudhishthira retreated, borne, O sire, by the fleet steeds of Sahadeva. With his twin brothers accompanying him, that ruler of men, quickly repairing in shame to the (Pandava) camp, his body exceedingly mangled with shafts, alighted from the car and hastily sat down on an excellent bed. The, arrows then being extracted from his body, the royal son of Pandu, his heart exceedingly afflicted with sorrow's dart, addressed his two brothers, viz., those two mighty car-warriors, the sons of Madri, saying, "Repair quickly to the division of Bhimasena. Roaring like a cloud, Vrikodara is engaged in battle." Riding another car, Nakula, that bull among car-warriors, and Sahadeva of great energy,--those two brothers, those two crushers of foes,--both endued with great might, then proceeded towards Bhima, borne by steeds of the utmost fleetness. Indeed, the brothers having together repaired to Bhimasena's division, took up their places there.'"

SECTION 64

"Sanjaya said, 'Meanwhile Drona's son, surrounded by a large car-force, O king, suddenly proceeded to that spot where Partha was. Like the continent withstanding the surging ocean, the heroic Partha having Saurin (Krishna) for his help-mate withstood the impetuously rushing Ashvatthama. Then, O monarch, the valiant son of Drona, filled with rage, covered both Arjuna and Vasudeva with his shafts. Beholding the two Krishnas shrouded with arrows, the great car-warriors (of the Pandava army), as also the Kurus that witnessed it, wondered exceedingly. Then Arjuna, as if smiling, invoked into existence a celestial weapon. The brahmana Ashvatthama, however, O Bharata, baffled that weapon in that battle. Indeed, all those weapons that Arjuna sped from desire of slaying the son of Drona were baffled by the latter, that great bowman, in that encounter. During the progress of that awful encounter of weapons, O king, we beheld the son of Drona to resemble the Destroyer himself, with gaping mouth. Having covered all the points of the compass, cardinal and subsidiary, with straight arrows, he pierced Vasudeva with three arrows in the right arm. Then Arjuna, slaying all the steeds of his high-souled assailant, caused the Earth in that battle to be covered with a river of blood that was exceedingly awful that led towards the other world, and that had diverse kinds of creatures floating on it. All the spectators beheld a large number of car-warriors along with their cars, belonging to the division of Ashvatthama, slain and destroyed by means of the arrows sped from Partha's bow. Ashvatthama also, slaying his enemies, caused a terrible river of blood to flow there that led to Yama's domains. During the progress of that fierce and awful battle between Drona's son and Partha, the combatants fought without showing any regard for one another, and rushed hither and thither. In consequence of cars having their steeds and drivers slain, and steeds having their riders slain, and elephants having their riders and guides slain, an awful carnage, O king, was made by Partha in that battle! Car-warriors, deprived of life with shafts sped from Partha's bow, fell down. Steeds freed from their trappings ran hither and thither. Beholding those feats of Partha, that ornament of battle, that valiant son of Drona quickly approached the former, that foremost of victorious men, shook his formidable bow decked with gold, and then pierced him from every side with many sharp arrows. Once more bending the bow, O king, the son of Drona cruelly struck Arjuna, aiming at the chest, with a winged arrow. Deeply pierced by Drona's son, O Bharata, in that encounter, the wielder of gandiva, that hero of great intelligence forcibly covered the son of Drona with showers of arrows, and then cut off his bow. His bow cut off Drona's son then, taking up a spiked mace whose touch resembled that of thunder's, hurled it, in that encounter, at the diadem-decked Arjuna. The son of Pandu, however, O king, as if smiling the while, suddenly cut off that spiked mace decked with gold, as it advanced towards him. Thus cut off with Partha's shafts, it fell down on the Earth, like a mountain, O king, broken into pieces, struck with the thunderbolt. Filled with rage at this, Drona's son, that great car-warrior, began to cover Vibhatsu, aided by the energy of the aindra weapon. Beholding that shower of arrows spread over the welkin through the aindra weapon, Partha, endued with great activity, O king, taking up his bow gandiva, and fixing on his bowstring a mighty weapon created by Indra, destroyed that aindra-shower of arrows. Having baffled that arrowy shower caused by the aindra weapon, Partha soon covered the car of Drona's son (with his own arrows). The son of Drona, however, overwhelmed with Partha's shafts, penetrated through that shower of arrows shot by the son of Pandu, and approaching the latter, invoked a mighty weapon and suddenly pierced Krishna with hundred shafts and Arjuna with three hundred small arrows. Then Arjuna pierced the son of his preceptor with a hundred arrows in all his vital limbs. And then he poured many arrows on the steeds and driver and the bowstring of Drona's son in the very sight of thy warriors. Having pierced Drona's son in every vital part, Pandu's son, that slayer of hostile heroes, then felled his adversary's driver from the car-niche with a broad-headed arrow. Drona's son, however, himself, taking up the reins, covered Krishna with many arrows. The activity of prowess that we then beheld in Drona's son was exceedingly wonderful, since he guided his steeds while he fought with Phalguni. That feat of his in battle, O king, was applauded by all the warriors. Then Vibhatsu, otherwise called Jaya, smiling the while, quickly cut off the traces of Ashvatthama's steeds in that battle, with a razor-faced arrow. Already afflicted by the energy of Arjuna's shafts, the steeds of Drona's son thereupon ran away. Then a loud noise arose from thy troops, O Bharata! Meanwhile the Pandavas, having obtained the victory, and desiring to improve it, rushed against thy troops, shooting from all sides sharp arrows at them. The vast Dhartarashtra host, then, O king, was repeatedly broken by the heroic Pandavas inspired with desire of victory, in the very sight, O monarch, of thy sons, conversant with all modes of warfare, and of, Shakuni the son of Subala, and of Karna, O king! Though sought to be stopped, O king, by thy sons, that great army, afflicted on all sides, stayed not on the field. Indeed, a confusion set in among the vast terrified host of thy son in consequence of many warriors flying away on all sides. The Suta's son loudly cried out, saying "Stay, Stay!" but thy army, slaughtered by many high-souled warriors, did not stay on the field. Loud shouts were uttered then, O monarch, by the Pandavas, inspired with this desire of victory, on beholding the Dhartarashtra host flying away on all sides. Then Duryodhana addressing Karna from affection, "Behold, O Karna, how our army, exceedingly afflicted by the Pandavas, though thou art here, is flying away from battle! Knowing this, O thou of mighty arms, do that which is suited to the hour, O chastiser of foes! Thousands of (our) warriors, routed by the Pandavas, are O hero, calling after thee only, O best of men!" Hearing these grave words of Duryodhana, the son of Radha, as if smiling, said these words unto the ruler of the Madras, "Behold the prowess of my arms and the energy of my weapons, O ruler of men! Today I will slay all the Pancalas and the Pandavas in battle! Cause the steeds to proceed with my car, O tiger among men! Without doubt, everything will be as I have said!" Having said these words, the Suta's son of great valour, that hero, taking up his ancient and foremost of bows called Vijaya, stringed it and rubbed the string repeatedly. Bidding the troops stay on the field after having assured them upon his truth and by an oath, the mighty Karna of immeasurable soul fixed on his bow-string the weapon known by the name of Bhargava. From that weapon flowed, O king, millions and millions of keen arrows in that great battle. Entirely shrouded with those blazing and terrible arrows winged with feathers of Kankas and peacocks, the Pandava army could not see anything. Loud wails of woe arose from among the Pancalas, O king, afflicted, in that battle, with the mighty Bhargava weapon. In consequence then of elephants, O king, and steeds, by thousands, and cars, O monarch, and men, falling on all sides, deprived of life, the Earth began to tremble. The vast force of the Pandavas became agitated from one extremity to another. Meanwhile Karna, that scorcher of foes, that foremost of warriors, that tiger among men, while consuming his foes, looked resplendent like a smokeless fire. Thus slaughtered by Karna, the Pancalas and the Cedis began to lose their senses all over the field like elephants during the conflagration in a forest. Those foremost of men, O tiger among men, uttered loud roars like those of the tiger. Loud became the wails of woe, like those of living creatures at the universal dissolution that were uttered by those crying combatants struck with panic and running wildly on all sides, O king, of the field of battle and trembling with fear. Beholding them thus slaughtered, O sire, by the Suta's son, all creatures, even beasts and birds, were filled with fear. The Srinjayas then, thus slaughtered in battle by the Suta's son, repeatedly called upon Arjuna and Vasudeva like the spirits of the dead within Yama's dominions calling upon Yama to rescue them. Hearing those wails of the troops slaughtered with Karna's shafts, and beholding the terrible bhargava weapon invoked into existence Kunti's son Dhananjaya said unto Vasudeva these words, "Behold, O Krishna of mighty arms, the prowess of the bhargava weapon! It cannot, by any means, be baffled! Behold the Suta's son also, O Krishna, filled with rage in this great battle and resembling the Destroyer himself, in prowess and employed in achieving such a fierce feat! Urging his steeds incessantly, he is repeatedly casting angry glances upon me! I will never be able to fly away from Karna in battle! The person that is living, may, in battle, meet with either victory or defeat. To the man, however, that is dead, O Hrishikesha, even death is victory. How can defeat be his that is dead?" Thus addressed by Partha, Krishna replied unto that foremost of intelligent men and chastiser of foes, these words that were suitable to the occasion, "The royal son of Kunti hath been deeply wounded and mangled by Karna. Having seen him first and comforted him, thou wilt then, O Partha, slay Karna?" Then Keshava proceeded, desirous of beholding Yudhishthira, thinking that Karna meanwhile, O monarch, would be overwhelmed with fatigue! Then Dhananjaya, himself desirous of beholding the king afflicted with arrows, quickly proceeded on that car, avoiding the battle, at Keshava's command. While the son of Kunti was thus proceeding from desire of seeing king Yudhishthira the Just, he cast his eyes on every part of the army but failed to find his eldest brother anywhere on the field. The son of Kunti proceeded, O Bharata, having fought with the son of his preceptor Drona, and having vanquished that hero incapable of being resisted by the wielder of the thunderbolt himself.'"

SECTION 65

"Sanjaya said, 'Having vanquished the son of Drona and achieved a mighty and heroic feat that is exceedingly difficult of accomplishment, Dhananjaya, irresistible by foes, and with bow outstretched in his hands, cast his eyes among his own troops. The brave Savyasaci, gladdening those warriors of his that were still battling at the head of their divisions and applauding those among them that were celebrated for their former achievements, caused the carwarriors of his own army to continue to stand in their posts. Not seeing his brother Yudhishthira of Ajamida's race, the diadem-decked Arjuna,

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adorned, besides, with a necklace of gold, speedily approached Bhima and enquired of him the whereabouts of the king, saying, "Tell me, where is the king?" Thus asked, Bhima said, "King Yudhishthira the Just, hath gone away from this place, his limbs scorched with Karna's shafts. It is doubtful whether he still liveth!" Hearing those words, Arjuna said, "For this reason go thou quickly from the spot for bringing intelligence of the king, that best of all the descendants of Kuru! Without doubt, deeply pierced by Karna with shafts, the king hath gone to the camp! In that fierce passage at arms, though deeply pierced by Drona with keen shafts, the king endued with great activity, had still stayed in battle, expectant of victory, until Drona was slain! That foremost one among the Pandavas, possessed of great magnanimity, was greatly imperilled by Karna in today's battle! For ascertaining his condition, quickly go hence, O Bhima! I will stay here, checking all our foes!" Thus addressed, Bhima said, "O thou of great glory, go thyself for ascertaining the condition of the king, that bull amongst the Bharatas! If, O Arjuna, I go there, many foremost of heroes will then say that I am frightened in battle!" Then Arjuna said unto Bhimasena, "The samsaptakas are before my division! Without slaying those assembled foes first, it is impossible for me to stir from this place!' Then Bhimasena said unto Arjuna, 'Relying upon my own might, O foremost one among the Kurus, I will fight with all the samsaptakas in battle! Therefore, O Dhananjaya, do thou go thyself!'"

"Sanjaya continued, 'Hearing in the midst of foes, those words of his brother Bhimasena that were difficult of accomplishment, Arjuna, desiring to see the king, addressed the Vrishni hero, saying, "Urge the steeds, O Hrishikesha, leaving this sea of troops! I desire, O Keshava to see king Ajatasatru!'"

"Sanjaya continued, 'Just as he was on the point of urging the steeds, Keshava, that foremost one of the Dasharhas, addressed Bhima, saying, "This feat is not at all wonderful for thee, O Bhima! I am about to go (hence). Slay these assembled foes of Partha!" Then Hrishikesha proceeded with very great speed to the spot where king Yudhishthira was, O king, borne by those steeds that resembled Garuda, having stationed Bhima, that chastiser of foes, at the head of the army and having commanded him, O monarch, to fight (with the samsaptakas). Then those two foremost of men, (Krishna and Arjuna), proceeding on their car, approached the king who was lying alone on his bed. Both of them, alighting from that car, worshipped the feet of king Yudhishthira the Just. Beholding that bull of tigers among men safe and sound, the two Krishnas became filled with joy, like the twin Ashvinis on seeing Vasava. The king then congratulated them both like Vivasvat congratulating the twin Ashvinis, or like Brihaspati congratulating Sankara and Vishnu after the slaughter of the mighty asura Jambha. King Yudhishthira the Just, thinking that Karna had been slain, became filled with joy, and that scorcher of foes thereupon addressed them in these words in a voice choked with delight.'"

SECTION 66

"'Yudhishthira said, "Welcome, O thou that hast Devaki for thy mother, and welcome to thee, O Dhananjaya! The sight of both of you, O Acyuta and Arjuna, is exceedingly agreeable! I see that without being wounded yourselves, you two, his foes, have slain the mighty car-warrior Karna! He was in battle like unto a snake of virulent poison. He was accomplished in all weapons. The leader of all the Dhartarashtras, he was their armour and protector! While fighting he was always protected by Vrishasena and by Sushena, both of whom are great bowmen! Of great energy, he had received lessons from Rama in weapons! He was invincible in battle! The foremost one in all the world, as a car-warrior he was celebrated throughout all the worlds. He was the saviour of the Dhartarashtras, and the proceeder in their van! A slayer of hostile troops, he was the crusher of large bands of foes. Ever engaged in Duryodhana's good, he was always prepared to inflict woe on us! He was invincible in battle by the very gods with Vasava at their head. In energy and might he was equal unto the god of fire and the god of wind. In gravity he was unfathomable as the Nether world. The enhancer of the joys of friends, he was like the Destroyer himself unto foes! Having slain Karna (who was even so) in dreadful battle, by good luck it is that you two have come, like a couple of celestials after vanquishing an Asura! Today, O Acyuta and Arjuna, a great battle was fought between myself exerting with might and that hero resembling the Destroyer himself, while seeking to exterminate all creatures! My standard was cut down, and my two Parshni drivers also were slain by him. I was also made steedless and carless by him in the very sight of Yuyudhana, of Dhrishtadyumna, of the twins (Nakula and Sahadeva), of the heroic Shikhandi, as also in the very sight of the sons of Draupadi, and all the Pancalas! Having vanquished those innumerable foes, Karna of mighty energy then vanquished me, O thou of mighty arms, although I exerted myself resolutely in battle! Pursuing me then and without doubt, vanquishing all my protectors, that foremost of warriors addressed me in diverse harsh speeches. That I am still alive, O Dhananjaya, is due to the prowess of Bhimasena. What more need I say? I am unable to bear that humiliation! For thirteen years, O Dhananjaya, through fear of Karna, I did not obtain any sleep by night or any comfort by day! Filled with hatred of Karna, I burn, O Dhananjaya! Like the bird Vaddhrinasa I fled from Karna, knowing that the time for my own destruction had come. The whole of my time had passed in the thought as to how I would accomplish the destruction of Karna in battle! Awake or asleep, O son of Kunti, I always beheld Karna (with my mind's eye). Wherever I was, the universe appeared to me to be full of Karna! Inspired with the fear of Karna, wherever I used to go, O Dhananjaya, thither I beheld Karna standing before my eyes! Vanquished in battle, with my steeds and car, by that hero who never retreated from battle, alive I was let off by him! What use have I of life or of kingdom either, since Karna, that ornament of battle, today cried fie on me? That which I had never before met with at the hands of Bhishma or Kripa or Drona in battle, that I met with today at the hands of the Suta's son, that mighty car-warrior! It is for this, O son of Kunti, that I ask thee today about thy welfare! Tell me in detail how thou hast slain Karna today! In battle Karna was equal unto Sakra himself. In prowess he was equal unto Yama. In weapons he was equal unto Rama. How then hath he been slain? He was regarded as a mighty car-warrior, conversant with all modes of warfare. He was the foremost of all bowmen, and the one man amongst all men! O prince, the son of Radha was always worshipped by Dhritarashtra and his son, for thy sake! How then hath he been slain by thee? In all engagements, Dhritarashtra's son, O Arjuna, used to regard Karna as thy death, O bull among men! How then, O tiger among men, hath that Karna been slain by thee in battle? Tell me, O son of Kunti, how that Karna hath been slain by thee! How, while he was engaged in battle, didst thou, O tiger among men, strike off his head in the very sight of all his friends like a tiger tearing off the head of a ruru deer? That Suta's son who in battle searched all the points of the compass for finding thee, that Karna who had promised to give a car with six bulls of elephantine proportions unto him that would point thee out, I ask: doth that Karna of wicked soul lie today on the bare ground, slain with thy keen arrows equipped with kanka feathers? Having slain the Suta's son in battle, thou hast accomplished a deed highly agreeable to me! Encountering him in battle, hast thou really slain that Suta's son, who, filled with arrogance and pride and bragging of his heroism, used to search everywhere on the field of battle for thee? Hast thou, O sire, really slain in battle that sinful wretch who used to always challenge thee and who was desirous for thy sake of giving unto others a magnificent car, made of gold along with a number of elephants and bulls and steeds? Hast thou really slain today that sinful wight who was exceedingly dear to Suyodhana, and who, intoxicated with pride of heroism, used always to brag in the assembly of the Kurus? Encountered in battle, doth that wretch lie today on the field, his limbs exceedingly mangled with sky-ranging shafts sped by thee from thy bow and all steeped in blood? Have the two arms of Dhritarashtra's son been (at last) broken? Have those words been unfulfilled, uttered from folly by him who, filled with pride, used to always boast in the midst of the kings for gladdening Duryodhana, saying, 'I will slay Phalguna'? O son of Indra, hath that Karna of little understanding been slain by thee today, that Suta's son who made the vow that he would not wash his feet as long as Partha lived? That Karna of wicked understanding who in the assembly; before the Kuru chiefs, had addressed Krishna, saying, 'Why, O Krishna, dost thou not abandon the Pandavas that are divested of might, exceedingly weak, and fallen?' That Karna who had vowed for thy sake, saying that he would not return from battle without having slain Krishna and Partha. I ask, doth that Karna of sinful understanding lie today on the field, his body pierced with shafts? Thou knowest the nature of the battle that took place when the Srinjayas and the Kauravas encountered each other, the battle in which I was brought to that distressful plight. Encountering that Karna, hast thou slain him today? O Savyasaci, hast thou today, with blazing shafts sped from gandiva, cut off from the trunk of that Karna of wicked understanding his resplendent head decked with earrings? Pierced with Karna's shafts today, I had, O hero, thought of thee (that thou wouldst slay him)! Hast thou then, by the slaughter of Karna, made that thought of mine true? In consequence of the protection granted him by Karna, Suyodhana, filled with pride, always recked us little. Displaying thy prowess, hast then today destroyed that refuge of Suyodhana? That Suta's son of wicked soul, that Karna of great wrath, who had formerly, in the presence of the Kauravas and in the midst of the assembly called us sesame seeds without kernel, encountering that Karna in battle, hast thou slain him today? That Suta's son of wicked soul who had, laughing the while, commanded Duhshasana to forcibly drag Yajnasena's daughter won in gambling by Subala's son, hath he been slain today by thee? That Karna of little understanding who, having been counted as only half a car-warrior during the tale of rathas and atirathas, had upbraided that foremost of all wielders of weapons on Earth, our grandsire Bhishma, hath he been slain by thee? Extinguish, O Phalguna, this fire in my heart that is born of vindictiveness and is fanned by the wind of humiliation, by telling me that thou hast slain Karna today, having encountered him in battle! The news of Karna's slaughter is exceedingly agreeable to me. Tell me, therefore, how the Suta's son hath been slain! Like the divine Vishnu waiting for the arrival of Indra with the intelligence of Vritra's slaughter, I had so long waited for thee, O hero!'"

SECTION 67

"Sanjaya said, 'Hearing these words of the righteous king who had been filled with anger, that high-souled atiratha, Jishnu of infinite energy, replied unto the invincible Yudhishthira of great might, saying, "While battling with the samsaptakas today, Drona's son who always proceedeth at the head of the Kuru troops, O king, suddenly came before me, shooting shafts that resembled snakes of virulent poison. Beholding my car, of rattle deep as the roar of clouds, all the troops began to encompass it. Slaying full five hundred of those, I then, O foremost of kings, proceeded against Drona's son. Approaching me, O king, that hero with great resolution rushed against me like a prince of elephants against a lion, and desired to rescue, O monarch, the Kaurava car-warriors that were being slaughtered by me. Then, in that battle, O Bharata, the preceptor's son, that foremost of heroes among the Kurus, incapable of being made to tremble, began to afflict me and Janardana with whetted shafts resembling poison or fire. While engaged in battle with me, eight carts, each drawn by eight bullocks, carried his hundreds of arrows. He shot them all at me, but like a wind destroying the clouds I destroyed with my shafts that arrowy shower of his. He then shot at me, with skill and force and resolution, thousands of other arrows, all sped from his bow-string stretched to his very ear, even like a black cloud in the season of rains pouring in torrents the water with which it is charged. So quickly did Drona's son career in that battle that we could not discern from which side, the left or the right, he shot his arrows, nor could we notice when he took up his arrows and when he let them off. Indeed, the bow of Drona's son was seen by us to be incessantly drawn to a circle. At last, the son of Drona pierced me with five whetted arrows and Vasudeva also with five whetted arrows. Within the twinkling of an eye, however, I afflicted him with the force of thunderbolts. Exceedingly afflicted with those shafts sped by me, he soon assumed the form of a porcupine. All his limbs became bathed in blood. Beholding his troops, those foremost of warriors all covered with blood and overwhelmed by me, he then entered the car-division of the Suta's son. Seeing the troops overwhelmed by me in battle, and struck with fear, and beholding the elephants and steeds flying away, that grinder (of hostile hosts), viz., Karna approached me quickly with fifty great carwarriors. Slaying them all and avoiding Karna, I have quickly come hither for seeing thee. All the Pancalas are afflicted with fear at sight of Karna like kine at the scent of a lion. The Prabhadrakas also, O king, having approached Karna, are like persons that have entered the wide open jaws of Death. Karna has already despatched to Yama's abode full seventeen hundred of those distressed car-warriors. Indeed, O king, the Suta's son did not become cheerless till he had a sight of us. Thou hadst first been engaged with Ashvatthama and exceedingly mangled by him. I heard that after that thou wert seen by Karna. O thou of inconceivable feats, I thought that thou must have, O king, been enjoying rest (in the camp), having come away from the cruel Karna. I have seen, O son of Pandu, the great and wonderful (Bhargava) weapon of Karna displayed in the van of battle. There is now no other warrior among the Srinjayas that is able to resist the mighty car-warrior Karna. Let Sini's grandson Satyaki and Dhrishtadyumna, O king, be the protectors of my car-wheels. Let the heroic princes Yudhamanyu and Uttamauja protect my rear. O thou of great glory, encountering that heroic and invincible car-warrior, viz., the Suta's son, staying in the hostile army, like Sakra encountering Vritra, O foremost of kings, I will, O Bharata, fight with the Suta's son if he can be found in this battle today. Come and behold me and the Suta's son contending with each other in battle for victory. There, the Prabhadrakas are rushing towards the face of a mighty bull. There, O Bharata, 6,000 princes are sacrificing themselves in battle today, for the sake of heaven. If, putting forth my strength, I do not, O king, slay Karna today with all his relatives while engaged in battle with him, then that end will be mine, O lion among kings, which is his that does not accomplish a vow taken by him. I beg of thee, bless me, saying that victory will be mine in battle. Yonder, the Dhartarashtras are about to devour Bhima. I will, O lion among kings, slay the Suta's son and his troops and all our foes!'"

SECTION 68

"Sanjaya said, 'Hearing that Karna of mighty energy was still alive, Pritha's son Yudhishthira of immeasurable energy, exceedingly angry with Phalguna and burning with the shafts of Karna, said these words unto Dhananjaya, "O sire, thy

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army is fled and hath been beaten in a way that is scarcely honourable! Inspired with fear and deserting Bhima, thou hast come hither since thou hast been unable to slay Karna. Thou hast, by entering her womb, rendered the conception of Kunti abortive. Thou hast acted improperly by deserting Bhima, because thou wert unable to slay the Suta's son. Thou hadst, O Partha, said unto me in the Dwaita woods that thou wouldst, on a single car, slay Karna. Why, then, through fear of Karna hast come hither, avoiding Karna and deserting Bhima? If in the Dwaita woods thou hadst said unto me, 'O king, I shall not be able to fight with Karna,' we would then, O Partha, have made other arrangements suitable to the circumstances. Having promised me the slaughter of Karna, thou hast not, O hero, kept that promise. Bringing us into the midst of foes, why hast thou broken us into pieces by throwing us down on a hard soil? Expecting diverse good things and benefits from thee, O Arjuna, we have always uttered blessings on thee. All those expectations, however, O prince, have proved vain like those of persons expectant of fruit getting instead of a tree burthened only with flowers! Like a fish-hook hid within a piece of meat, or poison overlaid with food, thou didst, for disappointing us at last, point out destruction in the shape of kingdom unto ourselves covetous of kingdom! For these thirteen years, O Dhananjaya, we have, from hope, lived relying on thee, like seeds sown on earth in expectation of the showers sent by the gods in season! Even these were the words that a voice in the skies had said unto Pritha on the seventh day after thy birth, O thou of foolish understanding! 'This son of thine that is born will have the prowess of Vasava himself! He will vanquish all his heroic foes! Endued with superior energy, he will at Khandava vanquish all the celestials united together and diverse other creatures. This one will subjugate the Madras, the Kalingas, and the Kaikeyas. This one will, in the midst of many kings, slay the Kurus. There will be no bowman superior to him, and no creature will ever be able to vanquish him. With his senses under control, and having obtained mastery over all branches of knowledge, this one, by merely desiring it, will bring all creatures under subjection to himself. This high-souled son that is born of thee, O Kunti, will in beauty be the rival of Soma, in speed of the god of wind, in patience of Meru, in forgiveness of Earth, in splendour of Surya, in prosperity of the Lord of treasures, in courage of Sakra, and in might of Vishnu. He will be the slayer of all foes like Vishnu, the son of Aditi. Endued with immeasurable energy, he will be celebrated for the destruction he will deal to foes and the success he will win for friends. He will, besides, be the founder of a race!' Even thus, in the skies, on the summit of the Satasringa mountains, in the hearing of many ascetics, that voice spoke. All that, however, hath not come to pass. Alas, it shows that the gods even may speak untruths! Hearing also the words of praise always uttered about thee by many foremost of Rishis, I never expected that Suyodhana would win success and prosperity or that thou thyself wouldst be afflicted with the fear of Karna! Thou ridest upon an excellent car constructed by the celestial artificer himself, with axles that do not creak, and with standard that bears the ape. Thou bearest a sword attached to thy belt of gold and silk. This thy bow Gandiva is full six cubits long. Thou hast Keshava for thy driver. Why, then, through fear of Karna hast thou come away from battle, O Partha? If, O thou of wicked soul, thou hadst given this bow to Keshava and become his driver, then Keshava could have (by this time) slain the fierce Karna like the lord of the Maruts (Sakra) slaying with his thunder the Asura Vritra. If thou art unable to resist the fierce son of Radha today, as he is careering in battle, give this thy Gandiva today to some other king, that may be thy superior in (the use and knowledge of) weapons. If that be done, the world will not then behold us bereft of sons and wives, deprived of happiness in consequence of the loss of kingdom, and sunk, O son of Pandu, in an unfathomable hell of great misery. It would have been better for thee if thou hadst never been born in the womb of Kunti, or having taken thy birth there, if thou hadst come out on the fifth month an abortion, than to have, O prince, thus come away from battle, O thou of wicked soul! Fie on thy Gandiva, fie on the might of thy arms, fie on thy inexhaustible arrows! Fie on thy banner with the gigantic ape on it, and fie on thy car given thee by the god of fire!'"

SECTION 69

"Sanjaya said, 'Thus addressed by Yudhishthira, Kunti's son owning white steeds, filled with rage, drew his sword for slaying that bull of Bharata's race. Beholding his wrath, Keshava, conversant with the workings of the (human) heart said, "Why, O Partha, dost thou draw thy sword? I do not, O Dhananjaya, behold anyone here with whom thou hast to fight! The Dhartarashtras have now been assailed by the intelligent Bhimasena. Thou comest from battle, O son of Kunti, for seeing the king. The king has been seen by thee. Indeed, Yudhishthira is well. Having seen that tiger among kings who is endued with prowess equal to that of a tiger, why this folly at a time when thou shouldst rejoice? I do not see here, O son of Kunti, the person whom thou mayst slay. Why then dost thou desire to strike? What is this delusion of thy mind? Why dost thou, with such speed, take up that formidable sword? I ask thee this, O son, of Kunti! What is this that thou art about, inasmuch as, O thou of inconceivable prowess, thou graspest that sword in anger?" Thus addressed by Krishna, Arjuna, casting his eyes on Yudhishthira, and breathing like an angry snake, said unto Govinda, "I would cut off the head of that man who would tell me 'Give thy Gandiva to another person." Even this is my secret vow. Those words have been spoken by this king, O thou of immeasurable prowess, in thy presence, O Govinda! I dare not forgive them. I will for that slay this king who himself fears the slightest falling from virtue. Slaying this best of men, I will keep my vow. It is for this that I have drawn the sword, O delighter of the Yadus. Even I, slaying Yudhishthira, will pay off my debt to truth. By that I will dispel my grief and fever, O Janardana. I ask thee, what do you think suitable to the circumstances that have arisen? Thou, O sire, knowest the entire past and future of this universe. I will do what thou wilt tell me.'"

"Sanjaya continued, 'Govinda then said, "Fie, fie," unto Partha and once more continued to say, "I now know, O Partha, that thou hast not waited upon the old, since, O tiger among men, thou hast yielded to wrath at a time when thou shouldst not have done so. No one that is acquainted with the distinctions of morality would act in the way, O Dhananjaya, in which thou, O son of Pandu, that art unacquainted with them, art acting today! He, O Partha, is the worst of men who committeth acts that should not be done and doeth acts that are apparently proper but condemned by the scriptures. Thou knowest not the decisions of those learned men who, waited upon by pupils, declare their opinions, following the dictates of morality. The man that is not acquainted with those rulings becomes confounded and stupefied, O Partha, even as thou hast been stupefied, in discriminating between what should be done and what should not. What should be done and what should not cannot be ascertained easily. Everything can be ascertained by the aid of the scriptures. Thou, however, art not acquainted with the scriptures. Since (believing thyself) conversant with morality, thou art desirous of observing morality (in this way, it seems) thou art actuated by ignorance. Thou believest thyself to be conversant with virtue, but thou dost not know, O Partha, that the slaughter of living creatures is a sin. Abstention from injury to animals is, I think, the highest virtue. One may even speak an untruth, but one should never kill. How then, O foremost of men, couldst thou wish, like an ordinary person, to slay thy eldest brother, the King, who is conversant with morality? The slaughter of a person not engaged in battle, or of a foe, O Bharata who has turned his face from battle or who flies away or seeks protection or joins his hands or yields himself up or is careless, is never applauded by the righteous. All these attributes are in thy superior. This vow, O Partha, was adopted by thee before from foolishness. In consequence of that vow thou art now, from folly, desirous of perpetrating a sinful act. Why, O Partha, dost thou rush towards thy reverend superior for slaying him, without having resolved the exceedingly subtle course of morality that is, again, difficult of being understood? I will now tell thee, O son of Pandu, this mystery connected with morality, this mystery that was declared by Bhishma, by the righteous Yudhishthira, by Vidura otherwise called Kshatri, and by Kunti, of great celebrity. I will tell thee that mystery in all its details. Listen to it, O Dhananjaya! One who speaks truth is righteous. There is nothing higher than truth. Behold, however, truth as practised is exceedingly difficult to be understood as regards its essential attributes. Truth may be unutterable, and even falsehood may be utterable where falsehood would become truth and truth would become falsehood. In a situation of peril to life and in marriage, falsehood becomes utterable. In a situation involving the loss of one's entire property, falsehood becomes utterable. On an occasion of marriage, or of enjoying a woman, or when life is in danger, or when one's entire property is about to be taken away, or for the sake of a Brahmana, falsehood may be uttered. These five kinds of falsehood have been declared to be sinless. On these occasions falsehood would become truth and truth would become falsehood. He is a fool that practises truth without knowing the difference between truth and falsehood. One is said to be conversant with morality when one is able to distinguish between truth and falsehood. What wonder then in this that a man of wisdom, by perpetrating even a cruel act, may obtain great merit like Valaka by the slaughter of the blind beast? What wonder, again, in this that a foolish and ignorant person, from even the desire of winning merit, earns great sin like Kausika (living) among the rivers?"

"'Arjuna said, "Tell me, O holy one, this story that I may understand it, viz., this illustration about Valaka and about Kausika (living) among rivers."

"'Vasudeva said, "There was a certain hunter of animals, O Bharata, of the name of Valaka. He used, for the livelihood of his son and wives and not from will, to slay animals. Devoted to the duties of his own order and always speaking the truth and never harbouring malice, he used also to support his parents and others that depended upon him. One day, searching for animals even with perseverance and care, he found none. At last he saw a beast of prey whose sense of smell supplied the defect of his eyes, employed in drinking water. Although he had never seen such an animal before, still he slew it immediately. After the slaughter of that blind beast, a floral shower fell from the skies (upon the head of the hunter). A celestial car also, exceedingly delightful and resounding with the songs of Apsaras and the music of their instruments, came from heaven for taking away that hunter of animals. That beast of prey, having undergone ascetic austerities, had obtained a boon and had become the cause of the destruction of all creatures. For this reason he was made blind by the Self-born. Having slain that animal which had resolved to slay all creatures, Valaka went to heaven. Morality is even so difficult of being understood. There was an ascetic of the name of Kausika without much knowledge of the scriptures. He lived in a spot much removed from a village, at a point where many rivers met. He made a vow, saying, 'I must always speak the truth.' He then became celebrated, O Dhananjaya, as a speaker of truth. At that time certain persons, from fear of robbers, entered that wood (where Kausika dwelt). Thither even, the robbers, filled with rage, searched for them carefully. Approaching Kausika then, that speaker of truth, they asked him saying, 'O holy one, by which path have a multitude of men gone a little while before? Asked in the name of Truth, answer us. If thou hast seen them, tell us this'. Thus adjured, Kausika told them the truth, saying, 'Those men have entered this wood crowded with many trees and creepers and plants'. Even thus, O Partha, did Kausika give them the information. Then those cruel men, it is heard, finding out the persons they sought, slew them all. In consequence of that great sin consisting in the words spoken, Kausika, ignorant of the subtilities of morality, fell into a grievous hell, even as a foolish man, of little knowledge, and unacquainted with the distinctions of morality, falleth into painful hell by not having asked persons of age for the solution of his doubts. There must be some indications for distinguishing virtue from sin. Sometimes that high and unattainable knowledge may be had by the exercise of reason. Many persons say, on the one hand, that the scriptures indicate morality. I do not contradict this. The scriptures, however, do not provide for every case. For the growth of creatures have precepts of morality been declared. That which is connected with inoffensiveness is religion. Dharma protects and preserves the people. So it is the conclusion of the Pandits that what maintains is Dharma. O Partha, I have narrated to you the signs and indications of Dharma. Hearing this, you decide whether Yudhishthira is to be slaughtered by you or not." Arjuna said, "Krishna, your words are fraught with great intelligence and impregnated with wisdom. Thou art to us like our parents and our refuge. Nothing is unknown to thee in the three worlds, so thou art conversant with the canons of morality. O Keshava of the Vrishni clan, thou knowest my vow that whoever among men would tell me, 'Partha, give thy Gandiva to some one braver than you,' I shall at once put an end to his life. Bhima has also made a promise that whoever would call him 'tularak', would be slaughtered by him there and then. Now the King has repeatedly used those very words to me in thy presence, O hero, viz., 'Give thy bow.' If I slay him, O Keshava, I will not be able to live in this world for even a moment. Having intended again the slaughter of the king through folly and the loss of my mental faculties, I have been polluted by sin. It behoveth thee today, O foremost of all righteous persons, to give me such counsel that my vow, known throughout the world, may become true while at the same time both myself and the eldest son of Pandu may live.'"

"'Vasudeva said, "The king was fatigued, and under the influence of grief, He had been mangled in battle by Karna with numerous arrows. After that, O hero, he was repeatedly struck by the Suta's son (with his shafts), while he was retreating from battle. It was for this that, labouring under a load of sorrow, he spoke those improper words unto thee in wrath. He provoked thee by those words so that thou mightest slay Karna in battle. The son of Pandu knows that the wretched Karna is incapable of being borne by any one else in the world (save thee). It was for this, O Partha, that the king in great wrath said those harsh words to thy face. The stake in the game of today's battle has been made to lie in the ever alert and always unbearable Karna. That Karna being slain, the Kauravas would necessarily be vanquished. Even this is what the royal son of Dharma had thought. For this the son of Dharma does not deserve death. Thy vow also, O Arjuna, should be kept. Listen now to my counsels that will be agreeable to thee, to counsels in consequence of which Yudhishthira without being actually deprived of life may yet be dead. As long as one that is deserving of respect continues to receive respect, one is said to live in the world of men. When, however, such a person meets with disrespect, he is spoken of as one that is dead though alive. This king hath always been respected by thee and by Bhima and the twins, as also by all heroes and all persons in the world that are venerable for years. In some trifle then show him disrespect. Therefore, O Partha, address this Yudhishthira as 'thou' when his usual form of address is 'your honour.' A superior, O

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Bharata, by being addressed as 'thou,' is killed though not deprived of life. Bear thyself thus, O son of Kunti, towards king Yudhishthira, the just. Adopt this censurable behaviour, O perpetuator of Kuru's race! This best audition of all auditions, hath been declared by both Atharvan and Angiras. Men desiring good should always act in this way without scruples of any kind. Without being deprived of life a superior is yet said to be killed if that venerable one is addressed as 'thou.' Conversant with duty as thou art, address king Yudhishthira the Just, in the manner I have indicated. This death, O son of Pandu, at thy hands, king Yudhishthira will never regard as an offence committed by thee. Having addressed him in this way, thou mayst then worship his feet and speak words of respect unto this son of Pritha and soothe his wounded honour. Thy brother is wise. The royal son of Pandu, therefore, will never be angry with thee. Freed from falsehood as also from fratricide, thou wilt then, O Partha, cheerfully slay the Suta's son Karna!"'"

SECTION 70

"Sanjaya said, 'Thus addressed by Janardana, Pritha's son Arjuna, applauding those counsels of his friend, then vehemently addressed king Yudhishthira the Just, in language that was harsh and the like of which he had never used before.

"'Arjuna said, "Do thou not, O king, address these upbraidings to me, thou that art passing thy time full two miles away from battle. Bhima, however, who is battling with the foremost heroes of the world may upbraid me. Having afflicted his foes at the proper time in battle, and slain many brave lords of earth and many foremost of car-warriors and huge elephants and many heroic horsemen and countless brave combatants, he hath, in addition, slain a 1,000 elephants and 10,000 Kamboja mountaineers, and is uttering loud roars in battle like a lion after slaying innumerable smaller animals. That hero achieveth the most difficult feats, the like of which thou canst never achieve. Jumping down from his car, mace in hand, he hath destroyed a large number of steeds and cars and elephants in battle. With also his foremost of swords he hath destroyed many horsemen and cars and steeds and elephants. With the broken limbs of cars, and with his bow also, he consumeth his foes. Endued with the prowess of Indra, with his feet and also his bare arms he slayeth numerous foes. Possessed of great might and resembling Kuvera and Yama, he destroyeth the hostile army, putting forth his strength. That Bhimasena hath the right to upbraid me, but not thou that art always protected by friends. Agitating the foremost of car-warriors and elephants and steeds and foot-soldiers, Bhima, single-handed, is now in the midst of the Dhartarashtras. That chastiser of foes hath the right to upbraid me. The chastiser of foes who is slaying the Kalingas, the Vangas, the Angas, the Nishadas, and the Magadhas, and large numbers of hostile elephants that are ever infuriated and that look like masses of blue clouds, is competent to upbraid me. Riding on a suitable car, shaking his bow at the proper time, and with shafts in his (other) hand, that hero poureth showers of arrows in great battle like the clouds pouring torrents of rain. Eight hundred elephants, I have seen, with their frontal globes split open and the ends of their tusks cut off, have today been slain by Bhima with shafts in battle. That slayer of foes is competent to tell me harsh words. The learned say that the strength of the foremost of Brahmanas lies in speech, and that the Kshatriya's strength is in his arms. Thou, O Bharata, art strong in words and very unfeeling. Thou thinkest me to be like thyself. I always strive to do thee good with my soul, life, sons and wives. Since, not withstanding all this, thou still piercest me with such wordy darts, it is evident that we cannot expect any happiness from thee. Lying on Draupadi's bed thou insultest me, though for thy sake I slay the mightiest of car-warriors. Thou art without any anxiety, O Bharata, and thou art cruel. I have never obtained any happiness from thee. It was for thy good, O chief of men, that Bhishma, firmly devoted to truth, himself told thee the means of his death in battle, and was slain by the heroic and high-souled Shikhandi, the son of Drupada, protected by me. I do not derive any pleasure from the thought of thy restoration to sovereignty, since thou art addicted to the evil practice of gambling. Having thyself committed a wicked act to which they only are addicted that are low, thou desirest now to vanquish thy foes through our aid. Thou hadst heard of the numerous faults and the great sinfulness of dice that Sahadeva spoke about. Yet dice, which are worshipped by the wicked, thou couldst not abandon. It was for this that all of us have fallen into hell. We have never derived any happiness from thee since thou wert engaged in gambling with dice. Having, O son of Pandu, thyself caused all this calamity, thou art, again, addressing these harsh words to me. Slain by us, hostile troops are lying on the field, with mangled bodies and uttering loud wails. It was thou that didst that cruel act in consequence of which the Kauravas have become offenders and are being destroyed. Nations from the North, the West, the East, and the South, are being struck, wounded and slain, after the performance of incomparable feats in battle by great warriors of both sides. It was thou that hadst gambled. It was for thee that we lost our kingdom. Our calamity arose from thee, O king! Striking us, again, with the cruel goad of thy speeches, O king, do not provoke our wrath."'

"Sanjaya said, 'Having addressed these harsh and exceedingly bitter words unto his eldest brother and thereby committed a venial sin, the intelligent Savyasaci of calm wisdom, who is ever actuated by the fear of defection from virtue, became very cheerless. The son of the chief of the celestials became filled with remorse and breathing heavily, drew his sword. Seeing this, Krishna asked him, "What is this? Why dost thou again unsheathe thy sword blue as the sky? Tell me what thy answer is, for then I shall give thee counsel for the gratification of thy object." Thus addressed by that foremost of men, Arjuna, in great sorrow answered Keshava, saying, "I shall, putting forth my strength, slay my own self by whom this wicked act hath been done." Hearing those words of Partha, Keshava, that foremost of all righteous persons said this unto Dhananjaya, "Having said these words unto the king, why hast thou become so cheerless? O slayer of foes, thou desirest now to destroy thy own self. This, however, Kiritin, is not approved by the righteous. If, O hero among men, thou hadst today, from fear of sin, slain this thy eldest brother of virtuous soul, what would then have been thy condition and what wouldst thou not then have done? Morality is subtle, O Bharata, and unknowable, especially by those that are ignorant. Listen to me as I preach to thee. By destroying thy own self, thou wouldst sink into a more terrible hell than if thou hadst slain thy brother. Declare now, in words, thy own merit. Thou shalt then, O Partha, have slain thy own self." Applauding these words and saying, "Let it be so, O Krishna," Dhananjaya, the son of Sakra, lowering his bow, said unto Yudhishthira, that foremost of virtuous persons, "Listen, O king, there is no other bowman, O ruler of men, like unto myself, except the deity that bears Pinaka; I am regarded by even that illustrious deity. In a moment I can destroy this universe of mobile and immobile creatures. It was I, O king, that vanquished all the points of the compass with all the kings ruling there, and brought all to thy subjection. The Rajasuya (performed by thee), brought to completion by gift of Dakshina, and the celestial palace owned by thee, were both due to my prowess. In my hands are (marks of) sharp shafts and a stringed bow with arrow fixed thereon. On both my soles are the signs of cars with standards. No one can vanquish a person like me in battle. Nations from the North, the West, the East and the South, have been struck down, slain, exterminated and destroyed. A small remnant only of the samsaptakas is alive. I alone have slain half of the entire (hostile) army. Slaughtered by me, the Bharata host that resembled, O king, the very host of the celestials, is lying dead on the field. I slay those with (high) weapons that are conversant with high weapons. For this reason I do not reduce the three worlds to ashes. Riding upon my terrible and victorious car, Krishna and myself will soon proceed for slaying the Suta's son. Let this king become cheerful now. I will surely slay Karna in battle, with my arrows. Either the Suta dame will today be made childless by me, or Kunti will be made childless by Karna. Truly do I say it that I will not put off my armour before I have slain Karna with my arrows in battle.'"

"Sanjaya said, 'Having said these words unto that foremost of virtuous persons, viz., Yudhishthira, Partha threw down his weapons and cast aside his bow and quickly thrust his sword back into its sheath. Hanging down his head in shame, the diadem-decked Arjuna, with joined hands, addressed Yudhishthira, and said, "Be cheerful, O king, forgiving me. What I have said, you will understand a little while after. I bow to thee." Thus seeking to cheer that royal hero capable of bearing all foes, Arjuna, that foremost of men, standing there, once more said, "This task will not be delayed. It will be accomplished soon. Karna cometh towards me. I shall proceed against him. I shall, with my whole soul, proceed for rescuing Bhima from the battle and for slaying the Suta's son. I tell thee that I hold my life for thy good. Know this for the truth, O king." Having said so, the diadem-decked Arjuna of blazing splendour touched the king's feet and rose for proceeding to the field. Hearing, however, those harsh words of his brother Phalguna, Pandu's son, king Yudhishthira, the just, rising up from that bed (on which he had been sitting), said these words unto Partha, with his heart filled with sorrow, "O Partha, I have acted wickedly. For that, ye have been overwhelmed with terrible calamity. Do thou strike off, therefore, this my head today. I am the worst of men, and the exterminator of my race. I am a wretch. I am addicted to wicked courses. I am of foolish understanding. I am idle and a coward. I am an insulter of the old. I am cruel. What wouldst thou gain by always being obedient to a cruel person like me? A wretch that I am, I shall this very day retire into the woods. Live you happily without me. The high-souled Bhimasena is fit to be king. A eunuch that I am, what shall I do with sovereignty? I am incapable of bearing these harsh speeches of thee excited with wrath. Let Bhima become king. Having been insulted thus, O hero, what use have I with life." Having said these words, the king, leaving that bed, suddenly stood up and desired to go to the woods. Then Vasudeva, bowing down, said unto him, "O king, the celebrated vow of the wielder of Gandiva who is ever devoted to truth about his Gandiva, is known to thee. That man in the world who would tell him, 'Give thy Gandiva to another', would be slain by him. Even those very words were addressed to him by you. Therefore, for keeping that earnest vow, Partha, acting also at my instance, inflicted you this insult, O lord of Earth. Insult to superiors is said to be their death. For this reason, O thou of mighty arms, it behoveth thee to forgive me that beseech and bow to thee this transgression, O king, of both myself and Arjuna, committed for maintaining the truth. Both of us, O great king, throw ourselves on thy mercy. The Earth shall today drink the blood of the wretched son of Radha. I swear truly to thee. Know the Suta's son as slain today. He, whose slaughter thou desirest, hath today lost his life." Hearing those words of Krishna, king Yudhishthira the Just, in a great fury, raised the prostrate Hrishikesha and joining his hands, said in haste, "It is even so as thou hast said. I have been guilty of a transgression, I have now been awakened by thee, O Govinda. I am saved by thee, O Madhava. By thee, O Acyuta, we have today been rescued from a great calamity. Both of us stupefied by folly, viz., myself and Arjuna, have been rescued from an ocean of distress, having obtained thee as our lord. Indeed, having obtained the raft of thy intelligence today, we have, with our relatives and allies, passed over an ocean of sorrow and grief. Having obtained thee, O Acyuta, we are not masterless."'"

SECTION 71

"Sanjaya said, 'Having heard these joyful words of king Yudhishthira, Govinda of virtuous soul, that delighter of the Yadus, then addressed Partha. The latter, however, having at the instance of Krishna addressed those words unto Yudhishthira, became exceedingly cheerless for having committed a trivial sin. Then Vasudeva, smiling, said unto the son of Pandu, "What would have been thy condition, O Partha, if, observant of virtue thou hadst slain the son of Dharma with thy sharp sword? Having only addressed the king as thou, such cheerlessness hath possessed thy heart. If thou hadst slain the king, O Partha, what wouldst thou have done after that? Morality is so inscrutable, especially by persons of foolish understanding. Without doubt great grief would have been thine in consequence of thy fear of sin. Thou wouldst have sunk also in terrible hell in consequence of the slaughter of thy brother. Gratify now this king of virtuous behaviour, this foremost of all practisers of virtue, this chief of Kuru's race. Even this is my wish. Gratifying the king with devotion, and after Yudhishthira will have been made happy, we two will proceed against the car of the Suta's son for fighting him. Slaying Karna today with thy keen shafts in battle, do thou, O giver of honours, give great happiness to Dharma's son. Even this, O mighty-armed one, is what I think to be suitable to this hour. Having done this, thy purpose will be achieved." Then Arjuna, O monarch, in shame, touched king Yudhishthira's feet with his head. And he repeatedly said unto that chief of the Bharatas, "Be pleased with me, Forgive, O king, all that I have said from desire of observing virtue and from fear of sins."'

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding Dhananjaya, that slayer of foes, lying weeping at his feet, O bull of Bharata's race, king Yudhishthira the Just raised his brother. And king Yudhishthira, that lord of the earth, then embraced his brother affectionately and wept aloud. The two brothers, of great splendour, having wept for a long while, at last became freed from grief, O monarch, and as cheerful as before. Then embracing him once more with affection and smelling his head, the son of Pandu, exceedingly gratified, applauded his brother Jaya and said, "O thou of mighty arms, in the very sight of all the troops, my armour, standard, bow, dart, steeds, and arrows, were cut off in battle, O great bowman, by Karna with his shafts, although I exerted myself with care. Thinking of and seeing his feats in battle, O Phalguna, I lose my energies in grief. Life itself is no longer dear to me. If thou dost not slay that hero in battle today, I will cast away my life breaths. What use have I with life?" Thus addressed, Vijaya, replied, O bull of Bharata's race, saying, "I swear by Truth, O king, and by thy grace, by Bhima, O best of men, and by the twins, O lord of the earth, that today I shall slay Karna, in battle, or, being myself slain by him fall down on the earth. Swearing truly, I touch my weapons." Having said these words unto the king, he addressed Madhava, saying, "Without doubt, O Krishna, I will slay Karna in battle today. Aided by thy intelligence, blessed be thou, the slaughter of that wicked-souled one is certain." Thus addressed, Keshava, O best of kings, said unto Partha, "Thou art competent, O best of the Bharatas, to slay the mighty Karna. Even this hath ever been my thought, O mighty car-warrior, as to how, O best of men thou, wouldst slay Karna in battle." Endued with great intelligence, Madhava once more addressed the son of Dharma, saying, "O Yudhishthira, it behoveth thee to comfort Vibhatsu, and command him to slaughter Karna of wicked soul. Having heard that thou hadst been afflicted with shafts of Karna, myself and this one came hither, O son of Pandu, for ascertaining thy plight. By good luck, O king, thou wert not slain. By good luck thou wert not seized.

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Comfort thy Vibhatsu, and bless him, O sinless one, with thy wishes for his victory.'"

"'Yudhishthira said, "Come, Come, O Partha, O Vibhatsu, and embrace me, O son of Pandu. Thou hast told me beneficial words that deserved to be said, and I have forgiven thee. I command thee, O Dhananjaya, go and slay Karna. Do not, O Partha, be angry for the harsh words I said unto thee.'"

"Sanjaya continued, 'Then Dhananjaya, O king, bowed unto Yudhishthira by bending his head, and seized with his two hands, O sire, the feet of his eldest brother. Raising him and embracing him closely, the king smelt his head and once more said these words unto him, "O Dhananjaya, O thou of mighty arms, I have been greatly honoured by thee. Do thou ever win greatness and victory.'"

"'Arjuna said, "Approaching Radha's son today that is proud of his might, I shall slay that man of sinful deeds with my shafts in battle, along with all his kinsmen and followers. He who, having bent the bow strongly, afflicted thee with his shafts, I say, that Karna, will obtain today the bitter fruit of that act of his. Having slain Karna, O lord of the earth, I shall today come back from the dreadful battle to pay thee my respects by walking behind thee. I tell thee this truly. Without having slain Karna I shall not come back today from the great battle. Truly do I swear this by touching thy feet, O lord of the universe.'"

"Sanjaya continued, 'Unto the diadem-decked (Arjuna) who was speaking in that way, Yudhishthira, with a cheerful heart, said these words of grave import, "Do thou obtain imperishable fame, and such a period of life as accordeth with thy own desire, and victory, and energy, and the destruction of thy foes. Let the gods grant thee prosperity. Obtain thou all these to the measure desired by me. Go quickly to battle, and slay Karna, even as Purandara slew Vritra for his own aggrandisement."'"

SECTION 72

"Sanjaya said, 'Having with a cheerful heart gratified king Yudhishthira the Just, Partha, prepared to slay the Suta's son, addressed Govinda, saying, "Let my car be once more equipped and let my foremost of steeds be yoked thereto. Let all kinds of weapon be placed upon that great vehicle. The steeds have rolled on the ground. They have been trained by persons skilled in horse lore. Along with the other equipment of the car, let them be quickly brought and decked in their trappings. Proceed quickly, O Govinda, for the slaughter of the Suta's son." Thus addressed, O monarch, by the high-souled Phalguna, Krishna commanded Daruka, saying, "Do all that Arjuna, that chief of Bharata's race and that foremost of all wielders of the bow, hath said." Thus ordered by Krishna, Daruka, O best of kings, yoked those steeds unto that car covered with tiger-skins and ever capable of scorching all foes. He then represented unto the high-souled son of Pandu the fact of having equipped his vehicle. Beholding the car equipped by the high-souled Daruka, Phalguna, obtaining Yudhishthira's leave and causing the Brahmanas to perform propitiatory rites and utter benedictions on him, ascended that excellent vehicle. King Yudhishthira the Just, of great wisdom, also blessed him. After this, Phalguna proceeded towards Karna's car. Beholding that great bowman thus proceeding, all creatures, O Bharata, regarded Karna as already slain by the high-souled Pandava. All the points of the compass, O king, became serene. King-fishers and parrots and herons, O king, wheeled around the son of Pandu. A large number of beautiful and auspicious birds, O king, called Pung, causing Arjuna (by their timely appearance) to put forth greater speed in battle, cheerfully uttered their cries around him. Terrible Kankas and vultures, and cranes and hawks and ravens, O king, tempted by the prospect of food, proceeded in advance of his car, and indicated auspicious omens foreboding the destruction of the hostile host and the slaughter of Karna. And while Partha proceeded, a copious perspiration covered his body. His anxiety also became very great as to how he would achieve his vow. The slayer of Madhu then, beholding Partha filled with anxiety as he proceeded, addressed the wielder of Gandiva and said these words.

"'Vasudeva said, "O wielder of Gandiva, save thee there exists no other man that could vanquish those whom thou hast vanquished with this bow of thine. We have seen many heroes, who, endued with prowess like that Sakra, have attained to the highest regions, encountering thy heroic self in battle! Who else, O puissant one, that is not equal to thee, would be safe and sound after encountering Drona and Bhishma and Bhagadatta, O sire, and Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti and Sudakshina, the chief of the Kambojas and Srutayudha of mighty energy and Acyutayudha as well? Thou hast celestial weapons, and lightness of hand and might, and thou art never stupefied in battle! Thou hast also that humility which is due to knowledge! Thou canst strike with effect! Thou hast sureness of aim, and presence of mind as regards the selection of means, O Arjuna! Thou art competent to destroy all mobile and immobile creatures including the very gods with the Gandharvas! On earth, O Partha, there is no human warrior who is equal to thee in battle. Amongst all Kshatriyas, invincible in battle, that wield the bow, amongst the very gods, I have not seen or heard of even one that is equal to thee. The Creator of all beings, viz., Brahma himself created the great bow Gandiva with which thou fightest, O Partha! For this reason there is no one that is equal to thee. I must, however, O son of Pandu, say that which is beneficial to thee. Do not. O mighty-armed one, disregard Karna, that ornament of battle! Karna is possessed of might. He is proud and accomplished in weapons. He is a maharatha. He is accomplished (in the ways of battle) and conversant with all modes of warfare. He is also well-acquainted with all that suits place and time. What need is there of saying much? Hear in brief, O son of Pandu! I regard the mighty car-warrior Karna as thy equal, or perhaps, thy superior! With the greatest care and resolution shouldst thou slay him in great battle. In energy he is equal to Agni. As regards speed, he is equal to the impetuosity of the wind. In wrath, he resembles the Destroyer himself. Endued with might, he resembles a lion in the formation of his body. He is eight ratnis in stature. His arms are large. His chest is broad. He is invincible. He is sensitive. He is a hero. He is, again, the foremost of heroes. He is exceedingly handsome. Possessed of every accomplishment of a warrior, he is a dispeller of the fears of friends. Engaged in the good of Dhritarashtra's son, he always hates the sons of Pandu. No one, not even the gods with Vasava at their head, can slay the son of Radha, save thee, as I think. Slay, therefore, the Suta's son today. No one possessed of flesh and blood, not even the gods fighting with great care, not all the warriors (of the three worlds) fighting together can vanquish that car-warrior. Towards the Pandavas he is always of wicked soul and sinful behaviour, and cruel, and of wicked intelligence. In his quarrel with the sons of Pandu, he is actuated by no consideration affecting his own interests. Slaying that Karna, therefore, fulfill thy purpose today. Despatch today unto Yama's presence that Suta's son, that foremost of car-warriors, whose death is near. Indeed, slaying that Suta's son, that first of car-warriors, show the love for Yudhishthira the Just. I know thy prowess truly, O Partha, which is incapable of being resisted by the gods and Asuras. The Suta's son of wicked soul, from exceeding pride, always disregards the sons of Pandu. O Dhananjaya, slay that man today for whose sake the wretched Duryodhana regardeth himself a hero, that root of all (those) sinful persons, that son of a Suta. Slay, O Dhananjaya, that tiger among men, that active and proud Karna, who hath a sword for his tongue, a bow for his mouth, and arrows for his teeth. I know thee well as regards the energy and the might that are in thee. Slay the brave Karna in battle, like a lion slaying an elephant. Slay in battle today, O Partha, that Karna, otherwise called Vaikartana, in consequence of whose energy Dhritarashtra's son disregards thine.'"

SECTION 73

"Sanjaya said, 'Once more Keshava of immeasurable soul said these words unto Arjuna, who, O Bharata, was advancing (to battle), firmly resolved upon slaying Karna, 'Today is the seventeenth day, O Bharata, of this terrible massacre of men and elephants and steeds. At the outset vast was the host that belonged to you. Encountering the foe in battle, that host has been very much reduced in numbers, O king! The Kauravas also, O Partha, were numerous at first, teeming with elephants and steeds. Encountering thee, however, as their foe, they have been nearly exterminated in the van of battle! These lords of Earth and these Srinjayas, united together, and these Pandava troops also, obtaining thy invincible self as their leader, are maintaining their ground on the field. Protected by thee, O slayer of foes, the Pancalas, the Matsyas, the Karushas, and the Cedis, have caused a great destruction of thy foes. Who is there that can vanquish the assembled Kauravas in battle? On the other hand, who is there that can vanquish the mighty car-warriors of the Pandavas protected by thee? Thou, however, art competent to vanquish in battle the three worlds consisting of the gods, the asuras, and human beings, united together. What need I say then of the Kaurava host? Save thee, O tiger among men, who else is there, even if he resemble Vasava himself in prowess, that could vanquish king Bhagadatta? So also, O sinless one, all the lords of earth, united together, are incapable, O Partha, of even gazing at this vast force that is protected by thee. So also, O Partha, it is owing to their having been always protected by thee that Dhrishtadyumna and Shikhandi succeeded in slaying Drona and Bhishma. Who, indeed, O Partha, could vanquish in battle those two mighty car-warriors of the Bharatas, Bhishma and Drona, both of whom were endued with prowess equal to that of Sakra himself? Save thee, O tiger among men, what other man in this world is able to vanquish those fierce lords of akshauhinis, those unreturning and invincible heroes, all accomplished in weapons and united together, Shantanu's son Bhishma, and Drona, and Vaikartana, and Kripa, and Drona's son, and king Duryodhana himself? Innumerable divisions of soldiers have been destroyed (by thee), their steeds and cars and elephants having been mangled (with thy shafts). Numberless Kshatriyas also, wrathful and fierce, hailing from diverse provinces, have been destroyed by thee. Teeming with horses and elephants, large bodies of combatants of diverse Kshatriya clans, such as the Govasas, the Dasamiyas, the Vasatis, O Bharata, and the Easterners, the Vatadhanas, and the Bhojas that are very sensitive of their honour, approaching thee and Bhima, O Bharata, have met with destruction. Of terrible deeds and exceedingly fierce, the Tusharas, the Yavanas, the Khasas, the Darvabhisaras, the Daradas, the Sakas, the Kamathas, the Ramathas, the Tanganas the Andhrakas, the Pulindas, the Kiratas of fierce prowess, the Mlecchas, the Mountaineers, and the races hailing from the sea-side, all endued with great wrath and great might, delighting in battle and armed with maces, these all--united with the Kurus and fighting wrathfully for Duryodhana's sake were incapable of being vanquished in battle by anybody else save thee, O scorcher of foes! What man, unprotected by thee, could advance, beholding the mighty and swelling host of the Dhartarashtras arrayed in order of battle? Protected by thee, O puissant one, the Pandavas, filled with wrath, and penetrating into its midst, have destroyed that host shrouded with dust and resembling a swollen sea. Seven days have elapsed since the mighty Jayatsena, the ruler of the Magadhas, was slain in battle by Abhimanyu. After that, 10,000 elephants, of fierce feats, that used to follow that king, were slain by Bhimasena with his mace. After that, other elephants, and car-warriors, by hundreds, have been destroyed by Bhima in that exercise of his might. Even thus, O Partha, during the progress of this awful battle, the Kauravas, with their steeds and carwarriors and elephants, encountering Bhimasena and thee, O son of Pandu, have from hence repaired to the region of Death. The van of the Kaurava army, O Partha, having been struck down by the Pandavas, Bhishma shot showers of fierce shafts, O sire! Conversant with the highest weapons, he shrouded the Cedis, the Pancalas, the Karushas, the Matsyas, and the Kaikayas with the shafts, and deprived them of life! The welkin became filled with gold-winged and straight coursing shafts, capable of piercing the bodies of all foes, that issued out of his bow. He slew thousands of car-warriors, shooting showers of shafts at a time. In all, he slew a 100,000 men and elephants of great might. Abandoning the diverse motions, each of a new kind, in which they careered, those wicked kings and elephants, while perishing, destroyed many steeds and cars and elephants. Indeed, numberless were the shafts that Bhishma shot in battle. Slaughtering the Pandava host for ten days together, Bhishma made the terraces of numberless cars empty and deprived innumerable elephants and steeds of life. Having assumed the form of Rudra or of Upendra in battle, he afflicted the Pandava divisions and caused a great carnage amongst them. Desirous of rescuing the wicked Suyodhana who was sinking in a raftless sea, he slaughtered many lords of Earth among the Cedis, the Pancalas, and the Kaikayas, and caused a great massacre of the Pandava army teeming with cars and steeds and elephants. Innumerable foot-soldiers among the Srinjayas, all well-armed, and other lords of earth, were incapable of even looking at that hero when he careered in battle like the Sun himself of scorching splendour. At last the Pandavas, with all their resources, made a mighty effort, and rushed against that warrior who, inspired with the desire of victory, used to career in battle even in this way. Without availing himself of any aid, he routed, however, the Pandavas and the Srinjayas in battle, and came to be regarded as the one foremost hero in the world. Encountering him, Shikhandi, protected by thee, slew that tiger among men with his straight shafts. Having obtained thee that art a tiger among men (as his foe), that grandsire is now stretched on a bed of arrows, like Vritra when he obtained Vasava for his foe. The fierce Drona also slaughtered the hostile army for five days together. Having made an impenetrable array and caused many mighty car-warriors to be slain, that great car-warrior had protected Jayadratha (for some time). Fierce as the Destroyer himself, he caused a great carnage in the nocturnal battle. Endued with great valour, the heroic son of Bharadwaja consumed innumerable combatants with his arrows. At last, encountering Dhrishtadyumna, he attained to the highest end. If, on that day, thou hadst not checked in battle all the (Dhartarashtra) car-warriors headed by the Suta's son, Drona then would never have been slain. Thou heldst in check the whole Dhartarashtra force. It was for this, O Dhananjaya, that Drona could be slain by the son of Prishata. What other Kshatriya, save thee, could in battle achieve such feats for compassing the slaughter of Jayadratha. Checking the vast (Kaurava) army and slaying many brave kings, thou killedest king Jayadratha, aided by the might and energy of thy weapons. All the kings regarded the slaughter of the ruler of the Sindhus to have been exceedingly wonderful. I, however, do not regard it so; thou didst it and thou art a great car-warrior. If this vast assemblage of Kshatriyas, obtaining thee as a foe, suffer extermination in course of even a whole day, I should, I think, still regard these Kshatriyas to be truly mighty. When Bhishma and Drona have been slain, the terrible Dhartarashtra host, O Partha, may be regarded to have lost all its heroes. Indeed, with all its foremost warriors slain, with its steeds, cars, and elephants destroyed, the Bharata army looketh today like the firmament, reft of the Sun, the Moon, and stars. Yonder host of fierce prowess, O

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Partha, hath been shorn of its splendours today like the Asura host in days of yore shorn of its splendours by Sakra's prowess. The remnant of that grand master now consists of only five great car-warriors, viz., Ashvatthama, Kritavarma, Karna, Shalya, and Kripa. Slaying those five great car-warriors today, O tiger among men, be thou a hero that hath killed all his foes, and bestow thou the Earth with all her islands and cities on king Yudhishthira. Let Pritha's son Yudhishthira of immeasurable energy and prosperity, obtain today the whole earth with the welkin above it, the waters on it, and the nether regions below it. Slaying this host like Vishnu in days of yore slaying the Daityas and the Danavas, bestow the Earth on the king like Hari bestowing (the three worlds) on Sakra. Let the Pancalas rejoice today, their foes being slain, like the celestials rejoicing after the slaughter of the Danavas by Vishnu. If in consequence of thy regard for that foremost of men, viz., thy preceptor Drona, thou cherishest compassion for Ashvatthama, if, again, thou hast any kindness for Kripa for the sake of respect that is due to a preceptor, if, approaching Kritavarma, thou dost not despatch him today to Yama's abode in consequence of the honour that is due to one's kinsmen by the mother's side, if, O lotus-eyed one, approaching thy mother's brother, viz., Shalya, the ruler of the Madras, thou dost not from compassion slay him, I ask thee, do thou, with keen shafts, O foremost of men slay Karna today with speed, that vile wretch of sinful heart who cherisheth the fiercest hate for the son of Pandu. This is thy noblest duty. There is nothing in it that would be improper. We approve of it, and here is no fault in the act. The wicked-souled Karna is the root, O thou of unfading glory, of that attempt, O sinless one, made in the night for burning thy mother with all her children, and of that conduct which Suyodhana adopted towards you in consequence of that match at dice. Suyodhana always hopeth for deliverance through Karna. Filled with rage, he endeavours to afflict me also (in consequence of that support). It is the firm belief of Dhritarashtra's royal son, O giver of honours, that Karna, without doubt, will slay all the Prithas in battle. Though fully acquainted with thy might, still, O son of Kunti, Dhritarashtra's son hath selected war with you in consequence of his reliance on Karna. Karna also always says, 'I will vanquish the assembled Parthas and that mighty car-warrior, viz., Vasudeva of Dasharha's race'. Buoying up the wicked-souled son of Dhritarashtra, the wicked Karna always roareth in the (Kuru) assembly. Slay him today, O Bharata. In all the acts of injury, of which Dhritarashtra's son hath been guilty towards you, the wicked-souled Karna of sinful understanding hath been the leader. I saw the heroic son of Subhadra of eyes like those of a bull, slain by six mighty car-warriors of cruel heart belonging to the Dhritarashtra army. Grinding those bulls among men, viz., Drona, Drona's son, Kripa and other heroes, he deprived elephants of their riders and mighty car-warriors of their cars. The bull-necked Abhimanyu, that spreader of the fame of both the Kurus and the Vrishnis, deprived steeds also of their riders and foot-soldiers of weapons and life. Routing the (Kaurava) divisions and afflicting many mighty car-warriors, he despatched innumerable men and steeds and elephants to Yama's abode. I swear by Truth to thee, O friend, that my limbs are burning at the thought that while the son of Subhadra was thus advancing, consuming the hostile army with his shafts, even on that occasion the wicked-souled Karna was engaged in acts of hostility to that hero, O lord! Unable, O Partha, to stay in that battle before Abhimanyu's face, mangled with the shafts of Subhadra's son, deprived of consciousness, and bathed in blood, Karna drew deep breaths, inflamed with rage. At last, afflicted with arrows, he was obliged to turn his back upon the field. Eagerly desirous of flying away and becoming hopeless of life, he stayed for some time in battle, perfectly stupefied and exhausted with the wounds he had received. At last hearing those cruel words of Drona in battle--words that were suited to the hour--Karna cut off Abhimanyu's bow. Made bowless by him in that battle, five great car-warriors then, well-versed in the ways of foul warfare, slew that hero with showers of shafts. Upon the slaughter of that hero, grief entered the heart of everyone. Only, the wicked-souled Karna and Suyodhana laughed in joy. (Thou rememberest also) the harsh and bitter words that Karna cruelly said unto Krishna in the (Kuru) assembly, in the presence of the Pandavas and Kurus, 'The Pandavas, O Krishna, are dead! They have sunk into eternal hell! O thou of large hips, choose other lords now, O thou of sweet speeches! Enter now the abode of Dhritarashtra as a serving woman, for, O thou of curving eye-lashes, thy husbands are no more! The Pandavas will not, O Krishna, be of any service to thee today! Thou art the wife of men that are slaves, O princess of Pancala, and thou art thyself, O beautiful lady, a slave! Today only Duryodhana is regarded as the one king on earth; all other kings of the world are worshipping the agency by which his administration is kept up. Behold now, O amiable one, how all the sons of Pandu have equally fallen! Overwhelmed by the energy of Dhritarashtra's son, they are now silently eyeing one another. It is evident that they are all sesame seeds without kernel, and have sunk into hell. They will have to serve the Kaurava (Duryodhana), that king of kings, as his slaves.' Even these were the foul words that that wretch, viz., the sinful Karna of exceedingly wicked heart, spoke on that occasion, in thy hearing, O Bharata! Let gold-decked shafts whetted on stone and capable of taking the life of him at whom they are sped, shot by thee, quench (the fire of) those words and all the other wrongs that that wicked-souled wight did unto thee. Let thy shafts quench all those wrongs and the life also of that wicked wight. Feeling the touch of terrible arrows sped from Gandiva, let the wicked-souled Karna recollect today the words of Bhishma and Drona! Let foe-killing cloth-yard shafts, equipped with the effulgence of lightning, shot by thee, pierce his vital limbs and drink his blood! Let fierce and mighty shafts, of great impetuosity, sped by thy arms, penetrate the vitals of Karna today and despatch him to Yama's abode. Let all the kings of the earth, cheerless and filled with grief and uttering wails of woe, behold Karna fall down from his car today, afflicted with thy arrows. Let his kinsmen, with cheerless faces, behold Karna today, fallen down and stretched at his length on the earth, dipped in gore and with his weapons loosened from his grasp! Let the lofty standard of Adhiratha's son, bearing the device of the elephant's rope, fall fluttering on the earth, cut off by thee with a broad-headed arrow. Let Shalya fly away in terror, abandoning the gold-decked car (he drives) upon seeing it deprived of its warrior and steeds and cut off into fragments with hundreds of shafts by thee. Let thy enemy Suyodhana today, beholding Adhiratha's son slain by thee, despair of both his life and kingdom. Yonder, O Partha, Karna, equal unto Indra in energy, or, perhaps, Sankara himself, is slaughtering thy troops with his shafts. There the Pancalas, though slaughtered by Karna with his whetted shafts, are yet, O chief of Bharata's race, rushing (to battle), for serving the cause of the Pandavas. Know, O Partha, that is prevailing over the Pancalas, and the (five) sons of Draupadi, and Dhrishtadyumna and Shikhandi, and the sons of Dhrishtadyumna, and Satanika, the son of Nakula, and Nakula himself, and Sahadeva, and Durmukha, and Janamejaya, and Sudharman, and Satyaki! The loud uproar made by those allies of thine, viz., the Pancalas, O scorcher of foes, as they are being struck by Karna in dreadful battle, is heard. The Pancalas have not at all been inspired with fear, nor do they turn away their faces from the battle. Those mighty bowmen are utterly reckless of death in great battle. Encountering even that Bhishma who, single-handed, had encompassed the Pandava army with a cloud of shafts, the Pancalas did not turn away their faces from him. Then again, O chastiser of foes, they always strove with alacrity to vanquish forcibly in battle their great foe, viz., the invincible Drona, that preceptor of all wielders of the bow, that blazing fire of weapons, that hero who always burnt his foes in battle. They have never turned their faces from battle, afraid of Adhiratha's son. The heroic Karna, however, with his shafts, is taking the lives of the Pancala warriors endued with great activity as they are advancing against him, like a blazing fire taking the lives of myriads of insects. The son of Radha, in this battle, is destroying in hundreds the Pancalas that are advancing against him,--those heroes, that are resolved to lay down their lives for the sake of their allies! It behoveth thee, O Bharata, to become a raft and rescue those brave warriors, those great bowmen, that are sinking in the raftless ocean represented by Karna. The awful form of that weapon which was obtained by Karna from that foremost of sages, viz., Rama of Bhrigu's race, hath been displayed. Scorching all the troops, that weapon of exceedingly fierce and awful form is blazing with its own energy, surrounding our vast army. Those arrows, sped from Karna's bow, are coursing in battle thick as swarm of bees, and scorching thy troops. Encountering Karna's weapon in battle, that is irresistible by persons not having their souls under control, there the Pancalas, O Bharata, are flying away in all directions! Yonder, Bhima, of unappeasable wrath, surrounded on all sides by the Srinjayas, is fighting with Karna, O Partha, afflicted by the latter with keen shafts! If neglected, Karna will, O Bharata, exterminate the Pandavas, the Srinjayas, and the Pancalas, like a neglected disease whose germ has entered the body. Save thee I do not see another in Yudhishthira's army that would come home safe and sound, having encountered the son of Radha in battle. Slaying that Karna today with thy keen shafts, O bull among men, act according to thy vow, O Partha, and win great fame. I tell thee truly, thou only art able to vanquish in battle the Kaurava host with Karna amongst them, and no one else, O foremost of warriors! Achieving this great feat, viz., slaying the mighty car-warrior Karna, attain thy object, O Partha, and crowned with success, be happy, O best of men!'"

SECTION 74

"Sanjaya said, 'Hearing these words of Keshava, O Bharata, Vibhatsu soon cast off his anxiety and became cheerful. Rubbing then the string of gandiva and stretching it, he held his bow for the destruction of Karna, and addressed Keshava, saying, 'With thee for my protector, O Govinda, and when thou that art acquainted with the past and the future art gratified with me today, victory is sure to be mine. Aided by thee, O Krishna, I can, in great battle, destroy the three worlds assembled together, what need be said of Karna then? I see the Pancala host is flying away, O Janardana. I see also Karna careering fearlessly in battle. I see too the bhargava weapon careering in all directions, having been invoked by Karna, O thou of Vrishni's race, like the puissant thunder invoked by Shakra. This is that battle in which Karna will be slain by me and of which all creatures will speak as long as the earth will last. Today, O Krishna, unbarbed arrows, impelled by my arms and sped from the gandiva, mangling Karna, will take him to Yama. Today king Dhritarashtra will curse that intelligence of his in consequence of which he had installed Duryodhana, who was undeserving of sovereignty, on the throne. Today, O mighty-armed one, Dhritarashtra will be divested of sovereignty, happiness, prosperity, kingdom, city, and sons. I tell thee truly, O Krishna, that today, Karna being slain, Duryodhana will become hopeless of both life and kingdom. Today, beholding Karna cut in pieces by me with my arrows, like Vritra in days of yore by Indra in the battle between the gods and the asuras, let king Duryodhana call to mind the words thou hast spoken for bringing about peace. Today let the son of Subala, O Krishna, know that my shafts are dice, my gandiva the box for throwing them, and my car, the chequered cloth. O Govinda, slaying Karna with keen shafts I will dispel the long sleeplessness of Kunti's son. Today the royal son of Kunti, upon the slaughter of the Suta's son by me, shall be gratified and be of cheerful heart and obtain happiness for ever. Today, O Keshava, I will shoot an irresistible and unrivalled arrow that will deprive Karna of life. Even this, O Krishna, was the vow of that wicked-souled one about my slaughter, viz., 'I will not wash my feet till I slay Phalguna.' Falsifying this vow of that wretch, O slayer of Madhu, I will, with straight shafts, throw down his body today from his car. Today the earth will drink the blood of that Suta's son who in battle condemns all other men on earth! With Dhritarashtra's approbation, the Suta's son Karna, boasting of his own merits, had said, 'Thou hast no husband now, O Krishna!' My keen shafts will falsify that speech of his. Like angry snakes of virulent poison, they will drink his life-blood. Cloth-yard shafts, of the effulgence of the lightning, shot by myself possessed of mighty arms, sped from Gandiva, will send Karna on his last journey. Today the son of Radha will repent for those cruel words that he said unto the princess of Pancala in the midst of the assembly, in disparagement of the Pandavas! They that were on that occasion sesame seeds without kernel, will today become seeds with kernel after the fall of the Suta's son Karna of wicked soul, otherwise called Vaikartana! 'I will save ye from the sons of Pandu!'--even these were the words that Karna, bragging of his own merits, said unto the sons of Dhritarashtra! My keen shafts will falsify that speech of his! Today, in the very sight of all the bowmen, I will slay that Karna who said, 'I will slay all the Pancalas with their sons.' Today, O slayer of Madhu, I will slay that Karna, that son of Radha, relying on whose prowess the proud son of Dhritarashtra, of wicked understanding, always disregarded us. Today, O Krishna, after Karna's fall, the Dhartarashtras with their king, struck with panic, will fly away in all directions, like deer afraid of the lion. Today let king Duryodhana repent upon the slaughter of Karna, with his sons and relatives, by me in battle. Today, beholding Karna slain, let the wrathful son of Dhritarashtra, O Krishna, know me to be the foremost of all bowmen in battle. Today, I will make king Dhritarashtra, with his sons and grandsons and counsellors and servants, shelterless. Today, cranes and other carnivorous birds will, O Keshava, sport over the limbs of Karna cut off into pieces with my shafts. Today, O slayer of Madhu, I will cut off in battle the head of Radha's son Karna, in the very sight of all the bowmen. Today, O slayer of Madhu, I will cut off in battle the limbs of Radha's son of wicked soul with keen vipathas and razor-faced arrows. Today, the heroic king Yudhishthira will cast off a great pain and a great sorrow cherished long in his heart. Today, O Keshava, slaying the son of Radha, with all his kinsmen, I will gladden king Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma. Today, I will slay the cheerless followers of Karna in battle, with shafts resembling the blazing fire or the poison of the snake. Today, with my straight shafts equipped with vulturine feathers, I will, O Govinda, cause the earth to be strewn with (the bodies of) kings cased in golden armour. Today, O slayer of Madhu, I will, with keen shafts, crush the bodies and cut off the heads of all the foes of Abhimanyu. Today, I will bestow the earth, divested of Dhartarashtras on my brother, or, perhaps, thou, O Keshava, wilt walk over the earth divested of Arjuna! Today, O Krishna, I will free myself from the debt I owe to all bowmen, to my own wrath, to the Kurus, to my shafts, and to gandiva. Today, I will be freed from the grief that I have cherished for thirteen years, O Krishna, by slaying Karna in battle like Maghavat slaying Samvara. Today, after I have slain Karna in battle, let the mighty car-warriors of the Somakas, who are desirous of accomplishing the task of their allies, regard their task as accomplished. I do not know what will be the measure, O Madhava, of the joy of Sini's grandson today after I shall have slain Karna and won the victory.

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Today, I will slay Karna in battle as also his son, that mighty car-warrior, and give joy to Bhima and the twins and Satyaki. Today, slaying Karna in dreadful battle, I will pay off my debt, O Madhava, to the Pancalas with Dhrishtadyumna and Shikhandi! Today let all behold the wrathful Dhananjaya fight with the Kauravas in battle and slay the Suta's son. Once more there is none equal to me in the world. In prowess also, who is there that resembles me? What other man is there that is equal to me in forgiveness? In wrath also, there is no one that is equal to me. Armed with the bow and aided by the prowess of my arms, I can vanquish the Asuras and the gods and all creatures united together. Know that my prowess is higher than the highest. Alone assailing all the Kurus and the Bahlikas with the fire of my shafts issuing from Gandiva, I will, putting forth my might, burn them with their followers like a fire in the midst of a heap of dry grass at the close of winter. My palms bear these marks of arrows and this excellent and outstretched bow with arrow fixed on the string. On each of the soles of my feet occur the mark of a car and a standard. When a person like me goeth forth to battle, he cannot be vanquished by any one." Having said these words unto Acyuta, that foremost of all heroes, that slayer of foes, with blood red eyes, proceeded quickly to battle, for rescuing Bhima and cutting off the head from Karna's trunk.'"

SECTION 75

"Dhritarashtra said, 'In that awful and fathomless encounter of the Pandavas and the Srinjayas with the warriors of my army, when Dhananjaya, O sire, proceeded for battle, how, indeed, did the fight occur?'

"Sanjaya said, 'The innumerable divisions of the Pandava army, decked with lofty standards and swelling (with pride and energy) and united together in battle, began to roar aloud, drums and other instruments constituting their mouth, like masses of clouds at the close of summer uttering deep roars. The battle that ensued resembled a baneful shower out of season, cruel and destructive of living creatures. Huge elephants were its clouds; weapons were the water they were to pour; the peal of musical instruments, the rattle of car-wheels, and the noise of palms, constituted their roar; diverse weapons decked with gold formed their flashes of lightning; and arrows and swords and cloth-yard shafts and mighty weapons constituted their torrents of rain. Marked by impetuous onsets blood flowed in streams in that encounter. Rendered awful by incessant strokes of the sword, it was fraught with a great carnage of Kshatriyas. Many car-warriors, united together, encompassed one car-warrior and despatched him to Yama's presence. Or, one foremost of car-warriors despatched a single adversary, or one despatched many adversaries united together. Again, some one car-warrior despatched to Yama's abode some one adversary along with his driver and steeds. Some one rider, with a single elephant, despatched many car-warriors and horsemen. Similarly, Partha, with clouds of shafts, despatched large number of cars with drivers and steeds, of elephants and horses with their riders, and of foot-soldiers, belonging to the enemy. Kripa and Shikhandi encountered each other in that battle, while Satyaki proceeded against Duryodhana. And Srutasravas was engaged with Drona's son, and Yudhamanyu with Citrasena. The great Srinjaya car-warrior Uttamauja was engaged with Karna's son Sushena, while Sahadeva rushed against Shakuni, the king of the Gandharas, like a hungry lion against a mighty bull. The youthful Satanika, the son of Nakula, rushed against the youthful Vrishasena, the son of Karna, shooting showers of shafts. The heroic son of Karna struck that son of the princess of Pancala with many arrows. Conversant with all modes of warfare, Madri's son Nakula, that bull among car-warriors, assailed Kritavarma. The king of the Pancalas, Dhrishtadyumna, the son of Yajnasena, attacked Karna, the commander of the Kaurava army, with all his forces. Duhshasana, O Bharata, with the swelling host of the samsaptakas forming a portion of the Bharata army, fiercely attacked in that battle Bhima, that foremost of warriors of irresistible impetuosity. The heroic Uttamauja, putting forth his strength struck the son of Karna and cut off his head which fell down on the earth, filling the earth and the welkin with a loud noise. Beholding the head of Sushena lying on the ground, Karna became filled with grief. Soon, however, in rage he cut off the steeds, the car, and the standard, of his son's slayer with many keen shafts. Meanwhile Uttamauja, piercing with his keen shafts and cutting off with his bright sword the steeds of Kripa and those warriors also that protected Kripa's sides, quickly ascended the car of Shikhandi. Beholding Kripa deprived of his car, Shikhandi who was on his vehicle, wished not to strike him with his shafts. The son of Drona then, covering with his own the car of Kripa, rescued the latter like a bull sunk in a mire. Meanwhile Bhima, the son of the Wind-god clad in golden mail, began to scorch with his keen arrows the troops of thy sons like the mid-day sun scorching everything in the summer season.'"

SECTION 76

"Sanjaya said, 'During the progress of the fierce engagement, Bhima, while fighting along, being encompassed by innumerable foes, addressed his driver, saying, "Bear me into the midst of the Dhartarashtra host. Proceed, O charioteer, with speed, borne by these steeds. I will despatch all these Dhartarashtras to the presence of Yama." Thus urged by Bhimasena, the charioteer proceeded, quickly and with great impetuosity, against thy son's host to that spot whence Bhima desired to slaughter it. Then a large number of Kaurava troops, with elephants and cars and horse and foot, advanced against him from all sides. They then, from every side, began to strike that foremost of vehicles belonging to Bhima, with numerous arrows. The high-souled Bhima, however, with his own shafts of golden wings, cut off all those advancing arrows of his enemies. Thus cut off into two or three fragments with Bhima's arrows, those shafts, equipped with golden wings, of his enemies, fell down on the earth. Then, O king, amongst those foremost of Kshatriyas, struck with Bhima's shafts, the elephants and cars and horse and foot, set up a loud wail, O monarch, that resembled the din made by mountains when riven with thunder. Thus struck by Bhima, those foremost of Kshatriyas, their limbs pierced with Bhima's powerful shafts, rushed against Bhima in that battle from every side, like new-fledged birds towards a tree. When thy troops thus rushed against him, Bhima of furious impetuosity displayed all his vim like Destroyer himself armed with a mace when he burns and exterminates all creatures at the end of the Yuga. Thy soldiers were unable to resist in that battle that fierce forcible energy of Bhima endued with fierce impetuosity, like that of the Destroyer himself of wide open mouth when he rusheth at the end of the Yuga for exterminating all creatures. Then, O Bharata, like masses of clouds scattered by the tempest the Bharata host, thus mangled and burnt in that battle by the high-souled Bhima, broke and fled in fear in all directions. Then the mighty Bhimasena of great intelligence once more cheerfully said unto his charioteer, "Ascertain, O Suta, whether those assembled cars and standards that are advancing towards me, are ours or the enemy's. Absorbed in battle, I am unable to distinguish them. Let me not shroud our own troops with my shafts. O Visoka, beholding hostile warriors and cars and the tops of their standards on all sides, I am greatly afflicted. The king is in pain. The diadem-decked Arjuna also has not yet come. These things, O Suta, fill my heart with sorrow. Even this is my grief, O charioteer, that king Yudhishthira the Just should have gone away, leaving me in the midst of the enemy. I do not know whether he, as also Vibhatsu, is alive or dead. This adds to my sorrow. I shall, however, though filled with great grief, destroy those hostile troops of great might. Thus slaughtering in the midst of battle my assembled foes, I shall rejoice with thee today. Examining all the quivers containing my arrows, tell me, O Suta, ascertaining the matter well, what quantity of arrows is still left on my car, that is, how much of what sort."

"'Thus commanded, Visoka said, "Of arrows, O hero, thou hast yet 60,000, while thy razor-headed shafts number 10,000, and broad-headed ones number as much. Of cloth-yard shafts thou hast still 2,000, O hero, and of Pradaras thou hast still, O Partha, 3,000! Indeed, of the weapons, O son of Pandu, the portion that still remains is not capable of being borne, if placed on carts, by six bullocks. Shoot and hurl them, O learned one, for of maces and swords and other weapons used with the arms alone, thou hast thousands upon thousands, as also lances and scimitars and darts and spears! Never fear that thy weapons will be exhausted."

"'Bhima said, "Behold, O Suta, today this awful battle in which everything will be shrouded with my impetuous arrows sped fiercely from my bow and, mangling all my foes, and in consequence of which the very sun will disappear from the field, making the latter resemble the domains of Death! Today, even this will be known to all the Kshatriyas including the very children, O Suta, that Bhimasena hath succumbed in battle or that, alone, he hath subjugated all the Kurus! Today, let all the Kauravas fall in battle or let all the world applaud me, beginning with the feats of my earliest years. Alone, I will overthrow them all, or let all of them strike Bhimasena down. Let the gods that aid in the achievement of the best acts bless me. Let that slayer of foes Arjuna come here now like Sakra, duly invoked, quickly coming to a sacrifice. Behold, the Bharata host is breaking! Why do those kings fly away? It is evident that Savyasaci, that foremost of men, is quickly shrouding that host with his shafts. Behold, those standards, O Visoka, and elephants and steeds and bands of foot-soldiers are flying away. Behold, these cars, assailed with shafts and darts, with those warriors riding on them, are being scattered, O Suta! Yonder, the Kaurava host, assailed with the shafts, equipped with wings of gold and feathers of peacocks, of Dhananjaya, and resembling thunderbolts in force, though slaughtered extensively, is repeatedly filling its gaps. There, cars and steeds and elephants are flying away, crushing down bands of foot-soldiers. Indeed, all the Kauravas, having lost their sense, are flying away, like elephants filled with panic at a forest conflagration, and uttering cries of woe. These huge elephants, again, O Visoka, are uttering loud cries, assailed with shafts."

"'Visoka said, "How is it, O Bhima, that thou dost not hear the loud twang of the yawning Gandiva stretched by Partha in wrath? Are these two ears of thine gone? All thy wishes, O son of Pandu, have been fulfilled! Yonder the Ape (on Arjuna's banner) is seen in the midst of the elephant force (of the enemy). Behold, the string of Gandiva is flashing repeatedly like lightning amid blue clouds. Yonder the Ape on Dhananjaya's standard-top is everywhere seen to terrify hostile divisions in this dreadful battle. Even I, looking at it, am struck with fear. There the beautiful diadem of Arjuna is shining brilliantly. There, the precious jewel on the diadem, endued with the splendour of the sun, looketh exceedingly resplendent. There, beside him, behold his conch Devadatta of loud blare and the hue of a white cloud. There, by the side of Janardana, reins in hand, as he penetrates into the hostile army, behold his discus of solar effulgence, its nave hard as thunder, and its edge sharp as a razor. Behold, O hero, that discus of Keshava, that enhancer of his fame, which is always worshipped by the Yadus. There, the trunks, resembling lofty trees perfectly straight, of huge elephants, cut off by Kiritin, are falling upon the earth. There those huge creatures also, with their riders, pierced and split with shafts, are falling down, like hills riven with thunder. There, behold, O son of Kunti, the Panchajanya of Krishna, exceedingly beautiful and of the hue of the moon, as also the blazing Kaustubha on his breast and his triumphal garland. Without doubt, that first and foremost of all car-warriors, Partha, is advancing, routing the hostile army as he comes, borne by his foremost of steeds, of the hue of white clouds, and urged by Krishna. Behold those cars and steeds and bands of foot-soldiers, mangled by thy younger brother with the energy of the chief of the celestials. Behold, they are falling down like a forest uprooted by the tempest caused by Garuda's wings. Behold, four hundred car-warriors, with their steeds and drivers, and seven hundred elephants and innumerable foot-soldiers and horsemen slain in this battle by Kiritin with his mighty shafts. Slaughtering the Kurus, the mighty Arjuna is coming towards thy side even like the constellation Citra. All thy wishes are fulfilled. Thy foes are being exterminated. Let thy might, as also the period of thy life, ever increase."

"'Bhima said, "Since, O Visoka, thou tellest me of Arjuna's arrival, I will give thee four and ten populous villages and a hundred female slaves and twenty cars, being pleased with thee, O Suta, for this agreeable intelligence imparted by thee!"'"

SECTION 77

"Sanjaya said, 'Hearing the roars of cars and the leonine shouts (of the warriors) in battle, Arjuna addressed Govinda, saying, "Urge the steeds to greater speed." Hearing these words of Arjuna, Govinda said unto him, "I am proceeding with great speed to the spot where Bhima is stationed." Then many lions among men (belonging to the Kaurava army), excited with wrath and accompanied by a large force of cars and horse and elephants and foot-soldiers and making the earth resound with the whizz of their arrows, the rattle of their car wheels, and the tread of their horses' hoofs, advanced against Jaya (Arjuna) as the latter proceeded for victory, borne by his steeds white as snow or conchs and decked in trappings of gold and pearls and gems like the chief of the celestials in great wrath proceeding, armed with the thunder, against (the asura) Jambha for slaying him. Between them and Partha, O sire, occurred a great battle destructive of body, life, and sin, like the battle between the asuras and the god Vishnu, that foremost of victors for the sake of the three worlds. Alone, Partha, decked with diadem and garlands, cut off the mighty weapons sped by them, as also their heads and arms in diverse ways, with his razor-faced and crescent-shaped and broad-headed arrows of great keenness. Umbrellas, and yak-tails for fanning, and standards, and steeds, and cars, and bands of foot-soldiers, and elephants, fell down on the earth, mutilated in diverse ways, like a forest broken down by a tempest. Huge elephants, decked in caparisons of gold and equipped with triumphal standards and warriors (on their backs), looked resplendent, as they were pierced with shafts of golden wings, like mountains ablaze with light. Piercing elephants and steeds and cars with excellent shafts resembling Vasava's thunder, Dhananjaya proceeded quickly for the slaughter of Karna, even as Indra in days of yore for riving (the asura) Vala. Then that tiger among men, that mighty-armed chastiser of foes, penetrated into thy host like a makara into the ocean. Beholding the son of Pandu, thy warriors, O king, accompanied by cars and foot-soldiers and a large number of elephants and steeds, rushed against him. Tremendous was the din made by them as they advanced against Partha, resembling that made by the waters of the ocean lashed into fury by the tempest. Those mighty car-warriors, resembling tigers (in prowess) all rushed in that battle against that tiger among men, abandoning all fear of death. Arjuna, however, routed the troops of those leaders of the Kurus as they advanced, shooting at him showers of weapons, like a tempest driving off masses of congregated clouds. Those great

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bowmen, all skilled in smiting, united together and proceeded against Arjuna with a large number of cars and began to pierce him with keen shafts. Then Arjuna, with his shafts, despatched to Yama's abode several thousands of cars and elephants and steeds. While those great car-warriors in that battle were thus struck with shafts sped from Arjuna's bow, they were filled with fear and seemed to disappear one after another from their cars. In all, Arjuna, with his sharp arrows, slew four hundred of those heroic car-warriors exerting themselves vigorously in battle. Thus struck in that battle with sharp shafts of diverse kinds, they fled away on all sides, avoiding Arjuna. Tremendous was the uproar made at the van of the army by those warriors as they broke and fled, like that made by the surging sea when it breaks upon a rock. Having routed with his arrows that army struck with fright, Pritha's son Arjuna then proceeded, O sire, against the division of the Suta's son. Loud was the noise with which Arjuna faced his foes, like that made by Garuda in days of yore when swooping down for snakes. Hearing that sound, the mighty Bhimasena, desirous as he had been of obtaining a sight of Partha, became filled with joy. As soon as the valiant Bhimasena heard of Partha's arrival, he began, O monarch, to grind thy troops, reckless of his very life. Possessed of prowess equal to that of the wind, the valiant Bhima, the son of the Wind-god, began to career in that battle like the wind itself. Afflicted by him, O monarch, thy army, O king, began to reel like a wrecked vessel on the bosom of the sea. Displaying his lightness of hands, Bhima began to cut and mangle that host with his fierce arrows and despatch large numbers to the abode of Yama. Beholding on that occasion the superhuman might of Bhima, O Bharata, like that of the Destroyer at the end of the Yuga, thy warriors became filled with fright. Seeing his mightiest soldiers thus afflicted by Bhimasena, O Bharata, king Duryodhana addressed all his troops and great bowmen, O bull of Bharata's race, commanding them to slay Bhima in that battle, since upon Bhima's fall he would regard the Pandava troops already exterminated. Accepting that command of thy son, all the kings shrouded Bhima with showers of shafts from every side. Innumerable elephants, O king, and men inspired with desire of victory, and cars, and horse, O monarch, encompassed Vrikodara. Thus encompassed by those brave warriors on all sides, O king, that hero, that chief of Bharata's race, looked resplendent like the Moon surrounded by the stars. Indeed, as the Moon at full within his corona looks beautiful, even so that best of men, exceedingly handsome, looked beautiful in that battle. All those kings, with cruel intent and eyes red in wrath, inflicted upon Vrikodara their arrowy downpours, moved by the desire of slaying him. Piercing that mighty host with straight shafts, Bhima came out of the press like a fish coming out of a net, having slain 10,000 unretreating elephants, 200,200 men, O Bharata, and 5,000 horses, and a hundred car-warriors. Having slaughtered these, Bhima caused a river of blood to flow there. Blood constituted its water, and cars its eddies; and elephants were the alligators with which it teemed. Men were its fishes, and steeds its sharks, and the hair of animals formed its woods and moss. Arms lopped off from trunks formed its foremost of snakes. Innumerable jewels and gems were carried along by the current. Thighs constituted its gravels, and marrow its mire. And it was covered with heads forming its rocks. And bows and arrows constituted the rafts by which men sought to cross that terrible river, and maces and spiked bludgeons formed its snakes. And umbrellas and standards formed its swans, and head-gears its foam. Necklaces constituted its lotuses, and the earthy dust that arose formed its waves. Those endued with noble qualities could cross it with ease, while those that were timid and affrighted found it exceedingly difficult to cross. Warriors constituting its crocodiles and alligators, it ran towards the region of Yama. Very soon, indeed, did that tiger among men cause that river to flow. Even as the terrible Vaitarani is difficult of being crossed by persons of unrefined souls, that bloody river, terrible and enhancing the fears of the timid, was difficult to cross. Thither where that best of car-warriors, the son of Pandu, penetrated, thither he felled hostile warriors in hundreds and thousands. Seeing those feats achieved in battle by Bhimasena, Duryodhana, O monarch, addressing Shakuni, said, "Vanquish, O uncle, the mighty Bhimasena in battle. Upon his defeat the mighty host of the Pandavas may be regarded as defeated." Thus addressed, O monarch, the valiant son of Subala, competent to wage dreadful battle, proceeded, surrounded by his brothers. Approaching in that battle Bhima of terrible prowess, the heroic Shakuni checked him like the continent resisting the ocean. Though resisted with keen shafts, Bhima, disregarding them all, proceeded against the sons of Subala. Then Shakuni, O monarch, sped a number of cloth-yard shafts equipped with wings of gold and whetted on stone, at the left side of Bhima's chest. Piercing through the armour of the high-souled son of Pandu, those fierce shafts, O monarch, equipped with feathers of Kankas and peacocks, sunk deep into his body. Deeply pierced in that battle, Bhima, O Bharata, suddenly shot at Subala's son a shaft decked with gold. The mighty Shakuni however, that scorcher of foes, O king, endued with great lightness of hands, cut off into seven fragments that terrible arrow as it coursed towards him. When his shaft fell down on the earth, Bhima, O king, became highly enraged, and cut off with a broad-headed arrow the bow of Subala's son with the greatest ease. The valiant son of Subala then, casting aside that broken bow, quickly took up another and six and ten broad-headed arrows. With two of those straight and broad-headed arrows, O monarch, he struck Bhima himself, with one he cut off Bhima's standard, and with two, his umbrella. With the remaining four, the son of Subala pierced the four steeds of his antagonist. Filled with rage at this, the valiant Bhima, O monarch, hurled in that battle a dart made of iron, with its staff adorned with gold. That dart, restless as the tongue of a snake, hurled from Bhima's arms, speedily fell upon the car of the high-souled son of Subala. The latter then, filled with wrath, O monarch, took up that same gold-decked dart and hurled it back at Bhimasena. Piercing through the left arm of the high-souled son of Pandu, it fell down on the earth like lightning flashed down from the sky. At this, the Dhartarashtras, O monarch, set up a loud roar all around. Bhima, however, could not bear that leonine roar of his foes endued with great activity. The mighty son of Pandu then, quickly taking up another stringed bow, in a moment, O monarch, covered with shafts the soldiers of Subala's son in that battle, who were fighting reckless of their very lives. Having slain his four steeds, and then his driver, O king, Bhima of great prowess next cut off his antagonist's standard with a broad-headed arrow without losing a moment. Abandoning with speed that steedless car, Shakuni, that foremost of men, stood on the ground, with his bow ready drawn in his hands, his eyes red like blood in rage, and himself breathing heavily. He then, O king, struck Bhima from every side with innumerable arrows. The valiant Bhima, baffling those shafts, cut off Shakuni's bow in rage and pierced Shakuni himself, with many keen arrows. Deeply pierced by his powerful antagonist, that scorcher of foes, O king, fell down on the earth almost lifeless. Then thy son, O monarch, seeing him stupefied, bore him away from battle on his car in the very sight of Bhimasena. When that tiger among men, Shakuni was thus taken up on Duryodhana's car, the Dhartarashtra troops, turning their faces from battle, fled away on all sides inspired with fear on that occasion of great terror due to Bhimasena. Upon the defeat of Subala's son, O king, by that great bowman, Bhimasena, thy son Duryodhana, filled with great fright, retreated, borne away by his fleet steeds, from regard for his maternal uncle's life. Beholding the king himself turn away from the battle, the troops, O Bharata, fled away, from the encounters in which each of them had been engaged. Seeing all the Dhartarashtra troops turn away from battle and fly in all directions, Bhima rushing impetuously, fell upon them, shooting many hundreds of shafts. Slaughtered by Bhima, the retreating Dhartarashtras, O king, approaching the spot where Karna was, once more stood for battle, surrounding him. Endued with great might and great energy, Karna then became their refuge. Finding Karna, O bull of Bharata's race, thy troops became comforted and stood cheerfully, relying upon one another, like shipwrecked mariners, O tiger of men, in their distressful plight, when at last they reach an island. They then, once more, making death itself their goal, proceeded against their foes for battle.'"

SECTION 78

"Dhritarashtra said, 'When our troops were broken in battle by Bhimasena, what, O Sanjaya, did Duryodhana and Subala's son say? Or, what did Karna, that foremost of victors, or the warriors of my army in that battle, or Kripa, or Kritavarma, or Drona's son Duhshasana, say? Exceedingly wonderful, I think, is the prowess of Pandu's son, since, single-handed, he fought in battle with all the warriors of my army. Did the son of Radha act towards the (hostile) troops according to his vow? That slayer of foes, Karna, O Sanjaya, is the prosperity, the armour, the fame, and the very hope of life, of the Kurus. Beholding the army broken by Kunti's son of immeasurable energy, what did Karna, the son of Adhiratha and Radha, do in that battle? What also did my sons, difficult of defeat in battle, do, or the other kings and mighty car-warriors of our army? Tell me all this, O Sanjaya, for thou art skilled in narration!'

"Sanjaya said, 'In that afternoon, O monarch, the Suta's son of great valour began to smite all the Somakas in the very sight of Bhimasena. Bhima also of great strength began to destroy the Dhartarashtra troops. Then Karna, addressing (his driver) Shalya, said unto him, "Bear me to the Pancalas." Indeed, beholding his army in course of being routed by Bhimasena of great intelligence, Karna once more addressed his driver, saying, 'Bear me to the Pancalas only.' Thus urged, Shalya, the ruler of the Madras, endued with great might, urged those white steeds that were fleet as thought, towards the Cedis, the Pancalas and the Karushas. Penetrating then into that mighty host, Shalya, that grinder of hostile troops, cheerfully conducted those steeds into every spot that Karna, that foremost of warriors, desired to go to. Beholding that car cased in tiger skins and looking like a cloud, the Pandus and the Pancalas, O monarch, became terrified. The rattle then of that car, like unto the peal of thunder or the sound of a mountain splitting into fragments, became audible in that dreadful battle. With hundreds upon hundreds of keen arrows sped from the bow-string drawn to his ear, Karna then smote hundreds and thousands of warriors belonging to the Pandava army. While the unvanquished Karna was employed in achieving those feats, many mighty bowmen and great car-warriors among the Pandavas encompassed him on all sides. Indeed, Shikhandi, and Bhima, and Dhrishtadyumna, the son of Prishata, and Nakula, and Sahadeva, and the (five) sons of Draupadi, and Satyaki, surrounded the son of Radha, pouring showers of arrows upon him, from desire of despatching him to the other world. The heroic Satyaki, that best of men, struck Karna in that engagement with twenty keen shafts in the shoulder-joint. Shikhandi struck him with five and twenty shafts, and Dhrishtadyumna struck him with seven, and the sons of Draupadi with four and sixty, and Sahadeva with seven, and Nakula with a hundred, in that battle. The mighty Bhimasena, in that encounter, filled with rage, struck the son of Radha in the shoulder-joint with ninety straight shafts. The son of Adhiratha, then, of great might laughing in scorn, and drawing his excellent bow let off many keen shafts, afflicting his foes. The son of Radha pierced each of them in return with five arrows. Cutting off the bow of Satyaki, as also his standard, O bull of Bharata's race, Karna pierced Satyaki himself with nine shafts in the centre of the chest. Filled with wrath, he then pierced Bhimasena with thirty shafts. With a broad-headed arrow, O sire, he next cut off the standard of Sahadeva, and with three other arrows, that chastiser of foes afflicted Sahadeva's driver. Within the twinkling of an eye he then deprived the (five) sons of Draupadi of their cars, O bull of Bharata's race, which seemed exceedingly wonderful. Indeed, with his straight shafts casting those heroes to turn back from the fight, the heroic Karna began to slay the Pancalas and many mighty car-warriors among the Cedis. Thus struck in that battle. O monarch, the Cedis and the Matsyas, rushing against Karna alone, poured upon him showers of shafts. The Suta's son, however, that mighty car-warrior, began to smite them with his keen shafts. I beheld this exceedingly wonderful feat. O Bharata, viz., that the Suta's son of great prowess, alone and unsupported in that battle, fought with all those bowmen who contended with him to the utmost of their prowess, and checked all those Pandava warriors, O monarch, with his shafts. With the lightness of hand, O Bharata, of the high-souled Karna on that occasion, all the gods as also the Siddhas and the Charanas were gratified. All the great bowmen among the Dhartarashtras also, O best of men, applauded Karna, that foremost of great car-warriors, that first of all bowmen. Then Karna, O monarch, burnt the hostile army like a mighty and blazing conflagration consuming a heap of dry grass in the summer season. Thus slaughtered by Karna, the Pandava troops, struck with fear, fled in all directions, at the very sight of Karna. Loud wails arose there among the Pancalas in that great battle, while they were thus struck with the keen shafts sped from Karna's bow. Struck with fear at the noise, the vast host of the Pandavas, those enemies of Karna, regarded him as the one warrior in that battle. Then that crusher of foes, viz., the son of Radha, once more achieved an exceedingly wonderful feat, inasmuch as all the Pandavas, united together, were unable to even gaze at him. Like a swelling mass of water breaking when it comes in contact with a mountain, the Pandava army broke when it came in contact with Karna. Indeed, O king, the mighty-armed Karna in that battle, burning the vast host of the Pandavas, stood there like a blazing fire without smoke. With great activity that hero, with his shafts, cut off the arms and the heads of his brave foes, O king, and their ears decked with earrings. Swords with hilts of ivory, and standards, and darts, and steeds, and elephants, and cars of diverse kind, O king, and banners, and axles, and yokes, and wheels of many kinds, were cut off in various ways by Karna, observant of a warrior's vow. There, O Bharata, with elephants and steeds slain by Karna, the earth became impassable and miry with flesh and blood. The uneven and even spots also of the field, in consequence of slain horse and foot and broken cars and dead elephants, could no longer be distinguished. The combatants could not distinguish friends from foes in that thick darkness caused by shafts when Karna's (celestial) weapon was displayed. The mighty car-warriors of the Pandavas, O monarch, were completely shrouded with shafts, decked with gold, that were sped from Karna's bow. Those mighty car-warriors of the Pandavas, O king, in that battle, though struggling vigorously, were repeatedly broken by the son of Radha, even as a herd of deer in the forest is routed by an angry lion. Routing the foremost of Pancala car-warriors and (other) foes, Karna of great fame, in that battle, slew the Pandava warriors like a wolf slaying smaller animals. Beholding the Pandava army turn away from battle, the Dhartarashtra bowmen of great might rushed against the retreating host uttering terrible shouts. Then Duryodhana, O monarch, filled with great delight, caused diverse musical instruments to be beaten and blown in all parts of the army. The great bowmen amongst the Pancalas, those foremost of men, though broken, returned heroically to the fight, making

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death their goal. The son of Radha, however, that bull among men and scorcher of foes, O monarch, in that battle, broke those returned heroes in diverse ways. There, O Bharata twenty car-warriors among the Pancalas and more than a hundred Cedi warriors were slain by Karna with his shafts. Making the terraces of cars and the backs of steeds empty, O Bharata, and slaying the combatants that fought from the necks of elephants, and routing the foot-soldiers, that scorcher of foes, the Suta's son of great bravery, became incapable of being gazed at like the mid-day sun and looked resplendent like the Destroyer himself at the end of the Yuga. Thus, O monarch, that slayer of foes, that mighty bowmen, Karna, having slain foot, horse, car-warriors, and elephants, stood there on his car. Indeed, like the Destroyer himself of great might standing after slaying all creatures, the mighty car-warrior Karna stood alone, having slain the Somakas. The prowess that we then beheld of the Pancalas seemed to be exceedingly wonderful, for, though thus struck by Karna, they refused to fly away from that hero at the head of battle. At that time, the king (Duryodhana), and Duhshasana, and Kripa, the son of Sharadvata, and Ashvatthama, and Kritavarma, and Shakuni also of great might, slaughtered the Pandava warriors in hundreds and thousands. The two sons also of Karna, O monarch, those two brothers of prowess incapable of being baffled, filled with rage, slaughtered the Pandava army in several parts of the field. The battle at that place was dreadful and cruel and the carnage that occurred was very great. Similarly the Pandava heroes, Dhrishtadyumna and Shikhandi and the (five) sons of Draupadi, filled with rage, slaughtered thy host. Even thus a great destruction took place among the Pandavas everywhere on the field, and even thus thy army also suffered great loss at the hands of the mighty Bhima.'"

SECTION 79

"Sanjaya said, 'Meanwhile Arjuna, O monarch, having slain the four kinds of forces (of the enemy), and having obtained a sight of the angry son of the Suta in that dreadful battle, caused a river of blood to flow there that was tawny with flesh and marrow and bones. Human heads constituted its rocks and stones. Elephants and steeds formed its banks. Full of the bones of heroic combatants, it resounded with the cries of ravens and vultures. Umbrellas were its swans or rafts. And that river ran, bearing away heroes like trees along its current. (Even) necklaces constituted its assemblage of lotuses, and head-gears formed its excellent foam. Bows and shafts constituted its fishes; and the crowns of crushed men floated on its surface. Shields and armour were its eddies, and cars were the rafts with which it teemed. And it could be easily forded by persons desirous of victory, while to those that were cowards it was unfordable. Having caused that river to flow, Vibhatsu, that slayer of hostile heroes and bull among men, addressing Vasudeva said, "Yonder, O Krishna, the standard of the Suta's son is visible. There, Bhimasena and others are fighting with that great car-warrior. There, the Pancalas, afraid of Karna, are flying away, O Janardana. Yonder, king Duryodhana, with the white umbrella over his head, along with Karna, looketh exceedingly resplendent as he is engaged in routing the Pancalas. There Kripa, and Kritavarma, and Drona's son, that mighty car-warrior, are protecting king Duryodhana, themselves protected by the Suta's son. There, O Krishna, Shalya, well conversant with holding the reins, looketh exceedingly resplendent as, seated on the terrace of Karna's car, he guideth that vehicle. Bear me to that mighty car-warrior, for even such is the wish cherished by me. Without slaying Karna in this battle I will never return. Otherwise, the son of Radha, O Janardana, will, in my sight, exterminate the mighty car-warriors of the Parthas and the Srinjayas." Thus addressed, Keshava quickly proceeded on his car, towards the mighty bowman Karna, for causing a single combat to take place between Karna and Savyasaci. Indeed, the mighty-armed Hari, at the command of Pandu's son, proceeded on his car, assuring (by that very act) all the Pandava troops. The rattle then of Arjuna's vehicle rose loud in that battle, resembling, O sire, the tremendous peal of Vasu's thunder. Beholding Arjuna of white steeds and having Krishna for his driver thus advance, and seeing the standard of that high-souled one, the king of the Madras, addressing Karna, said, "There cometh that car-warrior having white steeds yoked unto his vehicle and having Krishna for his driver, slaying his foes in battle. There cometh he about whom thou wert enquiring, holding his bow Gandiva. If thou canst slay him today, great good may then be done to us. He cometh, O Karna, desirous of an encounter with thee, slaying, as he cometh, our chief warriors. Do thou proceed against that hero of Bharata's race. Avoiding all our warriors, Dhananjaya advanceth with great speed, for, as I think, an encounter with thee, judging by his form swelling with rage and energy. Blazing with wrath, Partha will not stop from desire of battle with anybody else save thee, especially when Vrikodara is being so much afflicted (by thee). Learning that king Yudhishthira the Just hath been exceedingly mangled and made carless by thee, and seeing (the plight of) Shikhandi, and Satyaki, and Dhrishtadyumna, the son of Prishata, and the (five) sons of Draupadi, and Yudhamanyu, and Uttamauja, and the brothers, Nakula and Sahadeva, that scorcher of foes, Partha, advanceth impetuously on a single car against thee. Without doubt, he is advancing with speed against us, avoiding other combatants. Do thou, O Karna, proceed against him, for there is no other bowman (among us that can do so). I do not behold any arrangements made for his protection, either on his flanks or at his rear. He advanceth alone against thee. Look after thy success now. Thou alone art able to encounter the two Krishnas in battle. Proceed, therefore, against Dhananjaya. Thou art the equal of Bhishma, of Drona, of Drona's son, of Kripa. Do thou resist in this great battle the advancing Savyasaci. Indeed, O Karna, slay this Dhananjaya that resembles a snake frequently darting out its tongue, or a roaring bull, or a tiger in the forest. There, those kings, those mighty car-warriors of the Dhritarashtra's army, through fear of Arjuna, are quickly flying away, regardless of one another. Save thee, O Suta's son, there is no other man, O hero, that can, in battle, dispel the fears of those retreating combatants. All those Kurus, O tiger among men, obtaining thee as their refuge in this battle, stand depending on thee and desirous of thy protection. Mustering thy great prowess, O mighty-armed one, proceed against Vrishni's race, who is always gratified by the diadem-decked (Arjuna)."

"'Karna said, "Thou seemest now to be in thy usual frame of mind and thou art now agreeable to me. Do not, O mighty-armed one, entertain any fear of Dhananjaya. Behold the might of my arms today, and behold my skill. Single-handed, I will today destroy the mighty host of the Pandavas, as also those two lions among men, the two Krishnas! I say this truly unto thee. I will never return from the field today without slaying two heroes. Or, slain by those two, I shall today sleep on the field of battle. Victory is uncertain in battle. Slaying or slain, I shall today achieve my purpose."

"'Shalya said, "All great car-warriors, O Karna, say that this foremost of car-warriors, (Arjuna), even when alone, is invincible. When again, he is protected by Krishna, who will venture to vanquish him?"

"'Karna said, "As far as I have heard, such a superior car-warrior has never been born on earth! Behold my prowess, since I will contend in battle with even that Partha who is such. This prince of Kuru's line, this foremost of car-warriors, careers in battle, borne by his steeds white in hue. Perhaps he will despatch me to Yama's abode today. Know, however, that with Karna's death, these all will be exterminated. The two arms of this prince are never covered with sweat. They never tremble. They are massive and covered with cicatrices. Firm in the use of weapons, he is possessed of great skill and endued with great lightness of hands. Indeed, there is no warrior equal to the son of Pandu. He taketh a large number of arrows and shooteth them as if they were one. Quickly fixing them on the bow-string, he propelleth them to the distance of two miles. They always fall on the foe. What warriors is there on earth that is equal to him? That Atiratha, endued with great activity, with Krishna as his ally, gratified the god Agni at Khandava. There, on that occasion, the high-souled Krishna obtained his discus, and Savyasaci, the son of Pandu, obtained his bow Gandiva. There that mighty-armed one, endued with might that knows no decay, also obtained his terrible car unto which are yoked those white steeds, as also his two great celestial and inexhaustible quivers, and many celestial weapons, from the God of Fire. In the region of Indra he obtained his conch Devadatta and slew innumerable Daityas, and all the Kalakeyas. Who is there on earth that is superior to him? Possessed of greatness of soul, he gratified Mahadeva himself in fair fight, and obtained from him the terrible and mighty weapon Pasupata that is capable of destroying the three worlds. The several Regents of the world, united together gave him their weapons of immeasurable energy, with which that lion among men quickly destroyed in battle those united Asuras, the Kalakhanjas. So also, in Virata's city, moving on a single car he vanquished all of us, and snatched from us that wealth of kine, and took from all the foremost of car-warriors (portions of) their garments. Challenging that foremost of Kshatriyas, that hero having him of Vrishni's race for his ally, that warrior who is endued with such energy and such attributes, I regard myself, O Shalya, to be the foremost of persons in all the world in point of courage. He is, again, protected by that Keshava of great energy, who is Narayana himself and who is without a rival, that high-souled Vasudeva, that ever-victorious Vishnu armed with conch, discus, and mace, whose attributes all the world united together, cannot (in narrating) exhaust in 10,000 years. Beholding the two Krishnas together on the same car, fear entereth my heart together with courage. Partha is the foremost of all bowmen, while Narayana is unrivalled in encounters with the discus. Even such are Vasudeva, and the son of Pandu. Indeed, the mountains of Himavat may move from the spot where they stand but not the two Krishnas. Both of them are heroes, possessed of great skill, firm in the use of weapons, and mighty car-warriors. Both of them have adamantine frames. Who else, O Shalya, save myself, would proceed against Phalguna and Vasudeva that are even such? The desire cherished by me today, viz., that of a battle with the son of Pandu, O ruler of the Madras, will be fulfilled without delay. Soon will that wonderful and matchless and beautiful battle take place. Either I will overthrow those two in battle today, or the two Krishnas will today overthrow me." Saying these words unto Shalya, Karna, that slayer of foes, began to utter loud roars in that battle, like those of the clouds. Approaching then thy son, that foremost one among the Kurus, and saluted respectfully by him, Karna said unto that prince as also unto those two mighty-armed warriors, Kripa and the Bhoja chief Kritavarma, and the ruler of the Gandharvas with his son, and the preceptors and his own younger brothers, and all the foot-soldiers and horsemen and elephant-riders, these words, "Rush towards Acyuta and Arjuna and close up their path all around, and cause them to be tired with exertion, so that, ye lords of the earth, I may easily slay those two after ye all will have mangled them deeply." Saying, "So be it!" those foremost of heroes, desirous of slaying Arjuna, speedily proceeded against him. Those mighty car-warriors then, obeying the behest of Karna, began to strike Dhananjaya with innumerable arrows in that battle. Like the great ocean containing a vast quantity of water receiving all rivers with their tributaries Arjuna received all those warriors in battle. His foes could not notice when he fixed his excellent arrows on the bow-string and when he let them off. All that could be seen was that men and steeds and elephants, pierced with the arrows sped by Dhananjaya, continually fell down, deprived of life. Like men with diseased eyes that are unable to gaze at the sun, the Kauravas on that occasion could not gaze at Jaya who seemed to be possessed of the energy of the all-destroying Sun that rises at the end of the Yuga, having arrows for his rays, and Gandiva for his beautiful circular disc. Smiling the while, Partha with his own showers of arrows cut off the excellent arrows sped at him by those mighty car-warriors. In return, he struck them with innumerable arrows, drawing his bow Gandiva to a complete circle. As the sun of fierce rays between the months of Jyaishtha and Ashadha easily drieth up the waters (of the earth), even so Arjuna, baffling the arrows of his foes, consumed thy troops, O king of kings! Then Kripa, and the chief of the Bhojas, and thy son himself shooting showers of shafts, rushed towards him. Drona's son also, that mighty car-warrior, rushed towards him, shooting his shafts. Indeed, all of them rained their arrows on him, like the clouds pouring torrents of rain on a mountain. The son of Pandu, however, with great activity and speed, cut off with his own shafts those excellent arrows sped at him with great care in that dreadful battle by those accomplished warriors desirous of slaying him, and pierced the chest of each of his adversaries with three shafts. Having arrows for his fierce rays, the Arjuna sun, with gandiva drawn to its fullest stretch constituting his corona, looked resplendent, as he scorched his foes, like the Sun himself between the months of Jyeshtha and Ashadha, within his bright corona. Then Drona's son pierced Dhananjaya with ten foremost of shafts, and Keshava with three, and the four steeds of Dhananjaya with four, and showered many shafts on the Ape on Arjuna's banner. For all that, Dhananjaya cut off the full drawn bow in his adversary's hand with three shafts, the head of his driver with a razor-faced arrow, and his four steeds with his four other shafts and his standard with three other arrows and felled him from his car. The son of Drona then, filled with wrath, took up another costly bow, bright as the body of Takshaka, and decked with gems and diamonds and gold, and resembling a mighty snake caught from the foot of a mountain. Stringing that bow as he stood on the earth, and bringing out one after another shafts and weapons, Drona's son, that warrior who excelled in many accomplishments, began to afflict those two unvanquished and foremost of men and pierce them from a near point with many shafts. Then those mighty car-warriors, Kripa and Bhoja and thy son, standing at the van of battle, fell upon and shrouded that bull among the Pandavas, shooting showers of shafts, like clouds shrouding the dispeller of darkness. Possessed of prowess equal to that of the thousand-armed (Kartavirya), Partha then showered his shafts on Kripa's bow with arrow fixed on it, his steeds, his standard, and his driver, like the wielder of the thunder in days of yore showering his shafts on (the asura) Vali. His weapons destroyed by Partha's shafts, and his standard also having been crushed in that great battle, Kripa was afflicted with as many thousands of arrows by Arjuna as Ganga's son Bhishma before them (on the day of his fall) by the same diademdecked warrior. The valiant Partha then, with his shafts, cut off the standard and the bow of thy roaring son. Destroying next the handsome steeds of Kritavarma, he cut off the latter's standard as well. He then began to destroy with great speed the elephants of the hostile force, as also its cars with their steeds and drivers and bows and standards. Thereupon that vast host of thine broke into a hundred parts like an embankment washed off by the waters. Then Keshava, quickly urging Arjuna's car, placed all his afflicted foes on his right side. Then other warriors, desirous of an encounter, with their well-equipped cars bearing lofty standards, followed Dhananjaya who was proceeding with great speed like Indra proceeding for the slaughter of Vritra. Then those

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mighty car-warriors, Shikhandi and Satyaki and the twins, proceeding in the direction of Dhananjaya, checked those foes and, piercing them with keen arrows, uttered terrible roars. Then the Kuru heroes and the Srinjayas, encountering one another with rage, slew one another with straight shafts of great energy, like the Asuras and the celestials in days of yore in great battle. Elephant-warriors and horsemen and car-warriors,--all chastisers of foes,--inspired with desire of victory or impatient of proceeding to heaven, fell fast on the field. Uttering loud shouts, they pierced one another vigorously with well-shot arrows. In consequence of those high-souled warriors of great courage shooting their arrows at one another in that dreadful battle and by that means causing a darkness there, the points of the compass, cardinal and subsidiary became enveloped in gloom and the very effulgence of the sun became totally shrouded.'"

SECTION 80

"Sanjaya said, 'Then, O king, Dhananjaya, desirous of rescuing Kunti's son Bhima who, assailed by many, foremost of warriors of the Kuru army, seemed to sink (under that attack), avoided, O Bharata, the troops of the Suta's son and began, with his shafts, to despatch those hostile heroes (that were opposed to Bhima) to the regions of death. Successive showers of Arjuna's shafts were seen overspread on the sky, while others were seen to slay thy army. Filling the welkin with his shafts that resembled dense flights of feathery creatures, Dhananjaya, O monarch, at that time, became the very Destroyer unto the Kurus. With his broad-headed arrows, and those equipped with heads flat and sharp as razors, and cloth-yard shafts of bright polish, Partha mangled the bodies of his foes and cut off their heads. The field of battle became strewn with falling warriors, some with bodies cut and mangled, some divested of armour and some deprived of heads. Like the great Vaitarani (separating the regions of life from those of the dead), the field of battle, O king, became uneven and impassable and unsightly and terrible, in consequence of steeds and cars and elephants, which struck with Dhananjaya's shafts, were mangled and crushed and cut off in diverse ways. The earth was also covered with broken shafts and wheels and axles, and with cars that were steedless or that had their steeds and others that were driverless or that had their drivers. Then four hundred well-trained and ever-furious elephants, excited with wrath, and ridden by warriors cased in mail of golden hue and adorned with ornaments of gold, and urged by fierce guides with pressure of heels and toes, fell down, struck by the diadem-decked Arjuna with his shafts, like loosened summits, peopled with living creatures, of gigantic mountains. Indeed, the earth became covered with (other) huge elephants struck down by Dhananjaya with his arrows. Like the sun piercing through masses of clouds, Arjuna's car passed through dense bodies of elephants with juicy secretions flowing down their bodies and looking like masses of clouds. Phalguna caused his track to be heaped up with slain elephants and steeds, and with cars broken in diverse ways, and with lifeless heroes deprived of weapons and engines and of armour, as also with arms of diverse kinds loosened from hands that held them. The twang of Gandiva became tremendously loud, like the peal of thunder in the welkin. The (Dhartarashtra) army then, smitten with the shafts of Dhananjaya, broke, like a large vessel on the bosom of the ocean violently lashed by the tempest. Diverse kinds of fatal shafts, sped from Gandiva, and resembling burning brands and meteors and thunderbolts, burnt thy army. That mighty host, thus afflicted with Dhananjaya's shafts, looked beautiful like a blazing forest of bamboos on a mountain in the night. Crushed and burnt and thrown into confusion, and mangled and massacred by the diadem-decked Arjuna with his arrows, that host of thine then fled away on all sides. Indeed, the Kauravas, burnt by Savyasaci, dispersed on all sides, like animals in the great forest frightened at a forest conflagration. The Kuru host then (that had assailed Bhimasena) abandoning that mighty-armed hero, turned their faces from battle, filled with anxiety. After the Kurus had been routed, the unvanquished Vibhatsu, approaching Bhimasena, stayed there for a moment. Having met Bhima and held a consultation with him, Phalguna informed his brother that the arrows had been extracted from Yudhishthira's body and that the latter was perfectly well.

"'With Bhimasena's leave, Dhananjaya then proceeded (once more against his foes), causing the earth and the welkin, O Bharata, to resound with the rattle of his car. He was then surrounded by ten heroic and foremost of warriors, viz., thy sons, all of whom were Duhshasana's juniors in age. Afflicting Arjuna with their shafts like hunters afflicting an elephant with burning brands, those heroes, with outstretched bow, seemed to dance, O Bharata, (on their cars). The slayer of Madhu then, guiding his, car placed all of them to his right. Indeed, he expected that Arjuna would very soon send all of them to Yama's presence. Beholding Arjuna's car proceeding in a different direction, those heroes rushed towards him. Soon, however, Partha, with a number of cloth-yard shafts and crescent-shaped arrows, cut off their standards and steeds and bows and arrows, causing them to fall down on the earth. Then with some broad-headed arrows he cut off and felled their heads decked with lips bit and eyes blood-red in rage. Those faces looked beautiful like an assemblage of lotuses. Having slain those ten Kauravas cased in golden mail, with ten broad-headed shafts endued with great, impetuosity and equipped with wings of gold that slayer of foes, Arjuna continued to proceed.'"

SECTION 81

"Sanjaya said, 'Meanwhile ninety Kaurava car-warriors rushed for battle against the ape-bannered Arjuna who was advancing, borne by his steeds of exceeding fleetness. Those tigers among men, having sworn a terrible oath about the other world, encompassed that tiger among men, Arjuna. Krishna, however, (without minding those warriors), urged the white steeds of Arjuna, endued with great speed and adorned with ornaments of gold and covered with networks of pearls, towards Karna's car. Those ninety Samsaptaka cars pursued Dhananjaya, that slayer of foes, pouring upon him showers of shafts, as he proceeded towards Karna's car. Then Arjuna, with his keen shafts, cut off those ninety assailants endued with great activity, along with their drivers and bows and standards. Slain by the diadem-decked Arjuna with diverse kinds of shafts, they fell down like Siddhas falling down, with their cars, from heaven upon the exhaustion of their merits. After this, many Kauravas, with cars and elephants and steeds, fearlessly advanced against that foremost one of Kuru's race, that chief of the Bharatas, Phalguna. That large force of thy sons, teeming with struggling men and steeds, and swelling with foremost of elephants, then encompassed Dhananjaya, checking his further progress. The mighty Kaurava bowmen shrouded that descendant of Kuru's race with darts and swords and lances and spears and maces and scimitars and arrows. Like the Sun destroying the darkness with his rays, the son of Pandu destroyed with his own shafts that shower of weapons over-spread in the welkin. Then a force of Mlecchas riding thirteen hundred ever-infuriated elephants, at the command of thy son, assailed Partha in the flank. With barbed arrows and Nalikas and cloth-yard shafts and lances and spears and darts and Kampanas and short arrows, they afflicted Partha on his car. That matchless shower of weapons, some of which were hurled by the elephants with their tusks, Phalguna cut off with his broad-headed shafts and crescent-shaped arrows of great keenness. With excellent arrows of diverse kinds, he struck all those elephants and their standards and banners and riders, like Indra striking mountains with thunderbolts. Afflicted with gold-winged shafts, those huge elephants decked with necklaces of gold fell down deprived of life, like mountains ablaze with volcanic fires. Amid that roaring and shouting and wailing army of men and elephants and steeds, the twang of Gandiva, O monarch, rose high. Elephants, O king, struck (with shafts), fled away on all sides. Steeds also, their riders slain, wandered in all directions. Cars, O monarch, looking like the changeful forms of vapour in the sky, deprived of riders and steeds, were seen in thousands. Horsemen, O monarch, wandering hither and thither, were seen to fall down deprived of life by the shafts of Partha. At that time the might of Arjuna's arms was seen. (So great was that might) that alone, in that battle, he vanquished horsemen and elephants and car-warriors (that had been assailing him from every side). Then Bhimasena, beholding the diadem-decked Phalguna encompassed, O bull of Bharata's race, by a large (Kaurava) host consisting of three kinds of forces, abandoned the small unslaughtered remnant of the Kaurava car-warriors with whom he had been engaged, and rushed impetuously, O king, to the spot where Dhananjaya's car was. Meanwhile the Kaurava force that still remained after heavy slaughter, exceedingly weakened, fled away, Bhima (as already said) beholding Arjuna, proceeded towards his brother. The unfatigued Bhima, armed with a mace, destroyed, in that battle, the portion that still remained after the greater part had been slaughtered by Arjuna, of the Kaurava host possessed of great might. Fierce as the death-night, subsisting upon men and elephants and steeds as its food, and capable of crushing walls and mansions and gates of cities, that exceedingly terrible mace of Bhima incessantly descended on men and elephants and steeds around him. That mace, O sire, slew numberless steeds and riders. With that mace the son of Pandu crushed men and steeds cased in steel armour. Struck therewith, they fell down with great noise. Biting the earth with their teeth, and bathed in blood, these, with the crowns of their heads and bows and lower limbs crushed, laid themselves down on the field, supplying all carnivorous creatures with food. Satiated with blood and flesh and marrow, and eating bones as well, that mace (of Bhimasena) became, like the death-night, difficult of being gazed at. Having slain 10,000 horses and numerous foot-soldiers, Bhima ran hither and thither in rage, armed with his mace. Then, O Bharata, thy troops, beholding Bhima mace in hand, thought that Yama himself, armed with his fatal bludgeon, was in their midst. The son of Pandu then, excited with rage, and resembling an infuriated elephant, penetrated into the elephant division (of the Kauravas), like a Makara entering the ocean. Having, with his formidable mace, penetrated into that elephant division, the enraged Bhima, within a very short time, despatched it to Yama's abode. We then beheld those infuriated elephants with spiked plates on their bodies falling on every side, with their riders and standards, like winged mountains. Having destroyed that elephant division, the mighty Bhimasena, once more riding on his car, followed Arjuna at his rear. That great host, thus slaughtered, filled with cheerlessness and about to fly away, stood almost inactive, O monarch, assailed on all sides with weapons. Beholding that host looking humble and standing inactive and almost motionless, Arjuna covered it with life-scorching shafts. Men and steeds and elephants, pierced in that battle with showers of shafts by the wielder of Gandiva, looked beautiful like Kadamva flowers with their filaments. Thus struck with Arjuna's shafts that quickly slew men and steeds and cars and elephants, loud wails, O king, arose from the Kuru army. With cries of "Oh" and "Alas," and exceedingly frightened, and huddling close to one another, thy army began to turn round with great speed. The battle, however, continued between the Kurus and the Pandavas of great might. There was not a single car-warrior or horseman or elephant-warrior or steed or elephant that was unwounded. Their coats of mail pierced with shafts and themselves bathed in blood, the troops looked blazing like a forest of flowering Asokas. Beholding Savyasaci putting forth his valour on that occasion, the Kauravas became hopeless of Karna's life. Regarding the touch of Arjuna's shafts to be unbearable, the Kauravas, vanquished by the wielder of Gandiva, fled from the field. Deserting Karna in that battle as they were being thus struck with Arjuna's shafts, they fled away in fear on all sides, loudly calling upon the Suta's son (to rescue them). Partha, however, pursued them, shooting hundreds of shafts and gladdening the Pandava warriors headed by Bhimasena. Thy sons then, O monarch, proceeded towards the car of Karna. Sinking, as they seemed to be, in a fathomless ocean, Karna then became an island unto them. The Kauravas, O monarch, like snakes without poison, took Karna's shelter, moved by the fear of the wielder of Gandiva. Indeed, even as creatures, O sire, endued with actions, from fear of death, take the shelter of virtue, thy sons, O ruler of men, from fear of the high-souled son of Pandu, took shelter with the mighty bowman Karna. Then, Karna, uninspired with fear, addressed those distressed warriors afflicted with arrows and bathed in blood, saying, 'Do not fear! Come to me!" Beholding thy army vigorously broken by Partha, Karna, stretching his bow, stood desirous of slaughtering the foe. Seeing that the Kurus had left the field, Karna, that foremost of all wielders of weapons, reflecting a little, set his heart upon the slaughter of Partha and began to draw deep breaths. Bending his formidable bow, Adhiratha's son Vrisha once more rushed against the Pancalas, in the very sight of Savyasaci. Soon, however, many lords of the earth, with eyes red as blood, poured their arrowy downpours on him like clouds pouring rain upon a mountain. Then thousands of arrows, O foremost of living creatures, shot by Karna, O sire, deprived many Pancalas of their lives. Loud sounds of wailing were uttered by the Pancalas, O thou of great intelligence, while they were being thus smitten by the Suta's son, that rescuer of friends, for the sake of his friends.'"

SECTION 82

"Sanjaya said, 'After the Kurus, O king, had been put to flight by the mighty car-warrior Arjuna of white steeds, the Suta's son Karna began to destroy the sons of the Pancalas with his mighty shafts, like the tempest destroying congregated masses of clouds. Felling Janamejaya's driver with broad-faced shafts called Anjalikas, he next slew the steeds of that Pancala warrior. With a number of broad-headed arrows he then pierced both Satanika and Sutasoma and then cut off the bows of both those heroes. Next he pierced Dhrishtadyumna with six arrows, and then, without the loss of a moment, he slew in that encounter the steeds of that prince. Having slain next the steeds of Satyaki, the Suta's son then slew Visoka, the son of the ruler of the Kaikayas. Upon the slaughter of the Kaikaya prince, the commander of the Kaikaya division, Ugrakarman, rushed with speed and striking Prasena, the son of Karna, with many shafts of fierce impetuosity caused him to tremble. Then Karna, with three crescent-shaped arrows, cut off the arms and the head of his son's assailant, whereupon the latter, deprived of life, fell down upon the ground from his car, like a Sala tree with its branches lopped off with an axe. Then Prasena, with many keen arrows of straight course, covered the steedless grandson of Sini, and seemed to dance upon his car. Soon, however, the son of Karna, struck by the grandson of Sini, fell down. Upon the slaughter of his son, Karna, with heart filled with rage, addressed that bull among the Sinis from desire of slaying him, saying, "Thou art slain, O grandson of Sini!" and sped at him an arrow capable of slaying all foes. Then Shikhandi cut off that arrow with three shafts of his, and struck Karna himself with three other shafts. The fierce son of the Suta then, cutting off with a couple of razor-faced arrows the bow and the standard of Shikhandi, struck and pierced Shikhandi

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himself with six shafts, and then cut off the head of Dhrishtadyumna's son. The high-souled son of Adhiratha then pierced Sutasoma with a very keen shaft. During the progress of that fierce battle, and after Dhrishtadyumna's son had been slain, Krishna, O lion among kings, addressed Partha, saying, "The Pancalas are being exterminated. Go, O Partha, and slay Karna." Thus addressed the mighty-armed Arjuna, that foremost of men, smiled and then proceeded on his car towards the car of Adhiratha's son desirous, on that occasion of terror, of rescuing the Pancalas slaughtered by Karna, that leader of car-warriors. Stretching his Gandiva of loud twang and fiercely striking his palms with her bow-string, he suddenly created a darkness by means of his arrows and destroyed large numbers of men and steeds and cars and standards. The echoes (of that twang) travelled through the welkin. The birds, (no longer finding room in their own element), took shelter in the caverns of mountains. With his full-drawn bow, Arjuna looked resplendent. Indeed, as the diadem-decked Partha, at that terrible moment, fell upon the foe, Bhimasena, that foremost of heroes, proceeded on his car behind that son of Pandu, protecting his rear. Those two princes then, on their cars, proceeded with great speed towards Karna, encountering their foes along the way. During that interval, the Suta's son fought fiercely, grinding the Somakas. He slew a large number of car-warriors and steeds and elephants, and covered the ten points of the compass with his shafts. Then Uttamauja and Janamejaya, and the enraged Yudhamanyu and Shikhandi, uniting with Prishata's son (Dhrishtadyumna) and uttering loud roars, pierced Karna with many shafts. Those five foremost of Pancala car-warriors rushed against Karna otherwise called Vaikartana, but they could not shake him off his car like the objects of the senses failing to shake off the person of purified soul from abstinence. Quickly cutting off their bows, standards, steeds, drivers and banners, with his shafts, Karna struck each of them with five arrows and then uttered a loud roar like a lion, People then became exceedingly cheerless, thinking that the very earth, with her mountains and trees, might split at the twang of Karna's bow while that hero, with shafts in hand touching the bow-string, was employed in shooting at his assailants and slaying his foes. Shooting his shafts with that large and extended bow of his that resembled the bow of Sakra himself, the son of Adhiratha looked resplendent like the sun, with his multitude of blazing rays, within his corona. The Suta's son then pierced Shikhandi with a dozen keen shafts, and Uttamauja with half a dozen, and Yudhamanyu with three, and then each of the other two, viz., Somaka (Janamejaya) and Prishata's son (Dhrishtadyumna) with three shafts. Vanquished in dreadful battle by the Suta's son, O sire, those five mighty car-warriors then stood inactive, gladdening their foes, even as the objects of the senses are vanquished by a person of purified soul. The five sons of Draupadi then, with other well-equipped cars, rescued those maternal uncles of theirs that were sinking in the Karna ocean, like persons rescuing from the depths of the ocean ship-wrecked merchants in the sea by means of other vessels. Then that bull among the Sinis, cutting off with his own keen shafts the innumerable arrows sped by Karna, and piercing Karna himself with many keen arrows made entirely of iron, pierced thy eldest son with eight shafts. Then Kripa, and the Bhoja chief (Kritavarma), and thy son, and Karna himself, assailed Satyaki in return with keen shafts. That foremost one, however, of Yadu's race fought with those four warriors like the chief of the Daityas fighting with the Regents of the (four) quarters. With his twanging bow stretched to its fullest limits, and from which shafts flowed incessantly, Satyaki became exceedingly irresistible like the meridian Sun in the autumnal sky. Those scorchers of foes then, viz., the mighty car-warriors among the Pancalas, once more riding on their cars and clad in mail and united together, protected that foremost one among the Sinis, like the Maruts protecting Sakra while engaged in afflicting his foes in battle. The battle fraught with the slaughter of men and steeds and elephants that then ensued between thy foes and the warriors of thy army, became so fierce that it resembled the encounter in days of old between the gods and the Asuras. Car-warriors and elephants and steeds and foot-soldiers, covered with showers of diverse weapons, began to move from one point to another. Struck by one another, they reeled or uttered wails of woe in affliction or fell down deprived of life. When such was the state of affairs, thy son Duhshasana, the younger brother of the king, fearlessly advanced against Bhima, shooting showers of shafts. Vrikodara also rushed impetuously against him, like a lion springing towards a large Ruru deer. The encounter then that took place between those two heroes incensed with each other and who engaged in battle's sport making life itself the stake, became exceedingly fierce, resembled that between Samvara and Sakra in days of old. They struck each other deeply with shafts possessed of great energy and capable of piercing each other's body, like two mighty elephants excited with lust and with juicy secretions incessantly trickling down their bodies, fighting with each other in the vicinity of a she-elephant in her season. Vrikodara, with great speed, cut off, with a couple of razor-headed arrows, the bow and the standard of thy son. With another winged arrow he pierced his antagonist's forehead and then (with a fourth) cut off from his trunk the head of the latter's driver. Prince Duhshasana, taking up another bow, pierced Vrikodara with a dozen shafts. Himself holding the reins of his steeds, he once more poured over Bhima a shower of straight arrows. Then Duhshasana sped a shaft bright as the rays of the sun, decked with gold, diamonds, and other precious gems, capable of piercing the body of his assailant, and irresistible as the stroke of Indra's thunder. His body pierced therewith, Vrikodara fell, with languid limbs and like one deprived of life and with outstretched arms, upon his own excellent car. Recovering his senses, however, he began to roar like a lion.'"

SECTION 83

"Sanjaya said, 'Fighting fiercely, prince Duhshasana achieved the most difficult feats in that encounter. With a single shaft he cut off Bhima's bow, and then with six shafts he pierced his foe's driver. Having achieved those feats, the prince, endued with great activity, pierced Bhima himself with nine shafts. Indeed the high-souled warrior, without losing a moment, then pierced Bhimasena with many shafts of great energy. Filled with rage at this, Bhimasena, endued with great activity, sped at thy son a fierce dart. Beholding that terrible dart impetuously coursing towards him like a blazing brand, thy high-souled son cut it off with ten shafts shot from his bow drawn to its fullest stretch. Seeing that difficult feat achieved by him, all the warriors, filled with joy, applauded him highly. Thy son then once more pierced Bhima deeply with another shaft. Blazing with wrath at sight of Duhshasana, Bhima then addressed him, saying, "Pierced I have been, O hero, quickly and deeply, by thee. Bear now, however, once more, the stroke of my mace." Having said this, the enraged Bhima took up that terrible mace of his for Duhshasana's slaughter. Once more addressing him, he said, "O thou of wicked soul, I shall today drink thy blood on the field of battle." Thus addressed, thy son sped at Bhima with great force a fierce dart resembling Death itself. Bhima also, his form filled with wrath, whirled his terrible mace and hurled it at his antagonist. That mace, precipitately breaking Duhshasana's dart, struck thy son on his head. Indeed, perspiring like an elephant with juicy secretions trickling down his body, Bhima, in that dreadful battle, hurled his mace at the prince. With that weapon, Bhimasena forcibly threw Duhshasana down from his car at a distance measured by the length of ten bows. Struck with the impetuous mace, Duhshasana, thrown down on the ground, began to tremble. All his steeds also, O king, were slain, and his car too was reduced to atoms by that falling weapon. As regards Duhshasana himself, his armour and ornaments and attire and garlands were all displaced, and he began to writhe, afflicted with agony. Endued with great activity, Bhimasena then recollected, in the midst of that terrible battle and standing as he did amid many foremost warriors of the Kuru army, all the acts of hostility (done towards the Pandavas) by thy sons. The mighty-armed Bhima of inconceivable feats, O king, beholding Duhshasana (in that plight), and recollecting the seizure of Draupadi's tresses and her disrobing while she was ill,--indeed, the innocent Bhima, reflecting also upon the diverse other wrongs inflicted on that princess while her husbands sat with faces turned away from the scene, blazed up in wrath like fire fed with libations of clarified butter. Addressing Karna and Suyodhana and Kripa and Drona's son and Kritavarma, he said, "Today I shall slay the wretched Duhshasana. Let all the warriors protect him (if they can)." Having said this, Bhima of exceeding strength and great activity suddenly rushed, from desire of slaying Duhshasana. Like a lion of fierce impetuosity rushing towards a mighty elephant, Vrikodara, that foremost of heroes, rushed towards Duhshasana in that battle and attacked him in the very sight of Suyodhana and Karna. Jumping down from his car, he alighted on the ground, and fixed his eyes steadfastly on his fallen foe. Drawing then his whetted sword of keen edge, and trembling with rage, he placed his foot upon the throat of Duhshasana, and ripping open the breast of his enemy stretched on the ground, quaffed his warm life-blood. Then throwing him down and cutting off, O king, with that sword the head of thy son, Bhima of great intelligence, desirous of accomplishing his vow, again quaffed his enemy's blood little by little, as if for enjoying its taste. Then looking at him with wrathful eyes, he said these words, "I regard the taste of this blood of my enemy to be superior to that of my mother's milk, or honey, or clarified butter, or good wine that is prepared from honey, or excellent water, or milk, or curds, or skimmed milk, or all other kinds of drinks there are on earth that are sweet as ambrosia or nectar." Once more, Bhima of fierce deeds, his heart filled with wrath, beholding Duhshasana dead, laughed softly and said, "What more can I do to thee? Death has rescued thee from my hands." They, O king, that saw Bhimasena, while he filled with joy at having quaffed the blood of his foe, was uttering those words and stalking on the field of battle, fell down in fear. They that did not fall down at the sight, saw their weapons drop from their hands. Many, from fear, cried out feebly and looked at Bhima with half-shut eyes. Indeed, all those that stood around Bhima and beheld him drink the blood of Duhshasana, fled away, overwhelmed with fear, and saying unto one another, "This one is no human being!" When Bhima had assumed that form, people, beholding him quaff his enemy's blood, fled away with Citrasena, saying unto one another, 'This Bhima must be a rakshasa!" Then the (Pancala) prince Yudhamanyu, at the head of his troops, fearlessly pursued the retreating Citrasena and pierced him with seven keen shafts, quickly sped one after another. At this, like a trampled snake of great energy repeatedly darting out its tongue and desirous of vomiting its poison, Citrasena turned back and pierced the Pancala prince with three shafts and his driver with six. The brave Yudhamanyu then struck off his enemy's head with a shaft equipped with goodly wings and an exceedingly keen point and sped with great care from his bow drawn to its fullest stretch. Upon the fall of his brother Citrasena, Karna, filled with wrath and displaying his prowess, put the Pandava host to flight, at which Nakula rushed against that warrior of immeasurable energy. Bhima, having slain there (at the very sight of Karna) the vindictive Duhshasana, took up a little quantity of his blood, and, endued with stentorian lungs, he said these words in the hearing of all those foremost of heroes of the world, "O wretch amongst men, here I drink thy life-blood from thy throat. Filled with joy, abuse us once more, saying 'beast, beast' (as thou didst before)." And he continued, "They that danced at us then, saying, 'beast, beast,' even we will dance at them now, repeating their own words. Our sleep at the palace at Pramanakoti, the administration of deadly poison to our food, the bites of black cobras, the setting fire to the house of lac, the robbing of our kingdom by gambling, our exile in the woods, the cruel seizure of Draupadi's beautiful tresses, the strokes of shafts and weapons in battle, our miseries at home, the other kinds of sufferings we endured at Virata's abode, all these woes borne by us through the counsels of Shakuni and Duryodhana and Radha's son, proceeded from thee as their cause. Through the wickedness of Dhritarashtra and his son, we have endured all these woes. Happiness has never been ours." Having said these words, O king, the victorious Vrikodara, once more spoke these words unto Keshava and Arjuna. Indeed, bathed in blood, with blood flowing from his wounds, with face exceedingly red, filled with great wrath, Bhimasena endued with great activity, said these words, "Ye heroes, that which I had vowed in respect of Duhshasana in battle, I have accomplished today. I will soon accomplish my other vow by slaying that second beast, viz., Duryodhana, in this sacrifice of battle. Striking the head of that wicked-souled one with my foot in the presence of the Kauravas, I shall obtain peace." Having said these words, Bhima, filled with great joy, drenched with blood, uttered loud shouts, even as the mighty and high-souled Indra of a 1,000 eyes had roared after slaying (the Asura) Vritra.'"

SECTION 84

"Sanjaya said, 'After the slaughter of Duhshasana, O king, ten of thy sons, heroes that never retreated from battle, all of whom were great car-warriors, endued with mighty energy, and filled with the poison of wrath, shrouded Bhima with their shafts. Nishangin, and Kavachin, and Pasin and Dundadhara and Dhanurgraha, and Alolupa, and Saha, and Shanda, and Vatavega and Suvarchasas, these ten, afflicted at the slaughter of their brother, united together and checked the mighty-armed Bhimasena with their shafts. Resisted on all sides with their shafts by those great car-warriors, Bhima, with eyes red as fire with fury, looked resplendent like the Destroyer himself in rage. Partha, however, with ten broad-headed shafts of great impetuosity, equipped with golden wings, despatched to Yama's abode those ten Bharata princes decked with golden bracelets. Upon the fall of those ten heroes, thy army fled away in the very sight of the Suta's son, overwhelmed with the fear of the Pandavas. Then, O king, great fear entered the heart of Karna at sight of Bhima's prowess which resembled that of the Destroyer himself unto living creatures. Then Shalya, that ornament of assemblies, understanding the state of Karna's mind from a survey of his features, addressed that chastiser of foes in words suited to the hour, "Do not be grieved, O son of Radha! This deed does not become thee. Afflicted with the fear of Bhimasena, these kings are all flying away. Exceedingly pained by the calamity that has befallen his brother Duhshasana in consequence of his blood having been quaffed by the high-souled Bhima, Duryodhana is stupefied! Kripa and others, and those of the king's brothers that are still alive, with afflicted hearts, their rage quelled by sorrow, are tending Duryodhana, sitting around him. Those heroes, the Pandavas of sure aim, headed by Dhananjaya, are advancing against thee for battle. For these reasons, O tiger among men, mustering all thy prowess and keeping the duties of a Kshatriya before thy eyes, proceed against Dhananjaya. The entire burthen (of this battle) has been placed upon thee by the son of Dhritarashtra. O thou of mighty arms, bear that burthen to the best of thy power and might. In victory there will be great fame. In defeat, heaven is certain. There, O son of Radha, thy son, Vrishasena, filled

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with wrath at sight of the stupefaction that has overwhelmed thee, is rushing towards the Pandavas." Hearing these words of Shalya of immeasurable energy, Karna, reflecting, concluded unalterably that fighting had become unavoidable. Then Vrishasena, filled with wrath, and riding upon his own car, rushed towards that son of Pandu, viz., Vrikodara, who, armed with his mace, resembled the Destroyer himself with his fatal rod and was employed in slaughtering thy troops. That foremost of heroes, Nakula, filled with wrath, rushed at that enemy of theirs, Karna's son, striking him with arrows, like the victorious Maghavat with joyous heart rushing against (the Asura) Jambha. Then the brave Nakula, with a razor-headed shaft, cut off his enemy's standard decked with gems. With a broad-headed arrow, he next cut off the bow also of Karna's son, with a golden belt attached to it. Possessed of mighty weapons, Karna's son then, desirous of showing his regard for Duhshasana, quickly took up another bow, and pierced Nakula, the son of Pandu with many mighty celestial weapons. The high-souled Nakula, then, filled with rage, pierced his antagonist with shafts that resembled large blazing brands. At this Karna's son also, accomplished in weapons, showered celestial weapon upon Nakula. From rage engendered by the strokes of his enemy's weapon, as also from his own resplendence and the energy of his weapons, the son of Karna blazed up like a fire with libations of clarified butter. Indeed, O king, Karna's son then slew with his excellent weapons the beautiful steeds of the delicate Nakula, that were of the Vanayu breed, white in hue, and decked with trappings of gold. Alighting then from his steedless vehicle, and taking up a bright shield decked with golden moons, and armed also with a sword that was blue as the sky, Nakula, frequently jumping up, careered there like a bird. Performing diverse beautiful evolutions in the air, the son of Pandu cut off many foremost of men and steeds and elephants. Cut off with that sword, they fell down on the earth like animals cut off in a horse-sacrifice by the person appointed to that duty. 2,000 well-trained heroes, delighting in battle, hailing from diverse realms, well-paid, of sure aim, and their limbs smeared with excellent sandal-paste, were quickly cut off by the single-handed Nakula inspired with desire of victory. Then Karna's son, suddenly advancing with great speed against the rushing Nakula in that battle pierced him from every side with many keen arrows from desire of slaying him. Thus struck with shafts (by Vrishasena), Nakula struck his brave antagonist in return. Pierced by the son of Pandu, Vrishasena became filled with wrath. Protected, however, in that dreadful battle, by his brother Bhima, the high-souled Nakula achieved such terrible feats on that occasion. Filled with rage, the son of Karna then pierced with eighteen shafts the heroic Nakula who seemed to sport in that battle, while employed, unaided, in destroying the foremost of men and steeds and elephants. Deeply pierced by Vrishasena in that battle, O king, Pandu's son Nakula, that foremost of men, endued with great activity, became filled with rage and rushed in that encounter against the son of Karna from desire of slaying him. Then Vrishasena poured showers of keen shafts upon Nakula of great energy as the latter precipitately advanced against him in that battle like a hawk with outstretched wings from desire of meat. Baffling, however, his antagonist's showers of shafts, Nakula careered in diverse beautiful motions. Then Karna's son, O king, in that dreadful battle, cut off, with his mighty shafts, the shield, decked with a 1,000 stars, of Nakula, while he was careering with great activity in those beautiful motions. Without losing a moment, that resister of foes, (Vrishasena), with half a dozen sharp razor-headed shafts, then cut off that naked sword of Nakula, polished and keen-edged, made of steel, capable of bearing a great strain and of destroying the bodies of all foes, and terrible and fierce as the poison of the snake, while he was whirling it rapidly. After this, Vrishasena deeply pierced his antagonist in the centre of his chest with some well-tempered and keen shafts. Having achieved those feats in battle that were applauded by all noble persons and that could not be achieved by other men, the high-souled Nakula of great activity, afflicted with those shafts, proceeded to the car, O king, of Bhimasena. The steedless son of Madri, thus afflicted by Karna's son, sprang upon Bhima's car like a lion springing upon a mountain summit, in the sight of Dhananjaya. The high-souled and heroic Vrishasena then, filled with wrath, poured his arrowy showers upon those two mighty car-warriors for piercing those two sons of Pandu. After the destruction of that car belonging to the son of Pandu (Nakula), and after his sword also had been speedily cut off with (Vrishasena's) shafts; many other foremost of Kuru heroes, uniting together, approached the Pandava brothers, and began to strike them with showers of shafts. Then those two sons of Pandu, Bhima and Arjuna, filled with wrath, and resembling two fires fed with libations of clarified butter, poured terrible showers of arrows upon Vrishasena and the other assembled warriors around him. The son of the Wind-god then, addressing Phalguna, said, "Behold, Nakula here is being afflicted. The son of Karna is resisting us. Proceed, therefore, against Karna's son." Hearing these words, the diadem-decked (Arjuna) approached the car of his brother Vrikodara. Beholding that hero arrived near, Nakula addressed him, saying, "Do thou speedily slay this one." Thus addressed in that battle by his brother, Nakula, standing before him, the diadem-decked Arjuna, that formidable hero, precipitately caused his ape-bannered vehicle, guided by Keshava himself, to be driven towards Vrishasena.'"

SECTION 85

"Sanjaya said, 'Learning that Nakula had been deprived of his car, afflicted with arrows and mangled with the weapons of Karna's son, and that he had his shafts, bow, and sword cut off, these eleven formidable resisters of all foes, the five heroic sons of Drupada, the grandson of Sini forming the sixth, and the five sons of Draupadi quickly proceeded on their loud-sounding cars drawn by bounding steeds, with banners waving in the air, and guided by accomplished drivers. Those well-armed warriors began to destroy thy elephants and cars and men and steeds with shafts that resembled formidable snakes. Then Hridika's son and Kripa and Drona's son and Duryodhana and Shakuni's son and Vrika and Kratha and Devavridha, those foremost of Kaurava car-warriors, speedily proceeded against them, armed with their bows and mounted upon their cars of rattle deep as the roar of elephants or the clouds. These Kaurava warriors, assailing those foremost of men and first of car-warriors, those eleven heroes (of the Pandava army), O king, with the mightiest of shafts, checked their progress. At this, the Kulindas, riding upon their elephants of impetuous speed that looked like mountain summits and that were of the hue of newly-risen clouds, advanced against those Kaurava heroes. Well-equipped, and covered with gold, those infuriated elephants, born in Himalayan regions and ridden by accomplished warriors longing for battle, looked resplendent like clouds in the welkin, charged with lightning. The prince of the Kulindas then vigorously assailed Kripa and his driver and steeds, with ten shafts made wholly of iron. Struck (in return) with the shafts of Sharadvata's son, the prince fell down with his elephant on the ground. The younger brother of that prince then, assailing Kripa's car with a number of lances made wholly of iron and all bright as the rays of the sun, uttered loud roars. The ruler of the Gandharvas, however, cut off the head of that warrior while still uttering those roars. Upon the fall of those Kulindas, those mighty car-warriors of thy army, filled with joy, blew their sea-born conchs, and, armed with bows, rushed against their enemies. The battle then that once more took place between the Kurus on the one side and the Pandavas and the Srinjayas on the other, with arrows and scimitars and darts and swords and maces and battle-axes, became fierce and awful and exceedingly destructive of men and steeds and elephants. Car-warriors and steeds and elephants and foot-soldiers, striking one another, fell down on the ground, making the field of battle look like the welkin when congregated masses of clouds charged with lightning and producing incessant peals of thunder are assailed by fierce winds from all sides. Then the chief of the Bhojas struck the huge elephants, the car-warriors, the innumerable foot-soldiers, and the horse under Satanika. Struck with Kritavarma's shafts, these soon fell down on the ground. About this time, struck with Ashvatthama's shafts, three huge elephants equipped with all kinds of weapons, ridden by accomplished warriors, and adorned with lofty standards, fell down lifeless on the ground like gigantic cliffs riven by thunder. Then the third brother of the Kulinda chief assailed thy son Duryodhana with some excellent shafts in the centre of the chest. Thy son, however, pierced him as also his elephant with many whetted shafts. That prince of elephants then, with the prince on his back, fell down, with streams of blood issuing from every part of his body, like a mountain of red chalk in the season of rains, with red streams running down its breast, tumbling down when riven by the thunder of Sachi's lord. The Kulinda prince, however, having saved himself in time, rode another elephant. Urged by the prince, that animal assailed Kratha with his driver and steeds and car. Pierced, however, with Kratha's shafts, that elephant, with its rider, fell down like a thunder-riven hill. The ruler of the Krathas, that invincible car-warrior, however, struck with shafts by the prince born on the mountains from the back of another elephant, fell down with his steeds, driver, bow, and standard, like a mighty tree uprooted by the tempest. Then Vrika deeply pierced with a dozen shafts that prince having his abode on the Himavat as he stood on his elephant. The huge beast quickly crushed with his four legs (the Kaurava warrior) Vrika with his steeds and car. That prince of elephants then, with its rider, deeply pierced by the son of Vabhru, advanced impetuously against the latter. Vabhru's son, however, that prince of the Magadhas, afflicted with arrows by Sahadeva's son, fell down. The prince of the Kulindas then, with that elephant of his which was capable of slaying the foremost of warriors with its tusks and body, rushed impetuously towards Shakuni for slaying him. The mountaineer succeeded in afflicting Shakuni greatly. Soon, however, the chief of the Gandharas cut off his head. About this time huge elephants and steeds and car-warriors and large bands of foot, struck by Satanika, fell down on the earth, paralysed and crushed like snakes beaten by the tempest caused by Garuda's wings. Then a Kulinda warrior (on the Kaurava side), smiling the while, pierced Satanika, the son of Nakula, with many whetted arrows. Nakula's son, however, with a razor-headed arrow, cut off from his antagonist's trunk his head resembling a lotus. Then Karna's son pierced Satanika with three arrows, made wholly of iron and Arjuna also with as many. And he pierced Bhima with three arrows and Nakula with seven and Janardana with a dozen. Beholding that feat of Vrishasena, that achiever of superhuman feats, the Kauravas became filled with joy and applauded him greatly. They, however, that were conversant with Dhananjaya's prowess, regarded Vrishasena as a libation already poured on the fire. The diadem-decked Arjuna then, that slayer of hostile heroes, seeing Madri's son Nakula, that foremost of men, deprived of his steeds in the midst of all, and beholding Janardana mangled with arrows, rushed in that battle against Vrishasena who was then staying in front of the Suta's son (Karna). Like Namuci rushing against Indra, Karna's son, that great car-warrior, also rushed, in that battle, against that fierce and foremost of men, Arjuna, that warrior possessing thousands of arrows, as the latter advanced towards him. Unsupported by any one, the high-souled son of Karna, quickly piercing Partha with a shaft in that battle, uttered a loud shout, like Namuci in days of old after having pierced Indra. Once more Vrishasena pierced Partha in the left arm-pit with many formidable shafts. Piercing Krishna next with nine arrows, he struck Partha again with ten shafts. The white-steeded Arjuna, having before been pierced by Vrishasena with those formidable arrows, became slightly enraged and set his heart on the slaughter of Karna's son. The high-souled and diadem-decked Arjuna then, his brow furrowed from wrath with three lines, quickly sped from the van of battle a number of shafts for the destruction of Vrishasena in that encounter. With eyes red in wrath, that hero capable of slaying Yama himself if the latter fought with him, then laughed terribly and said unto Karna and all the other Kaurava heroes headed by Duryodhana and Drona's son, these words, "Today, O Karna, in thy very sight in this battle, I will despatch the fierce Vrishasena unto Yama's abode with my keen arrows! People say that all of you, united together, slew my son, endued with great activity, in my absence, and while he was alone and unsupported on his car. I, however, will slay thy son in the very sight of you all. Let all the Kaurava car-warriors protect him. I will slay the fierce Vrishasena. After that, I will slay thee, O fool, even I, Arjuna, in the midst of battle! Today I will, in battle, slay thee that art the root of this quarrel and that hast become so proud in consequence of Duryodhana's patronage. Putting forth my strength, I will certainly slay thee in this battle, and Bhimasena will slay this Duryodhana, this wretch among men, through whose evil policy this quarrel born of dice hath arisen." Having said these words, Arjuna rubbed the string of his bow and took aim at Vrishasena in that battle, and sped, O king, a number of shafts for the slaughter of Karna's son. The diadem-decked Arjuna then, fearlessly and with great force, pierced Vrishasena with ten shafts in all his vital limbs. With four fierce razor-headed arrows he cut off Vrishasena's bow and two arms and head. Struck with Partha's shafts, the son of Karna, deprived of arms and head, fell down on the earth from his car, like a gigantic shala adorned with flowers falling down from a mountain summit. Beholding his son, thus struck with arrows, fall down from his vehicle, the Suta's son Karna, endued with great activity and scorched with grief on account of the death of his son, quickly proceeded on his car, inspired with wrath, against the car of the diadem-decked Partha.

"Indeed, beholding his son slain in his sight by the white-steeded Arjuna in battle, the high-souled Karna, filled with great wrath, rushed against Krishna and Arjuna.'"

SECTION 86

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding the gigantic and roaring Karna, incapable of being resisted by the very gods, advancing like the surging sea, that bull amongst men, viz., he of Dasharha's race, addressed Arjuna, saying, "That car-warrior having white steeds and owning Shalya for his driver cometh hither with whom thou art to contend in battle. Therefore, O Dhananjaya, summon all thy coolness. Behold then, O son of Pandu, the well-equipped car of Karna. White steeds are yoked unto it and Radha's son himself is the warrior that stands upon it. Teeming with banners and decked with rows of bells, it looks like a celestial car borne along the welkin by steeds white in hue. Behold also the standard of the high-souled Karna, bearing the device of the elephant's rope, and looking like the bow of Indra himself that divides the firmament by a clear line. Behold Karna as he advanceth from desire of doing what is agreeable to Dhritarashtra's son, shooting showers of shafts like the clouds pouring torrents of rain. There the royal chief of the Madras, stationed on the fore-part of the car, guideth the steeds of Radha's son of immeasurable energy. Hear the peal of their drums and the fierce blare of their conchs. Hear, O son of Pandu, the diverse leonine roars coming from every side. Hear the terrible twang, silencing all other loud sounds, of the bow (Vijaya) stretched

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by Karna of immeasurable energy. There the mighty car-warriors among the Pancalas, with their followers, are breaking like a herd of deer in the great forest at the sight of an angry lion. It behoveth thee, O son of Kunti, to slay the Suta's son with every care. No other person save thee can venture to bear the shafts of Karna. It is well known to me that thou art competent to vanquish in battle the three worlds with all their mobile and immobile creatures including the very gods and the Gandharvas. What need be said about battling with that puissant one, when people are incapable of even gazing at him, viz., the fierce and terrible Isana, that great god, the three-eyed Sarva, otherwise called Kapardin? Thou, however, hadst, by battle, gratified that god of gods himself, that Siva who is the source of bliss unto all creatures, that deity called Sthanu. The other deities also have all given thee boons. Through the grace, O Partha, of that god of gods, that deity armed with a trident, slay Karna, O mighty-armed one, like Indra slaying the Asura Namuci. Let prosperity be ever with thee, O Partha, and do thou obtain victory in battle."

"'Arjuna said, "My victory, O Krishna, is, certain. There is no doubt in this, since thou, O slayer of Madhu, that art the master of all the worlds, art pleased with me. Urge the steeds, O Hrishikesha, and my car, O great car-warrior! Today Phalguna will not return from battle without slaying Karna. Behold Karna slain today and cut in pieces with my shafts. Or, O Govinda, thou wilt today behold me slain with (Karna's) arrows. That terrible battle, capable of stupefying the three words, is at hand. As long as the earth will last, people will speak of it." Saying these words unto Krishna who is never tired with exertion, Partha quickly proceeded on his car against Karna like an elephant against a rival elephant. Once more Partha of great energy said unto Krishna, that chastiser of foes, these words, "Urge the steeds, O Hrishikesha, for time passeth." Thus addressed by the high-souled son of Pandu, Keshava wished him victory and urged steeds as fleet as thought. Then that car of Pandu's son, possessed of great speed, soon reached the front of Karna's car.'"

SECTION 87

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding Vrishasena slain, Karna, filled with grief and rage, shed tears from his eyes for the death of his son. Endued with great energy, with eyes red as copper from rage, Karna proceeded in the face of his foe, having summoned Dhananjaya to battle. Then those two cars, both possessed of solar effulgence and covered with tiger-skins, when they came together, looked like two suns close to each other. Both having white steeds and both crushers of foes, those two great bowmen, those two warriors possessed of solar effulgence, looked resplendent like the sun and the moon in the firmament. Beholding those two warriors that resembled Indra and Virochana's son (Vali) carefully preparing for battle for the conquest of the three worlds, all creatures were filled with wonder. Seeing those two warriors rushing towards each other with the clatter of car-wheels the twang of bows, the sound of palms, the whizz of arrows, and leonine shouts, and seeing also their standards, viz., that of Karna bearing the elephant's rope and that of Partha bearing the ape, approach each other, all the lords of the earth became filled with wonder. Seeing those two car-warriors engaged with each other, O Bharata, all the kings uttered leonine shouts and cheered them repeatedly with applause. Beholding that single combat between Partha and Karna, thousands of combatants there slapped their armpits and waved their garments on the air. The Kauravas beat their musical instruments and blew their numerous conchs for gladdening Karna. Similarly, all the Pandavas, for gladdening Dhananjaya, caused every point of the compass to resound with the blasts of their trumpets and conchs. With those leonine shouts and slaps on armpits and other loud cries and roars of brave warriors, tremendous became the noise there on the occasion of that encounter between Karna and Arjuna. People beheld those two tigers among men, those two foremost of car-warriors, stationed on their cars, each armed with his formidable bow, each equipped with arrows and darts, and each owning a lofty standard. Both were clad in mail, both had scimitars tied to their belts, both had white steeds, and both were adorned with excellent conchs. One had Krishna for driver on his car, and the other had Shalya. Both of them were great car-warriors and both looked alike. Both possessed of leonine necks and long arms, the eyes of both were red, and both were adorned with garlands of gold. Both were armed with bows that seemed to flash like lightning, and both were adorned with wealth of weapons. Both had yak-tails for being fanned therewith, and both were decked with white umbrellas held over them. Both had excellent quivers and both looked exceedingly handsome. The limbs of both were smeared with red sandal-paste and both looked like infuriated bulls. Both were broad-necked like the lion, both were broad-chested, and both endued with great strength. Challenging each other, O king, each desired to slay the other. And they rushed against each other like two mighty bulls in a cow-pen. They were like a couple of infuriated elephants or of angry mountains or of infant snakes of virulent poison or of all-destroying Yamas. Enraged with each other like Indra and Vritra, they looked like the sun and the moon in splendour. Filled with wrath, they resembled two mighty planets risen for the destruction of the world at the end of the Yuga. Both of them born of celestial fathers, and both resembling gods in beauty, they were of godlike energy. Indeed, they looked like the sun and the moon come of their own accord on the field of battle. Both of them endued with great might, both filled with pride in battle, they were armed with diverse weapons. Beholding those two tigers among men, those two heroes endued with the impetuosity of tigers, thy troops, O monarch, were filled with great joy. Seeing those two tigers amongst men, viz., Karna and Dhananjaya, engaged in battle, a doubt entered the hearts of all as to which of them would be victorious. Both armed with superior weapons, and both well-practised in battle, both made the welkin resound with the slaps on their armpits. Both possessed of great celebrity in consequence of prowess and might, they resembled the Asura Samvara and the chief of the celestials in respect of their skill in battle. Both equal to Kartavirya or Dasaratha's son in battle, both resembled Vishnu himself in energy or Bhava himself in fight. Both had white steeds, O king, and both were borne on foremost of cars. Both of them, again, had foremost of drivers in that great battle. Beholding, O monarch, those two great car-warriors looking resplendent on their cars, the bands of Siddhas and Charanas that came there became filled with wonder. The Dhartarashtras then, O bull of Bharata's race, with their troops, encompassed the high-souled Karna, that ornament of battle, without losing any time. Similarly the Pandavas headed by Dhrishtadyumna, filled with joy, encompassed that high-souled Partha who was unrivalled in battle. Karna became the stake, O monarch, of thy army in that battle, while Partha became the stake of the Pandavas. The soldiers of both sides were as members of that assembly and became the spectators of that game. Indeed, as regards the parties engaged in that game of battle, either victory or defeat was certain. Those two then, Karna and Arjuna, for victory or the reverse, began the match between ourselves and the Pandavas both standing on the field of battle. Skilled in fight, the two heroes, O monarch, in that encounter, became highly enraged with each other and wished to slay each other. Desiring to take each other's life, like Indra and Vritra, O lord, they faced each other like two mighty comets of terrible form. Then in the sky, differences and disputes, accompanied with revilings, arose among the creatures there, O bull of Bharata's race, on the subject of Karna and Arjuna. All the inhabitants of the world, O sire, were heard to differ amongst themselves. The gods, the Danavas, the Gandharvas, the Pishacas, the Snakes, the Rakshasas, adopted opposite sides in that encounter between Karna and Arjuna. The welkin, O monarch, with all the stars, became anxious on Karna's account, while the wide earth became so on Partha's account, like the mother for her son. The rivers, the seas, the mountains, O best of men, the trees, the deciduous plants and herbs, took the side of the diadem-decked Arjuna. The Asuras, Yatudhanas, the Guhyakas, O scorcher of foes, and ravens and other rangers of the sky, sided with Karna. All the gems and precious jewels, the four Vedas with the histories as the fifth, the Upavedas, the Upanishads, with all their mysteries, and the compilations, and Vasuki, and Citrasena, and Takshaka, and Upatakshaka, and all the mountains, and all the offspring of Kadru with their children, all the great snakes endued with poison, and the Nagas, took the side of Arjuna. Airavata and his children, the offspring of Surabhi, the offspring of Vaisali, and the Bhogins sided with Arjuna. The smaller snakes all sided with Karna. Wolves and wild stags and all kinds of auspicious animals and birds were, O king, for victory to Partha. The Vasus, the Maruts, the Sadhyas, the Rudras, the Vishvedevas and the Ashvinis, and Agni and Indra and Soma and Pavana, and the ten points of the compass, became the partisans of Dhananjaya, while all the Adityas sided with Karna. The vaishyas, the shudras, the Sutas, and those castes that were of a mixed origin, all, O king, adopted the side of Radha's son. The celestials, however, with the pitris, and with all that were numbered with them as also with their followers, and Yama and Vaishravana and Varuna were on the side of Arjuna. The brahmanas, the kshatriyas, the sacrifices, and those gifts called dakshinas, were for Arjuna. The pretas, and pishacas, many carnivorous animals and birds, the rakshasas with all the monsters of the sea, the dogs, and the jackals were for Karna. The diverse tribes of celestial and regenerate and royal rishis were for the son of Pandu. The gandharvas headed by Tumvuru, O king, were on the side of Arjuna. With the offspring of Pradha and Mauni, the several classes of gandharvas and apsaras, and many wise sages, having for their vehicles wolves and stags and elephants and steeds and cars and foot, and clouds and the wind, came there for witnessing the encounter between Karna and Arjuna. The gods, the danavas, the gandharvas, the nagas, the yakshas, the birds, the great rishis versed in the Vedas, the pitris that subsist upon the gifts called svadha, and asceticism and the sciences, and the (celestial) herbs with diverse virtues, came, O monarch, and took up their stations in the welkin, making a great noise. Brahman, with the regenerate rishis and the Lords of creatures, and Bhava himself on his car, came to that part of the welkin. Beholding those two high-souled ones, Karna and Dhananjaya, about to encounter each other, Shakra himself said, "Let Arjuna vanquish Karna." Surya, however, said, "Let Karna vanquish Arjuna. Indeed, let my son Karna, slaying Arjuna, gain the victory in this battle. Let my son, slaying Karna, win victory." Even thus did Surya and Vasava, those two foremost of personages, who were there and had adopted opposite sides, dispute with each other. Beholding those two high-souled ones, Karna and Dhananjaya, about to engage themselves in battle, the gods and the asuras adopted opposite sides. The three worlds with the celestial rishis and all the gods and all other creatures, trembled at the sight. The gods were on the side of Partha, while the asuras were on that of Karna. Thus all creatures were interested in that encounter, siding with this or that leader of car-warriors, the Kuru or the Pandava hero. Beholding the Self-born Lord of Creation (viz., Brahman), the gods urged him, saying, "Let, O god, the success of these two lions among men be equal. Let not the vast universe be destroyed in consequence of this encounter between Karna and Arjuna. O Selfborn one, say but the word, let the success of these two be equal." Hearing these words, Maghavat, bowing down unto the Grandsire, represented this unto that god of gods, that foremost one of all intelligent beings, saying, "Formerly it was said by thy holy self that the two Krishnas are always sure to win victory. Let it be (now) as thou then saidest. Be gratified with me, O holy one!" At this, Brahman and Isana replied unto the chief of the celestials, saying, 'The victory of the high-souled Vijaya is certain, of that Savyasaci who gratified the eater of sacrificial libations in the forest of Khandava and who, coming to heaven, rendered assistance to thee, O Sakra! Karna is on the side of the Danavas. It is proper, therefore, that he should meet with defeat. By this, without doubt, the purposes of the gods will be achieved. One's own business, O chief of the celestials, should always be important. The high-souled Phalguna, again, is devoted to truth and to morality. He must always be victorious, without doubt. He by whom the high-souled and holy god having the bull on his standard was gratified, why should not he, O thou of a hundred eyes, be victorious,--he, that is, who hath for the driver of his car that Lord of the universe, Vishnu himself? Possessed of great energy of mind and great strength, Partha is a hero, accomplished in arms and endued with ascetic merit. Possessed also of great energy of body, he beareth the entire science of weapons. Indeed, Partha hath every accomplishment. He ought to be victorious, since that would accomplish the purposes of the gods. In consequence of his greatness, Partha transgresses destiny itself, whether favourable or unfavourable, and when he does so, a great destruction of creatures takes place. When the two Krishnas are excited with wrath, they show regard for nothing. These two bulls among beings are the Creators of all real and unreal things. These two are Nara and Narayana, the two ancient and best of Rishis. There is none to rule over them. They are rulers over all, perfectly fearless, they are scorchers of all foes. In heaven or among human beings, there is none equal to either of them. The three worlds with the celestial Rishis and the Charanas are behind these two. All the gods and all creatures walk behind them. The entire universe exists in consequence of the power of these two. Let Karna, that bull among men, obtain these foremost of regions of bliss here. Let him obtain identity with the Vasus or the Maruts. Let him, with Drona and Bhishma, be worshipped in heaven, for Vikartana's son is brave and is a hero. Let the victory, however, belong to the two Krishnas." After those two foremost ones among the gods (Brahman and Isana), said so, the deity of a 1,000 eyes, worshipping those words of Brahman and Isana and saluting all creatures himself said, "Ye have heard what has been said by the two gods for the benefit of the universe. It will be even so and not otherwise. Stay ye then, with cheerful hearts." Hearing these words of Indra, all creatures, O sire, became filled with wonder and applauded, O king, that deity. The celestials then showered diverse kinds of fragrant flowers and blew their trumpets. Indeed, the gods, the Danavas and the Gandharvas all waited there for witnessing that matchless single combat between those two lions among men. The two cars, O king, upon which Karna and Arjuna were stationed, had white steeds yoked unto them both. And both had excellent standards, and both produced a loud rattle. Many foremost of heroes, approaching the brave Vasudeva and Arjuna as also Shalya and Karna, began each to blow his conch. The battle then commenced (between the two warriors), overwhelming all timid persons with fear. Fiercely they challenged each other like Sakra and Samvara. The standards of the two heroes, perfectly bright, looked exceedingly beautiful on their cars, like the planets Rahu and Ketu risen in the firmament at the time of the universal dissolution. The elephant's rope on Karna's banner, looking like a snake of virulent poison and made of jewels and gems and exceedingly strong and resembling the bow of Indra, looked resplendent (as it waved in the air). That foremost of apes, again, belonging to Partha, with jaws wide open and terrible, and difficult of being gazed

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at, like the sun himself, inspired fear by his formidable teeth. The impetuous Ape on the standard of the wielder of Gandiva, becoming desirous of battle, rushed from his station and fell upon Karna's standard. Endued with great impetuosity, the Ape, darting forward, struck the elephant's rope with his nails and teeth, like Garuda falling upon a snake. Decked with rows of little bells, hard as iron, and resembling the fatal noose (in the hands of Yama or Varuna), the elephant's rope, filled with wrath, closed with the Ape. Thus in that fierce single combat between those two heroes, which was the result of what had been settled at the time of the match at dice, their standards first battled with each other. Meanwhile the steeds of the one neighed at the steeds of the other. The lotus-eyed Keshava pierced Shalya with his keen glances. The latter also cast similar glances at the former. Vasudeva, however, vanquished Shalya with those glances of his, while Dhananjaya, the son of Kunti, vanquished Karna with his glances. Then the Suta's son, smilingly addressing Shalya, said, "If Partha by any means slays me in battle today, tell me truly, O friend, what thou wilt do after that." Shalya answered, saying, "If thou art slain, I myself will slay both Krishna and Dhananjaya." Once more the ruler of the Madras said, "If, O Karna, the white steeded Arjuna slays thee in battle today, I myself, on a single car, will slay both Madhava and Phalguna.'"

"Sanjaya continued, 'Arjuna also asked Govinda a similar question. Krishna, however, smiling, said unto Partha these words of grave import, "The Sun himself may fall down from his place, the Earth herself may split into a 1,000 fragments; fire itself may become cold. Still Karna will not be able to slay thee, O Dhananjaya! If, however, any such occurrence takes place, know then that the destruction of the universe will be at hand. As regards myself, I will, using my bare arms, slay both Karna and Shalya in battle." Hearing these words of Krishna, the ape-bannered Arjuna, smiling, replied unto Krishna who was never fatigued with exertion, saying, "Shalya and Karna, united together, are not a match for myself alone, O Janardana! Thou shalt today, O Krishna, behold Karna with his standard and banners with Shalya and his car and steeds, with his umbrella and armour and darts and shafts and bow, cut in pieces with my shafts in battle. Thou shalt today behold him with his car and steeds and darts and armour and weapons, reduced to dust like a tree in the forest crushed by a tusker. Today the widowhood of the wives of Radha's son is at hand. Verily, they must have in their (last night's) dreams seen signs of approaching evil, O Mahadeva! Verily, thou shalt today see the wives of Karna become widows. I cannot restrain my wrath at what was done before now by this fool of little foresight when he beheld Krishna dragged to the assembly and when laughing at us he abused us repeatedly in vile words. Today, O Govinda, thou shalt behold Karna crushed by me like a tree with its load of flowers crushed by an infuriated elephant. Today, O slayer of Madhu, thou shalt, after Karna's fall, hear those sweet words, 'By good luck, O thou of Vrishni's race, victory hath been thine!' Thou shalt today comfort the mother of Abhimanyu with a lighter heart for having paid thy debt to the foe. Today thou shalt, filled with joy, comfort thy paternal aunt Kunti. Today thou shalt, O Madhava, comfort Krishna of tearful face and king Yudhishthira the Just with words sweet as nectar."'"

SECTION 88

"Sanjaya said, 'Meanwhile the welkin, filled with gods and Nagas and Asuras and Siddhas and Yakshas and with large bands of Gandharvas and Rakshasas, and Asuras and regenerate Rishis and royal sages and birds of excellent feathers, assumed a wonderful aspect. All human beings assembled there beheld those beings of wonderful aspect staying in the sky, and the sky itself resounded with the voice of musical instruments and song and adulatory hymns and laughter and dance, and diverse other kinds of charming sounds. Then both the Kaurava and the Pandava warriors, filled with joy, and causing the earth and the ten points of the compass to resound with the voice of musical instruments, the blare of conchs, and leonine roars and the din of battle, began to slaughter their foes. Teeming with men and steeds and elephants and cars and weapons, unbearable to combatants in consequence of the falling of maces and swords and darts and rapiers, abounding in heroes, and crowded with lifeless bodies, the field of battle, crimsoned with gore, looked exceedingly resplendent. Indeed, the battle between the Kurus and the Pandavas then resembled that in days of yore between the gods and the Asuras. After that fierce and awful battle had commenced between Dhananjaya and Adhiratha's son, each of those two heroes, clad in excellent mail, shrouded the ten points of the compass and the host opposed to him with keen and straight arrows. A darkness having been caused there with the arrows shot on that occasion, neither thy warriors nor the enemy could any longer see anything. From fear all the warriors there sought the protection of either Karna or Arjuna like rays of light spread out in the welkin converging towards either the sun or the moon. The two heroes then, each baffling the other's weapons with his own, like the east and the west winds encountering each other, looked exceedingly resplendent like the sun and the moon risen after dispelling the darkness caused by the clouds and covering the welkin. Each having encouraged his troops, saying, "Do not fly away!" the enemy and thy warriors stood their ground, encircling those two mighty car-warriors like the gods and the asuras standing around Vasava and Samvara. The two armies then greeted those two best of men with the sounds of drums and other instruments and with leonine roars, at which those two bulls among men looked beautiful like the sun and the moon greeted by roaring clouds gathered around. Each armed with a formidable bow drawn to a complete circle and looking like a (solar or lunar) corona, those two heroes of great splendour, shooting, in that battle thousands of arrows that constituted their rays, resembled two unbearable suns risen at the end of the yuga for burning the entire universe with its mobile and immobile creatures. Both invincible, both capable of exterminating foes, each desirous of slaying the other; and each displaying his skill upon the other, those two warriors, Karna and the son of Pandu, closed fearlessly with each other in that dreadful battle, like Indra and the asura Jambha. Invoking the mightiest of weapons then, those two formidable bowmen began, with their terrible shafts, to slay innumerable men and steeds and elephants as also to strike each other, O king! Afflicted once more by those two foremost of men, the troops of both the Kurus and the Pandavas, consisting of elephants and foot-soldiers and horsemen and car-warriors, fled away on all sides like other animals in the forest when assailed by the lion. Then Duryodhana, and the chief of the Bhojas, and Subala's son, and Kripa, and the son of Sharadvata's daughter, these five great car-warriors, assailed Dhananjaya and Keshava with shafts capable of producing great pain. Dhananjaya, however, with his shafts, cut off at the same time the bows, the quivers, the steeds, the elephants, and the cars with their drivers, of those warriors, and mangling every one of them with excellent shafts, pierced the Suta's son with a dozen arrows. Then a hundred cars, a hundred elephants, and a number of Saka and Tukhara and Yavana horsemen, accompanied by some of the foremost combatants among the Kambojas, quickly rushed against Arjuna from desire of slaying him. Speedily cutting off with the shafts and razor-headed arrows in his hands the excellent weapons of his foes, as also their heads, and steeds, and elephants, and cars, Dhananjaya felled his contending enemies on the field. Then in the welkin blasts of celestial trumpets were blown by the excellent gods. These were mingled with the praises of Arjuna. Blown by gentle breezes, excellent floral showers, fragrant and auspicious, fell (upon Arjuna's head). Beholding that incident, which was witnessed by gods and men, all creatures, O king, were filled with wonder.' Only thy son and the Suta's son who were both of the same opinion, felt neither pain nor wonder. Then Drona's son, catching hold of Duryodhana's hand, and adopting a soothing tone, addressed thy son, saying, "Be gratified, O Duryodhana! Make peace with the Pandavas. There is no need for quarrel. Fie on war! The preceptor, conversant with the mightiest of weapons and like unto Brahma itself, hath been slain. Other bulls among men, headed by Bhishma, have also been slain. As regards myself, I am unslayable, as also my maternal uncle. Rule the kingdom for ever, (sharing it) with the sons of Pandu. Dissuaded by me, Dhananjaya will abstain. Janardana also doth not desire hostilities. Yudhishthira is always engaged in the good of all creatures. Vrikodara is obedient to him. So also are the twins. Peace being made between thee and the Parthas, all creatures will be benefited, through, as it would seem, thy desire. Let the kings that are still alive go back to their homes. Let the troops abstain from hostilities. If thou dost not listen to my words, O king, struck by foes in battle, thou wilt have to burn with grief. Thou hast beheld, as well as the universe, what has been achieved by the single-handed Arjuna decked with diadem and garlands. The slayer of Vala himself could not achieve its like, nor the Destroyer, nor Prachetas, nor the illustrious king of the Yakshas. Dhananjaya, as regards his merits, is even much greater than that. He will never transgress whatever I say unto him. He will always follow thee. Be thou gratified, O king, for the benefit of the universe. Thou always honourest me greatly. I, too, bear a great friendship for thee. It is for this that I say so unto thee. I shall dissuade Karna also, provided thou art inclined to peace. Discerning persons say that there are four kinds of friends, viz., those that are naturally so, those that are made so by conciliation, those that become so through wealth, and lastly those brought under subjection by the exercise of power. All these elements are owned by thee with regard to the sons of Pandu. The Pandavas, O hero, are naturally thy friends. Obtain them again as friends for certain by conciliation. If upon thyself being gratified, they agree to become friends, do thou, O king of kings, act in that way." These beneficial words having been said unto him by his friends, Duryodhana reflected for some time. Drawing deep breaths, he then, with a cheerless heart, said, "It is as thou, O friend, hast said. Listen, however, to the words that I would say unto thee. The wicked-hearted Vrikodara, having slain Duhshasana like a tiger, spoke words that still dwell in my heart. Thou also heardest the same. How then can there be peace? Arjuna again will not be able to bear Karna in battle, like a tempest whose force is weakened when encountering the mighty mountains of Meru. Nor will the sons of Pritha have the least confidence in me, thinking of the many acts of forceful hostility (done by me towards them). Nor, O preceptor's son of unfading glory, doth it behove thee to say unto Karna now 'Abstain from battle!' Phalguna is exceedingly tired today. Karna will soon slay him". Having with humility said these words repeatedly unto the preceptor's son, thy son commanded his own troops, saying, "Armed with arrows, rush against and slay these foes. Why stand ye inactive?"'"

SECTION 89

Sanjaya said, "Then when the blare of conchs and the peal of drums became very loud, those two foremost of men, both owning white steeds, the suta's son Vikartana and Arjuna, encountered each other in consequence, O king, of thy son's evil policy. Those two heroes endued with great impetuosity, Dhananjaya and Adhiratha's son, closed with each other like two infuriated Himalayan elephants, both of full-grown tusks, fighting with each other for the sake of a she-elephant in her season. Like a mass of clouds encountering another mass, or a mountain encountering a mountain, those two warriors, both pouring showers of arrows, encountered each other, their bows loudly twanging the while, and the wheels of their cars producing a deafening clatter, and their bow-strings and palms emitting loud sounds. Like two mountains, both endued with tall cliffs and abounding in trees and creepers and herbs and both teeming with the diverse other denizens that are natural to them, moving towards each other for an encounter, those two mighty warriors encountered each other, each striking the other with mighty weapons.

The combat between the two heroes became furious like that between the chief of the celestials and Virocana's son in days of yore. Incapable of being endured by others and marked by a river whose distasteful water consisted of blood, the limbs of those two heroes, as also their drivers and animals, became exceedingly mangled. Like two large lakes, both teeming with lotuses of diverse kinds and fish and tortoises, and echoing with the voices of diverse kinds of fowl, and softly stirred by the wind, approaching each other, those two cars graced with standards approached each other. Both endued with prowess equal to that of the great Indra, both resembling the great Indra himself, those two mighty car-warriors struck each other with shafts that resembled the great Indra's thunder, like the great Indra himself and (the asura) Vritra.

Both the armies consisting of cars and elephants and steeds and foot-soldiers, all equipped with beautiful armour and ornaments and robes and weapons, and those also that were in the welkin, were inspired with fear upon beholding that encounter of wonderful aspect between Arjuna and Karna. Others among the spectators, filled with joy and uttering leonine shouts, raised their arms, waving their fingers or the pieces of cloth they held, when Arjuna rushed against the son of Adhiratha, from desire of slaughter, like one infuriated elephant rushing against another.

The Somakas then loudly shouted to Partha, saying, "Be quick, O Arjuna, go and pierce Karna. Cut off his head without delay, and (with it) the desire of Dhritarashtra's son for kingdom." Similarly many warriors of ours that were there, said unto Karna, "Proceed, proceed, O Karna, and slay Arjuna with keen shafts. Let the sons of Pritha once more go to the woods forever."

Then Karna first pierced Partha in that encounter, with ten mighty shafts. Arjuna pierced him in return with ten keen-pointed shafts, shot with great vigour, in the centre of the chest. Indeed, the suta's son and Arjuna then mangled each other with many shafts equipped with goodly wings. Desirous of obtaining advantage of each other's lapses in that dreadful encounter, with cheerful hearts they rushed against each other fiercely.

Rubbing his two arms and the string also of gandiva, that fierce bowman, Arjuna, then sped showers of cloth-yard shafts, and nalikas and arrows equipped with heads like boar's ears and razors, and anjalikas, and crescent-shaped arrows. Those arrows of Partha, O king, spread over the welkin, penetrated into Karna's car like flights of birds, with heads bent down, penetrating in the evening into a tree for roosting there in the night. All those arrows, however, O king, that Arjuna, that victor over all foes, with furrowed brow and angry glances, sped at Karna, all those successive showers of shafts shot by the son of Pandu, were cut off by the suta's son with his own arrows.

The son of Indra then sped at Karna a fiery weapon capable of slaying all foes. Covering the earth and the welkin and the ten points of the compass and the very course of the sun with its effulgence, it caused his own body also to blaze up with light. The robes of all the warriors took fire, at which they fled away. Loud sounds also arose there, like what is heard when a forest of bamboos in a wilderness is on fire. Beholding that fiery weapon acting on all sides, the suta's son Karna of great valour shot in that encounter the varunastra for

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quenching it. That conflagration then, in consequence of Karna's weapon, became quenched.

A large mass of clouds quickly caused all the points of the compass to be enveloped with darkness. Those clouds whose extremities presented the aspect of mountains, surrounding every side, flooded the earth with water. That fierce conflagration, though it was such, was still quenched by those clouds in a trice. The entire welkin and all the directions, cardinal and subsidiary, were shrouded by clouds. Thus shrouded by clouds, all the points of the compass became dark and nothing could be seen.

Then Arjuna dispelled those clouds caused by Karna, by means of the vayavyastra. After this, Dhananjaya, incapable of being over-mastered by foes inspired gandiva, its string, and his shafts, with mantras, and invoked into existence another weapon that was the favourite of the chief of the celestials and that resembled the thunder in energy and prowess. Then razor-headed arrows, and anjalikas, and crescent-shaped shafts, and nalikas, and cloth-yard shafts and those equipped with heads like the boar's ear, all keen and sharp, issued from gandiva in thousands, endued with the force and impetuosity of the thunder. Possessed of great might and great energy, those impetuous and keen shafts equipped with vulturine feathers piercing all the limbs, the steeds, the bow, the yoke, the wheels, and the standard of Karna, quickly penetrated into them like snakes frightened by Garuda penetrating into the earth. Pierced all over with arrows and bathed in blood, (the high-souled) Karna then, with eyes rolling in wrath, bending his bow of enduring string and producing a twang as loud as the roar of the sea, invoked into existence the Bhargava weapon. Cutting off Partha's showers of shafts proceeding from the mouth of that weapon of Indra (which Arjuna had shot), Karna, having thus baffled his antagonist's weapon with his own, destroyed cars and elephants and foot-soldiers (of the Pandava army). Unable to endure the feats of Arjuna in that fierce battle, the mighty car-warrior Karna did this, through the energy of the Bhargava weapon. Filled with wrath and possessed of great activity, the Suta's son, that foremost of men, laughing at the two Krishnas, pierced the foremost of Pancala warriors with well shot arrows in that battle. Then the Pancalas and the Somakas, O king, thus afflicted by Karna with showers of shafts in that encounter, became filled with wrath and uniting together pierced the Suta's son with keen arrows from every side. Quickly cutting off those arrows with his own, the Suta's son, vigorously agitating them in that battle, afflicted with many shafts the cars, the elephants, and the steeds of the Pancalas. Their bodies pierced with those shafts of Karna, they fell down, deprived of life, on the earth, making loud sounds, like mighty elephants slain by an angry lion of terrible strength. Having slain those foremost of warriors, those heroes endued with great strength, those leaders of the Pancala forces who had always challenged him (to battle), Karna, O king, as he shot his arrows, looked beautiful, like a mass of clouds pouring torrents of rain. Then thy warriors, thinking that Karna had won the victory, clapped loudly and uttered leonine roars. O chief of the Kurus, all of them then regarded the two Krishnas as brought by Karna under his power, seeing that valour, incapable of being borne by foes, of the mighty car-warrior Karna. Beholding that weapon of Dhananjaya frustrated by Karna in the midst of battle, the angry son of the Wind-god, with eyes blazing with wrath, began to squeeze his hands. Indeed, the wrathful Bhima, his anger being provoked, drew deep breaths and addressing Arjuna of true aim, said, "How, O Jishnu, could this wretch fallen off from virtue, this Suta's son, putting forth his might in battle, slay so many foremost of Pancala warriors, in thy sight? Before now thou couldst not be conquered by the very gods or the Kalakeyas. Thou receivedst the touch of the arms of Sthanu himself. How, then, O diadem-decked Arjuna, could the Suta's son pierce thee first with ten long shafts such as are used by car-warriors? That the Suta's son should today have succeeded in baffling the arrows shot by thee seems to me to be very amazing. Recollect the woes of Krishna, and those disagreeable, keen, and cutting words that this wicked-souled and fearless son of a Suta used towards us, viz., 'Sesame seeds without kernel!' Recollecting all this, O Savyasaci, quickly slay the wretched Karna in battle today. Why, O diadem-decked Arjuna, dost thou show such indifference (towards this act)? This is not the time for showing thy indifference to Karna's slaughter. That patience with which thou didst vanquish all creatures and feed Agni at Khandava, with that patience, slay thou the Suta's son. I also will crush him with my mace." Then Vasudeva, beholding Partha's shafts baffled by Karna, said unto the former, "What is this, O diadem-decked Arjuna, that Karna should succeed in crushing thy weapons today with this? Why dost, thou, O hero, lose thy wits? Markest thou not that the Kauravas, (standing behind Karna), are even now shouting in joy? Indeed, all of them know that thy weapons are being baffled by Karna with his. That patience with which, Yuga after Yuga, thou hadst slain persons having the quality of darkness for their weapons, as also terrible Kshatriyas, and Asuras born of pride, in many a battle--with that patience do thou slay Karna today. Putting forth thy might, strike off the head of that foe of thine with this Sudarsana, of edge keen as a razor, that I give unto thee, like Sakra striking off the head of his foe Namuci, with the thunderbolt. That patience with which thou didst gratified the illustrious deity Mahadeva in the guise of a hunter, summoning that patience once again, O hero, slay the Suta's son with all his followers. After that, bestow upon king Yudhishthira the earth with her belt of seas, her towns and villages, and wealth, and from off whose surface all foes will have been removed. By that act, O Partha, do thou also win unrivalled fame." Thus addressed (by Krishna), the high-souled Partha of exceeding might set his heart upon the slaughter of the Suta's son. Indeed, urged by Bhima and Janardana, and recollecting (his woes), and taking an internal survey of himself, and calling to mind the object for which he had come to this world, he addressed Keshava, saying, "I will now invoke into existence a mighty and fierce weapon for the good of the world and the destruction of the Suta's son. Let me have thy permission, as also Brahman's and Bhava's, and of all those that are conversant with Brahma." Having said these words unto the holy Keshava, Savyasaci of immeasurable soul bowed unto Brahman and invoked into existence that excellent irresistible weapon called brahmastra which could be applied by the mind alone. Baffling that weapon, however, Karna looked beautiful as he continued, like a cloud pouring torrents of rain, to shoot his shafts. Beholding that weapon of the diadem-decked Arjuna baffled in the midst of battle by Karna, the wrathful and mighty Bhima, blazing up with rage, addressed Arjuna of sure aim and said, "People say that thou art a master of the high brahmastra, that mighty means (for achieving the destruction of foes). Do thou then, O Savyasaci, use another weapon of the same kind." Thus addressed by his brother, Savyasaci used a second weapon of the kind. With that, Partha of abundant energy shrouded all the points of the compass, cardinal and subsidiary, with arrows sped from gandiva that resembled fierce snakes and were like the blazing rays of the sun. Created by that bull of Bharata's race, those arrows of golden wings, in hundreds upon hundreds, endued with the effulgence of the yuga fire or the sun, in a moment shrouded the car of Karna. Thence also issued long darts and battle-axes and discs and cloth-yard shafts in hundreds, all of awful forms, at which hostile warriors all around began to be deprived of life. The head of some hostile warrior, severed from his trunk, fell down on the field of battle. Another, beholding his fallen comrade, fell down dead on the earth, through fear. The (right) arm of a third, large and massive as the trunk of an elephant, cut off (by Partha), fell down with the sword in grasp. The left arm of a fourth, cut off with a razor-headed arrow, fell down with the shield in it. Even thus, Partha, decked with diadem and garlands, wounded and slew all the foremost warriors of Duryodhana's army with his terrible and death-dealing shafts. Vaikartana also, in the midst of that battle, shot thousands of arrows. These, with a loud whizz, fell upon the son of Pandu like torrents of rain poured from the clouds. Then piercing Bhimasena and Janardana and the diadem-decked Arjuna of superhuman feats, each with three arrows Karna of terrible might uttered a loud awful roar. Struck with Karna's shafts, the diadem-decked Arjuna, beholding Bhima and Janardana, became unable to endure (the feats of his antagonist). Once more, therefore, Partha shot eight and ten arrows. Piercing the beautiful standard of Karna with one of those arrows, he pierced Shalya with four and Karna himself with three. With ten other well-shot shafts he then struck the Kaurava warrior Sabhapati, clad in golden mail. Thereupon that prince, deprived of head and arms and steeds and driver and bow and standard, fell down, wounded and dead, from his foremost of cars, like a Sala tree cut down with an axe. Once more piercing Karna with three, eight, twelve, four, and ten arrows, Partha slew 400 elephants equipped with many weapons, and 8000 car-warriors, and 1,000 steeds with riders, and 8,000 brave foot-soldiers. And soon Partha made Karna with his driver and car and steeds and standard invisible with straightly coursing shafts. Then the Kauravas, thus slaughtered by Dhananjaya, loudly addressed Adhiratha's son, saying, "Shoot thy arrows and slay the son of Pandu. Already, he has begun to exterminate the Kurus with his shafts!" Thus urged, Karna, with his best endeavours, incessantly shot many arrows. Capable of cutting the very vitals, those blood-drinking shafts, well sped by Karna, slew large numbers of the Pandavas and the Pancalas. Thus those two foremost of all bowmen, those two warriors of great strength that were capable of bearing all foes, those two heroes acquainted with weapons, struck the warriors opposed to them, as also each other, with mighty weapons. Then Yudhishthira, clad in golden mail, his arrows having been extracted and himself made sound with mantras and drugs by foremost of surgeons well-disposed towards him, quickly came to that spot for witnessing (the encounter between Arjuna and Karna). Beholding king Yudhishthira the Just arrived there like the resplendent full Moon freed from the jaws of Rahu and risen in the firmament, all creatures became filled with delight. Beholding those two foremost of warriors, those two first of heroes and slayers of foes, viz., Karna and Partha, engaged in fight, the spectators, both celestial and terrestrial, restraining the animals they rode or that were yoked unto their vehicles, stood motionless. As the two heroes, O king, struck each other with many foremost of arrows, O king, the sounds caused by the bows, bow-strings, and palms, of both Dhananjaya and Adhiratha's son, became tremendous and their well-sped arrows also caused a deafening whizz. Then the bow-string of the son of Pandu, stretched with force, broke with a loud noise. During the interval thus offered, the Suta's son pierced Partha with a hundred small arrows, keen and steeped in oil, winged with the feathers of birds, and resembling snakes freed from their sloughs. He then quickly pierced Vasudeva with sixty shafts, and then Phalguna again with eight. Surya's son then pierced Bhima with thousands upon thousands of mighty arrows. Having pierced Krishna and Partha's standard, Karna felled many amongst the Somakas that followed Partha. These, however, in return shrouded Karna with showers of straight shafts like masses of clouds shrouding the sun in the welkin. Accomplished in the use of weapons, the Suta's son, stupefying those advancing warriors with his shafts and baffling all the weapons shot by them, destroyed their cars and steeds and elephants. And the Suta's son, O king, also afflicted with his arrows many foremost of warriors among them. Their bodies pierced with Karna's shafts, they fell down on the ground, deprived of life and making a loud noise as they fell. Indeed, those mighty combatants, afflicted by Karna of terrible strength, perished like a pack of dogs afflicted by an angry lion. And once more many foremost of combatants among the Pancalas and many such (among the Kauravas) fell down after this, slain by Karna and Dhananjaya. Deprived of life by the mighty Karna with well-aimed arrows shot with great force, many fell down, purging the contents of their stomachs. Then thy troops, regarding the victory to be already theirs, clapped furiously and uttered loud leonine roars. Indeed, in that dreadful encounter, all of them regarded the two Krishnas to have been brought by Karna under his power. Then quickly bending his bow-string and baffling all those shafts of Adhiratha's son, Partha, filled with rage in consequence of his limbs having been mangled with Karna's arrows, assailed the Kauravas. Rubbing his bow-string, he clapped his palms and suddenly caused a darkness there with the showers of shafts he shot. The diadem-decked Arjuna pierced Karna and Shalya and all the Kurus with those arrows. The welkin having been darkened by means of that mighty weapon, the very birds were unable to range in their element, a delicious wind then blew, bearing fragrant odours. Laughing the while, Partha forcibly struck Shalya's armour with ten arrows. Piercing Karna next with a dozen shafts, he struck him once more with seven. Deeply struck with those winged arrows of fierce energy shot with great force from Partha's bow, Karna, with mangled limbs and body bathed in blood, looked resplendent like Rudra at the universal destruction, sporting in the midst of crematorium at noon or eve, his body dyed with blood. The son of Adhiratha then pierced Dhananjaya who resembled the chief of the celestials himself (in energy and might) with three arrows, and he caused five other blazing arrows resembling five snakes to penetrate the body of Krishna. Shot with great force, those arrows, decked with gold, pierced through the armour of that foremost of beings and passing out of his body fell upon the earth. Endued with great energy, they entered the earth with great force and having bathed (in the waters of the Bhogavati in the nether region) coursed back towards Karna. Those shafts were five mighty snakes that had adopted the side of Takshaka's son (Aswasena whose mother Partha had slain at Khandava). With ten broad-headed arrows shot with great force, Arjuna cut off each of those five snakes into three fragments whereupon they fell down on the earth. Beholding Krishna's limbs thus mangled with those snakes transformed into arrows sped from Karna's arms, Arjuna, decked with diadem and garlands, blazed up with wrath like a fire engaged in burning a heap of dry grass. He then pierced Karna in all his vital limbs with many blazing and fatal shafts shot from the bow-string stretched to the very ear. (Deeply pierced), Karna trembled in pain. With the greatest difficulty he stood, summoning all his patience. Dhananjaya having been filled with wrath, all the points of the compass, cardinal and subsidiary, the very splendour of the Sun, and Karna's car, O king, all became invisible with the showers shot by him. The welkin seemed as if it were shrouded by a thick forest. Then that slayer of foes, that bull of Kuru's race, that foremost of heroes, viz., Savyasaci, O king, soon slew in that battle 2,000 foremost of Kuru warriors, with their cars and steeds and drivers, forming the protectors of Karna's car-wheels and wings and his van-guard and rear-guard and who constituted the very pick of Duryodhana's car-force, and who, urged by Duryodhana, had been fighting with great energy. Then thy sons and the Kauravas that were still alive fled away, deserting Karna, and abandoning their dying and wounded, and their wailing sons and sires. Beholding himself abandoned by the terrified Kurus and seeing the space around him empty, Karna felt no agitation, O Bharata, but, on the other hand, rushed at Arjuna, with a cheerful heart.'"

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SECTION 90

"Sanjaya said, 'Flying away in consequence of the falling of Arjuna's arrows, the broken divisions of the Kauravas, staying at a distance, continued to gaze at Arjuna's weapon swelling with energy and careering around with the effulgence of lightning. Then Karna, with showers of terrible shafts, baffled that weapon of Arjuna while it was still careering in the welkin and which Arjuna had shot with great vigour in that fierce encounter for the destruction of his foe. Indeed, that weapon (of Partha) which, swelling with energy, had been consuming the Kurus, the Suta's son now crushed with his shafts winged with gold. Bending then his own loud-sounding bow of irrefragable string, Karna shot showers of shafts. The Suta's son destroyed that burning weapon of Arjuna with his own foe-killing weapon of great power which he had obtained from Rama, and which resembled (in efficacy) an Atharvan rite. And he pierced Partha also with numerous keen shafts. The encounter then, O king, that took place between Arjuna and the son of Adhiratha, became a very dreadful one. They continued to strike each other with arrows like two fierce elephants striking each other with their tusks. All the points of the compass then became shrouded with weapons and the very sun became invisible. Indeed, Karna and Partha, with their arrowy downpours, made the welkin one vast expanse of arrows without any space between. All the Kauravas and the Somakas then beheld a wide-spread arrowy net. In that dense darkness caused by arrows, they were unable to see anything else. Those two foremost of men, both accomplished in weapons, as they incessantly aimed and shot innumerable arrows, O king, displayed diverse kinds of beautiful manoeuvres. While they were thus contending with each other in battle, sometimes the Suta's son prevailed over his rival and sometimes the diadem-decked Partha prevailed over his, in prowess and weapons and lightness of hands. Beholding that terrible and awful passage-at-arms between those two heroes each of whom was desirous of availing himself of the other's lapses, all the other warriors on the field of battle became filled with wonder. The beings in the welkin, O king, applauded Karna and Arjuna. Indeed, many of them at a time, filled with joy, cheerfully shouted, sometimes saying, "Excellent, O Karna!" and sometimes saying, "Excellent, O Arjuna!" During the progress of that fierce encounter, while the earth was being pressed deep with the weight of cars and the tread of steeds and elephants, the snake Aswasena, who was hostile to Arjuna, was passing his time in the nether region. Freed from the conflagration at Khandava, O king, he had, from anger, penetrated through the earth (for going to the subterranean region). That brave snake, recollecting the death of his mother and the enmity he on that account harboured against Arjuna, now rose from the lower region. Endued with the power of ascending the skies, he soared up with great speed upon beholding that fight between Karna and Arjuna. Thinking that that was the time for gratifying his animosity towards, as he thought, the wicked-souled Partha, he quickly entered into Karna's quiver, O king, in the form of an arrow. At that time a net of arrows was seen, shedding its bright arrows around. Karna and Partha made the welkin one dense mass of arrows by means of their arrowy downpours. Beholding that wide-spread expanse of arrows, all the Kauravas and the Somakas became filled with fear. In that thick and awful darkness caused by arrows they were unable to see anything else. Then those two tigers among men, those two foremost of all bowmen in the world, those two heroes, fatigued with their exertions in battle, looked at each other. Both of them were then fanned with excellent and waving fans made of young (palm) leaves and sprinkled with fragrant sandal-water by many Apsaras staying in the welkin. And Sakra and Surya, using their hands, gently brushed the faces of those two heroes. When at last Karna found that he could not prevail over Partha and was exceedingly scorched with the shafts of the former, that hero, his limbs very much mangled, set his heart upon that shaft of his which lay singly within a quiver. The Suta's son then fixed on his bow-string that foe-killing, exceedingly keen, snake-mouthed, blazing, and fierce shaft, which had been polished according to rule, and which he had long kept for the sake of Partha's destruction. Stretching his bow-string to his ear, Karna fixed that shaft of fierce energy and blazing splendour, that ever-worshipped weapon which lay within a golden quiver amid sandal dust, and aimed it at Partha. Indeed, he aimed that blazing arrow, born in Airavata's race, for cutting off Phalguna's head in battle. All the points of the compass and the welkin became ablaze and terrible meteors, and thunderbolts fell. When that snake of the form of an arrow was fixed on the bow-string, the Regents of the world, including Sakra, set up loud wails. The Suta's son did not know that the snake Aswasena had entered his arrow by the aid of his Yoga powers. Beholding Vaikartana aim that arrow, the high-souled ruler of the Madras, addressing Karna, said, "This arrow, O Karna, will not succeed in striking off Arjuna's head. Searching carefully, fix another arrow that may succeed in striking off thy enemy's head." Endued with great activity, the Suta's son, with eyes burning in wrath, then said unto the ruler of the Madras, "O Shalya, Karna never aimeth an arrow twice. Persons like us never become crooked warriors." Having said these words, Karna, with great care, let off that shaft which he had worshipped for many long years. Bent upon winning the victory, O king, he quickly said unto his rival, "Thou art slain, O Phalguna!" Sped from Karna's arms, that shaft of awful whizz, resembling fire or the sun in splendour, as it left the bow-string, blazed up in the welkin and seemed to divide it by a line such as is visible on the crown of a woman dividing her tresses. Beholding that shaft blazing in the welkin, the slayer of Kamsa, Madhava, with great speed and the greatest ease, pressed down with his feet that excellent car, causing it to sink about a cubit deep. At this, the steeds, white as the rays of the moon and decked in trappings of gold, bending their knees, laid themselves down on the ground. Indeed, seeing that snake (in the form of an arrow) aimed by Karna, Madhava, that foremost of all persons endued with might, put forth his strength and thus pressed down with his feet that car into the earth, whereat the steeds, (as already said) bending down their knees, laid themselves down upon the earth when the car itself had sank into it. Then loud sounds arose in the welkin in applause of Vasudeva. Many celestial voices were heard, and celestial flowers were showered upon Krishna, and leonine shouts also were uttered. When the car had thus been pressed down into the earth through the exertions of the slayer of Madhu, the excellent ornament of Arjuna's head, celebrated throughout the earth, the welkin, heaven, and the waters, the Suta's son swept off from the crown of his rival, with that arrow, in consequence of the very nature of that snaky weapon and the great care and wrath with which it had been shot. That diadem, endued with the splendour of the sun or the moon or fire or a planet, and adorned with gold and pearls and gems and diamonds, had with great care been made by the puissant Self-born himself for Purandara. Costly as its appearance indicated, it was inspiring terror in the hearts of foes, contributing to the happiness of him that wore it, and shedding a fragrance, that ornament had been given by the chief of the celestials himself with a cheerful heart unto Partha while the latter had proceeded to slaughter the foes of the gods. That diadem was incapable of being crushed by Rudra and the Lord of waters and Kuvera with Pinaka and noose and thunderbolt and the very foremost of shafts. It could not be endured by even the foremost ones among the gods. Vrisha, however, now broke it forcibly with his snake-inspired shaft. Endued with great activity, that wicked-natured snake of fierce form and false vows, falling upon that diadem-decked with gold and gems, swept it away from Arjuna's head. That snake, O king, forcibly tore it away from Partha's head, quickly reducing into fragments that well-made ornament set over with many a gem and blazing with beauty, like the thunderbolt riving a mountain summit decked with lofty and beautiful trees graced with flowers. Crushed by that excellent weapon, possessed of splendour, and blazing with the fire of (the snake's) poison, that beautiful and much-liked diadem of Partha fell down on the earth like the blazing disc of the Sun from the Asta hills. Indeed, that snake forcibly swept away from Arjuna's head that diadem adorned with many gems, like the thunder of Indra felling a beautiful mountain summit adorned with lofty trees bearing budding leaves and flowers. And the earth, welkin, heaven, and the waters, when agitated by a tempest, roar aloud, O Bharata, even such was the roar that arose in all the worlds at that time. Hearing that tremendous noise, people, notwithstanding their efforts to be calm, became extremely agitated and reeled as they stood. Reft of diadem, the dark complexioned and youthful Partha looked beautiful like a blue mountain of lofty summit. Binding then his locks with a white cloth, Arjuna stood perfectly unmoved. With that white gear on his head, he looked like the Udaya hill illumined with the rays of the sun. Thus that she-snake (whom Arjuna had killed at Khandava) of excellent mouth, through her son in the form of an arrow, sped by Surya's son, beholding Arjuna of exceeding energy and might standing with his head at a level with the reins of the steeds, took away his diadem only, that well-made ornament (formerly) owned by Aditi's son and endued with the effulgence of Surya himself. But Arjuna also (as will appear in the sequel) did not return from that battle without causing the snake to succumb to the power of Yama. Sped from Karna's arms, that costly shaft resembling fire or the sun in effulgence, viz., that mighty snake who from before had become the deadly foe of Arjuna, thus crushing the latter's diadem, went away. Having burnt the gold-decked diadem of Arjuna displayed on his head, he desired to come to Arjuna once more with great speed. Asked, however, by Karna (who saw him but knew him not), he said these words, "Thou hadst sped me, O Karna, without having seen me. It was for this that I could not strike off Arjuna's head. Do thou quickly shoot me once again, after seeing me well. I shall then slay thy foe and mine too." Thus addressed in that battle by him, the Suta's son said, "Who are you possessed of such fierce form?" The snake answered, saying, "Know me as one that has been wronged by Partha. My enmity towards him is due to his having slain my mother. If the wielder of the thunderbolt himself were to protect Partha, the latter would still have to go to the domains of the king of the pitris. Do not disregard me. Do my bidding. I will slay thy foe. Shoot me without delay." Hearing those words, Karna said, "Karna, O snake, never desires to have victory in battle today by relying on another's might. Even if I have to slay a hundred Arjunas, I will not, O snake, still shoot the same shaft twice." Once more addressing him in the midst of battle, that best of men, viz., Surya's son, Karna, said, "Aided by the nature of my other snaky weapons, and by resolute effort and wrath, I shall slay Partha. Be thou happy and go elsewhere." Thus addressed, in battle, by Karna, that prince of snakes, unable from rage to bear those words, himself proceeded, O king, for the slaughter of Partha, having assumed the form of an arrow. Of fierce form, the desire he ardently cherished was the destruction of his enemy. Then Krishna, addressing Partha in that encounter, said into him, "Slay that great snake inimical to thee." Thus addressed by the slayer of Madhu, the wielder of Gandiva, that bowman who was always fierce unto foes, enquired of him, saying, "Who is that snake that advanceth of his own accord against me, as if, indeed he advanceth right against the mouth of Garuda?" Krishna replied, "Whilst thou, armed with bow, wert engaged at Khandava in gratifying the god Agni, this snake was then in the sky, his body ensconced within his mother's. Thinking that it was only a single snake that was so staying in the sky, thou killedest the mother. Remembering that act of hostility done by thee, he cometh towards thee today for thy destruction. O resister of foes, behold him coming like a blazing meteor, falling from the firmament!'"

"Sanjaya continued, 'Then Jishnu, turning his face in rage, cut off, with six keen shafts, that snake in the welkin as the latter was coursing in a slanting direction. His body thus cut off, he fell down on the earth. After that snake had been cut off by Arjuna, the lord Keshava himself, O king, of massive arms, that foremost of beings, raised up with his arms that car from the earth. At that time, Karna, glancing obliquely at Dhananjaya, pierced that foremost of persons, viz., Krishna, with ten shafts whetted on stone and equipped with peacock feathers. Then Dhananjaya, piercing Karna with a dozen well-shot and keen arrows equipped with heads like the boar's ear, sped a cloth-yard shaft endued with the energy of a snake of virulent poison and shot from his bow-string stretched to his ear. That foremost of shafts, well shot by Arjuna, penetrated through Karna's armour, and as if suspending his life breaths, drank his blood and entered the earth, its wings also having been drenched with gore. Endued with great activity, Vrisha, enraged at the stroke of the shaft, like a snake beaten with stick, shot many mighty shafts, like snakes of virulent poison vomiting venom. And he pierced Janardana with a dozen shafts and Arjuna with nine and ninety. And once more piercing the son of Pandu with a terrible shaft, Karna laughed and uttered a loud roar. The son of Pandu, however, could not endure his enemy's joy. Acquainted with all the vital parts of the human body, Partha, possessed of prowess like that of Indra, pierced those vital limbs with hundreds of arrows even as Indra had struck Vala with great energy. Then Arjuna sped ninety arrows, each resembling the rod of Death at Karna. Deeply pierced with those shafts, Karna trembled like a mountain riven with thunder. The head-gear of Karna, adorned with costly gems and precious diamonds and pure gold, as also his earrings, cut off by Dhananjaya with his winged arrows, fell down on the earth. The costly and bright armour also of the Suta's son that had been forged with great care by many foremost of artists working for a long time, the son of Pandu cut off within a moment in many fragments. After thus divesting him of his armour, Partha then, in rage, pierced Karna with four whetted shafts of great energy. Struck forcibly by his foe, Karna suffered great pain like a diseased person afflicted by bile, phlegm, wind, and fever. Once more Arjuna, with great speed, mangled Karna, piercing his very vitals, with numerous excellent shafts, of great keenness, and sped from his circling bow with much force and speed and care. Deeply struck by Partha with those diverse arrows of keen points and fierce energy, Karna (covered with blood) looked resplendent like a mountain of red chalk with streams of red water running adown its breast. Once more Arjuna pierced Karna in the centre of the chest with many straight-coursing and strong shafts made entirely of iron and equipped with wings of gold and each resembling the fiery rod of the Destroyer, like the son of Agni piercing the Krauncha mountains. Then the Suta's son, casting aside his bow that resembled the very bow of Sakra, as also his quiver, felt great pain, and stood inactive, stupefied, and reeling, his grasp loosened and himself in great anguish. The virtuous Arjuna, observant of the duty of manliness, wished not to slay his enemy while fallen into such distress. The younger brother of Indra then, with great excitement, addressed him, saying, "Why, O son of Pandu, dost thou become so forgetful? They that are truly wise never spare their foes, however weak, even for a moment. He that is learned earneth both merit and fame by slaying foes fallen into distress. Lose no time in precipitately crushing Karna who is always inimical to thee and who is the first of heroes. The Suta's son, when able, will once more advance against thee as before. Slay him, therefore, like Indra slaying the

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Asura Namuci." Saying, "So be it, O Krishna!" and worshipping Janardana, Arjuna, that foremost of all persons in Kuru's race once more quickly pierced Karna with many excellent arrows like the ruler of heaven, piercing the Asura, Samvara. The diadem-decked Partha, O Bharata, covered Karna and his car and steeds with many calf-toothed arrows, and putting forth all his vigour he shrouded all the points of the compass with shafts equipped with wings of gold. Pierced with those arrows equipped with heads like the calf's tooth, Adhiratha's son of broad chest looked resplendent like an Asoka or Palasa or Salmali decked with its flowery load or a mountain overgrown with a forest of sandal trees. Indeed, with those numerous arrows sticking to his body, Karna, O monarch, in that battle, looked resplendent like the prince of mountains with its top and glens overgrown with trees or decked with flowering Karnikaras. Karna also shooting repeated showers of arrows, looked, with those arrows constituting his rays, like the sun coursing towards the Asta hills, with disc bright with crimson rays. Shafts, however, of keen points, sped from Arjuna's arms, encountering in the welkin the blazing arrows, resembling mighty snakes, sped from the arms of Adhiratha's son, destroyed them all. Recovering his coolness, and shooting many shafts that resembled angry snakes, Karna then pierced Partha with ten shafts and Krishna with half a dozen, each of which looked like an angry snake. Then Dhananjaya desired to shoot a mighty and terrible arrow, made wholly of iron, resembling the poison of snake or fire in energy, and whose whizz resembling the peal of Indra's thunder, and which was inspired with the force of a high (celestial) weapon. At that time, when the hour of Karna's death had come, Kala, approaching invisibly, and alluding to the Brahmana's curse, and desirous of informing Karna that his death was near, told him, "The Earth is devouring thy wheel!" Indeed, O foremost of men, when the hour of Karna's death came, the high brahmastra that the illustrious Bhargava had imparted unto him, escaped from his memory. And the earth also began to devour the left wheel of his car. Then in consequence of the curse of that foremost of Brahmanas, Karna's car began to reel, having sunk deep into the earth and having been transfixed at that spot like a sacred tree with its load of flowers standing upon an elevated platform. When his car began to reel from the curse of the Brahmana, and when the high weapon he had obtained from Rama no longer shone in him through inward light, and when his terrible snake-mouthed shaft also had been cut off by Partha, Karna became filled with melancholy. Unable to endure all those calamities, he waved his arms and began to rail at righteousness saying, "They that are conversant with righteousness always say that righteousness protects those that are righteous. As regards ourselves, we always endeavour, to the best of our ability and knowledge to practise righteousness. That righteousness, however, is destroying us now instead of protecting us that are devoted to it. I, therefore, think that righteousness does not always protect its worshippers." While saying these words, he became exceedingly agitated by the strokes of Arjuna's arrows. His steeds and his driver also were displaced from their usual position. His very vitals having been struck, he became indifferent as to what he did, and repeatedly railed at righteousness in that battle. He then pierced Krishna in the arm with three terrible arrows, and Partha, too, with seven. Then Arjuna sped seven and ten terrible arrows, perfectly straight and of fierce impetuosity, resembling fire in splendour and like unto Indra's thunder in force. Endued with awful impetuosity, those arrows pierced Karna and passing out of his body fell upon the surface of the earth. Trembling at the shock, Karna then displayed his activity to the utmost of his power. Steadying himself by a powerful effort he invoked the brahmastra. Beholding the brahmastra, Arjuna invoked the Aindra weapon with proper mantras. Inspiring gandiva, its string, and his shafts also, with mantras, that scorcher of foes poured showers like Purandara pouring rain in torrents. Those arrows endued with great energy and power, issuing out of Partha's car, were seen to be displayed in the vicinity of Karna's vehicle. The mighty car-warrior Karna baffled all those shafts displayed in his front. Seeing that weapon thus destroyed, the Vrishni hero, addressing Arjuna, said, "Shoot high weapons, O Partha! The son of Radha baffles thy shafts." With proper mantras, Arjuna then fixed the brahmastra on his string, and shrouding all the points of the compass with arrows, Partha struck Karna (with many) arrows. Then Karna, with a number of whetted shafts endued with great energy, cut off the string of Arjuna's bow. Similarly he cut off the second string, and then the third, and then the fourth, and then the fifth. The sixth also was cut off by Vrisha, and then the seventh, then the eighth, then the ninth, then the tenth, and then at last the eleventh. Capable of shooting hundreds upon hundreds of arrows, Karna knew not that Partha had a hundred strings to his bow. Tying another string to his bow and shooting many arrows, the son of Pandu covered Karna with shafts that resembled snakes of blazing mouths. So quickly did Arjuna replace each broken string that Karna could not mark when it was broken and when replaced. The feat seemed to him to be exceedingly wonderful. The son of Radha baffled with his own weapons those of Savyasaci. Displaying also his own prowess, he seemed to get the better of Dhananjaya at that time. Then Krishna, beholding Arjuna afflicted with the weapons of Karna, said these words unto Partha: "Approaching Karna, strike him with superior weapons." Then Dhananjaya, filled with rage, inspiring with mantras another celestial weapons that looked like fire and that resembled the poison of the snake and that was as hard as the essence of adamant, and uniting the Raudra weapon with it, became desirous of shooting it at his foe. At that time, O king, the earth swallowed up one of wheels of Karna's car. Quickly alighting then from his vehicle, he seized his sunken wheel with his two arms and endeavoured to lift it up with a great effort. Drawn up with force by Karna, the earth, which had swallowed up his wheel, rose up to a height of four fingers' breadth, with her seven islands and her hills and waters and forests. Seeing his wheel swallowed, the son of Radha shed tears from wrath, and beholding Arjuna, filled with rage he said these words, "O Partha, O Partha, wait for a moment, that is, till I lift this sunken wheel. Beholding, O Partha, the left wheel of my car swallowed through accident by the earth, abandon (instead of cherishing) this purpose (of striking and slaying me) that is capable of being harboured by only a coward. Brave warriors that are observant of the practices of the righteous, never shoot their weapons at persons with dishevelled hair, or at those that have turned their faces from battle, or at a Brahmana, or at him who joins his palms, or at him who yields himself up or beggeth for quarter or at one who has put up his weapon, or at one whose arrows are exhausted, or at one whose armour is displaced, or at one whose weapon has fallen off or been broken! Thou art the bravest of men in the world. Thou art also of righteous behaviour, O son of Pandu! Thou art well-acquainted with the rules of battle. For these reasons, excuse me for a moment, that is, till I extricate my wheel, O Dhananjaya, from the earth. Thyself staying on thy car and myself standing weak and languid on the earth, it behoveth thee not to slay me now. Neither Vasudeva, nor thou, O son of Pandu, inspirest me with the slightest fear. Thou art born in the Kshatriya order. Thou art the perpetuator of a high race. Recollecting the teachings of righteousness, excuse me for a moment, O son of Pandu!""

SECTION 91

"Sanjaya said, 'Then Vasudeva, stationed on the car, addressed Karna, saying, "By good luck it is, O son of Radha, that thou rememberest virtue! It is generally seen that they that are mean, when they sink into distress, rail at Providence but never at their own misdeeds. Thyself and Suyodhana and Duhshasana and Shakuni, the son of Subala, had caused Draupadi, clad in a single piece of raiment, to be brought into the midst of the assembly. On that occasion, O Karna, this virtue of thine did not manifest itself. When at the assembly Shakuni, an adept in dice, vanquished Kunti's son Yudhishthira who was unacquainted with it, whither had this virtue of thine gone? When the Kuru king (Duryodhana), acting under thy counsels, treated Bhimasena in that way with the aid of snakes and poisoned food, whither had this virtue of thine then gone? When the period of exile into the woods was over as also the thirteenth year, thou didst not make over to the Pandavas their kingdom. Whither had this virtue of thine then gone? Thou didst set fire to the house of lac at Varanavata for burning to death the sleeping Pandavas. Whither then, O son of Radha, had this virtue of thine gone? Thou laughedest at Krishna while she stood in the midst of the assembly, scantily dressed because in her season and obedient to Duhshasana's will, whither, then, O Karna, had this virtue of thine gone? When from the apartment reserved for the females innocent Krishna was dragged, thou didst not interfere. Whither, O son of Radha, had this virtue of thine gone? Thyself addressing the princess Draupadi, that lady whose tread is as dignified as that of the elephant, in these words, viz., 'The Pandavas, O Krishna, are lost. They have sunk into eternal hell. Do thou choose another husband!' thou lookedest on the scene with delight. Whither then, O Karna, had this virtue of thine gone? Covetous of kingdom and relying on the ruler of the Gandharvas, thou summonedest the Pandavas (to a match of dice). Whither then had this virtue of thine gone? When many mighty car-warriors, encompassing the boy Abhimanyu in battle, slew him, whither had this virtue of thine then gone? If this virtue that thou now invokest was nowhere on those occasions, what is the use then of parching thy palate now, by uttering that word? Thou art now for the practice of virtue, O Suta, but thou shalt not escape with life. Like Nala who was defeated by Pushkara with the aid of dice but who regained his kingdom by prowess, the Pandavas, who are free from cupidity, will recover their kingdom by the prowess of their arms, aided with all their friends. Having slain in battle their powerful foes, they, with the Somakas, will recover their kingdom. The Dhartarashtras will meet with destruction at the hands of those lions among men (viz., the sons of Pandu), that are always protected by virtue!""

"Sanjaya continued, 'Thus addressed, O Bharata, by Vasudeva, Karna hung down his head in shame and gave no answer. With lips quivering in rage, he raised his bow, O Bharata, and, being endued with great energy and prowess, he continued to fight with Partha. Then Vasudeva, addressing Phalguna, that bull among men, said, "O thou of great might, piercing Karna with a celestial weapon, throw him down." Thus addressed by the holy one, Arjuna became filled with rage. Indeed, remembering the incidents alluded to by Krishna, Dhananjaya blazed up with fury. Then, O king, blazing flames of fire seemed to emanate from all the pores of the angry Partha's body. The sight seemed to be exceedingly wonderful. Beholding it, Karna, invoking the brahmastra, showered his shafts upon Dhananjaya, and once more made an effort to extricate his car. Partha also, by the aid of the brahmastra, poured arrowy downpours upon Karna. Baffling with his own weapon the weapon of his foe, the son of Pandu continued to strike him. The son of Kunti then, aiming at Karna sped another favourite weapon of his that was inspired with the energy of Agni. Sped by Arjuna, that weapon blazed up with its own energy. Karna, however, quenched that conflagration with the Varuna weapon. The Suta's son also, by the clouds he created, caused all the points of the compass to be shrouded with a darkness such as may be seen on a rainy day. The son of Pandu, endued with great energy, fearlessly dispelled those clouds by means of the Vayavya weapon in the very sight of Karna. The Suta's son then, for slaying the son of Pandu, took up a terrible arrow blazing like fire. When that adored shaft was fixed on the bow-string, the earth, O king, trembled with her mountains and waters and forests. Violent winds began to blow, bearing hard pebbles. All the points of the compass became enveloped with dust. Wails of grief, O Bharata, arose among the gods in the welkin. Beholding that shaft aimed by the Suta's son, O sire, the Pandavas, with cheerless hearts, gave themselves up to great sorrow. That shaft of keen point and endued with the effulgence of Sakra's thunder, sped from Karna's arms, fell upon Dhananjaya's chest and penetrated it like a mighty snake penetrating an ant-hill. That grinder of foes, viz., the high-souled Vibhatsu, thus deeply pierced in that encounter, began to reel. His grasp became loosened, at which his bow Gandiva dropped from his hand. He trembled like the prince of mountains in an earthquake. Availing himself of that opportunity, the mighty car-warrior Vrisha, desirous of extricating his car-wheel that had been swallowed up by the earth, jumped down from his vehicle. Seizing the wheel with his two arms he endeavoured to drag it up, but though possessed of great strength, he failed in his efforts, as destiny would have it. Meanwhile the diadem-decked and high-souled Arjuna, recovering his senses, took up a shaft, fatal as the rod of Death, and called anjalika. Then Vasudeva, addressing Partha, said, "Cut off with thy arrow the head of this enemy of thine, viz., Vrisha, before he succeeds in getting upon his car." Applauding those words of the lord Vasudeva, and while the wheel of his enemy was still sunk, the mighty car-warrior Arjuna took up a razor-headed arrow of blazing effulgence and struck the standard (of Karna) bearing the elephant's rope and bright as the spotless sun. That standard bearing the device of the costly elephant's rope, was adorned with gold and pearls and gems and diamonds, and forged with care by foremost of artists excelling in knowledge, and possessed of great beauty, and variegated with pure gold. That standard always used to fill thy troops with high courage and the enemy with fear. Its form commanded applause. Celebrated over the whole world, it resembled the sun in splendour. Indeed, its effulgence was like that of fire or the sun or the moon. The diadem-decked Arjuna, with that razor-headed shaft, exceedingly sharp, equipped with wings of gold, possessed of the splendour of fire when fed with libations of clarified butter, and blazing with beauty, cut off that standard of Adhiratha's son, that great car-warrior. With that standard, as it fell, the fame, pride, hope of victory, and everything dear, as also the hearts of the Kurus, fell, and loud wails of "Oh!" and "Alas!" arose (from the Kuru army). Beholding that standard cut off and thrown down by that hero of Kuru's race possessed of great lightness of hand, thy troops, O Bharata, were no longer hopeful of Karna's victory. Hastening then for Karna's destruction, Partha took out from his quiver an excellent Anjalika weapon that resembled the thunder of Indra or the rod of fire and that was possessed of the effulgence of the thousand-rayed Sun. Capable of penetrating the very vitals, besmeared with blood and flesh, resembling fire or the sun, made of costly materials, destructive of men, steeds, and elephants, of straight course and fierce impetuosity, it measured three cubits and six feet. Endued with the force of the thousand-eyed Indra's thunder, irresistible as Rakshasas in the night, resembling Pinaka or Narayana's discus, it was exceedingly terrible and destructive of all living creatures. Partha cheerfully took up that great weapon, in the shape of an arrow, which could not be resisted by the very gods, that high-souled being which was always adored by the son of Pandu, and which was capable of vanquishing the very gods and the Asuras. Beholding that shaft grasped by Partha in that battle, the entire universe shook with its mobile and

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immobile creatures. Indeed, seeing that weapon raised (for being sped) in that dreadful battle, the Rishis loudly cried out, "Peace be to the universe!" The wielder of Gandiva then fixed on his bow that unrivalled arrow, uniting it with a high and mighty weapon. Drawing his bow Gandiva, he quickly said, "Let this shaft of mine be like a mighty weapon capable of quickly destroying the body and heart of my enemy, if I have ever practised ascetic austerities, gratified my superiors, and listened to the counsels of well-wishers. Let this shaft, worshipped by me and possessed of great sharpness, slay my enemy Karna by that Truth." Having said these words Dhananjaya let off that terrible shaft for the destruction of Karna, that arrow fierce and efficacious as a rite prescribed in the Atharvan of Angiras, blazing with effulgence, and incapable of being endured by Death himself in battle. And the diadem-decked Partha, desirous of slaying Karna, with great cheerfulness, said, "Let this shaft conduce to my victory. Shot by me, let this arrow possessed of the splendour of fire or the sun take Karna to the presence of Yama." Saying these words, Arjuna, decked with diadem and garlands, cherishing feelings of hostility towards Karna and desirous of slaying him, cheerfully struck his foe with that foremost of shafts which was possessed of the splendour of the sun or the moon and capable of bestowing victory. Thus sped by that mighty warrior, that shaft endued with the energy of the sun caused all the points of the compass to blaze up with light. With that weapon Arjuna struck off his enemy's head like Indra striking off the head of Vritra with his thunder. Indeed, O king, with that excellent Anjalika weapon inspired with mantras into a mighty weapon, the son of Indra cut off the head of Vaikartana in the afternoon. Thus cut off with that Anjalika, the trunk of Karna fell down on the earth. The head also of that commander of the (Kaurava) army, endued with splendour equal to that of the risen sun and resembling the meridian sun of autumn, fell down on the earth like the sun of bloody disc dropped down from the Asta hills. Indeed, that head abandoned with great unwillingness the body, exceedingly beautiful and always nursed in luxury, of Karna of noble deeds, like an owner abandoning with great unwillingness his commodious mansion filled with great wealth. Cut off with Arjuna's arrow, and deprived of life, the tall trunk of Karna endued with great splendour, with blood issuing from every wound, fell down like the thunder-riven summit of a mountain of red chalk with crimson streams running down its sides after a shower. Then from that body of the fallen Karna a light passing through the welkin penetrated the sun. This wonderful sight, O king, was beheld by the human warriors after the fall of Karna. Then the Pandavas, beholding Karna slain by Phalguna, loudly blew their conchs. Similarly, Krishna and Dhananjaya also, filled with delight, and losing no time, blew their conchs. The Somakas beholding Karna slain and lying on the field, were filled with joy and uttered loud shouts with the other troops (of the Pandava army). In great delight they blew their trumpets and waved their arms and garments. All the warriors, O king, approaching Partha, began to applaud him joyfully. Others, possessed of might, danced, embracing each other, and uttering loud shouts, said, "By good luck, Karna hath been stretched on the earth and mangled with arrows." Indeed, the severed head of Karna looked beautiful like a mountain summit loosened by a tempest, or a quenched fire after the sacrifice is over, or the image of the sun after it has reached the Asta hills. The Karna-sun, with arrows for its rays, after having scorched the hostile army, was at last caused to be set by the mighty Arjuna-time. As the Sun, while proceeding towards the Asta hills, retires taking away with him all his rays, even so that shaft (of Arjuna) passed out, taking with it Karna's life breaths. The death hour of the Suta's son, O sire, was the afternoon of that day. Cut off with the Anjalika weapon in that battle, the head of Karna fell down along with his body. Indeed, that arrow of Arjuna, in the very sight of the Kaurava troops, quickly took away the head and the body of Karna. Beholding the heroic Karna thrown down stretched on the earth, pierced with arrows and bathed in blood, the king of the Madras, went away on that car deprived of its standard. After the fall of Karna, the Kauravas, deeply pierced with shafts in that battle, and afflicted with fear, fled away from the field, frequently casting their eyes on that lofty standard of Arjuna that blazed with splendour. The beautiful head, graced with a face that resembled a lotus of a 1,000 petals, of Karna whose feats were like those of the thousand-eyed Indra, fell down on the earth like the thousand-rayed sun as he looks at the close of day.'"

SECTION 92

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding the troops crushed with arrows in that encounter between Karna and Arjuna, Shalya proceeded, filled with wrath, on that car divested of equipment. Beholding his army deprived of the Suta's son and its cars and steeds and elephants destroyed, Duryodhana, with eyes bathed in tears, repeatedly sighed the very picture of woe. Desirous of beholding the heroic Karna, pierced with arrows and bathed in blood, and stretched on the earth like the sun dropped from the skies at will, the warriors came there and stood surrounding the fallen hero. Amongst those belonging to the enemy and thy army that thus stood there, some showed signs of joy, some of fear, some of sorrow, some of wonder, and some gave themselves up to great grief, according to their respective natures. Others amongst the Kauravas, hearing that Karna of mighty energy had been slain by Dhananjaya, his armour, ornaments, robes, and weapons having all been displaced, fled in fear like a herd of kine afflicted with exceeding fear at losing its bull. Bhima then, uttering loud roars and causing the welkin to tremble with those awful and tremendous shouts, began to slap his armpits, jump, and dance, frightening the Dhartarashtras by those movements. The Somakas and the Srinjayas also loudly blew their conchs. All the Kshatriyas embraced one another in joy, upon beholding the Suta's son slain at that juncture. Having fought a dreadful battle, Karna was slain by Arjuna like an elephant by a lion. That bull among men, Arjuna, thus accomplished his vow. Indeed even thus, Partha reached the end of his hostility (towards Karna). The ruler of the Madras, with stupefied heart, quickly proceeding, O king, to the side of Duryodhana, on that car divested of standard said in sorrow these words, "The elephants, the steeds, and the foremost of car-warriors of thy army have been slain. In consequence of those mighty warriors, and steeds, and elephants huge as hills, having been slain after coming into contact with one another, thy host looks like the domains of Yama. Never before, O Bharata, has a battle been fought like that between Karna and Arjuna today. Karna had powerfully assailed the two Krishnas today and all others who are thy foes. Destiny, however, has certainly flowed, controlled by Partha. It is for this that Destiny is protecting the Pandavas and weakening us. Many are the heroes who, resolved to accomplish thy objects have been forcibly slain by the enemy. Brave kings, who in energy, courage, and might, were equal to Kuvera or Yama or Vasava or the Lord of the waters, who were possessed of every merit, who were almost unslayable, and who were desirous of achieving thy object, have in battle been slain by the Pandavas. Do not, O Bharata, grieve for this. This is Destiny. Comfort thyself. Success cannot be always attained." Hearing these words of the ruler of the Madras and reflecting on his own evil doings. Duryodhana, with a cheerless heart, became almost deprived of his senses and sighed repeatedly the very picture of woe.'"

SECTION 93

"Dhritarashtra said, 'What was the aspect of the Kuru and the Srinjaya host on that awful day while it was crushed with arrows and scorched (with weapons) in that encounter between Karna and Arjuna and while it was flying away from the field?'

"Sanjaya said, 'Hear, O king, with attention how that awful and great carnage of human beings and elephants and steeds occurred in battle. When, after Karna's fall Partha uttered leonine shouts, a great fright entered the hearts of thy sons. Upon the fall of Karna no warrior of thy army set his heart on rallying the troops or putting forth his prowess. Their refuge having been destroyed by Arjuna, they were then like raftless merchants, whose vessels have wrecked on the fathomless ocean, desirous of crossing the uncrossable main. After the slaughter of the Suta's son, O king, the Kauravas, terrified and mangled with shafts, masterless and desirous of protection, became like a herd of elephants afflicted by lions. Vanquished by Savyasaci on that afternoon, they fled away like bulls with broken horns or snakes with broken fangs. Their foremost of heroes slain, their troops thrown into confusion, themselves mangled with keen arrows, thy sons, after the fall of Karna, O king, fled away in fear. Divested of weapons and armour, no longer able to ascertain which point of the compass was which, and deprived of their senses, they crushed one another in course of their flight and looked at one another, afflicted with fear. "It is me that Vibhatsu is pursuing with speed!" "It is me that Vrikodara is pursuing with speed!"--thought every one among the Kauravas who became pale with fear and fell down as they fled. Some on horses, some on cars, some on elephants, and some on foot, mighty car-warriors, endued with great speed, fled away in fear. Cars were broken by elephants, horsemen were crushed by great car-warriors, and bands of foot-soldiers were trodden down by bodies of horsemen, as these fled in fear. After the fall of the Suta's son, thy warriors became like people without protectors in a forest teeming with beasts of prey and robbers. They were then like elephants without riders and men without arms. Afflicted with fear, they looked upon the world as if it were full of Partha. Beholding them fly away afflicted with the fear of Bhimasena, indeed, and seeing his troops thus leave the field in thousands, Duryodhana, uttering cries of "Oh!" and "Alas!" addressed his driver, saying, "Partha will never be able to transgress me standing bow in hand. Urge my steeds slowly behind all the troops. Without doubt, if I fight standing in the rear of the army, the son of Kunti will never be able to transgress me even as the vast deep is unable to transgress its continents. Slaying Arjuna and Govinda and the proud Vrikodara and the rest of my foes, I will free myself from the debt I owe to Karna." Hearing these words of the Kuru king that were so worthy of a hero and honourable man, the charioteer slowly urged his steeds adorned with trappings of gold. Then 25,000 warriors on foot, belonging to thy army, without cars and cavalry and elephants among them, prepared for battle. Bhimasena, filled with wrath, and Dhrishtadyumna the son of Prishata, encompassed them with four kinds of forces and began to strike them with their shafts. In return, those warriors fought with Bhima and Prishata's son. Some amongst them challenged the two heroes by name. Then Bhimasena became filled with rage. Alighting from his car, mace in hand, he fought with those warriors arrived for battle. Observant of the rules of fair fight, Vrikodara, the son of Kunti, came down from his car, and relying upon the might of his arms, began to fight on foot with those foes of his that were on foot. Taking up his massive mace adorned with gold, he began to slaughter them all, like the Destroyer armed with his bludgeon. The Kaurava warriors on foot, filled with rage and becoming reckless of their lives, rushed against Bhima in that battle like insects upon a blazing fire. Those infuriated combatants, difficult of being defeated in battle, approaching Bhimasena, perished in a trice like living creatures upon seeing the Destroyer. The mighty Bhima, armed with a mace, careered like a hawk and destroyed all those 25,000 combatants. Having slain that division of heroic warriors, Bhima, of prowess incapable of being baffled and of great might, once more stood, with Dhrishtadyumna before him. Possessed of great energy, Dhananjaya proceeded against the (remnant of the) car-force (of the Kauravas). The two sons of Madri, and Satyaki, filled with joy, rushed with speed against Shakuni and slaughtered the troops of Subala's son. Having slain with keen shafts his cavalry and elephants in that encounter, they rushed impetuously against Shakuni himself, upon which a great battle took place. Meanwhile Dhananjaya, O lord, proceeding against thy car-force, twanged his bow Gandiva celebrated over the three worlds. Beholding that car having white steeds yoked unto it and owning Krishna for its driver, and seeing that Arjuna was the warrior standing on it, thy troops fled away in fear. 25,000 soldiers on foot, deprived of cars and mangled with shafts, had perished (at the hands of Bhima and Dhrishtadyumna). Having slain them, that tiger among men, that great car-warrior among the Pancalas, viz., the high-souled Dhrishtadyumna the son of the Pancala king, soon showed himself, with Bhimasena before him. That slayer of foes and mighty bowman appeared exceedingly handsome. Beholding Dhrishtadyumna's car which had steeds white as pigeons yoked unto it and whose lofty standard was made of the trunk of a Kovidara, the Kauravas fled away in great fear. The twins (Nakula and Sahadeva) of great fame, and Satyaki, having pursued with great speed the king of the Gandharvas who was possessed of lightness of hands in the use of weapons, re-appeared (amid the Pandava ranks). Chekitana and Shikhandi and the (five) sons of Draupadi, O sire, having slaughtered thy vast army, blew their conchs. All those heroes, although they saw thy troops flying away with faces turned from the field, still pursued them, like bulls pursuing angry bulls after vanquishing them. Pandu's son Savyasaci of great might, O king, beholding a remnant of thy army still standing for battle, became filled with wrath. Possessed of great energy, Dhananjaya, rushed against that car-force, drawing his bow Gandiva celebrated over the three worlds. Suddenly he shrouded them with showers of arrows. The dust that was raised darkened the scene and nothing could any longer be distinguished. When the earth was thus shrouded with dust and when darkness covered everything, thy troops, O king, fled on all sides from fear. When the Kuru army was thus broken, the Kuru king, O monarch, viz., thy son, rushed against all his foes advancing against him. Then Duryodhana challenged all the Pandavas to battle, O chief of Bharata's race, like the Asura Vali in days of yore challenging the gods. At this, all the Pandava heroes, uniting together, rushed against the advancing Duryodhana, shooting and hurling at him diverse weapons and upbraiding him repeatedly. Duryodhana, however, filled with rage, fearlessly slaughtered those enemies of his in hundreds and thousands, with keen shafts. The prowess that we then beheld of thy son was exceedingly wonderful, for alone and unsupported, he fought with all the Pandavas united together. Duryodhana then beheld his own troops who, mangled with arrows, had set their hearts on flight, gone not far from the field. Rallying them then, O monarch, thy son who was resolved to maintain his honour, gladdening those warriors of his, said these words unto them: "I do not see that spot in the earth or on the mountains, whither if ye fly, the Pandavas will not slay you! What use then in flying away? Small is the force that the Pandavas now have. The two Krishnas also are exceedingly mangled. If all of us stay for battle, victory will certainly be ours. If we fly in disunion, the sinful Pandavas, pursuing us, will certainly slay all of us. For this, it is better that we should die in battle. Death in battle is fraught with happiness. Fight, observant of the Kshatriya's duty. He that is dead knows no misery. On the other hand, such a one enjoys eternal bliss hereafter. Listen, ye Kshatriyas, ay, all of you, that are assembled here! When the destroyer Yama spareth neither the

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hero nor the coward, who is there so foolish of understanding, although observant of a Kshatriya's vow like us, that would not fight. Would ye place yourselves under the power of the angry foe Bhimasena? It behoveth you not to abandon the duty observed by your sires and grandsires. There is no greater sin for a Kshatriya than flight from battle. There is no more blessed path for heaven, ye Kauravas, than the duty of battle. Slain in battle, ye warriors, enjoy heaven without delay.'"

"Sanjaya continued, 'While even these words were being uttered by thy son, the (Kaurava) warriors, exceedingly mangled, fled away on all sides, regardless of that speech.'"

SECTION 94

"Sanjaya said, 'The ruler of the Madras then, beholding thy son employed in rallying the troops, with fear depicted on his countenance and with heart stupefied with grief, said these words unto Duryodhana.

"'Shalya said, "Behold this awful field of battle, O hero, covered with heaps of slain men and steeds and elephants. Some tracts are covered with fallen elephants huge as mountains, exceedingly mangled, their vital limbs pierced with shafts, lying helplessly, deprived of life, their armour displaced and the weapons, the shields and the swords with which they were equipped lying scattered about. These fallen animals resemble huge mountains riven with thunder, with their rocks and lofty trees and herbs loosened from them and lying all around. The bells and iron hooks and lances and standards with which those huge creatures had been equipped are lying on the ground. Adorned with housings of gold, their bodies are now bathed in blood. Some tracts, again, are covered with fallen steeds, mangled with shafts, breathing hard in pain and vomitting blood. Some of them are sending forth soft wails of pain, some are biting the earth with rolling eyes and some are uttering piteous neighs. Portions of the field are covered with horsemen and elephant-warriors fallen off from their animals, and with bands of car-warriors forcibly thrown down from their cars. Some of them are already dead and some are at the point of death. Covered also with the corpses of men and steeds and elephants as also with crushed cars and other huge elephants with their trunks and limbs cut off, the earth has become awful to look at like the great Vaitarani (skirting the domains of Yama). Indeed, the earth looketh even such, being strewn with other elephants, stretched on the ground with trembling bodies and broken tusks, vomiting blood, uttering soft cries in pain, deprived of the warriors on their backs, divested of the armour that covered their limbs, and reft of the foot-soldiers that protected their flank and rear, and with their quivers and banners and standards displaced, their bodies adorned with housings of gold struck deep with the weapons of the foe. The earth looked like the cloud-covered welkin in consequence of being strewn with the fallen bodies of elephant-warriors and horse-men and carwarriors, all of great fame, and of foot-soldiers slain by foes fighting face to face, and divested of armour and ornaments and attire and weapons. Covered with thousands of fallen combatants mangled with arrows, fully exposed to view, and deprived of consciousness, with some amongst them whose breaths were returning slowly, the earth seemed as if covered with many extinguished fires. With those foremost of heroes among both the Kurus and the Srinjayas, pierced with arrows and deprived of life by Partha and Karna, the earth seemed as if strewn with blazing planets fallen from the firmament, or like the nocturnal firmament itself bespangled with blazing planets of serene light. The shafts sped from the arms of Karna and Arjuna, piercing through the bodies of elephants and steeds and men and quickly stilling their lives, entered the earth like mighty snakes entering their holes with heads bent downwards. The earth has become impassable with heaps of slain men and steeds and elephants, and with cars broken with the shafts of Dhananjaya and Adhiratha's son and with the numberless shafts themselves shot by them. Strewn with well-equipped cars crushed by means of mighty shafts along with the warriors and the weapons and the standards upon them, cars, that is, with their traces broken, their joints separated, their axles and yokes and Trivenus reduced to fragments, their wheels loosened, their Upaskaras destroyed, their Anukarsanas cut in pieces, the fastenings of their quivers cut off, and their niches (for the accommodation of drivers) broken, strewn with those vehicles adorned with gems and gold, the earth looks like the firmament overspread with autumnal clouds. In consequence of well-equipped royal cars deprived of riders and dragged by fleet steeds, as also of men and elephants and cars and horses that fled very quickly, the army has been broken in diverse ways. Spiked maces with golden bells, battle-axes, sharp lances, heavy clubs, mallets, bright unsheathed swords, and maces covered with cloth of gold, have fallen on the field. Bows decked with ornaments of gold, and shafts equipped with beautiful wings of pure gold, and bright unsheathed rapiers of excellent temper, and lances, and scimitars bright as gold, and umbrellas, and fans, and conchs, and arms decked with excellent flowers and gold, and caparisons of elephants, and standards, and car fences and diadems, and necklaces, and brilliant crowns, and yak-tails lying about, O king, and garlands luminous with corals and pearls, and chaplets for the head, and bracelets for both the wrist and the upper arms, and collars for the neck with strings of gold, and diverse kinds of costly diamonds and gems and pearls, and bodies brought up in a great luxury, and heads beautiful as the moon, are lying scattered about. Abandoning their bodies and enjoyments and robes and diverse kinds of agreeable pleasures, and acquiring great merit for the devotion they showed to the virtuous of their order, they have speedily gone in a blaze of flame to regions of bliss. Turn back, O Duryodhana! Let the troops retire! O king, O giver of honours, proceed towards thy camp! There, the Sun is hanging low in the welkin, O lord! Remember, O ruler of men, that thou art the cause of all this!"

"'Having said these words unto Duryodhana, Shalya, with heart filled with grief, stopped. Duryodhana, however, at that time, deeply afflicted and deprived of his senses, and with eyes bathed in tears, wept for the Suta's son, saying, "Karna! Oh Karna!" Then all the kings headed by Drona's son, repeatedly comforting Duryodhana, proceeded towards the camp, frequently looking back at the lofty standard of Arjuna that seemed to be ablaze with his fame. At that terrible hour when everything around looked so resplendent, the Kauravas, all of whom had resolved to repair to the other world, their features incapable of recognition owing to the blood that covered them, beholding the earth, that was drenched with the blood flowing from the bodies of men and steeds and elephants, looking like a courtesan attired in crimson robes and floral garlands and ornaments of gold, were unable, O king, to stand there! Filled with grief at the slaughter of Karna, they indulged in loud lamentations, saying, "Alas, Karna! Alas Karna!" Beholding the Sun assume a crimson hue, all of them speedily proceeded towards their camp. As regards Karna, though slain and pierced with gold-winged shafts whetted on stone and equipped with feathers and dyed in blood and sped from gandiva, yet that hero, lying on the ground, looked resplendent like the Sun himself of bright rays. It seemed that illustrious Surya, ever kind to his worshippers, having touched with his rays the gore-drenched body of Karna, proceeded, with aspect crimson in grief, to the other ocean from desire of a bath. Thinking so, the throngs of celestials and rishis (that had come there for witnessing the battle) left the scene for proceeding to their respective abodes. The large crowd of other beings also, entertaining the same thought, went away, repairing as they chose to heaven or the earth. The foremost of Kuru heroes also, having beheld that wonderful battle between Dhananjaya and Adhiratha's son, which had inspired all living creatures with dread, proceeded (to their nightly quarters), filled with wonder and applauding (the encounter). Though his armour had been cut off with arrows, and though he had been slain in course of that dreadful fight, still that beauty of features which the son of Radha possessed did not abandon him when dead. Indeed, everyone beheld the body of the hero to resemble heated gold. It seemed to be endued with life and possessed of the effulgence of fire or the sun. All the warriors, O king, were inspired with fright at sight of the Suta's son lying dead on the field, like other animals at sight of the lion. Indeed, though dead, that tiger among men seemed ready to utter his commands. Nothing, in that illustrious dead, seemed changed. Clad in beautiful attire, and possessed of a neck that was very beautiful, the Suta's son owned a face which resembled the full moon in splendour. Adorned with diverse ornaments and decked with Angadas made of bright gold, Vaikartana, though slain, lay stretched like a gigantic tree adorned with branches and twigs. Indeed, that tiger among men lay like a heap of pure gold, or like a blazing fire extinguished with the water of Partha's shafts. Even as a blazing conflagration is extinguished when it comes in contact with water, the Karna-conflagration was extinguished by the Partha-cloud in the battle. Having shot showers of arrows and scorched the ten points of the compass, that tiger among men, viz., Karna, along with his sons, was quieted by Partha's energy. He left the world, taking away with him that blazing glory of his own which he had earned on earth by fair fight. Having scorched the Pandavas and the Pancalas with the energy of his weapons, having poured showers of arrows and burnt the hostile divisions, having, indeed, heated the universe like the thousand-rayed Surya of great beauty, Karna, otherwise called Vaikartana, left the world, with his sons and followers. Thus fell that hero who was a Kalpa tree unto those swarms of birds represented by suitors. Solicited by suitors he always said, "I give" but never the words "I have not!" The righteous always regarded him as a righteous person. Even such was Vrisha who fell in single combat. All the wealth of that high-souled person had been dedicated to the Brahmanas. There was nothing, not even his life, that he could not give away unto the Brahmanas. He was ever the favourite of ladies, exceedingly liberal, and a mighty car-warrior. Burnt by the weapons of Partha, he attained to the highest end. He, relying upon whom thy son had provoked hostilities, thus went to heaven, taking away with him the hope of victory, the happiness, and the armour of the Kauravas. When Karna fell, the rivers stood still. The Sun set with a pale hue. The planet Mercury, the son of Soma, assuming the hue of fire or the Sun, appeared to course through the firmament in a slanting direction. The firmament seemed to be rent in twain; the earth uttered loud roars; violent and awful winds began to blow. All the points of the horizon, covered with smoke, seemed to be ablaze. The great oceans were agitated and uttered awful sounds. The mountains with their forests began to tremble, and all creatures, O sire, felt pain. The planet Jupiter, afflicting the constellation Rohini assumed the hue of the moon or the sun. Upon the fall of Karna, the subsidiary points also of the compass became ablaze. The sky became enveloped in darkness. The earth trembled. Meteors of blazing splendour fell. Rakshasas and other wanderers of the night became filled with joy. When Arjuna, with that razor-faced shaft, struck off Karna's head adorned with a face beautiful as the moon, then, O king, loud cries of "Oh!" and "Alas!" were heard of creatures in heaven, in the welkin, and on the earth. Having in battle slain his foe Karna who was worshipped by the gods, the gandharvas, and human beings, Pritha's son Arjuna looked resplendent in his energy like the deity of a 1,000 eyes after the slaughter of Vritra. Then riding on that car of theirs whose rattle resembled the roar of the clouds and whose splendour was like that of the meridian sun of the autumnal sky, which was adorned with banners and equipped with a standard incessantly producing an awful noise, whose effulgence resembled that of the snow or the Moon or the conch or the crystal, and whose steeds were like those of Indra himself, those two foremost of men, viz., the son of Pandu and the crusher of Keshi, whose energy resembled that of the great Indra, and who were adorned with gold and pearls and gems and diamonds and corals, and who were like fire or the sun in splendour, fearlessly careered over the field of battle with great speed, like Vishnu and Vasava mounted on the same chariot. Forcibly divesting the enemy of his splendour by means of the twang of gandiva and the slaps of their palms, and slaying the Kurus with showers of shafts, the Ape-bannered Arjuna, the Garuda-bannered Krishna, both of whom were possessed of immeasurable prowess, those two foremost of men, filled with joy, took up with their hands their loud-sounding conchs adorned with gold and white as snow, and placing them against their lips, blew simultaneously with those beautiful mouths of theirs, piercing the hearts of their foes with the sound. The blare of pancajanya and that of devadatta filled the earth, the sky, and heaven.

At the sound of the heroic Madhava's conch as also at that of Arjuna's, all the Kauravas, O best of kings, became filled with fright. Those foremost of men, causing the forests, the mountains, the rivers and the points of the compass to resound with the blare of their conchs, and filling the army of thy son with fright, gladdened Yudhishthira therewith. As soon as the Kauravas heard the blare of those conchs that were thus being blown, all of them left the field with great speed, deserting the ruler of the Madras and the chief of the Bharatas, O Bharata, viz., Duryodhana. Then diverse creatures, uniting together, congratulated Dhananjaya, that hero shining resplendent on the field of battle, as also Janardana, those two foremost of men who then looked like a couple of risen suns. Pierced with Karna's arrows, those two chastisers of foes, Acyuta and Arjuna, looked resplendent like the bright and many-rayed moon and the sun risen after dispelling a gloom. Casting off those arrows, those two mighty warriors, both endued with unrivalled prowess, surrounded by well-wishers and friends, happily entered their own encampment, like the lords Vasava and Vishnu duly invoked by sacrificial priests. Upon the slaughter of Karna in that dreadful battle, the gods, gandharvas, human beings, caranas, great rishis, yakshas, and great nagas, worshipped Krishna and Arjuna with great respect and wished them victory (in all things). Having received all their friends then, each according to his age, and applauded by those friends in return for their incomparable feats, the two heroes rejoiced with their friends, like the chief of the celestials and Vishnu after the overthrow of Vali.'"

SECTION 95

"Sanjaya said, 'Upon the fall of Karna otherwise called Vaikartana, the Kauravas, afflicted with fear, fled away on all sides, casting their eyes on empty space. Indeed, hearing that the heroic Karna had been slain by the foe, all thy troops, stupefied with fear, broke and fled in all directions. Then, O king, the leaders, filled with anxiety, desirous of withdrawing their troops, O Bharata, whose flight had been endeavoured to be checked by thy son. Understanding their wishes, thy son, O bull of Bharata's race, acting according to the advice of Shalya, withdrew the army. Then Kritavarma, O Bharata, surrounded by thy unslaughtered remnant of thy Narayana troops of thy army, quickly proceeded towards the encampment. Surrounded by a 1,000 gandharvas, Shakuni, beholding the son of Adhiratha slain, proceeded quickly towards the encampment. Sharadvata's son, Kripa, O king, surrounded by the large elephant force that resembled a mass of clouds, proceeded quickly towards the encampment. The heroic Ashvatthama, repeatedly drawing deep breaths at the

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sight of the victory of the Pandavas, proceeded quickly towards the encampment. Surrounded by the unslaughtered remnant of the samsaptakas which was still a large force, Susharma also, O king, proceeded, casting his eyes on those terrified soldiers. King Duryodhana, deeply afflicted and deprived of everything, proceeded, his heart filled with grief, and a prey to many cheerless thoughts. Shalya, that foremost of car-warriors, proceeded towards the camp, on that car deprived of standard, casting his eyes on all sides. The other mighty car-warriors of the Bharata army, still numerous, fled quickly, afflicted with fear, filled with shame, and almost deprived of their senses. Indeed seeing Karna overthrown, all the Kauravas fled away quickly, afflicted and anxious with fear, trembling, and with voices choked with tears. The mighty car-warriors of thy army fled away in fear, O chief of Kuru's race, some applauding Arjuna, some applauding Karna. Amongst those thousands of warriors of thy army in that great battle, there was not a single person who had still any wish for fight. Upon the fall of Karna, O monarch, the Kauravas became hopeless of life, kingdom, wives, and wealth. Guiding them with care, O lord, thy son, filled with grief and sorrow, set his heart upon resting them for the night. Those great car-warriors also, O monarch, accepting his orders with bent heads, retired from the field with cheerless hearts and pale faces.'"

SECTION 96

"Sanjaya said, 'After Karna had thus been slain and the Kaurava troops had fled away, he of Dasharha's race, embracing Partha from joy, said unto him these words: "Vritra was slain by thee. Men will talk (in the same breath) of the slaughter of Vritra and Karna in awful battle. Vritra was slain in battle by the deity of great energy with his thunder. Karna hath been slain by thee with bow and sharp arrows. Go, O son of Kunti, and represent, O Bharata, unto king Yudhishthira the Just, this prowess of thine that is capable of procuring thee great fame and that hath become well-known in the world. Having represented unto king Yudhishthira the Just, this slaughter of Karna in battle for compassing which thou hadst been endeavouring for a long course of years, thou wilt be freed from the debt thou owest to the king. During the progress of the battle between thyself and Karna, the son of Dharma once came for beholding the field. Having, however, been deeply and exceedingly pierced (with arrows), he could not stay in battle. The king, that bull among men, then went back to his tent." Partha answered Keshava, that bull of Yadu's race, saying, "So be it!' The latter then cheerfully caused the car of that foremost of car-warriors to turn back. Having said these words unto Arjuna, Krishna addressed the soldiers, saying, "Blessed be ye, stand all of you carefully, facing the foe!" Unto Dhrishtadyumna and Yudhamanyu and the twin sons of Madri and Vrikodara and Yuyudhana, Govinda said, "Ye kings, until we come back having informed the king of Karna's slaughter by Arjuna, stand ye here with care." Having received the permission of these heroes, he then set out for the quarters of the king. With Partha in his company, Govinda beheld Yudhishthira, that tiger among kings, lying on an excellent bed of gold. Both of them then, with great joy, touched the feet of the king. Beholding their joy and the extraordinary wounds on their bodies, Yudhishthira regarded the son of Radha to be dead and rose quickly from his bed. That chastiser of foes, the mighty-armed monarch, having risen from his bed, repeatedly embraced Vasudeva and Arjuna with affection. That descendant of Kuru's race then asked Vasudeva (the particulars of Karna's death). Then the sweet-speeched Vasudeva that descendant of the Yadu race, spoke to him of Karna's death exactly as it had happened. Smiling then, Krishna, otherwise called Acyuta, joined his palms and addressed king Yudhishthira whose foes had been killed saying, "By good luck, the wielder of Gandiva, and Vrikodara, the son of Pandu, and thyself, and the two sons of Madri, are all safe, having been freed from this battle that has been so destructive of heroes and that made the very hair of the body to stand on end. Do thou those acts, O son of Pandu, which should next be done. The Suta's son Karna, possessed of great might and otherwise called Vaikartana, hath been slain. By good luck, victory hath become thine, O king of kings. By good luck, thou growest, O son of Pandu! The Earth drinketh today the blood of that Suta's son, that wretch among men, who had laughed at the dice-won Krishna. That foe of thine, O bull of Kuru's race, lieth today on the bare ground, pierced all over with arrows. Behold that tiger among men, pierced and mangled with shafts. O thou of mighty arms, rule now, with care, this earth that is divested of all thy foes, and enjoy with us, all kinds of enjoyable articles!'"

"Sanjaya continued, 'Having heard these words of the high-souled Keshava, Yudhishthira, with great joy, worshipped in return that hero of Dasharha's race. "Good luck, Good luck!" were the words, O monarch, that he said. And he added, "It is not wonderful, O mighty-armed one, in thee, O son of Devaki, that Partha, having obtained thee for his charioteer, should achieve feats that are even super-human." Then that chief of Kuru's race, that righteous son of Pritha, taking hold of Keshava's right arm adorned with Angadas, and addressing both Keshava and Arjuna, said, "Narada told me that ye two are the gods Nara and Narayana, those ancient and best of Rishis, that are ever employed in the preservation of righteousness. Gifted with great intelligence, the master Krishna Dvaipayana, the highly blessed Vyasa, also hath repeatedly told me this celestial history. Through thy influence, O Krishna, this Dhananjaya the son of Pandu, facing his foes, hath vanquished them, without ever turning back from any of them. Victory, and not defeat, we are certain to have, since thou hast accepted the drivership of Partha in battle." Having said these words, king Yudhishthira the Just, that tiger among men, mounting his car, adorned with gold and having steeds of ivory white and black tails and fleet as thought harnessed unto it, and surrounded by many Pandava troops, set out, conversing pleasantly with Krishna and Arjuna along the way, for beholding the field of battle on which thousands of incidents had taken place. Conversing with those two heroes, viz., Madhava and Phalguna, the king beheld Karna, that bull among men, lying on the field of battle. Indeed, king Yudhishthira beheld Karna pierced all over with arrows like a Kadamva flower with straight filaments all around its body. Yudhishthira beheld Karna illuminated by thousands of golden lamps filled with perfumed oil. Having beheld Karna with his son slain and mangled with shafts sped from Gandiva, king Yudhishthira repeatedly looked at him before he could believe his eyes. He then applauded those tigers among men, Madhava and Phalguna, saying, "O Govinda, today I have become king of the earth, with my brothers, in consequence of thyself of great wisdom having become my protector and lord. Hearing of the slaughter of that tiger among men, the proud son of Radha, the wicked-souled son of Dhritarashtra will be filled with despair, as regards both life and kingdom. Through thy grace, O bull among men, we have acquired our objects. By good luck, victory hath been thine, O Govinda! By good luck, the enemy hath been slain. By good luck, the wielder of Gandiva, the son of Pandu, hath been crowned with victory. Thirteen years we have passed in wakefulness and great sorrow. O thou of mighty arms, through thy grace, we will sleep happily this night." In this way, O ruler of men, king Yudhishthira the Just, praised Janardana greatly as also Arjuna, O monarch!'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Beholding Karna with his son slain with Partha's shafts, that perpetuator of Kuru's race, Yudhishthira, regarded himself as reborn. The kings (in the Pandava army), great car-warriors--all filled with joy, approached Kunti's son Yudhishthira and gladdened him greatly. Nakula, and Sahadeva, and Vrikodara the son of Pandu, and Satyaki, O king, that foremost of car-warriors among the Vrishnis, and Dhrishtadyumna, and Shikhandi, and others among the Pandus, the Pancalas, and the Srinjayas, worshipped the son of Kunti at the slaughter of the Suta's son. Extolling king Yudhishthira, the son of Pandu, those delighters in battle, those effectual smiters, those heroes possessed of sureness of aim and longing for victory, also praised those scorchers of foes, viz., the two Krishnas, with speeches fraught with panegyrics. Then those great car-warriors, filled with delight, proceeded towards their own camp. Thus occurred that great carnage, making the hair stand on end, in consequence, O king, of thy evil policy! Why dost thou grieve for it now?'"

Vaishampayana continued, "Hearing those evil tidings, the Kuru king Dhritarashtra suddenly fell down on the ground from his excellent seat. Similarly, the royal lady Gandhari of great foresight fell down. She indulged in diverse lamentations, for the slaughter of Karna in battle. Then Vidura and Sanjaya both raised the fallen monarch and began to console him. Similarly the Kuru ladies raised Gandhari. Thinking destiny and necessity to be all powerful, that royal ascetic, under that great grief, seemed to lose his senses. His heart filled with anxiety and sorrow, the king, however, did not again swoon away. Comforted by them, he remained silent, indulging in melancholy musing. He that reads of this great battle, which is like unto a sacrifice, between the high-souled Dhananjaya and Adhiratha's son, so also he that hears the account of this battle read, both obtain, O Bharata, the fruit of a great sacrifice duly performed. The learned say that the holy and the eternal Vishnu is Sacrifice, and each of those other gods, viz., Agni, Wind, Soma, and Surya, is so. Therefore, he that will, without malice, hear or recite this Parvan, will be happy and capable of attaining to every region of bliss. Filled with devotion, men always read this sacred and first of Samhitas. They that do, rejoice, obtaining wealth, and grain, and fame. A man must, therefore, ever hear it without malice. He that does so will obtain all kinds of happiness. With that foremost of persons, Vishnu, and the illustrious Self-born, and Bhava also, become pleased. A Brahmana, by reading it, would obtain the fruit of having studied the Vedas; a Kshatriya obtains strength and victory in battle; Vaishyas would obtain immense wealth, and Shudras would obtain health and freedom from disease. Then again the illustrious Vishnu is eternal. And since it is that god who hath been glorified in this Parvan, it is for this that the man reading or hearing it becometh happy and acquireth all the objects of his heart. These words of the great Rishi (Vyasa) can never the untrue! The merit that may be attained by listening to the recitation of the Karna Parvan is equal to his who giveth away unceasingly for a whole year good cows with calves."

The end of Karna Parva

THE MAHABHARATA, BOOK 9
SHALYA PARVA
SECTION 1

Om! Having bowed down unto Narayana and Nara, the most exalted of male beings, and the goddess Sarasvati, must the word Jaya be uttered.

Janamejaya said, "After Karna had thus been slain in battle by Savyasaci, what did the small (unslaughtered) remnant of the Kauravas do, O regenerate one? Beholding the army of the Pandavas swelling with might and energy, what behaviour did the Kuru prince Suyodhana adopt towards the Pandavas, thinking it suitable to the hour? I desire to hear all this. Tell me, O foremost of regenerate ones, I am never satiated with listening to the grand feats of my ancestors."

Vaishampayana said, "After the fall of Karna, O king, Dhritarashtra's son Suyodhana was plunged deep into an ocean of grief and saw despair on every side. Indulging in incessant lamentations, saying, 'Alas, oh Karna! Alas, oh Karna!' he proceeded with great difficulty to his camp, accompanied by the unslaughtered remnant of the kings on his side. Thinking of the slaughter of the Suta's son, he could not obtain peace of mind, though comforted by those kings with excellent reasons inculcated by the scriptures. Regarding destiny and necessity to be all-powerful, the Kuru king firmly resolved on battle. Having duly made Shalya the generalissimo of his forces, that bull among kings, O monarch, proceeded for battle, accompanied by that unslaughtered remnant of his forces. Then, O chief of Bharata's race, a terrible battle took place between the troops of the Kurus and those of the Pandavas, resembling that between the gods and the Asuras. Then Shalya, O monarch, having made a great carnage in battle at last lost a large number of his troops and was slain by Yudhishthira at midday. Then king Duryodhana, having lost all his friends and kinsmen, fled away from the field of battle and penetrated into the depths of a terrible lake from fear of his enemies. On the afternoon of that day, Bhimasena, causing the lake to be encompassed by many mighty car-warriors, summoned Duryodhana and having obliged him to come out, slew him speedily, putting forth his strength. After Duryodhana's slaughter, the three car-warriors (of the Kuru side) that were still unslain (Ashvatthama and Kripa and Kritavarma), filled with rage, O monarch, slaughtered the Pancala troops in the night. On the next morning Sanjaya, having set out from the camp, entered the city (the Kuru capital), cheerless and filled with grief and sorrow. Having entered the city, the Suta Sanjaya, raising his arms in grief, and with limbs trembling, entered the palace of the king. Filled with grief, O tiger among men, he wept aloud, saying, 'Alas, O king! Alas, all of us are ruined by the slaughter of that high-souled monarch. Alas, Time is all-powerful, and crooked in his course, since all our allies, endued with might equal to that of Shakra himself, have been slain by the Pandavas.' Seeing Sanjaya come back to the city, O king, in that distressful plight, all the people, O best of kings, filled with great anxiety, wept loudly, saying, 'Alas, O king! The whole city, O tiger among men, including the very children, hearing of Duryodhana's death, sent forth notes of lamentation from every side. We then beheld all the men and women running about, deeply afflicted with grief, their senses gone, and resembling people that are demented.' The Suta Sanjaya then, deeply agitated, entered the abode of the king and beheld that foremost of monarchs, that lord of men, having wisdom for his eyes. Beholding the sinless monarch, that chief of Bharata's race, seated, surrounded by his daughters-in-law and Gandhari and Vidura and by other friends and kinsmen that were always his well-wishers, and engaged in thinking on that very subject--the death of Karna--the Suta Sanjaya, with heart filled with grief, O Janamejaya, weepingly and in a voice choked with tears, said unto him, 'I am Sanjaya, O tiger among men. I bow to thee, O bull of Bharata's race. The ruler of the Madras, Shalya, hath been slain. Similarly, Subala's son Shakuni, and Uluka, O tiger among men, that valiant son of the gamester (Shakuni), have been slain. All the Samsaptakas, the Kambojas together with the Sakas, the Mlecchas, the Mountaineers, and the Yavanas, have also been slain. The Easterners have been slain, O monarch, and all the Southerners. The Northerners have all been slain, as also the Westerners, O ruler of men. All the kings and all the princes have been slain, O monarch. King Duryodhana also has been slain by the son of Pandu after the manner he had vowed. With his thighs broken, O monarch, he lieth now on the dust, covered with blood. Dhrishtadyumna also hath been slain, O king, as also the vanquished Shikhandi. Uttamauja and Yudhamanyu, O king, and the Prabhadrakas, and those tiger among men, the Pancalas, and the Cedis, have been destroyed. The sons have all been slain as also the (five)

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sons of Draupadi, O Bharata. The heroic and mighty son of Karna, Vrishasena, hath been slain. All the men that had been assembled have been slain. All the elephants have been destroyed. All the car-warriors, O tiger among men, and all the steeds, have fallen in battle. Very few are alive on thy side, O lord. In consequence of the Pandavas and the Kauravas having encountered each other, the world, stupefied by Time, now consists of only women. On the side of the Pandavas seven are alive, they are the five Pandava brothers, and Vasudeva, and Satyaki and amongst the Dhartarashtras three are so, Kripa, Kritavarma, and Drona's son, that foremost of victors. These three car-warriors, O monarch, are all that survive, O best of kings, of all the akshauhinis mustered on thy side, O ruler of men. These are the survivors, O monarch, the rest have perished. Making Duryodhana and his hostility (towards the Pandavas) the cause, the world, it seems, hath been destroyed, O bull of Bharata's race, by Time.'"

Vaishampayana continued, "Hearing these cruel words, Dhritarashtra, that ruler of men, fell down, O monarch, on the earth, deprived of his senses. As soon as the king fell down, Vidura also, of great fame, O monarch, afflicted with sorrow on account of the king's distress, fell down on the earth. Gandhari also, O best of kings, and all the Kuru ladies, suddenly fell down on the ground, hearing those cruel words. That entire conclave of royal persons remained lying on the ground, deprived of their senses and raving deliriously, like figures painted on a large piece of canvas. Then king Dhritarashtra, that lord of earth, afflicted with the calamity represented by the death of his sons, slowly and with difficulty regained his life-breaths. Having recovered his senses, the king, with trembling limbs and sorrowful heart, turned his face on every side, and said these words unto Kshattri (Vidura). 'O learned Kshattri, O thou of great wisdom, thou, O bull of Bharata's race, art now my refuge. I am lordless and destitute of all my sons.' Having said this, he once more fell down, deprived of his senses. Beholding him fallen, all his kinsmen that were present there sprinkled cold water over him and fanned him with fans. Comforted after a long while, that lord of earth, afflicted with sorrow on account of the death of his sons, remained silent, sighing heavily, O monarch, like a snake put into a jar. Sanjaya also wept aloud, beholding the king so afflicted. All the ladies too, with Gandhari of great celebrity, did the same. After a long while, O best of men, Dhritarashtra, having repeatedly swooned, addressed Vidura, saying, 'Let all the ladies retire, as also Gandhari of great fame, and all these friends. My mind hath become greatly unsettled.' Thus addressed, Vidura, repeatedly trembling, slowly dismissed the ladies, O bull of Bharata's race. All those ladies retired, O chief of the Bharatas, as also all those friends, beholding the king deeply afflicted. Then Sanjaya cheerlessly looked at the king, O scorcher of foes, who, having recovered his senses, was weeping in great affliction. With joined hands, Vidura then, in sweet words, comforted that ruler of men who was sighing incessantly.'"

SECTION 2

Vaishampayana said, "After the ladies had been dismissed, Dhritarashtra, the son of Ambika, plunged into grief greater than that which had afflicted him before, began, O monarch, to indulge in lamentations, exhaling breaths that resembled smoke, and repeatedly waving his arms, and reflecting a little, O monarch, he said these words.

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Alas, O Suta, the intelligence is fraught with great grief that I hear from thee, that the Pandavas are all safe and have suffered no loss in battle. Without doubt, my hard heart is made of the essence of thunder, since it breaketh not upon hearing of the fall of my sons. Thinking of their ages, O Sanjaya, and of their sports in childhood, and learning today that all of them have perished, my heart seems to break into pieces. Although in consequence of my blindness I never saw their forms, still I cherished a great love for them in consequence of the affection one feels for his children. Hearing that they had passed out of childhood and entered the period of youth and then of early manhood, I became exceedingly glad, O sinless one. Hearing today that have been slain and divested of prosperity and energy, I fail to obtain peace of mind, being overwhelmed with grief on account of the distress that has overtaken them. Come, come, O king of kings (Duryodhana) to me that am without a protector now! Deprived of thee, O mighty-armed one, what will be my plight? Why, O sire, abandoning all the assembled kings dost thou lie on the bare ground, deprived of life, like an ordinary and wretched king? Having been, O monarch, the refuge of kinsmen and friends, where dost thou go now, O hero, abandoning me that am blind and old? Where now, O king, is that compassion of thine, that love, and that respectfulness? Invincible as thou wert in battle, how, alas, hast thou been slain by the Parthas? Who will now, after I will have waked from sleep at the proper hour, repeatedly address me in such endearing and respectful words as, "O father, O father," "O great king," "O Lord of the world" and affectionately clasping my neck with moistened eyes, will seek my orders, saying, "Command me, O thou of Kuru's race." Address me, O son, in that sweet language once more. O dear child, I heard even these words from thy lips, "This wide earth is as much ours as it is of Pritha's son. Bhagadatta and Kripa and Shalya and the two princes of Avanti and Jayadratha and Bhurishrava and Sala and Somadatta and Bahlika and Ashvatthama and the chief of the Bhojas and the mighty prince of Magadha and Vrihadvala and the ruler of the Kasi and Shakuni the son of Subala and many thousands of Mlecchas and Sakas and Yavanas, and Sudakshina the ruler of the Kambojas and the king of the Trigartas and the grandsire Bhishma and Bharadwaja's son and Gotama's son (Kripa) and Srutayush and Ayutayush and Satayush of great energy, and Jalasandha and Rishyasringa's son and the Rakshasa Alayudha, and the mighty-armed Alambusa and the great car-warrior Subala--these and numerous other kings, O best of monarchs, have taken up arms for my sake, prepared to cast away their very lives in great battle, stationed on the field amidst these, and surrounded by my brothers, I will fight against all the Parthas and the Pancalas and the Cedis, O tiger among kings, and the sons of Draupadi and Satyaki and Kunti-Bhoja and the rakshasa Ghatotkaca. Even one amongst these, O king, excited with rage, is able to resist in battle the Pandavas rushing towards him. What need I say then of all these heroes, every one of whom has wrong to avenge on the Pandavas, when united together? All these, O monarch, will fight with the followers of the Pandavas and will slay them in battle. Karna alone, with myself, will slay the Pandavas. All the heroic kings will then live under my sway. He, who is their leader, the mighty Vasudeva, will not, he has told me, put on mail for them, O king." Even in this way, O Suta, did Duryodhana often use to speak to me. Hearing what he said, I believed that the Pandavas would be slain in battle. When, however, my sons stationed in the midst of those heroes and exerting themselves vigorously in battle have all been slain, what can it be but destiny? When that lord of the world, the valiant Bhishma, having encountered Shikhandi, met with his death like a lion meeting with his at the hands of a jackal, what can it be but destiny? When the Brahmana Drona, that master of all weapons offensive and defensive, has been slain by the Pandavas in battle, what can it be but destiny? When Bhurishrava has been slain in battle, as also Somadatta and king Bahlika, what can it be but destiny? When Bhagadatta, skilled in fight from the backs of elephants, has been slain, and when Jayadratha hath been slain, what can it be but destiny? When Sudakshina has been slain, and Jalasandha of Puru's race, as also Srutayush, and Ayutayush, what can it be but destiny? When the mighty Pandya, that foremost of all wielders of weapons, has been slain in battle by the Pandavas, what can it be but destiny? When Vrihadvala has been slain and the mighty king of the Magadhas, and the valiant Ugrayudha, that type of all bowmen; when the two princes of Avanti (Vinda and Anuvinda) have been slain, and the ruler also of the Trigartas, as also numerous Samsaptakas, what can it be but destiny? When king Alambusa, and the Rakshasas Alayudha, and Rishyasringa's son, have been slain, what can it be but destiny? When the Narayanas have been slain, as also the Gopalas, those troops that were invincible in battle, and many thousands of Mlecchas, what can it be but destiny? When Shakuni, the son of Subala, and the mighty Uluka, called the gamester's son, that hero at the head of his forces, have been slain, what can it be but destiny? When innumerable high-souled heroes, accomplished in all kinds of weapons offensive and defensive and endued with prowess equal to that of Shakra himself, have been slain, O Suta, when Kshatriyas hailing from diverse realms, O Sanjaya, have all been slain in battle, what can it be but destiny? Endued with great might, my sons and grandsons have been slain, as also my friends and brethren, what can it be but destiny? Without doubt, man takes his birth, subject to destiny. That man who is possessed of good fortune meets with good. I am bereft of good fortune, and, therefore, am deprived of my children, O Sanjaya. Old as I am, how shall I now submit to the sway of enemies? I do not think anything other than exile into the woods to be good for me, O lord. Deprived of relatives and kinsmen as I am, I will go into the woods. Nothing other than an exile into the woods can be better for me who am fallen into this plight and who am shorn of my wings, O Sanjaya. When Duryodhana had been slain, when Shalya has been slain, when Duhshasana and Vivingsati and the mighty Vikarna have been slain, how shall I be able to bear the roars of that Bhimasena who hath alone slain a hundred sons of mine in battle? He will frequently speak of the slaughter of Duryodhana in my hearing. Burning with grief and sorrow, I shall not be able to bear his cruel words.'"

Vaishampayana continued, "Even thus that king, burning with grief and deprived of relatives and kinsmen, repeatedly swooned, overwhelmed with sorrow on account of the death of his sons. Having wept for a long while, Dhritarashtra, the son of Ambika, breathed heavy and hot sighs at the thought of his defeat. Overwhelmed with sorrow, and burning with grief, that bull of Bharata's race once more enquired of his charioteer Sanjaya, the son of Gavalgana, the details of what had happened.

"Dhritarashtra said, 'After Bhishma and Drona had been slain, and the Suta's son also overthrown, whom did my warriors make their generalissimo? The Pandavas are slaying without any delay everyone whom my warriors are making their generalissimo in battle. Bhishma was slain at the van of battle by the diadem-decked Arjuna in the very sight of all of you. Even thus was Drona slain in the sight of all of you. Even thus was the Suta's son, that valiant Karna, slain by Arjuna in the sight of all the kings. Long before, the high-souled Vidura had told me that through the fault of Duryodhana the population of the Earth would be exterminated. There are some fools that do not see things even though they cast their eyes on them. Those words of Vidura have been even so unto my foolish self. What Vidura of righteous soul, conversant with attributes of everything, then said, hath turned out exactly, for the words he uttered were nothing but the truth. Afflicted by fate, I did not then act according to those words. The fruits of that evil course have now manifested themselves. Describe them to me, O son of Gavalgana, once more! Who became the head of our army after Karna's fall? Who was that car-warrior who proceeded against Arjuna and Vasudeva? Who were they that protected the right wheel of the ruler of the Madras in battle? Who protected the left wheel of that hero when he went to battle? Who also guarded his rear? How, when all of you were together, could the mighty king of the Madras, as also my son, be slain, O Sanjaya, by the Pandavas? Tell me the details of the great destruction of the Bharatas. Tell me how my son Duryodhana fell in battle. Tell me how all the Pancalas with their followers, and Dhrishtadyumna and Shikhandi and the five sons of Draupadi, fell. Tell me how the (five) Pandavas and the two Satwatas (Krishna and Satyaki), and Kripa and Kritavarma and Drona's son, have escaped with life. I desire to hear everything about the manner in which the battle occurred and the kind of battle it was. Thou art skilled, O Sanjaya, in narration. Tell me everything.'"

SECTION 3

"Sanjaya said, 'Hear, O king, with attention, how that great carnage of the Kurus and the Pandavas occurred when they encountered each other. After the Suta's son had been slain by the illustrious son of Pandu, and after thy troops had been repeatedly rallied and had repeatedly fled away, and after a terrible carnage had taken place, O foremost of men, of human beings in battle subsequent to Karna's death, Partha began to utter leonine roars. At that time a great fear entered the hearts of thy sons. Indeed, after Karna's death, there was no warrior in thy army who could set his heart upon rallying the troops or displaying his prowess. They then looked like ship-wrecked merchants on the fathomless ocean without a raft to save themselves. When their protector was slain by the diadem-decked Arjuna, they were like persons on the wide sea desirous of reaching some shore of safety. Indeed, O king, after the slaughter of the Suta's son, thy troops, struck with panic and mangled with arrows, were like unprotected men desirous of a protector or like a herd of deer afflicted by a lion. Vanquished by Savyasaci, they retired in the evening like bulls with broken horns or snakes shorn of their fangs. Their foremost of heroes slain, themselves thrown into confusion and mangled with keen arrows, thy sons, O king, upon the slaughter of the Suta's son, fled away in fear. Deprived of weapons and coats of mail, all of them lost their senses and knew not in which direction to fly. Casting their eyes on all sides in fear, many of them began to slaughter one another. Many fell down or became pale, thinking, "It is me whom Vibhatsu is pursuing!" "It is me whom Vrikodara is pursuing!" Some riding on fleet steeds, some on fleet cars, and some on fleet elephants, many great car-warriors fled away from fear, abandoning the foot-soldiers. Cars were broken by elephants, horsemen were crushed by great car-warriors, and bands of foot-soldiers were smashed and slain by bodies of horses as these fled away from the field. After the fall of the Suta's son, thy troops became like stragglers from a caravan in a forest abounding with robbers and beasts of prey. Some elephants whose riders had been slain, and others whose trunks had been cut off, afflicted with fear, beheld the whole world to be full of Partha. Beholding his troops flying away afflicted with the fear of Bhimasena Duryodhana then, with cries of "Oh!" and "Alas!" addressed his driver, saying, "If I take up my post at the rear of the army, armed with my bow, Partha then will never be able to transgress me. Urge the steeds, therefore, with speed. When I will put forth my valour in battle, Dhananjaya the son of Kunti will not venture to transgress me like the ocean never venturing to transgress its continents. Today, slaying Arjuna with Govinda, and the proud Vrikodara, and the rest of my foes, I will free myself from the debt I owe to Karna." Hearing these words of the Kuru king, so becoming a hero and an honourable man, his driver slowly urged those steeds adorned with trappings of gold. At that time many brave warriors deprived of elephants and steeds and cars, and 25,000 foot-soldiers, O sire, proceeded slowly (for battle). Then Bhimasena, filled with wrath, and Dhrishtadyumna the son of Prishata, encompassing those troops with the assistance of four kinds of forces, destroyed them with shafts. All of them fought vigorously with Bhima and Prishata's son. Many amongst

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them challenged the two Pandava heroes, mentioning their names. Surrounded by them in battle, Bhima became enraged with them. Quickly descending from his car, he began to fight, armed with his mace. Relying on the might of his own arms, Vrikodara the son of Kunti, who was on his car, observant of the rules of fair fight, did not fight with those foes who were on the ground. Armed then with that heavy mace of his that was made entirely of iron and adorned with gold and equipped with a sling, and that resembled the Destroyer himself as he becomes at the end of Yuga, Bhima slew them all like Yama slaughtering creatures with his club. Those foot-soldiers, excited with great rage, having lost their friends and kinsmen, were prepared to throw away their lives, and rushed in that battle towards Bhima like insects towards a blazing fire. Indeed, those warriors, filled with rage and invincible in battle, approaching Bhimasena, suddenly perished like living creatures at the glance of the Destroyer. Armed with sword and mace, Bhima careered like a hawk and slaughtered those 25,000 warriors of thine. Having slain that brave division, the mighty Bhima, of prowess incapable of being baffled, once more stood, with Dhrishtadyumna before him. Meanwhile, Dhananjaya of great energy proceeded towards the car-division (of the Kurus). The twin sons of Madri and the mighty car-warrior Satyaki, all endued with great strength, cheerfully rushed against Shakuni with great speed from desire of slaying him. Having slain with keen shafts the numerous cavalry of Shakuni, those Pandava heroes quickly rushed against Shakuni himself, whereupon a fierce battle was fought there. Then Dhananjaya, O king, penetrated into the midst of the car-division of the Kauravas, stretching his bow Gandiva celebrated over the three worlds. Beholding that car having white steeds yoked unto it and owning Krishna for its driver coming towards them, with Arjuna as the warrior on it, thy troops fled away in fear. Deprived of cars and steeds and pierced with shafts from every side, 25,000 foot-soldiers proceeded towards Partha and surrounded him. Then that mighty car-warrior amongst the Pancalas (Dhrishtadyumna) with Bhimasena at his head, speedily slew that brave division and stood triumphant. The son of the Pancala king, the celebrated Dhrishtadyumna, was a mighty bowman possessed of great beauty and a crusher of large bands of foes. At sight of Dhrishtadyumna unto whose car were yoked steeds white as pigeons and whose standard was made of a lofty Kovidara, the troops fled away in fear. The celebrated sons of Madri, with Satyaki among them, engaged in the pursuit of the Gandhara king who was quick in the use of weapons, speedily appeared to our view. Chekitana and the (five) sons of Draupadi, O sire, having slain a large number of thy troops, blew their conchs. Beholding all the troops flying away with their faces from the field, those (Pandava) heroes pursued and smote them like bulls pursuing vanquished bulls. Then the mighty Savyasaci, the son of Pandu, beholding a remnant of thy army still keeping their ground, became filled with rage, O king. Suddenly, O monarch, he shrouded that remnant of thy forces with arrows. The dust, however, that was then raised enveloped the scene, in consequence of which we could not see anything. Darkness also spread over the scene, and the field of battle was covered with arrows. Thy troops, O monarch, then fled away in fear on all sides. When his army was thus broken, the Kuru king, O monarch, rushed against both friends and foes. Then Duryodhana challenged all the Pandavas to battle, O chief of Bharata's race, like the Asura Vali in days of yore challenging all the celestials. The Pandavas then, uniting together and filled with rage, upbraiding him repeatedly and shooting diverse weapons, rushed against the roaring Duryodhana. The latter, however, fearlessly smote his foes with shafts. The prowess that we then saw of thy son was exceedingly wonderful, since all the Pandavas together were unable to transgress him. At this time Duryodhana beheld, staying at a little distance from him, his troops, exceedingly mangled with shafts, and prepared to fly away. Rallying them then, O monarch, thy son, resolved on battle and desirous of gladdening them, addressed those warriors, saying, "I do not see that spot on plain or mountain whither, if you fly, the Pandavas will not slay you. What is the use then in flight? The Pandava army hath now been reduced to a small remnant. The two Krishnas have been exceedingly mangled. If all of us make a stand here, we are certain to have victory. If, however, you fly away, breaking your array, the Pandavas, pursuing your sinful selves, will slay all of you. Death in battle, therefore, is for our good. Death in the field of battle while engaged in fight according to Kshatriya practices is pleasant. Such death produces no kind of grief. By encountering such a death, a person enjoys eternal happiness in the other world. Let all the Kshatriyas assembled here listen to me. It were better that they should even submit to the power of the angry Bhimasena than that they should abandon the duties practised by them from the days of their ancestors. There is no act more sinful for a Kshatriya than flight from battle. You Kauravas, there is not a better path to heaven than the duty of battle. The warrior acquires in a day regions of bliss (in the other world) that take many long years for others to acquire." Fulfilling those words of the king, the great Kshatriya car-warriors once more rushed against the Pandavas, unable to endure their defeat and firmly resolved to put forth their prowess. Then commenced a battle once more, that was exceedingly fierce, between thy troops and the enemy, and that resembled the one between the gods and the Asuras. Thy son Duryodhana then, O monarch, with all his troops, rushed against the Pandavas headed by Yudhishthira.'"

SECTION 4

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding the fallen boxes of cars, as also the cars of high-souled warriors, and the elephants and foot-soldiers, O sire, slain in battle, seeing the field of battle assume an aspect as awful as that of the sporting ground of Rudra, observing the inglorious end obtained by hundreds and thousands of kings, witnessing also the prowess of Partha after the retreat of thy son with grief-stricken heart and when thy troops, filled with anxiety and fallen into great distress, O Bharata, were deliberating as to what they should next do, hearing also the loud wails of the Kaurava warriors that were being crushed, and marking the displayed and disordered tokens of great kings, the Kuru leader Kripa of great energy, possessed of years and good conduct and filled with compassion, and endued with eloquence, approached king Duryodhana, and angrily said these words unto him, "O Duryodhana, listen, O Bharata, to these words that I will say unto thee. Having heard them, O monarch, do thou act according to them, O sinless one, if it pleases thee. There is no path, O monarch, that is better than the duty of battle. Having recourse to that path, Kshatriyas, O bull of the Kshatriya order, engage in battle. He who lives in the observance of Kshatriya practices fights with son, sire, brother, sister's son, and maternal uncle, and relatives, and kinsmen. If he is slaughtered in battle, there is great merit in it. Similarly, there is great sin in it if he flies from the field. It is for this that the life of a person desirous of living by the adoption of Kshatriya duties is exceedingly terrible. Unto thee, as regards this, I will say a few beneficial words. After the fall of Bhishma and Drona and the mighty car-warrior Karna, after the slaughter of Jayadratha and thy brothers, O sinless one, and thy son Lakshmana, what is there now for us to do? They upon whom we had rested all burdens of sovereignty we had been enjoying, have all gone to regions of blessedness attainable by persons conversant with Brahma, casting off their bodies. As regards ourselves, deprived of those great car-warriors possessed of numerous accomplishments, we shall have to pass our time in grief, having caused numerous kings to perish. When all those heroes were alive, even then Vibhatsu could not be vanquished. Having Krishna, for his eyes, that mighty-armed hero is incapable of being defeated by the very gods. The vast (Kaurava) host, approaching his Ape-bearing standard that is lofty as an Indra's pole (set up in the season of spring) and that is effulgent as Indra's bow, hath always trembled in fear. At the leonine roars of Bhimasena and the blare of Panchajanya and the twang of Gandiva, our heart will die away within us. Moving like flashes of lightning, and blinding our eyes, Arjuna's Gandiva is seen to resemble a circle of fire. Decked with pure gold, that formidable bow as it is shaken, looks lightning's flash moving about on every side. Steeds white in hue and possessed of great speed and endued with the splendour of the Moon or the Kasa grass, and that run devouring the skies, are yoked unto his car. Urged on by Krishna, like the masses of clouds driven by the wind, and their limbs decked with gold, they bear Arjuna to battle. That foremost of all persons conversant with arms, Arjuna, burned that great force of thine like a swelling conflagration consuming dry grass in the forest in the season of winter. Possessed of the splendour of Indra himself, while penetrating into our ranks, we have seen Dhananjaya to look like an elephant with four tusks. While agitating thy army and inspiring the kings with fear, we have seen Dhananjaya to resemble an elephant agitating a lake overgrown with lotuses. While terrifying all the warriors with the twang of his bow, we have again seen the son of Pandu to resemble a lion inspiring smaller animals with dread. Those two foremost of bowmen in all the worlds, those two bulls among all persons armed with the bow, the two Krishnas, clad in mail, are looking exceedingly beautiful. Today is the seventeenth day of this awful battle, O Bharata, of those that are being slaughtered in the midst of this fight. The diverse divisions of thy army are broken and dispersed like autumnal clouds dispersed by the wind. Savyasaci, O monarch, caused thy army to tremble and reel like a tempest-tossed boat exposed on the bosom of the ocean. Where was the Suta's son, where was Drona with all his followers, where was I, where wert thou, where was Hridika's son, where thy brother Duhshasana accompanied by his brothers (when Jayadratha was slain)? Upon beholding Jayadratha and finding him within the range of his arrows, Arjuna, putting forth his process upon all thy kinsmen and brothers and allies and maternal uncles, and placing his feet upon their heads, slew king Jayadratha in the very sight of all. What then is there for us to do now? Who is there among thy troops now that would vanquish the son of Pandu? That high-souled warrior possesses diverse kinds of celestial weapons. The twang, again, of Gandiva robbeth us of our energies. This army of thine that is now without a leader is like a night without the Moon, or like a river that is dried up with all the trees on its banks broken by elephants. The mighty-armed Arjuna of white steeds will, at his pleasure, career amid this thy masterless host, like a blazing conflagration amid a heap of grass. The impetuosity of those two, Satyaki and Bhimasena, would split all the mountains or dry up all the oceans. The words that Bhima spoke in the midst of the assembly have all been nearly accomplished by him, O monarch. That which remains unaccomplished will again be accomplished by him. While Karna was battling before it, the army of the Pandavas, difficult to be defeated, was vigorously protected by the wielder of Gandiva. You have done many foul wrongs, without any cause, unto the righteous Pandavas. The fruits of those acts have now come. For the sake of thy own objects thou hadst, with great care, mustered together a large force. That vast force, as also thyself, O bull of Bharata's race, have fallen into great danger. Preserve thy own self now, for self is the refuge of everything. If the refuge is broken, O sire, everything inhering thereto is scattered on every side. He that is being weakened should seek peace by conciliation. He that is growing should make war. This is the policy taught by Brihaspati. We are now inferior to the sons of Pandu as regards the strength of our army. Therefore, O lord, I think, peace with the Pandavas is for our good. He that does not know what is for his good, or (knowing) disregards what is for his good, is soon divested of his kingdom and never obtains any good. If, by bowing unto king Yudhishthira sovereignty may still remain to us, even that would be for our good, and not, O king, to sustain through folly defeat (at the hands of the Pandavas). Yudhishthira is compassionate. At the request of Vichitravirya's son and of Govinda, he will allow you to continue as king. Whatever Hrishikesa will say unto the victorious king Yudhishthira and Arjuna and Bhimasena, all of them will, without doubt, obey. Krishna will not, I think, be able to transgress the words of Dhritarashtra of Kuru's race, nor will the son of Pandu be able to transgress those of Krishna. A cessation of hostilities with the sons of Pritha is what I consider to be for thy good. I do not say this unto thee from any mean motives nor for protecting my life. I say, O king, that which I regard to be beneficial. Thou wilt recollect these words when thou wilt be on the point of death (if thou neglectest them now)." Advanced in years, Kripa the son of Saradwat said these words weepingly. Breathing long and hot breaths, he then gave way to sorrow and almost lost his senses.'"

SECTION 5

"Sanjaya said, 'Thus addressed by the celebrated grandson of Gotama, the king (Duryodhana), breathing long and hot breaths, remained silent, O monarch. Having reflected for a little while, the high-souled son of Dhritarashtra, that scorcher of foes, then said these words unto Saradwat's son Kripa, "Whatever a friend should say, thou hast said unto me. Thou hast also, whilst battling, done everything for me, without caring for thy very life. The world has seen thee penetrate into the midst of the Pandava divisions and fight with the mighty car-warriors of the Pandavas endued with great energy. That which should be said by a friend hast been said by thee. Thy words, however, do not please me, like medicine that ill pleases the person that is on the point of death. These beneficial and excellent words, fraught with reason, that thou, O mighty-armed one, hast said do not seem acceptable to me, O foremost of Brahmanas. Deprived by us of his kingdom (on a former occasion), why will the son of Pandu repose his trust on us? That mighty king was once defeated by us at dice. Why will he again believe my words? So also, Krishna, ever engaged in the good of the Parthas, when he came to us as an envoy, was deceived by us. That act of ours was exceedingly ill-judged. Why then, O regenerate one, will Hrishikesa trust my words? The princess Krishna, while standing in the midst of the assembly, wept piteously. Krishna will never forget that act of ours, nor that act, the deprivation of Yudhishthira by us of his kingdom. Formerly, it was heard by us that the two Krishnas have the same heart between them and are firmly united with each other. Today, O lord, we have seen it with our eyes. Having heard of the slaughter of his sister's son, Keshava passeth his nights in sorrow. We have offended him highly. Why will he forgive us then? Arjuna also, in consequence of Abhimanyu's death, hath become very miserable. Even if solicited, why will he strike for my good? The second son of Pandu, the mighty Bhimasena, is exceedingly fierce. He has made a terrible vow. He will break but not bend. The heroic twins, breathing animosity against us, when clad in mail and armed with their swords, resemble a pair of Yamas. Dhrishtadyumna and Shikhandi have drawn their swords against me. Why will those two, O best of Brahmanas, strive for my good? While clad in a single raiment and in her season, the princess Krishna was treated cruelly by Duhshasana in the midst of the assembly and before the eyes of all. Those scorchers of foes, the Pandavas, who still remember the naked Draupadi plunged into distress, can never be dissuaded from battle.

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"""Then again, Krishna, the daughter of Drupada, is in sorrow, undergoing the austerest of penances for my destruction and the success of the objects cherished by her husbands, and sleepeth every day on the bare ground, intending to do so till the end of the hostilities is attained. Abandoning honour and pride, the uterine sister of Vasudeva (Subhadra) is always serving Draupadi as veritable waiting woman. Everything, therefore, hath flamed up. That fire can never be quenched. Peace with them hath become impossible in consequence of the slaughter of Abhimanyu. Having also enjoyed the sovereignty of this earth bounded by the ocean, how shall I be able to enjoy, under favour of the Pandavas, a kingdom in peace? Having shone like the Sun upon the heads of all the kings, how shall I walk behind Yudhishthira like a slave? Having enjoyed all enjoyable articles and shown great compassion, how shall I lead a miserable life now, with miserable men as my companions? I do not hate those mild and beneficial words that thou hast spoken. I, however, do not think that this is the time for peace. To fight righteously is, O scorcher of foes, what I regard to be good policy. This is not the time for acting like a eunuch. On the other hand, that is time for the battle. I have performed many sacrifices. I have given away Dakshinas to Brahmanas, I have obtained the attainment of all my wishes. I have listened to Vedic recitations. I have walked upon the heads of my foes. My servants have all been wellcherished by me. I have relieved people in distress. I dare not, O foremost of regenerate ones, address such humble words to the Pandavas. I have conquered foreign kingdoms. I have properly governed my own kingdom. I have enjoyed diverse kinds of enjoyable articles. Religion and profit and pleasure I have pursued. I have paid off my debt to the Pitris and to Kshatriya duty. Certainly, there is no happiness here. What becomes of kingdom, and what of good name? Fame is all that one should acquire here. That fame can be obtained by battle, and by no other means. The death that a Kshatriya meets with at home is censurable. Death on one's bed at home is highly sinful. The man who casts away his body in the woods or in battle after having performed sacrifices, obtains great glory. He is no man who dies miserably weeping in pain, afflicted by disease and decay, in the midst of crying kinsmen. Abandoning diverse objects of enjoyment, I shall now, by righteous battle, proceed to the regions of Shakra, obtaining the companionship of those that have attained to the highest end. Without doubt, the habitation of heroes of righteous behaviour, who never retreat from battle, who are gifted with intelligence and devoted to truth, who are performers of sacrifices, and who have been sanctified in the sacrifice of weapons, is in heaven. The diverse tribes of Apsaras, without doubt, joyfully gaze at such heroes when engaged in battle. Without doubt, the Pitris behold them worshipped in the assembly of the gods and rejoicing in heaven, in the company of Apsaras. We will now ascend the path that is trod by the celestials and by heroes unreturning from battle, that path which has been taken by our venerable grandsire, by the preceptor endued with great intelligence, by Jayadratha, by Karna, and by Duhshasana. Many brave kings, who had exerted themselves vigorously for my sake in this battle, have been slain. Mangled with arrows and their limbs bathed in blood, they lie now on the bare Earth. Possessed of great courage and conversant with excellent weapons, those kings, who had, again, performed sacrifices as ordained in the scriptures, having cast off their life breaths in the discharge of their duties, have now become the denizens of Indra's abode. They have paved the way (to that blessed region). That road will once more be difficult in consequence of the crowds of heroes that will hurry along it for reaching that blessed goal. Remembering with gratitude the feats of those heroes that have died for me, I desire to pay off the debt I owe them, instead of fixing my heart upon kingdom. If, having caused my friends and brothers and grandsires to be slain, I save my own life, the world will without doubt, censure me. What kind of sovereignty will that be which I will enjoy, destitute of kinsmen and friends and well-wishers, and bowing down unto the son of Pandu? I, who have lorded it over the universe in that way, will now acquire heaven by fair fight. It will not be otherwise." Thus addressed by Duryodhana, all the Kshatriyas there applauded that speech and cheered the king, saying, "Excellent, Excellent." Without at all grieving for their defeat, and firmly resolved upon displaying their prowess, all of them, being determined to fight, became filled with enthusiasm. Having groomed their animals, the Kauravas, delighting at the prospect of battle, took up their quarters (for the night) at a spot a little less than two Yojanas distant from the field. Having reached the Sarasvati of red waters on the sacred and beautiful table-land at the foot of Himavat, they bathed in that water and quenched their thirst with it. Their spirits raised by thy son, they continued to wait (on their resting ground). Once more rallying their own selves as well as one another, all those Kshatriyas, O king, urged by fate, waited (in their encampment).'"

SECTION 6

"Sanjaya said, 'On that table land at the foot of Himavat, those warriors, O monarch, delighting at the prospect of battle and assembled together, passed the night. Indeed, Shalya and Chitrasena and the mighty car-warrior Shakuni and Ashvatthama and Kripa and Kritavarma of the Satwata race, and Sushena and Arishtasena and Dhritasena of great energy and Jayatsena and all these kings passed the night there. After the heroic Karna had been slain in battle, thy sons, inspired with fright by the Pandavas desirous of victory, failed to obtain peace anywhere else than on the mountains of Himavat. All of them then, O king, who were resolved on battle, duly worshipped the king and said unto him, in the presence of Shalya, these words, "It behoveth thee to fight with the enemy, after having made some one the generalissimo of thy army, protected by whom in battle we will vanquish our foes." Then Duryodhana, without alighting from his car (proceeded towards) that foremost of car-warriors, that hero conversant with all the rules of battle (Ashvatthama), who resembled the Destroyer himself in battle. Possessed of beautiful limbs, of head well covered, of a neck adorned with three lines like those in a conch shell, of sweet speech, of eyes resembling the petals of a full blown lotus, and of a face like that of the dignity of Meru, resembling the bull of Mahadeva as regards neck, eyes, tread, and voice, endued with arms that were large, massive, and well-joined, having a chest that was broad and well-formed, equal unto Garuda or the wind in speed and might, gifted with a splendour like that of the rays of the Sun, rivalling Usanas himself in intelligence and the Moon in beauty and form and charms of face, with a body that seemed to be made of a number of golden lotuses, with well-made joints, of well-formed thighs and waist and hips, of beautiful fingers, and beautiful nails, he seemed to have been made by the Creator with care after collecting one after another all the beautiful and good attributes of creation. Possessed of every auspicious mark, and clever in every act, he was an ocean of learning. Ever vanquishing his foes with great speed, he was incapable of being forcibly vanquished by foes. He knew, in all its details, the science of weapons consisting of four padas and ten angas. He knew also the four Vedas with all their branches, and the Akhyanas as the fifth. Possessed of great ascetic merit, Drona, himself not born of woman, having worshipped the Three-eyed deity with great attention and austere vows, begat him upon a wife not born of woman. Approaching that personage of unrivalled feats, that one who is unrivalled in beauty on Earth, that one who has mastered all branches of learning, that ocean of accomplishments, that faultless Ashvatthama, thy son told him these words, "Thou, O preceptor's son, art today our highest refuge. Tell us, therefore, who is to be the generalissimo of my forces now, placing whom at our head, all of us, united together, may vanquish the Pandavas?"

"'(Thus addressed), the son of Drona answered, "Let Shalya become the leader of our army. In descent, in prowess, in energy, in fame, in beauty of person, and in every other accomplishment, he is superior. Mindful of the services rendered to him, he has taken up our side, having abandoned the sons of his own sister. Owning a large force of his own, that mighty-armed one is like a second (Kartikeya, the) celestial generalissimo. Making that king the commander of our forces, O best of monarchs, we will be able to gain victory, like the gods, after making the unvanquished Skanda their commander." After Drona's son had said these words, all the kings stood, surrounding Shalya, and cried victory to him. Having made up their minds for battle, they felt great joy. Then Duryodhana, alighting from his car, joined his hands and addressing Shalya, that rival of Drona and Bhishma in battle, who was on his car, said these words, "O thou that art devoted to friends, that time has now come for thy friends when intelligent men examine persons in the guise of friends as to whether they are true friends or otherwise. Brave as thou art, be thou our generalissimo at the van of our army. When thou wilt proceed to battle, the Pandavas, with their friends, will become cheerless, and the Pancalas will be depressed."

"'Shalya answered, "I will, O king of the Kurus, accomplish that which thou askest me to accomplish. Everything I have--my life breath, my kingdom, my wealth--is at thy service."

"'Duryodhana said, "I solicit thee with offer of the leadership of my army, O maternal uncle. O foremost of warriors, protect us incomparably, even as Skanda protected the gods in battle. O foremost of kings, thyself cause thy own self to be installed in the command as Pavaka's son Kartikeya in the command of (the forces of) the celestials. O hero, slay our foes in battle like Indra slaying the Danavas."'"

SECTION 7

"Sanjaya said, 'Hearing these words of the (Kuru) king, the valiant monarch (Shalya), O king, said these words unto Duryodhana in reply, "O mighty-armed Duryodhana, listen to me, O foremost of eloquent men. Thou regardest the two Krishnas, when on their car, to be the foremost of car-warriors. They are not, however, together equal to me in might of arms. What need I say of the Pandavas? When angry, I can fight, at the van of battle, with the whole world consisting of gods, Asuras, and men, risen up in arms. I will vanquish the assembled Parthas and the Somakas in battle. Without doubt, I will become the leader of thy troops. I will form such an array that our enemies will not be able to overmaster it. I say this to thee, O Duryodhana. There is no doubt in this." Thus addressed (by Shalya), king Duryodhana cheerfully poured sanctified water, without losing any time, O best of the Bharatas, on the ruler of the Madras, in the midst of his troops, according to the rites ordained in the scriptures, O monarch. After Shalya had been invested with the command, loud leonine roars arose among thy troops and diverse musical instruments also, O Bharata, were beat and blown. The Kaurava warriors became very cheerful, as also the mighty car-warriors among the Madrakas. And all of them praised the royal Shalya, that ornament of battle, saying, "Victory to thee, O king. Long life to thee! Slay all the assembled foes! Having obtained the might of thy arms, let the Dhartarashtras endued with great strength, rule the wide Earth without a foe. Thou art capable of vanquishing in battle the three worlds consisting of the gods, the Asuras, what need be said of the Somakas and the Srinjayas that are mortal?" Thus praised, the mighty king of the Madrakas obtained great joy that is unattainable by persons of unrefined souls.

"'Shalya said, "Today, O king, I will either slay all the Pancalas with the Pandavas in battle, or, slain by them, proceed to heaven. Let the world behold me today careering (on the field of battle) fearlessly. Today let all the sons of Pandu, and Vasudeva, and Satyaki, and the sons of Draupadi, and Dhrishtadyumna, and Shikhandi, and all the Prabhadrakas, behold my prowess and the great might of my bow, and my quickness, and the energy of my weapons, and the strength of my arms, in battle. Let the Parthas, and all the Siddhas, with the Charanas behold today the strength that is in my arms and the wealth of weapons I possess. Beholding my prowess today, let the mighty car-warriors of the Pandavas, desirous of counteracting it, adopt diverse courses of action. Today I will rout the troops of the Pandavas on all sides. Surpassing Drona and Bhishma and the Suta's son, O lord, in battle, I will career on the field, O Kauravas, for doing what is agreeable to thee."'

"Sanjaya continued, 'After Shalya had been invested with the command, O giver of honours, no one among thy troops, O bull of Bharata's race, any longer felt any grief on account of Karna. Indeed, the troops became cheerful and glad. They regarded the Parthas as already slain and brought under the power of the ruler of the Madras. Having obtained great joy, thy troops, O bull of Bharata's race, slept that night happily and became very cheerful. Hearing those shouts of thy army, king Yudhishthira, addressing him of Vrishni's race, said these words, in the hearing of all the Kshatriyas, "The ruler of the Madras, Shalya, that great bowman who is highly regarded by all the warriors hath, O Madhava, been made the leader of his forces by Dhritarashtra's son. Knowing this that has happened, do, O Madhava, that which is beneficial. Thou art our leader and protector. Do that which should next be done." Then Vasudeva, O monarch, said unto that king, "I know Artayani, O Bharata, truly. Endued with prowess and great energy, he is highly illustrious. He is accomplished, conversant with all the modes of warfare, and possessed of great lightness of hand. I think that the ruler of the Madras is in battle equal to Bhishma or Drona or Karna, or perhaps, superior to them. I do not, O ruler of men, even upon reflection, find the warrior who may be a match for Shalya while engaged in fight. In battle, he is superior in might to Shikhandi and Arjuna and Bhima and Satyaki and Dhrishtadyumna, O Bharata. The king of the Madras, O monarch, endued with the prowess of a lion or an elephant, will career fearlessly in battle like the Destroyer himself in wrath amongst creatures at the time of the universal destruction. I do not behold a match for him in battle save thee, O tiger among men, that art possessed of prowess equal to that of a tiger. Save thee there is no other person in either heaven or the whole of this world, who, O son of Kuru's race, would be able to slay the ruler of the Madras while excited with wrath in battle. Day after day engaged in fight, he agitates thy troops. For this, slay Shalya in battle, like Maghavat slaying Samvara. Treated with honour by Dhritarashtra's son, that hero is invincible in battle. Upon the fall of the ruler of the Madras in battle, thou art certain to have victory. Upon his slaughter, the vast Dhartarashtra host will be slain. Hearing, O monarch, these words of mine now, proceed, O Partha, against that mighty car-warrior, the ruler of the Madras. Slay that warrior, O thou of mighty arms, like Vasava slaying the Asura Namuchi. There is no need of showing any compassion here, thinking that this one is thy maternal uncle. Keeping the duties of a Kshatriya before thee, slay the ruler of the Madras. Having crossed the fathomless oceans represented by Bhishma and Drona and Karna, do not sink, with thy followers, in the print of a cow's hoof represented by Shalya. Display in battle the whole of thy ascetic power and thy Kshatriya energy. Slay that car-warrior." Having said these words, Keshava, that slayer of hostile heroes, proceeded to his tent in the evening, worshipped by the Pandavas. After Keshava had gone, king Yudhishthira the Just, dismissing all his brothers and the Somakas, happily slept that night, like an elephant from

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whose body the darts have been plucked out. All those great bowmen of the Pancalas and Pandavas, delighted in consequence of the fall of Karna, slept that night happily. Its fever dispelled, the army of the Pandavas, abounding with great bowmen and mighty car-warriors having reached the shore as it were, became very happy that night, in consequence of the victory, O sire, it had won by the slaughter of Karna.'"

SECTION 8

"Sanjaya said, 'After that night had passed away, king Duryodhana then, addressing all thy soldiers, said, "Arm, you mighty car-warriors!" Hearing the command of the king, the warriors began to put on their armour. Some began to yoke their steeds to their cars quickly, others ran hither and thither. The elephants began to be equipped. The foot-soldiers began to arm. Others, numbering thousands, began to spread carpets on the terraces of cars. The noise of musical instruments, O monarch, arose there, for enhancing the martial enthusiasm of the soldiers. Then all the troops, placed in their proper posts, were seen, O Bharata, to stand, clad in mail and resolved to make death their goal. Having made the ruler of the Madras their leader, the great car-warriors of the Kauravas, distributing their troops, stood in divisions. Then all thy warriors, with Kripa and Kritavarma and Drona's son and Shalya and Subala's son and the other kings that were yet alive, met thy son, and arrived at this understanding, that none of them would individually and alone fight with the Pandavas. And they said, "He amongst us that will fight, alone and unsupported, with the Pandavas, or he that will abandon a comrade engaged in fight, will be stained with the five grave sins and all the minor sins." And they said, "All of us, united together, will fight with the foe." Those great car-warriors, having made such an understanding with one another placed the ruler of the Madras at their head and quickly proceeded against their foes. Similarly, all the Pandavas, having arrayed their troops in great battle, proceeded against the Kauravas, O king, for fighting with them on every side. Soon, O chief of the Bharatas, that host, whose noise resembled that of the agitated ocean, and which seemed to be wonderful in consequence of its cars and elephants, presented the aspect of the vast deep swelling with its surges.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'I have heard of the fall of Drona, of Bhishma and of the son of Radha. Tell me now of the fall of Shalya and of my son. How, indeed, O Sanjaya, was Shalya slain by king Yudhishthira the Just? And how was my son Duryodhana slain by Bhimasena of great might?'

"Sanjaya said, 'Hear, O king, with patience, of the destruction of human bodies and the loss of elephants and steeds, as I describe (to thee) the battle. The hope became strong, O king, in the breasts of thy sons that, after Drona and Bhishma and the Suta's son had been overthrown, Shalya, O sire, would slay all the Parthas in battle. Cherishing that hope in his heart, and drawing comfort from it, O Bharata, thy son Duryodhana, relying in battle upon that mighty car-warrior, the ruler of the Madras, regarded himself as possessed of a protector. When after Karna's fall the Parthas had uttered leonine roars, a great fear, O king, had possessed the hearts of the Dhartarashtras. Assuring him duly, the valiant king of the Madras, having formed, O monarch, a grand array whose arrangements were auspicious in every respect, proceeded against the Parthas in battle. And the valiant king of the Madras proceeded, shaking his beautiful and exceedingly strong bow capable of imparting a great velocity to the shafts sped from it. And that mighty car-warrior was mounted upon the foremost of vehicles, having horses of the Sindhu breed yoked unto it. Riding upon his car, his driver made the vehicle look resplendent. Protected by that car, that hero, that brave crusher of foes (Shalya), stood, O monarch, dispelling the fears of thy sons. The king of the Madras, clad in mail, proceeded at the head of the array, accompanied by the brave Madrakas and the invincible sons of Karna. On the left was Kritavarma, surrounded by the Trigartas. On the right was Gautama (Kripa) with the Sakas and the Yavanas. In the rear was Ashvatthama surrounded by the Kambojas. In the centre was Duryodhana, protected by the foremost of the Kuru warriors. Surrounded by a large force of cavalry and other troops, Subala's son Shakuni, as also the mighty car-warrior Uluka, proceeded with the others. The mighty bowmen amongst the Pandavas, those chastisers of foes, dividing themselves, O monarch, into three bodies, rushed against thy troops. Dhrishtadyumna and Shikhandi and the mighty car-warrior Satyaki proceeded with great speed against the army of Shalya. Then king Yudhishthira, accompanied by his troops, rushed against Shalya alone, from desire of slaughtering him, O bull of Bharata's race. Arjuna, that slayer of large bands of foes, rushed with great speed against that great bowman Kritavarma and the Samsaptakas. Bhimasena and the great car-warriors among the Somakas rushed, O monarch, against Kripa, desirous of slaughtering their foes in battle. The two sons of Madri, accompanied by their troops, proceeded against Shakuni and the great car-warrior Uluka at the head of their forces. Similarly, thousands upon thousands of warriors of thy army, armed with diverse weapons and filled with rage, proceeded against the Pandavas in that battle.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'After the fall of the mighty bowmen Bhishma and Drona and the great car-warrior Karna, and after both the Kurus and the Pandavas had been reduced in numbers, and when, indeed, the Parthas, possessed of great prowess, became once more angry in battle, what, O Sanjaya, was the strength of each of the armies?'

"Sanjaya said, 'Hear, O king, how we and the enemy both stood for battle on that occasion and what was then the strength of the two armies. 11,000 cars, O bull of Bharata's race, 10,700 elephants, and full 200,000 horses, and three millions of foot, composed the strength of thy army. 6,000 cars, 6,000 elephants, 10,000 horses, and one million of foot, O Bharata, were all that composed the remnant of the Pandava force in the battle. These, O bull of Bharata's race, encountered each other for battle. Having distributed their forces in this way, O monarch, ourselves, excited with wrath and inspired with desire of victory, proceeded against the Pandavas, having placed ourselves under the command of the ruler of the Madras. Similar, the brave Pandavas, those tigers among men, desirous of victory, and the Pancalas possessed of great fame, came to battle. Even thus, O monarch, all those tigers among men, desirous of slaughtering their foes, encountered one another at dawn of day, O lord. Then commenced a fierce and terrible battle between thy troops and the enemy, the combatants being all engaged in striking and slaughtering one another.'"

SECTION 9

"Sanjaya said, 'Then commenced the battle between the Kurus and the Srinjayas, O monarch, that was as fierce and awful as the battle between the gods and the Asuras. Men and crowds of cars and elephants, and elephant-warriors and horsemen by thousands, and steeds, all possessed of great prowess, encountered one another. The loud noise of rushing elephants of fearful forms was then heard there resembling the roars of the clouds in the welkin, in the season of rains. Some car-warriors, struck by elephants, were deprived of their cars. Routed by those infuriate animals other brave combatants ran on the field. Well-trained car-warriors, O Bharata, with their shafts, despatched large bodies of cavalry and the footmen that urged and protected the elephants, to the other world. Well-trained horsemen, O king, surrounding great car-warriors, careered on the field, striking and slaying the latter with spears and darts and swords. Some combatants armed with bows, encompassing great car-warriors, despatched them to Yama's abode, the many unitedly battling against individual ones. Other great car-warriors, encompassing elephants and foremost warriors of their own class, slew some mighty one amongst that fought on the field, careering all around. Similarly, O king, elephants, encompassing individual car-warriors excited with wrath and scattering showers of shafts, despatched them to the other world. Elephant-warrior rushing against elephant-warrior and car-warrior against car-warrior in that battle slew each other with darts and lances and cloth-yard shafts, O Bharata. Cars and elephants and horses, crushing foot-soldiers in the midst of battle, were seen to make confusion worse confounded. Adorned with yak-tails, steeds rushed on all sides, looking like the swans found on the plains at the foot of Himavat. They rushed with such speed that they seemed ready to devour the very Earth. The field, O monarch, indented with the hoofs of those steeds, looked beautiful like a beautiful woman bearing the marks of (her lover's) nails on her person. With the noise made by the tread of heroes, the wheels of cars, the shouts of foot-soldiers, the grunts of elephants, the peal of drums and other musical instruments, and the blare of conchs, the Earth began to resound as if with deafening peals of thunder. In consequence of twanging bows and flashing sabres and the glaring armour of the combatants, all became so confused there, that nothing could be distinctly marked. Invulnerable arms, lopped off from human bodies, and looking like the tusks of elephants, jumped up and writhed and moved furiously about. The sound made, O monarch, by heads falling on the field of battle, resembled that made by the falling fruits of palmyra trees. Strewn with those fallen heads that were crimson with blood, the Earth looked resplendent as if adorned with gold-coloured lotuses in their season. Indeed, with those lifeless heads with upturned eyes, that were exceedingly mangled (with shafts and other weapons), the field of battle, O king, looked resplendent as if strewn with full blown lotuses. With the fallen arms of the combatants, smeared with sandal and adorned with costly Keyuras, the earth looked bright as if strewn with the gorgeous poles set up in Indra's honour. The field of battle became covered with the thighs of kings, cut off in that battle and looking like the tapering trunks of elephants. Teeming with hundreds of headless trunk and strewn with umbrellas and yak-tails, that vast army looked beautiful like a flowering forest. Then, on the field of battle, O monarch, warriors careered fearlessly, their limbs bathed in blood and therefore looking like flowering Kinsukas. Elephants also, afflicted with arrows and lances, fell down here and there like broken clouds dropped from the skies. Elephant divisions, O monarch, slaughtered by high-souled warriors, dispersed in all directions like wind-tossed clouds. Those elephants, looking like clouds, fell down on the Earth, like mountains riven with thunder, O lord, on the occasion of the dissolution of the world at the end of the Yuga. Heaps upon heaps, looking like mountains, were seen, lying on the ground, of fallen steeds with their riders. A river appeared on the field of battle, flowing towards the other world. Blood formed its waters and cars its eddies. Standards formed its trees, and bones its pebbles. The arms (of combatants) were its alligators, bows its current, elephants its large rocks, and steeds its smaller ones. Fat and marrow formed its mire, umbrellas its swans, and maces its rafts. Abounding with armour and head-gears, banners constituted its beautiful trees. Teeming with wheels that formed its swarms of Chakravakas, it was covered with Trivenus and Dandas. Inspiring the brave with delight and enhancing the fears of the timid, that fierce river set in, whose shores abounded with Kurus and Srinjayas. Those brave warriors, with arms resembling spiked bludgeons, by the aid of their vehicles and animals serving the purposes of rafts and boats, crossed that awful river which ran towards the region of the dead. During the progress of that battle, O monarch, in which no consideration was shown by anybody for anyone, and which, fraught with awful destruction of the four kinds of forces, therefore, resembled the battle between the gods and the Asuras in days of old, some among the combatants, O scorcher of foes, loudly called upon their kinsmen and friends. Some, called upon by crying kinsmen, returned, afflicted with fear. During the progress of that fierce and awful battle, Arjuna and Bhimasena stupefied their foes. That vast host of thine, O ruler of men, thus slaughtered, swooned away on the field, like a woman under the influence of liquor. Having stupefied that army, Bhimasena and Dhananjaya blew their conchs and uttered leonine roars. As soon as they heard that loud peal, Dhrishtadyumna and Shikhandi, placing king Yudhishthira at their head, rushed against the ruler of the Madras. Exceedingly wonderful and terrible, O monarch, was the manner in which those heroes, unitedly and as separate bodies, then fought with Shalya. The two sons of Madri, endued with great activity, accomplished in weapons, and invincible in battle, proceeded with great speed against thy host, inspired with desire of victory. Then thy army, O bull of Bharata's race, mangled in diverse ways with shafts by the Pandavas eager for victory, began to fly away from the field. That host, thus struck and broken by firm bowmen, O monarch, fled away on all sides in the very sight of thy sons. Loud cries of "Oh!" and "Alas!" O Bharata, arose from among thy warriors, while some illustrious Kshatriyas among the routed combatants, desirous of victory, cried out saying, "Stop, stop!" For all that, those troops of thine, broken by the Pandavas, fled away, deserting on the field their dear sons and brothers and maternal, uncles and sister's sons and relatives by marriage and other kinsmen. Urging their steeds and elephants to greater speed, thousands of warriors fled away, O bull of Bharata's race, bent only upon their own safety.'"

SECTION 10

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding the army broken, the valiant king of the Madras, addressed his driver, saying, "Quickly urge these steeds endued with the fleetness of thought. Yonder stays king Yudhishthira, the son of Pandu, looking resplendent with the umbrella held over his head. Take me thither with speed, O driver, and witness my might. The Parthas are unable to stand before me in battle." Thus addressed, the driver of the Madra king proceeded to that spot where stood king Yudhishthira the Just of true aim. Shalya fell suddenly upon the mighty host of the Pandavas. Alone, he checked it like the continent checking the surging sea. Indeed, the large force of the Pandavas, coming against Shalya, O sire, stood still in that battle, like the rushing sea upon encountering a mountain. Beholding the ruler of the Madras standing for battle on the field, the Kauravas returned, making death their goal. After they had returned, O king, and separately taken up their positions in well-formed array, an awful battle set in, in which blood flowed freely like water.

"'The invincible Nakula encountered Chitrasena. These two heroes, both of whom were excellent bowmen, approaching, drenched each other with showers of arrows in that battle, like two pouring clouds risen in the welkin on the south and the north. I could not mark any difference between the son of Pandu and his antagonist. Both of them were accomplished in weapons, both endued with might, and both conversant with the practices of car-warriors. Each bent upon slaying the other, they carefully looked for each other's lapses. Then Chitrasena, O monarch, with a broad-headed shaft, well-tempered and sharp, cut off Nakula's bow at the handle. Fearlessly then the son of Karna struck the bowless Nakula at the forehead with three shafts equipped with wings of gold and whetted on stone. With a few other keen arrows he then despatched Nakula's steeds to Yama's abode. Next, he felled both the standard and the driver of his antagonist, each with three arrows. With those three arrows sped from the arms of

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his foe sticking to his fore-head, Nakula, O king, looked beautiful like a mountain with three crests. Deprived of his bow and his cars, the brave Nakula, taking up a sword, jumped down from his vehicle like a lion from a mountain-summit. As, however, he rushed on foot, his antagonist poured a shower of arrows upon him. Possessed of active prowess, Nakula received that arrowy shower on his shield. Getting at the car then of Chitrasena, the mighty-armed hero, the son of Pandu, conversant with all modes of warfare and incapable of being tired with exertion, ascended it in the very sight of all the troops. The son of Pandu then cut off from Chitrasena's trunk his diadem-decked head adorned with ear-rings, and graced with a beautiful nose and a pair of large eyes. At this, Chitrasena, endued with the splendour of the sun, fell down on the terrace of his car. Beholding Chitrasena slain, all the great car-warriors there uttered loud cries of praise and many leonine roars. Meanwhile, the two sons of Karna, Sushena and Satyasena, both of whom were great car-warriors, beholding their brother slain, shot showers of keen shafts. Those foremost of car-warriors rushed with speed against the son of Pandu like a couple of tigers, O king, in the deep forest rushing against an elephant from desire of slaying him. Both of them poured their keen shafts upon the mighty car-warrior Nakula. Indeed, as they poured those shafts, they resembled two masses of clouds pouring rain in torrents. Though pierced with arrows all over, the valiant and heroic son of Pandu cheerfully took up another bow after ascending on another car, and stood in battle like the Destroyer himself in rage. Then those two brothers, O monarch, with their straight shafts, cut off Nakula's car into fragments. Then Nakula, laughing, smote the four steeds of Satyasena with four whetted and keen shafts in that encounter. Aiming a long shaft equipped with wings of gold, the son of Pandu then cut off, O monarch, the bow of Satyasena. At this, the latter, mounting on another car and taking up another bow, as also his brother Sushena, rushed against the son of Pandu. The valiant son of Madri fearlessly pierced each of them, O monarch, with couple of shafts at the van of battle. Then the mighty car-warrior Sushena, filled with wrath, cut off in that battle, laughing the while, the formidable bow of Pandu's son with a razor-headed arrow. Then Nakula, insensate with rage, took up another bow and pierced Sushena with five arrows and struck his standard with one. Without losing a moment, he then cut off the bow and the leathern fence of Satyasena also, O sire, at which all the troops there uttered a loud shout. Satyasena, taking up another foe-slaying bow that was capable of bearing a great strain, shrouded the son of Pandu with arrows from every side. Baffling those arrows, Nakula, that slayer of hostile heroes, pierced each of his antagonists with a couple of shafts. Each of the latter separately pierced the son of Pandu in return with many straight-coursing shaft. Next they pierced Nakula's driver also with many keen shafts. The valiant Satyasena then, endued with great lightness of hand, cut off without his brother's help the shafts of Nakula's car and his bow with a couple of arrows. The Atiratha Nakula, however, staying on his car, took up a dart equipped with a golden handle and a very keen point, and steeped in oil and exceedingly bright. It resembled, O lord, a she-snake of virulent poison, frequently darting out her tongue. Raising that weapon he hurled it at Satyasena in that encounter. That dart, O king, pierced the heart of Satyasena in that battle and reduced it into a hundred fragments. Deprived of his senses and life, he fell down upon the Earth from his car. Beholding his brother slain, Sushena, insensate with rage, suddenly made Nakula carless in that battle. Without losing a moment, he poured his arrows over the son of Pandu fighting on foot. Seeing Nakula carless, the mighty car-warrior Sutasoma, the son of Draupadi, rushed to that spot for rescuing his sire in battle. Mounting then upon the car of Sutasoma, Nakula, that hero of Bharata's race, looked beautiful like a lion upon a mountain. Then taking up another bow, he fought with Sushena. Those two great car-warriors, approaching each other, and shooting showers of arrows, endeavoured to encompass each other's destruction. Then Sushena, filled with rage, struck the son of Pandu with three shafts and Sutasoma with twenty in the arms and the chest. At this, the impetuous Nakula, O monarch, that slayer of hostile heroes, covered all the points of the compass with arrows. Then taking up a sharp shaft endued with great energy and equipped with a semi-circular head, Nakula sped it with great force at Karna's son in that battle. With that arrow, O best of kings, the son of Pandu cut off from Sushena's trunk the latter's head in the very sight of all the troops. That feat seemed exceedingly wonderful. Thus slain by the illustrious Nakula, Karna's son fell down like a lofty tree on the bank of a river thrown down by the current of the stream. Beholding the slaughter of Karna's sons and the prowess of Nakula, thy army, O bull of Bharata's race, fled away in fear. Their commander, however, the brave and valiant ruler of the Madras, that chastiser of foes, then protected, O monarch, those troops in that battle. Rallying his host, O king, Shalya stood fearlessly in battle, uttering loud leonine roars and causing his bow to twang fiercely. Then thy troops, O king, protected in battle by that firm bowman, cheerfully proceeded against the foe once more from every side. Those high-souled warriors, surrounding that great bowman, the ruler of the Madras, stood, O king, desirous of battling on every side. Then Satyaki, and Bhimasena, and those two Pandavas, the twin sons of Madri, placing that chastiser of foes and abode of modesty, Yudhishthira, at their head, and surrounding him on all sides in that battle, uttered leonine roars. And those heroes also caused a loud whizz with the arrows they shot and frequently indulged in diverse kinds of shouts. Smilingly, all thy warriors, filled with rage, speedily encompassed the ruler of the Madras and stood from desire of battle. Then commenced a battle, inspiring the timid with fear, between thy soldiers and the enemy, both of whom made death their goal. That battle between fearless combatants, enhancing the population of Yama's kingdom, resembled, O monarch, that between the gods and the Asuras in days of yore. Then the ape-bannered son of Pandu, O king, having slaughtered the Samsaptakas in battle, rushed against that portion of the Kaurava army. Smiling, all the Pandavas, headed by Dhrishtadyumna, rushed against the same division, shooting showers of keen arrows. Overwhelmed by the Pandavas, the Kaurava host became stupefied. Indeed, those divisions then could not discern the cardinal point from the subsidiary points of the compass. Covered with keen arrows sped by the Pandavas, the Kaurava army, deprived of its foremost warriors, wavered and broke on all sides. Indeed, O Kaurava, that host of thine began to be slaughtered by the mighty car-warriors of the Pandavas. Similarly, the Pandava host, O king, began to be slaughtered in hundreds and thousands in that battle by thy sons on every side with their arrows. While the two armies, exceedingly excited, were thus slaughtering each other, they became much agitated like two streams in the season of rains. During the progress of that dreadful battle, O monarch, a great fear entered the hearts of thy warriors as also those of the Pandavas.'"

SECTION 11

Sanjaya said, "When the troops, slaughtered by one another, were thus agitated, when many of the warriors fled away and the elephants began to utter loud cries, when the foot-soldiers in that dreadful battle began to shout and wail aloud, when the steeds, O king, ran in diverse directions, when the carnage became awful, when a terrible destruction set in of all embodied creatures, when weapons of various kinds fell or clashed with one another, when cars and elephants began to be mangled together, when heroes felt great delight and cowards felt their fears enhanced, when combatants encountered one another from desire of slaughter, on that awful occasion of the destruction of life, during the progress of that dreadful sport, that is, of that awful battle that enhanced the population of Yama's kingdom, the Pandavas slaughtered thy troops with keen shafts, and, after the same manner, thy troops slew those of the Pandavas.

During that battle inspiring the timid with terror, indeed, during the progress of the battle as it was fought on that morning about the hour of sunrise, the Pandava heroes of good aim, protected by the high-souled Yudhishthira, fought with thy forces, making death itself their goal. The Kuru army, O thou of the race of Kuru, encountering the proud Pandavas endued with great strength, skilled in smiting, and possessed of sureness of aim, became weakened and agitated like a herd of she-deer frightened at a forest conflagration.

Beholding that army weakened and helpless like a cow sunk in mire, Shalya, desirous of rescuing it, proceeded against the Pandava army. Filled with rage, the ruler of the Madras, taking up an excellent bow, rushed for battle against the Pandava foes. The Pandavas also, O monarch, in that encounter, inspired with desire of victory, proceeded against the ruler of the Madras and pierced him with keen shafts. Then the ruler of the Madras, possessed of great strength, afflicted that host with showers of keen arrows in the very sight of king Yudhishthira the Just.

At that time diverse portents appeared to the view. The Earth herself, with her mountains, trembled, making a loud noise. Meteors, with keen points bright as those of lances equipped with handles, piercing the air, fell upon the Earth from the firmament. Deer and buffaloes and birds, O monarch, in large numbers, placed thy army to their right, O king. The planets Venus and Mars, in conjunction with Mercury, appeared at the rear of the Pandavas and to the front of all the (Kaurava) lords of Earth. Blazing flames seemed to issue from the points of weapons, dazzling the eyes (of the warriors). Crows and owls in large numbers perched upon the heads of the combatants and on the tops of their standards. Then a fierce battle took place between the Kaurava and the Pandava combatants, assembled together in large bodies. Then, O king, the Kauravas, mustering all their divisions, rushed against the Pandava army. Of soul incapable of being depressed, Shalya then poured dense showers of arrows on Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti like the thousand-eyed Indra pouring rain in torrents. Possessed of great strength, he pierced Bhimasena, and the five sons of Draupadi and Dhristadyumna, the two sons of Madri by Pandu, and the grandson of Sini, and Shikhandi also, each with ten arrows equipped with wings of gold and whetted on stone. Indeed, he began to pour his arrows like Maghavat (Indra) pouring rain at the close of the summer season. Then the Prabhadrakas, O king, and the Somakas, were seen felled or falling by thousands, in consequence of Shalya's arrows. Multitudinous as swarms of bees or flights of locusts, the shafts of Shalya were seen to fall like thunderbolts from the clouds. Elephants and steeds and foot-soldiers and car-warriors, afflicted with Shalya's arrows, fell down or wandered or uttered loud wails. Infuriate with rage and prowess, the ruler of the Madras shrouded his foes in that battle like Destroyer at the end of the Yuga. The mighty ruler of the Madras began to roar aloud like the clouds. The Pandava army, thus slaughtered by Shalya, ran towards Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti (for protection). Possessed of great lightness of hand, Shalya, having in that battle crushed them with whetted arrows, began to afflict Yudhishthira with a dense shower of shafts. Beholding Shalya impetuously rushing towards him with horsemen and foot-soldiers, king Yudhishthira, filled with wrath, checked him with keen shafts, even as an infuriate elephant is checked with iron-hooks. Then Shalya sped a terrible arrow at Yudhishthira that resembled a snake of virulent poison. Piercing through the high-souled son of Kunti, that arrow quickly fell down upon the Earth. Then Vrikodara, filled with wrath, pierced Shalya with seven arrows, and Sahadeva pierced him with five, and Nakula with ten. The (five) sons of Draupadi poured upon that foe-slaying hero, the impetuous Artayani (Shalya), showers of arrows like a mass of clouds pouring rain upon a mountain. Beholding Shalya struck by the Parthas on every side, both Kritavarma and Kripa rushed in wrath towards that spot. Uluka also of mighty energy, and Shakuni the son of Subala, and the mighty car-warrior Ashvatthama with smiles on his lips, and all thy sons protected Shalya by every means in that battle. Piercing Bhimasena with three arrows, Kritavarma, shooting a dense shower of shafts, checked that warrior who then seemed to be the embodiment of wrath. Excited with rage, Kripa struck Dhrishtadyumna with many arrows. Shakuni proceeded against the sons of Draupadi, and Ashvatthama against the twins. That foremost of warriors, Duryodhana, possessed of fierce energy, proceeded, in that battle, against Keshava and Arjuna, and endued with might, he struck them both with many arrows. Thus hundreds of combats, O monarch, that were fierce and beautiful, took place between thy men and the enemy, on diverse parts of the field. The chief of the Bhojas then slew the brown steeds of Bhimasena's car in that encounter. The steedless son of Pandu, alighting from his car, began to fight with his mace, like the Destroyer himself with his uplifted bludgeon. The ruler of the Madras then slew the steeds of Sahadeva before his eyes. Then Sahadeva slew Shalya's son with his sword. The preceptor Gautama (Kripa) once more fearlessly fought with Dhrishtadyumna, both exerting themselves with great care. The preceptor's son Ashvatthama, without much wrath and as if smiling in that battle, pierced each of the five heroic sons of Draupadi with ten arrows. Once more the steeds of Bhimasena were slain in that battle. The steedless son of Pandu, quickly alighting from his car, took up his mace like the Destroyer taking his bludgeon. Excited with wrath, that mighty hero crushed the steeds and the car of Kritavarma. Jumping down from his vehicle, Kritavarma then fled away. Shalya also, excited with rage, O king, slaughtered many Somakas and Pandavas, and once more afflicted Yudhishthira with many keen shafts. Then the valiant Bhima, biting his nether lip, and infuriate with rage, took up his mace in that battle, and aimed it at Shalya for the latter's destruction. Resembling the very bludgeon of Yama, impending (upon the head of the foe) like kala-ratri (Death Night), exceedingly destructive of the lives of elephants and steeds and human beings, twined round with cloth of gold, looking like a blazing meteor, equipped with a sling, fierce as a she-snake, hard as thunder, and made wholly of iron, smeared with sandal-paste and other unguents like a desirable lady, smutted with marrow and fat and blood, resembling the very tongue of Yama, producing shrill sounds in consequence of the bells attached to it, like unto the thunder of Indra, resembling in shape a snake of virulent poison just freed from its slough, drenched with the juicy secretions of elephants, inspiring hostile troops with terror and friendly troops with joy, celebrated in the world of men, and capable of riving mountain summits, that mace, with which the mighty son of Kunti had in Kailasa challenged the enraged Lord of Alaka, the friend of Maheshvara, that weapon with which Bhima, though resisted by many, had in wrath slain a large number of proud Guhyakas endued with powers of illusion on the breasts of Gandhamadana for the sake of procuring Mandara flowers for doing what was agreeable to Draupadi, uplifting that mace which was rich with diamonds and jewels and gems and possessed of eight sides and celebrated as Indra's thunder, the mighty-armed son of Pandu now rushed against Shalya. With that mace of awful sound, Bhima, skilled in battle, crushed the four steeds of Shalya that were possessed of great fleetness. Then the heroic Shalya, excited with wrath in that battle, hurled a lance at the broad chest of Bhima and uttered a loud shout. That lance, piercing through the armour of Pandu's son, presented into

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his body. Vrikodara, however, fearlessly plucking out the weapon, pierced therewith the driver of Shalya in the chest. His vitals pierced, the driver, vomiting blood, fell down with agitated heart. At this, the ruler of the Madras came down from his car and cheerlessly gazed at Bhima. Beholding his own feat thus counteracted, Shalya became filled with wonder. Of tranquil soul, the ruler of the Madras took up his mace and began to cast his glances upon his foe. Beholding that terrible feat of his in battle, the Parthas, with cheerful hearts, worshipped Bhima who was incapable of being tired with exertion.'"

SECTION 12

"Sanjaya said, 'Seeing his driver fallen, Shalya, O king, quickly took up his mace made wholly of iron and stood immovable as a bull. Bhima, however, armed with his mighty mace, rushed impetuously towards Shalya who then looked like the blazing Yuga-fire, or the Destroyer armed with the noose, or the Kailasa mountain with its formidable crest, or Vasava with his thunder, or Mahadeva with his trident, or an infuriate elephant in the forest. At that time the blare of thousands of conchs and trumpets and loud leonine roars arose there, enhancing the delight of heroes. The combatants of both armies, looking at those two foremost of warriors from every side, applauded them both, saying, "Excellent, Excellent! Save the ruler of the Madras, or Rama, that delighter of the Yadus, there is none else that can venture to endure the impetuosity of Bhima in battle. Similarly, save Bhima, there is no other warrior that can venture to endure the force of the mace of the illustrious king of the Madras in battle." Those two combatants then, Vrikodara and the ruler of the Madras, roaring like bulls, careered in circles, frequently jumping up in the air. In that encounter between those two lions among men, no difference could be noticed between them either in respect of their careering in circles or of their wielding the mace. The mace of Shalya, wrapped round with a resplendent cloth of gold that looked like a sheet of fire, inspired the spectators with dread. Similarly, the mace of the high-souled Bhima, as the latter careered in circles, looked like lightning in the midst of the clouds. Struck by the ruler of the Madras with his mace, the mace of Bhima, O king, produced sparks of fire in the welkin which thereupon seemed to be ablaze. Similarly, struck by Bhima with his mace, the mace of Shalya produced a shower of blazing coals which seemed exceedingly wonderful. Like two gigantic elephants striking each other with their tusks, or two huge bulls striking each other with their horns, those two heroes began to strike each other with their foremost of maces, like a couple of combatants striking each other with iron bound clubs. Their limbs being struck with each other's mace, they soon became bathed in blood and looked handsomer in consequence like two flowering Kinsukas. Struck by the ruler of the Madras on both his left and right, the mighty-armed Bhimasena stood immovable like a mountain. Similarly, though struck repeatedly with the force of Bhima's mace, Shalya, O king, moved not, like a mountain assailed by an elephant with his tusks. The noise made by the blows of the maces of those two lions among men was heard on all sides like successive peals of thunder. Having ceased for a moment, those two warriors of great energy once more began, with uplifted maces, to career in closer circles. Once more the clash took place between those two warriors of superhuman feats, each having advanced towards the other by eight steps, and each assailing the other with his uplifted iron club. Then, wishing to get at each other, they once more careered in circles. Both accomplished (in the use of the mace) they began to display their superiority of skill. Uplifting their terrible weapons, they then again struck each other like mountains striking each other with their crests at the time of an earthquake. Exceedingly crushed with each other's mace in consequence of each other's strength, both those heroes fell down at the same time like a couple of poles set up for Indra's worship. The brave combatants then of both armies, at that sight, uttered cries of "Oh!" and "Alas!" Struck with great force in their vital limbs, both of them had become exceedingly agitated. Then the mighty Kripa, taking up Shalya, that bull among the Madras, on his own car, quickly bore him away from the field of battle. Within, however, the twinkling of an eye, Bhimasena, rising up, and still reeling as if drunk, challenged, with uplifted mace, the ruler of the Madras. Then the heroic warriors of thy army, armed with diverse weapons, fought with the Pandavas, causing diverse musical instruments to be blown and beat. With uplifted arms and weapons and making a loud noise, O monarch, thy warriors headed by Duryodhana rushed against the Pandavas. Beholding the Kaurava host, the sons of Pandu, with leonine roars, rushed against those warriors headed by Duryodhana. Then thy son, O bull of Bharata's race, singling out Chekitana amongst those rushing heroes, pierced him deeply with a lance in the chest. Thus assailed by thy son, Chekitana fell down on the terrace of his car, covered with blood, and overcome with a deep swoon. Beholding Chekitana slain, the great car-warriors among the Pandavas incessantly poured their arrowy showers (upon the Kauravas). Indeed, the Pandavas, inspired with desire of victory, O monarch, careered beautifully on all sides amongst thy divisions. Kripa, and Kritavarma, and the mighty son of Subala, placing the ruler of the Madras before them, fought with king Yudhishthira the Just. Duryodhana, O monarch, fought with Dhrishtadyumna, the slayer of Bharadwaja's son, that hero endued with abundant energy and prowess. 3,000 cars, O king, despatched by thy son and headed by Drona's son, battled with Vijaya (Arjuna). All those combatants, O king, had firmly resolved to win victory and had cast off fear with life itself. Indeed, O king, thy warriors penetrated into the midst of the Pandava army like swans into a large lake. A fierce battle then took place between the Kurus and the Pandavas, the combatants being actuated with the desire of slaughtering one another and deriving great pleasure from giving and receiving blows. During the progress, O king, of that battle which was destructive of great heroes, an earthly dust, terrible to behold, was raised by the wind. From only the names we heard (of the Pandava warriors) that were uttered in course of that battle and from those (of the Kuru warriors) that were uttered by the Pandavas, we knew the combatants that fought with one another fearlessly. That dust, however, O tiger among men, was soon dispelled by the blood that was shed, and all the points of the compass became once more clear when that dusty darkness was driven away. Indeed, during the progress of that terrible and awful battle, no one among either thy warriors or those of the foe, turned his back. Desirous of attaining to the regions of Brahman and longing for victory by fair fight, the combatants displayed their prowess, inspired with the hope of heaven. For paying off the debt they owed to their masters on account of the sustenance granted by the latter, or firmly resolved to accomplish the objects of their friends and allies, the warriors, with hearts fixed on heaven, fought with one another on that occasion. Shooting and hurling weapons of diverse kinds, great car-warriors roared at or smote one another. "Slay, pierce, seize, strike, cut off!" These were the words that were heard in that battle, uttered by the warriors and those of the foe. Then Shalya, O monarch, desirous of slaying him, pierced king Yudhishthira the Just, that mighty car-warrior with many sharp arrows. Conversant with what are the vital limbs of the body, the son of Pritha, however, O monarch, with the greatest ease, struck the ruler of the Madras with four and ten cloth-yard shafts, aiming at the latter's vital limbs. Resisting the son of Pandu with his shafts, Shalya of great fame, filled with rage and desirous of slaying his adversary, pierced him in that battle with innumerable arrows equipped with Kanka feathers. Once more, O monarch, he struck Yudhishthira with a straight shaft in the very sight of all the troops. King Yudhishthira the Just, possessed of great fame and filled with rage, pierced the ruler of the Madras with many keen arrows equipped with feathers of Kankas and peacocks. The mighty car-warrior then pierced Candrasena with seventy arrows and Shalya's driver with nine, and Drumasena with four and sixty. When the two protectors of his car-wheels were (thus) slain by the high-souled son of Pandu, Shalya, O king, slew five and twenty warriors among the Cedis. And he pierced Satyaki with five and twenty keen arrows, and Bhimasena with seven, and the two sons of Madri with a hundred, in that battle. While Shalya was thus careering in that battle, that best of kings, the son of Pritha, sped at him many shafts that resembled snakes of virulent poison. With a broad-headed arrow, Yudhishthira the son of Kunti then cut off from his car the standard top of his adversary as the latter stood in his front. We saw the standard of Shalya, which was thus cut off by the son of Pandu in that great battle, fall down like a riven mountain summit. Seeing his standard fallen and observing the son of Pandu standing before him, the ruler of the Madras became filled with rage and shot showers of shafts. That bull amongst Kshatriyas, Shalya of immeasurable soul, poured over the Kshatriyas in that battle dense showers of arrows like the deity of the clouds pouring torrents of rain. Piercing Satyaki and Bhimasena and the twin sons of Madri by Pandu, each with five arrows, he afflicted Yudhishthira greatly. We then, O monarch, beheld a net of arrows spread before the chest of Pandu's son like a mass of risen clouds. The mighty car-warrior Shalya, in that battle, filled with rage, shrouded Yudhishthira with straight shafts. At this, king Yudhishthira afflicted with those showers of shafts, felt himself deprived of his prowess, even as the Asura Jambha had become before the slayer of Vritra.'"

SECTION 13

"Sanjaya said, 'When king Yudhishthira the Just was thus afflicted by the ruler of Madras, Satyaki and Bhimasena and the two sons of Madri by Pandu, encompassing Shalya with their cars, began to afflict him in that battle. Beholding the unsupported Shalya thus afflicted by those great car-warriors (and seeing him successfully repel those attacks), loud sounds of applause were heard, and the Siddhas (who witnessed the encounter) became filled with delight. The ascetics, assembled together (for witnessing the battle), declared it to be wonderful. Then Bhimasena in that encounter, having pierced Shalya who had become (as his name implied) an irresistible dart in prowess, with one arrow, next pierced him with seven. Satyaki, desirous of rescuing the son of Dharma, pierced Shalya with a hundred arrows and uttered a loud leonine roar. Nakula pierced him with five arrows, and Sahadeva with seven; the latter then once more pierced him with as many. The heroic ruler of the Madras, struggling carefully in that battle, thus afflicted by those mighty car-warriors, drew a formidable bow capable of bearing a great strain and of imparting great force to the shafts sped from it, and pierced Satyaki, O sire, with five and twenty shafts and Bhima with three and seventy and Nakula with seven. Then cutting off with a broad-headed arrow the bow, with shaft fixed on the string of Sahadeva, he pierced Sahadeva himself, in that battle, with three and seventy shafts. Sahadeva then, stringing another bow, pierced his maternal uncle of great splendour with five shafts that resembled snakes of virulent poison or blazing fire. Filled with great rage, he then struck his adversary's driver with a straight shaft in that battle and then Shalya himself once more with three. Then Bhimasena pierced the ruler of the Madras with seventy arrows, and Satyaki pierced him with nine, and king Yudhishthira with sixty. Thus pierced, O monarch, by those mighty car-warriors, blood began to flow from Shalya's body, like crimson streams, running down the breast of a mountain of red chalk. Shalya, however, quickly pierced in return each of those great bowmen with five arrows, O king, which feat seemed exceedingly wonderful. With another broad-headed arrow, that mighty car-warrior then, O sire, cut off the stringed bow of Dharma's son in that encounter. Taking up another bow, that great car-warrior, the son of Dharma, covered Shalya, his steeds, and driver, and standard, and car, with many arrows. Thus shrouded in that battle by the son of Dharma with his shafts, Shalya struck the former with ten keen arrows. Then Satyaki, filled with rage upon beholding the son of Dharma thus afflicted with shafts, checked the heroic ruler of the Madras with clouds of arrows. At this, Shalya cut off with a razor-faced arrow the formidable bow of Satyaki, and pierced each of the other Pandava warriors with three arrows. Filled with rage, O monarch, Satyaki of unbaffled prowess then hurled at Shalya a lance equipped with a golden staff and decked with many jewels and gems. Bhimasena sped at him a cloth-yard shaft that looked like a blazing snake; Nakula hurled at him a dart, Sahadeva an excellent mace, and the son of Dharma a Sataghni impelled by the desire of despatching him. The ruler of the Madras, however, quickly baffled in that battle all those weapons, hurled from the arms of those five warriors at him, as these coursed towards his car. With a number of broad-headed arrows Shalya cut off the lance hurled by Satyaki. Possessed of valour and great lightness of hand, he cut off into two fragments the gold-decked shaft sped at him by Bhima. He then resisted with clouds of shafts the terrible dart, equipped with a golden handle, that Nakula had sped at him and the mace also that Sahadeva had thrown. With a couple of other arrows, O Bharata, he cut off the Sataghni sped at him by the king, in the very sight of the sons of Pandu, and uttered a loud leonine roar. The grandson of Sini, however, could not endure the defeat of his weapon in that battle. Insensate with rage, Satyaki took up another bow and pierced the ruler of the Madras with two shafts and his driver with three. At this, Shalya, O monarch, excited with rage, deeply pierced all of them with ten arrows, like persons piercing mighty elephants with sharp-pointed lances. Thus checked in that battle by the ruler of the Madras, O Bharata, those slayers of foes became unable to stay in front of Shalya. King Duryodhana, beholding the prowess of Shalya, regarded the Pandavas, the Pancalas, and the Srinjayas as already slain. Then, O king, the mighty-armed Bhimasena, possessed of great prowess and mentally resolved to cast off his life-breaths, encountered the ruler of the Madras. Nakula and Sahadeva and Satyaki of great might, encompassing Shalya, shot their arrows at him from every side. Though encompassed by those four great bowmen and mighty car-warriors among the Pandavas, the valiant ruler of the Madras still fought with them. Then, O king, the royal son of Dharma, in that dreadful battle, quickly cut off with a razor-headed arrow one of the protectors of Shalya's car-wheels. When that brave and mighty car-warrior, that protector of Shalya's car-wheel, was thus slain, Shalya of great strength covered the Pandava troops with showers of arrows. Beholding his troops shrouded with arrows, O monarch, in that battle, king Yudhishthira the Just began to reflect in this strain, "Verily, how shall those grave words of Madhava become true? I hope, the rider of the Madras, excited with rage, will not annihilate my army in battle.' Then the Pandavas, O elder brother of Pandu (Dhritarashtra), with cars and elephants and steeds, approached the ruler of the Madras and began to afflict him from every side. Like the wind dispersing mighty masses of clouds, the king of the Madras, in that battle, dispersed that risen shower of arrows and diverse other kinds of weapons in profusion. We then beheld the downpour of gold-winged arrows shot by Shalya coursing through the welkin like a flight of locusts. Indeed, those arrows shot by the ruler of the Madras from the van of battle were seen to fall like swarms of birds. With the gold-decked shafts that issued from the bow of the Madra king, the welkin, O monarch, became so filled that

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there was not an inch of empty space. When a thick gloom appeared, caused by the arrows shot by the mighty ruler of the Madras owing to his extreme lightness of hands in that dreadful battle, and when they beheld the vast host of the Pandavas thus agitated by that hero, the gods and the Gandharvas became filled with great wonder. Afflicting with vigour all the Pandava warriors with his shafts from every side, O sire, Shalya shrouded king Yudhishthira the Just and roared repeatedly like a lion. The mighty car-warriors of the Pandavas, thus shrouded by Shalya in that battle, became unable to proceed against that great hero for fighting with him. Those, however, amongst the Pandavas, that had Bhimasena at their head and that were led by king Yudhishthira the Just, did not fly away from that ornament of battle, the brave Shalya.'"

SECTION 14

"Sanjaya said, 'Meanwhile Arjuna, in that battle, pierced with many arrows by the son of Drona as also by the latter's followers, the heroic and mighty car-warriors among the Trigartas, pierced Drona's son in return with three shafts, and each of the other warriors with two. Once again, the mighty-armed Dhananjaya covered his enemies with showers of shafts. Though struck with keen arrows and though they looked like porcupines in consequence of those arrows sticking to their limbs, still thy troops, O bull of Bharata's race, fled not from Partha in that battle. With Drona's son at their head, they encompassed that mighty car-warrior and fought with him, shooting showers of shafts. The gold-decked arrows, O king, shot by them, speedily filled the terrace of Arjuna's car. Beholding those two great bowmen, those two foremost of all warriors, the two Krishnas, covered with arrows, those invincible (Kaurava) combatants became filled with delight. Indeed, at that time, the Kuvara, the wheels, the shaft, the traces, the yoke, and the Anukarsha, O lord, of Arjuna's car, became entirely enveloped with arrows. The like of what thy warriors then did unto Partha had never before, O king, been either seen or heard. That car looked resplendent with those keen arrows of beautiful wings like a celestial vehicle blazing with hundreds of torches dropped on the Earth. Then Arjuna, O monarch, covered that hostile division with showers of straight shafts like a cloud pouring torrents of rain on a mountain. Struck in that battle with arrows inscribed with Partha's name, those warriors, beholding that state of things, regarded the field of battle to be full of Parthas. Then the Partha-fire, having for its wonderful flames and the loud twang of Gandiva for the wind that fanned it, began to consume the fuel constituted by thy troops. Then, O Bharata, heaps of fallen wheels and yokes, of quivers, of banners and standards, with the vehicles themselves that bore them, of shafts and Anukarshas and Trivenus, of axles and traces and goads, of heads of warriors decked with earrings and headgears, of arms, O monarch, and thighs in thousands of umbrellas along with fans, and of diadems and crowns, were seen along the tracks of Partha's car. Indeed, along the track of the angry Partha's car, O monarch, the ground, miry with blood, became impassable, O chief of the Bharatas, like the sporting ground of Rudra. The scene inspired the timid with fear and the brave with delight. Having destroyed 2,000 cars with their fences, that scorcher of foes, Partha, looked like a smokeless fire with blazing flames. Indeed, even as the illustrious Agni when he blazes forth (at the end of the Yuga) for destroying the mobile and the immobile universe, even so looked, O king, the mighty car-warrior Partha. Beholding the prowess of Pandu's son in that battle, the son of Drona, on his car equipped with many banners, endeavoured to check him. Those two tigers among men, both having white steeds yoked unto their vehicles and both regarded as the foremost of car-warriors, quickly encountered each other, each desirous of slaying the other. The arrowy showers shot by both became exceedingly terrible and were as dense, O bull of Bharata's race, as the torrents of rain poured by two masses of clouds at the close of summer. Each challenging the other, those two warriors mangled each other with straight shafts in that battle, like a couple of bulls tearing each other with their horns. The battle between them, O king, was fought equally for a long while. The clash of weapons became terrific. The son of Drona then, O Bharata, pierced Arjuna with a dozen gold-winged arrows of great energy and Vasudeva with ten. Having shown for a short while some regard for the preceptor's son in that great battle, Vibhatsu then, smiling the while, stretched his bow Gandiva with force. Soon, however, the mighty car-warrior Savyasaci (Arjuna) made his adversary steedless and driverless and carless, and without putting forth much strength pierced him with three arrows. Staying on that steedless car, Drona's son, smiling the while, hurled at the son of Pandu a heavy mallet that looked like a dreadful mace with iron-spikes. Beholding that weapon, which was decked with cloth of gold, coursing towards him, the heroic Partha, that slayer of foes, cut it off into seven fragments. Seeing his mallet cut off, Drona's son of great wrath took up a terrible mace equipped with iron spikes and looking like a mountain summit. Accomplished in battle, the son of Drona hurled it then at Partha. Beholding that spiked mace coursing towards him like the Destroyer himself in rage, Pandu's son Arjuna quickly cut it off with five excellent shafts. Cut off with Partha's shafts in that great battle, that weapon fell down on the Earth, riving the hearts, as it were, O Bharata, of the (hostile) kings. The son of Pandu then pierced Drona's son with three other shafts. Though deeply pierced by the mighty Partha, Drona's son, however, of great might, relying upon his own manliness, showed no sign of fear or agitation. That great car-warrior, the son of Drona, then, O king, shrouded Suratha (the Pancala) with showers of shafts before the eyes of all the Kshatriyas. At this, Suratha, that great car-warrior among the Pancalas, in that battle, riding upon his car whose rattle was as deep as the roar of the clouds rushed against the son of Drona. Drawing his foremost of bows, firm and capable of bearing a great strain, the Pancala hero covered Ashvatthama with arrows that resembled flames of fire or snakes of virulent poison. Seeing the great car-warrior Suratha rushing towards him in wrath, the son of Drona became filled with rage like a snake struck with a stick. Furrowing his brow into three lines, and licking the corners of his mouth with his tongue, he looked at Suratha in rage and then rubbed his bow-string and sped a keen cloth-yard shaft that resembled the fatal rod of Death. Endued with great speed, that shaft pierced the heart of Suratha and passing out entered the Earth, riving her through, like the thunderbolt of Shakra hurled from the sky. Struck with that shaft, Suratha fell down on the Earth like a mountain summit riven with thunder. After the fall of that hero, the valiant son of Drona, that foremost of car-warriors speedily mounted upon the vehicle of his slain foe. Then, O monarch, that warrior, invincible in battle, the son of Drona, well-equipped with armour and weapons, and supported by the Samsaptakas, fought with Arjuna. That battle, at the hour of noon, between one and the many, enhancing the population of Yama's domains, became exceedingly fierce. Wonderful was the sight that we then beheld, for, noticing the prowess of all those combatants, Arjuna, alone and unsupported, fought with his foes at the same time. The encounter was exceedingly fierce that thus took place between Arjuna and his enemies, resembling that between Indra, in days of yore, and the vast host of the Asuras.'"

SECTION 15

"Sanjaya said, 'Duryodhana, O king, and Dhrishtadyumna, the son of Prishata, fought a fierce battle, using arrows and darts in profusion. Both of them, O monarch, shot showers of arrows like showers of rain poured by the clouds in the rainy season. The (Kuru) king, having pierced with five arrows the slayer of Drona, Prishata's son of fierce shafts, once more pierced him with seven arrows. Endued with great might and steady prowess, Dhrishtadyumna, in that battle, afflicted Duryodhana with seventy arrows. Beholding the king thus afflicted, O bull of Bharata's race, his uterine brothers, accompanied by a large force, encompassed the son of Prishata. Surrounded by those Atirathas on every side, the Pancala hero, O king, careered in that battle, displaying his quickness in the use of weapons. Shikhandi, supported by the Prabhadrakas, fought with two Kuru bowmen, Kritavarma and the great car-warrior Kripa. Then also, O monarch, that battle became fierce and awful since the warriors were all resolved to lay down their lives and since all of them fought, making life the stake. Shalya, shooting showers of shafts on all sides, afflicted the Pandavas with Satyaki and Vrikodara amongst them. With patience and great strength, O monarch, the king of the Madras at the same time fought with the twins (Nakula and Sahadeva), each of whom resembled the Destroyer himself in prowess. The great car-warriors among the Pandavas who were mangled in that great battle with the shafts of Shalya, failed to find a protector. Then the heroic Nakula, the son of Madri, seeing king Yudhishthira the Just greatly afflicted, rushed with speed against his maternal uncle. Shrouding Shalya in that battle (with many arrows), Nakula, that slayer of hostile heroes, smiling the while, pierced him in the centre of the chest with ten arrows, made entirely of iron, polished by the hands of the smith, equipped with wings of gold, whetted on stone, and propelled from his bow with great force. Afflicted by his illustrious nephew, Shalya afflicted his nephew in return with many straight arrows. Then king Yudhishthira, and Bhimasena, and Satyaki, and Sahadeva, the son of Madri, all rushed against the ruler of the Madras. The vanquisher of foes, the generalissimo of the Kuru army, received in that battle all those heroes that rushed towards him quickly, filling the cardinal and the subsidiary points of the compass with the rattle of their cars and causing the Earth to tremble therewith. Piercing Yudhishthira with three arrows and Bhima with seven, Shalya pierced Satyaki with a hundred arrows in that battle and Sahadeva with three. Then the ruler of the Madras, O sire, cut off, with a razor-headed arrow, the bow with arrow fixed on it of the high-souled Nakula. Struck with Shalya's shafts, that bow broke into pieces. Taking up another bow, Madri's son, that great car-warrior quickly covered the ruler of the Madras with winged arrows. Then Yudhishthira and Sahadeva, O sire, each pierced the ruler of the Madras with ten arrows in the chest. Bhimasena and Satyaki, rushing at the ruler of the Madras, both struck him with arrows winged with Kanka feathers, the former with sixty, and the latter with nine. Filled with rage at this, the ruler of the Madras pierced Satyaki with nine arrows and once again with seventy straight shafts. Then, O sire, he cut off at the handle the bow, with arrow fixed on it, of Satyaki and then despatched the four steeds of the latter to Yama's abode. Having made Satyaki carless, that mighty car-warrior, the ruler of the Madras, struck him with a hundred arrows from every side. He next pierced two angry sons of Madri, and Bhimasena the son of Pandu, and Yudhishthira, O thou of Kuru's race, with ten arrows each. The prowess that we then beheld of the ruler of the Madras was exceedingly wonderful, since the Parthas, even unitedly, could not approach him in that battle. Riding then upon another car, the mighty Satyaki, of prowess incapable of being baffled, beholding the Pandavas afflicted and succumbing to the ruler of the Madras, rushed with speed against him. That ornament of assemblies, Shalya, on his car, rushed against the car of Satyaki, like one infuriate elephant against another. The collision that then took place between Satyaki and the heroic ruler of the Madras, became fierce and wonderful to behold, even like that which had taken place in days of yore between the Asura Samvara and the chief of the celestials. Beholding the ruler of the Madras staying before him in that battle, Satyaki pierced him with ten arrows and said, "Wait, Wait!" Deeply pierced by that high-souled warrior, the ruler of the Madras pierced Satyaki in return with sharp shafts equipped with beautiful feathers. Those great bowmen then, the Parthas, beholding the king of the Madras assailed by Satyaki, quickly rushed towards him from desire of slaying that maternal uncle of theirs. The encounter then that took place between those struggling heroes, marked by a great flow of blood, became exceedingly awful, like that which takes place between a number of roaring lions. The struggle, O monarch, that took between them resembled that which takes place between a number of roaring lions fighting with each other for meat. With the dense showers of shafts shot by them, the Earth became entirely enveloped, and the welkin also suddenly became one mass of arrows. All around the field a darkness was caused by those arrows. Indeed, with the shafts shot by those illustrious warriors, a shadow as that of the clouds was caused there. Then, O king, with those blazing shafts sped by the warriors, that were equipped with wings of gold and that looked like snakes just freed from their sloughs, the points of the compass seemed to be ablaze. That slayer of foes, Shalya, then achieved the most wonderful feat, since that hero alone, and unsupported, contended with many heroes in that battle. The Earth became shrouded with the fierce shafts, equipped with feathers of Kankas and peacocks, that fell, sped from the arms of the ruler of the Madras. Then, O king, we beheld the car of Shalya careering in that dreadful battle like the car of Shakra in days of yore on the occasion of the destruction of the Asuras.'"

SECTION 16

"Sanjaya said, 'Then, O lord, thy troops, with Shalya at their head, once more rushed against the Parthas in that battle with great impetuosity. Although afflicted, still these troops of thine, who were fierce in battle, rushing against the Parthas, very soon agitated them in consequence of their superior numbers. Struck by the Kurus, the Pandava troops, in the very sight of the two Krishnas, stayed not on the field, though sought to be checked by Bhimasena. Filled with rage at this, Dhananjaya covered Kripa and his followers, as also Kritavarma, with showers of shafts. Sahadeva checked Shakuni with all his forces. Nakula cast his glances on the ruler of the Madras from one of his flanks. The (five) sons of Draupadi checked numerous kings (of the Kuru army). The Pancala prince Shikhandi resisted the son of Drona. Armed with his mace, Bhimasena held the king in check, and Kunti's son Yudhishthira resisted Shalya at the head of his forces. The battle then commenced once more between those pairs as they stood, among thy warriors and those of the enemy, none of whom had ever retreated from fight. We then beheld the highly wonderful feat that Shalya achieved, since, alone, he fought with the whole Pandava army. Shalya then, as he stayed in the vicinity of Yudhishthira in that battle, looked like the planet Saturn in the vicinity of the Moon. Afflicting the king with shafts that resembled snakes of virulent poison, Shalya rushed against Bhima, covering him with showers of arrows. Beholding that lightness of hand and that mastery over weapons displayed by Shalya the troops of both the armies applauded him highly. Afflicted by Shalya the Pandavas, exceedingly mangled, fled away, leaving the battle, and disregarding the cries of Yudhishthira commanding them to stop. While his troops were thus being slaughtered by the ruler of the Madras, Pandu's son, king Yudhishthira the Just, became filled with rage. Relying upon his prowess, that mighty car-warrior began to afflict the ruler of the Madras, resolved to either win the battle or meet with death. Summoning all his brothers and also Krishna of Madhu's race, he said unto them, "Bhishma, and Drona, and Karna, and the other kings, that put forth their prowess for the sake of the

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Kauravas, have all perished in battle. You all have exerted your valour according to your courage and in respect of the shares allotted to you. Only one share--mine--that is constituted by the mighty car-warrior Shalya, remains. I desire to vanquish that ruler of the Madras today in battle. Whatever wishes I have regarding the accomplishment of that task I will now tell you. These two heroes, the two sons of Madravati, will become the protectors of my wheels. They are counted as heroes incapable of being vanquished by Vasava himself. Keeping the duties of a Kshatriya before them, these two that are deserving of every honour and are firm in their vows, will fight with their maternal uncle. Either Shalya will slay me in battle or I will slay him. Blessed be ye. Listen to these true words, you foremost of heroes in the world. Observant of Kshatriya duties, I will fight with my maternal uncle, you lords of Earth, firmly resolved to either obtain victory or be slain. Let them that furnish cars quickly supply my vehicle, according to the rules of science, with weapons and all kinds of implements in a larger measure than Shalya's. The grandson of Sini will protect my right wheel, and Dhrishtadyumna my left. Let Pritha's son Dhananjaya guard my rear today. And let Bhima, that foremost of all wielders of weapons, fight in my front. I shall thus be superior to Shalya in the great battle that will occur." Thus addressed by the king, all his well-wishers did as they were requested. Then the Pandava troops once more became filled with joy, especially the Pancalas, the Somakas and the Matsyas. Having made that vow, the king proceeded against the ruler of the Madras. The Pancalas then blew and beat innumerable conchs and drums and uttered leonine roars. Endued with great activity and filled with rage, they rushed, with loud shouts of joy, against the ruler of the Madras, that bull among the Kurus. And they caused the Earth to resound with the noise of the elephants' bells, and the loud blare of conchs and trumpets. Then thy son and the valiant ruler of the Madras, like the Udaya and the Asta hills, received those assailants. Boasting of his prowess in battle, Shalya poured a shower of arrows on that chastiser of foes, king Yudhishthira the Just, like Maghavat pouring rain. The high-souled king of the Kurus also having taken up his beautiful bow displayed those diverse kinds of lessons that Drona had taught him. And he poured successive showers of arrows beautifully, quickly, and with great skill. As he careered in battle, none could mark any lapses in him. Shalya and Yudhishthira, both endued with great prowess in battle, mangled each other, like a couple of tigers fighting for a piece of meat. Bhima was engaged with thy son, that delighter in battle. The Pancala prince (Dhrishtadyumna), Satyaki, and the two sons of Madri by Pandu, received Shakuni and the other Kuru heroes around. In consequence of thy evil policy, O king, there again occurred in that spot an awful battle between thy warriors and those of the foe, all of whom were inspired with the desire of victory. Duryodhana then, with a straight shaft, aiming at the gold-decked standard of Bhima, cut off in that battle. The beautiful standard of Bhimasena, adorned with many bells, fell down, O giver of honours. Once more the king, with a sharp razor-faced arrow, cut off the beautiful bow of Bhima that looked like the trunk of an elephant. Endued with great energy, the bowless Bhima then, putting forth his prowess pierced the chest of thy son with a dart. At this, thy son sat down on the terrace of his car. When Duryodhana swooned away, Vrikodara once more, with razor-faced shaft, cut off the head of his driver from his trunk. The steeds of Duryodhana's car, deprived of their driver, ran wildly on all sides, O Bharata, dragging the car after them, at which loud wails arose (in the Kuru army). Then the mighty car-warrior Ashvatthama, and Kripa and Kritavarma, followed that car, desirous of rescuing thy son. The (Kaurava) troops (at sight of this) became exceedingly agitated. The followers of Duryodhana became terrified. At that time, the wielder of Gandiva, drawing his bow, began to slay them with his arrows. Then Yudhishthira, excited with rage, rushed against the ruler of the Madras, himself urging his steeds white as ivory and fleet as thought. We then saw something that was wonderful in Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, for though very mild and soft, he then became exceedingly fierce. With eyes opened wide and body trembling in rage, the son of Kunti cut off hostile warriors in hundreds and thousands by means of his sharp shafts. Those amongst the soldiers against whom the eldest Pandava proceeded, were overthrown by him, O king, like mountain summits riven with thunder. Felling cars with steeds and drivers and standards and throwing down car-warriors in large numbers, Yudhishthira, without any assistance, began to sport there like a mighty wind destroying masses of clouds. Filled with rage, he destroyed steeds with riders and steeds without riders and foot-soldiers by thousands in that battle, like Rudra destroying living creatures (at the time of the universal dissolution). Having made the field empty by shooting his shafts on all sides, Yudhishthira rushed against the ruler of the Madras and said, "Wait, Wait!" Beholding the feats then of that hero of terrible deeds, all thy warriors became inspired with fear. Shalya, however, proceeded against him. Both of them filled with rage, blew their conchs. Returning and challenging each other, each then encountered the other. Then Shalya covered Yudhishthira with showers of arrows. Similarly, the son of Kunti covered the ruler of the Madras with showers of arrows. Then those two heroes, the ruler of the Madras and Yudhishthira, mangled in that battle with each other's arrows and bathed in blood, looked like a Salmali and a Kinsuka tree decked with flowers. Both possessed of splendour and both invincible in battle, those two illustrious warriors uttered loud roars. Beholding them both, the soldiers could not conclude which of them would be victorious. Whether the son of Pritha would enjoy the Earth, having slain Shalya, or whether Shalya having slain the son of Pandu would bestow the Earth on Duryodhana, could not be ascertained, O Bharata, by the warriors present there. King Yudhishthira, in course of that battle, placed his foes to his right. Then Shalya shot a hundred foremost of arrows at Yudhishthira. With another arrow of great sharpness, he cut off the latter's bow. Taking up another bow, Yudhishthira pierced Shalya with three hundred shafts and cut off the latter's bow with a razor-faced arrow. The son of Pandu then slew the four steeds of his antagonist with some straight arrows. With two other very sharp shafts, he then cut off the two Parshni drivers of Shalya. Then with another blazing, well-tempered and sharp shaft, he cut off the standard of Shalya staying in his front. Then, O chastiser of foes, the army of Duryodhana broke. The son of Drona, at this time, speedily proceeded towards the ruler of the Madras who had been reduced to that plight, and quickly taking him up on his own car, fled away quickly. After the two had proceeded for a moment, they heard Yudhishthira roar aloud. Stopping, the ruler of the Madras then ascended another car that had been equipped duly. That best of cars had a rattle deep as the roar of the clouds. Well furnished with weapons and instruments and all kinds of utensils, that vehicle made the hair of foes stand on end.'"

SECTION 17

"Sanjaya said, 'Taking up another bow that was very strong and much tougher, the ruler of the Madras pierced Yudhishthira and roared like a lion. Then that bull amongst Kshatriyas, of immeasurable soul, poured upon all the Kshatriyas showers of arrows, even like the deity of the clouds pouring rain in torrents. Piercing Satyaki with ten arrows and Bhima with three and Sahadeva with as many, he afflicted Yudhishthira greatly. And he afflicted all the other great bowmen with their steeds and cars and elephants with many shafts like hunters afflicting elephants with blazing brands. Indeed, that foremost of car-warriors destroyed elephants and elephant-riders, horses and horsemen and cars and car-warriors. And he cut off the arms of combatants with weapons in grasp and the standards of vehicles, and caused the Earth to be strewn with (slain) warriors like the sacrificial altar with blades of Kusa grass. Then the Pandus, the Pancalas, and the Somakas, filled with rage, encompassed that hero who was thus slaughtering their troops like all-destroying Death. Bhimasena, and the grandson of Sini, and those two foremost of men, the two sons of Madri, encompassed that warrior while he was fighting with the (Pandava) king of terrible might. And all of them challenged him to battle. Then those heroes, O king, having obtained the ruler of the Madras, that foremost of warriors, in battle, checked that first of men in that encounter and began to strike him with winged arrows of fierce energy. Protected by Bhimasena, and by the two sons of Madri, and by him of Madhu's race, the royal son of Dharma struck the ruler of the Madras in the centre of the chest with winged arrows of fierce energy. Then the car-warriors and other combatants of thy army, clad in mail and equipped with weapons, beholding the ruler of the Madras exceedingly afflicted with arrows in that battle, surrounded him on all sides, at the command of Duryodhana. The ruler of the Madras at this time quickly pierced Yudhishthira with seven arrows in that battle. The high-souled son of Pritha, O king, in return, pierced his foe with nine arrows in that dreadful encounter. Those two great car-warriors, the ruler of the Madras and Yudhishthira, began to cover each other with arrows, washed in oil and shot from their bowstrings stretched to their ears. Those two best of kings, both endued with great strength, both incapable of being defeated by foes, and both foremost of car-warriors, watchful of each other's lapses, quickly and deeply pierced each other with each other's shafts. The loud noise of their bows, bowstrings, and palms resembled that of Indra's thunder as those high-souled warriors, the brave ruler of the Madras and the heroic Pandava, showered upon each other their numberless arrows. They careered on the field of battle like two young tigers in the deep forest fighting for a piece of meat. Swelling with pride of prowess, they mangled each other like a couple of infuriate elephants equipped with powerful tusks. Then the illustrious ruler of the Madras, endued with fierce impetuosity, putting forth his vigour, pierced the heroic Yudhishthira of terrible might in the chest with shaft possessed of the splendour of fire or the sun. Deeply pierced, O king, that bull of Kuru's race, the illustrious Yudhishthira, then struck the ruler of the Madras with a well-shot shaft and became filled with joy. Recovering his senses within a trice, that foremost of kings (Shalya), possessed of prowess equal to that of him of a 1,000 eyes, with eyes red in wrath, quickly struck the son of Pritha with a hundred arrows. At this, the illustrious son of Dharma filled with rage, quickly pierced Shalya's chest and then, without losing a moment, struck his golden mail with six shafts. Filled with joy, the ruler of the Madras then, drawing his bow and having shot many arrows, at last cut off, with a pair of razor-faced shafts, the bow of his royal foe, that bull of Kuru's race. The illustrious Yudhishthira then, taking a new and more formidable bow in that battle, pierced Shalya with many arrows of keen points from every side like Indra piercing the Asura Namuchi. The illustrious Shalya then, cutting off the golden coats of mail of both Bhima and king Yudhishthira with nine arrows, pierced the arms of both of them. With another razor-faced arrow endued with the splendour of fire or the sun, he then cut off the bow of Yudhishthira. At this time Kripa, with six arrows, slew the king's driver who thereupon fell down in front of the car. The ruler of the Madras then slew with four shafts the four steeds of Yudhishthira. Having slain the steeds of the king, the high-souled Shalya then began to slay the troops of the royal son of Dharma. When the (Pandava) king had been brought to that plight, the illustrious Bhimasena, quickly cutting off the bow of the Madra king with an arrow of great impetuosity, deeply pierced the king himself with a couple of arrows. With another arrow he severed the head of Shalya's driver from his trunk, the middle of which was encased in mail. Exceedingly excited with rage, Bhimasena next slew, without a moment's delay, the four steeds also of his foe. That foremost of all bowmen, Bhima, then covered with a hundred arrows that hero (Shalya), who, endued with great impetuosity, was careering alone in that battle. Sahadeva, the son of Madri, also did the same. Beholding Shalya stupefied with those arrows, Bhima cut off his armour with other shafts. His armour having been cut off by Bhimasena, the high-souled ruler of the Madras, taking up a sword and a shield decked with a 1,000 stars, jumped down from his car and rushed towards the son of Kunti. Cutting off the shaft of Nakula's car, Shalya of terrible strength rushed towards Yudhishthira. Beholding Shalya rushing impetuously towards the king, even like the Destroyer himself rushing in rage, Dhristadyumna and Shikhandi and the (five) sons of Draupadi and the grandson of Sini suddenly advanced towards him. Then the illustrious Bhima cut off with ten arrows the unrivalled shield of the advancing hero. With another broad-headed arrow he cut off the sword also of that warrior at the hilt. Filled with joy at this, he roared aloud in the midst of the troops. Beholding that feat of Bhima, all the foremost car-warriors among the Pandavas became filled with joy. Laughing aloud, they uttered fierce roars and blew their conchs white as the moon. At that terrible noise the army protected by thy heroes became cheerless, covered with sweat, bathed in blood, exceedingly melancholy and almost lifeless. The ruler of the Madras assailed by those foremost of Pandava warriors headed by Bhimasena, proceeded (regardless of them) towards Yudhishthira, like a lion proceeding for seizing a deer. King Yudhishthira the Just, steedless and driverless, looked like a blazing fire in consequence of the wrath with which he was then excited. Beholding the ruler of the Madras before him, he rushed towards that foe with great impetuosity. Recollecting the words of Govinda, he quickly set his heart on the destruction of Shalya. Indeed, king Yudhishthira the Just, staying on his steedless and driverless car, desired to take up a dart. Beholding that feat of Shalya and reflecting upon the fact that the hero who had been allotted to him as his share still remained unslain, the son of Pandu firmly set his heart upon accomplishing that which Indra's younger brother had counselled him to achieve. King Yudhishthira the Just, took up a dart whose handle was adorned with gold and gems and whose effulgence was as bright as that of gold. Rolling his eyes that were wide open, he cast his glances on the ruler of the Madras, his heart filled with rage. Thus looked at, O god among men, by that king of cleansed soul and sins all washed away, the ruler of the Madras was not reduced to ashes. This appeared to us to be exceedingly wonderful, O monarch. The illustrious chief of the Kurus then hurled with great force at the king of the Madras that blazing dart of beautiful and fierce handle and effulgent with gems and corals. All the Kauravas beheld that blazing dart emitting sparks of fire as it coursed through the welkin after having been hurled with great force, even like a large meteor falling from the skies at the end of the Yuga. King Yudhishthira the Just, in that battle, carefully hurled that dart which resembled kala-ratri (the Death Night) armed with the fatal noose or the foster-mother of fearful aspect of Yama himself, and which like the Brahmana's curse, was incapable of being baffled. Carefully the sons of Pandu had always worshipped that weapon with perfumes and garlands and foremost of seats and the best kinds of viands and drinks. That weapon seemed to blaze like Samvartaka-fire and was as fierce as a rite performed according to the Atharvan of Agnirasa. Created by Tvashtri (the celestial artificer) for the use of Ishana, it was a consumer of the life-breaths and the bodies of all foes. It was capable of destroying by its force the Earth and the welkin and all the

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receptacles of water and creatures of every kind. Adorned with bells and banners and gems and diamonds and decked with stones of lapis lazuli and equipped with a golden handle, Tvashtri himself had forged it with great care after having observed many vows. Unerringly fatal, it was destructive of all haters of Brahma. Having carefully inspired it with many fierce mantras, and endued it with terrible velocity by the exercise of great might and great care, king Yudhishthira hurled it along the best of tracks for the destruction of the ruler of the Madras. Saying in a loud voice the words, "Thou art slain, O wretch!" the king hurled it, even as Rudra had, in days of yore, shot his shaft for the destruction of the asura Andhaka, stretching forth his strong (right) arm graced with a beautiful hand, and apparently dancing in wrath.

Shalya, however, roared aloud and endeavoured to catch that excellent dart of irresistible energy hurled by Yudhishthira with all his might, even as a fire leaps forth for catching a jet of clarified butter poured over it. Piercing through his very vitals and his fair and broad chest, that dart entered the Earth as easily as it would enter any water without the slightest resistance and bearing away (with it) the world-wide fame of the king (of the Madras). Covered with the blood that issued from his nostrils and eyes and ears and mouth, and that which flowed from his wound, he then looked like the Krauncha mountain of gigantic size when it was pierced by Skanda. His armour having been cut off by that descendant of Kuru's race, the illustrious Shalya, strong as Indra's elephant, stretching his arms, fell down on the Earth, like a mountain summit riven by thunder. Stretching his arms, the ruler of the Madras fell down on the Earth, with face directed towards king Yudhishthira the Just, like a tall banner erected to the honour of Indra falling down on the ground. Like a dear wife advancing to receive her dear lord about to fall on her breast, the Earth then seemed, from affection, to rise a little for receiving that bull among men as he fell down with mangled limbs bathed in blood. The puissant Shalya, having long enjoyed the Earth like a dear wife, now seemed to sleep on the Earth's breast, embracing her with all his limbs. Slain by Dharma's son of righteous soul in fair fight, Shalya seemed to assume the aspect of a goodly fire lying extinguished on the sacrificial platform. Though deprived of weapons and standard, and though his heart had been pierced, beauty did not yet seem to abandon the lifeless ruler of the Madras. Then Yudhishthira, taking up his bow whose splendour resembled that of Indra's bow, began to destroy his foes in that battle like the prince of birds destroying snakes. With the greatest speed he began to cut off the bodies of his enemies with his keen shafts. With the showers of shafts that the son of Pritha then shot, thy troops became entirely shrouded. Overcome with fear and with eyes shut, they began to strike one another (so stupefied were they then). With blood issuing from their bodies, they became deprived of their weapons of attack and defence and divested of their life-breaths. Upon the fall of Shalya, the youthful younger brother of the king of the Madras, who was equal to his (deceased) brother in every accomplishment, and who was regarded as a mighty car-warrior, proceeded against Yudhishthira. Invincible in battle desirous of paying the last dues of his brother, that foremost of men quickly pierced the Pandava with very many shafts. With great speed king Yudhishthira the Just pierced him with six arrows. With a couple of razor-faced arrows, he then cut off the bow and the standard of his antagonist. Then with a blazing and keen arrow of great force and broad head, he struck off the head of his foe staying before him. I saw that head adorned with earrings fall down from the car like a denizen of heaven falling down on the exhaustion of his merits. Beholding his headless trunk, bathed all over with blood, fallen down from the car, the Kaurava troops broke. Indeed, upon the slaughter of the younger brother of the Madras clad in beautiful armour, the Kurus, uttering cries of "Oh!" and "Alas!" fled away with speed. Beholding Shalya's younger brother slain, thy troops, hopeless of their lives, were inspired with the fear of the Pandavas and fled, covered with dust. The grandson of Sini then, Satyaki, O bull of Bharata's race, shooting his shafts, proceeded against the frightened Kauravas while the latter were flying away. Then Hridika's son, O king, quickly and fearlessly received that invincible warrior, that irresistible and mighty bowman, as he advanced (against the beaten army). Those two illustrious and invincible heroes of Vrishni's race, Hridika's son and Satyaki, encountered each other like two furious lions. Both resembling the sun in effulgence, they covered each other with arrows of blazing splendour that resembled the rays of the sun. The arrows of those two lions of Vrishni's race, shot forcibly from their bows, we saw, looked like swiftly coursing insects in the welkin. Piercing Satyaki with ten arrows and his steeds with three, the son of Hridika cut off his bow with a straight shaft. Laying aside his best of bows which was thus cut off, that bull of Sini's race, quickly took up another that was tougher than the first. Having taken up that foremost of bows, that first of bowmen pierced the son of Hridika with ten arrows in the centre of the chest. Then cutting off his car and the shaft also of that car with many well-shot arrows, Satyaki quickly slew the steeds of his antagonist as also his two Parshni drivers. The valiant Kripa then, the son of Saradwat, O lord, beholding Hridika's son made carless, quickly bore him away, taking him up on his car. Upon the slaughter of the king of the Madras and upon Kritavarma having been made carless, the entire army of Duryodhana once more turned its face from the battle. At this time the army was shrouded with a dusty cloud. We could not see anything. The greater portion, however, of thy army fell. They who remained alive had turned away their faces from battle. Soon it was seen that that cloud of earthy dust which had arisen became allayed, O bull among men, in consequence of the diverse streams of blood that drenched it on every side. Then Duryodhana, seeing from a near point his army broken, alone resisted all the Parthas advancing furiously. Beholding the Pandavas on their cars as also Dhrishtadyumna the son of Prishata and the invincible chief of the Anartas (Satyaki), the Kuru king covered all of them with sharp arrows. The enemy (at that time) approached him not, like mortal creatures fearing to approach the Destroyer standing before them. Meanwhile the son of Hridika, riding upon another car, advanced to that spot. The mighty car-warrior Yudhishthira then quickly slew the four steeds of Kritavarma with four shafts, and pierced the son of Gotama with six broad-headed arrows of great force. Then Ashvatthama, taking up on his car the son of Hridika who had been made steedless and carless by the (Pandava) king, bore him away from Yudhishthira's presence. The son of Saradwat pierced Yudhishthira in return with eight arrows and his steeds also with eight keen shafts. Thus, O monarch, the embers of that battle began to glow here and there, in consequence, O king, of the evil policy of thyself and thy son, O Bharata. After the slaughter of that foremost of bowmen on the field of battle by that bull of Kuru's race, the Parthas, beholding Shalya slain, united together, and filled with great joy, blew their conchs. And all of them applauded Yudhishthira in that battle, even as the celestials in days of yore, had applauded Indra after the slaughter of Vritra. And they beat and blew diverse kinds of musical instruments, making the Earth resound on every side with that noise.'"

SECTION 18

"Sanjaya said, 'After the slaughter of Shalya, O king, the followers of the Madra king, numbering seventeen hundred heroic car-warriors, proceeded for battle with great energy. Duryodhana riding upon an elephant gigantic as a hill, with an umbrella held over his head, and fanned the while with yak-tails, forbade the Madraka warriors, saying, "Do not proceed, Do not proceed!" Though repeatedly forbidden by Duryodhana, those heroes, desirous of slaying Yudhishthira, penetrated into the Pandava host. Those brave combatants, O monarch, loyal to Duryodhana, twanging their bows loudly, fought with the Pandavas. Meanwhile, hearing that Shalya had been slain and that Yudhishthira was afflicted by the mighty car-warriors of the Madrakas devoted to the welfare of the Madraka king, the great car-warrior Partha came there, stretching his bow Gandiva, and filling the Earth with the rattle of his car. Then Arjuna, and Bhima, and the two sons of Madri by Pandu, and that tiger among men, Satyaki, and the (five) sons of Draupadi, and Dhrishtadyumna, and Shikhandi, and the Pancalas and the Somakas, desirous of rescuing Yudhishthira, surrounded him on all sides. Having taken their places around the king, the Pandavas, those bulls among men, began to agitate the hostile force like Makaras agitating the ocean. Indeed, they caused thy army to tremble like a mighty tempest shaking the trees. Like the great river Ganges agitated by a hostile wind, the Pandava host, O king, once more became exceedingly agitated. Causing that mighty host to tremble, the illustrious and mighty car-warriors (the Madrakas), all shouted loudly, saying, "Where is that king Yudhishthira? Why are not his brave brothers, the Pandavas, to be seen here? What has become of the Pancalas of great energy as also of the mighty car-warrior Shikhandi? Where are Dhrishtadyumna and the grandson of Sini and those great car-warriors, the (five) sons of Draupadi?" At this, those mighty warriors, the sons of Draupadi, began to slaughter the followers of the Madra king who were uttering those words and battling vigorously. In that battle, some amongst thy troops were seen slain by means of their lofty standards. Beholding, however, the heroic Pandavas, the brave warriors of thy army, O Bharata, though forbidden by thy son, still rushed against them. Duryodhana, speaking softly, sought to prevent those warriors from fighting with the foe. No great car-warrior, however, amongst them obeyed his behest. Then Shakuni, the son of the Gandhara king, possessed of eloquence, O monarch, said unto Duryodhana these words, "How is this that we are standing here, while the Madraka host is being slaughtered before our eyes? When thou, O Bharata, art here, this does not look well! The understanding made was that all of us should fight unitedly! Why then, O king, dost thou tolerate our foes when they are thus slaying our troops?"

"'Duryodhana said, "Though forbidden by me before, they did not obey my behest. Unitedly have these men penetrated in the Pandava host!"

"'Shakuni said, "Brave warriors, when excited with rage in battle, do not obey the command of their leaders. It does not behove thee to be angry with those men. This is not the time to stand indifferently. We shall, therefore, all of us, united together with our cars and horses and elephants, proceed, for rescuing those great bowmen, the followers of the Madra king! With great care, O king, we shall protect one another." Thinking after the manner of Shakuni, all the Kauravas then proceeded to that place where the Madras were. Duryodhana also, thus addressed (by his maternal uncle) proceeded, encompassed by a large force, against the foe, uttering leonine shouts and causing the Earth to resound with that noise. "Slay, pierce, seize, strike, cut off!" These were the loud sounds that were heard then, O Bharata, among those troops. Meanwhile the Pandavas, beholding in that battle the followers of the Madra king assailing them unitedly, proceeded against them, arraying themselves in the form called Madhyama. Fighting hand to hand, O monarch, for a short while those heroic warriors, the followers of the Madra king, were seen to perish. Then, whilst we were proceeding, the Pandavas, united together and endued with great activity, completed the slaughter of the Madrakas, and, filled with delight, uttered joyous shouts. Then headless forms were seen to arise all around. Large meteors seemed to fall down from the sun's disc. The Earth became covered with cars and broken yokes and axles and slain car-warriors and lifeless steeds. Steeds fleet as the wind, still attached to yokes of cars (but without drivers to guide them) were seen to drag car-warriors, O monarch, hither and thither on the field of battle. Some horses were seen to drag cars with broken wheels, while some ran on all sides, bearing after them portions of broken cars. Here and there also were seen steeds that were hampered in their motions by their traces. Car-warriors, while falling down from their cars, were seen to drop down like denizens of heaven on the exhaustion of their merits. When the brave followers of the Madra king were slain, the mighty car-warriors of the Parthas, those great smiters, beholding a body of horse advancing towards them, rushed towards it with speed from desire of victory. Causing their arrows to whiz loudly and making diverse other kinds of noise mingled with the blare of their conchs, those effectual smiters possessed of sureness of aim, shaking their bows, uttered leonine roars. Beholding then that large force of the Madra king exterminated and seeing also their heroic king slain in battle, the entire army of Duryodhana once more turned away from the field. Struck, O monarch, by those firm bowmen, the Pandavas, the Kuru army fled away on all sides, inspired with fear.'

SECTION 19

"Sanjaya said, 'Upon the fall of that great king and mighty car-warrior, that invincible hero (Shalya) in battle, thy troops as also thy sons almost all turned away from the fight. Indeed, upon the slaughter of that hero by the illustrious Yudhishthira, thy troops were like ship-wrecked merchants on the vast deep without a raft to cross it. After the fall of the Madra king, O monarch, thy troops, struck with fear and mangled with arrows, were like masterless men desirous of a protector or a herd of deer afflicted by a lion. Like bulls deprived of their horns or elephants whose tusks have been broken, thy troops, defeated by Ajatasatru, fled away at midday. After the fall of Shalya, O king, none amongst thy troops set his heart on either rallying the army or displaying his prowess. That fear, O king, and that grief, which had been ours upon the fall of Bhishma, of Drona, and of the Suta's son, O Bharata, now became ours once more, O monarch. Despairing of success upon the fall of the mighty car-warrior Shalya, the Kuru army, with its heroes slain and exceedingly confused, began to be cut down with keen shafts. Upon the slaughter of the Madra king, O monarch, thy warriors all fled away in fear. Some on horse-back, some on elephants, some on cars, great car-warriors with great speed, and foot-soldiers also fled away in fear. 2,000 elephants, looking like hills, and accomplished in smiting fled away, after Shalya's fall, urged on with hooks and toes. Indeed, O chief of the Bharatas, thy soldiers fled on all sides. Afflicted with arrows, they were seen to run, breathing hard. Beholding them defeated and broken and flying away in dejection, the Pancalas and the Pandavas, inspired with desire of victory, pursued then hotly. The whiz of arrows and other noises, the loud leonine roars, and the blare of conchs of heroic warriors, became tremendous. Beholding the Kaurava host agitated with fear and flying away, the Pancalas and the Pandavas addressed one another, saying, "Today king Yudhishthira, firm in truth, hath vanquished his enemies. Today Duryodhana hath been divested of his splendour and kingly prosperity. Today, hearing of his sons' death, let Dhritarashtra, that king of men, stupefied and prostrate on the Earth, feel the most poignant anguish. Let him know today that the son of Kunti is possessed of great might among all bowmen. Today that sinful and wicked-hearted king will censure his own self. Let him recollect today the time and beneficial words of Vidura. Let him from this day wait upon the Parthas as their slave. Let that king today experience the grief that had been felt by

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the sons of Pandu. Let that king know today the greatness of Krishna. Let him hear today the terrible twang of Arjuna's bow in battle, as also the strength of all his weapons, and the might of his arms in fight. Today he will know the awful might of the high-souled Bhima when Duryodhana will be slain in battle even as the Asura Vali was slain by Indra. Save Bhima of mighty strength, there is none else in this world that can achieve that which was achieved by Bhima himself at the slaughter of Duhshasana. Hearing of the slaughter of the ruler of the Madras who was incapable of defeat by the very gods, that king will know the prowess of the eldest son of Pandu. After the slaughter of the heroic son of Subala and all the Gandharas he will know the strength, in battle, of the two sons of Madri by Pandu. Why will not victory be theirs that have Dhananjaya for their warrior, as also Satyaki, and Bhimasena, and Dhrishtadyumna the son of Prishata, and the five sons of Draupadi, and the two sons of Madri, and the mighty bowman Shikhandi, and king Yudhishthira? Why will not victory be theirs that have for their protector Krishna, otherwise called Janardana, that protector of the universe? Why will not victory be theirs that have righteousness for their refuge? Who else than Yudhishthira the son of Pritha, who hath Hrishikesa, the refuge of righteousness and fame, for his protector, is competent to vanquish in battle Bhishma and Drona and Karna and the ruler of the Madras and the other kings by hundreds and thousands?" Saying these words and filled with joy, the Srinjayas pursued thy troops in that battle who had been exceedingly mangled with shafts. Then Dhananjaya of great valour proceeded against the car-division of the foe. The two sons of Madri and the mighty carwarrior Satyaki proceeded against Shakuni. Beholding them all flying with speed in fear of Bhimasena, Duryodhana as if smiling the while, addressed his driver, saying, "Partha, stationed there with his bow, is transgressing me. Take my steeds to the rear of the whole army. Like the ocean that cannot transgress its continents, Kunti's son Dhananjaya will never venture to transgress me, if I take up my stand in the rear. Behold, O driver, this vast host that is pursued by the Pandavas. Behold this cloud of dust that has arisen on all sides in consequence of the motion of the troops. Hear those diverse leonine roars that are so awful and loud! Therefore, O driver, proceed slowly and take up thy position in the rear. If I stay in battle and fight the Pandavas, my army, O driver, will rally and come back with vigour to battle." Hearing these words of thy son that were just those of a hero and man of honour, the driver slowly urged those steeds in trappings of gold. 21,000 foot-soldiers, deprived of elephants and steeds and car-warriors, and who were ready to lay down their lives, still stood for battle. Born in diverse countries and hailing from diverse towns, those warriors maintained their ground, desirous of winning great fame. The clash of those rushing warriors filled with joy became loud and exceedingly terrible. Then Bhimasena, O king, and Dhrishtadyumna the son of Prishata resisted them with four kinds of forces. Other foot-soldiers proceeded against Bhima, uttering loud shouts and slapping their armpits, all actuated by the desire of going to heaven. Those Dhartarashtra combatants, filled with rage and invincible in battle, having approached Bhimasena, uttered furious shouts. They then spoke not to one another. Encompassing Bhima in that battle, they began to strike him from all sides. Surrounded by that large body of warriors on foot and struck by them in that battle, Bhima did not stir from where he stood fixed like Mainaka mountain. His assailants, meanwhile, filled with rage, O monarch, endeavoured to afflict that mighty car-warrior of the Pandavas and checked other combatants (that tried to rescue him). Encountered by those warriors, Bhima became filled with fury. Quickly alighting from his car, he proceeded on foot against them. Taking up his massive mace adorned with gold, he began to slay thy troops like the Destroyer himself armed with his club. The mighty Bhima, with his mace, crushed those 21,000 foot-soldiers who were without cars and steeds and elephants. Having slain that strong division, Bhima, of prowess incapable of being baffled, showed himself with Dhrishtadyumna in his front. The Dhartarashtra foot-soldiers, thus slain, lay down on the ground, bathed in blood, like Karnikaras with their flowery burthens laid low by a tempest. Adorned with garlands made of diverse kinds of flowers, and decked with diverse kinds of earrings, those combatants of diverse races, who had hailed from diverse realms, lay down on the field, deprived of life. Covered with banners and standards, that large host of foot-soldiers, thus cut down, looked fierce and terrible and awful as they lay down on the field. The mighty car-warriors, with their followers, that fought under Yudhishthira's lead, all pursued thy illustrious son Duryodhana. Those great bowmen, beholding thy troops turn away from the battle, proceeded against Duryodhana, but they could not transgress him even as the ocean cannot transgress its continents. The prowess that we then beheld of thy son was exceedingly wonderful, since all the Parthas, united together, could not transgress his single self. Then Duryodhana, addressing his own army which had not fled far but which, mangled with arrows, had set its heart on flight, said these words, "I do not see the spot on plain or mountain, whither, if ye fly, the Pandavas will not pursue and slay ye! What is the use then of flight? The army of the Pandavas hath been reduced in numbers. The two Krishnas are exceedingly mangled. If all of us make a stand, victory will be certainly ours! If you fly away, losing all order, the sinful Pandavas, pursuing you will slay you all! If, on the other hand, we make a stand, good will result to us! Listen, all you Kshatriyas that are assailed here! When the Destroyer always slays heroes and cowards, what man is there so stupid that, calling himself a Kshatriya, will not fight? Good will result to us if we stay in the front of the angry Bhimasena! Death in battle, while struggling according to Kshatriya practices, is fraught with happiness! Winning victory, one obtains happiness here. If slain, one obtains great fruits in the other world! You Kauravas, there is no better path to heaven than that offered by battle! Slain in battle, you may, without delay, obtain all those regions of blessedness." Hearing these words of his, and applauding them highly, the (Kuru) kings once more rushed against the Pandavas for battling with them. Seeing them advancing with speed, the Parthas, arrayed in order of battle, skilled in smiting, excited with rage, and inspired with desire of victory, rushed against them. The valiant Dhananjaya, stretching his bow Gandiva celebrated over the three worlds, proceeded on his car against the foe. The two sons of Madri, and Satyaki, rushed against Shakuni, and the other (Pandava) heroes, smiling, rushed impetuously against thy forces.'"

SECTION 20

"Sanjaya said, 'After the (Kuru) army had been rallied, Shalva, the ruler of the Mlecchas, filled with rage, rushed against the large force of the Pandavas, riding on a gigantic elephant, with secretions issuing from the usual limbs, looking like a hill, swelling with pride, resembling Airavata himself, and capable of crushing large bands of foes. Shalva's animal sprung from a high and noble breed. It was always worshipped by Dhritarashtra's son. It was properly equipped and properly trained for battle, O king, by persons well-conversant with elephant-lore. Riding on that elephant, that foremost of kings looked like the morning sun at the close of summer. Mounting on that foremost of elephants, O monarch, he proceeded against the Pandavas and began to pierce them on all sides with keen and terrible shafts that resembled Indra's thunder in force. While he shot his arrows in that battle and despatched hostile warriors to Yama's abode, neither the Kauravas nor the Pandavas could notice any lapses in him, even as the Daityas, O king, could not notice any in Vasava, the wielder of the thunder, in days of yore, while the latter was employed in crushing their divisions. The Pandavas, the Somakas, and the Srinjayas, beheld that elephant looking like a 1,000 elephants careering around them, even as the foes of the gods had in days of yore beheld the elephant of Indra in battle. Agitated (by that animal), the hostile army looked on every side as if deprived of life. Unable to stand in battle, they then fled away in great fear, crushing one another as they ran. Then the vast host of the Pandavas, broken by king Salwa, suddenly fled on all sides, unable to endure the impetuosity of that elephant. Beholding the Pandava host broken and flying away in speed, all the foremost of warriors of thy army worshipped king Salwa and blew their conchs white as the moon. Hearing the shouts of the Kauravas uttered in joy and the blare of their conchs, the commander of the Pandava and the Srinjaya forces, the Pancala prince (Dhrishtadyumna) could not, from wrath, endure it. The illustrious Dhrishtadyumna then, with great speed, proceeded for vanquishing the elephant, even as the Asura Jambha had proceeded against Airavata, the prince of elephants that Indra rode in the course of his encounter with Indra. Beholding the ruler of the Pandavas impetuously rushing against him, Salwa, that lion among kings, quickly urged his elephants, O king, for the destruction of Drupada's son. The latter, seeing the animal approaching with precipitancy, pierced it with three foremost of shafts, polished by the hands of the smith, keen, blazing, endued with fierce energy, and resembling fire itself in splendour and force. Then that illustrious hero struck the animal at the frontal globes with five other whetted and foremost of shafts. Pierced therewith, that prince of elephants, turning away from the battle, ran with great speed. Salwa, however, suddenly checking that foremost of elephants which had been exceedingly mangled and forced to retreat, caused it to turn back, and with hooks and keen lances urged it forward against the car of the Pancala king, pointing it out to the infuriate animal. Beholding the animal rushing impetuously at him, the heroic Dhrishtadyumna, taking up a mace, quickly jumped down on the Earth from his car, his limbs stupefied with fear. That gigantic elephant, meanwhile, suddenly crushing that gold-decked car with its steeds and driver, raised it up in the air with his trunk and then dashed it down on the Earth. Beholding the driver of the Pancala king thus crushed by that foremost of elephants, Bhima and Shikhandi and the grandson of Sini rushed with great speed against that animal. With their shafts they speedily checked the impetuosity of the advancing beast. Thus received by those car-warriors and checked by them in battle, the elephant began to waver. Meanwhile, king Salwa began to shoot his shafts like the sun shedding his rays on all sides. Struck with those shafts, the (Pandava) car-warriors began to fly away. Beholding that feat of Salwa, the Pancalas, the Srinjayas, and the Matsyas, O king, uttered loud cries of "Oh!" and "Alas!" in that battle, all those foremost of men, however, encompassed the animal on all sides. The brave Pancala king then, taking up his mace which resembled the lofty crest of a mountain, appeared there. Fearlessly, O king, that hero, that smiter of foes, rushed with speed against the elephant. Endued with great activity, the prince of the Pancalas approached and began to strike with his mace that animal which was huge as a hill and which shed its secretions like a mighty mass of pouring clouds. Its frontal globes suddenly split open, and it uttered a loud cry; and vomiting a profuse quantity of blood, the animal, huge as a hill, suddenly fell down, even as a mountain falling down during an earthquake. While that prince of elephants was falling down, and while the troops of thy son were uttering wails of woe at the sight, that foremost of warriors among the Sinis cut off the head of king Salwa with a sharp and broad-headed arrow. His head having been cut off by the Satwata hero, Salwa fell down on the Earth along with his prince of elephants, even like a mountain summit suddenly riven by the thunderbolt hurled by the chief of the celestials.'"

SECTION 21

"Sanjaya said, 'After the heroic Salwa, that ornament of assemblies, had been slain, thy army speedily broke like a mighty tree broken by the force of the tempest. Beholding the army broken, the mighty car-warrior Kritavarma, possessed by heroism and great strength, resisted the hostile force in that battle. Seeing the Satwata hero, O king, standing in battle like a hill pierced with arrows (by the foes), the Kuru heroes, who had fled away, rallied and came back. Then, O monarch, a battle took place between the Pandavas and the returned Kurus who made death itself their goal. Wonderful was that fierce encounter which occurred between the Satwata hero and his foes, since he resisted the invincible army of the Pandavas. When friends were seen to accomplish the most difficult feats, friends, filled with delight, uttered leonine shouts that seemed to reach the very heavens. At those sounds the Pancalas, O bull of Bharata's race, became inspired with fear. Then Satyaki, the grandson of Sini, approached that spot. Approaching king Kshemakirti of great strength, Satyaki despatched him to Yama's abode, with seven keen shafts. Then the son of Hridika, of great intelligence, rushed with speed against that bull of Sini's race, that mighty armed warrior, as the latter came, shooting his whetted shafts. Those two bowmen, those two foremost of car-warriors, roared like lions and encountered each other with great force, both being armed with foremost of weapons. The Pandavas, the Pancalas, and the other warriors, became spectators of that terrible encounter between the two heroes. Those two heroes of the Vrishni-Andhaka race, like two elephants filled with delight, struck each other with long arrows and shafts equipped with calf-toothed heads. Careering in diverse kinds of tracks, the son of Hridika and that bull of Sini's race soon afflicted each other with showers of arrows. The shafts sped with great force from the bows of the two Vrishni lions were seen by us in the welkin to resemble flights of swiftly coursing insects. Then the son of Hridika, approaching Satyaki of true prowess, pierced the four steeds of the latter with four keen shafts. The long-armed Satyaki, enraged at this, like an elephant struck with a lance, pierced Kritavarma with eight foremost of arrows. Then Kritavarma pierced Satyaki with three arrows whetted on stone and sped from his bow drawn to its fullest and then cut off his bow with another arrow. Laying aside his broken bow, that bull of Sini's race quickly took up another with arrow fixed on it. Having taken up that foremost of bows and stringed it, that foremost of all bowmen, that Atiratha of mighty energy and great intelligence and great strength, unable to endure the cutting of his bow by Kritavarma, and filled with fury, quickly rushed against the latter. With ten keen shafts that bull of Sini's race then struck the driver, the steeds, and the standard of Kritavarma. At this, O king, the great bowman and mighty car-warrior Kritavarma, beholding his gold-decked car made driverless and steedless, became filled with rage. Uplifting a pointed lance, O sire, he hurled it with all the force of his arm at that bull of Sini's race, desirous of slaying him. Satyaki, however, of the Satwata race, striking that lance with many keen arrows, cut it off into fragments and caused it to fall down, stupefying Kritavarma of Madhu's race (with his activity and prowess). With another broad-headed arrow he then struck Kritavarma in the chest. Made steedless and driverless in that battle by Yuyudhana, skilled in weapons, Kritavarma came down on the Earth. The heroic Kritavarma having been deprived of his car by Satyaki in that single combat, all the (Kaurava) troops became filled with great fear. A great sorrow afflicted the heart of thy sons, when Kritavarma was thus made steedless and driverless and carless. Beholding that chastiser of foes made steedless and driverless, Kripa, O king, rushed at that bull of Sini's race, desirous of despatching him to Yama's abode. Taking

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Kritavarma upon his car in the very sight of all the bowmen, the mighty-armed Kripa bore him away from the press of battle. After Kritavarma had been made carless and the grandson of Sini had become powerful on the field, the whole army of Duryodhana once more turned away from the fight. The enemy, however, did not see it, for the (Kuru) army was then shrouded with a dusty cloud. All thy warriors fled, O monarch, except king Duryodhana. The latter, beholding from a near point that his own army was routed, quickly rushing, assailed the victorious enemy, alone resisting them all. Fearlessly that invincible warrior, filled with rage, assailed with keen arrows all the Pandus, and Dhrishtadyumna the son of Prishta, and Shikhandi, and the sons of Draupadi, and the large bands of the Pancalas, and the Kaikeyas, O sire, and the Somakas! With firm determination thy mighty son stood in battle, even as a blazing and mighty fire on the sacrificial platform, sanctified with mantras. Even thus, king Duryodhana careered all over the field, in that battle. His foes could not approach him then, like living creatures unable to approach the Destroyer. Then the son of Hridika came there, riding on another car.'"

SECTION 22

"Sanjaya said, 'That foremost of car-warriors, O monarch, thy son, riding on his car and filled with the courage of despair, looked resplendent in that battle like Rudra himself of great valour. With the thousands of shafts shot by him, the Earth became completely covered. Indeed, he drenched his enemies with showers of arrows like the clouds pouring rain on mountain breasts. There was then not a man amongst the Pandavas in that great battle, or a steed, or an elephant, or a car, that was not struck with Duryodhana's arrows. Upon whomsoever amongst the warriors I then cast my eyes, O monarch, I beheld that every one, O Bharata, was struck by thy son with his arrows. The Pandava army was then covered with the shafts of that illustrious warrior, even as a host is covered with the dust it raises while marching or rushing to battle. The Earth then, O lord of Earth, seemed to me to be made one entire expanse of arrows by thy son Duryodhana, that bowman possessed of great lightness of hands. Amongst those thousands upon thousands of warriors on the field, belonging to thy side or that of the enemy, it seemed to me that Duryodhana was then the only man. The prowess that we then beheld of thy son seemed to be exceedingly wonderful, since the Parthas, even uniting together, could not approach his single self. He pierced Yudhishthira, O bull of Bharata's race, with a hundred arrows, and Bhimasena with seventy, and Sahadeva with seven. And he pierced Nakula with four and sixty, and Dhrishtadyumna with five, and the sons of Draupadi with seven, and Satyaki with three arrows. With a broad-headed arrow, he then, O sire, cut off the bow of Sahadeva. Laying aside that broken bow, the valiant son of Madri, took up another formidable bow, and rushing against king Duryodhana, pierced him with ten shafts in that battle. The great bowman Nakula, possessed of courage, then pierced the king with nine terrible arrows and uttered a loud roar. Satyaki struck the king with a single straight shaft; the sons of Draupadi struck him with three and seventy and king Yudhishthira struck him with five. And Bhimasena afflicted the king with eighty shafts. Though pierced thus from every side with numerous arrows by these illustrious warriors, Duryodhana still, O monarch, did not waver, in the presence of all the troops who stood there as spectators. The quickness, the skill, and the prowess of that illustrious warrior were seen by all the men there to exceed those of every creature. Meanwhile the Dhartarashtras, O monarch, who had not fled far from that spot, beholding the king, rallied and returned there, clad in mail. The noise made by them when they came back became exceedingly awful, like the roar of the surging ocean in the season of rains. Approaching their unvanquished king in that battle, those great bowmen proceeded against the Pandavas for fight. The son of Drona resisted in that battle the angry Bhimasena. With the arrows, O monarch, that were shot in that battle, all the points of the compass became completely shrouded, so that the brave combatants could not distinguish the cardinal from the subsidiary points of the compass. As regards Ashvatthama and Bhimasena, O Bharata, both of them were achievers of cruel feats. Both of them were irresistible in battle. The arms of both contained many cicatrices in consequence of both having repeatedly drawn the bow-string. Counteracting each other's feats, they continued to fight with each other, frightening the whole Universe. The heroic Shakuni assailed Yudhishthira in that battle. The mighty son of Subala, having slain the four steeds of the king, uttered a loud roar, causing all the troops to tremble with fear. Meanwhile, the valiant Sahadeva bore away the heroic and vanquished king on his car from that battle. Then king Yudhishthira the Just, riding upon another car (came back to battle), and having pierced Shakuni at first with nine arrows, once more pierced him with five. And that foremost of all bowmen then uttered a loud roar. That battle, O sire, awful as it was, became wonderful to behold. It filled the spectators with delight and was applauded by the Siddhas and the Charanas. Uluka of immeasurable soul rushed against the mighty bowman Nakula, in that battle, shooting showers of arrows from every side. The heroic Nakula, however, in that battle, resisted the son of Shakuni with a thick shower of arrows from every side. Both those heroes were well-born and both were mighty car-warriors. They were seen to fight with each other, each highly enraged with the other. Similarly Kritavarma, O king, fighting with the grandson of Sini, that scorcher of foes, looked resplendent, like Shakra battling with the Asura Vala. Duryodhana, having cut off Dhrishtadyumna's bow in that battle, pierced his bowless antagonist with keen shafts. Dhrishtadyumna then, in that encounter, having taken up a formidable bow, fought with the king in the sight of all the bowmen. The battle between those two heroes became exceedingly fierce, O bull of Bharata's race, like the encounter between two wild and infuriate elephants with juicy secretions trickling down their limbs. The heroic Gautama, excited with rage in that battle, pierced the mighty sons of Draupadi with many straight shafts. The battle that took place between him and those five, resembled that which takes place between an embodied being and his (five) senses. It was awful and exceedingly fierce, and neither side showed any consideration for the other. The (five) sons of Draupadi afflicted Kripa like the (five) senses afflicting a foolish man. He, on the other hand, fighting with them, controlled them with vigour. Even such and so wonderful, O Bharata, was that battle between him and them. It resembled the repeated combats, O lord, between embodied creatures and their senses. Men fought with men, elephants with elephants, steeds with steeds and car-warriors with car-warriors. Once more, O monarch, that battle became general and awful. Here an encounter was beautiful, there another was awful, and there another was exceedingly fierce, O lord! Many and awful, O monarch, were the encounters that took place in course of that battle. Those chastisers of foes (belonging to both armies), encountering one another, pierced and slew one another in that dreadful engagement. A dense cloud of dust was then seen there, raised by the vehicles and the animals of the warriors. Thick also, O king, was the dust raised by the running steeds, a dust that was carried from one place to another by the wind. Raised by the wheels of cars and the breaths of the elephants, the dust, thick as an evening cloud, rose into the welkin. That dust having been raised and the sun himself having been dimmed therewith, the Earth became shrouded, and the heroic and mighty car-warriors could not be seen. Anon that disappeared and everything became clear when the Earth, O best of the Bharatas, became drenched with the blood of heroes. Indeed, that dense and awful cloud of dust was allayed. Then, O Bharata, I could once more see the diverse single combats that the combatants fought at noon of day, each according to his strength and his rank, all of which were exceedingly fierce. The blazing splendour of those feats, O monarch, appeared full in view. Loud became the noise of falling shafts in that battle, resembling that made by a vast forest of bamboo while burning on every side.'"

SECTION 23

"Sanjaya said, 'During the progress of that terrible and awful battle, the army of thy son was broken by the Pandavas. Rallying their great car-warriors, however, with vigorous efforts, thy sons continued to fight with the Pandava army. The (Kuru) warriors, desirous of thy son's welfare, suddenly returned. Upon their return, the battle once more became exceedingly fierce between thy warriors and those of the foe, resembling that between the gods and the Asuras in days of old. Neither amongst the enemies nor amongst thine was there a single combatant that turned away from that battle. The warriors fought, aided by guess and by the names they uttered. Great was the destruction that occurred as they thus fought with one another. Then king Yudhishthira, filled with great wrath and becoming desirous of vanquishing the Dhartarashtras and their king in that battle, pierced the son of Saradwat with three arrows winged with gold and whetted on stone, and next slew with four others the four steeds of Kritavarma. Then Ashvatthama bore away the celebrated son of Hridika. Saradwat's son pierced Yudhishthira in return with eight arrows. Then king Duryodhana despatched seven hundred cars to the spot where king Yudhishthira was battling. Those cars ridden by excellent warriors and endued with speed of the wind or thought, rushed in that battle against the car of Kunti's son. Encompassing Yudhishthira on every side, they made him invisible with their shafts like clouds hiding the sun from the view. Then the Pandava heroes headed by Shikhandi, beholding king Yudhishthira the Just assailed in that way by the Kauravas, became filled with rage and were unable to put up with it. Desirous of rescuing Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, they came to that spot upon their cars possessed of great speed and adorned with rows of bells. Then commenced an awful battle, in which blood flowed as water, between the Pandavas and the Kurus, that increased the population of Yama's domains. Slaying those seven hundred hostile car-warriors of the Kuru army, the Pandavas and the Pancalas once more resisted (the whole Kuru army). There a fierce battle was fought between thy son and the Pandavas. We had never before seen or heard of its like. During the progress of that battle in which no consideration was showed by anybody for anybody, and while the warriors of thy army and those of the foe were falling fast, and the combatants were all shouting and blowing their conchs, and the bowmen were roaring and uttering loud noises of diverse kinds, while, indeed, the battle was raging fiercely and the very vitals of the combatants were being struck, and the troops, O sire, desirous of victory, were rushing with speed, while, verily, everything on Earth seemed to be undergoing a woeful destruction, during that time when innumerable ladies of birth and beauty were being made widows, during, indeed, the progress of that fierce engagement in which the warriors behaved without any consideration for friends and foes, awful portents appeared, presaging the destruction of everything. The Earth, with her mountains and forests, trembled, making a loud noise. Meteors like blazing brands equipped with handles dropped from the sky, O king, on every side on the Earth as if from the solar disc. A hurricane arose, blowing on all sides, and bearing away hard pebbles along its lower course. The elephants shed copious tears and trembled exceedingly. Disregarding all these fierce and awful portents, the Kshatriyas, taking counsel with one another, cheerfully stood on the field for battle again, on the beautiful and sacred field called after Kuru, desirous of obtaining heaven. Then Shakuni, the son of the Gandhara king, said, "Fight all of ye in front! I, however, will slay the Pandavas from behind." Then the Madraka warriors, endued with great activity, amongst those on our side that were advancing, became filled with joy and uttered diverse sounds of delight. Others too did the same. The invincible Pandavas, however, possessed of sureness of aim, once more coming against us, shook their bows and covered us with showers of arrows. The forces of the Madrakas then were slain by the foe. Beholding this, the troops of Duryodhana once more turned away from the battle. The mighty king of the Gandharvas, however, once more said these words, "Stop, ye sinful ones! Fight (with the foe)! What use is there of flight?" At that time, O bull of Bharata's race, the king of the Gandharas had full 10,000 horse-men capable of fighting with bright lances. During the progress of that great carnage, Shakuni, aided by that force, put forth his valour and assailed the Pandava army at the rear, slaughtering it with his keen shafts. The vast force of the Pandus then, O monarch, broke even as a mass of clouds is dispersed on all sides by a mighty wind. Then Yudhishthira, beholding from a near point his own army routed, coolly urged the mighty Sahadeva, saying, "Yonder the son of Subala, afflicting our rear, stayeth, clad in mail! He slaughtereth our forces! Behold that wicked wight, O son of Pandu! Aided by the son of Draupadi, proceed towards him and slay Shakuni, the son of Subala! Supported by the Pancalas, O sinless one, I will meanwhile destroy the car force of the enemy! Let all the elephants and all the horse and 3,000 foot, proceed with thee! Supported by these, slay Shakuni!" At this, 700 elephants ridden by combatants armed with the bow, and 5,000 horses, and the valiant Sahadeva, and 3,000 foot-soldiers, and the sons of Draupadi all rushed against Shakuni difficult of defeat in battle. Subala's son, however, of great valour, O king, prevailing over the Pandavas and longing for victory, began to slay their forces from the rear. The horsemen, infuriate with rage, belonging to the Pandavas endued with great activity, penetrated the division of Subala's son, prevailing over the latter's car-warriors. Those heroic horsemen, staying in the midst of their own elephants, covered the large host of Subala's son with showers of shafts. In consequence of thy evil counsels, O king, dreadful was the battle that then ensued in which maces and lances were used and in which heroes only took part. The twang of bow-string was no longer heard there, for all the car-warriors stood as spectators of that fight. At that time no difference could be seen between the contending parties. Both the Kurus and the Pandavas, O bull of Bharata's race, beheld the darts hurled from heroic arms course like meteors through the welkin. The entire welkin, O monarch, shrouded with falling swords of great brightness, seemed to become exceedingly beautiful. The aspect presented, O chief of the Bharatas, by the lances hurled all around, became like that of swarms of locusts in the welkin. Steeds, with limbs bathed in blood in consequence of wounds inflicted by horsemen themselves wounded with arrows, dropped down on all sides in hundreds and thousands. Encountering one another and huddled together, many of them were seen to be mangled and many to vomit blood from their mouths. A thick darkness came there when the troops were covered with a dusty cloud. When that darkness shrouded everything, O king, we beheld those brave combatants, steeds and men, move away from that spot. Others were seen to fall down on the Earth, vomiting blood in profusion. Many combatants, entangled with one another by their locks, could not stir. Many, endued with great strength, dragged one another from the backs of their horses, and encountering one another thus, slew one another like combatants in a wrestling match. Many deprived of life, were borne away on the backs of the steeds. Many men, proud of their valour and inspired with desire of victory, were seen to

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fall down on the Earth. The Earth became strewn over with hundreds and thousands of combatants bathed in blood, deprived of limbs, and divested of hair. In consequence of the surface of the Earth being covered with elephant-riders and horsemen and slain steeds and combatants with blood-stained armour and others armed with weapons and others who had sought to slay one another with diverse kinds of terrible weapons, all lying closely huddled together in that battle fraught with fearful carnage, no warrior could proceed far on his horse. Having fought for a little while, Shakuni, the son of Subala, O monarch, went away from that spot with the remnant of his cavalry numbering 6,000. Similarly, the Pandava force, covered with blood, and its animals fatigued, moved away from that spot with its remnant consisting of 6,000 horses. The blood-stained horsemen of the Pandava army then, with hearts intent on battle and prepared to lay down their lives, said, "It is no longer possible to fight here on cars; how much more difficult then to fight here on elephants! Let cars proceed against cars, and elephants against elephants! Having retreated, Shakuni is now within his own division. The royal son of Subala will not again come to battle." Then the sons of Draupadi and those infuriate elephants proceeded to the place where the Pancala prince Dhrishtadyumna, that great car-warrior, was. Sahadeva also, when that dusty cloud arose, proceeded alone to where king Yudhishthira was. After all those had gone away, Shakuni, the son of Subala, excited with wrath, once more fell upon Dhrishtadyumna's division and began to strike it. Once more a dreadful battle took place, in which the combatants were all regardless of their lives, between thy soldiers and those of the foe, all of whom were desirous of slaying one another. In that encounter of heroes, the combatants first eyed one another steadfastly, and then rushed, O king, and fell upon one another in hundreds and thousands. In that destructive carnage, heads severed with swords fell down with a noise like that of falling palmyra fruits. Loud also became the noise, making the very hair to stand on end, of bodies falling down on the ground, divested of armour and mangled with weapons and of falling weapons also, O king, and of arms and thighs severed from the trunk. Striking brothers and sons and even sires with keen weapons, the combatants were seen to fight like birds, for pieces of meat. Excited with rage, thousands of warriors, falling upon one another, impatiently struck one another in that battle. Hundreds and thousands of combatants, killed by the weight of slain horsemen while falling down from their steeds, fell down on the field. Loud became the noise of neighing steeds of great fleetness, and of shouting men clad in mail, and of the falling darts and swords, O king, of combatants desirous of piercing the vitals of one another in consequence, O monarch, of thy evil policy. At that time, thy soldiers, overcome with toil, spent with rage, their animals fatigued, themselves parched with thirst mangled with keen weapons, began to turn away from the battle. Maddened with the scent of blood, many became so insensate that they slew friends and foes alike, in fact, every one they got at. Large numbers of Kshatriyas, inspired with desire of victory, were struck down with arrows, O king, and fell prostrate on the Earth. Wolves and vultures and jackals began to howl and scream in glee and make a loud noise. In the very sight of thy son, thy army suffered a great loss. The Earth, O monarch, became strewn with the bodies of men and steeds, and covered with streams of blood that inspired the timid with terror. Struck and mangled repeatedly with swords and battle axes and lances, thy warriors, as also the Pandavas, O Bharata, ceased to approach one another. Striking one another according to the measure of their strength, and fighting to the last drop of their blood, the combatants fell down vomiting blood from their wounds. Headless forms were seen, seizing the hair of their heads (with one hand) and with uplifted swords dyed with blood (in the other). When many headless forms, O king, had thus risen up, when the scent of blood had made the combatants nearly senseless, and when the loud noise had somewhat subsided, Subala's son (once more) approached the large host of the Pandavas, with the small remnant of his horse. At this, the Pandavas, inspired with desires of victory and endued with foot-soldiers and elephants and cavalry, all with uplifted weapons, desirous of reaching the end of the hostilities, the Pandavas, forming a wall, encompassed Shakuni on all sides, and began to strike him with diverse kinds of weapons. Beholding those troops of thine assailed from every side, the Kauravas, with horsemen, foot-soldiers, elephants, and cars, rushed towards the Pandavas. Some foot-soldiers of great courage, destitute of weapons, attacked their foes in that battle, with feet and fists, and brought them down. Car-warriors fell down from cars, and elephant-men from elephants, like meritorious persons falling down from their celestial vehicles upon the exhaustion of their merits. Thus the combatants, engaged with one another in that great battle, slew sires and friends and sons. Thus occurred that battle, O best of the Bharatas, in which no consideration was shown by anybody for anyone, and in which lances and swords and arrows fell fast, on every side and made the scene exceedingly terrible to behold.'"

SECTION 24

"Sanjaya said, 'When the loud noise of battle had somewhat subsided and the Pandavas had slain large numbers of their foes, Subala's son (once more) came for fight with the remnant of his horsemen numbering seven hundred. Quickly approaching his own soldiers and urging them to battle, he repeatedly said, "You chastisers of foes, fight cheerfully!" And he asked the Kshatriyas present there, saying, "Where is the king, that great car-warrior?" Hearing these words of Shakuni, O bull of Bharata's race, they answered saying, "Yonder stayeth that great car-warrior, the Kuru king, there where that large umbrella of splendour equal to that of the full moon, is visible--there where those car-warriors, clad in mail, are staying--there where that loud noise, deep as the roar of clouds, is being heard! Proceed quickly thither, O king, and thou wilt then see the Kuru monarch!" Thus addressed by those brave warriors, Subala's son Shakuni, O king, proceeded to that spot where thy son was staying, surrounded on all sides by unretreating heroes. Beholding Duryodhana stationed in the midst of that car-force, Shakuni, gladdening all those car-warriors of thine, O king cheerfully said these words unto Duryodhana. Indeed, he said the following words in a manner which showed that he regarded all his purposes to have been already achieved. "Slay, O king, the car-divisions (of the Pandavas)! All their horses have been vanquished by me! Yudhishthira is incapable of being conquered in battle unless one is prepared to lay down his life! When that car-force, protected by the son of Pandu, will have been destroyed, we shall then slay all those elephants and foot-soldiers and others!" Hearing these words of his, thy warriors, inspired with desire of victory, cheerfully rushed towards the Pandava army. With quivers on their backs and bows in their hands, all of them shook their bows and uttered leonine roars. Once more, O king, the fierce twang of bows and the slapping of palms and the whiz of arrows shot with force was heard. Beholding those Kuru combatants approach the Pandava army with uplifted bows, Kunti's son Dhananjaya said unto the son of Devaki these words, "Urge the steeds fearlessly and penetrate this sea of troops! With my keen shafts I shall today reach the end of these hostilities! Today is the eighteenth day, O Janardana, of this great battle that is raging between the two sides! The army of those high-souled heroes, which was literally numberless, hath been nearly destroyed! Behold the course of Destiny! The army of Dhritarashtra's son, O Madhava, which was vast as the ocean, hath, O Achyuta, become, after encountering ourselves, even like the indent caused by a cow's hoof! If peace had been made after Bhishma's fall, O Madhava, everything would have been well! The foolish Duryodhana of weak understanding, however, did not make peace! The words that were uttered by Bhishma, O Madhava, were beneficial and worthy of adoption. Suyodhana, however, who had lost his understanding, did not act according to them. After Bhishma had been struck and thrown down on the Earth, I do not know the reason why the battle proceeded! I regard the Dhartarashtras to be foolish and of weak understanding in every way, since they continued the battle even after the fall of Santanu's son! After that when Drona, that foremost of all utterers of Brahma, fell, as also the son of Radha, and Vikarna, the carnage did not still cease! Alas, when a small remnant only of the (Kaurava) army remained after the fall of that tiger among men, Karna, with his sons, the carnage did not still cease! After the fall of even the heroic Srutayush, of also Jalasandha of Puru's race, and of king Srutayudha, the carnage did not still cease! After the fall of Bhurishrava, of Shalya, O Janardana, and of the Avanti heroes, the carnage did not still cease! After the fall of Jayadratha, of the Rakshasa Alayudha, of Bahlika, and of Somadatta, the carnage did not still cease! After the fall of heroic Bhagadatta, of the Kamboja chief Sadakshina, and of Duhshasana, the carnage did not still cease! Beholding even diverse heroic and mighty kings, each owning extensive territories, slain in battle, the carnage, O Krishna, did not still cease! Beholding even a full Akshauhini of troops slain by Bhimasena in battle, the carnage did not still cease, in consequence of either the folly or the covetousness of the Dhartarashtras! What king born in a noble race, a race especially like that of Kuru, save of course the foolish Duryodhana, would thus fruitlessly wage such fierce hostilities? Who is there, possessed of reason and wisdom and capable of discriminating good from evil, that would thus wage war, knowing his foes to be superior to him in merit, strength, and courage? How could he listen to the counsels of another, when, indeed, he could not make up his mind to make peace with the Pandavas in obedience to the words uttered by thee? What medicine can be acceptable to that person today who disregarded Bhishma the son of Santanu, and Drona, and Vidura, while they urged him to make peace? How can he accept good counsels, who from folly, O Janardana, insolently disregarded his own aged sire as also his own well-meaning mother while speaking beneficial words unto him? It is evident, O Janardana, that Duryodhana took his birth for exterminating his race! His conduct and his policy, it is seen, point to that line, O lord! He will not give us our kingdom yet! This is my opinion, O Achyuta! The high-souled Vidura, O sire, told me many a time that as long as life remained in Dhritarashtra's son, he would never give us our share of the kingdom! Vidura further told me, 'As long also as Dhritarashtra will live, O giver of honours, even that sinful wight will act sinfully towards you! Ye will never succeed in vanquishing Duryodhana without battle!' Even thus, O Madhava, did Vidura of true foresight often speak to me! All the acts of that wicked-souled wight, I now find to be exactly as the high-souled Vidura had said! That person of wicked understanding who, having listened to the beneficial and proper words of Jamadagni's son, disregarded them, should certainly be held as standing in the face of destruction. Many persons crowned with ascetic success said as soon as Duryodhana was born, that the entire Kshatriya order would be exterminated in consequence of that wretch. Those words of the sages, O Janardana, are now being realised, since the Kshatriyas are undergoing almost entire extermination in consequence of Duryodhana's acts! I shall, O Madhava, slay all the warriors today! After all the Kshatriyas will have been slain and the (Kaurava) camp made empty, Duryodhana will then desire battle with us for his own destruction. That will end these hostilities! Exercising my reason, O Madhava, and reflected in my own mind, O thou of Vrishni's race, thinking of Vidura's words, and taking into account the acts of the wicked-souled Duryodhana himself, I have come to this conclusion! Penetrate the Bharata army, O hero, for I shall slay the wicked-souled Duryodhana and his army today with my keen shafts! Slaying this weak army in the very sight of Dhritarashtra's son, I shall today do what is for Yudhishthira's good!'"

"Sanjaya continued, 'Thus addressed by Savyasaci, he of Dasarha's race, reins in hand, fearlessly penetrated that vast hostile force for battle. That was a terrible forest of bows (which the two heroes entered). Darts constituted its prickles. Maces and spiked bludgeons were its paths. Cars and elephants were its mighty trees. Cavalry and infantry were its creepers. And the illustrious Keshava, as he entered that forest on that car decked with many banners and pennons, looked exceedingly resplendent. Those white steeds, O king, bearing Arjuna in battle, were seen careering everywhere, urged by him of Dasarha's race! Then that scorcher of foes, Savyasaci, proceeded on his car, shooting hundreds of keen shafts like a cloud pouring showers of rain. Loud was the noise produced by those straight arrows, as also by those combatants that were covered with them in that battle by Savyasaci. Showers of shafts, piercing through the armour of the combatants, fell down on the Earth. Impelled from Gandiva, arrows, whose touch resembled that of Indra's thunder, striking men and elephants and horses, O king, fell in that battle with a noise like that of winged insects. Everything was shrouded with those shafts shot from Gandiva. In that battle, the points of the compass, cardinal and subsidiary, could not be distinguished. The whole world seemed to be filled with gold-winged shafts, steeped in oil, polished by the hands of the smith, and marked with Partha's name. Struck with those keen shafts, and burnt therewith by Partha even as a herd of elephants is burnt with burning brands, the Kauravas became languid and lost their strength. Armed with bow and arrows, Partha, resembling the blazing sun, burnt the hostile combatants in that battle like a blazing fire consuming a heap of dry grass. As a roaring fire of blazing flames and great energy (arising from embers) cast away on the confines of a forest by its denizens, fire consumes those woods abounding with trees and heaps of dry creepers, even so that hero possessed of great activity and fierce energy and endued with prowess of weapons, and having shafts for his flames, quickly burnt all the troops of thy son from wrath. His gold-winged arrows, endued with fatal force and shot with care, could not be baffled by any armour. He had not to shoot a second arrow at man, steed, or elephant of gigantic size. Like the thunder-wielding Indra striking down the Daityas, Arjuna, alone, entering that division of mighty car-warriors, destroyed it with shafts of diverse forms.'"

SECTION 25

"Sanjaya said, 'Dhananjaya, with his Gandiva, frustrated the purpose of those unreturning heroes struggling in battle and striking their foes. The shafts shot by Arjuna, irresistible and endued with great force and whose touch was like that of the thunder, were seen to resemble torrents of rain poured by a cloud. That army, O chief of the Bharatas, thus struck by Kiritin, fled away in the very sight of thy son. Some deserted their sires and brothers, others deserted their comrades. Some car-warriors were deprived of their animals. Others lost their drivers. Some had their poles or yokes or wheels broken, O king! The arrows of some were exhausted. Some were seen afflicted with arrows. Some, though unwounded, fled in a body, afflicted with fear. Some endeavoured to rescue their sons, having lost all their kinsmen and animals. Some loudly called upon their sires, some upon their comrades and followers. Some fled, deserting their kinsmen, O tiger among men, and brothers and other relatives, O monarch! Many mighty car-warriors, struck with Partha's shafts and deeply pierced therewith, were seen to breathe hard, deprived of their

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senses. Others, taking them upon their own cars, and soothing them for a while, and resting them and dispelling their thirst by offering them drink, once more proceeded to battle. Some, incapable of being easily defeated in battle, deserting the wounded, once more advanced to battle, desirous of obeying the behests of thy son. Some, having slaked their thirst or groomed their animals, and some, wearing (fresh) armour, O chief of the Bharatas, and some, having comforted their brothers and sons and sires, and placed them in camp, once more came to battle. Some, arraying their cars in the order, O king, of superiors and inferiors, advanced against the Pandavas once more for battle. Those heroes (on their cars) covered with rows of bells, looked resplendent like Daityas and Danavas intent on the conquest of the three worlds. Some, advancing with precipitancy on their vehicles decked with gold, fought with Dhrishtadyumna amid the Pandava divisions. The Pancala prince Dhrishtadyumna, and the great car-warrior Shikhandi, and Satanika, the son of Nakula, fought with the car-force of the enemy. The Pancala prince, then, filled with rage and supported by a large army, rushed against thy angry troops from desire of slaying them. Then thy son, O ruler of men, sped many showers of arrows, O Bharata, at the Pancala prince thus rushing at him. Then, O king, Dhrishtadyumna was quickly pierced with many arrows in his arms and chest by thy son fighting with his bow. Deeply pierced therewith like an elephant with pointed lances, that great bowman then despatched with his shafts the four steeds of Duryodhana to the regions of death. With another broad-headed arrow he next cut off from his trunk the head of his enemy's driver. Then that chastiser of foes, king Duryodhana, having thus lost his car, rode on horse-back and retreated to a spot not remote. Beholding his own army destitute of prowess, thy son, the mighty Duryodhana, O king, proceeded to the place where Subala's son was. When the Kaurava cars were broken, 3,000 gigantic elephants encompassed those car-warriors, the five Pandavas. Encompassed by that elephant force, O Bharata, the five brothers looked beautiful, O tiger among men, like the planets surrounded by the clouds. Then the mighty-armed and white-steeded Arjuna, O king, of sureness of aim and having Krishna for his charioteer, advanced on his car. Surrounded by those elephants huge as hills, he began to destroy those animals with his keen and polished arrows. Each slain with a single arrow, we beheld those huge elephants fallen or falling down, mangled by Savyasaci. The mighty Bhimasena, himself like an infuriated elephant, beholding those elephants, took up his formidable mace and rushed at them, quickly jumping down from his car, like the Destroyer armed with his club. Seeing that great car-warrior of the Pandavas with uplifted mace, thy soldiers became filled with fright and passed urine and excreta. The whole army became agitated upon beholding Bhimasena armed with mace. We then beheld those elephants, huge as hills, running hither and thither, with their frontal globes split open by Bhima with his mace and all their limbs bathed in blood. Struck with Bhima's mace, those elephants, running off from him, fell down with cries of pain, like wingless mountains. Beholding those elephants, many in number, with their frontal globes split open, running hither and thither or falling down, thy soldiers were inspired with fear. Then Yudhishthira also, filled with wrath, and the two sons of Madri, began to slay those elephant-warriors with arrows equipped with vulturine wings. Dhrishtadyumna, after the defeat of the (Kuru) king in battle, and after the flight of the latter from that spot on horse-back, saw that the Pandavas had all been surrounded by the (Kaurava) elephants. Beholding this, O monarch, Dhrishtadyumna, the son of the Pancala king, proceeded towards those elephants, from desire of slaughtering them. Meanwhile, not seeing Duryodhana in the midst of the car-force. Ashvatthama and Kripa, and Kritavarma of the Satwata race, asked all the Kshatriyas there, saying, 'Where has Duryodhana gone?' Not seeing the king in that carnage, those great car-warriors all thought thy son to have been slain. Hence, with sorrowful faces, they enquired after him. Some persons told them that after the fall of his driver, he had gone to Subala's son. Other Kshatriyas, present there, who had been exceedingly mangled with wounds, said, "What need is there with Duryodhana? See if he is yet alive! Do you all fight unitedly? What will the king do to you?" Other Kshatriyas, who were exceedingly mangled, who had lost many of their kinsmen, and who were still being afflicted with the arrows of the enemy, said these words in indistinct tones, "Let us slay these forces by whom we are encompassed! Behold, the Pandavas are coming hither, after having slain the elephants!" Hearing these words of theirs, the mighty Ashvatthama, piercing through that irresistible force of the Pancala king, proceeded with Kripa and Kritavarma to the spot where Subala's son was. Indeed, those heroes, those firm bowmen, leaving the car-force, repaired (in search of Duryodhana). After they had gone away, the Pandavas, headed by Dhrishtadyumna, advanced, O king, and began to slay their enemies. Beholding those valiant and heroic and mighty car-warriors cheerfully rushing towards them, thy troops, amongst whom the faces of many had turned pale, became hopeless of their lives. Seeing those soldiers of ours almost deprived of weapons and surrounded (by the foe). I myself, O king, having only two kinds of forces, and becoming reckless of life, joined the five leaders of our army, and fought with the forces of the Pancala prince, posting our men on that spot where Saradwat's son was stationed. We had been afflicted with the shafts of Kiritin. Nevertheless, a fierce battle took place between us and the division of Dhrishtadyumna. At last, vanquished by the latter, all of us retreated from that encounter. I then beheld the mighty car-warrior Satyaki rushing against us. With four hundred cars that hero pursued me in battle. Having escaped with difficulty from Dhrishtadyumna whose steeds had been tired, I fell among the forces of Madhava even as a sinner falleth into hell. There a fierce and terrible battle took place for a short while. The mighty-armed Satyaki, having cut off my armour, became desirous of taking me alive. He seized me while I lay down on the ground insensible. Then within a short while that elephant-force was destroyed by Bhimasena with his mace and Arjuna with his arrows. In consequence of those mighty elephants, huge as hills, falling down on every side with crushed limbs, the Pandava warriors found their way almost entirely blocked up. Then the mighty Bhimasena, O monarch, dragging away those huge elephants, made a way for the Pandavas to come out. Meanwhile, Ashvatthama and Kripa and Kritavarma of the Satwata race, not seeing that chastiser of foes, Duryodhana, amid the car-division, sought for thy royal son, Abandoning the prince of the Pancalas, they proceeded to the spot where Subala's son was anxious to have a sight of the king during that terrible carnage.'"

SECTION 26

"Sanjaya said, 'After that elephant-division had been destroyed, O Bharata, by the son of Pandu, and while thy army was being thus slaughtered by Bhimasena in battle, beholding the latter, that chastiser of foes, careering like the all-killing Destroyer himself in rage armed with his club, the remnant of thy unslaughtered sons, those uterine brothers, O king, united together at that time when he of Kuru's race, thy son Duryodhana, could not be seen, and rushed against Bhimasena. They were Durmarshana and Srutanta and Jaitra and Bhurivala and Ravi, and Jayatsena and Sujata and that slayer of foes, Durvishaha, and he called Durvimochana, and Dushpradharsha and the mighty-armed Srutarvan. All of them were accomplished in battle. Those sons of thine, uniting together, rushed against Bhimasena and shut him up on all sides. Then Bhima, O monarch, once more mounting on his own car, began to shoot keen shafts at the vital limbs of thy sons. Those sons of thine, covered with arrows by Bhimasena in that dreadful battle, began to drag that warrior like men dragging an elephant from off a cross-way. Excited with rage, Bhimasena, quickly cutting off the head of Durmarshana with a razor-headed arrow, felled it on the Earth. With another broad-headed arrow capable of penetrating every armour, Bhima next slew that mighty car-warrior, thy son Srutanta. Then with the greatest ease, piercing Jayatsena with a cloth-yard shaft, that chastiser of foes, the son of Pandu, felled that scion of Kuru's race from his car. The prince, O king, fell down and immediately expired. At this, thy son Srutarvan, excited with rage, pierced Bhima with a hundred straight arrows winged with vulturine feathers. Then Bhima, inflamed with rage, pierced Jaitra and Ravi and Bhurivala, those three, with three shafts resembling poison or fire. Those mighty car-warriors, thus struck, fell down from their cars, like Kinsukas variegated with flowers in the season of spring cut down (by the axe-man). Then that scorcher of foes, with another broad-headed arrow of great keenness, struck Durvimochana and despatched him to Yama's abode. Thus struck, that foremost of carwarriors fell down on the ground from his car, like a tree growing on the summit of a mountain when broken by the wind. The son of Pandu next struck thy other two sons at the head of their forces, Dushpradharsha and Sujata, each with a couple of arrows in that battle. Those two foremost of car-warriors, pierced with those shafts, fell down. Beholding next another son of thine, Durvishaha, rushing at him, Bhima pierced him with a broad-headed arrow in that battle. That prince fell down from his car in the very sight of all the bowmen. Beholding so many of his brothers slain by the singlehanded Bhima in that battle, Srutarvan, under the influence of rage, rushed at Bhima, stretching his formidable bow decked with gold and shooting a large number of arrows that resembled poison or fire in energy. Cutting off the bow of Pandu's son in that dreadful battle, the Kuru prince pierced the bowless Bhima with twenty arrows. Then Bhimasena, that mighty car-warrior, taking up another bow, shrouded thy son with arrows and addressing him, said, "Wait, Wait!' The battle that took place between the two was beautiful and fierce, like that which had occurred in days of yore between Vasava and the Asura Jambha, O lord! With the keen shafts, resembling the fatal rods of Yama, sped by those two warriors, the Earth, the sky, and all the points of the compass, became shrouded. Then Srutarvan, filled with rage, took up his bow and struck Bhimasena in that battle, O king, with many arrows on his arms and chest. Deeply pierced, O monarch, by thy son armed with the bow, Bhima became exceedingly agitated like the ocean at the full or the new moon. Filled with wrath, Bhima then, O sire, despatched with his arrows the driver and the four steeds of thy son to Yama's abode. Beholding him carless, Pandu's son of immeasurable soul, displaying the lightness of his hands, covered him with winged arrows. The carless Srutarvan then, O king, took up a sword and shield. As the prince, however, careered with his sword and bright shield decked with a hundred moons, the son of Pandu struck off his head from his trunk with a razor-headed arrow and felled it on the Earth. The trunk of that illustrious warrior, rendered headless by means of that razor-headed arrow, fell down from his car, filling the Earth with a loud noise. Upon the fall of that hero, thy troops, though terrified, rushed in that battle against Bhimasena from desire of fighting with him. The valiant Bhimasena, clad in mail, received those warriors rushing quickly at him from among the unslain remnant of that ocean of troops. Approaching him, those warriors encompassed that hero on all sides. Thus surrounded by those warriors of thine, Bhima began to afflict them all with keen shafts like him of a 1,000 eyes afflicting the Asuras. Having destroyed five hundred great cars with their fences, he once more slew seven hundred elephants in that battle. Slaying next 10,000 foot-soldiers with his mighty shafts, as also 800 steeds, the son of Pandu looked resplendent. Indeed, Bhimasena, the son of Kunti, having slain thy sons in battle, regarded his object achieved, O lord, and the purpose of his birth accomplished. Thy troops, at that time, O Bharata, ventured to even gaze at that warrior who was battling in that fashion and slaying thy men in that way. Routing all the Kurus and slaying those followers of theirs, Bhima then slapped his armpits, terrifying the huge elephants with the noise he produced. Then thy army, O monarch, which had lost a very large number of men, and which then consisted of a very few soldiers, became exceedingly cheerless, O king!'"

SECTION 27

"Sanjaya said, 'Duryodhana, O king, and thy son Sudarsa, the only two of thy children yet unslain, were at that time in the midst of the (Kaurava) cavalry. Beholding Duryodhana staying in the midst of the cavalry, Devaki's son (Krishna) said unto Dhananjaya, the son of Kunti, "A large number of our foes, kinsmen that had received our protection, have been slain. There, that bull of Sini's race is returning, having taken Sanjaya captive! Both Nakula and Sahadeva, O Bharata, are fatigued, having fought with the wretched Dhartarashtras and their followers! Those three, Kripa and Kritavarma and the mighty car-warrior Ashvatthama, have left Duryodhana's side and taken up their position elsewhere! Having slain Duryodhana's troops, the Pancala prince stayeth yonder, endued with great beauty, in the midst of the Prabhadrakas. There, O Partha, Duryodhana stayeth in the midst of his cavalry, with the umbrella held over his head and himself flinging his glances all around! Having rearrayed the (remnant of his) army, he stayeth in the midst of his forces. Slaying this one with thy keen shafts, thou mayst achieve all thy objects! As long as these troops do not fly away beholding thee, in their midst and witnessing also the destruction of their elephant-force, do thou, O chastiser of foes, endeavour to slay Duryodhana! Let somebody go to the Pancala prince and ask him to come hither. The (Kaurava) troops are all tired, O sire! The sinful Duryodhana will never succeed in escaping! Having slain a large number of thy troops in battle, the son of Dhritarashtra wears a proud aspect as if he believes that the Pandavas have been vanquished! Beholding his own troops afflicted and slain by the Pandavas, the Kuru king will certainly come to battle for his own destruction!" Thus addressed by Krishna, Phalguna replied unto him, saying. "Almost all the sons of Dhritarashtra, O giver of honours, have been slain by Bhima! Only these two are yet alive! They, however, O Krishna, shall also meet with destruction today! Bhishma hath been slain, Drona hath been slain, Karna, otherwise called Vaikartana, hath been slain! Shalya, the king of the Madras, hath been slain, and Jayadratha also, O Krishna, hath been slain! Only five hundred horses from the remnant of the troops of Shakuni, the son of Subala, and of cars, only two hundred still remain, O Janardana! Of elephants there remain only a hundred that are formidable, and of foot only 3,000! There remain also Ashvatthama and Kripa and the ruler of the Trigartas and Uluka and Kritavarma of the Satwata race. These, O Madhava, form the remnant of Duryodhana's force! Truly, there is no escape from death for anybody on Earth! Although such a tremendous carnage hast taken place, behold, Duryodhana is still alive! Today king Yudhishthira, however, will be freed from all his foes! None amongst the enemy will escape me, I ween! Even if they be more than men, O Krishna, I shall yet slay all those warriors today, however, furious in battle, if only they do not fly away from the field! Filled with wrath in today's battle, I shall, by slaying the prince of Gandhara with my keen shafts, dispel that sleeplessness which the king has suffered from for a long time! I shall win back all those valuable possessions which Subala's son, of wicked conduct, won from us at the gambling match in the assembly! Hearing of the slaughter of

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their husbands and sons at the hands of the Pandavas in battle, all the ladies of the city called after the elephant will utter loud wails! Today, O Krishna, our task will be ended! Today Duryodhana shall abandon all his blazing prosperity, as also his life-breath. Thou mayest take the foolish son of Dhritarashtra to be dead, O thou of Vrishni's race, if, O Krishna, he does not today fly away from the battle to be waged by me! Those steeds are incapable of enduring the twang of my bow and the slaps of my palms! Proceed thither, O Krishna, for I will slay them!" Thus addressed by Pandu's son of great force of mind, he of Dasarha's race urged his steeds, O king, towards the division of Duryodhana. Beholding that force (within which Duryodhana was), three mighty car-warriors prepared themselves for assailing it, for Bhimasena and Arjuna and Sahadeva, O sire, together proceeded against it with loud leonine roars from desire of slaying Duryodhana. Beholding those three warriors rushing quickly together with uplifted bows, Subala's son proceeded towards that spot against those Pandava foes. Thy son Sudarsana rushed against Bhimasena. Susarman and Shakuni encountered Kiritin. Thy son Duryodhana on horse-back proceeded against Sahadeva. Then thy son, O ruler of men, with great speed and care, forcibly struck Sahadeva's head with a lance. Thus assailed by thy son, Sahadeva sat down on the terrace of his car, all his limbs bathed in blood and himself sighing like a snake. Regaining his senses then, O king, Sahadeva, filled with rage, covered Duryodhana with keen arrows. Kunti's son, Dhananjaya, otherwise called Partha, putting forth his prowess, cut off the heads of many brave combatants on horse-back. Indeed, Partha, with many arrows, destroyed that (cavalry) division. Having felled all the steeds, he then proceeded against the cars of the Trigartas. At this, the great car-warriors of the Trigartas, uniting together, covered Arjuna and Vasudeva with showers of shafts. Assailing Satyakarman with a razor-headed arrow, the son of Pandu, possessed of great fame, cut off his adversary's car-shafts. With another razor-headed arrow, O lord, whetted on stone, that celebrated hero, smiling the while, cut off his antagonist's head adorned with bright gold. He next attacked Satyeshu in the sight of all the warriors, like a hungry lion, O king, in the forest, attacking a deer. Having slain him, Partha pierced Susarman with three arrows and then slew all those car-warriors adorned with ornaments of gold. He then proceeded against Susarman the ruler of Prashthala with great speed, vomiting the virulent poison of his wrath cherished for many long years. Covering him first, O bull of Bharata's race, with a hundred arrows, Arjuna then slew all the steeds of that bowman. Fixing then on his bowstring a mighty arrow that resembled the rod of Yama, Partha, smiling the while, quickly sped it at Susarman, aiming it at him. Sped by that bowman blazing with wrath, that arrow, reaching Susarman, pierced through his heart in that battle. Deprived of life, O monarch, Susarman fell down on the Earth, gladdening all the Pandavas and paining all thy warriors. Having slain Susarman in that battle, Partha then, with his shafts, despatched the five and thirty sons of that king, all of whom were great car-warriors, to Yama's abode. Slaying next all the followers of Susarman with his keen arrows, the mighty car-warrior, Arjuna, proceeded against the remnant of the Bharata host. Bhima, in that battle, filled with rage, O ruler of men, made thy son Sudarsana invisible with his arrows, and smiling the while, cut off from his antagonist's trunk his head with a razor-headed arrow of great sharpness. Deprived of life, the prince fell down on the Earth. Upon the fall of that (Kuru) hero, his followers encompassed Bhima in that battle, shooting showers of whetted arrows at him. Vrikodara, however, with his keen arrows, whose touch resembled that of Indra's thunder, covered that force around him. Within a very short time, Bhima slew them all, O bull of Bharata's race! Whilst they were being thus exterminated, many Kaurava leaders of great might, O Bharata, approached Bhima and began to fight with him. The son of Pandu, O king, covered all of them with his arrows. Similarly, thy warriors, O monarch, covered the great car-warriors of the Pandavas with dense showers of arrows from every side. All the warriors then, of both sides, thus engaged in battle with one another, became exceedingly agitated. Struck by one another, the combatants of both armies, O king, began to fall down, wailing aloud for their (deceased) kinsmen.'"

SECTION 28

"Sanjaya said, 'During the progress of that battle which was so destructive of men and steeds and elephants, Subala's son, Shakuni, O king, rushed against Sahadeva. The valiant Sahadeva, as Shakuni rushed quickly towards him, sped showers of swift arrows at that warrior as numerous as a flight of insects. At that time, Uluka also encountered Bhima and pierced him with ten arrows, Shakuni, meanwhile, O monarch, having pierced Bhima with three arrows, covered Sahadeva with ninety. Indeed, those heroes, O king, encountering one another in that battle, pierced one another with many keen arrows equipped with Kanka and peacock feathers, winged with gold, whetted on stone, and sped from bow-strings drawn to their ears. Those showers of arrows sped from their bows and arms, O monarch, shrouded all the points of the compass like a thick shower of rain poured from the clouds. Then Bhima, filled with rage, and Sahadeva of great valour, both endued with great might, careered in that battle, making an immense carnage. That army, O Bharata, was covered with hundreds of arrows by those two warriors. In consequence thereof, the welkin on many parts of the field became shrouded with darkness. In consequence, O monarch, of steeds, covered with arrows, dragging after them, as they ran, a large number of slain combatants, the tracks on many parts of the field became entirely blocked up. Covered with steeds slain with their riders, with broken shields and lances, O monarch, and with swords and darts and spears all around, the Earth looked variegated as if strewn with flowers. The combatants, O king, encountering one another, careered in battle, filled with wrath and taking one another's life. Soon the field became strewn with heads, beautiful as the filaments of the lotus, adorned with earrings and graced with faces set with eyes upturned in wrath and lips bit in rage. Covered also, O monarch, with the severed arms of warriors that resembled the trunks of huge elephants, that were adorned with Angadas and cased in leathern fences, and that still held swords and lances and battle-axes, and with headless bodies risen on their feet and bleeding and dancing on the field, and swarming with carnivorous creatures of diverse kinds, the Earth, O lord, presented a frightful aspect! After the Bharata army had been reduced to a small remnant, the Pandavas, filled with delight in that dreadful battle began to despatch the Kauravas to Yama's abode. Meanwhile, the heroic and valiant son of Subala's son very forcibly struck Sahadeva on the head with a lance. Exceedingly agitated, O monarch, in consequence of the blow, Sahadeva sat down on the terrace of his car. Beholding Sahadeva in that plight, the valiant Bhima, filled with rage, O Bharata, held the whole Kuru army in check. With his cloth-yard shaft he pierced hundreds and thousands of hostile warriors, and having pierced them so, that chastier of foes uttered a leonine roar. Frightened at that roar, all the followers of Shakuni, with their steeds and elephants, precipitately fled away in fear. Beholding them broken, king Duryodhana said unto them, "Stop, ye Kshatriyas, unacquainted with morality! Fight! What is the use of flight? That hero, who, without showing his back casteth away his life breath in battle, achieveth fame here and enjoyeth regions of bliss hereafter!" Thus exhorted by the king, the followers of Subala's son once more advanced against the Pandavas, making death their goal. Awful, O monarch, was the noise made by those rushing warriors, resembling that of the agitated ocean. At this, the field of battle became agitated all around. Beholding those followers of Subala's son thus advancing in battle, the victorious Pandavas, O monarch, proceeded against them. Comforted a little, the invincible Sahadeva, O monarch, pierced Shakuni with ten arrows and his steeds with three. With the greatest ease he then cut off the bow of Subala's son with a number of other arrows. Invincible in battle, Shakuni, however, took up another bow and pierced Nakula with sixty arrows and then Bhimasena with seven. Uluka also, O king, desirous of rescuing his sire in that engagement, pierced Bhima with seven arrows and Sahadeva with seventy. Bhimasena in that encounter pierced Uluka with many keen arrows and Shakuni with four and sixty, and each of the other warriors who fought around them, with three arrows. Struck by Bhimasena with shafts steeped in oil, the Kauravas, filled with rage in that battle, covered Sahadeva with showers of arrows like lightning-charged clouds pouring rain on a mountain-breast. The heroic and valiant Sahadeva then, O monarch, cut off, with a broad-headed arrow, the head of Uluka as the latter advanced against him. Slain by Sahadeva, Uluka, gladdening the Pandavas in that battle, fell down on the earth from his car, all his limbs bathed in blood. Beholding his son slain, Shakuni, O Bharata, with voice choked with tears and drawing deep breaths, recollected the words of Vidura. Having reflected for a moment with tearful eyes, Shakuni, breathing heavily, approached Sahadeva and pierced him with three arrows. Baffling those arrows sped by Subala's son with showers of shafts, the valiant Sahadeva, O monarch, cut off his antagonist's bow in that battle. Seeing his bow cut off, O king, Shakuni, the son of Subala, took up a formidable scimitar and hurled it at Sahadeva. The latter, however, with the greatest ease, O monarch, cut off in twain that terrible scimitar of Subala's son as it coursed towards him in that encounter. Beholding his sword cut in twain, Shakuni took up a formidable mace and hurled it at Sahadeva. That mace also, unable to achieve its object, fell down on the Earth. After this, Subala's son, filled with rage, hurled at the son of Pandu an awful dart that resembled an impending death night. With the greatest ease Sahadeva, in that encounter, cut off, with his gold-decked shafts, into three fragments, that dart as it coursed swiftly towards him. Cut off into fragments, that dart adorned with gold fell down on the earth like a blazing thunderbolt from the firmament, diverging into many flashes. Beholding that dart baffled and Subala's son afflicted with fear, all thy troops fled away in fright. Subala's son himself joined them. The Pandavas then, eager for victory, uttered loud shouts. As regards the Dhartarashtras, almost all of them turned away from the fight. Seeing them so cheerless, the valiant son of Madri, with many 1,000 shafts, checked them in that battle. Then Sahadeva came upon Subala's son as the latter, who was still expectant of victory, was flying away, protected by the excellent cavalry of the Gandharas. Recollecting, O king, that Shakuni, who had fallen to his share, was still alive, Sahadeva, on his car adorned with gold, pursued that warrior. Stringing his formidable bow and drawing it with great force, Sahadeva, filled with rage, pursued the son of Subala and vigorously struck him with many shafts equipped with vulturine feathers and whetted on stone, even like a person striking a mighty elephant with pointed lances. Endued with great energy of mind, Sahadeva, having afflicted his foe thus, addressed him, as if for calling back to mind (his past misdeeds), in these words, 'Adhering to the duties of a Kshatriya, fight (with me) and be a man! Thou hadst, O fool, rejoiced greatly in the midst of the assembly, while gambling with dice! Receive now, O thou of wicked understanding, the fruit of that act! All those wicked-souled ones that had ridiculed us then have perished! Only that wretch of his race, Duryodhana, is still alive, and thyself, his maternal uncle! Today I shall slay thee, striking off thy head with a razor-headed arrow like a person plucking a fruit from a tree with a stick!" Saying these words, O monarch, Sahadeva of great strength, that tiger among men, filled with rage, rushed impetuously against Shakuni. Approaching his enemy, the invincible Sahadeva, that foremost of warriors, forcibly drawing his bow and as if burning his foe with wrath, pierced Shakuni with ten arrows and his steeds with four. Then cutting off his umbrella and standard and bow, he roared like a lion. His standard and bow and umbrella thus cut off by Sahadeva, Subala's son was pierced with many arrows in all his vital limbs. Once again, O monarch, the valiant Sahadeva sped at Shakuni an irresistible shower of arrows. Filled with rage, the son of Subala then, single-handed, rushed with speed against Sahadeva in that encounter, desirous of slaying the latter with a lance adorned with gold. The son of Madri, however, with three broad-headed arrows, simultaneously cut off, without losing a moment, that uplifted lance as also the two well-rounded arms of his enemy at the van of battle, and then uttered a loud roar. Endued with great activity, the heroic Sahadeva then, with a broad-headed arrow, made of hard iron, equipped with wings of gold, capable of penetrating every armour, and sped with great force and care, cut off from his trunk his enemy's head. Deprived of his head by the son of Pandu with that gold-decked arrow of great sharpness and splendour like the sun's, Subala's son fell down on the earth in that battle. Indeed, the son of Pandu, filled with rage, struck off that head which was the root of the evil policy of the Kurus, with that impetuous shaft winged with gold and whetted on stone. Beholding Shakuni lying headless on the ground and all his limbs drenched with gore, thy warriors, rendered powerless with fear, fled away on all sides with weapons in their hands. At that time, thy sons, with cars, elephants, horse and foot entirely broken, heard the twang of Gandiva and fled away with colourless faces, afflicted with fear and deprived of their senses. Having thrown down Shakuni from his car, the Pandavas, O Bharata, became filled with delight. Rejoicing with Keshava among them, they blew their conchs in that battle, gladdening their troops. All of them, with glad hearts, worshipped Sahadeva, and said, "By good luck, O hero, Shakuni of wicked soul, that man of evil course, hath, with his son, been slain by thee!'"

SECTION 29

(Hrada-pravesa Parva)

"Sanjaya said, 'After this, the followers of Subala's son, O monarch, became filled with rage. Prepared to lay down their lives in that dreadful battle, they began to resist the Pandavas. Resolved to aid Sahadeva in his victory, Arjuna, as also Bhimasena possessed of great energy and resembling an angry snake of virulent poison in aspect, received those warriors. With his Gandiva, Dhananjaya baffled the purpose of those warriors, who, armed with darts and swords and lances, desired to slay Sahadeva. Vibhatsu, with his broad-headed arrows, cut off the steeds, the heads, and the arms, with weapons in grasp of those rushing combatants. The steeds of those foremost of heroes endued with activity, struck by Savyasaci, fell down on the earth, deprived of their lives. King Duryodhana, beholding that carnage of his own troops, O lord, became filled with rage. Assembling together the remnant of his cars which still numbered many hundreds, as also his elephants and horse and foot, O scorcher of foes, thy son said these words unto those warriors, "Encountering all the Pandavas with their friends and allies, in this battle, and the prince of Pancala also with his own troops, and slaying them quickly, turn back from the fight!" Respectfully accepting that command of his, those warriors, difficult of defeat in battle, proceeded once more against the Parthas in that battle, at the behest of thy son. The Pandavas, however, covered with their arrows resembling snakes of virulent poison, all those warriors, forming the remnant of the Kaurava army, that thus rushed quickly against them in that

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dreadful battle. That army, O chief of the Bharatas, as it came to battle, was in a moment exterminated by those high-souled warriors, for it failed to obtain a protector. In consequence of the (Kaurava) steeds running hither and thither that were all covered with the dust raised by the army, the cardinal and the subsidiary points of the compass could not be distinguished. Many warriors, issuing out of the Pandava array, O Bharata, slew thy troops in a moment in that battle. Eleven Akshauhinis, O Bharata, of troops had been assembled for thy son! All those, O lord, were slain by the Pandus and the Srinjayas! Amongst those thousands upon thousands of high-souled kings on thy side, only Duryodhana now, O monarch, exceedingly wounded, was seen to be alive, casting his eyes on all sides, and seeing the earth empty, himself destitute of all his troops while the Pandavas, filled with joy in that battle, were roaring aloud in consequence of the accomplishment of all their objects. Duryodhana, O monarch, unable to endure the whiz of the shafts shot by those high-souled heroes, became stupefied! Destitute of troops and animals, he set his heart on retreat from the field.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'When my troops were slain and our camp made entirely empty, what was the strength, O Suta, of the troops that still remained to the Pandavas? I desire to know this. Therefore, tell me, O Sanjaya, for thou art skilled (in narration). Tell me also, O Sanjaya, that which was done by my son, the wicked Duryodhana, that lord of the earth, the sole survivor of so many men, when he saw his army exterminated.'

"Sanjaya continued, '2,000 cars, 700 elephants, 5,000 horse, and 10,000 foot, this was the remnant, O monarch, of the mighty host of the Pandavas. Taking care of this force, Dhrishtadyumna waited in that battle. Meanwhile, O chief of the Bharatas, king Duryodhana, that foremost of car-warriors, saw not in that battle a single warrior on his side. Beholding his enemies roaring aloud and witnessing the extermination of his own army, that lord of the earth, Duryodhana, without a companion, abandoned his slain steed, and fled from the field with face turned eastwards. That lord of eleven Akshauhinis, thy son Duryodhana, of great energy, taking up his mace, fled on foot towards a lake. Before he had proceeded far on foot, the king recalled the words of the intelligent and virtuous Vidura. Without doubt, this had been foreseen by Vidura of great wisdom, this great carnage of Kshatriyas and of ourselves in battle. Reflecting on this, the king, with heart burning in grief at having witnessed the extermination of his army, desired to penetrate into the depths of that lake. The Pandavas, O monarch, with Dhrishtadyumna at their head, filled with rage, rushed against (the small remnant of) thy army. With his Gandiva, Dhananjaya baffled the purpose of the (Kaurava) troops, who, armed with darts and swords and lances, were uttering loud roars. Having with his sharp shafts slain those troops with their allies and kinsmen, Arjuna, as he stood on his car having white steeds yoked unto it, looked exceedingly beautiful. Upon the fall of Subala's son along with horse, cars and elephants, thy army looked like a large forest laid low (by the wind). In Duryodhana's army then, O monarch, which had numbered many hundred thousands of warriors, not another great car-warrior was seen to be alive, save the heroic son of Drona, and Kritavarma, and Kripa the son of Gotama, O monarch, and that lord of the earth, thy son! Dhrishtadyumna, seeing me, laughingly addressed Satyaki, saying, 'What is the use of seizing this one? Nothing will be gained by keeping him alive.' Hearing these words of Dhrishtadyumna, the grandson of Sini, that great car-warrior, uplifting his sharp sword, prepared to slay me. Just at that juncture, the Island-born Krishna of great wisdom (Vyasa), coming there, said, "Let Sanjaya be dismissed alive! By no means should he be slain!" Hearing these words of the Island-born, the grandson of Sini, joined his hands, and then, setting me free said unto me, "Peace to thee, O Sanjaya, thou mayest go hence!" Permitted by him, I myself then, putting off my armour and making over my weapons, set out on the evening on the road leading to the city, my limbs bathed in blood. After I had come about two miles, O monarch, I beheld Duryodhana, standing alone, mace in hand, and exceedingly mangled. His eyes were full of tears and therefore he could not see me. I stood cheerlessly before him. He looked accordingly at me without recognising me. Beholding him standing alone on the field and indulging in grief, I also, overwhelmed with sorrow, succeeded not for a little while to speak a single word. Then I said unto him everything about my own capture and my release through the grace of the Island-born. Having reflected for a moment, and regained his senses, he enquired of me about his brothers and his troops. I had seen everything with my eyes and therefore told him everything, that his brothers had all been slain and that all his troops had been exterminated. I told the king that we had at that time only three car-warriors left alive, for the Island-born had said so unto me when I set out (from the place where the Pandavas were). Drawing deep breaths and looking repeatedly at me, thy son touched me with his hand and said, "Except thee, O Sanjaya, there is none else that liveth, amongst those engaged in this battle! I do not see another (on my side), while the Pandavas have their allies living! Say, O Sanjaya, unto that lord, the blind king Dhritarashtra, that his son Duryodhana hath entered the depths of a lake! Destitute of friends such as those (I lately had), deprived of sons and brothers, and seeing his kingdom taken by the Pandavas, who is there like me that would desire to live? Say all this unto the king and tell him further that I have escaped with life from that dreadful battle, and that, alive, though exceedingly wounded, I shall rest within the depths of this lake." Having said these words unto me, O monarch, the king entered that lake. That ruler of men, by his power of illusion, then charmed the waters of that lake, making a space for him within them. After he had entered that lake, I myself, without anybody on my side, saw those three car-warriors (of our army) coming together to that spot with their tired animals. They were Kripa, the son of Saradwat, and the heroic Ashvatthama, that foremost of car-warriors, and Kritavarma of Bhoja's race. Mangled with shafts, all of them came together to that spot. Beholding me, they all urged their steeds to greater speed and coming up to me, said, "By good luck, O Sanjaya, thou livest yet!" All of them then enquired after thy son, that ruler of men, saying, 'Is our king Duryodhana still alive, O Sanjaya?' I then told them that the king was well in body. I also told them everything that Duryodhana had said unto me. I also pointed out to them the lake that the king had entered. Then Ashvatthama, O king, having heard those words from me, cast his eyes on that extensive lake and began to wail in grief, saying, "Alas, alas, the king knows not that we are still alive! With him amongst us, we are still quite able to fight with our foes!" Those mighty car-warriors, having wept there for a long time, fled away at sight of the sons of Pandu. Those three car-warriors that formed the remnant of our army took me up on the well-adorned car of Kripa, and then proceeded to the Kuru camp. The sun had set a little before. The troops forming the outposts of the camp, learning that all thy sons had been slain, wept aloud. Then, O monarch, the old men that had been appointed to look after the ladies of the royal household proceeded towards the city, taking the princesses after them. Loud were the wails uttered by those weeping ladies when they heard of the destruction of the whole army. The women, O king, crying ceaselessly, caused the earth to resound with their voices like a flight of she-ospreys. They tore their bodies with nails and struck their heads with their hands, and untied their braids, indulging all the while in loud cries. Filling the air with sounds such as "Oh!" and "Alas!" and beating their breasts, they cried aloud and wept and uttered loud shrieks, O monarch! Then the friends of Duryodhana, deeply afflicted and made voiceless by their tears, set out for the city, taking the ladies of the royal household with them. The camp-guards quickly fled towards the city, taking with them many white beds overlaid with costly coverlets. Others, placing their wives on cars drawn by mules, proceeded towards the city. Those ladies, O monarch, who, while in their houses could not be seen by the very sun, were now, as they proceeded towards the city, exposed to the gaze of the common people. Those women, O chief of the Bharata's race, who were very delicate, now proceeded with speed towards the city, having lost their near ones and kinsmen. The very cow-herds and shepherds and common men, filled with panic and afflicted with the fear of Bhimasena, fled towards the city. Even these were filled with a great fear of the Parthas. Looking at one another, all of them fled towards the city. During the progress of that general flight attended with such circumstances of fear, Yuyutsu, deprived of his senses by grief, thought upon what he should do in view of the emergency that had come. "Duryodhana hath been vanquished in battle by the Pandavas of terrible prowess! He had eleven Akshauhinis of troops under him! All his brothers have been slain! All the Kauravas, headed by Bhishma and Drona, have perished! Through the influence of Destiny, only I have been saved! All those that were in the Kuru camp have fled! Alas, they are flying on all sides, deprived of energy and destitute of protectors! Such a sight had never been seen before! Afflicted with sorrow, with eyes anxious in fear, they are flying away on all sides like a herd of deer, looking at one another! Those amongst the counsellors of Duryodhana that are yet alive have fled towards the city, taking with them the ladies of the royal household! I think, O lord, that the time hath come when I also should enter the city with them, after taking the permission of Yudhishthira and Vasudeva!" For this purpose that mighty-armed prince presented himself before both those heroes. King Yudhishthira, who is always compassionate, became highly pleased with him. The mighty-armed Pandava embraced that child of a Vaisya mother and dismissed him affectionately. Riding upon his own car, he urged his steeds to great speed. He then supervised the removal of the ladies of the royal household to the city. The sun was setting. With those ladies, Yuyutsu entered the city of Hastinapura, with tearful eyes and with voice choked in grief. He then saw Vidura of great wisdom, sitting with tearful eyes. He had come away from Dhritarashtra, his heart having been afflicted with great sorrow. Bowing down unto Vidura, he stood before him. Devoted to truth, Vidura addressed him, saying, "By good luck, O son, thou livest amid this general destruction of the Kurus! Why, however, hast thou come without king Duryodhana in thy company? Tell me in detail the cause of this!" Yuyutsu then said, "After the fall of Shakuni, O sire, with all his kinsmen and friends, king Duryodhana abandoning the steed he rode, fled away, in fear towards the east. After the king had fled away, all the people in the (Kaurava) encampment, agitated with fear, fled towards the city. Then the protectors of the ladies, placing the wives of the king, as also those of his brothers, on vehicles, fled away in fear. Obtaining the permission of king Yudhishthira and Keshava, I set out for Hastinapura, for protecting the people thus flying away!' Hearing these words spoken by the son of Dhritarashtra's Vaisya wife, Vidura of immeasurable soul, conversant with every usage and feeling that was proper at that hour, applauded the eloquent Yuyutsu. And he said, 'Thou hast acted properly, having regard for what has come, in view of this destruction of all the Bharatas of which thou art speaking! Thou hast also, from compassion, maintained the honour of thy race! By good luck, we behold thee come back with life from this terrible battle that is so destructive of heroes, like creatures beholding the sun possessed of blazing glory! Thou, O son, are now in every way the sole staff of the blind monarch, bereft of foresight, afflicted with calamity, struck by Destiny, and who, though repeatedly dissuaded, could not abstain from pursuing his evil policy. Take rest here for this day! Tomorrow thou mayst return to Yudhishthira!" Having said these words, Vidura, with tearful eyes, took leave of Yuyutsu and entered the abode of the king, which resounded with cries of "Oh!" and "Alas!" uttered by citizens and villagers afflicted with woe. The cheerless mansion seemed to have lost all its beauty; comfort and happiness seemed to have deserted it. It was all empty and pervaded by disorder. Already filled with sorrow, Vidura's grief increased at that sight. Conversant with every duty, Vidura, with a sorrowful heart, entered the palace, drawing deep breaths. As regards Yuyutsu, he passed that night in his own abode. Afflicted with woe, he failed to obtain any joy at the panegyrics with which he was greeted. He passed the time, thinking of the terrible destruction of the Bharatas at one another's hands.'"

SECTION 30

"Dhritarashtra said, 'After all the Kaurava troops had been slain by the sons of Pandu on the field of battle, what did those survivors of my army, Kritavarma and Kripa and the valiant son of Drona do? What also did the wicked-souled king Duryodhana then do?'

"Sanjaya said, 'After the flight of the ladies of those high-souled Kshatriyas, and after the (Kaurava) camp had become entirely empty, the three car-warriors (thou hast mentioned) became filled with anxiety. Hearing the shouts of the victorious sons of Pandu, and beholding the camp deserted towards the evening, those three warriors of our side, desirous of rescuing the king, and unable to stay on the field, proceeded towards the lake. Yudhishthira, of virtuous soul, with his brothers in that battle, felt great joy and wandered over the field from desire of staying Duryodhana. Filled with wrath, the Pandavas, desirous of victory, searched for thy son. Though, however, they looked very carefully for him, they failed to discover the (Kuru) king. Mace in hand, he had fled with great speed from the field of battle and penetrated into that lake, having by the aid of his powers of illusion, solidified its waters. When at last the animals of the Pandavas became very much tired, the latter proceeded to their camp and rested there with their soldiers. After the Parthas had retired to their camp, Kripa and Drona's son and Kritavarma of the Satwata race, slowly proceeded towards that lake. Approaching the lake within which lay the king, they addressed that invincible ruler of men asleep within the water, saying, "Arise, O king, and fight with us against Yudhishthira! Either obtaining victory enjoy the earth, or, slain, proceed to heaven! The forces of the Pandavas also, O Duryodhana, have all been slain by thee! Those amongst them that are yet alive have been exceedingly mangled! They will not be able, O monarch, to bear thy impetuosity, especially when thou shalt be protected by us! Arise, therefore, O Bharata!"

"'Duryodhana said, "By good luck, I see you, ye bulls among men, come back with life from this destructive battle between the Pandavas and the Kauravas! After we have rested a while and dispelled our fatigue, we shall encounter the enemy and conquer him! Ye also are tired and I myself am exceedingly mangled! The army of the Pandavas is swelling with might! For these reasons, I do not like to fight now! These exhortations on your part, ye heroes, are not at all wonderful, for your hearts are noble! Your devotion also to me is great! This, however, is not the time for prowess! Resting for this one night, I shall, on the morrow, join you and fight with the foe! In this there is no doubt!"'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Thus addressed, the son of Drona replied unto the king, who was invincible in battle, saying, "Arise, O king, blessed be thou, we shall yet vanquish the foe! I swear by all my religious acts, by all the gifts I have made, by truth itself, and my silent meditations, O king, that I shall today slay the Somakas! Let me not obtain the delight

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resulting from the performance of sacrifices, that delight which is felt by all pious men, if this night passes away without my slaying the Pandavas in battle! Without slaying all the Pancalas, I will not, O lord, put off my armour! I tell thee this truly. Believe me, O ruler of men!" While they were thus conversing, a number of hunters came there. Fatigued with the weight of meat they carried, they came there, not of any set purpose, for slaking their thirst. Those huntsmen, O lord, used every day, to procure, with great regard, a basketful of meat for Bhimasena, O king! As they sat concealed on the banks of that lake, those men heard every word of that conversation between Duryodhana and those warriors. Finding the Kuru king unwilling to fight, those great bowmen, themselves desirous of battle, began to urge him greatly to adopt their counsels. Seeing those car-warriors of the Kaurava army, and understanding that the king, unwilling to fight, was staying within the waters, and hearing that conversation between those heroes and their master staying within the depths of the lake, indeed, O monarch, the huntsmen, clearly perceiving that it was Duryodhana who was staying within the lake, formed a resolution. A little while before, the son of Pandu, while searching for the king, had met those men and asked them about the whereabouts of Duryodhana. Recollecting the words that the son of Pandu had said, those hunters, O king, whisperingly said unto one another, "We will discover Duryodhana (unto the Pandavas). The son of Pandu will then give us wealth! It is evident to us that the celebrated king Duryodhana is here! Let us then, all of us, proceed to the spot where king Yudhishthira is, for telling him that the vindictive Duryodhana is concealed within the waters of this lake! Let us also, all of us, inform that great bowman, the intelligent Bhimasena, that the son of Dhritarashtra is concealed here within the waters of this lake! Gratified with us, he will give us much wealth! What need of fatiguing ourselves, day after day, with procuring meat and weakening ourselves with such toil?" Having said these words, those huntsmen, filled with joy and longing for wealth, took up their baskets of meat and proceeded towards the (Pandava) camp. Possessed of sure aim and skilled in smiting, the Pandavas, O monarch, not seeing in battle Duryodhana, who was then concealed, (were resting in their camp). Desirous of reaching the end of that sinful wight's evil policy, they had despatched spies in all directions on the field of battle. All the soldiers, however, that had been despatched on that mission returned to the camp together and informed king Yudhishthira the Just that no trace could be found of king Duryodhana. Hearing these words of the returned messengers, O bull of Bharata's race, king Yudhishthira became filled with great anxiety and began to breathe heavily. While the Pandavas, O bull of Bharata's race, were staying in such cheerlessness, those huntsmen, O lord, having come with great speed from the banks of that lake, arrived at the camp, filled with joy at having discovered Duryodhana. Though forbidden, they still entered the camp, in the very sight of Bhimasena. Having approached that mighty son of Pandu, Bhimasena, they represented everything unto him about what they had seen and heard. Then Vrikodara, that scorcher of foes, O king, giving them much wealth, represented everything unto king Yudhishthira the Just, saying, "Duryodhana, O king, hath been discovered by the huntsmen that supply me with meat! He, O king, for whom thou grievest now lies within a lake whose waters have been solidified by him!" Hearing these agreeable words of Bhimasena, O monarch, Kunti's son, Ajatasatru, became, with all his brothers, filled with joy. Having learnt that the mighty bowman Duryodhana had penetrated into the waters of a lake, the king proceeded thither with great speed, with Janardana at his head. Then a tumultuous noise arose, O monarch, from among the Pandavas and the Pancalas all of whom were filled with joy. The warriors uttered leonine roars, O bull of Bharata's race, and shouted loudly. All the Kshatriyas, O king, proceeded with great speed towards that lake called Dvaipayana. The rejoicing Somakas all around loudly and repeatedly exclaimed, "The sinful son of Dhritarashtra has been found!" The noise made by the cars of those impetuous warriors who proceeded with great speed, became very loud, O monarch, and touched the heavens. Although their animals were tired, all of them still proceeded with speed behind king Yudhishthira who was bent upon finding out Duryodhana. Arjuna, and Bhimasena, and the two sons of Madri by Pandu, and the Pancala prince Dhrishtadyumna, and the unvanquished Shikhandi, and Uttamaujas, and Yudhamanyu, and the mighty car-warrior Satyaki, and the (five) sons of Draupadi, and those amongst the Pancalas, O king, that were yet alive, and all the Pandavas, and all their elephants, and foot-soldiers by hundreds upon hundreds, all proceeded with Yudhishthira. Possessed of great valour, king Yudhishthira the Just, O monarch, arrived at the lake known by the name of Dvaipayana within which Duryodhana then was. Wide as the ocean itself, its aspect was agreeable and its waters were cool and transparent. Solidifying the waters by means of his power of illusion, by, indeed, a wonderful method, thy son Duryodhana, O Bharata, happened to be within that lake. Indeed, within those waters lay, O lord, that king, armed with his mace, who, O ruler of men, could not be vanquished by any man! Staying within the waters of that lake, king Duryodhana heard that tumultuous noise (of the Pandava army) which resembled the very roar of the clouds. Yudhishthira then, O king, with his brothers repaired to that lake from desire of slaying Duryodhana. Raising a thick dust, the son of Pandu caused the earth to tremble with the sound of his car-wheels and the loud blare of his conch. Hearing the noise made by the army of Yudhishthira, those great car-warriors, Kritavarma and Kripa and the son of Drona, said these words unto the Kuru king, "Filled with joy and longing for victory, the Pandavas are coming hither! We will, therefore, leave this place. Let it be known to thee!" Hearing those words of these heroes endued with great activity, he answered them, saying, "So be it," and remained (as before) within the waters, having, O lord, solidified them by his powers of illusion. Those car-warriors headed by Kripa, filled with grief, took leave of the king, O monarch, and went away to a place far removed from that spot. Having proceeded far, they beheld a banyan, O sire, under whose shade they stopped, greatly tired, and exceedingly anxious about the king and indulging in such thoughts as these, "The mighty son of Dhritarashtra, having solidified the waters of the lake, lay stretched at the bottom. The Pandavas have reached that spot, from desire of battle. How will the battle take place? What will become of the king?' Thinking of these things, O king, those heroes, Kripa and the others, liberated their horses from their cars and prepared to rest there for some time.'"

SECTION 31

"Sanjaya said, 'After those three car-warriors had left that spot, the Pandavas arrived at that lake within which Duryodhana was resting himself. Having reached the banks of the Dvaipayana lake, O chief of Kuru's race, they beheld that receptacle of waters enchanted by thy son. Then Yudhishthira, addressing Vasudeva, said, "Behold, the son of Dhritarashtra hath applied his power of illusion to these waters! Having enchanted the waters, he lieth within them. He can have now no fear (of injury) from man! Having invoked a celestial illusion, he is now within the waters! By an act of deception, that wight conversant with every deception hath sought this refuge! He shall not, however, escape me with life! Even if the wielder of the thunderbolt himself aid him in battle, people, O Madhava, shall yet behold him slain today!'

"'Vasudeva said, "With thy own powers of illusion, O Bharata, destroy this illusion of Duryodhana who is an adept in it! One conversant with illusion should be slain with illusion! This is the truth, O Yudhishthira! With acts and means and applying thy power of illusion to these waters, slay, O chief of the Bharatas, this Suyodhana, who is the very soul of illusion! With acts and means Indra himself slew the Daityas and the Danavas! Vali himself was bound by that high-souled one (Upendra), with the aid of many acts and means! The great Asura Hiranyaksha, as also that other one, Hiranyakasipu, was slain by the aid of many acts and means. Without doubt, O king, Vritra also was slain by the aid of acts! Similarly was the Rakshasa Ravana of Pulastya's race, with his relatives and followers, slain by Rama! Relying upon acts and contrivances, do thou also display thy powers! Those two ancient Daityas, Taraka and Viprachitti of great energy, were in ancient times, O king, slain by the aid of acts and means! Similarly, Vatapi and Ilwala, and Trisiras, O lord, and the Asuras Sunda and Upasunda, were all slain by the aid of means! Indra himself enjoys heaven by the aid of acts and means! Acts are very efficacious, O king, and nothing else so, O Yudhishthira! Daityas and Danavas and Rakshasas and kings had been slain by the aid of acts and means. Do thou take therefore, the help of act!'"

"Sanjaya continued, 'Thus addressed by Vasudeva, Pandu's son of rigid vows, smiling the while, addressed, O monarch, thy son of great might, who, O Bharata, was then within the waters of that lake, saying, "Why, O Suyodhana, hast thou entered these waters, after having caused all the Kshatriyas to perish and after having, O king, caused thy own race to be annihilated? Why hast thou entered into this lake today, wishing to save thy own life? Arise, O king, and fight us, O Suyodhana! Where, O foremost of men, hath that pride and that sense of honour which thou hadst now gone, since, O king, thou hast enchanted these waters and art now lying within them? All men speak of thee in assemblies as a hero. All that, however, is entirely untrue, I think, since thou art now concealed within these waters! Arise, O king, and fight, for thou art a Kshatriya born of a noble race! Thou art Kauraveya in particular! Remember thy birth! How canst thou boast of thy birth in Kuru's race when thou concealest thyself within the depths of this lake, having fled away from battle in fear? This is not the eternal duty of a Kshatriya, staying away from battle! Flight from battle, O king, is not the practice of those that are honourable, nor does it lead to heaven! How is it that without having attained to the end of this war, inspired though thou wert with the desire of victory, thou stayest now within this lake, after having caused and witnessed the slaughter of thy sons and brothers and sires and relatives and friends and maternal uncles and kinsmen? Ever boastful of thy courage, thou art, however, not a hero! Falsely dost thou describe thyself, O Bharata, when thou sayst in the hearing of all men that thou art a hero, O thou of wicked understanding! They that are heroes never fly away at sight of foes! Or, tell us, O hero, about (the nature of) that courage in consequence of which thou hast fled from battle! Arise, O prince, and fight, casting off thy fears! Having caused all thy troops and thy brothers to be slain, O Suyodhana, thou shouldst not, if thou art inspired with righteous motives, think now of saving thy life! One like thee, O Suyodhana, that has adopted Kshatriya duties, should not act in this way! Relying upon Karna, as also upon Shakuni the son of Subala, thou hadst regarded thyself immortal and hadst, from folly, failed to understand thy own self! Having perpetrated such grievous sin, fight now, O Bharata! How dost that flight from battle recommend itself to one like thee? Surely, thou forgettest thyself! Where is that manliness of thine, O sire, and where, O Suyodhana, is that pride cherished by thee! Where hath that prowess of thine now gone, and where also that swelling and great energy which thou hadst? Where is that accomplishment of thine in weapons? Why dost thou lie within this lake now? Arise, O Bharata, and fight, observing the duties of a Kshatriya! Either rule the wide earth after vanquishing us, or sleep, O Bharata, on the bare ground, slain by us! Even this is thy highest duty, as laid down by the illustrious Creator himself! Act as it has been laid down truly in the scriptures, and be a king, O great car-warrior!'"

"Sanjaya continued, 'Thus addressed, O monarch, by the intelligent son of Dharma, thy son answered him from within the waters in these words.

"'Duryodhana said, "It is not at all a matter of surprise, O king, that fear should enter the hearts of living creatures. As regards myself, however, O Bharata, I have not fled from the field of battle actuated by the fear of life! My car was destroyed, my quivers were gone, and my Parshni drivers were killed! I was alone, without a single follower to stand by me in battle! It was for this that I desired a little rest! It was not for the sake of saving my life, it was not from fear, it was not from grief, O king, that I entered these waters! It was only in consequence of fatigue that I did so! Do thou, O son of Kunti, rest a while with those that follow thee! Rising from this lake I will certainly fight all of you in battle!"

"'Yudhishthira said, 'All of us have rested sufficiently. For a long while we were engaged in a search after thee! Rise then, even now, O Suyodhana, and give us battle! Either slaying the Parthas in battle make this kingdom that swelleth with prosperity thy own, or slain by us in battle, proceed to those regions that are reserved for heroes!"

"'Duryodhana said, "They amongst the Kurus, O son of Kurus' race, for whose sake I desired sovereignty, that is, those brothers of mine, O king, all lie dead on the field! I do not, again, like to enjoy any longer the earth that is now shorn of wealth and reft of superior Kshatriyas, and that hath, therefore, become like a widowed lady! I, however, still hope to vanquish thee, O Yudhishthira, after curbing the pride, O bull of Bharata's race, of the Pancalas and the Pandus! There is, however, no longer any need for battle when Drona and Karna have been quieted and when our grandsire Bhishma hath been slain! This shorn earth, O king, now exists for thee! What king is there that would like to rule a kingdom divested of friends and allies? Having caused friends such as I had to be slain and even sons and brothers and sires, and seeing my kingdom wrested by you, who is there like myself that would like to live? Clad in deer-skins I would retire into the woods! I have no desire for kingdom, deprived as I am of friends and allies, O Bharata! Reft almost entirely of friends and allies, of heroes and elephants, this earth exists for thee, O king! Do thou enjoy her now cheerfully! As for myself, clad in deerskins, I shall go to the woods! Friendless as I am, I have no desire, O lord, for even life! Go, O monarch, and rule the earth destitute of lords, without warriors, reft of wealth, and without citadels, as thou choosest!'"

"Sanjaya continued, 'Hearing these words of poignant grief the illustrious Yudhishthira addressed thy son Duryodhana who was still within those waters, saying, "Do not utter such ravings of sorrow, O sire, from within the waters! I do not, like Shakuni, feel any compassion for thee, O king, for such words as these! Thou mayest now, O Suyodhana, be willing to make a gift of the earth to me. I, however, do not wish to rule the earth thus given by thee! I cannot sinfully accept this earth from thee! Acceptance of a gift, O king, is not the duty laid down for a Kshatriya! I do not, therefore, wish to have the wide earth thus given away by thee! I shall, on the other hand, enjoy the earth after vanquishing thee in battle! Thou art now the lord of the earth! Why then dost thou desire to make a gift of that over which thou hast no dominion? Why, O king, didst thou not then give us the earth when we, observant of the rules of righteousness and desirous of the welfare of our race, had begged thee for our portion? Having first refused the request of the mighty Krishna, why dost thou now desire to give away the earth? What is this folly of thine? What king is there, who, assailed by foes, would wish to give away his kingdom? O son of Kuru's race, today thou art not competent to give away the earth! Why then dost thou wish to make a

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gift of that over which thou hast no power? Vanquishing me in battle, rule thou this earth! Thou didst not formerly agree to give me even that much of the earth which would be covered by the point of a needle! How then, O monarch, dost thou make me a gift of the whole earth? How is it that thou, who couldst not formerly abandon even that much of land which the point of a needle would cover, now wishest to abandon the whole earth? What fool is there that would, after having obtained such prosperity and ruled the entire earth, think of making a gift of that earth to his enemies? Stupefied by folly, thou seest not the impropriety of this! Although thou desirest to give away the earth, thou shalt not yet escape me with life! Either rule the earth after having vanquished us, or go to regions of blessedness after being slain by us! If both of us, that is, thyself and myself, be alive, then all creatures will remain in doubt about to whom the victory belongs. Thy life, O thou of limited foresight, now depends upon me! If I like, I can suffer thee to live, but thou art not capable of protecting thy own life! Thou hadst at one time especially endeavoured to burn us to death and to take our lives by means of snakes and other kinds of poison and by drowning us! We were also wronged by thee, O king, by the deprivation of our kingdom, by the cruel words spoken by thee, and by thy maltreatment of Draupadi! For these reasons, O wretch, thy life must be taken! Rise, rise, and fight us! That will benefit thee!'"

"Sanjaya continued, 'In this strain, O king, those heroes, the Pandavas, flushed with victory, repeatedly spoke there (rebuking and mocking Duryodhana).'"

SECTION 32

(Gada-yuddha Parva)

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Thus admonished (by his foes), how, indeed, did that scorcher of enemies, my heroic and royal son, who was wrathful by nature, then behave? He had never before listened to admonitions such as these! He had, again, been treated by all with the respect due to a king! He, who had formerly grieved to stand in the shade of an umbrella, thinking he had taken another's shelter, he, who could not endure the very effulgence of the sun in consequence of his sensitive pride, how could he endure these words of his foes? Thou hast, with thy own eyes, O Sanjaya, seen the whole earth, with even her Mlecchas and nomad tribes, depend upon his grace! Rebuked thus at that spot by the sons of Pandu in particular, while lying concealed in such a solitary place after having been deprived of his followers and attendants, alas, what answer did he make unto the Pandavas upon hearing such bitter and repeated taunts from his victorious enemies? Tell me everything, O Sanjaya, about it!'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Thus rebuked, O monarch, by Yudhishthira and his brothers, thy royal son, lying within those waters, O king of kings, heard those bitter words and became very miserable. Breathing hot and long sighs repeatedly, the king waved his arms again and again, and setting his heart on battle, thus answered, from within the waters, the royal son of Pandu.

"'Duryodhana said, "Ye Parthas, all of you are possessed of friends, of cars, and of animals! I, however, am alone, cheerless, without a car, and without an animal! Being alone and destitute of weapons, how can I venture to fight on foot, against numerous foes all well-armed and possessed of cars? Do you, however, O Yudhishthira, fight me one at a time! It is not proper that one should in battle fight many endued with courage, especially when that one is without armour, fatigued, afflicted with calamity, exceedingly mangled in his limbs, and destitute of both animals and troops! I do not entertain the least fear, O monarch, of either thee, or Vrikodara, the son of Pritha, or Phalguna, or Vasudeva, or all the Pancalas, or the twins, or Yuyudhana, or all the other troops thou hast! Standing in battle, alone as I am, I shall resist all of you! The fame, O king, of all righteous men hath righteousness for its basis! I say all this to you, observant of both righteousness and fame! Rising (from this lake), I shall fight all of you in battle! Like the year that gradually meets all the seasons, I shall meet all of you in fight! Wait, ye Pandavas! Like the sun destroying by his energy the light of all stars at dawn, I shall today, though weaponless and carless, destroy all of you possessed of cars and steeds! Today I shall free myself from the debt I owe to the many illustrious Kshatriyas (that have fallen for me), to Bahlika and Drona and Bhishma and the high-souled Karna, to the heroic Jayadratha and Bhagadatta, to Shalya the ruler of the Madras and Bhurishrava, to my sons, O chief of Bharata's race, and Shakuni the son of Subala, to all my friends and well-wishers and kinsmen! Today I shall free myself from that debt by slaying thee with thy brothers!" With these words, the (Kuru) king ceased speaking.

"'Yudhishthira said, "By good luck, O Suyodhana, thou knowest the duties of a Kshatriya! By good luck, O thou of mighty arms, thy heart inclineth to battle! By good luck, thou art a hero, O thou of Kuru's race, and, by good luck, thou art conversant with battle, since, single-handed, thou wishest to meet all of us in battle! Fight any one of us, taking whatever weapon thou likest! All of us will stand as spectators here! I grant thee also, O hero, this (other) wish of thy heart, that if thou slayest any of us, thou shalt then become king! Otherwise, slain by us, go to heaven!"

"'Duryodhana said, "A brave man as thou art, if thou grantest me the option of fighting only one of you, this mace that I hold in my hand is the weapon that I select! Let any one amongst you who thinks that he will be my match come forward and fight with me on foot, armed with mace! Many wonderful single combats have occurred on cars! Let this one great and wonderful combat with the mace happen today! Men (while fighting) desire to change weapons. Let the manner of the fight be changed today, with thy permission! O thou of mighty arms, I shall, with my mace, vanquish thee today with all thy younger brothers, as also all the Pancalas and the Srinjayas and all the other troops thou still hast! I do not cherish the least fear, O Yudhishthira, of even Shakra himself!'

"'Yudhishthira said, "Rise, rise, O son of Gandhari, and fight me, Suyodhana! Alone as thou art, fight us, encountering one at a time, thou of great might, armed with thy mace! Be a man, O son of Gandhari, and fight with good care! Today thou shalt have to lay down thy life even if Indra becomes thy ally!"

"Sanjaya continued, 'That tiger among men, thy son, could not bear these words of Yudhishthira. He breathed long and heavy sighs from within the water like a mighty snake from within its hole. Struck repeatedly with such wordy goads, he could not endure it at all, like a horse of high breed that cannot endure the whip. Agitating the waters with great force, that valiant warrior rose like a prince of elephants from within the lake, breathing heavily in rage, and armed with his heavy mace that was endued with the strength of adamant and decked with gold. Piercing the solidified waters, thy son rose, shouldering his mace of iron, like the sun himself scorching everything with his rays. Endued with great strength, thy son, possessed of great intelligence, began to handle his heavy mace made of iron and equipped with a sling. Beholding him armed with mace and resembling a crested mountain or the trident-wielding Rudra himself casting angry glances on living creatures, they observed that Bharata chief shedding an effulgence around like the scorching sun himself in the sky. Indeed, all creatures then regarded that mighty-armed chastiser of foes, as he stood shouldering his mace after rising from the waters, looking like the Destroyer himself armed with his bludgeon. Indeed, all the Pancalas then saw thy royal son to look like the thunder-wielding Shakra or the trident-bearing Hara. Seeing him, however, rise from within the waters, all the Pancalas and the Pandavas began to rejoice and seize each other's hands. Thy son Duryodhana regarded that action of the spectators to be an insult directed towards him. Rolling his eyes in wrath, and as if burning the Pandavas with his glances, and contracting his brow into three furrows, and repeatedly biting his nether lip, he addressed the Pandavas with Keshava in their midst, saying, "You Pandavas, you shall have to bear the fruit of these taunts! Slain by me today, you shall, with the Pancalas, have to repair to the abode of Yama!"'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Rising from the water, thy son Duryodhana stood there, armed with mace, and with limbs bathed in blood. Covered with blood and drenched with water, his body then looked like a mountain shedding water from within. As he stood armed with mace, the Pandavas regarded him to be the angry son of Surya himself armed with the bludgeon called Kinkara. With voice deep as that of the clouds or of a bull roaring in joy, Duryodhana then, of great prowess, armed with his mace, summoned the Parthas to battle.'

"'Duryodhana said, "You will have, O Yudhishthira, to encounter me one at a time! It is not proper, that one hero should fight with many at the same time, especially when that single warrior is divested of armour, fatigued with exertion, covered with water, exceedingly mangled in limbs, and without cars, animals and troops! Let the gods in heaven behold me fight single-handed destitute of all equipment and deprived of even armour and weapons! I shall certainly fight all of you! Thou shalt be judge, as thou hast the necessary qualifications, of the propriety and impropriety of everything!"

"'Yudhishthira said, "How is it, O Duryodhana, that thou hadst not this knowledge when many great car-warriors, uniting together, slew Abhimanyu in battle? Kshatriya duties are exceedingly cruel, unmindful of all considerations, and without the least compassion! Otherwise, how could you slay Abhimanyu under those circumstances? All of you were acquainted with righteousness! All of you were heroes! All of you were prepared to lay down your lives in battle! The high end declared for those that fight righteously is the attainment of the regions of Shakra! If this be your duty, that one should never be slain by many, why is it then that Abhimanyu was slain by many, acting in accord with thy counsels? All creatures, when in difficulty forget considerations of virtue. They then view the gates of the other world to be closed. Put on armour, O hero, and bind thy locks! Take everything else, O Bharata, of which thou standest in need! This another wish of thine, O hero, I grant thee in addition, that if thou canst slay him amongst the five Pandavas with whom thou wishest an encounter, thou shalt then be king! Otherwise, slain (by him), thou shalt proceed to heaven! Except thy life, O hero, tell us what boon we may grant thee."

"Sanjaya continued, 'Then thy son, O king, cased his body with armour made of gold, and put on a beautiful head-gear adorned with pure gold. Clad in bright armour of gold, he put on that head-gear. Indeed, O king, thy son then looked resplendent like a golden cliff. Clad in mail, armed with mace, and accoutred with other equipments, thy son Duryodhana then, O king, standing on the field of battle, addressed all the Pandavas, saying, 'Amongst you (five) brothers, let any one fight me, armed with mace! As regards myself, I am willing to fight either Sahadeva, or Bhima, or Nakula, or Phalguna, or thee today, O bull of Bharata's race! Accorded an encounter, I will fight any one amongst you and will certainly gain the victory on the field! Today I will reach the end of these hostilities that is difficult to reach, with the aid, O tiger among men, of my mace wrapped with cloth of gold. I think, there is none to be my match in an encounter with the mace! With my mace I shall slay all of you one after another! Amongst all of you there is no one who is competent to fight fairly with me! It is not proper for me to speak such words of pride with respect to my own self! I shall, however, make these words of mine true in your presence! Within this very hour, these words will become either true or false! Let him amongst you take up the mace that will fight with me!'"

SECTION 33

"Sanjaya said, 'Whilst Duryodhana, O king, was repeatedly roaring in this strain, Vasudeva, filled with wrath, said these words unto Yudhishthira, "What rash words hast thou spoken, O king, to the effect, 'Slaying one amongst us be thou king among the Kurus.' If, indeed, O Yudhishthira, Duryodhana select thee for battle, or Arjuna, or Nakula, or Sahadeva (what will be the consequence)? From desire of slaying Bhimasena, O king, for these thirteen years hath Duryodhana practised with the mace upon a statue of iron! How then, O bull of Bharata's race, will our purpose be achieved? From compassion, O best of kings, thou hast acted with great rashness! I do not at this moment behold a match (for Duryodhana) except Pritha's son Vrikodara! His practice, again, with the mace, is not so great! Thou hast, therefore, once more allowed a wretched game of chance to commence as that one in former days between thyself and Shakuni, O monarch! Bhima is possessed of might and prowess. King Suyodhana, however, is possessed of skill! In a contest between might and skill, he that is possessed of skill, O king, always prevails! Such a foe, O king, thou hast, by thy words, placed in a position of ease and comfort! Thou hast placed thine own self, however, in a position of difficulty. We have, in consequence of this, been placed in great danger! Who is there that would abandon sovereignty within grasp, after having vanquished all his foes and when he hath only one foe to dispose of and that one plunged in difficulties? I do not see that man in the world today, be he a god, who is competent to vanquish the mace-armed Duryodhana in battle! Neither thou nor Bhima, nor Nakula nor Sahadeva, nor Phalguna, is capable of vanquishing Duryodhana in fair fight! King Duryodhana is possessed of great skill! How then, O Bharata, canst thou say unto such a foe words such as these, 'Fight, selecting the mace as thy weapon, and if thou canst slay one amongst us, thou shalt then be king?' If Duryodhana encounters Vrikodara amongst us wishing to fight fairly with him, even then our victory would be doubtful. Duryodhana is possessed of great might and great skill. How couldst thou say unto him, 'Slaying only one amongst us be thou king'? Without a doubt, the offspring of Pandu and Kunti are not destined to enjoy sovereignty! They were born for passing their lives in continued exile in the woods or in mendicancy!"

"'Bhimasena said, "O slayer of Madhu, do not, O delighter of the Yadus, give way to sorrow! However, difficult to reach it, I shall today reach the end of these hostilities! Without doubt, I shall slay Suyodhana in battle! It appears, O Krishna, that the victory of Yudhishthira the Just is certain! This mace of mine is heavier than Duryodhana's by one and a half times! Do not, O Madhava, give way to grief! I dare fight him, selecting the mace as the weapon! Let all of you, O Janardana, stand as spectators of the encounter! What do you say of Suyodhana, I would fight with the three worlds including the very gods, even if they be armed with every kind of weapon!"'

"Sanjaya continued, 'After Vrikodara had said these words, Vasudeva, filled with joy, applauded him highly and said unto him, "Relying on thee, O thou of mighty arms, king Yudhishthira the Just will, without doubt, get back his own blazing prosperity after the slaughter of all his foes! Thou hast slain all the sons of Dhritarashtra in battle! At thy hands many kings and princes and elephants have met with their fate! The Kalingas, the Magadhas, the Kauravas the Westerners, the Gandharas have all been slain in dreadful battle, O son of Pandu! Slaying Duryodhana then, O son of Kunti, bestow the earth with her oceans upon Yudhishthira the Just, like Vishnu (conferring the sovereignty of three worlds) upon the Lord of Sachi! The wretched son of Dhritarashtra, obtaining thee for

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a foe in battle, will, without doubt, meet with his fate! Thou wilt certainly accomplish thy vow by breaking his bones! Thou shouldst, however, O son of Pritha, always fight with care with the son of Dhritarashtra! He is possessed of both skill and strength and always takes delight in battle!" Then Satyaki, O king, applauded the son of Pandu. The Pancalas and the Pandavas, also, headed by king Yudhishthira the Just, all applauded those words of Bhimasena. Then Bhima of terrible might addressed Yudhishthira, who was staying amid the Srinjayas like the blazing sun himself, saying, "Encountering this one in battle, I venture to fight with him! This wretch among men is not competent to vanquish me in fight! Today I shall vomit that wrath which hath been nursed in my bosom upon Suyodhana, the son of Dhritarashtra, like Arjuna throwing fire on the forest of Khandava! I shall today pluck out the dart, O son of Pandu, that lay so long sticking to thy heart! Be happy, O king, after I shall have laid low this wretch with my mace! Today I shall recover, O sinless one, thy wreath of glory! Today Suyodhana shall abandon his life breath, his prosperity, and his kingdom! Today king Dhritarashtra also, hearing of his son's slaughter, will remember all those wrongs (that he did unto us) arising from the suggestions of Shakuni!" Having said these words that prince of Bharata's race, possessed of great energy, stood up for battle, like Shakra summoning Vritra (to an encounter). Unable to endure that summons, thy son, of great energy, proceeded to the encounter, like one infuriated elephant proceeding to assail another. The Pandavas beheld thy son, as he came armed with mace, look like the crested mountain of Kailasa. Indeed, seeing that mighty son of thine standing alone like a prince of elephants separated from the herd, the Pandavas became filled with delight. Standing in battle like a very lion, Duryodhana had no fear, no alarm, no pain, no anxiety. Beholding him stand there with uplifted mace like the crested mountain of Kailasa, Bhimasena, O monarch, addressed him, saying, "Call to thy mind all those wrongs that king Dhritarashtra and thyself have done unto us! Recollect what happened at Varanavata! Recollect how Draupadi, while in her season, was maltreated in the midst of the assembly and how king Yudhishthira was defeated at dice through Shakuni's suggestion! See now, O thou of wicked soul, the terrible consequence of those acts as also of the other wrongs that thou didst unto the innocent Parthas! It is for thee that that illustrious chief of the Bharatas, the son of Ganga, the grandsire of us all, lieth now on a bed of arrows, struck down (by us)! Drona also hath been slain! Karna hath been slain! Shalya of great valour hath been slain! Yonder Shakuni also, the root of these hostilities, hath been slain in battle! Thy heroic brothers, as also thy sons, with all thy troops, have been slain! Other kings also, possessed of heroism, and never retreating from battle, have been slain. These and many other bulls among Kshatriyas, as also the Pratikamin, that wretch who had seized the tresses of Draupadi, have been slain! Thou alone art still alive, thou exterminator of thy race, thou wretch among men! Thee also I shall today slay with my mace! Of this there is no doubt! Today, O king, I shall, in battle, quell all thy pride! I shall destroy also thy hope of sovereignty, O king, and pay off all thy misdeeds unto the sons of Pandu!"

"'Duryodhana said, "What use is there of many words? Fight now with me! Today, O Vrikodara, I shall beat out of thee thy desire for battle! Why dost thou not behold me, O wretch, standing here for an encounter with the mace? Am I not armed with a formidable mace that looks like a cliff of Himavat? What foe is there, O wretch, that would venture to vanquish me armed with this weapon? If it be a fair fight, Purandara himself, amongst the gods, is not competent for that end! For all those wicked deeds of mine to which thou hast referred, thou couldst not (hitherto) do me the slightest injury! By exercising my might, I caused ye to dwell in the woods, to serve in another's dwelling, to conceal yourselves in disguises! Your friends and allies also have been slain. Our loss has been equal! If, then my fall takes place in this battle, that would be highly praiseworthy. Or, perhaps, Time will be the cause! Up to this day I have never been vanquished in fair fight on the field of battle! If you vanquish me by deceit, your infamy will certainly last for ever! That act of yours will, without doubt, be unrighteous and infamous! Do not, O son of Kunti, roar fruitlessly in this way like autumnal clouds uncharged with water! Show all the strength thou hast in battle now!" Hearing these words of his, the Pandavas with the Srinjayas, all inspired with desire of victory, applauded them highly. Like men exciting an infuriated elephant with clapping of hands, all of them then gladdened king Duryodhana (with those praises and cheers). The elephants that were there began to grunt and the steeds to neigh repeatedly. The weapons of the Pandavas, who were inspired with desire of victory blazed forth of their own accord.'"

SECTION 34

"Sanjaya said, 'When that fierce battle, O monarch, was about to commence, and when all the high-souled Pandavas had taken their seats, indeed, having heard that battle between those two heroes, both of whom were his disciples, was about to begin, Rama, whose banner bore the device of the palmyra palm, and who owns the plough for his weapon, came to that spot. Beholding him, the Pandavas, with Keshava, filled with joy advanced towards him, and receiving him, worshipped him with due rites. Their worship over, they then, O king, said unto him these words, "Witness, O Rama, the skill, in battle, of thy two disciples!" Rama then casting his eyes on Krishna and the Pandavas, and looking at Duryodhana also of Kuru's race who was standing there armed with mace, said, "Two and forty days have passed since I left home. I had set out under the constellation Pushya and have come back under Sravana. I am desirous, O Madhava, of beholding this encounter with the mace between these two disciples of mine!" At that time the two heroes, Duryodhana and Vrikodara, looked resplendent as they stood on the field, both armed with maces. King Yudhishthira, embracing him owning the plough for his weapon, duly enquired about his welfare and bade him welcome. Those two great bowmen, the two illustrious Krishnas, filled with joy, cheerfully saluted the hero having the plough for his weapon and embraced him. Similarly, the two sons of Madri and the five sons of Draupadi saluted Rohini's son of great strength and stood (at a respectful distance). Bhimasena of great strength and thy son, O monarch, both with uplifted maces (in their arms), worshipped Valadeva. The other kings honoured him by bidding him welcome, and then all of them said unto Rama, "Witness this encounter, O thou of mighty arms!" Even thus those mighty car-warriors said unto the high-souled son of Rohini. Endued with immeasurable energy, Rama, having embraced the Pandavas and the Srinjayas, enquired after the welfare of all the (other) kings. Similarly, all of them, approaching, enquired after his welfare. The hero of the plough, having in return saluted all the high-souled Kshatriyas, and having made courteous enquiries about each according to their years, affectionately embraced Janardana and Satyaki. Smelling their heads, he enquired after their welfare. Those two, in return, O king, duly worshipped him, their superior, joyfully, like Indra and Upendra worshipping Brahman, the lord of the celestials. Then Dharma's son, O Bharata, said these words unto that chastiser of foes, the son of Rohini, "Behold, O Rama, this formidable encounter between the two brothers!" Thus worshipped by those great car-warriors, the elder brother of Keshava, of mighty arms and great beauty, took his seat amongst them. Clad in blue robes and possessed of a fair complexion, Rama, as he sat amidst those kings, looked resplendent like the moon in the firmament, encompassed by multitudes of stars. Then that dreadful encounter, making the very hair stand on end, took place between those two sons of thine, O king, for terminating the quarrel (that had raged for many years).'"

SECTION 35

Janamejaya said, "On the eve of the great battle (between the Kurus and the Pandus), the lord Rama, with Keshava's leave, had gone away (from Dwaraka) accompanied by many of the Vrishnis. He had said unto Keshava, 'I will render aid neither unto the son of Dhritarashtra nor unto the sons of Pandu, but will go whithersoever I like!' Having said these words, Rama, that resister of foes, had gone away. It behoveth thee, O Brahmana, to tell me everything about his return! Tell me in detail how Rama came to that spot, how he witnessed the battle. In my opinion thou art well-skilled in narration!"

Vaishampayana said, "After the high-souled Pandavas had taken up their post at Upaplavya, they despatched the slayer of Madhu to Dhritarashtra's presence, for the object of peace, O mighty-armed one, and for the good of all creatures. Having gone to Hastinapura and met Dhritarashtra, Keshava spoke words of true and especially beneficial import. The king, however, as I have told thee before, listened not to those counsels. Unable to obtain peace, the mighty-armed Krishna, that foremost of men, came back, O monarch, to Upaplavya. Dismissed by Dhritarashtra's son, Krishna returned (to the Pandava camp), and upon the failure of his mission, O tiger among kings, said these words unto the Pandavas, 'Urged by Fate, the Kauravas are for disregarding my words! Come, ye sons of Pandu, with me (to the field of battle), setting out under the constellation Pushya!' After this, while the troops (of both sides) were being mustered and arrayed, the high-souled son of Rohini, that foremost of all persons endued with might, addressed his brother Krishna, saying, 'O mighty-armed one, O slayer of Madhu, let us render assistance to the Kurus!' Krishna, however, did not listen to those words of his. With heart filled with rage (at this), that illustrious son of Yadu's race, the wielder of the plough then set out on a pilgrimage to the Sarasvati. Accompanied by all the Yadavas, he set out under the conjunction of the asterism called Maitra. The Bhoja chief (Kritavarma), however, adopted the side of Duryodhana. Accompanied by Yuyudhana, Vasudeva adopted that of the Pandavas. After the heroic son of Rohini had set out under the constellation Pushya, the slayer of Madhu, placing the Pandavas in his van, proceeded against the Kurus. While proceeding, Rama ordered his servants on the way, saying, 'Bring all things that are necessary for a pilgrimage, that is, every article of use! Bring the (sacred) fire that is at Dwaraka, and our priests. Bring gold, silver, kine, robes, steeds, elephants, cars, mules, camels, and other draft cattle! Bring all these necessaries for a trip to the sacred waters, and proceed with great speed towards the Sarasvati! Bring also some priests to be especially employed, and hundreds of foremost of Brahmanas!' Having given these orders to the servants, the mighty Valadeva set out on a pilgrimage at that time of great calamity to the Kurus. Setting out towards the Sarasvati, he visited all the sacred places along her course, accompanied by priests, friends, and many foremost of Brahmanas, as also with cars and elephants and steeds and servants, O bull of Bharata's race, and with many vehicles drawn by kine and mules and camels. Diverse kinds of necessaries of life were given away in large measure and in diverse countries unto the weary and worn, children and the old, in response, O king, to solicitations. Everywhere, O king, Brahmanas were promptly gratified with whatever viands they desired. At the command of Rohini's son, men at different stages of the journey stored food and drink in large quantities. Costly garments and bedsteads and coverlets were given for the gratification of Brahmanas, desirous of ease and comfort. Whatever Brahmana or Kshatriya solicited whatever thing, that O Bharata, it was seen to be ungrudgingly given to him. All who formed the party proceeded with great happiness and lived happily. The people (of Valarama's train) gave away vehicles to persons desirous of making journeys, drinks to them that were thirsty, and savoury viands to them that were hungry, as also robes and ornaments, O bull of Bharata's race, to many! The road, O king, along which the party proceeded, looked resplendent, O hero, and was highly comfortable for all, and resembled heaven itself. There were rejoicings everywhere upon it, and savoury viands were procurable everywhere. There were shops and stalls and diverse objects exposed for sale. The whole way was, besides, crowded with human beings. And it was adorned with various kinds of trees and creatures, and various kinds of gems. The high-souled Valadeva, observant of rigid vows, gave away unto the Brahmanas much wealth and plentiful sacrificial presents, O king, in diverse sacred spots. That chief of Yadu's race also gave away thousands of milch kine covered with excellent cloths and having their horns cased in gold, many steeds belonging to different countries, many vehicles, and many beautiful slaves. Even thus did the high-souled Rama give away wealth in diverse excellent tirthas on the Sarasvati. In course of his wanderings, that hero of unrivalled power and magnanimous conduct at last came to Kurukshetra."

Janamejaya said, "Tell me, O foremost of men, the features, the origin, and the merits of the several tirthas on the Sarasvati and the ordinances to be observed while sojourning there! Tell me these, in their order, O illustrious one! My curiosity is irrepressible, O foremost of all persons acquainted with Brahma!"

Vaishampayana said, "The subject of the features and origin of all these tirthas, O king, is very large. I shall, however, describe them to thee. Listen to that sacred account in its entirety, O king! Accompanied by his priests and friends, Valadeva first proceeded to the tirtha called Prabhasa. There, the Lord of the constellations (Soma), who had been affected with phthisis, became freed from his curse. Regaining energy there, O king, he now illuminates the universe. And because that foremost of tirthas on earth had formerly contributed to invest Soma with splendour (after he had lost it), it is, therefore, called Prabhasa."

Janamejaya said, "For what reason was the adorable Soma afflicted with phthisis? How also did he bathe in that tirtha? How did he, having bathed in that sacred water, regain his energy? Tell me all this in detail, O great Muni!"

Vaishampayana said, "Daksha had seven and twenty daughters, O king! These he bestowed (in marriage) upon Soma. Connected with the several constellations, those wives, O king, of Soma of auspicious deeds, served to help men in calculating time. Possessed of large eyes, all of them were unrivalled in beauty in the world. In wealth of beauty, however, Rohini was the foremost of them all. The adorable Soma took great delight in her. She became very agreeable to him, and therefore, he enjoyed the pleasures of her company (exclusively). In those days of yore, O monarch, Soma lived long with Rohini (exclusively). For this, those other wives of his, they that were called the constellations, became displeased with that high-souled one. Repairing speedily to their sire (Daksha), that Lord of creation, they said unto him, 'Soma doth not live with us! He always payeth court to Rohini only! All of us, therefore, O Lord of creatures, shall dwell by thy side, on regulated diet and observant of austere penances!' Hearing these words of theirs, Daksha (saw Soma and) said unto him, 'Behave equally towards all thy wives! Let not a great sin stain thee!' And Daksha then said unto those daughters of his, 'Go, all of you, to the presence of Sasin. At my command, he, (otherwise called) Candramas, will behave equally towards all of you!' Dismissed by him, they then proceeded to the abode of him having cool rays. Still the adorable Soma, O lord of earth, continued to act as before, for pleased with Rohini alone, he continued to live with her exclusively. His other wives then once more came together to

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their sire and said unto him, 'Employed in serving thee, we will dwell in thy asylum! Soma does not live with us and is unmindful of thy commands!' Hearing these words of theirs, Daksha once more said unto Soma, 'Behave equally towards all thy wives! Let me not, O Virochana, curse thee!' Disregarding, however, these words of Daksha, the adorable Soma continued to live with Rohini alone. At this, his other wives became once more angry. Repairing to their sire, they bowed unto him by lowering their heads, and said, 'Soma doth not live with us! Give us thy protection! The adorable Candramas always lives with Rohini exclusively! He sets no importance to thy words, and does not wish to show us any affection! Therefore, save us so that Soma may accept us all!' Hearing these words, the adorable Daksha, O king, became angry and in consequence thereof hurled the curse of phthisis upon Soma. Thus did that disease overtake the Lord of the stars. Afflicted with phthisis, Sasin began to waste away day by day. He made many endeavours for freeing himself from that disease by performing diverse sacrifices, O monarch! The maker of night, however, could not free himself from that curse. On the other hand, he continued to endure waste and emaciation. In consequence, however, of the wasting of Soma, the deciduous herbs failed to grow. Their juices dried up and they became tasteless, and all of them became deprived of their virtues. And, in consequence of this decadence of the deciduous herbs, living creatures also began to decay. Indeed, owing to the wasting of Soma, all creatures began to be emaciated. Then all the celestials, coming to Soma, O king, asked him, saying, 'Why is it that thy form is not so beautiful and resplendent (as before)? Tell us the reason whence hath proceeded this great calamity! Hearing thy answer, we shall do what is needed for dispelling thy fear!' Thus addressed, the god having the hare for his mark, replied unto them and informed them of the cause of the curse and the phthisis with which he was afflicted. The gods then, having heard those words, repaired to Daksha and said, 'Be gratified, O adorable one, with Soma! Let this curse of thine be withdrawn! Candramas is very emaciated! Only a small portion of him may be seen! In consequence of his wasting, O Lord of the celestials, all creatures also are wasting! Creepers and herbs of diverse kinds are also wasting! In their waste we ourselves also are suffering emaciation! Without us, what will this universe be? Knowing this, O master of the universe, it behoveth thee to be gratified (with Soma)!' Thus addressed (Daksha), that Lord of creatures, said these words unto the celestials, 'It is impossible to make my words become otherwise! By some contrivance, however, ye blessed ones, my words may be withdrawn! Let Sasin always behave equally towards all his wives! Having bathed also in that foremost of tirthas on the Sarasvati, the god having the hare for his mark shall, ye gods, grow once more! These words of mine are true! For half the month Soma shall wane every day, and for half the month (following) he will wax every day! These words of mine are true! Proceeding to the western Ocean at the spot where the Sarasvati mingles with the Ocean, that vast receptacle of waters, let him adore that God of gods (Mahadeva) there! He will then regain his form and beauty!' At this command of the (celestial) Rishi (Daksha), Soma then proceeded to the Sarasvati. He arrived at that foremost of tirthas called Prabhasa belonging to the Sarasvati. Bathing there on the day of the new moon, that god of great energy and great effulgence got back his cool rays and continued once more to illumine the worlds. All the creatures also, O monarch, having repaired to Prabhasa, returned with Soma amongst them to the place where Daksha was. (Receiving them duly) that Lord of creatures then dismissed them. Pleased with Soma, the adorable Daksha once more addressed him, saying, 'Do not, O son, disregard women, and never disregard Brahmanas! Go and attentively obey my commands!' Dismissed by him, Soma came back to his own abode. All creatures, filled with joy, continued to live as before. I have thus told thee everything about how the maker of the night had been cursed, and, how also Prabhasa became the foremost of all tirthas. On every recurring day of the new moon, O monarch, the god having the hare for his mark bathes in the excellent tirtha of Prabhasa and regains his form and beauty. It is for this reason, O lord of earth, that that tirtha is known by the name of Prabhasa, since bathing there, Candramas regained his great (Prabha) effulgence. After this, the mighty Baladeva of undecaying glory proceeded to Chamasodbheda, that is, to that tirtha which is called by that name. Giving away many costly gifts at that place, the hero having the plough for his weapon passed one night there and performed his ablutions duly. The elder brother of Keshava then proceeded quickly to Udapana. Although the Sarasvati seems to be lost there, yet persons crowned with ascetic success, in consequence of their obtaining great merits and great blessedness at that spot, and owing also to the coolness of the herbs and of the land there, know that the river has an invisible current, O monarch, through the bowels of the earth there."

SECTION 36

Vaishampayana said, "Baladeva (as already said), proceeded next to the tirtha called Udapana in the Sarasvati, that had formerly been the residence, O king, of the illustrious (ascetic) Trita. Having given away much wealth and worshipped the Brahmanas, the hero having the plough for his weapon bathed there and became filled with joy. Devoted to righteousness, the great ascetic Trita had lived there. While in a hole, that high-souled one had drunk the Soma juice. His two brothers, dashing him down into that pit, had returned to their home. That foremost of Brahmanas, Trita, had thereupon cursed them both."

Janamejaya said, "What is the origin of Udapana? How did the great ascetic (Trita) fall into a pit, there? Why was that foremost of Brahmanas thrown into that pit by his brothers? How did his brothers, after throwing him into that hole, return home? How did Trita perform his sacrifice and how did he drink Soma? Tell me all this, O Brahmana, if thou thinkest that I may listen to it without impropriety!"

Vaishampayana continued, "In a former Yuga, O king, there were three brothers that were ascetics. They were called Ekata, Dwita, and Trita, and all three were endued with effulgence like that of the sun. They were like Lords of the creation and were blessed with children. Utterers of Brahma, they had by their penances, acquired the privilege of attaining to the regions of Brahman (after death). With their penances, vows, and self-restraint, their sire Gautama, who was ever devoted to virtue, became highly and always pleased with them. Having obtained great joy in consequence of his sons, the adorable Gautama, after passing a long life here, went at last to the region (in the other world) that was fit for him. Those kings, however, O monarch, that had been the Yajamanas of Gautama, continued to worship Gautama's sons after the sire had proceeded to heaven. Amongst them, however, Trita, by his acts and study (of the Vedas), O king, became the foremost, even like his sire Gautama. Then all the highly blessed ascetics, characterised by righteousness, began to worship Trita as they had worshipped his sire Gautama before him. Once upon a time, the two brothers Ekata and Dwita thought of performing a sacrifice and became anxious for wealth. The plan they formed, O scorcher of foes, was to take Trita with them, and calling upon all their Yajamanas and collecting the needful number of animals, they would joyfully drink the Soma juice and acquire the great merits of sacrifice. The three brothers then, O monarch, did as settled. Calling upon all their Yajamanas for (obtaining) animals, and assisting them in their sacrifices and receiving a large number of animals from them, and having duly accepted them in gift in consequence of those priestly services which they rendered, those high-souled and great Rishis came towards the east. Trita, O king, with a cheerful heart was walking before them. Ekata and Dwita were in his rear, bringing up the animals. Beholding that large herd of animals, they began to reflect as to how they two could appropriate that property without giving a share unto Trita. Hear, O king, what those two sinful wretches, Ekata and Dwita, said while conversing with each other! They said, 'Trita is skilled in assisting at sacrifices. Trita is devoted to the Vedas. Trita is capable of earning many other kine. Let us two, therefore, go away, taking the kine with us! Let Trita go whithersoever he chooses, without being in our company!' As they proceeded, night came upon them on the way. They then saw a wolf before them. Not far from that spot was a deep hole on the bank of the Sarasvati. Trita, who was in advance of his brothers, seeing the wolf, ran in fright and fell into that hole. That hole was fathomless and terrible and capable of inspiring all creatures with fear. Then Trita, O king, that best of ascetics, from within that hole, began to utter wails of woe. His two brothers heard his cries. Understanding that he had fallen into a pit, his brothers Ekata and Dwita, moved by fear of the wolf as also by temptation, went on, deserting their brother. Thus deserted by his two brothers, who were moved by the temptation of appropriating those animals, the great ascetic Trita, O king, while within that lonely well covered with dust and herbs and creepers, thought himself plunged, O chief of the Bharatas, into hell itself like a sinful wretch. He feared to die inasmuch as he had not earned the merit of drinking Soma juice. Possessed of great wisdom, he began to reflect with the aid of his intelligence as to how he could succeed in drinking Soma even there. While thinking on that subject, the great ascetic, standing in that pit, beheld a creeper hanging down into it in course of its growth. Although the pit was dry, the sage imagined the existence of water and of sacrificial fires there. Constituting himself the Hotri (in imagination), the great ascetic imagined the creeper he saw to be the Soma plant. He then mentally uttered the Richs, the Yayushes and the Samans (that were necessary for the performance of a sacrifice). The pebbles (lying at the bottom of the well) Trita converted into grains of sugar (in imagination). He then, O king, (mentally) performed his ablutions. He conceived the water (he had imagined) to be clarified butter. He allotted to the celestials their respective shares (of those sacrificial offerings). Having next (mentally) drunk Soma, he began to utter a loud noise. Those sounds, O king, first uttered by the sacrificing Rishi, penetrated into heaven, and Trita completed that sacrifice after the manner laid down by utterers of Brahma. During the progress of that sacrifice of the high-souled Trita, the whole region of the celestials became agitated. None knew, however, the cause. Brihaspati (the preceptor of the gods) heard that loud noise (made by Trita). The priests of the celestials said unto the latter, 'Trita is performing a sacrifice. We must go there, ye gods! Endued with great ascetic merit, if angry, he is competent to create other gods!' Hearing these words of Brihaspati, all the gods, united together, repaired to that spot where the sacrifice of Trita was going on. Having proceeded to that spot, the gods beheld the high-souled Trita installed in the performance of his sacrifice. Beholding that high-souled one resplendent with beauty, the gods addressed him, saying, 'We have come hither for our shares (in thy offerings)!' The Rishi said unto them, 'Behold me, ye denizens of heaven, fallen into this terrible well, almost deprived of my senses!' Then, Trita, O monarch, duly gave unto them their shares with proper mantras. The gods took them and became very glad. Having duly obtained their allotted shares, the denizens of heaven, gratified with him, gave him such boons as he desired. The boon, however, that he solicited was that the gods should relieve him from his distressful situation (in the well). He also said, 'Let him that bathes in this well, have the end that is attained by persons that have drunk Soma!' At these words, O king, the Sarasvati with her waves appeared within that well. Raised aloft by her, Trita came up and worshipped the denizens of heaven. The gods then said unto him 'Be it as thou wishest!' All of them, then, O king, went to the place whence they had come, and Trita, filled with joy, proceeded to his own abode. Meeting with those two Rishis, his brothers, he became enraged with them. Possessed of great ascetic merit, he said certain harsh words unto them and cursed them, saying, 'Since, moved by covetousness, you ran away, deserting me, therefore, you shall become fierce wolves with sharp teeth and range the forest, cursed by me in consequence of that sinful act of yours! The offspring also that you shall have will consist of leopards, and bears and apes!' After Trita had said these words, O monarch, his two brothers were seen to be very soon transformed into these shapes in consequence of the words of that truthful sage. Of immeasurable prowess, Valadeva touched the waters of Udapana. And he gave away diverse kinds of wealth there and worshipped many Brahmanas. Beholding Udapana and applauding it repeatedly, Valadeva next proceeded to Vinasana which also was on the Sarasvati."

SECTION 37

Vaishampayana said, "Then Valadeva, O king, proceeded to Vinasana where the Sarasvati hath become invisible in consequence of her contempt for Sudras and Abhiras. And since the Sarasvati, in consequence of such contempt, is lost at that spot, the Rishis, for that reason, O chief of the Bharatas, always name the place as Vinasana. Having bathed in that tirtha of the Sarasvati, the mighty Baladeva then proceeded to Subhumika, situated on the excellent bank of the same river. There many fair-complexioned Apsaras, of beautiful faces, are always engaged in sports of a pure character without any intermission. The gods and the Gandharvas, every month, O ruler of men, repair to that sacred tirtha which is the resort of Brahman himself. The Gandharvas and diverse tribes of Apsaras are to be seen there, O king, assembled together and passing the time as happily as they like. There the gods and the Pitris sport in joy, with sacred and auspicious flowers repeatedly rained over them, and all the creepers also were adorned with flowery loads. And because, O king, that spot is the beautiful sporting ground of those Apsaras, therefore is that tirtha on the excellent bank of the Sarasvati called Subhumika. Baladeva of Madhu's race, having bathed in that tirtha and given away much wealth unto the Brahmanas, heard the sound of those celestial songs and musical instruments. He also saw there many shadows of gods, Gandharvas, and Rakshasas. The son of Rohini then proceeded to the tirtha of the Gandharvas. There many Gandharvas headed by Viswavasu and possessed of ascetic merit, pass their time in dance and song of the most charming kind. Giving away diverse kinds of wealth unto the Brahmanas, as also goats and sheep and kine and mules and camels and gold and silver, and feeding many Brahmanas and gratifying them with many costly gifts that were desired by them. Baladeva of Madhu's race proceeded thence, accompanied by many Brahmanas and eulogised by them. Leaving that tirtha resorted to by Gandharvas, that mighty-armed chastiser of foes, having but one earring, then proceeded to the famous tirtha called Gargasrota. There, in that sacred tirtha of the Sarasvati, the illustrious Garga of venerable years and soul cleansed by ascetic penances, O Janamejaya, had acquired a knowledge of Time and its course, of the deviations of luminous bodies (in the firmament), and of all auspicious and inauspicious portents. That tirtha, for this reason, came to be called after his name as Gargasrota. There, O king, highly blessed Rishis of excellent vows always waited upon Garga, O lord, for obtaining a knowledge of Time. Smeared with white sandal-paste, O king, Baladeva,

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repairing to that tirtha, duly gave away wealth unto many ascetics of cleansed souls. Having given also many kinds of costly viands unto the Brahmanas, that illustrious one attired in blue robes then proceeded to the tirtha called Sankha. There, on the bank of the Sarasvati, that mighty hero having the palmyra on his banner beheld a gigantic tree, called Mohasankha, tall as Meru, looking like the White-mountain, and resorted to by Rishis. There dwell Yakshas, and Vidyadharas, and Rakshasas of immeasurable energy and Pisachas of immeasurable might, and Siddhas, numbering thousands. All of them, abandoning other kinds of food, observe vows and regulations, and take at due seasons the fruits of that lord of the forest for their sustenance and wander in separate bands, unseen by men, O foremost of human beings! That monarch of the forest, O king, is known for this throughout the world! That tree is the cause of this celebrated and sacred tirtha on the Sarasvati. Having given away in that tirtha many milch cows, and vessels of copper and iron, and diverse kinds of other vessels, that tiger of Yadu's race, Baladeva, having the plough for his weapon, worshipped the Brahmanas and was worshipped by them in return. He then, O king, proceeded to the Dwaita lake. Arrived there, Vala saw diverse kinds of ascetics in diverse kinds of attire. Bathing in its waters, he worshipped the Brahmanas. Having given away unto the Brahmanas diverse articles of enjoyment in profusion, Baladeva then, O king, proceeded along the southern bank of the Sarasvati. The mighty-armed and illustrious Rama of virtuous soul and unfading glory then proceeded to the tirtha called Nagadhanwana. Swarming with numerous snakes, O monarch, it was the abode of Vasuki of great splendour, the king of the snakes. There 14,000 Rishis also had their permanent home. The celestials, having come there (in days of yore), had according to due rites, installed the excellent snake Vasuki as king of all the snakes. There is no fear of snakes in that place, O thou of Kuru's race! Duly giving away many valuables there unto the Brahmanas, Baladeva then set out with face towards the east and reached, one after another, hundreds and thousands of famous tirthas that occurred at every step. Bathing in all those tirthas, and observing fasts and other vows as directed by the Rishis, and giving away wealth in profusion, and saluting all the ascetics who had taken up their residence there, Baladeva once more set out, along the way that those ascetics pointed out to him, for reaching that spot where the Sarasvati turns in an eastward direction, like torrents of rain bent by the action of the wind. The river took that course for beholding the high-souled Rishis dwelling in the forest of Naimisha. Always smeared with white sandalpaste, Vala, having the plough for his weapon, beholding that foremost of rivers change her course, became, O king, filled with wonder."

Janamejaya said, "Why, O Brahmana, did the Sarasvati bend her course there in an easternly direction? O best of Adharyus, it behoveth thee to tell me everything relating to this! For what reason was that daughter of the Yadus filled with wonder? Why, indeed, did that foremost of rivers thus alter her course?"

Vaishampayana said, "Formerly, in the Krita age, O king, the ascetics dwelling in Naimisha were engaged in a grand sacrifice extending for twelve years. Many were the Rishis, O king, that came to that sacrifice. Passing their days, according to due rites, in the performance of that sacrifice, those highly blessed ones, after the completion of that twelve years' sacrifice at Naimisha, set out in large number for visiting the tirthas. In consequence of the number of the Rishis, O king, the tirthas on the southern banks of the Sarasvati all looked like towns and cities. Those foremost of Brahmanas, O tiger among men, in consequence of their eagerness for enjoying the merits of tirthas, took up their abodes on the bank of the river up to the site of Samantapanchaka. The whole region seemed to resound with the loud Vedic recitations of those Rishis of cleansed souls, all employed in pouring libations on sacrificial fires. That foremost of rivers looked exceedingly beautiful with those blazing homa fires all around, over which those high-souled ascetics poured libations of clarified butter. Valkhilyas and Asmakuttas, Dantolakhalinas, Samprakshanas and other ascetics, as also those that subsisted on air, and those that lived on water, and those that lived on dry leaves of trees, and diverse others that were observant of diverse kinds of vows, and those that forswore beds for the bare and hard earth, all came to that spot in the vicinity of the Sarasvati. And they made that foremost of rivers exceedingly beautiful, like the celestials beautifying (with their presence) the heavenly stream called Mandakini. Hundreds upon hundreds of Rishis, all given to the observance of sacrifices, came thither. Those practisers of high vows, however, failed to find sufficient room on the banks of the Sarasvati. Measuring small plots of land with their sacred threads, they performed their Agnihotras and diverse other rites. The river Sarasvati beheld, O monarch, that large body of Rishis penetrated with despair and plunged into anxiety for want of a broad tirtha wherein to perform their rites. For their sake, that foremost of streams came there, having made many abodes for herself in that spot, through kindness for those Rishis of sacred penances, O Janamejaya! Having thus, O monarch, turned her course for their sake, the Sarasvati, that foremost of rivers, once more flowed in a westerly direction, as if she said, 'I must go hence, having prevented the arrival of these Rishis from becoming futile!' This wonderful feat, O king, was accomplished there by that great river. Even thus those receptacles of water, O king, were formed in Naimisha. There, at Kurukshetra, O foremost of Kuru's care, do thou perform grand sacrifices and rites! As he beheld those many receptacles of water and seeing that foremost of rivers turn her course, wonder filled the heart of the high-souled Rama. Bathing in those tirthas duly and giving away wealth and diverse articles of enjoyment unto the Brahmanas, that delighter of Yadu's race also gave away diverse kinds of food and diverse desirable articles unto them. Worshipped by those regenerate ones, Vala, O king, then set out from that foremost of all tirthas on the Sarasvati (Sapta-Saraswat). Numerous feathery creatures have their home there. And it abounded with Vadari, Inguda, Ksamarya, Plaksha, Aswattha, Vibhitaka, Kakkola, Palasa, Karira, Pilu, and diverse other kinds of trees that grow on the banks of the Sarasvati. And it was adorned with forest of Karushakas, Vilwas, and Amratakas, and Atimuktas and Kashandas and Parijatas. Agreeable to the sight and most charming, it abounded with forests of plantains. And it was resorted to by diverse tribes of ascetics, some living on air, some on water, some on fruit, some on leaves, some on raw grain which they husked with the aid only of stones, and some that were called Vaneyas. And it resounded with the chanting of the Vedas, and teemed with diverse kinds of animals. And it was the favourite abode of men without malice and devoted to righteousness. Valadeva, having the plough for his weapon, arrived at that tirtha called Sapta-Saraswat, where the great ascetic Mankanaka had performed his penances and became crowned with success."

SECTION 38

Janamejaya said, "Why was that tirtha called Sapta-Saraswat? Who was the ascetic Mankanaka? How did that adorable one become crowned with success? What were his vows and observances? In whose race was he born? What books did that best of regenerate ones study? I desire to hear all this, O foremost of regenerate ones!"

Vaishampayana said, "O king, the seven Sarasvatis cover this universe! Whithersoever the Sarasvati was summoned by persons of great energy, thither she made her appearance. These are the seven forms of the Sarasvati: Suprava, Kanchanakshi, Visala, Manorama, Oghavati, Surenu, and Vimalodaka. The Supreme Grandsire had at one time performed a great sacrifice. While that sacrifice was in course of performance on the ground selected, many regenerate ones crowned with ascetic success came there. The spot resounded with the recitation of sacred hymns and the chanting of the Vedas. In the matter of those sacrificial rites, the very gods lost their coolness (so grand were the preparations). There, O monarch, while the Grandsire was installed in the sacrifice and was performing the grand ceremony capable of bestowing prosperity and every wish, many notable ones conversant with righteousness and profit were present. As soon as they thought of the articles of which they stood in need, these, O monarch, immediately appeared before the regenerate ones (among the guests) that came there. The Gandharvas sang and the diverse tribes of Apsaras danced. And they played upon many celestial instruments all the time. The wealth of provisions procured in that sacrifice satisfied the very gods. What shall I say then of human beings? The very celestials became filled with wonder! During the continuance of that sacrifice at Pushkara and in the presence of the Grandsire, the Rishis, O king, said, 'This sacrifice cannot be said to possess high attributes, since that foremost of rivers, Sarasvati, is not to be seen here!' Hearing these words, the divine Brahman cheerfully thought of Sarasvati. Summoned at Pushkara by the Grandsire engaged in the performance of a sacrifice, Sarasvati, O king, appeared there, under the name of Suprava. Beholding Sarasvati quickly pay that regard to the Grandsire, the Munis esteemed that sacrifice highly. Even thus that foremost of rivers, the Sarasvati, made her appearance at Pushkara for the sake of the Grandsire and for gratifying the Munis. (At another time), O king, many Munis, mustering together at Naimisha, took up their residence there. Delightful disquisition occurred among them, O king, about the Vedas. There where those Munis, conversant with diverse scriptures, took up their abode, there they thought of the Sarasvati. Thus thought of, O monarch, by those Rishis performing a sacrifice, the highly blessed and sacred Sarasvati, for rendering assistance, O king, to those high-souled Munis assembled together, made her appearance at Naimisha and came to be called Kanchanakshi. That foremost of rivers, worshipped by all, thus came there, O Bharata! While (king) Gaya was engaged in the performance of a great sacrifice at Gaya, the foremost of rivers, Sarasvati, summoned at Gaya's sacrifice (made her appearance there). The Rishis of rigid vows that were there, named this form of hers at Gaya as Visala. That river of swift current flows from the sides of the Himavat. Auddalaka had also, O Bharata, performed a sacrifice. A large concourse of Munis had been gathered there. It was on that sacred region, the northern part of Kosala, O king, that the sacrifice of high-souled Auddalaka was performed. Before Auddalaka began his sacrifice, he had thought of the Sarasvati. That foremost of rivers came to that region for the sake of those Rishis. Worshipped by all those Munis clad in barks and deer-skins she became known by the name of Manorama, as those Rishis mentally called her. While, again, the high-souled Kuru was engaged in a sacrifice at Kurukshetra, that foremost of rivers, the highly blessed Sarasvati, made her appearance there. Summoned, O monarch, by the high-souled Vasishtha (who assisted Kuru in his sacrifice), the Sarasvati, full of celestial water appeared at Kurukshetra under the name of Oghavati. Daksha at one time performed a sacrifice at the source of Ganga. The Sarasvati appeared there under the name of the fast-flowing Surenu. Once again, while Brahman was engaged in a sacrifice on the sacred forest of the Himavat mountains, the adorable Sarasvati, summoned (by him), appeared there. All these seven forms then came and joined together in that tirtha where Baladeva came. And because the seven mingled together at that spot, therefore is that tirtha known on Earth by the name of Sapta Sarasvati. Thus have I told thee of the seven Sarasvatis, according to their names. I have also told thee of the sacred tirtha called Sapta Saraswat. Listen now to a great feat of Mankanaka, who had from his youth led the life of a brahmacari. While employed in performing his ablutions in the river, he beheld (one day), O Bharata, a woman of faultless limbs and fair brows, bathing in the river at will, her person uncovered. At this sight, O monarch, the vital seed of the Rishi fell unto the Sarasvati. The great ascetic took it up and placed it within his earthen pot. Kept within that vessel, the fluid became divided into seven parts. From those seven portions were born seven Rishis from whom sprang the (nine and forty) Maruts. The seven Rishis were named Vayuvega, Vayuhan, Vayumandala, Vayujata, Vayuretas, and Vayuchakra of great energy. Thus were born these progenitors of the diverse Maruts. Hear now a more wonderful thing, O king, a fact exceedingly marvellous on Earth, about the conduct of the great Rishi, which is well known in the three worlds. In days of yore, after Mankanaka had become crowned with success, O king, his hand, on one occasion, became pierced with a Kusa blade. Thereupon, a vegetable juice came out of the wound (and not red blood). Seeing that vegetable juice, the Rishi became filled with joy and danced about on the spot. Seeing him dance, all mobile and immobile creatures, O hero, stupefied by his energy, began to dance. Then the gods with Brahman at their head, and the Rishis possessed of wealth of asceticism, O king, all went to Mahadeva and informed him of the act of the Rishi (Mankanaka). And they said unto him, 'It behoveth thee, O god, to do that which may prevent the Rishi from dancing!' Then Mahadeva, seeing the Rishi filled with great joy, and moved by the desire of doing good unto the gods, addressed him, saying, 'Why, O Brahmana, dost thou dance in this way, acquainted as thou art with thy duties? What grave cause is there for such joy of thine, O sage, that, an ascetic as thou art, O best of Brahmanas, and walking as thou dost along the path of virtue, thou shouldst act in this way?'

"The Rishi said, 'Why, seest thou not, O Brahmana, that a vegetable juice is flowing from this wound of mine? Seeing this, O lord, I am dancing in great joy!' Laughing at the Rishi who was stupefied by passion, the god said, 'I do not, O Brahmana, at all wonder at this! Behold me!' Having said this unto that foremost of Rishis, Mahadeva of great intelligence struck his thumb with the end of one of his fingers. Thereupon, O king, ashes, white as snow, came out of that wound. Seeing this, the Rishi became ashamed, O monarch, and fell at the feet of the god. He understood the god to be none else than Mahadeva. Filled with wonder, he said, 'I do not think that thou art any one else than Rudra, that great and Supreme being! O wielder of the trident, thou art the refuge of this universe consisting of gods and Asuras! The wise say that this universe hath been created by thee! At the universal destruction, everything once more enters thee! Thou art incapable of being known by the gods, how then canst thou be known by me? All forms of being that are in the universe are seen in thee! The gods with Brahman at their head worship thy boon giving self, O sinless one! Thou art everything! Thou art the creator of the gods and it was thou who hadst caused them to be created! Through thy grace, the gods pass their time in joy and perfect fearlessness!' Having praised Mahadeva in this manner, the Rishi bowed to him, 'Let not this absence of gravity, ridiculous in the extreme, that I displayed, O god, destroy my ascetic merit! I pray to thee for this!' The god, with a cheerful heart, once more said unto him 'Let thy asceticism increase a thousandfold, O Brahmana, through my grace! I shall also always dwell with thee in this asylum! For the man that will worship me in the tirtha Sapta-Saraswat there will be nothing unattainable here or hereafter. Without doubt, such a one shall go to the region called Saraswat (in heaven) after death!' Even this is the history of Mankanaka of

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abundant energy. He was a son begotten by the god of wind upon (the lady) Sukanya."

SECTION 39

Vaishampayana said, "Having passed one night more, Rama, having the plough for his weapon, worshipped the dwellers of that tirtha and showed his regard for Mankanaka. Having given wealth unto the Brahmanas, and passed the night there, the hero having the plough for his weapon was worshipped by the Munis. Rising up in the morning, he took leave of all the ascetics, and having touched the sacred water, O Bharata, set out quickly for other tirthas. Baladeva then went to the tirtha known by the name of Usanas. It is also called Kapalamochana. Formerly, Rama (the son of Dasaratha) slew a Rakshasa and hurled his head to a great distance. That head, O king, fell upon the thigh of a great sage named Mahodara and struck to it. Bathing in this tirtha, the great Rishi became freed from the burthen. The high-souled Kavi (Sukra) had performed his ascetic penances there. It was there that the whole science of politics and morals (that goes by Sukra's name) appeared to him by inward light. While residing there, Sukra meditated upon the war of the Daityas and the Danavas (with the gods). Arrived at that foremost of tirthas, Baladeva, O king, duly made presents unto the high-souled Brahmanas.'

Janamejaya said, "Why is it called Kapalamochana, where the great Muni became freed (from the Rakshasa's head)? For what reason and how did that head stick unto him?"

Vaishampayana said, "Formerly, O tiger among kings, the high-souled Rama (the son of Dasaratha) lived (for some time) in the forest of Dandaka, from desire of slaying the Rakshasas. At Janasthana he cut off the head of a wicked-souled Rakshasa with a razor-headed shaft of great sharpness. That head fell in the deep forest. That head, coursing at will (through the welkin) fell upon the thigh of Mahodara while the latter was wandering through the woods. Piercing his thigh, O king, it struck to it and remained there. In consequence of that head thus sticking to his thigh, the Brahmana (Mahodara) of great wisdom could not (with ease) proceed to tirthas and other sacred spots. Afflicted with great pain and with putrid matter flowing from his thigh, he went to all the tirthas of the Earth (one after another), as heard by us. He went to all the rivers and to the ocean also. (Not finding any relief) the great ascetic spoke of his sufferings to many Rishis of cleansed souls about his having bathed in all the tirthas without having found the relief he sought. That foremost of Brahmanas then heard from those sages words of high import about this foremost of tirthas situate on the Sarasvati, and known by the name of Usanasa, which was represented as competent to cleanse from every sin and as an excellent spot for attaining to (ascetic) success. That Brahmana, then, repairing to that Usanasa tirtha, bathed in its waters. Upon this, the Rakshasa's head, leaving the thigh, fell into the water. Freed from that (dead) head, the Rishi felt great happiness. As regards the head itself, it was lost in the waters. Mahodara then, O king, freed from the Rakshasa's head, cheerfully returned, with cleansed soul and all his sins washed away, to his asylum after achieving success. The great ascetic thus freed, after returning to his sacred asylum, spoke of what had happened to those Rishis of cleansed souls. The assembled Rishis, having heard his words, bestowed the name of Kapalamochana on the tirtha. The great Rishi Mahodara, repairing once more to that foremost of tirthas, drank its water and attained to great ascetic success. He of Madhu's race, having given away much wealth unto the Brahmanas and worshipped them, then proceeded to the asylum of Rushangu. There, O Bharata, Arshtishena had in former days undergone the austerest of penances. There the great Muni Vishvamitra (who had before been a Kshatriya) became a Brahmana. That great asylum is capable of granting the fruition of every wish. It is always, O lord, the abode of Munis and Brahmanas. Baladeva of great beauty, surrounded by Brahmanas, then went to that spot, O monarch, where Rushangu had, in former days, cast off his body. Rushangu, O Bharata, was an old Brahmana, who was always devoted to ascetic penances. Resolved to cast off his body, he reflected for a long while. Endued with great ascetic merit, he then summoned all his sons and told them to take him to a spot where water was abundant. Those ascetics, knowing their sire had become very old, took that ascetic to a tirtha on the Sarasvati. Brought by his sons to the sacred Sarasvati containing hundreds of tirthas and on whose banks dwelt Rishis unconnected with the world, that intelligent ascetic of austere penance bathed in that tirtha according to due rites, and that foremost of Rishis conversant with the merits of tirthas, then cheerfully said, O tiger among men, unto all his sons, who were dutifully waiting upon him, these words, 'He that would cast off his body on the northern bank of the Sarasvati containing much water, while employed in mentally reciting sacred mantras, would never again be afflicted with death!' The righteoussouled Baladeva, touching the water of that tirtha and bathing in it, gave considerable wealth unto the Brahmanas, being devoted to them. Possessed of great might and great prowess Baladeva then proceeded to that tirtha where the adorable Grandsire had created the mountains called Lokaloka, where that foremost of Rishis, Arshtishena of rigid vows, O thou of Kuru's race, had by austere penances acquired the status of Brahmanhood, where the royal sage Sindhudwipa, and the great ascetic Devapi, and the adorable and illustrious Muni Vishvamitra of austere penances and fierce energy, had all acquired a similar status."

SECTION 40

Janamejaya said, "Why did the adorable Arshtishena undergo the austerest of penances? How also did Sindhudwipa acquire the status of a Brahmana? How also did Devapi, O Brahmana, and how Vishvamitra, O best of men, acquire the same status? Tell me all this, O adorable one! Great is my curiosity to listen to all these."

Vaishampayana said, "Formerly, in the Krita age, O king, there was a foremost of regenerate persons called Arshtishena. Residing in his preceptor's house, he attended to his lessons every day. Although, O king, he resided long in the abode of his preceptor, he could not still acquire the mastery of any branch of knowledge or of the Vedas. O monarch! In great disappointment, O king, the great ascetic performed very austere penances. By his penances he then acquired the mastery of the Vedas, to which there is nothing superior. Acquiring great learning and a mastery of the Vedas, that foremost of Rishis became crowned with success in that tirtha. He then bestowed three boons on that place. (He said), 'From this day, a person, by bathing in this tirtha of the great river (Sarasvati), shall obtain the great fruit of a horse sacrifice! From this day there will be no fear in this tirtha from snakes and wild beasts! By small exertions, again, one shall attain to great result here!' Having said these words, that Muni of great energy proceeded to heaven. Even thus the adorable Arshtishena of great energy became crowned with success. In that very tirtha in the Krita age, Sindhudwipa of great energy, and Devapi also, O monarch, had acquired the high status of Brahmanhood. Similarly Kusika's son, devoted to ascetic penances and with his senses under control, acquired the status of Brahmanhood by practising well-directed austerities. There was a great Kshatriya, celebrated over the world, known by the name of Gadhi. He had a son born to him, of the name of Vishvamitra of great prowess. King Kausika became a great ascetic. Possessed of great ascetic merit, he wished to install his son Vishvamitra on his throne, himself having resolved to cast off his body. His subjects, bowing unto him, said, 'Thou shouldst not go away, O thou of great wisdom, but do thou protect us from a great fear!' Thus addressed, Gadhi replied unto his subjects, saying, 'My son will become the protector of the wide universe!' Having said these words, and placed Vishvamitra (on the throne), Gadhi, O king, went to heaven, and Vishvamitra became king. He could not, however, protect the earth with even his best exertions. The king then heard of the existence of a great fear of Rakshasas (in his kingdom). With his four kinds of forces, he went out of his capital. Having proceeded far on his way, he reached the asylum of Vasishtha. His troops, O king, caused much mischief there. The adorable Brahmana Vasishtha, when he came to his asylum, saw the extensive woods in course of destruction. That best of Rishis, Vasishtha, O king, became angry, O monarch, with Vishvamitra. He commanded his own (homa) cow, saying, 'Create a number of terrible Savaras!' Thus addressed, the cow created a swarm of men of frightful visages. These encountered the army of Vishvamitra and began to cause a great carnage everywhere. Seeing this, his troops fled away. Vishvamitra, the son of Gadhi, however, regarding ascetic austerities highly efficacious, set his heart upon them. In this foremost of tirthas of the Sarasvati, O king, he began to emaciate his own body by means of vows and fasts with fixed resolve. He made water and air and (the fallen) leaves of trees his food. He slept on the bare ground, and observed other vows (enjoined for ascetics). The gods made repeated attempts for impeding him in the observance of his vows. His heart, however, never swerved from the vows (he had proposed to himself). Then, having practised diverse kinds of austerities with great devotion, the son of Gadhi became like the Sun himself in effulgence. The boon-giving Grandsire, of great energy, resolved to grant Vishvamitra, when he had become endued with ascetic merit, the boon the latter desired. The boon that Vishvamitra solicited was that he should be permitted to become a Brahmana. Brahma the Grandsire of all the worlds, said unto him, 'So be it.' Having by his austere penances acquired the status of Brahmanhood, the illustrious Vishvamitra, after the attainment of his wish, wandered over the whole Earth like a celestial. Giving away diverse kinds of wealth in that foremost of tirthas, Rama also cheerfully gave away milch cows and vehicles and beds, ornaments, and food and drink of the best kinds, O king, unto many foremost of Brahmanas, after having worshipped them duly. Then, O king, Rama proceeded to the asylum of Vaka which was not very distant from where he was, that asylum in which, as heard by us, Dalvya Vaka had practised the austerest of penances."

SECTION 41

Vaishampayana said, "The delighter of the Yadus then proceeded to the asylum (of Vaka) which resounded with the chanting of the Vedas. There the great ascetic, O king, named Dalvyavaka poured the kingdom of Dhritarashtra, the son of Vichitravirya, as a libation (on the sacrificial fire). By practising very austere penances he emaciated his own body. Endued with great energy, the virtuous Rishi, filled with great wrath, (did that act). In former times, the Rishis residing in the Naimisha forest had performed a sacrifice extending for twelve years. In course of that sacrifice, after a particular one called Viswajit had been completed, the Rishis set out for the country of the Pancalas. Arrived there, they solicited the king for giving them one and twenty strong and healthy calves to be given away as Dakshina (in the sacrifice they have completed). Dalvya Vaka, however, (calling those Rishis), said unto them, 'Do you divide those animals (of mine) among you! Giving away these (unto you), I shall solicit a great king (for some).' Having said so unto all those Rishis, Vaka of great energy, that best of Brahmanas, then proceeded to the abode of Dhritarashtra. Arrived at the presence of king Dhritarashtra, Dalvya begged some animals of him. That best of kings, however, seeing that some of his kine died without any cause, angrily said unto him. 'Wretch of a Brahmana, take, if thou likest, these animals that (are dead)!' Hearing these words, the Rishi, conversant with duties, thought, 'Alas, cruel are the words that have been addressed to me in the assembly!' Having reflected in this strain, that best of Brahmanas, filled with wrath, set his heart upon the destruction of king Dhritarashtra. Cutting the flesh from off the dead animals, that best of sages, having ignited a (sacrificial) fire on the tirtha of the Sarasvati, poured those pieces as libations for the destruction of king Dhritarashtra's kingdom. Observant of rigid vows, the great Dalvya Vaka, O monarch, poured Dhritarashtra's kingdom as a libation on the fire, with the aid of those pieces of meat. Upon the commencement of that fierce sacrifice according to due rites, the kingdom of Dhritarashtra, O monarch, began to waste away. Indeed, O lord, the kingdom of that monarch began to waste away, even as a large forest begins to disappear when men proceed to cut it down with the axe. Overtaken by calamities, the kingdom began to lose its prosperity and life. Seeing his kingdom thus afflicted, the puissant monarch, O king, became very cheerless and thoughtful. Consulting with the Brahmanas, he began to make great endeavours for freeing his territories (from affliction). No good, however, came of his efforts, for the kingdom continued to waste away. The king became very cheerless. The Brahmanas also, O sinless one, became filled with grief. When at last the king failed to save his kingdom, he asked his counsellors. O Janamejaya, (about the remedy). The counsellors reminded him of the evil he had done in connexion with the dead kine. And they said, 'The sage Vaka is pouring thy kingdom as a libation on the fire with the aid of the flesh (of those animals). Thence is this great waste of thy kingdom! This is the consequence of ascetic rites. Thence is this great calamity! Go, O king, and gratify that Rishi by the side of a receptacle of water on the bank of the Sarasvati!' Repairing to the bank of the Sarasvati, the king falling at his feet and touching them with his head, joined his hands and said, O thou of Bharata's race, these words, 'I gratify thee, O adorable one, forgive my offence. I am a senseless fool, a wretch inspired with avarice. Thou art my refuge, thou art my protector, it behoveth thee to show me thy grace!' Beholding him thus overwhelmed with grief and indulging in lamentations like these, Vaka felt compassion for him and freed his kingdom. The Rishi became gratified with him, having dismissed his angry feelings. For freeing his kingdom, the sage again poured libations on the fire. Having freed the kingdom (from calamities) and taken many animals in grief, he became pleased at heart and once more proceeded to the Naimisha woods. The liberal-minded king Dhritarashtra also, of righteous soul, with a cheerful heart, returned to his own capital full of prosperity.

"In that tirtha, Brihaspati also, of great intelligence, for the destruction of the Asuras and the prosperity of the denizens of heaven, poured libations on the sacrificial fire, with the aid of flesh. Upon this, the Asuras began to waste away and were destroyed by the gods, inspired by desire of victory in battle. Having with due rites given unto the Brahmanas steeds and elephants and vehicles with mules yoked unto them and jewels of great value and much wealth, and much corn, the illustrious and mighty-armed Rama then proceeded, O king, to the tirtha called Yayata. There, O monarch, at the sacrifice of the high-souled Yayati, the son of Nahusha, the Sarasvati produced milk and clarified butter. That tiger among men, king Yayati, having performed a sacrifice there, went cheerfully to heaven and obtained many regions of blessedness. Once again, O lord, king Yayati performed a sacrifice there. Beholding his great magnanimity of soul and his immutable devotion to herself, the river Sarasvati gave unto the Brahamanas (invited to that sacrifice) everything for which each of them cherished only a wish in his heart. That foremost of rivers gave unto each where he was, amongst those that were invited to the sacrifice, houses and beds and food of the

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six different kinds of taste, and diverse other kinds of things. The Brahmanas regarded those valuable gifts as made to them by the king. Cheerfully they praised the monarch and bestowed their auspicious blessings upon him. The gods and the Gandharvas were all pleased with the profusion of articles in that sacrifice. As regards human beings, they were filled with wonder at sight of that profusion. The illustrious Baladeva, of soul subdued and restrained and cleansed, having the palmyra on his banner, distinguished by great righteousness, and ever giving away the most valuable things, then proceeded to that tirtha of fierce current called Vasishthapavaha."

SECTION 42

Janamejaya said, "Why is the current of (the tirtha known by the name of) Vasishthapavaha so rapid? For what reason did the foremost of rivers bear away Vasishtha? What, O lord, was the cause of the dispute between Vasishtha and Vishvamitra? Questioned by me, O thou of great wisdom, tell me all this! I am never satiated with hearing thee!"

Vaishampayana said, "A great enmity arose between Vishvamitra and Vasishtha, O Bharata, due to their rivalry in respect of ascetic austerities. The high abode of Vasishtha was in the tirtha called Sthanu on the eastern bank of the Sarasvati. On the opposite bank was the asylum of the intelligent Vishvamitra. There, in that tirtha, O monarch, Sthanu (Mahadeva) had practised the austerest penances. Sages still speak of those fierce feats. Having performed a sacrifice there and worshipped the river Sarasvati, Sthanu established that tirtha there. Hence it is known by the name Sthanu-tirtha, O lord. In that tirtha, the celestials had, in days of yore, O king, installed Skanda, that slayer of the enemies of the gods, in the supreme command of their army. Unto that tirtha of the Sarasvati, the great Rishi Vishvamitra, by the aid of his austere penances, brought Vasishtha. Listen to that history. The two ascetics Vishvamitra and Vasishtha, O Bharata, every day challenged each other very earnestly in respect of the superiority of their penances. The great Muni Vishvamitra, burning (with jealousy) at sight of the energy of Vasishtha, began to reflect on the matter. Though devoted to the performance of his duties, this, however, is the resolution, O Bharata, that he formed: 'This Sarasvati shall quickly bring, by force of her current, that foremost of ascetics, Vasishtha, to my presence. After he shall have been brought hither, I shall, without doubt, slay that foremost of regenerate ones.' Having settled this, the illustrious and great Rishi Vishvamitra with eyes red in wrath, thought of that foremost of rivers. Thus remembered by the ascetic, she became exceedingly agitated. The fair lady, however, repaired to that Rishi of great energy and great wrath. Pale and trembling, Sarasvati, with joined hands appeared before that foremost of sages. Indeed, the lady was much afflicted with grief, even like a woman who has lost her mighty lord. And she said unto that best of sages, 'Tell me what is there that I shall do for thee.' Filled with rage, the ascetic said unto her, 'Bring hither Vasishtha without delay, so that I may slay him.' Hearing these words the river became agitated. With joined hands the lotus-eyed lady began to tremble exceedingly in fear like a creeper shaken by the wind. Beholding the great river in that plight, the ascetic said unto her, 'Without any scruple, bring Vasishtha unto my presence!' Hearing these words of his, and knowing the evil he intended to do, and acquainted also with the prowess of Vasishtha that was unrivalled on earth, she repaired to Vasishtha and informed him of what the intelligent Vishvamitra had said unto her. Fearing the curse of both, she trembled repeatedly. Indeed, her heart was on the grievous curse (that either of them might pronounce on her). She stood in terror of both. Seeing her pale and plunged in anxiety, the righteous-souled Vasishtha, that foremost of men, O king, said these words unto her.

"Vasishtha said, 'O foremost of rivers, save thyself! O thou of rapid current, bear me away, otherwise Vishvamitra will curse thee. Do not feel any scruple.' Hearing these words of that compassionate Rishi, the river began to think, O Kauravya, as to what course would be best for her to follow. Even these were the thoughts that arose in her mind: 'Vasishtha showeth great compassion for me. It is proper for me that I should serve him.' Beholding then that best of Rishis, (Vasishtha) engaged in silent recitation (of mantras) on her bank, and seeing Kusika's son (Vishvamitra) also engaged in homa, Sarasvati thought, 'Even this is my opportunity.' Then that foremost of rivers, by her current, washed away one of her banks. In washing away that bank, she bore Vasishtha away. While being borne away, O king, Vasishtha praised the river in these words: 'From the Grandsire's (manasa) lake thou hast taken thy rise, O Sarasvati! This whole universe is filled with thy excellent waters! Wending through the firmament, O goddess, thou impartest thy waters to the clouds! All the waters are thee! Through thee we exercise our thinking faculties! Thou art Pushti and Dyuti, Kirti, and Siddhi and Uma! Thou art Speech, and thou art Svaha! This whole universe is dependent on thee! It is thou that dwellest in all creatures, in four forms!' Thus praised by that great Rishi, Sarasvati, O king, speedily bore that Brahmana towards the asylum of Vishvamitra and repeatedly represented unto the latter the arrival of the former. Beholding Vasishtha thus brought before him by Sarasvati, Vishvamitra, filled with rage, began to look for a weapon wherewith to slay that brahmana. Seeing him filled with wrath, the river from fear of (witnessing and aiding in) a brahmana's slaughter, quickly bore Vasishtha away to her eastern bank once more. She thus obeyed the words of both, although she deceived the son of Gadhi by her act. Seeing that best of Rishis, Vasishtha, borne away, the vindictive Vishvamitra, filled with wrath, addressed Sarasvati. saying, 'Since, O foremost of rivers, thou hast gone away, having deceived me, let thy current be changed into blood that is acceptable to Rakshasas.' Then, cursed by the intelligent Vishvamitra, Sarasvati flowed for a whole year, bearing blood mixed with water. The gods, the Gandharvas, and the Apsaras, beholding the Sarasvati reduced to that plight, became filled with great sorrow. For this reason, O king, the tirtha came to be called Vasishthapravaha on earth. The foremost of rivers, however, once more got back her own proper condition."

SECTION 43

Vaishampayana said, "Cursed by the intelligent Vishvamitra in anger, Sarasvati, in that auspicious and best of tirthas, flowed, bearing blood in her current. Then, O king, many Rakshasas came, O Bharata, and lived happily there, drinking the blood that flowed. Exceedingly gratified with that blood, cheerfully and without anxiety of any kind, they danced and laughed there like persons that have (by merit) attained to heaven. After some time had passed away, some Rishis, possessed of wealth of asceticism, came to the Sarasvati, O king, on a sojourn to her tirthas. Those foremost of Munis, having bathed in all the tirthas and obtained great happiness, became desirous of acquiring more merit. Those learned persons at last came, O king, to that tirtha where the Sarasvati ran a bloody current. Those highly blessed ones, arriving at that frightful tirtha, saw the water of the Sarasvati mixed with blood and that innumerable Rakshasas, O monarch, were drinking it. Beholding those Rakshasas, O king, those ascetics of rigid vows made great endeavours for rescuing the Sarasvati from that plight. Those blessed ones of high vows, arrived there, invoked that foremost of rivers and said these words unto her, 'Tell us the reason, O auspicious lady, why this lake in thee hath been afflicted with such distress Hearing it, we shall endeavour (to restore it to its proper condition).' Thus questioned, Sarasvati, trembling as she spoke, informed them of everything that had occurred. Seeing her afflicted with woe, those ascetics said, 'We have heard the reason. We have heard of thy curse, O sinless lady! All of us shall exert ourselves!' Having said these words unto that foremost of rivers, they then consulted with one another thus, 'All of us shall emancipate Sarasvati from her curse.' Then all those Brahmanas, O king, worshipping Mahadeva, that lord of the universe and protector of all creatures, with penance and vows and fasts and diverse kinds of abstinences and painful observances, emancipated that foremost of rivers, the divine Sarasvati. Beholding the water of Sarasvati purified by those Munis, the Rakshasas (that had taken up their abode there), afflicted with hunger, sought the protection of those Munis themselves. Afflicted with hunger, the Rakshasas, with joined hands, repeatedly said unto those ascetics filled with compassion, these words, 'All of us are hungry! We have swerved from eternal virtue! That we are sinful in behaviour is not of our free will! Through the absence of your, grace and through our own evil acts, as also through the sexual sins of our women, our demerits increase and we have become Brahma-Rakshasas! So amongst Vaisyas and Sudras, and Kshatriyas, those that hate and injure Brahmanas became Rakshasas. Ye best of Brahmanas, make arrangements then for our relief! Ye are competent to relieve all the worlds!' Hearing these words of theirs, those ascetics praised the great river. For the rescue of those Rakshasas, with rapt minds those ascetics said, 'The food over which one sneezed, that in which there are worms and insects, that which may be mixed with any leavings of dishes, that which is mixed with hair, that which is mixed with tears, that which is trodden upon shall form the portion of these Rakshasas! The learned man, knowing all this, shall carefully avoid these kinds of food. He that shall take such food shall be regarded as eating the food of Rakshasas!' Having purified the tirtha in this way, those ascetics thus solicited that river for the relief of those Rakshasas. Understanding the views of those great Rishis, that foremost of rivers caused her body, O bull among men, to assume a new shape called Aruna. Bathing in that new river (a branch of the Sarasvati) the Rakshasas cast off their bodies and went to heaven. Ascertaining all this, the chief of the celestials, (Indra of a hundred sacrifices), bathed in that foremost of tirthas and became cleansed of a grievous sin."

Janamejaya said, "For what reason was Indra tainted with the sin of Brahmanicide? How also did he become cleansed by bathing in that tirtha?"

Vaishampayana said, "Listen to that history, O ruler of men! Hear of those occurrences as they happened! Hear how Vasava, in days of yore, broke his treaty with Namuchi! The Asura Namuchi, from fear of Vasava, had entered a ray of the Sun. Indra then made friends with Namuchi and entered into a covenant with him, saying, 'O foremost of Asuras, I shall not slay thee, O friend, with anything that is wet or with anything that is dry! I shall not slay thee in the night or in the day! I swear this to thee by truth. Having made this covenant, the lord Indra one day beheld a fog. He then, O king, cut off Namuchi's head, using the foam of water (as his weapon). The severed head of Namuchi thereupon pursued Indra from behind, saying unto him from a near point these words, 'O slayer of a friend, O wretch!' Urged on incessantly by that head, Indra repaired to the Grandsire and informed him, in grief, of what had occurred. The Supreme Lord of the universe said unto him, 'Performing a sacrifice, bathe with due rites, O chief of the celestials, in Aruna, that tirtha which saveth from the fear of sin! The water of that river, O Shakra, hath been made sacred by the Munis! Formerly the presence of that river at its site was concealed. The divine Sarasvati repaired to the Aruna, and flooded it with her waters. This confluence of Sarasvati and Aruna is highly sacred! Thither, O chief of the celestials, perform a sacrifice! Give away gifts in profusion! Performing thy ablutions there, thou shall be freed from thy sin.' Thus addressed, Shakra, at these words of Brahma, O Janamejaya, performed in that abode of Sarasvati diverse sacrifices. Giving away many gifts and bathing in that tirtha, he of a hundred sacrifices, the piercer of Vala, duly performed certain sacrifices and then plunged in the Aruna. He became freed from the sin arising out of the slaughter of a Brahmana. The lord of heaven then returned to heaven with a joyful heart. The head of Namuchi also fell into that stream, O Bharata, and the Asura obtained many eternal regions, O best of kings, that granted every wish."

Vaishampayana continued, "The high-souled Baladeva having bathed in that tirtha and given away many kinds of gifts, obtained great merit. Of righteous deeds, he then proceeded to the great tirtha of Soma. There, in days of yore, Soma himself, O king of kings, had performed the Rajasuya sacrifice. The high-souled Atri, that foremost of Brahmanas, gifted with great intelligence became the Hotri in that grand sacrifice. Upon the conclusion of that sacrifice, a great battle took place between the gods (on the one side) and the Danavas, the Daityas, and the Rakshasas (on the other). That fierce battle is known after the name of (the Asura) Taraka. In that battle Skanda slew Taraka. There, on that occasion, Mahasena (Skanda), that destroyer of Daityas, obtained the command of the celestial forces. In that tirtha is a gigantic Aswattha tree. Under its shade, Kartikeya, otherwise called Kumara, always resides in person."

SECTION 44

Janamejaya said, "Thou hast described the merits of the Sarasvati, O best of Brahmanas! It behoveth thee, O regenerate one, to describe to me the investiture of Kumara (by the gods). Great is the curiosity I feel. Tell me everything, therefore, about the time when and the place where and the manner in which the adorable and puissant lord Skanda was invested (with the command of the celestial forces). Tell me also, O foremost of speakers, who they were that invested him and who performed the actual rites, and how the celestial generalissimo made a great carnage of the Daityas!"

Vaishampayana said, "This curiosity that thou feelest is worthy of thy birth in Kuru's race. The words that I shall speak, will, O Janamejaya, be conducive to thy pleasure. I shall narrate to thee the story of the investiture of Kumara and the prowess of that high-souled one, since, O ruler of men thou wishest to hear it! In days of yore the vital seed of Maheshvara coming out, fell into a blazing fire. The consumer of everything, the adorable Agni, could not burn that indestructible seed. On the other hand, the bearer of sacrificial libations, in consequence of that seed, became possessed of great energy and splendour. He could not bear within himself that, seed of mighty energy. At the command of Brahman, the lord Agni, approaching (the river) Ganga, threw into her that divine seed possessed of the effulgence of the Sun. Ganga also, unable to hold it, cast it on the beautiful breast of Himavat that is worshipped by the celestials. Thereupon Agni's son began to grow there, overwhelming all the worlds by his energy. Meanwhile (the six) Krittikas beheld that child of fiery splendour. Seeing that puissant lord, that high-souled son of Agni, lying on a clump of heath, all the six Krittikas, who were desirous of a son, cried aloud, saying, "This child is mine, this child is mine!" Understanding the state of mind of those six mothers, the adorable lord Skanda sucked the breasts of all having assumed six mouths. Beholding that puissance of the child, the Krittikas, those goddesses of beautiful forms, became filled with wonder. And since the adorable child had been cast by the river Ganga upon the summit of Himavat, that mountain looked beautiful, having, O delighter of the Kurus, been transformed into gold! With that growing child the whole Earth became beautiful, and it was for this reason that mountains (from that time) came to be producers of gold. Possessed of great energy, the child came to be called by the name of Kartikeya. At first he had been called by the name of Gangeya. He became possessed of

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high ascetic powers. Endued with self-restraint and asceticism and great energy, the child grew up, O monarch, into a person of highly agreeable features like Soma himself. Possessed of great beauty, the child lay on that excellent and golden clump of heath, adored and praised by Gandharvas and ascetics. Celestial girls, by thousands, conversant with celestial music and dance, and of very beautiful features, praised him and danced before him. The foremost of all rivers, Ganga, waited upon that god. The Earth also, assuming great beauty, held the child (on her lap). The celestial priest Brihaspati performed the usual rites after birth, in respect of that child. The Vedas assuming a four-fold form, approached the child with joined hands. The Science of arms, with its four divisions, and all the weapons as also all kinds of arrows, came to him. One day, the child, of great energy, saw that god of gods, the lord of Uma, seated with the daughter of Himavat, amid a swarm of ghostly creatures. Those ghostly creatures, of emaciated bodies, were of wonderful features. They were ugly and of ugly features, and wore awkward ornaments and marks. Their faces were like those of tigers and lions and bears and cats and makaras. Others were of faces like those of scorpions; others of faces like those of elephants and camels and owls. And some had faces like those of vultures and jackals. And some there were that had faces like those of cranes and pigeons and Kurus. And many amongst them had bodies like those of dogs and porcupines and iguanas and goats and sheep and cows. And some resembled mountains and some oceans, and some stood with uplifted discs and maces for their weapons. And some looked like masses of antimony and some like white mountains. The seven Matris also were present there, O monarch, and the Sadhyas, the Viswedevas, the Maruts, the Vasus, the Rudras, the Adityas, the Siddhas, the Danavas, the birds, the self-born and adorable Brahman with his sons, and Vishnu, and Shakra, all went thither for beholding that child of unfading glory. And many of the foremost of celestials and Gandharvas, headed by Narada and many celestial Rishis and Siddhas headed by Brihaspati, and the fathers of the universe, those foremost ones, they that are regarded as gods of the gods, and the Yamas and the Dharmas, all went there. Endued with great strength, the child possessed of great ascetic power, proceeded to the presence of that Lord of the gods, (Mahadeva), armed with trident and Pinaka. Seeing the child coming, the thought entered the mind of Siva, as it did that of Himavat's daughter and that of Ganga and of Agni, as to whom amongst the four the child would first approach for honouring him or her. Each of them thought, 'He will come to me!' Understanding that this was the expectation cherished by each of those four, he had recourse to his Yoga powers and assumed at the same time four different forms. Indeed the adorable and puissant lord assumed those four forms in an instant. The three forms that stood behind were Sakha and Visakha and Naigameya. The adorable and puissant one, having divided his self into four forms, (proceeded towards the four that sat expecting him). The form called Skanda of wonderful appearance proceeded to the spot where Rudra was sitting. Visakha went to the spot where the divine daughter of Himavat was. The adorable Sakha, which is Kartikeya's Vayu form proceeded towards Agni. Naigameya, that child of fiery splendour, proceeded to the presence of Ganga. All those forms, of similar appearance, were endued with great effulgence. The four forms proceeded calmly to the four gods and goddesses (already mentioned). All this seemed exceedingly wonderful. The gods, the Danavas, and the Rakshasas, made a loud noise at sight of that exceedingly wonderful incident making the very hair to stand on end. Then Rudra and the goddess Uma and Agni, and Ganga, all bowed unto the Grandsire, that Lord of the Universe. Having duly bowed unto him, O bull among kings, they said these words, O monarch, from desire of doing good unto Kartikeya. 'It behoveth thee, O Lord of the gods, to grant to this youth, for the sake of our happiness, some kind of sovereignty that may be suitable to him and that he may desire. At this, the adorable Grandsire of all the worlds, possessed of great intelligence, began to think within his mind as to what he should bestow upon that youth. He had formerly given away unto the formless ones (gods) all kinds of wealth over which the high-souled celestials, the Gandharvas, the Rakshasas, ghosts, Yakshas, birds, and snakes have dominion. Brahma, therefore, regarded that youth to be fully entitled to that dominion (which had been bestowed upon the gods). Having reflected for a moment, the Grandsire, ever mindful of the welfare of the gods, bestowed upon him the status of a generalissimo among all creatures, O Bharata! And the Grandsire further ordered all those gods that were regarded as the chief of the celestials and other formless beings to wait upon him. Then the gods headed by Brahman, taking that youth with them, together came to Himavat. The spot they selected was the bank of the sacred and divine Sarasvati, that foremost of rivers, taking her rise from Himavat, that Sarasvati which, at Samanta-panchaka, is celebrated over the three worlds. There, on the sacred bank, possessing every merit, of the Sarasvati, the gods and the Gandharvas took their seats with hearts well-pleased in consequence of the gratification of all their desires."

SECTION 45

Vaishampayana said, "Collecting all articles as laid down in the scriptures for the ceremony of investiture, Brihaspati duly poured libations on the blazing fire. Himavat gave a seat which was adorned with many costly gems. Kartikeya was made to sit on that auspicious and best of seats decked with excellent gems. The gods brought thither all kinds of auspicious articles, with due rites and mantras, that were necessary for a ceremony of the kind. The diverse gods--Indra and Vishnu, both of great energy, and Surya and Candramas, and Dhatri, and Vidhatri, and Vayu, and Agni, and Pushan, and Bhaga, and Aryaman, and Ansa, and Vivaswat, and Rudra of great intelligence, and Mitra, and the (eleven) Rudras, the (eight) Vasus, the (twelve) Adityas, the (twin) Ashvinis, the Viswedevas, the Maruts, the Saddhyas, the Pitris, the Gandharvas, the Apsaras, the Yakshas, the Rakshasas, the Pannagas, innumerable celestial Rishis, the Vaikhanasas, the Valakhilyas, those others (among Rishis) that subsist only on air and those that subsist on the rays of the Sun, the descendants of Bhrigu and Angiras, many high-souled Yatis, all the Vidyadharas, all those that were crowned with ascetic success, the Grandsire, Pulastya, Pulaha of great ascetic merits, Angiras, Kasyapa, Atri, Marichi, Bhrigu, Kratu, Hara, Prachetas, Manu, Daksha, the Seasons, the Planets, and all the luminaries; O monarch, all the rivers in their embodied forms, the eternal Vedas, the Seas, the diverse tirthas, the Earth, the Sky, the Cardinal and Subsidiary points of the compass, and all the Trees, O king, Aditi the mother of the gods, Hri, Sri, Swaha, Sarasvati, Uma, Sachi, Sinivali, Anumati, Kuhu, the Day of the new moon, the Day of the full Moon, the wives of the denizens of heaven, Himavat, Vindhya, Meru of many summits, Airavat with all his followers, the Divisions of time called Kala, Kashtha, Fortnight, the Seasons, Night, and Day, O king, the prince of steeds, Ucchaisravas, Vasuki the king of the Snakes, Aruna, Garuda, the Trees, the deciduous herbs, and the adorable god Dharma--all came there together. And there came also Kala, Yama, Mrityu, and the followers of Yama. From fear of swelling the list I do not mention the diverse other gods that came there. All of them came to that ceremony for investing Kartikeya with the status of generalissimo. All the denizens of heaven, O king, brought there everything necessary for the ceremony and every auspicious article. Filled with joy, the denizens of heaven made that high-souled youth, that terror of the Asuras, the generalissimo of the celestial forces, after pouring upon his head the sacred and excellent water of the Sarasvati from golden jars that contained other sacred articles needed for the purpose. The Grandsire of the worlds, Brahman, and Kasyapa of great energy, and the others (mentioned and) not mentioned, all poured water upon Skanda even as, O monarch, the gods had poured water on the head of Varuna, the lord of waters, for investing him with dominion. The lord Brahman then, with a gratified heart, gave unto Skanda four companions, possessed of great might, endued with speed like that of the wind, crowned with ascetic success, and gifted with energy which they could increase at will. They were named Nandisena and Lohitaksha and Ghantakarna and Kumudamalin. The lord Sthanu, O monarch, gave unto Skanda a companion possessed of great impetuosity, capable of producing a hundred illusions, and endued with might and energy that he could enhance at will. And he was the great destroyer of Asuras. In the great battle between the gods and the Asuras, this companion that Sthanu gave, filled with wrath, slew, with his hands alone, fourteen millions of Daityas of fierce deeds. The gods then made over to Skanda the celestial host, invincible, abounding with celestial troops, capable of destroying the enemies of the gods, and of forms like that of Vishnu. The gods then, with Vasava at their head, and the Gandharvas, the Yakshas, the Rakshasas, the Munis, and the Pitris, all shouted, 'Victory (to Skanda)!' Then Yama gave him two companions, both of whom resembled Death, Unmatha and Pramatha, possessed of great energy and great splendour. Endued with great prowess, Surya, with a gratified heart, gave unto Kartikeya two of his followers named Subhraja and Bhaswara. Soma also gave him two companions, Mani and Sumani, both of whom looked like summits of the Kailasa mountain and always used white garlands and white unguents. Agni gave unto him two heroic companions, grinders of hostile armies, who were named Jwalajihbha and Jyoti. Ansa gave unto Skanda of great intelligence five companions, Parigha, and Vata, and Bhima of terrible strength, and Dahati and Dahana, both of whom were exceedingly fierce and possessed of great energy. Vasava that slayer of hostile heroes, gave unto Agni's son two companions, Utkrosa and Panchaka, who were armed respectively with thunder-bolt and club. These had in battle slain innumerable enemies of Shakra. The illustrious Vishnu gave unto Skanda three companions, Chakra and Vikrama and Sankrama of great might. The Ashvinis, O bull of Bharata's race, with gratified hearts, gave unto Skanda two companions Vardhana and Nandana, who had mastered all the sciences. The illustrious Dhatri gave unto that high-souled one five companions, Kunda, Kusuma, Kumuda, Damvara and Adamvara. Tvashtri gave unto Skanda two companions named Chakra and Anuchakra, both of whom were endued with great strength. The lord Mitra gave unto the high-souled Kumara two illustrious companions named Suvrata and Satyasandha, both of whom were endued with great learning and ascetic merit, possessed of agreeable features, capable of granting boons and celebrated over the three worlds. Vidhatri gave unto Kartikeya two companions of great celebrity, the high-souled Suprabha and Subhakarman. Pushan gave him, O Bharata, two companions, Panitraka and Kalika, both endued with great powers of illusion. Vayu gave him, O best of the Bharatas, two companions, Vala and Ativala, endued with great might and very large mouths. Varuna, firmly adhering to truth, gave him Ghasa and Atighasa of great might and possessed of mouths like those of whales. Himavat gave unto Agni's son two companions, O King, Suvarchas and Ativarchas. Meru, O Bharata, gave him two companions named Kanchana and Meghamalin. Manu also gave unto Agni's son two others endued with great strength and prowess, Sthira and Atisthira. Vindhya gave unto Agni's son two companions named Uschrita and Agnisringa both of whom fought with large stones. Ocean gave him two mighty companions named Sangraha and Vigraha, both armed with maces. Parvati of beautiful features gave unto Agni's son Unmada and Pushpadanta and Sankukarna. Vasuki, the king of the snakes, O tiger among men, gave unto the son of Agni two snakes named Jaya and Mahajaya. Similarly the Saddhyas, the Rudras, the Vasus, the Pitris, the Seas, the Rivers, and the Mountains, all endued with great might, gave commanders of forces, armed with lances and battle-axes and decked with diverse kinds of ornaments. Listen now to the names of those other combatants armed with diverse weapons and clad in diverse kinds of robes and ornaments, that Skanda procured. They were Sankukarna, Nilkumbha, Padmai, Kumud, Ananta, Dwadasabhuja, Krishna, Upakrishnaka, Ghranasravas, Kapiskandha, Kanchanaksha, Jalandhama, Akshasantarjana, Kunadika, Tamobhrakrit, Ekaksha, Dwadasaksha, Ekajata, Sahasravahu, Vikata, Vyaghraksha, Kshitikampana, Punyanaman, Sunaman, Suvaktra, Priyadarsana, Parisruta, Kokonada, Priyamalyanulepana, Ajodara, Gajasiras, Skandhaksha, Satalochana, Jwalajibha, Karala, Sitakesa, Jati, Hari, Krishnakesa, Jatadhara, Chaturdanshtra, Ashtajihva, Meghananda, Prithusravas, Vidyutaksha, Dhanurvaktra, Jathara, Marutasana, Udaraksha, Rathaksha, Vajranabha, Vasurprabha, Samudravega, Sailakampin, Vrisha, Meshapravaha, Nanda, Upadanka, Dhumra, Sweta, Kalinga, Siddhartha, Varada, Priyaka, Nanda, Gonanda, Ananda, Pramoda, Swastika, Dhruvaka, Kshemavaha, Subala, Siddhapatra, Govraja, Kanakapida, Gayana, Hasana, Vana, Khadga, Vaitali, Atitali, Kathaka, Vatika, Hansaja, Pakshadigdhanga, Samudronmadana, Ranotkata, Prashasa, Swetasiddha, Nandaka, Kalakantha, Prabhasa, Kumbhandaka, Kalakaksha, Sita, Bhutalonmathana, Yajnavaha, Pravaha, Devajali, Somapa, Majjala, Kratha Tuhara Chitradeva, Madhura, Suprasada, Kiritin, Vatsala, Madhuvarna, Kalasodara, Dharmada, Manma, Thakara, Suchivaktra, Swetavaktra, Suvaktra, Charuvaktra, Pandura, Dandavahu, Suvahu, Rajas, Kokilaka, Achala, Kanakaksha, Valakarakshaka, Sancharaka, Kokanada, Gridhrapatra, Jamvuka, Lohajvaktra, Javana, Kumbhavaktra, Kumbhaka, Mundagriva, Krishnaujas, Hansavaktra, Candrabha, Panikurchas, Samvuka, Panchavaktra, Sikshaka, Chasavaktra, Jamvuka, Kharvaktra, and Kunchaka. Besides these, many other high-souled and mighty companions, devoted to ascetic austerities and regardful of Brahmanas, were given unto him by the Grandsire. Some of them were in youth; some were old and some, O Janamejaya, were very young in years. Thousands upon thousands of such came to Kartikeya. They were possessed of diverse kinds of faces. Listen to me, O Janamejaya, as I describe them! Some had faces like those of tortoises, and some like those of cocks. The faces of some were very long, O Bharata. Some, again, had faces like those of dogs, and wolves, and hares, and owls, and asses, and camels, and hogs. Some had human faces and some had faces like those of sheep, and jackals. Some were terrible and had faces like those of makaras and porpoises. Some had faces like those of cats and some like those of biting flies; and the faces of some were very long. Some had faces like those of the mongoose, the owl, and the crow. Some had faces like those of mice and peacocks and fishes and goats and sheep and buffaloes. The faces of some resembled those of bears and tigers and leopards and lions. Some had faces like those of elephants and crocodiles. The faces of some resembled those of Garuda and the rhinoceros and the wolf. Some had faces like those of cows and mules and camels and cats. Possessed of large stomachs and large legs and limbs, some had eyes like stars. The faces of some resembled those of pigeons and bulls. Other had faces like those of kokilas and hawks and tittiras and lizards. Some were clad in white robes. Some had faces like those of snakes. The faces of some resembled those of porcupines. Indeed, some had frightful and some very agreeable faces; some had snakes for their clothes. The faces as also the noses of some resembled those of cows. Some had large limbs protruding stomachs but other limbs very lean;

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some had large limbs but lean stomachs. The necks of some were very short and the ears of some were very large. Some had diverse kinds of snakes for their ornaments. Some were clad in skins of large elephants, and some in black deer-skins. The mouths of some were on their shoulders. Some had mouths on their stomachs, some on their backs, some on their cheeks, some on their calves, and some on their flanks, and the mouths of many were placed on other parts of their bodies. The faces of many amongst those leaders of troops were like those of insects and worms. The mouths of many amongst them were like those of diverse beasts of prey. Some had many arms and some many heads. The arms of some resembled trees, and the heads of some were on their loins. The faces of some were tapering like the bodies of snakes. Many amongst them had their abodes on diverse kinds of plants and herbs. Some were clad in rags, some in diverse kinds of bones, some were diversely clad, and some were adorned in diverse kinds of garlands and diverse kinds of unguents. Dressed diversely, some had skins for their robes. Some had head-gears; the brows of some were furrowed into lines; the necks of some bore marks like those on conchshells, some were possessed of great effulgence. Some had diadems, some had five tufts of hair on their heads, and the hair of some was very hard. Some had two tufts, some three, and some seven. Some had feathers on their heads, some had crowns, some had heads that were perfectly bald, and some had matted locks. Some were adorned with beautiful garlands, and the faces of some were very hairy. Battle was the one thing in which they took great delight, and all of them were invincible by even the foremost ones amongst the gods. Many amongst them were clad in diverse kinds of celestial robes. All were fond of battle. Some were of dark complexion, and the faces of some had no flesh on them. Some had very long backs, and some had no stomachs. The backs of some were very large while those of some were very short. Some had long stomachs and the limbs of some were long. The arms of some were long while those of some were short. Some were dwarfs of short limbs. Some were hunch-backed. Some had short hips. The cars and heads of some were like those of elephants. Some had noses like those of tortoises, some like those of wolves. Some had long lips, some had long hips, and some were frightful, having their faces downwards. Some had very large teeth, some had very short teeth, and some had only four teeth. Thousands among them, O king, were exceedingly terrible, looking like infuriated elephants of gigantic size. Some were of symmetrical limbs, possessed of great splendour, and adorned with ornaments. Some had yellow eyes, some had ears like arrows, some had noses like gavials. O Bharata! Some had broad teeth, some had broad lips, and some had green hair. Possessed of diverse kinds of feet and lips and teeth, they had diverse kinds of arms and heads. Clad in diverse kinds of skins, they spoke diverse kinds of languages, O Bharata! Skilled in all provincial dialects, those puissant ones conversed with one another. Those mighty companions, filled with joy, gambolled there, cutting capers (around Kartikeya). Some were long-necked, some longnailed, some long-legged. Some amongst them were large-headed and some large-armed. The eyes of some were yellow. The throats of some were blue, and the ears of some were long, O Bharata. The stomachs of some were like masses of antimony. The eyes of some were white, the necks of some were red, and some had eyes of a tawny hue. Many were dark in colour and many, O king, were of diverse colours, O Bharata. Many had ornaments on their persons that looked like yak-tails. Some bore white streaks on their bodies, and some bore red streaks. Some were of diversified colours and some had golden complexions, and some were endued with splendours like those of the peacock. I shall describe to thee the weapons that were taken by those that came last to Kartikeya. Listen to me. Some had noses on their uplifted arms. Their faces were like those of tigers and asses. Their eyes were on their backs, their throats were blue, and their arms resembled spiked clubs. Some were armed with Sataghnis and discs, and some had heavy and short clubs. Some had swords and mallets and some were armed with bludgeons, O Bharata. Some, possessed of gigantic sizes and great strength, were armed with lances and scimitars. Some were armed with maces and Bhusundis and some had spears on their hands. Possessed of high souls and great strength and endued with great speed and great impetuosity, those mighty companions had diverse kinds of terrible weapons in their arms. Beholding the installation of Kartikeya, those beings of mighty energy, delighting in battle and wearing on their persons rows of tinkling bells, danced around him in joy. These and many other mighty companions, O king, came to the high-souled and illustrious Kartikeya. Some belonged to the celestial regions, some to the aerial, and some to the regions of the Earth. All of them were endued with speed like that of the wind. Commanded by the gods, those brave and mighty ones became the companions of Kartikeya. Thousands upon thousands, millions upon millions, of such beings came there at the installation of the high-souled Kartikeya and stood surrounding him."

SECTION 46

Vaishampayana said, "Listen now to the large bands of the mothers, those slayers of foes, O hero, that became the companions of Kumara, as I mention their names. Listen, O Bharata, to the names of those illustrious mothers. The mobile and immobile universe is pervaded by those auspicious ones. They are Prabhavati, Vishalakshi, Palita, Gonasi, Shrimati, Bahula, Bahuputrika, Apsujata, Gopali, Brihadambalika, Jayavati, Malatika, Dhruvaratna, Bhayankari, Vasudama, Sudama, Vishoka, Nandini, Ekacuda, Mahacuda, Cakranemi, Uttejani, Jayatsena, Kamalakshi, Shobhana, Shatrunjaya, Shalabhi, Khari, Madhavi, Shubhavaktra, Tirthanemi, Gitapriya, Kalyani, Kadrula, Amitashana, Meghasvana, Bhogavati, Subhru, Kanakavati, Alatakshi, Viryavati, Vidyujjihva, Padmavati, Sunakshatra, Kandara, Bahuyojana, Santanika, Kamala, Mahabala, Sudama, Bahudama, Suprabha, Yashasvini, Nrityapriya, Shatolukhalamekhala, Shataghanta, Shatananda, Bhagananda, Bhamini, Vapushmati, Candrashita, Bhadrakali, Samkarika, Nishkutika, Bhrama, Catvaravasini, Sumangala, Svastimati, Vriddhikama, Jayapriya, Dhanada, Suprasada, Bhavada, Jaleshvari, Edi, Bhedi, Samedi, Vetalajanani, Kanduti, Kalika, Devamitra, Lambasi, Ketaki, Citrasena, Bala, Kukkutika, Shankhanika, Jarjarika, Kundarika, Kokalika, Kandara, Shatodari, Utkrathini, Jarena, Mahavega, Kankana, Manojava, Kantakini, Praghasa, Putana, Khashaya, Curvyuti, Vama, Kroshanatha, Taditprabha, Mandodari, Tunda, Kotara, Meghavasini, Subhaga, Lambini, Lamba, Vasucuda, Vikatthani, Urdhvavenidhara, Pingakshi, Lohamekhala, Prithuvaktra, Madhurika, Madhukumbha, Pakshalika, Manthanika, Jarayu, Jarjaranana, Khyata, Dahadaha, Dhamadhama, Khandakhanda, Pushana, Manikundala, Amogha, Lambapayodhara, Venuvinadhara, Pingakshi, Lohamekhala, Shasholukamukhi, Krishna, Kharajangha, Mahajava, Shishumaramukhi, Shveta, Lohitakshi, Vibhishana, Jatalika, Kamacari, Dirghajihva, Balotkata, Kaledika, Vamanika, Mukuta, Lohitakshi, Mahakaya, Haripindi, Ekakshara, Sukusuma, Krishnakarni, Kshurakarni, Catushkarni, Karnapravarana, Catushpathaniketa, Gokarni, Mahishanana, Kharakarni, Mahakarni, Bherisvanamahasvana, Shankhakumbhasvana, Bhangada, Gana, Sugana, Bhiti, Kamada, Catushpatharata, Bhutirtha, Anyagocara, Pashuda, Vittada, Sukhada, Mahayasha, Payoda, Gomahishada, Suvishana, Pratishtha, Supratishtha, Rocamana, Surocana, Naukarni, Mukhakarni, Sasira, Stherika, Ekacakra, Megharava, Meghamala, and Virocana.

These and many other mothers, O bull of Bharata's race, numbering by thousands, of diverse forms, became the followers of Kartikeya. Their nails were long, their teeth were large and their lips also, O Bharata, were protruding. Of straight forms and sweet features, all of them, endowed with youth, were decked with ornaments. Possessed of ascetic merit, they were capable of assuming any form at will. Having not much flesh on their limbs, they were of fair complexions and endued with splendour like that of gold. Some amongst them were dark and looked like clouds in hue and some were of the colour of smoke, O bull of Bharata's race. And some were endued with the splendour of the morning sun and were highly blessed. Possessed of long tresses, they were clad in robes of white. The braids of some were tied upwards, and the eyes of some were tawny, and some had girdles that were very long. Some had long stomachs, some had long ears, and some had long breasts. Some had coppery eyes and coppery complexion, and the eyes of some were green.

Capable of granting boons and of travelling at will, they were always cheerful. Possessed of great strength, some amongst them partook of the nature of Yama, some of Rudra, some of Soma, some of Kuvera, some of Varuna, some of Indra, and some of Agni, O scorcher of foes. And some partook of the nature of Vayu, some of Kumara, some of Brahma, O bull of Bharata's race, and some of Vishnu and some of Surya, and some of Varaha.

Of charming and delightful features, they were beautiful like the asuras. In voice they resembled the kokila and in prosperity they resembled the Lord of Treasures. In battle, their energy resembled that of Shakra. In splendour they resembled fire. In battle they always inspired their foes with terror. Capable of assuming any form at will, in fleetness they resembled the very wind. Of inconceivable might and energy, their prowess also was inconceivable.

They have their abodes on trees and open spots and crossings of four roads. They live also in caves and crematoriums, mountains and springs. Adorned with diverse kinds of ornaments, they wear diverse kinds of attire, and speak diverse languages. These and many other tribes (of the mothers), all capable of inspiring foes with dread, followed the high-souled Kartikeya at the command of the chief of the celestials.

The adorable chastiser of Paka, O tiger among kings, gave unto Guha (Kartikeya) a dart for the destruction of the enemies of the gods. That dart produces a loud whiz and is adorned with many large bells. Possessed of great splendour, it seemed to blaze with light. And Indra also gave him a banner effulgent as the morning sun. Shiva gave him a large army, exceedingly fierce and armed with diverse kinds of weapons, and endued with great energy begotten of ascetic penances. Invincible and possessing all the qualities of a good army, that force was known by the name of dhananjaya. It was protected by thirty 30,000 warriors each of whom was possessed of might equal to that of Rudra himself. That force knew not how to fly from battle. Vishnu gave him a triumphal garland that enhances the might of the wearer. Uma gave him two pieces of cloth of effulgence like that of the Sun. With great pleasure Ganga gave unto Kumara a celestial water-pot, begotten of amrita, and Brihaspati gave him a sacred stick. Garuda gave him his favourite son, a peacock of beautiful feathers. Aruna gave him a cock of sharp talons. The royal Varuna gave him a snake of great energy and might. The lord Brahma gave unto that god devoted to Brahman a black deer-skin. And the Creator of all the worlds also gave him victory in all battles.

Having obtained the command of the celestial forces, Skanda looked resplendent like a blazing fire of bright flames. Accompanied by those companions and the mothers, he proceeded for the destruction of the daityas, gladdening all the foremost of the gods. The terrible host of celestials, furnished with standards adorned with bells, and equipped with drums and conchs and cymbals, and armed with weapons, and decked with many banners, looked beautiful like the autumnal firmament bespangled with planets and stars.

Then that vast assemblage of celestials and diverse kinds of creatures began cheerfully to beat their drums and blow their conchs numbering thousands. And they also played on their patahas and jharjharas and krikacas and cow-horns and adambaras and gomukhas and dindimas of loud sound. All the gods, with Vasava at their head, praised Kumara. The celestials and the gandharvas sang and the apsaras danced.

Well-pleased (with these attentions) Skanda granted a boon unto all the gods, saying, 'I shall slay all your foes,' then, that is, that desire to slay you. Having obtained this boon from that best of gods, the illustrious celestials regarded their foes to be already slain. After Skanda had granted that boon, a loud sound arose from all those creatures inspired with joy, filling the three worlds.

Accompanied by that vast host, Skanda then set out for the destruction of the daityas and the protection of the denizens of heaven. Exertion, and Victory, and Righteousness, and Success, and Prosperity, and Courage, and the Scriptures (in their embodied forms) proceeded in the van of Kartikeya's army, O king! With that terrible force, which was armed with lances, mallets, blazing brands, maces, heavy clubs, arrows, darts and spears, and which was decked with beautiful ornaments and armour, and which uttered roars like those of a proud lion, the divine Guha set out.

Beholding him, all the daityas, rakshasas and danavas, anxious with fear, fled away on all sides. Armed with diverse weapons, the celestials pursued them. Seeing (the foe flying away), Skanda, endued with energy and might, became inflamed with wrath. He repeatedly hurled his terrible weapon, the dart (he had received from Agni). The energy that he then displayed resembled a fire fed with libations of clarified butter. While the dart was repeatedly hurled by Skanda of immeasurable energy, meteoric flashes, O king, fell upon the Earth. Thunderbolts also, with tremendous noise, fell upon the earth. Everything became as frightful O king, as it becomes on the day of universal destruction. When that terrible dart was once hurled by the son of Agni, millions of darts issued from it, O bull of Bharata's race.

The puissant and adorable Skanda, filled with joy, at last slew Taraka, the chief of the daityas, endued with great might and prowess, and surrounded (in that battle) by a 100,000 heroic and mighty daityas. He then, in that battle, slew Mahisha who was surrounded by eight padmas of daityas. He next slew Tripada who was surrounded by a 1,000 ajutas of daityas. The puissant Skanda then slew Hradodara, who was surrounded by ten nikharvas of daityas, with all his followers armed with diverse weapons. Filling the ten points of the compass, the followers of Kumara, O king, made a loud noise while those daityas were being slain, and danced and jumped and laughed in joy.

Thousands of daityas, O king, were burnt with the flames that issued from Skanda's dart, while others breathed their last, terrified by the roars of Skanda. The three worlds were frightened at the yawns of Skanda's soldiers. The foes were consumed with flames produced by Skanda. Many were slain by his roars alone. Some amongst the foes of the gods, struck with banners, were slain. Some, frightened by the sounds of bells, fell down on the surface of the Earth. Some, mangled with weapons, fell down, deprived of life. In this way the heroic and mighty Kartikeya slew innumerable foes of the gods possessed of great strength that came to fight with him.

Then Bali's son Vana of great might, getting upon the Kraunca mountain, battled with the celestial host. Possessed of great intelligence, the great generalissimo Skanda rushed against that foe of the gods. From fear of Kartikeya, he took shelter within the Kraunca mountain. Inflamed with rage, the adorable Kartikeya then pierced that mountain with that dart

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given him by Agni. The mountain was called Kraunca (crane) because of the sound it always produced resembled the cry of a crane. That mountain was variegated with shala trees. The apes and elephants on it were affrighted. The birds that had their abode on it rose up and wheeled around in the welkin. The snakes began to dart down its sides. It resounded also with the cries of leopards and bears in large numbers that ran hither and thither in fear. Other forests on it rang with the cries of hundreds upon hundreds of animals. Sharabhas and lions suddenly ran out. In consequence of all this that mountain, though it was reduced to a very pitiable plight, still assumed a very beautiful aspect. The vidyadharas dwelling on its summits soared into the air. The kinnaras also became very anxious, distracted by the fear caused by the fall of Skanda's dart. The daityas then, by hundreds and thousands, came out of that blazing mountain, all clad in beautiful ornaments and garlands.

The followers of Kumara, prevailing over them in battle, slew them all. The adorable Skanda, inflamed with rage, quickly slew the son of daitya chief (Bali) along with his younger brother, even as Indra had slain Vritra (in days before). The slayer of hostile heroes, Agni's son, pierced with his dart the Kraunca mountain, dividing his own self sometimes into many and sometimes uniting all his portions into one. Repeatedly hurled from his hand, the dart repeatedly came back to him. Even such was the might and glory of the adorable son of Agni. With redoubled heroism, and energy and fame and success, the god pierced the mountain and slew hundreds of daityas. The adorable god, having thus slain the enemies of the celestials, was worshipped and honoured by the latter and obtained great joy.

After the Kraunca mountain had been pierced and after the son of Canda had been slain, drums were beaten, O king, and conchs were blown. The celestial ladies rained floral showers in succession upon that divine lord of yogis. Auspicious breezes began to blow, bearing celestial perfumes. The gandharvas hymned his praises, as also great rishis always engaged in the performance of sacrifices. Some speak of him as the puissant son of the Grandsire, Sanat-kumara, the eldest of all the sons of Brahma. Some speak of him as the son of Maheshvara, and some as that of Agni. Some again describe him as the son of Uma or of the Krittikas or of Ganga. Hundreds and thousands of people speak of that Lord of yogis of blazing form and great might, as the son of one of those, or of either of two of those, or of any one of four of those.

I have thus told thee, O king, everything about the installation of Kartikeya. Listen now to the history of the sacredness of that foremost of tirthas on the Sarasvati. That foremost of tirthas, O monarch, after the enemies of the gods had been slain, became a second heaven. The puissant son of Agni gave unto each of the foremost ones among the celestials diverse kinds of dominion and affluence and at last the sovereignty of the three worlds. Even thus, O monarch, was that adorable exterminator of the daityas installed by the gods as their generalissimo. That other tirtha, O bull of Bharata's race, where in days of yore Varuna the lord of waters had been installed by the celestials, is known by the name of Taijasa. Having bathed in that tirtha and adored Skanda, Rama gave unto the brahmanas gold and clothes and ornaments and other things. Passing one night there, that slayer of hostile heroes, Madhava, praising that foremost of tirthas and touching its water, became cheerful and happy. I have now told thee everything about which thou hadst enquired, how the divine Skanda was installed by the assembled gods!"

SECTION 47

Janamejaya said, "This history, O regenerate one, that I have heard from thee is exceedingly wonderful, this narration, in detail, of the installation, according to due rites, of Skanda. O thou possessed of wealth of asceticism, I deem myself cleansed by having listened to this account. My hair stands on end and my mind hath become cheerful. Having heard the history of the installation of Kumara and the destruction of the Daityas, great hath been my joy. I feel a curiosity, however, in respect of another matter. How was the Lord of the waters installed by the celestials in that tirtha in days of yore? O best of men, tell me that, for thou art possessed of great wisdom and art skilled in narration!"

Vaishampayana said, "Listen, O king, to this wonderful history of what transpired truly in a former Kalpa! In days of yore, in the Krita age, O king, all celestials, duly approaching Varuna, said unto him these words, 'As Shakra, the Lord of the celestials, always protects us from every fear, similarly be thou the Lord of all the rivers! Thou always residest, O god, in the Ocean, that home of makaras! This Ocean, the lord of rivers, will then be under thy dominion! Thou shalt then wax and wane with Soma!' (Thus addressed) Varuna answered them, saying, 'Let it be so!' All the celestials then, assembling together, made Varuna having his abode in the ocean the Lord of all the waters, according to the rites laid down in the scriptures. Having installed Varuna as the Lord of all aquatic creatures and worshipping him duly, the celestials returned to their respective abodes. Installed by the celestials, the illustrious Varuna began to duly protect seas and lakes and rivers and other reservoirs of water as Shakra protects the gods. Bathing in that tirtha also and giving away diverse kinds of gifts, Baladeva, the slayer of Pralamva, possessed of great wisdom, then proceeded to Agnitirtha, that spot where the eater of clarified butter, disappearing from the view, became concealed within the entrails of the Sami wood. When the light of all the worlds thus disappeared, O sinless one, the gods then repaired to the Grandsire of the universe. And they said, 'The adorable Agni has disappeared. We do not know the reason. Let not all creatures be destroyed. Create fire, O puissant Lord!'"

Janamejaya said, "For what reason did Agni, the Creator of all the worlds, disappear? How also was he discovered by the gods? Tell me all this in detail."

Vaishampayana said, "Agni of great energy became very much frightened at the curse of Bhrigu. Concealing himself within the entrails of the Sami wood, that adorable god disappeared from the view. Upon the disappearance of Agni, all the gods, with Vasava at their head, in great affliction, searched for the missing god. Finding Agni then, they saw that god lying within the entrails of the Sami wood. The celestials, O tiger among king, with Brihaspati at their head, having succeeded in finding out the god, became very glad with Vasava amongst them. They then returned to the places they had come from. Agni also, from Bhrigu's curse, became an eater of everything, as Bhrigu, that utterer of Brahma, had said. The intelligent Balarama, having bathed there, then proceeded to Brahmayoni where the adorable Grandsire of all the worlds had exercised his functions of creations. In days of yore, the Lord Brahman, along with all the gods, bathed in that tirtha, according to due rites for the celestials. Bathing there and giving away diverse kinds of gifts, Valadeva then proceeded to the tirtha called Kauvera where the puissant Ailavila, having practised severe austerities, obtained, O king, the Lordship over all treasures. While he dwelt there (engaged in austerities), all kinds of wealth, and all the precious gems came to him of their own accord. Baladeva having repaired to that tirtha and bathed in its waters duly gave much wealth unto the Brahamanas. Rama beheld at that spot the excellent woods of Kuvera. In days of yore, the high-souled Kuvera, the chief of the Yakshas, having practised the severest austerities there, obtained many boons. There were the lordship of all treasures, the friendship of Rudra possessed of immeasurable energy, the status of a god, the regency over a particular point of the compass (the north), and a son named Nakakuvera. These the chief of the Yakshas speedily obtained there, O thou of mighty arms! The Maruts, coming there, installed him duly (in his sovereignty). He also obtained for a vehicle a well-equipped and celestial car, fleet as thought, as also all the affluence of a god. Bathing in that tirtha and giving away much wealth, Vala using white unguents thence proceeded quickly to another tirtha. Populous with all kinds of creatures, that tirtha is known by the name Vadarapachana. There the fruits of every season are always to be found and flowers and fruits of every kind are always abundant."

SECTION 48

Vaishampayana said, "Rama (as already said) then proceeded to the tirtha called Vadarapachana where dwelt many ascetics and Siddhas. There the daughter of Bharadwaja, unrivalled on earth for beauty, named Sruvavati, practised severe austerities. She was a maiden who led the life of a Brahmacharini. That beautiful damsel, observing diverse kinds of vows, practised the austerest of penances, moved by the desire of obtaining the Lord of the celestials for her husband. Many years passed away, O perpetuator of Kuru's race, during which that damsel continually observed those diverse vows exceedingly difficult of being practised by women. The adorable chastiser of Paka at last became gratified with her in consequence of that conduct and those penances of hers and that high regard she showed for him. The puissant Lord of the celestials then came to that hermitage, having assumed the form of the high-souled and regenerate Rishi Vasishtha. Beholding that foremost of ascetics, Vasishtha, of the austerest penances, she worshipped him, O Bharata according to the rites observed by ascetics. Conversant with vows, the auspicious and sweet-speeched damsel addressed him, saying, 'O adorable one, O tiger among ascetics, tell me thy commands, O lord! O thou of excellent vows, I shall serve thee according to the measure of my might! I will not, however, give thee my hand, in consequence of my regard for Shakra! I am seeking to please Shakra, the lord of the three worlds, with vows and rigid observances and ascetic penances!' Thus addressed by her, the illustrious god, smiling as he cast his eyes on her, and knowing her observances, addressed her sweetly, O Bharata, saying, 'Thou practisest penances of the austerest kind! This is known to me, O thou of excellent vows! That object also, cherished in thy heart, for the attainment of which thou strivest, O auspicious one, shall, O thou of beautiful face, be accomplished for thee! Everything is attainable by penances. Everything rests on penances. All those regions of blessedness, O thou of beautiful face, that belong to the gods can be obtained by penances. Penances are the root of great happiness. Those men that cast off their bodies after having practised austere penances, obtain the status of gods, O auspicious one! Bear in mind these words of mine! Do thou now, O blessed damsel, boil these five jujubes, O thou of excellent vows!' Having said these words, the adorable slayer of Vala went away, taking leave, to mentally recite certain mantras at an excellent tirtha not far from that hermitage. That tirtha came to be known in the three worlds after the name of Indra, O giver of honours! Indeed, it was for the purpose of testing the damsel's devotion that the Lord of the celestials acted in that way for obstructing the boiling of the jujubes. The damsel, O king, having cleansed herself, began her task; restraining speech and with attention fixed on it, she sat to her task without feeling any fatigue. Even thus that damsel of high vows, O tiger among kings, began to boil those jujubes. As she sat employed in her task, O bull among men, day was about to wane, but yet those jujubes showed no signs of having been softened. The fuel she had there was all consumed. Seeing the fire about to die away owing to want of fuel, she began to burn her own limbs. The beautiful maiden first thrust her feet into the fire. The sinless damsel sat still while her feet began to be consumed. The faultless girl did not at all mind her burning feet. Difficult of accomplishment, she did it from desire of doing good to the Rishi (that had been her guest). Her face did not at all change under that painful process, nor did she feel any cheerlessness on that account. Having thrust her limbs into the fire, she felt as much joy as if she had dipped them into cool water. The words of the Rishi, 'Cook these jujubes well' were borne in her mind, O Bharata! The auspicious damsel, bearing those words of the great Rishi in her mind, began to cook those jujubes although the latter, O king, showed no signs of softening. The adorable Agni himself consumed her feet. For this, however, the maiden did not feel the slightest pain. Beholding this act of hers, the Lord of the three worlds became highly satisfied. He then showed himself in his own proper form to the damsel. The chief of the celestials then addressed that maiden of very austere vows saying, 'I am pleased at thy devotion, thy penances, and thy vows! The wish, therefore, O auspicious one, that thou cherishest shall be accomplished! Casting off thy body, O blessed one, thou shalt in heaven live with me! This hermitage, again, shall become the foremost of tirthas in the world, capable of cleansing from every sin, O thou of fair eye-brows, and shall be known by the name of Vadarapachana. It shall be celebrated in the three worlds and shall be praised by great Rishis. In this very tirtha, O auspicious, sinless, and highly blessed one, the seven Rishis had, on one occasion, left Arundhati, (the wife of one of them), when they went to Himavat. Those highly blessed ones of very rigid vows, had gone there for gathering fruits and roots for their sustenance. While they thus lived in a forest of Himavat for procuring their sustenance, a drought occurred extending for twelve years. Those ascetics, having made an asylum for themselves, continued to live there. Meanwhile Arundhati devoted herself to ascetic penances (at the spot where she had been left). Beholding Arundhati devoted to the austerest of vows, the boon-giving and three-eyed deity (Mahadeva) highly pleased, came there. The great Mahadeva, assuming the form of a Brahmana, came to her and said, 'I desire alms, O auspicious one!' The beautiful Arundhati said unto him, 'Our store of food hath been exhausted, O Brahmana! Do thou eat jujubes!' Mahadeva replied, 'Cook these jujubes, O thou of excellent vows!' After these words, she began to cook those jujubes for doing what was agreeable to that Brahmana. Placing those jujubes on the fire, the celebrated Arundhati listened to diverse excellent and charming and sacred discourses (from the lips of Mahadeva). That twelve years' drought then passed away (as if it were a single day). Without food, and employed in cooking and listening to those auspicious discourses, that terrible period passed away, as if it were a single day to her. Then the seven Rishis, having procured fruits from the mountain, returned to that spot. The adorable Mahadeva, highly pleased with Arundhati, said unto her, 'Approach, as formerly, these Rishis, O righteous one! I have been gratified with thy penances and vows!' The adorable Hara then stood confessed in his own form. Gratified, he spoke unto them about the noble conduct of Arundhati (in these words) 'The ascetic merit, ye regenerate ones, that this lady hath earned, is, I think, much greater than what ye have earned on the breast of Himavat! The penances practised by this lady have been exceedingly austere, for she passed twelve years in cooking, herself fasting all the while!' The divine Mahadeva then, addressing Arundhati, said unto her, 'Solicit thou the boon, O auspicious dame, which is in thy heart!' Then that lady of large eyes that were of a reddish hue addressed that god in the midst of the seven Rishis, saying, 'If, O divine one thou art gratified with me, then let this spot be an excellent tirtha! Let it be known by the name of Vadarapachana and let it be the favourite resort of Siddhas and celestial Rishis. So also, O god of gods, let him who observes a fast here and resides for three nights after having cleansed himself, obtain the fruit of a twelve years' fast!' The god answered her, saying, 'Let it be so!' Praised by the seven Rishis, the god then repaired to heaven. Indeed the Rishis had been filled with wonder at the sight of

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the god and upon beholding the chaste Arundhati herself unspent and still possessed of the hue of health and so capable of bearing hunger and thirst. Even thus the pure-souled Arundhati, in days of old, obtained the highest success, like thee, O highly blessed lady, for my sake, O damsel of rigid vows! Thou, however, O amiable maiden, hast practised severer penances! Gratified with thy vows, I shall also grant thee this special boon, O auspicious one, a boon that is superior to what was granted to Arundhati. Through the power of the high-souled god who had granted that boon to Arundhati and through the energy of thyself, O amiable one, I shall duly grant thee another boon now, that the person who will reside in this tirtha for only one night and bathe here with soul fixed (on meditation), will, after casting off his body obtain many regions of blessedness that are difficult of acquisition (by other means)! Having said these words unto the cleansed Sruvavati, the thousand-eyed Shakra of great energy then went back to heaven. After the wielder of the thunderbolt, O king, had departed, a shower of celestial flowers of sweet fragrance fell there, O chief of Bharata's race! Celestial kettle-drums also, of loud sound, were beaten there. Auspicious and perfumed breezes also blew there, O monarch! The auspicious Sruvavati then, casting off her body, became the spouse of Indra. Obtaining the status through austere penances, she began to pass her time, sporting with him for ever and ever."

Janamejaya said, "Who was the mother of Sruvavati, and how was that fair damsel reared? I desire to hear this, O Brahmana, for the curiosity I feel is great."

Vaishampayana said, "The vital seed of the regenerate and high-souled Rishi Bharadwaja fell, upon beholding the large-eyed Apsara Ghritachi as the latter was passing at one time. That foremost of ascetics thereupon held it in his hand. It was then kept in a cup made of the leaves of a tree. In that cup was born the girl Sruvavati. Having performed the usual post-genital rites, the great ascetic Bharadwaja, endued with wealth of penances, gave her a name. The name the righteous-souled Rishi gave her in the presence of the gods and Rishis was Sruvavati. Keeping the girl in his hermitage, Bharadwaja repaired to the forests of Himavat. That foremost one among the Yadus, Baladeva of great dignity, having bathed in that tirtha and given away much wealth unto many foremost of Brahmanas, then proceeded, with soul well-fixed on meditation, to the tirtha of Sakta."

SECTION 49

Vaishampayana said, "The mighty chief of the Yadus, having proceeded to Indra's tirtha, bathed there according to due rites and gave away wealth and gems unto the Brahmanas. There the chief of the celestials had performed a hundred horse sacrifices and given away enormous wealth unto Brihaspati. Indeed, through the assistance of Brahmanas conversant with the Vedas, Shakra performed all those sacrifices there, according to rites ordained (in the scriptures). Those sacrifices were such that everything in them was unstinted. Steeds of all kinds were brought there. The gifts to Brahmanas were profuse. Having duly completed those hundred sacrifices, O chief of the Bharatas, Shakra of great splendour came to be called by the name of Satakratu. That auspicious and sacred tirtha, capable of cleansing from every sin, thereupon came to be called after his name as Indra-tirtha. Having duly bathed there, Baladeva worshipped the Brahmanas with presents of excellent food and robes. He then proceeded to that auspicious and foremost of tirthas called after the name of Rama. The highly blessed Rama of Bhrigu's race, endued with great ascetic merit, repeatedly subjugated the Earth and slew all the foremost of Kshatriyas. (After achieving such feats) Rama performed in that tirtha a Vajapeya sacrifice and a hundred horse sacrifices through the assistance of his preceptor Kasyapa, that best of Munis. There, as sacrificial fee, Rama gave unto his preceptor the whole earth with her oceans. The great Rama, having duly bathed there, made presents unto the Brahmanas, O Janamejaya, and worshipped them thus. Having made diverse present consisting of diverse kinds of gems as also kine and elephants and female slaves and sheep and goats, he then retired into the woods. Having bathed in that sacred and foremost of tirthas that was the resort of gods and regenerate Rishis, Baladeva duly worshipped the ascetics there, and then proceeded to the tirtha called Yamuna. Endued with great effulgence, Varuna, the highly blessed son of Aditi, had in days of yore performed in that tirtha the Rajasuya sacrifice, O lord of Earth! Having in battle subjugated both men and celestials and Gandharvas and Rakshasas, Varuna, O king, that slayer of hostile heroes, performed his grand sacrifice in that tirtha. Upon the commencement of that foremost of sacrifices, a battle ensued between the gods and the Danavas inspiring the three worlds with terror. After the completion of that foremost of sacrifices, the Rajasuya (of Varuna), a terrible battle, O Janamejaya, ensued amongst the Kshatriyas. The ever-liberal and puissant Baladeva having worshipped the Rishis there, made many presents unto those that desired them. Filled with joy and praised by the great Rishis, Baladeva, that hero ever decked with garlands of wild flowers and possessed of eyes like lotus leaves, then proceeded to the tirtha called Aditya. There, O best of kings, the adorable Surya of great splendour, having performed a sacrifice, obtained the sovereignty of all luminous bodies (in the universe) and acquired also his great energy. There, in that tirtha situated on the bank of that river, all the gods with Vasava at their head, the Viswedevas, the Maruts, the Gandharvas, the Apsaras, the Island-born (Vyasa), Suka, Krishna the slayer of Madhu, the Yakshas, the Rakshasas, and the Pisachas, O king, and diverse others, numbering by thousands, all crowned with ascetic success, always reside. Indeed in that auspicious and sacred tirtha of the Sarasvati, Vishnu himself, having in days of yore slain the Asuras, Madhu and Kaitabha, had, O chief of the Bharatas, performed his ablutions. The island-born (Vyasa) also, of virtuous soul, O Bharata, having bathed in that tirtha, obtained great Yoga powers and attained to high success. Endued with great ascetic merit, the Rishi Asita-Devala also, having bathed in that very tirtha with soul rapt in high Yoga meditation, obtained great Yoga powers."

SECTION 50

Vaishampayana said, "In that tirtha lived in days of yore a Rishi of virtuous soul, named Asita-Devala, observant of the duties of Domesticity. Devoted to virtue, he led a life of purity and self-restraint. Possessed of great ascetic merit, he was compassionate unto all creatures and never injured anyone. In word, deed, and thought, he maintained an equal behaviour towards all creatures. Without wrath, O monarch, censure and praise were equal to him. Of equal attitude towards the agreeable and the disagreeable, he was, like Yama himself, thoroughly impartial. The great ascetic looked with an equal eye upon gold and a heap of pebbles. He daily worshipped the gods and guests, and Brahmanas (that came to him). Ever devoted to righteousness, he always practised the vow of brahmacarya. Once upon a time, an intelligent ascetic, O monarch, of the name of Jaigishavya, devoted to Yoga and rapt in meditation and leading the life of a mendicant, came to Devala's asylum. Possessed of great splendour, that great ascetic, ever devoted to Yoga, O monarch, while residing in Devala's asylum, became crowned with ascetic success. Indeed, while the great Muni Jaigishavya resided there, Devala kept his eyes on him, never neglecting him at any time. Thus, O monarch, a long time was passed by the two in days of yore. On one occasion, Devala lost sight of Jaigishavya, that foremost of ascetics. At the hour, however, of dinner, O Janamejaya, the intelligent and righteous ascetic, leading a life of mendicancy, approached Devala for soliciting alms. Beholding that great ascetic re-appear in the guise of a mendicant, Devala showed him great honour and expressed much gratification. And Devala worshipped his guest, O Bharata, according to the measure of his abilities, after the rites laid down by the Rishis and with great attention for many years. One day, however, O king, in the sight of that great Muni, a deep anxiety perturbed the heart of the highsouled Devala. The latter thought within himself, 'Many years have I passed in worshipping this ascetic. This idle mendicant, however, hath not yet spoken to me a single word!' Having thought of this, the blessed Devala proceeded to the shores of the ocean, journeying through the welkin and bearing his earthen jug with him. Arrived at the coast of the Ocean, that lord of rivers, O Bharata, the righteous-souled Devala saw Jaigishavya arrived there before him. The lord Asita, at this sight, became filled with wonder and thought within himself, 'How could the mendicant come to the ocean and perform his ablutions even before my arrival?' Thus thought the great Rishi Asita. Duly performing his ablutions there and purifying himself thereby, he then began to silently recite the sacred mantras. Having finished his ablutions and silent prayers, the blessed Devala returned to his asylum, O Janamejaya, bearing with him his earthen vessel filled with water. As the ascetic, however, entered his own asylum, he saw Jaigishavya seated there. The great ascetic Jaigishavya never spoke a word to Devala, but lived in the latter's asylum as if he were a piece of wood. Having beheld that ascetic, who was an ocean of austerities, plunged in the waters of the sea (before his own arrival there), Asita now saw him returned to his hermitage before his own return. Witnessing this power, derived through Yoga, of Jaigishavya's penances, Asita Devala, O king, endued with great intelligence, began to reflect upon the matter. Indeed that best of ascetics, O monarch, wondered much, saying, 'How could this one be seen in the ocean and again in my hermitage?' While absorbed in such thoughts, the ascetic Devala, conversant with mantras, then soared aloft, O monarch, from his hermitage into the sky, for ascertaining who Jaigishavya, wedded to a life of mendicancy, really was. Devala saw crowds of sky-ranging Siddhas rapt in meditation, and he saw Jaigishavya reverentially worshipped by those Siddhas. Firm in the observance of his vows and persevering (in his efforts), Devala became filled with wrath at the sight. He then saw Jaigishavya set out for heaven. He next beheld him proceed to the region of the Pitris. Devala saw him then proceed to the region of Yama. From Yama's region the great ascetic Jaigishavya was then seen to soar aloft and proceed to the abode of Soma. He was then seen to proceed to the blessed regions (one after another) of the performers of certain rigid sacrifices. Thence he proceeded to the regions of the Agnihotris and thence to the region of those ascetics that perform the Darsa and the Paurnamasa sacrifices. The intelligent Devala then saw him proceed from those regions of persons performing sacrifices by killing animals to that pure region which is worshipped by the very gods. Devala next saw the mendicant proceed to the place of those ascetics that perform the sacrifice called Chaturmasya and diverse others of the same kind. Thence he proceeded to the region belonging to the performers of the Agnishtoma sacrifice. Devala then saw his guest repair to the place of those ascetics that perform the sacrifice called Agnishutta. Indeed, Devala next saw him in the regions of those highly wise men that perform the foremost of sacrifices, Vajapeya, and that other sacrifice in which a profusion of gold is necessary. Then he saw Jaigishavya in the region of those that perform the Rajasuya and the Pundarika. He then saw him in the regions of those foremost of men that perform the horse-sacrifice and the sacrifice in which human beings are slaughtered. Indeed, Devala saw Jaigishavya in the regions also of those that perform the sacrifice called Sautramani and that other in which the flesh, so difficult to procure, of all living animals, is required. Jaigishavya was then seen in the regions of those that perform the sacrifice called Dadasaha and diverse others of similar character. Asita next saw his guest sojourning in the region of Mitravaruna and then in that of the Adityas. Asita then saw his guest pass through the regions of the Rudras, the Vasus and Brihaspati. Having soared next into the blessed region called Goloka, Jaigishavya was next seen to pass into these of the Brahmasatris. Having by his energy passed through three other regions, he was seen to proceed to those regions that are reserved for women that are chaste and devoted to their husbands. Asita, however, at this point, O chastiser of foes, lost sight of Jaigishavya, that foremost of ascetics, who, rapt in yoga, vanished from his sight. The highly blessed Devala then reflected upon the power of Jaigishavya and the excellence of his vows as also upon the unrivalled success of his yoga. Then the self-restrained Asita, with joined hands and in a reverential spirit, enquired of those foremost of Siddhas in the regions of the Brahmasatris, saying, 'I do not see Jaigishavya! Tell me where that ascetic of great energy is. I desire to hear this, for great is my curiosity.'

"The Siddhis said, 'Listen, O Devala of rigid vows, as we speak to thee the truth. Jaigishavya hath gone to the eternal region of Brahman.'"

Vaishampayana continued, "Hearing these words of those Siddhas residing in the regions of the Brahmasatris, Asita endeavoured to soar aloft but he soon fell down. The Siddhas then, once more addressing Devala, said unto him, 'Thou, O Devala, art not competent to proceed thither, to the abode of Brahman, whither Jaigishavya hath gone!'"

Vaishampayana continued, "Hearing those words of the Siddhas, Devala came down, descending from one region to another in due order. Indeed, he repaired to his own sacred asylum very quickly, like a winged insect. As soon as he entered his abode he beheld Jaigishavya seated there. Then Devala, beholding the power derived through Yoga of Jaigishavya's penances, reflected upon it with his righteous understanding and approaching that great ascetic, O king, with humility, addressed the high-souled Jaigishavya, saying, 'I desire, O adorable one, to adopt the religion of Moksha (Emancipation)! Hearing these words of his, Jaigishavya gave him lessons. And he also taught him the ordinances of Yoga and the supreme and eternal duties and their reverse. The great ascetic, seeing him firmly resolved, performed all the acts (for his admission into that religion) according to the rites ordained for that end. Then all creatures, with the Pitris, beholding Devala resolved to adopt the religion of Moksha, began to weep, saying, 'Alas, who will henceforth give us food!' Hearing these lamentations of all creatures that resounded through the ten points, Devala set his heart upon renouncing the religion of Moksha. Then all kinds of sacred fruits and roots, O Bharata, and flowers and deciduous herbs, in thousands, began to weep, saying, 'The wicked-hearted and mean Devala will, without doubt, once more pluck and cut us! Alas, having once assured all creatures of his perfect harmlessness, he sees not the wrong that he meditates to do!' At this, that best of ascetics began to reflect with the aid of his understanding, saying, 'Which amongst these two, the religion of Moksha or that of Domesticity, will be the better for me? Reflecting upon this, Devala, O best of kings, abandoned the religion of Domesticity and adopted that of Moksha. Having indulged in those reflections, Devala, in consequence of that resolve obtained the highest success, O Bharata, and the highest Yoga. The celestials then, headed by Brihaspati, applauded Jaigishavya and the penances of that ascetic. Then that foremost of ascetics, Narada, addressing the gods, said, 'There is no ascetic penance in Jaigishavya since he filled Asita with wonder!' The denizens of heaven then, addressing Narada who said such frightful words, said, 'Do not say so about the great ascetic Jaigishavya! There is no one superior or even equal to this high-souled one in force of

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energy and penance and Yoga!' Even such was the power of Jaigishavya as also of Asita. This is the place of those two, and this the tirtha of those two high-souled persons. Bathing there and giving away wealth unto the Brahmanas, the high-souled wielder of the plough, of noble deeds, earned great merit and then proceeded to the tirtha of Soma."

SECTION 51

Vaishampayana said, "There, in that tirtha, O Bharata, where the Lord of stars had in former days performed the rajasuya sacrifice, a great battle was fought in which Taraka was the root of the evil. Bathing in that tirtha and making many presents, the virtuous Bala of cleansed soul proceeded to the tirtha of the muni named Sarasvata. There, during a drought extending for twelve years, the sage Sarasvata, in former days, taught the Vedas unto many foremost of brahmanas."

Janamejaya said, "Why did the sage Sarasvata, O thou of ascetic merit, teach the Vedas unto the rishis during a twelve years' drought?"

Vaishampayana continued, "In days of yore, O monarch, there was an intelligent sage of great ascetic merit. He was celebrated by the name of Dadhica. Possessing a complete control over his senses, he led the life of a brahmacari. In consequence of his excessive ascetic austerities Shakra was afflicted with a great fear. The sage could not be turned (away from his penance) by the offer of even diverse kinds of rewards. At last the chastiser of Paka, for tempting the sage, despatched unto him the exceedingly beautiful and celestial apsara, by name Alambusa. Thither where on the banks of the Sarasvati the high-souled sage was engaged in the act of gratifying the gods, the celestial damsel named above, O monarch, made her appearance. Beholding that damsel of beautiful limbs, the vital seed of that ascetic of cleansed soul came out. It fell into the Sarasvati, and the latter held it with care. Indeed, O bull among men, the River, beholding that seed, held it in her womb. In time the seed developed into a foetus and the great river held it so that it might be inspired with life as a child. When the time came, the foremost of rivers brought forth that child and then went, O lord, taking it with her, to that rishi.

Beholding that best of rishis in a conclave, Sarasvati, O monarch, while making over the child, said these words, 'O regenerate rishi, this is thy son whom I held through devotion for thee! That seed of thine which fell at sight of the apsara Alambusa, had been held by me in my womb, O regenerate rishi, through devotion for thee, well knowing that that energy of thine would never suffer destruction! Given by me, accept this faultless child of thy own!' Thus addressed by her, the rishi accepted the child and felt great joy. Through affection, that foremost of brahmanas then smelt the head of his son and held him in a close embrace, O foremost one of Bharata's race, for some time. Gratified with the River, the great ascetic Dadhica then gave a boon to her, saying, 'The vishvadevas, the rishis, and all the tribes of the gandharvas and the apsaras, will henceforth, O blessed one, derive great happiness when oblations of thy water are presented unto them!'

Having said so unto that great river, the sage, gratified and filled with joy, then praised her in these words. Listen to them duly, O king! 'Thou hast taken thy rise, O highly blessed one, from the lake of Brahman in days of old. All ascetics of rigid vows know thee, O foremost of rivers! Always of agreeable features, thou hast done me great good! This thy great child, O thou of the fairest complexion, will be known by the name of Sarasvata! This thy son, capable of creating new worlds, will become known after thy name! Indeed, that great ascetic will be known by the name of Sarasvata! During a drought extending for twelve years, this Sarasvata, O blessed one, will teach the Vedas unto many foremost of brahmanas! O blessed Sarasvati, through my grace, thou shalt, O beautiful one, always become the foremost of all sacred rivers!' Even thus was the great River praised by the sage after the latter had granted her boons. The River then, in great joy, went away, O bull of Bharata's race, taking with her that child.

Meanwhile, on the occasion of a war between the gods and the danavas, Shakra wandered through the three worlds in search of weapons. The great god, however, failed to find such weapons as were fit to slay the foes of the celestials. Shakra then said unto the gods. 'The great asuras are incapable of being dealt with by me! Indeed, without the bones of Dadhica, our foes could not be slain! Ye best of celestials, repair, therefore, to that foremost of rishis and solicit him, saying, "Grant us, O Dadhica, thy bones! With them we will slay our foes!"'

Besought by them for his bones, that foremost of rishis, O chief of Kuru's race, unhesitatingly gave up his life. Having done what was agreeable to the gods, the sage obtained many regions of inexhaustible merit. With his bones, meanwhile, Shakra joyfully caused to be made many kinds of weapons, such as thunderbolts, discs, heavy maces, and many kinds of clubs and bludgeons. Equal unto the Creator himself, Dadhica, had been begotten by the great rishi Bhrigu, the son of the Lord of all creatures, with the aid of his austere penances. Of stout limbs and possessed of great energy, Dadhica had been made the strongest of creatures in the world. The puissant Dadhica, celebrated for his glory, became tall like the king of mountains. The chastiser of Paka had always been anxious on account of his energy. With the thunderbolt born of brahma energy, and inspired with mantras, O Bharata, Indra made a loud noise when he hurled it, and slew nine and ninety heroes among the daityas. After a long and dreadful time had elapsed since then, a drought, O king, occurred that extended for twelve years. During that drought extending for twelve years, the great rishis, for the sake of sustenance, fled away, O monarch, on all sides.

Beholding them scattered in all directions, the sage Sarasvata also set his heart on flight. The river Sarasvati then said unto him, 'Thou needst not, O son, depart hence, for I will always supply thee with food even here by giving thee large fishes! Stay thou, therefore, even here!' Thus addressed (by the river), the sage continued to live there and offer oblations of food unto the rishis and the gods. He got also his daily food and thus continued to support both himself and the gods.

After that twelve year's drought had passed away, the great rishis solicited one another for lectures on the Vedas. While wandering with famished stomachs, the rishis had lost the knowledge of the Vedas. There was, indeed, not one amongst them that could understand the scriptures. It chanced that someone amongst them encountered Sarasvata, that foremost of rishis, while the latter was reading the Vedas with concentrated attention. Coming back to the conclave of rishis, he spoke to them of Sarasvata of unrivalled splendour and god-like mien engaged in reading the Vedas in a solitary forest. Then all the great rishis came to that spot, and jointly spoke unto Sarasvata, that best of ascetics, these words, 'Teach us, O sage!' Unto them the ascetic replied, saying, 'Become ye my disciples duly!' The conclave of ascetics answered, 'O son, thou art too young in years!' Thereupon he answered the ascetics, 'I must act in such a way that my religious merit may not suffer a diminution! He that teaches improperly, and he that learns improperly, are both lost in no time and come to hate each other! It is not upon years, or decrepitude, or wealth, or the number of kinsmen, that rishis found their claim to merit! He amongst us is great who is capable of reading and understanding the Vedas!'

Hearing these words of his, those munis duly became his disciples and obtaining from him their Vedas, once more began to praise their rites. 60,000 munis became disciples of the regenerate rishi Sarasvata for the sake of acquiring their Vedas from him. Owning obedience to that agreeable rishi, though a boy, the munis each brought a handful of grass and offered it to him for his seat. The mighty son of Rohini, and elder brother of Keshava, having given away wealth in that tirtha, then joyfully proceeded to another place where lived (in days of yore) an old lady without having passed through the ceremony of marriage."

SECTION 52

Janamejaya said, "Why, O regenerate one, did that maiden betake herself to ascetic penances, in days of old? For what reason did she practise penances, and what was her vow? Unrivalled and fraught with mystery is the discourse that I have already heard from thee! Tell me (now) all the particulars in detail regarding how that maid engaged herself in penances."

Vaishampayana said, "There was a rishi of abundant energy and great fame, named Kuni-Garga. That foremost of ascetics, having practised the austerest of penances, O king, created a fair-browed daughter by a fiat of his will. Beholding her, the celebrated ascetic Kuni-Garga became filled with joy. He abandoned his body, O king, and then went to heaven. That faultless and amiable and fair-browed maiden, meanwhile, of eyes like lotus petals continued to practise severe and very rigid penances. She worshipped the pitris and the gods with fasts. In the practice of such severe penances a long period elapsed. Though her sire had been for giving her away to a husband, she yet did not wish for marriage, for she did not see a husband that could be worthy of her.

Continuing to emaciate her body with austere penances, she devoted herself to the worship of the pitris and the gods in that solitary forest. Although engaged in such toil, O monarch, and although she emaciated herself by age and austerities, yet she regarded herself happy. At last when she (became very old so that she) could no longer move even a single step without being aided by somebody, she set her heart upon departing for the other world.

Beholding her about to cast off her body, Narada said unto her, 'O sinless one, thou hast no regions of blessedness to obtain in consequence of thy not having cleansed thyself by rite of marriage! O thou of great vows, we have heard this in heaven! Great hath been thy ascetic austerities, but thou hast no claim to regions of blessedness!'

Hearing these words of Narada, the old lady went to a concourse of rishis and said, 'I shall give him half my penances who will accept my hand in marriage!' After she had said those words, Galava's son, a rishi, known by the name of Sringavat, accepted her hand, having proposed this compact to her, 'With this compact, O beautiful lady, I shall accept thy hand, that thou shalt live with me for only one night!' Having agreed to that compact, she gave him her hand.

Indeed, Galava's son, according to the ordinances laid down and having duly poured libations on the fire, accepted her hand and married her. On that night, she became a young lady of the fairest complexion, robed in celestial attire and decked in celestial ornaments and garlands and smeared with celestial unguents and perfumes. Beholding her blazing with beauty, Galava's son became very happy and passed one night in her company.

At morn she said unto him, 'The compact, O brahmana, I had made with thee, hath been fulfilled, O foremost of ascetics! Blessed be thou, I shall now leave thee!' After obtaining his permission, she once more said, 'He that will, with rapt attention, pass one night in this tirtha after having gratified the denizens of heaven with oblations of water, shall obtain that merit which is his who observes the vow of brahmacarya for eight and fifty years!' Having said these words, that chaste lady departed for heaven.

The Rishi, her lord, became very cheerless, by dwelling upon the memory of her beauty. In consequence of the compact he had made, he accepted with difficulty half her penances. Casting off his body he soon followed her, moved by sorrow, O chief of Bharata's race, and forced to it by her beauty.

Even this is the glorious history of the old maid that I have told thee! Even this is the account of her brahmacarya and her auspicious departure for heaven. While there Baladeva heard of the slaughter of Shalya. Having made presents unto the brahmanas there, he gave way to grief, O scorcher of his foes, for Shalya who had been slain by the Pandavas in battle. Then he of Madhu's race, having come out of the environs of Samantapanchaka, enquired of the rishis about the results of the battle at Kurukshetra. Asked by that lion of Yadu's race about the results of the battle at Kurukshetra, those high-souled ones told him everything as it had happened."

SECTION 53

"The Rishis said, 'O Rama, this Samantapanchaka is said to be the eternal northern altar of Brahman, the Lord of all creatures. There the denizens of heaven, those givers of great boons, performed in days of yore a great sacrifice. That foremost of royal sages, the high-souled Kuru, of great intelligence and immeasurable energy, had cultivated this field for many years. Hence it came to be Kurukshetra (the field of Kuru)!'

"Rama said, 'For what reason did the high-souled Kuru cultivate this field? I desire to have this narrated by you, ye Rishis possessed of wealth of penances!'

"The Rishis said, 'In days of yore, O Rama, Kuru was engaged in perseveringly tilling the soil of this field. Shakra, coming down from heaven, asked him the reason, saying, "Why O king, art thou employed (in this task) with such perseverance? What is thy purpose, O royal sage, for the accomplishment of which thou art tilling the soil?" Kuru thereupon replied, saying, "O thou of a hundred sacrifices, they that will die upon this plain shall proceed to regions of blessedness after being cleansed of their sins!" The lord Shakra, ridiculing this, went back to heaven. The royal sage Kuru, however, without being at all depressed, continued to till the soil. Shakra repeatedly came to him and repeatedly receiving the same reply went away ridiculing him. Kuru, however, did not, on that account, feel depressed. Seeing the king till the soil with unflagging perseverance. Shakra summoned the celestials and informed them of the monarch's occupation. Hearing Indra's words, the celestials said unto their chief of a 1,000 eyes, "Stop the royal sage, O Shakra by granting him a boon, if thou canst! If men, by only dying there were to come to heaven, without having performed sacrifices to us, our very existence will be endangered!" Thus exhorted, Shakra then came back to that royal sage and said, "Do not toil any more! Act according to my words! Those men that will die here, having abstained from food with all their senses awake, and those that will perish here in battle, shall, O king, come to heaven! They, O thou of great soul, shall enjoy the blessings of heaven, O monarch!" Thus addressed, king Kuru answered Shakra, saying, "So be it!" Taking Kuru's leave, the slayer of Vala, Shakra, then, with a joyful heart, quickly went back to heaven. Even thus, O foremost one of Yadu's race, that royal sage had, in days of yore, tilled this plain and Shakra had promised great merit unto those that would cast off their bodies here. Indeed, it was sanctioned by all the foremost ones, headed by Brahman, among the gods, and by the sacred Rishis, that on earth there should be no more sacred spot than this! Those men that perform austere penances here would all after casting off their bodies go to Brahman's abode. Those meritorious men, again, that would give away their wealth here would soon have their wealth doubled. They, again, that will, in expectation of good, reside constantly here, will never have to visit the region of Yama. Those kings that will perform great sacrifices here will reside as long in heaven as Earth herself will last. The chief of the celestials, Shakra,

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himself composed a verse here and sang it. Listen to it, O Baladeva! "The very dust of Kurukshetra, borne away by the wind, shall cleanse persons of wicked acts and bear them to heaven!" The foremost ones amongst the gods, as also those amongst the Brahmanas, and many foremost ones among the kings of the Earth such as Nriga and others, having performed costly sacrifices here, after abandoning their bodies, proceeded to heaven. The space between the Tarantuka and the Arantuka and the lakes of Rama and Shamachakra, is known as Kurukshetra. Samantapanchaka is called the northern (sacrificial) altar of Brahman, the Lord of all creatures. Auspicious and highly sacred and much regarded by the denizens of heaven is this spot that possesses all attributes. It is for this that Kshatriyas slain in battle here obtain sacred regions of eternal blessedness. Even this was said by Shakra himself about the high blessedness of Kurukshetra. All that Shakra said was again approved and sanctioned by Brahman, by Vishnu, and by Maheshvara.'"

SECTION 54

Vaishampayana said, "Having visited Kurukshetra and given away wealth there, he of the Satwata race then proceeded, O Janamejaya, to a large and exceedingly beautiful hermitage. That hermitage was overgrown with Madhuka and mango trees, and abounded with Plakshas and Nyagrodhas. And it contained many Vilwas and many excellent jack and Arjuna trees. Beholding that goodly asylum with many marks of sacredness, Baladeva asked the Rishis as to whose it was. Those high-souled ones, O king, said unto Baladeva, 'Listen in detail, O Rama, as to whose asylum this was in days of yore! Here the god Vishnu in days of yore performed austere penances. Here he performed duly all the eternal sacrifices. Here a Brahmani maiden, leading from youth the vow of Brahmacharya, became crowned with ascetic success. Ultimately, in the possession of Yoga powers, that lady of ascetic penances proceeded to heaven. The high-souled Sandilya, O king, got a beautiful daughter who was chaste, wedded to severe vows, self-restrained, and observant of Brahmacharya. Having performed the severest of penances such as are incapable of being performed by women, the blessed lady at last went to heaven, worshipped by the gods and Brahmanas!' Having heard these words of the Rishis, Baladeva entered that asylum. Bidding farewell to the Rishis, Baladeva of unfading glory went through the performance of all the rites and ceremonies of the evening twilight on the side of Himavat and then began his ascent of the mountain. The mighty Balarama having the device of the palmyra on his banner had not proceeded far in his ascent when he beheld a sacred and goodly tirtha and wondered at the sight. Beholding the glory of the Sarasvati, as also the tirtha called Plakshaprasravana, Vala next reached another excellent and foremost of tirthas called Karavapana. The hero of the plough, of great strength, having made many presents there, bathed in the cool, clear, sacred, and sin-cleansing water (of that tirtha). Passing one night there with the ascetics and the Brahmanas, Rama then proceeded to the sacred asylum of the Mitra-Varunas. From Karavapana he proceeded to that spot on the Yamuna where in days of yore Indra and Agni and Aryaman had obtained great happiness. Bathing there, that bull of Yadu's race, of righteous soul, obtained great happiness. The hero then sat himself down with the Rishis and the Siddhas there for listening to their excellent talk. There where Rama sat in the midst of that conclave, the adorable Rishi Narada came (in course of his wandering). Covered with matted locks and attired in golden rays, he bore in his hands, O king, a staff made of gold and a waterpot made of the same precious metal. Accomplished in song and dance and adored by gods and Brahmanas, he had with him a beautiful Vina of melodious notes, made of the tortoise-shell. A provoker of quarrels and ever fond of quarrels, the celestial Rishi came to that spot where the handsome Rama was resting. Standing up and sufficiently honouring the celestial Rishi of regulated vows, Rama asked him about all that had happened to the Kurus. Conversant with every duty and usage, Narada then, O king, told him everything, as it had happened, about the awful extermination of the Kurus. The son of Rohini then, in sorrowful words, enquired of the Rishi, saying, 'What is the state of the field? How are those kings now that had assembled there? I have heard everything before, O thou that art possessed of the wealth of penances, but my curiosity is great for hearing it in detail!'

"Narada said, 'Already Bhishma and Drona and the lord of the Sindhus have fallen! Vikartana's son Karna also hath fallen, with his sons, those great car-warriors! Bhurishrava too, O son of Rohini, and the valiant chief of the Madras have fallen! Those and many other mighty heroes that had assembled there, ready to lay down their lives for the victory of Duryodhana, those kings and princes unreturning from battle, have all fallen! Listen now to me, O Madhava, about those that are yet alive! In the army of Dhritarashtra's son, only three grinders of hosts are yet alive! They are Kripa and Kritavarma and the valiant son of Drona! These also, O Rama, have from fear fled away to the ten points of the compass! After Shalya's fall and the flight of Kripa and the others, Duryodhana, in great grief, had entered the depths of the Dvaipayana lake. While lying stretched for rest at the bottom of the lake after stupefying its waters, Duryodhana was approached by the Pandavas with Krishna and pierced by them with their cruel words. Pierced with wordy darts, O Rama, from every side, the mighty and heroic Duryodhana hath risen from the lake armed with his heavy mace. He hath come forward for fighting Bhima for the present. Their terrible encounter, O Rama, will take place today! If thou feelest any curiosity, then hasten, O Madhava, without tarrying here! Go, if thou wishest, and witness that terrible battle between thy two disciples!'"

Vaishampayana continued, "Hearing these words of Narada, Rama bade a respectful farewell to those foremost of Brahmanas and dismissed all those that had accompanied him (in his pilgrimage). Indeed, he ordered his attendants, saying, 'Return ye to Dwaraka!' He then descended from that prince of mountains and that fair hermitage called Plakshaprasravana. Having listened to the discourse of the sages about the great merits of tirthas, Rama of unfading glory sang this verse in the midst of the Brahmanas, 'Where else is such happiness as that in a residence by the Sarasvati? Where also such merits as those in a residence by the Sarasvati? Men have departed for heaven, having approached the Sarasvati! All should ever remember the Sarasvati! Sarasvati is the most sacred of rivers! Sarasvati always bestows the greatest happiness on men! Men, after approaching the Sarasvati, will not have to grieve for their sins either here or hereafter!' Repeatedly casting his eyes with joy on the Sarasvati, that scorcher of foes then ascended an excellent car unto which were yoked goodly steeds. Journeying then on that car of great fleetness, Baladeva, that bull of Yadu's race, desirous of beholding the approaching encounter of his two disciples arrived on the field."

SECTION 55

Vaishampayana said, "Even thus, O Janamejaya, did that terrible battle take place. King Dhritarashtra, in great sorrow, said these words with reference to it:

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Beholding Rama approach that spot when the mace-fight was about to happen, how, O Sanjaya, did my son fight Bhima?'

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding the presence of Rama, thy valiant son, Duryodhana of mighty arms, desirous of battle, became full of joy. Seeing the hero of the plough, king Yudhishthira, O Bharata, stood up and duly honoured him, feeling great joy the while. He gave him a seat and enquired about his welfare. Rama then answered Yudhishthira in these sweet and righteous words that were highly beneficial to heroes, "I have heard it said by the Rishis, O best of kings, that Kurukshetra is a highly sacred and sin-cleansing spot, equal to heaven itself, adored by gods and Rishis and high-souled Brahmanas! Those men that cast off their bodies while engaged in battle on this field, are sure to reside, O sire, in heaven with Shakra himself! I shall, for this, O king, speedily proceed to Samantapanchaka. In the world of gods that spot is known as the northern (sacrificial) altar of Brahman, the Lord of all creatures! He that dies in battle on that eternal and most sacred of spots in the three worlds, is sure to obtain heaven!" Saying, "So be it," O monarch, Kunti's brave son, the lord Yudhishthira, proceeded towards Samantapanchaka. King Duryodhana also, taking up his gigantic mace, wrathfully proceeded on foot with the Pandavas. While proceeding thus, armed with mace and clad in armour, the celestials in the welkin applauded him, saying, "Excellent, Excellent!" The Charanas fleet as air, seeing the Kuru king, became filled with delight. Surrounded by the Pandavas, thy son, the Kuru king, proceeded, assuming the tread of an infuriated elephant. All the points of the compass were filled with the blare of conchs and the loud peals of drums and the leonine roars of heroes. Proceeding with face westwards to the appointed spot, with thy son (in their midst), they scattered themselves on every side when they reached it. That was an excellent tirtha on the southern side of the Sarasvati. The ground there was not sandy and was, therefore, selected for the encounter. Clad in armour, and armed with his mace of gigantic thickness, Bhima, O monarch, assumed the form of the mighty Garuda. With head-gear fastened on his head, and wearing an armour made of gold, licking the corners of his mouth, O monarch, with eyes red in wrath, and breathing hard, thy son, on that field, O king, looked resplendent like the golden Sumeru. Taking up his mace, king Duryodhana of great energy, casting his glances on Bhimasena, challenged him to the encounter like an elephant challenging a rival elephant. Similarly, the valiant Bhima, taking up his adamantine mace, challenged the king like a lion challenging a lion. Duryodhana and Bhima, with uplifted maces, looked in that battle like two mountains with tall summits. Both of them were exceedingly angry; both were possessed of awful prowess; in encounters with the mace both were disciples of Rohini's intelligent son, both resembled each other in their feats and looked like Maya and Vasava. Both were endued with great strength, both resembled Varuna in achievements. Each resembling Vasudeva, or Rama, or Visravana's son (Ravana), they looked, O monarch, like Madhu and Kaitabha. Each like the other in feats, they looked like Sunda and Upasunda, or Rama and Ravana, or Vali and Sugriva. Those two scorchers of foes looked like Kala and Mrityu. They then ran towards each other like two infuriated elephants, swelling with pride and mad with passion in the season of autumn and longing for the companionship of a she-elephant in her time. Each seemed to vomit upon the other the poison of his wrath like two fiery snakes. Those two chastisers of foes cast the angriest of glances upon each other. Both were tigers of Bharata's race, and each was possessed of great prowess. In encounters with the mace, those two scorchers of foes were invincible like lions. Indeed, O bull of Bharata's race, inspired with desire of victory, they looked like two infuriated elephants. Those heroes were unbearable, like two tigers accoutred with teeth and claws. They were like two uncrossable oceans lashed into fury and bent upon the destruction of creatures, or like two angry Suns risen for consuming everything. Those two mighty car-warriors looked like an Eastern and a Western cloud agitated by the wind, roaring awfully and pouring torrents of rain in the rainy season. Those two high-souled and mighty heroes, both possessed of great splendour and effulgence, looked like two Suns risen at the hour of the universal dissolution. Looking like two enraged tigers or like two roaring masses of clouds, they became as glad as two maned lions. Like two angry elephants or two blazing fires, those two high-souled ones appeared like two mountains with tall summits. With lips swelling with rage and casting keen glances upon each other, those two high-souled and best of men, armed with maces, encountered each other. Both were filled with joy, and each regarded the other as a worthy opponent, and Vrikodara then resembled two goodly steeds neighing at each other, or two elephants trumpeting at each other. Those two foremost of men then looked resplendent like a couple of Daityas swelling with might. Then Duryodhana, O monarch, said these proud words unto Yudhishthira in the midst of his brothers and of the high-souled Krishna and Rama of immeasurable energy, 'Protected by the Kaikeyas and the Srinjayas and the high-souled Pancalas, behold ye with all those foremost of kings, seated together, this battle that is about to take place between me and Bhima!' Hearing these words of Duryodhana, they did as requested. Then that large concourse of kings sat down and was seen to look resplendent like a conclave of celestials in heaven. In the midst of that concourse the mighty-armed and handsome elder brother of Keshava, O monarch, as he sat down, was worshipped by all around him. In the midst of those kings, Valadeva clad in blue robes and possessed of a fair complexion, looked beautiful like the moon at full surrounded in the night by thousands of stars. Meanwhile those two heroes, O monarch, both armed with maces and both unbearable by foes, stood there, goading each other with fierce speeches. Having addressed each other in disagreeable and bitter words, those two foremost of heroes of Kuru's race stood, casting angry glances upon each other, like Shakra and Vritra in fight."

SECTION 56

Vaishampayana said, "At the outset, O Janamejaya a fierce wordy encounter took place between the two heroes. With respect to that, king Dhritarashtra, filled with grief, said this, 'Oh, fie on man, who hath such an end! My son, O sinless one, had been the lord of eleven chamus of troops He had all the kings under his command and had enjoyed the sovereignty of the whole earth! Alas, he that had been so, now a warrior proceeding to battle, on foot, shouldering his mace! My poor son, who had before been the protector of the universe, was now himself without protection! Alas, he had, on that occasion, to proceed on foot, shouldering his mace! What can it be but Destiny? Alas, O Sanjaya, great was the grief that was felt by my son now!' Having uttered these words, that ruler of men, afflicted with great woe, became silent.

"Sanjaya said, 'Deep-voiced like a cloud, Duryodhana then roared from joy like a bull. Possessed of great energy, he challenged the son of Pritha to battle. When the high-souled king of the Kurus thus summoned Bhima to the encounter, diverse portents of an awful kind became noticeable. Fierce winds began to blow with loud noises at intervals, and a shower of dust fell. All the points of the compass became enveloped in a thick gloom. Thunderbolts of loud peal fell on all sides, causing a great confusion and making the very hair to stand on end. Hundreds of meteors fell, bursting with a loud noise from the welkin. Rahu swallowed the Sun most untimely, O monarch! The Earth with her forests and trees shook greatly. Hot winds blew, bearing showers of hard pebbles along the ground. The summits of mountains fell down on the earth's surface. Animals of diverse forms were seen to run in all directions. Terrible and fierce jackals, with blazing mouths, howled everywhere. Loud and terrific reports were heard on every side, making the hair stand on end. The four quarters seemed to be ablaze and many were the animals of ill omen that became visible. The water in the wells on every side swelled up of their own accord. Loud sounds came from every side, without, O king, visible creatures to utter

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them. Beholding these and other portents, Vrikodara said unto his eldest brother, king Yudhishthira the Just, "This Suyodhana of wicked soul is not competent to vanquish me in battle! I shall today vomit that wrath which I have been cherishing for a long while in the secret recesses of my heart, upon this ruler of the Kurus like Arjuna throwing fire upon the forest of Khandava! Today, O son of Pandu, I shall extract the dart that lies sticking to thy heart! Slaying with my mace this sinful wretch of Kuru's race, I shall today place around thy neck the garland of Fame! Slaying this wight of sinful deeds with my mace on the field of battle, I shall today, with this very mace of mine, break his body into a hundred fragments! He shall not have again to enter the city called after the elephant. The setting of snakes at us while we were asleep, the giving of poison to us while we ate, the casting of our body into the water at Pramanakoti, the attempt to burn us at the house of lac, the insult offered us at the assembly, the robbing us of all our possessions, the whole year of our living in concealment, our exile into the woods, O sinless one, of all these woes, O best of Bharata's race, I shall today reach the end, O bull of Bharata's line! Slaying this wretch, I shall, in one single day, pay off all the debts I owe him! Today, the period of life of this wicked son of Dhritarashtra, of uncleansed soul, hath reached its close, O chief of the Bharatas! After this day he shall not again look at his father and mother! Today, O monarch, the happiness of this wicked king of the Kurus hath come to an end! After this day, O monarch, he shall not again cast his eyes on female beauty! Today this disgrace of Santanu's line shall sleep on the bare Earth, abandoning his life-breath, his prosperity, and his kingdom! Today king Dhritarashtra also, hearing of the fall of his son, shall recollect all those evil acts that were born of Shakuni's brain!" With these words, O tiger among kings, Vrikodara of great energy, armed with mace, stood for fight, like Shakra challenging the asura Vritra. Beholding Duryodhana also standing with uplifted mace like mount Kailasa graced with its summit, Bhimasena, filled with wrath, once more addressed him, saying, "Recall to thy mind that evil act of thyself and king Dhritarashtra that occurred at Varanavata! Remember Draupadi who was ill-treated, while in her season, in the midst of the assembly! Remember the deprivation of the king through dice by thyself and Subala's son! Remember that great woe suffered by us, in consequence of thee, in the forest, as also in Virata's city as if we had once more entered the womb! I shall avenge myself of them all today! By good luck, O thou of wicked soul, I see thee today! It is for thy sake that that foremost of car-warriors, the son of Ganga, of great prowess, struck down by Yajnasena's son, sleepeth on a bed of arrows! Drona also hath been slain, and Karna, and Shalya of great prowess! Subala's son Shakuni, too, that root of these hostilities, hath been slain! The wretched Pratikamin, who had seized Draupadi's tresses, hath been slain! All thy brave brothers also, who fought with great valour, have been slain! These and many other kings have been slain through thy fault! Thee too I shall slay today with my mace! There is not the slightest doubt in this." While Vrikodara, O monarch, was uttering these words in a loud voice, thy fearless son of true prowess answered him, saying, "What use of such elaborate bragging? Fight me, O Vrikodara! O wretch of thy race, today I shall destroy thy desire of battle! Mean vermin as thou art, know that Duryodhana is not capab le, like an ordinary person, of being terrified by a person like thee! For a long time have I cherished this desire! For a long time hath this wish been in my heart! By good luck the gods have at last brought it about, a mace encounter with thee! What use of long speeches and empty bragging, O wicked-souled one! Accomplish these words of thine in acts. Do not tarry at all!" Hearing these words of his, the Somakas and the other kings that were present there all applauded them highly. Applauded by all, Duryodhana's hair stood erect with joy and he firmly set his heart on battle. The kings present once again cheered thy wrathful son with clapping, like persons exciting an infuriated elephant to an encounter. The high-souled Vrikodara, the son of Pandu, then, uplifting his mace, rushed furiously at thy high-souled son. The elephants present there trumpeted aloud and the steeds neighed repeatedly. The weapons of the Pandavas who longed for victory blazed forth of their own accord.'"

SECTION 57

"Sanjaya said, 'Duryodhana, with heart undepressed, beholding Bhimasena in that state, rushed furiously against him, uttering a loud roar. They encountered each other like two bulls encountering each other with their horns. The strokes of their maces produced loud sounds like those of thunderbolts. Each longing for victory, the battle that took place between them was terrible, making the very hair stand on end, like that between Indra and Prahlada. All their limbs bathed in blood, the two high-souled warriors of great energy, both armed with maces, looked like two Kinsukas decked with flowers. During the progress of that great and awful encounter, the welkin looked beautiful as if it swarmed with fire-flies. After that fierce and terrible battle had lasted for some time, both those chastisers of foes became fatigued. Having rested for a little while, those two scorchers of foes, taking up their handsome maces, once again began to ward off each others' attacks. Indeed, when those two warriors of great energy, those two foremost of men, both possessed of great might, encountered each other after having taken a little rest, they looked like two elephants infuriated with passion and attacking each other for obtaining the companionship of a cow elephant in season. Beholding those two heroes, both armed with maces and each equal to the other in energy, the gods and Gandharvas and men became filled with wonder. Beholding Duryodhana and Vrikodara both armed with maces, all creatures became doubtful as to who amongst them would be victorious. Those two cousins, those two foremost of mighty men, once again rushing at each other and desiring to take advantage of each other's lapses, waited each watching the other. The spectators, O king, beheld each armed with his uplifted mace, that was heavy, fierce, and murderous, and that resembled the bludgeon of Yama or the thunder-bolt of Indra. While Bhimasena whirled his weapon, loud and awful was the sound that it produced. Beholding his foe, the son of Pandu, thus whirling his mace endued with unrivalled impetuosity, Duryodhana became filled with amazement. Indeed, the heroic Vrikodara, O Bharata, as he careered in diverse courses, presented a highly beautiful spectacle. Both bent upon carefully protecting themselves, as they approached, they repeatedly mangled each other like two cats fighting for a piece of meat. Bhimasena performed diverse kinds of evolutions. He coursed in beautiful circles, advanced, and receded. He dealt blows and warded off those of his adversary, with wonderful activity. He took up various kinds of position (for attack and defence). He delivered attacks and avoided those of his antagonist. He ran at his foe, now turning to the right and now to the left. He advanced straight against the enemy. He made ruses for drawing his foe. He stood immovable, prepared for attacking his foe as soon as the latter would expose himself to attack. He circumambulated his foe, and prevented his foe from circumambulating him. He avoided the blows of his foe by moving away in bent postures or jumping aloft. He struck, coming up to his foe face to face, or dealt back-thrusts while moving away from him. Both accomplished in encounters with the mace, Bhima and Duryodhana thus careered and fought, and struck each other. Those two foremost ones of Kuru's race careered thus, each avoiding the other's blows. Indeed, those two mighty warriors thus coursed in circles and seemed to sport with each other. Displaying in that encounter their skill in battle, those two chastisers of foes sometimes suddenly attacked each other with their weapons, like two elephants approaching and attacking each other with their tusks. Covered with blood, they looked very beautiful, O monarch, on the field. Even thus occurred that battle, awfully and before the gaze of a large multitude, towards the close of the day, like the battle between Vritra and Vasava. Armed with maces, both began to career in circles. Duryodhana, O monarch, adopted the right mandala, while Bhimasena adopted the left mandala. While Bhima was thus careering in circles on the field of battle, Duryodhana, O monarch, suddenly struck him a fierce blow on one of his flanks. Struck by thy son, O sire, Bhima began to whirl his heavy mace for returning that blow. The spectators, O monarch, beheld that mace of Bhimasena look as terrible as Indra's thunder-bolt or Yama's uplifted bludgeon. Seeing Bhima whirl his mace, thy son, uplifting his own terrible weapon, struck him again. Loud was the sound, O Bharata, produced by the descent of thy son's mace. So quick was that descent that it generated a flame of fire in the welkin. Coursing in diverse kinds of circles, adopting each motion at the proper time, Suyodhana, possessed of great energy, once more seemed to prevail over Bhima. The massive mace of Bhimasena meanwhile, whirled with his whole force, produced a loud sound as also smoke and sparks and flames of fire. Beholding Bhimasena whirling his mace, Suyodhana also whirled his heavy and adamantine weapon and presented a highly beautiful aspect. Marking the violence of the wind produced by the whirl of Duryodhana's mace, a great fear entered the hearts of all the Pandus and the Somakas. Meanwhile those two chastisers of foes, displaying on every side their skill in battle, continued to strike each other with their maces, like two elephants approaching and striking each other with their tusks. Both of them, O monarch, covered with blood, looked highly beautiful. Even thus progressed that awful combat before the gaze of thousands of spectators at the close of day, like the fierce battle that took place between Vritra and Vasava. Beholding Bhima firmly stationed on the field, thy mighty son, careering in more beautiful motions, rushed towards that son of Kunti. Filled with wrath, Bhima struck the mace, endued with great impetuosity and adorned with gold, of the angry Duryodhana. A loud sound with sparks of fire was produced by that clash of the two maces which resembled the clash of two thunder-bolts from opposite directions. Hurled by Bhimasena, his impetuous mace, as it fell down, caused the very earth to tremble. The Kuru prince could not brook to see his own mace thus baffled in that attack. Indeed, he became filled with rage like an infuriated elephant at the sight of a rival elephant. Adopting the left mandala, O monarch, and whirling his mace, Suyodhana then, firmly resolved, struck the son of Kunti on the head with his weapon of terrible force. Thus struck by thy son, Bhima, the son of Pandu, trembled not, O monarch, at which all the spectators wondered exceedingly. That amazing patience, O king, of Bhimasena, who stirred not an inch though struck so violently, was applauded by all the warriors present there. Then Bhima of terrible prowess hurled at Duryodhana his own heavy and blazing mace adorned with gold. That blow the mighty and fearless Duryodhana warded off by his agility. Beholding this, great was the wonder that the spectators felt. That mace, hurled by Bhima, O king, as it fell baffled of effect, produced a loud sound like that of the thunderbolt and caused the very earth to tremble. Adopting the manoeuvre called Kausika, and repeatedly jumping up, Duryodhana, properly marking the descent of Bhima's mace, baffled the latter. Baffling Bhimasena thus, the Kuru king, endued with great strength, at last in rage struck the former on the chest. Struck very forcibly by thy son in that dreadful battle, Bhimasena became stupefied and for a time knew not what to do. At that time, O king, the Somakas and the Pandavas became greatly disappointed and very cheerless. Filled with rage at that blow, Bhima then rushed at thy son like an elephant rushing against an elephant. Indeed, with uplifted mace, Bhima rushed furiously at Duryodhana like a lion rushing against a wild elephant. Approaching the Kuru king, the son of Pandu, O monarch, accomplished in the use of the mace, began to whirl his weapon, taking aim at thy son. Bhimasena then struck Duryodhana on one of his flanks. Stupefied at that blow, the latter fell down on the earth, supporting himself on his knees. When that foremost one of Kuru's race fell upon his knees, a loud cry arose from among the Srinjayas, O ruler of the world! Hearing that loud uproar of the Srinjayas, O bull among men, thy son became filled with rage. The mighty-armed hero, rising up, began to breathe like a mighty snake, and seemed to burn Bhimasena by casting his glances upon him. That foremost one of Bharata's race then rushed at Bhimasena, as if he would that time crush the head of his antagonist in that battle. The high-souled Duryodhana of terrible prowess then struck the high-souled Bhimasena on the forehead. The latter, however, moved not an inch but stood immovable like a mountain. Thus struck in that battle, the son of Pritha, O monarch, looked beautiful, as he bled profusely, like an elephant of rent temples with juicy secretions trickling adown. The elder brother of Dhananjaya, then, that crusher of foes, taking up his hero-slaying mace made of iron and producing a sound loud as that of the thunder-bolt, struck his adversary with great force. Struck by Bhimasena, thy son fell down, his frame trembling all over, like a gigantic Sala in the forest, decked with flowers, uprooted by the violence of the tempest. Beholding thy son prostrated on the earth, the Pandavas became exceedingly glad and uttered loud cries. Recovering his consciousness, thy son then rose, like an elephant from a lake. That ever wrathful monarch and great car-warrior then careering with great skill, struck Bhimasena who was standing before him. At this, the son of Pandu, with weakened limbs, fell down on the earth.

"Having by his energy prostrated Bhimasena on the ground, the Kuru prince uttered a leonine roar. By the descent of his mace, whose violence resembled that of the thunder, he had fractured Bhima's coat of mail. A loud uproar was then heard in the welkin, made by the denizens of heaven and the Apsaras. A floral shower, emitting great fragrance, fell, rained by the celestials. Beholding Bhima prostrated on the earth and weakened in strength, and seeing his coat of mail laid open, a great fear entered the hearts of our foes. Recovering his senses in a moment, and wiping his face which had been dyed with blood, and mustering great patience, Vrikodara stood up, with rolling eyes steadying himself with great effort."

SECTION 58

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding that fight thus raging between those two foremost heroes of Kuru's race, Arjuna said unto Vasudeva, "Between these two, who, in thy opinion, is superior? Who amongst them hath what merit? Tell me this, O Janardana."

"'Vasudeva said, "The instruction received by them hath been equal. Bhima, however, is possessed of greater might, while the son of Dhritarashtra is possessed of greater skill and hath laboured more. If he were to fight fairly, Bhimasena will never succeed in winning the victory. If, however, he fights unfairly he will be surely able to slay Duryodhana. The Asuras were vanquished by the gods with the aid of deception. We have heard this. Virochana was vanquished by Shakra with the aid of deception. The slayer of Vala deprived Vritra of his energy by an act of deception. Therefore, let Bhimasena put forth his prowess, aided by deception! At the time of the gambling, O Dhananjaya, Bhima vowed to break the thighs of Suyodhana with his mace in battle. Let this crusher of foes, therefore, accomplish that vow of his. Let him with deception, slay the Kuru king who is full of deception. If Bhima, depending upon his might alone, were to fight fairly, king Yudhishthira will have to incur great danger. I tell thee again,

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O son of Pandu, listen to me. It is through the fault of king Yudhishthira alone that danger hath once more overtaken us! Having achieved great feats by the slaughter of Bhishma and the other Kurus, the king had won victory and fame and had almost attained the end of the hostilities. Having thus obtained the victory, he placed himself once more in a situation of doubt and peril. This has been an act of great folly on the part of Yudhishthira, O Pandava, since he hath made the result of the battle depend upon the victory or the defeat of only one warrior! Suyodhana is accomplished, he is a hero; he is again firmly resolved. This old verse uttered by Usanas hath been heard by us. Listen to me as I recite it to thee with its true sense and meaning! 'Those amongst the remnant of a hostile force broken flying away for life, that rally and come back to the fight, should always be feared, for they are firmly resolved and have but one purpose! Shakra himself, O Dhananjaya, cannot stand before them that rush in fury, having abandoned all hope of life. This Suyodhana had broken and fled. All his troops had been killed. He had entered the depths of a lake. He had been defeated and, therefore, he had desired to retire into the woods, having become hopeless of retaining his kingdom. What man is there, possessed of any wisdom, that would challenge such a person to a single combat? I do not know whether Duryodhana may not succeed in snatching the kingdom that had already become ours! For full thirteen years he practised with the mace with great resolution. Even now, for slaying Bhimasena, he jumpeth up and leapeth transversely! If the mighty-armed Bhima does not slay him unfairly, the son of Dhritarashtra will surely remain king!" Having heard those words of the high-souled Keshava, Dhananjaya struck his own left thigh before the eyes of Bhimasena. Understanding that sign, Bhima began to career with his uplifted mace, making many a beautiful circle and many a Yomaka and other kinds of manoeuvres. Sometimes adopting the right mandala, sometimes the left mandala, and sometimes the motion called Gomutraka, the son of Pandu began to career, O king, stupefying his foe. Similarly, thy son, O monarch, who was well conversant with encounters with the mace, careered beautifully and with great activity, for slaying Bhimasena. Whirling their terrible maces which were smeared with sandal paste and other perfumed unguents, the two heroes, desirous of reaching the end of their hostilities, careered in that battle like two angry Yamas. Desirous of slaying each other, those two foremost of men, possessed of great heroism, fought like two Garudas desirous of catching the same snake. While the king and Bhima careered in beautiful circles, their maces clashed, and sparks of fire were generated by those repeated clashes. Those two heroic and mighty warriors struck each other equally in that battle. They then resembled, O monarch, two oceans agitated by the tempest. Striking each other equally like two infuriated elephants, their clashing maces produced peals of thunder. During the progress of that dreadful and fierce battle at close quarters, both those chastisers of foes, while battling, became fatigued. Having rested for a while, those two scorchers of foes, filled with rage and uplifting their maces, once more began to battle with each other. When by the repeated descents of their maces, O monarch, they mangled each other, the battle they fought became exceedingly dreadful and perfectly unrestrained. Rushing at each other in that encounter, those two heroes, possessed of eyes like those of bulls and endued with great activity, struck each other fiercely like two buffaloes in the mire. All their limbs mangled and bruised, and covered with blood from head to foot, they looked like a couple of Kinsukas on the breast of Himavat. During the progress of the encounter, when, Vrikodara (as a ruse) seemed to give Duryodhana an opportunity, the latter, smiling a little, advanced forward. Well-skilled in battle, the mighty Vrikodara, beholding his adversary come up, suddenly hurled his mace at him. Seeing the mace hurled at him, thy son, O monarch, moved away from that spot at which the weapon fell down baffled on the earth. Having warded off that blow, thy son, that foremost one of Kuru's race, quickly struck Bhimasena with his weapon. In consequence of the large quantity of blood drawn by that blow, as also owing to the violence itself of the blow, Bhimasena of immeasurable energy seemed to be stupefied. Duryodhana, however, knew not that the son of Pandu was so afflicted at that moment. Though deeply afflicted, Bhima sustained himself, summoning all his patience. Duryodhana, therefore, regarded him to be unmoved and ready to return the blow. It was for this that thy son did not then strike him again. Having rested for a little while, the valiant Bhimasena rushed furiously, O king, at Duryodhana who was standing near. Beholding Bhimasena of immeasurable energy filled with rage and rushing towards him, thy high-souled son, O bull of Bharata's race, desiring to baffle his blow, set his heart on the manoeuvre called Avasthana. He, therefore, desired to jump upwards, O monarch, for beguiling Vrikodara. Bhimasena fully understood the intentions of his adversary. Rushing, therefore, at him, with a loud leonine roar, he fiercely hurled his mace at the thighs of the Kuru king as the latter had jumped up for baffling the first aim. That mace, endued with the force of the thunder and hurled by Bhima of terrible feats, fractured the two handsome thighs of Duryodhana. That tiger among men, thy son, after his thighs had been broken by Bhimasena, fell down, causing the earth to echo with his fall. Fierce winds began to blow, with loud sounds at repeated intervals. Showers of dust fell. The earth, with her trees and plants and mountains, began to tremble. Upon the fall of that hero who was the head of all monarchs on earth, fierce and fiery winds blew with a loud noise and with thunder falling frequently. Indeed, when that lord of earth fell, large meteors were seen to flash down from the sky. Bloody showers, as also showers of dust, fell, O Bharata! These were poured by Maghavat, upon the fall of thy son! A loud noise was heard, O bull of Bharata's race, in the welkin, made by the Yakshas, and the Rakshasas and the Pisachas. At that terrible sound, animals and birds, numbering in thousands, began to utter more frightful noise on every side. Those steeds and elephants and human beings that formed the (unslain) remnant of the (Pandava) host uttered loud cries when thy son fell. Loud also became the blare of conchs and the peal of drums and cymbals. A terrific noise seemed to come from within the bowels of the earth. Upon the fall of thy son, O monarch, headless beings of frightful forms, possessed of many legs and many arms, and inspiring all creatures with dread, began to dance and cover the earth on all sides. Warriors, O king, that stood with standards or weapons in their arms, began to tremble, O king, when thy son fell. Lakes and wells, O best of kings, vomited forth blood. Rivers of rapid currents flowed in opposite directions. Women seemed to look like men, and men to look like women at that hour, O king, when thy son Duryodhana fell! Beholding those wonderful portents, the Pancalas and the Pandavas, O bull of Bharata's race, became filled with anxiety. The gods and the Gandharvas went away to the regions they desired, talking, as they proceeded, of that wonderful battle between thy sons. Similarly the Siddhas, and the Charanas of the fleetest course, went to those places from which they had come, applauding those two lions among men."

SECTION 59

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding Duryodhana felled upon the earth like a gigantic Sala uprooted (by the tempest) the Pandavas became filled with joy. The Somakas also beheld, with hair standing on end, the Kuru king felled upon the earth like an infuriated elephant felled by a lion. Having struck Duryodhana down, the valiant Bhimasena, approaching the Kuru chief, addressed him, saying, "O wretch, formerly laughing at the disrobed Draupadi in the midst of the assembly, thou hadst, O fool, addressed us as 'Cow, Cow!' Bear now the fruit of that insult!" Having said these words, he touched the head of his fallen foe with his left foot. Indeed, he struck the head of that lion among kings with his foot. With eyes red in wrath, Bhimasena, that grinder of hostile armies, once more said these words. Listen to them, O monarch! "They that danced at us insultingly, saying, 'Cow, Cow!' we shall now dance at them, uttering the same words, 'Cow, Cow!' We have no guile, no fire, no match, at dice, no deception! Depending upon the might of our own arms we resist and check our foes!" Having attained to the other shores of those fierce hostilities, Vrikodara once more laughingly said these words slowly unto Yudhishthira and Keshava and Srinjaya and Dhananjaya and the two sons of Madri, "They that had dragged Draupadi, while ill, into the assembly and had disrobed her there, behold those Dhartarashtras slain in battle by the Pandavas through the ascetic penances of Yajnasena's daughter! Those wicked-hearted sons of king Dhritarashtra who had called us 'Sesame seeds without kernel,' have all been slain by us with their relatives and followers! It matters little whether (as a consequence of those deeds) we go to heaven or fall into hell!" Once more, uplifting the mace that lay on his shoulders, he struck with his left foot the head of the monarch who was prostrate on the earth, and addressing the deceitful Duryodhana, said these words. Many of the foremost warriors among the Somakas, who were all of righteous souls, beholding the foot of the rejoicing Bhimasena of narrow heart placed upon the head of that foremost one of Kuru's race, did not at all approve of it. While Vrikodara, after having struck down thy son, was thus bragging and dancing madly, king Yudhishthira addressed him, saying, "Thou hast paid off thy hostility (towards Duryodhana) and accomplished thy vow by a fair or an unfair act! Cease now, O Bhima! Do not crush his head with thy foot! Do not act sinfully! Duryodhana is a king! He is, again, thy kinsman! He is fallen! This conduct of thine, O sinless one, is not proper. Duryodhana was the lord of eleven Akshauhinis of troops. He was the king of the Kurus. Do not, O Bhima, touch a king and a kinsman with thy foot. His kinsmen are slain. His friends and counsellors are gone. His troops have been exterminated. He has been struck down in battle. He is to be pitied in every respect. He deserves not to be insulted, for remember that he is a king. He is ruined. His friends and kinsmen have been slain. His brothers have been killed. His sons too have been slain. His funeral cake hath been taken away. He is our brother. This that thou doest unto him is not proper. 'Bhimasena is a man of righteous behaviour': people used to say this before of thee! Why then, O Bhimasena, dost thou insult the king in this way?" Having said these words unto Bhimasena, Yudhishthira, with voice choked in tears, and afflicted with grief, approached Duryodhana, that chastiser of foes, and said unto him, "O sire, thou shouldst not give way to anger nor grieve for thyself. Without doubt thou bearest the dreadful consequences of thy own former acts. Without doubt this sad and woeful result had been ordained by the Creator himself, that we should injure thee and thou shouldst injure us, O foremost one of Kuru's race! Through thy own fault this great calamity has come upon thee, due to avarice and pride and folly, O Bharata! Having caused thy companions and brothers and sires and sons and grandsons and others to be all slain, thou comest now by thy own death. In consequence of thy fault, thy brothers, mighty car-warriors all, and thy kinsmen have been slain by us. I think all this to be the work of irresistible Destiny. Thou art not to be pitied. On the other hand, thy death, O sinless one, is enviable. It is we that deserve to be pitied in every respect, O Kaurava! We shall have to drag on a miserable existence, reft of all our dear friends and kinsmen. Alas, how shall I behold the widows, overwhelmed with grief and deprived of their senses by sorrow, of my brothers and sons and grandsons! Thou, O king, departest from this world! Thou art sure to have thy residence in heaven! We, on the other hand, shall be reckoned as creatures of hell, and shall continue to suffer the most poignant grief! The grief-afflicted wives of Dhritarashtra's sons and grandsons, those widows crushed with sorrow, will without doubt, curse us all!" Having said these words, Dharma's royal son, Yudhishthira, deeply afflicted with grief, began to breathe hard and indulge in lamentations.'"

SECTION 60

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Beholding the (Kuru) king struck down unfairly, what O Suta, did the mighty Baladeva, that foremost one of Yadu's race, say? Tell me, O Sanjaya, what Rohini's son, well-skilled in encounters with the mace and well acquainted with all its rules, did on that occasion!'

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding thy son struck at the thighs, the mighty Rama, that foremost of smiters, became exceedingly angry. Raising his arms aloft the hero having the plough for his weapon, in a voice of deep sorrow, said in the midst of those kings, "Oh, fie on Bhima, fie on Bhima! Oh, fie, that in such a fair fight a blow hath been struck below the navel! Never before hath such an act as Vrikodara hath done been witnessed in an encounter with the mace! No limb below the navel should be struck. This is the precept laid down in treatises! This Bhima, however, is an ignorant wretch, unacquainted with the truths of treatises! He, therefore, acteth as he likes!" While uttering these words, Rama gave way to great wrath. The mighty Baladeva then, uplifting his plough, rushed towards Bhimasena! The form of that high-souled warrior of uplifted arms then became like that of the gigantic mountains of Kailasa variegated with diverse kinds of metals. The mighty Keshava, however, ever bending with humanity, seized the rushing Rama encircling him with his massive and well-rounded arms. Those two foremost heroes of Yadu's race, the one dark in complexion and the other fair, looked exceedingly beautiful at that moment, like the Sun and the Moon, O king, on the evening sky! For pacifying the angry Rama, Keshava addressed him, saying, "There are six kinds of advancement that a person may have: one's own advancement, the advancement of one's friends, the advancement of one's friends', the decay of one's enemy, the decay of one's enemy's friends, and the decay of one's enemy's friends' friends. When reverses happen to one's own self or to one's friends, one should then understand that one's fall is at hand and, therefore, one should at such times look for the means of applying a remedy. The Pandavas of unsullied prowess are our natural friends. They are the children of our own sire's sister! They had been greatly afflicted by their foes! The accomplishment of one's vow is one's duty. Formerly Bhima had vowed in the midst of the assembly that he would in great battle break with his mace the thighs of Duryodhana. The great Rishi Maitreya also, O scorcher of foes, had formerly cursed Duryodhana, saying, 'Bhima will, with his mace, break thy thighs!' In consequence of all this, I do not see any fault in Bhima! Do not give way to wrath, O slayer of Pralamva! Our relationship with the Pandavas is founded upon birth and blood, as also upon an attraction of hearts. In their growth is our growth. Do not, therefore, give way to wrath, O bull among men!" Hearing these words of Vasudeva the wielder of the plough, who was conversant with rules of morality, said, "Morality is well practised by the good. Morality, however, is always afflicted by two things, the desire of Profit entertained by those that covet it, and the desire for Pleasure cherished by those that are wedded to it. Whoever without afflicting Morality and Profit, or Morality and Pleasure, or Pleasure and Profit, followeth all three--Morality, Profit and Pleasure--always succeeds in obtaining great happiness. In consequence, however, of morality being afflicted by Bhimasena, this harmony of which I have spoken hath been disturbed, whatever, O Govinda, thou mayst tell

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me!" Krishna replied, saying, "Thou art always described as bereft of wrath, and righteous-souled and devoted to righteousness! Calm thyself, therefore, and do not give way to wrath! Know that the Kali age is at hand. Remember also the vow made by the son of Pandu! Let, therefore, the son of Pandu be regarded to have paid off the debt he owed to his hostility and to have fulfilled his vow!"

"Sanjaya continued, 'Hearing this fallacious discourse from Keshava, O king, Rama failed to dispel his wrath and became cheerful. He then said in that assembly, "Having unfairly slain king Suyodhana of righteous soul, the son of Pandu shall be reputed in the world as a crooked warrior! The righteous-souled Duryodhana, on the other hand, shall obtain eternal blessedness! Dhritarashtra's royal son, that ruler of men, who hath been struck down, is a fair warrior. Having made every arrangement for the Sacrifice of battle and having undergone the initiatory ceremonies on the field, and, lastly, having poured his life as a libation upon the fire represented by his foes, Duryodhana has fairly completed his sacrifice by the final ablutions represented by the attainment of glory!" Having said these words, the valiant son of Rohini, looking like the crest of a white cloud, ascended his car and proceeded towards Dwaraka. The Pancalas with the Vrishnis, as also the Pandavas, O monarch, became rather cheerless after Rama had set out for Dwaravati. Then Vasudeva, approaching Yudhishthira who was exceedingly melancholy and filled with anxiety, and who hung down his head and knew not what to do in consequence of his deep affliction, said unto him these words:

"'Vasudeva said, "O Yudhishthira the Just, why dost thou sanction this unrighteous act, since thou permittest the head of the insensible and fallen Duryodhana whose kinsmen and friends have all been slain to be thus struck by Bhima with his foot. Conversant with the ways of morality, why dost thou, O king, witness this act with indifference?"

"'Yudhishthira answered, "This act, O Krishna, done from wrath, of Vrikodara's touching the head of the king with his foot, is not agreeable to me, nor am I glad at this extermination of my race! By guile were we always deceived by the sons of Dhritarashtra! Many were the cruel words they spoke to us. We were again exiled into the woods by them. Great is the grief on account of all those acts that is in Bhimasena's heart! Reflecting on all this, O thou of Vrishni's race, I looked on with indifference! Having slain the covetous Duryodhana bereft of wisdom and enslaved by his passions, let the son of Pandu gratify his desire, be it righteousness or unrighteousness!"

"Sanjaya continued, 'After Yudhishthira had said this, Vasudeva, that perpetuator of Yadu's race, said with difficulty, "Let it be so!" Indeed, after Vasudeva had been addressed in those words by Yudhishthira, the former, who, always wished what was agreeable to and beneficial for Bhima, approved all those acts that Bhima had done in battle. Having struck down thy son in battle, the wrathful Bhimasena, his heart filled with joy, stood with joined hands before Yudhishthira and saluted him in proper form. With eyes expanded in delight and proud of the victory he had won, Vrikodara of great energy, O king, addressed his eldest brother, saying, "The Earth is today thine, O king, without brawls to disturb her and with all her thorns removed! Rule over her, O monarch, and observe the duties of thy order! He who was the cause of these hostilities and who fomented them by means of his guile, that wretched wight fond of deception, lieth, struck down, on the bare ground, O lord of earth! All these wretches headed by Duhshasana, who used to utter cruel words, as also those other foes of thine, the son of Radha, and Shakuni, have been slain! Teeming with all kinds of gems, the Earth, with her forests and mountains, O monarch, once more cometh to thee that hast no foes alive!"

"'Yudhishthira said, "Hostilities have come to an end! King Suyodhana hath been struck down! The earth hath been conquered (by us), ourselves having acted according to the counsels of Krishna! By good luck, thou hast paid off thy debt to thy mother and to thy wrath! By good luck, thou hast been victorious, O invincible hero, and by good luck, thy foe hath been slain!"'"

SECTION 61

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Beholding Duryodhana struck down in battle by Bhimasena, what, O Sanjaya, did the Pandavas and the Srinjayas do?'

"Sanjaya said, 'Beholding Duryodhana slain by Bhimasena in battle, O king, like a wild elephant slain by a lion, the Pandavas with Krishna became filled with delight. The Pancalas and the Srinjayas also, upon the fall of the Kuru king, waved their upper garments (in the air) and uttered leonine roars. The very Earth seemed to be unable to bear those rejoicing warriors. Some stretched their bows; others drew their bowstrings. Some blew their huge conchs; others beat their drums. Some sported and jumped about, while some amongst thy foes laughed aloud. Many heroes repeatedly said these words unto Bhimasena, "Exceedingly difficult and great hath been the fears that thou hast achieved today in battle, by having struck down the Kuru king, himself a great warrior, with thy mace! All these men regard this slaughter of the foe by thee to be like that of Vritra by Indra himself! Who else, save thyself, O Vrikodara, could slay the heroic Duryodhana while careering in diverse kinds of motion and performing all the wheeling manoeuvres (characteristic of such encounters)? Thou hast now reached the other shore of these hostilities, that other shore which none else could reach. This feat that thou hast achieved is incapable of being achieved by any other warriors. By good luck, thou hast, O hero, like an infuriated elephant, crushed with thy foot the head of Duryodhana on the field of battle! Having fought a wonderful battle, by good luck, O sinless one, thou hast quaffed the blood of Duhshasana, like a lion quaffing the blood of a buffalo! By good luck, thou hast, by thy own energy, placed thy foot on the head of all those that had injured the righteous-souled king Yudhishthira! In consequence of having vanquished thy foes and of thy having slain Duryodhana, by good luck, O Bhima, thy fame hath spread over the whole world! Bards and eulogists applauded Shakra after the fall of Vritra, even as we are now applauding thee, O Bharata, after the fall of thy foes! Know, O Bharata, that the joy we felt upon the fall of Duryodhana hath not yet abated in the least!" Even these were the words addressed to Bhimasena by the assembled eulogists on that occasion! Whilst those tigers among men, the Pancalas and the Pandavas, all filled with delight were indulging in such language, the slayer of Madhu addressed them, saying, "You rulers of men, it is not proper to slay a slain foe with such cruel speeches repeatedly uttered. This wight of wicked understanding hath already been slain. This sinful, shameless, and covetous wretch, surrounded by sinful counsellors and ever regardless of the advice of wise friends, met with his death even when he refused, though repeatedly urged to contrary by Vidura and Drona and Kripa and Sanjaya, to give unto the sons of Pandu their paternal share in the kingdom which they had solicited at his hands! This wretch is not now fit to be regarded either as a friend or a foe! What use in spending bitter breath upon one who hath now become a piece of wood! Mount your cars quickly, ye kings, for we should leave this place! By good luck, this sinful wretch hath been slain with his counsellors and kinsmen and friends!" Hearing these rebukes from Krishna, king Duryodhana, O monarch, gave way to wrath and endeavoured to rise. Sitting on his haunches and supporting himself on his two arms, he contracted his eyebrows and cast angry glances at Vasudeva. The form then of Duryodhana whose body was half raised looked like that of a poisonous snake, O Bharata, shorn of its tail. Disregarding his poignant and unbearable pains, Duryodhana began to afflict Vasudeva with keen and bitter words, "O son of Kansa's slave, thou hast, it seems, no shame, for hast thou forgotten that I have been struck down most unfairly, judged by the rules that prevail in encounters with the mace? It was thou who unfairly caused this act by reminding Bhima with a hint about the breaking of my thighs! Dost thou think I did not mark it when Arjuna (acting under thy advice) hinted it to Bhima? Having caused thousands of kings, who always fought fairly, to be slain through diverse kinds of unfair means, feelest thou no shame or no abhorrence for those acts? Day after day having caused a great carnage of heroic warriors, thou causedst the grandsire to be slain by placing Shikhandi to the fore! Having again caused an elephant of the name of Ashvatthama to be slain, O thou of wicked understanding, thou causedst the preceptor to lay aside his weapons. Thinkest thou that this is not known to me! While again that valiant hero was about to be slain this cruel Dhrishtadyumna, thou didst not dissuade the latter! The dart that had been begged (of Shakra as a boon) by Karna for the slaughter of Arjuna was baffled by thee through Ghatotkacha! Who is there that is more sinful than thou? Similarly, the mighty Bhurishrava, with one of his arms lopped off and while observant of the Praya vow, was caused to be slain by thee through the agency of the high-souled Satyaki. Karna had done a great feat for vanquishing Partha. Thou, however, causedst Aswasena, the son of that prince of snakes (Takshaka), to be baffled in achieving his purpose! When again the wheel of Karna's car sank in mire and Karna was afflicted with calamity and almost vanquished on that account, when, indeed, that foremost of men became anxious to liberate his wheel, thou causedst that Karna to be then slain! If ye had fought me and Karna and Bhishma and Drona by fair means, victory then, without doubt, would never have been yours. By adopting the most crooked and unrighteous of means thou hast caused many kings observant of the duties of their order and ourselves also to be slain!'

"'Vasudeva said, "Thou, O son of Gandhari, hast been slain with thy brothers, sons, kinsmen, friends, and followers, only in consequence of the sinful path in which thou hast trod! Through thy evil acts those two heroes, Bhishma and Drona, have been slain! Karna too hath been slain for having imitated thy behaviour! Solicited by me, O fool, thou didst not, from avarice, give the Pandavas their paternal share, acting according to the counsels of Shakuni! Thou gavest poison to Bhimasena! Thou hadst, also, O thou of wicked understanding, endeavoured to burn all the Pandavas with their mother at the palace of lac! On the occasion also of the gambling, thou hadst persecuted the daughter of Yajnasena, while in her season, in the midst of the assembly! Shameless as thou art, even then thou becamest worthy of being slain! Thou hadst, through Subala's son well-versed in dice, unfairly vanquished the virtuous Yudhishthira who was unskilled in gambling! For that art thou slain! Through the sinful Jayadratha again, Krishna was on another occasion persecuted when the Pandavas, her lords, had gone out hunting towards the hermitage of Trinavindu! Causing Abhimanyu, who was a child and alone, to be surrounded by many, thou didst slay that hero. It is in consequence of that fault, O sinful wretch, that thou art slain! All those unrighteous acts that thou sayest have been perpetrated by us, have in reality been perpetrated by thee in consequence of thy sinful nature! Thou didst never listen to the counsels of Brihaspati and Usanas! Thou didst never wait upon the old! Thou didst never hear beneficial words! Enslaved by ungovernable covetousness and thirst of gain, thou didst perpetrate many unrighteous acts! Bear now the consequences of those acts of thine!"

"'Duryodhana said, "I have studied, made presents according to the ordinance, governed the wide Earth with her seas, and stood over the heads of my foes! Who is there so fortunate as myself! That end again which is courted by Kshatriyas observant of the duties of their own order, death in battle, hath become mine. Who, therefore, is so fortunate as myself? Human enjoyments such as were worthy of the very gods and such as could with difficulty be obtained by other kings, had been mine. Prosperity of the very highest kind had been attained by me! Who then is so fortunate as myself? With all my well-wishers, and my younger brothers, I am going to heaven, O thou of unfading glory! As regards yourselves, with your purposes unachieved and torn by grief, live ye in this unhappy world!"'

"Sanjaya continued, 'Upon the conclusion of these words of the intelligent king of the Kurus, a thick shower of fragrant flowers fell from the sky. The Gandharvas played upon many charming musical instruments. The Apsaras in a chorus sang the glory of king Duryodhana. The Siddhas uttered loud sound to the effect, "Praise be to king Duryodhana!" Fragrant and delicious breezes mildly blew on every side. All the quarters became clear and the firmament looked blue as the lapis lazuli. Beholding these exceedingly wonderful things and this worship offered to Duryodhana, the Pandavas headed by Vasudeva became ashamed. Hearing (invisible beings cry out) that Bhishma and Drona and Karna and Bhurishrava were slain unrighteously, they became afflicted with grief and wept in sorrow. Beholding the Pandavas filled with anxiety and grief, Krishna addressed them in a voice deep as that of the clouds or the drum, saying, "All of them were great car-warriors and exceedingly quick in the use of weapons! If ye had put forth all your prowess, even then ye could never have slain them in battle by fighting fairly! King Duryodhana also could never be slain in a fair encounter! The same is the case with all those mighty car-warriors headed by Bhishma! From desire of doing good to you, I repeatedly applied my powers of illusion and caused them to be slain by diverse means in battle. If I had not adopted such deceitful ways in battle, victory would never have been yours, nor kingdom, nor wealth! Those four were very high-souled warriors and regarded as Atirathas in the world. The very Regents of the Earth could not slay them in fair fight! Similarly, the son of Dhritarashtra, though fatigued when armed with the mace, could not be slain in fair fight by Yama himself armed with his bludgeon! You should not take it to heart that this foe of yours hath been slain deceitfully. When the number of one's foes becomes great, then destruction should be effected by contrivances and means. The gods themselves, in slaying the Asuras, have trod the same way. That way, therefore, that hath been trod by the gods, may be trod by all. We have been crowned with success. It is evening. We had better depart to our tents. Let us all, ye kings, take rest with our steeds and elephants and cars." Hearing these words of Vasudeva, the Pandavas and the Pancalas, filled with delight, roared like a multitude of lions. All of them blew their conchs and Jadava himself blew Panchajanya, filled with joy, O bull among men, at the sight of Duryodhana struck down in battle.'"

SECTION 62

Sanjaya said, "All those kings, possessed of arms that resembled spiked bludgeons, then proceeded towards their tents, filled with joy and blowing their conchs on their way. The Pandavas also, O monarch, proceeded towards our encampment. The great bowman Yuyutsu followed them, as also Satyaki, and Dhrishtadyumna, and Shikhandi, and the five sons of Draupadi. The other great bowmen also proceeded towards our tents. The Parthas then entered the tent of Duryodhana, shorn of its splendours and reft of its lord and looking like an arena of amusement after it has been deserted by spectators. Indeed, that pavilion looked like a city reft of festivities, or a lake without its elephant. It then swarmed with women and eunuchs and certain aged

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counsellors. Duryodhana and other heroes, attired in robes dyed in yellow, formerly used, O king, to wait reverentially, with joined hands, on those old counsellors.

Arrived at the pavilion of the Kuru king, the Pandavas, those foremost of car-warriors, O monarch, dismounted from their cars. At that time, always engaged, O bull of Bharata's race, in the good of his friend, Keshava, addressed the wielder of gandiva, saying, "Take down thy gandiva as also the two inexhaustible quivers. I shall dismount after thee, O best of the Bharatas! Get thee down, for this is for thy good, O sinless one!"

Pandu's brave son Dhananjaya did as he was directed. The intelligent Krishna, abandoning the reins of the steeds, then dismounted from the car of Dhananjaya. After the high-souled Lord of all creatures had dismounted from that car, the celestial Ape that topped the mantle of Arjuna's vehicle, disappeared there and then. The top of the vehicle, which had before been burnt by Drona and Karna with their celestial weapons, quickly blazed forth to ashes, O king, without any visible fire having been in sight. Indeed, the car of Dhananjaya, with its quick pairs of steeds, yoke, and shaft, fell down, reduced to ashes.

Beholding the vehicle thus reduced to ashes, O lord, the sons of Pandu became filled with wonder, and Arjuna, O king, having saluted Krishna and bowed unto him, said these words, with joined hands and in an affectionate voice, 'O Govinda, O divine one, for what reason hath this car been consumed by fire? What is this highly wonderful incident that has happened before our eyes! O thou of mighty arms, if thou thinkest that I can listen to it without harm, then tell me everything.'

Vasudeva said, 'That car, O Arjuna, had before been consumed by diverse kinds of weapons. It was because I had sat upon it during battle that it did not fall into pieces, O scorcher of foes! Previously consumed by the energy of brahmastra, it has been reduced to ashes upon my abandoning it after attainment by thee of thy objects!'

Then, with a little pride, that slayer of foes, the divine Keshava, embracing king Yudhishthira, said unto him, 'By good luck, thou hast won the victory, O son of Kunti! By good luck, thy foes have been vanquished! By good luck, the wielder of gandiva, Bhimasena the son of Pandu, thyself, O king, and the two sons of Madri have escaped with life from this battle so destructive of heroes, and have escaped after having slain all your foes! Quickly do that, O Bharata, which should now be done by thee!

After I had arrived at Upaplavya, thyself, approaching me, with the wielder of gandiva in thy company, gavest me honey and the customary ingredients, and saidst these words, O Lord: 'This Dhananjaya, O Krishna, is thy brother and friend! He should, therefore, be protected by thee in all dangers!' After thou didst say these words, I answered thee, saying, 'So be it!'

That Savyasaci hath been protected by me. Victory also hath been thine, O king! With his brothers, O king of kings, that hero of true prowess hath come out of this dreadful battle, so destructive of heroes, with life!' Thus addressed by Krishna, King Yudhishthira the Just, with hair standing on end, O monarch, said these words unto Janardana:

Yudhishthira said, "Who else save thee, O grinder of foes, not excepting the thunder-wielding Purandara himself, could have withstood the brahmastras hurled by Drona and Karna! It was through thy grace that the samsaptakas were vanquished! It was through thy grace that Partha had never to turn back from even the fiercest of encounters! Similarly, it was through thy grace, O mighty-armed one, that I myself, with my posterity, have, by accomplishing diverse acts one after another, obtained the auspicious end of prowess and energy! At Upaplavya, the great rishi Krishna-Dvaipayana told me that thither is Krishna where righteousness is, and thither is victory where Krishna is!'"

Sanjaya continued, "After this conversation, those heroes entered thy encampment and obtained the military chest, many jewels, and much wealth. And they also obtained silver and gold and gems and pearls and many costly ornaments and blankets and skins, and innumerable slaves male and female, and many other things necessary for sovereignty. Having obtained that inexhaustible wealth belonging to thee, O bull of Bharata's race, those highly blessed ones, whose foe had been slain, uttered loud cries of exultation. Having unyoked their animals, the Pandavas and Satyaki remained there awhile for resting themselves.

Then Vasudeva of great renown said, 'We should, as an initiatory act of blessedness, remain out of the camp for this night.' Answering, 'So be it!' the Pandavas and Satyaki, accompanied by Vasudeva, went out of the camp for the sake of doing that which was regarded as an auspicious act. Arrived on the banks of the sacred stream Oghavati, O king, the Pandavas, reft of foes, took up their quarters there for that night!

They despatched Keshava of Yadu's race to Hastinapura. Vasudeva of great prowess, causing Daruka to get upon his car, proceeded very quickly to that place where the royal son of Ambika was. While about to start on his car having Shaibya and Sugriva (and the others) yoked unto it, (the Pandavas) said unto him, 'Comfort the helpless Gandhari who hath lost all her sons!' Thus addressed by the Pandavas, that chief of the Satvatas then proceeded towards Hastinapura and arrived at the presence of Gandhari who had lost all her sons in the war.'"

SECTION 63

Janamejaya said, "For what reason did that tiger among kings, Yudhishthira the Just, despatch that scorcher of foes, Vasudeva, unto Gandhari? Krishna had at first gone to the Kauravas for the sake of bringing about peace. He did not obtain the fruition of his wishes. In consequence of this the battle took place. When all the warriors were slain and Duryodhana was struck down, when in consequence of the battle the empire of Pandu's son became perfectly foeless, when all the (Kuru) camp became empty, all its inmates having fled, when great renown was won by the son of Pandu, what, O regenerate one, was the cause for which Krishna had once again to go to Hastinapura? It seems to me, O Brahmana, that the cause could not be a light one, for it was Janardana of immeasurable soul who had himself to make the journey! O foremost of all Adhyaryus, tell me in detail what the cause was for undertaking such a mission!"

Vaishampayana said, "The question thou askest me, O king, is, indeed, worthy of thee! I will tell thee everything truly as it occurred, O bull of Bharata's race! Beholding Duryodhana, the mighty son of Dhritarashtra, struck down by Bhimasena in contravention of the rules of fair fight, in fact, beholding the Kuru king slain unfairly, O Bharata, Yudhishthira, O monarch, became filled with great fear, at the thought of the highly blessed Gandhari possessed of ascetic merit. "She hath undergone severe ascetic austerities and can, therefore, consume the three worlds," even thus thought the son of Pandu. By sending Krishna, Gandhari, blazing with wrath, would be comforted before Yudhishthira's own arrival. "Hearing of the death of her son brought to such a plight by ourselves, she will, in wrath, with the fire of her mind, reduce us to ashes! How will Gandhari endure such poignant grief, after she hears her son, who always fought fairly, slain unfairly by us?" Having reflected in this strain for a long while, king Yudhishthira the Just, filled with fear and grief, said these words unto Vasudeva: "Through thy grace, O Govinda, my kingdom hath been reft of thorns! That which we could not in imagination even aspire to obtain hath now become ours, O thou of unfading glory! Before my eyes, O mighty-armed one, making the very hair stand on end, violent were the blows that thou hadst to bear, O delighter of the Yadavas! In the battle between the gods and the Asuras, thou hadst, in days of old, lent thy aid for the destruction of the foes of the gods and those foes were slain! In the same way, O mighty-armed one, thou hast given us aid, O thou of unfading glory! By agreeing to act as our charioteer, O thou of Vrishni's race, thou hast all along protected us! If thou hadst not been the protector of Phalguna in dreadful battle, how could then this sea of troops have been capable of being vanquished? Many were the blows of the mace, and many were the strokes of spiked bludgeons and darts and sharp arrows and lances and battle axes, that have been endured by thee! For our sake, O Krishna, thou hadst also to hear many harsh words and endure the fall, violent as the thunder, of weapons in battle! In consequence of Duryodhana's slaughter, all this has not been fruitless, O thou of unfading glory! Act thou again in such a way that the fruit of all those acts may not be destroyed! Although victory hath been ours, O Krishna, our heart, however, is yet trembling in doubt! Know, O Madhava, that Gandhari's wrath, O mighty-armed one, hath been provoked! That highly-blessed lady is always emaciating herself with the austerest of penances! Hearing of the slaughter of her sons and grandsons, she will, without doubt, consume us to ashes! It is time, O hero, I think, for pacifying her! Except thee, O foremost of men, what other person is there that is able to even behold that lady of eyes red like copper in wrath and exceedingly afflicted with the ills that have befallen her children? That thou shouldst go there, O Madhava, is what I think to be proper, for pacifying Gandhari, O chastiser of foes, who is blazing with wrath! Thou art the Creator and the Destroyer. Thou art the first cause of all the worlds thyself being eternal! By words fraught with reasons, visible and invisible that are all the result of time, thou wilt quickly, O thou of great wisdom, be able to pacify Gandhari! Our grandsire, thy holy Krishna-Dvaipayana, will be there. O mighty-armed one, it is thy duty to dispel, by all means in thy power, the wrath of Gandhari!" Hearing these words of king Yudhishthira the Just, the perpetuator of Yadu's race, summoning Daruka, said, "Let my car be equipped!" Having received Keshava's command, Daruka in great haste, returned and represented unto his high-souled master that the car was ready. That scorcher of foes and chief of Yadu's race, the lord Keshava, having mounted the car, proceeded with great haste to the city of the Kurus. The adorable Madhava then, riding on his vehicle, proceeded, and arriving at the city called after the elephant entered it. Causing the city to resound with the rattle of his car-wheels as he entered it, he sent word to Dhritarashtra and then alighted from his vehicle and entered the palace of the old king. He there beheld that best of Rishis, (Dvaipayana) arrived before him. Janardana, embracing the feet of both Vyasa and Dhritarashtra, quietly saluted Gandhari also. Then the foremost of the Yadavas, Vishnu seizing Dhritarashtra by the hand, O monarch, began to weep melodiously. Having shed tears for a while from sorrow, he washed his eyes and his face with water according to rules. That chastiser of foes then said these softly flowing words unto Dhritarashtra, "Nothing is unknown to thee, O Bharata, about the past and the future! Thou art well-acquainted, O lord, with the course of time! From a regard for thee, the Pandavas had endeavoured to prevent the destruction of their race and the extermination of Kshatriyas, O Bharata! Having made an understanding with his brothers, the virtuous Yudhishthira had lived peacefully. He even went to exile after defeat at unfair dice! With his brothers he led a life of concealment, attired in various disguises. They also every day got into diverse other woes as if they were quite helpless! On the eve of battle I myself came and in the presence of all men begged of thee only five villages. Afflicted by Time, and moved by covetousness, thou didst not grant my request. Through thy fault, O king, all the Kshatriya race hath been exterminated! Bhishma, and Somadatta, and Valhika, and Kripa, and Drona and his son, and the wise Vidura, always solicited thee for peace. Thou didst not, however, follow their counsels! Everyone, it seems, when afflicted by Time, is stupefied, O Bharata, since even thou, O king, as regards this matter, did act so foolishly! What else can it be but the effect of Time? Indeed, Destiny is supreme! Do not, O thou of great wisdom, impute any fault to the Pandavas! The smallest transgression is not discernible in the high-souled Pandavas, judged by the rules of morality or reason or affection, O scorcher of foes! Knowing all this to be the fruit of thy own fault, it behoveth thee not to cherish any ill-feeling towards the Pandavas! Race, line, funeral cake, and what else depends upon offspring, now depend on the Pandavas as regards both thyself and Gandhari! Thyself, O tiger among the Kurus, and the renowned Gandhari also, should not harbour malice towards the Pandavas. Reflecting upon all this, and thinking also of thy own transgressions, cherish good feeling towards the Pandavas, I bow to thee, O bull of Bharata's race! Thou knowest, O mighty-armed one, what the devotion is of king Yudhishthira and what his affection is towards thee, O tiger among kings! Having caused this slaughter of even foes that wronged him so, he is burning day and night, and hath not succeeded in obtaining peace of mind! That tiger among men, grieving for thee and for Gandhari, faileth to obtain any happiness. Overwhelmed with shame he cometh not before thee that art burning with grief on account of thy children and whose understanding and senses have been agitated by that grief!" Having said these words unto Dhritarashtra, that foremost one of Yadu's race, O monarch, addressed the grief-stricken Gandhari in these words of high import: "O daughter of Subala, thou of excellent vows, listen to what I say! O auspicious dame, there is now no lady like thee in the world! Thou rememberest, O queen, those words that thou spokest in the assembly in my presence, those words fraught with righteousness and that were beneficial to both parties, which thy sons, O auspicious lady, did not obey! Duryodhana who coveted victory was addressed by thee in bitter words! Thou toldst him then. 'Listen, O fool, to these words of mine: "thither is victory where righteousness is."' Those words of thine, O princess, have now been accomplished! Knowing all this, O auspicious lady, do not set thy heart on sorrow. Let not thy heart incline towards the destruction of the Pandavas! In consequence of the strength of thy penances, thou art able, O highly blessed one, to burn, with thy eyes kindled with rage, the whole Earth with her mobile and immobile creatures!" Hearing these words of Vasudeva, Gandhari said, "It is even so, O Keshava, as thou sayest! My heart, burning in grief, has been unsteadied! After hearing thy words, however, that heart, O Janardana, hath again become steady. As regards the blind old king, now become child, thou, O foremost of men, with those heroes, the sons of Pandu, hast become his refuge!" Having said so much, Gandhari, burning in grief on account of the death of her sons, covered her face with her cloth and began to weep aloud. The mighty-armed lord Keshava then comforted the grief-stricken princess with words that were fraught with reasons drawn from visible instances. Having comforted Gandhari and Dhritarashtra, Keshava of Madhu's race came to know (by intuition) the evil that was meditated by Drona's son. Rising up in haste after worshipping the feet of Vyasa bending his head, Keshava, O monarch, addressed Dhritarashtra, saying, "I take my leave, O foremost one of Kuru's race! Do not set thy heart on grief! The son of Drona bears an evil purpose. It is for this that I rise so suddenly! It seems that he has formed a plan of destroying the Pandavas during the night!" Hearing these words, both Gandhari and Dhritarashtra said unto Keshava that slayer of Keshi, these words: "Go, quickly, O mighty-armed one, protect the Pandavas! Let me soon meet thee again, O Janardana!" Then Keshava of unfading glory proceeded with Daruka. After Vasudeva had departed, O king, Vyasa, that adored of the

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whole world, of inconceivable soul, began to comfort king Dhritarashtra. The righteous-souled Vasudeva departed, having achieved his mission successfully, from Hastinapura, for seeing the camp and the Pandavas. Arrived at the camp, he proceeded to the presence of the Pandavas. Telling them everything (about his mission to the city), he took his seat with them."

SECTION 64

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Kicked at the head, his thighs broken, prostrated on the ground, exceedingly proud, what, O Sanjaya, did my son then say? King Duryodhana was exceedingly wrathful and his hostility to the sons of Pandu was deep-rooted. When therefore this great calamity overtook him, what did he next say on the field?'

"Sanjaya said, 'Listen to me, O monarch, as I describe to thee what happened. Listen, O king, to what Duryodhana said when overtaken by calamity. With his thighs broken, the king, O monarch, covered with dust, gathered his flowing locks, casting his eyes on all sides. Having with difficulty gathered his locks, he began to sigh like a snake. Filled with rage and with tears flowing fast from his eyes, he looked at me. He struck his arms against the Earth for a while like an infuriated elephant. Shaking his loose locks, and gnashing his teeth, he began to censure the eldest son of Pandu. Breathing heavily, he then addressed me, saying, "Alas, I who had Santanu's son Bhishma for my protector, and Karna, that foremost of all wielders of weapons and Gotama's son, Shakuni, and Drona, that first of all wielders of arms, and Ashvatthama, and the heroic Shalya, and Kritavarma, alas, even I have come to this plight! It seems that Time is irresistible! I was the lord of eleven Chamus of troops and yet I have come to this plight! O mighty-armed one, no one can rise superior to Time! Those of my side that have escaped with life from this battle should be informed, how I have been struck down by Bhimasena in contravention of the rules of fair fight! Many have been the very unfair and sinful acts that have been perpetrated towards Bhurishrava, and Bhishma, and Drona of great prosperity! This is another very infamous act that the cruel Pandavas have perpetrated, for which, I am certain, they will incur the condemnation of all righteous men! What pleasure can a righteously disposed person enjoy at having gained a victory by unfair acts? What wise man, again, is there that would accord his approbation to a person contravening the rules of fairness? What learned man is there that would rejoice after having won victory by unrighteousness as that sinful wretch, Vrikodara the son of Pandu, rejoices? What can be more amazing than this, that Bhimasena in wrath should with his foot touch the head of one like me while lying with my thighs broken? Is that person, O Sanjaya, worthy of honour who behaveth thus towards a man possessed of glory endued with prosperity, living in the midst of friends? My parents are not ignorant of the duties of battle. Instructed by me, O Sanjaya, tell them that are afflicted with grief these words: I have performed sacrifices, supported a large number of servants properly, governed the whole earth with her seas! I stayed on the heads of my living foes! I gave wealth to my kinsmen to the extent of my abilities, and I did what was agreeable to friends. I withstood all my foes. Who is there that is more fortunate than myself? I have made progresses through hostile kingdoms and commanded kings as slaves. I have acted handsomely towards all I loved and liked. Who is there more fortunate than myself? I honoured all my kinsmen and attended to the welfare of all my dependants. I have attended to the three ends of human existence, Religion, Profit, and Pleasure! Who is there more fortunate than myself? I laid my commands on great kings, and honour, unattainable by others, was mine, I always made my journeys on the very best of steeds. Who is there more fortunate than myself? I studied the Vedas and made gifts according to the ordinance. My life has passed in happiness. By observance of the duties of my own order, I have earned many regions of blessedness hereafter. Who is there more fortunate than myself? By good luck, I have not been vanquished in battle and subjected to the necessity of serving my foes as masters. By good luck, O lord, it is only after my death that my swelling prosperity abandons me for waiting upon another! That which is desired by good Kshatriyas observant of the duties of their order, that death, is obtained by me! Who is there so fortunate as myself? By good luck, I did not suffer myself to be turned away from the path of hostility and to be vanquished like an ordinary person! By good luck, I have not been vanquished after I had done some base act! Like the slaughter of a person that is asleep or that is heedless, like the slaughter of one by the administration of poison, my slaughter hath taken place, for I have been slain as unrighteously, in contravention of the rules of fair fight! The highly blessed Ashvatthama, and Kritavarma of the Satwata race, and Saradwat's son Kripa, should be told these words of mine, 'You should never repose any confidence upon the Pandavas, those violators of rules, who have perpetrated many unrighteous acts!' After this, thy royal son of true prowess addressed our message-bearers in these words, "I have, in battle, been slain by Bhimasena most unrighteously! I am now like a moneyless wayfarer and shall follow in the wake of Drona who has already gone to heaven, of Karna and Shalya, of Vrishasena of great energy, of Shakuni the son of Subala, of Jalasandha of great valour, of king Bhagadatta, of Somadatta's son, that mighty bowman, of Jayadratha, the king of the Sindhus, of all my brothers headed by Duhshasana and equal unto myself, of Duhshasana's son of great prowess, and of Lakshmana, my son, and thousands of others that fought for me. Alas how shall my sister, stricken with woe, live sorrowfully, after hearing of the slaughter of her brothers and her husband! Alas, what shall be the plight of the old king, my sire, with Gandhari, and his daughters-in-law and grand-daughters-in-law! Without doubt, the beautiful and large-eyed mother of Lakshmana, made sonless and husbandless, will soon meet with her death! If Charvaka, the mendicant devotee who is a master of speech, learns everything, that blessed man will certainly avenge himself of my death! By dying upon the sacred field of Samantapanchaka, celebrated over the three worlds, I shall certainly obtain many eternal regions!" Then, O sire, thousands of men, with eyes full of tears, fled away in all directions, having heard these lamentations of the king. The whole Earth, with her forests and seas, with all her mobile and immobile creatures, began to tremble violently, and produce a loud noise. All the points of the compass became murky. The messengers, repairing to Drona's son, represented to him all that had happened regarding the conduct of the mace-encounter and the fall of the king. Having represented everything unto Drona's son, O Bharata, all of them remained in a thoughtful mood for a long while and then went away, grief-stricken, to the place they came from.'"

SECTION 65

"Sanjaya said, 'Having heard of Duryodhana's fall from the messengers, those mighty car-warriors, the unslain remnant of the Kaurava army, exceedingly wounded with keen shafts, and maces and lances and darts, those three, Ashvatthama and Kripa and Kritavarma of the Satwata race, came quickly on their fleet steeds to the field of battle. They beheld there the high-souled son of Dhritarashtra prostrate on the ground like a gigantic Sala tree laid low in the forest by a tempest. They beheld him writhing on the bare ground and covered with blood even like a mighty elephant in the forest laid low by a hunter. They saw him weltering in agony and bathed in profuse streams of blood. Indeed, they saw him lying on the ground like the sun dropped on the earth or like the ocean dried by a mighty wind, or like the full Moon in the firmament with his disc shrouded by a fog. Equal to an elephant in prowess and possessed of long arms, the king lay on the earth, covered with dust. Around him were many terrible creatures and carnivorous animals like wealth-coveting dependants around a monarch in state. His forehead was contracted into furrows of rage and his eyes were rolling in wrath. They beheld the king, that tiger among men, full of rage, like a tiger struck down (by hunters). Those great archers Kripa and others, beholding the monarch laid low on the Earth, became stupefied. Alighting from their cars, they ran towards the king. Seeing Duryodhana, all of them sat on the earth around him. Then Drona's son, O monarch, with tearful eyes and breathing like a snake, said these words unto that chief of Bharata's race, that foremost of all the kings on earth, "Truly, there is nothing stable in the world of men, since thou, O tiger among men, liest on the bare earth, stained with dust! Thou wert a king who had laid thy commands on the whole Earth! Why then, O foremost of monarchs, dost thou lie alone on the bare ground in such a lonely wilderness? I do not see Duhshasana beside thee, nor the great car-warrior Karna, nor those friends of thine numbering in hundreds! What is this, O bull among men? Without doubt, it is difficult to learn the ways of Yama, since thou, O lord of all the worlds, thus liest on the bare ground, stained with dust! Alas, this scorcher of foes used to walk at the head of all Kshatriyas that had their locks sprinkled with holy water at ceremonies of coronation! Alas, he now eateth the dust! Behold the reverses that Time bringeth on its course! Where is that pure white umbrella of thine? Where is that fanning yak-tail also, O king? Where hath that vast army of thine now gone, O best of monarchs? The course of events is certainly a mystery when causes other than those relied upon are at book, since even thou that wert the master of the world hast been reduced to this plight! Without doubt, the prosperity of all mortals is very unstable, since thou that wert equal unto Shakra himself hast now been reduced to such a sorry plight!" Hearing these words of the sorrowing Ashvatthama, thy son answered him in these words that were suited to the occasion. He wiped his eyes with his hands and shed tears of grief anew. The king then addressed all those heroes headed by Kripa and said, "This liability to death (of all living creatures) is said to have been ordained by the Creator himself. Death comes to all beings in course of time. That death hath now come to me, before the eyes of you all! I who reigned over the whole earth have now been reduced to this plight! By good luck, I never turned back from battle whatever calamities overtook me. By good luck, I have been slain by those sinful men, by the aid particularly of deception. By good luck, while engaged in hostilities, I always displayed courage and perseverance. By good luck, I am slain in battle, along with all my kinsmen and friends. By good luck, I behold you escaped with life from this great slaughter, and safe and sound. This is highly agreeable to me. Do not, from affection, grieve for my death. If the Vedas are any authority, I have certainly acquired many eternal regions! I am not ignorant of the glory of Krishna of immeasurable energy. He hath not caused me to fall off from the proper observance of Kshatriya duties. I have obtained him. On no account should anybody grieve from me. Ye have done what persons like ye should do. Ye have always striven for my success. Destiny, however, is incapable of being frustrated." Having said this much, the king, with eyes laved with tears, became silent, O monarch, agitated as he was with agony. Beholding the king in tears and grief, Drona's son flamed up in anger like the fire that is seen at the universal destruction. Overwhelmed with rage, he squeezed his hand and addressing the king in a voice hoarse with tears, he said these words, "My sire was slain by those wretches with a cruel contrivance. That act, however, doth not burn me so keenly as this plight to which thou hast been reduced, O king! Listen to these words of mine that I utter, swearing by Truth itself, O lord, and by all my acts of piety, all my gifts, my religion, and the religious merits I have won. I shall today, in the very presence of Vasudeva, despatch all the Pancalas, by all means in my power, to the abode of Yama? It behoveth thee, O monarch, to grant me permission!" Hearing these words of Drona's son, that were highly agreeable to his heart, the Kuru king addressing Kripa, said, "O preceptor, bring me without delay a pot full of water!" At these words of the king, that foremost of Brahmanas soon brought a vessel full of water and approached the king. Thy son then, O monarch, said unto Kripa, "Let the son of Drona, O foremost of Brahmanas, (blessed be thou), be at my command installed as generalissimo, if thou wishest to do me the good! At the command of the king, even a Brahmana may fight, specially one that has adopted Kshatriya practices! Those learned in the scriptures say this!" Hearing these words of the king, Kripa, the son of Saradwat, installed Drona's son as generalissimo, at the king's command! The installation over, O monarch, Ashvatthama embraced that best of kings and left the spot, having caused the ten points to resound with his leonine roars. That foremost of kings, Duryodhana, profusely covered with blood, began to pass there that night so frightful to all creatures. Wending away quickly from the field of battle, O king, those heroes, with hearts agitated by grief, began to reflect anxiously and earnestly.'"

The End of Shalya-parva

THE MAHABHARATA, BOOK 10

SAUPTIKA PARVA

SECTION 1

Om! Having bowed down unto Narayana, and Nara the most exalted of male beings, and unto the goddess Sarasvati, must the word Jaya be uttered!

Sanjaya said, "Those heroes then together proceeded towards the south. At the hour of sunset they reached a spot near the (Kuru) encampment. Letting their animals loose they became very much frightened. Reaching then a forest, they secretly entered it. They took up their quarters there at no great distance from the encampment. Cut and mangled with many keen weapons, they breathed long and hot sighs, thinking of the Pandavas. Hearing the loud noise made by the victorious Pandavas, they feared a pursuit and therefore fled towards the east. Having proceeded for sometime, their animals became tired and they themselves became thirsty. Overpowered by wrath and vindictiveness, those great bowmen could not put up with what had occurred, burning as they did with (grief at) the slaughter of the king. They however, took rest for a while."

Dhritarashtra said, "The feat, O Sanjaya, that Bhima achieved seems to be incredible, since my son who was struck down possessed the strength of 10,000 elephants. In manhood's prime and possessed of an adamantine frame, he was not capable of being slain by any creature! Alas, even that son of mine was struck down by the Pandavas in battle! Without doubt, O Sanjaya, my heart is made of adamant, since it breaks not into a 1,000 fragments even after hearing of the slaughter of my hundred sons! Alas, what will be the plight of myself and my spouse, an old couple destitute of children! I dare not dwell in the dominions of Pandu's son! Having been the sire of a king and a king myself, O Sanjaya, how shall I pass my days as a slave obedient to the commands of Pandu's son! Having laid my commands over the whole Earth and having stayed over the heads of all, O Sanjaya, how shall I live now as a slave in wretchedness? How shall I be able, O Sanjaya, to endure the words of Bhima who hath single-handed slain a full hundred sons of mine? The words of the high-souled Vidura have come to be realised! Alas, my son, O Sanjaya, did not listen to those words! What, however, did Kritavarma and Kripa and Drona's son do after my son Duryodhana had been unfairly stuck down?"

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Sanjaya said, "They had not proceeded far, O king, when they stopped, for they beheld a dense forest abounding with trees and creepers. Having rested for a little while, they entered that great forest, proceeding on their cars drawn by their excellent steeds whose thirst had been assuaged. That forest abounded with diverse kinds of animals, and it teemed with various species of birds. And it was covered with many trees and creepers and was infested by numerous carnivorous creatures. Covered with many pieces of water and adorned with various kinds of flowers, it had many lakes overgrown with blue lotuses.

Having entered that dense forest, they cast their eyes about and saw a gigantic banyan tree with thousands of branches. Repairing to the shade of that tree, those great car-warriors, O king, those foremost of men, saw that was the biggest tree in that forest. Alighting from their cars, and letting loose their animals, they cleansed themselves duly and said their evening prayers. The Sun then reached the Asta mountains, and Night, the mother of the universe, came. The firmament, bespangled with planets and stars, shone like an ornamented piece of brocade and presented a highly agreeable spectacle. Those creatures that walk the night began to howl and utter their cries at will, while they that walk the day owned the influence of sleep. Awful became the noise of the night-wandering animals. The carnivorous creatures became full of glee, and the night, as it deepened, became dreadful.

At that hour, filled with grief and sorrow, Kritavarma and Kripa and Drona's son all sat down together. Seated under that banyan, they began to give expression to their sorrow in respect of that very matter: the destruction that had taken place of both the Kurus and the Pandavas. Heavy with sleep, they laid themselves down on the bare earth. They had been exceedingly tired and greatly mangled with shafts. The two great car-warriors, Kripa and Kritavarma, succumbed to sleep. However deserving of happiness and undeserving of misery, they then lay stretched on the bare ground. Indeed, O monarch, those two who had always slept on costly beds now slept, like helpless persons, on the bare ground, afflicted with toil and grief.

Drona's son, however, O Bharata, yielding to the influence of wrath and reverence, could not sleep, but continued to breathe like a snake. Burning with rage, he could not get a wink of slumber. That hero of mighty arms cast his eyes on every side of that terrible forest. As he surveyed that forest peopled with diverse kinds of creatures, the great warrior beheld a large banyan covered with crows. On that banyan thousands of crows roosted in the night. Each perching separately from its neighbour, those crows slept at ease, O Kauravya! As, however, those birds were sleeping securely on every side, Ashvatthama beheld an owl of terrible aspect suddenly make its appearance there. Of frightful cries and gigantic body, with green eyes and tawny plumage, its nose was very large and its talons were long. And the speed with which it came resembled that of Garuda. Uttering soft cries that winged creature, O Bharata, secretly approached the branches of that banyan. That ranger of the sky, that slayer of crows, alighting on one of the branches of the banyan, slew a large number of his sleeping enemies. He tore the wings of some and cut off the heads of others with his sharp talons and broke the legs of many. Endued with great strength, he slew many that fell down before his eyes. With the limbs and bodies, O monarch, of the slain crows, the ground covered by the spreading branches of the banyan became thickly strewn on every side. Having slain those crows, the owl became filled with delight like a slayer of foes after having behaved towards his foes according to his pleasure.

Beholding that highly suggestive deed perpetrated in the night by the owl, Drona's son began to reflect on it, desirous of framing his own conduct by the light of that example. He said unto himself, "This owl teaches me a lesson in battle. Bent as I am upon the destruction of the foe, the time for the deed has come! The victorious Pandavas are incapable of being slain by me! They are possessed of might, endued with perseverance, sure of aim, and skilled in smiting. In the presence, however, of the king I have vowed to slay them. I have thus pledged myself to a self-destructive act, like an insect essaying to rush into a blazing fire! If I were to fight fairly with them, I shall, without doubt, have to lay down my life! By an act of guile, however, success may yet be mine and a great destruction may overtake my foes! People generally, as also those versed in the scriptures, always applaud those means which are certain over those which are uncertain. Whatever of censure and evil repute this act may provoke ought to be incurred by person that is observant of kshatriya practices. The Pandavas of uncleansed souls have, at every step, perpetrated very ugly and censurable acts that are again fall of guile. As regards this matter, certain ancient verses, full of truth, are heard, sung by truth-seeing and righteousness-observing persons, who sang them after a careful consideration of the demands of justice.

These verses are even these: 'The enemy's force, even when fatigued, or wounded with weapons, or employed in eating, or when retiring, or when resting within their camp, should be smitten. They should be dealt with in the same way when afflicted with sleep in the dead of night, or when reft of commanders, or when broken or when under the impression of an error.'"

Having reflected in this way, the valiant son of Drona formed the resolution of slaying during the night the slumbering Pandavas and the Pancalas. Having formed this wicked resolution and pledged himself repeatedly to its execution, he awoke both his maternal uncle and the chief of Bhojas. Awakened from sleep, those two illustrious and mighty persons, Kripa and the Bhoja chief, heard Ashvatthama's scheme. Filled with shame, both of them abstained from giving a suitable reply.

Having reflected for a short while, Ashvatthama said with tearful eyes, "King Duryodhana, that one hero of great might, for whose sake we were waging hostilities with the Pandavas, hath been slain! Deserted and alone, though he was the lord of eleven akshauhinis of troops, that hero of unstained prowess hath been struck down by Bhimasena and a large number of wretches banded together in battle! Another wicked act hath been perpetrated by the vile Vrikodara, for the latter hath touched with his foot the head of a person whose coronal locks underwent the sacred bath! The Pancalas are uttering loud roars and cries and indulging in loud bursts of laughter. Filled with joy, they are blowing their conchs and beating their drums! The loud peal of their instruments, mingled with the blare of conchs, is frightful to the ear and borne by the winds, is filling all the points of the compass. Loud also is the din made by their neighing steeds and grunting elephants and roaring warriors! That deafening noise made by the rejoicing warriors as they are marching to their quarters, as also the frightful clatter of their car-wheels, comes to us from the east. So great hath been the havoc made by the Pandavas on the Dhartarashtras that we three are the only survivors of that great carnage! Some were endued with the might of a hundred elephants, and some were masters of all weapons. Yet have they been slain by the sons of Pandu! I regard this to be an instance of the reverses brought about by Time! Truly, this is the end to which such an act leads! Truly, although the Pandavas have achieved such difficult feats, even this should be the result of those feats! If your wisdom hath not been driven away by stupefaction, then say what is proper for us to do in view of this calamitous and grave affair.'"

SECTION 2

Kripa said, "We have heard all that thou hast said, O puissant one! Listen, however, to a few words of mine, O mighty armed one! All men are subjected to and governed by these two forces, Destiny and Exertion. There is nothing higher than these two. Our acts do not become successful in consequence of destiny alone, nor of exertion alone, O best of men! Success springs from the union of the two. All purposes, high and low, are dependent on a union of those two. In the whole world, it is through these two that men are seen to act as also to abstain. What result is produced by the clouds pouring upon a mountain? What results are not produced by them pouring upon a cultivated field? Exertion, where destiny is not auspicious, and absence of exertion where destiny is auspicious, both these are fruitless! What I have said before (about the union of the two) is the truth. If the rains properly moisten a well-tilled soil, the seed produces great results. Human success is of this nature.

Sometimes, Destiny, having settled a course of events, acts of itself (without waiting for exertion). For all that, the wise, aided by skill have recourse to exertion. All the purposes of human acts, O bull among men, are accomplished by the aid of those two together. Influenced by these two, men are seen to strive or abstain. Recourse may be had to exertion. But exertion succeeds through destiny. It is in consequence also of destiny that one who sets himself to work, depending on exertion, attains to success. The exertion, however, of even a competent man, even when well directed, is without the concurrence of destiny, seen in the world to be unproductive of fruit. Those, therefore, among men, that are idle and without intelligence, disapprove of exertion. This however, is not the opinion of the wise.

Generally, an act performed is not seen to be unproductive of fruit in the world. The absent of action, again, is seen to be productive of grave misery. A person obtaining something of itself without having made any efforts, as also one not obtaining anything even after exertion, is not to be seen. One who is busy in action is capable of supporting life. He, on the other hand, that is idle, never obtains happiness. In this world of men it is generally seen that they that are addicted to action are always inspired by the desire of earning good. If one devoted to action succeeds in gaining his object or fails to obtain the fruit of his acts, he does not become censurable in any respect. If anyone in the world is seen to luxuriously enjoy the fruits of action without doing any action, he is generally seen to incur ridicule and become an object of hatred. He who, disregarding this rule about action, liveth otherwise, is said to do an injury to himself. This is the opinion of those that are endued with intelligence.

Efforts become unproductive of fruits in consequence of these two reasons: destiny without exertion and exertion without destiny. Without exertion, no act in this world becomes successful. Devoted to action and endued with skill, that person, however, who, having bowed down to the gods, seeks, the accomplishment of his objects, is never lost. The same is the case with one who, desirous of success, properly waits upon the aged, asks of them what is for his good, and obeys their beneficial counsels. Men approved by the old should always be solicited for counsel while one has recourse to exertion. These men are the infallible root of means, and success is dependent on means. He who applies his efforts after listening to the words of the old, soon reaps abundant fruits from those efforts. That man who, without reverence and respect for others (capable of giving him good counsel), seeks the accomplishment of his purposes, moved by passion, anger, fear, and avarice, soon loses his prosperity.

This Duryodhana, stained by covetousness and bereft of foresight, had without taking counsel, foolishly commenced to seek the accomplishment of an undigested project. Disregarding all his well-wishers and taking counsel with only the wicked, he had, though dissuaded, waged hostilities with the Pandavas who are his superiors in all good qualities. He had, from the beginning, been very wicked. He could not restrain himself. He did not do the bidding of friends. For all that, he is now burning in grief and amid calamity. As regards ourselves since we have followed that sinful wretch, this great calamity hath, therefore, overtaken us! This great calamity has scorched my understanding. Plunged in reflection, I fail to see what is for our good!

A man that is stupefied himself should ask counsel of his friends. In such friends he hath his understanding, his humility, and his prosperity. One's actions should have their root in them. That should be done which intelligent friends, having settled by their understanding, should counsel. Let us, therefore, repair to Dhritarashtra and Gandhari and the high-souled Vidura and ask them as what we should do. Asked by us, they will say what, after all this, is for our good. We should do what they say. Even this is my certain resolution. Those men whose acts do not succeed even after the application of exertion, should, without doubt, be regarded as afflicted by destiny."

SECTION 3

Sanjaya said, "Hearing these words of Kripa that were auspicious and fraught with morality and profit, Ashvatthama, O monarch, became overwhelmed with sorrow and grief. Burning with grief as if with a blazing fire, he formed a wicked resolution and then addressed them both saying, "The faculty of understanding is different in different men. Each man, however, is pleased with own understanding. Every man regards himself more intelligent than others. Everyone respects his own understanding and accords it great praise. Everyone's own wisdom is with every one a subject of praise. Everyone speaks ill of the wisdom of others, and well of his own, in all instances. Men whose judgements agree with respect to any unattained object, even though there be a variety of considerations, become gratified with and applaud one another. The judgements, again, of the same men, overwhelmed with reverses through the influence of time, become opposed to one another. More particularly, in consequence of the diversity of human intellects, judgements necessarily differ when intellects are clouded.

As a skilful physician, having duly diagnosed a disease, prescribes a medicine by the application of his intelligence for effecting a cure, even so men, for the accomplishment of their acts, use their intelligence, aided by their own wisdom. What they do is again disapproved by others. A man, in youth, is affected by one kind of understanding. In middle age, the same does not prevail with him, and in the period of decay, a different kind of understanding becomes agreeable to him. When fallen into terrible distress or when visited by great prosperity, the understanding of a person, O chief of the Bhojas, is seen to be much afflicted. In one and the same person, through want of wisdom, the understanding becomes different at different times. That understanding which at one time is acceptable becomes the reverse of that at another time.

Having resolved, however, according to one's wisdom, that resolution which is excellent should be endeavoured to be accomplished. Such resolution, therefore, should force him to put forth exertion. All persons, O chief of the Bhojas, joyfully begin to act, even in respect of enterprises that lead to death, in the belief that those enterprises are achievable by them. All men, relying on their own judgements and wisdom, endeavour to accomplish diverse purposes, knowing them to be beneficial. The resolution that has possessed my mind today in consequence of our great calamity, as something that is capable of dispelling my grief, I will now disclose unto both of you.

The Creator, having formed his creatures, assigned unto each his occupation. As regards the different orders, he gave unto each a portion of excellence. Unto brahmanas he assigned that foremost of all things, the Veda. Unto the kshatriya he assigned superior energy. Unto the vaishya he gave skill, and unto the shudra he gave the duty of serving the three other classes. Hence, a brahmana without self-restraint

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is censurable. A kshatriya without energy is base. A vaishya without skill is worthy of dispraise, as also a shudra who is bereft of humility (to the other orders).

I am born in an adorable and high family of brahmanas. Through ill-luck, however, I am wedded to kshatriya practices. If, conversant as I am with kshatriya duties, I adopt now the duties of a brahmana and achieve a high object (the purification of self under such injuries), that course would not be consistent with nobleness. I hold an excellent bow and excellent weapons in battle. If I do not avenge the slaughter of my sire, how shall I open my mouth in the midst of men? Paying regard to kshatriya duties, therefore, without hesitation, I shall today walk in the steps of my high-souled sire and the king.

The Pancalas, elated with victory, will trustfully sleep tonight, having put off their armour and in great glee, and filled with happiness at the thought of the victory they have won, and spent with toil and exertion. While sleeping at their ease during the night within their own camp, I shall make a great and terrible assault upon their camp. Like Maghavat slaying the danavas, I shall, attacking them while senseless and dead in sleep in their camp, slay them all, putting forth my prowess. Like a blazing fire consuming a heap of dry grass, I shall slay all of them assembled in one place with their leader Dhrishtadyumna! Having slain the Pancalas, I shall obtain peace of mind, O best of men! While engaged in the act of slaughter, I shall career in their midst like the wielder of Pinaka, Rudra himself, in rage among living creatures. Having cut off and slain all the Pancalas today, I shall then, in joy, afflict the sons of Pandu in battle. Taking their lives one after another and causing the earth to be strewn with the bodies of all the Pancalas, I shall pay off the debt I owe to my sire. I shall today make the Pancalas follow in the wake, hard to tread, of Duryodhana and Karna and Bhishma, and the ruler of the Sindhus. Putting forth my might, I shall tonight grind the head, like that of any animal, of Dhrishtadyumna, the king of the Pancalas! I shall tonight, O son of Gautama, cut off with my sharp sword, in battle, the sleeping sons of the Pancalas and the Pandavas. Having exterminated the Pancalas army tonight while sunk in sleep, I shall, O thou of great intelligence, obtain great happiness and regard myself to have done my duty!"

SECTION 4

Kripa said, "By good luck, O thou of unfading glory, thy heart is set today on vengeance. The wielder of the thunder himself will not succeed in dissuading thee today. Both of us, however, shall accompany thee in the morning. Putting off thy armour and taking down thy standard, take rest for this night. I shall accompany thee, as also Kritavarma of the Satvata race, clad in mail and riding on our cars, while thou shalt proceed against the foe. United with ourselves, thou shalt slay the foes, the Pancalas with all their followers, tomorrow in press of battle, putting forth thy prowess, O foremost of car-warriors! If thou puttest forth thy prowess, thou art quite competent to achieve that fear! Take rest, therefore, for this night. Thou hast kept thyself awake for many a night. Having rested and slept, and having become quite refreshed, O giver of honours, encounter the foe in battle! Thou shalt then slay the enemy, without doubt. No one, not even Vasava amongst the gods, would venture to vanquish thee armed with foremost of weapons, O first of car-warriors! Who is there that would, even if he be the chief of the gods himself, fight Drona's son, when the latter proceeds, accompanied by Kripa and protected by Kritavarma? Therefore, having rested and slept this night and shaken off fatigue, we shall slay the foe tomorrow morning! Thou art a master of celestial weapons. I also am so, without doubt. This hero of Satvata's race is a mighty bowman, always skilled in battle. All of us, uniting together, O son, shall succeed in slaying our assembled foes in battle by putting forth our might. Great shall be our happiness then! Dispelling thy anxieties, rest for this night and sleep happily! Myself and Kritavarma, both armed with bows and capable of scorching our enemies, will, clad in mail, follow thee, O best of men, while thou shalt proceed on thy car against the enemy. Proceeding to their camp and proclaiming thy name in battle, thou shalt then make a great slaughter of the foe. Tomorrow morning, in broad daylight, having caused a great slaughter among them thou shalt sport like Shakra after the slaughter of great asuras. Thou art quite competent to vanquish the army of the Pancalas in battle like the slayer of the danavas in vanquishing in rage the danava host. United with myself in battle and protected by Kritavarma, thou art incapable of being withstood by the wielder of the thunderbolt himself.

Neither I, O son, nor Kritavarma, will ever retreat from battle without having vanquished the Pandavas! Having slain the angry Pancalas along with the Pandavas, we shall come away, or slain by them, we shall proceed to heaven. By every means in our power, we two shall render thee assistance in battle tomorrow morning. O thou of mighty arms, I tell thee the truth, O sinless one!"

Addressed in these beneficial words by his maternal uncle, the son of Drona, with eyes red in rage, answered his uncle, O king, saying, 'Where can a person that is afflicted, or one that is under the influence of rage, or one whose heart is always engaged in revolving projects for the acquisition of wealth, or one that is under the power of lust, obtain sleep? Behold, all these four causes are present in my case. Anyone of these, singly would destroy sleep. How great is the grief of that person whose heart is always thinking of the slaughter of his sire! My heart is now burning day and night. I fail to obtain peace. The way in which my sire in particular was slain by those sinful wretches hath been witnessed by you all. The thought of that slaughter is cutting all my vitals. How could a person like me live for even a moment after hearing the Pancalas say that they have slain my father? I cannot bear the thought of supporting life without having slain Dhrishtadyumna in battle. In consequence of the slaughter of my father he hath become slayable by me, as also all with whom he is united. Who is there so hard-hearted that would not burn after having heard the lamentations that I have heard of the king lying with broken thighs? Who is there so destitute of compassion whose eyes would not be filled with tears after hearing such words uttered by the king with broken thighs? They whose side was adopted by me have been vanquished. The thought of this enhances my sorrow as a rush of waters enhances the sea.

Protected as they are by Vasudeva and Arjuna, I regard them, O uncle, to be irresistible by the great Indra himself. I am unable to restrain this rising wrath in my heart. I do not behold the man in this world that can assuage this wrath of mine! The messengers informed me of the defeat of my friends and the victory of the Pandavas. That is burning my heart. Having however, caused a slaughter of my enemies during their sleep, I shall then take rest and shall then sleep without anxiety."

SECTION 5

Kripa said, "A person who is bereft of intelligence and who hath not his passions under control, cannot, even if he waits dutifully upon his superiors, understand all the considerations of morality. This is my opinion. Similarly, an intelligent person who does not practise humility fails to understand the settled conclusions of morality. A brave man, if bereft of understanding, by waiting all his life upon a learned person fails to know his duties, like a wooden ladle unable to taste the juicy soup (in which it may lie immersed). The wise man, however, by waiting upon a learned person for even a moment, succeeds in knowing his duties, like the tongue tasting the juicy soup (as soon as it comes into contact with the latter). That person who is endued with intelligence, who waits upon his superiors, and who has his passions under control succeeds in knowing all the rules of morality and never disputes with what is accepted by all. An ungovernable, irreverent, and sinful person of wicked soul perpetrates sin in seeking his well-being by disregarding destiny.

Well-wishers seek to restrain a friend from sin. He who suffers himself to be dissuaded, succeeds in winning prosperity. He that does otherwise reaps misery. As a person of disordered brains is restrained by soothing words, even so should a friend be restrained by well-wishers. He that suffers himself to be so restrained never becomes a prey to misery. When a wise friend is about to perpetrate a wicked act, well-wishers possessed of wisdom repeatedly and according to the extent of their power endeavour to restrain him. Setting thy heart on what is truly beneficial, and restraining thyself by thy own self, do my bidding, O son, so that thou mayst not have to repent afterwards.

In this world, the slaughter of sleeping persons is not applauded, agreeably to the dictates of religion. The same is the case with persons that have laid down their arms and come down from cars and steeds. They also are unslayable who say 'We are thine!' and they that surrender themselves, and they whose locks are dishevelled, and they whose animals have been killed under them or whose cars have been broken. All the Pancalas will sleep tonight. O lord, divesting themselves of armour. Trustfully sunk in sleep, they will be like dead men. That crooked-minded man who would wage hostility with them then, it is evident, would sink in deep and limitless hell without a raft save himself. In this world thou art celebrated as the foremost of all persons conversant with weapons. Thou hast not as yet committed even a minute trespass. When the sun rises next morning and light shall discover all things, thyself, like a second sun in effulgence wilt conquer the foe in battle. This censurable deed, so impossible in one like thee, will look like a red spot on a white sheet. Even this is my opinion."

Ashvatthama said, "Without doubt, it is even so, O maternal uncle, as thou sayest. The Pandavas, however, have before this broken the bridge of righteousness into a hundred fragments. In the very sight of all the kings, before thy eyes also, my sire, after he had laid down his weapons, was slain by Dhrishtadyumna. Karna also, that foremost of car-warriors, after the wheel of his car had sunk and he had been plunged into great distress, was slain by the wielder of gandiva. Similarly, Shantanu's son Bhishma, after he had laid aside his weapons and become disarmed, was slain by Arjuna with Shikhandi placed in his van. So also, the mighty bowman Bhurishrava, while observant of the praya vow on the field of battle, was slain by Yuyudhana in total disregard of the cries of all the kings! Duryodhana too, having encountered Bhima in battle with the mace, hath been slain unrighteously by the former in the very sight of all the lords of earth. The king was all alone in the midst of a large number of mighty car-warriors standing around him. Under such circumstances was that tiger among men slain by Bhimasena. Those lamentations that I have heard, of the king lying prostrate on the earth with his thighs broken, from the messengers circulating the news, are cutting the very core of my heart. The unrighteous and sinful Pancalas, who have broken down the barrier of virtue, are even such. Why do you not censure them who have transgressed all considerations? Having slain the Pancalas, those slayers of my sire, in the night when they are buried in sleep, I care not if I am born a worm or a winged insect in my next life. That which I have resolved is hurrying me towards its accomplishment. Hurried as I am by it, how can I have sleep and happiness? That man is not yet born in the world, nor will be, who will succeed in baffling this resolution that I have formed for their destruction."

Sanjaya continued, "Having said these words, O monarch, the valiant son of Drona yoked his steeds to his car at a corner and set out towards the direction of his enemies. Then Bhoja and Sharadvata's son, those high-souled persons, addressed him, saying, "Why dost thou yoke the steeds to thy car? Upon what business art thou bent? We are determined to accompany thee tomorrow, O bull among men! We sympathise with thee in weal and woe. It behoveth thee not to mistrust us. Remembering the slaughter of his sire, Ashvatthama in rage told them truly about the feat that he had resolved to accomplish. When my sire, having slain hundreds and thousands of warriors with keen shafts, had laid aside his weapons, he was then slain by Dhrishtadyumna. I shall slay that slayer today in a similar condition that is, when he will have laid aside his armour. The sinful son of the king of the Pancalas I shall today slay by a sinful act. It is my resolve to slay like an animal that sinful prince of the Pancalas in such a way that he may not attain to regions earned by persons slain with weapons! Put on your coats of mail without delay and take your bows and swords, and wait for me here, ye foremost of car-warrior and scorchers of foes."

Having said these words, Ashvatthama got upon his car and set out towards the direction of the enemy. Then Kripa, O king, and Kritavarma of the Satvata race, both followed him. While the three proceeded against the enemy, they shone like three blazing fires in a sacrifice, fed with libations of clarified butter. They proceeded, O lord, towards the camp of the Pancalas within which everybody was asleep. Having approached the gate, Drona's son, that mighty car-warrior, stopped."

SECTION 6

Dhritarashtra said, "Seeing Drona's son stop at the gate of the encampment, what, O Sanjaya, did those two mighty car-warriors, Kripa and Kritavarma, do? Tell me this!"

Sanjaya said, "Inviting Kritavarma, as also the mighty car-warrior Kripa, Drona's son, filled with rage, approached the gate of the camp. He there beheld a being of gigantic frame, capable of making the very hair stand on end, and possessed of the effulgence of the Sun or the Moon, guarding the entrance. Round his loins was a tiger-skin dripping with blood, and he had a black deer for his upper garment. He had for his sacred thread a large snake. His arms were long and massive and held many kinds of uplifted weapons. He had for his angadas a large snake wound round his upper arm. His mouth seemed to blaze with flames of fire. His teeth made his face terrible to behold. His mouth was open and dreadful. His face was adorned with thousands of beautiful eyes. His body was incapable of being described, as also his attire. The very mountains, upon beholding him, would split into a 1,000 fragments. Blazing flames of fire seemed to issue from his mouth and nose and ears and all those thousands of eyes. From those blazing flames hundreds and thousands of Hrishikeshas issued, armed with conchs and discs and maces.

Beholding that extraordinary being capable of inspiring the whole world with terror, Drona's son, without feeling any agitation, covered him with showers of celestial weapons. That being, however, devoured all those shafts shot by Drona's son. Like the vadava fire devouring the waters of the ocean, that being devoured the shafts sped by the son of Drona. Beholding his arrowy showers prove fruitless, Ashvatthama hurled at him a long dart blazing like a flame of fire. That dart of blazing point, striking against that being, broke into pieces like a huge meteor at the end of the yuga breaking and falling down from the firmament after striking against the Sun. Ashvatthama then, without losing a moment, drew from its sheath an excellent scimitar of the colour of the sky and endued with a golden hilt. The scimitar came out like a blazing snake from its hole. The intelligent son of Drona then hurled that excellent scimitar at that being. The weapon, approaching that being, disappeared within his body like a mongoose disappearing in its hole. Filled with rage, the son

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of Drona then hurled a blazing mace of the proportions of a pole set up in honour of Indra. The being devoured that mace also.

At last, when all his weapons were exhausted Ashvatthama, casting his eyes around, beheld the whole firmament densely crowded with images of Janardana. Drona's son, divested of weapons, beholding that wonderful sight, recollected the words of Kripa, and turning pale with grief, said, "He that listens not to the beneficial words of advising friends is obliged to repent, being overwhelmed with calamity, even as my foolish self for having disregarded my two well-wishers. That fool who, disregarding the way pointed out by the scriptures, seeketh to slay his enemies, falleth off from the path of righteousness and is lost in the trackless wilderness of sin. One should not cast weapons upon kine, brahmanas, kings, women, friends, one's own mother, one's own preceptor, a weak man, an idiot, a blind man, a sleeping man, a terrified man, one just arisen from sleep, an intoxicated person, a lunatic and one that is heedless. The preceptors of old always inculcated this truth upon men. I have, however, by disregarding the eternal way pointed out by the scriptures, and by essaying to tread in a wrong path, fallen into terrible distress. The wise have called that to be a terrible calamity when one falls back, through fear, from a great feat after having essayed to achieve it. I am unable, by putting forth only my skill and might, to achieve that which I have vowed.

Human exertion is never regarded more efficacious than destiny. If any human action that is commenced does not succeed through destiny, the actor becomes like one who falling off from the path of righteousness, is lost in the wilderness of sin. The sages speak of defeat as foolishness when one having commenced an act swerves from it through fear. In consequence of the wickedness of my essay, this great calamity has come upon me, otherwise Drona's son would never had been forced to hold back from battle. This being, again whom I see before me, is most wonderful! He stands there like the uplifted rod of divine chastisement. Reflecting even deeply, I cannot recognise who this being is. Without doubt, that being is the terrible fruit of this sinful determination of mine that I had essayed to achieve unrighteously. He standeth there for baffling that determination. It seems, therefore, that in my case this falling off from fight had been ordained by destiny. It is not for me to exert for the accomplishment of this my purpose unless destiny becomes favourable. I shall, therefore, at this hour, seek the protection of the puissant Mahadeva! He will dispel this dreadful rod of divine chastisement uplifted before me. I will take the shelter of that god, that source of everything beneficial, the lord of Uma, otherwise called Kapardin, decked with a garland of human skulls, that plucker of Bhaga's eyes called also Rudra and Hara. In ascetic austerities and prowess, he far surpasses all the gods. I shall, therefore, seek the protection of Girisha armed with the trident."

SECTION 7

Sanjaya said, "The son of Drona, O monarch, having reflected thus, descended from the terrace of his car and stood, bending his head unto that supreme god. And he said, "I seek the protection of Him called Ugra, Sthanu, Shiva, Rudra, Sharva, Ishana, Ishvara, Girisha; and of that boon-giving god who is the Creator and Lord of the universe; of Him whose throat is blue, who is without birth, who is called Shakra, who destroyed the sacrifice of Daksha, and who is called Hara; of Him whose form is the universe, who hath three eyes, who is possessed of multifarious forms, and who is the lord of Uma; of Him who resides in crematoriums, who swells with energy, who is the lord of diverse tribes of ghostly beings, and who is the possessor of undecaying prosperity and power; of Him who wields the skull-topped club, who is called Rudra, who bears matted locks on his head, and who is a brahmacari. Purifying my soul that is so difficult to purify, and possessed as I am of small energy, I adore the Destroyer of the triple city, and offer myself as the victim. Hymned thou hast been, deserving art thou of hymns, and I hymn to thy glory!

Thy purposes are never baffled. Thou art robed in skins; thou hast red hair on thy head; thou art blue-throated; thou art unbearable; thou art irresistible! Thou art pure; thou art the Creator of Brahman; thou art Brahma; thou art a brahmacari; thou art an observer of vows; thou art devoted to ascetic austerities; thou art infinite; thou art the refuge of all ascetics; thou art multiform; thou art the leader of diverse tribes of ghostly beings; thou art three-eyed; thou art fond of those beings called companions; thou art always seen by the Lord of treasures; thou art dear to Gauri's heart; thou art the sire of Kumara; thou art tawny; thou hast for thy excellent bearer a bovine bull; thou art robed in a subtle attire; thou art most fierce; thou art eager to adorn Uma; thou art higher than all that is high; thou art higher than everything; there is nothing higher than thou; thou art the wielder of weapons; thou art immeasurable, and thou art the protector of all quarters; thou art cased in golden armour; thou art divine; thou hast the moon as an ornament on thy brow! With concentrated attention, I seek thy protection, O god! For success in getting over this dreadful distress that is so difficult to get over, I sacrifice unto thee, the purest of the pure, offering for thy acceptance the (five) elements of which my body is composed!"

Knowing this to be his resolution in consequence of his desire to accomplish his object, a golden altar appeared before the high-souled son of Drona. Upon the altar, O king, appeared a blazing fire, filling all the points of the compass, cardinal and subsidiary, with its splendour. Many mighty beings also, of blazing mouths and eyes, of many feet, heads, and arms, adorned with angadas set with gems, and with uplifted arms, and looking like elephants and mountains, appeared there. Their faces resembled those of hares and boars and camels and horses and jackals and cows and bears and cats and tigers and pards and crows and apes and parrots. And the faces of some were like those of mighty snakes, and others had faces like those of ducks. And all of them were endued with great effulgence. And the faces of some were like those of woodpeckers and jays, O Bharata, and of tortoises and alligators and porpoises and huge sharks and whales, and of lions and cranes and pigeons and elephants and stags. Some had faces like those of ravens and hawks, some had ears on their hands; some had a 1,000 eyes, some had very large stomachs, and some had no flesh, O Bharata! And some, O king, had no heads, and some, O Bharata, had faces like those of bears. The eyes of some were like fire, and some had fiery complexions. The hair on the heads and bodies of some were blazing and some had four arms, and some, O king, had faces like those of sheep and goats. The colour of some was like that of conchs, and some had faces that resembled conchs, and the ears of some were like conchs, some wore garlands made of conchs, and the voices of some resembled the blare of conchs. Some had matted locks on their heads, and some had five tufts of hair, and some had heads that were bald. Some had lean stomachs; some had four teeth, some had four tongues, some had ears straight as arrows and some had diadems on their brows. Some had strings of grass on their bodies, O monarch, and some had curly hair. Some had head-gears made of cloth, some had coronets, some had beautiful faces, and some were adorned with ornaments. Some had ornaments made of lotuses, and some were decked with flowers. They numbered in hundreds and thousands.

Some were armed with shataghnis, some with thunder, and some had mushalas in their hands. Some had bhushundis, some had nooses, and some had maces in their hands, O Bharata! On the backs of some were slung quivers containing excellent shafts, and all were fierce in battle. Some had standards with banners and bells, and some were armed with battle-axes. Some had large nooses in their uplifted arms, and some had clubs and bludgeons. Some had stout posts in their hands, some had scimitars, and some had snakes with erect heads for their diadems. Some had large snakes (wound round their upper arms) for angadas, and some had beautiful ornaments on their persons. Some were begrimed with dust, some smutted with mire, and all were attired in white robes and white garments. The limbs of some were blue, while others had limbs that were tawny. And some there were that were beardless. Those beings, called companions, possessed of golden complexions, and filled with joy, played upon drums and horns and cymbals and jharjharas and anakas and gomukhas. And some sang and some danced about uttering loud sounds, and some leapt forward and cut capers and jumped sideways. Endued with great fleetness, they ran about most fiercely, the hair on their heads waving in the air, like huge elephants infuriated with passion and frequently uttering loud roars. Terrible, and of frightful mien and armed with lances and battle-axes, they were attired in robes of diverse hues and decked with beautiful garlands and unguents. Adorned with angadas decked with gems, and with uplifted arms, they were endued with great courage. Capable of forcibly slaying all foes, they were irresistible in prowess. Drinkers of blood and fat and other animal matter, they subsisted on the flesh and entrails of animals. Some had their locks tied in tall tufts above their heads. Some had single tufts on their heads; some had rings on their ears; and some had stomachs resembling earthen vessels used for cooking. Some were of very short statures, and some were very high in stature. Some were tall and very fierce. Some had grim features, some had long lips, and the genital limbs of some were very long. Some had costly and diverse kinds of crowns upon their heads; and some had bald heads, and the heads of others were covered with matted locks.

They were capable of bringing down the firmament with the sun, moon, and stars, on earth, and exterminating the four orders of created things. They know not what it is to fear, and are capable of enduring the frowns of Hara. They always act as they like, and are the lords of the lords of the three worlds. Always engaged in merry sports, they are thorough masters of speech and are perfectly free from pride. Having obtained the eight kinds of divine attributes, they are never elated with pride. The divine Hara is always filled with wonder at their feats. They are devout worshippers of Mahadeva. Adored by them in thought, word, and deed, the great god protects those worshippers of his, looking upon them, in thought, word, and deed as children of his own loins. Filled with rage, they always drink the blood and fat of all haters of Brahma. They always drink also the soma juice endued with four kinds of taste. Having adored the trident-bearing god with Vedic recitations, with brahmacarya, with austerities, and with self-restraint, they have obtained the companionship of Bhava. The divine Maheshvara, that lord of the past, the present, and the future as also Parvati, eat with those diverse tribes of mighty beings that partake of their own nature.

Causing the universe to resound with the peal of diverse kinds of instruments, with noise of laughter, with loud sounds and shrieks and leonine roar, they approached Ashvatthama. Uttering the praises of Mahadeva and spreading an effulgent light all around, desirous of enhancing the honour of Ashvatthama and the glory of the high-souled Hara, and wishing to ascertain the extent of Ashvatthama's energy, and desirous also of beholding the slaughter during the hour of sleep, armed with terrible and fierce bludgeons and fiery wheels and battle-axes, that crowd of strange beings, endued with terrible forms, came from every side. They were capable of inspiring the three worlds with dread at their sight. The mighty Ashvatthama, however, beholding them, felt no fear. Drona's son, armed with bow, and with fingers cased in fences made of iguana skins, himself offered up his own self as a victim unto Mahadeva. Bows were the fuel, and sharp shafts were the ladles, and his own soul possessed of great might was the libation, O Bharata, in that act of sacrifice. The valiant and wrathful son of Drona then, with propitiating mantras, offered up his own soul as the victim. Having with fierce rites adored Rudra of fierce deeds, Ashvatthama with joined hands, said these words unto that high-souled god.

Ashvatthama said, "Sprung from Angirasa's line, I am about to pour my soul, O god, as a libation on this fire! Accept, O lord, this victim! In this hour of distress, O Soul of the universe, I offer up my own self as the sacrificial victim, from devotion to thee and with heart concentrated in meditation! All creatures are in thee and thou art in all creatures! Assemblage of all high attributes occur in thee! O lord, O thou art the refuge of all creatures. I wait as a libation for thee, since I am unable to vanquish my foes. Accept me, O god." Having said these words, Drona's son, ascending that sacrificial altar on which a fire blazed brightly, offered himself up as the victim and entered that blazing fire.

Beholding him stand immovable and with uplifted hands and as an offering up to himself, the divine Mahadeva appeared in person and smilingly said, "With truth, purity, sincerity, resignation, ascetic austerities, vows, forgiveness, devotion, patience, thought, and word, I have been duly adored by Krishna of pure deeds. For this there is none dearer to me than Krishna. For honouring him and at his word I have protected the Pancalas and displayed diverse kinds of illusion. By protecting the Pancalas I have honoured him. They have, however, been afflicted by time. The period of their lives hath run out."

Having said these words unto the high-souled Ashvatthama, the divine Mahadeva entered Ashvatthama's body after giving him an excellent and polished sword. Filled by that divine being, Drona's son blazed up with energy. In consequence of that energy derived from godhead, he became all-powerful in battle. Many invisible beings and rakshasas proceeded along his right and his left as he set out, like the lord Mahadeva himself, for entering the camp of his foes."

SECTION 8

Dhritarashtra said, "While Drona's son, that mighty car-warrior, thus proceeded towards the hostile camp, did Kripa and Bhoja stop from fear? I hope those two car-warriors checked by vulgar guards, did not fly away secretly, thinking their opponents irresistible? Or, have they, after grinding the camp, the Somakas, and the Pandavas, followed, while still engaged in battle, the highly glorious path in which Duryodhana has gone? Are those heroes, slain by the Pancalas, sleeping on the bare Earth? Did they achieve any feat? Tell me all this, O Sanjaya!"

Sanjaya said, "When the high-souled son of Drona proceeded towards the camp, Kripa and Kritavarma waited at the gate. Beholding them ready to exert themselves, Ashvatthama became filled with joy, and addressing them whisperingly, O king, said, "If you two exert, you are competent to exterminate all the kshatriyas! What need I say, therefore, of this remnant of the (Pandava) army, particularly when it is buried in sleep? I shall enter the camp and career like Yama. I am sure that you two will act in such way that no man may escape you with life."

Having said these words, the son of Drona entered the vast camp of the Parthas; casting off all fear, he penetrated into it by a spot where there was no door. The mighty-armed hero, having entered the camp, proceeded, guided by signs, very softly, towards the quarters of Dhrishtadyumna. The Pancalas, having achieved great feats, had been much tired in battle. They were sleeping in confidence, assembled together, and by the side of one another. Entering into Dhrishtadyumna's chamber, O Bharata, Drona's son beheld the prince of the Pancalas sleeping before him on his bed. He lay on a beautiful sheet of silk upon a costly and excellent bed.

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Excellent wreaths of flowers were strewn upon that bed and it was perfumed with powdered dhupa. Ashvatthama, O king, awoke with a kick the high-souled prince sleeping trustfully and fearlessly on his bed. Feeling that kick, the prince, irresistible in battle and of immeasurable soul, awaked from sleep and recognised Drona's son standing before him. As he was rising from his bed, the mighty Ashvatthama seized him by the hair of his head and began to press him down on the earth with his hands. Thus pressed by Ashvatthama with great strength, the prince, from fear as also from sleepiness, was not able to put forth his strength at that time. Striking him with his foot, O king, on both his throat and breast while his victim writhed and roared, Drona's son endeavoured to kill him as if he were an animal. The Pancala prince tore Ashvatthama with his nails and at last softly said, "O preceptor's son, slay me with a weapon, do not tarry! O best of men, let me, through thy act, repair to the regions of the righteous!"

Having said this much, that slayer of foes, the son of the Pancala king, assailed with strength by that mighty hero, became silent. Hearing those indistinct sounds of his, Drona's son said, "O wretch of thy race, there is no region for those that slay their preceptors. For this, O thou of wicked understanding, thou deservest not to be slain with any weapon!" While saying so, Ashvatthama, filled with rage, began to strike the vital parts of his victim with violent kicks of his heels, and slew his foe like a lion slaying an infuriated elephant. At the cries of that hero while he was being slain, his wives and guards that were in his tent all awake, O king! Beholding somebody crushing the prince with superhuman force, they regarded the assailant to be some preternatural being and, therefore, uttered no cries from fear. Having despatched him to Yama's abode by such means, Ashvatthama of great energy went out and getting upon his beautiful car stayed on it. Indeed, coming out of Dhrishtadyumna's abode, O king, Ashvatthama caused all the points of the compass to resound with his roars, and then proceeded on his car to other parts of the camp for slaying his foes.

After Drona's son, that mighty car-warrior, had gone away, the women and all the guards set up a loud wail of woe. Seeing their king slain, all the wives of Dhrishtadyumna, filled with great sorrow, cried. At that wail of theirs many mighty kshatriyas, awaking, put on their armour and came there for enquiring after the cause of those cries. Those ladies, terrified at the sight of Ashvatthama, in piteous tones asked the men to pursue him without delay. They said, "Whether he is a rakshasa or a human being, we know not what he is! Having slain the Pancala king, he stayeth there!" At these words, those foremost of warriors suddenly surrounded Drona's son. The latter slew them all by means of the rudrastra. Having slain Dhrishtadyumna and all those followers of his, he beheld Uttamauja sleeping on his bed. Attacking him with his foot on the throat and chest, Drona's son slew that great hero also while the latter writhed in agony. Yudhamanyu, coming up and believing his comrade to have been slain by a rakshasa, speedily struck Drona's son in the chest with a mace. Rushing towards him, Ashvatthama seized him and brought him down to the ground and slew him like an animal while the latter uttered loud shrieks.

Having slain Yudhamanyu thus, that hero proceeded against the other car-warriors of the king, who were all asleep. He slew all those trembling and shrieking warriors like animals in a sacrifice. Taking up his sword then, he slew many others. Proceeding along the diverse paths of the camp, one after another, Ashvatthama, accomplished in the use of the sword, beheld diverse gulmas and slew in a trice the unarmed and tired warriors sleeping within them. With that excellent sword he cut off combatants and steeds and elephants. Covered all over with blood, he seemed then to be Death himself commissioned by time. Causing his foes to tremble by the repeated blows of his sword that were of three kinds, Ashvatthama became bathed in blood. Covered as he was with blood, and wielding as he did a blazing sword, his form, as he careered in battle, became exceedingly terrible and superhuman. Those who awaked from sleep, O Kaurava, became stupefied with the loud noise (they heard around). Beholding Drona's son, they looked at each other's faces and trembled (with fear). Those kshatriyas, beholding the form of that crusher of foes, believed him to be a rakshasa and closed their eyes.

Of terrible form, he careered in the camp like Yama himself, and at last saw the sons of Draupadi and the remnant of the Somakas. Alarmed by the noise, and learning that Dhrishtadyumna had been slain, those mighty car-warriors, the sons of Draupadi, armed with bows, fearlessly poured their shafts on Drona's son. Awakened by their noise, the Prabhadrakas with Shikhandi at their head, began to grind the son of Drona with their arrows. Drona's son, beholding them shower their arrows on him, uttered a loud roar and became desirous of slaying those mighty car-warriors. Recollecting the death of his sire, Ashvatthama became filled with rage. Alighting from the terrace of his car, he rushed furiously (against his enemies). Taking up his bright shield with a 1,000 moons and his massive and celestial sword decked with gold, the mighty Ashvatthama rushed against the sons of Draupadi and began to lay about him with his weapon. Then that tiger among men, in that dreadful battle, struck Prativindhya in the abdomen, at which the latter, O king, deprived of life, fell down on the Earth. The valiant Sutasoma, having pierced the son of Drona with a lance, rushed at him with his uplifted sword. Ashvatthama, however cut off Sutasoma's arm with the sword in grasp, and once more struck him in the flank. At this, Sutasoma fell down, bereft of life. The valiant Shatanika, the son of Nakula, taking up a car-wheel with his two hands, violently struck Ashvatthama at the chest. The regenerate Ashvatthama violently assailed Shatanika after he had hurled that car-wheel. Exceedingly agitated, Nakula's son fell down upon the Earth, upon which Drona's son cut off his head. Then Shrutakarma, taking up a spiked bludgeon, attacked Ashvatthama. Furiously rushing at Drona's son, he assailed him violently on the left part of his forehead. Ashvatthama struck Shrutakarma with his excellent sword on the face. Deprived of senses and his face disfigured, he fell down lifeless on the Earth. At this noise, the heroic Shrutakirti, that great car-warrior, coming up, poured showers of arrows on Ashvatthama. Baffling those arrowy showers with his shield, Ashvatthama cut off from the enemy's trunk the latter's beautiful head adorned with ear-rings. Then the slayer of Bhishma, the mighty Shikhandi, with all the Prabhadrakas, assailed the hero from every side with diverse kinds of weapons. Shikhandi struck Ashvatthama with an arrow in the midst of his two eyebrows. Filled with rage at this, Drona's son, possessed of great might, approached Shikhandi and cut him into twain with his sword. Having slain Shikhandi, Ashvatthama, filled with rage, rushed furiously against the other Prabhadrakas. He proceeded also against the remnant of Virata's force.

Endued with great strength, Drona's son made a heavy carnage amongst the sons, the grandsons, and the followers of Drupada, singling them out one after another. Accomplished in the use of the sword, Ashvatthama then, rushing against other combatants, cut them down with his excellent sword. The warriors in the Pandava camp beheld that Death-Night in her embodied form, a black image, of bloody mouth and bloody eyes, wearing crimson garlands and smeared with crimson unguents, attired in a single piece of red cloth, with a noose in hand, and resembling an elderly lady, employed in chanting a dismal note and standing full before their eyes, and about to lead away men and steeds and elephants all tied in a stout cord. She seemed to take away diverse kinds of spirits, with dishevelled hair and tied together in a cord, as also, O king, many mighty car-warriors divested of their weapons. On other days, O sire, the foremost warriors of the Pandava camp used to see in their dreams that figure leading away the sleeping combatants and Drona's son smiting them behind! The Pandava soldiers saw that lady and Drona's son in their dreams every night from the day when the battle between the Kurus and the Pandavas first commenced. Afflicted before by Destiny, they were now smitten by Drona's son who terrified them all with the frightful roars uttered by him. Afflicted by Destiny, the brave warriors of the Pandava camp, recollecting the sight they had seen in their dreams, identified it with what they now witnessed.

At the noise made, hundreds and thousands of Pandava bowmen in the camp awoke from their slumbers. Ashvatthama cut off the legs of some, and the hips of others, and pierced some in their flanks, careering like the Destroyer himself let loose by Time. The Earth, O lord, was soon covered with human beings that were crushed into shapelessness or trodden down by elephants and steeds and with others that roared in great affliction. Many of them loudly exclaimed, "What is this?" "Who is this one?" "What is this noise?" "Who is doing what?" While uttering such shrieks, Drona's son became their Destroyer. That foremost of smiters, the son of Drona, despatched to regions of Yama all those Pandus and Srinjayas who were without armour and weapons. Terrified at that noise, many awoke from sleep. Possessed with fear, blinded by sleep, and deprived of their senses, those warriors seemed to vanish (before the fury of Ashvatthama). The thighs of many were paralysed and many were so stupefied that they lost all their energy. Shrieking and possessed with fear, they began to slay one another. Drona's son once more got upon his car of terrible clatter and taking up his bow despatched many with his shafts to Yama's abode. Others awoke from sleep, brave warriors and foremost of men, as they came towards Ashvatthama, were slain before they could approach him and were thus offered up as victims unto that Death-Night. Crushing many with that foremost of cars, he careered through the camp, and covered his foes with repeated showers of arrows. Once again with that beautiful shield of his, adorned with hundred moons, and with that sword of his which was of the hue of the welkin, he careered amidst his enemies. Like an elephant agitating a large lake, Drona's son, irresistible, in battle, agitated the camp of the Pandavas.

Awaked by the noise, O king, many warriors, afflicted still with sleep and fear, and with senses still under a cloud, ran hither and thither. Many shrieked in harsh tones and many uttered incoherent exclamations. Many succeeded not in obtaining their weapons and armour. The locks of many were dishevelled, and many failed to recognise one another. Having risen from sleep, many fell down, fatigued; some wandered here and there without any purpose. Elephants and steeds, breaking their cords, passed excreta and urine. Many, causing great confusion, huddled together. Amongst these, some through fear laid themselves down on the earth. The animals of the camp crushed them there.

While the camp was in this state, rakshasas, O king, uttered loud roars in joy, O chief of the Bharatas! The loud noise, O king, uttered by ghostly beings in joy, filled all the points of the compass and the welkin. Hearing the wails of woe, elephants, steeds, breaking their cords, rushed hither and thither, crushing the combatants in the camp. As those animals rushed hither and thither, the dust raised by them made the night doubly dark. When that thick gloom set in, the warriors in the camp became perfectly stupefied; sires recognised not their sons, brothers recognised not their brothers. Elephants assailing riderless elephants, and steeds assailing riderless steeds, assailed and broke and crushed the people that stood in their way. Losing all order, combatants rushed and slew one another, and felling those that stood in their way, crushed them into pieces. Deprived of their senses and overcome with sleep, and enveloped in gloom, men, impelled by fate, slew their own comrades. The guards, leaving the gates they watched, and those at duty at the outposts leaving the posts they guarded, fled away for their lives, deprived of their senses and not knowing whither they proceeded. They slew one another, the slayers, O lord, not recognising the slain. Afflicted by Fate, they cried after their sires and sons. While they fled, abandoning their friends and relatives, they called upon one another, mentioning their families and names. Other, uttering cries of "Oh!" and "Alas!" fell down on the earth. In the midst of the battle, Drona's son, recognising them, slew them all.

Other kshatriyas, while being slaughtered, lost their senses, and afflicted by fear, sought to fly away from their camps. Those men that sought to fly away from their camp for saving their lives, were slain by Kritavarma and Kripa at the gate. Divested of weapons and instruments and armour, and with dishevelled hair, they joined their hands. Trembling with fear, they were on the ground. The two Kuru warriors, however, (who were on their cars) gave quarter to none. None amongst those that escaped from the camp was let off by those two wicked persons, Kripa and Kritavarma. Then again, for doing that which was highly agreeable to Drona's son, those two set fire to the Pandava camp in three places.

When the camp was lighted, Ashvatthama, that delighter of his sires, O monarch, careered, sword in hand and smiting his foes with great skill. Some of his brave foes rushed towards him and some ran hither and thither. That foremost of regenerate ones, with his sword, deprived all of them of their lives. The valiant son of Drona, filled with rage, felled some of the warriors, cutting them in twain with his sword as if they were sesame stalks. The Earth, O bull of Bharata's race, became strewn with the fallen bodies of the foremost of men and steeds and elephants mingled together and uttering woeful wails and cries. When thousands of men had fallen down deprived of life, innumerable headless trunks stood up and fell down. Ashvatthama, O Bharata, cut off arms adorned with angadas and holding weapons in grasp, and heads, and thighs resembling trunks of elephants, and hands, and feet. The illustrious son of Drona mangled the backs of some, cut off the heads of some, and caused some to turn away from the fight. And he cut off some at the middle, and lopped off the ears of others, and struck others on the shoulders, and pressed down the heads of some into their trunks.

As Ashvatthama careered in this way, slaughtering thousands of men, the deep night became more terrible in consequence of the darkness that set in. The earth became terrible to behold, strewn with thousands of human beings dead and dying and innumerable steeds and elephants. Cut off by the enraged son of Drona, his foes fell down on the earth that was then crowded with yakshas and rakshasas, and frightful with (broken) cars and slain steeds and elephants. Some called upon their brothers, some upon their sires, and some upon their sons. And some said, "The Dhartarashtras in rage could never accomplish such feats in battle as these which rakshasas of wicked deeds are achieving (upon us) during the hour of sleep! It is only in consequence of the absence of the Parthas that this great slaughter is going on. That son of Kunti, who hath Janardana for his protector, is incapable of being vanquished by gods, asuras, gandharvas, yakshas and rakshasas! Devoted to Brahma, truthful in speech, self-restrained, and compassionate towards all creatures, that son of Pritha, called Dhananjaya, never slaughters one that is asleep, or one that is heedless, or one that has laid aside his weapons or one that has joined his hands in supplication, or one that is retreating, or one whose locks have been dishevelled. Alas, they are rakshasas of wicked deeds who are perpetrating such terrible act upon us." Uttering such words, many laid themselves down.

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The loud din caused by the cries and groans of human beings died away within a short space of time. The earth being drenched with blood, O king, that thick and frightful dust soon disappeared. Thousands of men moving in agony, overwhelmed with anxiety and overcome with despair, were slain by Ashvatthama like Rudra slaying living creatures. Many who laid themselves down on the ground clasping one another, and many who sought to fly away, and many who sought to hide themselves, and many who struggled in battle, were all slain by the son of Drona. Burnt by the raging flames and slaughtered by Ashvatthama, the men, losing their senses, slew one another. Before half the night was over, the son of Drona, O monarch, despatched the large host of the Pandavas unto Yama's abode.

That night, so terrible and destructive unto human beings and elephants and steeds filled with joy all creatures that wander in the dark. Many rakshasas and pishacas of various tribes were seen there, gorging upon human flesh and quaffing the blood that lay on the ground. They were fierce, tawny in hue, terrible, of adamantine teeth, and dyed with blood. With matted locks on their heads, their thighs were long and massive; endued with five feet, their stomachs were large. Their fingers were set backwards. Of harsh temper and ugly features, their voice was loud and terrible. They had rows of tinkling bells tied to their bodies. Possessed of blue throats, they looked very frightful. Exceedingly cruel and incapable of being looked at without fear, and without abhorrence for anything, they came there with their children and wives. Indeed, diverse were the forms seen there of the rakshasas that came. Quaffing the blood that ran in streams, they became filled with joy and began to dance in separate bands. "This is excellent!" "This is pure!" "This is very sweet!" these were the words they uttered.

Other carnivorous creatures, subsisting upon animal food, having gorged upon fat and marrow and bones and blood, began to eat the delicate parts of corpses. Others, drinking the fat that flowed in streams, ran naked over the field. Possessed of diverse kinds of faces, other carnivorous beings of great ferocity, and living upon dead flesh, came there in tens of thousands and millions. Grim and gigantic rakshasas also, of wicked deeds, came there in bands as numerous. Other ghostly beings, filled with joy and gorged to satiety, O king, also came there and were seen in the midst of that dreadful carnage.

When morning dawned, Ashvatthama desired to leave the camp. He was then bathed in human blood and the hilt of his sword so firmly adhered in his grasp that his hand and sword, O king, became one! Having walked in that path that is never trod (by good warriors), Ashvatthama, after that slaughter, looked like the blazing fire at the end of the yuga after it has consumed all creatures into ashes. Having perpetrated that feat agreeably to his vow, and having trod in that untrodden way, Drona's son, O lord, forgot his grief for the slaughter of his sire. The Pandava camp, in consequence of the sleep in which all within it were buried, was perfectly still when Drona's son had entered it in the night.

After the nocturnal slaughter, when all became once more quiet, Ashvatthama issued from it. Having issued from the camp, the valiant Ashvatthama met his two companions and, filled with joy, told them of his feat, gladdening them, O king, by the intelligence. Those two, in return, devoted as they were to his good, gave him the agreeable intelligence of how they also had slaughtered thousands of Pancalas and Srinjayas (at the gates). Even thus did that night prove terribly destructive to the Somakas who had been heedless and buried in sleep. The course of time, without doubt, is irresistible. Those who had exterminated us were themselves exterminated now."

Dhritarashtra said, "Why is it that that mighty car-warrior, the son of Drona, did not achieve such a feat before although he had resolutely exerted himself for bestowing victory upon Duryodhana? For what reason did that great bowman do this after the slaughter of the wretched Duryodhana? It behoveth thee to tell me this!"

Sanjaya said, "Through fear of the Parthas, O son of Kuru's race, Ashvatthama could not achieve such a feat then. It was owing to the absence of the Parthas and the intelligent Keshava as also of Satyaki, that Drona's son could accomplish it. Who is there, the lord Indra unexcepted, that is competent to slay them in the presence of these heroes? Besides, O king, Ashvatthama succeeded in accomplishing the feat only because the men were all asleep. Having caused that vast slaughter of the Pandava forces, those three great car-warriors (Ashvatthama, Kripa and Kritavarma), meeting together, exclaimed, "Good luck!" His two companions congratulated Ashvatthama, and the latter was also embraced by them. In great joy the latter uttered these words: "All the Pancalas have been slain, as also all the sons of Draupadi! All the Somakas also, as well as all that remained of the Matsyas, have been slaughtered by me! Crowned with success, let us without delay go there where the king is! If the king be still alive, we will give him this joyful intelligence!"

SECTION 9

Sanjaya said, "Having slain all the Pancalas and the sons of Draupadi, the three Kuru heroes together came to that spot where Duryodhana lay, struck down by the foe. Arrived there, they beheld that life had not been wholly extinct in the king. Jumping down from their cars, they surrounded thy son. The Kuru king, O monarch, was lying there with broken thighs. Almost senseless, his life was about to ebb away. He was vomiting blood at intervals, with downcast eyes. He was then surrounded by a large number of carnivorous animals of terrible forms, and by wolves and hyenas, that awaited at no great distance for feeding upon his body. With great difficulty the king was keeping off those beasts of prey that stood in expectation of feasting upon him. He was writhing on the earth in great agony. Beholding him thus lying on the earth, bathed in his own blood, the three heroes who were the sole survivors of his army, Ashvatthama and Kripa and Kritavarma, became afflicted with grief and sat surrounding him. Encompassed by those three mighty car-warriors who were covered with blood and who breathed hot sighs, the Kuru king looked like a sacrificial altar surrounded by three fires. Beholding the king lying in that highly undeserving plight, the three heroes wept in unendurable sorrow. Wiping the blood from off his face with their hands, they uttered these piteous lamentations in the hearing of the king lying on the field of battle.

Kripa said, "There is nothing too difficult for destiny to bring about, since even this king Duryodhana who was the lord of eleven akshauhinis of troops sleepeth on the bare ground, struck down by the foes and covered with blood! Behold, fond he was of the mace, and that mace decked with pure gold still lieth by the side of the king whose splendour still resembles that of pure gold! In no battle did that mace abandon this hero! Even now, when he is about to ascend to heaven, that weapon leaveth not this illustrious warrior. Behold, that weapon, adorned with pure gold, still lieth by the side of this hero like a loving wife by the side of her lord stretched on his bed in his chamber of sleep. Behold the reverses brought about by Time! This scorcher of foes that used to walk at the head of all crowned kings, now eateth the dust struck down (by the foe)! He who had formerly struck down many foes and caused them to lie on the bare ground, alas, that king of the Kurus lieth today on the bare ground, struck down by foes. He to whom hundreds of kings used to bow down in fear, lieth today on the field of battle, surrounded by beasts of prey. The brahmanas formerly used to wait upon this lord for wealth. Alas, beasts of prey wait upon him today for feeding upon his body!"

Sanjaya continued, "Beholding that chief of Kuru's race lying on the ground, Ashvatthama, O best of the Bharatas, uttered these piteous lamentations: "O tiger among kings, all people indicated thee as the foremost of all bowmen! People also said that (in encounters with the mace) thou, a disciple of Sankarshana, wert like the Lord of treasures (Kuvera), himself! How then, O sinless one, could Bhima notice any lapses in thee! Thou wert ever mighty and possessed of skill! He, on the other hand, O king, is a wicked-souled wight! Without doubt, O monarch, Time in this world is mightier than everything else, for we behold even thee struck down by Bhimasena in battle! Alas, how could the wretched and mean Vrikodara unrighteously strike thee down, thee that wert conversant with every rule of righteousness! Without doubt, Time is irresistible. Alas, having summoned thee to a fair fight, Bhimasena, putting forth his might, fractured thy thighs. Fie on that wretched Yudhishthira who tolerated the head of one unrighteously struck down in battle to be touched with the foot! In all battles warriors will certainly reprove Vrikodara as long as the world will last. Without doubt, thou hast been struck down unrighteously!

The valiant Rama of Yadu's race, O king, always used to say that there is no one equal to Duryodhana in encounters with the mace. He of the Vrishni race, O Bharata, used to boast of thee, O lord, in every assembly, saying, 'Duryodhana of Kurus race is a worthy disciple of mine!' Thou hast obtained that end which great rishis have declared to be the high reward of a kshatriya slain in battle with his face towards the foe. I do not, O bull among men, grieve for thee, O Duryodhana! I grieve only for thy mother Gandhari and thy sire, childless as they now are. Afflicted with sorrow, they will have to wander over the earth, begging their food. Fie on Krishna, Vrishni's race, and on Arjuna of wicked understanding! They regard themselves conversant with the duties of morality, yet both of them stood indifferent whilst thou wert being slain! How will the other Pandavas, shameless though they are, O king, speak of the manner in which they have accomplished thy death? Thou art highly fortunate, O son of Gandhari, since thou hast been slain on the field of battle, O bull among men, while advancing fairly against the foe. Alas, what will be the plight of Gandhari who is now childless, and who hath lost all her kinsmen and relatives! What also will be the plight of the blind king!

Fie on Kritavarma, on myself, as also on mighty car-warrior Kripa, since we have not yet gone to heaven with thy royal self before us! Fie on us, lowest of mortals, since we do not follow thee that wert the granter of all wishes, the protector of all men, and the benefactor of all thy subjects! Through thy power, the abodes of Kripa, of myself, and of my sire, along with those of our dependants, O tiger among men, are full of wealth. Through thy grace, ourselves with our friends and relatives have performed many foremost of sacrifices with a profusion of presents to brahmanas. Where shall such sinful persons as ourselves now go, since thou hast gone to heaven, taking with thee all the kings of the earth? Since we three, O king, do not follow thee that art about to obtain the highest end (of life), it is for this that we are indulging in such lamentations. Deprived of thy companionship, reft of wealth, our memories painfully dwelling upon thy prosperity, alas, what will be our lot since we do not go with thee? Without doubt, O chief of Kuru's race, we shall have to wander in grief on the earth. Deprived of thee, O king, where can we have peace and where can we have happiness?

Going from this world, O monarch, and meeting with those mighty car-warriors (that have preceded thee), show thy regards to them, at my request, one after another, according to the order of their rank and years. Having offered worship to thy preceptor, that foremost of all wielders of bows, tell him, O king, that Dhrishtadyumna hath been slain by me. Embrace king Bahlika, that mighty car-warrior, as also the ruler of the Sindhus, and Somadatta, Bhurishrava, and the other foremost of kings that have preceded thee to heaven. At my request, embrace all of them and enquire after their welfare."

Sanjaya continued, "Having said these words unto the king deprived of his senses and lying with broken thighs, Ashvatthama once more cast his eyes on him and uttered these words, "If, O Duryodhana, thou hast any life in thee still, listen to these words that are so pleasant to hear. On the side of the Pandavas, only seven are alive, and among the Dhartarashtras, only we three! The seven on their side are the five brothers and Vasudeva and Satyaki; on our side, we three are myself and Kripa and Kritavarma! All the sons of Draupadi have been slain, as also all the children of Dhrishtadyumna! All the Pancalas too have been slain, as also the remnant of the Matsyas, O Bharata! Behold the vengeance taken for what they had done! The Pandavas are now childless! While buried in sleep, the men and animals in their camp have all been slain! Penetrating into their camp in the night, O king, I have slain Dhrishtadyumna, that wight of sinful deeds, as one kills an animal."

Duryodhana then, having heard those words that were so agreeable to his heart, regained his senses and said these words in reply, "That which neither Ganga's son, nor Karna, nor thy sire, could achieve, hath at last been achieved by thee today, accompanied by Kripa and Bhoja. Thou hast slain that low wretch (Dhrishtadyumna) who was commander of the Pandava forces, as also Shikhandi. In consequence of this I regard myself equal to Maghavat himself! Good be to you all! Let prosperity be yours! All of us will again meet together in heaven!"

Having said these words the high-souled king of the Kurus became silent. Casting off his griefs for all his (slain) kinsmen, he then gave up his life-breath. His soul ascended to sacred heaven, while his body only remained on earth. Even thus, O king, thy son Duryodhana breathed his last. Having provoked the battle first, he was slain by his foes at last. The three heroes repeatedly embraced the king and gazed steadfastly on him. They then ascended their cars. Having heard these piteous lamentations of Drona's son, I came away at early dawn towards the city. Even thus the armies of the Kurus and Pandavas have been destroyed. Great and terrible have been that carnage, O king, caused by thy evil policy. After thy son had ascended to heaven, I became afflicted with grief and the spiritual sight which the rishi gave hath been lost by me!"

Vaishampayana continued, "The king, hearing of his son's death, breathed long and hot sighs, and became plunged in great anxiety."

SECTION 10

Vaishampayana said, "After that night had gone away, the driver of Dhrishtadyumna's car gave intelligence to king Yudhishthira of the great slaughter that had been caused during the hour of sleep.

The driver said, "The sons of Draupadi, O king, have been slain, with all the children of Drupada himself, while they were heedless and trustfully asleep in their own camp! During the night, O king, thy camp has been exterminated by the cruel Kritavarma, and Kripa, the son of Gautama, and the sinful Ashvatthama! Slaying thousands of men and elephants and steeds with lances and darts and battle-axes, those men have exterminated thy army. While thy army was being slaughtered like a forest cut down with axes, a loud wail was heard rising from thy camp. I am the sole survivor, O monarch, of that vast force. I have, O thou of virtuous soul, escaped with difficulty from Kritavarma at a time when he was heedless!"

Hearing these evil tidings, Kunti's son Yudhishthira, however, capable of bearing up (against foes), fell down on the earth, afflicted with grief at the loss of his sons. Advancing forward, Satyaki held the king in his embrace. Bhimasena and Arjuna and the two sons of Madri also

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stretched forth their arms. Having recovered his senses, the son of Kunti lamented in great affliction, uttering these words rendered indistinct by sorrow: "Alas, having vanquished the foe, we have ourselves been vanquished in the end! The course of events is difficult to be ascertained even by persons endued with spiritual sight. The foes, who were vanquished have become victorious! Ourselves, again, while victorious, are vanquished! Having slain brothers and friends and sires and sons and well-wishers, and kinsmen, and counsellors, and having vanquished them all, we ourselves are vanquished at last! Misery looks like prosperity and prosperity looks like misery! This our victory has assumed the shape of defeat. Our victory, therefore, has ended in defeat! Having won the victory, I am obliged to grieve as an afflicted wretch. How, then, can I regard it as a victory? In reality, I have been doubly defeated by the foe. They for whose sake we have incurred the sin of victory by slaying our kinsmen and friends, alas, they, after victory had crowned them, have been vanquished by defeated foes that were heedful!

Alas, through heedlessness have they been slain that had escaped from even Karna, that warrior who had barbed arrows and nalikas for his teeth, the sword for his tongue, the bow for his gaping mouth, and the twang of the bowstring and the sound of palms for his roars--that angry Karna who never retreated from battle, and who was a very lion among men! Alas, those princes that succeeded in crossing, by boats constituted by their own excellent weapons, the great Drona-ocean having cars for its deep lakes, showers of arrows for its waves, the ornaments of warriors for its gems, car-steeds for its animals, darts and swords for its fishes, elephants for its alligators, bows for its whirlpools, mighty weapons for its foam, and the signal of battle for its moonrise causing it to swell with energy, and the twang of the bowstring and the sound of palms for its roar,--alas, even those princes have from heedlessness been slain!

There is, in this world, no more powerful cause of death, as regards men, than heedlessness! Prosperity abandons a heedless man from every side, and every kind of misery overtakes him. The tall standard with excellent top that stood on his car was the wreath of smoke that infallibly indicated the Bhishma-fire. Shafts constituted its flames, and wrath was the wind that fanned it! The twang of his formidable bow and the sound of his palms constituted the roar of that fire. Armour and diverse kinds of weapons were the homa libations that were poured into it. The vast hostile army was the heap of dry forest-grass that was assailed by that fire. Alas, even they that had endured that fierce fire whose terrible energy was represented by the mighty weapons in Bhishma's hand have at last fallen through heedlessness.

A heedless person can never acquire knowledge, asceticism, prosperity, or great renown. Behold, Indra has obtained great happiness after slaying all his foes heedfully. Behold the survivors among our foes have, through our heedlessness, slain so many sons and grandsons of kings, each of whom was really like Indra himself. Alas, they have perished like merchants with rich freight perishing through carelessness in a shallow stream after having crossed the great ocean. They whose bodies are now lying on the bare ground, slain by those vindictive wretches, have without doubt ascended to heaven.

I grieve, however, for the princess Krishna. Alas, she will be plunged today in an ocean of grief. Hearing of the slaughter of her brothers and sons and her venerable sire, the king of the Pancalas, without doubt she will fall down senseless on the earth. Her body emaciated by grief, she will not rise again. Unable to bear the grief resulting from such affliction, and worthy as she is of happiness, alas, what will be her plight? Cut to the quick by the slaughter of her sons and brothers, she will be like one scorched by fire.'

Having in deep affliction indulged in these lamentations, that king of Kuru's race then addressed Nakula, saying, 'Go and bring the unfortunate princess Draupadi here along with all her maternal relations.' Obediently accepting that command of the king who equalled Yama himself in righteousness, Nakula speedily proceeded on his car to the quarters of Draupadi where that princess resided with all the wives of the Pancala king. Having despatched the son of Madri, Yudhishthira, crushed by grief, proceeded with tears in his eyes accompanied by those friends of his, to the field on which his sons had battled and which still teemed with diverse kinds of creatures. Having entered that cursed field abounding with fierce sights, the king saw his sons, well-wishers, and friends, all lying on the ground, covered with blood, their bodies mangled, and heads separated from their trunks. Beholding them in that plight, Yudhishthira, that foremost of righteous men, became deeply afflicted. That chief of the Kurus then began to weep aloud and fell down on the earth, deprived of his senses, along with all his followers."

SECTION 11

Vaishampayana said, "Beholding his sons, grandsons, and friends all slain in battle, the king's soul became overwhelmed with great grief, O Janamejaya! Recollecting those sons and grandsons and brothers and allies, a deep sorrow took possession of the illustrious monarch. Senseless and trembling, his eyes were bathed in tears. His friends then, themselves filled with anxiety, began to comfort him.

At that time, Nakula, skilled in executing errands, arrived there on his car of solar effulgence, accompanied by the princess Krishna in great affliction. She had been residing at Upaplavya. Having received that heartrending intelligence about the slaughter of all her sons, she became exceedingly agitated. Trembling like a plantain tree shaken by the wind, the princess Krishna, arrived at the presence of Yudhishthira, fell down, afflicted by grief. Her face, adorned with eyes resembling a couple of full-blown lotuses, seemed to be darkened by grief like the Sun himself when enveloped in darkness.

Beholding her prostrate on the earth, the wrathful Vrikodara, of prowess incapable of being baffled, advancing hastily, raised her up and clasped her with his arms. The beautiful lady, comforted by Bhimasena, began to weep, and addressing the eldest son of Pandu with his brothers, said, "By good luck, O monarch, having obtained the whole earth, thou shalt enjoy her after the slaughter of thy brave sons in the observance of kshatriya duties. By good luck, O son of Pritha, thou art happy at the thought of having obtained the whole earth. By good luck, thy thoughts do not dwell on Subhadra's son whose tread resembled that of an infuriated elephant. By good luck, thou dost not, like myself while residing at Upaplavya, recollect thy heroic sons slaughtered in the observance of kshatriya duties. O son of Pritha, hearing of the slaughter of those sleeping heroes by Drona's son of sinful deeds, grief burns me as if I were in the midst of a fire. If Drona's son be not made to reap the fruit of that sinful deed of his, if, putting forth your prowess in battle, thou dost not take the life of that wretch of sinful deeds, along with the lives of all his followers, then listen to me, ye Pandavas, I shall sit here in praya!"

Having said these words, the helpless Krishna, the daughter of Yajnasena, sat by the side of the eldest son of Pandu, king Yudhishthira the Just. The royal sage, Yudhishthira, of righteous soul, seeing his dear queen sit in praya, addressed her, saying, "O auspicious lady, O thou that art conversant with morality, all thy sons and brothers have righteously met with a noble death. It behoveth thee not to grieve for them. As regards Drona's son, he hath gone to a distant forest, O beautiful princess! How shall thou O lady, make thyself sure of his fall in battle?"

Draupadi answered, "I have heard that Drona's son hath a gem on his head, born with him. I shall see that gem brought to me after the slaughter of that wretch in battle, Placing that gem on thy head, O king, I shall endure to live. Even this is my resolve."

Having said these words unto the royal son of Pandu, the beautiful Krishna approached Bhimasena and said these words of high purpose unto him: "Remembering the duties of a kshatriya, O Bhima, it behoveth thee to come to my rescue. Slay that man of sinful deeds like Maghavat slaying Samvara. There is no one in this world who is equal to thee in prowess. It is known throughout the world how on an occasion of great calamity thou becamest at the town Varanavata the refuge of all the Parthas. When again we were seen by Hidimba, it was thou that becamest our refuge in the same way. Like Maghavat rescuing (his spouse) the daughter of Puloma, thou didst rescue my afflicted self, in Virata's city, from a great calamity. Like those great feats, O Partha, that thou didst achieve in former days, slay now, O slayer of foes, the son of Drona and be thou happy!"

Hearing these and other piteous lamentations of the princess, Kunti's son, Bhimasena, of great might, could not endure them. He mounted upon his great car adorned with gold and took his beautiful bow with arrow placed on the string. Making Nakula his charioteer, and resolved upon slaying the son of Drona, he began to stretch his bow and caused his steeds to be urged without delay. Those steeds, fleet as the wind, thus urged, O tiger among men, proceeded with great speed. Possessed of great valour and unfading energy, Bhima set out from the Pandava camp and proceeded with great celerity along the track of Ashvatthama's vehicle."

SECTION 12

Vaishampayana said, "After the irresistible Bhimasena had set out, that bull of Yadu's race, possessed of eyes like lotus-petals, addressed Kuru's son Yudhishthira, saying, 'O son of Pandu, this brother of thine, overwhelmed with grief at the slaughter of his sons, proceedeth alone to battle, from desire of slaying the son of Drona. O bull of Bharata's race, of all thy brothers, Bhima is thy dearest! Beholding him fallen into a great danger why dost thou not stir thyself? The weapon called brahmashira, which that subjugator of hostile towns, Drona, communicated to his son, is capable of consuming the whole world. The illustrious and highly blessed preceptor, that foremost of all wielders of bows, delighted with Dhananjaya, had given him that very weapon. Unable to endure it, his only son then begged it of him. Unwillingly he imparted the knowledge of that weapon to Ashvatthama. The illustrious Drona knew the restlessness of his son. Acquainted with all duties, the preceptor laid this command on him, saying, "Even when overtaken by the greatest danger, O child in the midst of battle, thou shouldst never use this weapon, particularly against human beings." Even thus the preceptor Drona spoke unto his son. A little while after he again spoke, saying, "O bull among men, thou wilt not, it seems, walk in the path of the righteous." Hearing those bitter words of his sire, the wicked-souled Ashvatthama, in despair of obtaining every kind of prosperity, began in grief to wander over the earth.

Then, O chief of the Kurus, while you were living in the woods, O Bharata, he came to Dvaraka and took up his abode there, worshipped by the Vrishnis. One day, after he had taken up his abode in Dvaraka, he came to me, without a companion and when I myself was without anybody by my side, on the seacoast, and there smilingly addressing me said, "O Krishna, that weapon, called brahmashira, worshipped by gods and gandharvas, which my sire, the preceptor of the Bharatas, of prowess incapable of being baffled, and obtained from Agastya after performing the austerest penances, is now with me, O Dasharha, as much as it is with my sire. O foremost one of Yadu's race, in exchange for that celestial weapon, give me thy discus which is capable of slaying all foes in battle."

While he with joined palms and great importunity thus begged of me my discus, myself, O bull of Bharata's race, from desire of gladdening him, told him these words: "Gods, danavas, gandharvas, men, birds and snakes, assembled together, are not equal to even a hundredth part of my energy. I have this bow, this dart, this discus, and this mace. I will give thee whichever amongst these thou desirest to have from me. Without giving me the weapon thou wishest to give, take from among these weapons of mine whichever thou mayest be able to wield and use in battle."

Thus addressed, the illustrious son of Drona, as if challenging me, solicited at my hands my discus of excellent nave and hard as thunder, possessed of a 1,000 spokes, and made of iron "Take it." I said unto him. Thus addressed, he rose suddenly and seized the discus with his left hand. He failed, however, to even move the weapon from the spot on which it lay. He then made preparations for seizing it with his right hand. Having seized it then very firmly and having put forth all his strength, he still failed to either wield or move it. At this, Drona's son became filled with sorrow. After he was tired with the exertions he made, he ceased, O Bharata!

When he withdrew his heart from that purpose, I addressed the anxious and senseless Ashvatthama and said, "He who is always regarded as the foremost of all human beings, that wielder of gandiva, that warrior having white steeds yoked unto his car, that hero owning the prince of apes for the device on his standard, that hero who, desirous of vanquishing in a wrestling encounter the god of gods, the blue-throated lord of Uma, gratified the great Shankara himself, that Phalguna than whom I have no dearer friend on earth, that friend to whom there is nothing that I cannot give including my very wives and children, that dear friend Partha of unstained acts, never said unto me, O brahmana, such words as these which thou hast uttered.

That son whom I obtained through ascetic penances and observances of austere brahmacarya for twelve years on the breast of Himavati whither I had gone for the purpose, that son of mine, Pradyumna, of great energy and a portion of Sanat-kumara himself, begotten by me upon my wife Rukmini who had practised vows as austere as mine, that hero even never solicited this best of objects, this unrivalled discus, which thou of little understanding had solicited!

Rama of great might never said such words to me! Neither Gada nor Samba has ever asked that of me which thou hast asked! No one among the other great car-warriors of the Vrishni and the Andhaka race residing in Dvaraka has ever asked this of me which thou hast asked! Thou art the son of the preceptor of the Bharatas, thou art held in high respect by all the Yadavas. Let me ask thee, O foremost of car-warriors, with whom wouldst thou fight using this weapon?"

Thus addressed by me, Drona's son replied, saying, "After offering worship to thee, O Krishna, it was my intention to fight thee, O thou of unfading glory! It was for this, O Krishna that I solicited thee for thy discus which is adored by gods and danavas. If I had got it I would then become invincible in the world. Having failed, O Keshava, in obtaining my almost unattainable wish, I am about to leave thee, O Govinda! Address me in fair words now. This terrible weapon is held by thee that art the foremost of all terrible persons. Unrivalled art thou for this weapon! There is none else in this world capable of possessing it."

Having said these words unto me, the son of Drona, taking many couples of steeds and much wealth and diverse kinds of gems, left Dvaraka. He is wrathful, wicked-souled, restless, and very cruel. He knows the weapon called brahmashira. Vrikodara should be protected from him!"

SECTION 13

Vaishampayana said, "Having said these words, that foremost of all wielders of weapons, that delighter of all the Yadavas, mounted upon his excellent car equipped with every

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kind of powerful weapons. Unto that vehicle were yoked two pairs of foremost steeds of the Kamboja breed, that were adorned with garlands of gold. The dhur of that best of cars was of the hue of the morning sun. On the right was yoked the steed known as Shaibya; on the left was placed Sugriva; the Parshni was borne by two others called Meghapushpa and Balahaka. There was seen on that car a celestial standard decked with gems and gold and created by the divine Artificer, and standing high like the Maya (of Vishnu himself). Upon that standard was Vinata's son (Garuda) shining with great splendour. Indeed, that enemy of snakes perched on the standard-top of Keshava who is Truth embodied.

Then Hrishikesha, that foremost of all bowmen, mounted on that car. After him Arjuna of irresistible feats and Yudhishthira, the king of the Kurus, ascended the same vehicle. Seated on that car, by the side of him of Dasharha's race who wielded the bow called sharnga, the two sons of Pandu looked exceedingly beautiful, like the twin Ashvinis seated by the side of Vasava. Causing them to ascend on that car of his which was adored by all the world, he of Dasharha's race urged those foremost of steeds endued with great fleetness. Those steeds then suddenly flew, taking after them that excellent vehicle ridden by the two sons of Pandu and by that bull of Yadu's race. Endued with great speed, as those animals bore away the wielder of sharnga, loud became the noise caused by their rush, like that of birds coursing through the air.

Proceeding with great speed, they soon came up, O bull of Bharata's race, with the mighty bowman Bhimasena in whose wake they had followed. Although those great car-warriors met Bhima, they failed however to stop that son of Kunti, as filled with wrath he proceeded fiercely towards the foe. In the very sight of those illustrious and firm bowmen, Bhima, by means of his very fleet steeds, proceeded towards the bank of the river brought down by Bhagiratha. He beheld the high-souled and illustrious and dark-complexioned and island-born Vyasa sitting near the edge of the water in the midst of many rishis. And he also saw Drona's son of wicked deeds sitting beside them, covered with dust, attired in a piece of cloth made of kusha grass, and smeared all over with clarified butter. The mighty-armed Bhimasena, the son of Kunti, taking up his bow with shaft fixed on it, rushed towards Ashvatthama, and said, 'Wait, wait!'

Drona's son, beholding that terrible bowman coming towards him bow in hand, and the two brothers on Janardana's car, became exceedingly agitated and thought his hour had come. Of soul incapable of being depressed, he called to his mind that high weapon (which he had obtained from his sire). He then took up a blade of grass with his left hand. Fallen into great distress, he inspired that blade of grass with proper mantras and converted it into that powerful celestial weapon. Unable to brook the arrows (of the Pandavas) and the presence of those wielders of celestial weapons, he uttered in wrath these terrible words: 'For the destruction of the Pandavas.' Having said these words, O tiger among kings, the valiant son of Drona let off that weapon for stupefying all the worlds. A fire then was born in that blade of grass, which seemed capable of consuming the three worlds like the all-destroying Yama at the end of the yuga."

SECTION 14

Vaishampayana said, "At the very outset the mighty-armed hero of Dasharha's race understood from signs the intention of Drona's son. Addressing Arjuna, he said, 'O Arjuna, O son of Pandu, the time is come for the use of that celestial weapon which is in thy memory, knowledge of which was imparted to thee by Drona. For protecting thyself as also thy brothers, O Bharata, shoot in this battle that weapon which is capable of neutralising all weapons.'

Thus addressed by Keshava, Arjuna, that slayer of hostile heroes, quickly alighted from the car, taking with him his bow with shaft fixed on the string. Softly wishing good unto the preceptor's son and then unto himself, and unto all his brothers, that scorcher of foes then bowed unto all the gods and all his superiors and let off his weapon, thinking of the welfare of all the worlds and uttering the words, 'Let Ashvatthama's weapon be neutralised by this weapon!'

That weapon, quickly let off by the wielder of gandiva, blazed up with fierce flames like the all-destroying fire that appears at the end of the yuga. Similarly, the weapon that had been shot by Drona's son of fierce energy blazed up with terrible flames within a huge sphere of fire. Numerous peals of thunder were heard; thousands of meteors fell; and all living creatures became inspired with great dread. The entire welkin seemed to be filled with noise and assumed a terrible aspect with those flames of fire. The whole earth with her mountains and waters and trees, trembled. Then the two great rishis, Narada, who is the soul of every creature, and the grandsire of all the Bharata princes (Vyasa), beholding those two weapons scorching the three worlds, showed themselves there. The two rishis sought to pacify the two heroes Ashvatthama and Dhananjaya. Conversant with all duties and desirous of the welfare of all creatures, the two sages, possessed of great energy, stood in the midst of those two blazing weapons. Incapable of being overwhelmed by any force, those two illustrious rishis, placing themselves between the two weapons, stood like two blazing fires. Incapable of being checked by any creature endued with life, and adorned by the gods and danavas, they two acted in this way, neutralising the energy of the two weapons and doing good to all the world.

The two rishis said, "Those great car-warriors who have fallen in this battle were acquainted with diverse kinds of weapons. They, however, never shot such a weapon upon human beings. What act of rashness is this, ye heroes, that ye have done?"

SECTION 15

Vaishampayana said, "At the very sight, O tiger among men, of those two rishis possessed of splendour like that of fire, Dhananjaya quickly resolved to withdraw his celestial shaft. Joining his hands, he addressed those rishis, saying, 'I used this weapon, saying, "Let it neutralise the (enemy's) weapon!" If I withdraw this high weapon, Drona's son of sinful deeds will then, without doubt, consume us all with the energy of his weapon. Ye two are like gods! It behoveth you to devise some means by which our welfare as also that of the three worlds may be secured!'

Having said these words Dhananjaya withdrew his weapon. The withdrawal of that weapon by the gods themselves in battle is exceedingly difficult. Not excepting the great Indra himself, there was nobody save the son of Pandu, who was capable of withdrawing that high weapon after it had once been let off. That weapon was born of Brahma energy. No person of uncleansed soul can bring it back after it is once let off. Only one that leads the life of a brahmacari can do it. If one who has not practised the vow of brahmacarya seeks to bring it back after having shot it, it strikes off his own head and destroys him with all his equipments. Arjuna was a brahmacari and an observer of vows. Having obtained that almost unobtainable weapon, he had never used it even when plunged into situations of the greatest danger. Observant of the vow of truth, possessed of great heroism, leading the life of a brahmacari, the son of Pandu was submissive and obedient to all his superiors. It was for this that he succeeded in withdrawing his weapon.

Drona's son, beholding those two rishis standing before him, could not by his energy withdraw his own terrible weapon. Unable to withdraw the high weapon in battle, Drona's son, O king, with a cheerless heart, said unto the island-born rishi these words, 'Threatened by a great danger, and desirous of protecting my life, I let off this weapon, through fear of Bhimasena, O sage! This Bhimasena of false behaviour, acted sinfully, O holy one, while slaying the son of Dhritarashtra in battle! It is for this, O regenerate one, that of uncleansed soul as I am I let off this weapon. I dare not, however, withdraw it now. Having inspired this irresistible and celestial weapon with the energy of fire, I let it off for the destruction of the Pandavas. Contrived for the destruction of the Pandavas, that weapon, therefore, will take away the lives of all the sons of Pandu. O regenerate one, I have, in wrath, done this sinful deed. I invoked this weapon in battle for the destruction of the Pandavas.'

Vyasa said, "Pritha's son Dhananjaya, O child, was acquainted with the weapon called brahmashira. Neither from wrath, nor for thy destruction in battle, did he shoot this weapon. Arjuna, on the other hand, used it for baffling thy weapon. He has again withdrawn it. Having obtained even the brahmastra through thy sire's instructions, the mighty-armed Dhananjaya did not fall off from a kshatriya's duties. Arjuna is possessed of such patience, and such honesty. He is, besides, conversant with every weapon, Why dost thou seek to compass the destruction of such a person with all his brothers? That region where the weapon called brahmashira is baffled by another high weapon suffers a drought for twelve years, for the clouds do not pour a drop of water there for this period. For this reason, the mighty-armed son of Pandu, although he had the power, would not, from desire of doing good to living creatures, baffle thy weapon with his. The Pandavas should be protected; thy own self should be protected; the kingdom also should be protected. Therefore, O thou of mighty arms, withdraw this celestial weapon of thine. Dispel this wrath from thy heart and let the Pandavas be safe. The royal sage Yudhishthira never desires to win victory by perpetrating any sinful act. Give unto these that gem which is on thy head. Taking that, the Pandavas will in return grant thee thy life!"

Drona's son said, "This my gem is more valuable than all the wealth that has ever been earned by the Pandavas and the Kauravas. If this gem is worn, the wearer ceases to have any fear from weapons or disease or hunger! He ceases to have any fear of gods and danavas and nagas! His apprehensions from rakshasas as also from robbers will cease. Even these are the virtues of this gem of mine. I cannot, by any means, part with it. That, however, O holy one, which thou sayest, should be done by me. Here is this gem. Here is myself. This blade of grass (inspired into a fatal weapon) will, however, fall into the wombs of the Pandava women, for this weapon is high and mighty, and incapable of being frustrated. O regenerate one, I am unable to withdraw it, having once let it off. I will now throw this weapon into the wombs of the Pandava women. As regards thy commands in other respects, O holy one, I shall certainly obey them."

Vyasa said, "Do then this. Do not, however, entertain any other purpose, O sinless one! Throwing this weapon into the wombs of the Pandava women, stop thyself."

Vaishampayana continued, "The son of Drona, having heard these words of the island-born, threw that uplifted weapon into the wombs of the Pandava women."

SECTION 16

Vaishampayana said, "Understanding that that weapon was thrown (into the wombs of the Pandava women) by Drona's son of sinful deeds, Hrishikesha, with a cheerful heart, said these words unto him: 'A certain brahmana of pious vows, beholding Virata's daughter who is now daughter-in-law to Arjuna, while she was at Upaplavya, said, "While the Kuru line will become extinct, a son will be born to thee. This thy son for that reason, will be called by the name of Parikshit." The words of that pious man shall become true: the Pandavas shall have a son called Parikshit. Unto Govinda, that foremost one of the Satvata race, while he was saying these words, Drona's son, filled with wrath, replied, saying, 'This, O Keshava, that thou sayest from thy partiality for the Pandavas, shall not happen. O thou of eyes like lotus-petals, my words cannot but be fulfilled. Uplifted by me, this weapon of mine shall fall on the foetus that is in the womb of Virata's daughter, upon that foetus which thou, O Krishna, art desirous of protecting.'

The holy one said, "The fall of this mighty weapon will not be fruitless. The foetus will die. But being dead, it will live again and have a long life! As regards thyself, all wise men know thee for a coward and a sinful wretch! Always engaged in sinful acts, thou art the slayer of children. For this reason, thou must have to bear the fruit of these thy sins. For 3,000 years thou shalt wander over this earth, without a companion and without being able to talk with anyone. Alone and without anybody by thy side, thou shalt wander through diverse countries, O wretch, thou shalt have no place in the midst of men. The stench of pus and blood shall emanate from thee, and inaccessible forests and dreary moors shall be thy abode! Thou shalt wander over the Earth, O thou of sinful soul, with the weight of all diseases on thee.

The heroic Parikshit, attaining to age and a knowledge of the Vedas and the practice of pious vows, shall obtain all weapons from the son of Sharadvata. Having obtained a knowledge of all high weapons, and observant of all kshatriya duties, that righteous-souled king shall rule the earth for sixty years. More than this, that boy shall become the mighty-armed king of the Kurus, known by the name of Parikshit, before thy very eyes, O thou of wicked soul! Though burnt by the energy of thy weapon's fire, I shall revive him. O lowest of men, behold the energy of my austerities and my truth."

Vyasa said, "Since, disregarding us, thou hast perpetrated this exceedingly cruel act, and since thy behaviour is such although thou art a good brahmana (by birth), therefore, those excellent words that Devaki's son has said, will, without doubt, be realised in thy case, an adopter as thou hast been of kshatriya usages!"

Ashvatthama said, "With thyself among all men, O holy one, I shall live! Let the words of this illustrious and foremost of men become true!"

Vaishampayana continued, "Drona's son, then, having made over his gem to the high-souled Pandavas, cheerlessly proceeded, before their eyes, to the forest. The Pandavas who had killed and chastised all their foes, placed Govinda and the island-born Krishna and the great ascetic Narada at their head, and taking the gem that was born with Ashvatthama, quickly came back to the intelligent Draupadi who was sitting in observance of the praya vow.

Those tigers among men, borne by their excellent steeds resembling the wing in fleetness, came back with him of Dasharha's race to their encampment. Speedily alighting from their cars, those great car-warriors, themselves much more afflicted, beheld, Drupada's daughter Krishna afflicted with woe. Approaching the cheerless princess stricken with sorrow and grief, the Pandavas with Keshava, sat round her.

Then the mighty Bhimasena, desired by the king, gave that celestial gem unto her and said these words: "This gem, O amiable lady, is thine. The slayer of thy sons hath been vanquished. Rise, casting off thy sorrow, and recollect the duties of a kshatriya lady. O thou of black eyes, when Vasudeva was about to set out (from Upaplavya) on his mission of peace, thou hadst, O timid lady, said even these words unto the slayer of Madhu, "I have no husbands! I have no sons, nor brothers! Nor art thou alive, O Govinda, since the king desires for peace!" Those bitter words were addressed by thee to Krishna, that foremost of persons! It behoveth thee to recollect those words of thine that were so consistent with kshatriya usages.

The wretched Duryodhana, that obstacle on the way of our sovereignty, has been slain. I have quaffed the blood of the living Duhshasana. We have paid off the debt we owed to our enemy. People, while talking, will not be able to censure us

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any longer. Having vanquished Drona's son, we have set him free for the sake of his being a brahmana and of the respect that should be shown to our deceased preceptor. His fame hath been destroyed, O goddess, only his body remains! He has been divested of his gem and on earth he has been reft of his weapons!"

Draupadi said, "I desired to only pay off our debt for the injury we have sustained. The preceptor's son is worthy of my reverence as the preceptor himself. Let the king bind this gem on his head, O Bharata!" The king then, taking that gem, placed it on his head, at the desire of Draupadi and regarding it as a gift from the preceptor. Holding on his head that excellent and celestial gem, the puissant king looked beautiful like a mountain with the moon above it. Though stricken with grief on account of the death of her sons, the princess Draupadi, possessed of great mental strength, gave up her vow. Then king Yudhishthira enquired of the mighty-armed Krishna, saying the following words."

SECTION 17

Vaishampayana said, "After all the troops had been slain during the hour of sleep by those three car-warriors, king Yudhishthira in great grief said these words unto him of Dasharha's race: 'How, O Krishna, could my sons, all of whom were mighty car-warriors, be slaughtered by the sinful and wretched Ashvatthama of no great skill in battle? How also could Drona's son slay the children of Drupada, all of whom were accomplished in weapons, possessed of great prowess, and capable of battling with hundreds of thousands of foes? How could he slay that foremost of car-warriors, Dhrishtadyumna, before whom the great bowman Drona himself could not appear? What act was done by the preceptor's son, O bull among men, in consequence of which he succeeded in slaying, single-handed, all our men in battle?'

The holy one said, "Verily, Drona's son had sought the aid of that highest of all the gods, the eternal Mahadeva. It was for this that he succeeded in slaying, single-handed, so large a number of warriors. If Mahadeva be gratified, he can bestow even immortality. Girisha can give such valour as will succeed in checking Indra himself. I know Mahadeva truly, O bull of Bharata's race! I know also his various acts of old. He, O Bharata, is the beginning, the middle, and the end of all creatures. This entire universe acts and moves through his energy.

The puissant Grandsire, desirous of creating living creatures, saw Rudra; and the Grandsire asked him, saying, "Create living creatures without delay!" Thus asked, Rudra of tawny locks, saying, "So be it!" plunged into the water and practised austerities for a long time, inasmuch as he was sensible of the defects of living creatures. Having waited in expectation of Rudra for a very long time, the Grandsire, by a fiat of his will, invoked into existence another being for making him the creator of all kinds of living things. Beholding Girisha plunged into the waters, this (second) being said unto his sire, "If there be no being born before me, then I will create living creatures!" His sire replied unto him, saying, "There is no other first-born being besides thee! This Sthanu has plunged into the water! Go and create living creatures, without any anxiety!"

That being then created many living creatures, having Daksha for their first, who created all these creatures of four kinds. As soon, however, as they were created, they ran O king, towards their sire, afflicted with hunger and desirous of devouring him. The second being whom Brahma had created, thereupon ran towards him, desirous of protection from his own offspring. And he said unto the Grandsire, "O illustrious one, protect me from these, and let these creatures have their food assigned unto them!" Then the Grandsire assigned herbs and plants and other vegetables as their food, and unto those that were strong he assigned the weaker creatures as the means of sustenance. Their sustenance having been thus assigned, the newly-created creatures all went away to regions they desired, and cheerfully multiplied by union with their respective species.

After the creatures had multiplied and the Grandsire had become well pleased, the first-born rose from the water and beheld the living creation. He saw that diverse kinds of creatures had been created and that they had multiplied by their own energy. At this sight, Rudra became angry and caused his procreative limb to disappear in the bowels of the Earth. The unfading Brahma, soothing him by soft words, said unto him, "O Sharva, what wert thou doing so long within the water? For what reason, also hast thou caused thy limb of generation to disappear in the bowels of the Earth?" Thus questioned, that lord of the universe wrathfully answered the lord Brahman, "Somebody else has created all these creatures! What purpose then would be served by this limb of mine? I have by my austerities, O Grandsire, created food for all these creatures. These herbs and plants also will multiply like those that will subsist upon them!" Having said these words, Bhava went away, in cheerlessness and rage, to the foot of the Menjavat mountains for practising severer austerities."

SECTION 18

The holy one said, "After the krita-yuga had elapsed, the gods, desirous of performing a sacrifice, duly made preparation for one according to the directions laid down in the Vedas. They collected clarified butter and the other requisites. And they not only devised what the requisites of their sacrifice should be, but also determined those amongst themselves that should have a share in the sacrificial offerings.

Not knowing Rudra truly, the celestials, O king, assigned no share for the divine Sthanu. Seeing that the celestials assigned to him no share in the sacrificial offerings, Sthanu, clad in deer skins, desired to destroy that Sacrifice and with that object constructed a bow. There are four kinds of Sacrifices: the loka Sacrifice, the Sacrifice of special rites, the eternal domestic Sacrifice, and the Sacrifice consisting in the gratification derived by man from his enjoyment of the five elemental substances and their compounds. It is from these four kinds of Sacrifice that the universe has sprung. Kapardin constructed that bow using as materials the first and the fourth kinds of Sacrifices. The length of that bow was five cubits. The sacred (mantra) "vashat," O Bharata, was made its string. The four parts, of which a Sacrifice consists, became the adornments of that bow.

Then Mahadeva, filled with rage, and taking up that bow, proceeded to that spot where the celestials were engaged in their Sacrifice. Beholding the unfading Rudra arrive there attired as a brahmacari and armed with that bow, the goddess Earth shrunk with fear and the very mountains began to tremble. The very wind ceased to move, and fire itself, though fed, did not blaze forth. The stars in the firmament, in anxiety, began to wander in irregular courses. The Sun's splendour decreased. The disc of the Moon lost its beauty. The entire welkin became enveloped in a thick gloom. The celestials, overwhelmed, knew not what to do. Their Sacrifice ceased to blaze forth. The gods were all terrified. Rudra then pierced the embodiment of Sacrifice with a fierce shaft in the heart. The embodied form of Sacrifice, assuming the shape of a deer, fled away, with the god of fire. Approaching heaven in that form, he blazed forth in beauty. Rudra, however, O Yudhishthira, pursued him through the skies. After Sacrifice had fled away, the gods lost their splendour. Having lost their senses, the gods were stupefied.

Then the three-eyed Mahadeva, with his bow, broke in rage the arms of Savitri, and plucked out the eyes of Bhaga and the teeth of Pushana. The gods then fled away, as also all the several parts of Sacrifice. Some amongst them, reeling as they sought to fly away, fell down senseless. The blue-throated Rudra, having agitated them thus, laughed aloud, and whirling the horn of his bow, paralysed them. The celestials then uttered a cry. At their command, the string of the bow broke. The string having broken, the bow became stretched into a line. The gods then approached the bowless god of gods and, with the embodied form of Sacrifice, sought the protection of the puissant Mahadeva and endeavoured to gratify him.

Gratified, the great god threw his wrath into the water, O king, that wrath, assuming the form of fire, is always employed in consuming that liquid element. He then gave unto Savitri his arms, Bhaga his eyes, and Pushana his teeth. And he also restored the Sacrifices themselves, O Pandava! The world once more became safe and sound. The gods assigned unto Mahadeva all the libations of clarified butter as the share of great deity. O monarch, when Mahadeva had become angry, the whole world had thus become agitated: when he became gratified everything became safe. Possessed of great energy, the god Mahadeva was gratified with Ashvatthama. It was for this that thy sons, those mighty car-warriors, could be slain by that warrior. It was for this that many other heroes, the Pancalas, with all their followers, could be slain by him. Thou shouldst not suffer thy mind to dwell on it. It was not Drona's son that accomplished that act. It was done through the grace of Mahadeva. Do now what should next be done."

The end of Sauptika-parva

THE MAHABHARATA, BOOK 11

STRI PARVA

SECTION 1

(Jalapradanika-parva)

Om! Having bowed down unto Narayana and Nara, the foremost of male beings, and unto the goddess Sarasvati, must the word Jaya be uttered.

Janamejaya said, "After Duryodhana had fallen and after all the warriors also had fallen, what, O sage, did king Dhritarashtra do on receipt of the intelligence? What also did the high-souled Kuru king Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma, do? What did the three survivors (of the Kuru army) viz. Kripa and the others do? I have heard everything about the feats of Ashvatthama. Tell me what happened after that mutual denunciation of curses. Tell me all that Sanjaya said unto the blind old king."

Vaishampayana said, "After he had lost his century of sons, king Dhritarashtra, afflicted with grief on that account, cheerless, and looking like a tree shorn of its branches, became overwhelmed with anxiety and lost his power of speech. Possessed of great wisdom, Sanjaya, approaching the monarch, addressed him, saying, 'Why dost thou grieve, O monarch? Grief does not serve any purpose. Eight and ten Akshauhinis of combatants, O king, have been slain! The earth hath become desolate, and is almost empty now! Kings of diverse realms, hailing from diverse quarters, united with thy son (for aiding him in battle) have all laid down their lives. Let now the obsequial rites of thy sires and sons and grandsons and kinsmen and friends and preceptors be performed in due order."

Vaishampayana continued, "Destitute of sons and counsellors and all his friends, king Dhritarashtra of great energy suddenly fell down on the earth like a tree uprooted by the wind.

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Destitute as I am of sons and counsellors and all my friends, I shall, without doubt have to wander in sorrow over the earth. What need have I now of life itself, left as I am of kinsmen and friends and resembling as I do a bird shorn of its wings and afflicted with decrepitude? Shorn of kingdom, deprived of kinsmen, and destitute of eyes, I cannot, O thou of great wisdom, shine any longer on earth like a luminary shorn of its splendours! I did not follow the counsels of friends of Jamadagni's son, of the celestial rishi Narada, and of island-born Krishna, while they offered me counsel. In the midst of the assembly, Krishna told me what was for my good, saying, "A truce (tense) to hostilities, O king! Let thy son take the whole kingdom! Give but five villages to the Pandavas!" Fool that I was, for not following that advice, I am now obliged to repent so poignantly! I did not listen to the righteous counsels of Bhishma. Alas, having heard of the slaughter of Duryodhana whose roars were as deep as those of a bull, having heard also of the death of Duhshasana and the extinction of Karna and the setting of the Drona-sun, my heart does not break into pieces. I do not, O Sanjaya, remember any evil act committed by me in former days, whose consequences, fool that I am, I am suffering today. Without doubt, I committed great sins in my former lives, for which the Supreme Ordainer has set me to endure such a measure of grief. This destruction of all my kinsmen, this extermination of all my well-wishers and friends, at this old age, has come upon me through the force of Destiny. What other man is there on earth who is more afflicted than my wretched self? Since it is so, let the Pandavas behold me this very day firmly resolved to betake myself to the long way that leads to the regions of Brahman!'"

Vaishampayana continued, "While king Dhritarashtra was indulging in such lamentations, Sanjaya addressed him in the following words for dispelling his grief, 'Cast off thy grief, O monarch! Thou hast heard the conclusions of the Vedas and the contents of diverse scriptures and holy writ, from the lips of the old, O king! Thou hast heard those words which the sages said unto Sanjaya while the latter was afflicted with grief on account of the death of his son. When thy son, O monarch, caught the pride that is born of youth, thou didst not accept the counsels offered unto thee by thy well-wishers. Desirous of fruit, thou didst not, through covetousness, do what was really for thy benefit. Thy own intelligence, like a sharp sword, has wounded thee. Thou didst generally pay court to those that were of wicked behaviour. Thy son had Duhshasana for his counsellor, and the wicked-souled son of Radha, and the equally wicked Shakuni and Citrasena of foolish understanding, and Salya. Thy son (by his own behaviour) made the whole world his enemy. Thy son, O Bharata, did not obey the words of Bhishma, the reverend chief of the Kurus, of Gandhari and Vidura, of Drona, O king, of Kripa the son of Sharadvata, of the mighty-armed Krishna, of the intelligent Narada, of many other rishis, and of Vyasa himself of immeasurable energy. Though possessed of prowess, thy son was of little intelligence, proud, always desirous of battle, wicked, ungovernable, and discontented. Thou art possessed of learning and intelligence and art always truthful. They that are so righteous and possessed of such intelligence as thou, are never stupefied by grief. Virtue was regarded by none of them. Battle was the one word on their lips. For this the Kshatriya order has been exterminated and the fame of thy foes enhanced. Thou hadst occupied the position of an umpire, but thou didst not utter one word of salutary advise. Unfitted as thou wert for the task, thou didst not hold the scales evenly. Every person should, at the outset, adopt such a beneficial line of action that he may not have, in the end, to repent for something already done by him. Through affection for thy son, O monarch, thou didst what was agreeable to Duryodhana. Thou art obliged to repent for that now. It behoveth thee, however not to give way to grief. The man whose eyes are directed towards only the honey without being once directed to the fall, meets with destruction through his covetousness for honey. Such a man is obliged to repent even like thee. The man who indulges in grief never wins wealth. By grieving one loses the fruits one desires. Grief is again an obstacle to the acquisition of objects dear to us. The man who gives way to grief loses even his salvation. The man who shrouds a burning coal within the folds of his attire and is burnt by the fire that

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is kindled by it, would be pronounced a fool if he grieves for his injuries. Thyself, with thy son, hadst, with your words, fanned the Partha-fire, and with your covetousness acting as clarified butter caused that fire to blaze forth, into consuming flames. When that fire thus blazed forth thy sons fell into it like insects. It behoveth thee not, however, to grieve for them now that they have all been burnt in the fire of the enemy's arrow. The tear-stained face, O king, which thou bearest now is not approved by the scriptures or praised by the wise. These tears, like sparks of fire, burn the dead for whom they are shed. Kill thy grief with thy intelligence, and bear thyself up with the strength of thy own self!' Thus was the king comforted by the high-souled Sanjaya. Vidura then, O scorcher of foes, once again addressed the king, displaying great intelligence."

SECTION 2

Vaishampayana said, "Listen, O Janamejaya, to the nectar-like words that Vidura said unto the son of Vicitravirya and by which he gladdened that bull among men!

"Vidura said, 'Rise, O king! Why art thou stretched on the earth? Bear thyself up with thy own self. O king, even this is the final end of all living creatures. Everything massed together ends in destruction; everything that gets high is sure to fall down. Union is certain to end in separation; life is sure to end in death. The destroyer, O Bharata, drags both the hero and the coward. Why then, O bull amongst Kshatriyas, should not Kshatriyas engage in battle? He that does not fight is seen to escape with life. When, however, one's time comes, O king, one cannot escape. As regards living creatures, they are non-existent at first. They exist in the period that intervenes. In the end they once more become non-existent. What matter of grief then is there in this? The man that indulges in grief succeeds not in meeting with the dead. By indulging in grief, one does not himself die. When the course of the world is such, why dost thou indulge in sorrow? Death drags all creatures, even the gods. There is none dear or hateful to death, O best of the Kurus! As the wind tears off the tops of all blades of grass, even so, O bull of Bharata's race, death overmasters all creatures. All creatures are like members of a caravan bound for the same destination. (When death will encounter all) it matters very little whom he meets with first. It behoveth thee not, O king, to grieve for those that have been slain in battle. If the scriptures are any authority, all of them must have obtained the highest end. All of them were versed in the Vedas; all of them had observed vows. Facing the foe all of them have met with death. What matter of sorrow is there in this? Invisible they had been (before birth). Having come from that unknown region, they have once more become invisible. They are not thine, nor art thou theirs. What grief then is there in such disappearance? If slain, one wins heaven. By slaying, fame is won. Both these, with respect to us, are productive of great merit. Battle, therefore, is not bootless. No doubt, Indra will contrive for them regions capable of granting every wish. These, O bull among men, become the guests of Indra. Men cannot, by sacrifices with profuse gifts, by ascetic penances and by learning, go so speedily to heaven as heroes slain in battle. On the bodies of hostile heroes constituting the sacrificial fire, they poured their arrowy libations. Possessed of great energy, they had in return to endure the arrowy libations (poured upon them by their enemies). I tell thee, O king, that for a Kshatriya in this world there is not a better road to heaven than battle! They were all high-souled Kshatriyas; possessed of bravery, they were ornaments of assemblies. They have attained to a high state of blessedness. They are not persons for whom we should grieve. Comforting thyself by thy own self cease to grieve, O bull among men! It behoveth thee not to suffer thyself to be overwhelmed with sorrow and to abandon all actions. There are thousands of mothers and fathers and sons and wives in this world. Whose are they, and whose are we? From day to day thousands of causes spring up for sorrow and thousands of causes for fear. These, however, affect the ignorant but are nothing to him that is wise. There is none dear or hateful to Time, O best of the Kurus! Time is indifferent to none. All are equally dragged by Time. Time causeth all creatures to grow, and it is Time that destroyeth everything. When all else is asleep, Time is awake. Time is irresistible. Youth, beauty, life, possessions, health, and the companionship of friends, all are unstable. He that is wise will never covet any of these. It behoveth thee not to grieve for what is universal. A person may, by indulging in grief, himself perish, but grief itself, by being indulged in, never becomes light. Ifthou feelest thy grief to be heavy, it should be counteracted by not indulging in it. Even this is the medicine for grief, viz., that one should not indulge in it. By dwelling on it, one cannot lessen it. On the other hand, it grows with indulgence. Upon the advent of evil or upon the bereavement of something that is dear, only they that are of little intelligence suffer their minds to be afflicted with grief. This is neither Profit, nor Religion, nor Happiness, on which thy heart is dwelling. The indulgence of grief is the certain means of one's losing one's objects. Through it, one falls away from the three great ends of life (religion, profit, and pleasure). They that are destitute of contentment, are stupefied on the accession of vicissitudes dependent upon the possession of wealth. They, however, that are wise, are on the other hand, unaffected by such vicissitudes. One should kill mental grief by wisdom, just as physical grief should be killed by medicine. Wisdom hath this power. They, however, that are foolish, can never obtain tranquillity of soul. The acts of a former life closely follow a man, insomuch that they lie by him when he lies down, stay by him when he stays, and run with him when he runs. In those conditions of life in which one acts well or ill, one enjoys or suffers the fruit thereof in similar conditions. In those forms (of physical organisation) in which one performs particular acts, one enjoys or suffers the fruits thereof in similar forms. One's own self is one's own friend, as, indeed, one's own self is one's own enemy. One's own self is the witness of one's acts, good and evil. From good acts springs a state of happiness, from sinful deeds springs woe. One always obtains the fruit of one's acts. One never enjoys or suffers weal or woe that is not the fruit of one's own acts. Intelligent persons like thee, O king, never sink in sinful enormities that are disapproved by knowledge and that strike at the very root (of virtue and happiness).'"

SECTION 3

"Dhritarashtra said, 'O thou of great wisdom, my grief has been dispelled by thy excellent words! I desire, however, to again hear thee speak. How, indeed, do those that are wise free themselves from mental grief born of the advent of evils and the bereavement of objects that are dear?'

"Vidura said, 'He that is wise obtains tranquillity by subduing both grief and joy through means by which one may escape from grief and joy. All those things about which we are anxious, O bull among men, are ephemeral. The world is like a plantain tree, without enduring strength. Since the wise and the foolish, the rich and the poor, all, divested of their anxieties, sleep on the crematorium, with bodies reft of flesh and full of bare bones and shrivelled sinews, whom amongst them will the survivors look upon as possessed of distinguishing marks by which the attributes of birth and beauty may be ascertained? (When all are equal in death) why should human beings, whose understandings are always deceived (by the things of this world) covet one another's rank and position? The learned say that the bodies of men are like houses. In time these are destroyed. There is one being, however, that is eternal. As a person, casting off one attire, whether old or new, wears another, even such is the case with the bodies of all embodied beings. O son of Vicitravirya, creatures obtain weal or woe as the fruit of their own acts. Through their acts they obtain heaven, O Bharata, or bliss, or woe. Whether able or unable, they have to bear their burdens which are the result of their own acts. As amongst earthen pots some break while still on the potter's wheel, some while partially shaped, some as soon as brought into shape, some after removal from the wheel, some while in course of being removed, some after removal, some while wet, some while dry, some while being burnt, some while being removed from the kiln, some after removal therefrom, and some while being used, even such is the case with the bodies of embodied creatures. Some are destroyed while yet in the womb, some after coming out of the womb, some on the day after, some on the expiration of a fortnight or of a month, some on the expiration of a year or of two years, some in youth, some in middle age, and some when old. Creatures are born or destroyed according to their acts in previous lives. When such is the course of the world, why do you then indulge in grief? As men, while swimming in sport on the water, sometimes dive and sometimes emerge, O king, even so creatures sink and emerge in life's stream. They that are of little wisdom suffer or meet with destruction as the result of their own acts. They, however, that are wise, observant of virtue, and desirous of doing good unto all living creatures, they, acquainted with the real nature of the appearance of creatures in this world, attain at last to the highest end.'"

SECTION 4

"Dhritarashtra said, 'O foremost speakers, how may the wilderness of this world be known? I desire to hear this. Asked by me, tell me this.'

"Vidura said, 'I will describe to thee all the acts of creatures from their first conception. At the outset it lives in the admixture of blood and the vital fluid. Then it grows little by little. Then on the expiry of the fifth month it assumes shape. It next becomes a foetus with all its limbs completed, and lives in a very impure place, covered with flesh and blood. Then, through the action of the wind, its lower limbs are turned upwards and the head comes downwards. Arriving in this posture at the mouth of the uterus, it suffers manifold woes. In consequence of the contractions of the uterus, the creature then comes out of it, endued with the results of all his previous acts. He then encounters in this world other evils that rush towards him. Calamities proceed towards him like dogs at the scent of meat. Next diverse diseases approach him while he is enchained by his previous acts. Bound by the chains of the senses and women and wealth and other sweet things of life, diverse evil practices also approach him then, O king! Seized by these, he never obtains happiness. At that season he succeeds not in obtaining the fruit of his acts, right or wrong. They, however, that set their hearts on reflection, succeed in protecting their souls. The person governed by his senses does not know that death has come at his door. At last, dragged by the messengers of the Destroyer, he meets with destruction at the appointed time. Agitated by his senses, for whatever good and evil has been done at the outset and having enjoyed or suffered the fruits of these, he once more becomes indifferent to his acts of self-slaughter. Alas, the world is deceived, and covetousness brings it under its dominion. Deprived of understanding by covetousness, wrath, and fear, one knows not one's own self. Filled with joy at one's own respectability of birth, one is seen to traduce those that are not high-born. Swelled also with pride of wealth, one is seen to contemn the poor. One regards others to be ignorant fools, but seldom takes a survey of one's own self. One attributes faults to others but is never desirous to punish one's own self. Since the wise and the ignorant, the rich and the poor, the high-born and the lowborn, the honoured and the dishonoured, all go to the place of the dead and sleep there freed from every anxiety, with bodies divested of flesh and full only of bones united by dried-up tendons, whom amongst them would the survivors look upon as distinguished above the others and by what signs would they ascertain the attributes of birth and beauty? When all, stretched after the same fashion, sleep on the bare ground, why then should men, taking leave of their senses, desire to deceive one another? He that, looking at this saying (in the scriptures) with his own eyes or hearing it from others, practiseth virtue in this unstable world of life and adhereth to it from early age, attaineth to the highest end. Learning all this, he that adhereth to Truth, O king, succeedeth in passing over all paths.'"

SECTION 5

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Tell me in detail everything about the ways of that intelligence by which this wilderness of duties may be safely covered.'

"Vidura said, 'Having bowed down to the Self-create, I will obey thy behest by telling thee how the great sages speak of the wilderness of life. A certain brahmana, living in the great world, found himself on one occasion in a large inaccessible forest teeming with beasts of prey. It abounded on every side with lions and other animals looking like elephants, all of which were engaged in roaring aloud. Such was the aspect of that forest that Yama himself would take fright at it. Beholding the forest, the heart of the brahmana became exceedingly agitated. His hair stood on end, and other signs of fear manifested themselves, O scorcher of foes! Entering it, he began to run hither and thither, casting his eyes on every point of the compass for finding out somebody whose shelter he might seek. Wishing to avoid those terrible creatures, he ran in fright. He could not succeed, however, in distancing them or freeing himself from their presence. He then saw that that terrible forest was surrounded with a net, and that a frightful woman stood there, stretching her arms. That large forest was also encompassed by many five-headed snakes of dreadful forms, tall as cliffs and touching the very heavens. Within it was a pit whose mouth was covered with many hard and unyielding creepers and herbs. The brahmana, in course of his wanderings, fell into that invisible pit. He became entangled in those clusters of creepers that were interwoven with one another, like the large fruit of a jack tree hanging by its stalk. He continued to hang there, feet upwards and head downwards. While he was in that posture, diverse other calamities overtook him. He beheld a large and mighty snake within the pit. He also saw a gigantic elephant near its mouth. That elephant, dark in complexion, had six faces and twelve feet. And the animal gradually approached that pit covered with creepers and trees. About the twigs of the tree (that stood at the mouth of the pit), roved many bees of frightful forms, employed from before in drinking the honey gathered in their comb about which they swarmed in large numbers. Repeatedly they desired, O bull of Bharata's race, to taste that honey which though sweet to all creatures could, however, attract children only. The honey (collected in the comb) fell in many jets below. The person who was hanging in the pit continually drank those jets. Employed, in such a distressful situation, in drinking that honey, his thirst, however, could not be appeased. Unsatiated with repeated draughts, the person desired for more. Even then, O king, he did not become indifferent to life. Even there, the man continued to hope for existence. A number of black and white rats were eating away the roots of that tree. There was fear from the beasts of prey, from that fierce woman on the outskirts of that forest, from that snake at the bottom of the well, from that elephant near its top, from the fall of the tree through the action of the rats, and lastly from those bees flying about for tasting the honey. In that plight he continued to dwell, deprived of his senses, in that wilderness, never losing at any time the hope of prolonging his life.'"

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SECTION 6

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Alas, great was the distress of that person and very painful his mode of life! Tell me, O first of speakers, whence was his attachment to life and whence his happiness? Where is that region, so unfavourable to the practice of virtue, in which that person resides? Oh, tell me how will that man be freed from all those great terrors? Tell me all this! We shall then exert ourselves properly for him. My compassion has been greatly moved by the difficulties that lie in the way of his rescue!'

"Vidura said, 'They that are conversant, O monarch, with the religion of moksha cite this as a simile. Understanding this properly, a person may attain to bliss in the regions hereafter. That which is described as the wilderness is the great world. The inaccessible forest within it is the limited sphere of one's own life. Those that have been mentioned as beasts of prey are the diseases (to which we are subject). That woman of gigantic proportions residing in the forest is identified by the wise with Decrepitude which destroys complexion and beauty. That which has been spoken of as the pit is the body or physical frame of embodied creatures. The huge snake dwelling in the bottom of that pit is time, the destroyer of all embodied creatures. It is, indeed, the universal destroyer. The cluster of creepers growing in that pit and attached to whose spreading stems the man hangeth down is the desire for life which is cherished by every creature. The six-faced elephant, O king, which proceeds towards the tree standing at the mouth of the pit is spoken of as the year. Its six faces are the seasons and its twelve feet are the twelve months. The rats and the snakes that are cutting off the tree are said to be days and nights that are continually lessening the periods of life of all creatures. Those that have been described as bees are our desires. The numerous jets that are dropping honey are the pleasures derived from the gratification of our desires and to which men are seen to be strongly addicted. The wise know life's course to be even such. Through that knowledge they succeed in tearing off its bonds.'"

SECTION 7

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Excellent is this parable that thou hast recited! Indeed, thou art acquainted with truth! Having listened to thy nectarlike speech, I desire to hear thee more.'

"Vidura said, 'Listen to me, O king, I shall once more discourse in detail on those means an acquaintance with which enable the wise to free themselves from the ties of the world. As a person, O king, who has to travel a long way is sometimes obliged to halt when fatigued with toil, even so, O Bharata, they that are of little intelligence, travelling along the extended way of life, have to make frequent halts in the shape of repeated births in the womb. They, however, that are wise are free from that obligation. Men conversant with the scriptures, for this, describe life's course as a long way. The wise also call life's round with all its difficulties a forest. Creatures, O bull of Bharata's race, whether mobile or immobile, have to repeatedly return to the world. The wise alone escape. The diseases, mental and physical, to which mortals are subject, whether visible or invisible, are spoken of as beasts of prey by the wise. Men are always afflicted and impeded by them, O Bharata! Then again, those fierce beasts of prey, represented by their own acts in life, never cause any anxiety to them that are of little intelligence. If any person, O monarch, somehow escapes from diseases, Decrepitude, that destroyer of beauty, overwhelmshim afterwards. Plunged in a slough by the objects of the different senses--sound and form and taste and touch and scent--man remains there without anything to rescue him thence. Meanwhile, the years, the seasons, the months, the fortnights, the days, and the nights, coming one after another, gradually despoil him of beauty and lessen the period allotted to him. These all are messengers of death. They, however, that are of little understanding know them not to be such. The wise say that all creatures are governed by the Ordainer through their acts. The body of a creature is called the car. The living principle is the driver of (that car). The senses are said to be steeds. Our acts and the understanding are the traces. He who followeth after those running steeds has to come repeatedly to this world in a round of rebirths. He, however, who, being self-restrained restrains them by his understanding hath not to come back. They, however, that are not stupefied while wandering in this wheel of life that is revolving like a real wheel, do not in reality wander in a round of rebirths. He that is wise should certainly take care to prevent the obligation of rebirth. One should not be indifferent to this, for indifference may subject us to it repeatedly. The man, O king, who has restrained his senses and subdued wrath and covetousness, who is contented, and truthful in speech, succeeds in obtaining peace. This body is called the car of Yama. Then those that are of little intelligence are stupefied by it. Such a person, O king, would obtain that which thou hast obtained. The loss of kingdom, of friends, and of children, O Bharata, and such as these, overtake him who is still under the influence of desire. He that is wise should apply the medicine of intelligence to all great griefs. Indeed, obtaining the medicine of wisdom, which is truly very efficacious and is almost unattainable, the man of restrained soul would kill that serious disease called sorrow. Neither prowess, nor wealth, nor friend, nor well-wishers can cure a man of his grief so effectually as the self-restrained soul. Therefore, observant of the great duty of abstention from all injuries, or friendship for all creatures, be of pious behaviour, O Bharata! Self-restraint, renunciation, and heedfulness are the three steeds of Brahman. He who rides on the car of his soul, unto which are yoked these steeds with the aid of traces furnished by good conduct, and drives it, casting off all fear of death, proceedeth, O king, to the regions of Brahman. That person, O monarch, who gives unto all creatures an assurance of his harmlessness, goes to the highest of regions, the blessed realm of Vishnu. The fruit that one obtains by an assurance unto all creatures of his harmlessness cannot be obtained by a 1,000 sacrifices or by daily fasts. Amongst all things there is certainly nothing dearer than self. Death is certainly disliked by all creatures, O Bharata! Therefore, compassion should certainly be shown unto all. Endued with diverse kinds of errors entangled by the net of their own intelligence, they that are wicked and are of good vision, wander repeatedly on the earth. They however, that are wise and endued with subtle sight, attain to a union with Brahman.'"

SECTION 8

Vaishampayana said, "Even after hearing the words of Vidura, the chief of the Kurus, afflicted with grief on account of the death of his sons, fell down senseless on the Earth. Beholding him fall down in that state, his friends, as also the island-born Vyasa, and Vidura, and Sanjaya, and other well-wishers, and the attendants who used to wait at the gates and who enjoyed his confidence, sprinkled cool water over his body, and fanned him with palm leaves, and gently rubbed him with their hands. For a long while they comforted the king while in that condition. The monarch, recovering his senses after a long time, wept for a long while, overwhelmed with grief on account of the death of his sons. He said, 'Fie on the state of humanity! Fie on the human body! The woes that are suffered in this life frequently arise from the very state of humanity. Alas, O lord, great is the grief, like poison or fire, that one suffers at the loss of sons, of wealth, of kinsmen, and relatives. That grief causes the limbs to burn and our wisdom to be destroyed. Overwhelmed with that grief, a person regards death to be preferable. This calamity that has overtaken me through ill-luck is even like that. It will not, I see, end except with life itself. O best of regenerate ones, I shall, therefore, put an end to my life this very day.' Having said these words unto his high-souled sire, that foremost of all persons conversant with Brahman, Dhritarashtra, overwhelmed with grief, became stupefied. The king, O monarch reflecting on his woes, became speechless. Hearing these words of his, the puissant Vyasa thus spoke unto his son afflicted with grief on account of the death of his children.

"Vyasa said, 'O mighty-armed Dhritarashtra, listen to what I say. Thou art possessed of learning, thou hast great intelligence, and thou, O puissant one, art skilled in understanding duties. Nothing of that which should be known is unknown to thee, O scorcher of foes! Without doubt, thou knowest the instability of all things doomed to death. When the world of life is unstable when this world itself is not eternal, when life is sure to end in death, why then, O Bharata, dost thou grieve? Before thy very eyes, O king, the concatenation of facts brought about by Time making thy son the cause, produced this hostility. This destruction of the Kurus, O king, was inevitable. Why then dost thou grieve for those heroes that have attained to the highest end? O thou of mighty arms, the high-souled Vidura knew everything. With all his might he had endeavoured, O king, to bring about peace. It is my opinion that the course marked out by Destiny cannot be controlled by anyone, even if one struggles for eternity. The course that was settled by the gods was heard directly by me. I will recite it to thee, so that tranquillity of mind may be thine. Once before, without any fatigue, I repaired very quickly to the court of Indra. There I beheld all the denizens of heaven assembled together. There were, O sinless one, all the celestial rishis also, headed by Narada. There, O monarch, I saw also the Earth (in her embodied form). The latter had repaired to the gods for the accomplishment of a particular mission. Approaching the gods, she said, "That which ye all should do for me hath, ye blessed ones, been already promised by you while you were in Brahma's abode. Let that be accomplished soon." Hearing these words of hers, Vishnu, the adored of all the worlds, smilingly addressed her in the midst of the celestial conclave, saying, "The eldest of the hundred sons of Dhritarashtra, who is known by the name of Duryodhana, will accomplish thy business. Through that king, thy purpose will be achieved. For his sake, many kings will assemble together on the field of Kuru. Capable of smiting, they will cause one another to be slain through the instrumentality of hard weapons. It is evident, O goddess, that thy burthen will then be lightened in battle. Go quickly to thy own place and continue to bear the weight of creatures, O beauteous one!" From this thou wilt understand, O king, that thy son Duryodhana, born in Gandhari's womb, was a portion of Kali, sprung for the object of causing a universal slaughter. He was vindictive, restless, wrathful, and difficult of being gratified. Through the influence of Destiny his brothers also became like him. Shakuni became his maternal uncle and Karna his great friend. Many other kings were born on earth for aiding in the work of destruction. As the king is, so do his subjects become. If the king becomes righteous, even unrighteousness (in his dominions) assumes the shape of righteousness. Servants, without doubt, are affected by the merits and defects of their masters. Those sons of thine, O king, having obtained a bad king, have all been destroyed. Conversant with truth, Narada, knew all this. Thy sons, through their own faults, have been destroyed, O king! Do not grieve for them, O monarch! There is no cause for grief. The Pandavas have not, O Bharata, the least fault in what has happened. Thy sons were all of wicked souls. It is they that caused this destruction on earth. Blessed be thou; Narada had truly informed Yudhishthira of all this in his court on the occasion of the rajasuya sacrifice, saying, "The Pandavas and the Kauravas, encountering each other, will meet with destruction. Do that, O son of Kunti, which thou shouldst!" Upon these words of Narada, the Pandavas became filled with grief. I have thus told thee that which is an eternal secret of the gods. This will destroy thy grief and restore to thee a love of thy life-breath, and cause thee to cherish affection for the Pandavas, for all that has happened has been due to what had been ordained by the gods. O thou of mighty arms, I had learnt all this sometime before. I also spoke of it to king Yudhishthira the Just on the occasion of his foremost of sacrifices, the rajasuya. When I secretly informed him of all this, Dharma's son endeavoured his best for preserving peace with the Kauravas. That, however, which is ordained by the gods proved too powerful (to be frustrated by him). The fiat, O king of the Destroyer, is incapable of being baffled anyhow by mobile and immobile creatures. Thou art devoted to virtue and possessed of superior intelligence, O Bharata! Thou knowest also that which is the way and that which is not the way of all creatures. If king Yudhishthira learns that thou art burning with grief and losing thy senses frequently, he will cast off his very life-breath. He is always compassionate and possessed of wisdom. His kindness extends even to all the inferior creatures. How is it possible, O king, that he will not show compassion to thee, O monarch? At my command, and knowing that what is ordained is inevitable, as also from kindness to the Pandavas, continue to bear thy life, O Bharata! If thou livest thus, thy fame will spread in the world. Thou shalt then be able to acquire a knowledge of all duties and find many years for obtaining ascetic merit. This grief for the death of thy sons that has arisen in thy heart, like a blazing fire, should always be extinguished, O king, by the water of wisdom!'"'

Vaishampayana continued, "Hearing these words of Vyasa of immeasurable energy and reflecting upon them for a little while, Dhritarashtra said, 'O best of regenerate ones, I am exceedingly afflicted by a heavy load of grief. My senses are repeatedly forsaking me and I am unable to bear up my own self. Hearing, however, these words of thine about what had been ordained by the gods, I shall not think of casting off my life-breath and shall live and act without indulging in grief!' Hearing these words of Dhritarashtra, O monarch, Satyavati's son, Vyasa, disappeared then and there."

SECTION 9

Janamejaya said, "After the holy Vyasa had departed, what, O regenerate sage, did king Dhritarashtra, do? It behoveth thee to tell me this. What also did the Kuru king, the high-souled son of Dharma, do? And how did those three, Kripa and others, do? I have heard of the feats of Ashvatthama and the mutual denouncement of curses. Tell me what happened next and what Sanjaya next said (unto the old king)."

Vaishampayana said, "After Duryodhana had been slain and all the troops slaughtered, Sanjaya, deprived of his spiritual sight, came back to Dhritarashtra.

"Sanjaya said, 'The kings of diverse peoples, that came from diverse realms, have all, O king, gone to the regions of the dead, along with thy sons. Thy son, O king, who had constantlybeen implored (for peace) but who always wished to terminate his hostility (with the Pandavas by slaughtering them) has caused the earth to be exterminated. Do thou, O king, cause the obsequial rites of thy sons and grandsons and sires to be performed according to due order!'"

Vaishampayana continued, "Hearing these terrible words of Sanjaya, the king fell down on the Earth and lay motionless like one deprived of life. Approaching the monarch who was lying prostrate on the Earth, Vidura, conversant with every duty, said these words: 'Rise, O king, why dost thou lie down thus? Do not grieve, O bull of Bharata's race! Even this, O lord of Earth, is the final end of all creatures. At first creatures are non-existent. In the interim, O Bharata, they become existent. At the end, they once more become non-existent. What cause of sorrow is there in all this? By indulging in grief, one cannot get back the dead. By indulging in grief, one cannot die himself. When such is the course of the world, why dost thou indulge in grief? One may die without having been engaged in battle. One also escapes

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with life after being engaged in battle. When one's Time comes, O king, one cannot escape! Time drags all kinds of creatures. There is none dear or hateful to Time, O best of the Kurus! As the wind tears off the ends of all blades of grass, even so all creatures, O bull of Bharata's race, are brought by Time under its influence. All creatures are like members of the same caravan bound for the same destination. What cause of sorrow is there if Time meets with one a little earlier than with another? Those again, O king, that have fallen in battle and for whom thou grievest, are not really objects of thy grief, since all those illustrious ones have gone to heaven. By sacrifices with profuse presents, by ascetic austerities, and by knowledge, people cannot so easily repair to heaven as heroes by courage in battle. All those heroes were conversant with the Vedas; all of them were observant of vows; all of them have perished, facing the foe in battle. What cause of sorrow then is there? They poured their arrowy libations upon the bodies of their brave foes as upon a fire. Foremost of men, they bore in return the arrowy libations poured upon themselves. I tell thee, O king, that there is no better way to heaven for a Kshatriya than through battle. All of them were high-souled Kshatriyas, all of them were heroes and ornaments of assemblies. They have attained to a high state of blessedness. One should not grieve for them. Do thou comfort thy own self. Do not grieve, O bull among men! It behoveth thee not to suffer thyself to be overwhelmed with sorrow and abandon all action.'"

SECTION 10

Vaishampayana said, "Hearing these words of Vidura, that bull of Bharata's race (Dhritarashtra) ordered his car to be yoked. The king once more said, 'Bring Gandhari hither without delay, and all the Bharata ladies. Bring hither Kunti also, as well as all the other ladies with her.' Having said these words unto Vidura, conversant with every duty, Dhritarashtra of righteous soul, deprived of his senses by sorrow, ascended on his car. Then Gandhari, afflicted with grief on account of the death of her sons, accompanied by Kunti and the other ladies of the royal household, came at the command of her lord to that spot where the latter was waiting for her. Afflicted with grief, they came together to the king. As they met, they accosted each other and uttered loud wails of woe. Then Vidura, who had become more afflicted than those ladies, began to comfort them. Placing those weeping fair ones on the cars that stood ready for them, he set out (with them) from the city. At that time a loud wail of woe arose from every Kuru house. The whole city, including the very children, became exceedingly afflicted with grief. Thoseladies that had not before this been seen by the very gods were now helpless, as they were, for the loss of their lords, seen by the common people. With their beautiful tresses all dishevelled and their ornaments cast off, those ladies, each attired in a single piece of raiment, proceeded most woefully. Indeed, they issued from their houses resembling white mountains, like a dappled herd of deer from their mountain caves after the fall of their leader. These fair ladies, in successive bevies, O king, came out, filled with sorrow, and ran hither and thither like a herd of fillies on a circus yard. Seizing each other by the hand, they uttered loud wails after their sons and brothers and sires. They seemed to exhibit the scene that takes place on the occasion of the universal destruction at the end of the Yuga. Weeping and crying and running hither and thither, and deprived of their senses by grief, they knew not what to do. Those ladies who formerly felt the blush of modesty in the presence of even companions of their own sex, now felt no blush of shame, though scantily clad, in appearing before their mothers-in-law. Formerly they used to comfort each other while afflicted with even slight causes of woe. Stupefied by grief, they now, O king, refrained from even casting their eyes upon each other. Surrounded by those thousands of wailing ladies, the king cheerlessly issued out of the city and proceeded with speed towards the field of battle. Artisans and traders and Vaishyas and all kinds of mechanics, issuing out of the city, followed in the wake of the king. As those ladies, afflicted by the wholesale destruction that had overtaken the Kurus, cried in sorrow, a loud wail arose from among them that seemed to pierce all the worlds. All creatures that heard that wail thought that the hour of universal destruction had come when all things would be consumed by the fire that arises at the end of the Yuga. The citizens also (of Hastinapura), devoted to the house of Kuru, with hearts filled with anxiety at the destruction that had overtaken their rules, set up, O king, a wail that was as loud as that uttered by those ladies."

SECTION 11

Vaishampayana said, "Dhritarashtra had not proceeded for more than two miles when he met with those three great car-warriors, Sharadvata's son Kripa, Drona's son (Ashvatthama), and Kritavarma. As soon as the latter obtained a sight of the blind monarch possessed of great power, the three heroes sighed in grief and with voices choked in tears weepingly addressed him, saying, 'Thy royal son, O king, having achieved the most difficult feats, has, with all his followers, gone to the region of Indra. We are the only three car-warriors of Duryodhana's army that have escaped with life. All the others, O bull of Bharata's race, have perished.' Having said these words unto the king, Sharadvata's son Kripa, addressing the grief-afflicted Gandhari, said these words unto her, 'Thy sons have fallen while engaged in achieving feats worthy of heroes, while fearlessly fighting in battle and striking down large numbers of foes. Without doubt, having obtained those bright worlds that are attainable only by the use of weapons, they are sporting there like celestials, having assumed resplendent forms. Amongst those heroes there was no one that turned back from battle. Every one of them has fallen at the end or edge of weapons. None of them joined his hands, begging for quarter. Death in battle at the end or edge of weapons has been said by the ancients to be the highest end that a Kshatriya can obtain. It behoveth thee not, therefore, to grieve for any of them. Their foes, O queen, the Pandavas, too, have not been more fortunate. Listen, what we, headed by Ashvatthama, have done unto them. Learning that thy son had been slain unrighteously by Bhima, we slaughtered the Pandavas after entering their camp buried in sleep. All the Pancalas have been slain. Indeed, all the sons of Drupada, as also all the sons of Draupadi, have been slaughtered. Having caused this carnage of the sons of our foes, we are flying away since we three are incapable of standing in battle with them. Our foes, the Pandavas, are all heroes and mighty bowmen. They will soon come up with us, filled with rage, for taking vengeance on us. Hearing the slaughter of their sons, those bulls among men, infuriated with rage, those heroes, O illustrious lady, will speedily pursue our track. Having caused a carnage (in their sleeping camp) we dare not stay. Grant us permission, O queen! It behoveth thee not to set thy heart on sorrow. Grant us thy permission also, O king! Summon all thy fortitude. Do thou also observe the duties of a Kshatriya in their highest form.' Having said these words unto the king, and circumambulating him, Kripa and Kritavarma and Drona's son, O Bharata, without being able to withdraw their eyes from king Dhritarashtra possessed of great wisdom, urged their steeds towards the banks of the Ganga. Moving away from that spot, O king, those great car-warriors, with hearts plunged in anxiety, took one another's leave and separated from one another. Sharadvata's son, Kripa, went to Hastinapura; Hridika's son repaired to his own kingdom; while the son of Drona set for the asylum of Vyasa. Even thus those heroes, who had offended the high-souled sons of Pandu, respectively proceeded to the places they selected, afflicted with fear and casting their eyes on one another. Having met the king thus, those brave chastisers of foes, before the sun rose, went away, O monarch, to the places they chose. It was after this, O king, that the sons of Pandu, those great car-warriors, encountered the son of Drona, and putting forth their prowess, vanquished him, O monarch, (in the way already related)."

SECTION 12

Vaishampayana said, "After all the warriors had been slaughtered, king Yudhishthira the Just heard that his uncle Dhritarashtra had set out from the city called after the elephant. Afflicted with grief on account of the death of his sons, Yudhishthira, O king, accompanied by his brothers, set out for meeting his uncle, filled with sorrow and overwhelmed with grief for the slaughter of his (hundred) sons. The son of Kunti was followed by the high-souled and heroic Krishna of Dasharha's race, and by Yuyudhana, as also by Yuyutsu. The princess Draupadi also, burning with grief, and accompanied by those Pancala ladies that were with her, sorrowfully followed her lord. Yudhishthira beheld near the banks of the Ganga, O king, the crowd of Bharata ladies afflicted with woe and crying like a flight of she-ospreys. The king was soon surrounded by those thousands of ladies who, with arms raised aloft in grief, were indulging in loud lamentations and giving expression to all kinds of words, agreeable and disagreeable: 'Where, indeed, is that righteousness of the king, where is truth and compassion, since he has slain sires and brothers and preceptors and sons and friends? How, O mighty-armed one, hath thy heart become tranquil after causing Drona, and thy grandsire Bhishma, and Jayadratha, to be slaughtered? What need hast thou of sovereignty, after having seen thy sires and brothers, O Bharata, and the irresistible Abhimanyu and the sons of Draupadi, thus slaughtered?' Passing over those ladies crying like a flight of she-ospreys, the mighty-armed king Yudhishthira the Just saluted the feet of his eldest uncle. Having saluted their sire according to custom, those slayers of foes, the Pandavas, announced themselves to him, each uttering his own name. Dhritarashtra, exceedingly afflicted with grief on account of the slaughter of his sons, then reluctantly embraced the eldest son of Pandu, who was the cause of that slaughter. Having embraced Yudhishthira the Just and spoken a few words of comfort to him, O Bharata, the wicked-souled Dhritarashtra sought for Bhima, like a blazing fire ready to burn everything that would approach it. Indeed, that fire of his wrath, fanned by the wind of his grief, seemed then to be ready to consume the Bhima-forest. Ascertaining the evil intentions cherished by him towards Bhima, Krishna, dragging away the real Bhima, presented an iron statue of the second son of Pandu to the old king. Possessed of great intelligence, Krishna had, at the very outset, understood the intentions of Dhritarashtra, and had, therefore, kept such a contrivance ready for baffling them. Seizing with his two arms that iron Bhima, king Dhritarashtra, possessed of great strength, broke into pieces, thinking it to be Bhima himself in flesh and blood. Endued with might equal to that of 10,000 elephants, the king reduced that statue into fragments. His own breast, however, became considerably bruised and he began to vomit blood. Covered with blood, the king fell down on the ground like a parijata tree topped with its flowery burden. His learned charioteer Sanjaya, the son of Gavalgana, raised the monarch and soothing and comforting him, said, 'Do not act so.' The king then, having cast off his wrath and returned to his normal disposition, became filled with grief and began to weep aloud, saying, 'Alas, oh Bhima, alas, oh Bhima!' Understanding that he was no longer under the influence of wrath, and that he was truly sorry for having (as he believed) killed Bhima, Vasudeva, that foremost of men, said these words, 'Do not grieve, O Dhritarashtra, for thou hast not slain Bhimasena! That is an iron statue, O king, which has been broken by thee! Understanding that thou wert filled with rage, O bull of Bharata's race, I dragged the son of Kunti away from within the jaws of Death. O tiger among kings, there is none equal to thee in strength of body. What man is there, O mighty-armed one, that would endure pressure of thy arms? Indeed, as no one can escape with life from an encounter with the Destroyer himself, even so no body can come out safe from within thy embrace. It was for this that yonder iron statue of Bhima, which had been caused to be made by thy son, had been kept ready for thee. Through grief for the death of thy sons, thy mind has fallen off from righteousness. It is for this, O great king, that thou seekest to slay Bhimasena. The slaughter of Bhima, however, O king, would do thee no good. Thy sons, O monarch, would not be revived by it. Therefore, do thou approve of what has been by us with a view to secure peace and do not set thy heart on grief!'"

Section 13

Vaishampayana said, "Certain maid-servants then came to the king for washing him. After he had been duly washed, the slayer of Madhu again addressed him, saying, 'Thou hast, O king, read the Vedas and diverse scriptures. Thou hast heard all old histories, and everything about the duties of kings. Thou art learned, possessed of great wisdom, and indifferent to strength and weakness. Why then dost thou cherish such wrath when all that has overtaken thee is the result of thy own fault? I spoke to thee before the battle. Both Bhishma and Drona, O Bharata, did the same, as also Vidura and Sanjaya. Thou didst not, however, then follow our advice. Indeed, though exhorted by us, thou didst not yet act according to the counsels we offered, knowing that the Pandavas were superior to thee and thine, O Kauravya, in strength and courage. That king who is capable of seeing his own faults and knows the distinctions of place and time, obtains great prosperity. That person, however, who, though counselled by well-wishers, does not accept their words, good or bad, meets with distress and is obliged to grieve in consequence of the evil policy he pursues. Observe thou a different course of life now, O Bharata! Thou didst not keep thy soul under restraint, but suffered thyself to be ruled by Duryodhana. That which has come upon thee is due to thy own fault. Why then dost thou seek to slay Bhima? Recollecting thy own faults, govern thy wrath now. That mean wretch who had, from pride, caused the princess of Pancala to be brought into the assembly has been slain by Bhimasena in just revenge. Look at thy own evil acts as also at those of thy wicked-souled son. The sons of Pandu are perfectly innocent. Yet have they been treated most cruelly by thee and him.'"

Vaishampayana continued, "After he had thus been told nothing but the truth by Krishna, O monarch, king Dhritarashtra replied unto Devaki's son, saying, 'It is even so, O thou of mighty arms! What thou sayest, O Madhava, is perfectly true. It is parental affection, O thou of righteous soul, that caused me to fall away from righteousness. By good luck, that tiger among men, the mighty Bhima of true prowess, protected by thee, came not within my embrace. Now, however, I am free from wrath and fever. I desire eagerly, O Madhava, to embrace that hero, the second son of Pandu. When all the kings have been dead, when my children are no more, upon the sons of Pandu depend my welfare and happiness.' Having said these words, the old king then embraced those princes of excellent frames, Bhima and Dhananjaya, and those two foremost of men, the two sons of Madri, and wept, and comforted and pronounced blessings upon them."

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SECTION 14

Vaishampayana said, "Commanded by Dhritarashtra, those bulls of Kuru's race, the Pandava brothers, accompanied by Keshava, then proceeded to see Gandhari. The faultless Gandhari, afflicted with grief on account of the death of her hundred sons, recollecting that king Yudhishthira the Just had slain all his enemies, wished to curse him. Understanding her evil intentions towards the Pandavas, the son of Satyavati addressed himself for counteracting them at the very outset. Having cleansed himself by the sacred and fresh water of the Ganga, the great rishi, capable of proceeding everywhere at will with the fleetness of the mind, came to that spot. Capable of seeing the heart of every creature with his spiritual vision and with his mind directed towards it, the sage made his appearance there. Endued with great ascetic merit and ever intent on saying what was for the benefit of creatures, the rishi, addressing his daughter-in-law at the proper moment, said, 'Do not avail thyself of this opportunity for denouncing a curse. On the other hand, utilize it for showing thy forgiveness. Thou shouldst not be angry with the Pandavas, O Gandhari! Set thy heart on peace. Restrain the words that are about to fall from thy lips. Listen to my advice. Thy son, desirous of victory, had besought thee every day for the eighteen days that battle lasted, saying, "O mother, bless me who am fighting with my foes." Implored every day in these words by thy son desirous of victory, the answer thou always gavest him was, "Thither is victory where righteousness is!" I do not, O Gandhari, remember that any words spoken by thee have become false. Those words, therefore, that thou, implored by Duryodhana, saidst unto him, could not be false. Thou art always employed in the good of all creatures. Having without doubt reached the other shore in that dreadful battle of Kshatriyas, the sons of Pandu have certainly won the victory and a measure of righteousness that is much greater. Thou wert formerly observant of the virtue of forgiveness. Why wouldst thou not observe it now? Subdue unrighteousness, O thou that art conversant with righteousness. There is victory where righteousness is. Remembering thy own righteousness and the words spoken by thyself, restrain thy wrath, O Gandhari! Do not act otherwise, O thou that art beautiful in speech.' Hearing these words, Gandhari said, 'O holy one, I do not cherish any ill feelings towards the Pandavas, nor do I wish that they should perish. In consequence, however, of grief for the death of my sons, my heart is very much agitated. I know that I should protect the Pandavas with as much care as Kunti herself protects them, and that Dhritarashtra also should protect them as I should. Through the fault of Duryodhana and of Shakuni the son of Subala, and through the action of Karna and Duhshasana, extermination of the Kurus hath taken place. In this matter the slightest blame cannot attach to Vibhatsu or to Pritha's son Vrikodara, or to Nakula or Sahadeva, or to Yudhishthira himself. While engaged in battle, the Kauravas, swelling with arrogance and pride, have fallen along with many others (that came to their aid). I am not grieved at this. But there has been one act done by Bhima in the very presence of Vasudeva (that moves my resentment). The high-souled Vrikodara, having challenged Duryodhana to a dreadful encounter with mace, and having come to know that my son, while careering in diverse kinds of motion in the battle, was superior to him in skill, struck the latter below the navel. It is this that moves my wrath. Why should heroes, for the sake of their lives, cast off obligations of duty that have been determined by high-souled persons conversant with every duty?'"

SECTION 15

Vaishampayana said, "Hearing these words of Gandhari, Bhimasena, looking like one in fright, said these words for soothing her, 'Be the act righteous or unrighteous, it was done by me through fear and for the object of protecting my own self. It behoveth thee therefore, to forgive me now. Thy mighty son was incapable of being slain by anybody in a fair and righteous battle. It was for this that I did what was unfair. Duryodhana himself had formerly vanquished Yudhishthira unrighteously. He used always to behave guilefully towards us. It was for this that I had recourse to an unfair act. Thy son was then the sole unslain warrior on his side. In order that that valiant prince might not slay me in the mace-encounter and once more deprive us of our kingdom, I acted in that way. Thou knowest all that thy son had said unto the princess of Pancala while the latter, in her season, was clad in a single piece of raiment. Without having disposed of Suyodhana it was impossible for us to rule peacefully the whole earth with her seas. It was for this that I acted in that way. Thy son inflicted many wrongs on us. In the midst of the assembly he had shown his left thigh unto Draupadi. For that wicked behaviour, thy son deserved to be slain by us even then. At the command, however, of king Yudhishthira the Just, we suffered ourselves to be restrained by the compact that had been made. By this means, O queen, thy son provoked deadly hostilities with us. Great were our sufferings in the forest (whither we were driven by thy son). Remembering all this, I acted in that way. Having slain Duryodhana in battle, we have reached the end of our hostilities. Yudhishthira has got back his kingdom, and we also have been freed from wrath.' Hearing these words of Bhima, Gandhari said, 'Since thou praisest my son thus (for his skill in battle), he did not deserve such a death. He, however, did all that thou tellest me. When Vrishasena, however, had deprived Nakula of his steeds, O Bharata, thou quaffedst in battle the blood from Duhshasana's body! Such an act is cruel and is censured by the good. It suits only a person that is most disrespectable. It was a wicked act, O Vrikodara, that was then accomplished by thee! It was undeserving of thee.' Bhima replied, saying, 'It is improper to quaff the blood of even a stranger, what then need be said about quaffing the blood of one's own self? One's brother, again, is like one's own self. There is no difference between them. The blood, however, (that I am regarded to have quaffed) did not, O mother, pass down my lips and teeth. Karna knew this well. My hands only were smeared with (Duhshasana's) blood. Seeing Nakula deprived of his steeds by Vrishasena in battle, I caused the rejoicing (Kaurava) brothers to be filled with dread. When after the match at dice the tresses of Draupadi were seized, I uttered certain words in rage. Those words are still in my remembrance, I would, for all years to come, have been regarded to have swerved from the duties of a Kshatriya if I had left that vow unaccomplished. It was for this, O queen, that I did that act. It behoveth thee not, O Gandhari, to impute any fault to me. Without having restrained thy sons in former days, doth it behove thee to impute any fault to our innocent selves?'

"Gandhari said, 'Unvanquished by anyone, thou hast slain a hundred sons of this old man. Oh, why didst thou not spare, O child, even one son of this old couple deprived of kingdom, one whose offences were lighter? Why didst thou not leave even one crutch for this blind couple? O child, although thou livest unharmed, having slain all my children, yet no grief would have been mine if thou hadst adopted the path of righteousness (in slaying them).'"

Vaishampayana continued, "Having said these words, Gandhari, filled with wrath at the slaughter of all her sons and grandsons, enquired after Yudhishthira, saying, 'Where is the king?' After she had said these words king Yudhishthira, trembling and with joined hands, approached her and said these soft words unto her, 'Here is Yudhishthira, O goddess, that cruel slayer of thy sons! I deserve thy curses, for I am the cause of this universal destruction. Oh, curse me! I have no longer any need for life, for kingdom, for wealth! Having caused such friends to be slain, I have proved myself to be a great fool and a hater of friends.' Unto Yudhishthira who spoke such words, who was overcome with fear, and who stood in her presence, Gandhari, drawing long sighs, said nothing. Conversant with the rules of righteousness, the Kuru queen, possessed of great foresight, directed her eyes, from within the folds of the cloth that covered them, to the tip of Yudhishthira's toe, as the prince, with body bent forwards, was about to fall down at her feet. At this, the king, whose nails had before this been all very beautiful, came to have a sore nail on his toe. Beholding this, Arjuna moved away to the rear of Vasudeva. and the other sons of Pandu became restless and moved from one spot to another. Gandhari then, having cast off her wrath, comforted the Pandavas as a mother should. Obtaining her leave, those heroes of broad chests then proceeded together to present themselves to their mother, that parent of heroes. Having seen her sons after a long time, Kunti, who had been filled with anxiety on their account, covered her face with her cloth and began to weep. Having wept for some time with her children, Pritha beheld the wounds and scars of many weapons on their bodies. She then repeatedly embraced and patted each of her sons, and afflicted with grief wept with Draupadi who had lost all her children and whom she saw lying on the bare earth, indulging in piteous lamentations.

"Draupadi said, 'O venerable dame, where have all your grandsons, with Abhimanyu among them, gone? Beholding thee in such distress, why are they delaying in making their appearance before thee? Deprived as I am of my children, what need have I of kingdom?' Raising the grief-stricken princess of Pancala who was weeping thus, Pritha began to comfort that lady of large eyes. Then Kunti, accompanied by the princess of Pancala and followed by her sons, proceeded towards the grief-afflicted Gandhari herself in greater affliction still. Beholding that illustrious lady with her daughter-in-law, Gandhari addressed her, saying, 'Do not, O daughter, grieve so. Behold, I too am as much stricken with grief as thou. I think this universal destruction has been brought about by the irresistible course of Time. Inevitable as it was, this dreadful slaughter has not been due to the voluntary agency of human beings. Even that has come to pass which Vidura of great wisdom foretold after Krishna's supplication for peace had failed. Do not, therefore, grieve, in a matter that was inevitable, especially after its occurrence. Having fallen in battle, they should not be grieved for. I am in the same predicament with thee. (If thou actest in such a way) who then will comfort us? Through my fault, this foremost of races has been destroyed.'"

Here ends the Jalapradanika-parva in the Stri-parva.

SECTION 16

(Stri-vilapa-parva)

Vaishampayana said, "Having said these words, Gandhari, though staying on that spot which was distant from the field of battle, beheld, with her spiritual eye, the slaughter of the Kurus. Devoted to her lord, that highly blessed lady had always practised high vows. Undergoing the severest penances, she was always truthful in her speech. In consequence of the gift of the boon by the great rishi Vyasa of sanctified deeds, she became possessed of spiritual knowledge and power. Piteous were the lamentations in which that dame then indulged. Endued with great intelligence, the Kuru dame saw, from a distance, but as if from a near point, that field of battle, terrible to behold and full of wonderful sights, of those foremost of fighters. Scattered all over with bones and hair, and covered with streams of blood, that field was strewn with thousands upon thousands of dead bodies on every side. Covered with the blood of elephants and horses and car-warriors and combatants of other kinds, it teemed with headless trunks and trunkless heads. And it resounded with the cries of elephants and steeds and men and women and abounded with jackals and cranes and ravens and kankas and crows. And it was the sporting ground of rakshasas subsisting on human flesh. And it swarmed with ospreys and vultures and resounded with the inauspicious howls of jackals. Then king Dhritarashtra, at the command of Vyasa, and all the sons of Pandu with Yudhishthira at their head, with Vasudeva and all the Kuru ladies, proceeded to the field of battle. Those ladies, bereaved of their lords, having reached Kurukshetra, beheld their slain brothers and sons and sires and husbands lying on the ground, and in course of being devoured by beasts of prey and wolves and ravens and crows and ghosts and pishacas and rakshasas and diverse other wanderers of the night. Beholding that carnage which resembled the sights seen on the sporting ground of Rudra, the ladies uttered loud shrieks and quickly alighted from their costly vehicles. Witnessing sights the like of which they had never before witnessed, the Bharata ladies felt their limbs to be deprived of strength and fell down on the ground. Others became so stupefied that they lost all their senses. Indeed, the Pancala and the Kuru ladies were plunged into unutterable distress. Beholding that dreadful field of battle resounding on every direction with the cries of those grief-stricken ladies, the daughter of Subala, acquainted with every duty, addressed the lotus-eyed Keshava, that foremost of all men. Witnessing that universal slaughter of the Kurus and filled with grief at the sight, she said these words: 'Behold, O lotus-eyed Madhava, these daughters-in-law of mine! Deprived of their lords, they are uttering, with dishevelled hair, piteous cries of woe like a flight of she-ospreys. Meeting with those dead bodies, they are calling back to their memories the great Bharata chiefs. They are running hither and thither in large bands towards their sons and brothers and sires and husbands. Behold, O mighty-armed one, the field is covered with mothers of heroes, all of whom, however, have been bereaved of children. There, those portions again are covered with spouses of heroes, who have, however, been bereaved of their spouses! Behold, the field of battle is adorned with those tigers among men, Bhishma and Karna and Abhimanyu and Drona and Drupada and Shalya, as if with blazing fires. Behold, it is adorned also with the golden coats of mail, and with the costly gems, of high-souled warriors, and with their angadas, and keyuras and garlands. Behold, it is strewn with darts and spiked clubs hurled by heroic hands, and swords and diverse kinds of keen shafts and bows. Beasts of prey, assembled together, are standing or sporting or lying down as it likes them! Behold, O puissant hero, the field of battle is even such. At this sight, O Janardana, I am burning with grief. In the destruction of the Pancalas and the Kurus, O slayer of Madhu, I think, the five elements (of which everything is made) have been destroyed. Fierce vultures and other birds, in thousands, are dragging those blood-dyed bodies, and seizing them by their armour, are devouring them. Who is there that could think of the death of such heroes as Jayadratha and Karna and Drona and Bhishma and Abhimanyu? Alas, though incapable of being slain, they have yet been slain, O destroyer of Madhu! Behold, vultures and kankas and ravens and hawks and dogs and jackals are feasting upon them. There, those tigers among men, that fought on Duryodhana's side, and took the field in wrath, are now lying like extinguished fires. All of them are worthy of sleeping on soft and clean beds. But, alas, plunged into distress, they are sleeping today on the bare ground. Bards reciting their praises used to delight them before at proper times. They are now listening to the fierce and inauspicious cries of jackals. Those illustrious heroes who used formerly to sleep on costly beds with their limbs smeared with sandal paste and powdered aloe, alas, now sleep on the dust! These vultures and wolves and ravens have now become their ornaments. Repeatedly uttering inauspicious and fierce cries those creatures are now dragging their bodies. Delighting in battle, those heroes, looking cheerful, have still beside them their keen shafts, well-tempered swords, and bright maces, as if life has not yet departed from them. Many foremost of heroes, possessed of beauty and fair complexions and adorned

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with garlands of gold, are sleeping on the ground. Behold, beasts of prey are dragging and tearing them. Others, with massive arms, are sleeping with maces in their embrace, as if those were beloved wives. Others, still cased in armour, are holding in their hands their bright weapons. Beasts of prey are not mangling them, O Janardana, regarding them to be still alive. The beautiful garlands of pure gold on the necks of other illustrious heroes, as the latter are being dragged by carnivorous creatures, are scattered about on every side. There, those fierce wolves, numbering in thousands, are dragging the golden chains round the necks of many illustrious heroes stilled by death. Many, whom bards well-trained to their work formerly used, with their hymns and eulogies of grave import, to delight every morning, are now surrounded by fair ladies stricken with grief and weeping and crying around them in woe, O tiger of Vrishni's race! The faces of those beautiful ladies, O Keshava, though pale, look resplendent still, like an assemblage of red lotuses! Those Kuru ladies have ceased to weep, with their respective followers and companions. They are all filled with anxiety. Overwhelmed with sorrow, they are running hither and thither. The faces of those fair ones have, with weeping and anger, become resplendent as the morning sun or gold or burnished copper. Hearing each other's lamentations of incomplete sense, those ladies, in consequence of the loud wails of woe bursting from every side, are unable to catch each other's meaning. Some amongst them, drawing long sighs and indulging in repeated lamentations, are stupefied by grief and are abondoning their life-breaths. Many of them, beholding the bodies (of their sons, husbands, or sires), are weeping and setting up loud wails. Others are striking their heads with their own soft hands. The earth, strewn with severed heads and hands and other limbs mingled together and gathered in large heaps, looks resplendent with these signs of havoc! Beholding many headless trunks of great beauty, and many heads without trunks, those fair ones have been lying senseless on the ground for a long while. Uniting particular heads with particular trunks, those ladies, senseless with grief, are again discovering their mistakes and saying, "This is not this one's," and are weeping more bitterly! Others, uniting arms and thighs and feet, cut off with shafts, are giving way to grief and losing their senses repeatedly (at the sight of the restored forms). Some amongst the Bharata ladies, beholding the bodies of their lords,--bodies that have been mangled by animals and birds and severed of their heads,--are not succeeding in recognising them. Others, beholding their brothers, sires, sons, and husbands slain by foes, are, O destroyer of Madhu, striking their heads with their own hands. Miry with flesh and blood, the Earth has become impassable with arms still holding swords in their grasp, and with heads adorned with earrings. Beholding the field strewn with their brothers and sires, and sons, those faultless ladies, who had never before suffered the least distress, are now plunged into unutterable woe. Behold, O Janardana, those numerous bevies of Dhritarashtra's daughters-in-law, resembling successive multitudes of handsome fillies adorned with excellent manes! What, O Keshava, can be a sadder spectacle for me to behold than that presented by those ladies of fair forms who have assumed such an aspect? Without doubt, I must have perpetrated great sins in my former lives, since I am beholding, O Keshava, my sons and grandsons and brothers all slain by foes.' While indulging in such lamentations in grief, Gandhari's eyes fell upon her son (Duryodhana)."

SECTION 17

Vaishampayana said, "Beholding Duryodhana, Gandhari, deprived of her senses by grief, suddenly fell down on the earth like an uprooted plantain tree. Having regained her senses soon, she began to weep, repeatedly uttering loud wails at the sight of her son lying on the bare ground, covered with blood. Embracing her son, Gandhari indulged in piteous lamentations for him. Stricken with grief, and with senses exceedingly agitated, the Kuru queen exclaimed, 'Alas, O son! Alas, O son!' Burning with sorrow, the queen drenched with her tears the body of her son, possessed of massive and broad shoulders, and adorned with garlands and collar. Addressing Hrishikesha who stood near, she said, 'On the eve of this battle, O puissant one, that has exterminated this race, this foremost of kings, O thou of Vrishni's race, said unto me, "In this internecine battle, O mother, wish me victory!" When he had said these words, I myself, knowing that a great calamity had come upon us, told him even this, tiger among men, "Thither is victory where righteousness is. And since, son, thy heart is set on battle, thou wilt, without doubt, obtain those regions that are attainable by (the use of) weapons (and sport there) like a celestial." Even these were the words that I then said unto him. I did not then grieve for my son. I grieve, however, for the helpless Dhritarashtra bereaved of friends and kinsmen. Behold, O Madhava, my son, that foremost of warriors, wrathful, skilled in weapons, and irresistible in battle, sleeping on the bed of heroes. Behold the reverses brought about by Time. This scorcher of foes that used of old to walk at the head of all crowned persons now sleepeth on the dust. Without doubt, the heroic Duryodhana, when he sleeps on that bed which is the hero's hath obtained the most unattainable end. Inauspicious jackals are now delighting that prince asleep on the hero's bed, who was formerly delighted by the fairest of ladies sitting round him. He who was formerly encircled by kings vying with one another to give him pleasure, alas, he, slain and lying on the ground, is now encircled by vultures! He who was formerly fanned with beautiful fans by fair ladies is now fanned by (carnivorous) birds with flaps of their wings! Possessed of great strength and true prowess, this mighty-armed prince, slain by Bhimasena in battle, sleeps like an elephant slain by a lion! Behold Duryodhana, O Krishna, lying on the bare ground, covered with blood, slain by Bhimasena with his mace. That mighty-armed one who had in battle assembled together eleven akshauhinis of troops, O Keshava, hath, in consequence of his own evil policy, been now slain. Alas, there that great bowman and mighty car-warrior sleeps, slain by Bhimasena, like a tiger slain by a lion! Having disregarded Vidura, as also his own sire, this reckless, foolish, and wicked prince hath succumbed to death, in consequence of his disregard of the old. He who had ruled the earth, without a rival, for thirteen years, alas, that prince, that son of mine, sleepeth to-day on the bare ground, slain by his foes. Not long before, O Krishna, I beheld the Earth, full of elephants and kine and horses, ruled by Duryodhana! Today, O thou of mighty arms, I see her ruled by another, and destitute of elephants and kine and horses! What need have I, O Madhava, of life? Behold, again, this sight that is more painful than the death of my son, the sight of these fair ladies weeping by the side of the slain heroes! Behold, O Krishna, the mother of Lakshmana, that lady of large hips, with her tresses dishevelled, that dear spouse of Duryodhana, resembling a sacrificial altar of gold. Without doubt, this damsel of great intelligence, while her mighty-armed lord was formerly alive, used to sport within the embrace of her lord's handsome arms! Why, indeed, does not this heart of mine break into a hundred fragments at the sight of my son and grandson slain in battle? Alas, that faultless lady now smells (the head of) her son covered with blood. Now, again, that lady of fair thighs is gently rubbing Duryodhana's body with her fair hand. At one time she is sorrowing for her lord and at another for her son. At one time she looketh on her lord, at another on her son. Behold, O Madhava, striking her head with her hands, she falls upon the breast of her heroic spouse, the king of the Kurus. Possessed of complexion like that of the filaments of the lotus, she still looketh beautiful like a lotus. The unfortunate princess now rubbeth the face of her son and now that of her lord. If the scriptures and the shrutis be true, without doubt, this king has obtained those regions (of blessedness) that one may win by the use of weapons!'"

SECTION 18

"Gandhari said, 'Behold, O Madhava, my century of sons, incapable of fatigue (from exertion in battle), have all been slain by Bhimasena with his mace in battle! That which grieves me more today is that these my daughters-in-law, of tender years, deprived of sons and with dishevelled hair, are wandering on the field today. Alas, they who formerly walked only on the terraces of goodly mansions with feet adorned with many ornaments, are now, in great affliction of heart, obliged to touch with those feet of theirs this hard earth, miry with blood! Reeling in sorrow, they are wandering like inebriated persons, driving away vultures and jackals and crows with difficulty. Behold, that lady of faultless limbs and slender waist, seeing this terrible carnage, falleth down, overwhelmed with grief. Beholding this princess, this mother of Lakshmana, O thou of mighty arms, my heart is torn with grief. These beautiful ladies of fair arms, some seeing their brothers, some their husbands, and some their sons, lying down in death on the bare ground, are themselves falling down, seizing the arms of the slain. Listen, O unvanquished one, to the loud wails of those elderly ladies and those others of middle age at sight of this terrible carnage. Supporting themselves against broken boxes of cars and the bodies of slain elephants and steeds, behold, O thou of great might, those ladies, worn out with fatigue, are resting themselves. Behold, O Krishna, some one amongst them, taking up some kinsman's severed head decked with beautiful nose and earrings, is standing in grief. I think, O sinless one, that both those and myself of little understanding must have committed great sins in our former lives, since, O Janardana, all our relatives and kinsmen have thus been slain by king Yudhishthira the Just! Our acts, righteous or unrighteous, cannot go for nothing, O thou of Vrishni's race! Behold, O Madhava, those young ladies of beautiful bosoms and abdomen, well-born, possessed of modesty, having black eye-lashes and tresses of the same colour on their heads, endued with voice sweet and dear like that of swans, are falling down, deprived of their senses in great grief and uttering piteous cries like flights of cranes. Behold, O lotus-eyed hero, their beautiful faces resembling full-blown lotuses, are scorched by the sun. Alas, O Vasudeva, the wives of my proud children possessed of prowess like that of infuriated elephants, are now exposed to the gaze of common people. Behold, O Govinda, the shields decked with hundred moons, the standards of solar effulgence, the golden coats of mail, and the collars and cuirasses made of gold, and the head-gears, of my sons, scattered on the earth, are blazing with splendour like sacrificial fires over which have been poured libations, of clarified butter. There, Duhshasana sleepeth, felled by Bhima, and the blood of all his limbs quaffed by that heroic slayer of foes. Behold that other son of mine, O Madhava, slain by Bhima with his mace, impelled by Draupadi and the recollection of his woes at the time of the match at dice. Addressing the dice-won princess of Pancala in the midst of the assembly, this Duhshasana, desirous of doing what was agreeable to his (elder) brother as also to Karna, O Janardana, had said, "Thou art now the wife of a slave! With Sahadeva and Nakula and Arjuna, O lady, enter our household now!" On that occasion, O Krishna, I said unto king Duryodhana, "O son, cast off (from thy side) the wrathful Shakuni. Know that thy maternal uncle is of very wicked soul and exceedingly fond of quarrel. Casting him off without delay, make peace with the Pandavas, O son! O thou of little intelligence, thinkest thou not of Bhimasena filled with wrath? Thou art piercing him with thy wordy shafts like a person striking an elephant with burning brands." Alas, disregarding my words, he vomitted his wordy poison at them, like a snake vomitting its poison at a bull,--at them who had already been pierced with his wordy darts. There, that Duhshasana sleepeth, stretching his two massive arms, slain by Bhimasena like a mighty elephant by a lion. The very wrathful Bhimasena perpetrated a most horrible act by drinking in battle the blood of his foe!'"

SECTION 19

"Gandhari said, 'There, O Madhava, my son Vikarna, applauded by the wise, lieth on the bare ground, slain by Bhima and mangled horribly! Deprived of life, O slayer of Madhu, Vikarna lieth in the midst of (slain) elephants like the moon in the autumnal sky surrounded by blue clouds. His broad palm, cased in leathern fence, and scarred by constant wielding of the bow, is pierced with difficulty by vultures desirous of feeding upon it. His helpless young wife, O Madhava, is continually endeavouring, without success, to drive away those vultures desirous of feeding on carrion. The youthful and brave and handsome Vikarna, O bull among men, brought up in luxury and deserving of every kind of weal, now sleepeth amid the dust, O Madhava! Though all his vital parts have been pierced with clothyard shafts and bearded arrows and nalikas, yet that beauty of person which was his hath not forsaken this best of the Bharatas. There, my son Durmukha, that slayer of large band of foes, sleepeth, with face towards the enemy, slain by the heroic Bhimasena in observance of his vow. His face, O Krishna, half-eaten away by beasts of prey, looketh more handsome, O child, even like the moon on the seventh day of the lighted fortnight. Behold, O Krishna, the face of that heroic son of mine, which is even such. How could that son of mine be slain by foes and thus made to eat the dust? O amiable one, how could that Durmukha, before whom no foe could stand, be slain by foes, O subjugator of celestial regions! Behold, O slayer of Madhu, that other son of Dhritarashtra, Citrasena, slain and lying on the ground, that hero who was the model of all bowmen? Those young ladies, afflicted with grief and uttering piteous cries, are now sitting, with beasts of prey, around his fair form adorned with wreaths and garlands. These loud wails of woe, uttered by women, and these cries and roars of beasts of prey, seem exceedingly wonderful to me, O Krishna! Youthful and handsome, and always waited upon and served by the most beautiful ladies, my son Vivinsati, O Madhava, sleepeth there, stained with dust. His armour hath been pierced with arrows. Slain in the midst of the carnage, alas, the heroic Vivimshati is now surrounded and waited upon by vultures! Having in battle penetrated the ranks of the Pandava army, that hero now lieth on the bed of a hero,--on the bed, that is, of an exalted Kshatriya! Behold, O Krishna, his very beautiful face, with a smile playing on it, adorned with excellent nose and fair eyebrows, and resembling the resplendent Moon himself! Formerly a large number of the most beautiful ladies used to wait upon him, like thousands of celestial girls upon a sporting gandharva. Who again could endure my son Duhsaha, that slayer of heroic foes, that hero, that ornament of assemblies, that irresistible warrior, that resister of foes? The body of Duhsaha, covered with arrows, looks resplendent like a mountain overgrown with flowering karnikaras. With his garland of gold and his bright armour, Duhsaha, though deprived of life, looks resplendent yet, like a white mountain of fire!'"

SECTION 20

"Gandhari said, 'He whose might and courage were regarded, O Keshava, as a one and half times superior to those of his sire and thee, he who resembled a fierce and proud lion, he who, without a follower, alone pierced the impenetrable array of my son, he who proved to be the death of many, alas, he now sleepeth there, having himself succumbed to death! I

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see, O Krishna, the splendour of that son of Arjuna, of that hero of immeasurable energy, Abhimanyu, hath not been dimmed even in death. There, the daughter of Virata, the daughter-in-law of the wielder of gandiva, that girl of faultless beauty overwhelmed with grief at sight of her heroic husband, is indulging in lamentations! That young wife, the daughter of Virata, approaching her lord, is gently rubbing him, O Krishna, with her hand. Formerly, that highly intelligent and exceedingly beautiful girl, inebriated with honeyed wines, used bashfully to embrace her lord, and kiss the face of Subhadra's son, that face which resembled a full-blown lotus and which was supported on a neck adorned with three lines like those of a conch-shell. Taking of her lord's golden coat of mail, O hero, that damsel is gazing now on the blood-dyed body of her spouse. Beholding her lord, O Krishna, that girl addresses thee and says, "O lotus-eyed one, this hero whose eyes resembled thine, hath been slain. In might and energy, and prowess also, he was thy equal, O sinless one! He resembled thee very much in beauty. Yet he sleeps on the ground, slain by the enemy!" Addressing her own lord, the damsel says again, "Thou wert brought up in every luxury. Thou usedst to sleep on soft skins of the ranku deer. Alas, does not thy body feel pain today by lying thus on the bare ground? Stretching thy massive arms adorned with golden angadas, resembling a couple of elephant's trunks and covered with skin hardened by frequent use of the bow, thou sleepest, O lord, in peace, as if exhausted with the toil of too much exercise in the gymnasium. Alas, why dost thou not address me that am weeping so? I do not remember to have ever offended thee. Why dost thou not speak to me then? Formerly, thou usedst to address me even when thou wouldst see me at a distance. O reverend sir, whither wilt thou go, leaving behind thee the much-respected Subhadra, these thy sires that resemble the very celestials, and my own wretched self distracted with woe?" Behold, O Krishna, gathering with her hands the blood-dyed locks of her lord and placing his head on her lap, the beautiful damsel is speaking to him as if he were alive, "How couldst those great car-warriors slay thee in the midst of battle,--thee that art the sister's son of Vasudeva and the son of the wielder of gandiva? Alas, fie on those warriors of wicked deeds, Kripa and Karna and Jayadratha and Drona and Drona's son, by whom thou wert deprived of life. What was the state of mind of those great car-warriors at that time when they surrounded thee, a warrior of tender years, and slew thee to my grief? How couldst thou, O hero, who had so many protectors, be slain so helplessly in the very sight of the Pandavas and the Pancalas? Beholding thee, O hero, slain in battle by many persons united together, how is that tiger among men, that son of Pandu, thy sire, able to bear the burden of life? Neither the acquisition of a vast kingdom nor the defeat of their foes conduces to the joy of the Parthas bereft of thee, O lotus-eyed one! By the practice of virtue and self-restraint, I shall very soon repair to those regions of bliss which thou hast acquired by the use of weapons. Protect me, O hero, when I repair to those regions. When one's hour does not come, one cannot die, since, wretched that I am, I still draw breath after seeing thee slain in battle. Having repaired to the region of the pitris, whom else, like me, dost thou address now, O tiger among men, in sweet words mingled with smiles? Without doubt, thou wilt agitate the hearts of the apsaras in heaven, with thy great beauty and thy soft words mingled with smiles! Having obtained the regions reserved for persons of righteous deeds, thou art now united, O son of Subhadra, with the apsaras! While sporting with them, recollect at times my good acts towards thee. Thy union with me in this world had, it seems, been ordained for only six months, for in the seventh, O hero, thou hast been bereft of life!" O Krishna, the ladies of the royal house of Matsya are dragging away the afflicted Uttara, baffled of all her purposes, while lamenting in this strain. Those ladies, dragging away the afflicted Uttara, themselves still more afflicted than that girl, are weeping and uttering loud wails at sight of the slain Virata. Mangled with the weapons and shafts of Drona, prostrate on the ground, and covered with blood, Virata is encompassed by screaming vultures and howling jackals and crowing ravens. Those black-eyed ladies, approaching the prostrate form of the Matsya king over which carnivorous birds are uttering cries of joy, are endeavouring to turn the body. Weakened by grief and exceedingly afflicted, they are unable to do what they intend. Scorched by the Sun, and worn out with exertion and toil, their faces have become colourless and pale. Behold also, O Madhava, those other children besides Abhimanyu--Uttara, Sudakshina the prince of the Kambhojas, and the handsome Lakshmana--all lying on the field of battle!'"

SECTION 21

"Gandhari said, 'Then the mighty Karna, that great bowman, lieth on the ground! In battle he was like a blazing fire! That fire, however, hath now been extinguished by the energy of Partha. Behold, Vikartana's son Karna, after having slain many atirathas, has been prostrated on the bare ground, and is drenched with blood. Wrathful and possessed of great energy, he was a great bowman and a mighty car-warrior. Slain in battle by the wielder of gandiva, that hero now sleepeth on the ground. My sons, those mighty car-warriors, from fear of the Pandavas, fought, placing Karna at their head, like a herd of elephants with its leader to the fore. Alas, like a tiger slain by a lion, or an elephant by an infuriated elephant, that warrior hath been slain in battle by Savyasaci. Assembled together, O tiger among men, the wives of that warrior, with dishevelled tresses and loud wails of grief, are sitting around that fallen hero! Filled with anxiety caused by the thoughts of that warrior, king Yudhishthira the Just could not, for thirteen years, obtain a wink of sleep! Incapable of being checked by foes in battle like Maghavat himself who is invincible by enemies, Karna was like the all-destroying fire of fierce flames at the end of the yuga, and immovable like Himavat himself! That hero became the protector of Dhritarashtra's son, O Madhava! Alas, deprived of life, he now lieth on the bare ground, like a tree prostrated by the wind! Behold, the wife of Karna and mother of Vrishasena, is indulging in piteous lamentations and crying and weeping and falling upon the ground! Even now she exclaims, "Without doubt, thy preceptor's curse hath pursued thee! When the wheel of thy car was swallowed up by the Earth, the cruel Dhananjaya cut off thy head with an arrow! Alas, fie (on the heroism and skill)!" That lady, the mother of Sushena, exceedingly afflicted and uttering cries of woe, is falling down, deprived of her senses, at the sight of the mighty-armed and brave Karna prostrated on the earth, with his waist still encircled with a belt of gold. Carnivorous creatures, feeding on the body of that illustrious hero, have reduced it to very small dimensions. The sight is not gladdening, like that of the moon on the fourteenth night of the dark fortnight. Falling down on the earth, the cheerless dame is rising up again. Burning with grief on account of the death of her son also, she cometh and smelleth the face of her lord!'"

SECTION 22

"Gandhari said, 'Slain by Bhimasena, behold, the lord of Avanti lies there! Vultures and jackals and crows are feeding upon that hero! Though possessed of many friends, he lies now perfectly friendless! Behold, O slayer of Madhu, having made a great slaughter of foes, that warrior is now lying on the bed of a hero, covered with blood. Jackals, and kankas, and other carnivorous creatures of diverse kinds, are dragging him now. Behold the reverses brought about by Time. His wives, assembled together, and crying in grief, are sitting around that hero who in life was a terrible slayer of foes but who now lies on the bed of a hero. Behold, Pratipa's son Bahlika, that mighty bowman possessed of great energy, slain with a broad-headed shaft, is now lying on the ground like a sleeping tiger. Though deprived of life, the colour of his face is still exceedingly bright, like that of the moon at full, risen on the fifteenth day of the lighted fortnight! Burning with grief on account of the death of his son, and desirous of accomplishing his vow, Indra's son (Arjuna) hath slain there that son of Vriddhakshatra! Behold that Jayadratha, who was protected by the illustrious Drona, slain by Partha bent on accomplishing his vow, after penetrating through eleven Akshauhinis of troops. Inauspicious vultures, O Janardana, are feeding upon Jayadratha, the lord of the Sindhu-Sauviras, full of pride and energy! Though sought to be protected by his devoted wives, see, O Acyuta, carnivorous creatures are dragging his body away to a jungle in the vicinity. The Kamboja and Yavana wives of that mighty-armed lord of the Sindhus and the Sauviras are waiting upon him for protecting him (from the wild beasts). At that time, O Janardana, when Jayadratha, assisted by the Kekayas, endeavoured to ravish Draupadi, he deserved to be slain by the Pandavas! From regard, however, for Duhshala, they set him free on that occasion. Why, O Krishna, did they not show some regard for that Duhshala once more? That daughter of mine, of tender years, is now crying in grief. She is striking her body with her own hands and censuring the Pandavas. What, O Krishna, can be a greater grief to me than that my daughter of tender years should be a widow and all my daughters-in-law should become lordless. Alas, alas, behold, my daughter Duhshala, having cast off her grief and fears, is running hither and thither in search of the head of her husband. He who had checked all the Pandavas desirous of rescuing their son, after causing the slaughter of a vast force, at last himself succumbed to death. Alas, those wives of his, with faces as beautiful as the moon, are crying, sitting around that irresistible hero who resembled an infuriated elephant!'"

SECTION 23

"Gandhari said, 'There lies Shalya, the maternal uncle himself of Nakula, slain in battle, O sire, by the pious and virtuous Yudhishthira! He used everywhere, O bull among men, to boast of his equality with thee! That mighty car-warrior, the ruler of the Madras, now lieth, deprived of life. When he accepted the drivership of Karna's car in battle, he sought to damp the energy of Karna for giving victory to the sons of Pandu! Alas, alas, behold the smooth face of Shalya, beautiful as the moon, and adorned with eyes resembling the petals of the lotus, eaten away by crows! There, the tongue of that king, of the complexion of heated gold, rolling out of his mouth, is, O Krishna, being eaten away by carnivorous birds! The ladies of the royal house of Madra, uttering loud wails of woe, are sitting around the body of that king, that ornament of assemblies, deprived of life by Yudhishthira! Those ladies are sitting around that fallen hero like a herd of she-elephants in their season around their leader sunk in a slough. Behold the brave Shalya, that giver of protection, that foremost of car-warriors, stretched on the bed of heroes, his body mangled with shafts. There, king Bhagadatta of great prowess, the ruler of a mountainous kingdom, the foremost of all wielders of the elephant-hook, lieth on the ground, deprived of life. Behold the garland of gold that he still wears on his head, looketh resplendent. Though the body is being eaten away by beasts of prey, that garland still adorns the fair locks on his head. Fierce was the battle that took place between this king and Partha, making the very hair stand on end, like that between Shakra and the Asura Vritra. This mighty-armed one, having fought Dhananjaya, the son of Pritha, and having reduced him to great straits, was at last slain by his antagonist. He who had no equal on earth in heroism and energy, that achiever of terrible feats in battle, Bhishma, lieth there, deprived of life. Behold the son of Shantanu, O Krishna, that warrior of solar effulgence, stretched on the earth, like the Sun himself fallen from the firmament at the end of the yuga. Having scorched his foes with the fire of his weapons in battle, that valiant warrior, that Sun among men, O Keshava, hath set like the real Sun at evening. Behold that hero, O Krishna, who in knowledge of duty was equal to Devapi himself, now lying on a bed of arrows, so worthy of heroes. Having spread his excellent bed of barbed and unbarbed arrows, that hero lieth on it like the divine Skanda on a clump of heath. Indeed, the son of Ganga lieth, resting his head on that excellent pillow, consisting of three arrows,--becoming complement of his bed--given him by the wielder of gandiva. For obeying the command of his sire, this illustrious one drew up his vital seed. Unrivalled in battle, that son of Shantanu lieth there, O Madhava! Of righteous soul and acquainted with every duty, by the aid of his knowledge relating to both the worlds, that hero, though mortal, is still bearing his life like an immortal. When Shantanu's son lieth today, struck down with arrows, it seems that no other person is alive on earth that possesseth learning and prowess that is competent to achieve great feats in battle. Truthful in speech, this righteous and virtuous hero, solicited by the Pandavas, told them the means of his own death. Alas, he who had revived the line of Kuru that had become extinct, that illustrious person possessed of great intelligence, hath left the world with all the Kurus in his company. Of whom, O Madhava, will the Kurus enquire of religion and duty after that bull among men, Devavrata, who resembles a god, shall have gone to heaven? Behold Drona, that foremost of brahmanas, that preceptor of Arjuna, of Satyaki, and of the Kurus, lying on the ground! Endued with mighty energy, Drona, O Madhava, was as conversant with the four kinds of arms as the chief of the celestials or Shukra of Bhrigu's race. Through his grace, Vibhatsu the son of Pandu, hath achieved the most difficult feats. Deprived of life, he now lies on the ground. Weapons refused to come (at last) at his bidding. Placing him at their head, the Kauravas had challenged the Pandavas. That foremost of all wielders of weapons was at last mangled with weapons. As he careered in battle, scorching his foes in every direction, his course resembled that of a blazing conflagration. Alas, deprived of life, he now lieth on the ground, like an extinguished fire. The handle of the bow is yet in his grasp. The leathern fences, O Madhava, still encase his fingers. Though slain, he still looketh as if alive. The four Vedas, and all kinds of weapons, O Keshava, did not abandon that hero even as these do not abandon the Lord Prajapati himself. His auspicious feet, deserving of every adoration and adored as a matter of fact by bards and eulogists and worshipped by disciples, are now being dragged by jackals. Deprived of her senses by grief, Kripi woefully attendeth, O slayer of Madhu, on that Drona who hath been slain Drupada's son. Behold that afflicted lady, fallen upon the Earth, with dishevelled hair and face hanging down. Alas, she attendeth in sorrow upon her lifeless lord, that foremost of all wielders of weapons, lying on the ground. Many brahmacaris, with matted locks on their head, are attending upon the body of Drona that is cased in armour rent through and through, O Keshava, with the shafts of Dhrishtadyumna. The illustrious and delicate Kripi, cheerless and afflicted, is endeavouring to perform the last rites on the body of her lord slain in battle. There, those reciters of Samas, having placed the body of Drona on the funeral pyre and having ignited the fire with due rites, are singing the three (well-known) Samas. Those brahmacaris, with matted locks on their heads, have piled the funeral pyre of that brahmana with bows and darts and car-boxes, O Madhava! Having collected diverse other kinds of shafts, that hero of great energy is being consumed by them. Indeed, having placed him on the pyre, they are singing and weeping. Others are reciting the three (well-known) Samas that are used on such occasions. Consuming Drona on that fire, like fire in fire, those disciples

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of his of the regenerate class are proceeding towards the banks of the Ganga, along the left side of the pyre and having placed Kripi at their head!'"

SECTION 24

"Gandhari said, 'Behold the son of Somadatta, who was slain by Yuyudhana, pecked at and torn by a large number of birds! Burning with grief at the death of his son, Somadatta, O Janardana, (as he lies there) seems to censure the great bowman Yuyudhana. There the mother of Bhurishrava, that faultless lady, overcome with grief, is addressing her lord Somadatta, saying, "By good luck, O king, thou seest not this terrible carnage of the Bharatas, this extermination of the Kurus, this sight that resembles the scenes occurring at the end of the yuga. By good luck, thou seest not thy heroic son, who bore the device of the sacrificial stake on his banner and who performed numerous sacrifices with profuse presents to all, slain on the field of battle. By good luck, thou hearest not those frightful wails of woe uttered amidst this carnage by thy daughters-in-law like the screams of a flight of cranes on the bosom of the sea. Thy daughters-in-law, bereaved of both husbands and sons, are running hither and thither, each clad in a single piece of raiment and each with her black tresses all dishevelled. By good luck, thou seest not thy son, that tiger among men, deprived of one of his arms, overthrown by Arjuna, and even now in course of being devoured by beasts of prey. By good luck, thou seest not today thy son slain in battle, and Bhurishrava deprived of life, and thy widowed daughters-in-law plunged into grief. By good luck, thou seest not the golden umbrella of that illustrious warrior who had the sacrificial stake for the device on his banner, torn and broken on the terrace of his car. There the black-eyed wives of Bhurishrava are indulging in piteous lamentations, surrounding their lord slain by Satyaki. Afflicted with grief on account of the slaughter of their lords, those ladies, indulging in copious lamentations, are falling down on the earth with their faces towards the ground, and slowly approaching thee, O Keshava! Alas, why did Arjuna of pure deeds perpetrate such a censurable act, since he struck off the arm of a heedless warrior who was brave and devoted to the performance of sacrifices. Alas, Satyaki did an act that was still more sinful, for he took the life of a person of restrained soul while sitting in the observance of the praya vow. Alas, O righteous one, thou liest on the ground, slain unfairly by two foes." Even thus, O Madhava, those wives of Bhurishrava are crying aloud in woe. There, those wives of that warrior, all possessed of slender waists, are placing upon their laps the lopped off arm of their lord and weeping bitterly!

"Here is that arm which used to invade the girdles, grind the deep bosoms, and touch the navel, the thighs, and the hips, of fair women, and loosen the ties of the drawers worn by them! Here is that arm which slew foes and dispelled the fears of friends, which gave thousands of kine and exterminated Kshatriyas in battle! In the presence of Vasudeva himself, Arjuna of unstained deeds, lopped it off thy heedless self while thou wert engaged with another in battle. What, indeed, wilt thou, O Janardana, say of this great feat of Arjuna while speaking of it in the midst of assemblies. What also will the diadem-decked Arjuna himself say of it?" Censuring thee in this way, that foremost of ladies hath stopped at last. The co-wives of that lady are piteously lamenting with her as if she were their daughter-in-law!

"'There the mighty Shakuni, the chief of gandharvas, of prowess incapable of being baffled, hath been slain by Sahadeva, the maternal uncle by the sister's son! Formerly, he used to be fanned with a couple of gold-handed fans! Alas, now, his prostrate form is being fanned by birds with their wings! He used to assume hundreds and thousands of forms. All the illusions, however, of that individual possessed of great deceptive powers, have been burnt by the energy of the son of Pandu. An expert in guile, he had vanquished Yudhishthira in the assembly by his powers of deception and won from him his vast kingdom. The son of Pandu, however, hath now won Shakuni's life-breaths. Behold, O Krishna, a large number of birds is now sitting around Shakuni. An expert in dice, alas, he had acquired that skill for the destruction of my sons. This fire of hostility with the Pandavas had been ignited by Shakuni for the destruction of my children as also of himself and his followers and kinsmen. Like those acquired by my sons, O puissant one, by the use of weapons, this one too, however wicked-souled, has acquired many regions of bliss by the use of weapons. My fear, O slayer of Madhu, is that that crooked person may not succeed in fomenting dissensions even (there, the region attained by them) between my children, all of whom are confiding and possessed of candour!'"

SECTION 25

"Gandhari said, 'Behold that irresistible ruler of the Kambojas, that bull-necked hero, lying amid the dust, O Madhava, though deserving of being stretched at his ease on Kamboja blankets. Stricken with great grief, his wife is weeping bitterly at sight of his blood-stained arms, which, however, formerly used to be smeared with sandal-paste. Indeed, the beauteous one exclaims, "Even now adorned with beautiful palms and graceful fingers, these two arms of thine resemble a couple of spiked maces, getting within whose clasp, joy never left me for a moment! What will be my end, O ruler of men, when I am deprived of thee?" Endued with a melodious voice, the Kamboja queen is weeping helplessly and quivering with emotion. Behold that bevy of fair ladies there. Although tired with exertion and worn out with heat, yet beauty leaves not their forms, like the sightliness of the wreaths worn by the celestials although exposed to the Sun. Behold, O slayer of Madhu, the heroic ruler of the Kalingas lying there on the ground with his mighty arms adorned with a couple of angadas. Behold, O Janardana, those Magadha ladies crying and standing around Jayatsena, the ruler of the Magadhas. The charming and melodious wails of those long-eyed and sweet-voiced girls, O Krishna, are stupefying my heart exceedingly. With all their ornaments displaced, crying, and afflicted with grief, alas, those ladies of Magadha, worthy of resting on costly beds, are now lying down on the bare ground! There, again, those other ladies, surrounding their lord, the ruler of the Kosalas, prince Brihadbala, are indulging in loud wails. Engaged in plucking from his body the shafts with which it was pierced by Abhimanyu with the full might of his arms, those ladies are repeatedly losing their senses. The faces of those beautiful ladies, O Madhava, through toil and the rays of the Sun, are looking like faded lotuses. There, the brave sons of Dhrishtadyumna, of tender years and all adorned with garlands of gold and beautiful angadas, are lying, slain by Drona. Like insects on a blazing fire, they have all been burnt by falling upon Drona, whose car was the chamber of fire, having the bow for its flame and shafts and darts and maces for its fuel. Similarly, the five Kekaya brothers, possessed of great courage, and adorned with beautiful angadas, are lying on the ground, slain by Drona and with their faces turned towards that hero. Their coats of mail, of the splendour of heated gold, and their tall standards and cars and garlands, all made of the same metal, are shedding a bright light on the earth like so many blazing fires. Behold, O Madhava, king Drupada overthrown in battle by Drona, like a mighty elephant in the forest slain by a huge lion. The bright umbrella, white in hue of the king of the Pancalas, shines, O lotus-eyed one, like the moon in the autumnal firmament. The daughters-in-law and the wives of the old king, afflicted with grief, having burnt his body on the funeral pyre, are proceeding, keeping the pyre to their right. There those ladies, deprived of their senses, are removing the brave and great bowman Dhrishtaketu, that bull among the Cedis, slain by Drona. This crusher of foes, O slayer of Madhu, this great bowman, having baffled many weapons of Drona, lieth there, deprived of life, like a tree uprooted by the wind. Alas, that brave ruler of the Cedis, that mighty car-warrior Dhrishtaketu, after having slain thousands of foes, lies himself deprived of life! There, O Hrishikesha, the wives of the ruler of the Cedis are sitting around his body still decked with fair locks and beautiful earrings, though torn by carnivorous birds. Those foremost of ladies placing upon their laps the prostrate form of the heroic Dhrishtaketu born of the Dasharha race, are crying in sorrow. Behold, O Hrishikesha, the son, possessed of fair locks and excellent earrings, of that Dhrishtaketu, hacked in battle by Drona with his shafts. He never deserted his sire while the latter battled with his foes. Mark, O slayer of Madhu, he does not, even in death, desert that heroic parent. Even thus, my son's son, that slayer of hostile heroes, the mighty-armed Lakshmana, hath followed his sire Duryodhana! Behold, O Keshava, the two brothers of Avanti, Vinda and Anuvinda, lying there on the field, like two blossoming shala trees in the spring overthrown by the tempest. Clad in golden armour and adorned with Angadas of gold, they are still armed with swords and bows. Possessed of eyes like those of a bull, and decked with bright garlands, both of them are stretched on the field. The Pandavas, O Krishna, with thyself, are surely unslayable, since they and thou have escaped from Drona, from Bhishma, from Karna the son of Vikartana, from Kripa, from Duryodhana, from the son of Drona, from the mighty car-warrior Jayadratha, from Somadatta, from Vikarna, and from the brave Kritavarma. Behold the reverses brought about by Time! Those bulls among men that were capable of slaying the very celestials by force of their weapons have themselves been slain. Without doubt, O Madhava, there is nothing difficult for destiny to bring about, since even these bulls among men, these heroes, have been slain by Kshatriya warriors. My sons endued with great activity were (regarded by me as) slain even then, O Krishna, when thou returnedst unsuccessfully to Upaplavya. Shantanu's son and the wise Vidura told me then, "Cease to bear affection for thy children!" The interviews of those persons could not go for nothing. Soon, O Janardana, have my sons been consumed into ashes!'"

Vaishampayana continued, "Having said these words, Gandhari, deprived of her senses by grief, fell down on the earth! Casting off her fortitude, she suffered her senses to be stupefied by grief. Filled with wrath and with sorrow at the death of her sons, Gandhari, with agitated heart, ascribed every fault to Keshava.

"Gandhari said, 'The Pandavas and the Dhartarashtras, O Krishna, have both been burnt. Whilst they were thus being exterminated, O Janardana, why wert thou indifferent to them? Thou wert competent to prevent the slaughter, for thou hast a large number of followers and a vast force. Thou hadst eloquence, and thou hadst the power (for bringing about peace). Since deliberately, O slayer of Madhu, thou wert indifferent to this universal carnage, therefore, O mighty-armed one, thou shouldst reap the fruit of this act. By the little merit I have acquired through waiting dutifully on my husband, by that merit so difficult to attain, I shall curse thee, O wielder of the discus and the mace! Since thou wert indifferent to the Kurus and the Pandavas whilst they slew each other, therefore, O Govinda, thou shalt be the slayer of thy own kinsmen! In the thirty-sixth year from this, O slayer of Madhu, thou shalt, after causing the slaughter of thy kinsmen and friends and sons, perish by disgusting means in the wilderness. The ladies of thy race, deprived of sons, kinsmen, and friends, shall weep and cry even as these ladies of the Bharata race!'"

Vaishampayana continued, "Hearing these words, the high-souled Vasudeva, addressing the venerable Gandhari, said unto her these words, with a faint smile, 'There is none in the world, save myself, that is capable of exterminating the Vrishnis. I know this well. I am endeavouring to bring it about. In uttering this curse, O thou of excellent vows, thou hast aided me in the accomplishment of that task. The Vrishnis are incapable of being slain by others, be they human beings or gods or Danavas. The Yadavas, therefore shall fall by one another's hand.' After he of Dasharha's race had said these words, the Pandavas became stupefied. Filled with anxiety all of them became hopeless of life!'"

SECTION 26

"The holy one said, 'Arise, arise, O Gandhari, do not set thy heart on grief! Through thy fault, this vast carnage has taken place! Thy son Duryodhana was wicked-souled, envious, and exceedingly arrogant. Applauding his wicked acts, thou regardest them to be good. Exceedingly cruel, he was the embodiment of hostilities, and disobedient to the injunctions of the old. Why dost thou wish to ascribe thy own faults to me? Dead or lost, the person that grieves for what has already occurred, obtaineth more grief. By indulging in grief, one increases it two-fold. A woman of the regenerate class bears children for the practice of austerities; the cow brings forth offspring for bearing burdens; the mare brings forth her young for acquiring speed of motion; the Shudra woman bears a child for adding to the number of servitors; the Vaishya woman for adding to the number of keepers of cattle. A princess, however, like thee, brings forth sons for being slaughtered!'"

Vaishampayana said, "Hearing these words of Vasudeva that were disagreeable to her, Gandhari, with heart exceedingly agitated by grief, remained silent. The royal sage Dhritarashtra, however, restraining the grief that arises from folly, enquired of Yudhishthira the Just, saying, 'If, O son of Pandu, thou knowest it, tell me the number of those that have fallen in this battle, as also of those that have escaped with life!'

"Yudhishthira answered, 'One billion 660 million and 20,000 men have fallen in this battle. Of the heroes that have escaped, the number is 240,165.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Tell me, O mighty-armed one, for thou art conversant with everything, what ends have those foremost of men attained.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Those warriors of true prowess that have cheerfully cast off their bodies in fierce battle have all attained regions like those of Indra. Knowing death to be inevitable, they that have encountered it cheerlessly have attained the companionship of the gandharvas. Those warriors that have fallen at the edge of weapons, while turning away from the field or begging for quarter, have attained the world of the guhyakas. Those high-souled warriors who, observant of the duties of kshatriya-hood and regarding flight from battle to be shameful, have fallen, mangled with keen weapons, while advancing unarmed against fighting foes, have all assumed bright forms and attained the regions of Brahman. The remaining warriors, that have in anyhow met with death on the precincts of the field of battle, have attained the region of the Uttara-Kurus.'"

"Dhritarashtra said, 'By the power of what knowledge, O son, thou seest these things like one crowned with ascetic success? Tell me this, O mighty-armed one, if thou thinkest that I can listen to it without impropriety!'

"Yudhishthira said, 'While at thy command I wandered in the forest, I obtained this boon on the occasion of sojourning to the sacred places. I met with the celestial rishi Lomasa and obtained from him the boon of spiritual vision. Thus on a former occasion I obtained second sight through the power of knowledge!'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'It is necessary that our people should burn, with due rites, the bodies of both the friendless and the friended slain. What shall we do with those that have none to

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look after them and that have no sacred fires? The duties that await us are many. Who are those whose (last) rites we should perform? O Yudhishthira, will they obtain regions of blessedness by the merit of their acts, they whose bodies are now being torn and dragged by vultures and other birds?'"

Vaishampayana continued, "Thus addressed, Kunti's son Yudhishthira of great wisdom commanded Sudharma (the priest of the Kauravas) and Dhaumya, and Sanjaya of the suta order, and Vidura of great wisdom, and Yuyutsu of Kuru's race, and all his servants headed by Indrasena, and all the other sutas that were with him, saying, 'Cause the funeral rites of the slain, numbering by thousands, to be duly performed, so that nobody may perish for want of persons to take care of them!' At this command of king Yudhishthira the Just, Vidura and Sanjaya and Sudharma and Dhaumya and Indrasena and others, procuring sandal, aloe and other kinds of wood used on such occasions, as also clarified butter and oil and perfumes and costly silken robes and other kinds of cloth, and large heaps of dry wood, and broken cars and diverse kinds of weapons, caused funeral pyres to be duly made and lighted and then without haste burnt, with due rites the slain kings in proper order. They properly burned upon those fires that blazed forth with libations of clarified butter in torrents over them, the bodies of Duryodhana and his hundred brothers, of Shalya, and king Bhurishrava; of king Jayadratha and Abhimanyu, O Bharata; of Duhshasana's son and Lakshmana and king Dhrishtaketu; of Vrihanta and Somadatta and the hundreds of Srinjayas; of king Kshemadhanva and Virata and Drupada; of Shikhandi the prince of Pancalas, and Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's race; of the valiant Yudhamanyu and Uttamauja; of the ruler of the Kosalas, the sons of Draupadi, and Shakuni the son of Subala; of Acala and Vrishaka, and king Bhagadatta; of Karna and his son of great wrath; of those great bowmen, the Kekaya princes, and those mighty car-warriors, the Trigartas; of Ghatotkaca the prince of rakshasas, and the brother of Vaka, of Alambusha, the foremost of rakshasas, and king Jalasandha; and of hundreds and thousands of other kings. The pitri-medha rites in honour of some of the illustrious dead were performed there, while some sang Samas, and some uttered lamentations for the dead. With the loud noise of Samas and Riks, and the lamentations of the women, all creatures became stupefied that night. The funeral fires, smokeless and blazing brightly (amid the surrounding darkness), looked like luminous planets in the firmament enveloped by clouds. Those among the dead that had come from diverse realms and were utterly friendless were piled together in thousands of heaps and, at the command of Yudhishthira, were caused to be burnt by Vidura through a large number of persons acting coolly and influenced by good-will and affection, on pyres made of dry wood. Having caused their last rites to be performed, the Kuru king Yudhishthira, placing Dhritarashtra at his head, proceeded towards the river Ganga."

SECTION 27

Vaishampayana said, "Arrived at the auspicious Ganga full of sacred water, containing many lakes, adorned with high banks and broad shores, and having a vast bed, they cast off their ornaments, upper garments, and belts and girdles. The Kuru ladies, crying and afflicted with great grief, offered oblations of water unto their sires and grandsons and brothers and kinsmen and sons and reverend seniors and husbands. Conversant with duties, they also performed the water-rite in honour of their friends. While those wives of heroes were performing this rite in honour of their heroic lords, the access to the stream became easy, although the paths (made by the tread of many feet) disappeared afterwards. The shores of the stream, though crowded with those spouses of heroes, looked as broad as the ocean and presented a spectacle of sorrow and cheerlessness. Then Kunti, O king, in a sudden paroxysm of grief, weepingly addressed her sons in these soft words, 'That hero and great bowman, that leader of leaders of car-divisions, that warrior distinguished by every mark of heroism, who hath been slain by Arjuna in battle, that warrior whom, ye sons of Pandu, ye took forth, Suta's child born of Radha, that hero who shone in the midst of his forces like the lord Surya himself, who battled with all of you and your followers, who looked resplendent as he commanded the vast force of the Duryodhana, who had no equal on earth for energy, that hero who preferred glory to life, that unretiring warrior firm in truth and never fatigued with exertion, was your eldest brother. Offer oblations of water unto that eldest brother of yours who was born of me by the god of day. That hero was born with a pair of earrings and clad in armour, and resembled Surya himself in splendour!' Hearing these painful words of their mother, the Pandavas began to express their grief for Karna. Indeed, they became more afflicted than ever. Then that tiger among men, the heroic Yudhishthira, sighing like a snake, asked his mother, 'That Karna who was like an ocean having shafts for his billows, his tall standard for his vortex, his own mighty arms for a couple of huge alligators, his large car for his deep lake, and the sound of his palms for his tempestuous roar, and whose impetuosity none could withstand save Dhananjaya, O mother, wert thou the authoress of that heroic being? How was that son, resembling a very celestial, born of thee in former days? The energy of his arms scorched all of us. How, mother, couldst thou conceal him like a person concealing a fire within the folds of his cloth? His might of arms was always worshipped by the Dhartarashtras even as we always worship the might of the wielder of gandiva! How was that foremost of mighty men, that first of car-warriors, who endured the united force of all lords of earth in battle, how was he a son of thine? Was that foremost of all wielders of weapons our eldest brother? How didst thou bring forth that child of wonderful prowess? Alas, in consequence of the concealment of this affair by thee, we have been undone! By the death of Karna, ourselves with all our friends have been exceedingly afflicted. The grief I feel at Karna's death is a hundred times greater than that which was caused by the death of Abhimanyu and the sons of Draupadi, and the destruction of the Pancalas and the Kurus. Thinking of Karna, I am burning with grief, like a person thrown into a blazing fire. Nothing could have been unattainable by us, not excepting things belonging to heaven. Alas, this terrible carnage, so destructive of the Kurus, would not have occurred.' Copiously indulging in lamentations like these, king Yudhishthira the Just uttered loud wails of woe. The puissant monarch then offered oblations of water unto his deceased elder brother. Then all the ladies that crowded the shores of the river suddenly sent up a loud wail of grief. The intelligent king of the Kurus, Yudhishthira, caused the wives and members of Karna's family to be brought before him. Of righteous soul, he performed, with them, the water-rite in honour of his eldest brother. Having finished the ceremony, the king with his senses exceedingly agitated, rose from the waters of Ganga."

The end of Stri-parva

THE MAHABHARATA, BOOK 12
SANTI PARVA (IN 3 PARTS)

PART 1 OF BOOK 12
RAJADHARMANUSASANA PARVA
SECTION 1

Om! Having bowed down to Narayana, and Nara, the foremost of male beings, and unto the goddess Saraswati, must the word Jaya be uttered.

"Vaisampayana said, 'Having offered oblations, of water unto all their friends and kinsmen, the sons of Pandu, and Vidura, and Dhritarashtra, and all the Bharata ladies, continued to dwell there (on the banks of the sacred stream). The high-souled sons of Pandu desired to pass the period of mourning*, which extended for a month, outside the Kuru city. [* Literally, the period of impurity. The period of mourning is the period of impurity, according to the Hindu scriptures. By performing the Sraddha rite, one becomes pure again. Till then, one can perform no religious rites. These rules concerning impuity and purification are very similar in Zoroastrianism (Iran) and in Judaism.] After king Yudhishthira the Just had performed the water-rites, many high-souled sages crowned with ascetic success and many foremost of regenerate Rishis came there to see the monarch. Among them were the Island-born (Vyasa), and Narada, and the great Rishi Devala, and Devasthana, and Kanwa. They were all accompanied by best of their pupils. Many other members of the regenerate order, possessed of wisdom and accomplished in the Vedas, leading lives of domesticity or belonging to the Snataka class, came to behold the Kuru king. Those high-souled ones, as they came, were duly worshipped by Yudhishthira. The great Rishis then took their seats on costly carpets. Accepting the worship suited to that period (of mourning and impurity) that was offered them, they sat in due order around the king. Thousands of Brahmanas offered consolation and comfort to that king of kings residing on the sacred banks of the Bhagirathi with heart exceedingly agitated by grief. Then Narada, after having accosted the Rishis with the Island-born for their first, in due time, addressed Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma, saying, 'Through the might of thy arms and the grace of Madhava, the whole Earth, O Yudhishthira, hath been righteously won by thee. By good luck, thou hast escaped with life from this dreadful battle. Observant as thou art o f the duties of a Kshatriya, dost thou not rejoice, O son of Pandu? Having slain all thy foes, shalt thou not gratify thy friends, O king? Having obtained this prosperity, I hope, grief doth not afflict thee still.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Indeed the whole Earth hath been subjugated by me through my reliance on the might of Krishna's arms, through the grace of the Brahmanas, and through the strength of Bhima and Arjuna. This heavy grief, however, is always sitting in my heart, viz., that through covetousness I have caused this dreadful carnage of kinsmen. Having caused the death of the dear son of Subhadra, and of the sons of Draupadi, this victory, O holy one, appears to me in the light of a defeat. What wilt Subhadra of Vrishni's race, that sister-in-law of mine, say unto me? What also will the people residing in Dwaraka say unto the slayer of Madhu when he goes thither from this place? This Draupadi, again, who is ever engaged in doing what is agreeable to us, bereaved of sons and kinsmen, is paining me exceedingly. This is another topic, O holy Narada, about which I will speak to thee. In consequence of Kunti having kept her counsels close in respect of a very important matter, great has been my grief. That hero who had the strength of ten thousand elephants, who in this world was an unrivalled car-warrior, who was possessed of leonine pride and gait, who was endued with great intelligence and compassion, whose liberality was very great, who practised many high vows, who was the refuge of the Dhartarashtras, who was sensitive about his honour, whose prowess was irresistible, who was ready to pay off all injuries and was always wrathful (in battle), who overthrew us in repeated encounters, who was quick in the use of weapons, conversant with every mode of warfare, possessed of great skill, and endued with wonderful valour (that Karna) was a son of Kunti, born secretly of her, and therefore, a uterine brother of ours. Whilst we were offering oblations of water unto the dead, Kunti spoke of him as the son of Surya. Possessed of every virtue, that child had been cast into the water. Having placed him in a basket made of light materials, Kunti committed him to the current of Ganga. He who was regarded by the world as a Suta's child born of Radha, was really the eldest son of Kunti and, therefore, our uterine brother. Covetous of kingdom, alas, I have unwittingly caused that brother of mine to be slain. It is this that is burning my limbs like a fire burning a heap of cotton. The white-steeded Arjuna knew him not for a brother. Neither I, nor Bhima, nor the twins, knew him for such. He, however, of excellent bow, knew us (for his brothers). We have heard that on one occasion Pritha went to him for seeking our good and addressed him, saying, 'Thou art my son!' That illustrious hero, however, refused to obey Pritha's wishes. Subsequently, we are informed, he said unto his mother these words, 'I am unable to desert Duryodhana in battle! If I do so, it would be a dishonourable, cruel, and ungrateful act. If, yielding to thy wishes, I make peace with Yudhishthira, people will say that I am afraid of the white-steeded Arjuna. Having vanquished Arjuna with Kesava, therefore, in battle, I will subsequently make peace with Dharma's son.' Even these were his words as we have heard. Thus answered, Pritha once more addressed her son of broad chest and said, 'Fight Phalguna then, but spare my four other sons.' The intelligent Karna, with joined hands, then replied unto his trembling mother, saying, 'If I get thy four other sons even under my power, I will not slay them. Without doubt, O goddess, thou shalt continue to have five sons. If Karna be slain with Arjuna, thou shalt have five! If, on the other hand, Arjuna be slain, thou shalt have five, numbering me.' Desirous of the good of her children, his mother once more said unto him, 'Go, O Karna, do good unto those brothers of thine whose good thou always seekest.' Having said these words, Pritha took his leave and came back to her abode. That hero has been slain by Arjuna,--the uterine brother by the brother! Neither Pritha, nor he, had ever disclosed the secret, O lord! That hero and great bowman was therefore slain by Arjuna in battle. Subsequently I have come to know, O best of regenerate ones, that he was my uterine brother. Indeed, at Pritha's words I have come to know that Karna was the eldest born! Having caused my brother to be slain, my heart is burning exceedingly. If I had both Karna and Arjuna for aiding me, I could have vanquished Vasudeva himself. Whilst I was tortured in the midst of the assembly by the wicked-souled sons of Dhritarashtra, my wrath, suddenly provoked, became cooled at sight of Karna. Even while listening to the harsh and bitter words of Karna himself on that occasion of our match at dice, to the words, that Karna uttered from desire of doing what was agreeable to Duryodhana, my wrath became cooled at sight of Karna's feet. It seemed to me that Karna's feet resembled the feet of our mother Kunti. Desirous of finding out the reason of that resemblance between him and our mother, I reflected for a long time. With even my best exertions I failed to find the cause. Why, indeed, did the earth swallow up the wheels of his car at the time of battle? Why was my brother cursed? It behoveth thee to recite all this to me. I desire to hear everything from thee, O holy one! Thou art acquainted with everything in this world and thou knowest both the past and the future!'

SECTION 2

"Vaisampayana said, 'That foremost of speakers, the sage Narada, thus questioned, narrated everything about the manner in which he who was believed to be a Suta's son had been cursed (in former days).'

"Narada said, 'It is even so, O mighty armed one, as thou sayest, O Bharata! Nothing could resist Karna and Arjuna in battle. This, O sinless one, that I am about to tell thee is unknown to the very gods. Listen to me, O mighty-armed one, as it befell in former days. How all the Kshatriyas, cleansed by weapons should attain to regions of bliss, was the question. For this, a child was conceived by Kunti in her maidenhood, capable of provoking a general war. Endued with great

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energy, that child came to have the status of a Suta. He subsequently acquired the science of weapons from the preceptor (Drona), that foremost descendant of Angirasa's race. Thinking of the might of Bhimasena, the quickness of Arjuna in the use of weapons, the intelligence of thyself, O king, the humility of the twins, the friendship, from earliest years, between Vasudeva and the wielder of Gandiva, and the affection of the people for you all, that young man burnt with envy. In early age he made friends with king Duryodhana, led by an accident and his own nature and the hate he bore towards you all. Beholding that Dhananjaya was superior to every one in the science of weapons, Karna. one day approached Drona in private and said these words unto him, 'I desire to be acquainted with the Brahma weapon, with all its mantras and the power of withdrawing it, for I desire to fight Arjuna. Without doubt, the affection thou bearest to every one of thy pupils is equal to what thou bearest to thy own son. I pray that all the masters of the science of weapons may, through thy grace, regard me as one accomplished in weapons!' Thus addressed by him, Drona, from partiality for Phalguna, as also from his knowledge of the wickedness of Karna, said, 'None but a Brahmana, who has duly observed all vows, should be acquainted with the Brahma weapon, or a Kshatriya that has practised austere penances, and no other.' When Drona had answered thus, Karna, having worshipped him, obtained his leave, and proceeded without delay to Rama then residing on the Mahendra mountains. Approaching Rama, he bent his head unto him and said, 'I am a Brahmana of Bhrigu's race.' This procured honour for him. With this knowledge about his birth and family, Rama received him kindly and said, 'Thou art welcome!' at which Karna became highly glad. While residing on the Mahendra mountains that resembled heaven itself, Karna met and mixed with many Gandharvas, Yakshas, and gods. Residing there he acquired all the weapons duly, and became a great favourite of the gods, the Gandharvas, and the Rakshasas. One day he roved on the sea-coast by the side of that asylum. Indeed, Surya's son, armed with bow and sword, wandered alone, While thus employed, O Partha, he inadvertently slew, without witting it, the Homa cow of a certain utterer of Brahma who daily performed his Agnihotra rite. Knowing that he had perpetrated that act from inadvertence, he informed the Brahmana of it. Indeed Karna, for the object of gratifying the owner, repeatedly said, 'O holy one, I have killed this thy cow without wilting it. Forgive me the act!' Filled with wrath, the Brahmana, rebuking him, said these words, 'O thou of wicked conduct, thou deservest to be killed. Let the fruit of this act be thine, O thou of wicked soul. While fighting him, O wretch whom thou always challengest, and for whose sake thou strivest so much every day, the earth shall swallow the wheel of thy car! And while the wheel of thy car shall thus be swallowed up by the earth, thy foe, putting forth his prowess, will cut off thy head, thyself being stupefied the while! Leave me, O vile man! As thou hast heedlessly slain this my cow, even so wilt thy foe cut off thy head while thou shalt be heedless!' Though cursed, Karna still sought to gratify that foremost of Brahmanas by offering him kine and wealth and gems. The latter, however, once more answered him, 'All the words will not succeed in falsifying the words spoken by me! Go hence or remain, do whatever thou likest.' Thus addressed by the Brahmana, Karna, hanging down his head from cheerlessness, returned timidly to Rama, reflecting on that matter.'

SECTION 3

"Narada said, 'That tiger of Bhrigu's race (viz., Rama), was well-pleased with the might of Karna's arms, his affection (for him), his self-restraint, and the services he did unto his preceptor. Observant of ascetic penances, Rama cheerfully communicated, with due forms, unto his penance-observing disciple, everything about the Brahma weapon with the mantras for withdrawing it. Having acquired a knowledge of that weapon, Karna began to pass his days happily in Bhrigu's retreat, and endued with wonderful prowess, he devoted himself with great ardour to the science of weapons. One day Rama of great intelligence, while roving with Karna in the vicinity or his retreat, felt very weak in consequence of the fasts he had undergone. From affection begotten by confidence, the tired son of Jamadagni placing his head on Karna's lap, slept soundly, White his preceptor was thus sleeping (with head) on his lap, a frightful worm, whose bite was very painful and which subsisted on phlegm and fat and flesh and blood, approached the presence of Karna. That blood-sucking worm, approaching Karna's thigh, began to pierce it. Through fear of (awaking) his preceptor, Karna became unable to either throw away or kill that worm. Though his limb was bored through by that worm, O Bharata, the son of Surya, lest his preceptor should awake, suffered it to do its pleasure. Though the pain was intolerable, Karna bore it with heroic patience, and continued to hold Bhrigu's son on his lap, without quivering in the least and without manifesting any sign of pain. When at last Karna's blood touched the body of Rama of great energy, the latter awoke and said these words in fear, 'Alas, I have been made impure! What is this that thou art doing, Tell me, casting off all fear, what is the truth of this matter!' Then Karna informed him of that worm's bite. Rama saw that worm which resembled a hog in shape. It had eight feet and very keen teeth, and it was covered with bristles that were all pointed like needles. Called by the name of Alarka, its limbs were then shrunk (with fear). As soon as Rama cast his, eyes on it, the worm gave up its life-breath, melting in that blood which it had drawn. All this seemed wonderful. Then in the welkin was seen a Rakshasa of terrible form, dark in hue, of a red neck, capable of assuming any form at wilt, and staying on the clouds,--his object fulfilled, the Rakshasa, with joined hands, addressed Rama, saying, 'O best of ascetics, thou hast rescued me from this hell! Blessed be thou, I adore thee, thou hast done me good!' Possessed of great energy, the mighty-armed son of Jamadagni said unto him, 'Who art thou? And why also didst thou fall into hell? Tell me all about it.' He answered, 'Formerly I was a great Asura of the name of Dansa. In the Krita period, O sire, I was of the same age with Bhrigu. I ravished the dearly-loved spouse of that sage. Through his curse I felt down on the earth in the form of a worm. In anger thy ancestors said unto me, 'Subsisting on urine and phlegm, O wretch, thou shalt lead a life of hell.' I then besought him, saying, 'When, O Brahmana, shall this curse end?' Bhrigu replied unto me, saying. 'This curse shall end through Rama of my race. It was for this that I had obtained such a course of life like one of uncleansed soul. O righteous one, by thee, however, I have been rescued from that sinful life.' Having said these words, the great Asura, bending his head unto Rama went away. Then Rama wrathfully addressed Karna, saying, 'O fool, no Brahmana could endure such agony. Thy patience is like that of a Kshatriya. Tell me the truth, without fear.' Thus asked, Karna, fearing to be cursed, and seeking to gratify him, said these words, 'O thou of Bhrigu's race, know me for a Suta, a race that has sprung from the intermixture of Brahmanas with Kshatriyas. People call me Karna the son of Radha. O thou of Bhrigu's race, be gratified with my poor self that has acted from the desire of obtaining weapons. There is no doubt in this that a reverend preceptor in the Vedas and other branches of knowledge is one's father. It was for this that I introduced myself to thee as a person of thy own race.' Unto the cheerless and trembling Karna, prostrated with joined hands upon earth, that foremost one of Bhrigu's race, smiling though filled with wrath, answered, 'Since thou hast, from avarice of weapons, behaved here with falsehood, therefore, O wretch, this Brahma weapon shalt not dwell in thy remembrance [Literally, "shall not appear to thee by inward light."]. Since thou art not a Brahmana, truly this Brahma weapon shall not, up to the time of thy death, dwell in thee when thou shalt be engaged with a warrior equal to thyself! [* The meaning is this, "This weapon shall not dwell with thee up to thy last moments. Thou shalt forget it or it shall not appear at thy bidding, when thy death becomes nigh, though at other times, thou mayst be master of it."] Go hence, this is no place for a person of such false behaviour as thou! On earth, no Kshatriya will be thy equal in battle.' Thus addressed by Rama, Karna came away, having duty taken his leave. Arriving then before Duryodhana, he informed him, saying, 'I have mastered all weapons!'"

SECTION 4

"Narada said, 'Having thus obtained weapons from him of Bhrigu's race, Karna began to pass his days in great joy, in the company of Duryodhana, O bull of Bharata's race! Once on a time, O monarch, many kings repaired to a self-choice at the capital of Chitrangada, the ruler of the country of the Kalingas. The city, O Bharata, full of opulence, was known by the name of Rajapura. Hundreds of rulers repaired thither for obtaining the hand of the maiden. Hearing that diverse kings had assembled there, Duryodhana. also, on his golden car, proceeded thither, accompanied by Karna. When the festivities commenced in that self-choice, diverse rulers, O best of kings, came thither for the hand of the maiden. There were amongst them Sisupala and Jarasandha and Bhishmaka and Vakra, and Kapotaroman and Nila and Rukmi of steady prowess, and Sringa who was ruler of the kingdom females, and Asoka and Satadhanwan and the heroic ruler of the Bhojas. Besides these, many others who dwelt in the countries of the South, and many preceptors (in arms) of the mlechcha tribes, and many rulers from the East and the North, O Bharata, came there. All of them were adorned with golden Angadas, and possessed of the splendour of pure gold. Of effulgent bodies, they were like tigers of fierce might. After all those kings had taken their seats, O Bharata, the maiden entered the arena, accompanied by her nurse and a guard of eunuchs. Whilst being informed of the names of the kings (as she made her round), that maiden of the fairest complexion passed by the son of Dhritarashtra (as she had passed others before him). Duryodhana, however, of Kuru's race, could not tolerate that rejection of himself. Disregarding all the kings, he commanded the maiden to stop. Intoxicated with the pride of energy, and relying upon Bhishma and Drona, king Duryodhana, taking up that maiden on his car, abducted her with force. Armed with sword, clad in mail, and his fingers cased in leathern fences, Karna, that foremost of all wielders of weapons riding on his car, proceeded along Duryodhana's rear. A great uproar then took place among the kings, all of whom were actuated by the desire for fight, 'Put on your coats of mail! Let the cars be made ready!' (These were the sounds that were heard). Filled with wrath, they pursued Karna and Duryodhana, showering their arrows upon them like masses of clouds pouring rain upon a couple of hills. As they thus pursued them, Karna felled their bows and arrows on the ground, each with a single arrow. Amongst them some became bowless, some rushed bow in hand, some were on the point of shooting their shafts, and some pursued them, armed with darts and maces. Possessed of great lightness of hands, Karna, that foremost of all smiters, afflicted them all. He deprived many kings of their drivers and thus vanquished all those lords of earth. They then themselves took up the reins of their steeds, and saying, 'Go away, go away', turned away from the battle with cheerless hearts. Protected by Karna, Duryodhana also came away, with a joyous heart, bringing with him the maiden to the city called after the elephant.'"

SECTION 5

"Narada said, 'Hearing of the fame of Karna's might, the ruler of the Magadhas, king Jarasandha, challenged him to a single combat. Both conversant with the celestial weapons, a fierce battle took place between them in which they struck each other with diverse kinds of arms. At last when their arrows were exhausted and bows and swords were broken and they both became carless, they began, possessed of might as they were, to fight with bare arms. While engaged with him in mortal combat with bare arms, Karna was about to sever the two portions of his antagonist's body that had been united together by Jara. The king (of Magadha), then after feeling himself very much pained, cast off all desire of hostility and addressed Karna, saying, 'I am gratified.' From friendship he then gave unto Karna the town Malini. Before this, that tiger among men and subjugator of all foes (viz., Karna) had been king of the Angas only, but from that time the grinder of hostile forces began to rule over Champa also, agreeably to the wishes of Duryodhana, as thou knowest. Thus Karna became famous on earth for the valour of his arms. When, for thy good, the Lord of the celestials begged of him his (natural) coat of mail and ear-rings, stupefied by celestial illusion, he gave away those precious possessions. Deprived of his car-rings and divested of his natural armour, he was slain by Arjuna in Vasudeva's presence. In consequence of a Brahmana's curse, as also of the curse of the illustrious Rama, of the boon granted to Kunti and the illusion practised on him by Indra, of his depreciation by Bhishma as only half a car-warrior, at the tale of Rathas and Atirathas, of the destruction of his energy caused by Salya (with his keen speeches), of Vasudeva's policy, and, lastly of the celestial weapons obtained by Arjuna from Rudra and Indra and Yama and Varuna and Kuvera and Drona and the illustrious Kripa, the wielder of Gandiva succeeded in slaying Vikartana's son Karna of effulgence like that of Surya himself. Even thus had thy brother been cursed and beguiled by many. As, however, he has fallen in battle, thou shouldst not grieve for that tiger among men!'"

SECTION 6

"Vaisampayana said, 'Having said these words, the celestial Rishi Narada became silent. The royal sage Yudhishthira, filled with grief, became plunged in meditation. Beholding that hero cheerless and unmanned by sorrow, sighing like a snake and shedding copious tears, Kunti, herself filled with grief and almost deprived of her senses by sorrow, addressed him in these sweet words of grave import and well-suited to the occasion, 'O mighty-armed Yudhishthira, it behoveth thee not to give way to sorrow thus. O thou of great wisdom, kill this grief of thine, and listen to what I say. I tried in past times to apprise Karna of his brothership with thee. The god Surya also, O foremost of all righteous persons, did the same. All that a well-wishing friend, from desire of good, should say unto one, was said unto Karna by that god in a dream and once more in my presence. Neither by affliction nor by reasons could Surya or myself succeed in pacifying him or inducing him to unite himself with thee. Succumbing to the influence of Time, he became resolved upon wreaking his enmity on thee. As he was bent upon doing injuries upon you all, I myself gave up the attempt.' Thus addressed by his mother, king Yudhishthira, with tearful eyes and heart agitated by grief, said these words, 'In consequence of thyself having concealed thy counsels, this great affliction has overtaken me!' Possessed of great energy, the righteous king, then, in sorrow, cursed all the women of the world, saying, 'Henceforth no woman shall succeed in keeping a secret.' The king, then, recollecting his sons and grandsons and kinsmen and friends, became filled with anxiety and grief. Afflicted with sorrow, the intelligent king, resembling a fire covered with smoke, became overwhelmed with despair."

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SECTION 7

Vaisampayana said, "The righteous-souled Yudhishthira, with an agitated heart and burning with sorrow, began to grieve for that mighty car-warrior Karna. Sighing repeatedly, he addressed Arjuna, saying, 'If, O Arjuna, we had led a life of mendicancy in the cities of the Vrishnis and the Andhakas, then this miserable end would not have been ours in consequence of having exterminated our kinsmen. Our foes, the Kurus, have gained in prosperity, while we have become divested of all the objects of life, for what fruits of righteousness can be ours when we have been guilty of self-slaughter? [The Kurus, our foes, having fallen in battle, have all gone to heaven, while grief has become our lot.] Fie on the usages of Kshatriyas, fie on might and valour, and fie on wrath, since through these such a calamity hath overtaken us. Blessed are forgiveness, and self-restraint, and purity, with renunciation and humility, and abstention from injury, and truthfulness of speech on all occasions, which are all practised by forest-recluses. Full of pride and arrogance, ourselves, however, through covetousness and folly and from desire of enjoying the sweets of sovereignty, have fallen into this plight. Beholding those kinsmen of ours that were bent on acquiring the sovereignty of the world slain on the field of battle, such grief hath been ours that one cannot gladden us by giving the sovereignty of even the three worlds. Alas, having slain, for the sake of the earth, such lords of earth as deserved not to be slain by us, we are bearing the weight of existence, deprived of friends and reft of the very objects of life. Like a pack of dogs fighting one another for a piece of meat, a great disaster has overtaken us! That piece of meat is no longer dear to us. On the other hand, it shall be thrown aside. They that have been slain should not have been slain for the sake of even the whole earth or mountains of gold, or all the horses and kine in this world. Filled with envy and a hankering for all earthly objects, and influenced by wrath and pleasure, all of them, betaking themselves to the highway of Death, have repaired to the regions of Yama. Practising asceticism and Brahmacharya and truth and renunciation, sires wish for sons endued with every kind of prosperity. Similarly, by fasts and sacrifices and vows and sacred rites and auspicious ceremonies mothers conceive. They then hold the foetus for ten months. Passing their time in misery and in expectation of fruit, they always ask themselves in anxiety, 'Shall these come out of the womb safely? Shall these live after birth? Shall they grow in might and be objects of regard on earth? Shall they be able to give us happiness in this and the other world?' Alas, since their sons, youthful in years and resplendent with ear-rings, have been slain, therefore, those expectations of theirs rendered fruitless, have been abandoned by them. Without having enjoyed the pleasure of this world, and without having paid off the debts they owed to their sires and the gods, they have repaired to Yama's abode. Alas, O mother, those kings have been slain just at that time when their parents expected to reap the fruits of their might and wealth. They were always fitted with envy and a hankering after earthly objects, and were exceedingly subject to anger and joy. For this, they could not be expected to enjoy at any time or any place the fruits of victory. I think that they among the Panchalas and the Kurus that have fallen (in this battle) have been lost, otherwise he that has slain would, by that act of his, obtain all regions of bliss. [What Yudhishthira says here is this: all the warriors that have been slain in this battle have perished, they have not attained to heaven; if, indeed, heaven has been theirs, then the slayers too would obtain heaven, the scriptural ordinance having said so. It is impossible, however, too suppose that men of wrath who have done such wicked deeds should obtain such regions of bliss hereafter.] We are regarded as the cause of the destruction that has overtaken the world. The fault, however, is really ascribable to the sons of Dhritarashtra. Duryodhana's heart was always set upon guile. Always cherishing malice, he was addicted to deception. Although we never offended him, yet he always behaved falsely towards us. We have not gained our object, nor have they gained theirs. We have not vanquished them, nor have they vanquished us. The Dhartarashtras could not enjoy this earth, nor could they enjoy women and music. They did not listen to the counsels of ministers and friends and men learned in the scriptures. They could not, indeed, enjoy their costly gems and well-filled treasury and vast territories. Burning with the hate they bore us, they could not obtain happiness and peace. Beholding our aggrandisement, Duryodhana became colourless, pale and emaciated. Suvala's son informed king Dhritarashtra of this. As a father full of affection for his son, Dhritarashtra tolerated the evil policy his son pursued. Without doubt, by disregarding Vidura and the high-souled son of Ganga, and in consequence of his neglect in restraining his wicked and covetous son, entirely governed by his passions, the king has met with destruction like my poor self. Without doubt, Suyodhana, having caused his uterine brothers to be slain and having east this couple into burning grief, hath fallen off from his blazing fame. Burning with the hate he bore to us Duryodhana was always of a sinful heart. What other kinsman of high birth could use such language towards kinsmen as he, from desire of battle, actually used in the presence of Krishna? We also have, through Duryodhana's fault, been lost for eternity, like suns burning everything around them with their own energy. That wicked-souled wight, that embodiment of hostility, was our evil star. Alas, for Duryodhana's acts alone, this race of ours has been exterminated. Having slain those whom we should never have slain, we have incurred the censures of the world. King Dhritarashtra, having installed that wicked-souled prince of sinful deeds, that exterminator of his race, in the sovereignty, is obliged to grieve today. Our heroic foes have been slain. We have committed sin. His possessions and kingdom are gone. Having slain them, our wrath has been pacified. But grief is stupefying me. O Dhananjaya, a perpetrated sin is expiated by auspicious acts, by publishing it wildly, by repentance, by alms-giving, by penances, by trips to tirthas after renunciation of everything, by constant meditation on the scriptures. Of all these, he that has practised renunciation is believed to be incapable of committing sins anew. The Srutis declare that he that practises renunciation escapes from birth and death, and obtaining the right rood, that person of fixed soul attains to Brahma. I shall, therefore, O Dhananjaya, go to the woods, with your leave, O scorcher of foes, disregarding all the pairs of opposites, adopting the vow of taciturnity, and walking in the way pointed out by knowledge. [Pairs of opposites, such as heat and cold, joy and grief, etc. Comp. Gita. O slayer of foes, the Srutis declare it and I myself have seen it with my eyes, that one who is wedded to this earth can never obtain every kind Of religious merit. Desirous of obtaining the things of this earth, I have committed sin, through which, as the Srutis declare, birth and death are brought about. Abandoning the whole of my kingdom, therefore, and the things of this earth, I shall go to the woods, escaping from the ties of the world, freed from grief, and without affection for anything. Do thou govern this earth, on which peace has been restored, and which has been divested of all its thorns. O best of Kuru's race, I have no need for kingdom or for pleasure.' Having said these words, king Yudhishthira the Just stopped. His younger brother Arjuna then addressed him in the following words.

SECTION 8

Vaisampayana said, "Like a person unwilling to forgive an insult, Arjuna of keen speech and prowess, and possessed of energy, betraying great fierceness and licking the Corners of his mouth, said these words of grave import, smiling the while: 'Oh, how painful, how distressing! I grieve to see this great agitation of thy heart, since having achieved such a superhuman feat, thou art bent upon forsaking this great prosperity. Having slain thy foes, and having acquired the sovereignty of the earth which has been won through observance of the duties of thy own order, why shouldst thou abandon everything through fickleness of heart? Where on earth hath a eunuch or a person of procrastination ever acquired sovereignty? Why then didst thou, insensate with rage, slay all the kings of the earth? He that would live by mendicancy, cannot, by any act of his, enjoy the good things of the earth. Divested of prosperity and without resources, he can never win fame on earth or acquire sons and animals. If, O king, abandoning this swelling kingdom, thou livest in the observance of the wretched mode of life led by a mendicant, what will the world say of thee? Why dost thou say that abandoning all the good things of the earth, divested of prosperity, and reft of resources, thou wilt lead a life of mendicancy like a vulgar person? Thou art born in this race of kings. Having won by conquest the whole earth, wishest thou from folly to live in the woods after abandoning everything of virtue and profit? If thou retirest into the woods, in thy absence, dishonest men will destroy sacrifices. That sin will certainly pollute thee. King Nahusha, having done many wicked acts in a state of poverty, cried fie on that state and said that poverty is for recluses. Making no provision for the morrow is a practice that suits Rishis. Thou knowest this well. That, however, which has been called the religion of royalty depends entirely on wealth. One who robs another of wealth, robs him of his religion as well [Because wealth enables its possessor to practise the rites of religion.]. Who amongst us, therefore, O king, would forgive an act of spoliation that is practised on us? It is seen that a poor man, even when he stands near, is accused falsely. Poverty is a state of sinfulness. It behoveth thee not to applaud poverty, therefore. The man that is fallen, O king, grieveth, as also he that is poor. I do not see the difference between a fallen man and a poor man. All kinds of meritorious acts flow from the possession of great wealth like a mountain. From wealth spring all religious acts, all pleasures, and heaven itself, O king! Without wealth, a man cannot find the very means of sustaining his life. The acts of a person who, possessed of little intelligence, suffers himself to be divested of wealth, are all dried up like shallow streams in the summer season. He that has wealth has friends. He that has wealth has kinsmen. He that has wealth is regarded as a true man in the world. He that has wealth is regarded as a learned man. If a person who hath no wealth desires to achieve a particular purpose, he meets with failure. Wealth brings about accessions of wealth, like elephants capturing (wild) elephants. Religious acts, pleasures, joy, courage, wrath, learning, and sense of dignity, all these proceed from wealth, O king! From wealth one acquires family honour. From wealth, one's religious merit increases. He that is without wealth hath neither this world, nor the next, O best of men! The man that hath no wealth succeeds not in performing religious acts, for these latter spring from wealth, like rivers from a mountain. He that is lean in respect of (his possession of) steeds and kine and servants and guests, is truly lean and not he whose limbs alone are so. Judge truly, O king, and look at the conduct of the gods and the Danavas. O king, do the gods ever wish for anything else than the slaughter of their kinsmen (the Asuras)? If the appropriation of wealth belonging to others be not regarded as righteous, how, O monarch, will kings practise virtue on this earth? Learned men have, in the Vedas, laid down this conclusion. The learned have laid it down that kings should live, reciting every day the three Vedas, seeking to acquire wealth, and carefully performing sacrifices with the wealth thus acquired. The gods, through internecine quarrels, have obtained footing in heaven. When, the very gods have won their prosperity through internecine quarrels, what fault can there be in such quarrels? The gods, thou seest, act in this way. The eternal precepts of the Vedas also sanction it. To learn, teach, sacrifice, and assist at other's sacrifices,--these are our principal duties. The wealth that kings take from others becomes the means of their prosperity. We never see wealth that has been earned without doing some injury to others. It is even thus that kings conquer this world. Having conquered, they call that wealth theirs, just as sons speak of the wealth of their sires as their own. The royal sages that have gone to heaven have declared this to be the duty of kings. Like water flowing on every direction from a swollen ocean, that wealth runs on every direction from the treasuries of kings. This earth formerly belonged to king Dilipa, Nahusha, Amvarisha, and Mandhatri. She now belongs to thee! A great sacrifice, therefore, with profuse presents of every kind and requiring a vast heap of the earth's produce, awaits thee. If thou dost not perform that sacrifice, O king, then the sins of this kingdom shall all be thine. Those subjects whose king performs a horse-sacrifice with profuse presents, become all cleansed and sanctified by beholding the ablutions at the end of the sacrifice. Mahadeva himself, of universal form, in a great sacrifice requiring libations of all kinds of flesh, poured all creatures as sacrificial libations and then his own self. Eternal is this auspicious path. Its fruits are never destroyed. This is the great path called Dasaratha. Abandoning it, O king, to what other path wouldst thou betake thyself?"

SECTION 9

"Yudhishthira said, 'For a little while, O Arjuna, concentrate thy attention and fix thy mind and hearing on thy inner soul. If thou listenest to my words in such a frame of mind, they will meet with thy approbation. Abandoning all worldly pleasures, I shall betake myself to that path which is trod by the righteous. I shall not, for thy sake, tread along the path thou recommendest. If thou askest me what path is auspicious that one should tread alone, I shall tell thee. If thou dost not desire to ask me, I shall yet, unasked by thee, tell thee of it. Abandoning the pleasures and observance of men of the world, engaged in performing the austerest of penances, I shall wander in the forest, with the animals that have their home there, living on fruit and roots. Pouring libations on the: fire at due hours, and performing ablutions at morn and eve, I shall thin myself by reduced diet, and covering myself with skins, bear matted locks on my head. Enduring cold, wind, and heat as also hunger and thirst and toil, I shall emaciate my body by penances as laid down in the ordinance. Charming to the heart and the ear, I shall daily listen to the clear strains of, cheerful birds and animals residing in the woods. I shall enjoy the fragrance of flower-burthened trees and creepers, and see diverse kinds of charming products that grow in the forest. I shall also see many excellent recluses of the forest. I shall not do the slightest injury to any creature, what need be said then of those that dwell in villages and towns? [The sense is that when I will not wrong the denizens of even the woods, there is little chance of my wronging men of the world.] Leading a retired life and devoting myself to contemplation, I shall live upon ripe and unripe fruits and gratify the Pitris and the deities with offerings of wild fruits and spring water and grateful hymns. Observing in this way the austere regulations of a forest life, I shall pass my days, calmly awaiting the dissolution of my body. Or, living alone and observing the vow of taciturnity, with my head shaved clean, I shall derive my sustenance by begging each day of only one tree. [There is a class of recluses who support life by gathering the fallen fruits of trees. Taking the tree for a living person, they walk under its shade and beg of it its fruits. Those fruits that fall down on such occasions are regarded as the alms granted by the tree to its mendicant guest.] Smearing my body with ashes, and availing of the shelter of abandoned houses, or lying at the foot of trees, I shall live, casting off all things dear or hateful. Without indulging in grief or joy, and regarding

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censure and applause, hope and affliction, equally, and prevailing over every couple of opposites, I shall live casting off all the things of the world. Without conversing with anybody, I shall assume the outward form of a blind and deaf idiot, while living in contentment and deriving happiness from my own soul. Without doing the least injury to the four kinds of movable and immovable creatures, I shall behave equally towards all creatures whether mindful of their duties or following only the dictates of the senses. I shall not jeer at any one, nor shall I frown at anybody. Restraining all my senses, I shall always be of a cheerful face. Without asking anybody about the way, proceeding along any route that I may happen to meet with, I shall go on, without taking note of the country or the point of the compass to which or towards which I may go. Regardless of whither I may proceed, I shall not look behind. Divesting myself of desire and wrath, and turning my gaze inwards, I shall go on, casting off pride of soul and body. Nature always walks ahead; hence, food and drink will somehow be accomplished. I shall not think of those pairs of opposites that stand in the way of such a life. If pure food in even a small measure be not obtainable in the first house (to which I may go), I shalt get it by going to other houses. If I fail to procure it by even such a round, I shall proceed to seven houses in succession and fill my craving. When the smoke of houses will cease, their hearth-fires having been extinguished, when husking-rods will be kept aside, and all the inmates will have taken their food, when mendicants and guests Will cease to wander, I shall select a moment for my round of mendicancy and solicit alms at two, three, or five houses at the most. I shall wander over the earth, after breaking the bonds of desire. Preserving equability in success and failure, I shall earn great ascetic merit. I shall behave neither like one that is fond of life nor like one that is about to die.

I shall not manifest any liking for life or dislike for death. If one strikes off one arm of mine and another smears the other arm with sandal-paste, I shall not wish evil to the one or good to the other. Discarding all those acts conducive to prosperity that one can do in life, the only acts I shall perform will be to open and shut my eyes and take as much food and drink as will barely keep up life. Without ever being attached to action, and always restraining the functions of the senses, I shall give up all desires and purify the soul of all impurities. Freed from all attachments and tearing off all bonds and ties, I shall live free as the wind. Living in such freedom from affections, everlasting contentment will be mine. Through desire, I have, from ignorance, committed great sins. A certain class of men, doing both auspicious and inauspicious acts here, maintain their wives, children, and kinsmen, all bound to them in relations of cause and effect. [All the possessions of a man depend upon the acts of a previous life. Wives, children and kinsmen, therefore, as agents of happiness or the reverse, depend upon one's past acts. They are effects of pre-existing causes. Then again, they may be causes of effects to be manifested in the next life, for their acts also are supposed to affect the next life of him to whom they belong.] When the period of their life runs out, casting off their weakened bodies, they take upon themselves all the effects of their sinful acts, for none but the actor is burdened with the consequences of his acts [i.e., they for whom he acts do not take the consequences of his acts.]. Even thus, endued with actions, creatures come into this wheel of life that is continually turning like the wheel of a car, and even thus, coming thither, they meet with their fellow-creatures. He, however, who abandons the worldly course of life, which is really a fleeting illusion although it looks eternal, and which is afflicted by birth, death, decrepitude, disease, and pain, is sure to obtain happiness. When again, the very gods fall down from heaven and great Rishis from their respective positions of eminence who, that is acquainted with truths of causes (and effects) would wish to have even heavenly prosperity? Insignificant kings, having performed diverse acts relating to the diverse means of kingcraft (known by the means of conciliation, gift, etc.) often slay a king through some contrivance. Reflecting on these circumstances, this nectar of wisdom hath come to me. Having attained it, I desire to get a permanent, eternal, and unchangeable place (for myself). Always (conducting myself) with such wisdom and acting in this way, I shall, by betaking myself to that fearless path of life, terminate this physical frame that is subject to birth, death, decrepitude, disease, and pain.'"

SECTION 10

Bhimasena said, "Thy understanding, O king, has become blind to the truth, like that of a foolish and unintelligent reciter of the Veda in consequence of his repeated recitation of those scriptures. If censuring the duties of kings thou wouldst lead a life of idleness, then, O bull of Bharata's race, this destruction of the Dhartarashtras was perfectly uncalled for. Are forgiveness and compassion and pity and abstention from injury not to be found in anybody walking along the path of Kshatriya duties? If we Knew that this was thy intention, we would then have never taken up arms and slain a single creature. We would then have lived by mendicancy till the destruction of this body. This terrible battle between the rulers of the earth would also have never taken place. The learned have said this all that we see is food for the strong. Indeed, this mobile and immobile world is our object of enjoyment for the person that is strong. Wise men acquainted with Kshatriya duties have declared that they who stand in the way of the person taking the sovereignty of the earth, should be slain. Guilty of that fault, those that stood as enemies of our kingdom have all been slain by us. Having slain them, O Yudhishthira, righteously govern this earth. This our act (in refusing the kingdom) is like that of a person who having dug a well stops in his work before obtaining water and comes up smutted with mire. Or, this our act is like that of a person who having climbed up a tall tree and taken honey there from meets with death before tasting it. Or, it is like that of a person who having set out on a long way comes back in despair without having reached his destination. Or, it is like that of a person who having slain all his foes, O thou of Kuru's race, at last Falls by his own hand. Or, it is like that of a person afflicted with hunger, who having obtained food, refuses to take it, or of a person under the influence of desire, who having obtained a woman reciprocating his passion, refuses to meet with her. We have become objects of censure, O Bharata, because, O king, we follow thee that art of feeble understanding, in consequence of thyself being our eldest brother. We are possessed of mighty arms; we are accomplished in knowledge and endued with great energy. Yet we are obedient to the words of a eunuch as if we were entirely helpless. We are the refuge of all helpless persons. Yet, when people see us so, why would they not say that in respect of the acquisition of our objects we are entirely powerless? Reflect on this that I say. It has been laid down that (a life of) renunciation should be adopted, only in times of distress, by kings overcome with decrepitude or defeated by foes. Men of wisdom, therefore, do not applaud renunciation as the duty of a Kshatriya. On the other hand, they that are of clear sight think that the adoption of that course of life (by a Kshatriya) involves even the loss of virtue. How can those that have sprung from that order, that are devoted to the practices of that order, and that have refuge in them, censure those duties? Indeed, if those duties be censurable, then why should not the Supreme Ordainer be censured? [The sense is that as the Ordainer cannot be censured, therefore, that which He has ordained for the Kshatriyas cannot be deserving of censure.] It is only those persons that are reft of prosperity and wealth and that are infidels in faith, that have promulgated this precept of the Vedas (about the propriety of a Kshatriya's adoption of a life of renunciation) as the truth. In reality, however, it is never proper for a Kshatriya to do so. He who is competent to support life by prowess, he who can support himself by his own exertions, does not live, but really falls away from his duty, by the hypocritical externals of a life of renunciation. That man only is capable of leading a solitary life of happiness in the woods who is unable to support sons and grandsons and the deities and Rishis and guests and Pitris. As the deer and boars and birds (though they lead a forest life) cannot attain to heaven, even so those Kshatriyas that are not bereft of prowess yet not given to doing good turns cannot attain to heaven by leading only a forest life. They should acquire religious merit by other ways. If, O king, anybody were to obtain success from renunciation, then mountains and trees would surely obtain it! These latter are always seen to lead lives of renunciation. They do not injure any one. They are, again, always aloof from a life of worldliness and are all Brahmacharins. If it be the truth that a person's success depends upon his own lot in life and not upon that of other, then (as a person born in the Kshatriya order) thou shouldst betake thyself to action. He that is reft of action can never have success. If they that fill only their own stomachs could attain to success, then all aquatic creatures would obtain it, for these have none else to support save their own selves. Behold, the world moves on, with every creature on it employed in acts proper to its nature. Therefore, one should betake oneself to action. The man reft of action can never obtain success.'"

SECTION 11

"Arjuna said, 'In this connexion an old history is cited, viz., the discourse between certain ascetics and Sakra, O bull of Bharata's race! A number of well-born Brahmana youth of little understanding, without the hirsute honours of manhood, abandoning their homes, came to the woods for leading a forest life. Regarding that to be virtue, those youths of abundant resources became desirous of living as Brahmacharins, having abandoned their brothers and sires. It so happened that Indra became compassionate towards them. Assuming the form of a golden bird, the holy Sakra addressed them, saying, 'That which is done by persons that eat the remnants of a sacrifice is the most difficult of acts that men can achieve. [The meaning is that they who perform sacrifice and partake of the sacrificial food after offering it unto gods and guests, acquire such religious merit that the like of it cannot be acquired by other men. Sacrifice, therefore, is the highest act in life and the most meritorious that man call do.] Such an act is highly meritorious. The lives of such men are worthy of every praise. Having attained the object of life, those men, devoted to virtue obtain the highest end.' Hearing these words, the Rishis said, 'Lo, this bird applauds those that subsist upon the remnants of sacrifices. He informs us of it, for we live upon such remnants.' The bird then said, 'I do not applaud you.' Ye are stationed with mire and very impure. Living upon offals, ye are wicked. Ye are not persons subsisting upon the remnants of sacrifice.'

"The Rishis said, 'We regard this our course of life to be highly blessed. Tell us, O bird, what is for our good. Thy words inspire us with great faith.'

"The bird said, 'If you do not refuse me your faith by arraying yourselves against your better selves, then I shall tell you words that are true and beneficial.'

"The Rishis said, 'We shall listen to thy words, O sire, for the different paths are all known to thee. O thou of righteous soul, we desire also to obey thy commands. Instruct us now.'

"The bird said, 'Among quadrupeds the cow is the foremost. Of metals, gold is the foremost. Of words, mantras, and of bipeds, the Brahmanas, are the foremost. These mantras regulate all the rites of a Brahmana's life beginning with those appertaining to birth and the period after it, and ending with those appertaining to death and the crematorium. These Vedic rites are his heaven, path, and foremost of sacrifices. If it were otherwise, how could I find the acts (of persons in quest of heaven) become successful through mantras? He who, in this world, adores his soul, firmly regarding it to be a deity of a particular kind, obtains success consistent with the nature of that particular deity. [The iti after vadi is really eti, the absence of sandhi in the proper form is Arsha. Literally rendered, the line becomes,--According to the manner in which the person of firm conviction approaches the Soul, is the success that he gets here. As the Srutis declare, if one firmly regards oneself to be Siva, the success one attains here and hereafter is after the kind of that deity.] The seasons measured by half the months lead to the Sun, the Moon, or the Stars. [The brevity of such passages is the chief obstacle to their clear comprehension. Fortunately the allusions are very plain. What is meant is that those who die during the lighted fortnights of the summer solstice attain to solar regions of bliss. Those that die during the dark fortnights of the winter solstice, attain to lunar regions. These last have to return after passing their allotted periods of enjoyment and happiness. While those that are freed from attachments, whatever the time of their Death, go to Stellar regions which are equal to that of Brahma.] These three kinds of success, depending upon action are desired by every creature. The domestic mode of life is very superior and sacred and is called the field (for the cultivation) of success. By what path do those men go that censure action? Of little understanding and deprived of wealth, they incur sin. And since those men of little understanding live by abandoning the eternal paths of the gods, the paths of the Rishis, and the paths of Brahma, therefore, they attain to paths disapproved of by the Srutis. [Without attaining to the companionship of the gods and Pitris, and without obtaining Brahma, they sink in the scale of being and become worms and vermin.] There is an ordinance in the mantras which says, 'Ye sacrificer, perform the sacrifice represented by gifts of valuable things. I wilt give thee happiness represented by sons, animals, and heaven!'--To live, therefore, in accordance with ordinance is said to be the highest asceticism of the ascetics. Therefore, ye should perform such sacrifices and such penances in the shape of gifts. The due performance of these eternal duties, viz., the worship of the gods, the study of the Vedas, and the gratification of the Pitris, as also regardful services unto the preceptors--these are called the austerest of penances. The gods, by performing such exceedingly difficult penances, have obtained the highest glory and power. I, therefore, tell you to bear the very heavy burthen of the duties of domesticity. Without doubt, penances are the foremost of all things and are the root of all creatures. Asceticism, however, is to be obtained by leading a life of domesticity, upon which depends everything. They that eat the remnants of feasts, after duly apportioning the food morning and evening among kinsmen, attain to ends that are exceedingly difficult of attainment. They are called eater of the remnants of feasts who eat after having served guests and gods and Rishis and kinsmen. Therefore, those persons that are observant of their own duties, that practise excellent vows and are truthful in speech, become objects of great respect in the world, with their own faith exceedingly strengthened. Free from pride, those achievers of the most difficult feats attain to heaven and live for unending time in the regions of Sakra.'

"Arjuna continued, 'Those ascetics then, hearing these words that were beneficial and fraught with righteousness, abandoned the religion of renunciation, saying, 'There is nothing in it,' and betook themselves to a life of domesticity. Therefore, O thou that are conversant with righteousness, calling to thy aid that eternal wisdom, rule the wide world, O monarch that is now destitute of foes.'

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SECTION 12

"Vaisampayana said, 'Hearing these words of Arjuna, O chastiser of foes, Nakula of mighty arms and a broad chest, temperate in speech and possessed of great wisdom, with face whose colour then resembled that of copper, looked at the king, that foremost of all righteous persons, and spoke these words, besieging his brother's heart (with reason).'

"Nakula said, 'The very gods had established their fires in the region called Visakha-yupa. Know, therefore, O king, that the gods themselves depend upon the fruits of action. [The sense is that the gods themselves have become so by action.] The Pitris, that support (by rain) the lives of even all disbelievers, observing the ordinances (of the Creator as declared in the Vedas), are, O king, engaged in action. Know them for downright atheists that reject the declaration of the Vedas (which inculcate action). The person that is learned in the Vedas, by following their declarations in all his acts, attains, O Bharata, to the highest region of heaven by the way of the deities. [Deva-yana is the Yana or way along which the deities have gone, the strict observance of the Vedic rites.]

This (domestic mode of life again) has been said by all persons acquainted with Vedic truths to be superior to all the (other) modes of life. Knowing this, O king, that the person who in sacrifices gives away his righteously acquired wealth unto those Brahmanas that are well conversant with the Vedas, and restrains his soul, is, O monarch, regarded as the true renouncer. He, however, who, disregarding (a life of domesticity, that is) the source of much happiness, jumps to the next mode of life,--that renouncer of his own self, O monarch, is a renouncer labouring under the quality of darkness. That man who is homeless, who roves over the world (in his mendicant rounds), who has the foot of a tree for his shelter, who observes the vow of taciturnity, never cooks for himself, and seeks to restrain all the functions of his senses, is, O Partha, a renouncer in the observance of the vow of mendicancy. [Such a person also is not a true renouncer. For a Kshatriya, again, such a mode of life would be sinful.] That Brahmana who, disregarding wrath and joy, and especially deceitfulness, always employs his time in the study of the Vedas, is a renouncer in the observance of the vow of mendicancy. The four different modes of life were at one time weighed in the balance. The wise have said, O king, that when domesticity was placed on one scale, it required the three others to be placed on the other for balancing it. Beholding the result of this examination by scales, O Partha, and seeing further, O Bharata, that domesticity alone contained both heaven and pleasure, that became the way of the great Rishis and the refuge of all persons conversant with the ways of the world. He, therefore, O bull of Bharata's race, who betakes himself to this mode of life, thinking it to be his duty and abandoning all desire for fruit, is a real renouncer, and not that man of clouded understanding who goes to the woods, abandoning home and its surroundings. A person, again, who under the hypocritical garb of righteousness, fails to forget his desires (even while living in the woods), is bound by the grim King of death with his deadly fetters round the neck. Those acts that are done from vanity, are said to be unproductive of fruit. Those acts, on the other hand, O monarch I that are done from a spirit of renunciation, always bear abundant fruits. Tranquillity, self-restraint, fortitude, truth, purity, simplicity, sacrifices, perseverance, and righteousness,--these are always regarded as virtues recommended by the Rishis. In domesticity, it is said, are acts intended for Pitris, gods, guests. In this mode of life alone, O monarch, are the threefold aims to be attained. The renouncer that rigidly adheres to this mode of life, in which one is free to do all acts, has not to encounter ruin either here or hereafter. The sinless Lord of all creatures, of righteous soul, created creatures, with the intention that they would adore him by sacrifices with profuse presents. Creepers and trees and deciduous herbs, and animals that are clean, and clarified butter, were created as ingredients of sacrifice. For one in the observance of domesticity the performance of sacrifice is fraught with impediments. For this, that mode of life has been said to be exceedingly difficult and unattainable. Those persons, therefore, in the observance of the domestic mode of life, who, possessed of wealth and corn and animals, do not perform sacrifices, earn, O monarch, eternal sin. Amongst Rishis, there are some that regard the study of the Vedas to be a sacrifice: and some that regard contemplation to be a great sacrifice which they perform in their minds. The very gods, O monarch, covet the companionship of a regenerate person like this, who in consequence of his treading along such a way which consists in the concentration of the mind, has become equal to Brahma. By refusing to spend in sacrifice the diverse kinds of wealth that thou hast taken from thy foes, thou art only displaying thy want of faith. I have never seen, O monarch, a king in the observance of a life of domesticity renouncing his wealth in any other way except in the Rajasuya, the Astwamedha, and other kinds of sacrifice. Like Sakra, the chief of the celestial, O sire, perform those other sacrifices that are praised by the Brahmanas. That king, through whose heedlessness the subjects are plunged by robbers, and who does not offer protection to those whom he is called upon to govern, is said to be the very embodiment of Kati. If, without giving away steeds, and kine, and female slaves, and elephants adorned with trappings, and villages, and populous regions, and fields, and houses, unto Brahmanas, we retire into the woods with hearts not harbouring friendly feeling towards kinsmen, even we shall be, O monarch, such Kalis of the kingly order. Those members of the kingly order that do not practise charity and give protection (to others), incur sin. Woe is their portion hereafter and not bliss. If, O lord, without performing great sacrifices and the rites in honour of thy deceased ancestors, and it, without bathing in sacred waters, thou betakest thyself to a wandering life, thou shalt then meet with destruction like a small cloud separated from a mass and dashed by the winds. Thou shalt then fall off from both worlds and have to take thy birth in the Pisacha order. A person becomes a true renouncer by casting off every internal and external attachment, and not simply by abandoning home for dwelling in the woods. A Brahmana that lives in the observance of these ordinances in which there are no impediments, does not fall off from this or the other world. Observant of the duties of one's own order,--duties respected by the ancients and practised by the best of men, who is there, O Partha, that would grieve, O king, for having in a trice stain in battle his foes that swelled with prosperity, like Sakra slaying the forces of the Daityas? Having in the observance of Kshatriya duties subjugated the world by the aid of thy prowess, and having made presents unto persons conversant with the Vedas, thou canst, O monarch, go to regions higher than heaven. It behoves thee not, O Partha, to indulge in grief."

SECTION 13

"Sahadeva said, 'By casting off all external objects only, O Bharata, one does not attain to success. By casting off even mental attachments, the attainment of success is doubtful. Let that religious merit and that happiness which are his who has cast off external objects but whose mind still internally covets them, be the portion of our foes! On the other hand, let that religious merit and that happiness which are his who governs the earth, having cast off all internal attachments also, be the portion of our friends. The word mama (mine), consisting of two letters, is Death's self; white the opposite word na-mama (not mine), consisting of three letters, is eternal Brahma. Brahma and death, O king, entering invisibly into every soul, without doubt, cause all creatures to act. If this being, O Bharata, that is called Soul, be not ever subject to destruction, then by destroying the bodies of creatures one cannot be guilty of slaughter. If, on the other hand, the soul and the body of a being are born or destroyed together, so that when the body is destroyed the soul also is destroyed, then the way (prescribed in the scriptures) of rites and acts would be futile. Therefore, driving away all doubts about the immortality of the soul, the man of intelligence should adopt that path which has been trodden by the righteous of old and older times. The life of that king is certainly fruitless who having acquired the entire earth with her mobile and immobile creatures, does not enjoy her. As regards the man again who lives in the forest upon wild fruits and roots, but whose attachment to things of the earth has not ceased, such a one, O king, lives within the jaws of Death. Behold, O Bharata, the hearts and the outward forms of all creatures to be but manifestations of thy own. They that look upon all creatures as their own selves escape from the great fear (of destruction). Thou art my sire, thou art my protector, thou art my brother, and thou art my senior and preceptor. It behoveth thee, therefore, to forgive these incoherent utterances in sorrow of a woe-stricken person. True or false, this that has been uttered by are, O lord of earth, has been uttered from a due regard for thee, O best of Bharatas, that I entertain!"

SECTION 14

Vaisampayana said, "When Kunti's son, king Yudhishthira the Just, remained speechless after listening to his brothers who were telling these truths of the Vedas, that foremost of women, viz., Draupadi, of large eyes and great beauty, and noble descent, O monarch, said these words unto that bull among kings seated in the midst of his brothers that resembled so many lions and tigers, and like the leader in the midst of a herd of elephants. Ever expectant of loving regards from all her husbands but especially from Yudhishthira, she was always treated with affection and indulgence by the king. Conversant with duties and observant of them in practice, that lady of large hips, casting her eyes on her lord, desired his attention in shooting and sweet words and said as follows.

"Draupadi said, These thy brothers, O Partha, are crying and drying their palates like chatakas but thou dost not gladden them.. O monarch, gladden these thy brothers, that resemble infuriated elephants (in prowess), with proper words,--these heroes that have always drunk of the cup of misery. Why, O king, while living by the side of the Dwaita lake, didst thou say unto these thy brothers then residing with thee, and suffering from cold and wind and sun, even these words, viz.,--' rushing to battle from. desire of victory, we will slay Duryodhana and enjoy the earth that is capable of granting every wish. Depriving great car-warriors of their cars and slaying huge elephants, and strewing the field of battle with the bodies of car-warriors and horsemen and heroes, ye chastisers of foes, ye will perform great sacrifices of diverse kinds with presents in profusion. All these sufferings, due to a life of exile in the woods, will then end in happiness.' O foremost of all practisers of virtue, having thyself said these words unto thy brothers then, why, O hero, dost thou depress our hearts now? A eunuch can never enjoy wealth. A eunuch can never have children even as there can be no fish in a mire (destitute of water). A Kshatriya without the rod of chastisement can never shine. A Kshatriya without the rod of chastisement can never enjoy the earth. The subjects of a king that is without the rod of chastisement can never have happiness. Friendship for all creatures, charity, study of the Vedas, penances,--these constitute the duties of a Brahmana and not of a king, O best of kings! Restraining the wicked, cherishing the honest, and never retreating from battle,--these are the highest duties of kings. He is said to be conversant with duties in whom are forgiveness and wrath, giving and taking, terrors and fearlessness, and chastisement and reward. It was not by study, or gift, or mendicancy, that thou hast acquired the earth. That force of the enemy, O hero, ready to burst upon thee with all its might, abounding with elephants and horse and cars, strong with three kinds of strength protected by Drona and Karna and Aswatthaman and Kripa, has been defeated and slain by thee, O hero! It is for this that I ask thee to enjoy the earth. Formerly, O puissant one, thou hadst, O monarch, swayed with might [Literally, "crushed with the rod of chastisement."], the region called Jambu, O tiger among men, abounding with populous districts. Thou hadst also, O ruler of men, swayed with might that other region called Kraunchadwipa situate on the west of the great Meru and equal unto Jambu-dwipa itself. Thou hadst swayed with might, O king, that other region called Sakadwipa on the east of the great Meru and equal to Krauncha-dwipa itself. The region called Bhadraswa, on the north of the great Meru and equal to Sakadwipa was also swayed by thee, O tiger, among men! Thou hadst even penetrated the ocean and swayed with might other regions, too, O hero, and the very islands begirt by the sea and containing many populous provinces. Having, O Bharata, achieved such immeasurable feats, and having obtained (through them) the adorations of the Brahmanas, how is it that thy soul is not gratified? Seeing these brothers of thine before thee, O Bharata,--these heroes swelling with might and resembling bulls or infuriated elephants (in prowess),--why dost thou not address them in delightful words? All of you are like celestials. All of you are capable of resisting foes. All of you are competent to scorch your enemies. If only one of you had become my husband, my happiness would even then have been very great. What need I say then, O tiger among men, when all of you, numbering five, are my husbands (and look after me) like the five senses inspiring the physical frame? The words of my mother-in-law who is possessed of great knowledge and great foresight, cannot be untrue. Addressing me, she said, 'O princess of Panchala, Yudhishthira will ever keep you in happiness, O excellent lady! Having slain many thousands of kings possessed of active prowess, I see, O monarch, that through thy folly thou art about to make that feat futile. They whose eldest brother becomes mad, have all to follow him in madness. Through thy madness, O king, all the Pandavas are about to become mad. If, O monarch, these thy brothers were in their senses, they would then have immured thee with all unbelievers (in a prison) and taken upon themselves the government of the earth. That person who from dullness of intellect acts in this way never succeeds in winning prosperity. The man that treads along the path of madness should be subjected to medical treatment by the aid of incense and collyrium, of drugs applied through the nose, and of other medicines. O best of the Bharatas, I am the worst of all my sex, since I desire to live on even though I am bereaved of my children. Thou shouldst not disregard the words spoken by me and by these brothers of thine that are endeavouring thus (to dissuade thee from thy purpose). Indeed, abandoning the whole earth, thou art inviting adversity and danger to come upon thee. Thou shinest now, O monarch, even as those two best of kings, viz., Mandhatri and Amvarisha, regarded by all the lords of earth, did in former days. Protecting thy subjects righteously, govern the goddess Earth with her mountains and forests and islands. Do not, O king, become cheerless. Adore the gods in diverse sacrifices. Fight thy foes. Make gifts of wealth and clothes and other objects of enjoyment unto the Brahmanas, O best of kings!'

SECTION 15

Vaisampayana said, "Hearing these words of Yajnasena's daughter, Arjuna once more spoke, showing proper regard for his mighty-armed eldest brother of unfading glory.

"Arjuna said, 'The man armed with the rod of chastisement governs all subjects and protects them. The rod of chastisement is awake when all else is sleep. For this, the wise have characterised the rod of chastisement to be Righteousness itself. The rod of chastisement protects

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Righteousness and Profit. It protects also, O king! For this, the rod of chastisement is identified with the triple objects of life. Corn and wealth are both protected by the rod of chastisement. Knowing this, O thou that art possessed of learning, take up the rod of chastisement and observe the course of the world. One class of sinful men desist from sin through fear of the rod of chastisement in the king's bands. Another class desist from similar acts through fear of Yama's rod, and yet another from fear of the next world. Another class of persons desist from sinful acts through fear of society. Thus, O king, in this world, whose course is such, everything is, dependent on the rod of chastisement. There is a class of persons who are restrained by only the rod of chastisement from devouring one another. If the rod of chastisement did not protect people, they would have sunk in the darkness of hell. The rod of chastisement (danda) has been so named by the wise because it restrains the ungovernable and punishes the wicked, The chastisement of Brahmanas should be by word of mouth; of Kshatriyas, by giving them only that much of food as would suffice for the support of life; of Vaisyas, by the imposition of fines and forfeitures of property, while for Sudras there is no punishment. [Censure, reprimanding, is the only punishment for a Brahmana offender. A Kshatriya may be punished by taking away all property, but care should be taken to give him food sufficient for maintaining life. A Vaisya should be punished by forfeiture of possessions. There is practically no punishment for a Sudra, for being unable to possess wealth, dispossession of wealth cannot be a punishment in his case; again, service being his duty, the imposition of labour on him cannot be a punishment. For all that, hard work may be imposed upon him.] For keeping men awake (to their duties) and for the protection of property, ordinances, O king, have been established in the world, under the name of chastisement (or punitive legislation). Thither where chastisement, of dark complexion and red eyes, stands in an attitude of readiness (to grapple with every offender) and the king is of righteous vision, the subjects never forget themselves. The Brahmacharin and the house-holder, the recluse in the forest and the religious mendicant, all these walk in their respective ways through fear of chastisement alone. He that is without any fear, O king, never performs a sacrifice. He that is without fear never giveth away. The man that is without any fear never desires to adhere to any engagement or compact. Without piercing the vitals of others, without achieving the most difficult feats and without staying creatures like a fisherman (slaying fish), no person can obtain great prosperity. Without slaughter, no man has been able to achieve fame in this world or acquire wealth or subjects. Indra himself, by the slaughter of Vritra, became the great Indra. Those amongst the gods that are given to slaughtering others are adored much more by men. Rudra, Skanda, Sakra, Agni, Varuna, are all slaughterers. Kala and Mrityu and Vayu and Kuvera and Surya, the Vasus, the Maruts, the Sadhyas, and the Viswadevas, O Bharata, are all slaughterers. Humbled by their prowess, all people bend to those gods, but not to Brahman or Dhatri or Pushan at any time. Only a few men that are noble of disposition adore in all their acts those among the gods that are equally disposed towards all creatures and that are self-restrained and peaceful. I do not behold the creature in this world that supports life without doing any act of injury to others. Animals live upon animals, the stronger upon the weaker. The mongoose devours mice; the cat devours the mongoose; the dog devours the cat; the dog again is devoured by the spotted leopard. Behold all things again are devoured by the Destroyer when he comes! This mobile and immobile universe is food for living creatures. This has, been ordained by the gods. The man of knowledge, therefore, is never stupefied at it. It behoveth thee, O great king, to become that which thou art by birth. Foolish (Kshatriyas) alone, restraining wrath and joy take refuge in the woods. The very ascetics cannot support their lives without killing creatures. In water, on earth, and fruits, there are innumerable creatures. It is not true that one does not slaughter them. What higher duty is there than supporting one's life? There are many creatures that are so minute that their existence can only be inferred. With the failing of the eyelids alone, they are destroyed. There are men who subduing wrath and pride betake themselves to ascetic courses of life and leaving village and towns repair to the woods. Arrived there, those men may be seen to be so stupefied as to adopt the domestic mode of life once more. Others may be seen, who (in the observance of domesticity) tilling the soil, uprooting herbs, cutting off trees and killing birds and animals, perform sacrifices and at last attain to heaven. O son of Kunti, I have no doubt in this that the acts of all creatures become crowned with success only when the policy of chastisement is properly applied. If chastisement were abolished from the world, creatures wood soon be destroyed. Like fishes in the water, stronger animals prey on the weaker. This truth was formerly spoken by Brahmana himself, viz., that chastisement, properly applied upholds creatures. Behold, the very fires, when extinguished, blaze up again, in fright, when blown. This is due to the fear of force or chastisement. If there were no chastisement in the world distinguishing the good from the bad, then the whole world would have been

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enveloped in utter darkness and all things would have been confounded. Even they that are breakers of rules, that are atheists and scoffers of the Vedas, afflicted by chastisement, soon become disposed to observe rules and restrictions. Everyone in this world is kept straight by chastisement. A person naturally pure and righteous is scarce. Yielding to the fear of chastisement, man becomes disposed to observe rules and restraints. Chastisement was ordained by the Creator himself for protecting religion and profit, for the happiness of all the four orders, and for making them righteous and modest. If chastisement could not inspire fear, then ravens and beasts of prey would have eaten up all other animals and men and the clarified butter intended for sacrifice. If chastisement did not uphold and protect, then nobody would have studied the Vedas, nobody would have milked a milch cow, and no maiden would have married. If chastisement did not uphold and protect, then ravage and confusion would have set in on every side, and all barriers would have been swept away, and the idea of property would have disappeared. If chastisement did not uphold and protect, people could never duly perform annual sacrifices with large presents. If chastisement did not uphold and protect, no one, to whatever mode of life he might belong, would observe the duties of that mode as declared (in the scriptures), and no one would have succeeded in acquiring knowledge. Neither camels, nor oxen, nor horses, nor mules, nor asses, would, even if yoked thereto, drag cars and carriages, if chastisement did not uphold and protect. Upon chastisement depend all creatures. The learned, therefore, say that chastisement is the root of everything. Upon chastisement rests the heaven that men desire, and upon it rests this world also. Thither where foe-destroying chastisement is well applied, no sin, no deception, and no wickedness, is to be seen. If the rod of 'chastisement be not uplifted, the dog will lick the sacrificial butter. The crow also would take away the first (sacrificial) offering, if that rod were not kept uplifted. Righteously or unrighteously, this kingdom hath now become ours. Our duty now is to abandon grief. Do thou, therefore, enjoy it and perform sacrifices. Men that are fortunate, living with their dear wives (and children), eat good food, wear excellent clothes, and cheerfully acquire virtue. All our acts, without doubt, are dependent on wealth; that wealth again is dependent on chastisement. Behold, therefore, the importance of chastisement. Duties have been declared for only the maintenance of the relations of the world. There are two things here, viz., abstention from injury and injury prompted by righteous motives. Of these, two, that is superior by which righteousness may be acquired. [The illustration used by the commentator is that it is better to kill the tiger that has invaded the fold that remain quiet for fear of injuring that beast of prey and commit sin. For that slaughter there is merit, for if not slaughtered, the beast will slaughter the kine before the spectator's eyes and the latter would incur sin by passively witnessing the sight. At any rate, to be more general, it is better to injure, says Arjuna, from righteous motives than not to injure from fear of sin.] There is no act that is wholly meritorious, nor any that is wholly wicked. Right or wrong, in all acts, something of both is seen. Subjecting animals to castration, their horns again are cut off. They are then made to bear weights, are tethered, and chastised. In this world that is unsubstantial and rotten with abuses and rendered painful, O monarch, do thou practise the ancient customs of men, following the rules and analogies cited above. Perform sacrifices, give alms, protect thy subjects, and practise righteousness. Slay thy foes, O son of Kunti, and protect thy friends. Let no cheerlessness be thine. O king, while slaying foes. He that does it, O Bharata, does not incur the slightest sin. He that takes up a weapon and slays an armed foe advancing against him, does not incur the sin of killing a foetus, for it is the wrath of the advancing foe that provokes the wrath of the slayer. The inner soul of every creature is incapable of being slain. When the soul is incapable of being slain, how then can one be slain by another? As a person enters a new house, even so a creature enters successive bodies. Abandoning forms that are worn out, a creature acquires new forms. People capable of seeing the truth regard this transformation to be death.'"

SECTION 16

Vaisampayana said, "After the conclusion of Arjuna's speech, Bhimasena of great wrath and energy, mustering all his patience, said these words unto his eldest brother, 'Thou art, O monarch, conversant with all duties. There is nothing unknown to thee. We always wish to imitate thy conduct, but, alas, we cannot do it!--"I will not say anything! I will not say anything--! Even this is what I had wished! Impelled, however, by great grief I am constrained to say something. Listen to these words of mine, O ruler of men! Through the stupefaction of thy faculties, everything is endangered, and ourselves are being made cheerless and weak. How is it that thou that art the ruler of the world, thou that art conversant with all branches of knowledge, sufferest thy understanding to be clouded, in consequence of cheerlessness, like a coward? The righteous and unrighteous paths of the world are known to thee. There is nothing belonging either to the future or the present that is also unknown to thee, O puissant one! When such is the case, O monarch, I will indicate, O ruler of men, the reasons in favour of your assuming sovereignty. Listen to me with undivided attention. There are two kinds of diseases, viz., physical and mental. Each springs from the other. None of them can be seen existing independently. Without doubt, mental diseases spring from physical ones. Similarly physical diseases spring from mental ones. This is the truth. He that indulgeth in regrets on account of past physical or mental woes, reapeth woe from woe and suffereth double woe. Cold, heat, and wind,--these three are the attributes of the body. Their existence in harmony is the sign of health. If one of the three prevails over the rest, remedies have been laid down. Cold is checked by heat, and heat is checked by cold. Goodness, passion, and darkness are the three attributes of the mind. The existence of these three in harmony is the sign of (mental) health. If one of these prevails over the rest, remedies have been prescribed. Grief is checked by joy, and joy is checked by grief. One, living in the present enjoyment of this, wishes to recollect his past woes. Another, living in the present suffering of woe, wishes to recollect his past bliss. Thou, however, wert never sad in grief or glad in bliss. Thou, shouldst not, therefore, use thy memory for becoming sad during times of bliss, or glad during times of woe. It seems that Destiny is all-powerful. Or, if it be thy nature, in consequence of which thou art thus afflicted, how is it that it does not behove thee to recollect the sight thou sawest before, viz., the scantily-clad Krishna dragged, while in her season, before the assembly. Why does it not behove thee to recollect our expulsion from the (Kuru) city and our exile (into the woods) dressed in deerskins, as also our living in the great forests? Why hast thou forgotten the woes inflicted by Jatasura, the battle with Chitrasena, and the distress suffered at the hands of the Sindhu king? Why hast thou forgotten the kick received by the princess Draupadi from Kichaka white we were living in concealment? A fierce battle, O chastiser of foes, like that which thou hast fought with Bhishma and Drona is now before thee, to be fought (however) with thy mind alone. In deed, that battle is now before thee in which there is no need of arrows, of friends, of relatives and kinsmen, but which will have to be fought with thy mind alone. If thou givest up thy life-breath before conquering in this battle, then, assuming another body, thou shalt have to fight these very foes again. Therefore, fight that battle this very day, O bull of Bharata's race, disregarding the concerns of thy body, and aided by thy own acts, conquer and identify with thy mind's foe. If thou canst not win that battle, what wilt be thy condition? On the other hand, by winning it, O monarch, thou shalt have attained the great end of life. Applying thy intellect to this, and ascertaining the right and the wrong paths of creatures, follow thou the course adopted by thy sire before thee and govern properly thy kingdom. By good luck, O king, the sinful Duryodhana hath been stain with all his followers. By good luck, thou too hast attained to the condition of Draupadi's locks. Perform with due rites and profuse presents the horse-sacrifice. We, are thy servants, O son of Pritha, as also Vasudeva of great energy!'"

SECTION 17

"Yudhishthira said, 'Discontent, heedless attachment to earthly goods, the absence of tranquillity, might, folly, vanity, and anxiety,--affected by these sins, O Bhima, thou covetest sovereignty. Freed from desire, prevailing over joy and grief and attaining to tranquillity, strive thou to be happy. That peerless monarch who will govern this unbounded earth, will have but one stomach. Why dost thou then applaud this course of life? One's desires, O bull of Bharata's race, are incapable of being filled in a day, or in many months. Desire, which is incapable of gratification, cannot, indeed, be fitted in course of one's whole life. Fire, when fed with fuel, blazeth forth; when not so fed, it is extinguished. Do thou, therefore, extinguish with little food the fire in thy stomach when it appears. He that is bereft of wisdom seeks much food for his stomach. Conquer thy stomach first. (Thou shalt then be able to conquer the Earth). The earth being conquered, that which is for thy permanent good will then be won by thee. Thou applaudest desires and enjoyments and prosperity. They, however, that have renounced all enjoyments and reduced their bodies by penances, attain to regions of beatitude. The acquisition and preservation of kingdom is attended with both righteousness and unrighteousness. The desire for them exists in thee. Free thyself, however, from thy great burthens, and adopt renunciation. The tiger, for filling one stomach of his, slaughters many animals. Other animals destitute of strength and moved by covetousness live upon the tiger's prey. If kings, accepting earthly possessions, practise renunciation, they can never have contentment. Behold the loss of understanding that is noticeable in them. As a matter of fact, however, they who subsist on leaves of trees, or use two stones only or their teeth alone for husking their grain, or live upon water only or air alone, succeed in conquering hell. That king

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who rules this wide unbounded earth, and that person who regards gold and pebbles equally, amongst these two, the latter is said to have attained the object of his life and not the former. Depending, therefore, upon that which is the eternal refuge of joy both here and hereafter, cease thou to act and hope with respect to thy wishes and cease to bear attachment to them. They that have given up desire and enjoyment have never to grieve. Thou, however, grievest for enjoyments [Thou art not liberated from desire.]. Discarding desire and enjoyment, thou mayst succeed in liberating thyself from false speech. There are two well-known paths (for us), viz., the path of the Pitris and the path of the gods. They that perform sacrifices go by the Pitri-path, while they that are for salvation, go by the god-path. By penances, by Brahmacharya, by study (of the Vedas), the great Rishis, casting off their bodies, proceeded to regions that are above the power of Death. Worldly enjoyments have been styled as bonds, They have also been called Action. Liberated from those two sins (viz., bonds and action), one attains to the highest end. Mention is made of a verse sung (of old) by Janaka who was freed from the pairs of opposites, liberated from desire and enjoyments, and observant of the religion of Moksha. That verse runs thus: 'My treasures are immense, yet I have nothing! If again the whole of Mithila were burnt and reduced to ashes, nothing of mine will be burnt!' As a person on the hill-top looketh down upon men on the plain below, so he that has got up on the top of the mansion of knowledge, seeth people grieving for things that do not call for grief. He, however, that is of foolish understanding, does not see this. He who, casting his eyes on visible things, really seeth them, is said to have eyes and understanding. The faculty called understanding is so called because of the knowledge and comprehension it gives of unknown and incomprehensible things. He who is acquainted with the words of persons that are learned, that are of cleansed souls, and that have attained to a state of Brahma, succeeds in obtaining great honours. When one seeth creatures of infinite diversity to be all one and the same and to be but diversified emanations from the same essence, one is then said to have attained Brahma. Those who reach this high state of culture attain to that supreme and blissful end, and not they who are without knowledge, or they who are of little and narrow souls, or they who are bereft of understanding, or they who are without penances. Indeed, everything rests on the (cultivated) understanding!'"

SECTION 18

Vaisampayana said, "When Yudhishthira, after saying these words, became silent, Arjuna, afflicted by that speech of the king, and burning with sorrow and grief, once more addressed his eldest brother, saying, 'People recite this old history, O Bharata, about the discourse between the ruler of the Videhas and his queen. That history has reference to the words which the grief-stricken spouse of the ruler of the Videhas had said to her lord when the latter, abandoning his kingdom, had resolved to lead a life of mendicancy. Casting off wealth and children and wives and precious possessions of various kinds and the established path for acquiring religious merit and fire itself. King Janaka shaved his head (and assumed the garb of a mendicant). His dear spouse beheld him deprived of wealth, installed in the observance of the vow of mendicancy, resolved to abstain from inflicting any kind of injury on others, free from vanity of every kind, and prepared to subsist upon a handful of barley fallen off from the stalk and to be got by picking the grains from crevices in the field. Approaching her lord at a time when no one was with him, the queen, endued with great strength of mind, fearlessly and in wrath, told him these words fraught with reason: 'Why hast thou adopted a life of mendicancy, abandoning thy kingdom full of wealth and corn? A handful of fallen off barley cannot be proper for thee. Thy resolution tallies not with thy acts [Literally, 'thy resolution is of one kind, while thy acts are of another kind!'], since abandoning thy large kingdom thou covetest, O king, a handful of grain! With this handful of barley, O king, wilt thou succeed in gratifying thy guests, gods. Rishis and Pitris? This thy labour, therefore, is bootless. Alas, abandoned by all these, viz., gods, guest and Pitris, thou leadest a life, of wandering mendicancy, O king, having cast off all action. Thou wert, before this, the supporter of thousands of Brahmanas versed in the three Vedas and of many more besides. How canst thou desire to beg of them thy own food today? Abandoning thy blazing prosperity, thou castest thy eyes around like a dog (for his food). Thy mother hath today been made sonless by thee, and thy spouse, the princess of Kosala, a widow. These helpless Kshatriyas, expectant of fruit and religious merit, wait upon thee, placing all their hopes on thee. By killing those hopes of theirs, to what regions shalt thou go, O king, especially when salvation is doubtful and creatures are dependent on actions? Sinful as thou art, thou hast neither this world nor the other, since thou wishest to live, having cast off thy wedded wife? [A wedded wife is the companion of one's religious acts.] Why, indeed, dost thou lead a life of wandering mendicancy, abstaining from all actions, after having abandoned garlands and perfumes and ornaments and robes of diverse kinds? Having been, as it were, a large and sacred take unto all creatures, having been a mighty tree worthy of adoration and granting its shelter unto all, alas, how canst thou wait upon and worship others? If even an elephant desists from all work, carnivorous creatures coming in packs and innumerable worms would eat it up. What need be said of thyself that art so powerless? [Thou shouldst not, therefore, abandon action.] How couldst thy heart be set on that mode of life which recommends an earthen pot, and a triple-headed stick, and which forces one to abandon his very clothes and which permits the acceptance of only a handful of barley after abandonment of everything? If, again, thou sayest that kingdom and a handful of barley are the same to thee, then why dost thou abandon the former! If, again, a handful of barley becomes an object of attachment with thee, then, thy original resolution (of abandoning everything) falls to the ground, If, again, thou canst act up to thy resolution of abandoning everything! then who am I to thee, who art thou to me, and what can be thy grace to me? If thou beest inclined to grace, rule then this Earth! They that are desirous of happiness but are very poor and indigent and abandoned by friends may adopt renunciation. But he who imitates those men by abandoning palatial mansions and beds and vehicles and robes and ornaments, acts improperly, indeed. One always accepts gifts made by others; another always makes gifts. Thou knowest the difference between the two. Who, indeed, of these two shouldst be regarded the superior? If a gift be made to one who always accepts gifts, or to one that is possessed of pride, that gift becomes bootless like the clarified butter that is poured upon a forest-conflagration. As a fire, O king, never dies till it has consumed all that has been thrown into it, even so a beggar can never be silenced tilt he receives a donative. In this world, the food that is given by a charitable person is the sure support of the pious. If, therefore, the king does not give (food) where will the pious that are desirous of salvation go? They that have food (in their houses) are house-holders. Mendicants are supported by them. Life flows from food. Therefore, the giver of food is the giver of life. Coming out from among those that lead a domestic mode of life, mendicants depend upon those very persons from whom they come. Those self-restrained men, by doing this, acquire and enjoy fame and power. One is not to be called a mendicant for his having only renounced his possessions, or for his having only adopted a life of dependence on eleemosynary charity. He who renounces the possessions and pleasures of the world in a sincere frame of mind is to be regarded a true mendicant. Unattached at heart, though attached in outward show, standing aloof from the world, having broken all his bonds, and regarding friend and foe equally, such a man, O king, is regarded to be emancipated! Having shaved their heads clean and adopted the brown robe, men may be seen to betake themselves to a life of wandering mendicancy, though bound by various ties and though ever on the lookout for bootless wealth. They who, casting off the three Vedas, their usual occupations, and children, adopt a life or mendicancy by taking up the triple-headed crutch and the brown robe, are really persons of little understanding. Without having cast off anger and other faults, the adoption of only the brown robe, know, O king, is due to the desire of earning the means of sustenance. Those persons of clean-shaven heads that have set up the banner of virtue, have this only (viz., the acquisition of sustenance) for their object in life. Therefore, O king, keeping thy passions under control, do thou win regions of bliss hereafter by supporting them that are truly pious amongst men of matted locks or clean-shaven heads, naked or clad in rags, or skins or brown robes. Who is there that is more virtuous than he who maintains his sacred fire, who performs sacrifices with presents of animals and Dakshina, and who practises charity day and night?'

"Arjuna continued, 'King Janaka is regarded to have been a truth-knowing person in this world. Even he, in this matter (viz., the ascertainment of duty) had become stupefied. Do not yield to stupefaction! Even thus the duties of Domesticity are observed by persons practising charity. By abstaining from injuries of all kinds, by casting off desire and wrath, by being engaged in protecting all creatures, by observing the excellent duty of charity, and lastly by cherishing superiors and persons of age, we shall succeed in attaining such regions of bliss as we like. By duly gratifying gods, guests, and all creatures, by worshipping Brahmanas, and by truthfulness of speech, we shall certainly attain to desirable regions of bliss.'"

SECTION 19

"Yudhishthira said, 'I am conversant with both the Vedas and the scriptures that lead to the attainment of Brahma. In the Vedas there are precepts of both kinds, viz., those that inculcate action and those that inculcate renouncement of action. The scriptures are confounding and their conclusions are based upon reasons. The truth, however, that is in the Mantras, is duly known to me. Thou art conversant only with weapons and observant of the practices of heroes. Thou art unable to understand truly the sense of the scriptures. If thou wert really acquainted with duty, then thou couldst have understood that words such as these ought not to have been addressed to me by even one possessed of the clearest insight into the meaning of the scriptures and acquainted with the truths of religion. That, however, which thou hast said unto me, induced by fraternal affection, has been fit and proper, O son of Kunti! I am, for that, pleased with thee, O Arjuna! There is no one equal to thee in the three worlds in all duties connected with battle and in skill in respect of diverse kinds of acts. Thou mayst, therefore, speak of the subtleties connected with those subjects,--subtleties, that is, that are impenetrable by others. It behoveth thee not, however, O Dhananjaya, to doubt my intelligence. Thou art conversant with the science of battle, but thou hast never waited upon the aged. Thou knowest not the conclusions arrived at by those that have studied the subject in brief and detail. Even this is the conclusion of intelligent men whose understanding are bent on achieving salvation, viz., that amongst ascetic penances, renunciation, and knowledge of Brahma, the second is superior to the first, and the third is superior to the second. This, however, that thou thinkest, viz., that there is nothing superior to wealth, is an error. I will convince thee of it, so that wealth may not again appear to thee in that light. All men that are righteous are seen to be devoted to ascetic penances and the study of the Vedas. The Rishis also, that have many eternal regions for them, have the merit of penances. Others possessed of tranquillity of soul, having no enemies, and dwelling in the woods, have, through penances and study of the Vedas, proceeded to heaven. Pious men, by restraining desire for worldly possessions, and casting off that darkness which is born of folly, proceed northward (i.e., by luminous paths) to the regions reserved for practisers of renunciation. The path that lies to the south and that leads to regions of light (i.e., lunar regions), are reserved for men devoted to action. These are attained by persons subject to birth and death. That end, however, which persons desirous of salvation have before their eyes, is indescribable. Yoga is the best means for attaining to it. It is not easy to explain it (to thee). Those that are learned live, reflecting on the scriptures from desire of finding what is unreal. They are, however, often led away to this and to that in the belief that the object of their search exists in this and that. Having mastered, however, the Vedas, the Aranyakas, and the other scriptures, they miss the real, like men failing to find solid timber in an uprooted banana plant. Some there are who., disbelieving in its unity, regard the Soul, that dwells in this physical frame consisting of the five elements, to be possessed of the attributes of desire and aversion (and others). Incapable of being seen by the eye, exceedingly subtle, and inexpressible by words, it revolves in a round (of re-births) among the creatures of the earth, keeping before it that which is the root of action. Having made the Soul advance towards itself which is the spring of every kind of blessedness, having restrained all desires of the mind, and having cast off all kinds of action, one may become perfectly independent and happy. When there is such a path that is trod by the righteous and that is attainable by Knowledge, why, O Arjuna, dost thou applaud wealth which is full of every kind of calamity? Men of olden times that were conversant with the scriptures, O Bharata,--men that were always engaged in gifts and sacrifice and action, were of this opinion. O Bharata! There are some fools who, accomplished in the science of argumentation, deny the existence of the Soul, in consequence of the strength of their convictions of a previous life. It is very difficult to make them accept this truth about final emancipation. Those wicked men, though possessed of great learning, travel all over the earth, making speeches in assemblies, and deprecating the true doctrine about emancipation. O Partha, who else will succeed in understanding that which we do not understand?' Indeed, (as those men cannot understand the true meaning of the scriptures), similarly they cannot succeed in knowing those wise and pious persons that are truly great and that have deep acquaintance with the scriptures. O son of Kunti, men acquainted with truth obtain Brahma by asceticism and intelligence, and great happiness by renunciation.'

SECTION 20

Vaisampayana said, "After Yudhishthira had stopped, the great ascetic Devasthana, possessed of eloquence, said these words, fraught with reason, unto the king."

"Devasthana said, 'Phalguna has told thee that there is nothing superior to wealth. I shall discourse to thee on that subject. Listen to me with undivided attention, O Ajatasatru, thou hast righteously won the earth. Having won her, it behoves thee not, O king, to abandon her without cause. Four modes of life are indicated in the Vedas. Do thou, O king, duly pass through them, one after another. At present thou shouldst, therefore, perform great sacrifices with profuse presents. Amongst the very Rishis, some are engaged in the sacrifice represented by Vedic study, and some in that presented by knowledge. Therefore, O Bharata, thou must know that the very ascetics also are addicted to action. The Vaikhanasas, however, are said to preach that he who does not seek for wealth is superior to him that seeks for it. I think that he who would follow that precept would incur many faults. Men collect together diverse things (for the

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performance of sacrifices) simply because of the (Vedic) ordinance. He who, tainted by his own understanding, giveth away wealth to an undeserving person without giving it to the deserving, doth not know that he incurs the sin of killing a foetus. The exercise of the duty of charity after discriminating the deserving from the undeserving is not easy. The Supreme Ordainer created wealth for sacrifice, and He created man also for taking care of that wealth and for performing sacrifice. For this reason the whole of one's wealth should be applied to sacrifice. Pleasure would follow from it as a natural consequence. Possessed of abundant energy, Indra, by the performance of diverse sacrifices with profuse gifts of valuables, surpassed all the gods. Having got their chiefship by that means, he shineth in heaven. Therefore, everything should be applied to sacrifices. Clad in deer-skins, the high-souled Mahadeva, having poured his own self as a libation in the sacrifice called Sarva, became the first of gods, and surpassing all creatures in the universe and prevailing over them by means of that achievement, shines in resplendence. King Marutta, the son of Avikshit, by the profusion of his wealth, vanquished Sakra himself, the chief of the gods. In the great sacrifice he performed, all the vessels were of gold, and Sree herself came in person. Thou hast heard that the great king Harischandra, having performed sacrifices, earned great merit and great happiness. Though a man, he nevertheless vanquished Sakra by his wealth. For this reason everything should be applied to sacrifice.'"

SECTION 21

"Devasthana said, 'In this connexion is cited an old history, viz., the discourse that Vrihaspati, asked by Indra, delivered unto him. Vrihaspati said, 'Contentment is the highest heaven, contentment is the highest bliss. There is nothing higher than contentment. Contentment stands as the highest. When one draws away all his desires like a tortoise drawing in all it limbs, then the natural resplendence of his soul soon manifests itself. When one does not fear any creature, nor any creature is frightened at one, when one conquers one's desire and aversion, then is one said to behold one's soul. When one, indeed, in word and thought, seeks to injure nobody and cherishes no desire, one is said to attain to Brahma. Thus, O son of Kunti, whatever religion is followed by creatures, they obtain corresponding fruits. Awaken thyself by this consideration, O Bharata! Some praise Peacefulness, some praise Exertion; some there are that praise Contemplation; and some praise both Peacefulness and Exertion. Some praise sacrifice; others, renunciation. Some praise gifts; others, acceptance. Some, abandoning everything, live in silent meditation. Some praise sovereignty and the cherishing, of subjects, after slaving, cutting and piercing (foes). Some are for passing their days in retirement. Observing all this, the conclusion of the learned is that that religion which consists in not injuring any creature is worthy of the approbation of the righteous. Abstention from injury, truthfulness of speech, justice, compassion, self-restraint, procreation (of offspring) upon one's own wives, amiability, modesty, patience,--the practice of these is the best of a religions as said by the self-create Manu himself. Therefore, O son of Kunti, do thou observe this religion with care. That Kshatriya, who, conversant with the truths or royal duties, takes sovereignty upon himself, restraining his soul at all times, equally regarding that which is dear and that which is not, and subsisting upon the remains of sacrificial feasts, who is engaged in restraining the wicked and cherishing the righteous, who obliges his subjects to tread in the path of virtue and who himself treads in that path, who at last transmits his crown to his son and betakes himself to the woods, there to live on the products of the wilderness and act according to the ordinances or the Vedas after having cast off all idleness, that Kshatriya who conducts himself thus, conforming in everything to the well-known duties of kings, is sure to obtain excellent fruits in both this world and the next. That final emancipation, of which thou speakest, is exceedingly difficult to obtain, and its pursuit is attended with many impediments. They that adopt such duties and practise charity and ascetic penances, that are possessed of the quality of compassion and are freed from desire and wrath, that are engaged in ruling their subjects with righteousness and fighting for the sake of kine and Brahmanas, attain hereafter to a high end. For the Rudras with the Vasus and the Adityas, O scorcher of foes, and the Sadhyas and hosts of kings adopt this religion. Practising without heedlessness the duties inculcated by that religion, they attain to heaven through those acts of theirs.'"

SECTION 22

Vaisampayana said, "After this, Arjuna once more addressed his eldest brother of unfading glory, viz., king Yudhishthira of cheerless heart, and said these words: 'O thou that art conversant with every kind of duty, having by the practice of Kshatriya duties obtained sovereignty that is so very difficult of acquisition, and having conquered all thy foes, why dost thou burn in grief? O king, as regards Kshatriyas, death in battle is regarded more meritorious for them than the performance of diverse sacrifices. It is so declared in the ordinance that lays down the duties of Kshatriyas. Penances and Renunciation are the duties of Brahmanas. Even this is the ordinance (affecting the two orders) about the next world. Indeed, O puissant one, death in battle is laid down for Kshatriyas. The duties of Kshatriyas are exceedingly fierce and are always connected with the use of weapons, and it has been laid down, O chief of the Bharatas, that they should, when the time comes, perish by weapons on the field of battle. The life of even a Brahmana, O king, that lives in the observance of Kshatriya duties, is not censurable, for Kshatriyas also have sprung from Brahmana. Neither Renunciation, nor Sacrifice, nor Penances, nor dependence on the wealth of others, O ruler of men, has been ordained for Kshatriyas. Thou art acquainted with all duties, and thou art of righteous soul, O bull of Bharata's race! Thou art a wise king, skilled in all acts. Thou canst distinguish what is right in this world from what is wrong. Casting off this cheerlessness by repentance, address thyself with a strong will to action. The heart of a Kshatriya especially is hard as thunder. Having by the exercise of Kshatriya duties vanquished thy foes and acquired empire without a thorn in its side, conquer thy soul, O ruler of men, and be engaged in the performance of sacrifices and the practice of charity. Indra himself, though a Brahmana, became a Kshatriya in his acts, and battled with his sinful kinsfolk for eight hundred and ten times. Those acts of his, O monarch, are adorable and worthy of praise. Through them he obtained, as we have heard, the chiefship of the gods. Do thou, therefore, O monarch, perform sacrifices with profuse presents even as Indra did, O ruler of men, and thereby free thyself from thy fever. Do not, O bull among Kshatriyas, grieve thus for what is past. They that have been slain have attained to the highest end, sanctified by weapons and agreeably to the ordinances of the Kshatriya religion. That which has happened was ordained to happen. Destiny, O tiger among kings, is incapable of being resisted.'"

SECTION 23

Vaisampayana said, "Thus addressed by Arjuna of curly hair, the Kuru king born of Kunti remained speechless. Then the island-born (Vyasa) said these words.

"Vyasa said, 'The words of Arjuna, O amiable Yudhishthira, are true. The highest religion, as declared by the scriptures, depends on the duties of domesticity. Thou art acquainted with all duties. Do thou then duly practise the duties prescribed for thee (viz., the duties of domesticity). A life of retirement in the woods, casting off the duties of domesticity, has not been laid down for thee. The gods, Pitris, guests, and servants, all depend (for their sustenance) upon the person leading a life of domesticity. Do thou then support all these, O lord of the earth! Birds and animals and various other creatures, O ruler of men, are supported by men leading domestic lives. He, therefore, that belongs to that mode of life is superior (to all others). A life of domesticity is the most difficult of all the four modes of life. Do thou practise that mode of life then, O Partha, which is difficult of being practised by persons of unrestrained sense. Thou hast a good knowledge of all the Vedas. Thou hast earned great ascetic merit. It behoveth thee, therefore, to bear like an ox the burthen of thy ancestral kingdom. Penances, sacrifices, forgiveness, learning, mendicancy, keeping the senses under control, contemplation, living in solitude, contentment, and knowledge (of Brahma), should, O king, be striven after by Brahmanas to the best of their ability for the attainment of success. I shall now tell thee the duties of Kshatriyas. They are not unknown to thee. Sacrifice, learning, exertion, ambition, [Literally, the absence of contentment with present prosperity.] wielding 'the rod of punishment,' fierceness, protection of subjects., knowledge of the Vedas, practise of all kinds of penances, goodness of conduct, acquisition of wealth, and gifts to deserving persons,--these, O king, well performed and acquired by persons of the royal order, secure for them both this world and the next, as heard by us. Amongst these, O son of Kunti, wielding the rod of chastisement has been said to be the foremost. Strength must always reside in a Kshatriya, and upon strength depends chastisement. Those duties that I have mentioned are, O king, the principal ones for Kshatriyas and contribute greatly to their success. Vrihaspati, in this connexion, sang this verse: 'Like a snake devouring a mouse, the Earth devours a king that is inclined to peace and a Brahmana that is exceedingly attached to a life of domesticity.' It is heard again that the royal sage Sudyumna, only by wielding the rod of chastisement, obtained the highest success, like Daksha himself, the son of Prachetas.'

Yudhishthira said, 'O holy one, by what acts did Sudyumna, that lord of the earth, obtain the highest success? I desire to hear the history of that king!'

"Vyasa said, 'In this connexion is cited this old history. There were two brothers, viz., Sankha and Likhita, of rigid vows. The two brothers had two separate dwellings both of which were beautiful. Situate by the bank of the stream called Vahuda, both of those residences were adorned with trees that were always burthened with flowers and fruits. Once on a time Likhita came to the residence of his brother Sankha. At that time, however, Sankha had gone out of his asylum on no fixed purpose. Arrived at the asylum of his brother, Likhita plucked many ripe fruits. Obtaining them the regenerate Likhita began to eat them without any qualms of conscience. While still employed in the act of eating, Sankha came back to his retreat. Beholding him eating, Sankha addressed his brother, saying, 'Whence have these fruits been obtained and for what reason art thou eating them?' Approaching his elder brother and saluting him, Likhita smilingly replied, saying, 'I have taken them even from this retreat.' Filled with great rage, Sankha said unto him, 'Thou hast committed theft by thyself taking these fruits. Go and approaching the king confess to him what thou hast done. Tell him, O best of kings, I have committed the offence of approaching what was not given to me. Knowing me for a thief and observing the duty of thy order, do thou soon inflict upon me, O ruler of men, the punishment of a thief.' Thus addressed, the highly blessed Likhita of rigid vows, at the command of his brother, proceeded to king Sudyumna. Hearing from his gate-keepers that Likhita had come, king Sudyumna, with his counsellors, advanced (for receiving the sage). Meeting him, the king addressed that foremost of all persons conversant with duties, saying, 'Tell me, O revered one, the reason of thy coming. Regard it as already accomplished.' Thus questioned, that regenerate sage said unto Sudyumna, 'Do thou promise first that thou wilt achieve it. It will then behove thee, after hearing me, to accomplish that promise. O bull among men, I ate some fruits that had not been given me by my elder brother. Do thou, O monarch, punish me for it without delay.' Sudyumna answered, 'If the king be regarded as competent to wield the rod of chastisement, he should be regarded, O bull among Brahmanas, as equally competent to pardon. Purified in respect of thy act, O thou of high vows, consider thyself as pardoned. Tell me now what other wishes thou hast. I shall certainly accomplish those commands of thine!'

"Vyasa continued, 'Thus honoured by the high-souled king, the regenerate sage Likhita, however, did not solicit him for any other favour. Then that ruler of the earth caused the two hands of the high-souled Likhita to be cut off, whereupon the latter, bearing the punishment, went away. Returning to his brother Sankha, Likhita, in great affection, said, 'It behoveth thee now to pardon this wretch that hath been duly punished (for what he did).' Sankha said, I am not angry with thee, nor hast thou injured me, O foremost of all persons conversant with duties. Thy virtue, however, had suffered a shock. I have rescued thee from that plight. Proceed without delay to the river Vahuda and gratify duly, with oblations of water, the gods, Rishis and the Pitris, and never again set thy heart on sin.' Hearing these words of Sankha, Likhita performed his ablutions in the sacred stream and set about for commencing the water-rite. Upon this, two hands, resembling two lotuses, appeared at the extremities of his stumps. Filled with wonder he came back to his brother and showed him the two hands. Sankha said unto him, 'All this has been accomplished by me through my penances. Do not be surprised at it. Providence hath been the instrument here.' Likhita answered, 'O thou of great splendour, why didst thou not purify me at first, when, O best of regenerate ones, such was the energy of thy penances?' Sankha, said, 'I should not have acted otherwise. I am not thy chastiser. The ruler (who has punished thee) has been himself purified, as also thyself, along with the Pitris!'

"Vyasa continued, 'That king, O eldest son of Pandu, became eminent by this act and obtained the highest success like the lord Daksha himself! Even this is the duty of Kshatriyas, viz., the ruling of subjects. Any other, O monarch, would be regarded as a wrong path for them. Do not give way to grief. O best of all persons conversant with duty, listen to the beneficial words of this thy brother. Wielding the rod of chastisement, O king, is the duty of kings and not the shaving of the head.'"

SECTION 24

Vaisampayana said, "Once more the great sage Krishna-Dwaipayana said these words unto Ajatasatru, the son of Kunti: 'Let these great car-warriors of abundant energy of mind, O monarch, let these brothers of thine, O Yudhishthira, the chief of the Bharatas, obtain those wishes of theirs that they cherished while dwelling in the woods. Rule thou the earth, O son of Pritha, like (another) Yayati, the son of Nahusha. Before now misery was yours while ye dwelt in the woods in the observance of ascetic penances. That misery is ended, O tiger among men! Enjoy happiness, therefore, for some time. Having O Bharata, earned and enjoyed religious merit and wealth and pleasure for some time with thy brothers, thou mayst then, O king, retire into the woods. Be freed first, O Bharata, from the debt thou owest to persons that may beg of thee, to the Pitris, and to the gods. Thou mayst then, O son of Kunti, practise all the other modes of life (that come afterwards). Do thou, O son of Kuru's race, perform the sacrifices of Sarvamedha and Aswamedha. Thou shalt then attain, O monarch, to the highest end hereafter. Installing thy brothers also in great sacrifices with plentiful presents (to the

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Brahmanas), thou shalt, O son of Pandu, acquire great fame. There is a saying, O tiger among men and best of the Kurus! Listen to it, for by acting according to it, O king, thou shalt not swerve from virtue. Those men only, O Yudhishthira, whose practices resemble those of robbers, cause a king by their counsels to take to a career of war and victory. [Adadana is explained as a robber or one who forcibly takes other people's property. Some texts read nareswarah. The sense should remain unaltered.] That king who, guided by considerations of place and time and moved by an understanding dependent on the scriptures, pardons even a number of robbers, incurs no sin. That king who, realising his tribute of a sixth, doth not protect his kingdom, taketh a fourth part of the sins of his kingdom. [Manu also mentions a sixth of the produce as the king's share.] Listen also to that by which a king may not swerve from virtue. By transgressing the scriptures (one incurs sill), while by obeying them one may live fearlessly. That king who, guided by an understanding based upon the scriptures and disregarding lust and wrath, behaves impartially, like a father, towards all his subjects, never incurs sin. O thou of great splendour, if a king, afflicted by destiny, fails to accomplish an act which he should, such failure would not be called a trespass. By force and policy should the king put down his foes. He must not suffer sin to be perpetrated in his kingdom but should cause virtue to be practised. Brave men, those that are respectable in their practices, they that are virtuous in their acts, they that are possessed of learning, O Yudhishthira, Brahmanas conversant with Vedic texts and rites, and men of wealth, should especially be protected. In determining suits and accomplishing religious acts, they that are possessed of great learning should alone be employed. A prudent king will never repose his confidence upon one individual, however accomplished. That king who does not protect his subjects, whose passions are ungovernable, who is full of vanity, who is stained with haughtiness and malice, incurs sin and earns the reproach of tyranny. If the subjects of a king, O monarch, waste away from want of protection and are afflicted by the gods and ground down by robbers, the sin of all this stains the king himself. There is no sin, O Yudhishthira, in doing an act with heartiness, after full deliberation, and consultation with men capable of offering good advice. Our tasks fail or succeed through destiny. If exertion, however, be applied, sin would not touch the king. I shall recite to thee, O tiger among kings, the story of what happened to an ancient king of the name of Hayagriva, O son of Pandu,--the story, viz., of the heroic Hayagriva of unstained deeds, who after having slain a large number of his foes in battle, was himself defeated and slain while without a follower by his side. Having achieved all that should be done for keeping foes under check and adopted all those foremost of means by which men may be protected. Hayagriva acquired great fame from the battles he fought and is now enjoying great bliss in heaven. Mangled by robbers with weapons, boldly fighting with them, and casting off his life in battle, the high-souled Hayagriva, ever attentive to his (kingly) duties, achieved the object of his life and is now enjoying great bliss in heaven. The bow was his (sacrificial) stake and the bowstring was the cord for tying the victims. Shafts constituted the smaller ladle and the sword the large one, and blood was the clarified butter that he poured. The car was the altar and the wrath he felt in battle was the fire, and the four foremost of steeds yoked unto his vehicle were the four Hotris. Having poured upon that sacrificial fire his foes as libations and then his own life-breaths at the completion of the sacrifice, that vigorous lion among kings, viz., Hayagriva, became freed from sin and is now sporting in the regions of the gods. Having protected his kingdom with policy and intelligence, the high-souled Hayagriva of resigned self and great strength of mind and accustomed to the performance of sacrifices filled all the worlds with his fame and is now sporting in the region of the gods. 1 Having obtained the merit dependent on the performance of sacrifices as also every kind of merit that is connected with human affairs, he wielded the rod of chastisement and ruled the Earth with vigour and without pride. For this the virtuous and high-souled Hayagriva is sporting in the region of the gods. [Manu also mentions a sixth of the produce as the king's share.] Possessed of learning, practising renunciation, actuated by faith, and full of gratitude, that king, having performed diverse acts, left this world of men and won the regions that are reserved for the intelligent and the wise and those that are of approved usages and behaviour and prepared to cast off their lives in battle. Having studied the Vedas well and the other scriptures also, having ruled his kingdom properly and caused all the four orders to adhere to their respective duties, the high-souled Hayagriva is sporting in joy the regions of the gods. Having won many battles and cherished his subjects, having drunk the Soma juice in sacrifices and gratified the foremost of Brahmanas with presents and judiciously wielded the rod of chastisement over those placed under his sway and at last cast off his life in battle, that king is living happily in heaven. His life was worthy of every praise. Learned and honest men applaud it, deserving as it is of every applause. Having won heaven and acquired the regions reserved for heroes, that high-souled monarch of virtuous deeds became crowned with success.'

SECTION 25

Vaisampayana said, "Hearing the words of the Island-born Rishi and seeing Dhananjaya angry, Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, saluted Vyasa and made the following answer.

"Yudhishthira said, 'This earthly sovereignty and the diverse enjoyments (appertaining thereto) fail to give any joy to my heart. On the other hand, this poignant grief (consequent upon the loss of my kinsmen) is eating away its core. Hearing the lamentations of these women who have lost their heroic husbands and children, I fail to attain peace, O sage!'" Vaisampayana continued, "Thus addressed, the virtuous Vyasa that foremost of all persons conversant with Yoga, possessed of great wisdom and intimately acquainted with the Vedas, said unto Yudhisthira (the following words).

"Vyasa said, 'No man can acquire anything by his own acts or by sacrifices and worship. No man can give anything to a fellow man. Man acquires everything through Time. The Supreme Ordainer has made the course of Time the means of acquisition. By mere intelligence or study of the scriptures, men, if Time be unfavourable, cannot acquire any earthly possession. Sometimes an ignorant fool may succeed in winning wealth. Time is the efficacious means for the accomplishment of all acts. During times of adversity, neither science, nor incantations, nor drugs, yield any fruits. In times, however, of prosperity, those very things, properly applied, become efficacious and bear success. By Time the winds blow violently: by Time the clouds become rain-charged; by Time tanks become adorned with lotuses of different kinds; by Time trees in the forest become decked with flowers. By Time nights become dark or lighted. By Time the Moon becomes full. If the Time for it does not come, trees do not bear flowers and fruits. If the Time for it does not come, the currents of rivers do not become fierce. Birds and snakes and deer and elephants and other animals never become excited when the Time for it does not come. If the Time for it does not come, women do not conceive. It is with Time that winter, and summer, and the rainy season come. If the Time for it does not come, no one is born and no one dies. If the Time does not come, the infant does not acquire power of speech. If the Time does not come, one does not acquire youth. It is with Time that the seed sown puts forth its sprouts. If the Time does not come, the Sun does not appear above the horizon, nor, when the Time for it does not come, does he repair to the Asta hills. If the Time for it does not come, the Moon does not wax nor wane, nor the ocean, with its high billows, rise and ebb. In this connexion is instanced the old story recited, O Yudhishthira, by king Senajit in grief. The irresistible course of Time affects all mortals. All earthly things, ripened by Time, suffer destruction. Some, O king, slay some men. The slayers, again, are slain by others. This is the language of the world. Really, however, no one stays and no one is slain. Some one thinks men slay (their fellow-men). Another thinks men do not slay. The truth is that the birth and destruction of all creatures have been ordained to happen in consequence of their very nature. Upon the loss of one's wealth or the death of one's wife or son or sire, one cries out, saying 'Alas, what grief!' and dwelling upon that sorrow always enhances it. Why do you, like a foolish person, indulge in grief? Why do you grieve for them that are subject to grief? Behold, grief is increased by indulgence as fear is by yielding to. This body even is not mine. Nothing in this earth is mine. Or, the things of this earth belong as much to others as to me. The wise, seeing, this, do not suffer themselves to be deluded. There are thousands of causes for sorrow, and hundreds of causes for joy. These every day affect the ignorant only, but not him that is wise. These, in course of Time. become objects of affection or aversion, and appearing as bliss or woe revolve (as if in a wheel) for affecting living creatures. There is only sorrow in this world but no happiness. It is for this that sorrow only is felt. Indeed, sorrow springs from that affliction called desire, and happiness springs from the affliction called sorrow. Sorrow comes after happiness, and happiness after sorrow. One does not always suffer sorrow or always enjoy happiness. Happiness always ends in sorrow, and sometimes proceeds from sorrow itself. He, therefore, that desires eternal happiness must abandon both. When sorrow must arise upon the expiration of happiness, and happiness upon the expiration of sorrow, one should, for that, cast off, like a (snake-bit) limb of one's body, that from which one experiences sorrow or that heart-burning which is nurtured by sorrow or that which is the root of his anxiety. Be it happiness or sorrow, be it agreeable or disagreeable, whatever comes should be borne with an unaffected heart. O amiable one, if thou abstainest, in even a slight measure, from doing what is agreeable to your wives and children, thou shalt then know who is whose and why so and for what. They that are highly stupid and they that are masters of their souls enjoy happiness here. They however, that occupy an intermediate place suffer misery. This, O Yudhishthira, is what Senajit of great wisdom said, that person who was conversant with what is good or bad in this world, with duties, and with happiness and misery. He who is grieved at other people's griefs can never be happy. There is no end of grief, and grief arises from happiness itself. Happiness and misery, prosperity and adversity, gain and loss, death and life, in their turn, wait upon all creatures. For this reason the wise man of tranquil soul should neither be elated with joy nor be depressed with sorrow. To be engaged in battle has been said to be the Sacrifice for a king; a due observance of the science of chastisement is his Yoga; and the gift of wealth in sacrifices in the form of Dakshina is his Renunciation. All these should be regarded as acts that sanctify him. By governing the kingdom with intelligence and policy, casting off pride, performing sacrifices, and looking at everything and all persons with kindness and impartiality, a high-souled king, after death, sports in the region of the gods. By winning battles, protecting his kingdom, drinking the Soma juice, advancing his subjects, wielding judiciously the rod of Chastisement, and casting off his body at last in fight, a king enjoys happiness in heaven. Having studied all the Vedas and the other scriptures duty, having protected the kingdom properly, and having caused all the four orders to adhere to their respective duties, a king becomes sanctified and finally sports in heaven. He is the best of kings whose conduct, even after his death, is applauded by the inhabitants of city and country and by his counsellors and friends."

SECTION 26

Vaisampayana said, "In this connexion, the high-souled Yudhishthira said unto Arjuna these words fraught with reason. 'Thou thinkest, O Partha, that there is nothing superior to wealth, and that the poor man can neither have heaven, nor happiness, nor the acquisition of his wishes. This, however, is not true. Many persons are seen that have been crowned with success through sacrifice in the shape of Vedic study. Many sages are seen by devotion to penances to have acquired eternal regions of bliss. They, O Dhananjaya, who always observe the practices of the Rishis by betaking themselves to Brahmacharya and who become acquainted with all duties, are regarded by the gods as Brahmanas. O Dhananjaya, thou shouldst always regard those Rishis that are devoted to the study of the Vedas and those that are devoted to the pursuit of true knowledge as persons that are truly virtuous. O son of Pandu, all our acts depend upon those that are devoted to the acquisition of true knowledge. We know this to be the opinion of the Vaikhanasas, O puissant one! The Ajas, the Prishnis, the Sikatas, O Bharata, the Arunas, and the Kitavas, have all gone to heaven through the merit of Vedic study. By performing those acts, O Dhananjaya, that are indicated in the Vedas, viz., battle, study of the Vedas, sacrifices, the restraint of passion that is so difficult, one goes to heaven by the southern path of the Sun (Dakshinayana). I have, before this, told thee that those very regions belong to persons that are observant of (Vedic) acts. Thou shalt see, however, that the northern path (Uttarayana) is travelled by those that are devoted to Yoga penances. Those eternal and bright regions to which that path leads belong to men of Yoga. Of these two, the northern path is much applauded by those conversant with the Puranas. Thou shouldst know that one acquires heaven through contentment. From contentment springs great happiness. There is nothing higher than contentment. Unto the Yogin who has controlled wrath and joy, contentment is his high praise and success. In this connexion is cited the discourse by Yayati of old. Listening to that discourse one may succeed in withdrawing all his desires like a tortoise drawing in all his limbs. When one cherishes no fear of anything, when one is not feared by anything, when one cherishes no desire, when one bears no hate, then is one said to have attained to the state of Brahma. When one does not bear sinfully towards any creature, in act, thought, or word, one is then said to have attained to Brahma. When one has controlled his pride and folly, and withdrawn himself from all attachments, it is then that that pious man of irradiated soul becomes fit for attaining to that salvation which consists in the annihilation of separate existence. Listen now to me with concentrated attention, O son of Pritha, as I say it unto thee. Some desire virtue; some, good conduct; and some wealth. One may desire wealth (as a means for the acquisition of virtue). The abandonment, however, of such desire would be better for him. There are many faults attached to wealth and consequently to those religious acts that are performed with wealth. We have seen it with our own eyes. It behoveth thee also to see this. He that desires wealth finds it very difficult to abandon that which should by every means be abandoned. Good deeds are very rare in those that amass riches. It is said that wealth can never be acquired without injuring others, and that, when earned, it brings numerous troubles. A person of narrow heart, setting at naught the fear of repentance, commits acts of aggression towards others, tempted by even a little wealth, unconscious all the while of the sin of Brahmanicide that he incurs by his acts. Obtaining wealth which is so difficult of acquisition, one burns with grief if one has to give a portion of it to one's servants,--with grief, that is, which is equal to what one would feet if one is actually robbed by depredators. If, on the other hand, one

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does not part with one's wealth, obloquy becomes one's share. One, however, that has no wealth, never becomes the subject of censure. Withdrawn from all attachments, such a person can become happy in all respects by supporting life upon what little he may obtain as alms. No one, however, can be happy by the acquisition of wealth. In this connexion certain verses relating to sacrifices are recited by persons conversant with ancient scriptures. Wealth was created by the Creator for the sake of sacrifices, and man was created by him for protecting that wealth and performing sacrifices. For this, all wealth should be applied to sacrifices. It is not proper that it should be spent for the gratification of desire of enjoyment. The Creator then confers wealth upon mortals for the sake of sacrifices. Know this, O son of Kunti, thou that art the foremost of all wealthy persons! It is for this that the wise think that wealth, without doubt, is nobody's on earth. One should perform sacrifices with it and give it away with a trustful heart. One should spend (in gift) what one has acquired, and not waste or spend it in gratifying one's desire of enjoyment. What use is there in amassing wealth when such proper objects exist in which to spend it? Those persons of little understanding that give away (wealth) unto men that have swerved from the duties of their order, have to subsist hereafter for a hundred years on ordure and dirt. That men give unto the undeserving and refrain from giving unto the deserving is due to inability to discriminate between the deserving and the undeserving. For this reason the practice of even the virtue of charity is difficult. These are the two faults connected with wealth even when acquired, viz., gift to an undeserving person and abstaining from giving unto him that is deserving.'"

SECTION 27

"Yudhishthira said, 'In consequence of the fall Abhimanyu of tender years, of the sons of Draupadi, of Dhrishtadyumna, of Virata, of king Drupada, of Vasusena conversant with every duty, of the royal Dhrishtaketu, and of diverse other kings hailing from diverse regions, in battle, grief does not forsake my wretched self that am a slayer of kinsmen. Indeed, I am inordinately covetous of kingdom and am an exterminator of my own race. He upon whose breast and limbs I used to roll in sport, alas, that Ganga's son has been slain by me in battle through lust of sovereignty. When I beheld that lion among men, viz., our grandsire, assailed by Sikhandin and trembling and reeling in consequence of Partha's shafts that resembled thunder-bolts in energy, when I beheld his tall form pierced all over with blazing arrows and himself become weak like an aged lion, my heart was deeply pained. When I beheld that afflictor of hostile cars reel like a mountain summit and fall down strengthless on the terrace of his own vehicle with his face turned towards the east, my senses were stupefied. That scion of Kuru's race who with bow and shaft in hand had contended in fierce battle for many days with Rama himself of Bhrigu's line on the field sanctified by Kuru, that son of Ganga, that hero, who, at Baranasi, for the sake of brides, had, on a single car, challenged to battle the assembled Kshatriyas of the world, he who had burnt by the energy of his weapons that irresistible and foremost of kings, viz., Ugrayudha, alas, that hero has been caused by me to be slain in battle. Knowing full well that Sikhandin the prince of Panchala was his destroyer, that hero still refrained from slaying the prince with his shafts. Alas, such a magnanimous warrior was slain by Arjuna. O best of sages, at that moment when I beheld the grandsire stretched on the earth and covered with blood, a violent fever afflicted my heart. He who had protected and reared us when we were children, alas, he was caused to be slain by my sinful self that am covetous of kingdom, that am a slayer of reverend seniors, and a perfect fool, for the sake of sovereignty that would last but a few days. Our preceptor, the great archer Drona, adored by all the kings, was approached by me and addressed falsely in respect of his son. The memory of that act of mine is burning all my limbs. The preceptor said unto me, 'Tell me truly, O king, whether my son liveth still. Expecting truth from me, the Brahmana asked me of all others. By silently uttering the word elephant, I behaved falsely towards him. Sinful that I am exceedingly covetous of kingdom, and a slayer of my reverend seniors, I behaved even thus towards my preceptor in battle, throwing off the garb of truth (which I was believed to wear), for I said unto him that Aswatthaman had been killed when, in fact, an elephant of that name had been slain. To what regions shall I go (thereafter), having perpetrated such infamous deeds? I caused also my eldest brother Karna to be slain, that terrible warrior who never retreated from battle. Who is there more sinful than I? Through covetousness I caused Abhimanyu of tender years, that hero who resembled a lion born in the hills, to penetrate into the array that was protected by Drona himself. I am like one guilty of infanticide. Sinful as I am, I have not since then, been able to look Arjuna or the lotus-eyed Krishna in the face. I grieve also few Draupadi who is bereft of her five sons like the Earth bereft of her five mountains. I am a great offender, a great sinner, and a destroyer of the earth! Without rising from this seat that I now occupy, I will weaken my body (by starvation) and meet with death. Know me who am the slayer of my preceptor as one that has sat down here in the observance of the Praya vow. An exterminator of my race, I must do so in order that I may not he reborn in any of other orders of beings! [The. meaning is that I must undergo such a severe penance in order that in order that in my next life I may not be born as an inferior animal but succeed in taking birth among men.] I shall forgo all food and drink, and without moving from this place, O great ascetic, shall dry up my life-breaths that are so dear. I pray you with humility, grant me permission in this and go whithersoever you please. Let every one grant me permission. I shall cast off this body of mine.'

Vaisampayana continued, "Restraining Pritha's son who, stupefied by sorrow on account of his kinsmen, uttered such words, Vyasa, that best of ascetics, spoke as follows, first telling him, 'This can not be!'

"Vyasa said, 'It behoveth thee not, O monarch, to indulge in such poignant grief. I shall repeat what I have once said. All this is Destiny, O puissant one! Without doubt, all creatures that are born display at first a union (of diverse materials and forces). Dissolution. however, overtakes them at the end. Like bubbles in the water they rise and disappear. All things massed together are sure to crumble away and all things that rise must fall down. Union ends in dissolution and life ends in death. Idleness, though temporarily agreeable, ends in misery, and labour with skill, though temporarily painful, ends in happiness. Affluence, Prosperity, Modesty, Contentment, and Fame dwell in labour and skill but not in idleness. Friends are not competent to bestow happiness, nor foes competent to inflict misery. Similarly wisdom does not bring wealth nor does wealth bring happiness. Since, O son of Kunti, thou hast been created by the Maker to engage thyself in Work. Success springs from Work. Thou art not fit, O king, to avoid Work.'"

SECTION 28

Vaisampayana said, "Vyasa then dispelled the grief of the eldest son of Pandu., who, burning with sorrow on account of the slaughter of his kinsmen, had resolved to make an end of himself."

Vyasa said, 'In this connexion is cited the old story, O tiger among men, that is known by the name of Asma's discourse. Listen to it, O Yudhishthira! Janaka the ruler of the Videhas, O king, filled with sorrow and grief, questioned a wise Brahmana of the name of Asma for the resolution of his doubts.'

"Janaka said, 'How should a man desirous of his own good behave upon occasions of the accession and the destruction of both kinsmen and wealth?'

"Asma said, 'Immediately after the formation of a man's body, joys and griefs attach themselves to it. Although there is a possibility of either of the two overtaking the person, yet whichever actually overtakes him quickly robs him of his reason like the wind driving away gathering clouds. (In times of prosperity) one thinks in this strain, viz., 'I am of high birth! I can do whatever I like!--I am not an ordinary man!' His mind becomes soaked with such triple vanity. Addicted to all earthly enjoyments, he begins to waste the wealth hoarded by his ancestors. Impoverished in course of time, he regards the appropriation of what belongs to others as even laudable. Like a hunter piercing a deer with his shafts, the king then punishes that wicked wight that robber of other people's possessions, that transgressor of law and rule. Without attaining to a hundred years (the usual period of human life), such men scarcely live beyond twenty or thirty years. Carefully observing the behaviour of all creatures, a king should, by the exercise of his intelligence, apply remedies for alleviating the great sorrows of his subjects. The causes of all mental sorrow are two, viz., delusion of the mind and the accession of distress. No third cause exists. All these diverse kinds of woe as also those arising from attachment to earthly enjoyments, that overtake man, are even such. Decrepitude and Death, like a pair of wolves, devour all creatures, strong or weak, short or tall. No man can escape decrepitude and death, not even the subjugator of the whole earth girt by the sea. Be it happiness or be it sorrow that comes upon creatures., it should be enjoyed or borne without elation or depression. There is no method of escape from them. The evils of life, O king, overtake one in early or middle or old age. They can never he avoided, while those (sources of bliss) that are coveted never come. [Man covets freedom from decay and immortality, but instead of obtaining what he covets for, decay and death become his portion on Earth.] The absence, of what is agreeable, the presence of what is disagreeable, good and evil, bliss and woe, follow Destiny. Similarly, the birth of creatures and their death, and the accessions of gain and loss, are all pre-ordained. Even as scent, colour, taste, and touch spring naturally, happiness and misery arise from what has been pre-ordained. Seats and beds and vehicles, prosperity and drink and food, ever approach leaving creatures according to Time's course. Physicians even get ill. The strong become weak. They that are in the enjoyment of prosperity lose all and become indigent. The course of Time is very wonderful. High birth, health, beauty, prosperity, and objects of enjoyment, are all won through Destiny. The indigent, although they may not desire it, have many children. The affluent again are seen to be childless. Wonderful is the course of Destiny. The evils caused by disease, fire, water, weapons, hunger, poison, fever, and death, and falls from high places, overtake a man according to the Destiny under which he is born. It is seen in this world that somebody without sinning, suffers diverse ills, while another, having sinned, is not borne down by the weight of calamity. It is seen that somebody in the enjoyment of wealth perishes in youth; while some one that is poor drags on his existence, borne down by decrepitude, for a hundred years. One borne in an ignoble race may have a very long life, while one sprung from a noble line perishes soon like an insect. In this world, it is very common that persons in affluent circumstances have no appetite, while they that are indigent can digest chips of wood. Impelled by destiny, whatever sins the man of wicked soul, discontented with his condition, commits, saying, 'I am the doer,' he regards to be all for his good. Hunting, dice, women, wine, brawls, these are censured by the wise. Many persons, however, possessed of even extensive knowledge of the scriptures are seen to be addicted to them. Objects, whether coveted or otherwise, come upon creatures in consequence of Time's course. No other cause can be traced. Air, space, fire, moon, sun, day, night, the luminous bodies (in the firmament), rivers, and mountains,--who makes them and who supports them? Cold, and heat, and rain, come one after another in consequence of Time's course. It is even so, O bull among men, with the happiness and the misery of mankind. Neither medicines, nor incantations, can rescue the man assailed by decrepitude or overtaken by death. As two logs of wood floating on the great ocean, come together and are again (when the time comes) separated, even so creatures come together and are again (when the time comes) separated. Time acts equally towards those men that (are in affluent circumstances and that) enjoy the pleasures of song and dance in the company of women and those helpless men that live upon the food that others supply. In this world a thousand kinds of relationship are contracted, such as mother and father and son and wife. In reality, however, whose are they and whose are we? No one can become anyone's own, nor can anyone become anybody else's own. Our union herewith wives and kinsfolk and well-wishers is like that of travellers at a road-side inn. Where am I? Where shall go? Who am I? How come I here! What for and whom I grieve? Reflecting on these questions one obtains tranquillity. Life and its environments are constantly revolving like a wheel, and the companionship of those that are dear is transitory. The union with brother, mother, father, and friend is like that of travellers in an inn. Men of knowledge behold, as if with corporeal eyes, the next world that is unseen. Without disregarding the scriptures, one desirous of knowledge should have faith. One possessed of knowledge should perform the rites laid down in respect of the Pitris and the gods, practise all religious duties, perform sacrifices, judiciously pursue virtue, profit, and pleasure. Alas, no one understands that the world is sinking on the ocean of Time that is so very deep and that is infested with those huge crocodiles called decrepitude and death. Many physicians may be seen afflicted with all the members of their families, although they have carefully studied the science of Medicine. Taking bitters and diverse kinds of oily drugs, these succeed not in escaping death, like ocean in transcending its continents. Men well-versed in chemistry, notwithstanding chemical compounds applied judiciously, are seen to be broken down by decrepitude like trees broken down by elephants. Similarly, persons possessed of ascetic merit, devoted to study of the Vedas, practising charity, and frequently performing sacrifices, succeed not in escaping decrepitude and death. As regards all creatures that have taken birth, neither years, nor months, nor fortnights, nor days, nor nights, that have once passed, do ever return. Man, whose existence is so transitory, is forced, in course of Time, whether he will or not, to come upon this inevitable and broad path that has to be trodden by every creature. [Man covets freedom from decay and immortality, but instead of obtaining what he covets for, decay and death become his portion on Earth.] Whether the body springs from the creature or the creature springs from the body, one's union however, with wives and other friends is like that of travellers in an inn. one cannot obtain a lasting companionship with anyone. One cannot obtain such companionship with one's own body. How then it can be had with anyone else? Where, O king, is thy sire today and where thy grandsire? Thou beholdst them not today and they do not behold thee. O sinless one! No person can see either heaven or hell. The scriptures, however, are the eyes of the virtuous. O king, frame thy conduct according to the scriptures. What pure heart, one should practise first the vow of Brahmacharya and then beget children and then perform sacrifices, for paying off the debt one owes to the Pitris, the gods, and men. Performing sacrifices and engaged in procreating (children), after having first observed the vow of Brahmacharya, one who bath wisdom for his eyes, casting off all anxiety of heart, should pay court to heaven, this world, and his own soul.

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That king bent upon the practice of virtue who strives judiciously for acquiring Heaven and Earth and who takes of earthly goods just what is ordained (as the king's share) in the scriptures, wins a reputation that spread over all the worlds and among all creatures, mobile and immobile. The ruler of the Videhas, of clear understanding, having heard these words full of reason, become freed from grief, and taking Asma's leave proceeded towards his abode, O thou of unfading glory, cast off thy grief and rise up. Thou art equal to Sakra himself. Suffer thy soul to be gladdened. The earth has been won by thee in the exercise of Kshatriya duties. Enjoy her, O son of Kunti, and do not disregard my words.'"

SECTION 29

Vaisampayana said, "The foremost of kings, viz., Yudhishthira the son of Dharma, still remaining speechless, Pandu's son Arjuna addressed Krishna and spoke as follows:

"Arjuna said, 'This scorcher of foes, viz., Dharma's son, is burning with grief on account of his (slaughtered) kinsfolk. Comfort him, O Madhava I Once more, O Janardana, all of us have fallen into great danger. It behoveth thee! O mighty-armed one, to dispel his grief.'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Thus addressed by the high-souled Arjuna, the lotus-eyed Govinda of unfading glory turned his face towards the king. Kesava could not by any means be disregarded by Yudhishthira. From the earliest years Govinda was dearer to Yudhishthira than Arjuna himself. Taking up the king's hand adorned with sandal-paste and looking like a column of marble, the mighty-armed Saurin began to speak, gladdening (the hearts of all who listened to him). His face, adorned with teeth and eyes that were very beautiful, shone brightly like a full-blown lotus at sunrise.

"Vasudeva said, "Do not, O tiger among men, indulge in such grief that emaciates thy body. They who have been slain in this battle will on no account be got back. Those Kshatriyas, O king, that have fallen in this great battle, are even, like objects that one acquires in one's dreams and that vanish when one awakes. All of them were heroes and ornaments of battle. They were vanquished while rushing with faces towards their foes. No one amongst them was slain with wounds on the back or while flying away. All of them, having contended with heroes in great battle and having cast off their life-breaths then, have, sanctified by weapons, proceeded to heaven. It behoveth thee not to grieve for them. Devoted to the duties of Kshatriyas, possessed of courage, perfectly conversant with the Vedas and their branches, all of them have attained to that blissful end which is obtainable by heroes. It behoveth thee not to grieve for them after hearing of those high-souled lords of the earth, of ancient days, that departed from this world. In this connexion is cited the old discourse of Narada before Srinjaya when the latter was deeply afflicted with grief on account of the death of his son. (Narada said),--Subject to happiness and misery, myself, thyself and all creatures, O Srinjaya, shall have to die. What cause then is there for sorrow. Listen to me as I recite the great blessedness of (some) ancient king. Hear me with concentrated attention. Thou shalt then, O king, cast off thy grief. Listening to the story of those high-souled lords of the earth, abate thy sorrow. O, hear me as I recite their stories to thee in detail. By listening to the charming and delightful history of those kings of ancient times, malignant stars may be propitiated and the period of one's life be increased. We hear, O Srinjaya, that there was a king of the name of Marutta who was the son of Avikshit. Even he fell a prey to death. The gods with Indra and Varuna and Vrihaspati at their head came to sacrifice, called Viswasrij, performed by that high-souled monarch. Challenging Sakra, the chief of the gods, that king vanquished him in battle. The learned Vrihaspati, from desire of doing good unto Indra, had refused to officiate at Marutta's sacrifice. Thereupon Samvarta, the younger brother of Vrihaspati, acceded to the king's request. During the rule of that king, O best of monarchs, the earth yielded crops without being tilled and was adorned with diverse kinds of ornaments. In the sacrifice of that king, the Viswedevas sat as courtiers, the Maruts acted as distributors (of food and presents) and the high-souled Sadhyas were also present. In that sacrifice of Marutta, the Maruts drank Soma. The sacrificial presents the king made surpassed (in value) those ever made by the gods, the Gandharvas, and men. When even that king, O Srinjaya, who transcended thee in religious merit, knowledge, renunciation, and affluence, and who was purer than thy son, felt a prey to death, do not grieve for thy son. There was another king of the name of Suhotra the son of Atithi. We hear, O Srinjaya, that even he fell a prey to death. During his rule, Maghavat showered gold for one whole year upon his kingdom. Obtaining that king for her lord, the earth became in reality (and not in name only as before) Vasumati. 1 The rivers, during the sway of that king, bore golden tortoises, crabs, alligators, sharks, and porpoises, for the adorable Indra, O king, had showered these upon them. Beholding those golden fishes and sharks and tortoises in hundreds and thousands, Atithi's son became filled with wonder. Collecting that vast wealth of gold that covered the earth, Suhotra performed a sacrifice at Kurujangala and gave it away unto the Brahmanas, When that king, O Srinjaya, who transcended thee in the four attributes of religious merit, knowledge, renunciation, and affluence, and who was purer than thy son, felt a prey to death, do not grieve for thy son (that is dead). Thy son never performed a sacrifice and never made gifts. Knowing this, pacify thy mind and do not give away to grief. We hear also, O Srinjaya, that Vrihadratha the king of the Angas, fell a prey to death. He gave away I hundred thousand steeds. A hundred thousand maidens also, adorned with golden ornaments, he gave away as presents in a sacrifice he performed. A hundred thousand elephants also of the best breed, he gave away as presents in another sacrifice performed by him. A hundred millions also of bulls, adorned with golden chains, with thousands of kine accompanying them, he gave away as sacrificial presents. While the king of Anga performed his sacrifice by the hill called Vishnupada, Indra became intoxicated with the Soma he drank, and the Brahmanas with the presents they received. In the sacrifices, O monarch, numbering by hundreds, that this king performed of old, the presents he made far surpassed those ever made by the gods, the Gandharvas, and men. No other man was born, or will ever be born, that gave or will give away so much wealth as was given away by the king of the Angas in the seven sacrifices he performed, each of which was characterised by the consecration of the Soma. When, O Srinjaya, this Vrihadratha even, who was thy superior in the four attributes and who was purer than thy son, fell a prey to death, do not grieve for thy son that is dead. We hear also, O Srinjaya, that Sivi, the son of Usinara, fell a prey to death. That king swayed the whole earth as one sways the leathern shield in his hand. Riding on a single car that proved victorious in every battle, king Sivi caused the whole earth to resound with the rattle of his wheels and subjugated all monarchs. Usinara's son Sivi gave away, in a sacrifice, all the kine and horses he had, both domestic and wild. The Creator himself thought that no one amongst the kings of the past or the future had or would have the ability to bear the burthen, O Srinjaya, that Usinara's son Sivi, that foremost of kings, that hero who was possessed of prowess equal to that of Indra himself, bore. Do not, therefore, grieve or thy son who never performed any sacrifice nor made any gift. Indeed, O Srinjaya, when Sivi, who was far superior to thee in the four attributes and who was purer than thy son, fell a prey to death, do not grieve for thy son that is dead. We hear, O Srinjaya, that the high-souled Bharata also, the son of Dushmanta and Sakuntala, who had a vast and well-filled treasury, fell a prey to death. Devoting three hundred horses unto the gods on the banks of the Yamuna, twenty on the banks of the Saraswati, and fourteen on the banks of Ganga, that king of great energy, in days of old, performed (in this order) a thousand Horse-sacrifices and a hundred Rajasuyas. No one amongst the kings of the earth can imitate the great deeds of Bharata, even as no man can, by the might of his arms, soar into the welkin. Erecting numerous sacrificial altars, he gave away innumerable horses and untold wealth unto the sage Kanwa. When even he, O Srinjaya, who was far superior to thee in the four attributes and who was purer than thy son, fell a prey to death, do not grieve for thy son that is dead. We hear, O Srinjaya, that Rama also, the son of Dasaratha, fell a prey to death. He always cherished his subjects as if they were the sons of his own loins. In his dominions there were no widows and none that was helpless. Indeed, Rama in governing his kingdom always acted like his father Dasaratha. The clouds, yielding showers season ably, caused the crops to grow abundantly. During the period of his rule, food was always abundant in his kingdom. No death occurred by drowning or by fire. As long as Rama governed it, there was no fear in his kingdom of any disease. Every man lived for a thousand years, and every man was blessed with a thousand children. During the period of Rama's sway, all men were whole and all men attained the fruition of their wishes. The very women did not quarrel with one another, what need then be said of the men? During his rule his subjects were always devoted to virtue. Contented, crowned with fruition in respect of all the objects of their desire, fearless, free, and wedded to the vow of truth, were all the people when Rama governed the kingdom. The trees always bore flowers and fruit and were subject to no accidents. Every cow yielded milk filling a drona to the brim. Having dwelt, in the observance of severe penances, for four and ten years in the woods, Rama performed ten Horse-sacrifices of great splendour and to them the freest access was given to all. Possessed of youth, of a dark complexion, with red eyes, he looked like the leader of an elephantine herd. With aims stretching down to his knees and of handsome face, his shoulders were like those of a lion and the might of his arms great. Ascending upon the throne of Ayodhya, he ruled for ten thousand and ten hundred years. When, he O Srinjaya, who transcended thee in the four principal attributes and who was purer than thy son, fell a prey to death, do not grieve for thy son that is dead. We hear, O Srinjaya, that king Bhagiratha also died. In one of the sacrifices of that king, intoxicated with the Soma he had drunk, Indra, the adorable chastiser of Paka and the chief of the gods, vanquished, by putting forth the might of his arms, many thousands of Asuras. King Bhagiratha, in one of the sacrifices he performed, gave away a million of maidens adorned with ornaments of gold. Each of those maidens sat upon a car and unto each car were attached four steeds. With each car were a hundred elephants, all of the foremost breed and decked with chains of gold. Behind each elephant were a thousand steeds, and behind each steed a thousand kine, and behind each cow a thousand goats and sheep. (The river-goddess) Ganga, named (from before) Bhagirathi, sat upon the lap of this king dwelling near (her stream), and from this incident she came to be called Urvasi. The triple-coursed Ganga had agreed to be the daughter of Bhagiratha of Ikshvaku's race, that monarch ever engaged in the performance of sacrifices with presents in profusion unto the Brahmanas. When he, O Srinjaya, who transcended thee in respect of the four principal attributes and who was purer than thy son, fell a prey to death, do not grieve for thy son. We hear, O Srinjaya, that the high-souled Dilipa also fell a prey to death. The Brahmanas love to recite his innumerable deeds. In one of his great sacrifices that king, with heart fully assenting, gave away the entire earth, abounding with wealth, unto the Brahmanas. In each sacrifice performed by him, the chief priest received as sacrificial fee a thousand elephants made of gold. In one of his sacrifices, the stake (set up for slaughtering the victims) was made of gold and looked exceedingly beautiful. Discharging the duties assigned to them, the gods having Sakra for their chief, used to seek the protection of that king. Upon that golden stake possessed of great effulgence and decked with a ring, six thousand Gods and Gandharvas danced in joy, and Viswavasu himself, in their midst played on his Vina the seven notes according to the rules that regulate their combinations. Such was the character of Viswavasu's music that every creature (whatever he might be) thought that the great Gandharva was playing to him alone. No other monarch could imitate this achievement of king Dilipa. The elephants of that king, intoxicated and adorned with housings of gold, used to lie down on the roads. Those men proceeded to heaven that succeeded in obtaining a sight even of the high-souled king Dilipa who was ever truthful in speech and whose bow could bear a hundred foes equal in energy to a hundred Anantas. These three sounds never ceased in Dilipa's abode, viz., the voice of Vedic recitations, the twang of bows, and cries of Let it be given. When he, O Srinjaya, who transcended thee in the four principal attributes and who was purer than thy son, fell a prey to death, do not grieve for thy son that is dead. Yuvanaswa's son Mandhatri also, O Sanjaya, we have heard, fell a prey to death. The deities named Maruts extracted that child from his sire's stomach through one of its sides. Sprung from a quantity of clarified butter that had been sanctified by mantras (and that had by mistake been quaffed by his sire instead of his sire's spouse) Mandhatri was born in the stomach of the high-souled Yuvanaswa. Possessed of great prosperity, king Mandhatri conquered the three worlds. Beholding that child of celestial beauty lying on the lap of his sire, the God asked one another, 'From whom shall this child obtain suck?' Then Indra approached him, saying, 'He shall obtain stick even from me!' From this circumstance, the chief of the deities came to call the child by the name of Mandhatri [Literally, "Me he shall suck."]. From the nourishment of that high-souled child of Yuvanaswa, the finger of Indra, placed in his mouth, began to yield a jet of milk. Sucking Indra's finger, he grew up into a stout youth in a hundred days, In twelve days he looked like one of twelve years. The whole earth in one day came under the sway of that high-souled and virtuous and brave king who resembled Indra himself for prowess in battle. He vanquished king Angada, Marutta, Asita, Gaya, and Vrihadratha the king of the Angas. When Yuvanaswa's son fought in battle with Angada, the Gods thought that the firmament was breaking with the twang of his how. The whole earth from where the Sun rises to where he sets is said to be the field of Mandhatri. Having performed Horse-sacrifices and a hundred Rajasuyas, he gave unto the Brahmanas many Rohita fishes. Those fishes were each ten Yojanas in length and one in breadth. Those that remained after gratifying the Brahmanas were divided amongst themselves by the other classes. When he, O Srinjaya, who transcended thee in respect of the four principal attributes and who was purer than thy son, fell a prey to death, do not grieve for thy son that is dead. We hear, O Sanjaya, that Yayati, the son of Nahusha, also fell a prey to death. Having subjugated the whole world with its seas, he journeyed through it, decking it with successive sacrificial altars the intervals between which were measured by throws of a heavy piece of wood. Indeed, he reached the very shores of the sea as he proceeded performing great sacrifices (on those altars along his way). Having performed a thousand sacrifices and a hundred Vajapeyas, he gratified the foremost of Brahmanas with three mountains of gold. Having slain many Daityas and Danavas duly arrayed in battle, Nahusha's son, Yayati, divided the whole earth (among his children). At last discarding his other sons headed by Yadu and Drahyu, he installed (his youngest son) Puru on his throne and then entered the woods accompanied by his wife, When he, O

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Srinjaya, who far surpassed thee in the four principal attributes and who was purer than thy son, fell a prey to death, do not grieve for thy son that is dead. We hear, O Srinjaya, that Amvarisha also, the son of Nabhaga, fell a prey to death. That protector (of the world) and foremost of kings was regarded by his subjects as the embodiment of virtue. That monarch, in one of his sacrifices, assigned to the Brahmanas, for waiting upon them, a million of kings who had themselves performed thousands of sacrifices each. Men of piety praised Amvarisha, the son of Nabhaga, saying that such feats had never been achieved before nor would their like be achieved in the future. Those hundreds upon hundreds and thousands upon thousands of kings (that had at the command of Amvarisha waited at his sacrifices upon the Brahmanas that came there) became (through Amvarisha's merits) crowned with the fruits of the Horse-sacrifice, and followed their lord by the Southern-path (to regions or brightness and bliss). When he, O Srinjaya, who far surpassed thee in the four principal attributes and who was purer than thy son, fell a prey to death, do not grieve for thy child that is dead. We hear, O Srinjaya, that Sasavindu also, the son of Chitrasena, felt a prey to death. That high-souled king had a hundred thousand wives, and million of sorts. All of them used to wear golden armour and all of them were excellent bowmen. Each of those princes married a hundred princesses, and each princess brought a hundred elephants. With each of those elephants were a hundred cars. With each car were a hundred steeds, all of good breed and all decked with trappings of gold. With each steed were a hundred kine, and with each cow were a hundred sheep and goats. This countless wealth, O monarch, Sasavindu gave away, in a Horse-sacrifice, unto the Brahmanas. When he, O Srinjaya, who far surpassed thee in the four principal attributes and who was purer than thy son, fell a prey to death, do not grieve for thy child that is dead. We hear, O Srinjaya, that Gaya also, the son of Amurtarayas, fell a prey to death. For a hundred years, that king subsisted upon the remains of sacrificial food. (Pleased with such devotion) Agni desired to give him boons. The boons solicited by Gaya were, 'Let my wealth be inexhaustible even if I give ceaselessly. Let my regard for virtue exist for ever. Let my heart ever take pleasure in Truth, through thy grace, O cater of sacrificial libations.' It hath been heard by us that king Gaya obtained all those wishes from Agni. On days of the new moon, on those of the full moon, and on every fourth month, for a thousand years, Gaya repeatedly performed the Horse-sacrifice. Rising (at the completion of every sacrifice) he gave away a hundred thousand kine and hundreds of mules (unto the Brahmanas) during this period. That bull among men gratified the gods with Soma, the Brahmanas with wealth, the Pitris with Swadha, and the women with the accomplishment of all their wishes. In his great Horse-sacrifice, king Gaya caused a golden ground to be made, measuring a hundred cubits in length and fifty in breadth, and gave it away as the sacrificial fee. That foremost of men, viz., Gaya, the son of Amurtarayas, gave away as many kine as there are sand grains, O king, in the river Ganga. When he, O Srinjaya, who far surpassed thee in the four principal attributes and who was purer than thy son, fell a prey to death, do not grieve for thy son that is dead. We hear, O Srinjaya, that Sankriti's son Rantideva also fell a prey to death. Having undergone the austerest of penances and adored him with great reverence, he obtained these boons from Sakra, having solicited them, saying 'Let us have abundant food and numerous guests. Let not my faith sustain any diminution, and let us not have to ask anything of any person.' The animals, both domestic and wild, slaughtered in his sacrifice, used to come to him, viz., the high-souled Rantideva of rigid vows and great fame, of their own accord. The secretions that flowed from the skins of the animals (slaughtered in his sacrifices), produced a mighty and celebrated river which to this day is known by the name of Charmanwati. King Rantideva used to make gifts unto the Brahmanas in an extensive enclosure. When the king said, 'Unto thee I give a hundred nishkas! Unto thee I give a hundred,' the Brahmanas (without accepting what was offered) made a noise (expressive of refusal). When, however, the king would say, 'I give a thousand nishkas,' the gifts were all accepted. All the vessels and plates, in Rantideva's palace, for holding food and other articles, all the jugs and pots, the pans and plates and cups, were of gold. On those nights during which the guests used to live in Rantideva's abode, twenty thousand and one hundred kine had to be slaughtered. Yet even on such occasions, the cooks, decked in ear-rings, used to proclaim (amongst those that sat down to supper): 'There is abundant soup, take as much as ye wish; but of flesh we have not as much today as on former occasions.' When he, O Srinjaya, who far surpassed thee in the four principal attributes and who was purer than thy son, fell a prey to death, do not grieve for thy son that is dead. We hear, O Srinjaya, that the high-souled Sagara also fell a prey to death. He was of Ikshvaku's race, a tiger among men, and of superhuman prowess. Sixty thousand sons used to walk behind him, like myriads upon myriads of stars waiting upon the Moon in the cloudless firmament of autumn. His sway extended over the whole of this earth. He gratified the gods by performing a thousand Horse-sacrifices. He gave away unto deserving Brahmanas palatial mansions with columns of gold and (other parts) made entirely of that precious metal, containing costly beds and bevies of beautiful ladies with eyes resembling petals of the lotus, and diverse other kinds of valuable objects. At his command, the Brahmanas divided those gifts among themselves. Through anger that king caused the earth to be excavated whereupon she came to have the ocean on her bosom, and for this, the ocean has come to be called Sagara after his name. When he, O Srinjaya, who far surpassed thee in the four principal attributes and who was purer than thy son, fell a prey to death, do not grieve for thy son that is dead. We hear, O Srinjaya, that king Prithu also, the son of Vena, fell a prey to death. The great Rishis, assembling together in the great forest, installed him in the sovereignty of the earth. And because it was thought that he would advance all mankind, he was, for that reason, called Prithu (the advancer). And because also he protected people from injuries (Kshata), he was, for that reason, called a Kshatriya (protector from injuries). Beholding Prithu the son of Vena, all the creatures of the earth exclaimed, 'We have been lovingly attached to him.' From this circumstance of the loving attachment (to him of all creatures), he came to be called a Raja (one that can inspire attachment). The earth, during his sway, yielded crops without being tilled, every leaf that the trees had bore honey; and every cow yielded a jugful of milk. All men were hale and all their wishes used to be crowned with fruition. They had no fear of any kind. They used to live, as they pleased, in fields or in (sheltered) houses. When Prithu desired to go over the sea, the waters became solidified. The rivers also never swelled up when he had to cross them but remained perfectly calm. The standard on his car moved freely everywhere (without being obstructed by any impediment). King Prithu, in one of his grand Horse-sacrifices, gave away unto the Brahman as one and twenty mountains of gold, each measuring three nalwas. When he, O Srinjaya, who far surpassed thee in the four principal attributes and who was purer than thy son, fell a prey to death, do not grieve for thy son that is dead. Upon what, O Srinjaya, dost thou reflect in silence? It seems, O king, that thou hearest not these words of mine. If thou hast not heard them, then this discourse of mine has been a fruitless rhapsody, like medicine or diet, to a person on the point of death.'

"Srinjaya said, 'I am attending, O Narada, to this discourse of thine, of excellent import and perfumed like a garland of flowers,--this discourse upon the conduct of high-souled royal sages of meritorious deeds and great fame, that can certainly dispel grief. Thy discourse, O great sage, has not been a fruitless rhapsody. I have been freed from grief at thy very sight. Like one never satiated with drinking nectar, I am not satiated with thy words. O thou of true sight, if thou, O lord, be inclined to show thy grace towards this person burning on account of the death of his son, then that son, through that grace of thine, is sure to be revived and to mingle once more with me (in this life).

"Narada said, 'I will give back to thee that son of thine, named Suvarnashthivin, whom Parvata gave thee and who has been bereft of life. Of the splendour of gold, that child shall have a thousand years.'"

SECTION 30

"Yudhishthira said, 'How did the son of Srinjaya become Suvarnashthivin? Why also did Parvata give Srinjaya that child? And why did he die? When the lives of all men in those days extended for a thousand years, why did Srinjaya's son die in infancy? Or, was he in name only Suvarnashthivin? How also did he come to be so? I desire to know all this.'

"Krishna said, "I will recite to thee, O king, the facts as they happened. There are two Rishis, the foremost ones in the world, named Narada and Parvata. Narada is the maternal uncle and Parvata is his sister's son. With cheerful hearts, the uncle Narada and the nephew Parvata had, in days of old, O king, left heaven for a pleasant ramble on earth for tasting clarified butter and rice. Both of them, possessed of great ascetic merit, wandered over the earth, subsisting on food taken by human beings. Filled with joy and entertaining great affection for each other, they entered into a compact that, whatever wish, good or bad, would be entertained by one should be disclosed to the other, but on the event of one of them acting otherwise, he should be subject to the other's curse. Agreeing to that understanding, those two great Rishis, adored of all the worlds, repaired to king Srinjaya, the son of Sitya and said unto him, 'We two, for thy good, shall dwell with thee for a few days. O lord of earth, do thou attend to all our wants duly.' The king, saying, So be it, set himself to attend upon them hospitably. After a while, one day, the king filled with joy, introduced to those illustrious ascetics his daughter of the fairest complexion, saying, 'This my daughter will wait upon you both. Bright as the filaments of the lotus, she is beautiful and of faultless limbs, accomplished and of sweet manners, and is called Sukumari by name.' 'Very well,' said the Rishis in reply, upon which the king directed his daughter, telling her, 'O child, attend upon these two Brahmanas as thou wouldst upon the gods or thy sire.' The virtuous princess, saying, 'So be it' began to attend upon them in obedience to her father's behest. Her dutiful services and her unrivalled beauty very soon inspired Narada with a tender flame towards her. That tender sentiment began to grow in the heart of the illustrious saint like the moon gradually waxing on the accession of the lighted fortnight. The virtuous Narada, however, overwhelmed by shame, could not disclose that burning attachment to his sister's son, the high-souled Parvata. By his ascetic power, as also by signs, Parvata understood all. Inflamed with rage, the latter thereupon resolved to curse the love-afflicted Narada. And he said, 'Having of thy own accord made a compact with me that, whatever wish, good or bad, would be cherished by either of us should be disclosed to the other, thou hast violated it. These were thy own words. O Brahmana! It is for this that I shall curse thee. Thou didst not tell me before that thy heart has been pierced by the charms of the maiden Sukumari! It is for this that I shall curse thee. Thou art a Brahmacharin. Thou art my preceptor. Thou art an ascetic and a Brahmana. Yet hast thou broken the compact thou hadst made with me. Fitted with rage I shall, for this, curse even thee. Listen to me. This Sukumari shall, without doubt, become thy wife. From the time of thy marriage, however, O puissant one, both she and all men shall behold thee an ape, for thy true features having disappeared, an ape shalt thou appear unto all.' Hearing these words of his, the uncle Narada, filled with wrath, cursed his nephew Parvata in return, saying, 'Although thou hast ascetic merit and Brahmacharya and truth and self-restraint, and although thou art ever devoted to virtue, thou shalt not yet succeed in proceeding to heaven.' Filled with rage and desire of vengeance, they thus cursed and flamed against each other like a couple of infuriated elephants. From that time the high-souled Parvata began to wander over the earth, respected as he deserved, O Bharata, for his own energy. Narada then, that foremost of Brahmanas, obtained according to due rites the hand of Srinjaya's daughter, the faultless Sukumari. The princess, however, beheld Narada exactly as the curse had said. Indeed, just after the last of the wedding mantras had been recited, Sukumari beheld the celestial Rishi to have a face like that of an ape. She, however, did not on that account, disregard her lord. On the other hand, she dedicated her love to him. Indeed, the princess, chaste as she was, devoted herself entirely to her lord and did not in her heart even desire any one else among the gods, Munis, and Yakshas for a husband. One day, as the illustrious Parvata, in course of his wanderings, entered a solitary forest, he beheld Narada there. Saluting him, Parvata said, 'Show thy grace unto me by permitting me, O puissant one, to co to heaven.' Seeing the cheerless Parvata kneeling before him with joined hands, Narada, himself mere cheerless, said unto him, 'Thou hadst cursed me first, saying, 'Be thou an ape!' After thou hadst said so unto me, I cursed thee from anger, saying, 'From this day thou shalt not dwell in heaven!' It was not well of thee, since thou art like a son unto me.' The two saints then freed each other from their mutual curses. Beholding her husband possessed of celestial form and blazing with beauty, Sukumari fled from him, taking him to be somebody other than her lord. Seeing the beautiful princess flying away from her lord, Parvata addressed her, saying, 'This one is even thy husband. Do not entertain any scruple. This one is the illustrious and puissant Rishi Narada, that foremost of virtuous persons. He is thy lord, of one soul with thee. Do not have any doubt.' Assured in diverse ways by the high Parvata and formed also of the curse on her lord, the princess regained her equanimity. Then Parvata proceeded to heaven and Narada to his home."

"Vasudeva continued, 'The illustrious Rishi Narada, who was himself an actor in this matter, is here. O best of men, asked by thee, he will tell thee everything that happened.'"

SECTION 31

Vaisampayana said, "The royal son of Pandu then addressed Narada, saying, 'O holy one, I desire to hear of the birth of the child whose excreta were gold.' Thus addressed by king Yudhishthira the Just, the sage Narada began to narrate to him all that had occurred in connexion with that child of golden excreta.

"Narada said, 'It is even so, O thou of mighty arms, as Kesava here hath said. Asked by thee I shall now recite the portion that remains of this story. Myself, and my sister's son, the great ascetic Parvata, came (on one occasion) unto Srinjaya that foremost of all victorious kings, for dwelling with him. Honoured by him with due rites, and with every wish of ours gratified, we took up our residence in his abode. After the season of rains had gone, and when the time came for our own departure, Parvata said unto me those words of grave import suitable to the hour: 'We have, O Brahmana, dwelt in the abode of this king for some time, highly honoured by him. Think of what return we should make.' I then, O monarch, addressed Parvata of blessed aspect, saying, 'O nephew, this becomes thee, and, O thou of great power, all this depends upon thyself. Through thy boons let the king be made happy and let him obtain his wishes. Or, if thou choosest, let him be crowned with success through the ascetic

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merits of both of us.' After this, Parvata having called king Srinjaya, that foremost of victorious persons, said unto him these words O bull of Kuru's race, 'We have been exceedingly gratified, O king, with thy hospitable attentions given to us with every sincerity. With our permission, O foremost of men, think of the boon thou shouldst solicit. Let the boon, however, be such that it may not imply enmity to the gods or destruction to men! Accept then, O king, a boon, for thou deservest one as we think.' Hearing these words, Srinjaya replied, 'If ye have been gratified with me, my object then has been gained, for that of itself has been my greatest gain and that is regarded by me as the fruition of all my desire.' Unto Srinjaya who said so, Parvata again said, 'Solicit, O king, the fruition of that wish which thou art cherishing in thy heart, for a long time.' Srinjaya answered, 'I desire a son that shall be heroic and possessed of great energy, firm in his vows and of long life, highly blessed and possessed of splendour equal to that of the Chief himself of the deities.' At this, Parvata said, 'This thy desire shall be fulfilled. Thy child, however, shall not be long-lived, for thy wish for such a son is even for prevailing over the Chief of the gods. Thy son shall be known by the name of Suvarnashthivin. He shall be possessed of splendour like that of the Chief of the gods but take care to protect him always from that deity.' Hearing these words of the high-souled Parvata, Srinjaya began to beseech that saint for ordaining otherwise, saying, 'Let my son be long-lived, O Muni, through thy ascetic merit.' Parvata, however, said nothing, through partiality for Indra. Beholding the king very cheerless, I said unto him, 'Think of me, O king, (in thy distress), and I shall promise to come when thought of by thee. Do not grieve, O lord of earth! I will give thee back thy beloved child, even if he be dead, in his living form.' Having said so unto that monarch, both of us left his presence for coming to where we wished, and Srinjaya returned to his abode as he pleased. After some time had elapsed, the royal sage Srinjaya had born unto him a son of great prowess and blazing forth with energy. The child grew up like a large lotus in a lake, and became Suvarnashthivin in reality as in name. This extraordinary fact, O best of the Kurus, soon became widely known over the world. The Chief of the gods also came to know it as the result of Parvata's boon. Fearing humiliation (at the hands of the child when he would grow up), the slayer of Vala and Vritra began to watch for the laches of the prince. He commanded his celestial weapon Thunder, standing before him in embodied shape, saying, 'Go, O puissant one, and assuming the form of a tiger slay this prince. When grown up, this child of Srinjaya may, by his achievements, humiliate me, O Thunder, as Parvata said.' Thus addressed by Sakra, the celestial weapon Thunder, that subjugator of hostile towns, began from that day to continually watch for the laches of the prince. Srinjaya, meanwhile, having obtained that child whose splendour resembled that of Indra himself, became filled with joy. The king, accompanied by his wives, and the other ladies of his household, took up his residence in the midst of a forest. One day, on the shores of the Bhagirathi, the boy, accompanied by his nurse, ran hither and thither in play. Though only five years of age, his prowess, even then, resembled that of a mighty elephant. While thus employed, the child met a powerful tiger that came upon him suddenly. The infant prince trembled violently as he was being crushed by the tiger and soon fell down lifeless on the earth. At this sight the nurse uttered loud cries of grief. Having slain the prince, the tiger, through Indra's powers of delusion, vanished there and then. Hearing the voice of the crying nurse, the king, in great anxiety, ran to the spot. He beheld his son there, his blood quaffed off, and lying lifeless on the ground like the moon dropped from the firmament. Taking up on his lap the boy covered with blood, the king, with heart stricken by grief, began to lament piteously. The royal ladies then, afflicted with grief and crying, quickly ran to the spot where king Srinjaya was. In that situation the king thought of me with concentrated attention. Knowing that the king was thinking of me I appeared before him. Stricken with grief as the king was, I recited to him all those stories, O monarch, that hero of Yadu's race has already recited to thee. I brought Srinjaya's child back to life, with Indra's permission. That which is ordained must occur. It is impossible that it should be otherwise. After this, prince Suvarnashthivin of great fame and energy began to delight the hearts of his parents. Of great prowess, he ascended the throne of his father after the latter had repaired to heaven, and ruled for a period of one thousand and one hundred years. He worshipped the gods in many great sacrifices characterised by profuse presents. Possessed of great splendour, he gratified the gods and the Pitris. Having procreated many sons, all of whom by their issues multiplied the race, he went the way of all nature, O king, after many years. Do thou, O foremost of kings dispel this grief born in thy heart, even as Kesava has counselled thee, as also Vyasa of austere penances. Rise up, O king, and bear the burthen of this thy ancestral kingdom, and perform high and great sacrifices so that thou mayst obtain (hereafter) whatever regions may be desired by thee!'"

SECTION 32

Vaisampayana said, "Unto king Yudhishthira who still remained speechless and plunged in grief, the island-born Vyasa, that great ascetic, conversant with truths of religion, spoke again."

"Vyasa said, 'O thou of eyes like lotus petals, the protection of subjects is the duty of kings. Those men that are always observant of duty regard duty to be all powerful. Do thou, therefore, O king, walk in the steps of thy ancestors. With. Brahmanas, penances are a duty. This is the eternal ordinance of the Vedas. Penances, therefore, O bull of Bharata's race, constitute the eternal duty of Brahmanas. A Kshatriya is the protector of all persons in respect of their duties. [A Kshatriya should protect a Brahmana in respect of his penances and a Vaisya in respect of the duties of his order. Whatever impediments a Brahmana or a Vaisya might encounter in the discharge of his duties, must be removed by a Kshatriya.] That man who, addicted to earthly possessions, transgresses wholesome restraints, that offender against social harmony, should be chastised with a strong hand. That insensate person who seeks to transgress authority, be he an attendant, a son, or even a saint, indeed,--all men of such sinful nature, should by every means be chastised or even killed. That king who conducts himself otherwise incurs sin. He who does not protect morality when it is being disregarded is himself a trespasser against morality. The Kauravas were trespassers against morality. They have, with their followers, been slain by thee. Thou hast been observant of the duties of thy own order. Why then, O son of Pandu, dost thou indulge in such grief? The king should slay those that deserve death, make gifts to persons deserving of charity, and protect his subjects according to the ordinance.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'I do not doubt the words that fall from thy lips, O thou of great ascetic merit! Everything appertaining to morality and duty is well known to thee, O foremost of all persons conversant with morality and duty! I have, however, for the sake of kingdom, caused many persons to be slain! Those deeds, O Brahmana, are burning and consuming me!'

"Vyasa said, 'O Bharata, is the Supreme Being the doer, or is man the doer? Is everything the result of Chance in the world, or are the fruits that we enjoy or suffer, the results of (previous) action? If man, O Bharata, does all acts, good or bad, being urged thereto by the Supreme Being, then the fruits of those acts should attach to the Supreme being himself. If a person cuts down, with an axe, a tree in forest, it is the person that incurs the sin and not the axe by any means. Or, if it be said that, the axe being only the material cause, the consequence of the act (of cutting) should attach to the animate agent (and not to the inanimate tool), then the sin may be said to belong to the person that has made the axe. This, however, can scarcely be true. If this be not reasonable, O son of Kunti, that one man should incur the consequence of an act done by another, then, guided by this, thou shouldst throw all responsibility upon the Supreme Being. [i.e., thou shouldst think that the consequences of all acts must attach to the Supreme Being himself, he being the urger of us all.] If, again, man be himself the agent of all his acts virtuous and sinful, then Supreme Director there is none, and, therefore, whatever thou hast done cannot bring evil consequences on thee. [Na Para etc., i.e., there is no Supreme Being and no next world.] No one, O king, can ever turn away from that which is destined. If, again, Destiny be the result of the acts of former lives, then no sin can attach to one in this life even as the sin of cutting down a tree cannot touch the maker of the axe. [No one being free in this life, all one's acts being the result of previous acts, there can be no responsibility for the acts of this life.] If thou thinkest it is chance only that acts in the world, then such an act of destruction could never happen nor will ever happen. If it is necessary to ascertain what is good and what is evil in the world, attend to the scriptures. In those scriptures it has been laid down that kings should stand with the rod of chastisement uplifted in their hands. I think, O Bharata, that acts, good and bad, are continually revolving here as a wheel, and men obtain the fruits of those acts, good or bad, that they do. One sinful act proceeds from another. Therefore, O tiger among kings, avoid all evil acts and do not thus set thy heart upon grief. Thou shouldst adhere, O Bharata, to the duties, even if reproachable, of thy own order. This self-destruction, O king, does not look well in thee. Expiations, O king, have been ordained for (evil) acts. He that is alive can perform them, but he that dies fails in their performance. Therefore, O king without laying down thy life, perform those expiatory acts. If thou dost not perform them thou mayst have to repent in the next world.'

SECTION 33

"Yudhishthira said, 'Sons and grandsons and brothers and sires and fathers-in-law and preceptors and maternal uncles and grandsires, many high-souled Kshatriyas, many relatives (by marriage), friends, companions, sister's sons, and kinsmen, O grandsire, and many foremost of men coming from diverse countries, have fallen. All these, O grandsire, have been caused to be slain by myself alone, from desire of kingdom. Having caused so many heroic kings who were always devoted to righteousness and all of whom had quaffed Soma in sacrifices, what end shall I attain, O great ascetic! Thinking that this earth has been bereft of many lions among kings, all of whom were in the enjoyment of great prosperity, I burn continually to this day. Having witnessed this slaughter of kinsmen and millions of other men, I burn with grief, O grandsire! Oh, what will be the plight of those foremost of ladies who have been deprived of sons, of husbands, and of brothers. Reproaching the Pandavas and the Vrishnis as cruel murderers, those ladies, with emaciated features and plunged in grief, will throw themselves on the earth! Not beholding their sires and brothers and husbands and sons, those ladies, through affliction, casting off their life-breath, will go to the abode of Yama, O foremost of Brahmanas! I have no doubt of this. The course of morality is very subtle. It is plain that we shall be stained with the guilt of slaughtering women for this. Having slain our kinsmen and friends and thereby committed an inexpiable sin, we shall have to fall into hell with heads downwards. O best of men, we shall, therefore, waste our limbs with the austerest of penances. Tell me, O grandsire, to what mode of life I should betake myself then.'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Hearing these words of Yudhishthira, the Island-born Rishi, having reflected keenly for some time, addressed the son of Pandu as follows:

"Vyasa said, 'Remembering the duties of a Kshatriya, O king, do not give way to grief. All those Kshatriyas, O bull among Kshatriyas, have fallen in the observance of their proper duties. In the pursuit of great prosperity and of great fame on earth, those foremost of men, all of whom were liable to death, have perished through the influence of Time. Thou hast not been their slayer, nor this Bhima, nor Arjuna, nor the twins. It is Time that took away their life-breaths according to the great law of change. Time hath neither mother, nor father, nor anybody for whom he is disposed to show any favour. He is the witness of the acts of all creatures. By him have they been taken away. This battle, O bull of Bharata's race, was only an occasion ordained by him. He causes creatures to be slain through the instrumentality of creatures. This is the manner in which it puts forth its irresistible power. Know that Time (in his dealings with creatures) is dependent upon the bond of action and is the witness of all actions good and bad. It is Time that brings about the fruits, fraught with bliss or woe, of our actions. Think, O mighty-armed one, of the acts of those Kshatriyas that have fallen. Those acts were the causes of their destruction and it is in consequence of them that they have perished. Think also of thy own acts consisting of observances of vows with restrained soul. And think also how thou hast been forced by the Supreme Ordainer to do such an act (as the slaughter of so many human beings). As a weapon made by a smith or carpenter is under the control of the person that is handling it, and moves as he moves it, similarly this universe, controlled by actions done in Time, moves as those actions move it. Seeing that the births and deaths of creatures take place without any (assignable) cause and in perfect wantonness, grief and joy are perfectly needless. Although this entanglement of thy heart is a mere delusion, still, if it pleaseth thee, O king, perform expiatory rites (for washing thyself free of thy so-called sin). It is heard, O Partha, that the gods and the Asuras fought against each other. The Asuras were the elder, and the gods the younger brothers. Covetous of prosperity, fierce was the battle fought between them. The fight lasted for two and thirty thousand years. Making the earth one vast expanse of blood, the gods slew the Daityas and gained possession of heaven. Having obtained possession of the earth, a (large) number of Brahmanas, conversant with the Vedas, armed themselves, stupefied with pride, with the Danavas for giving them help in the fight. They were known by the name of Salavrika and numbered eight and eighty thousand. All of them, however, were slain by the gods. Those wicked-souled persons who desire the extinction of virtue and who set sinfulness agoing deserve to be slain even as the furious Daityas were slain by the gods. If by slaying a single individual a family may be saved, or, if by slaying a single family the whole kingdom may be saved, such an act of slaughter will not be a transgression. Sin, O king, sometimes assumes the form of virtue, and virtue sometimes assumes the form of sin. They, however, that are learned, know which is which. Therefore, console thyself, O son of Pandu, for thou art well versed in the scriptures. Thou hast, O Bharata, only followed the path formerly trodden by the very gods. Men like yourselves never go to hell, O bull of Pandu's race! Comfort these thy brothers and all thy friends, O scorcher of foes! He who deliberately engages himself in sinful acts, and committing sinful acts feels no shame but continues the same as before, is called (in the scripture) a great sinner. There is no expiation for him and his sins know no diminution. Thou art born in noble race. Forced by the faults of others, thou hast most unwillingly done this, and having done this thou repentest of it. The Horse-sacrifice, that grand rite, has been indicated as an expiation for thee. Make preparations for that sacrifice, O monarch, and thou shalt be freed from thy sins. The divine chastiser of Paka, having vanquished his foes with

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the assistance of the Maruts, gradually performed a hundred sacrifices and became Satakratu. [The performer of a hundred sacrifices.] Freed from sin, possessed of heaven, and having obtained many regions of bliss and great happiness and prosperity, Sakra, surrounded by the Maruts, is shining in beauty, and illuminating all the quarters with his splendour. The lord of Sachi is adored in the heavens by the Apsaras. The Rishis and the other gods all worship him with reverence. Thou hast got the earth through thy prowess. All the kings have been vanquished by thee, O sinless one, through thy prowess. Proceeding with thy friends to their kingdom, O king, install their brothers, sons, or grandsons on their thrones. Behaving with kindness towards even the children in the womb, make thy subjects glad and happy, and rule the earth. Install on their thrones the daughters of those that have no sons. Women are fond of pleasure and power. Through this means they will castoff their sorrows and become happy. Having comforted the whole empire in this way, O Bharata, adore the gods in a Horse-sacrifice as the virtuous Indra did in days of old. It is not proper for us to grieve for those high-souled Kshatriyas, O bull of thy order (that have fallen in battle). Stupefied by the power of the destroyer, they have perished in the observance of the duties of their own order. Thou hast discharged the duties of a Kshatriya and obtained the earth without a thorn in it. Observe thy own duties, O son of Kunti, for then, O Bharata, thou shalt be able to obtain happiness in the other world.'"

SECTION 34

"Yudhishthira said, 'After doing what acts does a man become liable to perform expiation? And what are those acts which he must do for being freed from sin? Tell me this, O grandsire.'

"Vyasa said, 'Having omitted to do those acts that have been ordained, and done those that have been interdicted, and having behaved deceitfully, a man becomes liable to perform expiation. The person in the observance of the Brahmacharya vow, who rises from bed after the sun has risen or goes to bed while the sun is setting, one who has a rotten nail or black teeth, one whose younger brother weds first, one who weds before his elder brother is wedded, one who has been guilty of the slaughter of a Brahmana, one who speaks ill of others, one who weds a younger sister before the elder sister has been wedded, one who weds an elder sister after having wedded a younger one, one who falls away from a vow, one who slays any one of the regenerate classes, one who imparts a knowledge of the Vedas to a person unworthy of it, one who does not impart a knowledge thereof to a person that is worthy of it, one who takes many lives, one who sells flesh, one who has abandoned his (sacred) fire, one who sells a knowledge of the Vedas, one who slays his preceptor or a woman, one born in a sinful family, one who slays an animal wilfully, one who sets fire to a dwelling house, one who lives by deceit, one who acts in opposition to his preceptor, and one who has violated a compact,--these all are guilty of sins requiring expiation. I shall now mention other acts that men should not do, viz., acts that are interdicted by both the world and the Vedas. Listen to me with concentrated attention.

SECTION 35

The rejection of one's own creed, the practice of other people's creed, assisting at the sacrifice or the religious rites of one that is not worthy of such assistance, eating of food that is forbidden, deserting one that craves protection, neglect in maintaining servants and dependants, selling salt and treacle (and similar other substances), killing of birds and animals, refusal, though competent, to procreate upon a soliciting woman, omission to present the daily gifts (of handfuls of grass to kine and the like), omission to present the dakshina, humiliating a Brahmana,--these all have been pronounced by persons conversant with duty to be acts that no one should do. The son that quarrels with the father, the person that violates the bed of his preceptor, one that neglects to produce offspring in one's wedded wife, are all sinful, O tiger among men! I have now declared to thee, in brief as also in detail, those acts and omissions by which a man becomes liable to perform expiation. Listen now to the circumstances under which men, by even committing these acts, do not become stained with sin. If a Brahmana well acquainted with the Vedas takes up arms and rushes against thee in battle for killing thee, thou mayst proceed against him for taking his life. By such an act the slayer does not become guilty of the slaughter of a Brahmana. There is a mantra in the Vedas, O son of Kunti, that lays this down, I declare unto thee only those practices that are sanctioned by the authority of the Vedas. One who slays a Brahmana that has fallen away from his own duties and that advances, weapon in hand, with intent to slaughter, does not truly become the slayer of a Brahmana. In such a case it is the wrath of the slayer that proceeds against the wrath of the slain. A person by drinking alcoholic stimulants in ignorance or upon the advice of a virtuous physician when his life is at peril, should have the regenerating ceremonies performed once more in his case. All that I have told thee, O son of Kunti, about the eating of interdicted food, may be cleansed by such expiatory rites. Connexion with the preceptor's wife at the preceptor's command does not stain the pupil. The sage Uddalaka caused his son Swetaketu to be begotten by a disciple. A person by committing theft for the sake of his preceptor in a season of distress is not stained with sin. One, however, that takes to thieving for procuring enjoyments for himself becomes stained. One is not stained by stealing from other than Brahmanas (in a season of distress and for the sake of one's preceptor). Only one that steals under such circumstances without himself appropriating any portion thereof is untouched by sin. A falsehood may be spoken for saving one's own life or that of another, or for the sake of one's preceptor, or for gratifying a woman, or for bringing about a marriage. One's vow of Brahmacharya is not broken by having wet dreams. In such cases the expiation laid down consists in the pouring of libations of clarified butter on the blazing fire. If the elder brother be fallen or has renounced the world, the younger brother does not incur sin by marrying. Solicited by a woman, connexion with her is not destructive of virtue. One should not slay or cause to be slain an animal except in a sacrifice. Animals have become sacred (fit for sacrifice) through the kindness manifested towards them by the Creator himself in the ordinance laid down by him. By making a gift in ignorance to an undeserving Brahmana one does not incur sin. The omission (through ignorance) to behave with liberality towards a deserving person does not lead to sin. By casting off an adulterous wife one does not incur sin. By such treatment the woman herself may be purged while the husband may avoid sin. One who knows the true use of the Soma juice, does not incur sin by selling it. By dismissing a servant who is incompetent to render service one is not touched by sin. I have now said unto thee those acts by doing which one does not incur sin. I shall now speak to thee of expiation in detail.'"

SECTION 36

"Vyasa said, 'By penances, religious rites, and gifts, O Bharata, a man may wash off his sins if he does not commit them again. By subsisting upon only one meal a day, and that procured by mendicancy, by doing all his acts himself (without relying on the aid of a servant), by making his round of mendicancy with a human skull in one hand and a khattanga in another, by becoming a Brahmacharin and always ready for exertion, by casting off all malice, by sleeping on the bare ground, by publishing his offence to the world, by doing all this for full twelve years, a person can cleanse himself from the sin of having slain a Brahmana. By perishing upon the weapon of a person living by the use of arms, of one's own will and upon the advice of persons learned in the scriptures, or by throwing one's self down, for three times, with head downwards, upon a blazing fire, or by walking a hundred Yojanas all the while reciting the Vedas, or by giving away one's whole property to a Brahmana conversant with the Vedas, or at least so much as would secure to him a competence for life, or a house properly furnished, and by protecting kine and Brahmanas, one may be cleansed of the sin of having slain a Brahmana. By living upon the scantiest meal every day for a space of six years, a person may be cleansed of that sin. [The rule laid down is that he should eat in the morning for the first three days, in the evening for the second three days, eat nothing but what is got without soliciting, for the next three days, and fast altogether for the three days that follow. This is called Krischara-bhojana. Observing this rule for six years, one may be cleansed of the sin of slaying a Brahmana.] By observing a harder vow with regard to food one may be cleansed in three years. [The harder rule referred to is eating in the morning for seven days; in the evening for the next seven days; eating what is got without soliciting, for the next seven days; and fasting altogether for the next seven.] By living upon one meal a month, one may be cleansed in course of only a year. By observing, again, an absolute fast, one may be cleansed within a very short time. There is no doubt again that: one is cleansed by a Horse-sacrifice. Men that have been guilty of having slain Brahmana and that have succeeded in taking the final bath at the completion of the Horse-sacrifice, become cleansed of all their sins. This is an injunction of great authority in the Srutis. One again, by slaying down his life in a battle undertaken for the sake of a Brahmana, becomes cleansed of the sin of having slain a Brahmana. By giving away a hundred thousand kine unto persons deserving of gifts, one becomes cleansed of the sin of having slain a Brahmana as also, indeed, of all his sins. One that gives away five and twenty thousand kine of the Kapila species and while all of them have calved, becomes cleansed of all his sins. One who, at the point of death, gives away a thousand kine with calves unto poor but deserving persons, becomes freed from sin. That man, O king, who gives away a hundred steeds of the Kamvoja breed unto Brahmanas of regulated behaviour, becomes freed from sin. That man. O Bharata, who gives unto even one person all that he asks for, and who, having given it, does not speak of his act to any one, becomes freed from sin. If a person who has once taken alcohol drinks (as expiation) hot liquor, he sanctifies himself both here and hereafter. By falling from the summit of a mountain or entering a blazing fire, or by going on an everlasting journey after renouncing the world, one is freed from all sins. By performing the sacrifice laid down by Vrihaspati, a Brahmana who drinks alcoholic liquors may succeed in attaining to the region of Brahman. This has been said by Brahman himself. If a person, after having drunk alcoholic liquor, becomes humble and makes a gift of land, and abstains from it ever afterwards, he becomes sanctified and cleansed. The person that has violated his preceptor's bed, should lie down on a sheet of iron having heated it, and having cut off the emblem of his sex should leave the world for a life in the woods, with eyes always turned upwards. By casting off one's body, one becomes cleansed of all his evil acts. Women, by leading a regulated life for one year, become cleansed of all their sins. The person who observes a very rigid vow, or gives away the whole of his wealth, or perishes in a battle fought for the sake of his preceptor, becomes cleansed of all his sins. One who uses falsehood before one's preceptor or acts in opposition to him, becomes cleansed of that sin by doing something agreeable to one's preceptor. One who has fallen off from the vow (of Brahmacharya), may become cleansed of that sin by wearing the hide of a cow for six months and observing the penances laid down in the case of the slaughter of a Brahmana. One who has been guilty of adultery, or of theft, may become cleansed by observing rigid vows for a year. When one steals another's property, one should, by every means in his power, return to that other property of the value of what has been stolen. One may then be cleansed of the sin (of theft). The younger brother who has married before the marriage of the elder brother, as also the elder brother whose Younger brother has married before him, becomes cleansed by observing a rigid vow, with collected soul, for twelve nights. The younger brother, however, should wed again for rescuing his deceased ancestors. Upon such second wedding, the first wife becomes cleansed and her husband himself would not incur sin by taking her. Men conversant with the scriptures declare that women may be cleansed of even the greatest sins by observing the vow of chaturmasya, all the while living upon scanty and cleansing food. Persons conversant with the scriptures do not take into account the sins that women may commit at heart. Whatever their sins (of this description), they are cleansed by their menstrual course like a metallic plate that is scoured with ashes. Plates (made of the alloy of brass and copper) stained by a Sudra eating off it, or a vessel of the same metal that has been smelt by a cow, or stained by a Brahmana's Gandusha, may be cleansed by means of the ten purifying substances. [These are the five products of the cow, besides earth, water, ashes, acids and fire.] It has been laid down that a Brahmana should acquire and practise the full measure of virtue. For a person at the kingly order it has been laid down that he should acquire and practise a measure of virtue less by a fourth part. So, a Vaisya should acquire a measure less (than a Kshatriya's) by a fourth and a Sudra less (than a Vaisya's) by a fourth. The heaviness or lightness of sins (for purposes of expiation) of each of the four orders, should be determined upon this principle. Having slain a bird or an animal, or cut down living trees, a person should publish his sin and fast for three nights. By having intercourse with one with whom intercourse is prohibited, the expiation for one is wandering in wet clothes and sleeping on a bed of ashes. These, O king, are the expiations for sinful acts, according to precedent and reason and scriptures and the ordinances. A Brahmana may be cleansed of all sins by reciting the Gayatri in a sacred place, all the while living upon frugal fare, casting off malice, abandoning wrath and hate, unmoved by praise and blame, and abstaining from speech. He should during the day-time be under shelter of the sky and should lie down at night even at such a place. Thrice during the day, and thrice during the night, he should also plunge with his clothes into a stream or lake for performing his ablutions. Observant of rigid vows, he should abstain from speech with women, Sudras, and fallen persons. A Brahmana by observing such regulations may be cleansed of all sins unconsciously committed by him. A person obtains in the other world the fruits, good or bad, of his acts here which are all witnessed by the elements. Be it virtue or be it vice, according to the true measure that one acquires of either, one enjoys or suffers the consequences (even here). By knowledge, by penances, and by righteous acts, therefore, one enhances his weal (even here). One, therefore may similarly enhance his misery by committing unrighteous acts. One should, therefore, always achieve acts that are righteous and abstain altogether from those that are unrighteous. I have now indicated what the expiations are of the sins that have been mentioned. There is expiation for every sin except those that are called Mahapatakas (highly heinous sins). As regards sins in respect of unclean food and the like, and improper speeches, etc., they are of two classes, viz., those committed consciously and those that are committed unconsciously. All sins that are committed consciously are grave, while those that are committed unconsciously are trivial or light. There is expiation for both. Indeed sin is capable of being washed away by (observance of) the ordinances spoken of. Those ordinances,

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however, have been laid down only for believers (in God) and those that have faith. They are not for atheists or those that have no faith, or those in whom pride and malice predominate. A person, O tiger among men, that is desirous of weal both here and hereafter, should, O foremost of virtuous men, have recourse to righteous behaviour, to (the counsels of) men that are righteous, and to the duties that have been ordained for him. Therefore, for the reasons already advanced (by me), thou, O king, shalt be cleansed of all thy sins for thou hast slain thy foes in the discharge of thy duties as a king and for the protection of thy life-breath and thy inheritance. Or, if not withstanding this, thou still regardest thyself to be sinful, perform expiation. Do not cast away thy life in consequence of such grief that is not becoming a wise man.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed by the holy Rishi, king Yudhishthira the Just, having reflected for a short while, said these words unto the sage.'"

SECTION 37

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me, O grandfather, what food is clean and what unclean, what gift is praiseworthy, and who should be considered deserving and who undeserving (of gifts).'

"Vyasa said, 'In this connexion is cited the old account of a discourse between the ascetics and that lord of creation, viz., Manu. In the Krita age, an assembly of Rishis, of rigid vows, having approached the great and puissant lord of creation, Manu, while seated at his ease, solicited him to discourse on duties, saying, 'What food should be taken, who is to be regarded a deserving person (for gifts), what gifts should be made, how should a person study, and what penances should one perform and how, and what acts should be done and what acts should not be done, O lord of creation, tell us everything about all this.' Thus addressed by them, the divine and self-born Manu said unto them, 'Listen to me as I expound the duties in brief and in detail. In regions which have not been interdicted, silent recitation (of sacred mantras, homa), fasts, knowledge of self, sacred rivers, regions inhabited by men devoted to this pious acts,--these have been laid down as acts and objects that are cleansing. Certain mountains also are cleansing, as also the eating of gold and bathing in waters into which have been dipped gems and precious stones. Sojourn to holy places, and eating of sanctified butter--these also, without doubt speedily cleanse a man. No man would ever be called wise if he is indulged in pride. If he wishes to be long-lived, he should for three nights drink hot water (as an expiation for having indulged in pride). Refusal to appropriate what is not given, gift, study (of scriptures), penance, abstention from injury, truth, freedom from wrath, and worship of the gods in sacrifices,--these are the characteristics of virtue. That again which is virtue may, according to time and place, be sin. Thus appropriation (of what belongs to others), untruth, and injury and killing, may under special circumstances, become virtue. With respect to persons capable of judging, acts are of two kinds, viz., virtuous and sinful. From the worldly and the Vedic points of view again, virtue and sin are good or bad (according to their consequences). From the Vedic point of view, virtue and sin (i.e., everything a man may do or not do), would be classed under action and inaction. Inaction (i.e., abstention from Vedic rites and adoption of a life of contemplation) leads to emancipation (from rebirth); while the consequences of action (i.e., practice of Vedic rites) are repeated death and rebirth. From the worldly point of view, acts that are evil lead to evil and those that are good to consequences that are good. From the worldly point of view, therefore, virtue and sin are to be distinguished by the good and the evil character of their consequences. Acts that are (apparently) evil, when undertaken from considerations connected with the gods, the scriptures, life itself, and the means by which life is sustained, produce consequences that are good. When an act is undertaken from the expectation, however doubtful, that it will produce mischief (to some one) in the future, or when an act is done whose consequence is visibly mischievous, expiation has been laid down. When an act is done from wrath or clouded judgement, then expiation should be performed by giving pain to the body, guided by precedent, by scriptures, and by reason. When anything, again, is done for pleasing or displeasing the mind, the sin arising therefrom may be cleansed by sanctified food and recitation of mantras. The king who lays aside (in a particular case) the rod of chastisement, should fast for one night. The priest who (in a particular case) abstains from advising the king to inflict punishment, should fast for three nights as an expiation. The person who, from grief, attempts to commit suicide by means of weapons, should fast for three nights. There is no expiation for them that cast off the duties and practices of their order and class, country, and family, and that abandon their very creed. When an occasion for doubt respecting what should be done arises, that should be regarded as the injunction of the scriptures which ten persons versed in Vedic scriptures or three of those that frequently recite them may declare. The bull, earth, little ants, worms generated in dirt, and poison, should not be eaten by Brahmanas. They should not also eat fishes that have no scales, and four-footed aquatic animals like frogs and others, except the tortoise. Water-fowls called Bhasas, ducks, Suparnas, Chakravakas, diving ducks, cranes, crows, shags, vultures, hawks, owls, as also all four-footed animals that are carnivorous and that have sharp and long teeth, and birds, and animals having two teeth and those having four teeth, as also the milk of the sheep, the she-ass, the she-camel, the newly-calved cow, woman and deer, should not be taken by a Brahmana.

Besides this, the food that has been offered to the man, that which has been cooked by a woman who has recently brought forth a child, and food cooked by an unknown person, should not be eaten. The milk also of a cow that has recently calved should not be taken. If a Brahmana takes food that has been cooked by a Kshatriya, it diminishes his energy; if he takes the food provided by a Sudra, it dims his Brahmanic lustre; and if he takes the food provided by a goldsmith or a woman who has neither husband nor children it lessens the period of his life. The food provided by a usurer is equivalent to dirt, while that provided by a woman living by prostitution is equivalent to semen. The food also provided by persons that tolerate the unchastity of their wives, and by persons that are ruled by their spouses, is forbidden. The food provided by a person selected (for receiving gifts) at a certain stage of a sacrifice, by one who does not enjoy his wealth or make any gifts, that provided by one who sells Soma, or one who is a shoe-maker, by an unchaste woman, by a washerman, by a physician, by persons serving as watchmen, by a multitude of persons, by one who is pointed at by a whole village, by one deriving his support from keep of dancing girls, by persons wedding before their elder brothers are wedded, by professional panegyrists and bards, and by those that are gamblers, the food also which is brought with the left hand or which is stale, the food which is mixed with alcohol, the food a portion of which has been already tasted, and the food that forms the remnant of a feast, should not be taken (by a Brahmana). Cakes, sugarcanes, potherbs, and rice boiled in sugared milk, if they have lost their relish, should not be taken. The powder of fried barley and of other kinds of fried grain, mixed with curds, if become stale with age, should not be taken. Rice boiled in sugared milk, food mixed with the tila seed, meat, and cakes, that have not been dedicated to the gods, should not be taken by Brahmanas leading a domestic mode of life, Having first gratified the gods, Rishis, guests, Pitris, and the household deities, a Brahmana leading a domestic mode of life should then take his food. A householder by living thus in his own house becomes like a person of the Bhikshu order that has renounced the world. A man of such behaviour, living with his wives in domesticity, earns great religious merit. No one should make a gift for the sake of acquiring fame, or from fear (of censure and the like) or unto a benefactor. A virtuous man would not make gifts unto persons living by singing and dancing or unto those that are professional jesters, or unto a person that is intoxicated, or unto one that is insane, or unto a thief, or unto a slanderer, or unto an idiot, or unto one that is pale of hue, or unto one that is defective of a limb, or unto a dwarf, or unto a wicked person, or unto one born in a low and wicked family, or unto one that has not been sanctified by the observance of vows. No gift should be made to a Brahmana destitute of knowledge of the Vedas. Gifts should be made unto him only that is a Srotriya [i.e., one possessed of a knowledge of the Vedas.]. An improper gift and an improper acceptance produce evil consequences unto both the giver and the acceptor. As a person who seeks to cross the ocean with the aid of a rock or a mass of catechu sinks along with his support, even so the giver and the acceptor (in such a case) both sink together. As a fire that is covered with wet fuel does not blaze forth, even so the acceptor of a gift who is bereft of penances and study and piety cannot confer any benefit (upon the giver). As water in a (human skull) and milk in a bag made of dog-skin become unclean in consequence of the uncleanliness of the vessels in which they are kept even so the Vedas become fruitless in a person who is not of good behaviour. One may give from compassion unto a low Brahmana who is without mantras and vows, who is ignorant of the scriptures and who harbours envy. One may, from compassion, give unto a person that is poor or afflicted or ill. But he should not give unto such a person in the belief that he would derive any (spiritual) benefit from it or that he would earn any religious merit by it. There is no doubt that a gift made to Brahmana bereft of the Vedas becomes perfectly fruitless in consequence of the fault of the recipient. As an elephant made of wood or an antelope made of leather, even so is a Brahmana that has not studied the Vedas. All the three have nothing but names. As a eunuch is unproductive with women, as a cow is unproductive with a cow, as a bird lives in vain that is featherless, even so is a Brahmana that is without mantras. As grain without kernel, as a well without water, as libations poured on ashes, even so is a gift to a Brahmana void of learning. An unlearned Brahmana is an enemy (to all) and is the destroyer of the food that is presented to the gods and Pitris. A gift made to such a person goes for nothing. He is, therefore, like unto a robber (of other people's wealth). He can never succeed in acquiring regions of bliss hereafter. I have now told thee in brief, O Yudhishthira, all that was said (by Manu on that occasion). This high discourse should be listened to by all, O bull of Bharata's race.'"

SECTION 38

"Yudhishthira said, 'O holy and great ascetic, I desire to hear in detail what the duties of kings are and what the duties, in full, of all the four orders. I desire also to hear, O foremost of Brahmanas, what behaviour should be adopted in seasons of distress, and how I may subjugate the world by treading along the path of morality. This discourse on expiation, treating (at the same time) of fasts and capable of exciting great curiosity, fills me with joy. The practice of virtue and the discharge of kingly duties are always inconsistent with each other. For always thinking of how one may reconcile the two, my mind is constantly stupefied.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then Vyasa, O monarch, that foremost of all persons conversant with the Vedas, casting his eyes upon that ancient and all-knowing person, viz., Narada, said, If, O king, thou wishest to hear of duties and morality in full, then ask Bhishma, O mighty-armed one, that old grandsire of the Kurus. Conversant with all duties and possessed of universal knowledge, that son of Bhagirathi will remove all the doubts in thy heart on the difficult subject of duties. That goddess, viz., the genius of the celestial river of three courses brought him forth. He saw with his physical eyes all the gods with Indra at their head. Having gratified with his dutiful services the celestial Rishis having Vrihaspati at their head, he acquired a knowledge of the duties of kings. That foremost one among the Kurus obtained a knowledge also of that science, with its interpretations, with Usanas and that regenerate one who is the preceptor of the celestials know. Having practised rigid vows, that mighty-armed one acquired a knowledge of all the Vedas and their branches, from Vasishtha and from Chyavana of Bhrigu's race. In olden days he studied under the eldest-born son of the Grandsire himself, viz., Sanatkumara of blazing splendour, well conversant with the truths of mental and spiritual science. He learnt the duties in full of the Yatis from the lips of Markandeya. The bull among men obtained all weapons from Rama and Sakra. Although born among human beings, his death itself is still under his own control. Although childless, yet he has many regions of bliss hereafter as heard by us. Regenerate Rishis of great merit were always his courtiers. There is nothing among objects that should be known that is unknown to him. Conversant with all duties and acquainted with all the subtle truths of morality, even he will discourse to thee upon duty and morality. Go unto him before he abandons his life breath. Thus addressed by him, the high-souled son of Kunti, of great wisdom, said the following words unto Satyavati's son Vyasa, that first of eloquent men.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Having caused a great and horrid slaughter of kinsmen, I have become an offender against all and a destroyer of the earth. Having caused that Bhishma himself, that warrior who always fought fairly, to be slain by the aid of deceit, how shall I approach him for asking him (about duties and morality)?'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Moved by the desire of benefiting all the four orders, the mighty armed and high-souled chief of Yadu's race once more addressed that foremost of kings (in the following words).'

"Vasudeva said, 'It behoveth thee not to show such pertinacity in grief. Do that, O best of kings, which the holy Vyasa has said. The Brahmanas, O mighty-armed one, and these thy brothers of great energy, stand before thee beseechingly like persons beseeching the deity of the clouds at the close of summer. The unslain remnant of the assembled kings, and the people belonging to all the four orders of thy kingdom of Kurujangala, O king, are here. For the sake of doing what is agreeable to these high-souled Brahmanas, in obedience also to the command of thy revered senior Vyasa of immeasurable energy, and at the request of out-selves that are thy well-wishers, and of Draupadi, O scorcher of foes, do what is agreeable to us, O slayer of foes, and what is beneficial to the world.'

"Vaisampayana continued. 'Thus addressed by Krishna, the high-souled king (Yudhishthira) of eyes like lotus petals, rose from his seat for the good of the whole world. The tiger among men, viz., Yudhishthira of great fame, besought by Krishna himself, by the Island-born (Vyasa), by Devasthana, by Jishnu, by these and many others, cast off his grief and anxiety. Fully conversant with the declarations of the Srutis, with the science that treats of the interpretation of those declarations, and with all that men usually hear and all that deserve to be heard, the son of Pandu obtained peace of mind and resolved upon that he should next do. Surrounded by all of them like the moon by the stars, the king, placing Dhritarashtra at the head of the train, set out for entering the city. Desirous of entering the city, Kunti's son Yudhishthira, conversant with every duty, offered worship unto the gods and thousands of Brahmanas. He then ascended a new and white car covered with blankets and deerskins, and unto which were yoked sixteen white bullocks possessed of auspicious marks, and which had been sanctified with Vedic

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mantras. Adored by panegyrists and bards, the king mounted upon that car like Soma riding upon his own ambrosial vehicle. His brother Bhima of terrible prowess took the reins. Arjuna held over his head a white umbrella of great effulgence. That white umbrella held upon the car looked beautiful like a star-decked white cloud in the firmament. The two heroic sons of Madri, viz., Nakula and Sahadeva, took up two yak-tails white as the rays of the moon and adorned with gems for fanning the king. The five brothers decked with ornaments, having ascended the car, O king, looked like the five elements (that enter into the composition of everybody). Riding upon another white car unto which were yoked steeds fleet as thought, Yuyutsu, O king, followed the eldest son of Pandu behind. Upon his own brilliant car of gold unto which were yoked Saivya and Sugriva, Krishna, with Satyaki, followed the Kurus. The eldest uncle of Pritha's son, O Bharata, accompanied by Gandhari, proceeded at the head of the train, upon a vehicle borne on the shoulders of men. The other ladies of the Kuru household, as also Kunti and Krishna, all proceeded on excellent vehicles, headed by Vidura. Behind followed a large number of cars and elephants decked with ornaments, and foot-soldiers and steeds. His praises chanted by sweet-voiced panegyrists and bards, the king proceeded towards the city called after the elephant. The progress, O mighty-armed one, of king Yudhishthira, became so beautiful that its like had never been on earth. Teeming with healthy and cheerful men, thy busy hum of innumerable voices was heard there. During the progress of Pritha's son, the city and its streets were adorned with gay citizens (all of whom had come out for honouring the king). The spot through which the king passed had been decked with festoons of flowers and innumerable banners. The streets of the city were perfumed with incense. The place was overlaid with powdered perfumes and flowers and fragrant plants, and hung over with garlands and wreaths. New metallic jars, full of water to the brim, were kept at the door of every house, and bevies of beautiful maidens of the fairest complexion stood at the particular spots. Accompanied by his friends, the son of Pandu, adored with sweet speeches, entered the city through its well-adorned gate.'"

SECTION 39

"Vaisampayana said, 'At the time the Parthas entered the city, thousands upon thousands of the citizens came out to behold the sight. The well-adorned squares and streets, with crowd swelling at each moment looked beautiful like the ocean swelling at the rise of the moon. The large mansions that stood on the street-sides, decked with every ornament and full of ladies, seemed to shake, O Bharata, with their weight. With soft and modest voices they uttered the praises of Yudhishthira, of Bhima and Arjuna, and of the two sons of Madri. And they said, 'Worthy of all praise art thou. O blessed princess of Panchala, that waitest by the side of those foremost of men even like Gautami by the side of the (seven) Rishis. Thy acts and vows have borne their fruits, O lady!' In this strain, O monarch, the ladies praised the princess Krishna. In consequence of those praises, O Bharata, and their speeches with one another, and the shouts of joy (uttered by the men'), the city became filled with a loud uproar. Having passed through the streets with such behaviour as befitted him, Yudhishthira then entered the beautiful palace (of the Kurus) adorned with every ornament. The people belonging to the city and the provinces, approaching the palace, uttered speeches that were agreeable to his ears, 'By good luck, O foremost of kings, thou hast vanquished thy enemies, O slayer of foes! By good luck, thou hast recovered thy kingdom through virtue and prowess. Be, O foremost of kings, our monarch for a hundred years, and protect thy subjects virtuously like Indra protecting the denizens of heaven.' Thus adored at the palace-gate with blessed speeches, and accepting the benedictions uttered by the Brahmanas from every side, the king, graced with victory and the blessings of the people, entered the palace that resembled the mansion of Indra himself, and then descended from his car. Entering the apartments, blessed Yudhishthira approached the household gods and worshipped them with gems and scents and floral wreaths. Possessed of great fame and prosperity, the king came out once more and beheld a number of Brahmanas waiting with auspicious articles in their hands (for pronouncing benedictions on him). Surrounded by those Brahmanas desirous of uttering benedictions on him, the king looked beautiful like the spotless moon in the midst of the stars. Accompanied by his priest Dhaumya and his eldest uncle, the son of Kunti cheerfully worshipped, with due rites, those Brahmanas with (gift of) sweets, gems, and gold in profusion, and kine and robes, O monarch, and with diverse other articles that each desired. Then loud shouts of 'This is a blessed day' arose, filling the entire welkin, O Bharata. Sweet to the ear, that sacred sound was highly gratifying to the friends and well-wishers (of the Pandavas). The king heard that sound uttered by those learned Brahmanas and that was as loud and clear as the sound of a flock of swans. He listened also to the speeches, fraught with melodious words and grave import, of those persons well conversant with the Vedas. Then, O king, the peal of drums and the delightful blare of conchs, indicative of triumph, arose. A little while after when the Brahmanas had become silent, a Rakshasa of the name of Charvaka, who had disguised himself as a Brahmana, addressed the king. He was a friend of Duryodhana and stood therein the garb of a religious mendicant. With a rosary, with a tuft of hair on his head, and with the triple staff in his hand, he stood proudly and fearlessly in the midst of all those Brahmanas that had come there for pronouncing benedictions (upon the king), numbering by thousands, O king, and all of whom were devoted to penances and vows. That wicked wight, desirous of evil unto the high-souled Pandavas and without having consulted those Brahmanas, said these words unto the king.'

"Charvaka said, 'All these Brahmanas, making me their spokesman, are saying, 'Fie on thee! Thou art a wicked king. Thou art a slayer of kinsmen. What shalt thou gain, O son of Kunti, by having thus exterminated thy race? Having slain also thy superiors and preceptor, it is proper for thee to cast away thy life.' Hearing these words of that wicked Rakshasa the Brahmanas there became deeply agitated. Stung by that speech, they made a loud uproar. And all of them, with king Yudhishthira. O monarch, became speechless from anxiety and shame.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'I bow down to you and beseech you humbly, be gratified with me. It doth not behove you to cry fie on me. I shall soon lay down my life.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then all those Brahmanas, O king, loudly said, 'These are not our words. Prosperity to thee, O monarch!' Those high-souled persons, conversant with the Vedas, with understanding rendered clear by penances, then penetrated the disguise of the speaker by means of their spiritual sight.' And they said, 'This is the Rakshasa Charvaka, the friend of Duryodhana. Having put on the garb of a religious mendicant, he seeks the good of his friend Duryodhana. We have not, O thou of righteous soul, said anything of the kind. Let this anxiety of thine be dispelled. Let prosperity attend upon thee with thy brothers.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'These Brahmanas then, insensate with rage, uttered the sound Hun. Cleansed of all sins, they censured the sinful Rakshasa and slew him there (with that very sound). Consumed by the energy of those utterers of Brahma, Charvaka fell down dead, like a tree with all its sprouts blasted by the thunder of Indra. Duly worshipped, the Brahmanas went away, having gladdened the king with their benedictions. The royal son of Pandu also, with all his friends, felt great happiness.

SECTION 40

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then Devaki's son Janardana of universal knowledge addressed king Yudhishthira who stood there with his brothers, saying, 'In this world, O sire, Brahmanas are always the objects of worship with me. They are gods on earth having poison in their speech, and are exceedingly easy to gratify. Formerly, in the Krita age, O king, a Rakshasa of the name of Charvaka, O mighty-armed one, performed austere penances for many years in Vadari. Brahman repeatedly solicited him to ask for boons. At last the Rakshasa solicited the boon, O Bharata, of immunity from fear at the hand of every being in the universe. The Lord of the universe gave that high boon of immunity from fear at the hands of all creatures, subject to the only limitation that he should be careful of how he offended the Brahmanas. Having obtained that boon, the sinful and mighty Rakshasa of fierce deeds and great prowess began to give pain to the gods. The gods, persecuted by the might of the Rakshasa, assembling together, approached Brahman, for compassing their foe's destruction. The eternal and unchangeable god answered them, O Bharata, saying, 'I have already arranged the means by which the death of this Rakshasa may soon be brought about. There will be a king of the name of Duryodhana. Among men, he will be the friend of this wight. Bound by affection towards him, the Rakshasa will insult the Brahmanas. Stung by the wrong he will inflict upon them, the Brahmanas, whose might consists in speech, will in wrath censure him at which he will meet with destruction. Even that Rakshasa Charvaka, O foremost of kings, slain by the curse of the Brahmanas, lies there deprived of life. Do not, O bull of Bharata's race, give way to grief. The kinsmen, O king, have all perished in the observance of Kshatriya duties. Those butts among Kshatriyas, those high-souled heroes, have all gone to heaven. Do thou attend to thy duties now. O thou of unfading glory, let no grief be thine. Stay thy foes, protect thy subjects, and worship the Brahmanas.'"

SECTION 41

"Vaisampayana said, 'The royal son of Kunti, freed from grief and the fever of his heart, took his seat, with face eastwards, on excellent seat made of gold. On another seat, beautiful and blazing and made of gold, sat with face directed towards him, those two chastisers of foes, viz., Satyaki and Vasudeva. Placing the king in their midst, on his two sides sat Bhima and Arjuna upon two beautiful seats adorned with gems. Upon a white throne of ivory, decked with gold, sat Pritha with Sahadeva and Nakula. Sudharman, and Vidura, and Dhaumya, and the Kuru king Dhritarashtra, each sat separately on separate seats that blazed with the effulgence of fire. Yuyutsu and Sanjaya and Gandhari of great fame, all sat down where king Dhritarashtra had taken his seat. The righteous-souled king, seated there, touched the beautiful white flowers, Swastikas, vessels full of diverse articles, earth, gold, silver, and gems, (that were placed before him). Then all the subjects, headed by the priest, came to see king Yudhishthira, bringing with them diverse kinds of auspicious articles. Then earth, and gold, and many kinds of gems, and all the things in profusion that were necessary for the performance of the coronation rite, were brought there. There were golden jars full to the brim (with water), and those made of copper and silver and earth, and flowers, and fried paddy, and Kusa grass, and cow's milk, and (sacrificial) fuel consisting of the wood of Sami, Pippala, and Palasa, and honey and clarified butter and (sacrificial) ladles made of Udumvara, and conches adorned with gold. [Sami is the Acacia suma; Pippala is the Piper longum; and Palasa is the Butea frondosa. Udumvara is the Ficus glomerata.] Then the priest Dhaumya, at the request of Krishna, constructed, according to rule, an altar gradually inclining towards the cast and the north. Causing the high-souled Yudhishthira then, with Krishna the daughter of Drupada, to be seated upon a handsome seat, called Sarvatobhadra, with firm feet and covered with tiger-skin and blazing with effulgence, began to pour libations of clarified butter (upon the sacrificial fire) with proper mantras. Then he of Dasaratha's race, rising from his seat, took up the sanctified conch, poured the water it contained upon the head of that lord of earth, viz., Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti. The royal sage Dhritarashtra and all the subjects also did the same at the request of Krishna. The son of Pandu then, with his brothers, thus bathed with the sanctified water of the conch, looked exceedingly beautiful. Then Panavas and Anakas and drums were beaten. King Yudhishthira the just duly accepted the gifts made unto him by the subjects. Always giving away presents in profusion in all his sacrifices, the king honoured his subjects in return. He gave a thousand nishkas unto the Brahmanas that uttered (especial) benedictions on him. All of them had studied the Vedas and were endued with wisdom and good behaviour. Gratified (with gifts), the Brahmanas, O king, wished him prosperity and victory, and with voice melodious like that of swans, uttered his praises, saying, 'O Yudhishthira of mighty arms, by good luck, O son of Pandu, victory has been thine. By good luck, O thou of great splendour, thou hast recovered thy position through prowess. By good luck, the wielder of Gandiva, and Bhimasena, and thyself, O king, and the two sons of Madri, are all well, having slain your foes and escaped with life from the battle, so destructive of heroes. Do thou, O Bharata, attend without delay to those acts that should next be done.' Thus adored by those pious men, king Yudhishthira the just, with his friends, became installed on the throne of a large kingdom, O Bharata!'"

SECTION 42

"Vaisampayana said, 'Having heard those words, suitable to time and place, of his subjects, king Yudhishthira answered them in the following words, 'Great must be the sons of Pandu, in sooth, whose merits, true or false, are thus recited by such foremost of Brahmanas assembled together. Without doubt, we are all objects of favour with you since you so freely describe us to be possessed of such attributes. King Dhritarashtra, however, is our father and god. If ye desire to do what is agreeable to me, always render your obedience to him and what is agreeable to him. Having slaughtered all my kinsmen, I live for him alone. My great duty is to always serve him in every respect with watchfulness. If ye, as also my friends, think that I should be an object of favour with you and them, let me then request you all to show the same behaviour towards Dhritarashtra as ye used to show before. He is the lord of the world, of yourselves, and of myself. The whole world, with the Pandavas, belongs to him. Ye should always bear these words of mine in your minds.' The king then told them to go whithersoever they liked. Having dismissed the citizens and the people of the provinces, the delighter of the Kurus appointed his brother Bhimasena as Yuvaraja. And he cheerfully appointed Vidura of great intelligence for assisting him with his deliberations and for overlooking the sixfold requirements of the state. [These are peace, war, marching, halting, sowing dissensions, and defence of the kingdom by seeking alliances and building forts, etc.] And he appointed Sanjaya of mature years and possessed of every accomplishment, as general director and supervisor of the finances. And the king appointed Nakula for keeping the register of the forces, for giving them food and pay and for supervising other affairs of the army. And king Yudhishthira appointed Phalguna for resisting hostile forces and chastising the wicked. And he appointed Dhaumya, the foremost of priests, to attend daily to the Brahmanas and all rites in honour of the gods and other acts of a religious kind. And he appointed Sahadeva to always remain by his side, for the king

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thought, O monarch, that he should under all circumstances be protected by that brother of his. And the king cheerfully employed others in other acts according as he deemed them fit. That slayer of hostile heroes, viz., the righteous-souled king Yudhishthira, ever devoted to virtue, commanded Vidura and the high-souled Yuyutsu, saying, 'You should always with alacrity and attention do everything that my royal father Dhritarashthra wishes. Whatever also should be done in respect of the citizens and the residents of the provinces should be accomplished by you in your respective departments, after taking the king's permission.'"

SECTION 43

"Vaisampayana said, 'After this king Yudhishthira of magnanimous soul caused the Sraddha rites to be performed of every one of his kinsmen slain in battle. King Dhritarashtra also of great fame, gave away, for the good of his sons in the other world, excellent food, and kine, and much wealth, and many beautiful and costly gems (unto the Brahmanas). Yudhishthira accompanied by Draupadi, gave much wealth for the sake of Drona and the high-souled Karna, of Dhrishtadyumna and Abhimanyu, of the Rakshasa Ghatotkacha, the son of Hidimva, and of Virata, and his other well-wishers that had served him loyally, and of Drupada and the five sons of Draupadi. For the sake of each of these, the king gratified thousands of Brahmanas with gifts of wealth and gems, and kine and clothes. The king performed the Sraddha rite for the good in the next world, of every one of those kings also who had fallen in the battle without leaving kinsmen or friends behind. And the king also, for the good of the souls of all his friends, caused houses to be founded for the distribution of food, and places for the distribution of water, and tanks to be excavated in their names. Thus paying off the debt he owed to them and avoiding the chance of censure in the world, the king became happy and continued to protect his subjects religiously. He showed due honour, as before, unto Dhritarashtra, and Gandhari, and Vidura, and unto all the superior Kauravas and unto all the officers. Full of kindness, the Kuru king honoured and protected all those ladies also who had, in consequence of the battle, been deprived of their heroic husbands and sons. The puissant king, with great compassion, extended his favours to the destitute and the blind and the helpless by giving them food, clothes and shelter. Freed from foes and having conquered the whole Earth, king Yudhishthira began to enjoy great happiness.'"

SECTION 44

"Vaisampayana said, 'Having got back the kingdom, king Yudhishthira of great wisdom and purity, after the ceremony of installation had been over, joining his hands together, addressed the lotus-eyed Krishna of Dasarha's race, saying, 'Through thy grace, O Krishna, through thy policy and might and intelligence and prowess, O tiger among the Yadus, I have got back this ancestral kingdom of mine. O thou of eyes like lotus leaves, I repeatedly bow to thee, O chastiser of foes! Thou hast been called the One only Being. Thou hast been said to be the refuge of all worshippers. The regenerate ones adore thee under innumerable names. Salutations to thee, O Creator of the Universe! Thou art the soul of the Universe and the Universe hath sprung from thee. Thou art Vishnu, thou art Jishnu, thou art Hari, thou art Krishna, thou art Vaikuntha, and thou art the foremost of all beings. Thou hast, as said in the Puranas, taken thy birth seven times in the womb of Aditi. It was thou that tookest birth in the womb of Prishni. The learned say that thou art the three Yugas. All thy achievements are sacred. Thou art the lord of our senses. Thou art the great Lord worshipped in sacrifices. Thou art called the great swan. Thou art three-eyed Sambhu. Thou art One, though known as Vibhu and Damodara. Thou art the great Boar, thou art Fire, thou art the Sun, thou hast the bull for the device on thy banner, and thou hast Garuda also as thy device. Thou art the grinder of hostile hosts, thou art the Being that pervadest every form in the universe and thou art of irresistible prowess. Thou art the foremost of all things, thou art fierce, thou art the generalissimo in battle, thou art the Truth, thou art the giver of food, and thou art Guha (the celestial generalissimo); Thyself unfading, thou causest thy foes to fade and waste. Thou art the Brahmana of pure blood, and thou art those that have sprung from intermixture. Thou art great. Thou walkest on high, thou art the mountains, and thou art called Vrishadarbha and Vrishakapi. Thou art the Ocean, thou art without attributes, thou hast three humps, thou hast three abodes, and thou takest human forms on earth, descending from heaven. Thou art Emperor, thou art Virat, and thou art Swarat. Thou art the Chief of the celestials, and thou art the cause whence the Universe has sprung. Thou art Almighty, thou art existence in every form, thou art without form, thou art Krishna, and thou art fire. Thou art the Creator, thou art the sire of the celestial physicians, thou art (the sage) Kapila, and thou art the Dwarf. Thou art Sacrifice embodied, thou art Dhruva, thou art Garuda, and thou art called Yajnasena. Thou art Sikhandin, thou art Nahusha, and thou art Vabhru. Thou art the constellation Punarvasu extended in the firmament, Thou art exceedingly tawny in hue, thou art the sacrifice known by the name of Uktha, thou art Sushena, thou art the drum (that sends forth its sound on every side). The track of thy car-wheels is light. Thou art the lotus of Prosperity, thou art the cloud called Pushkara, and thou art decked with floral wreaths. Thou art affluent, thou art puissant, thou art the most subtle, and it is thou whom the Vedas describe. Thou art the great receptacle of waters, thou art Brahman, thou art the sacred refuge, and thou knowest the abodes of all. Thou art called Hiranyagarbha, thou art the sacred mantras swadha and swaha, thou art Kesava. Thou art the cause whence all this hath sprung, and thou art its dissolution. In the beginning it is thou that createst the universe. This universe is under thy control, O Creator of the universe! Salutations to thee, O wielder of Sarnga, discus and sword!' Thus hymned by king Yudhishthira the just in the midst of the court, the lotus-eyed Krishna became pleased. That foremost one of the Yadavas then began to gladden the eldest son of Pandu with many agreeable speeches."

SECTION 45

"Vaisampayana said, 'The king dismissed all his subjects, who, commanded by the monarch, returned to their respective homes. Comforting his brothers, Yudhishthira, blazing with beauty, then addressed his brothers Bhima of terrible prowess and Arjuna and the twins, saying, 'Your bodies have, in the great battle, been mangled with diverse kinds of weapons by the foe. Ye are greatly fatigued, grief and anger have scorched your hearts. Through my fault, ye bulls of Bharata's race, ye have suffered the miseries of an exile in the forests like vulgar men. In delight and in happy ease enjoy this victory (that ye have won). After resting yourselves and regaining the full use of your faculties, meet me again in the morning.' After this, the mighty-armed Vrikodara like Maghavat entering his own beautiful fane, entered the palace of Duryodhana, that was adorned with many excellent buildings and rooms, that adorned with gems of diverse kinds, that teemed with servants, male and female, and that Yudhishthira assigned to him with the approval of Dhritarashtra. The mighty-armed Arjuna also, at the command of the king, obtained the palace of Dussasana which was not inferior to Duryodhana's and which consisted of many excellent structures and was adorned with a gate-way of gold, and which abounded in wealth and was full of attendants of both sexes. The palace of Durmarshana was even superior to that of Dussasana. Looking like the mansion of Kuvera himself, it was adorned with gold and every kind of gem. King Yudhishthira gladly gave it to Nakula who deserved it best and who had been emaciated (with the miseries of a life) in the great forest. The foremost of palaces belonging to Durmukha was exceedingly beautiful and adorned with gold. It abounded in beds and beautiful women, with eyes like lotus-petals. The king gave it unto Sahadeva who was ever employed in doing what was agreeable to him. Obtaining it, Sahadeva became delighted as the Lord of treasures upon obtaining Kailasa. Yuyutsu and Vidura and Sanjaya, O monarch, and Sudharman and Dhaumya, proceeded to the abodes they had owned before. [Sudharman was the priest of the Kurus.] Like a tiger entering his cave in the hills, that tiger among men, viz., Saurin, accompanied by Satyaki, entered the palace of Arjuna. Feasting on the viands and drinks (that had been kept ready for them), the princes passed the night happily. Awaking in the morning with well pleased hearts, they presented themselves before king Yudhishthira.'"

SECTION 46

"Janamejaya said, 'It behoveth thee, O learned Brahmana, to tell me what was next done by Yudhishthira the mighty-armed son of Dharma after he had regained his kingdom. It behoveth thee to tell me also, O Rishi, what the heroic Hrishikesa, the supreme master of the three worlds did after this.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Listen to me, O king, as I narrate in detail, O sinless one, what the Pandavas, headed by Vasudeva, did after this. Having obtained his kingdom, O monarch, Kunti's son Yudhishthira appointed each of the four orders of men to their respective duties. The (eldest) son of Pandu gave unto a thousand high-souled Brahmanas of the Snataka order a thousand Nishkas each. He then gratified the servants that were dependant on him and the guests that came to him, including persons that were undeserving and those that held heterodox views, by fulfilling their wishes. Unto his priest Dhaumya he gave kine in thousands and much wealth and gold and silver and robes of diverse kinds. Towards Kripa, O monarch, the king behaved in the way one should towards one's preceptor. Observant of vows, the king continued to honour Vidura greatly. That foremost of charitable men gratified all persons with gifts of food and drink and robes of diverse kinds and beds and seats. Having restored peace to his kingdom, the king, O best of monarchs, possessed of great fame, paid due honour unto Yuyutsu and Dhritarashtra. Placing his kingdom, at the disposal of Dhritarashtra, of Gandhari, and of Vidura, king Yudhishthira continued to pass his days happily. Having gratified everybody, including the citizens, in this way, Yudhishthira, O bull of Bharata's race, then proceeded with joined hands to the presence of the high-souled Vasudeva. He beheld Krishna, of the hue of a blue cloud, seated on a large sofa adorned with gold and gems. Attired in yellow robes of silk and decked with celestial ornaments, his person blazed with splendour like a Jewel set on gold. His bosom adorned with the Kaustubha gem, he looked like the Udaya mountain that decked the rising Sun. So beautiful did he look that there is no simile in the three worlds. Approaching the high-souled one who was Vishnu himself in incarnate form, king Yudhishthira addressed him sweetly and smilingly, saying, 'O foremost of intelligent men, hast thou passed the night happily? O thou of unfading glory, are all thy faculties in their full vigour? O foremost of intelligent persons, is it all right with thy understanding? We have got back our kingdom and the whole earth has come under our control, O divine lord, through thy grace, O refuge of the three worlds and, O thou of three steps, through thy grace have we won victory and obtained great fame and have not fallen away from the duties of our order!' Unto that chastiser of foes, viz., king Yudhishthira the just who addressed him in that strain the divine Krishna said not a word, for he was then rapt in meditation."

SECTION 47

"Yudhishthira said, 'How wonderful is this, O thou of immeasurable prowess, that thou art rapt in meditation! O great refuge of the universe, is it all right with the three worlds? When thou hast, O God, withdrawn thyself (from the world), having, O bull among men, adopted the fourth, state, my mind has been filled with wonder. The five life-breaths that act within the body have been controlled by thee into stillness. Thy delighted senses thou hast concentrated within thy mind. Both speech and mind, O Govinda, have been concentrated within thy understanding. All thy senses, indeed, have been withdrawn into thy soul. The hair on thy body stands erect. Thy mind and understanding are both still. Thou art as immobile now, O Madhava, as a wooden post or a stone. O illustrious God, thou art as still as the flame of a lamp burning in a place where there is no wind. Thou art as immobile as a mass of rock. If I am fit to hear the cause, if it is no secret of thine, dispel, O god, my doubt for I beg of thee and solicit it as a favour. Thou art the Creator and thou art the Destroyer. Thou art destructible and thou art indestructible. Thou art without beginning and thou art without end. Thou art the first and the foremost of Beings. O foremost of righteous persons, tell me the cause of this (Yoga) abstraction. I solicit thy favour, and am thy devoted worshipper, and bow to thee, bending my head.' Thus addressed, the illustrious younger brother of Vasava, recalling his mind, understanding, and the senses to their usual sphere, said these words with a soft smile.'

"Vasudeva said, 'That tiger among men, Bhishma, who is now lying on a bed of arrows, and who is now like unto a fire that is about to go out, is thinking of me. Hence my mind also was concentrated on him. My mind was concentrated upon him, the twang of whose bowstring and the sound of whose palms Indra himself was unable to bear. I was thinking of him who having vanquished in a trice all the assembled kings (at the Self-choice of the daughters of the king of Kasi) abducted the three princesses for the marriage of his brother Vichitravirya. I was thinking of him who fought continually for three and twenty days with Rama himself of Bhrigu's race and whom Rama was unable to overcome. Collecting all his senses and concentrating his mind by the aid of his understanding, he sought my refuge (by thinking of me). It was for this that I had centered my mind upon him. I was thinking of him whom Ganga conceived and brought forth according to ordinary human laws and whom Vasishtha took as a pupil. I was thinking of that hero of mighty energy and great intelligence who possesses a knowledge of all the celestial weapons as also of the four Vedas with all their branches. I was thinking of him, O son of Pandu, who is the favourite disciple of Rama, the son of Jamadagni, and who is the receptacle of the sciences. I was thinking of that foremost of all persons conversant with morality and duty, of him, O bull of Bharata's race, who knows the Past, the Future, and the Present. After that tiger among kings shall have, in consequences of his own achievements, ascended to heaven, the earth, O son of Pritha, will look like a moonless night. Therefore, O Yudhishthira, submissively approaching Ganga's son, viz., Bhishma of terrible prowess, question him about what thou mayst desire to learn. O lord of the earth, enquire of him about the four branches of knowledge (in respect of morality, profit., pleasure and salvation), about the sacrifices and the rites laid down for the four orders, about the four modes of life, and about the kingly duties in full. When Bhishma, that foremost one of Kuru's race, will disappear from the world, every kind of knowledge will disappear with him. It is for this that I urge thee (to go to him now).' Hearing these beneficial words of high import from Vasudeva, the righteous Yudhishthira, with voice choked in tears, answered Janardana, saying, 'What thou hast said, O Madhava, about the eminence of Bhishma, is perfectly true. I

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have not the slightest doubt regarding it. Indeed, I had heard of the high blessedness, as also the greatness, of the illustrious Bhishma from high-souled Brahmanas discoursing upon it. Thou, O slayer of foes, art the Creator of all the worlds. There cannot, therefore, O delighter of the Yadavas, be the slightest doubt in what thou sayest. If thy heart be inclined to show grace, O Madhava, then we shall go unto Bhishma with thyself at our head. When the divine Surya shall have turned towards the north, Bhishma will leave (this world), for those regions of bliss that he has won. That descendant of Kuru's race, therefore, O mighty-armed one, deserves to have a sight of thee. (If thou grantest my prayer), Bhishma will then obtain a sight of thee that art the first of Gods, of thee that art destructible and indestructible. Indeed, O lord, thou it is that art the vast receptacle of Brahma.'"

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words of king Yudhishthira the just, the slayer of Madhu addressed Satyaki who was sitting beside him, saying, 'Let my car be yoked.' At this, Satyaki quickly left Kesava's presence and going out, commanded Daruka, saying, 'Let Krishna's car be made ready.' Hearing the words of Satyaki, Daruka speedily yoked Krishna's car. That foremost of vehicles, adorned with gold, decked with a profusion of emeralds, and moon-gems and sun-gems, furnished with wheels covered with gold, possessed of effulgence, fleet as the wind, set in the middle with diverse other kinds of jewels, beautiful as the morning sun, equipped with a beautiful standard topped by Garuda, and gay with numerous banners, had those foremost of steeds, fleet as thought, viz., Sugriva and Saivya and the other two, in trappings of gold, yoked unto it. Having yoked it, O tiger, among kings, Daruka, with joined hands, informed Krishna of the fact.'

SECTION 48

"Janamejaya said, 'How did the grandsire of the Bharatas, who lay on a bed of arrows, cast off his body and what kind of Yoga did he adopt?'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Listen, O king, with pure heart and concentrated attention, as to how, O tiger among the Kurus, the high-souled Bhishma cast off his body. As soon as the Sun, passing the solstitial point, entered in his northerly course, Bhishma, with concentrated attention, caused his soul (as connected with and independent of the body) to enter his soul (in its independent and absolute state). Surrounded by many foremost of Brahmanas, that hero, his body pierced with innumerable arrows, blazed forth in great beauty like Surya himself with his innumerable rays. Surrounded by Vyasa conversant with the Vedas by the celestial Rishi Narada, by Devasthana, by Asmaka Sumantu, by Jaimini, by the high-souled Paila, by Sandilya, by Devarata, by Maitreya of great intelligence, by Asita and Vasishtha and the high-souled Kausika, by Harita and Lomasa and Atri's son of great intelligence, by Vrihaspati and Sukra and the great sage Chyavana, by Sanatkumara and Kapila and Valmiki and Tumvuru and Kuru, by Maudgalya and Rama of Bhrigu's race, and the great sage Trinavindu, by Pippalada and Vayu and Samvarta and Pulaha and Katha, by Kasyapa and Pulastya and Kratu and Daksha and Parasara, by Marichi and Angiras and Kasmya and Gautama and the sage Galava, by Dhaumya and Vibhanda and Mandavya and Dhaumra and Krishnanubhautika, by Uluka, that foremost of Brahmanas and the great sage Markandeya, by Bhaskari and Purana and Krishna and Suta,--that foremost of virtuous persons, surrounded by these and many other highly-blessed sages of great souls and possessed of faith and self-restraint and tranquillity of mind, the Kuru hero looked like the Moon in the midst of the planets and the stars. Stretched on his bed of arrows, that tiger among men, Bhishma, with pure heart and joined palms, thought of Krishna in mind, word, and act. With a cheerful and strong voice he hymned the praise of the slayer of Madhu, that master of yoga, with the lotus in his navel, that lord of the universe, called Vishnu and Jishnu. With joined hands, that foremost of eloquent men, that puissant one, viz., Bhishma of highly virtuous soul, thus praised Vasudeva.

"Bhishma said, 'O Krishna, O foremost of Beings, be thou pleased with these words which I utter, in brief and in detail, from desire of hymning thy praises. Thou art pure and purity's self. Thou transcendest all. Thou art what people say to be THAT. Thou art the Supreme Lord. With my whole heart I seek thy refuge, O universal Soul and Lord of all creatures! [The Supreme Being is called here and elsewhere Hansa, i.e., swan, because as the swan is supposed to transcend all winged creatures in the range of its flight, so the Supreme Being transcends all creatures in the universe. He is called That, as in the Vedic formula of Praise, "Thou art That," meaning, "Thou art inconceivable and incapable of being described in words."] Thou art without beginning and without end. Thou art the highest of the high and Brahma. Neither the gods nor the Rishis know thee. The divine Creator, called Narayana or Hari, alone knows thee. Through Narayana, the Rishis, the Siddhas, the great Nagas, the gods, and the celestial Rishis know a little of thee. Thou art the highest of the high and knowest no deterioration. The gods, the Danavas, the Gandharvas, the Yakshas, the Pannagas, do not know who thou art and whence art thou. All the worlds and all created things live in thee, and enter thee (when the dissolution comes). Like gems strung together in a thread, all things that have attributes reside in thee, the Supreme Lord.' Having the universe for thy work and the universe for thy limbs, this universe consisting of mind and matter resides in thy eternal and all-pervading soul like a number of flowers strung together in a strong thread. Thou art called Hari, of a thousand heads, a thousand feet, a thousand eyes, a thousand arms, a thousand crowns, and a thousand faces of great splendour. Thou art called Narayana, divinity, and the refuge of the universe. Thou art the subtlest of the subtle, grossest of the gross, the heaviest of the heavy and the highest of the high. In the Vaks, the Anuvaks, the Nishads, and Upanishads, thou art regarded as the Supreme Being of irresistible force. In the Samans also, whose declarations are always true, thou art regarded as Truth's self! Thou art of quadruple soul. Thou art displayed in only the understanding (of all creatures). Thou art the Lord of those that are bound to thee in faith. O God, thou art adored (by the faithful) under four excellent, high, and secret names. [Quadruple soul, i.e., Brahma, Jiva, Mind, and Consciousness. The four names under which the Supreme Being is adored by the faithful are Vasudeva, Sankarsana, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha.] Penances are ever present in thee. Performed (by other creatures for gratifying thee), penances live in thy form. Thou art the Universal Soul. Thou art of universal knowledge. Thou art the universe. Thou art omniscient.

Thou art the creator of everything in the universe. Like a couple of sticks generating a blazing fire, thou hast been born of the divine Devaki and Vasudeva for the protection of Brahma on earth. For this eternal salvation, the devout worshipper, with mind withdrawn from everything else and casting off all desires, beholds thee, O Govinda, that art the pure Soul, in his own soul. Thou transcendest Surya in glory. Thou art beyond the ken of the senses and the understanding. O Lord of all creatures, I place myself in thy hands. In the Puranas thou hast been spoken as Purusha (all-pervading spirit). On occasions of the commencement of the Yugas, thou art said to be Brahma, while on occasions of universal dissolution thou art spoken of as Sankarshana. Adorable thou art, and therefore I adore thee. Though one, thou hast yet been born in innumerable forms. Thou hast thy passions under complete control. Thy devout worshippers, faithfully performing the rites laid down in the scriptures, sacrifice to thee, O giver of every wish! Thou art called the sheath within which the universe lies. All created things live in thee. Like swans and ducks swimming on the water, all the worlds that we see float in thee. Thou art Truth. Thou art One and undeteriorating. Thou art Brahma, Thou art That which is beyond Mind and Matter. Thou art without beginning, middle, and end. Neither the gods nor the Rishis know thee. The gods, the Asuras, the Gandharvas, the Siddhas, the Rishis, and the great Uragas with concentrated souls, always adore thee. Thou art the great panacea for all sorrow. Thou art without birth and death. Thou art Divine. Thou art self-created. Thou art eternal. Thou art invisible and beyond ken. Thou art called Hari and Narayana, O puissant one. The Vedas declare thee to be the Creator of the universe and the Lord of everything existing in the universe. Thou art the Supreme protector of the universe. Thou knowest no deterioration and thou art that which is called the highest. Thou art of the complexion of gold. Thou art the slayer of Asuras. Though One, Aditi brought thee forth in twelve forms. Salutations to thee that art the soul of the Sun. Salutations to thee in thy form of Soma that is spoken of as the chief of all the regenerate ones and that gratifies with nectar the gods in the lighted fortnight and the Pitris in the dark fortnight. Thou art the One Being of transcendent effulgence dwelling on the other side of thick darkness. Knowing thee one ceases to have any fear of death. Salutations to thee in that form which is an object of knowledge. In the grand Uktha sacrifice, the Brahmanas adore thee as the great Rich. In the great fire-sacrifice, they sing thee as the chief Adhyaryu (priest). Thou art the soul of the Vedas. Salutations to thee. The Richs, the Yajus, and the Samans are thy abode. Thou art the five kinds of sanctified libations (used in sacrifices). Thou art the seven woofs used in the Vedas. Salutations to thee in thy form of Sacrifice. Libations are poured on the Homa fire in accompaniment with the seventeen monosyllabic sounds. Thou art the soul of the Homa. Salutations to thee! Thou art that Purusha whom the Vedas sing. Thy name is Yajus. The Vedic metres are thy limbs. The sacrifices laid down in the three Vedas are thy three heads. The great sacrifice called Rathantara is thy voice expressive of gratification. Salutation to thee in thy form of sacred hymns! Thou art the Rishi that hadst appeared in the great sacrifice extending for a thousand years performed by the creators of the universe. Thou art the great swan with wings of gold. Salutations to thee in thy form of a swan. Roots with all kinds of affixes and suffixes are thy limbs. The Sandhis are thy joints. The consonants and the vowels are thy ornaments. The Vedas have declared thee to be the divine word. Salutations to thee in thy form as the word! Assuming the form of a boar whose limbs were constituted by sacrifice, thou hadst raised the submerged earth for the benefit of the three worlds. Salutations to thee in thy form of infinite prowess! Thou sleepest in Yoga on thy snake-decked sofa constituted by the thousand hoods (of the Naga). Salutations to thee in thy form of sleep! Thou buildest the bridge for the good (to cross the sea of life) with Truth, with those means by which emancipation may be obtained, and with the means by which the senses may be controlled. Salutations to thee in thy form of Truth! Men practising diverse creeds, actuated by desire of diverse fruits worship thee with diverse rites. Salutations to thee in thy form of Creed! From thee have all things sprung. It is thou that excitest all creatures having physical frames containing the principle of desire. Salutations to thee in thy form of Excitement. The great Rishis seek thy unmanifest self within the manifest. Called Kshetrajna, thou sittest in Kshetra. Salutations to thee in thy form of Kshetra! Thou always conscious and present in self, the Sankhyas still describe thee as existing in the three states of wakefulness, dream, and sound sleep. They further speak of thee as possessed of sixteen attributes and representing the number seventeen. Salutations to thy form as conceived by the Sankhyas! Casting off sleep, restraining breath, withdrawn into their own selves, Yogins of restrained senses behold thee as eternal light. Salutations to thee in thy Yoga form! Peaceful Sannyasins, freed from fear of rebirth in consequence of the destruction of all their sins and merits, obtain thee. Salutations to thee in thy form of emancipation! At the end of a thousand Yugas, thou assumest the form of a fire with blazing flames and consumest all creatures. Salutations to thee in thy form of fierceness! Having consumed all creatures and making the universe one vast expanse of water, thou sleepest on the waters in the form of a child. Salutations to thee in thy form as Maya (illusion)! From the navel of the Self-born of eyes like lotus leaves, sprang a lotus. On that lotus is established this universe. Salutations to thee in thy form as lotus! Thou hast a thousand heads. Thou pervadest everything. Thou art of immeasurable soul. Thou hast subjugated the four kinds of desire that are as vast as the four oceans. Salutations to thee in thy form of Yoga-sleep! The clouds are in the hair of thy head. The rivers are in the several joints of thy limbs. The four oceans are in thy stomach. Salutations to thee in thy form as water! Birth and the change represented by death spring from thee. All things, again, at the universal dissolution dissolve away in thee. Salutations to thy form as cause! Thou sleepest not in the night. Thou art occupied in day time also. Thou observest the good and the bad actions (of all). Salutations to thee in thy form of (universal) observer! There is no act which thou canst not do. Thou art, again, ever ready to accomplish acts that are righteous. Salutations to thee in thy form of Work, the form, viz., which is called Vaikuntha! In wrath thou hadst, in battle, exterminated thrice seven times the Kshatriyas who had trampled virtue and authority under their feet. Salutations to thee in thy form of Cruelty! Dividing thyself into five portions thou hast become the five vital breaths that act within everybody and cause every living creature to move. Salutations to thee in thy form of air! Thou appearest in every Yuga in the form called month and season and half-year and year, and art the cause of both creation and dissolution. Salutations to thee in thy form of Time! Brahmanas are thy mouth, Kshatriyas are thy two arms, Vaisyas are thy stomach and thighs, and Sudras live in thy feet. Salutations to thee in thy form of caste! Fire constitute thy mouth. The heavens are the crown of thy head. The sky is thy navel. The earth is thy feet. The Sun is thy eye. The points of the compass are thy ears. Salutations to thee in thy form as the (three) worlds! Thou art superior to Time. Thou art superior to Sacrifice. Thou art higher than the highest. Thyself without origin, thou art the origin of the universe. Salutations to thee in thy form as Universe! Men of the world, according to the attributes ascribed to thee by the Vaiseshika theory, regard thee as the Protector of the world. Salutations to thee in thy form of Protector! Assuming the forms of food, drink, and fuel, thou increasest the humours and the life-breaths of creatures and upholdest their existence. Salutations to thee in thy form of life! For supporting the life-breaths thou eatest the four kinds of food. Assuming also the form of Agni within the stomach, thou digestest that food. Salutations to thee in the form of digesting heat! Assuming the form of half-man and half-lion, with tawny eyes and tawny manes, with teeth and claws for thy weapons, thou hadst taken the life of the chief of the Asuras. Salutations to thee in thy form of swelling might! Neither the gods, nor the Gandharvas, nor the Daityas, nor the Danavas, know thee truly. Salutations to thy form of exceeding subtility! Assuming the form of the handsome, illustrious, and puissant Ananta in the nether region, thou upholdest the world. Salutations to thy form of Might! Thou stupefiest all creatures by the bonds of affection and love for the continuance of the creation. Salutations to thee in thy form of stupefaction. Regarding that knowledge which is conversant with the five elements to be the true Self-knowledge (for which yogins strive), people approach thee by

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knowledge! Salutations to thee in thy form of Knowledge! Thy body is immeasurable. Thy understanding and eyes are devoted to everything. Thou art infinite, being beyond all measures. Salutations to thee in thy form of vastness! Thou hadst assumed the form of a recluse with matted locks on head, staff in hand, a long stomach, and having thy begging bowl for thy quiver. Salutations to thee in thy form of Brahma. Thou bearest the trident, thou art the lord of the celestials, thou hast three eyes, and thou art high-souled. Thy body is always besmeared with ashes, and thy phallic emblem is always turned upwards. Salutations to thee in thy form of Rudra! The half-moon forms the ornament of thy forehead. Thou hast snakes for the holy thread circling thy neck. Thou art armed with Pinaka and trident. Salutations to thy form of Fierceness! Thou art the soul of all creatures. Thou art the Creator and the Destroyer of all creatures. Thou art without wrath, without enmity, without affection. Salutations to thee in thy form of Peace! Everything is in thee. Everything is from thee. Thyself art Everything. Everywhere art thou. Thou art always the All. Salutations to thee in thy form as Everything! Salutations to thee whose work is the universe, to thee that art the soul of the universe, to thee from whom hath sprung the universe, to thee that art the dissolution of all things, to thee that are beyond the five (elements that constitute all things)! Salutations to thee that art the three worlds, to thee that art above the three worlds! Salutations to thee that art all the directions! Thou art all and thou art the one receptacle of All. Salutations to thee, O divine Lord, O Vishnu, and O eternal origin of all the worlds! Thou, O Hrishikesa, art the Creator, thou art the Destroyer, and thou art invincible. I cannot behold that heavenly form in which thou art displayed in the Past, Present, and the Future. I can, however, behold truly thy eternal form (as manifest in thy works). Thou hast filled heaven with thy head, and the earth with thy feet: with thy prowess thou hast filled the three worlds. Thou art Eternal and thou pervadest everything in the universe. The directions are thy arms, the Sun is thy eye, and prowess is thy vital fluid. Thou art the lord of all creatures. Thou standest, shutting up the seven paths of the Wind whose energy is immeasurable. They are freed from all feats that worship thee, O Govinda of unfading prowess, thee that art attired in yellow robes of the colour of the Atasi flower. Even one bending of the head unto thee, O Krishna, is equal to the completion of ten Horse-sacrifices. The man that has performed ten Horse-sacrifices is not freed from the obligation of rebirth. The man, however, that bows to Krishna escapes rebirth. They that have Krishna for their vow, they that think of Krishna in the night, and upon rising from sleep, may be said to have Krishna for their body. Those people (after death) enter Krishna's self even as libations of clarified butter sanctified with mantras enter the blazing fire. Salutations to thee that dispellest the fear of hell, to thee, O Vishnu, that art a boat unto them that are plunged amid the eddies of the ocean represented by worldly life! Salutations to thee, O God, that art the Brahmana's self, to thee that art the benefactor of Brahmanas and kine, to thee that art the benefactor of the universe, to thee that art Krishna and Govinda! The two syllables Hari constitute the pecuniary stock of those that sojourn through the wilderness of life and the medicine that effectually cures all worldly, predilections, besides being the means that alleviate sorrow and grief. As truth is full of Vishnu, as the universe is full of Vishnu, as everything is full of Vishnu, so let my soul be full of Vishnu and my sins be destroyed! I seek thy protection and am devoted to thee, desirous of obtaining a happy end O thou of eyes like lotus petals, O best of gods, do thou think of what will be for my good! Thyself without origin, O Vishnu, thou art the origin of Knowledge and Penances. Thus art thou praised! O Janardana, thus worshipped by me in the Sacrifice constituted by speech (alone), be, O god, gratified with me! The Vedas are devoted to Narayana. Penances are devoted to Narayana. The gods are devoted to Narayana. Everything is always Narayana!'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Having uttered these words, Bhishma, with mind concentrated upon Krishna, said, 'Salutations to Krishna!' and bowed unto him. Learning by his Yoga prowess of the devotion of Bhishma, Madhava, otherwise called Hari, (entering his body) bestowed upon him heavenly knowledge compassing the Past, the Present, and the Future, and went away. When Bhishma became silent, those utterers of Brahma (that sat around him), with voices choked in tears, adored that high-souled chief of the Kurus in excellent words. Those foremost of Brahmanas uttered the praises of Krishna also, that first of Beings, and then continued in soft voices to commend Bhishma repeatedly. Learning (by his Yoga powers) of the devotion of Bhishma towards him, that foremost of Beings, viz., Madhava, suddenly rose from his seat and ascended on his car, Kesava and Satyaki proceeded on one car. On another proceeded those two illustrious princes, viz., Yudhishthira and Dhananjaya. Bhimasena and the twins rode on a third; while those bulls among men, Kripa and Yuyutsu, and that scorcher of foes, Sanjaya of the Suta caste, proceeded on their respective cars, each of which looked like a town. And all of them proceeded, causing the earth to tremble with the rattle of their chariot-wheels. That foremost of men, as he proceeded, cheerfully listened to the speeches, fraught with his praise, that were uttered by the Brahmanas. The slayer of Kesi, with gladdened heart, saluted the people that waited (along the streets) with joined hands and bent heads."

SECTION 49

Vaisampayana said, "Then Hrishikesa and king Yudhishthira, and all those persons headed by Kripa, and the four Pandavas, riding on those cars looking like fortified cities and decked with standards and banners, speedily proceeded to Kurukshetra with the aid of their fleet steeds. They descended on that field which was covered with hair and marrow and bones and where millions of high-souled Kshatriyas had cast away their bodies. It abounded also with many a hill formed of the bodies and bones of elephants and steeds, and human heads and skulls lay stretched over it like conch-shells. Variegated with thousands of funeral pyres and teeming with heaps of armour and weapons, the vast plain looked like the drinking garden of the Destroyer himself used and abandoned recently. The mighty car-warriors quickly proceeded, viewing the field of battle haunted by crowds of spirits and thronged with Rakshasas. While proceeding, the mighty-armed Kesava, that delighter of all the Yadavas, spoke unto Yudhishthira about the prowess of Jamadagni's son, 'Yonder, at a distance, O Partha, are seen the five lakes of Rama! There Rama offered oblations of Kshatriya blood unto the manes of his ancestors. It was hither that the puissant Rama, having freed the earth of Kshatriya for thrice seven times, gave up his task."

"Yudhishthira said,--'I have great doubts in what thou sayest about Rama's having thrice seven times exterminated the Kshatriyas in days of old. When the very Kshatriya seed was burnt by Rama, O bull among the Yadus, how was the Kshatriya order revived, O thou of immeasurable prowess? How, O bull of the Yadus, was the Kshatriya order exterminated by the illustrious and high-souled Rama, and how did it again grow? In frightful car-encounters millions of Kshatriyas were slain. The earth, O foremost of eloquent men, was strewn with the corpses of Kshatriyas. For what reason was the Kshatriya order thus exterminated in days of yore by Rama, the high-souled descendant of Bhrigu, O tiger among the Yadus? O thou of Vrishni's race, remove this doubt of mine, O bird-bannered hero! O Krishna, O younger brother of Baladeva, the highest knowledge is from thee.'"

Vaisampayana said,--"The puissant elder brother of Gada then narrated unto Yudhishthira of incomparable prowess everything that happened, in full detail, as to how the earth had become filled with Kshatriyas."

SECTION 50

"Vasudeva said, 'Listen, O son of Kunti, to the story of Rama's energy and powers and birth as heard by me from great Rishis discoursing upon the subject. Listen to the story of how millions of Kshatriyas were slain by Jamadagni's son and how those that sprung again in the diverse royal. races in Bharata were again slaughtered. Jadu had a son named Rajas. Rajas had a son named Valakaswa. King Valakaswa had a son named Kusika of righteous behaviour. Resembling the thousand-eyed Indra on earth, Kusika underwent the austerest of penances from desire of attaining the chief of the three worlds for a son. Beholding him engaged in the austerest of penances and competent to beget a son, the thousand-eyed Purandara himself inspired the king (with his force). The great lord of the three worlds, the chastiser of Paka, O king, then became Kusika's son known by the name of Gadhi. Gadhi had a daughter, O monarch, of the name of Satyavati. The puissant Gadhi gave her (for wife) unto Richika, a descendant of Bhrigu. Her lord of Bhrigu's race, O delighter of the Kurus, became highly gratified with her for the purity of her behaviour. He cooked the sacrificial food consisting of milk and rice for giving unto Gadhi (her sire) a son. Calling his wife, Richika of Bhrigu's race said, 'This portion of the sanctified food should be taken by thee, and this (other) portion by thy mother. A son will be born of her that will blaze with energy and be a bull among Kshatriyas. Invincible by Kshatriyas on earth, he will be the slayer of the foremost of Kshatriyas. As regards thee, O blessed lady, this portion of the food will give thee a son of great wisdom, an embodiment of tranquillity, endued with ascetic penances, and the foremost of Brahmanas. Having said these words unto his wife, the blessed Richika of Bhrigu's race, setting his heart on penances, proceeded to the woods. About this time, king Gadhi, resolved upon a pilgrimage to the holy waters, arrived with his queen at the retreat, of Richika. Satyavati, upon this, O king, taking the two portions of the sanctified food, cheerfully and in great haste, represented the worlds of her lord unto her mother. The queen-mother, O son of Kunti, gave the portion intended for herself unto her daughter, and herself took from ignorance the portion intended for the latter. Upon this, Satyavati, her body blazing with lustre, conceived a child of terrible form intended to become the exterminator of the Kshatriyas. Beholding a Brahmana child lying within her womb, that tiger among the Bhrigus said unto his wife of celestial beauty these words: 'Thou hast been deceived by the, mother, O blessed lady, in consequence of the substitution of the sanctified morsels. Thy son will become a person of cruel deeds and vindictive heart. Thy brother again (born of thy mother) will be a Brahmana devoted to ascetic penances. Into the sanctified food intended for thee had been placed the seed of the supreme and universal Brahma, while into that intended for thy mother had been placed the sum total of Kshatriya energy. In consequence, however, of the substitution of the two portions, O blessed lady, that which had been intended will not happen. Thy mother will obtain a Brahmana child while thou wilt obtain a son that will become a Kshatriya.' Thus addressed by her lord, the highly blessed Satyavati prostrated herself and placing her head at his feet, trembling, said, 'It behoveth thee not, O holy one, to speak such words unto me, viz., 'Thou shalt obtain a wretch among Brahmanas (for thy son).'

"Richika said, 'This was not intended by me, O blessed lady, in respect of thee. A son of fierce deeds has been conceived by thee simply in consequence of the substitution of the sanctified morsels.'

"Satyavati replied saying, 'If thou wishest, O sage, thou canst create other worlds, what need then be said of a child? It behoveth thee, O puissant one, to give me a son that shall be righteous and devoted to peace.'

"Richika said, 'Never was falsehood spoken by me before, O blessed lady, even in jest. What need then be said of (such a solemn occasion as) preparing sanctified food with the aid of Vedic formulae after igniting t. fire? It was ordained of yore by Destiny, O amiable one! I have ascertained it all by my penances. All the descendants of thy father will be possessed of Brahmanic virtues.'

"Satyavati said, 'O puissant one, let our grandson be such, but, O foremost of ascetics, let me have a son of tranquil pursuits.'

"Richika said, 'O thou of the fairest complexion, there is no distinction, I conceive, between a son and a grandson. It will be, O amiable one, as thou sayest.'

"Vasudeva continued, 'Then Satyavati brought forth a son in Bhrigu's race who was devoted to penances and characterised by tranquil pursuits, viz., Jamadagni of regulated vows. Kusika's son Gadhi begot a son named Viswamitra. Possessed of every attribute of a Brahmana, that son (though born in the Kshatriya order) was equal to a Brahmana. Richika (thus) begot Jamadagni, that ocean of penances. Jamadagni begot a son of fierce deeds. The foremost of men, that son mastered the sciences, including the science of arms. Like unto a blazing fire, that son was Rama, the exterminator of the Kshatriyas. Having gratified Mahadeva on the mountains of Gandhamadana, he begged weapons of that great god, especially the axe of fierce energy in his hands. In consequence of that unrivalled axe of fiery splendour and irresistible sharpness, he became unrivalled on earth. Meanwhile the mighty son of Kritavirya, viz., Arjuna of the Kshatriya order and ruler of the Haihayas, endued with great energy, highly virtuous in behaviour, and possessed of a thousand arms through the grace of (the great Rishi) Dattatreya, having subjugated in battle, by the might of his own arms, the whole earth with her mountains and seven islands, became a very powerful emperor and (at last) gave away the earth unto the Brahmanas in a horse-sacrifice. On a certain occasion, solicited by the thirsty god of fire, O son of Kunti, the thousand-armed monarch of great prowess gave alms unto that deity. Springing from the point of his shafts, the god of fire, possessed of great energy, desirous of consuming (what was offered), burnt villages and towns and kingdoms and hamlets of cowherds. Through the prowess of that foremost of men, viz., Kritavirya of great energy, the god of fire burnt mountains and great forests. Assisted by the king of the Haihayas, the god of fire, caused by the wind to blaze forth with energy consumed the uninhabited but delightful retreat of the high-souled Apava. Possessed of great energy, Apava, O mighty-armed king, seeing his retreat consumed by the powerful Kshatriya, cursed that monarch in wrath, saying, 'Since, O Arjuna, without excepting these my specious woods, thou hast burnt them, therefore, Rama (of Bhrigu's race) will lop off thy (thousand) arm. The mighty Arjuna, however, of great prowess, always devoted to peace, ever regardful of Brahmanas and disposed to grant protection (unto all class), and charitable and brave, O Bharata, did not think of that curse denounced on him by that high-souled Rishis. His powerful sons, always haughty and cruel, in consequence of that course, became the indirect cause of his death. The princes, O bull of Bharata's race, seize and brought away the calf of Jamadagni's homa cow, without the knowledge of Kritavirya, the ruler of the Haihayas. For this reason a dispute took place between the high-souled Jamadagni (and the Haihayas). The puissant Rama, the son of Jamadagni, filled with wrath, lopped off the arms of Arjuna and brought back, O monarch, his sire's calf which was wandering within the inner enclosures of the king's palace. Then the foolish son of Arjuna, repairing together to the retreat of the high-souled Jamadagni, felled with the points of their lances, O king, the

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head of the Rishi from off his trunk while the celebrated Rama was out for fetching sacred fuel and grass. Inflamed with wrath at the death of his father and inspired with vengeance, Rama vowed to free the earth of Kshatriyas and took up arms. Then that tiger among the Bhrigus, possessed of great energy, putting forth his prowess, speedily slaughtered all the sons and grandsons of Kritavirya. Slaughtering thousands of Haihayas in rage, the descendent of Bhrigu, O king, made the earth miry with blood. Possessed of great energy, he quickly reft the earth of all Kshatriyas. Filled then with compassion, he retired into the woods. Afterwards, when some thousands of years had passed away, the puissant Rama, who was wrathful by nature, had imputations cast upon him (of cowardice). The grandson of Viswamitra and son of Raivya, possessed of great ascetic merit, named Paravasu, O monarch, began to cast imputations on Rama in public, saying, 'O Rama, were not those righteous men, viz., Pratardana and others, who were assembled at a sacrifice at the time of Yayati's fall, Kshatriyas by birth? Thou art not of true vows, O Rama! Thine is an empty boast among people. Through fear of Kshatriya heroes thou hast betaken thyself to the mountains. The descendant of Bhrigu, hearing these words of Paravasu, once more took up arms and once more strewed the earth with hundreds of Kshatriya bodies. Those Kshatriyas, however, O king, counting by hundreds, that were spared by Rama, multiplied (in time) and became mighty monarchs on earth. Rama once more slaughtered them quickly, not sparing the very children, O king! Indeed, the earth became once more strewn with the bodies of Kshatriya children of premature birth. As soon as Kshatriya children were born, Rama slaughtered them. Some Kshatriya ladies, however, succeeded in protecting their children (from Rama's wrath). Having made the earth destitute of Kshatriyas for thrice seven times, the puissant Bhargava, at the completion of a horse-sacrifice, gave away the earth as sacrificial present unto Kasyapa. For preserving the remnant of the Kshatriyas, Kasyapa, O king, pointing with his hand that still held the sacrificial ladle, said these words, O great sage, repair to the shores of the southern ocean. It behoveth thee not, O Rama, to reside within (what is) my dominion.' At these words, Ocean suddenly created for Jamadagni's son, on his other shore, a region called Surparaka. Kasyapa also, O monarch, having accepted the earth in gift, and made a present of it unto the Brahmanas, entered the great forest. Then Sudras and Vaisyas, acting most wilfully, began to unite themselves, O bull of Bharata's race, with the wives of Brahmanas. When anarchy sets in on earth, the weak are oppressed by the strong, and no man is master of his own property. Unprotected duly by Kshatriyas observant of virtue, and oppressed by the wicked in consequence of that disorder, the earth quickly sank to the lowest depths. Beholding the earth sinking from fear, the high-souled Kasyapa held her on his lap; and since the great Rishi held her on his lap (uru) therefore is the earth known by the name of Urvi. The goddess earth, for protection's sake, gratified Kasyapa and begged of him a king.

"The Earth said, 'There are, O, regenerate one, some foremost of Kshatriyas concealed by me among women. They were born in the race of Haihayas. Let them, O sage, protect me. There is another person of Puru's race, viz., Viduratha's son, O puissant one, who has been brought up among bears in the Rikshavat mountains. Another, viz., the son of Saudasa, has been protected, through compassion, by Parasara of immeasurable energy and ever engaged in sacrifices. Though born in one of the regenerate orders, yet like a Sudra he does everything for that Rishi and has, therefore, been named Sarvakarman (servant of all work). Sivi's son of great energy, viz., Gopati by name, has been brought up in the forest among kine. Let him, O sage, protect me. Pratardana's son, named Vatsa of great might, has been brought up among calves in a cowpen. Let that one of the royal order protect me. Dadhivahana's grandson and Diviratha's son was concealed and protected on the banks of Ganga by the sage Gautama. His name is Vrihadratha. Possessed of great energy and adorned with numerous blessed qualities, that blessed prince has been protected by wolves and the mountains of Gridhrakuta. Many Kshatriyas belonging to the race of Maratta have been protected. Equal unto the lord of Maruts in energy, they have been brought up by Ocean. These children of the Kshatriya order have been heard of as existing in different places. They are living among artisans and goldsmiths. If they protect me I shall then stay unmoved. Their sires and grandsires have been slain for my sake by Rama Of great prowess. It is my duty, O great sage, to see that their funeral rites are duly performed. I do not desire that I should be protected by my present rulers. Do thou, O sage, speedily make such arrangements that I may exist (as before).'

"Vasudeva continued, 'The sage Kasyapa then, seeking out those Kshatriyas of great energy whom the goddess had indicated, installed them duly as kings (for protecting her). Those Kshatriya races that are now extent are the progeny of those princes. That which thou hast questioned me, O son of Panda, happened in days of yore even thus.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Conversing thus with Yudhishthira, that foremost of righteous persons, the high-souled Yadava hero proceeded quickly on that car, illumining all the points of the compass like the divine Surya himself.'"

SECTION 51

"Vaisampayana said, 'King Yudhishthira, hearing of those feats of Rama, became filled with wonder and said unto Janardana, O thou of Vrishni's race, the prowess of the high-souled Rama, who in wrath had freed the earth of Kshatriyas, was like that of Sakra himself. The scions of Kshatriyas, troubled with the fear of Rama, were concealed (and brought up) by kine, Ocean, leopards, bears and apes. Worthy of every praise is this world of men and fortunate are they that reside in it where a feat, that, was again so righteous, was accomplished by a. Brahmana.' After this discourse was ended, those two illustrious persons, viz., Krishna of unfading glory and Yudhishthira proceeded thither where the puissant son of Ganga lay on his bed of arrows. They then beheld Bhishma stretched on his arrowy bed and resembling in splendour the evening San covered with his own rays. The Kuru hero was surrounded by many ascetics like he of a hundred sacrifices by the deities of heaven. The spot on which he lay was highly sacred, being situate on the banks of the river Oghavati. Beholding him from a distance, Krishna and Dharma's royal son, and the four Pandavas, and the other headed by Saradwat, alighted from their vehicles and collecting their restless minds and concentrating all their senses, approached the great Rishis. Saluting those foremost of Rishis headed by Vyasa. Govinda and Satyaki and the others approached the son of Ganga. Beholding Ganga's son of great ascetic merit, the Yadu and Kuru princes, those foremost of men, took their seats, surrounding him. Seeing Bhishma looking like a fire about to die out, Kesava with a rather cheerless heart addressed him as follows.'

"Kesava said, 'Are thy perceptions now as clear as before? I hope thy understanding, O foremost of eloquent men, is not clouded. I hope thy limbs are not tortured by the pain arising from the wounds by shafts. From mental grief also the body becomes weak. In consequences of the boon granted to thee by thy sire, the righteous Santanu, thy death, O puissant hero, depends on thy own will. I myself have not that merit in consequence of which thou hast obtained this boon. The minutest pin (inserted) within the body produces pain. What need then be said, O king, of hundreds of arrows that have pierced thee? Surely, pain cannot be said to afflict thee. Thou art competent, O Bharata, to instruct the very gods regarding the origin and dissolution of living creatures. Possessed of great knowledge, everything belonging to the Past, the Future, and the Present, is well known to thee. The dissolution of created beings and the reward of righteousness are well known to thee, O thou of great wisdom, for thou art an ocean of virtue and duty. While living in the enjoyment of swelling sovereignty, I beheld thee forgo female intercourse though sound of limbs and perfectly hale and though surrounded by female companions. Except Santanu's son Bhishma of great energy and firmly devoted to righteousness, possessed of heroism and having virtue for the only object of his pursuit, we have never heard of any other person in the three worlds that could, by his ascetic power, though lying on a bed of arrows and at the point of death, still have such a complete mastery over death (as to keep it thus at bay). We have never heard of anybody else that was so devoted to truth, to penances, to gifts, to the performances of sacrifices, to the science of arms, to the Vedas, and to the protection of persons soliciting protection, and that was so harmless to all creatures, so pure in behaviour, so self-restrained, and so bent upon the good of all creatures, and that was also so great a car-warrior as thee. Without doubt, thou art competent to subjugate, on a single car, the gods, Gandharvas, Asuras, Yakshas, and Rakshasas. O mighty-armed Bhishma, thou art always spoken of by the Brahmanas as the ninth of the Vasus. By thy virtues, however, thou hast surpassed them all and art equal unto Vasava himself. I know, O best of persons, that thou art celebrated for thy prowess, O foremost of beings, among even the very gods. Among men on earth, O foremost of men, we have never seen nor heard of any one possessed of such attributes as thee. O thou of the royal order, thou surpassest the gods themselves in respect of every attribute. By thy ascetic power thou canst create a universe of mobile and immobile creatures. What need then be said of thy having acquired many blessed regions by means of thy foremost of virtues? Dispel now the grief of the eldest son of Panda who is burning with sorrow on account of the slaughter of his kinsmen. All the duties that have been declared in respect of the four orders about the four modes of life are well known to thee. Everything again that is indicated in the four branches of knowledge, in the four Hotras, O Bharata, as also those eternal duties that are laid down in Yoga and Sankhya philosophy, the duties too of the four orders and these duties that are not inconsistent with their declared practices,--all these, along with their interpretations, O son of Ganga, are known to thee. The duties that have been laid down for those sprang from an intermixture of the four orders and those laid down for particular countries and tribes and families, and those declared by the Vedas and by men of wisdom, are all well known to thee. The subjects of histories and the Puranas are all known to thee. All the scriptures treating of duty and practice dwell in thy mind. Save thee, O bull among men, there is no other person that can remove the doubts that may arise in respect of those subjects of knowledge that are studied in the world. With the aid of thy intelligence, do thou, O prince of men, drive the sorrow felt by the son of Pandu. Persons possessed of so great and such varied knowledge live only for comforting men whose minds have been stupefied.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Hearing those words of Vasudeva of great intelligence, Bhishma, raising his head a little, said these words with joined hands.'

"Bhishma said, 'Salutations to thee, O divine Krishna! Thou art the origin and thou art the dissolution of all the worlds. Thou art the Creator and thou art the Destroyer. Thou, O Hrishikesa, art incapable of being vanquished by any one. The universe is the handiwork. Thou art the soul of the universe and the universe hath sprung from thee. Salutations to thee! Thou art the end of all created things. Thou art above the five elements. Salutations to thee that art the three worlds and that art again above the three worlds. O lord of Yogins, salutations to thee that art the refuge of everything. O foremost of beings, those words which thou hast said regarding me have enabled me to behold thy divine attributes as manifest in the three worlds. (In consequence of that kindness), O Govinda, I also behold thy eternal form. Thou standest shutting up the seven paths of the Wind possessed of immeasurable energy. The firmament is occupied by thy head, and the earth by thy feet. The points of the compass are thy two arms, and the Sun is thy eye, and Sakra constitutes thy prowess. O thou of unfading glory, thy Person, attired in yellow robes that resemble the hue of the Atasi flower, seem to us to be like a cloud charged with flashing of lightning. Think of that, O best of gods, which would be good, O thou of lotus eyes, for my humble self, that am devoted to thee, that seek thy protection, and that am desirous of obtaining a blissful end.'

"Vasudeva said, 'Since, O bull among men, thy devotion to me is very great, for this, O prince, I have displayed my celestial form to thee. I do not, O foremost of kings, display myself unto one that is not devoted to me, or unto a devotee that is not sincere, or unto one, O Bharata, that is not of restrained soul. Thou art devoted to me and art always observant of righteousness. Of a pure heart, thou art always self-restrained and ever observant of penances and gifts. Through thy own penances, O Bhishma, thou art competent to behold me. Those regions, O king, are ready for thee whence there is no return [i.e. One that goes thither is not subject to rebirth.]. Six and fifty days, O foremost one of Kuru's race, still remain for thee to live! Casting off thy body, thou shalt then, O Bhishma, obtain the blessed reward of thy acts. Behold, those deities and the Vasus, all endued with forms of fiery splendour, riding on their cars, are waiting for thee invisibly till the moment of the sun's entering on northerly course. Subject to universal time, when the divine Surya turns to his northerly course, thou, O foremost of men, shalt go to those regions whence no man of knowledge ever returns to this earth! When thou, O Bhishma, wilt leave this world for that, all Knowledge, O hero, will expire with thee. It is for this, that all these persons, assembled together, have approached thee for listening to discourses on duty and morality. Do thou then speak words of truth, fraught with morality and Yoga, unto Yudhishthira who as firm in truth but whose learning has been clouded by grief on account of the slaughter of his kinsmen, and do thou, by this, quickly dispel that grief of his!'

SECTION 52

"Vaisampayana said, 'Hearing these words of Krishna fraught with Morality and profit, Santanu's Bhishma, answered him in the following words.

"Bhishma said, 'O master of all the worlds, O mighty-armed one, O Siva, O Narayana, O thou of unfading glory, hearing the words spoken by thee I have been filled with joy. But what words (of instruction), O master of speech, can I say in thy presence, when especially in all the subjects of speech have been dealt with in the speech? [The Vedas constitute the speech of the Supreme Being. Everything about morality occurs in them.] Whatever in either world should be done or is done, proceeds from thy intelligent self, O god! That person who is competent to discourse on the subject of heaven in the presence of the chief of the gods himself is competent to discourse on the interpretation of morality and pleasure and profit and salvation in thy presence. My mind, O slayer of Madhu, is exceedingly agitated by the pain of arrow-wounds. My limbs are weak. My understanding is not clear. I am so afflicted, O Govinda, by these shafts resembling poison or fire that I have not power to utter anything. My strength is abandoning me. My life-breaths are hastening to leave me. The very vitals of my body are burning. My understanding is clouded. From weakness my utterance is becoming indistinct. How then can I venture to speak? O enhancer of (the glory of) Dasarha's race, be gratified with me. O mighty-armed one, I will not say anything. Pardon me (for my unwillingness). The

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very master of speech (Vrihaspati), in speaking in thy presence, will be overcome by hesitation. I cannot any longer distinguish the points of the compass, nor the sky from the earth! Through thy energy, O slayer of Madhu, I am only barely alive. Do thou, therefore, thyself speak for the good of king Yudhishthira the just, for thou art the ordainer of all the ordinances. How, O Krishna, when thou, the eternal creator of the universe, art present, can one like me speak (on such subjects) like a disciple in the presence of the preceptor?'

"Vasudeva said, 'The words spoken by thee are worthy of thee that art the foremost one of Kuru's race, thee that art endued with great energy, thee that art of great soul, and thee that art possessed of great patience and conversant with every subject. Regarding what hast thou said unto me about the pain of thy arrow-wounds, receive, O Bhishma, this boon that I grant thee, O puissant one, from my grace. Discomfort and stupefaction and burning and pain and hunger and thirst shall not, O son of Ganga, overcome thee, O thou of unfading glory! Thy perceptions and memory, O sinless one, shall be unclouded. [Literally, 'Everything thou knowest shall appear to thee by inward light.'] The understanding shall not fail thee. The mind, O Bhishma, freed from the qualities of passion and darkness, will always be subject to the quality of goodness, like the moon emerged from the clouds. Thy understanding will penetrate whatever subject connected with duty, morality, or profit, thou wilt think upon. O tiger among kings, obtaining celestial vision, thou wilt, O thou of immeasurable prowess, succeed in beholding the four orders of created things. Endued with the eye of knowledge, thou wilt, O Bhishma, behold, like fishes in a limpid stream, all created things that thou mayst endeavour to recollect!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Then those great Rishis, with Vyasa amongst them, adored Krishna with hymns from the Richs, the Yajuses, and the Samans. A celestial shower of flowers belonging to every season fell on that spot where he of Vrishni's race, with Ganga's son and the son of Pandu were. Celestial instruments of every kind played in the welkin and the tribes of Apsaras began to sing. Nothing of evil and no portent of any evil kind were seen there. An auspicious, pleasant, and pure breeze, bearing every kind of fragrance, began to blow. All the points of the compass became clear and quiet, and all the animals and birds began to rove in peace. Soon after, like a fire at the extremity of a great forest, the divine Surya of a thousand rays was seen to descend to the west. The great Rishis then, rising up, saluted Janardana and Bhishma and king Yudhishthira. Upon this, Kesava, and the sons of Pandu, and Satyaki, and Sanjaya, and Saradwata's son Kripa, bowed in reverence to those sages. Devoted to the practice of righteousness, those sages, thus worshipped by Kesava and others, speedily proceeded to their respective abodes, saying, 'We will return tomorrow.' After this, Kesava and the Pandavas, saluting Bhishma and circumambulating him, ascended their handsome cars. Those heroes then proceeded, accompanied by many other cars decked with golden Kuvaras, and infuriated elephants looking like mountains and steeds fleet as Garudas, and foot-soldiers armed with bows and weapons. That army, moving with great speed, proceeded in two divisions, one in the van and the other in the rear of those princes. The scene resembled the two currents of the great river Narmada at the point where it is divided by the Rikshavat mountains standing across it. Gladdening that great host, the divine Chandramas rose before it in the firmament, once more inspiring with moisture, by his own force, the terrestrial herbs and plants whose juice had been sucked up by the Sun. Then that bull of Yadu's race and the sons of Pandu, entering the (Kuru) city whose splendour resembled that of the city of Indra itself, proceeded to their respective mansions like tired lions seeking their caves.'"

SECTION 53

"Vaisampayana said, 'The slayer of Madhu, retiring to his bed, slept happily. Awaking when half a Yama was wanting to usher in the day, he addressed himself to contemplation. Fixing all his senses, he meditated on the eternal Brahma. Then a batch of well-trained and sweet-voiced persons, conversant with hymns and the Puranas, began to utter the praises of Vasudeva, that lord of all creatures and creator of the universe. Others, marking time by clapping of hands, began to recite sweet hymns, and vocalists began to sing. Conch-shells and drums were blown and beaten by thousands. The delightful sound of Vinas, Panavas, and bamboo flutes was heard. The spacious mansion of Krishna, in consequence thereof, seemed to laugh with music. In the palace of king Yudhishthira also sweet voices were heard, uttering auspicious wishes, and the sound of songs too and musical instruments. Then he of Dasarha's race performed his ablutions. Joining his hands, the mighty-armed hero of unfading glory silently recited his secret mantras, and kindling a fire poured libations of clarified butter upon it. Giving away a thousand kine unto a thousand Brahmanas all of whom were fully conversant with the four Vedas, he caused them to utter benedictions upon him. Touching next diverse kinds of auspicious articles and beholding himself in a clear mirror, Krishna addressed Satyaki, saying, 'Go, O descendant of Sini, and repairing to Yudhishthira's abode, ascertain whether that king of great energy is dressed for visiting Bhishma.' At these words of Krishna, Satyaki, proceeding quickly to the royal son of Pandu, said unto him, 'The foremost of cars, belonging to Vasudeva of great intelligence, stands ready, O king, for Janardana will go to see Ganga's son. O righteous king of great splendour, he is waiting for thee. It behoveth thee now to do what should be done next.' Thus addressed, Dharma's son Yudhishthira answered as follows.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'O Phalguna of unrivalled splendour, let my foremost of cars be made ready. We should not be accompanied (today) by the soldiers, but we shall proceed ourselves. That foremost of righteous persons, Bhishma, should not be vexed. Let the guards, therefore, O Dhananjaya, stop today. From this day Ganga's son will speak of things that are great mysteries. I do not therefore, O son of Kunti, wish that there should be a miscellaneous gathering (in Bhishma's presence).'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words of the king, Kunti's son Dhananjaya, that foremost of men (went out and coming back) represented unto him that his best of cars stood harnessed for him. King Yudhishthira, and the twins, and Bhima and Arjuna, the five resembling the five elements, then proceeded towards Krishna's abode. While the high-souled Pandavas were coming, Krishna of great intelligence, accompanied by the grandson of Sini, mounted on his car. Saluting one another from their cars and each enquiring of the other whether the night had been passed happily by him, those bulls among men proceeded, without stopping on those foremost of cars whose rattle resembled the roar of the clouds. Krishna's steeds, viz., Valahaka and Meghapushpa and Saivya and Sugriva were urged by Daruka. The animals, urged by him, O king, proceeded, indenting the earth with their hoofs. Endued with great strength and great speed, they flew onwards, devouring the very skies. Traversing the sacred field of Kuru, the princes proceeded to that spot where the puissant Bhishma on his bed of arrows was lying, surrounded by those great Rishis, like Brahman himself in the midst of the gods. Then Govinda and Yudhishthira and Bhima and the wielder of Gandiva and the twins and Satyaki, alighting from their vehicles, saluted the Rishis by raising their right hands. Surrounded by them, king Yudhishthira like the moon in the midst of the stars approached Ganga's son like Vasava proceeding towards Brahman. Overcome with fear, the king timidly cast his eyes on the mighty-armed hero lying on his bed of arrows like the Sun himself dropped from the firmament.'"

SECTION 54

"Janamejaya said, 'When that tiger among men, of righteous soul and great energy, firmly adhering to truth and with passions under complete control, viz., the son of Santanu and Ganga, named Devavrata or Bhishma of unfading glory, lay on a hero's bed with the sons of Pandu sitting around him, tell me, O great sage, what converse ensued in that meeting of heroes after the slaughter of the troops.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'When Bhishma that chief of the Kurus, lay on his bed of arrows, many Rishis and Siddhas, O king, headed by Narada, came to that spot. The unslain remnant of the (assembled) kings with Yudhishthira at their head, and Dhritarashtra and Krishna and Bhima and Arjuna and the twins also came there. Those high-souled persons, approaching the grandsire of the Bharatas who looked like the Sun himself dropped from the firmament, indulged in lamentations for him. Then Narada of godlike features reflecting for a short while, addressed all the Pandavas and the unslain remnant of the kings saying, 'The time, I think, has come for you to question Bhishma (on subject of morality and religion), for Ganga's son is about to expire like the Sun that is on the point of setting. He is about to cast off his life-breaths. Do you all, therefore, solicit him to discourse to you? He is acquainted with the varied duties of all the four orders. Old in years, after abandoning his body he will obtain high regions of bliss. Solicit him, therefore, without delay, to clear the doubts that exists in your minds.' Thus addressed by Narada, those princes approached Bhishma, but unable to ask him anything, looked at one another. Then Yudhishthira the son of Pandu, addressing Hrishikesa said, "There is no one else than Devaki's son that can question the grandsire. O foremost one of Yadu's race, do thou, therefore, O slayer of Madhu, speak first. Thou, O sire, art the foremost of us all and thou art conversant with every duty and practice." Thus addressed by the son of Pandu, the illustrious Kesava of unfading glory, approaching the unconquerable Bhishma, spoke unto him as follows.'

"Vasudeva said, 'Hast thou, O best of kings, passed the night happily? Has thy understanding become unclouded? Does thy knowledge, O sinless one, shine in thee by inward light? I hope thy heart no longer feels pain and thy mind is no longer agitated.'

"Bhishma said, 'Burning, stupefaction, fatigue, exhaustion, illness, and pain, through thy grace, O thou of Vrishni's race, have all left me in a single day. O thou of incomparable splendour, all that is past, all that is future, and all that is present, I behold as clearly as a fruit placed in my hands. All the duties declared in the Vedas, all those laid down in the Vedantas, I behold clearly, O thou of unfading glory, in consequence of the boon thou hast granted to me. The duties that have been declared by persons of learning and righteous behaviour, dwell in my remembrance. I am conversant also, O Janardana, with the duties and practices prevailing in particular countries and among particular tribes and families. Everything relating again to the four modes of life has come back to my recollection. I am acquainted also, O Kesava, with the duties that relate to king-craft. Whatever should at whatever time be said, I would say, O Janardana! Through thy grace, I have acquired an auspicious understanding. Strengthened by meditation on thee, feel as if I have become a young man again. Through thy favour, O Janardana, I have become competent to discourse on what is beneficial (for the world). Why, however, O holy one, dost thou not thyself discourse to Pandu's son upon all that is good? What explanation hast thou to give in respect of this? Tell me quickly, O Madhava!'

"Vasudeva said, 'Know, O thou of Kuru's race, that I am the root of fame and of everything that leads to good. All things, good or bad, proceed from me. Who on earth will wonder if the moon be said to be of cool rays? Similarly, who will wonder if I were described as one possessed of the full measure of fame? I have, however, resolved to enhance thy fame, O thou of great splendour! It is for this, O Bhishma, that I have just inspired thee with great intelligence. As long, O lord of earth, as the earth will last, so long will thy fame travel with undiminished lustre through all the worlds. Whatever, O Bhishma, thou wilt say unto the inquiring son of Pandu, will be regarded on earth to be as authoritative as the declarations of that Vedas. That person who will conduct himself here according to the authority of thy declarations, will obtain hereafter the reward of every meritorious act. For this reason, O Bhishma, I have imparted to thee celestial understanding so that thy fame maybe enhanced on earth. As long as a man's fame lasts in the world, so long are his achievements said to live. The unslain remnant of the (assembled) kings are sitting around thee, desirous of listening to thy discourses on morality and duty. Do thou speak unto them, O Bharata! Thou art old in years and thy behaviour is consistent with the ordinance of the Srutis. Thou art well conversant with the duties of kings and with every other science of duty. No one has ever noticed the slightest transgression in thee from thy every birth. All the kings know thee to be conversant with all the sciences of morality and duty. Like a sire unto his sons do thou, therefore, O king, discourse unto them of high morality. Thou hast always worshipped the Rishis and the gods. It is obligatory on thee to discourse on these subjects in detail unto persons desirous of listening to discourse on morality and duty. A learned person, especially when solicited by the righteous, should discourse on the same. The sages have declared this to be a duty. O puissant one, if thou dost not speak on such subjects, thou wilt incur sin. Therefore, questioned by thy sons and grandsons, O learned one, about the eternal duties (of men), do thou, O bull among the Bharatas, discourse upon them on the subject.'"

SECTION 55

"Vaisampayana said, 'Endued with great energy, the delighter of the Kurus (viz., Bhishma), said, 'I shall discourse on the subject of duty. My speech and mind have become steady, through thy grace, O Govinda, since thou art the eternal soul of every being. Let the righteous-souled Yudhishthira question me about morality and duty. I shall then be much gratified and shall speak of all duties. Let the son of Pandu, that royal sage of virtuous and great soul, upon whose birth all the Vrishnis were filled with joy, question me. Let the son of Pandu, who has no equal among all the Kurus, among all persons of righteous behaviour, and among men of great celebrity, put questions to me. Let the son of Pandu, in whom are intelligence, self-restraint, Brahmacharya, forgiveness, righteousness, mental vigour and energy, put questions to me. Let the son of Pandu, who always by his good offices honours his relatives and guests and servants and others that are dependent on him, put questions to me. Let the son of Pandu, in whom are truth and charity and penances, heroism, peacefulness, cleverness, and fearlessness, put questions to me. Let the righteous-souled son of Pandu, who would never commit a sin influenced by desire of Pleasure or Profit or from fear put questions to me. Let the son of Pandu, who is ever devoted to truth, to forgiveness, to knowledge and to guests, and who always makes gifts unto the righteous, put questions to me. Let the son of Pandu, who is ever engaged in sacrifices and study of the Vedas and the practice of morality and duty who is ever peaceful and who has heard all mysteries, put questions to me.'

"Vasudeva said, 'King Yudhishthira the just, overcome with great shame and fearful of (thy) curse, does not venture to approach thee. That lord of earth, O monarch, having caused a great slaughter, ventures not to approach thee from

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fear of (thy) curse. Having pierced with shafts those that deserved his worship, those that were devoted to him, those that were his preceptors, those that were his relatives and kinsmen and those that were worthy of his highest regard, he ventures not to approach thee.'

"Bhishma said, 'As the duty of the Brahmanas consists of the practice of charity, study, and penances, so the duty of Kshatriyas is to cast away their bodies, O Krishna, in battle. A Kshatriya should stay sires and grandsires and brothers and preceptors and relatives and kinsmen that may engage with him in unjust battle. This is their declared duty. That Kshatriya, O Kesava, is said to be acquainted with his duty who slays in battle his very preceptors if they happen to be sinful and covetous and disregardful of restraints and vows. That Kshatriya is said to be acquainted with his duty who slays in battle the person that from covetousness disregards the eternal barriers of virtue. That Kshatriya is said to be acquainted with duty who in battle makes the earth a lake of blood, having the hair of slain warriors for the grass and straw floating on it, and having elephants for its rocks, and standards for the trees on its banks. A Kshatriya, when challenged, should always fight in battle, since Manu has said that a righteous battle (in the case of a Kshatriya) leads to both heaven and fame on earth.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'After Bhishma had spoken thus, Dharma's son Yudhishthira, with great humility, approached the Kuru hero and stood in his sight. He seized the feet of Bhishma who in return gladdened him with affectionate words. Smelling his head, Bhishma asked Yudhishthira to take his seat. Then Ganga's son, that foremost of bowmen, addressed Yudhishthira, saying, 'Do not fear, O best of the Kurus! Ask me, O child, without any anxiety.'"

SECTION 56

Vaisampayana said, 'Having bowed unto Hrishikesa, and saluted Bhishma, and taken the permission of all the seniors assembled there, Yudhishthira began to put questions unto Bhishma.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Persons conversant with duty and morality say that kingly duties constitute the highest science of duty. I also think that the burden of those duties is exceedingly onerous. Do thou, therefore, O king, discourse on those duties. O grandsire, do thou speak in detail on the duties of kings. The science of kingly duties is the refuge of the whole world of life. O thou of Kuru's race, Morality, Profit, and Pleasure are dependent on kingly duties. It is also clear that the practices that lead to emancipation are equally dependent on them. As the reins are in respect of the steed or the iron hook in respect of the elephant, even so the science of kingly duties constitutes the reins for checking the world. If one becomes stupefied in respect of the duties observed by royal sages, disorder would set in on the earth and everything will become confused. As the Sun, rising, dispels inauspicious darkness, so this science destroys every kind of evil consequence in respect of the world. Therefore, O grandsire, do thou, for my sake, discourse on kingly duties in the first instance, for thou, O chief of the Bharatas, art the foremost of all persons conversant with duties. O scorcher of foes, Vasudeva regards thee as the first of all intelligent persons. Therefore, all of us expect the highest knowledge from thee.'

"Bhishma said, 'Bowing unto Dharma who is Supreme, unto Krishna who is Brahma in full, and unto the Brahmanas, I shall discourse on the eternal duties (of men). Hear from me, O Yudhishthira, with concentrated attention, the whole range of kingly duties described with accurate details, and other duties that you mayst desire to know. In the first place, O foremost one of Kuru's race, the king should, from desire of pleasing (his subjects), wait with humility upon the gods and the Brahmanas, always bearing himself agreeably to the ordinance. By worshipping the deities and the Brahmanas, O perpetuator of Kuru's race, the king pays off his debt to duty and morality, and receives the respect of his subjects. O son, thou shouldst always exert with promptitude, O Yudhishthira, for without promptitude of exertion mere destiny never accomplishes the objects cherished by kings. These two, viz., exertion and destiny, are equal (in their operation). Of them, I regard exertion to be superior, for destiny is ascertained from the results of what is begun with exertion. Do not indulge in grief if what is commenced ends disastrously, for thou shouldst then exert thyself in the same act with redoubled attention. This is the high duty of kings. There is nothing which contributes so much to the success of kings as Truth. The king who is devoted to Truth finds happiness both here and hereafter. As regards Rishis also, O king, Truth is their great wealth. Similarly, as regards kings, there is nothing that so much inspires confidence in them as Truth. The king that is possessed of every accomplishment and good behaviour, that is self-restrained, humble, and righteous, that has his passions under control, that is of handsome features and not too enquiring, 1 never loses prosperity. By administering justice, by attending to these three, viz., concealment of his own weaknesses, ascertainment of the weaknesses of foes, and keeping his own counsels, as also by the observance of conduct that is straightforward, the king, O delighter of the Kurus, obtains prosperity. If the king becomes mild, everybody disregards him On the other hand, if he becomes fierce, his subjects then become troubled.

Therefore, do thou observe both kinds of behaviour. O foremost of liberal men, the Brahmanas should never be punished by thee, for the Brahmana, O son of Pandu, is the foremost of beings on the Earth. The high-souled Manu, O king of kings, that sung two Slokas. In respect of thy duties, O thou of Kuru's race, thou shouldst always bear them in mind. Fire hath sprung from water, the Kshatriya from the Brahmana, and iron from stone. The three (viz., fire, Kshatriya and iron) can exert their force on every other thing, but coming into contact with their respective progenitors, their force becomes neutralised. When iron strikes stone, or fire battles with water, or Kshatriya cherishes enmity towards Brahmana, these three soon become weak. When this is so, O monarch, (you will see that) the Brahmanas are worthy of worship. They that are foremost among the Brahmanas are gods on earth. Duly worshipped, they uphold the Vedas and the Sacrifices. But they, O tiger among kings, that desire to have such honour however much they may be impediments to the three worlds, should ever be repressed by the might of thy arms. The great Rishi Usanas, O son, sang two Slokas in days of old. Listen to them, O king, with concentrated attention. The righteous Kshatriya, mindful of his duties, should chastise a Brahmana that may be a very master of the Vedas if he rushes to battle with an uplifted weapon. The Kshatriya, conversant with duties, that upholds righteousness when it is trespassed against, does not, by that act, become a sinner, for the wrath of the assailant justifies the wrath of the chastiser. Subject to these restrictions, O tiger among kings, the Brahmanas should be protected. If they become offenders, they should then be exiled beyond thy dominions. Even when deserving of punishment, thou shouldst, O kings, show them compassion. If a Brahmana becomes guilty of Brahmanicide, or of violating the bed of his preceptor or other revered senior, or of causing miscarriage, or of treason against the king, his punishment should be banishment from thy dominions. No corporal chastisement is laid down for them. Those persons that show respect towards the Brahmanas should be favoured by thee (with offices in the state). There is no treasure more valuable to kings than that which consists in the selection and assemblage of servants. Among the six kinds of citadels indicated in the scriptures, indeed among every kind of citadel, that which consists of (the ready service and the love of the) subjects is the most impregnable. Therefore, the king who is possessed of wisdom should always show compassion towards the four orders of his subjects. The king who is of righteous soul and truthful speech succeeds in gratifying his subjects. Thou must not, however, O son always behave with forgiveness towards everybody, for the king that is mild is regarded as the worst of his kind like an elephant that is reft of fierceness. In the scriptures composed by Vrihaspati, a Sloka was in days of old applicable to the present matter. Hear it, O king as I recite it. 'If the king happens to be always forgiving, the lowest of persons prevails over him, even as the driver who sits on the head of the elephant he guides.' The king, therefore, should not always be mild. Nor should he always be fierce. He should be like the vernal Sun, neither cold nor so hot as to produce perspiration. By the direct evidence of the senses, by conjecture, by comparisons, and by the canons, of the scriptures O monarch, the king should Study friends and foes. O thou of great liberality, thou shouldst avoid all those evil practices that are called Vyasanas. It is not necessary that thou shouldst never indulge in them. What, however, is needed is that thou shouldst not be attached to them. He that is attached to those practices is prevailed over by everyone. The king who cherishes no love for his people inspires the latter with anxiety. The king should always bear himself towards his subjects as a mother towards the child of her womb. Hear, O monarch, the reason why this becomes desirable. As the mother, disregarding those objects that are most cherished by her, seeks the good of her child alone, even so, without doubt, should kings conduct themselves (towards their subjects). The king that is righteous, O foremost one of Kuru's race, should always behave in such a manner as to a old what is dear to him, for the sake of doing that which would benefit his people. Thou shouldst not ever, O son of Pandu, abandon fortitude. The king that is possessed of fortitude and who is known to inflict chastisement on wrong-doers, has no cause of fear. O foremost of speakers, thou shouldst not indulge in jests with thy servants. O tiger among kings, listen to the faults of such conduct. If the master mingles too freely with them, dependents begin to disregard him. They forget their own position and most truly transcend that of the master. Ordered to do a thing, they hesitate, and divulge the master's secrets. They ask for things that should not be asked for, and take the food that is intended for the master. They go to the length of displaying their wrath and seek to outshine the master. They even seek to predominate over the king, and accepting bribes and practising deceit, obstruct the business of the state. They cause the state to rot with abuses by falsifications and forgeries. They make love with the female guards of the palace and dress in the same style as their master. They become so shameless as to indulge in eructations and the like, and expectorate in the very presence of their master, O tiger among kings, and they do not fear to even speak of him with levity before others. If the king becomes mild and disposed to jest, his servants, disregarding him, ride on steeds and elephants and cars as good as the king's. 1 His counsellors, assembled in court, openly indulge in such speeches as: 'This is beyond thy power. This is a wicked attempt.' If the king becomes angry, they laugh; nor are they gladdened if favours be bestowed upon them, though they may express joy for other reasons. They disclose the secret counsels of their master and bruit his evil acts. Without the least anxiety they set at naught the king's commands. If the king's jewels, or food, or the necessaries of his bath, or unguents, be not forthcoming, the servants, in his very presence, do not show the least anxiety. They do not take what rightfully belongs to them. On the other hand, without being content with what has been assigned to them, they appropriate what belongs to the king. They wish to sport with the king as with a bird tied with a string, And always give the people to understand that the king is very intimate with them and loves them dearly. If the king becomes mild and disposed to jest, O Yudhishthira, these and many other evils spring from it.'"

SECTION 57

"Bhishma said, 'The king, O Yudhishthira, should always be ready for action. That king is not worth of praise who, like a woman, is destitute of exertion. In this connexion, the holy Usanas has sting a Sloka, O monarch. Listen to it with attention, O king, as I recite it to thee: 'Like a snake swallowing up mice, the earth swallows tip these two, the king that is averse to battle and the Brahmana that is exceedingly attached to wives and children. It behoveth thee, O tiger among kings, to bear this always in thy heart. Make peace with those foes with whom (according to the ordinance) peace should be made, and wage war with them with whom war should be waged. Be he thy preceptor or be he thy friend, he that acts inimically towards thy kingdom consisting of seven limbs, should be slain. [These seven limbs are the king, army, counsellors, friends, treasury, territory, and forts.] There is an ancient Sloka sung by king Marutta, agreeable to Vrihaspati's opinion, O monarch, about the duty of kings. According to the eternal provision, there is punishment for even the preceptor if he becomes haughty and disregardful of what should be done and what should not, and if he transgresses all restraints. Jadu's son, king Sagara, of great intelligence, from desire of doing good to the citizens, exiled his own eldest son Asamanjas. Asamanjas, O king, used to drown the children of the citizens in the Sarayu. His sire, therefore, rebuked him and sent him to exile. The Rishi Uddalaka cast off his favourite son Swetaketu (afterwards) of rigid penances, because the latter used to invite Brahmanas with deceptive promises of entertainment. The happiness of their subjects, observance of truth, and sincerity of behaviour are the eternal duty of kings. The king should not covet the wealth of others. He should in time give what should be given, If the king becomes possessed of prowess, truthful in speech, and forgiving in temper, he would never fall away from prosperity. With soul cleansed of vices, the king should be able to govern his wrath, and all his conclusions should be conformable to the scriptures. He should also always pursue morality and profit and pleasure and salvation (judiciously). The king should always conceal his counsels in respect of these three, (viz., morality, profit, and pleasure). No greater evil can befall the king than the disclosure of his counsels. Kings should protect the four orders in the discharge of their duties. It is the eternal duty of kings to prevent a confusion of duties in respect of the different orders. The king should not repose confidence (on others than his own servants), nor should he repose full confidence (on even his servants).

He should, by his own intelligence, took after the merits and defects of the six essential requisites of sovereignty. The king who is observant of the laches of his foes, and judicious in the pursuit of morality, profit, and pleasure, who sets clever spies for ascertaining secrets and seeks to wean away the officers of his enemies by presents of wealth, deserves applause. The king should administer justice like Yama and amass wealth like Kuvera. He should also be observant of the merits and defects of his own acquisitions and losses and of his own dominions. He should feed those that have not been fed, and enquire after those that have been fed. Possessed of sweet speech, he could speak with a smiling (and not with a sour) countenance. He should always wait upon those that are old in years and repress procrastination. He should never covet what belongs to others. He should firmly follow the behaviour of the righteous and, therefore, observe that behaviour carefully. He should never take wealth from those that are righteous. Taking the wealth of those that are not righteous he should give it unto them that are righteous. The king should himself be skilful in smiting. He should practise liberality. He Should have his soul under control. He should dress himself with splendour. He should make gifts in season and regular in his meals. He should also be of good behaviour. The king desirous of obtaining prosperity should always bind

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to his service men that are brave, devoted, incapable of being deceived by foes, well-born, healthy, well-behaved, and connected with families that are well-behaved, respectable, never inclined to insult others, conversant with all the sciences, possessing a knowledge of the world and its affairs, unmindful of the future state of existence, always observant of their duties, honest, and steadfast like mountains. There should be no difference between him and them as regards objects of enjoyment. The only distinction should consist in his umbrella and his power or passing orders. His conduct towards them, before or behind, should be the same. The king who behaves in this way never comes to grief. That crooked and covetous king who suspects everybody and who taxes his subjects heavily, is soon deprived of life by his own servants and relatives. That king, however, who is of righteous behaviour and who is ever engaged in attracting the hearts of his people, never sinks when attacked by foes. If overcome, he soon regains his position. If the king is not wrathful, if he is not addicted to evil practices and not severe in his punishments, if he succeeds in keeping his passions under control, he then becomes an object of confidence unto all like the Himavat mountains (unto all creatures). He is the best of kings who hath wisdom, who is possessed of liberality, who is ready to take advantage of the laches of foes, who has agreeable features, who is conversant with what is bad for each of the four orders of his subjects, who is prompt in action, who has his wrath under control, who is not vindictive, who is high-minded, who is not irascible by disposition, who is equal engaged in sacrifices and other religious acts, who is not given to boasting, and who vigorously prosecutes to completion all works commenced by him. He is the best of kings in whose dominions men live fearlessly like sons in the house of their sire. He is the best of kings whose subjects have not to hide their wealth and are conversant with what is good and what is bad for them. He, indeed, is a king whose subjects are engaged in their respective duties and do not fear to cast off their bodies when duty calls for it; whose people, protected duly, are all of peaceful behaviour, obedient, docile, tractable, unwilling to be engaged in disputes, and inclined to liberality. That king earns eternal merit in whose dominions there is no wickedness and dissimulation and deception and envy. That king truly deserves to rule who honours knowledge, who is devoted to the scriptures and the good of his people, who treads in the path of the righteous, and who is liberal. That king deserves to rule, whose spies and counsels and acts, accomplished and unaccomplished, remain unknown to his enemies. The following verse was sung in days of old by Usanas of Bhrigu's race, in the narrative called Ramacharita, on the subject, O Bharata, of kingly duties: 'One should first select a king (in whose dominions to live). Then should he select a wife, and then earn wealth. If there be no king, what would become of his wife and acquisition'?' Regarding those that are desirous of kingdom, there is no other eternal duty more obligatory than the protection (of subjects). The protection the king grants to his subjects upholds the world. Manu, the son of Prachetas, sang these two verses respecting the duties of kings. Listen to them with attention: 'These six persons should be avoided like a leaky boat on the sea, viz., a preceptor that does not speak, a priest that has not studied the scriptures, a king that does not grant protection, a wife that utters what is disagreeable, a cow-herd that likes to rove within the village, and a barber that is desirous of going to the woods.'"

SECTION 58

"Bhishma said, 'Protection of the subject, O Yudhishthira, is the very cheese of kingly duties. The divine Vrihaspati does not applaud any other duty (so much as this one). The divine Kavi (Usanas) of large eyes and austere penances, the thousand-eyed Indra, and Manu the son of Prachetas, the divine Bharadwaja, and the saga Gaurasiras, all devoted to Brahma and utterers of Brahma, have composed treatises on the duties of kings. All of them praise the duty of protection, O foremost of virtuous persons, in respect of kings. O thou of eyes like lotus leaves and of the hue of copper, listen to the means by which protection may be secured. Those means consist of the employment of spies and servants, giving them their just dues without haughtiness, the realisation of taxes with considerateness, never taking anything (from the subject) capriciously and without cause, O Yudhishthira, the selection of honest men (for the discharge of administrative functions), heroism, skill, and cleverness (in the transaction of business), truth, seeking the good of the people, producing discord and disunion among the enemy by fair or unfair means, the repair of buildings that are old or on the point of falling away, the infliction of corporal punishments and fines regulated by observance of the occasion, never abandoning the honest, granting employment and protection to persons of respectable birth, the storing of what should be stored, companionship with persons of intelligence, always gratifying the soldiery, supervision over the subjects, steadiness in the transaction of business, filling the treasury, absence of blind confidence on the guards of the city, producing disloyalty among the citizens of a hostile town, carefully looking after the friends and allies living in the midst of the enemy's country, strictly watching the servants and officers of the state, personal observation of the city, distrust of servants, comforting the enemy with assurances, steadily observing the dictates of policy, readiness for action, never disregarding an enemy, and casting off those that are wicked. Readiness for exertion in kings is the root of kingly duties. This has been said by Vrihaspati. Listen to the verses sung by him: 'By exertion the amrita was obtained; by exertion the Asuras were slain, by exertion Indra himself obtained sovereignty in heaven and on earth. The hero of exertion is superior to the heroes of speech. The heroes of speech gratify and worship the heroes of exertion.' [Eloquent Brahmanas learned in the scriptures are heroes of speech, Great Kshatriya kings are heroes of exertion.] The king that is destitute of exertion, even if possessed of intelligence, is always overcome by foes like a snake that is bereft of poison. The king, even if possessed of strength, should not disregard a foe, however weak. A spark of fire can produce a conflagration and a particle of poison can kill. With only one kind of force, an enemy from within a fort, can afflict the whole country of even a powerful and prosperous king. The secret speeches of a king, the amassing of troops for obtaining victory, the crooked purposes in his heart, similar intents for accomplishing particular objects, and the wrong acts he does or intends to do, should be concealed by putting on an appearance of candour. He should act righteously for keeping his people under subjection. Persons of crooked minds cannot bear the burden of extensive empire. A king who is mild cannot obtain superior rank, the acquisition of which depends upon labour. A kingdom, coveted by all like meat, can never be protected by candour and simplicity. A king, O Yudhishthira, should, therefore, always conduct himself with both candour and crookedness. If in protecting his subjects a king falls into danger, he earns great merit. Even such should be the conduct of kings. I have now told thee a portion only of the duties of kings. Tell me, O best of the Kurus, what more you wish to know."

Vaisampayana continued, "The illustrious Vyasa and Devasthana and Aswa, and Vasudeva and Kripa and Satyaki and Sanjaya, filled with joy, and with faces resembling full-blown flowers, said, 'Excellent! Excellent!' and hymned the praises of that tiger among men, viz., Bhishma, that foremost of virtuous persons. Then Yudhishthira, that chief of Kuru's race, with a cheerless heart and eyes bathed in tears, gently touched Bhishma's feet and said, 'O grandsire, I shall to-morrow enquire after those points about which I have my doubts, for today, the sun, having sucked the moisture of all terrestrial objects, is about to set.' Then Kesava and Kripa and Yudhishthira and others, saluting the Brahmanas (assembled there) and circumambulating the son of the great river, cheerfully ascended their cars. All of them observant of excellent vows then bathed in the current of the Drishadwati. Having offered oblations of water unto their ancestors and silently recited the sacred mantras and done other auspicious acts, and having performed the evening prayer with due rites, those scorchers of foes entered the city called after the elephant."

SECTION 59

Vaisampayana said, "Rising from their beds the next day and performing the morning rites laid down in the scriptures, the Pandavas and the Yadavas set out (for the spot where Bhishma lay) on their cars resembling fortified towns. Proceeding to the field of Kuru and approaching the sinless Bhishma, they enquired of that foremost of car-warriors if he had passed the night happily. Saluting all the Rishis, and blessed by them in return, the princes took their seats around Bhishma. Then king Yudhishthira the just possessed of great energy, having worshipped Bhishma duly, said these words with joined hands.

"Yudhishthira said, 'Whence arose the word Rajan (King), that is used, O Bharata, on earth? Tell me this, O scorcher of foes! Possessed of hands and arms and neck like others, having understanding and senses like those of others, subject like others to the same kinds of joy and grief, endued with back, mouth, and stomach similar to those of the rest of the world, having vital fluids and bones and marrow and flesh and blood similar to those of, the rest of the world, inhaling and exhaling breaths like others, possessed of life-breaths and bodies like other men, resembling others in birth and death, in fact, similar to others in respect of all attributes of humanity, for what reason does one man, viz., the king, govern the rest of the world numbering many men possessed of great intelligence and bravery? Whence is it that one man rules the wide world teeming with brave and energetic and high-born men of good behaviour? Why do all men seek to obtain his favour? Why is it that if one man becomes delighted, the whole world becomes delighted, and if that one man is troubled, the whole world becomes troubled? I desire to hear this in detail, O bull of Bharata's race! O foremost of speakers, discourse to me on this fully. O king, there cannot but be a grave reason for all this since it is seen that the whole world bows down to one man as to a god.

"Bhishma said, 'With concentrated attention, O tiger among kings, listen to it in detail as to how in the Krita age sovereignty first began. At first there was no sovereignty, no king, no chastisement, and no chastiser. All men used to protect one another righteously. As they thus lived, O Bharata, righteously protecting one another, they found the task (after some time) to be painful. Error then began to assail their hearts. Having become subject to error, the perceptions of men, O prince, came to be clouded, and thence their virtue began to decline. When their perceptions were dimmed and when men became subject to error, all of them became covetous. O chief of the Bharatas! And because men sought to obtain objects, which they did not possess, another passion called lust (of acquisition) got hold of them. When they became subject to lust, another passion, named anger, soon soiled them. Once subject to wrath, they lost all consideration of what should be done and what should not. Unrestrained sexual indulgence set in. Men began to utter what they chose. All distinctions between food that is clean and unclean and between virtue and vice disappeared. When this confusion set in amongst men, the Vedas disappeared. Upon the disappearance of the Vedas, Righteousness was lost. When both the Vedas and righteousness were lost, the gods were possessed by fear. Overcome with fear, O tiger among men, they sought the protection of Brahmana. Having gratified the divine Grandsire of the universe, the gods, afflicted with grief, said unto him, with joined hands, 'O god, the eternal Vedas have been afflicted in the world of men by covetousness and error. For this, we have been struck with fear. Through loss of the Vedas, O Supreme Lord, righteousness also has been lost. For this, O Lord of the three worlds, we are about to descend to the level of human beings. Men used to pour libations upwards while we used to pour rain downwards. In consequence, however, of the cessation of all pious rites among men, great distress will be our lot. Do thou then, O Grandsire, think of that which would benefit us, so that the universe, created by thy power, may not meet with destruction.' Thus addressed, the Self-born and divine Lord said unto them, 'I shall think of what will do good to all. Ye foremost of gods, let your fears be dispelled!' The Grandsire then composed by his own intelligence a treatise consisting of a hundred thousand chapters. In it were treated the subject of Virtue, Profit, and Pleasure. Which the Self-born designated as the triple aggregate. He treated of a fourth subject called Emancipation with opposite meaning and attributes. The triple aggregate in respect of emancipation, viz., to the attributes of Goodness, Passion, and Darkness, and another, (a fourth, viz., the practice of duty without hope of bliss or reward in this or the other world), were treated in it. Another triple aggregate connected with Chastisement, viz., Conversation, Growth, and Destruction, was treated in it. Another aggregate of six consisting of the hearts of men, place, time, means, overt acts, and alliances, and causes, were treated in it. The religious rites laid down in the three Vedas, knowledge, and the acts necessary for the support of life, (viz., agriculture, trade, &c.), O bull of Bharata's race, and the very extensive branch of learning called punitive legislation, were laid down in it. The subjects also of behaviour towards counsellors, of spies, the indications of princes, of secret agents possessed of diverse means, of envoys and agents of other kinds, conciliation, fomenting discord, gifts, and chastisement, O king, with toleration as the fifth, were fully treated therein. Deliberation of all kinds, counsels for producing disunion, the errors of deliberation, the results of the success or failure of counsels, treaties of three kinds, viz., bad, middling, and good, made through fear, good offices, and gifts of wealth, were described in detail. The four kinds of time for making journeys, the details of the aggregate of three, the three kinds of victory, viz., that secured righteously, that won by wealth, and that obtained by deceitful ways, were described in detail. The three kinds of attributes, viz., bad, middling, and good, of the aggregate of five (viz., counsellors, kingdom, fort, army, and treasury,) were also treated in it. Chastisements of two kinds, viz., open and secret, were indicated. The eight kinds of open chastisement, as also the eight kinds of secret chastisement, were dealt with in detail. Cars, elephants, horses, and foot-soldiers, O son of Pandu, impressed labourers, crews, and paid attendants (of armies), and guides taken from the country which is the seat of war, these are the eight instruments, O Kauravya, of open chastisement or forces acting openly. The use and administration of movable and immovable poison were also mentioned in respect of the three kinds of things, viz., wearing apparel, food, and incantations. Enemies, allies, and neutrals,--these also were described. The diverse characteristics of roads (to be taken, as dependent on stars and planets, etc.), the attributes of the soil (on which to encamp), protection of self, superintendence of the construction of cars and other utensils of war and use, the diverse means for protecting and improving men, elephants, cars, and steeds, the diverse kinds of battle array, strategies, and manoeuvres in war, planetary conjunctions foreboding evil, calamitous visitations (such as earthquakes), skilful methods of warfare and retreat, knowledge of weapons and

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their proper keep, the disorders of troops and how to get rid of them, the means of inspiring the army with joy and confidence, diseases, times of distress and danger, knowledge of guiding foot-soldiers in battle, the methods of sounding alarms and notifying orders, inspiring the enemy with fear by display of standards, the diverse methods of afflicting the enemy's kingdom by means of robbers and fierce wild-tribes, and fire-raisers and poisoners and forgers by producing disunion among the chief officers of hostile armies, by cutting down crops and plants, by destroying the efficiency of the enemy's elephants, by producing alarms, by honouring those among the enemy's subjects that are well disposed towards the invader, and by inspiring the enemy with confidence, the waste, growth, and harmony of the seven essential requisites of sovereignty, capacity for (projected) works, the means for accomplishing them, the methods of extending the kingdom, the means of winning over persons residing in the enemy's territory, the chastisement and destruction of those that are strong, the exact administration of justice, the extermination of the wicked, wrestling, shooting and throwing and hurling of weapons, the methods of making presents and of storing requisite things, feeding the unfed and supervision over those that have been fed, gifts of wealth in season, freedom from the vices called Vyasanas, the attributes of kings, the qualifications of military officers, the sources of the aggregate of three and its merits and faults, the diverse kinds of evil intents, the behaviour of dependents, suspicion against every one, the avoidance of heedlessness, the acquisition of objects unattained, the improving of objects already acquired, gifts to deserving persons of what has thus been improved, expenditure of wealth for pious purposes, for acquiring objects of desire, and for dispelling danger and distress, were all treated in that work. The fierce vices, O chief of the Kurus, born of temper, and those born of lust, in all of ten kinds, were mentioned in that treatise. The four kinds of vices which the learned say are born of lust, viz., hunting, gambling, drinking, and sexual indulgence, were mentioned by the Self-born in that work. Rudeness of speech, fierceness, severity of chastisement, infliction of pain on the body, suicide, and frustrating one's own objects, these are the six kinds of faults born of wrath, that have also been mentioned. Diverse kinds of machines and their actions have been described there. Devastation of the enemy's territories, attacks upon foes, the destruction and removal of landmarks and other indications, the cutting down of large trees (for depriving the enemy and the enemy's subjects of their refreshing shade), siege of forts, supervision of agriculture and other useful operations, the storage of necessaries, robes and attire (of troops), and the best means of manufacturing them, were all described. The characteristics and uses of Panavas, Anakas, conchs, and drums. O Yudhishthira, the six kinds of articles (viz., gems, animals, lands, robes, female slaves, and gold) and the means of acquiring them (for one's one self) and of destroying them (for injuring the foe), pacification of newly acquired territories, honouring the good, cultivating friendship with the learned, knowledge of the rules in respect of gifts and religious rites such as homa, the touch of auspicious articles, attention to the adornment of the body, the manner of preparing and using food, piety of behaviour, the attainment of prosperity by following in one path, truthfulness of speech, sweetness of speech, observance of acts done on occasions of festivity and social gatherings and those done within the household, the open and secret acts of persons in all places of meeting, the constant supervision of the behaviour of men, the immunity of Brahmanas from punishment, the reasonable infliction of punishment, honours paid to dependants in consideration of kinship and merit, the protection of subjects and the means of extending the kingdom, the counsels that a king who lives in the midst of a dozen of kings, should pursue in respect of the four kinds of foes, the four kinds of allies, and the four kinds of neutrals, the two and seventy acts laid down in medical works about the protection, exercise, and improvements of the body, and the practices of particular countries, tribes, and families, were all duty treated in that work. Virtue, Profit, and Pleasure, and Emancipation, were also described in it. The diverse means of acquisition, the desire for diverse kinds of wealth. O giver of profuse presents, the methods of agriculture and other operations that form the chief source of the revenue, and the various means for producing and applying illusions, the methods by which stagnant water is rendered foul, were laid down in it. All those means, O tiger among kings, by which men might be prevented from deviating from the path of righteousness and honesty, were all described in it. Having composed that highly beneficial treatise, the divine Lord cheerfully said unto the deities having Indra for their head, those words: 'For the good of the world and for establishing the triple aggregate (viz., Virtue, Profit, and Pleasure), I have composed this science representing the very cheese of speech. Assisted by chastisement, this science will protect the world. Dealing rewards and punishments, this science will operate among men. And because men are led (to the acquisition of the objects of their existence) by chastisement, or, in other words, chastisement leads or governs everything, therefore will this science be known in the three worlds as Dandaniti (science of chastisement). Containing the essence of all the attributes of the aggregate of six, this science will always be much regarded by all high-souled persons. Virtue, Profit, Pleasure, and Salvation have all been treated in it.' After this, the lord of Uma,--the divine and multiform Siva of large eyes, the Source of all blessings, first studied and mastered it. In view, however, of the gradual decrease of the period of life of human beings, the divine Siva abridged that science of grave import compiled by Brahman. The abridgment, called Vaisalakasha, consisting of ten thousand lessons, was then received by Indra devoted to Brahman and endued with great ascetic merit. The divine Indra also abridged it into a treatise consisting of five thousand lessons and called it Vahudantaka. Afterwards the puissant Vrihaspati, by his intelligence, further abridged the work into a treatise consisting of three thousand lessons and called it Varhaspatya. Next, that preceptor of Yoga, of great celebrity, viz., Kavi of immeasurable wisdom, reduced it further into a work of a thousand lessons. In view of the period of men's lives and the general decrease (of everything), great Rishis did thus, for benefiting the world, abridge that science. The gods then, approaching that lord of creatures, viz., Vishnu, said unto him, 'Indicate, O god, that one among mortals who deserves to have superiority over the rest.' The divine and puissant Narayana, reflecting a little, created, by a fiat of his will, a son born of his energy, named Virajas. The highly blessed Virajas, however, did not desire sovereignty on earth. His mind, O son of Pandu, inclined to a life of renunciation. Virajas had a son named Krittimat. He too renounced pleasure and enjoyment. Krittimat had a son named Kardama. Kardama also practised severe austerities. The lord of creatures, Kardama, begot a son named Ananga. Ananga became a protector of creatures, pious in behaviour, and fully conversant with the science of chastisement. Ananga begot a son named Ativala, well versed in policy. Obtaining extensive empire after the demise of his sire, he became a slave of his passions. Mrityu, O king, had a daughter born of his mind, named Sunita and celebrated over the three worlds. She was married to Ativala and gave birth to a son named Vena. Vena, a slave of wrath and malice, became unrighteous in his conduct towards all creatures. The Rishis, those utterers of Brahma, slew him with Kusa blades (as their weapon) inspired with mantras. Uttering mantras the while, those Rishis pierced the right thigh of Vena. Thereupon, from that thigh, came out a short-limbed person on earth, resembling a charred brand, with blood-red eyes and black hair. Those utterers of Brahma said unto him, 'Nishida (sit) here!' From him have sprung the Nishadas, viz., those wicked tribes that have the hills and the forests for their abode, as also those hundreds and thousands of others called Mlechchhas, residing on the Vindhya mountains. The great Rishis then pierced the right arm of Vena. Thence sprang a person who was a second Indra in form. Clad in mail, armed with scimitars, bows, and arrows, and well-versed in the science of weapons, he was fully acquainted with the Vedas and their branches. All the ordinances of the science of chastisement, O king, (in their embodied forms) came to that best of men. The son of Vena then, with joined hands, said unto those great Rishis, 'I have attained an understanding that is very keen and that is observant of righteousness. Tell me in detail what I shall do with it. That useful task which you will be pleased to indicate, I shall accomplish without hesitation.' Thus addressed, the gods that were present there, as also the Rishis, said unto him. 'Do thou fearlessly accomplish all those tasks in which righteousness even resides.

Disregarding what is dear and what not so, look upon all creatures with an equal eye. Castoff at a distance Just and wrath and covetousness and honour, and, always observing the dictates of righteousness, do thou punish with thy own hands the man, whoever he may be, that deviates from the path of duty. Do thou also swear that thou wouldst, in thought, word, and deed, always maintain the religion inculcated on earth by the Vedas. Do thou further swear that thou wouldst fearlessly maintain the duties laid down in the Vedas with the aid of the science of chastisement, and that thou wouldst never act with caprice. O puissant one, know that Brahmanas are exempt from chastisement, and pledge further that thou wouldst protect the world from an intermixture of castes.' Thus addressed, Vena's son replied unto the deities headed by the Rishis, saying, 'Those bulls among men, viz., the highly blessed Brahmanas, shall ever be worshipped by me.' Those utterers of Brahma then said unto him, 'Let it be so!' Then Sukra, that vast receptacle of Brahma, became his priest. The Valakhilyas became his counsellors, and the Saraswatas his companions. The great and illustrious Rishi Garga became his astrologer. This high declaration of the Srutis is current among men that Prithu is the eighth from Vishnu. A little before, the two persons named Suta and Magadha had come into existence. They became his bards and panegyrists. Gratified, Prithu, the royal son of Vena, possessed of great prowess, gave unto Suta the land lying on the sea-coast, and unto Magadha the country since known as Magadha. We have heard that the surface of the earth had before been very uneven. It was Prithu who made the terrestrial surface level. In every Manwantara, the earth becomes uneven. Vena's son removed the rocks and rocky masses lying all around, O monarch, with the horn of his bow. By this means the hills and mountains became enlarged. Then Vishnu, and the deities of Indra, and the Rishis, and the Regents of the world, and the Brahmanas, assembled together for crowning Prithu (as the king of the world). The earth herself, O son of Pandu, in her embodied form, came to him, with a tribute of gems and jewels. Ocean, that lord of rivers, and Himavat, the king of mountains, and Sakra, O Yudhishthira, bestowed upon him inexhaustible wealth. The great Meru, that mountain of gold, gave unto him heaps of that precious metal. The divine Kuvera, borne on the shoulders of human beings, that lord of Yakshas and Rakshasas, gave him wealth enough for gratifying the needs of religion, profit, and pleasure. Steeds, cars, elephants, and men, by millions, O son of Pandu, started into life as soon as Vena's son thought of them. At that time there was neither decrepitude, nor famine, nor calamity, nor disease (on earth). In consequence of the protection afforded by that king, nobody had any fear from reptiles and thieves or from any other source. When he proceeded to the sea, the waters used to be solidified. The mountains gave him way, and his standard was never obstructed anywhere. He drew from the earth, as a milcher from a cow, seven and ten kinds of crops for the food of Yakshas, and Rakshasas, and Nagas, and other creatures. That high-souled king caused all creatures to regard righteousness as the foremost of all things; and because he gratified all the people, therefore, was he called Rajan (king). And because he also healed the wounds of Brahmanas, therefore, he earned the name of Kshatriya. And because the earth (in his region) became celebrated for the practice of virtue, therefore, she came to be called by many as Prithvi. The eternal Vishnu himself, O Bharata, confirmed his power, telling him, 'No one, O king, shall transcend thee.' The divine Vishnu entered the body of that monarch in consequence of his penances. For this reason, the entire universe offered divine worship unto Prithu, numbered among human gods. [Numbered among human gods," i.e., among kings.] O king, thy kingdom should always be protected by the aid of the science of chastisement. Thou shouldst also, by careful observation made through the movements of thy spies, protect it in such a way that no one may be able to injure it. All good acts, O king, lead to the good (of the monarch). The conduct of a king should be regulated by his own intelligence, as also by the opportunities and means that may offer themselves. What other cause is there in consequence of which the multitude live in obedience to one, save the divinity of the monarch? At that time a golden lotus was born from Vishnu's brow. The goddess Sree was born of that lotus. She became the spouse of Dharma of great intelligence upon Sree, O son of Pandu, Dharma begot Artha. All the three, viz., Dharma, and Artha and Sree, were established in sovereignty. A person upon the exhaustion of his merit, comes down from heaven to earth, and takes birth as a king conversant with the science of chastisement. Such a person becomes endued with greatness and is really a portion of Vishnu on earth. He becomes possessed of great intelligence and obtains superiority over others. Established by the gods, no one transcends him. It is for this reason that everybody acts in obedience to one, and it is for this that the world cannot command him. Good acts, O king, lead to good. It is for this that the multitude obey his words of command, though he belongs to the same world and is possessed of similar limbs. He who once beheld Prithu's amiable face became obedient to him. Thenceforth he began to regard him as handsome, wealthy, and highly blessed. In consequence of the might of his sceptre, the practice of morality and just behaviour became so visible on earth. It is through that reason that the earth became overspread with virtue.'

"Thus, O Yudhishthira, the histories of all past events, the origin of the great Rishis, the holy waters, the planets and stars and asterisms, the duties in respect of the four modes of life, the four kinds of Homa, the characteristics of the four orders of men, and the four branches of learning, were all treated of in that work (of the Grandsire). Whatever objects or things, O son of Pandu, there are on earth, were all included in that treatise of the Grandsire. Histories and the Vedas and the science of Nyaya were all treated in it, as also penances, knowledge, abstention from injury in respect of all creatures, truth, falsehood, and high morality. Worship of persons old in years, gifts, purity of behaviour, readiness for exertion, and compassion towards all creatures, were very fully described in it. There is no doubt in this. Since that time, O monarch, the learned have begun to say that there is no difference between a god and a king. I have now told thee everything about the greatness of kings. What other subject is there, O chief of the Bharatas, upon which I shall next have to discourse?"

SECTION 60

Vaisampayana said, "After this, Yudhishthira, saluted his grandsire, viz. the son of Ganga, and with joined hands and concentrated attention, once more asked him, saying, 'What

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are the general duties of the four orders of men, and what the special duties of each order? What mode of life should be adopted by which order? What duties are especially called the duties of kings? By what means does a kingdom grow, and what are those means by which the king himself grows? How also, O bull of Bharata's race, do the citizens and the servants of the king grow? What sorts of treasuries, punishments, forts, allies, counsellors, priests, and preceptors, should a king avoid? Whom should the king trust in what kinds of distress and danger? From what evils should the king guard himself firmly? Tell me all this, O grandsire!'

"Bhishma said, 'I bow down to Dharma who is great, and to Krishna who is Brahma. Having bowed down also unto the Brahmanas (assembled here), I shall discourse on duties that are eternal. The suppression of wrath, truthfulness of speech, justice, forgiveness, begetting children upon one's own wedded wives, purity of conduct, avoidance of quarrel, simplicity, and maintenance of dependants, these nine duties belong to all the four orders (equally). Those duties, however, which belong exclusively to Brahmanas, I shall now tell thee. Self-restraint, O king, has been declared to be the first duty of Brahmanas. Study of the Vedas, and patience in undergoing austerities, (are also their other duties). By practising these two, all their acts are accomplished. If while engaged in the observance of his own duties, without doing any improper act, wealth comes to a peaceful Brahmana possessed of knowledge, he should then marry and seek to beget children and should also practise charity and perform sacrifices. It has been declared by the wise that wealth thus obtained should be enjoyed by distributing it (among deserving persons and relatives). By his study of the Vedas all the pious acts (laid down for the Brahmana) are accomplished. Whether he does or does not achieve anything else, if he devotes himself to the study of the Vedas, he becomes (by that) known as a Brahmana or the friend of all creatures. I shall also tell thee, O Bharata, what the duties are of a Kshatriya. A Kshatriya, O king, should give but not beg, should himself perform sacrifices but not officiate as a priest in the sacrifices of others. He should never teach (the Vedas) but study (them with a Brahmana preceptor). He should protect the people. Always exerting himself for the destruction of robbers and wicked people, he should put forth his prowess in battle. Those among Kshatriya rulers who perform great sacrifices, who are possessed of a knowledge of the Vedas, and who gain victories in battle, become foremost of those that acquire many blessed regions hereafter by their merit. Persons conversant with the old scriptures do not applaud that Kshatriya who returns unwounded from battle. This has been declared to be the conduct of a wretched Kshatriya. There is no higher duty for him than the suppression of robbers. Gifts, study, and sacrifices, bring prosperity to kings. Therefore, a king who desires to acquire religious merit should engage in battle. [For without battle, he cannot extend his kingdom and acquire wealth to give away and meet the expenses of sacrifices.] Establishing all his subjects in the observance of their respective duties, it king should cause all of them to do everything according to the dictates of righteousness. Whether he does or does not do any other act, if only he protects his subjects, he is regarded to accomplish all religious acts and is called a Kshatriya and the foremost of men. I shall now tell thee, O Yudhishthira, what the eternal duties of the Vaisya are. A Vaisya should make gifts, study the Vedas, perform sacrifices, and acquire wealth by fair means. With proper attention he should also protect and rear all (domestic) animals as a sire protecting his sons. Anything else that he will do will be regarded as improper for him. By protecting the (domestic) animals, he would obtain great happiness. The Creator, having created the (domestic) animals, bestowed their care upon the Vaisya. Upon the Brahmana and the Kshatriya he conferred (the care of) all creatures. I shall tell thee what the Vaisya's profession is and how he is to earn the means of his sustenance. If he keeps (for others) six kine, he may take the milk of one cow as his remuneration; and if he keeps (for others) a hundred kine, he may take a single pair as such fee. If he trades with other's wealth, he may take a seventh part of the profits (as his share). A seventh also is his share in the profits arising from the trade in horns, but he should take a sixteenth if the trade be in hoofs. If he engages in cultivation with seeds supplied by others, he may take a seventh part of the yield. This should be his annual remuneration. A Vaisya should never desire that he should not tend cattle. If a Vaisya desires to tend cattle, no one else should be employed in that task. I should tell thee, O Bharata, what the duties of a Sudra are. The Creator intended the Sudra to become the servant of the other three orders. For this, the service of the three other classes is the duty of Sudra. By such service of the other three, a Sudra may obtain great happiness. He should wait upon the three other classes according to their order of seniority. A Sudra should never amass wealth, lest, by his wealth, he makes the members of the three superior classes obedient to him. By this he would incur sin. With the king's permission, however, a Sudra, for performing religious acts, may earn wealth. I shall now tell thee the profession he should follow and the means by which he may earn his livelihood. It is said that Sudras should certainly be maintained by the (three) other orders. Worn-out umbrellas, turbans, beds and seats, shoes, and fans, should be given to the Sudra servants. Torn clothes which are no longer fit for wear, should be given away by the regenerate classes unto the Sudra. These are the latter's lawful acquisitions. Men conversant with morality say that if the Sudra approaches any one belonging to the three regenerate orders from desire of doing menial service, the latter should assign him proper work. Unto the sonless Sudra his master should offer the funeral cake. The weak and the old amongst them should be maintained. The Sudra should never abandon his master, whatever the nature or degree of the distress into which the latter may fall. If the master loses his wealth, he should with excessive zeal be supported by the Sudra servant. A Sudra cannot have any wealth that is his own. Whatever he possesses belongs lawfully to his master. Sacrifice has been laid down as a duty of the three other orders. It has been ordained for the Sudra also, O Bharata! A Sudra, however, is not competent to titter swaha and swadha or any other Vedic mantra. For this reason, the Sudra, without observing the vows laid down in the Vedas, should worship the gods in minor sacrifices called Paka-yajnas. The gift called Purna-patra is declared to be the Dakshina of such sacrifices. It has been heard by us that in days of old a Sudra of the name of Paijavana gave a Dakshina (in one of his sacrifices) consisting of a hundred thousand Purnapatras, according to the ordinance called Aindragni. Sacrifice (as has been already said), is as much laid down for the Sudra as for the three other classes. Of all sacrifices, devotion has been laid down to be the foremost. Devotion is a high deity. It cleanses all sacrificers. Then again Brahmanas are the foremost of gods unto their respective Sudra attendants. They worship the gods in sacrifices, for obtaining the fruition of various wishes. The members of the three other classes have all sprung from the Brahmanas. The Brahmanas are the gods of the very gods. Whatever they would say would be for thy great good. Therefore, all kinds of sacrifices naturally appertain to all the four orders. The obligation is not one whose discharge is optional. The Brahmana, who is conversant with Richs, Yajuses, and Samans, should always be worshipped as a god. The Sudra, who is without Richs and Yajuses and Samans, has Prajapati for his god. Mental sacrifice. O sire, is laid down for all the orders, O Bharata! It is not true that the gods and other (Superior) persons do not manifest a desire to share the offerings in such sacrifices of even the Sudra. For, this reason, the sacrifice that consists in devotion is laid down for all the classes. The Brahmana is the foremost of gods. It is not true that they that belong to that order do not perform the sacrifices of the other orders. The fire called Vitana, though procured from Vaisyas and inspired with mantras, is still inferior. [All sacrificial fires, as a rule, are procured front the houses of Vaisyas. The sacrificial fire of the Sudra is called Vitana.] The Brahmana is the performer or the sacrifices of the three other orders. For this reason all the four orders are holy. All the orders bear towards one another to relation of consanguinity, through the intermediate classes. They have all sprung from Brahmanas. In ascertaining (the priority or subsequence of men in respect of their creation) it will appear that amongst all the orders the Brahmana was created first. Originally Saman was one; Yajus was one, and Rich was one. In this connexion, persons conversant with ancient histories cite a verse, O king, sung in praise of sacrifice by the Vaikhanasa Munis on the occasion of performing a sacrifice of theirs. Before or after sunrise a person of subdued senses, with heart filled with devotion, poureth libations on the (sacrificial) fire according to the ordinance. Devotion is a mighty agent. With regard to homas again, that variety which is called skanna is the initial one, while that which is called askanna is the last (but foremost in point of merit). Sacrifices are multifarious. Their rites and fruits again are multifarious. The Brahmana possessed of devotion who, endued with scriptural learning, who is acquainted with them all, is competent to perform sacrifices. That person who desires to perform a sacrifice is regarded as righteous even if he happens to be a thief, a sinner, or the worst of sinners. The Rishis applaud such a man. Without doubt they are right. This then is the conclusion that all the orders should always and by every means in their power perform sacrifices. There is nothing in the three worlds equal to sacrifice. Therefore, it has been said that every one with heart free from malice, should perform sacrifices, aided by devotion which is sacred, to the best of his power and according as he pleases.'"

SECTION 61

"Bhishma said, 'O mighty-armed one, listen now to me, O thou of prowess incapable of being baffled, as I mention the names of the four modes of life and the duties in respect of each. The four modes are Vanaprastha, Bhaikshya, Garhasthya of great merit, and Brahmacharya which is adopted by Brahmanas. Undergoing the purificatory rite in respect of bearing matted locks, after having gone through the rite of regeneration and performed for some time the rites in respect of the sacred fire and studied the Vedas, one should, with cleansed soul and senses under restraint, having first carefully performed all the duties of the mode called Garhasthya, proceed, with or without his wife, to the woods for adoption of the mode called Vanaprastha. Having studied the scriptures called Aranyakas, having drawn up his vital fluid and having retired from all worldly affairs, the virtuous recluse may then attain to an absorption with the eternal Soul knowing no decay. These are the indications of Munis that have drawn up their vital fluid. A learned Brahmana, O king, should first practise and perform them. The Brahmana, O king, that is desirous of emancipation, it is well known, is competent to adopt the Bhaikshya mode after having gone through the mode called Brahmacharya. Sleeping at that place (in the course of the wanderings) where evening overtakes him, without desire of bettering his situation, without a home, subsisting on whatever food is obtained (in charity), given to contemplation, practising self-restraint, with the senses under control, without desire, regarding all creatures equally, without enjoyments, without dislike to anything, the Brahmana possessed of learning, by adopting this mode of life, attains to absorption with the eternal Soul that knows no decay. The person leading the Garhasthya mode of life should, after studying the Vedas, accomplish all the religious acts laid down for him. He should beget children and enjoy pleasures and comforts. With careful attention he should accomplish all the duties of this mode of life that is applauded by ascetics and that is extremely difficult to go through (without transgressions). He should be satisfied with his own wedded wife and should never approach her except her season. He should observe the ordinances of the scriptures, should not be cunning and deceitful. He should be abstemious in diet, devoted to the gods, grateful, mild, destitute of cruelty, and forgiving. He should be of a tranquil heart, tractable and attentive in making offerings to the gods and the Pitris. He should always be hospitable to the Brahmanas. He should be without pride, and his charity should not be confined to any one sect. He should also be always devoted to the performance of the Vedic rites. In this connexion, the illustrious and great Rishis cite a verse sung by Narayana himself, of grave import and endued with high ascetic merit. Listen to me as I repeat it.--'By truth, simplicity, worship of guests, acquisition of morality and profit, and enjoyment of one's own wedded wives, one should enjoy diverse kinds of happiness both here and hereafter.' The great Rishis have said that support of sons and wives, and study of the Vedas, form the duties of those that lead this high mode of life. That Brahmana who, always engaged in the performance of sacrifices, duly goes through this mode of life and properly discharges all its duties, obtains blessed rewards in heaven. Upon his death, the rewards desired by him became deathless. Indeed, these wait upon him for eternity like menials ever on the alert to execute the commands of their master. [Literally, 'with eyes, head, and face on all sides.'] Always attending to the Vedas, silently reciting the mantras obtained from his preceptor, worshipping all the deities, O Yudhishthira, dutifully waiting upon and serving his preceptor with his own body smeared with clay and filth, the person leading the Brahmacharya mode of life should always observe rigid vows and, with senses under control, should always pay attention to the instructions he has received. Reflecting on the Vedas and discharging all the duties (in respect of contemplation and overt acts), he should live, dutifully waiting upon his preceptor and always bowing unto him. Unengaged in the six kinds of work (such as officiating in the sacrifices of others), and never engaged with attachment to any kind of acts, never showing favour or disfavour to any one, doing good even unto his enemies, these, O sire, are the duties laid down for a Brahmacharin!'

SECTION 62

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell his those duties in respect of persons like ourselves which are auspicious, productive of happiness in the future, benevolent, approved by all, pleasant, and agreeable.'

"Bhishma said, 'The four modes of life, O puissant one, have been laid down for the Brahmana. The other three orders do not adopt them, O best of the Bharatas! Many acts, O king, leading to heaven and especially fit for the kingly order, have already been declared. Those, however, cannot be referred to in reply to thy present query, for all of them have been duly laid down for such Kshatriyas as are not disinclined to pitilessness. The Brahmana who is addicted to the practices of Kshatriyas and Vaisyas and Sudras, incurs censure in this world as a person of wicked soul and goes to hell in the next world. Those names which are applied among men to slaves and dogs and wolves and (other) beasts, are applied, O son of Pandu, to the Brahmana who is engaged in pursuits that are improper for him. That Brahmana who, in all the four modes of life. is duly engaged in the six-fold acts (of regulating the breath, contemplation, etc.), who performs all his duties, who is not restless, who has his passions under control, whose heart is pure and who is ever engaged in penances, who has no desire of bettering his prospects, and who is charitable, has inexhaustible regions of bliss in the other world. Everyone derives his own nature from the nature of his acts, in respect

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of their circumstances, place, and means and motives. Thou shouldst, therefore, O king, regard the study of the Vedas, which is fraught with such high merit, to be equal with the exertion of kingly power, or the pursuits of agriculture, trade, and hunting. The world is set agoing by Time. Its operations are settled by the course of Time. Man does all his acts, good, bad, and indifferent, entirely influenced by Time. Those amongst the good acts of a man's past life that exert the greatest influence on the next, are liable to be exhausted. Men, however, are always engaged in those acts to which their propensities lead. Those propensities, again, lead a living being to every direction.'"

SECTION 63

"Bhishma said, 'Drawing the bow-string, destruction of foes, agriculture, trade, tending cattle, and serving others for wealth, these are improper for a Brahmana. An intelligent Brahmana, leading a domestic mode of life, should duly perform the six Vedic acts. The retirement of a Brahmana into the woods, after having duly discharged all the duties of the domestic mode of life, is applauded. A Brahmana should avoid service of the king, wealth obtained by agriculture, sustenance derived from trade, all kinds of crooked behaviour, companionship with any but his wedded wives, and usury. That wretched Brahmana who falls away from his duties and whose behaviour becomes wicked, becomes, O king, a Sudra. The Brahmana who weds a Sudra woman, who becomes vile in conduct or a dancer or a village servant or does other improper acts, becomes a Sudra. Whether he recites the Vedas or not, O king, if he does such improper acts, he becomes equal to a Sudra and on occasions of feeding he should be assigned a place amongst Sudras. Such Brahmanas become equal to Sudras, O king, and should be discarded on occasions of worshipping the Gods [i.e., Their services as priests should not be taken.]. Whatever presents of food dedicated to the gods and the Pitris are made unto Brahmanas that have transgressed all restraints or become impure in behaviour or addicted to wicked pursuits and cruel acts or fallen away from their legitimate duties, confer no merit (on the giver). For this reason, O king, self-restraint and purity and simplicity have been laid down as the duties of a Brahmana. Besides these, O monarch, all the four modes, of life were laid down by Brahman For him. He that is self-restrained, has drunk the Soma in sacrifices, is of good behaviour, has compassion for all creatures and patience to bear everything, has no desire of bettering his position by acquisition of wealth, is frank and simple, mild, free from cruelty, and forgiving, is truly a Brahmana and not he that is sinful in acts. Men desirous of acquiring virtue, seek the assistance, O king, of Sudras and Vaisyas and Kshatriyas. If, therefore, the members of these (three) orders do not adopt peaceful duties (so as to be able to assist others in the acquisition of virtue), Vishnu, O son of Pandu, never extends his grace to them. If Vishnu be not pleased, the happiness of all men in heaven, the merit arising from the duties laid down for the four orders, the declarations of the Vedas, all kinds of sacrifices, and all other religious acts of men, and all the duties in respect of the several modes of life, become lost.

"'Listen now, O son of Pandu, to those duties that should be observed in the four modes of life. These should be known by the Kshatriya who desires the members of the three (other) orders (in his kingdom) to strictly adhere to the respective duties of those modes. For a Sudra who is desirous of hearing (Such scriptures as are not forbidden in his case), who has accomplished his duties, who has begotten a son, between whom and the superior orders there is not Much difference in consequence of the purity of his conduct, all the modes of life have been laid down excepting the observance of universal peacefulness and self-restraint (which are not necessary for him). For a Sudra practising all these duties as also for a Vaisya, O king, and a Kshatriya, the Bhikshu mode of life has been laid down. Having discharged the duties of his order, and having also served the kin, a Vaisya of venerable years, with the king's permission, may betake himself to another mode of life. Having studied the Vedas duly and the treatises on the duties of kings, O sinless one, having begotten children and performed other acts of a like nature, having quaffed the Soma and ruled over and protected all his subjects righteously, O foremost of speakers, having performed the Rajasuya, the horse sacrifice, and other great sacrifices, having invited learned Brahmanas for reciting the scriptures and made presents unto them according to their desires, having obtained victories small or great in battle, having placed on his throne the son of his loins or some Kshatriya of good birth for the protection of subjects, having worshipped the Pitris by performing with due rites the sacrifices laid down for honouring them, having attentively worshipped the gods by performing sacrifices and the Rishis by studying the Vedas, the Kshatriya, who in old age desires another mode of life, may, O king, adopt it by leaving that one which immediately precedes it, and by that means he is sure to obtain (ascetic) success. A Kshatriya, for leading the life of a Rishi, O king, may adopt the Bhikshu mode of life; but he should never do so for the sake of enjoying the pleasures of the world. Having left the domestic mode of life, he may adopt the life of mendicancy by begging, what would barely support his life. A life of mendicancy is not obligatory upon the three orders (viz. Kshatriyas, Vaisyas. and Sudras), O giver of profuse presents! Inasmuch, however, as they can adopt it if they choose, this mode of life, therefore, is open to the four orders. Amongst men, the highest duties are those which are practised by Kshatriyas. The whole world is subject to the might of their arms. All the duties, principal and subordinate, of the three other orders, are dependent (for their observance) upon the duties of the Kshatriya. The Vedas have declared this. Know that as the footprints of all other animals are engulfed in those of the elephant, even so all the duties of the other orders, under every circumstance, are engulfed, in those of the Kshatriya. Men conversant with the scriptures say that the duties of the other three orders afford small relief or protection, and produce small rewards. The learned have said that the duties of the Kshatriya afford great relief and produce great rewards. All duties have kingly duties for their foremost. All the orders are protected by them. Every kind of renunciation occurs in kingly duties, O monarch, and renunciation has been said to be in eternal virtue and the foremost of all. [The king is entitled to a sixth of the merits acquired by his subjects. The total merit, therefore, of the king, arising from renunciation, is very great. Besides, the merit of every kind of renunciation belongs to him in that way.] If the science of chastisement disappears, the Vedas will disappear. All those scriptures also that inculcate the duties of men become lost. Indeed, if these ancient duties belonging to the Kshatriyas be abandoned, all the duties in respect of all the modes of life, become lost. All kinds of renunciation are seen in kingly duties: all kinds or initiation occur in them; all kinds of learning are connected with them; and all kinds of worldly behaviour enter into them. As animals, if slaughtered by the vulgar, become the means of destroying the virtue and the religious acts of the slaughterers, even so all other duties, if deprived of the protection given by kingly duties, become liable to attack and destruction, and men, full of anxiety, disregard the practices laid down for them.'"

SECTION 64

"Bhishma said, 'The duties in respect of all the four modes of life, those of yatis, O son of Pandu, and the customs relating to the conduct of men in general, are all included in kingly duties. All these acts, O chief of the Bharatas, occur in Kshatriya duties. If the functions of royalty are disturbed, all creatures are overtaken by evil. The duties of men are not obvious. They have, again, many outlets [i.e., for ascertaining whether kingly duties are superior to those laid down for the several modes of life.]. Led by many (false) systems, their eternal nature is sometimes offended against. Others who pin their faith to the conclusions arrived at by men, without really knowing anything about the truths of duties (as declared in the scriptures), find themselves at last landed and confounded on faiths whose ultimate ends are unknown. The duties imposed upon Kshatriyas are plain, productive of great happiness, evident in respect of their results, free from deceit, and beneficial to the whole world. As the duties of the three orders, as also of Brahmanas and of those that have retired from the world, O Yudhishthira, have before this been said to be all included within those of that sacred mode of life (called Garhasthya), even so, the whole world, with all good actions, are subject to kingly duties. I have told thee, O monarch, how many brave kings had, in days of old, repaired to that lord of all creatures, viz., the divine and puissant Vishnu of great prowess, for resolving their doubts about the science of chastisement. Those kings, mindful of the declarations of the scriptures enforced by examples, waited in days of old upon Narayana, after having weighed each of their acts against the duties of each of the modes of life. [Probably, in the sense of there being exceptions and limitations in respect to them.] Those deities, viz., the Sadhyas, the Vasus, the Aswins, the Rudras, the Viswas, the Maruts, and the Siddhas, created in days of old by the first of gods, are all observant of Kshatriya duties. I shall now recite to thee a history fraught with the conclusions of both morality and profit. In days of old when the Danavas had multiplied and swept away all barriers and distinctions the powerful Mandhatri, O monarch, became king. That ruler of the earth, viz., king Mandhatri, performed a great sacrifice from desire of beholding the puissant Narayana, that god of gods, without beginning, middle, and end. In that sacrifice he worshipped with humility the great Vishnu. The Supreme Lord, assuming the form of Indra, showed himself unto him. Accompanied by many good kings he offered his adorations to that puissant deity. The high discourse took place between that lion among kings and that illustrious god in the form of Indra, touching Vishnu of great effulgence.'

"Indra said, 'What is your object, O foremost of virtuous persons, in thus seeking to behold that Ancient and First of gods, viz., Narayana, of inconceivable energy, and infinite illusions? Neither myself, nor Brahman himself, can obtain a sight of that god of universal form. I shall grant thee what other objects may be in thy heart, for thou art the foremost of mortals. Thy soul abides in peace; thou art devoted to righteousness; thou hast thy senses under control; and thou art possessed of heroism. Thou seekest unflinchingly to do what is agreeable to the gods. For the sake also of thy intelligence, devotion, and high faith, I shall grant thee whatsoever boons may be desired by thee.'

"Mandhatri said, I bend my head for gratifying thee. Without doubt, however, I desire to see the first of gods. O divine Lord! Casting off all (earthly) desires, I wish to earn religious merit, and to lead the foremost mode of life, that path of the good, highly regarded by all. By exercising the high duties of a Kshatriya, I have earned many regions of inexhaustible merit in the other world, and I have also, through those duties, spread my fame. I do not, however, know how to discharge those duties, the foremost in the world, that have flowed from the first of gods.'

"Indra said, 'They that are not kings, however observant they may be of their duties, cannot easily attain the highest rewards of duty. Kingly duties first flowed from the original god. Other duties flowed afterwards from his body. Infinite were the other duties, with those of the Vanaprastha mode of life, that were created afterwards. The fruits of all those are exhaustible. Kingly duties, however, are distinguished above them. In them are included all other duties. For this reason Kshatriya duties are said to be the foremost of all. In days of old, Vishnu, by acting according to Kshatriya duties, forcibly suppressed and destroyed his foes and thereby afforded relief to the gods and the Rishis of immeasurable energy. If the divine Vishnu of inconceivable energy had not slain all his foes among the Asuras, then the Brahmanas, and (Brahman) the Creator of the worlds and Kshatriya duties, and the duties that first flowed from the Supreme deity, would all have been destroyed. If that first and foremost of gods had not, by putting forth his prowess, subjugated the earth with all her Asuras, then all the duties, of the four orders and all the duties in respect of the four modes of life would all have been destroyed in consequence of the destruction of Brahmanas. The eternal duties (of men) had all suffered destruction. It was by the exercise of Kshatriya duties that they were revived. In every Yuga, the duties of Brahmanas in respect of attaining to Brahma first set in. These, however, are all protected by kingly duties. The latter, on this account, are regarded as the foremost. Casting away life in battle, compassion for all creatures, knowledge of the affairs of the world, protection of men, rescuing them from danger, relieving the distressed and the oppressed, all these occur among Kshatriya duties practised by Kings. Persons that do not regard wholesome restraints and that are governed by lust and wrath, do not commit overt acts of sin from fear of kings. Others that are docile and of righteous behaviour succeed, in consequence of the same influence, in performing all their duties. For this reason Kshatriya duties are regarded to be righteous. Without doubt, all creatures live happily in the world, protected by kings exercising Kshatriya duties like children protected by their parents. Kshatriya duties are the foremost of all duties. Those eternal duties, regarded as the first in the world, embrace the protection of every creature. Themselves eternal, they lead to eternal emancipation.'"

SECTION 65

"Indra said, 'Kshatriya duties, O king, which are possessed of such energy, which include in their exercise all other duties, and which are the foremost of all duties, should be observed by persons that are, like thee, so high-souled and so employed in seeking the good of the world. If those duties are not properly discharged, all creatures would be overtaken by ruin. The kings possessed of compassion for all creatures, should regard these to be the foremost of his duties, reclaiming the land for cultivation and fertilizing it, performance of great sacrifices for cleansing himself, a disregard for begging, and protection of subjects. Abandonment (gift) is said by the sages to be the foremost of virtues. Of all kinds of abandonment, again, that of the body in battle, is the foremost. Thou hast seen with thy eyes how the rulers of the earth, ever observant of Kshatriya duties, having duly waited upon their preceptors and acquired great learning, at last cast off their bodies, engaged in battle with one another. The Kshatriya, desirous of acquiring religious merit, should, after having gone through the Brahmacharya mode, should lead a life of domesticity which is always meritorious. In adjudicating upon ordinary questions of right (between his subjects), he should be thoroughly impartial. For causing all the orders to be observant of their respective duties, for the protection they afford to all, for the diverse contrivances and means and the prowess and exertion (with which they seek the accomplishment of their objects). Kshatriya duties, which include all other duties within their scope, are said to be the foremost. The other orders are able to observe their respective duties in consequence of kingly duties. For this reason the former are said to be dependent upon the latter in respect of the merit they produce. Those men who disregard all wholesome restraints and who are too much attached to the pursuit of worldly objects are said to be of the nature of brutes. They are compelled to act with justice by the exercise

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of kingly duties. Those duties, therefore, are said to be the foremost of all. That course of conduct which has been prescribed for Brahmanas who follow the three Vedas, and those modes of life that have been laid down for Brahmanas, should, before everything else, be observed by every Brahmana. If a Brahmana acts otherwise, he should be punished like a Sudra. The duties of the four modes of life and the ritual prescribed in the Vedas, O king, should ever be followed by a Brahmana. Know that he has no other duties. For a Brahmana acting otherwise, a Kshatriya should not make any arrangement for sustenance. His religious merit grows in consequence of his acts. A Brahmana, indeed, is like Dharma's self. That Brahmana who is employed in acts that are not laid down for him, deserves no respect. If not engaged in his proper acts, he should not be trusted. These are the duties that appertain to the several orders. Kshatriyas should take care of them so that their observance may be improved. Even these are the duties of Kshatriyas. For these reasons also, kingly duties and no other, are the foremost of all. They are, as I believe, the duties of heroes, and they that are heroes are foremost in practising them.'

"Mandhatri said, 'What duties should be performed by the Yavanas, the Kiratas, the Gandharvas, the Chinas, the Savaras, the Barbaras, the Sakas, the Tusharas, the Kankas, the Pathavas, the Andhras, the Madrakas, the Paundras, the Pulindas, the Ramathas, the Kamvojas, the several castes that have sprung Lip from Brahmanas and Kshatriyas, the Vaisyas, and the Sudras, that reside in the dominions of (Arya) kings? What are those duties again to the observance of which kings like ourselves should force those tribes that subsist by robbery? I desire to hear all this. O illustrious god, instruct me. O chief of all the deities, thou art the friend of us Kshatriyas.'

"Indra said, 'All the robber tribes should serve their mothers and fathers, their preceptors and other seniors, and recluses living in the woods. All the robber tribes should also serve their kings. The duties and rites inculcated in the Vedas should also be followed by them. They should perform sacrifices in honour of the Pitris, dig wells, (and dedicate them to universal service), give water to thirsty travellers, give away beds and make other seasonable presents unto Brahmanas. Abstention from injury, truth, suppression of wrath, supporting Brahmanas and kinsmen by giving them their dues, maintenance of wives and children, purity, peacefulness, making presents to Brahmanas at sacrifices of every kind, are duties that should be practised by every person of this class who desire his own prosperity. Such a person should also perform all kinds of Paka-yajnas with costly presents of food and wealth. These and similar duties, O sinless one, were laid down in olden days for persons of this class. All these acts which have been laid down for all others should be done by persons of also the robber class, O king.'

"Mandhatri said, 'In the world of men, such wicked men may be seen living in disguise among all the four orders and in all the four modes of life.'

"Indra said, 'Upon the disappearance of kingly duties and of the science of chastisement, all creatures became exceedingly afflicted, O sinless one, in consequence of the tyranny of kings. After the expiry of this the Krita age, a confusion will set in, regarding the different modes of life, and innumerable Bhikshus will appear with sectarian marks of different kinds. Disregarding the Puranas and the high truths of religion, men, urged by lust and wrath, will deviate into Wrong paths. When sinful men are rest rained (from wicked acts) by high-souled persons with the aid of the science of chastisement, then religion, which is superior to everything and eternal, and which is the source of everything good, becomes firmly established. The gifts, and libations, and offerings to the Pitris of the man that disregards the king who is superior to every one, become fruitless. The very gods do not disregard a virtuous king who is truly an eternal god. The divine Lord of all creatures, having created the universe, intended the Kshatriya to rule men regarding their inclinations and disinclinations in respect of duties. I respect and worship that person who, aided by his understanding, watches the course of the duties performed by men. Upon such supervision rest Kshatriya duties.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Having said these words, the divine and puissant Narayana in the form of Indra, accompanied by the Maruts, repaired to his eternal abode of inexhaustible felicity. When, O sinless one, duties as practised by the good had such a course in days of old, what man of cleansed soul and learning is there that would disregard the Kshatriya? Like blind men lost on the way, creatures acting and abstaining unrighteously meet with destruction. O tiger among men, do thou adhere to that circle (of duties) that was first set agoing and to which the ancients had recourse. I know, O sinless one, that thou art quite competent to do this.'

SECTION 66

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou hast spoken to me about the four modes of human life. I desire to know more of-them. Do thou discourse on them in detail.'

"Bhishma said, 'O Yudhishthira of mighty arms, all the duties that are practised in this world by the righteous are known to thee as they are known to me. O foremost of virtuous persons, listen now to me about what thou askest, viz. the merit (that a king acquires) in consequence of the duties practised by others leading other modes of life. All the merits, O son of Kunti, that belong to persons practising the duties of the four modes of life, attach, O foremost of men, to righteous kings. A king who is not governed by lust and hate, who rules with the aid of the science of chastisement, and who looks equally on all creatures, O Yudhishthira, attains to the object of the Bhaikshya mode of life. [That object is Brahma.] That king who is possessed of knowledge, who makes gifts to deserving persons on proper occasions, who knows how to favour and punish, who conducts himself in all things according to the injunctions of the scriptures, and who has tranquillity of soul, attains to the object of the Garhasthya mode of life. That king who always worships those that are deserving of worship by giving them their due, completely attains, O son of Kunti, to the object of the Bhaikshya mode of life. That king, O Yudhishthira, who rescues from distress, to the best of his power, his kinsmen and relatives and friends, attains to the object of the Vanaprashtha mode of life. That king who on every occasion honours those that are foremost among men and those that are foremost among Yatis, attains, O son of Kunti, to the object of the Vanaprashtha mode of life. That king, O Partha, who daily makes offerings unto the Pitris and large offerings unto all living creatures including men, attains to the object of the same mode of life. That king, O tiger among men, who grinds the kingdoms of others for protecting the righteous, attains to the object of the same mode of life. In consequence of the protection of all creatures as also of the proper protection of his own kingdom, a king earns the merit of as many sacrifices as the number of creatures protected, and accordingly attains to the object of the Sannyasa mode of life. Study of the Vedas every day, forgiveness, and worship of preceptors, and services rendered to one's own teacher, lead to the attainment of the object of Brahmacharya. That king who silently recites his mantras every day and who always worships the gods according to the ordinance, attains, O tiger among men, to the object of the Garhasthya mode of life. That king who engages in battle with the resolve of protecting his kingdom or meeting with death, attains to the object of the Vanaprastha mode of life. That king who gives unto persons leading a Vanaprastha mode of life and unto Brahmanas versed in the three Vedas attains to the object of the Vanaprastha mode of life. That king who displays compassion towards all creatures and abstains entirely from cruelty, attains to the objects of all the modes of life. That king, O Yudhishthira, who shows compassion to the young and the old, O son of Kunti, under every circumstance, attains to the objects of every mode of life. That king, O perpetuator of Kuru's race, who affords relief to all oppressed people that seek his protection, attains to the object of the Garhasthya mode of life. That king who protects all creatures mobile and immobile, and honours them is they deserve, attains to the object of the Garhasthya mode of life. Bestowing favours and inflicting punishments upon the wives and brothers, elder and younger, and upon their sons and grandsons, are the domestic duties of a king and these constitute his best penances. By honouring those that are righteous and deserving of worship and protecting those that have (by their penances) acquired it knowledge of self, a king, O tiger among men, attains to the object of the Garhasthya mode of life. Inviting to this home, O Bharata, persons that have betaken themselves to that Vanaprastha and other modes of life, and treating them with food, constitute the domestic duties of a king. That king who duly adheres to the duties laid down by the Creator, obtains the blessed merits of all the modes of life. That king, O son of Kunti, in whom no virtue is wanting, that foremost of men, O Yudhishthira, is said by the learned to be a person in the observance of the Vanaprastha and all the other modes of life. That king who duly honours the office or rank which deserves honour, the race or family which deserves honour, and those old men that deserve honour is said, O Yudhishthira, to live in all the modes of life. A king, O son of Kunti, by observing the duties of his country and those of his family, acquires, O tiger among men, the merits of all the modes of life. That king who at proper seasons bestows upon righteous persons affluence or gifts of value, earns the merits, O king, of all the modes of life. That king, O son of Kunti, who while overcome with danger and fear still keeps his eye on the duties of all men, earns the merits of all the modes of life. The king obtains a share of the merits earned under his protection by righteous people in his dominions. On the other hand, if kings, O tiger among men, do not protect the righteous people within their dominions, they then take the sins of the latter (of omission and commission). Those men also, O Yudhishthira. who assist kings (in protecting their subjects), become equally entitled, O sinless one, to a share of the merits earned by others (in consequence of that protection). The learned say that the Garhasthya, which we have adopted, is superior to all the other modes of life. The conclusions in respect of it are very clear. It is certainly sacred, O tiger among men. That man who regards all creatures to be like his own self, who never does any harm and has his wrath under control, obtains great happiness both here and hereafter. A king can easily cross the ocean of the world, with kingly duties as his boat passed of great speed, urged on by the breeze of gifts, having the scriptures for its tackle and intelligence for the strength of its helmsman, and kept afloat by the power of righteousness. When the principle of desire in his heart is withdrawn from every earthly object, he is then regarded as one resting on his understanding alone. In this state he soon attains to Brahma. Becoming cheerful by meditation and by restraining desire and other passions of the heart, O tiger among men, it king, engaged in discharging the dully of protection, succeeds in obtaining great merit. Do thou, therefore, O Yudhishthira, exert thyself carefully in protecting Brahmanas of pious deeds and devoted to the study of the Vedas, as also all other men. By exercising the duty of protection only, O Bharata, the king earns merit that is a hundred times greater than what is earned by recluses in their asylums within the wood.'

"I have now described, O eldest son of Pandu, the diverse duties of men. Do thou adhere to kingly duties that are eternal and that have been practised by great men since days of old. If thou employest thyself with concentrated attention to the duty of protecting (thy subjects), O tiger among men, thou mayst then, O son of Pandu, obtain the merits of all the four modes of life and of all the four orders of men!"

SECTION 67

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou hast said what the duties are of the four modes of the life and the four orders. Tell me now, O grandsire, what are the principal duties of a kingdom.'

"Bhishma said, 'The (election and) coronation of a king is the first duty of a kingdom. A kingdom in which anarchy prevails becomes weak and is soon afflicted by robbers. In kingdoms torn by anarchy, righteousness cannot dwell. The inhabitants devour one another. An anarchy is the worst possible of states. The Srutis declare that in crowning a king, it is Indra that is crowned (in the person of the king). A person who is desirous of prosperity should worship the king as he should worship Indra himself. No one should dwell in kingdoms torn by anarchy. Agni does not convey (to the gods) the libations that are poured upon him in kingdoms where anarchy prevails. If a powerful king approaches kingdoms weakened by anarchy, from desire of annexing them to his dominions, the people should go forward and receive the invader with respect. Some conduct would be consistent with wise counsels. There is no evil greater than anarchy. If the powerful invader be inclined to equity, everything will be right. If, on the other hand, he be engaged, he may exterminate all. That cow which cannot be easily milked has to suffer much torture. On the other hand, that cow which is capable of being easily milked, has not to suffer any torture whatever. The wood that bends easily does not require to be heated. The tree that bends easily, has not to suffer any torture (at the hands of the gardener). Guided by these instances, O hero, men should bend before those that are powerful. The man that bends his head to a powerful person really bends his head to Indra. For these reasons, men desirous of prosperity should (elect and) crown some person as their king. They who live in countries where anarchy prevails cannot enjoy their wealth and wives. During times of anarchy, the sinful man derive great pleasure by robbing the wealth of other people. When, however, his (ill-got) wealth is snatched by others, he wishes for a king. It is evident, therefore, that in times of anarchy the very wicked even cannot be happy. The wealth of one is snatched away by two. That of those two is snatched away by many acting together. He who is not a slave is made a slave. Women, again, are forcibly abducted. For these reasons the gods created kings for protecting the people. If there were no king on earth for wielding the rod of chastisement, the strong would then have preyed on the weak after the manner of fishes in the water. In hath been heard by us that men, in days of old, in consequence of anarchy, met with destruction, devouring one another like stronger fishes devouring the weaker ones in the water. It hath been heard by us that a few amongst them then, assembling together, made certain compacts, saying, 'He who becomes harsh in speech, or violent in temper, he who seduces or abducts other people's wives or robs the wealth that belongs to others, should be cast off by us.' For inspiring confidence among all classes of the people, they made such a compact and lived for some time. Assembling after some time they proceeded in affliction to the Grandsire, saying, 'Without a king, O divine lord, we are going to destruction. Appoint some one as our king. All of us shall worship him and he shall protect us.' Thus solicited, the Grandsire asked Manu. Manu, however, did not assent to the proposal.

"Manu said, 'I fear all sinful acts. To govern a kingdom is exceedingly difficult, especially among men who are always false and deceitful in their behaviour.'

"Bhishma continued, 'The inhabitants of the earth then said unto him, 'Do not fear. The sins that men commit will touch those only that commit them (without staining thee in the least). For the increase of thy treasury, we will give thee a fiftieth part of our animals and precious metals and a tenth

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part of our grain. When our maidens also will become desirous of wedding, we shall, when the question comes up, give thee the most beautiful ones among them. Those amongst men who will become the foremost of all in the use of weapons and in riding animals and driving vehicles, shall proceed behind thee like the deities behind Indra. With thy strength enhanced in this way, and becoming invincible and possessed of great prowess, thou wilt be our king and protect us happily like Kuvera protecting the Yakshas and the Rakshasas. A fourth part of the merit which men will earn under thy protection will be thine. Strengthened by that merit so easily obtained by thee, do thou protect us, O king, like He of a hundred sacrifices protecting the deities. Like the Sun scorching everything with his rays, go out for winning victories. Crush the pride of foes and let righteousness always triumph (in the world).' Thus addressed by those inhabitants of the earth, Manu, possessed of great energy, proceeded, accompanied by a large force. Of high descent, he seemed then to blaze with prowess. Beholding the might of Manu, like the gods eyeing the might of Indra, the inhabitants of the earth became inspired with fear and set their hearts upon their respective duties. Manu then made his round through the world, checking everywhere all acts of wickedness and setting all men to their respective duties, like a rain-charged cloud (in its mission of beneficence).'

"Those, O Yudhishthira, those men on earth who desire prosperity should first elect and crown a king for the protection of all. Like disciples humbling themselves in the presence of the preceptors or the gods in the presence of Indra, all men should humble themselves before the king. One that is honoured by his own people becomes an object of regard with his foes also, while one that is disregarded by his own is overridden by foes. If the king be overridden by his foes, all his subjects become unhappy. Therefore, umbrellas and vehicles and outward ornaments, and viands, and drinks, and mansions, and seats, and beds, and all utensils for use and show, should be assigned to the king. By such means the king will succeed in discharging his duties of protection (the better) and become irresistible. He should speak with smiles. Addressed sweetly by others, he should address others sweetly. Grateful (to those that serve him), firmly devoted (to those that deserve his respect), and with passions under control, he should give unto others their due. Looked upon by others he should look at them mildly, sweetly, and handsomely.'

SECTION 68

"Yudhishthira said, 'Why, O bull of Bharata's race, have the Brahmanas said that the king, that ruler of men, is a god?'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connexion, is cited the old story, O Bharata, of the discourse of Vrihaspati unto Vasumanas. There was a king of Kosala possessed of great intelligence, named Vasumanas. On a certain occasion he questioned the great sage Vrihaspati of much wisdom. Conversant with the requirements of humility, king Vasumanas, ever devoted to the welfare of all, having observed the proper humilities and having circumambulated* the great sage and bowed unto him duly, enquired of the virtuous Vrihaspati about the ordinances in respect of a kingdom, moved by the desire of securing the happiness of men.' [* Circumambulating a highly revered person or place is an ancient custom of Hindus, Jews, Zoroastrians.]

"Vasumanas said, 'By what means do creatures grow and by what are they destroyed? O thou of great wisdom, by adoring whom do they succeed in obtaining eternal happiness?' Thus questioned by the Kosala king of immeasurable energy, Vrihaspati of great wisdom discoursed unto him coolly about the respect that should be paid to kings.

"Vrihaspati said, 'The duties of all men, O thou of great wisdom, may be seen to have their root in the king. It is through fear of the king only that men do not devour one another. It is the king that brings peace on earth, through due observance of duties, by checking all disregard for wholesome restraints and all kinds of lust. Achieving this, he shines in glory. As, O king, all creatures become unable to see one another and sink in utter darkness if the sun and the moon do not rise, as fishes in shallow water and birds in a spot safe from danger dart and rove as they please (for a time) and repeatedly attack and grind one another with force and then meet with certain destruction even so men sink in utter darkness and meet with destruction if they have no king to protect them, like a herd of cattle without the herdsman to look after them. If the king did not exercise the duty of protection, the strong would forcibly appropriate the possessions of the weak, and if the latter refused to surrender them with ease, their very lives would be taken. Nobody then, with reference to any article in his possession, would be able to say 'This is mine.' Wives, sons, food, and other kinds of property, would not then exist. Ruin would overtake everything if the king did not exercise the duty of protection. Wicked men would forcibly appropriate the vehicles and robes and ornaments and precious stones and other kinds of property belonging to others, if the king did not protect. In the absence of protection by the king, diverse kinds of weapons would fall upon those that are righteous in their practices, and unrighteousness would be adopted by all. In the absence of royal protection men would disregard or even injure their very mothers and fathers if aged, their very preceptors and guests and seniors. If the king did not protect, all persons possessed of wealth would have to encounter death, confinement, and persecution, and the very idea of property would disappear. If the king did not protect, everything would be exterminated prematurely, and every part of the country would be overrun by robbers, and everybody would fall into terrible hell. If the king did not protect, all restrictions about marriage and intercourse (due to consanguinity and other kinds of relationship) would cease; all affairs relating to agricultures and trade would fall into confusion, morality would sink and be lost; and the three Vedas would disappear. Sacrifices, duly completed with presents according to the ordinance, would no longer be performed; no marriage would take place; society itself would cease to exist, if the king did not exercise the duty of protection. The very bulls would not cover cows and milk-jars would not be churned, and men living by rearing kine would meet with destruction, if the king did not exercise the duty of protection. In the absence of royal protection, all things, inspired with fear and anxiety and becoming senseless and uttering cries of woe, would meet with destruction in no time. No sacrifices extending for a year and completed with presents according to the ordinances would occur if the king did not exercise the duty of protection. In the absence of royal protection Brahmanas would never study the four Vedas or undergo austerities or be cleansed by knowledge and rigid vows. In the absence of royal protection, the slayer of a person guilty of the slaughter of a Brahmana would not obtain any reward; on the other hand the person guilty of Brahmanicide would enjoy perfect immunity. In the absence of royal protection, men would snatch other people's wealth from their very hands, and all wholesome barriers would be swept away, and everybody, inspired with fear, would seek safety in flight. In the absence of royal protection, all kinds of injustice would set in; an intermixture of castes would take place; and famine would ravage the kingdom.

In consequence again of royal protection, men can everywhere sleep fearlessly and at their case without shutting their houses and doors with bolts and bars. Nobody would hear the evil speeches of others, far less actual assaults, if the king did not righteously protect the earth. If the king exercises the duty of protection, women decked with ornament may fearlessly wander everywhere without male relatives to attend upon them. Men become righteous and without injuring serve one another because the king exercises the duty of protection. In consequence of royal protection the members of the three orders are enabled to perform high sacrifices and devote themselves to the acquisition of learning with attention, The world depends upon agriculture and trade and is protected by the Vedas. All these again are duly protected by the king exercising his principal duty. Since the king, taking a heavy load upon himself, protects his subjects with the aid of a mighty force, it is for this that the people are able to live in happiness. Who is there that will not worship him in whose existence the people exist and in whose destruction the people are destroyed? That person who does what is agreeable and beneficial to the king and who bears (a share of) the burden of kingly duties that strike every caste with fear, conquers both this and the other world. That man who even thinks of doing an injury to the king, without doubt meets with grief here and goes to hell hereafter. No one should disregard the king by taking him for a man, for he is really a high divinity in human form. The king assumes five different forms according to five different occasions. He becomes Agni, Aditya, Mrityu, Vaisravana, and Yama. When the king, deceived by falsehood, burns with his fierce energy the sinful offenders before him, he is then said to assume the form of Agni. When he observes through his spies the acts of all persons and does what is for the general good, he is then said to assume the form of Aditya. When he destroys in wrath hundreds of wicked men with their sons, grandsons, and relatives, he is then said to assume the form of the Destroyer. When he restrains the wicked by inflicting upon them severe punishments and favours the righteous by bestowing rewards upon them, he is then said to assume the form of Yama. When he gratifies with profuse gifts of wealth those that have rendered him valuable services, and snatches away the wealth and precious stones of those that have offended him, indeed, when he bestows prosperity upon some and takes it away from others, he is then, O king, said to assume the form of Kuvera on earth. No person who is possessed of cleverness, who is capable of work, who desires the acquisition of virtue, and who is free from malice, should ever spread evil reports about the king. No man, by acting against the king, can ever make himself happy, even if he happens to be the king's son or brother or companion or one whom the king regards as his second self. Fire, having the wind for his urger, blazing forth (among articles that are inflammable), may leave a remnant. The wrath of the king, however, leaves not anything to the person that incurs it. Whatever belongs to the king should be avoided from distance. One should turn away from what belongs to the king as he would from death itself. A person by appropriating what belongs to the king speedily meets with destruction like a deer upon touching poison. The man of intelligence should protect as his own what belongs to the kin.. They that appropriate wealth belonging to the king sink senseless into a deep hell of eternal gloom and infamy. Who is there that will not worship the king who is adored by such terms as delighter of the people, giver of happiness, possessor of prosperity, the foremost of all, healer of injuries, lord of earth, and protector of men? That man, therefore, who desires his own prosperity, who observes all wholesome restraints, who has his soul under control, who is the master of his passions, who is possessed of intelligence and memory, and who is clever (in the transaction of business), should always be attached to the king. The king should duly honour the minister who is grateful, endued with wisdom, large-hearted, loyal, possessed of mastery over his senses, virtuous, and observant of the dictates of policy. The king should entertain the man who is loyal, grateful, virtuous, possessed of self-control, brave, magnanimous in his acts, and competent to accomplish tasks without the assistance of others. Knowledge makes men proud. The king makes men humble. The man who is afflicted by the king can never obtain happiness. On the other hand, the man who is favoured by the king becomes happy. The king is the heart of his people; he is their great refuge; he is their glory; and he is their highest happiness. Those men, O monarch, who are attached to the king, succeed in conquering both this and the other world. Having governed the earth with the aid of the qualities of self-restraint, truth, and friendship, and having adored the gods by great sacrifices, the king, earning great glory, obtains an eternal abode in heaven.' That best of monarchs, viz., the heroic Vasumanas, ruler of Kosala, thus instructed by Vrihaspati the son of Angiras, began thenceforth to protect his subjects."

SECTION 69

"Yudhishthira said, 'What other special duties remain for the king to discharge? How should he protect his kingdom and how subdue his foes? How should he employ his spies? How should he inspire confidence in the four orders of his subjects, his own servants, wives, and sons, O Bharata?'

"Bhishma said, 'Listen, O monarch, with attention to the diverse duties of kings,--to those acts which the king or one that is in the position of a king should first do. The king should first subdue himself and then seek to subdue his foes. How should a king who has not been able to conquer his own self be able to conquer his foes? The conquest of these, viz., the aggregate of five, is regarded as the conquest of self. The king that has succeeded in subduing his senses is competent to resist his foes. He should place bodies of foot-soldiers in his forts, frontiers, towns, parks, and pleasure gardens, O delighter of the Kurus, as also in all places where he himself goes, and within his own palace, O tiger among men! He should employ as spies men looking like idiots or like those that are blind and deaf. Those should all be persons who have been thoroughly examined (in respect of their ability), who are possessed of wisdom, and who are able to endure hunger and thirst. With proper attention, the king should set his spies upon all his counsellors and friends and sons, in his city and the provinces, and in dominions of the chiefs under him. His spies should be so employed that they may not know one another. He should also, O bull of Bharata's race, know the spies of his foes by himself setting spies in shops and places of amusement, and concourses of people, among beggars, in his pleasure gardens and parks, in meetings and conclaves of the learned, in the country, in public places, in places where he holds his own court, and in the houses of the citizens. The king possessed of intelligence may thus ascertain the spies despatched by his foes. If these be known, the king may derive much benefit, O son of Pandu! When the king, by a survey of his own, finds himself weak, he should then, consulting with his counsellors make peace with a foe that is stronger. The king that is wise should speedily make peace with a foe, even when he knows that he is not weak, if any advantage is to be derived from it. Engaged in protecting his kingdom with righteousness, the king should make peace with those that are possessed of every accomplishment, capable of great exertion, virtuous, and honest. When the king finds himself threatened with danger and about to be overtaken by ruin, he should slay all offenders whom he had overlooked before and all such persons as are pointed at by the people. A king should have nothing to do with that person who can neither benefit nor injure him, or with one who cannot rescue himself from distress. As regards military operations a king who is confident of his own strength, should, at the head of a large force, cheerfully and with courage give the order to march, without proclaiming his destination against one destitute of allies and friends or already at war with another and (therefore) heedless (of danger from other quarters), or one weaker than himself, having first made arrangements for the protection of his own capital. A king should not for ever live in subjection to another possessed of greater prowess. Though weak, he should seek to afflict the stronger, and resolved upon

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this, continue to rule his own. He should afflict the kingdom of the stronger one by means of weapons, fire and application of poison. He should also cause dissensions amongst his counsellors and servants. Vrihaspati has said that a king possessed of intelligence should always avoid war for acquisition of territory. The acquisition of dominion should be made by the three well-known means (of conciliation, gift, and disunion). The king that is possessed of wisdom should be gratified with those acquisition that are made by means of conciliation, gift, and disunion. The king, O delighter of the Kurus, should take a sixth of the incomes of his subjects as tribute for meeting the expenses of protecting them. He should also forcibly take away wealth, much or little (as the case may require), from the ten kinds of offenders mentioned in the scriptures, for the protection of his subjects. A king should, without doubt, look upon his subjects as his own children. In determining their disputes, however, he should not show compassion. For hearing the complaints and answers of disputants in judicial suits, the king should always appoint persons possessed of wisdom and a knowledge of the affairs of the world, for the state really rests upon a proper administration of justice. The king should set honest and trustworthy men over his mines, salt, grain, ferries, and elephant corps. The king who always wields with propriety the rod of chastisement earns great merit. The proper regulation of chastisement is the high duty of kings and deserves great applause. The king should be conversant with the Vedas and their branches, possessed of wisdom, engaged in penances, charitable, and devoted to the performance of sacrifices. All these qualities should permanently reside in a king. If the king fails to administer justice, he can neither have heaven nor fame. If a king be afflicted by a stronger one, the former, if possessed of intelligence, should seek refuge in a fort. Assembling his friends for consultation, he should devise proper means. Adopting the policy of conciliation and of producing dissensions, he should devise means for waging war with the assailant. He should set the inhabitants of the woods on the high roads, and, if necessary, cause whole villages to be removed, transplanting all the inhabitants to minor towns or the outskirts of great cities. Repeatedly assuring his wealthy subjects and the principal officers of the army, he should cause the inhabitants of the open country to take refuge in such forts as are well-protected. He should himself withdraw all stores of grain (from the open country into his forts). If that becomes impossible, he should destroy them completely by fire. He should set men for destroying the crops on the fields of the enemy (by producing disunion among the enemy's subjects). Failing to do this, he should destroy those crops by means of his own troops. He should destroy all the bridges over the rivers in his kingdom. He should bale out the waters of all the tanks in his dominions, or, if incapable of baling them out, cause them to be poisoned. Disregarding the duty of protecting his friends, he should, in view of both present and future circumstances, seek the protection of the ruler of another kingdom who may happen to be the foe of his foe and who may be competent to deal with his foe on the field of battle. He should destroy all the smaller forts in his kingdom. He should also cut down all the smaller trees excepting those that are called Chaitya. He should cause the branches of all the larger trees to be lopped off, but he should not touch the very leaves of those called Chaitya. He should raise outer ramparts round his forts, with enclosures in them, and fill his trenches with water, driving pointed stakes at their bottom and filling them with crocodiles and sharks. He should keep small openings in his walls for making sallies from his fort, and carefully make arrangements for their defence like that of the greater gates. In all his gates he should plant destructive engines. He should plant on the ramparts (of his forts) Sataghnis and other weapons. He should store wood for fuel and dig and repair wells for supply of water to the garrison. He should cause all houses made of grass and straw to be plastered over with mud, and if it is the summer month, he should, from fear of fire, withdraw (into a place of safety) all the stores of grass and straw. He should order all food to be cooked at night. No fire should be ignited during the day, except for the daily homa. Particular care should be taken of the fires in smithies and lying-in rooms. Fires kept within the houses of the inhabitants should be well covered. For the effectual protection of the city, it should be proclaimed that condign punishment will overtake the person who lights fires by the day time. During such times, all beggars, eunuchs, lunatics, and mimes, should, O foremost of men, be driven out of the town, for if they are permitted to remain, evil will follow. In places of public resort, in tirthas, in assemblies, and in the houses of the citizens, the king should set competent spies. The king should cause wide roads to be constructed and order shops, and places for the distribution of water, to be opened at proper stations. Depots (of diverse necessaries), arsenals, camps and quarters for soldiers, stations for the keeping of horses and elephants, encampments of soldiers, trenches, streets and bypaths, houses and gardens for retirement and pleasure, should be so ordered that their sites may not be known to others, O Yudhishthira. A king who is afflicted by a hostile army should gather wealth, and store oil and fat and honey, and clarified butter, and medicines of all kinds, and charcoal and munja grass, leaves, arrows, scribes and draftsmen, grass, fuel, poisoned arrows, weapons of every kind such as darts, swords, lances, and others. The king should store such articles. He should especially keep ready drugs of every kind, roots and fruits, the four kinds of physicians, actors and dancers, athletes, and persons capable of assuming diverse disguises. He should decorate his capital and gladden all his subjects. The king should lose no time in bringing under his control such persons as may happen to inspire him with fear, be they his servants or counsellors or citizens or neighbouring monarchs. After any task of the king has been accomplished, he should reward that those that have aided in its accomplishment with wealth and other proportionate gifts and thankful speeches. It has been laid down in the scriptures, O delighter of the Kurus, that a king pays off his debt when he discomfits his foe or slays him outright. A king should take care of seven things. Listen to me as I recite them. They are his own self, his counsellors, his treasury, his machinery for awarding punishments, his friends, his provinces, and his capital. He should with care protect his kingdom which consists of these seven limbs. That king, O tiger among men, who is conversant with the aggregate of six, the triple aggregate, and the high aggregate of three, succeeds in winning the sovereignty of the whole earth. Listen, O Yudhishthira, to what has been called the aggregate of six. These are ruling in peace after concluding a treaty (with the foe), marching to battle, producing disunion among the foe, concentration of forces, for inspiring the foe with fear, preparedness for war with readiness for peace, and alliance with others. Listen now with attention to what has been called the triple aggregate. They are decrease, maintenance of what is, and growth. The high aggregate of three consists of Virtue, Profit and Pleasure. These should be pursued judiciously. By the aid of virtue, a king succeeds in ruling the earth for ever. Touching this matter, Angirasa's son: Vrihaspati himself has sung two verses. Blessed be thou, O son of Devaki, it behoveth thee to hear them. 'Having discharged all his duties and having protected the earth, and having also protected his cities, a king attains to great happiness in heaven. What are penances to that king, and what need has he of sacrifices who protects his people properly? Such a king should be regarded as one conversant with every virtue!'

Yudhishthira said, 'There is the science of chastisement, there is the king, and there are the subjects. Tell me, O grandsire, what advantage is derived by one of these from the others.'

Bhishma said, 'Listen to me, O king, as I describe, O Bharata, the great blessedness of the science of chastisement, in sacred words of grave import. The science of chastisement forces all men to the observance of the duties of their respective orders. Duly administered, it forces people to virtuous acts. When the four orders attend to their respective duties, when all wholesome barriers are maintained, when peace and happiness are made to flow from the science of chastisement, when the people become freed from all fear, and the three higher orders endeavour, according to their respective duties, to maintain harmony, know that men become truly happy at such times. Whether it is the king that makes the age, or, it is the age that makes the king, is a question about which thou shouldst not entertain any doubt. The truth is that the king makes the age. When, the king rules with a complete and strict reliance on the science of chastisement, the foremost of ages called Krita is then said to set in. Righteousness sets in the Krita age. Nothing of unrighteousness exists then. The hearts of men belonging to all the four orders do not take any pleasure in unrighteousness. Without doubt, all men succeed in acquiring the objects they desire and preserving those that have been acquired. All the Vedic rites become productive of merit. All the seasons become delightful and free from evil. The voice, pronunciation, and minds of all men become clear and cheerful. Diseases disappear and all men become long-lived. Wives do not become widows, and no person becomes a miser. The earth yields crops without being tilled, and herbs and plants grow in luxuriance. Barks, leaves, fruits, and roots, become vigorous and abundant. No unrighteousness is seen. Nothing but righteousness exists. Know these to be the characteristics, O Yudhishthira, of the Krita age. When the king relies upon only three of the four parts of the science of chastisement leaving out a fourth, the age called Treta sets in. A fourth part of unrighteousness follows in the train of such observance (of the great science) by three-fourths. The earth yields crops but waits for tillage. The herbs and plants grow (depending upon tillage). When the king observes the great science by only a half, leaving out the other half, then the age that sets in is called Dwapara. A moiety of unrighteousness follows in the train of such observance of the great science by half. The earth requires tillage and yields crops by half. When the king, abandoning the great science totally, oppresses his subjects by evil means of diverse kinds, the age that sets in is called Kali. During the age called Kali, unrighteousness becomes full and nothing of righteousness is seen. The hearts of men, of all the orders, fall away from their respective duties. Sudras live by adopting lives of mendicancy, and Brahmanas live by serving others. Men fail to acquire the objects they desire and preserve those already acquired. Intermixture of the four orders takes place. Vedic rites fail to produce fruits. All the seasons cease to be delightful and become fraught with evil. The voice, pronunciation, and minds of men lose vigour. Diseases appear, and men die prematurely. Wives become widows, and many cruel men are seen. The clouds do not pour seasonably, and crops fail. All kinds of moisture also fail, when the king does not, with proper attention to the great science, protect the subjects. The king is the creator of the Krita age, of the Treta, and of the Dwapara. The king is the cause of the fourth age (called Kali). If he causes the Krita age, he attains to everlasting heaven. If he causes the Treta age, he acquires heaven for a period that is limited. If he causes the Dwapara, he attains to blessedness in heaven according to the measure of his merits. By causing the Kali age, the king incurs a heavy load of sin. Stained by wickedness, he rots in hell for innumerable years, for sinking in the sins of his subjects, he incurs great sin and infamy himself. Keeping the great science in his view, the Kshatriya possessed of learning should strive to acquire those objects which he desires and protect those that have been already acquired. The science of chastisement, which establishes all men in the observance of their respective duties, which is the groundwork of all wholesome distinctions, and which truly upholds the world and sets it agoing, if properly administered, protects all men like the mother and the father protecting their children. Know, O bull among men, that the very lives of creatures depend upon it. The highest merit a king can acquire is acquaintance with the science of chastisement and administering it properly. Therefore, O thou of Kuru's race, protect thy subjects righteously, with the aid of that great science. By protecting the subjects and adopting such a conduct, thou wilt surely attain to such blessedness in heaven as is difficult of acquisition."

SECTION 70

"Yudhishthira said, 'By adopting that conduct, O thou that art conversant with every kind of behaviour, can a king succeed in easily acquiring, both here and hereafter, objects productive of happiness in the end?'

"Bhishma said, 'There are these thirty-six virtues (which a king should observe). They are connected with thirty-six others. A virtuous person, by attending to those qualities, can certainly acquire great merit. The king should observe his duties without wrath and malice. He should not abandon kindness. He should have faith. He should acquire wealth without persecution and cruelty. He should pursue pleasure without attachments. He should, with cheerfulness, utter what is the agreeable, and be brave without brag. He should be liberal but should not make gifts to persons that are unobserving. He should have prowess without cruelty. He should make alliance, avoiding those that are wicked. He should not act with hostility towards friends. He should never employ persons not devoted to him as his spies and secret agents. He should never accomplish his objects by persecution. He should never, disclose his purposes before persons that are wicked. He should speak of the merits of others but never his own. He should take wealth from his subjects but never from those that are good. He should never employ or take the assistance of persons that are wicked. He should never inflict punishment without careful enquiry. He should never disclose his counsels. He should give away, but not to persons that are covetous. He should repose confidence on others but never on those that have injured him. He should not cherish malice. He should protect his wedded wives. He should be pure and should not always be melted by compassion. He should not indulge much in female companionship. He should take food that is wholesome and never that which is otherwise. He should without pride pay regards to those that deserve them, and serve his preceptors and seniors with sincerity. He should worship the gods without pride. He should seek prosperity, but never do anything that brings infamy. He should wait (upon his seniors) with humility. He should be clever in business but should always wait for the proper time. He should comfort men and never send them away with empty speeches. Having favoured a person, he should not abandon him. He should never strike in ignorance. Having slain his foe he should never indulge in sorrow. He should display temper, but should never do so when there is no occasion. He should be mild, but never to those that have offended. Conduct thyself thus while ruling thy kingdom if thou wishest to have prosperity. The king that behaves otherwise incurs great danger. That king who observes all these virtues that I have mentioned, reaps many blessings on earth and great rewards in heaven.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words of Santanu's son, king Yudhishthira, docile in receiving instructions, possessed of great intelligence, and protected by Bhima and others, then worshipped his grandsire and from that time began to rule according to that teaching.'"

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SECTION 71

Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me, O grand sire, in what way should the king protect his subjects so as to be able to avoid grief and so as not to offend against righteousness?'

"Bhishma said, 'I shall recite, O king, those eternal duties in brief, for if I were to mention them in detail, I would never attain to their end. Thou shouldst worship those Brahmanas that are devoted to their duties, possessed of learning, regular in worshipping the gods, observant of high vows, and endued with other accomplishments, when they come to thy abode, and employ them in officiating in thy sacrifices. With thy priest accompanying thee, thou shouldst rise up when they approach, and touch and worship their feet, and do every other act that is necessary. Doing these acts of piety and discharging other acts that are for thy own good, thou shouldst (by presents) cause those Brahmanas to utter benedictions on thee for the success of thy purposes. Endued with sincerity, and wisdom and intelligence, O Bharata, thou shouldst adopt truth and avoid lust and wrath. That foolish king who pursues Profit without driving away lust and wrath, fails to acquire virtue and ultimately sacrifices Profit as well. Never employ those that are covetous and foolish in matters connected with Pleasure and Profit. Thou shouldst always employ in all thy acts those that are free from covetousness and possessed of intelligence. Stained with lust and wrath and unskilled in the transaction of business foolish persons, if vested with authority in matters of Profit, always oppress the people by diverse contrivances productive of mischief. With a sixth part upon fair calculation, of the yield of the soil as his tribute, with fines and forfeitures levied upon offenders, with the imposts, according to the scriptures, upon merchants and traders in return for the protection granted to them, a king should fill his treasury [i.e., these are the true sources of the royal revenue.]. Realising this just tribute and governing the kingdom properly the king should, with heedfulness, act in such a way that his subjects may not feel the pressure of want. Men become deeply devoted to that king who discharges the duty of protection properly, who is endued with liberality, who is steady in the observance of righteousness, who is vigilant, and who is free from Just and hate. Never desire to fill thy treasury by acting unrighteously or from covetousness. That king who does not act in accordance with the scriptures fails to earn wealth and religious merit. That king who is mindful only of the means of acquiring wealth, never succeeds in acquiring both religious merit and wealth. The wealth again that he acquires (by such means) is seen to be lavished on unworthy objects. [The meaning is that if a king attends only to the acquisition of wealth, he may succeed in acquiring wealth, but he will never succeed in earning religious merit.] That avaricious king who through folly oppresses his subjects by levying taxes not sanctioned by the scriptures, is said to wrong his own self. As a person desirous of milk never obtains any by cutting off the udders of a cow, similarly a kingdom afflicted by improper means, never yields any profit to the king [Literally, 'never flourishes.']. He who treats a milch cow with tenderness always obtains milk from it. Similarly, the king who rules his kingdom by the aid of proper means, reaps much fruit from it. By protecting a kingdom properly and ruling it by the aid of judicious means, a king, O Yudhishthira, may succeed in always obtaining much wealth. The earth, well protected by the king, yields crops and gold (to the ruler and the ruled) even like a gratified mother yielding milk to her child. Imitate the example, O king, of the flowerman and not of the charcoal-maker. Becoming such and discharging, the duty of protection, thou mayst be able to enjoy the earth for ever. If in attacking an enemy's kingdom thy treasury becomes exhausted, thou mayst refill it by taking wealth from all except Brahmanas. Let not thy heart be moved, even when thou art in great distress, upon seeing Brahmanas possessed of wealth. I need not speak then of what thou shouldst do when thou art in affluence. Thou shouldst give them wealth to the best of thy power and as they deserve and protect them, comforting them on all occasions. By conducting thyself in this way, thou mayst acquire such regions hereafter as are most difficult of acquisition. Adopting such virtuous behaviour, do thou protect thy subjects. Thou mayst then obtain, O delighter of the Kurus, fame that is everlasting, high, and pure. Protect thy subjects righteously, O son of Pandu, for no regret or pain will then be thine. Protection of the subject is the highest duty of the king, since compassion to all creatures and protecting them from injury has been said to be the highest merit. Persons conversant with duties regard that to be the highest merit of the king, when, engaged in protecting all creatures, the king displays compassion towards them. The sin a king incurs by neglecting for a single day to protect his subjects from fear is such that he does not attain to end of his sufferings (for it) in hell till after a thousand years. The merit a king earns by protecting his subjects righteously for a single day is such that he enjoys its reward in heaven for ten thousand years. All those regions that are acquired by persons leading duly the Garhasthya, the Brahmacharya, and the Vanaprastha modes of life, are soon acquired by a king by only protecting his subjects righteously. Do thou, O son of Kunti, observe with great care this duty (of protection). Thou shalt then obtain the reward of righteousness and no grief and pain will be thine. Thou shalt, O son of Pandu, obtain great prosperity in heaven. Merit like this is impossible to be acquired by persons that are not kings. A person, therefore, who is a king, and no other, can succeed in earning such reward of virtue. Possessed of intelligence, thou hast obtained a kingdom. Do thou protect thy subjects righteously. Gratify Indra with offerings of Soma and the friends and well-wishers with the objects of their wishes.'"

SECTION 72

"Bhishma said, 'That person, O king, who would protect the good and punish the wicked, should be appointed as his priest by the king. In this connexion is cited the old story about the discourse between Pururavas, the son of Aila and Matariswan.'

"Pururavas said, 'Whence has the Brahmana sprung and whence the three other orders? For what reason also has the Brahmana become the foremost? It behoveth thee to tell me all this.'

"Matariswan answered, 'The Brahmana, O best of kings, has sprung from the mouth of Brahman. The Kshatriya has sprung from his two arms, and the Vaisya from his two thighs. For waiting upon these three orders, O ruler of men, a fourth order, viz., the Sudra, sprung into life, being created from the feet (of Brahman). Originally created thus, the Brahmana takes birth on earth as the lord of all creatures, his duty being the keep of the Vedas and the other scriptures. Then, for ruling the earth and wielding the rod of chastisement and protecting all creatures, the second order, viz., the Kshatriya was created. The Vaisya was created for supporting the two other orders and himself by cultivation and trade, and finally, it was ordained by Brahman that the Sudra should serve the three orders as a menial.'

"Pururavas said, 'Tell me truly, O god of Winds, to whom, this earth righteously belong. Does it belong to the Brahmana or to the Kshatriya?'

"The god of Winds said, 'Everything that exists in the universe belongs to the Brahmana in consequence of his birth and precedence. Persons conversant with morality say this. What the Brahmana eats is his own. The place he inhabits is his own. What he gives away is his own. He deserves the veneration of all the (other) orders. He is the first-born and the foremost. As a woman, in the absence of her husband, accepts his younger brother for him, even so the earth, in consequence of the refusal of the Brahmana, has accepted his next-born, viz., the Kshatriya, for her lord. This is the first rule. In times, however, of distress, there is an exception of this. If thou seekest to discharge the duties of the order and wishest to obtain the highest place in heaven, then give unto the Brahmana all the land thou mayst succeed in conquering, unto him that is possessed of learning and virtuous conduct, that is conversant with duties and observant of penances, that is satisfied with the duties of his order and not covetous of wealth. The well-born Brahmana, possessed of wisdom and humility, guides the king in every matter by his own great intelligence. By means of sound counsels he causes the king to earn prosperity. The Brahmana points out to the king the duties the latter is to observe. As long as a wise king, observant of the duties of his order, and bereft of pride, is desirous of listening to the instructions of the Brahmana, so long is he honoured and so long does he enjoy fame. The priest of the king, therefore, has a share in the merit that the king acquires. When the king behaves himself thus, all his subjects, relying upon him, become virtuous in their behaviour, attentive to their duties, and freed from every fear. The king obtains a fourth part of those righteous acts which his subjects, properly protected by him, perform in his kingdom. The gods, men, Pitris, Gandharvas, Uragas, and Rakshasas, all depend upon sacrifices for their support. In a country destitute of a king, there can be no sacrifice. The gods and the Pitris subsist on the offerings made in sacrifices. Sacrifice, however, depends upon the king. In the season of summer, men desire comfort from the shade of trees, cool water, and cool breezes. In the season of winter they derive comfort from fire, warm clothes, and the sun. The heart of man may find pleasure in sound, touch, taste, vision, and scent. The man, however, who is inspired with fear, finds no pleasure in all these things. That person who dispels the fears of men obtains great merit. There is no gift so valuable in the three worlds as the gift of life. The king is Indra. The king is Yama. The king is Dharma. The king assumes different forms. The king sustains and supports everything.'"

SECTION 73

"Bhishma said, 'The king, with an eye to both religious merit and profit whose considerations are often very intricate, should, without delay, appoint a priest possessed of learning and intimate acquaintance with the Vedas and the (other) scriptures. Those kings that have priests possessed of virtuous souls and conversant with policy, and that are themselves possessed of such attributes, enjoy prosperity in every direction. Both the priest and the king should have such qualities as are worthy of regard and should be observant of vows and penances. They would then succeed in supporting and aggrandising the subjects and the deities, the Pitris and the children. [Children is a euphemism for subjects, suggested by the word pitris to which it is antithetical.] It is laid down that they should be possessed of similar hearts and should be each other's friends. In consequence of such friendship between Brahmana and Kshatriya, the subjects become happy. If they do not regard each other, destruction would overtake the people. The Brahmana and the Kshatriya are said to be the progenitors of all men. In this connexion is cited the old story about the discourse between Aila's son and Kasyapa. Listen to it, O Yudhishthira.'

"Aila said, 'When the Brahmana forsakes the Kshatriya or the Kshatriya forsakes the Brahmana, who amongst them should be regarded superior and upon whom do the other orders rely and maintain themselves?'

"Kasyapa said, 'Ruin overtakes the kingdom of the Kshatriya when the Brahmana and Kshatriya contend with each other. Robbers infest that kingdom in which confusion prevails, and all good men regard the ruler to be a Mlechcha. Their oxen do not thrive, nor their children. Their pots (of milk) are not churned, and no sacrifices are performed there. The children do not study the Vedas in kingdoms where Brahmanas abandon Kshatriyas. In their houses wealth does not increase. Their children do not become good and do not study the scriptures and perform sacrifices. Those Kshatriyas that abandon Brahmanas become impure in blood and assume the nature of robbers. The Brahmana and the Kshatriya are connected with each other naturally, and each protects the other. The Kshatriya is the cause of the Brahmana's growth and the Brahmana is the cause of the Kshatriya's growth. When each helps the other, both attain to great prosperity. If their friendship, existing from days of old, breaks, a confusion sets over everything. No person desirous of crossing the ocean of life succeeds in his task even as a small boat floating on the bosom of the sea. The four orders of men become confounded and destruction overtakes all. If the Brahmana. who is like a tree is protected, gold and honey are showered. If, on the other hand, he is not protected, it then tears and sins are showered, When Brahmanas fall away from the Vedas and (in the absence of a Kshatriya ruler) seek protection from the scriptures, then Indra does not pour rain seasonably and diverse kinds of calamities ceaselessly afflict the kingdom. When a sinful wretch having slain a woman or a Brahmana does not incur obloquy in assemblies of fellowmen and has not to stand in fear of the king, then danger threatens the Kshatriya ruler. In consequence of the sins perpetrated by sinful men, the god Rudra appears in the kingdom. Indeed, the sinful by their sins bring upon them that god of vengeance. He then destroys all, the honest and the wicked alike (without making any distinction).'

"Aila said, 'Whence does Rudra spring? What also is his form? Creatures are seen to be destroyed by creatures. Tell me all this, O Kasyapa! Whence does the god Rudra spring?'

"Kasyapa said, 'Rudra exists in the hearts of men. He destroys the bodies themselves in which he dwells as also the bodies of others. Rudra has been said to be like atmospheric visitations and his form is like that of the wind-gods.'

"Aila said, 'The Wind does not, by blowing, visibly destroy men on all occasions, nor does the deity of the clouds do so by pouring rain. On the other hand, it is seen among men that they lose their senses and are slain through lust and malice.'

"Kasyapa said, 'Fire, blazing forth in one house, burneth a whole quarter or an entire village. Similarly, this deity stupefies the senses of some one and then that stupefaction touches all, the honest and the wicked alike, without any distinction.'

"Aila said, 'If chastisement touches all viz., the honest and the wicked alike, in consequence of the sins perpetrated by the sinful, why should men, in that case, do acts that are good? Indeed, why should they not perform wicked acts?'

"Kasyapa said, 'By avoiding all connexion with the sinful, one becomes pure and stainless. In consequence, however, of their being mixed with the sinful, the sinless are overtaken by chastisement. Wood that is wet, if mixed with wood that is dry, is consumed by fire in consequence of such co-existence. The sinless, therefore, should never mingle with the sinful.'

"Aila said, 'The earth holds the honest and the wicked. The sun warms the honest and the wicked. The wind blows equally for them. Water cleanses them equally.'

"Kasyapa said, 'Such, indeed, is the course of this world, O prince! It is not so, however, hereafter. In the other world, there is great difference of condition between the person that acts righteously and him that acts sinfully. The regions that meritorious men acquire are full of honey and possessed of the splendour of gold or of a fire upon which clarified butter has been poured. Those regions also are likened to the navel of ambrosia. The meritorious person enjoys great felicity there. Death, decrepitude, and sorrow, are not there. The region for the sinful is hell. Darkness and ceaseless pain are there, and it is full of sorrow. Sinking in infamy, the man of sinful deeds wrung with remorse there for many years. In consequence of a

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disunion between Brahmanas and Kshatriyas, unbearable griefs afflict the people. Knowing this, a king should appoint a (Brahmana) priest possessed of experience and wide knowledge. A king should first install the priest in his office, and then cause his own coronation. This has been laid down in the ordinance. The ordinances declare that the Brahmana is the foremost of all creatures. Men acquainted with the Vedas say that the Brahmana was created first. In consequence of the precedence of his birth, all things that are good in this world are vested in him. The rightful owner of all the best things that have flowed from the Creator, the Brahmana is also, for such precedence, worthy of the respect and the worship of all creatures. A king, however powerful, should, according to the dictates of the scriptures, bestow upon the Brahmana whatever is best and distinguished above others. The Brahmana contributes to the aggrandisement of the Kshatriya, and the Kshatriya to the aggrandisement of the Brahmana. Brahmanas should, therefore, be especially and always worshipped by kings.'"

SECTION 74

"Bhishma said, 'It is said that the preservation and growth of the kingdom rest upon the king. The preservation and growth of the king rest upon the king's priest. That kingdom enjoys true felicity where the invisible fears of the subjects are dispelled by the Brahmana and all visible fears are dispelled by the king with the might of his arms. In this connexion is cited the old narrative of the discourse between king Muchukunda and Vaisravana. King Muchukunda, having subjugated the whole earth, repaired to the lord of Alaka for testing his strength. King Vaisravana created (by ascetic power) a large force of Rakshasas. These ground the forces led by Muchukunda. Beholding the slaughter of his army, king Muchukunda, O chastiser of foes, began to rebuke his own learned priest (Vasishtha). Thereupon that foremost of righteous persons viz., Vasishtha, underwent very severe penances and, causing those Rakshasas to be slain, ascertained the true course upon which Muchukunda was bent. When king Vaisravana's troops were being slaughtered, he showed himself unto Muchukunda and said these words.'

"The Lord of treasures said, 'Many kings of old, more powerful than thou art, aided by their priests, had never approached me thus? All of them were skilled in weapons and all of them were possessed of might. Regarding me as the grantor of weal and woe, they approached me for offering worship. In truth, if thou hast might of arms, it behoves thee to display it. Why dost thou act so proudly, aided by Brahmana might?' Enraged at these words, Muchukunda, without pride and fear, said unto the lord of treasures these words fraught with reason and justice, 'The self-born Brahman created the Brahmana and the Kshatriya. They have a common origin. If they apply their forces separately, they would never be able to uphold the world. The power of penances and mantras was bestowed upon Brahmanas; the might of arms and of weapons was bestowed upon Kshatriyas. Aggrandised by both kinds of might, kings should protect their subjects. I am acting in that way. Why dost thou, O lord of Alaka, rebuke me then?' Thus addressed, Vaisravana said unto Muchukunda and his priest, 'I never, without being ordered by the (self-created) bestow sovereignty upon any one. Nor do I ever, without being ordered, take it away from any one. Know this, O king! Do thou rule then the whole earth without bounds.' Thus addressed, king Muchukunda replied, saying, 'I do not, O king, desire to enjoy sovereignty obtained as gift from thee! I desire to enjoy sovereignty obtained by the might of my own arms.'

"Bhishma continued, 'At these words of Muchukunda, Vaisravana, seeing the king fearless in the observance of Kshatriya duties, became filled with surprise. King Muchukunda, devoted to Kshatriya duties, continued to rule the entire earth obtained by the might of his own arms. That virtuous king who rules his kingdom, aided by and yielding precedence to the Brahmana, succeeds in subjugating the whole earth and achieving great fame. The Brahmana should every day perform his religious rites and the Kshatriya should always be armed with weapons. Between them they are the rightful owners of everything in the universe.'"

SECTION 75

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me, O grandsire, that conduct by which a king succeeds in aggrandising his subjects and earning regions of felicity in the other world.'

"Bhishma said, 'The king should be liberal and should perform sacrifices, O Bharata! He should be observant of vows and penances, and should be devoted to the duty of protecting his subjects. Righteously protecting all his subjects, he should honour all righteous persons by standing up when they come and by making gifts unto them. If the king regards it, righteousness becomes regarded everywhere. Whatever acts and things are liked by the king are liked by his subjects. Unto his foes the king should always be like Death, with the rod of chastisement uplifted in his hands. He should exterminate robbers everywhere in his kingdom and never pardon any one from caprice. The king, O Bharata, earns a fourth part of the merit that his subjects earn under his protection. By only protecting his subjects the king acquires a fourth part of the merit that his subjects acquire by study, by gifts, by pouring libations, and by worshipping the gods. The king acquires a fourth part also of the sin that his subjects commit in consequence of any distress in the kingdom arising from the king's neglect in discharging the duty of protection. Some say that the king earns a moiety, and some say the full measure, of whatever sin is caused by his becoming cruel and untruthful in speech. Listen now to the means by which the king may be cleansed of such sins. If the king fails to restore to a subject the wealth that has been stolen away by thieves, he should then compensate the injured from his own treasury, or, in case of inability, with wealth obtained from his dependents. All the orders should protect the wealth of a Brahmana even as they should the Brahmana's boy or life. The person that offends against Brahmanas should be exiled from the kingdom. Everything is protected by protecting the Brahmana's wealth. Through the grace of the Brahmana, which may thus be secured, the king becomes crowned with success. Men seek the protection of a competent king like creatures seeking relief from the clouds or birds seeking refuge in a large tree. A cruel and covetous king, with lustful soul and ever seeking the gratification of his desire never succeeds in protecting his subjects.'

"Yudhishthira, said, 'I do not, for a moment, desire the happiness that sovereignty bestows or sovereignty itself for its own sake. I desire it, however, for the sake of the merit one may acquire from it. It seems to me that no merit is attached to it. No need for sovereignty then by which no merit can be acquired. I shall, therefore, retire into the woods from desire of earning merit. Laying aside the rod of chastisement, and subduing my senses, I shall go to the woods which are sacred and seek to acquire the merit of righteousness by becoming an ascetic subsisting upon fruit and roots.'

"Bhishma said, 'I know, O Yudhishthira, what the nature of thy heart is, and how inoffensive is thy disposition. Thou wilt not, however, by inoffensiveness alone, succeed in ruling thy kingdom. Thy heart is inclined to mildness, thou art compassionate, and thou art exceedingly righteous. Thou art without energy, and thou art virtuous and full of mercy. People, therefore, do not regard thee much. Follow the conduct of thy sire and grandsire. Kings should never adopt that conduct which thou desirest to adopt. Never be touched by such anxiety (after doing thy duty), and never adopt such inoffensiveness of conduct. By becoming so, thou wouldst not succeed in earning that merit of righteousness which arises from protecting subjects. The behaviour thou wishest to adopt, impelled by thy own intelligence and wisdom, is not consistent with those blessings which thy sire Pandu or thy mother Kunti used to solicit for thee. Thy sire always solicited for thee courage, might, and truth. Kunti always solicited for thee high-mindedness and liberality. The offerings with Swaha and Swadha in Sraddhas and sacrifices are always asked from children by the Pitris and the deities. Whether gifts and study and sacrifices and the protection of subjects be meritorious or sinful, thou hast been born to practise and perform them. The fame, O son of Kunti, is never tarnished of men that even fail in bearing the burdens which are placed on them and unto which they are yoked in life. Even a horse, if properly trained, succeeds in bearing, without falling down, a burden. (What need then be said of thee that art a human being?) One incurs no censure if only one's acts and words be proper, for success is said to depend upon acts (and words). No person, be he a man virtuously following the domestic mode of life, or be he a king, or be he a Brahmacharin, has ever succeeded in conducting himself without tripping. It is better to do an act which is good and in which there is small merit than to totally abstain from all acts, for total abstention from acts is very sinful. When a high-born and righteous person succeeds in obtaining affluence, the king then succeeds in obtaining prosperity in all his affairs. A virtuous king, having obtained a kingdom, should seek to subdue some by gifts, some by force, and some by sweet words. There is no one more virtuous than he upon whom high-born and learned persons rely from fear of losing their means of sustenance and depending upon whom they live in contentment.

"Yudhishthira said, 'What acts, O sire, are conductive to heaven? What is the nature of the great felicity that is derived from them? What also is the high prosperity that may be obtained thence? Tell me all this, if thou knowest.,

"Bhishma said, 'That man from whom a person afflicted with fear obtains relief even for a moment, is the most worthy of heaven amongst us. This that I tell thee is very true. Be thou cheerfully the king of the Kurus, O foremost one of Kuru's race, acquire heaven, protect the good and slay the wicked. Let thy friends, together with all honest men, derive their support from thee, like all creatures from the deity of the clouds and like birds from a large tree with delicious fruits. Men seek the protection of that person who is dignified, courageous, capable of smiting, compassionate, with senses under control, affectionate towards all, and equitable, and just.'"

SECTION 76

"Yudhishthira said, 'O grandsire, amongst Brahmanas some are engaged in the duties proper to their order, while others are engaged in other duties. Tell me the difference between these two classes!'

"Bhishma said, 'Those Brahmanas, O king, that are possessed of learning and beneficent features, and that look upon all creatures with an equal eye, are said to be equal to Brahma. They that are conversant with the Riches, the Yajuses and the Samans, and who are devoted to the practices of their order, are, O king, equal to the very gods. Those, however, amongst them that are not well-born and not devoted to the duties of their order, and are, besides wedded to evil practices, are like Sudras. A virtuous king should realise tribute from and impress without pay into the public service those Brahmanas that are not possessed of Vedic lore and that have not their own fires to worship. They that are employed in courts of justice for summoning people, they that perform worship for others for a fee, they that perform the sacrifices of Vaisyas and Sudras, they that officiate in sacrifices on behalf of a whole village, and they that make voyages on the ocean,--these five are regarded as Chandalas among Brahmanas. [Mahapathika is believed to mean a person making a voyage by the sea or the ocean, The literal meaning seems to be 'a person making a long or distant voyage.'] They amongst them that become Ritwikas, Purohitas, counsellors, envoys, and messengers, become, O king, equal to Kshatriyas. [A Ritwij is a priest employed on a special occasion. A Purohita is one who always acts as a priest.] They amongst them that ride horses or elephants or cars or become foot-soldiers, become, O king, equal to Vaisyas. If the king's treasury is not full, he may realise tribute from these. In realising tribute, the king, however, should exclude those Brahmanas that are (for their conduct) equal to the gods or Brahma. The Vedas say that the king is the lord of the wealth belonging to all the orders except Brahmanas. He can take the wealth of those Brahmanas also that have fallen away from their legitimate duties. The king should never be indifferent towards those Brahmanas that are not observant of their duties. For the sake of making his people virtuous, he should punish and separate them from their superiors. That king, O monarch, in whose territories a Brahmana becomes a thief, is regarded by the learned to be the author of that misdeed. Persons conversant with the Vedas declare that if a Brahmana versed in the Vedas and observant of vows becomes, through want of sustenance, a thief, it is the duty of the king to provide for his support. If, after provision has been made for his support, he does not abstain from theft he should then, O scorcher of foes be banished from the kingdom with all his kinsmen.'"

SECTION 77

"Yudhishthira said, 'Of whose wealth, O bull of Bharata's race, is the king regarded to be the lord? And what conduct also should the king adopt? Discourse to me on this, O grandsire.'

"Bhishma said, 'The Vedas declare that the king is the lord of the wealth that belongs to all persons except Brahmanas, as also of those Brahmanas that are not observant of their proper duties. The king should not spare those Brahmanas that are not observant of their duties. The righteous say that this is the ancient custom of kings. That king, O monarch, in whose dominion a Brahmana becomes a thief, is regarded to be the author of that misdeed. It is the king that becomes sinful on that account. In consequence of such a circumstance, kings regard themselves to be worthy of reproach. All righteous kings, therefore, provide Brahmanas with the means of support. In this connexion is cited the old narrative of the speech made by the king of the Kaikeyas unto a Rakshasa while the latter was about to abduct him away. Of rigid vows and possessed of Vedic lore, the king of the Kaikeyas, O monarch, while living in the woods, was forcibly seized on a certain occasion by a Rakshasa.'

"The king said, 'There is no thief in my territories, nor any person of wicked behaviour, nor any one that drinks alcohol. There is no one in my dominions who has not his sacred fire or who does not perform sacrifices. How then hast thou been able to possess my heart? There is no Brahmana in my dominions who is not possessed of learning or who is not observant of vows or who has not drunk Soma. There is no one who has not his sacred fire or who does not perform sacrifices. How then hast thou been able to possess my soul? In my dominions no sacrifice has been performed without completing it by Dakshina. No one in my dominions studies the Vedas who is not observant of vows. How then hast thou been able to possess my soul? The Brahmanas in my kingdom teach, study, sacrifice, officiate at other's sacrifices, give, and receive gifts. All of them are observant of those six acts. The Brahmanas in my kingdom are all devoted to the performance of the duties of their order. Worshipped and provided for, they are mild, and truthful in speech. How then hast thou been able to possess my soul? The Kshatriyas in my kingdom are all devoted to the duties or their order. They never beg but give, and are conversant with truth and virtue. They never

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teach but study, and perform sacrifices but never officiate at the sacrifices of others. They protect the Brahmanas and never fly from battle. How then hast thou been able to possess my soul? The Vaisyas in my dominion are all observant of the duties of their order. With simplicity and without deceit they derive their sustenance from agriculture, cattle-keeping, and trade. They are all heedful, observant of religious rites and excellent vows, and truthful in speech. They give to guests what is their due, and self-restrained, and pure, and attached to their relative and kinsmen. How then hast thou been able to possess my heart? The Sudras in my kingdom, observant of the duties of their order, humbly and duly serve and wait upon the other three orders without entertaining any malice towards them. How then hast thou been able to possess my heart? I support the helpless and the old, the weak, the ill, and women (without guardians), by supplying them with all their necessaries. How then hast thou been able to possess my heart? I am never an exterminator of the special customs of families and of countries existing duly from days of old. How then hast thou been able to possess my heart? The ascetics in my kingdom are protected and worshipped. They are always honoured and entertained with food. How then hast thou been able to possess my heart? I never eat without feeding others from my dishes. I never go to other people's wives. I never sport or recreate alone. How then hast thou been able to possess my heart? No one in my kingdom who is not a Brahmacharin begs his food, and no one who leads the Bhikshu mode of life desires to be a Brahmacharin. No one who is not a Ritwij pours libations (of clarified butter) upon the sacrificial fire. How then hast thou been able to possess my soul? I never disregard the learned or the old or those that are engaged in penances. When the whole population sleeps, I keep myself awake (for watching and protecting). How then hast thou been able to possess my heart? My priest possesses knowledge of self. He is given to penances, and is conversant with all duties. Possessed of great intelligence, he has the fullest power over my kingdom. By gifts I desire to acquire knowledge, and by truth and the protection of Brahmanas, I desire to attain regions of blessedness in heaven. By service I attach myself to my preceptors, I have no fear of Rakshasas. In my kingdom there are no widows, no wicked Brahmanas, no Brahmana that has fallen away from his duties, no deceitful person, no thief, no Brahmana that officiates in the sacrifices of people for whom he should never officiate, and no perpetrator of sinful deeds. I have no fear of Rakshasas. There is no space in my body, of even two fingers' breadth, that does not bear the scar of a weapon-wound. I always fight for the sake of righteousness. How hast thou been able to possess my heart? The people of my kingdom always invoke blessings upon me in order that I may always be able to protect kine and Brahmanas and perform sacrifices. How then hast thou been able to possess me?'

"The Rakshasa said, 'Since thou art observant of the duties under all circumstances, therefore, O king of the Kaikeyas, go back to thy abode. Blessed be thou, I leave thee. They, O king of the Kaikeyas, who protect kine and Brahmanas and all their subjects, have nothing to fear from Rakshasas, and much less from sinful persons. Those kings that give the lead to Brahmanas and whose might depends upon that of the Brahmanas, and whose subjects discharge the duties of hospitality, always succeeds in acquiring heaven.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thou shouldst, therefore, protect the Brahmanas. Protected by thee, they will protect thee in return. Their blessings, O king, would surely descend upon kings of righteous behaviour. For the sake of righteousness, those Brahmanas that are not observant of the duties of their order should be chastised and separated (into a distinct class) from their superiors. A king who conducts himself in this way towards the people of his city and the provinces, obtains prosperity here and residence in heaven with Indra.'"

SECTION 78

"Yudhishthira said, 'It has been said that in seasons of distress a Brahmana may support himself by the practice of Kshatriya duties. Can he, however, at any time, support himself by the practice of the duties laid down for the Vaisyas?'

"Bhishma said, 'When a Brahmana loses his means of support and falls into distress, he may certainly betake himself to the practices of a Vaisya and derive his support by agriculture and keeping cattle, if, of course, he is incompetent for Kshatriya duties.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'If a Brahmana, O bull of Bharata's race, betakes himself to the duties of a Vaisya, what articles may he sell without losing his prospect of heaven?'

"Bhishma said, 'Wines, salt, sesamum seeds, animals having manes, bulls, honey, meat, and cooked food, O Yudhishthira, under all circumstances, a Brahmana should avoid. A Brahmana, by selling these, would sink into hell. A Brahmana, by selling a goat, incurs the sin of selling the god of fire; by selling a sheep, the sin of selling the god of water; by selling a horse, the sin of selling the god of the sun; by selling cooked food, the sin of selling land; and by selling a cow, the sin of selling sacrifice and the Soma juice. These, therefore, should not be sold (by a Brahmana). They that are good do not applaud the purchase of uncooked food by giving cooked food in exchange. Uncooked food, however, may be given for procuring cooked food, O Bharata! 'We will eat this cooked food of thine. Thou mayst cook these raw things (that we give in exchange).'--In a compact of this kind there is no sin. Listen, O Yudhishthira, I shall speak to thee of the eternal practice, existing from days of old, of persons conducting themselves according to approved usages. 'I give thee this. Give me this other thing in return.' Exchange by such agreement is righteous. To take things by force, however, is sinful. Even such is the course of the usage followed by the Rishis and others. Without doubt, this is righteous.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'When, O sire, all the orders, giving up their respective duties, take up arms against the king, then, of course, the power of the king decreases.--By what means should the king then become the protector and refuge of the people? Resolve this doubt of mine, O king, by speaking to me in detail.'

"Bhishma said, 'By gifts, by penances, by sacrifices, by peacefulness, and by self-restraint, all the orders headed by the Brahmanas should, on such occasions, seek their own good. Those amongst them that are endued with Vedic strength, should rise up on every side and like the gods strengthening Indra contribute (by Vedic rites) to enhancing the strength of the king. Brahmanas are said to be the refuge of the king while his power suffers decay. A wise king seeks the enhancement of his power by means of the power of the Brahmanas. When the king, crowned with victory, seeks the re-establishment of peace, all the orders then betake themselves to their respective duties. When robbers, breaking through all restraints, spread devastation around, all the orders may take up arms. By so doing they incur no sin, O Yudhishthira!'

"Yudhishthira said, 'If all the Kshatriyas become hostile towards the Brahmanas, who then will protect the Brahmanas and their Vedas? What then should be the duty of the Brahmanas and who will be their refuge?'

"Bhishma said, 'By penances, by Brahmacharya, by weapons, and by (physical) might, applied with or without the aid of deceit, the Kshatriyas should be subjugated. If the Kshatriya misconducts himself, especially towards Brahmanas, the Vedas themselves will subjugate them. The Kshatriyas have sprung from the Brahmanas. Fire has sprung from water; the Kshatriya from the Brahmana; and iron from stone. The energy of fire, the Kshatriya, and iron, are irresistible. But when these come into contact with the sources of their origin, their force becomes neutralised. When iron strikes stone, or fire battles with water, or the Kshatriya becomes hostile to the Brahmana, then the strength of each of those three becomes destroyed. Thus, O Yudhishthira, the energy and might, howsoever great and irresistible, of Kshatriyas become quelled as soon as they are directed against the Brahmanas. When the energy of the Brahmanas becomes mild, when Kshatriya energy becomes weak, when all men misbehave themselves towards the Brahmanas, they that engage in battle then, casting off all fear of death, for protecting the Brahmanas, morality, and their own selves,--those persons, moved by righteous indignation and possessed of great strength of mind, succeed in winning high regions of bliss hereafter. All persons should take up arms for the sake of Brahmanas. Those brave persons that fight for Brahmanas attain to those felicitous region in heaven that are reserved for persons that have always studied the Vedas with attention, that have performed the austerest of penances, and that have, after fasting, cast off their bodies into blazing fires. The Brahmana, by taking up arms for the three orders, does not incur sin. People say that there is no higher duty than casting off life under such circumstances. I bow to them and blessed be they that thus lay down their lives in seeking to chastise the enemies of Brahmanas. Let us attain to that region which is intended for them. Manu himself has said that those heroes repair to the region of Brahman. As persons become cleansed of all their sins by undergoing the final bath on a horse-sacrifice even so they that die at the edge of weapons while fighting wicked people, become cleansed of their sins. Righteousness becomes unrighteousness, and unrighteousness becomes righteousness, according to place and time. Such is the power of place and time (in determining the character of human acts). The friends of humanity, by doing even acts of cruelty, have attained to high heaven. Righteous Kshatriyas, by doing even sinful acts, have attained to blessed ends. The Brahmana, by taking up arms on these three occasions, does not incur sin, viz., for protecting himself, for compelling the other orders to betake themselves to their duties, and for chastising robbers.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'If when robbers raise their heads and an inter-mixture of the orders begins to take place in consequence of confusion, and Kshatriyas become incompetent, some powerful person other than a Kshatriya seeks to subdue those robbers for the sake of protecting the people, indeed, O best of kings, if that powerful person happens to be a Brahmana or a Vaisya or a Sudra, and if he succeeds in protecting the people by righteously wielding the rod of chastisement is he justified in doing what he does or is he restrained by the ordinances from accomplishing that duty? It seems that others, when the Kshatriyas prove so wretched, should take up weapons.'

"Bhishma said, 'Be he a Sudra or be he the member of any other orders, he that becomes a raft on a raftless current, or a means of crossing where means there are none, certainly deserves respect in every way. That person, O king, relying upon whom helpless men, oppressed and made miserable by robbers, live happily, deserve to be lovingly worshipped by all as if he were a near kinsman. The person, O thou of Kuru's race, that dispels the fears of others, always deserves respect. What use is there of bulls that would not bear burthens, or of kine that would not yield milk, or of a wife that is barren? Similarly, what need is there for a king that is not competent to grant protection? As an elephant made of wood, or a deer made of leather, as a person without wealth, or one that is a eunuch, or a field that is sterile, even so is a Brahmana that is void of Vedic lore and a king incapable of granting protection? Both of them are like a cloud that does not pour rain. That person who always protects the good and restrains the wicked deserves to become a king and to govern the world.'"

SECTION 79

"Yudhishthira said, 'What, O grandsire, should be the acts and what the behaviour of persons employed as priests in our sacrifices? What sort of persons should they be, O king? Tell me all this, O foremost of speakers.'

"Bhishma said, 'It is laid down from those Brahmanas that are eligible as priests that they should be conversant with the Chhandas including the Samans, and all the rites inculcated in the Srutis, and that they should be able to perform all such religious acts as lead to the prosperity of the king. They should be devotedly loyal and utter agreeable speeches in addressing kings. They should also be friendly towards one another, and cast equal eyes on all. They should be devoid of cruelty, and truthful in speech. They should never be usurers, and should always be simple and sincere. One that is peaceful in temper, destitute of vanity, modest, charitable, self-restrained, and contented, possessed of intelligence, truthful, observant of vows, and harmless to all creatures, without lust and malice, and endued with the three excellent qualities, devoid of envy and possessed of knowledge, deserves the seat of Brahman himself. Persons with such qualities, O sire, are the best of priests and deserve every respect.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'There are Vedic texts about the gift of Dakshina in sacrifices. There is no ordinance, however, which lays down that so much should be given. This ordinance (about the gift of Dakshina) has not proceeded from motives connected with the distribution of wealth. The command of the ordinance, in consequence of the provision in cases of incapacity, is terrible. That command is blind to the competence of the sacrificer. The audition occurs in the Vedas that a person should, with devotion, perform a sacrifice. But what can devotion do when the sacrificer is stained by falsehood? [The falsehood consists in finding substitutes for the Dakshina actually laid down. They are morsels of cooked food for a living cow, a grain of barley for a piece of cloth; a copper coin for gold; etc.]

"Bhishma said, 'No man acquires blessedness or merit by disregarding the Vedas or by deceit or falsehood. Never think that it is otherwise. Dakshina constitutes one of the limbs of sacrifice and conduces to the nourishment of the Vedas. A sacrifice without Dakshina can never lead to salvation. The efficacy, however, of a single Purnapatra is equal to that of any Dakshina, however rich. Therefore, O sire, everyone belonging to the three orders should perform sacrifices. [The fact is that although the sacrificer may not be able to give the Dakshina actually laid down in the Vedas, yet by giving its substitute he does not lose any merit, for a single Purnapatra (256 handfuls of rice) is as efficacious if given away with devotion, as the richest Dakshina.] The Vedas have settled that Soma is as the king himself to the Brahmanas. Yet they desire to sell it for the sake of performing sacrifices, though they never wish to sell it for gaining a livelihood. Rishis of righteous behaviour have declared, agreeably to the dictates of morality, that a sacrifice performed with the proceeds of the sale of Soma serves to extend sacrifices. These three, viz., a person, a sacrifice and Soma, must be of good character. A person that is of bad character is neither for this nor for the other world. This audition has been heard by us that the sacrifice which high-souled Brahmanas perform by wealth earned by excessive physical labour, is not productive of great merit. There is a declaration in the Vedas that penances are higher than sacrifices. I shall now speak to thee of penances. O learned prince, listen to me. Abstention from injury, truthfulness of speech, benevolence, compassion,--these are regarded as penances by the wise and not the emaciation of the body. Disregard of the Vedas, disobedience to the dictates of the scriptures, and violation of all wholesome restraints, are productive of self-destruction. Listen, O son of Pritha, to what has been laid down by those that pour ten libations upon the fire at ten times of the day.--For them that perform the sacrifice of penance, the Yoga they endeavour to effect

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with Brahma is their ladle; the heart is their clarified butter; and high knowledge constitutes their Pavitra. [A Pavitra is made by a couple of Kusa blades for sprinkling clarified butter upon the sacrificial fire.] All kinds of crookedness mean death, and all kinds of sincerity are called Brahma. This constitutes the subject of knowledge. The rhapsodies of system-builders cannot affect this.--'"

SECTION 80

"Yudhishthira said, 'The most trifling act, O grandsire, cannot be accomplished by any man if unaided. What then need be said of the king (who has to govern a kingdom)? What should be the behaviour and what the acts of the king's minister? Upon whom should the king repose confidence and upon whom should he not?'

"Bhishma said, 'Kings, O monarch, have four kinds of friends. They are he that has the same object, he that is devoted, he that is related by birth, and he that has been won over (by gifts and kindness). A person of righteous soul, who would serve one and not both sides, is the fifth in the enumeration of the king's friends. Such a person adopts that side on which righteousness is, and accordingly acts righteously. With respect to such a person, the king should never disclose such purposes of his as would not enlist his sympathy.

Kings desirous of success are obliged to adopt both kinds of paths, righteous and unrighteous. Of the four kinds of friends, the second and the third are superior, while the first and the fourth should ever be regarded with suspicion. In view, however, of those acts which the king should do in person, he should always regard with suspicion all the four. The king should never act heedlessly in the matter of watching his friends. A king that is heedless is always overpowered by others. A wicked man assumes the garb of honesty, and he that is honest becomes otherwise. A foe may become a friend and a friend may become a foe. A man cannot always be of the same mind. Who is there that would trust him completely? All the chief acts, therefore, of a king he should accomplish in his own presence. A complete reliance (on his ministers) is destructive of both morality and profit. A want of trust again in respect of all is worse than death. Trustfulness is premature death. One incurs danger by truthfulness. If one trusts another completely, he is said to live by the sufferance of the trusted person. For this reason every one should be trusted as also mistrusted. This eternal rule of policy, O sire, should be kept in view. One should always mistrust that person who would, upon one's desire, obtain one's wealth. The wise declare such a person to be one's enemy. A person whose joy knows no bounds upon beholding the aggrandisement of the king and who feels miserable upon seeing the king's decay, furnishes the indications of one of the best friends of the king. He whose fall would be brought about by thy fall, should be trusted by thee completely even as thou shouldst trust thy sire. Thou shouldst, to the best of thy power, aggrandise him as thou winnest aggrandisement for thyself. One who, in even thy religious rites, seeks to rescue thee from harm, would seek to rescue thee from harm's way in every other business. Such a one should be regarded as thy best friend. They, on the other hand, that wish one harm are one's foes. That friend is said to be like thy own self who is inspired with fear when calamity overtakes thee and with joy when prosperity shines on thee. A person possessed of beauty, fair complexion, excellent voice, liberality, benevolence, and good birth, cannot be such a friend. That person who is possessed of intelligence and memory, who is clever in the transaction of business, who is naturally averse from cruelty, who never indulges in wrath, and who, whether regarded or disregarded is never dissatisfied, be he thy priest or preceptor or honoured friend should always receive thy worship if he accepts the office of thy counsellor and resides in thy abode. Such a person may be informed of thy most secret counsels and the true state of all thy affairs religious or pertaining to matters of profit. Thou mayst confide in him as in thy own sire. One person should be appointed to one task, and not two or three. Those may not tolerate each other. It is always seen that several persons, if set to one task, disagree with one another. That person who achieves celebrity, who observes all restraints, who never feels jealous of others that are able and competent, who never does any evil act, who never abandons righteousness from lust or fear or covetousness or wrath, who is clever in the transaction of business, and who is possessed of wise and weighty speech, should be thy foremost of ministers. Persons possessed of good birth and good behaviour, who are liberal and who never indulge in brag, who are brave and respectable, and learned and full of resources, should be appointed as ministers for supervising all thy affairs. Honoured by thee and gratified with wealth, they would act for thy good and be of great help to thee. Appointed to offices connected with profit and other important matters they always bring about great prosperity. Moved by a feeling of healthy rivalry, they discharge all duties connected with profit, holding consultations with one another when necessary. Thou shouldst fear thy kinsmen as thou shouldst death itself. A kinsman can never bear a kinsman's prosperity even as a feudatory chief cannot bear to see the prosperity of his overlord. None but a kinsman can feel joy at the destruction of a kinsman adorned with sincerity, mildness, liberality, modesty, and truthfulness of speech. They, again, that have no kinsmen, cannot be happy. No men can be more contemptible than they that are destitute of kinsmen. A person that has no kinsmen is easily overridden by foes. Kinsmen constitute the refuge of one that is afflicted by other men, for kinsmen can never bear to see a kinsman afflicted by other people. When a kinsman is persecuted by even his friends, every kinsman of the persecuted regards the injury to be inflicted upon himself. In kinsmen, therefore, there are both merits and faults. A person destitute of kinsmen never shows favours to any one nor humbles himself to any one. In kinsmen, therefore both merit and demerit may be marked. One should, for this reason, always honour and worship his kinsmen in words and acts, and do them agreeable offices without injuring them at any time. Mistrusting them at heart, one should behave towards them as if he trusted them completely. Reflecting upon their nature, it seems that they have neither faults nor merits. A person who heedfully conducts himself in this way finds his very foes disarmed of hostility and converted into friends. One who always conducts himself in this way amid kinsmen and relatives and bears himself thus towards friends and foes, succeeds in winning everlasting fame.'"

SECTION 81

"Yudhishthira said, 'If one does not succeed in winning over one's kinsmen and relatives (by this course), they that are intended for becoming friends become foes. How should one, then, conduct one's self so that the hearts of both friends and foes may be won?'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connexion is cited the old history of a discourse between Vasudeva and the celestial sage Narada. On a certain occasion Vasudeva said, 'Neither an illiterate and foolish friend, nor a learned friend of fickle soul, deserves, O Narada, to know one's secret counsels. Relying on thy friendship for me, I shall say something to thee, O sage! O thou that canst go to heaven at thy pleasure, one should speak to another if one be convinced of the intelligence of that other. I never behave with slavish obsequiousness towards my kinsmen by flattering speeches about their prosperity. I give them half of what I have, and forgive their evil speeches. As a fire-stick is grinded by a person desirous of obtaining fire, even so my heart is ground by my kinsmen with their cruel speeches. Indeed, O celestial Rishi, those cruel speeches burn my heart every day. Might resides in Sankarshana; mildness in Gada; and as regards Pradyumna, he surpasses even myself in beauty of person. (Although I have all these on my side) yet I am helpless, O Narada! Many others among the Andhakas and the Vrishnis are possessed of great prosperity and might, and during courage and constant perseverance. He on whose side they do not range themselves meets with destruction. He, on the other hand, on whose side they do range themselves, achieves everything. Dissuaded (in turns) by both (viz., Ahuka and Akrura,) I do not side either of them. What can be more painful for a person than to have both Ahuka and Akrura on his side? What, again, can be more painful for one than not to have both of them on his side? [The fact is that Ahuka and Akrura were bitterly opposed to each other. Both of them, however, loved Krishna. Ahuka always advised Krishna to shun Akrura, and Akrura always advised him to shun Ahuka. Krishna valued the friendship of both and could ill dispense with either. What he says here is that to have them both is painful and yet not to have them both is equally painful.] I am like the mother of two brothers gambling against each other, invoking victory to both. I am thus, O Narada, afflicted by both. It behoveth thee to tell me that which is for the good of both myself and my kinsmen.'

"Narada said, 'Calamities, O Krishna, are of two kinds, viz., external and internal. They arise, O thou of Vrishni's race, from one's own acts or from the acts of others. The calamity that has now overtaken thee is an internal one and is born of thy own acts. Valadeva and others of the Bhoja race are partisans of Akrura, and have taken up his side either for the sake of wealth, or mere caprice, or moved by words or by hate. As regards thyself, thou hast given away wealth obtained by thee to another. Though possessed of men who should be your friends, thou hast, however, by thy own act, brought calamity over thy head. Thou canst not take back that wealth, even as one cannot swallow again the food that he has vomited himself. The kingdom cannot be taken back from Babhu and Ugrasena (unto whom it has been given). Thyself, O Krishna, cannot, in particular, take it back (from them) from fear of producing intestine dissensions. Supposing the endeavour succeeds, it will do so after much trouble and after the accomplishment of the most difficult feats. A great slaughter and a great loss of wealth will ensue, perhaps, even total destruction. Use then a weapon that is not made of steel, that is very mild and yet capable of piercing all hearts. Sharpening and resharpening that weapon correct the tongues of thy kinsmen.'

"Vasudeva said, 'What is that weapon, O sage, which is not made of steel, which is mild, which still pierces all hearts, and which I must use for correcting the tongues of my kinsmen?'

"Narada said, 'The giving of food to the best of thy power, forgiveness, sincerity, mildness, and honour to whom honour is due, these constitute a weapon that is not made of steel. With soft words alone turn away the anger of kinsmen about the utter cruel speeches, and mollify their hearts and minds and slanderous tongues. None who is not a great man with cleansed soul and possessed of accomplishments and friends can bear a heavy burthen. Take up this great weight (of governing the Vrishnis) and bear it on thy shoulders. All oxen can bear heavy burthens on a level road. The stronger ones only among them can bear such burthens on a difficult road. From disunion destruction will spring and overtake all the Bhojas and the Vrishnis. Thou, O Kesava, art the foremost one among them. Do thou act in such a manner that the Bhojas and the Vrishnis may not meet with destruction. Nothing but intelligence and forgiveness, restraint of the senses, and liberality are present in a person of wisdom. Advancing one's own race is always praiseworthy and glorious and conducive to long life. Do thou, O Krishna, act in such a way that destruction may not overtake thy kinsmen. There is nothing unknown to thee in respect of policy and the art of war, O Lord! The Yadavas, the Kukuras, the Bhojas, the Andhakas, and the Vrishnis, are all dependent on thee even as all the worlds and all the regents of those worlds, O mighty-armed one! The Rishis, O Madhava, always pray for thy advancement. Thou art the lord of all creatures. Thou knowest the past, the present, and the future. Thou art the foremost one among all the Yadavas. Relying on thee, they expect to live in happiness.'"

SECTION 82

"Bhishma said, 'This that I have told thee constitutes the first means. Listen now, O Bharata to the second means. That man who seeks to advance the interests of the king should always be protected by the king. If a person, O Yudhishthira, that is paid or unpaid, comes to thee for telling thee of the damage done to thy treasury when its resources are being embezzled by a minister, thou shouldst grant him an audience in private and protect him also from the (impeached) minister. The ministers guilty of peculation seek, O Bharata, to slay such informants. They who plunder the royal treasury combine together for opposing the person who seeks to protect it, and if the latter be left unprotected, he is sure to be ruined. In this connexion also an old story is cited of what the sage Kalakavrikshiya had said unto the king of Kosala. It hath been heard by us that once on a time the sage Kalakavrikshiya came to Kshemadarsin who had ascended the throne of the kingdom of Kosala. Desirous of examining the conduct of all the officers of Kshemadarsin, the sage, with a crow kept within a cage in his hand, repeatedly travelled through every part of that king's dominions. And he spoke unto all the men and said, 'Study, ye the corvine science. The crows tell me the present, the past, and the future.' Proclaiming this in the kingdom, the sage, accompanied by a large number of men, began to observe the misdeeds of all the officers of the king. Having ascertained all the affairs in respect of that kingdom, and having learnt that all the officers appointed by the king were guilty of malversation, the sage, with his crow, came to see the king. Of rigid vows, he said unto the king, 'I know everything (about thy kingdom).' Arrived at the presence of the king, he said unto his minister adorned with the insignia of his office that he had been informed by his crow that the minister had done such a misdeed in such a place, and that such and such persons know that he had plundered the royal treasury. 'My crow tells me this. Admit or prove the falsehood of the accusation quickly.' The sage then proclaimed the names of other officers who had similarly been guilty of embezzlement, adding, 'My crow never says anything that is false.' Thus accused and injured by the sage, all the officers of the king, O thou of Kuru's race, (united together and) pierced his crow, while the sage slept, at night. Beholding his crow pierced with a shaft within the cage, the regenerate Rishi, repairing to Kshemadarsin in the morning said unto him, 'O king, I seek thy protection. Thou art all-powerful and thou art the master of the lives and wealth of all. If I receive thy command I can then say what is for thy good. Grieved on account of thee whom I regard as a friend have come to thee, impelled by my devotion and ready to serve thee with my whole heart. Thou art being robbed of thy wealth, I have come to thee for disclosing it without showing any consideration for the robbers. Like a driver that urges a good steed, I have come hither for awakening thee whom I regard as a friend. A friend who is alive to his own interests and desirous of his own prosperity and aggrandisement, should forgive a friend that intrudes himself forcibly, impelled by devotion and wrath, for doing what is beneficial.' The king replied unto him, saying, 'Why should I not bear anything thou wilt say, since I am not blind to what is for my good? I grant thee permission, O regenerate one! Tell me what thou pleasest, I shall certainly obey the instructions thou wilt give me, O Brahman,'

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"The sage said, 'Ascertaining the merits and faults of thy servants, as also the: dangers thou incurrest at their hands, I have come to thee, impelled by my devotion, for representing everything to thee. The teachers (of mankind) have of old declared what the curses are, O king, of those that serve others. The lot of those that serve the king is very painful and wretched. He who has any connexion with kings is to have connexion with snakes of virulent poison. Kings have many friends as also many enemies. They that serve kings have to fear all of them. Every moment, again, they have fear from the king himself, O monarch. A person serving the king cannot (with impunity) be guilty of heedlessness in doing the king's work. Indeed, a servant who desires to win prosperity should never display heedlessness in the discharge of his duties. His heedlessness may move the king to wrath, and such wrath may bring down destruction (on the servant). Carefully learning how to behave himself, one should sit in the presence of the king as he should in the presence of a blazing fire. Prepared to lay down life itself at every moment, one should serve the king attentively, for the king is all-powerful and master of the lives and the wealth of all, and therefore, like unto a snake of virulent poison. He should always fear to indulge in evil speeches before the king, or to sit cheerlessly or in irreverent postures, or to wait in attitudes of disrespect or to walk disdainfully or display insolent gestures and disrespectful motions of the limbs. If the king becomes gratified, he can shower prosperity like god. If he becomes enraged, he can consume to the very roots like a blazing fire. This, O king, was said by Yama. Its truth is seen in the affairs of the world. I shall now (acting according to these precepts) do that which would enhance thy prosperity. Friends like ourselves can give unto friends like thee the aid of their intelligence in seasons of peril. This crow of mine, O king, has been slain for doing thy business. I cannot, however, blame thee for this. Thou art not loved by those (that have slain this bird). Ascertain who are thy friends and who thy foes. Do everything thyself without surrendering thy intelligence to others. They who are on thy establishment are all peculators. They do not desire the good of thy subjects. I have incurred their hostility. Conspiring with those servants that have constant access to thee they covet the kingdom after thee by compassing thy destruction. Their plans, however, do not succeed in consequence of unforeseen circumstances. Through fear of those men, O king, I shall leave this kingdom for some other asylum. I have no worldly desire, yet those persons of deceitful intentions have shot this shaft at my crow, and have, O lord, despatched the bird to Yama's abode. I have seen this, O king, with eyes whose vision has been improved by penances. With the assistance of this single crow I have crossed this kingdom of thine that is like a river abounding with alligators and sharks and crocodiles and whales. Indeed, with the assistance of that bird, I have passed through thy dominions like unto a Himalayan valley, impenetrable and inaccessible in consequence of trunks of (fallen) trees and scattered rocks and thorny shrubs and lions and tigers and other beasts of prey. The learned say that a region inaccessible in consequence of gloom can be passed through with the aid of a light, and a river that is unfordable can be crossed by means of a boat. No means, however, exist for penetrating or passing through the labyrinth of kingly affairs. Thy kingdom is like an inaccessible forest enveloped with gloom. Thou (that art the lord of it) canst not trust it. How then can I? Good and evil are regarded here in the same light. Residence here cannot, therefore, be safe. Here a person of righteous deeds meets with death, while one of unrighteous deeds incurs no danger. According to the requirements of justice, a person of unrighteous deeds should be slain but never one who is righteous in his acts. It is not proper, therefore, for one to stay in this kingdom long. A man of sense should leave this country soon. There is a river, O king, of the name of Sita. Boats sink in it. This thy kingdom is like that river. An all-destructive net seems to have been cast around it. Thou art like the fall that awaits collectors of honey, or like attractive food containing poison. Thy nature now resembles that of dishonest men and not that of the good. Thou art like a pit, O king, abounding with snakes of virulent poison. Thou resemblest, O king, a river full of sweet water but exceedingly difficult of access, With steep banks overgrown with Kariras and thorny canes. Thou art like a swan in the midst of dogs, vultures and jackals. Grassy parasites, deriving their sustenance from a mighty tree, swell into luxuriant growth, and at last covering the tree itself overshadow it completely. A forest conflagration sets in, and catching those grassy plants first, consumes the lordly tree with them. Thy ministers, O king, resemble those grassy parasites of which I speak. Do thou check and correct them. They have been nourished by thee. But conspiring against thee, they are destroying thy prosperity. Concealing (from thee) the faults of thy servants, I am living in thy abode in constant dread of danger, even like a person living in a room with a snake within it or like the lover of a hero's wife. My object is to ascertain the behaviour of the king who is my fellow-lodger. I wish to know whether the king has his passions under control, whether his servants are obedient to him, whether he is loved by them, and whether he loves his subjects. For the object of ascertaining all these points, O best of kings, I have come to thee. Like food to a hungry person, thou hast become dear to me. I dislike thy ministers, however, as a person whose thirst has been slaked dislikes drink. They have found fault with me because I seek thy good. I have no doubt that there is no other cause for that hostility of theirs to me. I do not cherish any hostile intentions towards them. I am engaged in only marking their faults. As one should fear a wounded snake, every one should fear a foe of wicked heart!' [The belief is still current that a wounded snake is certain to seek vengeance even if the person that has wounded it places miles of distance between himself and the reptile. The people of this country, therefore, always kill a snake outright and burn it in fire if they ever take it.]

"The king said, 'Reside in my palace, O Brahmana! I shall always treat thee with respect and honour, and always worship thee. They that will dislike thee shall not dwell with me. Do thou thyself do what should be done next unto those persons (of whom thou hast spoken). Do thou see, O holy one, that the rod of chastisement is wielded properly and that everything is done well in my kingdom. Reflecting upon everything, do thou guide me in such a way that I may obtain prosperity.'

"The sage said, 'Shutting thy eyes in the first instance to this offence of theirs (viz., the slaughter of the crow), do thou weaken them one by one. Prove their faults then and strike them one after another. When many persons become guilty of the same offence, they can, by acting together, soften the very points of thorns. Lest thy ministers (being suspected, act against thee and) disclose thy secret counsels, I advise thee to proceed with such caution. As regards ourselves, we are Brahmanas, naturally compassionate and unwilling to give pain to any one. We desire thy good as also the good of others, even as we wish the good of ourselves. I speak of myself, O king! I am thy friend. I am known as the sage Kalakavrikshiya. I always adhere to truth. Thy sire regarded me lovingly as his friend. When distress overtook this kingdom during the region of thy sire, O king, I performed many penances (for driving it off), abandoning every other business. From my affection for thee I say this unto thee so that thou mayst not again commit the fault (of reposing confidence on undeserving persons). Thou hast obtained a kingdom without trouble. Reflect upon everything connected with its weal and woe. Thou hast ministers in thy kingdom. But why, O king, shouldst thou be guilty of heedlessness?' After this, the king of Kosala took a minister from the Kshatriya order, and appointed that bull among Brahmanas (viz., the sage Kalakavrikshiya) as his Purohita. After these changes had been effected, the king of Kosala subjugated the whole earth and acquired great fame. The sage Kalakavrikshiya worshipped the gods in many grand sacrifices performed for the king. Having listened to his beneficial counsels, the king of Kosala conquered the whole earth and conducted himself in every respect as the sage directed.'"

SECTION 83

"Yudhishthira said, 'What should be the characteristics, O grandsire, of the legislators, the ministers of war, the courtiers, the generalissimos, and the counsellors of a king!'

"Bhishma said, 'Such persons as are possessed of modesty, self-restraint, truth, sincerity, and courage to say what is proper, should be thy legislators. They that are always by thy side, that are possessed of great courage, that are of the regenerate caste, possessed of great learning, well pleased with thee, and endued with perseverance in all acts, should, O son of Kunti, be desired by thee for becoming thy ministers of war at all seasons of distress, O Bharata! One who is of high descent, who, treated with honour by thee, always exerts his powers to the utmost on thy behalf, and who will never abandon thee in weal or woe, illness or death, should be entertained by thee as a courtier. They that are of high birth, that are born in thy kingdom, that have wisdom, beauty of form and features, great learning, and dignity of behaviour, and that are, besides, devoted to thee, should be employed as officers of thy army. Persons of tow descent and covetous dispositions, who are cruet and shameless would court thee, O sire, as long as their hands would remain wet. [i.e., as long as they are paid and have in their hands what has been given to them.] They that are of good birth and good behaviour, that can read all signs and gestures, that are destitute of cruelty, that know what the requirements are of place and time, that always seek the good of their master in all acts, should be appointed as ministers by the king in all his affairs. They that have been won over with gifts of wealth, honours, regardful receptions, and means of procuring felicity, and who on that account may be regarded by thee as persons inclined to benefit thee in all thy affairs, should always be made sharers of thy happiness. They that are unchangeable in conduct, possessed of learning and good behaviour, observant of excellent vows, large-hearted, and truthful in speech, will always be attentive to thy affairs and will never abandon thee, They, on the other hand, that are disrespectable, that are not observant of restraints, that are of wicked souls, and that have fallen away from good practices, should always be compelled by thee to observe all wholesome restraints. When the question is which of two sides should be adopted, thou shouldst not abandon the many for adopting the side of one. When, however, that one person transcends the many in consequence of the possession of many accomplishments, then thou shouldst, for that one, abandon the many. These are regarded as marks of superiority, viz., prowess, devotion to pursuits that bring fame, and observance of wholesome restraints. He, again, that honours all persons possessed of ability, that never indulges in feelings of rivalry with persons possessed of no merit, that never abandons righteousness from lust or fear or wrath or covetousness, that is adorned with humility, that is truthful in speech and forgiving in temper, that has his soul under control, that has a sense of dignity, and that has been tried in every situation, should be employed by thee as thy counsellor. High descent, purity of blood, forgiveness, cleverness, and purity of soul, bravery, gratefulness, and truth, are, O son of Pritha marks of superiority and goodness. A wise man who conducts himself in this way [i.e., shows these virtues in his conduct.], succeeds in disarming his very foes of their hostility and converting them into friend. A king that has his soul under restraint, that is possessed of wisdom, and that is desirous of prosperity, should carefully examine the merits and demerits of his ministers. A king desirous of prosperity and of shining in the midst of his contemporaries, should have for ministers persons connected with his trusted friends, possessed of high birth born in his own kingdom, incapable of being corrupted, unstained by adultery and similar vices, well tested, belonging to good families, possessed of learning, sprung from sires and grandsires that held similar offices, and adorned with humility. The king should employ five such persons to look after his affairs as are possessed of intelligence unstained by pride, a disposition that is good, energy, patience, forgiveness, purity, loyalty, firmness, and courage, whose merits and faults have been well tested, who are of mature years, who are capable of bearing burthens, and who are free from deceit. Men that are wise in speech, that are possessed of heroism, that are full of resources under difficulties, that are of high birth, that are truthful, that can read signs, that are free from cruelty, that are conversant with the requirements of place and time, and that desire the good of their masters, should be employed by the king as his ministers in all affairs of the kingdom. One who is bereft of energy and who has been abandoned by friends can never work with perseverance. Such a man, if employed, fails in almost every business. A minister possessed of little learning, even if blessed with high birth and attentive to virtue, profit, and pleasure, becomes incompetent in choosing proper courses of action. Similarly, a person of low descent, even if possessed of great learning, always errs, like a blind man without a guide, in all acts requiring dexterity and foresight. A person, again, who is of infirm purposes, even if possessed of intelligence and learning, and even if conversant with means, cannot long act with success. A man of wicked heart and possessed of no learning may set his hand to work but he fails to ascertain what the results will be of his work. A king should never repose trust on a minister that is not devoted to him. He should, therefore, never disclose his counsels to a minister that is not devoted to him. Such a wicked minister, combining with the other ministers of the king, may ruin his master, like a fire consuming a tree by entering its entrails through the holes in its body with the aid of the wind. Giving way to wrath, a master may one day pull down a servant from his office or reprove him, from rage, in harsh words, and restore him to power again. None but a servant devoted to the master can bear and forgive such treatment. Ministers also become sometime highly offended with their royal masters. That one, however, amongst them, who subdues his wrath from desire of doing good to his master,--that person who is a sharer with the king of his weal and woe,--should be consulted by the king in all his affairs. A person who is of crooked heart, even if he be devoted to his master and possessed of wisdom and adorned with. numerous virtues, should never be consulted by the king. One who is allied with foes and who does not regard the interests of the king's subjects, should be known as an enemy. The king should never consult with him. One who is possessed of no learning, who is not pure, who is stained with pride, who pays court to the king's enemies, who indulges in brag, who is unfriendly, wrathful, and covetous should not be consulted by the king. One who is a stranger, even if he be devoted to the king and possessed of great learning, may be honoured by the king and gratified with assignment of the means of sustenance, but the king should never consult him in his affairs. A person whose sire was unjustly banished by royal edict should not be consulted by the king even if the king may have subsequently bestowed honours upon him and assigned to him the means of sustenance. A well-wisher whose property was once confiscated for a slight transgression, even if he be possessed of every accomplishment should not still be consulted by the king. A person possessed of wisdom, intelligence, and learning, who is born within the kingdom, who is pure and righteous in all his acts, deserves to be consulted by the king. One who is endued with knowledge and wisdom, who is

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acquainted with the dispositions of his friends and foes, who is such a friend of the king as to be his second self, deserves to be consulted. One who is truthful in speech and modest and mild and who is a hereditary servant of the king, deserves to be consulted. One who is contented and honoured, who is truthful and dignified, who hates wickedness and wicked men, who is conversant with policy and the requirements of time, and who is courageous, deserves to be consulted by the king. One who is competent to win over all men by conciliation should be consulted, O monarch, by the king that is desirous of ruling according to the dictates of the science of chastisement. One upon whom the inhabitants of both the capital and the provinces repose confidence for his righteous conduct, who is competent to fight and conversant with the rules of policy, deserves to be consulted by the king. Therefore, men possessed of such qualities, men conversant with the dispositions of all and desirous of achieving high acts, should be honoured by the king and made his ministers. Their number also should not be less than three. Ministers should be employed in observing the laches of their masters, of themselves, of the subjects, and of the foes of their master. The kingdom has its root in the counsels of policy that flow from ministers, and its growth proceeds from the same source. Ministers should act in such a way that the enemies of their master may not be able to detect his laches. On the other hand, when their laches become visible, they should then be assailed. Like the tortoise protecting its limbs by withdrawing them within its shell, ministers should protect their own counsels. They should, even thus, conceal their own laches. Those ministers of a kingdom that succeed in concealing their counsels are said to be possessed of wisdom. Counsels constitute the armour of a king, and the limbs of his subjects and officers. A kingdom is said to have its roots in spies and secret agents, and its strength is said to lie in counsels of policy. If masters and ministers follow each other for deriving support from each other, subduing pride and wrath, and vanity and envy, they may then both become happy. A king should also consult with such ministers as are free from the five kinds of deceit. Ascertaining well, in the first instance, the different opinions of the three amongst them whom he has consulted, the king should, for subsequent deliberation, repair to his preceptor for informing him of those opinions and his own. His preceptor should be a Brahmana well versed in all matters of virtue, profit, and pleasure. Repairing, for such subsequent deliberation, to him, the king should, with collected mind, ask his opinion. When a decision is arrived at after deliberation with him, the king should then, without attachment, carry it out into practice. They that are conversant with the conclusions of the science of consultation say that kings should always hold consultation in this way. Having settled counsels in this way, they should then be reduced to practice, for then they will be able to win over all the subjects. There should be no dwarfs, no humpbacked persons, no one of an emaciated constitution, no one who is lame or blind, no one who is an idiot, no woman, and no eunuch, at the spot where the king holds his consultations. Nothing should move there before or behind, above or below, or in transverse directions. Getting up on a boat, or repairing to an open space destitute of grass or grassy bushes and whence the surrounding land may be clearly seen, the king should hold consultations at the proper time, avoiding faults of speech and gestures.'"

SECTION 84

"'Bhishma said, 'In this connexion, O Yudhishthira, the old account of a conversation between Vrihaspati and Sakra is cited.'

"Sakra said, 'What is that one act, O regenerate one, by accomplishing which with care, a person may become the object of regard with all creatures and acquire great celebrity?'

"Vrihaspati said, 'Agreeableness of speech, O Sakra, is the one thing by practising which a person may become an object of regard with all creatures and acquire great celebrity. This is the one thing, O Sakra, which gives happiness to all. By practising it, one may always obtain the love of all creatures. The person who does not speak a word and whose face is always furrowed with frowns, becomes an object of hatred with all creatures. Abstention from agreeable speeches makes him so. That person who, upon beholding others, addresses them first and does so with smiles succeeds in making everyone gratified with him. Even gifts, if not made with agreeable speeches, do not delight the recipients, like rice without curry. If even the possessions of men, O Sakra, be taken away with sweet speeches, such sweetness of behaviour succeeds in reconciling the robbed. A king, therefore, that is desirous of even inflicting chastisement should utter sweet words. Sweetness of speech never fails of its purpose, while, at the same time it never pains any heart. A person of good acts and good, agreeable, and sweet speeches, has no equal.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed by his priest, Sakra began to act according to those instructions. Do thou also, O son of Kunti, practise this virtue.'"

SECTION 85

"Yudhishthira said, 'O foremost of kings, what is that method by which a king ruling his subjects may, in consequence of it, obtain great blessedness and eternal fame?'

"Bhishma said, 'A king of cleansed soul and attentive to the duty of protecting his subjects earns merit and fame, both here and hereafter, by conducting himself righteously.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'With whom should the king behave in what way? Asked by me, O thou of great wisdom, it behoveth thee to tell me everything duly. Those virtues of which thou hast already spoken with respect to a person, cannot, it is my belief, be found to exist in any single individual.'

"Bhishma said, 'Thou art endued with great intelligence, O Yudhishthira! It is even so as thou sayest. The person is very rare who is possessed of all those good qualities. To be brief, conduct like this (viz., the presence of all the virtues spoken of), is very difficult to be met with even upon careful search. I shall, however, tell thee what kinds of ministers should be appointed by thee. Four Brahmanas, learned in the Vedas, possessed of a sense of dignity, belonging to the Snataka order, and of pure behaviour, and eight Kshatriyas, all of whom should be possessed of physical strength and capable of wielding weapons, and one and twenty Vaisyas, all of whom should be possessed of wealth, and three Sudras, everyone of whom should be humble and of pure conduct and devoted to his daily duties, and one man of the Suta caste, possessed of a knowledge of the Puranas and the eight cardinal virtues, should be thy ministers. Every one of them should be fifty years of age, possessed of a sense of dignity, free from envy, conversant with the Srutis and the Smritis, humble, impartial, competent to readily decide in the midst of disputants urging different courses of action, free from covetousness, and from the seven dreadful vices called Vyasanas. The king should consult with those eight ministers and hold the lead among them. He should then publish in his kingdom, for the information of his subjects, the results of such deliberation. Thou shouldst always, adopting such a conduct, watch over thy people. Thou shouldst never confiscate what is deposited with thee or appropriate as thine the thing about whose ownership two persons may dispute. Conduct such as this would spoil the administration of justice. If the administration of justice be thus injured, sin will afflict thee, and afflict thy kingdom as well, and inspire thy people with fear as little birds at the sight of the hawk. Thy kingdom will then melt away like a boat wrecked on the sea. If a king governs his subjects with unrighteousness, fear takes possession of his heart and the door of heaven is closed against him. A kingdom, O bull among men, has its root in righteousness. That minister, or king's son, who acts unrighteously, occupying the seat of justice, and those officers who having accepted the charge of affairs, act unjustly, moved by self-interest, all sink in hell along with the king himself. Those helpless men who are oppressed by the powerful and who indulge on that account in piteous and copious lamentations, have their protector in the king. In cases of dispute between two parties the decision should be based upon the evidence of witnesses. If one of the disputants has no witnesses and is helpless, the king should give the case his best consideration. The king should cause chastisement to be meted out to offenders according to the measure of their offences. They that are wealthy should be punished with fines and confiscations; they that are poor, with loss of liberty. Those that are of very wicked conduct should be chastised by the king with even corporal inflictions. The king should cherish all good men with agreeable speeches and gifts of wealth. He who seeks to compass the death of the king should be punished with death to be effected by diverse means. The same should be the punishment of one who becomes guilty of arson or theft or such co-habitation with women as may lead to a confusion of castes. A king, O monarch, who inflicts punishments duly and conformably to the dictates of the science of chastisement, incurs no sin by the act. On the other hand, he earns merit that is eternal. That foolish king who inflicts punishments capriciously, earns infamy here and sinks into hell hereafter. One should not be punished for the fault of another, Reflecting well upon the (criminal) code, a person should be convicted or acquitted. A king should never slay an envoy under any circumstances. That king who slays art envoy sinks into hell with all his ministers. That king observant of Kshatriya practices who slays an envoy that faithfully utters the message with which he is charged, causes the manes of his deceased ancestors to be stained with the sin of killing a foetus. An envoy should possess these seven accomplishments, viz., he should be high-born, of a good family, eloquent, clever, sweet-speeched, faithful in delivering the message with which he is charged, and endued with a good memory. The aid-de-camp of the king that protects his person should be endued with similar qualities. The officer also that guards his capital or citadel should possess the same accomplishments. The king's minister should be conversant with the conclusions of the scriptures and competent in directing wars and making treaties. He should, further, be intelligent, possessed of courage, modest, and capable of keeping secrets. He should also be of high birth endued with strength of mind, and pure in conduct. If possessed of these qualities, he should be regarded worthy. The commander of the king's forces should be possessed of similar accomplishments. He should also be conversant with the different kinds of battle array and with the uses of engines and weapons. He should be able to bear exposure to rain, cold, heat, and wind, and watchful of the laches of foes. The king, O monarch, should be able to lull his foes into a sense of security. He should not, however, himself trust anyone. The reposing of confidence on even his own son is not to be approved of. I have now, O sinless one, declared to thee what the conclusions of the scriptures are. Refusal to trust anyone has been said to be one of the highest mysteries of king-craft.'"

SECTION 86

"Yudhishthira said, 'What should be the kind of city within which the king should himself dwell? Should he select one already made or should he cause one to be especially constructed? Tell me this O grandsire!'

"Bhishma said, 'It is proper, O Bharata, to enquire about the conduct that should be followed and the defences that should be adopted with respect to the city in which, O son of Kunti, a king should reside. I shall, therefore, discourse to thee on the subject, referring especially to the defences of citadels. Having listened to me, thou shouldst make the arrangements required and conduct thyself attentively as directed. Keeping his eye on the six different kinds of citadels, the king should build his cities containing every kind of affluence and every other article of use in abundance. Those six varieties are water-citadels, earth-citadels, hill-citadels, human-citadels, mud-citadels, and forest-citadels. [Water-citadels are those that are surrounded on all sides by a river or rivers, or the sea. Earth-citadels are those that are built, on plains fortified with high walls and encircled with trenches all around. Human-citadels are unfortified cities properly protected by guards and a loyal population.] The king, with his ministers and the army thoroughly loyal to him, should reside in that city which is defended by a citadel which contains an abundant stock of rice and weapons,--which is protected with impenetrable walls and a trench, which teems with elephants and steeds and cars, which is inhabited by men possessed of learning and versed in the mechanical arts, where provisions of every kind have been well stored, whose population is virtuous in conduct and clever in business and consists of strong and energetic men and animals, which is adorned with many open squares and rows of shops, where the behaviour of all persons is righteous, where peace prevails, where no danger exists, which blazes with beauty and resounds with music and songs, where the houses are all spacious, were the residents number among them many brave and wealthy individuals, which echoes with the chant of Vedic hymns, where festivities and rejoicings frequently take place, and where the deities are always worshipped. Residing there, the king should be employed in filling his treasury, increasing his forces, enhancing the number of his friends, and establishing courts of justice. He should cheek all abuses and evils in both his cities and his provinces. He should be employed in collecting provisions of every kind and in filling his arsenals with care. He should also increase his stores of rice and other grain, and strengthen his counsels (with wisdom). He should further, enhance his stores of fuel, iron, chaff, charcoal, timber, horns, bones, bamboos, marrow, oils and ghee, fat, honey, medicines, flax, resinous exudations, rice, weapons, shafts, leather catgut (for bow-strings), caries, and strings and cords made of munja grass and other plants and creepers. He should also increase the number of tanks and well, containing large quantities of water, and should protect all juicy trees. He should entertain with honour and attention preceptors (of different sciences), Ritwijas, and priests, mighty bowmen, persons skilled in architecture, astronomers and astrologers, and physicians, as also all men possessed of wisdom and intelligence and self-restraint and cleverness and courage and learning and high birth and energy of mind, and capable of close application to all kinds of work. The king should honour the righteous and chastise the unrighteous. He should, acting with resolution, set the several orders to their respective duties. Ascertaining properly, by means of spies, the outward behaviour and the state of mind of the inhabitants of his city and provinces, he should adopt those measures that may be required. The king should himself supervise his spies and counsels, his treasury, and the agencies for inflicting chastisements. Upon these everything may be said to depend. With spies constituting his sight, the king should ascertain all the acts and intentions of his foes, friends, and neutrals. He should then, with heedfulness, devise his own measures, honouring those that are loyal to him and punishing those that are hostile. The king should always adore the gods in sacrifices and make gifts without giving pain to anybody. He should protect his subjects, never doing anything that may obstruct or thwart righteousness. He should always maintain and protect the helpless, the masterless, and the old, and women that are widows. The king should always honour the ascetics and make unto them gifts, at proper seasons of cloths and vessels and food. The king

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should, with attentive care, inform the ascetics (within his dominions) of the state of his own self, of all his measures, and of the kingdom, and should always behave with humility in their presence. When he sees ascetics of high birth and great learning that have abandoned all earthly objects, he should honour them with gifts of beds and seats and food. Whatever the nature of the distress into which he may fall, he should confide in an ascetic. The very robbers repose confidence upon persons of that character. The king should place his wealth in charge of an ascetic and should take wisdom from him. He should not, however, always wait upon them or worship them on all occasions. From among those residing in his own kingdom, he should select one for friendship. Similarly, he should select another from among those that reside in the kingdom of his foe. He should select a third from among those residing in the forests, and a fourth from among those dwelling in the kingdoms paying tribute to him. He should show hospitality towards and bestow honours upon them and assign them the means of sustenance. He should behave towards the ascetics dwelling in the kingdoms of foes and in the forests in the same way as towards those that reside in his own kingdom. Engaged in penances and of rigid vows they would, if calamity overtakes the king and if he solicits protection, grant him what he wants. I have now told thee in brief the indications of the city in which the king should reside.'"

SECTION 87

"Yudhishthira said, 'How, O king, may a kingdom be consolidated, and how should it be protected? I desire to know this. Tell me all this, O bull of Bharata's race!'

"Bhishma said, 'Listen to me with concentrated attention. I shall tell thee how a kingdom may be consolidated, and how also it may be protected. A headman should be selected for each village. Over ten villages (or ten headmen) there should be cone superintendent. Over two such superintendents there should be one officer (having the control, therefore, of twenty villages). Above the latter should be appointed persons under each of whom should be a century of villages; and above the last kind of officers, should be appointed men each of whom should have a thousand villages under his control. The headman should ascertain the characteristics of every person in the village and all the faults also that need correction. He should report everything to the officer (who is above him and is) in charge of ten villages. The latter, again, should report the same to the officer (who is above him and is) in charge of twenty villages. The latter, in his turn, should report the conduct of all the persons within his dominion to the officer (who is above him and is) in charge of a hundred villages. The village headman should have control over all the produce and the possessions of the village. Every headman should contribute his share for maintaining the lord of ten villages, and the latter should do the same for supporting the lord of twenty villages. The lord of a hundred villages should receive every honour from the king and should have for his support a large village, O chief of the Bharatas, populous and teeming with wealth. Such a village, so assigned to a lord of hundred villages, should be, however, within the control of the lord of a thousand villages. That high officer, again, viz., the lord of a thousand villages, should have a minor town for his support. He should enjoy the grain and gold and other possessions derivable from it. He should perform all the duties of its wars and other internal affairs pertaining to it. Some virtuous minister, with wrathfulness should exercise supervision over the administration affairs and mutual relations of those officers. In every town, again, there should be an officer for attending to every matter relating to his jurisdiction. Like some planet of dreadful form moving above all the asterisms below, the officer (with plenary powers) mentioned last should move and act above all the officers subordinate to him. Such an officer should ascertain the conduct of those under him through his spies. Such high officers should protect the people from all persons of murderous disposition, all men of wicked deeds, all who rob other people of their wealth, and all who are full of deceit, and all of whom are regarded to be possessed by the devil. Taking note of the sales and the purchases, the state of the roads, the food and dress, and the stocks and profits of those that are engaged in trade, the king should levy taxes on them. Ascertaining on all occasions the extent of the manufactures, the receipts and expenses of those that are engaged in them, and the state of the arts, the king should levy taxes upon the artisans in respect of the arts they follow. The king, O Yudhishthira, may take high taxes, but he should never levy such taxes as would emasculate his people. No tax should be levied without ascertaining the outturn and the amount of labour that has been necessary to produce it. Nobody would work or seek for outturns without sufficient cause. [The sense seems to be that if a sufficient margin of profit, capable of maintaining one at ease, be not left, one would refrain absolutely from work. The king, therefore, in taxing the outturns of work, should leave such a margin of profit to the producers.] The king should, after reflection, levy taxes in such a way that he and the person who labours to produce the article taxed may both share the value. The king should not, by his thirst, destroy his own foundations as also those of others. He should always avoid those acts in consequence of which he may become an object of hatred to his people. Indeed, by acting in this way he may succeed in winning popularity. The subjects hate that king who earns a notoriety for voraciousness of appetite (in the matter of taxes and imposts). Whence can a king who becomes an object of hatred have prosperity? Such a king can never acquire what is for his good. A king who is possessed of sound intelligence should milk his kingdom after the analogy of (men acting in the matter of) calves. If the calf be permitted to suck, it grows strong, O Bharata, and bears heavy burthens. If, on the other hand, O Yudhishthira, the cow be milked too much, the calf becomes lean and fails to do much service to the owner. Similarly, if the kingdom be drained much, the subjects fail to achieve any act that is great. That king who protects his kingdom himself and shows favour to his subjects (in the matter of taxes and imposts) and supports himself upon what is easily obtained, succeeds in earning many grand results. Does not the king then obtain wealth sufficient for enabling him to cope with his wants? [The sense is that the subjects then, on occasions of their sovereign's want, hasten to place their resources at his disposal.] The entire kingdom, in that case, becomes to him his treasury, while that which is his treasury becomes his bed chamber. If the inhabitants of the cities and the provinces be poor, the king should, whether they depend upon him immediately or mediately, show them compassion to the best of his power. Chastising all robbers that infest the outskirts, the king should protect the people of his villages and make them happy. The subjects, in the case, becoming sharers of the king's weal and woe, feel exceedingly gratified with him. Thinking, in the first instance, of collecting wealth, the king should repair to the chief centres of his kingdom one after another and endeavour to inspire his people with fright. He should say unto them, 'Here, calamity threatens us. A great danger has arisen in consequence of the acts of the foe. There is every reason, however, to hope that the danger will pass away, for the enemy, like a bamboo that has flowered, will very soon meet with destruction. Many foes of mine, having risen up and combined with a large number of robbers, desire to put our kingdom into difficulties, for meeting with destruction themselves. In view of this great calamity fraught with dreadful danger, I solicit your wealth for devising the means of your protection. When the danger passes away, I will give you what I now take. Our foes, however, will not give back what they (if unopposed) will take from you by force. On the other hand (if unopposed), they will even slay all your relatives beginning with your very spouses. You certainly desire wealth for the sake of your children and wives. I am glad at your prosperity, and I beseech you as I would my own children. I shall take from you what it may be within your power to give me. I do not wish to give pain to any one. In seasons of calamity, you should, like strong bulls, bear such burthens. In seasons of distress, wealth should not be so dear to you. A king conversant with the considerations relating to Time should, with such agreeable, sweet, and complimentary words, send his agents and collect imposts from his people. Pointing out to them the necessity of repairing his fortifications and of defraying the expenses of his establishment and other heads, inspiring them with the fear of foreign invasion, and impressing them with the necessity that exists for protecting them and enabling them to ensure the means of living in peace, the king should levy imposts upon the Vaisyas of his realm. If the king disregards the Vaisyas, they become lost to him, and abandoning his dominions remove themselves to the woods. The king should, therefore, behave with leniency towards them. The king, O son of Pritha, should always conciliate and protect the Vaisyas, adopt measures for inspiring them with a sense of security and for ensuring them in the enjoyment of what they possess, and always do what is agreeable to them. The king, O Bharata, should always act in such a way towards the Vaisyas that their productive powers may be enhanced. The Vaisyas increase the strength of a kingdom, improve its agriculture, and develop its trade. A wise king, therefore, should always gratify them. Acting with heedfulness and leniency, he should levy mild imposts upon them. It is always easy to behave with goodness towards the Vaisyas. There is nothing productive of greater good to a kingdom, O Yudhishthira, then the adoption of such behaviour towards the Vaisyas of the realm.'"

SECTION 88

"Yudhishthira said: 'Tell me, O grandsire, how should the king should behave if, notwithstanding his great wealth, he desires for more.'

"Bhishma said, 'A king, desirous of earning religious merit, should devote himself to the good of his subjects and protect them according to considerations of place and time and to the best of his intelligence and power. He should, in his dominions, adopt all such measures as would in his estimation secure their good as also his own. A king should milk his kingdom like a bee gathering honey from plants [i.e., without injuring the source.]. He should act like the keeper of a cow who draws milk from her without boring her udders and without starving the calf. The king should (in the matter of taxes) act like the leech drawing blood mildly. He should conduct himself towards his subjects like a tigress in the matter of carrying her cubs, touching them with her teeth but never piercing them therewith. He should behave like a mouse which though possessed of sharp and pointed teeth still cuts the feet of sleeping animals in such a manner that they do not at all become conscious of it. A little by little should be taken from a growing subject and by this means should he be shorn. The demand should then be increased gradually till what is taken assumes a fair proportion. The king should enhance the burthens of his subjects gradually like a person gradually increasing the burthens of a young bullock. Acting with care and mildness, he should at last put the reins on them. If the reins are thus put, they would not become intractable. Indeed, adequate measures should be employed for making them obedient. Mere entreaties to reduce them to subjection would not do. It is impossible to behave equally towards all men. Conciliating those that are foremost, the common people should be reduced to obedience. Producing disunion (through the agency of their leaders) among the common people who are to bear the burthens, the king should himself come forward to conciliate them and then enjoy in happiness what he will succeed in drawing from them. The king should never impose taxes unseasonably and on persons unable to bear them. He should impose them gradually and with conciliation, in proper season and according to due forms. These contrivances that I declare unto thee are legitimate means of king-craft. They are not reckoned as methods fraught with deceit. One who seeks to govern steeds by improper methods only makes them furious. Drinking-shops, public women, pimps, actors, gamblers and keepers of gaining houses, and other persons of this kind, who are sources of disorder to the state, should all be checked. Residing within the realm, these afflict and injure the better classes of the subjects. Nobody should ask anything of anyone when there is no distress. Manu himself in days of old has laid down this injunction in respect of all men. If all men were to live by asking or begging and abstain from work, the world would doubtless come to an end. The king alone is competent to restrain and check. That king who does not restrain his subjects (from sin) earns a fourth part of the sins committed by his people (in consequence of the absence of royal protection). This is the declaration of the Srutis. Since the king shares the sins of his subjects like their merits, he should, therefore, O monarch, restrain those subjects of his that are sinful. The king that neglects to restrain them becomes himself sinful. He earns (as already said) a fourth part of their sins as he does a fourth part of their merits. The following faults of which I speak should be checked. They are such as impoverish everyone. What wicked act is there that a person governed by passion would not do? A person governed by passion indulges in stimulants and meat, and appropriates the wives and the wealth of other people, and sets a bad example (for imitation by others). They that do not live upon alms may beg in seasons of distress. The king should, observant of righteousness, make gifts unto them from compassion but not from fear. Let there be no beggars in thy kingdom, nor robbers. It is the robbers (and not virtuous men) that give unto beggars. Such givers are not real benefactors of men. Let such men reside in thy dominions as advance the interests of others and do them good, but not such as exterminate others. Those officers, O king, that take from the subjects more than what is due should be punished. Thou shouldst then appoint others so that these will take only what is due. Agriculture, rearing of cattle, trade and other acts of a similar nature, should be caused to be carried on by many persons on the principle of division of labour. If a person engaged in agriculture, cattle-rearing, or trade, becomes inspired with a sense of insecurity (in consequence of thieves and tyrannical officers), the king, as a consequence, incurs infamy. The king should always honour those subjects of his that are rich and should say unto them, 'Do ye, with me, advance the interest of the people.' In every kingdom, they that are wealthy constitute an estate in the realm. Without doubt, a wealthy person is the foremost of men. [Anga is literally a part. The idea, however, is that the wealthy form an estate in the realm. Kakud is the hump of the bull. The meaning, of course, is that the man of wealth occupies a very superior position.] He that is wise, or courageous, or wealthy or influential, or righteous, or engaged in penances, or truthful in speech, or gifted with intelligence, assists in protecting (his fellow subjects).

For these reasons, O monarch, do thou love all creatures, and display the qualities of truth, sincerity, absence of wrath, and abstention from injury! Thou shouldst thus wield the rod of chastisement, and enhance thy treasury and support thy friends and consolidate thy kingdom thus, practising the qualities of truthfulness and sincerity and supported by thy friends, treasury and forces!'"

SECTION 89

"Bhishma said, 'Let not such trees as yield edible fruits be cut down in thy dominions. Fruits and roots constitute the property of the Brahmanas. The sages have declared this to be

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an ordinance of religion. The surplus, after supporting the Brahmanas, should go to the support of other people. Nobody should take anything by doing an injury to the Brahmanas. If a Brahmana, afflicted for want of support, desires to abandon a kingdom for obtaining livelihood (elsewhere), the king, O monarch, should, with affection and respect, assign unto him the means of sustenance. If he does not still abstain (from leaving the kingdom), the king should repair to an assembly of Brahmanas and say, 'Such a Brahmana is leaving the kingdom. In whom shall my people then find an authority for guiding them?' If after this, he does not give up his intention of leaving, and says anything, the king should say unto him, 'Forget the past.' This, O son of Kunti, is the eternal way of royal duty. The king should further say unto him, 'Indeed, O Brahmana, people say that that only should be assigned to a Brahmana which would be just sufficient for maintaining him. I, however, do not accept that opinion. On the other hand, I think that if a Brahmana seeks to leave a kingdom for the king's neglect in providing him with means of support, such means should be assigned to him, and, further, if he intends to take that step for procuring the means of luxury, he should still be requested to stay and supplied with ever those means. Agriculture, cattle-rearing, and trade, provide all men with the means of living. A knowledge of the Vedas, however, provide them with the means of obtaining heaven. They, therefore, that obstruct the study of the Vedas and the cause of Vedic practices, are to be regarded as enemies of society. It is for the extermination of these that Brahman created Kshatriyas. Subdue thy foes, protect thy subjects, worship the deities in sacrifices, and fight battles with courage, O delighter of the Kurus! A king should protect those that deserve protection. The king who does this is the best of rulers. Those kings that do not exercise the duty of protection live a vain life. For the benefit of all his subjects the king should always seek to ascertain the acts and thoughts of all, O Yudhishthira; and for that reason fie should set spies and secret agents. Protecting others from thy own, and thy own from others, as also others from others, and thy own from thy own, do thou always cherish thy people. Protecting his own self first from every one, the king should protect the earth. Men of knowledge have said that everything has its root in self. The king should always reflect upon these, viz., What are his laches, to what evil habits he is addicted, what are the sources of his weakness, and what are the sources of his faults. The king should cause secret and trusted agents to wander through the kingdom for ascertaining whether his conduct as displayed on the previous day has or has not met with the approbation of the people. Indeed, he should ascertain whether his conduct is or is not generally praised, or, is or is not acceptable to the people of the provinces, and whether he has or has not succeeded in earning a good name in his kingdom. Amongst those that are virtuous and possessed of wisdom, those that never retreat from battle, and those that do not reside in thy kingdom, those that are dependent on thee, and those that are thy ministers, as well as those that are independent of party, they that praise or blame thee should never be objects of disregard with thee, O Yudhishthira! No man, O sire, can succeed in earning the good opinion of all persons in the world. All persons have friends, foes, and neutrals, O Bharata!'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Among persons all of whom are equal in might of arms and accomplishments, whence does one acquire superiority over all the rest, and whence does that one succeed in ruling over them?'

"Bhishma said, 'Creatures that are mobile devour things that are immobile; animals again that have teeth devour those that have no teeth; wrathful snakes of virulent poison devour smaller ones of their own species. (Upon this principle), among human beings also, the king, who is strong, preys upon those that are weak. The king, O Yudhishthira, should always be heedful of his subjects as also of his foes. If he becomes heedless, they fall upon him like vultures (on carrion). Take care, O king, that the traders in thy kingdom who purchase articles at prices high and low (for sale), and who in course of their journeys have to sleep or take rest in forest and inaccessible regions [i.e., they who have to undergo such privations in carrying on their useful occupation should not be taxed heavily.], be not afflicted by the imposition of heavy taxes. Let not the agriculturists in thy kingdom leave it through oppression; they, who bear the burthens of the king, support the other residents also of the kingdom. The gifts made by thee in this world support the gods, Pitris, men, Nagas, Rakshasas, birds, and animals. These, O Bharata, are the means of governing a kingdom and protecting its rulers. I shall again discourse to thee on the subject, O son of Pandu!'"

SECTION 90

"Bhishma said, 'That foremost of all persons conversant with the Vedas, viz., Utathya of Angirasa's race, discoursed cheerfully (on former occasion) unto Yuvanaswa's son Mandhatri. I shall now, O Yudhishthira, recite to thee everything that Utathya, that foremost of all persons conversant with the Vedas, had said unto that king.'

"Utathya said, 'One becomes a king for acting in the interests of righteousness and not for conducting himself capriciously. Know this, O Mandhatri; the king is, indeed, the protector of the world. If the king acts righteously, he attains to the position of a god [i.e., goes to heaven.]. On the other hand, if fie acts unrighteously, he sinks into hell. All creatures rest upon righteousness. Righteousness, in its turn, rests upon the king. That king, therefore, who upholds righteousness, is truly a king. That king who is endued with a righteous soul and with every kind of grace is said to be an embodiment of virtue. If a king fails to chastise unrighteousness, the gods desert his mansion and he incurs obloquy among men. The efforts of men who are observant of their own duties are always crowned with success. For this reason all men seek to obey the dictates of righteousness which are productive of prosperity. When sinfulness is not restrained, righteous behaviour comes to an end and unrighteous behaviour increases greatly. When sinfulness is not restrained, no one can, according to the rights of property as laid down in the scriptures, say, 'This thing is mine and this is not mine.' When sinfulness prevails in the world, men cannot own and enjoy their own wives and animals and fields and houses. The deities receive no worship, the Pitris no offerings in Sraddhas, and guests no hospitality, when sinfulness is not restrained. The regenerate classes do not study the Vedas, or observe high vows, or spread out sacrifices, when sinfulness is not restrained. The minds of men, O king, become weak and confounded like those of persons wounded with weapons, when sinfulness is not restrained. Casting their eyes on both the worlds, the Rishis made the king, that superior being, intending that he should be the embodiment of righteousness on earth. He is called Rajan in whom righteousness shines. That king, again in whom there is no righteousness, is called a Vrishala. [This verse gives the etymology of the word Rajan and Vrishala. He in whom righteousness, shines (rajate) is a Rajan; and he in whom righteousness, called Vrisha, disappear, is a Vrishala. Vide next verse.] The divine Dharma (righteousness) has another name, viz., Vrisha. He who weakens Vrisha is called by the name of Vrishala. A king should, therefore, advance the cause of righteousness. All creatures grow in the growth of righteousness, and decay with its decay. Righteousness, therefore, should never be permitted to decay. Righteousness is called Dharma because it aids the acquisition and preservation of wealth (Dhana). The sages, O king, have declared that Dharma restrains and set bounds to all evil acts of men. The self-born (Brahman) created Dharma for the advancement and growth of creatures. For this reason, a king should act according to the dictates of Dharma for benefiting his subjects. For this reason also, O tiger among kings, Dharma has been said to be the foremost of all things. That foremost of men who rules his subjects righteously is called a king. Disregarding lust and wrath, observe thou the dictates of righteousness. Among all things, O chief of Bharata's race, that conduce to the prosperity of kings, righteousness is the foremost. Dharma, again, has sprung from the Brahmana. For this reason, the Brahmana should always be worshipped. Thou shouldst, O Mandhatri, gratify with humility the wishes of Brahmanas. By neglecting to gratify the wishes of Brahmanas, the king brings danger on himself. In consequence of such neglect, he fails to obtain any accession of friends while his foes increase in number. In consequence of malice towards the Brahmanas springing from his folly, the goddess of prosperity who had formerly dwelt with him became enraged and deserted the Asura Vali, the son of Virochana. Deserting the Asura she repaired to Indra, the chief of the deities. Beholding the goddess living with Purandara, Vali indulged in many vain regrets. This, O puissant one, is the results of malice and pride. Be thou awakened, O Mandhatri, so that the goddess of prosperity may not in wrath desert thee. The Srutis declare that Unrighteousness begat a son named Pride upon the goddess of prosperity. This Pride, O king, led many among the gods and the Asuras to ruin. Many royal sages also have suffered destruction on his account. Do thou, therefore, awaken, O king! He who succeeds in conquering him becomes a king. He, on the other hand, who suffers himself to be conquered by him, becomes a slave. If, O Mandhatri, thou wishest for an eternal life (of felicity), live as a king should that does not indulge in these two, viz., Pride and Unrighteousness! Abstain from companionship with him that is intoxicated (with pride), him that is heedless (of the dictates of honesty), him that is scoffer of religion, him that is insensate, and forbear to pay court to all of them when united. Keep thy self aloof from the company of ministers whom thou hast once punished and especially of women, as also from mountains and uneven lands and inaccessible fastnesses and elephants and horses and (noxious) reptiles. Thou shouldst also give up wandering in the night, and avoid the faults of stinginess and vanity and boastfulness and wrath. Thou shouldst never have intercourse with unknown women, or those of equivocal sex, or those that are lewd, or those that are the wives of other men, or those that are virgins. When the king does not restrain vice, a confusion of castes follows, and sinful Rakshasas, and persons of neutral sex, and children destitute of limbs or possessed of thick tongues, and idiots, begin to take birth in even respectable families. Therefore, the king should take particular care to act righteously, for the benefit of his subjects. If a king acts heedlessly, a great evil becomes the consequence. Unrighteousness increases causing a confusion of castes. Cold sets in during the summer months, and disappears when its proper season comes. Drought and flood and pestilence afflict the people. Ominous stars arise and awful comets appear on such occasions. Diverse other portents, indicating destruction of the kingdom, make their appearance. If the king does not take measures for his own safety and does not protect his subjects, the latter first meet with destruction and then destruction seizes the king himself. Two persons combining together snatch the wealth of one, and many acting in concert rob the two. Maidens are deflowered. Such a state of things is said to arise from the king's faults. All rights of property come to an end among men, when the king, abandoning righteousness, acts heedlessly.'"

SECTION 91

"Utathya said, 'If the deity of the clouds pours rain seasonably and the king acts virtuously, the prosperity that ensues maintain the subjects in felicity. That washerman who does not know how to wash away the filth of cloth without taking away its dye, is very unskilful in his profession. That person among Brahmanas or Kshatriyas or Vaisyas who, having fallen away from the proper duties of his order, has become a Sudra, is truly to be compared to such a washerman. Menial service attaches to the Sudra; agriculture to the Vaisya; the science of chastisement to the Kshatriya, and Brahmacharya, penances, mantras, and truth, attach, to the Brahmana. That Kshatriya who knows how to correct the faults of behaviour of the other orders and to wash them clean like a washerman is really their father and deserve to be their king. The respective ages called Krita, Treta, Dwapara and Kali, O bull of Bharata's race, are all dependent on the conduct of the king. It is the king who constitutes the age. The four orders, the Vedas and the duties in respect of the four modes of life, all become confused and weakened when the king becomes heedless. The three kinds of Fire, the three Vedas, and sacrifices with Dakshina, all become lost when the king becomes heedless. The king is the creator of all creatures, and the king is their destroyer. That king who is of righteous soul is regarded as the creator, while he that is sinful is regarded as the destroyer. The king's wives, sons, kinsmen, and friends, all become unhappy and grieve when the king becomes heedless. Elephants and steeds and kine and camels and mules and asses and other animals all lose their vigour when the king becomes unrighteous. It is said, O Mandhatri, that the Creator created Power (represented by the king) for the object of protecting Weakness. Weakness is, indeed, a great being, for everything depends upon it. [He who protects Weakness wins heaven, while he who persecutes it goes to hell. Weakness, thus, is a great thing. Its power, so to say, is such that it can lead to heaven and hell everyone with whom it may come into contact.] All creatures worship the king. All creatures are the children of the king. If, therefore, O monarch, the king becomes unrighteous, all creatures come to grief. The eyes of the weak, of the Muni, and of the snake of virulent poison, should be regarded as unbearable. Do not, therefore, come into (hostile) contact with the weak. Thou shouldst regard the weak as always subject to humiliation. Take care that the eyes of the weak do not burn thee with thy kinsmen. In a race scorched by the eyes of the weak, no children take birth. Such eyes burn the race to its very roots. Do not, therefore, come into (hostile) contact with the weak. Weakness is more powerful than even the greatest Power, for that Power which is scorched by Weakness becomes totally exterminated. If a person, who has been humiliated or struck, fails, while shrieking for assistance, to obtain a protector, divine chastisement overtakes the king and brings about his destruction. Do not, O sire, while in enjoyment of Power, take wealth from those that are Weak. Take care that that the eyes of the Weak do not burn thee like a blazing fire. The tears shed by weeping men afflicted with falsehood slay the children and animals of those that have uttered those falsehoods. Like a cow a sinful act perpetrated does not produce immediate fruits. If the fruit is not seen in the perpetrator himself, it is seen in his son or in his son's son, or daughter's son. When a weak person fails to find a rescuer, the great rod of divine chastisement falls (upon the king). When all subjects of a king (are obliged by distress to) live like Brahmanas, by mendicancy, such mendicancy brings destruction upon the king. When all the officers of the king posted in the provinces unite together and act with injustice, the king is then said to bring about a state of unmixed evil upon his kingdom. When the officers of the king extort wealth, by unjust means or acting from lust or avarice, from persons piteously soliciting mercy, a great destruction then is sure to overtake the king. A mighty tree, first starting into life, grows into large proportions. Numerous creatures then come and seek its shelter. When, however, it is cut down or consumed in a conflagration, those that, had recourse to it for shelter all become homeless. When the residents of a kingdom perform

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acts of righteousness and all religious rites, and applaud the good qualities of the king, the latter reaps an accession of affluence. When, on the other hand, the residents, moved by ignorance, abandon righteousness and act unrighteously, the king becomes overtaken by misery. When sinful men whose acts are known are allowed to move among the righteous (without being punished for their misdeeds), Kali then overtakes the rulers of those realms. When the king causes chastisement to overtake all wicked people, his kingdom thrives in prosperity. The kingdom of that king certainly thrives who pays proper honours to his ministers and employs them in measures of policy and in battles. Such a ruler enjoys the wide earth for ever. That king who duly honours all good acts and good speeches succeeds in earning great merit. The enjoyment of good things after sharing them with others, paying proper honours to the ministers, and subjugation or persons intoxicated with strength, are said to constitute the great duty of a king. Protecting all men by words, body, and deeds, and never forgiving his son himself (if he has offended), constitute the great duty of the king. The maintenance of those that are weak by sharing with them the things he has, and thereby increasing their strength constitute the duty of the king. Protection of the kingdom, extermination of robbers, and conquering in battle, constitute the duty of the king. Never to forgive a person however dear, if he has committed an offence by act or word, constitutes the duty of the king. Protecting those that solicit shelter, as he would protect his own children, and never depriving one of the honours to which he is entitled constitute the duty of the king. Adoring the deities, with a devoted heart, in sacrifices completed by presents, and subduing lust and envy, constitute the duty of the king. Wiping the tears of the distressed, the helpless, and the old, and inspiring them with joy, constitute the duty of the king. Aggrandising friends, weakening foes, and honouring the good, constitute the duty of the king. Cheerfully observing the obligations of truth, always making gifts of land, entertaining guests, and supporting dependents, constitute the duty of the king. That king who favours those that deserve favours and chastises those that deserve chastisement earns great merit both here and hereafter. The king is Yama himself. He is, O Mandhatri, the god (incarnate) unto all that are righteous. By subduing his senses he succeeds in acquiring great affluence. By not subduing them he incurs sin. [The king is God (incarnate) unto all righteous men, because they may expect everything from him. As regards the second line, the meaning depends upon bharati, which as the commentator explains means, "obtains affluence or prosperity." For Patukah some texts read Pavakah. The meaning then would be "becomes as a fire," i.e., destroys his own roots, or, probably, becomes destructive to others."]

Paying proper honours unto Ritwijas and priests and preceptors, and doing good offices unto them constitute the duty of the king. Yama governs all creatures without observing distinctions. The king should imitate him in his behaviour by restraining all his subjects duly. The king is said to resemble the Thousand-eyed (Indra) in every respect. That, O bull among men, should be regarded as righteousness which is regarded as such by him. Thou shouldst, without being heedless, cultivate forgiveness, intelligence, patience, and the, love of all creatures. Thou shouldst also ascertain the strength and weakness of all men and learn to distinguish between right and wrong. Thou shouldst conduct thyself with propriety towards all creatures, make gifts, and utter agreeable and sweet words. Thou shouldst maintain the residents of thy city and the provinces in happiness. A king who is not clever, never succeeds in protecting his subjects. Sovereignty, O sire, is a very happy burthen to bear. Only that king who is possessed of wisdom and courage, and who is conversant with the science of chastisement, can protect a kingdom. He, on the other hand, who is without energy and intelligence, and who is not versed in the great science, is incompetent to bear the burthen of sovereignty. Aided by ministers of handsome features and good birth, clever in business, devoted to their master, and possessed of great learning, thou shouldst examine the hearts and acts of all men including the very ascetics in the forests. Conducting thyself thus, thou wilt be able to learn the duties of all orders of men. That will aid thee in observing thy own duties, whether when thou art in thy country or when thou repairest to other realms. Amongst these three objects, viz., Virtue, Profit, and Pleasure, Virtue is the foremost. He that is of virtuous soul obtains great happiness both here and hereafter. If men be treated with honour, they can abandon (for the sake of the honour thou mayst give them) their very wives and sons. By attaching good men to himself (by doing good offices unto them), by gifts, sweet words, heedfulness and purity of behaviour, a king may win great prosperity. Do not, therefore, O Mandhatri, be heedless to these qualities and acts. The king should never be heedless in looking after his own laches, as also after those of his foes. He should act in such a way that his foes may not be able to detect his laches, and he should himself assail them when theirs are visible. This is the way in which Vasava, and Yama, and Varuna, and all the great royal sages have acted. Do thou observe the same conduct. Do thou, O great king, adopt this behaviour which was followed by those royal sages. Do thou soon, O bull of Bharata's race, adept this heavenly road. The gods, the Rishis, the Pitris, and the Gandharvas, possessed of great energy, sing the praises, both here and hereafter, of that king whose conduct is righteous.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed by Utathya, O Bharata, Mandhatri, unhesitatingly did as he was directed, and became the sole lord of the wide earth. Do thou also, O king, act righteously like Mandhatri. Thou wilt then, after ruling the earth, obtain an abode in heaven.'"

SECTION 92

"Yudhishthira said, 'How should a righteous king, who is desirous of adhering to a course of righteousness, behave? I ask thee this, O foremost of men! Answer me, O Grandsire!'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connexion is cited the old story of what Vamadeva gifted with great intelligence and acquainted with the true import of everything sang in ancient time. Once upon a time, king Vasumanas, possessed of knowledge and fortitude and purity of behaviour, asked the great Rishi Vamadeva of high ascetic merit, saying, 'Instruct me, O holy one, in words fraught with righteousness and of grave impart, as to the conduct to be observed by me so that I may not fall away from the duties prescribed for me.' Unto him of a golden complexion and seated at his ease like Yayati, son of Nahusha, that foremost of ascetics, viz., Vamadeva, of great energy, said as follows:

"Vamadeva said, 'Do thou act righteously. There is nothing superior to righteousness. Those kings that are observant of righteousness, succeed in conquering the whole earth. That king who regards righteousness to be the most efficacious means for accomplishing his objects, and who acts according to the counsels of those that are righteous, blazes forth with righteousness. That king who disregards righteousness and desires to act with brute force, soon falls away from righteousness and loses both Righteousness and Profit. That king who acts according to the counsels of a vicious and sinful minister becomes a destroyer of righteousness and deserves to be slain by his subjects with all his family. Indeed, he very soon meets with destruction. That king who is incompetent to discharge the duties of state-craft, who is governed by caprice in all his acts, and who indulges in brag, soon meets with destruction even if he happens to be ruler of the whole earth. That king, on the other hand, who is desirous of prosperity, who is free from malice, who has his senses under control, and who is gifted with intelligence, thrives in affluence like the ocean swelling with the waters discharged into it by a hundred streams. He should never consider himself to have a sufficiency of virtue, enjoyments, wealth, intelligence, and friends. Upon these depends the conduct of the world. By listening to these counsels, a king obtains fame', achievements, prosperity, and subjects. Devoted to virtue, that king who seeks the acquisition of virtue and wealth by such means, and who begins all his measures after reflecting upon their objects, succeeds in obtaining great prosperity. That king who is illiberal, and without affection, who afflicts his subjects by undue chastisements, and who is rash in his acts, soon meets with destruction. That king who is not gifted with intelligence fails to see his own faults. Covered with infamy here, he sinks into hell hereafter. If the king gives proper honour to them that deserve it, makes gifts, and recognises the value of sweet speeches by himself uttering them on all occasions, his subjects then dispel the calamities that overtake him, as if these had fallen upon themselves. That king who has no instructor in the ways of righteousness and who never asks others for counsels, and who seeks to acquire wealth by means that caprice suggests, never succeeds in enjoying happiness long. That king, on the other hand, who listens to the instructions of his preceptors in matters connected with virtue, who supervises the affairs of his kingdom himself, and who in all his acquisitions is guided by considerations of virtue, succeed in enjoying happiness for a long time.'"

SECTION 93

"Vamadeva continued, 'When the king, who is powerful, acts unrighteously towards the weak, they who take their birth in his race imitate the same conduct. Others, again, imitate that wretch who sets sin agoing. Such imitation of the man ungoverned by restraints soon brings destruction upon the kingdom. The conduct of a king who is observant of his proper duties, is accepted by men in general as a model for imitation. The conduct, however, of a king who falls away from his duties, is not tolerated by his very kinsfolk. That rash king who, disregarding the injunctions laid down in the scriptures, acts with highhandedness in his kingdom, very soon meets with destruction. That Kshatriya who does not follow the conduct observed from days of old by other Kshatriyas. conquered or unconquered, is said to fall away from Kshatriya duties. Having seized in battle a royal foe that did some good to the conqueror on a former occasion, that king who does not, actuated by malice, pay him honours, is said to fall away from Kshatriya duties. The king should display his power, live cheerfully, and do what is necessary in seasons of danger. Such a ruler becomes the beloved of all creatures and never falls away from prosperity. If thou doest disservice to any person, thou shouldst, when the turn comes, do him service. One who is not loved becomes an object of love, if he does what is agreeable. Untruthful speeches should be avoided. Thou shouldst do good to others without being solicited. Thou shouldst never abandon righteousness from lust or wrath or malice. Do not give harsh answers when questioned by anybody. Do not utter undignified speeches. Never be in a hurry to do anything. Never indulge in malice. By such means is a foe won over. Do not give way to exclusive joy when anything agreeable occurs, nor suffer thyself to be overwhelmed with sorrow when anything disagreeable occurs. Never indulge in grief when thy pecuniary resources are exhausted, and always remember the duty of doing good to thy subjects. That king who always does what is agreeable by virtue of his disposition achieves success in all his measures and is never shorn of prosperity. The king should always, with heedfulness, cherish that devoted servant who abstains from doing what is injurious to his master and who always does what is for his good. He should appoint in all great affairs persons that have subjugated their senses, that are devotedly loyal and of pure behaviour, and that are possessed of ability. That person, who by the possession of such qualifications pleases the king and who is never heedless in taking care of the interests of his master should be appointed by the king in the affairs of his kingdom. On the other hand, the king becomes divested of prosperity by appointing to important offices men that are fools and slaves of their senses, that are covetous and of disrespectable conduct, that are deceitful and hypocritical, that are malicious, wicked-souled, and ignorant, that are low-minded, and addicted to drink, gambling, women, and hunting. That king, who, first protecting his own self, protects others that deserve protection, feels the satisfaction of finding his subjects growing in prosperity. Such a king succeeds also in obtaining greatness. A king should, by secret agents that are devoted to him, watch the conduct and acts of other kings. By such means can he obtain superiority. Having injured a powerful king, one should not comfort himself with the thought that he (the injurer) lives at a great distance from the injured. Such a king when injured falls upon the injurer like the hawk swooping down upon its prey, in moments of heedlessness. A king whose power has been consolidated and who is confident of his own strength, should assail a neighbour who is weaker than himself but never one that is stronger. A king who is devoted to virtue, having acquired the sovereignty of the earth by prowess, should protect his subjects righteously and slaughter foes in battle. Everything belonging to this world is destined to destruction. Nothing here is durable. For this reason, the king, adhering to righteousness, should protect his subjects righteously. The defence of forts, battle, administration of justice, consultations on questions of policy, and keeping the subjects in happiness, these five acts contribute to enlarge the dominions of a king. That king who takes proper care of these is regarded to be the best of kings. By always attending to these, a king succeeds in protecting his kingdom. It is impossible, however, for one man to supervise all these matters at all times. Making over such supervision to his ministers, a King may govern the earth for ever. The people make such a person their king who is liberal, who shares all objects of enjoyment with others, who is possessed of a mild disposition, who is of pure behaviour, and who will never abandon his subjects. He is obeyed in the world who, having listened to counsels of wisdom, accepts them, abandoning his own opinions. That king who does not tolerate the counsels of a well-wisher in consequence of their opposition to his own views, who listens with inattention to what is said unto him in opposition to his views, and who does not always follow the conduct of high and noble persons conquered or unconquered, is said to fall away from the duties of Kshatriyas. From ministers that have once been chastised, from women in especial, from mountains and inaccessible regions, from elephants and horses and reptiles, the king should always, with heedfulness, protect his own self. [The sense of the passage is that the king should not ride vicious elephants and horses, should guard himself against poisonous reptiles and the arts of women, and should take particular care while ascending mountains or entering inaccessible regions such as forests and woody valleys.] That king who, abandoning his chief ministers, makes favourites of low persons, soon falls into distress, and never succeeds in compassing the (intended) ends of his measures. That king of infirm soul, who, yielding to the influence of wrath and malice, does not love and honour those amongst his kinsmen that are possessed of good qualities, is said to live on the very verge of destruction. That king, who attaches to himself accomplished persons by doing good to them even though he may not like them at heart, succeeds in enjoying fame for ever. Thou shouldst never impose taxes unseasonably. Thou shouldst not be grieved at the occurrence of anything disagreeable, nor rejoice exceedingly at anything agreeable. Thou shouldst always set thyself to the accomplishment of good acts. Who amongst the dependent kings is truly devoted to thee, and who is loyal to

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thee from fear, and who amongst them has faults, should always be ascertained by thee. The king, even if he be powerful, should trust them that are weak, for in moments of heedlessness the weak may assail the powerful like a flock of vultures seizing their prey. A man of sinful soul seeks to injure his master even if the latter be sweet-speeched and possessed of every accomplishment. Do not, therefore, place thy confidence upon such men. Nahusha's son Yayati, in declaring the mysteries of king-craft, said that a person engaged in ruling men should slay even foes that are contemptible.'"

SECTION 94

"Vamadeva said, 'The king should win victories without battles. Victories achieved by battles are not spoken of highly. O monarch, by the wise. When the sovereign's own power has not been confirmed, he should not seek to make new acquisitions. It is not proper that a king whose power has not been consolidated should seek to make such acquisitions. The power of that king whose dominions are wide and abound with wealth, whose subjects are loyal and contented, and who has a large number of officers, is said to be confirmed. That king whose soldiery are contented, gratified (with pay and prize), and competent to deceive foes can with even a small force subjugate the whole earth. The power of that king whose subjects, whether belonging to the cities or the provinces, have compassion for all creatures, and possessed of wealth and grain, is said to be confirmed. When the king thinks that his power is greater than that of a foe, he should then, aided by his intelligence, seek to acquire the latter's territories and wealth. A king whose resources are increasing, who is compassionate unto all creatures, who never loses any time by procrastination, and who is careful in protecting, his own self, succeeds in earning advancement. That king who behaves deceitfully towards his own people that have not been guilty of any fault, shears his own self like a person cutting down a forest with an axe. If the king does not always attend to the task of slaying his foes, the latter do not diminish. That king, again, who knows how to kill his own temper finds no enemies. If the king be possessed of wisdom, he would never do any act that is disapproved by good men. He would, on the other hand, always engage himself in such acts as would lead to his own benefit and that of others. That king who, having accomplished all his duties, becomes happy in the approbation of his own conscience, has never to incur the reproach of others and indulge in regrets. That king who observes such conduct towards men succeeds in subjugating both the worlds and enjoy the fruits of victory.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed by Vamadeva, king Vasumana did as he was directed. Without doubt, thyself also, following these counsels, shalt succeed in conquering both the worlds.'"

SECTION 95

"Yudhishthira said, 'If a Kshatriya desires to subjugate another Kshatriya in battle, how should the former act in the matter of that victory? Questioned by me, do thou answer it.'

"Bhishma said, 'The king, with or without an army at his back, entering the dominions of the king he would subjugate, should say unto all the people, 'I am your king. I shall always protect you. Give me the just tribute or encounter me in battle.' If the people accept him for their king, there need not be any fighting. If, without being Kshatriyas by birth, they show signs of hostility, they should then, observant as they are of practices not laid down for them, be sought to be restrained by every means. People of the other orders do take up arms (for resisting the invader) if they behold the Kshatriya unarmed for fight, incapable of protecting himself, and making too much of the enemy.' [The sense is that although it is laid down that kings should fight with those only that are of the kingly order, yet when the Kshatriyas do not arm themselves for resisting an invader, or other orders may fight for putting down those that so arm themselves against the kings.]

"Yudhishthira said 'Tell me, O grandsire, how that Kshatriya king should conduct himself in fight who advances against another Kshatriya king.'

"Bhishma said, 'A Kshatriya must not put on armour for fighting a Kshatriya unclad in mail. One should fight one, and abandon the opponent when the latter becomes disabled. If the enemy comes clad in mail, his opponent also should put on mail. If the enemy advances backed by an army, one should, backed by an army, challenge him to battle. If the enemy fights aided by deceit, he should be met with the aid of deceit. If, on the other hand, he fights fairly, he should be resisted with fair means. One should not on horseback proceed against a car-warrior. A car-warrior should proceed against a car-warrior. When an antagonist has fallen into distress, he should not be struck; nor should one that has been frightened, nor one that has been vanquished. [The distress referred to here is of being unhorsed or deprived of car or of weapons, etc.] Neither poisoned nor barbed arrows should be used. These are the weapons of the wicked. One should fight righteously, without yielding to wrath or desiring to slay. A weak or wounded man should not be slain, or one that is sonless; or one whose weapon has been broken; or one that has fallen into distress; or one whose bow-string has been cut; or one that has lost his vehicle. A wounded opponent should either be sent to his own home, or, if brought to the victor's quarters, should have his wounds attended to by skilful surgeons. When in consequence of a quarrel between righteous kings, a righteous warrior falls into distress, (his wounds should be attended to and) when cured he should be set at liberty. This is the eternal duty. Manu himself, the son of the Self-born (Brahman), has said that battles should be fought fairly. The righteous should always act righteously towards those that are righteous. They should adhere to righteousness without destroying it. If a Kshatriya, whose duty it is to fight righteously, wins a victory by unrighteous means, he becomes sinful. Of deceitful conduct, such a person is said to slay his own self. Such is the practice of those that are wicked. Even he that is wicked should be subdued by fair means. It is better to lay down life itself in the observance of righteousness than to win victory by sinful means. Like a cow, O king, perpetrated sin does not immediately produce its fruits. That sin overwhelms the perpetrator after consuming his roots and branches. A sinful person, acquiring wealth by sinful means, rejoices greatly. But the sinner, gaining advancement by sinful ways, becomes wedded to sin. Thinking that virtue has no efficacy, he jeers at men of righteous behaviour. Disbelieving in virtue, he at last meets with destruction. Though enmeshed in the noose of Varuna, he still regards himself immortal. Like unto a large leathern bag puffed up with wind, the sinner dissociates himself entirely from virtue. Soon, however, he disappears like a tree on the riverside washed away with its very roots. Then people, beholding him resemble an earthen pot broken on a stony surface, speak of him as he deserves. The king should, therefore, seek both victory and the enhancement of his resources, by righteous means.'"

SECTION XCVI

"Bhishma said, 'A king should never desire to subjugate the earth by unrighteous means, even if such subjugation would make him the sovereign of the whole earth. What king is there that would rejoice after obtaining victory by unfair means? A victory stained by unrighteousness is uncertain and never leads to heaven. Such a victory, O bull of Bharata's race, weakens both the king and the earth. A warrior whose armour has fallen off, or who begs for quarter, saying, 'I am thine' or joining his hands, or who has laid aside his weapon, may simply be seized but never slain. If a hostile king be vanquished by the troops of the invader, the latter should not himself fight his vanquished foe. On the other hand, he should bring him to his palace and persuade him for a whole year to say, 'I am thy slave!' Whether he says or does not say this, the vanquished foe, by living for a year in the house of his victor, gains a new lease of life. If a king succeeds in bringing by force a maiden from the house of his vanquished foe, he should keep her for a year and ask her whether she would wed him or any one else. If she does not agree, she should then be sent back. He should behave similarly in respect of all other kinds of wealth (such as slave) that are acquired by force. The king should never appropriate the wealth confiscated from thieves and others awaiting execution. The kine taken front the enemy by force should be given away to the Brahmanas so that they may drink the milk of those animals. The bulls taken from the enemy should be set to agriculture work or returned to the enemy. It is laid down that a king should fight one that is a king. One that is not a king should never strike one that is a king. If a Brahmana, desirous of peace, fearlessly goes between two contending armies, both should immediately abstain from fight. He would break an eternal rule that would slay or wound a Brahmana. If any Kshatriya breaks that rule, he would become a wretch of his order. In addition to this, that Kshatriya who destroys righteousness and transgresses all wholesome barriers does not deserve to be reckoned as a Kshatriya and should be driven from society. A king desirous of obtaining victory should never follow such conduct. What gain can be greater than victory won righteously? The excitable classes (of a kingdom recently conquered) should, without delay, be conciliated with soothing speeches and gifts. This is a good policy for the king to adopt. If instead of doing this, these men be sought to be governed with impolicy, they would then leave the kingdom and side with (the victor's) foes and wait for the accession of calamities (in order that they may then make head against the victor). Discontented men, watching for the calamities of the king, promptly side with the latter's foes. O monarch, in times of danger. An enemy should not be deceived by unfair means, nor should be wounded mortally. For, if struck mortally, his very life may pass away. If a king possessed of little resources be gratified therewith, he would regard life alone to be much. That king whose dominions are extensive and full of wealth, whose subjects are loyal, whose servants and officers are all contented, is said to have his roots firm. That king whose Ritwijas and priests and preceptors and others about him that are well-versed in all scriptures and deserving of honours are duly respected, is said to be conversant with the ways of the world. It was by such behaviour that Indra got the sovereignty of the world. It is by this behaviour that earthly kings succeed in obtaining the status of Indra. King Pratardana, subjugating his foes in a great battle, took all their wealth, including their very grain and medicinal herbs, but left their land untouched. King Divodasa, after subjugating his foes, brought away the very remnants of their sacrificial fires, their clarified butter (intended for libations), and their food. For this reason he was deprived of the merit of his conquests. [The meaning is that king Pratardana took what is proper to be taken and hence he incurred no sin. King Divodasa, however, by taking what he should not have taken, lost all the merit of his conquests.] King Nabhaga (after his conquests) gave away whole kingdoms with their rulers as sacrificial presents unto the Brahmanas, excepting the wealth of learned Brahmanas and ascetics. The behaviour, O Yudhishthira, of all the righteous kings of old, was excellent, and I approve of it wholly. That king who desires his own prosperity should seek for conquests by the aid of every kind of excellence but never with that of deceit or with pride.'"

SECTION 97

"Yudhishthira said. 'There are no practices, O king, more sinful than those of the Kshatriyas. In marching or in battle, the king slays large multitudes. By what acts then does the king win regions of felicity? O bull of Bharata's race, tell this, O learned one, unto me that desire to know.'

"Bhishma said, 'By chastising the wicked, by attaching and cherishing the good, by sacrifices and gifts, kings become pure and cleansed. It is true, kings desirous of victory afflict many creatures, but after victory they advance and aggrandise all. By the power of gifts, sacrifices, and penances, they destroy their sins, and their merit increases in order that they may be able to do good to all creatures. The reclaimer of a field, for reclaiming it, takes up both paddy-blades and weeds. His action, however, instead of destroying the blades or paddy, makes them grow more vigorously. They that wield weapons, destroy many that deserve destruction. Such extensive destruction, however, causes the growth and advancement of those that remain. He who protects people from plunder, slaughter, and affliction, in consequence of thus protecting their lives from robbers, comes to be regarded as the giver of wealth, of life, and of food. The king, therefore, by thus adoring the deities by means of a union of all sacrifices whose Dakshina is the dispelling of everybody's fear, enjoys every kind of felicity here and attains to a residence in Indra's heaven hereafter. [The protection of subjects is likened here to the performance of a sacrifice that has the merit of all sacrifices. The final present in that sacrifice is the dispelling of everybody's fear.] That king who, going out, fights his foes in battles that have arisen for the sake of Brahmanas and lays down his life, comes to be regarded as the embodiment of a sacrifice with illimitable presents. If a king, with his quivers full of shafts, shoots them fearlessly at his foes, the very gods do not see anyone on earth that is superior to him. In such a case, equal to the number of shafts with which he pierces the bodies of his enemies, is the number of regions that he enjoys, eternal and capable of granting every wish. The blood that flows from his body cleanses him of All his sins along with the very pain that he feels on the occasion. Persons conversant with the scriptures say that the pains a Kshatriya suffers in battle operate as penances for enhancing his merit. Righteous persons, inspired with fear, stay in the rear, soliciting life from heroes that have rushed to battle, even as men solicit rain from the clouds. If those heroes, without permitting the beseechers to incur the dangers of battle, keep them in the rear by themselves facing those dangers and defend them at that time of fear, great becomes their merit. If, again, those timid p sons, appreciating that deed of bravery, always respect those defenders, they do what is proper and just. By acting otherwise they cannot free themselves from fear. There is great difference between men apparently equal. Some rush to battle, amid its terrible din, against armed ranks of foes. Indeed, the hero rushes against crowds of foes, adopting the road to heaven. He, however, who is inspired with dastardly fear, seeks safety in flight, deserting his comrades in danger. Let not such wretches among men be born in thy race. The very gods with Indra at their head send calamities unto them that desert their comrades in battle and come with unwounded limbs. He who desires to save his own life-breaths by deserting his comrades, should be slain with sticks or stones or rolled in a mat of dry grass for being burnt to death. Those amongst the Kshatriyas that would be guilty of such conduct should be killed after the manner of killing animals [i.e., not at the weapon's edge, but otherwise.]. Death on a bed of repose, after ejecting phlegm and urine and uttering piteous cries, is sinful for a Kshatriya. Persons acquainted with the scriptures do not applaud the death which a Kshatriya encounters with unwounded body. The death of a Kshatriya, O sire, at home is not praiseworthy. They are heroes. Any unheroic act of theirs is sinful and inglorious. In disease, one may be heard to cry, saying, 'What sorrow! How painful! I must be a great sinner.' With face emaciated and stench issuing fro in his body and clothes, the sick man plunges his relatives into grief. Coveting

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the condition of those that are hale, such a man (amidst his tortures) repeatedly desires for death itself. One that is a hero, having dignity and pride, does not deserve such in inglorious death. Surrounded by kinsmen and slaughtering his foes in battle, a Kshatriya should die at the edge of keen weapons. Moved by desire of enjoyment and filled with rage, a hero fights furiously and does not feel the wounds inflicted on his limbs by foes. Encountering death in battle, he earns that high merit fraught with fame and respect of the world which belongs to his or her and ultimately obtains a residence in Indra's heaven. The hero, by not showing his back in fight and contending by every means in his power, in utter recklessness of life itself, at the van of battle, obtains the companionship of Indra. Wherever the hero encountered death in the midst, of foes without displaying ignoble fear or cheerlessness, he has succeeded in earning regions hereafter of eternal bliss.'"

SECTION 98

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me, O grand-sire, what regions are earned by unreturning heroes by encountering death in battle."

"Bhishma, said, 'In this connexion, O Yudhishthira, is cited the old story of the discourse between Amvarisha and Indra. Amvarisha, the son of Nabhaga, having repaired to heaven that is so difficult of acquisition, beheld his own generalissimo in those celestial regions in the company of Indra. The king saw his puissant general blazing with every kind of energy, endued with celestial form, seated on a very beautiful car, and journeying (in that vehicle) up and up towards still higher regions. Beholding the prosperity of his general Sudeva, and observing how he traversed regions that were still higher, the high-souled Amvarisha, filled with surprise, addressed Vasava, in the following words.'

"Amvarisha said, 'Having duly governed the whole earth bounded by the seas, having from desire of earning religious merit practised all those duties that are common to the four orders as declared by the scriptures, having practised with rigid austerity all the duties of the Brahmacharya mode, having waited with dutiful obedience upon my preceptors and other reverend seniors, having studied with due observances the Vedas and the scriptures on kingly duties, having gratified guests with food and drink, the Pitris with offerings in Sraddhas, the Rishis with attentive study of the scriptures and with initiation (under proper forms into the mysteries of religion), and the gods with many excellent and high sacrifices, having duly observed Kshatriya duties according to the injunctions of the scriptures, having cast my eyes fearlessly upon hostile troops, I won many victories in battle, O Vasava! This Sudeva, O chief of the deities, was formerly the generalissimo of my forces. It is true. He was a warrior of tranquil soul. For what reason, however, has he succeeded in transcending me? He never worshipped the gods in high and great sacrifices. He never gratified the Brahmanas (by frequent and costly presents) according to the ordinance. For what reason, then, has he succeeded in transcending me?'

"Indra said, 'Regarding this Sudeva, O sire, the great sacrifice of battle had often been spread out by him. The same becomes the case with every other man that engages in fight. Every warrior accoutred in armour, by advancing against foes in battle array, becomes installed in that sacrifice. Indeed, it is a settled conclusion that such a person, by acting in this way, comes to be regarded as the performer of the sacrifice of battle.'

"Amvarisha said, 'What constitutes the libations in that sacrifice? What constitutes its liquid offerings? What is its Dakshina? Who, again, are regarded its Ritwijas? Tell me all this, O performer of a hundred sacrifices.'

"Indra said, 'Elephants constitute the Ritwijas of that sacrifice, and steeds are its Audharyus. The flesh of foes constitutes ifs libations, and blood is its liquid offering [Ajya is any liquid substance, generally of course clarified butter, that is poured upon the sacrificial fire.]. Jackals and vultures and ravens, as also winged shafts, constitute its Sadasyas. These drink the remnants left of the liquid offering in this sacrifice and eat the remnants of its libations. Heaps of lances and spears, of swords and darts and axes, blazing, sharp, and well-tempered, constitute the ladles of the sacrificer. Straight, sharp, and well-tempered arrows, with keen points and capable of piercing the bodies of foes, impelled from well-stretched bows, constitute its large double-mouthed ladles. Sheathed in scabbards made of tiger-skin and equipped with handles made of ivory, and capable of cutting off the elephant's trunk, the swords form the Sphises of this sacrifice. [Sphis is the wooden stick with which lines are drawn on the sacrificial platform.] The strokes inflicted with blazing and keen lances and darts and swords and axes, all made of hard iron, constitute its profuse wealth procured from the respectable people by agreement in respect of the amount and period. The blood that runs over the field in consequence of the fury of the attack, constitutes the final libation, fraught with great merit and capable of granting every wish, in the Homa of this sacrifice. Cut, Pierce, and such other sounds, that are heard in the front ranks of the array, constitute the Samans sung by its Vedic chanters in the abode of Yama. The front ranks of the enemy's array constitute the vessel for the keep of its libations. The crowd of elephants and steeds and men equipped with shields are regarded to constitute the Syenachit fire of that sacrifice. The headless trunks that rise up after thousands have been slaughtered constitute the octagonal stake, made of Khadira wood, for the hero who performs that sacrifice. The shrieks that elephants utter when urged on with hooks, constitute its Ida mantras. The kettle-drums, with the slaps of palms forming the Vashats, O king, are its Trisaman Udgatri. When the property or a Brahmana is being taken away, he who casts off his body that is so dear for protecting that property, does, by that act of self-devotion, acquire the merit or a sacrifice with infinite presents. That hero who, for the sake of his master, displays prowess at the van of the array and shows not his back through fear, earns those regions of felicity that are mine. He who strews the altar of the sacrifice constituted by battle, with swords cased in blue scabbards and severed arms resembling heavy bludgeons, succeeds in winning regions of felicity like mine. That warrior who, resolved upon obtaining victory, penetrates into the midst of the enemy's ranks without waiting for any assistance, succeeds in winning regions of felicity like mine. That warrior who in battle, causes a river of blood to flow, terrible and difficult to cross, having kettle-drums for its frogs and tortoises, the bones of heroes for its sands, blood and flesh for its mire, swords and shields for its rafts, the hair of slain warriors for its floating weeds and moss, the crowds of steeds and elephants and cars for its bridges, standards and banners for its bushes of cane, the bodies or slain elephants for its boats and huge alligators, swords and scimitars for its larger vessels, vultures and Kankas and ravens for the rafts that float upon it, that warrior who causes such a river, difficult of being crossed by even those that are possessed of courage and power and which inspires all timid men with dread, is said to complete the sacrifice by performing the final ablutions. That hero whose altar (in such a sacrifice) is strewn over with the (severed) heads of foes, of steeds, and of elephants, obtains regions of felicity like mine. The sages have said that that warrior who regards the van of the hostile army as the chambers of his wives, who looks upon the van of his own army as the vessel for the keep of sacrificial offering, who takes the combatants standing to his south for his Sadasyas and those to his north as his Agnidhras, and who looks upon the hostile forces as his wedded wife, succeeds in winning all regions of felicity. [The van of the hostile army is the place of his wives, for he goes thither as cheerfully as he does to such a mansion. Agnidhras are those priests that have charge of the celestial fires.] The open space lying between two hosts drawn up for fight constitutes the altar of such a sacrificer, and the three Vedas are his three sacrificial fires. Upon that altar, aided by the recollection of the Vedas, he performs his sacrifice. The inglorious warrior who, turning away from the fight in fear, is slain by foes, sinks into hell. There is no doubt in this. That warrior, on the other hand, whose blood drenches the sacrificial altar already strewn with hair and flesh and bones, certainly succeeds in attaining a high end. That powerful warrior who, having slain the commander of the hostile army, mounts the vehicle of his fallen antagonist, comes to be regarded as possessed of the prowess of Vishnu himself and the intelligence of Vrihaspati, the preceptor of the celestials. That warrior who call seize alive the commander of the hostile army or his son or some other respected leader, succeeds in winning regions of felicity like mine. One should never grieve for a hero slain in battle. A slain hero, if nobody grieves for him, goes to heaven and earns the respect of its denizens. Men do not desire to dedicate (for his salvation) food and drink. Nor do they bathe (after receiving the intelligence), nor go into mourning for him. Listen to me as I enumerate the felicity that is in store for such a person. Foremost of Apsaras, numbering by thousands, go out with great speed (for receiving the spirit of the slain hero) coveting him for their lord. That Kshatriya who duly observes his duty in battle, acquires by that act the merit of penances and of righteousness. Indeed, such conduct on his part conforms with the eternal path of duty. Such a man obtains the merits of all the four modes of life. The aged and the children should not be slain; nor one that is a woman; not one that is flying, away; nor one that holds a straw in his lips [To take up a straw and hold it between the lips is an indication of unconditional surrender.]; nor one that says. 'I am thine.' Having slain in battle Jambha, Vritra, Vala, Paka, Satamaya, Virochana, the irresistible Namuchi, Samvara of innumerable illusions, Viprachitti,--all these sons of Diti and Danu, as also Prahlada, I myself have become the chief of the celestials.'

'Bhishma continued, 'Hearing these words of Sakra and approving of them, king Amvarisha comprehended how warriors succeed, (by battle as their means) in compassing success for themselves (in respect of winning regions of beatitude in heaven).'"

SECTION 99

"Bhishma said, 'In this connexion is cited the old story of the battle between Pratardana and the ruler of Mithila. The ruler of Mithila, viz., Janaka, after installation in the sacrifice of battle, gladdened all his troops (on the eve of fight). Listen to me, O as I recite the story. Janaka, the high souled king of Mithila, conversant with the truth of everything, showed both heaven and hell unto his own warriors. He addressed them, saying, 'Behold, these are the regions, endued with great splendour, for those that fight fearlessly. Full of Gandharva girls, those regions are eternal and capable of granting every wish. There, on the other side, are the regions of hell, intended for those that fly away from battle. They would have to rot there for eternity in everlasting ingloriousness. Resolved upon casting away your very lives, do ye conquer your foes. Do not fall into inglorious hell. The laying down of life, (in battle) constitutes, in respect of heroes, their happy door of heaven.' Thus addressed by their king, O subjugator of hostile towns, the warriors of Mithila, gladdening their rulers, vanquished their foes in battle. They that are of firm souls should take their stand in the van of battle. The car-warriors should be placed in the midst of elephants. Behind the car-warriors should stand the horsemen. Behind the last should be placed the foot-soldiers all accoutred in mail. That king who forms his array in this manner always succeeds in vanquishing his foes. Therefore, O Yudhishthira, the array of battle should always be thus formed. Filled with rage, heroes desire to will blessedness in heaven by fighting fairly. Like Makaras agitating the ocean, they agitate the ranks of the foe. Assuring one another, they should gladden those (amongst them) that are cheerless. The victor should protect the land newly conquered (from acts of aggression). He should not cause his troops to pursue too much the routed foe. The onset is irresistible of persons that rally after the rout and that, despairing of safety, assail their pursuers. For this reason, O king, thou shouldst not cause thy troops to pursue too much the routed roe. Warriors of courage do not wish to strike them that run away with speed. That is another reason why the routed foe should not be pursued hotly. Things that are immobile are devoured by those that are mobile; creatures that are toothless are devoured by those that have teeth; water is drunk by the thirsty; cowards are devoured by heroes. Cowards sustain defeat though they have, like the victors, similar backs and stomachs and arms and legs. They that are afflicted with fear bend their heads and joining their hands stay before those that are possessed of courage. This world rests on the arms of heroes like a son on those of his sire. He, therefore, that is a hero deserves respect under every circumstance. There is nothing higher in the three worlds than heroism. The hero protects and cherishes all, and all things depend upon the hero.'"

SECTION 100

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me, O grandsire, how kings desirous of victory should, O bull of Bharata's race, lead their troops to battle even by offending slightly against the rules of righteousness!'

"Bhishma said: 'Some say that righteousness is made stable by truth; some, by reasoning: so me, by good behaviour; and some, by the application of means and contrivances. I shall presently tell thee what the means and contrivances, productive of immediate fruit, are. Robbers, transgressing all wholesome bounds, very often become destroyers of property and religious merit. For resisting and restraining them. I shall tell thee what the contrivances are, as indicated in the scriptures. Listen to me as I speak of those means for the success of all acts. Both kinds of wisdom, straight and crooked, should be within call of the king. Though acquainted with it, he should not, however, apply that wisdom which is crooked (for injuring others). He may use it for resisting the dangers that may overtake him. Enemies frequently injure a king by producing disunion (among his ministers or troops or allies or subjects). The king, conversant with deceit, may, by the aid of deceit, counteract those enemies. Leathern armour for protecting the bodies of elephants, armour of the same material for bovine bulls, bones, thorns, and keen-pointed weapons made of iron, coats of mail, yak-tails, sharp and well-tempered weapons, all kinds of armour, yellow and red, banners and standards of diverse hues, swords, and lances and scimitars of great sharpness and battle-axes, and spears and shields, should be manufactured and stored in abundance. The weapons should all be properly whetted. The soldiers should be inspired with courage and resolution. It is proper to set the troops in motion in the month of Chaitra or Agrahayana. The crops ripen about that time and water also does not become scarce. That time of the year, O Bharata, is neither very cold nor very hot. Troops should, therefore, be moved at that time. If the enemy, however, be overtaken by distress, troops should immediately be set in motion (without waiting for such a favourable time). These (two) are the best occasions for the motion of troops with a view to subjugate foes. That road which has abundance of water and grass along it, which is level and easy of march, should be adopted (in moving the troops). The regions lying near the road (on both its sides) should previously be well ascertained through spies possessed of skill and having an intimate knowledge of the woods. The troops must not, like animals, be marched through woody regions. Kings desirous of victory should, therefore, adopt

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good roads for marching their troops. In the van should be placed a division of brave men, endued with strength and high birth. As regards forts, that which has walls and a trench full of water on every side and only one entrance, is worthy of praise. In respect of invading foes, resistance may be offered from within it. In pitching the camp, a region lying near the woods is regarded as much better than one under the open sky by men conversant with war and possessed of military accomplishments. The camp should be pitched for the troops not far from such a wood. Pitching the camp at such a place, planting the foot-soldiers in a position of safety, and collision with the foe as soon as he comes, are the means for warding off danger and distress. Keeping the constellation called Ursa Major [The seven stars of this constellation are supposed to be the seven great Rishis, viz., Marichi, Atri, Angira, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, and Vasishtha.] behind them, the troops should fight taking up their stand like hills. By this means, one may vanquish even foes that are irresistible. The troops should be placed in such a position that the wind, the sun, and the planet Sukra [Venus.] should blow and shine from behind them. As means for ensuing victory the wind is superior to the Sun, and the Sun is superior to Sukra, O Yudhishthira. Men conversant with war approve of a region that is not miry, not watery, not uneven, and not abounding with bricks and stone, as well-fitted for the operations of cavalry. A field that is free from mire and holes is fitted for car-warriors. A region that is overgrown with bushes and large trees and that is under water is fitted for elephant-warriors. A region that has many inaccessible spots, that is overgrown with large trees and topes of cane bushes, as also a mountainous or woody tract, is well-fitted for the operations of infantry. An army, O Bharata, which has a large infantry force, is regarded very strong. An army in which cars and horsemen predominate is regarded to be very effective in a clear (unrainy) day. An army, again; in which footsoldiers and elephants predominate becomes effective in the rainy season. Having attended to these points (about the characters of the different kinds of forces and the manner of marching, quartering, and leading them), the king should turn his attention to the characteristics of place and time. That king, who having attended to all these considerations, sets out under a proper constellation and on an auspicious lunation, always succeeds in obtaining victory by properly leading his troops. No one should slay those that are asleep or thirsty or fatigued, or those whose accoutrements have fallen away, or one that has set his heart on final emancipation, or one that is flying away, or one that is walking (unprepared) along a road, or one engaged in drinking or eating, or one that is mad, or one that is insane, or one that has been wounded mortally, or one that has been exceedingly weakened by his wounds, or one that is staying trustfully, or one that has begun any task without having been able to complete it, or one that is skilled in some especial art (as mining, etc.), or one that is in grief, or one that goes out of the camp for procuring forage or fodder, or men who set up camps or are camp-followers, or those that wait at the gates of the king or of his ministers, or those that do menial services (unto the chiefs of the army), or those that are chiefs of such servants. Those amongst thy warriors that break the rank of foes, or rally thy retreating troops, should have their pay doubled and should be honoured by thee with food, drink, and seats equal to thy own. Those amongst such that are chiefs of ten soldiers should be made chiefs of a hundred. That heedful hero again (amongst them) who is the chief of a hundred soldiers should be made the chief of a thousand. Collecting together the principal warriors, they should be addressed, thus: 'Let us swear to conquer, and never to desert one another. Let those that are inspired with fear stay here. Let those also stay here that would cause their chiefs to be slain by themselves neglecting to act heroically in the press of battle. Let such men come as would never break away from battle or cause their own comrades to be slain. Protecting their own selves as also their comrades, they are certain to slay the enemy in fight. The consequence of flying away from battle are loss of wealth, death, infamy, and reproach. Disagreeable and cutting speeches have to be heard by that man who flies away from battle, who loses his lips and teeth, who throws away all his weapons, or who suffers himself to be taken as a captive by the foe. Let such evil consequences always overtake the warriors of our foes. Those that fly away from battle are wretches among men. They simply swell the tale of human beings on earth. For true manhood, however, they are neither here nor hereafter. Victorious foes, O sire, proceed cheerfully. Their praises recited the while by bards, in pursuit of the flying combatants. When enemies, coming to battle tarnish the fame of a person, the misery the latter feels is more poignant, I think, than that of death itself. Know that victory is the root of religious merit and of every kind of happiness. That which is regarded as the highest misery by cowards is cheerfully borne by those that are heroes. Resolved upon acquiring heaven, we should fight, regardless of life itself, and determined to conquer or die, attain a blessed end in heaven. Having taken such an oath, and prepared to throwaway life itself, heroes should courageously rush against the enemy's ranks. In the van should be placed a division of men armed with swords and shields. In the rear should be placed the car-division. In the space intervening should be placed other classes of combatants. This should be the arrangement made for assailing the foe. Those combatants in the army that are veterans should fight in the van. They would protect their comrades behind them. Those amongst the army that would be regarded as foremost for strength and courage, should be placed in the van. The others should stand behind them. They that are inspired with fear should, with care, be comforted and encouraged. These weaker combatants should be placed on the field (without being withdrawn) for at least showing the number of the army (to the foe). If the troops are few, they should be drawn close together for the fight. At times, if their leader wishes, the close array may be extended wide. When a small number of troops is to fight with a great army, the array called Suchimukha should be formed [i.e., the soldiers should be drawn up as to form a wedge-like appearance with a narrow head.]. When a small force is engaged with a large one, the leader of the former may shake hands with his men and utter loud cries to effect, 'The enemy has broken! The enemy has broken!' Those among them that are endued with strength should resist the enemy, loudly unto their comrades, 'Fresh friends have arrived! Fearlessly strike at your foes!' Those that are in advance of the rest should utter loud shouts and make diverse kinds of noises, and should blow and beat Krakachas, cow-horns, drums, cymbals, and kettle-drums.'"

SECTION 101

"Yudhishthira said, 'Of what disposition, of what behaviour, of what form, how acoutred, and how armed should the combatants be in order that they may be competent for battle?'

"Bhishma said, 'It is proper that those weapons and vehicles should be adopted (by particular bodies of combatants) with which they have become familiar by use. Brave soldiers, adopting those weapons and vehicles, engage in battle. The Gandharvas, the Sindhus, and the Sauviras fight best with their nails and lances. They are brave and endued with great strength. Their armies are capable of vanquishing all forces, The Usinaras are possessed of great strength and skilled in all kinds of weapons. The Easterners are skilled in fighting from the backs of elephants and are conversant with all the ways of unfair fight. The Yavanas, the Kamvojas, and those that dwell around Mathura are well skilled in fighting with bare arms. The Southerners are skilled in fighting sword in hand. It is well-known that persons possessed of great strength and great courage are born in almost every country. Listen to me as I describe their indications. They that have voices and eyes like those of the lion or the tiger, they that have a gait like that of the lion and the tiger, and they that have eyes like those of the pigeon or the snake, are all heroes capable of grinding hostile ranks. 1 They that have a voice like deer, and eyes like those of the leopard or the bull, are possessed of great activity. They whose voice resembles that of bells, are excitable, wicked, and wrathful. They that have a voice deep as that of the clouds, that have wrathful face, or faces like those of camels, they that have hooked noses and tongues, are possessed of great speed and can shoot or hurl their weapons to a great distance. They that have bodies curved like that of the cat, and thin hair and thin skin, become endued with great speed and restlessness and almost invincible in battle. Some that are possessed of eyes closed like those of the iguana, disposition that is mild, and speed and voice like the horses, are competent to fight all foes. They that are of well-knit and handsome and symmetrical frames, and broad chests, that become angry upon hearing the enemy's drum or trumpet, that take delight in affrays of every kind, that have eyes indicative of gravity, or eyes that seem to shoot out, or eyes that are green, they that have faces darkened with frowns, or eyes like those of the mongoose, are all brave and capable of casting away their lives in battle. They that have crooked eyes and broad foreheads and cheek-bones not covered with flesh and arms strong as thunder-bolts and fingers bearing circular marks, and that are lean with arteries and nerves that are visible, rush with great speed when the collision of battle takes place. Resembling infuriated elephants, they become irresistible. They that have greenish hair ending in curls, that have flanks, cheeks, and faces fat and full of flesh, that have elevated shoulders and broad necks, that have fearful visages and fat calves, that are fiery like (Vasudeva's horse) Sugriva or like the offspring of Garuda, the son of Vinata, that have round heads, large mouths, faces like those of cats, shrill voice and wrathful temper, that rush to battle, guided by its din, that are wicked in behaviour and full of haughtiness, that are of terrible countenances, and that live in the outlying districts, are all reckless of their lives and never flyaway from battle. Such troops should always be placed in the van. They always slay their foes in fight and suffer themselves to be slain without retreating. Of wicked behaviour and outlandish manners, they regard soft speeches as indications of defeat. If treated with mildness, they always exhibit wrath against their sovereign.'"

SECTION 102

"Yudhishthira said. 'What are the well-known indications, O bull of Bharata's race, of the (future) success of an army? I desire to know them.'

"Bhishma said, 'I shall tell thee, O bull of Bharata's race, all the well-known indications of the (future) success of an army. When the gods become angry and inert are urged by fate, persons of learning, beholding everything with the eye of heavenly knowledge, perform diverse auspicious acts and expiatory rites including homa and the silent recitation of mantras, and thus allay all evils. That army in which the troops and the animals are all undepressed and cheerful. O Bharata, is sure to win a decided victory. The wind blows favourably from behind such troops. Rainbows appear in the sky. The clouds cast their shadows upon them and at times the sun shines upon them. The jackals become auspicious to them, and ravens and vultures as well. When these show such regard to the army, high success is sure to be won by it. Their (sacrificial) fires blaze up with a pure splendour, the light going upwards and the smokeless flames slightly bending towards the south. The libations poured thereon emit an agreeable fragrance. These have been said to be the indications of future success. The conchs and drums, blown and beat, send forth loud and deep peals. The combatants become filled with alacrity. These have been said to be the indications of future success. If deer and other quadrupeds be seen behind or to the left of those that have already set out for battle or of those that are about to set out, they are regarded auspicious. If they appear to the right of the warriors while about to engage in slaughter, that is regarded as an indication of success. If, however, they make their appearance in the van of such persons, they indicate disaster and defeat. If these birds, viz., swans and cranes and Satapatras and Chashas utter auspicious cries, and all the able-bodied combatants become cheerful, these are regarded as indications of future success. They whose array blazes forth with splendour and becomes terrible to look at in consequence of the sheen of their weapons, machines, armour, and standards as also of the radiant complexion of the faces of the vigorous men that stand within it, always succeed in vanquishing their foes. If the combatants of a host be of pure behaviour and modest deportment and attend to one another in loving-kindness, that is regarded as an indication of future success. If agreeable sounds and orders and sensations of touch prevail, and if the combatants become inspired with gratitude and patience, that is regarded as the root of success. The crow on the left of a person engaged in battle and on the right of him who is about to engage in it, is regarded auspicious. Appearing at the back, it indicates non-fulfilment of the objects in view, while its appearance in the front forebodes danger. Even after enlisting a large army consisting of the four kinds of forces, thou shouldst, O Yudhishthira, first behave peacefully. If thy endeavours after peace fail, then mayst thou engage in battle. The victory, O Bharata, that one acquired by battle is very inferior. Victory in battle, it seems, is dependent on caprice or destiny. When a large army breaks and the troops begin to fly away, it is exceedingly difficult to check their flight. The impetuosity of the flight resembles that of a mighty current of water or of a frightened herd of deer. Some have broken. For this, without adequate cause, others break, even they that are brave and skilled in fight. A large army, consisting of even brave soldiers, is like a large herd of Ruru deer. [If a single deer takes fright and runs in a particular direction, the whole herd follows it without knowing the cause. The simile is peculiarly appropriate in the case of large armies, If a single division takes to flight, the rest follows it. Fear is very contagious.] Sometimes again it may be seen that even fifty men, resolute and relying upon one another, cheerful and prepared to lay down their lives, succeed in grinding enemies numerically much superior. Sometimes even five, or six, or seven men, resolute and standing close together, of high descent and enjoying the esteem of those that know them, vanquish foes much superior to them in number. The collision of battle is not desirable as long as it can be avoided. The policy of conciliation, or producing disunion, and making gifts should first be tried, the battle, it is said, should come after these. At the very sight of a (hostile) force, fear paralyses the timid, even as at the sight of the blazing bolt of heaven they ask, 'Oh, upon what would it fall?' [i.e., the king should try conciliation, sending at the same time an invading force, or making an armed demonstration. Such politic measures succeed in bringing about peace.] Having ascertained that a battle is raging, the limbs of those that go to join it, as also of him that is conquering, perspire profusely. The entire country. O king, (that is the seat of war), becomes agitated and afflicted with all its mobile and immobile population. The very marrow of embodied creatures scorched with the heat of weapons, languishes with pain. A king should, therefore, on all occasions, apply the arts of conciliation, mixing them with measures of severity. When people are afflicted by foes, they always show a disposition to come to terms. Secret agents should be sent for producing disunion amongst the allies of the foe. Having produced disunion, it is very desirable that peace should then be made with that king who happens to be

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more powerful than the foe (sought to be crushed). If the invader does not proceed in the way, he can never succeed in completely crushing his foe. In dealing with the foe, care should be taken for hemming him in from all sides. Forgiveness always comes to those that are good. It never comes to those that are bad. Listen now, O Partha, to the uses of forgiveness and of severity. The fame of a king who displays forgiveness after conquest spreads more widely. The very foes of a person that is of a forgiving disposition trust him even when he becomes guilty of a grave transgression. Samvara has said that having afflicted a foe first, forgiveness should be shown afterwards, for a wooden pole, if made straight without the application of heat in the first instance, very soon assumes its former state. Persons skilled in the scriptures do not, however, applaud this. Nor do they regard this as an indication of a good king. On the other hand, they say that a foe should be subdued and checked, like a sire subduing and checking a son, without anger and without destroying him. If, O Yudhishthira, a king becomes severe, he becomes an object of hatred with all creatures. If, on the other hand, he becomes mild, he becomes disregarded by all. Do thou, therefore, practise both severity and mildness. Before smiting, O Bharata, and while smiting, utter sweet words; and having smitten, show them compassion and let them understand that thou art grieving and weeping for them. Having vanquished an army, the kind should address the survivors saying, 'I am not at all glad that so many have been slain by my troops. Alas, the latter, though repeatedly dissuaded by me, have not obeyed my direction. I wish they .(that are slain) were all alive. They do not deserve such death. They were all good men and true, and unretreating from battle. Such men, indeed, are rare. He that has slain such a hero in battle, has surely done that which is not agreeable to me.' Having uttered such speeches before the survivors of the vanquished foe, the king should in secret honour those amongst his own troops that have bravely slain the foe. For soothing the wounded slayers for their sufferings at the hand of the foe, the king, desirous of attaching them to himself, should even weep, seizing their hands affectionately. The king should thus, under all circumstances, behave with conciliation. A king that is fearless and virtuous, becomes the beloved of all creatures. All creatures, also, O Bharata, trust such a ruler. Winning their trust, he succeeds in enjoying the earth as he pleases. The king should, therefore, by abandoning deceitfulness, seek to obtain the trust of all creatures. He should also seek to protect his subjects from all fears if he seek to enjoy the earth.'"

SECTION 103

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me, O grandsire, how a kin should behave towards foe that is mild, towards one that is fierce, and towards one that has many allies and a large force.'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connexion is cited, O Yudhishthira. the old narrative of the discourse between Vrihaspati and Indra. Once on a time, that slayer of hostile heroes, viz., Vasava, the chief of the celestials, joining his palms, approached Vrihaspati, and saluting him, said these words.'

"Indra said. 'How, O regenerate one, should I behave towards my foes? Row should I subdue them by means of contrivances, without exterminating them? In a collision between two armies, victory may be won by either side. In what way should I behave so that this blazing prosperity that I have won and that scorches all my enemies may not desert me?' Thus addressed, Vrihaspati, skilled in Virtue, Profit, and Pleasure, possessed of a knowledge of kingly duties, and endued with great intelligence, answered Indra in the following words.'

"Vrihaspati said, 'One should never wish to subdue one's foes by quarrel. Excited with wrath and bereft of forgiveness, boys only seek quarrel. One that desires the destruction of a foe should not put that foe on his guard. On the other hand, one should never exhibit one's ire or fear or joy. He should conceal these within his own bosom. Without trusting one's foe in reality, one should behave towards him as if one trusted him completely. One should always speak sweet words unto one's foes and never do anything that is disagreeable. One should abstain from fruitless acts of hostility as also from insolence of speech. As a fowler, carefully uttering cries similar to those of the birds he wishes to seize or kill. captures and brings them under his power, even so should a king, O Purandara, bring his foes under subjection and then slay them if he likes. Having overcome one's foes, one should not sleep at ease. A foe that is wicked raises his head again like afire carelessly put out making its appearance again. When victory may be won by either side, a hostile collision of arms should be avoided. Having lulled a foe into security, one should reduce him into subjection and gain one's object. Having consulted with his ministers and with intelligent persons conversant with policy, a foe that is disregarded and neglected, being all along unsubdued at heart, smites at the proper season, especially when the enemy makes a false step. By employing trusted agents of his own, such a foe would also render the other's forces inefficient by producing disunion. Ascertaining the beginning, the middle and the end of his foes [i.e., ascertaining everything regarding him.], a king should in secret cherish feelings of hostility towards them. He should corrupt the forces of his foe, ascertaining everything by positive proof, using the arts of producing disunion, making gifts, and applying poison. A king should never live in companionship with his foes. A king should wait long and then slay his foes. Indeed, he should wait, expecting the opportunity, so that he might come down upon his foe at a time when the latter would not expect him in the least [We find this wisdom also in China written down by General Sunzi in the 6th century BC (Sunzi Bingfa, The Art of War).]. A king should never slay a large number of the troops of his foe, although he should certainly do that which would make his victory decisive. The king should never do such an injury to his foe as would rankle in the latter's heart. [The translator here had immediately artrocities in mind such as ethnic cleansing: The French had taken the (German populated) Alsace and Lorraine (in the Thirty-Years-War 1618-1648, and afterwards by Louis XIV). That was an impolitic step, though, perhaps, Germany also, by taking back those provinces after they had been completely Frenchified, has committed the same mistake (in 1871). Such injuries rankle in the heart and are never forgotten.] Nor should he cause wounds by wordy darts and shafts. If the opportunity comes, he should strike at him, without letting it slip. Such, O chief of the gods, should be the conduct of a king desirous of slaying his foes towards those that are his foes. If an opportunity, with respect to the man who waits for it, once passes away, it can never be had again by the person desirous of acting. Acting according to the opinions of the wise, a king should only break the strength of his foe. He should never, when the opportunity is not favourable, seek to accomplish his objects. Nor should he, when the opportunity is at hand, persecute his foe [i.e., ruin him outright (if it is not a modern ideological war).]. Giving up lust and wrath and pride, the king should, acting with heedfulness, continually watch for the laches of his foes. His own mildness, the severity of his punishments, his inactivity and heedlessness, O chief of the gods, and the deceitful contrivances well applied (by his foes), ruin a foolish ruler. That king who can conquer these four faults and counteract the deceitful contrivances of his enemies succeeds, without doubt, in smiting them all. When only one minister (without needing any help) is competent to accomplish a secret object (of the king), the king should consult with that one minister only in respect of such object. Many ministers, if consulted, endeavour to throw the burden of the task upon one another's shoulders and even give publicity to that object which should be kept secret. If consultation with one be not proper, then only should the king consult with many. When foes are unseen, divine chastisement should be invoked upon them; when seen, the army, consisting of four kinds of forces, should be moved. The king should first use the arts of producing disunion, as also those of conciliation. When the time for each particular means comes, that particular means should be applied. At times, the king should even prostrate himself before a powerful foe. It is again desirable that acting heedfully himself, he should seek to compass the victor's destruction when the latter becomes heedless. By prostrating one's self, by gift of tribute, by uttering sweet words, one should humble one's self before a more powerful king. One should (when the occasion for such acts comes) never do anything that may arouse the suspicions of one's powerful foe. The weaker ruler should, under such circumstances, carefully avoid every act that may awaken suspicion. A victorious king, again, should not trust his vanquished foes, for they that are vanquished always remain wakeful. There is nothing, O best of duties, that is more difficult of accomplishment than the acquisition of prosperity, O ruler of the immortals, by persons of a restless disposition. The very existence of persons of restless disposition is fraught with danger. Kings should, therefore, with close attention, ascertain their friends and foes. If a king becomes mild, he is disregarded.

If he becomes fierce, he inspires people with dread. Therefore, do not be fierce. Do, not, again, be mild. But be both fierce and mild. As a rapid current ceaselessly cats away the high bank and causes large landslips, even so heedlessness and error cause a kingdom to be ruined. Never attack many foes at the same time. By applying the arts of conciliation, or gift, or production of disunion, O Purandara, they should be ground one by one. As regards the remnant, (being few in number,) the victor may behave peacefully towards them. An intelligent king, even if competent for it, should not begin to crush all (his foes) at once. When a king happens to have a large army consisting of sixfold forces and teeming with horse, elephants, cars, foot, and engines, all devoted to him, when he thinks himself superior to his foe in many respects upon a fair comparison, then should he openly smite the foe without hesitation. If the foe be strong, the adoption of a policy of conciliation (towards him) is not worthy of approbation. On the other hand, chastisement by secret means is the policy that should be adopted. Nor should mildness of behaviour be adopted towards such foes, nor repeated expedition, for loss of crops, poisoning of wells and tanks, and suspicion in respect of the seven branches of administration, should be avoided. [I adopt Nilakantha's explanation of this verse. Loss of crops, etc. are the inevitable consequences of expeditions. The king, on such occasions, is obliged also to take particular care of the seven branches of administration. As these are all unpleasant, they should be avoided.] The king should, on such occasions, apply diverse kinds of deception, diverse contrivances for setting his foes against one another, and different kinds of hypocritical behaviour. He should also, through trusted agents, ascertain the doings of his foes in their cities and provinces. Kings, O slayer of Vala and Vritra, pursuing their foes and entering their towers, seize and appropriate the best things that are obtainable there, and devise proper measures of policy in their own cities and dominions. Making gifts of wealth unto them in private, and confiscating their possessions publicly, without, however, injuring them materially, and proclaiming that they are all wicked men that have suffered for their own misdeeds, kings should send their agents to the cities and provinces of their foes. At the same time, in their own cities, they should, through other persons conversant with the scriptures, adorned with every accomplishment, acquainted with the ordinances of the sacred books and possessed of learning cause incantations and foe-killing rites to be performed.'

"Indra said, 'What are the indications, O best of regenerate ones, of a wicked person? Questioned by me, tell me how I am to know who is wicked.'

"Vrihaspati said, A wicked person is he who proclaims the faults of others at their back, who is inspired with envy at the accomplishments of others, and who remains silent when the merits of other people are proclaimed in his presence, feeling a reluctance to join in the chorus. Mere silence on such occasions is no indication of wickedness. A wicked person, however, at such times breathe heavily, bites his lips, and shakes his head. Such a person always mixes in society and speaks irrelevantly. Such a man never does what he promises, when the eye of the person to whom he has given the assurance is not upon him. When the eye of the person assured is on him, the wicked man does not even allude to the subject. The wicked man eats by himself (and not with others on the same board), and finds fault with the food placed before him, saying, 'All is not right today as on other days.' His disposition shows itself in the circumstances connected with his sitting, lying, and riding. Sorrowing on occasions of sorrow and rejoicing on occasions of joy, are the indications of a friend. An opposite behaviour furnishes the indications of an enemy. Keep in thy heart these sayings, O ruler of the gods! The disposition of wicked men can never be concealed. I have now told thee, O foremost of deities, what the indications of a wicked person are. Having listened to the truths laid down in the scriptures, follow them duly, O ruler of the celestials!'

"Bhishma continued, 'Having heard these words of Vrihaspati, Purandara, employed in subduing his foes, acted strictly according to them. Bent upon victory, that slayer of foes, when the opportunity came, obeyed these instructions and reduced all his enemies to subjection.'"

SECTION 104

"Yudhishthira said, 'How should a righteous king, who is opposed by his own officers, whose treasury and army are no longer under his control, and who has no wealth, conduct himself for acquiring happiness?'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connexion, the story of Kshemadarsin is often recited. I shall narrate that story to thee. Listen to it, O Yudhishthira! It has been heard by us that in days of old, when prince Kshemadarsin became weak in strength and fell into great distress, he repaired to the sage Kalakavrikshiya, and saluting him humbly, said unto him these words.'

"The king said, 'What should a person like me who deserves wealth but who has, after repeated efforts, failed to recover his kingdom, do, O Brahmana, excepting suicide, thieving and robbery, acceptance of refuge with others, and other acts of meanness of a similar kind? O best of men, tell me this. One like thee that is conversant with morality and full of gratefulness is the refuge of a person afflicted by disease either mental or physical. Man should cast off his desires. By acting in that way, by abandoning joy and sorrow, and earning the wealth of knowledge, he succeeds in obtaining felicity. I grieve for them that adhere to worldly happiness as dependent on wealth. All that, however, vanishes like a dream. They that can abandon vast wealth achieve a very difficult feat. As regards ourselves we are unable to abandon that wealth which is even no longer existent. I am divested of prosperity and have fallen into a miserable and joyless plight. Instruct me, O Brahmana, what happiness I may yet strive for.' Thus addressed by the intelligent prince of Kosala, the sage Kalakavrikshiya of great splendour made the following answer.'

"The sage said, 'Thou hast, it seems, already understood it. Possessed of knowledge as thou art, thou shouldst act as thou thinkest. Thy belief is right, viz., All this that I see is unstable, myself as also everything that I have. Know, O prince, that those things which thou regardest as existing are in reality non-existent. The man of wisdom knows this, and accordingly

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is never pained whatever the distress that may overwhelm him. Whatever has taken place and whatever will take place are all unreal. When thou wilt know this which should be known by all, thou shalt be freed from unrighteousness. Whatever things had been earned and acquired by those that came before, and whatever was earned and acquired by those that succeeded them, have all perished. Reflecting on this, who is there that will yield to grief? Things that were, are no more. Things that are, will again be (no more). Grief has no power to restore them. One should not, therefore, indulge in grief. Where, O king, is thy sire to-day, and where thy grandsire? Thou seest them not today, nor do they see thee now. Reflecting on thy own instability, who dost thou grieve for them? Reflect with the aid of thy intelligence, and thou wilt understand that verily thou shalt cease to be. Myself, thyself, O king, thy friends, and thy foes, shall, without doubt, cease to be. Indeed, everything will cease to be. Those men that are now of twenty or thirty years of age will, without doubt, all die within the next hundred years. If a man cannot have the heart to give up his vast possessions, he should then endeavour to think his possessions are not his own and by that means seek to do good to himself. Acquisitions that are future should be regarded by one as not one's own. Acquisitions that have disappeared, should also be regarded by one as not one's own. Destiny should be regarded as all powerful. They that think in this strain are said to be possessed of wisdom. Such a habit of looking at things is an attribute of the good. Many persons who are equal or superior to thee in intelligence and exertion, though deprived of wealth, are not only alive but are never ruling kingdoms. They are not, like thee. They do not indulge in grief like thee. Therefore, cease thou to grieve in this way. Art thou not Superior to those men, or at least equal to them in intelligence and exertion?'" The king said, 'I regard the kingdom which I had with all its appendages to have been won by me without any exertion. All-powerful Time, however, O regenerate one, has swept it away. The consequence, however, that I see, of my kingdom having been swept away by Time as by a stream, is that I am obliged to support upon whatever I obtain (by charity).'

"The sage said, 'Moved by the knowledge of what is true (in life) one should never grieve for either the past or the future. Be thou of such a frame of mind. O prince of Kosala, in respect of every affair that may engage thy attention. Desiring to obtain only that which is obtainable and not that which is unobtainable, do thou enjoy thy present possessions and never grieved for that which is absent. Be thou delighted, O prince of Kosala, with whatever thou succeedest in winning with ease. Even if divested of prosperity, do not grieve for Abut seek to preserve a pure disposition. Only an unfortunate man who is of a foolish understanding, when deprived of former prosperity, censures the supreme Ordainer, without being contented with his present possessions. Such a person regards others, however undeserving, as men blessed with prosperity. For this reason, they that are possessed of malice and vanity and filled with a sense of their own importance, suffer more misery still. Thou however, O king, art not stained by such vices. Endure the prosperity of others although thou art thyself divested of prosperity. They that are possessed of dexterity succeed in enjoying that prosperity which is vested in others. Prosperity leaves the person that hates others. Men possessed of righteous behaviour and wisdom and conversant with the duties of Yoga renounce prosperity and sons and grandsons of their own accord. Others, regarding earthly wealth to be exceedingly unstable and unattainable, dependent as it is upon ceaseless action and effort, are also seen to renounce it. Thou seemest to be possessed of wisdom. Why dost thou then grieve so piteously, desiring things that should not be desired, that are unstable, and that are dependent on others? Thou desirest to enquire after that particular frame of mind (which would enable thee to enjoy felicity notwithstanding the loss of thy possessions). The advice I give thee is to renounce all those objects of desire. Objects that should be avoided appear in the guise of those that should be striven for, while those that should be striven for appear in the guise of objects that should be avoided. Some lose their wealth in the pursuit of wealth. Others regard wealth as the root of infinite happiness, and, therefore pursue it eagerly. Some again, delighted with wealth, think that there is nothing superior to it. In his eager desire for the acquisition of wealth, such a person loses all other objects of life. If, O prince of Kosala, a person loses that wealth which had been earned with difficulty and which had been proportionate to his desires, he then, overcome by the inactivity of despair, gives up all desire of wealth. Some persons of righteous souls and high birth betake themselves to the acquisition of virtue. These renounce every kind of worldly happiness from desire of winning felicity in the other world. Some persons lay down life itself, moved by the desire of acquiring wealth. These do not think that life has any use if dissociated from wealth. Behold their pitiable condition. Behold their foolishness. When life is so short and uncertain, these men, moved by ignorance, set their eyes on wealth. Who is there that would set his heart upon hoarding when destruction is its end, upon life when death is its end, and upon union when separation is its end? sometimes man renounces wealth, and sometimes wealth renounces man. What man possessed of knowledge is there that would feel grieved at the loss of wealth? There are many other persons in the world that lose wealth and friends. Behold, O king, with thy intelligence, and thou wilt understand that the calamities which overtake men are all due to the conduct of men themselves. Do thou, therefore, (as a remedy), restrain thy senses and mind and speech. For, if those become weak and productive of evil there is no man who can keep himself free from temptation of external objects by which he is always surrounded. As no one can form an adequate idea of the past nor can foresee the future, there being many intervals of time and place, a person like thee who is possessed of such wisdom and such prowess, never indulges in grief for union and separation, for good or evil. A person of such mildness of disposition, well-restrained soul, and settled conclusions, and observant of Brahmacharya vows, never indulges in grief and never becomes restless from desire of acquiring or fear of losing anything of small value. It is not fit that such a man should adopt a deceitful life of mendicancy, a life that is sinful and wicked and cruel and worthy of only a wretch among men. Do thou repair to the great forest and lead a life of happiness there, all alone and subsisting upon fruit and roots, restraining speech and soul, and filled with compassion for all creatures. He that cheerfully leads such a life in the forest, with large-tusked elephants for companions, with no human being by his side, and contented with the produce of the wilderness, is said to act after the manner of the wise. A large lake when it becomes turbid, resumes its tranquillity of itself. Similarly, a man of wisdom, when disturbed in such matters, becomes tranquil of himself. I see that a person that has fallen into such a plight as thine may live happily even thus. When thy prosperity is almost impossible to recover, and when thou art without ministers and counsellors, such a course is open to thee. Dost thou hope to reap any benefit by depending upon destiny?'"

SECTION 105

"The sage said, 'If, on the other hand, O Kshatriya, thou thinkest that thou hast any prowess still, I shall discourse to thee about that line of policy which thou mayst adopt for recovering thy kingdom. If thou canst follow that line of policy and seek to exert thyself, thou canst still recover thy prosperity. Listen attentively to all that I say unto thee in detail. If thou canst act according to those counsels, thou mayst yet obtain vast wealth, indeed, thy kingdom and kingly power and great prosperity. If thou likest it, O king, tell me, for then I shall speak to thee of that policy.'

"The king said, 'Tell me, O holy one, what thou wishest to say. I am willing to hear and act according to thy counsels. Let this my meeting with thee today be fruitful of consequences (to myself).'

"The sage said, 'Renouncing pride and desire and ire and joy and fear, wait upon thy very foes, humbling thyself and joining thy hands. Do thou serve Janaka the ruler of Mithila, always performing good and pure deeds. Firmly devoted to truth, the king of Videha will certainly give thee great wealth. Thou shalt then become the right arm of that king and obtain the trust of all persons. As a consequence of this, thou shalt then succeed in obtaining many allies possessed of courage and perseverance, pure in behaviour, and free from the seven principal faults. A person of restrained soul and having his senses under control, by adhering to his duties, succeeds in raising himself and gladdening others. Honoured by Janaka possessed of intelligence and prosperity, thou shalt certainly become the right arm of that ruler and enjoy the confidence of all. Having then mustered a large force and held consultations with good ministers, do thou cause disunion among thy foes and, setting them against one another, break them all like a person breaking a vilwa with a vilwa. Or, making peace with the foes of thy foe, destroy the latter's power [The Vilwa is the fruit of the Egle marmelos.]. Thou shalt then cause thy foe to be attached to such good things as are not easily attainable, to beautiful women and cloths, beds and seats and vehicles, all of very costly kinds, and houses, and birds and animals of diverse species, and juices and perfumes and fruits, so that thy foe may be ruined of himself. [The sense seems to be that by causing thy foe to be attached to these things, the treasury of thy foe is likely to be exhausted. If this can be brought about, thy foe will soon be ruined.] If one's foe be thus managed, or if indifference is to be shown towards him, one that is desirous of acting according to good policy, should never suffer that foe to know it at all. Following the behaviour that is approved by the wise, do thou enjoy every kind of pleasure in the dominions of thy foe, and imitating the conduct of the dog, the deer, and the crow, behave, with apparent friendship, towards thy enemies. Cause them to undertake achievements that are mighty and difficult to accomplish. See also that they engage in hostilities with powerful enemies. Drawing their attention to pleasant gardens and costly beds and seats, do thou, by offering such objects of enjoyment, drain thy enemy's treasury. Advising thy enemy to perform sacrifices and make gifts, do thou gratify the Brahmanas. The latter, (having received those presents through thy hands), will do good to thee in return (by performing penances and Vedic rites), and devour thy enemy like wolves. Without doubt, a person of righteous deeds obtains a high end. By such deeds men succeed in earning regions of the most felicity in heaven. If the treasury of thy foes be exhausted (by either righteous or unrighteous deeds), every one of them, O prince of Kosala, may be reduced to subjection. The treasury is the root of felicity in heaven and victory on earth. It is in consequence of their treasuries that the foes enjoy such happiness. The treasury, therefore, should by every means be drained. Do not applaud Exertion in the presence of thy foe but speak highly of Destiny. Without doubt, the man who relies too much on acts appertaining to the worship of the gods soon meets with destruction. Cause thy enemy to perform the great sacrifice called Viswajit and divest him by that means of all his possessions. Through this thy object will be fulfilled. Thou mayst then inform thy enemy of the fact that the best men in his kingdom are being oppressed (with exactions for refilling the exhausted treasury), and indicate some eminent ascetic conversant with the duties of Yoga (who will wean thy foe from all earthly possessions). The enemy will then desire to adopt renunciation and retire into the woods, solicitous of salvation. Thou shall then, with the aid of drugs prepared by boiling highly efficacious herbs and plants, and of artificial salts, destroy the elephants and steeds and men (of thy enemy's dominions). These and many other well-devised schemes are available, all connected with fraud. An intelligent person can thus destroy the population of a hostile kingdom with poison.'"

SECTION 106

"The king said, 'I do not desire, O Brahmana, to support life by deceit or fraud. I do not desire wealth, however great, which is to be earned by unrighteous means. At the very outset of our present discourse I excepted these means. By the adoption of only such means as would not lead to censure, of such means as would benefit me in every respect, by practising only such acts as are not harmful in their consequences, I desire to live in this world.. I am incapable of adopting these ways that thou pointest out to me. Indeed, these instructions do not become thee.'

"The sage said, 'These words, O Kshatriya, that thou speakest indicate thee to be possessed of righteous feelings. Indeed, thou art righteous in disposition and understanding, O thou of great experience. I shall strive for the good of you both, viz., for thyself and him. I shall cause a union, eternal and incapable of breach, to be brought about between thee and that king. Who is there that would not like to have a minister like thee that art born of noble race, that abstainest from all acts of unrighteousness and cruelty, that art possessed of great learning, and that art well versed in the art of government and of conciliating all persons? I say this because, O Kshatriya, though divested of kingdom and plunged into great misery, thou still desirest to live adopting a behaviour that is righteous. The ruler of the Videhas, firmly adhering to truth, will come to my abode soon. Without doubt, he will do what I will urge to do.'

"Bhishma continued, "The sage, after this, inviting the ruler of the Videhas, said these words unto him: 'This personage is of royal birth. I know his very heart. His soul is as pure as the surface of mirror or the disc of the autumnal moon. He has been examined by me in every way. I do not see any fault in him. Let there be friendship between him and thee. Do thou repose confidence on him as on myself. A king who is without a (competent) minister cannot govern his kingdom even for three days. The minister should be courageous as also possessed of great intelligence. By these two qualities one may conquer both the worlds. Behold, O king, these two qualities are necessary for ruling a kingdom. Righteous kings have no such refuge as a minister possessed of such attributes. The high-souled person is of royal descent. He walketh along, the path of the righteous. This one who always keeps righteousness in view has been a valuable acquisition. If treated by thee with honour, he will reduce all thy foes to subjection. If he engages in battle with thee, he will do what as a Kshatriya he should do. Indeed, if after the manner of his sires and grandsires he fights for conquering thee, it will be thy duty to fight him, observant as thou art of the Kshatriya duty of conquering antagonists. Without engaging in battle, however, do thou, at my command, employ him under thee from desire of benefiting thyself. Cast thy eyes on righteousness, giving up covetousness that is improper. It behoveth thee not to abandon the duties of thy order from lust or desire of battle. Victory O sire, is not certain. Defeat also is not certain. Remembering this, peace should be made with an enemy by giving him food and other articles of enjoyment. One may see victory and defeat in his own case. They that seek to exterminate a foe are sometimes exterminated themselves in course of their efforts.' Thus addressed, king Janaka, properly saluting and honouring that bull among Brahmanas who deserved every honour, replied unto him, saying, 'Thou art of great learning and great wisdom. That which thou hast said from desire of benefiting

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us, is certainly advantageous for both of us. Such a course of conduct is highly beneficial (to us). I have no hesitation in saying this. The ruler of Videha then, addressing the prince of Kosala, said these words: 'In observance of Kshatriya duties as also with aid of Policy, I have conquered the world. I have, however, O best of kings, been conquered by thee with thy good qualities. Without cherishing any sense of humiliation (if thou remainest by my side), live thou with me as a victor. I honour thy intelligence, and I honour thy prowess. I do not disregard thee, saying that I have conquered thee. On the other hand, live thou with me as a victor. Honoured duly by me, O king, thou wilt go to my abode. Both the kings then worshipped that Brahmana, and trusting each other, proceeded to the capital of Mithila. The ruler of the Videhas, causing the prince of Kosala to enter his abode, honoured him, who deserved every honour, with offerings of water to wash his feet, honey and curds and the usual articles. King Janaka also bestowed upon his guest his own daughter and diverse kinds of gems and jewels. This (the establishment of peace) is the high duty of kings; victory and defeat are both uncertain.'"

SECTION 107

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou hast, O scorcher of foes, described the course of duties, the general conduct, the means of livelihood, with their results, of Brahmanas and Kshatriyas and Vaisyas and Sudras. Thou hast discoursed also on the duties of kings, the subject of their treasuries, the means of filling them, and the topic of conquest and victory. Thou hast spoken also of the characteristics of ministers, the measures, that lead to the advancement of the subjects, the characteristics of the sixfold limbs of a kingdom, the qualities of armies, the means of distinguishing the wicked, and the marks of those that are good, the attributes of those that are equal, those that are inferior, and those that are superior, the behaviour which a king desirous of advancement should adopt towards the masses, and the manner in which the weak should be protected and cherished. Thou hast discoursed on all these subjects, O Bharata, laying down instructions that are plain according to what has been inculcated hi sacred treatise. Thou hast spoken also of the behaviour that should be adopted by kings desirous of conquering their foes. I desire now, O foremost of intelligent men, to listen to the behaviour that one should observe towards the multitude of courageous men that assemble round a king! I desire to hear how these may grow, how they may be attached to the king, O Bharata, how may they succeed in subjugating their foes and in acquiring friends. It seems to me that disunion alone can bring about their destruction. I think it is always difficult to keep counsels secret when many are concerned. I desire to hear all this in detail, O scorcher of foes! Tell me also, O king, the means by which they may be prevented from falling out with the king.'

"Bhishma said, 'Between the aristocracy on the one side and the kings on the other, avarice and wrath, O monarch, are the causes that produce enmity. [If the king, moved by avarice, taxes them heavily, the aristocracy resent it and seek to pull down the king.] One of these parties (viz., the king,) yields to avarice. As a consequence, wrath takes possession of the other (the aristocracy). Each intent upon weakening and wasting the other, they both meet with destruction. By employing spies, contrivances of policy, and physical force, and adopting the arts of conciliation, gifts, and disunion and applying other methods for producing weakness, waste, and fear, the parties assail each other. The aristocracy of a kingdom, having the characteristics of a compact body, become dissociated from the king if the latter seeks to take too much from them. Dissociated from the king, all of them become dissatisfied, and acting from fear, side with the enemies of their ruler. If again the aristocracy of a kingdom be disunited amongst themselves, they meet with destruction. Disunited, they fall an easy prey to foes. The nobles, therefore, should always act in concert. If they be united together, they may earn acquisitions of value by means of their strength and prowess. Indeed, when they are thus united, many outsiders seek their alliance. Men of knowledge applaud those nobles that art united with one another in bonds of love. If united in purpose, all of them can be happy. They can (by their example) establish righteous courses of conduct. By behaving properly, they advance in prosperity. By restraining their sons and brothers and teaching them their duties, and by behaving kindly towards all persons whose pride has been quelled by knowledge, the aristocracy advance in prosperity. By always attending to the duties of setting spies and devising means of policy, as also to the matter of filling their treasuries, the aristocracy, O thou of mighty arms, advance in prosperity. By showing proper reverence for them that are possessed of wisdom and courage and perseverance and that display steady prowess in all kinds of work, the aristocracy advance in prosperity. Possessed of wealth and resources, of knowledge of the scriptures and all arts and sciences, the aristocracy rescue the ignorant masses from every kind of distress and danger. Wrath (on the of part the king), rupture, terror, chastisement, persecution, oppression, and executions, O chief of the Bharatas, speedily cause the aristocracy to fall away from the king and side with the king's enemies. They, therefore, that are the leaders of the aristocracy should be honoured by the king. The affairs of the kingdom, O king, depend to a great extent upon them. Consultations should be held with only those that are the leaders of the aristocracy, and secret agents should be placed, O crusher of foes, with them only. The king should not, O Bharata, consult with every member of the aristocracy. The king, acting in concert with the leaders, should do what is for the good of the whole order. When, however, the aristocracy becomes separated and disunited and destitute of leaders, other courses of action should be followed. If the members of the aristocracy quarrel with one another and act, each according to his own resources, without combination, their prosperity dwindles away and diverse kinds of evil occur. Those amongst them that are possessed of learning and wisdom should tread down a dispute as soon as it happens. Indeed, if the seniors of a race look on with indifference, quarrels break out amongst the members. Such quarrels bring about the destruction of a race and produce disunion among the (entire order of the) nobles. Protect thyself, O king, from all fears that arise from within. Fears, however, that arise from outside are of little consequence. The first kind of fear, O king, may cut thy roots in a single day. Persons that are equal to one another in family and blood, influenced by wrath or folly or covetousness arising from their very natures, cease to speak with one another. This is an indication of defeat. It is not by courage, nor by intelligence, nor by beauty, nor by wealth, that enemies succeed in destroying the aristocracy. It is only by disunion and gifts that it can be reduced to subjugation. For this reason, combination has been said to be the great refuge of the aristocracy.'"

SECTION 108

"Yudhishthira said, 'The path of duty is long. It has also, O Bharata, many branches. What, however, according to thee, are those duties that most deserve to be practised? What acts, according to thee, are the most important among all duties, by the practice of which I may earn the highest merit both here and hereafter?'

"Bhishma said, 'The worship of mother, father, and preceptor is most important according to me. The man who attends to that duty here, succeeds in acquiring great fame and many regions of felicity. Worshipped with respect by thee, whatever they will command thee, be it consistent with righteousness or in consistent with it, should be done unhesitatingly, O Yudhishthira! One should never do what they forbid. Without doubt, that which they command should always be done. [Literally, "One should not follow that course of duty which they do not indicate. That again is duty which they command. This is settled."] They are the three worlds. They are the three modes of life. They are the three Vedas. They are the three sacred fires. The father is said to be the Garhapatya fire; the mother, the Dakshina fire, and the preceptor is that fire upon which libations are poured. These three fires are, of course, the most eminent. If thou attendest with heedfulness to these three fires, thou wilt succeed in conquering the three worlds. By serving the father with regularity, one may cross this world. By serving the mother in the same way, one may attain to regions of felicity in the next. By serving the preceptor with regularity one may obtain the region of Brahma. Behave properly towards these three, O Bharata, thou shalt then obtain great fame in the three worlds, and blessed be thou, great will be thy merit and reward. Never transgress them in any act. Never eat before they eat, nor eat anything that is better than what thy eat. Never impute any fault to them. One should always serve them with humility. That is an act of high merit. By acting in that way, O best of kings, thou mayst obtain fame, merit, honour, and regions of felicity hereafter. He who honours these three is honoured in all the worlds. He, on the other hand, who disregards these three, falls to obtain any merit from any of his acts. Such a man, O scorcher of foes, acquires merit neither in this world nor in the next. He who always disregards these three seniors never obtains fame either here or hereafter. Such a man never earns any good in the next world. All that I have given away in honour of those three has become a hundredfold or a thousandfold of its actual measure. It is in consequence of that merit that even now, O Yudhishthira, the three worlds are clearly before my eyes. One Acharya is superior to ten Brahmanas learned in the Vedas. One Upadhyaya is again superior to ten Acharyas. The father, again, is superior to ten Upadhyayas. The mother again, is superior to ten fathers, or perhaps, the whole world, in importance. There is no one that deserves such reverence as the mother. In my opinion, however, the preceptor is worthy of greater reverence than the father or even the mother. The father and the mother are authors of one's being. The father and the mother, O Bharata, only create the body. The life, on the other hand, that one obtains from one's preceptor, is heavenly. That life is subject to no decay and is immortal. The father and the mother, however much they may offend, should never be slain. By not punishing a father and a mother, (even if they deserve punishment), one does not incur sin. Indeed, such reverend persons, by enjoying impunity, do not stain the king. The gods and the Rishis do not withhold their favours from such persons as strive to cherish even their sinful fathers with reverence. He who favours a person by imparting to him true instruction, by communicating the Vedas, and giving knowledge which is immortal, should be regarded as both a father and a mother. The disciple, in grateful recognition of what the instructor has done, should never do anything that would injure the latter. They that do not reverence their preceptors after receiving instruction from them by obeying them dutifully in thought and deed, incur the sin of killing a foetus. There is no sinner in this world like them. Preceptors always show great affection for their disciples. The latter should, therefore, show their preceptors commensurate reverence. He, therefore, that wishes to earn that high merit which has existed from ancient days, should worship and adore his preceptors and cheerfully share with them every object of enjoyment. With him who pleases his father is pleased Prajapati himself. He who pleases his mother gratifies the earth herself. He who pleases his preceptor gratifies Brahma by his act. For this reason, the preceptor is worthy of greater reverence than either the father or the mother. If preceptors are worshipped, the very Rishis, and the gods, together with the Pitris, are all pleased. Therefore, the preceptor is worthy of the highest reverence. The preceptor should never be disregarded in any manner by the disciple. Neither the mother nor the father deserves such regard as the preceptor. The father, the mother, and the preceptor, should never be insulted. No act of theirs should be found fault with. The gods and the great Rishis are pleased with him that behaves with reverence towards his preceptors. They that injure in thought and deed their preceptors, or fathers, or mothers, incur the sin of killing a foetus. There is no sinner in the world equal to them. That son of the sire's loins and the mother's womb, who, being brought up by them and when he comes to age, does not support them in his turn, incurs the sin of killing a foetus. There is no sinner in the world like unto him. We have never heard that these four, viz., he who injures a friend, he who is ungrateful, he who slays a woman, and he who slays a preceptor, ever succeed in cleansing themselves. I have now told thee generally all that a person should do in this world. Besides those duties that I have indicated, there is nothing productive of greater felicity. Thinking of all duties, I have told thee their essence.'"

SECTION 109

"Yudhishthira said, 'How, O Bharata, should a person act who desires to adhere to virtue? O bull of Bharata's race, possessed as thou art of learning, tell me this, questioned by me. Truth and falsehood exist, covering all the worlds. Which of these two, O king, should a person adopt that is firm in virtue? What again is truth? What is falsehood? What, again, is eternal virtue? On what occasions should a person tell the truth, and on what occasions should he tell an untruth?'

"Bhishma said, 'To tell the truth is consistent with righteousness. There is nothing higher than truth. I shall now, O Bharata, say unto thee that which is not generally known to men. There where falsehood would assume the aspect of truth, truth should not be said. There, again, where truth would assume the aspect of falsehood, even falsehood should be said. That ignorant person incurs sin who says truth which is dissociated from righteousness. That person is said to be conversant with duties who can distinguish truth from falsehood [i.e., who knows when truth becomes as harmful as untruth, and untruth becomes as righteous as truth.]. Even a person that is disrespectable, that is of uncleansed soul, and that is very cruel, may succeed in earning great merit as the hunter Valaka by slaying the blind beast (that threatened to destroy all creatures). How extraordinary it is that a person of foolish understanding, though desirous of acquiring merit (by austere penances) still committed a sinful act! An owl again, on the banks of the Ganges, (by doing an unrighteous deed) obtained great merit. The question thou hast asked me is a difficult one, since it is difficult to say what righteousness is. It is not easy to indicate it. No one in discoursing upon righteousness, can indicate it accurately. Righteousness was declared (by Brahman) for the advancement and growth of all creatures. Therefore, that which leads to advancement and growth is righteousness. Righteousness was declared for restraining creatures from injuring one another. Therefore, that is Righteousness which prevents injury to creatures. Righteousness (Dharma) is so called because it upholds all creatures. In fact, all creatures are upheld by righteousness. Therefore, that is righteousness which is capable of upholding all creatures. Some say that righteousness consists in what has been inculcated in the Srutis. Others do not agree to this. I would not censure them that say so. Everything, again, has not been laid down in the Srutis. Sometimes men (robbers), desirous of obtaining the wealth of some one, make enquiries (for facilitating the act of plunder). One should never answer such enquiries. That is a settled duty. If by maintaining silence, one succeeds in escaping, one should remain silent. If, on the other hand, one's silence at a time when one must speak rouses suspicion, it would be better on such an occasion to say what

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is untrue than what is true. This is a settled conclusion. If one can escape from sinful men by even a (false) oath, one may take it without incurring sin. One should not, even if one be able, giveaway his wealth to sinful men. Wealth given to sinful men afflicts even the giver. If a creditor desires to make his debtor pay off the loan by rendering bodily service, the witnesses would all be liars, if, summoned by the creditor for establishing the truth of the contract, they did not say what should be said. When life is at risk, or on occasion of marriage, one may say an untruth. One that seeks for virtue, does not commit a sin by saying an untruth, if that untruth be said to save the wealth and prosperity of others or for the religious purposes. Having promised to pay, one becomes bound to fulfil his promise. Upon failure, let the self-appropriator be forcibly enslaved. If a person without fulfilling a righteous engagement acts with impropriety, he should certainly be afflicted with the rod of chastisement for having adopted such behaviour. A deceitful person, falling away from all duties and abandoning those of his own order, always wishes to betake himself to the practices of Asuras for supporting life. Such a sinful wretch living by deceit should be slain by every means. Such sinful men think that there is nothing in this world higher than wealth. Such men should never be tolerated. No one should eat with them. They should be regarded to have fallen down in consequence of their sins. Indeed, fallen away from the condition of humanity and shut out from the grace of the gods, they are even like evil genii. Without sacrifices and without penances as they are, forbear from their companionship. If their wealth be lost, they commit even suicide which is exceedingly pitiable. Among those sinful men there is no one to whom thou canst say, 'This is thy duty. Let thy heart turn to it.' Their settled convictions are that there is nothing in this world that is equal to wealth. The person that would slay such a creature would incur no sin. He who kills him kills one that has been already killed by his own acts. If slain, it is the dead that is slain. He who vows to destroy those persons of lost senses should keep his vows. Such sinners are, like the crow and the vulture, dependent on deceit for their living. After the dissolution of their (human) bodies, they take rebirth as crows and vultures. One should, in any matter, behave towards another as that other behaves in that matter. He who practises deceit should be resisted with deceit while one that is honest should be treated with honesty.'"

SECTION 110

"Yudhishthira said, 'Creatures are seen to be afflicted by diverse means and almost continually. Tell me, O grandsire, in what way can one overcome all those difficulties.'

"Bhishma said, 'Those members of the regenerate class that duly practise, with restrained souls, the duties that have been laid down in the scriptures for the several modes of life, succeed in overcoming all these difficulties. They that never practise deceit, they whose behaviour is restrained by salutary restrictions, and they that control all worldly desires, succeed in overcoming all difficulties. They that do not speak when, addressed in evil language, they that do not injure others when themselves injured, they that give but do not take, succeed in overcoming all difficulties. They that always give hospitable shelter to guests, they that do not indulge in malice, they that are constantly engaged in the study of the Vedas, succeed in overcoming all difficulties. Those persons who, being conversant with duties, adopt that behaviour towards parents which they should, they that abstain from sleeping during the day, succeed in overcoming all difficulties. They that do not commit any kind of sin in thought, word, and deed, they that never injure any creature, succeed in overcoming all difficulties. Those kings that do not, under the influence of passion and covetousness, levy oppressive taxes, and those that protect their own dominions, succeed in overcoming all difficulties. They that go to their own wedded wives in season without seeking the companionship of other women, they that are honest and attentive to their Agni-hotras, succeed in overcoming all difficulties. They that are possessed of courage and that, casting away all fear of death, engage in battle, desirous of victory by fair means, succeed in overcoming all difficulties. They that always speak truth in this world even when life is at stake, and that are exemplars for all creatures to imitate succeed in overcoming all difficulties. They whose acts never deceive, whose words are always agreeable, and whose wealth is always well spent, succeed in, overcoming all difficulties. Those Brahmanas that never study the Vedas at hours not intended for study, and that practise penances with devotion, succeed in overcoming all difficulties. Those Brahmanas that betake themselves to a life of celibacy and Brahmacharya, that perform penances, and that are cleansed by learning, Vedic knowledge, and proper vows, succeed in overcoming all difficulties. They that have checked all the qualities that appertain to Passion and Darkness, that are possessed of high souls, and that practise the qualities that are called Good, succeed in overcoming all difficulties. They of whom no creature stands in fear and those that do not fear any creature themselves, they that look upon all creatures as their own selves, succeed in overcoming all difficulties. Those bulls among men that are good, that are never inspired with grief at the sight of other people's prosperity, and that abstain from all kinds of ignoble behaviour, succeed in overcoming all difficulties. They that bow to all the gods, that listen to the doctrines of all creeds, that have faith, and that are endued with tranquil souls, succeed in overcoming all difficulties. They that do not desire honour for themselves, that give honours unto others, that bow down unto those that deserve their worship, succeed in overcoming all difficulties. They that perform Sraddhas on the proper lunar days, with pure minds, from desire of offspring, succeed in overcoming all difficulties. They that restrain their own wrath and pacify the wrath of others, and that never get angry with any creature, succeed in overcoming all difficulties. They that abstain, from their birth, from honey and meat and intoxicating drinks, succeed in overcoming all difficulties. They that eat for only supporting life, that seek the companionship of women for the sake only of offspring and that open their lips for only speaking what is true, succeed in overcoming all difficulties. They that worship with devotion the god Narayana, that Supreme Lord of all creatures, that origin and destruction of the universe, succeed in overcoming all difficulties. This Krishna here, of eyes red as the lotus, clad in yellow robes, endued with mighty arms,--this Krishna who is our well-wisher, brother, friend, and relative,--is Narayana of unfading glory. He covers all the worlds like a leathern case, at his own pleasure. He is the puissant Lord, of inconceivable soul. He is Govinda, the foremost of all beings. This Krishna who is ever engaged in doing what is agreeable and beneficial to Jishnu, as also to thee, O king, is that foremost of all beings, that irresistible one, that abode of eternal felicity. They that with devotion seek the refuge of this Narayana, called also Hari, succeed in overcoming all difficulties. They that read these verses about the overcoming of difficulties, that recite them to others, and that speak of them unto Brahmanas, succeed in overcoming all difficulties. I have now, O sinless one, told thee all those acts by which men may overcome all difficulties both here and hereafter.'"

SECTION 111

"Yudhishthira said, 'Many persons here that are not really of tranquil souls appear in outward form as men of tranquil souls. There are again others that are really of tranquil souls but that appear to be otherwise. How, O sire, shall we succeed in knowing these people?'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connexion is recited the old story of the discourse between a tiger and a jackal. Listen to it, O Yudhishthira! In ancient times, in a city called Purika, full of affluence, there was a king named Paurika. That worst of beings was exceedingly cruel and took delight in injuring others. On the expiry of the period of his life he obtained an undesirable end. In fact, stained by the evil acts of his human life, he was reborn as a jackal. Remembering his former prosperity, he became filled with grief and abstained from meat even when brought before him by others. And he became compassionate unto all creatures, and truthful in speech, and firm in the observance of austere vows. At the appointed time he took food which consisted of fruit that had dropped from the trees. That jackal dwelt in a vast crematorium and liked to dwell there. And as it was his birth place, he never wished to change it for a finer locality. Unable to endure the purity of his behaviour, the other members of his species, endeavoured to make him alter his resolve by addressing him in the following words fraught with humility: 'Though residing in this terrible crematorium, thou desirest yet to live in such purity of behaviour. Is not this a perversity of understanding on thy part, since thou art by nature an cater of carrion? Be thou our like. All of us will give thee food. Eat that which ought always to be thy food, abandoning such purity of conduct. Hearing these words of theirs, the jackal replied unto them, with rapt attention, in these sweet words fraught with reason and inculcating harmlessness to all: 'My birth has been low. It is conduct, however, that determines the race. I desire to behave in such a way that my fame may spread. Although my habitation is this crematorium, yet listen to my vows in respect of behaviour. One's own self is the cause of one's acts. The mode of life to which one may betake oneself is not the cause of one's religious acts. If one, while in the observance of a particular mode of life, slays a Brahmana, will not the sin of Brahmanicide attach to him? If, on the other hand, one gives away a cow while one is not in the observance of any particular mode of life, will that pious gift produce no merit? Moved by the desire of getting what is agreeable, ye are engaged in only filling your stomachs. Stupefied by folly ye do not see the three faults that are in the end. I do not like to adopt the life led by you, fraught as it is with evil both here and hereafter, and characterised as it is by such censurable loss of virtue occasioned by discontentment and temptation.' A tiger, celebrated for prowess, happened to overhear this conversation, and accordingly, taking the jackal for a learned person of pure behaviour, offered him such respectful worship as was suited to his own self and then expressed a wish for appointing him his minister.'

"The tiger said, 'O righteous personage, I know what thou art. Do thou attend to the duties of government with myself. Enjoy whatever articles may be desired by thee, abandoning whatever may not suit thy taste. As regards ourselves, we are known to be of a fierce disposition. We inform thee beforehand of this. If thou behavest with mildness, thou wilt be benefited and reap advantages for thyself.'--Honouring these words of that high-souled lord of all animals, the jackal, hanging down his head a little, said these words fraught with humility.'

"The jackal said, 'O king of beasts, these words of thine with reference to myself are such as befit thee. It is also worthy of thee that thou shouldst seek for ministers of pure behaviour and conversant with duties and worldly affairs. Thou canst not maintain thy greatness without a pious minister, O hero, or with a wicked minister that is on the look-out for putting an end to the very life. Thou shouldst, O highly blessed one, regard those amongst thy ministers that are devoted to thee, that are conversant with policy, that are independent of one another, desirous of crowning thee with victory, unstained by covetousness, free from deceit, possessed of wisdom ever engaged in thy good, and endued with great mental vigour, even as thou regardest thy preceptors or parents. But, O king of beasts, as I am perfectly contented with my present position, I do not desire to change it for anything else. I do not covet luxurious enjoyments or the happiness that arises from them. My conduct, again, may not agree with that of thy old servants. If they happen to be of wicked conduct, they will produce disunion between thee and me. Dependence upon another, even if that other happens to be possessed of splendour, is not desirable or praiseworthy. I am of cleansed soul, I am highly blessed. I am incapable of showing severity to even sinners. I am of great foresight. I have capacity for great exertion. I do not look at small things. I am possessed of great strength. I am successful in acts. I never act fruitlessly. I am adorned with every object of enjoyment. I am never satisfied with a little. I have never served another. I am, besides, unskilled in serving. I live according to my pleasure in the woods. All who live by the side of kings have to endure great pain in consequence of evil speeches against themselves. Those, however, that reside in the woods pass their days, fearlessly and without anxiety, in the observance of vows. The fear that arises in the heart of a person who is summoned by the king is unknown to persons passing their days contentedly in the woods, supporting life upon fruits and roots. Simple food and drink obtained without effort, and luxurious food procured with fear, widely differ from each other. Reflecting upon these two, I am of opinion that there is happiness where there is no anxiety. A few only amongst those that serve kings are justly punished for their offences. A large number of them, however, suffer death under false accusations. If, notwithstanding all this, thou appointest me, O king of beasts, as thy minister, I wish to make a compact with thee in respect of the behaviour thou shouldst always adopt towards me. Those words that I shall speak for thy good should be listened to and regarded by thee. The provision which thou wilt make for me shall not be interfered with by thee. I shall never consult with thy other ministers. If I do, desirous of superiority as they are they will then impute diverse kinds of faults to me. Meeting with thee alone and in secret I shall say what is for thy good. In all matters connected with thy kinsmen, thou shalt not ask me what is for thy good or what is otherwise. Having consulted with me thou shalt not punish thy other ministers afterwards, yielding to rage thou shalt not punish my followers and dependants.' Thus addressed by the jackal, the king of beasts answered him, saying, 'Let it be so,' and showed him every honour. The jackal then accepted the ministership of the tiger. Beholding the jackal treated with respect and honoured in all his acts, the old servants of the king, conspiring together, began ceaselessly to display their hatred towards him. Those wicked persons at first strove to gratify and win him over with friendly behaviour and make him tolerate the diverse abuses that existed in the taste. Despoilers of other people's property, they had long lived in the enjoyment of their perquisites. Now, however, being ruled by the jackal, they were unable to appropriate anything belonging to others. Desirous of advancement and prosperity, they began to tempt him with sweet speeches. Indeed, large bribes even were offered to allure his heart. Possessed of great wisdom, the jackal showed no signs of yielding to those temptations. Then some amongst them, making a compact amongst themselves for effecting his destruction, took away the well-dressed meat that was intended for and much desired by the king of beasts, and placed it secretly in the house of the jackal. The jackal knew who had stolen the meat and who had conspired to do it. But though he knew everything, he tolerated it for a particular object. He had made a compact with the king at the time of his accepting the ministership, saying, 'Thou desirest my friendship, but thou shalt not, O monarch, mistrust me without cause.'

"Bhishma continued, 'When the king of beasts, feeling hungry, came to eat, he saw not the meat that was to have been kept ready for his dinner. The king then ordered, 'Let the thief be found out.' His deceitful ministers represented

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unto him that the meat kept for him had been stolen away by his learned minister, the jackal, that was so proud of his own wisdom. Rearing Of this injudicious act on the part of the jackal, the tiger became filled with rage. Indeed, the king, giving way to his wrath, ordered his minister to be slain. Beholding the opportunity, the former ministers addressed the king, saying, 'The jackal is ever ready to take away from all of us the means of sustenance.' Having represented this they once more spoke of the jackal's act of robbing the king of his food. And they said, 'Such then is his act! What is there that he would not venture to do? He is not as thou hadst heard. He is righteous in speech but his real disposition is sinful. A wretch in reality, he has disguised himself by putting on a garb of virtue. His behaviour is really sinful. For serving his own ends he had practised austerities in the matter of diet and of vows. If thou disbelievest this, we will give thee ocular proof.'

Having said this, they immediately caused that meat to be discovered by entering the jackal's abode. Ascertaining that the meat was brought back from the jackal's house and hearing all those representations of his old servants, the king ordered, saying, 'Let the jackal be slain.' Hearing these words of the tiger, his mother came to that spot for awakening son's good sense with beneficial counsels. The venerable dame said, 'O son, thou shouldst not accept this accusation fraught with deceit. Wicked individuals impute faults to even an honest person, moved by envy and rivalry. Enemies desirous of a quarrel cannot endure the elevation of an enemy brought about by his high feats. Faults are ascribed to even a person of pure soul engaged in penances. With respect to even an ascetic living in the woods and employed in his own (harmless) acts, are raised three parties, viz., friends, neutrals, and foes. They that are rapacious hate them that are pure. The idle hate the active. The unlearned hate the learned. The poor hate the rich. The unrighteous hate the righteous. The ugly hate the beautiful. Many amongst the learned, the unlearned, the rapacious, and the deceitful, would falsely accuse an innocent person even if the latter happens to be possessed of the virtues and intelligence of Vrihaspati himself. If meat had really been stolen from thy house in thy absence, remember, the jackal refuses to take any meat that is even given to him. Let this fact be well considered (in finding out the thief). Wicked persons sometimes put on the semblance of the good, and they that are good sometimes wear the semblance of the wicked. Diverse kinds of aspect are noticeable in creatures. It is, therefore, necessary to examine which is which. The firmament seems to be like the solid base of a vessel. The fire-fly seems to be like the actual spark of fire. In reality, however, the sky has no base and there is no fire in the fire-fly. You see, there is necessity. therefore, for scrutiny in respect of even such things as are addressed to the eye. If a person ascertains everything after scrutiny, he is never called upon to indulge in any kind of regret afterwards. It is not at all difficult, O son, for a master to put his servant to death. Forgiveness, however, in persons possessed of power, is always praiseworthy and productive of renown. Thou hadst made the jackal thy first minister. In consequence of that act, thou hadst earned great fame among all neighbouring chiefs. A good minister cannot be obtained easily. The jackal is thy well-wisher. Let him, therefore, be supported. The king who regards a really innocent person falsely accused by his enemies to be guilty, soon meets the destruction in consequence of the wicked ministers that lead him to that conviction.' After the tiger's mother had concluded her speech, a righteous agent of the jackal, stepping out of that phalanx of his foes, discovered everything about the manner in which that false accusation had been made. The jackal's innocence being made manifest, he was acquitted and honoured by his master. The king of beasts affectionately embraced him again and again. The jackal, however, who was conversant with the science of policy, burning with grief, saluted the king of beasts and solicited his permission for throwing away his life by observing the Praya vow. The tiger, casting upon the virtuous jackal his eyes expanded with affection and honouring hit' with reverential worship, sought to dissuade him from the accomplishment of his wishes. The jackal, beholding his master agitated with affection, bowed down to him and in a voice choked with tears said these words: 'Honoured by thee first, I have afterwards been insulted by thee. Thy behaviour towards me is calculated to make me an enemy of thine. It is not proper therefore, that I should any longer dwell with thee. Servants that are discontented, that have been driven from their offices, or degraded from the honours that were theirs, that have brought destitution upon themselves, or have been ruined by their enemies (through the wrath of their master). that have been weakened, that are rapacious, or enraged, or alarmed, or deceived (in respect of their employers), that have suffered confiscation, that are proud and desirous of achieving great feats but deprived of the means or earning wealth, and that burn with grief or rage in consequence of any injury done to them, always wait for calamities to overtake their masters. Deceived, 'they leave their masters and become effective instruments in the hands of foes. 1 I have been insulted by thee and pulled down from my place. How wilt thou trust me again? How shall I (on my part) continue to dwell with thee? Thinking me to be competent thou tookest me, and having examined me thou hadst placed me in office. Violating the compact then made (between us) thou hast insulted me. If one speaks of a certain person before others as possessed of righteous behaviour, one should not, if desirous of maintaining one's consistency. afterwards describe the same person as wicked. I who have thus been disregarded by thee cannot any longer enjoy thy confidence. On my part, when I shall see thee withdraw thy confidence from me, I shalt be filled with alarm and anxiety. Thyself suspicious and myself in alarm, our enemies will be on the look-out for opportunities for injuring us. Thy subjects will, as a consequence, become anxious and discontented. Such a state of things has many faults. The wise do not regard that situation happy in which there is honour first and dishonour afterwards. It is difficult to reunite the two that have been separated, as, indeed, it is difficult to separate the two that are united. If persons reunited after separation approach one another again, their behaviour cannot be affectionate. No servant is to be seen who is moved (in what he does) by only the desire of benefiting his master. Service proceeds from the motive of doing good to the master as also one's own self. All acts are undertaken from selfish motives. Unselfish acts or motives are very rare. Those kings whose hearts are restless and unquiet cannot acquire a true knowledge of men. Only one in a hundred can be found who is either able or fearless. The prosperity of men, as also their fall, comes of itself. Prosperity and adversity, and greatness, all proceed from weakness of understanding." [Perhaps the sense is that men of vigorous understanding think all states to be equal.]

"Bhishma continued, 'Having said these conciliatory words fraught with virtue, pleasure, and profit, and having gratified the king, the jackal retired to the forest. Without listening to the entreaties of the king of beasts, the intelligent jackal cast off his body by sitting in praya and proceeded to heaven (as the reward of his good deeds on earth).'"

SECTION 112

"Yudhishthira said, 'What acts should be done by a king, and what are those acts by doing which a king may become happy? Tell me this in detail, O thou that art the foremost of all persons acquainted with duties.'

"Bhishma said, 'I shall tell thee what thou wishest to know. Listen to the settled truth about what should be done in this world by a king and what those acts are by doing which a king may become happy. A king should not behave after the manner disclosed in the high history of a camel of which we have heard. Listen to that history then, O Yudhishthira! There was, in the Krita age, a huge camel who had recollection of all the acts of his former life. Observing the most rigid vows, that camel practised very severe austerities in the forest. Towards the conclusion of his penances, the puissant Brahman became gratified with him. The Grandsire, therefore, desired to grant him boons.'

"The camel said, 'Let my neck, O holy one, become long through thy grace, so that, O puissant lord, I may be able to seize any food that may lie even at the end of even a hundred Yojanas.' The high-souled giver of boons said, 'Let it be so.' The camel then, having obtained the boon, returned to his own forest. The foolish animal, from the day of obtaining the boon, became idle. Indeed, the wretch, stupefied by fate, did not from that day go out for grazing. One day, while extending his long neck of a hundred Yojanas, the animal was engaged in picking his food without any labour, a great storm arose. The camel, placing his head and a portion of the neck within the cave of a mountain, resolved to wait till the storm would be over. Meanwhile it began to pour in torrents, deluging the whole earth. A jackal, with his wife, drenched by the rain and shivering with cold, dragged himself with difficulty towards that very cave and entered it quickly for shelter. Living as he did upon meat, and exceedingly hungry and tired as he was, O bull of Bharata's race, the jackal, seeing the camel's neck, began to eat as much of it as he could. The camel, when he perceived that his neck was being eaten, strove in sorrow to shorten it. But as he moved it up and down, the jackal and his wife, without losing their hold of it, continued to eat it away. Within a short time the camel was deprived of life. The jackal then, having (thus) slain and eaten the camel, came out of the cave after the storm and shower had ceased. Thus did that foolish camel meet with his death. Behold, what a great evil followed in the train of idleness. As regards thyself, avoiding idleness and restraining thy senses, do everything in the world with proper means. Manu himself has said that victory depends upon intelligence. All acts that are accomplished with the aid of intelligence are regarded as the foremost, those achieved with the aid of arms are middling, those achieved with the aid of feet are inferior, while those done by carrying loads are the lowest. If the king is clever in the transaction of business and restrains his senses, his kingdom endures. Manu himself has said that it is with the aid of the intelligence that an ambitious person succeeds in achieving victories. In this world, O Yudhishthira, they who listen to wise counsels that are not generally known, that are, O sinless one, possessed of allies, and that act after proper scrutiny, succeed in achieving all their objects. A person possessed of such aids succeeds in ruling the entire earth. O thou that art possessed of prowess like that of Indra himself, this has been said by wise men of ancient times conversant with the ordinances laid down in the scriptures. I, also, with sight directed to the scriptures, have said the same to thee. Exercising thy intelligence, do thou act in this world, O king!'"

SECTION 113

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me O bull of Bharata's race, how a king, without the usual aids, having obtained a kingdom that is so precious a possession, behave himself towards a powerful foe.'

"Bhishma said, In this connexion is cited the old story of the discourse between the Ocean and the Rivers. In days of old, eternal Ocean, that lord of Rivers, that refuge of the foes of the celestials, asked all the Rivers for resolving this doubt that had arisen in his mind.'

"The Ocean said, 'Ye Rivers, I see that all of you, with your full currents, bring away trees of large trunks, tearing them off with their roots and branches. Ye do not, however, ever bring to me a cane. The canes that grow on your banks are of mean stems and destitute of strength. Do you refuse to wash them down through contempt, or are they of any use to you? I desire, therefore, to hear what the motive is that inspires all of you. Indeed, why is it that canes are not washed down by any of you, uprooted from the banks where they grow?' Thus addressed, the River Ganga, replied unto Ocean, that lord of all Rivers, in these words of grave import, fraught with reason, and, therefore, acceptable to all.'

"Ganga said, 'Trees stand in one and the same place and are unyielding in respect of the spot where they stand. In consequence of this disposition of theirs to resist our currents, they are obliged to leave the place of their growth. Canes, however, act differently. The cane, beholding the advancing current, bends to it. The others do not act in that way. After the current has passed away, the cane resumes its former posture. The cane knows the virtues of Time and opportunity. It is docile and obedient. It is yielding, without being stiff. For these reasons, it stands where it grows, without having to come with us. Those plants, trees, and creepers that bend and rise before the force of wind and water, have never to suffer discomfiture (by being taken up by the roots).'

"Bhishma continued, 'That person who does not yield to the power of a foe that has advanced in might and that is competent to imprison or kill, soon meets with destruction. [The true policy, therefore, is to wait for the time when the foe becomes weak (See: General Sunzi, Sunzi Bingfa, The Art of War).] That man of wisdom who acts after ascertaining fully the strength and weakness, the might and energy, of himself and his foe, has never to suffer discomfiture. An intelligent man, therefore, when he sees his enemy to be more powerful than himself, should adopt the behaviour of the cane. That is an indication of wisdom.'"

SECTION 114

"Yudhishthira said, 'How, O Bharata, should a learned man adorned with modesty behave, O chastiser of foes, when assailed with harsh speeches in the midst of assemblies by an ignorant person swelling with conceit?'

"Bhishma said, 'Listen, O lord of earth, how the subject has been treated of (in the scriptures), how a person of good soul should endure in this world the abusive speeches of persons of little intelligence. If a person, when abused by another, do not yield to wrath, he is then sure to take away (the merit of) all the good deeds that have been done by the abuser. The endurer, in such a case, communicates the demerit of all his own bad acts to the person who under the influence of wrath indulges in abuse. An intelligent man should disregard an abusive language who resembles, after all, only a Tittibha uttering dissonant cries [A bird that is identified by Dr. Wilson with the Parra Jacana.]. One who yields to hate is said to live in vain. A fool may often be heard to say, 'Such a respectable man was addressed by me in such words amid such an assembly of men,' and to even boast of that wicked act. He would add, 'Abused by me, the man remained silent as if dead with shame. Even thus does a shameless man boast of an act about which no one should boast. Such a wretch among men should carefully be disregarded. The man of wisdom should endure everything that such a person of little intelligence may say. What can a vulgar fellow do by either his praise or his blame? He is even like a crow that caws uselessly in the woods. If those who accuse others by only their words could establish those accusations by such means, then, perhaps, their words would have been regarded to be of some value. As a fact, however, these words are as effective as those uttered by fools invoking death upon them with whom they quarrel. [In India, the commonest form of verbal abuse among ignorant men and women is 'Do thou meet with death,' or, 'Go thou to Yama's house.' What Bhishma says is that as these words are uttered in vain, even so the verbal accusations of wicked men prove perfectly abortive.] That man simply proclaims his bastardy

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who indulges in such conduct and words. Indeed, he is even like a peacock that dances while showing such a part of his body as should be ever concealed from the view. A person of pure conduct should never even speak with that wight of sinful conduct who does not scruple to utter anything or do anything. That man who speak of one's merits when one's eye is upon him and who speaks ill of one when one's eye is withdrawn from him, is really like a dog. Such a person loses all his regions in heaven and the fruits of any knowledge and virtue that he may have [A dog is an unclean animal in Hindu estimation.]. The man who speaks ill of one when one's eye is not upon him, loses without delay the fruits of all his libations on fire and of the gifts he may make unto even a hundred persons. A man of wisdom, therefore, should unhesitatingly avoid a person of such sinful heart who deserves to be avoided by all honest men, as he would avoid the flesh of the dog. That wicked-souled wretch who proclaims the faults of a high-souled person, really publishes (by that act) his own evil nature even as a snake displays his hood (when interfered with by others). The man of sense who seeks to counteract such a back-biter ever engaged in an occupation congenial to himself, finds himself in the painful condition of a stupid ass sunk in a heap of ashes. A man who is ever engaged in speaking ill of others should be avoided like a furious wolf, or an infuriated elephant roaring in madness, or a fierce dog. Fie on that sinful wretch who has betaken himself to the path of the foolish and has fallen away from all wholesome restraints and modesty, who is always engaged in doing what is injurious to others, and who is regardless of his own prosperity. If an honest man wishes to exchange words with such wretches when they seek to humiliate him, he should be counselled in these words: Do not suffer thyself to be afflicted. A wordy encounter between a high and a low person is always disapproved by persons of tranquil intelligence. A slanderous wretch, when enraged, may strike another with his palms, or throw dust or chaff at another, or frighten another by showing or grinding his teeth. All this is well known. That man who endures the reproaches and slanders of wicked-souled wights uttered in assemblies, or who reads frequently these instructions, never suffers any pain occasioned by speech.'

SECTION 115

"Yudhishthira said, 'O grandsire, O thou that art possessed of great wisdom, I have one great doubt that perplexes me. Thou shouldst, O king, resolve it. Thou art an advancer of our family. Thou hast discoursed to us upon the slanderous speeches uttered by wicked-souled wretches of bad conduct. I desire, however, to question thee further. That which is beneficial to a kingdom, that which is productive of the happiness of the royal line, that which is productive of good and advancement in the future and the present, that which is good in respect of food and drink and as regards also the body, are topics upon which I wish thee to discourse. How should a king who has been placed on the throne and who continues to occupy it, surrounded by friends, ministers, and servants gratify his people. That king who, led away by his affections and predilections, becomes devoted to evil associates, and who pays court to wicked men in consequence of his being enthralled by his senses, finds all servants of good birth and blood disaffected towards him. Such a king never succeeds in obtaining those objects the accomplishment of which depends upon one's having a number of good servants about him. It behoveth thee that art equal to Vrihaspati himself in intelligence to discourse to me upon these duties of kings which are difficult to be ascertained and thereby remove my doubts. Thou, O tiger among men, art ever engaged in accomplishing the good of our race. For this reason thou always discoursest to us on the duties of king-craft. Kshatri (Vidura) also, possessed of great wisdom, always gives us valuable instruction. Hearing instructions from thee that are productive of good to our race and kingdom, I shall be able to pass my days in happiness like a person gratified with having quaffed the deathless Amrita. What classes of servants are to be regarded as inferior and what is possessed of every accomplishment? Aided by what class of servants or by servants of what kind of birth, is it advisable to discharge the duties of ruling? If the king choose to act alone and without servants, he can never succeed in protecting his people. All persons, however, of high birth covet the acquisition of sovereignty.'

"Bhishma said, 'The king, O Bharata, cannot alone rule his kingdom. Without servants to aid him, he cannot succeed in accomplishing any object. Even if he succeeds in gaining any object, he cannot (if alone), retain it. That king whose servants are all possessed of knowledge and wisdom, who are all devoted to the good of their master, and who are of high birth and tranquil disposition, succeeds in enjoying the happiness connected with sovereignty. That king whose ministers are all well born, incapable of being weaned away from him (by means of bribes and other influences), who always live with him, who are engaged in giving advice to their master, who are possessed of wisdom and goodness, who have a knowledge of the relations of things, who can provide for future events and contingencies, who have a good knowledge of the virtues of time, and who never grieve for what is past, succeeds in enjoying the happiness that attaches to sovereignty. That king whose servants share with him his griefs and joys, who always do what is agreeable to him, who always direct their attention to the accomplishment of their master's objects, and all of whom are faithful, succeeds in enjoying the happiness that attaches to sovereignty. The king whose subjects are always cheerful, and high minded, and who always tread in the path of the righteousness, succeeds in enjoying the happiness attached to sovereignty. He is the best of kings all the sources of whose income are managed and supervised by contented and trustworthy men well acquainted with the means of increasing the finances. That king succeeds in obtaining affluence and great merit whose repositories and barns are supervised by incorruptible, trust-worthy, devoted, and uncovetous servants always bent upon gathering. That king in whose city justice is administered properly with the result of such administration leading to the well known results of fining the plaintiff or the defendant if his case is untrue, and in which criminal laws are administered even after the manner of Sankha and Likhita, succeeds in earning the merit that attaches to sovereignty. That king who attaches his subjects to himself by kindness, who is conversant with the duties of kings, and who attends to the aggregate of six. succeeds in earning the merit that attaches to sovereignty.'"

SECTION 116

"Bhishma said, 'In this connexion is cited the following history of olden times. That history is regarded as a high precedent amongst good and wise men. That history has connexion with the present topic. I heard it in the hermitage of Rama, the son of Jamadagni, recited by many foremost of Rishis. In a certain large forest uninhabited by human beings, there lived an ascetic upon fruit and roots observing rigid vows, and with his senses under control. Observant also of stringent regulations and self-restraint, of tranquil and pure soul, always attentive to Vedic recitations, and of heart cleansed by fasts, he adopted a life of goodness towards all creatures. Possessed of great intelligence, as he sat on his seat, the goodness of his behaviour having been known to all the creatures that lived in that forest, they used to approach him with affection. Fierce lions and tigers, infuriated elephants of huge size, leopards, rhinoceroses, bears, and other animals of fierce aspect, subsisting upon blood, used to come to the Rishi and address him the usual questions of polite enquiry. Indeed, all of them behaved towards him like disciples and slaves and always did unto him what was agreeable. Coming to him they addressed the usual enquiries, and then went away to their respective quarters. One domestic animal, however, lived there permanently, never leaving the Muni at any time. He was devoted to the sage and exceedingly attached to him. Weak and emaciated with fasts, he subsisted upon fruit and roots and water, and was tranquil and Of inoffensive aspect. Lying at the feet of that high-souled Rishi as the latter sat, the dog, with a heart like that of a human being, became exceedingly attached to him in consequence of the affection with which he was treated. One day a leopard of great strength came there, subsisting upon blood. Of a cruel disposition and always filled with delight at the prospect of prey, the fierce animal looked like a second Yama. Licking the corners of his mouth With the tongue, and lashing his tail furiously, the leopard came there, hungry and thirsty, with wide open jaws, desirous of seizing the dog as his prey. Beholding that fierce beast coming, O king, the dog, in fear of his life, addressed the Muni in these words. Listen unto them, O monarch! 'O holy one, this leopard is a foe of the dogs. It wishes to slay me. O great sage, do thou act in such a way that all my fears from this animal may be dispelled through thy grace. O thou of mighty arms, without doubt thou art possessed of omniscience.' Acquainted with the thoughts of all creatures, the sage felt that the dog had ample cause for fear. Possessed of the six attributes and capable of reading the voices of all animals, the sage said the following words.'

"The sage said, 'Thou shalt have no fear of death from leopards any longer. Let thy natural form disappear and be thou a leopard, O son!' At these words, the dog was transformed into a leopard with skin bright as gold. With stripes on his body and with large teeth, thenceforth he began to live in that forest fearlessly. Meanwhile, the leopard, seeing before him an animal of his own species, immediately forsook all feelings of animosity towards it. Some time after, there came into the hermitage a fierce and hungry tiger with open mouth. Licking the corners of his mouth with the tongue, and eagerly desirous of drinking blood, that tiger began to approach towards the animal that had been transformed into a leopard. Beholding the hungry tiger of terrible teeth approach that forest, the (transformed) leopard sought the Rishi's protection for saving his life. The sage, who showed great affection for the leopard in consequence of the latter's living in the same place with him, forthwith transformed his leopard into a tiger powerful for all foes. The tiger seeing a beast of his own species did him no injury, O king. The dog, having in course of time been transformed into a powerful tiger subsisting upon flesh and blood, abstained from his former food which had consisted of fruit and roots. Indeed, from that time, O monarch, the transformed tiger lived, subsisting upon the other animals of the forest, like a true king of beasts.'

SECTION 117

"Bhishma said, 'The dog transformed into a tiger, gratified with the flesh of slain beasts, slept at his ease. One day as he lay on the yard of the hermitage, an infuriated elephant came there, looking like a risen cloud. Of huge stature, with rent cheeks, having signs of the lotus on his body, and with broad frontal globes, the animal had long tusks and a voice deep as that of the clouds. Beholding that infuriated elephant, proud of his strength, approaching towards him, the tiger agitated with fear, sought the protection of the Rishi. That best of sages thereupon transformed the tiger into an elephant. The real elephant, seeing an individual of his own species, huge as mass of clouds, became terrified. The Rishi's elephant then, freckled with the dust of lotus filaments, dived delightfully into lakes overgrown with lotuses and wandered by their banks indented with rabbit holes. A considerable time elapsed in this way. One day as the elephant was cheerfully striding along the vicinity of the hermitage, there came before him unto that spot a maned lion born in a mountain cave and accustomed to slay elephants. Beholding the lion coming, the Rishi's elephant, from fear of life, began to tremble and sought the protection of the sage. The sage thereupon transformed that prince of elephants into a lion. As the wild lion was an animal of same species with himself, the Rishi's lion no longer feared him. On the other hand, the wild lion seeing a stronger beast of his own species before him, became terrified. The Rishi's lion began to dwell in that hermitage within the forest. Through fear of that animal, the other animals no longer ventured to approach the hermitage. Indeed, they all seemed to be inspired with fear about the safety of their lives. Some time after one day, a slayer of all animals, possessed of great strength inspiring all creatures with fright, having eight legs and eyes on the forehead, viz., a Sarabha, came to that spot. Indeed he came to that very hermitage for the object of slaying the Rishi's lion. Seeing this, the sage transformed his lion into a Sarabha of great strength. The wild Sarabha, beholding the Rishi's Sarabha before him to be fiercer and more powerful, quickly fled away, from that forest. Having been thus transformed into a Sarabha by the sage, the animal lived happily by the side of his transformer. All the animals then that dwelt in the vicinity became inspired with the fear of that Sarabha. Their fear and the desire of saving their lives led them all to fly away from that forest. Filled with delight, the Sarabha continued every day to slay animals for his food. Transformed into a carnivorous beast, he no longer affected fruit and roots upon which he had formerly lived. One day that ungrateful beast who had first been a dog but who was now transformed into a Sarabha, eagerly thirsting for blood, wished to slay the sage. The latter, by ascetic power, saw it all by his spiritual knowledge. Possessed of great wisdom, the sage, having ascertained the intentions of the beast, addressed him in these words.'

"The sage said, 'O dog, thou wert first transformed into a leopard. From a leopard thou wert then made a tiger. From a tiger thou wert next transformed into an elephant with the temporal juice trickling down thy cheeks. Thy next transformation was into a lion. From a mighty lion thou wert then transformed into a Sarabha. Filled with affection for thee, it was I that transformed thee into these diverse shapes. Thou didst not, and dost not, belong by birth, to any of those species. Since, however, O sinful wretch, thou desirest to stay me who have done thee no injury, thou shalt return to thy own species and be a dog again.' After this, that mean and foolish animal of wicked soul, transformed into a Sarabha once more assumed, in consequence of the Rishi's curse, his own proper form of a dog.'"

SECTION 118

"Bhishma said, 'Having once more assumed his proper form, the dog became very cheerless. The Rishi, reproving him, drove the sinful creature from his hermitage. An intelligent king should, guided by this precedent, appoint servants, each fit for the office assigned to him, and exercise proper supervision over them, having first ascertained their qualifications in respect of truthfulness and purity, sincerity, general disposition, knowledge of the scripture, conduct, birth, self-restraint, compassion, strength, energy, dignity, and forgiveness. A king should never take a minister without first having examined him. If a king gathers round him persons of low birth, he can never be happy. A person of high birth, even if persecuted without any fault by his royal master, never sets his heart, in consequence of the respectability of his blood, upon injuring his master. An individual, however, that is mean and of low birth, having obtained even great affluence from his connexion with some honest man, becomes an enemy of the latter if only he is reproached in words. A minister should be possessed of high birth and strength; he should be forgiving and self-restrained, and have all his sense under

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control; he should be free from the vice of rapacity, contented with his just acquisitions, delighted with the prosperity of his master and friends, conversant with the requirements of place and time, ever employed in attaching men to himself or his master by doing good offices to them, always attentive to his duties, desiring the good of his master, always heedful, faithful in the discharge of his own duties., a thorough master of the art of war and peace, conversant with the king's requirements in respect of the great aggregate of three, beloved by both the citizens and the inhabitants of the provinces, acquainted with all kinds of battle-array for piercing and breaking the enemy's ranks, competent to inspire the forces of his master with cheerfulness and joy, capable of reading signs and gestures, acquainted with all requirements in respect of march, skilled in the art of training elephants, free from pride, confident of his own powers, clever in the transaction of business, always doing what is right, of righteous conduct, surrounded by righteous friends, of sweet speech, possessed of agreeable features, capable of leading men, well-versed in policy, possessed of accomplishments, energetic in action, active, possessed of ingenuity, of a sweet temper, modest in address, patient, brave, rich, and capable of adapting his measures to the requirement of place and time. That king who succeeds in obtaining such a minister can never be humiliated or overpowered by any one. Indeed, his kingdom gradually spreads over the earth like the light of the moon. A king, again, who is conversant with the scriptures, who regards righteousness to be superior to everything, who is always engaged in protecting his subjects, and who is possessed of the following virtues, obtains the love of all. He should be patient, forgiving, pure in conduct, severe when the occasion requires it acquainted with the efficacy of exertion, respectful in his behaviour towards all his seniors, possessed of a knowledge of the scriptures, ready to listen to the instructions and counsels of those that are competent to instruct and give counsel, capable of judging correctly amid different or opposite courses of action suggested to him, intelligent, of a retentive memory, ready to do what is just, self-restrained, always sweet-speeched, forgiving even unto enemies, practising charity personally, possessed of faith, of agreeable features, ready to extend the hand of succour to persons plunged in distress, possessed of ministers that always seek his good, free from the fault of egoism, never without a wife, and undisposed to do anything with haste. He should always reward his ministers when they achieve anything signal. He should love those that are devoted to him. Avoiding idleness, he should always attract men to himself by doing good to them. His face should always be cheerful. He should always be attentive to the wants of his servants and never give way to wrath. He should, besides, be magnanimous. Without lying aside the lord of chastisement, he should wield it with propriety. He should make all men about him act righteously. Having spies for his eyes, he should always supervise the concerns of his subjects, and should be conversant in all matters connected with virtue and wealth. A king that is possessed of these hundred qualifications earns the love of all. Every ruler should strive to be such. The king should also, O monarch, search for good warriors (to enlist in his army) that should all be possessed of the necessary qualifications, for aiding him in protecting his kingdom. A king that desires his own advancement should never disregard his army. That king whose soldiers are brave in battle, grateful, and versed in the scriptures, whose army consists of foot-soldiers conversant with the treatises on religion and duty, whose elephant-warriors are fearless, whose car-warriors are skilled in their own mode of fighting and well-versed in shooting arrows and in wielding other weapons, succeeds in subjugating the whole earth. That king who is always employed in attaching all men to himself, who is ready for exertion, who is rich in friends and allies, becomes the foremost of rulers. A king who has succeeded in attaching all men unto himself, may, O Bharata, with the aid of even a thousand horsemen of courage, succeed in conquering the whole earth.'"

SECTION 119

"Bhishma said, 'That king who, guided by the lesson to be drawn from the story of the dog, appoints his servants to offices for which each is fit, succeeds in enjoying the happiness that is attached to sovereignty. A dog should not, with honours, be placed in a position above that for which he is fit. If a dog be placed above the situation which is fit for him, he becomes intoxicated with pride. Ministers should be appointed to offices for which they are fit and should possess such qualifications as are needed for their respective occupations. Appointments on unfit persons are not at all approved. That king who confers on his servants offices for which each is fit, succeeds, in consequence of such merit, to enjoy the happiness attaching to sovereignty. A Sarabha should occupy the position of a Sarabha; a lion should swell with the might of a lion; a tiger should be placed in the position of a tiger; and a leopard should be placed as a leopard. Servants should, according to the ordinance, be appointed to offices for which each is fit. If thou wishest to achieve success, thou shouldst never appoint servants in situations higher than what they deserve. That foolish king who, transgressing precedent, appoints servants to offices for which they are not fit, fails to gratify his people. A king that desires to possess accomplished servants should never appoint persons that are destitute of intelligence, that are low-minded, that are without wisdom, that are not masters of their senses, and that are not of high birth. Men that are honest, possessed of high birth, brave, learned, destitute of malice and envy, high-minded, pure in behaviour, and clever in the transaction of business, deserve to be appointed as ministers. Persons that are possessed of humility, ready in the performance of their duties, tranquil in disposition, pure in mind, adorned with diverse other gifts of nature and are never the objects of calumny in respect of the offices they hold should be the intimate associates of the king. A lion should always make a companion of a lion. If one that is not a lion becomes the companion of a lion, one earns all the advantages that belong to a lion. That lion, however who, while engaged in discharging the duties of a lion, has a pack of dogs only for his associates, never succeeds in consequence of such companionship, in accomplishing those duties. Even thus, O ruler of men, may a king succeed in subjugating the whole earth if he has for his ministers men possessed of courage, wisdom, great learning, and high birth. O foremost of royal masters, kings should never entertain a servant that is destitute of learning and sincerity and wisdom and great wealth. These men that are devoted to the services of their master are never slopped by any impediments. Kings should always speak in soothing terms unto those servants that are always engaged in doing good to their masters. Kings should always, with great care, look after their treasuries. Indeed, kings have their roots in their treasuries. A king should always seek to swell his treasury. Let thy barns, O king, be fitted with corn. And let their keep be entrusted to honest servants. Do thou seek to increase thy wealth and corn. Let thy servants, skilled in battle, be always attentive to their duties. It is desirable that they should be skilful in the management of steeds. O delighter of the Kurus, attend to the wants of thy kinsmen and friends. Be thou surrounded with friends and relatives. Seek thou the good of thy city. By citing the precedent of the dog I have instructed thee about the duties thou shouldst adopt towards thy subjects. What further dost thou wish to hear?'"

SECTION 120

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou hast, O Bharata, discoursed upon the many duties of king-craft that were observed and laid down in days of old by persons of ancient times conversant with kingly duties. Thou hast, indeed, spoken in detail of those duties as approved by the wise. Do thou, however, O bull of Bharata's race, speak of them in such a way that one may succeed in retaining them in memory."

"Bhishma said, 'The protection of all creatures is regarded as the highest duty of the Kshatriya. Listen now to me, O king, as to how the duty of protection is to be exercised. A king conversant with his duties should assume many forms even as the peacock puts forth plumes of diverse hues. Keenness, crookedness, truth, and sincerity, are the qualities that should be present in him. With thorough impartiality, he should practise the qualities of goodness if he is to earn felicity. He must assume that particular hue or form which is beneficial in view of the particular object which he seeks to accomplish. [i.e., as the commentator explains, keenness, when he punishes and harmlessness when he shows favour.] A king who can assume diverse forms succeeds in accomplishing even the most subtle objects. Dumb like the peacock in autumn, he should conceal his counsel. He should speak little, and the little he speaks should be sweet. He should be of good features and well versed in the scriptures. He should always be heedful in respect of those gates through which dangers may come and overtake him, like men taking care of breaks in embankments through which the waters of large tanks may rush and flood their fields and houses. He should seek the refuge of Brahmanas crowned with ascetic success even as men seek the refuge or loudly rivers generated by the rain-water collected within mountain lakes. That king who desires to amass wealth should act like religious hypocrites in the matter of keeping a coronal lock. The king should always have the rod of chastisement uplifted in his hands. He should always act heedfully (in the matter of levying his taxes) after examining the incomes and expenses of his subjects like men repairing to a full-grown palmyra for drawing its juice. He should act equitably towards his own subjects; cause the crops of his enemies to be crushed by the tread of his cavalry, march against foes when his own wings have become strong; and observe all the sources of his own weakness. He should proclaim the faults of his foes; crush those that are their partisans; and collect wealth from outside like a person plucking flowers from the woods. He should destroy those foremost of monarchs that swell with might and stand with uplifted heads like mountains, by seeking the shelter of unknown shades and by ambuscades and sudden attacks. Like the peacock in the season of rains, he should enter his nightly quarters alone and unseen. Indeed, he should enjoy, after the manner of the peacock, within his inner apartments, the companionship of his wives. He should not put off his mail. He should himself protect his own self, and avoid the nets spread out for him by the spies and secret agents of his foes. He should also win over the affections of the spies of his enemies, but extirpate them when opportunity occurs. Like the peacocks the king should kill his powerful and angry foes of crooked policy, and destroy their force and drive them away from home. The king should also like the peacock do what is good to him, and glean wisdom from everywhere as they collect insects even from the forest. A wise and peacock-like king should thus rule his kingdom and adopt a policy which is beneficial to him. By exercising his own intelligence, he should settle what he is to do. By consulting with others he should either abandon or confirm such resolution. Aided by that intelligence which is sharpened by the scriptures, one can settle his courses of action. In this consists the usefulness of the scriptures. By practising the arts of conciliation, he should inspire confidence in the hearts of his enemies. He should display his own strength. By judging of different courses of action in his own mind he should, by exercising his own intelligence, arrive at conclusions. The king should be well-versed in the arts of conciliatory policy, he should be possessed of wisdom; and should be able to do what should be done and avoid what should not. A person of wisdom and deep intelligence does not stand in need of counsels or instruction. A wise man who is possessed of intelligence like Vrihaspati, if he incurs obloquy, goon regains his disposition like heated iron dipped in water. A king should accomplish all objects, of his own or of others, according to the means laid down in the scriptures. A king conversant with the ways of acquiring wealth should always employ in his acts such men as are mild indisposition, possessed of wisdom and courage and great strength. Beholding his servants employed in acts for which each is fit, the king should act in conformity with all of them like the strings of a musical instrument, stretched to proper tension, according with their intended notes. The king should do good to all persons without transgressing the dictates of righteousness. That king stands immovable as a hill whom everybody regards--'He is mine.' Having set himself to the task of adjudicating between litigants, the king, without making any difference between persons that are liked and those that are disliked by him, should uphold justice. The king should appoint in all his offices such men as are conversant with the characteristics of particular families, of the masses of the people, and of different countries; as are mild in speech; as are of middle age; as have no faults; as are devoted to good act; as are never heedless; as are free from rapacity; as are possessed of learning and self-restraint; as are firm in virtue and always prepared to uphold the interests of both virtue and profit. In this way, having ascertained the course of actions and their final objects the king should accomplish them heedfully; and instructed in all matters by his spies, he may live in cheerfulness. The king who never gives way to wrath and joy without sufficient cause, who supervises all his acts himself, and who looks after his income and expenditure with his own eyes, succeeds in obtaining great wealth from the earth. That king is said to be conversant with the duties of king-craft who rewards his officers and subjects publicly (for any good they do), who chastises those that deserve chastisement, who protects his own self, and who protects his kingdom from every evil. Like the Sun shedding his rays upon everything below, the king should always look after his kingdom himself, and aided by his intelligence he should supervise all his spies and officers. The king should take wealth from his subjects at the proper time. He should never proclaim what he does. Like an intelligent man milking his cow every day, the king should milk his kingdom every day. As the bee collects honey from flowers gradually, the king should draw wealth gradually from his kingdom for storing it. Having kept apart a sufficient portion, that which remains should be spent upon acquisition of religious merit and the gratification of the desire for pleasure. That king who is acquainted with duties and who is possessed of intelligence would never waste what has been stored. The king should never disregard any wealth for its littleness; he should never disregard foes for their powerlessness; he should, by exercising his own intelligence, examine his own self; he should never repose confidence upon persons destitute of intelligence. Steadiness, cleverness, self-restraint, intelligence, health, patience, bravery, and attention to the requirements of time and place,--these eight qualities lead to the increase of wealth, be it small or be it much. A little fire, fed with clarified butter, may blaze forth into a conflagration. A single seed may produce a thousand trees. A king, therefore, even when he hears that his income and expenditure are great, should not disregard the smaller items. A foe, whether he happens to be a child, a young man, or an aged one, succeeds in staying a person who is heedless. An insignificant foe, when he becomes powerful, may exterminate a king. A king, therefore, who is conversant with the requirements of time is the foremost of all rulers. A foe, strong or weak, guided by malice, may very soon destroy the fame of a king, obstruct the acquisition of religious merit by him; and deprive him of even his energy.

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Therefore, a king that is of regulated mind should never be heedless when he has a foe. If a king possessed of intelligence desire affluence and victory, he should, after surveying his expenditure, income, savings, and administration, make either peace or war. For this reason the king should seek the aid of an intelligent minister. Blazing intelligence weakens even a mighty person; by intelligence may power that is growing be protected; a growing foe is weakened by the aid of intelligence; therefore, every act that is undertaken conformably to the dictates of intelligence is deserving of praise. A king possessed of patience and without any fault, may, if he likes, obtain the fruition of all his wishes, with the aid of even a small force. That king, however, who wishes to be surrounded by a train of self-seeking flatterers [i.e., that king who is vain and covetous.], never succeeds in winning even the smallest benefit. For these reasons.. the king should act with mildness in taking wealth from his subjects. If a king continually oppresses his people, he meets with extinction like a flash of lightening that blazes forth only for a second. Learning, penances, vast wealth, indeed, everything, can be earned by exertion. Exertion, as it occurs in embodied creatures, is governed by intelligence. Exertion, therefore, should be regarded as the foremost of all things. The human body is the residence of many intelligent creatures of great energy, of Sakra, of Vishnu, of Saraswati, and of other beings. A man of knowledge, therefore, should never disregard the body. [Whether it belongs to himself or to any other person.] A covetous man should be subjugated by constant gifts. He that is covetous is never satiated with appropriating other people's wealth. Every one, however, becomes covetous in the matter of enjoying happiness. If a person, therefore, becomes destitute of wealth, he becomes destitute of virtue and pleasure (which are objects attainable by wealth). A covetous man seeks to appropriate the wealth, the enjoyments, the sons and daughters, and the affluence of others. In covetous men every kind of fault may be seen. The king, therefore, should never take a covetous man for his minister or officer. A king (in the absence of proper agents) should despatch even a low person for ascertaining the disposition and acts of foes. A ruler possessed of wisdom should frustrate all the endeavours and objects of his enemies. That trustful and high-born king who seeks instruction from learned and virtuous Brahmanas and who is protected by his ministers, succeeds in keeping all his tributary chiefs under proper control. O prince of men, I have briefly discoursed to thee of all the duties laid down in the scriptures. Attend to them, aided by thy intelligence. That king who, in obedience to his preceptor, attends to these, succeeds in ruling the whole earth. That king who disregards the happiness that is derivable from policy and seeks for that which chance may bring, never succeeds in enjoying the happiness that attaches to sovereignty or in winning regions of bliss hereafter. [The sense seems to be that a king should always be guided by the precepts of the science of king-craft without depending upon chance.] A king that is heedful, by properly attending to the requirements of war and peace, succeeds in slaying even such foes as are eminent for wealth, worshipped for intelligence and good conduct, possessed of accomplishments, brave in battle, and ready for exertion. The king should discover those means which are furnished by different kinds of acts and measures. He should never depend upon destiny. One that sees faults in faultless persons never succeeds in winning prosperity and fame. When two friends engage in accomplishing one and the same act, a wise man always applauds him among the two that takes upon himself the heavier share of the work. Do thou practise these duties of kings that I have told thee. Set thy heart upon the duty of protecting men. Thou mayst then easily obtain the reward of virtue. All the regions of felicity hereafter are dependent upon merit!'" [i.e., he who earns religious merit is sure to obtain such regions; and as great merit may be acquired by properly discharging kingly duties one may, by such conduct, win much felicity hereafter.]

SECTION 121

"Yudhishthira said, 'O grandsire, thou hast now finished thy discourse upon the duties of kings. From what thou hast said it seems that Chastisement occupies a high position and is the lord of everything for everything depends upon Chastisement. It seems, O puissant one, that Chastisement, which is possessed of great energy and which is present everywhere, is the foremost of all beings among either gods and Rishis and high-souled Pitris and Yakshas and Rakshasas and Pisachas and Sadhyas, or living beings in this world including beasts and birds. Thou hast said that the entire universe, mobile and immobile, including gods, Asuras, and men, may be seen to depend upon Chastisement. I now desire, O bull of Bharata's race, to know truly who Chastisement is. Of what kind is he? What is his form? What is his disposition? Of what is he made? Whence is his origin? What are his features? What is his splendour? How does he remain wakeful among living creatures so heedfully? Who is he that remains eternally wakeful, protecting this universe? Who is he that is known to be the foremost of all things? Who, indeed, is that high personage called Chastisement? What is that upon which Chastisement depends? And what is his course?'

"Bhishma said, 'Listen, O descendent of Kuru, who Chastisement is and why he is called also Vyavahara! That upon whom all things depend is called Chastisement. Chastisement is that by which righteousness is kept up. He is sometimes called Vyavahara. In order that the righteousness of a king that is heedfully awake may not suffer extinction (Chastisement has come to be called by that name). It is for this reason that the name Vyavahara becomes applicable to it. In olden days Manu, O king, declared first of all this truth, viz.,--'He who protects all creatures, the loved and the odious equally, by impartially wielding the lord of Chastisement, is said to be the embodiment of righteousness.'--These words that I have said were, O king first, uttered in days of old by Manu. They represent the high words of Brahman. And because these words were spoken first, therefore, they are known as the first words. And since it is by Chastisement that the misappropriation of other people's possessions is stopped, therefore Chastisement has come to be called by the name of Vyavahara. The aggregate of three always rests on well applied Chastisement. Chastisement is a great god. In form he looks like a blazing fire. His complexion is dark like that of the petals of the blue lotus. He is equipt with four teeth, has four arms and eight legs and many eyes. His cars are pointed like shafts and his hair stands upright. He has matted locks and two tongues. His face has the hue of copper, and he is clad in a lion's skin. 1 That irresistible deity assumes such a fierce shape. Assuming again the form of the sword, the bow, the mace, the dart, the trident, the mallet, the arrow, the thick and short club, the battle-axe, the discus, the noose, the heavy bludgeon, the rapier, the lance, and in fact of every kind of weapon that exists on earth. Chastisement moves in the world. Indeed, Chastisement moves on earth, piercing and cutting and afflicting and lopping off and dividing and striking and slaying and rushing against its victims. These, O Yudhishthira, are some of the names which Chastisement bears, viz., Sword, Sabre, Righteousness, Fury, the Irresistible, the Parent of prosperity, Victory, Punisher, Checker, the Eternal, the Scriptures, Brahmana, Mantra, Avenger, the Foremost of first Legislators, Judge, the Undecaying, God, the individual whose course is irresistible, the Ever-agoing, the First. born, the individual without affections, the Soul of Rudra, the eldest Manu and the great Benefactor Chastisement is the holy Vishnu. He is the puissant Narayana. And because he always assumes a terrible form, therefore he is called Mahapurusha. His wife Morality is also known by the names of Brahmana's Daughter, Lakshmi, Vriti, Saraswati, and Mother of the universe. Chastisement thus has many forms. Blessings and curse, pleasure and pain, righteousness and unrighteousness, strength and weakness, fortune and misfortune, merit and demerit, virtue and vice, desire and aversion, season and month, night and day, and hour, heedfulness and heedlessness, joy and anger, peace and self-restraint, destiny and exertion, salvation and condemnation, fear and fearlessness, injury and abstention from injury, penances and sacrifice and rigid abstinence, poison and healthy food, the beginning, the middle, and the end, the result of all murderous acts, insolence, insanity, arrogance, pride, patience, policy, impolicy, powerlessness and power, respect, disrespect, decay and stability, humility, charity, fitness of time and unfitness of time, falsehood, wisdom, truth, belief, disbelief, impotence, trade, profit, loss, success, defeat, fierceness, mildness, death, acquisition and non-acquisition, agreement and disagreement, that which should be done and that which should not be done, strength and weakness, malice and goodwill, righteousness and unrighteousness, shame and shamelessness, modesty, prosperity and adversity, energy, acts, learning, eloquence, keenness of Understanding,--all these, O Yudhishthira, are forms of Chastisement in this world. Hence, Chastisement is exceedingly multiform. If Chastisement had not existed, all creatures would have ground one another. Through fear of Chastisement. O Yudhisthira, living creatures do not slay one another. The subjects, O king, always protected by Chastisement, enhance the might of their ruler. It is for this that Chastisement is regarded as the foremost refuge of all. Chastisement, O king, quickly sets the world on the path of righteousness. Dependent upon truth, righteousness exists in the Brahmanas. Endued with righteousness, foremost of Brahmanas became attached to the Vedas. From the Vedas the sacrifices flow. Sacrifices gratify the deities. The deities, being gratified, commend the denizens of the earth to Indra. For benefiting the denizens of the earth, Indra gives them food (in the form of rain without which crops and vegetation would fail). The life of all creatures depends upon food. From food creatures derive their support and growth. Chastisement (in the form of the Kshatriya ruler) remains wakeful amongst them. For serving this object, Chastisement assumes the form of a Kshatriya among men. Protecting men, he remains awake, always heedful and never decaying. Chastisement has again these other eight names, viz., God, Man, Life, Power, Heart, the Lord of all creatures, the Soul of all things, and the Living creature. God gave both affluence and the rod of chastisement to the king who is possessed of strength (in the form of military forces) and who is a combination of five ingredients. [These are Righteousness, Law, Chastisement, God, and Living Creature.] Nobility of blood, ministers of great wealth, knowledge, the different kinds of forces (such as strength of body, energy of mind, etc.), with the eight objects mentioned below, and the other force (viz., that which depends upon a well-filled treasury), should be sought for the king, O Yudhishthira. Those eight objects are elephants, horses, cars, foot soldiers, boats, impressed labourers (for following the camp and doing other work), increase of population, and cattle (such as sheep, etc.). Of the army equipped in mail and with other accoutrements, car-warriors, elephant-warriors, cavalry, Infantry, officers, and surgeons constitute the limbs. Beggars, principal judges, astrologers, performers of propitiatory and Atharvan rites, treasury, allies, grain, and all other requisites, constitute the body, composed of seven attributes and eight limbs, of a kingdom. Chastisement is another powerful limb of a kingdom. Chastisement (in the form of an army) is the author of a kingdom. God himself has, with great care, sent Chastisement for the use of the Kshatriya. This eternal universe is impartial Chastisement's self. There is nothing more worthy of respect by kings than Chastisement by which the ways of Righteousness are pointed out. Brahman himself, for the protection of the world and for establishing the duties of different individuals, sent down (or created) Chastisement. There is another kind of Vyavahara arising out of the dispute of litigants which also has sprung from Brahman. Principally characterised by a belief in either of the two parties, that Vyavahara is seen to be productive of good. There is another kind of Vyavahara which has the Veda for its soul. It is also said to have the Veda for its cause. There is, O tiger, among kings, a (third) kind of Vyavahara which is connected with family customs but which is consistent with the scriptures. [The nearest approach in English to what is meant here by Vyavahara is Law. Three kinds of Vyavahara or Law are here spoken of. The first is the ordinary Law, according to which the disputes of litigants are decided, it includes booth civil and criminal law, it is quaintly described here as Vattripratyayalakskana, i.e., 'characterised by a belief in either of two litigant parties.' When a suit, civil or criminal, is instituted, the king or those that act in the king's name must call for Evidence and decide the matter by believing either of the two parties. Then follows restoration or punishment. In either case, it is a form of Chastisement The second kind of Vyavahara or Law is the ecclesiastical law of the Vedas. These are the precepts or injunctions laid down in those sacred books for regulating every part of human duty. The third kind of Vyavahara or Law is the particular customs of families or races. It is also called kulachara. Where Kulachara is not inconsistent or in open variance with the established civil or criminal Law, or is not opposed to the spirit of the ecclesiastical law as laid down in the Vedas, it is upheld. (Even the British courts of law uphold Kulachara, interpreting it very strictly). What Bhishma says here is that even Kulachara should not be regarded as inconsistent with the scriptures (Vedas and Smritis).] That Vyavahara which has, as above, been said to be characterised by a belief in either of two litigant parties, should be known by us as inhering in the king. It should be also known by the name of Chastisement, as also by the name of Evidence. Although Chastisement is seen to be regulated by Evidence, yet it has been said to have its soul in Vyavahara. That which has been called Vyavahara is really based upon Vedic precepts. That Vyavahara which has been indicated to have the Vedas for its soul is Morality or duty. It is also productive of good unto persons believing in duty and morality, men of cleansed souls have spoken of that Vyavahara as they have done of ordinary law. [In the verse 52 Bhishma says that the first kind of Vyavahara or Law, i.e., the ordinary civil and criminal law of a realm, must be regarded as resting on the king. But as this kind of law has the Veda for its soul and has originally flowed from Brahman, a king incurs no sin by administering it and by inflicting chastisement in its administration. The purport in brief, of verse 54 is that Manu and others, in speaking of Morality and duty have said that it is as binding as the ordinary law that is administered by kings.] The third kind of Vyavahara is also a preceptor of men, and it has also its roots in the Veda, O Yudhishthira! It upholds the three worlds. It has Truth for its soul and it is productive of prosperity. That which is Chastisement has been seen by us to be eternal Vyavahara. That which has been said to be Vyavahara is verily the Veda. That which is the Veda is morality, duty. That which is morality and duty is the path of Righteousness. This last it was which in the beginning had been Grandsire Brahman, that Lord of all creatures. Brahman is the Creator of the entire universe with the gods and Asura and Rakshasas and human beings and snakes, and of every other thing. Hence that Vyavahara which is characterised by a belief in either of two litigant parties has also flowed from him. For this reason He has laid down the following in respect of Vyavahara: Neither mother, nor father, nor brother, nor wife, nor priest, is unpunishable with that king who rules agreeably to his duty.

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SECTION 122

"Bhishma said, 'In this connexion is cited the old story that follows. There was among the Angas a king of great splendour, called Vasuhoma. That king was always engaged in acts of piety, and accompanied by his spouse he always practiced the most rigid penances. He repaired to the spot called Munjaprishtha held in high esteem by the Pitris and the celestial Rishis. There, on that peak of Himavat, near the golden mountains of Merit, (the great Brahmana here) Rama, sitting under the shade of a well-known banian, had tied his matted locks together. 1 From that time, O monarch, the spot, which is a favourite haunt of Rudra, came to be called Munjaprishtha by Rishis of rigid vows. King Vasuhoma, residing in that spot, acquired many pious attributes and, having gained the esteem of the Brahmanas, came to be regarded as a celestial Rishi in holiness. One day, that crusher of foes, that friend of Sakra, viz., king Mandhatri of great soul, came to Vasuhoma on his mountain retreat. Arrived there, Mandhatri, beholding king Vasuhoma of austere penances stood before the latter in an attitude of humility. Vasuhoma offered unto his guest water to wash his feet, and the Arghya consisting of the usual articles, and enquired of him about the well-being or otherwise of his kingdom consisting of seven limbs. After this, Vasuhoma addressed his royal guest who faithfully followed the practices of the righteous men of old, saying, 'What, O king, shall I do for thee?' Thus addressed, O delighter of the Kurus, Mandhatri, that best of kings, highly gratified, answered Vasuhoma of great wisdom seated at his ease, in the following words.'

"Mandhatri said, 'Thou hast, O king, studied all the doctrines of Vrihaspati. O best of men, the doctrines laid down by Usanas also are known to thee. I desire to know what is the origin of Chastisement. What was awake before Chastisement? What also is said to be its end? How came Chastisement to depend upon the Kshatriya? Tell me all this. O thou of great wisdom! I come to thee as a disciple ready to give thee the tutorial fee.' [i.e., to acknowledge thee as a tutor.]

"Vasuhoma said, 'Listen, O king, as to how Chastisement, that upholder of the world, arose. The soul of righteousness, it is eternal, and was created for maintaining the due government of all creatures. It hath been heard by us that once upon a time, the Grandsire of all the worlds, viz., the divine Brahman desiring to perform a sacrifice, failed to find a priest possessed of qualifications like himself. For this reason he conceived in his brain and held the foetus there for many long years. After a thousand years had passed away, the great god sneezed. In that act, the foetus fell from his head. The divine being, O chastiser of foes, that thus took birth from Brahman was called by the name of Kshupa. Possessed of great powers, he became a lord of creatures. That Kshupa became the priest, O king, in the sacrifice of the high-souled Grandsire. Upon the commencement of that sacrifice, of Brahman, O best of kings. Chastisement disappeared in consequence of the visible form that the Grandsire was then obliged to assume. 1 Chastisement having disappeared, a great confusion set in among all creatures. There was no longer any distinction between what should be done and what should not. All distinction, again, between clean and unclean food ceased. Men ceased to distinguish between what drink was allowable and what drink was otherwise. All creatures began to injure one another. There were no restraints in the matter of the union of the sexes. All idea of property ceased. All creatures began to rob, and snatching meat from one another. The strong began to slay the weak. Nobody cherished the slightest consideration for his neighbour. The Grandsire then, having worshipped the divine and eternal Vishnu, addressed that great boon-giving god, saying, 'It behoveth thee, O Kesava, to show mercy on the present occasion. Let it be so ordained by thee that the confusion that has occurred may disappear.' Thus addressed, that foremost of deities, armed with an enormous Sula, 2 having reflected long, created his ownself into the form of Chastisement. From that form, having Righteousness for its legs, the goddess Saraswati created Danda-niti (Science of Chastisement) which very soon became celebrated over the world. After this the great god armed with the enormous Sula, having again reflected for some time, appointed a few among the gods as the lords or rulers of their respective classes. It was then that he made the divine Indra of a thousand eyes the ruler of the deities. Yama the son of Vivaswat was made the lord of the Pitris. Kuvera was made the lord of treasures and of all the Rakshasas. Meru was made the king of the mountains, and Ocean was made the lord of the rivers. The puissant Varuna was installed into the sovereignty of the waters and the Asuras. Death was made the lord of life and all living things, and Fire was appointed as the lord of all things possessed of energy. The puissant Isana the high-souled and eternal Mahadeva, of three eyes, was made the lord of the Rudras. Vasishtha was made the lord of the Brahmanas, and Jatavedas was made the chief of the Vasus. Surya was made the lord of all luminous bodies, and Chandramas was made the king of Stars and constellations. Ansumat was made the lord of all herbs, and the puissant and foremost of deities, viz., Kumara or Skanda, of twelve arms, was made the chief of all the spirits and ghostly beings (that wait upon Mahadeva). Time, possessing the seeds of both destruction and growth, was made the sovereign of all creatures as also of the four portions of Death (viz., weapons, diseases, Yama, and acts) and lastly of grief and joy. The Srutis declare that the supreme god Mahadeva, that lord of lords, O king, armed with Sula, is the chief of the Rudras. The rod of chastisement was given to Brahmana's son of subsequent birth, viz., Kshupa, that lord of all creatures and the foremost one of all virtuous persons. Upon the completion of that sacrifice according to due rites, Mahadeva, after doing proper reverence made over Chastisement, that protector of Righteousness, unto Vishnu. Vishnu gave it to Angiras; and Angiras, that foremost of ascetics, made it over to Indra and Marichi. Marichi gave it to Bhrigu. Bhrigu gave that rod intended for the protection of righteousness, unto all the Rishis. The Rishis gave it unto the Regents of the world, and the Regents made it over again to Kshupa. Kshupa then made it over to Manu the son of Surya. The deity of Sraddhas (viz., Manu), gave it unto his sons for the sake of true righteousness and wealth. Chastisement should be inflicted with discrimination, guided by righteousness and not by caprice. It is intended for restraining the wicked. Fines and forfeitures are intended for striking alarm, and not for filling the king's treasury. The maiming of one's body or the infliction of death should not proceed from trivial causes. The infliction of physical pain by diverse means, hurling from tops of mountains, and banishment also, should not proceed from similar causes. Surya's son Manu gave the rod of chastisement (to his sons) for the protection of the world. Chastisement, in the hands of successive holders, remains awake, protecting all creatures. At the top of the scale, the divine Indra is awake (with the rod of chastisement); after him, Agni of blazing flames; after him, Varuna; after Varuna, Prajapati; after Prajapati, Righteousness whose essence consists of restraint [i.e., Self-denial or discipline.], after Righteousness the son of Brahman, viz., the eternal Law; after Law, Energy is awake, employed in the act of protection; after Energy, the herbs (offered in sacrifices for supporting the gods and used as food and medicines); after the herbs, the mountains; after the mountains, all kinds of juices and their attributes; after these, the goddess Niriti; after Niriti, the planets and the luminous bodies in heaven; after these, the Vedas; after the Vedas, the puissant form of Vishnu with equine head; after him, the almighty and eternal Grandsire, viz., Brahman; after the Grandsire, the divine and blessed Mahadeva; after Mahadeva, the Viswedevas; after them, the great Rishis; after the Rishis the divine Soma; after Soma, the deities who are all eternal; after the deities, know that the Brahmanas are awake. After the Brahmanas, the Kshatriyas are righteously protecting all creatures. The eternal universe, consisting of mobile and immobile creatures, is kept awake by the Kshatriyas. Creatures are kept awake in this world, and Chastisement is awake among them. Possessed of splendour resembling that of the Grandsire himself, Chastisement keeps together and upholds everything. Time, O Bharata, is always awake, in the beginning, the middle, and the end. The master of all the worlds, the lord of all creatures, the puissant and blessed Mahadeva, the god of gods, is always awake. He is called by these names also, viz., Kapardin, Sankara, Rudra, Bhava, Sthanu and the lord of Uma. Thus Chastisement also keeps awake in the beginning, the middle, and the end. A virtuous king should rule properly, guided by Chastisement.'

"Bhishma continued, 'That person who listens to this teaching of Vasuhoma, and having listened to it conducts himself according to its tenure, is sure to obtain the fruition of all his wishes. I have now, O bull among men, told thee everything as to who Chastisement is, that restrainer of the universe which is governed by righteousness.'"

SECTION 123

"Yudhishthira said, 'I wish, O sire, to hear the settled conclusions on the subject of Virtue, Wealth, and Pleasure. Depending upon which of these does the course of life proceed? What are the respective roots of Virtue, Wealth, and Pleasure? What are again the results of those three? They are sometimes see n to mingle with one another, and sometimes to exist separately and independently of one another.'

"Bhishma said, 'When men in this world endeavour with good hearts to achieve Wealth with the aid of Virtue, then those three, viz., Virtue, Wealth, and Pleasure, may be seen to co-exist in a state of union in respect of time, cause, and action. Wealth has its root in Virtue, and Pleasure is said to be the fruit of Wealth. All the three again have their root in Will. Will is concerned with objects. All objects, again, in their entirety, exist for gratifying the desire of enjoyment. Upon these then does the aggregate of three depend. Entire abstraction from all objects is Emancipation. It is said that Virtue is sought for the protection of the body, and Wealth is for the acquisition of Virtue. Pleasure is only the gratification of the senses. All the three have, therefore, the quality of Passion. [There are three qualities or attributes that characterise human acts, viz., Goodness, Passion, and Darkness. Vide the latter sections of the Bhagavadgita. Such Virtue and Wealth and Pleasure, therefore, are not very high objects of pursuit. Things possessing the, attribute of Goodness only are worthy of pursuit.] Virtue, Wealth, and Pleasure, when sought for the sake of heaven or such other rewards, are said to be remote because the rewards themselves are remote. When sought, however, for the sake of Knowledge of Self, they are said to be proximate. One should seek them when they are of such a character. One should not cast them off even mentally. If Virtue, Wealth, and Pleasure are to be abandoned, one should abandon them when one has freed one's self by ascetic penances. The aim of the triple aggregate is towards emancipation.

Would that man could obtain it! One's acts, undertaken and completed with eve tithe aid of intelligence may or may not lead to the expected results. Virtue is not always the root of Wealth, for other things than Virtue lead to Wealth (such as service, agriculture, &c). There is again a contrary opinion (for some say that Wealth is earned through chance or birth or like causes). In some instances, Wealth acquired has been productive of evil. Other things again that Wealth (such as fasts and vows) have led to the acquisition of Virtue. As regards this topic, therefore, a dullard whose understanding has been debased by ignorance, never succeeds in acquiring the highest aim of Virtue and Wealth, viz., Emancipation. Virtue's dross consists in the desire of reward; the dross of Wealth consists in hoarding it; when purged of these impurities, they are productive of great results. In this connexion is cited the narrative of the discourse that look place in days of old between Kamandaka and Angaristha. One day, king Angaristha, having waited for the opportunity, saluted the Rishi Kamandaka as he was seated at his ease and asked him the following questions, 'If a king, forced by lust and folly, commits sin for which he afterwards repents, by what acts, O Rishi, can those sins be destroyed? If again a man impelled by ignorance, does what is sinful in the belief that he is acting righteously, how shall the king put a stop to that sin come into vogue among men?'

"Kamandaka said, 'That man who, abandoning Virtue and Wealth pursues only Pleasure, reaps as the consequence of such conduct the destruction of his intelligence. The destruction of intelligence is followed by heedlessness that is at once destructive of both Virtue and Wealth. From such heedlessness proceed dire atheism and systematic wickedness of conduct. If the king does not restrain those wicked men of sinful conduct, all good subjects then live in fear of him like the inmate of a room within which a snake has concealed itself. The subjects do not follow such a king. Brahmanas and all pious persons also act in the same way. As a consequence the king incurs great danger, and ultimately the risk of destruction itself. Overtaken by infamy and insult, he has to drag on a miserable existence. A life of infamy, however, is equal to death. Men learned in the scriptures have indicated the following means for checking sin. The king should always devote himself to the study of the three Vedas. He should respect the Brahmanas and do good offices unto them. He should be devoted to righteousness. He should make alliance (of marriage) with high families. He should wait upon high-minded Brahmanas adorned with the virtue of forgiveness. He should perform ablutions and recite sacred mantras and thus pass his time happily. Banishing all wicked subjects from himself and his kingdom, he should seek the companionship of virtuous men. He should gratify all persons by speeches or good acts. He should say unto all--'I am yours,'--proclaim the virtues of even his foes. By pursuing such conduct he may soon cleanse himself of his sins and win the high regard of all. Without doubt, by conduct such as this all his sins will be destroyed. Thou shouldst accomplish all those high duties which thy seniors and preceptors would indicate. Thou art sure to obtain great blessing through the grace of thy seniors and preceptors.'"

SECTION 124

"Yudhishthira said, 'All persons on earth, O foremost of men, applaud virtuous behaviour. I have, however, great doubts with respect to this object of their praise. If the topic be capable of being understood by us, O foremost of virtuous men, I desire to hear everything about the way in which virtuous behaviour can be acquired. How indeed, is that behaviour acquired, O Bharata! I desire to hear it. Tell me also, O foremost of speakers, what has been said to be the characteristics of that behaviour.'

"Bhishma said, Formerly, O giver of honours, Duryodhana while burning with grief at sight of that well-known prosperity belonging to thee and thy brothers at Indraprastha and for the jeers he received in consequence of his mistakes at the grand mansion, had asked his father Dhritarashtra the same question. Listen to what transpired on that occasion, O Bharata! Having seen that grand mansion of thine and that high prosperity of which thou wert master, Duryodhana, while sitting before his father, spake of what he had seen to the latter. Having heard the words of Duryodhana, Dhritarashtra, addressing his son and Karna, replied unto him as follows.

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Dhritarashtra said, 'Why dost thou grieve, O son! I desire to hear the cause in detail. If after ascertaining the reason they appear to be adequate, I shall then endeavour to instruct thee. O subjugator of hostile towns, thou too hast obtained great affluence. All thy brothers are ever obedient to thee, as also all thy friends and relatives. Thou coverest thy limbs with the best robes. Thou eatest the richest food. [Pisitaudanam is food mixed with pounded meat; a kind of Pilau, or, perhaps, Kebab.] Steeds of the best kind bear thee. Why then hast thou become pale and emaciated?'

Duryodhana said, 'Ten thousands of high-souled Snataka Brahmanas daily eat at Yudhishthira's palace off plates of gold. Beholding his excellent mansion adorned with excellent flowers and fruit, his steeds of the Tittiri and the Kalmasha breeds, his robes of diverse kinds, indeed, beholding that high prosperity of my enemies viz., the sons of Pandu, a prosperity that resembles the high affluence of Vaisravana himself, I am burning with grief, O Bharata!'

Dhritarashtra said, 'If thou wishest, O sire, to win prosperity like that of Yudhishthira or that which is even superior to it, do thou then, O son, endeavour to be of virtuous behaviour. Without doubt, one may, by behaviour alone, conquer the three worlds. There is nothing impossible of attainment by persons of virtuous behaviour. Mandhatri conquered the whole world in course of only one night, Janamejaya, in course of three; and Nabhaga, in course of seven. All these kings were possessed of compassion and of virtuous behaviour. For this reason the earth came to them of their own accord, won over by their virtue.

"Duryodhana said, 'I desire to hear, O Bharata, how that behaviour may be acquired, that behaviour, viz., in consequence of which the earth was won so speedily (by the kings named by thee).

"'Dhritarashtra said, 'In this connexion, the following old narrative is cited. It was formerly recited by Narada on the subject of virtuous behaviour. In days of yore, the Daitya Prahlada, by the merit of his behaviour, snatched from the high-souled Indra his sovereignty and reduced the three worlds to subjection. Sukra then, with joined hands, approached Vrihaspati. Possessed of great wisdom, the chief of the celestials addressed the great preceptor, saying, 'I desire thee to tell me what is the source of felicity. Thus addressed, Vrihaspati said unto him that Knowledge (leading to emancipation) is the source of the highest felicity. Indeed, Vrihaspati indicated Knowledge to be the source of supreme felicity. Indra, however, once more asked him as to whether there was anything higher than that.

"Vrihaspati said, 'There is something, O son, that is still higher. The high-souled Bhargava (Usanas) will instruct thee better. Repair to him, blessed be thou, and enquire of him, O chief of the celestials!' Possessed of great ascetic merit and endued with great splendour, the chief of the celestials then repaired to Bhargava and obtained from him with a ratified heart, a knowledge of what was for his great good. Obtaining the permission of the high-souled Bhargava, the performer of a hundred sacrifices once more asked the sage as to whether there was anything higher (as the means for the acquisition of felicity) than what the sage had already told him. The omniscient Bhargava said, 'The high-souled Prahlada has better knowledge.' Learning this, Indra became highly delighted. The chastiser of Paka, possessed of great intelligence, assumed the form of a Brahmana, and repairing to Prahlada, asked him, saying, 'I desire to hear what conduces to felicity. Prahlada answered the Brahmana, saying, 'O chief of regenerate ones, I have no time, being wholly occupied in the task of ruling the three worlds, I cannot, therefore, instruct thee.' The Brahmana said, 'O king, when thou mayst have leisure, I desire to listen to thy instructions about what course of conduct is productive of good. At this answer, king Prahlada. became delighted with that utterer of Brahma. Saying, 'So be it!' he availed of a favourable opportunity for imparting to the Brahmana the truths of knowledge. The Brahma na duly observed towards Prahlada the conduct which a disciple should observe towards his preceptor, and began with his whole heart to do what Prahlada desired. Many a time the Brahmana enquired, saying, 'O chastiser of foes, by what means hast thou been able to win the sovereignty of the three worlds? Tell me, O righteous king, 'What those means are.' Prahlada, O monarch, answered the question the Brahmana asked.

"Prahlada said, 'I do not, O regenerate one, feel any pride in consequence of my being a king, nor do I cherish any hostile feelings towards the Brahmanas. On the other hand, I accept and follow the counsels of policy they declare unto Me based upon the teachings of Sukra. In complete trustfulness they say unto me what they wish to say, and restrain me from courses that are unrighteous or improper. I am ever obedient to the teachings of Sukra. I wait upon and serve the Brahmanas and my seniors. I bear no malice. I am of righteous soul. I have conquered wrath. I am self-restrained, and all my senses are under my control. These regenerate ones that are my instructors pour beneficial instructions upon me like bees dropping honey into the cells of their comb. I taste the nectar dropped by those learned men, and like the Moon among the constellations I live among the members of my race. 1 Even this is nectar on earth, even this is the clearest eye, viz., listening to the teaching of Sukra from the lips of Brahmanas and acting according to them. In these consists the good of a man.' Thus said Prahlada unto that utterer of Brahma. Served dutifully by him, the chief of the Daityas once more said, 'O foremost of regenerate ones, I am exceedingly gratified with thee in consequence of thy dutiful behaviour towards me. Ask of me the boon thou desirest, blessed be thou, for verily I shall grant thee what thou wilt ask. The Brahmana answered the chief of the Daityas saying, 'Very well. I will obey thee.' Prahlada, gratified with him, said, 'Take what thou wishest.'

"The Brahmana said, 'If, the king, thou hast been gratified with me and if thou wishest to do what is agreeable to me, I desire then to acquire thy behaviour. Even this is the boon that I solicit. At this, though delighted, Prahlada became filled with a great fear. Indeed, when this boon was indicated by the Brahmana, the Daitya chief thought the solicitor could not be a person of ordinary energy. Wondering much, Prahlada at last said, 'Let it be so.' Having, however, granted the boon, the Daitya chief became filled with grief. The Brahmana, having received the boon, went away, but Prahlada, O king, became penetrated by a deep anxiety and knew not what to do. While the Daitya chief sat brooding over the matter, a flame of light issued out of his body. It had a shadowy form of great splendour and huge proportions. Prahlada asked the form, saying, 'Who art thou?' The form answered, saying, 'I am the embodiment of thy Behaviour. Cast off by thee I am going away. I shall henceforth, O king, dwell in that faultless and foremost of Brahmanas who had become thy devoted disciple.' Having said these words, the form disappeared and soon after entered the body of Sakra. After the disappearance of that form, another of similar shape issued out of Prahlada's body. The Daitya chief addressed it, saying, 'Who art thou?' The form answered, saying, 'Know me, O Prahlada, for the embodiment of Righteousness. I shall go there where that foremost of Brahmanas is, for, O chief of the Daityas, I reside there where Behaviour dwells.' Upon the disappearance of Righteousness, a third form, O monarch, blazing with splendour, issued out of the body of the high souled Prahlada. Asked by Prahlada as to who he was, that form possessed of great effulgence answered, saying, 'Know, O chief of the Daityas, that I am Truth. I shall leave thee, following the way of Righteousness.' After Truth had left Prahlada, following in the wake of Righteousness, another great person issued out of Prahlada's body. Asked by the Daityas king, the mighty being answered, 'I am the embodiment of Good deeds. Know, O Prahlada, that 1 live there where Truth lives.' After this one had left Prahlada, another being came out, uttering loud and deep cries. Addressed by Prahlada, he answered, 'Know that I am Might. I dwell there where Good deeds are.' 'Having said these words, Might went away to that place whither Good deeds had gone. After this, a goddess of great effulgence issued out of Prahlada's body. The Daitya chief asked her and she answered him saying that she was the embodiment of Prosperity, adding, 'I dwelt in thee, O hero, O thou of prowess incapable of being baffled! Cast off by thee, I shall follow in the wake of Might.' The high-souled Prahlada, penetrated, with great fear, once more asked the goddess, saying, 'Where dost thou go, O goddess, O thou that dwellest amid lotuses? Thou art ever devoted to truth, O goddess, and thou art the first of deities. Who is that foremost of Brahmanas (who was my disciple)? I desire to know the truth.'

The goddess of Prosperity said, 'Devoted to the vow of Brahmacharya, that Brahmana who was instructed by thee was Sukra. O puissant one, he robbed thee of that sovereignty which thou hadst over the three worlds. O righteous one, it was by thy behaviour that thou hadst reduced the three worlds to subjection. Knowing this, the chief of the celestials robbed thee of thy behaviour. Righteousness and Truth and Good deeds and Might and myself, O thou of great wisdom, all have our root verily in Behaviour.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Having said these words, the goddess of Prosperity went away, as also all the rest, O Yudhishthira! Duryodhana, once more addressing his father, said these words: 'O delighter of the Kurus, I wish to know the truth about Behaviour. Tell me the means by which it may be acquired.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Those means were indicated by the high-souled Prahlada while discoursing unto Indra. Listen, however, O ruler of men, as how in brief Behaviour may be acquired. Abstention from injury, by act, thought, and word, in respect of all creatures, compassion, and gift, constitute behaviour that is worthy of praise. That act or exertion by which others are not benefited, or that act in consequence of which one has to feel shame, should never be done. That act, on the other hand, should be done in consequence of which o tie may win praise in society. O best of the Kurus, I have now told thee in brief as to what Behaviour is. If O king, persons of wicked behaviour do ever win prosperity, they do not enjoy it long, O son, and are seen to be exterminated by the root.'

"Dhritarashtra continued, 'Knowing all this truly, do thou, O son, be of good behaviour, if thou desirest to obtain prosperity greater than that of Yudhishthira.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Even this was what king Dhritarashtra said unto his son. Do thou act according, to these instructions, O son of Kunti, and thou wilt then surely obtain their fruit.'"

SECTION 125

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou hast said, O grandsire, that behaviour is the first (of requisites for a man). Whence, however, does Hope arise? Tell me what it is. This great doubt has taken possession of my mind. There is no other person than thee, O subjugator of hostile towns, who can remove it. O grandsire, I had great hope in respect of Suyodhana that when, a battle was about to ensue (in consequence of his own obstinacy), he would, O lord, do what was proper. In every man hope is great. When that hope is destroyed, great is the grief that succeeds, and which, without doubt, is equal to almost death itself. Fool that I am, Dhritarashtra's wicked-souled son, Duryodhana, destroyed the hope I had cherished. Behold, O king, the foolishness of my mind! I think that hope is vaster than a mountain with all its trees. Or, perhaps, it is vaster than the firmament itself. Or, perhaps, O king, it is really immeasurable. Hope, O chief of the Kurus, is exceedingly difficult of being understood and equally difficult of being subdued. Beholding this last attribute of Hope, I ask, what else is so unconquerable as this?'

"Bhishma said, 'I shall narrate to thee, O Yudhishthira, in this connexion, the discourse between Sumitra and Rishabha that took place in olden times. Listen to it. A royal sage of the Haihaya race, Sumitra by name, went out a hunting. He pursued a deer, having pierced it with a straight shaft. Possessed of great strength, the deer ran ahead, with the arrow sticking to him. The king was possessed of great strength, and accordingly pursued with great speed his prey. The animal, endued with fleetness, quickly cleared a low ground and then a level plain. The king, young, active and strong, and armed with bow and sword and cased in mail, still pursued it. Unaccompanied by anybody, in chasing the animal through the forest the king crossed many rivers and streams and lakes and copses. Endued with great speed, the animal, at its will, showing itself now and then to the king, ran on with great speed. Pierced with many shafts by the king, that denizen of wilderness, O monarch, as if in sport, repeatedly lessened the distance between itself and the pursuer. Repeatedly putting forth its speed and traversing one forest after another, it now and then showed itself to the king at a near point. At last that crusher of foes, taking a very superior shaft, sharp, terrible, and capable of penetrating into the very vitals, fixed it on his bowstring. The animal then, of huge proportions, as if laughing at the pursuer's efforts suddenly distanced him by reaching a point full four miles ahead of the range of the shaft. That arrow of blazing splendour accordingly fell on the ground. The deer entered a large forest but the king still continued the chase.'"

SECTION 126

"Bhishma said, 'The king, having entered that large forest, came upon an asylum of ascetics. Fatigued with the toil he had undergone, he sat himself down for rest. Beholding him armed with bow, worn out with toil, and hungry, the ascetics approached him and honoured him in due form. Accepting the honours offered by the Rishis, the king enquired of them about the progress and advancement of their penances. Having duly answered the enquiries of the king, those Rishis endued with wealth of asceticism asked that tiger among rulers about the reason that led his steps to that retreat. And they said, 'Blessed be thou, in pursuit of what delightful object hast thou, O king, come to this asylum, walking on foot and armed with sword and bow and arrows? We wish to hear whence thou art coming, O giver of honours. Tell us also in what race thou art born and what thy name is.' Thus addressed, O bull among men, the king proceeded to duly give unto all those Brahmanas an account of himself, O Bharata, saying, 'I am born in the race of the Haihayas. By name I am Sumitra, and I am the son of Mitra. I chase herds of deer, slaying them in thousands with my arrows. Accompanied by a large force and my ministers and the ladies of my household, I came out on a hunting expedition. I pierced a deer with an arrow, but the animal with the shaft sticking to his body ran with great speed. In chasing it I have, without a set purpose, arrived at this forest and find myself in your presence, shorn of splendour, toil-worn, and with hope disappointed. What can be more pitiable than this, viz., that I have arrived at this asylum, spent with fatigue, shorn of the signs of royalty, and disappointed of my hopes. I am not at all sorry, ye ascetics, at my being now shorn of the signs of royalty or at my being now at a distance from my capital. I feel, however, a poignant grief in consequence of my hope having been disappointed. The prince of mountains, viz., Himavat, and that vast receptacle of waters, viz., the ocean, cannot, for its vastness, measure the extent of the firmament. Ye ascetics, similarly, I also cannot discern the limit of hope. Ye that are endued with

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wealth of penances are omniscient. There is nothing unknown to you. You are also highly blessed. I therefore, solicit you for resolving my doubt. Hope as cherished by man, and the wide firmament, which of these two appears vaster to you? I desire to hear in detail what is so unconquerable to hope. If the topic be one upon which it is not improper for ye to discourse, then tell me all about it without delay. I do not wish, ye foremost of regenerate ones, to hear anything from You that may be a mystery improper to discourse upon. If again the discourse be injurious to your penances, I would not wish you to speak. If the question asked by me be a worthy topic of discourse, I would then wish to hear the cause in detail. Devoted to penances as ye are, do ye all instruct me on the subject.'"

SECTION 127

"Bhishma said, 'Then that best of Rishis, viz., the regenerate Rishabha, sitting in the midst of all those Rishis, smiled a little and said these words: 'Formerly, O tiger among kings, while travelling among sacred places, I arrived, O lord, at the beautiful asylum of Nara and Narayana. There lies the delightful spot called Vadri, and there also is that lake in the firmament (whence the sacred Ganga takes her rise). [This lake is at a great height on the Himalayas.] There the sage Aswasiras, O king, (always) reads the eternal Vedas. Having performed my ablutions in that lake and offered with due rites oblations of water unto the Pitris and the dogs, I entered the asylum. Within that retreat the Rishis Nara and Narayana always pass their time in true pleasure. [The spirits of those two immortal sages are supposed to dwell for ever, in that retreat in the enjoyment of true happiness.] Not far from that spot I repaired to another retreat for taking up my abode. While seated there I beheld a very tall and emaciated Rishi, clad in rags and skins, approaching towards me. Possessed of the wealth of penances, he was named Tanu. Compared, O mighty-armed one, with other men, his height seemed to be eight times greater. As regards his leanness, O royal sage, I can say that I have never beheld its like. His body, O king, was as thin as one's little finger. His neck and arms and legs and hair were all of extra-ordinary aspect. His head was proportionate to his body, and his cars and eyes also were the same. His speech, O best of kings, and his movements were exceedingly feeble. Beholding that exceedingly emaciated Brahmana I became very cheerless and frightened. Saluting his feet, I stood before him with joined hands. Having informed him of my name and family, and having told him also the name of my father, O bull among men, I slowly sat myself down on a seat that was indicated by him. Then, O monarch, that foremost of virtuous men, viz., Tanu, began to discourse in the midst of the Rishis dwelling in that asylum upon topics connected with Righteousness and Profit. While engaged in discourse, a king, possessed of eyes like lotus petals and accompanied by his forces and the ladies of his household, came to that spot on a car drawn by fleet steeds. The name of that king was Viradyumna. Of handsome features, he was possessed of great fame. His son's name was Bhuridyumna. The child had been missing, and the sire, exceedingly cheerless, came there in course of his wanderings amid the forest in pursuit of the missing one. 'I shall find my son here!' 'I shall find my son here!' Dragged on by hope in this way, the king wandered through that forest in those days. Addressing the emaciated Rishi he said, 'Without doubt that highly virtuous son of mine is exceedingly difficult to be traced by me. Alas he was my only child. He is lost and can nowhere be found! Though incapable of being found out, my hope, however, of finding him is very great. Filled with that hope (which is being constantly disappointed), I am verily on the point of death.' Hearing these words of the king, that foremost of Munis, viz., the holy Tanu, remained for a short while with head hanging down and himself buried in contemplation. Beholding him buried in contemplation, the king became exceedingly cheerless. In great grief he began to say slowly and softly, 'What, O celestial Rishi, is unconquerable and what is greater than hope? O holy one, tell me this if I may hear it without impropriety.'

"The Muni said, 'A holy and great Rishi had been insulted by thy son. He had done it through ill-luck, moved by his foolish understanding. The Rishi had asked thy son for a golden jar and vegetable barks. Thy son contemptuously refused to gratify the ascetic. Thus treated by thy son, the great sage became disappointed. Thus addressed, the king worshipped that ascetic who was worshipped by all the world. Of virtuous soul, Viradyumna sat there, spent with fatigue even as thou, O best of men, now art. The great Rishi, in return, offered the king according to the rites observed by the dwellers of the forests water to wash his feet and the usual ingredients that make up the Arghya. Then all the Rishis, O tiger among kings, sat there, surrounding that bull among men like the stars of the constellation of Ursa Major surrounding the Pole star. And they asked the unvanquished king as to the cause of his arrival at that asylum.'"

SECTION 128

"The king said, 'I am a king called by the name of Viradyumna. My fame has spread in all directions. My son Bhuridyumna hath been lost. It is in quest of him that I have come to this forest. Ye foremost of Brahmanas, that child was my only son and, ye sinless ones, he is of very tender years. He cannot, however, be found here. I am wandering everywhere for finding him out.'

"Rishabha continued, 'After the king had said these words, the ascetic Tanu hung down his head. He remained perfectly silent, without uttering a single word in answer. In former days that Brahmana had not been much honoured by the king. In disappointment, O monarch, he had for that reason practised austere penances for a longtime, resolving in his mind that he should never accept anything in gift from either kings or members of any other order. And he said to himself, 'Hope agitates every man of foolish understanding. I shall drive away hope from my mind.' Even such had been his determination. Viradyumna once more questioned that foremost of ascetics in these words:

"The king said, 'What is the measure of the thinness of Hope? What on earth is exceedingly difficult of acquisition? Tell me this, O holy one, for thou art well conversant with morality and profit."

"Rishabha continued, 'Himself recollecting all the past incidents (about his own disregard at the hands of the king) and calling them back to the recollection of the king also, that holy Brahmana of emaciated body addressed the king and said the following words:

"The sage said, 'There is nothing, O king, that equals Hope in slenderness. I had solicited many kings and found that nothing is so difficult of acquisition as an image that Hope sets before the mind.'

"The king said, 'At thy words, O Brahmana, I understand what is slender and what is not so. I understand also how difficult of acquisition are the images set by Hope before the mind. I regard these words of thine as utterances of Sruti. O thou of great wisdom, one doubt, however, has arisen in my-mind. It behoveth thee, O sage, to explain it in detail unto me that ask thee. What is more slender than thy body? Tell me this, O holy one, if, of course, O best of sages, the topic be one which may be discoursed upon without impropriety.'

"The emaciated sage said, 'A contented applicant is exceedingly difficult to meet with. Perhaps, there is none such in the world. Something rarer still, O sire, is the person that never disregards an applicant. The hope that rests upon such persons as do not, after passing their promises, do good to others according to the best of their powers and according as the applicants deserve, is slenderer than even my body*. The hope that rests upon an ungrateful man, or upon one that is cruel, or one that is idle, or one that injures others, is slenderer than even my body*. [* The sense is that such persons should always be distrusted. Yet there are men who hope for good from them. Such hope, the sage says, is slenderer than his slender body.] The hope cherished by a sire that has but one son, of once more seeing that son after he has been lost or missed, is slenderer than even my body. The hope that old women entertain of bringing forth sons, O king, and that is cherished by rich men, is slenderer than even my body. The hope that springs up in the hearts of grown up maidens of marriage when they hear anybody only talk of it in their presence, is slenderer than even my body.' Hearing these words, O monarch, king Viradyumna, and the ladies of his household, prostrated themselves before that bull among Brahmanas and touched his feet with their bent heads.'

"The king said, 'I beg thy grace, O holy one! I wish to meet with my child. What thou hast said, O best of Brahmanas, is very true. There is no doubt of the truth of thy utterances.'

"Rishabha continued, 'The holy Tanu, that foremost of virtuous persons, smiling, caused, by means of his learning and his penances the king's son to be brought to that spot. Having caused the prince to be brought thither, the sage rebuked the king (his father). [For the king's disregard of the sage in former days.] That foremost of virtuous persons then displayed himself to be the god of righteousness. Indeed, having displayed his own wonderful and celestial form, he entered an adjacent forest, with heart freed from wrath and the desire of revenge. I saw all this, O king, and heard the words I have said. Drive off thy hope, that is even slenderer (than any of those which the sage indicated).'

"Bhishma continued 'Thus addressed, O monarch, by the high-souled Rishabha, king Sumitra speedily cast off the hope that was in his heart and which was slenderer (than any of the kinds of hope indicated by the emaciated Rishi). Do thou also, O son of Kunti, hearing these words of mine, be calm and collected like Himavat. Overcome with distress [The distress, which Yudhishthira felt at the thought of the slaughter in battle.], thou hast questioned me and heard my answer. Having heard it. O monarch, it behoves thee to dispel these regrets of thine!'

SECTION 129

"Yudhishthira said, 'Like one that drinks nectar I am never satiated with listening to thee as thou speakest. As a person possessing a knowledge of self is never satiated with meditation, even so I am never satiated with hearing thee. Do thou, therefore, O grandsire, discourse once more upon morality. I am never satiated with drinking the nectar of thy discourse upon morality.'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connexion is cited the old narrative of the discourse between Gotama and the illustrious Yama. Gotama owned a wide retreat on the Paripatra hills. Listen to me as to how many years he dwelt in that abode. For sixty thousand years that sage underwent ascetic austerities in that asylum. One day, the Regent of the world, Yama, O tiger among men, repaired to that great sage of cleansed soul while he was engaged in the severest austerities. Yama beheld the great ascetic Gotama of rigid penances. The regenerate sage understanding that it was Yama who had come, speedily saluted him and sat with joined hands in an attentive attitude (waiting for his commands). The royal Dharma, beholding that bull among Brahmanas, duly saluted him (in return) and addressing him asked what he was to do for him.'

"Gotama said, "By doing what acts does one liberate one's self from the debt One owes to one's mother and father? How also does one succeed in winning regions of pure bliss that are so difficult of attainment?'

"Yama said, 'Devoting one's self to the duty of truth, and practising purity and penances one should ceaselessly worship one's mother and father. One should also perform Horse-sacrifices with presents in profusion unto the Brahmanas. By such acts one wins many regions (of felicity) of wonderful aspect.'"

SECTION 130

"Yudhishthira said, 'What course of conduct should be adopted by a king shorn of friends, having many enemies, possessed of an exhausted treasury, and destitute of troops, O Bharata! What, indeed, should be his conduct when he is surrounded by wicked ministers, when his counsels are all divulged, when he does not see his way clearly before him, when he assails another kingdom, when he is engaged in grinding a hostile kingdom, and when though weak he is at war with a stronger ruler? What, indeed, should be the conduct of a king the affairs of whose kingdom are ill-regulated, and who disregards the requirements of place and time, who is unable, in consequence of his oppressions, to bring about peace and cause disunion among his foes? Should he seek the acquisition of wealth by evil means, or should he lay down his life without seeking wealth?'

"Bhishma said, 'Conversant as thou art with duties, thou hast, O bull of Bharata's race, asked me a question relating to mystery (in connexion with duties) [i.e., this is not a subject upon which one can or should discourse before miscellaneous audiences.]. Without being questioned, O Yudhishthira, I could not venture to discourse upon this duty. Morality is very subtle. One understands it, O bull of Bharata's race, by the aid of the texts of scriptures. By remembering what one has heard and by practising good acts, some one in some place may become a righteous person. By acting with intelligence the king may or may not succeed in acquiring wealth [i.e., by ingenious contrivances a king may succeed in filling his treasury, or his best ingenuity and calculations may fail.]. Aided by thy own intelligence do thou think what answer should be given to thy question on this head. Listen, O Bharata, to the means, fraught with great merit, by which kings may conduct themselves (during seasons of distress). For the sake of true morality, however, I would not call those means righteous. If the treasury be filled by oppression, conduct like this brings the king to the verge of destruction. Even this is the conclusion of all intelligent men who have thought upon the subject. The kind of scriptures or science which one always studies gives him the kind of knowledge which it is capable of giving. Such Knowledge verily becomes agreeable to him. Ignorance leads to barrenness of invention in respect of means. Contrivance of means, again, through the aid of knowledge, becomes the source of great felicity. Without entertaining any scruples and any malice [i.e., with a pure heart.], listen to these instructions. Through the decrease of the treasury, the king's forces are decreased. The king should, therefore, fill his treasury (by any means) like to one creating water in a wilderness which is without water. Agreeably to this code of quasi-morality practised by the ancients, the king should, when the time for it comes [i.e., when the season of distress is over.], show compassion to his people. This is eternal duty. For men that are able and competent [i.e., he should perform expiations and do good to them whom he has injured, so that these may not remain discontented with him.], the duties are of one kind. In seasons of distress, however, one's duties are of a different kind. Without wealth a king may (by penances and the like) acquire religious merit. Life, however, is much more important than religious merit. (And as life cannot be supported without wealth, no such merit should be sought which stands in the way of the acquisition of wealth). A king that is weak, by acquiring only religious merit, never succeeds in obtaining just and proper means for sustenance; and since he cannot, by even his best exertions, acquire power by the aid of only religious merit, therefore the practices in seasons of distress are sometimes regarded as not inconsistent with morality. The learned, however, are of opinion that those practices lead to

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sinfulness. After the season of distress is over, what should the Kshatriya do? He should (at such a time) conduct himself in such a way that his merit may not be destroyed. He should also act in such a way that he may not have to succumb to his enemies. Even these have been declared to be his duties. He should not sink in despondency. He should not (in times of distress) seek to rescue (from the peril of destruction) the merit of others or of himself. On the other hand, he should rescue his own self. This is the settled conclusion. There is this Sruti, viz., that it is settled that Brahmanas, who are conversant with duties, should have proficiency in respect of duties. Similarly, as regards the Kshatriya, his proficiency should consist in exertion, since might of arms is his great possession. When a Kshatriya's means of support are gone, what should he not take excepting what belongs to ascetics and what is owned by Brahmanas? Even as a Brahmana in a season of distress may officiate at the sacrifice of a person for whom he should never officiate (at other and ordinary times) and eat forbidden food, so there is no doubt that a Kshatriya (in distress) may take wealth from every one except ascetics and Brahmanas. For one afflicted (by an enemy and seeking the means of escape) what can be an improper outlet? For a person immured (within a dungeon and seeking escape) what can be an improper path? When a person becomes afflicted, he escapes by even an improper outlet. For a Kshatriya that has, in consequence of the weakness of his treasury and army, become exceedingly humiliated, neither a life of mendicancy nor the profession of a Vaisya or that of a Sudra has been laid down. The profession ordained for a Kshatriya is the acquisition of wealth by battle and victory. He should never beg of a member of his own order. The person who supports himself at ordinary times by following the practices primarily laid for him, may in seasons of distress support himself by following the practices laid down in the alternative. In a season of distress, when ordinary practices cannot be followed, a Kshatriya may live by even unjust and improper means. The very Brahmanas, it is seen, do the same when their means of living are destroyed. When the Brahmanas (at such times) conduct themselves thus, what doubt is there in respect of Kshatriyas? This is, indeed, settled. Without sinking into despondency and yielding to destruction, a Kshatriya may (by force) take what he can from persons that are rich. Know that the Kshatriya is the protector and the destroyer of the people, Therefore, a Kshatriya in distress should take (by force) what he can, with a view to (ultimately) protect the people. No person in this world, O king, can support life without injuring other creatures. The very ascetic leading a solitary life in the depths of the forest is no exception. A Kshatriya should not live, relying upon destiny, especially he, O chief of the Kurus, who is desirous of ruling. The king and the kingdom should always mutually protect each other. This is an eternal duty. As the king protects, by spending all his possessions, the kingdom when it sinks into distress, even so should the kingdom protect the king when he sinks into distress. The king even at the extremity of distress, should never give up [Literally, "cause to be removed."] his treasury, his machinery for chastising the wicked, his army, his friends and allies and other necessary institutions and the chiefs existing in his kingdom. Men conversant with duty say that one must keep one's seeds, deducting them from one's very food. This is a truth cited from the treatise of Samvara well-known for his great powers of illusion, Fie on the life of that king whose kingdom languishes. Fie on the life of that man who from want of means goes to a foreign country for a living. The king's roots are his treasury and army. His army, again, has its roots in his treasury. His army is the root of all his religious merits. His religious merits, again are the root of his subjects. The treasury can never be filled without oppressing others. How 'then can the army be kept without oppression? The king, therefore, in seasons of distress, incurs no fault by oppressing his subjects for filling the treasury. For performing sacrifices many improper acts are done. For this reason a king incurs no fault by doing improper acts (when the object is to fill his treasury in a season of distress). For the sake of wealth practices other than those which are proper are followed (in seasons of distress). If (at such times) such improper practices be not adopted, evil is certain to result. All those institutions that are kept up for working destruction and misery exist for the sake of collecting wealth. [The army and the criminal courts.] Guided by such considerations, all intelligent king should settle his course (at such times). As animals and other things are necessary for sacrifices, as sacrifices are for purifying the heart, and as animals, sacrifices, and purity of the heart are all for final emancipation, even so policy and chastisement exist for the treasury, the treasury exists for the army, and policy and treasury and army all the three exist for vanquishing foes and protecting or enlarging the kingdom. I shall here cite an example illustrating the true ways of morality. A large tree is cut down for making of it a sacrificial stake. In cutting it, other trees that stand in its way have also to be cut down. These also, in falling down, kill others standing on the spot.

Even so they that stand in the way of making a well-filled treasury must have to be slain. I do not see how else success can be had. By wealth, both the worlds, viz., this and the other, can be had, as also Truth and religious merit. A person without wealth is more dead than alive. Wealth for the performance of sacrifices should be acquired by every means. The demerit that attaches to an act done in a season of distress is not equal to that which attaches to the same act if done at other times, O Bharata! The acquisition of wealth and its abandonment cannot both be possibly seen in the same person, O king! I do not see a rich man in the forest. With respect to every wealth that is seen in this world, every one contends with every one else, saying, 'This shall be mine,' 'This shall be mine!' This is nothing, O scorcher of foes, that is so meritorious for a king as the possession of a kingdom. It is sinful for a king to oppress his subjects with heavy impositions at ordinary times. In a season, however, of distress, it is quite different. Some acquire wealth by gifts and sacrifices; some who have a liking for penances acquire wealth by penances; some acquire it by the aid of their intelligence and cleverness. A person without wealth is said to be weak, while he that has wealth become powerful. A man of wealth may acquire everything. A king that has well-filled treasury succeeds in accomplishing everything. By his treasury a king may earn religious merit, gratify his desire for pleasure, obtain the next world, and this also. The treasury, however, should be filled by the aid of righteousness and never by unrighteous practices, such, that is, as pass for righteous in times of distress.

SECTION 131

(Apaddharmanusasana Parva)

"Yudhishthira said, 'What, besides this, should be done by a king that is weak and procrastinating, that does not engage in battle from anxiety for the lives of his friends, that is always under the influence of fear, and that cannot keep his counsels secret? What, indeed, should that king do whose cities and kingdom have been partitioned and appropriated by foes, who is divested of wealth, who is incapable (through such poverty) of honouring his friends and attaching them to himself, whose ministers are disunited or bought over by his enemies, who is obliged to stand in the face of foes, whose army has dwindled away, and whose heart has been agitated by some strong enemy?'

"Bhishma said, 'If the invading enemy be of pure heart and if he be conversant with both morality and profit, a king of the kind you have indicated should, with no loss of time, make peace with the invader and bring about the restoration of those portions of the kingdom that have already been conquered. If, again, the invader be strong and sinful and seek to obtain victory by unrighteous means, the king should make peace with him, too, by abandoning a portion of his territories. If the invader be unwilling to make peace, the king should then abandon his very capital and all his possessions for escaping from danger. If he can save his life he may hope for similar acquisitions in future. What man conversant with morality is there that would sacrifice his own self, which is a more valuable possession, for encountering that danger from which escape can be had by the abandonment of his treasury and army? A king should protect the ladies of his household. If these fall into the hands of the enemy, he should not show any compassion for them (by incurring the risk of his own arrest in delivering them). As long as it is in his power, he should never surrender his own self to the enemy.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'When his own people are dissatisfied with him, when he is oppressed by invaders, when his treasury is exhausted, and when his counsels are divulged, what should the king then do?'

"Bhishma said, 'A king, under such circumstances, should (if his enemy be righteous) seek to make peace with him. If the enemy be unrighteous, he should then put forth his valour. He should, by such means, seek to cause the foe to withdraw from his kingdom; or fighting bravely, he should lay down his life and ascend to heaven. A king can conquer the whole earth with the help of even a small force if that force be loyal, cheerful, and devoted to his good. If slain in battle, he is sure to ascend to heaven. If he succeeds in slaying (his enemies), he is sure to enjoy the earth. By laying down one's life in battle, one obtains the companionship of Indra himself.'"

SECTION 132

"Yudhishthira said, 'When practices fraught with high morality and beneficial to the world, (viz., those that appertain to righteous rule) disappear, when all the means and resources for the support of life fall into the hands of robbers, when, indeed, such a calamitous time sets in, by what means should a Brahmana, O grandsire, who from affection is unable to desert his sons and grandsons, subsist?'

"Bhishma said, 'When such a time sets in, the Brahmana should live by the aid of knowledge. Everything in this world is for them that are good. Nothing here is for them that are wicked. He who making himself an instrument of acquisition, takes wealth from the wicked and gives it unto them that are good, is said to be conversant with the morality of adversity. Desirous of maintaining his rule, the king, O monarch, without driving his subjects to indignation and rebellion, may take what is not freely given by the owner, saying, 'This is mine!' That wise man who, cleansed by the possession of knowledge and might and of righteous conduct at other times, acts censurably in such season, does not really deserve to be censured. They who always support themselves by putting forth their might never like any other method of living. They that are endued with might, O Yudhishthira, always live by the aid of prowess. The ordinary scriptures, that exist (for seasons of distress) without exceptions of any kind, should be practised by a king (at such times). A king, however, that is endued with intelligence, while following those scriptures, would do something more. At such times, however, the king should not oppress, Ritwijas, and Purohitas and preceptors and Brahmanas, all of whom are honoured and held in high esteem. By oppressing them, even at such times, he incurs reproach and sin. This that I tell thee is regarded as an authority in the world. Indeed, this is the eternal eye (by which practices in seasons of distress are to be viewed). One should be guided by his authority. By this is to be judged whether a king is to be called good or wicked. It is seen that many persons residing in villages and towns, actuated by jealousy and wrath, accuse one another. The king should never, at their words, honour or punish anybody. Slander should never be spoken. If spoken, it should never be heard. When slanderous converse goes on, one should close one's ears or leave the place outright. Slanderous converse is the characteristic of wicked men. It is an indication of depravity. They, on the other hand, O king, who speak of the virtues of others in assemblies of the good, are good men. As a pair of sweet-tempered bulls governable and well-broken and used to bear burthens, put their necks to the yoke and drag the cart willingly, even so should the king bear his burthens (in seasons of distress). Others say that a king (at such times) should conduct himself in such a way that he may succeed in gaining a large number of allies. Some regard ancient usage as the highest indication of righteousness. Others, viz., they that are in favour of the conduct pursued by Sankha, towards Likhita, do not hold this opinion. They do not advance such an opinion through either malice or covetousness. Examples are seen of even great Rishis who have laid down that even preceptors, if addicted to evil practices, should be punished. But approvable authority there is none for such a proposition. The gods may be left to punish such men when they happen to be vile and guilty of wicked practices. The king who fills his treasury by having recourse to fraudulent devices, certainly falls away from righteousness. The code of morality which is honoured in every respect by those that are good and in affluent circumstances, and which is approved by every honest heart, should be followed. He is said to be conversant with duty who knows duty as depending on all the four foundations. It is difficult to find out the reasons on which duties stand even as it is difficult to find out the legs of the snake. As a hunter of beasts discovers the track of a shaft-struck deer by observing spots of blood on the ground, even so should one seek to discover the reasons of duties. This should a man tread with humility along the path trod by the good. Such, indeed, was the conduct of the great royal sages of old, O Yudhishthira!'"

SECTION 133

"Bhishma said, 'The king should, by drawing wealth from his own kingdom as also from the kingdoms of his foes, fill his treasury. From the treasury springs his religious merit, O son of Kunti, and it is in consequence of the treasury that the roots of his kingdom extend. For these reasons the treasury must be filled; and when filled; it should be carefully protected (by putting a stop to all useless expenditure), and even sought to be increased. This is the eternal practice. The treasury cannot be filled by (acting with) purity and righteousness, nor by (acting with) heartless cruelty. It should be filled by adopting a middle course. How can a weak king have a treasury? How again can a king who has no treasury have strength? How can a weak man have kingdom? Whence again can one without a kingdom obtain prosperity? For a person of high rank, adversity is like death. For this reason the king should always increase his treasury, and army, and allies and friends. All men disregard a king with an empty treasury. Without being gratified with the little that such a king can give, his servants never express any alacrity in his business. In consequence of his affluence, the king succeeds in obtaining great honours. Indeed, affluence conceals his very sins, like robes concealing such parts of a feminine form as should not be exposed to the view. Those with whom the king has formerly quarrelled become filled with grief at the sight of his new affluence. Like dogs they once more take service under him, and though they wait only for an opportunity to slay him, he takes to them as if nothing has happened. How, O Bharata, can such a king obtain happiness? The king should always exert for acquiring greatness. He should never bend down in humility [i.e., yield with ease.]. Exertion is manliness. He should rather break at an unfavourable opportunity than bend before any one. He should rather repair to the forest and live therewith the wild animals. But he should not still live in the midst of ministers and officers who have like robbers broken through all restraints.

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Even the robbers of the forest may furnish a large number of soldiers for the accomplishment of the fiercest of deeds. O Bharata! If the king transgresses all wholesome restraints, all people become filled with alarm. The very robbers who know not what compassion is, dread such a king. For this reason, the king: should always establish rules and restraints for gladdening the hearts of his people. Rules in respect of even very trivial matters are hailed with delight by the people. There are men who think that this world is nothing and the future also is a myth. He that is an atheist of this type, though his heart is agitated by secret fears, should never be trusted. If the robbers of the forest, while observing other virtues, commit depredations in respect only of property, those depredations may be regarded as harmless. The lives of thousands of creatures are protected in consequence of robbers observing such restraints. Slaying an enemy who is flying away from battle, ravishment of wives, ingratitude, plundering the property of a Brahmana, depriving a person of the whole of his property, violation of maidens, continued occupation of villages and towns as their lawful lords, and adulterous congress with other people's wives--these are regarded as wicked acts among even robbers, and robbers should always abstain from them. It is again certain that those kings who strive (by making peace) to inspire confidence upon themselves in the hearts of the robbers, succeed, after watching all their ins and outs, in exterminating them. For this reason, in dealing with robbers, it is necessary that they should not be exterminated outright. [Their wives and children ought to be saved, and their habitations and wearing apparel and domestic utensils, etc., should not be destroyed.] They should be sought to be brought under the king's way. The king should never behave with cruelty towards them, thinking that he is more powerful than they. Those kings that do not exterminate them outright have no fear of extermination to themselves. They, however, that do exterminate them have always to live in fear in consequence of that act.'"

SECTION 134

"Bhishma said, 'In this connexion, persons acquainted with the scriptures declare this text in respect of duty, viz., for a Kshatriya possessed of intelligence and knowledge, (the earning of) religious merit and (the acquisition of) wealth, constitute his obvious duties. He should not, by subtle discussions on duty and unseen consequences in respect of a future world, abstain from accomplishing those two duties. As it is useless to argue, upon seeing certain foot-prints on the ground, whether they are wolf's or not, even so is all discussion upon the nature of righteousness and the reverse. Nobody in this world ever sees the fruits of righteousness and unrighteousness. A Kshatriya, therefore, should seek the acquisition of power. He that is powerful is master of everything. Wealth leads to the possession of an army. He that is powerful obtains intelligent advisers. He that is without wealth is truly fallen. A little (of anything in the world) is regarded as the dirty remnant of a feast. If a strong man does even many bad acts, nobody, through fear, says or does anything (for censuring or checking him). If righteousness and Power be associated with Truth, they can then rescue men from great perils. If, however, the two be compared, Power will appear to be superior to Righteousness. It is from Power that Righteousness springs. Righteousness rests upon Power as all immobile things upon the earth. As smoke depends upon the wind (for its motion), even so Righteousness depends upon Power. Righteousness which is the weaker of the two depends for its support upon a tree. Righteousness is dependent on them that are powerful even as pleasure is dependent upon them that are given to enjoyment. There is nothing that powerful men cannot do. Everything is pure with them that are powerful. A powerless man, by committing evil acts can never escape. Men feel alarmed at his conduct even as they are alarmed at the appearance of a wolf. One fallen away from a state of affluence leads a life of humiliation and sorrow. A life of humiliation and reproach is like death itself The learned have said that when in consequence of one's sinful conduct one is cast off by friends and companions, one is pierced repeatedly by the wordy darts of others and one has to burn with grief on that account. Professors of scriptures have said with respect to the expiation of sinfulness that one should (if stained with sinfulness) study the three Vedas, wait upon and worship the Brahmanas, gratify all men by looks, words, and acts, cast off all meanness, marry in high families, proclaim the praises of others while confessing one's own worthlessness, recite mantras, perform the usual water-rites, assume a mildness of behaviour, and abstain from speaking much, and perform austere penances, seek the refuge of Brahmanas and Kshatriyas. Indeed, one who has committed many evil acts, should do all this, without being angry at the reproaches uttered by men. By conducting one's self in this way, one may soon become cleansed of all his sins and regain the regard of the world. Indeed, one wins great respect in this world and great rewards in the next, and enjoys diverse kinds of happiness here by following such conduct and by sharing his wealth with others.'"

SECTION 135

"Bhishma said, 'In this connexion is cited the old story of a robber who having in this would been observant of restraints did not meet with destruction in the next. There was a robber of the name of Kayavya, born of a Kshatriya father and a Nishada mother. Kayavya was a practiser of Kshatriya duties. Capable of smiting, possessed of intelligence and courage, conversant with the scriptures, destitute of cruelty, devoted to the Brahmanas, and worshipping his seniors and preceptors with reverence, he protected the ascetics in the observance of their practices. Though a robber, he still succeeded in winning felicity in heaven. Morning and evening he used to excite the wrath of the deer by chasing them. He was well conversant with all the practices of the Nishadas as also of all animals living in the forest. Well acquainted with the requirements of time and place, he roved over the mountains. Acquainted as he was with the habits of all animals, his arrows never missed their aim, and his weapons were strong. Alone, he could vanquish many hundreds of troops. He worshipped his old, blind, and deaf parents in the forest every day. With honey and flesh and fruits and roots and other kinds of excellent food, he hospitably entertained all persons deserving of honour and did them many good offices. He showed great respect for those Brahmanas that had retired from the world for taking up their residence in the woods. Killing the deer, he often took flesh to them. As regards those that were unwilling, from fear of others, to accept gifts from him because of the profession he followed, he used to go to their abodes before dawn and leave flesh at their doors. [It is always reproachful to accept gifts from persons of questionable character.] One day many thousands of robbers, destitute of compassion in their conduct and regardless of all restraints, desired to elect him as their leader.'

"The robbers said, 'Thou art acquainted with the requirements of place and time. Thou hast wisdom and courage. Thy firmness also is great in everything thou undertakest. Be thou our foremost of leaders, respected by us all, We will do as thou wilt direct. Protect us duly, even as a father or mother.'

"Kayavya said, 'Never kill ye a woman, or one that from fear keeps away from the fight, or one that is a child, or one that is an ascetic. One that abstains from fight should never be slain, nor should women be seized or brought away with force. None of you should ever slay a woman amongst all creatures. Let Brahmanas be always blessed and you should always fight for their good. Truth should never be sacrificed. The marriages of men should never be obstructed. No injury should be inflicted on those houses in which the deities, the Pitris, and guests are worshipped. Amongst creatures, Brahmanas deserve to be exempted by you in your plundering excursions. By giving away even your all, you should worship them. He who incurs the wrath of the Brahmanas, he for whose discomfiture they wish, fails to find a rescuer in the three worlds. He who speaks ill of the Brahmanas and wishes for their destruction, himself meets with destruction like darkness at sunrise. Residing here, ye shall acquire the fruits of your valour. Troops shall be sent against those that will refuse to give us our dues. The rod of chastisement is intended for the wicked. It is not intended for self-aggrandisement. They who oppress the god deserve death, it is said. They who seek to aggrandise their fortunes by afflicting kingdoms in unscrupulous ways, very soon come to be regarded as vermin in a dead body. Those robbers again that would conduct themselves by conforming to these restraints of the scriptures, would soon win salvation although leading a plundering life.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Those robbers, thus addressed, obeyed all the commands of Kayavya. By desisting from sin, they obtained great prosperity. By behaving himself in such a way by thus doing good to the honest and by thus restraining the robbers from bad practices, Kayavya won great success (in the next world). He who always thinks of this narrative of Kayavya will not have any fear from the denizens of the forest, in fact, from any earthly creature. Such a man will have no fear from any creature, O Bharata! He will have no fear from wicked men. If such a man goes to the forest, he will be able to live there with the security of a king.'"

SECTION 136

"Bhishma said, 'In this connexion, viz., the method by which a king should fill his treasury, persons acquainted with the scriptures of olden days cite the following verses sung by Brahman himself. The wealth of persons who are given to the performance of sacrifices, as also the wealth dedicated to the deities, should never be taken. A Kshatriya should take the wealth of such persons as never perform religious rites and sacrifices as are on that account regarded to be equal to robbers. All the creatures that inhabit the earth and all the enjoyments that appertain to sovereignty, O Bharata, belong to the Kshatriyas. All the wealth of the earth belongs to the Kshatriya, and not to any person else. That wealth the Kshatriya should use for keeping up his army and for the performance of sacrifice. Tearing up such creepers and plants as are not of any use, men burn them for cooking such vegetables as serve for food. [The king should similarly, by punishing the wicked, cherish the good.] Men conversant with duty have said that his wealth is useless who does not, with libations of clarified butter, feed the gods, the Pitris, and men. A virtuous ruler, O king, should take away such wealth. By that wealth a large number of good people can be gratified. He should not, however, hoard that wealth in his treasury. He who makes himself an instrument of acquisition and taking away wealth from the wicked gives them to those that are good is said to be conversant with the whole science of morality. A king should extend his conquests in the next world according to the measure of his power, and as gradually as vegetable products are seen to grow. As some ants are seen to grow from no adequate cause, even so sacrifice spring from no adequate cause. [The sense seems to be that sacrifice proceeds more from an internal desire than from a large sum of money lying in the treasury. If the desire exists, money comes gradually for accomplishing it. The force of the simile consists in the fact that ants (probably white ants) are seen to gather and multiply from no ostensible cause.] As flies and gnats and ants are driven off from the bodies of kine and other domestic cattle (at the time of milking them), even so should persons who are averse to the performance of sacrifices should be similarly driven off from the kingdom. This is consistent with morality. As the dust that lies on the earth, if pounded between two stones, becomes finer and finer, even so questions of morality, the more they are reflected upon and discussed, become finer and finer.'"

SECTION 137

"Bhishma said, 'These two, viz., one that provides for the future, and one possessed of presence of mind, always enjoy happiness. The man of procrastination, however, is lost. In this connexion, listen attentively to the following excellent story of a procrastinating person in the matter of settling his course of action. In a lake that was not very deep and which abounded with fishes, there lived three Sakula fishes that were friends and constant companions. Amongst those three one had much forethought and always liked to provide for what was coming. Another was possessed of great presence of mind. The third was procrastinating. One day certain fishermen coming to that lake began to bale out its waters to a lower ground through diverse outlets. Beholding the water of the lake gradually decreasing, the fish that had much foresight, addressing his two companions on that occasion of danger, said, 'A great danger is about to overtake all the aquatic creatures living in this lake. Let us speedily go to some other place before our path becomes obstructed. He that resists future evil by the aid of good policy, never incurs serious danger. Let my counsels prevail with you. Let us all leave this place' That one amongst the three who was procrastinating then answered, 'It is well said. There is, however, no need of such haste. This is my deliberate opinion.' Then the other fish, who was noted for presence of mind, addressed his procrastinating companion and said, 'When the time for anything comes, I never fail to provide for it according to policy.' Hearing the answers of his two companions, he of great forethought and considerable intelligence immediately set out by a current and reached another deep lake. The fishermen, Seeing that all the water had been baled out, shut in the fishes that remained, by diverse means. Then they began to agitate the little water that remained, and as they began to catch the fish, the procrastinating Sakula was caught with many others. When the fisherman began to tie to a long string the fishes they had caught, the Sakula who was noted for presence of mind thrust himself into the company of those that had been so tied and remained quietly among them, biting the string, for he thought that he should do it to give the appearance of being caught. The fishermen believed that all the fishes attached to the string had been caught. They then removed them to a piece of deep water for washing them. Just at that time the Sakula noted for presence of mind, leaving the string, quickly escaped. That fish, however, who had been procrastinating, foolish and senseless and without intelligence as he was, and, therefore, unable to escape, met with death.

"'Thus every one meets with destruction, like the procrastinating fish, who from want of intelligence cannot divine the hour of danger. That man, again, who regarding himself clever does not seek his own good in proper time, incurs great danger like the Sakula who had presence of mind. Hence these two only, viz., he that has much forethought and he that has presence of mind, succeed in obtaining happiness. He, however, that is procrastinating meets with destruction. Diverse are the divisions of time, such as Kashtha, Kala, Muhurta, day, night, Lava, month, fortnight, the six seasons, Kalpa, year. The divisions of the earth are called place. Time cannot be seen. As regards the success of any object or purpose, it is achieved or not achieved according to the manner in which the mind is set to think of it. These two, viz., the person of forethought and the person of presence of mind, have been declared by the Rishis to be the foremost of men in all treatises on morality and profit and in those dealing with emancipation. One, however, that does everything after reflection and scrutiny, one that avails oneself of proper

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means for the accomplishment of one's objects, always succeeds in achieving much. Those again that act with due regard to time and place succeed in winning results better than the mere man of foresight and the man of presence of mind.'"

SECTION 138

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou hast, O bull of Bharata's race, said that that intelligence which provides against the future, as well as that which can meet present emergencies, is everywhere superior, while procrastination brings about destruction. I desire, O grandsire, to hear of that superior intelligence aided by which a king, conversant with the scriptures and well versed with morality and profit, may not be stupefied even when surrounded by many foes. I ask thee this, O chief of Kuru's race! It behoveth thee to discourse to me on I his. I desire to hear everything, comfortable to what has been laid down in the scriptures, about the manner in which a king should conduct himself when he is assailed by many foes. When a king falls into distress, a large number of foes, provoked by his past acts, range themselves against him and seek to vanquish him. How may, a king, weak and alone, succeed in holding up his head when he is challenged on all sides by many powerful kings leagued together? How does a king at such times make friends and foes? How should he, O bull of Bharata's race, behave at such a time towards both friends and foes? When those that have indications of friends really become his foes, what should the king then do if he is to obtain happiness? With whom should he make war and with whom should he make peace? Even if he be strong, how should he behave in the midst of foes? O scorcher of foes, this I regard to be the highest of all questions connected with the discharge of kingly duties. There are few men for listening to the answer of this question and none to answer it save Santanu's son, Bhishma, firmly wedded to truth and having all his senses under control. O thou that art highly blessed reflect upon it and discourse to me on it!'

"Bhishma said, 'O Yudhishthira, this question is certainly worthy of thee. Its answer is fraught with great happiness. Listen to me, O son, as I declare to thee, O Bharata, all the duties generally known that should be practised in seasons of distress. A foe becomes a friend and a friend also becomes a foe. The course of human actions, through the combination of circumstances, becomes very uncertain. As regards, therefore, what should be done and what should not, it is necessary that paying heed to the requirements of time and place, one should either trust one's foes or make war. One should, even exerting, one's self to one's best, make friends with men of intelligence and knowledge that desire one's welfare. One should make peace with even one's foes, when, O Bharata, one's life cannot otherwise be saved. That foolish man who never makes peace with foes, never succeeds in winning any gain or acquiring any of those fruits for which others endeavour. He again who makes peace with foes and quarrels with even friends after a full consideration of circumstances, succeeds in obtaining great fruits. In this connexion is cited the old story of the discourse between a cat and a mouse at the foot of a banian.'

"Bhishma continued, 'There was a large banian in the midst of an extensive forest. Covered with many kinds of creepers, it was the resort of diverse kinds of birds. It had a large trunk from which numerous branches extended in all directions. Delightful to look at, the shade it afforded was very refreshing. It stood in the midst of the forest, and animals of diverse species lived on it. A mouse of great wisdom, named Palita, lived at the foot of that tree, having made a hole there with a hundred outlets. On the branches of the tree there lived a cat, of the name of Lomasa, in great happiness, daily devouring a large number of birds. Some time after, a Chandala came into the forest and built a hut for himself. Every evening after sunset he spread his traps. Indeed, spreading his nets made of leathern strings he went back to his hut, and happily passing the night in sleep, returned to the spot at the dawn of day. Diverse kinds of animals fell into his traps every night. And it so happened that one day the cat, in a moment of heedlessness, was caught in the snare. O thou of great wisdom, when his foe the cat who was at all times an enemy of the mouse species was thus caught in the net, the mouse Palita came out of his hole and began to rove about fearlessly. While trustfully roving through the forest in search of food, the mouse after a little while saw the meat (that the Chandala had spread there as lure). Getting upon the trap, the little animal began to eat the flesh. Laughing mentally, he even got upon his enemy entangled helplessly in the net. Intent on eating the flesh, he did not mark his own danger, for as he suddenly cast his eyes he saw a terrible foe of his arrived at that spot. That foe was none else than a restless mongoose of coppery eyes, of the name of Harita. Living in underground holes, its body resembled the flower of a reed. Allured to that spot by the scent of the mouse, the animal came there with great speed for devouring his prey. And he stood on his haunches, with head upraised, licking the corners of his mouth with his tongue. The mouse beheld at the same time another foe living in the trees, then sitting on the branch of the banian. It was a night-prowling owl of the name of Chandraka of sharp beaks. Having become an object of sight with both the mongoose and the owl, the mouse, in great alarm, began to think in this strain: 'At such a season of great danger, when death itself is staring me in the face, when there is fear on every side, how should one act that wishes for one's good? Encompassed on all sides by danger, seeing fear in every direction, the mouse, filled with alarm for his safety, made a high resolution. Warding off even innumerable dangers by hundreds of means, one should always save one's life. Danger, at the present moment, encompasses me on every side. If I were to descend from this trap on the ground, without adequate precautions, the mongoose will surely seize and devour me. If I remain on this trap, the owl will surely seize me. If, again, that cat succeeds in disentangling himself from the net, he also is certain to devour me. It is not proper, however, that a person of our intelligence should lose his wits. I shall, therefore, strive my best to save my life, aided by proper means and intelligence. A person possessed of intelligence and wisdom and conversant with the science of policy never sinks, however great and terrible the danger that threatens him. At present, however, I do not behold any other refuge than this cat. He is an enemy. But he is in distress. The service that I can do him is very great. Sought to be made a prey by three foes, how should I now act for saving my life? I should now seek the protection of one of those foes, viz., the cat. Taking the aid of the science of policy, let me counsel the cat for his good, so that I may, with my intelligence, escape from all the three. The cat is my great foe, but the distress into which he has fallen is very great. Let me try whether I can succeed in making this foolish creature understand his own interests. Having fallen into such distress, he may make peace with me. A person when afflicted by a stronger one should make peace with even an enemy. Professors of the science of policy say that even this should be the conduct of one who having fallen into distress seeks the safety of his life. It is better to have a learned person for an enemy than a fool for a friend. As regards myself, my life now rests entirely in the hands of my enemy the cat. I shall now address the cat on the subject of his own liberation. Perhaps, at this moment, it would not be wrong to take the cat for an intelligent and learned foe.' Even thus did that mouse, surrounded by foes, pursue his reflections. Having reflected in this strain, the mouse, conversant with the science of Profit and well acquainted with occasions when war should be declared and peace made, gently addressed the cat, saying, 'I address thee in friendship, O cat! Art thou alive? I wish thee to live! I desire the good of us both. O amiable one, thou hast no cause for fear. Thou shalt live in happiness. I shall rescue thee, if, indeed, thou dost not slay me. There is an excellent expedient in this case, which suggests itself to me, and by which you may obtain your escape and I may obtain great benefit. By reflecting earnestly I have hit upon that expedient for thy sake and for my sake, for it will benefit both of us. There are the mongoose and the owl, both waiting with evil intent. Only so long, O cat, as they do not attack me, is my life safe. There that wretched owl with restless glances and horrid cries is eyeing me from the branch of that tree. I am exceedingly frightened by it. Friendship, as regards the good, is seven-paced. [The meaning is that as regards good men, they become friends in no time. By taking only seven steps in a walk together, two such men become friends.] Possessed of wisdom as thou art, thou art my friend. I, shall act towards thee as a friend. Thou needst have no fear now. Without my help, O cat, thou wilt not succeed in tearing the net. I, however, shall cut the net for serving thee, if thou abstain from killing me. Thou hast lived on this tree and I have lived at its foot. Both of us have dwelt here for many long years. All this is known to thee. He upon whom nobody places his trust, and he who never trusts another, are never applauded by the wise. Both of them are unhappy. For this reason, let our love for each other increase, and let there be union amongst us two. Men of wisdom never applaud the endeavour to do an act when its opportunity has passed away. Know that this is the proper time for such an understanding amongst us. I wish that thou shouldst live, and thou also wishest that I should live. A man crosses a deep and large river by a piece of wood. It is seen that the man takes the piece of wood to the other side, and the piece of wood also takes the man to the other side. Like this, our compact, also will bring happiness to both of us. I will rescue thee, and thou also wilt rescue me.' Having said these words that were beneficial to both of them, that were fraught with reason and on that account highly acceptable, the mouse Palita waited in expectation of an answer.

"'Hearing these well-chosen words, fraught with reason and highly acceptable, that the mouse said, the mouse's foe possessed of judgement and forethought, viz., the cat spoke in reply. Endued with great intelligence, and possessed of eloquence, the cat, reflecting upon his own state, praised the Words of the speaker and honoured him by gentle words in return. Possessed of sharp foreteeth and having eyes that resembled the stones called lapis lazuli, the cat called Lomasa, gentle eyeing the mouse, answered as follows: I am delighted with thee, O amiable one! Blessed be thou that wishest me to live! Do that, without hesitation, which thou thinkest to be of beneficial consequences. I am certainly in great distress. Thou art, if possible, in greater distress still. Let there be a compact between us without delay. I will do that which is opportune and necessary for the accomplishment of our business, O Puissant one! If thou rescuest me, the service will go for nothing I place myself in thy hands. I am devoted to thee. I shall wait upon and serve thee like a disciple. I seek thy protection and shall always obey thy behests,' Thus addressed, the mouse Palita, addressing in return the cat who was completely under his control, said these words of grave import and high wisdom: 'Thou hast spoken most magnanimously. It could scarcely be unexpected from one like thee. Listen to me as I disclose the expedient I have hit upon for benefiting both of us. I will crouch myself beneath thy body. I am exceedingly frightened at the mongoose. Do thou save me. Kill me not. I am competent to rescue thee. Protect me also from the owl, for that wretch too wishes to seize me for his prey. I shall cut the noose that entangles thee. I swear by Truth, O friend!' Hearing these judicious words fraught with reason, Lomasa, filled with delight, cast his eyes upon Palita and applauded him with exclamations of welcome. Having applauded Palita, the cat, disposed to friendliness, reflected for a moment, and gladly said without losing any time, 'Come quickly to me! Blessed be thou, thou art, indeed, a friend dear to me as life. O thou of great I wisdom, through thy grace I have almost got back my life. Whatever it is in my power to do for thee now, tell me and I shall do it. Let there be peace between us, O friend! Liberated from this danger, I shall, with all my friends and relatives, do all that may be agreeable and beneficial to thee. O amiable one, freed from this distress, I shall certainly seek to gladden thee, and worship and honour thee on every occasion in return for thy services. A person by doing even abundant services in return never becomes equal to the person that did him good in the first instance. The former does those services for the sake of services received. The latter, however, should be held to have acted without any such motive.'

"Bhishma continued, 'The mouse, having thus made the cat understand his own interests, trustfully crouched beneath his enemy's body. Possessed of learning, and thus assured by the cat, the mouse trustfully laid himself thus under the breast of the cat as if it were the lap of his father or mother. Beholding him thus ensconced within the body of the cat, the mongoose and the owl both became hopeless of seizing their prey. Indeed, seeing that close intimacy between the mouse and the cat, both Harita and Chandraka became alarmed and filled with wonder. Both of them had strength and intelligence. Clever in seizing their prey, though near, the mongoose and the owl felt unable to wean the mouse and the cat from that compact. Indeed, beholding the cat and the mouse make that covenant for accomplishing their mutual ends, the mongoose and the owl both left that spot and went away to their respective abodes. After this, the mouse Palita, conversant with the requirements of time and place, began, as he lay under the body of the cat, to cut strings of the noose slowly, waiting for the proper time to finish his work. Distressed by the strings that entangled him, the cat became impatient upon seeing the mouse slowly cutting away the noose. Beholding the mouse employed so slowly in the work, the cat wishing to expedite him in the task, said: 'How is it, O amiable one, that thou dost not proceed with haste in thy work? Dost thou disregard me now, having thyself succeeded in thy object? O slayer of foes, do thou cut these strings quickly. The hunter will soon come here.' Thus addressed by the cat who had become impatient, the mouse possessed of intelligence said these beneficial words fraught with his own good unto the cat who did not seem to possess much wisdom: 'Wait in silence, O amiable one! Expedition is not necessary.

Drive all thy fears. We know the requirements of time. We are not wasting time. When an act is begun at an improper time, it never becomes profitable when accomplished. That act, on the other hand, which is begun at the proper time, always produces splendid fruits. If thou be freed at an improper time, I shall have to stand in great fear of thee. Therefore, do thou wait for the proper time. Do not be impatient, O friend! When I shall see the hunter approach towards this spot armed with weapons, I shall cut the strings at that moment of fear to both of us. Freed then, thou wilt ascend the tree. At that time thou wilt not think of anything else save the safety of thy life. And when thou, O Lomasa, wilt fly away in fear, I shall enter my hole and thou wilt get upon the tree.' Thus addressed by the mouse in words that were beneficial to him, the cat, possessed of intelligence and eloquence, and impatient of saving his life, replied unto the mouse in the following words. Indeed, the cat, who had quickly and properly done his own part of the covenant, addressing the mouse who was not expeditious in discharging his part, said, 'I rescued thee from a great danger with considerable promptness. Alas! honest persons never do the business of their friends in this way. Filled with delight while doing it, they do it otherwise. Thou shouldst do what is for my good with greater expedition. O thou of great wisdom, do thou exert a little so that good may be done to both of us. If, on the other hand, remembering our former hostility thou art only suffering the time to slip away,

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know, O wicked wight, that the consequence of this act of thine will surely be to lessen the duration of thy own life! [Virtue prolongs life, and sin and wickedness always shorten it. This is laid down almost everywhere in the Hindu scriptures (and the scripture of other faiths; with the exception of Islam which promotes virtuous behaviour only to Muslims but not to any non-Muslims called "Kafir" [= the vile Islam-rejectors, Infidels, non-believers, disbelievers, unbelievers, "the house of war," etc.], see Koran 3:28, 8:12, 9:29, 33:61, 40:35, 47:4, 86:15).] If I have ever, before this, unconsciously done thee any wrong, thou shouldst not bear it in remembrance. I beg thy forgiveness. Be gratified with me.' After the cat had said these words, the mouse, possessed of intelligence and wisdom and knowledge of the scriptures, said these excellent words unto him: 'I have, O cat, heard what thou hast said in furtherance of thy own object. Listen, however, to me as I tell thee what is consistent with my own objects. That friendship in which there is fear and which cannot be kept up without fear, should be maintained with great caution like the hand (of the snake-charmer) from the snake's fangs. The person that does not protect himself after having made a covenant with a stronger individual, finds that covenant to be productive of injury instead of benefit. Nobody is anybody's friend; nobody is anybody's well-wisher; persons become friends or foes only from motives of interest. Interest enlists interest even as tame elephants catch wild individuals of their species. After, again, an act has been accomplished, the doer is scarcely regarded. For this reason, all acts should be so done that something may remain to be done. When I shall set thee free, thou wilt, afflicted by the fear of the hunter, fly away for thy life without ever thinking of seizing me. Behold, all the strings of this net have been cut by me. Only one remains to be cut. I will cut that also with haste. Be comforted, O Lomasa!' While the mouse and the cat were thus talking with each other, both in serious danger, the night gradually wore away. A great fear, however, penetrated the heart of the cat. When at last morning came, the Chandala, whose name was Parigha, appeared on the scene. His visage was frightful. His hair was black and tawny. His hips were very, large and his aspect was very fierce. Of a large mouth that extended from car to car, and exceedingly filthy, his ears were very long. Armed with weapons and accompanied by a pack of dogs, the grim-looking man appeared on the scene. Beholding the individual who resembled a messenger of Yama, the cat became filled with fear. Penetrated with fright, he addressed Palita and said, 'What shalt thou do now?' The mouse very quickly cut the remaining string that held fast the cat. Freed from the noose, the cat ran with speed and got upon the banian. Palita also, freed from that situation of danger and from the presence of a terrible foe, quickly fled and entered his hole. Lomasa meanwhile had climbed the high tree. The hunter, seeing everything, took tip his net. His hopes frustrated, he also quickly left that spot. Indeed, O bull of Bharata's race, the Chandala returned to his abode. Liberated from that great peril, and having obtained back his life which is so very valuable, the cat from the branches of that tree addressed the mouse Palita then staying within the hole, and said, 'Without having conversed with me, thou hast suddenly run away. I hope thou dost not suspect me of any evil intent. I am certainly grateful and thou hast done me a great service. Having inspired me with trustfulness and having given me my life, why dost thou not approach me at a time when friends should enjoy the sweetness of friendship? Having made friends, he that forgets them afterwards, is regarded a wicked person and never succeeds in obtaining friends at times of danger and need. I have been, O friend, honoured and served by thee to the best of thy power. It behoveth thee to enjoy the company of my poor self who has become thy friend. Like disciples worshipping their preceptor, all the friends I have, all my relatives and kinsmen, will honour and worship thee. I myself too shall worship thee with all thy friends and kinsmen. What grateful person is there that will not worship the giver of his life? Be thou the lord of both my body and home. Be thou the disposer of all my wealth and possessions. Be thou my honoured counsellor and do thou rule me like a father. I swear by my life that thou hast no fear from us. In intelligence thou art Usanas himself. By the power of thy understanding thou hast conquered us. Possessed of the strength of policy, thou hast given us our life.' Addressed in such soothing words by the cat, the mouse, conversant with all that is productive of the highest good, replied in these sweet words that were beneficial to himself: 'I have heard, O Lomasa, all that thou hast said. Listen now as I say what appears to me. Friends should be well examined. Foes also should be well studied. In this world, a task like this is regarded by even the learned as a difficult one depending upon acute intelligence. Friends assume the guise of foes, and foes assume the guise of friends. When compacts of friendship are formed, it is difficult for the parties to understand whether the other parties are really moved by lust and wrath. There is no such thing as a foe. There is no such thing in existence as a friend. It is force of circumstances that creates friends and foes. He who regards his own interests ensured as long as another person lives and thinks them endangered when that other person will cease to live, takes that other person for a friend and considers him so as long as those interests of his are not clashed against. There is no condition that deserves permanently the name either of friendship or hostility. Both friends and foes arise from considerations of interest and gain. Friendship becomes changed into enmity in the course of time. A foe also becomes a friend. Self-interest is very powerful. He who reposes blind trust on friends and always behaves with mistrust towards foes without paying any regard to considerations of policy, finds his life to be unsafe. He who, disregarding all considerations of policy, sets his heart upon an affectionate union with either friends or foes, comes to be regarded as a person whose understanding has been unhinged. One should not repose trust upon a person undeserving of trust, nor should one trust too much a person deserving of trust. The danger that arises from blind reposing of confidence is such that it cuts the very roots (of the person that reposes such confidence). The father, the mother, the son, the maternal uncle, the sister's son, other relatives and kinsmen, are all guided by considerations of interest and profit. Father and mother may be seen to discard the dear son if fallen. 1 People take care of their own selves. Behold the efficacy of self-interest. O thou that art possessed of great wisdom, his escape is very difficult who immediately after he is freed from danger seeks the means of his enemy's happiness. Thou camest down from the tree-top to this very spot. Thou couldst not, from levity of understanding, ascertain that a net had been spread here. A person, possessed of levity of understanding, fails to protect his own self. How can he protect others? Such a person, without doubt, ruins all his acts. Thou tellest me in sweet words that I am very dear to thee. Hear me, however, O friend, the reasons that exist on my side. One becomes dear from an adequate cause. One becomes a foe from an adequate cause. This whole world of creatures is moved by the desire of gain (in some form or other). One never becomes dear to another (without cause). The friendship between two uterine brothers, the love between husband and wife, depends upon interest. I do not know any kind of affection between any persons that does not rest upon some motive of self-interest. If, as is sometimes seen, uterine brothers or husband and wife having quarrelled reunite together from a natural affection, such a thing is not to be seen in persons unconnected with one another. One becomes dear for one's liberality. Another becomes dear for his sweet words. A third becomes so in consequence of his religious acts. Generally, a person becomes dear for the purpose he serves. The affection between us arose from a sufficient cause. That cause exists no longer. On the other hand, from adequate reason, that affection between us has come to an end. What is that reason, I ask, for which I have become so dear to thee, besides thy desire of making me thy prey? Thou shouldst know that I am not forgetful of this. Time spoils reasons. Thou seekest thy own interests. Others, however, Possessed of wisdom, understand their own interests. The world rests upon the example of the wise. Thou shouldst not address such words to a person possessed of learning and competent to understand his own interests. Thou art powerful. The reason of this affection that thou showest for me now is ill-timed. Guided, however, by my own interests, I myself am firm in peace and war that are themselves very unstable. The circumstances under which peace is to be made or war declared are changed as quickly as the clouds change their form. This very day thou wert my foe. This very day, again, thou wert my friend. This very day thou hast once more become my enemy. Behold the levity of the considerations that move living creatures. There was friendship between us as long as there was reason for its existence. That reason, dependant upon time, has passed away. Without it, that friendship also has passed away. Thou art by nature my foe. From circumstances thou becomest my friend. That state of things has passed away. The old state of enmity that is natural has come back. Thoroughly conversant as I am with the dictates of policy that have been thus laid down, tell me, why I should enter today, for thy sake, the net that is spread for me. Through thy power I was freed from a great danger. Through my power thou hast been freed from a similar danger. Each of us has served the other. There is no need of uniting ourselves again in friendly intercourse. O amiable one, the object thou hadst hath been accomplished. The object I had has also been accomplished. Thou hast now no use for me except to make me your meal. I am thy food. Thou art the eater. I am weak. Thou art strong. There cannot be a friendly union between us when we are situated so unequally. I understand thy wisdom. Having been rescued from the net, thou applaudest me so that thou mayst succeed in easily making a meal of me. Thou wert entangled in the net for the sake of food. Thou hast been freed from it. Thou feelest now the pangs of hunger. Having recourse to that wisdom which arises from a study of the scriptures, thou seekest verily to eat me up today. I know that thou art hungry. I know that this is thy hour for taking food. Thou art seeking for thy prey, with thy eyes directed towards me. Thou hast sons and wives. Thou seekest still friendly union with me and wishest to treat me with affection and do me services. O friend, I am incapable of acceding to this proposal. Seeing me with thee, why will not thy dear spouse and thy loving children cheerfully eat me up? I shall not, therefore, unite with thee in friendship. The reason no longer exists for such a union. If, indeed, thou dost not forget my good offices, think of what will be beneficial to me and be comfortable. What person is there possessed of any wisdom that will place himself under the power of a foe that is not distinguished for righteousness, that is in pangs of hunger, and that is on the look-out for a prey? Be happy then, I will presently leave thee. I am filled with alarm even if I behold thee from a distance. I shall not mingle with thee, cease in thy attempts, O Lomasa! If thou thinkest that I have done thee a service, follow then the dictates of friendship when I may happen to rove trustfully or heedlessly. Even that will be gratitude in thee. A residence near a person possessed of strength and power is never applauded, even if the danger that existed be regarded to have passed away. I should always stand in fear of one more powerful than myself. If thou dost not seek thy own interests (of the kind indicated), tell me then what is there that I should do for thee. I shall certainly give thee everything except my life. For protecting one's own self one should give up one's very children, and kingdom, and jewels, and wealth. One should sacrifice one's all for protecting one's own self. If a person lives he can recover all the affluence that he may have to give unto foes for protecting his life. It is not desirable to give up life like one's wealth. Indeed, one's own self should always be protected by, as I have already said, giving up one's wives and wealth. Persons who are mindful of protecting their own selves and who do all their acts after a proper consideration and survey, never incur danger as the consequence of their acts. They that are weak always know him for a foe who is possessed of greater strength. Their understanding, firm in the truths of the scriptures, never loses its steadiness.'

"Thus rebuked soundly by the mouse Palita, the cat, blushing with shame, addressed the mouse and said the following words."

"Lomasa said, 'Truly I swear by thee that to injure a friend is in my estimation very censurable. I know thy wisdom. I know also that thou art devoted to my good. Guided by the science of Profit, thou said that there is cause for a breach between thee and me. It doth not behove thee, however, O good friend, to take me for what I am not. I cherish a great friendship for thee in consequence of thy having granted me my life. I am, again, acquainted with duties. I am all appreciator of other people's merits. I am very grateful for services received. I am devoted to the service of friends. I am, again, especially devoted to thee. For these reasons, O good friend, it behoveth thee to reunite thyself with me. If I am commanded by thee, I can, with all my kinsmen and relatives, lay down my very life. They that are possessed of learning and wisdom see ample reason for placing their trust in persons of such mental disposition as ourselves. O thou that art acquainted with the truths of morality, it behoveth thee not to cherish any suspicion in respect of me.' Thus addressed by the cat, the mouse reflecting a little, said these words of grave import unto the former, 'Thou art exceedingly good. I have heard all that thou hast said and am glad to hear thee. For all that, however, I cannot trust thee. It is impossible for thee, by such eulogies or by gifts of great wealth, to induce me to unite with thee again. I tell thee, O friend, that they who are possessed of wisdom never place themselves, when there is not sufficient reason, under the power of a foe. A weak person having made a compact with a stronger one when both are threatened by foes, should (when that common danger passes away) conduct himself heedfully and by considerations of policy. Having gained his object, the weaker of the two parties should not again repose confidence on the stronger. One, should never trust a person who does not deserve to be trusted. Nor should one repose blind confidence upon a person deserving of trust. One should always endeavour to inspire others with confidence in himself-. One should not, however, himself repose confidence in foes. For these reasons one should, under all circumstances, protect his own self. One's possessions and children and everything are so long valuable as one is alive. In brief, the highest truth of all treatises on policy is mistrust. For this reason, mistrust of all is productive of the greatest good. However weak people may be, if they mistrust their foes, the latter, even if strong, never succeed in getting them under power. O cat, one like myself should always guard ones life from persons like thee. Do thou also protect thy own life from the Chandala whose rage has been excited.' While the mouse thus spake, the cat, frightened at the mention of the hunter, hastily leaving the branch of the tree, ran away with great speed. Having thus displayed his power of understanding, the mouse Palita also, conversant with the truths of scripture and possessed of wisdom, entered another hole.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Even thus the mouse Palita, possessed of wisdom, though weak and alone, succeeded in baffling many powerful foes. One possessed of intelligence and learning should make peace with a powerful foe. The mouse and the cat owed their escape to their reliance upon each other's services. I have thus pointed out to thee the course of Kshatriya duties at great length. Listen now to me in brief. When two persons who were once engaged in hostilities make

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peace with each other, it is certain that each of them has it in his heart to over-reach the other. In such a case he that is possessed of wisdom succeeds by the power of his understanding in over-reaching the other. He, on the other hand, who is destitute of wisdom suffers himself, in consequence of his heedlessness, to be over-reached by the wise. It is necessary, therefore, that, in fear one should seem to be fearless, and while really mistrusting others one should seem to be trustful. One who acts with such heedfulness never trips, or tripping, is never ruined. When the time comes for it, one should make peace with an enemy; and when the time comes, one should wage war with even a friend. Even thus should one conduct oneself, O king, as they have said that are conversant with the considerations of peace (and war). Knowing this, O monarch, and bearing the truths of scripture in mind, one should, with all his senses about one and without heedfulness, act like a person in fear before the cause of fear actually presents itself. One should, before the cause of fear has actually come, act like a person in fear, and make peace with foes. Such fear and heedfulness lead to keenness of understanding. If one acts like a man in fear before the cause of fear is at hand, one is never filled with fear when that cause is actually present. From the fear, however, of a person who always acts with fearlessness, very great fear is seen to arise. 'Never cherish fear'--such a counsel should never be given to any one. The person that cherishes fear moved by a consciousness of his weakness, always seeks 'the counsel of wise and experienced men. For these reasons, one should, when in fear, seem to be fearless, and when mistrusting (others) should seem to be trustful. One should not, in view of even the gravest acts, behave towards others with falsehood. Thus have I recited to thee, O Yudhishthira, the old story (of the mouse and the cat). Having listened to it, do thou act duly in the midst of thy friends and kinsmen. Deriving from that story a high understanding, and learning the difference between friend and foe and the proper time for war and peace, thou wilt discover means of escape when overwhelmed with danger. Making peace, at a time of common danger, with one that is powerful, thou shouldst act with proper consideration in the matter of uniting thyself with the foe (when the common danger has passed away). Indeed, having gained thy object, thou shouldst not trust the foe again. This path of policy is consistent with the aggregate of three (viz., Virtue, Profit, and Pleasure), O king! Guided by this Sruti, do thou win prosperity by once more protecting thy subjects. O son of Pandu, always seek the companionship of Brahmanas in all thy acts. Brahmans constitute the great source of benefit both in this world and the next. They are teachers of duty and morality. They are always grateful, O puissant one! If worshipped, they are sure to do thee good. Therefore, O king, thou shouldst always worship them. Thou wilt then, O king, duly obtain kingdom, great good, fame, achievement's and progeny in their proper order. With eyes directed to this history of peace and war between the mouse and the cat, this history couched in excellent words and capable of sharpening the intelligence, a king should always conduct himself in the midst of his foes.'"

SECTION 139

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou hast laid it down, O mighty one, that no trust should be placed upon foes. But how would the king maintain himself if he were not to trust anybody? From trust, O king, thou hast said, great danger arises to kings. But how, O monarch, can a king, without trusting others, conquer his foes? Kindly remove this doubt of mine. My mind has become confused, O grandsire, at what I have heard thee say on the subject of mistrust.'

"Bhishma said, 'Listen, O king, to what happened at the abode of Brahmadatta, viz., the conversation between Pujani and king Brahmadatta. There was a bird named Pujani who lived for a long time with king Brahmadatta in the inner apartments of his palace at Kampilya. Like the bird Jivajivaka, Pujani could mimic the cries of all animals. Though a bird by birth, she had great knowledge and was conversant with every truth. While living there, she brought forth an offspring of great splendour. At the very same time the king also got by his queen a son. Pujani, who was grateful for the shelter of the king's roof, used every day to go to the shores of the ocean and bring a couple of fruits for the nourishment of her own young one and the infant prince. One of those fruits she gave to her own child and the other she gave to the prince. The fruits she brought were sweet as nectar, and capable of increasing strength and energy. Every day she brought them and everyday she disposed of them in the same way. The infant prince derived great strength from the fruit of Pujani's giving that he ate. One day the infant prince, while borne on the arms of his nurse, saw the little offspring of Pujani. Getting down from the nurse's arms, the child ran towards the bird, and moved by childish impulse, began to Play with it, relishing the sport highly. At length, raising the bird which was of the same age with himself in his hands, the prince pressed out its young life and then came back to his nurse. The dam, O king, who had been out in her search after the accustomed fruits, returning to the palace, beheld her young one lying on the ground, killed by the prince. Beholding her son deprived of life, Pujani, with tears gushing down her cheeks, and heart burning with grief, wept bitterly and said, 'Alas, nobody should live with a Kshatriya or make friends with him or take delight in any intercourse with him. When they have any object to serve, they behave with courtesy. When that object has been served they cast off the instrument. The Kshatriyas do evil unto all. They should never be trusted. Even after doing an injury they always seek to soothe and assure the injured for nothing. I shall certainly take due vengeance, for this act of hostility, upon this cruel and ungrateful betrayer of confidence. He has been guilty of a triple sin in taking the life of one that was horn on the same day with him and that was being reared with him in the same place, that used to eat with him, and that was dependent on him for protection.' Having said these words unto herself, Pujani, with her talons, pierced the eyes of the prince, and deriving some comfort from that act of vengeance, once more said, 'A sinful act, perpetrated deliberately, assails the doer without any loss of time. They. on the other hand, who avenge themselves of an injury, never lose their merit by such conduct. If the consequence of a sinful act be not seen in the perpetrator himself, they would certainly be seen, O king, in his sons or son's sons or daughter's sons. Brahmadatta, beholding his son blinded by Pujani and regarding the act to have been a proper vengeance for what his son had done, said these words unto Pujani.'

"Brahmadatta said, 'An injury was done by us to thee. Thou hast avenged it by doing an injury in return. The account has been squared. Do not leave thy present abode. On the other hand, continue to dwell here, O Pujani.'

"Pujani said, 'If a person having once injured another continues to reside with that other, they that are possessed of learning never applaud his conduct. Under such circumstances it is always better for the injurer to leave his old place. One should never place one's trust upon the soothing assurances received from an injured party. The fool that trusts such assurances soon meets with destruction. Animosity is not quickly cooled. The very sons and grandsons of persons that have injured each other meet with destruction (in consequence of the quarrel descending like an inheritance). In consequence again of such destruction of their offspring, they lose the next world also. Amongst men that have injured one another, mistrust would be productive of happiness. One that has betrayed confidence should never be trusted in the least. One who is not deserving of trust should not be trusted; nor should too much trust be placed upon a person deserving of trust. The danger that arises from blind confidence brings about a destruction that is complete. One should seek to inspire others with confidence in one's self. One, however, should never repose confidence on others. The father and the mother only are the foremost of friends. The wife is merely a vessel for drawing the seeds. The son is only one's seed. The brother is a foe. The friend or companion requires to have his palms oiled if he is to remain so. One's own self it is that enjoys or suffers one's happiness or misery. Amongst persons that have injured one another, it is not advisable there should be (real) peace. The reasons no longer exists for which I lived here. The mind of a person who has once injured another becomes naturally filled with mistrust, if he sees the injured person worshipping him with gifts and honours. Such conduct, especially when displayed by those that are strong, always fills the weak with alarm. A person possessed of intelligence should leave that place where he first meets with honour in order to meet only with dishonour and injury next. In spite of any subsequent honour that he might obtain from his enemy, he should behave in this way. I have dwelt in thy abode for a longtime, all along honoured by thee. A cause of enmity, however, has at last arisen. I should, therefore, leave this place without any hesitation.'

"Brahmadatta said, 'One who does an injury in return for an injury received is never regarded as offending. Indeed, the avenger squares his account by such conduct. Therefore, O Pujani, continue to reside here without leaving this place.'

"Pujani said, 'No friendship can once more be cemented between a person that has injured and him that has inflicted an injury in return. The hearts of neither can forget what has happened.'

"Brahmadatta said, 'It is necessary that a union should take place between an injurer and the avenger of that injury. Mutual animosity, upon such a union, has been seen to cool. No fresh injury also has followed in such cases.'

"Pujani said, 'Animosity (springing from mutual injuries) can never die. The person injured should never trust his foes, thinking, 'O, I have been soothed with assurances of goodwill.' In this world, men frequently meet with destruction in consequence of (misplaced) confidence. For this reason it is necessary that we should no longer meet each other. They who cannot be reduced to subjection by the application of even force and sharp weapons, can be conquered by (insincere) conciliation like (wild) elephants through a (tame) she-elephant.'

"Brahmadatta said, 'From the fact of two persons residing together, even if one inflicts upon the other deadly injury, an affection arises naturally between them, as also mutual trust as in the case, of the Chandala and the dog. Amongst persons that have injured one another, co-residence blunts the keenness of animosity. Indeed, that animosity does not last long, but disappears quickly like water poured upon the leaf of a lotus.'

"Pujani said, 'Hostility springs from five causes. Persons possessed of learning know it. Those five causes are woman, land, harsh words, natural incompatibility, and injury. 1 When the person with whom hostility occurs happens to be a man of liberality, he should never be slain, particularly by a Kshatriya, openly or by covert means. In such a case, the man's fault should be properly weighed. [The sense seems to be that the act which has led to the hostility should be calmly considered by the enemy before he gives way to anger.] When hostility has arisen with even a friend, no further confidence should be reposed upon him. Feelings of animosity lie hid like fire in wood. Like the Aurvya fire within the waters of the ocean, the fire of animosity can never be extinguished by gifts of wealth, by display of prowess, by conciliation, or by scriptural learning. The fire of animosity, once ignited, the result of an injury once inflicted, is never extinguished, O king, without consuming out the right one of the parties. One, having injured a person, should never trust him again as one's friend, even though one might have (after the infliction of the injury) worshipped him with wealth and honours. The fact of the injury inflicted fills the injurer with fear. I never injured thee. Thou also didst never do me an injury. For this reason I dwelt in thy abode. All that is changed, and at present I cannot trust thee.'

"Brahmadatta said, 'It is Time that does every act, Acts are of diverse kinds, and all of them proceed from Time. Who, therefore, injures whom? [If it is Time that does all acts, there can be no individual responsibility.] Birth and Death happen in the same way. Creatures act (i.e., take birth and live) in consequence of Time, and it is in consequence also of Time that they cease to live. Some are seen to die at once. Some die one at a time. Some are seen to live for long periods. Like fire consuming the fuel, Time consumes all creatures. O blessed lady, I am, therefore, not the cause of your sorrow, nor art thou the cause of mine. It is Time that always ordains the weal and woe of embodied creatures. Do thou then continue to dwell here according to thy pleasure, with affection for me and without fear of any injury from me. What thou hast done has been forgiven by me. Do thou also forgive me, O Pujani!'

"Pujani said, 'If Time, according to thee, be the cause of all acts, then of course nobody can cherish feelings of animosity towards anybody on earth. I ask, however, why friends and kinsmen, seek to avenge themselves the slain. Why also did the gods and the Asuras in days of your smite each other in battle? If it is Time that causes weal and woe and birth and death, why do physicians, then seek, to administer medicines to the sick? If it is Time that is moulding everything, what need is there of medicines? Why do people, deprived of their senses by grief, indulge in such delirious rhapsodies? If Time, according to thee, be the cause of acts, how can religious merit be acquired by persons performing religious acts? Thy son killed my child. I have injured him for that. I have by that act, O king, become liable to be slain by thee. Moved by grief for my son, I have done this injury to thy son. Listen now to the reason why I have become liable to be killed by thee. Men wish for birds either to kill them for food or to keep them in cages for sport. There is no third reason besides such slaughter or immurement for which men would seek individuals of our species. Birds, again, from fear of being either killed or immured by men seek safety in Right. Persons conversant with the Vedas have said that death and immurement are both painful. Life is dear unto all. All creatures are made miserable by grief and pain. All creatures wish for happiness. Misery arises from various sources. Decrepitude, O Brahmadatta, is misery. The loss of wealth is misery. The adjacence of anything disagreeable or evil is misery. Separation or dissociation from friends and agreeable objects is misery. Misery arises from death and immurement. Misery arises from causes connected with women and from other natural causes. The misery that arises from the death of children alters and afflicts all creatures very greatly. Some foolish persons say that there is no misery in others' misery [i.e., they are indifferent to other people's sorrow.]. Only he who has not felt any misery himself can say so in the midst of men. He, however, that has felt sorrow and misery, would never venture to say so. One that has felt the pangs of every kind of misery feels the misery of others as one's own. What I have done to thee, O king, and what thou has done to me, cannot be washed away by even a hundred years After what we have done to each other, there cannot be a reconciliation. As often as thou wilt happen to think of thy son, thy animosity towards me will become fresh. If a person after avenging oneself of an injury, desires to make peace with the injured, the parties cannot be properly reunited even like the fragments of an earthen vessel. Men conversant with scriptures have laid it down that trust never produces happiness Usanas himself sang two verses unto Prahlada in days of old. He who trusts the words, true or false, of a foe,

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meets with destruction like a seeker of honey, in a pit covered with dry grass. Animosities are seen to survive the very death of enemies, for persons would speak of the previous quarrels of their deceased sires before their surviving children. Kings extinguish animosities by having recourse to conciliation but, when the opportunity comes, break their foes into pieces like earthen jars full of water dashed upon stone. If the king does injury to any one, he should never trust him again. By trusting a person who has been injured, one has to suffer great misery.

"Brahmadatta said, 'No man can obtain the fruition of any object by withholding his trust (from others). By cherishing fear one is always obliged to live as a dead person.'

"Pujani said, 'He whose feet have become sore, certainly meets with a fall if he seeks to move, move he may howsoever cautiously. A man who has got sore eyes, by opening them against the wind, finds them exceedingly pained by the wind. He who, without knowing his own strength, sets foot on a wicked path and persists in walking along it, soon loses his very life as the consequence. The man who, destitute of exertion, tills his land, disregarding the season of rain, never succeeds in obtaining a harvest. He who takes every day food that is nutritive, be it bitter or astringent or palatable or sweet, enjoys a long life. He, on the other hand, who disregards wholesome food and takes that which is injurious without an eye to consequences, soon meets with death. Destiny and Exertion exist, depending upon each other. They that are of high souls achieve good and great feats, while eunuchs only pay court to Destiny. Be it harsh or mild, an act that is beneficial should be done.

The unfortunate man of inaction, however, is always overwhelmed by all sorts of calamity. Therefore, abandoning everything else, one should put forth his energy. Indeed, disregarding everything, men should do what is productive of good to themselves. Knowledge, courage, cleverness, strength, and patience are said to be one's natural friends. They that are possessed of wisdom pass their lives in this world with the aid of these five. Houses, precious metals, land, wife, and friends,--these are said by the learned to be secondary sources of good. A man may obtain them everywhere. A person possessed of wisdom may be delighted everywhere. Such a man shines everywhere. He never inspires anybody with fear. If sought to be frightened, he never yields to fear himself. The wealth, however little, that is possessed at any time by an intelligent man is certain to increase. Such a man does every act with cleverness. In consequence of self-restraint, he succeeds in winning great fame. Home-keeping men of little understanding have to put up with termagant wives that eat up their flesh like the progeny of a crab eating up their dam. There are men who through loss of understanding become very cheerless at the prospect of leaving home. They say unto themselves,--These are our friends! This is our country! Alas, how shall we leave these?--One should certainly leave the country of one's birth, if it be afflicted by plague or famine. One should live in one's own country, respected by all, or repair to a foreign country for living there. I shall, for this reason, repair to some other region. I do not venture to live any longer in this place, for I have done a great wrong to thy child, O king, one should from a distance abandon a bad wife, a bad son, a bad king, a bad friend, a bad alliance, and a bad country. One should not place any trust on a bad son. What joy can one have in a bad wife? There cannot be any happiness in a bad kingdom. In a bad country one cannot hope to obtain a livelihood. There can be no lasting companionship with a bad friend whose attachment is very uncertain. In a bad alliance, when there is no necessity for it, there is disgrace. She indeed, is a wife who speaks only what is agreeable. He is a son who makes the sire happy. He is a friend in whom one can trust. That indeed, is one's country where one earns one's living. He is a king of strict rule who does not oppress, who cherishes the poor and in whose territories there is no fear. Wife, country, friends, son, kinsmen, and relatives, all these one can have if the king happens to be possessed of accomplishments and virtuous eyes. If the king happens to be sinful, his subjects, inconsequence of his oppressions, meet with destruction. The king is the root of one's triple aggregate (i.e., Virtue, Wealth, and Pleasure). He should protect his subjects with heedfulness. Taking from his subjects a sixth share of their wealth, he should protect them all. That king who does not protect his subjects is truly a thief. That king who, after giving assurances of protection, does not, from rapacity, fulfil them,--that ruler of sinful soul,--takes upon himself the sins of all hi subjects and ultimately sinks into hell. That king, on the other hand, who, having given assurances of protection, fulfils them, comes to be regarded as a universal benefactor in consequence of protecting all his subjects. The lord of all creatures, viz., Manu, has said that the king has seven attributes: he is mother, father, preceptor, protector, fire, Vaisravana and Yama. The king by behaving with compassion towards his people is called their father. The subject that behaves falsely towards him takes birth in his next life as an animal or a bird. By doing good to them and by cherishing the poor, the king becomes a mother unto his people. By scorching the wicked he comes to be regarded as fire, and by restraining the sinful he comes to be called Yama. By making gifts of wealth unto those that are dear to him, the king comes to be regarded as Kuvera, the grantor of wishes. By giving instruction in morality and virtue, he becomes a preceptor, and by exercising the duty of protection he becomes the protector. That king who delights the people of his cities and provinces by means of his accomplishments, is never divested of his kingdom in consequence of such observance of duty. That king who knows how to honour his subjects never suffers misery either here or hereafter. That king whose subjects are always filled with anxiety or overburdened with taxes, and overwhelmed by evils of every kind, meets with defeat at the hands of his enemies. That king, on the other hand, whose subjects grow like a large lotus in a lake succeeds in obtaining every reward here and at last meets with honour in heaven. Hostility with a person that is powerful is, O king, never applauded. That king who has incurred the hostility of one more powerful than himself, loses both kingdom and happiness.'

"Bhishma continued, 'The bird, having said these words, O monarch, unto king Brahmadatta, took the king's leave and proceeded to the region she chose. I have thus recited to thee, O foremost of kings, the discourse between Brahmadatta and Pujani. What else dost thou wish to hear?'

SECTION 140

"Yudhishthira said, 'When both righteousness and men, O Bharata, decay in consequence of the gradual lapse of Yuga, and when the world becomes afflicted by robbers, how, O Grandsire, should a king then behave?' [Everything decays in course of time. Vide the characteristics of the different Yugas, ante.]

"Bhishma said, 'I shall tell thee, O Bharata, the policy the king should Pursue at such distressful times. I shall tell thee how he should bear himself at such a time, casting off compassion. In this connexion is cited the old story of the discourse between Bharadwaja and king Satrunjaya. There was a king named Satrunjaya among the Sauviras. He was a great car-warrior. Repairing to Bharadwaja, he asked the Rishi about the truths of the science of Profit,--saying,--How can an unacquired object be acquired? How again, when acquired, can it be increased? How also, when increased, can it be protected? And how, when protected, should it be used?--Thus questioned about the truths of the science of Profit, the regenerate Rishi said the following words fraught with excellent reason unto that ruler for explaining those truths.

"The Rishi said, 'The king should always stay with the rod of chastisement uplifted in his hand. He should always display his prowess. Himself without laches, he should mark the laches of his foes. Indeed, his eyes should ever be used for that purpose. At the sight of a king who has the rod of chastisement ever uplifted in his hand, every one is struck with fear. For this reason, the king should rule all creatures with the rod of chastisement. Men possessed of learning and knowledge of truth applaud Chastisement. Hence, of the four requisites of rule, viz., Conciliation, Gift, Disunion, and Chastisement, Chastisement is said to be the foremost. When the foundation of that which serves for a refuge is cut away, all the refugees perish. When the roots of a tree are cut away, how would the branches live? A king possessed of wisdom should cut away the very roots of his foe. He should then win over and bring under his sway the allies and partisans of that foe. When calamities overtake the king, he should without losing time, counsel wisely, display his prowess properly, fight with ability, and even retreat with wisdom. In speech only should the king exhibit his humility, but at heart he should be sharp as a razor. He should cast off lust and wrath, and speak sweetly and mildly. When the occasion comes for intercourse with an enemy, a king possessed of foresight should make peace, without reposing blind trust on him. When the business is over, he should quickly turn away from the new ally. One should conciliate a foe with sweet assurances as if he were a friend. One, however, should always stand in fear of that foe as living in a room within which there is a snake. He whose understanding is to be dominated by thee (with the aid of thine intellect) should be comforted by assurances given in the past. He who is of wicked understanding should be assured by promises of future good. The person, however, that is possessed of wisdom, should be assured by present services. The person who is desirous of achieving prosperity should join hands, swear, use sweet words, worship by bending down his head, and shed tears [i.e., do any of these or all as occasion may require.]. One should bear one's foe on one's shoulders as long as time is unfavourable. When however, the opportunity has come, one should break him into fragments like an earthen jar on a stone. It is better, O monarch that a king should blaze up for a moment like charcoal of ebony-wood than that he should smoulder and smoke like chaff for many years. A man who has many purposes to serve should not scruple to deal with even an ungrateful person. If successful, one can enjoy happiness. If unsuccessful, one loses esteem. Therefore in accomplishing the acts of such persons, one should, without doing them completely, always keep something unfinished. A king should do what is for his good, imitating a cuckoo, a boar, the mountains of Meru, an empty chamber, an actor, and a devoted friend. [The king should imitate the cuckoo by causing his own friends or subjects to be maintained by others; he should imitate the boar by tearing up his foes by their very roots; he should imitate the mountains of Meru by presenting such a front that nobody may transgress him he should imitate an empty chamber by keeping room enough for storing acquisitions he should imitate the actor by assuming different guises; and lastly, he should imitate devoted friend in attending to the interests of his loving subjects.] The king should frequently, with heedful application, repair to the houses of his foes, and even if calamities befall them, ask them about their good. They that are idle never win affluence; nor they that are destitute of manliness and exertion; nor they that are stained by vanity; nor they that fear unpopularity; nor they that are always procrastinating. The king should act in such a way that his foe may not succeed in detecting his laches. He should, however, himself mark the laches of his foes. He should imitate the tortoise which conceals its limbs. Indeed, he should always conceal his own holes. He should think of all matters connected with finance like a crane. [The crane sits patiently by the water side for hours together in expectation of fish.] He should put forth his prowess like a lion. He should lie in wait like a wolf and fall upon and pierce his foes like a shaft. Drink, dice, women, hunting, and music,--these he should enjoy judiciously. Addiction to these is productive of evil. He should make bows with bamboos, etc.; he should sleep cautiously like the deer; he should be blind when it is necessary that he should be so, or he should even be deaf when it is necessary to be deaf. The king possessed of wisdom should put forth his prowess, regardful of time and place. If these are not favourable, prowess becomes futile. Marking timeliness and untimeliness reflecting upon his own strength and weakness, and improving his own strength by comparing it with that of the enemy, the king should address himself to action. That king who does not crush a foe reduced to subjection by military force, provides for his own death like the crab when she conceives. A tree with beautiful blossoms may be lacking in strength. A tree carrying fruits may be difficult of climbing; and sometimes trees with unripe fruits look like trees with ripe fruits. Seeing all these facts a king should not allow himself to be depressed. If he conducts himself in such a way, then he would succeed in upholding himself against all foes. The king should first strengthen the hopes (of those that approach him as suitors). He should then put obstacles in the way of the fulfilment of those hopes. He should say that those obstacles are merely due to occasion. He should next represent that those occasions are really the results of grave causes. As long as the cause of fear does not actually come, the king should make all his arrangements like a person inspired with fear. When, however, the cause of fear comes upon him, he should smite fearlessly. No man can reap good without incurring danger. If, again, he succeeds in preserving his life amid danger, he is sure to earn great benefits [i.e., if he passes safely through the danger.]. A king should ascertain all future dangers; when they are present, he should conquer them; and lest they grow again, he should, even after conquering them, think them to be unconquered. The abandonment of present happiness and the pursuit of that which is future, is never the policy of a person possessed Of intelligence. The king who having made peace with a foe sleeps happily in truthfulness is like a man who sleeping on the top of a tree awakes after a fall. When one falls into distress, one should raise one's self by all means in one's power, mild or stern; and after such rise, when competent, one should practise righteousness. The king should always honour the foes of his foes. He should take his own spies as agents employed by his foes. The king should see that his own spies are not recognised by his foe. He should make spies of atheists and ascetics and send them to the territories of his enemies. Sinful thieves, who offend against the laws of righteousness and who are thorns in the side of every person, enter gardens and places of amusement and houses set up for giving drinking water to thirsty travellers and public inns and drinking spots and houses of ill fame and holy places and public assemblies. These should be recognised and arrested and put down. The king should not trust the person that does not deserve to be trusted nor should he trust too much the person that is deserving of trust. Danger springs from trust. Trust should never be placed without previous examination. Having by plausible reasons inspired confidence in the enemy, the king should smite him when he makes a false step. The king should fear him, from whom there is no fear; he should also always fear them that should be feared. Fear that arises from an unfeared one may lead to total extermination. By attention (to the acquisition of religious merit), by taciturnity, by the reddish garb of ascetics, and wearing matted locks and skins, one should inspire confidence in one's foe, and then (when the opportunity comes) one should jump upon him like the wolf. A king desirous of prosperity should not scruple to slay son or brother or father or friend, if any of these seek to thwart his objects. The very preceptor, if he happens to be arrogant, ignorant of what should be done and,

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what should not, and a treader of unrighteous paths, deserves to be restrained by chastisement. Even as certain insects of sharp stings cut off all flowers and fruits of the trees on which they sit, the king should, after having inspired confidence in his foe by honours and salutations and gifts, turn against him and shear him of everything. Without piercing the very vitals of others, without accomplishing many stern deeds, without slaughtering living creatures after the manner of the fisherman, one cannot acquire great prosperity. There is no separate species of creatures called foes or friends. Persons become friends or foes according to the force of circumstances. The king should never allow his foe to escape even if the foe should indulge piteous lamentations. He should never be moved by these; on the other hand, it is his duty to destroy the person that has done him an injury. A king desirous of prosperity should take care to attach to himself as many men as he can, and to do them good. In behaving towards his subjects he should always be free from malice. He should also, with great care, punish and check the wicked and disaffected. When he intends to take wealth, he should say what is agreeable. Having taken wealth, he should say similar things. Having struck off one's head with his sword, he should grieve and shed tears. A king desirous of prosperity should draw others unto himself by means of sweet words, honours, and gifts. Even thus should he bind men unto his service. The king should never engage in fruitless disputes. He should never cross a river with the aid only of his two arms. To eat cow-horns is fruitless and never invigorating. By, eating them one's teeth are broken while the taste is not gratified. The triple aggregate has three disadvantages with three Inseparable adjuncts. Carefully considering those adjuncts, the disadvantages should be avoided. [The triple aggregate consists of Virtue, Wealth, and Pleasure. The disadvantages all arise from an injudicious pursuit of each. Virtue stands as an impediment in the way of Wealth; Wealth stands in the way of Virtue; and Pleasure stands in the way of both. The inseparable adjuncts of the three, in the case of the vulgar, are that Virtue is practised as a Means of Wealth, Wealth is sought as a means of Pleasure; and Pleasure is sought for gratifying the senses. In the case of the truly wise, those adjuncts are purity of the soul as the end of virtue, performance of sacrifices as the end of Wealth; and upholding of the body as the end of Pleasure.] The unpaid balance of a debt, the unquenched remnant of a fire, and the unslain remnant of foes, repeatedly grow and increase. Therefore, all those should be completely extinguished and exterminated. Debt, which always grows, is certain to remain unless wholly extinguished. The same is the cause with defeated foes and neglected maladies. These always produce great feat. (One should, therefore, always eradicate them). Every act should be done thoroughly One should be always heedful. Such a minute thing as a thorn, if extracted badly, leads to obstinate gangrene. By slaughtering its population, by tearing up its roads and otherwise injuring them, and by burning and pulling down its houses, a king should destroy a hostile kingdom. A kings should be far-sighted like the vulture, motionless like a crane, vigilant like a dog, valiant like a lion, fearful like a crow, and penetrate the territories of his foes like a snake with ease and without anxiety. A king should win over a hero by joining his palms, a coward by inspiring him with fear, and a covetous man by gifts of wealth while with an equal he should wage war. He should be mindful of producing disunion among the leaders of sects and of conciliating those that are dear to him. He should protect his ministers from disunion and destructions. If the king becomes mild, the people disregard him. If he becomes stern, the people feel it as an affliction. The rule is that he should be stern when the occasion requires sternness, and mild when the occasion requires mildness. By mildness should the mild be cut. By mildness one may destroy that which is fierce. There is nothing that mildness cannot effect. For this reason, mildness is said to be sharper than fierceness. That king who becomes mild when the occasion requires mildness and who becomes stern when sternness is required, succeeds in accomplishing all his objects, and in putting down his foes. Having incurred the animosity of a person possessed of knowledge and wisdom, one should not draw comfort from the conviction that one is at a distance (from one's foe). Far-reaching are the arms of an intelligent man by which he injures when injured. That should not be sought to be crossed which is really uncrossable. That should not be snatched from the foe which the foe would be able to recover. One should not seek to dig at all if by digging one would not succeed in getting at the root of the thing for which one digs. One should never strike him whose head one would not cut off. A king should not always act in this way. This course of conduct that I have laid down should be pursued only in seasons of distress. Inspired by the motive of doing thee good I have said this for instructing thee as to how thou shouldst bear thyself when assailed by foes.

"Bhishma continued, 'The ruler of the kingdom of the Sauviras, hearing these words spoken by that Brahmana inspired with the desire of doing him good, obeyed those instructions cheerfully and obtained with his kinsmen and friends blazing prosperity.'"

SECTION 141

"Yudhishthira said, 'When the high righteousness suffers decay and is transgressed by all, when unrighteousness becomes righteousness, and righteousness assumes the form of its reverse, when all wholesome restraints disappear, and all truths in respect of righteousness are disturbed and confounded, when people are oppressed by kings and robbers, when men of all the four modes of life become stupefied in respect of their duties, and all acts lose their merit, when men see cause of fear on every direction in consequence of lust and covetousness and folly, when all creatures cease to trust one another, when they slay one another by deceitful means and deceive one another in their mutual dealings, when houses are burnt down throughout the country, when the Brahmanas become exceedingly afflicted, when the clouds do not pour a drop of rain, when every one's hand is turned against every one's neighbour, when all the necessaries of life fall under the power of robbers, when, indeed, such a season of terrible distress sets in, by what means should a Brahmana live who is unwilling to cast off compassion and his children? How, indeed, should a Brahmana maintain himself at such a time? Tell me this, O grandsire! How also should the king live at such a time when sinfulness overtakes the world? How, O scorcher of foes, should the king live so that he might not fall away from both righteousness and profit?'

"Bhishma said, 'O mighty-armed one, the peace and prosperity of subjects, sufficiency and seasonableness of rain, disease, death and other fears, are all dependent on the king. I have no doubt also in this. O bull of Bharata's race, that Krita, Treta, Dwapara, and Kali, as regards their setting in, are all dependent on the king's conduct. When such a season of misery as has been described by thee sets in, the righteous should support life by the aid of judgement. In this connexion is cited the old story of the discourse between Viswamitra and the Chandala in a hamlet inhabited by Chandalas. Towards the end of Treta and the beginning of Dwapara, a frightful drought occurred, extending over twelve years, in consequence of what the gods had ordained. At that time which was the end of Treta and the commencement of Dwapara, when the period came for many creatures superannuated by age to lay down their lives, the thousand-eyed deity of heaven poured no rain. The planet Vrihaspati began to move in a retrograde course, and Soma abandoning his own orbit, receded towards the south. Not even could a dew-drop be seen, what need then be said of clouds gathering together? The rivers all shrank into narrow streamlets. Everywhere lakes and wells and springs disappeared and lost their beauty in consequence of that order of things which the gods brought about. Water having become scarce, the places set up by charity for its distribution became desolate. [In India, during the hot months, charitable persons set up shady thatches by the sides of roads for the distribution of cool water and raw sugar and oat soaked in water. Among any of the principal roads running through the country, one may, during the hot months, still see hundreds of such institutions affording real relief to thirsty travellers.] The Brahmanas abstained from sacrifices and recitation of the Vedas. They no longer uttered Vashats and performed other propitiatory rites. Agriculture and keep of cattle were given up. Markets and shops were abandoned. Stakes for tethering sacrificial animals disappeared. People no longer collected diverse kinds of articles for sacrifices. All festivals and amusements perished. Everywhere heaps of bones were visible and every place resounded with the shrill cries and yells of fierce creatures. The cities and towns of the earth became empty of inhabitants. Villages and hamlets were burnt down. Some afflicted by robbers, some by weapons, and some by bad kings, and in fear of one another, began to fly away. Temples and places of worship became desolate. They that were aged were forcibly turned out of their houses. Kine and goats and sheep and buffaloes fought (for food) and perished in large numbers. The Brahmanas began to die on all sides. Protection was at an end. Herbs and plants were dried up. The earth became shorn of all her beauty and exceedingly awful like the trees in a crematorium. In that period of terror, when righteousness was nowhere, O Yudhishthira, men in hunger lost their senses and began to eat one another. The very Rishis, giving up their vows and abandoning their fires and deities, and deserting their retreats in woods, began to wander hither and thither (in search of food). The holy and great Rishi Viswamitra, possessed of great intelligence, wandered homeless and afflicted with hunger. Leaving his wife and son in some place of shelter, the Rishi wandered, fireless and homeless, and regardless of food clean and unclean. One day he came upon a hamlet, in the midst of a forest, inhabited by cruel hunters addicted to the slaughter of living creatures. The little hamlet abounded with broken jars and pots made of earth. Dog-skins were spread here and there. Bones and skulls, gathered in heaps, of boars and asses, lay in different places. Cloths stripped from the dead lay here and there, and the huts were adorned with garlands of used up flowers. Many of the habitations again were filled with sloughs cast off by snakes. The place resounded with the loud crowing of cocks and hens and the dissonant bray of asses. Here and there the inhabitants disputed with one another, uttering harsh words in shrill voices. Here and there were temples of gods bearing devices of owls and other birds. Resounding with the tinkle of iron bells, the hamlet abounded with canine packs standing or lying on every side. The great Rishi Viswamitra, urged by pangs of hunger and engaged in search after food, entered that hamlet and endeavoured his best to find something to eat. Though the son of Kusika begged repeatedly, yet he failed to obtain any meat or rice or fruit or root or any other kind of food. He then, exclaiming, 'Alas, great is the distress that has overtaken me!' fell down from weakness in that hamlet of the Chandalas. The sage began to reflect, saying to himself, 'What is best for me to do now?' Indeed, O best of kings, the thought that occupied him was of the means by which he could avoid immediate death. He beheld, O king, a large piece of flesh, of a dog that had recently been slain with a weapon, spread on the floor of a Chandala's hut. The sage reflected and arrived at the conclusion that he should steal that meat. And he said unto himself, 'I have no means now of sustaining life. Theft is allowable in a season of distress for even an eminent person. It will not detract from his glory. Even a Brahmana for saving his life may do it. This is certain. In the first place one should steal from a low person. Failing such a person one may steal from one's equal. Failing an equal, one may steal from even an eminent and righteous man. I shall then, at this time when my life itself is ebbing away, steal this meat. I do not see demerit in such theft. I shall, therefore, rob this haunch of dog's meat.' Having formed this resolution, the great sage Viswamitra laid himself down for sleep in that place where the Chandala was. Seeing some time after that the night had advanced and that the whole Chandala hamlet had fallen asleep, the holy Viswamitra, quietly rising up, entered that hut. The Chandala who owned it, with eyes covered with phlegm, was lying like one asleep. Of disagreeable visage, he said these harsh words in a broken and dissonant voice.

"The Chandala said, 'Who is there, engaged in undoing the latch? The whole Chandala hamlet is asleep. I, however, am awake and not asleep. Whoever thou art, thou art about to be slain.' These were the harsh words that greeted the sage's ears. Filled with fear, his face crimson with blushes of shame, and his heart agitated by anxiety caused by that act of theft which he had attempted, he answered, saying, 'O thou that art blest with a long life, I am Viswamitra. I have come here oppressed by the pangs of hunger. O thou of righteous understanding, do not slay me, if thy sight be clear.' Hearing these words of that great Rishi of cleansed soul, the Chandala rose up in terror from his bed and approached the sage. Joining his palms from reverence and with eyes bathed in tears, he addressed Kusika's son, saying, 'What do you seek here in the night, O Brahmana?' Conciliating the Chandala, Viswamitra said, 'I am exceedingly hungry and about to die of starvation. I desire to take away that haunch of dog's meat. Being hungry, I have become sinful. One solicitous of food has no shame. It is hunger that is urging me to this misdeed. It is for this that I desire to take away that haunch of dog's meat. My life-breaths are languishing. Hunger has destroyed my Vedic lore. I am weak and have lost my senses. I have no scruple about clean or unclean food. Although I know that it is sinful, still I wish to take away that haunch of dog's meat. After I had filed to obtain any alms, having wandered from house to house in this your hamlet, I set my heart upon this sinful act of taking away this haunch of dog's meat. Fire is the mouth of the gods. He is also their priest. He should, therefore, take nothing save things that are pure and clean. At times, however, that great god becomes a consumer of everything. Know that I have now become even like him in that respect.' Hearing these words of the great Rishi, the Chandala answered him, saying, 'Listen to me. Having heard the words of truth that I say, act in such a way that thy religious merit may not perish. Hear, O regenerate Rishi, what I say unto thee about thy duty. The wise say that a dog is less clean than a jackal. The haunch, again, of a dog is a much worse part than other parts of his body. This was not wisely resolved by thee, therefore, O great Rishi, this act that is inconsistent with righteousness, this theft of what belongs to a Chandala, this theft, besides, of food that is unclean. Blessed be thou, do thou look for some other means for preserving thy life. O great sage, let not thy penances suffer destruction in consequence of this thy strong desire for dog's meat. Knowing as thou dost the duties laid down in the scriptures, thou shouldst not do an act whose consequence is a confusion of duties. 1 Do not cast off righteousness, for thou art the foremost of all persons observant of righteousness.' Thus addressed, O king, the great Rishi Viswamitra, afflicted by hunger, O bull of Bharata's race, once more said, 'A long time has passed away without my having taken any food. I do not see any means again for preserving my life. One should, when one is dying, preserve one's life by any means in one's power without judging of their character. Afterwards, when competent, one should seek the acquisition of merit. The Kshatriyas should observe the practices of Indra. It is the duty of the Brahmanas to behave like Agni. The Vedas are fire. They constitute my strength. I shall, therefore, eat even this unclean food for appeasing my hunger. That by which life may be preserved should certainly

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be accomplished without scruple. Life is better than death. Living, one may acquire virtue. Solicitous of preserving my life, I desire, with the full exercise of my understanding, to eat this unclean food. Let me receive thy permission. Continuing to live I shall seek the acquisition of virtue and shall destroy by penances and by knowledge the calamities consequent on my present conduct, like the luminaries of the firmament destroying even the thickest gloom.'

"The Chandala said, 'By eating this food one (like thee) cannot obtain long life. Nor can one (like thee) obtain strength (from such food), nor that gratification which ambrosia offers. Do thou seek for some other kind of alms. Let not thy heart incline towards eating dog's meat. The dog is certainly an unclean food to members of the regenerate classes.'

"Viswamitra said, 'Any other kind of meat is not to be easily had during a famine like this. Besides, O Chandala, I have no wealth (wherewith to buy food). I am exceedingly hungry. I cannot move any longer. I am utterly hopeless. I think that all the six kinds of taste are to be found in that piece of dog's meat.'

"The Chandala said, 'Only the five kinds of five-clawed animals are clean food for Brahmanas and Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, as laid down in the scriptures. Do not set thy heart upon what is unclean (for thee).'

"Viswamitra said, 'The great Rishi Agastya, while hungry, ate up the Asura named Vatapi. I am fallen into distress. I am hungry. I shall therefore, eat that haunch of dog's meat.'

"The Chandala said, 'Do thou seek some other alms. It behoves thee not to do such a thing. Verily, such an act should never be done by thee. If however, it pleases thee, thou mayst take away this piece of dog's meat.'

"Viswamitra said, 'They that are called good are authorities in matters of duty. I am following their example. I now regard this dog's haunch to be better food than anything that is highly pure.'

"The Chandala said, 'That which is the act of an unrighteous person can never be regarded as an eternal practice. That which is an improper act can never be a proper one. Do not commit a sinful act by deception.'

"Viswamitra said, 'A man who is a Rishi cannot do what is sinful. 1 In the present case, deer and dog, I think, are same (both being animals). I shall, therefore, eat this dog's haunch.'

"The Chandala said, "Solicited by the Brahmanas, the Rishi (Agastya) did that act. Under the circumstances it could not be a sin. That is righteousness in which there is no sin. Besides, the Brahmanas, who are the preceptors of three other orders, should be protected and preserved by every means.'

"Viswamitra said, 'I am a Brahmana. This my body is a friend of mine. It is very dear to me and is worthy of the highest reverence from me. It is from the desire of sustaining the body that the wish is entertained by me of taking away that dog's haunch. So eager have I become that I have no longer any fear of thee and thy fierce brethren.'

"The Chandala said, 'Men lay down their lives but they still do not set their hearts on food that is unclean. They obtain the fruition of all their wishes even in this world by conquering hunger. Do thou also conquer thy hunger and obtain those rewards.'

"Viswamitra said, 'As regards myself, I am observant of rigid vows and my heart is set on peace. For preserving the root of all religious merit, I shall eat food that is unclean. It is evident that such an act would be regarded as righteous in a person of cleansed soul. To a person, however, of uncleansed soul, the eating of dog's flesh would appear sinful. Even if the conclusion to which I have arrived be wrong, (and if I eat this dog's meat) I shall not, for that act, become one like thee.'

"The Chandala said, 'It is my settled conclusion that I should endeavour my best to restrain thee from this sin. A Brahmana by doing a wicked act falls off from his high state. It is for this that I am reproving thee.'

"Viswamitra said, 'Kine continue to drink, regardless of the croaking of the frogs. Thou canst lay no claim to what constitutes righteousness (and what not). Do not be a self-eulogiser.'

"The Chandala said, 'I have become thy friend. For this reason only I am preaching to thee. Do what is beneficial. Do not, from temptation, do what is sinful.'

"Viswamitra said, 'If thou be a friend desirous of my happiness, do thou then raise me up from this distress. In that case, relinquishing this dog's haunch, I may consider myself saved by the aid of righteousness (and not by that of sinfulness).'

"The Chandala said, 'I dare not make a present of this piece of meat to thee, nor can I quietly suffer thee to rob me of my own food. If I give thee this meat and if thou take it, thyself being a Brahmana, both of us will become liable to sink in regions of woe in the next world.'

"Viswamitra said, 'By committing this sinful act today I shall certainly save my life which is very sacred. Having saved my life, I shall afterwards practise virtue and cleanse my soul. Tell me which of these two is preferable (to die without food, or save my life by taking this food that is unclean).'

"The Chandala said: 'In discharging the duties that appertain to one's order or race, one's own self is the best judge (of its propriety or impropriety). Thou thyself knowest which of those two acts is sinful. He who would regard dog's meat as clean food, I think, would in matters of food abstain from nothing!'

"Viswamitra said, 'In accepting (an unclean present) or in eating (unclean food) there is sin. When one's life, however, is in danger there is no sin in accepting such a present or eating such food. Besides, the eating of unclean food, when unaccompanied by slaughter and deception and when the act will provoke only mild rebuke, is not matter of much consequence.'

"The Chandala said, 'If this be thy reason for eating unclean food, it is then clear thou dost not regard the Veda and Arya morality. Taught by what thou art going to do, I see, O foremost of Brahmanas, that there is no sin in disregarding the distinction between food that is clean and food that is unclean.'

"Viswamitra said, 'It is not seen that a person incurs a grave sin by eating (forbidden food). That one becomes fallen by drinking wine is only a wordy precept (for restraining men from drinking). The other forbidden acts (of the same species), whatever they be, in fact, every sin, cannot destroy one's merit.'

"The Chandala said, 'That learned person who takes away dog's meat from an unworthy place (like this), from an unclean wretch (like me), from one who (like me) leads such a wicked life, commits an act that is opposed to the behaviour of those that are called good. In consequence, again, of his connexion with such a deed, he is certain to suffer the pangs of repentance.'

"Bhishma continued, 'The Chandala, having said these words unto Kusika's son, became silent. Viswamitra then, of cultivated understanding, took away that haunch of dog's meat. The great ascetic having possessed himself of that piece of dog's meat for saving his life, took it away into the woods and wished with his wife to eat it. He resolved that having first gratified the deities according to due rites, he should then eat that haunch of dog's meat at his pleasure. Igniting a fire according to the Brahma rites, the ascetic, agreeably to those rites that go by the name of Aindragneya, began himself to cook that meat into sacrificial Charu. He then, O Bharata, began the ceremonies in honour of the gods and the Pitris, by dividing that Charu into as many portions as were necessary, according to the injunctions of the scriptures, and by invoking the gods with Indra at their head (for accepting their shares). Meanwhile, the chief of the celestials began to pour copiously. Reviving all creatures by those showers, he caused plants and herbs to grow once more. Viswamitra, however, having completed the rites in honour of the gods and the Pitris and having gratified them duly, himself ate that meat. Burning all his sins afterwards by his penances, the sage, after a long time, acquired the most wonderful (ascetic) success. Even thus, when the end in view is the preservation of life itself, should a high-souled person possessed of learning and acquainted with means rescue his own cheerless self, when fallen into distress, by all means in his power. By having recourse to such understanding one should always preserve one's life. A person, if alive, can win religious merit and enjoy happiness and prosperity. For this reason, O son of Kunti, a person of cleansed soul and possessed of learning should live and act in this world, relying upon his own intelligence in discriminating between righteousness and its reverse.'"

SECTION 142

"Yudhishthira said, 'If that which is so horrible and which like falsehood should never be an object of regard, be cited (as duty), then what act is there from which I should forbear? Why also should not robbers then be respected? I am stupefied! My heart is pained! All the ties that bind me to morality are loosened! I cannot tranquillise my mind and venture to act in the way suggested by you.'

"Bhishma said, 'I do not instruct thee in respect of duty, taught by what I have heard from the Vedas alone. What I have told thee is the result of wisdom and experience. This is the honey that the learned have gathered. Kings should gather wisdom from various sources. One cannot accomplish his course through the world with the aid of a morality that is one-sided. Duty must spring from the understanding; and the practices of those that are good should always be ascertained, O son of Kuru! Attend to these words of mine. Only kings that are possessed of superior intelligence can rule, expecting victory. A king should provide for the observance of morality by the aid of his understanding and guided by knowledge derived from various sources. The duties of a king can never be discharged by rules drawn from a morality that is one-sided. A weak-minded king can never display wisdom (in the discharge of his duties) in consequence of his not having drawn any wisdom from the examples before him. Righteousness sometimes takes the shape of unrighteousness. The latter also sometimes takes the shape of the former. He who does not know this, becomes confounded when confronted by an actual instance of the kind. Before the occasion comes, one should, O Bharata, comprehend the circumstances under which righteousness and its reverse become confused. Having acquired this knowledge, a wise king should, when the occasion comes, act accordingly, aided by his judgement. The acts he does at such a time are misunderstood by ordinary people. Some persons are possessed of true knowledge. Some persons have false knowledge. Truly ascertaining the nature of each kind of knowledge, a wise king derives knowledge from them that are regarded as good. They that are really breakers of morality find fault with the scriptures. They that have themselves no wealth proclaim the inconsistencies of the treatises on the acquisition of wealth. Those who seek to acquire knowledge for the object only of carrying their sustenance by it, O king, are sinful besides being enemies of morality. Wicked men, of immature understandings, can never know things truly, even as persons unconversant with scriptures are unable in all their acts to be guided by reason. With eyes directed to the faults of the scriptures, they decry the scriptures. Even if they understand the true meaning of the scriptures, they are still in the habit of proclaiming that scriptural injunctions are unsound. Such men, by decrying the knowledge of others proclaim the superiority of their own knowledge. They have words for their weapons and words for their arrows and speak as if they are real masters of their sciences. Know, O Bharata, that they are traders in learning and Rakshasas among men. By the aid of mere pretexts they cast off that morality which has been established by good and wise men. It has been heard by us that the texts of morality are not to be understood by either discussion or one's own intelligence. Indra. himself has said that this is the opinion of the sage Vrihaspati. Some are of opinion that no scriptural text has been laid down without a reason. Others again, even if they properly understand the scriptures, never act according to them. One class of wise men declare that morality is nothing else than the approved course of the world. The man of true knowledge should find out for himself the morality laid down for the good. If even a wise man speaks of morality under the influence of wrath or confusion of understanding or ignorance, his deliverances go for nothing. Discourses on morality made with the aid of an intelligence that is derived from the true letter and spirit of the scriptures, are worthy of praise and not those which are made with the help of anything else. Even the words heard from an ignorant person, if in themselves they be fraught with sense, come to be regarded as pious and wise. In days of old, Usanas said unto the Daityas this truth, which should remove all doubts, that scriptures are no scriptures if they cannot stand the test of reason. The possession or absence of knowledge that is mixed with doubts is the same thing. It behoves thee to drive off such knowledge after tearing it up by the roots. He who does not listen to these words of mine is to be regarded as one that has suffered himself to be misled. Dost thou not see that thou wert created for the accomplishment of fierce deeds? Behold me, O dear child, how, by betaking myself, to the duties of the order of my birth, I have despatched innumerable Kshatriyas to heaven! There are some that are not delighted with me for this. The goat, the horse and the Kshatriya were created by Brahman for a similar purpose (viz., for being useful to everybody). A Kshatriya, therefore, should incessantly seek the happiness of all creatures. The sin that attaches to killing a person that should not be killed is equal to that which is incurred by not killing one who deserves to be killed. Even such is the established order of things which a weak-minded king thinks of never attending to. Therefore, a king should display severity in making all his subjects observe their respective duties. If this is not done, they will prowl like wolves, devouring one another. He is a wretch among Kshatriyas in whose territories robbers go about plundering the property of other people like crows taking little fishes from water. Appointing high-born men possessed of Vedic knowledge as thy ministers, do thou govern the earth, protecting thy subjects righteously. That Kshatriya who, ignorant of the established customs and contrivances, improperly levies taxes upon his people, is regarded as a eunuch of his order. A king should be neither severe nor mild. If he rules righteously he deserves praise. A king should not cast off both the qualities; on the other hand, becoming severe (on occasions demanding severity), he should be mild when it is necessary to be so. Painful is the observance of Kshatriya duties. I bear a great love for thee. Thou art created for the accomplishment of severe acts. Therefore, do thou rule thy kingdom. Sakra possessed of great intelligence has said that in times of distress the great duty of a king is chastising the wicked and protecting the good.

"Yudhishthira said, 'Is there any such rule (in respect of kingly duties) which should, under no circumstances, be violated? I ask thee this, O foremost of virtuous persons! Tell me, O grandsire!'

"Bhishma said, 'One should always worship Brahmanas venerable for learning, devoted to penances, and rich in conduct conformable to the injunctions of the Vedas. This indeed, is a high and sacred duty. Let thy conduct towards the Brahmanas be always that which thou observest towards the gods. The Brahmanas, if enraged, can inflict diverse kinds of

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wrong, O king. If they be gratified, high fame will be thy share. If otherwise, great will be thy fear. If gratified, the Brahmanas become like nectar. If enraged, they become like poison.'"

SECTION 143

"Yudhishthira said, 'O grandsire, O thou of great wisdom, O thou that are conversant with every kind of scripture, tell me what the merit is of one who cherishes a suppliant that craves for protection.'

"Bhishma said, 'Great is the merit, O monarch, in cherishing a suppliant. Thou art worthy, O best of the Bharatas, of asking such a question. Those high-souled kings of old, viz., Sivi and others, O king, attained to great bliss in heaven by having protected suppliants. It is heard that a pigeon received with respect a suppliant foe according to due rites and even fed him with his own flesh.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'How, indeed, did a pigeon in days of old feed a suppliant foe with his own flesh? What also was the end, O Bharata, that he won by such conduct?'

"Bhishma said, 'Listen, O king, to this excellent story that cleanses the hearer of every sin, the story, viz., that Bhrigu's son (Rama) had recited to king Muchukunda. This very question, O son of Pritha had been put to Bhrigu's son by Muchukunda with due humility. Unto him desirous of listening with humility the son of Bhrigu narrated this story of how a pigeon, O monarch, won success (entitling him to the highest heavenly bliss).'

"The sage said, 'O mighty-armed monarch, listen to me as I narrate to thee this story that is fraught with truths connected with Virtue, Profit, and Pleasure. A wicked and terrible fowler, resembling the Destroyer himself, used in days of old to wander through the great forest. He was black as a raven and his eyes were of a bloody hue. He looked like Yama himself. His legs were long, his feet short, his mouth large, and his cheeks protruding. He had no friend, no relative, no kinsman. He had been cast off by them all for the exceedingly cruel life he led. Indeed, a man of wicked conduct should be renounced from a distance by the wise, for he who injures his own self cannot be expected to do good to others. Those cruel and wicked-souled men that take the lives of other creatures are always like poisonous snakes, a source of trouble to all creatures. Taking his nets with him, and killing birds in the woods, he used to sell the meat of those winged creatures, O king (for livelihood). Following such conduct, the wicked-souled wretch lived for many long years without ever understanding the sinfulness of his life. Accustomed for many long years to sport with his wife in the forest in the pursuit of this profession, and stupefied by destiny, no other profession was liked by him. One day as he was wandering through the forest intent on his business, a great storm arose that shook the trees and seemed about to uproot them. In a moment dense clouds appeared on the sky, with flashes of lightning playing amidst them, presenting the aspect of a sea covered with merchants' boats and vessels. He of a hundred sacrifices having entered the clouds with a large supply of rain, in a moment the earth became flooded with water. While yet the rain fell to torrents, the fowler lost his senses through fear. Trembling with cold and agitated with fear, he roved through the forest. The killer of birds failed to find any high spot (which was not under water). The paths of the forest were all submerged. Inconsequence of the force of the shower, many birds were deprived of life or dropped down on the ground. Lions and bears and other animals, availing themselves of some high spots they had found, lay down to rest. All the denizens of the forest were filled with fear in consequence of that frightful storm and shower. Frightened and hungry they roamed through the woods in packs, small and large. The fowler, however, with limbs stiffened by cold, could neither stop where he was nor move. While in this state he eyed a she-pigeon lying on the ground, stiffened with cold. The sinful wight, though himself in the same predicament, beholding the bird, picked her up and immured her in a cage. Himself overwhelmed with affliction, he scrupled not to overwhelm a fellow-creature with affliction. Indeed, the wretch, through force of habit alone, committed that sin even at such a time. He then beheld in the midst of that forest a lordly tree, blue as the clouds. It was the resort of myriads of birds desirous of shade and shelter. It seemed to have been placed there by the Creator for the good of all creatures like a good man in the world. Soon the sky cleared and became spangled with myriads of stars, presenting the aspect of a magnificent lake smiling with blooming lilies. Turning his eyes towards the clear firmament rich with stars, the fowler began to advance, still trembling with cold. Beholding the sky cleared of clouds, he cast his eyes on all sides and seeing that night was already upon him, he began to think, 'My home is at great distance from where I am.' He then resolved to pass the night under the shade of that tree. Bowing down to it with joined hands, he addressed that monarch of the forest, saying, 'I am a suppliant for the shelter unto all the deities that have this tree for their resort.' Having said these words, he spread some leaves for a bed, and laid himself down on it, resting his head on a stone. Though overwhelmed with affliction, the man soon fell asleep.'"

SECTION 144

"Bhishma said, 'In one of the branches of that tree, a pigeon with beautiful feathers, O king, lived for many years with his family. That morning his wife had gone out in search of food but had not yet returned. Seeing the night had come and his wife still unreturned, the bird began to indulge in lamentations: 'Oh, great has been the storm and painful the shower that came today! Alas, thou has not yet returned, O dear wife! Woe is on me, what can be the cause that she has not yet comeback to us? Is every thing right with that dear spouse of mine in the forest? Separated from her, this my home appears to me empty! A house-holder's home, even if filled with sons and grandsons and daughters-in-law and servants, is regarded empty if destitute of the housewife. One's house is not one's home; one's wife only is one's home. A house without the wife is as desolate as the wilderness. If that dear wife of mine, of eyes fringed with red, of variegated plumes, and of sweet voice, does not come back today, my life itself will cease to be of any value. Of excellent vows, she never eats before I eat, and never bathes before I bathe. She never sits before I sit down, and never lies before I lie down. She rejoices if I rejoice, and becomes sorry when I am sorry. When I am away she becomes cheerless, and when I am angry she ceases not to speak sweetly. Ever devoted to her lord and ever relying upon her lord, she was ever employed in doing what was agreeable to and beneficial for her lord. Worthy of praise is that person on earth who own such a spouse. That amiable creature knows that I am fatigued and hungry. Devoted to me and constant in her love, my famous spouse is exceedingly sweet-tempered and worships me devoutly. Even the foot of a tree is one's home if one lives there with one's spouse as a companion. Without one's spouse, a very palace is truly a desolate wilderness. One's spouse is one's associate in all one's acts of Virtue, Profit and Pleasure. When one sets out for a strange land one's wife is one's trusted companion. It is said that the wife is the richest possession of her lord. In this world the wife is the only associate of her lord in all the concerns of life. [The idea that man comes alone into the world and goes out of it alone. Only the wife is his true associate for she alone is a sharer of his merits, and without her no merit can be won. The Hindu idea of marriage is a complete union. From the day of marriage the two persons become one individual for the performance of all religious and other acts.] The wife is ever the best of medicines that one can have in sickness and woe. There is no friend like unto the wife. There is no refuge better than the wife. There is no better ally in the world than the wife in acts undertaken for the acquisition of religious merit. He that has not in his house a wife that is chaste and of agreeable speech, should go to the woods. For such a man there is no difference between home and wilderness.'"

SECTION 145

"Bhishma said, 'Hearing those piteous lamentations of the pigeon on the tree, the she-pigeon seized by the fowler began to say to herself as follows.'

"The she-pigeon said, 'Whether I have any merit or not, verily there is no limit to any good fortune when my dear lord thus speaks of me. She is no wife with whom her lord is not content. In the case of women, if their lords be gratified with them all the deities also become so. Since the marriage union takes place in the presence of fire, the husband is the wife's highest deity. That wife with whom her husband is not pleased becomes consumed into ashes, even like a creeper adorned with bunches of flowers in a forest conflagration.' Having reflected thus, the she-pigeon, afflicted with woe, and immured by the fowler within his cage, thus spoke unto her woe-stricken lord, 'I shall say what is now beneficial for thee.' Hearing me follow thou my counsel, O dear lord, be thou the rescuer of a suppliant. This fowler lies here by thy abode, afflicted with cold and hunger. Do him the duties of hospitality. The sin that a person commits by slaying a Brahmana or that mother of the world, viz., a cow, is equal to that which one incurs by suffering a suppliant to perish (from want of help). Thou art possessed of knowledge of self. It ever behoves one like thee, therefore, to follow that course which has been ordained for us as pigeons by the order of our birth. It has been heard by us that the householder who practises virtue according to the measure of his abilities, wins hereafter inexhaustible regions of bliss. Thou hast sons. Thou hast progeny. O bird, casting off all kindness for thy own body, therefore, and for winning virtue and profit, offer worship to this fowler so that his heart may be pleased. Do not, O bird, indulge in any grief on my account. (See, how unimportant I am!) Thou mayst continue to live, taking other wives!' The amiable she-pigeon, overcome with sorrow, and casting her eyes upon her lord from the fowler's cage within which she had been immured, said these words unto him.'"

SECTION 146

"Bhishma said, 'Hearing these words fraught with morality and reason that were spoken by his wife, the pigeon became filled with great delight and his eyes were bathed in tears of joy. Beholding that fowler whose avocation was the slaughter of birds, the pigeon honoured him scrupulously according to the rites laid down in the ordinance. Addressing him, he said, 'Thou art welcome today. Tell me, what I shall do for thee. Thou shouldst not repine. This is thy home. Tell me quickly what I am to do and what is thy pleasure. I ask thee this in affection, for thou hast solicited shelter at our hands. Hospitality should be shown to even one's foe when he comes to one's house. The tree withdraws not its shade from even the person that approaches it for cutting it down. One should, with scrupulous care, do the duties of hospitality towards a person that craves for shelter. Indeed, one is especially bound to do so if one happens to lead a life of domesticity that consists of the five sacrifices. If one, while leading a life of domesticity, does not, from want of judgement, perform the five sacrifices, one loses, according to the scriptures, both this and the next world. Tell me then trustfully and in intelligible words what thy, wishes are. I will accomplish them all. Do not set thy heart on grief.' Hearing these words of the bird, the fowler replied unto him, saying, 'I am stiff with cold. Let provision be made for warming me.' Thus addressed, the bird gathered together a number of dry leaves on the ground, and taking a single leaf in his beak speedily went away for fetching fire. Proceeding to a spot where fire is kept, he obtained a little fire and came back to the spot. He then set fire to those dry leaves, and when they blazed forth into vigorous flames, he addressed his guest, saying, 'Do thou trustfully and without fear warm thy limbs.' Thus addressed, the fowler said, 'So be it.' And he set himself to warm his stiffened limbs. Recovering (as it were) his life-breathes the fowler said unto his winged host, 'Hunger is afflicting me. I wish thee to give me some food.' Hearing his words the bird said, 'I have no stores by which to appease thy hunger. We, denizens of the woods, always live upon what we get every day. Like the ascetics of the forest we never hoard for the morrow.' Having said these words, the bird's face became pale (from shame). He began to reflect silently as to what he should do and mentally deprecated his own method of living. Soon, however, his mind became clear. Addressing the slaughterer of his species, the bird said, 'I shall gratify thee. Wait for a moment.' Saying these words, he ignited a fire with the help of some dry leaves, and filled with joy, said, 'I heard in former days from high-souled Rishis and gods and Pitris that there is great merit in honouring a guest. O amiable one, be kind to me. I tell thee truly that my heart is set upon honouring thee that art my guest.' Having formed this resolution, the high-souled bird with a smiling face, thrice circumambulated that fire and then entered its flames. Beholding he bird enter that fire, the fowler began to think, and asked himself, 'What have I done? Alas, dark and terrible will be my sin, without doubt in consequence of my own acts! I am exceedingly cruel and worthy of reprobation. Indeed, observing the bird lay down his life, the fowler, deprecating his own acts, began to indulge in copious lamentations like thee.'"

SECTION 147

"Bhishma said, 'The fowler, seeing the pigeon fall into the fire, became filled with compassion and once more said, 'Alas, cruel and senseless that I am, what have I done! I ant certainly a mean wretch! Great will be my sin for everlasting years! Indulging in such self-reproaches he began to say, repeatedly, 'I am unworthy of credit. My understanding is wicked. I am ever sinful in my resolves. Alas, abandoning all kinds of honourable occupation, I have become a fowler A cruel wretch that I am, without doubt, this high-souled pigeon, by laying down his own life, has read me a grave lesson. Abandoning wives and sons, I shall certainly cast off my very life-breaths that are so dear. The high-souled pigeon has taught me that duty. From this day, denying every comfort to my body, I shall wear it out even as a shallow tank in the season of summer. Capable of bearing hunger, thirst, and penances, reduced to emaciation, and covered with visible veins all over, I shall, by diverse kinds of practise such vows as have a reference to the other world. Alas, by giving up his body, the pigeon has shown the worship that should be paid to a guest. Taught by his example. I shall henceforth practise righteousness. Righteousness is the highest refuge (of all creatures). Indeed, I shall practise such righteousness as has been seen in the righteous pigeon, that foremost of all winged creatures.' Having formed such a resolution and said these words, that fowler, once of fierce deeds, proceeded to make an unreturning tour of the world, [Mahaprasthana is literally an unreturning departure. When a person leaves home for wandering through the world till death puts a stop to his wanderings, he is said to go on Mahaprasthana.] observing for the while the most rigid vows. He threw away his stout staff, his sharp-pointed iron-stick, his nets and springes, and his iron cage, and set at liberty the she-pigeon that he had seized and immured.'"

SECTION 148

"Bhishma said, 'After the fowler had left that spot, the she-pigeon, remembering her husband and afflicted with grief on

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his account, wept copiously and indulged in these lamentations, 'I cannot, O dear lord, recollect a single instance of thy having done me an injury! Widows, even if mothers of many children, are still miserable! Bereft of her husband, a woman becomes helpless and an object of pity with her friends. I was always cherished by thee, and in consequence of the great respect thou hadst for me I was always honoured by thee with sweet, agreeable, charming, and delightful words. I sported with thee in valleys, in springs of rivers, and on delightful tops of trees. I was also made happy by thee while roving with thee through the skies. I used to sport with thee before, O dear lord, but where are those joys now? Limited are the gifts of the father, of the brother, and of the son to a woman. The gifts that her husband alone makes to her are unlimited. What woman is there that would not, therefore, adore her lord? A woman has no protector like her lord, and no happiness like her lord. Abandoning all her wealth and possessions, a woman should take to her lord as her only refuge. Life here is of no use to me, O lord, now that I am separated from thee. What chaste woman is there that would, when deprived of her lord, venture to bear the burden of life?' Filled with sorrow and indulging in such piteous lamentations, the she-pigeon, devoted to her lord, cast herself on the blazing fire. She then beheld her (deceased) husband adorned with bracelets, seated on a (celestial) car, and adored by many high-souled and meritorious beings standing around him. Indeed, there he was in the firmament, decked with fine garlands and attired in excellent robes, and adorned with every ornament. Around him were innumerable celestial cars ridden by beings who had acted meritoriously while in this world. Seated on his own celestial car, the bird ascended to heaven, and obtaining proper honours for his deeds in this world, continued to sport in joy, accompanied by his wife.'"

SECTION 149

"Bhishma said, 'The fowler, O king, happened to see that pair while seated on their celestial car. Beholding the couple he became filled with sorrow (at the thought of his own misfortune) and began to reflect upon the means of obtaining the same end. And he said to himself, 'I must, by austerities like those of the pigeon, attain to such a high end!' Having formed this resolution, the fowler, who had lived by the slaughter of birds, set out on an unreturning journey. Without any endeavour (for obtaining food) and living upon air alone, he cast off all affections from desire of acquiring heaven. After he had proceeded for some distance, he saw an extensive and delightful lake full of cool and pure water, and adorned with lotuses and teeming with diverse kinds of water-fowl. Without doubt, the very sight of such a lake is capable of slaking the desire for drink of a thirsty person. Emaciated with fasts, the fowler, however, O king, without casting his eyes upon it, gladly penetrated a forest inhabited by beasts of prey, having ascertained previously its wide extent. After he had entered the forest he became much afflicted by sharp pointed thorns. Lacerated and torn by prickles, and covered all over with blood, he began to wander in that forest destitute of men but abounding with animals of diverse species. Sometime after, inconsequence of the friction of some mighty trees caused by a powerful wind, a widespread bush fire arose. The raging element, displaying a splendour like to what it assumes at the end of the Yuga, began to consume that large forest teeming with tall trees and thick bushes and creepers. Indeed, with flames fanned by the wind and myriads of sparks flying about in all directions, the all-consuming deity began to burn that dense forest abounding with birds and beasts. The fowler, desirous of casting off his body, ran with a delighted heart towards that spreading conflagration. Consumed by that fire the fowler became cleansed of all his sins and attained, O best of the Bharatas, to high success. The fever of his heart dispelled, he at last beheld himself in heaven, shining in splendour like Indra in the midst of Yakshas and Gandharvas and persons crowned with ascetic success. Thus, indeed, the pigeon and his devoted spouse, with the fowler, ascended to heaven for their meritorious acts, The woman who thus follows her lord speedily ascends to heaven and shines in splendour there like the she-pigeon of whom I have spoken. Even this is the old history of the high-souled fowler and the pigeon. Even thus did they earn a highly meritorious end by their righteous acts. No evil befalls the persons who listens every day to this story or who recites it every day, even if error invades his mind. O Yudhisthira, O foremost of all righteous persons, the protection of a suppliant is truly a high act of merit. Even the slayer of a cow, by practising this duty, maybe cleansed of sin. That man, however, will never be cleansed who slays a suppliant. By listening to this sacred and sin-cleansing story one becomes freed from distress and attains to heaven at last.'"

SECTION 150

"Yudhishthira said, 'O best of the Bharatas, when a person commits sin from want of judgement, how may he be cleansed from it? Tell me everything about it.'

"Bhishma said, 'I shall in this connexion recite to thee the old narrative, applauded by the Rishis, of what the regenerate Indrota, the son of Sunaka, said unto Janamejaya. There was in days of yore, a king possessed of great energy, called Janamejaya, who was the son of Parikshit. That lord of earth on one occasion, from want of judgement became guilty of killing a Brahmana. Upon this, all the Brahmanas together with his priests abandoned him. Burning day and night with regret, the king retired into the woods. Deserted by his subjects too, he took this step for achieving high merit. Consumed by repentance, the monarch underwent the most rigid austerities. For washing himself of the sin of Brahmanicide he interrogated many Brahmanas, and wandered from country to country over the whole earth. I shall now tell thee the story of his expiation. Burning with the remembrance of his sinful act, Janamejaya wandered about. One day, in course of his wanderings, he met Indrota, the son of Sunaka, of rigid vows, and approaching him touched his feet. The sage, beholding the king before him, reproved him gravely, saying, 'Thou hast committed a great sin. Thou hast been guilty of foeticide. Why has thou come here? What business hast thou with us? Do not touch me by any means! Go, go away! Thy presence does not give us pleasure. Thy person smells like blood. Thy appearance is like that of a corpse. Though impure, thou seemest to be pure, and though dead thou movest like a living! Dead within, thou art of impure soul, for thou art ever intent upon sin. Though thou sleepest and wakest, thy life, however, is passed in great misery. Thy life, O king, is useless. Thou livest most miserably. Thou hast been created for ignoble and sinful deeds. Sires wish for sons from desire of obtaining diverse kinds of blessings, and hoping they perform penances and sacrifices, worship the gods, and practise renunciation. [Making gifts, etc.] Behold, the whole race of thy ancestors has fallen into hell in consequence of thy acts. All the hopes thy sires had placed upon thee have become fruitless. Thou livest in vain, for thou art always inspired with hatred and malice towards the Brahmanas--them, that is, by worshipping whom other men obtain long life, fame, and heaven. Leaving this world (when the time comes), thou shalt have to fall (into hell) with head downwards and remain in that posture for innumerable years in consequence of thy sinful deeds. There thou shalt be tortured by vultures and peacocks having iron beaks. Returning thence into this world, thou shalt have to take birth in a wretched order of creatures. If thou thinkest, O king, that this world is nothing and that the next world is the shadow of a shadow, the myrmidons of Yama in the infernal regions will convince thee, dispelling thy unbelief.'"

SECTION 151

"Bhishma said, 'Thus addressed, Janamejaya replied unto the sage, saying, 'Thou rebukest one that deserves to be rebuked. Thou censurest one that is deserving of censure. Thou upbraidest me and my acts. I implore thee to be graceful towards me. All my acts have been sinful. I burn, however, with repentance as if I am in the midst of blazing fire! My mind, in remembrance of my deeds, is exceedingly cheerless. Verily, I am much afraid of Yama. How can I bear to live without extracting that dart from my heart? O Saunaka, suppressing all thy wrath, instruct me now. Formerly I used to show regard for Brahmanas. I solemnly declare that I shall once more show the same regard for thee. Let not my line be extinct. Let not the race in which I am born sink into the dust. It is not proper that they who have wronged Brahmanas and have for that, in consequence of the injunctions of the Vedas, forfeited all claim to the respect of the world and to social intercourse with their fellowmen, should have any bearer of their names for continuing their races. I am overwhelmed with despair. I, therefore, repeat my resolves (about mending my conduct). I pray you to protect me like sages that do not accept gifts protecting the poor. Sinful wights abstaining from sacrifices never attain to heaven. Leaving (this world), they have to pass their time in the pits of hell like Pullindas and Khasas. [These are Mleccha tribes of impure behaviour.] Ignorant that I am, give me wisdom like a learned preceptor to his pupil or like a sire to his son. Be gratified with me, O Saunaka!'

"Saunaka said, 'What wonder is there that a person destitute of wisdom should do many improper acts? Knowing this, a. person of real wisdom is never angry with creatures (when they become guilty of folly). By ascending upon the top of wisdom's palace, one grieves for others, one's own self being then too pure for becoming an object of other people's grief. In consequence of one's wisdom one surveys all creatures in the world like a person on a mountain-top surveying people below. The person who becomes an object of censure with good men, who hates good men and who hides himself from their view, never succeeds in obtaining any blessing and never understands the propriety of acts. Thou knowest what the energy and the nobility of the Brahmana is as laid down in the Vedas and other scriptures. Act now in such a way that tranquillity of heart may be thine and let Brahmanas be thy refuge, If the Brahmanas cease to be angry with thee, that will ensure thy felicity in heaven. If, again, thou repentest in sin, thy sight will be clear and thou wilt succeed in beholding righteousness.'

"Janamejaya said, 'I am repenting of my sins. I will never again seek to extinguish virtue. I desire to obtain blessedness. Be thou gratified with me.'

"Saunaka said, 'Dispelling arrogance and pride, O king, I wish thee to show regard for me! Employ thyself in the good of all creatures, ever remembering the mandates of righteousness. I am not reproving thee from fear or narrowness of mind or covetousness. Listen now, with these Brahmanas here, to the words of truth I utter. I do not ask for anything. I shall, however, instruct thee in the ways of righteousness. All persons will croak and bray and cry fie on me (for what I am going to do). They will even call me sinful. My kinsmen and friends will discard me. Without doubt, however, my kinsmen and friends, hearing the words I speak, will succeed in vigorously crossing the difficulties of life. Some that are possessed of great wisdom will understand (my motives) rightly. Know, O child, what my views are, O Bharata, in respect of the Brahmanas. Do thou (after listening to me) act in such away that they may, through my efforts, obtain every blessing. Do thou also, O king, pledge thy word that thou wilt not again injure the Brahmanas.'

"Janamejaya said, 'I swear, touching even thy feet, that I shall never again, in thought, word, or deed, injure the Brahmanas.'"

SECTION 152

"Saunaka said, 'I shall for these reasons discourse to thee of righteousness, to thee whose heart has been exceedingly agitated. Possessed of knowledge and great strength, and with a contented heart, thou seekest righteousness of thy own will. A king, first becoming exceedingly stern, then shows compassion and does good to all creatures by his acts. This is certainly very wonderful. People say that that king who commences with sternness burns the whole world. Thou wert stern before. But thou turnest thy eyes on righteousness now. Forsaking luxurious food and all articles of enjoyment, thou hast betaken thyself for a long time to rigid penances. All this, O Janamejaya, is certain to appear wonderful to those kings that are sunk in sin. That he who has affluence should become liberal, or that he who is endued with wealth of asceticism should become reluctant to spend it, is not at all wonderful. It has been said that the one does not live at a distance from the other. That which is ill-judged produces misery in abundance. That on the other hand, which is accomplished with the aid of sound judgement leads to excellent results. Sacrifice, gift, compassions, the Vedas, and truth, O lord of the earth--these five--are cleansing. The sixth is penance well-performed. This last, O Janamejaya, is highly cleansing for kings. By betaking thyself to it properly, thou art certain to earn great merit and blessedness. Visiting sacred spots has also been said to be highly cleansing. In this connexion are cited the following verses sung by Yayati: 'That mortal who would earn life and longevity should, after having performed sacrifices with devotion, renounce them (in old age) and practise penances.' The field of Kuru has been said to be sacred. The river Saraswati has been said to be more so. The tirthas of the Saraswati are more sacred than the Saraswati herself; and the tirtha called Prithudaka is more sacred than all the tirthas of the Saraswati. One that has bathed in Prithudaka. and drunk its waters will not have to grieve for a premature death. Thou shouldst go to Mahasaras, to all the tirthas designated by the name of Pushkara, to Prabhasa, to the northern lake Manasa, and to Kalodaka. Thou shalt then regain life and acquire longevity. Lake Manasa is on the spot where the Saraswati and the Drisadwati mingle with each other. A person possessed of Vedic knowledge should bathe in these places. Manu has said that liberality is the best of all duties and that renunciation is better than liberality. In this connexion is cited the following verse composed by Satyavat. (One should act) as a child full of simplicity and destitute of either merit or sin. As regards all creatures there is in this would neither misery nor happiness. (That which is called misery and that which is called happiness are the results of a distraught imagination.) Even this is the true nature of all living creatures. Of all creatures, their lives are superior who have betaken themselves to renunciation and abstained from acts both meritorious and sinful. I shall now tell thee those acts which are best for a king. By putting forth thy might and liberality do thou conquer heaven, O king! That man who possesses the attributes of might and energy succeeds in attaining to righteousness. Do thou rule the earth, O king, for the sake of the Brahmanas and for the sake of happiness. Thou usedst formerly to condemn the Brahmanas. Do thou gratify them now. Though they have cried fie on thee and though they have deserted thee, do thou still, guided by knowledge of self, solemnly pledge thyself never to injure them. Engaged in acts proper for thee, seek what is for thy highest good.

Amongst rulers some one becomes as cool as snow; some one, as fierce as fire; some one becomes like a plough (uprooting all enemies); and some one, again, becomes like a thunder-bolt (suddenly scorching his foes). He who wishes to prevent self-destruction should never mix with wicked wights for general or special reasons. From a sinful act committed only once, one

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may cleanse one's self by repenting of it. From a sinful act committed twice, one may cleanse one's self by vowing never to commit it again. From such an act committed thrice, one may cleanse one's self by the resolution to bear one's self righteously ever afterwards. By committing such an act repeatedly, one may cleanse one's self by a trip to sacred places. One who is desirous of obtaining prosperity should do all that results in blessedness. They who live amidst fragrant odours themselves become fragrant in consequence. They, on the other hand, who live in the midst of foul stench themselves become foul. One devoted to the practice of ascetic penances is soon cleansed of all one's sins. By worshipping the (homa) fire for a year, one stained by diverse sins becomes purified. One guilty of foeticide is cleansed by worshipping the fire for three years. One guilty of foeticide becomes cleansed at even a hundred Yojanas from Mahasaras, or the tirthas called Pushkara, or Prabhasa, or Manasa on the north, if only one gets out for any of them. A slayer of creatures is cleansed of his sins by saying from imminent peril as many creatures of that particular species as have been slain by him. Manu has said that by diving in water after thrice reciting the Aghamarshana mantras, one reaps the fruits of the final bath in a Horse-sacrifice. Such an act very soon cleanses one of all one's sins, and one regains in consequence the esteem of the world. All creatures become obedient to such a person like helpless idiots (obedient to those that surround them). The gods and Asuras, in days of yore, approaching the celestial preceptor Vrihaspati, O king, humbly enquired of him, saying, 'Thou knowest, O great Rishi, the fruits of virtue, as also the fruits of those other acts that lead to hell in the next world. Does not that person succeed in liberating himself from both merit and sin with whom the two (weal and woe) are equal? Tell us, O great Rishi, what the fruits of righteousness are, and how does a righteous person dispels his sins.'

"Vrihaspati answered, 'If having committed sin through folly, one does meritorious acts understanding their nature, one succeeds, by such righteousness, in cleansing one's self from sin even as a piece of dirty cloth is washed clean by means of some saline substance. One should not boast after having committed sin. By having recourse to faith and by freeing one's self from malice, one succeeds in obtaining blessedness. That person who covers the faults, even when exposed, of good men, obtains blessedness even after committing faults. As the sun rising at morn dispels darkness, one dispels all ones sins by acting righteously.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Indrota, the son of Sunaka, having said these words unto king Janamejaya, assisted him, by his ministrations, in the performance of the horse-sacrifice. The king, cleansed of his sins and regaining blessedness, shone with splendour like a blazing fire, and that slayer of foes then entered his kingdom like Soma in his full form entering heaven.'"

SECTION 153

"Yudhishthira said, 'Hast thou, O grandsire, ever seen or heard of any mortal restored to life after having succumbed to death?'

"Bhishma said, 'Listen, O king, to this story of the discourse between a vulture and a jackal as happened of old. Indeed, the occurrence took place in the forest of Naimisha. Once upon a time a Brahmana had, after great difficulties, obtained a son of large expansive eyes. The child died of infantile convulsions. Some (amongst his kinsmen), exceedingly agitated by grief and indulging in loud lamentations, took up the boy of tender years, that sole wealth of his family. Taking the deceased child they proceeded in the direction of the crematorium, Arrived there, they began to take the child from one another's breast and cry more bitterly in grief. Recollecting with heavy hearts the former speeches of their darling again and again, they were unable to return home casting the body on the bare ground. Summoned by their cries, a vulture came there and said these words: 'Go ye away and do not tarry, ye that have to cast off but one child. Kinsmen always go away leaving on this spot thousands of men and thousands of women brought here in course of time. Behold, the whole universe is subject to weal and woe. Union and disunion may be seen in turns. They that have come to the crematorium bringing with them the dead bodies of kinsmen, and they that sit by those bodies (from affection), themselves disappear from the world in consequence of their own acts when the allotted periods of their own lives run out. There is no need of your lingering in the crematorium, this horrible place, that is full of vultures and jackals and that abounds with skeletons and inspires every creature with dread. Whether friend or foe, no one ever comes back to life having once succumbed to the power of Time. Such, indeed, is the fate of all creatures, In this world of mortals, every one that is born is sure to die. Who shalt restore to life one that is dead and gone on the way ordained by the Destroyer? At this hour when men are about to close their daily toil, the Sun is retiring to the Asta hills. Go ye to your homes, casting off this affection for the child.' Hearing these words of the vulture, the grief of the kinsmen seemed to abate, and placing the child on the bare ground they prepared to go away. Assuring themselves of the fact that the child had died and despairing of seeing him again, they began to retrace their steps, indulging in loud lamentations. Assured beyond doubt, and despairing of restoring the dead to life, they cast off that offspring of their race, and prepared to turn back from that spot. At this time a jackal, black as a raven, issued out of his hole and addressed those departing kinsmen, saying, 'Surely, ye that are kinsmen of that deceased child have no affection. There the sun still shineth in the sky, ye fools! Indulge your feelings, without fear. Multifarious are the virtue of the hour. This one may come back to life! Spreading a few blades of Kusa grass on the ground and abandoning that dear child on the crematorium, why do ye go away with hearts of steel and casting off every affection for the darling? Surely, ye have no affection for that sweet-speeched child of tender years, whose words, as soon as they left his lips, used to gladden you greatly. Behold the affection that even birds and beasts bear towards their offspring. Theirs is no return for bringing up their young ones. Like the sacrifices of the Rishis (that are never undertaken from desire of fruit or rewards) the affection of quadrupeds of birds and insects, bears no reward in heaven. Though delighting in their children, they are never seen to derive any benefit from the latter either here or hereafter. 'Yet they cherish their young ones with affection. Their children, growing up, never cherish them in age. Yet are not they grieved when they do not behold their little ones? Where, indeed, is affection to be seen in human beings that they would own the influence of grief? Where would you go leaving here this child who is the perpetuator of his race? Do you shed tears for him for some time, and do you look at him a little longer with affection? Objects so dear are, indeed, difficult to abandon. It is friends and not others that wait by the side of him that is weak, of him that is prosecuted in a court of law, of him that is borne towards the crematorium. Life-breaths are dear unto all, and all feel the influence of affection. Behold the affection that is cherished by even those that belong to the intermediate species! How, indeed, can you go away, casting off this boy of eyes large as the petals of the lotus, and handsome as a newly-married youth washed clean and adorned with floral garlands?' Hearing these words of the jackal that had been indulging in such expressions of touching grief, the men turned back for the sake of the corpse.'

"The vulture said, 'Alas, ye men destitute of strength of mind, why do ye turn back at the bidding of a cruel and mean jackal of little intelligence? Why do you mourn for that compound of five elements deserted by their presiding deities, no longer tenanted (by the soul), motionless, and stiff as a piece of wood? Why do you not grieve for your own selves? Do you practise austere penances by which you will succeed in cleansing yourselves from sin? Everything may be had by means of penances. What will lamentations do? ill-luck is born with the body. It is in consequence of that ill-luck that this boy has departed, plunging you into infinite grief. Wealth, kine, gold, precious gems, children, all have their root in penances. Penances again are the results of yoga (union of the soul with Godhead). Amongst creatures, the measure of weal or woe is dependent on the acts of a previous life. Indeed, every creature comes into the world taking with him his own measure of weal and woe. The son is not bound by the acts of the sire, or the sire by those of the son. Bound by their own acts, good and bad, all have to travel by this common road. Duly practise all the duties, and abstain from acts of unrighteousness. Reverentially wait, according to the directions of the scriptures, upon the gods and the Brahmanas. Cast off sorrow and cheerlessness, and abstain from parental affection. Leave the child on this exposed ground, and go ye away without delay. The actor alone enjoys the fruit of acts, good or bad, that he does. What concern have kinsmen with them? Casting off a (deceased) kinsman, however dear, kinsmen leave this spot. With eyes bathed in tears, they go away, ceasing to display affection for the dead. Wise or ignorant, rich or poor, every one succumbs to Time, endued with acts, good and bad. What will you do by mourning? Why do you grieve for one that is dead? Time is the lord of all, and in obedience to his very nature he casts an equal eye on all things. In pride of youth or in helpless infancy bearing the weight of years or lying in the mother's womb, every one is subject to be assailed by Death. Such indeed, is the course of the world.'

"The jackal said, 'Alas, the affection cherished by your weeping selves that are overwhelmed with grief for your deceased child has been lessened by that light-brained vulture. Even this must be the case, since in consequence of his well-applied words fraught with tranquillity and capable of producing conviction, there that one goes back to the town, casting off affection that is so difficult to abandon. Alas, I had supposed that great is the grief felt by men indulging in loud lamentations for the death of a child and for the corpse on a crematorium, like that of kine bereft of calves. Today, however, I understand what the measure of grief is of human beings on earth. Witnessing their great affection I had shed tears myself. (It seems however, that their affection is not strong)! One should always exert oneself. Thence does one succeed through destiny. Exertion and destiny, joining together, produce fruit. One should always exert oneself with hopefulness. How can happiness be had from despondency? Objects of desire may be won by resolution. Why then do you go back so heartlessly? Where do you go, abandoning in the wilderness this son of your own loins, this perpetuator of the race of his sires? Stay here till the sun sets and the evening twilight comes. You may then take away this boy with yourselves or stay with him.'

"The vulture said, 'I am, ye men, a full thousand years of age today, but I have never seen a dead creature, male or female or of ambiguous sex, revive after death. Some die in the womb; some die soon after birth; some die (in infancy) while crawling (on all fours); some die in youth; and some in old age. The fortunes of all creatures, including even beasts and birds, are unstable. The periods of life of all mobile and immobile creatures are fixed beforehand. Bereaved of spouses and dear ones and filled with sorrow for (the death of) children, men leave this spot every day with agonised hearts for returning home. Leaving on this spot both friends and foes numbering by thousands, kinsmen afflicted with grief go back to their homes. Cast off this lifeless body with no longer any animal heat in it and which is as stiff as a piece of wood! Why then do you not go away, leaving the body of this child which has become like a piece of wood and whose life has entered a new body? This affection (which ye are displaying) is unmeaning and this hugging of the child is fruitless. He does not see with his eyes or hear with his ears. Leaving him here, go ye away without delay. Thus addressed by me in words which are apparently cruel but which in reality are fraught with reason and have a direct bearing with the high religion of emancipation, go ye back to your respective homes.' Addressed thus by the vulture endued with wisdom and knowledge and capable of imparting intelligence and awakening the understanding, those men prepared themselves to turn their backs upon the crematorium. Grief, indeed, increaseth to twice its measure at sight of its object and at the remembrance of the acts of that object (in life). Having heard these words of the vulture, the men resolved to leave the spot. Just at that time the jackal, coming thither with quick steps, cast his eyes on the child lying in the sleep of death.'

"The jackal said, 'Why, indeed, do you leave, at the vulture's bidding, this child of golden complexion, adorned with ornaments, and capable of giving the obsequial cake to his ancestors? If you abandon him, your affection will not come to an end, nor these piteous lamentations. On the other hand, your grief will certainly be greater. It is heard that a Sudra named Samvuka having been slain and righteousness having been upheld by Rama of true prowess, a (dead) Brahmana child was restored to life. Similarly, the son of the royal sage Sweta died (prematurely). But the monarch, devoted to virtue, succeeded in reviving his dead child. After the same manner, in your case also, some sage or deity may be willing to grant your desire and show compassion to you that are crying so piteously.' Thus addressed by the jackal, the men, afflicted with grief and full of affection for the child, retraced their steps, and placing the child's head on their laps one after another, began to indulge in copious lamentations. Summoned by their cries, the vulture, coming to that spot, spoke unto them as follows.'

"The vulture said, 'Why are you bathing this child with your tears? Why are you pressing him in this fashion with the touch of your palms? At the command of the grim king of justice the child has been sent to that sleep which knows no waking. Those that are endued with the merit of penances, those that are possessed of wealth, those that have great intelligence, in fact, all succumb to death. Even this is the place intended for the dead. It is always to be seen that kinsmen casting off thousands of kinsmen young and old, pass their nights and days in grief, rolling on the bare ground. Cease this ardour in putting on the trappings of woe. That this child would come back to life is what passes belief. He will not get back his life at the bidding of the jackal. If a person once dies and takes leave of his body, his body never regains animation. Hundreds of jackals, by laying down their own lives, will not succeed in reviving this child in hundreds of years. If, however, Rudra, or Kumara, or Brahman, or Vishnu, grant him a boon, then only may this child come back to life. Neither the shedding of tears, nor the drawing of long sighs, nor copious lamentations, will bring back this one to life. Myself, the jackal, you all, and all the kinsmen of this one, with all our merits and sins, are on the same road (that this one has taken). For this reason one possessed of wisdom should, from a distance, avoid behaviour that displeases others, harsh speeches, the infliction of injury on others, the enjoyment of other people's wives, and sin and falsehood. Carefully seek righteousness, truth, the good of others, justice, compassion for all creatures, sincerity, and honesty. They, incur sin who, while living, do not cast their eyes upon their mothers and fathers and kinsmen and friends. What will you do, by crying, for him after death, that sees not with his eyes and that stirs not in the least?' Thus addressed, the men, overwhelmed with sorrow and burning with grief on account of their affection for the child, departed for their homes, leaving the body (on the crematorium).

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"The jackal said, 'Alas, terrible is the world of mortals! Here no creature can escape. Every creature's period of life, again, is short. Beloved friends are always departing. It abounds with vanities and falsehoods, with accusations and evil reports. Beholding again this incident that enhances pain and grief, I do not for a moment like this world of men. Alas, fie on you, ye men, that thus turn back, like foolish persons, at the vulture's bidding, though you are burning with grief on account of the death of this child. Ye cruel wights, how can you go away, casting off parental affection upon hearing the words of a sinful vulture of uncleansed soul? Happiness is followed by misery, and misery by happiness. In this world which is enveloped by both happiness and misery, none of these two exists uninterruptedly. Ye men of little understanding, whither would ye go, casting off on the bare ground this child of so much beauty, this son that is an ornament of your race. Verily, I cannot dispel the idea from my mind that this child endued with comeliness and youth and blazing with beauty is alive. It is not meet that he should die [i.e., he is sure to come back to life. The idea and belief between Jewish resurection and Hindu rebirth or reincarnation is very similar, and it has the same purpose: salvation from mortality.]. It seems that ye are sure to obtain happiness. Ye that are afflicted with grief on account of the death of this child will surely have good luck today. Anticipating the probability of inconvenience and pain (if you remain here for the night) and fixing your hearts on your own comfort, whither would you, like persons of little intelligence, go, leaving this darling?'

"Bhishma continued, 'Even thus, O king, the kinsmen of the deceased child, unable to decide upon what they should do, were, for accomplishment of his own purpose, induced by that sinful jackal who uttered agreeable falsehoods, that denizens of the crematorium who wandered every night in quest of food, to stay in that place.'

"The vulture said, 'Dreadful is this spot, this wilderness, that resounds with the screech of owls and teems with spirits and Yakshas and Rakshasas. Terrible and awful, its aspect is like that of a mass of blue clouds. Casting off the dead body, finish the funeral rites. Indeed, throwing away the body, accomplish those rites before the sun sets and before the points of the horizon become enveloped in gloom. The hawks are uttering their harsh cries. Jackals are howling fiercely. Lions are roaring. The sun is setting. The trees on the crematorium are assuming a dark hue in consequence of the blue smoke of the funeral pyres. The carnivorous denizens of this place, afflicted with hunger, are yelling in rage. All those creatures of horrible forms that live in this frightful place, all those carnivorous animals of grim features that haunt this desert, will soon assail you. This wilderness is certainly frightful. Danger will overtake you. Indeed, if you listen to these false and fruitless words of the jackal against your own good sense, verily, all of you are sure to be destroyed.'

"The jackal said, 'Stay where you are! There is no fear even in this desert as long as the sun shines. Till the god of day sets, do ye remain here hopefully, induced by parental affection. Without any fear, indulging in lamentations as ye please, continue to look at this child with eyes of affection. Frightful though this wilderness be, no danger will overtake you. In reality this wilderness presents an aspect of quiet and peace. It is here that the Pitris by thousands took leave of the world. Wait as long as the sun shines. What are this vulture's words to you? If with stupefied understandings ye accept the cruel and harsh speeches of the vulture, then your child will never come back to life!'

"Bhishma continued, 'The vulture then addressed those men, saying that the sun had set. The jackal said that it was not so. Both the vulture and the jackal felt the pangs of hunger and thus addressed the kinsmen of the dead child. Both of them had girded up their loins for accomplishing their respective purposes. Exhausted with hunger and thirst, they thus disputed, having recourse to the scriptures. Moved (alternately) by these words, sweet as nectar, of those two creatures, viz., the bird and the beast, both of whom were endued with the wisdom of knowledge, the kinsmen at one time wished to go away and at another to stay there. At last, moved by grief and cheerlessness, they waited there, indulging in bitter lamentations. They did not know that the boast and the bird, skilled in accomplishing their own purposes, had only stupefied them (by their addresses). While the bird and the beast, both possessed of wisdom.. were thus disputing and while the kinsmen of the deceased child sat listening to them, the great god Sankara, urged by his divine spouse (Uma), came there with eyes bathed in tears of compassion. Addressing the kinsmen of the deceased child, the god said, 'I am Sankara the giver of boons.' With hearts heavy with grief, those men prostrated themselves before the great deity and said unto him in reply, 'Bereft of this one who was our only child, all of us are at the point of death. It behoveth thee to grant us life by granting life to this our son.' Thus solicited, the illustrious deity, taking up a quantity of water in his hands granted unto that dead child life extending for a hundred years. Ever employed in the good of all creatures, the illustrious wielder of Pinaka granted a boon unto both the jackal and the vulture in consequence of which their hunger was appeased. Filled with delight and having achieved great prosperity, the men bowed unto the god. Crowned with success, they then, O king, left that spot in great joy. Through persistent hopefulness and firm resolution and the grace of the great god, the fruits of one's acts are obtained without delay. Behold, the combination of circumstances and the resolution of those kinsmen. While they were crying with agonised hearts, their tears were wiped and dried up. Behold, how within only a short time, through their steadiness of resolution, they obtained the grace of Sankara, and their afflictions dispelled, they were made happy. Indeed, through Sankara's grace, O chief of the Bharatas, those sorrowing kinsmen were filled with amazement and delight at the restoration of their child to life. Then, O king, casting off that grief of which their child had been the cause, those Brahmanas, filled with delight, quickly went back to their town taking the restored child with them. Behaviour like this has been laid down for all the four orders. By frequently listening to this auspicious story fraught with virtue, profit, and salvation, a man obtains happiness both here and hereafter.'"

SECTION 154

"Yudhishthira said, "If a person, weak, worthless, and light-hearted, O grand sire, doth from folly provoke, by means of unbecoming and boastful speeches, a powerful foe always residing in his vicinity, competent to do good (when pleased) and chastise (when displeased), and always ready for action, how should the former, relying on his own strength, act when the latter advances against him in anger and from desire of exterminating him?'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connexion is cited, O chief of the Bharatas, the old story of the discourse between Salmali and Pavana. There was a lordly (Salmali) tree on one of the heights of Himavat. Having grown for many centuries, he had spread out his branches wide around. His trunk also was huge and his twigs and leaves were innumerable. Under his shade toil-worn elephants in rut, bathed in sweat, used to rest, and many animals of other species also. The girth of his trunk was four hundred cubits, and dense was the shade of his branches and leaves. Loaded with flowers and fruits, it was the abode of innumerable parrots, male and female. In travelling along their routes, caravans of merchants and traders, and ascetics, residing in the woods, used to rest under the shade of that delightful monarch of the forest. One day, the sage Narada, O bull of Bharata's race, seeing the wide-extending and innumerable branches of that tree and the circumference of his trunk, approached and addressed him, saying, 'O thou art delightful! O thou art charming! O foremost of trees, O Salmali, I am always delighted at thy sight! O charming tree, delightful birds of diverse kinds, and elephants and other animals, cheerfully live; on thy branches and under their shade. Thy branches, O wide-branched monarch of the forest, and thy trunk are gigantic. I never see any of them broken by the god of the wind. Is it, O child, the case that Pavana is pleased with thee and is thy friend so that he protects thee always in these woods? The illustrious Pavana possessed of great speed and force moveth from their sites the tallest and strongest trees, and even mountain summits. That sacred bearer of perfumes, blowing (when he wills) drieth up rivers and takes and seas, including the very nether region. Without doubt, Pavana protects thee through friendship. It is for this reason that, though possessed of innumerable branches, thou art still graced with leaves and flowers. O monarch of the forest, this thy verdure is delightful since these winged creatures, O child, filled with joy, sport on thy twigs and branches. During the season when thou puttest forth thy blossoms, the sweet notes of all these denizens of thy branches are heard separately when they indulge in their melodious songs. Then, again, O Salmali, these elephants that are the ornaments of their species, bathed in sweat and indulging in cries (of delight), approach thee and find happiness here. Similarly, diverse other species of animals inhabiting the woods, contribute to adorn thee. Indeed, O tree, thou lookest beautiful even like the mountains of Meru peopled by creatures of every kind. Resorted to also by Brahmanas crowned with ascetic success, by others engaged in penances, and by Yatis devoted to contemplation, 1 this thy region, I think, resembles heaven itself.'"

SECTION 155

"Narada said, 'Without doubt, O Salmali, the terrible and irresistible god of the wind always protects thee from friendliness or amity. It seems, O Salmali, that a close intimacy has come to subsist between thee and the Wind. It seems thou hast said unto him these words, viz., 'I am thine,' and it is for this reason that the Wind-god protects thee. I do not see the tree or mountain or mansion in this world that may not, I think, be broken by the Wind. Without doubt thou standest here with all thy branches and twigs and leaves, simply because, O Salmali, thou art protected by the Wind for some reason or reasons (unknown to us).'

"The Salmali said, 'The Wind, O regenerate one, is neither my friend nor mate nor well-wisher. Indeed, he is neither my great Ordainer that he should protect me. My fierce energy and might, O Narada, are greater than the Wind's. In truth, the strength of the Wind comes up to about only an eighteenth part of mine. When the Wind comes in rage, tearing up trees and mountains and other things, I curb his strength by putting forth mine. Indeed, the Wind that breaks many things has himself been repeatedly broken by me. For this reason, O Celestial Rishi, I am not afraid of him even when he comes in wrath.'

"Narada said, 'O Salmali, thy protection seems to be thoroughly perverse. There is no doubt in this. There is no created thing which is equal to the Wind in strength. Even Indra, or Yama, or Vaisravana, the lord of the waters, is not equal to the god of the wind in might. What need, therefore, be said of thee that art only a tree? Whatever creature in this world, O Salmali, does whatever act, the illustrious Wind-god it is that is at all times the cause of that act, since it is he that is the giver of life. When that god exerts himself with propriety, he makes all living creatures live at their ease. When, however, he exerts improperly, calamities overtake the creatures of the world. What else can it be than weakness of understanding which induces thee to thus withhold thy worship from the god of wind, that foremost of creatures in the universe, that being deserving of worship? Thou art worthless and of a wicked understanding. Indeed, thou indulgest only in unmeaning brag. Thy intelligence being confounded by wrath and other evil passions, thou speakest only untruths, O Salmali! I am certainly angry with thee for thy indulging in such speeches. I shall myself report to the god of the wind all these derogatory words of thine. Chandanas, and Syandanas, and Salas, and Saralas and Devadarus and Vetavas and Dhanwanas and other trees of good souls that are far stronger than thou art, have never, O thou of wicked understanding, uttered such invectives against the Wind. All of them know the might of the Wind as also the might that is possessed by each of them. For these reasons those foremost of trees bow down their heads in respect to that deity. Thou, however, through folly, knowest not the infinite might of the Wind. I shall, therefore, repair to the presence of that god (for apprising him of thy contempt for him).'"

SECTION 156

"Bhishma continued, 'Having said these words unto the Salmali. that foremost of all persons conversant with Brahma, viz., Narada, represented unto the god of the wind all that the Salmali had said about him.'

"Narada said, 'There is a certain Salmali on the breast of Himavat, adorned with branches and leaves. His roots extend deep into the earth and his branches spread wide around. That tree, O god of the wind disregards thee. He spoke many words fraught with abuse of thyself. It is not proper, O Wind, that I should repeat them in thy hearing. I know, O Wind, that thou art the foremost of all created things. I know too that thou art a very superior and very mighty being, and that in wrath thou resemblest the Destroyer himself.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Hearing these words of Narada, the god of wind, wending to that Salmali, addressed him in rage and said as follows.'

"The Wind-god said, 'O Salmali, thou hast spoken in derogation of me before Narada. Know that I am the god of the wind. I shall certainly show thee my power and might. I know thee well. Thou art no stranger to me. The puissant Grandsire, while engaged in creating the world, had for a time rested under thee. It is in consequence of this incident that I have hitherto shown thee grace. O worst of trees, it is for this that thou standest unharmed, and not in consequence of thy own might. Thou regardest me lightly as if I were a vulgar thing. I shall show myself unto thee in such a way that thou mayst not again disregard me.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed, the Salmali laughed in derision and replied, saying, 'O god of the wind, thou art angry with me. Do not forbear showing the extent of thy might. Do thou vomit all thy wrath upon me. By giving way to thy wrath, what wilt thou do to me? Even if thy might had, been thy own (instead of being derived), I would not still have been afraid of thee. I am superior to thee in might. I should not be afraid of thee. They are really strong in understanding. They, on the other hand, are not to be regarded strong that are possessed of only physical strength.' Thus addressed, the Wind-god said, 'Tomorrow I shall test thy strength.' After this, night came. The Salmali, concluding mentally what the extent is of the Wind's might and beholding his own self to be inferior to the god, began to say to himself, 'All that I said to Narada is false. I am certainly inferior in might to the Wind. Verity, he is strong in his strength. The Wind, as Narada said, is always mighty. Without doubt, I am weaker than other trees. But in intelligence no tree is my equal. Therefore, relying upon my intelligence I shall look at this fear that arises from the Wind. If the other trees in the forest all rely upon the same kind of intelligence, then, verily, no injury can result to them from the god of the Wind when he becomes angry. All of them. however, are destitute of understanding, and, therefore, they do not know, as I know, why or how the Wind succeeds in shaking and tearing them up.'"

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SECTION 157

"Bhishma said, 'Having settled this in his mind, the Salmali. in sorrow, himself caused all his branches, principal and subsidiary, to be cut off. Casting off his branches and leaves and flowers, at morn the tree looked steadily at the Wind, as he came towards him. Filled with rage and breathing hard, the Wind advanced, felling large trees, towards that spot where the Salmali stood. Beholding him divested of top and branches and leaves and flowers, the Wind, filled with joy, smilingly addressed that lord of the forest which had before such a gigantic appearance, these words.'

"The Wind said, 'Filled with rage, O Salmali, I would have done to thee precisely what thou hast done to thyself by lopping off all thy branches. Thou art now divested of thy proud top and flowers, and thou art now without thy shoots and leaves. In consequence of thy own evil counsels, thou hast been brought under my power.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Hearing these words of the Wind, the Salmali felt great shame. Remembering also the words that Narada had said, he began to repent greatly for his folly. Even in this way, O tiger among kings, a weak and foolish person, by provoking the enmity of a powerful one, is at last obliged to repent like the Salmali in fable. Even when possessed of equal might, people do not suddenly wage hostilities with those that have injured them. On the other hand, they display their might gradually, O king! A person of foolish understanding should never provoke the hostility of one that is possessed of intelligence. In such cases the intelligence of the intelligent man penetrates (the subject upon which it is employed) like fire penetrating a heap of dry grass. Intelligence is the most precious possession that a person call have. Similarly, O king, a man can have nothing here more valuable than might. One should, therefore, overlook the wrongs inflicted by a person possessed of superior strength, even as one should overlook (from compassion) the acts of a child, and idiot, or one that is blind or deaf. The wisdom of this saying is witnessed in thy case, O slayer of foes. The eleven Akshauhinis (of Duryodhana), O thou of great splendour, and the seven (collected by thyself), were not, in might equal to the single-handed Arjuna of high soul. All the troops (of Duryodhana), therefore, were routed and slain by that illustrious Pandava, that son of Paka's chastiser, as he coursed on the field of battle, relying on his own strength. I have. O Bharata, discoursed to thee of the duties of kings and the morality of duties in detail. What else. O king, dost thou wish to hear!'"

SECTION 158

"Yudhishthira said, 'I desire, O bull of Bharata's race, to hear in detail the source from which sin proceeds and the foundation upon which it rests.' "Bhishma said, 'Hear, O King, what the foundation is of sin. Covetousness alone is a great destroyer (of merit and goodness). From covetousness proceeds sin. It is from this source that sin and irreligiousness flow, together with great misery. This covetousness is the spring of also all the cunning and hypocrisy in the world. It is covetousness that makes men commit sin. From covetousness proceeds wrath; from covetousness flows lust, and it is from covetousness that loss of judgement, deception, pride, arrogance, and malice, as also vindictiveness, shamelessness, loss of prosperity, loss of virtue, anxiety, and infamy spring, miserliness, cupidity, desire for every kind of improper act, pride of birth, pride of learning, pride of beauty, pride of wealth, pitilessness for all creatures, malevolence towards all, mistrust in respect of all, insincerity towards all, appropriation of other people's wealth, ravishment of other people's wives, harshness of speech, anxiety, propensity to speak ill of others, violent craving for the indulgence of lust, gluttony, liability to premature death, violent propensity towards malice, irresistible liking for falsehood, unconquerable appetite for indulging in the passions, insatiable desire for indulging the ear, evil-speaking, boastfulness, arrogance, non-doing of duties, rashness, and perpetration of every kind of evil act,--all these proceed from covetousness. In life, men are unable, whether infants or youth or adults, to abandon covetousness. Such is the nature of covetousness that it never decays even with the decay of life. Like the ocean that can never be filled by the constant discharge of even innumerable rivers of immeasurable depths, covetousness is incapable of being gratified by acquisitions to any extent. The covetousness, however, which is never gratified by acquisitions and satiated by the accomplishment of desires, that which is not known in its real nature by the gods, the Gandharvas, the Asuras, the great snakes, and, in fact, by all classes of beings, that irresistible passion, along with that folly which invites the heart to the unrealities of the world, should ever be conquered by a person of cleansed soul. Pride, malice, slander, crookedness, and incapacity to hear other people's good, are vices, O descendant of Kuru, that are to be seen in persons of uncleansed soul under the domination of covetousness. Even persons of great learning who bear in their minds all the voluminous scriptures, and who are competent to dispel the doubts of others, show themselves in this respect to be of weak understanding and feel great misery in consequence of this passion. Covetous men are wedded to envy and anger. They are outside the pale of good behaviour. Of crooked hearts, the speeches they utter are sweet. They resemble, therefore, dark pits whose mouths are covered with grass. They attire themselves in the hypocritical cloak of religion. Of low minds, they rob the world, setting up (if need be) the standard of religion and virtue. Relying upon the strength of apparent reasons, they create diverse kinds of schisms in religion. Intent upon accomplishing the purposes of cupidity, they destroy the ways of righteousness. When wicked-souled persons under the domination of covetousness apparently practise the duties of righteousness, the consequence that results is that the desecrations committed by them soon become current among men. Pride, anger, arrogance, insensibility, paroxysms of joy and sorrow, and self-importance, all these, O descendant of Kuru, are to be seen in persons swayed by covetousness. Know that they who are always under the influence of covetousness are wicked. I shall now tell thee of those about whom thou askest, viz., those who are called good and whose practices are pure. They who have no fear of an obligation to return to this world (after death), they who have no fear of the next world, they who are not addicted to animal food and who have no liking for what is agreeable and no dislike for what is otherwise, they to whom good behaviour is ever dear, they in whom there is self-restraint, they to whom pleasure and pain are equal, they who have truth for their high refuge, they who give but not take, they who have compassion, they who worship Pitris, gods and guests, they who are always ready to exert themselves (for the good of others), they who are universal benefactors, they who are possessed of great courage (of mind), they who observe all the duties laid down in the scriptures, they who are devoted to the good of all, they who can give their all and lay down their very lives for others, are regarded as good and virtuous, O Bharata! Those promoters of righteousness are incapable of being forced away from the path of virtue. Their conduct, conformable to the model set by the righteous men of old, can never be otherwise. They are perfectly fearless, they are tranquil, they are mild, and they always adhere to the right path. Full of compassion, they are always worshipped by the good. They are free from lust and anger. They are not attached to any worldly object. They have no pride. They are observant of excellent vows. They are always objects of regard. Do thou, therefore, always wait upon them and seek instruction from them. They never acquire virtue, O Yudhishthira, for the, sake of wealth or of fame. They acquire it on the other hand, because it is a duty like that of cherishing the body. Fear, wrath, restlessness, and sorrow do not dwell in them. There is not the outward garb of religion for misleading their fellowmen. There is no mystery with them. They are perfectly contented. There is no error of judgement arising from covetousness. They are always devoted to truth and sincerity. Their hearts never fall from righteousness. Thou shouldst show thy regard for them always, O son of Kunti! They are never delighted at any acquisition or pained at any loss. Without attachment to anything, and freed from pride, they are wedded to the quality of goodness, and they cast an equal eye on all. Gain and loss, weal and woe, the agreeable and the disagreeable, life and death, are equal in the eyes of those men of firm tread, engaged in the pursuit of (divine) knowledge, and devoted to the path of tranquillity and righteousness. Keeping thy senses under restraint and without yielding to heedlessness, thou shouldst always worship those high-souled persons who bear such love for virtue. O blessed one, one's words become productive of good only through the favour of the gods. Under other circumstances, words produce evil consequence.'"

SECTION 159

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou hast said, O grandsire, that the foundation of all evils is covetousness. I wish, O sire, to hear of ignorance in detail.'

"Bhishma said, 'The person who commits sin through ignorance, who does not know that his end is at hand, and who always hates those that are of good behaviour, soon incurs infamy in the world. In consequence of ignorance one sinks into hell. Ignorance is the spring of misery. Through ignorance one' suffers afflictions and incurs great danger.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'I desire, O king, to hear in detail the origin, the place, the growth, the decay, the rise, the root, the inseparable attribute, the course, the time, the cause, and the consequence, of ignorance. The misery that is felt here is all born of ignorance.' [The commentator explains that including the first, altogether 12 questions are put by Yudhishthira.]

"Bhishma said, 'Attachment, hate, loss of judgement, joy, sorrow, vanity, lust, anger, pride, procrastination, idleness, desire, aversion, jealousy, and all other sinful acts are all known by the common name of ignorance. [This is an answer to the first question viz., the general aspect of ignorance.] Hear now, O king, in detail, about its tendency, growth and other features after which thou enquirest. These two viz., ignorance and covetousness, know, O king, are the same (in substance). Both are productive of the same fruits and same faults, O Bharata! Ignorance has its origin in covetousness. As covetousness grows, ignorance also grows. Ignorance exists there where covetousness exists. As covetousness decreases, ignorance also decreases. It rises with the rise of covetousness. Manifold again is the course that it takes. The root of covetousness is loss of judgement. Loss of judgement, again, is its inseparable attribute. Eternity is ignorance's course. The time when ignorance appears is when objects of covetousness are not won. From one's ignorance proceeds covetousness, and from the latter proceeds ignorance. (Covetousness, therefore, is both the cause and consequence of ignorance). Covetousness is productive of all. For these reasons, every one should avoid covetousness. Janaka, and Yuvanaswa, and Vrishadarbhi, and Prasenajit, and other kings acquired heaven in consequence of their having repressed covetousness. Do thou also in the sight of all persons, avoid covetousness by a strong resolution, O chief of the Kurus! Avoiding covetousness thou shalt obtain happiness both here and in the next world.'"

SECTION 160

"Yudhishthira said, 'O grandsire, O thou of virtuous soul, what, indeed, is said to be productive of great merit for a person attentively engaged in the study of the Vedas and desirous of acquiring virtue? That which is regarded in this world as productive of high merit is of diverse kinds as set forth in the scriptures. Tell me, O grandsire, about that which is regarded as such both here and hereafter. The path of duty is long and has innumerable branches, O Bharata! Amongst those duties what are those few that should, according to thee, be preferred to all others for observance? Tell me, O king, in detail, about that which is so comprehensive and which is so many-branched.'

"Bhishma said, 'I shall speak to thee of that by which thou mayst attain to high merit. Possessed as thou art of wisdom, thou shalt be gratified with the knowledge. I will impart to thee, like a person gratified with having quaffed nectar. The rules of duty that have been uttered by the great Rishis, each relying upon his own wisdom, are many. The highest among them all is self-restraint. Those amongst the ancients that were acquainted with truth said that self-restraint leads to the highest merit. As regards the Brahmana in particular, self-restraint is his eternal duty. It is from self-restraint that he obtains the due fruition of his acts. Self-restraint, in his case, surpasses (in merit) charity and sacrifice and study of the Vedas. Self-restraint enhances (his) energy. Self-restraint is highly sacred. Through self-restraint a man becomes cleansed of all his sins and endued with energy, and as a consequence, attains to the highest blessedness. We have not heard that there is any other duty in all the worlds that can equal self-restraint. Self-restraint, according to all virtuous persons, is the highest of virtues in this world. Through self-restraint, O foremost of men, a person acquires the highest happiness both here and hereafter. Endued with self-restraint, one acquires great virtue. The self-restrained man sleeps in felicity and awakes in felicity, and moves through the world in felicity. His mind is always cheerful. The man who is without self-restraint always suffers misery. Such a man brings upon himself many calamities all born of his own faults. It has been said that in all the four modes of life self-restraint is the best of vows. I shall now tell thee those indications whose sum total is called self-restraint. Forgiveness, patience, abstention from injury, impartiality, truth, sincerity, conquest of the senses, cleverness, mildness, modesty, steadiness, liberality, freedom from wrath, contentment, sweetness of speech, benevolence, freedom from malice,--the union of all these is self-restraint. It also consists, O son of Kuru, of veneration for the preceptor and universal compassion. The self-restrained man avoids both adulation and slander. Depravity, infamy, false speech, lust, covetousness, pride, arrogance, self-glorification, fear, envy and disrespect, ale all avoided by the self-restrained man. He never incurs obloquy. He is free from envy. He is never gratified with small acquisitions (in the form of earthly happiness of any kind.) He is even like the ocean which can never be filled. The man of self-restraint is never bound by the attachments that arise from earthly connexions like to those involved in sentiments like these, 'I am thine, Thou art thine, They are in me, and I am in them.' Such a man, who adopts the practices of either cities or the woods, and who never indulges in slander or adulation, attains to emancipation. Practising universal friendliness, and possessed of virtuous behaviour, of cheerful soul and endued with knowledge of soul, and liberated from the diverse attachments of the earth, great is the reward that such a person obtains in the world to me. Of excellent conduct and observant of duties, of cheerful soul and possessed of learning and knowledge of self, such a man wins esteem while here and attains to a high end hereafter. All acts that are regarded as good on earth, all those acts that are practised by the righteous, constitute the path of the ascetic possessed of knowledge. A person that is good never deviates from that path. Retiring from the world and betaking himself to a life in the woods, that learned person having a complete control over the senses who treads in that path, in quiet expectation of his decease, is sure to attain to the state of Brahma. He who has no fear of any

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creature and of whom no creature is afraid, has, after the dissolution of his body, no fear to encounter. He who exhausts his merits (by actual enjoyment) without seeking to store them up, who casts an equal eye upon all creatures and practises a course of universal friendliness, attains to Brahma. As the track of birds along the sky or of fowl over the surface of water cannot be discerned, even so the track of such a person (on earth) does not attract notice. For him, O king, who abandoning home adopts the religion of emancipation, many bright worlds wait to be enjoyed for eternity. If, abandoning all acts, abandoning penances in due course, abandoning the diverse branches of study, in fact, abandoning all things (upon which worldly men set their hearts), one becomes pure in his desires, liberated from all restraints, of cheerful soul, conversant with self, and of pure heart, one then wins esteem in this world and at last attains to heaven. That eternal region of the Grandsire which springs from Vedic penances, and which is concealed in a cave, can be won by only self-restraint. He who takes pleasure in true knowledge, who has become enlightened, and who never injures any creature, has no fear of coming back to this world, far less, any fear in respect of the others. [The translator: The word used here is Buddhasya (genitive of Buddha.) May not this verse be a reference to the Buddhistic idea of a Buddha? -- The term Buddha has been in use in all Indian religions and teachings (Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism), and it has there the same significance as "saviour" and "messiah" in Jewish and Greek-Roman civilisaton (Christianity).] There is only one fault in self-control. No second fault is noticeable in it. A person who has self-control is regarded by men as weak and imbecile. O thou of great wisdom, this attribute has only one fault. Its merits are many. By forgiveness (which is only another form of self-control), the man of self-control may easily acquire innumerable worlds. What need has a man of self-control for a forest? Similarly, O Bharata, of what use is the forest to him that has no self-control? That is a forest where the man of self-control dwells, and that is even a sacred asylum.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words of Bhishma, Yudhishthira became highly gratified as if he had quaffed nectar. Again the king asked that foremost of virtuous men. That perpetuator of Kuru's race (questioned by his grandson) once more began to discourse cheerfully (on the topic raised).'"

SECTION 161

"Bhishma said, 'They that are possessed of knowledge say that everything has penance for its root. That foolish person who has not undergone penances does not meet with the rewards of even his own acts. The puissant Creator created all this universe with the aid of penances. After the same manner, the Rishis acquired the Vedas through the power of penances. It was by the aid of penances that the Grandsire created food, fruit and roots. It is by penances that persons crowned with ascetic success behold the three worlds, with rapt souls. Medicines and all antidotes to injurious substances, and the diverse acts (seen here), produce their intended results through the aid of penance. The accomplishment of all purposes depends upon penance. Whatever things there are that are apparently unattainable are sure to be won by the aid of penance. Without doubt, the Rishis obtained their sixfold divine attributes through penance. A person that drinks alcoholic stimulants, one that appropriates the possessions of others without their consent, one guilty of foeticide, one that violates one's preceptor's bed, are all cleansed by penance properly practised. Penances are of many kinds. They exhibit themselves through various outlets. Of all kinds of penances, however, that one may Practise after abstaining from pleasure and enjoyment, abstention from food Is the highest and best. The penance involved in abstention from food is superior, O king, to even compassion, truthfulness of speech, gifts, and restraining the senses. There is no act more difficult to accomplish than gift. There is no mode of life that is superior to serving one's mother. There is no creature superior to those that are conversant with the three Vedas. Similarly, Renunciation constitutes the highest penance. People keep their senses under control for taking care of their virtue and heaven. In respect of such control over the senses as also in the acquisition of virtue, there is no penance higher than abstention from food. The Rishis, the gods, human beings, beasts, birds, and whatever other creatures there are, mobile or immobile, are all devoted to penances, and whatever success they win is won through penance. Thus it was through penance that the gods acquired their superiority These (luminaries in the firmament) that have got their shares of felicity, are always the results of penance. Without doubt, through penance the very status of godhead may be acquired.'"

SECTION 162

"Yudhishthira said, 'Brahmanas and Rishis and Pitris and the gods all applaud the duty of truth. I desire to hear of truth. Discourse to me upon it, O grandsire! What are the indications, O king, of truth? How may it be acquired? What is gained by practising truth, and how? Tell me all this.'

"Bhishma said, 'A confusion of the duties of the four orders is never applauded. That which is called Truth always exists in a pure and unmingled state in every one of those four orders. With those that are good, Truth is always a duty. Indeed, Truth is an eternal duty. One should reverentially bow unto Truth. Truth is the highest refuge (of all). Truth is duty; Truth is penance; Truth is Yoga; and Truth is the eternal Brahma. Truth has been said to be Sacrifice of a high order. 1 Everything rests upon Truth. I shall now tell thee the forms of Truths one after another, and its indications also in due order. It behoveth thee to hear also as to how Truth may be acquired. Truth, O Bharata, as it exists in all the world, is of thirteen kinds. The forms that Truth assumes are impartiality, self control, forgiveness, modesty, endurance, goodness, renunciation, contemplation, dignity, fortitude, compassion, and abstention from injury. These, O great monarch, are the thirteen forms of Truth. Truth is immutable, eternal, and unchangeable. It may be acquired through practices which do not militate against any of the other virtues. It may also be acquired through Yoga. When desire and aversion, as also lust and wrath, are destroyed, that attribute in consequence of which one is able to look upon one's own self and one's foe, upon one's good and one's evil, with an unchanging eye, is called impartiality. Self-control consists in never wishing for another man's possessions, in gravity and patience and capacity to allay the fears of others in respect to one's own self, and immunity from disease. It may be acquired through knowledge. Devotion to the practice of liberality and the observance of all duties are regarded by the wise as constituting goodwill. One comes to acquire universal goodwill by constant devotion to truth. As regards non-forgiveness and forgiveness, it should be stated that the attribute through which an esteemed and good man endures both what is agreeable and disagreeable, is said to be forgiveness. This virtue may well be acquired through the practice of truthfulness. That virtue in consequence of which an intelligent man, contented in mind and speech, achieves many good deeds and never incurs the censure of others, is called modesty. It is acquired through the aid of righteousness. That virtue which forgives for the sake of virtue and profit is called endurance. It is a form of forgiveness. It is acquired through patience, and its purpose is to attach people to one's self. The casting off of affection as also of all earthly possessions, is called renunciation. Renunciation can never be acquired except by one who is divested of anger and malice. That virtue in consequence of which one does good, with watchfulness and care, to all creatures is called goodness. It hath no particular shape and consists in the divestment of all selfish attachments. That virtue owing to which one remains unchanged in happiness and misery is called fortitude. That wise man who desires his own good always practises this virtue. One should always practise forgiveness and devotedness to truth. That man of wisdom who succeeds in casting off joy and fear and wrath, succeeds in acquiring fortitude. Abstention from injury as regards all creatures in thought, word, and deed, kindness, and gift, are the eternal duties of those who are good. These thirteen attributes, though apparently distinct from one another, have but one and the same form, viz., Truth. All these, O Bharata, support Truth and strengthen it. It is impossible, O monarch, to exhaust the merits of Truth. It is for these reasons that the Brahmanas, the Pitris, and the gods, applaud Truth. There is no duty which is higher than Truth, and no sin more heinous than untruth. Indeed, Truth is the very foundation of righteousness. For this reason, one should never destroy Truth. From Truth proceed gifts, and sacrifice with presents, as well as the threefold Agnihotras, the Vedas, and everything else that leads to righteousness. Once on a time a thousand horse-sacrifices and Truth were weighed against each other in the balance. Truth weighed heavier than a thousand horse-sacrifices.'"

SECTION 163

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me, O thou of great wisdom, everything about that from which spring wrath and lust, O bull of Bharata's race, and sorrow and loss of judgement, and inclination to do (evil to others), and jealousy and malice and pride, and envy, and slander, and incapacity to bear the good of others, and unkindness, and fear. Tell me everything truly and in detail about all these.'

"Bhishma said, 'These thirteen vices are regarded as very powerful foes of all creatures. These, O Monarch, approach and tempt men from every side. They goad and afflict a heedless man or one that is insensate. Indeed, as soon as they see a person, they assail him powerfully like wolves jumping upon their prey. From these proceed all kinds of grief. From these proceed all kinds of sin. Every mortal, O foremost of men, should always know this. I shall now speak to thee of their origin, of the objects upon which they rest, and of the means of their destruction, O lord of the earth! Listen, first, O king, with undivided attention, to the origin of wrath truly and in detail. Anger springs from covetousness. It is strengthened by the faults of others. Through forgiveness it remains dormant, and through forgiveness it disappears. As regards lust, it springs from resolution. Indulgence strengthens it. When the man of wisdom resolutely turns away from it, it disappears and dies. Envy of others proceeds from between wrath and covetousness. It disappears in consequence of compassion and knowledge of self. In consequence of compassion for all creatures, and of that disregard for all worldly objects (that knowledge brings in its train), it disappears. It also arises from seeing the faults of other people. But in men of intelligence it quickly disappears in consequence of true knowledge. Loss of judgement has its origin in ignorance and proceeds from sinfulness of habit. When the man whom this fault assails begins to take delight in (the company and counsels of) wise men, the vice at once and immediately hides its head. Men, O thou of Kuru's race, see conflicting scriptures. From that circumstance springs the desire for diverse kinds of action. When true Knowledge has been gained, that desire is allayed. The grief of an embodied creature proceeds from affection which is awakened by separation. When, however, one learns that the dead do not return (whatever the grief one may feel for them), it subsides. Incapacity to bear other people's good proceeds from wrath and covetousness. Through compassion for every creature and in consequence of a disregard for all earthly objects, it is extinguished. Malice proceeds from the abandonment of truth and indulgence in wickedness. This vice, O child, disappears in consequence of one's waiting upon the wise and good. Pride, in men, springs from birth, learning, and prosperity. When those three, however, are truly known, that vice instantly disappears. Jealousy springs from lust and delight in low and vulgar people. In consequence of wisdom it is destroyed. From errors (of conduct) inconsistent with the ordinary course of men, and through disagreeable speeches expressive of aversion, slander takes its rise. It disappears, O king, upon a survey of the whole world. When the person that injures is powerful and the injured one is unable to avenge the injury, hate shows itself. It subsides, however, through kindliness. Compassion proceeds from a sight of the helpless and miserable persons with whom the world abounds. That sentiment disappears when one understands the strength of virtue. Covetousness in all creatures spring from ignorance. Beholding the instability of all objects of enjoyment, it suffers destruction. It has been said that tranquillity of soul can alone subdue all these thirteen faults. All these thirteen faults stained the sons of Dhritarashtra. Thyself, always desirous of truth, hast conquered all of those vices in consequence of thy regard for seniors.'"

SECTION 164

"Yudhishthira said, 'I know what benevolence is, in consequence of my observation of persons that are good. I do not, however, know them that are malevolent, nor the nature of their acts, O Bharata. Indeed, people avoid malevolent persons of cruel deeds even as they avoid thorns and pitfalls and fire. It is evident, O Bharata, that he who is malevolent is sure to burn (with misery) both here and hereafter. Therefore, O thou of Kuru's race, tell me what, in truth, the acts of such a person are.'

"Bhishma said, 'Malevolent persons always do wicked acts and feel an irresistible inclination for doing them. They slander others and incur obloquy themselves. They always regard themselves as cheated of what is their due. A malevolent person brags of his own acts of charity. He sees others with malicious eyes. He is very mean. He is deceitful, and full of cunning. He never gives others their dues. He is arrogant. He keeps evil company and is always boastful. He fears and suspects all with whom he comes into contact. He is of foolish understanding. He practises miserliness. He praises his associates. He cherishes an inordinate aversion and hatred for all recluses who have retired into the woods. He takes delight in injuring others. He is utterly regardless of distinguishing the merits and faults of others. He is full of lies. He is discontented. He is exceedingly covetous, and always acts cruelly. Such a person regards a virtuous and accomplished man as a pest, and thinking everybody else to be like himself never trusts any one. Such a person proclaims the faults of other people however unsuspected those faults might viz. With regard to such faults, however, as similar to those that stain his own self, he does not refer to them even remotely, for the sake of the advantage he reaps from them. He regards the person that does him good as a simpleton whom he has cleverly deceived. He is filled with regret for having at any time made any gift of wealth even unto a benefactor. Know him for a malevolent and wicked person who quietly and alone takes comestibles and drinks and other kinds of food that are regarded choice, even when persons are standing by with wishful eyes. He on the other hand, who dedicates the first portion to Brahmanas and takes what remains, dividing it with friends and kinsmen, attains to great felicity in the next world and infinite happiness here. I have now, O chief of the Bharatas, said unto thee what the indications are of the wicked and malevolent man. Such a person should always be avoided by a man of wisdom.'"

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SECTION 165

"Bhishma said, 'For enabling such pious and impoverished Brahmanas as have been robbed of their wealth (by thieves), as are engaged in the performance of sacrifices, as are well conversant with all the Vedas, and as are desirous of acquiring the merit of righteousness, to discharge their obligations to preceptors and the Pitris, and pass their days in reciting and studying the scriptures, wealth and knowledge, O Bharata, should be given. [In India, from the remotest times, preceptors are excluded from charging their pupils any fees for the instruction they give. No doubt, a final fee, called Gurudakshina, is demandable, but that is demandable after the pupil has completed his studies. To sell knowledge for money is a great sin. To this day in all the indigenous tols of the country, instruction is imparted free of all charges. In addition to this, the pupils are fed by their preceptors. The latter, in their turn, are supported by the charity of the whole country.] Unto those Brahmanas that are not poor, only the Dakshina, [Dakshina is the present or gift made in sacrifices.] O best of the Bharatas, should be given. As regards those that have fallen away (in consequence of their sinful deeds) from the status of Brahman, uncooked food should be given to them outside the limits of the sacrificial altar. The Brahmanas are the Vedas themselves and all the Sacrifices with large presents. Desirous of excelling one another, they always perform sacrifices, impelled by their virtuous inclinations. The king should, therefore, make presents of diverse kinds of valuable wealth unto them. That Brahmana who hath a sufficiency of stores for feeding his family for three or more years, deserves to drink the Soma. If not withstanding the presence of a virtuous king on the throne, the sacrifice begun by anybody, especially by a Brahmana, cannot be completed for want of only a fourth part of the estimated expenses, then the king should, for the completion of that sacrifice, take away from his kinsmen the wealth of a Vaisya that is possessed of a large flock of cattle but that is averse from sacrifices and abstains from quaffing Soma. The Sudra has no competence for performing a sacrifice. The king should, therefore, take away (wealth for such a purpose) from a Sudra house of ours. The king should also, without any scruple, take away from the kinsmen the wealth of him who does not perform sacrifices though possessed of a hundred kine and also of him who abstains from sacrifices though possessed of a thousand kine. The king should always publicly take away the wealth of such a person as does not practise charity, by acting in this way the king earns great merit. Listen again to me. That Brahmana who has been forced by want to go without six meals, may take away without permission, according to the rule of a person that cares only for today without any thought of the morrow, only what is necessary for a single meal, from the husking tub or the field or the garden or any other place of even a man of low pursuits. He should, however, whether asked or unasked, inform the king of his act. [Aswastanavidhana is the rule of providing only for today without thinking of the morrow.] If the king be conversant with duty he should not inflict any punishment upon such a Brahmana. He should remember that a Brahmana becomes afflicted with hunger only through the fault of the Kshatriya. Having ascertained a Brahmana's learning and behaviour, the king should make a provision for him, and protect him as a father protects the son of his own loins. On the expiry of every year, one should perform the Vaisvanara sacrifice (if he is unable to perform any animal or Soma sacrifice). They who are conversant with religion say that the practice of an act laid down in the alternative, is not destructive of virtue. The Viswedevas, the Sadhyas, the Brahmanas, and great Rishis, fearing death in seasons of distress, do not scruple to have recourse to such provisions in the scriptures as have been laid down in the alternative. That man, however, who while able to live according to the primary provision, betakes himself to the alternative, comes to be regarded as a wicked person and never succeeds in winning any felicity in heaven. A Brahmana conversant with the Vedas should never speak of his energy and knowledge to the king. (It is the duty of the king to ascertain it himself.) Comparing again the energy of a Brahmana with that of the king, the former will always be found to be superior to the latter. For this reason the energy of the Brahmanas can scarcely be borne or resisted by a king. The Brahmana is said to be creator, ruler, ordainer, and god. No word of abuse, no dry speeches, should be addressed to a Brahmana. The Kshatriya should cross all his difficulties by the aid of the might of his arms. The Vaisya and the Sudra should conquer their difficulties by wealth; the Brahmana should do so by Mantras and homa. None of these, viz., a maiden, a youthful woman, a person unacquainted with mantras, an ignorant guy, or one that is impure, is competent to pour libations on the sacrificial fire. If any of these do so, he or she is sure to fall into hell, with him for whom they act. For this reason, none but a Brahmana, conversant with the Vedas and skilled in all sacrifices should become the pourer of sacrificial libations. They who are conversant with the scriptures say that the man who, having kindled the sacrificial fire, does not give away the dedicated food as Dakshina, is not the kindler of a sacrificial fire. A person should, with his senses under control, and with proper devotion, do all the acts of merit (indicated in the scriptures). One should never worship the deities in sacrifices in which no Dakshina is given. A sacrifice not completed with Dakshina, (instead of producing merit) brings about the destruction of one's children, animals, and heaven. Such a sacrifice destroys also the senses, the fame, the achievements and the very span of life, that one has. Those Brahmanas that lie with women in their season, or who never perform sacrifices, or whose families have no members conversant with the Vedas, are regarded as Sudras in act. That Brahmana who, having married a Sudra* girl, resides for twelve continuous years in a village has only a well for its water supply, becomes a Sudra in act. [* The Sudra Kingdom, as one of the kingdoms of ancient India in the Mahabharata, it was mentioned along with another tribe called the Abhiras along the banks of Sarasvati River where it dried up in the desert. The Yadava Balarama visited this place during his pilgrimage along the partially dried up river Saraswati. After this place, only a dried up river bed existed and the desert or the Maru region began. Abhira (Abiru, Habiru, Hebrew) kingdom lies within Northern areas of Gujarat and Southern Rajasthan. It is an indirect indication pointing towards Abiru / Hebrew people who have lived in India since the times of the Neo-Assyrian Empire (911–609 BC). The Aramaic language from the 8th century BC was adopted as the Lingua Franca of the Assyrian Empire and continued by the Achaemenid Empire (550–330 BC). Assyrian war ships and trade ships patrolled the Persian Gulf as far as Gujarat in India. The first Hebrews arrived in India probably already in the 7th and 6th centuries BC and established trading posts.] That Brahmana who summons to his bed an unmarried maiden, or suffers a Sudra, thinking him worthy of respect, to sit upon the same carpet with him, should sit on a bed of dry grass behind some Kshatriya or Vaisya and give him respect in that fashion. It is in this manner that he can be cleansed. Listen, O king, to my words on this subject. The sin that a Brahmana commits in a single night by respectfully serving a member of a lower order or by sporting with him in the same spot or on the same bed, is cleansed by observing the practice of sitting behind a Kshatriya or a Vaisya on a bed of dry grass for three continuous years. A falsehood spoken in jest is not sinful; nor one that is spoken to a woman. O king, nor one that is spoken on an occasion of marriage; nor one spoken for benefiting one's preceptor; nor one spoken for saving one's own life. These five kinds of falsehood in speech, it has been said, are not sinful. One may acquire useful knowledge from even a person of low pursuits, with devotion and reverence. One may take up gold, without any scruple, from even an unclean place. A woman that is the ornament of her sex may be taken (for wife) from even a vile race. Amrita, if extracted from poison, may be quaffed; women, jewels and other valuables, and water, can never, according to the scriptures, be impure or unclean. For the benefit of Brahmanas and kine, and on occasions of transfusion of castes, even a Vaisya may take up weapons for his own safety. Drinking alcoholic liquors, killing a Brahmana, and the violation of the preceptor's bed, are sins that, if committed consciously, have no expiation. The only expiation laid down for them is death. The same may be said of stealing gold and the theft of a Brahmana's property. By drinking alcoholic liquors, by having congress with one with whom congress is prohibited, by mingling with a fallen person, and (a person of any of the other three orders) by having congress with a Brahmani, one becomes inevitably fallen. By mixing with a fallen person for one whole year in such matters as officiation in sacrifices and teaching sexual congress, one becomes fallen. One, however, does not become so by mixing with a fallen person in such matters as riding on the same vehicle, sitting on the same seat, and eating in the same line. Excluding the five grave sins that have been mentioned above, all other sins have expiations, provided for them. Expiating those sins according to the ordinances laid down for them, one should not again indulge in them. In the case of those who have been guilty of the first three of these five sins, (viz., drinking alcoholic liquors, killing a Brahmana, and violation of the preceptor's bed), there is no restriction for their (surviving) kinsmen about taking food and wearing ornaments, even if their funeral rites remain unperformed when they die. The surviving kinsmen should make no scruple about such things on such occasions. A virtuous man should, in the observance of his duties, discard his very friends and reverend seniors. In fact, until they perform expiation, they that are virtuous should not even talk with those sinners. A man that has acted sinfully destroys his sin by acting virtuously afterwards and by penances. By calling a thief a thief, one incurs the sin of theft. By calling a person a thief who, however, is not a thief one incurs a sin just double the sin of theft. The maiden who suffers her virginity to be deflowered incurs three-fourths of the sin of Brahmanicide, while the man that deflowers her incurs a sin equal to a fourth part of that of Brahmanicide. By slandering Brahmanas or by striking them, one sinks in infamy for a hundred years. By killing a Brahmana one sinks into hell for a thousand years. No one, therefore, should speak ill of a Brahmana or slay him. If a person strikes a Brahmana with a weapon, he will have to live in hell for as many years as the grains of dust that are soaked by the blood flowing from the wounded. One guilty of foeticide becomes cleansed if he dies of wounds received in battle fought for the sake of kine and Brahmanas. He may also be cleansed by casting his person on a blazing fire. 1 A drinker of alcoholic liquors becomes cleansed by drinking hot alcohol. His body being burnt with that hot drink, he is cleansed through death in the other world. 2 A Brahmana stained by such a sin obtains regions of felicity by such a course and not by any other. For violating the bed of a preceptor, the wicked-souled and sinful wretch becomes cleansed by the death that results from embracing a heated female figure of iron. Or, cutting off his organ and testicles and bearing them in his hands, he should go on in a straight course towards the south-west and then cast off his life. Or, by meeting with death for the sake of benefiting a Brahmana, he may wash off his sin. Or, after performing a horse-sacrifice or a cow-sacrifice or an Agnishtoma, he may regain esteem both here and hereafter. The slayer of a Brahmana should practise the vow of Brahmacharya for twelve years and devoting himself to penances, wander, holding in his hands the skull of the slain all the time and proclaiming his sin unto all. He should even adopt such a course, devoted to penance and leading the life of an ascetic. Even such is the expiation provided for one who slays a woman quick with child, knowing her condition. The man who knowingly slays such a woman incurs double the sin that follows from Brahmanicide. A drinker of alcoholic liquor should live on frugal fare, practising Brahmacharya vows, and sleep on the bare ground, and perform, for more than three years the sacrifice next to the Agnishtoma. He should then make a present of a thousand kine with one bull (unto a good Brahmana). Doing all this, he would regain his purity. Having slain a Vaisya one should perform such a sacrifice for two years and make a present of a hundred kine with one bull. Having slain a Sudra, one should perform such a sacrifice for one year and make a present of a hundred kine with one bull. Having slain a dog or bear or camel, one should perform the same penance that is laid down for the slaughter of a Sudra. For slaying a cat, a chasa, a frog, a crow, a reptile, or a rat, it has been said, one incurs the sin of animal slaughter, O king! I shall now tell thee of other kinds of expiations in their order. For all minor sins one should repent or practise some vow for one year. For congress with the wife of a Brahmana conversant with the Vedas, one should for three years practise the vow of Brahmacharya, taking a little food at the fourth part of the day. For congress with any other woman (who is not one's wife), one should practise similar penance for two years. For taking delight in a woman's company by sitting with her on the same spot or on the same seat, one should live only on water for three days. By doing this he may cleanse himself of his sin. The same is laid down for one who befouls a blazing fire (by throwing impure things on it). He who without adequate cause, casts off his sire or mother or preceptor, surely becomes fallen, O thou of Kuru's race, as the conclusion is of the scriptures. Only food and clothes should be given, as the injunction is, unto a wife guilty of adultery or one confined in a prison. Indeed, the vows that are laid down for a male person guilty of adultery should be caused to be observed by also a woman who is guilty of the same. That woman who abandoning a husband of a superior caste, has congress with a vile person (of a lower order), should be caused by the king to be devoured by dogs in a public place in the midst of a large concourse of spectators. A wise king should cause the male person committing adultery under such circumstances to be placed upon a heated bed of iron and then, placing faggots underneath, burn the sinner thereon. The same punishment, O king, is provided for the woman that is guilty of adultery. The wicked sinner who does not perform expiation within a year of the commission of the sin incurs demerit that is double of what attaches to the original sin. One who associates with such a person for two years must wander over the earth, devoting himself to penances and living upon eleemosynary charity. One associating with a sinner for four years should adopt such a mode of life for five years. If a younger brother weds before his elder brother, then the younger brother, the elder brother and the woman that is married, all three, in consequence of such wedding, become fallen. All of them should observe the vows prescribed for a person who has neglected his sacrificial fire, or practise the vow of Chandrayana for a month, or some other painful vow, for cleansing themselves of their sin. The younger brother, wedding, should give his wife unto his unmarried elder brother. Afterwards, having obtained the permission of the elder brother, the younger brother may take back his wife. By such means may all three be cleansed of their sin. By slaying animals save a cow, the slayer is not stained. The learned know that man has dominion over all the lower animals. A sinner, holding in his hand a yak-tail and an earthen pot, should go about, proclaiming his sin. He should every day beg of only seven families, and live upon what may be thus obtained. By doing this for twelve days he may be cleansed of his sin. He who becomes unable to bear in his hand the yak-tail while practising this vow, should observe the vow of

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mendicancy (as stated above) for one whole year. Amongst men such expiation is the best. For those that are able to practise charity, the practice of charity has been laid down in all such cases. Those who have faith and virtue may cleanse themselves by giving away only one cow. One who eats or drinks the flesh, ordure, or urine, of a dog, a boar, a man, a cock, or a camel must have his investiture of the sacred thread re-performed. If a Soma-drinking Brahmana inhales the scent of alcohol from the mouth of one that has drunk it, he should drink warm water for three days or warm milk for the same period. Or, drinking warm water for three days he should live for that period upon air alone. These are the eternal injunctions laid down for the expiation of sin, especially for a Brahmana who has committed these sins through ignorance and want of judgement.'"

SECTION 166

"Vaisampayana said, 'Upon the completion of this discourse, Nakula who was an accomplished swordsman thus questioned the Kuru grandsire lying on his bed of arrows.'

"Nakula said, 'The bow, O grandsire, is regarded as the foremost of weapons in this world. My mind, however, inclines towards the sword, since when the bow, O king, is cut off or broken, when steeds are dead or weakened, a good warrior, well trained in the sword, can protect himself by means of his sword. A hero armed with the sword can, single handed, withstand many bowmen, and many antagonists armed with maces and darts. I have this doubt, and I feel curious to know the truth. Which, O king, is really the foremost of weapons in all battles? How was the sword first created and for what purpose? Who also was the first preceptor in the weapon? Tell me all this, O grandsire.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words of the intelligent son of Madri, the virtuous Bhishma, the complete master of the science of the bow, stretched upon his bed of arrows, made this answer fraught with many refined words of delightful import, melodious with vowels properly placed, and displaying considerable skill, unto the high-souled Nakula, that disciple of Drona, endued with skilful training.'

"Bhishma said, 'Hear the truth, O son of Madri, about what thou hast asked me. I am excited by this question of thine, like a hill of red-chalk. In ancient times the universe was one vast expanse of water, motionless and skyless, and without this earth occupying any space in it. Enveloped in darkness, and intangible, its aspect was exceedingly awful. Utter silence reigning all over, it was immeasurable in extent. In his own proper time the Grandsire (of the universe) took his birth. He then created the wind and fire, and the sun also of great energy. He also created the sky, the heavens, the nether regions, earth, the directions, the firmament with the moon and the stars, the constellations, the planets, the year, the seasons, the months, the two fortnights (lighted and dark) and the smaller divisions of time. The divine Grandsire then, assuming a visible form, begot (by power of his will) some sons possessed of great energy. They are the sages Marichi, Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Vasishtha, Angiras, and the mighty and puissant lord Rudra, and Prachetas. The last begat Daksha, who in his turn, begat sixty daughters. All those daughters were taken by regenerate sages for the object of begetting children upon them. From them sprang all the creatures of the universe, including the gods, Pitris, Gandharvas, Apsaras, diverse kinds of Rakshasas, birds and animals and fishes, monkeys, great snakes, and diverse species of fowl that range the air or sport on the water, and vegetables, and all beings that are oviparous or viviparous or born of filth. In this way the whole universe consisting of mobile and immobile creatures sprang into existence. The universal Grandsire, having thus evoked into existence all mobile and immobile creatures, then promulgated the eternal religion laid down in the Vedas. That religion was accepted by the gods, with their preceptors, priests, the Adityas, the Vasus, the Rudras, the Sadhyas, the Maruts, the Aswins, Bhrigu, Atri, Angiras, the Siddhas, Kasyapa rich in penances, Vasishtha, Gautama, Agastya, Narada, Parvata, the Valikhilya Rishis, those other Rishis known under the names of Prabhasas, the Sikatas, the Ghritapas, the Somavayavyas, the Vaiswanaras, Marichipas, the Akrishtas, the Hansas, those born of Fire, the Vanaprasthas, and the Prasnis. All of them lived in obedience to Brahman. The foremost of the Danavas, however, setting at night the commands of the Grandsire, and yielding to wrath and covetousness, began to cause the destruction of righteousness. They were Hiranyakasipu, and Hiranyaksha, and Virochana, and Samvara, and Viprachitti, and Prahlada, and Namuchi, and Vali. These and many other Daityas and Danavas, transcending all restraints of duty and religion, sported and took delight in all kinds of wicked acts. Regarding themselves equal in point of birth with the gods, they began to challenge them and the sages of pure behaviour. They never did any good to the other creatures of the universe or showed compassion for any of them. Disregarding the three well-known means, they began to persecute and afflict all creatures by wielding only the rod of chastisement. Indeed, those foremost of Asuras, filled with pride, forsook every friendly intercourse with other creatures. Then the divine Brahman, accompanied by the regenerate sages, proceeded to a delightful summit of Himavat, extending for a hundred Yojanas in area, adorned with diverse kinds of jewels and gems, and upon whose surface the stars seemed to rest like so many lotuses on a lake. On that prince of mountains, O sire, overgrown with forests of flowering trees, that foremost of the gods, viz., Brahman, stayed for some time for accomplishing the business of the world. After the lapse of a thousand years, the puissant lord made arrangements for a grand sacrifice according to the ordinances laid down in the scriptures. The sacrificial altar became adorned with Rishis skilled in sacrifice and competent to perform all acts appertaining thereto, with faggots of sacrificial fuel, and with blazing fires. And it looked exceedingly beautiful in consequence of the sacrificial plates and vessels all made of gold. All the foremost ones among the gods took their seats on it. The platform was further adorned with Sadasyas all of whom were high regenerate Rishis. I have heard from the Rishis that soon something very awful occurred in that sacrifice. It is heard that a creature sprang (from the sacrificial fire) scattering the flames around him, and whose splendour equalled that of the Moon himself when he rises in the firmament spangled with stars. His complexion was dark like that of the petals of the blue lotus. His teeth were keen. His stomach was lean. His stature was tall. He seemed to be irresistible and possessed of exceeding energy. Upon the appearance of that being, the earth trembled. The Ocean became agitated with high billows and awful eddies. Meteors foreboding great disasters shot through the sky. The branches of trees began to fall down. All the points of the compass became unquiet. Inauspicious winds began to blow. All creatures began to quake with fear every moment. Beholding that awful agitation of the universe and that Being sprung from the sacrificial fire, the Grandsire said these words unto the great Rishis, the gods, and the Gandharvas. This Being was thought of by me. Possessed of great energy, his name is Asi (sword or scimitar). For the protection of the world and the destruction of the enemies of the gods, I have created him. That being then, abandoning the form he had first assumed, took the shape of a sword of great splendour, highly polished, sharp-edged, risen like the all-destructive Being at the end of the Yuga. Then Brahman made over that sharp weapon to the blue-throated Rudra who has for the device on his banner the foremost of bulls, for enabling him to put down irreligion and sin. At this, the divine Rudra of immeasurable soul, praised by the great Rishis, took up that sword and assumed a different shape. Putting forth four arms, he became so tall that though standing on the earth he touched the very sun with his head. With eyes turned upwards and with every limb extended wide, he began to vomit flames of fire from his mouth. Assuming diverse complexions such as blue and white and red, wearing a black deer-skin studded with stars of gold, he bore on his forehead a third eye that resembled the sun in splendour. His two other eyes, one of which was black and the other tawny, shone very brightly. The divine Mahadeva, the bearer of the Sula, the tearer of Bhaga's eyes, taking up the sword whose splendour resembled that of the all-destructive Yuga fire, and wielding a large shield with three high bosses which looked like a mass of dark clouds adorned with flashes of lightning, began to perform diverse kinds of evolutions. Possessed of great prowess, he began to whirl the sword in the sky, desirous of an encounter. Loud were the roars he uttered, and awful the sound of his laughter. Indeed, O Bharata, the form then assumed by Rudra was exceedingly terrible. Hearing that Rudra had assumed that form for achieving fierce deeds, the Danavas, filled with joy, began to come towards him with great speed, showering huge rocks upon him as they come, and blazing brands of wood, and diverse kinds of terrible weapons made of iron and each endued with the sharpness of a razor. The Danava host, however, beholding that foremost of all beings, the indestructible Rudra, swelling with might, became stupefied and began to tremble. Although Rudra was alone and single-handed, yet so quickly did he move on the field of battle with the sword in his arm that the Asuras thought there were a thousand similar Rudras battling with them. Tearing and piercing and afflicting and cutting and lopping off and grinding down, the great god moved with celerity among the thick masses of his foes like forest conflagration amid heaps of dry grass spread around. The mighty Asuras, broken by the god with the whirls of his sword, with arms and thighs and chests cut off and pierced, and with heads severed from their trunks, began to fall down on the earth. Others among the Danavas, afflicted with strokes of the sword, broke and fled in all directions, cheering one another as they fled. Some penetrated into the bowels of the earth; others got under the cover of mountains, Some went upwards; others entered the depths of the sea. During the progress of that dreadful and fierce battle, the earth became miry with flesh and blood and horrible sights presented themselves on every side. Strewn with the fallen bodies of Danavas covered with blood, the earth looked as if overspread with mountain summits overgrown with Kinsukas. Drenched with gore, the earth looked exceedingly beautiful, like a fair-complexioned lady intoxicated with alcohol and attired in crimson robes. Having slain the Danavas and re-established Righteousness on earth, the auspicious Rudra cast off his awful form and assumed his own beneficent shape. Then all the Rishis and all the celestials adored that god of gods with loud acclamations wishing him victory. The divine Rudra, after this, gave the sword, that protector of religion, dyed with the blood of Danavas, unto Vishnu with due adorations. Vishnu gave it unto Marichi. The divine Marichi gave it unto all the great Rishis. The latter gave it to Vasava. Vasava gave it to the Regents of the world. The Regents, O son, gave that large sword to Manu the son of Surya. At the time, of giving it unto Manu, they said, 'Thou art the lord of all men. Protect all creatures with this sword containing religion within its womb. Duly meting out chastisement unto those that have transgressed the barriers of virtue for the sake of the body or the mind, they should be protected conformably to the ordinances but never according to caprice. Some should be punished with wordy rebukes, and with fines and forfeitures. Loss of limb or death should never be inflicted for slight reasons. These punishments, consisting of wordy rebukes as their first, are regarded as so many forms of the sword. These are the shapes that the sword assumes in consequence of the transgressions of persons under the protection (of the king). In time Manu installed his own son Kshupa in the sovereignty of all creatures, and gave him the sword for their protection. From Kshupa it was taken by Ikshvaku, and from Ikshvaku by Pururavas. From Pururavas it was taken by Ayus, and from Ayus by Nahusha. From Nahusha it was taken by Yayati, and from Yayati by Puru. From Puru it was taken by Amurtarya, From Amurtarya it descended to the royal Bhumisaya. From Bhumisaya it was taken by Dushmanta's son Bharata. From Bharata, O monarch, it was taken by the righteous Ailavila. From Ailavila it was taken by king Dhundumara. From Dhundumara it was taken by Kamvoja, and from Kamvoja it was taken by Muchukunda, From Muchukunda it was taken by Marutta, and from Marutta by Raivata. From Raivata it was taken by Yuvanaswa, and from Yuvanaswa by Raghu. From Raghu it was taken by the valiant Harinaswa. From Harinaswa the sword was taken by Sunaka and from Sunaka by the righteous-souled Usinara. From the last it was taken by the Bhojas and the Yadavas. From the Yadus it was taken by Sivi. From Sivi it descended to Pratardana. From Pratardana it was received by Ashtaka, and from Ashtaka by Prishadaswa. From Prishadaswa it was received by Bharadwaja, and from the last by Drona. After Drona it was taken by Kripa. From Kripa that best of swords has been obtained by thee with thy brothers. The constellation under which the sword was born is Krittika. Agni is its deity, and Rohini is its Gotra. Rudra is its high preceptor. The sword has eight names which are not generally known. Listen to me as I mention them to you. If one mentions these, O son of Pandu, one may always win victory. Those names then are Asi, Vaisasana, Khadga, sharp-edged, difficult of acquisition, Sirgarbha, victory, and protector of righteousness. Of all weapons, O son of Madravati, the sword is the foremost. The Puranas truly declare that it was first wielded by Mahadeva. As regards the bow, again, O chastiser of foes, it was Prithu who first created it. It was with the aid of this weapon that that son of Vena, while he governed the earth virtuously for many years, milked her of crops and grain in profusion. It behoveth thee, O son of Madri, to regard what the Rishis have said, as conclusive proof. All persons skilled in battle should worship the sword. I have now told thee truly the first portion of thy query, in detail, about the origin and creation of the sword, O bull of Bharata's race! By listening to this excellent story of the origin of the sword, a man succeeds in winning fame in this world and eternal felicity in the next.'"

SECTION 167

"Vaisampayana said, 'When Bhishma, after having said this, became silent, Yudhishthira (and the others) returned home. The king addressing his brothers with Vidura forming the fifth, said, 'The course of the world rests upon Virtue, Wealth, and Desire. Amongst these three, which is the foremost, which the second, and which the last, in point of importance? For subduing the triple aggregate (viz., lust, wrath, and covetousness), upon which of the first three (viz., Virtue, Wealth, and Desire) should the mind be fixed? It behoveth you all to cheerfully answer this question in words that are true.' Thus addressed by the Kuru chief, Vidura, who was conversant with the science of Profit, with the course of the world, and with truth (that concerns the real nature of things), and possessed of great brilliancy of intellect, spoke first these words, recollecting the contents of the scriptures.'

"Vidura said, 'Study of the various scriptures, asceticism, gift, faith, performance of sacrifices, forgiveness, sincerity of disposition, compassion, truth, self-restraint, these constitute possessions of Virtue. Do thou adopt Virtue. Let not thy heart ever turn away from it. Both Virtue and Profit have their roots in these. I think that all these are capable of being included in one term. It is by Virtue that the Rishis have crossed (the world with all its difficulties). It is upon Virtue, that all the worlds depend (for their existence). It is by Virtue

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that the gods attained to their position of superiority. It is upon Virtue that Profit or Wealth rests. Virtue, O king, is foremost in point of merit. Profit is said to be middling. Desire, it is said by the wise, is the lowest of the three. For this reason, one should live with restrained soul, giving his attention to Virtue most. One should also behave towards all creatures as he should towards himself.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'After Vidura had finished what he had to say, Pritha's son Arjuna, well skilled in the science of Profit, and conversant also with the truths of both Virtue and Profit, urged on (by the drift of Yudhishthira's question), said these words.'

"Arjuna said, 'This world, O king, is the field of action. Action, therefore, is applauded here. Agriculture, trade, keep of cattle, and diverse kinds of arts, constitute what is called Profit. Profit, again, is the end of all such acts. Without Profit or Wealth, both Virtue and (the objects of) Desire cannot be won. This is the declaration of the Sruti. Even persons of uncleansed souls, if possessed of diverse kinds of Wealth, are able to perform the highest acts of virtue and gratify desires that are apparently difficult of being gratified. Virtue and Desire are the limbs of Wealth as the Sruti declares. With the acquisition of Wealth, both Virtue and the objects of Desire may be won. Like all creatures worshipping Brahman, even persons of superior birth worship a man possessed of Wealth. Even they that are attired in deer-skins and bear matted locks on their heads, that are self-rest rained, that smear their bodies with mire, that have their senses under complete control, even they that have bald heads and that are devoted Brahmacharins, and that live separated from one another, cherish a desire for Wealth. Others attired in yellow robes, bearing long beards, graced with modesty, possessed of learning, contented, and freed from all attachments, become desirous of Wealth. Others, following the practices of their ancestors, and observant of their respective duties, and others desirous of heaven, do the same. Believers and unbelievers and those that are rigid practisers of the highest Yoga--all certify to the excellence of Wealth. He is said to be truly possessed of Wealth who cherishes his dependants with objects of enjoyment, and afflicts his foes with punishments. Even this O foremost of intelligent men, is truly my opinion. Listen, however, now to these two (viz., Nakula and Sahadeva) who are about to speak.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'After Arjuna had ceased, the two sons of Madri, viz., Nakula and Sahadeva, said these words of high import.'

"Nakula and Sahadeva said, 'Sitting or lying, walking and standing, one should strive after the acquisition of Wealth even by the most vigorous of means. If Wealth, which is difficult of acquisition and highly agreeable, be earned, the person that has earned it, without doubt, is seen to obtain all the objects of Desire. That Wealth which is connected with Virtue, as also that Virtue which is connected with Wealth, is certainly like nectar. 1 For this reason, our opinions are as follows. A person without wealth cannot gratify any desire; similarly, there can be no Wealth in one that is destitute of Virtue. He, therefore, who is outside the pale of both Virtue and Wealth, is an object of fear unto the world. For this reason, one should seek the acquisition of Wealth with a devoted mind, without disregarding the requirements of Virtue. They who believe in (the wisdom of) this saying succeed in acquiring whatever they desire. One should first practise Virtue; next acquire Wealth without sacrificing Virtue; and then seek the gratification of Desire, for this should be the last act of one who has been successful in acquiring Wealth.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'The twin sons of the Aswins, after having said these words, remained silent. Then Bhimasena began to say the following.'

"Bhimasena said, 'One without Desire never wishes for Wealth. One without Desire never wishes for Virtue. One who is destitute of Desire can never feel any wish. For this reason, Desire is the foremost of all the three. It is under the influence of Desire that the very Rishis devote themselves to penances subsisting upon fruits, of living upon roots or air only. Others possessed of Vedic lore are engaged upon the Vedas and their branches or upon rites of faith and sacrificial acts, or upon making gifts or accepting them. Traders, agriculturists, keepers of cattle, artists and artisans, and those who are employed in rites of propitiation, all act from Desire. Some there are that dive unto the depths of the ocean, induced by Desire. Desire, indeed, takes various forms. Everything is pervaded by the principle of Desire. A man outside the pale of Desire never is, was, or will be, seen in this world. This, O king, is the truth. Both Virtue and Wealth are based upon Desire. As butter represents the essence of curds, even so is Desire the essence of Profit and Virtue. Oil is better than oil-seeds. Ghee is better than sour milk. Flowers and fruits are better than wood. Similarly, Desire is better than Virtue and Profit. As honeyed juice is extracted from flowers, so is Desire said to be extracted from these two. Desire is the parent of Virtue and Profit. Desire is the soul of these two. Without Desire the Brahmanas would never give either sweets or wealth unto Brahmanas. Without Desire the diverse kinds of action that are seen in the world would never have been seen. For these reasons, Desire is seen to be the foremost of the triple aggregate. Approaching beautiful damsels attired in excellent robes, adorned with every ornament, and exhilarated with sweet wines, do thou sport with them. Desire, O king, should be the foremost of the three with us. Reflecting upon the question to its very roots, I have come to this conclusion. Do not hesitate to accept this conclusion, O son of Dharma! These words of mine are not of hollow import. Fraught with righteousness as they are they will be acceptable to all good men. Virtue, Profit, and Desire should all be equally attended to. That man who devotes himself to only one of them is certainly not a superior person. He is said to be middling who devotes himself to only two of them. He, on the other hand, is the best of his species who attends to all the three. Having said these words in brief as also in detail, unto those heroes, Bhima possessed of wisdom, surrounded by friends, smeared with sandal-paste, and adorned with excellent garlands and ornaments, remained silent. Then king Yudhishthira the just, that foremost of virtuous men, possessed of great learning, properly reflecting for a while upon the words spoken by all of them, and thinking all those speeches to be false philosophy, himself spoke as follows.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Without doubt, all of you have settled conclusions in respect of the scriptures, and all of you are conversant with authorities. These words fraught with certainty that you have spoken have been heard by me. Listen now, with concentrated attention, to what I say unto you. He who is not employed in merit or in sin, he who does not attend to Profit, or Virtue, or Desire, who is above all faults, who regards gold and a brick-bat with equal eyes, becomes liberated from pleasure and pain and the necessity of accomplishing his purposes. All creatures are subject to birth and death. All are liable to waste and change. Awakened repeatedly by the diverse benefits and evils of life, all of them applaud Emancipation. We do not know, however, what Emancipation is. The self-born and divine Brahman has said that there is no Emancipation for him who is bound with ties of attachment and affection. They, however, that are possessed of learning seek Extinction. For this reason, one should never regard anything as either agreeable or disagreeable. This view seems to be the best. No one in this world can act as he pleases. I act precisely as I am made (by a superior power) to act. The great Ordainer makes all creatures proceed as He wills. The Ordainer is Supreme. Know this, all of you. No one can, by his acts, obtain what is unobtainable. That which is to be, takes place. Know this. And since he who has withdrawn himself from the triple aggregate may succeed in winning Emancipation, it seems, therefore, that Emancipation is productive of the highest good.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having listened to all these foremost words fraught with reason and acceptable to the heart, Bhima and others were filled with delight and joining their hands, bowed unto that prince o f Kuru's race. Indeed, those foremost of men, O king, having heard that speech of the monarch, well adorned with sweet letters and syllables, acceptable to the heart, and divested of dissonant sounds and words, began to applaud Yudhishthira highly. The high-souled son of Dharma, in return, possessed of great energy, praised his convinced auditors; and once more the king addressed the son of the foremost of rivers, possessed of a high soul, for enquiring about duties.'"

SECTION 168

"Yudhishthira said, 'O grandsire, O thou that art possessed of great wisdom, I shall ask thee a question. It behoveth thee, O enhancer of the happiness of the Kurus, to discourse to me fully upon it. What kind of men are said to be of gentle disposition? With whom may the most delightful friendship exist? Tell us also who are able to do good in the present time and in the end. I am of opinion that neither swelling wealth, nor relatives, nor kinsmen, occupy that place which well-wishing friends occupy. A friend capable of listening to beneficial counsels, and also of doing good, is exceedingly rare. It behoveth thee, O foremost of virtuous men, to discourse fully on these topics.'

"Bhishma said, 'Listen to me, O Yudhishthira, as I speak to thee, in detail, of those men with whom friendships may be formed and those with whom friendships may not be formed. One that is covetous, one that is pitiless, one that has renounced the duties of his order, one that is dishonest, one that is a knave, one that is mean, one that is of sinful practices, one that is suspicious of all, one that is idle, one that is procrastinating, one that is of a crooked disposition, one that is an object of universal obloquy, one that dishonours the life of his preceptor, one that is addicted to the seven well-known vices, one that casts off distressed friends, one possessed of a wicked soul, one that is shameless, one whose sight is ever directed towards sin, one that is an atheist, one that is a slanderer of the Vedas, one whose senses are not restrained, one that gives free indulgence to lust, one that is untruthful, one that is deserted by all, one that transgresses all restraints, one that is deceitful, one that is destitute of wisdom, one that is envious, one that is wedded to sin, one whose conduct is bad, one whose soul has not been cleansed, one that is cruel, one that is a gambler, one that always seeks to injure friends, one that covets wealth belonging to others, that wicked-souled wight who never expresses satisfaction with what another may give him according to the extent of his means, one that is never pleased with his friends, O bull among men, one that becomes angry on occasions that do not justify anger, one that is of restless mind, one that quarrels without cause, that sinful bloke who feels no scruple in deserting well-meaning friends, that wretch who is always mindful of his own interests and who, O king, quarrels with friends when those do him a very slight injury or inflict on him a wrong unconsciously, one who acts like a foe but speaks like a friend, one who is of perverse perceptions, one who is blind (to his own good), one who never takes delight in what is good for himself or others, should be avoided. One who drinks alcoholic liquors, one who hates others, one who is wrathful, one who is destitute of compassion, one who is pained at the sights of other's happiness, one who injures friends, one who is always engaged in taking the lives of living creatures, one who is ungrateful, one who is vile, should be avoided. Alliances (of friendship) should never be formed with any of them. Similarly, no alliance (of friendship) should be formed with him who is ever intent upon marking the faults of others. Listen now to me as I indicate the persons with whom alliances (of friendship) may be formed. They that are well-born, they that are possessed of eloquence and politeness of speech, they that are endued with knowledge and science, they that are possessed of merit and other accomplishments, they that are free from covetousness, they that are never exhausted by labour, they that are good to their friends, they that are grateful, they that are possessed of varied information and knowledge, they that are destitute of avarice, they that are possessed of agreeable qualities, they that are firm in truth, they that have subdued their senses, they that are devoted to athletic and other exercises, they that are of good families, they that are perpetuators of their races [i.e., they that have wives and have procreated children.], they that are destitute of faults, they that are possessed of fame, should be accepted by kings for forming alliances (of friendship) with them, They, again, O monarch, who become pleased and contented if one behaves with them according to the best of one's powers, they who never get angry on occasions that do not justify anger, they who never become displeased without sufficient cause, those persons who are well conversant with the science of Profit and who, even when annoyed, succeed in keeping their minds tranquil, they who devote themselves to the service of friends at personal sacrifice, they who are never estranged from friends but who continue unchanged (in their attachment) like a red blanket made of wool (which does not easily change its colour), 2 they who never disregard, from anger, those that are poor, they who never dishonour youthful women by yielding to lust and loss of judgement, they who never point out wrong paths to friends, they who are trustworthy, they who are devoted to the practice of righteousness, they who regard gold and brick-bats with an equal eye, they that adhere with firmness to friends and well-wishers, they who muster their own people and seek the accomplishment of the business of friends regardless of their own dignity and casting off all the marks of their own respectability, should be regarded as persons with whom alliances (of friendship) should be made. Indeed, the dominions of that king spread on every direction, like the light of the lord of the stars, who makes alliances of friendship with such superior men. Alliances should be formed with men that are well-practised in weapons, that have completely subdued their anger, that are always strong in battle and possessed of high birth, good behaviour, and varied accomplishments. Amongst those vicious men, O sinless one, that I have mentioned, the vilest, O king, are those that are ungrateful and that injure friends. Those persons of wicked behaviour should be avoided by all. This, indeed, is a settled conclusion.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'I desire to hear in detail this description. Tell me who they are that are called injurers of friends and ungrateful persons.'

"Bhishma said, 'I shall recite to thee an old story whose incidents occurred in the country, O monarch, of the Mlecchas that lies to the north. There was a certain Brahmana belonging to the middle country. He was destitute of Vedic learning. (One day), beholding a prosperous village, the man entered it from desire of obtaining charity.' In that village lived a robber possessed of great wealth, conversant with the distinctive features of all the orders (of men), devoted to the Brahmanas, firm in truth, and always engaged in my king gifts. Repairing to the abode of that robber, the Brahmana begged for a alms. Indeed, he solicited a house to live in and such necessaries of life as would last for one year. Thus solicited by the Brahmana, the robber gave him a piece of new cloth with its ends complete, and a widowed woman possessed of youth. Obtaining all those things from the robber, the Brahmana became filled with delight. Indeed, Gautama began to live happily in that commodious house which the robber assigned to him. He began to hold the relatives and kinsmen

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of the female slave he had got from the robber chief. In this way he lived for many years in that prosperous village of hunters. He began to practise with great devotion the art of archery. Every day, like the other robbers residing there, Gautama, O king, went into the woods and slaughtered wild cranes in abundance. Always engaged in slaughtering living creatures, he became well-skilled in that act and soon bade farewell to compassion. In consequence of his intimacy with robbers he became like one of them. As he lived happily in that robber village for many months, large was the number of wild cranes that he slew. One day another Brahmana came to that village. He was dressed in rags and deer-skins and bore matted locks on his head. Of highly pure behaviour, he was devoted to the study of the Vedas. Of a humble disposition, frugal in fare, devoted to the Brahmanas, thoroughly conversant with the Vedas, and observant of Brahmacharya vows, that Brahmana had been a dear friend of Gautama and belonged to that part of the country from which Gautama had emigrated. In course of his wanderings, as already said, the Brahmana came to that robber village where Gautama had taken up his abode. He never accepted any food if given by a Sudra and, therefore, began to search for the house of a Brahmana there (for accepting the duties of hospitality). Accordingly he wandered in every direction in that village teeming with robber-families. At last that foremost of Brahmanas came to the house owned by Gautama. It so happened that just at that time Gautama also, returning from the woods, was entering his abode. The two friends met. Armed with bow and sword, he bore on shoulders a load of slaughtered cranes, and his body was smeared with the blood that trickled down from the bag on his shoulders. Beholding that man who then resembled a cannibal and who had fallen away from the pure practices of the order of his birth, entering his house, the newly-arrived guest, recognising him, O king, said these words: 'What is this that thou art doing here through folly? Thou art a Brahmana, and the perpetuator of a Brahmana family. Born in a respectable family belonging to the Middle country, how is it that thou becomest like a robber in thy practices? Recollect, O regenerate one, thy famous kinsmen of former times, all of whom were well-versed in the Vedas. Born in their race, alas, thou hast become a stigma to it. Awake thyself by thy own exertions. Recollecting the energy, the behaviour, the learning, the self-restraint, the compassion (that are thine by the order of thy birth), leave this thy present abode, O regenerate one!' Thus addressed by that well-meaning friend of his, O king, Gautama answered him in great affliction of heart, saying, O foremost of regenerate ones, I am poor. I am destitute also of a knowledge of the Vedas. Know, O best of Brahmanas, that I have taken up my abode here for the sake of wealth alone. At thy sight, however, I am blest today. We shall together set out of this place tomorrow. Do thou pass the night here with me. Thus addressed, the newly-arrived Brahmana, full of compassion as he was, passed the night there, refraining to touch anything. Indeed, though hungry and requested repeatedly the guest refused to touch any food in that house.'"

SECTION 169

"Bhishma said, 'After that night had passed away and that best of Brahmanas had left the house, Gautama, issuing from his abode, began to proceed towards the sea, O Bharata! On the way he beheld some merchants that used to make voyages on the sea. With that caravan of merchants he proceeded towards the ocean. It so happened however, O king, that that large caravan was assailed, while passing through a valley, by an infuriated elephant. Almost all the persons were killed. Somehow escaping from that great danger, the Brahmana fled towards the north for saving his life not knowing whither he proceeded. Separated from the caravan and led far away from that spot, he began to wander alone in a forest, like Kimpurusha*. [Kimpurusha is half-man and half-horse. The body is supposed to be that of a horse, and the face that of a man. A centaur (Greek: kentauros, Latin: centaurus), or occasionally hippocentaur, is a creature in Greek mythology with the upper body of a human and the lower body and legs of a horse. The etymology from ken + tauros, 'piercing bull' or "bull-slayer." The Kalibangan cylinder seal, dated to be around 2600-1900 BC, found at the site of Indus-Valley civilisation shows a battle between men in the presence of centaur-like creatures. Other sources claim the creatures represented are actually half human and half tigers, later evolving into the Hindu Goddess of War. These seals are also evidence of Indus-Mesopotamia relations in the 3rd millennium BC. Origin of the myth: The most common theory holds that the idea of centaurs came from the first reaction of a non-riding culture, as in the Minoan Aegean world, to nomads who were mounted on horses. The theory suggests that such riders would appear as half-man, half-animal. Bernal Díaz del Castillo (c. 1496–1584) was a Spanish conquistador, who participated as a soldier in the conquest of Mexico under Hernán Cortés, reported in his Historia Verdadera (1632) that the Aztecs viewed Spanish cavalrymen on their horses as centaurs.].

At last coming upon a road that led towards the ocean he journeyed on till he reached a delightful and heavenly forest abounding in flowering trees. It was adorned with mango trees that put forth flowers and fruits throughout the year. It resembled the very woods of Nandana (in heaven) and was inhabited by Yakshas and Kinnaras. It was also adorned with Salas and palmyras and Tamalas, with clusters of black aloes, and many large sandal trees. Upon the delightful tablelands that he saw there, fragrant with perfumes of diverse kinds, birds of the foremost species were always heard to pour forth their melodies. Other winged denizens of the air, called Bharundas, and having faces resembling those of human beings, and those called Bhulingas, and others belonging to mountainous regions and to the sea, warbled sweetly there, Gautama proceeded through that forest, listening, as he went, to those delightful and charming strains of nature's choristers. On his way he beheld a very delightful and level spot of land covered with golden sands and resembling heaven itself, O king, for its beauty. On that plot stood a large and beautiful banian with a spherical top. Possessed of many branches that corresponded with the parent tree in beauty and size, that banian looked like an umbrella set over the plain. The spot underneath that magnificent tree was drenched with water perfumed with the most fragrant sandal. Endued with great beauty and abounding in delicious flowers all around, the spot looked like the court of the Grandsire himself. Beholding that charming and unrivalled spot, abounding with flowering trees, sacred, and looking like the abode of a very celestial, Gautama became very much delighted. Arrived there, he sat himself down with a well-pleased heart. As he sat there, O son of Kunti, a delicious, charming, and auspicious breeze, bearing the perfume of many kinds of flowers, began to blow softly, cooling the limbs of Gautama and filling him with celestial pleasure, O monarch! Fanned by that perfumed breeze the Brahmana became refreshed, and in consequence of the pleasure he felt he soon fell asleep. Meanwhile the sun set behind the Asta hills. When the resplendent luminary entered his chambers in the west and the evening twilight came, a bird that was the foremost of his species, returned to that spot, which was his home, from the regions of Brahman. His name was Nadijangha and he was a dear friend of the creator. He was a prince of Cranes, possessed of great wisdom, and a son of (the sage) Kasyapa. He was also known extensively on earth by the name of Rajadharman. Indeed, he surpassed everyone on earth in fame and wisdom. The child of a celestial maiden, possessed of great beauty and learning, he resembled a celestial in splendour. Adorned with the many ornaments that he wore and that were as brilliant as the sun himself, that child of a celestial girl seemed to blaze with beauty. Beholding that bird arrived at that spot, Gautama became filled with wonder. Exhausted with hunger and thirst, the Brahmana began to cast his eyes on the bird from desire of slaying him.'

"Rajadharman said, 'Welcome, O Brahmana! By good luck have I got thee today in my abode. The sun is set. The evening twilight is come. Having come to my abode, thou art today my dear and excellent guest. Having received my worship according to the rites laid down in the scriptures, thou mayst go whither thou wilt tomorrow morning.'"

SECTION 170

"Bhishma said, 'Hearing these sweet words, Gautama became filled with wonder. Feeling at the same time a great curiosity, he eyed Rajadharman without being able to withdraw his gaze from him.'

"Rajadharman said, 'O Brahmana, I am the son of Kasyapa by one of the daughters of (the sage) Daksha. Possessed of great merits, thou art my guest today. Thou art welcome, O foremost of Brahmanas!'

"Bhishma continued, 'Having offered him hospitality according to the rites laid down in the scriptures, the crane made an excellent bed of the Sala flowers that lay all around. He also offered him several large fishes caught from the deep waters of the Bhagirathi. Indeed, the son of Kasyapa offered, for the acceptance of his guest Gautama a blazing fire and certain large fishes. After the Brahmana had eaten and became gratified, the bird possessing wealth of penances began to fan him with his wings for driving off his fatigue. Seeing his guest seated at his case, he asked him about his pedigree. The man answered, saying, 'I am a Brahmana known by the name of Gautama,' and then remained silent. The bird gave his guest a soft bed made of leaves and perfumed with many fragrant flowers. Gautama laid himself down on it, and felt great happiness. When Gautama had laid himself down, the eloquent son of Kasyapa, who resembled Yama himself in his knowledge of duties, asked him a bout the cause of his arrival there. Gautama answered him, saying, 'I am, O large-souled one, very poor. For earning wealth [Literally, 'for obtaining goods'.], I am desirous of going to the sea.' The son of Kasyapa cheerfully told him: 'It behoveth thee not to feel any anxiety. Thou shalt succeed, O foremost of Brahmanas, and shalt return home with properly. The sage Vrihaspati hath spoken of four kinds of means for the acquisition of wealth, viz., inheritance, sudden accession due to luck or the favour of the gods, acquisition by labour, and acquisition through the aid or kindness of friends. I have become thy friend. I cherish good feelings towards thee. I shall, therefore, exert myself in such a way that thou mayst succeed in acquiring wealth. The night passed away and morning came. Seeing his guest rise cheerfully from bed, the bird addressed him, saying, 'Go, O amiable one, along this very route and thou art sure to succeed. At the distance of about three Yojanas from this place, there is a mighty king of the Rakshasas. Possessed of great strength, his name is Virupaksha, and he is a friend of mine. Go to him, O foremost of Brahmanas! That chief, induced by my request, will, without doubt, give thee as much wealth as thou desirest.' Thus addressed, O king, Gautama cheerfully set out from that place, eating on the way, to his fill, fruits sweet as ambrosia. Beholding the sandal and aloe and birch trees that stood along the road, and enjoying their refreshing shade, the Brahmana proceeded quickly. He then reached the city known by the name of Meruvraja. It had large porches made of stone, and high walls of the same material. It was also surrounded on every side with a trench, and large pieces of rock and engines of many kinds were kept ready on the ramparts. He soon became known to the Rakshasa chief of great intelligence, O king, as a dear guest sent unto him by the chief's friend (the crane). The chief received Gautama very gladly. The king of the Rakshasas then, O Yudhishthira, commanded his attendants, saying, 'Let Gautama be soon brought hither from the gate.' At the command of the king, certain persons, quick as hawks, issued from the splendid palace of their ruler, and proceeding to the gate accosted Gautama. The royal messengers, O monarch, said unto that Brahmana, 'Come quickly, the king desires to see thee. Thou mayst have heard of the king of the Rakshasas, Virupaksha, by name, possessed of great courage. Even he is impatient of seeing thee. Come quickly and tarry not.' Thus addressed, the Brahmana, forgetting his toil in his surprise, ran with the messengers. Beholding the great affluence of the city, he became filled with wonder. Soon he entered the king's palace in the company of the messengers solicitous of obtaining a sight of the king of the Rakshasas.'"

SECTION 171

"Bhishma said, 'Led into a spacious apartment, Gautama was introduced to the king of the Rakshasas. Worshipped by the latter (with the usual offerings), he took his seat on an excellent seat. The king asked him about the race of his birth and his practices, his study of the Vedas and his observance of the Brahmacharya vow. The Brahmana, however, without answering the other queries, only stated his name and race. The king having ascertained only the name and the race of his guest, and seeing that he was destitute of Brahmanic splendour and Vedic studies, next enquired about the country of his residence.'

"The Rakshasa said, 'Where is thy residence, O blessed one, and to what race does thy wife belong? Tell us truly, do not fear. Trust us without anxiety.'

"Gautama said, 'I belong by birth to the Middle country. I live in a village of hunters. I have married a Sudra spouse who had been a widow. All this that I tell you is the truth.'

"Bhishma continued, 'The king then began to reflect as to what he should do. Indeed, the king began to think how he might succeed in acquiring merit. He said unto himself. 'This man is by birth a, Brahmana. He is, again a friend of the high-souled Rajadharman. He has been sent to me by that son of Kasyapa. I must do what is agreeable to my friend. He is very intimate with me. Indeed, he is my brother, and a dear relative. He is truly a friend of my heart. On this day of the month of Kartika, a thousand Brahmanas of the foremost order are to be entertained in my house. This Gautama also shall be entertained with them and I shall give wealth unto him too. This is a sacred day. Gautama has come hither as a guest. The wealth that is to be given away (unto the Brahmanas) is ready. What is there then to think of?' Just about this time a thousand Brahmanas, possessed of great learning, with persons purified by baths and adorned (with sandalpaste and flowers) and attired in long robes of linen, came to the palace. The Rakshasa king Virupaksha, O monarch, received the guests, as they came, duly and according to the rites laid down in the scriptures. At the command of the king, skins were spread out for them. The royal servants then, O best of the Bharatas, placed mats of Kusa grass on the ground. [At such entertainments, Hindus, to this day (c. 1880-1895), sit on separate seats when eating. If anybody touches anybody else's seat, both become impure and cannot eat any longer. Before eating, however, when talking or hearing, the guests may occupy a common seat, i.e., a large mat or blanket or cloth, etc., spread out on the floor.] Those foremost of Brahmanas, having been duly worshipped by the king sat down on those seats. The Rakshasa chief once more worshipped his guests, as provided by the ordinance, with sesame seeds, green blades of grass, and water. Some amongst them were selected for representing the Viswedevas, the Pitris, and the deities of fire. These were smeared with sandal-paste, and flowers were offered unto them. They were also adored with other kinds of costly offerings. After such worship, every one of them looked as effulgent as the moon in the firmament. Then bright and

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polished plates of gold, adorned with engravings, and filled with excellent food prepared with ghee and honey, were given unto those Brahmanas. Every year (on the days of full moon) of the months of Ashadha and Magha, a large number of Brahmanas used to receive from the Rakshasa chief, after proper honours, the best kinds of food that they desired. Especially, on the day of full moon in the month of Kartika, after the expiry of autumn, the king used to give unto the Brahmanas much wealth of diverse kinds, including gold, silver, jewels, gems, pearls, diamonds of great value, stones of the lapis lazuli variety, deer-skins, and skins of the Ranku deer. Indeed, O Bharata, throwing a heap of wealth of many kinds for giving it away as Dakshina (unto his regenerate guests), the mighty Virupaksha, addressing those foremast of Brahmanas, said unto them, 'Take from these jewels and gems as much as ye wish and can hope to bear away.' And he also used to say unto them, O Bharata, these words: 'Taking those plates of gold and vessels which you have used for your dinner, go ye away, O foremost of Brahmanas.' When these words were uttered by the high-souled Rakshasa king (on the occasion of that particular feast), those bulls among Brahmanas took as much wealth as each desired. Worshipped with those costly jewels and gems, those best of Brahmanas, attired in excellent robes, became filled with delight. Once more, the Rakshasa king, having restrained the Rakshasas that had come to his palace from diverse lands, addressed those Brahmanas and said, 'This one day, ye regenerate ones, ye need have no fear from the Rakshasas here. Sport ye as ye wish, and then go away with speed.' The Brahmanas then, leaving that spot, went away in all directions with great speed. Gautama also, having taken up a heavy quantity of gold without any loss of time, went away. Carrying the burthen with difficulty, he reached that same banian (under which he had met the crane). He sat himself down, fatigued, toil worn, and hungry. While Gautama was resting there, that best of birds viz., Rajadharman, O king, came there. Devoted to friends, he gladdened Gautama by bidding him welcome. By flapping his wings he began to fan his guest and dispel his fatigue. Possessed of great intelligence, he worshipped Gautama, and made arrangements for his food. Having eaten and refreshed himself, Gautama began to think, 'Heavy is this load that I have taken of bright gold, moved by covetousness and folly. I have a long way to travel. I have no food by which to support life on my way. What should I do for supporting life?' Even these were his thoughts then. It so happened that even upon much thinking he failed to see any food which he could eat on the way. Ungrateful as he was, O tiger among men, even this was the thought that he then conceived, 'This prince of cranes, so large and containing a heap of flesh, stayeth by my side. Staying and bagging him, I shall leave this spot and go along with great speed.'"

SECTION 172

"Bhishma said, 'There, under that banian, for the protection of his guest, the prince of birds had kindled and kept up a fire with high and blazing flames. [Agni or fire is a deity that is said to have Vayu (the wind-god) for his charioteer. The custom, to this day, with all travellers in India is to kindle a large fire when they have to pass the night in woods and forests or uninhabited places. Such fires always succeed in scaring off wild beasts. In fact, even tigers, raging with hunger, do not approach the place where a blazing fire is kept up.] On one side of the fire, the bird slept trustfully. The ungrateful and wicked-souled wretch prepared to slay his sleeping host. With the aid of that blazing fire he killed the trustful bird, and having despatched him, became filled with delight, never thinking there was sin in what he did. Peeling off the feathers and the down, he roasted the flesh on that fire. Then taking it up with the gold he had brought, the Brahmana Red quickly from that spot. The next day, the Rakshasa king, Virupaksha, addressing his son, said, 'Alas, O son, I do not behold Rajadharman, that best of birds, today. Every morning he repairs to the regions of Brahman for adoring the Grandsire. While returning, he never goes home without paying me a visit. These two mornings and two nights have passed away without his having come to my abode. My mind, therefore, is not in peace. Let my friend be enquired after. Gautama, who came here, is without Vedic studies and destitute of Brahmanic splendour. He has found his way to the abode of my friend. I greatly fear, that worst of Brahmanas has slain Rajadharman. Of evil practices and wicked understanding, I read him through by the signs he showed. Without compassion, of cruel and grim visage, and wicked, that vilest of men is like a robber. That Gautama has gone to the abode of my friend. For this reason, my heart has become extremely anxious. O son, proceeding hence with great speed to the abode of Rajadharman, ascertain whether that pure-souled bird is still alive. Do not tarry.' Thus addressed by his sire, the prince, accompanied by other Rakshasas, proceeded with great speed. Arrived at the foot of that banian, he saw the remains of Rajadharman. Weeping with grief, the son of the intelligent king of the Rakshasas, ran with great speed and to the utmost of his power, for seizing Gautama. The Rakshasas had not to go far when they succeeded in catching the Brahmana and discovering the body of Rajadharman destitute of wings, bones, and feet. Taking the captive with them, the Rakshasas returned with great speed to Meruvraja, and showed the king the mutilated body of Rajadharman, and that ungrateful and singing wretch, viz., Gautama. Beholding the remains of his friend the king, with his counsellors and priest, began to weep aloud. Indeed, loud was the voice of lamentation that was heard in his abode. The entire city of the Rakshasa king, men, women, and children, became plunged in woe. The king then addressed his son saying, 'Let this sinful wretch be slain. Let these Rakshasas here feast merrily on his flesh. Of sinful deeds, of sinful habits, of sinful soul, and inured to sin, this wretch, I think, should be slain by you.' Thus addressed by the Rakshasa king, many Rakshasas of terrible prowess expressed their unwillingness to eat the flesh of that sinner. Indeed, those wanderers of the night, addressing their king, said, 'Let this vilest of men be given away to the robbers.' Bending their heads to their king, they told him so, adding, 'It behoveth thee not to give us this sinful wretch for our food.' The king said unto them, 'Let it be so! Let this ungrateful wight be given to the robbers then without delay.' Thus addressed by him, the Rakshasas armed with lances and battle-axes, hacked that vile wretch into pieces and gave them away to the robbers. It so happened, however, that the very robbers refused to eat the flesh of that vile man. Though cannibals, O monarch, they would not eat an ungrateful person. For one that slays a Brahmana, for one that drinks alcohol, for one that steals, for one that has fallen away from a vow, there is expiation, O king. But there is no expiation for an ungrateful person. That cruel and vile man who injures a friend and becomes ungrateful, is not eaten by the very cannibals nor by the worms that feed on carrion.'

SECTION 173

"Bhishma said, 'The Rakshasa king then caused a funeral pyre to be made for that prince of cranes and adorned it with jewels and gems, and perfumes, and costly robes. Setting fire to it with the body of that prince of birds, the mighty chief of the Rakshasas caused the obsequial rites of his friend to be performed according to the ordinance. At that time, the auspicious goddess Surabhi, the daughter of Daksha, appeared in the sky above the place where the pyre had been set up. Her breasts were full of milk. [Surabhi is the celestial or heavenly cow sprung from the sage Daksha.] From her mouth, O sinless monarch, froth mixed with milk fell upon the funeral pyre of Rajadharman. At this, the prince of cranes became revived. Rising up, he approached his friend Virupaksha, the king of the Rakshasas. At this time, the chief of the celestials himself came to the city of Virupaksha. Addressing the Rakshasa king, Indra said, 'By good luck, thou hast revived the prince of cranes.' The chief of the deities further recited to Virupaksha the old story of the curse denounced by the Grandsire upon that best of birds named Rajadharman. Addressing; the king he said, 'Once on a time, O monarch, this prince of cranes absented himself from the region of Brahman (when his presence was expected). In wrath the Grandsire said unto this prince of birds, 'Since this vile crane hath not presented himself today in my assembly, therefore, that wicked-souled one shall not soon die (so as to be able to leave the earth).' In consequence of these words of the Grandsire, the prince of cranes, though slain by Gautama, has come back to life, through the virtue of the nectar with which his body was drenched.' After Indra had become silent, Rajadharman, having bowed unto the chief of the celestials, said 'O first of gods, if thy heart be inclined towards me for grace, then let my dear friend Gautama be restored to life!' Hearing these words of his, Vasava, O foremost of men, sprinkled nectar over the Brahmana Gautama and restored him to life. The prince of cranes, approaching his friend Gautama, who still bore on his shoulders the load of gold (that he had got from the king of the Rakshasas) embraced him and felt great joy. Rajadharman, that prince of cranes, dismissing Gautama of sinful deeds, together with his wealth, returned to his own abode. At the due hour he repaired (the next day) to the Grandsire's region. The latter honoured the high-souled bird with such attentions as are shown to a guest. Gautama also, returning to his home in the village of the hunters, begot many sinful children upon his Sudra wife. A heavy curse was denounced upon him by the gods to the effect that having begotten, within a few years, upon the body of his remarried wife many children that ungrateful sinner should sink into a terrible hell for many years. All this, O Bharata, was recited to me formerly by Narada. Recollecting the incidents of this grave story, O bull of Bharata's race, I have recited to thee all its details duly. Whence can an ungrateful person derive fame? Where is his place? Whence can he have happiness? An ungrateful person does not deserve to be trusted. One that is ungrateful can never escape. No person should injure a friend. He that injures a friend sinks into terrible and everlasting hell. Every one should be grateful and every one should seek to benefit his friends. Everything may be obtained from a friend. Honours may be obtained from friends. In consequence of friends one may enjoy various objects of enjoyment. Through the exertions of friends, one may escape from various kinds of danger and distress. He that is wise would honour his friend with his best attentions. An ungrateful, shameless, and sinful wight should be shunned by those that are wise. One that injures his friends is a wretch of his race. Such a sinful wight is the vilest of men. I have thus told thee, O foremost of all virtuous men, what the characteristics are of that sinful wretch who is stained by ingratitude and who injures his friend. What else dost thou wish to hear?'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words spoken by the high-souled Bhishma, Yudhishthira, O Janamejaya, became highly gratified.'

THE MAHABHARATA, BOOK 12
SANTI PARVA (IN 3 PARTS)

PART 2 OF BOOK 12
SECTION 174
MOKSHADHARMA PARVA

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou hast, O grandsire, discoursed upon the auspicious duties (of person in distress) connected with the duties of kings. It behoveth thee now, O king, to tell me those foremost of duties which belong to those who lead the (four) modes of life.'

"Bhishma said, 'Religion hath many doors. The observance of (the duties prescribed by) religion can never be futile. Duties have been laid down with respect to every mode of life. (The fruits of those duties are invisible, being attainable in the next world.) The fruits, however, of Penance directed towards the soul are obtainable in this world. [It is very difficult to literally translate such verses. The word Dharma is sometimes used in the sense of Religion or the aggregate of duties. At other times it simply means a duty or the course of duties prescribed for a particular situation. Tapah is generally rendered penance. Here, however, it has a direct reference to sravana (hearing), manana (contemplation), and nididhyasana (abstraction of the soul from everything else for absolute concentration). The Grammar of the second half of the first line is Sati apretya etc., Sat being that which is real, hence, the Soul, or the Supreme Soul, of which every individual Soul is only a portion.] Whatever be the object to which one devotes oneself, that object, O Bharata, and nothing else, appears to one as the highest of acquisitions fraught with the greatest of blessings. When one reflects properly (one's heart being purified by such reflection), one comes to know that the things of this world are as valueless as straw. Without doubt, one is then freed from attachment in respect of those things. When the world, O Yudhishthira, which is full of defects, is so constituted, every man of intelligence should strive for the attainment of the emancipation of his soul.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me, O grandsire, by what frame of soul should one kill one's grief when one loses one's wealth, or when one's wife, or son, or sire, dies.'

"Bhishma said, 'When one's wealth is lost, or one's wife or son or sire is dead, one certainly says to oneself 'Alas, this is a great sorrow!' But then one should, by the aid of reflection, seek to kill that sorrow. In this connection is cited the old story of the speech that a regenerate friend of his, coming to Senajit's court, made to that king. Beholding the monarch agitated with grief and burning with sorrow on account of the death of his son, the Brahmana addressed that ruler of very cheerless heart and said these words, 'Why art thou stupefied? Thou art without any intelligence. Thyself an object of grief, why dost thou grieve (for others)? A few days hence others will grieve for thee, and in their turn they will be grieved for by others. Thyself, myself, and others who wait upon thee, O king, shall all go to that place whence all of us have come.'

"Senajit said, 'What is that intelligence, what is that penance, O learned Brahmana, what is that concentration of mind, O thou that hast wealth of asceticism, what is that knowledge, and what is that learning, by acquiring which thou dost not yield to sorrow?'

"The Brahmana said, 'Behold, all creatures,--the superior, the middling, and the inferior,--in consequence of their respective acts, are entangled in grief. I do not regard even my own self to be mine. On the other hand, I regard the whole world to be mine. I again think that all this (which I see) is as much mine as it belongs to others. Grief cannot approach me in consequence of this thought. Having acquired such an understanding, I do not yield either to joy or to grief. As two pieces of wood floating on the ocean come together at one time and are again separated, even such is the union of (living) creatures in this world. Sons, grandsons, kinsmen, relatives are all of this kind. One should never feel affection for them, for separation with them is certain. Thy son came from an invisible region. He has departed and become invisible. He did not know thee. Thou didst not know him. Who art thou and for whom dost thou grieve? Grieve arises from the disease constituted by desire. Happiness again results from the disease of desire being cured. From joy also springs sorrow, and hence sorrow arises repeatedly. Sorrow comes after joy, and

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joy after sorrow. The joys and sorrows of human beings are revolving on a wheel. After happiness sorrow has come to thee. Thou shalt again have happiness. No one suffers sorrow for ever, and no one enjoys happiness for ever. The body is the refuge of both sorrow and happiness. Whatever acts an embodied creature does with the aid of his body, the consequence thereof he has to suffer in that body. Life springs with the springing of the body into existence. The two exist together, and the two perish together. Men of uncleansed souls, wedded to worldly things by various bonds, meet with destruction like embankments of sand in water. Woes of diverse kinds, born of ignorance, act like pressers of oil-seeds, for assailing all creatures in consequence of their attachments. These press them like oil-seeds in the oil-making machine represented by the round of rebirths (to which they are subject). Man, for the sake of his wife (and others), commits numerous evil acts, but suffers singly diverse kinds of misery both in this and the next world. All men, attached to children and wives and kinsmen and relatives, sink in the miry sea of grief like wild elephants, when destitute of strength, sinking in a miry slough. Indeed. O lord, upon loss of wealth or son or kinsmen or relatives, man suffers great distress, which resembles as regards its power of burning, a forest conflagration. All this, viz., joy and grief, existence and non-existence, is dependent upon destiny. One having friends as one destitute of friends, one having foes as one destitute of foes, one having wisdom as one destitute of wisdom, each and every one amongst these, obtains happiness through destiny. Friends are not the cause of one's happiness. Foes are not the cause of one's misery. Wisdom is not competent to bring an accession of wealth; nor is wealth competent to bring an accession of happiness. Intelligence is not the cause of wealth, nor is stupidity the cause of penury. He only that is possessed of wisdom, and none else, understands the order of the world. Amongst the intelligent, the heroic, the foolish, the cowardly, the idiotic, the learned, the weak, or the strong, happiness comes to him for whom it is ordained. Among the calf, the cowherd that owns her, and the thief, the cow indeed belongs to him who drinks her milk. They whose understanding is absolutely dormant, and they who have attained to that state of the mind which lies beyond the sphere of the intellect, succeed in enjoying happiness. Only they that are between the two classes, suffer misery. They that are possessed of wisdom delight in the two extremes but not in the states that are intermediate. The sages have said that the attainment of any of these two extremes constitutes happiness. Misery consists in the states that are intermediate between the two. They who have succeeded in attaining to real felicity (which samadhi can bring), and who have become free from the pleasures and pains of this world, and who are destitute of envy, are never agitated by either the accession of wealth or its loss. They who have not succeeded in acquiring that intelligence which leads to real felicity, but who have transcended folly and ignorance (by the help of a knowledge of the scriptures), give way to excessive joy and excessive misery. Men destitute of all notions of right or wrong, insensate with pride and with success over others, yield to transports of delight like the gods in heaven. [Pride in consequences of having insulted or humiliated others; and success over others such as victories in, battle and other concerns of the world.] Happiness must end in misery. Idleness is misery; while cleverness (in action) is the cause of happiness. Affluence and prosperity dwell in one possessed of cleverness, but not in one that is idle. Be it happiness or be it misery, be it agreeable or be it disagreeable, what comes to one should be enjoyed or endured with an unconquered heart. Every day a thousand occasions for sorrow, and hundred occasions for fear assail the man of ignorance and folly but not the man that is possessed of wisdom. Sorrow can never touch the man that is possessed of intelligence, that has acquired wisdom, that is mindful of listening to the instructions of his betters, that is destitute of envy, and that is self-restrained. Relying upon such an understanding, and protecting his heart (from the influences of desire and the passions), the man of wisdom should conduct himself here. Indeed, sorrow is unable to touch him who is conversant with that Supreme Self from which everything springs and unto which everything disappears. The very root of that for which grief, or heartburning, or sorrow is felt or for which one is impelled to exertion, should, even if it be a part of one's body, be cast off. That object, whatever it may be in respect of which the idea of meum is cherished, becomes a source of grief and heart-burning. Whatever objects, amongst things that are desired, are cast off become sources of happiness. The man that pursues objects of desire meets with destruction in course of the pursuit. Neither the happiness that is derived from a gratification of the senses nor that great felicity which one may enjoy in heaven, approaches to even a sixteenth part of the felicity which arises from the destruction of all desires. The acts of a former life, right or wrong, visit, in their consequences, the wise and the foolish, the brave and the timid. It is even thus that joy and sorrow, the agreeable and the disagreeable, continually revolve (as on a wheel) among living creatures. Relying upon such an understanding, the man of intelligence and wisdom lives at ease. A person should disregard all his desires, and never allow his wrath to get the better of him. This wrath springs in the heart and grows there into vigour and luxuriance. This wrath that dwells in the bodies of men and is born in their minds, is spoken of by the wise as Death. When a person succeeds in withdrawing all his desires like a tortoise withdrawing all its limbs, then his soul, which is self-luminous, succeeds in looking into itself. That object, whatever it may be, in respect of which the idea of meum is cherished, becomes a source of grief and heart-burning. When a person himself feels no fear, and is feared by no one, when he cherishes no desire and no aversion, he is then said to attain to the state of Brahma. Casting off both truth and falsehood, grief and joy, fear and courage, the agreeable and the disagreeable, thou mayst become of tranquil soul. When a person abstains from doing wrong to any creature, in thought, word, or deed, he is then said to attain to a state of Brahma. True happiness is his who can cast off that thirst which is incapable of being cast off by the misguided, which does not decay with decrepitude, and which is regarded as a fatal disease. In this connection, O king, are heard the verses sung by Pingala about the manner in which she had acquired eternal merit even at a time that had been very unfavourable. A fallen woman of the name of Pingala, having repaired to the place of assignation, was denied the company of her lover through an accident. At that time of great misery, she succeeded in acquiring tranquillity of soul.'

"Pingala said, 'Alas, I have for many long years lived, all the while overcome by frenzy, by the side of that Dear Self in whom there is nothing but tranquillity. Death has been at my door. Before this, I did not, however approach that Essence of Purity. I shall cover this house of one column and nine doors (by means of true Knowledge). What woman is there that regards that Supreme Soul as her dear lord, even when He comes near? I am now awake. I have been roused from the sleep of ignorance. I am no longer influenced by desire. Human lovers, who are really the embodied forms of hell, shall no longer deceive me by approaching me lustfully. Evil produces good through the destiny or the acts of a former life. Roused (from the sleep of ignorance), I have cast off all desire for worldly objects. I have acquired a complete mastery over my senses. One freed from desire and hope sleeps in felicity. Freedom from every hope and desire is felicity. Having driven off desire and hope, Pingala sleeps in felicity.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Convinced with these and other words uttered by the learned Brahmana, king Senajit (casting off his grief), experienced delight and became very happy.'"

SECTION 175

"Yudhishthira said, 'Time, which is destructive of every created thing, is passing on. Tell me, O grandsire, what is that good thing which should be sought.'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection, O king, is cited the old narrative of a discourse between sire and son, O Yudhishthira! A certain Brahmana. O Partha, who was devoted to the study of the Vedas, got a very intelligent son who (for this) was called Medhavin [Literally, intelligent.]. One day, the son, well conversant with the truths of the religion of Emancipation, and acquainted also with the affairs of the world, addressed his sire devoted to the study of the Vedas.'

"The son said, 'What should a wise man do, O father, seeing that the period of human life is passing away so very quickly? O father, tell me the course of duties that one should perform, without omitting to mention the fruits. Having listened to thee, I desire to observe those duties.'

"The sire said, 'O son, observing the Brahmacharya mode of life, one should first study the Vedas. He should then wish for children for rescuing his ancestors. Setting up his fire next, he should seek to perform the (prescribed) sacrifices according to due rites. At last, he should enter the forest for devoting himself to contemplation.'

"The son said, 'When the world is thus surrounded on all sides and is thus assailed, and when such irresistible things of fatal consequences fall upon it, how can you say these words so calmly?'

"The sire said, How is the world assailed? What is that by which it is surrounded? What, again, are those irresistible things of fatal consequences that fall upon it? Why dost thou frighten me thus?'

"The son said, 'Death is that by which the world is assailed. Decrepitude encompasses it. Those irresistible things that come and go away are the nights (that are continually lessening the period of human life). When I know that Death tarries for none (but approaches steadily towards every creature), how can I pass my time without covering myself with the garb of knowledge? When each succeeding night, passing away lessens the allotted period of one's existence, the man of wisdom should regard the day to be fruitless. (When death is approaching steadily) who is there that would, like a fish in a shallow water, feel happy? Death comes to a man before his desires have been gratified. Death snatches away a person when he is engaged in plucking flowers and when his heart is otherwise set, like a tigress bearing away a ram. Do thou, this very day, accomplish that which is for thy good. Let not this Death come to thee. Death drags its victims before their acts are accomplished. The acts of tomorrow should be done today, those of the afternoon in the forenoon. Death does not wait to see whether the acts of its victim have all been accomplished or not. Who knows that Death will not come to him even today? In prime of age one should betake oneself to the practice of virtue. Life is transitory. If virtue be practised, fame here and felicity hereafter will be the consequences. Overwhelmed by ignorance, one is ready to exert oneself for sons and wives. Achieving virtuous or vicious acts, one brings them up and aggrandises them. Like a tiger bearing away a sleeping deer, Death snatches away the man addicted to the gratification of desire and engaged in the enjoyment of sons and animals. Before he has been able to pluck the flowers upon which he has set his heart, before he has been gratified by the acquisition of the objects of his desire, Death bears him away like a tiger bearing away its prey. Death overpowers a man while the latter is stilt in the midst of the happiness that accrues from the gratification of desire, and while, still thinking, 'This has been done; this is to be done; this has been half-done.' Death bears away the man, however designated according to his profession, attached to his field, his shop, or his home, before he has obtained the fruit of his acts. Death bears away the weak, the strong, the brave, the timid, the idiotic, and the learned, before any of these obtains the fruits of his acts. When death, decrepitude, disease, and sorrow arising from diverse causes, are all residing in thy body, how is it that thou livest as if thou art perfectly hale? As soon as a creature is born, Decrepitude and Death pursue him for (effecting) his destruction. All existent things, mobile and immobile, are affected by these two. The attachment which one feels for dwelling in villages and towns (in the midst of fellowmen) is said to be the very mouth of Death. The forest, on the other hand, is regarded as the fold within which the senses may be penned. This is declared by the Srutis [The word used in the text is Devanam (of the gods). There can be no doubt however, that the word deva is here used for implying the senses. Compare with Latin divus, divi, or English divine, divinity, etc.]. The attachment a person feels for dwelling in a village or town (in the midst of men) is like a cord that binds him effectually. They that are good break that cord and attain to emancipation, while they that are wicked do not succeed in breaking them. He who never injures living creatures by thought, word, or deed, is never injured by such agencies as are destructive of life and property. Nothing can resist the messengers (Disease and Decrepitude) of Death when they advance except Truth which devours Untruth. In Truth is immortality. For these reasons one should practise the vow of Truth; one should devote oneself to a union with Truth; one should accept Truth for one's Veda; and restraining one's senses, one should vanquish the Destroyer by Truth. Both Immortality and Death are planted in the body. One comes to Death through ignorance and loss of judgement; while Immortality is achieved through Truth. I shall, therefore, abstain from injury and seek to achieve Truth, and transgressing the sway of desire and wrath, regard pleasure and pain with an equal eye, and attaining tranquillity, avoid Death like an immortal. Upon the advent of that season when the sun will progress towards the north, I shall restraining my senses, set to the performance of the Santi-sacrifice, the Brahma-sacrifice, the Mind-sacrifice, and the Work-sacrifice. How can one like me worship his Maker in animal-sacrifices involving cruelty, or sacrifices of the body, such as Pisachas only can perform and such as produce fruits that are transitory? That person whose words, thoughts, penances, renunciation, and yoga meditation, all rest on Brahma, succeeds in earning the highest good. There is no eye which is equal to (the eye of) Knowledge. There is no penance like (that involved in) Truth. There is no sorrow equal to (that involved in) attachment. There is no happiness (that which is obtainable from) renunciation. I have sprung from Brahma through Brahma. I shall devote myself to Brahma, though I am childless. I shall return to Brahma. I do not require a son for rescuing me. A Brahmana can have no wealth like to the state of being alone, the state in consequence of which he is capable of regarding everything with an equal eye, the practice of truthfulness, good behaviour, patience, abstention from injury, simplicity, and avoidance of all rites and visible sacrifices. What use hast thou, O Brahmana, of wealth or kinsmen and relatives, of wives, when thou shalt have to die? Seek thy Self which is concealed in a cave. Where are thy grandsires and where thy sire?'

"Bhishma continued, 'Do thou also, O monarch, conduct thyself in that way in which the sire (in this story), conducts himself, devoted to the religion of Truth, after having listened to the speech of his son.'

SECTION 176

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me, O grandsire, whence and how happiness and misery come to those that are rich, as also those that are poor, but who live in the observance of different practices and rites.'

"Bhishma continued, 'In this connection is cited the old narrative of what was sung by Sampaka who had obtained tranquillity and achieved emancipation for himself. In former

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times a certain Brahmana, rendered miserable by a bad wife, bad dress, and hunger, and living in the observance of the vow of renunciation, told me these verses, 3 'Diverse kinds of sorrow and happiness overtake, from the day of birth the person that is born on the earth. If he could ascribe either of them to the action of Destiny, he would not then feel glad when happiness came or miserable when sorrow overtook him. Though thy mind is divested of desire, thou bearest yet a heavy load. Thou dost not seek to achieve thy good (i.e., emancipation). Art thou not successful in controlling thy mind? If thou goest about, having renounced home and desirable possessions, thou shalt taste real happiness. A person divested of everything sleepeth in happiness, and awaketh in happiness. Complete poverty, in this world, is happiness. It is a good regimen, it is the source of 'blessings, it is freedom from danger. This foeless path is unattainable (by persons cherishing desire) and is easily attainable (by those that are freed from desire). Casting my eyes on every part of the three worlds, I do not behold the person who is equal to a poor man of pure conduct and without attachment (to worldly things). I weighed poverty and sovereignty in a balance. Poverty weighed heavier than sovereignty and seemed to possess greater merits. Between poverty and sovereignty there is this great distinction, viz., that the sovereign, possessed of affluence, is always agitated by anxiety and seems to be within the very jaws of death. As regards, however, the poor man, who in consequence of the divestment of all wealth has freed himself from hopes and emancipated himself, neither fire, nor foe, nor death, nor robbers, can get the better of him. The very gods applaud such a man who wanders about according to his sweet will, who lies down on the bare ground with his arm for a pillow, and who is possessed of tranquillity. Affected by wrath and cupidity, the man of affluence is stained by a wicked heart. He casts oblique glances and makes dry speeches.--He becomes sinful, and his face is always darkened with frowns. Biting his lips, and excited with wrath, he utters harsh and cruel words. If such a man desires to even make a gift of the whole world, who is there that would like even to look at him? Constant companionship with Prosperity stupefies a person of weak judgement. It drives off his judgement like the wind driving off the autumnal clouds. Companionship with Prosperity induces him to think,--I am possessed of beauty! I am possessed of wealth! I am high-born! I meet with success in whatever I undertake! I am not an ordinary human being!--His heart becomes intoxicated in consequence of these three reasons. With heart deeply attached to worldly possessions, he wastes the wealth hoarded by his sires. Reduced to want, he then regards the appropriation of other people's wealth as blameless. At this stage, when he transgresses all barriers and beings to appropriate the possessions of others from every side, the rulers of men obstruct and afflict him like sportsmen afflicting with keen shafts a deer that is espied in the woods. Such a man is then overwhelmed with many other afflictions of a similar kind that originate in fire and weapons. Therefore, disregarding all worldly propensities (such as desire for children and wives) together with all fleeting unrealities (such as the body, etc.,) one should, aided by one's intelligence, apply proper medicine for the cure of those painful afflictions. Without Renunciation one can never attain to happiness. Without Renunciation one can never obtain what is for one's highest good. Without Renunciation one can never sleep at case. Therefore, renouncing everything, make happiness thy own. All this was said to me in past times at Hastinapur by a Brahmana about what Sampaka had sung. For this reason, I regard Renunciation to be the foremost of things.'"

SECTION 177

"Yudhishthira said, 'If any person, desiring to accomplish acts (of charity and sacrifices), fails to find (the necessary) wealth, and thirst of wealth overwhelms him, what is that which he must do for obtaining happiness?'

"Bhishma said, 'He that regards everything (viz., joy and sorrow, honour and insult, etc.,) with an equal eye, that never exerts himself (for gratifying his desire for earthly possessions), that practises truthfulness of speech, that is freed from all kinds of attachment, and that has no desire for action, is, O Bharata, a happy man. These five, the ancients say, are the means for the acquisition of perfect tranquillity or emancipation. These are called Heaven. These are Religion. These constitute the highest happiness. In this connection is cited the old narrative of what Manki had sung, when freed from attachments, Listen to it, O Yudhishthira! Desirous of wealth, Manki found that he was repeatedly doomed to disappointments. At last with a little remnant of his property he purchased a couple of young bulls with a yoke for training them (to agricultural labour). One day the two bulls properly tied to the yoke, were taken out for training (in the fields). Shying at the sight of a camel that was lying down on the road, the animals suddenly ran towards the camel, and fell upon its neck. Enraged at finding the bulls fall upon its neck, the camel, endued with great speed, rose up and ran at a quick pace, bearing away the two helpless creatures dangling on either side of its neck. Beholding his two bulls thus borne away by that strong camel, and seeing that they were at the point of death, Manki began to say, 'If wealth be not ordained by destiny, it can never be acquired by even a clever man exerting himself with attention and confidence and accomplishing with skill all that is necessary towards that end. I had, before this, endeavoured by diverse means and devotion to earn wealth. Behold this misfortune brought about by destiny to the property I had! My bulls are borne away, rising and falling, as the camel is running in an uneven course. This occurrence seems to be an accident. Alas, those dear bulls of mine are dangling on the camel's neck like a couple of gems! This is only the result of Destiny. Exertion is futile in what is due to Chance. Or, if the existence of anything like Exertion (as an agent in the production of results) be admitted, a deeper search would discover Destiny to be at the bottom. Hence, the person that desires happiness should renounce all attachment. The man without attachments, no longer cherishing any desire for earning wealth, can sleep happily. Ho, it was well said by Suka while going to the great forest from his father's abode, renouncing everything!--Amongst these two, viz., one who obtains the fruition of all his wishes, and one who casts off every wish, the latter, who renounces all, is superior to the former who obtains the fruition of all. No one could ever attain to the end of desire. Only he that is destitute of knowledge and judgements feels an avidity for protecting his body and life.--Forbear from every desire for action. O my Soul that art possessed by cupidity, adopt tranquillity by freeing thyself from all attachments! Repeatedly hast thou been deceived (by desire and hope). How is it that thou dost not still free thyself from attachments? If I am not one that deserves destruction at thy hands, if I am one with whom thou shouldst sport in delight, then, O my wealth-coveting Soul, do not induce me towards cupidity. Thou hast repeatedly lost thy hoarded wealth. O my wealth-coveting and foolish Soul, when wilt thou succeed in emancipating thyself from the desire of wealth? Shame on my foolishness! I have become a toy of thine! It is thus that one becomes a slave of others. No one born on earth did ever attain to the end of desire, and to one that will take birth will succeed in attaining to it. Casting off all acts, I have at last been roused from sleep. I am now awake. Without doubt, O Desire, thy heart is as hard as adamant, since though affected by a hundred distresses, thou does not break into a hundred pieces! I know thee, O Desire, and all those things that are dear to thee! Seeking what is dear to thee, I shall feel happiness in my own Self. O Desire, I know thy root. Thou springest from Will.--I shall, therefore, avoid Will. Thou shalt then be destroyed with thy roots. The desire for wealth can never be fraught with happiness. If acquired, great is the anxiety that the acquirer feels. If lost after acquisition, that is felt as death. Lastly, respecting acquisition itself, it is very uncertain. Wealth cannot be got by even the surrender of one's person. What can be more painful than this? When acquired, one is never gratified with its measure, but one continues to seek it. Like the sweet water of the Ganges, wealth only increases one's hankering. It is my destruction. I am now awakened. Do thou, O Desire, leave me! Let that Desire which has taken refuge in this my body,--this compound of (five) elements,--go whithersoever it chooses and live happily whithersoever it likes. Ye all that are not of the Soul, I have no joy in you, for ye follow the lead of Msire and Cupidity! Abandoning all of you I shall take refuge in the quality of Goodness. Beholding all creatures in my own body and my own mind, and devoting my reason to Yoga, my life to the instructions of the wise, and soul to Brahma, I shall happily rove through the world, without attachment and without calamities of any kinds, so that thou mayst not be able to plunge me again into such sorrows! If I continue to be agitated by thee, O Desire, I shall necessarily be without a path (by which to effect my deliverance). Thou, O Desire, art always the progenitor of thirst, of grief, and of fatigue and toil. I think the grief that one feels at the loss of wealth is very keen and far greater than what one feels under any other circumstances. Kinsmen and friends disregard him that has lost his wealth. With various kinds of humiliation that number by thousands, there are many faults in property that are more painful still. On the other hand, the very small happiness that resides in wealth is mingled with pain and sorrow. Robbers slay, in the sight of all, the person that is possessed of wealth, or afflict him with various kinds of severity, or always fill him with fear. At last, after a long time, I have understood that the desire for wealth is fraught with sorrow. Whatever the object, O Desire, upon which thou settest thy heart, thou forcest me to pursue it! Thou art without judgement. Thou art a fool. Thou art difficult of being contented. Thou canst not be gratified. Thou burnest like fire. Thou dost not enquire (in pursuing an object) whether it is easy or difficult of attainment. Thou canst not be filled to the brim, like the nether region. Thou wishest to plunge me into sorrow. From this day, O Desire, I am incapable of living with thee! I who had felt despair, at first, at the loss of my property, have now attained to the high state of perfect freedom from attachments. At this moment I no longer think of thee and thy train. I had, before this, felt great misery on thy account. I do not (now) regard myself as destitute of intelligence. Having adopted Renunciation in consequence of loss of my property, I can now rest, freed from every kind of fever. I cast thee off, O Desire, with all the passions of my heart. Thou shalt not again dwell with me or sport with me. I shall forgive them that will slander or speak ill of me. I shall not injure even when injured. If anybody from aversion speaks disagreeable words of me, disregarding those words I shall address him in agreeable speeches. In contentment of heart and with all my senses at case, I shall always live upon what may be got by me. I shall not contribute to the gratification of the wishes entertained by thee that art my foe. Freedom from attachment, emancipation from desire, contentment, tranquillity, truth, self-restraint, forgiveness, and universal compassion are the qualities that have now I come to me. Therefore, let Desire, cupidity, thirst, miserliness avoid me. I have now adopted the path of Goodness. Having cast off Desire and Cupidity, great is my happiness now. I shall no longer yield to the influence of Cupidity and no longer suffer misery like a person of uncleansed soul. One is sure to obtain happiness according to the measure of the desires he may be able to cast off. Truly, he who yields himself up to Desire always suffers misery. Whatever passions connected with Desire are cast off by a person, all appertain to the quality of Passion. Sorrow and shamelessness and discontent all arise from Desire and Wealth. Like a person plunging in the hot season into a cool lake, I have now entered into Brahma, I have abstained from work. I have freed myself from grief. Pure happiness has now come to me. The felicity that results from the gratification of Desire, or that other purer felicity which one enjoys in heaven, does not come to even a sixteenth part of that which arises upon the abandonment of all kinds of thirst! Killing the principle of desire, which with the body makes an aggregate of seven, and which is a bitter foe, I have entered the immortal city of Brahma and shall pass my days there in happiness like a king!' Relying upon such intelligence, Manki freed himself from attachments, casting off all desires and attaining to Brahma that abode of the highest felicity. Indeed, in consequence of the loss of his two bulls Manki attained to immortality. Indeed, because he cut the very roots of desire, he attained, through that means, to high felicity.'"

SECTION 178

"Bhishma continued, 'In this connection is also cited the old narrative of the verses sung by Janaka the ruler of the Videhas, who had attained to tranquillity of soul. What the monarch said was, 'Unlimited is my wealth. At the same time I have nothing, if the whole of (my kingdom) Mithila be consumed in a conflagration, I shall incur no loss.' In the connection is also cited the speech of Vodhya uttered in respect of this very topic, viz., freedom from attachments. Listen to it O Yudhishthira! Once on a time the royal son of Nahusha (Yayati) questioned the Rishi Vodhya who had, in consequence of the abandonment of desire, attained to tranquillity of soul and who had an intimate acquaintance with the scriptures. The monarch said, 'O thou of great wisdom, give me instructions about tranquillity. What is that under standing relying upon which thou succeedest in wandering over the world in tranquillity of soul and disengaged from all acts?'

"Vodhya said, 'I conduct myself according to the instructions of others but never instruct others myself. I shall, however, mention the indications of those instructions (according to which my conduct is framed). Thou mayst catch their spirit by reflection. My six preceptors are Pingala, the osprey, the snake, the bee in the forest, the maker of shafts (in the story), and the maiden (in the story)!'

"Bhishma continued, 'Hope is very powerful (in agitating the heart), O King! Freedom from hope is high felicity. Reducing hope to an absence of expectation, Pingala sleeps in peace. Beholding an osprey with meat in his beaks, others, that have not found any meat, assail and destroy him. A certain osprey, by altogether abstaining from meat obtained felicity. To build a house for one's own self is productive of sorrow and not of happiness. The snake, taking up his residence in another creature's abode, lives in felicity. The ascetics live happily, betaking themselves to mendicancy, without being injured by any creature, like bees in the forest. A certain maker of shafts, while employed at his work, was so deeply attentive to it that he did not notice the king who passed by his side. When many are together, dispute ensues. Even when two reside together, they are sure to converse. I, however, wander alone like the anklet made of sea-shells in the wrist of the maiden in the story.'"

SECTION 179

"Yudhishthira said, 'O thou that art conversant with the conduct of men, tell me by what conduct a person may succeed in this world, freed from grief. How also should a person act in this world so that he may attain to an excellent end?'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection is cited the old story of the discourse between Prahlada and the sage Ajagara. Once on a time king Prahlada of great intelligence questioned a

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wandering Brahmana of great intelligence and a cleansed and tranquil soul.'

"Prahlada said, 'Freed from desire, with a cleansed soul, possessed of humility and self-restraint, without desire of action, free from malice, agreeable in speech, endued with dignity and intelligence and wisdom, thou livest (in simplicity) like a child. Thou never covetest any kind of gain, and never grievest at any kind of loss. Thou art always contented, O Brahmana, and dost not seem to regard anything in the world. While all other creatures are being borne away in the current of desire and passion, thou art perfectly indifferent to all acts appertaining to Religion, Profit, and Pleasure. Thou seemest to be in a state of quietude (without the possibility of agitation). Disregarding all objects of the senses, thou movest like an emancipated self, only witnessing everything (but never taking part in anything). What, O sage, is thy wisdom, what thy learning, and what thy behaviour (in consequence of which all this becomes possible)? Tell me this without delay, if, O Brahmana, thou thinkest it will do me good!'

"Bhishma continued, 'That intelligent Brahmana who was well-conversant with the duties of the world, thus questioned by Prahlada, answered him in sweet words of grave import. Behold, O Prahlada, the origin of creatures, their growth, decay, and death, are traceable to no (intelligible) cause. It is for this that I do not indulge in either joy or sorrow. All the propensities (for action) that exist in the universe may be seen to flow from the very natures of the creatures (to which they inhere). All things (in the universe) are depended on their respective natures. Hence, I am not delighted with anything. Behold, O Prahlada, all kinds of union have an aptitude for disunion. All acquisitions are certain to end in destruction. Hence I never set my heart upon the acquisition of any object. All things possessed of attributes are certain to meet with destruction. What remains there for a person then to do who (like me) is conversant with both the origin and the end of things? Of all things, large or small, born in the ocean of waters, the end is noticeable. I see also the death, which is manifest, O chief of Asuras, of all things, mobile and immobile, belonging to the land. O best of Danavas, death comes in season unto even the strongest of winged creatures which range the sky. I see again that the luminous bodies, large and small, which move in the firmament, fall down when their time comes. Beholding all created things Possessed of knowledge, to be thus liable to be affected by death, and thinking all things to be possessed of the same nature, I sleep in peace without any anxiety of heart. If I get without trouble a copious repast, I do not scruple to enjoy it. On the other hand, I pass many days, together without eating anything. Sometimes people feed me with costly viands in profusion, sometimes with a small quantity, sometimes with even less, and sometimes I get no food whatever. I sometimes eat only a portion of a grain; sometimes the dry sesame cakes from which the oil has been pressed out, I sometimes eat rice and other food of the richest kind. Sometimes I sleep on an elevated bedstead of the best kind. Sometimes I sleep on the bare ground. Sometimes my bed is made within a fine palace or mansion. I am sometimes clad in rags, sometimes in sackcloth, sometimes in raiments of fine texture, sometimes in deer-skins, sometimes in robes of the costliest kind. I never reject such enjoyments as are consistent with virtue and as are obtained by me without effort. I do not, at the same time, strive for attaining such objects as are difficult of acquisition. The rigid vow I have adopted is called Ajagara. That vow can secure immortality. It is auspicious and griefless. It is incomparable and pure. It is consistent with the counsels of the wise. It is disapproved by persons of foolish understanding who never follow it. With a pure heart I conduct myself according to it. My mind never swerves from this vow. I have not swerved from the practices of my order. I am abstemious in everything. I know the past and the present. Divested of fear and wrath and cupidity and errors of judgement, I follow this vow with a pure heart. There are no restrictions in respect of food and drink and other objects of enjoyment for one practising this vow. As everything is dependent on destiny, there is no observance of the considerations of time and place for one like us. The vow I follow contributes to true happiness of the heart. It is never observed by those that are wicked. I follow it with a pure heart. Induced by cupidity, men pursue different kinds of wealth. If baffled in the pursuit, they become depressed by sorrow. Reflecting properly upon all this by the aid of my intelligence which has penetrated the truths of things, I follow this vow with a pure heart. I have seen persons in distress seeking, for the acquisition of wealth, the shelter of men, good and bad. Devoted to tranquillity, and with my passions under control, I follow this vow with a pure heart. Beholding, by the aid of truth, that happiness and misery, loss and gain, attachment and renunciation, death and life, are all ordained by destiny, I follow this vow with a pure heart. Divested of fear and attachment and errors of judgement and pride, and endued with wisdom, intelligence, and understanding, and devoted to tranquillity and hearing that large snakes without moving enjoy the fruit that comes to them of itself, I follow their practice with a pure heart. Without restrictions of any kind in respect of bed and food, endued by my nature with self-restraint, abstemiousness, pure vow, truth, and purity of conduct, and without any desire to store (for future use) the rewards of action, I follow, with a delighted and pure heart, this vow. All causes of sorrow have fled from me in consequence of my having driven off the object of desire. Having received an accession of light, I follow this vow with a pure heart, for controlling my soul which is thirsty and unrestrained but which is capable (under proper culture) of depending upon itself (without the necessity of external objects to keep it engaged). Without paying any heed to the concerns towards which my heart, mind, words would like to lead me, and marking that the happiness which is connected with these is both difficult of acquisition and fleeting in respect of duration, I follow this vow with a pure heart. Learned men possessed of great intelligence, desirous of proclaiming their own feats, have while establishing their own theories and censuring those of others, said this and that on this topic which is incapable of being settled by disputation. Foolish men fail to understand this vow in a proper light. I, however, see it to be destructive of Ignorance. Regarding it also as fraught with immortality and as a remedy against diverse kinds of evil, I wander among men, having subdued all faults and having freed myself from thirst (after worldly goods)!'

"Bhishma continued, 'That high-souled person who, having freed himself from attachments and divested himself of fear, cupidity; foolishness, and wrath, follows this Ajagara vow, or indulges in this sport, as it may be called, certainly succeeds in passing his days in great delight.'"

SECTION 180

"Yudhishthira said, 'Which of these, O grandsire, viz., kinsmen, or acts, or wealth, or wisdom should be the refuge of a person? Questioned by me, answer me this!'

"Bhishma said, 'Wisdom is the refuge of creatures. Wisdom is regarded as the highest of acquisitions. Wisdom is the highest felicity in the world. Wisdom is heaven in the estimation of the good and virtuous. It was through wisdom that Vali, Prahlada, Namuchi, and Manki, when they lost their (earthly) prosperity, succeeded in acquiring felicity. What is there that is superior to wisdom? In this connection is cited the old story of the discourse between Indra and Kasyapa. Listen to it, O Yudhishthira! Once on a time a prosperous Vaisya, in the enjoyment of prosperity, and proud of his affluence, threw down, by negligently driving his car, a Rishi's son of rigid vows named Kasyapa, devoted to penances. Prostrated on the ground, the young man, in exceeding pain, gave way to his wrath; and under the influence of despair resolved, saying, 'I shall cast off my life. A poor man has no need of life in this world.' While the Brahmana was lying in that state, silent and agitated, deprived of energy and at the point of death, Indra appeared on the scene in the form of a jackal and addressing him, said, 'All (inferior) creatures covet birth in the human race. Among men again, the status of a Brahmana is much desired. Thou, O Kasyapa, art a human being! Amongst human beings, thou art again a Brahmana. Among Brahmanas, thou art again one that is conversant with the Vedas. Having obtained that which is attainable with very great difficulty, it behoveth thee not to give up life from folly! All kinds Of (worldly) acquisitions are fraught with pride. The declaration of the Srutis in that respect is perfectly true. Thou lookest the picture of contentment. In forming such a resolve (which is so derogatory of thy own self) about casting off thy life, thou actest from cupidity! O, they are crowned with success that have hands! I eagerly wish for the status of those creatures that have hands! We covet hands as eagerly as you covet riches. There is no acquisition that is more valuable than the acquisition of hands. Behold, O Brahmana, I cannot extract this thorn that has entered my body, or crush these insects and worms that are biting and afflicting me greatly! They that have bestowed upon them two hands with ten fingers, succeed in throwing away or crushing the worms (by scratching) that bite their limbs. They succeed in constructing shelters for themselves from rain, cold, and heat. They succeed also in enjoying excellent clothes for themselves, good food, comfortable beds, and excellent habitations. Lying on this Earth, they that have hands enjoy kine and other animals and cause them to carry burthens or drag their vehicles, and by the aid of diverse means bring those animals under sway (for their own purposes). Those living creatures that are without tongues, that are helpless, of little strength, and destitute of hands, bear all the several kinds of misery (indicated above). By good luck, O ascetic, thou art not like them. By good luck, thou art not a jackal, nor a worm, nor a mouse, nor a frog, nor an animal of any other miserable order. With this measure of gain (that thou hast won), thou shouldst, O Kasyapa, be contented! How happy, again, shouldst thou feel at the thought that amongst living creatures thou art a superior Brahmana! These worms are biting me! For want of hands I am unable to drive them off. Behold this my miserable plight! I do not cast off life because to do so is a very sinful act, and lest, indeed, I fall into a more miserable order of existence! This order of existence, viz., that of a jackal, to which I now belong is rather tolerable. Miserable as it is, there are many orders of existence below it that are more miserable still. By birth certain classes of creatures become happier than others who become subject to great woe. But I never see that there is any order of being which can be said to be in the possession of perfect happiness. Human beings, obtaining affluence, next wish for sovereignty. Having achieved sovereignty their next wish is for the status of gods. Having won that status they then wish for the chiefdom of the celestials. If thou becomest affluent, thou wilt never succeed in becoming a king (for thou art a Brahmana by birth), nor in becoming a god (because, in reality, thy status of Brahmanahood is equal if not superior to that of a god). If by any means (led away by the alluring prospect of heavenly bliss) thou becomest a god (instead of attaining to a superior position), thou wilt then covet for the chiefdom of the gods. In no condition wilt thou be contented. Contentment does not result from acquisition of desirable objects. Thirst is never slaked although there is profusion of water. The thirst for acquisition only blazes up with each fresh acquisition like a fire with new faggots thrown into it. In thee there is grief. But joy also dwells in thee. Both happiness and misery dwell in thee. Why then shouldst thou yield to grief? One should shut up, like birds in a cage, the very springs, viz., the understanding and the senses of, all one's desires and acts. There can be no cutting of a second head, nor of a third hand. That which does not exist can produce no fear. One that is not acquainted with the enjoyment a certain object affords, never feels a desire for that object. Desires arise from the actual experience of the pleasures that touch or sight, or hearing gives. Thou hast no idea of the taste of the wine called Varuni or of the meat of the birds called Ladwaka. There is no drink and no food more delicious than these. Thou hast no idea also, O Kasyapa, of every other superior kind of drink and food that exists among men, for thou hast never tasted it. Without doubt, therefore, not to taste, not to see, should be the vow of a man if he is to win happiness. Creatures that have hands, without doubt, become strong and earn wealth. Men are reduced by men to a state of servitude, and are repeatedly afflicted (at the hands of their own species) with death, imprisonment, and other tortures. Although such is their condition, yet even they (without yielding to grief) laugh and sport and indulge in merriment. Others again, though endued with might of arms, and possessed of knowledge and great energy of mind, follow censurable, sinful, and miserable professions. They seek to change such professions for other pursuits (that are more dignified) but then they are bound by their own acts (of a previous life) and by the force of Destiny. The vilest man of the Pukkasa or the Chandala orders never wishes to cast off his life. He is quite contented with the order of his birth. Behold the illusion in this respect! Beholding those amongst thy species that are destitute of arms, or struck with palsy, or afflicted with other diseases, thou canst regard thyself as very happy and possessed of valuable accompaniments amongst the members of thy own order. If this thy regenerated body remains safe and sound, and free from disease, and all thy limbs remain perfect, thou art sure of never incurring any reproach amongst men. It would not behove thee, O Brahmana, to cast off thy life even if any blame, founded on fact and capable of bringing about thy dismissal from caste, attached to thee! Rise, and practise virtue. It is not meet that thou shouldst throw away thy life! If, O regenerate one, thou listen to me and place credence on my words, thou wilt then obtain the highest reward of the religion inculcated in the Vedas. Do thou set thyself to Vedic studies, and duly maintain thy sacred fire, and observe truth, and self-restraint, and charity. Never compare thyself boastfully with another. They who, by devoting themselves to the study of the Vedas, become competent for performing sacrifices for themselves and others, have no need to indulge in any kind of regret or fear any kind of evil. They that are born under an auspicious constellation on an auspicious lunation and at an auspicious hour, strive their best for performing sacrifices, practising charity, and procreating children, and desiring to pass their time cheerfully in those acts, at last win very great happiness. They, on the other hand, that are born under evil constellations, inauspicious lunations, and at evil hours, become destitute of sacrifices and progeny and at last fall into the Asura order. In my former life I had much useless learning. I always sought for reasons and had very little faith. I was a slanderer of the Vedas. I was destitute of the (fourfold) objects of life, and was devoted to that science of argumentation which is based upon ocular or tangible proofs. I used to utter words based on (plausible) reasons. Indeed, in assemblies, I always spoke of reasons (and never faith). I used to speak irreverently of the declarations of the Srutis and address Brahmanas in domineering tones. I was an unbeliever, skeptical of everything, and though really ignorant, proud of my learning. This status of a jackal that I have obtained in this life is the consequence, O regenerate one, of those sins of mine! If even after hundreds of days and nights I that am a jackal can once again obtain the status of humanity, I shall then pass my life in contentment, heedful of the true objects of existence, and engaged in sacrifices and gifts. I shall then know what should be known, and avoid what should be

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avoided!' Thus addressed, the ascetic Kasyapa, rising up, said, 'O, thou art certainly possessed of knowledge and great intelligence! I am really surprised at all this!' With eyes whose vision was extended by knowledge, the Brahmana then beheld that being who had addressed him to be Indra, chief of the gods and the lord of Sachi. Kasyapa then worshipped that god having the best of steeds for the animal that bore him. Receiving afterwards the god's permission, the Brahmana returned to his abode.'"

SECTION 181

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me, O grandsire, if gifts, sacrifices, penances, and dutiful services returned to preceptors, are productive of wisdom and high felicity.'

'Bhishma said, 'If the mind becomes affected by desire, wrath and other evil passions, it then runs towards sin. If one's acts are stained by sin, one is obliged to dwell in painful regions. Sinful men take birth in indigent circumstances and repeatedly suffer the pangs of famine, woe, fear, and death. Those that are virtuous in their acts, and possessed of faith, and that have their senses under control, become born as affluent men and repeatedly sport in festivities and heaven and happiness. Unbelievers, with their arms manacled, are sent to regions rendered inaccessible by carnivorous beasts and elephants and full of terrors in consequence of snakes and robbers. What more need be said of them? They, on the other hand, who have reverence for gods and guests, who are liberal, who are fond of good and honest men, go, in consequence of their acts of charity, along that happy way which belongs to persons of cleansed souls. They that have no reverence for virtue are as vile among men as seedless grains among corn or the gnat among birds. That which is ordained in consequence of the acts of a past life pursues the actor even if the latter strives his best for leaving it behind. It sleeps when he sleeps and does whatever else he does. Like his shadow it rests when he rests, proceeds when he proceeds, and acts when he acts. Whatever acts a man does he has certainly to obtain the fruits thereof. Death is dragging all creatures who are surely destined to fall (into orders of existence they deserve) and who are surely 'liable to enjoy or suffer that which has been ordained as the consequence of their acts. The acts of a past life develop their consequences in their own proper time even as flowers and fruits, without extraneous efforts of any kind, never fail to appear when their proper time comes. After the consequences, as ordained, of the acts of a past life, have been exhausted (by enjoyment or sufferings), honour and disgrace, gain and loss, decay and growth, no longer flow or appear in respect of any one. This happens repeatedly. [The word dattam, generally rendered 'gifts' or 'charity,' means and includes protection of suppliants, abstention from injury as regards all creatures, and actual gifts made outside the sacrificial altar. Similarly, the maintenance of the sacred fire, penances, purity of conduct, the study of the Vedas, hospitality to guests, and offer of food to the Viswedevas, are all included in the word Ishta which is ordinarily rendered 'sacrifice.'] A creature while still in the mother's womb enjoys or suffers the happiness or the misery that has been ordained for him in consequence of his own acts. In childhood or youth or old age, at whatever period of life one does an act good or bad, the consequences thereof are sure to visit him in his next life at precisely the same period. As a calf recognises and approaches its parent in the midst of even a thousand kine, even so the acts of a past life recognise and visit the doer in his new life. Washed in water a (dirty) piece of cloth becomes clean. Similarly, men burning in repentance obtain endless happiness by proper penances. Those that can take up their residence in the woods and by performing austerities for a long period can wash themselves of their sins, succeed in obtaining the objects on which they set their hearts. As no one can mark the track of birds in the sky or of fishes in the water, similarly, the track of persons whose souls have been cleansed by knowledge cannot be marked by any. 1 There is no need of any more eloquence or any more reference to sinful acts. Suffice it to say that one should, with proper judgement and as befits one best, do what is for one's good. This is the means by which wisdom and high felicity may be achieved.'"

SECTION 182

"Yudhishthira said, 'Whence has this universe consisting of mobile and immobile creatures been created? Whom does it go to when destruction sets in? Tell me this, O grandsire! Indeed, by whom has this universe with its oceans, its firmament, its mountains, its clouds, its lands, its fire, and its wind, been created. How were all objects created? Whence this division into separate orders of existence? Whence are their purity and impurity, and the ordinances about virtue and vice? Of what kind is the life of living creatures? Where also do they go who die. Tell us everything about this and the other world.'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection is cited the old narrative of the sacred words that Bhrigu said in reply to the questions of Bharadwaja. Beholding the great Rishi Bhrigu blazing with energy and splendour, seated on the Kailasa summit, Bharadwaja addressed him in the following words.'

"Bharadwaja said, 'By whom was this world with its ocean, its firmament, its mountains, its clouds, its lands, its fire, and its wind, created? How were all creatures first created? Whence this distinction of castes? Whence the purity and the impurity of (behaviour), and whence the ordinances about virtue and vice, for living creatures? Of what kind is the life of living creatures? Where do they go who die? It behoveth thee to tell me everything about this and the other world.' Thus addressed about his doubts by Bharadwaja, the illustrious and regenerate Rishi Bhrigu who resembled Brahma itself, replied unto him, saying these words.'

"Bhrigu said, 'There is a Primeval Being, known to the great Rishis, of the name of Manasa. He is without beginning and without end. That Divine Being is incapable of being penetrated by weapons. He is without decay and is Immortal. He is said to be Unmanifest. He is Eternal, Undecaying, and Unchangeable. Through Him are creatures born and through Him they die. He first created a Divine Being known by the name of Mahat. Mahat created Consciousness. That Divine Being created Space. That puissant Being is the holder of all created objects. From Space was born Water, and from Water were born Fire and Wind. Through the union of Fire and Wind was born the Earth. Self-born Manasa then created a divine Lotus pregnant with Energy. From that Lotus sprang Brahman, that Ocean of Veda. [Veda is here used in the sense of Knowledge and Power.] The Srutis say that as soon as born, that divine Being uttered the words, 'I am He!' For this He came to be called by the name of Consciousness. He has all created things for his body and He is their Creator. These five elements that we see are that Brahman of great energy. The mountains are his bones. The earth is his fat and flesh. The oceans are his blood. Space is his stomach. The Wind is his breath. Fire is his energy. The rivers are his arteries and veins. Agni and Soma, otherwise called the Sun and the Moon, are called his eyes. The firmament above is his head. The earth is his two feet. The cardinal and subsidiary points of the horizon are his arms. Without doubt, He is incapable of being known and His Soul is inconceivable by even persons crowned with ascetic success. The Divine Being, who pervades the whole universe, is also known by the name of Ananta (Infinite). He lives in Consciousness, and is incapable of being known by persons of uncleansed souls. Asked by thee I have now told thee of Him who created Consciousness for evoking into existence all created objects, and from whom this universe has sprung.'

"Bharadwaja said, 'What is the extent of the firmament, of the points of the horizon, of the surface of this earth, and of the Wind? By telling me the truth, solve my doubts.'

"Bhrigu said, 'The sky thou seest above is Infinite. It is the abode of persons crowned with ascetic success and of divine beings. It is delightful, and consists of various regions. Its limits cannot be ascertained. The Sun and the Moon cannot see, above or below, beyond the range of their own rays. There where the rays of the Sun and the Moon cannot reach are luminaries which are self-effulgent and which possess splendour like that of the Sun or the fire. Know this, O giver of honours, that possessed of far-famed splendour, even these last do not behold the limits of the firmament in consequence of the inaccessibility and infinity of those limits. This Space which the very gods cannot measure is fall of many blazing and self-luminous worlds each above the other. Beyond the limits of land are oceans of water. Beyond water is darkness. Beyond darkness is water again, and beyond the last is fire. Downwards, beyond the nether regions, is water. Beyond water is the region belonging to the great snakes. Beyond that is sky once more, and beyond the sky is water again. Even thus there is water and sky alternately without end. Even such are the limits of the Divinity represented by water. The very gods are unable to ascertain limits of fire and wind and water. The nature of fire, wind, water, and land, is like that of space. They are distinguished through want of true Knowledge. Sages read in diverse scriptures the limits that have been declared of the three worlds and the ocean. Who is there, however, that would set limits to what cannot be grasped by vision and what is inaccessible (in all its parts)? If even it becomes possible to ascertain the limits of the firmament which is the track of the gods and beings crowned with ascetic success, it can never be possible to set limits to that which is limitless and known by the name of the Infinite, to that which correspond with the name by which it is known, viz., what has been called the high-souled Manasa? When again His form is sometimes contracted and sometimes expanded, how can any one else except one that is equal to Him, be able to comprehend His limits? From the Lotus (of which I have already spoken) was first created the Omniscient lord, Brahman, endued with form, of essence comprised of Righteousness, and the Creator of all mobile and immobile things.

"Bharadwaja said, 'If Brahman sprang from the Lotus, then it is the Lotus that should be regarded as the First-born and not Brahman. Why, however, is Brahma said to be the first? Do thou remove that doubt of mine.'

"Bhrigu said, 'The Earth it is that is called the Lotus. It was created for giving a seat unto that form of Manasa which became Brahman. Reaching up to heaven itself, the Sumeru became the pericarp of the Lotus. Remaining within it, the puissant Lord of the Universe created all the worlds.'"

SECTION 183

"Bharadwaja said, 'Tell me, O best of Brahmanas, how the puissant Brahman residing within Meru, created these diverse kinds of objects.'

"Bhrigu said, 'The great Manasa (in his form of Brahman) created the diverse kinds of objects by fiat of Will. For the protection then of all creatures, he first created water. Water is the life of all creatures, and it is water which aids their growth. If there be no water, all creatures would perish. The whole universe is pervaded by water. Earth, mountains, clouds, and all things which have form, should all be known as transformations of water. They have all been produced by the solidification of that element.'

Bharadwaja said, 'How did water spring? How Fire and Wind? How also was the earth created? I have great doubts on these points.'

"Bhrigu said, 'O regenerate one, in very ancient times called the Brahma-kalpa, the high-souled Rishis of the regenerate order, when they assembled together, felt this very doubt about the creation of the universe. Re-straining speech, they remained immovable, engaged in (ascetic) contemplation. Having given up all food, they subsisted upon air alone, and remained thus for a thousand celestial years. At the end of that period, certain words as sacred as those of the Vedas simultaneously reached the ears of all. Indeed, this celestial voice was heard in the firmament to say, 'Formerly there was only infinite Space, perfectly motionless and immovable. Without sun, moon, stars, and wind, it seemed to be asleep. Then water sprang into existence like something darker within darkness. Then from the pressure of water arose wind. As an empty vessel without a hole appears at first to be without any sound, but when filled with water, air appears and makes a great noise, even so when infinite Space was filled with water, the wind arose with a great noise, penetrating through the water. That wind, thus generated by the pressure of the ocean of water, still moveth. Coming into (unobstructed) Space, its motion is never stopped. Then in consequence of the friction of wind and water, fire possessed of great might and blazing energy, sprang into existence, with flames directed upwards. That fire dispelled the darkness that had covered Space. Assisted by the wind, fire drew Space and Water together. Indeed, combining with the wind, fire became solidified. While failing from the sky, the liquid portion of fire solidified again and became what is known as the earth. The earth or land, in which everything is born, is the origin of all kinds of taste, of all kinds of scent, of all kinds of liquids, and of all kinds of animals.'"

SECTION 184

"Bharadwaja said, 'When the high-souled Brahman has created thousands of creatures, why is it that only these five elements which he created first, which pervade all the universe and which are great creatures, have come to have the name of creatures applied to them exclusively?' [All created things are called Bhutas, but the five principal elements, viz., fire, air, earth, water, and space, are especially called Bhutas or Mahabhutas.]

"Bhrigu said, 'All things that belong to the category of the Infinite or the Vast receive the appellation of Great. It is for this reason that these five elements have come to be called Great creatures. Activity is wind. The sound that is heard is space. The heat that is within it is fire. The liquid juices occurring in it are water. The solidified matter, viz., flesh and bones, are earth. The bodies (of living creatures) are thus made of the five (primeval) elements. All mobile and immobile objects are made of these five elements. The five senses also of living creatures partake of the five elements. The ear partakes of the properties of space, the nose of earth; the tongue of water; touch of wind; and the eyes of light (of fire).'

"Bharadwaja said, 'If all mobile and immobile objects be composed of these five elements, why is it that in all immobile objects those elements are not visible? Trees do not appear to have any heat. They do not seem to have any motion. They are again made up of dense particles. The five elements are not noticeable in them. Trees do not hear: they do not see; they are not capable of the perceptions of scent or taste. They have not also the perception of touch. How then can they be regarded as composed of the five (primeval) elements? It seems to me that in consequence of the absence of any liquid material in them, of any heat, of any earth, of any wind, and of any empty space, trees cannot be regarded as compounds of the five (primeval) elements.'

"Bhrigu said, 'Without doubt, though possessed of density, trees have space within them. The putting forth of flowers and fruits is always taking place in them. They have heat within them in consequence of which leaf, bark, fruit, and flower, are seen to droop. They sicken and dry up. That shows they have perception of touch. Through sound of wind and fire and thunder, their fruits and flowers drop down. Sound is perceived through the ear. Trees have, therefore, ears and do

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hear. A creeper winds round a tree and goes about all its sides. A blind thing cannot find its way. For this reason it is evident that trees have vision. Then again trees recover vigour and put forth flowers in consequence of odours, good and bad, of the sacred perfume of diverse kinds of dhupas. It is plain that trees have scent. They drink water by their roots. They catch diseases of diverse kinds. Those diseases again are cured by different operations. From this it is evident that trees have perceptions of taste. As one can suck up water through a bent lotus-stalk, trees also, with the aid of the wind, drink through their roots. They are susceptible of pleasure and pain, and grow when cut or lopped off. From these circumstances I see that trees have life. They are not inanimate. Fire and wind cause the water thus sucked up to be digested. According, again, to the quantity of the water taken up, the tree advances in growth and becomes humid. In the bodies of all mobile things the five elements occur. In each the proportions are different. It is in consequence of these five elements that mobile objects can move their bodies. Skin, flesh, bones, marrow, and arteries and veins, that exist together in the body are made of earth. Energy, wrath, eyes, internal heat, and that other heat which digest the food that is taken, these five, constitute the fire that occurs in all embodied creatures. The ears, nostrils, mouth, heart, and stomach, these five, constitute the element of space that occurs in the bodies of living creatures. Phlegm, bile, sweat, fat, blood, are the five kinds of water that occur in mobile bodies. Through the breath called Prana a living creature is enabled to move. Through that called Vyana, they put forth strength for action. That called Apana moves downwards. That called Samana resides within the heart. Through that called Udana one eructates and is enabled to speak in consequence of its piercing through (the lungs, the throat, and the mouth). These are the five kinds of wind that cause an embodied creature to live and move. The properties of scent an embodied creature knows through the earth-element in him. From the water-element he perceives taste. From the fire-element represented by the eyes, he perceives forms, and from the wind-element he obtains the perception of touch. Scent, touch, taste, vision, and sound, are regarded as the (general) properties of every mobile and immobile object. I shall first speak of the several kinds of scent. They are agreeable, disagreeable, sweet, pungent, far-going, varied, dry, indifferent. All these nine kinds of scent are founded upon the earth-element. Light is seen by the eyes and touch through the wind-element. Sound, touch, vision and taste are the properties of water. I shall speak (in detail) now of the perception of taste. Listen to me. High-souled Rishis have spoken of diverse kinds of taste. They are sweet, saltish, bitter, astringent, sour, and pungent. These are the six kinds of taste appertaining to the water-element. Light contributes to the vision of form. Form is of diverse kinds. Short, tall, thick, four-cornered, round, white, black, red, blue, yellow, reddish, hard, bright, smooth, oily, soft, and terrible. These are the sixteen different kinds of form which constitute the property of light or vision. The property of the wind-element is touch. Touch is of various kinds: warm, cold, agreeable.. disagreeable, indifferent, burning, mild, soft, light, and heavy. Both sound and touch are the two properties of the wind-element. These are the eleven properties that appertain to the wind. Space has only one property. It is called sound. I shall now tell thee the different kinds of sound. They are the seven original notes called Shadja, Rishabha, Gandhara, Mahdhyama, Panchama, Dhaivata and Nishada. These are the seven kinds of the property that appertains to space. Sound inheres like the Supreme Being in all space though attached especially to drums and other instruments. Whatever sound is heard from drums small and large, and conchs, and clouds, and cars, and animate and inanimate creatures, are all included in these seven kinds of sound already enumerated. Thus sound, which is the property of space, is of various kinds. The learned have said sound to be born of space. When raised by the different kinds of touch, which is the property of the wind, it may be heard. It cannot however, be heard, when the different kinds of touch are inceptive. The elements, mingling with their counterparts in the body, increase and grow. Water, fire, wind are always awake in the bodies of living creatures. They are the roots of the body. Pervading the five life-breaths (already mentioned) they reside in the body.'"

SECTION 185

"Bharadwaja said, 'How does bodily fire or heat, entering the body, reside there? How also does the wind, obtaining space for itself, cause the body to move and exert itself?'

"Bhrigu said, 'I shall, O regenerate one, speak to thee of the course in which the wind moves, and how, O sinless one, that mighty element causes the bodies of living creatures to move and exert themselves. Heat resides within the head (brain) and protects the body (from perishing). The wind or breath called Prana, residing within the head and the heat that is there, cause all kinds of exertion. That Prana is the living creature, the universal soul, the eternal Being, and the Mind, Intellect, and Consciousness of all living creatures, as also all the objects of the senses. 1 Thus the living creature is, in every respect, caused by Prana to move about and exert. Them in consequence of the other breath called Samana, every one of the senses is made to act as it does. The breath called Apana, having recourse to the heat that is in the urethra and the abdominal intestines, moves, engaged in carrying out urine and faeces. That single breath which operates in these three, is called Udana by those that are conversant with science. That breath which operates, residing in all the joints of men's bodies, is called Vyana. There is heat in the bodies of living creatures which is circulated all over the system by the breath Samana. Residing thus in the body, that breath operates upon the different kinds of watery and other elementary substances and all bad humours. That heat, residing between Apana and Prana, in the region of the navel, operates, with the aid of those two breaths, in digesting all food that is taken by a living creature. There is a duct beginning from the mouth down to the anal canal. Its extremity is called the anus. From this main duct numerous subsidiary ones branch out in the bodies of all living creatures. In consequence of the rush of the several breaths named above (through these ducts), those breaths mingle together. The heat (that dwells in Prana) is called Ushman. It is this heat that causes digestion in all creatures possessed of bodies. The breath called Prana, the bearer of a current of heat, descends (from the head) downwards to the extremity of the anal canal and thence is sent upwards once more. Coming back to its seat in the head, it once more sends down the heat it bears. Below the navel is the region of digested matter. Above it is that for the food which is taken. In the navel are all the forces of life that sustain the body. Urged by the ten kinds of breaths having Prana for their first, the ducts (already mentioned), branching out from the heart, convey the liquid juices that food yields, upwards, downwards, and in transverse directions. The main duct leading from the mouth to the anus is the path by which yogins, vanquishers of fatigue, of perfect equanimity in joy and sorrow, and possessed of great patience, succeed in attaining to Brahma by holding the soul within the brain. Even thus is heat panted in the breaths called Prana and Apana and others, of all embodied creatures. That heat is always burning there like a fire placed in any (visible) vessel.'

SECTION 186

"Bharadwaja said, 'If it is the wind that keeps us alive, if it is the wind that causes us to move and exert, if it is the wind that causes us to breathe and to speak, then it seems that life is worth little. If the animal heat (that digests all food) be of the nature of fire, and if it is that fire which assists at digestion by dissolving the food we take, then life is worth little. When an animal dies, that which is called its life is never seen leaving it. Only the breath leaves it, and the internal heat becomes extinguished. If life were nothing else, than wind, or if life depended only on the wind, then it could have been seen like the external sea of air, and when passing out it would have mingled with that air. If life dependest upon air, and if it ended with the escape of that air from the body, it would then mingle with another portion of air (that exists externally) like a portion of water escaping into the great ocean and thereby only changing the place of its residence. If a quantity of water be thrown into a well, or if the flame of a lamp be thrown into a blazing fire, either of them, entering a homogeneous element, loses its independent or separate existence. If life were air, it also, when the animal died, would mingle with the great ocean of air outside. How can we say that there is life in this animal body which is made up of the five (primal) elements? If one of those elements disappear, the union of the other four becomes dissolved. The element of water drieth up if food be not taken. The element of air disappears if the breath be restrained. The element of space disappears if the excretions cease. So also the element of fire becomes extinguished if food does not go in. The element of earth breaks in pieces in consequence of diseases, wounds, and other sufferings. If only one of the five becomes afflicted, the union, being dissolved, the five go away into five different directions. When the body which is a union of the elements, becomes separated into five ingredients, whither doth life go? What doth it then know? What doth it then hear? What doth it then say? This cow (that is given away to a holy Brahmana), it is said, will rescue me in the other world. The animal, however, that is given away, itself dies. Whom then will this cow rescue? The taker of the cow (in gift) and the giver are both equal (in being both subject to death). Both of them meet with extinction in this world. How then will they meet again? How will the person that has been eaten up by birds, or that has been broken in pieces by a fall from a mountain summit, or that has been consumed by fire, regain life? The root of a tree that has been cut down does not grow up again. Only the seeds put forth sprouts. Where is the person who having died comes back (to some sort of new existence)? Only seeds were originally created. All this universe is the result of seeds in succession. They that die, die to perish Seeds result from seeds.'"

SECTION 187

"Bhrigu said, 'There is no destruction of the living creature, or of what is given, or of our other acts. The creature that dies only goes into another form. The body along dissolves away. The living creature, though depending upon the body, does not meet with destruction when the body is destroyed. It is not seen after the destruction of the physical frame just as fire is not seen after the consumption of the fuel with which it was ignited.'

"Bharadwaja said, 'If there is no destruction of the living creature like that of fire, I submit, fire itself is not seen after consumption of the fuel (that ignited it). When the supply of fuel is stopped, the fire becomes extinguished, and, as far as I know, becomes annihilated. That should surely be regarded to have met with destruction which has no longer any action, which furnishes no proof of its existence, and which no longer occupies any space.'

"Bhrigu said, 'It is true that upon the consumption of fuel fire is no longer seen. It mingles with space because there is no longer any visible object in which to inhere, and hence it becomes incapable of perception by us. Similarly, upon leaving the body, the creature lives in space, and cannot be seen in consequence of its extreme subtility as is doubtless the case with fire. It is fire or heat that sustains the breaths called Prana and the others. Know that that heat (thus existing) is called life or the living agent. That heat which is the sustainer of the breaths, becomes extinguished in consequence of the suppression of breath. Upon that heat in the physical frame being extinguished, the frame itself loses animation. Falling down, it is transformed into earth, for that is its ultimate destination. The breath that is in all mobile and immobile objects mingles with space, and the heat that is in them follows that breath. These three (viz., space, air, and tire), mingle together. The other two (viz., water and earth), exist together in the form of earth. There is wind where space is, and there is fire where wind is. They are formless, it should be known, and become endued with form only in respect of embodied creatures.'

"Bharadwaja said, 'If in the physical frames of all living creatures there are heat, wind, earth, space and water, what, then, are the indications of living agent? Tell me these, O sinless one! I desire to know the nature of the life that is in the bodies of living beings,--bodies made up of the five primal elements, engaged in the five acts, endued with the five senses and possessed of animation. Upon the dissolution of the body which is a union of flesh and blood, and a mass of fat, sinews and bones, that which is the living agent cannot be seen. If this body, composed of the five elements, be destitute of what is called life, who or what then is that which feels misery upon the appearance of either bodily or mental pain? The living agent hears what is said, with the aid of the ears. It, however, happens again, O great Rishi, that the same agent hears not when the Mind is otherwise engaged. It seems, therefore, that that which is called the living agent serves no purpose. The whole scene that the living agent sees with eyes acting in concert with the mind, the eye beholds not, even when lying before it, if the mind be otherwise engaged. Then again, when it is under the influence of sleep, that agent neither sees nor smells, nor hears, nor speaks, nor experiences the perceptions of touch and taste. Who or what then is that which feels joy, becomes angry, gives way to sorrow, and experiences tribulation? What is that which wishes, thinks, feels aversion, and utters words?'

"Bhrigu said, 'The mind also is made of the five elements in common with the body. For this reason it is of no consequence with respect to the acts mentioned by thee. Only the one internal Soul sustaineth the body. It is he that perceives smell, taste, sound, touch and form and other properties (that exist in external nature). That Soul, pervading all the limbs, is the witness (of the acts) of the mind endued with five attributes and residing within the body composed of the five elements. It is he who feels pleasure and pain, and when separated from him the body no longer experiences them. When there is no longer any perception of form or of touch, when there is no heat in the fire that resides within the body,--indeed, when that animal heat becomes extinguished,--the body, in consequence of its abandonment by the Soul, meets with destruction. The whole universe is composed of water. Water is the form of all embodied creatures. In that water is the Soul which is displayed in the mind. That Soul is the Creator Brahman who exists in all things. When the Soul becomes endued with vulgar attributes, it comes to be called Kshetrajna. When freed from those attributes, it comes to be called Paramatman or Supreme Soul. Know that Soul. He is inspired with universal benevolence. He resides in the body like a drop of water in a lotus. Know well that which is called Kshetrajna and which has universal benevolence. Darkness, Passion, and Goodness are the attributes of the living agent. The learned say that the Soul has Consciousness and exists with the attributes of life. The soul exerts and causes everything to exert. Persons that have a knowledge of the Soul say that the Soul is different from life. It is the Supreme Soul that has created the seven worlds and sets them agoing. There is no destruction of the living agent when the dissolution of the body takes place. Men destitute of intelligence say that it dies. That is certainly untrue. All that the living agent does is to go from one unto another body.

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That which is called death is only the dissolution of the body. It is thus that the Soul, wrapped in diverse forms, migrates from form to form, unseen and unnoticed by others. Persons possessed of true Knowledge behold the Soul by their keen and subtile intelligence. The man of wisdom, living on frugal fare, and with heart cleansed of all sins, devoting himself to yoga meditation, succeeds every night, before sleep and after sleep, in beholding his Soul by the aid of his Soul. In consequence of a contented heart, and by abandoning all acts good and bad, one can obtain infinite happiness by depending upon one's own Soul. The king, of fiery effulgence, residing within the mind is called the living agent. It is from that Lord of everything that this creation has sprung. Even this is the conclusion to be arrived at in the enquiry into the origin of creatures and the soul.'

SECTION 188

"Bhrigu said, 'Brahman first created a few Brahmanas who came to be called Prajapatis (lords of creation). Possessed of splendour equal to that of the fire or the Sun, they were created out of the energy of that First-born Being. The puissant Lord then created Truth, Duty, Penance, the eternal Vedas, all kinds of pious acts, and Purity, for enabling creatures to attain to heaven (by practising them). After this, the Deities and the Danavas, the Gandharvas, the Daityas, the Asuras, the great snakes, the Yakshas, the Rakshasas, the Serpents, the Pisachas, and human beings with their four divisions, viz., Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras, O best of regenerate ones, and all the other orders of creatures that exist, were created. The complexion the Brahmanas obtained was white; that which the Kshatriyas obtained was red; that which the Vaisyas got was yellow; and that which was given to the Sudras was black.'

"Bharadwaja said, 'If the distinction between the four orders (of human beings) be made by means only of colour (attribute), then it seems that all the four orders have been mingled together. Lust, wrath, fear, cupidity, grief, anxiety, hunger, toil, possess and prevail over all men. How can men be distinguished by the possession of attributes? The bodies of all men emit sweat, urine, faeces, phlegm, bile, and blood. How then can men be distributed into classes? Of mobile objects the number is infinite; the species also of immobile objects are innumerable. How, then, can objects of such very great diversity be distributed into classes?'

"Bhrigu said, 'There is really no distinction between the different orders. The whole world at first consisted of Brahmanas. Created (equal) by Brahman, men have, in consequence of their acts, become distributed into different orders. They that became fond of indulging in desire and enjoying pleasures, possessed of the attributes of severity and wrath, endued with courage, and unmindful of the duties of piety and worship,--these Brahmanas possessing the attribute of Passion,--became Kshatriyas. Those Brahmanas again who, without attending to the duties laid down for them, became possessed of both the attributes of Goodness and Passion, and took to the professions of cattle-rearing and agriculture, became Vaisyas. Those Brahmanas again that became fond of untruth and injuring other creatures, possessed of cupidity,--engaged in all kinds of acts for a living, and fallen away from purity of behaviour, and thus wedded to the attribute of Darkness, became Sudras. Separated by these occupations, Brahmanas, falling away from their own order, became members of the other three orders. All the four orders, therefore, have always the right to the performance of all pious duties and of sacrifices. Even thus were the four orders at first created equal by Brahman who ordained for all of them (the observances disclosed in) the words of Brahma (in the Vedas). Through cupidity alone, many fell away, and became possessed by ignorance. The Brahmanas are always devoted to the scriptures on Brahma; and mindful of vows and restraints, are capable of grasping the conception of Brahma. Their penances therefore, never go for nothing. They amongst them are not Brahmanas that are incapable of understanding that every created thing is Supreme Brahma. These, falling away, became members of diverse (inferior) orders. Losing the light of knowledge, and betaking themselves to an unrestrained course of conduct, they take birth as Pisachas and Rakshasas and Pretas and as individuals of diverse Mleccha species. The great Rishis who at the beginning sprang into life (through Brahman's Will) subsequently created, by means of their penances, men devoted to the duties ordained for them and attached to the rites laid down in the Eternal Vedas. That other Creation, however, which is eternal and undecaying, which is based upon Brahma and has sprung from the Primeval God, and which has its refuge upon yoga, is a mental one.'" [The distinction here laid down seems to be this: the eternal creation is due to the yoga or mental action of the Primeval Deity. That creation which we behold is the result of the penances of those sages who were first created. Perhaps, what is intended to be said is that the principle of life, of life proceeding from life, and primal matter with space, etc., are all due to the fiat of God; while all visible and tangible objects, resulting from the action of those principles and from primal matter and space, are attributable to the ancient sages.]

SECTION 189

"Bharadwaja said, 'By what acts does one become a Brahmana? By what, a Kshatriya? O best of regenerate ones, by what acts again does one become a Vaisya or a Sudra? Tell me this, O foremost of speakers.'

"Bhrigu said, 'That person is called a Brahmana who has been sanctified by such rites as those called jata and others; who is pure in behaviour; who is engaged in studying the Vedas; who is devoted to the six well-known acts (of ablutions every morning and evening, silent recitation of mantras, pouring libations on the sacrificial fire, worshipping the deities, doing the duties of hospitality to guests, and offering food to the Viswedevas); who is properly observant of all pious acts; who never takes food without having offered it duly to gods and guests; who is filled with reverence for his preceptor; and who is always devoted to vows and truth. He is called a Brahmana in whom are truth, gifts, abstention from injury to others, compassion, shame, benevolence, and penance. He who is engaged in the profession of battle, who studies the Vedas, who makes gifts (to Brahmanas) and takes wealth (from those he protects) is called a Kshatriya. He who earns fame from keep of cattle, who is employed in agriculture and the means of acquiring wealth, who is pure in behaviour and attends to the study of the Vedas, is called a Vaisya. He who takes pleasure in eating every kind of food, who is engaged in doing every kind of work, who is impure in behaviour, who does not study the Vedas, and whose conduct is unclean, is said to be a Sudra. If these characteristics be observable in a Sudra, and if they be not found in a Brahmana, then such a Sudra is no Sudra, and, such a Brahmana is no Brahmana. By every means should cupidity and wrath be restrained. This as also self-restraint, are the highest results of Knowledge. Those two passions (viz., cupidity and wrath), should, with one's whole heart, be resisted. They make their appearance for destroying one's highest good. One should always protect one's prosperity from one's wrath, one's penances from pride; one's knowledge from honour and disgrace; and one's soul from error. That intelligent person, O regenerate one, who does all acts without desire of fruit, whose whole wealth exists for charity, and who performs the daily Homa, is a real Renouncer. One should conduct oneself as a friend to all creatures, abstaining from all acts of injury. Rejecting the acceptance of all gifts, one should, by the aid of one's own intelligence, be a complete master of one's passions. One should live in one's soul where there can be no grief. One would then have no fear here and attain to a fearless region hereafter. One should live always devoted to penances, and with all passions completely restrained; observing the vow of taciturnity, and with soul concentrated on itself; desirous of conquering the unconquered senses, and unattached in the midst of attachments. All things that can be perceived by the senses are called Manifest. All, however, that is Unmanifest, that is beyond the ken of the senses, that can be ascertained only by the subtile senses, should be sought to be known. If there be no faith, one will never succeed in attaining to that subtile sense. Therefore, one should hold oneself in faith. The mind should be united with Prana, and Prana should then be held within Brahma. By dissociating oneself from all attachments, one may obtain absorption into Brahma. There is no need of attending to any other thing. A Brahmana can easily attain to Brahma by the path of Renunciation. The indications of a Brahmana are purity, good behaviour and compassion unto all creatures.'"

SECTION 190

"Bhrigu said, 'Truth is Brahma; Truth is Penance; it is Truth that creates all creatures. It is by Truth that the whole universe is upheld; and it is with the aid of Truth that one goes to heaven. Untruth is only another form of Darkness. It is Darkness that leads downwards. Those who are afflicted by Darkness and covered by it fail to behold the lighted regions of heaven. It has been said that Heaven is Light and that Hell is Darkness. The creatures that dwell in the universe may obtain both heaven and hell. In this world also, truth and untruth lead to opposite courses of conduct and opposite indications, such as Righteousness and Unrighteousness, light and darkness, pleasure and pain. Amongst these, that which is Truth is Righteousness; that which is Righteousness is Light; and that which is Light is Happiness. Similarly, that which is Untruth is Unrighteousness; that which is Unrighteousness is Darkness; and that which is Darkness is Sorrow or Misery. In this respect it is said that they that are possessed of wisdom, beholding that the world of lire is overwhelmed with sorrow, both bodily and mental, and with happiness that is sure to end in misery, never suffer themselves to be stupefied. He that is Wise will strive to rescue himself from sorrow. The happiness of living creatures is unstable both here and hereafter. The happiness of creatures that are overwhelmed by Darkness disappears like the splendour of the Moon when afflicted by Rahu. Happiness is said to be of two kinds, viz., bodily and mental. Both in this and the other world, the visible and the invisible fruits (of action) are specified (in the Vedas) for the sake of happiness. There is nothing more important than happiness and among the fruits or consequences of the triple aggregate. Happiness is desirable. It is an attribute of the Soul. Both Virtue and Profit are sought for its sake. Virtue is its root. This, indeed, is its origin. All acts have for their end the attainment of happiness.'

"Bharadwaja said, 'You have said that happiness is the highest object, I do not comprehend this. This attribute of the soul that (you say) is so desirable is not sought by the Rishis who are regarded to be engaged in something promising a higher reward. It is heard that the Creator of the three worlds, viz., the puissant Brahman, lives alone, observant of the vow of Brahmacharya. He never devotes himself to the happiness obtainable from the gratification of desire. Also, the divine Master of the universe, the lord of Uma, reduced Kama (the deity of desire) to extinction. For this reason, we say that happiness is not acceptable to high-souled people. Nor does it appear to be a high attribute of the Soul. I cannot put faith in what thy divine self has said, viz., that there is nothing higher than happiness. That there are two kinds of consequences in respect of our acts, viz., the springing of happiness from good acts and of sorrow from sinful, acts, is only a saying that is current in the world.'

"Bhrigu said, 'On this it is said as follows: from Untruth springs Darkness. They that are overwhelmed by Darkness pursue only Unrighteousness and not Righteousness, being overmastered by wrath, covetousness, malice, falsehood, and similar evils. They never obtain happiness either here or hereafter, On the other hand, they are afflicted by various kinds of disease and pain and trouble. They are also tortured by Death, imprisonment, and diverse other griefs of that kind, and by the sorrows, attending on hunger and thirst and toil. They are also pained by the numerous bodily griefs that arise from rain and wind and burning heat and exceeding cold. They are also overwhelmed by numerous mental griefs caused by loss of wealth and separation from friends, as also by griefs caused by decrepitude and death. They that are not touched by these diverse kinds of physical and mental afflictions, know what happiness is. These evils are never found in heaven. There delicious breezes blow. In heaven there is also perpetual fragrance. In heaven there is no hunger, no thirst, no decrepitude, no sin. In this world there is both happiness and misery. In hell there is only misery. Therefore, happiness is the highest object of acquisition. The Earth is the progenitrix of all creatures. Females partake of her nature. The male animal is like Prajapati himself. The vital seed, it should be known, is the creative energy. In this way did Brahman ordain in days of old that the creation should go on. Each, affected by his own acts, obtains happiness or misery.'" [Nearly the whole of this section is prose.]

SECTION 191

"Bharadwaja said, 'What has been said to be the consequence of gift? What of Righteousness? What of conduct? What of Penances well-performed? What of the study and recitation of the Vedas? And what of pouring libations upon the fire?'

'Bhrigu said, 'By pouring libations on the sacred fire, sin is burnt. By study of the Vedas one obtains blessed tranquillity. By gift, one obtains pleasure and articles of enjoyment. By Penances, one acquires blessed heaven. Gift is said to be of two kinds: gifts for the other world, and those for this. Whatever is given to the good attends the giver in the other world. Whatever is given to those that are not good produces consequences enjoyable here. The consequences of gifts are commensurate with the gifts themselves.'

"Bharadwaja said, 'What course of duties should be performed by whom? What also are the characteristics of duty? How many kinds of duty are there? It behoveth thee to tell me these.'

"Bhrigu said, 'Those wise men who are engaged in practising the duties laid down for them succeed in obtaining heaven as their reward. By doing otherwise people become guilty of folly.'

"Bharadwaja said, 'It behoveth thee to tell me about the four modes of life that were formerly laid down by Brahman, and the practices ordained for each of them.'

"Bhrigu said, 'In days of yore, the divine Brahman, for benefiting the world, and for the protection of righteousness, indicated four modes of life. Amongst them, residence in the abode of the preceptor is mentioned as the first (in order of time). He who is in this mode of life should have his soul cleansed by purity of conduct, by Vedic rites, and by restraints and vows and humility. He should worship the morning and evening twilights, the Sun, his own sacred fire, and the deities. He should cast off procrastination and idleness. He should cleanse his soul by saluting his preceptor, by studying the Vedas, and by listening to his preceptor's instructions. He should perform his ablutions thrice (viz., in the morning, noon, and evening). He should lead a life of celibacy; attend to his sacred fire; dutifully serve his preceptor; daily go out on a round of mendicancy (for supporting himself); and give ungrudgingly unto his preceptor the whole of what is obtained in alms. Willingly accomplishing everything that the commands of his preceptor may indicate, he should be ready

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to receive such Vedic instruction as his preceptor may give him as a favour. On this subject there is a verse: That Brahmana who obtains his Veda by attending with reverence upon his preceptor, succeeds in attaining to heaven and obtains the fruition of all his desires. The domestic mode of life is called the second (in point of time). We shall explain to you all the pious acts and indications of that mode. Those who having completed their residence in the preceptor's abode return home, who are of pious conduct, who desire the fruits of a virtuous course of behaviour with spouses in their company, have this mode of life ordained for them. In it Virtue, Wealth, and Pleasure, may all be obtained. It is (thus) suited to the cultivation of the triple aggregate. Acquiring wealth by irreproachable acts, or with wealth of high efficacy which is obtained from recitation of the Vedas, or living upon such means as are utilised by the regenerate Rishis, or with the produce of mountains and mines, or with the wealth represented by the offerings made in sacrifices and on the termination of vows and other observances, and those made unto deities, the householder should lead this mode of life. That mode of life is regarded as the root of all the others. They who are residents in the abodes of preceptors, they who lead lives of mendicancy, and others who live in the observance of vows and restraints to which they are pledged, derive from this mode the means they live upon, the offerings they make unto the Pitris and the deities, and, in short, their entire support. The third mode of life is called the Forest-life. For those that lead it, there is no storing of wealth and articles. Generally, these pious and good men, subsisting upon good food, and engaged in studying the Vedas, roam ever the earth for journeying to tirthas and visiting diverse realms. Standing up, advancing forward, sweet speeches uttered in sincerity, gifts according to the measure of the giver's competence, offer of seats and beds of the best kind, and presents of excellent food, are some of the means for showing them regard. On this subject there is a verse: If a guest turns away from a house with expectations unfulfilled, he is supposed to take away the merits of the householder and leave the latter all his misdeeds. Then again in the domestic mode of life the deities are gratified by sacrifices and other religious rites; the Pitris by the performance of obsequial rites; the Rishis by cultivation of (Vedic) knowledge, by listening to the instructions of preceptors, and by committing to memory the scriptures; and lastly the Creator by begetting children. On this subject there are two verses: One in the observance of this mode of life should speak upon all creatures words breathing affection and agreeable to the ears. To give pain, to inflict mortifications, and harsh words, are all censurable. Insult, arrogance, and deceit, also should be avoided. Abstention from injury, truth, and absence of wrath, produce the merit of penances in all the (four) modes of life. In the domestic mode of life these are allowed, viz., the use and enjoyment of floral garlands, ornaments, robes, perfumed oils and unguents; enjoyment of pleasures derived from dancing and music, both vocal and instrumental, and all sights and scenes that are agreeable to the sight; the enjoyment of various kinds of viands and drinks belonging to the principal orders of edibles, viz., those that are swallowed, those that are lapped, those that are quaffed, and those that are sucked; and the enjoyment of pleasures derivable from sports and every kind of amusement and the gratification of desires. That man who in the observance of this mode of life seeks the acquisition of the triple aggregate (viz., Religion, Wealth, and Pleasure), with that of the great end of the three attributes of Goodness and Passion and Darkness, enjoys great happiness here and at last attains to the end that is reserved for persons that are virtuous and good. Even that householder who observes the duties of his mode of life by following the practice of picking up fallen grains of corn from the cracks of fields and who abandons sensual pleasure and attachment to action, does not find it difficult to obtain heaven.'"

SECTION 192

"Bhrigu said, 'Forest recluses seeking the acquisition of virtue go to sacred waters and rivers and springs, and undergo penances in lone and secluded woods abounding with deer and buffaloes and boars and tigers and wild elephants. They forsake all kinds of robes and food and enjoyments for which people living in society have a taste. They subsist abstemiously upon wild herbs and fruits and roots and leaves of diverse kinds. The bare ground is their seat. They lie down on the bare earth or rocks or pebbles or gravel or sand or ashes. They cover their limbs with grass and animal skins and barks of trees. They never shave their heads and beards or pare their nails. They perform their ablutions at regular intervals. They pour libations on the ground, as also on the sacred fire at the proper time without fail. They never enjoy any rest till completion of their daily gathering of the sacred fuel (for their homa fires) and sacred grass and flowers (for sacrifice and worship) and till they have swept and rubbed clean (their sacrificial altars). They bear without the least regard cold and heat, and rain and wind, and, therefore, the skin of their bodies is cracked all over; and in consequence of observing and laying down for themselves various kinds of rites and vows and acts, their flesh and blood and skin and bones become emaciated. Endued with great patience and fortitude, they live, always practising the quality of goodness. That person who, with restrained soul, observes such a course of duties originally ordained by regenerate Rishis, burns all his sins like fire and obtains regions of felicity difficult of attainment.'

"I shall now describe the conduct of those called Parivrajakas. That is as follows: freeing themselves from attachment to the sacred fire, wealth, spouse and children, and robes, seats, beds, and such other objects of enjoyment, and breaking the bonds of affection, they roam about, regarding with an equal eye a clump of earth or rock and gold. They never set their hearts on the acquisition or enjoyment of the triple aggregate. They cast an equal eye on foes and friends and neutrals or strangers. They never injure, in thought, word, or deed, immobile things or creatures that are viviparous, or oviparous or born of filth, or called vegetables. They have no homes. They roam over hills and mountains, upon shores of rivers or seas, under shades of trees, and among temples of deities. They may go to towns or villages for residence. In a town, however, they should not live for more than five nights, while in a village their residence should never exceed one night. Entering a town or a village, they should, for the support of life, repair to the abodes of only Brahmanas of liberal deeds. [The Hindus had no poor laws. The injunctions of their scriptures have always sufficed to maintain the poor, particularly their religious mendicants. The mendicants themselves are restrained from disturbing the householders often. None again save the well-to-do were to be visited by the mendicants, so that men of scanty means might not be compelled to support the recluses.] They should never ask for any alms except what is thrown into the (wooden) bowls they carry. They should free themselves from lust, wrath, pride, cupidity, delusion, miserliness, deceit, slander, vanity, and injury to living creatures. On this subject there are some verses: that person, who, observing the vow of taciturnity, roveth without giving any creature cause of fear, is never inspired with any fear himself by any creature. That learned person who performs the Agnihotra (not by kindling of, external fire but) with the aid of the fire that is his own body, indeed, who poureth libations into his own mouth and upon the fire that exists in his own body, succeeds in attaining to numerous regions of felicity in consequence of that fire being fed with such libations obtained by a life of eleemosynation. That person of regenerate birth who observes in the aforesaid way this mode of life having Emancipation for its end, with a pure heart and with an understanding freed from resolution, attains to Brahma after the manner of a tranquil ray of light that is not fed by any blazing fuel.'

"Bharadwaja said, 'Beyond this region (that we inhabit) there is a region that we have heard of but never seen. I desire to know all about it. It behoveth thee to describe it to me.'

"Bhrigu said, 'Towards the north, on the other side of Himavat, which is sacred and possessed of every merit, there is a region that is sacred, blessed, and highly desirable. That is called the other world. The men that inhabit that region are righteous in act, pious, of pure hearts, freed from cupidity and errors of judgement, and not subject to afflictions of any kind. That region is, indeed, equal to heaven, possessed as it is of such excellent attributes. Death comes there at the proper season. Diseases never touch the inhabitants. Nobody cherishes any desire for the wives of other people. Every one is devoted to his own wife. These people do not afflict or kill one another, or covet one another's things. There no sin occurs, no doubt arises. There the fruits of all (religious) acts are visible. There some enjoy seats and drinks and viands of the best kind, and live within palaces and mansions. There some, adorned with ornaments of gold, surround themselves with every article of enjoyment. There are, again, some that eat very abstemiously, for only keeping body and soul together. There some, with great toil, seek to hold the life-breaths. Here (in this region that is inhabited by us), some men are devoted to righteousness and some to deceit. Some are happy and some miserable; some are poor and some rich. Here toil, and fear and delusion, and painful hunger make their appearance. Here cupidity for wealth is also seen, a passion that stupefies even those that are learned amongst men. Here diverse opinions prevail, broached by those that do deeds which are righteous or sinful. That man possessed of wisdom who knows all those opinions which may be divided into two kinds, is never stained by sin. Deceit With fraud, theft, slander, malice, oppression, injury, treachery, and untruth, and vices that detract from the merit of his penances who practises them. He, on the other hand, possessed of learning, who avoids them, finds the merit of his penances increased. Here there is much reflection about acts that are righteous and those that are unrighteous. This region that we inhabit is the field of action. Having done good and evil here, one obtains good for his good acts and evil for acts that are evil. Here the very Creator in days of yore, and all the gods with the Rishis, having performed proper penances, become cleansed and attain to Brahma. The northern portion of the earth is highly auspicious and sacred. Those belonging to this region (that we inhabit) that are doers of righteous deeds or that show regard for yoga, become born in that region. Others (that are of a different disposition) take their births in the intermediate species. Some again, when their allotted periods run out, become lost on earth. Employed in feeding upon one another and stained by cupidity and delusion, these mea return to this very region without being able to go (after death) to that northern region. Those men of wisdom who with vows and observant of Brahmacharyya listen with veneration to the instructions of preceptors, succeed in knowing the ends reserved for all classes of men. I have now told thee in brief the course of duties ordained by Brahman. He, indeed, is said to be possessed of intelligence who knows what is righteousness and what its reverse in this world.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus, O king, did Bhrigu speak unto Bharadwaja of great energy. Of soul highly virtuous, the latter became filled with wonder and worshipped the great sage with veneration. Thus, O monarch, the origin of the universe has been narrated to thee in detail. What, O thou of great wisdom, dost thou wish to hear after this?'"

SECTION 193

"Yudhishthira said, 'I think, O grandsire, that thou art acquainted with everything, O thou that art conversant with duties. I desire to hear thee discourse to me, O sinless one, of the ordinances about conduct.'

"Bhishma said, 'They that are of bad conduct, of bad acts, of wicked understanding, and excessive rashness, are called evil or wicked men. They, however, that are called good are distinguished by purity of conduct and practices. They are good men who never answer calls of nature on the high roads, in cow-pens, or in fields overgrown with paddy. Having finished the necessary acts one should perform his ablutions in river-water and gratify the deities with oblations of water. This is said to be the duty of all men. Surya should be always worshipped. One should not sleep after sunrise. Morning and evening the prayers (ordained in the scriptures) should be said, sitting with face turned towards the east and towards the west respectively. Washing the five limbs [The five limbs which should be washed before eating are the two feet, the two hands, and the face.], one should eat silently with face turned towards the east. One should never disparage the food which one is to eat. One should eat food that is good to the taste. After eating one should wash one's hands and rise. One should never go to sleep at night with wet feet. The celestial Rishi Narada said that these are indications of good conduct. One should every day circumambulate a sacred spot, a bull, a sacred image, a cow-pen, a place where four roads meet, a pious Brahmana, and sacred tree. One should not make distinctions between one's guests and attendants and kinsmen in matters of food. Equality (in this respect) with servants is applauded. Eating (twice a day) in the morning and evening is an ordinance of the gods. It is not laid down that one should eat (once more) at any intermediate period. He who eats according to this rule acquires the merit of a fast. At the hours ordained for Homa one should pour libations on the sacred fire. Without seeking the companionship of other people's wives, the man of wisdom who seeks his own wife in her season acquires the merit of Brahmacharyya. The remnants of a Brahmana's dish are like ambrosia. They are like the lacteal sustenance that is yielded by the mother's breast. People highly prize those remnants. The good, by eating them attain to Brahma. He who pounds turf to clay (for making sacrificial altars), or he who cuts grass (for making sacrificial fuel), or he who uses his nails only (and not weapons of any kind) for eating (sanctified meat), or he who always subsists on the remnants of Brahmana's dishes, or he who acts, induced by desire for reward, has not to live long in the world. One who has abstained from meat (under any vow) should not take meat even if it be sanctified with mantras from the Yajurveda. One should also avoid the flesh about the vertebral column (of any animal) and the flesh of animals not slain in sacrifices. Whether at one's own place or in a strange land, one should never cause one's guest to fast. Having obtained alms and other fruits of optional acts, one should offer them to one's seniors. One should offer seats to one's seniors and salute them with respect. By worshipping one's seniors, one obtains long life, fame, and prosperity. One should never behold the Sun at the moment of rising, nor should one turn one's gaze towards a naked woman that is another man's spouse. Congress with one's wife (in her season) is not sinful but it is an act that should always be done in privacy. The heart of all sacred spots and shrines is the Preceptor. The heart of all pure and cleansing things is Fire. All acts done by a good and pious person are good and laudable, including even the touching of the hair of a cow's tail. Every time one meets with another, one should make polite enquiries. The saluting of Brahmanas every morning and evening is ordained. In temples of gods, amid cows, in performing the rites of religion laid down for Brahmanas, in reading the Vedas, and in eating, the right hand should be raised. The worship of Brahmanas, morning and evening, according to due rites, produces great merit. In consequence of such worship the stock-in-trade of the merchant, become abundant and the produce of the

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agriculturist. Great also becomes the yield of all kinds of corn and the supply of all articles that the senses can enjoy becomes copious. When giving eatables to another (seated at his dish), one should say, 'Is it sufficient?' When presenting drink, one should ask, 'Will it gratify,' and when giving sweetened milk and rice, or sugared gruel of barley, or milk with sesame or pease, one should ask 'Has it fallen?' After shaving, after spitting, after bathing, and after eating, people should worship Brahmanas with reverence, Such worship is sure to bestow longevity on sickly men. One should not pass urine with face turned towards the sun, nor should one see one's own excreta. One should not lie on the same bed with a woman, nor eat with her. In addressing seniors one should never apply the pronoun you to them or take their names. Thouing or the taking of names is not censurable in addressing inferiors or equals in age. The hearts of sinful men betray the sins committed by them. Those sinful men that conceal their conscious sins from good men meet with destruction. Only ignorant fools seek to conceal the sins which they commit consciously. It is true that human beings do not see those sins but the gods see them. A sin concealed by another sin leads to fresh sins. An act of merit, again, if concealed by an act of merit, increases the merit. The acts of a virtuous man always follow in the wake of virtue. A man destitute of understanding never thinks of the sins committed by him. Those sins, however, overtake the doer that has fallen away from the scriptures. As Rahu comes to Chandra (at his proper time), those sinful acts come to the foolish man. The objects that are stored with expectation are scarcely enjoyed. Such storing is never applauded by the wise, for death waits for no one (but snatches his prey whether the latter be ready or unready). The wise have said that the righteousness of all creatures is an attribute of the mind. For this reason, one should, in one's mind, do good to all. [The Hindu moralist, in this verse, declares the same high morality that Christ himself preached. Merit or sin, according to him, does not depend on the overt act alone. Both depend on the mind. Hence the injunction against even mentally harming others.] One should practise virtue singly. In the practice of virtue one has no need for the help of others. If one obtains only the ordinances of the scriptures, what can an associate do? Righteousness is the origin of mankind. Righteousness is the ambrosia of the gods. After death, men enjoy, through Righteousness, eternal happiness.'

SECTION 194

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me, O grandsire, what and of what nature is that which is called by the name of Adhyatma and which is laid down for every person. O thou that art acquainted with Brahma, whence has this universe consisting of mobile and immobile things, been created? When universal destruction sets in, to whom does it go? It behoveth thee to discourse to me upon this topic.'

"Bhishma said 'This, Adhyatma, O son of Pritha, that thou askest me about, I will presently discourse upon. It is highly agreeable and productive of great felicity. Great teachers have (before this) show the truths about Creation and the Destruction (of the universe). Knowing those truths, a person may obtain, even in this world, great satisfaction and felicity. Such knowledge may lead also to the acquisition of great fruits, and it is highly beneficial to all creatures. Earth, air, space, water, and light numbered as the fifth, are regarded as Great Creatures. These constitute both the origin and the destruction of all created objects. Unto him from whom these great primal elements take their origin, they return repeatedly, severing themselves from all creatures (into whose compositions they enter), even like the waves of the ocean (subsiding into that from which they seem to take their rise). As the tortoise stretches its limbs and withdraws them again, even so the Supreme Soul creates all objects and again withdraws into Himself. The Creator places the five primal elements in all created objects in different proportions. The living creature, however, does not see it (through ignorance). Sound, the organs of hearing, and all holes,--these three,--spring from Space as their progenitor. Touch, action, and skin are the triple attributes of the Wind. Form, eye, and digestion are the triple attributes of Fire or Energy. Taste, all liquid secretions, and the tongue represent the three attributes of Water. Scents, the nose, and the body are the triple properties of Earth. The great (primal) elements are five. The mind is the sixth. The senses and the mind, O Bharata, are (the sources of all) the perceptions of a living creature. The seventh is called the understanding; and the eighth is the soul. [Generally, in Hindu philosophy, particularly of the Vedanta school, a distinction is conceived between the mind, the understanding, and the soul. The mind is the seat or source of all feelings and emotions as also all our perceptions, or those which are called cognitions in the Kantian school, including Comparison which (in the Kantian school) is called the Vernuft or Reason. This last is called the Understanding or buddhi. The soul is regarded as something distinct from both the body and the mind. It is the Being to whom the body and the mind belong. It is represented as inactive, and as the all-seeing witness within the physical frame. It is a portion of the Supreme Soul.] The senses are for perceiving; the mind (unable to deal with those perceptions) produces uncertainty. The understanding reduces all perceptions to certainty. The Soul exists as a witness (without acting). All that is above the two feet, all that is behind, and all that is above, are seen by the Soul. Know that the Soul pervades the entire being without any space being left unoccupied. All men should know the senses, the mind, and the understanding fully. The three states or qualities called Darkness, Passion, and Goodness, exist, dependent on the senses, the mind, and the understanding. Man, by apprehending with the aid of his intelligence, the manner in which creatures come and leave the world, is sure to gradually attain to steadfast tranquillity. The three qualities (already mentioned, viz., Darkness, Passion, and Goodness), lead the understanding (to worldly attachments). In this respect, the Understanding (or Intelligence) is identical with the Senses and the Mind. The Understanding, therefore, is identical with the six (the five senses and the mind), and also with the objects comprehended by it. When, however, the Understanding is destroyed, the three qualities (of Darkness, Passion, and Goodness) are incapable of leading to action. This universe of immobile and mobile things consists of that intelligence. It is from that Intelligence that everything arises and it is into it that everything subsides. For this reason, the scriptures indicate that everything is a manifestation of Intelligence. That by which one hears is the ear. That by which one smells is called the organ of smell, and that by which one distinguishes the tastes is called the tongue. By the coat that covers the body one acquires perception of touch. That which is called the Intelligence undergoes modifications. When the Intelligence desires anything it comes to be called Mind. The foundations upon which the Intelligence rests are five in number, each serving a different purpose. They are called the senses. The invisible principle, viz., Intelligence rests on them. The Intelligence that exists in a living creature concerns itself with the three states (called Passion, Darkness, and Goodness). Sometimes it obtains joy and sometimes misery. Sometimes it becomes divested of both joy and misery. Even thus the Intelligence exists in the minds of all men. Sometimes the Intelligence which is made up of the triple states (already mentioned), transcends those three states (by yoga), like the lord of rivers, viz., the Ocean, with his surges, transgressing his high continents. That Intelligence which transcends the three qualities exist in the mind in a pure state of (unmodified) existence: alone. The quality of Darkness, however, that impels to action, soon pursues it. At that time, the Intelligence sets all the senses to action. The properties of the three are even thus: joy dwells in Goodness; sorrow in Passion; delusion in Darkness. All the states that exist (of the mind) are included in the three (that have been named). I have now, O Bharata, told thee about the course of the Understanding. An intelligent man should subdue all his senses.. The three qualities of Goodness, Passion, and Darkness, are always attached to living creatures. Three kinds of intelligence also are noticeable in every creature, viz., that which depends upon Goodness, that upon Passion, and that upon Darkness, O Bharata. The quality of Goodness brings happiness; the quality of Passion produces sorrow; and if these two combine with the quality of Darkness, then neither happiness nor sorrow is produced (but, instead, only delusion or error). Every state of happiness that appears in the body or the mind is said to be due to the quality of Goodness. A state of sorrow, disagreeable to oneself', that comes, is due to nothing but the quality of Passion. One should never think of it with fear. That state, again, which is allied with delusion and error, and in consequence of which one knows not what to do, which is unascertainable and unknown, should be regarded as belonging to the quality of Darkness. Gladness, satisfaction, delight, happiness, tranquillity of heart, these are the properties of the state of Goodness. Man sometimes obtains a measure of them. Discontent, heart-burning, grief, cupidity, vindictiveness are all indications of the state of Passion. They are seen with or without adequate causes for producing them. Disgrace, delusion, error, sleep and stupefaction, that overtake one through excess of ill-luck, are the various properties of the state of Darkness. That person whose mind is far-reaching, capable of extending in all directions, mistrustful in respect of winning the objects it desires, and well-restrained, is happy both here and hereafter. Mark the distinction between these two subtile things, viz., Intelligence and Soul. One of these (viz., intelligence), puts forth the qualities. The other (viz., the Soul), does nothing of the kind. A gnat and a fig may be seen to be united with each other. Though united, each however is distinct from the other. Similarly, Intelligence and Soul, though distinguished from each other, by their respective natures, yet they may always be seen to exist in a state of union. A fish and water exist in a state of union, Each, however, is different from the other. The same is the case with Intelligence and Soul. The qualities do not know the Soul, but the Soul knows them all. The Soul is the spectator of the qualities and regards them all as proceeding from itself. The soul, acting through the senses, the mind, and the understanding numbering as the seventh, all of which are inactive and have no self-consciousness, discovers the objects (amid which it exists) like a (covered) lamp showing all objects around it by shedding its rays through an aperture in the covering. The understanding or Intelligence creates all the qualities. The Soul only beholds them (as a witness). Even such is certainly the connection between the intelligence and the Soul. [The soul is said to be only a witness or spectator and not an actor. The Rishis understood by the soul the being to whom the mind, the senses, etc., all belong. Could the idea of the inactive and unsinning Soul have arisen from observation of the moral principle of Conscience which discriminates between right and wrong, and acts, therefore, as an impartial judge, or watches everything like an uninterested spectator? European moralists generally attribute two other functions to the Conscience, viz., impelling us to do the right and avoid the wrong, and approving when right is done and wrong avoided. But these functions may easily be attributed to some other principle. At any rate, when the question is one of nomenclature only, the last two functions may be taken away and the word Soul applied to indicate the Conscience as the faculty of discrimination only.] There is no refuge on which either Intelligence or Soul depends. The Understanding creates the mind, but never the qualities. When the soul, by means of the mind, sufficiently restrains the rays that emanate from the senses, it is then that it becomes manifest (to the Understanding) like a lamp burning within a vessel that covers it. That person who renounces all ordinary acts, practises penances, devotes himself to study the Soul, taking a delight therein, and regards himself as the Soul of all creatures, acquires a high end. As an aquatic fowl, while moving over the waters, is never drenched in that element, even thus does a person of wisdom move (in the world) among creatures. By the aid of one's intelligence one should act in the world after this fashion, without grief, without joy, with an equal eye for all, and destitute of malice and envy. One living in this way succeeds in creating the qualities (instead of being oneself affected by them), like a spider creating threads. 1 The qualities should, indeed, be regarded as the threads of the spider. Some say that the qualities in respect of such men are not lost. Some say that they are all lost. Those who say that they are not lost rely upon the revealed scriptures (viz., the Srutis), which do not contain any declaration to the contrary. They, on the other hand, who say that the qualities are all lost rely on the Smritis. Reflecting upon both these opinions, one should judge oneself as to which of them is right. One should thus get over this hard and knotty question which is capable c f disturbing the understanding by doubt, and thereby win happiness. When that doubt will be removed, one will no longer have to indulge in sorrow of any kind. Men of filthy hearts may by knowledge obtain success like persons plunging in a well-filled stream purifying themselves of all filth. One who has to cross a broad river does not feel happy at only seeing the other shore. If the case were otherwise (i.e., if by only beholding the other shore one could reach it by a boat), then might one become happy. The matter is otherwise with one acquainted with the Truth. The mere knowledge of Truth will bring him happiness. As soon as such knowledge begins to bear fruits, the person may be regarded to have reached the other shore. They who thus know the Soul as freed from all worldly objects and is but the One, are said to obtain high and excellent knowledge. A person by knowing the origin and the end of all creatures, which is even such, and by reflecting upon the matter, gradually obtains infinite happiness. He that has understood the triple aggregate (viz., that it is liable to destruction instead of being eternal), and reflecting upon it, casts it away, succeeds by yoga to behold the Truth and obtain perfect felicity. The Soul is incapable of being seen unless the senses, which are employed on diverse objects and are difficult of being controlled, be all duly restrained. He that knows this is really wise. What other indication is there of a wise man? Acquiring this knowledge, men possessed of intelligence regard themselves to be crowned with success. That which inspires the ignorant with fear can never inspire fear in persons of Knowledge. There is no higher end for anybody (than Emancipation). In consequence, however, of the excess or otherwise of good qualities, the sages say that differences are observable in respect of the degree of Emancipation. A person by acting without expectation of fruits succeeds (by those acts) in annihilating his sinful acts of a former period. To one possessed of wisdom, the acts of a former period (thus washed off) and those of this life also (which are accomplished without expectation of fruit), do not become productive of any disagreeable consequence (such as immurement in hell). But how can acts, if he continues to be engaged in accomplishing acts, bring about what is agreeable (viz., Emancipation)? People censure a person that is afflicted (with lust, envy, and other evil passions). Those vices hurl the person in his next life into diverse kinds of inferior orders. Mark with close attention the vicious in this world who grieve exceedingly for the loss of their possessions (such as sons and wives, etc.). Behold also those that are gifted with judgement and who never grieve when thrown into similar circumstances. Those that are conversant with both (i.e., with gradual

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Emancipation and immediate Emancipation), deserve to be called truly wise.'"

SECTION 195

"Bhishma said, 'I shall now, O son of Pritha, discourse to thee upon the four kinds of yoga meditation. The great Rishis, obtaining a knowledge of the same, attain to eternal success even here. Great Rishis gratified with knowledge, with hearts set upon Emancipation, and conversant with yoga, act in such a way that their yoga meditation may get on properly. These, O son of Pritha, being freed from the faults of the world, never come back (for rebirth). Liberated from liability to rebirth, they live in their original Soul-state. Freed from the influence of all pairs of opposites (such as heat and cold, joy and sorrow, etc.), ever existing in their own (original) state, liberated (from attachments), never accepting anything (in gift), they live in places free from the companionship of wives and children, without others with whom disputes may arise, and favourable to perfect tranquillity of heart. There such a person, restraining speech, sits like a piece of wood, crushing all the senses, and with mind undividedly united by the aid of meditation (with the Supreme Soul). He has no perception of sound through the ear; no perception of touch through the skin; no perception of form through the eye; no perception of taste through the tongue. He has no perception also of scents through the organ of smell. Immersed in yoga, he would abandon all things, rapt in meditation. Possessed of great energy of mind, he has no desire for anything that excites the five senses. The wise man, withdrawing his five senses into the mind, should then fix the unstable mind with the five senses (into the Intellect). Possessed of patience, the yogin should fix his mind which always wanders (among worldly objects), so that his five gates (under the influence of training) may be made stable in respect of things that are themselves unstable. He should, in the firmament of the heart, fix his mind into the path of meditation, making it independent of the body or any other refuge. I have spoken of the path of meditation as the first, since the yogin has first to crush his senses and the mind (and direct them to that path). The mind, which constitutes the sixth, when thus restrained, seeks to flash out like the capricious and flighty lightning moving in frolic among the clouds. As a drop of water on a (lotus) leaf is unstable and moves about in all directions, even so becomes the yogin's mind when first fixed on the path of meditation. When fixed, for a while the mind stays in that path. When, however, it strays again into the path of the wind, it becomes as flighty as the wind. The person conversant with the ways of yoga-meditation, undiscouraged by this, never regarding the loss of the toil undergone, casting aside idleness and malice, should again direct his mind to meditation. Observing the vow of silence, when one begins to set his mind on yoga, then discrimination, knowledge, and power to avoid evil, are gained by him. Though feeling annoyed in consequence of the flightiness of his mind, he should fix it (in meditation). The yogin should never despair, but seek his own good. As a heap of dust or ashes; or of burnt cow-dung, when drenched with water, does not seem to be soaked, indeed, as it continues dry if drenched partially, and requires incessant drenching before it becomes thoroughly soaked, even thus should the yogin gradually control all his senses. He should gradually withdraw them (from all objects). The man that acts in this way succeeds in controlling them. One, O Bharata, by oneself directing one's mind and senses to the path of meditation, succeeds in bringing them under perfect

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control by steadfast yoga. The felicity that he feels who has succeeded in controlling his mind and senses is such that its like can never be obtained through Exertion or Destiny. United with such felicity, he continues to take a pleasure in the act of meditation. Even in this way yogins attain to Nirvana which is highly blessed.'"

SECTION 196

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou hast discoursed on the four modes of life and their duties. Thou hast also spoken of the duties of kings. Thou hast recited many histories of diverse kinds and connected with diverse topics. I have also heard from thee, O thou of great intelligence, many discourses connected with morality. I have, however, one doubt. It behoveth thee to resolve it. I wish, O Bharata, to hear of the fruits that silent Reciters of sacred mantras acquire (by their practice). What are the fruits that have been indicated for such men? What is that region to which they go after death? It behoveth thee also, O sinless one, to tell me all the rules that have been laid down in respect of such silent recitation? When the word Reciter is uttered, what shall I understand by it? Is such a man to be regarded as following the ordinances of Sankhya or yoga or work? Or, is such a man to be regarded as observing the ordinances about (mental) sacrifices? How is the path of the Reciters to be called? Thou art, as I think, of universal knowledge. Tell me all this.'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection is cited the old history of what transpired between Yama, Time, and a certain Brahmana. Sages conversant with the means of attaining to Emancipation have spoken of two methods, viz., the Sankhya and the yoga. Amongst these, in the former, which is otherwise called the Vedanta, Renunciation has been preached with respect to silent recitation. The declarations of the Vedas preach Abstention (from rites), are fraught with tranquillity, and are concerned with Brahma. Indeed, the two paths spoken of by sages bent on achieving what is for their good, viz., Sankhya and yoga, are such that they are both concerned and again unconcerned (with silent recitations). The manner in which silent recitation is connected (with each of the two paths) and the cause I shall now explain. In both as in the case of silent recitation, are needed the subduing of the senses and the fixing of the mind (after withdrawal from external objects); as also truth keeping up of the (sacred) fire, residence in solitude, meditation, penance, self-restraint, forgiveness, benevolence, abstemiousness in respect of food, withdrawal from worldly attachments, the absence of talkativeness, and tranquillity. These constitute a sacrifice in acts (leading to the fruition of desire about heaven or felicity in next life). Listen now to the course that consists of abstention (from acts). The manner in which the acts of the Reciter observing the vow of Brahmacharya may cease, I will presently declare. Such a person should conduct himself in every way according to what has been (already) said by me. Betaking himself to the path of abstention, he should seek to extinguish his dependence on both the External and the Internal. Sitting on kusa grass, with kusa in hand, and binding his coronal locks with kusa, he should surround himself with kusa and have kusa for robes. Bowing unto all earthly concerns, he should take leave of them and never think of them. Assuming equability by the aid of his mind, he should fix his mind on the mind itself. Reciting the highly beneficial composition (viz., the Gayatri), he meditates with the aid of his intellect on Brahma alone. Afterwards he leaves off even that, being then absorbed in concentrated contemplation. In consequence of his dependence on the strength of the Gayatri which he recites, this concentrated contemplation will come of itself. By penances he attains to purity of soul, and self-restraint, and cessation of aversion and desire. Freed from attachment and delusion, above the influence of all pairs of opposites (such as heat and cold, joy and sorrow, etc.), he never grieves and never suffers himself to be drawn towards worldly objects. He does not regard himself as the actor nor as the enjoyer or sufferer of the consequences of his acts. He never, through selfishness, fixes his mind on anything. Without being employed in the acquisition of wealth, he abstains also from disregarding or insulting others, but not from work. The work in which he is employed is that of meditation; he is devoted to meditation, and seeks meditation unalterably. By meditation he succeeds in bringing about concentrated contemplation, and then gradually leaves off meditation itself. In that state he enjoys the felicity which attaches to the abandonment of all things. Having thoroughly mastered the principle of desire he casts off his life-breaths and then enters into the Brahmic body. Or, if he does not desire to enter into the Brahmic body, he at once goes upwards into the region of Brahma and has never to undergo rebirth. Having become tranquillity's self, and being freed from all kinds of calamity, such a person, by depending upon his own intelligence, succeeds in attaining to that Soul which is pure and immortal and which is without a stain.'"

SECTION 197

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou hast said that as regards Reciters, they obtain this very high end. I beg to enquire whether this is their only end or there is any other to which they attain.'

"Bhishma said, 'Listen with concentrated attention, O puissant monarch, to the end that silent Reciters attain, and to the diverse kinds of hell into which they sink, O bull among men! That Reciter who does not at first conduct himself according to the method that has been laid down, and who cannot complete the ritual or course of discipline laid down, has to go to hell. That Reciter who goes on without faith, who is not contented with his work, and who takes no pleasure in it, goes to hell, without doubt. They who follow the ritual with pride in their hearts, all go to hell. That Reciter who insults and disregards others has to go to hell. That man who betakes himself to silent recitation under the influence of stupefaction and from desire of fruit, obtains all those things upon which his heart becomes set. That Reciter whose heart becomes set upon the attributes that go by the name of divinity, has to incur hell and never becomes freed from it. That Reciter who betakes himself to recitation under the influence of attachments (to earthly objects such as wealth, wives etc.) obtain those objects upon which their hearts are set. That Reciter of wicked understanding and uncleansed soul who sets himself to his work with an unstable mind, obtains an unstable end or goes into hell. That Reciter who is not endued with wisdom and who is foolish, becomes stupefied or deluded; and in consequence of such delusion has to go to hell where he is obliged to indulge in regrets. If a person of even firm heart, resolving to complete the discipline, betakes himself to recitation, but fails to attain to completion in consequence of his having freed himself from attachments by a violent stretch without genuine conviction of their inutility or harmful character, he also has to go to hell.

"Yudhishthira said, 'When the Reciter attains to the essence of that which exists in its own nature (without being anything like created or born objects), which is Supreme, which is indescribable and inconceivable, and which dwells in the syllable om forming the subject of both recitation and meditation (indeed, when Reciters to a state of Brahma), why is it that they have again to take birth in embodied forms?'

"Bhishma, said, 'In consequence of the absence of true knowledge and wisdom, Reciters obtain diverse descriptions of hell. The discipline followed by Reciters is certainly very superior. These, however, that I have spoken of, are the faults that appertain to it.'"

SECTION 198

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me what description of hell is obtained by a Reciter? I feel, O king, a curiosity to know this. It behoveth thee to discourse on the subject.'

"Bhishma said, 'Thou hast sprung from a portion of the god of righteousness. Thou art by nature observant of righteousness. Listen, O sinless one, with undivided attention, to these words resting on righteousness as their basis. Those regions that are owned by the high-souled gods, that are of diverse aspects and colours, of diverse descriptions and productive of diverse fruits, and that are of great excellence, those ears again that: move at the will of the riders, those beautiful mansions and hells, those various pleasure-gardens embellished with golden lotuses, those regions that belong to the four Regents and Sukra and Vrihaspati and the Maruts and Viswedevas and Sadhyas and the Aswins, and the Rudras and the Adityas and the Vasus, and other denizens of heaven, are, O sire, spoken of as hells, when compared with the region of the Supreme Soul. The region last spoken of is without any fear (of change for the worse), uncreate (and therefore, in its true nature), without pain of any kind (such as ignorance and delusion), without any agreeable or disagreeable element, beyond the reach of the three attributes (of Sattwa, Rajas, and Tamas), freed from the eight incidents, (viz., the five primal elements, the senses, the: mind, and the intellect), without the three (distinctions between the knower, the known, and act of knowing); freed also from the four attributes (seeing, hearing, thinking, and knowing), without the fourfold causes (of knowledge), without joy and delight and sorrow and disease. Time (in his forms of past, present, and future) arises there for use. Time is not the ruler there. That supreme region is the ruler of Time as also of Heaven. That Reciter who becomes identified with his Soul (by withdrawing everything into it) goes thither. He has, after this, never to feel any sorrow. This region is called Supreme. The other regions (of which I have first spoken) are hell. I have not told thee of all those regions that are called hell. Indeed, in comparison with that foremost of regions all the others are called hell.'

SECTION 199

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou hadst referred to the dispute between Time, Mrityu, Yama, Ikshvaku, and a Brahmana. It behoveth thee to narrate the story in full.'

"Bhishma said, 'In connection with this subject that I am discoursing upon, is cited the old history of what transpired between Surya's son Ikshvaku and a certain Brahmana, and Time and Mrityu. Listen to me as to what occurred, and what was the conversation that took place between them, and the place where it happened. There was a certain Brahmana of great fame and pious behaviour. He was a Reciter. Possessed of great wisdom, he was conversant with the six Angas (of the Vedas). He was of the Kusika race and son of Pippalada. [The six Angas are Siksha, Kalpa, Vyakarana, Nirukta, Chhandas, Jyotish.] He acquired (by his austerities) spiritual insight into the Angas. Residing at the foot of Himavat, he was devoted to the Vedas. Silently reciting the Gayatri composition, he practised severe austerities for attaining to Brahma. A thousand years passed over his head while he was engaged in the observance of vows and fasts. The goddess (of Gayatri or Savitri) showed herself to him and said, 'I am gratified with thee.' Continuing to recite the sacred mantra, the Brahmana remained silent and spoke not a word to the goddess. The goddess felt compassion for him and became highly gratified. Then that progenitrix of the Vedas applaud that recitation in which the Brahmana had been engaged. After finishing his recitation (for that day) the Brahmana stood up and, bending his head, prostrated himself before the goddess's feet. The righteous-souled Reciter, addressing the goddess, said, 'By good luck, O goddess, thou hast been gratified with me and shown thyself to me. If, indeed, thou art gratified with me, the boon I ask is that my heart may take pleasure in act of recitation.'

"Savitri said, 'What dost thou ask, O regenerate Rishi? What wish of thine shall I accomplish? Tell me, O foremost of Reciters, everything will be as thou wishest.' Thus addressed by the goddess, the Brahmana, conversant with duties, replied, saying, 'Let my wish about continuing my recitations go on increasing every moment. Let also, O auspicious goddess, the absorption of my mind into Samadhi be more complete.' The

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goddess sweetly said, 'Let it be as thou wishest.' Desiring to do good to the Brahmana, the goddess once again addressed him, saying, 'Thou shalt not have to go to hell, i.e., thither where great Brahmanas go. Thou shalt go into the region of Brahma which is uncreate and free from every fault. I go hence, but that which thou hast asked me shall happen. Go on reciting with restrained soul and rapt attention. The god Dharma will in person come to thee. Time, Mrityu. and Yama also will all approach thy presence. There will be a dispute here between them and thee on a question of morality.'

'Bhishma continued, 'Having said these words, the goddess went back to her own abode. The Brahmana. continued engaged in recitation for a thousand celestial years. Restraining wrath, and always controlling self, he passed his time, firmly devoting himself to truth and freed from malice. Upon the completion of his observance by the intelligent Brahmana, Dharma, gratified with him, showed his person unto that regenerate individual.'

'Dharma said, 'O regenerate one, behold me who am Dharma. I have come here for seeing thee. Thou hast won the reward of this recitation in which thou hadst been engaged. Listen to ma as to what that reward is. Thou hast won all the regions of felicity which appertain to either gods or men. O good man, thou shalt ascend above all the abodes of the deities. O ascetic, cast off thy vital breaths then, and go unto whatever regions thou pleasest. By casting off thy body thou wilt win many regions of felicity.'

"The Brahmana said, 'What business have I with those regions of felicity of which thou speakest? O Dharma, go whithersoever thou pleasest. I will not, O puissant lord, cast off this body which is subject to much happiness and misery.'

"Dharma said, 'Thy body, O foremost of ascetics, should certainly be cast off. Do thou ascend to heaven, O Brahmana! Or, tell us what else should please thee, O sinless one!'

"The Brahmana said, 'I do not, O puissant lord, wish to reside in heaven itself without this body of mine. Leave me, O Dharma! I have no desire to go to heaven itself without my own body.'

"Dharma said, 'Without (thus) setting thy heart on thy body, cast it off and be happy Go into regions that are free from the attribute of Passion. Indeed, going thither, thou shalt never have to feel any misery.'

"The Brahmana said, 'O highly-blessed one, I take great pleasure in recitation. What need have I for those eternal regions of which thou speakest? Indeed, O puissant lord, I do not desire to go to heaven with even this body of mine.'

"Dharma said, 'If thou dost not wish to cast off thy body, behold, O regenerate one, there is Time, and there is Mrityu, and there is Yama, who are all approaching thee!'

'Bhishma continued, 'After Dharma had said this, Vivaswat's son (Yama), Time, and Mrityu,--the trio (who snatch away all creatures from the earth), approached that Brahmana, O blessed king, and addressed him thus.'

"Yama said, 'I am Yama. I say unto thee that a high reward awaits thee for these well-performed penances of thine, and for this pious conduct that thou hast observed.'

"Time said, 'Thou hast won a high reward which is, indeed, commensurate with this course of recitation that thou hast finished. The time is come for thee to ascend to heaven.. I am Time and I have come to thee.'

"Mrityu said, 'O thou that art conversant with righteousness, know me for Mrityu herself in her proper form. I have come to thee in person, urged by Time, for bearing thee hence, O Brahmana.'

"The Brahmana said, 'Welcome to Surya's son, to Time possessed of high soul, to Mrityu, and to Dharma! What shall I accomplish for you all.

"Bhishma continued, 'In that meeting, the Brahmana gave them water to wash their feet, and the usual articles of the Arghya. Highly gratified, he then addressed them, saying, 'What shall I do for you all by exerting my own might?' Just at that time, 01 monarch, (king) Ikshvaku, who had set out on a sojourn to holy waters and shrines, came to that spot where those deities had been assembled together. 'The royal sage Ikshvaku bowed his head and worshipped them all. That best of kings then enquired after the welfare of all of them. The Brahmana gave the king a seat, as also water to wash his feet, and the usual Arghya. Having next made the usual enquiries of courtesy, he said, 'Thou art welcome, O great monarch! Tell me all this thy wishes! Let thy noble self tell me what I shall have to accomplish for thee by putting forth my might.'

"The king said, 'I am a king. Thou art a Brahmana in the observance of the six well-known duties. (1 cannot ask), I will give thee some wealth. That is well-known. Tell me how much I shall give thee.'

"The Brahmana said, 'There are two kinds of Brahmanas, O monarch! Morality of righteousness also is of two kinds; addiction to work, and abstention from work. As regards myself, I have abstained from acceptance of gifts. Give presents unto them, O, king, that are addicted to the duty of work and acceptance. I shall not, therefore, accept anything in gift. On the other hand, I ask thee, what is for thy good? What, indeed, shall I give thee? Tell me, O foremost of kings, and I shall accomplish it with the aid of my penances.'

"The king said, 'I am a Kshatriya. I do not know how to say the word 'Give.' The only thing, O best of regenerate persons, that we can say (by way of asking) is Give (us) battle.'

"The Brahmana said, 'Thou art content with the observance of the duties of thy order. Similarly, I am content with the duties of mine, O king! There is, therefore, little difference between us. Do as thou pleasest!'

"The king said, 'Thou saidst these words first, viz., 'I shall give thee according to my might.' I, therefore, solicit thee, O regenerate one. Give me the fruits of this recitation (which thou hast gone through).'

"The Brahmana said, 'Thou wert boasting that thy utterances always solicit battle. Why then dost thou not solicit battle with me?'

"The king said, 'It has been said that Brahmanas are armed with the thunder of speech, and that Kshatriyas have might of arms. Hence, learned Brahmana, this wordy warfare has set in between thee and me.'

"The Brahmana said, 'As regards myself, even that is my resolution today. What shall I give thee according to my might? Tell me, O king of kings, and I shall give thee, having wealth of my own. Do not tarry.'

"The king said, 'If, indeed, thou desirest to give me anything, then give me the fruits thou hast earned by practising recitation for these thousand years.'

"The Brahmana said, 'Take the highest fruit of the recitations I have gone through. Indeed, take half, without any scruple, of that fruit. Or, O king, if thou wishest, take without any scruple the entire fruits of my recitations.'

"The king said, 'Blessed be thou, I have no need for the fruits of thy recitations which I solicited. Blessings on thy head. I am about to leave thee. Tell me, however, what those fruits are (of thy recitations).'

"The Brahmana said, 'I have no knowledge of the fruits I have won. I have, however, given thee those fruits that I have acquired by recitation. These, viz., Dharma and Time, and Yama, and Mrityu, are witnesses (of the act of gift).'

"The king said, 'What will the fruits, that are unknown, of these thy observances, do for me? If thou dost not tell me what the fruits are of thy recitations, let those fruits be thine, for without doubt I do not wish for them.'

"The Brahmana said, 'I will not accept any other utterance (from thee). I have given thee the fruits of my recitations. Let, O royal sage, both thy words and mine become true. As regards my recitations, I never cherished any specific desire to accomplish. How then, O tiger among kings, should I have any knowledge of what the fruits are of those recitations? Thou saidst, 'Give!' I said 'I give!' I shall not falsify these words. Keep the truth. Be calm! If thou request to keep my word, O king, great will be thy sin due to falsehood. O chastiser of foes, it does not become thee to utter what is untrue. Similarly, I dare not falsify what I have uttered. I have, before this, unhesitatingly said, 'I give!' If, therefore, thou art firm in truth, accept my gift. Coming here, O king, thou didst solicit of me the fruits of my recitations. Therefore, take what I have given away, if, indeed, thou art firm in truth. He who is addicted to falsehood had neither this world nor the next. Such a person fails to rescue his (deceased) ancestors. How again shall he succeed in doing good to his (unborn) progeny? The rewards of sacrifices and gifts, as also of fasts and religious observances, are not so efficacious in rescuing (a person from evil and hell) as Truth, O bull among men, in both this and the next world. All the penances that have been undergone by thee and all those that thou wilt undergo in the future for hundreds and thousands of years do not possess efficacy greater than that of Truth. Truth is one un deteriorating Brahma. Truth is the one undeteriorating Penance. Truth is the one undeteriorating sacrifice. Truth is the one undeteriorating Veda. Truth is awake in the Vedas. The fruits attached to Truth have been said to be the highest. From Truth arise Righteousness and Self-restraint. Everything rests on Truth. Truth is the Vedas and their branches. Truth is Knowledge. Truth is the Ordinance. Truth is the observance of vows and fasts. Truth is the Primeval Word Om. Truth is the origin of creatures. Truth is their progeny. It is by Truth that the Wind moves. It is by Truth that the Sun gives heat. It is by Truth that Fire burns. It is on Truth that Heaven rests. Truth is Sacrifice, Penance, Vedas, the utterance of Samans, Mantras, and Saraswati. It hath been heard by us that once on a time Truth and all religious observances were placed on a pair of scales. When both were weighed, that scale on which Truth was, seen to be heavier. There is Truth where Righteousness is. Everything increaseth through Truth. Why, O king, dost thou wish to do an act that is stained with falsehood? Be firm in Truth. Do not act falsely, O monarch! Why wouldst thou falsify thy words 'Give (me),' which thou hast uttered? If thou refusest, O monarch, to accept the fruits that I have given thee of my recitations, thou shalt then have to wander over the world, fallen away from Righteousness! That person who does not give after having promised, and he also that does not accept after having solicited, are both stained with falsehood. It behoveth thee, therefore, not to falsify thy own words.'

"The king said, 'To fight and protect (subjects) are the duties of Kshatriyas. It is said that Kshatriyas are givers (of presents). How then shall I take anything from thee (in gift)?'

"The Brahmana said, 'I never insisted on thee, O king (for accepting anything from me in the first instance). I did not seek thy house. Thyself, coming here, didst solicit me. Why then dost thou not take?'

"Dharma said, 'Know ye both that I am Dharma himself. Let there be no dispute between you. Let the Brahmana become endued with the reward attaching to gift, and let the monarch also obtain the merit of Truth.'

"Heaven said, 'Know, O great king, that I am Heaven's self in my embodied form, come hither in person. Let this dispute between you cease. You are both equal in respect of the merit or rewards earned.'

"The king said, 'I have no use with Heaven. Go, O Heaven, to the place you have come from. If this learned Brahmana desires to repair to thee, let him take the rewards that I have won (by my acts in life).'

"The Brahmana said, 'In my younger days I had, through ignorance, stretched my hand (for acceptance of gifts). At present, however, I recite the Gayatri, observing the duty of abstention. Why dost thou, O king, tempt me thus, me who have for a long time observed the duty of abstention? I shall myself do what my duty is. I do not wish to have any share of the rewards won by thee, O monarch! I am devoted to penances and to study of the Vedas, and I have abstained from acceptance.'

"The king said, 'If, O Brahmana, thou art really to give me the excellent reward of thy recitation, then let half that reward be mine, thyself taking at the same time half the reward that I myself have won by my acts. Brahmanas are engaged in the duty of acceptance. Persons born in the royal order are engaged in the duty of giving. If thou art not unaware of the duties (laid down for both the orders), let our fruits be equal (according to the suggestion I have made). Or, if thou dost not wish to be my equal in respect of our rewards, take then the whole of the rewards that I may have won. Do take the merit I have won, if thou wishest to show me grace.'

"Bhishma continued, 'At this time, two individuals of very ungainly aspect came there. Each had his arm upon the other's shoulder; both were ill-dressed. They said these words, 'Thou owest me nothing. I really owe thee. If we dispute in this way, here is the king who ruleth individuals. I say truly, thou owest me nothing! Thou speakest falsely. I do owe thee a debt. Both of them, waxing very hot in dispute, then addressed the king, saying, 'See, O monarch, that none of us may become stained with sin.'

"Virupa said, 'I woe my companion, Vikrita, O monarch, the merits of the gift of a cow. I am willing to pay off that debt. This Vikrita, however, refuses to take repayment.'

"Vikrita said, 'This Virupa, O monarch, oweth me nothing. He speaks a falsehood with the appearance of truth, O king.'

"The king said, "Tell me, O Virupa, what is that which thou owest thy friend here. It is my resolution to hear thee and then do what is proper.'

"Virupa said, 'Hear attentively, O king, all the circumstances in detail, about how I owe my companion, viz., this Vikrita, O ruler of men. This Vikrita had, in bygone days, for the sake of winning merit, O sinless one, given away an auspicious cow, O royal sage, unto a Brahmana devoted to penances as the study of the Vedas. Going unto him, O king, I begged of him the reward of that act. With a pure heart, Vikrita made a gift to me of that reward. I then, for my purification, did some good acts. I also purchased two kapila cows with calves, both of which used to yield large quantities of milk. I then made a present, according to due rites and with proper devotion, of those two cows unto a poor Brahmana living by the Unchha method. Having formerly accepted the gift from my companion, I desire, O lord, even here, to give him return twice the reward! The circumstances being such, O tiger among men, who amongst us two shall be innocent and who guilty (according to your judgement)? Disputing with each other about this, we have both come to thee, O monarch! Whether thou judgest rightly or wrongly, establish both of us in peace. If this my companion does not wish to take from me in return a gift equal to what he gave me, thou shalt have to judge patiently and set us both on the right track.'

"The king said, 'Why do you not accept payment that is sought to be made of the debt that is owing to thee? Do not delay, but accept payment of what thou knowest is thy due.'

"Vikrita said, 'This one says that he owes me. I say unto him that what I gave I gave away. He doth not, therefore, owe me anything. Let him go whithersoever he wishes.'

"The king said, 'He is ready to give thee. Thou., however, art unwilling to take. This does not seem proper to me. I think that thou deservest punishment for this. There is little doubt in this.'

"Vikrita said, 'I made a gift to him, O royal sage! How can I take it back? If I am guilty in this, do thou pronounce the punishment, O puissant one.'

"Virupa said, 'If thou refusest to take when I am ready to give, this king will certainly punish thee, for he is an upholder of justice.'

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"Vikrita said, 'Solicited by him I gave him what was my own. How shall I now retake that? Thou mayst go away. Thou hast my leave.'

"The Brahmana said, 'Thou hast heard, O king, the words of these two. Do thou take without scruple that which I have pledged myself to give thee.'

"The king said, 'This matter is, indeed, as deep (in importance) as an unfathomable pit. How will the pertinacity of this Reciter end? If I do not accept what has been given by this Brahmana, how shall I avoid being stained with a great sin?' The royal sage then said unto the two disputants, 'Go ye both, having won your respective objects. I should see that kingly duties, vested in me, may not become futile. It is settled that kings should observe the duties laid down for them. To my misfortune, however, the course of duties prescribed for Brahmanas has possessed my wretched self.'

"The Brahmana said, 'Accept, O king! I owe thee. Thou didst solicit it, and I also have become pledged (to give thee). If, however, thou refuse to take, O monarch, I shall without doubt curse thee.'

"The king said, 'Fie on kingly duties, the settled conclusion about the operation of which is even such. I should, however, take what thou givest, for only this reason, viz., rendering the two courses of duty exactly equal. This is my hand, that was never before (stretched forth for acceptance of gifts), is now stretched forth (for acceptance as also) for giving away. Give me what thou owest me.'

"The Brahmana said, 'If I have won any fruits by reciting the Gayatri, accept them all.'

"The king said, 'These drops of water, behold, O foremost of Brahmanas, have fallen upon my hand. I also desire to give thee. Accept my gift. Let there be equality between us (through thy accepting my gift as I have accepted thine).'

"Virupa said, 'Know, O king, that we two are Desire and Wrath. It hath been by us that thou hast been induced to act in this way. Thou hast made a gift in return to the Brahmana. Let there be equality between thee and this regenerate person in respect of regions--of felicity in the next world. This Vikrita really does not owe me anything. We appealed to thee for thy own sake. Time, Dharma, Mrityu, and we two, have examined everything about thee, here in thy very presence, by producing this friction between thee and that Brahmana. Go now, as thou choosest, to those regions of felicity which thou hast won by means of thy deeds.'

"Bhishma continued, 'I have now told thee how Reciters obtain the fruits (of their recitation) and what, indeed, is their end, what the spot, and what the regions, that a Reciter may win. A Reciter of Gayatri goes to the supreme god Brahman, or repairs to Agni or enters the region of Surya. If he sports there in his (new) energetic form, then stupefied by such attachment, he catches the attributes of those particular regions. The same becomes the case with him if he goes to Soma, or Vayu, or Earth, or Space. The fact is, he dwells in all these, with attachment, and displays the attributes peculiar to those regions. If, however, he goes to those regions after having freed himself from attachments, and feels a. mistrust (respecting the felicity he enjoys) and wishes for That Which is Supreme and Immutable, he then enters even That. In that case he attains to the ambrosia of ambrosia, to a state free from desire and destitute of separate consciousness. He becomes Brahma's self freed from the influence of opposites, happy, tranquil, and without pain. Indeed, he attains to, that condition which is free from pain, which is tranquillity's self, which is; called Brahma, whence there is no return, and which is styled the One and Immutable. He becomes freed from the four means of apprehension [These are Direct knowledge (through the senses), Revelation, Inference, and Intuition.], the six conditions, and also the other six and ten attributes [The first six are Hunger, Thirst, Grief, Delusion, Disease, and Death. The other sixteen are the five breaths, the ten senses, and the mind.]. Transcending the Creator (Brahman), he attains to absorption into the One Supreme Soul. Or, if under the influence of attachments, he wishes not for such absorption, but desires to have a separate existence as dependent on that Supreme Cause of everything, then obtains the fruition of everything for which he cherishes a wish. Or, if he looks (with aversion) upon all regions of felicity, which have been (as previously stated) called hells, he then, driving off desire and freed from everything, enjoys supreme felicity even in those very regions. Thus, O monarch, I have discoursed to thee about the end attained by Reciters. I have told thee everything. What else thou wishest to hear?'"

SECTION 200

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me, O grandsire, what reply was given by either the Brahmana or the monarch to Virupa after the conclusion of the latter's speech. What kind of end was it, amongst those described by thee, that they obtained? What, indeed, was the discourse that happened between them, and what did they do there?'

"Bhishma said, 'The Brahmana, saying, 'Let it be as thou hast said, 'worshipped Dharma and Yama and Time and Mrityu and Heaven, all of whom were worthy of worship. He also worshipped all those foremost of Brahmanas that had come there by bending his head unto them. Addressing the monarch then, he said, 'Endued with the reward of my recitations, O royal sage, attain thou to a position of eminence. With thy leave I shall set myself to my recitations again. O thou of great might, the goddess Savitri gave me a boon, saying, 'Let thy devotion to recitations be continuous.'

"The king said, 'If thy success (in recitation) has b.-come fruitless (in consequence of thy having given away those fruits unto me), and if thy heart be set upon practising again, go, O learned Brahmana, half and half with me, and let the reward of thy recitations themselves be thine.'

"The Brahmana said, 'Thou hast made strenuous efforts before all these persons (for making me a sharer of the rewards in store for thee as the consequences of thy own acts). Let us then become equal in respect of our rewards (in next life), and let us go to receive that end which is ours.' Knowing the resolve to which they came there, the chief of the gods came to that spot, accompanied by the deities and the Regents of the world. The Sadhyas, the Viswas, the Mantras, diverse kinds of loud and sweet music, the Rivers, the Mountains, the Seas, the Sacred Waters, the Penances, the Ordinances about yoga, the Vedas, the Sounds that accompany the singing of the Samans, Saraswati, Narada, Parvata, Viswavasu, the Hahas, the Huhus, the Gandharva Chitrasena with all the members of his family, the Nagas, the Sadhyas, the Munis, the god of gods, viz., Prajapati, and the inconceivable and thousand-headed Vishnu himself, came there. Drums and trumpets were beat and blown in the firmament. Celestial flowers were rained down upon those high-souled beings. Bands of Apsaras danced all around. Heaven, in his embodied form, came there. Addressing the Brahmana, he said, 'Thou hast attained to success. Thou art highly blessed.' Next addressing the monarch, he said, 'Thou also, O king, hast attained to success.' Those two persons then, O monarch (viz., the Brahmana and the king), having done good to each other, withdrew their senses from the objects of the world. Fixing the vital breaths Prana, Apana, Samana, Udana and Vyana in the heart, they concentrated the mind in Prana and Apana united together. They then placed the two united breaths in the abdomen, and directed their gaze to the tip of the nose and then immediately below the two eye-brows. They next held the two breaths, with the aid of the mind, in the spot that intervenes between the two eye-brows, bringing them there very gradually. With bodies perfectly inactive, they were absorbed with fixed gaze. Having control over their souls, they then placed the soul within the brain. Then piercing the crown of the high-souled Brahmana a fiery flame of great splendour ascended to heaven. Loud exclamations of woe, uttered by all creatures, were then heard on all sides. Its praises hymned by all, that splendour then entered Brahman's self. The Great grandsire, advancing forward, addressed that splendour which had assumed a form of the tallness of a span, saying, 'Welcome!' And once more he uttered these words, 'Verily, Reciters attain to the same end with the yogins. The attainment by the yogin of his end is an object of direct vision unto all these (here assembled). As regards Reciters, there is this distinction, that the honour is ordained for them of Brahman's advancing forward to receive them (after their departure from earth). Dwell thou in me.' Thus spoke Brahman and once more imparted consciousness into that splendour. Indeed, the Brahmana then, freed from all anxieties, entered the mouth of the Creator. The monarch (Ikshvaku) also, after the same manner, entered the divine Grandsire like that foremost of Brahmanas. The (assembled) deities saluted the self-born and said, 'A very superior end is, indeed, ordained for Reciters. This exertion (that we have seen thee put forth) is for Reciters. As regards ourselves, we came hither for beholding it. Thou hast made these two equal, rendered them equal honour, and bestowed upon them an equal end. The high end that is reserved for both yogins and Reciters has been seen by us today. Transcending all regions (of felicity), these two are capable of going whithersoever they wish.'

"Brahman said, 'He also that would read the great Smriti (viz., the Veda), and he too, who would read the other auspicious Smritis that follow the former (viz., Manu's and the rest), would, in this way, attain to the same region with me. He also who is devoted to yoga, will, without doubt, acquire in this manner, after death, the regions that are mine. I go hence. Go ye all to your respective places for the accomplishment of your ends.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Having said these words, that foremost of gods disappeared there and then. The assembled deities, having previously taken his leave, returned to their respective abodes. All those high-souled beings, having honoured Dharma, proceeded with well-pleased hearts, O monarch, walking behind that great deity. These are the rewards of reciters and this their end. I have described them to thee as I myself had heard of them. What else, O monarch, dost thou wish to hear of?'"

SECTION 201

"Yudhishthira said, 'What are the fruits of the yoga represented by Knowledge, of all the Vedas, and of the (various) observances and vows? How also may the creature-soul be known? Tell us, this, O grandsire!'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection is cited the old narrative of the discourse between that lord of creatures, viz., Manu, and the great Rishi, Vrihaspati. In days of old, the foremost of celestial Rishis, viz., Vrihaspati, who was a disciple of Manu, bowed to his preceptor and addressing that lord and first of all creatures, said, 'What is the cause (of the universe)? Whence have the ordinances (about sacrifices and other pious observances) flowed? What are those fruits which the learned say are attached to Knowledge? Tell me also truly, O illustrious one, what is that which the very, Vedas have not been able to reveal? What are those fruits which are adored by eminent personages conversant with the science of Artha, with the Vedas, and with the Mantras, through sacrifices and plentiful gifts of kine? Whence do those fruits arise? Where are they to be found? Tell me also this old history, viz., whence have the earth, all earthly objects, wind, sky, aquatic creatures, water, heaven, and the denizens of heaven, all sprung? Man's inclinations tend towards that object about which he seeks knowledge. I have no knowledge of that Ancient and Supreme one. How shall I rescue myself from a false display of inclinations towards Him? [Different translation: The fact is, I do not know anything of Him, but still I profess to worship him. This is false behaviour. How shall I be rescued from such falsehood? This is what Vrihaspati says.] The Riks, all the Samanas, all the Yajuses, the Chhandas, Astronomy, Nirukta, Grammar, Sankalpa, and Siksha, I have studied. But I pave no knowledge of the nature of the great creatures (the five primal elements) that enter into the composition of everything. Tell me all I have asked thee, by using only simple assertions and distinguishing adjectives or attributes. Tell me what the fruits are of Knowledge and what those fruits that are attached to sacrifices and other religious rites. Explain to me how also an embodied being departs from his body and how he attains to another body.'

"Manu said, 'That which is agreeable to one is said to constitute one's happiness. Similarly, that which is disagreeable to one is said to constitute one's misery.--By this I shall obtain happiness and keep off misery--from a sentiment like this flow all religious acts. The efforts for the acquisition of Knowledge, however, arise from a sentiment for avoiding both happiness and misery. The ordinances about sacrifices and other observances, that occur in the Vedas, are all connected with desire. He, however, who liberates himself from desire, succeeds in attaining to Brahma. That man who, from desire of winning happiness, walks in the path of acts which are of diverse kinds, has to go to hell.'

"Vrihaspati said, 'Men's aspirations are concerned with the acquisition of the agreeable which ends in happiness, and the avoidance of the disagreeable which brings misery. Such acquisition and such avoidance again are accomplished by acts.'

"Manu said, 'It is by liberating oneself from acts that one succeeds in entering into Brahma. The ordinances about acts have flowed for that very end. The ordinances about acts tempts only those whose hearts are not free from desire. By liberating oneself from acts (as already said) one acquires the highest state. One desirous of felicity (Emancipation), betaking oneself to religious rites, becomes purified (from attachments) by acts having for their object the purification of the soul, and at last wins great splendour. By liberating oneself from acts, one acquires the highest end, viz., Brahma, which is very much above the reward that acts give. Creatures have all been created by Mind and Act. These again are the two best paths adored by all. Outward acts produce fruits that are transitory as also eternal. For acquiring the latter there is no other means than abandonment of fruits by the mind. As the eye, when night passes away and the veil of darkness is removed from it, leads its possessor by its own power, so the Understanding, when it becomes endued with Knowledge, succeeds in beholding all evils that are worthy of avoidance. Snakes, sharp-pointed kusa blades, and pits, men avoid when they perceive them lie on their way. If some tread upon or fall into them, they do so through ignorance. Behold the superiority of the fruits of knowledge (over those of ignorance). Mantras applied duly, sacrifices, the presents called Dakshina, gift of food, and concentration of the mind (for divine contemplation),--these are the five acts that are said to be productive of fruits, there being none else. Acts have (the three) attributes (of Sattwa, Rajas, and Tamas) for their soul. The Vedas say this. (The Vedas consist of Mantras). The Mantras, therefore, have the same three attributes, since it is with Mantras that acts are to be accomplished. The ritual also must be liable to the same three attributes. The fruits of action depend upon the mind. It is the embodied creature that enjoys those fruits. All excellent kinds of sound, form, taste, touch, and scent, are the fruits of acts, being attainable in the region of acts (i.e., heaven). As regards, however, the fruits of knowledge, man acquires them even here before death. Whatever acts are accomplished by means of the body, one enjoys the fruits thereof in a state of physical existence. The body is, indeed, the framework to which happiness inheres, as also the framework to which misery inheres. Whatever acts

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are accomplished by means of words, their fruits are to be enjoyed in a state in which words can be spoken. Similarly, whatever acts are accomplished by the mind, their fruits are enjoyed in a state in which one is not freed from the mind. Devoted to the fruits of acts, whatever kind of acts (Sattwika or Rajasika or Tamasika) a person covetous of fruits accomplishes, the fruits, good or bad, that he actually enjoys partake of their character. Like fishes going against a current of water, the acts of a past life come to the actor. The embodied creature experiences happiness for his good acts, and misery for his evil ones. Him from whom this universe hath sprung. Him by knowing whom persons of cleansed souls transgress this world, Him who has not been expressed by Vedic mantras and words. I will now indicate. Listen to me as I speak of that highest of the high. Himself liberated from the several kinds of taste and scent, and sound and touch and form. He is incapable of being grasped by the senses, unmanifest, without colour, the One, and He has created the five kinds of objects, viz., Taste. etc., for His creatures. He is neither female, nor male, nor of the neuter sex. He is neither existent, nor non-existent, nor existent-nonexistent. Only those that are acquainted with Brahma behold Him. He knoweth no direction."'

SECTION 202

"Manu said, 'From that eternal and undeteriorating One first sprang Space; from space came Wind; from wind came Light; from light came Water; from water sprang the Universe; and from the universe, all things that occur in it. The bodies of all (earthly) things, (after dissolution), first enter into water, thence to light or heat, thence to the wind, and thence to space. They that seek Emancipation have not to return from space. On the other hand, they attain to Brahma. The refuge of Emancipation, viz., Brahma, is neither hot, nor cold, neither mild nor fierce, neither sour nor astringent, neither sweet nor bitter. He is not endued with sound, or scent, or form. He transcends all these and everything, and is without dimensions. The skin perceives touch; the tongue, taste; the nose, scent; the ears, sounds; and the eyes, forms. Men not conversant with Adhyatma succeed not in beholding what is above these. Having withdrawn the tongue from tastes, the nose from scents, the ears from touch, and the eyes from forms, one succeeds in beholding one's own self (as independent of the senses and the mind and, therefore, of attributes). It hath been said that that which is the Cause of the actor, the act, the material with which the act is done, the place and the time of the act, and the inclinations and propensities in respect of happiness and misery, is called the Self (or Soul). That which pervades everything, which does everything (assuming the forms of living creatures), that which exists in the universe even as the mantras declare, 1 that which is the cause of all, that which is the highest of the high, and that which is One without a second and does all things, is the Cause. Everything else is effect. It is seen that a person, in consequence of the acts performed by him, obtains results both good and evil, which (though apparently incompatible with each other, still) dwell together in harmony. Indeed, as the good and evil fruits born of their own acts dwell together in the bodies of creatures which are their refuge, even so Knowledge dwells in the body. As a lighted lamp, while burning, discovers other objects before it, even so the five senses which are like lamps set on high trees, find out their respective objects when lighted by Knowledge. As the various ministers of a king, uniting together, give him counsel, even so the five senses that are in the body are all subservient to Knowledge. The latter is superior to all of them. As the flames of fire, the current of the wind, the rays of the sun, and the waters of rivers, go and come repeatedly, even so the bodies of embodied creatures are going and coming repeatedly. As a person by taking up an axe cannot, by cutting open a piece of wood, find either smoke or fire in it, even so one cannot, by cutting open the arms and feet and stomach of a person, see the principle of knowledge, which, of course, has nothing in common with the stomach, the arms and the feet. As again, one beholds both smoke and fire in wood by rubbing it against another piece, so a person of well-directed intelligence and wisdom, by uniting (by means of yoga) the senses and the soul, may view the Supreme Soul which, of course, exists in its own nature. As in the midst of a dream one beholds one's own body lying on the ground as something distinct from one's own self, even so a person, endued with the five senses, the mind, and the understanding, beholds (after death) his own body and then goes from one into another form. The Soul is not subject to birth, growth, decay, and destruction. In consequence of the acts of life being endued with effects, the Soul, clothed in body, passes from this body (when deprived of animation) into another, unseen by others. No one can behold with the eye the form of the Soul. The Soul cannot, again, form the subject of any one's touch. With those (i.e., the senses), the Soul accomplishes no act. The senses do not approach the Soul. The Soul, however, apprehends them all. As anything, placed in a blazing fire before a spectator, assumes a certain colour in consequence of the light and heat that operates upon it, without taking any other hue or attribute, even so the Soul's form is seen to take its colour from the body. After the same manner, man, casting off one body, enters another, unseen by all. Indeed, casting off his body to the (five) great primal elements, he assumes a form that is similarly made of the same (five) elements. The embodied creature (upon the destruction of his body) enters space, wind, fire, water, and earth in such a way that each particular element in his body mingles with the particular element (out of his body) with whose nature it is consonant. The senses also, which are engaged in diverse occupations and dependent on the five elements (for the exercise of their functions), enter these five elements that call forth their functions. The ear derives its capacity from space; and the sense of scent from the earth. Form, which is the property of the eye, is the consequence of light or fire. Fire or heat has been said to be the dependent cause of water. The tongue which has for its property taste becomes merged into water. The skin which has touch for its property becomes lost in the wind whose nature it partakes. The fivefold attributes, (viz., sound, etc.) dwell in the (five) great creatures (viz., the five primal elements). Those fivefold objects of the senses (viz., space, etc.) dwell in the (five) senses. All these again (viz., the fivefold attributes, the fivefold elements, and the five senses) follow the lead of the mind. The mind follows the lead of the Understanding, and the Understanding follows the lead of That which exists in its true and undefiled nature (viz., the Supreme Soul). The doer in his new body receives all the good and bad acts done by him as also all acts done by him in his past existence. All these acts done in this life and the next ones to come follow the mind even as aquatic animals pass along a genial current. As a quickly-moving and restless thing becomes an object of sight, as a minute object appears to be possessed of large dimensions (when seen through spectacles or magnifying glasses), as a mirror shows a person his own face (which cannot otherwise be seen), even so the Soul (though subtile and invisible) become an object of the Understanding's apprehension.'" [This verse seems to show that the Rishis had knowledge of spectacles, and probably also, of microscopes. The instrument that shewed minute objects must have been well known, otherwise some mention would have been made of it by name. The commentator calls it upanetra. Archaeological findings: In 1850, the English archaeologist, Austen Henry Layard found a 3× magnifying glass in the Neo-Assyrian palace of Nimrud (Iraq) that was made in around 750–710 BC. The lens is made from natural rock crystal and has diameter of 38 mm (1.5 in) and is 23 mm (0.9 in) thick. The glass collection of the Berliner Museum, Ägyptische Abteilung, has all sorts of glass objects, including pearls, half-spheres, and lentil-shaped lenses of glass found in Amarna, Egypt (Die Technik des Altertums, Alfred Neuburger, 1919, p 157, Abb 214). The cut and polish of gems in antiquity had not the modern facette design on the surface but looked like waterdrops that we can see on leaves in the early morning. Many of the gems had the shape of a lentil or oval being quite able to magnify 10× or more. Therefore, Ganguli might have been right in his assumption about optical instruments.]

SECTION 203

"Manu said, 'The mind united with the senses, recollects after a long time the impressions of the objects received in the past. When the senses are all suspended (in respect of their functions) [By death on sleep.], the Supreme (the Soul), in the form of the Understanding, exists in its own true nature. When the Soul (at such a time) does not in the least regard all those objects of the senses in respect of their simultaneity or the reverse in point of time but mustering them from all directions holds them before it together, it necessarily happens that he wanders among all things that are incongruous. He is, therefore, the (silent) Witness. Hence the Soul encased in body is something having a distinct and independent existence. There is Rajas, there is Tamas, and there is Sattwa, the third. There are again three states of the understanding, viz., waking, dreaming, and sound sleep. The Soul has knowledge of the pleasures and pains, which are all contradictory, of those states, and which partake of the nature of the threefold attributes first mentioned. The Soul enters the senses like the wind entering the fire in a piece of wood. One cannot behold the form of the Soul by one's eye, nor can the sense of touch, amongst the senses, apprehend it. The Soul is not, again, an object of apprehension by the ear. It may, however, be seen by the aid of the Srutis and the instructions of the wise. As regards the senses, that particular sense which apprehends it loses upon such apprehension its existence as a sense. The senses cannot themselves apprehend their respective forms by themselves. The Soul is omniscient (inasmuch as it apprehends both the knower and the known). It beholds all things. Being omniscient, it is the Soul that beholds the senses (without, as already said, the senses being able to apprehend it). Nobody has seen the other side of the Himavat mountains, nor the reverse of the moon's disc. Yet it cannot be said that these do not exist. Similarly, though never apprehended by the senses, yet nobody can say that the Soul, which dwells in all creatures, which is subtile, and which has knowledge for its essence, does not exist. People see the world reflected on the moon's disc in the form of spots. Though seeing, they do not know that it is the world that is so reflected there. Even such is the knowledge of the Soul. That knowledge must come of itself. The Soul depends upon the Soul itself. Men of wisdom, reflecting on the formlessness of visible objects before birth and after destruction, behold by the aid of intelligence, the formlessness of objects that have apparent forms, So also although the Sun's motion cannot be seen, yet persons, by watching its rising and setting, conclude that the sun has motion. Similarly, those who are endued with wisdom and learning behold the Soul by the aid of the lamp of intelligence, though it is at a great distance from them, and seek to merge the fivefold elements, which are near, into Brahma. Verily, an object cannot be accomplished without the application of means. Fishermen catch fish by means of nets made of strings. Animals are captured by employing animals as are the means. Birds are caught by employing birds as the means. Elephants are taken by employing elephants. In this way, the Soul may be apprehended by the principle of knowledge. We have heard that only a snake can see a snake's legs. After the same manner one beholds, through Knowledge, the Soul encased in subtile form and dwelling within the gross body. People cannot, through their senses, know the senses. Similarly, mere Intelligence at its highest cannot behold the Soul which is supreme. The moon, on the fifteenth day of the dark fortnight, cannot be seen in consequence of its form being hid. It cannot be said, however, that destruction overtakes it, Even such is the case with the Soul dwelling in the body. On the fifteenth day of the dark fortnight, the gross body of the moon becomes invisible. After the same manner, the Soul, when liberated from the body, cannot be apprehended. As the moon, gaining another point in the firmament begins to shine once more, similarly, the Soul obtaining a new body, begins to manifest itself once more. The birth, growth and disappearance of the moon can all be directly apprehended by the eye. These phenomena, however, appertain to the gross form of that luminary. The like are not the attributes of the Soul. The moon, when it shows itself after its disappearance on the fifteenth day of the dark fortnight, is regarded as the same luminary that had become invisible. After the same manner, notwithstanding the changes represented by birth, growth and age, a person is regarded as the same individual without any doubt of his identity. It cannot be distinctly seen how Rahu approaches and leaves the moon. After the same manner, the Soul cannot be seen how it leaves one body and enters another. [Tamas is another name for Rahu. The first line, therefore, refers to the manner in which an eclipse occurs. There is no absolute necessity, however, for taking it as an allusion to the eclipse. The meaning may be more general. Every day, during the lighted fortnight, the moon gains in appearance, as, indeed, every day, during the dark fortnight, it loses in appearance. It may, therefore, be said that darkness approaches it or leaves it for eating it away or discovering it more and more. The actual process of covering and discovering cannot be noticed. This circumstance may be taken as furnishing the simile. In verse 21, similarly, tamas is capable of a wider meaning. In 22, the word Rahu is used. It should be explained, however, that Rahu is no imaginary monster as the Puranas describe but the descending node of the moon, i.e., a portion of space in and about the lunar orbit. Some more details: Rahu is one of the nine major celestial bodies (navagraha) in Hindu texts. Unlike most of the others, Rahu is a shadow entity, one that causes eclipses and is the king of meteors. Rahu represents the ascension of the moon in its precessional orbit around the earth. Rahu is usually paired with Ketu which is also considered to be a shadow planet. The time of day considered to be under the influence of Rahu is called Rahu kala and is considered inauspicious. This sounds like mythology and astrology, however, it has a real background in astronomical observations. As per Hindu astrology, Rahu and Ketu have an orbital cycle of 18 years and are always 180 degrees from each other orbitally (as well as in the birth charts). This coincides with the precessional orbit of the moon or the ~18 year rotational cycle of the lunar ascending and descending nodes on the earth's ecliptic plane. This also corresponds to a saros, a period of approximately 223 synodic months (approximately 6585.3211 days, or 18 years, 11 days, 8 hours), that can be used to predict eclipses of the Sun and Moon. Rahu rules the zodiac sign of Aquarius together with Shani. Astronomically, Rahu and Ketu denote the points of intersection of the paths of the Sun and the Moon as they move on the celestial sphere. Therefore, Rahu and Ketu are respectively called the north and the south lunar nodes. The fact that eclipses occur when the Sun and the Moon are at one of these points gives rise to the understanding of swallowing of the Sun and the Moon by the snake. Rahu is responsible for causing the Eclipse of the Sun.] Rahu becomes visible only when it exists with the sun or the moon. Similarly, the Soul becomes an object of apprehension only when it exists with the body. When liberated from the sun or the moon, Rahu can no longer be seen. Similarly, the Soul, liberated from the body, can no longer be seen. Then again, as the moon, even when it

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disappears on the fifteenth day of the dark fortnight, is not deserted by the constellations and the stars, the Soul also, even though separated from the body, is not deserted by the fruits of the acts it has achieved in that body.'"

SECTION 204

"Manu said, 'As in a dream this manifest (body) lies (inactive) and the enlivening spirit in its subtile form, detaching itself from the former, walks forth after the same manner, in the state called deep slumber (or death), the subtile form with all the senses becomes inactive and the Understanding, detached from it remains awake. The same is the case with Existence and Non-Existence. As when quantity of water is clear, images reflected in it can be seen by the eye, after the same manner, if the senses be unperturbed, the Soul is capable of being viewed by the understanding. If, however, the quantity of water gets stirred, the person standing by it can no longer see those images. Similarly, if the senses become perturbed, the Soul can no longer be seen by the understanding. Ignorance begets Delusion. Delusion affects the mind. When the mind becomes vitiated, the five senses which have the mind for their refuge become vitiated also. Surcharged with Ignorance, and sunk in the mire of worldly objects, one cannot enjoy the sweets of contentment or tranquillity. The Soul (thus circumstanced), undetached from its good and evil acts, returns repeatedly unto the objects of the world, in consequence of sin one's thirst is never slaked. One's thirst is slaked only when one's sin is destroyed. In consequence of attachment to worldly objects, which has a tendency to perpetuate itself, one wishes for things other than those for which one should wish, and accordingly fails to attain to the Supreme. From the destruction of all sinful deeds, knowledge arises in men. Upon the appearance of Knowledge, one beholds one's Soul in one's understanding even as one sees one's own reflection in a polished mirror. One obtains misery in consequence of one's senses being unrestrained. One obtains happiness in consequence of one's senses being restrained. Therefore, one should restrain one's mind by self-effort from objects apprehended by the senses. Above the senses is the mind; above the mind is the understanding; above the understanding is the Soul; above the Soul is the Supreme or Great. From the Unmanifest hath sprung the Soul; from the Soul hath sprung the Understanding; from the Understanding hath sprung the Mind. When the Mind becomes associated with the senses, then it apprehends sound and the other objects of the senses. He who casts off those objects, as also all that are manifest, he who liberates himself from all things that arise from primordial matter, being so freed, enjoys immortality. The Sun rising diffuses his rays. When he sets, he withdraws unto himself those very rays that were diffused by him. After the same manner, the Soul, entering the body, obtains the fivefold objects of the senses by diffusing over them his rays represented by the senses. When, however, he turns back, he is said to set by withdrawing those rays unto himself. Repeatedly led along the path that is created by acts, he obtains the fruits of his acts in consequence of his having followed the practice of acts. Desire for the objects of the senses keeps away from a person who does not indulge in such desire. The very principle of desire, however, leaves him who has beheld his soul, which, of course, is entirely free from desire. When the Understanding, freed from attachment to the objects of the senses, becomes fixed in the mind, then does one succeed in attaining to Brahma, for it is there that the mind with the understanding withdrawn into it can possibly be extinguished. Brahma is not an object of touch, or of hearing, or of taste, or of sight, or of smell, or of any deductive inference from the Known. Only the Understanding (when withdrawn from everything else) can attain to it. All objects that the mind apprehends through 'the senses are capable of being withdrawn into the mind; the mind can be withdrawn into the understanding; the Understanding can be withdrawn into the Soul, and the Soul into the Supreme. The senses cannot contribute to the success of the mind. The mind cannot apprehend the Understanding. The Understanding cannot apprehend the manifested Soul. The Soul, however, which is subtile, beholds those all.'"

SECTION 205

"Manu said, 'Upon the appearance of the physical and mental sorrow, one does not become able to practise yoga. It is advisable, therefore, for one not to brood over such sorrow. The remedy for sorrow is abstention from brooding over it. When sorrow is brooded over, it comes aggressively and increases in violence. One should relieve mental sorrow by wisdom, while physical sorrow should be cured by medicaments. Wisdom teaches this. One should not, while under sorrow, behave like a child. The man of wisdom should never cherish a desire for youth, beauty, length of life, accumulation of wealth, health, and the companionship of those that are dear, all of which are transitory. One should not grieve singly for a sorrow that affects a whole community. Without grieving, one should, if one sees an opportunity, seek to apply a remedy. Without doubt, the measure of sorrow is much greater than that of happiness in life. To one who is content with the objects of the senses, death that is disagreeable comes in consequence of his stupefaction. That man who avoids both sorrow and happiness succeeds verily in attaining to Brahma. Such persons, who are possessed of wisdom, have never to grieve.

Worldly possessions bring about sorrow. In protecting them thou canst not have any happiness. They are again earned with misery. One should not therefore, regard their loss. Pure Knowledge (or Brahma) is regarded (by ignorance) as existing in the diverse forms that are objects of Knowledge. Know that mind is only an attribute of Knowledge. When the mind becomes united with the faculties of knowledge, then the Understanding (which bodies forth the forms of things) sets in. When the Understanding, freed from the attributes of action, becomes directed towards the mind (after being withdrawn from outward objects), then does it succeed in knowing Brahma by meditation or Yoga ending in complete absorption (samadhi)? The Understanding flowing from Ignorance, and possessed of the senses and attributes, runs towards external objects, like a river issuing from a mountain summit and flowing towards other regions. When the Understanding, withdrawn into the mind, succeeds in absorbing itself into contemplation that is free from attributes, it attains to a knowledge of Brahma like the touch of gold on a touchstone. The mind is the apprehender of the objects of the senses. It must first be extinguished (before Brahma can be attained). Dependent upon the attributes of objects that are before it, the mind can never show that which is without attributes. Shutting up all the doors constituted by the senses, the Understanding should be withdrawn into the mind. In this state, when absorbed in contemplation, it attains to the knowledge of Brahma. As the fivefold great creatures (in their gross form) upon the destruction of the attributes by which they are known, become withdrawn (into their subtile form called Tanmatra), after the same manner the Understanding may dwell in the mind alone, with the senses all withdrawn from their objects. When the Understanding, though possessed of the attribute of certainty, dwells in the mind, busied with the internal, even then it is nothing but the mind (without being anything superior to it). When the mind or consciousness, which attains to excellence through contemplation, succeeds in identifying attributes with what are considered as their possessors, then can it cast off all attributes and attain to Brahma which is without attributes. There is no indication that is fit enough for yielding a knowledge of what is Unmanifest (Brahma). That which cannot form the subject of language, cannot be acquired by any one. With cleansed soul, one should seek to approach the Supreme Brahma, through the aid afforded by penances, by inferences, by self-restraint, by the practices and observances as laid down for one's own order, and by the Vedas. Persons of clear vision (besides seeing the Supreme within themselves), seek him in even external forms by freeing themselves from attributes. The Supreme, which is called by the name of Jneya (i.e., that which should be known), in consequence of the absence of all attributes or of its own nature, can never be apprehended by argument. When the Understanding becomes freed from attributes, then only it can attain to Brahma. When unemancipated from attributes, it falls back from the Supreme. Indeed, such is the nature of the understanding that it rushes towards attributes and moves among them like fire among fuel. As in the state called Sushupti (deep and dreamless slumber) the five senses exist freed from their respective functions, after the same manner the Supreme Brahma exists high above Prakriti, freed from all its attributes. Embodied creatures thus betake themselves to action in consequence of attributes. When they abstain therefrom, they attain to Emancipation. Some again (by action) go to heaven. The living creature, primordial nature, the understanding, the objects of the senses, the senses, consciousness, conviction of personal identity, are called creatures (for they are subjected to destruction). The original creation of all these flowed from the Supreme. Their second or succeeding creation is due to the action of couples or pairs (of opposite sexes) and is confined to all things save the primal five, and is restrained by laws in consequence of which the same species produce the same species. From righteousness (living) creatures obtain a high end, and from sinfulness they earn an end that is low. He who is unemancipated from attachments, encounters rebirth; while he who is emancipated therefrom, attains to Knowledge (or Brahma).'"

SECTION 206

"Manu said, 'When the fivefold attributes are united with the five senses and the mind, then is Brahma seen by the individual like a thread passing through a gem. As a thread, again, may lie within gold or pearl or a coral or any object made of earth, even so one's soul, in consequence of one's own acts, may live within a cow, a horse, a man, an elephant, or any other animal, or within a worm or an insect. The good deeds an individual performs in a particular body produce rewards that the individual enjoys in that particular body. A soil, apparently drenched with one particular kind of liquid, supplies to each different kind of herb or plant that grows on it the sort of juice it requires for itself. After the same manner, the Understanding, whose course is witnessed by the soul, is obliged to follow the path marked out by the acts of previous lives. From knowledge springs desire. From desire springs resolution. From resolution flows action. From action proceed fruits (i.e., consequences, good and bad). Fruits, therefore, are dependent on actions as their cause. Actions have the understanding for their cause. The understanding has knowledge for its cause; and knowledge has the Soul for its cause. That excellent result which is achieved in consequence of the destruction of knowledge, of fruits, of the understanding, and of acts, is called Knowledge of Brahma. Great and high is that self-existent Essence, which yogins behold. They that are devoid of wisdom, and whose understandings are devoted to worldly possessions never behold that which exists in the Soul itself. Water is superior to the Earth in extension; Light is superior to Water; Wind is superior to Light; Space is superior to Wind; Mind is superior to Space; Understanding is superior to Mind; Time is superior to Understanding. The divine Vishnu, whose is this universe, is superior to Time. That god is without beginning, middle, and end. In consequence of his being without beginning, middle, and end, he is Unchangeable. He transcends all sorrow, for sorrow has limits. That Vishnu hath been called the Supreme Brahma. He is the refuge or object of what is called the Highest. Knowing Him, they that are wise, freed from everything that owns the power of Time, attain to what is called Emancipation. All these (that we perceive) are displayed in attributes. That which is called Brahma, being without attributes, is superior to these. Abstention from acts is the highest religion. That religion is sure to lead to deathlessness (Emancipation). The Richs, the Yajuses, and the Samans, have for their refuge the body. They flow from the end of the tongue. They cannot be acquired without effort and are subject to destruction. Brahma, however, cannot be acquired in this way, for (without depending upon the body) it depends upon that (i.e., the knower or Soul) which has the body for its refuge. Without beginning, middle, or end, Brahma cannot be acquired by exertion (like to what is necessary for the acquirement of the Vedas). The Richs, the Samans, the Yajuses have each a beginning. Those that have a beginning have also an end. But Brahma is said to be without beginning. And because Brahma hath neither beginning nor end, it is said to be infinite and unchangeable. In consequence of unchangeableness, Brahma transcends all sorrow as also all pairs of opposites. Through unfavourable destiny, through inability to find out the proper means, and through the impediments offered by acts, mortals succeed not in beholding the path by which Brahma may be reached. In consequence of attachment to worldly possessions, of a vision of the joys of the highest heaven, and of coveting something other than Brahma, men do not attain to the Supreme. Others beholding worldly objects covet their possession. Desirous of such objects, they have no longing for Brahma in consequence of its transcending all attributes. How shall he that is attached to attributes which are inferior, arrive at a knowledge of him that is possessed of attributes that are superior? It is by inference that one can arrive at a knowledge of Him that transcends all this in attributes and form. By subtile intelligence alone can we know Him. We cannot describe Him in words. The mind is seizable by the mind, the eye by eye. By knowledge the understanding can be purified of its dross. The understanding may be employed for purifying the mind. By the mind should the senses be controlled. Achieving all this, one may attain to the Unchangeable. One who has, by contemplation, become freed from attachments, and who has been enriched by the possession of a discerning mind, succeeds in attaining to Brahma which is without desire and above all attributes. As the wind keeps away from the fire that is embedded within a piece of wood, even so persons that are agitated (by desire for worldly possessions) keep away from that which is Supreme. Upon the destruction of all earthly objects, the mind always attains to That which is higher than the Understanding; while upon their separation the mind always acquires that which is below the Understanding. That person, who, in conformity with the method already described, becomes engaged in destroying earthly objects, attains to absorption into the body of Brahma. Though the Soul is unmanifest; yet when clothed with qualities, its acts become unmanifest. When dissolution (of the body) comes, it once more becomes manifest. The Soul is really inactive. It exists, united with the senses that are productive of either happiness or sorrow. United with all the senses and endued with body, it takes refuge in the five primal elements. Through want of power, however, it fails to act when deprived of force by the Supreme and Unchangeable. No man sees the end of the earth but knows this, viz., that the earth's end Will surely come. [What is said here is that Happiness and Sorrow have an end, though it may not be seen, and the Soul will surely come to its final resting place. This accords with the doctrine of infinite spiritual improvement.] Man, agitated here (by attachments), is surely led to his last refuge like the wind leading a vessel tossed on the sea to a safe harbour at last. The Sun, spreading his rays, becomes the possessor of an attribute, (viz., the

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lighter of the world): withdrawing his rays (at the hour of setting), he once more becomes an object divested of attributes. After the same manner, a person, abandoning all distinctions (attachments), and betaking himself to penances, at last enters the indestructible Brahma which is divested of all attributes. By discerning Him who is without birth, who is the highest refuge of all righteous persons, who is self-born, from whom everything springs and unto whom all things return, who is unchangeable, who is without beginning, middle, and end, and who is certainty's self and supreme, a person attains to immortality (Emancipation).'"

SECTION 207

"Yudhishthira said, 'O grandsire, O thou of great wisdom, I desire to hear in detail, O chief of the Bharatas, of that lotus-eyed and indestructible one, who is the Creator of everything but who has been created by none, who is called Vishnu (in consequence of his pervading everything), who is the origin of all creatures and unto whom all creatures return, who is known by the names of Narayana and Hrishikesa and Govinda and Kesava, and who is incapable of being vanquished by any one.'

"Bhishma said, 'I have heard of this subject from Jamadagni's son Rama, while he discoursed on it, from the celestial Rishi Narada, and from Krishna-Dwaipayana. Asita-Devala, O son, Valmiki of austere penances, and Markandeya, speak of Govinda as the Most Wonderful and the Supreme. Kesava, O chief of Bharata's race, is the divine and puissant Lord of all. He is called Purusha, and pervades everything, having made himself many. Listen now, O Yudhishthira of mighty arms, to those attributes which great Brahmanas say are to be met with in the high-souled wielder of Saranga. I shall also, O prince of men, recite to thee those acts which persons conversant with old histories ascribe to Govinda. He is said to be the Soul of all creatures, the high-souled one, and the foremost of all beings. He created (by his will) the five-fold elements, viz., Wind, Light, Water, Space, and Earth. That puissant Lord of all things, that high-souled one, that foremost of all beings, having created the earth, laid himself down on the surface of the waters. While thus floating upon the waters, that foremost of all beings, that refuge of every kind of energy and splendour, created Consciousness, the first-born of beings in the universe. We have heard that He created Consciousness along with the Mind,--Consciousness which is the refuge of all created things. That Consciousness upholds all creatures and both the past and the future. After that great Being, O mighty-armed one, viz., Consciousness, had sprung, an exceedingly beautiful lotus, possessed of effulgence like the Sun's, grew out of the navel of the Supreme Being (floating on the waters). Then, O son, the illustrious and divine Brahman, the Grandsire of all creatures, sprang into existence from that lotus, irradiating all the points of the horizon with his effulgence. After the high-souled Grandsire had, O mighty-armed one, thus sprung from the primeval lotus, a great Asura of the name of Madhu, having no beginning, started into birth, springing from the attribute or Darkness (Tamas). The foremost of all Beings, (viz., the Supreme Divinity), for benefiting Brahman, slew that fierce Asura of fierce deeds, engaged even then in the fierce act (of slaying the Grand-sire). From this slaughter, O son, (of the Asura named Madhu), all the gods and the Danavas and men came to call that foremost of all righteous persons by the name of Madhusudana (slayer of Madhu). After this, Brahman created, by a flat of his will, seven sons with Daksha completing the tale. They were Marichi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, (and the already mentioned Daksha). The eldest born, viz., Marichi, begat, by a fiat of his will, a son named Kasyapa, full of energy and the foremost of all persons conversant with Brahma. From his toe, Brahman had, even before the birth of Marichi, created a son. That son, O chief of Bharata's race, was Daksha, the progenitor of creatures. Unto Daksha were first born three and ten daughters, O Bharata, the eldest of whom was called Diti. Marichi's son Kasyapa, O sire, who was conversant with all duties and their distinctions, who was of righteous deeds and great fame, became the husband of those thirteen daughters. The highly-blessed Daksha (besides the three and ten already spoken of) next begat ten other daughters. The progenitor of creatures, viz., the righteous Daksha, bestowed these upon Dharma. Dharma became father of the Vasus, the Rudras of immeasurable energy, the Viswedevas, the Sadhyas, and the Maruts, O Bharata. Daksha next begat seven and twenty other younger daughters. The highly-blessed Soma became the husband of them all. The other wives of Kasyapa gave birth to Gandharvas, horses, birds, kine, Kimpurushas, fishes, and trees and plants. Aditi gave birth to the Adityas. the foremost ones among the gods, and possessed of great strength. Amongst them Vishnu took birth in the form of a dwarf. Otherwise called Govinda, he became the foremost of them all. Through his prowess, the prosperity of the gods increased. The Danavas were vanquished. The offspring of Diti were the Asuras. Danu gave birth to the Danavas having Viprachitti for their foremost. Diti gave birth to all the Asuras of great strength.

"The slayer of Madhu also created the Day and the Night, and the Season in their order, and the Morn and the Even. After reflection, he also created the clouds, and all the (other) immobile and mobile objects. Possessed of abundant energy, he also created the Viswas and the earth with all things upon her. Then the highly blessed and puissant Krishna, O Yudhishthira, once again created from his mouth a century of foremost Brahmanas. From his two arms, he created a century of Kshatriyas, and from his thighs a century of Vaisyas. Then, O bull of Bharata's race, Kesava created from his two feet a century of Sudras. Possessed of great ascetic merit, the slayer of Madhu, having thus created the four orders of men, made Dhatri (Brahman) the lord and ruler of all created beings. Of immeasurable effulgence, Brahman became also the expositor of the knowledge of the Vedas. And Kesava made him, called Virupaksha, the ruler of the spirits and ghosts and of those female beings called the Matrikas (mothers). And he made Yama the ruler of the Pitris and of all sinful men. [Samavartin is another name for Yama the punisher of the wicked.] The Supreme Soul of all creatures also made Kuvera the lord of all treasures. He then created Varuna the lord of waters and governor of all aquatic animals. The puissant Vishnu made Vasava the chief of all the deities. In those times, men lived as long as they chose to live, and were without any fear of Yama. Sexual congress, O chief of the Bharatas, was then not necessary for perpetuating the species. In those days offspring were begotten by flat of the will. In the age that followed, viz., Treta, children were begotten by touch alone. The people of that age even, O monarch, were above the necessity of sexual congress. It was in the next age, viz., Dwapara, that the practice of sexual congress originated, O king, to prevail among men. In the Kali age, O monarch, men have come to marry and live in pairs.

"I have now told thee of the supreme Lord of all creatures. He is also called the Ruler of all and everything. I shall now, O son of Kunti, speak to thee about the sinful creatures of the earth. Listen to me. Those men, O king, are born in the southern region and are called Andrakas, Guhas, Pulindas, Savaras, Chuchukas, Madrakas. Those that are born in the northern region, I shall also mention. They are Yamas, Kamvojas, Gandharas, Kiratas and Barbaras. All of them, O sire, are sinful, and move on this Earth, characterised by practices similar to those of Chandalas and ravens and vultures. In the Krita age, O sire, they were nowhere on earth. It is from the Treta that they have had their origin and began to multiply, O chief of Bharata's race. When the terrible period came, joining Treta and the Dwapara, the Kshatriyas, approaching one another, engaged themselves in battle.

"Thus, O chief of Kuru's race, this universe was started into birth by the high-souled Krishna. That observer of all the worlds, viz., the celestial Rishi Narada, has said that Krishna is the Supreme God. Even Narada, O king, admits the supremacy of Krishna and his eternity, O mighty-armed chief of Bharata's race. Thus, O mighty-armed one, is Kesava of unvanquishable prowess. That lotus-eyed one, is not a mere man. He is inconceivable.'"

SECTION 208

"Yudhishthira asked, 'Who were the first Prajapatis, O bull of Bharata's race? What highly-blessed Rishis are there in existence and on which points of the compass do each of them dwell?'

"Bhishma said., 'Hear me, O chief of the Bharatas, about what thou askest me. I shall tell thee who the Prajapatis were and what Rishis are mentioned as dwelling on which point of the horizon. There was at first one Eternal, Divine, and Self-born Brahman. The Self-born Brahman begat seven illustrious sons. They were Marichi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, and the highly-blessed Vasishtha who was equal to the Self-born himself. These seven sons have been mentioned in the Puranas as seven Brahmanas. I shall now mention all the Prajapatis who came after these. In Atri's race was born the eternal and divine Varhi the ancient, who had penances for his origin. From Varhi the ancient sprang the ten Prachetasas. The ten Prachetasas had one son between them, viz., the Prajapati called by the name of Daksha. This last has two names in the world, viz., Daksha and Kasyapa. Marichi had one son called Kasyapa. This last also has two names. Some call him Arishtanemi, and some Kasyapa. Atri had another son born of his lions, viz., the handsome and princely Soma of great energy. He performed penances for a thousand celestial Yugas. The divine Aryaman and they who were born unto him as his sons, O monarch, have been described as setters of commands, and creators of all creatures. Sasavindu had ten thousand wives. Upon each of them their lord begat a thousand sons, and so the tale reached ten hundred thousands. Those sons refused to call anybody else save themselves as Prajapatis. The ancient Brahmanas bestowed an appellation on the creatures of the world, derived from Sasavindu. That extensive race of the Prajapati Sasavindu became in time the progenitor of the Vrishni race. These that I have mentioned are noted as the illustrious Prajapatis. After this, I shall mention the deities that are the lords of the three worlds. Bhaga, Ansa, Aryyaman, Mitra, Varna, Savitri, Dhatri, Vivaswat of great might, Tvashtri, Pushan, Indra, and Vishnu known as the twelfth,--these are the twelve Adityas, all sprung from Kasyapa. Nasatya and Dasra are mentioned as the two Aswins. These two are the sons of the illustrious Martanda, the eighth in the above tale. These were called first the gods and the two classes of Pitris. Tvashtri had many sons. Amongst them were the handsome and famous Viswarupa, Ajaikapat, Ahi, Bradhna, Virupaksha, and Raivata. Then there were Hara and Vahurupa, Tryamvaka the chief of the Deities, and Savitrya, Jayanta and Pinaki the invincible. The highly-blessed Vasus, eight in number, have formerly been enumerated by me. These were reckoned as gods at the time of the Prajapati Manu. These were at first called the gods and the Pitris. Amongst the Siddhas and the Sadhyas there were two classes in consequence of conduct and youth. The deities were formerly considered to be of two classes, viz., the Ribhus and the Maruts. Thus have the Viswas, the gods and the Aswins, been enumerated. Amongst them, the Adityas are Kshatriyas, and the Maruts are Vaisyas. The two Aswins, engaged in severe penances, have been said to be Sudras. The deities sprung from Angirasa's line have been said to be Brahmanas. This is certain. Thus have I told thee about the fourfold order among the gods. The person who, after rising from his bed at morn, recites the names of these deities, becomes cleansed of all his sins whether committed by himself intentionally or Unintentionally, or whether born of his intercourse with others. Yavakriti, Raivya, Arvavasu, Paravasu, Ausija, Kashivat, and Vala have been said to be the sons of Angiras. These, and Kanwa son of Rishi Medhatithi, and Varhishada, and the well-known seven Rishis who are the progenitors of the three worlds, all reside in the East. Unmucha, Vimucha, Svastyatreya of great energy, Pramucha, Idhmavaha, and the divine Dridhavrata, and Mitravaruna's son Agastya of great energy, these regenerate Rishis all reside in the south. Upangu, Karusha, Dhaumya, Parivyadha of great energy, and those great Rishis called Ekata, Dwita, and Trita, and Atri's son, viz., the illustrious and puissant Saraswata, these high-souled ones reside in the west. Atreya, and Vasishtha, and the great Rishi Kasyapa, and Gautama, Bharadwaja, and Viswamitra, the son of Kusika, and the illustrious son of the high-souled Richika, viz., Jamadagni,--these seven live in the north. Thus have I told thee about the great Rishis of fiery energy that live in the different points of the compass. Those high-souled ones are the witnesses of the universe, and are the creators of all the worlds. Even thus do they dwell in their respective quarters. By reciting their names one is cleansed of all one's sins. A person by repairing to those points becomes cleansed of all his sins and succeeds in returning home in safety'"

SECTION 209

"Yudhishthira said, 'O grandsire, O thou of great wisdom and invincible prowess in battle, I wish to hear in detail of Krishna who is immutable and omnipotent. O bull among men, tell me truly everything about his great energy and the great feats achieved by him in days of old. Why did that puissant one assume the form of an animal, and for achieving what particular act? Tell me all this, O mighty warrior!'

"Bhishma said, 'Formerly, on one occasion, while out ahunting, I arrived at the hermitage of Markandeya. There I beheld diverse classes of ascetics seated by thousands. The Rishis honoured me by the offer of honey and curds. Accepting their worship, I reverentially saluted them in return. The following that I shall recite was narrated there by the great Rishi Kasyapa. Listen with close attention to that excellent and charming account. In former days, the principal Danavas, endued with wrath and cupidity, and mighty Asuras numbering by hundreds and drunk with might, and innumerable other Danavas that were invincible in battle, became exceedingly jealous of the unrivalled prosperity of the gods. Oppressed (at last) by the Danavas, the gods and the celestial Rishis, failing to obtain peace, fled away in all directions. The denizens of heaven saw the earth looking like one sunk in sore distress. Overspread with mighty Danavas of terrible mien, the earth seemed to be oppressed with a heavy weight. Cheerless and griefstricken, she seemed as if going down into the nether depths. The Adityas, struck with fear, repaired to Brahman, and addressing him, said, 'How, O Brahman, shall we continue to bear these oppressions of the Danavas?' The Self-born answered them, saying, 'I have already ordained what is to be done in this matter. Endued with boons, and possessed of might, and swelling with pride, those senseless wretches do not know that Vishnu of invisible form, that God incapable of being vanquished by the very deities all acting together, hath assumed the form of a boar. That Supreme Deity, rushing to the spot whither those wretches among Danavas, of terrible aspect, are dwelling in thousands below the earth, will slay them all.' Hearing these words of the Grandsire, foremost ones among the deities felt great joy. Sometime after, Vishnu those of mighty energy, encased in the form of a Boar, penetrating into the nether regions, rushed against those offspring of Diti. Beholding that extraordinary creature, all the Daityas, uniting together and stupefied by Time, quickly proceeded against it for

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exerting their strength, and stood surrounding it. Soon after, they all rushed against that Boar and seized it simultaneously. Filled with rage they endeavoured to drag the animal from every side. Those foremost of Danavas, of huge bodies, possessed of mighty energy, swelling with strength, succeeded not, however, O monarch, in doing anything to that Boar. At this they wondered much and then became filled with fear. Numbering in thousands, they regarded that their last hour had come. Then that Supreme God of all the gods, having yoga for his soul and yoga for his companion, became rapt in yoga, O chief of the Bharatas, and began to utter tremendous roars, agitating those Daityas and Danavas. All the worlds and the ten points of the compass resounded with those roars, which, for this reason, agitated all creatures and filled them with fear. The very gods with Indra at their head became terror-stricken. The whole universe became stilled in consequence of that sound. It was a dreadful time. All mobile and immobile beings became stupefied by that sound. The Danavas, terrified by that sound, began to fall down lifeless, paralysed by the energy of Vishnu. The Boar, with its hoofs, began to pierce those enemies of the gods, those denizens of the nether regions, and tear their flesh, fat, and bones. In consequence of those tremendous roars, Vishnu came to be called by the name of Sanatana. He is also called Padmanabha. He is the foremost of yogins. He is the Preceptor of all creatures, and their supreme Lord. All the tribes of the gods then repaired to the Grandsire. Arrived at the presence, those illustrious ones a dressed the Lord of the universe, saying, 'What sort of a noise is this, O puissant one? We do not understand it. Who is this one, or whose is this sound at which the universe hath been stupefied? With the energy of this sound or of its maker, the gods and the Danavas have all been deprived of their senses.' Meanwhile, O mighty-armed one, Vishnu in his porcine form was in sight of the assembled gods, his praises hymned by the great Rishis.'

"The Grandsire said, 'That is the Supreme God, the Creator of all beings, the soul of all creatures, the foremost of all yogins. Of huge body and great strength, he cometh here, having slain the foremost ones among the Danavas. He is the Lord of all beings, the master of yoga, the great ascetic, the Soul of all living beings. Be still, all of you. He is Krishna, the destroyer of all obstacles and impediments. That Supreme God, of immeasurable splendour, that great refuge of all blessings, having achieved a most difficult feat that is incapable of being accomplished by others, has returned to his own unmixed nature. It is He from whose navel the primeval lotus had sprung. He is the foremost of yogins. Of supreme soul, He is the creator of all beings. There is no need for sorrow or fear or grief, ye foremost of gods! He is the Ordainer. He is the Creating Principle. He is all-destroying Time. It is He who upholds all the world. The roars that have alarmed you are being uttered by that high-souled one. Of mighty arms, He is the object of the universal worship. Incapable of deterioration, that lotus-eyed one is the origin of all beings and their lord.'"

SECTION 210

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me, O sire, of that high yoga by which, O Bharata, I may obtain Emancipation, O foremost of speakers, I desire to know everything about that yoga truly.'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection is cited the old narrative of the discourse between a preceptor and his disciple on the subject of Emancipation. There was a regenerate preceptor who was the foremost of Rishis. He looked like a mass of splendour. Possessed of a high soul, he was firm in truth and a complete master of his senses. Once on a time, a disciple of great intelligence and close attention, desirous of obtaining what was for his highest good, touched the preceptor's feet, and standing with joined hands before him, said, If, O illustrious one, thou hast been gratified with the worship I have offered thee, it behoveth thee to solve a great doubt of mine. Whence am I and whence art thou? Tell me this fully. Tell me also what is the final cause. Why also, O best of regenerate ones, when the material cause in all beings is the same, their origin and destruction happen in such dissimilar ways? It beseems thee, O thou of great learning, also to explain the object of the declarations in the Vedas (about difference of rites in respect of different classes of men), the meaning of the injunctions of the Smritis and of those injunctions which apply to all cases of men.'

"The preceptor said, 'Listen, O disciple, O thou of great wisdom! This that thou hast asked me is undisclosed in the very Vedas and is the highest subject for thought or discourse. It is called Adhyatma and is the most valuable of all branches of learning and of all sacred institutes. Vasudeva is the Supreme (cause) of the universe. He is the origin of the Vedas (viz., Om). He is Truth, Knowledge, Sacrifice, Renunciation, Self-restraint, and Righteousness. Persons conversant with the Vedas know Him as All-pervading, Eternal, Omnipresent, the Creator and the Destroyer, the Unmanifest, Brahma, Immutable. Hear now the story of Him who took his birth in Vrishni's race. A Brahmana should hear of the greatness of that God of gods, viz., Him called Vishnu of immeasurable energy, from the lips of Brahmanas. A person of the royal order should hear it from persons of that order. One who is a Vaisya should hear it from Vaisyas, and a high-souled Sudra should hear it from Sudras. Thou deservest to hear it. Listen now to the auspicious account of Krishna, that narrative which is the foremost of all narratives. Vasudeva is the wheel of Time, without beginning and without end. Existence and Non-existence are the attributes by which His real nature is known. The universe revolves like a wheel depending upon that Lord of all beings. O best of men, Kesava, that foremost of all beings, is said to be that which is Indestructible, that which is Unmanifest, that which is Immortal, Brahma, and Immutable. The highest of the high, and without change or deterioration himself, he created the Pitris, the gods, the Rishis, the Yakshas, the Rakshasas, the Nagas, the Asuras, and human beings. It is He who also created the Vedas and the eternal duties and customs of men. Having reduced everything into non-existence, he once more, in the beginning of a (new) yuga, creates Prakriti (primordial matter). As the diverse phenomena of the several seasons appear one after another according to the season that comes, after the like manner creatures start forth into existence at the beginning of every (celestial) yuga. Corresponding with those creatures that start into life is the knowledge of rules and duties that have for their object the regulation of the world's course. At the end of every (celestial) yuga (when universal destruction sets in) the Vedas and all other scriptures disappear (like the rest). In consequence of the grace of the Self-born, the great Rishis, through their penances, first re-acquire the lost Vedas and the scriptures. The Self-born (Brahman) first acquired the Vedas. Their branches called the Angas were first acquired by (the celestial preceptor) Vrihaspati. Bhrigu's son (Sukra) first acquired the science of morality that is so beneficial for the universe. The science of music was acquired by Narada; that of arms by Bharadwaja; the history of the celestial Rishis by Gargya: that of medicine by the dark-complexioned son of Atri. Diverse other Rishis, whose names are connected therewith, promulgated diverse other sciences such as Nyaya, Vaiseshika, Sankhya, Patanjala, etc. Let that Brahma which those Rishis have indicated by arguments drawn from reason, by means of the Vedas, and by inferences drawn from the direct evidence of the senses, be adored., Neither the gods nor the Rishis were (at first) able to apprehend Brahma which is without beginning and which is the highest of the high. Only the divine creator of all things, viz., the puissant Narayana, had knowledge of Brahma. From Narayana, the Rishis, the foremost ones among the deities and the Asuras, and the royal sages of old, derived the knowledge of that highest remedy of the cure of sorrow. When primordial matter produces existences through the action of the primal energy, the universe with all its potencies begins to flow from it. From one lighted lamp thousands of other lamps are capable of being lighted. After the same manner, primordial matter produces thousands of existent things. In consequence, again, of its infinity primordial matter is never exhausted. From the Unmanifest flows the Understanding determined by acts. The Understanding produces Consciousness. From Consciousness proceeds Space. From Space proceeds Wind. From the Wind proceeds Heat. From Heat proceeds Water, and from Water is produced the Earth. These eight constitute primordial Prakriti. The universe rests on them. From those Eight have originated the five organs of knowledge, the five organs of action, the five objects of the (first five) organs, and the one, viz., the Mind, forming the sixteenth, which is the result of their modification. The ear, the skin, the two eyes, the tongue, and the nose are the five organs of knowledge. The two feet, the lower duct, the organ of generation, the two arms, and speech, are the five organs of action. Sound, touch, form, taste, and smell are the five objects of the senses, covering all the things. The Mind dwells upon all the senses and their objects. In the perception of taste, it is the Mind that becomes the tongue, and in speech it is the Mind that becomes words. Endued with the different senses, it is the Mind that becomes all the objects that exist in its apprehension. These sixteen, existing in their respective forms, should be known as deities. These worship Him who creates all knowledge and dwells within the body. Taste is the attribute of water; scent is the attribute of earth; hearing is the attribute of space; vision is the attribute of fire or light; and touch should be known as the attribute of the wind. This is the case with all creatures at all times. The Mind, it has been said, is the attribute of existence. Existence springs from the Unmanifest (of Prakriti) which, every intelligent person should know, rests in That which is the Soul of all existent beings. These existences, resting upon the supreme Divinity that is above Prakriti and that is without any inclination for action, uphold the entire universe of mobiles and immobiles. This sacred edifice of nine doors is endued with all these existences. That which is high above them, viz., the Soul, dwells within it, pervading it all over. For this reason, it is called Purusha. The Soul is without decay and not subject to death. It has knowledge of what is manifest and what is unmanifest. It is again all-pervading, possessed of attributes, subtile, and the refuge of all existences and attributes. As a lamp discovers all objects great or small (irrespective of its own size), after the same manner the Soul dwells in all creatures as the principle of knowledge (regardless of the attributes or accidents of those creatures). Urging the ear to hear what it hears, it is the Soul that hears. Similarly, employing the eye, it is the Soul that sees. This body furnishes the means by which the Soul derives knowledge. The bodily organs are not the doers, but it is the Soul that is the doer of all acts. There is fire in wood, but it can never be seen by cutting open a piece of wood. After the same manner, the Soul dwells within the body, but it can never be seen by dissecting the body. The fire that dwells in wood may be seen by employing proper means, viz., rubbing the wood with another piece of wood. After the same manner, the Soul which dwells within the body may be seen by employing proper means, viz., yoga. Water must exist in rivers. Rays of light are always attached to the sun. After the same manner, the Soul has a body. This connection does not cease because of the constant succession of bodies that the Soul has to enter. [What is meant seems to be this: there can be no river without water. A river cannot exist without water. When a river is mentioned, water is implied. The connection between a river and water is not an accident but a necessary one. The same may be said of the sun and its rays. After the same manner, the connection between the Soul and the body is a necessary one and not an accident. The Soul cannot exist without a body. Of course, the ordinary case only is referred to here, for, by yoga, one can dissociate the Soul from the body and incorporate it with Brahma.] In a dream, the Soul, endued with the fivefold senses, leaves the body and roves over wide areas. After the same manner, when death ensues, the Soul (with the senses in their subtile forms) passes out of one body for entering another. The Soul is bound by its own former acts. Bound by its own acts done in one state of existence, it attains to another state. Indeed, it is led from one into another body by its own acts which are very powerful in respect of their consequences. How the owner of a human body, leaving off his body, enters another, and then again into another, how, indeed, the entire range of beings is the result of their respective acts (of past and present lives), I will presently tell you.'"

SECTION 211

"Bhishma said, 'All immobile and mobile beings, distributed into four classes, have been said to be of unmanifest birth and unmanifest death. Existing only in the unmanifest Soul, the Mind is said to possess the attributes of the unmanifest. As a vast tree is ensconced within a small unblown Aswattha flower and becomes observable only when it comes out, even so birth takes place from what is unmanifest. A piece of iron, which is inanimate, runs towards a piece of loadstone. Similarly, inclinations and propensities due to natural instincts, and all else, run towards the Soul in a new life. Indeed, even as those propensities and possessions born of Ignorance and Delusion, and inanimate in respect of their nature, are united with Soul when reborn, after the same manner, those other propensities and aspirations of the Soul that have their gaze directed towards Brahma become united with it, coming to it directly from Brahma itself. Neither earth, nor sky, nor heaven, nor things, nor the vital breaths, nor virtue and vice, nor anything else, existed before, save the Chit-Soul. Nor have they any necessary connection with even the Chit-Soul defiled by Ignorance. The Soul is eternal. It is indestructible. It occurs in every creature. It is the cause of the Mind. It is without attributes, This universe that we perceive hath been declared (in the Vedas) to be due to Ignorance or Delusion. The Soul's apprehensions of form, etc., are due to past desires. The Soul, when it becomes endued with those causes (viz., desire), is led to the state of its being engaged in acts. In consequence of that condition (for those acts again produce desires to end in acts anew and so on),--this vast wheel to existence revolves, without beginning and without end. The Unmanifest, viz., the Understanding (with the desires), is the nave of that wheel. The Manifest (i.e., the body with the senses) constitutes its assemblage of spokes, the perceptions and acts from its circumference. Propelled by the quality of Rajas (Passion), the Soul presides over it (witnessing its revolutions). Like oilmen pressing oilseeds in their machine, the consequences born of Ignorance, assailing the universe (of creatures) which is moistened by Rajas, press or grind it in that wheel. In that succession of existences, the living creature, seized by the idea of Self in consequence of desire, engages itself in acts. In the union of cause and effect, those acts again become (new causes). [The Cause is ignorance. The Effect is the body and the senses of a particular form of existence. When the creature, in consequence of this union, engages in acts, these latter become causes for new states of existence.] Effects do not enter into causes. Nor do causes enter into effects. In the production of effects, Time is the Cause. The primordial essences (eight in number as mentioned before), and their modifications six-(teen in number), fraught with causes, exists in a state of union, in consequence of their being always presided over by the Soul. Like dust following the wind that moves it, the creature-Soul, divested of body, but endued still with inclinations born of Passion and Darkness and with principles of causes constituted by the acts of the life that is over, moves on, following the direction that

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the Supreme Soul gives it. The Soul, however, is never touched by those inclinations and propensities. Nor are these touched by the Soul that is superior to them. The wind, which is naturally pure, is never stained by the dust it bears away. As the wind is truly separate from the dust it bears away, even so, the man of wisdom should know, is the connection between that which is called existence or life and the Soul. No one should take it that the Soul, in consequence of its apparent union with the body and the senses and the other propensities and beliefs and unbeliefs, is really endued therewith as its necessary and absolute qualities. On the other hand, the Soul should be taken as existing in its own nature. Thus did the divine Rishi solve the doubt that had taken possession of his disciple's mind. Notwithstanding all this, people depend upon means consisting of acts and scriptural rites for casting off misery and winning happiness. Seeds that are scorched by fire do not put forth sprouts. After the same manner, if everything that contributes to misery be consumed by the fire of true knowledge, the Soul escapes the obligation of rebirth in the world.'

SECTION 212

"Bhishma said, 'Persons engaged in the practice of acts regard the practice of acts highly. Similarly, those that are devoted to Knowledge do not regard anything other than Knowledge. Persons fully conversant with the Vedas and depending upon the utterances contained in them, are rare. They that are more intelligent desire the path of abstention from acts as the better of the two, viz., heaven and emancipation. [The Vedas contain declarations of both kinds, ix., they urge to action as also to abstention from action. The former is necessary as a stepping stone to the latter. Such men are rare as understand the declarations of the Vedas in this way and as conform by their conduct to those declarations thus. What is seen, on the other hand, is that some betake themselves to acts and some to abstention from acts.] Abstention from acts is observed by those that are possessed of great wisdom. That conduct, therefore, is laudable. The intelligence which urges to abstention from acts, is that by which one attains to Emancipation. Possessed of body, a person, through folly, and endued with wrath and cupidity and all the propensities born of Passion and Darkness, becomes attached to all earthly objects. One, therefore, who desires to destroy one's connection with the body, should never indulge in any impure act. On the other hand, one should create by one's acts a path for attaining to emancipation, without wishing for regions of felicity (in the next world). As gold, when united with iron, loses its purity and fails to shine, even so Knowledge, when existing with attachment to earthly objects and such other faults, fails to put forth its splendour. He who, influenced by cupidity and following the dictates of desire and wrath, practises unrighteousness, transgressing the path of righteousness, meets with complete destruction. One who is desirous of benefiting oneself should never follow, with excess of attachments, earthly possessions represented by the objects of the senses. If one does it, wrath and joy--and sorrow arise from one another (and make one miserable). When every one's body is made up of the five original elements as also of the three attributes of Goodness, Passion, and Darkness, whom shall one adore and whom shall one blame with what words? Only they that are fools become attached to the objects of the senses. In consequence of folly they do not know that their bodies are only modifications.

As a house made of earth is plastered over with earth, even so this body which is made of earth is kept from destruction by food which is only a modification of earth. Honey and oil and milk and butter and meat and salt and treacle and grain of all kinds and fruit and roots are all modifications of earth and water. Recluses living in the wilderness, giving up all longing (for rich and savoury food), take simple food, that is again unsavoury, for only supporting the body. After the same manner, a person that dwells in the wilderness of the world, should be ready for labour and should take food for passing through life, like a patient taking medicine. A person of noble soul, examining all things of an earthly nature that come upon him, by the aid of truth, purity, candour, a spirit of renunciation, enlightenment, courage, forgiveness, fortitude, intelligence, reflection, and austerities, and desirous of obtaining tranquillity, should restrain his senses. All creatures, stupefied, in consequence of Ignorance, by the attributes of Goodness and Passion and Darkness, are continually revolving like a wheel. All faults, therefore, that are born of Ignorance, should be closely examined and the idea of Self which has its origin in Ignorance, and which is productive of misery, should be avoided. The fivefold elements, the senses, the attributes of Goodness, Passion, and Darkness, the three worlds with the Supreme Being himself, and acts, all rest on Self-consciousness. As Time, under its own laws, always displays the phenomena of the seasons one after another, even so one should know that Consciousness in all creatures is the inducer of acts. Tamas (from which proceeds Consciousness) should be known as productive of delusions. It is like Darkness and is born of Ignorance. To the three attributes of Goodness, Passion, and Darkness are attached all the joys and sorrows (of creatures). Listen now to those consequences that spring from the attributes of Goodness, Passion, and Darkness. Contentment, the satisfaction that arises from joy, certainty, intelligence, and memory,--these are the consequences born of the attribute of Goodness. I shall now mention the consequences of Passion and Darkness. Desire, wrath, error, cupidity, stupefaction, fear, and fatigue, belong to the attribute of Passion. Cheerlessness, grief, discontent, vanity, pride, and wickedness, all belong to Darkness. Examining the gravity or lightness of these and other faults that dwell in the Soul, one should reflect upon each of them one after another (for ascertaining which of them exist, which have become strong or weak, which have been driven off, and which remain).'

"Yudhishthira said, 'What faults are abandoned by persons desirous of Emancipation? What are those that are weakened by them? What are the faults that come repeatedly (and are, therefore, incapable of being got rid of)? What, again, are regarded as weak, through stupefaction (and, therefore, as permissible)? What, indeed, are those faults upon whose strength and weakness a wise man should reflect with the aid of intelligence and of reasons? I have doubts upon these subjects. Discourse to me on these, O grandsire!'

"Bhishma said, 'A person of pure Soul, by extracting all his faults by their roots, succeeds in obtaining Emancipation. As an axe made of steel cuts a steel chain (and accomplishing the act becomes broken itself), after the same manner, a person of cleansed Soul, destroying all the faults that spring from Darkness and that are born with the Soul (when it is reborn), succeeds in dissolving his connection with the body (and attaining Emancipation). The qualities having their origin in Passion, those that spring from Darkness, and those stainless one characterised by purity (viz., those included under the quality of Goodness), constitute as it were the seed from which all embodied creatures have grown. Amongst these, the attribute of Goodness alone is the cause through which persons of cleansed Souls succeed in attaining to Emancipation. A person of cleansed soul, therefore, should abandon all the qualities born of Passion and Darkness. Then again, when the quality of Goodness becomes freed from those of Passion and Darkness, it becomes more resplendent still. Some say that sacrifices and other acts performed with the aid of mantras, and which certainly contribute to the purification of the Soul, are evil or cruel acts. (This view is not correct). On the other hand, those acts are the chief means for dissociating the Soul from all worldly attachments, and for the observance of the religion of tranquillity. Through the influence of the qualities born of Passion, all unrighteous acts are performed, and all acts fraught with earthly purposes as also all such acts as spring from desire are accomplished. Through qualities born of Darkness, one does all acts fraught with cupidity and springing from wrath. In consequence of the attribute of Darkness, one embraces sleep and procrastination and becomes addicted to all acts of cruelty and carnal pleasure. That person, however, who, possessed of faith and scriptural knowledge, is observant of the attribute of Goodness, attends only to all good things, and becomes endued with (moral) beauty and soul free from every taint.'

SECTION 213

"Bhishma said, 'From the attribute of Passion arises delusion or loss of judgement. From the attribute of Darkness, O bull of Bharata's race, arise wrath and cupidity and fear and pride. When all these are destroyed, one becomes pure. By obtaining purity, a person succeeds in arriving at the knowledge of the Supreme Soul which is resplendent with effulgence, incapable of deterioration, without change, pervading all things, having the unmanifest for his refuge, and the foremost of all the deities. Invested in His maya, men fall away from knowledge and become senseless, and in consequence of their knowledge being darkened, yield to wrath. From wrath, they become subject to desire. From desire spring cupidity and delusion and vanity and pride and selfishness. From such selfishness proceeds various kinds of acts. From acts spring diverse bonds of affection and from those bonds of affection spring sorrow or misery and from acts fraught with joy and sorrow proceeds the liability to birth and death. In consequence of the obligation of birth, the liability is incurred of a residence within the womb, due to the union of vital seed and blood. That residence is defiled with excreta and urine and phlegm, and always fouled with blood that is generated there. Overwhelmed by thirst, the Chit-Soul becomes bound by wrath and the rest that have been enumerated above. It seeks, however, to escape those evils. In respect of this, women must be regarded as instruments which set the stream of Creation agoing. By their nature, women are Kshetra, and men are Kshetrajna in respect of attributes. For this reason, persons of wisdom should not pursue women in especial (among other objects of the world). Indeed, women are like frightful mantra-powers. They stupefy persons reft of wisdom. They are sunk in the attribute of Passion. They are the eternal embodiment of the senses. In consequence of the keen desire that men entertain for women, off-spring proceed from them, due to (the action of) the vital seed. As one casts off from one's body such vermin as take their birth there but as are not on that account any part of oneself, even so should one cast off those vermin of one's body that are called children, who, though regarded as one's own, are not one's own in reality. From the vital seed as from sweat (and other filth) creatures spring from the body, influenced by the acts of previous lives or in the course of nature. Therefore, one possessed of wisdom should feel no regard for them. The attribute of Passion rests on that of Darkness. The attribute of Goodness, again, rests on that of Passion. Darkness which is unmanifest overspreads itself on Knowledge, and causes the phenomena of Intelligence and Consciousness. That knowledge possessing the attributes of Intelligence and Consciousness has been said to be the seed of embodied Souls. That, again, which is the seed of such knowledge is called the Jiva (or Chit-Soul). In consequence of acts and the virtue of time, the Soul goes through birth and repeated rounds of rebirth. As in a dream the Soul sports as if invested with a body which, of course, is due to the action of the mind, after the same manner, it obtains in the mother's womb a body in consequence of attributes and propensities having (past) acts for their origin. Whatever senses while it is there, are awakened by past acts as the operating cause, become generated in Consciousness in consequence of the mind co-existing with attachments. In consequence of the past thoughts of sound that are awakened in it, the Soul, subjected to such influences, receives the organ of hearing. Similarly, from attachment to forms, its eye is produced, and from its longing after scent its organ of smelling. From thoughts of touch it acquires the skin. In the same way the five-fold breaths are acquired by it, viz., Prana, Apana, Vyana, Udana, and Samana, which contribute to keep the body agoing. Encased in body with all limbs fully developed in consequence (as shown above) of past acts, the Soul takes birth, with sorrow, both physical and mental, in the beginning, middle, and end. It should be known that sorrow springs from the very fact of acceptance of body (in the womb). It increases with the idea of Self. From renunciation of these (attachments which are the cause of birth), sorrow meets with an end. He that is conversant with sorrow's end attains to Emancipation. Both the origin and the destruction of the senses rest in the attribute of Passion. The man of wisdom should act with proper scrutiny with the aid of the eye constituted by the scriptures. The senses of knowledge, even if they succeed in earning all their objects, never succeed in overwhelming the man that is without thirst. The embodied Soul, by making its senses weak, escapes the obligation or rebirth.'"

SECTION 214

"Bhishma said, 'I shall now tell thee what the means are (for conquering the senses) as seen with the eye of the scriptures. A person, O king, will attain to the highest end by the help of such knowledge and by framing his conduct accordingly. Amongst all living creatures man is said to be the foremost.

Among men, those that are regenerate have been called the foremost; and amongst the regenerate, they that are conversant with the Vedas. These last are regarded as the souls of all living creatures. Indeed, those Brahmanas that are conversant with the Vedas are regarded as all-seeing and omniscient. They are persons who have become conversant with Brahma. As a blind man, without a guide, encounters many difficulties on a road, so has a person destitute of knowledge to encounter many obstacles in the world. For this reason, those that are possessed of knowledge are regarded as superior to the rest. Those that are desirous of acquiring virtue practise diverse kinds of rites according to the dictates of the scriptures. They do not, however, succeed in attaining to Emancipation, all that they gain being those good qualities of which I shall presently speak. Purity of speech, of body, and of mind, forgiveness, truth, steadiness, and intelligence,--these good qualities are displayed by righteous persons observant of both kinds of religion. That which is called Brahmacharya (religion of abstention or yoga) is regarded as the means of attaining to Brahma. That is the foremost of all religions. It is by the practice of that religion that one obtains the highest end (viz., Emancipation). Brahmacharya is divested of all connection with the five vital breaths, mind, understanding, the five senses of perception, and the five senses of action. It is on that account free from all the perceptions that the senses give. It is heard only as a word, and its form, without being seen, can only be conceived. It is a state of existence depending only on the mind. It is free from all connection with the senses. That sinless state should be attained to by the understanding alone. He that practises it duly attains to Brahma; he that practises it half and half, attains to the condition of the gods; while he that practises it indifferently, takes birth among Brahmanas and possessed of learning attains to eminence. Brahmacharya is exceedingly difficult to practise. Listen now to the means (by which one may practise it). That regenerate person who betakes himself to it should subdue the quality of Passion as soon as it begins to manifest itself or as soon as it begins to be powerful. One that has betaken oneself to that vow should not speak with

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women. He should never cast his eyes on an undressed woman. The sight of women, under even indifferent circumstances, fills all weak-minded men with Passion. If a person (while observing this vow) feels a desire for woman rising in his heart, he should (as an expiation) observe the vow called Krichcchra and also pass three days in water. If desire is entertained in course of a dream, one should, diving in water, mentally repeat for three times the three Riks by Aghamarshana. That wise man who has betaken himself to the practice of this vow should, with an extended and enlightened mind, burn the sins in his mind which are all due to the quality of Passion. As the duct that bears away the refuse of the body is very closely connected with the body, even so the embodied Soul is very closely connected with the body that confines it. The different kinds of juices, passing through the network of arteries, nourish men's wind and bile and phlegm, blood and skin and flesh, intestines and bones and marrow, and the whole body. Know that there are ten principal ducts. These assist the functions of the five senses. From those ten branch out thousands of other ducts that are minuter in form. Like rivers filling the ocean at the proper season, all these ducts, containing juices nourish the body. Leading to the heart there is a duct called Manovaha. It draws from every part of the human body the vital seed which is born of desire. Numerous other ducts branching out from that principal one extend into every part of the body and bearing the element of heat cause the sense of vision (and the rest). As the butter that lies within milk is churned up by churning rods, even so the desires that are generated in the mind (by the sight or thought of women) draw together the vital seed that lies within the body. In the midst of even our dreams passion having birth in imagination assails the mind, with the result that the duct already named, viz., Manovaha, throws out the vital seed born of desire. The great and divine Rishi Atri is well-conversant with the subject of the generation of the vital seed. The juices that are yielded by food, the duct called Manovaha, and the desire that is born of imagination,--these three are the causes that originate the vital seed which has Indra for its presiding deity. The passion that aids in the emission of this fluid is, therefore, called Indriya. Those persons who know that the course of vital seed is the cause of (that sinful state of things called) intermixture of castes, are men of restrained passions. Their sins are regarded to have been burnt off, and they are never subjected to rebirth. He that betakes himself to action simply for the purposes of sustaining his body, reducing with the aid of the mind the (three) attributes (of Goodness, Passion, and Darkness) into a state of uniformity, and brings at his last moments the vital breaths to the duct called Manovaha, escapes the obligation of rebirth. The Mind is sure to gain Knowledge. It is the Mind that takes the form of all things. The minds of all high-souled persons, attaining to success through meditation, become freed from desire, eternal, and luminous. [The Knowledge here spoken of is that knowledge which is independent of the senses. What the speaker says is that such Knowledge is no myth but is sure to arise. When it arises, its possessor comes to know that the external world, etc., is only the mind transformed, like the sights seen and sounds heard and thoughts cherished in a dream. In the second line the results of that knowledge are declared. The mind of a Mahatma is mantra-siddha, i.e., has won success by the meditation of the initial mantra, or om; it is nitya, i.e., eternal, meaning probably that though the result of Maya or Avidya, it is no longer subject to rebirth; it is virajas, i.e., free from desire and passion, and lastly it is Jyotishmat or luminous, meaning Omniscient and Omnipotent. The commentator cites a passage from Vasishtha's treatise on yoga which declares the same results as consequent on the attainment of Knowledge. It is, of course, implied that in attaining to such a state, the mind as mind must be destroyed or merged into the Soul and the Soul, with knowledge only for its attribute, must exist. In the previous verse emancipation after death has been spoken of. In this jivan-mukti or emancipation in life is referred to.] Therefore, for destroying the mind (as mind), one should do only sinless deeds and freeing oneself from the attributes of Passion and Darkness, one is sure to attain to an end that is very desirable. Knowledge (ordinarily) acquired in younger days becomes weakened with decrepitude. A person, however, of ripe understanding succeeds, through the auspicious effects of past lives, in destroying his desires. Such a person, by transcending the bonds of the body and the senses like a traveller crossing a path full of obstacles, and transgressing all faults he sees, succeeds in tasting the nectar (of Emancipation).'"

SECTION 215

"Bhishma said, 'Living creatures, by being attached to objects of the senses which are always fraught with evil, become helpless. Those high-souled persons, however, who are not attached to them, attain to the highest end. The man of intelligence, beholding the world over-whelmed with the evils constituted by birth, death, decrepitude, sorrow, disease, and anxieties, should exert themselves for the attainment of Emancipation. He should be pure in speech, thought, and body; he should be free from pride. Of tranquil soul and possessed of knowledge, he should lead a life of mendicancy, and pursue happiness without being attached to any worldly object. Again, if attachment be seen to possess the mind in consequence of compassion to creatures, he should, seeing that the universe is the result of acts, show indifference in respect of compassion itself. Whatever good, acts are performed, or whatever sin (is perpetrated), the doer tastes the consequences. Hence, one should, in speech, thought, and deed, do only acts that are good. He succeeds in obtaining happiness who practises abstention from injuring (others), truthfulness of speech, honesty towards all creatures, and forgiveness, and who is never heedless. Hence one, exercising one's intelligence, should dispose one's mind, after training it, on peace towards all creatures. That man who regards the practice of the virtues enumerated above as the highest duty, as conducive to the happiness of all creatures, and as destructive of all kinds of sorrow, is possessed of the highest knowledge, and succeeds in obtaining happiness. Hence (as already said), one should, exercising one's intelligence, dispose one's mind, after training it, on peace towards all creatures. One should never think of doing evil to others. One should not covet what is far above one's power to attain. One should not turn one's thoughts towards objects that are non-existent. One should, on the other hand, direct one's mind towards knowledge by such persistent efforts as are sure to succeed. With the aid of the declarations of the Srutis and of persistent efforts calculated to bring success, that Knowledge is sure to flow. One that is desirous of saying good words or observing a religion that is refined of all dross, should utter only truth that is not fraught with any malice or censure. One that is possessed of a sound heart should utter words that are not fraught with dishonesty, that are not harsh, that are not cruel, that are not evil, and that are not characterised by garrulity. The universe is bound in speech. If disposed to renunciation (of all worldly objects) then should one proclaim, which a mind fraught with humility and a cleansed understanding, one's own evil acts. He who betakes himself to action, impelled thereto by propensities fraught with the attribute of Passion, obtains much misery in this world and at last sinks into hell. One should, therefore, practise self-restraint in body, speech, and mind. Ignorant persons bearing the burdens of the world are like robbers laden with their booty of straggling sheep (secreted from herds taken out for pasture). The latter are always regardful of roads that are unfavourable to them (owing to the presence of the king's watch). Indeed, as robbers have to throw away their spoil if they wish for safety, even so should a person cast off all acts dictated by Passion and Darkness if he is to obtain felicity. Without doubt, a person that is without desire, free from the bonds of the world, contented to live in solitude, abstemious in diet, devoted to penances and with senses under control, that has burnt all his sorrows by (the acquisition of) knowledge, that takes a pleasure in practising all the particulars of yoga discipline, and that has a cleansed soul, succeeds, in consequence of his mind being withdrawn into itself, in attaining to Brahma or Emancipation. One endued with patience and a cleansed soul, should, without doubt, control one's understanding. With the understanding (thus disciplined), one should next control one's mind, and then with the mind overpower the objects of the senses. Upon the mind being thus brought under control and the senses being all subdued, the senses will become luminous and gladly enter into Brahma. When one's senses are withdrawn into the mind, the result that occurs is that Brahma becomes manifested in it. Indeed, when the senses are destroyed., and the soul returns to the attribute of pure existence, it comes to be regarded as transformed into Brahma. Then again, one should never make a display of one's yoga power. On the other hand, one should always exert to restrain one's senses by practising the rules of yoga. Indeed, one engaged in the practice of yoga rules should do all those acts by which one's conduct and disposition may become pure. (Without making one's yoga powers the means of one's subsistence) one should rather live upon broken grains of corn, ripe beans, dry cakes of seeds from which the oil has been pressed out, pot-herbs, half-ripe barley, flour of fried pulses, fruits, and roots, obtained in alms. Reflecting upon the characteristics of time and place, one should according to one's inclinations observe, after proper examination, vows and rules about fasts. One should not suspend an observance that has been begun. Like one slowly creating a fire, one should gradually extend an act that is prompted by knowledge. By doing so, Brahma gradually shines in one like the Sun. The Ignorance which has Knowledge for its resting ground, extends its influence over all the three states (of waking, dreaming and dreamless slumber). The Knowledge, again, that follows the Understanding, is assailed by Ignorance. [What is meant by the first line of the verse is this. The Soul had, before the creation, only Knowledge for its attribute. When Ignorance or Delusion, proceeding from Supreme Brahma, took possession of it, the Soul became an ordinary creature, i.e., consciousness, mind, etc., resulted. This Ignorance, therefore, established itself upon Knowledge and transformed the original character of the Soul. What is stated in the second line is that ordinary knowledge which follows the lead of the understanding is affected by ignorance, the result of which is that the Soul takes those things that really spring from itself to be things different from itself and possessing an independent existence.] The evil-hearted person fails to obtain a knowledge of the Soul in consequence of taking it as united with the three states although in reality it transcends them all. When, however, he succeeds in apprehending the limits under which the two, viz., union with the three states and separation from them, are manifested, it is then that he becomes divested of attachment and attains to Emancipation. When such an apprehension has been attained, one transcends the effects of age, rises superior to the consequences of decrepitude and death, and obtains Brahma which is eternal, deathless, immutable, undeteriorating.'"

SECTION 216

"Bhishma said, 'The yogin who wishes to always practise sinless Brahmacharya and who is impressed with the faults attaching to dreams should, with his whole heart, seek to abandon sleep. In dreams, the embodied soul, affected by the attributes of Passion and Darkness, seems to become possessed of another body and move and act influenced by desire. In consequence of application for the acquisition of knowledge and of continued reflection and recapitulation, the yogin remains always awake. Indeed, the yogin can keep himself continually awake by devoting himself to knowledge. On this topic it has been asked what is this state in which the embodied creature thinks himself surrounded by and engaged in objects and acts? True it is that the embodied being, with its senses really suspended, still thinks itself to be possessed of body with all the senses of knowledge and of action. As regards the question started, it is said that that master of yoga, named Hari, comprehends truly how it happens. The great Rishis say that the explanation offered by Hari is correct and consistent with reason. The learned say that it is in consequence of the senses being worn out with fatigue, dreams are experienced by all creatures. (Though the senses are suspended) the mind, however, never disappears (or becomes inactive) and hence arise dreams. This is said by all to be their noted cause. As the imaginings of a person that is awake and engaged in acts, are due only to the creative power of the mind, after the same manner the impressions in a dream appertain only to the mind. A person with desire and attachment obtains those imaginings (in dreams) based upon the impressions of countless lives in the past. Nothing that impresses the mind once is ever lost, and the Soul being cognisant of all those impressions causes them to come forth from obscurity. Whichever among the three attributes of Goodness, Passion, and Darkness is brought about by the influence of past acts and by whichever amongst them the mind is affected for the time being in whatever way, the elements (in their subtile forms) display or indicate accordingly (in the way of images). After images have thus been produced, the particular attribute of Goodness or Passion or Darkness that may have been brought by past act rises in the mind and conduces to its last result, viz., happiness or misery. Those images having wind, bile, and phlegm for their chief causes, which men apprehend through ignorance and in consequence of propensities fraught with Passion and Darkness, cannot, it has been said, be easily discarded. Whatever objects again a person perceives in the mind (while wakeful) through the senses in a state of perspicuity are apprehended by the mind in dreams while the senses are obscured in respect of their functions. The Mind exists unobstructedly in all things. This is due to the nature of the Soul. The Soul should be comprehended. All the elements and the objects they compose exist in the Soul. In the state called dreamless slumber (sushupti), the manifest human body which, of course, is the door of dreams, disappears in the mind. Occupying the body the mind enters the soul which is manifest and upon which all existent and non-existent things depend, and becomes transformed into a wakeful witness with certainty of apprehension. Thus dwelling in pure Consciousness which is the soul of all things; it is regarded by the learned as transcending both Consciousness and all things in the universe. That yogin who in consequence of desire covets any of the divine attributes (of Knowledge or Renunciation, etc.) should regard a pure mind to be identical with the object of his desire. All things rest in a pure mind or soul. This is the result attained to by one who is engaged in penances. That yogin, however, who has crossed Darkness or ignorance, becomes possessed of transcending effulgence. When darkness or ignorance has been transcended, the embodied Soul becomes Supreme Brahma, the cause of the universe. The deities have penances and Vedic rites. Darkness (or pride and cruelty), which is destructive of the former, has been adopted by the Asuras. This, viz., Brahma, which has been said to have Knowledge only for its attribute, is difficult of attainment by either the deities or the Asuras. It should be known that the qualities of Goodness, Passion and Darkness belong to the deities and the Asuras. Goodness is the attribute of the deities; while the two others belong to the Asuras. Brahma transcends all those attributes. It is pure Knowledge. It is Deathlessness. It is pure effulgence. It is undeteriorating.

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Those persons of cleansed souls who know Brahma attain to the highest end. One having knowledge for one's eye can say this much with the aid of reason and analogy. Brahma which is indestructible can be comprehended by only withdrawing the senses and the mind (from external objects into the soul itself).'"

SECTION 217

"Bhishma said, 'He cannot be said to know Brahma who does not know the four topics (viz., dreams, dreamless slumber, Brahma as indicated by attributes, and Brahma as transcending all attributes), as also what is Manifest (viz., the body), and what is Unmanifest (the chit-soul), which the great Rishi (Narayana) has described as Tattwam. That which is manifest should be known as liable to death. That which is unmanifest (viz., the chit-soul), should be known as transcending death. The Rishi Narayana has described the religion of Pravritti. Upon that rests the whole universe with its mobile and immobile creatures. The religion of Nivritti again leads to the unmanifest and eternal Brahma. The Creator (Brahma) has described the religion of Pravritti. Pravritti implies rebirth or return. Nivritti, on the other hand, implies the highest end. The ascetic who desires to discriminate with exactitude between good and evil, who is always bent on understanding the nature of the Soul, and who devotes himself to the religion of Nivritti, attains to that high end. One desirous of accomplishing this, should know both the Unmanifest and Purusha of which I shall speak presently. That, again, which is different from both the Unmanifest and Purusha, and which transcends them both, and which is distinguished from all beings, should be particularly viewed by one possessed of intelligence. Both Prakriti and Purusha are without beginning and without end. Both are incapable of being known by their like. Both are eternal and indestructible. Both are greater than the greatest (of being). In these they are similar. They are points of dissimilarity again between them. (Of these I shall speak presently). Prakriti is fraught with the three attributes (of Goodness, Passion, and Darkness). It is also engaged in creation. The true attributes of Kshetrajna (Purusha or the Soul) should be known to be different. Purusha is the apprehender of all the transformations of Prakriti (but cannot be apprehended himself). He transcends (in respect of his original nature) all attributes. As regards Purusha and the Supreme Soul again, both of them are incomprehensible. In consequence again of both of them being without attributes by which they can be distinguished, both are highly distinguished from all else. A turbaned person has his head circled with three folds of a piece of cloth. (The person, however, is not identical with the turban he wears). After the same manner the embodied Soul is invested with the three attributes of Goodness, Passion, and Darkness. But though thus invested, the Soul is not identical with those attributes. Hence these four topics, which are covered by these fourfold considerations, should be understood. One who understands all this is never stupefied when one has to draw conclusions (in respect of all subjects of enquiry). He that is desirous of attaining to high prosperity should become pure in mind, and betaking himself to austere practices in respect of the body and the senses, should devote himself to yoga without desire of fruits. The universe is pervaded by yoga power secretly circulating through every part of it and illumining it brightly. The sun and the moon shine with effulgence in the firmament of the heart in consequence of yoga power. The result of yoga is Knowledge. Yoga is talked of very highly in the world. Whatever acts are destructive of Passion and Darkness constitute yoga in respect of its real character. Brahmacharya and abstention from injury are said to constitute yoga of the body; while restraining mind and speech properly are said to constitute yoga of the mind. The food that is obtained in alms from regenerate persons conversant with the ritual is distinguished from all other food. By taking that food abstemiously, one's sins born of Passion begin to fade. A yogin subsisting upon such food finds his senses gradually withdrawn from their objects. Hence, he should take only that measure of food which is strictly necessary for the support of his body. (Another advice that may be offered is that) that knowledge which one obtains gradually by mind devoted to yoga should cheerfully be made one's own during one's last moments by a forcible stretch of power. The embodied Soul, when divested of Rajas (does not immediately attain to Emancipation but) assumes a subtile form with all the senses of perception and moves about in space. When his mind becomes unaffected by acts, he, in consequence of such renunciation (loses that subtile form and) becomes merged in Prakriti (without however, yet attaining to Brahma or Emancipation which transcends Prakriti). After the destruction of this gross body, one who through absence of heedlessness escapes from all the three bodies (viz., the gross, the subtile and the karana) succeeds in attaining to Emancipation. The birth and death of creatures always depend upon the cause constituted by original Ignorance (or Avidya). When knowledge of Brahma arises, necessity no longer pursues the person. Those, however, that accept what is the reverse of truth (by believing that to be Self which is really not-Self) are men whose understandings are always taken up with the birth and death of all existent things. (Such people never dream even of Emancipation). Supporting their bodies by aid of patience, withdrawing their hearts from all external objects by the aid of their understanding, and withdrawing themselves from the world of senses, some yogins adore the senses in consequence of their subtility. Some amongst them, with mind cleansed by yoga, proceeding according to (the stages indicated in) the scriptures and reaching the highest, succeed in knowing it by the aid of the understanding and dwell in that which is the highest and which without resting on any other thing rests on itself. Some worship Brahma in images. Some worship Him as existing with attributes. Some repeatedly realise the highest Divinity which has been described to be like a flash of lightning and which is again indestructible. Others who have burnt their sins by penances, attain to Brahma in the end. All those high-souled persons attain to the highest end. With the eye of scripture one should observe the subtile attributes of these several forms, as distinguished by attributes, of Brahma that are (thus) worshipped by men. The yogin who has transcended the necessity of depending on the body, who has cast off all attachments, and whose mind is devoted to yoga abstraction, should be known as another instance of Infinity, as the Supreme Divinity, or as that which it Unmanifest. They whose hearts are devoted to the acquisition of knowledge succeed first in freeing themselves from the world of mortals. Subsequently, by casting off attachments they partake of the nature of Brahma and at last attain to the highest end.

"Thus have persons conversant with the Vedas spoken of the religion that leads to the attainment of Brahma. They who follow that religion according to the measure of their knowledge all succeed in obtaining the highest end. Even those persons who succeed in acquiring knowledge that is incapable of being shaken (by the assaults of scepticism) and that makes its possessors free from attachments of every kind, attain to various high regions after death and become emancipated according to the measure of their knowledge. Those persons of pure hearts who have imbibed contentment from knowledge, and who have cast off all desires and attachments, gradually approach in respect of their nature, nearer and nearer to Brahma which has the unmanifest for his attribute, which is divine, and without birth and death. Realising that Brahma dwells in their Souls, they become themselves immutable and have never to return (to the earth). Attaining to that supreme state which is indestructible and eternal, they exist in felicity. The knowledge with respect to this world is even this: it exists (in the case of erring persons). It does not exist (in the case of those who have not been stupefied by error). The whole universe, bound up in desire, is revolving like a wheel. As the fibres of a lotus-stalk overspread themselves into every part of the stalk, after the same manner the fibres of desire, which have neither beginning nor end, spread themselves over every part of the body. As a weaver drives his threads into a cloth by means of his shuttle, after the same manner the threads that constitute the fabric of the universe are woven by the shuttle of Desire. He who properly knows transformations of Prakriti, Prakriti herself and Purusha, becomes freed from Desire and attains to Emancipation. The divine Rishi Narayana, that refuge of the universe, for the sake of compassion towards all creatures, clearly promulgated these means for the acquisition of immortality.'"

SECTION 218

"Yudhishthira said, 'By following what conduct, O thou that art conversant with all courses of conduct, did Janaka, the ruler of Mithila versed in the religion of Emancipation, succeed in attaining to Emancipation, after casting off all worldly enjoyments?'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection is cited the following old narrative of the particular conduct by which that ruler, thoroughly conversant with all courses of conduct, succeeded in achieving the highest felicity. There was a ruler in Mithila of the name of Janadeva of Janaka's race. He was ever engaged in reflecting upon the courses of conduct that might lead to the attainment of Brahma. A century of preceptors always used to live in his palace, lecturing him upon the diverse courses of duty followed by people who had betaken themselves to diverse modes of life. Given to the study of the Vedas, he was not very well satisfied with the speculations of his instructors on the character of the Soul, and in their doctrines of extinction upon the dissolution of the body or of rebirth after death. Once upon a time a great ascetic of the name of Panchasikha, the son of Kapila, having roamed over the whole world, arrived at Mithila. Endued with correct conclusions in respect of all speculations about the diverse duties connected with renunciation, he was above all pairs of opposites (such as heat and cold, happiness and misery), and of doubts he had none. He was regarded as the foremost of Rishis. Dwelling wherever he pleased, he desired to place before the reach of all men eternal felicity that is so difficult of attainment. It seemed that he went about, amazing the world, having assumed the form of none else than that great Rishi, that lord of creatures, whom the followers of the Sankhya doctrine knew by the name of Kapila. He was the foremost of all the disciples of Asuri and was called the undying. He had performed a mental Sacrifice that had lasted for thousand years. He was firm in mind, and had completed all the rites and sacrifices that are enjoined in the scriptures and that lead to the attainment of Brahma. He was fully conversant with the five sheaths that cover the soul. He was devoted to the five acts connected with the adoration of Brahma, and had the five qualities (of tranquillity, self-restraint, etc.). Known (as already said) by the name of Panchasikha, he had approached one day a large concourse of Rishis following the Sankhya doctrines and enquired of them about the highest object of human acquisition, viz., the Unmanifest or that upon which the five Purushas or sheaths (already named) rest. For the sake of obtaining a knowledge of the Soul, Asuri had enquired of his preceptor. In consequence of the latter's instructions and of his own penances, Asuri understood the distinction between the body and the Soul and had acquired celestial vision. In that concourse of ascetics, Asuri made his exposition of the Immutable One, and Indestructible Brahma which is seen in diverse forms. Panchasikha became a disciple of Asuri. He lived on human milk. There was a certain Brahmani of the name of Kapila. She was the wife of Asuri. Panchasikha was accepted by her as a son and he used to suck her breasts. In consequence of this, he came to be known as the son of Kapila and his understanding became fixed on Brahma. All this, about the circumstances of his birth and those that led to his becoming the son of Kapila, was said unto me by the divine Rishi. The latter also told me about the omniscience of Panchasikha. Conversant with all courses of duty, Panchasikha, after having himself acquired high knowledge, (came to Janaka) and knowing that that king had equal reverence for all his preceptors, began to amaze that century of preceptors (by an exposition of his doctrine fraught), with abundant reasons. Observing the talent of Kapileya, Janaka became exceedingly attached to him, and abandoning his hundred preceptors, began to follow him in particular. Then Kapileya began to discourse unto Janaka, who had according to the ordinance bent his head unto him (as a disciple should) and who was fully competent to apprehend the sage's instructions, upon that high religion of Emancipation which is explained in Sankhya treatises. Setting forth in the first place the sorrows of birth, he spoke next of the sorrows of (religious) acts. Having finished that topic he explained the sorrows of all states of life ending even with that in the high region of the Creator. He also discoursed upon that Delusion for whose sake is the practice of religion, and acts, and their fruits, and which is highly untrustworthy, destructible, unsteady, and uncertain. Sceptics say that when death (of the body) is seen and is a matter of direct evidence witnessed by all, they who maintain, in consequence of their faith in the scriptures, that something distinct from the body, called the Soul, exists are necessarily vanquished in argument. They also urge that one's death means the extinction of one's Soul, and that sorrow, decrepitude, and disease imply (partial) death of the Soul. He that maintains, owing to error, that the Soul is distinct from the body and exists after the loss of body, cherishes an opinion that is unreasonable. If that be regarded as existent which does not really exist in the world, then it may be mentioned that the king, being regarded so, is really never liable to decrepitude or death. But is he, on that account, to be really believed to be above decrepitude and death? When the question is whether an object exists or does not exist, and when that whose existence is asserted presents all the indications of non-existence, what is that upon which ordinary people rely in settling the affairs of life? Direct evidence is the root of both inference and the scriptures. The scriptures are capable of being contradicted by direct evidence. As to inference, its evidentiary effect is not much. Whatever be the topic, cease to reason on inference alone. There is nothing else called jiva than this body. In a banian seed is contained the capacity to produce leaves and flowers and fruits and roots and bark. From the grass and water that is taken by a cow are produced milk and butter, substances whose nature is different from that of the producing causes. Substances of different kinds when allowed to decompose in water for some time produce spirituous liquors whose nature is quite different from that of those substances that produce them. After the same manner, from the vital seed is produced the body and its attributes, with the understanding, consciousness, mind, and other possessions. Two pieces of wood, rubbed together, produce fire. The stone called Suryakanta, coming in contact with the rays of the Sun, produces fire. Any solid metallic substance, heated in fire, dries up water when coming in contact with it. Similarly, the material body produces the mind and its attributes of perception, memory, imagination, etc. As the loadstone moves iron, similarly, the senses are controlled by the mind. Thus reason the sceptics. The sceptics, however, are in error. For the disappearance (of only the animating force) upon the body becoming lifeless (and not the simultaneous extinction of the body upon the occurrence of that event) is the proof (of the truth that the body is not the Soul but that the Soul is something separate from the body

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and outlives it certainly. If, indeed, body and Soul had been the same thing, both would have disappeared at the same instant of time. Instead of this, the dead body may be seen for some time after the occurrence of death. Death, therefore, means the flight from the body of something that is different from the body). The supplication of the deities by the very men who deny the separate existence of the Soul is another good argument for the proposition that the Soul is separate from the body or has existence that may be independent of a gross material case. The deities to whom these men pray are incapable of being seen or touched. They are believed to exist in subtile forms. (Really, if a belief in deities divested of gross material forms does no violence to their reason, why should the existence of an immaterial Soul alone do their reason such violence)? Another argument against the sceptic is that his proposition implies a destruction of acts (for if body and Soul die together, the acts also of this life would perish,--a conclusion which no man can possibly come to if he is to explain the inequalities or condition witnessed in the universe). These that have been mentioned, and that have material forms, cannot possibly be the causes (of the immaterial Soul and its immaterial accompaniments of perception, memory, and the like). The identity of immaterial existences with objects that are material cannot be comprehended. (Hence objects that are themselves material cannot by any means be causes for the production of things immaterial).--Some are of opinion that there is rebirth and that it is caused by Ignorance, the desire for acts, cupidity, heedlessness, and adherence to other faults. They say that Ignorance (Avidya) is the soul. Acts constitute the seed that is placed in that soil. Desire is the water that causes that seed to grow, in this way they explain rebirth. They maintain that that ignorance being ingrained in an imperceptible way, one mortal body being destroyed, another starts I up immediately from it; and that when it is burnt by the aid of knowledge, the destruction of existence itself follows or the person attains to what is called Nirvana. This opinion also is erroneous. [This is the doctrine of Buddhists]. It may be asked that when the being that is thus reborn is a different one in respect of its nature, birth, and purposes connected with virtue and vice why should I then be regarded to have any identity with the being that was? Indeed, the only inference that can be drawn is that the entire chain of existences of a particular being is not really a chain of connected links (but that existences in succession are unconnected with one another). Then, again if the being that is the result of a rebirth be really different from what it was in a previous phase of existence, it may be asked what satisfaction can arise to a person from the exercise of the virtue of charity, or from the acquisition of knowledge or of ascetic power, since the acts performed by one are to concentrate upon another person in another phase of existence (without the performer himself being existent to enjoy them?) Another result of the doctrine under refutation would be that one in this life may be rendered miserable by the acts of another in a previous life, or having become miserable may again be rendered happy. By seeing, however, what actually takes place in the world, a proper conclusion may be drawn with respect to the unseen. The separate Consciousness that is the result of rebirth is (according to what may be inferred from the Buddhistic theory of life) different from the Consciousness that had preceded it in a previous life. The manner, however, in which the rise or appearance of that separate Consciousness is explained by that theory does not seem to be consistent or reasonable. The Consciousness (as it existed in the previous life) was the very reverse of eternal, being only transitory, extending as it did till dissolution of the body. That which had an end cannot be taken as the cause for the production of a second Consciousness appearing after the occurrence of the end. If, again, the very loss of the previous Consciousness be regarded as the cause of the production of the second Consciousness, then upon the death of a human body being brought about by a heavy bludgeon, a second body would arise from the body that is thus deprived of animation. Once more, their doctrine of extinction of life (or Nirvana or Sattwasankshaya) is exposed to the objection that that extinction will become a recurring phenomenon like that of the seasons, or the year, or the yuga, or heat, or cold, or objects that are agreeable or disagreeable. If for the purpose of avoiding these objections, the followers of this doctrine assert the existence of a Soul that is permanent and unto which each new Consciousness attaches, they expose themselves to the new objection that that permanent substance, by being overcome with decrepitude, and with death that brings about destruction, may in time be itself weakened and destroyed. If the supports of a mansion are weakened by time, the mansion itself is sure to fall down at last. [The Buddhists then, according to this argument, are not at all benefited by asserting the existence of a permanent Soul unto which each repeated Consciousness may inhere. The Soul, according to the Brahmanical scriptures, has no attributes or possessions. It is eternal, immutable, and independent of all attributes. The affirmance of attributes with respect to the Soul directly leads to the inference of its destructibility, and hence the assertion of its permanency or indestructibility under such conditions is a contradiction in terms, according to what is urged in this verse.] The senses, the mind, wind, blood, flesh, bones (and all the constituents of the body), one after another, meet with destruction and enter each into its own productive cause. [The commentator explains that the object of this verse is to point out that the senses, when destroyed, merge into their productive causes or the substances of which they are attributes. Of course, those causes or substances are the elements or primordial matter. This leads to the inference that though attributes may meet with destruction, yet the substances (of which they are attributes) may remain intact. This may save the Buddhist doctrine, for the Soul, being permanent and owing consciousness, etc., for its attributes, may outlive, like primordial matter, the destruction of its attributes. But the speaker urges that this doctrine is not philosophical and the analogy will not hold. Substance is conjunction of attributes. The attributes being destroyed, the substance also is destroyed. In European philosophy too, matter, as an unknown essence to which extension, divisibility, etc., inhere, is no longer believed in or considered as scientific.] If again the existence of an eternal Soul be asserted that is immutable, that is the refuge of the understanding, consciousness, and other attributes of the usual kind, and that is dissociated from all these, such an assertion would be exposed to a serious objection, for then all that is usually done in the world would be unmeaning, especially with reference to the attainment of the fruits of the charity and other religious acts. All the declarations in the Srutis inciting to those acts, and all acts connected with the conduct of men in the world, would be equally unmeaning, for the Soul being dissociated from the understanding and the mind, there is no one to enjoy the fruits of good acts and Vedic rites. Thus diverse kinds of speculations arise in the mind. Whether this opinion is right or that is right, there is no means of settling. Engaged in reflecting on those opinions, particular persons follow particular lines of speculation. The understandings of these, directed to particular theories, become wholly taken up with them and are at last entirely lost in them. Thus all men are rendered miserable by pursuits, good or bad. The Vedas along, bringing them back to the right path, guide them along it, like grooms conducting their elephants. Many men, with weakened minds, covet objects that are fraught with great happiness. These, however, have soon to meet with a much larger measure of sorrow, and then, forcibly torn from their coveted meat, they have to own the sway of death. What use has one, who is destined to destruction and whose life is unstable, with kinsmen and friends and wives and other possessions of this kind? He who encounters death after having cast off all these, passes easily out of the world and has never to return. Earth, space, water, heat and wind, always support and nourish the body. Reflecting upon this, how can one feel any affection for one's body? Indeed, the body, which is subject to destruction, has no joy in it. Having heard these words of Panchasikha that were free from deception, unconnected with delusion (because discouraging sacrifices and other Vedic acts), highly salutary, and treating of the Soul, king Janadeva became filled with wonder, and prepared himself to address the Rishi once more.'"

SECTION 219

"Bhishma said, 'Janadeva of the race of Janaka, thus instructed by the great Rishi Panchasikha, once more asked him about the topic of existence or nonexistence after death.'

"Janadeva said, 'O illustrious one, if no person retains any knowledge after departing from this state of being, if, indeed, this is true, where then is the difference between Ignorance and Knowledge? What do we gain then by knowledge and what do we lose by ignorance? Behold, O foremost of regenerate persons, that if Emancipation be: such, then all religious acts and vows end only in annihilation. Of what avail would then the distinction be between heedfulness and heedlessness? If Emancipation means dissociation from all objects of pleasurable enjoyment or an association with objects that are not lasting, for what then would men cherish a desire for action, or, having set themselves to action, continue to devise the necessary means for the accomplishment of desired ends? What then is the truth (in connection with this topic)?'

"Bhishma continued, 'Beholding the king enveloped in thick darkness, stupefied by error, and become helpless, the learned Panchasikha tranquillised him by once more addressing him in the following words, 'In this (Emancipation) the consummation is not Extinction. Nor is that consummation any kind of Existence (that one can readily conceive). This that we see is a union of body, senses, and mind. Existing independently as also controlling one another, these go on acting. The materials that constitute the body are water, space, wind, heat, and earth. These exist together (forming the body) according to their own nature. They disunite again according to their own nature. Space and wind and heat and water and earth,--these five objects in a state of union constitute the body. The body is not one element. Intelligence, stomachic heat, and the vital breaths, called Prana, etc., that are all wind,--these three are said to be organs of action. The senses, the objects of the senses (viz., sound, form, etc.), the power (dwelling in those objects) in consequence of which they become capable of being perceived, the faculties (dwelling in the senses) in consequence of which they succeed in perceiving them, the mind, the vital breaths called Prana, Apana and the rest, and the various juices and humours that are the results of the digestive organs, flow from the three organs already named. Hearing, touch, taste, vision, and scent,--these are the five senses. They have derived their attributes from the mind which, indeed, is their cause. The mind, existing as an attribute of Chit has three states, viz., pleasure, pain, and absence of both pleasure and pain. Sound, touch, form, taste, scent, and the objects to which they inhere,--these till the moment of one's death are causes for the production of one's knowledge. Upon the senses rest all acts (that lead to heaven), as also renunciation (leading to the attainment of Brahma), and also the ascertainment of truth in respect of all topics of enquiry. The learned say that ascertainment (of truth) is the highest object of existence, and that it is the seed or root of Emancipation; and with respect to Intelligence, they say that leads to Emancipation and Brahma. That person who regards this union of perishable attributes (called the body and the objects of the senses) as the Soul, feels, in consequence of such imperfection of knowledge, much misery that proves again to be unending. Those persons, on the other hand, who regard all worldly objects as not-Soul, and who on that account cease to have any affection or attachment for them, have never to suffer any sorrow for sorrow, in their case stands in need of some foundation upon which to rest. In this connection there exists the unrivalled branch of knowledge which treats of Renunciation. It is called Samyagradha. I shall discourse to thee upon it. Listen to it for the sake of thy Emancipation. Renunciation of acts is (laid down) for all persons who strive earnestly for Emancipation. They, however, who have not been taught correctly (and who on that account think that tranquillity may be attained without renunciation) have to bear a heavy burthen of sorrow. Vedic sacrifices and other rites exist for renunciation of wealth and other possessions. For renunciation of all enjoyments exist vows and fasts of diverse kinds. For renunciation of pleasure and happiness, exist penances and yoga. Renunciation, however, of everything, is the highest kind of renunciation. This that I shall presently tell thee is the one path pointed out by the learned for that renunciation of everything. They that betake themselves to that path succeed in driving off all sorrow. They, however, that deviate from it reap distress and misery. First speaking of the five organs of knowledge having the mind for the sixth, and all of which dwell in the understanding, I shall tell thee of the five organs of action having strength for their sixth. The two hands constitute two organs ok action. The two legs are the two organs for moving from one place to another. The sexual organ exists for both pleasure and the continuation of the species. The lower duct, leading from the stomach downwards, is the organ for expulsion of all used-up matter. The organs of utterance exist for the expression of sounds. Know that these five organs of action appertain or belong to the mind. These are the eleven organs of knowledge and of action (counting the mind). One should quickly cast off the mind with the understanding. In the act of hearing, three causes must exist together, viz., two ears, sound, and the mind. The same is the case with the perception of touch; the same with that of form; the same with that of taste and smell. These fifteen accidents or attributes are needed for the several kinds of perception indicated. Every man, in consequence of them, becomes conscious of three separate things in respect of those perceptions (viz., a material organ, its particular function, and the mind upon which that function acts). There are again (in respect of all perceptions of the mind) three classes, viz., those that appertain to Goodness, those that appertain to Passion, and those that appertain to Darkness. Into them run, three kinds of consciousness, including all feelings and emotions. Raptures, satisfaction, joy, happiness, and tranquillity, arising in the mind from any Perceptible cause or in the absence of any apparent cause, belong to the attribute of Goodness. Discontent, regret, grief, cupidity, and vindictiveness, causeless or occasioned by any perceptible cause, are the indications of the attribute known as Passion. Wrong judgement, stupefaction, heedlessness, dreams, and sleepiness, however caused, belong to the attribute of Darkness. Whatever state of consciousness exists, with respect to either the body or the mind, united with joy or satisfaction, should be regarded as due to the quality of Goodness. Whatever state of consciousness exists united with any feeling of discontent or cheerlessness should be regarded as occasioned by an accession of the attribute of Passion into the mind. Whatever state, as regards either the body or the mind, exists with error or heedlessness, should be known as indicative of Darkness which is incomprehensible and inexplicable. The organ of hearing rests on space; it is space itself (under limitations); (Sound has that organ for its refuge). (Sound, therefore, is a modification of space). In perceiving sound, one may not immediately acquire a

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knowledge of the organ of hearing and of space. But when sound is perceived, the organ of hearing and space do not long remain unknown. (By destroying the ear, sound and space, may be destroyed; and, lastly, by destroying the mind all may be destroyed). The same is the case with the skin, the eyes, the tongue, and the nose constituting the fifth. They exist in touch, form, taste, and smell. They constitute the faculty of perception and they are the mind. Each employed in its own particular function, all the five organs of action and five others of knowledge exist together, and upon the union, of the ten dwells the mind as the eleventh and upon the mind the understanding as the twelfth. If it be said that these twelve do not exist together, then the consequence that would result would be death in dreamless slumber. But as there is no death in dreamless slumber, it must be conceded that these twelve exist together as regards themselves but separately from the Soul. The co-existence of those twelve with the Soul that is referred to in common speech is only a common form of speech with the vulgar for ordinary purposes of the world. The dreamer, in consequence of the appearance of past sensual impressions, becomes conscious of his senses in their subtile forms, and endued as he already is with the three attributes (of goodness, passion, and darkness), he regards his senses as existing with their respective objects and, therefore, acts and moves about with an imaginary body after the manner of his own self while awake. That dissociation of the Soul from the understanding and i the mind with the senses, which quickly disappears, which has no stability, and which the mind causes to arise only when influenced by darkness, is felicity that partakes, as the learned say, of the nature of darkness and is experienced in this gross body only. (The felicity of Emancipation certainly differs from it). Over the felicity of Emancipation also, the felicity, viz., which is awakened by the inspired teaching of the Vedas and in which no one sees the slightest tincture of sorrow,--the same indescribable and truth concealing darkness seems to spread itself (but in reality the felicity of Emancipation is unstained by darkness). Like again to what occurs in dreamless slumber, in Emancipation also, subjective and objective existences (from Consciousness to objects of the senses, all included), which have their origin in one's acts, are all discarded. In some, that are overwhelmed by Avidya, these exist, firmly grafted with them. Unto others who have transcended Avidya and have won knowledge, they never come at any time. They that are conversant with speculations about the character of Soul and not-Soul, say that this sum total (of the senses, etc.) is body (kshetra). That existent thing which rests upon the mind is called Soul (kshetrajna). When such is the case, and when all creatures, in consequence of the well-known cause (which consists of ignorance, desire, and acts whose beginning cannot be conceived), exist, due also to their primary nature (which is a state of union between Soul and body), (of these two) which then is destructible, and how can that (viz., the Soul), which is said to be eternal, suffer destruction? As small rivers falling into larger ones lose their forms and names, and the larger ones (thus enlarged) rolling into the ocean, lose their forms and names too, after the same manner occurs that form of extinction of life called Emancipation. This being the case, when jiva which is characterised by attributes, is received into the Universal Soul, and when all its attributes disappear, how can it be the object of mention by differentiation? One who is conversant with that understanding which is directed towards the accomplishment of Emancipation and who heedfully seeks to know the Soul, is never soiled by the evil fruits of his acts even as a lotus leaf though dipped in water is never soaked by it. When one becomes freed from the very strong bonds, many in number, occasioned by affection for children and spouses and love for sacrifices and other rites, when one casts off both joy and sorrow and transcends all attachments, one then attains to the highest end and entering into the Universal Soul becomes incapable of differentiation. When one has understood the declarations of the Srutis that lead to correct inferences (about Brahma) and has practised those auspicious virtues which the same and other scriptures inculcate, one may lie down at ease, setting at nought the fears of decrepitude and death. When both merits and sins disappear, and the fruits, in the form of joy and sorrow, arising therefrom, are destroyed, men, unattached to everything, take refuge at first on Brahma invested with personality, and then behold impersonal Brahma in their understandings. Jiva in course of its downward descent under the influence of Avidya lives here (within its cell formed by acts) after the manner of a silk-worm residing within its cell made of threads woven by itself. Like the freed silk-worm again that abandons its cell, jiva also abandons its house generated by its acts. The final result that takes place is that its sorrows are then destroyed like a clump of earth falling with violence upon a rocky mass. 2 As the Ruru casting off its old horns or the snake casting off its slough goes on without attracting any notice, after the same manner a person that is unattached casts off all his sorrows. As a bird deserts a tree that is about to fall down upon a piece of water and thus severing itself from it alights on a (new) resting place, after the same manner the person freed from attachments casts off both joy and sorrow and dissociated even from his subtile and subtiler forms attains to that end which is fraught with the highest prosperity. Their own ancestor Janaka, the chief of Mithila, beholding his city burning in a conflagration, himself proclaimed, 'In this conflagration nothing of mine is burning.' King Janadeva, having listened to these words capable of yielding immortality and uttered by Panchasikha, and arriving at the truth after carefully reflecting upon everything that the latter had said, cast off his sorrows and lived on in the enjoyment of great felicity. He who reads this discourse, O king, that treat of emancipation and who always reflects upon it, is never pained by any calamity, and freed from sorrow, attains to emancipation like Janadeva, the ruler of Mithila after his meeting with Panchasikha.'"

SECTION 220

"Yudhishthira said, 'By doing what does one acquire happiness, and what is that by doing which one meets with woe? What also is that, O Bharata, by doing which one becomes freed from fear and sojourns here crowned with success (in respect of the objects of life)?'

"Bhishma said, 'The ancients who had their understandings directed to the Srutis, highly applauded the duty of self-restraint for all the orders generally but for the. Brahmanas in especial. Success in respect of religious rites never occurs in the case of one that is not self-restrained. Religious rites, penances, truth,--all these are established upon self-restraint. Self-restraint enhances one's energy. Self-restraint is said to be sacred. The man of self-restraint becomes sinless and fearless and wins great results. One that is self-restrained sleeps happily and wakes happily. He sojourns happily in the world and his mind always remains cheerful. Every kind of excitement is quietly controlled by self-restraint. One that is not self-restrained fails in a similar endeavour. The man of self-restraint beholds his innumerable foes (in the form of lust, desire, and wrath, etc.), as if these dwell in a separate body. Like tigers and other carnivorous beasts, persons destitute of self-restraint always inspire all creatures with dread. For controlling these men, the Self-born (Brahman) created kings. In all the (four) modes of life, the practice or self-restraint is distinguished above all other virtues. The fruits of self-restraint are much greater than those obtainable in all the modes of life. I shall now mention to thee the indications of those persons who prize self-restraint highly. They are nobility, calmness of disposition, contentment, faith, forgiveness, invariable simplicity, the absence of garrulity, humility, reverence for superiors, benevolence, compassion for all creatures, frankness, abstention from talk upon kings and men in authority, from all false and useless discourses, and from applause and censure of others. The self-restrained man becomes desirous of emancipation and, quietly bearing present joys and griefs, is never exhilarated or depressed by prospective ones. Destitute of vindictiveness and all kinds of guile, and unmoved by praise and blame, such a man is well-behaved, has good manners, is pure of soul, has firmness or fortitude, and is a complete master of his passions. Receiving honours in this world, such a man in afterlife goes to heaven. Causing all creatures to acquire what they cannot acquire without his aid, such a man rejoices and becomes happy. [Giving food and clothes to the poor and needy in times of scarcity is referred to.] Devoted to universal benevolence, such a man never cherishes animosity for any one. Tranquil like the ocean at a dead calm, wisdom fills his soul and he is never cheerful. Possessed of intelligence, and deserving of universal reverence, the man of self-restraint never cherishes fear of any creature and is feared by no creature in return. That man who never rejoices even at large acquisitions and never feels sorrow when overtaken by calamity, is said to be possessed of contented wisdom. Such a man is said to be self-restrained. Indeed, such a man is said to be a regenerate being. Versed with the scriptures and endued with a pure soul, the man of self-restraint, accomplishing all those acts that are done by the good, enjoys their high fruits. They, however, that are of wicked soul never betake themselves to the path represented by benevolence, forgiveness, tranquillity, contentment, sweetness of speech, truth, liberality and comfort. Their path consists of lust and wrath and cupidity and envy of others and boastfulness. Subjugating lust and wrath, practising the vow of Brahmacharya and becoming a complete master of his senses, the Brahmana, exerting himself with endurance in the austerest of penances, and observing the most rigid restraints, should live in this world, calmly waiting for his time like one seeming to have a body though fully knowing that he is not subject to destruction.'"

SECTION 221

"Yudhishthira said, 'The three regenerate classes, who are given to sacrifices and other rites, sometimes eat the remnants, consisting of meat and wine, of sacrifices in honour of the deities, from motives of obtaining children and heaven. What, O grandsire, is the character of this act?'

"Bhishma said, 'Those who eat forbidden food without being observant of the sacrifices and vows ordained in the Vedas are regarded as wilful men. (They are regarded as fallen even here). Those, on the other hand, who eat such food in the observance of Vedic sacrifices and vows and induced by the desire of fruits in the shape of heaven and children, ascend to heaven but fall down on the exhaustion of their merits.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Common people say that fasting is tapas (penances). Is fasting, however, really so, or is penance something different?'

"Bhishma said, 'People do regard fast, measured by months or fortnights or days, as penance. In the opinion, however of the good, such is not penance. On the other hand, fast is an impediment to the acquisition of the knowledge of the Soul. The renunciation of acts (that is so difficult for all) and humility (consisting in the worship of all creatures and consideration for them all) constitute the highest penance. That is distinguished above all kinds of penance. He who betakes himself to such penance is regarded as one that is always fasting and that is always leading a life of Brahmacharya. Such a Brahmana will become a Muni always, a deity evermore, and sleepless forever, and one engaged in the pursuit of virtue only, even if he lives in the bosom of a family. He will become a vegetarian always, and pure for ever. He will become an eater always of ambrosia, and an adorer always of gods and guests. Indeed, he will be regarded as one always subsisting on sacrificial remnants, as one ever devoted to the duty of hospitality, as one always full of faith, and as one ever worshipping gods and guests.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'How can one practising such penance come to be regarded as one that is always fasting or as one that is ever devoted to the vow of Brahmacharya, or as one that is always subsisting upon sacrificial remnants or as one that is ever regardful of guests?'

"Bhishma said, 'He will be regarded as one that is always fasting if he eats once during the day and once during the night at the fixed hours without eating anything during the interval. Such a Brahmana, by always speaking the truth and by adhering always to wisdom, and by going to his wife only in her season and never at other times, becomes a Brahmacharin (celibate). By never eating meat of animals not killed for sacrifice, he will become a strict vegetarian. By always becoming charitable he will become ever pure, and by abstaining from sleep during the day he will become one that is always wakeful. Know, O Yudhishthira, that that man who eats only after having fed his servants and guests becomes an eater always of ambrosia. That Brahmana who never eats till gods and guests are fed, wins, by such abstention, heaven itself. He is said to subsist upon sacrificial remnants, who eats only what remains after feeding the gods, the Pitris, servants, and guests. Such men win numberless regions of felicity in next life. To their homes come, with Brahman himself, the gods and the Apsaras. They who share their food with the deities and the Pitris pass their days in constant happiness with their sons and grandsons and at last, leaving off this body, attain to a very high end.'"

SECTION 222

"Yudhishthira said, 'In this world, O Bharata, acts good and bad attach themselves to man for the purpose of producing fruits for enjoyment or endurance. Is man, however, to be regarded as their doer or is he not to be regarded so? Doubt fills my mind with respect to this question. I desire to hear this in detail from thee, O grandsire!'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection, O Yudhishthira, is cited the old narrative of a discourse between Prahlada and Indra. The chief of the Daityas, viz., Prahlada, was unattached to all worldly objects. His sins had been washed away. Of respectable parentage, he was possessed of great learning. Free from stupefaction and pride, ever observant of the quality of goodness, and devoted to various vows, he took praise and censure equally. Possessed of self-restraint, he was then passing his time in an empty chamber. Conversant with the origin and the destruction of all created objects, mobile and immobile, he was never angry with things that displeased him and never rejoiced at the accession of objects that were agreeable. He cast an equal eye upon gold and a clump of earth. Steadily engaged in study of the Soul and in acquiring Emancipation, and firm in knowledge, he had arrived at fixed conclusions in respect of truth. Acquainted with what is supreme and what is not so among all things, omniscient and of universal sight, as he was seated one day in a solitary chamber with his senses under complete control, Sakra approached him, and desirous of awakening him, said these words, 'O king, I behold all those qualities permanently residing in thee by which a person wins the esteem of all. Thy understanding seems to be like that of a child, free from attachment and aversion. Thou knowest of the Soul. What, thinkest thou, is the best means by which a knowledge of the Soul may be attained? Thou art now bound in cords, fallen off from thy former position, brought under the sway of thy foes, and divested of prosperity. Thy present circumstances are such as may well inspire grief. Yet how is it, O Prahlada, that thou dost not indulge in grief? Is this due, O son of Diti, to the acquisition of wisdom or is it on account of thy fortitude? Behold thy calamities, O Prahlada, and yet thou seemest like one that is happy and tranquil.' Thus urged by Indra, the chief

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of the Daityas, endued with determinate conclusions in respect of truth, replied unto the former in these sweet words indicative of great wisdom.'

"Prahlada said, 'He who is unacquainted with the origin and the destruction of all created objects, is, in consequence of such ignorance, stupefied. He, however, who is conversant with these two things, is never stupefied. All kinds of entities and non-entities come into being or cease in consequence of their own nature. No kind of personal exertion is needed (for the production of such phenomena). In the absence, therefore, of personal exertion, it is evident that no personal agent exists for the production of all this that we perceive. But though (in reality) the person (or the chit) never does anything, yet (through the influence of Ignorance) a consciousness in respect of angry overspreads itself on it. He who regards himself as the doer of acts good or bad, possesses a wisdom that is vitiated. Such a person is, according to my judgement, unacquainted with the truth. If, O Sakra, the being called person were really the actor, then all acts undertaken for his own benefit would certainly be crowned with success. None of those acts would be defeated. Among even persons struggling their utmost the suspension of what is not desired and the occurrence of what is desired are not to be seen. What becomes then of personal exertion? In the case of some, we see that without any exertion on their part, what is not desired is suspended and what is desired is accomplished. This then must be the result of Nature. Some persons again are seen to present extraordinary aspects, for though possessed of superior intelligence they have to solicit wealth from others that are vulgar in features and endued with little intelligence. Indeed, when all qualities, good or bad, enter a person, urged by Nature, what ground is there for one to boast (of one's superior possessions)? All these flow from Nature. This is my settled conclusion. Even Emancipation and knowledge of self, according to me, flow from the same source.

"In this world all fruits, good or bad, that attach themselves to persons, are regarded as the result of acts. I shall now discourse to thee in full on the subject of acts. Listen to me. As a crow, while eating some food, proclaims the presence of that food (to the members of its species) by its repeated cawing, after the same manner all our acts only proclaim the indications of Nature. He who is acquainted with only the transformations of Nature but not with Nature that is supreme and exists by herself, feels stupefaction in consequence of his ignorance. He, however, who understands the difference between Nature and her transformations is never stupefied. All existent things have their origin in Nature. In consequence of one's certainty of conviction in this respect, one would never be affected by pride or arrogance. When I know what the origin is of all the ordinances of morality and when I am acquainted with the unstability of all objects, I am incapable, O Sakra, of indulging in grief. All this is endued with an end. Without attachments, without pride, without desire and hope, freed from all bonds, and dissociated from everything, I am passing my time in great happiness, engaged in beholding the appearance and disappearance of all created objects. For one that is possessed of wisdom, that is self-restrained, that is contented, that is without desire and hope, and that beholds all things with the light of self-knowledge, no trouble or anxiety exists, O Sakra! I have no affection or aversion for either Nature or her transformations. I do not behold any one now who is my foe nor any one who is mine own. I do not O, Sakra, at any time covet either heaven, or this world, or the nether regions. It is not the case that there is no happiness in understanding the Soul. But the Soul, being dissociated from everything, cannot enjoy felicity. Hence I desire nothing.'

"Sakra said, 'Tell me the means, O Prahlada, by which this kind of wisdom may be attained and by which this kind of tranquillity may be made one's own. I solicit thee.'

"Prahlada said, 'By simplicity, by heedfulness, by cleansing the Soul, by mastering the passions, and by waiting upon aged seniors, O Sakra, a person succeeds in attaining to Emancipation. Know this, however, that one acquires wisdom from Nature, and that the acquisition of tranquillity also is due to the same cause. Indeed, everything else that thou perceivest is due to Nature.

"Thus addressed by the lord of the Daityas, Sakra became filled with wonder, and commended those words, O king, with a cheerful heart. The lord of the three worlds then, having worshipped the lord of the Daityas, took his leave and proceeded to his own abode.'"

SECTION 223

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me, O grandsire, by adopting what sort of intelligence may a monarch, who has been divested of prosperity and crushed by Time's heavy bludgeon, still live on this earth.'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection is cited the old narrative of the discourse between Vasava and Virochana's son, Vali. One day Vasava, after having subjugated all the Asuras, repaired to the Grandsire and joining his hands bowed to him and enquired after the whereabouts of Vali. Tell me, O Brahman, where I may now find that Vali whose wealth continued undiminished even though he used to give it away as lavishly as he wished. He was the god of wind. He was Varuna. He was Surya. He was Soma. He was Agni that used to warm all creatures. He became water (for the use of all). I do not find where he now is. Indeed, O Brahman, tell me where I may find Vali now. Formerly, it was he who used to illumine all the points of the compass (as Surya) and to set (when evening came). Casting off idleness, it was he who used to pour rain upon all creatures at the proper season. I do not now see that Vali. Indeed, tell me, O Brahmana, where I may find that chief of the Asuras now.'

"Brahman said, 'It is not becoming in thee, O Maghavat, to thus enquire after Vali now. One should not, however, speak an untruth when one is questioned by another. For this reason, I shall tell thee the whereabouts of Vali. O lord of Sachi, Vali may now have taken his birth among camels or bulls or asses or horses, and having become the foremost of his species may now be staying in an empty apartment.'

"Sakra said, 'If, O Brahman, I happen to meet with Vali in an empty apartment, shall I slay him or spare him? Tell me how I shall act.'

"Brahman said, 'Do not, O Sakra, injure Vali, Vali does not deserve death. Thou shouldst, on the other hand, O Vasava, solicit instruction from him about morality, O Sakra, as thou pleasest.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed by the divine Creator, Indra roamed over the earth, seated on the back of Airavata and attended by circumstances of great splendour. He succeeded in meeting with Vali, who, as the Creator had said, was living in an empty apartment clothed in the form of an ass.'

"Sakra said, 'Thou art now, O Danava, born as an ass subsisting on chaff as thy food. This thy order of birth is certainly a low one. Dost thou or dost thou not grieve for it? I see what I had never seen before, viz., thyself brought under the sway of thy enemies, divested of prosperity and friends, and shorn of energy and prowess. Formerly, thou used to make progress through the worlds with thy train consisting of thousands of vehicles and thousands of kinsmen, and to move along, scorching everybody with thy splendour and counting us as nought. The Daityas, looking up to thee as their protector, lived under thy sway. Through thy power, the earth used to yield crops without waiting for tillage. Today, however, I behold thee overtaken by this dire calamity. Dost thou or dost thou not indulge in grief for this? When formerly thou usedst, with pride reflected in thy face, to divide on the eastern shores of the ocean thy vast wealth among thy kinsmen, what was the state of thy mind then? Formerly, for many years, when blazing with splendour, thou usedst to sport, thousands of celestial damsels used to dance before thee. All of them were adorned with garlands of lotuses and all had companions bright as gold. What, O lord of Danavas, was the state of thy mind then and what is it now? Thou hadst a very large umbrella made of gold and adorned with jewels and gems. Full two and forty thousand Gandharvas used in those days to dance before thee. In thy sacrifices thou hadst a stake that was very large and made entirely of gold. On such occasions thou wert to give away millions upon millions of kine. What, O Daitya, was the state of thy mind then? Formerly, engaged in sacrifice, thou hadst gone round the whole earth, following the rule of the hurling of the Samya: What was the state of thy mind then? I do not now behold that golden jar of thine, nor that umbrella of thine, nor those fans. I behold not also, O king of the Asuras, that garland of thine which was given to thee by the Grandsire.'

"Vali said, 'Thou seest not now, O Vasava, my jar and umbrella and fans. Thou seest not also my garland, that gift of the Grandsire. Those precious possessions of mine about which thou askest are now buried in the darkness of a cave. When my time comes again, thou wilt surely behold them again. This conduct of thine, however, does not become thy fame or birth. Thyself in prosperity, thou desirest to mock me that am sunk in adversity. They that have acquired wisdom, and have won contentment therefrom, they that are of tranquil souls, that are virtuous and good among creatures, never grieve in misery nor rejoice in happiness. Led, however, by a vulgar intelligence, thou indulgest in brag, O Purandara! When thou shalt become like me thou shalt not then indulge in speeches like these.'"

SECTION 224

"Bhishma said, 'Once more, laughing at Vali who was sighing like a snake, Sakra addressed him for saying something more pointed than what had said before. "Sakra said, 'Formerly, attended by a train consisting of thousands of vehicles and kinsmen, thou usedst to make thy progresses, scorching all the worlds with thy splendour and regarding us as nought. Thou art now, however, deserted by both kinsmen and friends. Beholding this miserable plight that has overtaken thee, dost thou or dost thou not indulge in grief? Formerly, all the worlds were under thy sway and great was thy joy. I ask, dost thou or dost thou not indulge in grief now, for this fall of thine in respect of external splendour?'

"Vali said, 'Considering all this to be transitory,--due, indeed, to the course of time,--I do not, O Sakra, indulge in grief. These things have an end. These bodies that creatures have, O chief of celestials, are all transitory. For that reason, O Sakra, I do not grieve (for this asinine form of mine). Nor is this form due to any fault of mine. The animating principle and the body come into existence together, in consequence of their own nature. They grow together, and meet with destruction together. Having obtained this form of existence I have not been permanently enslaved by it. Since I know this, I have no cause for sorrow in consequence of that knowledge. As the final resting-place of all rivers is the ocean, even so the end of all embodied creatures is death. Those persons that know this well are never stupefied, O wielder of the thunderbolt! They, however, who are overwhelmed with Passion and loss of judgement, do not know this, they whose understanding is lost, sink under the weight of misfortune. A person who acquires a keen understanding succeeds in destroying all his sins. A sinless person acquires the attribute of Goodness, and having acquired it becomes cheerful. They, however, that deviate from the attribute of Goodness, and obtain repeated rebirths, are obliged to indulge in sorrow and grief, led on by desire and the objects of the senses. Success or the reverse, in respect of the attainment of all objects of desire, life or death, the fruits of action that are represented by pleasure or pain, I neither dislike nor like. When one slays another, one slays only that other's body. That man, who thinks that it is he who slays another, is himself slain. Indeed, both of them are ignorant of the truth, viz., he who slays and he who is slain. 1 That person, O Maghavat, who having killed or vanquished any one brags of his manliness, should know that he is not the actor but the act (of which he boasts) has been accomplished by a real agent (who is different). When the question comes as to who is it that causes the creation and the destruction of things in the world, it is generally regarded that some person (who has himself been caused or created) has caused the act (of creation or destruction). Know, however, that the person who is so regarded has (as already said) a creator. Earth, light or heat, space, water, and wind constituting the fifth--from these do all creatures spring. (When this is known to me) what sorrow can I feel (for this change in my condition)? one that is possessed of great learning, one that has not much of learning, one that is possessed of strength, one that is destitute of strength, one that is possessed of personal beauty, and one that is very ugly, one that is fortunate and one that is not blessed by fortune, are all swept away by Time, which is too deep to be fathomed, by its own energy. When I know that I have been vanquished by Time, what sorrow can I feel (for this alteration in my circumstances)? One that burns anything burns a thing that has been already burnt. One that slays, only slays a victim already slain. One that is destroyed has been before destroyed. A thing that is acquired by a person is that which is already arrived and intended for his acquisition. This Time is like an ocean. There is no island in it. Where, indeed, is its other shore? Its boundary cannot be seen. Reflecting even deeply, I do not behold the end of this continuous stream that is the great ordainer of all things and that is certainly celestial. If I did not understand that it is Time that destroys all creatures, then, perhaps, I would have felt the emotions of joy and pride and wrath, O lord of Sachi! Hast thou come here to condemn me, having ascertained that I am now bearing the form of an ass that subsists upon chaff and that is now passing his days in a lonely spot remote from the habitations of men? If I wish, even now I can assume various awful forms beholding any one of which thou wouldst beat a hasty retreat from my presence. It is Time that gives everything and again takes away everything. It is Time that ordains all things. Do not, O Sakra, brag of thy manliness. Formerly, O Purandara, on occasions of my wrath everything used to become agitated. I am acquainted, however, O Sakra, with the eternal attributes of all things in the world. Do thou also know the truth. Do not suffer thyself to be filled with wonder. Affluence and its origin are not under one's control. Thy mind seems to be like that of a child. It is the same as it was before. Open thy eyes, O Maghavat, and adopt an understanding established on certitude and truth. The gods, men, the Pitris, the Gandharvas, the snakes, and the Rakshasas, were all under my sway in days gone by. Thou knowest this, O Vasava! Their understandings stupefied by ignorance, all creatures used to flatter me, saying, 'Salutations to that point of the compass whither Virochana's son Vali may now be staying!' O lord of Sachi, I do not at all grieve when I think of that honour (which is no longer paid to me). I feel no sorrow for this fall of mine. My understanding is firm in this respect, viz., that I will live obedient to the sway of the Ordainer. It is seen that some one of noble birth, possessed of handsome features, and endued with great prowess, lives in misery, with all his counsellors and friends. This happens because of its having been ordained. Similarly, some one born in an ignoble race, devoid of knowledge, and with even a stain on his birth, is seen, O Sakra, to live in happiness with all his counsellors and friends.

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This also happens because of its having been ordained. An auspicious and beautiful woman, O Sakra, is seen to pass her life in misery. Similarly, an ugly woman with every inauspicious mark is seen to pass her days in great happiness. That we have now become so is not due to any act of ours, O Sakra! That thou art now so is not due, O wielder of the thunderbolt, to any act of thine. Thou hast not done anything, O thou of hundred sacrifices, in consequence of which thou art now enjoying this affluence. Nor have I done anything in consequence of which I have now been divested of affluence, Affluence and its reverse come one after another. I now behold thee blazing with splendour, endued with prosperity, possessed of beauty, placed at the head of all the deities, and thus roaring at me. This would never be but for the fact of Time standing near after having assailed me. Indeed, if Time had not assailed me I would have today killed thee with only a blow of my fists notwithstanding the fact of thy being armed with the thunder. This, however, is not the time for putting forth my prowess. On the other hand, the time that has come is for adopting a behaviour of peace and tranquillity. It is Time that establishes all things. Time works upon all things and leads them to their final consummation. I was the worshipped lord of the Danavas. Burning all with my energy, I used to roar in strength and pride. When Time hath assailed even myself, who is there whom he will not assail? Formerly, O chief of the deities, singly I bore the energy of all the twelve illustrious Adityas with thyself amongst them. It was I that used to bear up water and then to shower it as rain, O Vasava! It was I that used to give both light and heat unto the three worlds. It was I that used to protect and it was I that used to destroy. It was I that gave and it was I that took. It was I that used to bind and it was I that used to unbind. In all the worlds I was the one puissant master. That sovereign sway which I had, O chief of the celestials, is no more. I am now assailed by the forces of Time. Those things, therefore, are no longer seen to shine in me. I am not the doer (of acts that are apparently done by me). Thou art not the doer (of acts done by thee). None else, O lord of Sachi, is the doer (of those acts). It is Time, O Sakra, that protects or destroys all things. Persons conversant with the Vedas say that Time (Eternity) is Brahma. The fortnights and months are his body. That body is invested with days and nights as its robes. The seasons are his senses. The year is his mouth. Some people, in consequence of their superior intelligence, say that all this (the entire universe) should be conceived as Brahma. The Vedas, however, teach, that the five sheaths that invest the Soul should be regarded as Brahma. Brahma is deep and inaccessible like a vast ocean of waters. It hath been said that it hath neither beginning nor end, and that it is both indestructible and destructible. Though it is without attributes by itself, yet it enters all existent objects and as such assumes attributes. Those persons that are conversant with truth regard Brahma as eternal. Through the action of Ignorance, Brahma causes the attributes of materiality to invest the Chit or Soul which is immaterial spirit (having knowledge only for its attribute). That materiality, however, is not the essential attribute of the Soul, for upon the appearance of a knowledge of the true cause of everything, that materiality ceases to invest the Soul. Brahma in the form of Time is the refuge of all creatures. Where wouldst thou go transcending that Time? Time or Brahma, indeed, cannot be avoided by running nor by staying still. All the five senses are incapable of perceiving Brahma. Some have said that Brahma is Fire; some that he is Prajapati; some that he is the Seasons; some that he is the Month; some that he is the Fortnight; some that he is the Days; some that he is the Hours; some that he is the Morning; some that he is the Noon; some that he is the Evening; and some that he is the Moment. Thus diverse people speak diversely of him who is single. Know that he is Eternity, under whose sway are all things. Many thousands of Indras have passed away, O Vasava, each of whom was possessed of great strength and prowess. Thou also, O lord of Sachi, shalt have to pass away after the same manner. Thee, too, O Sakra, that art possessed of swelling might and that art the chief of the deities, when thy hour comes, all-powerful Time will extinguish! Time sweeps away all things. For this reason, O Indra, do not brag. Time is incapable of being quieted by either thee or me or by those gone before us. This regal prosperity that thou hast attained and that thou thinkest to be beyond comparison, had formerly been possessed by me. It is unsubstantial and unreal. She does not dwell long in one place. Indeed, she had dwelt in thousands of Indras before thee, all of whom, again, were very much superior to thee. Unstable as she is, deserting me she hath now approached thee, O chief of the deities! Do not, O Sakra, indulge in such brag again. It behoveth thee to become tranquil. Knowing thee to be full of vanity, she will very soon desert thee.'"

SECTION 225

"Bhishma said, 'After this, he of hundred sacrifices beheld the goddess of Prosperity, in her own embodied form that blazed splendour, issue out of the form of the high-souled Vali. The illustrious chastiser of Paka, beholding the goddess blazing with radiance, addressed Vali in these words, with eyes expanded in wonder.'

"Sakra said, 'O Vali, who is this one, thus shining with splendour, thus decked with head plumes, thus adorned with golden bracelets on her upper arms, and thus emitting a halo of glory on all sides in consequence of her energy that is issuing out of thy body.'

"Vali said, 'I do not know whether she is an Asura damsel or a celestial one or a human one. Thou mayst not ask her thyself. Do what pleases thee.'

"Sakra said, 'O thou of sweet smiles, who art thou that art possessed of such radiance and adorned with plumes that thus issuest from the body of Vali. I do not know thee. Kindly tell me thy name. Who, indeed, art thou that thus standest here as Maya herself, blazing with thy own splendour, after having deserted the lord of the Daityas? O, tell me this as I question thee.'

"Sree said, 'Virochana did not know me. This Vali also that is the son of Virochana knows me not. The learned called me by the name of Duhshaha. Some knew me by the name of Vidhitsa. I have other names also, O Vasava! They are Bhuti, Lakshmi, and Sree. Thou knowest me not, O Sakra, nor doth any one among the deities know me.'

"Sakra said, 'O lady that is difficult of being borne, why do you desert Vali now after having lived in him for a long time? Is it due to any act of mine or is it due to any act that Vali has done?'

"Sree said, 'Neither the Creator nor the Ordainer rules me. It is Time that moves me from one place to another. Do not, O Sakra, disregard Vali.'

"Sakra said, 'For what reason, O goddess adorned with plumes, do you desert Vali? Why also do you approach me (for living in me)? Tell me this, O thou of sweet smiles!'

'Sree said, 'I live in truth, in gifts, in good vows, in penances, in prowess, and in virtue. Vali hath fallen off from all these. Formerly, he was devoted to the Brahmanas. He was truthful and had controlled his passions. Latterly, however, he began to cherish feelings of animosity towards the Brahmanas and touched clarified butter with soiled hands. Formerly, he was always engaged in the performance of sacrifices. At last, blinded by ignorance and afflicted by Time he began to boast before all persons, saying that his adorations towards me were ceaseless. Deserting him (for these faults) I shall henceforth, O Sakra, dwell in thee. Thou shouldst bear me without heedlessness, and with penances and prowess.'

"Sakra said, 'O thou that dwellest amid lotuses, there is not a single person among gods, men, and all creatures, that can bear thee for ever.'

"Sree said, 'Truly, O Purandara, there is none among gods, Gandharvas, Asuras, or Rakshasas, that can bear me for ever.'

"Sakra said, 'O auspicious lady, tell me how I should conduct myself so that thou mayst dwell in me always. I shall certainly obey thy behests. It behoveth thee to answer me truly.'

"Sree said, 'O chief of the deities, I shall tell thee as to how I may be enabled to dwell in thee always. Divide me into four parts according to the ordinance laid down in the Vedas.'

"Sakra said, 'I shall assign the habitations according to their strength and power in bearing thee. As regards myself, I shall always take care, O Lakshmi, that I may not offend thee in any way. Amongst men, the earth, that progenitrix of all things, bear them all. She shall bear a fourth part of thyself. I think she hath the strength to do it.'

"Sree said, 'Here, I yield up a quarter of myself. Let it be established on the earth. Do thou, after this, make a proper disposition, O Sakra, for my second quarter.'

"Sakra said, 'The waters, among men, in their liquid form, do various services to human beings. Let the waters bear a fourth part of thy person. They have the strength to bear a portion of thine.'

"Sree said, 'I yield up another quarter of mine that is to be established in the waters. Do thou, after this, O Sakra, assign a proper place for my third quarter.'

"Sakra said, 'The Vedas, the sacrifices, and the deities are all established in Fire. Fire will bear thy third quarter, when it is placed therein.'

"Sree said, 'Here I yield up my third quarter which is to be placed in Fire. Do thou, O Sakra, after this, assign a proper place for my last quarter.'

"Sakra said, 'They that are good among men, devoted to Brahmanas, and truthful in speech, may bear thy fourth quarter. The good have the power to bear it.'

"Sree said, 'Here I yield up my fourth quarter that is to be placed among the good. My portions thus assigned to different creatures, do thou continue to protect me, O Sakra.'

"Sakra said, 'Listen to these words of mine. I have thus distributed thee among different creatures. Those among creatures that will offend against thee shall be chastised by me. The chief of the Daityas, viz., Vali, thus deserted by Sree, then said these words.'

"Vali said, 'At present the Sun shines as much in the east as in the west, and as much in the north as in the south. When, however, the Sun, withdrawing himself from all sides, will shine only upon the region of Brahman situated in the middle of Sumeru, then will again occur a great battle between the gods and the Asuras, and in that fight I shall certainly vanquish all of you. When the Sun, withdrawing himself from all sides, will shine fixedly upon only the region of Brahman, then will again occur a great battle between the gods and the Asuras, and in that fight I shall surely conquer all of you.'

"Sakra said, 'Brahman hath commanded me saying that I should never kill thee. It is for this reason, O Vali, that I do not hurl my thunderbolt upon thy head. Go whithersoever thou wishest, O chief of the Daityas! O great Asura, peace to thee! No time will come when the Sun will shine from only the meridian. The Self-born (Brahman) hath before this ordained the laws that regulate the Sun's motions. Giving light and heat to all creatures, he goes on ceaselessly. For six months he travels in a northward course and then for the other six in a southward course. The sun travels by these courses (one after another), creating winter and summer for all creatures.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed by Indra, O Bharata, Vali, the chief of the Daityas, proceeded towards the south. Purandara proceeded towards the north. The thousand-eyed Indra, after having listened to this speech of Vali which was characterised by an entire absence of pride, then ascended the skies.'

SECTION 226

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection is also cited the old narrative of the discourse between him of a hundred sacrifices and the Asura Namuchi, O Yudhishthira. When the Asura Namuchi, who was conversant with the birth and the death of all creatures, was sitting, divested of prosperity but untroubled at heart like the vast ocean in perfect stillness, Purandara addressed him these: words, 'Fallen off from thy place, bound with cords, brought under the sway of thy foes, and divested of prosperity, dost thou, O Namuchi, indulge in grief or passest thou thy days cheerfully?'

"Namuchi answered, 'By indulging in such sorrow as cannot be warded off one only wastes one's body and gladdens one's foes. Then, again, no one can lighten another's sorrow by taking any portion of it upon oneself. For these reasons, O Sakra, I do not indulge in sorrow. All this that thou seest hath one end. Indulgence in sorrow destroys personal comeliness, prosperity, life, and virtue itself, O chief of the deities! Without doubt, suppressing that sorrow which comes upon oneself and which is born of an improper disposition of the mind, one possessed of true knowledge should reflect in one's mind of that which is productive of the highest good and which dwells in the heart itself. When one sets one's mind upon what is for one's highest good, without doubt, the result that takes place is that one's objects are all accomplished. There is One Ordainer, and no second. His control extends over the being that lies within the womb. Controlled by the great Ordainer I go on as He sets me on, like water running along a downward path. Knowing what is existence and what is emancipation, and understanding also that the latter is superior to the former, I do not, however, strive for attaining to it. Doing acts that tend towards the direction of virtue and also those that tend towards the opposite direction, I go on as He sets me on. One gets those things that are ordained to be got. That which is to happen actually happens. One has repeatedly to reside in such wombs in which one is placed by the Ordainer. One has no choice in the matter. That person is never stupefied, who when placed in any particular condition, accepts it as that which he was ordained to be placed in. Men are affected by pleasure and pain that come by turns in course of Time. There is no personal agency (in the matter of pleasure or pain to any one). In this lies sorrow, viz., that he that dislikes sorrow regards himself as the actor. Amongst Rishis, gods, great Asuras, persons fully conversant with the three Vedas, and ascetics in the forest, who is there whom calamities do not approach? Those, however, that are conversant with the Soul and that which is not-Soul never fear calamities. The person of wisdom, naturally standing immovable like Himavat, never gives way to wrath; never suffers himself to be attached to the objects of the senses; never languishes in sorrow or rejoices in happiness. When overwhelmed with even great afflictions, such a person never gives way to grief. That person is a very superior one whom even great success cannot gladden and even dire calamities cannot afflict, and who bears pleasure and pain, and that which is between them both, with an unmoved heart. Into whatever condition a person may fall, he should summon cheerfulness without yielding to sorrow. Indeed, even thus should one drive off from one's self one's swelling grief that is born in one's mind and that is (if not dispelled) sure to give pain. That assembly of learned persons engaged in the discussion of duties based upon both the Srutis and the Smritis is not a good assembly,--indeed, that does not deserve to be called by the name of assembly,--entering which a wicked man does not become penetrated with fear (born of his wicked deeds). That man is the foremost of his species who having dived into and enquired after righteousness succeeds in acting according to the conclusions to which he arrives. The acts of a wise man are not easily comprehensible. He that is wise, is never Stupefied when afflictions come upon him. Even

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if he falls away from his position like Gautama in his old age, in consequence of the direct calamity, he does not suffer himself to be stupefied. [This is a hard hit, The listener, viz., Indra, had violated, under circumstances of the most wicked deception, the chastity of Ahalya the wife of the sage Gautama Maharishi. The 4th-century BC Hindu epic Ramayana – whose hero is Rama – is the first to explicitly mention her extra-marital affair in detail. Gautama had to punish his wife by converting her into a stone*. This punishment, however, reacted upon Gautama inasmuch as it put a stop to his loading any longer a life of domesticity. In spite of such a dire affliction Gautama did not suffer his cheerfulness to depart from his heart. The effect of the allusion is to tell Indra that the speaker is not like him but like Gautama, i.e., that Namuchi was not the slave of his passions but that he was the master of his senses and the how. *Interesting parallel of the Ahalya story: Lot (Hebrew, lit. "veil" or "covering") was a patriarch in the biblical Book of Genesis, chapters 11–14 and 19. Notable events in his life include his journey with his uncle Abram (Abraham); his flight from the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, during which Lot's wife looked back and was turned into a pillar of salt (which is a kind of stone); and his being intoxicated by his daughters so that they could have sexual intercourse with him. Lot's wife is not named in the Bible but is called "Ado" or "Edith" in some Jewish traditions. Lot and his father Haran (the brother of Abraham) were born and raised in Ur (Uruk) of the Chaldees (Babylonians; Genesis 11:28, 31) in the region of Sumeria on the River Euphrates of lower Mesopotamia.] By any of these, viz., mantras, strength, energy, wisdom, prowess, behaviour, conduct, or the affluence of wealth, can a person acquire that which has not been ordained to be acquired by him? What sorrow then is there for the non-acquisition of that upon which one has set one's heart? Before I was born, they that have the matter in their hands had ordained what I am to do and suffer. I am fulfilling what was thus ordained for me. What then can death do to me? One obtains only that which has been ordained to be obtained. One goes thither whither it was ordained that one is to go. Those sorrows and joys are obtained that are ordained to be obtained. That man who knowing this fully, does not suffer himself to be stupefied, and who is contented under both happiness and sorrow, is regarded as the foremost of his species.'"

SECTION 227

"Yudhishthira said, 'What, indeed, is good for a man that is sunk in dire distress, when loss of friends or loss of kingdom, O monarch has occurred? In this world, O bull of Bharata's race, thou art the foremost of our instructors. I ask thee this. It behoveth thee to tell me what I ask.'

"Bhishma said, 'For one that has been deprived of sons and wives and pleasures of every kind and wealth, and that has been plunged into dire distress, fortitude is of the highest good, O king! The body is never emaciated of one that is always possessed of fortitude. Grieflessness bears happiness within it, and also health that is a superior possession. In consequence again of this health of body, once may again acquire prosperity. That wise man, O sire, who adheres to a course of righteous conduct (while afflicted by distress) succeeds in acquiring prosperity, patience, and perseverance in the accomplishment of all his objects. In this connection is once more cited the old narrative of the discourse between Vali and Vasava, O Yudhishthira! After the battle between the gods and the Asuras, in which a large number of Daityas and Danavas fell, had come to an end. Vali became king. He was deceived by Vishnu who once more established his sway over all the worlds. He, of a hundred sacrifices was once more invested with the sovereignty of the deities. After the rule of the deities had thus been re-established, and the four orders of men had been re-established in the practice of their respective courses of duty, the three worlds once more swelled with prosperity, and the Self-born became glad at heart. At that time, accompanied by the Rudras, the Vasus, the Adityas, the Aswins, the celestial Rishis, the Gandharvas, the Siddhas, and other superior orders of beings, the puissant Sakra, seated in splendour on his four-tusked prince of elephants, called Airavata, made a progress through all the worlds. One day, while thus engaged, the wielder of the thunderbolt beheld Virochana's son Vali within a certain mountain cave on the sea-shore. Seeing the prince of Danavas, he approached him. Beholding the chief of the deities, viz., Indra, thus seated on the back of Airavata and surrounded by the several orders of the celestials, the prince of the Daityas showed no signs of sorrow or agitation. Indra also, seeing Vali staying unmoved and fearless, addressed him from the back of his foremost of elephants, saying, 'How is it, O Daitya, that thou art so unmoved? Is it due to thy heroism or thy having waited with reverence upon aged persons? Is it due to thy mind having been cleansed by penances? To whatever cause it may be due, this frame of mind is certainly very difficult of attainment. Hurled from a position that was certainly the highest, thou art now divested of all thy possessions, and thou hast been brought under the sway of thy foes. O son of Virochana, what is that by having recourse to which thou dost not grieve although the occasion is for grief? Formerly, when thou wert invested with the sovereignty of thy own order, unrivalled pleasures were thine. Now, however, thou art divested of thy wealth and jewels and sovereignty. Tell us why thou art so unmoved. Thou wert before this a god, seated on the throne of thy sire and grandsires. Beholding thyself stripped today by thy foes, why dost thou not grieve? Thou art bound in Varuna's noose and hast been struck with my thunderbolt. Thy wives have been taken away and thy wealth also. Tell us why thou dost not indulge in grief. Divested of prosperity and fallen away from affluence, thou indulgest not in grief. This, indeed, is something that is very remarkable. Who else, O Vali, than one like thee, could venture to bear the burthen of existence after being shorn of the sovereignty of the three worlds?' Hearing without any pain these and other cutting speeches that Indra addressed to him, asserting the while his own superiority over him, Vali, the son of Virochana, fearlessly answered his interrogator, saying the following words.'

"Vali said, 'When calamities have oppressed me, O Sakra, what dost thou gain by such brag now? Today I behold thee, O Purandara, stand before me with the thunderbolt upraised in thy hand! Formerly, however, thou couldst not bear thyself so. Now thou hast by some means gained that power. Indeed, who else than thou could utter such cruel speeches? That person who, though able to punish, shows compassion towards a heroic foe vanquished and brought under his sway, is truly a very superior individual. When two persons fight, victory in the battle is certainly dubious. One of the two certainly becomes victorious, and the other becomes vanquished. O chief of the deities, let not thy disposition be such! Do not imagine that thou hast become the sovereign of all creatures after having conquered all with thy might and prowess! That we have become so is not, O Sakra, the result of any act of ours. That thou hast become so, O wielder of the thunderbolt, is not the result of any act of thine. What I am now thou wilt be in the future. Do not disregard me, thinking that thou hast done an exceedingly difficult feat. A person obtains happiness and misery one after another in course of Time. Thou hast, O Sakra, obtained the sovereignty of the universe in course of Time but not in consequence of any especial merit in thee. It is Time that leads me on in his course. That same Time leads thee also onward. It is for this that I am not what thou art today, and thou also art not what we are! Dutiful services done to parents, reverential worship of deities, due practice of any good quality,--none of these can bestow happiness on any one. Neither knowledge, nor penances, nor gifts, nor friends, nor kinsmen can rescue one that is afflicted by Time. Men are incapable of averting, by even a thousand means, an impending calamity. Intelligence and strength go for nothing in such cases. There is no rescuer of men that are afflicted by Time's course. That thou, O Sakra, regarded thyself as the actor lies at the root of all sorrow. If the ostensible doer of an act is the real actor thereof, that doer then would not himself be the work of some one else (viz., the Supreme Being). Hence, because the ostensible doer is himself the product of another, that another is the Supreme Being above whom there is nothing higher. Aided by Time I had vanquished thee. Aided by Time thou hast vanquished me. It is Time that is the mover of all beings that move. It is Time that destroys all beings. O Indra, in consequence of thy intelligence being of the vulgar species thou seest not that destruction awaits all things. Some, indeed, regard thee highly as one that has acquired by his own acts the sovereignty of the universe. For all that, how can one like us that know the course of the world, indulge in grief in consequence of having been afflicted by Time, or suffer our understanding to be stupefied, or yield to the influence of error? Shall my understanding or that of one like me, even when we are overwhelmed by Time, coming in contact with a calamity, suffer itself to be destroyed like a wrecked vessel at sea? Myself, thyself, and all those who will in future become the chiefs of the deities, shall have, O Sakra, to go the way along which hundreds of Indras have gone before thee. When thy hour matures itself, Time will surely destroy thee like me,--thee that art now so invincible and that now blazest with unrivalled splendour. In Time's course many thousands of Indras and of deities have been swept off yuga after yuga. Time, indeed, is irresistible. Having attained to thy present position, thou regardest thyself very highly, even as the Creator of all beings, the divine and eternal Brahman. This position of thine had been attained by many before thee. With none did it prove stable or unending. In consequence, however, of a foolish understanding, thou alone regardest it to be immutable and eternal. Thou trustest in that which is not deserving of trust. Thou deemest that to be eternal which is not eternal. O chief of the deities, one that is overwhelmed and stupefied by Time really regards oneself after this manner. Led by folly thou regardest thy present regal prosperity to be thine. Know, however, that it is never stable in respect of either thee or me or others. It had belonged to innumerable persons before thee. Passing over them, it has now become thine. It will stay with thee, O Vasava, for some time and then prove its instability. Like a cow abandoning one drinking ditch for another, it will surely desert thee for somebody else. So many sovereigns have gone before thee that I venture not to make an enumeration. In the future also, O Purandara, innumerable sovereigns will rise after thee. I do not behold those rulers now that had formerly enjoyed this earth with her trees and plants and gems and living creatures and waters and mines. Prithu, Aila, Maya, Bhima, Naraka, Samvara, Aswagriva, Puloman, Swarbhanu, whose standard was of immeasurable height, Prahlada, Namuchi, Daksha, Vipprachitti, Virochana, Hrinisheva, Suhotra, Bhurihan, Pushavat, Vrisha, Satyepsu, Rishava, Vahu, Kapilaswa, Virupaka, Vana, Kartaswara, Vahni, Viswadanshtra, Nairiti, Sankocha, Varitaksha, Varaha, Aswa, Ruchiprabha, Viswajit, Pratirupa, Vrishanda, Vishkara, Madhu, Hiranyakasipu, the Danava Kaitabha, and many others that were Daityas and Danavas and Rakshasas, these and many more unnamed, belonging to remote and remoter ages, great Daityas and foremost of Danavas, whose names we have heard,--indeed, many foremost of Daityas of former times,--having gone away, leaving the Earth. All of them were afflicted by Time. Time proved stronger than all of them. All of them had worshipped the Creator in hundreds of sacrifices. Thou art not the one person that hast done so. All of them were devoted to righteousness and all of them always performed great sacrifices. All of them were capable of roaming through the skies, and all were heroes that never showed their backs in battle. All of them had very strong frames and all had arms that resembled heavy bludgeons. All of them were masters of hundreds of illusions, and all could assume any form they wished. We have never heard that having engaged themselves in battle any of them had ever sustained a defeat. All were firm observers of the vow of truth, and all of them sported as they wished. Devoted to the Vedas and Vedic rites, all of them were possessors of great learning. Possessed of great might, all of them had acquired the highest prosperity and affluence. But none of those high-souled sovereigns had the least tincture of pride in consequence of sovereignty. All of them were liberal, giving unto each what each deserved. All of them behaved properly and duly towards all creatures. All of them were the offspring of Daksha's daughters. Endued with great strength, all were lords of the creation. Scorching all things with the energy all of them blazed with splendour. Yet all of them were swept off by time. As regards thee, O Sakra, it is evident that when thou shalt have, after enjoying the earth, to leave her, thou wilt not be able to control thy grief. Cast off this desire that thou cherishest for objects of affection and enjoyment. Cast off this pride that is born of prosperity. If thou actest in this manner, thou wilt then be able to bear the grief that attends the loss of sovereignty. When the hour of sorrow comes, do not yield to sorrow. Similarly, when the hour of joy comes, do not rejoice. Disregarding both the past and the future, live contentedly with the present. When Time that never sleeps came upon me that had always been heedful of my duties, turn thy heart to the ways of peace, O Indra, for that same Time will very soon come over thee! Thou piercest me with thy words, and thou seemest to be bent upon inspiring dread in me. Indeed, finding me collected, thou regardest thy own self very highly. Time had first assailed me. It is even now behind thee. I was at first vanquished by Time. It was for that reason that thou didst afterwards succeed in vanquishing me for which thou roarest in pride thus. Formerly, when I happened to become angry, what person was there on earth that could stand before me in battle? Time, however, is stronger. He has overwhelmed me. It is for this reason, O Vasava, that thou art able to stand before me! Those thousand (celestial years), that are the measure of thy sway, will surely come to an end. Thou shalt then fall and thy limbs will become as miserable as mine now even though I am possessed of mighty energy. I have fallen away from the high place that is occupied by the sovereign of the three worlds. Thou art now the actual Indra in heaven. In this delightful world of living beings, thou art now, in consequence of Time's course, an object of universal adoration. Canst thou say what is that by having done which thou hast become Indra today and what also is that by having done which we have fallen off from the position we had? Time is the one creator and destroyer. Nothing else is cause (in the universe for the production of any effect). Decline, fall, sovereignty, happiness, misery, birth and death,--a learned person by encountering any of these neither rejoices nor indulges in sorrow. Thou, O Indra, knowest us. We also, O Vasava, know thee. Why then dost thou brag in this fashion before me, forgetting, O shameless one, that it is Time that hath made thee what thou art? Thou didst thyself witness what my prowess was in those days. The energy and might I used to display in all my battles, furnish sufficient evidence. The Adityas, the Rudras, the Sadhyas, the Vasus, and the Maruts, O lord of Sachi, were all vanquished by me. Thou knowest it well thyself, O Sakra, that in the great encounter between the gods and the Asuras, the assembled deities were quickly routed by me by the fury of my attack. Mountains with their forests and the denizens that lived in those forests, were repeatedly hurled by us. Many were the mountain summits with craggy edges that I broke on thy head. What, however, can I do now? Time is incapable of being resisted. If it were not so, do not think that I would not

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have ventured to kill thee with that thunderbolt of thine with even a blow of my fist. The present, however, is not the hour with me for the display of prowess. The hour that hath come is such that I should adopt tranquillity now and tolerate everything. It is for this reason, O Sakra, that I put up with all this insolence of thine. Know, however, that I am less able to bear insolence than even thou. Thou braggest before one who, upon his time having matured, is surrounded on all sides by Time's conflagration and bound strongly in Time's cords. Yonder stands that dark individual who is incapable of being resisted by the world. Of fierce form, he stands there, having bound me like an inferior animal bound with cords. Gain and loss, happiness and misery, lust and wrath, birth and death, captivity and release,--these all one encounters in Time's course. I am not the actor. Thou art not the actor. He is the actor who, indeed, is omnipotent. That Time ripens me (for throwing me down) like a fruit that has appeared on a tree. There are certain acts by doing which one person obtains happiness in Time's course. By doing those very acts another obtains misery in the course of Time. Versed as I am with the virtues of Time, it behoves me not to indulge in grief when it is Time that has assailed me. It is for this reason, O Sakra, that I do not grieve. Grief cannot do us any good. The grief of one that indulges in grief never dispels one's calamity. On the other hand, grief destroys one's power. It is for this that I do not indulge in grief.'

"Thus addressed by the chief of the Daityas, he of a hundred sacrifices, viz., the puissant and thousand-eyed chastiser of Paka, restrained his wrath and said these words.'

"Sakra said, 'Beholding this upraised arm of mine, equipped with the thunderbolt, and those nooses of Varuna, who is there whose understanding would not be agitated, including the very Destroyer himself that compasses the death of all beings? Thy understanding, however, so firm and so endued with vision of the truth, hath not been agitated. O thou of invincible prowess, verily, thou art unmoved today in consequence of thy fortitude. Beholding all things in this universe to be fleeting, who is there in it, endued with body, that would venture to repose confidence on either his body or all the objects of his desire? Like thyself I also know that this universe is not eternal, and that it has been thrown into Time's conflagration that is dreadful though hidden from the view, that is continuously burning, and that is truly endless. Every one is assailed here by Time. Nothing among beings that are subtile or gross enjoys an immunity from Time's sway. All things are being cooked in Time's cauldron. Time has no master. Time is ever heedful. Time is always cooking all things within itself. No one who has once entered the domain of Time which is ceaselessly going on, can escape therefrom. All embodied beings may be heedless of Time, but Time is heedful and is broad awake behind them. No one has ever been seen to have driven off Time from him. Ancient and eternal, and the embodiment of justice, Time is uniform in respect of all living creatures. Time cannot be avoided, and there is no retrogression in its course. Like a usurer adding up his interest, Time adds up its subtile portions represented by kalas, and lavas, and kashthas, and kshanas, and months, and days and nights. Like the current of a river washing away a tree whose roots are reached by it, Time, getting at him who says, 'This I will do today but this other act I will do tomorrow' sweeps him away. Time sweeps away one and men exclaim, 'I saw him a little while ago. How has he died?' Wealth, comforts, rank, prosperity, all fall a prey to Time. Approaching every living creature, Time snatches away his life. All things that proudly raise their heads high are destined to fall down. That which is existent is only another form of the non-existent. Everything is transitory and unstable. Such a conviction is, however, difficult to come at. Thy understanding, so firm and endued with true vision, is unmoved. Thou dost not, even mentally, realise what thou wert some time ago. Time that is strong, assailing the universe, cooks it within itself and sweeps away everything without consideration of seniority of years or the reverse. For all that, one that is being dragged by Time is unconscious of the noose thrown round one's neck. People, given to jealousy and vanity and cupidity to lust, wrath, and fear, to desire, heedlessness, and pride, suffer themselves to be stupefied. Thou, however, art acquainted with the truth of existence. Thou art possessed of learning and endued with wisdom and penance. Thou beholdest Time as clearly as if it were an emblic myrobalan on the palm of thy hand. O son of Virochana, fully conversant art thou with the topic of Time's conduct. Thou art well-versed in all branches of knowledge. Thou art of cleansed Soul and a thorough master of thy persons. Thou art, for this, an object of affection with all persons endued with wisdom. Thou hast, with thy understanding, fully comprehended the whole universe. Though thou hast enjoyed every kind of happiness, thou art never attached to anything, and hence thou hast not been stained by anything. The qualities of Passion and Darkness do not soil thee for thou hast conquered thy senses. Thou waitest only upon thy Soul which is divested of both joy and sorrow. The friend of all creatures, without animosity, with thy heart set upon tranquillity, beholding thee thus, my heart is inclined to compassion towards thee. I do not desire to afflict an enlightened person like thee by keeping him in an enchained condition. Abstention from injury is the highest religion. I feel compassion towards thee. These nooses of Varuna, with which thou hast been bound, will loosen Time's course in consequence of the misconduct of men. Blessed be thou, O great Asura! When the daughter-in-law will set the aged mother-in-law to work, when the son, through delusion, will command the sire to work for him, when Sudras will have their feet washed by Brahmanas and have sexual congress fearlessly with women of regenerate families, when men will discharge the vital seed into forbidden wombs, when the refuse of houses will begin to be carried upon plates and vessels made of white brass, and when sacrificial offerings intended for the deities will begin to be borne upon forbidden vessels, when all the four orders will transgress all restraints, then these bonds of thine will begin one by one, to loosen. From us thou hast no fear. Wait quietly. Be happy. Be divested of all sorrow. Let thy heart be cheerful. Let no illness be thine.' Having said these words unto him, the divine Indra, having the prince of elephants for his vehicle, left that spot. Having vanquished all the Asuras, the chief of the deities rejoiced in gladness and became the one sole lord of all the worlds. The great Rishis hymned the praises of that lord of all mobile and immobile creatures. The deity of fire once more began to bear the libations of clarified butter that were poured (by all) into his visible form, and the great god took charge of the nectar that was committed to his care. His praises hymned by the foremost of Brahmanas engaged in sacrifices, the lord Indra, blazing with splendour, his wrath pacified, and his heart tranquillised, became gladdened, and returning to his own abode in heaven, began to pass his days in great happiness.'"

SECTION 228

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me, O grandsire, the indications of future greatness and future fall in respect of a person.'

"Bhishma said, 'The mind itself, blessed be thou, indicates the premonitory symptoms of one's future prosperity and future fall. In this connection is cited the old story of the discourse between Sree and Sakra. Listen to it, O Yudhishthira! The great ascetic Narada, of energy whose effulgence is as immeasurable as Brahma itself, with sins all destroyed, capable of beholding through the prosperity of his penances both this and the other world at once, and the equal of the celestial Rishis in the region of the Creator, roved according to his pleasure through the triple world. One day, rising up at dawn, he wished to perform his ablutions, and for that purpose went to the river Ganga as she issued out of the pass known by the name of Dhruva and plunged into the stream. At that time the thousand-eyed Indra also, the wielder of the thunderbolt, and the slayer of Samvara and Paka, came to the very bank where Narada was. The Rishi and the deity, both of souls under perfect command, finished their ablutions, and having completed their silent recitations, sat together. They employed the hour in reciting and listening to the excellent narratives told by the great celestial Rishis descriptive of many good and high deeds. Indeed, with concentrated attention the two were engaged in such pleasant discourse on ancient history. While sitting there they beheld the rising Sun casting his thousand rays right before him. Seeing the full orb, both of them stood up and hymned his praises. Just at that time they beheld in the sky, in a direction opposite to that of the rising star of day, some luminous object, resplendent as blazing fire and that seemed to be a second star of day. And they saw, O Bharata, that that luminous object was gradually approaching towards them both. Riding upon Vishnu's vehicle adorned with Garuda and Surya himself, that object blazed forth with unrivalled splendour, and seemed to illumine the three worlds. The object they saw was none other than Sree herself, attended by many Apsaras endued with splendid beauty. Indeed, she looked like a large solar disc herself, possessed of effulgence resembling that of fire. Adorned with ornaments that looked like veritable stars, she wore a wreath that resembled a garland of pearls. Indra saw that goddess called Padma having her habitation in the midst of lotuses. Descending from her foremost of cars, that unrivalled lady began to approach towards the lord of the three worlds and the celestial Rishi Narada. Followed by Narada, Maghavat also proceeded towards that lady. With joined hands, he offered himself up to her, and versed as he was with all things, he worshipped her with reverence and sincerity never surpassed. The adorations over, the lord of celestials, O king, addressed Sree in the following words.'

"Sakra said, 'O thou of sweet smiles, who, indeed, art thou and for what business hast thou come here? O thou of fair brows, whence dost thou come and whither wilt thou proceed, O auspicious lady?'

"Sree said, 'In the three worlds full of the seeds of auspiciousness, all creatures, mobile and immobile, strive with their whole hearts to win an association with me. I am that Padma, that Sree decked with lotuses, who sprang from the lotus that blooms at the touch of the rays of Surya, for the prosperity of all creatures. I am called Lakshmi, Bhuti, and Sree, O slayer of Vala! I am Faith, I am Intelligence, I am Affluence, I am Victory, and I am Immutability. I am Patience, I am Success, I am Prosperity. I am Swaha, I am Swadha, I am Reverence, I am Fate, and I am Memory. I dwell at the van and on the standards of victorious and virtuous sovereigns, as also in their homes and cities and dominions. I always reside, O slayer of Vala, with those foremost of men, viz., heroes panting after victory and unretreating from battle. I also reside for ever with persons that are firmly attached to virtue, that are endued with great intelligence, that are devoted to Brahma, that are truthful in speech, that are possessed of humility, and that are liberal. Formerly, I dwelt with the Asuras in consequence of my disposition of being bound by truth and merit Seeing, however, that the Asuras have assumed adverse natures, I have left then and wish to reside in thee.'

"Sakra said, 'O thou of fair face, in consequence of what behaviour of the Asuras didst thou dwell with them? What didst thou see there for which thou hast come hither, having deserted the Daityas and the Danavas?'

"Sree said, I attach myself steadfastly to those that are devoted to the duties of their own order, to those that never fall away from patience, to those that take a pleasure in walking along the path which leads to heaven. I always reside with those that are distinguished for liberality, for study of the scriptures, for sacrifices, for other scriptural rites, and for worship of Pitris, deities, preceptors, seniors, and guests. Formerly, the Danavas used to keep their abodes clean, to keep their women under control, to pour libations on the sacrificial fire, to wait dutifully on their preceptors, to restrain their passions, to be obedient to the Brahmanas, and to be truthful in speech. They were full of faith; they kept their wrath under control; they practised the virtue of charity; they never envied others; they used to maintain their friends and advisers, and their spouses; they were never jealous. Formerly, they never assailed one another, filled with wrath. They were all contented and never felt pain at the sight of other people's affluence and prosperity. They were all charitable and economical; of respectable conduct, and endued with compassion. They were excessively inclined to grace, possessed of simplicity of conduct, steadfast in faith, and had their passions under complete control. They used to keep their servants and counsellors contented, and were grateful and endued with sweet speech. They used to serve every one as each deserved in consequence of his position and honour. They were endued with shame. They were of rigid vows. They used to perform their ablutions on every sacred day. They used to smear themselves properly with perfumes and suspicious unguents. They were also to adorn their persons duly. They were observant of fasts and penances, were trustful, and utterers of Vedic hymns. The Sun never rose upon them while they lay asleep. They never outslept the moon. They always abstained from curds and pounded barley. They used every morning to look at clarified butter and other auspicious articles, and with senses withdrawn they used to recite the Vedas and worship Brahmanas with gifts. Their discourse was always virtuous, and they never accepted gifts. They always went to sleep at midnight and never slept during the day. They always used to take pleasure in showing compassion for the distressed, the helpless, the aged, the weak, the sick, and women, and enjoyed all their possessions by sharing these with them. They always used to assume and comfort the agitated, the cheerless, the anxious, the terrified, the diseased, the weak and emaciated, the robbed, and the afflicted. They followed the dictates of virtue and never injured one another. They were ready and well-disposed for action of every kind (that deserved to be accomplished). They used to serve and wait with reverence upon seniors and aged individuals. They duly worshipped Pitris, deities, and guests, and ate every day what was left after gratifying these. They were firmly devoted to truth and penances. None amongst them ate singly any food that was good, and none had congress with other people's wives. As regards compassion, they behaved towards all creatures as towards their own selves. They never allowed the emission of the vital seed into empty space, into inferior animals, into forbidden wombs, or on sacred days. They were always distinguished for gifts, for cleverness, for simplicity, for hopeful exertion, for humility, for friendliness, and for forgiveness. And, O puissant one, truth, charity, penance, purity, compassion, soft speeches and absence of animosity towards friends,--all these were always in them. Slumber, procrastination, fretfulness, envy, and want of foresight, discontent, melancholy, cupidity never assailed them. In consequence of the Danavas having been distinguished for these good qualities, I dwelt with them from the beginning of the creation for many yugas together. Times were altered, and that alteration brought about an alteration in the character of the Danavas. I saw that virtue and morality deserted them and they began to own the sway of lust and wrath. Persons, though themselves inferior in attainments, began to cherish animosities towards seniors in age possessed of superior qualifications, and while the latter, possessed of virtue and merit, used to speak upon proper topics in the midst of assemblies, the former began to ridicule or laugh at

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them. When reverend seniors in age came, the younger individuals, seated at their ease, refused to adore the former by rising up and saluting them with respect. In the presence of sires, sons began to exercise power (in matters that concerned sires alone). They that were not in receipt of wages accepted service and shamelessly proclaimed the fact, Those amongst them that succeeded in amassing great wealth by doing unrighteous and censurable deeds came to be held in esteem. During the night they began to indulge in loud screams and shrieks. Their homa fires ceased to send bright and upward flames. Sons began to lord it over sires, and wives dominated over husbands. Mothers, fathers, aged seniors, preceptors, guests, and guides ceased to command respect for their superior status. People ceased to bring up with affection their own offspring but began to desert them. Without giving away the defined portion in alms and reserving the fixed portion for offering it unto the gods, every one ate what he had. Indeed, without offering their goods to the deities in sacrifices and without sharing them with the Pitris, the gods, guests, and reverend seniors, they appropriated them to their own use shamelessly. Their cooks no longer professed any consideration for purity of mind, deed, and word. They ate what had been left uncovered. Their corn lay scattered in yards, exposed to devastation by crows and rats. Their milk remained exposed, and they began to touch clarified butter with hands unwashed after eating. Their spades, domestic knives, baskets, and dishes and cups of white brass, and other utensils began to lie scattered in their houses. Their housewives abstained from looking after these. They no longer attained to the repairs of their houses and walls. Tethering their animals they abstained from giving them food and drink. Disregarding children that only looked on, and without having fed their dependants, the Danavas ate what they had. They began to prepare payasa and krisara and dishes of meat and cakes and sashkuli (not for gods and guests) but for their own slaves, and commenced to eat the flesh of animals not killed in sacrifices. They used to sleep even after the sun had risen. They made night of their morns. Day and night disputes and quarrels waxed in every house of theirs. They that were not respectable amongst them no longer showed any respect for those that deserve respect while the latter were seated in any place. Fallen off from their defined duties, they ceased to reverence those that had betaken themselves to the woods for leading a life of peace and divine contemplation. Intermixture of castes freely commenced among them. They ceased to attend to purity of person or mind. Brahmanas learned in the Vedas ceased to command respect among them. Those again that were ignorant of Richs were not condemned or punished. Both were treated on a footing of equality, those, that is, that deserved respect and those that deserved no respect. Their servant girls became wicked in behaviour, and began to wear necklaces of gold and other ornaments and fine robes, and used to remain in their houses or go away before their very eyes. They began to derive great pleasure from sports and diversions in which their women were dressed as men and their men as women. Those amongst their ancestors that were affluent had made gifts of wealth unto deserving persons. The descendants of the donors, even when in prosperous conditions, began to resume, for their unbelief, those gifts. When difficulties threatened the accomplishment of any purpose and friend sought the counsel of friend, that purpose was frustrated by the latter even if he had any interest of the slightest value to subserve by frustrating it. Amongst even their better classes have appeared traders and dealers in goods, intent upon taking the wealth of others. The Sudras amongst them have taken to the practice of penances. Some amongst them have begun to study, without making any rules for regulating their hours and food. Others have begun to study, making rules that are useless. Disciples have abstained from rendering obedience and service to preceptors. Preceptors again have come to treat disciples as friendly companions. Fathers and mothers are worn out with work, and have abstained from indulging in festivities. Parents in old age, divested of power over sons, have been forced to beg their food of the latter. Amongst them, even persons of wisdom, conversant with the Vedas, and resembling the ocean itself in gravity of deportment, have begun to betake themselves to agriculture and such other pursuits. Persons who are illiterate and ignorant have begun to be fed at Sraddhas. Every morning, disciples, instead of approaching preceptors for making dutiful enquiries for ascertaining what acts awaited accomplishment and for seeking commissions which they are to discharge, are themselves waited upon by preceptors who discharge those functions. Daughters-in-law, in the presence of their husbands' mothers and fathers, rebuke and chastise servants and maids, and summoning their husband's lecture and rebuke them. Sires, with great care, seek to keep sons in good humour, or dividing through fear their wealth among children, live in woe and affliction. Even persons enjoying the friendship of the victims, beholding the latter deprived of wealth in conflagrations or by robbers or by the king, have begun to indulge in laughter from feelings of mockery. They have become ungrateful and unbelieving and sinful and addicted to adulterous congress with even the spouses of their preceptors. They have betaken themselves to eating forbidden food. They have transgressed all bounds and restraints. They have become divested of that splendour which had distinguished them before. In consequence of these and other indications of wicked conduct and the reversal of their former nature, I shall not, O chief of the gods, dwell among them any longer. I have, therefore, come to thee of my own accord. Receive me with respect, O lord of Sachi! Honoured by thee, O chief of the celestials, I shall receive honour from all other deities. There, where I reside, the seven other goddesses with Jaya for their eighth, who love me, who are inseparably associated with me, and who depend upon me, desire to live. They are Hope, Faith, Intelligence, Contentment, Victory, Advancement, and Forgiveness. She who forms the eighth, viz., Jaya, occupies the foremost place amongst them, O chastiser of Paka. All of them and myself, having deserted the Asuras, have come to thy domains. We shall henceforth reside among the deities who are devoted to righteousness and faith.

"After the goddess had said so, the celestial Rishi Narada, and Vasava, the slayer of Vritra, for gladdening her, offered her a joyful welcome. The god of wind,--that friend of Agni, then began to blow gently through heaven, bearing delicious odours, refreshing all creatures with whom he came into contact, and contributing to the felicity of every one of the senses. All the deities (hearing the news) assembled together in a pure and desirable spot and waited there in expectation of beholding Maghavat seated with Lakshmi beside him. Then the thousand-eyed chief of the gods, accompanied by Sree and his friend the great Rishi, and riding upon a splendid car drawn by green horses, came into that assembly of the celestials, receiving honour from all. Then the great Rishi Narada, whose prowess was known to all the celestials, observing a sign that the wielder of the thunderbolt made and which Sree herself approved of, welcomed the advent of the goddess there and proclaimed it as exceedingly auspicious. Heaven's firmament became clear and bright and began to shower nectar upon the region of the self-born Grandsire. The celestial kettle-drums, though struck by none, began to beat, and all the points of the horizon, becoming clear, seemed ablaze with splendour. Indra began to pour rain upon crops that commenced to appear each at its proper season. No one then deviated from the path of righteousness. The earth became adorned with many mines filled with jewels and gems, and the chant of Vedic recitations and other melodious sounds swelled up on the occasion of that triumph of the celestials. Human beings, endued with firm minds, and all adhering to the auspicious path that is trod by the righteous, began to take pleasure in Vedic and other religious rites and acts. Men and gods and Kinnaras and Yakshas and Rakshasas all became endued with prosperity and cheerfulness. Not a flower,--what need then be said of fruits,--dropped untimely from a tree even if the god of wind shook it with force. All the kine began to yield sweet milk whenever milked by men, and cruel and harsh words ceased to be uttered by any one. They who, from desire of advancement, approach before assemblies of Brahmanas, and read this narrative of the glorification of Sree by all the deities with Indra at their head, deities that are competent to grant every wish,--succeed in winning great prosperity. These then O chief of the Kurus, are the foremost indications of prosperity and adversity. Urged on by thee, I have told thee all. It behoves thee to bear thyself according to the instructions conveyed herein, understanding them after careful reflection!'

SECTION 229

"Yudhishthira said, 'By what disposition, what course of duties, what knowledge, and what energy, does one succeed in attaining to Brahma which is immutable and which is beyond the reach of primordial nature.'

"Bhishma said, 'One that is engaged in the practice of the religion of nivritti, that eats abstemiously, and that has his senses under complete control, can attain to Brahma which is immutable and which is above primordial nature. In this connection is cited the old narrative, O Bharata, of the discourse between Jaigishavya and Asita. Once on a time Asita-Devala addressed Jaigishavya who was possessed of great wisdom and fully acquainted with the truths of duty and morality.'

"Devala said, 'Thou art not gladdened when praised. Thou dost not give way to wrath when blamed or censured. What, indeed, is thy wisdom? Whence hast thou got it? And what, indeed, is the refuge of that wisdom?'

"Bhishma said, 'Thus questioned by Devala, the pure Jaigishavya of austere penances, said those words of high import, fraught with full faith and profound sense.'

"Jaigishavya said, 'O foremost of Rishis, I shall tell thee of that which is the highest end, that which is the supreme goal, that which is tranquillity, in the estimation of all persons of righteous acts. They, O Devala, who behave uniformly towards those that praise them and those that blame them, they who conceal their own vows and good acts, they who never indulge in recriminations, they who never say even what is good when it is calculated to injure (instead of producing any benefit), they who do not desire to return injury for injury received, are said to be men possessed of wisdom. They never grieve for what is yet to come. They are concerned with only what is before them and acts as they should. They never indulge in sorrow for what is past or even call it to their minds. Possessed of power and regulated minds, they do at their pleasure, according to the way in which it should be done, what waits for them to do in respect of all objects, O Devala, if solicited regardfully thereto. Of mature knowledge, of great wisdom, with wrath under complete control, and with their passions kept under sway, they never do an injury to any one in thought, word, or deed. Destitute of envy, they never injure others, and possessed of self-control, they are never pained at the sight of other people's prosperity. Such men never indulge in exaggerated speeches, or set themselves in praising others, or in speaking ill of them. They are again never affected by praise and blame uttered by others in respect of them. They are tranquil in respect of all their desires, and are engaged in the good of all creatures. They never give way to wrath, or indulge in transports of joy, or injure any creature. Untying all the knots of their hearts, they pass on very happily. They have no friends nor are they the friends of others. They have no foes nor are they the foes of other creatures. Indeed, men that can live in this way can pass their days for ever in happiness. O best of regenerate ones, they who acquire a knowledge of the rules of morality and righteousness, and who observe those rules in practice, succeed in winning joy, while they who fall off from the path of righteousness are afflicted by anxieties and sorrow. I have now betaken myself to the path of righteousness. Decried by others, why shall I get annoyed with them, or praised by others, why shall I be pleased? Let men obtain whatsoever objects they please from whatsoever pursuits in which they engage themselves. (I am indifferent to acquisitions and losses). Praise and blame are unable to contribute to my advancement or the reverse. He that has understood the truths of things becomes gratified with even disregard as if it were ambrosia. The man of wisdom is truly annoyed with regard as if it were poison. He who is freed from all faults sleeps fearlessly both here and hereafter even if insulted by others. On the other hand, he who insults him, suffers destruction. Those men of wisdom who seek to attain to the highest end, succeed in obtaining it by observing conduct such as this. The man who has vanquished all his senses is regarded to have performed all the sacrifices. Such a person attains to the highest rung, viz., that of Brahma, which is eternal and which transcends the reach of primordial nature. The very gods, the Gandharvas, the Pisachas, and the Rakshasas, cannot reach the rung which is his who has attained to the highest end.'"

SECTION 230

"Yudhishthira said, 'What man is there who is dear to all, who gladdens all persons, and who is endued with every merit and every accomplishment?'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection I shall recite to thee the words that Kesava, asked by Ugrasena, said unto him on a former occasion.'

"Ugrasena said, 'All persons seem to be very solicitous of speaking of the merits of Narada. I think that celestial Rishi, must really be possessed of every kind of merit. I ask thee, tell me this, O Kesava!'

"Vasudeva said, 'O chief of the Kukkuras, listen to me as I mention in brief those good qualities of Narada with which I am acquainted, O king! Narada is as learned in the scriptures as he is good and pious in his conduct. And yet, on account of his conduct, he never cherishes pride that makes one's blood so hot. It is for this reason that he is worshipped everywhere. Discontent, wrath, levity, and fear, these do not exist in Narada. He is free from procrastination, and possessed of courage. For this he is worshipped everywhere. Narada deserves the respectful worship of all. He never falls back from his words through desire or cupidity. For this he is worshipped everywhere. He is fully conversant with the principles that lead to the knowledge of the soul, disposed to peace, possessed of great energy, and a master of his senses. He is free from guile, and truthful in speech. For this he is worshipped with respect everywhere. He is distinguished by energy, by fame, by intelligence, by knowledge, by humility, by birth, by penances, and by years. For these he is everywhere worshipped with respect. He is of good behaviour. He dresses and houses himself well. He eats pure food. He loves all. He is pure in body and mind. He is sweet-speeched. He is free from envy and malice. For this he is everywhere worshipped with respect. He is certainly always employed in doing good to all people. No sin dwells in him. He never rejoices at other people's misfortunes. For this he is everywhere worshipped with respect. He always seeks to conquer all earthly desires by listening to Vedic recitations and attending to the Puranas. He is a great renouncer and he never disregards any one. For this he is everywhere worshipped with respect. He casts an equal eye on all; and, therefore, he has no one whom he loves and none whom he hates. He always speaks what is agreeable to the hearer. For this he is everywhere worshipped with respect. He is possessed of great learning in the scriptures. His

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conversation is varied and delightful. His knowledge and wisdom are great. He is free from cupidity. He is free also from deception. He is large-hearted. He has, conquered wrath and cupidity. For this he is everywhere worshipped with respect. He has never quarrelled with any one for any subject connected with profit or pleasure. All faults have been torn away by him. For this he is everywhere worshipped with respect. His devotion (to Brahma) is firm. His soul is blameless. He is well-versed in the Srutis. He is free from cruelty. He is beyond the influence of delusion or faults. For this he is worshipped everywhere with respect. He is unattached to all such things as are objects of attachment (for others). For all that he seems to be attached to all things. He is never long subject to the influence of any doubt. For this he is everywhere worshipped with respect. He has no yearning for objects connected with profit and pleasure. He never glorifies his own self. He is free from malice. He is mild in speech. For this he is everywhere worshipped with respect. He observes the hearts, different from one another, of all men, without blaming any of them. He is well-versed in all matters connected with the origin of things. He never disregards or shows hatred for any kind of science. He lives according to his own standard of morality. He never suffers his time to pass away fruitlessly. His soul is under his control For this he is everywhere worshipped with respect. He has toiled in subjects that deserve the application of toil. He has earned knowledge and wisdom. He is never satiated with yoga. He is always attentive and ready for exertion. He is ever heedful. For this he is everywhere worshipped with respect. He has never to feel shame for any deficiency of his. He is very attentive. He is always engaged by others in accomplishing what is for their good. He never divulges the secrets of others. For this he is everywhere worshipped with respect. He never yields to transports of joy on occasions of making even valuable acquisitions. He is never pained at losses. His understanding is firm and stable. His soul is unattached to all things. For this he is everywhere worshipped with respect. Who, indeed, is there that will not love him who is thus possessed of every merit and accomplishment, who is clever in all things, who is pure in body and mind, who is entirely auspicious, who is well-versed with the course of time and its opportuneness for particular acts, and who is well-acquainted with all agreeable things?'"

SECTION 231

"Yudhishthira said, 'I desire, O thou of Kuru's race, to know what the origin and what the end is of all creatures; what is the nature of their meditation and what are their acts; what are the divisions of time, and what the allotted periods of life in the respective epochs. I desire also to know in full the truth about the genesis and the conduct of the world; the origin of creatures into the world and the manner of their going on. Indeed, whence their creation and destruction? O best of virtuous persons, if thou art minded to favour us, do tell us this about which I ask thee. Having heard before this excellent discourse of Bhrigu unto the regenerate sage Bharadwaja which thou didst recite, my understanding, purged of ignorance, has become exceedingly attached to yoga, and withdrawn from worldly objects rests upon heavenly purity. I ask thee about the subject, therefore, once more. It behoves thee to discourse to me (more elaborately).'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection I shall recite to thee an old narrative of what the divine Vyasa said unto his son Suka when the latter had questioned the former. Having studied the illimitable Vedas with all their branches and the Upanishads, and desirous of leading a life of Brahmacharya in consequence of his having earned excellence of religious merit, Suka addressed these very questions, about which his doubts had been solved, to his father the island-born Rishi who had removed (by study and contemplation) all doubts connected with the topic of the true import of duties.'

"Suka said, 'It behoveth thee to tell me who the Creator is of all beings, as fixed by a knowledge of time, and what the duties are that should be accomplished by a Brahmana.'

"Bhishma said, 'Unto his son who had questioned him, the sire, having a knowledge of both the past and future, conversant with all duties and endued with omniscience, thus discoursed on the subject.'

"Vyasa said, 'Only Brahma, which is without beginning and without end, unborn, blazing with effulgence, above decay, immutable, indestructible, inconceivable, and transcending knowledge, exists before the Creation. The Rishis, measuring time, have named particular portions by particular names. Five and ten winks of the eye make what is called a Kashtha. Thirty Kashthas would make what is called a Kala. Thirty Kalas, with the tenth part of a Kala added, make what is known as a Muhurta. Thirty Muhurtas make up one day and night. Thirty days and nights are called a month, and twelve months are called a year. Persons conversant with mathematical science say that a year is made up of two ayanas (dependent on sun's motion), viz., the northern and the southern. The sun makes the day and the night for the world of man. The night is for the sleep of all living creatures, and the day is for the doing of action. A month of human beings is equal to a day and night of the Pitris. That division (as regards the Pitris) consists in this: the lighted fortnight (of men) is their day which is for the doing of acts; and the dark fortnight is their night for sleep. A year (of human beings) is equal to a day and night of the gods. The division (as regards the gods) consists in this: the half year for which the sun travels from the vernal to the autumnal equinox is the day of the deities, and the half year for which the sun travels from the latter to the former is their night. Computing by the days and nights of human beings about which I have told thee, I shall speak of the day and night of Brahman and his years also. I shall, in their order, tell thee the number of years, that are (thus) for different purposes computed differently in respect of the Krita, the Treta, the Dwapara, and the Kali yugas. Four thousand years (of the deities) is the duration of the first or Krita age. The morning of that epoch consists of four hundred years and its evening is of four hundred years. (The total duration, therefore, of the Krita yuga is four thousand and eight hundred years of the deities). As regards the other yugas, the duration of each gradually decreases by a quarter in respect of both the substantive period with the conjoining portion and the conjoining portion itself. (Thus the duration of the Treta is three thousand years and its morning extends for three hundred years and its evening for three hundred). The duration of the Dwapara also is two thousand years, and its morning extends for two hundred years and its evening also for two hundred. The duration of the Kali yuga is one thousand years, and its morning extends for one hundred years, and its evening for one hundred. [The Krita extends in all for 4,800 years. The Treta for 3,600; the Dwapara for 2,400; and the Kali for 1,200. These are, however, the years of the deities. Verses 15-17 and 20-21 occur in Manusmriti, Chapter I.] These periods always sustain the never-ending and eternal worlds. They who are conversant with Brahma, O child, regard this as Immutable Brahma. In the Krita age all the duties exists in their entirety, along with Truth. No knowledge or object came to men of that age through unrighteous or forbidden means. In the other yugas, duty, ordained in the Vedas, is seen to gradually decline by a quarter in each. Sinfulness grows in consequence of theft, untruth, and deception. In the Krita age, all persons are free from disease and crowned with success in respect of all their objects, and all live for four hundred years. In the Treta, the period of life decreases by a quarter. It has also been heard by us that, in the succeeding yugas, the words of the Vedas, the periods of life, the blessings (uttered by Brahmanas), and the fruits of Vedic rites, all decrease gradually. The duties set down for the Krita yuga are of one kind. Those for the Treta are otherwise. Those for the Dwapara are different. And those for the Kali are otherwise. This is in accordance with that decline that marks every succeeding yuga. In the Krita, Penance occupies the foremost place. In the Treta, Knowledge is foremost. In the Dwapara, Sacrifice has been said to be the foremost, In the Kali yuga, only Gift is the one thing that has been laid down. The learned say that these twelve thousand years (of the deities) constitute what is called a yuga. A thousand such yugas compose a single day of Brahman. The same is the duration of Brahman's night. With the commencement of Brahman's day the universe begins to start into life. During the period of universal dissolution the Creator sleeps, having recourse to yoga-meditation. When the period of slumber expires, He awakes. That then which is Brahman's day extends for a thousand such yugas. His nights also extends for a thousand similar yugas. They who know this are said to know the day and the night. On the expiry of His night, Brahman, waking up, modifies the indestructible chit by causing it to be overlaid with Avidya. He then causes Consciousness to spring up, whence proceeds Mind which is identical with the Manifest.'"

SECTION 232

"Vyasa said, 'Brahma is the effulgent seed from which, existing as it does by itself, hath sprung the whole universe consisting of two kinds of being, viz., the mobile and the immobile. At the dawn of His day, waking up. He creates with the help of Avidya this universe. At first springs up that which is called Mahat. That Mahat is speedily transformed into Mind which is the soul of the Manifest. Overwhelming the Chit, which is effulgent, with Avidya, Mind creates seven great beings. Urged by the desire of creating, Mind, which is far-reaching, which has many courses, and which has desire and doubt for its principal indications, begins to create diverse kinds of objects by modifications of itself. First springs from it Space. Know that its property is Sound. From Space, by modification, arises the bearer of all scents, viz., the pure and mighty Wind. It is said to possess the attribute of Touch. From Wind also, by modification, springs Light endued with effulgence. Displayed in beauty, and called also Sukram, it starts into existence, thus, possessing the attribute of Form. From Light, by modification, arises Water having Taste for its attribute. From Water springs Earth having Scent for its attribute. These are said to represent initial creation. These, one after another, acquire the attributes of the immediately preceding ones from which they have sprung. Each has not only its own special attribute but each succeeding one has the attributes of all the preceding ones. (Thus Space has only Sound for its attribute. After Space comes Wind, which has, therefore, both Sound and Touch for its attributes. From Wind comes Light or Fire, which has Sound, Touch, and Form for its attributes. From Light is Water, which has Sound, Touch, Form, and Taste for its attributes. From Water is Earth, which has Sound, Touch, Form, Taste, and Scent for its attributes). If anybody, perceiving Scent in Water, were from ignorance to say that it belongs to Water, he would fall into an error, for Scent is the attribute of Earth though it may exist in a state of attachment with Water and also Wind. These seven kinds of entities, possessing diverse kinds of energy, at first existed separately from one another. They could not create objects without all of them coming together into a state of commingling. All these great entities coming together, and commingling with one another, form the constituent parts of the body which are called limbs. In consequence of the combination of those limbs, the sum total, invested with form and having six and ten constituent parts, becomes what is called the body. (When the gross body is thus formed), the subtile Mahat, with the unexhausted residue of acts, then enters that combination called the gross body. Then the original Creator of all beings, having by his Maya divided Himself, enters that subtile form for surveying or overlooking everything. And inasmuch as he is the original Creator of all beings he is on that account called the Lord of all beings. [The six and ten parts are the five gross bhutas, and the eleven senses of knowledge and action including mind. The great creatures are the tan-mantras of the gross elements, i.e., their subtile forms. At first the gross body (with the principle of growth) is formed, into it enters the subtile body or the linga-sarira. At first (as already said) the gross elements come together. Then the subtile ones with the residue of acts. Then enters the Soul which is Brahma itself. The Soul enters into the subtile form for witnessing, or surveying. All creatures are only manifestations of that Soul due to the accident of Avidya or Maya. Tapas means, as the commentator explains, alochana.] It is he who creates all beings mobile and immobile. After having thus assumed the form of Brahman he creates the worlds of the gods, the Rishis, the Pitris, and men; the rivers, the seas, and the oceans, the points of the horizon, countries and provinces, hills and mountains, and large trees, human beings, Kinnaras, Rakshasas, birds, animals domestic and wild, and snakes. Indeed, he creates both kinds of existent things, viz., those that are mobile and those that are immobile; and those that are destructible and those that are indestructible. Of these created objects each obtains those attributes which it had during the previous Creation; and each, indeed, obtains repeatedly the same attributes at every subsequent Creation. Determined in respect of character by either injuriousness or peacefulness, mildness or fierceness, righteousness or unrighteousness, truthfulness or untruthfulness, each creature, at every new creation, obtains that particular attribute which it had cherished before. It is in consequence of this that that particular attribute attaches to it. It is the Ordainer himself who attaches variety to the great entities (of Space, Earth, etc.), to the objects of the senses (such as form, etc.), and to size or bulk of existent matter, and appoints the relations of creatures with those multiform entities. Amongst men who have devoted themselves to the science of things, there are some who say that, in the production of effects, exertion is supreme. Some learned persons say that Destiny is supreme, and some that it is Nature which is the agent. Others say that Acts flowing from (personal) exertion, and Destiny, produce effects, aided by Nature. Instead of regarding any of these as singly competent for the production of effects, they say that it is the union of all three that produces all effects. As regards this subject, some say that such is the case; some, that such is not the case; some, that both of these are not the case; and some, that it is not that the reverse of both are not. These, of course, are the contentions of those that depend on Acts, with reference to objects. They however, whose vision is directed to truth regard Brahma as the cause. Penance is the highest good for living creatures. The roots of penance are tranquillity and self-restraint. By penance one obtains all things that one wishes for in one's mind. By penance one attains to that Being who creates the universe. He who (by penance) succeeds in attaining to that Being becomes the puissant master of all beings. It is by Penance that the Rishis are enabled to read the Vedas ceaselessly. At the outset the Self-born caused those excellent Vedic sounds, that are embodiments of knowledge and that have neither beginning nor end to (spring up and) flow on (from preceptor to disciple). From those sounds have sprung all kinds of actions. The names of the Rishis, all things that have been created, the varieties of form seen in existent things, and the course of actions, have their origin in the Vedas. Indeed, the Supreme Master of all beings, in the beginning, created all things from the words of the Vedas. Truly, the names of the Rishis, and all else that has been created, occur in the Vedas. Upon the expiration of his night (i.e., at the dawn of his day), the uncreate Brahman creates, from prototypes that existed before, all things which are, of

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course, well-made by Him. In the Vedas hath been indicated the topic of the Soul's Emancipation, along with the ten means constituted by study of the Vedas, adoption of the domestic mode of life, penances, observance of duties common to all the modes of life, sacrifices, performance of all such acts as lead to pure fame, meditation which is of three kinds, and that kind of emancipation which is called success (Siddhi) attainable in this life. That incomprehensible Brahma which has been declared in the words of the Vedas, and which has been indicated more clearly in the Upanishads by those who have an insight into the Vedas, can be realised by gradually following the practices referred to above. Unto a person who thinks he has a body, this consciousness of duality, fraught again with that of pairs of opposites, is born only of acts in which he is engaged. (That consciousness of duality ceases during dreamless slumber or when Emancipation has been attained). That person, however, who has attained to Emancipation, aided by his knowledge, forcibly drives off that consciousness of duality. Two Brahmas should be known, viz., the Brahma represented by sound (i.e., the Vedas), and secondly that which is beyond the Vedas and is supreme. One that is conversant with Brahma represented by sound succeeds in attaining to Brahma that is Supreme. The slaughter of animals is the sacrifice laid down for the Kshatriyas. The growing of corn is the sacrifice laid down for the Vaisyas. Serving the three other orders is the sacrifice laid down for the Sudras. Penances (or worship of Brahma) is the sacrifice laid down for the Brahmanas. In the Krita age the performance of sacrifices was not necessary. Such performance became necessary in the Treta age. In the Dwapara, sacrifices have begun to fall off. In the Kali, the same is the case with them. In Krita age, men, worshipping only one Brahma, looked upon the Richs, the Samans, the Yajuses and the rites and sacrifices that are performed from motives of advantage, as all different from the object of their worship, and practised only Yoga, by means of penances. In the Treta age, many mighty men appeared that swayed all mobile and immobile objects. (Though the generality of men in that age were not naturally inclined to the practice of righteousness, yet those great leaders forced them to such practice.) Accordingly, in that age, the Vedas, and sacrifices and the distinctions between the several orders, and the four modes of life, existed in a compact state. In consequence, however, of the decrease in the period of life in Dwapara, all these, in that age, fall off from that compact condition. In the Kali age, all the Vedas become so scarce that they may not be even seen by men. Afflicted by iniquity, they suffer extermination along with the rites and sacrifices laid down in them. The righteousness which is seen in the Krita age is now visible in such Brahmanas as are of cleansed souls and as are devoted to penances and the study of the scriptures. As regards the other yugas, it is seen that without at once giving up the duties and acts that are consistent with righteousness, men, observant of the practices of their respective orders, and conversant with the ordinance of the Vedas are led by the authority of the scriptures, to betake themselves from motives of advantage and interest to sacrifices and vows and pilgrimages to sacred waters and spots. As in the season of rains a large variety of new objects of the immobile order are caused to come forth into life by the showers that fall from the clouds, even so many new kinds of duty or religious observances are brought about in each yuga. As the same phenomena reappear with the reappearance of the seasons, even so, at each new Creation the same attributes appear in each new Brahman and Hara. I have, before this, spoken to thee of Time which is without beginning and without end, and which ordains this variety in the universe. It is that Time which creates and swallows up all creatures. All the innumerable creatures that exist subject to pairs of opposites and according to their respective natures, have Time for their refuge. It is Time that assumes those shapes and it is Time that upholds them. I have thus discoursed to thee, O son, on the topics about which thou hadst inquired, viz., Creation, Time, Sacrifices and other rites, the Vedas, the real actor in the universe, action, and the consequences of action.'"

SECTION 233

"Vyasa said, 'I shall now tell thee, how, when his day is gone and his night comes, he withdraws all things unto himself, or how the Supreme Lord, making this gross universe exceedingly subtile, merges everything into his Soul. When the time comes for universal dissolution, a dozen Suns, and Agni with his seven flames, begin to burn. The whole universe, wrapt by those flames, begins to blaze forth in a vast conflagration. All things mobile and immobile that are on the earth first disappear and merge into the substance of which this planet is composed. After all mobile and immobile objects have thus disappeared, the earth, shorn of trees and herbs, looks naked like a tortoise shell. Then water takes up the attribute of earth, viz., scent. When earth becomes shorn of its principal attribute, that element is on the eve of dissolution. Water then prevails. Surging into mighty billows and producing awful roars, only water fills this space and moves about or remains still. Then the attribute of water is taken by Heat, and losing its own attribute, water finds rest in that element. Dazzling flames of fire, ablaze all around, conceal the Sun that is in the centre of space. Indeed, then, space itself, full of those fiery flames, burns in a vast conflagration. Then Wind comes and takes the attribute, viz., form of Heat or Light, which thereupon becomes extinguished, yielding to Wind, which, possessed of great might, begins to be awfully agitated. The Wind, obtaining its own attribute, viz., sound, begins to traverse upwards and downwards and transversely along all the ten points. Then Space takes the attribute, viz., sound of Wind, upon which the latter becomes extinguished and enters into a phase of existence resembling that of unheard or unuttered sound. Then Space is all that remains, that element whose attribute, viz., sound dwells in all the other elements, divested of the attributes of form, and taste, and touch, and scent, and without shape of any kind, like sound in its unmanifest state of existence. Then sound, which is the attribute of space, is swallowed up by Mind which is the essence of all things that are manifest. Thus Mind which in itself is unmanifest withdraws all that is manifested by Mind. This withdrawal of Mind as displayed into Mind as undisplayed or subtile, is called the destruction of the vast external universe. 1 Then Chandrama's having made Mind (thus) withdraw its attribute into itself, swallows it up. When Mind, ceasing to exist, thus enters into Chandramas, the other attributes that are owned by Iswara are all that remain. This Chandramas, which is called also Sankalpa, is then, after a very long time, brought under Iswara's sway, then reason being that that Sankalpa has to perform a very difficult act, viz., the destruction of Chitta or the faculties that are employed in the process called judgement. When this has been effected, the condition reached is said to be of high Knowledge.

Then Time swallows up this Knowledge, and as the Sruti declares, Time itself, in its turn, is swallowed up by Might, or Energy. Might or energy, however, is (again) swallowed up by Time, which last is then brought under her sway by Vidya. Possessed of Vidya, Iswara then swallows up non-existence itself into his Soul. That is Unmanifest and Supreme Brahma. That is Eternal, and that is the Highest of the High. Thus all existent creatures are withdrawn into Brahma. Truly hath this, which should be conceived (with the aid of the scriptures) and which is a topic of Science, been thus declared by Yogins possessed of Supreme Souls, after actual experience. Even thus doth the Unmanifest Brahma repeatedly undergo the processes of Elaboration and Withdrawal (i.e., Creation and Destruction), and even thus Brahman's Day and Night each consist of a thousand yugas.'"

SECTION 234

"Vyasa said, 'Thou hadst asked me about the Creation of all beings; I have now narrated that to thee in full. Listen to me as I tell thee now what the duties are of a Brahmana. The rituals of all ceremonies for which sacrificial fees are enjoined, commencing with Jatakarma and ending with Samavartana, depend for their performance upon a preceptor competent in the Vedas. [Jatakarma is the ceremony that is performed with certain Vedic mantras immediately after a child's birth. There are many such ceremonies to be performed till Samavartana or return from the preceptor's home after completion of the period of pupilage (apprenticeship). These ceremonies are necessarily such that they must be performed by the child's father or somebody else whom the latter might call in.] Having studied all the Vedas and having displayed a submissive behaviour towards his preceptor during his residence with him, and having paid the preceptor's fee, the youth should return home with a thorough knowledge of all sacrifices. [In this country (India), no fees are charged for tuition. The pupil, however, after completing his studies, may give his preceptor a final fee which is determined by the choice of the preceptor himself and which varies according to the means of the pupil leaving the preceptor's home for his own.] Receiving the permission of his preceptor, he should adopt one of the four modes of life and live in it in due observance of its duties till he casts off his body. He should either lead a life of domesticity with spouses and engaged in creating offspring, or live in the observance of Brahmacharya; or in the forest in the company of his preceptor, or in the practice of the duties laid down for a yati. A life of domesticity is said to be the root of all the other modes of life. A self-restrained householder who has conquered all his attachments to worldly objects always attains to success (in respect of the great object of life). A Brahmana, by begetting children, by acquiring a knowledge of the Vedas, and by performing sacrifices, pays off the three debts he owes. [By begetting children, one pays off one's debt to ancestors; by studying the Vedas, one pays off one's debt to the Rishis; and by performing sacrifices one pays off one's debt to the deities.] He should then enter the other modes of life, having cleansed himself by his acts. He should settle in that place which he may ascertain to be the most sacred spot on earth, and he should strive in all matters that lead to fame, for attaining to a position of eminence. The fame of Brahmanas increases through penances that are very austere, through mastery of the various branches of knowledge, through sacrifices, and through gifts. Indeed, a person enjoys endless regions of the righteous (in the next world) as long as his deeds or the memory thereof lasts in this world. A Brahmana should teach, study, officiate at other people's sacrifices, and offer sacrifices himself. He should not give away in vain or accept other people's gifts in vain. Wealth, sufficient in quantity, that may come from one who is assisted in a sacrifice, from a pupil, or from kinsmen (by marriage) of a daughter, should be spent in the performance of sacrifice or in making gifts. Wealth coming from any of these sources should never be enjoyed by a Brahmana singly. [It is a deadly sin to take anything from the father-in-law or other relatives (by marriage) of a daughter. What is got from such sources is, to this day, spent freely. Those persons that sell their daughters in marriage are universally reckoned as fallen.] For a Brahmana leading a life of domesticity there is no means save the acceptance of gifts for the sake of the deities, or Rishis, or Pitris, or preceptor or the aged, or the diseased, or the hungry. [The fact is, the duty of the householder obliges him to worship the deities and the Pitris, and to become hospitable to the others named. The Brahmana, however, has no ostensible means for discharging this duty. The only means open to him is acceptance of gifts. In this case, acceptance, therefore, for such ends is not productive of demerit.] Unto those that are persecuted by unseen foes, or those that are striving to the best of their power to acquire knowledge, one should make gifts from one's own possessions, including even cooked food, more than one can fairly afford. Unto a deserving person there is nothing that cannot be given. They that are good and wise deserve to have even the prince of steeds, called Uchchaisravas, belonging to Indra himself. Of high vows (king) Satyasandha, having, with due humility, offered his own life-breaths for saving those of a Brahmana, ascended to heaven. Sankriti's son Rantideva, having given only lukewarm water to the high-souled Vasishtha, ascended to heaven and received high honours there.

Atri's royal son Indradamana, possessed of great intelligence, having given diverse kinds of wealth to a deserving person, acquired diverse regions of felicity in the next world. Usinara's son Sivi, having given away his own limbs and the dear son of loins for the sake of a Brahmana, ascended to heaven from this world. Pratardana, the ruler of Kasi, having given away his very eyes to a Brahmana, obtained great fame both here and hereafter. King Devavridha, having given away a very beautiful and costly umbrella, with eight golden ribs, proceeded to heaven with all the people of his kingdom. Sankriti of Atri's race, possessed of great energy, having given instruction to his disciples on the subject of Impersonal Brahma, proceeded to regions of great felicity. Amvarisha of great prowess, heaving given unto the Brahmanas eleven Arvudas of kine, proceeded to heaven with all the people of his kingdom. Savitri, by giving away her ear-rings, and king Janamejaya, by giving away his own body, both proceeded to high regions of felicity. Yuvanaswa, the son of Vrishadarbha, by giving away diverse kinds of gems, a fine mansion, and many beautiful women, ascended to heaven. Nimi, the ruler of the Videhas, gave away his kingdom, Jamadagni's son (Rama) gave away the whole earth; and Gaya gave away the earth with all her towns and cities, unto the Brahmanas. Once when the clouds ceased to pour, Vasishtha, resembling Brahman himself, kept alive all creatures like Prajapati keeping them alive (by his energy and kindness). Karandhama's son Marutta of cleansed soul, by giving away his daughter to Angiras, speedily ascended to heaven. Brahmadatta, the ruler of the Panchalas, possessed of superior intelligence, by giving away two precious jewels called Nidhi and Sankha unto some of the foremost of the Brahmanas, obtained many regions of felicity. King Mitrasaha, having given his own dear wife Madayanti unto the high-souled Vasishtha, ascended to heaven with that wife of his. The royal sage Sahasrajit, possessed of great fame having cast off dear life itself for the sake of a Brahmana, ascended to regions of great felicity. King Satadyumna, having given to Mudgala a mansion made of gold and full of every object of comfort and use, ascended to heaven. The king of the Salwas, known by the name of Dyutimat, possessed of great prowess, gave unto Richika his entire kingdom and ascended to heaven. The Royal sage Madiraswa, by giving away his daughter of slender waist to Hiranyahasta, ascended to such regions as are held in esteem by the very gods. The royal sage Lomapada, of great prowess, by giving away his daughter Santa to Rishyasringa, obtained the fruition of all his wishes. King Prasenajit, of great energy, by giving away a hundred thousand kine with calves, ascended to excellent regions of felicity. These and many others, possessed of great and well-ordered souls and having their senses under control, ascended, by means Of gifts and penances, to heaven. Their fame will last as long as the earth herself will last. All of them have, by gifts, sacrifices and procreation of issue, proceeded to heaven.'"

SECTION 235

"Vyasa said, 'The knowledge called Trayi which occurs in the Vedas and their branches should be acquired. That knowledge is to be derived from the Richs, the Samans, and

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the sciences called Varna and Akshara. There are besides, the Yajuses and the Atharvans. In the six kinds of acts indicated in these, dwells the Divine Being. They that are well-versed in the declarations of the Vedas, that have knowledge of the Soul, that are attached to the quality of Goodness, and that are highly blessed, succeed in understanding the origin and the end of all things. A Brahmana should live in the observance of the duties laid down in the Vedas. He should do all his acts like a good man of restrained soul. He should earn his livelihood without injuring any creature. Having derived knowledge from the good and wise, he should control his passions and propensities. Well-versed in the scriptures, he should practise those duties that have been laid down for him, and do all acts in this world guided by the quality of goodness. Leading even the domestic mode of life., the Brahmana should be observant of the six acts already spoken of. His heart full of faith, he should worship the deities in the five well-known sacrifices. Endued with patience, never heedless, having self-control, conversant with duties, with a cleansed soul, divested of joy, pride, and wrath, the Brahmana should never sink in languor. Gifts, study of the Vedas, sacrifices, penances, modesty, guilelessness, and self-restraint,--these enhance one's energy and destroy one's sins. One endued with intelligence should be abstemious in diet and should conquer one's senses. Indeed, having subdued both lust and wrath, and having washed away all his sins, he should strive for attaining to Brahma. He should worship the Fire and Brahmanas, and bow to the deities. He should avoid all kinds of inauspicious discourse and all acts of unrighteous injury. This preliminary course of conduct is first laid down for a Brahmana. Subsequently, when knowledge comes, he should engage himself in acts, for in acts lies success. The Brahmana who is endued with intelligence succeeds in crossing the stream of life that is so difficult to cross and that is so furious and terrible, that has the five senses for its waters that has cupidity for its source, and wrath for its mire. He should never shut his eyes to the fact that Time stands behind him in a threatening attitude.--Time who is the great stupefier of all things, and who is armed with very great and irresistible force, issuing from the great Ordainer himself. Generated by the current of Nature, the universe is being ceaselessly carried along. The mighty river of Time, overspread with eddies constituted by the years, having the months for its waves and the seasons for its current, the fortnights for its floating straw and grass, and the rise and fall of the eyelids for its froth, the days and the nights for its water, and desire and lust for its terrible crocodiles, the Vedas and sacrifices for its rafts, and the righteousness of creatures for its islands, and Profit and Pleasure for its springs, truthfulness of speech and Emancipation for its shores, benevolence for the trees that float along it, and the yugas for the lakes along its course,--the mighty river of Time,--which has an origin as inconceivable as that of Brahma itself, is ceaselessly bearing away all beings created by the great Ordainer towards the abode of Yama. Persons possessed of wisdom and patience always succeed in crossing this awful river by employing the rafts of knowledge and wisdom. What, however, can senseless fools, destitute of similar rafts do (when thrown into that furious stream)? That only the man of wisdom succeeds in crossing this stream and not he that is unwise, is consistent with reason. The former beholds from a distance the merits and faults of everything. (Accordingly, he succeeds in adopting or rejecting what is deserving of adoption or rejection). The man, however, of unstable and little understanding, and whose soul is full of desire and cupidity, is always filled with doubt. Hence the man destitute of wisdom never succeeds in crossing that river. He also who sits inactively (in doubt) can never pass it over. The man destitute of the raft of wisdom, in consequence of his having to bear the heavy weight of great faults, sinks down. One that is seized by the crocodile of desire, even if possessed of knowledge, can never make knowledge one's raft. For these reasons, the man of wisdom and intelligence should strive to float over the stream of Time (without sinking in it). He indeed, succeeds in keeping himself afloat who becomes conversant with Brahma. One born in a noble race, abstaining from the three duties of teaching, officiating at other's sacrifices and accepting gifts, and doing only the three other acts, viz., studying, sacrificing, and giving, should, for those reasons, strive to float over the stream. Such a man is sure to cross it aided by the raft of wisdom. One who is pure in conduct, who is self-restrained and observant of good vows, whose soul is under control, and who is possessed of wisdom, certainly wins success in this and the other world. The Brahmana leading a domestic mode of life should conquer wrath and envy, practise the virtues already named, and worshipping the deities in the five sacrifices, eat after having fed the deities, Pitris, and guests. He should conform to those duties which are observed by the good; he should do all his acts like a person of governed soul; and he should, without injuring any creature, draw his substance by adopting a course that is not censurable. One who is well-versed in the truths of the Vedas and the other branches of knowledge, whose behaviour is like that of a person of well-governed soul, who is endued with a clear vision, who observes those duties that are laid down for his order, who does not, by his acts, produce an inter-mixture of duties, who attends to the observances set down in the scriptures, who is full of faith, who is self-restrained, who is possessed of wisdom, who is destitute of envy and malice, and who is well-conversant with the distinctions between righteousness and inequity, succeeds in crossing all his difficulties. That Brahmana who is possessed of fortitude, who is always heedful, who is self-restrained, who is conversant with righteousness, whose soul is under control, and who has transcended joy, pride, and wrath, has never to languish in grief. This is the course of conduct that was ordained of old for a Brahmana. He should strive for the acquisition of Knowledge, and do all the scriptural acts. By living thus, he is sure to obtain success. One who is not possessed of clear vision does wrong even when one wishes to do right. Such a person, by even exercising his judgement, does such acts of virtue as partake of the nature of inequity. Desiring to do what is right, one does what is wrong. Similarly, desiring to do what is wrong one does what is right. Such a person is a fool. Not knowing, the two kinds of acts, one has to undergo repeated rebirths and deaths.'"

SECTION 236

"Vyasa said, 'If Emancipation be desirable, then knowledge should be acquired. For a person who is borne now up and now down along the stream of Time or life, knowledge is the raft by which he can reach the shore. Those wise men who have arrived at certain conclusions (regarding the character of the soul and that which is called life) by the aid of wisdom, are able to assist the ignorant in crossing the stream of time or life with the raft of knowledge. They, however, that are ignorant, are unable save either themselves or others. He who has freed himself from desire and all other faults, and who has emancipated himself from all attachments, should attend to, these two and ten requirements of yoga, viz., place, acts, affection, objects, means, destruction, certainty, eyes, food, suppression, mind and survey. [The place should be a level spot, not impure (such as a crematorium, etc.), free from kankars, fire, and sand, etc.; solitary and free from noise and other sources of disturbance. Acts include abstention from food and sports and amusements, abstention from all kinds of work having only worldly objects to accomplish, abstention also from sleep and dreams. Affection means that for good disciples or for progress in yoga. Objects refer to sacred fuel, water, and suppression of expectancy and anxiety, etc. Means refer to the seat to be used, the manner of sitting, and the attitude of the body. Destruction refers to the conquest of desire and attachments, i.e., renunciation of all attractive things. Certainty means the unalterable belief that what is said about yoga in the Vedas and by preceptors is true. The nom. sing. inflection stands for the instrumental plural. Eyes include the other senses. All these should be restrained. Food means pure food. Suppression refers to the subjugation of our natural inclination towards earthly objects. Mind here has reference to the regulation of the will and its reverse, viz., irresolution. Survey means reflection on birth, death, decrepitude, disease, sorrow, faults, etc. These given meanings, are according to Nilakantha.]

He who wishes to obtain superior Knowledge, should, by the aid of his understanding, restrain both speech and mind. He who wishes to have tranquillity, should, by the aid of his knowledge, restrain his soul. Whether he becomes compassionate or cruel, whether he becomes conversant with all the Vedas or ignorant of the Richs, whether he becomes righteous and observant of sacrifices or the worst of sinners, whether he becomes eminent for prowess and wealth or plunged into misery, that person who directs his mind towards these (attributes that I have spoken of), is sure to cross the ocean of life which is so difficult to cross. Without speaking of the results of the attainment of Brahma by yoga, it may be said that he who sets himself to only enquiring after the Soul transcends the necessity of observing the acts laid down in the Vedas. The body with jiva within it is an excellent car. When sacrifices and religious rites are made its upastha, shame its varutha, Upaya and Apaya its kuvara, the breath called Apana its aksha, the breath called Prana its yuga, knowledge and the allotted period of existence its points for tying the steeds, heedfulness its handsome vandhura, the assumption of good behaviour its nemi, vision, touch, scent, and hearing its four steeds, wisdom its nabhi, all the scriptures its pratoda, certain knowledge of the scriptural declarations its driver, the soul its firmly-seated rider, faith and self-restraint its fore-runners, renunciation its inseparable companion following behind and bent upon doing it good, purity the path along which it goes, meditation (or union with Brahma) its goal, then may that car reach Brahma and shine there in effulgence. I shall now tell thee the speedy means that should be adopted by the person who would equip his car in such a fashion for passing through this wilderness of the world in order to reach the goal constituted by Brahma that is above decrepitude and destruction. To set the mind upon one thing at a time is called Dharana. The Yogin observing proper vows and restraints, practises in all seven kinds of Dharana. There are, again, as many kinds of Dharanas arising out of these, upon subjects that are near or remote. Through these the Yogin gradually acquires mastery over Earth, Wind, Space, Water, Fire, Consciousness, and Understanding. After this he gradually acquires mastery over the Unmanifest. I shall now describe to thee the conceptions in their order that are realised by particular individuals amongst those that are engaged in yoga according to the rules and ordinances that have been laid down. I shall tell thee also of the nature of the success that attaches to yoga commenced (according to rules) by him who looks within his own self. The Yogin, that abandons his gross body, following the instructions of his preceptor, beholds his soul displaying the following forms in consequence of its subtility. To him in the first stage, the welkin seems to be filled with a subtile substance like foggy vapour. Of the Soul which has been freed from the body, even such becomes the form. When this fog disappears, a second (or new) form becomes visible. For, then, the Yogin beholds within himself, in the firmament of his heart, the form of Water. After the disappearance of water, the form of Fire displays itself. When this disappears, the form that becomes perceivable is that of Wind as effulgent as a well-tempered weapon of high polish. Gradually, the form displayed by Wind becomes like that of the thinnest gossamer. Then having acquired whiteness, and also, the subtlety of air, the Brahman's soul is said to attain the supreme whiteness and subtlety of Ether. Listen to me as I tell thee the consequences of these diverse conditions when they occur. That Yogin who has been able to achieve the conquest of the earth-element, attains by such lordship to the power of Creation. Like a second Prajapati endued with a nature that is perfectly imperturbable, he can from his own body create all kinds of creatures. With only his toe, or with his hand or feet, that person can singly cause the whole Earth to tremble who has achieved the lordship of the Wind. Even this is the attribute of the Wind as declared in the Sruti. The Yogin, who has achieved the lordship of Space, can exist brightly in Space in consequence of his having attained to uniformity with that element, and can also disappear at will. By lordship over Water, one can (like Agastya) drink up rivers, lakes, and oceans. By lordship over Fire, the Yogin becomes so effulgent that his form cannot be looked at. He becomes visible only when he extinguishes his consciousness of individuality,--these five elements come within his sway. When the Understanding, which is the soul of the five elements and of the consciousness of individuality, is conquered the Yogin attains to Omnipotence, and perfect Knowledge (or perception freed from doubt and uncertainty with respect to all things), comes to him. In consequence of this, the Manifest becomes merged into the Unmanifest or Supreme Soul from which the world emanates and becomes what is called Manifest. Listen now to me in detail as I expound the science of the Unmanifest. But first of all listen to me about all that is Manifest as expounded in the Sankhya system of philosophy. In both the Yoga and the Sankhya, systems, five and twenty topics of knowledge have been treated in nearly the same way. Listen to me as I mention their chief features. That has been said to be Manifest which is possessed of these four attributes, viz., birth, growth, decay, and death. That which is not possessed of these attributes is said to be Unmanifest. Two souls are mentioned in the Vedas and the sciences that are based upon them. The first (which is called Jivatman) is endued with the four attributes already mentioned, and has a longing for the four objects or purposes (viz., Religion, Wealth, Pleasure and Emancipation). This soul is called Manifest, and it is born of the Unmanifest (Supreme Soul). It is both Intelligent and non-Intelligent. I have thus told thee about Sattwa (inert matter) and Kshetrajna (immaterial spirit). Both kinds of Soul, it is said in the Vedas, become attached to objects of the senses. The doctrine of the Sankhyas is that one should keep oneself aloof or dissociated from objects of the senses. That Yogin who is freed from attachment and pride, who transcends all pairs of opposites, such as pleasure and pain, heat and cold, etc., who never gives way to wrath or hate, who never speaks an untruth, who, though slandered or struck, still shows friendship for the slanderer or the striker, who never thinks of doing ill to others, who restrains the three, viz., speech, acts, and mind, and who behaves uniformly towards all creatures, succeeds in approaching the presence of Brahman. That person who cherishes no desire for earthly objects, who is not unwilling to take what comes, who is dependent on earthly objects to only that extent which is necessary for sustaining life, who is free from cupidity, who has driven off all grief, who has restrained his senses, who goes through all necessary acts, who is regardless of personal appearance and attire, whose senses are all collected (for devotion to the true objects of life), whose purposes are never left, unaccomplished, who bears himself with equal friendliness towards all creatures, who regards a clod of earth and a lump of gold with an equal eye, who is equally disposed towards friend and foe, who is possessed of patience, who takes praise and blame equally, who is free from longing with respect to all objects of desire, who practises Brahmacharya, and who is firm and steady in

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all his vows and observances, who has no malice or envy for any creature in the universe, is a Yogin who according to the Sankhya system succeeds in winning Emancipation. Listen now to the way and the means by which a person may win Emancipation through Yoga (or the system of Patanjali). That person who moves and acts after having transcended the puissance that the practice of Yoga brings about (in the initial stages), succeeds in winning Emancipation. I have thus discoursed to thee on those topics (viz., Emancipation according to the Sankhya system and that according to the Yoga system) which are dissimilar if the speaker be disposed to treat them as such (but which in reality, are one and the same). Thus can one transcend all pairs of opposites. Thus can one attain to Brahma.'"

SECTION 237

"Vyasa said, 'Borne up and down in life's ocean, he that is capable of meditation seizes the raft of Knowledge and for achieving his Emancipation adheres to Knowledge itself (without extending his arms hither and thither for catching any other support).'

"Suka said, 'What is that Knowledge? Is it that learning by which, when error is dispelled, the truth becomes discovered? Or, is it that course of duties consisting of acts to be done or achieved, by the aid of which the object sought may be understood or attained? Or, is it that course of duties, called abstention from acts, by which an extension of the Soul is to be sought? Do tell me what it is, so that by its aid, the two, viz., birth and death, may be avoided.'

"Vyasa said, 'That fool who believing that all this exists in consequence of its own nature without, in fact, an existent refuge or foundation, fills by such instruction the aspirations of disciples, dispelling by his dialectical ingenuity the reasons the latter might urge to the contrary, succeeds not in attaining to any truth. They again who firmly believe that all Cause is due to the nature of things, fail to acquire any truth by even listening to (wiser) men or the Rishis (who are capable of instructing them). Those men of little intelligence who stop (in their speculations), having adopted either of these doctrines, indeed, those men who regard nature as the cause, never succeed in obtaining any benefit for themselves. This belief in Nature (as the producing and the sustaining Cause), arising as it does from a mind acting under the influence of error, brings about the destruction of the person who cherishes it. Listen now to the truth with respect to these two doctrines that maintain (1) that things exist by their own nature and (2) that they flow (in consequence of their own nature) from others that are different from and that precede them. Wise men apply themselves to agriculture and tillage, and the acquisition of crops (by those means) and of vehicles (for locomotion) and seats and carpets and houses. They attend also to the laying of pleasure-gardens, the construction of commodious mansions, and the preparation of medicines, for diseases of every kind. It is wisdom (which consists in the application of means) that leads to the fruition of purposes. It is wisdom that wins beneficial results. It is wisdom that enables kings to exercise and enjoy sovereignty although they are possessed of attributes equal to those of persons over whom they rule. It is by wisdom that the high and the low among beings are distinguished. It is by wisdom that the superior and the inferior ones among created objects are understood. It is wisdom or knowledge that is the highest refuge of all things. All the diverse kinds of created things have four kinds of birth. They are viviparous, oviparous, vegetables, and those born of filth. Creatures, again, that are mobile should be known to be superior to those that are immobile. It is consistent with reason that intelligent energy, inasmuch as it differentiates (all non-intelligent matter), should be regarded as superior to.(non-intelligent) matter. Mobile creatures, that are innumerable, and of two kinds, viz., those that have many legs and those that have two. The latter, however, are superior to the former. Bipeds, again are of two species, viz., those that live on land and those that are otherwise. Of these, the former are superior to the latter. The superior ones eat diverse kinds of cooked food. Bipeds moving on land are of two kinds viz., middling or intermediate, and those that are foremost. Of these, the middling or intermediate are regarded as superior (to the former) in consequence of their observance of the duties of caste. The middling or intermediate ones are said to be of two kinds, viz., those that are conversant with duties, and those that are otherwise. Of those, the former are superior in consequence of their discrimination in respect of what should be done and what should not. Those conversant with duties are said to be of two kinds, viz., those that are acquainted with the Vedas and those that are otherwise. Of these the former are superior, for the Vedas are said to dwell in them. Those that are acquainted with the Vedas are said to be of two kinds, viz., those that lecture on the Vedas and those that are otherwise. Of these, the former, who are fully conversant with the Vedas, with the duties and the rites laid down in them, and the fruits of those duties and rites, are superior in consequence of their publishing all those duties and rites. Indeed, all the Vedas with the duties laid down in them are said to flow from them. Preceptors of the Vedas are of two kinds, viz., those that are conversant with the Soul and those that are otherwise. Of these, the former are superior in consequence of their knowledge of what is meant by Birth and Death. As regards duties, they are, again, of two kinds (viz., Pravritti and Nivritti). He who is conversant with duties is said to be omniscient or possessed of universal knowledge. Such a man is a Renouncer. Such a man is firm in the accomplishment of his purposes. Such a man is truthful, pure (both outwardly and inwardly), and possessed of puissance. The gods know him for a Brahmana who is devoted to knowledge of Brahma (and not him who is conversant with only the duties of Pravritti). Such a man is versed also in the Vedas and earnestly devoted to the study of the Soul. They that have true knowledge behold their own Soul as existing both in and out. Such men, O child, are truly regenerate and such men are gods. Upon these rests this world of Beings, in them dwell this whole universe. There is nothing that is equal to their greatness. Transcending birth and death and distinctions and acts of every kind, they are the lords of the four kinds of creatures and are the equals of the Self-born himself.'"

SECTION 238

"Vyasa said, 'These, then, are the obligatory acts ordained for Brahmanas. One possessed of knowledge always attains to success by going through (the prescribed) acts. If no doubt arises in respect of acts, then acts done are sure to lead to success. The doubt to which we refer is this: whether acts are obligatory or whether they are optional. As regards this (doubt about the true character of acts, it should be said that), if acts are ordained for man for inducing knowledge (by which alone Brahma or Emancipation is to be attained, even then) they should be regarded as obligatory (and not optional). I shall now discourse on them by the light of inferences and experience. Listen to me. With respect to acts some men say that Exertion is their cause. Others say that Necessity is their cause. Others, again, maintain that Nature is the cause. Some say that acts are the result of both Exertion and Necessity. Some maintain that acts flow from Time, Exertion, and Nature. Some say that of the three (viz., Exertion, Necessity, and Nature), one only (and not the other two) is the cause. Some are of opinion that all the three combined are the cause. Some persons that are engaged in the performance of acts say, with respect to all objects, that they exist, that they do not exist, that they cannot be said to exist, that they cannot be said not to exist, that it is not that they cannot be said to exist, and lastly, that it is not that they cannot be said not to exist. (These then are the diverse views entertained by men). They, however, that are Yogins, behold Brahma to be the universal cause. The men of the Treta, the Dwapara, and the Kali Yugas are inspired with doubts. The men, however, of the Krita Yuga are devoted to penances, possessed of tranquil souls, and observant of righteousness. In that age all men regard the Richs, the Samans, and the Yajuses as identical not withstanding their apparent diversity. Analysing desire and aversion, they worship only penance. Devoted to the practice of penances, steadfast in them, and rigid in their observance, one obtains the fruition of all desires by penances alone. By penance one attains to that by becoming which one creates the universe. By penance one becomes that in consequence of which one becomes the puissant master of all things. That Brahma has been expounded in the declarations of the Vedas. For all that, Brahma is inconceivable by even those that are conversant with those declarations. Once more has Brahma been declared in the Vedanta. Brahma, however, cannot be beheld by means of acts. The sacrifice ordained for Brahmans consists in japa (meditation and recitation), that for Kshatriyas consists in the slaughter of (clean) animals for the gratification of the deities; that for Vaisyas consists in the production of crops and, the keep of domestic animals; and that for Sudras in menial service of the: three other orders. By observing the duties laid down for him and by studying the Vedas and other scriptures, one becomes a Dwija (regenerate). Whether one does any other act or not, one becomes a Brahmana by becoming the friend of all creatures. In the beginning of Treta, the Vedas and sacrifices and the divisions of caste and the several modes of life existed in, their entirety. In consequence, however, of the duration of life being decreased in Dwapara, those are overtaken by decline. In the Dwapara age as also in the Kali, the Vedas are overtaken by perplexity. Towards the close of Kali again, it is doubtful if they ever become even visible to the eye. In that age, the duties of the respective order disappear, and men become afflicted by iniquity. The juicy attributes of kine, of the earth, of water, and (medicinal and edible) herbs, disappear. Through (universal) iniquity the Vedas disappear and with them all the duties inculcated in them as also the duties in respect of the four modes of life. They who remain observant of the duties of their own order become afflicted, and all mobile and immobile objects undergo a change for the worse. As the showers of heaven cause all products of the earth to grow, after the same manner the Vedas, in every age, cause all the angas to grow. Without doubt, Time assumes diverse shapes. It has neither beginning nor end. It is Time which produces all creatures and again devours them. I have already spoken of it to thee. Time is the origin of all creatures; Time is that which makes them grow; Time is that which is their destroyer; and lastly it is time that is their ruler. Subject to pairs of opposites (such as heat and cold, pleasure and pain, etc.), creatures of infinite variety rest on Time according to their own natures (without being otherwise than how they have been ordained by supreme Brahma).'

SECTION 239

"Bhishma said, 'Thus addressed (by his sire), Suka, highly applauding these instructions of the great Rishi, set himself about asking the following, question relating to the import of duties that lead to Emancipation.'

"Suka said, 'By what means doth one possessed of wisdom, conversant with the Vedas, observant of sacrifices, endued with wisdom, and free from malice, succeed in attaining to Brahma which is incapable of being apprehended by either direct evidence or inference, and unsusceptible of being indicated by the Vedas? Asked by me, tell me by what means is Brahma to be apprehended? Is it by penance, by Brahmacharya, by renunciation of everything, by intelligence, by the aid of the Sankhya philosophy, or by Yoga? By what means may what kind of singleness of purpose be attained by men, with respect to both, viz., the mind and the senses? It behoveth thee to expound all this to me.'

"Vyasa said, 'No man ever attains to success by means other than the acquisition of knowledge, the practice of penances, the subjugation of the senses, and renunciation of everything. The great entities (five in number) represent the first (or initial) creation of the Self-born. They have been very largely placed in embodied creatures included in the world of life. The bodies of all embodied creatures are derived from earth. The humours are from water. Their eyes are said to be derived from light. Prana, Apana (and the three other vital breaths) have the wind for their refuge. And, lastly, all unoccupied apertures within them (such as the nostrils, the cavities of the ear, etc.) are of Space. In the feet (of living creatures) is Vishnu. In their arms is Indra. Within the stomach is Agni desirous of eating. In the ears are the points of the horizon (or the compass) representing the sense of hearing. In the tongue is speech which is Saraswati. The ears, skin, eyes, tongue and nose forming the fifth, are said to be the sense of knowledge. These exist for the purposes of apprehension of their respective objects. Sound, touch, form, taste and scent forming the fifth, are the objects of the (five) senses. These should always be regarded as separate from (or independent of) the senses. Like the charioteer setting his well-broken steeds along the paths he pleases, the mind sets the senses (along directions it pleases). The mind, in its turn, is employed by the knowledge sitting in the heart. The mind is the lord of all these senses in respect of employing them in their functions and guiding or restraining them. Similarly, the knowledge is the lord of the mind (in employing, and guiding or restraining it). The senses, the objects of the senses, the attributes of those objects represented by the word nature, knowledge, mind, the vital breaths, and Jiva dwell in the bodies of all embodied creatures. The body within which the knowledge dwells has no real existence. The body, therefore, is not the refuge of the knowledge. Primordial Nature (Prakriti) having the three attributes (of Goodness and Passion and Darkness) is the refuge of the knowledge which exists only in the form of a sound. The Soul also is not the refuge of the knowledge. It is Desire that creates the knowledge. Desire, however, never creates the three attributes. The man of wisdom, capable of subduing his senses, beholds the seventeenth, viz., the Soul, as surrounded by six and ten attributes, in his own knowledge by the aid of the mind. The Soul cannot be beheld with the aid of the eye or with that of all the senses. Transcending all, the Soul becomes visible by only the light of the mind's lamp. Divested of the properties of sound and touch and form, without taste and scent, indestructible and without a body (either gross or subtle) and without senses, it is nevertheless beheld within the body. Unmanifest and supreme, it dwells in all mortal bodies. Following the lead of the preceptor and the Vedas, he who beholds it hereafter becomes Brahma's self. They that are possessed of wisdom look with an equal eye upon a Brahmana possessed of knowledge and disciples, a cow, an elephant, a dog, and a Chandala. Transcending all things, the Soul dwells in all creatures mobile and immobile. Indeed, all things are pervaded by it. When a living creature beholds his own Soul in all things, and all things in his own Soul, he is said to attain to Brahma. One occupies that much of the Supreme Soul as is commensurate with what is occupied in one's own soul by Vedic sound. He that can always realise the identity of all things with his own self certainly attains to immortality. The very gods are stupefied in the track of that trackless man who constitutes himself the soul of all creatures, who is engaged in the good of all beings, and who desire to attain to (Brahma which is) the final refuge (of all things). Indeed, the track which is pursued by men of knowledge is as visible as

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that of birds in the sky or of fish in water. Time of its own power, cooks all entities within itself. No one, however, knows That in which Time, in its turn, is itself cooked. That (of which I speak) does not occur above, or in the middle or below, or in transverse or in any other direction. That is to tangible entity; it is not to be found in any place. All these worlds are within That. There is nothing in these worlds that exists out of that. Even if one goes on ceaselessly with the celerity of a shaft impelled from the bow-string, even if one goes on with the speed of the mind, itself, one would not still reach the end of that which is the cause of all this. That is so gross that there is nothing grosser. His hands and feet extend everywhere. His eyes, head, and face are everywhere. His ears are everywhere in the universe. He exists overwhelming all things. That is minuter than the minutest, that is the heart of all entities. Existing, without doubt, that is still imperceptible. Indestructible and destructible,--these are the dual forms of existence of the (Supreme) Soul. In all mobile and immobile entities the existence it displays is destructible; while the existence it displays in Chaitanya is celestial, immortal, and indestructible. Though the lord of a existent beings both mobile and immobile, though inactive and divested of attributes, it enters, nevertheless, the well-known mansion of nine doors and becomes engaged in action. Men of wisdom who are capable of beholding the other shore say that the Unborn (or the Supreme Soul) becomes invested with the attribute of action in consequence of motion, pleasure and pain, variety of form, and the nine well-known possessions. That indestructible Soul which is said to be invested with the attribute of action is nothing else than that indestructible Soul which is said to be inactive. A person of knowledge, by attaining to that indestructible essence, gives up for good both life and birth.'"

SECTION 240

"Vyasa said, 'O excellent son, asked by thee, I have told thee truly what the answer to thy question should be according to the doctrine of knowledge as expounded in the Sankhya system. Listen now to me as I expound to thee all that should be done (for the same end) according to the Yoga doctrine. The uniting together of Intellect and Mind, and all the Senses, and the all-pervading Soul is said to be Knowledge of the foremost kind. That Knowledge should be acquired (through the preceptor's aid) by one that is of a tranquil disposition, that has mastered his senses, that is capable (by meditation) of turning his gaze on the Soul, that takes a pleasure in (such) meditation, that is endued with intelligence and pure in acts. One should seek to acquire this Knowledge by abandoning those five impediments of Yoga which are known to the wise, viz., desire, wrath, cupidity, fear, and sleep. Wrath is conquered by tranquillity of disposition. Desire is conquered by giving up all purposes. By reflecting with the aid of the understanding upon topics worthy of reflection, one endued with patience succeeds in abandoning sleep. By steady endurance one should restrain one's organs of generation and the stomach (from unworthy or sinful indulgence). One should protect one's hands and feet by (using) one's eyes. One should protect one's eyes and ears by the aid of one's mind, one's mind and speech by one's acts. One should avoid fear by heedfulness, and pride by waiting upon the wise. Subduing procrastination, one should, by these means, subdue these impediments of Yoga. One should pay one's adorations to fire and the Brahmanas, and one should bow one's head to the deities. One should avoid all kinds of inauspicious discourse, and speech that is fraught with malice, and words that are painful to other minds. Brahma is the effulgent seed (of everything). It is, again, the essence of that seed whence is all this. Brahma became the eye, in the form of this mobile and immobile universe, of all entities that took birth. Meditation, study, gift, truth, modesty, simplicity, forgiveness, purity of body, purity of conduct, subjugation of the senses, these enhance one's energy, which (when enhanced) destroys one's sins. By behaving equally towards all creatures and by living in contentment upon what is acquired easily and without effort, one attains to the fruition of all one's objects and succeeds in obtaining knowledge. Cleansed of all sins, endued with energy, abstemious in diet, with senses under complete control, one should, after having subdued both desire and wrath, seek to attain to Brahma, Firmly uniting the senses and the mind (having drawn them away from all external objects) with gaze fixed inwards, one should, in the still hours of evening or in those before dawn, place one's mind upon the knowledge. If even one of the five senses of a human being be kept unrestrained, all his wisdom may be seen to escape through it like water through an unstopped hole at the bottom of a leathern bag. The mind in the first instance should be sought to be restrained by the Yogin after the manner of a fisherman seeking at the outset to render that one among the fish powerless from which there is the greatest danger to his nets. Having first subdued the mind, the Yogin should then proceed to subdue his ears, then his eyes, then his tongue, and then his nose. Having restrained these, he should fix them on the mind. Then withdrawing the mind from all purposes, he should fix it on the knowledge. Indeed, having restrained the five senses, the Yati should fix them on the mind. When these the mind for their sixth become concentrated in the knowledge, and thus concentrated remain steady and untroubled, then Brahma becomes perceptible like a smokeless fire of blazing flames or the Sun of effulgent radiance. Indeed, one then beholds in oneself one's soul like lightning fire in the skies. Everything then appears in it and it appears in everything in consequence of its infinitude. Those high-souled Brahmanas that are possessed of wisdom, that are endued with fortitude, that are possessed of high knowledge, and that are engaged in the good of all creatures, succeed in beholding it. Engaged in the observance of austere vows, the Yogin who conducts himself thus for six months, seated by himself on an isolated spot, succeeds in attaining to an equality with the Indestructible. Annihilation, extension, power to present varied aspects in the same person or body, celestial scents, and sounds, and sights, the most agreeable sensations of taste and touch, pleasurable sensations of coolness and warmth, equality with the wind, capability of understanding (by inward light) the meaning of scriptures and every work of genius, companionship of celestial damsels,--acquiring all these by Yoga the Yogin should disregard them and merge them all in the knowledge. Restraining speech and the senses one should practise Yoga during the hours after dusk, the hours before dawn, and at dawn of day, seated on a mountain summit, or at the foot of a goodly tree, or with a tree before him. Restraining all the senses within the heart, one should, with faculties concentrated, think on the Eternal and Indestructible like a man of the world thinking of wealth and other valuable possessions. One should never, while practising Yoga, withdraw one's mind from it. One should with devotion betake oneself to those means by which one may succeed in restraining the mind that is very restless. One should never permit oneself to fall away from it. With the senses and the mind withdrawn from everything else, the Yogin (for practice) should betake himself to empty caves of mountains, to temples consecrated to the deities, and to empty houses or apartments, for living there. One should not associate with another in either speech, act, or thought. Disregarding all things, and eating very abstemiously, the Yogin should look with an equal eye upon objects acquired or lost. He should behave after the same manner towards one that praises and one that censures him. He should not seek the good or the evil of one or the other. He should not rejoice at an acquisition or suffer anxiety when he meets with failure or loss. Of uniform behaviour towards all beings, he should imitate the wind. Unto one whose mind is thus turned to itself, who leads a life of purity, and who casts an equal eye upon all things,--indeed, unto one who is ever engaged in Yoga thus for even six months,--Brahma as represented by sound appears very vividly. Beholding all men afflicted with anxiety (on account of earning wealth and comfort), the Yogin should view a clod of earth, a piece of stone, and a lump of gold with an equal eye. Indeed, he should withdraw himself from this path (of earning wealth), cherishing an aversion for it, and never suffer himself to be stupefied. Even if a person happens to belong to the inferior order, even if one happens to be a woman, both of them, by following in the track indicated above, will surely attain to the highest end. He that has subdued his mind beholds in his own self, by the aid of his own knowledge the Uncreate, Ancient, Undeteriorating, and Eternal Brahma,--That, viz., which can not be attained to except by fixed senses,--That which is subtiler than the most subtile, and grosser than the most gross, and which is Emancipation's self.'

"Bhishma continued, 'By ascertaining from the mouths of preceptors and by themselves reflecting with their minds upon these words of the great and high-souled Rishi spoken so properly, persons possessed of wisdom attain to that equality (about which the scriptures say) with Brahman himself, till, indeed, the time when the universal dissolution comes that swallows up all existent beings.'"

SECTION 241

"Suka said, 'The declarations of the Vedas are twofold. They once Jay down the command, 'Do all acts.' They also indicate (the reverse, saying), 'Give up acts.' I ask, 'Whither do persons go by the aid of Knowledge and whither by the aid of acts?' I desire to hear this. Do tell me this. Indeed, these declarations about knowledge and acts are dissimilar and even contradictory.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed, the son of Parasara said these words unto his son, 'I shall expound to thee the two paths, viz., the destructible and the indestructible, depending respectively upon acts and knowledge. Listen with concentrated attention, O child, to me, as I tell thee the place that is reached by one with the aid of knowledge, and that other place which is reached with the aid of acts. The difference between these two places is as great as the limitless sky. The question that thou hast asked me has given me such pain as an atheistic discourse gives to a man of faith. These are the two paths upon which the Vedas are established; the duties (acts) indicated by Pravritti, and those based on Nivritti that have been treated of so excellently. By acts, a living creature is destroyed. By knowledge, however, he becomes emancipated. For this reason, Yogins who behold the other side of the ocean of life never betake themselves to acts. Through acts one is forced to take rebirth, after death, with a body composed of the six and ten ingredients. Through knowledge, however, one becomes transformed into that which is Eternal, Unmanifest, and Immutable. One class of persons that are however of little intelligence, applaud acts. In consequence of this they have to assume bodies (one after another) ceaselessly. Those men whose perceptions are keen in respect of duties and who have attained to that high understanding (which leads to knowledge), never applaud acts even as persons that depend for their drinking water upon the supply of streams never applaud wells and tanks. The fruit that one obtains of acts consists of pleasure and pain, of existence and non-existence. By knowledge, one attains to that whither there is no occasion for grief; whither one becomes freed from both birth and death; whither one is not subject to decrepitude; whither one transcends the state of conscious existence. whither is Brahma which is Supreme, Unmanifest, immutable, ever-existent, imperceptible, above the reach of pain, immortal, and transcending destruction; whither all become freed from the influence of all pairs of opposites (Like pleasure and pain, etc.), as also of wish or purpose. Reaching that stage, they cast equal eyes on everything, become universal friends and devoted to the good of all creatures. There is a wide gulf, O son, between one devoted to knowledge and one devoted to acts. Know that the man of knowledge, without undergoing destruction, remains existent for ever like the moon on the last day of the dark fortnight existing in a subtle (but undestroyed) form. The great Rishi (Yajnavalkya in Vrihadaranayaka) has said this more elaborately. As regards the man devoted to acts, his nature may be inferred from beholding the new-born moon which appears like a bent thread in the firmament. Know, O son, that the person of acts takes rebirth with a body with eleven entities, for its ingredients, that are the results of modification, and with a subtile form that represents a total of six and ten. The deity who takes refuge in that (material) form, like a drop of water on a lotus leaf, should be known as Kshetrajna (Soul), which is Eternal, and which succeeds by Yoga in transcending both the mind and the knowledge. Tamas, Rajas, and Sattwa are the attributes of the knowledge. The knowledge is the attribute of the individual soul residing within the body. The individual soul, in its turn, comes from the Supreme Soul. The body with the soul is said to be the attribute of jiva. It is jiva that acts and cause all bodies to live. He who has created the seven worlds is said by those that are acquainted with what is Kshetra (and what is Kshetrajna) to be above jiva.'"

SECTION 242

"Suka said, 'I have now understood that there are two kinds of creation, viz., one commencing with Kshara (which is universal), and which is from the (universal) Soul. The other, consisting of the senses with their objects, is traceable to the puissance of the knowledge. This last transcends the other and is regarded to be the foremost. I desire, however, to once more hear of that course of righteousness which runs in this world, regulated by the virtue of Time and according to which all good men frame their conduct. In the Vedas there are both kinds of declarations, viz., do acts and avoid acts. How shall I succeed in ascertaining the propriety of this or that? It behoveth thee to expound this clearly. Having obtained, through thy instructions, a thorough knowledge of the course of conduct of human beings, having purified myself by the practice of only righteousness, and having cleansed my understanding, I shall, after casting off my body, behold the indestructible Soul.'

"Vyasa said, 'The course of conduct that was first established by Brahma himself was duly observed by the wise and pious persons of old, viz., the great Rishis of ancient times. The great Rishis conquer all the worlds by the practice of Brahmacharya. Seeking all things that are good for himself by fixing the mind on the knowledge, practising severe austerities by residing in the forest and subsisting on fruits and roots, by treading on sacred spots, by practising universal benevolence, and by going on his rounds of mendicancy at the proper time to the huts of forest recluses when these become smokeless and the sound of the husking rod is hushed, a person succeeds in attaining to Brahma. Abstaining from flattery and from bowing thy heads to others, and avoiding both good and evil, live thou in the forest by thyself, appeasing hunger by any means that comes by the way.'

"Suka said, 'The declarations of the Vedas (already referred to in respect of acts) are, in the opinion of the vulgar, contradictory. Whether this is authoritative or that is so, when there is this conflict, how can they be said to be scriptural? I desire to hear this: how can both be regarded as authoritative? How, indeed, can Emancipation be obtained without violating the ordinance about the obligatory character of acts?'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed, the son of Gandhavati, viz., the Rishi, applauding these words of his son

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possessed of immeasurable energy, replied unto him, saying the following.'

"Vyasa said, 'One that is a Brahmacharin, one that leads a life of domesticity, one that is a forest recluse, and one that leads a life of (religious) mendicancy, all reach the same high end by duly observing the duties of their respective modes of life. Or, if one and the same person, freed from desire and aversion, practises (one after another) all these four modes of life according to the ordinances that have been laid down, he is certainly fitted (by such conduct) to understand Brahma. The four modes of life constitute a ladder or flight of steps. That flight is attached to Brahma. By ascending that Right one--succeeds in reaching the region of Brahma. For the fourth part of his life, the Brahmacharin, conversant--with the distinctions of duty and freed from malice, should live with his preceptor or his preceptor's son. While residing in the preceptor's house, he should go to bed after the preceptor has gone to his, and rise therefrom before the preceptor rises from his. All such acts again as should be done by the disciple, as also those which should be done by a menial servant, should be accomplished by him. Finishing these he should humbly take his stand by the side of the preceptor. Skilled in every kind of work, he should conduct himself like a menial servant, doing every act for his preceptor. Having accomplished all acts (without leaving any portion undone), he should study, sitting at the feet of his preceptor, with eager desire to learn. He should always behave with simplicity, avoid evil, speech, and take lessons only when his preceptor invites him for it. Become pure in body and mind, and acquiring cleverness and other virtues, he should now and then speak what is agreeable. Subduing his senses, he should look at his preceptor without eyes of longing curiosity. He should never eat before his preceptor has eaten; never drink before his preceptor has drunk; never sit down before his preceptor has sat down; and never go to bed before his preceptor has gone to bed. He should gently touch his preceptor's feet with upturned palms, the right foot with the right and the left with the left. Reverentially saluting the preceptor, he should say unto him, 'O illustrious one, teach me. I shall accomplish this (work), O illustrious one! This (other work) I have already accomplished. O regenerate one, I am ready to accomplish whatever else thy reverend self may be pleased to command.' Having said all this, and having duly offered himself unto him (thus), he should accomplish whatever acts of his preceptor wait for accomplishment, and having completed them inform the preceptor once more of their completion. Whatever scents or tastes the Brahmacharin may abstain from while actually leading a life of Brahmacharya may be used by him after his return from the preceptor's abode. This is consistent with the ordinance. Whatever observances have been elaborately laid down for Brahmacharins (in the scriptures) should all be regularly practised by him. He should, again, be always near his preceptor (ready within call). Having contributed to his preceptor's gratification in this way to the best of his powers, the disciple should, from that mode of life, pass into the others (one after another) and practise the duties of each. Having (thus) passed a fourth part of his life in the study of the Vedas, and observance of vows and fasts, and having given the preceptor the (final) fee, the disciple should, according to the ordinance, take his leave and return home (for entering into a life of domesticity). [Learning was never sold in this country (India) in ancient times. The final fee is not a return for the services of the preceptor but a token of gratitude from the pupil. Its value depended upon the ability of the disciple, though there are stories in the scriptures of disciples coming to grief on account of their persistent forwardness in pressing the acceptance of this fee. Vide the story of Galava in the Udyoga Parva.] Then, having taken spouses, obtaining them in the ways indicated in the ordinances, and having carefully established the domestic fire, he should, observant all the while of vows and fasts, become a house-holder and pass the second period of life.'"

SECTION 243

"Vyasa said, 'Observant of meritorious vows, the householder, for the second period of life, should dwell in his house, having taken spouses according to the ways indicated in the ordinance and having established afire (of his own). As regards the domestic mode of life, four kinds of conduct have been laid down by the learned. The first consists of keeping a store of grain sufficient to last for three years. The second consists of keeping a store to last for one year. The third consists of providing for the day without thinking of the morrow. The fourth consists of collecting grain after the manner of the pigeon. Of these, each succeeding one is superior in point of merit to that which precedes it, according to what has been laid down in the scriptures. A householder observing the first kind of conduct may practise all the six well-known duties (viz., sacrifice on his own account, sacrifice on that of others, teaching, learning, making gifts, and accepting gifts). He who observes the second kind of conduct should practise three only, of these duties (viz., learning, giving, and taking). He who observes the third kind of conduct should practise only two of the duties of domesticity (viz., learning and giving). The householder practising the fourth kind of domesticity should observe only one duty (viz., learning the scriptures). The duties of the householder are all said to be exceedingly meritorious. The householder should never cook any food for only his own use; nor should be slaughter animals (for food) except in sacrifices. [It is said that the householder who cooks must give a share of the cooked food to a Brahmacharin or Yati or any one who comes as a guest. If he does not do it but eats the whole of what has been cooked, he is regarded as eating what belongs to a Brahmana. This, of course, is a high sin.] If it be an animal which the householder desires to kill (for food), or if it be a tree which he wishes to cut down (for fuel), he should do either act according to the ritual laid down in the Yajuses for that much is due to both animate and inanimate existences. The house-holder should never sleep during the day, or during the first part of the night, or during the last part thereof. He should never eat twice between morning and evening, and should never summon his wife to bed except in her season. In his house, no Brahmana should be suffered to remain unfed or unworshipped. He should always worship such guests as are presenters of sacrificial offerings, as are cleansed by Vedic lore and observance of excellent vows, as are high-born and conversant with the scriptures, as are observers of the duties of their own order, as are self-restrained, mindful of all religious acts, and devoted to penances. The scriptures ordain that what is offered to the deities and the Pitris in sacrifices and religious rites is meant for the service of guests like these. In this mode of life the scriptures ordain that a share of the food (that is cooked) should be given unto every creature (irrespective of his birth or character), unto one, that is, who for the sake of show keeps his nails and beard, unto one who from pride displays what his own (religious) practices are, unto one who has improperly abandoned his sacred fire, and even unto one who has injured his preceptor. One leading a domestic mode of life should give (food) unto Brahmacharins and Sannyasins. The householder should every day become an eater of vighasa, and should every day eat amrita. Mixed with clarified butter, the remains of the food that is offered in sacrifices constitute amrita. That householder who eats after having fed (all relatives and) servants is said to eat vighasa. The food that remains after the servants have been fed is called vighasa, and that which is left after the presentation of sacrificial offerings is called amrita. One leading a domestic mode of life should be content with his own wedded wife. He should be self-restrained. He should avoid malice and subdue his senses. He should never quarrel with his Ritwik, Purohita, and preceptor, with his maternal uncle, guests and dependants, with the aged and the young in years, with those that are afflicted with diseases, with those that practise as physicians, with kinsmen, relatives, and friends, with his parents, with women that belong to his own paternal family, with his brother and son and wife, with his daughter, and with his servants. By avoiding disputes with these, the householder becomes cleansed of all sins. By conquering such disputes, he succeeds in conquering all the regions of felicity (in the world hereafter). There is no doubt in this. [The commentator supposes that these relatives and kinsmen are named because of the great likelihood there is of disputes arising with them on account of shares of inheritance.] The preceptor (if duly reverenced) is able to lead one to the regions of Brahman. The father (if reverenced) can lead to the regions of Prajapati. The guest is puissant enough to lead to the region of Indra. The Ritwik has power in respect of the regions of the deities. Female relatives of the paternal line have lordship in respect of the regions of the Apsaras, and kinsmen (by blood), in respect of the region of the Viswedevas. Relatives by marriage and collateral kinsmen have power in respect of the several quarters of the horizon (viz., north, etc.), and the mother and the maternal uncle have power over the earth. The old, the young, the afflicted the wasted have power over the sky. [The sense is this: these various persons, if duly reverenced by the householder, are able to send the latter to the places indicated or make him comfortable in those places.] The eldest brother is like unto the sire himself (to all his younger brothers). The wife and the son are one's own body. One's menial servants are one's own shadow. The daughter is an object of great affection. For these reason, a house-holder endued with learning, observant of duties, and possessed of endurance, should bear, without warmth or anxiety of heart every kind of annoyance and even censure from the last named relatives. No righteous household should do any act, urged by considerations of wealth. There are three courses of duty in respect of a life of domesticity. Of these, that which comes next (in the order of enumeration) is more meritorious than the preceding one. As regards the four (principal) modes of life also, the same rule of merit applies, viz., the one that comes after is superior to the one preceding it. Accordingly, domesticity is superior to Brahmacharya, forest life is superior to domesticity, and a life of mendicancy or complete renunciation is superior to a forest life.

One desirous of prosperity should accomplish all those duties and rites that have been ordained in the scriptures in respect of those modes. That kingdom grows in prosperity where these highly deserving persons live, viz., those that lead a life of domesticity according to the Kumbhadhanya method, they that lead it according to the Unchha method, and they that lead it according to the Kapoti method. That man who cheerfully leads a life of domesticity in the observance of those duties, succeeds in sanctifying ten generations of his ancestors above and ten generations of descendants below. A householder, duly observing the duties of domesticity, obtains an end that yields felicity equal to what occurs in the regions attained by great kings and emperors. Even this is the end that has been ordained for those who have subdued their senses. For all high-souled householders heaven has been ordained. That heaven is equipped with delightful cars for each (moving at the will of the rider). Even that is the delightful heaven indicated in the Vedas. For all householders of restrained souls, the regions of heaven constitute the high reward. The Self-born Brahman ordained that the domestic mode of life should be the productive cause of heaven. And since it has been so ordained, a person, by gradually attaining to the second mode of life, obtains happiness and respect in heaven. After this comes that high and superior mode of life, called the third, for those that are desirous of casting off their bodies. Superior to that of householders, that is the life of forest recluses,--of those, that is, who waste their bodies (by diverse kinds of austerities) into skeletons overlaid with dried skins. Listen as I discourse to thee upon it.'"

SECTION 244

"Bhishma said, "Though hast been told what the duties of domesticity are as ordained by the wise. Listen now, O Yudhishthira, to what those duties are that have been next spoken of. Gradually abandoning the domestic mode, one should enter the third mode which is excellent. It is the mode in which wives afflict themselves by means of Austerities. It is the mode practised by those that live as forest recluses. Blessed be thou, O son, listen to the duties observed by those that lead this mode of life in which occur the practices of all men and all modes of life. Listen, indeed, to the duties of those that are denizens of sacred spots and that have resorted to this mode after proper deliberation!'

"Vyasa said, 'When the householder beholds wrinkles on his body and white hair on his head, and children of his children, he should then retire into the forest. The third part of his life he should pass in the observance of the Vanaprastha mode. He should attend to those fires to which he had attended as a householder. Desirous of sacrificing, he should adore the deities (according to the rituals ordained). Observant of vows and abstemious in diet, he should eat only once, the time thereof being the sixth part of the day. He should be always heedful. Attending to his fires, he should keep some kine, waiting upon them dutifully. [The cow is a sacred animal and there is merit in feeding and properly tending a cow. Forest recluses kept kine for merit as also for homa or sacrifice with the ghee obtained from them. The story of Vasishtha's cow is well-known.] He should attend to all the rituals of a sacrifice. He should live upon rice growing indigenously, upon wheat growing under similar circumstances, upon grain of other kinds, growing wildly (and belonging to none). He should eat what remains after feeding guests. In this the third mode of life, he should present offerings of clarified butter in the five well-known Sacrifices. [These five are Agnihotra, Darsapurnamasi, Chaturmasya, Pasu sacrifice and Soma sacrifice.] Four kinds of courses of conduct have been laid down for observance in the Vanaprastha mode of life. Some collect only what is needed for the day. Some collect stores to last for a month. Some store grain and other necessaries sufficient to last for twelve years. Forest recluses may act in these ways for worshipping guests and performing sacrifices. They should during the season of the rains, expose themselves to rain and betake themselves to water during the autumn. During the summer they should sit in the midst of four fires with the sun burning overhead. Throughout the year, however, they should be abstemious in diet. They sit and sleep on the bare earth. They stand on only their toes. They content themselves with the bare earth and with small mats of grass (owning no other furniture for seat or bed). They perform their ablutions morning, noon, and evening (preparatory to sacrifices). Some amongst them use only teeth for cleaning grain. Others use only stones for that purpose. Some amongst them drink, only during the lighted fortnight, the gruel of wheat (or other grain) boiled very lightly. There are many who drink similar gruel only during the dark fortnight. Some eat what only comes by the way (without seeking to obtain it). Some adopting rigid vows, live upon only roots, some upon only fruits, some upon only flowers, duly observing the method followed by the Vaikhanasas. These and other diverse observances are adopted by those men of wisdom and piety. The fourth is (the mode called Renunciation) based upon the Upanishads. The duties laid down for it may be observed in all the modes of life equally. This mode differing from the others comes after domesticity and forest life. In this very Yuga, O son, many learned Brahmanas conversant with the truths of all things, have been known to observe this mode. Agastya, the seven Rishis (viz., Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha,

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Vasishtha, Narada, and Kratu), Madhucchandas, Aghamarshana, Sankriti Sudivatandi who lived withersoever he pleased and was content to take what came (without ever seeking for anything). Ahovirya Kavya, Tandya, the learned Medhatithi, Karmanirvaka of mighty energy, and Sunyapala who had exerted himself greatly (for acquiring ascetic puissance) were the authors of this course of duties, and themselves observing them have all proceeded to heaven. Many great Rishis, O son, who had the puissance to behold immediately the fruits of their ascetic merit, those numerous ascetics who are known by the name of Yayavaras, many Rishis of very austere penances and possessed of accurate knowledge in respect of distinctions of duty, and many other Brahmanas too numerous to mention, adopted the forest mode of life. The Vaikhanasas, the Valikhilyas, the Saikatas, all of whom were devoted to austere penances, who were steadfast in virtue, who had subdued their senses, and who used to behold the fruits of their penances immediately, adopted this mode of life and finally ascended to heaven. Freed from fear and not counted among the stars and planets, these have become visible in the firmament as luminous bodies. When the fourth or last part of life is reached, and when one is weakened by decrepitude and afflicted by disease, one should abandon the forest mode of life (for the fourth mode called Renunciation). Performing a sacrifice that is capable of being completed in a single day and in which the Dakshina should be everything of which he may be possessed, he should himself perform his own Sraddha. Withdrawn from every other object, he should devote himself to his own self, taking pleasure in himself, and resting also on his own self. He should establish all his sacrificial fires (thenceforth) upon his own self, and give up all kinds of ties and attachments. (In case he fails to attain to complete Renunciation) he should always perform such sacrifices and rites as are completed in a single day. When, however, from performance of the (ordinary) sacrifices of sacrificers, the Sacrifice in Self proceeds, then (may he discontinue all ordinary sacrifices, and) unto the three fires duly sacrifice in his own Self for the sake of his Emancipation. Without finding fault with his food he should eat five or six mouthfuls, offering them duly unto five vital airs uttering (every time the well-known) mantras of the Yajurveda. Engaged in the observance of austerities while leading the life of a forest recluse, one should shave off one's hair and bristles and pare off one's nails, and having cleansed oneself by acts, pass into the fourth and last mode of life that is fraught with great holiness. That regenerate person who enters the fourth mode of life, giving pledges of assurance unto all creatures, succeeds in earning many regions of blazing effulgence hereafter and ultimately attains to the Infinite. Of excellent disposition and conduct, with sins all washed off, the person who is conversant with his own self never desires to do any act for either this or the other world. Freed from wrath and from error, without anxiety and without friendship, such a person lives in this world like one totally uninterested in its concerns. One (in the observance of Sannyasa) should not feel reluctant in discharging the duties included in Yama and those also that walk behind them (and are included in niyama). Such a one should with energy live according to the ordinances in respect of his own mode, and throw away Vedic study and the sacred thread that is indicative of the order of his birth. Devoted to righteousness and with his senses under complete control, such a one, possessed of knowledge of self, attains undoubtedly to the end for which he strives. [The duties included in yama (as explained by the commentator) are universal benevolence, truthfulness, faith, Brahmacharya, and freedom from attachment. Those that are included in niyama are purity (of body and mind), contentment, study of the Vedas, meditation on the Supreme, etc. Swasastra sutra means the sutras of his own sastras--i.e., the duties laid down in respect of that Sannyasa which he has adopted; the chief of which is enquiry after the Soul or Self: Bhutimanta implies Vedic recitation and the sacred thread. He who has taken to Sannyasa should display energy in these, i.e., persistently enquire after the Soul and throw away all caste-marks, and other indications. 'The desirable end' is of course, gradual Emancipation of that obtained at once. Following the commentator, K.P. Singha gives the correct version. The Burdwan version, containing the very words of the gloss, is based upon a complete misconception of their meaning.] After the third is the fourth mode of life. It is very superior, and fraught with numerous high virtues. It transcends in point of merit the three other modes of life. It is said to occupy the highest place. Listen to me as I discourse upon the duties that belong to that mode which is pre-eminent and which is the high refuge of all!'"

SECTION 245

"Suka said, 'While living in the due observance of the duties of the foremost of life, how should one, who seeks to attain to That which is the highest object of knowledge, set one's soul on Yoga according to the best of one's power?'

"Vyasa said, 'Having acquired (purity of conduct and body) by the practice of the first two modes of life, viz., Brahmacharya and domesticity, one should, after that, set one's soul on Yoga in the third mode of life. Listen now with concentrated attention to what should be done for attaining to the highest object of acquisition! Having subdued all faults of the mind and of heart by easy means in the practice of the first three modes of life (viz., pupilage, domesticity, and seclusion) one should pass into the most excellent and the most eminent of all the modes, viz., Sannyasa or Renunciation. Do thou then pass thy days, having acquired that purity. Listen also to me. One should, alone and without anybody to assist him or bear him company, practise Yoga for attaining to success (in respect of one's highest object of acquisition). One who practises Yoga without companionship, who beholds everything as a repetition of his own self, and who never discards anything (in consequence of all things being pervaded by the Universal Soul), never falls away from Emancipation. Without keeping the sacrificial fires and without a fixed habitation, such a person should enter a village for only begging his food. He should provide himself for the day without storing for the morrow. He should betake himself to penances, with heart fixed on the Supreme. Eating little and that even under proper regulations, he should not eat more than once a day. The other indications of a (religious) mendicant are the human skull, shelter under trees, rags for wearing, solitude unbroken by the companionship of any one, and indifference to all creatures. [The skull is to be used as a drinking vessel. Kuchela, which I render 'rags', is supposed by the commentator to signify reddish or brown cloth which has, from age, lost its colour.] That person into whom words enter like affrighted elephants into a well, and from whom they never come back to the speaker, is fit to lead this mode of life which has Emancipation for its object. [Elephants, when hurled into a well, become utterly helpless and unable to come out. That person, therefore, into whom words enter like elephants into a well, is he who answers not the evil speeches of others. What is said here is that only a person of such forbearance should betake himself to mendicancy or Sannyasa.] The mendicant (or Renouncer) should never take note of the evil acts of any person. He should never hear what is said in dispraise of others. Especially should he avoid speaking evil of a Brahmana. He should always say only what is agreeable to the Brahmanas. When anything is said in dispraise (of himself), he should (without answering) remain perfectly silent. Such silence, indeed, is the medical treatment prescribed for him. That person in consequence of whose single self the place he occupies becomes like the eastern sky, and who can make a spot teeming with thousands of men and things appear to himself perfectly solitary or unoccupied, is regarded by the deities to be a true Brahmana. Him the gods know for a Brahmana who clothes himself with whatever comes by the way, who subsists upon whatever he gets, and who sleeps on whatever spot he finds. Him the gods know for a Brahmana who is afraid of company as of a snake; of the full measure of gratification (from sweet viands and drinks) as of hell; and of women as of a corpse. Him the gods know for a Brahmana who is never glad when honoured and never angry when insulted, and who has given assurances of compassion unto all creatures. One in the observance of the last mode of life should not view death with joy. Nor should he view life with joy. He should only wait for his hour like a servant waiting for the behest (of his master). He should purify his heart of all faults. He should purify his speech of all faults. He should cleanse himself of all sins. As he has no foes, what fear can assail him? He who fears no creature and whom no creature fears, can have no fear from any quarter, freed as he is from error of every kind. As the footprints of all other creatures that move upon legs are engulfed within those of elephants, after the same manner all ranks and conditions are absorbed within Yoga. After the same manner, every other duty and observance is supposed to be engulfed within the one duty of abstention from injury (to all creatures). He lives an everlasting life of felicity who avoids injuring other creatures. One who abstains from injury, who casts an equal eye upon all creatures, who is devoted to truth, who is endued with fortitude, who has his senses under control, and who grants protection to all beings, attains to an end that is beyond compare. The condition called death succeeds not in transcending such a person who is content with self-knowledge, who is free from fear, and who is divested of desire and expectancy. On the other hand, such a person succeeds in transcending death. Him the gods know for a Brahmana who is freed from attachments of every kind, who is observant of penances, who lives like space which while holding everything is yet unattached to any thing, who has nothing which he calls his own, who leads a life of solitude, and whose is tranquillity of soul. The gods know him for a Brahmana whose life is for the practice of righteousness, whose righteousness is for the good of them that wait dutifully upon him, and whose days and nights exist only for the acquisition of merit. The gods know him for a Brahmana who is freed from desire, who never exerts himself for doing such acts as are done by worldly men, who never bends his head unto any one, who never flatters another, (and who is free from attachments of every kind). All creatures are pleased with happiness and filled with fear at the prospect of grief. The man of faith, therefore, who should feel distressed at the prospect of filling other creatures with grief, must abstain entirely from acts of every kind. The gift of assurances of harmlessness unto all creatures transcends in point of merit all other gifts. He who, at the outset, forswears the religion of injury, succeeds in attaining to Emancipation (in which or) whence is the assurance of harmlessness unto all creatures. That man who does not pour into his open mouth even the five or six mouthfuls that are laid down for the forest recluse, is said to be the navel of the world, and the refuge of the universe. The head and other limbs, as also the acts good and bad, become possessed by Fire. Such a man, who sacrifices in his own self, makes a liberation of his senses and mind into the fire that dwells within the limited space of his own heart. In consequence again of his pouring such a libation into such a fire within his own self, the universe with all creatures including the very gods, becomes gratified. They who apprehend the Jiva-soul that is endued with effulgence, that is enveloped in three cases, that has three attributes for its characteristics, to be Iswara partaking of that which is foremost, viz., the nature of the Supreme Soul, becomes object of great regard in all the worlds. The very gods with all human beings speak highly of their merits. He who succeeds in beholding in the soul that resides in his own body all the Vedas, space and the other objects of perception, the rituals that occur in scriptures, all those entities that are comprehensible in sound only and the superior nature of the Supreme Soul, is sought to be worshipped by the very deities as the foremost of all beings. He who sees in the soul that resides within his body, that foremost of beings which is not attached to the earth, which is immeasurable in even the (measureless) firmament, which is made of gold, which is born of the egg and resides within the egg, which is equipped with many feathers, and which has two wings like a bird, and which is rendered effulgent by many rays of light, is sought to be worshipped by the very deities as the foremost of all beings. The very deities worship him in whose understanding is set the wheel of Time, which is constantly resolving, which knows no decay, which swallows up the period of existence of every creature, which has the six seasons for its naves, which is equipped with two and ten radii consisting of the two and ten months, which has excellent joint, and towards whose gaping mouth proceeds this universe (ready to be devoured). The Supreme Soul is the capacious unconsciousness of dreamless slumber. That Unconsciousness is the body of the universe. It pervadeth all created things. Jiva, occupying a portion of that capacious unconsciousness gratifies the deities. These last, being gratified, gratify the open mouth of that unconsciousness. Endued with effulgence as also with the principle of eternity,

Jiva is without a beginning. It acquires (by following particular paths) infinite regions of eternal happiness. He of whom no creature is afraid, has never to fear any creature. He who never does anything censurable and who never censures another, is said to be a truly regenerate person. Such a man succeeds in beholding the Supreme Soul. He whose ignorance has been dispelled and whose sins have been washed away, never enjoys either here or hereafter the happiness that is enjoyed by others (but attains to complete Emancipation). A person in the observance of the fourth mode of life wanders on the earth like one unconnected with everything. Such a one is freed from wrath and error. Such a one regards a clod of earth and lump of gold with an equal eye. Such a man never stores anything for his use. Such a one has no friends and foes. Such a one is utterly regardless of praise or blame, and of the agreeable and the disagreeable.'"

SECTION 246

"Vyasa said, 'The Jiva-soul is endued with all those entities that are modifications of Prakriti. These do not know the Soul but the Soul knows them all. Like a good driver proceeding with the aid of strong, well-broken, and high-mettled steeds along the paths he selects, the Soul acts with the aid of these, called the senses, having the mind for their sixth. The objects of the senses are superior to the senses themselves. The mind is superior to those objects. The understanding is superior to the mind. The Soul, also called Mahat, is superior to the understanding. Superior to Mahat is the Unmanifest (or Prakriti). Superior to the Unmanifest is Brahma. There is nothing Superior to Brahma. That is the highest limit of excellence and the highest goal. The Supreme Soul is concealed in every creature. It is not displayed for ordinary men to behold. Only Yogins with subtile vision behold the Supreme Soul with the aid of their keen and subtile understanding. Merging the senses having the mind for their sixth and all the objects of the senses into the inner Soul by the aid of the Understanding, and reflecting upon the three states of consciousness, viz., the object thought, the act of thinking, and the thinker, and abstaining by contemplation from every kind of enjoyment, equipping his mind with the knowledge that he is Brahma's self, laying aside at the same time all consciousness of puissance, and thereby making his soul perfectly tranquil, the Yogin obtains that to which immortality inheres. That person, however, who happens to be the slave of all his senses and whose ideas of right and

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wrong have been confounded, already liable as he is to death, actually meets with death by such surrender of self to (the passions). Destroying all desires, one should merge the gross Understanding into one's subtile Understanding. Having thus merged the gross into the subtile Understanding, one is sure to become a second Kalanjara mountain. By purifying his heart, the Yogin transcends both righteousness and its reverse. By purifying his heart and by living in his own true nature, he attains to the highest happiness. [The purification here referred to consists in transcending the consciousness of duality. Righteousness should be avoided because of its incapacity to lead to Emancipation which is much higher than heaven. Atmani sthitwa means living in one's real or true nature, i.e., merging everything into the Soul. This is attained when the consciousness of duality is transcended.] The indication of that purity of heart (of which I speak) is that one who has attained to experiences that state of unconsciousness (with respect of all one's surroundings) which one experiences in dreamless slumber. The Yogin who has attained to that state lives like the steady flame of a lamp that burns in a place where the atmosphere is perfectly still. Becoming abstemious in diet, and having cleansed his heart, that Yogin who applies his Soul to the Soul succeeds in beholding the Soul in the Soul. This discourse, O son, intended for thy instruction, is the essence of all the Vedas. The truths herein disclosed are incapable of being understood by the aid of inference alone or by that of mere study of the scriptures. One must understand it oneself by the aid of faith. By churning the wealth that is contained in all religious works and in all discourses based on truth, as also the ten thousand Richs, this nectar hath been raised. As butter from curds and fire from wood, even hath this been raised for the sake of my son,--this that constituteth the knowledge of all truly wise men. This discourse, O son, fraught with solid instruction, is intended for delivery unto Snatakas. It should never be imparted to one that is not of tranquil soul, or one that is not self-restrained, or one that hath not undergone penances. It should not be communicated to one that is not conversant with the Vedas, or one that doth not humbly wait upon one's preceptor, or one that is not free from malice, or one that is not possessed of sincerity and candour, or one that is of reckless behaviour. It should never be communicated to one whose intellect hath been consumed by the science of disputation, or one that is vile or low. Unto that person, however, who is possessed of fame, or who deserveth applause (for his virtues), or who is of tranquil soul, or possessed of ascetic merit, unto a Brahmana who is such, unto one's son or dutiful disciple, this discourse containing the very essence of duties should be communicated, but on no account should it be communicated to others. If any person makes a gift of the whole earth with all her treasures, unto one conversant with truth, the latter would still regard the gift of this knowledge to be very much superior to that gift. I shall now discourse to thee on a subject that is a greater mystery than this, a subject that is connected with the Soul, that transcends the ordinary understandings of human beings, that has been beheld by the foremost of Rishis, that has been treated in the Upanishads, and that forms the topic of thy inquiry. Tell me what, after this is in thy mind? Tell me in what thou has still any doubt? Listen, for here I am, O son, faces turned towards all directions. The Sun and the Moon are thy two seated before thee! Upon what indeed, shall I once more speak to thee?'"

SECTION 247

"Suka said, 'O illustrious one, O foremost of Rishis, once again discourse to me on Adhyatma more elaborately. Tell me what, indeed, is Adhyatma and whence does it come?'

"Vyasa said, 'That, O son, which is regarded as Adhyatma with reference to human beings, I shall now mention to thee, and listen to the explanation I give (of Adhyatma). Earth, water, light, wind, and space, are the great entities that form the component parts of all creatures, and, though really one, are yet regarded different like the waves of the ocean (which though identical with respect to their constituent substance are yet counted as different from one another). Like a tortoise stretching out its limbs and withdrawing them again, the great entities (already named), by dwelling in numberless small forms, undergo transformations (called creation and destruction). All this universe of mobile and immobile objects hath for its component parts these five entities. Everything, in respect of its creation and destruction, is referable to this fivefold entity. These five entities occur in all existent things. The Creator of all things, however, hath made an unequal distribution of those entities (by placing them in different things in different proportions) for serving different ends.'

"Suka said, 'How may one succeed in understanding that unequal distribution (of the five great entities of which thou speakest) in the diverse things of the universe? Which amongst them are the senses and which the attributes? How may this be understood?'

"Vyasa said, 'I shall explain thee this duly one after another. Listen with concentrated attention to the subject as I expound how what I have said actually happens. Sound, the sense of hearing, and all the cavities within the body,--these three--have space for their origin. The vital breaths, the action of the limbs and touch form the attributes of the wind. Form, eyes, and the digestive fire within the stomach, are originated by light. Taste, tongue, and all the humours,--these three,--are from water. Scent, nose, and the body,--these three,--are the attributes of earth. These, then, as I have expounded to thee, are the transformations of the five (great) entities with senses. Touch is said to be the attribute of the wind; taste of water; form of light. Sound is said to have its origin in space, and scent is said to be the property of earth. Mind, Understanding, and Nature,--these three,--spring from their own previous states, and attaining (at each rebirth) to a position higher than the attributes (which form their respective objects), do not transcend those attributes. As the tortoise stretches out its limbs and withdraws them once again within itself, even so the Understanding creates the senses and once again withdraws them into itself. The consciousness of personal identity that arises in respect of that which is above the soles of the feet and below the crown of the head, is principally due to the action of the Understanding. It is the understanding that is transformed into the (five) attributes (of form, scent, etc.). It is understanding also that is transformed into the (five) senses with the mind for the sixth. When the Understanding is absent, where are the attributes? In man there are five senses. The mind is called the sixth (sense). The Understanding is called the seventh. The Soul is the eighth. The eyes (and the other senses) are for only receiving impressions of form (and scent, etc.). The mind exists for doubting (the accuracy of those impressions). The Understanding settles those doubts. The Soul is said only to witness every operation without mingling with them. Rajas, Tamas, and Sattwa,--these three,--arise from their own counterparts. These exist equal in all creatures (viz., the deities and human beings, etc.). These are called attributes and should be known by the actions they induce. As regards those actions all such states in which one becomes conscious of oneself as united with cheerfulness or joy and which are tranquil and pure, should be known as due to the attribute of Sattwa. All such states in either the body or the mind, as are united with sorrow, should be regarded as due to the influence of the attribute called Rajas. All such states again as exist with stupefication (of the senses, the mind or the understanding) whose cause is unascertainable, and which are incomprehensible (by either reasons or inward light), should be known as ascribable to the action of Tamas. Delight, cheerfulness, joy, equanimity, contentment of heart, due to any known cause or arising otherwise, are all effects of the attribute of Sattwa. Pride, untruthfulness of speech, cupidity, stupefication, vindictiveness, whether arising from any known cause or otherwise, are indications of the quality of Rajas. Stupefaction of judgement, heedlessness, sleep, lethargy, and indolence, from whatever cause these may arise, are to be known as indications of the quality of Tamas.'"

SECTION 248

"Vyasa said, 'The mind creates (within itself) numerous ideas (of objects or existent things). The Understanding settles which is which. The heart discriminates which is agreeable and which is disagreeable. These are the three forces that impel to acts. The objects of the senses are superior to the senses. The mind is superior to those objects. The understanding is superior to mind. The Soul is regarded as superior to Understanding. (As regards the ordinary purposes of man) the Understanding is his Soul. When the understanding, of its own motion, forms ideas (of objects) within itself, it then comes to be called Mind. In consequence of the senses being different from one another (both in respect of their objects and the manner of their operation), the Understanding (which is one and the same) present different aspect in consequence of its different modifications. When it hears, it becomes the organ of hearing, and when it touches, it becomes the organ of touch. Similarly, when it sees, it becomes the organ of vision, and when it tastes, it becomes the organ of taste, and when it smells, it becomes the organ of scent. It is the Understanding that appears under different guises (for different functions) by modification. It is the modifications of the Understanding that are called the senses. Over them is placed as their presiding chief (or overseer) the invisible Soul. Residing in the body, the Understanding exists in the three states (of Sattwa, Rajas, and, Tamas). Sometimes it obtains cheerfulness, sometimes it gives way to grief; and sometimes its condition becomes such that it is united with neither cheerfulness nor grief. The Understanding, however, whose chief function (as already said) is to create entities, transcends those three states even as the ocean, that lord of rivers, prevails against the mighty currents of the rivers that fall into it. When the Understanding desires for anything, it comes to be called by the name of Mind. The senses again, though (apparently different) should all be taken as included within the Understanding. The senses, which are engaged in bearing impressions of form, scent etc., should all be subdued. When a particular sense becomes subservient to the Understanding, the latter though in reality not different (from that sense), enters the Mind in the form of existent things. Even this is what happens with the senses one after another (separately and not simultaneously) with reference to the ideas that are said to be apprehended by them. All the three states that exist (viz., Sattwa, Rajas, and Tamas), inhere to these three (viz., Mind, Understanding, and Consciousness) and like the spokes of a car-wheel acting in consequence of their attachment to the circumference of the wheel, they follow the different objects (that exist in Mind, Understanding, and Consciousness). The mind must make a lamp of the senses for dispelling the darkness that shuts out the knowledge of the Supreme Soul. This knowledge that is acquired by Yogins with the aid of all especial agency of Yoga, is acquired without any especial efforts by men that abstain from worldly objects. The universe is of this nature (viz., it is only a creation of the understanding). The man of knowledge, therefore, is never stupefied (by attachment to things of this world). Such a man never grieves, never rejoices, and is free from envy (at seeing another possessing a larger share of earthly objects). The Soul is incapable of being seen with the aid of the senses whose nature is to wander among all (earthly) objects of desire. Even righteous men, whose senses are pure, fail to behold the soul with their aid, what then should be said of the vicious whose senses are impure? When, however, a person, with the aid of his mind, tightly holds their reins, it is then that his Soul discovers itself like an object (unseen in darkness) appearing to the view in consequence of the light of a lamp. Indeed, as all things become visible when the darkness that envelopes them is dispelled, even the soul becomes visible when the darkness that covers it is removed. As an aquatic fowl, though moving on the water, is never drenched by that element, after the same manner the Yogin of freed soul is never soiled by the imperfections of the three attributes (of Sattwa, Rajas, and Tamas). After the same manner, the man of wisdom, by even enjoying all earthly objects without being attached to any of them, is never soiled by faults of any kind that arise in the case of others from such enjoyment. He who avoids acts after having done them duly, and takes delight in the one really existent entity, viz., the Soul, who has constituted himself the soul of all created beings, and who succeeds in keeping himself aloof from the three attributes, obtains an understanding and senses that are created by the Soul. The qualities are incapable of apprehending the Soul. The Soul, however, apprehends them always. The Soul is the witness that beholds the qualities and duly calls them up into being. Behold, this is the difference between the understanding and the Soul both of which are exceedingly subtile. One of them creates the qualities. The other never creates them. Though they are different from each other by nature, yet they are always united. The fish living in the water is different from the element in which it lives. But as the fish and the water forming its home are always united, after the same manner Sattwa and Kshetrajna exists in a state of union. The gnat born within a rotten fig is really not the fig but different from it. Nevertheless, as the gnat and the fig are seen to be united with each other, even so are Sattwa and Kshetrajna. As the blade in a clump of grass, though distinct from the clump, nevertheless exists in a state of union with it, even so these two, though different from each other, each existing in its own self, are to be seen in a state of constant union.'"

SECTION 249

"Vyasa said, 'The objects by which one is surrounded are created by the understanding. The Soul, without being connected with them, stands aloof, presiding over them. It is the understanding that creates all objects. The three primary qualities are continually being transformed (for the production of objects). The Kshetrajna or Soul, endued with puissance, presides, over them all, without, however, mingling with them. The objects which the understanding creates partake of its own nature. Indeed, as the spider creates threads (which partakes of its own material substance), the objects created by the understanding partake of the nature of the understanding. Some maintain that the qualities, when driven away by Yoga or knowledge, do not cease to exist. They say this because when once gone, the indications only of their return are not perceptible. (But that is no evidence of their actual destruction). Others say that when dispelled by knowledge, they are at once destroyed never to return. Reflecting upon these two opinions properly, one should strive one's best according to the way one thinks proper. It is by this way that one should attain to eminence and take refuge in one's own Soul alone. The Soul is without beginning and without end. Comprehending his Soul properly man should move and act, without giving way to wrath, without indulging in joy, and always free from envy. Cutting by this means the knot that is in one's heart, the knot whose existence is due to the operation of the faculties of the understanding, which is hard (to open or cut), but which nevertheless is capable of being destroyed by knowledge, one should live happily, without giving way to grief (for anything that happens), and with one's doubts dispelled. Know that they who mingle in the affairs of this world are as distressed in body and mind as persons ignorant of the art of swimming

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when they slip from the land and fall into a large and deep river. The man of learning, however, being conversant with the truth, is never distressed, for he feels like one walking over solid land. Indeed, he who apprehends his Soul to be such, viz., as presenting only the character of Chit which has knowledge alone for its indication, is never distressed. Indeed, a person, by thus comprehending the origin and end of all creatures, and by thus apprehending their inequalities or distinctions, succeeds in attaining to high felicity. This knowledge is the possession of a Brahmana in especial by virtue of his birth. Knowledge of the Soul, and felicity like that which has been adverted to, are each fully sufficient to lead to emancipation. By acquiring such knowledge one really becomes learned. What else is the indication of a person of knowledge? Having acquired such knowledge, they that are wise among men regard themselves crowned with success and become emancipated. Those things that become sources of fear unto men destitute of knowledge do not become sources of fear unto those that are endued with knowledge. There is no end higher than the eternal end which is obtained by a person possessed of knowledge. One beholds with aversion all earthly objects of enjoyment which are, of course, fraught with faults of every kind. Another, beholding others betake themselves with pleasure to such objects, is filled with sorrow. As regards this matter, however, they that are conversant with both objects, behold, viz., that which is fictitious and that which is not so, never indulge in sorrow and are truly happy. That which a man does without expectation of fruits destroys his acts of a former life. The acts, however, of such a person both of this and his previous life cannot lead to Emancipation. On the other hand, such destruction of former acts and such acts of this life cannot lead to what is disagreeable (viz., hell), even if the man of wisdom engages in acts.'"

SECTION 250

"Suka said, 'Let thy reverence tell me of that which is the foremost of all duties, indeed, of that duty above which no higher one exists in this world.'

"Vyasa said, 'I shall now tell thee of duties having a very ancient origin and laid down by the Rishis, duties that are distinguished above all others.

Listen to me with undivided attention. The senses that are maddening should carefully be restrained by the understanding like a sire restraining his own inexperienced children liable to fall into diverse evil habits. The withdrawal of the mind and the senses from all unworthy objects and their due concentration (upon worthy objects) is the highest penance. That is the foremost of all duties. Indeed, that is said to be the highest duty. Directing, by the aid of the understanding, the senses having the mind for their sixth, and without, indeed, thinking of worldly objects which have the virtue of inspiring innumerable kinds of thought, one should live contented with one's own self. When the senses and the mind, withdrawn from the pastures among which they usually run loose, come back for residing in their proper abode, it is then that thou wilt behold in thy own self the Eternal and Supreme Soul. Those high-souled Brahmanas that are possessed of wisdom succeed in beholding that Supreme and Universal Soul which is like unto a blazing fire in effulgence. As a large tree endued with numerous branches and possessed of many flowers and fruits does not know in which part it has flowers and in which it has fruits, after the same manner the Soul as modified by birth and other attributes, does not know whence it has come and whither it is to go. There is, however, an inner Soul, which beholds (knows) everything. One sees the Soul oneself with the aid of the lighted lamp of knowledge. Beholding, therefore, thyself with thy own self, cease to regard thy body as thyself and attain thou to omniscience. Cleansed of all sins, like unto a snake that has cast off its slough, one attains to high intelligence here and becomes free from every anxiety and the obligation of acquiring a new body (in a subsequent birth). Its current spreading in diverse directions, frightful is this river of life bearing the world onward in its course. The five senses are its crocodiles. The mind and its purposes are the shores. Cupidity and stupefaction of judgement are the grass and straw that float on it, covering its bosom. Lust and wrath are the fierce reptiles that live in it. Truth forms the tirtha by its miry banks. Falsehood forms its surges, anger its mire. Taking its rise from the Unmanifest, rapid is its current, and incapable of being crossed by persons of uncleansed souls. Do thou, with the aid of the understanding cross that river having desires for its alligators. The world and its concerns constitute the ocean towards which that river runs. Genus and species constitute its unfathomable depth that none can understand. One's birth, O child, is the source from which that stream takes its rise. Speech constitutes its eddies. Difficult to cross, only men of learning and wisdom and understanding succeed in crossing it. Crossing it, thou wilt succeed in freeing thyself from every attachment, acquiring a tranquil heart, knowing the Soul, and becoming pure in every respect. Relying them on a purged and elevated understanding, thou wilt succeed in becoming Brahma's self. Having dissociated thyself from every worldly attachment, having acquired a purified Soul and transcending every kind of sin, look thou upon the world like a person looking from the mountain top upon creatures creeping below on the earth's surface. Without giving way to wrath or joy, and without forming any cruel wish, thou wilt succeed in beholding the origin and the destruction of all created objects. They that are endued with wisdom regard such an act to be the foremost of all things. Indeed, this act of crossing the river of life is regarded by the foremost of righteous persons, by ascetics conversant with the truth, to be the highest of all acts that one can accomplish. This knowledge of the all-pervading Soul is intended to be imparted to one's son. It should be inculcated unto one that is of restrained senses, that is honest in behaviour, and that is docile or submissive. This knowledge of the Soul, of which I have just now spoken to thee, O child, and the evidence of whose truth is furnished by the Soul itself, is a mystery,--indeed, the greatest of all mysteries, and the very highest knowledge that one can attain. Brahma hath no sex,--male, female, or neuter. It is neither sorrow nor happiness. It hath for its essence the past, the future, and the present. Whatever one's sex, male or female, the person that attains to the knowledge of Brahma hath never to undergo rebirth. This duty (of Yoga) hath been inculcated for attaining to exemption from rebirth. These words that I have used for answering thy question lead to Emancipation in the same way as the diverse other opinions advanced by diverse other sages that have treated of this subject. I have expounded the topic to thee after the manner in which it should be expounded. Those opinions sometimes become productive of fruit and sometimes not. (The words, however, that I have used are of a different kind, for these are sure to lead to success). For this reason, O good child, a preceptor, when asked by a contented, meritorious, and self-restrained son or disciple, should, with a delighted heart, inculcate, according to their true import, these instructions that I have inculcated for the benefit of thee, my son!'"

SECTION 251

"Vyasa said, 'One should not show any affection for scents and tastes and other kinds of enjoyment. Nor should one accept ornaments and other articles contributing to the enjoyment of the senses of scent and taste. One should not covet honour and achievements and fame. Even this is the behaviour of a Brahmana possessed of vision. He that hath studied all the Vedas, having waited dutifully on his preceptor and observed the vow of Brahmacharya, he that knows all the Richs, Yajuses, and Samans, is not a regenerate person. One that behaves towards all creatures as if one is their kinsman, and one that is acquainted with Brahma, is said to be conversant with all the Vedas. One that is divested of desire (being contented with knowledge of the Soul), never dies. It is by such a behaviour and such a frame of mind that one becomes a truly regenerate person. Having performed only various kinds of religious rites and diverse sacrifices completed with gift of Dakshina, one does not acquire the status of a Brahmana if he is devoid of compassion and hath not given up desire. When one ceases to fear all creatures and when all creatures cease to fear one, when one never desires for anything nor cherishes aversion for anything, then he is said to attain to the status of Brahma. When one abstains from injuring all creatures in thought, speech, and act, then he is said to acquire the status of Brahma. There is only one kind of bondage in this world, viz., the bondage of desire, and no other. One that is freed from the bondage of desire attains to the status of Brahma. Freed from desire like the Moon emerged from murky clouds, the man of wisdom, purged of all stains, lives in patient expectation of his time. That person into whose mind all sorts of desire enter like diverse streams falling into the ocean without being able to enhance its limits by their discharge, succeeds in obtaining tranquillity, but not he who cherishes desire for all earthly objects. Such a person becomes happy in consequence of the fruition of all his wishes, and not he who cherishes desire for earthly objects. The latter, even if he attains to heaven, has to fall away from it. The Vedas have truth for their recondite object. Truth hath the subjugation of the senses for its recondite object. The subjugation of the senses hath charity for its recondite object. Charity hath penance for its recondite object. Penance hath renunciation for its recondite object. Renunciation hath happiness for its recondite object. Happiness hath heaven for its recondite object. Heaven hath tranquillity for its recondite object. [Heaven is Brahma invested with attributes. Tranquillity of soul is Brahma uninvested with attributes. Upanishat is explained as rahasyam. This 'render 'recondite object'. The sense of the verse is that each of the things mentioned is useless without that which comes next; and as tranquillity or Brahma uninvested with attributes is the ultimate end, the Vedas and truth, etc., are valuable only because they lead to tranquillity. Brahma is also the Creator of the Universe, the God of creation and the Vedas (knowledge). Brahma was the most prominent deity up to the 6th century AD, he was frequently attacked and lost his significance. He was also overshadowed by other major deities like Vishnu, Shiva, Devi (the supreme or Divine Mother), and Krishna who is worshipped as the eighth avatar of Vishnu and also as the supreme God in his own right. Krishna is the god of protection, compassion, tenderness, and love and is one of the most popular and widely revered among Indian divinities today.] For the sake of contentment thou shouldst wish to obtain a serene understanding which is a precious possession, being indicative of Emancipation, and which, scorching grief and all purposes or doubts together with thirst, destroys them completely in the end. One possessed of those six attributes, viz., contentment, grieflessness, freedom from attachment, peacefulness, cheerfulness, and freedom from envy, is sure to become full or complete. They that, transcending all consciousness of body, know the Soul which resides within the body and which is understood by only persons of wisdom with the aid of the six entities (already mentioned, viz., the Vedas and truth, etc.) when endowed with only the attribute of Sattwa, and with the aid also of the other three (viz., instruction, meditation and Yoga), succeed in attaining to Emancipation. The man of wisdom, by understanding the Soul which presides within the body, which is divested of the attributes of birth and death, which exists in its own nature, which being uninvested with attributes requires no act of purification, and which is identical with Brahma, enjoys beatitude that knows no termination. The gratification that the man of wisdom obtains by restraining his mind from wandering in all directions and fixing it wholly on the Soul is such that its like cannot be attained by one through any other means. He is said to be truly conversant with the Vedas who is conversant with that which gratifies one whose stomach is empty, which pleases one who is indigent, and which invigorates one whose limbs are dry. Suspending his senses that have been duly restrained from unworthy indulgence, he who lives engaged in Yoga meditation, is said to be a Brahmana. Such a person is said to be distinguished above others. Such a person is said to derive his joys from the Soul. With reference to one who lives after having weakened desire and devoting himself to the highest topic of existence, it should be said that his happiness is continuously enhanced like the lunar disc (in the lighted fortnight). Like the Sun dispelling darkness, felicity dispels the sorrows of that Yogin who transcends both the gross and the subtile elements, as also Mahat and the Unmanifest. Decrepitude and death cannot assail that Brahmana who has got beyond the sphere of acts, who has transcended the destruction of the Gunas themselves, and who is no longer attached to worldly objects. Indeed, when the Yogin, freed from everything, lives in a state transcending both attachment and aversion, he is said to transcend even in this life his senses and all their objects. That Yogin, who having transcended Prakriti attains to the Highest Cause, becomes freed from the obligation of a return to the world in consequence of his having attained to that which is the highest.'"

SECTION 252

"Vyasa said, 'Unto a disciple that wishes to enquire after Emancipation after having transcended all pairs of opposites and accomplished the concerns of both profit and religion, an accomplished preceptor should first recount all that has been said in the foregoing section, which is elaborate, on the topic of Adhyatma. Space, wind, light, water and earth counted as the fifth, and bhava and abhava and time, exist in all living creatures having the five for their constituent ingredients. Space is unoccupied interval. The organs of hearing consist of space. One conversant with the science of entities endued with form should know that space has sound for its attribute. The feet (that assist at locomotion) have wind for their essence. The vital breaths are made of wind. The sense of touch (skin) has wind for its essence, and touch is the attribute of wind. Heat, the digestive fire in the stomach, light that discovers all things, the warmth that is in the body, and eye counted as the fifth, are all of light which has form of diverse colours for its attribute. Liquefied discharges, solubility, and all kinds of liquid matter are of water. Blood, marrow, and all else (in the body) that is cool, should be known to have water for their essence. The tongue is the sense of taste, and taste is regarded as the attribute of water. All solid substances are of earth, as also bones, teeth, nails, beard, the bristles on the body, hair, nerves, sinews, and skin. The nose is called the sense of scent. The object of that sense, viz., scent, should be known as the attribute of earth. Each subsequent element possesses the attribute or attributes of the preceding one besides its own. In all living creatures again are the (three) supplementary entities (viz., avidya, kama, and karma). [Uttarah imply the three entities known by the names of Avidya (ignorance), Kama (desire), and Karma (acts).] The Rishis thus declared the five elements and the effects and attributes flowing from or belonging to them. The mind forms the ninth in the calculation, and the understanding is regarded as the tenth. The Soul, which is infinite, is called the eleventh. It is regarded as this all and as the highest. The mind has doubt for its essence. The understanding discriminates and causes certainty. The Soul (which, as already said, is infinite), becomes known as Jiva invested with body (or jivatman) through consequences derived from acts. That man who looketh upon the entire assemblage of living creatures to be

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unstained, though endued with all these entities having time for their essence, has never to recur to acts affected by error.'"

SECTION 253

"Vyasa said, 'Those that are conversant with the scriptures behold, with the aid of acts laid down in the scriptures, the Soul which is clothed in a subtile body and is exceedingly subtile and which is dissociated from the gross body in which it resides. As the rays of the Sun that course in dense masses through every part of the firmament are incapable of being seen by the naked eye though their existence is capable of being inferred by reason, after the same manner, existent beings freed from gross bodies and wandering in the universe are beyond the ken of human vision. As the effulgent disc of the Sun is beheld in the water in a counter-image, after the same manner the Yogin beholds within gross bodies the existent self in its counter-image. All those souls again that are encased in subtile forms after being freed from the gross bodies in which they resided, are perceptible to Yogins who have subjugated their senses and who are endued with knowledge of the soul. Indeed, aided by their own souls, Yogins behold those invisible beings. Whether asleep or awake, during the day as in the night, and during the night as in day time, they who apply themselves to Yoga after casting off all the creations of the understanding and the Rajas born of acts, as also the very puissance that Yoga begets, succeed in keeping their linga form under complete control. The Jiva that dwells in such Yogins, always endued with the seven subtile entities (viz., Mahat, consciousness, and the five tanmatras of the five elemental entities), roves in all regions of bliss, freed from decrepitude and death. I say 'always', and 'freed from death' only in accordance with the common form of speech, for in reality, that linga form is terminable. That man, however, who (without having been able to transcend them) is under the influence of his mind and understanding, discriminates, even in his dreams, his own body from that of another and experiences (even then) both pleasure and pain. Yes, in even his dreams he enjoys happiness and suffers misery; and yielding to wrath and cupidity, meets with calamities of various kinds. In his dreams he acquires great wealth and feels highly gratified: accomplishes meritorious acts, and (sees and hears, etc.) as he does in his wakeful hours. Wonderful it is to note that jiva, which has to lie within the uterus and amid much internal heat, and which has to pass a period of full ten months in that place, is not digested and reduced to destruction like food within the stomach. Men overwhelmed by the qualities of Rajas and Tamas never succeed in beholding within the gross body: the Jiva-soul which is a portion of the Supreme Soul of transcendent effulgence and which lies within the heart of every creature. They who betake themselves to the science of Yoga for the purpose of obtaining (a knowledge) of that Soul transcending the inanimate and gross body, the imperceptible linga body, and the karana body that is not destroyed on the occasion of even the universal destruction. Amongst the duties that have been laid down for the different modes of life including the fourth mode (or Sannyasa), these to which I have adverted, which have yoga for their foremost, and which imply a cessation of every operation of the Mind and the understanding, have been laid down by Sandilya (in the Chandogya Upanishad). Having comprehended the seven subtile entities (viz., the senses, the objects of the mind, Mind, Understanding, Mahat, Unmanifest or Prakriti, and Purusha), having comprehended also the Supreme cause of the universe with the six attributes (viz., omniscience, contentment, unlimited comprehension, independence, eternal wakefulness, and omnipotence), and lastly having understood that the universe is only a modification of Avidya endued with the three qualities, one succeeds in beholding (guided by the scriptures), high Brahma.'"

SECTION 254

"Vyasa said, 'There is a wonderful tree, called Desire, in the heart of a man. It is born of the seed called Error. Wrath and pride constitute its large trunk. The wish for action is the basin around its foot (for holding the water that is to nourish it). Ignorance is the root of that tree, and heedlessness is the water that gives it sustenance. Envy constitutes its leaves. The evil acts of past lives supply it with vigour. Loss of judgement and anxiety are its twigs; grief forms its large branches; and fear is its sprout. Thirst (after diverse objects) that is (apparently) agreeable forms the creepers that twine round it on every side. Excessively greedy men, bound in chains of iron, sitting around that fruit-yielding tree, pay their adorations to it, in expectation of obtaining its fruit. He who, subduing those chains, cutteth down that tree and seeks to cast off both sorrow and joy, succeeds in attaining to the end of both. That foolish man who nourishes this tree by indulgence in the objects of the senses is destroyed by those very objects in which he indulges after the manner of a poisonous pill destroying the patient to whom it is administered. A dexterous person, however, by the aid of Yoga, forcibly teareth up and cutteth with the sword of samadhi, the far-reaching root of this tree. One who knows that the end of all acts undertaken from only the desire of fruit is rebirth or chains that bind, succeeds in transcending all sorrow. The body is said to be a city. The understanding is said to be its mistress. The mind dwelling within the body is the minister of that mistress whose chief function is to decide. The senses are the citizen that are employed by the mind (upon the service of the mistress). For cherishing those citizens the mind displays a strong inclination for acts of diverse kinds. In the matter of those acts, two great faults are observable, viz., Tamas and Rajas. Upon the fruits of those acts rest those citizens along with the chiefs of the city (viz., Mind, Understanding, and Consciousness). The two faults (already spoken of) live upon the fruits of those acts that are accomplished by forbidden means. This being the case, the understanding, which of itself is unconquerable (by either Rajas or Tamas), descends to a state of equality with the mind (by becoming as much tainted as the mind that serves it). Then again the senses, agitated by the stained mind, lose their own stability. Those objects again for whose acquisition the understanding strives (regarding them to be beneficial) become productive of grief and ultimately Meet with destruction. Those objects, after destruction, are recollected by the mind, and accordingly they afflict the mind even after they are lost. The understanding is afflicted at the same time, for the mind is said to be different from the understanding only when the mind is considered in respect of its chief function of receiving impressions about whose certainty it is no judge. In reality, however, the mind is identical with the understanding. The Rajas (productive of only sorrow and evil of every kind) that is in the understanding then overwhelms the Soul itself that lies over the Rajas-stained understanding like an image upon a mirror. It is the mind that first unites in friendship with Rajas. Having united itself, it seizes the soul, the understanding, and the senses (like a false minister seizing the king and the citizens after having conspired with a foe) and makes them over to Rajas (with which it has united itself).'"

SECTION 255

"Bhishma said, 'Do thou, O son, O sinless one, listen once more, with feelings of great pride, to the words that fell from the lips of the Island-born Rishi on the subject of the enumeration of the entities. Like unto a blazing fire (for having transcended all ignorance), the great Rishi said these words unto his son who resembled a fire wrapped in smoke. Instructed by what he said, I also, O son, shall again expound to thee that certain knowledge (which dispels ignorance). The properties possessed by earth are immobility, weight, hardness, productiveness, scent, density, capacity to absorb scents of all kinds, cohesion, habitableness (in respect of vegetables and animals), and that attribute of the mind which is called patience of the capacity to bear. The properties of water are coolness, taste, moisture, liquidity, softness, agreeableness, tongue, fluidity, capacity to be congealed, and power to melt many earthly products. The properties of fire are irresistible energy, inflammability, heat, capacity t o soften, light, sorrow, disease, speed, fury, and invariably upward motion. The properties of the wind are touch that is neither hot nor cool, capacity to assist the organ of speech, independence (in respect of motion), strength, celerity, power to assist all kinds of emission or discharge, power to raise other objects, breaths inhaled and exhaled, life (as the attribute of Chit) and birth (including death). The properties of space are sound, extension, capacity of being enclosed, absence of refuge for resting upon absence of all necessity for such refuge, status of being unmanifest, capacity for modification, incapacity for producing resistance, material cause for producing the sense of hearing, and the unoccupied portions of the human body. These are the fifty properties, as declared, that constitute, the essence of the five elementary entities. Patience, reasoning or disputation, remembrance, forgetfulness or error, imagination, endurance, propensity towards good, propensity towards evil, and restlessness,--these are the properties of the mind. Destruction of both good and evil thoughts (i.e., dreamless slumber), perseverance, concentration, decision, and ascertainment of all things resting upon direct evidence, constitute the five properties of the understanding.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'How can the understanding be said to have five properties? How again, can the five senses be spoken of as properties (of the five elementary entities)? Expound to me, O grandsire, all this that seems to be very abstruse.'

"Bhishma said, 'The understanding is said to possess altogether sixty properties, for the understanding includes the five elements. All those properties exist in a state of union with the Soul. The Vedas declare, O son, that the elements, their (fifty) properties (together with the mind and the understanding and their nine and five properties) are all created by Him who is above all deterioration. These (one and seventy) entities, therefore, are not eternal (like the Soul). The theories contradicting the Revelation that have in the previous Vedas, O son, been placed before thee (about the origin of the Universe and its other incidents) are all defective in the eye of reason. Carefully attending, however, in this world to all that I have said unto thee about the Supreme Brahma, do thou, after attaining to the puissance that the knowledge of Brahma offers, seek to win tranquillity of heart.'"

SECTION 256

"Yudhishthira said, 'These lords of earth that lie on the earth's surface amid their respective hosts, these princes endued with great might, are now reft of animation. Every one of these mighty monarchs was possessed of strength equal to that of ten thousand elephants. Alas! these have all been slain by men possessed of equal prowess and might. I do not behold any one else (in the world) that could slay any of these men in battle. [i.e., they could be slain by only their equals who were engaged with them, meaning that all those warriors were very superior men. They could not possibly be slain by others than those with whom they fought.] All of them were endued with great prowess, great energy, and great strength. Possessed also of great wisdom, they are now lying on the bare ground, deprived of life. With respect to all these men that are deprived of life, the word that is used is that they are dead. Of terrible prowess, all these kings are said to be dead. On this subject a doubt has arisen in my mind. Whence is animation and whence is death? Who is it that dies? (Is it the gross body, the subtile body, or the Soul, that dies)? Whence is death? For what reason also doth death takeaway (living creatures)? O grandsire, tell me this, O thou that resemblest a celestial!'

"Bhishma said, 'In days of old, in the Krita age, O son, there was a king of the name of Anukampaka. His cars and elephants and horses and men having been reduced in number, he was brought under the sway of his foes in battle. His son named Hari, who resembled Narayana himself in strength, was in that battle slain by his foes along with all his followers and troops. Afflicted with grief on account of the death of his son, and himself brought under the sway of foes, the king devoted himself thence to a life of tranquillity. One day, while wandering without a purpose he met the sage Narada on the earth. The monarch told Narada all that had happened, viz., the death of his son in battle and his own capture by his enemies. Having heard his words, Narada, possessed of wealth of penances, then recited to him the following narrative for dispelling his grief on account of the death of his son.'

"Narada said, 'Listen now, O monarch, to the following narrative of rather lengthy details as these had occurred. I myself heard it formerly, O king! Endued with great energy, the Grandsire, at the time of the creation of the universe, created a large number of living beings. These multiplied greatly, and none of them met with death. There was no part of the universe that was not overcrowded with living creatures, O thou of unfading glory! Indeed, O king, the three worlds seemed to swell with living beings, and became as it were breathless. Then, O monarch, the thought arose in the Grandsire's mind as to how he should destroy that overgrown population. Reflecting on the subject, the Self-born, however, could not decide what the means should be by which the destruction of life was to be brought about. Thereupon, O king, Brahman gave way to wrath, and in consequence of his wrath a fire issued out of his body. With that fire born of his wrath, the Grandsire burnt all the quarters of the universe, O monarch. Indeed, that conflagration born of the Divine lord's anger, O king, burnt heaven and earth and the firmament and the whole universe with all its mobile and immobile beings. Truly, when the Grandsire thus gave way to wrath, all mobile and immobile beings began to be consumed by the irresistible energy of that passion. Then the divine and auspicious Sthanu, that slayer of hostile heroes, that lord of the Vedas and the scriptures, filled with compassion, sought to gratify Brahman. When Sthanu came to Brahman from motives of benevolence, the great God burning with energy, addressed him, saying, 'Thou deservest boons at my hands. What desire of thine shall I accomplish? I shall do thee good by accomplishing whatever is in thy breast.'"

SECTION 257

"Sthanu said, 'Know, O lord, that my solicitations to thee are on behalf of the created beings of the universe. These beings have been created by thee. Do not be angry with them, O grandsire! By the fire born of thy energy, O illustrious one, all the created beings are being consumed. Beholding them placed in such a plight, I am penetrated with compassion. Do not be angry with them, O lord of the universe.'

"The lord of all created beings said, 'I am not angry, nor it is my wish that all the created beings should cease to exist. It is only for lightening the burthen of the earth that destruction is desirable. The goddess Earth, afflicted with the weight of creatures, solicited me, O Mahadeva, for destroying them, especially as She seemed to sink under their burthen into the water. When after exercising my intelligence for even a long while I could not hit upon the means by which to accomplish the destruction of this overgrown population, it was then that wrath took possession of my breast.'

"Sthanu said, 'Do not give way to wrath, O lord of the deities, with respect to this matter about the destruction of living creatures. Be gratified. Let not these mobile and

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immobile beings be destroyed. All tanks, all kinds of grass and herbs, all immobile beings, and all mobile creatures also of the four varieties, are being consumed. The whole universe is about to be denuded of beings. Be gratified, O divine lord! O thou of righteous heart, even this is the boon that I solicit at thy hands. If destroyed, these creatures would not come back. Therefore, let this energy of thine be neutralised by thy own energy. Actuated by compassion for all created beings find some means so that, O Grandsire, these living creatures may not burn. Oh, let not these living creatures perish with even their descendants thus destroyed. Thou hast appointed me as the presider over the consciousness of all living creatures, O lord of all the lords of the universe. All this mobile and immobile universe of life, O lord of the universe, hath sprung from thee. Pacifying thee, O god of gods, I beg of thee that living creatures may repeatedly come back into the world, undergoing repeated deaths.'

"Narada continued, 'Hearing these words of Sthanu, the divine Brahman of restrained speech and mind himself suppressed that energy of his within his own heart. Suppressing that fire that had been devastating the universe, the illustrious Brahman, adored of all, and possessed of illimitable puissance, then arranged for both birth and death in respect of all living creatures. After the Selfborn had withdrawn and suppressed that fire, there came out, from all the outlets of his body, a lady attired in robes of black and red, with black eyes, black palms, wearing a pair of excellent ear-rings, and adorned with celestial ornaments. Having sprung from Brahman's body, the lady took her station on his right. The two foremost of deities thereupon looked at her. Then, O king, the puissant Selfborn, the original cause of all the worlds, saluted her and said, 'O Death, slay these creatures of the universe. Filled with anger and resolved to bring about the destruction of created beings, I have called thee. Do thou, therefore, commence to destroy all creatures foolish or learned. O lady, slay all created beings without making exception in anybody's favour. At my command thou wilt win great prosperity.' Thus addressed, the goddess, Death, adorned with a garland of lotuses, began to reflect sorrowfully and shed copious tears. Without allowing her tears, however, to fall down, she held them, O king, in her joined palms. She then besought the Self-born, impelled by the desire of doing good to mankind.'"

SECTION 258

"Narada said, 'The large-eyed lady, controlling her grief by an effort of her own, addressed the Grandsire, with joined hands and bending in an attribute of humility like a creeper. And she said, 'How, O foremost of speakers, shall a lady like me that has sprung from thee proceed to accomplish such a terrible feat,--a feat, that is, which is sure to inspire all living creatures with dread? I fear to do aught that is iniquitous. Do thou appoint such work for me as is righteous. Thou seest that I am frightened. Oh, cast a compassionate glance upon me. I shall not be able to cut off living creatures,--infants, youths, and aged ones,--who have done me no injury. O lord of all creatures, I bow to thee, be gratified with me. I shall not be able to cut off dear sons and loved friends and brothers and mothers and fathers. If these die (through my act), their surviving relatives will surely curse me. I am filled with fear at the prospect of this. The tears of the sorrow-stricken survivors will burn me for eternity. I am very much afraid of them (whose relatives I shall have to cut off). I seek thy protection. All sinful creatures (slain by me) will have to sink into the infernal regions. I seek to gratify thee, O boon-giving god! Extend to me thy grace, O puissant lord! I seek the gratification of this wish, O Grandsire, of all the worlds. O foremost of all the gods, I seek, through thy grace, even this object, viz., permission to undergo severe austerities.'

"The Grandsire said, 'O Death, thou hast been intended by me for the destruction of all creatures. Go, and set thyself to the task of slaying all. Do not reflect (upon the propriety or otherwise of this act). This must certainly be. It cannot be otherwise. O sinless one, O lady of faultless limbs, do thou accomplish the behest I have uttered.' Thus addressed, O thou of Mighty arms, the lady called Death, O conqueror of hostile cities, spoke not a word, but humbly stood there with her eyes upturned towards the puissant Lord of all creatures. Brahman addressed her repeatedly, but the lady seemed to be herself deprived of life. Beholding her thus, the god of gods, that lord of lords, became silent. Indeed, the Self-born, by an effort of his will, became gratified. Smiling, the lord of all the worlds then cast his eyes on the universe. It has been heard by us that when that unconquered and illustrious lord subdued his wrath, the lady (called Death) went away from his side. Leaving Brahman's side without having promised to accomplish the destruction of living creatures, Death quickly proceeded, O king, to the sacred spot known by the name of Dhenuka. There the goddess practised the severest austerities for five and ten billions of years, all the while standing upon one foot. [A Padmaka consists of ten digits, i.e., a thousand millions or a milliard (billion) according to the French method of calculation.] After she practised such exceedingly severe austerities in that place, Brahman of great energy once more said unto her, 'Do thou accomplish my behest, O Death!' Disregarding this command, the lady once more practised penances standing upon one foot for twenty billions of years, O giver of honours! And once more, O son, she led a life in the woods with the deer for another long period consisting of ten thousand billions of years. And once, O foremost of men, she passed twice ten thousand years, living upon air only as her sustenance. Once again, O monarch, she observed the excellent vow of silence for eight thousand years, passing the whole time in water. Then that maiden, O best of kings, went to the river Kausiki. There she began to pass her days in the observance of another vow, living the while upon only water and air. After this, O monarch, the blessed maiden proceeded to the Ganges and thence to the mountains of Meru. Moved by the desire of doing good to all living creatures, she stood perfectly motionless there like a piece of wood. Proceeding thence to the summit of Himavat where the deities had performed their great sacrifice, she stood there for another hundred billions of years, supporting her weight upon only the toes of her feet with the object of gratifying the Grandsire with such an act of austerity. Wending thither, the Creator and Destroyer of the universe again addressed her saying, 'Upon what art thou engaged, O daughter? Accomplish those words of mine.' Addressing the divine Grandsire, the maiden once more said, 'I am unable to cut off living creatures, O god! I seek to gratify thee (so that I may be excused of this behest).' Frightened at the prospect of demerit she prayed the Grandsire for being excused of obedience to his command, the Grandsire silenced her, and once more addressed her, saying, 'No demerit will accrue, O Death! Do thou, O auspicious maiden, set thyself to the task of destroying living creatures. That which I have uttered, O amiable girl, cannot certainly be falsified. Eternal righteousness shall now take refuge in thee. Myself and all the deities shall always be employed in seeking thy good. This other wish that is in thy heart I grant thee. Living creatures shall be afflicted by disease, and (dying) shall cast the blame on thee. Thou shalt become a male in all male beings, a female in all female beings, and a eunuch in all those that are of the third sex. Thus addressed by Brahman, O king, the maiden at last said, with joined hands unto that high-souled and undeteriorating lord of all the deities, these words, 'I am unable to obey thy command.' The great God, without relenting, again, said unto her, 'O Death, do thou kill men. I shall so ordain that thou shalt not incur any demerit by doing this, O auspicious lady! Those tear drops that I see fallen from thy eyes, and that thou still boldest in thy joined hands, shall take the form of terrible diseases and even they shall destroy men when their hours come. When the end comes of living creatures, thou shalt despatch Desire and Wrath together against them. Immeasurable merit shall be thine. Thou shalt not incur iniquity, being thyself perfectly equal in thy behaviour [i.e., being freed from wrath and aversion.]. By doing this thou wilt only observe righteousness instead of sinking thyself into iniquity. Do thou, therefore, set thy heart upon the task at hand, and addressing Desire and Wrath begin to slay all living creatures.' Thus addressed, that lady, called by the name of Death, became afraid of Brahman's curse and answered him, saying, 'Yes!' From that time she began to despatch Desire and Wrath as the last hours of living creatures and through their agency to put a stop to their life-breaths. Those tears that Death had shed are the diseases by which the bodies of men become afflicted. At the destruction, therefore, of living creatures, one should not, understanding, with the aid of the intelligence (to what cause such destruction is due), give way to grief. As the senses of all creatures disappear when the latter become plunged into dreamless sleep and return once more when they awake, after the same manner all human beings, upon the dissolution of their bodies, have to go into the other world and return thence to this, O lion among kings! The element called wind, that is endued with terrible energy and mighty prowess and deafening roars, operates as the life in all living creatures. That wind, when the bodies of living creatures are destroyed, escaping from the old becomes engaged in diverse functions in diverse new bodies. For this reason, the wind is called the lord of the senses and is distinguished above the other elements constituting the gross body. The gods, without exception, (when their merits cease), have to take birth as mortal creatures on earth. Similarly, all mortal creatures also (when they acquire sufficient merit), succeed in attaining to the status of gods. Therefore, O lion among kings, do not grieve for thy son. Thy son has attained to heaven and is enjoying great happiness there! It was thus, O monarch, that Death was created by the Self-born and it is in this way that she cuts off duly all living creatures when their hours come. The tears she had shed become diseases, which, when their last hours come, snatch away all beings endued with life.'"

SECTION 259

"Yudhishthira said, 'All men that inhabit this earth are filled with doubts in respect of the nature of righteousness. Who is this that is called Righteousness? Whence also does Righteousness come? Tell me this, O Grandsire! Is Righteousness for service in this world or is it for service in the next world? Or, is it for service both here and hereafter? Tell me this, O grandsire!'

"Bhishma said, 'The practices of the good, the Smritis, and the Vedas, are the three indications (sources) of righteousness. Besides these, the learned have declared that the purpose (for which an act is accomplished) is the fourth indication of righteousness. The Rishis of old have declared what acts are righteous and also classified them as superior or inferior in point of merit. The rules of righteousness have been laid down for the conduct of the affairs of the world. In both the worlds, that is, here and hereafter, righteousness produces happiness as its fruits. A sinful person unable to acquire merit by subtile ways, becomes stained with sin only. Some are of opinion that sinful persons can never be cleansed of their sins. In seasons of distress, a person by even speaking an untruth acquires the merit of speaking the truth, even as a person who accomplishes an unrighteous act acquires by that very means the merit of having done a righteous act. Conduct is the refuge of righteousness. Thou shouldst know what righteousness is, aided by conduct. (It is the nature of man that he neither sees nor proclaims his own faults but notices and proclaims those of others). The very thief, stealing what belongs to others, spends the produce of his theft in acts of apparent virtue. During a time of anarchy, the thief takes great pleasure in appropriating what belongs to others. When others, however, rob him of what he has acquired by robbery, he then wishes forthwith for a Icing (for invoking punishment on the head of the offenders). At even such a time, when his indignation for offended rights of property is at its highest, he secretly covets the wealth of those that are contended with their own. Fearlessly and without a doubt in his mind (when he is himself the victim of a robbery) he repairs to the king's palace with a mind cleansed of every sin. Within even his own heart he does not see the stain of any evil act. To speak the truth is meritorious. There is nothing higher than truth. Everything is upheld by truth, and everything rests upon truth. Even the sinful and ferocious, swearing to keep the truth amongst themselves, dismiss all grounds of quarrel and uniting with one another set themselves to their (sinful) tasks, depending upon truth. If they behaved falsely towards one another, they would then be destroyed without doubt. One should not take what belongs to others. That is an eternal obligation. Powerful men regard it as one that has been introduced by the weak. When, however, the destiny of these men becomes adverse, this injunction then meets with their approval. Then again they that surpass others in strength or prowess do not necessarily become happy. Therefore, do not ever set thy heart on any act that is wrong. One behaving in this way hath no fear of dishonest men or thieves or the king. Not having done any injury to any one, such a man lives fearlessly and with a pure heart. A thief fears everybody, like a deer driven from the woods into the midst of an inhabited village. He thinks other people to be as sinful as himself. One that is of pure heart is always filled with cheerfulness and hath no fear from any direction. Such a person never sees his own misconduct in others. Persons engaged in doing good to all creatures have said that the practice of charity is another high duty. They that are possessed of wealth think that this duty has been laid down by those that are indigent. When, however, those wealthy men meet with poverty in consequence of some turn of fortune, the practice of charity then recommends itself to them. Men that are exceedingly wealthy do not necessarily meet with happiness. Knowing how painful it is to himself, a person should never do that to others which he dislikes when done to him by others. What can one who becomes the lover of another man's wife say to another man (guilty of the same transgression)? it is seen, however, that even such a one, when he sees his lady with another lover, becomes unable to forgive the act. How can one who, to draw breath himself think of preventing another by a murderous act, from doing the same? Whatever wishes one entertains with respect to one's ownself, one should certainly cherish with respect to another. With the surplus wealth one may happen to own one should relieve the wants of the indigent. It is for this reason that the Creator ordained the practice of increasing one's wealth (by trade or laying it out at interest). One should walk alone that path by proceeding along which one may hope to meet with the deities; or, at such times when wealth is gained, adherence to the duties of sacrifice and gift is laudable. The sages have said that the accomplishment of the objects by means of agreeable (pacific) means is righteousness. See, O Yudhishthira, that even this is the criterion that has been kept in view in declaring the indications of righteousness and iniquity. In days of old the Creator ordained righteousness endowing it with the power of holding the world together. The conduct of the good, that is fraught with excellence, is subjected to (numerous) restraints for acquiring righteousness which depends upon many delicate considerations. The indications of righteousness have now been recounted to thee, O foremost one of Kuru's race! Do not, therefore, at any time set thy understanding upon any act that is wrong.'"

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SECTION 260

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou sayest that righteousness or duty depends upon delicate considerations, that is indicated by the conduct of those that are called good, that it is fraught with restraints (from numerous acts), and that its indications are also contained in the Vedas. It seems to me, however, that I have a certain inward light in consequence of which I can discriminate between right and wrong by inferences. Numerous questions that I had intended to ask thee have all been answered by thee. There is one question, however, that I shall presently ask. It is not prompted, O king, by desire of empty disputation. All these embodied creatures, it seems, take birth, exist, and leave their bodies, of their own nature. Duty and its reverse, therefore, cannot be ascertained, O Bharata, by study of the scriptures alone. The duties of a person who is well off are of one kind. Those of a person who has fallen into distress are of another kind. How can duty respecting seasons of distress be ascertained by reading the scriptures alone? The acts of the good, thou hast said, constitute righteousness (or duty). The good, however, are to be ascertained by their acts. The definition, therefore, has for its foundation, a begging of the question, with the result that what is meant by conduct of the good remains unsettled. It is seen that some ordinary person commits unrighteousness while apparently achieving righteousness. Some extraordinary persons again may be seen who achieve righteousness by committing acts that are apparently unrighteous. Then, again, the proof (of what I say) has been furnished by even those that are well conversant with the scriptures themselves, for it has been heard by us that the ordinances of the Vedas disappear gradually in every successive age. The duties in the Krita age are of one kind. Those in the Treta are of another kind, and those in the Dwapara are again different. The duties in the Kali age, again, are entirely of another kind. It seems, therefore, that duties have been laid down for the respective ages according to the powers of human beings in the respective ages. When, therefore, all the declarations in the Vedas do not apply equally to all the ages, the saying that the declarations of the Vedas are true is only a popular form of speech indulged in for popular satisfaction. From the Srutis have originated the Smritis whose scope again is very wide. If the Vedas be authority for everything, then authority would attach to the Smritis also for the latter are based on the former. When, however, the Srutis and the Smritis contradict each other, how can either be authoritative? Then again, it is seen that when some wicked persons of great might cause certain portions of certain courses of righteous acts to be stopped, these are destroyed for ever. Whether we know it or know it not, whether we are able to ascertain it or not to ascertain it, the course of duty is finer than the edge of a razor and grosser than even a mountain. Righteousness (in the form of sacrifices and other religious acts) at first appears in the form of the romantic edifices of vapour seen in the distant sky. When, however, it is examined by the learned, it disappears and becomes invisible. Like the small ponds at which the cattle drink or the shallow aqueducts along cultivated fields that dry up very soon, the eternal practices inculcated in the Smritis, falling into discontinuance, at last disappear totally (in the Kali age). Amongst men that are not good some are seen to become hypocrites (in respect of the acquisition of righteousness) by suffering themselves to be urged by desire. Some become so, urged by the wishes of others. Others, numbering many, tread in the same path, influenced by diverse other motives of a similar character. It cannot be denied that such acts (though accomplished by persons under the influence of evil passions) are righteous. Fools, again, say that righteousness is an empty sound among those called good. They ridicule such persons and regard them as men destitute of reason. Many great men, again, turning back (from the duties of their own order) betake themselves to the duties of the kingly order. No such conduct, therefore, is to be seen (as observed by any man), which is fraught with universal benevolence. By a certain course of conduct one becomes really meritorious. That very course of conduct obstructs another in the acquisition of merit. Another, by practising at his pleasure that conduct, it is seen, remains unchanged. Thus that conduct by which one becomes meritorious impedes another in the acquisition of merit. One may thus see that all courses of conduct are seen to lose singleness of purpose and character. It seems, therefore, that only that which the learned of ancient times called righteousness is righteousness to this day: and through that course of conduct (which the learned so settled) the distinctions and limitations (that govern the world) have become eternal.'" [What Yudhishthira says here is that righteousness or virtue or duty does not depend upon the Srutis or the Smritis, nor upon considerations of happiness or misery. On the other hand, righteousness is arbitrary in respect of its standard, that being called righteous which was called so by the learned of ancient times. As regards happiness or misery, its cause is eternal nature.]

SECTION 261

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection is cited the old narrative of the conversation of Tuladhara with Jajali on the topic of righteousness. There was once a Brahmana of the name of Jajali who lived in a certain forest, practising the ways of a forest-recluse. Of austere penances, he proceeded on a certain occasion towards the sea-shore, and having arrived there began to practise the most severe penances. Observing many vows and restraints, his food regulated by many rules of fast, his body clad in rags and skins, bearing matted locks on his head his entire person smeared with filth and clay, that Brahmana possessed of intelligence passed many years there, suspending speech (and engaged in Yoga meditation). Possessed of great energy, that regenerate ascetic, O monarch, while living within the waters (of the sea), roamed through all the worlds with the speed of the mind, desirous of seeing all things. Having beheld the whole earth bounded by the ocean and adorned with rivers and lakes and woods, the ascetic one day, while sitting under the water, began to think in this strain, 'In this world of mobile and immobile creatures there is none equal to me. Who can roam with me among the stars and planets in the firmament and dwell again within the waters.' Unseen by the Rakshasas while he repeated this to himself, the Pisachas said unto him, 'It behoves thee not to say so. There is a man, named Tuladhara, possessed of great fame and engaged in the business of buying and selling. Even he, O best of regenerate persons, is not worthy of saying such words as thou sayest.' Thus addressed by those beings, Jajali of austere penances replied unto them, saying, 'I shall see that famous Tuladhara who is possessed of such wisdom.' When the Rishi said those words, those superhuman beings raised him from the sea, and said unto him, 'O best of regenerate persons, go thou along this road.' Thus addressed by those beings, Jajali proceeded onwards with a cheerless heart. Arrived at Varanasi he met Tuladhara whom he addressed saying the following words.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'What, O sire, are those difficult feats that Jajali had performed before in consequence of which he had acquired such high success? It behoveth thee to describe them to me.'

"Bhishma said, 'Jajali had become engaged in penances of the severest austerities. He used to perform ablutions morning and evening. Carefully tending his fires, he was devoted to the study of the Vedas. Well-conversant with the duties laid down for forest recluses, Jajali (in consequence of his practices) seemed to blaze with effulgence. 1 He continued to live in the woods, engaged all the while in penances. But he never regarded himself as one that had acquired any merit by his acts. In the season of the rains he slept under the open sky. In autumn he sat in water. In summer he exposed himself to the sun and the wind. Still he never regarded himself as one that had acquired any merit through such acts. He used to sleep on diverse kinds of painful beds and also on the bare earth. Once on a time, that ascetic, while standing under the sky in the rainy season, received on his head repeated downpours from the clouds. He had to pass through the woods repeatedly. What with exposure to the rains and what with the filth they caught, the locks of that sinless Rishi became entangled and intertwined with one another. On one occasion, that great ascetic, abstaining entirely from food and living upon air only, stood in the forest like a post of wood. Unmoved at heart, he stood there, without once stirring an inch. While he stood there like a wooden post, perfectly immovable, O Bharata, a pair of Kulinga birds, O king, built their nest on his head. Filled with compassion, the great Rishi suffered that feathery couple in building their nest among his matted locks with shreds of grass. And as the ascetic stood there like a post of wood, the two birds lived with confidence on his head happily. The rains passed away and autumn came. The couple, urged by desire, approached each other according to the law of the Creator, and in complete confidence laid their eggs, O king, on the head of that Rishi. Of rigid vows and possessed of energy, the ascetic knew it. Knowing what the birds had done, Jajali moved not. Firmly resolved to acquire merit, no act that involved the slightest injury to others could recommend itself to him. The feathery couple going away and moving every day from and to his head, happily and confidently lived there, O puissant king! When in the progress of time the eggs became mature and young ones came out, they began to grow up in that nest, for Jajali moved not in the least. Firm in the observance of his vows, the righteous-souled Rishi continued to hold and protect those eggs by standing on that very spot perfectly motionless and rapt in Yoga meditation. In course of time the young ones grew and became equipped with wings. The Muni knew that the young Kulingas had attained to that stage of development. That foremost of intelligent men, steady in the observance of vows, one day beheld those young ones and became filled with pleasure. The parent-birds, seeing their young ones equipped with wings, became very happy and continued to dwell in the Rishi's head with them in perfect safety. The learned Jajali saw that when the young birds became equipped with wings they took to the air every evening and returned to his head without having proceeded far. He still stood motionless on that spot. Sometimes, after he saw that, left by their parents, they went out by themselves and returned again by themselves. Jajali still moved not. A little while after, the young birds going away in the morning passed the whole day out of his sight, but came back in the evening for dwelling in the nest. Sometimes, after that, leaving their nest for five days at a stretch, they returned on the sixth day. Jajali still moved not. Subsequently, when their strength became fully developed they left him and returned not at all even after many days. At last, on one occasion, leaving him, they came not even after a month. Then, O king, Jajali left that spot. When they had thus gone away for good, Jajali wondered much, and thought that he had achieved ascetic success. Then pride entered his heart. Firm in the observance of vows, the great ascetic, seeing the birds thus leave him after having been reared on his head, thought highly of himself, and became filled with delight. He, then, bathed in a stream and poured libations on the sacred fire, and paid his adorations to the rising Sun indeed, having thus caused those chataka birds to grow on his head, Jajali, that foremost of ascetics, began to slap his armpits and proclaim loudly through the sky, 'I have won great merit.' Then an invisible voice arose in the sky and Jajali heard these words, 'Thou art not equal, O Jajali, to Tuladhara in point of righteousness. Possessed of great wisdom, that Tuladhara lives at Baranasi. Even he is not fit to say what thou sayest, O regenerate one.' Hearing these words, Jajali became filled with wrath, and desirous of meeting Tuladhara, O monarch, began to roam over the whole earth, observing the vow of silence and passing the night at that spot where evening overtook him. After a considerable time he reached the city of Baranasi, and saw Tuladhara engaged in selling miscellaneous articles. As soon as the shop-keeper Tuladhara beheld the Brahmana arrived at his place, he cheerfully stood up and worshipped the guest with proper salutations.

"Tuladhara said, 'Without doubt, O Brahmana, it is known to me that thou hast come to me. Listen, however, O foremost of regenerate persons, to what I say. Living on a low land near the sea-shore thou underwentest very austere penances. But thou hadst no consciousness of having achieved righteousness or merit. When thou didst at last attain to ascetic success, certain birds were born on thy head. Thou tookest great care of the little creatures. When at last those birds became equipped with wings and when they began to leave thy head for going hither and thither in search of food, it was then that, in consequence of having thus assisted at the birth of those Chatakas, thou begannest to feel the impulse of pride, O Brahmana, thinking thou hadst achieved great merit. Then, O foremost of regenerate persons, thou heardest in the sky a voice that referred to me. The words thou didst hear filled thee with wrath, and as the consequence thereof thou art here. Tell me, what wish of thine I shall accomplish, O best of Brahmanas!'"

SECTION 262

"Bhishma said, 'Thus addressed by the intelligent Tuladhara on that occasion, Jajali of great intelligence, that foremost of ascetics, said these words unto him.'

"Jajali said, 'Thou sellest all kinds of juices and scents, O son of a trader, as also (barks and leaves of) large trees and herbs and their fruits and roots. "How hast thou succeeded in acquiring a certitude or stability of understanding? Whence hath this knowledge come to thee? O thou of great intelligence, tell me all this in detail.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed by that Brahmana possessed of I great fame, Tuladhara of the Vaisya order, well-acquainted with the truths touching the interpretations of morality and contented with knowledge, discoursed to Jajali who had undergone severe penances, upon the ways of morality.

"Tuladhara said, 'O Jajali, I know morality, which is eternal, with all its mysteries. It is nothing else than that ancient morality which is known to all, and which consists of universal friendliness, and is fraught with beneficence to all creatures. That mode of living which is founded upon a total harmlessness towards all creatures or (in case of actual necessity) upon a minimum of such harm, is the highest morality. I live according to that mode, O Jajali! This my house hath been built with wood and grass cut by other people's hands. Lac dye, the roots of Nymphaea lotus, filaments of the lotus, diverse kinds of good scents and many kinds of liquids, O regenerate Rishi, with the exception of wines, I purchase from other people's hand and sell without cheating. He, O Jajali, is said to know what morality or righteousness is, who is always the friend of all creatures and who is always engaged in the good of all creatures, in thought, word, and deed. I never solicit any one. I never quarrel with any one, I never cherish aversion for any one. I never cherish desire for anything. I cast equal eyes upon all things and all creatures. Behold, O Jajali, this is my vow! My scales are perfectly even, O Jajali, with respect to all creatures. I neither praise nor blame the acts of others, viewing this variety in the world, O foremost of Brahmanas, to be like the variety observable in the sky. Know, O Jajali, that I cast equal eye upon all creatures. O foremost of intelligent men, I see no

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difference between a clod of earth a piece of stone, and a lump of gold. As the blind, the deaf, and they that are destitute of reason, are perfectly consoled for the loss of their senses, after the same manner am I consoled, by their example (for the enjoyments I abstain from). As they that are overtaken by decrepitude, they that are afflicted by disease, and they that are weakened and emaciated, have no relish for enjoyments of any kind, after the same manner have I ceased to feel any relish for wealth or pleasure or enjoyments. When a person fears nothing and himself is not feared, when he cherishes no desire and hath no aversion for anything, he is then said to attain to Brahma. When a person does not conduct himself sinfully towards any creature in thought, word, or deed, then is he said to attain to Brahma. There is no past, no future. There is no morality or righteousness. He who is not an object of fear with any creature succeeds in attaining to a state in which there is no fear. On the other hand, that person who for harshness of speech and severity of temper, is a source of trouble unto all creatures even as death itself, certainly attains to a state which abounds with fear. I follow the practices of high-souled and benevolent men of advanced years who with their children and children's children live in the due observance of the ordinance laid down in the scriptures. The eternal practices (laid down in the Vedas) are entirely given up by one who suffers himself to be stupefied by some errors that he may have noticed in the conduct of those that are admittedly good and wise. One, however, that is endued with learning, or one that has subdued one's senses, or one that is possessed of strength of mind, succeeds in attaining to Emancipation, guided by that very conduct. [The sense is this: there is an eternal course of righteousness as laid down in the Vedas. That which is called the conduct of the good may sometimes be stained by some errors. Fools, led by this, give up righteousness itself. On the other hand, wise men, avoiding those errors, take what is good and are saved. An old saying is cited by the commentator to the effect that when all is threatened, a wise man gives up half for saving the remainder. A fool, however, gives up the whole when only half is threatened with destruction.] That wise man who, having restrained his senses, practiseth, with a heart cleansed from all desire of injuring others, the conduct that is followed by those called good, is sure, O Jajali, to acquire the merit of righteousness (and Emancipation which is its fruits). In this world, as in a river, a piece of wood that is being borne away by the current as it pleases, is seen to come into contact (for some time) with another piece that is being similarly borne away. There, on the current, other pieces of wood that had been joined together, are seen again to separate from one another. Grass, sticks, and cowdung cakes are seen to be united together. This union is due to accident and not to purpose or design. He of whom no creature is frightened in the least is himself, O ascetic, never frightened by any creature. He, on the other hand, O learned man, of whom every creature is frightened as of a wolf, becomes himself filled with fear as aquatic animals when forced to leap on the shore from fear of the roaring Vadava fire. This practice of universal harmlessness hath arisen even thus. One may follow it by every means in one's power. He who has followers and he who has wealth may seek to adopt it. It is sure to lead also to prosperity and heaven. Inconsequence of their ability to dispel the fears of others, men possessed of wealth and followers are regarded as foremost by the learned. They that are for ordinary happiness practise this duty of universal harmlessness for the sake of fame; while they that are truly skilled, practise the same for the sake of attaining to Brahma. Whatever fruits one enjoys by penances, by sacrifices, by practising liberality, by speaking the truth, and by paying court to wisdom, may all be had by practising the duty of harmlessness. That person who gives unto all creatures the assurance of harmlessness obtains the merit of all sacrifices and at last wins fearlessness for himself as his reward. There is no duty superior to the duty of abstention from injuring other creatures. He of whom, O great ascetic, no creature is frightened in the least, obtains for himself fearlessness of all creatures. He of whom everybody is frightened as one is of a snake ensconced within one's (sleeping) chamber, never acquires any merit in this world or in the next. The very gods, in their search after it, become stupefied in the track of that person who transcends all states, the person, viz., who constitutes himself the soul of all creatures and who looketh upon all creatures as identical with his own self. Of all gifts, the assurance of harmlessness to all creatures is the highest (in point of merit). I tell thee truly, believe me, O Jajali! One who betakes himself to acts at first wins prosperity, but then (upon the exhaustion of his merit) he once more encounters adversity. Beholding the destruction of (the merits of) acts, the wise do not applaud acts. There is no duty, O Jajali, that is not prompted by some motive (of happiness). Duty, however, is very subtile. Duties have been laid down in the Vedas for the sake of both Brahma and heaven. The subject of duties hath many secrets and mysteries. It is so subtile that it is not easy to understand it fully. Amongst diverse conflicting ordinances, some succeed in comprehending duty by observing the acts of the good. Why dost thou not consume them that emasculate bulls and bore their noses and cause them to bear heavy burthens and bind them and put them under diverse kinds of restraint, and that eat the flesh of living creatures after slaying them? Men are seen to own men as slaves, and by beating, by binding, and by otherwise subjecting them to restraints, cause them to labour day and night. These people are not ignorant of the pain that results from beating and fastening in chains. In every creature that is endued with the five senses live all the deities. Surya, Chandramas, the god of wind, Brahman, Prana, Kratu, and Yama (these dwell in living creatures), There are men that live by trafficking in living creatures! When they earn a living by such a sinful course, what scruples need they feel in selling dead carcases? The goat is Agni. The sheep is Varuna. The horse is Surya. Earth is the deity Virat. The cow and the calf are Soma. The man who sells these can never obtain success. But what fault can attach to the sale of oil, or of Ghrita, or honey, or drugs, O regenerate one? There are many animals that grow up in ease and comfort in places free from gnats and biting insects. Knowing that they are loved dearly by their mothers, men persecute them in diverse ways, and lead them into miry spots abounding with biting insects. Many draft animals are oppressed with heavy burthens. Others, again, are made to languish in consequence of treatment not sanctioned by the scriptures. I think that such acts of injury done to animals are in no way distinguished from foeticide. People regard the profession of agriculture to be sinless. That profession, however, is certainly fraught with cruelty. The iron-faced plough wounds the soil and many creatures that live in the soil. Cast thy eyes, O Jajali, on those bullocks yoked to the plough. Kine are called in the Srutis the Unslayable. That man perpetrates a great sin who slays a bull or a cow. In days of yore, many Rishis with restrained senses addressed Nahusha, saying, 'Thou hast, O king, slain a cow which is declared in the scriptures to be like unto one's mother. Thou hast also slain a bull, which is declared to be like unto the Creator himself. [The cow is called the mother because of the use to which she is subservient. Her milk nourishes every infant as much as the mother's bosom. The bull, again, is Prajapati (Vedic god Prajapati, often identified with Brahma), because like Prajapati he creates offspring and assists man in the production of food.] Thou hast perpetrated an evil act, O Nahusha, and we have been exceedingly pained at it.' For cleansing Nahusha, however, they divided that sin into a hundred and one parts and converting the fragments into diseases cast them among all creatures. [Nahusha had killed a cow and a bull for honouring the Rishis. The latter, however, expressed their dissatisfaction at the act, and cleansed him of the sin in the manner indicated in the text. The commentator cites the instance of how Indra was cleansed of the sin of Brahmanicide. The Rishis, in compassion, distributed the sin among all beings of the feminine sex. That sin manifests itself in their periodical flows and the consequent impurity.] Thus, O Jajali, did those highly-blessed Rishis cast that sin on all living creatures, and addressing Nahusha who had been guilty of foeticide, said, 'We shall not be able to pour libations in thy sacrifice.' Thus said those high-souled Rishis and Yatis conversant with the truths of all things, having ascertained by their ascetic power that king Nahusha had not been intentionally guilty of that sin. These, O Jajali, are some of the wicked and dreadful practices that are current in this world. Thou practisest them because they are practised by all men from ancient times, and not because they agree with the dictates of thy cleansed understanding. One should practise what one considers to be one's duty, guided by reasons, instead of blindly following the practices of the world. Listen now, O Jajali, as to what my behaviour is towards him that injures and him that praises me. I regard both of them in the same light. I have none whom I like and none whom I dislike. The wise applauded such a course of conduct as consistent with duty or religion. Even this course of conduct, which is consistent with reasons, is followed by Yatis. The righteous always observe it with eyes possessed of improved vision.'"

SECTION 263

"Jajali said, 'This course of duty that thou, O holder of scales, preachest, closes the door of heaven against all creatures and puts a stop to the very means of their subsistence. From agriculture comes food. That food offers subsistence even to thee. With the aid of animals and of crops and herbs, human beings, O trader, are enabled to support their existence. From animals and food sacrifices flow. Thy doctrines smack of atheism. This world will come to an end if the means by which life is supported have to be abandoned.'

"Tuladhara said, 'I shall now speak on the object of the means of sustenance. I am not, O Brahmana, an atheist. I do not blame Sacrifices. The man, however, is very rare that is truly conversant with Sacrifice. I bow to that Sacrifice which is ordained for Brahmanas. I bow also to them that are conversant with that Sacrifice. Alas, the Brahmanas, having given up the Sacrifice that is ordained for them, have betaken themselves to the performance of Sacrifices that are for Kshatriyas. Many persons of faith, O regenerate one, that are covetous and fond of wealth, without having understood the true meaning of the declarations of the Srutis, and proclaiming things that are really false but that have the show of truth, have introduced many kinds of Sacrifices, saying, 'This should be given away in this Sacrifice. This other thing should be given away in this other Sacrifice. The first of this is very laudable.' The consequence, however, of all this, O Jajali, is that theft and many evil acts spring up. It should be known that only that sacrificial offering which was acquired by righteous means can gratify the gods. There are abundant indications in the scriptures that the worship of the deities may be accomplished with vows, with libations poured on the fire, with recitations or chanting of the Vedas, and with plants and herbs. From their religious acts unrighteous persons get wicked offspring. From covetous men are born children that are covetous, and from those that are contented spring children that are contented. If the sacrificer and the priest suffer themselves to be moved by desire of fruit (in respect of the Sacrifices they perform or assist in), their children take the stain. If, on the other hand, they do not yield to desire of fruit, the children born to them become of the same kind. From Sacrifices spring progeny like clear water from the firmament. The libations poured on the sacrificial fire rise up to the Sun. From the Sun springs rain. From rain springs food. From food are born living creatures. In former days, men righteously devoted to Sacrifices used to obtain therefrom the fruition of all their wishes. The earth yielded crops without tillage. The blessing uttered by the Rishis produced herbs and plants. The men of former times never performed Sacrifices from desire of fruits and never regarded themselves as called upon to enjoy those fruits. Those who somehow perform sacrifices, doubting the while their efficacy take birth in their next lives as dishonest, wily, and greedy men exceedingly covetous of wealth. That man who by the aid of false reasoning holds up all the authoritative scriptures as fraught with evil, is certain to go, for such sinful act of his, into the regions of the sinful. Such a man is certainly possessed of a sinful soul, O foremost of Brahmanas, and always remains here, bereft of wisdom. That man who regards those acts obligatory which have been laid down in the Vedas and directed to be accomplished every day, who is penetrated with fear if he fails to accomplish them any day, who takes all the essentials of Sacrifice as identical with Brahma, and who never regards himself as the actor, is truly a Brahmana. If the acts of such a person become incomplete, or if their completion be obstructed by all unclean animals, even then those acts are, as heard by us, of superior efficacy. If, however, those acts are done from desire of fruit (and their completion be obstructed by such impediments), then expiation would become necessary. They who covet the acquisition of the highest object of life (viz., Emancipation), who are bereft of cupidity in respect of all kinds of worldly wealth, who discard all provision for the future, and who are freed from envy, betake themselves to practice of truth and self-restraint as their Sacrifice. They that are conversant with the distinction between body and soul, that are devoted to Yoga, and that meditate on the Pranava, always succeed in gratifying others. The universal Brahma (viz., Pranava), which is the soul of the deities, dwells in him who is conversant with Brahma. When, therefore, such a man eats and is gratified, all the deities, O Jajali, become gratified and are contented. As one who is gratified with all kinds of taste feels no desire for any particular taste, after the same manner one who is gratified with knowledge hath everlasting gratification which to him is a source of perfect bliss. Those wise men who are the refuge of righteousness and whose delight is in righteousness, are persons that have certain knowledge of what is to be done and what should not be done. One possessed of such wisdom always regards all things in the universe to have sprung from his own Self. Some that are endued with knowledge, that strive to reach the other shore (of this ocean of life), and that are possessed of faith, succeed in attaining to the region of Brahman, which is productive of great blessings, highly sacred, and inhabited by righteous persons,--a region which is freed from sorrow, whence there is no return, and where there is no kind of agitation or pain. Such men do not covet heaven. They do not adore Brahma in costly sacrifices. They walk along the path of the righteous. The Sacrifices they perform are performed without injury to any creature. These men know trees and herbs and fruits and roots as the only sacrificial offerings. Covetous priests, for they are desirous of wealth, never officiate at the sacrifices of these (poor) men. These regenerate men, although all their acts have been completed, still perform sacrifices from desire of doing good to all creatures and constituting their own selves as sacrificial offerings. For this reason, grasping priests officiate at the Sacrifices of only those misguided persons who, without endeavouring to attain to Emancipation, seek for heaven. As regards those, however, that are really good, they always seek, by accomplishing their own duties, to cause others to ascend to heaven. Looking at both these kinds of behaviour, O Jajali, I have (abstained from injuring any creature in the world and have) come to regard all creatures with an equal heart. Endued with wisdom, many foremost of Brahmanas perform Sacrifices (which with respect to their

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fruits are of two kinds, for some of them lead to Emancipation whence there is no return, and others lead to regions of bliss whence there is return). By performing those Sacrifices, they proceed, O great ascetic, along paths trodden by the gods. Of one class of Sacrificers (viz., they who sacrifice from desire of fruit) there is return (from the region which they reach). Of those, however, that are truly wise (viz., those who sacrifice without being urged thereto by desire of fruit), there is no return. Although both classes of sacrificers, O Jajali, proceed along the path trodden by the deities (in consequence of the sacrifices they perform), yet such is the difference between their ultimate ends. In consequence of the success that attends the purposes formed in the mind of such men, bulls, without being forced thereto, willingly set their shoulders to the plough for assisting at tillage and to the yoke for dragging their cars, and kine pour forth milk from udders untouched by human hands. Creating sacrificial stakes (and other necessaries of Sacrifice) by simple flats of the will, they perform many kinds of Sacrifice well-completed with abundant presents. One who is of such a cleansed soul may slaughter a cow (as an offering in Sacrifice). They, therefore, that are not of that kind should perform Sacrifices with herbs and plants (and not animals). Since Renunciation hath such merit, it is for that reason that I have kept it before my eyes in speaking to thee. The gods know him for a Brahmana who has given up all desire of fruit, who hath no exertion in respect of worldly acts, who never bows down his head unto any one, who never utters the praises of others, and who is endued with strength though his acts have all been weakened. What, O Jajali, will be the end of him who doth not recite the Vedas, unto others, who doth not perform Sacrifices (properly), who doth not make gifts unto (deserving) Brahmanas, and who followeth an avocation in which every kind of desire is indulged? By properly reverencing, however, the duties that appertain to Renunciation, one is sure of attaining to Brahma.'

"Jajali said, 'We had never before, O son of a trader, heard of these recondite doctrines of ascetics that perform only mental Sacrifices. These doctrines are exceedingly difficult of comprehension. It is for this reason that I ask thee (about them). The sages of olden days were not followers of those doctrines of Yoga. Hence, the sages that have succeeded them have not propounded them (for general acceptance). If thou sayest that only men of brutish minds fail to achieve sacrifices in the soil of the Soul, then, O son of a trader, by what acts would they succeed in accomplishing their happiness? Tell me this, O thou of great wisdom! Great is my faith in thy words.'

"Tuladhara said, 'Sometimes sacrifices performed by some persons do not become sacrifices (in consequence of the absence of faith of those that perform them). These men, it should be said, are not worthy of performing any sacrifice (internal or external). As regards the faithful, however, only one thing, viz., the cow, is fit for upholding all sacrifices by means of full libations of clarified butter, milk, and curds, the hair at end of her tail, her horns, and her hoofs*. (The Vedas declare that sacrifices cannot be performed by an unmarried man). [* What is said here is this: the sacrifices of some men become lost through absence of faith. These men, it is plain, are not worthy of performing any kind of sacrifice internal or external. The performance of sacrifice, however, is easy. The cow and her products can minister to all sacrifices. In the case of those that are able, full libations of clarified butter, of milk, and of curds, are sufficient to enable them to perform whatever sacrifice they wish. As regards those that are poor, the dust of a cow's hoof and the water in which a cow's tail and horns have been washed, are quite sufficient to enable them to perform their sacrifices. Purnahuti should not, I think, be taken as different from clarified butter, etc.] In performing sacrifices, however, according to the mode I have pointed out (viz., by abstaining from slaughter of animals and dedicating only clarified butter, etc.), one may make Faith one's wedded wife, for dedicating such (innocent) offerings to the deities. By duly reverencing such sacrifices, one is sure to attain to Brahma. 4 To the exclusion of all animals (which are certainly unclean as offering in sacrifices), the rice-ball is a worthy offering in sacrifices. All rivers are as sacred as the Saraswati, and all mountains are sacred. O Jajali, the Soul is itself a Tirtha. Do not wander about on the earth for visiting sacred places. A person, by observing these duties (that I have spoken of and that do not involve injury to other creatures), and by seeking the acquisition of merit agreeably to his own ability, certainly succeeds in obtaining blessed regions hereafter.'

"Bhishma continued, 'These are the duties, O Yudhishthira, which Tuladhara applauded,--duties that are consistent with reason, and that are always observed by those that are good and wise.'"

SECTION 264

"Tuladhara said, 'See with thy own eyes, O Jajali, who, viz., those that are good or those that are otherwise, have adopted this path of duty that I have spoken of. Thou shalt then understand properly how the truth stands. Behold, many birds are hovering in the sky. Amongst them are those that were reared on thy head, as also many hawks and many others of other species. Behold, O Brahmana, those birds have contracted their wings and legs for entering their respective nests. Summon them, O regenerate one! There those birds, treated with affection by thee, are displaying their love for thee that art their father. Without doubt, thou art their father, O Jajali! Do thou summon thy children.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Then those birds, summoned by Jajali, made answer agreeably to the dictates of that religion which is not fraught with injury to any creature. All acts that are done without injuring any creature become serviceable (to the doer) both here and hereafter. Those acts, however, that involve injury to others, destroy faith, and faith being destroyed, involves the destroyer in ruin. The sacrifices of those that regard acquisition and non-acquisition in the same light, that are endued with faith that are self-restrained, that have tranquil minds, and that perform sacrifices from a sense of duty (and not from desire of fruit), become productive of fruit. Faith with respect to Brahma is the daughter of Surya, O regenerate one. She is the protectress and she is the giver of good birth. Faith is superior to the merit born of (Vedic) recitations and meditation. An act vitiated by defect of speech is saved by Faith. An act vitiated by defect of mind is saved by Faith. But neither speech nor mind can save an act that is vitiated by want of Faith. Men conversant with the occurrences of the past recite in this connection the following verse sung by Brahman. The offerings in sacrifices of a person that is pure (in body and acts) but wanting in Faith, and of another that is impure (in respect of their worthiness of acceptance). The food, again, of a person conversant with the Vedas but miserly in behaviour, and that of a usurer that is liberal in conduct, the deities after careful consideration, had held to be equal (in respect of their worthiness of acceptance). The' Supreme Lord of all creatures (viz., Brahman) then told them that they had committed an error. The food of a liberal person is sanctified by Faith. The food, however, of the person that is void of Faith is lost in consequence of such want of Faith. The food of a liberal usurer is acceptable but not the food of a miser. Only one person in the world, viz., he that is bereft of Faith, is unfit to make offerings to the deities. The food of only such a man is unfit to be eaten. This is the opinion of men conversant with duties. Want of Faith is a high sin. Faith is a cleanser of sins. Like a snake casting off its slough, the man of Faith succeeds in casting off all his sin. The religion of abstention with Faith is superior to all things considered sacred. Abstaining from all faults of behaviour, he who betakes himself to Faith, becomes sanctified. What need hath such a person of penances, or of conduct, or of endurance? Every man has Faith. Faith, however, is of three kinds, viz., as affected by Sattwa, by Rajas and by Tamas, and according to the kind of Faith that one has, one is named. Persons endued with goodness and possessed of insight into the true import of morality have thus laid down the subject of duties. We have, as the result of our enquiries, got all this from the sage Dharmadarsana. O thou of great wisdom, betake thyself to Faith, for thou shalt then obtain that which is superior. He who has Faith (in the declarations of the Srutis), and who acts according to their import (in the belief that they are good for him), is certainly of righteous soul. O Jajali, he who adheres to his own path (under the influence of Faith) is certainly a superior person.'

"Bhishma continued, 'After a short while, Tuladhara and Jajali, both of whom had been endued with great wisdom, ascended to heaven and sported there in great happiness, having reached their respective places earned by their respective acts. Many truths of this kind were spoken of by Tuladhara. That eminent person understood this religion (of abstention from injury) completely. These eternal duties were accordingly proclaimed by him. The regenerate Jajali, O son of Kunti, having heard these words of celebrated energy, betook himself to tranquillity. In this way, many truths of grave import were uttered by Tuladhara, illustrated by examples for instruction. What other truths dost thou wish to hear?'"

SECTION 265

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection is cited an old narrative of what was recited by king Vichakhy through compassion for all creatures. Beholding the mangled body of a bull, and hearing the exceedingly painful groans of the kine in a cow-slaying sacrifice, and observing the cruel Brahmanas that gathered there for assisting at the ceremonies, that king uttered these words, 'Prosperity to all the kine in the world.' When the slaughter had commenced, these words expressive of a blessing (to those helpless animals) were pronounced. And the monarch further said, 'Only those that are transgressors of defined limits, that are destitute of intelligence, that are atheists and sceptics, and that desire the acquisition of celebrity through sacrifices and religious rites speak highly of the slaughter of animals in sacrifices. The righteous-souled Manu has applauded (the observance of) harmlessness in all (religious) acts. Indeed, men slaughter animals in sacrifices, urged by only the desire of fruit. Hence, guided by authority (in respect of slaughter and abstention from slaughter or harmlessness) one conversant (with the scriptures) should practise the true course of duty which is exceedingly subtile. Harmlessness to all creatures is the highest of all duties. Living in the vicinity of an inhabited place and injuring oneself to the observance of rigid vows, and disregarding the fruits indicated of Vedic acts, one should give up domesticity, adopting a life of Renunciation. Only they that are mean are urged by the desire of fruit. Reverentially mentioning sacrifices and trees and sacrificial stakes, men do not eat tainted meat. This practice, however, is not worthy of applause. Wine, fish, honey, meat, alcohol, and preparations of rice and sesame seeds, have been introduced by knaves. The use of these (in sacrifices) is not laid down in the Vedas. The hankering after these arises from pride, error of judgement, and cupidity. They that are true Brahmanas realise the presence of Vishnu in every sacrifice. His worship, it has been laid down, should be made with agreeable Payasa. (The leaves and flowers of) such trees as have been indicated in the Vedas, whatever act is regarded as worthy and whatever else is held as pure by persons of pure hearts and cleansed natures and those eminent for knowledge and holiness, are all worthy of being offered to the Supreme Deity and not unworthy of His acceptance.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'The body and all sorts of dangers and calamities are continually at war with each other. How, therefore, will a person who is totally free from the desire of harming and who on this account will not be able to act, succeed in keeping up his body?'

"Bhishma said, 'One should, when able, acquire merit and act in such a way that one's body may not languish and suffer pain, and that death may not come.'"

SECTION 266

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou, O grandsire, art our highest preceptor in the matter of all acts that are difficult of accomplishment (in consequence of the commands of superiors on the one hand and the cruelty that is involved in them on the other). I ask, how should one judge of an act in respect of either one's obligation to do it or of abstaining from it? Is it to be judged speedily or with delay?'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection is cited the old story of what occurred with respect to Chirakarin born in the race of Angirasa. Twice blessed be the man that reflects long before he acts. One that reflects long before he acts is certainly possessed of great intelligence. Such a man never offends in respect of any act. There was once a man of great wisdom, of the name of Chirakarin, who was the son of Gautama. Reflecting for a long time upon every consideration connected with proposed acts, he used to do all he had to do. He came to be called by the name of Chirakarin because he used to reflect long upon all matters, to remain awake for a long time, to sleep for a long time, and to take a long time in setting himself to the accomplishment of such acts as he accomplished. The clamour of being an idle man stuck to him. He was also regarded as a foolish person, by every person of a light understanding and destitute of foresight. On a certain occasion, witnessing an act of great fault in his wife, the sire Gautama passing over his other children, commanded in wrath this Chirakarin, saying, 'Slay thou this woman.' Having said these words without much reflection, the learned Gautama, that foremost of persons engaged in the practice of Yoga, that highly blessed ascetic, departed for the woods. Having after a long while assented to it, saying, 'So be it,' Chirakarin, in consequence of his very nature, and owing to his habit of never accomplishing any act without long reflection, began to think for a long while (upon the propriety or otherwise of what he was commanded by his sire to do). How shall I obey the command of my sire and yet how avoid slaying my mother? How shall I avoid sinking, like a wicked person, into sin in this situation in which contradictory obligations are dragging me into opposite directions? Obedience to the commands of the sire constitutes the highest merit. The protection of the mother again is a clear duty. The status of a son is fraught with dependence. How shall I avoid being afflicted by sin? Who is there that can be happy after having slain a woman, especially his mother? Who again can obtain prosperity and fame by disregarding his own sire? Regard for the sire's behest is obligatory. The protection of my mother is equally a duty. How shall I so frame my conduct that both obligations may be discharged? The father places his own self within the mother's womb and takes birth as the son, for continuing his practices, conduct, name and race. I have been begotten as a son by both my mother and my father. Knowing as I do my own origin, why should I not have this knowledge (of my relationship with both of them)? The words uttered by the sire while performing the initial rite after birth, and those that were uttered by him on the occasion of the subsidiary rite (after the return from the preceptor's abode) are sufficient (evidence) for settling the reverence due to him and indeed, confirm the reverence actually paid to him. [On the occasion of the Jata-karma the sire says 'be thou as hard as adamant,' 'be thou an axe (unto all my foes).' The upakarma or subsidiary rite is performed on the occasion of p. 248 the samavartana or

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return from the preceptor's abode. It is called subsidiary because it does not occur among the rites laid down in the Griha Sutras. The words uttered on that occasion are, 'Thou art my own self, O Son.'] In consequence of his bringing up the son and instructing him, the sire is the son's foremost of superiors and the highest religion. The very Vedas lay it down as certain that the son should regard what the sire says as his highest duty. Unto the sire the son is only a source of joy. Unto the son, however, the sire is all in all. The body and all else that the son owns have the sire alone for their giver. Hence, the behests of the sire should be obeyed without ever questioning them in the least. The very sins of one that obeys one's sire are cleansed (by such obedience). The sire is the giver of all articles of food, of instructions in the Vedas, and of all other knowledge regarding the world. (Prior to the son's birth) the sire is the performer of such rites as Garbhadhana and Simantonnayana. The sire is religion. The sire is heaven. The sire is the highest penance. The sire being gratified, all the deities are gratified. Whatever words are pronounced by the sire become blessings that attach to the son. The words expressive of joy that the sire utters cleanse the son of all his sins. The flower is seen to fall away from the stalk. The fruit is seen to fall away from the tree. But the sire, whatever his distress, moved by parental affection, never abandons the son. These then are my reflections upon the reverence due from the son to the sire. Unto the son the sire is not an ordinary object. I shall now think upon (what is due to) the mother. Of this union of the five (primal) elements in me due to my birth as a human being, the mother is the (chief) cause as the firestick of fire. The mother is as the fire-stick with respect to the bodies of all men. She is the panacea for all kinds of calamities. The existence of the mother invests one with protection; the reverse deprives one of all protection. The man who, though divested of prosperity, enters his house, uttering the words, 'O mother!'--hath not to indulge in grief. Nor doth decrepitude ever assail him. A person whose mother exists, even if he happens to be possessed of sons and grandsons and even if he counts a hundred years, looks like a child of but two years of age. Able or disabled, lean or robust, the son is always protected by the mother. None else, according to the ordinance, is the son's protector. Then doth the son become old, then doth he become stricken with grief, then doth the world look empty in his eyes, when he becomes deprived of his mother. There is no shelter (protection against the sun) like the mother. There is no refuge like the mother. There is no defence like the mother. There is no one so dear as the mother. For having borne him in her womb the mother is the son's Dhatri. For having been the chief cause of his birth, she is his Janani. For having nursed his young limbs into growth, she is called Amva. For bringing forth a child possessed of courage she is called Virasu. For nursing and looking after the son she is called Sura. The mother is one's own body. What rational man is there that would slay his mother, to whose care alone it is due that his own head did not lie on the street-side like a dry gourd? When husband and wife unite themselves for procreation, the desire cherished with respect to the (unborn) son are cherished by both, but in respect of their fruition more depends upon the mother than on the sire. The mother knows the family in which the son is born and the father who has begotten him. From the moment of conception the mother begins to show affection to her child and takes delight in her. (For this reason, the son should behave equally towards her). On the other hand, the scriptures declare that the offspring belongs to the father alone. If men, after accepting the hands of wives in marriage and pledging themselves to earn religious merit without being dissociated from them, seek congress with other people's wives, they then cease to be worthy of respect. The husband, because he supports the wife, is called Bhartri, and, because he protects her, he is on that account called Pati. When these two functions disappear from him, he ceases to be both Bhartri and Pati. Then again woman can commit no fault. It is man only that commits faults. By perpetrating an act of adultery, the man only becomes stained with guilt. It has been said that the husband is the highest object with the wife and the highest deity to her. My mother gave up her sacred person to one that came to her in the form and guise of her husband. Women can commit no fault. It is man who becomes stained with fault. Indeed, in consequence of the natural weakness of the sex as displayed in every act, and their liability to solicitation, women cannot be regarded as offenders. Then again the sinfulness (in this case) is evident of Indra himself who (by acting in the way he did) caused the recollection of the request that had been made to him in days of yore by woman (when a third part of the sin of Brahmanicide of which Indra himself was guilty was cast upon her sex). There is no doubt that my mother is innocent. She whom I have been commanded to slay is a woman. That woman is again my mother. She occupies, therefore, a place of greater reverence. The very beasts that are irrational know that the mother is unslayable. The sire must be known to be a combination of all the deities together. To the mother, however, attaches a combination of all mortal creatures and all the deities.--In consequence of his habit of reflecting long before acting, Gautama's son Chirakarin, by indulging in those reflections, passed a long while (without accomplishing the act he had been commanded by his sire to accomplish). When many days had expired, his sire Gautama's returned. Endued with great wisdom, Medhatithi of Gautama's race, engaged in the practice of penances, came back (to his retreat), convinced, after having reflected for that long time, of the impropriety of the chastisement he had commanded to be inflicted upon his wife. Burning with grief and shedding copious tears, for repentance had come to him in consequence of the beneficial effects of that calmness of temper which is brought about by a knowledge of the scriptures, he uttered these words, 'The lord of the three worlds, viz., Purandara, came to my retreat, in the guise of a Brahmana asking for hospitality. He was received by me with (proper) words, and honoured with a (proper) welcome, and presented in due form with water to wash his feet and the usual offerings of the Arghya. I also granted him the rest he had asked for. I further told him that I had obtained a protector in him. I thought that such conduct on my part would induce him to behave towards me as a friend. When, however, notwithstanding all this, he misbehaved himself, my wife Ahalya could not be regarded to have committed any fault. It seems that neither my wife, nor myself, nor Indra himself who while passing through the sky had beheld my wife (and become deprived of his senses by her extraordinary beauty), could be held to have offended. The blame really attaches to the carelessness of my Yoga puissance. The sages have said that all calamities spring from envy, which, in its turn, arises from error of judgement. By that envy, also, I have been dragged from where I was and plunged into an ocean of sin (in the form of wife-slaughter). Alas, I have slain a woman,--a woman that is again my wife--one, that is, who, in consequence of her sharing her lord's calamities came to be called by the name of Vasita,--one that was called Bharya owing to the obligation I was under of supporting her. Who is there that can rescue me from this sin? Acting heedlessly I commanded the high-souled Chirakarin (to slay that wife of mine). If on the present occasion he proves true to his name then may he rescue me from this guilt. Twice blessed be thou, O Chirakaraka! If on this occasion thou hast delayed accomplishing the work, then art thou truly worthy of thy name. Rescue me, and thy mother, and the penances I have achieved, as also thy own self, from grave sins. Be thou really a Chirakaraka today! Ordinarily, in consequence of thy great wisdom thou takest a long time for reflection before achieving any act. Let not thy conduct be otherwise today! Be thou a true Chirakaraka today. Thy mother had expected thy advent for a long time. For a long time did she bear thee in her womb. O Chirakaraka, let thy habit of reflecting long before acting be productive of beneficial results today. Perhaps, my son Chirakaraka is delaying today (to achieve my bidding) in view of the sorrow it would cause me (to see him execute that bidding). Perhaps, he is sleeping over that bidding, bearing it in his heart (without any intention of executing it promptly). Perhaps, he is delaying, in view of the grief it would cause both him and me, reflecting upon the circumstances of the case.' Indulging in such repentance, O king, the great Rishi Gautama then beheld his son Chirakarin sitting near him. Beholding his sire come back to their abode, the son Chirakarin, overwhelmed with grief, cast away the weapon (he had taken up) and bowing his head began to pacify Gautama. Observing his son prostrated before him with bent head, and beholding also his wife almost petrified with shame, the Rishi became filled with great joy. From that time the highsouled Rishi, dwelling in that lone hermitage, did not live separately from his spouse or his heedful son. Having uttered the command that his wife should be slain he had gone away from his retreat for accomplishing some purpose of his own. Since that time his son had stood in an humble attitude, weapon in hand, for executing that command on his mother. Beholding that his son prostrated at his feet, the sire thought that, struck with fear, he was asking for pardon for the offence he had committed in taking up a weapon (for killing his own mother). The sire praised his son for a long time, and smelt his head for a long time, and for a long time held him in a close embrace, and blessed him, uttering the words, 'Do thou live long!' Then, filled with joy and contented with what had occurred, Gautama, O thou of great wisdom, addressed his son and said these words, 'Blessed be thou, O Chirakaraka! Do thou always reflect long before acting. By thy delay in accomplishing my bidding thou hast today made me happy for ever.' That learned and best of Rishis then uttered these verses upon the subject of the merits of such cool men as reflect for a long time before setting their hands to any action. If the matter is the death of a friend, one should accomplish it after a long while. If it is the abandonment of a project already begun, one should abandon it after a long while. A friendship that is formed after a long examination lasts for a long time. In giving way to wrath, to haughtiness, to pride, to disputes, to sinful acts, and in accomplishing all disagreeable tasks he that delays long deserves applause. When the offence is not clearly proved against a relative, a friend, a servant, or a wife, he that reflects long before inflicting the punishment is applauded.' Thus, O Bharata, was Gautama pleased with his son, O thou of Kuru's race, for that act of delay on the latter's part in doing the former's bidding. In all acts a man should, in this way, reflect for a long time and then settle what he should do. By conducting himself in this way one is sure to avoid grief for a long time. That man who never nurses his wrath for a long while, who reflects for a long time before setting himself to the performance of any act, never does any act which brings repentance. One should wait for a long while upon those that are aged, and sitting near them show them reverence. One should attend to one's duties for a long time and be engaged for a long while in ascertaining them. Waiting for a long time upon those that are learned, are reverentially serving for a long time those that are good in behaviour, and keeping one's soul for a long while under proper restraint, one succeeds in enjoying the respect of the world for a long time. One engaged in instructing others on the subject of religion and duty, should, when asked by another for information on those subjects, take a long time to reflect before giving an answer. He may then avoid indulging in repentance (for returning an incorrect answer whose practical consequences may lead to sin).--As regards Gautama of austere penances, that Rishi, having adored the deities for a long while in that retreat of his, at last ascended to heaven with his son.'"

SECTION 267

"Yudhishthira said, 'How, indeed, should the king protect his subjects without injuring anybody. I ask thee this, O grandsire, tell me, O foremost of good men!'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection is cited the old narrative of the conversation between Dyumatsena and king Satyavat. We have heard that upon a certain number of individuals having been brought out for execution at the command of his sire (Dyumatsena), prince Satyavat said certain words that had never before been said by anybody else. 'Sometimes righteousness assumes the form of iniquity, and iniquity assumes the form of righteousness. It can never be possible that the killing of individuals can ever be a righteous act.'

"Dyumatsena said, 'If the sparing of those that deserve to be slain be righteousness, if robbers be spared, O Satyavat, then all distinctions (between virtue and vice) would disappear. 'This is mine',--'This (other) is not his'--ideas like these (with respect to property) will not (if the wicked be not punished) prevail in the Kali age. (If the wicked be not punished) the affairs of the world will come to a deadlock. If thou knowest how the world may go on (without punishing the wicked), then discourse to me upon it.'

"Satyavat said, 'The three other orders (viz., the Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras) should be placed under the control of the Brahmanas. If those three orders be kept within the bonds of righteousness, then the subsidiary classes (that have sprung from intermixture) will imitate them in their practices. Those amongst them that will transgress (the commands of the Brahmanas) shall be reported to the king.--'This one heeds not my commands,'--upon such a complaint being preferred by a Brahmana, the king shall inflict punishment upon the offender. Without destroying the body of the offender the king should do that unto him which is directed by the scriptures. The king should not act otherwise, neglecting to reflect properly upon the character of the offence and upon the science of morality. By slaying the wicked, the king (practically) slays a large number of individuals that are innocent. Behold, by slaying a single robber, his wife, mother, father and children are all slain (because they become deprived of the means of life). When injured by a wicked person, the king should, therefore, reflect deeply on the question of chastisement. Sometimes a wicked man is seen to imbibe good behaviour from a righteous person. Then again from persons that are wicked, good children may be seen to spring. The wicked, therefore, should not be torn up by the roots. The extermination of the wicked is not consistent with eternal practice. By smiting them gently they may be made to expiate their offences. By depriving them of all their wealth, by chains and immurement in dungeons, by disfiguring them (they may be made to expiate their guilt). Their relatives should not be persecuted by the infliction of capital sentences on them. If in the presence of the Purohita and others, they give themselves up to him from desire of protection, and swear, saying, 'O Brahmana, we shall never again commit any sinful act,' they would then deserve to be let off without any punishment. This is the command of the Creator himself. Even the Brahmana that wears a deer-skin and the wand of (mendicancy) and has his head shaved, should be punished (when he transgresses). If great men transgress, their chastisement should be proportionate to their greatness. As regards them that offend repeatedly, they do not deserve to be dismissed without punishment as on the occasion of their first offence.' "Dyumatsena said, 'As long as those barriers within which men should be kept are not transgressed, so long are they designated by the name of Righteousness. If they who transgressed those, barriers were not punished with death, those barriers would soon be destroyed. Men of remote and remoter times were capable of being governed with ease. They were very truthful (in speech and conduct). They were little disposed to disputes and quarrels. They seldom gave way to

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anger, or, if they did, their wrath never became ungovernable. In those days the mere crying of fie on offenders was sufficient punishment. After this came the punishment represented by harsh speeches or censures. Then followed the punishment of fines and forfeitures. In this age, however, the punishment of death has become current. The measure of wickedness has increased to such an extent that by slaying one others cannot be restrained. The robber has no connection with men, with the deities, with the Gandharvas, and with the Pitris. What is he to whom? He is not anybody to any one. This is the declaration of the Srutis. The robber takes away the ornaments of corpses from cemeteries, and swearing apparel from men afflicted by spirits (and, therefore, deprived of senses). That man is a fool who would make any covenant with those miserable wretches or exact any oath from them (for relying upon it).'

"Satyavat said, 'If thou dost not succeed in making honest men of those rogues and in saving them by means unconnected with slaughter, do thou then exterminate them by performing some sacrifice. Kings practise severe austerities for the sake of enabling their subjects go on prosperously in their avocations. When thieves and robbers multiply in their kingdoms they become ashamed.. They, therefore, betake themselves to penances for suppressing thefts and robberies and making their subjects live happily. Subjects can be made honest by being only frightened (by the king). Good kings never slay the wicked from motives of retribution. (On the other hand, if they slay, they slay in sacrifices, when the motive is to do good to the slain), Good kings abundantly succeed in ruling their subjects properly with the aid of good conduct (instead of cruel or punitive inflictions). If the king acts properly, the superior subjects imitate him. The inferior people, again in their turn, imitate their immediate superiors. Men are so constituted that they imitate those whom they regard as their superiors. That king who, without restraining himself, seeks to restrain others (from evil ways) becomes an object of laughter with all men in consequence of his being engaged in the enjoyment of all worldly pleasures as a slave of his senses. That man who, through arrogance or error of judgement, offends against the king in any way, should be restrained by every means. It is by this way that he is prevented from committing offences anew. The king should first restrain his own self if he desires to restrain others that offend. He should punish heavily (if necessary) even friends and near relatives. In that kingdom where a vile offender does not meet with heavy afflictions, offences increase and righteousness decreases without doubt. Formerly, a Brahmana. endued with clemency and possessed of learning, taught me this. Verily, to this effect, O sire, I have been instructed by also our grandsire of olden days, who gave such assurances of harmlessness to people, moved by pity. Their words were, 'In the Krita age, kings should rule their subjects by adopting ways that are entirely harmless. In the Treta age, kings conduct themselves according to ways that conform with righteousness fallen away by a fourth from its full complement. In the Dwapara age, they proceed according to ways conforming with righteousness fallen away by a moiety, and in the age that follows, according to ways conforming with righteousness fallen away by three-fourth. When the Kati age sets in, through the wickedness of kings and in consequence of the nature of the epoch itself, fifteen parts of even that fourth portion of righteousness disappear, a sixteenth portion thereof being all that then remains of it. If, O Satyavat, by adopting the method first mentioned (viz., the practice of harmlessness), confusion sets in, the king, considering the period of human life, the strength of human beings, and the nature of the time that has come, should award punishments. Indeed, Manu, the son of the Self-born, has, through compassion for human beings, indicated the way by means of which men may adhere to knowledge (instead of harmfulness) for the sake of emancipation.'" [The word satya is used here for Emancipation. Mahaddahrmaphalam is true knowledge, so called because, of its superiority to heaven, etc. The way pointed out by Manu is, of ourse, the religion of harmlessness. About Manu: In early Hindu texts, Manu refers to the archetypal man, or to the first man (progenitor of humanity). The Sanskrit term for 'human' means 'of Manu' or 'children of Manu'. In the earliest mention of Manu, in the Rigveda, Manu is only the claimed ancestor of the "Five Peoples", or "Panca Janah" (the five tribes being the Anus, Druhyus, Yadus (The name Yadu is of non-Indo-Aryan origin. It is most likely of Aramaic origin and might point to Yudah, Judah.), Turvashas, and Purus). The Indo-Aryans considered all other peoples to be a-manusa. Manu-smrti (Sanskrit: "Tradition of Manu"), traditionally, the most authoritative of the books of the Hindu code (Dharma-sastra) in India. Manu-smrti is the popular name of the work, which is officially known as Manava-dharma-sastra. It is attributed to the legendary first man and lawgiver, Manu. In its present form, it dates from the 1st century BC. Now, the thing is that Manu was also a Chaldean (Babylonian) god who "presided over fate" and who was known as Manu the Great. Although scholars claim that the Babylonian Manu has nothing to do with the Manu in Hinduism, it has turned out not to be an Indo-Aryan name but a Semitic name, an Akkadian name, to be precise. Akkadian was the Lingua Franca of the Assyrian Empire spoken in Mesopotamia and the entire Middle East from the 3rd to the 1st millennium BC until it was gradually replaced by Aramaic in the 7th century BC.]

SECTION 268

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou hast already explained to me, O grandsire, how the religion of Yoga, which leads to the six well-known attributes, may be adopted and practised without injuring any creature. Tell me, O grandsire, of that religion which leads to both results, viz., Enjoyment and Emancipation. Amongst these two, viz., the duties of domesticity and those of Yoga, both of which lead to the same end, which is superior?'

"Bhishma said, 'Both courses of duty are highly blessed. Both are extremely difficult of accomplishment. Both are productive of high fruits. Both are practised by those that are admittedly good. I shall presently discourse to thee on the authoritativeness of both those courses of duty, for dispelling thy doubts about their true import. Listen to me with concentrated attention. In this connection is instanced the old narrative of the discourse between Kapila and the cow. Listen to it, O Yudhishthira! It has been heard by us that in days of old when the deity Tvashtri came to the place of king Nahusha, the latter, for discharging the duties of hospitality, was on the point of killing a cow agreeably to the true, ancient, and eternal injunction of the Vedas. Beholding that cow tied for slaughter, Kapila of liberal soul, ever observant of the duties of Sattwa, always engaged in restraining his senses, possessed of true knowledge, and abstemious in diet, having acquired an excellent understanding that was characterised by faith, perfectly fearless, beneficial, firm, and ever directed towards truth, uttered this word once, viz.,--'Alas ye Vedas!'--At that time a Rishi, of the name of Syumarasmi, entering (by Yoga power) the form of that cow, addressed the Yati Kapila, saying, 'Hist O Kapila! If the Vedas be deserving (in consequence of those declarations in them that sanction the slaughter of living creatures), whence have those other duties (fraught with entire harmlessness to all creatures) come to be regarded as authoritative? Men devoted to penances and endued with intelligence, and who have the Srutis and knowledge for their eyes, regard the injunctions of the Vedas, which have been declared through and compiled by the Rishis, to be the words of God himself. What can anybody say (by way of censure or praise) with respect to the contents of the Vedas when these happen to be the words of the Supreme Being himself who is freed from desire of fruit, who is without the fever (of envy and aversion), who is addicted to nothing, and who is destitute of all exertion (in consequence of the immediate fruition of all his wishes)?'

"Kapila said, 'I do not censure the Vedas. I do not wish to say anything in derogation of them. It hath been heard by us that the different courses of duty laid down for the different modes of life, all lead to the same end. The Sannyasin attains to a high end. The forest-recluse also attains to a high end. Both the other two also, viz., the householder and the Brahmacharin, reach the same end. All the four modes of life have always been regarded as Deva-yana ways. The relative strength or weakness of these, as represented by their relative superiority or inferiority, hath been declared in the character of their respective ends.--Knowing these, accomplish acts which lead to heaven and other blessings,--this is a Vedic declaration.--Do not accomplish acts,--this also is another binding declaration of the Vedas. If abstention from acts be meritorious, then their accomplishment must be exceedingly reprehensible. When the scriptures stand thus, the strength or weakness of particular declarations must be very difficult to ascertain. If thou knowest of any course of duty which is superior to the religion of harmlessness, and which depends upon direct evidence instead of that of the scriptures, do thou then discourse to me upon it.'

"Syumarasmi said, 'One should perform sacrifice from desire of heaven,--this Sruti is constantly heard by us. Thinking first of the fruit (that is to be attained), one makes preparations for sacrifice. Goat, horse, cow, all species of birds, domestic or wild, and herbs and plants, are food of (other) living creatures. This is heard by us. Food again has been directed to be taken day after day morning and evening. Then again the Sruti declares that animals and grain are the limbs of Sacrifice. The Lord of the universe created them along with Sacrifice. The puissant Lord of all creatures caused the deities to perform sacrifices with their aid. Altogether seven (domestic) and seven (wild) animals are indicated as fit for sacrifice. Instead of all being equally fit, each succeeding one is inferior to each preceding one. The Vedas again declare that the whole universe is appointed for sacrifice. Him also that is called Purusha the Vedas have appointed for the same purpose. This again hath been sanctioned by men of remote and remoter times. What man of learning is there that does not select, according to his own ability, individuals from among living creatures for sacrifice? The inferior animals, human beings, trees, and herbs, all wish for the attainment of heaven. There is no means, however, except sacrifice, by which they can obtain the fruition of that desire. The deciduous herbs, animals, trees, creepers, clarified butter, milk, curds, meat and other approved things (that are poured on the sacrificial fire), land, the points of the compass, faith, and time which brings up the tale of twelve, the Richs, the Yajuses, the Samans, and the sacrificer himself bringing up the tale to sixteen, and Fire which should be known as the householder,--these seventeen are said to be the limbs of sacrifice. Sacrifice, the Sruti declares, is the root of the world and its course. With clarified butter, milk, curds, dung, curds mixed with milk, skin, the hair in her tail, horns, and hoofs, the cow alone is able to furnish all the necessaries of sacrifice. Particular ones amongst these that are laid down for particular sacrifices, coupled with Ritwijas and presents (to the priests themselves and other Brahmanas) together sustain sacrifices. By collecting these things together, people accomplish sacrifices. This Sruti, consistent with the truth, is heard that all things have been created for the performance of sacrifice. It was thus that all men of ancient time set themselves to the performance of sacrifices. As regards that person, however, who performs sacrifices because of the conviction that sacrifices should be performed and not for the sake of fruit or reward, it is seen that he does not injure any creature or bear himself with hostility to anything, or set himself to the accomplishment of any worldly task. Those things that have been named as the limbs of sacrifice, and those other things that have been mentioned as required in sacrifices and that are indicated in the ordinances, all uphold one another (for the completion of sacrifices) when used according to the approved ritual. I behold also the Smritis compiled by he Rishis, into which the Vedas have been introduced. Men of learning regard them as authoritative in consequence of their following the Brahmanas. Sacrifices have the Brahmanas for that progenitor, and truly they rest upon the Brahmanas. The whole universe rests upon sacrifice, and sacrifice rests upon the universe. The syllable Om is the root from which the Vedas have sprung. (Every rite, therefore, should commence with the utterance of that syllable of vast import). Of him who has uttered for him the syllables Om, Namas, Swaha, Svadha, and Vashat, and who has, according to the extent of his ability, performed sacrifices and other rites, there is no fear in respect of next life in all the three worlds. Thus say the Vedas, and sages crowned with ascetic success, and the foremost of Rishis. He in whom are the Richs, the Yajuses, the Samans, and the expletives necessary for completing the rhythm of the Samans according to the rules laid down in Vedic grammars, is, indeed, a Brahmana. Thou knowest, O adorable Brahmana, what the fruits are of Agnihotra, of the Soma-sacrifice, and of the other great sacrifices. I say, for this reason, one should sacrifice and assist at other people's sacrifices, without scruples of any kind. One who performs such sacrifices as lead to heaven (such as Jyotishtoma, etc.) obtains high rewards hereafter in the form of heavenly beatitude. This is certain, viz., that they who do not perform sacrifices have neither this world nor the next. They who are really conversant with the declarations of the Vedas regard both kinds of declarations (viz., those that incite to acts and those that preach abstention) as equally authoritative.'"

SECTION 269

"Kapila said, 'Beholding that all the fruits that are attainable by acts are terminable instead of being eternal, Yatis, by adopting self-restraint and tranquillity, attain to Brahma through the path of knowledge. There is nothing in any of the worlds that can impede them (for by mere fiats of their will they crown all their wishes with success). They are freed from the influence of all pairs of opposites. They never bow down their heads to anything or any creature. They are above all the bonds of want. Wisdom is theirs. Cleansed they are from every sin. Pure and spotless they live and rove about (in great happiness). They have, in their own understandings, arrived at settled conclusions in respect of all destructible objects and of a life of Renunciation (by comparing the two together). Devoted to Brahma, already become like unto Brahma, they have taken refuge in Brahma. Transcending grief, and freed from (the equality of) Rajas, theirs are acquisitions that are eternal. When the high end that is these men's is within reach of attainment, what need has one for practising the duties of the domestic mode of life?'

"Syumarasmi said, 'If, indeed, that be the highest object of acquisition, if that be truly the highest end (which is attained by practising Renunciation) then the importance of the domestic mode of life becomes manifest, because without the domestic mode no other mode of life ever becomes possible. Indeed, as all living creatures are able to live in consequence of their dependence on their respective mothers, after the same manner the three other modes of life exist in consequence of their dependence upon the domestic mode. The householder who leads the life of domesticity, performs sacrifices, and practises penances. Whatever is done by anybody from desire of happiness has for its root the domestic mode of life. All living creatures regard the procreation of offspring as a

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source of great happiness. The procreation of offspring, however, becomes impossible in any other mode of life (than domesticity). Every kind of grass and straw, all plants and herbs (that yield corn or grain), and others of the same class that grow on hills and mountains, have the domestic mode of life for their root. Upon those depend the life of living creatures. And since nothing else is seen (in the universe) than life, domesticity may be looked upon as the refuge of the entire universe. Who then speaks the truth that says that domesticity cannot lead to the acquisition of Emancipation? Only those that are destitute of faith and wisdom and penetration, only those that are destitute of reputation that are idle and toil-worn, that have misery for their share in consequence of their past acts, only those that are destitute of learning, behold the plenitude of tranquillity in a life of mendicancy. The eternal and certain distinctions (laid down in the Vedas) are the causes that sustain the three worlds. That illustrious person of the highest order who is conversant with the Vedas, is worshipped from the very date of his birth. Besides the performance of Garbhadhana, Vedic mantras become necessary for enabling persons of the regenerate classes to accomplish all their acts in respect of both this and the other world. In cremating his body (after death), in the matter of his attainment of a second body, in that of his drink and food after such attainment, in that of giving away kine and other animals for helping him to cross the river that divides the region of life from that of Yama, in that of sinking funeral cakes in water--Vedic mantras are necessary. Then again the three classes of Pitris, viz., the Archishmats, the Varhishads, and the Kravyads, approve of the necessity of mantras in the case of the dead, and mantras are allowed to be efficient causes (for attainment of the objects for which these ceremonies and rites have been directed to be performed). When the Vedas say this so loudly and when again human beings are said to owe debts to the Pitris, the Rishis, and the gods, how can any one attain to Emancipation? This false doctrine (of incorporeal existence called Emancipation), apparently dressed in colours of truth, but subversive of the real purport of the declarations of the Vedas, has been introduced by learned men reft of prosperity and eaten up by idleness. That Brahmana who performs sacrifices according to the declarations of the Vedas is never seduced by sin. Through sacrifices, such a person attains to high regions of felicity along with the animals he has slain in those sacrifices, and himself, gratified by the acquisition of all his wishes succeeds in gratifying those animals by fulfilling their wishes. By disregarding the Vedas, by guile, or by deception, one never succeeds in attaining to the Supreme. On the other hand, it is by practising the rites laid down in the Vedas that one succeeds in attaining to Brahma.'

"Kapila said, '(If acts are obligatory, then) there are the Darsa, the Paurnamasa, the Agnihotra, the Chaturmasya, and other acts for the man of intelligence. In their performance is eternal merit. (Why then perform acts involving cruelty)? Those that have betaken themselves to the Sannyasa, mode of life, that abstain from all acts, that are endued with patience, that are cleansed (of wrath and every fault), and that are conversant with Brahma, succeed by such knowledge of Brahma in paying off the debts (thou speakest of) to the gods (the Rishis, and the Pitris) represented to be so very fond of libations poured in sacrifices. The very gods become stupefied in tracing the track of that trackless person who constitutes himself the soul of all creatures and who looks upon all creatures with an equal eye. Through instructions received from the preceptor one knows that which dwells within this frame to be of a four-fold nature, having besides four doors and four mouths. In consequence of (their possession of) two arms, the organ of speech, the stomach, and the organ of pleasure, the very gods are said to have four doors. One should, therefore, strive one's best to keep those doors under control. [Mantras (prayers) are necessary in cremating a Brahmana's dead body. Mantras are needed for assisting the dead spirit to attain to a brilliant form (either in the next world or in this if there be rebirth). These mantras are, of course, uttered in Sraddhas. After the dead spirit has been provided, with the aid of mantras, with a body, food and drink are offered to him with the aid of mantras. Kine (cattle) and animals are given away by the representatives of the dead for enabling the dead ancestor to cross the Vaitarani (the river that flows between the two worlds) and for enabling him to become happy in heaven. The funeral cake, again, according to the ordinance, is sunk in water for making it easily attainable by him to whom it is offered. By becoming a human being one inherits three debts. By study he pays off his debt to the Rishis: by the performance of sacrifices he pays off his debt to the gods, and by begetting children he frees himself from the debt he owes to the Pitris. The argument then is this: when the Vedas, which are the words of Supreme Godhead, have laid down these mantras for the attainment of such objects in the next world, how can Emancipation, which involves an incorporeal existence transcending the very Karana (form) be possible? The very declarations of the Vedas in favour of acts are inconsistent with incorporeal existence or with the negation of existence with dual consciousness of knower and known.] One should not gamble with dice. One should not appropriate what belongs to another. One should not assist at the sacrifice of a person of ignoble birth. One should not, giving way to wrath, smite another with hands or feet. That intelligent man who conducts himself in this way is said to have his hands and feet well-controlled. One should not indulge in vociferous abuse or censure. One should not speak words that are vain. One should forbear from knavery and from calumniating others. One should observe the vow of truthfulness, be sparing of speech, and always heedful.' By conducting oneself in this way one will have one's organ of speech well-restrained. One should not abstain entirely from food. One should not eat too much. One should give up covetousness, and always seek the companionship of the good. One should eat only so much as is needed for sustaining life. By conducting oneself in this way one succeeds in properly controlling the door represented by one's stomach. One should not, O hero, lustfully take another wife when one has a wedded spouse (with whom to perform all religious acts). One should never summon a woman to bed except in her season. One should confine oneself to one's own wedded spouse without seeking congress with other women. By conducting oneself in this way one is said to have one's organ of pleasure properly controlled. That man of wisdom is truly a regenerate person who has all his four doors, viz., the organ of pleasure, the stomach, the two arms (and two feet), and the organ of speech, properly controlled. Everything becomes useless of that person whose doors are not well-controlled. What can the penance of such a man do? What can his sacrifices bring about? What cart be achieved by his body? The gods know him for a Brahmana who has cast off his upper garment, who sleeps on the bare ground, who makes his arm a pillow, and whose heart is possessed of tranquillity. 1 That person who, devoted to contemplation, singly enjoys all the happiness that wedded couples enjoy, and who turns not his attention to the joys and griefs of others, should be known for a Brahmana. That man who rightly understands all this as it exists in reality and its multiform transformations, and who knows what the end is of all created objects, is known by the gods for a Brahmana. One who hath no fear from any creature and from whom nocreature hath any fear and who constitutes himself the soul of all creatures, should be known for a Brahmana. Without having acquired purity of heart which is the true result of all pious acts such as gifts and sacrifices, men of foolish understandings do not succeed in obtaining a knowledge of what is needed in making one a Brahmana even when explained by preceptors. Destitute of a knowledge of all this, these men desire fruits of a different kind, viz., heaven and its joys. Unable to practise even a small part of that good conduct which has come down from remote times, which is eternal, which is characterised by certitude, which enters as a thread in all our duties, and by adopting which men of knowledge belonging to all the modes of life convert their respective duties and penances into terrible weapons for destroying the ignorance and evils of worldliness, men of foolish understandings regard acts that are productive of visible fruits, that are fraught with the highest puissance, and that are deathless, as fruitless after all and as deviations (from the proper course) not sanctioned by the scriptures. In truth, however, that conduct, embracing as it does practices the very opposite of those that are seen in seasons of distress, is the very essence of heedfulness and is never affected by lust and wrath and other passions of a similar kind. As regards sacrifices again, it is very difficult to ascertain all their particulars. If ascertained, it is very difficult to observe them in practice. If practised, the fruits to which they lead are terminable. Mark this well. (And marking this, do thou betake thyself to the path of knowledge).'

"Syumarasmi said, 'The Vedas countenance acts and discountenance them. Whence then is their authority when their declarations thus contradict each other? Renunciation of acts, again, is productive of great benefit. Both these have been indicated in the Vedas. Do thou discourse to me on this subject, O Brahmana!'

"Kapila said, 'Betaking yourselves to the path of the good (viz., Yoga), do you even in this life realise its fruits by the direct evidence of your senses. What, however, are the visible results of those other objects which you (men of acts) pursue?'

"Syumarasmi said, 'O Brahmana, I am Syumarasmi by name. I have come here for acquiring knowledge. Desirous of doing good to myself I have started this conversation in artless candour and not from desire of disputation. The dark doubt has taken possession of my mind. O illustrious one, solve it to me. Thou hast said that they who take the path of the good (viz., Yoga), by which Brahma is attained, realise its fruits by the direct evidence of their senses. What, indeed, is that which is so realisable by the direct evidence of the senses and which is pursued by yourselves? Avoiding all sciences that have disputation only for their foremost object, I have so studied the Agama as to have July mastered their true meaning. By Agama I understand the declarations of the Vedas. I also include la that word those sciences based on logic which have for their object the bringing out of the real meaning of the Vedas. [The sciences that have disputation only for their foremost object, are, according to the commentator, the sciences of the Lokayatikas, the Saughatas (or Buddhists), the Kapalikas, etc. The other sciences based on Logic that are included within the word Agama are the two Mimamsas, Sankhya, and Patanjala.] Without avoiding the duties laid down for the particular mode of life which one may lead, one should pursue the practices laid down in Agama. Such observance of the practices laid down in Agama crowns one with success. In consequence of the certainty of the conclusions of Agama, the success to which the latter leads may be said to be almost realisable by direct evidence. As a boat that is tied to another bound for a different port, cannot take its passengers to the port they desire to reach, even so ourselves, dragged by our acts due to past desires, can never cross the interminable river of birth and death (and reach the heaven of rest and peace we may have in view). Discourse to me on this topic, O illustrious one! Teach me as a preceptor teaches a disciple. No one can be found amongst men that has completely renounced all worldly objects, nor one that is perfectly contented with oneself, nor one that has transcended grief, nor one that is perfectly free from disease, nor one that is absolutely free from the desire to act (for one's own benefit), nor one that has an absolute distaste for companionship, nor one that has entirely abstained from acts of every kind. Even men like yourself are seen to give way to joy and indulge in grief as persons like ourselves. Like other creatures the senses of persons like yourselves have their functions and objects. Tell me, in what then, if we are to investigate the question of happiness, does pure felicity consist for all the four orders of men and all the four modes of life who and which have, as regards their inclinations, the same resting ground.'

"Kapila said, 'Whatever the Sastras according to which one performs the acts one feels inclined to do, the ordinances laid down in it for regulating those acts never become fruitless. Whatever again the school of opinion according to which one may conduct oneself, one is sure to attain to the highest end by only observing the duties of self-restraint of Yoga. Knowledge assists that man in crossing (this interminable river of life and death) who pursues knowledge. That conduct, however, which men pursue after deviating from the path of knowledge, afflicts them (by subjecting them to the evils of life and death). It is evident that ye are possessed of knowledge and dissociated from every worldly object that may produce distress. But have any of you at any time succeeded in acquiring that knowledge in consequence of which everything is capable of being viewed as identical with one Universal Soul? Without a correct apprehension of the scriptures, some there are, fond only of disputation, who, in consequence of being overwhelmed by desire and aversion, become the slaves of pride and arrogance. Without having correctly understood the meaning of scriptural declarations, these robbers of the scriptures, these depredators of Brahma, influenced by arrogance and error, refuse to pursue tranquillity and practise self-restraint. These men behold fruitlessness on every side, and if (by chance) they succeed in obtaining the puissance of knowledge they never impart it to others for rescuing them. Made up entirely of the quality of Tamas, they have Tamas only for their refuge. One becomes subject to all the incidents of that nature which one imbibes. Accordingly, of him who hath Tamas for his refuge, the passions of envy, lust, wrath, pride, falsehood, and vanity, continually grow, for one's qualities have one's nature for their spring. Thinking in this strain and beholding these faults (through the aid of instructions secured from preceptors), Yatis, who covet the highest end, betake themselves to Yoga, leaving both good and ill.'

"Syumarasmi said, 'O Brahmana, all that I have said (about the laudable character of acts and the opposite character of Renunciation) is strictly conformable to the scriptures. It is, however, very true that without a correct apprehension of the meaning of the scriptures, one does not feel inclined to obey what the scriptures really declare. Whatever conduct is consistent with equity is consistent with the scriptures. Even that is what the Sruti declares. Similarly, whatever conduct is inconsistent with equity is inconsistent with the scriptures. This also is declared by the Sruti. It is certain that no one can do an act that is scriptural by transgressing the scriptures. That again is unscriptural which is against the Vedas. The Sruti declares this. Many men, who believe only what directly appeals to their senses, behold only this world (and not what is addressed in the scriptures to Faith). They do not behold what the scriptures declare to be faults. They have, accordingly, like ourselves, to give way to grief. Those objects of the senses with which men like you are concerned are the same with which other living creatures are concerned. Yet in consequence of your knowledge of the soul and their ignorance of it, how vast is the difference that exists between you and them! All the four orders of men and all the four modes of life, however different their duties, seek the same single end (viz., the highest happiness). Thou art possessed of unquestioned talents and abilities. For ascertaining that particular course of conduct (amongst those various duties) which is well calculated to accomplish the desired end, thou hast, by discoursing to me on the Infinite (Brahma), filled my

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soul with tranquillity. As regards ourselves, in consequence of our inability to understand the Soul we are destitute of a correct apprehension of the reality. Our wisdom is concerned with things that are low, and we are enveloped in thick darkness. (The course of conduct, however, that thou hast indicated for enabling one to attain to Emancipation, is exceedingly difficult of practice). Only he who is devoted to Yoga, who has discharged all his duties, who is capable of roving everywhere depending only on his own body, who has brought his soul under perfect control, who has transcended the requirements of the science of morality and who disregards the whole world (and everything belonging to it), can transgress the declarations of the Vedas with respect to acts, and say that there is Emancipation. For one, however, who lives in the midst of relatives, this course of conduct is exceedingly difficult to follow. Gift, study of the Vedas, sacrifices, begetting offspring, simplicity of dealing, when by practising even these no one succeeds in attaining to Emancipation, fie on him who seeks to attain to it, and on Emancipation itself that is sought! It seems that the labour spent upon attaining to it is all fruitless. One becomes chargeable with atheism if one disregards the Vedas by not doing the acts they direct. O illustrious one, I desire to hear without delay about that (Emancipation) which comes in the Vedas after the declarations in favour of acts. Do tell me the truth, O Brahmana! I sit at thy feet as a disciple. Teach me kindly! I wish to know as much about Emancipation as is known to thee, O learned one!'

SECTION 270

"Kapila said, 'The Vedas are regarded as authoritative by all. People never disregard them. Brahma is of two kinds, viz., Brahma as represented by sound, and Brahma as Supreme (and intangible). One conversant with Brahma represented by sound succeeds in attaining to Supreme Brahma. Commencing with the rites of Garbhadhana, that body which the sire creates with the aid of Vedic mantras is cleansed (after birth) by Vedic mantras. When the body has been cleansed with purificatory rites (performed with the aid of Vedic mantras), the owner there of come to be called a Brahmana and becomes a vessel fit for receiving knowledge of Brahma. Know that the reward of acts is purity of heart which only leads to Emancipation. I shall presently speak to thee of that. Whether purity of heart has been attained or not (by performance of acts) is what can be known to the person himself who has attained it. It can never be known with the aid of either the Vedas or inference. They that cherish no expectation, that discard every kind of wealth by not storing anything for future use, that are not covetous, and that are free from every kind of affection and aversion, perform sacrifices because of the conviction that their performance is a duty. To make gifts unto deserving persons is the end (right use) of all wealth. Never addicted at any time to sinful acts, observant of those rites that have been laid down in the Vedas, capable of crowning all their wishes with fruition, endued with certain conclusions through pure knowledge, never giving way to wrath,--never indulging in envy, free from pride and malice, firm in Yoga, of unstained birth, unstained conduct, and unstained learning, devoted to the good of all creatures, there were in days of yore many men, leading lives of domesticity and thoroughly devoted to their own duties, there were many kings also of the same qualifications, devoted to Yoga (like Janaka, etc.), and many Brahmanas also of the same character (like Yajnavalkya and others). They behaved equally towards all creatures and were endued with perfect sincerity. Contentment was theirs, and certainty of knowledge. Visible were the rewards of their righteousness, and pure were they in behaviour and heart. They were possessed of faith in Brahma of both forms. At first making their hearts pure, they duly observed all (excellent) vows. They were observant of the duties of righteousness on even occasions of distress and difficulty, without failing off in any particular. Uniting together they used to perform meritorious acts. In this they found great happiness. And inasmuch as they never tripped, they had never to perform any expiation. Relying as they did upon the true course of righteousness, they became endued with irresistible energy. They never followed their own understandings in the matter of earning merit but followed the dictates of the scriptures alone for that end. Accordingly they were never guilty of guile in the matter of performing acts of righteousness. In consequence of their observing unitedly the absolute ordinances of the scriptures without betaking themselves ever to the rites laid down in the alternative, they were never under the necessity of performing expiation. There is no expiation for men living in the observance of the ordinances laid down in the scriptures. The Sruti declares that expiation exists for only men that are weak and unable to follow the absolute and substantive provisions of the sacred law. Many Brahmanas there were of this kind in days of old, devoted to the performance of sacrifices, of profound knowledge of the Vedas, possessed of purity and good conduct, and endued with fame. They always worshipped Brahma in the sacrifices, and were free from desire. Possessed of learning they transcended all the bonds of life. The sacrifices of these men, their (knowledge of the) Vedas, their acts performed in obedience to the ordinances, their study of the scripture at the fixed hours, and the wishes they entertained, freed as they were from lust and wrath, observant as they were of pious conduct and acts notwithstanding all difficulties, renowned as they were for performing the duties of their own order and mode of life, purified as their souls were in consequence of their very nature, characterised as they were by thorough sincerity, devoted as they were to tranquillity, and mindful as they were of their own practices, were identical with Infinite Brahma. Even this is the eternal Sruti heard by us. [What is meant by the sacrifices, etc., of such men being identical with infinite Brahma is that these men were identical with Brahma and whatever they did was Brahma. They had no consciousness of self, or they did nothing for self. They were the Soul of the universe.] The penances of men that were so high-souled, of men whose conduct and acts were so difficult of observance and accomplishment, of men whose wishes were crowned with fruition in consequence of the strict discharge of their duties, became efficacious weapons for the destruction of all earthly desires. The Brahmanas say that that Good Conduct, which is wonderful, whose origin may be traced to very ancient times, which is eternal and whose characteristics are unchangeable, which differs from the practices to which even the good resort in seasons of distress and represents their acts in other situations, which is identical with heedfulness, over which lust and wrath and other evil passions can never prevail, and in consequence of which there was (at one time) no transgression in all mankind, subsequently came to be distributed into four subdivisions, corresponding with the four modes of life by persons unable to practise its duties in minute detail and entirety. They that are good, by duly observing that course of Good Conduct after adoption of the Sannyasa mode of life, attain to the highest end. They also that betake themselves to the forest mode reach the same high end (by duly observing that conduct). They too that observe the domestic mode of life attain to the highest end (by duly practising the same conduct); and, lastly, those that lead the Brahmacharya mode obtain the same (end by a due observance of the same conduct). Those Brahmanas are seen to shine in the firmament as luminaries shedding beneficent rays of light all around. Those myriads of Brahmanas have become stars and constellations set in their fixed tracks. In consequence of contentment (or Renunciation) they have all attained to Infinity as the Vedas declare. If such men have to come back to the world through the wombs of living creatures, they are never stained by sins which have the unexhausted residue of previous acts for their originating cause. Indeed, one who has led the life of a Brahmacharin and waited dutifully upon his preceptor, who has arrived at settled conclusions (in respect of the soul), and who has devoted himself to Yoga thus, is truly a Brahmana. Who else would deserve to be called a Brahmana? When acts alone determine who is a Brahmana and who is not, acts (good or bad) must be held to indicate the happiness or misery of a person. As regards those that have by conquering all evil passions acquired purity of heart, we have heard the eternal Sruti that in consequence of the Infinity to which they attain (through beholding the universal soul) and of the knowledge of Brahma (they acquire through the declarations of Srutis), they behold everything to be Brahma. The duties (of tranquillity, self-restraint, abstention from acts, renunciation, devotion, and the abstraction of Samadhi) followed by those men of pure hearts, that are freed from desire, and that have Emancipation only for their object, for acquisition of the knowledge of Brahma, are equally laid down for all the four orders of men and all the four modes of life. Verily, that knowledge is always acquired by Brahmanas of pure hearts and restrained soul. One whose soul is for Renunciation based upon contentment is regarded as the refuge of true knowledge. Renunciation, in which is that knowledge which leads to Emancipation, and which is highly necessary for a Brahmana, is eternal (and comes down from preceptor to pupil for ever and ever). Renunciation sometimes exists mixed with the duties of other modes. But whether existing in that state or by itself, one practises it according to the measure of one's strength (that depends upon the degree of one's absence of worldly desires). Renunciation is the cause of supreme benefit unto every kind of person. Only he that is weak, fails to practise it. That pure-hearted man who seeks to attain to Brahma becomes rescued from the world (with its misery).'

"Syumarasmi said, 'Amongst those that are given up to enjoyment (of property), they that make gifts, they that perform sacrifices, they that devote themselves to the study of the Vedas, and they that betake themselves to a life of Renunciation after having acquired and enjoyed wealth and all its pleasures, when they depart from this world, who is it that attains to the foremost place in heaven? I ask thee this, O Brahmana! Do thou tell me truly.'

"Kapila said, 'Those who lead a life of domesticity are certainly auspicious and acquire excellence of every kind. They are unable, however, to enjoy the felicity that attaches to Renunciation. Even thou mayst see this.'

"Syumarasmi said, 'Ye depend upon knowledge as the means (for the attainment of Emancipation). Those who lead lives of domesticity have planted their faith in acts. It has, however, been said that the end of all modes of life is Emancipation. No difference, therefore, is observable between them in respect of either their superiority or inferiority of puissance. O illustrious one, do thou tell me then how stands the matter truly.'

"Kapila said, 'Acts only cleanse the body. Knowledge, however, is the highest end (for which one strives). When all faults of the heart are cured (by acts), and when the felicity of Brahma becomes established in knowledge, benevolence, forgiveness, tranquillity, compassion, truthfulness, and candour, abstention from injury, absence of pride, modesty, renunciation, and abstention from work are attained. These constitute the path that lead to Brahma. By those one attains to what is the Highest. That the cure of all faults of the heart is the result of acts becomes intelligible to the wise man when these are attained. That, indeed, is regarded as the highest end which is obtained by Brahmanas endued with wisdom, withdrawn from all acts, possessed of purity and the certitude of knowledge. One who succeeds in acquiring a knowledge of the Vedas, of that which is taught by the Vedas (viz., Brahma as represented in acts), and the minutiae of acts, is said to be conversant with the Vedas. Any other man is only a bag of wind. One who is conversant with the Vedas knows everything, for everything is established on the Vedas. Verity, the present, past, and future all exist in the Vedas. This one conclusion is deducible from all the scriptures, viz., that this universe exists and does not exist. To the man of knowledge this (all that is perceived) is both sat and asat. To him, this all is both the end and the middle. This truth rests upon all the Vedas, viz., that when complete Renunciation takes place one obtains what is sufficient. Then again the highest contentment follows and rests upon Emancipation, which is absolute, which exists as the soul of all mortal and immortal things, which is well-known as such universal soul, which is the highest object of knowledge as being identical with all mobile and immobile things, which is full, which is perfect felicity, which is without duality, which is the foremost of all things, which is Brahma, which is Unmanifest and the cause also, whence the Unmanifest has sprung, and which is without deterioration of any kind. Ability to subdue the senses, forgiveness, and abstention from work in consequence of the absence of desire,--these three are the cause of perfect felicity. With the aid of these three qualities, men having understanding for their eyes succeed in reaching that Brahma which is uncreate, which is the prime cause of the universe, which is unchangeable and which is beyond destruction. I bow to that Brahma, which is identical with him that knows it.'"

SECTION 271

"Yudhishthira said, 'The Vedas, O Bharata, discourse of Religion. Profit, and Pleasure. Tell me, however, O grandsire, the attainment of which (amongst these three) is regarded as superior.'

"Bhishma said, 'I shall, in this connection, recite to thee the ancient narrative of the benefit that Kundadhara in days of old had conferred upon one who was devoted to him. Once on a time a Brahmana destitute of wealth sought to acquire virtue, induced by the desire of fruit. He continually set his heart upon wealth for employing it in the celebration of sacrifices. For achieving his purpose he set himself to the practice of the austerest penances. Resolved to accomplish his purpose, he began to worship the deities with great devotion. But he failed to obtain wealth by such worship of the deities. He thereupon began to reflect, saying unto himself, 'What is that deity, hitherto unadored by men, who may be favourably disposed towards me without delay?' While reflecting in this strain with a cool mind, he beheld stationed before him that retainer of the deities, viz., the Cloud called Kundadhara. As soon as he beheld that mighty-armed being, the Brahmana's feelings of devotion were excited, and he said unto himself, 'This one will surely bestow prosperity upon me. Indeed, his form indicates as much. He lives in close proximity to the deities. He has not as yet been adored by other men. He will verily give me abundant wealth without any delay.' The Brahmana, then, having concluded thus, worshipped that Cloud with dhupas and perfumes and garlands of flowers of the most superior kind, and with diverse kinds of offerings. Thus worshipped, the Cloud became very soon pleased with his worshipper and uttered these words fraught with benefit to that Brahmana, 'The wise have ordained expiation for one guilty of Brahmanicide, or of drinking alcohol or of stealing, or of neglecting all meritorious vows. There is no expiation, however, for one that is ungrateful. Expectation hath a child named Iniquity. Ire, again, is regarded to be a child of Envy. Cupidity is the child of Deceit. Ingratitude, however, is barren (and hath no offspring). After this, that Brahmana, stretched on a bed of Kusa grass, and penetrated with the energy of Kundadhara, beheld all living beings in a dream. Indeed, in consequence of his absence of passion, penances, and devotion, that Brahmana of cleansed soul, standing aloof from all (carnal) enjoyments, beheld in the night that effect of

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his devotion to Kundadhara. Indeed, O Yudhishthira, he beheld the high-souled Manibhadra of great effulgence stationed in the midst of the deities, employed in giving his orders. There the gods seemed to be engaged in bestowing kingdoms and riches upon men, induced by their good deeds, and in taking them away when men fell off from goodness. Then, O bull of Bharata's race, Kundadhara of great effulgence, bending himself low, prostrated himself on the ground before the gods in the presence of all the Yakshas. At the command of the gods the high-souled Manibhadra addressed the prostrate Kundadhara and said, 'What does Kundadhara want?' Thereupon Kundadhara replied, 'If, indeed, the gods are pleased with me, there, that Brahmana reverences me greatly. I pray for some favour being shown to him, something, that is, that may bring him happiness.' Hearing this, Manibhadra, commanded by the gods, once more said unto Kundadhara of great intelligence these words, 'Rise, rise up, O Kundadhara! Thy suit is successful. Be thou happy. If this Brahmana be desirous of wealth, let wealth be given to him, that is, as much wealth as this thy friend desires. At the command of the gods I shall give him untold wealth.' Kundadhara, then, reflecting upon the fleeting and unreal character of the status of humanity, set his heart, O Yudhishthira, upon inclining the Brahmana to penances. Indeed, Kundadhara said, 'I do not, O giver of wealth, beg for wealth on behalf of this Brahmana. I desire the bestowal of another favour upon him. I do not solicit for this devotee of mine mountains of pearls and gems or even. the whole earth with all her riches. I desire, however, that he should be virtuous. Let his heart find pleasure in virtue. Let him have virtue for his stay. Let virtue be the foremost of all objects with him. Even this is the favour that meets with my approval.' Manibhadra said, 'The fruits of virtue are always sovereignty and happiness of diverse kinds. Let this one enjoy those fruits, always freed from physical pain of every kind.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed, Kundadhara, however, of great celebrity, repeatedly solicited virtue alone for that Brahmana. The gods were highly pleased at it. Then Manibhadra said, 'The gods are all pleased with thee as also with this Brahmana. This one shall become a virtuous-souled person. He shall devote his mind to virtue.' The Cloud, Kundadhara, became delighted, O Yudhishthira, at thus having been successful in obtaining his wish. The boon that he had got was one that was unattainable by anybody else. The Brahmana then beheld scattered around him many delicate fabrics of cloth. Without minding them at all (although so costly), the Brahmana came to disrelish the world.'

"The Brahmana said, 'When this one doth not set any value upon good deeds, who else will? I had better go to the woods for leading a life of righteousness.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Cherishing a distaste for the world, and through the grace also of the gods, that foremost of Brahmanas entered the woods and commenced to undergo the austerest of penances. Subsisting upon Such fruits and roots as remained after serving the deities and guests, the mind of that regenerate person, O monarch, was firmly set upon virtue. Gradually, the Brahmana, renouncing fruits and roots, betook himself to leaves of trees as his food. Then renouncing leaves, he took to water only as his subsistence. After that he passed many years by subsisting upon air alone. All the while, his strength did not diminish. This seemed exceedingly marvellous. Devoted to virtue and engaged in the practice of the severest austerities, after a long time he acquired spiritual vision. He then reflected, saying unto himself, 'If, being gratified with anybody, I give him wealth, my speech would never be untrue.' With a face lighted up by smiles, he once more began to undergo severer austerities. And once more, having won (higher) success, he thought that he could, by a fiat of the will, then create the very highest objects. 'If, gratified with any person whatsoever I give him even sovereignty, he will immediately become a king, for my words will never be untrue.' While he was thinking in this way, Kundadhara, induced by his friendship for the Brahmana and no less by the ascetic success which the Brahmana had achieved, showed himself, O Bharata (unto his friend and devotee). Meeting with him the Brahmana offered him worship according to the observances ordained. The Brahmana, however, felt some surprise, O king. Then Kundadhara addressed the Brahmana, saying, 'Thou hast now got an excellent and spiritual eye. Behold with this vision of thine the end that is attained by kings, and survey all the worlds besides.' The Brahmana then, with his spiritual vision, beheld from a distance thousands of kings sunk in hell.'

"Kundadhara said, 'After having worshipped me with devotion thou didst get sorrow for thy share, what then would have been the good done to thee by me, and what the value of my favour? Look, look for what end men desire the gratification of carnal enjoyments. The door of heaven is closed unto men.'

"Bhishma continued, 'The Brahmana then beheld many men living in this world, embracing lust, and wrath, and cupidity, and fear, and pride, and sleep and procrastination, and inactivity.'

"Kundadhara said, 'With these (vices) all human beings are enchained. The gods are afraid of men. These vices, at the command of the gods, mar and disconcert on every side. No man can become virtuous unless permitted by the gods. (In consequence of their permission) thou hast become competent to give away kingdoms and wealth through thy penances.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed, the righteous-souled Brahmana, bending his head unto that Cloud, prostrated himself on the ground, and said, 'Thou hast, indeed, done me a great favour. Unconscious of the great affection shown by thee towards me, I had through the influence of desire and cupidity, failed to display good will towards thee.' Then Kundadhara said unto that foremost of regenerate persons, 'I have forgiven thee,' and having embraced him with his arms disappeared there and then. The Brahmana then roamed through all the worlds, having attained to ascetic success through the grace of Kundadhara. Through the puissance gained from virtue and penances, one acquires competence to sail through the skies and to fructify all one's wishes and purposes, and finally attain to the highest end. The gods and Brahmanas and Yakshas and all good men and Charanas always adore those that are virtuous but never those that are rich or given up to the indulgence of their desires. The gods are truly propitious to thee since thy mind is devoted to virtue. In wealth there may be a very little happiness but in virtue the measure of happiness is very great.'"

SECTION 272

"Yudhishthira said, 'Amongst the diverse kinds of sacrifices, all of which, of course, are regarded to have but one object (viz., the cleansing of the heart or the glory of God), tell me, O grandsire, what that sacrifice is which has been ordained for the sake only of virtue and not for the acquisition of either heaven or wealth!'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection I shall relate to thee the history, formerly recited by Narada, of a Brahmana who for performing sacrifices, lived according to the unchha mode.'

"Narada said, 'In one of the foremost of kingdoms that was distinguished again for virtue, there lived a Brahmana. Devoted to penances and living according to the unchha mode, that Brahmana was earnestly engaged in adoring Vishnu in sacrifices. He had Syamaka for his food, as also Suryaparni and Suvarchala and other kinds of potherbs that were bitter and disagreeable to the taste. In consequence, however, of his penances, all these tasted sweet. Abstaining from injuring any creature, and leading the life of a forest recluse, he attained to ascetic success. With roots and fruits, O scorcher of foes, he used to adore Vishnu in sacrifices that were intended to confer heaven upon him. [i.e., he never slaughtered living animals for offering them in sacrifices because of his inability to procure them. He, therefore, substituted vegetable products for those animals. His sacrifices, intended to take him to heaven, were really cruel in intention.] The Brahmana, whose name was Satya, had a wife named Pushkaradharini. She was pure-minded, and had emaciated herself by the observance of many austere vows. (Herself having been of a benevolent disposition, and her husband being thus addicted to sacrifices that were cruel), she did not approve of the conduct of her lord. Summoned, however, to take her seat by his side as his spouse (for the performance of a sacrifice), she feared to incur his curse and, therefore, comforted herself with his conduct. The garments that invested her body consisted of the (cast off) plumes of peacocks. Although unwilling, she still performed that sacrifice at the command of her lord who had become its Hotri. In that forest, near to the Brahmana's asylum, lived a neighbour of his, viz., the virtuous Parnada of Sukra's race, having assumed the form of a deer. He addressed that Brahmana, whose name was Satya, in articulate speech and said unto him these words, 'Thou wouldst be acting very improperly, if this sacrifice of thine were accomplished in such a manner as to be defective in mantras and other particulars of ritual. I, therefore, ask thee to slay and cut me in pieces for making libations therewith on thy sacrificial fire. Do this and becoming blameless ascend to heaven.' Then the presiding goddess of the solar disc, viz., Savitri, came to that sacrifice in her own embodied form and insisted upon that Brahmana in doing what he desired by that deer to do. Unto that goddess, however, who thus insisted, the Brahmana replied, saying, 'I shall not slay this deer who lives with me in this same neighbourhood.' Thus addressed by the Brahmana, the goddess Savitri desisted and entered the sacrificial fire from desire of surveying the nether world, and wishing to avoid the sight of (other) defects in that sacrifice. The deer, then, with joined hands, once more begged of Satya (to be cut in pieces and poured into the sacrificial fire). Satya, however, embraced him in friendship and dismissed him, saying, 'Go!' At this, the deer seemed to leave that place. But after he had gone eight steps he returned, and said, 'Verily, do thou slay me. Truly do I say, slain by thee I am sure to attain to a righteous end. I give thee (spiritual) vision. Behold the celestial Apsaras and the beautiful vehicles of the high-souled Gandharvas.' Beholding (that sight) for a protracted space of time, with longing eyes, and seeing the deer (solicitous of sacrifice), and thinking that residence in heaven is attainable by only slaughter, he approved (of the counsels the deer had given). It was Dharma himself who had become a deer that lived in those woods for many years. (Seeing the Brahmana tempted by the prospect he beheld), Dharma provided for his salvation and counselled him, saying, 'This (viz., slaughter of living creatures) is not conformable to the ordinances about Sacrifices. The penances, which had been of very large measure, of that Brahmana whose mind had entertained the desire of slaying the deer, diminished greatly in consequence of that thought itself. The injuring of living creatures, therefore, forms no part of sacrifice. Then the illustrious Dharma (having assumed his real form), himself assisted that Brahmana, by discharging the priestly office, to perform a sacrifice. The Brahmana, after this, in consequence of his (renewed) penances, attained to that state of mind which was his spouse's. Abstention from injury is that religion which is complete in respect of its rewards. The religion, however, of cruelty is only thus far beneficial that it leads to heaven (which has a termination). I have spoken to thee of that religion of Truth which, indeed, is the religion of those that are utterers of Brahma.'"

SECTION 273

"Yudhishthira said, 'By what means doth a man become sinful, by what doth he achieve virtue, by what doth he attain to Renunciation, and by what doth he win Emancipation?'

"Bhishma said, 'Thou knowest all duties. This question that thou askest is only for confirmation of thy conclusions. Listen now to Emancipation, and Renunciation, and Sin, and Virtue to their very roots. Perceiving any one of the five objects (viz., form, taste, scent, sound, and touch), desire runs after it at first. Indeed, obtaining them within the purview of the senses, O chief of Bharata's race, desire or aversion springs up. One, then, for the sake of that object (i.e., for acquisition of what is liked and avoidance of what is disliked) strives and begins acts that involve much labour. One endeavours one's best for repeatedly enjoying those forms and scents (and the three other objects of the remaining three senses) that appear very agreeable. Gradually, attachment, and aversion, and greed, and errors of judgement arise. The mind of one overwhelmed by greed and error and affected by attachment and aversion is never directed to virtue. One then begins with hypocrisy to do acts that are good. Indeed, with hypocrisy one then seeks to acquire virtue, and with hypocrisy one likes to acquire wealth. When one succeeds, O son of Kuru's race, in winning wealth with hypocrisy, one sets one's heart to such acquisition wholly. It is then that one begins to do acts that are sinful, notwithstanding the admonitions of well-wishers and the wise, unto all which he makes answers plausibly consistent with reason and conformable to the injunctions of the scriptures. Born of attachment and error, his sins, of three kinds, rapidly increase, for he thinks sinfully, speaks sinfully, and acts sinfully. When he fairly starts on the way of sin, they that are good mark his wickedness. They, however, that are of a disposition similar to that of the sinful man, enter into friendship with him. He succeeds not in winning happiness even here. Whence then would he succeed in winning happiness hereafter? It is thus that one becomes sinful. Listen now to me as I speak to thee of one that is righteous. Such a man, inasmuch as he seeks the good of others, succeeds in winning good for himself. By practising duties that are fraught with other people's good, he attains at last to a highly agreeable end. He who, aided by his wisdom, succeeds beforehand in beholding the faults above adverted to, who is skilled in judging of what is happiness and what is sorrow and how each is brought about, and who waits with reverence upon those that are good, makes progress in achieving virtue, both in consequence of his habit and such companionship of the good. The mind of such a person takes delight in virtue, and he lives on, making virtue his support. If he sets his heart on the acquisition of wealth, he desires only such wealth as may be acquired in righteous ways. Indeed, he waters the roots of only those things in which he sees merit. In this way, doth one become righteous and acquires friends that are good. In consequence of his acquisition of friends, of wealth, and of children, he sports in happiness both here and hereafter. The mastery (in respect of enjoyment) that a living creature attains over sound, touch, taste, form, and scent, O Bharata, represents the fruit of virtue. Remember this. Having obtained the fruit of virtue, O Yudhishthira, such a man does not give himself up to joy. Without being contented with such (visible) fruits of virtue he betakes himself to Renunciation, led on by the eye of knowledge. When, having acquired the eye of knowledge, he ceases to take pleasure in the gratification of desire, in taste and in scent, when he does not allow his mind to run towards sound, touch and form, it is then that he succeeds in freeing himself from desire. He does not, however, even then cast off virtue or righteous acts. Beholding then all the worlds to be liable to destruction, he strives to cast off virtue (with its rewards in the form of heaven and its happiness) and endeavours to attain to Emancipation by the (well-known) means. Gradually abandoning all sinful acts he betakes himself to Renunciation, and becoming righteous-souled succeeds at last in attaining to

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Emancipation. I have now told thee, O son, of that about which thou hadst asked me, viz., the topics of Sin, Righteousness, Renunciation, and Emancipation, O Bharata! Thou shouldst, therefore, O Yudhishthira, adhere to virtue in all situations. Eternal is the success, O son of Kunti, of thee that adherest to righteousness.'"

SECTION 274

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou hast said, O grandsire, the Emancipation is to be won by means and not otherwise. I desire to hear duly what those means are.'

"Bhishma said, 'O thou of great wisdom, this enquiry that thou hast addressed to me and that is connected with a subtle topic, is really worthy of thee, since thou, O sinless one, always seekest to accomplish all thy objects by the application of means. That state of mind which is present when one sets oneself to make an earthen jar for one's use, disappears after the jar has been completed. After the same manner, that cause which urges persons who regard virtue as the root of advancement and prosperity ceases to operate with them that seek to achieve Emancipation. That path which leads to the Eastern Ocean is not the path by which one can go to the Western Ocean. There is only one path that leads to Emancipation. (It is not identical with any of those that lead to any other object of acquisition). Listen to me as I discourse on it to thee in detail. One should, by practising forgiveness, exterminate wrath, and by abandoning--all purposes, root out desire. By practising the quality of Sattwa one should conquer sleep. By heedfulness one should keep off fear, and by contemplation of the Soul one should conquer breath. Desire, aversion, and lust, one should dispel by patience; error, ignorance, and doubt, by study of truth. By pursuit after knowledge one should avoid insouciance and inquiry after things of no interest. By frugal and easily digestible fare one should drive off all disorders and diseases. By contentment one should dispel greed and stupefaction of judgement, and all worldly concerns should be avoided by a knowledge of the truth. By practising benevolence one should conquer iniquity, and by regard for all creatures one should acquire virtue. One should avoid expectation by the reflection that it is concerned with the future; and one should cast off wealth by abandoning desire itself. The man of intelligence should abandon affection by recollecting that everything (here) is transitory. He should subdue hunger by practising Yoga. By practising benevolence one should keep off all ideas of self-importance, and drive off all sorts of craving by adopting contentment. By exertion one should subdue procrastination, and by certainty all kinds of doubt, by taciturnity, loquaciousness, and by courage, every kind of fear. [Hunger is to be subdued by Yoga, i.e., by regulating the wind within the body. Doubt is to be dispelled by certainty; this implies that certain knowledge should be sought for by driving off doubt. The commentator thinks that this means that all sceptical conclusions should be dispelled by faith in the scriptures. By 'fear,' in this verse, is meant the source of fear, or the world. That is to be conquered by the conquest of the six, i.e., desire, wrath, covetousness, error, pride, and envy.] Speech and mind are to be subdued by the Understanding, and the Understanding, in its turn, is to be kept under control by the eye of knowledge. Knowledge, again, is to be controlled by acquaintance with the Soul, and finally the Soul is to be controlled by the Soul. This last is attainable by those that are of pure-acts and endued with tranquillity of soul, the means being the subjugation of those five impediments of Yoga of which the learned speak. By casting off desire and wrath and covetousness and fear and sleep, one should, restraining speech, practise what is favourable to Yoga, viz., contemplation, study, gift, truth, modesty, candour, forgiveness, purity of heart, purity in respect of food, and the subjugation of the senses. By these one's energy is increased, sins are dispelled, wishes crowned with fruition, and knowledge (of diverse kinds) gained. When one becomes cleansed of one's sins and possessed of energy and frugal of fare and the master of one's senses, one then, having conquered both desire and wrath, seeks to attain to Brahma. The avoidance of ignorance (by listening to and studying the scriptures), the absence of attachment (in consequence of Renunciation) freedom from desire and wrath (by adoption of contentment and forgiveness), the puissance that is won by Yoga, the absence of pride and haughtiness, freedom from anxiety (by subjugation of every kind of fear), absence of attachment of anything like home and family,--these constitute the path of Emancipation. That path is delightful, stainless, and pure. Similarly, the restraining of speech, of body, and of mind, when practised from the absence of desire, constitutes also the path of Emancipation.'"

SECTION 275

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection is cited the old narrative of the discourse that took place between Narada and Asita-Devala. Once on a time Narada, beholding that foremost of intelligent men, viz., Devala of venerable years, seated at his ease, questioned him about the origin and the destruction of all creatures.'

"Narada said, 'Whence, O Brahmana, hath this universe, consisting of mobile and immobile objects, been created? When again doth the all-embracing destruction come, into whom doth it merge? Let thy learned self discourse to me on this.'

"Asita said, 'Those from which the Supreme Soul, when the time comes, moved by the desire of existence in manifold, forms, creates all creatures, are said by persons conversant with objects to be the five great essences. (After this) Time, impelled by the Understanding creates other objects from those (five primal essences).' He that says that there is anything else besides these (i.e., the five primal essences, Kala, and the Understanding), says what is not true. Know, O Narada, that these five are eternal, indestructible, and without beginning and without end. With Kala as their sixth, these five primal essences are naturally possessed of mighty energy. Water, Space, Earth, Wind, and Heat,--these are those five essences. Without doubt, there is nothing higher or superior to these (in point of puissance or energy). The existence of nothing else (than five) can be affirmed by any one agreeably to the conclusions derivable from the Srutis or arguments drawn from reason. If any one does assert the existence of anything else, then his assertion would verily be idle or vain. Know that these six enter into the production of all effects. That of which are all these (which thou perceivest) is called Asat. These five, and Kala (or Jiva), the potencies of past acts, and ignorance,--these eight eternal essences are the causes of the birth and destruction of all creatures. When creatures are destroyed it is into these that they enter; and when they take birth, it is again from them they do so. Indeed, after destruction, a creature resolves itself into those five primal essences. His body is made of earth; his ear has its origin in space; his eye hath light for its cause; his life (motion) is of wind, and his blood is of water, without doubt. The two eyes, the nose, the two ears, the skin, and the tongue (constituting the fifth), are the senses. These, the learned know, exist for perception of their respective objects. Vision, hearing, smelling, touching, and tasting are the functions of the senses. The five senses are concerned with five objects in five ways. Know, by the inference of reason, their similitude of attributes. Form, scent, taste, touch, and sound, are the five properties that are (respectively) apprehended by the five senses in five different ways. These five properties, viz., form, scent, taste, touch, and sound, are not really apprehended by the senses (for these are inert), but it is the Soul that apprehends them through the senses. That which is called Chitta is superior to the multitude of senses. Superior to Chitta is Manas. Superior to Manas is Buddhi, and superior to Buddhi is Kshetrajna. At first a living creature perceives different objects through the senses. With Manas he reflects over them, and then with the aid of Buddhi he arrives at certitude of knowledge. Possessed of Buddhi, one arrives at certainty of conclusions in respect of objects perceived through the senses. The five senses, Chitta, Mind and Understanding (which is the eighth in the tale),--these are regarded as organs of knowledge by those conversant with the science of Adhyatma. The hands, the feet, the anal duct, the membrum virile, the mouth (forming the fifth in the tale), constitute the five organs of action. The mouth is spoken of as an organ of action because it contains the apparatus of speech, and that of eating. The feet are organs of locomotion and the hands for doing various kinds of work. The anal duct and the membrum virile are two organs that exist for a similar purpose, viz., for evacuation. The first is for evacuation of stools, the second for that of urine as also of the vital seed when one feels the influence of desire. Besides these, there is a sixth organ of action. It is called muscular power. These then are the names of the six organs of action according to the (approved) treatises bearing on the subject. I have now mentioned to thee the names of all the organs of knowledge and of action, and all the attributes of the five (primal) essences. When in consequence of the organs being fatigued, they cease to perform their respective functions, the owner of those organs, because of their suspension, is said to sleep. If, when the functions of these organs are suspended, the functions of the mind do not cease, but on the other hand the mind continues to concern itself with its objects, the condition of consciousness is called Dream. During wakefulness there are three states of the mind, viz., that connected with Goodness, that with Passion, and that with Darkness. In dream also the mind becomes concerned with the same three states. Those very states, when they appear in dreams, connected with pleasurable actions, come to be regarded with applause. Happiness, success, knowledge, and absence of attachment are the indications of (the wakeful man in whom is present) the attribute of Goodness. Whatever states (of Goodness, Passion, or Darkness) are experienced by living creatures, as exhibited in acts, during their hours of Wakefulness, reappear in memory during their hours of steep when they dream. The passage of our notions as they exist during wakefulness into those of dreams, and that of notions as they exist in dreams into those of wakefulness, become directly apprehensible in that state of consciousness which is called dreamless slumber. That is eternal, and that is desirable. There are five organs of knowledge, and five of actions; with muscular power, mind, understanding, and Chitta, and with also the three attributes of Sattwa, Rajas, and Tamas, the tale, it has been said, comes up to seventeen. The eighteenth in the enumeration is he who owneth the body, Indeed, he who lives in this body is eternal. All those seventeen (with Avidya or Ignorance making eighteen), dwelling in the body, exist attached to him who owns the body. When the owner disappears from the body, those eighteen (counting Avidya) cease to dwell together in the body. Or, this body made up of the five (primal) essences is only a combination (that must dissolve away). The eighteen attributes (including Avidya), with him that owneth the body, and counting stomachic heat numbering twentieth in the tale, form that which is known as the Combination of the Five. There is a Being called Mahat, which, with the aid of the wind (called Prana), upholds this combination containing the twenty things that have been named, and in the matter of the destruction of that body the wind (which is generally spoken of as the cause) is only the instrument in the hands of that same Mahat. Whatever creature is born is resolved once more into the five constituent elements upon the exhaustion of his merits and demerits; and urged again by the merits and demerits won in that life enters into another body resulting from his acts. His abodes always resulting from Avidya, desire, and acts, he migrates from body to body, abandoning one after another repeatedly, urged on by Time, like a person abandoning house after house in succession. They that are wise, and endued with certainty of knowledge, do not give way to grief upon beholding this (migration). Only they that are foolish, erroneously supposing relationships (where relationship in reality there is none) indulge in grief at sight of such changes of abode. This Jiva is no one's relation; there is none again that may be said to belong to him. He is always alone, and he himself creates his own body and his own happiness and misery. This Jiva is never born, nor doth he ever die. Freed from the bond of body, he succeeds sometimes in attaining to the highest end. Deprived of body, because freed through the exhaustion of acts from bodies that are the results of merits and demerits, Jiva at last attains to Brahma. For the exhaustion of both merits and demerits, Knowledge has been ordained as the cause in the Sankhya school. Upon the exhaustion of merit and demerit, when Jiva attains to the status of Brahma, (they that are learned in the scriptures) behold (with the eye of the scriptures) the attainment of Jiva to the highest end.'"

SECTION 276

"Yudhishthira said, 'Cruel and sinful that we are, alas, we have slain brothers and sires and grandsons and kinsmen and friends and sons. How, O grandsire, shall we dispel this thirst for wealth. Alas, through that thirst we have perpetrated many sinful deeds.'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection is cited the old narrative of what was said by the ruler of the Videhas unto the enquiring Mandavya. The ruler of the Videhas said, 'I have nothing (in this world), yet I live in great happiness. If the whole of Mithila (which is said to be my kingdom) burn in a conflagration, nothing of mine will be burnt down. Tangible possessions, however valuable, are a source of sorrow to men of knowledge; while possessions of even little value fascinate the foolish. Whatever happiness exists here, derivable from the gratification of desire, and whatever heavenly happiness exists of high value, do not come up to even a sixteenth part of the felicity that attends the total disappearance of desire. As the horns of a cow grow with the growth of the cow itself, after the same manner the thirst for wealth increases with increasing acquisitions of wealth. Whatever the object for which one feels an attachment, that object becomes a source of pain when it is lost. One should not cherish desire. Attachment to desire leads to sorrow. When wealth has been acquired, one should apply it to purposes of virtue. One should even then give up desire. The man of knowledge always looks upon other creatures even as he looks upon himself. Having cleansed his soul and attained to success, he casts off everything here. By casting off both truth and falsehood, grief and joy, the agreeable and disagreeable, fearlessness and fear, one attains to tranquillity, and becomes free from every anxiety. That thirst (for earthly things) which is difficult of being cast off by men of foolish understanding, which wanes not with the wane of the body, and which is regarded as a fatal disease (by men of knowledge), one who succeeds in casting off is sure to find felicity. The man of virtuous soul, by beholding his own behaviour that has become bright as the moon and free from evil of every kind, succeeds in happily attaining to great fame both here and hereafter.' Hearing these words of the king, the Brahmana became filled with joy, and applauding what he heard, Mandavya betook himself to the path of Emancipation.'"

SECTION 277

"Yudhishthira said, 'Time, that is fraught, with terror unto all creatures, is running his course. What is that source of good after which one should strive? Tell me this, O grandsire!'

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"Bhishma said, 'In this connection is cited the old narrative of a discourse between a sire and a son. Listen to it, O Yudhishthira! Once on a time, O son of Pritha, a regenerate person devoted only to the study of the Vedas had a very intelligent son who was known by the name of Medhavin. Himself conversant with the religion of Emancipation, the, son one day asked his father who was not conversant with that religion and who was engaged in following the precepts of the Vedas, this question.'

"The son said, 'What should a man of intelligence do, O sire, knowing that the period of existence allotted to men runs fast away? Tell me this truly and in proper order, O father, so that, guided by thy instructions I may set myself to the acquisition of virtue.'

"The sire said, 'Having studied the Vedas all the while observing the duties of Brahmacharya, O son, one should then desire for offspring for the sake of rescuing one's sires. Having established one's fire then and performing the sacrifices that are ordained, one should then retire into the woods and (having lived as a forest-recluse) one should then become a Muni (by casting off everything and calmly waiting for dissolution).'

"The son said, 'When the world is thus assailed and thus besieged on all sides, and when such irresistible (bolts) are falling in every direction, how can you speak so calmly?'

"The sire said, 'How is the world assailed? By what is it besieged? What are those irresistible bolts that are falling on every side? Dost thou frighten me with thy words?'

"The son said, 'The world is assailed by Death. It is besieged by what is it besieged? What are those irresistible bolts that are falling on every side? Dost thou frighten me with thy words?'

"The son said, 'The world is assailed by Death. It is besieged by Decrepitude. Days and Nights are continually falling (like bolts). Why do you not take heed of these? When I know that Death does not wait here for any one (but snatches all away suddenly and without notice), how can I possibly wait (for his coming) thus enveloped in a coat of Ignorance and (heedlessly) attending to my concerns? When as each night passes away the period of every one's life wears away with it, when, indeed, one's position is similar to that of a fish in a piece of shallow water, who can feel happy? Death encounters one in the very midst of one's concerns, before the attainment of one's objects, finding one as unmindful as a person while engaged in plucking flowers. That which is kept for being done tomorrow should be done today; and that which one thinks of doing in the afternoon should be done in the forenoon. Death does not wait, mindful of one's having done or not done one's acts. Do today what is for thy good (without keeping it for tomorrow). See that Death, who is irresistible, may not overcome thee (before you accomplish thy acts). Who knows that Death will not come to one this very day? Before one's acts are completed, Death drags one away. One should, therefore, commence to practise virtue while one is still young (without waiting for one's old age). for life is uncertain. By acquiring virtue one is sure to eternal happiness both here and hereafter. Overpowered by folly one girds up one's loins for acting on behalf of one's sons and wives. By accomplishing acts foul or fair, one gratifies these (relatives). Him possessed of sons and animals, and with mind devotedly attached to them, Death seizes and runs away like a tiger bearing away a sleeping deer. While one is still engaged in winning diverse objects of desire, and while still unsatiated with one's enjoyment, Death seizes one and runs away like a she-wolf seizing a sheep and running away with it. 'This has been done',--'this remains to be done',--'this other is half done',--one may say thus to oneself; but Death, unmindful of one's desire to finish one's unfinished acts, seizes and drags one away. One that has not yet obtained the fruit of what one has already done, amongst those attached to action, one busied with one's field or shop or house, Death seizes and carries away. The weak, the strong; the wise, the brave, the idiotic, the learned, or him that has not yet obtained the gratification of any of his desires, Death seizes and bears away. Death, decrepitude, disease, sorrow, and many things of a similar kind, are incapable of being avoided by mortals. How, then, O father, canst thou sit so at thy ease? As soon as a creature is born, Decrepitude and Death come and possess him for his destruction. All these forms of existence mobile and immobile, are possessed by these two (viz., Decrepitude and Death). When the soldiers that compose Death's army are on their march, nothing can resist them, except that one thing, viz., the power of Truth, for in Truth alone Immortality dwells. The delight that one feels of residing in the midst of men is the abode of Death. The Sruti declares that that which is called the forest is the true fold for the Devas, while the delight one feels in dwelling in the midst of men is, as it were, the cord for binding the dweller (and making him helpless). The righteous cut it and escape. The sinful do not succeed in cutting it (and freeing themselves). He who does not injure other creatures in thought, word and deed, and who never injures others by taking away their means of sustenance, is never injured by any creature. For these reasons, one should practise the vow of truth, be steadily devoted to the vow of truth, and should desire nothing but the truth. Restraining all one's senses and looking upon all creatures with an equal eye, one should vanquish Death with the aid of Truth. Both Immortality and Death are planted in the body. Death is encountered from folly, and Immortality is won by Truth. Transcending desire and wrath, and abstaining from injury, I shall adopt Truth and happily achieving what is for my good, avoid Death like an Immortal. Engaged in the Sacrifice that is constituted by Peace, and employed also in the Sacrifice of Brahma, and restraining my senses, the Sacrifices I shall perform are those of speech, mind, and acts, when the sun enters his northerly course. How can one like me perform an Animal Sacrifice which is fraught with cruelty?

How can one like me, that is possessed of wisdom, perform like a cruel Pisacha, a Sacrifice of Slaughter after the manner of what is laid down for the Kshatriyas,--a Sacrifice that is, besides, endued with rewards that are terminable? In myself have I been begotten by my own self. O father, without seeking to procreate offspring, I shall rest myself on my own self. I shall perform the Sacrifice of Self, I need no offspring to rescue me. He whose words and thoughts are always well-restrained, he who has Penances and Renunciation, and Yoga, is sure to attain to everything through these. There is no eye equal to Knowledge. There is no reward equal to Knowledge. There is no sorrow equal to attachment. There is no happiness equal to Renunciation. For a Brahmana there can be no wealth like residence in solitude, an equal regard for all creatures, truthfulness of speech, steady observance of good conduct, the total abandonment of the rod (of chastisement), simplicity, and the gradual abstention from all acts. What need hast thou with wealth and what need with relatives and friends, and what with spouses? Thou art a Brahmana and thou hast death to encounter. Search thy own Self that is concealed in a cave. Whither have thy grandsires gone and whither thy sire too?'

"Bhishma said, 'Hearing these words of his son, the sire acted in the way that was pointed out, O king! Do thou also act in the same way, devoted to the religion of Truth.'"

SECTION 278

"Yudhishthira said, 'Of what behaviour must a man be, of what acts, of what kind of knowledge, and to what must he be devoted, for attaining to Brahma's place which transcends Prakriti and which is unchangeable?'

"Bhishma said, 'One that is devoted to the religion of Emancipation, frugal in fare, and the master of one's senses, attains to that high place which transcends Prakriti and is unchangeable. Retiring from one's home, regarding gain and loss in the same light, restraining the senses, and disregarding all objects of desire even when they are ready (for enjoyment), one should adopt a life of Renunciation. Neither with eye, nor with word, nor in thought, should one disparage another. Nor should one speak evil of any person either in or out of his hearing. One should abstain from injuring any creature, and conduct oneself observing the course of the Sun. Having come into this life, one should not behave with unfriendliness towards any creature. One should disregard opprobrious speeches, and never in arrogance deem oneself as superior to another. When sought to be angered by another, one should still utter agreeable speeches. Even when calumniated, one should not calumniate in return. One should not behave in a friendly or an unfriendly way in the midst of human beings. One should not go about visiting many houses in one's round of mendicancy. Nor should one go to any house having received a previous invitation (to dinner). Even when bespattered with filth (by others), one should, resting firmly in the observance of one's duties, refrain from addressing such bespatterers in disagreeable speeches. One should be compassionate. One should abstain from returning an injury. One should be fearless; one should refrain from self-laudation. The man of restrained senses should seek his dole of charity in a householder's abode when the smoke has ceased to rise from it, when the sound of the husking rod is hushed, when the hearth-fire is extinguished, when all the inmates have finished their meals, or when the hour is over for setting the dishes. He should content himself with only as much as is barely necessary for keeping body and soul together. Even that much of food which produces gratification should not be coveted by him. When he fails to obtain what he wants, he should not suffer himself to cherish discontent. Success, again, in obtaining what he wants, should not make him glad. He should never wish for such things as are coveted by ordinary men. He should never eat at anybody's house when respectfully invited thereto. One like him should reprobate such gains as are obtained with honour. He should never find fault (on account of staleness, etc.) with the food placed before him, nor should he applaud its merits. He should covet a bed and a seat that are removed from the haunts of men. The places he should seek are such as a deserted house, the foot of a tree, a forest, or a cave. Without allowing his practices to be known by others, or concealing their real nature by appearing to adopt others (that are hateful or repulsive), he should enter his own Self. By association with Yoga and dissociation from company, he should be perfectly equable, steadily fixed, and uniform. He should not earn either merit or demerit by means of acts. He should be always gratified, well-contented, of cheerful face and cheerful senses, fearless, always engaged in mental recitation of sacred mantras, silent, and wedded to a life of Renunciation. Beholding the repeated formation and dissolution of his own body with the senses that result from and resolve into the elemental essences, and seeing also the advent and departure of (other) creatures, he should become free from desire and learn to cast equal eyes upon all, subsisting upon both cooked and uncooked food. Frugal in respect of his fare, and subjugating his senses, he achieves tranquillity of Self by Self. One should control the (rising) impulses of words, of the mind, of wrath, of envy, of hunger, and of lust. Devoted to penances for cleansing his heart, he should never allow the censures (of others) to afflict his heart. One should live, having assumed a status of neutrality with respect to all creatures, and regard praise and blame as equal. This, indeed, is the holiest and the highest path of the Sannyasa mode of life. Possessed of high soul, the Sannyasin should restrain his senses from all things and keep himself aloof from all attachments. He should never repair to the places visited by him and the men known to him while leading the prior modes of life. Agreeable to all creatures, and without a fixed home, he should be devoted to the contemplation of Self. He should never mingle with house-holders and forest-recluses. He should eat such food as he may obtain without effort (and without having thought of it beforehand). He should never suffer joy to possess his heart. To those that are wise such a life of Renunciation is the means for the attainment of Emancipation. To those, however, that are fools the practice of these duties is exceedingly burthensome. The sage Harita declared all this to be the path by which Emancipation is to be achieved. He who sets forth from his home, having assured all creatures of his perfect harmlessness, attains to many bright regions of felicity which prove unending or eternal.'"

SECTION 279

"Yudhishthira said, 'All men speak of ourselves as highly fortunate. In truth, however, there is no person more wretched than ourselves. Though honoured by all the world, O best of the Kurus, and though we have been born among men, O grandsire, having been begotten by the very gods, yet when so much sorrow has been our lot, it seems, O reverend chief, that birth alone in an embodied form is the cause of all sorrow. Alas, when shall we adopt a life of Renunciation that is destructive of sorrow? Sages of rigid vows freed from the seven and ten (i.e., the five breaths, mind, understanding, and the ten organs of knowledge and action), from the five faults of Yoga (viz., desire, wrath, covetousness, fear, and sleep) that constitute the chief causes (for binding man to repeated rounds of earthly life), and from the other eight, viz., the five objects of the senses and the three attributes (of Sattwa, Rajas, and Tamas), have never to incur rebirth. When, O scorcher of foes, shall we succeed in abandoning sovereignty for adopting a life of renunciation?'

"Bhishma said, 'Everything, O great monarch, hath an end. Everything hath bounds assigned to it. Even rebirth, it is well-known, hath an end. In this world there is nothing that is, immutable. Thou thinkest, O king, that this (viz., the affluence with which thou art invested is a fault). That it is not so is not true, in regard to our present topic of disquisition. Ye, however, are conversant with virtue, and have readiness. It is certain, therefore, that ye shall attain to the end of your sorrow, (viz., Emancipation) in time. Jiva equipped with body, O king, is not the author of his merits and demerits (or their fruits as represented by happiness and misery). On the other hand, he becomes enveloped by the Darkness (of Ignorance having attachment and aversion for its essence) that is born of his merits and demerits. As the wind impregnated with dust of antimony once again seizes the efflorescence of realgar and (though itself destitute of colour) assumes the hues of the substances which it has seized and tinges the different points of the compass (which represent its own hueless progenitor, viz., space), after the same manner, Jiva, though himself colourless, assumes a hue in consequence of being enveloped by Darkness and variegated by the fruits of action, and travels from body to body (making his own stainless and immutable progenitor appear as stained and changeful). When Jiva succeeds in dispelling by means of Knowledge, the Darkness that invests him in consequence of Ignorance, then Immutable Brahma becomes displayed (in all His glory). The Sages say that reversion to Immutable Brahma is incapable of being achieved by Acts. Thyself, others in the world, and the deities too, should reverence them that have achieved Emancipation. All the great Rishis never desist from culture of Brahma. In this connection is cited that discourse which was sung (by the preceptor of the Daityas) in days of old. Listen, O monarch, with undivided attention to the course of conduct that was followed by the Daitya Vritra after he became divested of all his prosperity. Depending only upon his intelligence, he did not indulge in sorrow, in the midst of his enemies, although he was deprived of sovereignty, O Bharata! Unto Vritra, when in days of old he was reft of

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sovereignty, (his preceptor) Usanas said, 'I hope, O Danava, that in consequence of thy defeat thou dost not cherish any grief?'

"Vritra said, 'Without doubt, having understood, by the aid of truth and penances, the advent and departure of all living creatures, I have ceased to indulge in either grief or joy. Urged by Time creatures sink helplessly in hell. Some again, the sages say, go to heaven. All these pass their time in contentment. Passing their allotted periods in heaven and hell, and with some portion of their merits and demerits unexhausted (by enjoyment and suffering), they repeatedly take birth, impelled by Time. Chained by the bonds of Desire, creatures pass through myriads of intermediate life and fall helplessly into hell. I have seen that creatures come and go even thus. The lesson inculcated in the Scriptures is that one's acquisitions correspond with one's acts. Creatures take birth as men or as intermediate animals or as gods and go to hell. Having acted in lives, that are past in such a way as to deserve them, all creatures, subject to the ordinances of the Destroyer, meet with happiness and misery, the agreeable and the disagreeable. Having enjoyed the measure of weal or woe that corresponds with their acts, creatures always come back by the old path, which is measured by the measure of acts.' Then the illustrious Usanas addressed the Asura Vritra who was thus talking of the highest refuge of the creation, saying, 'O intelligent Daitya, why, O child, dost thou utter such foolish rhapsodies?'

"Vritra said, 'The severe penances which I underwent from greed of victory are well-known to thee as also to other sages. Appropriating diverse scents and diverse kinds of tastes that other creatures had for enjoying, I swelled up with my own energy, afflicting the three worlds. Decked with myriads of effulgent rays I used to rove through the skies (on my celestial car), incapable of being defeated by any creature and fearing none. I achieved great prosperity through my penances and lost it again through my own acts. Relying on my fortitude, however, I do not grieve for this change. Desirous (in days of yore) of fighting the great Indra, the high-souled ruler of the heavens, I beheld in that battle the illustrious Hari, the puissant Narayana. He who is called Vaikuntha, Purusha, Ananta, Sukla, Vishnu, Sanatana, Munjakesa, Harismasru, and the Grandsire of all creatures. Without doubt, there is still a remnant (to be enjoyed by me) of the rewards attaching to that penance represented by a sight of the great Hari. It is in consequence of that unexhausted remnant that I have become desirous of asking thee, O illustrious one, about the fruits of action! Upon which order (of men) hath been established high Brahma prosperity? In what mariner, again, doth high prosperity fall off? From whom do creatures spring and live? Through whom again do they act? What is that high Fruit by attaining to which a creature succeeds in living eternally as Brahma? By what Act or by what Knowledge can that fruit be achieved? It behoveth thee, O learned Brahmana, to expound these to me.'

"Recapitulated by me, O lion among kings, listen with undivided attention, O bull of men, with all thy brothers, to what the sage Usanas then said after he had been thus addressed by that prince of Danavas.'"

SECTION 280

"Usanas said, 'I bow to that divine and illustrious and puissant Being who holds this earth with the firmament in his arms. I shall speak to thee of the pre-eminent greatness of that Vishnu whose head, O best of the Danavas, is that Infinite place (called Emancipation).'

"While they were thus conversing with each other there came unto them the great sage Sanatkumara of righteous soul for the purpose of dispelling their doubts. Worshipped by the prince of Asuras and by the sage Usanas, that foremost of sages sat down on a costly seat. After Kumara of great wisdom had been seated (at his ease), Usanas said unto him, 'Discourse to this chief of the Danavas on the pre-eminent greatness of Vishnu.' Hearing these words, Sanatkumara uttered the following, fraught with grave import, upon the pre-eminent greatness of Vishnu unto the intelligent chief of the Danavas, 'Listen, O Daitya, to everything about the greatness of Vishnu. Know, O scorcher of foes, that the entire universe rests on Vishnu. O thou of mighty arms, it is He who creates all creatures mobile and immobile. In course of Time it is He, again, who withdraws all things and in Time it is He who once more casts them forth from Himself. Into Hari all things merge at the universal destruction and from Him all things again come forth. Men possessed of scriptural lore cannot obtain him by such lore. Nor can He be obtained by Penances, nor by Sacrifices. The only means by which He can be attained is by restraining the Senses. Nor that sacrifices are entirely useless towards such an end. For one, by relying upon both external and internal acts, and upon one's own mind, can purify (them) by one's own understanding. By such means, one succeeds in enjoying infinity in the world. [Vaya acts are, of course, sacrifices and other religious acts; by abhyantara acts are meant santi, danti, uparati, titiksha, and samadhi, i.e., the usual course of mental training necessary for Yoga. What the speaker intends to lay down in this verse is that sacrifices are not entirely useless. These may lead to chitta-suddhi or the cleansing of the heart, which, when attained, leads to knowledge of Him or the Soul or to Emancipation or Infinity.] As a goldsmith purifies the dross of his metal by repeatedly casting it into the fire with very persistent efforts of his own, after the same manner Jiva succeeds in cleaning himself by his course through hundreds of births. Some one may be seen to purify himself in only one life by mighty efforts. As one should with care wipe stains from off one's person before they become thick, after the same manner one should, with vigorous efforts, wash off one's faults. [The comparison lies in the fact of the desirability of the two acts. No one likes the stains the body may catch to remain unwashed or unwiped off. Similarly, no one should neglect to wash off the faults that the heart may catch. There is no comparison between the two acts with regard to the degree of effort necessary to accomplish each.] By mixing only a few flowers with them, grains of sesame cannot be made to cast off their own odour (and become at once fragrant). After the same manner, one cannot, by cleansing one's heart only a little, succeed in beholding the Soul. When, however, those grains are perfumed repeatedly with the aid of a large quantity of flowers, it is then that they cast off their own odour and assume that of the flowers with which they are mixed. After this manner, faults, in the form of attachments to all our environments, are dispelled by the understanding in course of many lives, with the aid of a large dose of the attribute of the Sattwa, and by means of efforts born of practice. Listen, O Danava, by what means creatures attached to acts and those unattached to them attain the causes that lead to their respective states of mind. Listen to me with undivided attention. I shall, in their due order, discourse to thee, O puissant Danava, as to how creatures betake themselves to action and how they give up action. The Supreme Lord creates all creatures mobile and immobile. He is without beginning and without end. Unendued with attributes of any kind, he assumes attributes (when he chooses to create). He is the universal Destroyer, the Refuge of all things, the Supreme Ordainer, and pure Chit. In all creatures it is He who dwells as the mutable and the immutable. It is He who, having eleven modifications for His essence, drinketh this universe with His rays. [The 'mutable' in all creatures is the combination of the five primal essences. The 'immutable' in them is Jiva, or Chit as invested with ignorance. The eleven modifications that constitute. His essence are the eleven senses of knowledge and action with the mind. Equipped with these eleven. He drinketh the universe, i.e., enjoys it. The rays are these senses themselves. Equipped with the senses. He enjoys the universe with the senses.] Know that the Earth is His feet. His head is constituted by Heaven. His arms, O Daitya, are the several points of the compass or the horizon. The intermediate space is His ears. The light of His eye is the Sun, and His mind is in the Moon. His understanding dwells always in Knowledge, and His tongue is in Water. O best of Danavas, the Planets are in the midst of His brows. The starts and constellations are from the light of His eyes. The Earth is in His feet. O Danava! Know also that the attributes of Rajas, Tamas, and Sattwa are of Him. He is the fruit (or end) of all the modes of life, and He it is who should be known as the fruit (or reward) of all (pious) acts (such as Japa and Sacrifice, etc.). The Highest and Immutable, He is also the fruit of abstention from all work. The Chandas are the hair on His body, and Akshara (or Pranava) is His word. The diverse orders (of men) and the modes of life are His refuge. His mouths are many. Duty (or religion) is planted in his heart. He is Brahma; He is the highest Righteousness; He is Sat and He is Asat [Dharma has various meanings all of which, however, are closely created with one another. As duty, or the assemblage of all acts which we should do, Dharma is both Righteousness and Religion.]; He is Sruti; He is the scriptures; He is the Sacrificial vessel; He is the six and ten Ritwijes; He is all the Sacrifices; He is the Grandsire (Brahman); He is Vishnu; He is the twin Aswins; and He is Purandara; He is Mitra; He is Varuna; He is Yama; He is Kuvera the lord of treasures. Although the Ritwijes seem to behold Him as separate, He is, however, known to them as one and the same. Know that this entire universe is under the control of One divine Being. The Veda that is in the soul, O prince of Daityas, regards the unity of various creatures. When a living creature realises this unity in consequence of true knowledge, he is then said to attain to Brahma. The period of time for which one creation exists or for which if ceases to exist is called a Kalpa. Living creatures exist for a thousand millions of such Kalpas. Immobile creatures also exist for an equal period. The period for which a particular creation exists is measured by many thousands of lakes (in the following way), O Daitya! Conceive a lake that is one Yojana in width, one Krosa in depth, and five hundred Yojanas in length. Imagine many thousands of such lakes. Seek then to dry up those lakes by taking from them, only once a day, as much water as may be taken up with the end of a single hair. The number of days would pass in drying them up completely by this process represents the period that is occupied by the life of one creation from its first start to the time of its destruction. The highest Evidence (for all things) says that creatures have six colours, viz., Dark, Tawny, Blue, Red, Yellow, and White. These colours proceed from mixtures in various proportions of the three attributes of Rajas, Tamas, and Sattwa. Where Tamas predominates, Sattwa falls below the mark, and Rajas keeps to the mark, the result is the colour called Dark. When Tamas predominates as before, but the relations between Sattwa and Rajas are reversed, the result is the colour called Tawny. When Rajas predominates, Sattwa falls below the mark, and Tamas keeps to the mark, the result is the colour called Blue. When Rajas predominates as before and the proportion is reversed between Sattwa and Tamas, the result is the intermediate colour called Red. That Colour is more agreeable (than the preceding one). When Sattwa predominates, Rajas falls below the mark and, Tamas keeps to the mark, the result is the colour called Yellow. It is productive of happiness. When Sattwa predominates and the proportion is reversed between Rajas and Tamas, the result is the colour called White. It is productive of great happiness. The White is the foremost colour. It is sinless in consequence of its being free from attachment and aversion. It is without grief, and free from the toil involved in Pravritti. Hence, White, O prince of Danavas, leads to success (or Emancipation). Jiva, O Daitya, having undergone thousands of births derived through the womb, attains to success. That success is the identical end which the divine Indra declared after having studied many auspicious spiritual treatises and which has for its essence the apprehension of the Soul. The end again that creatures obtain is dependent oil their colour, and colour, in its turn, depends upon the character of the Time that sets in, O Daitya! The stages of existence, O Daitya, through which Jiva must pass are not unlimited. They are fourteen hundreds of thousands ill number. In consequence of them Jiva ascends, stays, and falls down as the case may be. The end that is attained by a Jiva of dark flue is very low, for he becomes addicted to acts that lead to hell and then has to rot in hell. The learned say that in consequence of his wickedness, the continuance (in such form) of a Jiva is measured by many thousands of Kalpas. Having passed many hundred thousands of years in that condition, Jiva then attains to the colour called Tawny (and becomes born as an intermediate creature). In that condition he dwells (for many long years), in perfect helplessness. At last when his sins are exhausted (in consequence of his having endured all the misery they are capable of bringing), his mind, casting off all attachments, cherishes Renunciation. When Jiva becomes endued with the quality of Sattwa, he then dispels everything connected with Tamas by the aid of his intelligence, and exerts (for achieving what is for his good). As the result of this, Jiva attains to the colour called Red. If the quality of Sattwa, however, be not gained, Jiva then travels in a round of rebirths in the world of inert, having attained to the colour called Blue. Having attained to that end (viz., Humanity) and having been afflicted for the duration of one creation by the bonds born of his own acts, Jiva then attains to the colours called Yellow (or becomes a Deity). Existing in that condition for the space of a hundred creations, he then leaves it (for becoming a human being) to return to it once more. Having attained to the Yellow colour, Jiva exists for thousands of Kalpas, sporting as a Deva. Without, however, being emancipated (even then), he has to stay in hell, enjoying or enduring the fruits of his acts of past Kalpas and wandering through nine and ten thousand courses. Know that Jiva becomes freed from the hell (of acts) as represented by heaven or godship. After the same manner, Jiva gets, off from the other births (corresponding with the other colours). Jiva sports for many long Kalpas in the world of Devas. Falling thence, he once more obtains the status of Humanity. He then stays in that condition for the space of a hundred and eight Kalpas. He then attains once more to the status of a Deva. If while in the status of humanity (for the second time) he falleth through (evil acts as represented by) Kala (in the form of Kali), he then sinks into the Dark colour and thus occupies the very lowest of all stages of existence.

"I shall tell thee now, O foremost of Asuras, how Jiva succeeds in effecting his Emancipation. Desirous of Emancipation, Jiva, relying upon seven hundred kinds of acts every one of which is characterised by a predominance of the attribute of Sattwa, gradually courses through Red and Yellow and at last attains to White. Arrived here, Jiva travels through several regions that are most adorable and that have the Eight well-known regions of felicity beneath them, and all the while pursues that stainless and effulgent form of existence which is Emancipation's self. Know that the Eight (already referred to and) which are identical with the Sixty (subdivided into) hundreds, are, unto those that are highly effulgent, only creations of the mind (without having any real or independent existence). The highest object of acquisition with one that is White of hue, is that condition (called Turiya) which transcends the three other states of consciousness, viz., Wakefulness and Dream and Dreamless slumber. As regards that Yogin who is unable to abandon the felicities that Yoga-puissance brings about, he has to dwell (in one and the same body) for one century of Kalpas in auspiciousness and after that in four other regions (called Mahar, Jana, Tapas, and Satya). Even that is the highest end of one belonging to the

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sixth colour, and who is Unsuccessful though crowned with success, and who has transcended all attachments and passions. That Yogin, again, who falls off from Yoga practices after having attained the measure of eminence described already resides in heaven for a century of Kalpas with the, unexhausted remnant of his past acts (to be exhausted by enjoyment or endurance as the case may be), and with the seven (viz., the five senses of knowledge and mind and understanding) purged of all stains in consequence of their predisposition or proneness towards the attribute of Sattwa. And the expiry of that period, such a person has to come to the world of men where he attains to great eminence. [Anisah here means one who, after having attained to eminence by Yoga, falls off from Yoga. Tatra means heaven or the superior regions that are his in consequence of Yoga-eminence. For a century of Kalpas such a person has to dwell in heaven, with the unexhausted remnant of his senses, i.e., the senses of knowledge with mind and understanding, being always predisposed towards the attribute of Sattwa. Upon the expiry of that century of Kalpas, such a person, without ascending, descends to the world of men, but then here eminence of station becomes his.] Turning back from the world of men, he departs for attaining to new forms of existence that run higher and higher in the upward scale. While engaged in this, he courseth through seven regions for seven times, his puissance being always increased in consequence of his Samadhi and the re-awakening from it. [Saptakritwah is seven times. Paraiti is 'courseth through.' Lokah refers to the seven regions called respectively, Bhur, Bhuvar, Sivah, Mahar, Jana, Tapas, and Satya (or Brahmaloka). What is intended to be said here is this: If the Yogin, having attained to only the first stage of Yoga, dies, he ascends to heaven. Thence failing down on Earth, he becomes an Emperor and thus conquers the Earth or Bhu. In this way, as the Yogin gradually ascends in the path of Yoga, he ascends higher and higher. In this verse Sambarevikshepa has been used to signify Samadhi and awakening from Samadhi, for in the first the universe is destroyed, and in the second it is re-created. At the end, he reaches the region of Satya or Brahma. Thence even he has to return if he has not been able to achieve Brahma-sakshatkara.] The Yogin who is desirous of final Emancipation suppresses by Yoga-knowledge the seven, and continues to dwell in the world of life, freed from attachments; and taking those seven for certain means of grief, he casts them off and attains afterwards to that state which is Indestructible and Infinite. Some say that that is the region of Mahadeva; some, of Vishnu; some, of Brahman; some, of Sesha; some, of Nara; some, of the effulgent Chit; and some, of the All-pervading. [The seven that the Yogin desirous of Emancipation casts off are either the seven regions already referred to viz., Bhu, Bhuva, Swah, Maha, Jana, Tapa, and Satya, or the five senses of knowledge with mind and understanding. Samharam is equivalent to Samhritya, having been formed by the suffix namul. Upaplavoni are sources of grief or misfortune. The first Devasya refers to Mahadeva. The Saivas call that region Kailasa. The Vaishnavas call it Vaikuntha. The Hiranya-garbhas call it Brahman's or Brahmaloka. Sesha is Ananta, a particular form of Narayana. They who call it the region of Nara are, of course, the Sankhyas, for these regard Emancipation as the goal of Jiva or every creature. The Devasya vishnoh (in the third line) is Dyotamanasya Brahmanah i.e., Chinmatrasya, or of the pure Chit when uninvested with ignorance or Avidya. The Aupanishadas regard it as the region of Para-Brahma. The commentator clearly points out what the seven regions are. K.P. Singha, misunderstanding the verse, mentions only five; the Burdwan translator six.] When universal destruction comes, those persons who have succeeded in completely consuming by Knowledge their gross and subtle and karana bodies, always enter into Brahma. All their Senses also which have action for their essence and which are not identical with Brahma, merge into the same. When the time of universal destruction comes, those Jivas who have attained to the position of Devas and who have an unexhausted remnant of the fruits of acts to enjoy or endure, revert to those stages of life in the subsequent Kalpa which had been theirs in the previous one. This is due to the similarity of every successive Kalpa to every previous one. Those again whose acts, at the time of universal destruction, have been exhausted by enjoyment or endurance in respect of their fruits, falling down from heaven, take birth among men, in the subsequent Kalpa, for without Knowledge one cannot destroy one's acts in even a hundred Kalpas. All superior Beings again, endued with similar powers and similar forms, revert to their respective destinies at a new creation after a universal destruction, ascending and descending precisely in the same manner as during the creation that is dissolved. As regards, again, the person who is conversant with Brahma, as long as he continues to enjoy and endure the unexhausted remnant of his acts of previous Kalpas, it is said that all creatures and the two stainless sciences live in his body. When his Chitta becomes cleansed by Yoga, and when he practises Samyama, this perceptible universe appears to him as only his own fivefold senses. Enquiring with a cleansed mind, Jiva attains to a high and stainless end. Thence he attains to a spot which knows no deterioration, and thence attains to eternal Brahma that is so difficult of acquisition. Thus, Of thou of great might, I have discoursed to thee of the eminence of Narayana!'

"Vritra said, 'These words of thine, I see, perfectly according with the truth. Indeed, when this is so, I have no (cause of grief). Having listened to thy words, O thou of great powers of mind, I have become freed from sorrow and sin of every kind. O illustrious Rishi, O holy one, I see this wheel of Time, endued with mighty energy, of the most effulgent and Infinite Vishnu, has been set in motion. Eternal is that station, from which all kinds of creation spring. That Vishnu is the Supreme Soul. He is the foremost of Beings. In Him this entire universe rests.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Having said these words, O son of Kunti, Vritra cast off his life-breaths, uniting his soul (in Yoga, with the supreme Soul), and attained to the highest station.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me, O grandsire, whether this Janardana (Krishna) is that illustrious and puissant Lord of whom Sanatkumara spoke unto Vritra in days of old.'

"Bhishma said, 'The Highest Deity, endued with the six attributes of (puissance, etc.) is at the Root. Staying there, the Supreme Soul, with his own energy, creates all these diverse existent things. Know that this Kesava who knows no deterioration is from His eighth portion. Endued with the highest Intelligence, it is this Kesava who creates the three worlds with an eighth portion (of His energy). Coming immediately after Him who lies at the Root, this Kesava who is eternal (compared with all other existent things), changes at the end of each Kalpa. He, however, who lies at the Root and who is endued with supreme might and puissance, lies in the waters when universal destruction comes (in the form of the potential Seed of all things). Kesava is that Creator of pure Soul who courseth through all the eternal worlds. [In the form of all things,--causes and effects-which constitute them.] Infinite and Eternal as He is, He fills all space (with emanations from Himself) and courseth through the universe (in the form of everything that constitutes the universe). Freed as He is from limitations of every kind such as the possession of attributes would imply, he suffers himself to be invested with Avidya and awakened to Consciousness, Kesava of Supreme Soul creates all things. In Him rests this wondrous universe in its entirety.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'O thou that art conversant with the highest object of knowledge, I think that Vritra saw beforehand the excellent end that awaited him. It is for this, O grandsire, that he was happy and did not yield to grief (in view of his coming Death). He who is White of hue, who has taken birth in a pure or stainless race, and who has attained to the rank of a Sadhya, doth not, O sinless one, come back (into the world for re-birth). Such a person, O grandsire, is freed from both hell and the status of all intermediate creatures. He, however, who has attained to either the Yellow or the Red hue, is seen sometimes to be overwhelmed by Tamas and fall among the order of Intermediate creatures. As regards ourselves, we are exceedingly afflicted and attached to objects that are productive of sorrow or indifference or joy. Alas, what will the end be to which we shall attain? Will it be the Blue or the Dark which is the lowest of all hues?'

"Bhishma continued, 'Ye are Pandavas. Ye have been born in a stainless race. Ye are of rigid vows. Having sported in joy in the regions of the gods, ye shall come back to the world of men. Living happily as long as the creation lasts, all of you at the next new creation will be admitted among the gods, and enjoying all kinds of felicities ye will at last be numbered among the Siddhas. Let no fear be yours. Be you cheerful.'"

SECTION 281

"Yudhishthira said, 'How great was the love of virtue possessed by Vritra of immeasurable energy, whose knowledge was incomparable and whose devotion to Vishnu was so great. The status occupied by Vishnu of immeasurable energy is exceedingly difficult of apprehension. How, O tiger among kings, could Vritra (who was an Asura) comprehended it (so well)? Thou hast spoken of Vritra's acts. I too have listened to thee in full faith. In consequence, however, of my seeing that one point (in thy discourse) is unintelligible (and that, therefore, it requires explanation), my curiosity has been roused for questioning thee again. How, indeed, was Vritra, who was virtuous, devoted to Vishnu, endued with knowledge of truth derivable from a just comprehension of the Upanishads and Vedanta, vanquished by Indra, O foremost of men? O chief of the Bharatas, resolve me this doubt. Indeed, tell me, O tiger among kings, how Vritra was vanquished by Sakra! O grandsire, O thou of mighty arms, tell me in detail how the battle took place (between the chief of the deities and the foremost of Asuras). My curiosity to hear it is very great.'

Bhishma said, 'In days of yore, Indra, accompanied by the celestial forces, proceeded on his car, and beheld the Asura Vritra stationed before him like a mountain. He was full five hundred Yojanas in height, O chastiser of foes, and three hundred Yojanas in circumference. Beholding that form of Vritra, which was incapable of being vanquished by the three worlds united together, the celestial became penetrated with fear and full of anxiety. Indeed, suddenly seeing that gigantic form of his antagonist, O king, Indra was struck with palsy in the lower extremities. Then, on the eve of that great battle between the deities and the Asuras, there arose loud shouts from both sides, and drums and other musical instruments began to beat and blow. Beholding Sakra stationed before him, O thou of Kuru's race, Vritra felt neither awe nor fear, nor was he disposed to muster all his energies for the fight. Then the encounter commenced, inspiring the three worlds with terror, between Indra, the chief of the deities, and Vritra of high soul. The entire welkin was enveloped by the combats of both sides with swords and axes and lances and darts and spears and heavy clubs and rocks of diverse sizes and bows of loud twang and diverse kinds of celestial weapons and fires and burning brands. All the celestials with Grandsire at their head, and all the highly-blessed Rishis, came to witness the battle, on their foremost of cars; and the Siddhas also, O bull of Bharata's race, and the Gandharvas, with the Apsaras, on their own beautiful and foremost of cars, came there (for the same purpose). Then Vritra, that foremost of virtuous persons, quickly overwhelmed the welkin and the chief of the deities with a thick shower of rocks. The celestials, at this, filled with rage, dispelled with their showers of arrows that thick downpour of rocks showered by Vritra in battle. Then Vritra, O tiger among the Kurus, possessed of mighty strength and endued with large powers of illusion, stupefied the chief of the deities by fighting wholly with the aid of his powers of illusion. When he of a hundred sacrifices, thus afflicted by Vritra. was overcome by stupefaction, the sage Vasishtha restored him to his senses by uttering Somanas.'

"Vasishtha said, 'Thou art the foremost of the gods, O chief of the deities, O slayer of Daityas and Asuras! The strength of the three worlds is in thee! Why, then, O Sakra, dost thou languish so! There, Brahman, and Vishnu, and Siva, that lord of the universe, the illustrious and divine Soma, and all the highest Rishis (stand, beholding thee)! Do not, O Sakra, yield to weakness, like an ordinary person! Firmly resolved on battle, slay thy foes, O chief of the celestials! There, that Master of all the worlds, viz., the Three-eyed (Siva), the adored of all the worlds, is eyeing thee! Cast off this stupefaction, O chief of the celestials! There, those regenerate Rishis, headed by Vrihaspati, are praising thee, for thy victory, in celestial hymns.'

"Bhishma continued, 'While Vasava of great energy was thus being restored to consciousness by the high-souled Vasishtha, his strength became greatly enhanced. The illustrious chastiser of Paka then, relying upon his intelligence, had recourse to high Yoga and with its aid dispelled these illusions of Vritra. Then Vrihaspati, the son of Angiras, and those foremost of Rishis possessed of great prosperity, beholding the prowess of Vritra, repaired to Mahadeva, and impelled by the desire of benefiting the three worlds, urged him to destroy the great Asura. The energy of that illustrious lord of the universe thereupon assumed the character of a fierce fever and penetrated the body of Vritra the lord of Asuras. The illustrious and divine Vishnu, adored of all the worlds, bent upon protecting the universe, entered the thunderbolt of Indra. Then Vrihaspati of great intelligence and Vasishtha of exceeding energy, and all the other foremost of Rishis, repairing to Him of a hundred sacrifices, viz., the boon-giving Vasava, the adored of all the worlds, addressed him, saying, 'Slay Vritra, O puissant one, without delay!'

"Maheswara said, 'Yonder, O Sakra, stands the great Vritra, accompanied by a great force. He is the soul of the universe, capable of going everywhere, endued with large powers of illusion, and possessed of great celebrity. This foremost of Asuras is, therefore, incapable of being vanquished by even the three worlds united together. Aided by Yoga, do thou slay him, O chief of the deities. Do not disregard him. For full sixty thousand years, O chief of the celestials, Vritra practised the severest penances for obtaining strength. Brahman gave him the boons he had solicited, viz., the greatness that belongs to Yogins, large powers of illusion, excess of might, and superabundant energy. I impart to thee my energy, O Vasava! The Danava has now lost his coolness. Do thou, therefore, slay him now with thy thunderbolt!'

"Sakra said, 'Before thy eyes, O foremost of gods, I shall, through thy grace, slay with my thunderbolt this invincible son of Diti.'

"Bhishma continued, 'When the great Asura or Daitya was overtaken by that fever (born of Mahadeva's energy), the deities and the Rishis, filled with joy, uttered loud cheers, At the same time drums, and conchs of loud blare, and kettle drums and tabors began to beat and blow by thousands. Suddenly all the Asuras became afflicted with the loss of memory. In a trice, their powers of illusion also disappeared. The Rishis and the deities, ascertaining the foe to be thus possessed, uttered the praises of both Sakra and Isana, and began to urge the former (to make no delay in destroying Vritra). The form that Indra assumed on the eve of the encounter, while seated on his car and while his praises were being hymned by the Rishis, became such that none could

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look at it without awe.'" [This account of the encounter between Vritra and Indra is substantially different from what occurs in the Vana Parva. Then again the part the Rishis are made to take in the slaughter of the Asura is certainly censurable. The great Rishis, even for benefiting the three p. 307 worlds, would not certainly injure any creature. In the above account, Vasishtha and Vrihaspati and the others are very much represented as persons who have bet largely on Indra's success. In the account occurring in the Vana Parva, Indra is represented as standing in awful dread of Vritra and hurling his thunderbolt without even deliberate aim, and refusing to believe that his foe was dead till assured by all the deities. The present account seems to be a much older than that in the Vana Parva.]

SECTION 282

"Bhishma said, 'Listen, O king, to me as I tell thee the symptoms that appeared on the body of Vritra when he was overtaken by that fever (born of the energy of Mahadeva). The heroic Asura's mouth began to emit flames of fire. He became exceedingly pale. His body began to tremble all over. His breath became hard and thick. His hairs stood on end. His memory, O Bharata, issued out of his mouth in the form of a fierce, dreadful, and inauspicious jackal. Burning and blazing meteors fell on his right and left. Vultures and kanakas and cranes, gathering together, uttered fierce cries, as they wheeled over Vritra's head. Then, in that encounter, Indra, adored by the gods, and armed with the thunderbolt, looked hard at the Daitya as the latter sat on his car. Possessed by that violent fever, the mighty Asura, O monarch, yawned and uttered inhuman cries. [Amanusham is literally inhuman. The use of such words are due to temporary forgetfulness in such connections. Like Homer, Vyasa also nods.] While the Asura was yawning Indra hurled his thunderbolt at him. Endued with exceedingly great energy and resembling the fire that destroys the creation at the end of the Yuga, that thunderbolt overthrew in a trice Vritra of gigantic form. Loud shouts were once more uttered by the gods on all sides when they beheld Vritra slain, O bull of Bharata's race! Having slain Vritra, Maghavat, that foe of the Danavas, possessed of great fame, entered heaven with that thunderbolt pervaded by Vishnu. Just then, O thou of Kuru's race, the sin of Brahmanicide (in her embodied form), fierce and awful and inspiring all the worlds with dread, issued out of the body of the slain Vritra. Of terrible teeth and awful, hideous for ugliness, and dark and tawny, with hair dishevelled, and dreadful eyes, O Bharata, with a garland of skulls round her neck, and looking like an (Atharvan) Incantation (in its embodied form), O bull of Bharata's race, covered all over with blood, and clad in rags and barks of trees, O thou of righteous soul, she came out of Vritra's body. Of such dreadful form and mien, O monarch, she sought the wielder of the thunderbolt (for possessing him). A little while after, O thou of Kuru's race, the slayer of Vritra, on some purpose connected with the good of the three worlds, was proceeding towards heaven. Beholding Indra of great energy thus proceeding on his mission, she seized the chief of the deities and from that moment stuck to him. When the sin of Brahmanicide thus stuck to his person and inspired him with terror, Indra entered the fibres of a lotus-stalk and dwelt there for many long years. But the sin of Brahmanicide pursued him closely. Indeed, O son of Kuru, seized by her, Indra became deprived of all his energies. He made great efforts for driving her from him, but all those efforts proved abortive. Seized by her, O bull of Bharata's race, the chief of the deities at last presented himself before the Grandsire and worshipped him by bending his head low. Understanding that Sakra was possessed by the sin of Brahmanicide, Brahman began to reflect, O best of the Bharatas, (upon the means of freeing his suppliant). The grandsire at last, O thou of mighty arms, addressed Brahmanicide in a sweet voice as if from the desire of pacifying her, and said, 'O amiable one, let the chief of the celestials, who is a favourite of mine, be freed from thee. Tell me, what I shall do for thee. What wish of thine shall I accomplish?'

"Brahmanicide said, 'When the Creator of the three worlds, when the illustrious god adored by the universe, hath been pleased with me, I regard my wishes as already accomplished. Let my residence be now appointed. Desirous of preserving the worlds, this rule had been made by thee. It was thou, O lord, that didst introduced this important ordinance. [The rules or ordinance referred to it is about the killer of a Brahmana being liable to be overtaken by the sin of Brahmanicide.] As thou hast been gratified with me, O righteous Lord, O puissant Master of all the worlds, I shall certainly leave Sakra! But grant me an abode to dwell in.'

"Bhishma continued, 'The Grandsire replied unto Brahmanicide, saying, 'So be it!' Indeed, the Grandsire discovered means for dispelling Brahmanicide from the person of Indra. The Self-create recollected the high-souled Agni. The latter immediately presented himself to Brahman and said these words, 'O illustrious and divine Lord, O thou that are without any defect, I have appeared before thee. It behoveth thee to say what I shall have to accomplish.'

"Brahman said, 'I shall divide this sin of Brahmanicide into several portions. For freeing Sakra from her, do thou take a fourth portion of that sin.'

"Agni said, 'How shall I be rescued from her, O Brahman? O puissant Lord, do thou appoint the way. I desire to know the means (of my own rescue) in detail, O adored of all the worlds!'

"Brahman said, 'Unto that man who, overwhelmed by the quality of Tamas, will abstain from offering thee as an oblation, when he beholds thee in thy blazing form, seeds, herbs, and juices, that portion of Brahmanicide which thou wilt take upon thyself shall immediately enter, and leaving thee shall dwell in him. O carrier off oblations, let the fever of thy heart be dispelled.'

"Bhishma said, 'Thus addressed by the Grandsire the eater of oblations and sacrificial offerings accepted his command. A fourth of that sin then entered his person, O king! The Grandsire then summoned the trees, the herbs, and all kinds of grass to him, and solicited them to take upon themselves a fourth of that sin. Addressed by him, the trees and herbs and grasses became as much agitated as Agni had been at the request, and they replied unto Grandsire, saying, 'How shall we, O Grandsire of all the worlds, be ourselves rescued from this sin? It behoveth thee not to afflict us that have already been afflicted by the fates. O god, we have always to endure heat and cold and the showers (of the clouds) driven by the winds, in addition to the cutting and the tearing (that we have to suffer at the hands of men). We are willing, O Lord of the three worlds, to take at thy command (a portion of) this sin of Brahmanicide. Let the means, however, of our rescue be pointed out to us.'

"Brahman said, 'This sin that you shall take shall possess the man who through stupefaction of judgement will cut or tear any of you when Parva days come.'

"Bhishma said, 'Thus addressed by the high-souled Brahman, the trees and herbs and grasses adored the Creator and then went away without tarrying there. The Grandsire of all the worlds then summoned the Apsaras and gratifying them with sweet words, O Bharata, said, 'This foremost of ladies, viz., Brahmanicide, has come out of Indra's person. Solicited by me, do you take a fourth portion of her into your own persons (for saving the Chief of the deities).'

"The Apsaras said, 'O Lord of all the gods, at thy command we are fully willing to take a portion of this sin. But, O Grandsire, do thou think of the means by which we ourselves may be freed from (the effects of) this understanding (that we make with thee).'

"Brahman said, 'Let the fever of your hearts be dispelled. The portion of this sin that you will take upon yourselves shall leave you for instantly possessing that man who will seek congress with women in their menstrual season!'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed by the Grandsire, O bull of Bharata's race, the diverse tribes of the Apsaras, with cheerful souls, repaired to their respective places and began to sport in delight. The illustrious Creator of the three worlds, endued with great ascetic merit, then recollected the Waters which immediately came to him. Arrived at the presence of Brahman of immeasurable energy, the Waters bowed unto him and said these words, 'We have come before thee, O chastiser of foes, at thy command. O puissant Master of all the worlds, tell us what we are to accomplish.'

"Brahman said, 'This dreadful sin hath taken possession of Indra, in consequence of his having slain Vritra. Take ye a fourth part of Brahmanicide.'

"The Waters said, 'Let it be as thou commandest, O master of all the worlds. It behoveth thee, however, O puissant Lord of ours, to think of the means by which we may (in our turn) be rescued from (the consequence of) this understanding. Though art the Lord of all the deities, and the supreme refuge of the universe. Who else is there to whom we may pay our adorations so that he may relieve us from distress.'

"Brahman said, 'Unto that man who stupefied by his understanding and regarding you lightly will cast into you phlegm and urine and excreta, this one shall immediately go and thenceforth reside in him. It is in this way, verily I say unto ye, that your rescue shall be accomplished.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Then the sin of Brahmanicide, O Yudhishthira, leaving the chief of the deities, proceeded to the abodes that were ordained for her at the Grandsire's command. It was thus, O ruler of men, that Indra had become afflicted by that dreadful sin (and it was thus that he got rid of her). With the Grandsire's permission Indra then resolved to perform a Horse-sacrifice. It is heard, O monarch, that Indra having been thus possessed by the sin of Brahmanicide afterwards became cleansed of her through that Sacrifice. Regaining his prosperity and slaying thousands of foes, great was the joy that Vasava obtained, O lord of Earth! From the blood of Vritra, O son of Pritha, were born high-crested cocks. For this reason, those fowls are unclean (as food) for the regenerate classes, and those ascetics that have undergone the rite of initiation. Under all circumstances, O king, do thou accomplish what is agreeable to the twice-born, for these, O monarch, are known as gods on earth. It was in this way, O thou of Kurds race, that the mighty Asura Vritra was slain by Sakra of immeasurable energy by the aid of subtle intelligence and through the application of means. Thou also, O son of Kunti, unvanquished on earth, wilt become another Indra and the slayer of all thy foes. Those men who, on every Parva day, will recite this sacred narrative of Vritra in the midst of Brahmanas shall never be stained by any sin. I have now recited to thee one of the greatest and most wonderful feats of Indra connected with Vritra. What else dost thou wish to hear?'"

SECTION 283

"Yudhishthira said, 'O grandsire, thou art possessed of great wisdom and thoroughly conversant with every branch of learning. From this very narrative of the slaughter of Vritra the wish has arisen in my mind of asking thee a question. Thou hast said, O ruler of men, that Vritra was (first) stupefied by Fever, and that then, O sinless one, he was slain by Vasava with the thunderbolt. How did this Fever, O thou of great wisdom, arise? O lord, I desire to hear in detail of the origin of Fever.'

"Bhishma said, 'Listen, O king, to the origin, celebrated over all the world, of Fever. I shall speak in detail on this topic, fully explaining how Fever first sprang into existence, O Bharata! In days of yore, O monarch, there was a summit, named Savitri, of the mountains of Meru. Worshipped by all the worlds, it was endued with great splendour and adorned with every kind of jewels and gems. That summit was immeasurable in extent and thither no one could go. On that mountain summit the divine Mahadeva used to sit in splendour as if on a bed-stead adorned with gold. The daughter of the king of mountains, sitting by his side, shone in brilliance. The high-souled deities, the Vasus of immeasurable energy, the high-souled Aswins, those foremost of physicians, and king Vaisravana waited upon by many a Guhyaka,--that lord of the Yakshas, endued with prosperity and puissance, and having his abode on the summit of Kailasa,--all waited upon the highsouled Mahadeva. And the great sage Usanas, and the foremost of Rishis having Sanatkumara for their first, and the other celestial Rishis headed by Angiras, and the Gandharva Viswavasu, and Narada and Parvata, and the diverse tribes of Apsaras, all came there to wait upon the Master of the universe. A pure and auspicious breeze, bearing diverse kinds of perfumes, blew there. The trees that stood there were adorned with the flowers of every season. A large number of Vidyadharas and Siddhas and ascetics too, O Bharata, repaired thither for waiting upon Mahadeva, the Lord of all creatures. Many ghostly beings, also, of diverse forms and aspects, and many dreadful Rakshasas and mighty Pisachas, of diverse aspects, mad with joy, and armed with diverse kinds of uplifted weapons, forming the train of Mahadeva, were there, every one of whom resembled a blazing fire in energy. The illustrious Nandi stood there at the command of the great god, blazing with his own energy and armed with a lance that resembled a flame of fire. Ganga also, that foremost of all Rivers and born of all sacred waters in the universe, waited there in her embodied form, O son of Kuru's race, upon that illustrious deity. Thus adored by the celestial Rishis and the gods, the illustrious Mahadeva of immeasurable energy dwelt on that summit of Meru.

"After some time had passed away, the Prajapati Daksha commenced to perform a Sacrifice according to the ancient rites (laid down in the Vedas). Unto the Sacrifice of Daksha, all the deities headed by Sakra, assembling together, resolved to repair. It hath been heard by us that the high-souled deities, with the permission of Mahadeva, mounted their celestial cars resembling the fire or the Sun in splendour, and proceeded to that spot (on the Himavat) whence the Ganges is said to issue. Beholding the deities depart, the excellent daughter of the king of mountains, addressed her divine spouse, viz., the Lord of all creatures, and said, 'O illustrious one, whither are those deities headed by Sakra going? O thou that art conversant with the truth, tell me truly, for a great doubt has filled my mind.'

"Maheswara said, 'O lady that art highly blessed, the excellent Prajapati Daksha is adoring the gods in a Horse-sacrifice. These denizens of heaven are proceeding even thither.'

"Uma said, 'Why, O Mahadeva, dost thou not proceed to that Sacrifice? What objection is there of thy going to that place?'

"Maheswara said, 'O highly blessed lady, the deities in days of yore made an arrangement in consequence of which no share was assigned to me of offerings in all Sacrifices. Agreeably to the course that was sanctioned in consequence of that arrangement, O thou of the fairest complexion, the deities do not give me, following the old custom, any share of the sacrificial offerings.'

"Uma said, O illustrious one, among all beings thou art the foremost in puissance. In merit, in energy, in fame, and in prosperity, thou yieldest to none, and thou art, indeed, superior to all. In consequence, however, of this disability in respect of a share (in the Sacrificial offerings) I am filled with

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great grief, O sinless one, and a tremor overtakes me from head to foot.'

"Bhishma continued, 'The goddess (Parvati), having said these words unto her divine spouse, the Lord of all creatures, O monarch, remained silent, her heart burning the while in grief. Then Mahadeva, understanding what was in her heart and what her thoughts were (for wiping off that disgrace), addressed Nandi, saying, 'Wait here (by the goddess). Summoning all his Yoga force, that Lord of all lords of Yoga, that god of gods, that wielder of Pinaka, possessed of mighty energy, quickly proceeded to the place (where Daksha was sacrificing) accompanied by all his terrible followers and destroyed that Sacrifice. Amongst these followers of his, some uttered loud cries, and some laughed terribly, and some, O king, extinguished the (Sacrificial) fires with blood; and some, possessed of awful faces, pulling up the sacrificial stakes, began to whirl them. Others began to devour those that were ministering to the Sacrifice. Then that sacrifice, thus afflicted on every side, assumed the form of a deer and sought to fly away through the skies. Ascertaining that the Sacrifice was running away in that form, the puissant Mahadeva began to pursue him with bow and arrow. In consequence of the wrath that then filled the heart of that foremost of all gods, possessed of immeasurable energy, a dreadful drop of sweat appeared on his forehead. When that drop of sweat fell down on the earth, there forthwith appeared a blazing fire resembling the (all-destructive) conflagration that appears at the end of a Yuga. From that fire issued a dreadful being, O monarch, of very short stature, possessed of blood-red eyes and a green beard. His body was covered entirely with hair like a hawk's or an owl's and his hair stood erect. Of dreadful aspect, his complexion was dark and his attire blood-red. Like a fire burning a heap of dry grass or straw, that Being of great energy quickly consumed the embodied form of Sacrifice. Having accomplished that feat, he then rushed towards the deities and the Rishis that had assembled there. The deities, filled with fear, fled in all directions. In consequence of that Being's tread, the earth, O monarch began to tremble. Exclamations of Oh and Alas arose throughout the universe. Marking this, the puissant Grandsire, showing himself unto Mahadeva, addressed him in the following words.'

"Brahman said, 'O puissant one, the deities will henceforth yield thee a share of the sacrificial offerings! O Lord of all the deities, let this wrath of thine be withdrawn by thee! O scorcher of foes, there, those gods, and the Rishis, in consequence of thy wrath, O Mahadeva, have become exceedingly agitated. This Being also, that hath sprung from thy sweat, O foremost of gods, shall wander among creatures, O righteous-souled one, under the name of Fever. O puissant one, if the energy of this Being remains all collected together, then the entire earth herself will not be able to bear him. Let him, therefore, be distributed into many parts.' When Brahman had said these words, and when his proper share was appointed of the sacrificial offerings, Mahadeva replied unto the Grandsire of great energy, saying, 'So be id' Indeed, the wielder of Pinaka, viz., Bhava, smiled a little and became filled with joy. And he accepted the share that the Grandsire appointed of the offerings in sacrifices. Conversant with the properties of everything, Mahadeva then distributed Fever into many portions, for the peace of all creatures. Listen, O son, as to how he did this. The heat that is perceptible in the heads of elephants, the bitumen of mountains, the moss that floats on water, the slough of snakes, the sores that appear in the hoofs of bulls, the sterile tracts of earth that are full of saline matter, the dullness of vision of all animals, the diseases that appear in the throats of horses, the crests appearing on the heads of peacocks, the eye-disease of the koel, each of these was named Fever by the high-souled Mahadeva. This is what has been heard by us. The liver-disease also of sheep, and the hiccup of parrots are also each known as forms of Fever. To this must be added the toil that tigers undergo, for that also, O, righteous king, is known as a from of Fever. Besides these, O Bharata, amongst men, Fever enters all bodies at the time of birth, of death, and on other occasions. This then that is called Fever is known to be the dreadful energy of Maheswara. He is endued with authority over all creatures and should, therefore, be held in respect and worshipped by all. It was by him that Vritra, that foremost of virtuous persons, was overtaken when he yawned. It was then that Sakra hurled his thunderbolt at him. Thunderbolt, penetrating the body of Vritra, O Bharata, divided him in twain. Divided in twain by the thunderbolt, the mighty Asura possessed of great Yoga powers, proceeded to the region of Vishnu of immeasurable energy. It was in consequence of his devotion to Vishnu that he had succeeded in overwhelming the whole universe. And it was in consequence of his devotion to Vishnu that he ascended, when slain, to the region of Vishnu. Thus, O son, adverting: to the story of Vritra have I recited to thee the narrative in detail of Fever. Upon what else shall I speak to thee? That man who will read this account of the origin of Fever with close attention and cheerful heart shall become free from disease and shall always have happiness for his share. Filled with gladness, he shall have all the wishes accomplished upon which he may set his heart.'"

SECTION 284

"Janamejaya said, 'How O Brahmana, was the Horse-sacrifice of the Prajapati Daksha, the son of Prachetas, destroyed during the age of Vaivaswata Manu? Understanding that the goddess Uma had become filled with rage and grief, the puissant Mahadeva, who is the soul of all things, gave way to wrath. How, again, through his grace, was Daksha enable to reunite the divided limbs of that Sacrifice? I desire to know all this. Tell me all this, O Brahmana, truly as it occurred.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'In days of yore Daksha made arrangements for performing a Sacrifice on the breast of Himavat in that sacred region inhabited by Rishis and Siddhas where the Ganges issues out of the mountains. Overgrown with trees and creepers of diverse kinds that spot abounded with Gandharvas and Apsaras. Surrounded by crowds of Rishis, Daksha, that foremost of virtuous men, that progenitor of creatures, was waited upon by the denizens of the earth, the firmament, and the heavens, with their hands joined together in reverence. The gods, the Danavas, the Gandharvas, the Pisachas, the Snakes, the Rakshasas, the two Gandharvas named Haha and Huhu, Tumvuru and Narada, Viswavasu, Viswasena, the Gandharvas and the Apsaras, the Adityas, the Vasus, the Rudras, the Sadhyas, the Maruts, all came there with Indra for sharing in the Sacrifice. The drinkers of Soma, the drinkers of smoke, the drinkers of Ajya, the Rishis, and the Pitris came there with the Brahmanas. These, and many other living creatures belonging to the four orders, viz., viviparous and oviparous and filth-born and vegetable, were invited to that Sacrifice. The gods also, with their spouses, respectfully invited thereto, came on their celestial cars and seated thereon shone like blazing fires. Beholding them, the Rishi Dadhichi became filled with grief and wrath, and said, 'This is neither a Sacrifice nor a meritorious rite of religion, since Rudra is not adored in it. Ye are certainly exposing yourselves to death and chains. Alas, how untoward is the course of time. Stupefied by error you do not behold that destruction awaits you. A terrible calamity stands at your door in course of this great Sacrifice. Ye are blind to it!' Having said these words, that great Yogin saw into the future with eyes of (Yoga) contemplation. He beheld Mahadeva, and his divine spouse, viz., that giver of excellent boons (seated on the summit of Kailasa) with the highsouled Narada sitting beside the goddess. Conversant with Yoga, Dadhichi became highly gratified, having ascertained what was about to happen. All the deities and others that had come there were of one mind with reference to the omission to invite the Lord of all creatures. Dadhichi alone, desirous of leaving that spot, then said, 'By worshipping one who should not be worshipped, and by refusing to worship him who should be worshipped, a man incurs the sin of homicide for ever. I have never before spoken an untruth, and an untruth I shall never speak. Here in the midst of the gods and the Rishis I say the truth. The Protector of all creatures, the Creator of the universe, the Lord of all, the Puissant master, the taker of sacrificial offerings, will soon come to this Sacrifice and you all shall see him.'

"Daksha said, 'We have many Rudras armed with lances and bearing matted locks on their heads. They are eleven in number. I know them all, but I do not know who this (new Rudra) Maheswara is.'

"Dadhichi said, 'This seems to be the counsel of all that are here, viz., that Maheswara should not be invited. As, however, I do not behold any god that can be said to be superior to him. I am sure that this proposed Sacrifice of Daksha will certainly be overtaken by destruction.'

"Daksha said, 'Here, in this vessel of gold, intended for the Lord of all Sacrifices, is the sacrificial offering sanctified by mantras and (rites) according to the ordinance. I intend to make this offering unto Vishnu who is beyond compare. He is puissant and the Master of all, and unto Him should sacrifices be performed.'

'Meanwhile,' continued Vaisampayana, 'the goddess Uma, sitting with her lord, said these words.'

"Uma said, 'What are those gifts, what those vows, and what are those penances, that I should make or undergo by means of which my illustrious husband may be able to obtain a half or a third share of the offerings in sacrifices. Unto his wife who was agitated with grief and who repeated these words the illustrious Mahadeva said with a joyous countenance, 'Thou dost not know me, O goddess! Thou knowest not, O thou of delicate limbs and low belly, what words are proper to be addressed to the Lord of Sacrifices. O lady of large eyes, I know that it is only the sinful, who are bereft of contemplation, that do not understand me. It is through thy power of illusion that the deities with Indra at their head and the three worlds all become stupefied. It is to me that the chanters utter their praises in Sacrifices. It is to me that the Saman-singers sing their Rathantaras. It is to me that Brahmanas conversant with the Vedas perform their Sacrifices. And it is to me that the Adhvaryus dedicate the shares of sacrificial offerings.'

"The goddess said, 'Persons of even ordinary abilities applaud themselves and indulge in the presence of their spouses. There is no doubt in this.'

"The holy one said, 'O Queen of all the gods, I do not certainly applaud my ownself. Behold now, O lady of slender waist, what I do. Behold the Being that I will create, O thou of the fairest complexion, for (destroying) this Sacrifice (that has displeased thee), O my beautiful spouse.

"Having said these words unto his spouse Uma who was dearer to him than his own life, the puissant Mahadeva created from his mouth a terrible Being whose very sight could make one's hair stand on its end. The blazing flames that emanated from his body rendered him exceedingly awful to behold. His arms were many in number and in each was a weapon that struck the beholder with fear. That Being, thus created, stood before the great god, with joined hands, and said, 'What commands shall I have to accomplish?' Maheswara answered him, saying, 'Go and destroy the Sacrifice of Daksha.' Thus ordered, that Being of leonine prowess who had issued from the mouth of Mahadeva, desired to destroy the Sacrifice of Daksha, without putting forth all his energy and without the assistance of any one else, for dispelling the wrath of Uma. Urged by her wrath, the spouse of Maheswara, herself assuming a dreadful form that is known by the name Mahakali, proceeded in the company of that Being who had issued from Mahadeva's mouth, for witnessing with her own eyes the act of destruction which was her own (for it was she who had impelled her lord to accomplish it for her sake). That mighty Being then set out, having obtained the permission of Mahadeva and having bowed his head unto him. In energy, strength, and form, he resembled Maheswara himself who had created him. Indeed, he was the living embodiment of (Mahadeva's) wrath. Of immeasurable might and energy, and of immeasurable courage and prowess, he came to be called by the name of Virabhadra--that dispeller of the goddess's wrath. He then created from the pores of his body a large number of spirit chiefs known by the name of Raumyas. Those fierce bands of spirits, endued with terrible energy and prowess and resembling Rudra himself on that account, rushed with the force of thunder to that place where Daksha was making preparations for his sacrifice, impelled by the desire of destroying it. Possessed of dreadful and gigantic forms, they numbered by hundreds and thousands. They filled the sky with their confused cries and shrieks. That noise filled the denizens of heaven with fear. The very mountains were riven and the earth trembled. Whirl winds began to blow. The Ocean rose in a surge. The fires that were kindled refused to blaze up. The Sun became dimmed. The planets, the stars, and constellations, and the moon, no longer shone. The Rishis, the gods, and human beings, looked pale. A universal darkness spread over earth and sky. The insulted Rudras began to set fire to everything. Some amongst them of terrible form began to smite and strike. Some tore up the sacrificial stakes. Some began to grind and others to crush. Endued with the speed of wind or thought, some began to rush close and far. Some began to break the sacrificial vessels and the celestial ornaments. The scattered fragments strewed the ground like stars bespangling the firmament. Heaps of excellent viands, of bottles of drink, and of eatables there were that looked like mountains. Rivers of milk ran on every side, with clarified butter and Payasa for their mire, creamy curds for their water, and crystalised sugar for their sands. Those rivers contained all the six tastes. There were lakes of treacle that looked very beautiful. Meat of diverse kinds, of the best quality, and other eatables of various sorts, and many excellent varieties of drink, and several other kinds of food that might be licked and sucked, began to be eaten by that army of spirits with diverse mouths. And they began to cast off and scatter those varieties of food in all directions. In consequence of Rudra's wrath, every one of those gigantic Beings looked like the all-destructive Yuga-fire. Agitating the celestial troops they caused them to tremble with fear and fly away in all directions. Those fierce spirits sported with one another, and seizing the celestial damsels shoved and hurled them on all sides. Of fierce deeds, those Beings, impelled by Rudra's wrath, very soon burnt that Sacrifice although it was protected with great care by all the deities. Loud were the roars they uttered which struck every living creature with dread. Having torn off the head of Sacrifice they indulged in glee and shouts. Then the gods headed by Brahman, and that progenitor of creatures, viz., Daksha, joining their hands in reverence, addressed that mighty Being, saying, 'Tell us, who thou art.'

"Virabhadra said, 'I am neither Rudra nor his spouse, the goddess Uma. Nor have I come here for partaking of the fare (provided in this Sacrifice). Knowing the fact of Uma's wrath, the puissant Lord who is the soul of all creatures has given way to wrath. I have not come here for seeing these foremost of Brahmanas. I have not come here urged by curiosity. Know that I have come here for destroying this Sacrifice of yours. I am known by the name of Virabhadra and I have sprung from the wrath of Rudra. This lady (who is my companion), and who is called Bhadrakali, hath sprung from the wrath of the goddess. We have both been despatched by that god of gods,

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and we have accordingly come here. O foremost of Brahmanas, seek the protection of that Lord of the deities, the spouse of Uma. It is preferable to incur even the wrath of that foremost of gods than to obtain boons from any other Deity.' Hearing the words of Virabhadra, Daksha, that foremost of all righteous persons, bowed down unto Maheswara and sought to gratify him by uttering the following hymn, 'I throw myself at the feet of the effulgent Isana, who is Eternal, Immutable, and Indestructible; who is the foremost of all gods, who is endued with high soul, who is the Lord of all the universe.' [Here follow five and half slokas which appear to be interpolations]. His praises having thus been hymned, the great god, Mahadeva, suspending both Prana and Apana (the two foremost of the five life-breaths) by shutting his mouth properly, and casting (benignant) glances on every side, showed himself there. Possessed of many eyes, that vanquisher of all foes, that Lord of even the gods of all gods, suddenly arose from within the pit in which was kept the sacrificial fire. Possessed of the effulgence of a thousand Suns, and looking like another Samvartaka, the great god smiled gently (at Daksha) and addressing him, said, 'What, O Brahmana, shall I do for you?' At this juncture, the preceptor of all the deities adored Mahadeva with the Vedic verses contained in the Moksha sections. Then that progenitor of all creatures, viz., Daksha, joining his hands in reverence, filled with dread and fear, exceedingly agitated, and with face and eyes bathed in tears, addressed the great god in the following words.'

"Daksha said, 'If the great god has been gratified with me,--'if indeed, I have become an object of favour with him,--if I have deserved his kindness,--if the great Lord of all creatures is disposed to grant me boons,--then let all these articles of mine that have been burnt, eaten, drunk, swallowed, destroyed, broken, and polluted,--let all these articles, collected in course of these articles be of use to me. Even this is the boon I crave.' Unto him the many long years, and with great care and effort, go not for nothing. Let illustrious Hara, the tearer of Bhaga's eyes, said, 'Let it be as thou sayest!' Even these were the words of that illustrious progenitor of all creatures, that god of three eyes, that protector of righteousness. [Mahadeva is called Virupaksha in consequence of his three eyes, the third eye making his features dreadful to behold. He is also called Tryaksha for his possession of three eyes.] Having obtained that boon from Bhava, Daksha knelt down to him and adored that deity having the bull for his mark, by uttering his thousand and eight names.'

SECTION 285

"Yudhishthira said, 'It behoveth thee, O sire, to tell me those names by which Daksha, that progenitor of creatures, adored the great deity. O sinless one, a reverent curiosity impels me to hear them.'

"Bhishma said, 'Hear, O Bharata, what the names, both secret and proclaimed, are of that god of gods, that deity of extraordinary feats, that ascetic of secret vows.'

"Daksha said, 'I bow to thee, O lord of all the gods to the destroyer of the forces of the Asuras. Thou art the paralyser of the strength of the celestial chief himself. Thou art adored by both gods and Danavas. Thou art thousand-eyed, thou art fierce-eyed, and thou art three-eyed. Thou art the friend of the ruler of the Yakshas. Thy hands and feet extend in all directions to all places. Thy eyes also and head and mouth are turned on all sides. Thy ears too are everywhere in the universe, and thou art thyself everywhere, O Lord! Thou art shaft-eared, thou art large-eared, and thou art pot-eared. Thou art the receptacle of the Ocean. Thy ears are like those of the elephant, or of the bull, or like extended palms. Salutations to thee! Thou hast a hundred stomachs, a hundred revolutions, and a hundred tongues. I bow to thee! The utterers of the Gayatri sing thy praises in uttering the Gayatri, and the worshippers of the Sun adore thee in adoring the Sun. The Rishis regard thee as Brahmana, as Indra, and as the (illimitable) firmament above. O thou of mighty form, the Ocean and the Sky are thy two forms. All the deities dwell in thy form even as kine dwell within the fold. In thy body I behold Soma, and Agni, and the lord of the Waters, and Aditya, and Vishnu, and Brahmana, and Vrihaspati. Thou, O illustrious one, art Cause and Effect and Action and Instrument of everything unreal and real, and thou art Creation and Destruction. I bow unto thee that art called Bhava and Sarva and Rudra. I bow unto thee that art the giver of boons. I bow always unto thee that art the Lord of all creatures. Salutations to thee that art the slayer of Andhaka. Salutations to thee that hast three matted locks, to thee that hast three heads, to thee that art armed with an excellent trident; to thee that hast three eyes and that art, therefore, called Tryamvaka and Trinetra!

Salutations to thee that art the destroyer of the triple city! Salutations to thee that art called Chanda, and Kunda; to thee that art the (universal) egg and also the bearer of the (universal) egg; to thee that art the holder of the ascetic's stick, to thee that hast ears everywhere, and to thee that art called Dandimunda! Salutations to thee whose teeth and hair are turned upwards, to thee that art stainless and white, and that art stretched all over the universe; to thee that art red, to thee that art tawny, and to thee that hast a blue throat! Salutations to thee that art of incomparable form, that art of dreadful form, and that art highly auspicious! To thee that art Surya, that hast a garland of Suryas round thy neck, and that hast standards and flags bearing the device of Surya. Salutations to thee that art the Lord of spirits and ghosts, to thee that art bull-necked, and that art armed with the bow; to thee that crushest all foes, to thee that art the personification of chastisement, and to thee that art clad in leaves (of trees) and rags. Salutations to thee that bearest gold in thy stomach, to thee that art cased in golden mail, to thee that art gold-crested, to thee that art the lord of all the gold in the world! Salutations to thee that hast been adored, that deservest to be adored, and that art still being adored; to thee that art all things, that devourest all things, and that art the soul of all things! Salutations to thee that art the Hotri (in sacrifices), that art the (Vedic) mantras uttered (in sacrifices), and that ownest white flags and standards. Salutations to thee that art the navel of the universe, that art both cause and effect in the form of the five primal elements, and that art the coverer of all covers. Salutations to thee that art called Krisanasa, that art of thin limbs, and that art thin. Salutations to thee that art always cheerful and that art the personification of confused sounds and voices. Salutations to thee that art about to be stretched on the earth, that art already stretched, and that standing upright. Salutations to thee that art fixed, that art running, that art bald, and that bearest matted locks on thy head. Salutation to thee that art fond of dancing and that strikest thy puffed cheeks making thy mouth a drum. l Salutations to thee that art fond of lotuses that blow in rivers, and that art always fond of singing and playing on musical instruments. Salutations to thee that art the eldest-born, that art the foremost of all creatures, and that art the crusher of the Asura Vala. Salutations to thee that art the Master of Time, that art the personification of Kalpa; that art the embodiment of all kinds of destruction, great and small. Salutations to thee that laughest awfully and as loud as the beat of a drum, and that observest dreadful vows! Salutations for ever to thee that art fierce, and that hast ten arms. Salutations to thee that art armed with bones and that art fond of the ashes of funeral pyres. Salutations to thee that art awful, that art terrible to behold, and that art an observer of dreadful vows and practices. Salutations to thee that ownest an ugly mouth, that hast a tongue resembling a scimitar, and that hast large teeth. Salutations to thee that art fond of both cooked and uncooked meat, and that regardest the gourded Vina as highly dear. Salutations to thee that causest rain, that helpest the cause of righteousness, that art identifiable with the form of Nandi, and that art Righteousness' self! Salutations to thee that art ever moving like wind and the other forces, that the controller of all things, and that art always engaged in cooking all creatures (in the cauldron of Time). Salutations to thee that art the foremost of all creatures, that art superior, and that art the giver of boons. Salutations to thee that hast the best of garlands, the best of scents, and the best of robes, and that givest the best of boons to the best of creatures. Salutations to thee that art attached, that art freed from all attachments, that art of the form of Yoga contemplation, and that art adorned with a garland of Akshas. Salutations to thee that art united as cause and disunited as effects, and that art the form of shadow and of light. Salutations to thee that art amiable, and that art frightful, and that art exceedingly so. Salutations to thee that art auspicious, that art tranquil, and that art most tranquil. Salutations to thee that art of one leg and many eyes, and that hast only one head; to thee that art fierce, to thee that art gratified with little offerings, and thee that art fond of equity. Salutations to thee that art the artificer of the universe, and that art ever united with the attribute of tranquillity. Salutations to thee that bearest a foe-frightening bell, that art of the form of the jingle made by a bell, and that art of the form of sound when it is not perceptible by the ear. Salutations to thee that art like a thousand bells jingled together, and that art fond of a garland of bells, that art like the sound that the life-breaths make, that art of the form of all scents and of the confused noise of boiling liquids. Salutations to thee that art beyond three Huns, and that art fond of two Huns. Salutations to thee that art exceedingly tranquil, and that hast the shade of mountain trees for thy habitation. Thou art fond of the heart-flesh of all creatures, that cleansest from all sins, and that art of the form of sacrificial offerings. Salutations to thee that art of the form of Sacrifice, that art the Sacrificer himself, that art the Brahmana into whose mouth is poured the sacrificial butter, and that art the fire into which is poured the butter inspired with mantras Salutations to thee that art of the form of (sacrificial) Ritwijes, that hast thy senses under control, that art made of Sattwa, and that hast Rajas also in thy make. Salutations to thee that art of the banks of Rivers, of Rivers themselves, and of the lord of all Rivers (viz., the Ocean)! Salutations to thee that art the giver of food, that art the lord of all food, and that art identical with him that takes food! Salutations to thee that hast a thousand heads and a thousand feet-, to thee that hast a thousand tridents uplifted in thy hands, and a thousand eyes! Salutations to thee that art of the form of the rising Sun, and that art of the form of a child, that art the protector of attendants all of whom are of the form of children [This alludes to the sports of Krishna in the groves of Vrinda with the rustic children who were his companions.], and that art, besides, of the form of children's toys. Salutations to thee that art old, that art covetous, that art already agitated, and that art about to be agitated. Salutations to thee that hast locks of hair marked by the current of the Ganges, and that hast locks of hair resembling blades of Munja grass! Salutations to thee that art gratified with the six (well-known) acts, and that art devoted to the performance of the three acts. Salutations to thee that hast assigned the duties of the respective modes of life. Salutations to thee that deservest to, be praised in sounds, that art of the form of sorrow, and that art of the form of deep and confused noise. Salutations to thee that hast eyes both white and tawny, as also dark and red. Salutations to thee that hast conquered thy vital breaths, that art of the form of weapons, that rivest all things, and that art exceedingly lean. Salutations to thee that always discoursest of Religion, Pleasure, Profit, and Emancipation. Salutations to thee that art a Sankhya, that art the foremost of Sankhyas, and that art the introducer of the Sankhya-Yoga. Salutations to thee that hast a car and that art without a car (for thy journeys). Salutations to thee that hast the intersections of four roads for thy car; to thee that hast the skin of a black deer for thy upper garments, and that hast a snake for thy sacred thread. Salutations to thee that art Isana, that art of body as hard as thunderbolt, and that art of green locks. Salutations to thee that art of three eyes, that art the lord of Amvika, that art Manifest, and that art Unmanifest. Salutations to thee that art Desire, that art the Giver of all desires, that art the Killer of all desires, and that art the discriminator between the gratified and the ungratified. Salutations to thee that art all things, the Giver of all things, and the Destroyer of all things. Salutations to thee that art the hues which appear in the evening sky. Salutations to thee that art of mighty strength, that art of mighty arms, that art a mighty Being, and that art of great effulgence. Salutations to thee that lookest like a mighty mass of clouds, and that art the embodiment of eternity! Salutations to thee that art of well-developed body, that art of emaciated limbs, that bearest matted locks on thy head, and that art clad in barks of trees and skins of animals. Salutations to thee that hast matted locks as effulgent as the Sun or the Fire, and that hast barks and skins for thy attire. Salutations to thee that art possessed of the effulgence of a thousand Suns, and that art ever engaged in penances. Salutations to thee that art the excitement of Fever and that art endued with matted locks drenched with the waters of the Ganges characterised by hundreds of eddies. Salutations to thee that repeatedly revolvest the Moon, the Yugas, and the clouds. Thou art food, thou art he who eats that food, thou art the giver of food, thou art the grower of food, and thou art the creator of food. Salutations to thee that cookest food and that eatest cooked food, and that art both wind and fire! O lord of all the lords of the gods, thou art the four orders of living creatures, viz., the viviparous, the oviparous, the filth-born, and plants. Thou art the Creator of the mobile and immobile universe, and thou art their Destroyer! O foremost of all persons conversant with Brahma, they that are conversant with Brahma regard thee as Brahma! The utterers of Brahma say that thou art the Supreme source of Mind, and the Refuge upon which Space, Wind, and Light rest. Thou art the Richs and the Samans, and the syllable Om. O foremost of all deities, those utterers of Brahma that sing the Samans constantly sing thee when they utter the syllables Hayi-Hayi, Huva-Hayi, and Huva-Hoyi. Thou art made up of the Yajuses, of the Richs, and of the offerings poured on the sacrificial fire. The hymns contained in the Vedas and the Upanishads adore thee! Thou art the Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas, the Vaisyas, and the Sudras, and the other castes formed by intermixture. Thou art those masses of clouds that appear in the sky; thou art Lightning; and thou art the roar of thunder. Thou art the year, thou art the seasons, thou art the month, and thou art the fortnight. Thou art Yuga, thou art the time represented by a twinkle of the eye, thou art Kashtha, thou art the Constellations, thou art the Planets, thou art Kala. Thou art the tops of all trees, thou art the highest summits of all mountains. Thou art the tiger among the lower animals, thou art Garuda among birds, and thou art Ananta among snakes. Thou art the ocean of milk among all oceans and thou art the bow among instruments for hurling weapons. Thou art the thunder among weapons, and thou art Truth among vows. Thou art Aversion and thou art Desire: thou art attachment and thou art stupefaction (of judgement): thou art Forgiveness and thou art Unforgiveness. Thou art Exertion, and thou art Patience: thou art Cupidity: thou art Lust and thou art Wrath: thou art Victory and thou art Defeat. Thou art armed with mace, and thou art armed with shaft: thou art armed with the bow, and thou bearest the Khattanga and the Jharjhara in thy hands. Thou art he who cuttest down and piercest and smitest. Thou art he who leads (all creatures) and he who gives them pain and grief. Thou art Righteousness

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which is marked by ten virtues; thou art Wealth or Profit of every kind; and thou art Pleasure. Thou art Ganga, thou art the Oceans, thou art the Rivers, thou art the lakes, and thou art the tanks. Thou art the thin creepers, thou art the thicker creeping plants, thou art all kinds of grass, and thou art the deciduous herbs. Thou art all the lower animals and thou art the birds. Thou art the origin of all objects and acts, and thou art that season which yields fruits and flowers. Thou art the beginning and thou art the end of the Vedas; thou art the Gayatri, and thou art Om. Thou art Green, thou art Red, thou art Blue, thou art Dark, thou art of Bloody hue, thou art of the colour of the Sun, thou art Tawny, thou art Brown, and thou art Dark blue. Thou art without colour, thou art of the best colour, thou art the maker of colours, and thou art without comparison. Thou art of the name of Gold, and thou art fond of Gold. Thou art Indra, thou art Yama, thou art the Giver of boons, thou art the Lord of wealth, and thou art Agni. Thou art the Eclipse, thou art the Fire called Chitrabhanu, thou art Rahu, and thou art the Sun. Thou art the fire upon which sacrificial butter is poured. Thou art He who pours the butter. Thou art He in honour of whom the butter is poured, thou art the butter itself that is poured, and thou art the puissant Lord of all. Thou art those sections of the Brahmans that are called Trisuparna, thou art all the Vedas; and thou art the sections called Satarudriya in the Yajuses. Thou art the holiest of holies, and the auspicious of all auspicious things. Thou animatest the inanimate body. Thou art the Chit that dwellest in the human form. Invested with attributes, thou becomest subject to Destruction. Thou art Jiva, that is He who is never subject to destruction when uninvested with attributes. Thou art full yet thou becomest liable to decay and death in the form of the body which is Jiva's accompaniment. Thou art the breath of life, and thou art Sattwa, thou art Rajas, thou art Tamas, and thou art not subject to error. Thou art the breaths called Prana, Apana, Samana, Udana, and Vyana. Thou art the opening of the eye and shutting of the eye. Thou art the act of Sneezing and thou art the act of Yawning. Thou art of red eyes which are ever turned inwards. Thou art of large mouth and large stomach. The bristles on thy body are like needles. The beard is green. Thy hair is turned upwards. Thou art swifter than the swiftest. Thou art conversant with the principles of music both vocal and instrumental, and fond of both vocal and instrumental music. Thou art a fish roving in the waters, and thou art a fish entangled in the net. Thou art full, thou art fond of sports, and thou art of the form of all quarrels and disputes. Thou art Time, thou art bad time, thou art time that is premature, and thou art time that is over-mature. Thou art the killing, thou art the razor (that kills), and thou art that which is killed. Thou art the auxiliary and thou art the adversary, and thou art the destroyer of both auxiliaries and adversaries. Thou art the time when clouds appear, thou art of large teeth, and thou art Samvartaka and Valahaka. Thou art manifest in the form of splendour. Thou art concealed in consequence of being invested with Maya (or illusion). Thou art He who connects creatures with the fruits of their acts. Thou hast a bell in thy hand. Thou playest with all mobile and immobile things (as with thy toys). Thou art the cause of all causes. Thou art a Brahma (in the form of Pranava), thou art Swaha; thou art the bearer of the Danda, thy head is bald, and thou art he who has his words, deeds and thoughts under control. Thou art the four Yugas, thou art the four Vedas, thou art He from whom the four (Sacrificial) fires have flowed. Thou art the Director of all the duties of the four modes of life. Thou art the maker of the four Orders. Thou art always fond of dice. Thou art cunning. Thou art the chief of the spirits distributed into ganas (clans), and their ruler. Thou art adorned with red garlands and attired in robes that are red. Thou sleepest on the mountain-breast, and thou art fond of the red hue. Thou art the artisan; thou art the foremost of artists; and it is thou from whom all arts have flowed. Thou art the tearer of the eyes of Bhaga; thou art Fierce, and thou art He who destroyed the teeth of Pushan. Thou art Swaha, thou art Swadha, thou art Vashat, thou art Salutation's form, and thou art the words Namas-Namas uttered by all worshippers. Thy observances and thy penances are not known to others. Thou art Pranava; thou art the firmament bespangled with myriads of stars. Thou art Dhatri, and Vidhatri, and Sandhatri, Vidhatri, and the Refuge of all things in the form of the Supreme cause, and thou art independent of all Refuge. Thou art conversant with Brahma, thou art Penance, thou art Truth, thou art the soul of Brahmacharya, and thou art Simplicity. Thou art the soul of creatures, thou art the Creator of all creatures, thou art absolute Existence, and thou art the Cause whence the Past, the Present, and the Future, have sprung. Thou art Earth, thou art Firmament, and thou art Heaven. Thou art Eternal, thou art Self-restrained, and thou art the great god. Thou art initiated, and thou art not initiated. Thou art forgiving; thou art unforgiving; and thou art the chastiser of all who are rebellious. Thou art the lunar month, thou art the cycle of the Yugas (i.e., Kalpa), thou art Destruction, and thou art Creation. Thou art Lust, thou art the vital seed, thou art subtile, thou art gross, and thou art fond of garlands made of Karnikara flowers. Thou hast a face like that of Nandi, thou hast a face that is terrible, thou hast a handsome face, thou hast an ugly face, and thou art without a face. Thou hast four faces, thou hast many faces, and thou hast a fiery face when engaged in battles. Thou art gold-stomached (i.e., Narayana), thou art (unattached to all things like) a bird (unattached to the earth whence it derives its food and to which it belongs), thou art Ananta (the lord of mighty snakes), and thou art Virat (hugest of the huge). Thou art the destroyer of Unrighteousness, thou art called Mahaparswa, thou art Chandradhara, and thou art the chief of the spirit-clans. Thou lowedst like a cow, thou wert the protector of kine, and thou hast the lord of bulls for thy attendant. Thou art the protector of the three worlds, thou art Govinda, thou art the director of the senses, and thou art incapable of being apprehended by the senses. Thou art the foremost of all creatures, thou art fixed, thou art immobile, thou tremblest not, and thou art of the form of trembling! Thou art incapable of being resisted, thou art the destroyer of all poisons, thou art incapable of being borne (in battle), and thou art incapable of being transcended, thou canst not be made to tremble, thou canst not be measured, thou canst not be vanquished, and thou art victory. Thou art of swift speed, thou art the Moon, thou art Yama (the universal destroyer), thou bearest (without flinching) cold and heat and hunger and weakness and disease. Thou art all mental agonies, thou art all physical diseases, thou art the curer of all diseases, and thou art those diseases themselves which thou curest. Thou art the destroyer of my Sacrifice which had endeavoured to escape in the form of deer. Thou art the advent and the departure of all diseases. Thou hast a high crest. Thou hast eyes like lotus-petals. Thy habitation is in the midst of a forest of lotuses. Thou bearest the ascetic's staff in thy hands. Thou hast the three Vedas for thy three eyes. Thy chastisements are fierce and severe. Thou art the destroyer of the egg (whence the universe springs). Thou art the drinker of both poison and fire, thou art the foremost of all deities, thou art the drinker of Soma, thou art the lord of the Maruts. Thou art the drinker of Nectar. Thou art the Master of the universe. Thou shinest in glory, and thou art the lord of all the shining ones. Thou protectest from poison and death, and thou drinkest milk and Soma. Thou art the foremost of the protectors of those that have fallen off from heaven, and thou protectest him who is the first of the deities. Gold is thy vital seed. Thou art male, thou art female, thou art neuter. Thou art an infant, thou art a youth, thou art old in years with thy teeth worn out, thou art the foremost of Nagas, thou art Sakra, thou art the Destroyer of the universe, and thou art its Creator. Thou art Prajapati, and thou art adored by the Prajapatis, thou art the supporter of the universe, thou hast the universe for thy form, thou art endued with great energy, and thou hast faces turned towards all directions. The Sun and the Moon are thy two eyes, and the Grandsire is thy heart. Thou art the Ocean. The goddess Saraswati is thy speech and Fire and Wind are thy might. Thou art Day and Night. Thou art all acts including the opening and the shutting of the eye. Neither Brahman, nor Govinda, nor the ancient Rishis, are competent to understand thy greatness, O auspicious deity, truly. Those subtile forms which thou hast are invisible to us. Rescue me and, O, protect me as the sire protects the son of his loins. O, protect one! I deserve thy protection. I bow to thee, O sinless one! Thou, O illustrious one, art full of compassion for thy devotees. I am always devoted to thee. Let him be always my protector who stayeth alone on the other side of the ocean, in a form that is difficult to be apprehended, and overwhelming many thousands of persons! I bow to that Soul of Yoga who is beheld in the form of an effulgent Light by persons that have their senses under control, that are possessed of the attribute of Sattwa, that have regulated their breaths, and that have conquered sleep. I bow to him who is endued with matted locks, who bears the ascetic's staff in his hand, who is possessed of a body having a long abdomen, who has a kamandalu tied to his back, and who is the Soul of Brahman. I bow to Him who is the soul of water, in whose hair are the clouds, in the joints of whose body are the rivers, and in whose stomach are the four oceans. I seek the protection to Him who, when the end of the Yuga comes, devours all creatures and stretches himself (for sleep) on the wide expanse of water that covers the universe. Let him who entering Rahu's mouth drinketh Soma in the night and who becoming Swarbhanu devoureth Surya also, protect me! The deities, who are mere infants and who have all sprung from thee after Brahman's creation, enjoy their respective shares (in sacrificial offerings). Let them (peacefully) enjoy those offerings made with Swaha and Swadha, and let them derive pleasure from those presents. I bow to them. Let those Beings that are of the stature of the thumb and that dwell in all bodies, always protect and gratify me. I always bow to those Beings who dwelling within embodied creatures make the latter cry in grief without themselves crying in grief, and who gladden them without themselves being glad. I always bow to those Rudras who dwell in rivers, in oceans, in hills and mountains, in mountain-caves, in the roots of trees, in cow-pens, in inaccessible forests, in the intersections of roads, in roads, in open squares, in banks (of rivers and lakes and oceans), in elephant-sheds, in stables, in car-sheds, in deserted gardens and houses, in the five primal elements, and in the cardinal and subsidiary directions. I bow repeatedly unto them that dwell in the space amidst the Sun and the Moon, as also in rays of the Sun and the Moon, and them that dwell in the nether regions, and them that have betaken themselves to Renunciation and other superior practices for the sake of the Supreme. I bow always unto them that are unnumbered, that are unmeasured, and that have no form, unto those Rudras, that is, that are endued with infinite attributes. Since thou, O Rudra, art the Creator of all creatures, since, O Hara, thou art the Master of all creatures, and since thou art the indwelling Soul of all creatures, therefore wert thou not invited by me (to my Sacrifices). Since thou art He who is adored in all sacrifices with plentiful gifts, and since it is Thou that art the Creator of all things, therefore I did not invite thee. Or, perhaps, O god, stupefied by thy subtile illusion I failed to invite thee. Be gratified with me, blessed by thyself, O Bhava, with me possessed by the quality of Rajas. My Mind, my Understanding, and my Chitta all dwell in thee, O god!

"Hearing these adorations, that Lord of all creatures, viz., Mahadeva, ceased (to think of inflicting further injuries on Daksha). Indeed, highly gratified, the illustrious deity addressed Daksha, saying, 'O Daksha of excellent vows, pleased have I been with these adorations of thine. Thou needst not praise me more. Thou shalt attain to my companionship. Through my grace, O progenitor of creatures, thou shalt earn the fruit of a thousand horse-sacrifices, and a hundred Vajapeyas (in consequence of this one incomplete sacrifice of thine).

"Once more, Mahadeva, that thorough master of words, addressed Daksha and said unto him these words fraught with high consolation, 'Be thou the foremost of all creatures in the world. Thou shouldst not, O Daksha, entertain any feelings of grief for these injuries inflicted on thy Sacrifice. It has been seen that in former Kalpas too I had to destroy thy Sacrifice. O thou of excellent vows, I shall grant thee again some more boons. Take them from me. Dispelling this cheerlessness that overspreads thy face, listen to me with undivided attention. With the aid of arguments addressed to reason the deities and the Danavas have extracted from the Vedas consisting of six branches and from the system of Sankhya and Yoga a creed in consequence of which they have practised the austerest penances for many long years. The religion, however, which I have extracted, is unparalleled, and productive of benefits on every side. It is open to men in all modes of life to practise it. It leads to Emancipation. It may be acquired in many years or through merit by persons who have restrained their senses. It is shrouded in mystery. They that are divested of wisdom regard it as censurable. It is opposed to the duties laid down in respect of the four orders of men and the four modes of life, and agrees with those duties in only a few particulars. They that are well-skilled in the science of (drawing) conclusions (from premises) can understand its propriety: and they who have transcended all the modes of life are worthy of adopting it. In days of yore, O Daksha, this auspicious religion called Pasupata had been extracted by me. The proper observance of that religion produces immense benefits. Let those benefits be thine, O highly blessed one! Cast off this fever of thy heart.' Having said these words, Mahadeva, with his spouse (Uma) and with all his attendants disappeared from the view of Daksha of immeasurable prowess. He who would recite this hymn that was first uttered by Daksha or who would listen to it when recited by another, would never meet with the smallest evil and would attain to a long life. Indeed, as Siva is the foremost of all the deities, even so is this hymn, agreeable with the Srutis, is the foremost of all hymns. Persons desirous of fame, kingdom, happiness, pleasure, profit, and wealth, as also those desirous of learning, should listen with feelings of devotion to the recital of this hymn. One suffering from disease, one distressed by pain, one plunged into melancholy, one afflicted by thieves or by fear, one under the displeasure of the king in respect of his charge, becomes freed from fear (by listening or reciting this hymn). By listening to or reciting this hymn, one, in even this earthly body of his, attains to equality with the spirits forming the attendants of Mahadeva. One becomes endued with energy and fame, and cleansed of all sin (through the virtue of this hymn). Neither Rakshasas, nor Pisachas, nor ghosts, nor Vinayakas, create disturbances in his house where this hymn is recited. That woman, again, who listens to this hymn with pious faith, observing the while the practices of Brahmacharya, wins worship as a goddess in the family of her sire and that of her husband. All the acts of that person become always crowned with success who listens or recites with rapt attention to the whole of this hymn. In consequence of the recitation of this hymn all the wishes one forms in one's mind and all the wishes one clothes in words become crowned with fruition. That man obtains all objects of enjoyment and pleasure and all things that are wished for by him, who, practising self-restraint, makes according to due rites offerings unto Mahadeva, Guha, Uma, and Nandi, and after that utters their names without delay, in proper order and with devotion. Such a man, departing from this life, ascends to heaven, and has never to take birth among the

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intermediate animals or birds. This was said even by the puissant Vyasa, the son of Parasara.'"

SECTION CCLXXXVI

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me, O grandsire, what is Adhyatma with respect to man and whence it arises.'

"Bhishma said, 'Aided by the science of Adhyatma one may know everything. It is, again, superior to all things. I shall, with the help of my intelligence, explain to thee that Adhyatma about which thou askest me. Listen, O son, to my explanation. Earth, Wind, Space, Water, and Light forming the fifth, are the great essences. These are (the causes of) the origin and the destruction of all creatures. The bodies of living creatures (both subtile and gross), O bull of Bharata's race, are the result of the combination of the virtues of these five. Those virtues (whose combinations produce the bodies of creatures) repeatedly start into existence and repeatedly merge into the original cause of all things, viz., the Supreme Soul. From those five primal essences are created all creatures, and into those five great elements all creatures resolve themselves, repeatedly, like the infinite waves of the Ocean rising from the Ocean and subsiding into that which causes them. As a tortoise stretches forth its legs and withdraws them again into itself, even so the infinite number of creatures spring from (and enter) these five great fixed essences. Verily, sound springs from Space, and all dense matter is the attribute of earth. Life is from Wind. Taste is from Water. Form is said to be the property of Light. The entire mobile and immobile universe is thus these five great essences existing together in various proportions. When Destruction comes, the infinite diversity of creatures resolve themselves into those five, and once more, when Creation begins, they spring from the same five. The Creator places in all creatures the same five great essences in proportions that He thinks proper. Sound, the ears, and all cavities,--these three,--have Space for their producing cause. Taste, all watery or juicy substances, and the tongue, are said to be the properties of water. Form, the eye, and the digestive fire in the stomach, are said to partake of the nature of Light. Scent, the organ of smelling, and the body, are the properties of earth. Life, touch, and action are said to be the properties of Wind. I have thus explained to thee, O king, all the properties of the five primal essences. Having created these, the Supreme Deity, O Bharata, united with them Sattwa, Rajas, Tamas, Time, Consciousness of functions, and Mind forming the sixth. [Karma-buddhi is to be taken as one. It means the consciousness or apprehension of functions. Each sense or organ instinctively knows what its object is and apprehends that object immediately. This apprehension of its own functions, which every sense possesses, is here designated as Karma-buddhi. Mana-shashththani here simply means 'mind completing the tale of six.' It has no reference to the five senses having the mind for the sixth, for the senses have already, been named in the previous verses.] That which is called the Understanding dwells in the interior of what thou seest above the soles of the feet and below the crown of the head. In man the senses (of knowledge) are five. The sixth (sense) is the Mind. The seventh is called the Understanding. The Kshetrajna or Soul is the eighth. The senses and that which is the Actor should be ascertained by apprehension of their respective functions. The conditions or states called Sattwa, Rajas, and Tamas, depend upon the senses for their refuge or formation. The senses exist for simply seizing the impressions of their respective objects. The Mind has doubt for its function. The Understanding is for ascertainment. The Kshetrajna is said to be only an inactive witness (of the functions of the others). Sattwa, Rajas, Tamas, Time, and Acts, O Bharata, these attributes direct the Understanding. The Understanding is the senses and the five fore-mentioned attributes. 2 When the Understanding is wanting, the senses with the mind, and the five other attributes (viz., Sattwa, Rajas, Tamas, Time, and Acts) cease to be. That by which the Understanding sees is called the eye. When the Understanding hears, it is called the ear. When she smells, she becomes the sense of scent; and when she tastes the various objects of taste, she comes to be called by the name of tongue. When again she feels the touch of the various objects of touch, she becomes the sense of touch. It is the Understanding that becomes modified diversely and frequently. When the Understanding desires anything, she becomes Mind. The five senses with the Mind, which separately constitute the foundations (of the Understanding), are the creations of the Understanding. They are called Indriyas. When they become stained, the Understanding also becomes stained. The Understanding, dwelling in Jiva, exists in three states. Sometimes she obtains joy; sometimes she indulges in grief; and sometimes she exists in a state that is neither pleasure nor pain. Having for her essence these conditions or states (viz., Sattwa, Rajas, and Tamas), the Understanding resolves through these three states. As the lord of rivers, viz., the surging Ocean, always keeps within his continents, even so the Understanding, which exists in connection with the (three) states, exists in the Mind (including the senses). When the state of Rajas is awakened, the Understanding becomes modified into Rajas. Transport of delight, joy, gladness, happiness, and contentedness of heart, these, when somehow excited, are the properties of Sattwa. Heart-burning, grief, sorrow, discontentedness, and unforgivingness, arising from particular causes, are the result of Rajas. Ignorance, attachment and error, heedlessness, stupefaction, and terror, meanness, cheerlessness, sleep, and procrastination,--these, when brought about by particular causes, are the properties of Tamas. Whatever state of either body or mind, connected with joy or happiness, arises, should be regarded as due to the state of Sattwa. Whatever, again, is fraught with sorrow and is disagreeable to oneself should be regarded as arising from Rajas. Without commencing any such act, one should turn one's attention to it (for avoiding it). Whatever is fraught with error or stupefaction in either body or mind, and is inconceivable and mysterious, should be known as connected with Tamas. Thus, have I explained to thee that things in this world dwell in the Understanding. By knowing this one becomes wise. What else can be the indication of wisdom? Know now the difference between these two subtile things, viz., Understanding and Soul. One of these, viz., the Understanding, creates attributes. The other, viz., the Soul, does not create them. Although they are, by nature, distinct from each other, yet they always exist in a state of union. A fish is different from the water in which it dwells, but the fish and the water must exist together. The attributes cannot know the Soul. The Soul, however, knows them. They that are ignorant regard the Soul as existing in a state of union with the attributes like qualities existing with their possessors. This, however, is not the case, for the Soul is truly only an inactive Witness of everything. The Understanding has no refuge. That which is called life (involving the existence of the Understanding) arises from the effects of the attributes coming together. Others (than these attributes which are created by the Understanding), acting as causes, create the Understanding that dwells in the body. No one can apprehend the attributes in their real nature or form of existence. The Understanding, as already said, creates the attributes. The Soul simply beholds them (as an inactive Witness). This union that exists between the Understanding and the Soul is eternal. The indwelling Understanding apprehends all things through the Senses which are themselves inanimate and unapprehending. Really the senses are only like lamps (that throw their light for discovering objects to others without themselves being able to see them). Even this is the nature (of the Senses, the Understanding, and the Soul). Knowing this, one should live cheerfully, without yielding to either grief or joy. Such a man is said to be beyond the influence of pride. That the Understanding creates all these attributes is due to her own nature,--even as a spider weaves threads in consequence of her own nature. These attributes should be known as the threads the spider weaves. When destroyed, the attributes do not cease to exist; their existence ceases to be visible. When, however, a thing transcends the ken of the senses, its existence (or otherwise) is affirmed by inference. This is the opinion of one set of persons. Others affirm that with destruction the attributes cease to be. Untying this knotty problem addressed to the understanding and reflection, and dispelling all doubt, one should cast off sorrow and live in happiness. 1 As men unacquainted with its bottom become distressed when they fall upon this earth which is like a river filled with the waters of stupefaction, even so is that man afflicted who falls away from that state in which there is a union with the Understanding. Men of knowledge, however, conversant with Adhyatma and armed with fortitude, are never afflicted, because they are capable of crossing to the other shore of those waters. Indeed, Knowledge is an efficient raft (in that river). Men of knowledge have not to encounter those frightful terrors which alarm them that are destitute of knowledge. As regards the righteous, none of them attains to an end that is superior to that of any other person amongst them. Indeed, the righteous show, in this respect, an equality. As regards the man of Knowledge, whatever acts have been done by him in past times (while he was steeped in Ignorance) and whatever acts fraught with great iniquity he does (after attainment of Knowledge), he destroys both by Knowledge as his sole means. Then again, upon the attainment of Knowledge he ceases to perpetrate these two evils, viz., censuring the wicked acts of others and doing any wicked acts himself under the influence of attachment.'"

SECTION 287

"Yudhishthira said, 'Living creatures always stand in fear of sorrow and death. Tell me, O grandsire, how the occurrence of these two may be prevented.'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection, O Bharata, is cited the old narrative of the discourse between Narada and Samanga.'

"Narada said, '(While others salute their superiors by only a bend of the head) thou salutest thy superiors by prostrating thyself on the ground till thy chest comes into contact with the ground. Thou seemest to be engaged in crossing (the river of life) with thy hands. Thou seemest to be always free from sorrow and exceedingly cheerful. I do not see that thou hast the least anxiety. Thou art always content and happy and thou seemest to sport (in felicity) like a child.'

"Samanga said, 'O giver of honours, I know the truth about the Past, the Present, and the Future. Hence I never become cheerless. [That which did not exist and will not exist, exists not at the present moment. Everything, therefore, which is of the nature of asat is non-existent. Our sorrows are connected with the asat. Knowing this, I have cast off all sorrows.] I know also what the beginning of acts is in this world, what the accession of their fruits, and how varied are those fruits. Hence I never yield to sorrow. [I have understood that acts are for sorrow; that the fruits also of acts are for sorrow in spite of the apparent character of some; and that the fruits of acts are varied, sometimes other fruits appearing than those expected. Hence, I do not indulge in sorrow, for I avoid acts and do not grieve for not obtaining the fruits of acts or for the accession of fruits other than those apparently agreeable.] Behold, the illiterate, the destitute, the prosperous, O Narada, the blind, idiots and madmen, and ourselves also, all live. [The sense is that we who avoid acts, are not dead; in fact, we live quite as others do; and those others, how unequally circumstanced! The Burdwan translator makes nonsense of the first line simple though it is.] These live by virtue of their acts of past lives. The very deities, who exist freed from diseases, exist (in that state) by virtue of their past acts. The strong and the weak, all, live by virtue of past acts. It is fitting, therefore, that thou shouldst hold us in esteem. The owners of thousands live. The owners of hundreds also live. They that are overwhelmed with sorrow live. Behold, we too are living! When we, O Narada, do not give way to grief, what can the practice of the duties (of religion) or the observance of (religious) acts do to us? And since all joys and sorrows also are not unending, they are, therefore, unable to agitate us at all. [Ignorance lies at the root of sorrow. By casting off ignorance, we have avoided sorrow. Hence, neither religion or religious acts such as Sacrifices, etc., can do us any good or harm. As regards happiness and misery again, these two cannot agitate us at all, since we know their value, both being ephemeral in comparison with the period for which we are to exist.] That for which men are said to be wise, indeed, the very root of wisdom, is the freedom of the senses from error. It is the senses that yield to error and grief. One whose senses are subject to error can never be said to have attained wisdom. That pride which is indulged in by a man subject to error is only a form of the error to which he is subject. As regards the man of error, he has neither this world nor the next. It should be remembered that griefs do not last for ever and that happiness cannot be had always. [Hence, no one should indulge in pride, saying, 'I am happy,' nor yield to sorrow, saying, 'I am miserable.' Both happiness and misery are transitory. The man of wisdom should never suffer himself to be agitated by these transitory states of his mind.] Worldly life with all its vicissitudes and painful incidents, one like me would never adopt. Such a one would not care for desirable objects of enjoyments, and would not think at all of the happiness their possession may bring about, or, indeed, of the griefs that present themselves. One capable of resting on one's own self would never covet the possessions of others; would not think of gains unacquired, would not feel delighted at the acquisition of even immense wealth; and would not yield to sorrow at the loss of wealth. Neither friends, nor wealth, nor high birth, nor scriptural learning, nor mantras, nor energy, can succeed in rescuing one from sorrow in the next world. It is only by conduct that one can attain to felicity there. The Understanding of the man unconversant with Yoga can never be directed towards Emancipation. One unconversant with Yoga can never have happiness. Patience and the resolution to cast off sorrow, these two indicate the advent of happiness. Anything agreeable leads to pleasure. Pleasure induces pride. Pride, again, is productive of sorrow. For these reasons, I avoid all these. Grief, Fear, Pride,--these that stupefy the heart,--and also Pleasure and Pain, I behold as (an unconcerned) witness since my body is endued with life and moves about. Casting off both wealth and pleasure, and thirst and error, I wander over the earth, freed from grief and every kind of anxiety of heart. Like one that has drunk nectar I have no fear, here or hereafter, of death, or iniquity, or cupidity, or anything of that kind. I have acquired this knowledge, O Brahmana, as the result of my severe and indestructible penances. It is for this reason, O Narada, that grief, even when it comes to me, does not succeed in afflicting me.'"

SECTION 288

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me, O grandsire, what is beneficial for one that is unconversant with the truths of the scriptures, that is always in doubt, and that abstains from self-restraint and the other practices having for their object the knowledge of the Soul.'

"Bhishma said, 'Worshipping the preceptor, always waiting reverentially on those that are aged, and listening to the scriptures (when recited by up competent Brahmanas),--these are said to be of supreme benefit (to a person like the one thou hast described). In this connection also is cited the old narrative of the discourse between Galava and the celestial Rishi Narada. Once on a time Galava, desirous of obtaining what was for his benefit, addressed Narada freed from error

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and fatigue, learned in the scriptures, gratified with knowledge, a thorough master of his senses, and with soul devoted to Yoga, and said, 'Those virtues, O Muni, by the possession of which a person becomes respected in the world, I see, dwell permanently in thee. Thou art freed from error and, as such, it behoveth thee to remove the doubts that fill the minds of men like ourselves that are subject to error and that are unacquainted with the truths of the world. We do not know what we should do, for the declarations of the scriptures generate an inclination for (the acquisition of) Knowledge simultaneously with the inclination for acts. It behoveth thee to discourse to us on these subjects. [The (Hindu) scriptures contain both kinds of instruction. There are declarations that are entirely in favour of Acts or observances. There are again declarations in favour of Knowledge. What the speaker asks is that the Rishi should discourse upon what the speaker should do, i.e., whether he should betake himself to the acquisition of Knowledge or to the doing of acts.] O illustrious one, the different asramas approve different courses of conduct.--This is beneficial,--This (other) is beneficial--the scriptures exhort us often in this wise [i.e., Each Asrama speaks of particular observances and courses of conduct as beneficial. This, therefore, is a source of confusion to men of plain understandings. Is there no distinction then among duties or observances in respect of their beneficial character? This is the question propounded. The commentator thinks by the word asramas is meant the four principal faiths and not the modes of life.]. Beholding the followers of the four asramas, who are thus exhorted by the scriptures and who fully approve of what the scriptures have laid down for them, thus travelling in diverse courses, and seeing that ourselves also are equally content with our own scriptures, we fail to understand what is truly beneficial. If the scriptures were all uniform, then what is truly beneficial would have become manifest. In consequence, however, of the scriptures being multifarious, that which is truly beneficial becomes invested with mystery. For these reasons, that which is truly beneficial seems to me to be involved in confusion. Do thou then, O illustrious one, discourse to me on the subject. I have approached thee (for this), O, instruct me!'

"Narada said, 'The Asramas are four in number, O child! All of them serve the purposes for which they have been designed; and the duties they preach differ from one another. Ascertaining them first from well-qualified preceptors, reflect upon them, O Galava! Behold, the announcements of the merits of those Asramas are varied in respect of their form, divergent in respect of their matter, and contradictory in respect of the observances they embrace. Observed with gross vision, verily, all the Asramas refuse to clearly yield their true intent (which, of course, is knowledge of Self). Others, however, endued with subtle sight, behold their highest end. That which is truly beneficial, and about which there is no doubt, viz., good offices to friends, and suppression of enemies, and the acquisition of the aggregate of three (viz., Religion, Profit, and Pleasure), has been declared by the wise to be supreme excellence. Abstention from sinful acts, constancy of righteous disposition, good behaviour towards those that are good and pious,--these, without doubt, constitute excellence. Mildness towards all creatures, sincerity of behaviour, and the use of sweet words,--these, without doubt, constitute excellence. An equitable apportionment of what one has among the deities, the Pitris, and guests, and adherence to servants,--these, without doubt, constitute excellence. Truthfulness of speech is excellent. The knowledge, however, of truth, is very difficult of acquisition. I say that that is truth which is exceedingly beneficial to creatures. The renunciation of pride, the suppression of heedlessness, contentment, living by one's own self,--these are said to constitute supreme excellence. The study of the Vedas, and of their branches, according to the well-known rules, and all enquiries and pursuits having for their sake the acquisition of knowledge,--these, without doubt, are excellent. One desirous of achieving what is excellent should never enjoy sound and form and taste and touch and scent, to excess and should not enjoy them for their sake alone. Wandering in the night, sleep during the day, indulgence in idleness, roguery, arrogance, excessive indulgence and total abstention from all indulgence in objects of the senses, should be relinquished by one desirous of achieving what is excellent. One should not seek self-elevation by depreciating others. Indeed, one should, by one's merits alone, seek distinction over persons that are distinguished but never over those that are inferior. Men really destitute of merit and filled with a sense of self-admiration depreciate men of real merit, by asserting their own virtues and affluence. Swelling with a sense of their own importance, these men, when none interferes with them (for bringing them to a right sense of what they are), regard themselves to be superior to men of real distinction. One possessed of real wisdom and endued with real merits, acquires great fame by abstaining from speaking ill of others and from indulging in self-praise. Flowers shed their pure and sweet fragrance without trumpeting forth their own excellence. Similarly, the effulgent Sun scatters his splendours in the firmament in perfect silence. After the same manner those men blaze in the world with celebrity who by the aid of their intelligence, cast off these and similar other faults and who do not proclaim their own virtues. The fool can never shine in the world by bruiting about his own praise. The man, however, of real merit and learning obtains celebrity even if he be concealed in a pit. Evil words, uttered with whatsoever vigour of voice die out (in no time). Good words, uttered however softly, blaze forth in the world. As the Sun shows his fiery form (in the gem called Suryakanta), even so the multitude of words, of little sense, that fools filled with vanity utter, display only (the meanness of) their hearts. For these reasons, men seek the acquisition of wisdom of various kinds. It seems to me that of all acquisitions that of wisdom is the most valuable. One should not speak until one is asked; nor should one speak when one is asked improperly. Even if possessed of intelligence and knowledge, one should still sit in silence like an idiot (until one is asked to speak and asked in proper form). One should seek to dwell among honest men devoted to righteousness and liberality and the observance of the duties of their own order. One desirous of achieving what is excellent should never dwell in a place where a confusion occurs in the duties of the several orders. A person may be seen to live who abstains from all works (for earning the means of his living) and who is well-content with whatever is got without exertion. By living amid the righteous, one succeeds in acquiring pure righteousness. After the same manner, one by living amid the sinful, becomes stained with sin. [Mere companionship with the righteous leads to righteous acts; while that with the sinful leads to acts of sinfulness.] As the touch of water or fire or the rays of the moon immediately conveys the sensation of cold or heat, after the same manner the impressions of virtue and vice become productive of happiness or misery. They that are eaters of Vighasa eat without taking any notice of the flavours of the edibles placed before them. They, however, that eat carefully discriminating the flavours of the viands prepared for them, should be known as persons still tied by the bonds of action. The righteous man should leave that place where a Brahmana discourses on duties unto disciples desirous of acquiring knowledge, as based on reasons, of the Soul, but who do not enquire after such knowledge with reverence. Who, however, will leave that spot where exists in its entirety that behaviour between disciples and preceptors which is consistent with what has been laid down in the scriptures? What learned man desirous of respect being paid to himself will dwell in that place where people bruit about the faults of the learned even when such have no foundation to stand upon? Who is there that will not leave that place, like a garment whose end has caught fire, where covetous men seek to break down the barriers of virtue? One should remain and dwell in that place, among good men of righteous disposition, where persons endued with humility are engaged in fearlessly practising the duties of religion. There where men practise the duties of religion for the sake of acquiring wealth and other temporal advantages, one should not dwell, for the people of that place are all to be regarded as sinful. One should fly away with all speed from that place, as if from a room in which there is a snake, where the inhabitants, desirous of obtaining the means of life, are engaged in the practice of sinful deeds. One desirous of what is beneficial should, from the beginning, relinquish that act in consequence of which one becomes stretched, as it were, on a bed of thorn and in consequence of which one becomes invested with the desires born of the deeds of past lives. The righteous man should leave that kingdom where the king and king's officers exercise equal authority and where they are given to the habit of eating before feeding their relatives (when the latter come as guests). One should dwell in that country where Brahmanas possessed of a knowledge of the scriptures are fed first: where they are always devoted to the due observance of religious duties, and where they are engaged in teaching disciples and officiating at the sacrifices of others. One should unhesitatingly dwell in that country where the sounds Swaha, Swadha, and Vashat are duly and continuously uttered. One should leave that kingdom, like poisoned meat, where one sees Brahmanas obliged to betake themselves to unholy practices, being tortured by want of the means of life. With a contented heart and deeming all his wishes as already gratified a righteous man should dwell in that country whose inhabitants cheerfully give away before even they are solicited. One should live and move about, among good men devoted to acts of righteousness, in that country where chastisement falleth upon those that are wicked and where respect and good offices are the portion of those that are of subdued and cleansed souls. One should unhesitatingly dwell in that country whose king is devoted to virtue and which the king rules virtuously, casting off desires and possessed of prosperity, and where severe chastisement is dealt to those that visit self-controlled men with the consequences of their wrath, those that act wickedly towards the righteous, those that are given to acts of violence, and those that are covetous. Kings endued with such a disposition bring about prosperity to those that dwell in their kingdoms when prosperity is on the point of leaving them. I have thus told thee, O son, in answer to thy enquiry, what is beneficial or excellent. No one can describe, in consequence of its exceedingly high character, what is beneficial or excellent for the Soul. Many and high will the excellences be, through the observance of the duties laid down for him, of the man who for earning his livelihood during the time of his sojourn here conducts himself in the way indicated above and who devotes his soul to the good of all creatures.'"

SECTION 289

"Yudhishthira said, 'How, O grandsire, should a king like us behave in this world, keeping in view the great object of acquisition? What attributes, again, should he always possess so that he may be freed from attachments?'

"Bhishma said, 'I shall in this connection recite to thee the old narrative that was uttered by Arishtanemi unto Sagara who had sought his counsel.'

"Sagara said, 'What is that good, O Brahmana, by doing which one may enjoy felicity here? How, indeed, may one avoid grief and agitation? I wish to know all this!'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed by Sagara, Arishtanemi of Tarkshya's race, conversant with all the scriptures, regarding the questioner to be every way deserving of his instructions, said these words, 'The felicity of Emancipation is true felicity in the world. The man of ignorance knows it not, attached as he is to children and animals and possessed of wealth and corn. An understanding that is attached to worldly objects and a mind suffering from thirst,--these two baffle all skilful treatment. The ignorant man who is bound in the chains of affection is incapable of acquiring Emancipation. I shall presently speak to thee of all the bonds that spring from the affections. Hear them with attention. Indeed, they are capable of being heard with profit by one that is possessed of knowledge. Having procreated children in due time and married them when they become young men, and having ascertained them to be competent for earning their livelihood, do thou free thyself from all attachments and rove about in happiness. When thou seest thy dearly-cherished wife grown old in years and attached to the son she has brought forth, do thou leave her in time, keeping in view the highest object of acquisition (viz., Emancipation). Whether thou obtainest a son or not, having during the first years of thy life duly enjoyed with thy senses the objects that are addressed to them, free thyself from attachments and rove about in happiness. Having indulged the senses with their objects, thou shouldst suppress the desire of further indulging them. Freeing thyself then from attachments, thou shouldst rove in felicity, contenting thyself with what is obtained without effort and previous calculation, and casting an equal eye upon all creatures and objects. Thus, O son, have I told thee in brief (of what the way is for freeing thyself from attachments). Hear me now, for I shall presently tell thee, in detail, the desirability of the acquisition of Emancipation. Those persons who live in this world freed from attachments and fear, succeed in obtaining happiness. Those persons, however, who are attached to worldly objects, without doubt, meet with destruction. Worms and ants (like men) are engaged in the acquisition of food and are seen to die in the search. They that are freed from attachments are happy, while they that are attached to worldly objects meet with destruction. If thou desirest to attain to Emancipation thou shouldst never bestow thy thoughts on thy relatives, thinking,--How shall these exist without me?--A living creature takes birth by himself, and grows by himself, and obtains happiness and misery, and death by himself. In this world people enjoy and obtain food and raiment and other acquisitions earned by their parents or themselves. This is the result of the acts of past lives, for nothing can be had in this life which is not the result of the past. All creatures live on the Earth, protected by their own acts, and obtaining their food as the result of what is ordained by Him who assigns the fruits of acts. A man is but a lump of clay, and is always himself completely dependent on other forces. One, therefore, being oneself so, in firm, what rational consideration can one have for protecting and feeding one's relatives? When thy relatives are carried away by Death in thy very sight and in spite of even thy utmost efforts to save them, that circumstance alone should awaken thee. In the every lifetime of thy relatives and before thy own duty is completed of feeding and protecting them, thyself mayst meet with death and abandon them. After thy relatives have been carried away from this world by death, thou canst not know what becomes of them there,--that is, whether they meet with happiness or misery. This circumstance ought to awaken thee. When in consequence of the fruits of their own acts thy relatives succeed in maintaining themselves in this world whether thou livest or diest, reflecting on this thou shouldst do what is for thy own good. When this is known to be the case, who in the world is to be regarded as whose? Do thou, therefore, set thy heart on the attainment of Emancipation. Listen now to what more I shall say unto thee. That man of firm Soul is certainly emancipated who has conquered hunger and thirst and such other states of the body, as also wrath and cupidity and error. That man is always emancipated who does not forget himself, through folly, by indulging in gambling and drinking and

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concubinage and the chase. That man who is really touched by sorrow in consequence of the necessity there is of eating every day and every night for supporting life, is said to be cognisant of the faults of life. One who, as the result of careful reflection, regards his repeated births to be only due to sexual congress with women, is held to be freed from attachments. That man is certainly emancipated who knows truly the nature of the birth, the destruction, and the exertion (or acts) of living creatures. That man becomes certainly freed who regards (as worthy of his acceptance) only a handful of corn, for the support of life, from amidst millions upon millions of carts loaded with grain, and who disregards the difference between a shed of bamboo and reeds and a palatial mansion. That man becomes certainly freed who beholds the world to be afflicted by death and disease and famine. Indeed, one who beholds the world to be such succeeds in becoming contented; while one who fails to behold the world in such a light, meets with destruction. That man who is contented with only a little is regarded as freed. That man who beholds the world as consisting of eaters and edibles (and himself as different from both) and who is never touched by pleasure and pain which are born of illusion, is regarded as emancipate. That man who regards a soft bed on a fine bedstead and the hard soil as equal, and who regards good sali rice and hard thick rice as equal, is emancipated. That man who regards linen and cloth made of grass as equal, and in whose estimation cloth of silk and barks of trees are the same, and who sees no difference between clean sheep-skin and unclean leather, is emancipated That man who looks upon this world as the result of the combination of the five primal essences, and who behaves himself in this world, keeping this notion foremost, is emancipated. That man who regards pleasure and pain as equal, and gain and loss as on a par, in whose estimation victory and defeat differ not, to whom like and dislike are the same, and who is unchanged under fear and anxiety, is wholly emancipated. That man who regards his body which has so many imperfections to be only a mass of blood, urine and excreta, as also of disorders and diseases, is emancipated. That man becomes emancipated who always recollects that this body, when overtaken by decrepitude, becomes assailed by wrinkles and white hairs and leanness and paleness of complexion and a bending of the form. That man who recollects his body to be liable to loss of virility, and weakness of sight, and deafness, and loss of strength, is emancipated. That man who knows that the very Rishis, the deities, and the Asuras are beings that have to depart from their respective spheres to other regions, is emancipated. That man who knows that thousands of kings possessed of even great offence and power have departed from this earth, succeeds in becoming emancipated. That man who knows that in this world the acquisition of objects is always difficult, that pain is abundant, and that the maintenance of relatives is ever attended with pain, becomes emancipated. Beholding the abundant faults of children and of other men, who is there that would not adore Emancipation? That man who, awakened by the scriptures and the experience of the world, beholds every human concern in this world to be unsubstantial, becomes emancipated. Bearing in mind those words of mine, do thou conduct thyself like one that has become emancipated, whether it is a life of domesticity that thou wouldst lead or pursue emancipation without suffering thy understanding to be confounded.' [The sense seems to be this: Is it a life of domesticity that thou wouldst lead? There is no harm in thy doing this, provided thou behavest in the way pointed out. Is it Emancipation that thou wouldst pursue (in the usual way), i.e., by retiring into solitude and betaking thyself to Sannyasa? Thou mayst then behave in the way pointed out, and, indeed, that is the way of Sannyasa which leads to Emancipation.] Hearing these words of his with attention, Sagara, that lord of earth, acquired those virtues which are productive of Emancipation and continued, with their aid to rule his subjects.'"

SECTION 290

"Yudhishthira said, 'This curiosity, O sire, is always dwelling in my mind. O grandsire of the Kurus, I desire to hear everything about it from thee. Why was the celestial Rishi, the high-souled Usanas, called also Kavi engaged in doing what was agreeable to the Asuras and disagreeable to the deities? Why was he engaged in diminishing the energy of the deities? Why were the Danavas always engaged in hostilities with the foremost of the deities? Possessed of the splendour of an immortal, for what reason did Usanas obtain the name of Sukra? How also did he acquire such superior excellence? Tell me all about these things. Though possessed of great energy, why does he not succeed in travelling to the centre of the firmament? I desire, O grandsire, to learn everything about all these matters.' [The planet Venus is supposed to be the sage Usanas or Sukra.] "Bhishma said, 'Listen, O king, with attention to all this as it occurred actually. O sinless one, I shall narrate these matters to thee as I have heard and understood them. Of firm vows and honoured by all, Usanas, that descendant of Bhrigu's race, became engaged in doing what was disagreeable to the deities for an adequate cause. The royal Kuvera, the chief of the Yakshas and the Rakshasas, is the lord of the treasury of Indra, that master of the universe. The great ascetic Usanas, crowned with Yoga-success, entered the person of Kuvera, and depriving the lord of treasures of his liberty by means of Yoga, robbed him of all his wealth. Seeing his wealth taken away from him, the lord of treasures became highly displeased. Filled with anxiety, and his wrath also being excited, he went to that foremost of gods, viz., Mahadeva. Kuvera, represented the matter unto Siva of immeasurable energy, that first of gods, fierce and amiable, and possessed of various forms. And he said, 'Usanas, having spiritualised himself by Yoga entered my form and depriving myself of liberty, has taken away all my wealth. Having by Yoga entered my body he has again left it.' Hearing these words, Maheswara of supreme Yoga-powers became filled with rage. His eyes, O king, became blood-red, and taking up his lance he waited (ready to strike down Usanas). Indeed, having taken up that foremost of weapons, the great god began to say, 'Where is he? Where is he?' Meanwhile, Usanas, having ascertained the purpose of Mahadeva (through Yoga-power) from a distance, waited in silence. Indeed, having ascertained the fact of the wrath of the high-souled Maheswara of superior Yoga-power, the puissant Usanas began to reflect as to whether he should go to Maheswara or fly away or remain where he was. Thinking, with the aid of his severe penances, of the high-souled Mahadeva, Usanas of soul crowned with Yoga-success, placed himself on the point of Mahadeva's lance. The bow-armed Rudra, understanding that Usanas, whose penances had become successful and who had converted himself into the form of pure Knowledge, was staying at the point of his lance (and finding that he was unable to hurl the lance at one who was upon it), bent that weapon with hand. When the fierce-armed and puissant Mahadeva of immeasurable energy had thus bent his lance (into the form of a bow), that weapon came to be called from that time by the name of Pinaka. The lord of Uma, beholding Bhargava thus brought upon the palm of his hand, opened his mouth. The chief of the gods then threw Bhargava into his mouth and swallowed him at once. The puissant and high-souled Usanas of Bhrigu's race, entering the stomach of Maheswara, began to wander there.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'How, O king, could Usanas succeed in wandering within the stomach of that foremost of superior intelligence? What also did that illustrious god do while the Brahmana was within his stomach?'

"Bhishma said, 'In days of yore (having swallowed up Usanas), Mahadeva of severe vows entered the waters and remained there like an immovable stake of wood, O king, for millions of years (engaged in Yoga-meditation). His Yoga penances of the austerest type having been over, he rose from the mighty lake. Then that primeval god of the gods, viz., the eternal Brahman, approached him, and enquired after the progress of his penances and after his welfare. The deity having the bull for his emblem answered, saying, 'My penances have been well-practised.' Of inconceivable soul, possessed of great intelligence, and ever devoted to the religion of truth, Sankara saw that Usanas within his stomach had become greater in consequence of those penances of his. That foremost of Yogins (viz., Usanas), rich with that wealth of penances and the wealth (he had appropriated from Kuvera), shone brightly in the three worlds, endued with great energy. After this, Mahadeva armed with Pinaka, that soul of Yoga, once more betook himself to Yoga-meditation. Usanas, however, filled with anxiety, began to wander within the stomach of the great god. The great ascetic began to hymn the praises of the god from where he was, desirous of finding an outlet for escape. Rudra, however, having stopped all his outlets, prevented him from coming out. The great ascetic Usanas, however, O chastiser of foes, from within Mahadeva's stomach, repeatedly addressed the god, saying, 'Show me thy kindness!' Unto him Mahadeva said, 'Go out through my urethra.' He had stopped up all other outlets of his body. Confined on every side and unable to find out the outlet indicated, the ascetic began to wander hither and thither, burning all the while with Mahadeva's energy. At last he found the outlet and issued through it. In consequence of this fact he came to be called by the name of Sukra, and it is in consequence of that fact he also became unable to attain (in course of his wandering) the central point of the firmament. Beholding him come out of his stomach and shining brightly with energy, Bhava, filled with anger, stood with lance uplifted in his hand. The goddess Uma then interposed and forbade the angry lord of all creatures, viz., her spouse, to slay the Brahmana. And in consequence of Uma's having thus prevented her lord from accomplishing his purpose the ascetic Usanas (from the day) became the son of the goddess.'

"The goddess said, 'This Brahmana no longer deserves to be slain by thee. He has become my son. O god, one who comes out of thy stomach does not deserve slaughter at thy hands.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Pacified by these words of his spouse, Bhava smiled and said repeatedly these words, O king, 'Let this one go whithersoever he likes.' Bowing unto the boon-giving Mahadeva and to also his spouse the goddess Uma, the great ascetic Usanas, endued with superior intelligence, proceeded to the place he chose. I have thus narrated to thee, O chief of the Bharatas, the story of the high-souled Bhargava about which thou didst ask me.'"

SECTION 291

"Yudhishthira said, 'O thou of mighty arms, tell me, after this what is beneficial for us. O grandsire, I am never satiated with thy words which seem to me like Amrita. What are those good acts, O best of men, by accomplishing which a man succeeds in obtaining what is for his highest benefit both here and hereafter, O giver of boons!'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection I shall narrate to thee what the celebrated king Janaka had enquired, in days of yore, of the high-souled Parasara, 'What is beneficial for all creatures both in this world and the next! Do thou tell me what should be known by all this connection.' Thus questioned, Parasara, possessed of great ascetic merit and conversant with the ordinances of every religion, said these words, desirous of favouring the king.'

"Parasara said, 'Righteousness earned by acts is supreme benefit both in this world and the next. The sages of the old have said that there is nothing higher than Righteousness. By accomplishing the duties of righteousness a man becomes honoured in heaven. The Righteousness, again, of embodied creatures, O best of kings, consists in the ordinance (laid down in the scriptures) on the subject of acts. All good men belonging to the several modes of life, establishing their faith on that righteousness, accomplish their respective duties. Four methods of living, O child, have been ordained in this world. (Those four methods are the acceptance of gifts for Brahmanas; the realisation of taxes for Kshatriyas; agriculture for Vaisyas; and service of the three other classes for the Sudras). Wherever men live the means of support come to them of themselves. Accomplishing by various ways acts that are virtuous or sinful (for the purpose of earning their means of support), living creatures, when dissolved into their constituent elements attain to diverse ends. [The sinful become intermediate animals. The virtuous attain to heaven. They that are both virtuous and sinful attain to the status of humanity. They that acquire Knowledge become Emancipated.] As vessels of white brass, when steeped in liquefied gold or silver, catch the hue of these metals, even so a living creature, who is completely dependent upon the acts of his past lives takes his colour from the character of those acts. Nothing can sprout forth without a seed. No one can obtain happiness without having accomplished acts capable of leading to happiness. When one's body is dissolved away (into its constituent elements), one succeeds in attaining to happiness only in consequence of the good acts of previous lives. The sceptic argues, O child, saying, I do not behold that anything in this world is the result of destiny or the virtuous and sinful acts of past lives. Inference cannot establish the existence or operation of destiny. The deities, the Gandharvas and the Danavas have become what they are in consequence of their own nature (and not of their acts of past lives). People never recollect in their next lives the acts done by them in previous ones. For explaining the acquisition of fruits in any particular life people seldom name the four kinds of acts alleged to have been accomplished in past lives. The declarations having the Vedas for their authority have been made for regulating the conduct of men in this world, and for tranquillizing the minds of men. These (the sceptic says), O child, cannot represent the utterances of men possessed of true wisdom. This opinion is wrong. In reality, one obtains the fruits of whatever among the four kinds of acts one does with the eye, the mind, the tongue, and muscles. As the fruit of his acts, O king, a person sometimes obtains happiness wholly, sometimes misery in the same way, and sometimes happiness and misery blended together. Whether righteous or sinful, acts are never destroyed (except by enjoyment or endurance of their fruits). Sometimes, O child, the happiness due to good acts remains concealed and covered in such a way that it does not display itself in the case of the person who is sinking in life's ocean till his sorrows disappear. After sorrow has beep exhausted (by endurance), one begins to enjoy (the fruits of) one's good acts. And know, O king, that upon the exhaustion of the fruits of good acts, those of sinful acts begin to manifest themselves. Self-restraint, forgiveness, patience, energy, contentment, truthfulness of speech, modesty, abstention from injury, freedom from the evil practices called vyasana, and cleverness,--these are productive of happiness. No creature is eternally subject to the fruits of his good or bad acts. The man possessed of wisdom should always strive to collect and fix his mind. One never has to enjoy or endure the good and bad acts of another. Indeed, one enjoys and endures the fruits of only those acts that one does oneself. The person that casts off both happiness and misery walks along a particular path (the path, viz., of knowledge). Those men, however, O king, who suffer themselves to be attached to all worldly objects, tread along a path that is entirely different. A person should rot himself do that act which, if done by another, would call down his censure. Indeed, by doing an act that one censures in others, one incurs ridicule. A Kshatriya bereft of courage, a Brahmana that takes every kind of food, a Vaisya unendued with exertion (in respect of agriculture and other

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moneymaking pursuits), a Sudra that is idle (and, therefore, averse to labour), a learned person without good behaviour, one of high birth but destitute of righteous conduct, a Brahmana fallen away from truth, a woman that is unchaste and wicked, a Yogin endued with attachments, one that cooks food for one's own self, an ignorant person employed in making a discourse, a kingdom without a king and a king that cherishes no affection for his subjects and who is destitute of Yoga,--these all, O king, are deserving of pity!'" [A Brahmana is precluded from eating many things. Many things again that he is competent to eat on all days of the year. In fact, there are many rules for regulating the fare of a Brahmana. To this day, an orthodox Brahmana abstains from many kinds of food. A Brahmana, therefore, who is unscrupulous in respect of his food, is no Brahmana and deserves to be pitied. Similarly, a man who cooks food for himself is an object of pity. Raw food, such as fruits, etc., one may take without offering a share thereof to guests and others. But cooked food can never be taken without a share thereof being given to others. Yati cha Brahmachari cha pakvannaswaminavubhau, hence he that takes cooked food without giving a share to these is said to eat Brahmaswam or that which belongs to a Brahmana.]

SECTION 292

"Parasara said, 'That man who, having obtained this car, viz., his body endued with mind, goes on, curbing with the reins of-knowledge the steeds represented by the objects of the senses, should certainly be regarded as possessed of intelligence. The homage (in the form of devotion to and concentrated meditation on the Supreme) by a person whose mind is dependent on itself and who has cast off the means of livelihood is worthy of high praise,--that homage, namely, O regenerate one, which is the result of instructions received from one who has succeeded in transcending acts but not obtained from the mutual discussion of men in the same state of progress. Having obtained the allotted period of life, O king, with such difficulty, one should not diminish it (by indulgence of the senses). On the other hand, man should always exert, by righteous acts for his gradual advancement. Among the six different colours that Jiva attains at different periods of his existence, he who falls away from a superior colour deserves obloquy and censure. Hence, one that has attained to the result of good acts should conduct oneself in such a way as to avoid all acts stained by the quality of Rajas. Man attains to a superior colour by righteous acts. Unable to acquire a superior hue, for such acquisition is extremely difficult, a person, by doing sinful acts only slays himself (by sinking into hell and falling down into an inferior colour). All sinful acts that are committed unconsciously or in ignorance are destroyed by penances. A sinful act, however, that is committed knowingly, produces much sorrow. Hence, one should never commit sinful acts which have for their fruit only sorrow. The man of intelligence would never do an act that is sinful in character even if it leads to the greatest advantage, just as a person that is pure would never touch a Chandala. How miserable is the fruit I see of sinful acts! Through sin the very vision of the sinner becomes perverse, and he confounds his body and its unstable accompaniments with the Soul. That foolish man who does not succeed in betaking himself to Renunciation in this world becomes afflicted with great grief when he departs to the next world. An uncoloured cloth, when dirty, can be cleaned, but not a piece of cloth that is dyed with black; even so, O king, listen to me with care, is it the case with sin. That man who, having knowingly committed sin, acts righteously for expiating that sin, has to enjoy and endure the fruits of his good and bad acts separately. The utterers of Brahma maintain, under the authority of what has been laid down in the Vedas, that all acts of injury committed in ignorance are cancelled by acts of righteousness. A sin, however, that is committed consciously is never cancelled by righteousness. Thus say the regenerate utterers of Brahma who are conversant with the scriptures of Brahmana. As regards myself, my view is that whatever acts are done, be they righteous or sinful, be they done knowingly or otherwise, remain (and are never destroyed unless their fruits are enjoyed or endured). Whatever acts are done by the mind with full deliberation, produce, according to their grossness or subtility, fruits that are gross or subtile. Those acts, however, O thou of righteous soul, which are fraught with great injury, if done in ignorance, do without fail produce consequences and even consequences that lead to hell, with this difference that those consequences are disproportionate in point of gravity to the acts that produce them. As to those acts (of a doubtful or unrighteous nature) that may be done by the deities or ascetics of reputation, a righteous man should never do their like or, informed of them, should never censure them. That man who, reflecting with his mind, O king, and ascertaining his own ability, accomplishes righteous acts, certainly obtains what is for his benefit. Water poured into an unbaked vessel gradually becomes less and finally escapes altogether. If kept, however, in a baked vessel, it remains without its quantity being diminished. After the same manner, acts done without reflection with the aid of the understanding do not become beneficial; while acts done with judgement remain with undiminished excellence and yield happiness as their result. If into a vessel containing water other water be poured, the water that was originally there increases in quantity; even so all acts done with judgement, be they equitable or otherwise, only add to one's stock of righteousness. A king should subjugate his foes and all who seek to assert their superiority, and he should properly rule and protect his subjects. One should ignite one's sacred fires and pour libations on them in diverse sacrifices, and retiring in the woods into either one's middle or old age, should live there (practising the duties of the two last modes of life). Endued with self-restraint, and possessed of righteous behaviour, one should look upon all creatures as on one's own self. One should again reverence one's superiors. By the practice of truth and of good conduct, O king, one is sure to obtain happiness.'"

SECTION 293

"Parasara said, 'Nobody in this world does good to another. Nobody is seen to make gifts to others. All persons are seen to act for their own selves. People are seen to cast off their very parents and their uterine brothers when these cease to be affectionate. What need be said then or relatives of other degrees? Gifts to a distinguished person and acceptance of the gifts made by a distinguished person both lead to equal merit. Of these two acts, however, the making of a gift is superior to the acceptance of a gift. That wealth which is acquired by proper means and increased also by proper means, should be protected with care for the sake of acquiring virtue. This is an accepted truth. One desirous of acquiring righteousness should never earn wealth by means involving injury to others. One should accomplish one's acts according to one's power, without zealously pursuing wealth. By giving water, whether cold or heated by fire, with a devoted mind, unto a (thirsty) guest, according to the best of one's power, one earns the merit that attaches to the act of giving food to a hungry man. The high-souled Rantideva obtained success in all the worlds by worshipping the ascetics with offerings of only roots and fruits leaves. The royal son of Sivi also won the highest regions of felicity by having gratified Surya along with his companion with offerings of the same kind. All men, by taking birth, incur debts to gods, guests, servants, Pitris, and their own selves. Everyone should, therefore, do his best for freeing himself from those debts. One frees oneself from one's debt to the great Rishis by studying the Vedas. One pays off one's debts to the gods by performing sacrifices. By performing the rites of the Sraddha one is freed from one's debts to the Pitris. One pays off one's debt to one's fellowmen by doing good offices to them. One pays off the debts one owes to one's own self by listening to Vedic recitations and reflecting on their import, by eating the remnants of sacrifices, and by supporting one's body. One should duty discharge all the acts, from the beginning, that one owes to one's servants. Though destitute of wealth, men are seen to attain to success by great exertions. Munis by duly adoring the deities and by duty pouring libations of clarified butter on the sacred fire, have been seen to attain to ascetic success. Richika's son became the son of Vishwamitra. By adoring the deities who have shares in sacrificial offerings, with Richs (he attained to success in after life). Usanas became Sukra by having gratified the god of gods. Indeed., by hymning the praises of the goddess (Uma), he sports in the firmament, endued with great splendour. [This has reference to Usanas' attaining to the status of a planet (the Venus) in the firmament.] Then, again, Asita and Devala, and Narada and Parvata, and Karkshivat, and Jamadagni's son Rama, and Tandya possessed of cleansed soul, and Vasishtha, and Jamadagni, and Viswamitra and Atri, and Bharadwaja, and Harismasru, and Kundadhara, and Srutasravas,--these great Rishis, by adoring Vishnu with concentrated minds with the aid of Richs, and by penances, succeeded in attaining to success through the grace of that great deity endued with intelligence. Many undeserving men, by adoring that good deity, obtained great distinction. One should not seek for advancement by achieving any wicked or censurable act. That wealth which is earned by righteous ways is true wealth. Fie on that wealth, however, which is earned by unrighteous means. Righteousness is eternal. It should never, in this world, be abandoned from desire of wealth. That righteous-souled person who keeps his sacred fire and offers his daily adorations to the deities is regarded as the foremost of righteous persons. All the Vedas, O foremost of kings, are established on the three sacred fires (called Dakshina, Garhapatya, and Ahavaniya). That Brahmana is said to possess the sacred fire whose acts exist in their entirety. It is better to at once abandon the sacred fire than to keep it, abstaining the while from acts. The sacred fire, the mother, the father who has begotten, and the preceptor, O tiger among men, should all be duly waited upon and served with humility. That man who, casting off all feelings of pride, humbly waits upon and serves them that are venerable for age, who is possessed of learning and destitute of lust, who looketh upon all creatures with an eye of love, who has no wealth, who is righteous in his acts, and who is destitute of the desire of inflicting any kind of harm (upon any one), that truly respectable man is worshipped in this world by those that are good and pious.'"

SECTION 294

"Parasara said, 'The lowest order, it is proper, should derive their sustenance from the three other orders. Such service, rendered with affection and reverence, makes them righteous. If the ancestors of any Sudra were not engaged in service, he should not still engage himself in any other occupation (than service). Truly, he should apply himself to service as his occupation. In my opinion, it is proper for them to associate, under all circumstances, with good men devoted to righteousness, but never with those that are wicked. As in the Eastern hills, jewels and metals blaze with greater splendour in consequence of their adjacence to the Sun, even so the lowest order blazes with splendour in consequence of their association with the good. A piece of white cloth assumes that hue with which it is dyed. Even such is the case with Sudras. Hence also, one should attach oneself to all good qualities but never to qualities that are evil. The life of human beings in this world is fleeting and transitory. That wise man who, in happiness as also in misery, achieves only what is good, is regarded as a true observer of the scriptures. That man who is endued with intelligence would never do an act which is dissociated from virtue, however high may the advantages be of that act. Indeed, such an act is not regarded as truly beneficial. That lawless king who, snatching thousands of kine from their lawful owners, gives them away (unto deserving persons), acquires no fruit (from that act of giving) beyond an empty sound (expressive of the act he does). On the other hand, he incurs the sin of theft. The Self-born at first created the Being called Dhatri held in universal respect. Dhatri created a son who was engaged in upholding all the worlds. [This son of Dhatri is the god of the clouds.] Worshipping that deity, the Vaisya employs himself, for the means of his support, in agriculture and the rearing of cattle. The Kshatriyas should employ themselves in the task of protecting all the other classes. The Brahmanas should only enjoy. As regards the Sudras, they should engage themselves in the task of humbly and honestly collecting together the articles that are to be offered in sacrifices, and in cleaning altars and other places where sacrifices are to be performed. If each order acts in this way, righteousness would not suffer any diminution. If righteousness is preserved in its entirety, all creatures inhabiting the earth would be happy. Beholding the happiness of all creatures on earth, the deities in heaven become filled with gladness. Hence, that king who, agreeably to the duties laid down for his order, protects the other classes, becomes worthy of respect. Similarly, the Brahmana that is employed in studying the scriptures, the Vaisya that is engaged in earning wealth, and the Sudra that is always engaged in serving the three other classes with concentrated attention, become objects of respect. By conducting themselves in the other ways, O chief of men, each order is said to fall away from virtue. Keeping aside gifts by thousands, even twenty cowries that one may give painfully, having earned them righteously, will be productive of the great benefit. Those persons, O king, who make gifts unto Brahmanas after reverencing them duly, reap excellent fruits commensurate with those gifts. That gift is highly prized which the donor makes after seeking out the donee and honouring him properly. That gift is middling which the donor makes upon solicitation. That gift, however, which is made contemptuously and without any reverence, is said to be very inferior (in point of merit). Even this is what those utterers of the truth, viz., the sages, say. While sinking in this ocean of life, man should always seek to cross that ocean by various means. Indeed, he should so exert himself that he might be freed from the bonds of this world. The Brahmana shines by self restraint; the Kshatriya by victory; the Vaisya by wealth; while the Sudra always shines in glory through cleverness in serving (the three other orders).'"

SECTION 295

"Parasara said, 'In the Brahmana, wealth acquired by acceptance of gifts, in the Kshatriya that won by victory in battle, in the Vaisya that obtained by following the duties laid down for his order, and in the Sudra that earned by serving the three other orders, however small its measure, is worthy of praise, and spent for the acquisition of virtue is productive of great benefits. The Sudra is said to be the constant servitor of the three other classes. If the Brahmana, pressed for a living, betakes himself to the duties of either the Kshatriya or the Vaisya, he does not fall off from righteousness. When, however, the Brahmana betakes himself to the duties of the lowest order, then does he certainly fall off. When the Sudra is unable to obtain his living by service of the three other orders, then trade, rearing of cattle, and the practice of the mechanical arts are lawful for him to follow. Appearance on the boards of a theatre and disguising oneself in various forms, exhibition of puppets, the sale of spirits and meat, and trading in iron and leather, should never be taken up for purposes of a living by one who had never before been engaged in those

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professions every one of which is regarded as censurable in the world. It hath been heard by us that if one engaged in them can abandon them, one then acquires great merit. When one that has become successful in life behaves sinfully in consequence of one's mind being filled with arrogance, one's acts under such circumstances can never pass for authority. It is heard in the Puranas that formerly mankind were self-restrained; that they held righteousness in great esteem; that the practices they followed for livelihood were all consistent with propriety and the injunctions laid down in the scriptures: and that the only punishment that was required for chastising them when they went wrong was the crying of fie on them. At the time of which we speak, O king, Righteousness, and nothing else, was much applauded among men. Having achieved great progress in righteousness, men in those days worshipped only all good qualities that they saw. The Asuras, however, O child, could not bear that righteousness which prevailed in the world. Multiplying (in both number and energy), the Asuras (in the form of Lust and Wrath) entered the bodies of men. Then was pride generated in men that is so destructive of righteousness. From pride arose arrogance, and from arrogance arose wrath. When men thus became overwhelmed with wrath, conduct implying modesty and shame disappeared from them, and then they were overcome by heedlessness. Afflicted by heedlessness, they could no longer see as before, and as the consequence thereof they began to oppress one another and thereby acquire wealth without any compunction. When men became such, the punishment of only crying fie on offenders failed to be of any effect. Men, showing no reverence for either the gods or Brahmanas, began to indulge their senses to their fill. At that time the deities repaired to that foremost of gods, viz., Siva, possessed of patience, of multiform aspect, and endued with the foremost of attributes, and sought his protection. The deities imparted unto him their conjoined energy, and thereupon the great god, with a single shaft, felled on the earth those three Asuras, viz., Desire, Wrath, and Cupidity, who were staying in the firmament, along with their very habitations. The fierce chief of those Asuras possessed of fierce, prowess, who had struck the Devas with terror, was also slain by Mahadeva armed with the lance. When this chief of the Asuras was slain, men once more obtained their proper natures, and once more began to study the Vedas and the other scriptures as was in former times. Then the seven ancient Rishis came forward and installed Vasava as the chief of the gods and the ruler of heaven. And they took upon themselves the task of holding the rod of chastisement over mankind. After the seven Rishis came king Viprithu (to rule mankind), and many other kings, all belonging to the Kshatriya order for separately ruling separate groups of human beings. (When Mahadeva dispelled all evil passions from the minds of creatures) there were, in those ancient times, certain elderly men from whose minds all wicked feelings did not fly away. Hence, in consequence of that wicked state of their minds and of those incidents that were connected with it, there appeared many kings of terrible prowess who began to indulge in only such acts as were fit for Asuras. Those human beings that are exceedingly foolish adhere to those wicked acts, establish them as authorities, and follow them in practice to this day. For this reason, O king, I say unto thee, having reflected properly with the aid of the scriptures, that one should abstain from all acts that are fraught with injury or malice and seek to acquire a knowledge of the Soul. The man possessed of wisdom would not seek wealth for the performance of religious rites by ways that are unrighteous and that involve an abandonment of morality. Wealth earned by such means can never prove beneficial. Do thou then become a Kshatriya of this kind. Do thou restrain thy senses, be agreeable to thy friends, and cherish, according to the duties of thy order, thy subjects, servants, and children. Through the union of both prosperity and adversity (in man's life), there arise friendships and animosities. Thousands and thousands of existences are continually revolving (in respect of every Jiva), and in every mode of Jiva's existence these must occur. For this reason, be thou attached to good qualities of every kind, but never to faults. Such is the character of good qualities that if the most foolish person, bereft of every virtue, hears himself praised for any good quality, he becomes filled with joy. Virtue and sin exist, O king, only among men. These do not exist among creatures other than man. One should therefore, whether in need of food and other necessaries of life or transcending such need, be of virtuous disposition, acquire knowledge, always look upon all creatures as one's own self, and abstain totally from inflicting any kind of injury. When one's mind becomes divested of desire, and when all Darkness is dispelled from it, it is then that one succeeds in obtaining what is auspicious.'"

SECTION 296

"Parasara said, 'I have now discoursed to thee on what the ordinances are of the duties in respect of one that leads the domestic mode of life. I shall now speak to thee of the ordinances about penances. Listen to me as I discourse on the topic. It is generally seen, O king, that in consequence of sentiments fraught with Rajas and Tamas, the sense of meum, born of attachment, springs up in the heart of the householder. Betaking oneself to the domestic mode of life, one acquires kine, fields, wealth of diverse kinds, spouses, children, and servants. One that becomes observant of this mode of life continually casts one's eye upon these objects. Under these circumstances, one's attachments and aversions increase, and one ceases to regard one's (transitory) possessions as eternal and indestructible. When a person becomes overwhelmed by attachment and aversion, and yields himself up to the mastery of earthly objects, the desire of enjoyment then seizes him, taking its rise from heedlessness, O king. Thinking that person to be blessed who has the largest share of enjoyments in this world, the man devoted to enjoyment does not, in consequence of his attachment thereto, see that there is any other happiness besides what waits upon the gratification of the senses. Overwhelmed with cupidity that results from such attachment, he then seeks to increase the number of his relatives and attendants, and for gratifying these latter he seeks to increase his wealth by every means in his power. Filled with affection for children, such a person commits, for the sake of acquiring wealth, acts that he knows to be evil, and gives way to grief if his wealth be lost. Having earned honours and always guarding against the defeat of his plans, he betakes himself to such means as would gratify his desire of enjoyment. At last he meets with destruction as the inevitable consequence of the conduct he pursues. It is well-known, however, that true felicity is theirs that a e endued with intelligence, that are utterers of the eternal Brahma, that seek to accomplish only acts that are auspicious and beneficial, and that abstain from all acts that are optional and spring from desire alone. From loss of all such objects in which are centred our affections, from loss of wealth, O king, and from the tyranny of physical diseases add mental anguish, a person falls into despair. From this despair arises art awakening of the soul. From such awakening proceeds study of the Scriptures. From contemplation of the import of the scriptures, O king, one sees the value of penance. A person possessed of the knowledge of what is essential and what accidental, O king, is very rare,--he, that is, who seeks to undergo penances, impressed with the truth that the happiness one derives from the possession of such agreeable objects as spouses and children leads ultimately to misery. Penances, O child, are for all. They are ordained for even the lowest order of men (viz., Sudras). Penances set the self-restrained man having the mastery over all his senses on the way to heaven. It was through penances that the puissant Lord of all creatures, O, king, observing vows at particular intervals created all existent objects. The Adityas, the Vasus, the Rudras, Agni, the Aswins, the Maruts, the Viswedevas, the Saddhyas, the Pitris, the Maruts, the Yakshas, the Rakshasas, the Gandharvas, the Siddhas and the other denizens of heaven, and, indeed, all other celestials whatever, O child, have all been crowned with success through their penances. Those Brahmanas whom Brahmana created at the outset, succeeded through their penances in honouring not the Earth alone but the heaven also in which they roved at pleasure. In this world of mortals, they that are kings, and those others that are householders born in high families, have all become what they are only in consequence of their penances. The silken robes they wear, the excellent ornaments that adorn their persons, the animals and vehicles they ride, and the seats they use are all the result of their penances. The many charming and beautiful women, numbering by thousands, that they enjoy, and their residence in palatial mansions, are all due to their penances. Costly beds and diverse kinds of delicious viands become theirs that act righteously. There is nothing in the three worlds, O scorcher of foes, that penances cannot attain. Even those that are destitute of true knowledge win Renunciation as the consequence of their penances. Whether in affluent circumstances or miserable, a person should cast off cupidity, reflecting on the scriptures, with the aid of his Mind and understanding, O best of kings. Discontent is productive of misery. (Discontent is the result of cupidity). Cupidity leadeth to the stupefaction of the senses. The senses being stupefied, one's wisdom disappears like knowledge not kept up by continued application. When one's wisdom disappears, one fails to discriminate what is proper from what is improper. Hence, when one's happiness is destroyed (and one becomes subject to misery) one should practise the austerest of penances. That which is agreeable is called happiness. That which is disagreeable is said to be misery. When penances are practised, the result is happiness. When they are not practised, the result is misery. Behold the fruits of practising and abstaining from penances! By practising stainless penances, people always meet with auspicious consequences of every kind, enjoy all good things, and attain to great fame. He, however, who by abandoning (stainless penances), betakes himself to penances from desire of fruit, meets with many disagreeable consequences, and disgrace and sorrow of diverse kinds, as the fruits thereof, all of which have worldly possessions for their cause. Notwithstanding the desirability of practising righteousness, penances, and gifts, the wish springs up in his mind of accomplishing all kinds of forbidden acts. By thus perpetrating diverse kinds of sinful acts, he goes to hell. That person, O best of men, who, in both happiness and misery, does not fall away from the duties ordained for him, is said to have the scriptures for his eye. It is said that the pleasure one derives from the gratification of one's senses of touch, tongue, sight, scent, and hearing, O monarch, lasts only so long as a shaft urged from the bow takes in falling down upon the earth. Upon the cessation of that pleasure, which is so short-lived, one experiences the most keen agony. It is only the senseless that do not applaud the felicity of Emancipation that is unrivalled. Beholding the misery that attends the gratification of the senses, they that are possessed of wisdom cultivate the virtues of tranquillity and self-restraint for the purpose of attaining to Emancipation. In consequence of their righteous behaviour, wealth, and pleasure can never succeed in afflicting them. Householders may, without any compunction, enjoy wealth and other possessions that are obtained without Exertion. As regards, however, the duties of their order that are laid down in the scriptures, these, I am of opinion, they should discharge with the aid of Exertion. 1 The practice of those that are honoured, that are born in high families, and that have their eyes always turned towards the import of the scriptures, is incapable of being followed by those that are sinful and that are possessed of unrestrained minds. All acts that are done by man under the influence of vanity, meet with destruction. Hence, for them that are respectable and truly righteous there is no other act in this world to do than penance. [Sacrifices and all other acts undertaken from a sense of vanity, are destructible as regards their consequences, for heaven is terminable. Penances, however, that are undertaken without desire of fruit are not so, for these lead to Emancipation.] As regards, those house-holders, however, that are addicted to acts, they should, with their whole hearts, set themselves to acts. Following the duties of their order, O king, they should with cleverness and attention perform sacrifices and other religious rites. Indeed, as all rivers, male and female, have their refuge in the Ocean, even so men belonging to all the other orders have their refuge in the householder.'"

SECTION 297

"Janaka said, 'Whence, O great Rishi, does this difference of colour arise among men belonging to the different orders? I desire to know this. Tell me this, O foremost of speakers! The Srutis say that the offspring one begets are one's own self. Originally sprung from Brahmana, all the inhabitants of the earth should have been Brahmanas. Sprung from Brahmanas, why have men betaken themselves to practices distinguished from those of Brahmanas.'

"Parasara said, 'It is as thou sayst, O king! The offspring procreated are none else than the procreator himself. In consequence, however, of falling away from penance, this distribution into classes of different colours has taken place. When the soil becomes good and the seed also is good, the offspring produced become meritorious. If, however, the soil and seed become otherwise or inferior, the offspring that will be born will be inferior. They that are conversant with the scriptures know that when the Lord of all creatures set himself to create the worlds, some creatures sprang from his mouth, some from his arms, some from his thighs, and some from his feet. They that thus sprang from his mouth, O child, came to be called Brahmanas. They that sprang from his arms were named Kshatriyas. They, O king, that sprang from his thighs were the wealthy class called the Vaisyas. And, lastly, they that were born of his feet were the serving class, viz., the Sudras. Only these four orders of men, O monarch, were thus created. They that belong to classes over and other than these are said to have sprung from an intermixture of these. The Kshatriyas called Atirathas, Amvashthas, Ugras, Vaidehas, Swapakas, Pukkasas, Tenas, Nishadas, Sutas, Magadhas, Ayogas, Karanas, Vratyas, and Chandalas, O monarch, have all sprung from the four original orders by intermixture with one another.'

"Janaka said, 'When all have sprung from Brahmana alone, how came human beings to have diversity in respect of race? O best of ascetics, an infinite diversity of races is seen in this world. How could men devoted to penances attain, to the status of Brahmanas, though of indiscriminate origin? Indeed, those born of pure wombs and those of impure, all became Brahmanas.'

"Parasara said, 'O king, the status of high-souled persons that succeeded in cleansing their souls by penances could not be regarded as affected by their low births. Great Rishis, O monarch, by begetting children in indiscriminate wombs, conferred upon them the status of Rishis by means of their power of asceticism. My grandfather Vasishtha, Rishyasringa, Kasyapa, Veda, Tandya, Kripa, Kakshivat, Kamatha, and others, and Yavakrita, O king, and Drona, that foremost of speakers, and Ayu, and Matanga, and Datta, and Drupada, and Matsya, all these, O ruler of the Videhas, obtained their respective positions through penance as the means. Originally only four Gotras (races) arose, O monarch, viz., Angiras, Kasyapa, Vasishtha, and Bhrigu. In consequence of acts and behaviour, O ruler of men, many other Gotras came into

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existence in time. The names of those Gotras have been due to the penances of those that have founded them. Good people use them.'

"Janaka said, 'Tell me, O holy one, the especial duties of the several orders. Tell me also what their common duties are. Thou art conversant with everything.'

"Parasara said, 'Acceptance of gifts, officiation at the sacrifices of others, and the teaching of pupils, O king, are the especial duties of the Brahmanas. The protection of the other orders is proper for the Kshatriya. Agriculture, cattle-rearing, and trade are the occupations of the Vaisyas. While service of the (three) regenerate classes is the occupation, O king, of the Sudras. I have now told thee what the especial duties are of the four orders, O monarch. Listen now to me, O child, as I tell thee what the common duties are of all the four orders. Compassion, abstention from injury, heedfulness, giving to others what is due to them, Sraddhas in honour of deceased ancestors, hospitality to guests, truthfulness, subjugation of wrath, contentedness with one's own wedded wives, purity (both internal and external), freedom from malice, knowledge of Self, and Renunciation,--these duties, O king, are common to all the orders. Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas,--these are the three regenerate orders. All of them have an equal right to the performance of these duties, O foremost of men. These three orders, betaking themselves to duties other than those laid down for them, come to grief, O monarch (and fall down from their own status), even as they go up and acquire great merit by taking for their model some righteous individual of their respective classes who is duly observant of his own duties. The Sudra never falls down (by doing forbidden acts); nor is he worthy of any of the rites of regeneration. The course of duties flowing from the Vedas is not his. He is not interdicted, however, from practising the three and ten duties that are common to all the orders. O ruler of the Videhas, Brahmanas learned in the Vedas, O monarch, regard a (virtuous) Sudra as equal to Brahmana himself. I, however, O king, look upon such a Sudra as the effulgent Vishnu of the universe, the foremost one in all the worlds. [Kam is Brahmanam. The commentator explains that Brahmana (the Creator) is equivalent to Brahmana; and that Vishnu is equivalent to Kshatriya. What is said, therefore, in this verse (according to him) is that a Sudra, by practising the common duties of all the four orders, succeeds in his next life in becoming a Brahmana. Thus say Brahmanas learned in the scriptures; but the opinion of Parasara is that such a Sudra, in his next life, takes birth as a Kshatriya.] Persons of the lowest order, desiring to exterminate the evil passions (of lust and wrath, etc.) may betake themselves to the observance of the conduct of the good; and, indeed, while so acting, they may earn great merit by performing all rites that lead to advancement, omitting the mantras that are utterable by the other orders while performing the self-same ceremonies. Wherever persons of the lowest order adopt the behaviour of the good, they succeed in attaining to happiness in consequence of which they are able to pass their time in felicity both here and hereafter.'

"Janaka said, 'O great ascetic, is man stained by his acts or is he stained by the order or class in which he is born? A doubt has arisen in my mind. It behoveth thee to expound this to me.'

"Parasara said, 'Without doubt, O king, both, viz., acts and birth, are sources of demerit. Listen now to their difference. That man who, though stained by birth, does not commit sin, abstains from sin notwithstanding birth and acts. If, however, a person of superior birth perpetrates censurable acts, such acts stain him. Hence, of the two, viz., acts and birth, acts stain man (more than birth).

"Janaka said, 'What are those righteous acts in this world, O best of all regenerate persons, the accomplishment of which does not inflict any injury upon other creatures?'

"Parasara said, 'Hear from me, O monarch, about what thou askest me' viz., those acts free from injury which always rescue man. Those who, keeping aside their domestic fires, have dissociated themselves from all worldly attachments, become freed from all anxieties. Gradually ascending step by step, in the path of Yoga, they at last behold the stage of highest felicity (viz., Emancipation). Endued with faith and humility, always practising self-restraint, possessed of keen intelligence, and abstaining from all acts, they attain to eternal felicity. All classes of men, O king, by properly accomplishing acts that are righteous, by speaking the truth, and by abstaining from unrighteousness, in this world, ascend to heaven. In this there is no doubt.'"

SECTION 298

"Parasara said, 'The sires, the friends, the preceptor, and the spouses of the preceptors of men that are destitute of devotion are unable to give to those men the merits that attach to devotion. Only they that are firmly devoted to such seniors, that speak what is agreeable to them, that seek their welfare, and that are submissive to them in behaviour, can obtain the merit of devotion. The sire is the highest of deities with his children. It is said that the sire is superior to the mother. The attainment of Knowledge is regarded as the highest acquisition. They that have subjugated the objects of the senses (by attainment of Knowledge), acquire what is highest (viz., Emancipation). That Kshatriya prince who, repairing to the field of battle, receives wounds amid fiery shafts flying in all directions and burns therewith, certainly repairs to regions that are unattainable by the very deities and, arrived there, enjoys the felicity of heaven in perfect contentment. A Kshatriya should not, O king, strike one that is fatigued, or one that is frightened, or one that has been disarmed, or one that is weeping, or one that is unwilling to fight, or one that is unequipped with mail and cars and horse and infantry, or one that has ceased to exert oneself in the fight, or one that is ill, or one that cries for quarter, or one that is of tender years, or one that is old. A Kshatriya should, in battle, fight one of his order who is equipped with mail and cars and horse and infantry, who is ready for exertion and who occupies a position of equality. Death at the hands of one that is equal or of a superior is laudable, but not that at the hands of one that is low, or of one that is a coward, or of one that is a wretch. This is well-known. Death at the hands of one that is sinful, or of one that is of low birth and wicked conduct, O king, is inglorious and leads to hell. One whose period of life has run out cannot be rescued by anybody. Similarly, one whose period of life has not been exhausted can never be slain by any one. One should prevent one's affectionate seniors from doing unto one (for one's benefit) such acts as are done by menials, as also all such acts as are fraught with injury to others. One should never desire to extend one's own life by taking the lives of others. When they lay down their lives, it is laudable for all householders observant of the duties of men living in sacred places to lay down their lives on the banks of sacred streams. When one's period of life becomes exhausted, one dissolves away into the five elements. Sometimes this occurs suddenly (through accidents) and sometimes it is brought about by (natural) causes. He who, having obtained a body, brings about its dissolution (in a. sacred place by means of some inglorious accident), becomes invested with another body of a similar kind. Though set on the path of the Emancipation, he yet becomes a traveller and attains to another body like a person repairing from one room into another. In the matter of such a man's attainment of a second body (notwithstanding his death in a sacred spot) the only cause is his accidental death. There is no second cause. That new body which embodied creatures obtain (in consequence of the accidental character of their deaths in sacred places) comes into existence and becomes attached to Rudras and Pisachas. Learned men, conversant with Adhyatma, say that the body is a conglomeration of arteries and sinews and bones and much repulsive and impure matter and a compound of (primal) essences, and the senses and objects of the senses born of desire, all having an outer cover of skin close to them. Destitute (in reality) of beauty and other accomplishments, this conglomeration, through force of the desires of a previous life, assumes a human form. Abandoned by the owner, the body becomes inanimate and motionless. Indeed, when the primal ingredients return to their respective natures, the body mingles with the dust. Caused by its union with acts, this body reappears under circumstances determined by its acts. Indeed, O ruler of the Videhas, under whatever circumstances this body meets with dissolution, its next birth, determined by those circumstances, is seen to enjoy and endure the fruits of all its past acts. Jiva, after dissolution of the body it inhabited, does not, O king, take birth in a different body immediately. It roves through the sky for some time like a spacious cloud. Obtaining a new receptacle, O monarch, it then takes birth again. The soul is above the mind. The mind is above the senses. Mobile creatures, again, are foremost of all created objects. Of all mobile creatures those that have two legs are superior. Amongst two-legged creatures, those that are regenerate are superior. Amongst those that are regenerate they that are possessed of wisdom are superior. Amongst them that are possessed of wisdom they that have succeeded in acquiring a knowledge of the soul are superior. Amongst those that are possessed of a knowledge of the soul, they that are endued with humility are superior. Death follows birth in respect of all men. This is settled. Creatures, influenced by the attributes of Sattwa, Rajas, and Tamas, pursue acts which have an end. That man is regarded as righteous who meets with dissolution when the Sun is in the northern declension, and at a time and under a constellation both of which are sacred and auspicious. He. is righteous who., having cleansed himself of all sins and accomplished all his acts according to the best of his power and having abstained from giving pain to any man, meets with death when it comes. The death that one meets with by taking poison, by hanging, by burning, at the hands of robbers, and at the teeth of animals, is said to be an inglorious one. Those men that are righteous never incur such or similar deaths even if they be afflicted with mental and physical diseases of the most agonising kind. The lives of the righteous, O king, piercing through the Sun, ascend into the regions of Brahma. The lives of those that are both righteous and sinful rove in the middle regions. The lives of those that are sinful sink into the lowest depths. There is only one foe (of man) and not another. That foe is identifiable with ignorance, O king. Overwhelmed by it, one is led to perpetrate acts that are frightful and exceedingly cruel. That foe for resisting which one should put forth one's power by waiting upon the aged according to the duties laid down in the Srutis--that foe which cannot be overcome except by steady endeavours,--meets with destruction., O king, only when it is crushed by the shafts of wisdom. The man desirous of achieving merit should at first study the Vedas and observe penances, becoming a Brahmacharin. He should next, entering the domestic mode of life, perform the usual Sacrifices. Establishing his race, he should then enter the forest, restraining his senses, and desirous of winning Emancipation. One should never emasculate oneself by abstaining from any enjoyment. Of all births, the status of humanity is preferable even if one has to become a Chandala. Indeed, O monarch, that order of birth (viz., humanity) is the foremost, since by becoming a human being one succeeds in rescuing one's self by meritorious acts. Men always perform righteous acts, O lord, guided by the authority of the Srutis, so that they may not fall away from the status of humanity. That man who, having attained to the status of humanity that is so difficult of attainment, indulges in malice, disregards righteousness and yields himself up to desire, is certainly betrayed by his desires. That man who looks upon all creatures with eyes guided by affection, regarding them worthy of being cherished with loving aid, who disregards all kinds of wealth, who offers them consolation, gives them food, address them in agreeable words, and who rejoices in their happiness and grieves in their griefs, has never to suffer misery in the next world, Repairing to the Saraswati, the Naimisha woods, the Pushkara waters, and the other sacred spots on earth, one should make gifts, practise renunciation, render one's aspect amiable, O king, and purify one's body with baths and penances. Those men who meet with death within their houses should have the rites of cremation performed upon their persons. Their bodies should be taken to the crematorium on vehicles and there they should be burnt according to the rites of purification that have been laid down in the scriptures. Religious rites, beneficial ceremonies, the performance of sacrifices, officiation at the sacrifices of others, gifts, the doing of other meritorious acts, the performance, according to the best of one's power, of all that has been ordained in the case of one's deceased ancestors,--all these one does for benefiting one's own self. The Vedas with their six branches, and the other scriptures, O king, have been created for the good of him who is of stainless acts.'

"Bhishma continued, 'All this was said by that high-souled sage unto the ruler of the Videhas, O king, in days of old for his benefit.'"

SECTION 299

"Bhishma said, 'Once again Janaka, the ruler of Mithila, questioned the high-souled Parasara endued with certain knowledge in respect of all duties.'

"Janaka said, 'What is productive of good? What is the best path (for living creatures)? What is that which being accomplished is never destroyed? What is that spot repairing whither one has not to come back? Tell me all this, O thou of high intelligence!'

"Parasara said, 'Dissociation (from attachments) is the root of what is good. Knowledge is the highest path. Penances practised are never destroyed, Gifts also, made to deserving persons, are not lost. When one, breaking the bonds of sin, begins to take pleasure in righteousness, and when one makes that highest of all gifts, viz., the pledge of harmlessness unto all creatures, then does one achieve success. He who gives away thousands of kine and hundreds of horses (to deserving persons), and who gives unto all creatures the pledge of harmlessness, receives in return the pledge of harmlessness from all. One may live in the midst of all kinds of wealth and enjoyment, yet, if blessed with intelligence, one does not live in them: while he that is destitute of intelligence lives wholly in objects of enjoyment that are even unsubstantial. [By buddhiman is meant the man who is freed from attachment. Similarly, by durbuddhih is meant the man who is the slave of attachments.] Sin cannot attach to a man of wisdom even as water cannot drench the leaves of the lotus. Sin adheres more firmly to him who is without attachment even as lac and wood adhere firmly to each other. Sin, which cannot be extinguished except by endurance of its fruits, never abandons the doer. Verily, the doer, when the time comes, has to endure the consequences arising from it. They, however, that are of cleansed souls and that realise the existence of Brahma, are never afflicted by the fruits of their acts. Heedless in respect of one's senses of knowledge and of action, one that is not conscious of one's wicked acts, and whose heart is attached to both good and bad, becomes afflicted with great fear. One who at all times becomes entirely freed from attachments and who completely subjugates the passion of wrath, is never stained by sin even if he lives in the enjoyment of worldly objects. As a dyke built across a river, if not washed away, causes the waters thereof to swell up, even so the man who, without being attached to objects of enjoyments, creates the

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dyke of righteousness whose materials consist of the limitations set down in the scriptures, has never to languish. On the other hand, his merits and penances increase. As the pure gem (called Suryakanta) absorbs and attracts to itself, the rays of the Sun, even so, O tiger among kings, does Yoga proceed by help of concentrated attention. As sesame seeds, in consequence of their repeated intermingling with (fragrant) flowers, become in respect of quality very agreeable, even so the quality of Sattwa arises in men in proportion to the measure of their association with persons of cleansed souls. When one becomes desirous of dwelling in heaven, one casts off one's spouses and wealth and rank and vehicles and diverse kinds of good acts. Indeed, when one attains to such a frame of mind, one's understanding is said to be dissociated from the objects of the senses. That man (on the other hand) who, with understanding attached to the objects of the senses, becomes blind to what is for his real good, is dragged (to his ruin) by his heart which runs after all worldly objects, like a fish (dragged to its ruin) by the bait of meat. Like unto the body that is made up of different limbs and organs, all mortal creatures exist depending upon one another. They are as destitute of vigour as the pith of the banana plant. (Left to themselves) they sink in the world's ocean like a boat (made of weak materials). There is no fixed time for the acquisition of righteousness. Death waits for no man. When man is constantly running towards the jaws of Death, the accomplishment of righteous acts is proper at all times. Like a blind man who, with attention, is capable of moving about his own house, the man of wisdom, with mind set on Yoga, succeeds in proceeding along the track (he should follow). It has been said that death arises in consequence of birth. Birth is subject to the sway of death. One unacquainted with the course of the duties of Emancipation revolves like a wheel between birth and death, unable to free oneself from that fate. One who walketh along the track recommended by the understanding earns happiness both here and hereafter. The Diverse are fraught with misery, while the Few are productive of happiness. Fruits represented by the not-Soul are said to constitute the Diverse. Renunciation is (said to constitute the Few and that is) productive of the soul's happiness. As the lotus stalk quickly leaves the mire attached to it, even so the Soul can speedily cast off the mind. It is the mind that at first inclines the Soul to Yoga. The latter then merges the former into itself. When the Soul achieves success in Yoga, it then beholds itself uninvested with attributes. Engaged amid the objects of the senses, one who regards such engagement to be one's employment falleth away from one's true employment in consequence of such devotion to those objects. The soul of the wise man attains, through its righteous acts, to a state of high felicity in heaven, while that of the man who is not possessed of wisdom sinks very low or obtains birth among intermediate creatures. As a liquid substance, if kept in a baked earthen vessel, does not escape therefrom but remains undiminished, after the same manner one's body with which one has undergone austerities enjoys (without rejecting) all objects of enjoyment (up to what are contained in the region of Brahma himself). Verily, that man who enjoys worldly objects can never be emancipated. That man, on the other hand, who casts off such objects (in this world), succeeds in enjoying great happiness hereafter. Like one afflicted with congenital blindness and, therefore, incapable of seeing his way, the sensualist, with soul confined in an opaque case, seems to be surrounded by a mist and fails to see (the true object for which he should strive). As merchants, going across the sea, make profits proportioned to their capital, even so creatures, in this world of mortals, attain to ends according to their respective acts. Like a snake devouring air, Death wanders in this world made up of days and nights in the form of Decrepitude and devours all creatures. A creature, when born, enjoys or endures the fruits of acts done by him in his previous lives. There is nothing agreeable or disagreeable which one enjoys or endures without its being the result of the acts one has done in one's previous lives. Whether lying or proceeding, whether sitting idly engaged in his occupations, in whatever state a man may be, his acts (of past lives) good or bad always approach him. One that has attained to the other shore of the ocean, wishes not to cross the main for returning to the shore whence he had sailed. 1 As the fisherman, when he wishes, raises with the help of his chord his boat sunk in the waters (of a river or lake), after the same manner the mind, by the aid of Yoga-contemplation, raises Jiva sunk in the world's ocean and unemancipated from consciousness of body. As all rivers running towards the ocean, unite themselves with it, even so the mind, when engaged in Yoga, becomes united with primal Prakriti. Men whose minds become bound by diverse chains of affection, and who are engulfed in ignorance, meet with destruction like houses of sand in water. That embodied creature who regards his body as only a house and purity (both external and internal) as its sacred water, and who walks along the path of the understanding, succeeds in attaining to happiness both here and hereafter. The Diverse are productive of misery; while the Few are productive of happiness. The Diverse are the fruits represented by the not-Soul. Renunciation (which is identical with Few) is productive of the soul's benefit. One's friends who spring up from one's determination, and one's kinsmen whose attachment is due to (selfish) reasons, one's spouses and sons and servants, only devour one's wealth. Neither the mother, nor the father, can confer the slightest benefit upon one in the next world. Gifts constitute the diet upon which one can subsist. Indeed, one must have to enjoy the fruits of one's own acts. The mother, the son, the sire, the brother, the wife, and friends, are like lines traced with gold by the side of gold itself. All acts, good and bad, done in past lives come to the doer. Knowing that everything one enjoys or endures at present is the result of the acts of past lives, the soul urges the understanding on different directions (so that it may act in such a way as to avoid all unpleasant fruits). Relying on earnest endeavour, and equipped with proper aids, he who sets himself to accomplish his tasks never meets with failure. As the rays of light never abandon the Sun, even so prosperity never abandons one who is endued with undoubting faith. That act which a man of stainless soul does with faith and earnestness, with the aid of proper means, without pride, and with intelligence, becomes never lost. A creature obtains from the very time of his abode in the mother's womb all his own acts good and bad that were achieved by him in his past lives. Death, which is irresistible, aided by Time which brings about the destruction of life, leads all creatures to their end like wind scattering the dust of sawed timber. Through acts good and bad performed by himself in his past lives, man obtains gold and animals and spouses, and children, and honour of birth, and possessions of value, and his entire affluence.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed conformably to the truth by the sage, Janaka, that foremost of righteous persons, O king, heard everything the Rishi said and obtained great happiness from it.'"

SECTION 300

"Yudhishthira said, 'O grandsire, learned men praise truth, self-restraint, forgiveness, and wisdom. What is thy opinion of these virtues?'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection I shall recite to thee an old narrative, O Yudhishthira, of the discourse between the Sadhyas and a Swan. Once on a time the Unborn and eternal Lord of all creatures (viz., Brahman), assuming the form of a golden Swan, wandered through the three worlds till in course of his wanderings he came upon the Sadhyas.'

"The Sadhyas said, 'O ford, we are the deities called Sadhyas. We like to question thee. Indeed, we would ask thee about the religion of Emancipation. Thou art well-acquainted with it. We have heard, O bird, that thou art possessed of great learning, and eloquent and wise of speech. O bird, what dost thou think is the highest of all objects? O high-souled one, in what does thy mind find pleasure? Do thou, therefore, O foremost of birds, instruct us as to what that one act is which thou regardest as the foremost of all acts, and by doing which, O chief of the feathery creation, one may soon be freed from all bonds.'

"The Swan said, 'Ye who have drunk Amrita, I have heard that one should have recourse to these, viz., penances, self-restraint, truth, and subjugation of the mind. Untying all the knots of the heart, one should also bring under one's control both what is agreeable and what is disagreeable. [The commentator explains that by tapah is meant the practice or observance of one's own duties. Damah is restraining the senses. Satyam is truthfulness of speech, and atmaguptih is subjugation of the mind. The knots are attachments and desires, etc.] One should not wound the vitals of others. One should not be an utterer of cruel speeches. One should never take scriptural lectures from a person that is mean. One should never utter such words as inflict pain on others, as cause others to burn (with misery), and as lead to hell. Wordy shafts fall from the lips. Pierced therewith one (to whom they are directed) burns incessantly. Those shafts do not strike any part other than the very vitals of the person aimed. Hence he that is possessed of learning should never aim them at others. If a person deeply pierces a man of wisdom with wordy shafts, the wise mart should then adopt peace (without giving way to wrath). The man who, though sought to be angered, rejoices without yielding to anger, taketh away from the provoker all his merits. That man of righteous soul, who, full of joy and freed from malice, subdues his blazing wrath which, if indulged, would lead him to speak ill of others and verily become his foe, takes away the merits of others. As regards myself, I never answer I when another speaks ill of me. If assailed, I always forgive the assault. The righteous are of opinion that forgiveness and truth and sincerity and compassion are the foremost (of all virtues). Truth is the arcanum of the Vedas. The arcanum of Truth is self-restraint. The arcanum of self-restraint is Emancipation. This is the teaching of all the scriptures. I regard that person to be Brahmana and Muni who subjugates the rising impulse of speech, the impulse of wrath appearing in the mind, the impulse of thirst (after unworthy things), and the impulses of the stomach and the organ of pleasure. One who does not yield to wrath is superior to one who does. One who practises renunciation is superior to one who does not. One who possesses the virtues of manhood is superior to one who has them not. One who is endued with knowledge is superior to one who is destitute of it. Assailed with harsh speeches one should not assail in return. Indeed, one who, under such circumstances, renounces wrath, succeeds in burning the assailant and taking away all his merits. That person who when assailed with harsh speeches does not utter a harsh word in reply, who when praised does not utter what is agreeable to him that praises, who is endued with such fortitude as not to strike in return when struck and not to even wish evil to the striker, finds his companionship always coveted by the gods. He that is sinful should be forgiven as if he were righteous, by one that is insulted, struck, and calumniated. By acting in this way one attains to success. Though all my objects have been fulfilled, yet I always wait reverentially on those that are righteous. I have no thirst. My wrath hath been suppressed. Seduced by covetousness I do not fall away from the path of righteousness. I do not also approach any one (with solicitations) for wealth. If cursed, I do not curse in return. I know that self-restraint is the door of immortality. I disclose unto you a great mystery. There is no status that is superior to that of humanity. Freed from sin like the Moon from murky clouds, the man of wisdom, shining in resplendence, attains to success by patiently waiting for his time. A person of restrained soul, who becomes the object of adoration with all by becoming the foremost of the supporting pillars of the universe, and towards whom only agreeable words are spoken by all, attains to the companionship of the deities. Revilers never come forward to speak of the merits of a person as they speak of his demerits. That person whose speech and mind are properly restrained and always devoted to the Supreme, succeeds in attaining to the fruits of the Vedas, Penances, and Renunciation. The man of wisdom should never revile (in return) those that are destitute of merit, by uttering their dispraise and by insults. He should not extol others (being extolled by them) and should never injure themselves. The man endued with wisdom and learning regards revilement as nectar. Reviled, he sleeps without anxiety. The reviler, on the other hand, meets with destruction. The sacrifices that one performs in anger, the gifts one makes in anger, the penances one undergoes in anger, and the offerings and libations one makes to the sacred fire in anger, are such that their merits are robbed by Yama. The toil of an angry man becomes entirely fruitless. Ye foremost of immortals, that person is said to be conversant with righteousness whose four doors, viz., the organ of pleasure, the stomach, the two arms, and speech, are well-restrained. That person who, always practising truth and self-restraint and sincerity and compassion and patience and renunciation, becomes devoted to the study of the Vedas, does not covet what belongs to others, and pursues what is good with a singleness of purpose, succeeds in attaining to heaven. Like a calf sucking all the four teats of its dam's udders, one should devote oneself to the practice of all these virtues. I do not know whether anything exists that is more sacred than Truth. Having roved among both human beings and the deities, I declare it that Truth is the only means for reaching heaven even as a ship is the only means for crossing the ocean. A person becomes like those with whom he dwells, and like those whom he reverences, and like to what he wishes to be. If a person waits with reverence on him who is good or him who is otherwise, if he waits with reverence on a sage possessed of ascetic merit or on a thief, passes under his way and catches his hue like a piece of cloth catching the dye in which it is steeped. The deities always converse with those that are possessed of wisdom and goodness. They, therefore, never entertain the wish for even seeing the enjoyments in which men take pleasure. The person who knows that all objects of enjoyment (which human beings cherish) are characterised by vicissitudes, has few rivals, and is superior to the very Moon and the Wind. [The Moon is endued with nectar, and, therefore, might have been such a man's equal; but the Moon waxes and wanes; therefore, the Moon cannot approach to an equality with such a man who is the same under all changes. Similarly, the wind, though unstained by the dust it bears is not the equal of such a man; for the wind is changeful, having slow, middling and quick motion.] When the Purusha that dwells in one's heart is unstained, and walks in the path of the righteous, the gods take a pleasure in him. The gods from a distance cast off those that are always devoted to the gratification of their organs of pleasure and the stomach, that are addicted to thieving, and that always indulge in harsh speeches, even if they expiate their offences by performing the proper rites. The gods are never pleased with one of mean soul, with one who observes no restrictions in the matter of food, and with one who is of sinful deeds. On the other hand, the gods associate with those men that are observant of the vow of truth, that are grateful, and that are engaged in the practice of righteousness. Silence is better than speech. To speak the truth is better than silence. Again to speak truth that is connected with righteousness is better than to speak the truth. To speak that which, besides being true and righteous, is agreeable, is better than to speak truth connected with righteousness.'

"The Sadhyas said, 'By what is this world covered? For what reason does one fail to shine? For what cause do people

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cast off their friends? For what reason do people fail to attain to heaven?'

"The Swan said, 'The world is enveloped by (the darkness of) Ignorance. Men fail to shine in consequence of malice. People cast off friends, induced by covetousness. Men fail to attain to heaven in consequence of attachment.'

"The Sadhyas said, 'Who alone among the Brahmanas is always happy? Who alone amongst them can observe the vow of silence though dwelling in the midst of many? Who alone amongst them, though weak, is still regarded as strong? And who alone amongst them does not quarrel?'

"The Swan said, 'He alone amongst the Brahmanas that is possessed of wisdom is always happy. He alone amongst the Brahmanas that is possessed of wisdom succeeds in observing the vow of silence, though dwelling in the midst of many. He alone amongst the Brahmanas who is possessed of wisdom, though actually weak, is regarded as strong. He alone amongst them that has wisdom succeeds in avoiding quarrel.'

"The Sadhyas said, 'in what consists the divinity of the Brahmanas? In what their purity? In what their impurity? And in what their status of humanity?'

"The Swan said, 'In the study of the Vedas is the divinity of the Brahmanas. In their vows and observances is their purity. In obloquy is their impurity. In death is their humanity.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus have I recited to thee excellent narrative of the discourse between the Sadhyas (and the Swan). The body (both gross and subtile) is the origin of acts, and existence or Jiva is truth.'

SECTION 301

"Yudhishthira said, 'It behoveth thee to explain to me, O sire, what the difference is between the Sankhya and the Yoga system of philosophy. O foremost one of Kuru's race, everything is known to thee, O thou that art conversant with all duties!'

"Bhishma said, 'The followers of Sankhya praise the Sankhya system and those regenerate persons that are Yogins praise the Yoga system. For establishing the superiority of their respective systems, each calls his own system to be the better. Men of wisdom devoted to Yoga assign proper and very good reasons, O crusher of foes, for showing that one that does not believe in the existence of God cannot attain to Emancipation. Those regenerate persons, again, that are believers in the Sankhya doctrines advance good reasons for showing that one, by acquiring true knowledge of all ends, becomes dissociated from all worldly objects, and, after departing from this body, it is plain, becomes emancipated and that it cannot be otherwise. Men of great wisdom have thus expounded the Sankhya philosophy of Emancipation. When reasons are thus balanced on both sides, those that are assigned on that side which one is otherwise inclined to adopt as one's own, should be accepted. Indeed, those words that are said on that side should be regarded as beneficial. Good men may be found on both sides. Persons like thee may adopt either opinion. The evidences of Yoga are addressed to the direct ken of the senses; those of Sankhya are based on the scriptures. Both systems of philosophy are approved by me, O Yudhishthira. Both those systems of science, O king, have my concurrence and are concurred in by those that are good and wise. If practised duly according to the instructions laid down, both would, O king, cause a person to attain to the highest end. In both systems purity is equally recommended as also compassion towards all creatures, O sinless one. In both, again, the observance of vows has been equally laid down. Only the scriptures that point out their paths are different.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'If the vows, the purity, the compassion, and the fruits thereof recommended in both systems be the same, tell me, O grandsire, for what reason then are not their scriptures (in respect of the paths recommended) the same?'

"Bhishma said, 'By casting off, through the aid of Yoga, these five faults, viz., attachment, heedlessness, affection, lust, and wrath, one attains to Emancipation. As large fishes, breaking through the pet, pass into their own element (for ranging in felicity), after the same manner, Yogins (breaking through lust and wrath, etc.) become cleansed of all sins and attain to the felicity of Emancipation. As powerful animals, breaking through the nets in which hunters enmesh them, escape into the felicity of freedom, after the same manner, Yogins, freed from all bonds, attain to the sinless path that leads to Emancipation. Truly, O king, breaking through the bonds born of cupidity, Yogins, endued with strength, attain to the sinless and auspicious and high path of Emancipation. Feeble animals, O monarch, entangled in nets, are without doubt, destroyed. Even such is the case with persons destitute of the puissance of Yoga. As weak fishes, O son of Kunti, fallen into the net, become entangled in it, even so, O monarch, men destitute of the puissance of Yoga, encounter destruction (amid the bonds of the world). As birds, O chastiser of foes, when entangled in the fine nets of fowlers (if weak) meet with their ruin but if endued with strength effect their escape, after the same manner does it happen with Yogins, O chastiser of foes. Bound by the bonds of action, they that are weak meet with destruction, while they that are possessed of strength break through them. A small and weak fire, O king, becomes extinguished when large logs of timber are placed upon it. Even so the Yogin that is weak, O king, meets with ruin (when brought in contact with the world and its attachments). The same fire, however, O monarch, when it becomes strong, would (without being extinguished) burn with the aid of the wind, the whole Earth. After the same manner, the Yogin, when grown in strength, burning with energy, and possessed of might, is capable of scorching the entire Universe like the Sun that rises at the time of 'the universal dissolution. As a weak man, O king, is swept away by a current, even so is a weak Yogin helplessly carried away by objects of the senses. An elephant withstands a mighty current. After the same manner, a Yogin, having acquired Yoga-puissance, withstands all objects of the senses. Independent of all things, Yogins, endued with Yoga-puissance and invested with lordship, enter into (the hearts of) the very lords of creation, the Rishis, the deities, and the great Beings in the universe. Neither Yama, nor the Destroyer, nor Death himself of terrible prowess, when angry, ever succeeds in prevailing over the Yogin, O king, who is possessed of immeasurable energy. The Yogin, acquiring Yoga-puissance, can create thousands of bodies and with them wander over the earth. Some amongst them enjoy objects of the senses and then once more set themselves to the practice of the austerest penances, and once again, like the Sun (withdrawing his rays), withdraw themselves from such penances. The Yogin, who is possessed of strength and whom bonds bind not, certainly succeeds in attaining to Emancipation. I have now discoursed to thee, O monarch, on all these powers of Yoga. I shall once more tell thee what the subtile powers of Yoga are with their indications. Rear, O chief of Bharata's race, the subtile indications of the Dharana and the Samadhi of the Soul (such as Yoga brings about). As a bowman who is heedful and attentive succeeds in striking the aim, even so the Yogin. with absorbed soul, without doubt, attains to Emancipation. As a man fixing his mind on a vessel full of some liquid (placed on his head) heedfully ascends a flight of steps, even so the Yogin, fixed and absorbed in his soul, cleanses it and makes it as effulgent as the Sun. As a boat, O son of Kunti, that is tossed on the bosom of the sea is very soon taken by a heedful boatman to the other shore, even so the man of knowledge by fixing his soul in Samadhi, attains to Emancipation, which is so difficult to acquire, after casting off his body, O monarch. As a heedful charioteer, O king, having yoked good steeds (unto his car) takes the car-warrior to the spot he wishes, even so the Yogin, O monarch, heedful in Dharana, soon attains to the highest spot (viz., Emancipation) like a shaft let off from the bow reaching the object aimed at. The Yogin who stays immovably after having entered his self into the soul, destroys his sins and obtains that indestructible spot which is the possession of those that are righteous. That Yogin who, heedfully observant of high vows, properly unites O king, his Jiva-soul with the subtile Soul in the navel, the throat, the head, the heart, the chest, the sides, the eye, the ear, and the nose, burns all his acts good and bad of even mountain-like proportions, and having recourse to excellent Yoga, attains to Emancipation.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'It behoveth thee to tell me, O grandsire, what the kinds of diet are by taking which, and what the things are by conquering which, the Yogin, O Bharata, acquires Yoga-puissance.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Engaged, O Bharata, in subsisting upon broken grains of rice and sodden cakes of sesame, and abstaining from oil and butter, the Yogin acquires Yoga-puissance. By subsisting for a long time on powdered barley unmixed with any liquid substance, and by confining himself to only one meal a day, the Yogin, of cleansed soul, acquires Yoga-puissance. By drinking only water mixed with milk, first only once during the day, then once during a fortnight, then once during a month, then once during three months, and then once during a whole year, the Yogin acquires Yoga-puissance. By abstaining entirely from meat, O king, the Yogin of cleansed soul acquires puissance. 1 By subjugating lust, and wrath, and heat, and cold and rain, and fear, and grief, and the breath, and all sounds that are agreeable to men, and objects of the senses, and the uneasiness, so difficult to conquer, that is born of abstention from sexual congress, and thirst that is so terrible, O king, and the pleasures of touch, and sleep, and procrastination that is almost unconquerable, O best of kings, high-souled Yogins, divested of attachments, and possessed of great wisdom, aided by their understandings, and equipped with wealth of contemplation and study, cause the subtile soul to stand confessed in all its glory. This high (Yoga) path of learned Brahmanas is exceedingly difficult to tread. No one can walk along this path with ease. That path is like a terrible forest which abounds with innumerable snakes and crawling vermin, with (concealed) pits occurring every where, without water for slaking one's thirst, and full of thorns, and inaccessible on that account. Indeed, the path of Yoga is like a road along which no edibles occur, which runs through a desert having all its trees burnt down in a conflagration, and which has been rendered unsafe by being infested with bands of robbers. Very few young men can pass safely through it (for reaching the goal). Like unto a path of this nature, few Brahmanas can tread alone the Yoga-path with ease and comfort. That man who, having betaken himself to this path, ceases to go forward (but turns back after having made some progress), is regarded as guilty of many faults. Men of cleansed souls, O lord of Earth, can stay with ease upon Yoga-contemplation which is like the sharp edge of a razor. Persons of uncleansed souls, however, cannot stay on it. When Yoga-contemplation becomes disturbed or otherwise obstructed, it can never lead the Yogin to an auspicious end even as a vessel that is without a captain cannot take the passengers to the other shore. That man, O son of Kunti, who practises Yoga-contemplation according to due rites, succeeds in casting off both birth and death, and happiness and sorrow. All this that I have told thee has been stated in the diverse treatises bearing upon Yoga. The highest fruits of Yoga are seen in persons of the regenerate order. That highest fruit is identification with Brahma. The high-souled Yogin, possessed of greatness, can enter into and come out of, at his will, Brahma himself who is the lord of all deities, and the boon-giving Vishnu, and Bhava, and Dharma, and the six-faced Kartikeya, and the (spiritual) sons of Brahmana, the quality of Darkness that is productive of much pain, and that of Passion, and that of Sattwa which is pure, and Prakriti which is the highest, and the goddess Siddhi who is the spouse of Varuna, and all kinds of energy, and all enduring patience, and the bright lord of stars in the firmament with the stars twinkling all around, and the Viswas. and the (great) snakes, and the Pitris, and all the mountains and hills, and the great and terrible oceans, and all the rivers, and the rain-charged clouds, and serpents, and trees, and Yakshas, and the cardinal and subsidiary points of the compass, and the Gandharvas, and all male persons and all female ones also. This discourse, O king, that is connected with the Supreme Being of mighty energy should be regarded as auspicious. The Yogin has Narayana for his soul. Prevailing over all things (through his contemplation of the Supreme deity), the high-souled Yogin is capable of creating all things.'"

The end of the Santi Parva , (Part two of three.)

THE MAHABHARATA, BOOK 12
SANTI PARVA (IN 3 PARTS)

PART 3 OF BOOK 12
SECTION 302

Yudhishthira said, 'O king thou hast duly propounded unto me, in the way in which it should be, the path of Yoga which is approved by the wise, after the manner of a loving preceptor unto his pupil. I ask now about the principles of the Sankhya philosophy. Do thou discourse to me on those principles in their entirety. Whatever knowledge exists in the three worlds is known to thee!'

"Bhishma said, 'Listen now to what the subtile principles are of the followers of the Sankhya doctrine have been established by all the great and puissant Yatis having Kapila their first. In that doctrine O chief of men, no errors are discoverable. Many, indeed, are its merits. In fact, there is no fault in it. Comprehending with the aid of knowledge that all objects exist with faults, indeed, understanding that the objects--so difficult to cast off--with which human beings and Pisachas and Rakshasas and Yakshas and snakes and Gandharvas and pitris and those that are wandering in the intermediate orders of beings (such as birds and animals) and great birds (such as Garuda and others) and the Maruts and royal sages and regenerate sages and Asuras and Viswedevas and the celestial Rishis and Yogins invested with supreme puissance and the Prajapatis and Brahman himself are engaged, and understanding truly what the highest limit is of one's period of existence in this world, and apprehending also the great truth. O foremost of eloquent men, about what is called felicity here, having a clear knowledge of what the sorrows are that overtake when the hour comes all those that are concerned with (transitory) objects and knowing full well the sorrows of those that have fallen into the intermediate orders of being and of those that have sunk into hell, perceiving all the merits and all the faults of heaven, O Bharta, and all the demerits that attach to the declarations of the Vedas and all the excellencies that are connected with them recognising the faults and merits of the Yoga and the Sankhya systems of philosophy, realizing also that the quality of Sattwa has ten properties, that of Rajas has nine, and that of Tamas has eight, that the Understanding has seven properties, the Mind has six, and Space has five, and once more conceiving that the Understanding has four properties and Tamas has three, and the Rajas has two and Sattwa has, one, and truly apprehending the path that is followed by all objects when destruction overtakes them and what the course is of self knowledge, the Sankhyas, possessed of knowledge and experience and exalted by their perceptions of causes, and acquiring thorough auspiciousness, attain to the felicity of Emancipation like the rays of the Sun, or the Wind taking refuge in Space. [The ten properties included in Sattwa or Goodness are gladness, cheerfulness, enthusiasm, fame, righteousness, contentment, faith, sincerity, liberality, and

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lordship. The nine properties included in Rajas or Passion are belief in the deities, (ostentatious) charity, enjoyment and endurance of happiness and sorrow, disunion, exhibition of manliness, lust and wrath, intoxication, pride, malice, and disposition to revile. The eight qualities included in Tamas or Darkness are unconsciousness, stupefaction, excess of stupefaction, muddiness of the understanding; blindness (of results), sleep, heedlessness, and procrastination. The seven incidents of Buddhi or the Understanding are Mahat, consciousness, and the five subtile essences. The six incidents of Mind are Mind and the five senses. The five incidents appertaining to Space are space, water, wind, light, and earth. According to a different school of philosophy, Buddhi, or the Under-standing is said to have four incidents appertaining to it, viz., doubt, ascertainment, pride, and memory. Tames (darkness) also is otherwise regarded to have only three incidents, viz., inability of comprehension, partial comprehension, and totally erroneous comprehension. Rajas (Passion) is (according to this school) regarding as having only the two incidents of inclination (to act) and sorrow. Sattwa has but one incident viz., Enlightenment.] Vision is attached to form; the sense of scent to smell, the ear to sound, the tongue to juices, and the skin (or body) to touch. The wind has for its refuge Space. Stupefaction has Tamas (Darkness) for its refuge. Cupidity has the objects of the senses for its refuge. Vishnu is attached to (the organs of) motion. Sakra is attached to (the organs of) strength. The deity of fire is attached to the stomach, Earth is attached to the Waters. The Waters have Heat (or fire) for their refuge. Heat attaches itself to the Wind; and the wind has Space for its refuge; and Space has Mahat for its refuge, and Mahat has the Understanding for its foundation. The Understanding has its refuge in Tamas; Tamas has Rajas for its refuge; Rajas is founded upon Sattwa; and Sattwa is attached to the Soul. The soul has the glorious and puissant Narayana for its refuge. That glorious deity has Emancipation for his refuge. Emancipation is independent of all refuge. Knowing that this body, that is endued with six and ten possessions, is the result of the quality of Sattwa, understanding fully the nature of the physical organism and the character of the Chetana that dwells within it, recognising the one existent Being that live in the body viz., the Soul, which stands aloof from every concern of the body and in which no sin can attach, realising the nature of that second object, viz.; the acts of persons attached to the objects of the senses, understanding also the character of the senses and the sensual objects which have their refuge in the Soul, appreciating the difficulty of Emancipation and the scriptures that bear upon it knowing fully the nature of the vital breaths called Prana, Apana, Samana, Vyana, and Udana, as also the two other breaths, viz., the one going downward and the other moving upward indeed, knowing those seven breaths ordained to accomplish seven different functions, ascertaining the nature of the Prajapatis and the Rishis and the high paths, many in number, of virtue or righteousness, and the seven Rishis and the innumerable royal Rishis, O scorcher of foes, and the great celestial Rishis and the other regenerate Rishis endued with the effulgence of the Sun, beholding all these falling away from their puissance in course of many long ages, O monarch, hearing of the destruction of even of all the mighty beings in the universe, understanding also the inauspicious end that is attained, O king, by creatures of sinful acts, and the miseries endured by those that fall into the river Vaitarani in the realms of Yama, and the inauspicious wanderings of creatures through diverse wombs, and the character of their residence in the unholy uterus in the midst of blood and water and phlegm and urine and faeces, all of foul smell, and then in bodies that result from the union of blood and the vital seed, of marrow and sinews, abounding with hundreds of nerves and arteries and forming an impure mansion of nine doors, comprehending also what is for his own good what those divers combinations are which are productive of good beholding the abominable conduct of creatures whose natures are characterised by Darkness or Passion or Goodness, O chief of Bharata's race--conduct that is reprehended, in view of its incapacity to acquire Emancipation, by the followers of the Sankhya doctrine who are fully conversant with the Soul, beholding the swallowing up of the Moon and the Sun by Rahu, the falling of stars from their fixed positions and the diversions of constellations from their orbits, knowing the sad separation of all united objects and the diabolical behaviour of creatures in devouring one another, seeing the absence of all intelligence in the infancy of human beings and the deterioration and destruction of the body, marking the little attachment creatures have to the quality of Sattwa in consequence of their being overwhelmed by wrath and stupefaction, beholding also only one among thousands of human beings resolved to struggle after the acquisition of Emancipation, understanding the difficulty of attaining to Emancipation according to what is stated in the scriptures, seeing the marked solicitude that creatures manifest for all unattained objects and their comparative indifference to all objects that have been attained marking the wickedness that results from all objects of the senses O king and the repulsive bodies, O son of Kunti, of persons reft of life, and the residence, always fraught with grief, of human beings, O Bharata, in houses (in the midst of spouses and children), knowing the end of those terrible and fallen men who become guilty of slaying Brahmanas, and of those wicked Brahmanas that are addicted to the drinking of alcoholic stimulants, and the equally sad end of those that become criminally attached to the spouses of their preceptors, and of those men, O Yudhishthira, that do not properly reverence their mothers, as also of those that have no reverence and worship to offer to the deities, understanding also, with the help of that knowledge (which their philosophy imparts), the end that of all perpetrators of wicked acts, and the diverse ends that overtake those who have taken birth among the intermediate orders, ascertaining the diverse declarations of the Vedas, the courses of seasons, the fading of years, of months, of fortnights, and of days, beholding directly the waxing and the waning of the Moon, seeing the rising and the ebbing of the seas, and the diminution of wealth and its increase once more, and the separation of united objects, the lapse of Yugas, the destruction of mountains, the drying up of rivers, the deterioration of (the purity of) the several orders and the end also of that deterioration occurring repeatedly, beholding the birth, decrepitude, death, and sorrows of creatures, knowing truly the faults attaching to the body and the sorrows to which human beings are subject, and the vicissitudes to which the bodies of creatures are subject, and understanding all the faults that attach to their own souls, and also all the inauspicious faults that attach to their own bodies (the followers of the Sankhya philosophy succeed in attaining to Emancipation).

"Yudhishthira said, 'O thou of immeasurable energy, what are those faults that thou seest attaching to one's body? It behoveth thee to ex-pound this doubt to me fully and truly'?

"Bhishma said, 'Listen, O slayer of foes! The Sankhyas or followers of Kapila, who are conversant with all paths and endued with wisdom, say that there are five faults, O puissant one, in the human body. They are Desire and Wrath and Fear and Sleep and Breath. These faults are seen in the bodies of all embodied creatures. Those that are endued with wisdom cut the root of wrath with the aid of Forgiveness. Desire is cut off by casting off all purposes. By cultivation of the quality of Goodness (Sattwa) sleep is conquered, and Fear is conquered by cultivating Heedfulness. Breath is conquered by abstemiousness of diet O king. Truly understanding gunas by the aid of hundreds of gunas, hundreds of faults, and diverse causes by hundreds of causes, ascertaining that the world is like the froth of water, enveloped by hundreds of illusions flowing from Vishnu, like a painted edifice, and as unsubstantial as a reed, beholding it to be (as terrible as) a dark pit, or as unreal as bubbles of water, for the years that compose its age are as shortlived (compared to the duration of eternity) as bubbles, seeing it exposed to immediate destruction, bereft of happiness, having certain ruin for its end and from which it can never escape, sunk in Rajas and Tamas, and utterly helpless like an elephant sunk in mire,--noting all this--the Sankhyas, O king, endued with great wisdom, casting off all affections arising from one's relation towards one's children, by the aid, O king, of that extensive and all-embracing knowledge which their system advocates and cutting off quickly, with the weapon of knowledge and the bludgeon of penances, O Bharata, all inauspicious scents born of Rajas and all scents of a like nature arising from Tamas and all auspicious scents arising from Sattwa and all pleasures of the touch (and of the other senses) born of the same three qualities and inhering to the body, indeed, O Bharata, aided by the Yoga of knowledge, these Yatis crowned with success,--cross the Ocean of life. That Ocean, so terrible has sorrow for its waters. Anxiety and grief constitute its deep lakes. Disease and death are its gigantic alligators. The great fears that strike the heart at every step are its huge snakes. The deeds inspired by Tamas are its tortoises. Those inspired by Rajas are its fishes. Wisdom constitutes the raft for crossing it. The affections entertained for objects of the senses are its mire. Decrepitude constitutes its region of grief and trouble. Knowledge, O chastiser of foes, is its island. Acts constitute its great depth. Truth is its shores. Pious observances constitute the verdant weeds floating on its bosom. Envy constitutes its rapid and mighty current. The diverse sentiments of the heart constitute its mines. The diverse kinds of gratification are its valuable gems. Grief and fever are its winds. Misery and thirst are its mighty eddies. Painful and fatal diseases are its huge elephants. The assemblage of bones are its flights of steps, and phlegm is its froth. Gifts are its pearl-banks. The lakes of blood are its corals. Loud laughter constitutes its roars. Diverse sciences are its impassability. Tears are its brine. Renunciation of company constitutes the high refuge (of those that seek to cross it). Children and spouses are its unnumbered leeches. Friends and kinsmen are the cities and towns on its shores. Abstention from injury, and Truth, are its boundary line. Death is its storm-wave. The knowledge of Vedanta is its island (capable of affording refuge to those that are tossed upon its waters). Acts of compassion towards all creatures constitute its life-buoys, and Emancipation is the priceless commodity offered to those voyaging on its waters in search of merchandise. Like its substantive prototype with its equine head disgorging flames of fire, this ocean too has its fiery terrors. Having transcended the liability, that is so difficult to transcend, of dwelling within the gross body, the Sankhyas enter into pure space. Surya then bears, with his rays, those righteous men that are practicers of the Sankhya doctrines. Like the fibres of the lotus-stalk conveying water to the flower into which they all converge. Surya, drinking all things from the universe, conveys them unto those good and wise men. [The sense seems to be that by practising the Sankhya doctrine men cease to have any regard for even their gross bodies. They succeed in realising their existence as independent of all earthly or heavenly objects. What is meant by the Sun bearing them in his rays and conveying to them all things from every part of the universe is that these men acquire great puissance. This is not the puissance of Yoga but of knowledge. Everything being regarded as unsubstantial and transitory, the position of Indra himself, or of Brahman, is looked upon as desirable and unworthy of acquisition. Sincere conviction of this kind and the course of conduct that is confirmable to it is literally puissance of the highest kind, for all the purposes of puissance are capable of being served by it.] There attachments all destroyed, possessed of energy, endued with wealth of penances, and crowned with success, these Yatis, O Bharata, are born by that wind which is subtile, cooling, fragrant, and delicious to the touch, O Bharata! In fact, that wind which is the best of the seven winds, and which blows in regions of great felicity, conveys them, O son of Kunti, to that which is the highest end in space. Then space into which they are carried, O monarch, conveys them to the highest end of Rajas. Rajas then bear them to the highest end of Sattwa. Sattwa then bears them, O thou of pure soul, to the Supreme and puissant Narayana. The puissant and pure-souled Narayana at last, through himself, bears them to the Supreme Soul. Having reached the Supreme Soul, those stainless persons who have (by that time) become the body of (what is called). That attain to immortality, and they have never afterwards to return from that position. O King! That is the highest end, O son of Pritha, which is attained by those high-souled men who have transcended the influence of all pairs of opposites.'"

Yudhishthira said, 'O sinless one, have those persons of firm vows after they have attained to that excellent position which is fraught with puissance and felicity, any recollection of their lives including birth and death? It behoveth thee to tell me properly what the truth is in respect, O thou of Kuru's race. I do not think it proper to question any one else than thee! Observing the scriptures bearing upon Emancipation, I find this great fault in the subject (for certain scriptures on the topic declare that consciousness disappears in the emancipate state, while other scriptures declare the very reverse of this). If, having attained to this high state, the Yatis continue to live in consciousness, it would seem. O king, that the religion of Pravritti is superior. If, again, consciousness disappears from the emancipate state and one who has become emancipate only resembles a person sunk in dreamless slumber, then nothing can be more improper than to say that there is really no consciousness in Emancipation (for of all that happens in dreamless slumber is that one's consciousness is temporarily overshadowed and suspended, but never lost, for it returns when one awakes from that slumber).'

"Bhishma said, 'However difficult it may be to answer it, the question which thou hast asked, O son, is proper. Verily, the question is of such a kind that even they that are possessed of great learning become stupefied in answering it, O chief of Bharata's race. For all that, hear what the truth is as expounded by me. The high-souled followers of Kapila have set their high understandings on this point. The senses of knowledge, O King, planted in the bodies of embodied creatures, are employed in their respective functions of perception. They are the instruments of the Soul, for it is through them that subtile Being perceives. [Yudhisthira's question seems to be this. Is there or is there not consciousness in the emancipate state? Different scriptures answer this question differently. If it be said that there is consciousness in that state, then why discard heaven and its pleasures, or the religion of Pravritti or acts which lead to those pleasures? Where is the necessity then of Sannyasa or the religion of Nivritti or abstention from all acts? On the supposition of there being consciousness in the emancipate state, the Religion of Pravritti should be taken as superior. If, on the other hand, the existence of consciousness be denied, that would be an error. Dnkshataram is ayuktaram.] Disunited with the Soul, the senses are like lumps of wood, and are without doubt, destroyed (in respect of the functions they serve) like the froth that is seen on the bosom of the ocean. When the embodied creature, O scorcher of foes, sinks into sleep along with his senses, the subtile Soul then roves among all subjects like the wind through space. The subtile Soul, during slumber, continues to see (all forms) and touch all objects of touch, O king, and taken in other perceptions, as well as when it is awake. In consequence of their inability to

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act without their director, the senses, during sleep, all become extinguished in their respective places (and lose their powers) like snakes deprived of poison. At such times, the subtile Soul, repairing into the respective place of all the senses, without doubt, discharges all their functions. All the qualities of Sattwa, all the attributes of the Under-standing, O Bharata, as also those of Mind, and space, and Wind, O thou of righteous soul, and all the attributes of liquid substances, of Water, O Partha, and Of Earth,--these senses with these qualities,--O Yudhishthira, which inhere to Jiva-souls, are along with the Jiva-soul itself, overwhelmed by the Supreme Soul or Brahma. Acts also, good and bad, overwhelm that Jiva-soul. Like disciples waiting upon their preceptor with reverence, the senses too wait upon the Jiva-soul transcends Prakriti, it attains to Brahma that is without change, that is highest, that is Narayana, that is beyond all pairs of opposites, and that transcends Prakriti. Freed from both merit and demerit, the Jiva-soul entering the Supreme Soul which is divested of all attributes, and which is the home of all auspiciousness, does not return thence, O Bharata. What remains, O son, is the mind with the senses, O Bharata. These have to come back once more at the appointed season for doing the bidding of their great master. Soon after, O son of Kunti, (when this body is cast off) the Yati striving after Emancipation, endued as he is with knowledge and desirous as he is of Guna, succeeds in attaining to that Peace of Emancipation which is his who becomes bodiless. The Sankhyas, O king, are endued with great wisdom. They succeed in attaining to the highest end by means of this kind of knowledge. There is no knowledge that is equal to this. Do not yield to any kind of doubt. The knowledge which is described in the system of the Sankhyas is regarded as the highest. That knowledge is immutable and is eternally fixed. It is eternal Brahma in fulness. It has no beginning, middle and end. It transcends all pairs of opposites. It is the cause of the creation of the universe. It stands in fulness. It is without deterioration of any kind. It is uniform, and everlasting. Thus are its praises sung by the wise. From it flow creation and destruction and all modifications. The great Rishis speak of it and applaud it in the scriptures. All learned Brahmanas and all righteous men regard it as flowing from Brahma, Supreme, Divine, Infinite, Immutable, and Undeteriorating. All Brahmanas again that are attached to objects of the senses adore and applaud it by ascribing to it attributes that belong to illusion. The same is the view of Yogins well observant of penances and meditation and of Sankhyas of immeasureable insight. The Srutis declare, O son of Kunti, that the Sankhya form of philosophy is the form of that Formless one. The cognitions (according to that philosophy) have, O chief of Bharata's race, been said to be the knowledge of Brahma.

"There are two kinds of creatures on Earth, O lord of Earth, viz., mobile and immobile. Of these that are mobile are superior, That high knowledge, O king, which exists in persons conversant with Brahma, and that which occurs in the Vedas, and that which is found in other scriptures, and that in Yoga, and that which may be seen in the diverse Puranas, are all, O monarch, to be found in Sankhya philosophy. Whatever knowledge is seen to exist in high histories whatever knowledge occurs, O king, in the sciences appertaining to the acquisition of wealth as approved by the wise, whatever other knowledge exists in this world,--all these,--flow, O high-souled monarch, from the high knowledge that occurs among the Sankhyas. Tranquillity of soul, high puissance, all subtile knowledge of which the scriptures speak, penances of subtile force, and all kinds of felicity, O king, have all been duly ordained in the Sankhya system. Failing to acquire, O son of Pritha, that complete knowledge which is recommended by their system, the Sankhyas attain to the status of deities and pass many years in felicity. Lording it over the celestials as they will, they fall, upon the expiration of the allotted period, among learned Brahmanas and Yatis. Casting off this body, those regenerate ones that follow the Sankhya system enter into the superior state of Brahma like the celestials entering into the firmament by devoting themselves wholly to that adorable system which is theirs and which is worshipped by all wise men. Those regenerate persons that are devoted to the acquisition of that knowledge which is recommended in the Sankhya system, even if they fail to attain to eminence, are never seen to fall among intermediate creatures, or to sink into the status of sinful men. That high-souled person who is fully conversant with the vast, high, ancient, ocean-like, and immeasurable Sankhya system that is pure and liberal and agreeable, becomes, O king, equal to Narayana. I have now told thee, O god among men, the truth about the Sankhya system. It is the embodiment of Narayana, of the universe as it exists from the remotest time. When the time of Creation comes, He causes the Creation to start into life, and when the time comes for destruction, He swallows up everything. Having withdrawn everything into his own body he goes to sleep,--that inner Soul of the universe.'"

SECTION 303

"Yudhishthira said, 'What is that which is called Undeteriorating and by attaining to which no one has to come back? What, again, is that which is called Deteriorating, and by attaining to which one has to return once more? O slayer of foes, I ask thee the distinction that exists, O thou of mighty arms, between the Deteriorating and the Undeteriorating ones for understanding them both truly, O delighter of the Kurus, Brahmanas conversant with the Vedas speak of thee as an Ocean of knowledge. Highly-blessed Rishis and Yatis of high souls do the same. Thou hast very few days to live. When the Sun turns from the southern path for entering into the northern, thou shalt attain to thy high end. When thou shalt leave us, from whom shall we hear of all that is beneficial for us? Thou art the lamp of Kuru's race. Indeed thou art always blazing with the light of knowledge. O perpetuator of Kuru's race, I desire, therefore to hear all this from thee. Listening to thy discourses that are always sweet like nectar, my curiosity, without being satiated is always increasing!'

"Bhishma said, 'I shall, in this connection, relate to thee the old narrative of the discourse that took place between Vasishtha and king Karala of Janaka's race. Once on a time when that foremost of Rishis, viz., Vasishtha, endued with the effulgence of the Sun, was seated at his ease, king Janaka asked him about that highest knowledge which is for our supreme good. Highly proficient in that department of knowledge which is concerned with the Soul and possessed of certain conclusions in respect of all branches of that science, as Maitravaruni, that foremost of Rishis, was seated the king approaching him with joined hands, asked him in humble words, well pronounced and sweet and destitute of all controversial spirit, the question,--O holy one, I desire to hear, of Supreme and Eternal Brahma by attaining to which men of wisdom have not to come back. I desire also to know that which is called Destructible and That into which this universe enters when destroyed. Indeed, what is That which is said to be indestructible, suspicious, beneficial and free from evil of every kind?

"Vasishtha said, Hear, O lord of Earth, as to haw this universe is destroyed, and, of That which was never destroyed and which will never be destroyed at any time. Twelve thousand years, (according to the measure of the celestials), make a Yuga, four such Yugas taken a thousand times, make a Kalpa which measures one day of Brahman. Brahman's night also, O king, is of the same measure. When Brahman himself is destroyed. Sambhu of formless soul and to whom the Yuga attributes of Anima, Laghima, &c, naturally inhere, awakes, and once more creates that First or Eldest of all creatures, possessed of vast proportions of infinite deeds, endued with form, and identifiable with the universe. That Sambhu is otherwise called Isana (the lord of everything). He is pure Effulgence, and transcends all deterioration, having his hands and feet stretching in all directions, with eyes and head and mouth everywhere, and with ears also in every place. That Being exists, overwhelming the entire universe. The eldest-born Being is called Hiranyagarbha. This holy one has (in the Vedanta) been called the Understanding. In the Yuga scriptures He is called the Great, and Virinchi, and the Unborn. In the Sankhya scriptures, He is indicated by diverse name, and regarded as having Infinity for his Soul. Of diverse forms and constituting the soul of the universe. He is regarded as One and Indestructible. The three worlds of infinite ingredients have been created by Him without assistance from any source and have been overwhelmed by him. In consequence of His manifold forms, He is said to be of universal form. Undergoing modifications He creates Himself by Himself. Endued with mighty energy, He first creates Consciousness and that Great Being called Prajapati endued with Consciousness. The Manifest (or Hiranyagarbha) is created from the Unmanifest. This is called by the learned the Creation of Knowledge. The creation of Mahan (or Virat) and Consciousness, by Hiranyagarbha, is the creation of Ignorance. Ascription of attributes (worthy of worship) and the destruction thereof, called respectively by the names of Ignorance and Knowledge by persons learned by the interpretation of the Srutis, then arose, referring to this, that, or the other of the three (viz., Akshara, Hiranyagarbha, or Virat). Know, O king, that the creation of the (subtile) elements from consciousness is the third. In all kinds of consciousness is the fourth creation which flows modification of the third. This fourth creation comprises Wind and Light and Space and Water and Earth, with their properties of sound, touch, form, taste and scent. This aggregate of ten arose, without doubt, at the same time. The fifth creation, O monarch, is that which has arisen from combination of the primal elements (named above). This comprises the ear, the skin, the eyes, the tongue, and the nose forming the fifth, and speech, and the two hands, and the two legs, and the lower duct, and the organs of generation. The first five of these constitute the organs of knowledge, and the last five the organs of action. All these, with mind, arose simultaneously O king. These constitute the four and twenty topics that exist in the forms of all living creatures. By understanding these properly, Brahmanas possessed of insight into the truth have never to yield to sorrow. In the three worlds a combination of these, called body, is possessed by all embodied creatures. Indeed, O king a combination of those is known as such in deities and men and Danavas, and Yakshas and spirits and Gandharvas and Kinnaras and great snakes, and Charanas and Pisachas, in celestial Rishis and Rakshasas, in biting flies, and worms, and gnats, and vermin born of filth and rats, and dogs and Swapakas and Chaineyas and Chandalas and Pukkasas in elephants and steeds and asses and tigers, and trees and kine. Whatever other creatures exist in water or space or on earth, for there is no other place in which creatures exist as we have heard, have this combination. All these, O sire, included within the class called Manifest, are seen to be destroyed day after day. Hence, all creatures produced by union of these four and twenty are said to be destructible.

"This then is the Indestructible. And since the universe, which is made up of Manifest and Unmanifest, meet with destruction, therefore, it is said to be Destructible. The very Being called Mahan who is the eldest-born is always spoken of as an instance of the Destructible. I have now told thee, O monarch, all that thou hadst asked me. Transcending the four and twenty topics already adverted to is the twenty-fifth called Vishnu. That Vishnu in consequence of the absence of all attributes, is not a topic (of knowledge) though as then which pervades all the topics, he has been called so by the wise. Since that which is destructible has caused all this that is Manifest, therefore, all this is endued with form. The twenty-fourth, which is Prakriti, is said to preside over all this (which has sprung from her modifications). The twenty-fifth, which is Vishnu, is formless and, therefore, cannot be said to preside over the universe. It is that Unmanifest (Prakriti), which, when endued with body (in consequence of union with Chit) dwells in the hearts of all creatures endued with body. As regards eternal Chetana (the Indestructible), although he is without attributes and without form, yet he (in consequence of a union with Prakriti) assumes all forms. Uniting with Prakriti which has the attributes of birth and death, he also assumes the attributes of birth and death. And in consequence of such union he becomes an object of perception and though in reality divested of all attributes yet he comes to be invested therewith. It is in this way that the Mahan-Soul (Hiranyagarbha), becoming united with Prakriti and invested with Ignorance, undergoes modifications and becomes conscious of Self. Uniting with the attributes of Sattwa and Rajas and Tamas, he becomes identified with diverse creatures belonging to diverse orders of Being, in consequence of his forgetfulness and his waiting upon Ignorance. In consequence of his birth and destruction arising from the fact of his dwelling in upon with Prakriti, he thinks himself to be no other than what he apparently is. Regarding himself as this or that, he follows the attributes of Sattwa, Rajas, and Tamas. Under the influence of Tamas, he attains to diverse kinds of conditions that are affected by Tamas. Under the influence of Rajas and Sattwa, he attains similarly to conditions that are affected by Rajas and Sattwa. There are three colours in all, viz., White, Red, and Dark. All those colours appertain to Prakriti (so that He it is who becomes White or Red or Dark according as the nature of the Prakriti with which is He becomes identified for the time being). Through Tamas one goes to hell. Through Rajas one attains to and remains in the status of humanity. Through Sattwa, people ascend to the regions of the deities and become sharers of great felicity. By adhering to sin continuously one sinks into the intermediate order of beings. By acting both righteously and sinfully one attains to the status of the deities. In this way the twenty-fifth, viz., Akshara (the Indestructible), the wise say, by union with the unmanifest (Prakriti), becomes transformed into Kshara (destructible). By means of knowledge however, the Indestructible becomes displayed in His true nature--"

SECTION 304

"'Vasishtha said, 'Thus in consequence of his forgetfulness the Soul follows ignorance and obtains thousands of bodies one after another. He attains to thousands of births among the intermediate orders and sometimes among the very gods in consequence of his union with (particular) attributes and the puissance of attributes. 1 From the status of humanity, he goes to heaven and from heaven he comes back to humanity, and from humanity he sinks into hell for many long years. As the worm that fabricates the cocoon shuts itself, completely on every side by means of the threads it weaves itself, even so the Soul, though in reality transcending all attributes, invests himself on every side with attributes (and deprives himself of liberty). Though transcending (in his real nature) both happiness and misery, it is thus that he subjects himself to happiness and misery. It is thus also that, though transcending all diseases, the Soul regards himself to be afflicted by headache and opthalmia and toothache and affections of the throat and abdominal dropsy, and burning thirst, and enlargement of glands, and cholera, and vitiligo, and leprosy, and burns, and asthma and phthisis, and epilepsy, and whatever other diseases of diverse kinds are seen in the bodies of embodied creatures. Regarding himself, through error, as born among thousands of creatures in the intermediate orders of being, and sometimes among the gods,

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he endures misery and enjoys the fruits of his good deeds. Invested with Ignorance he regards himself as robed sometimes in white cloth and sometimes in full dress consisting of four pieces or as lying on floors (instead of on beds or bedsteads) or with hands and feet contracted like those of frogs or as seated upright in the attitude of ascetic contemplation, or as' clad in rags or as lying or sitting under the canopy of heaven or within mansions built of bricks and stone or on rugged stones or on ashes or bare stones or on the bare earth or on beds or on battlefields or in water or in mire or on wooden planks or on diverse kinds of beds; or impelled by desire of fruits, he regards himself as clad in a scant piece of cloth made of grass or as totally nude or as robed in silk or in skin of the black antelope or in cloth made of flax or in sheep-skin or in tiger-skin or in lion-skin or in fabric of hemp, or in barks of birch or in cloths made of the produce of prickly plants, or in vestures made of threads woven by worms or of torn rags or in diverse other kinds of cloth too numerous to mention. The soul regards himself also as wearing diverse kinds of ornaments and gems, or as eating diverse kinds of food. He regards himself as sometimes eating at intervals of one night, or once at the same hour every day, or as at the fourth, the sixth, and the eighth hour every day, or as once in six or seven or eight nights, or as once in ten or twelve day, or as once in a month, of as eating only roots, or fruits, or as subsisting upon air or water alone, or on cakes of sesame husk, or curds or cowdung, or the urine of the cow or potherbs or flowers or moss or raw food, or as subsisting on fallen leaves of trees or fruits that have fallen down and lay scattered on the ground, or diverse other kinds of food, impelled by the desire of winning (ascetic) success. The Soul regards himself as adopting the observance of Chandrayana according to the rites ordained in the scriptures, or diverse other vows and observance, and the courses of duty prescribed for the four modes of life, and even derelictions of duty, and the duties of other subsidiary modes of life included in the four principal ones, and even diverse kinds of practices that distinguish the wicked and sinful. The Soul regards himself as enjoying retired spots and delightful shades of mountains and the cool vicinity of spring and fountain and solitary river banks and secluded forests, and sacred spots dedicated to the deities, and lakes and waters withdrawn from the busy hunts of men, and lone mountain caves affording the accommodation that houses and mansions afford. The Soul regards himself as employed in the recitation of different kinds of hidden Mantras or as observing different vows and rules and diverse kinds of penances, and sacrifices of many kinds, and rites of diverse sorts. The Soul regards himself as adopting sometimes the way of traders and merchants and the practices of Brahmanas and Kshatriyas and Vaisyas and Sudras, and gifts of diverse kinds unto those that are destitute or blind or help-less. In consequence of his being invested with Ignorance, the Soul adopts different attributes of Sattwa and Rajas and Tamas, and Righteousness and Wealth and pleasure. Under the influence of Prakriti the Soul, undergoing modification himself, observes and adopts and practices all these and regards himself as such. Indeed, the Soul regards himself as employed in the utterance of the sacred mantras Swaha and Swadha and Vashat, and in bowing unto those he regards as his Superiors; in officiating in the sacrifices of others, in teaching pupils, making gifts and accepting them; in performing sacrifices and studying, the scriptures, and doing all other acts and rites of this kind. The Soul regards himself as concerned with birth and death and disputes and slaughter. All these, the learned say, constitute the path of acts good and bad. It is the goddess Prakriti who causes birth and death. When the time approaches for universal Destruction, all existent objects and attributes are withdrawn by the Supreme Soul which then exists alone like the Sun withdrawing at evening all his rays; and when the time comes for Creation He once more creates and spreads them out like the Sun shedding and spreading out his rays when morning comes. Even thus the Soul, for the sake of sport, repeatedly regards himself invested with all these conditions, which are his own forms and attributes, infinite in number, and agreeable to himself. It is this way that the Soul, though really transcending the three attributes, becomes attached to the path of acts and creates by modification Prakriti invested with the attributes of birth and death and identical with all acts and conditions which are characterised by the three attributes of Sattwa, Rajas, and Tamas. Arrived at the path of action, the Soul regards particular acts to be endued with particular characteristics and productive of particular ends. O monarch, the whole of this universe has been blinded by Prakriti and all things have been diversely overwhelmed (through Prakriti) by the attributes of Rajas and Tamas. It is in consequence of the Soul being invested by Prakriti that these pairs of opposites productive of happiness and woe, repeatedly come. It is in consequence of this Ignorance that Jiva regards these sorrows to be his and imagines them as pursuing him. Indeed, O monarch, through that Ignorance it is that Jiva imagines he should anyhow cross those sorrows, and that he should, going into the regions of the gods, enjoy the felicity that awaits all his good acts. It is through Ignorance that he thinks he should enjoy and endure these delights and these woes here in this world Through Ignorance Jiva thinks,--I should secure my happiness. By continually doing good acts, I may have happiness in this life till its close and I shall be happy in all my future lives. Though, again the (evil) acts I do in this life unending sorrow may become mine. The status of humanity is fraught with great misery, for from it one sinks into hell. From hell, it will take many long years before I can come back to the status of humanity. From humanity I shall attain to the status of the gods. From that superior status I shall have to come back again to humanity and thence to sink into hell once more!--One who always regards this combination of the primal elements and the senses, with the Chit's reflection in it, to be thus invested with the characteristics of the Soul, has repeatedly to wander among gods and human beings and to sink into hell. Being always invested with the idea of meum, Jiva has to make a round of such births. Millions upon millions of birth have to be gone through by Jiva in the successive forms he assumes, all of which are liable to death. He who does acts in this way, which are all fraught with good and bad fruits, has in the three worlds to assume successive form and to enjoy and endure fruits corresponding therewith. It is Prakriti that cause acts fraught with good and bad acts; and it is Prakriti that enjoys and endures the fruits thereof in the three worlds. Indeed, Prakriti follows the course of acts. The status of the intermediate beings, of humanity, and of the gods as well,--these three fields,--should be known as originating in Prakriti and has been said to be destitute of all attributes. Her existence is affirmed only in consequence of her acts (beginning with Mahat). After the same manner, Purusha (or Soul), though without attributes himself, has his existence affirmed in consequence of the acts which the body does when it receives his reflection. Although the Soul is not subject to modifications of any kind and is the active principle that sets Prakriti in motion, yet entering a body that is united with the senses of knowledge and action, he regards all the acts of those senses as his own. The five senses of knowledge beginning with the ear, and those of action beginning with speech, uniting with the attributes of Sattwa and Rajas and Tamas, become engaged in numerous object. Jiva imagines that it is he who does the acts of his life and that the senses of knowledge and acts belong to him, although in reality he has no senses. Indeed, though unequipt with body, he imagines that he has a body. Though destitute of attributes, he regards himself as endued therewith, and though transcending Time, imagines himself to be under Time's control. Though destitute of understanding, he still regards himself as endued therewith, and though transcending the (four and twenty) topics, regards himself as one included among them. Though deathless, he still regards himself as liable to death, and though motionless regards himself to be endued with motion. Though not possessed of a material case, he still regards himself as possessed of one; and though unborn, he still regards himself as in-vested with birth. Though transcending penances, he still regards as engaged in penances, and though he has no end (after which to strive), he still regards himself as liable to attain to ends (of diverse kinds). Though not endued with motion and birth, he still regards himself as endued with both, and though transcending fear, still regards himself as liable to fear. Though Indestructible, he still regards himself Destructible. Invested with Ignorance, the Soul thus thinks of himself."

SECTION 305

"'Vasishtha said, 'It is thus, in consequence of his Ignorance and his association with others that are invested with Ignorance, that Jiva has recourse to millions and millions of births every one of which has dissolution in the end. In consequence of his transformation into Chit invested with Ignorance, Jiva betakes himself to millions of abodes one of which is liable to end in destruction, among intermediate beings and men and the deities. In consequence of Ignorance, Jiva, like Chandramas, has to wax and wane thousands and thousands of times. This is truly the nature of Jiva when invested with ignorance. Know that Chandramas has in reality full sixteen portions. Only fifteen of these are subject to increase and decrease. The sixteenth (i.e., that portion which remains invisible and which appears on the night of the New-moon) remains constant. After the manner of Chandramas, Jiva too has full sixteen portions. Only fifteen of these, (viz., Prakriti with Chit's reflection, the ten senses of knowledge and action, and the four inner faculties) appear and disappear. The sixteenth (viz., Chit in its purity) is subject to no modification. Invested with Ignorance, Jiva repeatedly and continually takes birth in the fifteen portions named above. With the eternal and immutable portion on Jiva primal essence become united and this union takes place repeatedly. That sixteenth portion is subtile. It should be known as Soma (eternal and immutable). It is never upheld by the senses. On the other hand, the senses are upheld by it. Since those sixteen portions are the cause of the birth of creatures, creatures can never, O monarch, take birth without their aid. They are called Prakriti. The destruction of Jiva's liability to be united with Prakriti is called Emancipation. The Mahat-Soul, which is the twenty-fifth, if it regards that body of sixteen portions called the Unmanifest, 1 has to assume it repeatedly. In consequence of not knowing, That which is stainless and pure, and for its devotion to what is the result of a combination of both Pure and Impure, the Soul, which is in reality pure, becomes, O king Impure. Indeed, in consequence of its devotion to Ignorance, Jiva, though characterised by Knowledge becomes repeatedly associated with Ignorance. Though, O monarch, free from error of every kind, yet in consequence of its devotion to the three attributes of Prakriti, it becomes endued with those attributes.'"

SECTION 306

"'Janaka said, O holy one, it has been said that the relation between male and female is like that which subsists between the Indestructible and the destructible (or Purusha and Prakriti). Without a male, a female can never conceive. Without a female a male also can never create form. In consequence of their union with each other, and each depending upon the attributes of the other, forms (of living creatures) are seen to flow. This is the case with all orders of being. Through each other's union for purposes of (sexual) congress, and through each depending upon the attributes of the others, forms (of living creatures) flow in menstrual seasons. I shall tell to thee the indications thereof. Hear what the attributes are that belong to the sire and what those are that belong to the mother. Bones, sinews and marrow, O regenerate one, we know, are derived from the sire. Skin, flesh, and blood, we hear are derived from the mother. Even this, O foremost of regenerate persons, is what may be read of in the Vedas and other scriptures. Whatever is read as declared in the Vedas and in other scriptures is regarded as authority. The authority, again, of the Vedas and other scriptures (not inconsistent with the Vedas), is eternal. If Prakriti and Purusha be always united together in this way by each opposing and each depending on the other's attributes, I see, O holy one, that Emancipation cannot exist. Thou, O holy one, art possessed of spiritual vision so that thou seest all things as if they are present before thy eyes. If, therefore, there be any direct evidence of the existence of Emancipation, do thou, speak of it to me. We are desirous of attaining to Emancipation. Indeed, we wish to attain to That which is auspicious, bodiless, not subject to decrepitude, eternal beyond the ken of the senses, and having nothing superior to it.

"'Vasishtha said, What thou sayest about the indications of the Vedas and the other scriptures (in respect of the matter) is even so. Thou takest those indications in the way in which they should be taken. Thou bearest, however, in thy understanding, only the texts of the Vedas and the other scriptures. Thou art not, O monarch, truly conversant with the real meaning of those texts. That person who bears in his understanding merely the texts of the Vedas and the other scriptures without being conversant with the true sense or meaning of those texts, bears them fruitlessly. Indeed, one who holds the contents of a work in memory without comprehending their meaning is said to bear an useless burden. He, however, who is conversant with the true meaning of a treatise, is said to have studied that treatise to purpose. Questioned regarding the meaning of a text, it behoveth one to communicate that meaning which he has comprehended by a careful study. That person of dull intelligence who refuses to expound the meanings of texts in the midst of a conclave of the learned, that person of foolish understanding, never succeeds in expounding the meaning correctly. [The sense seems to be that the obligation to explain a treatise in the midst of a conclave always stimulates the best faculties, and if it is a conclave of the learned the friction of intellects is sure to bring out the correct sense.] An ignorant person, going to expound the true meaning of treatises, incurs ridicule. Even those possessed of a knowledge of the Soul have to incur ridicule on such occasions (if what they go to explain has not been acquired by study). Listen now to me, O monarch, as to how the subject of Emancipation has been explained (by preceptors to disciple from days of old) among highsouled persons conversant with the Sankhya and the Yoga systems of philosophy. That which the Yogin, behold is precisely that which the Sankhyas arrive after to attain. He who sees the Sankhya and the Yoga systems to be one and the same is said to be endued with intelligence. Skin, flesh, blood, fat, bile, marrow, and sinews, and these senses (of both knowledge and action), about which thou wert speaking unto me, exist. Objects flow from objects; the senses from the senses. From body one obtains a body, as a seed is obtained from seed. When the Supreme Being is without senses, without seed, without matter, without body, He must be divested of all attributes! and in consequence of His being so, how, indeed, can He have attributes of any kind? Space and other attributes arise from the attributes of Sattwa and Rajas and Tamas, and disappear ultimately in them. Thus the attributes arise from Prakriti. Skin, flesh, blood, fat, bile, marrow, bones, and sinews,--these eight that are made of Prakriti, know, O king, may sometimes be produced by the vital seed alone (of the male). The Jiva-soul and the universe are said to both partake

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of Prakriti characterised by the three attributes of Sattwa, Rajas, and Tamas. The Supreme Soul is different from both the Jiva-soul and the universe. As the seasons though unendued with forms, are nevertheless inferred from the appearance of particular fruits and flowers, after the same manner, Prakriti, though formless, is inferred from the attributes of Mahat and the rest that spring from it. In this way from the existence of Chaitanya in the body, the Supreme Soul, divested of all attributes whatever and perfectly stainless, is inferred. Without beginning and destruction, without end, the overseer of all things, and auspicious, that Soul, only in consequence of its identifying itself with the body and other attributes, comes to be taken as invested with attributes. Those persons that are truly conversant with attributes know that only objects endued with attributes can have attributes but that That which transcends all attributes can have none. When the Jiva-soul conquers all attributes born of Prakriti and which it assumes under error, only then does it behold the Supreme Soul. Only the highest Rishis conversant with the Sankhya and the Yoga systems know that Supreme Soul which Sankhya and Yogins and believers in all other systems say is beyond the Understanding, which is regarded as Knower and endued with the highest wisdom in consequence of its casting off all consciousness of identification with Prakriti, which transcends the attribute of Ignorance or Error, which is Unmanifest, which is beyond all attributes, which is called the Supreme, which is dissociated from all attributes, which ordains all things, which is Eternal and Immutable, which overrules Prakriti and all the attributes born of Prakriti, and which, transcending the four and twenty topics of enquiry, forms the twenty-fifth. When men of knowledge, who stand in fear of birth, of the several conditions of living consciousness, and of death, succeed in knowing the Unmanifest, they succeed in understanding the Supreme Soul at the same time. An intelligent man regards the unity of Jiva-soul with the Supreme Soul as consistent with the scriptures and as perfectly correct, while the man destitute of intelligence looks upon the two as different from each other. This forms the distinction between the man of intelligence and man that is destitute of it. The indications of both Kshara and Akshara (destructible and indestructible) have now been said unto thee. Akshara is Oneness or Unity, while multiplicity or variety is said to be Kshara. When one begins to study and understands properly the five and twenty topics of enquiry, one then comprehends that the Oneness of the Soul is consistent with the scriptures and its multiplicity is what is opposed to them. These are the several indications of what is included in the tale of topics or principles created and what transcends that tale. The wise have said that the tale of topics numbers only five and twenty. That which transcends the topics is beyond that number and forms the twenty-sixth. The study or comprehension of created things (numbered five and twenty) according to their aggregates (of five) is the study and comprehension of topics. Transcending these is That which is eternal.'"

SECTION 307

"'Janaka said, Thou hast, O foremost of Rishis, said that Unity is the attribute of that which is Akshara (Indestructible) and variety or multiplicity is the attribute of what is known as Kshara (Destructible). I have not, however, clearly understood the nature of these two. Doubts are still lurking in my mind. Ignorant men look upon the Soul as endued with the incident of multiplicity. They, however that are possessed of knowledge and wisdom regard the Soul to be one and the same. I how-ever, have a very dull understanding. I am, therefore, unable to comprehend how all this can happen. The causes also that thou hast assigned for the unity and the multiplicity of Akshara and Kshara I have almost forgotten in consequence of the restlessness of my understanding. I therefore, desire to hear thee once more discourse to me on those same incidents of unity and multiplicity, on him who is knowing, on what is destitute of knowledge, on Jiva-soul, Knowledge, Ignorance. Akshara, Kshara, and on the Sankhya and the Yoga systems, in detail and separately and agreeable to the truth.

"'Vasishtha said, I shall tell thee what thou askest! Listen however, to me, O monarch, as I expound to thee the practices of Yoga separately. Contemplation, which constitutes an obligatory practices with Yogins, is their highest puissance [For enables them to conquer Ignorance.]. Those conversant with Yoga say that Contemplation is of two kinds. One is the concentration of the mind, and the other is called Pranayama (regulation of breath). Pranayama is said to be endued with substance; while concentration of mind is unendued with it. Excepting the three times when a man passes urine and stools and eats, one should devote the whole of his time to contemplation. With-drawing the senses from their objects by the aid of the mind, one possessed of intelligence, having made oneself pure, should agreeably to the two and twenty modes of transmitting the Prana breath, unite the Jiva-soul with That which transcends the four and twentieth topic (called Ignorance or Prakriti) which is regarded by the wise as dwelling in every part of the body and as transcending decay and destruction. It is by means of those two and twenty methods that the Soul may always be known, as heard by us. It is certain that this practice of Yoga is his whose mind is never affected by evil passions. It is not any other person's. Dissociated from all attachments, abstemious in diet, and subduing all the senses, one should fix one's mind on the Soul, during the first and the last part of the night, after having, O king of Mithila, suspended the functions of the senses, quieted the mind by the understanding, and assumed a posture as motionless as that of a block of stone. When men of knowledge, conversant with the rules of Yoga, become as fixed as a stake of wood, and as immovable as a mountain, then are they said to be in Yoga. When one does not hear, and smell, and taste, and see; when one is not conscious of any touch; when one's mind becomes perfectly free from every purpose; when one is not conscious of any thing, when one cherishes no thought; when one becomes like a piece of wood, then is one called by the wise to be in perfect Yoga. At such a time one shines like a lamp that burns in a place where there is no wind; at such a time one becomes freed even from one's subtile form, and perfectly united with Brahma. When one attains to such progress, one has no longer to ascend or to fall among intermediate beings. When persons like ourselves say that there has been a complete identification of the Knower, the Known, and K now-ledge, then is the Yogin said to behold the Supreme Soul. While in Yoga, the Supreme Soul displays itself in the Yogin's heart like a blazing fire, or like the bright Sun, or like the lightning's flame in the sky. That Supreme Soul which is Unborn and which is the essence of nectar, that is seen by high-souled Brahmanas endued with intelligence and wisdom and conversant with the Vedas, is subtiler than what is subtile and greater than what is great. That Soul, though dwelling in all creatures, is not seen by them. The creator of the worlds, He is seen only by a person endued with wealth of intelligence when aided by the lamp of the mind. He dwells on the other share of thick Darkness and transcends him called Iswara. Persons conversant with the Vedas and endued with omniscience call Him the dispeller of Darkness, stainless, transcending Darkness, without attributes and endued therewith.

"'This is what is called the Yoga of Yogins. What else is the indication of Yoga? By such practices do Yogins succeeded in beholding the Supreme Soul that transcends destruction and decay. This much that I have told thee in detail concerns about the science of Yoga. I shall now discourse to thee of that Sankhya philosophy by which the Supreme Soul is seen through the gradual destruction of errors. The Sankhyas, whose system is built on Prakriti, say that Prakriti, which is Unmanifest, is the foremost. From Prakriti, they say, O monarch, the second principle called Mahat, is produced. It is heard by us that from Mahat flows the third principle called Consciousness. The Sankhyas blessed with sight of the Soul say that from Consciousness flow the five subtile essence of sound, form, touch, taste, and scent. All these eight they call by the name of Prakriti. The modifications of these eight are sixteen in number. They are the five gross essence of space, light, earth, water, and wind, and the ten senses of action and of knowledge including the mind. Men of wisdom devoted to the Sankhya path and conversant with all its ordinances and dispensations regard these four and twenty topics as embracing the whole range of Sankhya enquiry. That which is produced becomes merged in the producing. Created by the Supreme Soul one after another, these principles are destroyed in a reverse order. At every new Creation, the Gunas start into existence in the lateral order (as stated above), and (when Destruction comes) they merge, (each into its progenitor) in a reverse order, like the waves of the ocean disappearing in the ocean that gives them birth. O best of kings, this is the manner in which the Creation and the Destruction of Prakriti takes place. The Supreme Being is all that remains when Universal Destruction takes place, and it is He that assumes multifarious forms when Creation starts into life. This is even so, O king, as ascertained by men of knowledge. It is Prakriti that causes the Overpresiding Purusha to thus assume diversity and revert back to unity. Prakriti also herself has the same indications. Only fully conversant with the nature of the topics of enquiry knows that Prakriti also assumes the same kind of diversity and unity, for when Destruction comes she reverts into unity and when Creation flows she assumes diversity of form. The Soul makes Prakriti, which contains the principles of production or growth, to assume manifold forms. Prakriti is called Kshetra (or soil). Transcending the four and twenty topics or principles is the Soul which is great. It presides over that Prakriti or Kshetra. Hence, O great king, the foremost of Yatis say that the Soul is the Presider. Indeed, it has been heard by us that in consequence of the Soul's presiding over all Kshetras He is called the Presider. And because He knows that Unmanifest Kshetra, He is, therefore, also called Kshetrajna (Knower of Kshetra). And because also the Soul enters into Unmanifest Kshetra (viz., the body), therefore he is called Purusha. Kshetra is something quite different from Kshetrajna. Kshetra is Unmanifest. The Soul, which transcends the four and twenty principles, is called the Knower. Knowledge and the object known are different from each other. Knowledge, again, has been said to be Unmanifest, while the object of knowledge is the Soul which transcends the four and twenty principles. The Unmanifest is called Kshetra. Sattwa (understanding), and also Iswara (the supreme Lord), while Purusha, which is the twenty-fifth principle has nothing superior to it and is not a principle (for it transcends all principles and is only called a principle conventionally). This much O king, is an account of the Sankhya philosophy. The Sankhyas called the cause of the universe, and merging all the grosser principles into the Chit behold the Supreme Soul. Rightly studying the four and twenty topics along with Prakriti, and ascertaining their true nature, the Sankhyas succeed in beholding That which transcends the four and twenty topics or principles. Jiva in reality is that very Soul which transcends Prakriti and is beyond the four and twenty topics. When he succeeds in knowing that Supreme Soul by dissociating himself from Prakriti, he then becomes identifiable with the Supreme Soul. I have now told thee every thing about the Sankhya System truly. Those who are conversant with this philosophy succeed in attaining are subject to error have direct cognisance of Brahma. They that succeed in attaining to tranquillity. Indeed, as men whose understanding are subject to error have direct cognisance of Brahma. They that succeed in attaining to that state have never to come back to this world after the dissolution of their bodies; while as regards those that are said to be emancipate in this life, puissance, and that indescribable felicity which attaches itself to Samadhi, and immutability, become theirs, in consequence of their having attained to the nature of the Indestructible. They who behold this universe as many (instead of seeing it as one and uniform) are said to see incorrectly. These men are blind to Brahma. O chastiser of foes, such persons have repeatedly to come back into the world and assume bodies (in diverse orders of Being). They who are conversant with all that has been said above become possessed of omniscience, and accordingly when they pass from this body no longer become subject to the control of any more physical frames. All things, (or the entire universe), have been said to be the result of the Unmanifest. The Soul, which is the twenty-fifth, transcends all things. They who know the Soul have no fear of returning to the world.'"

SECTION 308

"'Vasishtha said, I have thus far discoursed to thee on the Sankhya philosophy. Listen now to me as I tell thee what is Vidya (knowledge) and what is Avidya (Ignorance), one after the other. The learned say that that Prakriti, which is fraught with the attributes of Creation and Destruction, is called Avidya; while Purusha, who is freed from the attributes of Creation and Destruction and who transcends the four and twenty topics or principles, is called Vidya. Listen to me first as I tell thee what is Vidya among successive sets of other things, as expounded in the Sankhya philosophy. Among the senses of knowledge and those of action, the senses of knowledge are said to constitute what is known as Vidya. Of the senses of knowledge and their object, the former constitute Vidya as has been heard by us. Of objects of the senses and the mind, the wise have said that the mind constitute Vidya. Of mind and the five subtile essences, the five subtile essences constitutes Vidya. Of the five subtile essences and Consciousness, Consciousness constitutes Vidya. Of Consciousness and Mahat, Mahat, O king, is Vidya. Of all the topics or principles beginning with Mahat, and Prakriti, it is Prakriti, which is unmanifest and supreme, that is called Vidya. Of Prakriti, and that called Vidhi which is Supreme, the latter should be known as Vidya. Transcending Prakriti is the twenty-fifth (called Purusha) who should be known as Vidya. Of all knowledge that which is the Object of Knowledge has been said to be the Unmanifest, O king. Again, Knowledge has been said to be Unmanifest and the Object of knowledge to be that which transcends the four and twenty. Once more, Knowledge has been said to be Unmanifest, and the Knower is that which transcends the four and twenty. I have now told thee what is truly the import of Vidya and Avidya. Listen now to me as I tell thee all that has been said about the Indestructible, and the Destructible. Both Jiva and Prakriti have been said to be Indestructible, and both of them have been said to be Destructible. I shall tell thee the reason of this correctly as I have understood it. Both Prakriti and Jiva are without beginning and without end or destruction. Both of them are regarded as supreme (in the matter of Creation). Those that are possessed of knowledge say that both are to be called topics or principles. In consequence of its attributes of (repeated) Creation and Destruction, the Unmanifest (or Prakriti) is called Indestructible. That Unmanifest becomes repeatedly modified for the purpose of creating the principle. And because the principles beginning with Mahat are produced by Purusha as well, and because also Purusha and the Unmanifest are mutually dependant upon each other, therefore is Purusha also, the twenty-fifth, called Kshetra (and hence Akshara or Indestructible). When the Yogin withdraws and merges all the principles into the Unmanifest Soul (or Brahma) then the twenty-fifth (viz., Jiva or Purusha) also, with all those principles disappears into it. When the

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principles become merged each into its progenitor, then the one that remains is Prakriti. When Kshetrajna too, O son, becomes merged into his own producing cause then (all that remains is Brahma and, therefore) Prakriti with all the principles in it becomes Kshara (or meets with destruction), and attains also to the condition of being without attributes in consequence of her dissociation from all the principles. Thus it is that Kshetrajna, when his knowledge of Kshetra disappears, becomes, by his nature, destitute of attributes, as it has been heard by us. When he becomes Kshara he then assumes attributes. When, however, he attains to his own real nature, he then succeeds in understanding his own condition of being really destitute of attributes. By casting off Prakriti and beginning to realise that he is different from her, the intelligent Kshetrajna then comes to be regarded as pure and stainless. When Jiva ceases to exist in a state of union with Prakriti, then does he become identifiable with Brahma. When, however, he exists united with Prakriti, he then, O king, seems to be different from Brahma. Indeed, when Jiva shows no affection for Prakriti and her principles, he then succeeds in beholding the Supreme and having once beheld Him wishes not to fall away from that felicity. When the knowledge of truth dawns upon him, Jiva begins to lament in this strain: Alas, how foolishly have I acted by falling through ignorance, into this frame composed of Prakriti like a fish entangled in a net! Alas, through ignorance, I have migrated from body to body like a fish from water to water thinking that water is the element in which alone it can live. Indeed, like a fish that does not know anything else than water to be its element, I also have never known anything else than children and spouses to be my own! Fie on me that through ignorance, I have been repeatedly migrating from body to body in forgetfulness (of the Supreme Soul)! The Supreme Soul alone is my friend. I have capacity for friendship with Him. Whatever be my nature and whoever I may be, I am competent to be like Him and to attain an identity with Him. I see my similarity with Him. I am indeed, like Him. He is stainless. It is evident that I am of the same nature. Through ignorance and stupefaction, I have become associated with inanimate Prakriti. Though really without attachments, I have passed this long time in a state of attachment with Prakriti. Alas, by her was I so long subdued without having been able to know it. Various are the forms--high, middling, and low, that Prakriti assume. Oh, how shall I dwell in those forms? 1 How shall I live conjointly with her? In consequence only of my ignorance I repair to her companionship. I shall now be fixed (in Sankhya or Yoga). I shall not longer keep her companionship. For having passed so long a time with her, I should think that I was so long deceived by her, for myself being really exempt from modification, how could I keep company with one that is subject to modification? She cannot be held to be responsible for this. The responsibility is mine, since turning away from the Supreme Soul I become of my own accord attached to her. In consequence of that attachment, myself, though formless in reality, had to abide in multifarious forms. Indeed, though formless by nature I become endued with forms in consequence of my sense of meum, and thereby insulted and distressed. In consequence of my sense of meum, concerning the result of Prakriti, I am forced to take birth in diverse orders of Being. Alas, though really destitute of any sense of meum, yet in consequence of affecting it, what diverse acts of an evil nature have been committed by me in those orders which I took birth while I remained in them with a soul that had lost all knowledge! I have no longer anything to do with him who, with essence made up of consciousness, divides herself into many fragments and who seeks to unite me with them. It is only now that I have been awakened and have understood that I am by nature without any sense of meum and without that consciousness which creates the forms of Prakriti that invests me all around. Casting off that sense of meum which I always have with respect to her and whose essence is made up of consciousness, and casting off Prakriti herself, I shall take refuge in Him who is auspicious. I shall be united with Him, and not with Prakriti which is inanimate. If I unite with Him, it will be productive of my benefit. I have no similarity of nature with Prakriti!--The twenty-fifth, (viz., Jiva), when he thus succeeds in understanding the Supreme, becomes able to cast off the Destructible and attain to identity with that which is Indestructible and which is the essence of all that is auspicious, Destitute of attributes in his true nature and in reality Unmanifest, Jiva becomes invested with what is Manifest and assumes attributes. When he succeeds in beholding that which is without attributes and which is the origin of the Unmanifest, he attains, O ruler of Mithila, to identify the same.

"'I have now told thee what the indications are of what is Indestructible and what is Destructible, according to the best of my knowledge and according to what has been expounded in the scriptures. I shall now tell thee, according to what I have heard, as to how Knowledge that is subtile, stainless, and certain arises. Do thou listen to me. I have already discoursed to thee what the Sankhya and the Yoga systems are according to their respective indications as expounded in their respective scriptures. Verily, the science that has been expounded in Sankhya treatises is identical with what has been laid down in the Yoga scriptures. The knowledge, O monarch, which the Sankhya preach, is capable of awakening every one. In the Sankhya scriptures, that Knowledge has been inculcated very clearly for the benefit of disciples. The learned say that this Sankhya system is very extensive. Yogin have great regard for that system as also for the Vedas. In the Sankhya system no topic or principle transcending the twenty-fifth is admitted. That which the Sankhyas regard-as their highest topic of principles has been duly described (by me). In the Yoga philosophy, it is said that Brahma, which is the essence of knowledge without duality, becomes Jiva only when invested with Ignorance. In the Yoga scriptures, therefore, both Brahma and Jiva are spoken of,--'"

SECTION 309

"'Vasishtha said, Listen now to me as I discourse to thee on Buddhas (Supreme Soul) and Abuddha (Jiva) which is the dispensation of attributes of Sattwa, Rajas, and Tamas. Assuming many forms (under the influence of illusion) the Supreme Soul, becoming Jiva, regards all those forms as real*, In consequence of (his regarding himself identical with) such transformations, Jiva fails to understand the Supreme Soul, for he bears the attributes (of Sattwa and Rajas and Tamas) and creates and with-draws into himself what he creates. [* Budha is Bodha or pure Knowledge. Abudha is the reverse of Budha. The Supreme Soul is Knowledge, while Jiva is Ignorance.] Ceaselessly for his sport, O monarch, does Jiva undergo modifications, and because he is capable of understanding the action of the Unmanifest, therefore is he called Budhyamana (the Comprehender). The Unmanifest or Prakriti can at no time comprehend Brahma which is really without attributes even when it manifests itself with attributes. Hence is Prakriti called Unintelligent. There is a declaration of the Srutis to the effect that if ever Prakriti does succeed in knowing the twenty-fifth (i.e., Jiva) Prakriti then (instead of being something differentiated from Jiva) becomes identified with Jiva who is united with her. (As regards, however, the Supreme Soul, which is ever disunited and dissociated, and which transcends the twenty-fifth Prakriti can never comprehend it). In consequence of this (viz., his attachment to or union with Prakriti), Jiva or Purusha, who is not manifest and which in his real nature is not subject to modifications, comes to be called as the Unawakened or Ignorant. Indeed because the twenty-fifth can comprehend the Unmanifest, he is therefore, called Budhyamana (or Comprehender). He cannot, however, readily comprehend the twenty-sixth, which is stainless, which is Knowledge without duality, which is immeasurable, and which is eternal. The twenty-sixth, however, can know both Jiva and Prakriti, numbering the twenty-fifth and the twenty-fourth respectively. O thou of great effulgence, only men of wisdom succeed in knowing that Brahma which is Unmanifest, which inheres in its real nature to all that is seen and unseen, and which, O son is the one independent essence in the universe. When Jiva considers himself different from what he truly is (i.e. when he regards himself as fat or lean, fair or dark a Brahmana or a Sudra), it is only then that he fails to know the Supreme Soul and himself and Prakriti with which he is united. When Jiva succeeds in understanding Prakriti (and knowing that she is something different from him) then he is said to be restored to his true nature and then does he attain to that high understanding which is pure and stainless and which is concerned with Brahma. When Jiva succeeds, O tiger among kings, in attaining to that excellent understanding, he then attains to that Pure Knowledge (without duality) which is called the twenty-sixth or (Brahma). He then casts off the Unmanifest or Prakriti which is fraught with the attributes of Creation and Destruction. When Jiva succeeds in knowing Prakriti which is unintelligent and subject to the action of the three attributes of Sattwa, and Rajas and Tamas, he then becomes destitute of attributes himself. In consequence of his thus understanding the Unmanifest (to be something different from him), he succeeds in acquiring the nature of the Supreme Soul. The learned say that when he is freed from the attributes of Sattwa and Rajas and Tamas and united in the nature with the Supreme Soul then does Jiva become identified with that Soul. The Supreme Soul is called Tattwa as well as Not-Tattwa, and transcends decay and destruction. O giver of honours, the Soul, though it has the manifest principles (viz. the body) for its resting place, yet it cannot be said to have acquired the nature of those principles. The wise say that including the Jiva soul there are five and twenty principles in all. Indeed, O son, the Soul is not to be regarded as possessed of any of the principles (Mahat and the rest). Endued with Intelligence, it transcends the principles. It casts off quickly even that principle which is the indication of the Knowing or awakened one. When Jiva comes to regard himself as the twenty-sixth which is divested of decay and destruction, it is then that, without doubt, he succeeds by his own force in attaining to similarity with the twenty-sixth. Though awakened by the twenty-sixth which is Pure Intelligence, Jiva still becomes subject to Ignorance. This is the cause of Jiva, multifariousness (in respect of forms) as explained in the Srutis and the Sankhya scriptures. When Jiva, who is endued with Chetana and Unintelligent Prakriti, loses all Consciousness of a distinct or individual Self, then does he, losing his multifariousness, resumes his Oneness. O ruler of Mithila, when Jiva, who is found to be in union with happiness and misery and who is seldom free from the consciousness of Self, succeeds in attaining to a similarity with the Supreme Soul which is beyond the reach of the understanding, then does he becomes freed from virtue and vice. Indeed, when Jiva, attaining to the twenty-sixth which is Unborn and Puissant and which is dissociated from all attachments, succeeds in comprehending it thoroughly, he himself becomes possessed of puissance and entirely casts off the Unmanifest or Prakriti. In consequence of understanding the twenty-sixth, the four and twenty principles seems to Jiva to be unsubstantial or of no value. I have thus told thee, O sinless one, according to the indication of the Srutis, the nature of the Unintelligent or Prakriti, and of Jiva, so also of that which is Pure Knowledge viz., the Supreme Soul, agreeable to the truth. Guided by the scriptures, variety and oneness are thus to be understood. The difference between the gnat and the Udumvara, or that between the fish and water, illustrates the difference between the Jiva-soul and the Supreme Soul. The Multiplicity and Oneness of these two are then understood in this way. This is called Emancipation, viz., this comprehension or knowledge of oneself as something distinct from Unintelligent or Unmanifest Prakriti. The twenty-fifth, which resides in the bodies of living creatures, should be emancipated by making him know the Unmanifest or the Supreme Soul which transcends the understanding. Indeed, that twenty-fifth is capable of attaining to Emancipation in this way only and not through any other means, it is certain. Though really different from the Kshetra in which he resides for the time being, he partakes of the nature of that Kshetra in consequence of his union with it. Uniting with what is Pure, he becomes Pure. Uniting with the Intelligent, he becomes Intelligent. By uniting, O foremost of men, with one that is Emancipate, he becomes Emancipated. By uniting with one that has been freed from attachments of every kind, he becomes freed from all attachments. By uniting with one striving after Emancipation, he himself, partaking of the nature of his companion, strives after Emancipation. By uniting with one of pure deeds he becomes pure and of pure deeds and endued with blazing effulgence. By uniting with one of unstained soul, he becomes of unstained soul himself. By uniting with the One independent Soul, he becomes One and Independent. Uniting with One that is dependent on One's own Self, he becomes of the same nature and attains to Independence.

"'--O monarch, I have duly told thee all this that is perfectly true. Candidly have I discoursed to thee on this subject, viz., the Eternal and Stainless and Primeval Brahma. Thou mayst impart this high knowledge, capable of awakening the soul, unto that person, O king, who though not conversant with the Vedas is nevertheless, humble and has a keen desire for acquiring the knowledge of Brahma. It should never be imparted unto one that is wedded to falsehood, or one that is cunning or roguish, or one that is without any strength of mind or one that is of crooked understanding, or one that is jealous of men of knowledge, or one that gives pain to others. Listen to me as I say who they are unto whom this knowledge may safely be communicated. It should be given to one that is endued with faith, or one that is possessed of merit, or one that always abstains from speaking ill of others, or one that is devoted to penances from the purest of motives, or one that is endued with knowledge and wisdom, or one that is conversant of the sacrifices and other rites laid down in the Vedas, or one that is possessed of a forgiving disposition, or one that is inclined to take compassion on and do good to all creatures; or one that is fond of dwelling in privacy and solitude, or one that is fond of discharging all acts laid down in the scriptures, or one that is averse to quarrels and disputes, or one that is possessed of great learning or one endued with wisdom or one possessed of forgiveness and self-restraint and tranquillity of soul. This high knowledge of Brahma should never be communicated to one that is not possessed of such qualifications. It has been said that by imparting this knowledge to one that cannot be regarded as fit receptacle for holding it no advantage or good fruit can arise. Unto one that is not observant of any vows and restraints, this high knowledge should never be communicated even if he gives in exchange the whole Earth full of gems and wealth of every kind. Without doubt, however, O king, this knowledge should be given to one that has conquered one's senses. O Karala, let no fear be thine any longer, since thou halt heard all this regarding high Brahma from me today! I have discoursed to thee duly about high and holy Brahma that is without beginning and middle (and end) and that is capable of dispelling all kinds of grief. Beholding Brahma whose sight is capable of dispelling both birth and death, O king which is full of auspiciousness, which removes all fear, and which benefit, and having acquired this essence of all knowledge, cast off all error and stupefaction today! I had acquired this

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knowledge from the eternal Hiranyagarbha himself, O king, who communicated it to me for my having carefully gratified that great Being of every superior Soul. Asked by thee today, I have, O monarch, communicated the knowledge of eternal Brahma to the just as I had myself acquired it from my teacher. Indeed, this high knowledge that is the refuge of all persons conversant with Emancipation has been imparted to thee exactly as I had it from Brahman himself!'

"Bhishma continued, I have thus told thee of high Brahma agreeably to what the great Rishi (Vasishtha) had said (unto king Karala of Janaka's race), by attaining to which the Twenty-fifth (or Jiva) has never to return. Jiva, in consequence of his not knowing truly the Supreme Soul which is not subject to decay and death, is obliged to frequently come back into the world. When, however, Jiva succeeds in acquiring that high knowledge, he has no longer to come back. Having heard it, O king from the celestial Rishi, I have, O son, communicated to thee high knowledge productive of the highest good. This knowledge was obtained from Hiranyagarbha by the high-souled Rishi Vasishtha. From that foremost of Rishis, viz., Vasishtha, it was acquired by Narada. From Narada I have acquired that knowledge which is truly identifiable with the eternal Brahma. Having heard this discourse of high import, fraught with excellent words, do not, O foremost of the Kurus, yield any longer to grief. That man who knows Kshara and Akshara becomes freed from fear. He, indeed, O king, is obliged to cherish fear who is destitute of this knowledge. In consequence of Ignorance (of Brahma), the man of foolish soul hath repeatedly to come back into this world. Indeed, departing from this life, he has to be born in thousands and thousands of orders of Being every one of which hath death in the end. Now in the world of the deities, now among men, and now among intermediate orders of Being, he has to appear again and again. If in course of time he succeeds in crossing that Ocean of Ignorance in which he is sunk, he then succeeds in avoiding rebirth altogether and attaining to identity with the Supreme Soul. The Ocean of Ignorance is terrible. It is bottomless and called the Unmanifest. O Bharata, day after day, creatures are seen to fall and sink in that Ocean. Since thou, O king, hast been freed from that eternal and limitless Ocean of Ignorance, thou, hast, therefore become freed from Rajas and also Tamas.'"

SECTION 310

"Bhishma said, 'Once on a time a king of Janaka's race, while ranging the uninhabited forests in pursuit of deer, saw a superior Brahmana or Rishi of Bhrigu's race. Bowing with his head unto the Rishi who was seated at his ease, king Vasuman took his seat near him and obtaining his permission put to him this question: O holy one, what is productive of the highest benefit, both here and hereafter, to man who is endued with an unstable body and who is the slave of his desires? Properly honoured by the king, and thus questioned, that high-souled Rishi possessed of ascetic merit then said these words unto him that were highly beneficial.

"The Rishi said, If thou desirest both here and hereafter what is agreeable to thy mind, do thou then, with restrained senses, abstain from doing what is disagreeable to all creatures. Righteousness is beneficial unto them that are good. Righteousness is the refuge of those that are good. From Righteousness have flowed the three worlds with their mobile and immobile creatures. O thou that art eagerly desirous of enjoying all agreeable objects, how is it that thou art not yet satiated with objects of desire? Thou seest the honey, O thou of little understanding, but art blind to the fall 1. As one desirous of earning the fruits of knowledge should set oneself to the acquisition of knowledge, even so one desirous of earning the fruits of Righteousness should set oneself to the acquisition of Righteousness. If a wicked man from desire of virtue, strives to accomplish an act that is pure and stainless, the fulfilment of his desire becomes impossible. If, on the other hand, a good man, impelled by the desire of earning virtue, strives to accomplish an act that is even difficult, its accomplishment becomes easy for him. If, while residing in the woods, one acts in such a way as to enjoy all the pleasures of a residence amidst men in towns, one comes to be looked upon not as a forest recluse but as a denizen of towns. Similarly, if one, while residing in towns, acts in such a way as to enjoy the felicity that attaches to the life of a forest recluse, once comes to be looked upon not as a denizen of towns but as a forest recluse. Ascertaining the merits of the religion of Acts and that of Abstention from acts, do thou, with concentrated senses, be devoted to the practices of righteousness that appertain to thought, words, and deed. Judging of the propriety of time and place, purified by the observance of vows and other cleansing rites, and solicited (by them), do thou, without malice, make large gifts unto them that are good. Acquiring wealth by righteous means, one should give it away unto those that are deserving. One should make gifts, casting off anger; and having made gifts one should never give way to sorrow nor proclaim those gifts with one's own mouth. The Brahmana who is full of compassion, who is observant of candour, and whose birth is pure, has been regarded as a person deserving of gifts. A person is said to be pure in birth when he is born of mother that has only one husband and that belongs to the same order to which her husband belongs. Indeed, such a Brahmana, conversant with the three Vedas, viz., Rich, Yajush, and Saman, possessed of learning, duly observant of the six duties (of sacrificing on his own account, officiating at the sacrifices of others, learning, teaching, making gifts, and receiving gifts), has been regarded as deserving of gifts. Righteousness becomes unrighteousness, and unrighteousness becomes righteousness, according to the character of the doer, of time, and of place. [This has been repeatedly laid down in the Hindu scriptures. Gifts produce no merit unless made to deserving persons. If made to the undeserving, instead of ceasing to produce any merit, they become positively sinful. The considerations of time and place also are to be attended to. By failing to attend to them, sin is incurred where merit is expected. Truth becomes as sinful as a lie, under particular circumstances; and a falsehood becomes as meritorious as truth under circumstances. The Hindu scriptures make circumstance the test of acts.] Sin is cast off like the filth on one's body,--a little with a little exertion and a greater quantity when the exertion is greater. A person, after purging his bowels, should take ghee, which operates most beneficially on his system (as a healthy tonic). After the same manner, when one has cleansed oneself of all faults and sets oneself to the acquisition of righteousness, that righteousness, in the next world, proves to be productive of the highest happiness. Good and evil thoughts exist in the minds of all creatures. Withdrawing the mind from evil thoughts, it should always be directed towards good thoughts. One should always reverence the practices of one's own order. Do thou strive, therefore, to act in such a way that thou mayst have faith in the practices of thy own order. O thou that art endued with an impatient soul, betake thyself to the practice of patience. O thou that art of a foolish understanding, seek thou to be possessed of intelligence! Destitute of tranquillity, seek thou to be tranquil, and bereft of wisdom as thou art, do thou seek to act wisely! He who moves in the companionship of the righteous succeeds, by his own energy, in acquiring the means of accomplishing what is beneficial for him both in this and the next world. Verily, the root of the benefit (which thus becomes his here and hereafter) is unwavering firmness. The royal sage Mahabhisha, through want of this firmness, fell from heaven. Yayati, also, though his merits had become exhausted (in consequence of his boastfulness and thought was hurled down from heaven) succeeded in regaining regions of felicity through his firmness. Thou art sure to attain to great intelligence, as also to what is for thy highest good, by paying court to virtuous and learned persons possessed of ascetic merit.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Hearing these words of the sage, king Vasuman, possessed of a good disposition, withdrawing his mind from the pursuits of desire, set it upon the acquisition of Righteousness.'"

SECTION 311

"Yudhishthira said, 'It behoveth thee, O grandsire, to discourse to me on that which is freed from duty and its reverse, which is freed from every doubt, which transcends birth and death, as also virtue and sin, which is auspiciousness, which is eternal fearlessness, which is Eternal and Indestructible, and Immutable, which is always Pure, and which is ever free from the toil of exertion.'

"Bhishma said, 'I shall in this connection recite to thee the old narrative, O Bharata, of the discourse between Yajnavalkya and Janaka. Once on a time the famous king Daivarati of Janaka's race, fully conversant with the import of all questions, addressed this question to Yajnavalkya, that foremost of Rishis.

"'Janaka said, 'O regenerate Rishi, how many kinds of senses are there? How many kinds also are there of Prakriti? What is the Unmanifest and highest Brahma? What is higher than Brahma? What is birth and what is death? What are the limits of Age? It behoveth thee, O foremost of Brahmanas, to discourse on all these topics unto me that am solicitous of obtaining thy grace; I am ignorant while thou art an Ocean of knowledge. Hence, I ask thee! Verily, I desire to hear thee discourse on all these subjects!

"'Yajnavalkya said, Hear, O monarch, what I say in an answer to these questions of thine, I shall impart to thee the high knowledge which Yogins value, and especially that which is possessed by the Sankhyas. Nothing is unknown to thee. Still thou askest me. One however, that is questioned should answer. This is the eternal practice. Eight principles have been called by the name of Prakriti, while sixteen have been called modifications. Of Manifest, there are seven. These are the views of those persons who are conversant with the science of Adhyatma. The Unmanifest (or original Prakriti), Mahat, Consciousness, and the five subtile elements of Earth, Wind, Space, Water, and Light,--these eight are known by the name of Prakriti. Listen now to the enumeration of those called modifications. They are the ear, the skin, the tongue, and the nose; and sound, touch, form, taste, and scent, as also speech, the two arms, the two feet, the lower duct (within the body), and the organs of pleasure. Amongst these, the ten beginning with sound, and having their origin in the five great principles, are called Visesha. The five senses of knowledge are called Savisesha, O ruler of Mithila. Persons conversant with the Science of Adhyatma regard the mind as the sixteenth. This is conformable to thy own views as also to those of other learned men well acquainted with the truths about principles. From the Unmanifest, O king, springs the Mahat-soul. The learned say this to be the first creation relating to Pradhana (or Prakriti): From Mahat, O king of men, is produced Consciousness. This has been called the second creation having the Understanding for its essence. From Consciousness hath sprung the Mind which is the essence of sound and the others that are the attributes of space and the rest. This is the third creation, said to relate to Consciousness. From mind have sprung the great elements, (numbering five), O king! Know that this is the fourth creation called mental, as I say. Persons conversant with the primal elements say that Sound and Touch and Form and Taste and Scent are the fifth creation, relating to the Great (primal) elements. The creation of the Ear, the Skin, the Tongue, and the Scent, forms the sixth and is regarded as having for its essence multiplicity of thought. The senses that come after the Ear and the others (i.e., the senses of action) then arise, O monarch. This is called seventh creation and relates to the senses of Knowledge. Then, O monarch, come the breath that rises upward (viz., Prana) and those that have a transverse motion (viz., Saman, Udana, and Vyana). This is the eighth creation and is called Arjjava. Then come those breaths that course transversely in the lower parts of the body (viz., Samana, Udana and Vyana) and also that called Apana coursing downwards. This, ninth creation, is also called Arjjava, O king. These nine kinds of creation, and these principles, O monarch, which latter number four and twenty, are declared to thee according to what has been laid down in the scriptures. After this, O king, listen to me as I tell thee durations of time as indicated by the learned in respect of these principles or attribute.'"

SECTION 312

"Yajnavalkya said, Listen to me, O foremost of men, as I tell thee what the duration of time is in respect to the Unmanifest (or the Supreme Purusha). Ten thousand Kalpas are said to constitute a single day of his. The duration of his night is equal. When his night expires, he awakes, O monarch, and first creates herbs and plants which constitute the sustenance of all embodied creatures. He then creates Brahman who springs from a golden egg. That Brahman is the form of all created things, as has been heard by us. Having dwelt for one whole year within that egg, the great ascetic Brahman, called also Prajapati (Lord of all creatures), came out of it and created the whole Earth, and the Heaven above. The Lord then, it is read in the Vedas, O king, placed the sky between Heaven and Earth separated from each other. Seven thousand and five hundred Kalpas measure the day of Brahman. Persons conversant with the science of Adhyatma say that his night also is of an equal duration. Brahmana, called Mahan, then creates Consciousness called Bhuta and endued with excellent essence. Before creating any physical bodies out of the ingredients called the Great elements, Mahan or Brahma, endued with penances, created four others called his sons. They are the sires of the original sires, O Best of kings, as heard by us. It hath been also heard by us, O monarch that the senses (of knowledge) along with the four inner faculties, have sprung from the (five Great elements called) Pitris, and that the entire universe of mobile and immobile Beings has been filled with those Great elements. [Devah's is explained by the commentator as meaning the Senses and the four inner faculties. Devaih he thinks, refers to the Bhutas or Great elements. Literally rendered, the verse would read as 'the Devas are the Children of the Pitris; with the Devas, all the worlds of Mobile Being have been covered.' It is not safe to reject the learned commentator.] The puissant Consciousness created the five Bhutas. These are Earth, Wind, Space, Water, and Light numbering the fifth. This Consciousness (who is a Great Being and) from whom springs the third creating, has five thousand Kalpas for his night, and his day is of equal duration. Sound, Touch, Form, Taste, and Scent,--these five are called Visesha. They inhere into the five great Bhutas. All creatures, O king, incessantly pervaded by these five, desire one another's companionship, become subservient to one another; and challenging one another, transcend one another; and led by those immutable and seductive principles, creatures kill one another and wander in this world entering into numerous orders of Being. Three thousands of Kalpas represent the duration of their day. The measure of their night also is the same. The Mind roveth over all things, O king, led on by the Senses. The Senses do not perceive anything. It is the Mind that perceives through them. The Eye sees forms when aided by the Mind but never by itself. When the Mind is distracted, the Eye fails to perceive with even the objects fully before it. It is commonly said that the Senses perceive. This is not true, for it is the Mind that perceives through the Senses. When the cessation takes place of the activity of the Mind, the cessation of the activity of the

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Senses follows. That is the cessation of the activity of the Senses which is the cessation of the activity of the Mind. One should thus regard the Senses to be under the domination of the Mind. Indeed, the Mind is said to be the Lord of all the Senses. O thou of great fame, these are all the twenty Bhutas in the Universe.'"

SECTION 313

"Yajnavalkya said, I have, one after another, told thee the order of the creation, with their total number, of the various principles, as also the extent of the duration of each. Listen now to me as I tell thee of their destruction. Listen to me how Brahman, who is eternal and undecaying, and who is without beginning and without end, repeatedly creates and destroys all created objects. When his day expires and night comes, he becomes desirous of sleep. At such a time the unmanifest and holy one urges the Being called Maharudra, who is conscious of his great powers, (for destroying the world). Urged by the unmanifest, that Being assuming the form of Surya of hundreds of thousands of rays, divides himself into a dozen portions each resembling a blazing fire. He then consumes with his energy, O monarch, without any loss of time, the four kinds of created beings, viz., viviparous, oviparous, filth-born, and vegetable. Within the twinkling of the eye all mobile and immobile creatures being thus destroyed, the Earth becomes on every side as bare as a tortoise shell. Having burnt everything on the face of the Earth, Rudra, of immeasurable might, then quickly fills the bare Earth with Water possessed of great force. He then creates the Yuga-fire which dries up that Water (into which the bare Earth has been dissolved). The Water disappearing, the great element of Fire continues to blaze fiercely. Then comes the mighty Wind of immeasurable force, in his eight forms, who swallows up quickly that blazing fire of transcendent force, possessed of seven flames, and identifiable with the heat existing every creature. Having swallowed up that fire, the Wind courses in every direction, upwards, downwards, and transversely. Then space of immeasurable existent swallowed up that Wind of transcendent energy. Then Mind cheerfully swallows up that immeasurable Space. Then that Lord of all creatures, viz., Consciousness, who is the Soul of every-thing, swallows up the Mind. Consciousness, in his turn, is swallowed up by the Mahat-soul who is conversant with the Past, the Present, and the Future. The incomparable Mahat-soul or Universe is then swallowed up by Sambhu, that Lord of all things, to whom the Yoga attributes of Anima, Laghima, Prapti, etc., naturally inhere, who is regarded as the Supreme and pure Effulgence that is Immutable. His hands and feet extend over every part; his eyes and head and face are everywhere, his ears reach every place, and he exists overwhelming all things. He is the heart of all creatures; His measure is of a digit of the thumb. That Infinite and supreme Soul, that Lord of all, thus swallows up the Universe. After this, what remains is the Undecaying and the Immutable. One who is without defect of any kind, who is the Creator of the Past, the Present, and the Future; and who is perfectly faultless, I have thus, O monarch, duly told thee of Destruction. I shall now discourse to thee on the subjects of Adhyatma, Adhibhuta, and Adhidaivata.--'"

SECTION 314

'Yajnavalkya said, Brahmanas conversant with the topics of enquiry speak of the two feet as Adhyatma, the act of walking as Adhibhuta, and Vishnu as Adhidaivatam (of those two limbs). The lower duct (anal canal) is Adhyatma; its function of throwing out the excreta is Adhibhuta, and Mitra (Surya) is the Adhidaivata (of that organ). The organ of generation is called Adhyatma. Its agreeable function is called Adhibhuta, and Prajapati is its Adhidaivata. The hands are Adhyatma; their function as represented by acts is Adhibhuta; and Indra is the Adhidaivata of those limbs. The organs of speech are Adhyatma; the words uttered by them are Adhibhuta; and Agni is their Adhidaivata. The eye is Adhyatma; vision or form is its Adhibhuta; and Surya is the Adhidaivata of that organ. The ear is Adhyatma; sound is Adhibhuta; and the points of the horizon are its Adhidaivata. The tongue is Adhyatma, taste is its Adhibhuta; and Water is its Adhidaivata. The sense of scent is Adhyatma; odour is its Adhibhuta; and Earth is its Adhidaivata. The skin is Adhyatma; touch is its Adhibhuta; and Wind is its Adhidaivata. Mind has been called Adhyatma; that with which the Mind is employed is Adhibhuta; and Chandramas is its Adhidaivata. Consciousness is Adhyatma; conviction in one's identity with Prakriti is its Adhibhuta; and Mahat or Buddhi is its Adhidaivata. Buddhi is Adhyatma; that which is to be understood is its Adhibhuta; and Kshetrajna is its Adhidaivata. I have thus truly expounded to thee, O king, with its details taken individually, the puissance of the Supreme (in manifesting Himself in different forms) in the beginning, the middle, and the end, O thou that art fully conversant with the nature of the original topics or principles. Prakriti, cheerfully and of her own accord, as if for sport, O monarch, produces, by undergoing modifications herself, thousands and thousands of combinations of her original transformations called Gunahs. As men can light thousands of lamps from but a single lamp, after the same manner Prakriti, by modification, multiplies into thousands of existent objects the (three) attributes (of Sattwa and Rajas and Tamas) of Purusha. Patience, joy, prosperity, satisfaction, brightness of all faculties, happiness, purity, health, contentment, faith, liberality, compassion, forgiveness, firmness, benevolence, equanimity, truth, acquittance of obligations, mildness, modesty, calmness, external purity, simplicity, observance of obligatory practices, dispassionateness, fearlessness of heart, disregard for the appearance or otherwise of good and evil as also for past acts,--appropriation of objects only when obtained by gift, the absence of cupidity, regard for the interests of others, compassion for all creatures,--these have been said to be the qualities that attach to the attribute of Sattwa. The tale of qualities attaching to the attribute of Rajas consists of pride of personal beauty, assertion of lordship, war, disclination to give, absence of compassion, enjoyment and enduring of happiness and misery, pleasure in speaking ill of others, indulgence in quarrels and disputes of every kind, arrogance, discourtesy, anxiety, indulgence in hostilities, sorrow, appropriation of what belongs to others, shamelessness, crookedness, disunions, roughness, lust, wrath, pride, assertion of superiority, malice, and calumny. These are said to spring from the attributes of Rajas. I shall now tell thee of that assemblage of qualities which springs from Tamas. They are stupefaction of judgement, obscuration of every faculty, darkness and blind darkness. By darkness is implied death, and by blind darkness is meant wrath. Besides these, the other indications of Tamas are greediness in respect of all kinds of food, ceaseless appetite for both food and drink, taking pleasure in scents and robes and sports and beds and seats and sleep during the day and calumny and all kinds of acts proceeding from heedlessness, taking pleasure, from ignorance (of purer sources of joy) in dancing and instrumental and vocal music, and aversion for every kind of religion. These, indeed, are the indications of Tamas--'"

SECTION 315

"'Yajnavalkya said, These three, O foremost of men, (viz., Sattwa, Rajas, and Tamas), are the attributes of Prakriti. These attach to all things of the universe and always inhere to them. The Unmanifest Purusha endued with the six Yoga attributes transforms himself by himself into hundreds and thousands and millions and millions of forms (by embracing these three attributes). Those that are conversant with the science of Adhyatma, say that unto the attribute of Sattwa is assigned a high, unto Rajas a middling, and unto Tamas, a low place in the universe. By the aid of unmixed righteousness one attains to a high end (viz., that of the deities or other celestial beings). Through righteousness mixed with sin one attains to the status of humanity. While through unmixed sin one sinks into a vile end (by becoming an animal or a vegetable etc.). Listen now to me, O king, as I speak to thee of the intermixture or compounds of the three attributes of Sattwa, Rajas, and Tamas. Sometimes Rajas is seen existing with Sattwa. Tamas also exists with Rajas. With Tamas may also be seen Sattwa. Then also may Sattwa and Rajas and Tamas be seen existing together and in equal proportions. They constitute the Unmanifest or Prakriti. When the Unmanifest (Purusha) becomes endued with only Sattwa, he attains to the regions of the deities. Endued with both Sattwa and Rajas, he takes birth among human beings. Endued with Rajas and Tawas, he takes birth among the intermediate order of Being. Endued with all three, viz., Sattwa and Rajas and Tamas, he attains to the status of humanity. Those high souled persons that transcend both righteousness and sin, attain it is said, to that place which is eternal, immutable, undecaying, and immortal. Men of knowledge attain to births that are very superior, and their place is faultless and undecaying, transcending the ken of the senses, free from ignorance, above birth and death, and full of light that dispels all kinds of darkness. Thou hadst asked me about the nature of the Supreme residing in the Unmanifest, (viz., Purusha). I shall tell thee, Listen to me, O king, Even when residing in Prakriti, He is said to reside in His own nature without partaking of the nature of Prakriti. Prakriti, O king, is inanimate and unintelligent. When presided over by Purusha, then only can she create and destroy.

"'Janaka said, Both Prakriti and Purusha, O thou of great intelligence, are without beginning and without end. Both of them are without form. Both of them are undecaying. Both of them, again, incomprehensible. How then, O foremost of Rishis, can it be said that one of them is inanimate and unintelligent? How, again, is the other said to be animate and intelligent? And why is the latter called Kshetrajna? Thou, O foremost of Brahmanas, art fully conversant with the entire religion of Emancipation. I desire to hear in detail of the religion of Emancipation in its entirety. Do thou discourse to me then of the existence and Oneness of Purusha, of his separateness from Prakriti, of the deities which attach to the body of the place to which embodied creatures repair when they die, and that place to which they may ultimately, in course of time, be able to go. Tell me also of the Knowledge described in the Sankhya system, and of the Yoga system separately. It behoveth thee also to speak of the premonitory symptoms of death, O best of men. All these topics are well known to thee even as an (emblic) myrobalan in thy hand!'"

SECTION 316

"'Yajnavalkya said, That which is without attributes, O son, can never be explained by ascribing attributes to it. Listen, however, to me as I expound to thee what is possessed of attributes and what is devoid of them. High-souled Munis conversant with the truth regarding all the topics or principles say that when Purusha seizes attributes like a crystal catching the reflection of a red flower, he comes to be called as possessed of attributes; but when freed from attributes like the crystal freed from reflection, he comes to be viewed in his real nature, that is, as beyond all attributes. Unmanifest Prakriti is by her nature endued with attributes. She cannot transcend them. Destitute of intelligence by nature, she becomes attached to attributes. Unmanifest Prakriti cannot know anything, while Purusha, by his nature, is possessed of knowledge,--There is nothing higher than myself,--even this is what Purusha is always conscious of. For this reason the unmanifest (or Prakriti), although naturally inanimate and unintelligent, still becomes animate and intelligent in consequence of her union with Purusha who is Eternal and Indestructible instead of remaining in her own nature due to destructibility. When Purusha, through ignorance, repeatedly becomes associated with attributes, he fails to understand his own real nature and therefore he fails to attain to Emancipation. In consequence Purusha's lordship over the principles that flow from Prakriti, he is said to partake of the nature of those principles. In consequence also of his agency in the matter of creation, he is said to possess the attribute of creation. In consequence of his agency in the matter of Yoga, he is said to possess the attribute of Yoga. For his lordship over those particular principles known by the name of Prakriti, he is said to possess the nature of Prakriti. For his agency in the matter of creating the seeds (of all immobile objects), he is said to partake of the nature of those seeds. And because he causes the several principles or attributes to start into life, he is, therefore, said to be subject to decay and destruction (for those principles themselves are subject thereto). In consequence, again, of his being the witness of everything, and in consequence also of there being nothing else than he, as also for his consciousness of identity with Prakriti, Yatis crowned with ascetic success, conversant with Adhyatma, and freed from fever of every kind, regard him as existing by himself without a second, immutable, unmanifest (in the form of Cause), unstable, and manifest (in the form of effects). This is what has been heard by us. Those Sankhyas, however, that depend upon Knowledge only (for their Emancipation) and the practice of compassion for all creatures, say that it is Prakriti which is One but Purushas are many. As a matter of fact, Purusha is different from Prakriti which though unstable, still appears as stable. As a blade of reed is different from its outer cover, even so is Purusha different from Prakriti. Indeed, the worm that is ensconced within the Udumvara should be known as different from the Udumvara. Though existing with the Udumvara, the worm is not to be regarded as forming a portion of the Udumvara. The fish is distinct from the water in which it lives, and the water is distinct from the fish that lives in it. Though the fish and water exist together, yet it is never drenched by water. The fire that is contained in an earthen sauce pan is distinct from the earthen sauce pan, and the sauce pan is distinct from the fire it contains. Although the fire exists in and with the sauce pan, yet it is not to be regarded as forming any part of it. The lotus-leaf that floats on a piece of water is distinct from the piece of water on which it floats. Its co-existence with water does not make it a portion of the water. The perennial existence of those objects in and with those mentioned, is never correctly understood by ordinary people. They who behold Prakriti and Purusha in any other light are said to possess a vision that is incorrect. It is certain that they have repeatedly to sink into terrible hell. I have thus told thee the philosophy of the Sankhyas that excellent science by which all things have been correctly ascertained. Ascertaining the nature of Purusha and Prakriti in this way, the Sankhyas attain to Emancipation. I have also told thee of the systems of those others that are conversant with the great principles of the universe. I shall now discourse to thee on the science of the Yogins.'"

SECTION 317

"Yajnavalkya said, I have already spoken to thee of the science of the Sankhyas. Listen now to me as I truly discourse on the science of the Yogins as heard and seen by me, O best of kings! There is no knowledge that can compare with that of the Sankhyas. There is no puissance that compares with that of Yoga. These two ordain the same practices, and both are regarded as capable of leading to Emancipation. Those men that are not blest with intelligence regard the Sankhya and the Yoga systems to be different from each other. We, however, O king, look upon them as one and the same, according to the conclusion to which we have arrived (after

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study and reflection). That which the Yogins have in view is the very same which the Sankhyas also have in view. He who sees both the Sankhya and the Yoga systems to be one and the same is to be regarded as truly conversant with the topics or principles that ordain the universe. Know, O king, that the vital breaths and the senses are the chief means for practising Yoga. By only regulating those breaths and the senses, Yogins wander everywhere at their will. When the gross body is destroyed, Yogins endued with subtile bodies possessed of the eight Yoga attributes of Anima, Laghima, Prapti, etc., wander over the universe, enjoying (in that body) all kinds of felicities, O sinless one. The wise have, in the scriptures, spoken of Yoga as conferring eight kinds of puissance. They have spoken of Yoga as possessed of eight limbs. [The eight limbs of Yoga are Pranayama, Pratyahara, Dhyana, Dharana, Tarka, Samadhi, with the two additional ones of Yama and Niyama.] Indeed, O king, they have not spoken of any other kind of Yoga. It has been said that the practices of Yogins excellent as these are (for their results), are of two kinds. Those two kinds, according to the indications occurring in the scriptures, are practices endued with attributes and those freed from attributes. The concentration of the mind on the sixteen objects named, with simultaneous regulation of the breath, O king, is one kind. The concentration of the mind in such a way as to destroy all difference between the contemplator, the object contemplated, and the act of contemplation along with subjugation of the senses, is of another kind. The first kind of Yoga is said to be that possessed of attributes; the second kind is said to be that freed from attributes. Then, again, Regulation of the breath is Yoga with attributes. In Yoga without attributes, the mind, freed from its functions, should be fixed. Only the regulation of the breath which is said to be endued with attributes should, in the first instance, be practised, for, O ruler of Mithila, if the breath (that is inhaled and suspended) be exhaled without mentally reflecting the while upon a definite image (furnished by a limited mantra), the wind in the neophyte's system will increase to his great injury. In the first Yama of the night, twelve ways of holding the breath are recommended. Alter sleep, in the last Yama of the night, other twelve ways of doing the same have been laid down. Without doubt, one endued with tranquillity, of subdued senses, living in retirement, rejoicing in one's own self, and fully conversant with the import of the scriptures, should (regulating one's breath in these four and twenty ways) fix one's Soul (on the Supreme Soul). Dispelling the five faults of the five senses, viz., (withdrawing them from their objects of) sound, form, touch, taste, and scent, and dispelling those conditions called Pratibha and Apavarga, O ruler of the Mithilas, all the senses should be fixed upon the mind. The mind should then be fixed on Consciousness, O king, Consciousness should next be fixed on intelligence or Buddhi, and Buddhi, should then be fixed on Prakriti. Thus merging these one after another, Yogins contemplate the Supreme Soul which is One, which is freed from Rajas, which is stainless, which is Immutable and Infinite and Pure and without defect, who is Eternal Purusha, who is unchangeable, who is Indivisible, who is without decay and death, who is everlasting, who transcends diminution, and which is Immutable Brahma. Listen now, O monarch, to the indications of one that is in Yoga. All the indications of cheerful contentment that are his who is slumbering in contentment are seen in the person, that is in Samadhi. The person in Samadhi, the wise say, looks like the fixed and upward flame of a lamp that is full of oil and that burns in a breezeless spot. He is like a rock which is incapable of being moved in the slightest degree by ever a heavy downpour from the clouds. He is incapable of being moved by the din of conches and drums, or by songs or the sound of hundreds of musical instruments beat or blown together. Even this is the indication of one in Samadhi. As a man of cool courage and determination, while ascending a flight of steps with a vessel full of oil in his hands, does not spill even a drop of the liquid if frightened and threatened by persons armed with weapons even so the Yogin, when his mind has been concentrated and when he beholds the Supreme Soul in Samadhi, does not, in consequence of the entire stoppage of the functions of his senses at such a time, move in the slightest degree. Even these should be known to be the indication of the Yogin while he is in Samadhi. While in Samadhi, the Yogin beholds Brahma which is Supreme and Immutable, and which is situated like a blazing Effulgence in the midst of thick Darkness. It is by this means that he attains, after many years, to Emancipation after casting off this inanimate body. Even this is what the eternal Sruti declares. This is called the Yoga of the Yogins. What else is it? Knowing it, they that are endued with wisdom regard themselves as crowned with success,--

SECTION 318

'Yajnavalkya said, Listen now to me, with attention, O king, as to what the places are to which those who die have to go. If the Jiva-soul escapes through the feet, it is said that the man goes to the region of the Vishnu. If through the calves, it has been heard by us, that the man repairs to the regions of the Vasus. if through the knees, he attains to the companionship of those deities that are called Sadhyas. If through the lower duct, the man attains to the regions of Mitra. If through the posteriors, the man returns to the Earth, and if through the thighs to the region of Prajapati. If through the flanks, the man attains to the regions of the Maruts, and if through the nostrils, to the region of Chandramas. If through arms, the man goes to the region of Indra, and if through the chest, to that of Rudra. If through the neck, the man repairs to the excellent region of that foremost of ascetics known by the name of Nara. If through the mouth, the man attains to the region of the Viswadevas and if through the ears, to the region of the deities of the several points of the horizon. If through the nose, the man attains to the region of the Windgod; and if through the eyes, to the region of Agni. If through the brows, the man goes to the region of the Aswins; and if through the forehead, to that of Pitris. If through the crown of the head, the man attains to the region of the puissant Brahman, that foremost of the gods. I have thus told thee, O ruler of Mithila, the several places to which men repair according to the manner in which their Jiva-souls escape from their bodies. I shall now tell thee the premonitory indication, as laid down by the wise of those who have but one year to live. One, who having previously seen the fixed star called Arandhati, fails to see it, or that other star called Dhruva [The pole-star.], or one that sees the full Moon or the flame of a burning lamp to be broken towards the south, has but one year to live. Those men, O king, who can no longer see images of themselves reflected in the eyes of others, have but one year to live. One, who, being endued with lustre loses it, or being endued with wisdom loses it,--indeed, one whose inward and outward nature is thus changed,--has but six months more to live. He, who disregards the deities, or quarrels with the Brahmanas, or one, who, being naturally of a dark complexion becomes pale of hue, has but six months more to live. One, who sees the lunar disc to have many holes like a spider's web, or one, who sees the solar disc to have similar holes has but one week more to live. One, who, when smelling fragrant scents in place of worship, perceives them to be as offensive as the scent of corpses, has but one week more to live. The depression of the nose or of the ears, the discolour of the teeth or of the eye, the loss of all consciousness, and the loss also of all animal heat, are symptoms indicating death that very day. If, without any perceptible cause a stream of tears suddenly flows from one's left eye, and if vapours be seen to issue from one's head, that is a sure indication that the man will die before that day expires. Knowing all these premonitory symptoms, the man of cleansed soul should day and night unite his soul with the Supreme Soul (in Samadhi). Thus should he go on till the day-comes for his dissolution. If, however, instead of wishing to die he desires to live in this world, he casts off all enjoyments,--all scents and tastes,--O king, and lives on in abstinence. He thus conquers death by fixing his soul on the Supreme Soul. Indeed, the man, who is blessed with knowledge of the Soul, O monarch, practises the course of life recommended by the Sankhyas and conquers death by uniting his soul with the Supreme Soul. At last, he attains to what is entirely indestructible, which is without birth, which is auspicious, and immutable, and eternal, and stable, and which is incapable of being attained to by men of uncleansed souls.'"

SECTION 319

"Yajnavalkya said, 'Thou hast asked me, O monarch, of that Supreme Brahma which resides in the Unmanifest. Thy question relates to a deep mystery. Listen to me with close attention, O king! Having conducted myself with humility according to the ordinances laid down by the Rishis I obtained the Yajushes, O king, from Surya. Without the austerest penances I formerly adored the heat-giving deity. The puissant Surya, O sinless one, gratified with me, saying,--Solicit thou, O regenerate Rishi, the boon upon which thou hast set thy heart, however, difficult it may be of acquisition, I shall, with cheerful Soul, grant it to thee. It is very difficult to incline me to grace! Bowing unto him with a bend of my head, that foremost of heat-giving luminaries was addressed by me in these words, I have no knowledge of the Yajushes. I desire to know them without loss of time!--The holy one, thus solicited, told me,--I shall impart the Yajushes unto thee. Made up of the essence of speech, the goddess Saraswati will enter into thy body. The deity then commanded me to open my mouth. I did as I was commanded. The goddess Saraswati then entered into my body, O sinless one. At this, I began to burn. Unable to endure the pain I plunged into a stream. Not understanding that what the high-souled Surya had done for me was for my good, I became even angry with him. While I was burning with the energy of the goddess, the holy Surya told me,--Do thou endure this burning sensation for only a little while. That will soon cease and thou wilt be cool. Indeed I became cool. Seeing me restored to ease, the Maker of light said unto me,--The whole Vedas, with even those parts that are regarded as its appendix, together with the Upanishads, will appear in thee by inward light, O regenerate one! The entire Satapathas also thou wilt edit, O foremost of regenerate ones. After that, thy understanding will turn to the path of Emancipation. Thou wilt also attain to that end which is desirable and which is coveted by both Sankhyas and Yogins!--Having said these words unto me, the divine Surya proceeded to the Asta hills. Hearing his last words, and after he had departed from the spot where I was, I came home in joy and then remembered the goddess Saraswati. Thought of by me, the auspicious Saraswati appeared instantly before my eyes, adorned with all the vowels and the consonants and having placed the syllable Om in the van, I then, according to the ordinance, offered unto the goddess the usual Arghya, and dedicated another to Surya, that foremost of all heat-giving deities. Discharging this duty I took my seat, devoted to both those deities. Thereupon, the entire Satapatha Brahmanas, with all their mysteries and with all their abstracts as also their appendices, appeared of themselves before my mental vision, at which I became filled with great joy. I then taught them to a hundred good disciples and thereby did what was disagreeable to my high-souled maternal uncle (Vaisampayana) with the disciples gathered round him. [Vipriya evidently means 'what is not agreeable.' There was evidently a dispute between Yajnavalkya and his maternal uncle Vaisampayana, the celebrated disciple of Vyasa. This dispute is particularly referred to in the next verse. Vaisampayana had been a recognised teacher of the Vedas and had collected a large number of disciples around him. When, therefore, the nephew Yajnavalkya, having obtaining the Vedas from Surya, began to teach them, he was naturally looked upon with a jealousy, which culminated into an open dispute about the Dakshina to be appropriated in the Sacrifice of Janaka.] Then shining in the midst of my disciples like the Sun himself with his rays, I took the management of the Sacrifice of thy high-souled sire, O king. In that Sacrifice a dispute arose between me and my maternal uncle as to who should be permitted to appropriate the Dakshina that was paid for the recitation of the Vedas. In the very presence of Devala, I took half of that Dakshina (the other half going to my maternal uncle). Thy sire and Sumantra and Paila and Jaimini and other articles all acquiesced in that arrangement.

'I had thus got from Surya the five times ten Yajushes, O monarch. I then studied the Puranas with Romaharshan. Keeping before me those (original) Mantras and the goddess Saraswati I, then, O king, aided by the inspiration of Surya, set myself to compile the excellent Satapatha Brahmanas, and succeeded in achieving the task never before undertaken by any one else. That path which I had desired to take has been taken by me and I have also taught it to my disciples. Indeed, the whole of those Vedas with their abstracts have been imparted by me to those disciples of mine. Pure in mind and body, all those disciples have, in consequence of my instructions, become filled with joy. Having established (for the use of others) this knowledge consisting of fifty branches which I had obtained from Surya, I now meditate on the great object of that knowledge viz., (Brahma). The Gandharva Viswavasu, well-conversant with the Vedanta scriptures, desirous, O king, of ascertaining what is beneficial for the Brahmanas in this knowledge and what truth occurs in it, and what is the excellent object of this knowledge, one questioned me. He put to me altogether four and twenty questions, O king, relating to the Vedas. Finally, he asked me a question, numbered twenty-fifth which relates to that branch of knowledge which is concerned with the inferences of ratiocination. Those questions are as follows: What is universe and what is not-universe? What is Aswa and what Aswa? What is Mitra? What is Varuna? What is Knowledge? What is Object of knowledge? What is Unintelligent? What is Intelligent? Who is Kah? Who is possessed of the principle of change? Who is not possessed of the same? What is he that devours the Sun and what is the Sun? What is Vidya and what is Avidya? What is Immobile and what Mobile? What is without beginning, what is Indestructible, and what is Destructible? These were the excellent questions put to me by that foremost of Gandharvas. After king Viswavasu, that foremost of Gandharvas, had asked me these questions one after another, I answered them properly. At first, however, I told him, Wait for a brief space of time, till I reflect on thy questions! So be it, Gandharva said, and sat in silence. I then thought once again of the goddess Saraswati in my mind. The replies then to those questions naturally arose in my mind like butter from curds. Keeping in view the high science of inferential ratiocination, I churned with my mind, O monarch, the Upanishads and the supplementary scriptures relating to the Vedas. The fourth science then that treats of Emancipation, O foremost of kings, and on which I have already discoursed to thee, and which is based upon the twenty-fifth, viz., Jiva, I then expounded to him. Having said all this, O monarch, to king Viswavasu, I then addressed him, saying, Listen now to the answers that I give unto the several questions that thou hast put to me. I now turn to the question, which, O Gandharva, thou askest, viz., What is Universe and what is not-universe? The Universe is Unmanifest and original Prakriti endued with the principles of birth and death which are terrible (to those that are desirous of Emancipation). It is, besides, possessed of the three attributes (of Sattwa, Rajas, and Tamas), in consequence of its producing principles all of

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which are fraught with those attributes. That which is Not-universe is Purusha divested of all attributes. By Aswa and Aswa are meant the female and the male, i.e., the former is Prakriti and the latter is Purusha. Similarly, Mitra is Purusha, and Varuna is Prakriti. Knowledge, again, is said to be Prakriti, while the object to be known is called Purusha. The Ignorant (Jiva), and the Knowing or Intelligent are both Purusha without attributes (for it is Purusha that becomes Jiva when invested with Ignorance). Thou hast asked what is Kah, who is endued with change and who is unendued therewith. I answer, Kah is Purusha. That which is endued with change is Prakriti. He that is not endued therewith is Purusha. Similarly, that which is called Avidya (the unknowable) is Prakriti; and that which is called Vidya is Purusha. Thou hast asked me about the Mobile and the Immobile. Listen to what my answer is. That which is mobile is Prakriti, which undergoing modification, constitutes the cause of Creation and Destruction. The Immobile is Purusha, for without himself undergoing modifications he assists at Creation and Destruction. (According to a different system of philosophy) that which is Vedya is Prakriti; while that which is Avedya is Purusha. Both Prakriti and Purusha are said to be unintelligent, stable, indestructible, unborn, and eternal, according to the conclusions arrived at by philosophers conversant with the topics included in the name of Adhyatma. In consequence of the indestructibility of Prakriti in the matter of Creation, Prakriti, which is unborn, is regarded as not subject to decay or destruction. Purusha, again, is indestructible and unchangeable, for change it has none. The attributes that reside in Prakriti are destructible, but not Prakriti herself. The learned, therefore, call Prakriti indestructible. Prakriti also, by undergoing modifications, operates as the cause of Creation. The created results appear and disappear, but not original Prakriti. Hence also is Prakriti called indestructible. Thus have I told thee conclusions of the Fourth Science based on the principles of ratiocinative inference and having Emancipation for its end. Having acquired by the science of ratiocinative inference and by waiting upon preceptors, the Rich, the Samans, and the Yajushes, all the obligatory practices should be observed and all the Vedas studied with reverence, O Viswavasu! O foremost of Gandharvas, they who study the Vedas with all their branches but who do not know the Supreme Soul from which all things take their birth and into which all things merge when destruction comes, and which is the one object whose knowledge the Vedas seek to inculcate, Indeed, they, who have no acquaintance with that which the Vedas seek to establish, study the Vedas to no purpose and bear their burthen of such study in vain. If a person desirous of butter churns the milk of the she-ass, without finding what he seeks he simply meets with a substance that is as foul of smell as ordure. After the same manner, if one, having studied the Vedas, fails to comprehend what is Prakriti and what is Purusha, one only proves one's own foolishness of understanding and bears a useless burthen (in the form of Vedic lore). 1 One should, with devoted attention, reflect on both Prakriti and Purusha, so that one may avoid repeated birth and death. Reflection upon the fact of one's repeated births and deaths and avoiding the religion of acts that is productive at best of destructible results, one should betake oneself to the indestructible religion of Yoga. O Kasyapa, if one continuously on the nature of the Jiva-soul and its connection with the Supreme Soul, one then succeeds in divesting oneself on all attributes and in beholding the Supreme Soul. The Eternal and Unmanifest Supreme Soul is regarded by men of foolish understandings to be different from the twenty-fifth or Jiva-soul. They are endued with wisdom that behold both these as truly one and the same. Frightened at repeated births and deaths, the Sankhyas and Yogins regard the Jiva-soul and the Supreme Soul to be one and the same.'

"Viswavasu then said, 'Thou hast, O foremost of Brahmanas, said that Jiva-soul is indestructible and truly undistinguished from the Supreme Soul. This, however, is difficult to understand. It behoveth thee to once more discourse on this topic to me. I have heard discourses on this subject from Jaigishavya, Aista, Devala, the regenerate sage Parasara, the intelligent Varshaganya, Bhrigu, Panchasikha Kapila, Suka, Gautama, Arshtisena, the high-souled Garga, Narada, Asuri, the intelligent Paulastya, Sanatkumara, the high-souled Sukra, and my sire Kasyapa. Subsequently I heard the discourses of Rudra and the intelligent Viswarupa, of several of the deities, of the Pitris. and the Daityas. I have acquired all that they say, for they generally discourse that eternal object of all knowledge. I desire, however, to hear what thou mayst say on those topics with the aid of thy intelligence. Thou art the foremost of all persons, and a learned lecturer on the scriptures, and endued with great intelligence. There is nothing that is unknown to thee. Thou art an ocean of the Srutis, as described, O Brahmana, in the world of both the deities and Pitris. The great Rishis residing in the region of Brahma say that Aditya himself, the eternal lord of all luminaries, is thy preceptor (in the matter of this branch of knowledge). O Yajnavalkya, thou hast obtained the entire science, O Brahmana, of the Sankhyas, as also the scriptures of the Yogins in particular. Without doubt, thou art enlightened, fully conversant with the mobile immobile universe. I desire to hear thee discourse on that knowledge, which may be likened to clarified butter endued with solid grains.'

"Yajnavalkya said, 'Thou art, O foremost of Gandharvas, competent to comprehend every knowledge. As, however, thou askest me do thou hear me then discourse to thee according as I myself have obtained it from my preceptor. Prakriti, which is unintelligent, is apprehended by Jiva. Jiva, however, cannot be apprehended by Prakriti, O Gandharva. In consequence of Jiva being reflected in Prakriti, the latter is called Pradhana by Sankhyas and Yogins conversant with the original principles as indicated in the Srutis. O sinless one, the other, beholding, beholds the twenty-fourth (Prakriti) and the twenty-fifth. (Soul); not beholding, it beholds the twenty-sixth. [Anyah or the other is the Soul as distinguished from its reflection upon Prakriti, that is the Soul in its real character as independent of Prakriti. What is said here is that when the Soul, in its real character beholds, or acts as a witness of everything (i.e., as exists in the states of wakefulness and dream), becomes conscious of both itself (the 25th) and Prakriti (the 24th) when, however, it ceases to behold or act as such witness (i.e., in the state of dreamless slumber of Yoga-samadhi), it succeeds in beholding the Supreme Soul or the 26th. In simple language what is said here is that the Soul becomes conscious of both itself and Prakriti in the state of wakefulness and dream. In Samadhi alone, it beholds the Supreme Soul. -- Hinduism has something that could be called the "science of the soul"; non-Hindus might understand this as stages of salvation.] The twenty-fifth thinks that there is nothing higher than itself. In reality, however, though beholding, it does not behold that (viz., the twenty-sixth) which beholds it. [What is said here is that the 26th or the Supreme Soul always beholds the 25th or the Jiva-soul. The latter, however, filled with vanity, regards that there is nothing higher than it. It can easily, in Yoga-samadhi, behold the 26th. Though thus competent to behold the Supreme Soul, it fails ordinarily to behold it. The commentator sees in this verse a reputation of the doctrine of the Charvakas and the Saugatas who deny that there is a 26th Tattwa or even a 25th which they identify with the 24th.] Men possessed of wisdom should never accept the Twenty-fourth (viz., Prakriti, which is unintelligent or inert) as identifiable with the Twenty-fifth or the Soul which has a real and independent existence. The fish live in water. It goes thither impelled by its own nature. As the fish, though living in the water, is to be regarded as separate from it, after the same manner is the Twenty-fifth to be apprehended (i.e., though the Twenty-fifth exists in a state of contact with the Twenty-fourth or Prakriti, it is, however, in its real nature, separate from and independent of Prakriti). When overwhelmed with the consciousness of meum or self, and when unable to understand its identity with the Twenty-sixth, in fact, in consequence of the illusion that invests it, of its co-existence with Prakriti, and of its own manner of thinking, the Jiva-soul always skins down, but when freed from such consciousness it goes upwards. When the Jiva-soul succeeds in apprehending that it is one, and Prakriti with which it resides is another, then only does it, O regenerate one, succeed in beholding the Supreme Soul and attaining to the condition of Oneness with the universe. The Supreme is one, O king, and the Twenty-fifth (or Jiva-soul) is another. In consequence, however, of the Supreme overlying the Jiva-soul the wise regard both to be one and the same. For these reasons, Yogins, and followers of the Sankhya system of philosophy, terrified by the birth and death, blessed with sight of the Twenty-sixth, pure in body and mind, and devoted to the Supreme Soul, and do not welcome the Jiva-soul as indestructible. When one beholds the Supreme Soul and losing all consciousness of individuality becomes identified with the Supreme, one than becomes omniscient, and possessed of such omniscience one becomes freed from the obligation of rebirth. I have thus discoursed to thee truly, sinless one, about Prakriti which is unintelligent, and Jiva-soul which is possessed of intelligence, and the Supreme Soul which is endued with omniscience, according to the indications occurring in the Srutis. That man, who beholds not any difference between the knower or the known, is both Kevala and not-Kevala, is the original cause of the universe, is both Jiva-soul and the Supreme Soul.

"Viswavasu said, 'O puissant one, thou hast duly and adequately discoursed on that which is the origin of all the deities and which is productive of Emancipation. Thou hast said what is true and excellent. May inexhaustible blessings always attend thee, and may thy mind be ever united with intelligence!'

"Yajnavalkya continued, 'Having said those words, the prince of Gandharvas proceeded towards heaven, shining in resplendence of beauty. Before leaving me, the high-souled one duly honoured me by taking the accustomed turns round my person, and I looked upon him, highly pleased. He inculcated the science he had obtained from me unto those celestials that dwell in the regions of Brahman and other deities, unto those that dwell on Earth, unto also the denizens of the nether regions, and unto them that had adopted the path of Emancipation, O king. The Sankhyas are devoted to the practices of their system. The Yogins are devoted to the practices inculcated by their system. Others there are that are desirous of achieving their Emancipation. Unto these latter this science is productive of visible fruits, O lion among king. Emancipation flows from Knowledge. Without Knowledge it can never be attained. The wise have said it, O monarch. Hence, one should strive one's best for acquiring true Knowledge in all its details, by which one may succeed in freeing oneself from birth and death. Obtaining knowledge from a Brahmana or a Kshatriya or Vaisya or even a Sudra who is of low birth, one endued with faith should always show reverence for such knowledge. Birth and death cannot assail one that is endued with faith. All orders of men are Brahmanas. All are sprung from Brahma. All men utter Brahma. Aided by an understanding that is derived from and directed to Brahma. I inculcated this science treating of Prakriti and Purusha. Indeed, this whole universe is Brahma. From the mouth of Brahma sprung the Brahmanas; from his arms, sprung the Kshatriyas; from his navel, the Vaisya; and from his feet, the Sudras. All the orders, (having sprung in this way) should not be regarded as pilfering from one another. Impelled by Ignorance, all men meet with death and attain, O king, to birth that is the cause of acts. Divested of Knowledge, all orders of men, dragged by terrible Ignorance, fall into varied orders of being due to the principles that flow from Prakriti. For this reason, all should, by every means, seek to acquire Knowledge. I have told thee that every person is entitled to strive for its acquisition. One that is possessed of Knowledge is a Brahmana. Others, (viz., Kshatriyas and Vaisyas and Sudras) are possessed of knowledge. Hence, this science of Emancipation is always open to them all. This, O king has been said by the Wise. The questions thou hadst asked me have all been answered by me agreeably to the truth. Do thou, therefore, cast off all grief. Go thou to the other end of this enquiry. Thy questions were good. Blessings on thy head for ever!

"Bhishma continued--Thus instructed by the intelligent Yajnavalkya the king of Mithila became filled with joy. The king honoured that foremost of ascetics by walking round his person. Dismissed by the monarch, he departed from his court. King Daivarati, having obtained the knowledge of the religion of Emancipation, took his seat, and touching a million of kine and a quantity of gold and a measure of gems and jewels, gave them away unto a number of Brahmanas. Installing his son in the sovereignty of the Videhas, the old king began to live, adopting the practices of the Yatis. Thinking mainly of all ordinary duties and their derelictions (as laid down in the scriptures), the king began to study the science of the Sankhyas and the Yogins in their entirety. Regarding himself to be Infinite, he began to reflect on only the Eternal and Independent One. He cast off all ordinary duties and their derelictions, Virtue and Vice, Truth and Falsehood, Birth and Death, and all other things appertaining to the principles produced by Prakriti. Both Sankhyas and Yogins, agreeably to the teachings of their sciences, regard this universe to be due to the action of the Manifest and the Unmanifest. The learned say that Brahma is freed from good and evil, is self-dependent, the highest of the high, Eternal, and Pure. Do thou, therefore, O monarch, become Pure! The giver, the receiver of the gift, the gift itself, and that which is ordered to be given away, are all to be deemed as the unmanifest Soul. The Soul is the Soul's one possession. Who, therefore, can be a stranger to one? Do thou think always in this way. Never think otherwise. He who does not know what is Prakriti possessed of attributes and what is Purusha transcending attributes, only he, not possessed as he is of knowledge, repairs to sacred waters and performs sacrifices. Not by study of the Vedas, not by penances, not by sacrifices O son of Kuru, can one attain to the status of Brahma. Only when one succeeds in apprehending the Supreme or Unmanifest, one comes to be regarded with reverence. They who wait upon Mahat attain to regions of Mahat. They who wait upon Consciousness, attain to the spot that belongs to Consciousness. They who wait upon what is higher attain to places that are higher than these. Those persons, learned in the scriptures, who succeed in apprehending Eternal Brahma who is higher than Unmanifest Prakriti, succeed in obtaining that which transcends birth and death, which is free from attributes, and which is both existent and non-existent I got all this knowledge from Janaka. The latter had obtained it from Yajnavalkya. Knowledge is very superior. Sacrifices cannot compare with it. With the aid of Knowledge one succeeds in crossing the world's ocean which is full of difficulties and dangers. One can never cross that ocean by means of sacrifices. Birth and death, and other impediments, O king, men of knowledge say, one cannot pass over by ordinary exertion. Men attain to heaven through sacrifices, penances, vows, and observances. But they have again to fall down therefrom on the Earth. Do thou, therefore, adore with reverence that which is Supreme, most pure, blessed, stainless, and sacred, and which transcends all states (being Emancipation itself). By apprehending Kshetra, O

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king, and by performing the Sacrifice that consists in the acquisition of Knowledge, thou wilt really be wise. In former time, Yajnavalkya did that good to king Janaka which is derivable from a study of the Upanishads. The Eternal and Immutable Supreme was the topic about which the great Rishi had discoursed to the king of Mithila. It enabled him to attain to that Brahma which is auspicious, and immortal, and which transcends all kinds of sorrow."

SECTION 320

"Yudhishthira said, 'Having acquired great power and great wealth, and having obtained a long period of life, how may one succeed in avoiding death? By which of these means, viz., penances, or the accomplishment of the diverse acts (laid down in the Vedas), or by knowledge of the Srutis, or the application of medicines, can one succeed in avoiding decrepitude and death?'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection is cited the old narrative of Panchasikha who was a Bhikshu in his practices and Janaka. Once on a time Janaka, the ruler of the Videhas, questioned the great Rishi Panchasikha, who was the foremost of all persons conversant with the Vedas and who had all his doubts removed in respect of the purpose and import of all duties. The King said,--By what conduct, O holy one may one transcend decrepitude and death? It is by penances, or by the understanding, or by religious acts (like sacrifices, and vows), or by study and knowledge of the scriptures?--Thus addressed by the ruler of the Vedas the learned Panchasikha, conversant with all invisible things, answered, saying,--There is no prevention of these two (viz., decrepitude and death); nor is it true that cannot be prevented under any circumstances. Neither days, nor nights, nor months, cease to go on. Only that man, who, though transitory, betakes himself to the eternal path (of the religion of Nivritti or abstention from all acts) succeeds in avoiding birth and death. Destruction overtakes, all creatures. All creatures seem to be ceaselessly borne along the infinite current of time. Those that are borne along the infinite current of time which is without a raft (to rescue) and which is infested by those two mighty alligators, viz., decrepitude and death, sink down without anybody coming to their assistance. As one is swept along that current, one fails to find any friend for help and one fails to be inspired with interest for any one else. One meets with spouses and other friends only on one's road. One had never before enjoyed this kind of companionship with any one for any length of time. Creatures, as they are borne along the current of time, become repeatedly attracted towards one another like masses of clouds moved by the wind meeting one another with loud sound. Decrepitude and death are devourers of all creatures, like wolves. Indeed, they devour the strong and the weak, the short and the tall. Among creatures, therefore, which are all so transitory, only the Soul exists eternally. Why should he, then, rejoice when creatures are born and why should he grieve when they die? Whence have I come. Who am I? Whither shall I go? Whose am I? Before what do I rest? What shall I be? For what reason then dost thou grieve for what? Who else then thou wilt behold heaven or hell (for what thou doest)? Hence, without throwing aside the scriptures, one should make gifts and perform sacrifices!--"

SECTION 321

"Yudhishthira said, 'Without abandoning the domestic mode of life, O royal sage of Kuru's race, who ever attained to Emancipation which is the annihilation of the Understanding (and the other faculties)? Do tell me this! How may the gross and the subtile form be cast off? Do thou also, O grandsire, tell me what the supreme excellence of Emancipation is.'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection is cited the old narrative of the discourse between Janaka and Sulabha, O Bharata! In days of yore there was a king of Mithila, of the name of Dharmadhyaja, of Janaka's race. He was devoted to the practices of the religion of Renunciation. He was well conversant with the Vedas, with the scriptures on Emancipation, and with the scriptures bearing on his own duty as a king. Subjugating his senses, he ruled his Earth. Hearing of his good behaviour in the world, many men of wisdom, well-conversant with wisdom, O foremost of men, desired to imitate him. 'In the same Satya Yuga, a woman of the name of Sulabha, belonging to the mendicant order, practised the duties of Yoga and wandered over the whole Earth. In course of her wanderings over the Earth, Sulabha heard from many Dandis of different places that the ruler of Mithila was devoted to the religion of Emancipation. Hearing this report about king Janaka and desirous of ascertaining whether it was true or not, Sulabha became desirous of having a personal interview with Janaka. Abandoning, by her Yoga powers, her former form and features, Sulabha assumed the most faultless features and unrivalled beauty. In the twinkling of an eye and with the speed of the quickest shaft, the fair-browed lady of eyes like lotus-petals repaired to the capital of the Videhas. Arrived at the chief city of Mithila teeming with a large population, she adopted the guise of a mendicant and presented herself before the king. The monarch, beholding, her delicate form, became filled with wonder and enquired who she was, whose she was, and whence she came. Welcoming her, he assigned her an excellent seat, honoured her by offering water to wash her feet, and gratified her with excellent refreshments. Refreshed duly and gratified with the rites of hospitality offered unto her, Sulabha, the female mendicant, urged the king, who was surrounded by his ministers and seated in the midst of learned scholars, (to declare himself in respect of his adherence to the religion of Emancipation). Doubting whether Janaka had succeeded in attaining to Emancipation, by following the religion of Nivritti, Sulabha, endued with Yoga-power, entered the understanding of the king by her own understanding. Restraining, by means of the rays of light that emanated from her own eyes, the rays issuing from the eyes of the king, the lady, desirous of ascertaining the truth, bound up king Janaka with Yoga bonds. ' That best of monarch, priding himself upon his own invincibleness and defeating the intentions of Sulabha seized her resolution with his own resolution. The king, in his subtile form, was without the royal umbrella and sceptre. The lady Sulabha, in hers, was without the triple stick. Both staying then in the same (gross) form, thus conversed with each other. Listen to that conversation as it happened between the monarch and Sulabha.

"Janaka said, O holy lady, to what course of conduct art thou devoted? Whose art thou? Whence hast thou come? After finishing thy business here, whither wilt thou go? No one can, without questioning, ascertain another's acquaintance with the scriptures, or age, or order of birth. Thou shouldst, therefore, answer these questions of mine, when thou has come to me. Know that I am truly freed from all vanity in respect of my royal umbrella and sceptre. I wish to know thee thoroughly. Thou art deserving I hold, of my respect. Do thou listen to me as I speak to thee on Emancipation for there is none else (in this world) that can discourse to thee on that topic. Hear me also I tell thee who that person is from whom in days of old I acquired this distinguishing knowledge. I am the beloved disciple of the high-souled and venerable Panchasikha, belonging to the mendicant order, of Parasara's race. My doubts have been dispelled and am fully conversant with the Sankhya and the Yoga systems, and the ordinances as in respect of sacrifices and other rites, which constitutes the three well-known paths of Emancipation. Wandering over the earth and pursuing the while the path that is pointed out by the scriptures, the learned Panchasikha formerly dwelt in happiness in my abode for a period of four months in the rainy season. That foremost of Sankhyas discoursed to me, agreeably to the truth, and in an intelligible manner suited to my comprehension, on the several kinds of means for attaining to Emancipation. He did not, however, command me to give up my kingdom. Freed from attachments, and fixing my Soul on supreme Brahma, and unmoved by companionship, I lived, practising in its entirety that triple conduct which is laid down in treatises on Emancipation. Renunciation (of all kinds of attachments) is the highest means prescribed for Emancipation. It is from Knowledge that Renunciation, by which one becomes freed is said to flow. From Knowledge arises the endeavour after Yoga, and through that endeavour one attains to knowledge of Self or Soul. Through knowledge of Self one transcends joy and grief. That enables one to transcend death and attain to high success. That high intelligence (knowledge of Self) has been acquired by me, and accordingly I have transcended all pairs of opposites. Even in this life have I been freed from stupefaction and have transcended all attachments. As a soil, saturated with water and softened thereby, causes the (sown) seed to sprout forth, after the same manner, the acts of men cause rebirth. As a seed, fried on a pan or otherwise, becomes unable to sprout forth although the capacity for sprouting was there, after the same manner my understanding having been freed from the productive principle constituted by desire, by the instruction of the holy Panchasikha of the mendicant order, it no longer produces its fruit in the form of attachment to the object of the senses. I never experience love for my spouse or hate for my foes. Indeed, I keep aloof from both, beholding the fruitlessness of attachment and wrath. I regard both persons equally, viz., him that smears my right hand with sandal-paste and him that wounds my left. Having attained my (true) object, I am happy, and look equally upon a clod of earth, a piece of stone, and a lump of gold. I am freed from attachments of every kind, though am engaged in ruling a kingdom. In consequence of all this I am distinguished over all bearers of triple sticks. Some foremost of men that are conversant with the topic of Emancipation say that Emancipation has a triple path, (these are knowledge, Yoga, and sacrifices and rites). Some regard knowledge having all things of the world for its object as the means of emancipation. Some hold that the total renunciation of acts (both external and internal) is the means thereof. Another class of persons conversant with the scriptures of Emancipation say that Knowledge is the single means. Other, viz. Yatis, endued with subtile vision, hold that acts constitute the means. The high-souled Panchasikha, discarding both the opinion about knowledge and acts, regarded the third as the only means of Emancipation. If men leading the domestic mode of life be endued with Yama and Niyama, they become the equals of Sannyasins. If, on the other hand, Sannyasins be endued with desire and aversion and spouses and honour and pride and affection, they become the equals of men leading domestic modes of life. If one can attain to Emancipation by means of knowledge, then may Emancipation exist in triple sticks (for there is nothing to prevent the bearers of such stick from acquiring the needful knowledge). Why then may Emancipation not exist in the umbrella and the sceptre as well, especially when there is equal reason in taking up the triple stick and the sceptre? One becomes attached to all those things and acts with which one has need for the sake of one's own self for particular reasons. If a person, beholding the faults of the domestic mode of life, casts it off for adopting another mode (which he considers to be fraught with great merit), be cannot, for such rejection and adoption be regarded as one that is once freed from all attachments, (for all that he has done has been to attach himself to a new mode after having freed himself from a previous one). Sovereignty is fraught with the rewarding and the chastising of others. The life of a mendicant is equally fraught with the same (for mendicants also reward and chastise those they can). When, therefore, mendicants are similar to kings in this respect, why would mendicants only attain to Emancipation, and not kings? Notwithstanding the possession of sovereignty, therefore, one becomes cleansed of all sins by means of knowledge alone, living the while in Supreme Brahma. The wearing of brown cloths, shaving of the head, bearing of the triple stick, and the Kamandalu,--these are the outward signs of one's mode of life. These have no value in aiding one to the attainment of Emancipation. When, notwithstanding the adoption of these emblems of a particular mode of life, knowledge alone becomes the cause of one's Emancipation from sorrow, it would appear that the adoption of mere emblems is perfectly useless. Or, if, beholding the mitigation of sorrow in it, thou hast betaken thyself to these emblems of Sannyasi, why then should not the mitigation of sorrow be beheld in the umbrella and the sceptre to which I have betaken myself? Emancipation does not exist in poverty; nor is bondage to be found in affluence. One attains to Emancipation through Knowledge alone, whether one is indigent or affluent. For these reasons, know that I am living in a condition of freedom, though ostensibly engaged in the enjoyments of religion, wealth, and pleasure, in the form of kingdom and spouses, which constitute a field of bondage (for the generality of men). The bonds constituted by kingdom and affluence, and the bondage to attachments, I have cut off with the sword of Renunciation whetted on the stone of the scriptures bearing upon Emancipation. As regards myself then, I tell thee that I have become freed in this way. O lady of the mendicant order, I cherish an affection for thee. But that should not prevent me from telling thee that thy behaviour does not correspond with the practices of the mode of life to which thou hast betaken thyself! Thou hast great delicacy of formation. Thou hast an exceedingly shapely form. The age is young. Thou hast all these, and thou hast Niyama (subjugation of the senses). I doubt it verily. Thou hast stopped up my body (by entering into me with the aid of the Yoga power) for ascertaining as to whether I am really emancipated or not. This act of thine ill corresponds with that mode of life whose emblems thou bearest. For Yogin that is endued with desire, the triple stick is unfit. As regards thyself, thou dost not adhere to thy stick. As regards those that are freed, it behoves even them to protect themselves from fall. 1 Listen now to me as to what thy transgression has been in consequence of thy contact with me and thy having entered into my gross body with the aid of thy understanding. To what reason is thy entrance to be ascribed into my kingdom or my palace? At whose sign hast thou entered into my heart? Thou belongest to the foremost of all the orders, being, as thou art, a Brahmana woman. As regards myself, however, I am a Kshatriya. There is no union for us two. Do not help to cause an intermixture of colours. Thou livest in the practice of those duties that lead to Emancipation. I live in the domestic mode of life, This act of thine, therefore, is another evil thou hast done, for it produces an unnatural union of two opposite modes of life. I do not know whether thou belongest to my own gotra or dost not belong to it. As regards thyself also, thou dost not know who I am (viz., to what gotra I belong). If thou art of my own gotra, thou hast, by entering into my person, produced another evil,--the evil, viz., of unnatural union. If, again, thy husband be alive and dwelling in a distant place, thy union with me has produced the fourth evil of sinfulness, for thou art not one with whom I may be lawfully united. Dost thou perpetrate all these sinful acts, impelled by the motive of accomplishing a particular object? Dost thou do these from ignorance or from perverted intelligence? If, again, in consequence of thy evil nature thou hast thus become thoroughly independent or unrestrained in thy behaviour, I tell thee that if thou hast any knowledge of the scriptures, thou wilt understand that everything thou hast done has been productive of evil. A third fault attaches to thee in consequence of these acts of thine, a fault that is destructive of

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peace of mind. By endeavouring to display thy superiority, the indication of a wicked woman is seen in thee. Desirous of asserting thy victory as thou art, it is not myself alone whom thou wishest to defeat, for it is plain that thou wishest to obtain a victory over even the whole of my court (consisting of these learned and very superior Brahmanas), by casting thy eyes in this way towards all these meritorious Brahmanas, it is evident that thou desirest to humiliate them all and glorify thyself (at their expense). Stupefied by thy pride of Yoga-puissance that has been born of thy jealousy (at sight of my power,) thou hast caused a union of thy understanding with mine and thereby hast really mingled together nectar with poison. That union, again, of man and woman, when each covets the other, is sweet as nectar. That association, however, of man and woman when the latter, herself coveting, fails to obtain an individual of the opposite sex that does not covet her, is, instead of being a merit, only a fault that is as noxious as poison. Do not continue to touch me. Know that I am righteous. Do thou act according to thy own scriptures. The enquiry thou hadst wished to make, viz., whether I am or I am not emancipated, has been finished. It behoves thee not to conceal from me all thy secret motives. It behoves thee not, that thus disguisest thyself, to conceal from me what thy object is, that is whether this call of thine has been prompted by the desire of accomplishing some object of thy own or whether thou hast come for accomplishing the object of some other king (that is hostile to me). One should never appear deceitfully before a king; nor before a Brahmana; nor before one's wife when that wife is possessed of every wifely virtue. Those who appear in deceitful guise before these three very soon meet with destruction. The power of kings consists in their sovereignty. The power of Brahmanas conversant with the Vedas is in the Vedas. Women wield a high power in consequence of their beauty and youth and blessedness. These then are powerful in the possession of these powers. He, therefore, that is desirous of accomplishing his own object should always approach these three with sincerity and candour, insincerity and deceit fail to produce success (in these three quarters). It behoveth thee, therefore, to apprise me of the order to which thou belongest by birth, of thy learning and conduct and disposition and nature, as also of the object thou hast in view in coming to this place!--"

"Bhishma continued, 'Though rebuked by the king in these unpleasant, improper, and ill-applied words, the lady Sulabha was not at all abashed. After the king had said these words, the beautiful Sulabha then addressed herself for saying the following words in reply that were more handsome than her person.

"'Sulabha said, O king, speech ought always to be free from the nine verbal faults and the nine faults of judgement. It should also, while setting forth the meaning with perspicuity, be possessed of the eighteen well-known merits. Ambiguity, ascertainment of the faults and merits of premises and conclusions, weighing the relative strength or weakness of those faults and merits, establishment of the conclusion, and the element of persuasiveness or otherwise that attaches to the conclusion thus arrived at,--these five characteristics appertaining to the sense--constitute the authoritativeness of what is said. Listen now to the characteristics of these requirements beginning with ambiguity, one after another, as I expound them according to the combinations. When knowledge rests on distinction in consequence of the object to be known being different from one another, and when (as regards the comprehension of the subject) the understanding rests upon many points one after another, the combination of words (in whose case this occurs) is said to be vitiated by ambiguity. [Saukshmyam, is literally minuteness. It means ambiguity here. I have rendered verse 81 very closely to give the reader an idea of the extreme terseness of these verses. For bringing out the meaning of the verse, the following illustration may serve. A sentence is composed containing some words each of which is employed in diverse senses, as the well-known verse of Parasara which has been interpreted to sanction the remarriage of Hindu widows. Here, the object indicated by the words used are varied. Definite knowledge of the meaning of each word is arrived at by means of distinctions, i.e., by distinguishing each meaning from every other. In such cases, the understanding before arriving at the definite meaning, rests in succession upon diverse points, now upon one, now upon another. Indeed, the true meaning is to be arrived at in such cases by a process of elimination. When such processes become necessary and or seizing the sense of any sentence, the fault is said to be the fault of minuteness or ambiguity.] By ascertainment (of faults and merits), called Sankhya, is meant the establishment, by elimination, of faults or merits (in premises and conclusions), adopting tentative meanings. Krama or weighing the relative strength or weakness of the faults or merits (ascertained by the above process), consists in settling the propriety of the priority or subsequence of the words employed in a sentence. This is the meaning attached to the word Krama by persons conversant with the interpretation of sentences or texts. By Conclusion is meant the final determination, after this examination of what has been said on the subjects of religion, pleasure, wealth, and Emancipation, in respect of what is particularly is that has been said in the text. The sorrow born of wish or aversion increases to a great measure. The conduct, O king, that one pursues in such a matter (for dispelling the sorrow experienced) is called Prayojanam. Take it for certain, O king, at my word, that these characteristics of Ambiguity and the other (numbering five in all), when occurring together, constitute a complete and intelligible sentence. The words I shall utter will be fraught with sense, free from ambiguity (in consequence of each of them not being symbols of many things), logical, free from pleonasm or tautology, smooth, certain, free from bombast, agreeable or sweet, truthful, not inconsistent with the aggregate of three, (viz., Righteousness, Wealth and Pleasure), refined (i.e., free from Prakriti), not elliptical or imperfect, destitute of harshness or difficulty of comprehension, characterised by due order, not far-fetched in respect of sense, corrected with one another as cause and effect and each having a specific object. I shall not tell thee anything, prompted by desire or wrath or fear or cupidity or abjectness or deceit or shame or compassion or pride. (I answer thee because it is proper for me to answer what thou hast said). When the speaker, the hearer, and the words said, thoroughly agree with one another in course of a speech, then does the sense or meaning come out very clearly. When, in the matter of what is to be said, the speaker shows disregard for the understanding of the hearer by uttering words whose meaning is understood by himself, then, however good those words may be, they become incapable of being seized by the hearer. 4 That speaker, again, who, abandoning all regard for his own meaning uses words that are of excellent sound and sense, awakens only erroneous, impressions in the mind of the hearer. Such words in such connection become certainly faulty. That speaker, however, who employs words that are, while expressing his own meaning, intelligible to the hearer, as well, truly deserves to be called a speaker. No other man deserves the name. It behoveth thee, therefore, O king, to hear with concentrated attention these words of mine, fraught with meaning and endued with wealth of vocables. Thou hast asked me who I am, whose I am, whence I am coming, etc. Listen to me, O king, with undivided mind, as I answer these questions of thine. As lac and wood, as grains of dust and drops of water, exist commingled when brought together, even so are the existences of all creatures. Sound, touch, taste, form, and scent, these and the senses, though diverse in respect of their essences, exist yet in a state of commingling like lac and wood. It is again well known that nobody asks any of these, saying, who art thou? Each of them also has no knowledge either of itself or of the others. The eye cannot see itself. The ear cannot hear itself. The eye, again, cannot discharge the functions of any of the other senses, nor can any of the senses discharge the functions of any sense save its own. If all of them even combine together, even they fail to know their own selves as dust and water mingled together cannot know each other though existing in a state of union. In order to discharge their respective functions, they await the contact of objects that are external to them. The eye, form, and light, constitute the three requisites of the operation called seeing. The same, as in this case, happens in respect of the operations of the other senses and the ideas which is their result. Then, again, between the functions of the senses (called vision, hearing, etc.,) and the ideas which are their result (viz., form, sound, etc.), the mind is an entity other than the senses And is regarded to have an action of its own. With its help one distinguishes what is existent from what is non-existent for arriving at certainty (in the matter of all ideas derived from the senses). With the five senses of knowledge and five senses of action, the mind makes a total of eleven. The twelfth is the Understanding. When doubt arises in respect of what is to be known, the Understanding comes forward and settles all doubts (for aiding correct apprehension). After the twelfth, Sattwa is another principle numbering the thirteenth. With its help creatures are distinguished as possessing more of it or less of it in their constitutions. After this, Consciousness (of self) is another principle (numbering the fourteenth). It helps one to an apprehension of self as distinguished from what is not self. Desire is the fifteenth principle, O king. Unto it inhere the whole universe. The sixteenth principle is Avidya. Unto it inhere the seventeenth and the eighteenth principles called Prakriti and Vyakti (i.e., Maya and Prakasa). Happiness and sorrow, decrepitude and death, acquisition and loss, the agreeable end the disagreeable,--these constitute the nineteenth principle and are called couples of opposites. Beyond the nineteenth principle is another, viz., Time called the twentieth. Know that the births and death of all creatures are due to the action of this twentieth principle. These twenty exist together. Besides these, the five Great primal elements, and existence and non-existence, bring up the tale to seven and twenty. Beyond these, are three others, named Vidhi, Sukra, and Vala, that make the tale reach thirty. That in which these ten and twenty principles occur is said to be body. Some persons regard unmanifest Prakriti to be the source or cause of these thirty principles. (This is the view of the atheistic Sankhya school). The Kanadas of gross vision regard the Manifest (or atoms) to be their cause. Whether the Unmanifest or the Manifest be their cause, or whether the two (viz., the Supreme or Purusha and the Manifest or atoms) be regarded as their cause, or fourthly, whether the four together (viz., the Supreme or Purusha and his Maya and Jiva and Avidya or Ignorance) be the cause, they that are conversant with Adhyatma behold Prakriti as the cause of all creatures. That Prakriti which is Unmanifest, becomes manifest in the form of these principles. Myself, thyself, O monarch, and all others that are endued with body are the result of that Prakriti (so far as our bodies are concerned). Insemination and other (embryonic) conditions are due to the mixture of the vital seed and blood. In consequence of insemination the result which first appears is called by the name of 'Kalala.' From 'Kalala' arises what is called Vudvuda (bubble). From the stage called 'Vudvuda' springs what is called 'Pesi.' From the condition called 'Pesi' that stage arises in which the various limbs become manifested. From this last condition appear nails and hair. Upon the expiration of the ninth month, O king of Mithila, the creature takes its birth so that, its sex being known, it comes to be called a boy or girl. When the creature issues out of the womb, the form it presents is such that its nails and fingers seem to be of the hue of burnished copper. The next stage is said to be infancy, when the form that was seen at the time of birth becomes changed. From infancy youth is reached, and from youth, old age. As the creature advances from one stage into another, the form presented in the previous stage becomes changed. The constituent elements of the body, which serve diverse functions in the general economy, undergo change every moment in every creature. Those changes, however, are so minute that they cannot be noticed. The birth of particles, and their death, in each successive condition, can not be marked, O king, even as one cannot mark the changes in the flame of a burning lamp. When such is the state of the bodies of all creatures,--that is when that which is called the body is changing incessantly even like the rapid locomotion of a steed of good mettle,--who then has come whence or not whence, or whose is it or whose is it not, or whence does it not arise? What connection does there exist between creatures and their own bodies? As from the contact of flint with iron, or from two sticks of wood when rubbed against each other, fire is generated, even so are creatures generated from the combination of the (thirty) principles already named. Indeed, as thou thyself seest thy own body in thy body and as thou thyself seest thy soul in thy own soul, why is it that thou dost not see thy own body and thy own soul in the bodies and souls of others? If it is true that thou seest an identity with thyself and others, why then didst thou ask me who I am and whose? If it is true that hast, O king been freed from the knowledge of duality that (erroneously) says--this is mine and this other is not mine,--then what use is there with such questions as Who art thou, whose art thou and whence dost thou come? What indications of Emancipation can be said to occur in that king who acts as others act towards enemies and allies and neutrals and in victory and truce and war? What indications of Emancipation occur in him who does not know the true nature of the aggregate of three as manifested in seven ways in all acts and who, on that account, is attached to that aggregate of three? [The seven ways are as follows: Righteousness and Wealth and Pleasure independently and distinct from one another count three, then the first and second, the first and third, and second and third, count three and lastly, all three existing together. In all acts, one or other of these seven may be found. The first and second exist in all acts whose result is the righteous acquisition of wealth; the first and third exist in the procreation of children in lawful wedlock; the second and third in ordinary acts of worldly men. Of acts in which all three combine, the rearing of children may be noticed, for it is at once a duty, a source of wealth, and a pleasure.] What indications of Emancipation exist in him who fails to cast an equal eye on the agreeable, on the weak, and the strong? Unworthy as thou art of it, thy pretence of Emancipation should be put down by thy counsellers! This thy endeavour to attain to Emancipation (when thou hast so many faults) is like the use of medicine by a patient who indulges in all kinds of forbidden food and practices. O chastiser of foes, reflecting upon spouses and other sources of attachment, one should behold these in one's own soul. What else can be looked upon as the indication of Emancipation? Listen now to me as I speak in detail of these and certain other minute sources of attachment appertaining to the four well known acts (of lying down for slumber, enjoyment, eating, and dressing) to which thou art still bound though thou professest thyself to have adopted the religion of Emancipation. That man who has to rule the whole world must, indeed, be a single king without a second. He is obliged to live in only a single palace. In that palace he has again only one sleeping chamber. In that chamber he has, again, only one bed on which at night he is to lie down. Half that bed again he is obliged to give to his Queen-consort. This may serve as an example of how little the king's share is of all he is said to own. This is the case with his objects of enjoyment, with the food he eats, and with the robes he wears. He is thus attached to a very limited share of all things. He is, again, attached to the duties

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of rewarding and punishing. The king is always dependent on others. He enjoys a very small share of all he is supposed to own, and to that small share he is forced to be attached (as well as others are attached to their respective possessions). In the matter also of peace and war, the king cannot be said to be independent. In the matter of women, of sports and other kinds of enjoyment, the king's inclinations are exceedingly circumscribed. In the matter of taking counsel and in the assembly of his councillors what independence can the king be said to have? When, indeed, he sets his orders on other men, he is said to be thoroughly independent. But then the moment after, in the several matters of his orders, his independence is barred by the very men whom he has ordered. If the king desires to sleep, he cannot gratify his desire, resisted by those who have business to transact with him. He must sleep when permitted, and while sleeping he is obliged to wake up for attending to those that have urgent business with him--bathe, touch, drink, eat, pour libations on the fire, perform sacrifices, speak, hear,--these are the words which kings have to hear from others and hearing them have to slave to those that utter them. Men come in batches to the king and solicit him for gifts. Being, how-ever, the protector of the general treasury, he cannot make gifts unto even the most deserving. If he makes gifts, the treasury becomes exhausted. If he does not, disappointed solicitors look upon him with hostile eyes. He becomes vexed and as the result of this, misanthropical feelings soon invade his mind. If many wise and heroic and wealthy men reside together, the king's mind begins to be filled with distrust in consequence. Even when there is no cause of fear, the king entertains fear of those that always wait upon and worship him. Those I have mentioned O king, also find fault with him. Behold, in what way the king's fears may arise from even them! Then again all men are kings in their own houses. All men, again, in their own houses are house-holders. Like kings, O Janaka, all men in their own houses chastise and reward. Like kings others also have sons and spouses and their own selves and treasuries and friends and stores. In these respects the king is not different from other men.--The country is ruined,--the city is consumed by fire,--the foremost of elephants is dead,--at all this the king yields to grief like others, little regarding that these impressions are all due to ignorance and error. The king is seldom freed from mental griefs caused by desire and aversion and fear. He is generally afflicted also by headaches and diverse diseases of the kind. The king is afflicted (like others) by all couples of opposites (as pleasure and pain, etc). He is alarmed at everything. Indeed, full of foes and impediments as kingdom is, the king, while he enjoys it, passes nights of sleeplessness. Sovereignty, therefore, is blessed with an exceedingly small share of happiness. The misery with which it is endued is very great. It is as unsubstantial as burning flames fed by straw or the bubbles of froth seen on the surface of water. Who is there that would like to obtain sovereignty, or having acquired sovereignty can hope to win tranquillity? Thou regardest this kingdom and this palace to be thine. Thou thinkest also this army, this treasury, and these counsellers to belong to thee. Whose, however, in reality are they, and whose are they not? Allies, ministers, capital, provinces, punishment, treasury, and the king, these seven which constitute the limbs of a kingdom exist, depending upon one another, like three sticks standing with one another's support. The merits of each are set off by the merits of the others. Which of them can be said to be superior to the rest? At those times those particular ones are regarded as distinguished above the rest when some important end is served through their agency. Superiority, for the time being, is said to attach to that one whose efficacy is thus seen. The seven limbs already mentioned, O best of kings, and the three others, forming an aggregate of ten, supporting one another, are said to enjoy the kingdom like the king himself. That king who is endued with great energy and who is firmly attached to Kshatriya practices, should be satisfied with only a tenth part of the produce of the subject's field. Other kings are seen to be satisfied with less than a enth part of such produce. There is no one who owns the kingly office without some one else owning it in the world, and there is no kingdom without a king. If there be no kingdom, there can be no righteousness, and if there be no righteousness, whence can Emancipation arise? Whatever merit is most sacred and the highest, belongs to kings and kingdoms. By ruling a kingdom well, a king earns the merit that attaches to a Horse-sacrifice with the whole Earth given away as Dakshina. But how many kings are there that rule their kingdoms well? O ruler of Mithila, I can mention hundreds and thousands of faults like these that attach to kings and kingdoms. Then, again, when I have no real connection with even my body, how then can I be said to have any contact with the bodies of others? Thou canst not charge me with having endeavoured to bring about an intermixture of castes. Hast thou heard the religion of Emancipation in its entirety from the lips of Panchasikha together with its means, its methods, its practices, and its conclusion? If thou hast prevailed over all thy bonds and freed thyself from all attachments, may I ask thee, O king, who thou preservest thy connections still with this umbrella and these other appendages of royalty? I think that thou hast not listened to the scriptures, or, thou hast listened to them without any advantage, or, perhaps, thou hast listened to some other treatises looking like the scriptures. It seems that thou art possessed only of worldly knowledge, and that like an ordinary man of the world thou art bound by the bonds of touch and spouses and mansions and the like. If it be true that thou Met been emancipated from all bonds, what harm have I done thee by entering thy person with only my Intellect? With Yatis, among all orders of men, the custom is to dwell in uninhabited or deserted abodes. What harm then have I done to whom by entering thy understanding which is truly of real knowledge? I have not touched thee, O king, with my hands, of arms, or feet, or thighs, O sinless one, or with any other part of the body. Thou art born in a high race. Thou hast modesty. Thou hast foresight. Whether the act has been good or bad, my entrance into thy body has been a private one, concerning us two only. Was it not improper for thee to publish that private act before all thy court? These Brahmanas are all worthy of respect. They are foremost of preceptors. Thou also art entitled to their respect, being their king. Doing them reverence, thou art entitled to receive reverence from them. Reflecting on all this, it was not proper for thee to proclaim before these foremost of men the fact of this congress between two persons of opposite sexes, if, indeed, thou art really acquainted with the rules of propriety in respect of speech. O king of Mithila, I am staying in thee without touching thee at all even like a drop of water on a lotus leaf that stays on it without drenching it in the least. If, notwithstanding instructions of Panchasikha of the mendicant order, thy knowledge has become abstracted from the sensual objects to which it relates? Thou hast, it is plain, fallen off from the domestic mode of life but thou hast not yet attained to Emancipation that is so difficult to arrive at. Thou stayest between the two, pretending that thou hast reached the goal of Emancipation. The contact of one that is emancipated with another that has been so, or Purusha with Prakriti, cannot lead to an intermingling of the kind thou dreariest. Only those that regard the soul to be identical with the body, and that think the several orders and modes of life to be really different from one another, are open to the error of supposing an intermingling to be possible. My body is different from thine. But my soul is not different from thy soul. When I am able to realise this, I have not the slightest doubt that my understanding is really not staying in thine though I have entered into thee by Yoga. A pot is borne in the hand. In the pot is milk. On the milk is a fly. Though the hand and pot, the pot and milk, and the milk and the fly, exist together, yet are they all distinct from each other. The pot does not partake the nature of the milk. Nor does the milk partake the nature of the fly. The condition of each is dependent on itself, and can never be altered by the condition of that other with which it may temporarily exist. After this manner, colour and practices, though they may exist together with and in a person that is emancipate, do not really attach to him. How then can an intermingling of orders be possible in consequence of this union of myself with thee? Then, again, I am not superior to thee in colour. Nor am I a Vaisya, nor a Sudra. I am, O king, of the same order with the, borne of a pure race. There was a royal sage of the name of Pradhana. It is evident that thou hast heard of him. I am born in his race, and my name is Sulabha. In the sacrifices performed by my ancestors, the foremost of the gods, viz., Indra, used to come, accompanied by Drona and Satasringa, and Chakradwara (and other presiding geniuses of the great mountains). Born in such a race, it was found that no husband could be obtained for me that would be fit for me. Instructed then in the religion of Emancipation, I wander over the Earth alone, observant of the practices of asceticism. I practise no hypocrisy in the matter of the life of Renunciation. I am not a thief that appropriates what belongs to others. I am not a confuser of the practices belonging to the different orders. I am firm in the practices that belong to that mode of life to which I properly belong. I am firm and steady in my vows. I never utter any word without reflecting on its propriety. I did not come to thee, without having deliberated properly, O monarch! Having heard that thy understanding has been purified by the religion of Emancipation, I came here from desire of some benefit. Indeed, it was for enquiring of thee about Emancipation that I had come. I do not say it for glorifying myself and humiliating my opponents. But I say it, impelled by sincerity only. What I say is, he that is emancipated never indulges in that intellectual gladiatorship which is implied by a dialectical disputation for the sake of victory. He, on the other hand, is really emancipate who devotes himself to Brahma, that sole seat of tranquillity. As a person of the mendicant order resides for only one night in an empty house (and leaves it the next morning), even after the same manner I shall reside for this one night in thy person (which, as I have already said, is like an empty chamber, being destitute of knowledge). Thou hast honoured me with both speech and other offers that are due from a host to a guest. Having slept this one night in thy person, O ruler of Mithila, which is as it were my own chamber now, tomorrow I shall depart.

"Bhishma continued, 'Hearing these words fraught with excellent sense and with reason, king Janaka failed to return any answer thereto.'"

SECTION 322

"Yudhishthira said, 'How was Suka, the son of Vyasa, in days of old, won over to Renunciation? I desire to hear thee recite the story. My curiosity in this respect is irrepressible. It behoveth thee, O thou of Kuru's race, to discourse to me on the conclusions in respect of the Unmanifest (Cause), the Manifest (Effects), and of the Truth (or Brahma) that is in, but unattached to them, as also of the acts of the self-born Narayana, as they are known to thy understanding.

"Bhishma said, 'Beholding his son Suka living fearlessly as ordinary men do in practices that are considered harmless by them, Vyasa taught him the entire Vedas and then discoursed to him one day in these words: 'Vyasa said, O son, becoming the master of the senses, do thou subdue extreme cold and extreme heat, hunger and thirst, and the wind also, and having subdued them (as Yogins do), do thou practise righteousness. Do thou duly observe truth and sincerity, and freedom from wrath and malice, and self-restraint and penances, and the duties of benevolence and compassion. Rest thou on truth, firmly devoted to righteousness, abandoning all sort of insincerity and deceit. Do thou support thy life on what remains of food after feeding gods and guests. Thy body is as transitory as the froth on the surface of water. The Jiva-soul is sitting unattached in it as a bird on a tree. The companionship of all agreeable object is exceedingly short-lived. Why then, O son, dost thou sleep in such forgetfulness? Thy foes are heedful and awake and ever ready (to spring on thee) and always watchful of their opportunity. Why art thou so foolish as not to know this? As the days are going one after another, the period of thy life is being lessened. Indeed when thy life is being incessantly shortened, why dost thou not run to preceptors (for learning the means of rescue)? Only they that are destitute of faith (in the existence of next life) set their hearts on things of this world that have the only effect of increasing flesh and blood. They are totally unmindful of all that is concerned with the next world. Those men that are stupefied by erroneous understandings display a hatred for righteousness. The man who walks after those misguided persons that have betaken themselves to devious and wrong paths is afflicted equally with them. They however, that are contented, devoted to the scriptures, endued with high souls, and possessed of great might, betake themselves to the part of righteousness. Do thou wait upon them with reverence and seek instruction from them. Do thou act according to the instructions received from those wise men whose eyes are set upon righteousness. With understanding cleansed by such lessons and rendered superior, do thou then restrain thy heart which is ever ready to deviate from the right course. They whose understandings are always concerned with the present, who fearlessly regard the tomorrow as something quite remote,--they who do not observe any restrictions in the matter of food,--ate really senseless persons that fail to understand that this world is only a field of probation. Repairing to the fight of steps constituted by Righteousness, do thou ascend those steps one after another. At present thou art like a worm that is employed in weaving its cocoon round itself and thereby depriving itself of all means of escape. Do thou keep to thy left, without any scruple, the atheist who transgresses all restraints, who is situated like a house by the side of a fierce and encroaching current, (for the destruction he courts), and who (to others) seems to stand like a bamboo with its tall head erected in pride. Do thou with the raft of Yoga, cross the ocean of the world whose waters are constituted by thy five senses. Having Desire and Wrath and Death for its fierce monsters, and owning birth for its vortex. Do thou cross, with the raft of Righteousness, the world that is affected by Death and afflicted by Decrepitude, and upon which the thunder-bolts constituted by days and nights are falling incessantly. When death is seeking thee at all moments, viz., when thou art sitting or lying down, it is certain that Death may get thee for his victim at any time. Whence art thou to obtain thy rescue! Like the she-wolf snatching away a lamb. Death snatches away one that is still engaged in earning wealth and still unsatisfied in the indulgence of his pleasures. When thou art destined to enter into the dark, do thou hold up the blazing lamp made of righteous understanding and whose flame has been well-husbanded out. Failing into various forms one after another in the world of men, a creature obtains the status of Brahmanhood with great difficulty. Thou hast obtained that status. Do thou then, O son endeavour to maintain it (properly). A Brahman hath not been born for the gratification of desire. On the other hand, his body is intended to be subjected to mortification and penances in this world so that incomparable happiness may be his in the next world. The status of Brahmanhood is acquired with the aid of long-continued and austere penances. Having acquired that status, one should never waste one's time in the indulgence of one's senses. Always engaged in penances and self-restraint and desirous of what is for thy good, do thou live and act, devoted to peace and tranquillity. The period of

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life, of every man, is like a steed. The nature of that steed is unmanifest. The (sixteen) elements (mentioned before) constitute its body. Its nature is exceedingly subtile. Kshanas, and Trutis, and Nimeshas are the hair on its body. The twilights constitute its shoulder joints; The lighted and the dark fortnights are its two eyes of equal power. Months are its other limbs. That steed is running incessantly. If thy eyes be not blind, beholding then that steed incessantly moving forward in its invisible course, do thou set thy heart on righteousness, after hearing what thy preceptors have to say on the question of the next world. They that fall away from righteousness and that conduct themselves recklessly, that always display malice towards others and betake themselves to evil ways are obliged to assume (physical) bodies in the regions of Yama and suffer diverse afflictions, in consequence of their unrighteous acts of diverse kind. That king who is devoted to righteousness and who protects and chastises the good and the wicked with discrimination, attains to those regions that belong to man of righteous deeds. By doing diverse kinds of good acts, he attains to such felicity as is faultless and as is incapable of being attained to by undergoing even thousands of births. Furious dogs of frightful mien, crows of iron beaks, flocks of ravens and vultures and other birds, and blood-sucking worms, assail the man who transgresses the commands of his parents and preceptors when he goes to hell after death. That sinful wretch who, in consequence of his recklessness, transgresses the ten boundaries that have been fixed by the Self-born himself, is obliged to pass his time in great affliction in the wild wastes that occur in the dominions of the king of Pitris. That man who is tainted with cupidity, who is in love with untruth, who always takes a delight in deception and cheating, and who does injuries to others by practising hypocrisy and deception, has to go to deep hell and suffer great woe and affliction for his acts of wickedness. Such a man is forced to bathe in the broad river called Vaitarani whose waters are scalding, to enter into a forest of trees whose leaves are as sharp as swords, and then to lie down on a bed of battle-axes. He has thus to pass his days in frightful hell in great affliction. Thou beholdest only the regions of Brahman and other deities, but thou art blind to that which is the highest (viz., Emancipation). Alas, thou art ever blind also to that which brings Death on its train (viz., decrepitude and old age). 5 Go (along the path of Emancipation)! Why tarriest thou? A frightful terror, destructive of thy happiness, is before thee! Do thou take prompt steps for achieving thy Emancipation! Soon after death thou art sure to be taken before Yama at his command. For obtaining felicity in the next world, strive to attain to righteousness through the practice of difficult and austere vows. The puissant Yama, regardless of the sufferings of others, very soon takes the lives of all persons, that is of thyself and thy friends. There is none capable of resisting him. Very soon the wind of Yama will blow before thee (and drive thee to his presence). Very soon wilt thou be taken to that dread presence all alone. Do thou achieve what will be for thy good there. Where now is that Death-wind which will blow before thee very soon? (Art thou mindful of it?) Very soon will the points of the compass, when that moment arrives, begin to whirl before thy eyes. (Art thou mindful of that?) O son, soon (when that moment comes) will thy Vedas disappear from thy sight as thou goest helplessly into that dread presence. Do thou, therefore, set thy heart on Yoga abstraction which is possessed of great excellence. Do thou seek to attain that one only treasure so that thou mayst not have to grieve at the recollection (after Death) of thy former deeds good and bad all of which are characterised by error. Decrepitude very soon weakens thy body and robs thee of thy strength and limbs and beauty. Do thou, therefore, seek that one only treasure. Very soon the Destroyer, with Disease for his charioteer, will with a strong hand, for taking thy life, pierce and break thy body. Do thou, therefore practise austere penance. Very soon will, those terrible wolves that reside within thy body, assail thee from every side. Do thou endeavour, therefore, to achieve acts of righteousness. Very soon wilt thou, all alone, behold a thick darkness, and very soon wilt thou behold golden trees on the top of the hill. Do thou, therefore, hasten to achieve acts of righteousness. Very soon will those evil companions and foes of thine, (viz., the senses), dressed in the guise of friends, swerve thee from correct vision. Do thou, then, O son, strive to achieve that which is of the highest good. Do thou earn that wealth which has no fear from either kings or thieves, and which one has not to abandon even at Death. Earned by one's own acts, that wealth has never to be divided among co-owners. Each enjoys that wealth (in the other world) which each has earned for himself. O son, give that to others by which they may be able to live in the next world. Do thou also set thyself to the acquisition of that wealth which is indestructible and durable. Do not think that thou shouldst first enjoy all kinds of pleasures and then turn thy heart on Emancipation, for before thou art satiated with enjoyment thou mayst be overtaken by Death. Do thou, in view of this, hasten to do acts of goodness. Neither mother, nor son, nor relatives, nor dear friends even when solicited with honours, accompany the man that dies. To the regions of Yama one has to go oneself, unaccompanied by any one. Only those deeds, good and bad, that one did before death accompany the man that goes to the other world. The gold and gems that one has earned by good and bad means do not become productive of any benefit to one when one's body meets with dissolution. Of men that have gone to the other world, there is no witness, better than the soul, of all act done or undone in life. That when the acting-Chaitanya (Jiva-soul) enters into the witness-Chaitanya the destruction of the body takes place, is seen by Yoga-intelligence when Yogins enter the firmament of their hearts. Even here, the god of Fire, the Sun and the Wind,--these three reside in the body. These, beholding as they do all the practices of one's life become one's witnesses. Days and Nights,--the former characterised by the virtue of displaying all things and the latter characterised by the virtue of concealing all things,--are running incessantly and touching all things (and thereby lessening their allotted periods of existence). Do thou, therefore, be observant of the duties of thy own order. The road in the other world (that leads to the regions of Yama), is infested by many foes (in the form of iron-beaked birds and wolves) and by many repulsive and terrible insects and worms. Do thou take care of thy own acts, for only acts will accompany you along that road. These one has not to share one's acts with others, but every one enjoys or endures the fruits of those acts which every one has himself performed. As Apsaras and great Rishis attain to fruits of great felicity, after the same manner, men of righteous deeds, as the fruits of their respective righteous acts, obtain in the other world cars of transcendent brightness that move everywhere at the will of the riders. Men of stainless deeds and cleansed souls and pure birth obtain in the next world fruits that correspond with their own righteous acts in this life. By walking along the high road constituted by the duties of domesticity, men acquire happy ends by attaining to the region of Prajapati or Vrihaspati or of him of a hundred sacrifices. I can give thee thousands and thousands of instructions. Know, however, that the puissant cleanser (viz., Righteousness), keeps all foolish persons in the Dark. Thou hast passed four and twenty years. Thou art now full five and twenty years of age. Thy years are passing away. Do thou beg in to lay thy store of righteousness. The Destroyer that dwells within error and heedlessness will very soon deprive thy senses of their respective powers. Do thou before that consummation is brought about, hasten to observe thy duties, relying on thy body alone. When it is thy duty to go along that road in which thyself only shalt be in front and thyself only in the rear, what need then hast thou with either thy body or thy spouse and children? When men have to go individually and without companions to the region of Yama, it is plain that in view of such a situation of terror, thou shouldst seek to acquire that one only treasure (viz., Righteousness or Yogasamadhi). The puissant Yama, regardless of the afflictions of others, snatches, away the friends and relatives of one's race by the very roots. There is no one that can resist him. Do thou, therefore, seek to acquire a stock of righteousness I impart to thee these lessons, O son, that are all agreeable with the scriptures I follow. Do thou observe them by acting according to their import. He who supports his body by following the duties laid down for his own order, and who makes gifts for earning whatever fruits may attach to such acts, becomes freed from the consequences that are born of ignorance and error. The knowledge which a man of righteous deeds acquires from Vedic declarations leads to omniscience. That omniscience is identical with the science of the highest object of human acquisition (viz., Emancipation). Instruction, imparted to the grateful, became beneficial (in consequence of their leading to the attainment of that highest object of human acquisition). The pleasure that one takes in living amidst the habitations of men is truly a fast-binding cord. Breaking that cord, men of righteous deeds repair to regions of great felicity. Wicked men, however, fail to break that bond. What use hast thou of wealth, O son, or with relatives, or with children, since thou hast to die: Do thou employ thyself in seeking for thy soul which is hidden in a cave. Where have all thy grandsires gone? Do that today which thou wouldst keep for tomorrow. Do that in the forenoon which thou wouldst keep for the afternoon. Death does not wait for any one, to see whether one has or has not accomplished one's task. Following the body after one's death (to the crematorium), one's relatives and kinsmen and friends come back, throwing it on the funeral pyre. Without a scruple do thou avoid those men that are sceptics, that are destitute of compassion, and that are devoted to wicked ways, and do thou endeavour to seek, without listlessness or apathy, that which is for thy highest good. When, therefore, the world is thus afflicted by Death, do thou, with thy whole heart, achieve righteousness, aided all the while by unswerving patience. That man who is well conversant with the means of attaining to Emancipation and who duly discharges the duties of his order, certainly attains to great felicity in the other world. For thee that dost not recognise death in the attainment of a different body and that dost not deviate from the path trod by the righteous, there is no destruction. He that increases the stock of righteousness is truly wise. He, on the other hand, that falls away from righteousness is said to be a fool. One that is engaged in the accomplishment of good deeds attains to heaven and other rewards as the fruits of those deeds; but he that is devoted to wicked deeds has to sink in hell. Having acquired the status of humanity, so difficult of acquisition, that is the stepping-stone to heaven, one should fix one's soul on Brahma so that one may not fall away once more. That man whose understanding, directed to the path of heaven, does not deviate therefrom, is regarded by the wise as truly a man of righteousness and when he dies his friends should indulge in grief. That man whose understanding is not restless and which is directed to Brahma and who has attained to heaven, becomes freed from a great terror (viz., hell). They that are born in retreats of ascetics and that die there, do not earn much merit by abstaining all their life from enjoyments and the indulgence of desire. He, however, who though possessed of objects of enjoyment casts them off and engages himself in the practice of penances, succeeds in acquiring everything. The fruits of the penances of such a man are, I think, much higher. Mothers and sires and sons and spouses, by hundreds and thousands, every one had and will have in this world. Who, however, were they and whose are we? I am quite alone. I have no one whom I may call mine. Nor do I belong to any one else. I do not see that person whose I am, nor do I see him whom I may call mine. They have nothing to do with thee. Thou hest nothing to do with them. All creatures take birth agreeably to their acts of past lives. Thou also shalt have to go hence (for taking birth in a new order) determined by thy own acts. In this world it is seen that the friends and followers of only those that are rich behave towards the rich with devotion. The friends and followers of those, however, that are poor fall away during even the life-time of the poor. Man commits numerous evil acts for the sake of his wife (and children). From those evil acts he derives much distress both here and hereafter. The wise man beholds the world of life devastated by the acts performed by every living being. Do thou, therefore, O son, act according to all the instructions I have given thee! The man possessed of true vision, beholding this world to be only a field of action, should, from desire of felicity in the next world, do acts that are good. Time, exerting his irresistible strength, cooks all creatures (in his own cauldron), with the aid of his ladle constituted by months and seasons, the sun for his fire, and days and nights for his fuel, days and nights, that is that are the witnesses of the fruits of every act done by every creature. For what purpose is that wealth which is not given away and which is not enjoyed? For what purpose is that strength which is not employed in resisting or subjugating one's foes? For what purpose is that knowledge of the scriptures which does not impel one to deeds of righteousness? And for what purpose is that soul which does not subjugate the senses and abstain from evil acts? "Bhishma continued, 'Having heard these beneficial words spoken by the Island-born (Vyasa), Suka, leaving his sire, proceeded to seek a preceptor that could teach him the religion of Emancipation.'"

SECTION 323

"Yudhishthira said, 'If there is any efficacy in gifts, in sacrifices, in penances well-performed, and in dutiful services rendered to preceptors and other reverend seniors, do thou, O grandsire, speak of the same to me. "Bhishma said, 'An understanding associated with evil causes the mind to fall into sin. In this state one stains one's acts, and then falls into great distress. Those that are of sinful acts have to take birth as persons of very indigent circumstances. From famine to famine, from pain to pain, from fear to fear, is their change. They are more dead than those that are dead. Possessed of affluence, from joy to joy, from heaven to heaven, from happiness to happiness, proceed they that are possessed of faith, that are self-restrained, and that are devoted to righteous deeds. They that are unbelievers have to pass, with groping hands, through regions infested by beasts of prey and elephants and pathless tracts teeming with snakes and robbers and other causes of fear. What more need be said of these? They, on the other hand, that are endued with reverence for gods and guests, that are liberal, that have proper regard for persons that are good, and that make gifts in sacrifices, have for theirs the path (of felicity) that belongs to men of cleansed and subdued souls. Those that are not righteous should not be counted among men even as grains without kernel are not counted among grain and as cockroaches are not counted among birds. The acts that one does, follow one even when one runs fast. Whatever acts one does, lie down with the doer who lays himself down. Indeed, the sins one does, sit when the doer sits, and run when he runs. The sins act when the doer acts, and, in fact follow the doer like his shadow. Whatever the acts one does by whatever means and under whatever circumstances, are sure to be enjoyed and endured (in respect of their fruits) by the doer in his next life. From every side Time is always dragging all creatures, duly observing the rule in respect of the distance to which they are thrown and which is commensurate with their acts. [Time, as a personified agent, is throwing all creatures at unequal distances. Some are

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thrown near and some to a great distance. These distances are regulated by the nature of the acts done by the creatures thrown. Some are cast among animals, some among men. Throwing or hurling them thus, Time drags them again, the binding-cords being always in his hands.] As flowers and fruits, without being urged, never suffer their proper time to pass away without making their appearance, even so the acts one has done in past life make their appearance at the proper time. Honour and dishonour, gain and loss, destruction and growth, are seen to set in. No one can resist them (when they come). One of them is enduring, for disappear it must after appearance. The sorrows one suffers is the result of one's acts. The happiness one enjoys flows from one's acts. From the time when one lies within the mother's womb one begins to enjoy and endure one's acts of a past life. Whatever acts good and bad one does in childhood, youth, or old age, one enjoys and endures their consequences in one's next life in similar ages. As the calf recognises its dam even when the latter may stand among thousands of her species, after the same manner the acts done by one in one's past life come to one n one's next life (without any mistake) although one may live among thousands of one's species. As a piece of dirty cloth is whitened by being washed in water, after the same manner, the righteous, cleansed by continuous exposure unto the fire of fasts and penances, at last attain to unending happiness. O thou of high intelligence, the desires and purposes of those whose sins have been washed off by long-continued penances well-performed, become crowned with fruition. The track of the righteous cannot be discerned even as that of birds in the, sky or that of fishes in the water. There is no need of speaking ill of others, nor of reciting the instances in which others have tripped. On the other hand, one should always do what is delightful, agreeable, an beneficial to one's own self.'"

SECTION 324

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me, O grandsire, how the high-souled Suka of austere penances took birth as the son of Vyasa, and how did he succeed in attaining to the highest success? Upon what woman did Vyasa, endued with wealth of asceticism, beget that son of his? We do not know who was Suka's mother, nor do we know anything of the birth of that high-souled ascetic. How was it that, when he was a mere boy, his mind became directed to the knowledge of the subtile (Brahma)? Indeed, in this world no second person can be seen in whom such predilections could be marked at so early an age. I desire to hear all this in detail, O thou of great intelligence. I am never satiated with hearing thy excellent and nectar-like words. Tell me, O grandsire in their proper order, of the greatness, and the knowledge of Suka and of his union with the (Supreme) Soul!"

"Bhishma continued, 'The Rishis did not make merit depend upon years or decrepitude or wealth or friends. They said that he amongst them was great that studied the Vedas. All this that thou enquirest bout has penances for its root. That penance, again, O son of Pandu, rises from the subjugation of the senses. Without doubt, one incurs fault by giving one's senses the reins. It is only by restraining them that one succeeds in earning success. The merit that attaches to a thousand Horse-sacrifices or a hundred Vajapeyas cannot come up to even a sixteenth portion of the merit that arises from Yoga, I shall, on the present occasion, recite to thee the circumstances of Suka's birth, the fruits he won f his penances, and the foremost end he achieved (by his acts), topics that are incapable of being understood by persons of uncleansed soul. Once on a time on the summit of Meru adorned with karnikara flowers, Mahadeva sported, accompanied by the terrible spirits that were his associates. The daughter of the king of mountains, viz., the goddess Parvati, was also there. There at the close vicinity of that summit, the Island-born (Vyasa) underwent extraordinary austerities. O best of the Kurus, devoted to the practices of Yoga, the great ascetic withdrawing himself by Yoga into his own Soul, and engaged in Dharana, practised many austerities for the sake of (obtaining) a son. The prayer he addressed to the great God was,--O puissant one, let me have a son that will have he puissance of Fire and Earth and Water and Wind and Space. Engaged in the austerest of penances, the Island-born Rishi begged of that at God who is incapable of being approached by persons of uncleansed souls, (not by words but) by his Yoga-resolution. The puissant Vyasa remained there for a hundred years, subsisting on air alone, engaged in adoring Mahadeva of multifarious form, the lord of Uma. Thither all the regenerate Rishis and royal sages and the Regents of the world and the Sadhyas along with the Vasus, and the Adityas, the Rudras, and Surya and Chandramas, and the Maruts, and the Oceans, and the Rivers and the Aswins, the Deities, the Gandharvas, and Narada and Parvata and the Gandharva Viswavasu, and the Siddhas, and the Apsaras. There Mahadeva, called also by the name of Rudra, sat, decked with an excellent garland of Karnikara flowers, and blazed with effulgence like the Moon with his rays. In those delightful and celestial woods populous with deities and heavenly Rishis, the great Rishi remained, engaged in high Yoga-contemplation, from desire of obtaining a son. His strength suffered no diminution, nor did he feel any pain. At this the three worlds were much amazed. While the Rishi, possessed of immeasurable energy, sat in Yoga, his matted locks, in consequence of his energy, were seen to blaze like flames of fire. The illustrious Markandeya it was from whom I heard of this. He used always to recite to me the acts of the deities. It is for this that the matted locks of the high-souled and (Island-born) Krishna, thus emblazed by his energy on that occasion, seem to this day to be endued with the complexion of fire. Gratified with such penances and such devotion, O Bharata, of the Rishi, the great God resolved (to grant him his wish). The Three-eyed deity, smiling with pleasure, addressed him and said,--O Island-born one, thou shalt get a son like to what thou wishest! Possessed of greatness, he shall be as pure as Fire, as Wind, as Earth, as Water, and as Space! He shall be possessed of the consciousness of his being Brahma's self; his understanding and soul shall be devoted to Brahma, and he shall completely depend upon Brahma so as to be identifiable with it!'"

SECTION 325

"Bhishma said. 'The son of Satyavati having obtained this high boon from the great God, was one day employed in rubbing his sticks for making a fire. While thus engaged, the illustrious Rishi, O king, beheld the Apsara Ghritachi, who, in consequence of her energy, was then possessed of great beauty. Beholding the Apsara in those woods, the illustrious Rishi Vyasa, O Yudhishthira, became suddenly smitten with desire. The Apsara (Ghritachi), seeing the Rishi's heart troubled by desire, transformed herself into a she-parrot and came to that spot. Although he beheld the Apsara disguised in another form, the desire that had arisen in the Rishi's heart (without disappearing) spread itself over every part of his body. Summoning all his patience, the ascetic endeavoured to suppress that desire; with all his effort, however, Vyasa did not succeed in controlling his agitated mind. In consequence of the inevitability of what was to happen, the Rishi's heart was attracted by Ghritachi's fair form. He set himself more earnestly to the task of making a fire for suppressing his emotion, but in spite of all his efforts his vital seed came out. That best of regenerate ones, however, O king, continued to rub his stick without feeling any scruples for what had happened. From the seed that fell, was born a son unto him, called Suka. In consequence of his circumstance attending his birth, he came to be called by name of Suka. Indeed, it was thus that great ascetic that foremost of Rishis and highest of Yogins, took birth from the two sticks (his father had for making fire). As in a sacrifice a blazing fire shed its effulgence all around when libations of clarified butter are poured upon it, after the same manner did Suka take his birth, blazing with effulgence in consequence of his own energy. Assuming the excellent form and complexion that were his sire, Suka, O son of Kuru, of cleansed Soul, shone like a smokeless fire. The foremost of rivers, viz., Ganga. O king, coming to the breast of Meru, in her own embodied form, bathed Suka (after his birth) with her waters. There fell from the welkin, O son of Kuru, an ascetic's stick and a dark deer-skin for the use, O monarch, of the high-souled Suka. The Gandharvas sang repeatedly and the diverse tribes of Apsaras danced; and celestial kettledrums of loud sound began to beat. The Gandharva Viswavasu, and Tumvuru and Varada, and those other Gandharvas called by the names of Haha, and Huhu, eulogised the birth of Suka. There the regents of the world with Sakra at their head came, as also the deities and the celestial and the regenerate Rishis. The Wind-god poured showers of celestial flowers upon the spot. The entire universe, mobile, and immobile, became, filled with joy. The high-souled Mahadeva of great effulgence, accompanied by the Goddess, and moved by affection, came there and soon after the birth of the Muni's son invested him with the sacred-thread. Sakra, the chief of the gods, gave him, from affection, a celestial Kamandalu of excellent form, and some celestial robes. Swans and Satapatras and cranes by thousands, and many parrots and Chasas, O Bharata, wheeled over his head. Endued with great splendour and intelligence, Suka, having obtained his birth from the two sticks, continued to live there, engaged the while in the attentive observance of many vows and fasts. As soon as Suka was born, the Vedas with all their mysteries and all their abstracts, came for dwelling in him, O king, even as they dwell in his sire. For all that, Suka selected Vrihaspati, who was conversant with all the Vedas together with their branches and commentaries, for his preceptor, remembering the universal practice. [Although the Vedas came to Suka of their own accord, yet he was in deference to the universal custom, obliged to formally acquire them from a preceptor.] Having studied all the Vedas together with all their mysteries and abstracts, as also all the histories and the science of government, O puissant monarch, the great ascetic returned home, after giving his preceptor the tuition fee. Adopting the vow of a Brahmacharin, he then commenced to practise the austerest penances concentrating all his attention thereon. In even his childhood, he became an object of respect with the gods and Rishis for his knowledge and penances. The mind of the great ascetic, O king, took no pleasure in the three modes of life with the domestic among them, keeping in view, as he did, the religion of Emancipation.'"

SECTION 326

"Bhishma said, 'Thinking of Emancipation, Suka approached his sire and possessed as he was of humility and desirous of achieving his highest good, he saluted his great preceptor and said,--Thou art well versed in the religion of Emancipation. Do thou O illustrious one, discourse to me upon it, so that supreme tranquillity of mind, O puissant one, may be mine!--Hearing these words of his son, the great Rishi said unto him,--Do thou study, O son, the religion of Emancipation and all the diverse duties of life!--At the command of his sire, Suka, that foremost of all righteous men, mastered all the treatises on Yoga, O Bharata. as also the science promulgated by Kapila. When Vyasa behind his son to be possessed of the resplendence of the Vedas, endued with the energy of Brahma, and fully conversant with the religion of Emancipation, he addressed him, saying,--Go thou to Janaka the ruler of Mithila. The king of Mithila will tell thee everything for thy Emancipation.--Bearing the command of his sire, O king, Suka proceeded to Mithila for enquiring of its king about the truth of duties and the Refuge of Emancipation. Before he set out, his sire further told him,--Do thou go thither by that path which ordinary human beings take. Do not have recourse to thy Yoga-puissance for proceeding through the skies--At this Suka was not at all surprised (for he was humble by nature). He was further told that he should proceed thither with simplicity and not from desire of pleasure.--Along your way do not seek for friends and spouses, since friends and spouses are causes of attachment to the world. Although the ruler of Mithila is one in whose sacrifices we officiate, still thou shouldst not indulge in any feeling of superiority while living with him. Thou shouldst live under his direction and in obedience to him. Even he will dispel all thy doubts. [Vyasa was the priest or Ritwija of the house of Mithila and as such the kings of Mithila were his Yajyas or Yajamanas. The duty of a Yajamana is to reverence every member of the priest's family. The sire, therefore, cautions the son that he should not, while living with the king of Mithila, assert his superiority over him in any respect.] That king is well versed in all duties and well acquainted with the scriptures on Emancipation. He is one for whom I officiate in sacrifices. Thou shouldst, without any scruple, do what he bids.--Thus instructed, the righteous-souled Suka proceeded to Mithila on foot although he was able to traverse through the skies over the whole Earth with her seas. Crossing many hills and mountains, many rivers, many waters and lakes, and many woods and forests abounding with beasts of prey and other animals, crossing, the two Varshas of Meru and Hari successively and next the Varsha of Himavat, he came at last to the Varsha known by the name of Bharata. Having seen many countries inhabited by Chins and Huns, the great ascetic at last reached Aryavarta. In obedience to the commands of his sire and bearing them constantly in his mind, he gradually passed along his way on the Earth like a bird passing through the air. Passing through many delightful towns and populous cities, he saw diverse kinds of wealth without waiting to observe them. On his way he passed through many delightful gardens and planes and many sacred waters. Before much time had passed he reached the country of the Videhas that was protected by the virtuous and high-souled Janaka. There he beheld many populous villages, and many kinds of food and drink and viands and habitations of cowherds swelling with men and many herds of cattle. He beheld many fields abounding with paddy and barley and other grain, and many lakes and waters inhabited by swans and cranes and adorned with beautiful lotuses. Passing through the Videha country teeming with well-to-do people, he arrived at the delightful gardens of Mithila rich with many species of trees. Abounding with elephants and horses and cars, and peopled by men and women, he passed through them without waiting to observe any of the things that were presented to his eye. Bearing that burthen in his mind and ceaselessly dwelling upon it (viz., the desire of mastering the religion of Emancipation), Suka of cheerful soul and taking delight in internal survey only, reached Mithila at last. Arrived at the gate, he sent word through the keepers. Endued with tranquillity of mind, devoted to contemplation and Yoga, he entered the city, having obtained permission. Proceeding along the principal street abounding with well-to-do men, he reached the king's palace and entered it without any scruples. The porters forbade him with rough words. Thereat, Suka, without any anger, stopped and waited. Neither the sun nor the long distance he had walked had fatigued him in the least. Neither hunger, nor thirst, nor the exertion he had made, had weakened him. The heat of the Sun had not scorched or pained or distressed him in any degree. Among those porters there was one who felt compassion for him, beholding him staying there like the midday Sun in his effulgence. Worshipping him in due form and saluting him properly, with joined hands he led him to the first chamber of the palace. Seated there, Suka, O son, began to think of Emancipation only. Possessed of equable splendour he looked with an equal

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eye upon a shaded spot and one exposed to the Sun's rays. Very soon after, the king's minister, coming to that place with joined hands, led him to the second chamber of the palace. That chamber led to a spacious garden which formed a portion of the inner apartments of the palace. It looked like a second Chaitraratha. Beautiful pieces of water occurred here and there at regular intervals. Delightful trees, all of which were in their flowering season, stood in that garden. Bevies of damsels, of transcendent beauty, were in attendance. The minister led Suka from the second chamber to that delightful spot. Ordering those damsels to give the ascetic a seat, the minister left him there. Those well-dressed damsels were of beautiful features, possessed of excellent hips, young in years, clad in red robes of fine texture, and decked with many ornaments of burnished gold. They were well-skilled in agreeable conversation and maddening revelry, and thorough mistresses of the arts of dance and singing. Always opening their lips with smiles, they were equal to the very Apsaras in beauty. Well-skilled in all the acts of dalliance, competent to read the thoughts of men upon whom they wait, possessed of every accomplishment, fifty damsels, of a very superior order and of easy virtue, surrounded the ascetic. Presenting him with water for washing his feet, and worshipping him respectfully with the offer of the usual articles, they gratified him with excellent viands agreeable to the season. After he had eaten, those damsels then, one after another, singly led him through the grounds, showing him every object of interest, O Bharata. Sporting and laughing and singing, those damsels, conversant with the thoughts of all men, entertained that auspicious ascetic of noble soul. The pure-souled ascetic born in the fire-sticks, observant without scruples of any kind of his duties, having all his senses under complete control, and a thorough master of his wrath, was neither pleased nor angered at all this. Then those foremost of beautiful women gave him an excellent seat. Washing his feet and other limbs, Suka said his evening prayers, sat on that excellent seat, and began to think of the object for which he had come there. In the first part of the night, he devoted himself to Yoga. The puissant ascetic, passed the middle portion of the night in sleep. Very soon waking up from his slumber, he went through the necessary rites of cleansing his body, and though surrounded by those beautiful women, he once again devoted himself to Yoga. It was in this way, O Bharata, that the son of the Island-born Krishna passed the latter part of that day and the whole of that night in the palace of king Janaka.'"

SECTION 327

"Bhishma said, The next morning, king Janaka, O Bharata, accompanied by his minister and the whole household, came to Suka, placing his priest in the van. Bringing with him costly seats and diverse kinds of jewels and gems, and bearing the ingredients of the Arghya on his own head, the monarch approached the son of his reverend preceptor. The king, taking with his own hands, from the hands of his priest, that seat adorned with many gems, overlaid with an excellent sheet, beautiful in all its parts, and exceedingly costly, presented it with great reverence to his preceptor's son Suka. After the son of (the Island-born) Krishna had taken his seat on it, the king worshipped him according to prescribed rites. At first offering him water to wash his feet, he then presented him the Arghya and kine. The ascetic accepted that worship offered with due rites and mantras. That foremost of regenerate persons, having thus accepted the worship offered by the king, and taking the kine also that were presented to him, then saluted the monarch. Possessed of great energy, he next enquired after the king's welfare and prosperity. Indeed, O king, Suka embraced in his enquiry the welfare of the monarch's followers and officers also. Receiving Suka's permission, Janaka sat down with all his followers. Endued with a high soul and possessed of high birth, the monarch, with joined hands, sat down on the bare ground and enquired after the welfare and unabated prosperity of Vyasa's son. The monarch then asked his guest the object of his visit.

"Suka said, Blessed be thou, my sire said unto me that his Yajamana, the ruler of the Videhas, known all over the world by the name of Janaka, is well-versed in the religion of Emancipation. He commanded me to come to him without delay, if I had any doubts requiring solution in the matter of the religion of either Pravritti or Nivritti. He gave me to understand that the king of Mithila would dispel all my doubts. I have, therefore, come hither, at the command of my sire, for the purpose of taking lessons from thee. It behoveth thee, O foremost of all righteous persons, to instruct me! What are the duties of a Brahmana, and what is the essence of those duties that have Emancipation for their object. How also is Emancipation to be obtained? Is it obtainable by the aid of knowledge or by that of penances?

'Janaka said, Hear what the duties are of a Brahmana from the time of his birth. After his investiture, O son, with the sacred-thread, he should devote his attention to the study of the Vedas. By practising penances and dutifully serving his preceptor and observing the duties of Brahmacharyya, O puissant one, he should pay off the debt he owes to the deities and the Pitris, and cast off all malice. Having studied the Vedas with close attention and subjugated his senses, and having given his preceptor the tuition fee, he should, with the permission of his preceptor, return home. Returning home, he should betake himself to the domestic mode of life and weeding a spouse confine himself to her, and live freeing himself from every kind of malice, and having established his domestic fire. Living in the domestic mode, he should procreate sons and grandsons. After that, he should retire to the forest, and continue to worship the same fires and entertain guests with cordial hospitality. Living righteously in the forest, he should at last establish his fire in his soul, and freed from all pairs of opposites, and casting off all attachments from the soul, he should pass his days in the mode called Sannyasa which is otherwise called the mode of Brahma.

"'Suka said, If one succeeds in attaining to an understanding cleansed by study of the scriptures and to true conceptions of all things, and if the heart succeeds in freeing itself permanently from the effects of all pairs of opposites, is it still necessary for such a person to adopt, one after another, the three modes of life called Brahmacharyya, Garhastya, and Vanaprastha? This is what I ask thee. It behoveth thee to tell me. Indeed, O ruler of men, do tell me this according to the true import of the Vedas! "'Janaka said, Without the aid of an understanding cleansed by study of the scriptures and without that true conception of all things which is known by the name of Vijnana, the attainment of Emancipation is impossible. That cleansed understanding, again, it is said, is unattainable without one's connection with a preceptor. The preceptor is the helmsman, and knowledge is the boat (aided by whom and which one succeeds in crossing the ocean of the world). After having acquired that boat, one becomes crowned with success. Indeed, having crossed the' ocean, one may abandon both. For preventing the destruction of all the worlds and for preventing the destruction of acts (upon which the world depend), the duties appertaining to the four modes of life were practised by the wise of old. By abandoning acts, good and bad, agreeably to this order of acts one succeeds, in course of many birth, in attaining to Emancipation. [It is certain that one must abandon all acts before one can attain to Emancipation. But then acts should not be cast off all at once. It is according to this order that they should be abandoned, i.e., in the order of the several modes.] That man who, through penances performed in course of many births, succeeds in obtaining a cleansed mind and understanding and soul, certainly becomes able to attain to Emancipation (in a new birth) in even the very first mode viz., Brahmacharyya. When, having attained to a cleansed understanding, Emancipation becomes his and in consequence thereof he becomes possessed of knowledge in respect of all visible things, what desirable object is there to attain by observing the three other modes of life? One should always cast off faults born of the attributes of Rajas and Tamas. Adhering to the path of Sattwa, one should know Self by Self. Beholding one's self in all creatures and all creatures in one's self, one should live (without being attached to anything) like aquatic animals living in water without being drenched by that element. He who succeeds in transcending all pairs of attributes and resisting their influence, succeeds in casting off all attachments, and attains to infinite felicity in the next world, going thither like a bird soaring into the sky from below. In this connection, there is a saying sung of old by king Yayati and borne in remembrance, O sire, by all persons conversant with the scriptures bearing upon Emancipation. The effulgent ray (i.e., the Supreme Soul) exists in one's Soul and not anywhere else. It exists equally in all creatures. One can see it oneself if one's heart be devoted to Yoga. When a person lives in such a way that another is not inspired with fear at his sight, and when a person is not himself inspired with fear at the sight of others, when a person ceases to cherish desire and hate, he is then said to attain to Brahma. When a person ceases to entertain a sinful attitude towards all creatures in thought, word, and deed, he is then said to attain to Brahma. By restraining the mind and the soul, by casting off malice that stupefies the mind, and by throwing off desire and stupefaction, one is said to attain to Brahma. When a person assumes an equality of attitude in respect of all objects of hearing and vision (and the operations of the other senses) as also in respect of all living creatures, and transcends all pairs of opposites, he is then said to attain to Brahma. When person casts an equal eye upon praise and dispraise, gold and iron, happiness and misery, heat and cold, good and evil, the agreeable and the disagreeable, life and death, he is then said to attain to Brahma. One observing the duties of the mendicant orders should restrain one's senses and the mind even like a tortoise withdrawing its out-stretched limbs. As a house enveloped in darkness is capable of being seen with the aid of a lighted lamp, after the same manner can the soul be seen with the aid of the lamp of the understanding. O foremost of intelligent persons, I see that all this knowledge that I am communicating to thee dwells in thee. Whatever else should be known by one desirous of learning the religion of Emancipation is already known to thee. O regenerate Rishi, I am convinced that through the grace of thy preceptor and through the instructions thou hast received, thou hast already transcended all objects of the senses. O great ascetic, through the grace of that sire of thine, I have attained to omniscience, and hence I have succeeded in knowing thee. Thy knowledge is much greater than what thou thinkest thou hast. Thy perceptions also that result from intuition are much greater than what thou thinkest thou hast. Thy puissance also is much greater than thou art conscious of. Whether in consequence of thy tender age, or of the doubts thou hast not been able to dispel, or of the fear that is due to the unattainment of Emancipation, thou art not conscious of that knowledge due to intuition although it has arisen in thy mind. After one's doubts have been dispelled by persons like us, one succeeds in opening the knots of one's heart and then, by a righteous exertion one attains to and becomes conscious of that knowledge. As regards thyself, thou art one that hast already acquired knowledge. Thy intelligence is steady and tranquil. Thou art free from covetousness. For all that, O Brahmana, one never succeeds in attaining to Brahma, which is the highest object of acquisition, without exertion. Thou seest no distinction between happiness and misery. Thou art not covetous. Thou hast no longing for dancing and song. Thou hast no attachments. Thou hast no attachment to friends. Thou hast no fear in things that inspire fear. O blessed one, I see that thou castest an equal eye upon a lump of gold and a clod of earth. Myself and other persons possessed of wisdom, behold thee established in the highest and indestructible path of tranquillity. Thou stayest, O Brahmana, in those duties which obtain for the Brahmana that fruit which should be his and which is identical with the essence of the object represented by Emancipation. What else hast thou to ask me?'"

SECTION 328

"Bhishma said, 'Having heard these words of king Janaka, Suka of cleansed soul and settled conclusions began to stay in his Soul by his Soul, having of course seen Self by Self. His object being accomplished, he became happy and tranquil, and without putting further questions to Janaka, he proceeded northwards to the mountains of Himavat with the speed of the wind and like the wind. These mountains abounded with diverse tribes of Apsaras and echoed with many lofty sounds. Teeming with thousands of Kinnaras and Bhringarajas it was adorned, besides, with many Madgus and Khanjaritas and many Jivajivakas of variegated hue. And there were many peacocks also of gorgeous colours, uttering their shrill but melodious cries. Many bevies of swans also, and many flights of gladdened Kokilas too, adorned the place. The prince of birds, viz., Garuda, dwelt on that summit constantly. The four Regents of the world, the deities, and diverse classes of Rishis, used always to come there from the desire of doing good to the world. It was there that the high-souled Vishnu had undergone the severest austerities for the object of obtaining a son. It was there that the celestial generalissimo named Kumara, in his younger days, disregarding the three worlds with all the celestial denizens, threw down his dart, piercing the Earth therewith. Throwing down his dart, Skanda addressing the universe, said,--If there be any person that is superior to me in might, or that holds Brahmanas to be dearer, or that can compare with me in devotion to the Brahmanas and the Vedas, or that is possessed of energy like unto me, let him draw up this dart or at least shake it!--Hearing this challenge, the three worlds become filled with anxiety, and all creatures asked one another, saying,--Who will raise this dart?--Vishnu beheld all the deities and Asuras and Rakshasas to be troubled in their senses and mind. He reflected upon what should be the best to be done under the circumstances. Without being able to bear that challenge in respect of the hurling of the dart, he cast his eyes on Skanda, the son of the Fire-god. The pure-souled Vishnu caught hold of the blazing dart, with his left hand, and began to shake it. When the dart was being thus shaken by Vishnu possessed of great might, the whole Earth with her mountains, forests, and seas, shook with the dart. Although Vishnu was fully competent to raise the dart, still he contented himself with only shaking it. In this, the puissant lord only kept the honour of Skanda intact. Having shaken it himself, the divine Vishnu, addressing Prahlada, said,--Behold the might of Kumara! None else in the universe can raise this dart! Unable to bear this, Prahlada resolved to raise the dart. He seized it, but was unable to shake it at all, Uttering a loud cry, he fell down on the hill-top in a swoon. Indeed, the son of Hiranya-kasipu fell down on the Earth. Repairing towards the northern side of those grand mountains, Mahadeva, having the bull for his sign, had undergone the austerest penances. The asylum where Mahadeva had undergone those austerities is encompassed on all sides with a blazing fire. Unapproachable by persons of uncleansed souls, that mountain is known by the name of Aditya. There is a fiery girdle all around it, of the width of ten Yojanas, and it is incapable of being approached by Yakshas and Rakshasas and Danavas. The illustrious god of Fire, possessed of mighty energy, dwells there in person employed in removing all impediments from the side of Mahadeva of great wisdom who remained there for a thousand celestial

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years, all the while standing on one foot. Dwelling on the side of that foremost of mountains, Mahadeva of high vows (by his penances) scorched the deities greatly. [It is believed that a person, by performing austere penances, scorches the three worlds. It is in consequence of this effect of penances that the superior deities were always compelled by the Asuras and Danavas to grant them whatever boons they solicited.] At the foot of those mountains, in a retired spot, Parasara's son of great ascetic merit, viz., Vyasa, taught the Vedas unto his disciples. Those disciples were the highly blessed Sumantra, Vaisampayana, Jaimini of great wisdom, and Paila of great ascetic merit. Suka proceeded to that delightful asylum where his sire, the great ascetic Vyasa, was dwelling, surrounded by his disciples. Seated in his asylum, Vyasa beheld his son approach like a blazing fire of scattered flames, or resembling the sun himself in effulgence. As Suka approached, he did not seem to touch the trees or the rocks of the mountain. Completely dissociated from all objects of the senses, engaged in Yoga, the high-souled ascetic came, resembling, in speed, a shaft let from a bow. Born on the fire-sticks, Suka, approaching, his sire, touched his feet. With becoming formalities he then accosted the disciples of his sire. With great cheerfulness he then detailed to his father all the particulars of his conversation with king Janaka. Vyasa the son of Parasara, after the arrival of his puissant son, continued to dwell there on the Himavat engaged in teaching his disciples and his son. One day as he was seated, his disciples, all well-skilled in the Vedas, having their senses under control, and endued with tranquil souls, sat themselves around him. All of them had thoroughly mastered the Vedas with their branches. All of them were observant of penances. With joined hands they addressed their preceptor in the following words.

"The disciples said, We have, through thy grace, been endued with great energy. Our fame also has spread. There is one favour that we humbly solicit thee to grant us. Hearing these words of theirs, the regenerate Rishi answered them, saying, "Ye sons, tell me what that boon is which ye wish I should grant you! Hearing this answer of their preceptor, the disciples became filled with joy. Once more bowing their heads low unto their preceptor and joining their hands, all of them in one voice said, O king, these excellent words: If our preceptor has been pleased with us, then, O best of sages, we are sure to be crowned with success! We all solicit thee, O great Rishi, to grant us a boon. Be thou inclined to be graceful to us. Let no sixth disciple (besides us five) succeed in attaining to fame! We are four. Our preceptor's son forms the fifth. Let the Vedas shine in only as five! Even this is the boon that we solicit;--Hearing these words of his disciples, Vyasa, the son of Parasara, possessed of great intelligence, well-conversant with the meaning of the Vedas, endued with a righteous soul, and always engaged in thinking of objects that confer benefits on a person in the world hereafter, said unto his disciples these righteous words fraught with great benefit: The Vedas should always be given unto him who is a Brahmana, or unto him who is desirous of listening to Vedic instructions, by him who eagerly wishes to attain a residence in the region of Brahman! Do ye multiply, Let the Vedas spread (through your exertions). The Vedas should never be imparted unto one that has not formally become a disciple. Nor should they be given unto one who is not observant of good vows. Nor should they be given for dwelling in one that is of uncleansed soul. These should be known as the proper qualifications of persons that can be accepted as disciples (for the communication of Vedic knowledge). No science should be imparted unto one without a proper examination of one's character, as pure gold is tested by heat, cutting and rubbing, after the same manner disciples should be tested by their birth and accomplishments. Ye should never set your disciples to tasks to which they should not be set, or to tasks that are fraught with danger. One's knowledge is always commensurate with one's understanding and diligence in study. Let all disciples conquer all difficulties, and let all of them meet with auspicious success. Ye are competent to lecture on the scriptures unto persons of all the orders. Only ye should, while lecturing, address a Brahmana, placing him in the van. These are the rules in respect of the study of the Vedas. This again is regarded as a high task. The Vedas were created by the Self-born for the purpose of praising the deities therewith. That man who, through stupefaction of intellect, speaks ill of a Brahmana well-conversant with the Vedas, is certain to meet with humiliation in consequence of such evil-speaking. He who disregarding all righteous rules, solicits knowledge, and he who, disregarding the rules of righteousness, communicates knowledge, either of them falls off and instead of that affection which should prevail between preceptor and disciple, such, questioning and such communication are sure to produce distrust and suspicion. I have now told ye everything about the way in which the Vedas should be studied and taught. Ye should act in this way towards your disciples, bearing these instructions in your minds.'"

SECTION 329

"Bhishma said, 'Hearing these words of their preceptor, Vyasa's disciples endued with energy, became filled with joy and embraced one another. Addressing one another, they said,--That which has been said by our illustrious preceptor in view of our future good, will live in our remembrance and we shall certainly act according to it.--Having said this unto one another with joyful hearts, the disciples of Vyasa, who were thorough masters of words, once more addressed their preceptor and said,--If it pleases thee, O puissant one, we wish to descend from this mountain to the Earth, O great ascetic, for the purpose of subdividing the Vedas!--Hearing these words of his disciples, the puissant son of Parasara replied unto them in these beneficial words that were fraught, besides, with righteousness and profit,--You may repair to the Earth or to the regions of the celestials, as ye like. You should always be heedful, for the Vedas are such that they are always liable to be misunderstood!-Permitted by their preceptor of truthful speech, the disciples left him after circumambulating him and bowing their heads unto him. Descending upon the Earth they performed the Agnishtoma and other sacrifices; and they began to officiate at the sacrifices of Brahmanas and Kshatriyas and Vaidyas. Happily passing their days in the domestic mode of life, they were treated by the Brahmanas with great respect. Possessed of great fame and prosperity, they were employed in teaching and officiating in sacrifices. After his disciples had gone away, Vyasa remained in his asylum, with only his son in his company. Passing his days in anxious thoughtfulness, the great Rishi, possessed of wisdom, kept silent, sitting in a retired corner of the asylum. At that time Narada of great ascetic merit came to that spot for seeing Vyasa, and addressing him, said these words of melodious sound.

"'Narada said, O regenerate Rishi of Vasishtha's race, why are Vedic sounds silent now? Why art thou sitting silent and alone engaged in meditation like one taken up with an engrossing thought? Alas, shorn of Vedic echoes, this mountain hath lost its beauty, even as the Moon shorn of splendour when assailed by Rahu or enveloped in dust. Though inhabited by the celestial Rishis, yet shorn of Vedic sounds, the mountain no longer looks beautiful now but resembles a hamlet of Nishadas. The Rishis, the deities, and the Gandharvas, too, no longer shine as before in consequence of being deprived of Vedic sound!--Hearing these words of Narada, the Island-born Krishna answered, saying,--O great Rishi, O thou art conversant with the declarations of the Vedas, all that thou hast said is agreeable to me and it truly behoves thee to say it unto me! Thou omniscient, thou hast seen everything. Thy curiosity also embraces all things within its sphere. All that has ever occurred in the three worlds is well known to thee. Do thou then, O regenerate Rishi, set thy commands on me. O, tell me what I am to do! Tell me, O regenerate Rishi, what should now be done by me. Separated from my disciples, my mind has become very cheerless now.

'Narada said, The stain of the Vedas is the suspension of their recitation. The stain of the Brahmanas is their non-observance of vows. The Valhika race is the stain of the Earth. Curiosity is the stain of women. Do thou with thy intelligent son recite the Vedas, and do thou with the echoes of Vedic sounds dispel the fears arising from Rakshasas:

"Bhishma continued, 'Hearing these words of Narada, Vyasa, the foremost of all persons conversant with duties and firmly devoted to Vedic recitation, became filled with joy and answered Narada, saying,--So be it--With his son Suka, he set himself to recite the Vedas in a loud sonorous voice, observing all the rules of orthoepy and, as it were, filling the three worlds with that sound. One day as sire and son, who were well-conversant with all duties, were engaged in reciting the Vedas, a violent wind arose that seemed to be impelled by the gales that blow on the bosom of the ocean. Understanding from this circumstance that the hour was suited to sacred recitation. Vyasa immediately bade his son to suspend the recitation. Suka, thus forbidden by his sire, became filled with curiosity. He asked his sire, saying,--O regenerate one, whence is this wind? It behoveth thee to tell me everything about the conduct of the Wind.--Hearing this question of Suka, Vyasa became filled with amazement. He answered Suka, by telling him that an omen which indicated that the recitation of the Vedas should be suspended.--Thou hast obtained spiritual vision. Thy mind too has, of itself, become cleansed of every impurity. Thus hast been freed from the attributes of Passion and Darkness. Thou stayest now in the attributes of Goodness. Thou beholdest now thy Soul with thy Soul even as one beholds one's own shadow in a mirror. Staying thyself on thy own Soul, do thou reflect on the Vedas. The path of the Supreme Soul is called Deva-yana (the path of the gods). The path that is made up of the attribute of Tamas is called Pitri-yana (the path of Pitris). These are the two paths in the world hereafter. By one, people go to heaven. By the other, people go to hell. The winds blow on the Earth's surface and in the welkin. There are seven courses in which they blow. Listen to me as I recount them one after another. The body is furnished with the senses are dominated over by the Sadhyas and many great beings of mighty strength. These gave birth to an invincible son named Samana. From Samana sprang a son called Udana. From Udana sprang Vyana arose Apana, and lastly from Apana sprung the wind called Prana. That invincible scorcher of all foes, viz., Prana, became childless. I shall now recite to thee the different functions of those winds. The wind is the cause of the different functions of all living creatures, and because living creatures are enabled to live by it, therefore is the wind called Prana (or life). That wind which is the first in the above enumeration and which is known by the name of Pravaha (Samana) urges, along the first course, masses of clouds born of smoke and heat. Coursing through the welkin, and coming into contact with the water contained in the clouds, that wind displays itself in effulgence among the darts of lightning. The second wind called Avaha blows with a loud noise. It is this wind that causes Soma and the other luminaries to rise and appear. Within the body (which is a microcosm of the universe) that wind is called Udana by the wise. That wind which sucks up water from the four oceans, and having sucked it up imparts it to the clouds in the welkin, and which, having imparted it to the clouds present them to the deity of rain, is third in the enumeration and known by the name of Udvaha. That wind which supports the clouds and divided them into diverse portions, which melts them for pouring rain and once more solidifies them, which is perceived as the sound of the roaring clouds, which exists for the preservation of the world by itself assuming the form of the clouds, which bears the cars of all celestial beings along the sky, is known by the name of Samvaha. The fourth in the enumeration, it is endued with great strength so that it is capable of ending the very mountains. The fifth wind is fraught with great force and speed. It is dry and uproots and breaks down all trees. Existing with it, the clouds come to be called by the name of Valahaka. That wind causes calamitous phenomena of many kinds, and produces roaring sounds in the firmament. It is known by the name of Vivaha. The sixth wind bears all celestial waters in the firmament and prevents them from falling down. Sustaining the sacred waters of the celestial Ganga, that wind blows, preventing them from having a downward course. Obstructed by that wind from a distance, the Sun, which is really the source of a thousand rays, and which enlightens the world, appears as a luminous body of but one ray. Through the action of that wind, the Moon, after waning, wanes again till he displays his full disc. That wind is known, O foremost of ascetics, by the name Parivaha. That wind which takes away the life of all living creatures when the proper hour comes, whose track is followed by Death and Surya's son Yama, which becomes the source of that immortality which is attained by Yogins of subtile sight who are always engaged in Yoga meditation, by whose aid the thousands of grandsons of Daksha, that lord of creatures, by his ten sons, succeeded in days of old in attaining to the ends of the universe, whose touch enables one to attain to Emancipation by freeing oneself from the obligation of returning so the world,--that wind is called by the name of Paravaha. The foremost of all winds, it is incapable of being resisted by anybody. Wonderful are these winds all of whom are the sons of Diti. Capable of going everywhere and upholding all things, they blow all around thee without being attached to thee at any time. This, however, is exceedingly wonderful viz., that this foremost of mountains should thus be suddenly shaken by that wind which has begun to blow. This wind is the breath of Vishnu's nostrils. When urged forth with speed, it begins to blow with great force at which the whole universe becomes agitated. Hence, when the wind begins to blow with violence, persons conversant with the Vedas do not recite the Vedas. The Vedas are a form of wind. If uttered with force, the external wind becomes tortured."

"Having said these words, the puissant son of Parasara bade his son (when the wind had ceased) to go on with his Vedic recitation. He then left that spot for plunging into the waters of the celestial Ganga.'" [The sacred river Ganga has it is said, three courses or streams. One flows on the surface of the Earth; the second flows through the nether regions, and the third flows through heaven.]

SECTION 330

"Bhishma said, 'After Vyasa had left the spot, Narada, traversing through the sky, came to Suka employed in studying the scriptures. The celestial Rishi came for the object of asking Suka the meaning of certain portions of the Vedas. Beholding the celestial Rishi Narada arrived at his retreat, Suka worshipped him by offering him the Arghya according to the rites laid down in the Vedas. Pleased with the honours bestowed upon him, Narada addressed Suka, saying,--Tell me, O foremost of righteous persons, by what means, O dear child, may I accomplish what is for thy highest good!--Hearing these words of Narada, Suka, said unto him, O Bharata, these words:--It behoveth thee to instruct me in respect of that which may be beneficial to me: 'Narada said, In days of yore the illustrious Sanatkumara had said these words unto certain Rishis of cleansed souls that had repaired to him for enquiring after the truth. There is no eye like that of knowledge. There is no penance like renunciation. Abstention from sinful acts, steady practice of righteousness, good conduct, the due

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observance of all religious duties,--these constitute the highest good. Having obtained the status of humanity which is fraught with sorrow, he that becomes attached to it, becomes stupefied: such a man never succeeds in emancipating himself from sorrow. Attachment (to things of the world) is an indication of sorrow. The understanding of person that is attached to worldly things becomes more and more enmeshed in the net of stupefaction. The man who becomes enmeshed in the net of stupefaction attains to sorrow, both here and hereafter. One should, by every means in one's power, restrain both desire and wrath if one seeks to achieve what is for one's good. Those two (viz., desire and wrath) arise for only destroying one's good. One should always protect one's penances from wrath, and one's prosperity from pride. One should always protect one's knowledge from honour and dishonour and, one's soul from error. [Penances should be protected from wrath. By penances one attains to great power. The ascetic's puissance frequently equals that of Brahman himself. If, however, the ascetic indulges in wrath and curses one from wrath, his puissance becomes diminished. For this reason, forgiveness is said to be the highest virtue a Brahmana can practise. A Brahmana's might lay in forgiveness. Knowledge also should be protected from honour and dishonour, i.e. one should never receive honour for his knowledge, that is, do anything for the object of achieving honour. Similarly, one should never do anything which may have the effect of dishonouring one's knowledge. These are some of the highest duties preached in scriptures.] Compassion is the highest virtue. Forgiveness is the highest might. The knowledge of self is the highest knowledge. There is nothing higher than truth. It is always proper to speak the truth. It is better again to speak what is beneficial than to speak what is true. I hold that that is truth which is fraught with the greatest benefit in all creatures. That man is said to be truly learned and truly possessed of wisdom who abandons every act, who never indulges in hope, who is completely dissociated from all worldly surroundings, and who has renounced everything that appertains to the world. That person who, without being attached thereto, enjoys all objects of sense with the aid of senses that are completely under his control, who is possessed of a tranquil soul, who is never moved by joy of sorrow, who is engaged in Yoga-meditation, who lives in companionship with the deities presiding over his senses and dissociated also from them, and who, though endued with a body, never regards himself as identifiable with it, becomes emancipated and very soon attains to that which is highest good. One who never sees others, never touches others, never talks with others, soon, O ascetic, attains to what is for one's highest good. One should not injure any creature. On the other hand, one should conduct oneself in perfect friendliness towards all. Having obtained the status of humanity, one should never behave inimically towards any being. A complete disregards for all (worldly) things, perfect contentments, abandonment of hope of every kind, and patience,--these constitute the highest good of one that has subjugated one's senses and acquired a knowledge of self. Casting off all attachments, O child, do thou subjugate all thy senses, and by that means attain to felicity both here and hereafter. They that are free from cupidity have never to suffer any sorrow. One should, therefore, cast off all cupidity from one's soul. By casting off cupidity, O amiable and blessed one, thou shalt be able to free thyself from sorrow and pain. One who wishes to conquer that which is unconquerable should live devoting oneself to penances, to self-restraint, to taciturnity, to a subjugation of the soul. Such a person should live in the midst of attachments without being attached to them. 1 That Brahmana who lives in the midst of attachments without being attached to them and who always lives in seclusion, very soon attains to the highest felicity. That man who lives in happiness by himself in the midst of creatures who are seen to take delight in leading lives of sexual union, should be known to be a person whose thirst has been slaked by knowledge. It is well known that that man whose thirst has been slaked by knowledge has never to indulge in grief. One attains to the status of the deities by means of good acts; to the status of humanity by means of acts that are good and bad; while by acts that are purely wicked, one helplessly falls down among the lower animals. Always assailed by sorrow and decrepitude and death, a living creature is being cooked in this world (in the cauldron of Time). Dost thou not known it? Thou frequently regardest that to be beneficial which is really injurious; that to be certain which is really uncertain; and that to be desirable and good which is undesirable and not good. Alas, why dost thou not awake to a correct apprehension of these? Like a silkworm that ensconces itself in its own cocoon, thou art continually ensconcing thyself in a cocoon made of thy own innumerable acts born of stupefaction and error. Alas, why chest thou not awake to a correct apprehension of thy situation? No need of attaching thyself to things of this world. Attachment to worldly objects is productive of evil. The silk-worm that weaves a cocoon round itself is at last destroyed by its own act. Those persons that become attached to sons and spouses and relatives meet with destruction at last, even as wild elephants sunk in the mire of a lake are gradually weakened till overtaken by Death. Behold, all creatures that suffer themselves to be dragged by the net of affection become subject to great grief even as fishes on land, dragged thereto by means of large nets! Relatives, sons, spouses, the body itself, and all one's possessions stored with care, are unsubstantial and prove of no service in the next world. Only acts, good and bad, that one does, follow one to the other world. When it is certain that thou shalt have to go helplessly to the other world, leaving behind thee all these things alas, why dost thou then suffer thyself to be attached to such unsubstantial things of no value, without attending to that which constitutes thy real and durable wealth? The path which thou shalt have to travel through is without resting places of any kind (in which to take rest). There is no support along that way which one may catch for upholding oneself. The country through which it passes is unknown and undiscovered. It is, again enveloped in thick darkness. Alas, how shalt thou proceed along that way without equipping thyself with the necessary expenses? When thou shalt go along that road, nobody will follow thee behind. Only thy acts, good and bad, will follow behind thee when thou shalt depart from this world for the next. One seeks one's object of objects by means of learning, acts, purity (both external and internal), and great knowledge. When that foremost of objects is attained, one becomes freed (from rebirth). The desire that one feels for living in the midst of human habitations is like a binding cord. They that are of good acts succeed in tearing that bond and freeing themselves. Only risen of wicked deeds do not succeed in breaking them. The river of life (or the world) is terrible. Personal beauty or form constitutes its banks. The mind is the speed of its current. Touch forms its island. Taste constitutes its current. Scent is its mire. Sound is its waters. That particular part of it which leads towards heaven is attended with great difficulties. Body is the boat by which one must cross that river. Forgiveness is the oar by which it is to be propelled. Truth is the ballast that is to steady that boat. The practice of righteousness is the string that is to be attached to the mast for dragging that boat along difficult waters. Charity of gift constitutes the wind that urges the sails of that boat. Endued with swift speed, it is with that boat that one must cross the river of life. Cast off both virtue and vice, and truth and falsehood. Having cast off truth and falsehood, do thou cast off that by which these are to be cast off. By casting off all purpose, do thou cast off virtue; do thou cast off sin also by casting off all desire. With the aid of the understanding, do thou cast off truth and falsehood; and, at last, do thou cast off the understanding itself by knowledge of the highest topic (viz., the supreme Soul). Do thou cast off this body having bones for its pillars; sinews for its binding strings and cords; flesh and blood for its outer plaster; the skin for its outer case; full of urine and faeces and, therefore, emitting a foul smell; exposed to the assaults of decrepitude and sorrow; forming the seat of disease and weakened by pain; possessed of the attribute of Rajas in predominance: not permanent or durable, and which serves as the (temporary) habitation of the indwelling creature. This entire universe of matter, and that which is called Mahat or Buddhi, are made up of the (five), great elements. That which is called Mahat is due to the action of the Supreme. The five senses, the three attributes of Tamas, Sattwa, and Rajas,--these (together with those which have been mentioned before) constitute a tale of seventeen. These seventeen, which are known by the name of the Unmanifest, with all those that are called Manifest, viz., the five objects of the five senses, (that is to say, form, taste, sound, touch, and scent), with Consciousness and the Understanding, form the well-known tale of four and twenty. When endued with these four and twenty possessions, one comes to be called by the name of Jiva (or Puman). He who knows the aggregate of three (viz., Religion, Wealth, and Pleasure), as also happiness and sorrow and life and death, truly and in all their details, is said to know growth and decay. Whatever objects exist of knowledge, should be known gradually, one after another. All objects that are apprehended by the senses are called Manifest. Whatever objects transcend the senses and are apprehended by means only of their indications are said to be Unmanifest. By restraining the senses, one wins great gratification, even like a thirsty and parched traveller at a delicious shower of rain. Having subjugated the senses one beholds one's soul spread out for embracing all objects, and all objects in one's soul. Having its roots in knowledge, the puissance is never lost of the man who (thus) beholds the Supreme in his soul,--of the man, that is to say, who always beholds all creatures in all conditions (in his own soul). He who by the aid of knowledge, transcends all kinds of pain born of error and stupefaction, never catches any evil by coming into contact with all creatures. Such a man, his understanding being fully displayed, never finds fault with the course of conduct that prevails in the world. One conversant with Emancipation says that the Supreme Soul is without beginning and without end; that it takes birth as all creatures; that it resides (as a witness) in the Jiva-soul; that it is inactive, and without form. Only that man who meets with grief in consequence of his own misdeeds, slays numerous creatures for the purpose of warding off that grief. [The object of this verse is to show that men of knowledge do not perform sacrifices, in which, as a matter of course, a large number of creatures is slain. Men wedded to the religion of Pravriti perform sacrifices, Coming into the world in consequence of past acts, they seek happiness (by repairing to heaven) along the way of sacrifices and religious rites. A large number of creatures is slain, for besides the victims ostensibly offered, an infinite number of smaller and minuter creatures are killed in the sacrificial fires and in course of the other preparations that are made in sacrifices.] In consequence of such sacrifices, the performers have to attain to rebirths and have necessarily to perform innumerable acts on every side. Such a man, blinded by error, and regarding that to be felicity which is really a source of grief, is continually rendered unhappy even like a sick person that eats food that is improper. Such a man is pressed and grinded by his acts like any substance that is churned. Bound by his acts, he obtains re-birth, the order of his life being determined by the nature of his acts. Suffering many kinds of torture, he travels in a repeated round of rebirths even like a wheel that turns ceaselessly. Thou, however, hast cut through all thy bonds. Thou, abstainest from all acts! Possessed of omniscience and the master of all things, let success be thine, and do thou become freed from all existent objects. Through subjugation of their senses and the power of their penances, many persons (in days of yore), having destroyed the bonds of action, attained to high success and uninterrupted felicity.'"

SECTION 331

"'Narada said, By listening to such scriptures as are blessed, as bring about tranquillity, as dispel grief, and as are productive of happiness, one attains to (a pure) understanding, and having attained to it obtains to high 'felicity. A thousand causes of sorrow, a hundred causes of fear, from day to day, afflict one that is destitute of understanding, but not one that is possessed of wisdom and learning. Do thou, therefore, listen to some old narratives as I recite them to you, for the object of dispelling thy griefs. If one can subjugate one's understanding, one is sure to attain to happiness. By association of what is undesirable and dissociation from what is agreeable, only men of little intelligence, become subject to mental sorrow of every kind. When things have become past, one should not grieve, thinking of their merits. He that thinks of such past things with affection can never emancipate himself. One should always seek to find out the faults of those things to which one begins to become attached. One should always regard such things to be fraught with much evil. By doing so, one should soon free oneself therefrom. The man who grieves for what is past fails to acquire either wealth or religious merit or fame. That which exists no longer cannot be obtained. When such things pass away, they do not return (however keen the regret one may indulge in for their sake). Creatures sometimes acquire and sometimes lose worldly object. No man in this world can be grieved by all the events that fall upon him. Dead or lost, he who grieves for what is past, only gets sorrow for sorrow. Instead of one sorrow, he gets two. Those men who, beholding the course of life and death in the world with the aid of their intelligence, do not shed tears, are said to behold properly. Such persons have never to shed tears, (at anything that may happen). When any such calamity comes, productive of either physical or mental grief, as is incapable of being warded off by even one's best efforts, one should cease to reflect on it with sorrow. This is the medicine for sorrow, viz., not to think of it. By thinking of it, one can never dispel it; on the other hand, by thinking upon sorrow, one only enhances it. Mental griefs should be killed by wisdom; while physical grief should be dispelled by medicines. This is the power of knowledge. One should not, in such matters, behave like men of little understandings. Youth, beauty, life, stored wealth, health, association with those that are loved,--these all are exceedingly transitory. One possessed of wisdom should never covet them. One should not lament individually for a sorrowful occurrence that concerns an entire community. Instead of indulgence in it when grief comes, one should seek to avert it and apply a remedy as soon as one sees the opportunity for doing it. There is no doubt that in this life the measure of misery is much greater than that of happiness. There is no doubt in this that all men show attachment for objects of the senses and that death is regarded as disagreeable. That man who casts off both joy and sorrow, is said to attain to Brahma. When such a man departs from this world, men of wisdom never indulge in any sorrow on his account. In spending wealth there is pain. In protecting it there is pain. In acquiring it there is pain. Hence, when one's wealth meets with destruction, one should not indulge in any sorrow for it. Men of little understanding, attaining to different grades of wealth, fail to win contentment and at last perish in misery. Men of wisdom, however, are always contented. All combinations are destined to end in dissolution. All things that are high are destined to fall down and become low. Union is sure to end in disunion anti life is certain to end in death. Thirst is unquenchable. Contentment is the highest happiness. Hence, persons of wisdom regard contentment to be the most precious wealth. One's allotted period of life is

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running continually. It stops not in its course for even a single moment. When one's body itself is not durable, what other thing is there (in this world) that one should reckon as durable? Those persons who, reflecting on the nature of all creatures and concluding that it is beyond the grasp of the mind, turn their attention to the highest path, and, setting out, achieve a fair progress in it, have not to indulge in sorrow. Like a tiger seizing and running away with its prey, Death seizes and runs away with the man that is employed in such (unprofitable) occupation and that is still unsatiated with objects of desire and enjoyment. One should always seek to emancipate oneself from sorrow. One should seek to dispel sorrow by beginning one's operations with cheerfulness, that is, without indulging in sorrow the while, having freed oneself from a particular sorrow, one should act in such a way as to keep sorrow at a distance by abstaining from all faults of conduct. The rich and the poor alike find nothing in sound and touch and form and scent and taste, after the immediate enjoyment thereof. Before union, creatures are never subject to sorrow. Hence, one that has not fallen off from one's original nature, never indulges in sorrow when that union comes to an end. [What is said here is this: a man has spouses and children, or wealth, etc.: there was no sorrow when these were not: with his union with these his sorrow commences. Hence, when these things disappear, an intelligent man should not indulge in any sorrow. Bonds or attachments are always productive of grief. When bonds are severed or destroyed, there ought to be no grief.] One should restrain one's sexual appetite and the stomach with the aid of patience. One should protect one's hands and feet with the aid of the eye. One's eyes and ears and the other senses should be protected by the mind. One's mind and speech should be ruled with the aid of wisdom. Casting off love and affection for persons that are known as well as for those that are unknown, one should conduct oneself with humility. Such a person is said to be possessed of wisdom, and such a one surely finds happiness. That man who is pleased with his own Soul who is devoted to Yoga, who depends upon nothing out of self, who is without cupidity, and who conducts himself without the assistance of anything but his self, succeeds in attaining to felicity.'"

SECTION 332

"'Narada said, When the vicissitudes of happiness and sorrow appear or disappear, the transitions are incapable of being prevented by either wisdom or policy or exertion. Without allowing oneself to fall away from one's true nature, one should strive one's best for protecting one's own Self. He who betakes himself to such care and exertion, has never to languish. Regarding Self as something dear, one should always seek to rescue oneself from decrepitude, death, and disease. Mental and physical diseases afflict the body, like keen-pointed shafts shot from the bow by a strong bowman. The body of a person that is tortured by thirst, that is agitated by agony, that is perfectly helpless, and that is desirous of prolonging his life, is dragged towards destruction. Days and nights are ceaselessly running bearing away in their current the periods of life of all human beings. Like currents of rivers, these flow ceaselessly without ever turning back. The ceaseless succession of the lighted and the dark fortnights is wasting all mortal creatures without stopping for even a moment in this work. Rising and setting day after day, the Sun, who is himself undecaying, is continually cooking the joys and sorrows of all men. The nights are ceaselessly going away, taking with them the good and bad incidents that befall man, that depend on destiny, and that are unexpected by him. If the fruits of man's acts were not dependent on other circumstances, then one would obtain whatever object one would desire. Even men of restrained senses, of cleverness, and of intelligence, if destitute of acts, never succeed in earning any fruits. Others, though destitute of intelligence and unendued with accomplishments of any kind, and who are really the lowest of men, are seen, even when they do not long after success, to be crowned with the fruition of all their desires. Some one else, who is always ready to do acts of injury to all creatures, and who is engaged in deceiving all the world, is seen to wallow in happiness. Some one that sits idly, obtains great prosperity; while another, by exerting earnestly, is seen to miss desirable fruits almost within his reach. Do thou ascribe it as one of the faults of man! The vital seed, originating in one's nature from sight of one person, goes to another person. When imparted to the womb, it sometimes produces an embryo and sometimes fails. When sexual congress fails, it resembles a mango tree that puts forth a great many flowers without, however, producing a single fruit. 1 As regards some men who are desirous of having offspring and who, for the fruition of their object, strive heartily (by worshipping diverse deities), they fail to procreate an embryo in the womb. Some person again, who fears the birth of an embryo as one fears a snake of virulent poison, finds a long-lived son born unto him and who seems to be his own self come back to the stages through which he has passed. Many persons with ardent longing for offspring and cheerless on that account, after sacrificing to many deities and undergoing severe austerities, at last beget children, duly borne for ten long months (in the wombs of their spouses), that prove to be veritable wretches of their race. Others, who have been obtained through virtue of such blessed rites and observances, at once obtain wealth and grain and diverse other sources of enjoyment earned and stored by their sires. In an act of congress, when two persons of opposite sexes come into contact with one another, the embryo takes birth in the womb, like a calamity afflicting the mother. Very soon after the suspension of the vital breaths, other physical forms possess that embodied creature whose gross body has been destroyed but whose acts have all been performed with that gross body made of flesh and phlegm. Upon the dissolution of the body, another body, which is as much destructible as the one that is destroyed, is kept ready for the burnt and destroyed creature (to migrate into) even as one boat goes to another for transferring to itself the passengers of the other. In consequence of an act of congress, a drop of the vital seed, that is inanimate, is cast into the womb. I ask thee, through whose or what care is the embryo kept alive? That part of the body into which the food that is eaten goes and where it is digested, is the place where the embryo resides, but it is not digested there. In the womb, amid urine and faeces, one's sojourn is regulated by Nature. In the matter of residence therein or escape therefrom, the born creature is not a free agent. In fact, in these respects, he is perfectly helpless. Some embryos fall from the womb (in an undeveloped state). Some come out alive (and continue to live). While as regards some, they meet with destruction in the womb, after being quickened with life, in consequence of some other bodies being ready for them (through the nature of their acts). That man who, in an act of sexual congress, injects the vital fluid, obtains from it a son or daughter. The offspring thus obtained, when the time comes, takes part in a similar act of congress. When the allotted period of a person's life is at its close, the five primal elements of his body attain to the seventh and the ninth stages and then cease to be. The person, however, undergoes no change. Without doubt, when persons are afflicted by diseases as little animals assailed by hunters, they then lose the powers of rising up and moving about. If when men are afflicted by diseases, they wish to spend even vast wealth, physicians with their best efforts fail to alleviate their pain. Even physicians, that are well-skilled and well-up in their scriptures and well-equipt with excellent medicines, are themselves afflicted by disease like animals assailed by hunters. Even if men drink many astringents and diverse kinds of medicated ghee, they are seen to be broken by decrepitude like trees by strong elephants. When animals and birds and beasts of prey and poor men are afflicted by ailments, who treats them with medicines? Indeed, these are not seen to be ill. Like larger animals assailing smaller ones, ailments are seen to afflict even terrible kings of fierce energy and invincible prowess. All men, reft of the power of even uttering cries indicate of pain, and overwhelmed by error and grief, are seen to be borne away along the fierce current into which they have been thrown. Embodied creatures, even when seeking to conquer nature, are unable to conquer it with the aid of wealth, of sovereign power, or of the austerest penances. If all attempts men make were crowned with success, then men would never be subject to decrepitude, would never come upon anything disagreeable, and lastly would be crowned with fruition in respect of all their wishes. All men wish to attain to gradual superiority of position. To gratify this wish they strive to the best of their power. The result, however, does not agree with wish. Even men that are perfectly heedful, that are honest, and brave and endued with prowess, are seen to pay their adorations to men intoxicated with the pride of affluence and with even alcoholic stimulants. Some men are seen whose calamities disappear before even these are marked or noticed by them. Others there are who are seen to possess no wealth but who are free from misery of every kind. A great disparity is observable in respect of the fruits that wait upon conjunctions of acts. Some are seen to bear vehicles on their shoulders, while some are seen to ride on those vehicles. All men are desirous of affluence and prosperity. A few only have cars (and elephants and steeds) dragged (or walking) in their processions. Some there are that fail to have a single spouse when their first-wedded ones are dead; while others have hundreds of spouses to call their own. Misery and happiness are the two things that exist side by side. Men have either misery or happiness. Behold, this is a subject of wonder! Do not, however, suffer thyself to be stupefied by error at such a sight! Cast off both righteousness and sin! Cast off also truth and falsehood! Having cast off truth and falsehood, do thou then cast off that with whose aid thou shalt cast off the former! O best of Rishis, I have now told thee that which is a great misery! With the aid of such instructions, the deities (who were all human beings) succeeded in leaving the Earth for becoming the denizens of heaven!

"'Hearing these words of Narada Suka, endued with great intelligence and possessed of tranquillity of mind, reflected upon the drift of the instructions he received, but could not arrive at any certainty of conclusion. He understood that one suffers great misery in consequence of the accession of children and spouses; that one has to undergo great labour for the acquisition of science and Vedic lore. He, therefore, asked himself, saying,--What is that situation which is eternal and which is free from misery of every kind but in which there is great prosperity?--Reflecting for a moment upon the course ordained for him to run through, Suka, who was well acquainted with the beginning and the end of all duties, resolved to attain to the highest end that is fraught with the greatest felicity. He questioned himself, saying,--How shall I, tearing all attachments and becoming perfectly free, attain to that excellent end? How, indeed, shall I attain to that excellent situation whence there is no return into the ocean of diverse kinds of birth! I desire to obtain that condition of existence whence there is no return! Casting off all kinds of attachments, arrived at certainty by reflection with the aid of the mind, I shall attain to that end! I shall attain to that situation in which thy Soul will nave tranquillity, and when I shall be able to dwell for eternity without being subject to decrepitude or change. It is, however, certain that that high end cannot be attained without the aid of Yoga. One that has attained to the state of perfect knowledge and enlightenment never receives an accession of low attachments through acts. I shall, therefore, have recourse to Yoga, and casting off this body which is my present residence, I shall transform myself into wind and enter that mass of effulgence which is represented by the sin. When Jiva enters that mass of effulgence, he no longer suffers like Shoma who, with the gods, upon the exhaustion of merit, falls down on the Earth and having once more acquired sufficient merit returns to heavens. The moon is always seen to wane and once more wax. Seeing this waning and waxing that go on repeatedly, I do not wish to have a form of existence in which there are such changes. The Sun warms all the worlds by means of his fierce rays. His disc never undergoes any diminution. Remaining unchanged, he drinks energy from all things. Hence, I desire to go into the Sun of blazing effulgence. There I shall live, invincible by all, and in my inner soul freed from all fear, having cast off this body of mine in the solar region. With the great Rishis I shall enter the unbearable energy of the Sun. I declare unto all creatures, unto these trees, these elephants, these mountains, the Earth herself, the several points of the compass, the welkin, the deities, the Danavas, the Gandharvas, the Pisachas, the Uragas, and the Rakshasas, that I shall, verily, enter all creatures in the world. Let all the gods with the Rishis behold the prowess of my Yoga today!--Having said these words, Suka, informed Narada of world wide celebrity of his intention. Obtaining Narada's permission, Suka then proceeded to where his sire was. Arrived at his presence, the great Muni, viz., the high-souled and Island-born Krishna, Suka walked round him and addressed him the usual enquiries. Hearing of Suka's intention, the highsouled Rishi became highly pleased. Addressing him, the great Rishi said,--O son, O dear son, do thou stay here to-day so that I may behold thee for some time for gratifying my eyes,--Suka, however, was indifferent to that request. Freed from affection and all doubt, he began to think only of Emancipation, and set his heart on the journey. Leaving his sire, that foremost of Rishis then proceeded to the spacious breast of Kailasa which was inhabited by crowds of ascetics crowned with success.'"

SECTION 333

"Bhishma said, Having ascended the summit of the mountain, O Bharata, the son of Vyasa sat down upon a level spot free from blades of grass and retired from the haunts of other creatures. Agreeably to the direction of the scriptures and to the ordinances laid down, that ascetic, conversant with the gradual order of the successive processes of Yoga, held his soul first in one place and then in another, commencing from his feet and proceeding through all the limbs. Then when the Sun had not risen long, Suka sat, with his face turned Eastwards, and hands and feet drawn in, in an humble attitude. In that spot where the intelligent son of Vyasa sat prepared to address himself to Yoga, there were no flocks of birds, no sound, and no sight that was repulsive or terror-inspiring. He then beheld his own Soul freed from all attachments. Beholding that highest of all things, he laughed in joy. He once more set himself pre-pared to Yoga for attaining to the path of Emancipation. Becoming the great master of Yoga, he transcended the element of space. He then circumambulated the celestial Rishi Narada, and represented unto that foremost of Rishis the fact of his having addressed himself to the highest Yoga.

"Suka said,--I have succeeded in beholding the path (of Emancipation), I have addrest myself to it. Blessed be thou, O thou of wealth of penances! I shall, through thy grace, O thou of great splendour, attain to an end that is highly desirable!"

"Bhishma said,--'Having received the permission of Narada, Suka the son of the Island-born Vyasa saluted the celestial Rishi and once more set himself to Yoga and entered the element of space. Ascending then from the breast of the Kailasa mountain, he soared into the sky. Capable of traversing through the welkin, the blessed Suka of fixed conclusion, then identified himself with the element of Wind. As that foremost of regenerate ones, possessed of effulgence like that of Garuda, was traversing through the skies with the

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speed of the wind or thought, all creatures, cast their eyes upon him. Endued with the splendour of fire or the Sun, Suka then regarded the three worlds in their entirety as one homogenous Brahma, and proceeded along that path of great length. Indeed, all creatures mobile and immobile, cast their eyes upon him as he proceeded with concentrated attention, and a tranquil and fearless soul. All creatures, agreeably to the ordinance and according to their power, worshipped him with reverence. The denizens of heaven rained showers of celestial flowers upon him. Beholding him, all the tribes of Apsaras and Gandharvas became filled with wonder. The Rishis also, that were crowned with success, became equally amazed. And they asked themselves,--who is this one that has attained to success by his penances?--With gaze with-drawn from his own body but turned upwards he is filling us all with pleasure by his glances!--Of highly righteous soul and celebrated through-out the three worlds, Suka proceeded in silence, his face turned towards the East and gaze directed towards the sun. As he proceeded, he seemed to fill the entire welkin with an all-pervading noise. Beholding him coming in that way, all the tribes of the Apsaras, struck with awe, O king, became filled with amazement. Headed by Panchachuda and others, they looked at Suka with eyes expanded by wonder. And they asked one another, saying;--What deity is this one that has attained to such a high end? Without doubt, he comes hither, freed from all attachments and emancipated from all desires!--Suka then proceeded to the Malaya mountains where Urvasi and Purvachitti used to dwell always. Both of them beholding the energy of the son of the great regenerate Rishi, became filled with wonder. And they said,--Wonderful is this concentration of attention (to Yoga) of a regenerate youth who was accustomed to the recitation and study of the Vedas! Soon will he traverse the entire welkin like the Moon. It was by dutiful service and humble ministrations towards his sire that he acquired this excellent understanding. He is firmly attached to his sire, possessed of austere penances, and is very much loved by his sire. Alas, why has he been dismissed by his inattentive father to proceed (thus) along a way whence there is no return?--Hearing these words of Urvasi, and attending to their import, Suka, that foremost of all persons conversant with duties, cast his eyes on all sides, and once more beheld the entire welkin, the whole Earth with her mountains and waters and forests, and also all the lakes and rivers. All the deities also of both sexes, joining their hands, paid reverence to the son of the Island-born Rishi and gazed at him with wonder and respect. That foremost of all righteous men, Suka, addressing all of them, said these words,--If my sire follow me and repeatedly call after me by my name, do all of you together return him an answer for me. Moved by the affection all of you bear for me, do you accomplish this request of mine!--Hearing these words of Suka, all the points of the compass, all the forest, all the seas, all the rivers, and all the mountains, answered him from every side, saying,--We accept thy command, O regenerate one! It shall be as thou sayst! It is in this way that we answer the words spoken by the Rishi!

SECTION 334

"Bhishma said, 'Having spoken in this way (unto all things), the regenerate Rishi of austere penances, viz., Suka, stayed on his success casting off the four kinds of faults. Casting off also the eight kinds of Tamas, he dismissed the five kinds of Rajas. Endued with great intelligence, he then cast off the attribute of Sattwa. All this seemed exceedingly wonderful. He then dwelt in that eternal station that is destitute of attributes, freed from every indication, that is, in Brahma, blazing like a smokeless fire. Meteors began to shoot. The points of the compass seemed to be ablaze. The Earth trembled. All those phenomena seemed exceedingly wonderful. The trees began to cast off their branches and the mountains their summits. Loud-reports (as of thunder) were heard that seemed to rive the Himavat mountains. The sun seemed at that moment to be shorn of splendour. Fire refused to blaze forth. The lakes and rivers and seas were all agitated. Vasava poured showers of rain of excellent taste and fragrance. A pure breeze began to blow, bearing excellent perfumes. Suka as he proceeded through the welkin, beheld two beautiful summits, one belonging to Himavat and another to Meru. These were in close contact with each other. One of them was made of gold and was, therefore yellow; the other was white, being made of silver. Each of them, O Bharata, was a hundred yojanas in height and of the same measure in breadth. Indeed, as Suka journeyed towards the north, he saw those two beautiful summits. With a fearless heart he dashed against those two summits that were united with each other. Unable to bear the force, the summits were suddenly rent in twain. The sight they thereupon presented, O monarch, was exceedingly wonderful to behold. Suka pierced through those summits, for they were unable to stop his onward course. At this a loud noise arose in heaven, made by the denizens thereof. The Gandharvas and the Rishis also and others that dwelt in that mountain being rent in twain and Suka passing through it. Indeed, O Bharata, a loud noise was heard everywhere at that moment, consisting of the words--Excellent, Excellent!--He was adored by the Gandharvas and the Rishis, by crowds of Yakshas and Rakshasas, and all tribes of the Vidyadharas. The entire firmament became strewn with celestial flowers showered from heaven at that moment when Suka thus pierced through that impenetrable barrier, O monarch! The righteous-souled Suka then beheld from a high region the celestial stream Mandakini of great beauty, running below through a region adorned by many flowering groves and woods. In these waters many beautiful Apsaras were sporting. Beholding Suka who was bodiless, those unclad aerial beings felt shame. Learning that Suka had undertaken his great journey, his sire Vyasa, filled with affection, followed him behind along the same aerial path. Meanwhile Suka, proceeding through that region of the firmament that is above the region of the wind displayed his Yoga-prowess and identified himself with Brahma. Adopting the subtile path of high Yoga, Vyasa of austere penances, reached within the twinkling of the eye that spot whence Suka first undertook his journey. Proceeding along the same way, Vyasa beheld the mountain summit rent in twain and through which Suka has passed. Encountering the Island-born ascetic, the Rishis began to represent to him the achievements of his son. Vyasa, however, began to indulge in lamentations, loudly calling upon his son by name and causing the three worlds to resound with the noise he made. Meanwhile, the righteous-souled Suka, who had entered the elements, had become their soul and acquired omnipresence, answered his sire by uttering the monosyllable Bho in the form of an echo. At this, the entire universe of mobile and immobile creatures, uttering the monosyllable Bho, echoed the answer of Suka. From that time to this, when sounds are uttered in mountain-caves or on mountain-breasts, the latter, as if in answer to Suka still echo them (with the monosyllable Bho). Having cast off all the attributes of sound, etc., and showing his Yoga-prowess in the manner of his disappearance, Suka in this way attained to the highest station. Beholding that glory and puissance of his son of immeasurable energy, Vyasa sat down on the breast of the mountain and began to think of his son with grief. The Apsaras were sporting on the banks of the celestial stream Mandakini, seeing the Rishi seated there, became all agitated with grave shame and lost heart. Some of them, to hide their nudity, plunged into the stream, and some entered the groves hard by, and some quickly took up their clothes, at beholding the Rishi. (None of them had betrayed any signs of agitation at sight of his son). The Rishi, beholding these movements, understood that his son had been emancipated from all attachments, but that he himself was not freed therefrom. At this he became filled with both joy and shame. As Vyasa was seated there, the auspicious god Siva, armed with Pinaka, surrounded on all sides by many deities and Gandharvas and adored by all the great Rishis came thither. Consoling the Island-born Rishi who was burning with grief on account of his son, Mahadeva said these words unto him.--Thou hadst formerly solicited from me a son possessed of the energy of Fire, of Water, of Wind, and of Space; Procreated by thy penances, the son that was born unto thee was of that very kind. Proceeding from my grace, he was pure and full of Brahma-energy. He has attained to the highest end--an end which none can win that has not completely subjugated his senses, nor can be won by even any of the deities. Why then, O regenerate Rishi, dost thou grieve for that son? As long as the hills will last, as long as the ocean will last, so long will the fame of thy son endure undiminished! Through my grace, O great Rishi thou shalt behold in this world a shadowy form resembling thy son, moving by the side and never deserting thee for a single moment!--Thus favoured by the illustrious Rudra himself, O Bharata, the Rishi beheld a shadow of his son by his side. He returned from that place, filled with joy at this. I have now told thee, O chief of Bharata's race, everything regarding the birth and life of Suka about which thou hadst asked me. The celestial Rishi Narada and the great Yogin Vyasa had repeatedly told all this to me in days of yore when the subject was suggested to him in course of conversation. That person devoted to tranquillity hears this sacred history directly connected with the topic of Emancipation is certain to attain to the highest end." [In this Section, Bhishma recites to Yudhishthira the fact of Suka's departure from this world, and Vyasa's grief at that occurrence. He speaks of the fact as one that had been related to him bygone times by both Narada and Vyasa himself. It is evident from this that the Suka who recited the Srimad Bhagavat to Parikshit, the grandson of Arjuna, could not possibly be the Suka who was Vyasa's son.]

SECTION 335

"Yudhishthira said, 'If a man be a house-holder or a Brahmacharin, a forest-recluse or a mendicant, and if he desires to achieve success, what deity should he adore? How can he certainly acquire heaven and attain that which is of the highest benefit (viz., Emancipation)? According to what ordinances should he perform the homa in honour of the gods and the Pitris? What is the region to which one goes when one becomes emancipated? What is the essence of Emancipation? What should one do so that one, having attained to heaven, would not have to fall down thence? Who is the deity of the deities? And who is the Pitri of the Pitris? Who is he that is superior to him, who is the deity of the deities and the Pitri of the Pitris? Tell me all this, O Grandsire!'

"Bhishma said, O thou that art well acquainted with the art of questioning, this question that thou hast asked me, O sinless one, is one that touches a deep mystery. One cannot answer it with the aid of the science of argumentation, even if one were to strive for a hundred years. Without the grace of Narayana, O king, or an accession of

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high knowledge, this question of thine is incapable of being answered. Connected though this topic be with a deep mystery, I shall yet, O slayer of foes, expound it to thee! In this connection is cited the old history of the discourse between Narada and the Rishi Narayana. I heard it from my sire that in the Krita age, O monarch, during the epoch of the Self-born Manu, the eternal Narayana, the Soul of the universe, took birth as the son of Dharma in a quadruple form, viz., as Nara, Narayana, Hari, and the Self-create Krishna. Amongst them all, Narayana and Nara underwent the severest austerities by repairing to the Himalayan retreat known by the name of Vadari, by riding on their golden ears. Each of those cars was furnished with eight wheels, and made up of the five primal elements, and looked exceedingly beautiful. [The golden cars referred to here are the fleshly bodies of the two deities. The body is called the car because like the car, it is propelled by some force other than the Soul which owns it for a time, the Soul being inactive. It is regarded as golden because every one becomes attached to it as something very valuable. The eight wheels are Avidya and the rest.] Those original regents of the world who had taken birth as the sons of Dharma, became exceedingly emaciated in person in consequence of the austerities they had undergone. Indeed, for those austerities and for their energy, the very deities were unable to look at them. Only that deity with whom they were propitiated could behold them. Without doubt, with his heart devoted to them, and impelled by a longing desire to be-hold them, Narada dropped down on Gandhamadana from a summit of the high mountains of Meru and wandered over all the world. Possessed of great speed, he at last repaired to that spot whereon was situated the retreat of Vadari. Impelled by curiosity he entered that retreat at the hour of Nara's and Narayana's, performing their daily rites. He said unto himself.--This is truly the retreat of that Being in whom are established all the worlds including the deities, the Asuras, the Gandharvas, the Kinnaras, and the great snakes! There was only one form of this great Being before. That form took birth in four shapes for the expansion of the race of Dharma which have been reared by that deity. How wonderful it is that Dharma has thus been honoured by these four great deities viz., Nara, Narayana, and Hari and Krishna! In this spot Krishna and Hari dwelt formerly. The other two, however, viz., Nara and Narayana, are now dwelling here engaged in penances for the object of enhancing their merit. These two are the highest refuge of the universe. What can be the nature of the daily rites these two perform? They are the sires of all creatures, and the illustrious deities of all beings. Endued with high intelligence, what is that deity whom these two worship? Who are those Pitris whom these two Pitris of all beings adore?--Thinking of this in his mind, and filled with devotion towards Narayana, Narada suddenly appeared before those two gods. After those two deities had finished their adoration to their deities and the Rishis, they looked at the celestial Rishi arrived at their retreat. The latter was honoured with those eternal rites that are ordained in the scriptures. Beholding that extraordinary conduct of the two original deities in themselves worshipping other deities and Pitris, the illustrious Rishi Narada took his seat there, well pleased with the honours he had received. With a cheerful soul he cast his eyes then on Narayana, and bowing unto Mahadeva he said these words.

"Narada said, In the Vedas and the Puranas, in the Angas and the subsidiary Angas thou art sung with reverence, thou art unborn and eternal. Thou art the Creator. Thou art the mother of the universe. Thou art the embodiment of Immortality and thou art the foremost of all things. The Past and the Future, indeed, the entire universe has been established on thee! The four modes of life, O lord, having the domestic for their first, ceaselessly sacrifice to thee that art of diverse forms. Thou art the father and the mother and the eternal preceptor of the universe. We know not who is that deity or that Pitri unto whom thou art sacrificing to-day!

"The holy one said, This topic is one about which nothing should be said. It is an ancient mystery. Thy devotion to me is very great. Hence, O regenerate one, I shall discourse to thee on it agreeably to the truth. That which is minute, which is inconceivable, unmanifest, immobile, durable, destitute of all connection with the senses and the objects of the senses, that which is dissociated from the (five) elements--that is called the in-dwelling Soul of all existent creatures. That is known by the name of Kshetrajna. Transcending the three attributes of Sattwa, Rajas, and Tamas, that is regarded as Purusha in the scriptures. From Him hath followed the unmanifest, O foremost of regenerate ones, possessed of the three attributes

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of Sattwa, Rajas, and Tamas. Though really unmanifest, she is called indestructible Prakriti and dwell in all manifest forms. Know that She is the source whence we two have sprung. That all-pervading Soul, which is made up of all existent and non-existent things, is adored by us. Even He is what we worship in all those rites that we perform in honour of the deities and the Pitris. There is no higher deity or Pitri than He. O regenerate one, He should be known as our Soul. It is him that we worship. This course of duties followed by men has, O regenerate one, been promulgated by Him. It is His ordinance that we should duly perform all the rites laid down in respect of the deities and the Pitris. Brahman, Sthanu, Manu, Daksha, Bhrigu, Dharma, Yama, Marichi, Angiras, Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Vasishtha, Parameshthi, Vivaswat, Shoma, he that has been called Karddama, Krodha, Avak, and Krita,--these one and twenty persons, called Prajapatis, were first born. All of them obeyed the eternal law of the Supreme God Observing all the rites, in detail, that were ordained in honour of the deities and the Pitris, all those foremost of regenerate persons acquired all those objects which they sought. The incorporeal denizens of Heaven itself bow to that Supreme deity and through His grace they attain to those fruits and that end which He ordains for them. This is the settled conclusion of the scriptures that these persons freed from these seven and ten attributes, (viz., the five senses of knowledge, the five senses of action, the five vital breaths, and mind and understanding), who have cast off all acts, and are divested of the five and ten elements which constitute the gross body, are said to be Emancipate. That which the Emancipate attain to as their ultimate end is called by the name of Kshetrajna. He is regarded (in the scriptures) as both possessed of and free from all the attributes. He can be apprehended by Knowledge alone. We two have sprung from Him. Knowing him in that way, we adore that eternal Soul of all things. The Vedas and all the modes of life, though characterised by divergences of opinion, all worship Him with devotion. It is He who, speedily moved to grace, confers on them high ends fraught with felicity. Those persons in this world who, filled with His spirit, become fully and conclusively devoted to Him, attain to ends that are much higher, for they succeed in entering Him and becoming merged in his Self. I have now, O Narada, discoursed to thee on what is high mystery moved by the love I bear to thee for thy devotion to me. Indeed, in consequence of that devotion which thou professest towards me, thou hast succeeded in listening to this my discourse!"

SECTION 336

"Bhishma said, 'Addressed by Narayana, that foremost of beings, in these words, Narada, the foremost of men, then said these words unto Narayana for the good of the world.

"Narada said, Let that object be accomplished for which thou, O self-born Being, hast taken birth in four forms in the house of Dharma! I shall now repair (to the White Island) for beholding thy original nature. I always worship my seniors. I have never divulged the secrets of others. O lord of the universe, I have studied the Vedas with care. I have undergone austere penances. I have never spoken an untruth. As ordained in the scriptures, I have always protected the four that should be protected [i.e., the hands, the feet, the stomach, and the organ of pleasure. The hands are said to be protected when they are restrained from the commission of all improper acts; the feet are said to be duly protected when they are restrained from touching all improper places. The stomach is said to be protected when one never takes any kind of improper food, and when one abstains from all evil acts for appeasing one's hunger. And lastly, one is said to restrain the organ of pleasure when one abstains from all acts of improper congress.]. I have always behaved equally towards friends and foes. Wholly and conclusively devoted to Him, that first of deities, viz., the Supreme Soul, I incessantly adore Him. Having cleansed my soul by these acts of special merit, why shall I not succeed in obtaining a sight of that Infinite Lord of the universe?--Hearing these words of Parameshthi's son, Narayana, that protector of the scriptures, dismissed him, saying,--Go, O Narada!--Before dismissing him, however, the great deity worshipped the celestial Rishi with those rites and ceremonies which have been laid down in the scriptures by himself. Narada also gave due honours to the ancient Rishi Narayana. After such honours had been mutually given and received, the son of Parameshthi departed from that spot. Endued with high Yoga-puissance, Narada suddenly soared into the firmament and reached the summit of the mountains of Meru. Proceeding to a retired spot on that summit, the great ascetic took rest for a short while. He than cast his eyes towards the north western direction and beheld an exceedingly wonderful sight. Towards the north, in the ocean of milk, there is a large island named the White Island. The learned say that its distance from the mountains of Meru is greater than two and thirty thousand Yojanas. The denizens of that realm have no senses. They live without taking food of any kind. Their eyes are winkless. They always emit excellent perfumes. Their complexions are white. They are cleansed from every sin. They blast the eyes of those sinners that look at them. Their bones and bodies are as hard as thunder. They regard honour and dishonour in the same light. They all look as if they are of celestial origin. Besides, all of them are endued, with auspicious marks and great strength. Their heads seem to be like umbrellas. Their voices are deep like that of the clouds. Each of them has four Mushkas. 1 The soles of their feet are marked by hundreds of lines. They have sixty teeth all of which are white (and large), and eight smaller ones. They have many tongues. With those tongues they seem to lick the very Sun whose face is turned towards every direction. Indeed, they seem to be capable of devouring that deity from whom hath sprung the entire universe, the Vedas, the deities, and the Munis wedded to the attribute of tranquillity.

"Yudhishthira said,--'O grandsire, thou hast said that those beings have no senses, that they do not eat anything for supporting their lives; that their eyes are winkless; and that they always emit excellent perfumes. I ask, how were they born? What also is the superior end to which they attain? O chief of Bharata's race, are the indications of those men that become emancipate the same as those by which the denizens of the White Island are distinguished? Do thou dispel my doubts? The curiosity I feel is very great. Thou art the repository of all histories and discourses. As regards ourselves, we entirely depend on thee for knowledge and instruction!

"Bhishma continued,--'This narrative, O monarch, which I have heard from my sire, is extensive. I shall now recite it to thee. Indeed, it is regarded as the essence of all narratives. There was, in times past, a king on Earth of the name of Uparichara. He was known to be the friend of Indra, the chief of the celestials. He was devoted to Narayana known also by the name of Hari. He was observant of all the duties laid down in the scriptures. Ever devoted to his sire, he was always heedful and ready for action. He won the sovereignty of the world in consequence of a boon he had obtained from Narayana. Following the Sattwata ritual that had been declared in days of yore by Surya himself, king Uparichara used to worship the God of gods (Narayana), and when his worship was over, he used to adore (with what remained) the grandsire of the universe. After worshipping the Grandsires (Pitris), he worshipped the Brahmanas. He then divided the offerings among those that were dependent on him. With what remained after serving those, the king satisfied his own hunger. Devoted to truth, the monarch abstained from doing any injury to any creature. With his whole soul, the king was devoted to that God of gods, viz., Janarddana, who is without beginning and middle and end, who is the Creator of the universe, and who is without deterioration of any kind. Beholding the devotion to Narayana of that slayer of foes, the divine chief of the celestials himself shared with him his own seat and bed. His kingdom and wealth and spouses and animals were all regarded by him as obtained from Narayana. He, therefore, offered all his possessions to that great deity. 2 Adopting the Sattwata ritual, king Uparichara, with concentrated soul, used to discharge all his sacrificial acts and observances, both optional and obligatory. In the place of that illustrious king, many foremost Brahmanas, well conversant with the Pancharatra ritual, used to eat before all others the food offered to the god Narayana. As long as that slayer of foes continued to rule his kingdom righteously, no untruth ever escaped his lips and no evil thought ever entered his mind. With his limbs he never committed even the slightest sin. The seven celebrated Rishis, viz., Marichi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, and Vasishta of great energy, who came to be known by the name of Chitra-sikhandins, uniting together on the breast of that foremost of mountains, viz., Meru, promulgated an excellent treatise on duties and observances that was consistent with the four Vedas. The contents of that treatise were uttered by seven mouths, and constituted the best compendium of human duties and observances. Known, as already stated, by the name of Chitra-sikhandins, those seven Rishis constitute the seven (Pravriti) elements (of Mahat, Ahankara, etc.) and the Selfborn Manu, who is the eighth in the enumeration, constituted original Prakriti. These eight uphold the universe, and it was these eight that promulgated the treatise adverted to. With their senses and minds under complete control, and ever devoted to Yoga, these eight ascetics, with concentrated souls, are fully conversant with the Past, the Present and the Future, and are devoted to the religion of Truth.--This is good this is Brahma,--this is highly beneficial,--reflecting in their minds in this way, those Rishis created the worlds, and the science of morality and duty that governs those worlds. In that treatise the authors discoursed on Religion and Wealth and Pleasure, and subsequently on Emancipation also. They also laid down in it the various restrictions and limitations intended for the Earth as also for Heaven. They composed that treatise after having worshipped with penances the puissant and illustrious Narayana called also Hari, for a thousand celestial years, in company with many other Rishis. Gratified with their penances and worship, Narayana commanded the goddess of speech, viz. Saraswati, to enter into the person of those Rishis. The goddess, for the good of the worlds did what she was ordered. In consequence of the entrance of the goddess of speech into their persons, those Rishis, well conversant with penances, succeeded in composing that foremost of treatises in respect of vocables, import, and reason. Having composed that treatise sanctified with the syllable Om, the Rishis first of all read it to Narayana who became highly pleased with what he heard. The foremost of all Beings then addressed those Rishis in an incorporeal voice and said,--Excellent is this treatise that ye have composed consisting of a hundred thousand verses. The duties and observances of all the worlds will flow from this your work! In complete accordance with the four Vedas, viz., the Yajushes, the Samans, and the Atharvans of Angiras, the treatise of yours will be an authority in all the worlds in respect of both Pravritti and Nivritti. [There are two religions, viz., that of Pravritti, implying act and observances, and that of Nivritti, implying a complete abstention from all acts and observances. The last is also called the religion of Emancipation.] Agreeably to the authority of the scriptures I have created Brahman from the attribute of Grace, Rudra from my Wrath, and yourselves, Ye Brahmanas, as representing the Pravriti-elements (of Mahat, Ahankara, etc.), Surya, and Chandramas, Wind, and Earth, and Water and Fire, all the stars and planets and constellations, all else that is called by the name of creatures, and utterers of Brahma (or the Vedas), they all live and act in their respective spheres and are all respected as authorities. Even this treatise that ye have composed shall be regarded by all persons in the same light, viz., as a work of the highest authority. This is my command. Guided by this treatise, the Self-born Manu himself will declare to the world its course of duties and observances. When Usanas and Vrihaspati will arise, they also will promulgate their respective treatises on morality and religion, guided by and quoting from this your treatise. [Whether any work on morality and religion was over actually composed by the seven Rishis or not, no such work, it is certain, is in existence now. Besides this mention of the work in the Mahabharata, no reference to it has been made anywhere else. As to Sukra-niti it is extant, Vrihaspati's niti-sastram is defunct. It is probable, however, that before Saba-niti there was an anterior work, brief if not exhaustive on the same subjects.] After the publication of his treatise by the Self-born Manu and of that by Usanas, and after the publication of the treatise also by Vrihaspati, this science composed by you will be acquired by king Vasu (otherwise known by the name of Uparichara). Indeed ye foremost of regenerate ones, that king will acquire this knowledge of this work from Vrihaspati. That King, filled with all good thoughts, will become deeply devoted to me. Guided by this treatise, he will accomplish all his religious acts and observances. Verily, this treatise composed by you will be the foremost of all treatise on morality and religion. Possessed of the excellence, this treatise is fraught with instructions for acquiring both Wealth and Religious merit, and is full of mysteries. In consequence of the promulgation of this treatise of yours, ye will be progenitors of an extensive race. King Uparichara also will become endued with greatness and prosperity. Upon the death, however, of that king, this eternal treatise will disappear from the world. I tell you all this.--Having said these words unto all those Rishis, the invisible Narayana left them and proceeded to some place that was not known to them. Then those sires of the world, those Rishis that bestowed their thoughts on the ends pursued by the world, duly promulgated that treatise which is the eternal origin of all duties and observances. Subsequently, when Vrihaspati was born in Angiras's race in the first or the Krita age, those seven Rishis charged him with the task of promulgating their treatise which was consistent with the Upanishads and the several branches of the Vedas. They themselves who were upholders of the universe and the first promulgators of duties and religious observances, then proceeded to the place they chose, resolved to devote themselves to penances.'"

SECTION 337

"Bhishma said, 'Then upon the expiration of the great Kalpa, when the celestial Purohita Vrihaspati was born in the race of Angiras, all the deities became very happy. The words, Vrihat, Brahma, and Mahat all bear the same sense. The celestial Purohita, O king came to be called Vrihaspati because he was endued with all these attributes. King Uparichara, otherwise called Vasu, became a disciple of Vrihaspati and soon became the foremost of his disciples. Admitted as such, he began to study at the feet of his preceptor that science which was composed by the seven Rishis who were (otherwise) known by the name of Chitrasikhandins. With soul cleansed from all sorts of evil by sacrifices and other religious rites, he ruled the Earth like Indra ruling the Heaven. The illustrious king performed a great Horse-sacrifice in which his preceptor Vrihaspati became the Hota. The sons of Prajapati (Brahman) themselves, viz., Ekata, Dwita, and Trita, became the Sadasyas in that sacrifice. There were others also who became Sadasyas in that sacrifice, viz., Dhanusha, Raivya, Arvavasu, Parvavasu, the Rishi Medhatithi, the great Rishi Tandya, the blessed Rishi Santi, otherwise called Vedasiras, the foremost of Rishis, viz., Kapila, who was the father of Salihotra, the first Kalpa, Tittiri the elder brother of

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Vaisampayana, Kanwa, and Devahotra, in all forming sixteen. In that great sacrifice, O monarch, all the requisite articles were collected. No animals were slain in it. The king had ordained it so. He was full of compassion. Of pure and liberal mind, he had cast off all desires, and was well-conversant with all rites. The requisites of that sacrifice all consisted of the products of the wilderness. The ancient God of gods (viz., Hari), became highly gratified with the king on account of that sacrifice. Incapable of being seen by any one else, the great God showed himself to his worshipper. Accepting by taking its scent, the share offered to him he himself took up the Purodasa. The great God took up the offerings without being seen by any one. At this, Vrihaspati became angry. Taking up the ladle he hurled it with violence at the sky, and began to shed tears in wrath. Addressing king Uparichara he said,--Here, I place this as Narayana's share of the sacrificial offerings. Without doubt, he shall take it before my eyes.

"Yudhishthira said, 'In the great sacrifice of Uparichara, all the deities appeared in their respective forms for taking their shares of the sacrificial offerings and were seen by all. Why is it that the puissant Hari only acted otherwise by invisibly taking his share?'

"Bhishma continued, 'When Vrihaspati gave way to wrath, the great king Vasu and all his Sadasyas sought to pacify the great Rishi. With cool heads, all of them addressed Vrihaspati, saying,--It behoveth thee not to give way to anger. In this Krita age, this anger to which thou hast given way, should not be the characteristic of any one. The great deity for whom the share of the sacrificial offerings was designed by thee, is himself free from anger. He is incapable of being seen either by ourselves or by thee, O Vrihaspati! Only he can see Him to whom He becomes gracious.--Then the Rishis Ekata, Dwita, and Trita, who were well conversant with the science of morality and duties compiled by the seven Rishis, addressed that conclave and began the following narration.--We are the sons of Brahman, begotten by a fiat of his will (and not in the ordinary way). Once on a time we repaired to the north for obtaining what is for our highest good. Having undergone penances for thousands of years and acquired great ascetic merit, we again stood on only one foot like fixed stakes of wood. The country where we underwent the austerest of penances, lies to the north of the mountains of Meru and on the shores of the Ocean of Milk. The object we had in mind was how to behold the divine Narayana in his own form. Upon the completion of our penances and after we had performed the final ablutions, an incorporeal voice was heard by us, O puissant Vrihaspati, at once deep as that of the clouds and exceedingly sweet and filling the heart with joy. The voice said,--Ye Brahmanas, well have ye performed these penances with cheerful souls. Devoted unto Narayana, ye seek to know how ye may succeed in beholding that god of great puissance! On the northern shores of the Ocean of Milk there is an island of great splendour called by the name of White Island. The men that inhabit that island have complexions as white as the rays of the Moon and that are devoted to Narayana. Worshippers of that foremost of all Beings, they are devoted to Him with their whole souls. They all enter that eternal and illustrious deity of a thousand rays. They are divested of senses. They do not subsist on any kind of food. Their eyes are winkless. Their bodies always emit a fragrance. Indeed, the denizens of White Island believe and worship only one God. Go thither, ye ascetics, for there I have revealed myself!--All of us, hearing these incorporeal words, proceeded by the way indicated to the country described. Eagerly desirous of beholding Him and our hearts full of Him, we arrived at last at that large island called White Island. Arrived there, we could see nothing. Indeed, our vision was blinded by the energy of the great deity and accordingly we could not see Him. At this, the idea, due to the grace of the great God Himself, arose in our minds that one that had not undergone sufficient penances could not speedily behold Narayana. Under the influence of this idea we once more set ourselves to the practice of some severe austerities, suited to the time and place, for a hundred years. Upon the completion of our vows, we beheld a number of men of auspicious features. All of them were white and looked like the Moon (in colour) and possessed of every mark of blessedness. Their hands were always joined in prayer. The faces of some were turned towards the North and of some towards the East. They were engaged in silently thinking on Brahma. The Yapa performed by those high-souled persons was a mental yapa (and did not consist of the actual recitation of any mantras in words). In consequence of their hearts having been entirely set upon Him, Hari became highly pleased with them. The effulgence that was emitted by each of those men resembled, O foremost of ascetics, the splendours which Surya assumes when the time comes for the dissolution of the universe. Indeed, we thought that Island was the home of all Energy. All the inhabitants were perfectly equal in energy. There was no superiority or inferiority there among them. We then suddenly beheld once more a light arise, that seemed to be the concentrated effulgence of a thousand Suns, O Vrihaspati. The inhabitants, assembling together, ran towards that light, with hands joined in reverential attitude, full of joy, and uttering the one word Namas (we bow thee!) We then heard a very loud noise uttered by all of them together. It seemed that those men were employed in offering a sacrifice to the great God. As regards ourselves, we were suddenly deprived of our senses by his Energy. Deprived of vision and strength and all the senses, we could not see or feel anything. We only heard a loud volume of sound uttered by the assembled inhabitants. It said,--Victory to thee, O thou of eyes like lotus-petals! Salutations to thee, O Creator of the universe! Salutations to thee, O Hrishikesa, O foremost of Beings, O thou that art the First-born! Even this was the sound we heard, uttered distinctly and agreeably to the rules of orthoepy. Meanwhile, a breeze, fragrant and pure, blew, bearing perfumes of celestial flowers, and of certain herbs and plants that were of use on the occasion. Those men, endued with great devotion, possessed of hearts full of reverence, conversant with the ordinances laid down in the Pancharatra, were then worshipping the great deity with mind, word, and deed. Without doubt, Hari appeared in that place whence the sound we heard arose. As regards ourselves, stupefied by His illusion, we could not see him. After the breeze had ceased and the sacrifice had been over, our hearts became agitated with anxiety, O foremost one of Angira's race. As we stood among those thousands of men all of whom were of pure descent, no one honoured us with a glance or nod. Those ascetics, all of whom were cheerful and filled with devotion and who were all practising the Brahma-frame of mind, did not show any kind of feeling for us. We had been exceedingly tired. Our penances had emaciated us. At that time, an incorporeal Being addressed us from the sky and said unto us these words--These white men, who are divested of all outer senses, are competent to behold (Narayana). Only those foremost of regenerate persons whom these white men honoured with their glances, become competent to behold the great God. Go hence, ye Munis, to the place whence ye have come. That great Deity is incapable of being ever seen by one that is destitute of devotion. Incapable of being seen in consequence of his dazzling effulgence, that illustrious Deity can be beheld by only those persons that in course of long ages succeed in devoting themselves wholly and solely to Him. Ye foremost of regenerate one, ye have a great duty to per-form. After the expiration of this the Krita age, when the Treta age comes in course of the Vivaswat cycle, a great calamity will overtake the worlds. Ye Munis, ye shall then have to become the allies of the deities (for dispelling that calamity).--Having heard these wonderful words that were sweet as nectar, we soon got back to the place we desired, through the grace of that great Deity. When with the aid of even such austere penances and of offerings devoutly given in sacrifices, we failed to have a sight of the great Deity, how, indeed, can you expect to behold Him so easily? Narayana is a Great Being, He is the Creator of the universe. He is adorned in sacrifices with offerings of clarified butter and other food dedicated with the aid of Vedic mantras. He has no beginning and no end. He is Unmanifest. Both the Deities and the Danavas worship Him.--Induced by these words spoken by Ekata and approved by his companions, viz., Dwita and Trita, and solicited also by the other Sadasyas, the high-minded Vrihaspati brought that sacrifice to a completion after duly offering the accustomed adorations to the Deities. King Uparichara also, having completed his great sacrifice, began to rule his subjects righteously. At last, casting off his body, he ascended to heaven. After some time, through the curse of the Brahmanas, he fell down from those regions of felicity and sank deep into the bowels of the Earth. King Vasu, O tiger among monarchs, was always devoted to the true religion. Although sunk deep into the bowels of the Earth, his devotion to virtue did not abate. Ever devoted to Narayana, and ever reciting sacred mantras having Narayana for their deity, he once more ascended to heaven through Narayana's grace. Ascending from the bowels of the Earth, king Vasu in consequence of the very highest end that he attained, proceeded to a spot that is even higher than the region of Brahman himself.'"

SECTION 338

"Yudhishthira said, 'When the great king Vasu was so wholly devoted to Narayana, for what reason then did he fall down from heaven and why again had he to sink beneath the surface of the Earth?'"

'Bhishma said, 'In this connection is cited an old narrative, O Bharata, of a discourse between the Rishis and the gods. The gods, once on a time, addressing many foremost of Brahmanas, said unto them that sacrifices should be performed by offering up Ajas as victims. By the word Aja should be understood the goat and no other animal.'

The Rishis said, The Vedic Sruti declares that in sacrifices the offerings should consist of (vegetable) seeds. Seeds are called Ajas. It behoveth you not to slay goats. Ye deities, that cannot be the religion of good and righteous people in which slaughter of animals is laid down. This, again, is the Krita age. How can animals be slaughtered in this epoch of righteousness?'

"Bhishma continued, While this discourse was going between the Rishis and the deities, that foremost of kings, viz., Vasu, was seen to come that way. Endued with great prosperity, the king was coming through the welkin, accompanied by his troops and vehicles and animals. Beholding king Vasu coming to that spot through the skies, the Brahmanas addressing the deities, said,--This one will remove our doubts. He performs sacrifices. He is liberal in making gifts. He always seeks the good of all creatures. How, indeed, will the great Vasu, speak otherwise,--Having thus spoken unto each other, the deities and the Rishis quickly approached king Vasu and questioned him, saying,--O king, with what should one perform sacrifices? Should one sacrifice with the goat or with herbs and plants? Do thou dispel this doubt of ours. We constitute thee our judge in this matter.--Thus addressed by them, Vasu joined his hands in humility and said unto them.--Tell me truly, ye foremost of Brahmanas, what opinion is entertained by you in this matter?

"'The Rishis said, The opinion entertained by us, O king, is that sacrifices should be performed with grain. The deities, however, maintain that sacrifices should be performed with animals. Do thou judge between us and tell us which of these opinions is correct.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Learning what the opinion was that was entertained by the deities, Vasu, moved by partiality for them, said that sacrifices should be performed with animals. At this answer, all the Rishis, endued with the splendour of the Sun, became very angry. Addressing Vasu who was seated on his car and who had (wrongly) taken up the side of the deities, they said unto him,--Since thou hast (wrongly) taken up the side of the deities, do thou fall down from heaven. From this day, O monarch, thou shalt lose the power of journeying through the sky. Through our course, thou shalt sink deep below the surface of the Earth. After the Rishis had said these words, king Uparichara immediately fell down, O monarch, and went down a hole in Earth. At the command, however, of Narayana, Vasu's memory did not leave him. To the good fortune of Vasu, the deities, pained at the course denounced on him by the Brahmanas, began to think anxiously as to how that course might be neutralised. They said, This high-souled king hath been cursed for our sake. We, denizens of heaven, should unite together for doing what is good to him in return for that which he has done to us. Having quickly settled this in their minds with the aid of reflection, the deities proceeded to the spot where the king Uparichara was. Arrived, at his presence, they addressed him, saying, Thou art devoted to the great God of the Brahmanas (viz., Narayana). That great Lord of both the deities and the Asuras, gratified with thee, will rescue thee from the course that has been denounced upon thee. It is proper, however, that the high-souled Brahmanas should be honoured. Verily, O best of kings, their penances should fructify. Indeed, thou hast already fallen down from the sky on the Earth. We desire, however, O best of kings, to show thee a favour in one respect. As long as thou, O sinless one, shalt dwell in his hole, so long shalt thou receive (due sustenance, through our boon)! Those streaks of clarified butter which Brahmans with concentrated minds pour in sacrifices in accompaniment with sacred mantras, and which are called by the name of Vasudhara, shall be thine, through our care for thee! Indeed weakness or distress shall not touch thee. While dwelling, O king of kings, in the hole of the Earth, neither hunger nor thirst shall afflict thee for thou shalt drink those streaks of clarified butter called Vasudhara. Thy energy also shall continue unabated. In consequence also of this our boon that we grant thee, the God of gods, viz., Narayana will be gratified with thee, and He will bear thee hence to the region of Brahman!--Having granted these boons unto the king, the denizens of heaven, as also all those Rishis possessed of wealth of penances, returned each to his respective place. Then Vasu, O Bharata, began to adore the Creator of the universe and to recite in silence those sacred mantras that had come out of Narayana's mouth in days of yore. Although dwelling in a pit of the Earth, the king still worshipped Hari, the Lord of all the deities, in the well-known five sacrifices that are performed five times every day, O slayer of foes! In consequence of these adorations, Narayana, otherwise called Hari, became highly pleased with him who thus showed himself to be entirely devoted to Him, by wholly relying upon Him as his sole refuge, and who had completely subjugated his senses. The illustrious Vishnu, that giver of boons, then addressing Garuda of great speed, that foremost of birds, who waited upon Him as his servant, said these desirable words:--O foremost of birds, O thou that art highly blessed, listen to what I say! There is a great king of the name of Vasu who is of righteous soul and rigid vows. Through the wrath of the Brahmanas, he has fallen into a pit of the Earth. The Brahmans, have been sufficiently honoured (for their curse has fructified). Do thou go to that king now. At my command, O Garuda, go to that foremost of kings, viz., Uparichara who is now dwelling in a whole of the Earth and incapable of any longer sailing through the sky, and bring him up without delay into the welkin. Hearing these words of Vishnu, Garuda, spreading his wings and rushing with the speed of the wind, entered that hole in the Earth in which king Vasu was living. Suddenly taking the king up, the son of Vinata soared into the sky and there released the king from

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his beaks. At that moment, king Uparichara once more acquired his celestial form and re-entered the region of Brahman. It was in this way, O son of Kunti, that great king first fell down through the curse of the Brahmanas for a fault of speech, and once more ascended to heaven at the command of the great God (Vishnu). Only the puissant Lord Hari, that foremost of all Beings, was devoutly worshipped by him. It was for this devout worship that the king succeeded very soon in escaping from the curse denounced upon him by the Brahmanas and in regaining the felicitous regions of Brahman.

"Bhishma continued, 'I have thus told thee everything respecting the origin of the spiritual sons of Brahman. Listen to me with undivided attention, for I shall now narrate to thee how the celestial Rishi Narada proceeded in days of yore to White Island.'"

SECTION 339

"Bhishma said, 'Arrived at the spacious realm called White Island, the illustrious Rishi beheld those same white men possessed of lunar splendour (of whom I have already spoken to thee). Worshipped by them, the Rishi worshipped them in return by bending his head and reverencing them in his mind. Desirous of beholding Narayana, he began to reside there, attentively engaged in the silent recitation of mantras, sacred to him, and observant of vows of the most difficult kind, with concentrated mind, the regenerate Rishi, with arms upraised, stood in Yoga, and then sang the following hymn unto the Lord of the universe, Him, viz., who is at once the soul of attributes and divested of all attributes.

"Narada said, Salutations to thee, O God of gods, O thou that art freed from all acts! Thou art he who is divested of all attributes, who is the Witness of all the worlds, who is called Kshetrajna, who is the foremost of all Beings, who is Infinite, who is called Purusha, who is the great Purusha, who is the foremost of all Purushas, who is the soul of the three attributes, who is called the Foremost, who is Amrita (nectar), who is called Immortal, who is called Ananta (Sesha), who is Space, who is without beginning, who is both Manifest and Unmanifest as existent and not-existent things, who is said to have his home in Truth, who is the first of gods (Narayana), who is the giver of wealth (or of the fruits of acts), identified with Daksha and other Lords of the Creation, who is the Aswattha and other big trees, who is the four-headed Brahman, who is the Lord of all created Beings, who is the Lord of Speech, who is the Lord of the universe (or Indra), who is the all-pervading Soul, who is the Sun, who is the breath called Prana, who is the Lord of the waters (viz., Varuna), who is identifiable with the Emperor or the King, who is identifiable with the Regents of the several points of the compass, who is the refuge of the universe when it is dissolved in the final destruction, who is Undisplayed (unrevealed), who is the giver of the Vedas unto Brahman, who is identifiable with the sacrifices and Vedic studies achieved by Brahmanas with the aid of their bodies, who is identifiable with the four principal orders of the deities, who is every one of those four orders, who is possessed of effulgence, who is possessed of great effulgence, who is he unto whom the seven largest offerings in sacrifices are presented with the Gayatri and other sacred mantras, who is Yama, who is Chitragupta and the other attendants of Yama, who is called the wife of Yama, who is that order of the deities called Tushita, who is that other order called Mahatushita, who is the universal grinder (Death), who is desire and all diseases that have been created for aiding the advent of Death, who is health and freedom from disease, who is subject to desire and passions, who is free from the influence of desire and passions, who is Infinite as exhibited in species and forms, who is he that is chastised, who is he that is the chastiser, who is all the lesser sacrifices (like Agnihotra and others), who is all the larger sacrifices (like those called Brahma, etc.), who is all the Ritwijas, who is the origin of all sacrifices (viz., the Vedas), who is fire, who is the very heart of all sacrifices (viz., the mantras and hymns uttered in them), who is he that is hymned in sacrifices, who takes those shares of the sacrificial offerings that are presented to him, who is the embodiment of the five sacrifices, who is the maker of the five sections or divisions of time (viz., day, night, month, season and year), who is incapable of being understood except by those scriptures that are called Pancharatra, who never shrinks from anything, who is unvanquished, who is only Mind (without a physical frame), who is known only by name, who is the Lord of Brahman himself, who has completed all the vows and observances mentioned in the Vedas, who is the Hansa (bearer of the triple stick), who is the Parama-hansa (divested of stick), who is the foremost of all sacrifices, who is Sankhya-yoga, who is the embodiment of the Sankhya philosophy, who dwells in all Jivas, who lives in every heart, who resides in every sense, who floats on the ocean-water, who lives in the Vedas, who lies on the lotus (the image of the egg whence the universe has sprung), who is the Lord of the universe, and whose troops go everywhere for protecting his worshippers. Thou takest birth as all creatures. Thou art the origin of the universe (of all creatures). Thy mouth is fire. Thou art that fire which courses through the waters of the ocean, issuing out all the while from an Equine head. Thou art the sanctified butter that is poured into the sacrificial fire. Thou art the car-driver (fire or heat that impels the body and causes it to live and grow). Thou art Vashat. Thou art the syllable Om. Thou art Penances. Thou art Mind. Thou art Chandramas. Thou sanctifiest the sacrificial butter. Thou art the Sun. Thou art the Dikgajas (Elephants) that are sanctioned in the four cardinal points of the compass. Thou illuminest the cardinal points of the compass. Thou illuminest the subsidiary points also. Thou art the Equine head. Thou art the first three mantras of the Rig Veda. Thou art the protector of the several orders of men (viz., Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras). Thou art the five fires (beginning with Garhapatya). Thou art He who has thrice ignited the sacrificial fire called Nachi. Thou art the refuge of the six limbs (viz., the Vedas). Thou art the foremost of those Brahmanas that are employed in singing the Samans in sacrifices and other religious rites. Thou art Pragjyotish, and thou art he who sings the first Saman. Thou art the observer of those vows that depend upon the Vedas and that are observed by singers of Samanas. Thou art the embodiment of the Upanishad, called by the name of Atharvasiras. Thou art he who is the topic of the five foremost of scriptures (viz., those that appertain to the worship of Surya, of Sakti, of Ganesa, of Siva, and of Vishnu). Thou art called the preceptor that subsists only on the froth of water. Thou art a Valikhilya. Thou art the embodiment of him who has not fallen away from Yoga. Thou art the embodiment of correctness of judgement of reasoning. Thou art the beginning of the Yugas, thou art the middle of the Yugas and thou art their end. Thou art Akhandala (Indra). Thou art the two Rishis Prachina-garbha and Kausika. Thou art Purusthuta, thou art Puruhuta, thou art the artificer of the universe. Thou hast the universe for thy form. Thy motions are infinite. Thy bodies are infinite; thou art without end and without beginning, and without middle. Thy middle is unmanifest. Thy end is unmanifest. Thou hast vows for thy abode. Thou residest in the ocean. Thou hast thy home in Fame, in Penances, in Self-restraint, in Prosperity, in Knowledge, in grand Achievements, and in Everything belonging to the universe. Thou art Vasudeva. Thou art the grantor of every wish. Thou art Hanuman that bore Rama on his shoulders. Thou art the great Horse-sacrifice. Thou takest thy share of offerings made in great sacrifices. Thou art the grantor of boons, of happiness, of wealth. Thou art devoted to Hari., Thou art Restraint of the senses. Thou art vows and observances. Thou art mortifications, thou art severe mortifications, thou art very severe mortifications. Thou art he who observes vows and religious and other pious rites. Thou art freed from all errors. Thou art a Brahmacharin. Thou tookest birth in the womb of Prisni. Thou art he from whom have flowered all Vedic rites and acts. Thou art unborn. Thou pervadest all things. Thy eyes are on all things. Thou must not be apprehended by the senses. Thou art not subject to deterioration. Thou art possessed of great puissance. Thy body is inconceivably vast. Thou art holy, thou art beyond the ken of logic or argument. Thou art unknowable. Thou art the foremost of Causes. Thou art the Creator of all creatures and thou art their destroyer. Thou art the possessor of vast powers of illusion. Thou art called Chittrasikhandin. Thou art the giver of boons. Thou art the taker of thy share of the sacrificial offerings. Thou hast obtained the merit of all sacrifices. Thou art he who has been freed from all doubts, Thou art omnipresent. Thou art of the form of a Brahmana. Thou art fond of Brahmanas. Thou hast the universe for thy form. Thy form is very vast. Thou art the greatest friend. Thou art kind to all thy worshippers. Thou art the great deity of the Brahmanas. I am thy devoted disciple. I am desirous of beholding thee. Salutations to thee that art of the form of Emancipation.'"

SECTION 340

"Bhishma said, 'Thus hymned with names that were not known to others, the Divine Narayana having the universe for his form showed himself to the ascetic Narada. His form was somewhat purer than the moon and differed from the moon in some respects. He somewhat resembled a blazing fire in complexion. The puissant Lord was somewhat of the form of Vishti. He resembled in some respects the feathers of the parrot, and in some a mass of pure crystal. He resembled in some respects a hill of antimony and in some a mass of pure gold. His complexion somewhat resembled the coral when first formed, and was somewhat white. In some respects that complexion resembled the hue of gold and in some that of the lapis lazuli. In some respects it resembled the hue of the blue lapis lazuli and in some that of sapphire. In some respects it resembled the hue of the peacock's neck, and in some that of a string of pearls. Bearing these diverse kinds of hues on his person, the eternal Deity appeared before Narada. He had a thousand eyes and was possessed of great beauty. He had a hundred heads and a hundred feet. He had a thousand stomachs and a thousand arms. He seemed to be still inconceivable to the mind. With one of his mouths he uttered the syllable Om and then the Gayatri following Om. With mind under complete control, the great Deity, called by the names of Hari and Narayana, by his other mouths, multitudinous in number, uttered many mantras from the four Vedas which are known by the name of Aranyaka. The Lord of all the deities, the great God who is adorned in sacrifices, held in his hands a sacrificial altar, a Kamandalu, few white gems, a pair of sandal, a bundle of Kusa blades, a deer-skin, a toothstick, and a little blazing fire. With cheerful soul, that foremost of regenerate persons, viz., Narada of restraining speech, bowed unto the great God and adored Him. Unto him whose head was still bent low in veneration, the first of all the deities, who is free from deterioration, said the following words.

"'The Holy one said, The great Rishis, Ekata, Dwita, and Trita, came to this realm from desire of obtaining a sight of me. They, however, were unable to have the fruition of their wishes. Nor can any one have a sight of me save those persons that are devoted to me with their whole hearts. As regards thee, thou art verily the foremost of all persons devoted to me with all their souls. These are my bodies, the best ones that I assume. These were born, O regenerate one, in the house of Dharma. Do thou worship them always, and do thou perform those rites that are laid down in the ordinances with respect to that worship. O Brahmana, do thou ask of me the boons thou desirest. I am gratified with thee to-day, and I appear unto thee now in my universal form as freed from decay and deterioration.

"Narada said, Since, O holy one, I have today succeeded in obtaining a sight of thee. I regard that I have won without any delay the fruits of my penances, O God, of my self-restraint, and of all the vows and observances that I have gone through. This, indeed, is the highest boon thou hast granted me for thou hast shown thyself to me today. O Eternal Lord, Thou, O holy one, hast the universe for thy eye. Thou art the Lion. Thy form is identifiable with everything. Possessed of puissance, thou, O Lord, art vast and infinite.

Bhishma continued, 'Having thus shown Himself unto Narada, the son of Parameshthi, the great God addressed that ascetic and said,--Go hence, O Narada, and do not delay! These worshippers of mine, possessed of lunar complexions, are divested of all senses and do not subsist upon any kind of food. They are, again, all Emancipate; with minds wholly concentrated upon Me, people should think of Me. Such worshippers will never meet with any impediments. These men are all crowned with ascetic success and are highly blessed. In ancient times they became entirely devoted to me. They have been freed from the attributes of Rajas and Tamas. Without doubt, they are competent to enter me and become merged into my Self.--He that cannot be seen with the eye, touched with the sense of touch, smelt with the sense of scent, and that is beyond the ken of the sense of taste. He whom the three attributes of Sattwa, Rajas, and Tamas do not touch, who pervades all things and is the one Witness of the universe, and who is described as the Soul of the entire universe; He who is not destroyed upon the destruction of the bodies of all created things, who is unborn and unchangeable and eternal, who is freed from all attributes, who is indivisible and entire; He who transcends the twice twelve topics of enquiry and is regarded the Twenty-fifth, who is called by the name of Purusha, who is inactive, and who is said to be apprehended by Knowledge alone, He into whom the foremost of the regenerate persons enter and become emancipate. He who is the eternal Supreme Soul and is known by the name of Vasudeva. Behold, O Narada, the greatness and puissance of God. He is never touched by acts good or bad. Sattwa, Rajas and Tamas, are said to be the three (original) attributes. These dwell and act in the bodies of all creatures. The Jiva-soul, called Kshetrajna, enjoys and endorse the action of these three attributes. He, however, transcends them and they cannot touch Him. Freed from these attributes, He is again their enjoyer and endorser. Having created them Himself, He is above them all. O celestial Rishi, the Earth, which is the refuge of the universe, disappears (when the hour for universal dissolution comes) into water, Water disappears into Light, and Light into Wind, Wind disappears into Space, and Space into Mind. Mind is a great creature, and it disappears into Unmanifest Prakriti. Unmanifest Prakriti, O Brahmana, disappears into inactive Purusha. There is nothing higher than Purusha which is Eternal. There is nothing among mobile and immobile things in the universe that is immutable, except Vasudeva, the eternal Purusha. Endued with great puissance, Vasudeva is the Soul of all creatures. Earth, Wind, Space, Water, and Light forming the fifth, the primal elements of great puissance. Mingling together they form what is called the body. Possessed of subtile prowess and invisible to all eyes, O Brahmana, the puissant Vasudeva then enter that combination of the five primal elements, called body. Such entrance is called his birth, and taking birth. He causes the body to move about and act. Without a combination of the five primal elements, no body can ever be formed. Without, again, the entrance of Jiva into the body, the mind dwelling within it cannot cause it to move and act. He that enters the body is possessed of great puissance and is called Jiva. He is known also by other names, viz., Sesha and Sankarshana. He that takes his rise, from that Sankarshana,

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by his own acts, Sanatkumara, and in whom all creatures merge when the universal dissolution comes, is the Mind of all creatures and is called by the name of Pradyumna. From Him (i.e., Pradyumna), arises He who is the Creator, and who is both Cause and Effect. From this last, everything, viz., the mobile and immobile universe, takes its rise. This one is called Aniruddha. He is otherwise called Isana, and He is manifest in all acts. That illustrious one, viz., Vasudeva, who is called Kshetrajna, and who is freed from attributes, should, O king of kings, be known as the puissant Sankarshana, when he takes birth as Jiva. From Sankarshana arises Pradyumna who is called 'He that is born as Mind.' From Pradyumna is He who is Aniruddha. He is Consciousness, He is Iswara (Supreme Lord). It is from me, that the entire mobile and immobile universe springs. It is from me, O Narada, that the indestructible and destructible, the existent and the non-existent, flow. They that are devoted to me enter into me and become emancipate. I am known as Purusha. Without acts, I am the Twenty-fifth. Transcending attributes, I am entire and indivisible. I am above all pairs of opposite attributes and freed from all attachments. This, O Narada, thou wilt fail to understand. Thou beholdest me as endued with a form. In a moment, if the wish arises, I can dissolve this form. I am the Supreme Lord and the Preceptor of the universe. That which thou beholdest of me, O Narada, is only an illusion of mine. I now seem to be endued with the attributes of all created things. Thou art not competent to know me. I have disclosed to thee duly my quadruple form. I am, O Narada, the Doer, I am Cause, and I am Effect. I am the sum-total of all living creatures. All living creatures have their refuge in me. Let not the thought be thine that thou hast seen the Kshetrajna. I pervade all things. O Brahmana, and am the Jiva-Soul of all creatures. When the bodies of all creatures, however, are destroyed, I am not destroyed. Those highly blessed men who, having won ascetic success, become wholly devoted to me, become freed from the attributes of both Rajas and Tamas and succeeds, on that account, in entering me, O great ascetic. He who is called Hiranyagarbha, who is the beginning of the world, who has four faces, who cannot be understood with the aid of Nirukta, who is otherwise called Brahman, who is an eternal deity, is employed in attending to many of my concerns. The deity Rudra, born of my wrath, is sprung from my forehead. Behold, the eleven Rudras are swelling (with might) on the right side of my body. The twelve Adityas are on the left side of my body. Behold, the eight Vasus, those foremost of deities, are in my front, and see, Nasatya and Dasra, those two celestial physicians (Aswini Kumars), are in my rear. Behold also in my body all the Prajapatis and behold the seven Rishis also. Behold also the Vedas, and all the Sacrifices numbering by hundreds, the Amrita (nectar), and all the (medicinal) herbs and plants, and Penances, and vows and observances of diverse kinds. Behold also in me the eight attributes indicative of puissance, viz., those particularly called the attributes of Lordship, all dwelling together in my body in their united and embodied form. Behold also Sree and Lakshmi, and Kirti, and the Earth with her hump as also the goddess, Saraswati, that mother of the Vedas, dwelling in me. Behold, O Narada, Dhruva, that foremost of luminaries ranging the firmament, as also all the Oceans those receptacles of water, and lakes, and rivers, dwelling in me. Behold also, O best of men, the four foremost ones amongst the Pitris in their embodied forms, as also, the three attributes (of Sattwa, Rajas, and Tamas) which are formless dwelling in me. The acts done in honour of the Pitris are superior (in point of merit) to those done in honour of the deities. I am the Pitri of both the deities and the Pitris, and am existing from the beginning (that is, from a time when they were not). Becoming the Equine-head I rove through the Western and the Northern ocean and drink sacrificial libations duly poured with mantras and solid sacrificial food offered with reverence and devotion. In days of yore I created Brahman who himself adored me in sacrifices. Gratified with him on that account I granted him many excellent boons. I said unto him that in the beginning of the Kalpa he would be born unto me as my son, and the sovereignty of all the worlds would vest on him, coupled with diverse names being bestowed on diverse objects in consequence of the starting of Ahankara into existence. I also told him that none would ever violate the limits and boundaries he would assign (for the observance of creatures) and, further, that he would be the giver of boons unto persons that would (in sacrifices and by proper acts) solicit him for them. I further assured him that he would be an object of adoration with all the deities and Asuras, all the Rishis and Pitris, and the diverse creatures forming the creation. I also gave him to understand that I would always manifest myself for accomplishing the business of the deities and that for that matter I would suffer myself to be commanded by him even as a son by his sire. [Nityada is always. Some persons believe that Narayana has to manifest himself always for achieving the business of the deities. This Earth is not the only world where such manifestations needed. As to the object of the manifestations considerable difference of opinion prevails. In the Gita, the great deity himself explains that that object is to rescue the good and destroy the wicked. Others hold that this is only a secondary object, the primary one being to gladden the hearts of the devout by affording them opportunities of worshipping him and applauding his acts, and to indulge in new joys by serving his own worshippers.] Granting these and other highly agreeable boons unto Brahman of immeasurable energy in consequence of my being gratified with him I (once more) adopted the course dictated by Nivritti. The highest Nivritti is identical with the annihilation of all duties and acts. Hence, by adopting Nivritti one should conduct oneself in complete felicity. Learned preceptors, with settled convictions deducted from the truths of the Sankhya philosophy, have spoken of me as Kapila endued with the puissance of Knowledge, dwelling within the effulgence of Surya, and concentrated in Yoga. [This is a reference to the well-known description of Narayana as Savitrimandalamadhyavartih etc. It is not the visible Sun whose disc is meant, but that pure fountain of effulgence which is inconceivable for its dazzling brightness that is implied.] In Chchandas (Vedas) I have been repeatedly hymned as the illustrious Hiranyagarbha. In the Yoga scriptures, O Brahmana, I have been spoken of as one who takes a delight in Yoga. I am eternal. Assuming a form that is manifest, I dwell, at present, in the heavens. At the end of a thousand Yugas I shall once more with-draw the universe into myself. Having withdrawn all creatures, mobile and immobile into myself, I shall exist all alone with knowledge only for my companion. After the lapse of ages I shall again create the universe, with the aid of that knowledge. That which is my fourth form creates the indestructible Sesha. That Sesha is called by the name of Sankarshana. Sankarshana creates Pradyumna. From Pradyumna I take birth myself as Aniruddha. I create (myself) repeatedly. From Aniruddha springs Brahman. The latter takes birth from Aniruddha's navel. From Brahman spring all creatures mobile and immobile. Know that Creation springs in this way repeatedly at the beginning of every Kalpa. Creation and destruction succeed each other even as sunrise and sunset in this world. Then, again, as Time, endued with immeasurable energy, forcibly brings back the Sun after his disappearance, after the same manner I shall, assuming the form of boar and putting forth my strength, bring back the Earth with her belt of seas to her own position for the good of all creatures when she becomes submerged in water. I shall then slay the son of Diti, named Hiranyaksha, filled with pride of strength. Assuming the form then of a Man-lion (Narsingha), I shall, for benefiting the deities, slay Hiranyakasipu the son of Diti, who will be a great destroyer of sacrifices. Unto Virochana (the son of Prahlada) will be born a mighty son of the name of Vali. That great Asura will be unslayable in the whole universe consisting of deities, Asuras and Rakshasas. He will hurl Sakra from the sovereignty of the universe. When after routing the Lord of Sachi, that Asura will take unto himself the sovereignty of the three worlds, I shall take birth in Aditi's womb, by Kasyapa, as the twelfth Aditya. I shall (taking the sovereignty of the three worlds Vali) restore it to Indra of immeasurable splendour, and replace the deities, O Narada, in their respective stations. As regards Vali, that foremost of Danavas, who is to be unslayable by all the deities, I shall cause him to dwell in the nether regions. In the Treta age I shall take birth as Rama in the race of Bhrigu, and exterminate the Kshatriyas who will become proud of their strength and possessions. Towards the close of Treta and the beginning of Dwapara, I shall take birth as Rama, the son of Dasaratha in Iskshaku's royal line. At that time, the two Rishis viz., the two sons of Prajapati, called by the names of Ekata and Dwita, will in consequence of the injury done by them unto their brother Trita, have to take birth as apes, losing the beauty of the human form. Those apes that shall take birth in the race of Ekata and Dwita, shall become endued with great strength and mighty energy and will equal Sakra himself in prowess. All those apes, O regenerate one, will become my allies for accomplishing the business of the deities. I shall then slay the terrible lord of the Rakshasas, that wretch of Pulastya's race, viz., the fierce Ravana, that throne of all the worlds, together with all his children and followers. Towards the close of the Dwapara and beginning of the Kali ages, I shall again appear in the world taking birth in the city of Mathura for the purpose of slaying Kansa. There, after slaying innumerable Danavas that will be thorns in the side of the deities, I shall take up my residence in Kusasthali at the city of Dwaraka. While residing in that city I shall slay the Asura Naraka, the son of 'the Earth,--him, that is, who will do an injury to Aditi, as also some 'other Danavas of the names of Muru and Pitha. Slaying also another foremost of Danavas, viz., the lord of Pragjyotisha, I shall transplant his delightful city furnished with diverse kinds of wealth into Dwaraka. I shall then subjugate the two gods worshipped of all the deities, viz., Maheshwara and Mahasena, who will become fond of the Danava Vana and do him diverse good offices and who will exert themselves vigorously for that worshipper of theirs. [Maheswara is Mahadeva or Siva, Mahasena is Kartikeya, the generalissimo of the celestial forces.] Vanquishing next the son of the Danava Vali, viz., Vana, who will be endued with a thousand arms, I shall next destroy all the inhabitants of the Danava city called Saubha. [Vana, the son of Vali, was a devout worshipper of Mahadeva. Mina's daughter Usha fell in love with Krishna's grandson Aniruddha. Aniruddha was imprisoned by Vana. It was to rescue Aniruddha that Krishna fought with Vana, after having vanquished both Mahadeva and Kartikeya. The thousand and one arms of Vana, less two, were lopped off by Krishna. The episode of the love of Aniruddha and Usha is a very beautiful one.] I shall next, O foremost of Brahmanas, compass the death of Kalayavana, a Danava who will be endued with great might in consequence of his being equipt with the energy of Gargya. [Saubha was the name of a flying city of the Danavas. Krishna felled this city into the ocean, having killed all its Danava inhabitants. As to Kala-yavana, his death was brought about by Krishna under the following circumstances. Pursued by the Danava, Krishna took refuge in a mountain-cave in which a king of the Satya Yuga was lying asleep. Entering the cave, Krishna stood at the head of the sleeping king. The Danava, entering the cave after Krishna, found the sleeping king and awaked him. As soon as the king looked at the Danava, the latter was consumed into ashes, for the gods had given a boon to the king that he who would awake him would be consumed by a glance of his.] A proud Asura will appear as a king at Girivraja, of the name of Jarasandha, who will quarrel with all the other kings of the world. His death will be compassed by me through some one else guided by my intelligence. I shall next slay Sisupala in the sacrifice of king Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma, which sacrifice all the kings of the world will bring tribute. In some of these feats, only Arjuna, the son of Vasava, will become my assistant. I shall establish Yudhishthira with all his brothers in his ancestral kingdom. People will call me and Arjuna as Narayana and Nara, when, endued with puissance, we two, exerting our strength, shall consume a large number of Kshatriyas, for doing good to the world. Having lightened the burthen of the Earth according to our pleasure, I shall absorb all the principal Sattwatas as also Dwaraka, my favourite city, into my own self, recollecting my all-embracing Knowledge. Endued with four forms, I shall, in this way, achieve many feats of great prowess, and attain at last to those regions of felicity created by me and honoured by all the Brahmanas. Appearing in the forms of a swan, a tortoise, a fish, O foremost of regenerate ones, I shall then display myself as a boar, then as a Man-lion (Nrisingha), then as a dwarf, then as Rama of Bhrigu's race, then as Rama, the son of Dasaratha, then as Krishna the scion of the Sattwata race, and lastly as Kalki. When the auditions in the Vedas disappeared from the world, I brought them back. The Vedas with the auditions in them, were re-created by me in the Krita age. They have once more disappeared or may only be partially heard here and there in the Puranas. Many of my best appearances also in the world have become events of the past. Having achieved the good of the worlds in those forms in which I appeared, they have re-entered into my own Prakriti. Brahman (the Creator) himself never obtained a sight of me in this form of mine, which thou, O Narada, hast seen today in consequence of thy entire devotion to me. I have now said everything, O Brahmana,--unto thee that art devoted to me wholly, I have disclosed to thee my ancient appearances and future ones also, O Best of men, together with all their mysteries. "Bhishma continued, The holy and illustrious deity, of universal and immutable form, having said these words unto Narada, disappeared there and then. Narada also, endued with great energy, having obtained the high favour that he had solicited, then proceeded with great speed to the retreat called Vadari, for beholding Nara and Narayana. This great Upanishad, perfectly consist with the four Vedas, in harmony with Sankhya-yoga, and called by him by the name of the Pancharatra scriptures, and recited by Narayana himself with his own mouth, was repeated by Narada in the presence of many hearers in the abode of Brahman (his sire) in exactly the same way in which Narayana (while that great god had showed himself unto him) had recited it, and in which he had heard it from his own lips.

"Yudhishthira said, 'Was not Brahman, the Creator of all things, acquainted with this wonderful narrative of the glory of Narayana endued with intelligence that he heard it from the lips of Narada? Is the illustrious Grandsire of all the worlds any way different from or inferior to the great Narayana? How then is it that he was unacquainted with the puissance of Narayana of immeasurable energy?'

Bhishma continued, 'Hundreds and thousands of great-Kalpas, hundreds and thousands of Creation and Dissolutions, O king of kings, have been over and have become incidents of the past. [The idea of Eternity without any conceivable beginning and conceivable end was so thoroughly realised by the Hindu sages that the chiefdom of Heaven itself was to them the concern of a moment. Nothing less than unchangeable felicity for all times was the object they pursued. All other things and states being mutable, and only Brahman being immutable, what they sought was an identification with Brahma. Such identification with the Supreme Soul was the Emancipation they sought. No other religion has ever been able to preach such a high ideal. The Hindu's concern is with Eternity. He regards his existence here as having the duration

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of but the millionth part of a moment. How to prevent re-birth and attain to an identification with the Supreme Soul is the object of his pursuit.] In the beginning of every cycle of Creation, Brahman, endued with great puissance and who creates all things, is remembered (by Narayana). Brahman knows well, O king, that Narayana, that foremost of all gods is very much superior to him. He knows that Narayana is the Supreme Soul, that he is the Supreme Lord, that He is the Creator of Brahman himself. It was only unto that conclave of Rishis, crowned with ascetic success, that came to the abode of Brahman, that Narada recited his narrative which is a very ancient one, and which is perfectly consistent with the Vedas. The deity Surya, having heard that narrative from those Rishis crowned with ascetic success, repeated it to the six and sixty thousands of Rishis, O king, of cleansed souls, that follow in his train. And Surya, the deity that imparts heat unto all worlds, repeated that narrative unto those Beings also, of cleansed souls, that have been created (by Brahman) for always journeying in the van of Surya. The high-souled Rishis that follow in Surya's train, O son, repeated that excellent narrative unto the deities assembled on the breast of Meru. That best of ascetics, viz., the regenerate Asita, then having heard the narrative from the deities, repeated it unto the Pitris, O king of kings. I heard it from my sire Santanu, O son, who recited it to me formerly. Myself having heard it from my sire. I have repeated it to thee, O Bharata. Deities and Munis, who have heard this excellent old narrative, which is a Purana--all adore the Supreme Soul. This narrative, belonging to the Rishis and thus handed down from one to another, should not, O king, be communicated by thee to any one that is not a worshipper of Vasudeva. This narrative, O king, is really the essence of the hundreds of other narratives that thou hast heard from me. In days of yore, O monarch, the deities and the Asuras, uniting together, churned the Ocean and t wised the Amrita. After the same manner, the Brahmanas, uniting together in days of yore, churned all the scriptures and raised this narrative which resembles nectar. He who frequently reads this narrative, and he who frequently listens to it, with concentrated attention, in a retired spot, and filled with devotion, succeeds in becoming a denizen, possessed of lunar complexion, of the spacious island known by the name of White Island. Without doubt, such a man succeeds in entering into Narayana of a thousand rays. A sick person, by listening to this narrative from the beginning, becomes freed from his illness. The man that simply desires to read or listen to this narrative obtains the fruition of all his wishes. To devoted worshipper, by reading or listening to it, attains to the high end that is reserved for devoted worshippers. Thou also, O monarch, shouldst always adore and worship that foremost of all Beings. He is the father and the mother of all creatures, and He is an object of reverence with the entire universe. Let the illustrious and Eternal God of the Brahmans, viz., Janarddana of high intelligence, be gratified with thee, O Yudhishthira of mighty arms!'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Having listened to the best of narratives, O Janamejaya, king Yudhishthira the just and all his brothers became devoted to Narayana. And all of them, O Bharata, betaking themselves to the practice of silently meditating upon Narayana (from that day), uttered these words for His glorification, viz., 'Victory to that holy and illustrious Being.' He, again, who is our best of preceptors, viz., the Island-born Krishna, devoted to penances, sung uttering the word Narayana that high mantra which is worthy of being recited in silence. Sojourning through the welkin to the Ocean of Milk which is always the abode of nectar, and worshipping the great God there, he came back to his own hermitage.

"Bhishma continued, '1 have now repeated to thee the narrative that was recited by Narada (unto the conclave of Rishis assembled in the abode of Brahman). That narrative has descended from one person to another from very ancient times. I heard it from my sire who formerly repeated it to me.'"

Suta continued, I have now told you all that Vaisampayana recited to Janamejaya. Having listened to Vaisampayana's narration, king Janamejaya properly discharged all his duties according to the ordinances laid down in the scriptures. Ye have all undergo very severe penances and observed many high and excellent vows. Residing in this sacred forest that is known by the name of Naimisha, ye are foremost of all persons conversant with the Vedas. Ye foremost of regenerate ones, ye all have come to this great sacrifice of Saunaka. Do ye all adore and worship that Eternal and Supreme Lord of the universe in excellent sacrifices, properly pouring libations of clarified butter into the fire with the aid of mantras and dedicating the same unto Narayana. As regards myself, I heard this excellent narrative that has descended from generation to gene-ration, from my sire who recited it to me in former times.

SECTION 341

Saunaka said, How is that illustrious god, viz., the puissant Narayana who is fully conversant with the Vedas and their branches, at once the doer and the enjoyer of sacrifices? Endued with forgiveness, he has adopted, again, the religion of Nivritti (abstention). Indeed, it is that holy and puissant one who has himself ordained the duties of Nivritti. Why then has he made many of the deities the takers of shares in sacrifices which, of course, are all due to the disposition of Pravritti? Why has he again created some with a contrary disposition, for they follow the ordinances of the religion of abstention? Do thou O Suta, dispel this doubt, of ours. This doubt seems to be eternal and is connected with a great mystery. Thou hast heard all discourses on Narayana, discourses that are consistent with the (other) scriptures. [The drift of Saunaka's queries seems to be this the religion of Pravritti is opposed to that of Nivritti. How is it that both have been created by the same Narayana. How is it that he has made some with dispositions to follow the one, and others with dispositions to follow the others.]

Sauti said, O excellent Saunaka, I shall recite to thee what Vaisampayana, the disciple of the intelligent Vyasa, said when questioned on these very topics by king Janamejaya. Having heard the discourse on the glory of Narayana who is the Soul of all embodied creatures, Janamejaya, endued with great intelligence and wisdom, questioned Vaisampayana on these very subjects.

Janamejaya said, "The whole world of Beings, with Brahma, the deities, the Asuras and human beings, are seen to be deeply attached to actions which have been said to be productive of prosperity. Emancipation has, O regenerate one, been said by thee to be the highest felicity and to consist of the cessation of existence. They who, being divested of both merit and demerit, become emancipate, succeed, we hear, in entering the great God of a thousand rays. It seems to be, O Brahmana, that the eternal religion of Emancipation is exceedingly difficult of observance. Turning away from it, all the deities have become enjoyers of the libations of clarified butter poured with mantras on sacrificial fires and other offerings presented to them by the same or similar means. Then, again, Brahman, and Rudra, the puissant Sakra the slayer of Vala, Surya, Chandramas (the Lord of the stars), the Wind-god, the Deity of fire, the Deity of the Waters, Infinite Space (as living Being), the Universe too (as a conscious agent), and the rest of the denizens of heaven,--they, it seems, are ignorant of the way of securing annihilation of conscious existence, that is capable of being brought about by self-realisation. [Atmanah parinirmitam pralayam means that destruction or cessation of existences which is brought about by self-realization. What the king says here is,--If the religion of Nivritti be so superior in consequence of its superior end, why is it that the deities who are all superior to us did not pursue it? Were they ignorant of the method by which Emancipation is attainable? Were they ignorant of the means by which to win cessation of existence? K. P. Singha renders the verse correctly. The Burdwan translator misunderstands it although he repeats the exact words of the second foot of the second line. Hence, perhaps, they have not be taken themselves to the path that is certain, indestructible, and immutable. Hence perhaps, turning away from that path they have adopted the religion of Pravritti which leads to conscious existence that is measured by time. This, indeed, is one great fault that attaches to those that are wedded to actions, for all their rewards are terminable. This doubt, O regenerate one, is planted in my heart like a dagger. Remove it out by reciting to me some discourses of old on this topic. Great is my curiosity to listen to thee. For what reason, O regenerate one, have the deities been said to be takers of their respective shares of sacrificial offerings presented to them with the aid of mantras in sacrifices of diverse kinds? Why again are the denizens of heaven adored in sacrifices? And, O best of regenerate persons, to whom do they, that take their shares of offerings in sacrifices performed to their honour, themselves make offerings when they perform great sacrifices?"

Vaisampayana said, "The question thou has asked me, O ruler of men, relates to a deep mystery. No man that has not undergone penances, and that is not acquainted with the Puranas, can speedily answer it. I shall, however, answer thee by reciting to thee what my preceptor the Island-born Krishna, otherwise called Vyasa, the great Rishi who has classified the Vedas, had said unto us on a former occasion when questioned by us. Sumanta, and Jaimini, and Paila of firm vows, and myself numbering the fourth, and Suka forming the fifth, were disciples of the illustrious Vyasa. We numbering five in all, endued with self-restraint and purity of observances, had completely subjugated wrath and controlled our senses. Our preceptor used to teach us the Vedas, having the Mahabharata for their fifth. Once on a time, while we were engaged in studying the Vedas on the breast of that foremost of mountains, viz., the delightful Meru, inhabited by Siddhas and Charanas, this very doubt arose in our minds that has been expressed by thee today. We, therefore, questioned our preceptor about It. It heard the answer that our preceptor made. I shall now recite that answer to thee, O Bharata. Hearing these words that were addressed to him by his disciples that dispeller of all kinds of darkness represented by ignorance, viz., the blessed Vyasa, the son of Parasara, said these words: have undergone very severe, in fact, the austerest of penances. Ye best of men, I am fully conversant with the Past, the Present, and the Future. In consequence of those penances of mine and of the restraint under which I kept my senses while I dwelt on the shores of the Ocean of milk, Narayana became gratified with me. As the result of the great God's gratification, this omniscience with respect to the Past, the Present, and the Future, that was desired by me, arose in my mind. Listen now to me as I discourse to you, in due order, on this great doubt that has disturbed your minds. I have, with the eye of knowledge, beheld all that occurred in the beginning of the Kalpa. He whom both the Sankhyas and those conversant with Yoga call by the name of Paramatma (the Supreme Soul) comes to be regarded as Mahapurusha (the Great Purusha) in consequence of his own acts. From Him springs forth Abyakta (the Unmanifest), whom the learned call Pradhana. From the puissant Unmanifest sprang, for the creation of all the words, the Manifest (Byakta). He is called Aniruddha. That Aniruddha is known among all creatures by the name of the Mahat Atma. It is that Aniruddha who, becoming manifest, created the Grandsire Brahman. Aniruddha is known by another name, viz., Ahankara (consciousness) and is endued with every kind of energy. Earth, Wind, Space, Water, and Light numbering the fifth, these are the five Mahabhutas (elements) that have sprung from Ahankara. Having created the Mahabhutas (five in number), he then created their attributes. [That is, the attributes of vision to Light, taste to Water, sound to Space, touch to Wind, and smell to Earth.] Combining the Mahabhutas, he then created diverse embodied Being. Listen to me as I recount them to you. Marichi, Angiras, Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, the high-souled Vasishtha, and the Self-born Mann, these should be known as the eight Prakritis. Upon these rest all the worlds. Then the Grandsire of all the world, viz., Brahman, created, for the fulfilment of all creatures, the Vedas with all their branches, as also the Sacrifices with their limbs. From these eight Prakritis have sprung this vast universe. Then sprang Rudra from the principle of wrath, starting into life, he created ten others that were like him. These eleven Rudras are called by name of Vikara-Purushas. The Rudras, the (eight) Prakritis, and the several celestial Rishis, having started into life, approached Brahman with the object of upholding the universe and its operations. Addressing the Grandsire, they said, We have been created, O holy one, by thee, O thou of great puissance. Tell each of us, O Grandsire, the respective jurisdiction we shall be vested with. What particular jurisdictions have been created by thee for supervising the different affairs? We, each, should be endued with what kind of consciousness and shall take charge of which of these? Do thou ordain also unto each of us the measure of strength that we are to have for discharging the duties of our respective jurisdictions.' Thus addressed by them, the great god replied unto them in the following way.

"Brahman said, You have done well, ye deities, in speaking to me of this matter. Blessed be you all! I was thinking of this very subject that has engaged your attention. How should the three worlds be upheld and kept agoing? How should your strength and mine be utilized towards that end? Let all of us, leaving this place, repair to that unmanifest and foremost of Beings who is the witness of the world, for seeking his protection. He will tell us what is for our good. After this, those deities and Rishis, with Brahman, proceeded to the northern shores of the Ocean of milk, desirous of doing good to the three worlds. Arrived there, they began to practise those austere penances that are declared by Brahman in the Vedas. Those austerest of penances are known by the name of Mahaniyama (the foremost vows and observances). They stood there with mind fixed, immovable as posts of wood, and with eyes upturned and arms raised upwards. For a thousand celestial years they were engaged in those severe penances. At the conclusion of that period they heard these sweet words in harmony with the Vedas and their branches.

"'The blessed and holy one said, Ye deities and Rishis possessed of wealth of asceticism, with Brahman in your company, after according you all welcome, I say unto you these words. I know that is in your hearts. Verily, the thoughts that engage you are for the good of the three worlds. I shall increase your energy and strength investing the same with Pravritti (predilection or preferences for acts). Ye gods, well have you undergone these penances from desire of adoring me. Ye foremost of Beings, enjoy now the excellent fruits of austerities which ye have gone through. This Brahman is the Lord of all the worlds. Endued with puissance, he is the Grandsire of all creatures. Ye also are foremost of deities. Do ye all, with concentrated minds perform sacrifices for my glory. In the sacrifices which you will perform, do ye always give me a portion of the sacrificial offerings. I shall then, ye lord of creation, assign to each of you your respective jurisdictions and ordain what will be for your good!'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Hearing these words of that God of gods, all those deities and great Rishis and Brahman became filled with such delight that the hair on their bodies stood on its end. They forthwith made arrangements for a sacrifice in honour of Vishnu according to the ordinances laid

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down in the Vedas. In that sacrifice, Brahman himself dedicated a portion of the offerings to Vishnu. The deities and the celestial Rishis also, after the manner of Brahman, dedicated similar portions each unto the great God. The portions, thus offered with great reverence unto Vishnu, were, in respect of both the measure and the quality of the articles used, according to the ordinances laid down for the Krita age. The deities and the Rishis and Brahman, in that sacrifice, adored the great God as one endued with the complexion of the Sun, as the foremost of Beings, situate beyond the reach of Tamas, vast, pervading all things, the Supreme Lord of all, the giver of boons, and possessed of puissance. Thus adored by them, the boon-giving and great God, invisible and bodiless, addressed those assembled celestials from heaven and said unto them:--"The offerings dedicated by you in this sacrifice have all reached me. I am gratified with all of you. I shall bestow rewards on you that will however, be fraught with ends whence there will be return. This shall be your distinctive feature, ye gods, from this day, in consequence of my grace and kindness for you. Performing sacrifices in every Yuga, with large presents, ye will become enjoyers of fruits born of Pravritti. Ye gods, those men also that will perform sacrifices according to the ordinances of the Vedas, will give unto all of you shares of their sacrificial offerings. In the Veda-sutras I make him the receiver (in such sacrifices) of a share similar to that which he has himself offered one in this sacrifice. Created to look after those affairs that appertain to your respective jurisdictions, do ye uphold the worlds according to the measures of your strength as dependent on the shares you receive on those sacrifices. Indeed, drawing strength from those rites and observances that will be current in the several worlds, taking their rise from the fruits of Pravritti, do ye continue to uphold the affairs of those worlds. [Taking their rise from the fruits of Pravritti implies having their origin in their desire for such fruits as appertain to the religion of Pravritti or acts.] Strengthened by the sacrifices that will be performed by men, ye will strengthen me. These are the thoughts that I entertain for you all. It is for this purpose that I have created the Vedas and sacrifices and plants and herbs. Duly served with these by human beings on Earth, the deities will be gratified. Ye foremost of deities, till the end of this Kalpa, I have ordained your creation, making your constitution depend upon the consequence of the religion of Pravritti. Ye foremost of Beings, do ye then, as regards your respective jurisdictions, engage yourselves in seeking the good of the three worlds. Marichi, Angiras, Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, and Vasishtha,--these seven Rishis have been created by a fiat of the will. These will become the foremost of persons conversant with the Vedas. In fact, they will become the preceptors of the Vedas. They will be wedded to the religion of Pravritti, for they have been intended to devote themselves to the act of procreating offspring. This is the eternal path that I disclose of creatures engaged in acts and observances. The puissant Lord who is charged with the creation of all the worlds is called Aniruddha, Sana, Sanatsujata, Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatkumara, Kapila, and Sanatana numbering the seventh,--these seven Rishis are known as the spiritual sons of Brahman. Their knowledge comes to them of itself (without being dependant on study or exertion). These seven are wedded to the religion of Nivritti. They are the foremost of all persons conversant with Yoga. They are possessed also of deep knowledge of the Sankhya philosophy. They are preceptors of the scriptures on duty and it is they that introduce the duties of the religion of Nivritti and cause them to flow in the worlds. From Unmanifest (Prakriti) has flowed Consciousness and the three great attributes (of Sattwa, Rajas, and Tamas). Transcending Prakriti is he called Kshetrajna. That Kshetrajna is myself. The path of those that are wedded to Karma emerging out of Ahankara is fraught with return. One cannot, by that path, reach the spot whence there is no return. Different creatures have been created with different ends. Some are intended for the path of Pravritti and some for that of Nivritti. According to the path that a creature follows is the reward that he enjoys. This Brahman is the master of all the worlds. Endued with puissance it is he that creates the universe. [What is stated here is that creature following the path of Pravritti cannot hope to reach the spot whence there is no return. It is by the path of Nivritti that spot is capable of being reached. The path of Pravritti is always fraught with return. One may become, by walking along that path the very chief of the celestials, but that status is not eternal. Since the beginning (if a beginning can be conceived), millions and millions of Indras have arisen and fallen down.] He is your mother and father, and he is your grandfather. At my command, he will be the giver of boons unto all creatures. His son Rudra, who has sprung from his brow at his command, will, endued with puissance, uphold all created beings. Go ye to your respective jurisdictions, and seek, according to the ordinances, the good of the worlds. Let all the scriptural acts flow in all the worlds. Let there be no delay in this. Ye foremost of celestials, do ye ordain the acts of all creatures and the ends that they are to attain therefore. Do ye appoint also the limits of the periods for which all creatures are to live. This present epoch that has been set to run is the foremost of all epochs and should be known by the name of Krita. In this Yuga living creatures should not be slain in the sacrifices that may be performed. It should be as I ordain and let it not be otherwise. In this age, ye celestials, Righteousness will flourish in its entirety. After this age will come the epoch called Treta. The Vedas, in that Yuga, will lose one quarter. Only three of them will exist. In the sacrifice that will be performed in that age, animals, after dedication with the aid of sacred mantras, will be slain. As regards Righteousness again, it will lose one quarter; only three quarters thereof will flourish. On the expiration of the Treta will come the mixed Yuga known by the name of Dwapara. In that Yuga, Righteousness will lose two quarters and only two quarters thereof will flourish. Upon the expiration of Dwapara the Yuga that will set in will be called Kali yuga which will come under the influence of Tisya constellation. Righteousness will lose full three quarters. Only a quarter thereof will exist in all places.

"'When the great God said these words, the deities and the celestial Rishis addressed him and said, If only a fourth part of Righteousness is to exist in that age in every place, tell us O holy one, whither shall we then go and what shall we do!

"'The blessed and holy one said, Ye foremost of celestials, ye should, in that age, repair to such places where the Vedas and sacrifices and Penances and Truth and Self-restraint, accompanied by duties fraught with compassion for all creatures, will still continue to flourish. Sin will never be able to touch you at all!

"'Vyasa continued, 'Thus commanded by the great God, the deities with all the Rishis bowed their heads unto him and then proceeded to the places they desired. After the Rishis and denizens of heaven had left that place, Brahman remained there, desirous of beholding the great Deity eminent in the form of Aniruddha. The foremost of deities then manifested himself to Brahmana, having assumed a form that had a vast equine head. Bearing a bowl (Kamandalu) and the triple stick, he manifested himself before Brahman, reciting the while the Vedas with all their branches. Beholding the great Deity of immeasurable energy in that form crowned with an equine head, the puissant Brahman, the Creator of all the worlds.. moved by the desire of doing good to his Creation, worshipped that boon-giving Lord with a bend of his head, and stood before him with hands joined in reverence. The great Deity embraced Brahman and then told him these words.

"'The holy one said, Do thou, O Brahman, duly think of the courses of acts which creatures are to follow. Thou art the great ordainer of all created Beings. Thou art the master and the lord of the universe. Placing this burthen on thee I shall soon be free from anxiety. At such times, how-ever, when it will be difficult for thee to accomplish the purposes of the deities I shall then appear in incarnate forms according to my self-knowledge. Having said these words, that grand form with the equine head disappeared then and there. Having received his command, Brahman too proceeded quickly to his own region. It is for this, O blessed one, that the eternal Deity, with the lotus in his navel, became the acceptor of the first share offered in sacrifices and hence it is that He came to be called as the eternal upholder of all Sacrifices. He himself adopted the religion of Nivritti, the end after which those creatures strive that are desirous of indestructible fruits. He ordained at the same time the religion of Pravritti for others, with the view to giving variety to the universe. He is the beginning, He is the middle, and He is the end of all created Beings. He is their Creator and He is their one object of meditation. He is the actor and He is the act. Having withdrawn the universe into Himself at the end of the Yuga, He goes to sleep, and awakening at the commencement of another Yuga, He once more creates the universe, Do you all bow unto that illustrious one who is possessed of high soul and who transcends the three attributes, who is unborn, whose form is the universe, and who is the abode or refuge of all the denizens of heaven, Do you bow unto Him who is the Supreme Lord of all creatures, who is the Lord of the Adityas, and of the Vasus as well. Do you bow unto Him who is the Lord of the Aswins, and the Lord of the Maruts, who is the lord of all the Sacrifices ordained in the Vedas, and the Lord of the Vedangas. Bow unto Him who always resides in the Ocean, and who is called Hari, and whose hair is like the blades of the Munja grass. Bow unto Him who is Peace and Tranquillity, and who imparts the religion of Moksha unto all creatures. Bow unto Him who is the Lord of Penances, of all kinds of energy, and of Fame, who is ever the Lord of Speech and the Lord of all the Rivers also. Bow unto Him who is called Kaparddin (Rudra), who is the Great Boar, who is Unicorn, and who is possessed of great intelligence: who is the Sun, who assumed the well-known form with the equine head; and who is always displayed in a four-fold form. Bow unto Him who is unrevealed, who is capable of being apprehended by knowledge only, who is both indestructible and destructible. The supreme Deity, who is immutable, pervadeth all things. He is the Supreme Lord who can be known with the aid of the eye of knowledge alone. It was thus that, aided by the eye of Knowledge, I beheld in days of yore that foremost of deities. Asked by you, I have told you everything in detail, ye disciples, and do you act according to my words and dutifully serve the Supreme Lord called Hari. Do you hymn His praises in Vedic words and adore and worship Him also according to due rites!'"

Vaisampayana continued, "It was thus that the arranger of the Vedas, endued with great intelligence, discoursed to us, questioned by us on that occasion. His son, the highly righteous Suka, and all his disciples (viz., ourselves) listened to him while he delivered that discourse. Our preceptor, with ourselves, O king, then adored the great Deity with Richs extracted from the four Vedas. I have thus told thee everything about what thou hadst asked me. It was thus, O king, that our Island-born preceptor discoursed to us. He who, having uttered the words--I bow unto the holy Lord,--frequently listens, with concentrated attention, to this discourse or reads or recites it to others, becomes endued with intelligence and health, and possessed of beauty and strength. If ill, he becomes freed from that illness, bound, freed from his bonds. The man who cherishes desires obtains (be this) the fruition of all his desires, and easily attains to a long life also. A Brahmana, by doing this, becomes conversant with all the Vedas, and a Kshatriya becomes crowned with success. A Vaisya, by doing it, makes considerable profits, and a Sudra attains to great felicity. A sonless man obtains a son. A maiden obtains a desirable husband. A woman that has conceived brings forth a son. A barren woman conceives and attains to wealth of sons and grandsons. He who recites this discourse on the way succeeds in passing happily and without impediments of any kind along his way. In fact, one attains to whatever objects one cherishes, if one reads or recites this narrative. Hearing these words of the great Rishi, fraught with certainty of conclusion, and embodying a recital of the attributes of that high-souled one who is the foremost of all beings, hearing this narrative of the great conclave of Rishis and other denizens of heaven,--men who are devoted to the supreme Deity derive great happiness.'"

SECTION 342

Janamejaya said, "O holy one, it behoveth thee to tell me the significance of those diverse names uttering which the great Rishi Vyasa with his disciples hymned the praises of the illustrious slayer of Madhu. I am desirous of hearing those names of Hari, that Supreme Lord of all creatures. Indeed, by listening to those names, I shall be sanctified and cleansed even like the bright autumnal moon.

Vaisampayana said, Listen, O king, to what the significances are of the diverse names, due to attributes and acts, of Hari as the puissant Hari himself of cheerful soul explained them to Phalguna. That slayer of hostile heroes, viz., Phalguna, had at one time asked Kesava, enquiring after the imports of the some of the names by which the high-souled Keshva is adored.

"Arjuna said, "O holy one, O Supreme ordainer of the Past and the Future. O Creator of all Beings, O immutable one, O Refuge of all the worlds, O Lord of the universe, O dispeller of the fears of all persons, I desire to hear from thee in detail, O Kesava, the significance of all those names of thine, O God, which have been mentioned by the great Rishis in the Vedas and the Puranas in consequences of diverse acts of thine. None else than thee, O Lord, is competent to explain the significations of those names.'"

"The holy one said, 'In the Rigveda, in the Yajurveda, in the Atharvans and the Samans, in the Puranas and the Upanishads, as also in the treatises on Astrology, O Arjuna, in the Sankhya scriptures, in the Yoga scriptures, and in the treatises also on the Science of Life, many are the names that have been mentioned by the great Rishis. Some of those names are derivable from my attributes and some of them relate to my acts. Do thou hear, with concentrated attention, O sinless one, what the import is of each off those names (in particular) that have reference to my acts. I shall recite them to you. It is said that in days of yore you were half my body. Salutations unto Him of great glory, Him, viz., that is the Supreme Soul of all embodied creatures. Salutations unto Narayana, unto Him that is identifiable with the universe, unto Him that transcends the three (primal) attributes (of Sattwa, Rajas and Minas), unto Him that is, again, the Soul of those attributes. From His grace 'lath arisen Brahman and from His wrath hath arisen Rudra. He is the source whence have sprung all mobile and immobile creatures. O foremost of all persons endued with Sattwa, the attribute of Sattwa consists of the eight and ten qualities. That attribute is Supreme Nature having for her soul the Sky and Earth and succeeding by her creative forces in upholding the universe. That Nature is identical with the fruit of all acts (in the form of the diverse regions of felicity to which creatures attain through their acts). She is also the pure Chit. She is immortal, and invincible, and is called the Soul of the universe. From her flows all the modifications of both Creation and Destruction. (She is identical with my Prakriti or Nature). Divested of sex, She or He is the penances that people undergo. He is both the sacrifice that is performed and the sacrificer that performs the sacrifice. He is the ancient and the infinite Purusha. He is otherwise called Aniruddha and is the source of the Creation

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and the Destruction of the universe. When Brahma's night wore off, through the grace of that Being of immeasurable energy, a lotus made its appearance first, O thou of eyes like lotus petals. Within that lotus was born Brahma, springing from Aniruddha's grace. Towards the evening of Brahma's day, Aniruddha became filled with wrath, and as a consequence of this, there sprang from his forehead a son called Rudra vested with the power of destroying everything (when the hour for destruction comes). These two, viz., Brahma and Rudra, are the foremost of all the deities, having sprung respectively from the Propitiousness and the Wrath (of Aniruddha). Acting according to Aniruddha's direction, these two deities create and destroy. Although capable of granting boons unto all creatures, they are, however, in the matter of the concerns to which they attend (viz., Creation and Destruction), merely instruments in the hands of Aniruddha. (It is Aniruddha that does everything, making Brahma and Rudra the visible agents in respect of the universe). Rudra is otherwise called Kaparddin. He has matted locks on his head, and sometimes displays a head that is bald. He loves to dwell in the midst of crematoriums which constitute his home. He is an observer of the austerest vows. He is Yogin of mighty puissance and energy. He is the destroyer of Daksha's sacrifice and the tearer of Bhaga's eyes. O son of Pandu, Rudra should be known to have always Narayana for his Soul. If that deity of deities, viz., Maheswara, be worshipped, then O Partha, is the puissant Narayana also worshipped. I am the Soul, O son of Pandu, of all the worlds, of all the universe. Rudra, again, is my Soul. It is for this that I always adore him. If I do not adore the auspicious and boon-giving Isana nobody would then adore my own self. The ordinances I set are followed by all the worlds. Those ordinances should always be adored, and it is, therefore, that I adore them. He who knows Rudra knows myself, and he who knows myself knows Rudra. He who follows Rudra follows me, Rudra is Narayana. Both are one; and one is displayed in two different forms. Rudra and Narayana, forming one person, pervade all displayed things and cause them to act. No one else than Rudra is competent to grant me a boon. O son of Pandu. Having settled this in my mind, I adored in days of yore the ancient and puissant Rudra, for obtaining the boon of a son. In adoring Rudra thus I adored my own self. Vishnu never bows his head unto any deity except his own self. It is for this reason that I adore Rudra, (Rudra being, as I have already told thee, my own self). All the deities, including Brahma and Indra and the deities and the great Rishis, adore Narayana, that foremost of deities, otherwise called by the name of Hari. Vishnu is the foremost of all Beings past, present, or future, and as such should always be adored and worshipped with reverence. Do thou bow thy head unto Vishnu. Do thou bow thy head unto Him who gives protection to all. Do thou bow, O son of Kunti, unto that great boon-giving deity, that foremost of deities, who eats the offerings made unto him in sacrifices. I have heard that there are four kinds of worshippers, viz., those who are eager for a religious life, those who are enquirers, those who strive to comprehend what they learn and those who are wise. Among them all, they that are devoted to realising the self and do not adore any other deity, are the foremost. I am the end they seek, and though engaged in acts, they never seek the fruits thereof. The three remaining classes of my worshippers are those that are desirous of the fruits of their acts. They attain to regions of great felicity, but then they have to fall down therefrom upon the exhaustion of their merits. Those amongst my worshippers, therefore, that are fully awakened (and, as such, that know that all happiness is terminable except what is attainable by persons that become identified with me) obtain what is foremost (and invaluable). Those that are awakened and whose conduct displays such enlightenment, may be engaged in adoring Brahman or Mahadeva or the other deities that occur in heaven but they succeed at least in attaining to myself. I have thus told thee, O Partha, what the distinctions are between my worshippers. Thyself, O son of Kunti, and myself are known as Nara and Narayana. Both of us have assumed human bodies only for the purpose of lightening the burden of the Earth. I am fully cognisant of self-knowledge. I know who I am and whence I am, O Bharata. I know the religion of Nivritti, and all that contributes to the prosperity of creatures. Eternal as I am, I am the one sole Refuge of all men. The waters have been called by the name of Nara, for they sprang from Him called Nara. And since the waters in former times, were my refuge, I am, therefore, called by the name of Narayana. Assuming the form of the Sun I cover the universe with my rays. And because I am the home of all creatures, therefore, am I called by the name of Vasudeva. I am the end of all creatures and their sire, O Bharata. I pervade the entire firmament on high and the Earth, O Partha, and my splendour transcends every other splendour. I am He, O Bharata, whom all creatures wish to attain to at the time of death. And because I pervade all the universe, I have come to be called by the name of Vishnu. Desirous of attaining to success through restraint of their senses, people seek to attain to me who am heaven and Earth and the firmament between the two. For this am I called by the name of Damodara. The word Prisni includes food, the Vedas, water, and nectar. These four are always in my stomach. Hence am I called by the name of Prisnigarbha. The Rishis have said that once on a time when the Rishi Trita was thrown into a well by Ekata and Dwiti, the distressed Trita invoked me, saying,--O Prisnigarbha, do thou rescue the fallen Trita! That foremost of Rishis, viz., Trita, the spiritual son of Brahma, having called on me thus, was rescued from the pit. The rays that emanate from the Sun who gives heat to the world, from the blazing fire, and from the Moon, constitute my hair. Hence do foremost of learned Brahmanas call me by the name of Kesava. The high-souled Utathya having impregnated his wife disappeared from her side through an illusion of the gods. The younger brother Vrihaspati then appeared before that high-souled one's wife. Unto that foremost of Rishis that had repaired thither from desire of congress, the child in the womb of Utathya's wife, O son of Kunti, whose body had already been formed of the five primal elements, said,--O giver of boons, I have already entered into this womb. It behoveth thee not to assail my mother. Hearing these words of the unborn child, Vrihaspati, became filled with wrath and denounced a curse on him, saying,--Since thou obstructest me in this way when I have come hither from desire of the pleasures of congress, therefore shalt thou, by my curse, be visited by blindness, without doubt! Through this curse of that foremost of Rishis. the child of Utathya was born blind, and blind he remained for a long time. It was for this reason that, that the Rishi, in days of yore, came to be known by the name of Dirghatamas. He, however, acquired the four Vedas with their eternal limbs and subsidiary parts. After that he frequently invoked me by this secret name of mine. Indeed, according to the ordinance as laid down, he repeatedly called upon me by the name of Kesava. Through the merit he acquired by uttering this name repeatedly, he became cured of his blindness and then came to be called by the name of Gotama. This name of mine, therefore, O Arjuna is productive of boons unto them that utter it among all the deities and the high-souled Rishis. The deity of Fire (Appetite) and Shoma (food) combining together, become transfused into one and the same substance. It is for this reason that the entire universe of mobile and immobile creatures is said to be pervaded by those two deities. In the Puranas, Agni and Soma are spoken of as complementary to one another. The deities also are said to have Agni for their mouth. It is in consequence of these two beings endued with natures leading to the unification that they are said to be deserving of each other and upholders of the universe.'"

SECTION 343

"Arjuna said, 'How did Agni and Shoma, in days of yore, attain to uniformity in respect of their original nature? This doubt has arisen in my mind. Do thou dispel it, O slayer of Madhu!'

"The highly and holy one said, 'I shall recite to thee, O son of Pandu, an ancient story of incidents originating from my own energy. Do thou listen to it with rapt attention! When four thousand Yugas according to the measure of the celestials elapse, the dissolution of the universe comes. The Manifest disappears into the Unmanifest. All creatures, mobile and immobile, meet with destruction. Light, Earth, Wind, all disappear. Darkness spreads over the universe which becomes one infinite expanse of water. When that infinite waste of water only exists like Brahma without second, it is neither day nor night. Neither aught nor naught exists; neither manifest nor unmanifest. Then only undifferentiated Brahman existed. When such is the condition of the universe, the foremost of Beings, viz., springs from Tamas, the eternal and immutable Hari that is the combination of the attributes (of omnipotence and the rest), belonging to Narayana, that is indestructible and immortal, that is without senses, that is inconceivable and unborn, that is Truth's self fraught with compassion, that is endued with the form of existence which the rays of the gem called Chintamani have, that causes diverse kinds of inclinations to flow in diverse directions, that is divested of the principles of hostility and deterioration and mortality and decay, that is formless and all-pervading, and that is endued with the principle of universal Creation and of Eternity without beginning, middle, or end. There is authority for this assertion. The Sruti declares,--Day was not. Night was not. Aught was not. Naught was not. In the beginning there was only Tamas in the form of the universe, and she is the night of Narayana of universal form. Even this is the meaning of the word Tamas. From that Purusha (called Hari), thus born of Tamas and having Brahman for his parent, started into existence the Being called Brahman. Brahman, desiring to create creatures, caused Agni and Shoma to spring from his own eyes. Afterwards when creatures came to be created, the created persons came out in their due order as Brahmanas and Kshatriyas. He who started into life as Shoma was none else than Brahma; and they that were born as Brahmanas were all Shoma in reality. He who started into being as Kshatriyas were none else than Agni. The Brahmanas became endued with greater energy than the Kshatras. If you ask the reason why, the answer is that this superiority of the Brahmanas to the Kshatriyas is an attribute that is manifest to the whole world. It occurred as follows. The Brahmanas represent the eldest creation as regards men. None were created before, that was superior to the Brahmanas. He who offers food into the mouth of a Brahmana is regarded as pouring libations into a blazing fire (for gratifying the deities). I say that having ordained things in comprising this way, the creation of creatures was accomplished by Brahma. Having established all created Beings in their respective positions, he upholds the three worlds. There occurs a declaration to the same effect in the Mantras of the Srutis. Thou, O Agni, art the Hotri in sacrifices, and the benefactor of the universe. Thou art the benefactor of the deities, of men, and of all the worlds. There is (other) authority also for this. Thou art, O Agni, the Hotri of the universe and of sacrifices. Thou art the source through which the deities and men do good to the universe. Agni is truly the Hotri and the performer of sacrifices. Agni is again the Brahma of the sacrifice. No libations can be poured into sacrificial fire without uttering mantras; there can be no penances without a person to perform them; the worship of the deities and men and the Rishis is accomplished by the libations poured with mantras. Hence, O Agni, thou hast been regarded as the Hotri in sacrifices. Thou art, again, all the other mantras that have been declared in respect of the Homa rites of men. For the Brahmanas the duty is ordained of officiating for others in the sacrifices they perform. The two other orders, viz., Kshatras and Vaisyas, that are included within the regenerate or twice-born class, have not the same duty prescribed for them. Hence, Brahmanas are like Agni, who uphold sacrifices. The sacrifices (which the Brahmanas perform) strengthen the deities. Strengthened in this way, the deities fructify the Earth (and thereby support all living creatures). But the result that may be achieved by the foremost of sacrifices may as well be accomplished through the mouth of the Brahmanas. That learned person who offers food into the mouth of a Brahmana is said to pour libations into the sacred fire for gratifying the deities. In this way the Brahmanas have come to be regarded as Agni. They that are possessed of learning adore Agni. Agni, is again, Vishnu. Entering all creatures, he upholds their life-breaths. In this connection there is a verse sung by Sanatkumara. Brahman, in creating the universe, first created the Brahmanas. The Brahmanas become immortal by studying the Vedas, and repair to heaven through the aid of such study. The intelligence, speech, acts and observances, faith, and the penances of the Brahmanas uphold both the Earth and the heaven like slings of strings upholding bovine nectar. There is no duty higher than Truth. There is no superior more worthy of reverence than the mother. There is none more efficient than the Brahmana for conferring felicity both here and hereafter. The inhabitants of those realms where Brahmanas have no certain means of support (from lands or other kinds of property assigned to them) become very miserable. There the oxen do not carry the people or draw the plough, nor do vehicles of any kind bear them. There milk kept in jars is never churned for yielding butter. On the other hand, the residents become divested of prosperity of every kind, and betake themselves to the ways of robbers (instead of being able to enjoy the blessings of peace) In the Vedas, the Puranas, the histories, and other authoritative writings, it is said that Brahmanas, who are the souls of all creatures, who are the creators of all things, and who are identifiable with all existent objects, sprang from the mouth of Narayana. Indeed, it is said that the Brahmans first came at the time when the great boon-giving god had restrained his speech as a penance and the other orders have originated from the Brahmanas. The Brahmanas are distinguished above the deities and Asuras, since they were created by myself in my indescribable form as Brahma. As I have created the deities and the Asuras and the great Rishis so I have placed the Brahmanas in their respective situations and have to punish them occasionally. In consequence of his licentious assault on Ahalya, Indra was cursed by Gautama, her husband, through which Indra got a green beard on his face. Through that curse of Kausika Indra lost, also, his own testicles, which loss was afterwards (through the kindness of the other deities) made up by the substitution of the testicles of a ram. When in the sacrifice of king Sarjiati, the great Rishi Chyavana became desirous of making the twin Aswins sharers of the sacrificial offerings, Indra objected. Upon Chyavana insisting, Indra sought to hurl his thunderbolt at him. The Rishi paralysed Indra's arms. Incensed at the destruction of his sacrifice by Rudra, Daksha once more set himself to the practice of severe austerities and attaining to high puissance caused something like a third eye to appear on the forehead of Rudra for the destruction of Tripurasura. When Rudra addressed himself for the destruction of the triple city belonging to the Asuras, the preceptor of the Asuras, viz., Usanas, provoked beyond endurance, tore a matted lock from his own head and hurled it at Rudra. From that matted lock of Usanas sprang many serpents. Those serpents began to bite Rudra, at which his throat became blue. During a bygone period, viz., that connected with the Self-born Manu, it is said that Narayana had seized Rudra by the throat and hence did Rudra's throat

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become blue. On the occasion of churning the Ocean for raising the amrita, Vrihaspati of Angiras race sat on the shores of the Ocean for performing the rite of Puruscharana. When he took up a little water for the purpose of the initial achamana, the water seemed to him to be very muddy. At this Vrihaspati became angry and cursed the Ocean, saying,--Since thou continuest to be so dirty regardless of the fact of my having come to thee for touching thee, since thou hast not become clear and transparent, therefore from this day thou shalt be tainted with fishes and sharks and tortoises and other aquatic animals. From that time, the waters of the ocean have become infested with diverse kinds of sea-animals and monsters. Viswarupa, the son of Tashtri, formerly became the priest of the deities. He was, on his mother's side, related to the Asuras, for his mother was the daughter of an Asura. While publicly offering unto the deities their shares of sacrificial offerings, he privately offered shares thereof unto the Asuras. The Asuras, with their chief Hiranyakasipu at their head, then repaired to their sister, the mother of Viswarupa, and solicited a boon from her, saying,--The son Viswarupa by Tashtri, otherwise called Trisiras, is now the priest of the deities. While he gives unto the deities their shares of sacrificial offerings publicly, he gives us our shares of the same privately. In consequence of this, the deities are being aggrandised, and we are being weakened. It behoveth thee, therefore, to prevail upon him that he may take up our cause. Thus addressed by them, the mother of Viswarupa repaired to her son who was then staying in the Nandana woods (of Indra) and said unto him,--How is it, O son, that thou art engaged in aggrandising the cause of thy foes and weakening that of thy maternal uncles? It behoveth thee not to act in this way.--Viswarupa, thus solicited by his mother, thought that he should not disobey her words, and as the consequence of that reflection he went over to the side of Hiranyakasipu, after having paid proper respects to his mother. King Hiranyakasipu, upon the arrival of Trisiras, dismissed his old Hotri, viz., Vasishtha, the son of Brahma, and appointed Trisiras to that office. Incensed at this, Vasishtha cursed Hiranyakasipu, saying,--Since thou dismissest me and appointest another person as thy Hotri, this sacrifice of thine shall not be completed, and some Being the like of whom has not existed before will slay thee!--In consequence of this curse, Hiranyakasipu was slain by Vishnu in the form of a man-lion, Viswarupa, having adopted the side of his maternal relations, employed himself in severe austerities for aggrandising them. Impelled by the desire of causing him to swerve from his vows, Indra despatched to him many beautiful Apsaras. Beholding those celestial nymphs of transcendent beauty, the heart of Viswarupa became agitated. Within a very short time he became exceedingly attached to them. Understanding that he had become attached to them, the celestial nymphs said unto him one day,--We shall not tarry here any longer. In fact, we shall return to that place whence we came. Unto them that said so, the son of Tashtri replied,--Where will you go? Stay with me. I shall do you good. Hearing him say so, the Apsaras rejoined,--We are celestial nymphs called Apsaras. We chose in days of old the illustrious and boon-giving Indra of great puissance, Viswarupa then said unto them. This very day I shall so ordain that all the deities with Indra at their head shall cease to be. Saying this, Trisiras began to recite mentally certain sacred Mantras of great efficacy. By virtue of those Mantras he began to increase in energy. With one of his mouths he began to drink all the Soma that Brahmanas engaged in Sacrifices poured on their sacred fires with due rites. With a second mouth he began to eat all food (that was offered in sacrifices). With his third mouth he began to drink up the energy of all the deities with Indra at their head. Beholding him swelling with energy in every part of his body that was strengthened by the Soma he was drinking, all the deities, then, with Indra in their company, proceeded to the Grandsire Brahma. Arrived at his presence, they addressed him and said,--All the Soma that is duly offered in the sacrifices performed everywhere is being drunk by Viswarupa. We no longer obtain our shares. The Asuras are being aggrandised, while we are being weakened. It behoveth thee, therefore, to ordain what is for our good.--After the deities ceased, the Grandsire replied,--The great Rishi Dadhichi of Bhrigu's race is now engaged in performing severe austerities. Go, ye deities, unto him and solicit a boon from him. Do ye so arrange that he may cast off his body. With his bones let a new weapon be created called the Thunderbolt. Thus instructed by the Grandsire, the deities proceeded to that place where the holy Rishi Dadhichi was engaged in his austerities. The deities with Indra at their head addressed the sage, saying,--O holy one, your austerities, we hope, are being well performed and uninterrupted.--Unto them the sage Dadhichi said,--Welcome to all of you. Tell me what I should do for you. I shall certainly do what you will say. They then told him,--It behoveth thee to cast off thy body for benefiting all the worlds. Thus solicited, the sage Dadhichi, who was a great Yogin and who regarded happiness and misery in the same light, without being at all cheerless, concentrated his Soul by his Yoga power and cast off his body. When his Soul left its temporary tenement of clay, Dhatri, taking his bones, created an irresistible weapon called the Thunder-bolt. With the Thunder-bolt thus made with the bones of a Brahmana, which was impenetrable by other weapons and irresistible and pervaded by the energy of Vishnu, Indra struck Viswarupa the son of Tashtri. Having slain the son of Tashtri thus, Indra severed his head from the body. From the lifeless body, however, of Viswarupa, when it was pressed, the energy that was still residing in it gave birth to a mighty Asura of the name of Vritra. Vritra became the foe of Indra, but Indra slew him also with the Thunder-bolt. In consequence of the sin of Brahmanicide, being thus doubled Indra became overcome with a great fear and as the consequence thereof he had to abandon the sovereignty of heaven. He entered a cool lotus stalk that grew in the Manas lake. In consequence of the Yoga attribute of Anima, he became very minute and entered the fibres of that lotus stalk. 1 When the lord of the three worlds, the husband of Sachi, had thus disappeared from sight through fear of the sin of Brahmanicide, the universe became lordless. The attributes of Rajas and Tamas assailed the deities. The Mantras uttered by the great Rishis lost all efficacy. Rakshasas appeared everywhere The Vedas were about to disappear. The inhabitants of all the worlds, being destitute of a king, lost their strength and began to fall an easy prey to Rakshasas and other evil Beings. Then the deities and the Rishis, uniting together, made Nahusha, the son of Ayusha, the king of the three worlds and duly crowned him as such. Nahusha had on his forehead full five-hundred luminaries of blazing effulgence, which had the virtue of despoiling every creature of energy. Thus equipt Nahusha continued to rule heaven. The three worlds were restored to their normal condition. The inhabitants of the universe once more became happy and cheerful. Nahusha then said,--Everything that Indra used to enjoy is before me. Only, his spouse Sachi is not by. Having said this, Nahusha proceeded to where Sachi was and, addressing her, said,--O blessed lady, I have become the lord of the deities. Do thou accept me. Unto him Sachi replied, saying--Thou art, by nature, wedded to righteousness of behaviour. Thou belongest, again, to the race of Shoma. It behoveth thee not to assail another person's wife.--Nahusha, thus addressed by her, said,--The position of Indra is now being occupied by me. I deserve to enjoy the dominions and all the precious possessions of Indra. In desiring to enjoy thee there can be no sin. Thou wert Indra's and, therefore, should be mine. Sachi then said unto him,--I am observing a vow that has not yet been completed. After performing the final ablutions I shall come to thee within a few days. Extracting this promise from Indra's spouse, Nahusha left her presence. Meanwhile Sachi, afflicted with pain and grief, anxious to find her lord and assailed by her fear of Nahusha proceeded to Vrihaspati (the chief priest of the celestials). At the first sight Vrihaspati understood her to be struck with anxiety. He immediately had recourse to Yoga-meditation and learnt that she was intent upon doing what was necessary for restoring her husband to his true position. Vrihaspati then addressed her, saying,--Equipt with penances and the merit that will be thine in consequence of this vow that thou art observing, do thou invoke the boon-giving goddess Upasruti. Invoked by thee, she will appear and show thee where thy husband is dwelling.--While in the observance of that very austere vow, she invoked with the aid of proper Mantras the boon-giving goddess Upasruti. Invoked by Sachi, the goddess presented herself before her and said,--I am here at thy bidding. Invoked by thee I have come. What cherished wish of thine shall I accomplish? Bowing unto her with a bend of the head, Sachi said,--O blessed lady, it behoveth thee to show me where my husband is. Thou art Truth. Thou art Rita. Thus addressed, the goddess Upasruti took her to the lake Manasa. Arrived there, she pointed out to Sachi her lord Indra residing within the fibres of a lotus stalk. Beholding his spouse pale and emaciated, Indra became exceedingly anxious. And the lord of heaven said unto himself, Alas, great is the sorrow that has overtaken me. I have fallen off from the position that is mine. This my spouse, afflicted with grief on my account, finds out my lost self and comes to me here. Having reflected in this strain, Indra addressed his dear spouse and said,--In what condition art thou now? She answered him,--Nahusha invites me to make me his wife. I have obtained a respite from him, having fixed the time when I am to go to him. Unto her Indra then said, Go and say unto Nahusha that he should come to thee on a vehicle never used before, viz., one unto which some Rishis should be harnessed, and arriving at thine in that state he should wed thee. Indra has many kinds of vehicles that are all beautiful and charming. All these have borne thee. Nahusha, however, should come on such a vehicle that Indra himself had not possessed. Thus counselled by her lord, Sachi left that spot with a joyous heart. Indra also once more entered the fibres of that lotus-stalk. Beholding the Queen of Indra come back to heaven, Nahusha addressed her saying, The time thou hadst fixed is over. Unto him Sachi said what Indra had directed her to say. Harnessing a number of great Rishis unto the vehicle he rode, Nahusha set out from his place for coming to where Sachi was living. The foremost of Rishis, viz., Agastya, born within a jar, of the vital seed of Maitravaruna, beheld those foremost of Rishis insulted by Nahusha in that way. Him Nahusha struck with his foot. Unto him, Agastya said,--Wretch, as thou hast betaken thyself to a highly improper act, do thou fall down on the Earth. Be transformed into a snake and do thou continue to live in that form as long as the Earth and her hills continue. As soon as these words were uttered by the great Rishi, Nahusha fell down from that vehicle. The three worlds once more became master-less. The deities and the Rishis then united together and proceeded to where Vishnu was and appealed to him for bringing about the restoration of Indra. Approaching him, they said,--O holy one, it behoveth thee to rescue Indra who is overwhelmed by the sin of Brahmanicide. The boon-giving Vishnu replied unto them, saying,--Let Sakra perform a Horse-sacrifice in honour of Vishnu. He will then be restored to his former position. The deities and the Rishis began to search for Indra, but when they could not find him, they went to Sachi and said unto her,--O blessed lady, go unto Indra and bring him here. Requested by them, Sachi once more proceeded to the lake Manasa. Indra, rising from the lake, came to Vrihaspati. The celestial priest Vrihaspati then made arrangements for a great Horse-sacrifice, substituting a black antelope for a good steed every way fit to be offered up in sacrifice. Causing Indra, the lord of the Maruts, to ride upon that very steed (which was saved from slaughter) Vrihaspati led him to his own place. The lord of heaven was then adored with hymns by all the deities and the Rishis. He continued to rule in heaven, cleansed of the sin of Brahmanicide which was divided into four portions and ordained to reside in woman, fire, trees, and kine. It was thus that Indra, strengthened by the energy of a Brahmana, succeeded in slaying his foe (and when, as the result of that act of his, he had been overpowered by sin, it was the energy of another Brahmana that rescued him). It was thus that Indra once more regained his position.

"'In days of yore, while the great Rishi Bharadwaja was saying his prayers by the side of the celestial Ganga, one of the three feet of Vishnu, when he assumed his three-footed form, reached that spot. [The river Ganga has three currents. One flows through heaven: one is visible on the Earth, and a third flows through the nether regions. Persons of the regenerate classes, when saying their morning, midday, or evening prayers, have to touch water often. What is meant, therefore, by 'Bharadwaja touching the water' is that Bharadwaja was saying his prayers. Vishnu assumed his three-footed form for beguiling Vali of the sovereignty of the universe. With one foot he covered the Earth, with another he covered the firmament. There was no space left for placing his third foot upon.] Beholding that strange sight, Bharadwaja assailed Vishnu with a handful of water, upon which Vishnu's bosom received a mark (called Sreevatsa). Cursed by that foremost of Rishis, viz., Bhrigu, Agni was obliged to become a devourer of all things. Once on a time, Aditi, the mother of the deities, cooked some food for her sons. She thought that, eating that food and strengthened by it, the deities would succeed in slaying the Asuras. After the food had been cooked. Vudha (the presiding deity of the luminary known by that name), having completed the observance of an austere vow, presented himself before Aditi and said unto her,--Give me alms. Aditi, though thus solicited for food gave him none, thinking that no one should eat of the food she had cooked, before her sons, the deities, had first taken it. Incensed at the conduct of Aditi who thus refused to give him alms, Vudha, who was Brahma's self through the austere vow he had completed, cursed her, saying that as Aditi had refused him alms she would have a pain in her womb when Vivaswat, in his second birth in the womb of Aditi, would be born in the form of an egg. Aditi reminded Vivaswat at that time of the curse of Vudha, and it is for that reason that Vivaswat, the deity who is adorned in Sraddhas, coming out of the womb of Aditi, came to be called by the name of Martanda. The Prajapati Daksha became the father of sixty daughters. Amongst them, three and ten were bestowed by him upon Kasyapa; ten upon Dharma; ten upon Mann; and seven and twenty upon Shoma. Although all the seven and twenty that were called Nakshatras and bestowed upon Shoma were equal in respect of beauty and accomplishments, yet Shoma became more attached to one, viz., Rohini, than the rest. The rest of his spouses, filled with jealousy, leaving him, repaired to their sire and informed him of this conduct of their husband, saying,--O holy one, although all of us are equal in point of beauty, yet our husband Shoma is exclusively attached to our sister Rohini.--Incensed at this representation of his daughters, the celestial Rishi Daksha cursed Shoma, saying, that thenceforth the disease phthisis should assail his son-in-law and dwell in him. Through this curse of Daksha, phthisis assailed the puissant Shoma and entered into his body. Assailed by phthisis in this way, Shoma came to Daksha. The latter addressed him, saying,--I have cursed thee because of thy unequal behaviour towards thy wives. The Rishi then said unto Shoma,--Thou art being reduced by the disease phthisis that has assailed thee. There is a sacred water called Hiranyasarah in the Western ocean. Repairing to that sacred water, do thou bathe there.--Counselled by the Rishi, Shoma proceeded thither. Arrived at

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Hiranyasarah, Soma bathed in that sacred water. Performing his oblations he 'cleansed himself from his sin. And because that sacred water was illumined (abhasita) by Shoma, therefore was it from that day called by the name of Prabhasa. In consequence, however, of the curse denounced upon him in days of old by Daksha, Shoma, to this day, begins to wane from the night of the full moon till his total disappearance on the night of the new moon whence he once more begins to wax till the night of full moon. The brightness also of the lunar disc from that time received a stain, for the body of Shoma, since then, has come to present certain dark spots. In fact, the splendid disc of the moon has, from that day, come to exhibit the mark of a hare. Once on a time, a Rishi of the name of Sthulasiras was engaged in practising very severe austerities on the northern breasts of the mountains of Meru. While engaged in those austerities, a pure breeze, charged with all kinds of delicious perfumes, began to blow there and fan his body. Scorched as his body was by the very severe austerities he was undergoing, and living as he did upon air alone to the exclusion of every kind of food, he became highly gratified in consequence of that delicious breeze which blew around him. While he was thus gratified with the delicious breeze that fanned him, the trees around him (moved by jealousy) put forth their flowers for making a display and extorting his praise. Displeased at this conduct of the trees because it was dictated by jealousy, the Rishi cursed them, saying,--Henceforth, ye shall not be able to put forth your flowers at all times.--In days of yore, for doing good to the world, Narayana took birth as the great Rishi Vadavamukha. While engaged in practising severe austerities on the breast of Meru, he summoned the Ocean to his presence. The Ocean, however, disobeyed his summons. Incensed at this, the Rishi, with the heat of his body, caused the waters of the Ocean to become as saltish in taste as the human sweat. The Rishi further said.--Thy waters shall henceforth cease to be drinkable. Only when the Equine-head, roving within thee, will drink thy waters, they will be as sweet as honey. It is for this curse that the waters of the Ocean to this day are saltish to the taste and are drunk by no one else than the Equine-head. [The Hindu scriptures mention that there is an Equine-head of vast proportions which roves through the seas. Blazing fires constantly issue from its mouth and these drink up the sea-water. It always makes a roaring noise. It is called Vadava-mukha. The fire issuing from it is called Vadavanala. The waters of the Ocean are like clarified butter. The Equine-head drinks them up as the sacrificial fire drinks the libations of clarified butter poured upon it. The origin of the Vadava fire is sometimes ascribed to the wrath of Urva, a Rishi of the race of Jamadagni. Hence it is sometimes called Aurvya-fire.] The daughter, named Uma, of the Himavat mountains, was desired by Rudra in marriage After Himavat had promised the hand of Uma to Mahadeva, the great Rishi Bhrigu, approaching Himavat, addressed him, saying,--Give this daughter of thine unto me in marriage. Himavat replied unto him, saying,--Rudra is the bridegroom already selected by me for my daughter.--Angry at this reply, Bhrigu said,--Since thou refusest my suit for the hand of thy daughter and insultest me thus, thou shalt no longer abound with jewels and gems. To this day, in consequence of the Rishi's words, the mountains of Himavat have not any jewels and gems. Even such is the glory of the Brahmanas. It is through the favour of the Brahmanas that the Kshatriyas are able to possess the eternal and undeteriorating Earth as their wife and enjoy her. The power of the Brahmanas, again, is made up of Agni and Shoma. The universe is upheld by that power and, therefore, is upheld by Agni and Shoma united together. It is said that Surya and Chandramas are the eyes of Narayana. The rays of Surya constitute my eyes. Each of them, viz., the Sun and the Moon, invigorate and warm the universe respectively. And because of the Sun and the Moon thus warming and invigorating the universe, they have come to be regarded as the Harsha (joy) of the universe. It is in consequence of these acts of Agni and Shoma that uphold the universe that I have come to be called by the name of Hrishikesa, O son of Pandu. Indeed, I am the boon-giving Isana, the Creator of the universe. Through virtue of the Mantras with which libations of clarified butter are poured on the sacred fire, I take and appropriate the (principal) share of the offerings made in sacrifices. My complexion also is of that foremost of gems called Harit. It is for these reasons that I am called by the name of Hari. I am the highest abode of all creatures and am regarded by persons conversant with the scriptures to be identical with Truth or Nectar. I am, for this reason, called by learned Brahmanas by the name of Ritadhama (abode of Truth or Nectar). When in days of yore the Earth became submerged in the waters and lost to the view, I found her out and raised her from the depths of the Ocean. For this reason the deities adore me by the name of Govinda. Sipivishta is another name of mine. The word Sipi indicates a person that has no hair on his body. He who pervades all things in the form of Sipi is known by the name of Sipivishta. The Rishi Yaksha, with tranquil soul, in many a sacrifice invoked me by the name Sipivishta. It is for this reason that I came to bear this secret name. Yaksha of great intelligence, having adored me by the name Sipivishta, succeeded in restoring the Niruktas which had disappeared from the surface of the Earth and sunk into nether regions. I was never born. I never take birth. Nor shall I ever be born. I am the Kshetrajna of all creatures. Hence am I called by the name of Aja (unborn). I have never uttered anything base or anything that is obscene. The divine Saraswati who is Truth's self, who is the daughter of Brahma and is otherwise called by the name of Rita, represents my speech and always dwells in my tongue. The existent and the non-existent have been merged by me in my Soul. The Rishis dwelling in Pushkara, which is regarded as the abode of Brahman, called me by the name of Truth. I have never swerved from the attribute of Sattwa, and know that the attribute of Sattwa has flowed from me. In this birth also of mine, O Dhananjaya, my ancient attribute of Sattwa has not left me, so that in even this life, establishing myself on Sattwa, I set myself to acts without ever wishing for their fruits. Cleansed of all sins as I am through the attribute of Sattwa, which is my nature, I can be beheld by the aid of that knowledge only which arises from adoption of the attribute of Sattwa. I am reckoned also among those that are wedded to that attribute. For these reasons am I known by the name of Sattwata. I till the Earth, assuming the form of a large plough-share of black iron. And because my complexion is black, therefore am I called by the name of Krishna. I have united the Earth with Water, Space with Mind, and Wind with Light. Therefore ant I called Vaikuntha. The cessation of separate conscious existence by identification with Supreme Brahman is the highest attribute or condition for a living agent to attain. And since I have never swerved from that attribute or condition, I am, therefore, called by the name of Achyuta. The Earth and the Firmament are known to extend in all directions. And because I uphold them both, therefore am I called by the name of Adhokshaja. Persons conversant with the Vedas and employed in interpreting the words used in those scriptures adore me in sacrifices by calling upon me by the same name. In days of yore, the great Rishis, while engaged in practising severe austerities, said,--No one else in the universe than the puissant Narayana, is capable of being called by the name of Adhokshaja. Clarified butter which sustains the lives of all creatures in the universe constitutes my effulgence. It is for this reason that Brahmanas conversant with the Vedas and possessed of concentrated souls call me by the name of Ghritarchis. There are three well-known constituent elements of the body. They have their origin in action, and are called Bile, Phlegm, and Wind. The body is called a union of these three. All living creatures are upheld by these three, and when these three become weakened, living creatures also become weakened. It is for this reason that all persons conversant with the scriptures bearing on the science of Life call me by the name of Tridhatu. The holy Dharma is known among all creatures by the name of Vrisha, O Bharata. Hence it is that I am called the excellent Vrisha in the Vedic lexicon called Nighantuka. The word 'Kapi' signifies the foremost of boars, and Dharma is otherwise known by the name of Vrisha. It is for this reason that that lord of all creatures, viz., Kasyapa, the common sire of the deities and the Asuras, called me by the name Vrishakapi. The deities and the Asuras have never been able to ascertain my beginning, my middle, or my end. It is for this reason that I am sung as Anadi, Amadhya and Ananta. I am the Supreme Lord endued with puissance, and I am the eternal witness of the universe (beholding as I do its successive creations and destructions). I always hear words that are pure and holy, O Dhananjaya, and never hold anything that is sinful. Hence am I called by the name of Suchisravas. Assuming, in days of old, the form of a boar with a single tusk, O enhancer of the joys of others, I raised the submerged Earth from the bottom of the ocean. From this reason am I called by the name of Ekasringa. While I assumed the form of mighty boar for this purpose, I had three humps on my back. Indeed, in consequence of this peculiarity of my form at that time that I have come to be called by the name of Trikakud (three-humped). Those who are conversant with the science propounded by Kapila call the Supreme Soul by the name of Virincha. That Virincha is otherwise called the great Prajapati (or Brahman). Verily I am identical with Him, called Virincha, in consequence of my imparting animation to all living creatures, for I am the Creator of the universe. The preceptors of Sankhya philosophy, possessed of definite conclusions (regarding all topics), call me the eternal Kapila staying in the midst of the solar disc with but Knowledge for my companion. On Earth I am known to be identical with Him who has been sung in the Vedic verses as the effulgent Hiranyagarbha and who is always worshipped by Yogins. I am regarded as the embodied form of the Rich Veda consisting of one and twenty thousand verses. Persons conversant with the Vedas also call me the embodiment of the Samans of a thousand branches. Even thus do learned Brahmans that are my devoted worshippers and that are very rare sing me in the Aranyakas. In the Adhyaryus I am sung as the Yajur-Veda of six and fifty and eight and seven and thirty branches. Learned Brahmans conversant with the Atharvans regard me as identical with the Atharvans consisting of five Kalpas and all the Krityas. All the sub-divisions that exist of the different Vedas in respect of branches and all the verses that compose those branches, and all the vowels that occur in those verses, and all the rules in respect of pronunciation, know, O Dhananjaya, are my work. O Partha, he that rises (at the beginning of Creation from the Ocean of Milk at the earnest invocation of Brahmana and all the deities) and who gives diverse boons unto the diverse deities, is none else than myself. I am He who is the repository of the science of syllables and pronunciation that is treated of in the supplementary portions of the Vedas. Following the path pointed out by Vamadeva, the high-souled Rishi Panchala, through my grace, obtained from that eternal Being the rules in respect of the division of syllables and words (for reading the Vedas). Indeed, Galava, born in the Vabhravya race, having attained to high ascetic success and obtained a boon from Narayana, compiled the rules in respect of the division of syllables and words (for reading the Vedas). Indeed, Galava, born in the Vabhravya race, having attained to the high ascetic success and obtained a boon from Narayana, compiled the rules in respect of the division of syllables and words, and those about emphasis and accent in utterance, and shone as the first scholar who became conversant with those two subjects. Kundrika and king Brahmadatta of great energy, repeatedly thinking of the sorrow that attends birth and death, attained to that prosperity which is acquired by persons devoted to Yoga, in course of seven births, in consequence of my favour. In days of yore, O Partha, I was, for some reason, born as the son of Dharma, O chief of Kuru's race, and in consequence of such birth of mine I was celebrated under the name of Dharmaja. I took birth in two forms, viz., as Nara and Narayana. Riding on the vehicle that helps towards the performance of scriptural and other duties, I practised, in those two forms, undying austerities on the breast of Gandhamadana At that time the great sacrifice of Daksha took place. Daksha, however, in that sacrifice of his, refused to give a share unto Rudra, O Bharata, of the sacrificial offerings. Urged by the sage Dadhichi, Rudra destroyed that sacrifice. He hurled a dart whose flames blazed up every moment. That dart, having consumed all the preparations of Daksha's sacrifice, came with great force towards us (Nara and Narayana) at the retreat of Vadari. With great violence that dart then fell upon the chest of Narayana. Assailed by the energy of that dart, the hair on the head of Narayana became green. In fact, in consequence of this change in the hue of my hair I came to be called by the name of Munjakesa. Driven off by an exclamation of Hun which Narayana uttered, the dart, its energy being lost, returned to Sankara's hands. At this, Rudra became highly angry and as the result thereof he rushed towards the Rishis Nara and Narayana, endued with the puissance of severe austerities. Narayana then seized the rushing Rudra with his hand by the throat. Seized by Narayana, the lord of the universe, Rudra's throat changed colour and became dark. From that time Rudra came to be called by the name of Sitikantha. Meanwhile Nara, for the purpose of destroying Rudra, took up a blade of grass, and inspired it with Mantras. The blade of grass, thus inspired, was converted into a mighty battle-axe. Nara suddenly hurled that battle-axe at Rudra but it broke into pieces. In consequence of that weapon thus breaking into pieces, I came to be called by the name of Khandaparasu.' [Nara and Narayana were the same person. Hence, Nara's weapon having been broken into pieces, Narayana came to be called by this name. Elsewhere it is explained that Mahadeva is called Khandaparasu in consequence of his having parted with his parasu (battle-axe) unto Rama of Bhrigu's race.]

"Arjuna said, 'In that battle capable of bringing about the destruction of the three worlds, who obtained the victory, O Janarddana, do thou tell me this!'"

"The blessed and holy one said, 'When Rudra and Narayana became thus engaged in battle, all the universe became suddenly filled with anxiety. The deity of fire ceased to accept libations of even the purest clarified butter duly poured in sacrifices with the aid of Vedic Mantras. The Vedas no longer shone by inward light in the minds of the Rishis of cleansed souls. The attributes of Rajas and Tamas possessed the deities. The Earth trembled. The vault of the firmament seemed to divide in twain. All the luminaries became deprived of their splendour. The Creator, Brahman, himself fell from his seat. The Ocean itself became dry. The mountains of Himavat became riven. When such dire omens appeared everywhere, O son of Pandu, Brahma surrounded by all the deities and the high-souled Rishis, soon arrived at that spot where the battle was raging. The four-faced Brahma, capable of being understood with the aid of only the Niruktas, joined his hands and addressing Rudra, said,--Let good happen to the three worlds. Throw down thy weapons, O lord of the universe, from desire of benefiting the universe. That which is unmanifest, indestructible, immutable, supreme, the origin of the universe, uniform, and the supreme actor, that which transcends all pairs of opposites, and is inactive, has, choosing to be manifested, been pleased to assume this one blessed form, (for though double, the two but represent the same form). This Nara and Narayana (the displayed forms of Supreme

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Brahman) have taken birth in the race of Dharma. The foremost of all deities, these two are observers of the highest vows and endued with the severest penances. Through some reason best known to Him, I myself have sprung from the attribute of His Grace. Eternal as thou art, for thou hast ever existed since all the past creations, thou too hast sprung from His Wrath. With myself then, these deities, and all the great Rishis, do thou adore this displayed form of Brahma, and let peace be unto all the worlds without any delay.--Thus addressed by Brahma, Rudra forthwith cast off the fire of his wrath, and set himself to gratify the illustrious and puissant God Narayana. Indeed, he soon placed himself at the disposal of the adorable boon-giving and puissant God Narayana. That boon-giving God Narayana, who hath his wrath and the senses under control, soon became gratified and reconciled with Rudra. Well-adored by the Rishis, by Brahma, and by all the deities, that great God, the Lord of the universe, otherwise called by the name of Hari, then addressed the illustrious Isana and said these words:--He that knows thee, knows me. He that follows thee, follows me. There is no difference between thee and me. Do thou never think otherwise. The mark made by thy lance on my chest will from this day assume the form of a beautiful whirl, and the mark of my hand on thy throat will also assume a beautiful shape in consequence of which thou shalt, from this day, be called by the name of Sreekantha.'"

"The blessed and holy one continued. 'Having mutually caused such marks on each other's person, the two Rishis Nara and Narayana thus made friends with Rudra. and dismissing the deities, once more set themselves to the practice of penances with a tranquil soul. I have thus told thee, O son of Pritha, how in that battle which took place in days of yore between Rudra and Narayana, the latter got the victory. I have also told thee the many secret names by which Narayana is called and what the significations are, O Bharata, of one of those names, which, as I have told thee, the Rishis, have bestowed upon the great God. In this way, O son of Kunti, assuming diverse forms do I rove at will through the Earth, the region of Brahma himself, and that other high and eternal region of felicity called Goloka. Protected by me in the great battle, thou hast won a great victory. That Being whom, at the time of all thy battles, thou beheldest stalking in thy van, know, O son of Kunti, is no other than Rudra, that god of gods, otherwise called by the name of Kaparddin. He is otherwise known by the name of Kala, and should be known as one that has sprung from my wrath. Those foes whom thou hast slain were all, in the first instance, slain by him. 4 Do thou bend thy head unto that god of gods, that lord of Uma, endued with immeasurable puissance. With concentrated soul, do thou bend thy head unto that illustrious Lord of the universe, that indestructible deity, otherwise called by the name of Hari. He is none else than that deity who, as I have repeatedly told thee, has sprung from my wrath. Thou hast, before this, heard, O Dhananjaya, of the puissance and energy that reside in him!'"

SECTION 344

Saunaka said, "O Sauti, excellent is this narrative which thou hast recited. Verily, these ascetics, having heard it have all been filled with wonder. It is said, O Sauti, that a discourse that has Narayana for its topic, is more fruitful of merit than sojourns unto all the sacred retreats and ablutions performed in all the sacred waters on the Earth. Having listened to this discourse of thine that has Narayana for its topic, that is sacred and capable of cleansing one of every sin, all of us have certainly become holy. Adored of all the worlds, that illustrious and foremost of deities is incapable of being beheld by the deities with Brahma numbering among them and all the Rishis. That Narada was able to obtain a sight of the God Narayana, otherwise called Hari, was due, O son of Suta, to the special grace of that divine and puissant Lord. When, however, the celestial Rishi Narada had succeeded in obtaining a sight of the Supreme Lord of the universe, a residing in the form of Aniruddha, why did he again proceed so quickly (to the retreat of Vadari on the breast of Himavat) for beholding those two foremost of godly of Rishis viz., Nara and Narayana? Do you, O Sauti, tell us the reason of such conduct on the part of Narada."

Sauti said, During the continuance of his snake-sacrifice, Janamejaya, the royal son of Parikshit, availing himself of an interval in the sacrificial rites, and when all the learned Brahmanas were resting. O Saunaka, that king of kings, addressed the grandfather of his grandfather, viz., the Island-born Krishna, otherwise called Vyasa, that ocean of Vedic lore, that foremost of ascetics endued with puissance, and said these words.

Janamejaya said, "After the celestial Rishi Narada had returned from White Island, reflecting, as he came, on the words spoken to him by the holy Narayana, what indeed, did the great ascetic next do? Arrived at the retreat known by the name of Vadari on the breast of the Himvat mountains, and seeing the two Rishis Nara and Narayana who were engaged in severe austerities at that spot, how long did Narada dwell there and what were the topics of conversation between him and the two Rishis? This discourse on Narayana, that is really an ocean of knowledge, has been raised by thy intelligent self by churning that vast history called Bharata which consists of a hundred thousand verses. As butter is raised from curds, sandal-wood from the mountains of Malaya, the Aranyakas from the Vedas, and nectar from all the medicinal herbs, after the same manner, O ocean of austerities, hath this discourse that is like nectar and that has Narayana for its object, been raised by thee, O Brahmana, from diverse histories and Puranas existing in the world, Narayana is the Supreme Lord. Illustrious and endued with great puissance, He is the soul of all creatures. Indeed, O foremost of regenerate ones, the energy of Narayana is irresistible. Into Narayana, at the end of the Kalpa, enter all the deities having Brahman for their foremost, all the Rishis with the Gandharvas, and all things mobile and immobile. I think, therefore, that there is nothing holier on earth or in heaven, and nothing higher, than Narayana. A sojourn unto all the sacred retreats on Earth, and ablutions performed in all the sacred waters, are not productive of as much merit as a discourse that has Narayana for its topic. Having listened from the beginning to this discourse on Hari, the lord of the universe, that destroys all sins, we feel that we have been cleansed of all our sins and sanctified entirely. Nothing wonderful was accomplished by my ancestor Dhananjaya who was the victor in the great battle on Kurukshetra, for it should be remembered that he had Vasudeva for his ally. I think that, person could have nothing unattainable in the three worlds, who had for his ally Vishnu himself, that great Lord of the universe. Exceedingly fortunate and commendable were those ancestors of mine, since they had Janarddana himself for looking after their temporal and spiritual prosperity. Adored of all the worlds, the holy Narayana is capable of being beheld with the aid of austerities alone. They, however, succeeded in beholding Narayana, adorned with the beautiful whirl on his chest. More fortunate than my ancestors was the celestial Rishi Narada, the son of Pramesthi. Indeed, I thank that Narada, who transcends all destruction, was endued with an energy that was not little, for repairing to White-Island he had succeeded in beholding the person of Hari. Indeed, it is evident that the sight he had obtained of the Supreme Lord was due to only the grace of that Being. Fortunate was Narada inasmuch as he had succeeded in beholding Narayana as existing in the form of Aniruddha. Having beheld Narayana in that form, why did Narada hasten once more to the retreat of Vadari for the purpose of beholding Nara and Narayana? What was the reason, O ascetic, of this step taken by Narada? How long also did Narada the son of Pramesthi, after his return from White Island and arrival at Vadari and meeting with the two Rishis Nara and Narayana, live there, and what conversations had he with them? What did those two high-souled and foremost of Rishis say unto him? It behoveth thee to say all this unto me!""

Vaisampayana said, "Salutations unto the holy Vyasa of immeasurable energy. Through his grace I shall recite this narrative having Narayana for its topic. Arrived at White Island, Narada beheld the immutable Hari. Leaving that spot he quickly proceeded, O king, to the mountains of Meru, bearing in his mind those weighty words that Paramatma (the Supreme Lord) had said unto him. Arrived at Meru he became filled with wonder at the thought, O king, of what he had achieved. And he said unto himself, 'How wonderful is it! The journey I have performed is a long one. Having proceeded to such a distance, I have come back safe and sound. From the mountains of Meru he then proceeded towards Gandhamadana. Traversing through the skies he quickly alighted upon that extensive retreat known by the name of Vadari. There he beheld those ancient deities, viz., those two foremost of Rishis, (called Nara and Narayana), engaged in the practice of penances, observing high vows, and devoted to the worship of their own selves. Both of those adorable persons bore on their chests the beautiful whirls called Sreevatsa, and both had matted locks on their heads. And in consequence of the effulgence with which they illumined the world they seemed to transcend the very Sun in energy. The palms of each bore the mark called the swan's foot. The soles of their feet bore the mark of the discus. Their chests were very broad; their arms reached down to their knees. Each of them had four 'Mushkas'. Each of them had sixty teeth and four arms. The voice of each was as deep as the roar of the clouds. Their faces were exceedingly handsome, their foreheads broad, their brows fair, their cheeks well-formed, and their noses aquiline. The heads of those two deities were large and round, resembling open umbrellas. Possessed of these marks, they were certainly very superior persons in appearance. Beholding them, Narada became filled with joy. He saluted them with reverence and was saluted by them in return. They received the celestial Rishi, saying 'Welcome', and made the ordinary enquiries. Beholding those two foremost of Beings, Narada began to reflect within himself,--'These two foremost of Rishis seem to be very like, in appearance, unto those Rishis respected by all, whom I have seen in White-island. Thinking in this way, he circumambulated them both and then sat down on the excellent seat made of Kusa grass that had been offered unto him. After this, those two Rishis that were the abode of penances, of famous achievements, and of energy,--and were endued with tranquillity of heart and self-restraint, went through their morning rites. They then, with controlled hearts, worshipped Narada with water to wash his feet and the usual ingredients of the Arghya. Having finished their morning rites and the observances necessary for receiving their guest, they sat down on two seats made of wooden planks. 1 When those two Rishis took their seats, that place began to shine with peculiar beauty even as the sacrificial altar shines with beauty in consequence of the sacred fires when libations of clarified butter are poured upon them. Then Narayana, seeing Narada refreshed from fatigue and seated at his ease and well-pleased with the rites of hospitality he had received, addressed him, saying these words.

"Nara and Narayana said, 'Hast thou seen in white Island the Paramatma (Supreme Soul), who is eternal and divine, and who is the high source whence we have sprung?'

"Narada said, 'I have seen that beautiful Being who is immutable and who has the universe for his form. In Him dwell all the worlds, and all the deities with the Rishis. Even now I behold that immutable Being, in beholding you two. Those marks and indications that characterise Hari himself of undisplayed form, characterise you two that are endued with forms displayed before the senses. Verily, I behold both of you by the side of that great God. Dismissed by the Supreme Soul, I have today come hither. In energy and fame and beauty, who else in the three worlds can equal Him than you two that have been born in the race of Dharma? He has told me the entire course of duties having reference to Kshetrajna. He has also told me of all those incarnations which he will, in the future, have in this world. The inhabitants of White Island, whom I have seen, are all divested of the five senses that are owned by ordinary persons. All of them are of awakened souls, endued as they are with true knowledge. They are, again, entirely devoted to the foremost of Beings, viz., the Supreme Lord of the universe. They are always engaged in worshipping that great Deity, and the latter always sports with them. The holy and Supreme Soul is always fond of those that are devoted to him. He is fond also of the regenerate ones. Always fond of those that are devoted to Him, He sports with those worshippers of His. Enjoyer of the universe, pervading everything, the illustrious Madhava is ever affectionate towards his worshippers. He is the Actor; He is the Cause; and He is the effect. He is endued with omnipotence and immeasurable splendour. He is the Cause whence all things spring. He is the embodiment of all the scriptural ordinances. He is the embodiment of all the topics. He is possessed of great fame. Uniting Himself with penances, He has illumined Himself with a splendour that is said to represent an energy that is higher than (what occurs in) White Island. Of soul cleansed by penances, He has ordained Peace and Tranquillity in the three worlds. With such an auspicious understanding, he is engaged in the observance of a very superior vow which is the embodiment of holiness. That realm where he resides, engaged in tie austerest penances, the Sun does not warm and the Moon does not shine. There the wind does not blow. Having constructed an altar measuring eight fingers' breadth, the illustrious Creator of the universe is practising penances there, standing on one foot, with arms upraised, and with face directed towards the East, reciting the Vedas with their branches, he is engaged in practising the severest austerities. Whatever libations of clarified butter or meat are poured on the sacrificial fire according to the ordinances of Brahma, by the Rishis, by Pasupati himself, by the rest of the principal deities, by the Daityas, the Danavas, and the Rakshasas, all reach the feet of that great divinity. Whatever rites and religious acts are performed by persons whose souls are entirely devoted to him, are all received by that great Deity on his head. No one is dearer to him in the three worlds than those persons that are awakened and possessed of high souls. Dearer even than those persons is one that is entirely devoted to him. Dismissed by him who is the Supreme Soul, I am coming here. This is what the illustrious and holy Hari has himself said unto me. I shall henceforth reside with you two, devoted to Narayana in the form of Aniruddha.'"

SECTION 345

"Nara and Narayana said, 'Deserving art thou of the highest praise, and highly favoured hast thou been, since thou hast beheld the puissant Narayana himself (in the form of Aniruddha). None else, not even Brahma himself who was sprung from the primal lotus, has been able to behold him. That foremost of Purushas, endued with puissance and holiness, is of unmanifest origin and incapable of being seen. These words that we say unto thee are very true, O Narada. There exists no one in the universe that is dearer to him than one that adores him with devotion. It is for this, O best of regenerate ones, that he showed himself unto thee. No one can repair to that realm where the Supreme Soul is engaged in the observance of penances, except we two, O foremost of regenerate persons. In consequence of that spot being adorned by Him, its splendour resembles the effulgence of a thousands Suns collected together. From that illustrious Being, O

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Brahmana, from Him who is the origin of the Creator of the universe, O foremost of all persons endued with forgiveness, springs the attribute of forgiveness which attaches to the Earth. It is from that illustrious Being who seek the welfare of all beings, that Rasa (Taste) hath arisen. The attribute of Rasa attaches to the waters which are, again, liquid. It is from Him that Heat or Light having the attribute of form or vision has arisen. It attaches itself to the sun in consequence of which the Sun becomes able to shine and give heat. It is from that illustrious and foremost of Beings that Touch also has arisen. It is attached to the Wind, in consequence of which the Wind moves about in the world producing the sensation of touch. It is from that puissant Lord of the entire universe that Sound has arisen. It attaches to Space, which, in consequence thereof, exists uncovered and unconfined. It is from that illustrious Being that Mind, which pervades all Beings, has arisen. It attaches to Chandramas, in consequence of which Chandramas comes to be invested with the attribute of displaying all the things. That spot where the divine Narayana, that partaker of the libations and other offerings made in sacrifices, resides with Knowledge alone for his companion, has in the Vedas, been called by the name of the productive cause of all things or Sat. The path that is theirs, O foremost of regenerate persons, that are stainless and that are freed from both virtue and sin, is fraught with auspiciousness and felicity. Aditya, who is the dispeller of the darkness of all the worlds, is said to be the door (through which the Emancipate must pass). Entering Aditya, the bodies of such persons become consumed by his fire. They then become invisible for after that they cannot be seen by anybody at any time. Reduced into invisible atoms, they then enter (Narayana in manifested form and residing in the middle of the region covered by Aditya) into the form of Aniruddha. Losing all physical attributes and being altogether and transformed into Mind alone, they then enter into Pradyumna. Passing out of Pradyumna, those foremost of regenerate persons, including both those that are conversant with Sankhya philosophy and those that are devoted to the Supreme deity, then enter Sankarsana who is otherwise called Jiva. After this, divested of the three primal attributes of Sattwa, Rajas, and Tamas, those foremost of regenerate beings quickly enter the Paramatma (Supreme Soul) otherwise called Kshetrajna and which itself transcends the three primal attributes. Know that Vasudeva is He when called Kshetrajna. Verily shouldst thou know that, that Vasudeva is the abode or original refuge of all things in the universe. Only they whose minds are concentrated, who are observant of all kinds of restraint, whose senses are controlled, and who are devoted to One, succeed in entering Vasudeva. We two, O foremost of regenerate ones, have taken birth in the house of Dharma. Residing in this delightful and spacious retreat we are undergoing the austerest penances. We are thus engaged, O regenerate one, being moved by the desire of benefiting those manifestations of the Supreme Deity, dear to all the celestials, that will occur in the three worlds (for achieving diverse feats that are incapable of being achieved by any other Being). In accordance with such ordinances as are uncommon and as apply to us two only, O best of regenerate persons, we are duly observing all excellent and high vows fraught with the austerest penances. Thou, O celestial Rishi, endued with wealth of penances wert beheld by us in White Island when thou wert there. Having met with Narayana, thou hast made a particular resolution, which is known to us. In the three worlds consisting of mobile and immobile Beings, there is nothing that is unknown to us. Of good or evil that will occur or has occurred or is occurring, that God of gods, O great ascetic, has informed thee!'"

Vaisampayana continued, "Having heard these words of Nara and Narayana both of whom were engaged in the practice of the austerest penances, the celestial Rishi Narada joined his hands in reverence and became entirely devoted to Narayana. He employed his time in mentally reciting, with due observances, innumerable sacred Mantras that are approved by Narayana. Worshipping the Supreme Deity Narayana, and adoring those two ancient Rishis also that had taken birth in the house of Dharma, the illustrious Rishi Narada, endued with great energy, continued to reside, thus employed, in that retreat, called Vadari, on the breast of Himavat, belonging to Nara and Narayana, for a thousand years as measured by the standard of the celestials.'"

SECTION 346

Vaisampayana said, "On one occasion, while residing in the retreat of Nara and Narayana, Narada the son of Pramesthi, having duly accomplished the rites and observances in honour of the deities, set himself to perform thereafter the rites in honour of the Pitris. Beholding him thus prepared, the eldest son of Dharma, viz., the puissant Nara addressed him, saying, 'Whom art thou worshipping, O foremost of regenerate persons, by these rites and observances in connection with the deities and the Pitris? O foremost of all persons endued with intelligence, tell me this, agreeably to the scriptures. What is this that thou art doing? What also are the fruits desired by thee of those rites thou hast addrest thyself in performing?'

"Narada said, "Thou saidst unto me on a former occasion that rites and observances in honour of the deities should be accomplished. Thou saidst that the rites in honour of the deities constitute the highest sacrifice and are equivalent to the worship of the eternal Supreme Soul. Instructed by that teaching, I always sacrifice in honour of the eternal and immutable Vishnu, through these rites that I perform in worshipping the deities. It is from that Supreme Deity that Brahma, the Grandsire of all the worlds, took his rise in days of yore. That Brahma, otherwise called Prameshthi, filled with cheerfulness, caused my sire (Daksha) to start into being. I was the son of Brahma, created before all others, by a fiat of his will (although I had to take birth afterwards as the son of Daksha through a curse of that Rishi). O righteous and illustrious one, I am per-forming these rites in honour of the Pitris for the sake of Narayana, and agreeable to those ordinances that have been laid down by himself. The illustrious Narayana is the father, mother, and grandfather (of all creatures). In all sacrifices performed in honour of the Pitris, it is that Lord of the universe who is adored and worshipped. On one occasion, the deities, who were sires, taught their children the Srutis. Having lost their knowledge of the Srutis, the sires had to acquire it again from those sons unto whom they had communicated it. In consequence of this incident, the sons, who had thus to communicate the Mantras unto their sires, acquired the status of sires (and the sire, for having obtained the Mantras from their sons, acquired the status of sons). [The story is that once on a time the deities, on the eve of going out on a campaign against the Asuras, communicated the Vedas unto their children, Agnishatta and others. In consequence, however, of the length of time for which they were occupied on the field, they forgot their Vedas. Returning to heaven, they had actually to re-acquire them from their own children and disciples. The Scriptures declare that the preceptor is ever the sire, and the disciple is the son. Difference of age would not disturb the relationship. A youth of sixteen might thus be the father of an octogenarian. With Brahmanas, reverence is due to knowledge, not age.] Without doubt, what the deities did on that occasion is well known to you two. Sons and sires (on that occasion) had thus to worship each other. Having first spread some blades of Kusa grass, the deities and the Pitris (who were their children) placed three Pindas thereon and in this way worshipped each other. I wish to know, however, the reason why the Pitris in days of yore acquired the name of Pindas.'

"Nara and Narayana said, 'The Earth, in days of yore, with her belt of seas, disappeared from the view. Govinda, assuming the form of a gigantic boar, raised her up (with his mighty tusk), Having replaced the Earth in her former position, that foremost of Purushas, his body smeared with water and mud, set himself to do what was necessary for the world and its denizens. When the sun reached the meridian, and the hour, therefore, came for saying the morning prayers, the puissant Lord, suddenly shaking off three balls of mud from his tusk, placed them upon the Earth, O Narada, having previously spread thereon certain blades of grass. The puissant Vishnu dedicated those balls of mud unto his own self, according to the rites laid down in the eternal ordinance. Regarding the three balls of mud that the puissant Lord had shaken off from his tusks as Pindas, he then, with sesame seeds of oily kernel that arose from the heat of his own body, himself performed the rite of dedication, sitting with face turned towards the East. That foremost of deities then, impelled by the desire of establishing rules of conduct for the denizens of the three worlds, said these words: "Vrishakapi said, I ant the Creator of the worlds. I am resolved to create those that are to be called Pitris.--Saying these words, he began to think of those high ordinances that should regulate the rites to be gone through in honour of the Pitris. While thus engaged, he saw that the three balls of mud, shaken off his tusk, had fallen towards the South. He then said unto himself,--These balls, shaken off my tusk, have fallen on the Earth towards the southern direction of her surface. Led by this, I declare that these should be known henceforth by the name of Pitris. Let these three that are of no particular shape, and that are only round, come to be regarded as Pitris in the world. Even thus do I create the eternal Pitris. I am the father, the grandfather, and the great grandfather, and I should be regarded as residing in these three Pindas. There is no one that is superior to me. Who is there whom I myself may worship or adore with rites? Who, again, is my sire in the universe? I myself am my grandfather. I am, indeed, the Grandsire and the Sire. I am the one cause (of all the universe).--Having said these words, that God of gods, Vrishakapi by name, offered those Pindas, O learned Brahmana, on the breast of the Varaha mountains, with elaborate rites. By those rites He worshipped His own self, and having finished the worship, disappeared there and then. Hence have the Pitris come to be called by the name of Pinda. Even this is the foundation of the designation. Agreeably to the words uttered by Vrishakapi on that occasion, the Pitris receive the worship offered by all. They who perform sacrifices in honour of and adore the Pitris, the deities, the preceptor or other reverend senior guests arrived at the house, kine, superior Brahmanas, the goddess Earth, and their mothers, in thought, word, and deed, are said to adore and sacrifice unto Vishnu himself. Pervading the bodies of all existent creatures, the illustrious Lord is the Soul of all things. Unmoved by happiness or misery, His attitude towards all is equal. Endued with greatness, and of great soul, Narayana has been said to be the soul of all things in the universe.'"

SECTION 347

Vaisampayana said, 'Having heard these words of Nara and Narayana, the Rishi Narada became filled with devotion towards the Supreme Being. Indeed, with his whole soul he devoted himself to Narayana. Having resided for a full thousand years in the retreat of Nara and 'Narayana, having beheld the immutable Hari, and heard the excellent discourse having Narayana for its topic, the celestial Rishi repaired to his own retreat on the breast of Himavat, Those foremost of ascetics viz., Nara and Narayana, however continued to reside in their delightful retreat of Vadari, engaged in the practice of the severest austerities. Thou art born in the race of the Pandavas. Thou art of immeasurable energy. O perpetuator of the race of the Pandavas, having listened to this discourse on Narayana from the beginning, thou hast certainly been cleansed of all thy sins and thy soul has been sanctified. His is neither this world nor the world hereafter, O best of kings, who hates instead of loving and reverencing the immutable Hari. The ancestors of that person who hates Narayana, who is the foremost of deities, and is otherwise called Hari, sink into hell for eternity. O tiger among men, Vishnu is the soul of all beings. How, then, can Vishnu be hated, for in hating him one would hate one's own self. He who is our preceptor, viz., the Rishi Vyasa, the son of Gandhavati, has himself recited this discourse unto us on the glory of Narayana, that glory which is the highest and which is immutable. I heard it from him and have recited it to thee exactly as I heard it, O sinless one. This cult, with its mysteries and its abstract of details, was obtained by Narada, O king, from that Lord of the universe, viz., Narayana himself. Even such are the particulars of this great cult. I have, before this, O foremost of kings, explained it to thee in the Hari-Gita, with a brief reference to its ordinances. 1 Know that the Island-born Krishna, otherwise called Vyasa, is Narayana on Earth. Who else than he, O tiger among kings, could compile such a treatise as the Mahabharata? Who else than that puissant Rishi could discourse upon the diverse kinds of duties and cults for the observance and adoption of men? Thou hast resolved upon performing a great sacrifice. Let that sacrifice of thine proceed as determined by thee. Having listened to the diverse kinds of duties and cults, let thy Horse-sacrifice go on."

Sauti continued, That best of kings, having heard this great discourse, began all those rites that are laid down in the ordinance, for the completion of his great sacrifice. Questioned by thee, O Saunaka, I have duly recited to thee and all these Rishis that are denizens of the Naimisha forest, that great discourse having Narayana for its topic. Formerly Narada had recited it to my preceptor in the hearing of many Rishis and the sons of Pandu and in the presence of Krishna and Bhishma also. The Supreme deity Narayana is the Lord of all the foremost of Rishis, and of the three worlds. He is the upholder of Earth herself of vast proportions. He is the receptacle of the Srutis and of the attribute of humility. He Is the great receptacle of all those ordinances that should be practised for attaining to tranquillity of heart, as also of all those that go by the name of Yama. He is always accompanied by the foremost of regenerate persons. Let that great deity be thy refuge. Hari ever does what is agreeable and beneficial to the denizens of heaven. He is always the slayer of such Asuras (as become troublesome to the three worlds). He is the receptacle of penances. He is possessed of great fame. He is the slayer of the Daityas known by the name of Madhu and Kaitabha. He is the ordainer of the ends that are attained to by persons acquainted with and observant of scriptural and other duties. He dispels the fears of all persons. He takes the foremost of those offerings that are dedicated in sacrifices. He is thy refuge and protection. He is endued with attributes. He is freed from attributes. He is endued with a quadruple form. He shares the merits arising from the dedication of tanks and the observance of similar religious rites. Unvanquished and possessed of great might, it is He that always ordains the end approachable by the Soul alone, of Rishis of righteous deeds. He is the witness of the worlds. He is unborn. He is the one ancient Purusha. Endued with the complexion of the Sun, He is the Supreme Lord, and he is the refuge of all. Do all of you bow your heads unto Him since He who sprang from the waters (viz., Narayana himself) bends his head unto Him. He is the origin of the universe. He is that Being who is called Amrita. He is minute. He is the refuge upon whom all things depend. He is the one Being to whom the attribute of immutability attaches. The Sankhyas and Yogins, of restrained souls, hold Him who is eternal in their understandings.

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SECTION 348

Janamejaya said, 'I have heard from thee the glory of the divine and Supreme Soul. I have heard also of the birth of the Supreme Deity in the house of Dharma, in the form of Nara and Narayana. I have also heard from thee the origin of the Pinda from the mighty Baraha (Boar) (which form the supreme Deity had assumed for raising by the submerged Earth). I have heard from thee about those deities and Rishis that were ordained for the religion of Pravritti and of those that were ordained for the religion of Nivritti. Thou hast also, O regenerate one, discoursed to us on other topics. Thou hast said also unto us of that vast form, with the Equine head, of Vishnu, that partaker of the libations and other offerings made in sacrifices,--.the form, viz., that appeared in the great ocean on the North-East. That form was beheld by the illustrious Brahman, otherwise known by the name of Parameshthi. What, however, were the exact features, and what the energy, the like of which among all great objects, had never appeared before, of that form which Hari, the upholder of the universe, displayed on that occasion? What did Brahman do, O ascetic, after having seen that foremost of deities, him whose likeness had never been seen before, him who was of immeasurable energy, him who had the Equine head, and him who was Sacredness itself? O regenerate one, this doubt hath arisen in our mind about this ancient subject of knowledge. O thou of foremost intelligence, for what reason did he supreme Deity assume that form and display himself in it unto Brahman? Thou hast certainly sanctified us by discoursing unto us on these diverse sacred subjects!'

Sauti said, I shall recite to thee that ancient history, which is perfectly consistent with the Vedas, and which the illustrious Vaisampayana recited unto the son of Parikshit on the occasion of the great Snake-sacrifice. Having heard the account of the mighty form of Vishnu, equipt with the horse-head, the royal son of Parikshit too had entertained the same doubt and put the same questions to Vaisampayana.

Janamejaya said, "Tell me, O best of men, for what reason did Hari appear in that mighty form equipt with a horse-head and which Brahma, the Creator, beheld on the shores of the great northern Ocean on the occasion referred to by yourself?"

Vaisampayana said, "All existent objects, O king, in this world, are the result of a combination of the five primal elements, a combination due to the intelligence of the Supreme Lord. The puissant Narayana, endued with infinity, is the supreme Lord and Creator of the universe. He is the inner Soul of all things, and the giver of boons. Divested of attributes, he is again possessed of them. Listen now, O best of kings, to me as I narrate to thee how the Destruction is brought about of all things. At first, the element of Earth becomes merged in Water and nothing then is seen save one vast expanse of Water on all sides. Water then merges into Heat, and Heat into Wind. Wind then merges into Space, which in its turn, merges into Mind. Mind merges into the Manifest (otherwise called Consciousness or Ego). The Manifest merges into the Unmanifest (or Prakriti). The Unmanifest (or Prakriti) merges into Purusha (Jivatman) and Purusha merges into the Supreme Soul (or Brahman). Then Darkness spreads over the face of the universe, and nothing can be perceived. From that primal Darkness arises Brahma (endued with the principle of Creation). Darkness is primeval and fraught with immortality. Brahma that arises from primeval Darkness develops (by its own potency) into the idea of the universe, and assumes the form of Purusha. Such Purusha is called Aniruddha. Divested of sex, it is called otherwise by the name of Pradhana (Supreme or Primary). That is also known by the name of Manifest, or the combination of the triple attribute, O best of kings. He exists with Knowledge alone for his companion. That illustrious and puissant Being is otherwise called by the name of Viswaksena or Hari. Yielding to Yoga-sleep, he lays himself down on the waters. He then thinks of the Creation of the Universe of diversified phenomena and fraught with immeasurable attributes. While engaged in thinking of Creation, he recollects his own high attributes. From this springs the four-faced Brahma representing the Consciousness of Anirudha. The illustrious Brahma, otherwise called Hiranyagarbha, is the Grandsire of all the worlds. Endued with eyes like lotus petals, he takes birth within the Lotus that springs from (the navel of) Anirudha. Seated on that Lotus, the illustrious, puissant, and eternal Brahma of wonderful aspect saw that the waters were on all sides. Adopting the attribute of Sattwa Brahma, otherwise called Parameshthi, then commenced to create the universe. In the primeval Lotus that was endued with the effulgence of the Sun, two drops of water had been cast by Narayana that were fraught with great merit. The illustrious Narayana, without beginning and without end, and transcending destruction, cast his eyes on those two drops of water. One of those two drops of water, of very beautiful and bright form, looked like a drop of honey. From that drop sprang, at the command of Narayana, a Daitya of the name of Madhu made up of the attribute of Tamas (Dullness). The other drop of water within the Lotus was very hard. From it sprang the Daitya Kaitabha made up of the attribute of Rajas. Endued thus with the attributes of Tamas and Rajas, the two Daityas possessed of might and armed with maces, immediately after their birth, began to rove within that vast primeval Lotus. They beheld within it Brahma of immeasurable effulgence, engaged in creating the four Vedas, each endued with the most delightful form. Those two foremost of Asuras, possessed of bodies, beholding the four Vedas, suddenly seized them in the very sight of their Creator. The two mighty Danavas, having seized the eternal Vedas, quickly dived into the ocean of waters which they saw and proceeded to its bottom. Seeing the Vedas forcibly taken away from him, Brahma became filled with grief. Robbed of the Vedas in this way, Brahma then addressed the Supreme Lord in these words.

"Brahma said, 'The Vedas are my great eyes. The Vedas are my great strength. The Vedas are my great refuge. The Vedas are my high Brahman. All the Vedas, however, have been forcibly taken away from me by the two Danavas. Deprived of the Vedas, the worlds I have created have become enveloped in darkness. Without the Vedas (beside me), how shall I succeed in causing my excellent Creation to start into existence? Alas, great is the grief I suffer in consequence of the loss of the Vedas (through such agency). My heart is very much pained. It has become the abode of a great sorrow. Who is there that will rescue me from this ocean of grief in which I am sunk for the loss I have endured? Who is there that will bring me the Vedas I have lost? Who is there that will take compassion on me?--While Brahma was uttering these words, O best of kings, the resolution suddenly arose in his mind, O foremost of intelligent persons, for hymning the praises of Hari in these words. The puissant Brahma then, with hands joined in reverence, and seizing the feet of his progenitor, sang this highest of hymns in honour of Narayana.'"

"Brahma said, 'I bow to thee, O heart of Brahman. I bow to thee that hast been born before me. Thou art the origin of the universe. Thou art the foremost of all abodes. Thou, O puissant one, art the ocean of Yoga with all its branches. Thou art the Creator of both what is Manifest and what is Unmanifest. Thou treadest along the path whose auspiciousness is of inconceivable extent. Thou art the consumer of the universe. Thou art the Antaralock (Inner Soul) of all creatures. Thou art without any origin. Thou art the refuge of the universe. Thou art self-born; for origin thou hest none that is not thyself. As regards myself, I have sprung through thy Grace. From thee have I derived my birth. My first birth from thee, which is regarded sacred by all regenerate persons, was due to a fiat of thy Mind. My second birth in days of yore was from thy eyes. Through thy Grace, my third birth was from thy speech. My fourth birth. O puissant Lord, was from thy ears. My fifth birth, excellent in all respects, was from thy nose. O Lord, My sixth birth was, through thee, from an egg. This is my seventh birth. It has occurred, O Lord, within this Lotus, and it is meant to stimulate the intellect and desires of all the beings. At each Creation I take birth from thee as thy son, O thou that art divested of the three attributes. Indeed, O lotus-eyed one, I take birth as thy eldest son, made up of Sattwa the foremost of three attributes. Thou art endued with that nature which is Supreme. Thou springest from thyself. I have been created by thee. The Vedas are my eyes. Hence, I transcend Time itself. Those Vedas, which constitute my eyes, have been taken away from me. I have, therefore, become blind. Do Thou awake from this Yoga-sleep. Give me back my eyes. I am dear to thee and thou art dear to me. Thus praised by Brahma, the illustrious Purusha, with face turned towards every side, then shook off his slumber, resolved to recover the Vedas (from the Daityas that had forcibly snatched them away). Applying his Yoga-puissance, he assumed a second form. His body, equipt with an excellent nose, became as bright as the Moon. He assumed an equine head of great effulgence, which was the abode of the Vedas. The firmament, with all its luminaries and constellations, became the crown of his head. His locks of hair were long and flowing, and had the splendour of the rays of the Sun. The regions above and below became his two ears. The Earth became his forehead. The two rivers Ganga and Saraswati became his two hips. The two oceans became his two eye-brows. The Sun and the Moon became his two eyes. The twilight became his nose. The syllable Om became his memory and intelligence. The lightning became his tongue. The Soma-drinking Pitris became, it is said, his teeth. The two regions of felicity, viz., Goloka and Brahmaloka, became his upper and lower lips. The terrible night that succeeds universal destruction, and that transcends the three attributes, became his neck. Having assumed this form endued with the equine head and having diverse things for its diverse limbs, the Lord of the universe disappeared then and there, and proceeded to the nether regions. Having reached those regions, he set himself to high Yoga. Adopting a voice regulated by the rules of the science called Siksha, he began to utter loudly Vedic Mantras. His pronunciation was distinct and reverberated through the air, and was sweet in every respect. The sound of his voice filled the nether region from end to end. Endued with the properties of all the elements, it was productive of great benefits. The two Asuras, making an appointment with the Vedas in respect of the time when they would come back to take them up again, threw them down in the nether region, and ran towards the spot whence those sounds appeared to come. Meanwhile, O king, the Supreme Lord with the equine head, otherwise called Hari, who was himself in the nether region, took up all the Vedas. Returning to where Brahma was staying, he gave the Vedas unto him. Having restored the Vedas unto Brahma, the Supreme Lord once more returned to his own nature. The Supreme Lord also established his form with the equine head in the North-Eastern region of the great ocean. Having (in this way) established him who was the abode of the Vedas, he once more became the equine-headed form that he was. The two Danavas Madhu and Kaitabha, not finding the person from whom those sounds proceeded, quickly came back to that spot. They cast their eyes around but beheld that the spot on which they had thrown the Vedas was empty. Those two foremost of mighty Beings, adopting great speed of motion, rose from the nether region. Returning to where the primeval Lotus was that had given them birth, they saw the puissant Being, the original Creator, staying in the form of Aniruddha of fair complexion and endued with a splendour resembling that of the Moon. Of immeasurable prowess, he was under the influence of Yoga-sleep, his body stretched on the waters and occupying a space as vast as itself. Possessed of great effulgence and endued with the attribute of stainless Sattwa, the body of the Supreme Lord lay on the excellent hood of a snake that seemed to emit flames of fire for the resplendence attaching to it. Beholding the Lord thus lying, the two foremost of Danavas roared out a loud laugh. Endued with the attributes of Rajas and Tamas, they said.--'This is that Being of white complexion. He is now lying asleep. Without doubt, this one has brought the Vedas away from the nether region. Whose is he? Whose is he? Who is he? Why is he thus asleep on the hood of a snake: Uttering these words, the two Danavas awakened Hari from his Yoga-slumber. The foremost of Beings, (viz., Narayana), thus awakened, understood that the two Danavas intended to have an encounter with him in battle. Beholding the two foremost of Asuras prepared to do battle with him, he also set his mind to gratify that desire of theirs. Thereupon an encounter took place between those two on one side and Narayana on the other. The Asuras Madhu and Kaitabha were embodiments of the attributes of Rajas and Tamas. Narayana slew them both for gratifying Brahma. He thence came to be called by the name of Madhusudana (slayer of Madhu). Having compassed the destruction of the two Asuras and restored the Vedas to Brahma, the Supreme Being dispelled the grief of Brahma. Aided then by Hari and assisted by the Vedas, Brahma created all the worlds with their mobile and immobile creatures. After this, Hari, granting unto the Grandsire intelligence of the foremost order relating to the Creation, disappeared there and then for going to the place he had come from. It was thus that Narayana, having assumed the form equipt with the horse-head, slew the two Danavas Madhu and Kaitabha (and disappeared from the sight of Brahma). Once more, however, he assumed the same form for the sake of causing the religion of Pravritti to flow in the universe.'

"Thus did the blessed Hari assume in days of old that grand form having the equine head. This, of all his forms, endued with puissance, is celebrated as the most ancient. That person who frequently listens or mentally recites this history of the assumption by Narayana of the form equipt with the equine head, will never forget his Vedic or other lore. Having adored with the austerest penances the illustrious deity with the equine head, the Rishi Panchala (otherwise known as Galava) acquired the science of Krama by proceeding along the path pointed out by the deity (Rudra). I have thus recited to thee, O king the old story of Hayasiras, consistent with the Vedas about which thou hadst asked me. Whatever forms, the Supreme Deity desires to assume with a view to ordaining the various affairs of the universe, he assumes those forms immediately within himself by exercise of his own inherent powers. The Supreme Deity, endued with every prosperity, is the receptacle of the Vedas. He is the receptacle of Penances also. The puissant Hari is Yoga. He is the embodiment of the Sankhya philosophy. He is that Para Brahman of which we hear. Truth has Narayana for its refuge. Rita has Narayana for its soul. The religion of Nivritti, in which there is no return, has Narayana for its high abode. The other religion which has Pravritti for its basis, has equally Narayana for its soul. The foremost of all the attributes that belong to the element of Earth is scent. Scent has Narayana for its soul. The attributes of Water, O king, are called the Tastes (of the various kinds). These Tastes have Narayana for their soul. The foremost attribute of Light is form. Form also has Narayana for its soul. Touch, which is the attribute of Wind, is also said to have Narayana for its soul. Sound, which is an attribute of space, has like the others, Narayana for its soul. Mind also, which is the attribute of the unmanifest (Prakriti), has Narayana for its soul. Time which is computed by the motion of the celestial luminaries has similarly Narayana for its soul. The presiding deities of Fame, of Beauty, and of Prosperity have the same Supreme Deity for their soul. Both

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the Sankhya philosophy and Yoga have Narayana for their soul. The Supreme Being is the cause of all this, as Purusha. He is, again the cause of everything, as Pradhana (or Prakriti). He is Swabhaba (the basis on which all things rest). He is the doer or agent, and is the cause of that variety that is witnessed in the universe. He is the diverse kinds of energy that act in the universe. In these five ways he is that all-controlling invisible influence of which people speak. Those employed in investigating the several topics of enquiry with the aid of such reasons as are of wide application, regard Hari to be identical with the five reasons adverted to above and as the final refuge of all things. Indeed, the puissant Narayana, endued with the highest Yoga puissance, is the one topic (of enquiry). The thoughts of the denizen of all the worlds including Brahma and the high-souled Rishis, of those that are Sankhyas and Yogins, of those that are Yatis, and of those, generally, that are conversant with the Soul are fully known to Kesava, but none of these can know what is thoughts are. Whatever acts are performed in honour of the gods or the Pitris, whatever gifts are made, whatever penances are performed, have Vishnu for their refuge,--who is established upon his own supreme ordinances. He is named Vasudeva because of his being the abode of all creatures. He is immutable. He, is Supreme. He is the foremost of Rishis. He is endued with the highest puissance. He is said to transcend the three attributes. As Time (which runs smoothly without any sign) assumes indications when it manifests itself in the form of successive seasons, even so He, though really divested of attributes (for manifesting Himself). Even they that are high-souled do not succeed in understanding his motions. Only those foremost of Rishis that have knowledge of their Souls, succeed in beholding in their hearts that Purusha who transcends all attributes."

SECTION 349

Janamejaya said, "The illustrious Hari becomes gracious unto them that are devoted to him with their whole souls. He accepts also all worship that is offered to Him agreeably to the ordinance. Of those persons that have burnt off their fuel, and that are divested of both merit and demerit, that have attained the Knowledge as handed down from preceptor to preceptor--such persons always attain to that end which is called the fourth, viz., the essence of the Purushottama or Vasudeva,--through the three others. Those persons, however, that are devoted to Narayana with their whole souls at once attain to the highest end Without doubt, the religion of devotion seems to be superior (to that of Knowledge) and is very dear to Narayana. These, without going through the three successive stages (of Aniruddha, Pradyumna, and Sankarshana), at once attain to the immutable Hari. The end that is attained by Brahmanas, who, attending to due observances, study the Vedas with the Upanishads according to the rules laid down for regulating such study, and by those that adopt the religion of Yatis, is inferior, I think, to that attained by persons devoted to Hari with their whole souls. Who first promulgated this religion of Devotion? Was it some deity or some Rishi that declared it? What are the practices of those that are said to be devoted with their whole souls? When did those practices begin? I have doubts on these topics. Do thou remove those doubts. Great is nay curiosity to hear thee explain the several points."

Vaisampayana said, "When the diverse divisions of the Pandava and the Kuru armies were drawn up in the array for the battle and when Arjuna became cheerless, the holy one himself explained the question of what is the end and what is not the end attained by persons of different characters. I have before this recited to thee the words of the holy one. The religion preached by the holy one on that occasion is difficult of comprehension. Men of uncleansed souls cannot apprehend it at all. Having created this religion in days of yore, viz., in the Krita age, in perfect consonance with the Samans, it is borne, O king, by the Supreme Lord, viz., Narayana, himself. This very topic was raised by the highly blessed Partha to Narada (for the latter's discourse) in the midst of the Rishis and in the presence of Krishna and Bhishma. My preceptor, viz., the Island-born Krishna heard what Narada said. Receiving it from the celestial Rishis, O best of kings, my preceptor imparted it to me in exactly the same way in which he had obtained it from the celestial Rishi. I shall now recite it to thee, O monarch, in the same way as it has been received from Narada. Listen, therefore, to me. In that Kalpa when Brahma the Creator, O king, took his birth in the mind of Narayana and issued from the latter's mouth, Narayana himself performed, O Bharata, his Daiva and Paitra rites in accordance with this religion. Those Rishis that subsist upon the froth of water then obtained it from Narayana. From the froth-eating Rishis, this religion was obtained by those Rishis that go by the name of Vaikanasas. From the Vaikanasas, Shoma got it. Afterwards, it disappeared from the universe. After the second birth of Brahma, viz., when he sprang from the eyes of Narayana, O king, the Grandsire (that is. Brahma) then received this religion from Shoma. Having received it thus, Brahma imparted this religion, which has Narayana for its soul, unto Rudra. In the Krita age of that ancient Kalpa, Rudra, devoted to Yoga, O monarch, communicated it to all those Rishis that are known by the name of Valikhilyas. Through the illusion of Narayana, it once more disappeared from the universe. In the third birth of Brahma, which was due to the speech of Narayana, this religion once more sprang up, O king, from Narayana himself. Then a Rishi of the name of Suparna obtained it from that foremost of Beings. The Rishi Suparna used to recite this excellent religion, this foremost of cults, three times during the day. In consequence of this, it came to be called by the name of Trisauparna in the world. This religion has been referred to in the Rigveda. The duties it inculcates are exceedingly difficult of observance. From the Rishi Suparna, this eternal religion was obtained, O foremost of men, by the God of wind, that sustainer of the lives of all creatures in the universe. The God of wind communicated it unto such Rishis as subsist upon what remains of sacrificial offerings after feeding guests and others. From those Rishis this excellent religion was obtained by the Great Ocean. It once more disappeared from the universe and became merged into Narayana. In the next birth of the high-souled Brahman when he Sprang from the ear of Narayana, listen, O chief of men, to what happened in that Kalpa. The illustrious Narayana, otherwise called Hari, when he resolved upon Creation, thought of a Being who would be puissant enough to create the universe. While thinking of this, a Being sprang from his ears competent to create the universe. The Lord of all called him by the name of Brahma. Addressing Brahma, the Supreme Narayana said unto him,--Do thou, O son, create all kinds of creatures from thy mouth and feet. O thou of excellent vows, I shall do what will be beneficial for thee, for I shall impart to thee both energy and strength sufficient to render thee competent for this task. Do thou receive also from me this excellent religion known by the name of Sattwata. Aided by that religion do thou create the Krita age and ordain it duly. Thus addressed, Brahma bowed his head unto the illustrious Hari, the god of the gods and received from him that foremost of all cults with all its mysteries and its abstract of details, together with the Aranyakas,--viz., that cult, which sprang from the mouth of Narayana. Narayana then instructed Brahma of immeasurable energy in that cult, and addressing him, said,--Thou art the creator of the duties that are to be observed in the respective Yugas. Having said this unto Brahma, Narayana disappeared and proceeded to that spot which is beyond the reach of Tamas, where the Unmanifest resides, and which is known by the men of acts without desire of fruits. After this, the boon-giving Brahma, the Grandsire of the worlds, created the different worlds with their mobile and immobile creatures. The age that first commenced was highly auspicious and came to be called by the name of Krita. In that age, the religion of Sattwa existed, pervading the entire universe. 1 With the aid of that primeval religion of righteousness, Brahma, the Creator of all the worlds, worshipped the Lord of all the deities, viz., the puissant Narayana, otherwise called Hari. Then for the spread of that religion and desirous of benefiting the worlds, Brahman instructed that Manu who is known by the name of Swarochish in that cult. Swarochish-Manu, that Lord of all the worlds, that foremost of all persons endued with puissance, then cheerfully imparted the knowledge of that cult to his own son, O king, who was known by the name of Sankhapada. The son of Manu, viz., Sankhapada, communicated the knowledge of that to his own son Suvarnabha who was the Regent of the cardinal and subsidiary points of the compass. When, upon the expiration of the Kriti Yuga, the Treta came, that cult once more disappeared from the world. In a subsequent birth of Brahman, O best of kings, viz., that which was derived from the nose of Narayana. O Bharata, the illustrious and puissant Narayana or Hari with eyes like lotus petals, himself sang this religion in the presence of Brahma. Then the son of Brahma, created by a fiat of his will, viz., Sanatkumara, studied this cult. From Sanatkumara, the Prajapati Virana, in the beginning of the Krita age, O tiger among Kurus, obtained this cult. Virana having studied it in this way, taught it to the ascetic Raivya. Raivya, in his turn, imparted it to his son of pure soul, good vows, and great intelligence, viz., Kukshi, that righteous Regent of the cardinal and subsidiary points of the compass. After this, that cult, born of the mouth of Narayana, once more disappeared from the world. In the next birth of Brahma, viz., that which he was derived from an egg which sprang from Hari, this cult once more issued from the mouth of Narayana. It was received by Brahma, O king, and practised duly in all its details by him. Brahma then communicated it, O monarch, to those Rishis that are known by the name of Varhishada. From the Varhishadas it was obtained by a Brahmana well-versed in the Sama-Veda, and known by the name of Jeshthya. And because he was well-versed with the Samans, therefore was he known also by the name of Jeshthya-Samavrata Hari. From the Brahmana known by the name of Jeshthya, this cult was obtained by a king of the name of Avikampana. After this, that cult, derived from the puissant Hari, once more disappeared from the world. During the seventh birth of Brahma due to the lotus, O king, that sprang from the navel of Narayana, this cult was once more declared by Narayana himself, unto the Grandsire of pure soul, the Creator of all the worlds, in the beginning of this Kalpa. The Grandsire gave it in days of yore to Daksha (one of his sons created by a fiat of his will). Daksha, in his turn, imparted it to the eldest of all the sons of his daughters, O monarch, viz., Aditya who is senior in age to Savitri. From Aditya, Vivaswat obtained it. In the beginning of the Treta Yuga, Vivaswat imparted the knowledge of this cult to Manu. Manu, for the protection and support of all the worlds, then gave it to his son Ikshaku. Promulgated by Ikshaku, that cult over-spreads the whole world. When the universal destruction comes, it will once more return to Narayana and be merged in Him. The religion which is followed and practised by the Yatis, has, O best of kings, been narrated to thee before this in the Hari Gita, with all its ordinances in brief. The celestial Rishi Narada got it from that Lord of universe, viz., Narayana himself, O king, with all its mysteries and abstract of details. Thus, O monarch, this foremost of cults is primeval and eternal. Incapable of being comprehended with ease and exceedingly difficult of being practised, it is always upheld by persons wedded to the attribute of Sattwa. It is by means of acts that are well-performed and accomplished with a full knowledge of duties and in which there is nothing of injury to any creature,--that Hari the Supreme Lord becomes gratified. Some persons adore Narayana as possessed of only one form, viz., that of Aniruddha. Some adore Him as endued with two forms, viz., that of Aniruddha and Pradyumna. Some adore Him as having three forms, viz., Aniruddha, Pradyumna, and Sankarshana. A fourth class adore him as consisting of four forms, viz., Aniruddha, Pradyumna, Sankarshana, and Vasudeva. Hari is Himself the Kshetrajna (Soul). He is without parts (being ever full). He is the Jiva in all creatures, transcending the five primal elements. He is the Mind, O monarch, that directs and controls the five senses. Endued with the highest intelligence. He is the Ordainer of the universe, and the Creator thereof. He is both active and inactive. He is both Cause and the Effect. He is the one immutable Purusha, who sports as He likes, O king. Thus have I recited to thee the religion of desireless Devotees, O best of kings, incapable of being comprehended by persons of uncleansed souls but this I acquired through the grace of my preceptor. Persons are very rare, O king, that are devoted to Narayana with whole souls. If, O son of Kuru's race the world had been full of such persons, that are full of universal compassion, that are endued with knowledge of the soul, and that are always employed in doing good to others, then the Krita age would have set in. All men would have betaken themselves to the accomplishment of acts without desire of fruit. It was even in this way, O monarch, that, that foremost of regenerate persons, (viz., the illustrious Vyasa), my preceptor, fully conversant with all duties, discoursed unto king Yudhishthira the just on this religion of Devotion, in the presence of many Rishis and in the hearing of Krishna and Bhishma. He had obtained it from the celestial Rishi Narada endued with wealth of penances. Those persons that are devoted to Narayana with their whole souls and are desireless succeed in attaining to the region of that highest of deities, identical with Brahma, pure in complexion, possessed of the effulgence of the moon and endued with immutability.

Janamejaya said, "I see that those regenerate persons whose souls have been awakened practise diverse kinds of duties. Why is it that other Brahmanas instead of practising those duties betake themselves to the observance of other kinds of vows and rites?"

Vaisampayana said, "Three kinds of disposition, O monarch, have been created in respect of all embodied creatures, viz., that which relates to the attribute of Sattwa, that which relates to the attribute of Rajas, and lastly that which relates to the attribute of Tamas, O Bharata. As regards embodied creatures, O perpetuator of Kuru's race, that person is the foremost who is wedded to the attribute of Sattwa, for, O tiger among men, it is certain that he will attain to Emancipation. It is with the aid of this very attribute of Sattwa that one endued therewith succeeds in understanding the person that is conversant with Brahma. As regards Emancipation, it is entirely dependent upon Narayana. Hence it is that persons striving after Emancipation are regarded as made up of the attribute of Sattwa. By thinking of Purushottama the foremost of Beings, the man that is devoted with his whole soul to Narayana, acquires great wisdom. Those persons that are endued with wisdom, that have betaken themselves to the practices of Yatis and the religion of Emancipation,--those persons of quenched thirst, always find that Hari favours them with the fruition of their desire. 1 That man subject to birth (and death) upon whom Hari casts a kind eye should be known as endued with the attribute of Sattwa and devoted to the acquisition of Emancipation. The religion followed by a person that is devoted with his whole soul to Narayana is regarded as similar or equal in merit to the system of the Sankhyas. By adopting that religion one attains to the highest end and attains to Emancipation which has Narayana for its soul. That person upon whom Narayana looks with compassion succeeds in becoming awakened.

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[Buddha or Pratibuddha literally implies awakened. The sense, of course, is that such a person has succeeded in casting off all impurities and desires. He has, as it were been awakened from the slumber of ignorance or darkness.] No one, O king, can become awakened through his own wishes. That nature which partakes of both Rajas and Tamas is said to be mixed. Hari never casts a kind eye upon the person subject to birth (and death) that is endued with such a mixed nature and that has, on that account, the principle of Pravritti in him. Only Brahma, the Grandsire of the worlds, looks upon the person that is subject to birth and death because of his mind being overwhelmed with the two inferior attributes of Rajas and Tamas. [Those that follow the religion of Pravritti acquire heaven, etc., through their merits. The religion of Nivritti, however, leads to Emancipation / Enlightenment. It is Narayana that looks upon men that betake to Nivritti.] Without doubt, the deities and the Rishis are wedded to the attributes of Sattwa, O best of kings. But then they that are divested of that attribute in its subtile form are always regarded to be of mutable nature". [What is stated here is this the deities and Rishis are certainly endued with Sattwa. But then that Sattwa is of a great form. Hence, they cannot attain to Emancipation. It is only that Sattwa which is of subtile form that leads to Emancipation. The deities, without being able to attain to Emancipation, remain in a state that is mutable or fraught with change.]

Janamejaya said, "How can one that is fraught with the principle of change succeed in attaining to that Purushottama (the foremost of Purusha)? Do tell me all this, which is, no doubt, known to thee. Do thou discourse to me also of Pravritti in due order."

Vaisampayana said, "That which is the twenty-fifth (in the enumeration of topics as made in the Sankhya system) viz., when it becomes able to abstain entirely from acts, succeeds in attaining to the Purushottama which is exceedingly subtile, which is invested with the attribute of Sattwa (in its subtile form), and which is fraught with the essences symbolised by three letters of the alphabet (viz., A, U, and M). The Sankhya system, the Aranyaka-Veda, and the Pancharatra scriptures, are all one and the same and form parts of one whole. Even this is the religion of those that are devoted with their whole souls to Narayana, the religion that has Narayana for its essence. As waves of the ocean, rising from the ocean, rush away from it only to return to it in the end, even so diverse kinds of knowledge, springing from Narayana, return to Narayana in the end. I have thus explained to thee, O son of Kuru's race, what the religion of Sattwa is. If thou beest competent for it, O Bharata, do thou practise that religion duly. Even thus did the highly-blessed Narada explain to my preceptor,--the Island-born Krishna--the eternal and immutable course, called Ekanta, (ending in One) followed by the Whites as also by the yellow-robed Yatis. Vyasa gratified with Dharma's son Yudhishthira, imparted this religion to king Yudhishthira the just who was possessed of great intelligence. Derived from my preceptor I have also communicated it to thee! O best of kings, this religion is for these reasons, exceedingly difficult of practice. Others, hearing it, become as much confounded as thou hast suffered thyself to be. It is Krishna who is the protector of the universe and its beguiler. It is He who is the destroyer and the cause, O monarch."

SECTION 350

Janamejaya said, "The Sankhya system, the Pancharatra scriptures, and the Aranyaka-Vedas,--these different systems of knowledge or religion,--O regenerate Rishi, are current in the world. Do all these systems preach the same course of duties, or are the courses of duties preached by them, O ascetic, different from one another? Questioned by me, do thou discourse to me on Pravritti in due order!"

Vaisampayana said, "I bow unto that great Rishi who is the dispeller of darkness, and whom Satyavati bore to Parasara in the midst of an island, who is possessed of great knowledge and who is endued with great liberality of soul. The learned say that he is the origin of the Grandsire Brahma; that he is the sixth form of Narayana; that he is the foremost of Rishis; that he is endued with the puissance of Yoga; that as the only son of his parents he is an incarnate portion of Narayana; and that, born under extraordinary circumstances on an Island, he is the inexhaustible receptacle of the Vedas. In the Krita age, Narayana of great puissance and mighty energy, created him as his son. Verily, the high-souled Vyasa is unborn and ancient and is the inexhaustible receptacle of the Vedas!"

Janamejaya said, "O best of regenerate persons, it was thou that saidst before this that the Rishi Vasishtha had a son of the name of Saktri and that Saktri had a son of the name of Parasara, and that Parasara begot a son named the Island-born Krishna endued with great ascetic merit. Thou tellest me again that Vyasa is the son of Narayana. I ask, was it in some former birth that Vyasa of immeasurable energy had sprung from Narayana? O thou of great intelligence, do tell me of that birth of Vyasa which was due to Narayana!"

Vaisampayana said, "Desirous of understanding the meaning of the Srutis, my preceptor, that ocean of penances, who is exceedingly devoted to the observance of all scriptural duties and the acquisition of knowledge, dwelt for some time in a particular region of the Himavat mountains. Endued with great intelligence, he became fatigued with his penances in consequence of the great strain on his energies occasioned by the composition of the Mahabharata. At that time, Sumanta and Jaimini and Paila of firm vows and myself numbering the fourth, and Suka his own son, attended on him. All of us, O king, in view of the fatigue our preceptor felt, waited dutifully upon him, engaged in doing all that was necessary for dispelling that fatigue of his. Surrounded by these disciples of his, Vyasa shone in beauty on the breast of the Himavat mountains like the Lord of all the ghostly beings, viz., Mahadeva, in the midst of those ghostly attendants of his. Having recapitulated the Vedas with all their branches as also the meanings of all the Verses in the Mahabharata, one day, with rapt attention, all of us approached our preceptor who, having controlled his senses, was at time rapt up in thought. Availing ourselves of an interval in the conversation, we asked that foremost of regenerate persons to expound to us the meanings of the Vedas and the Verses in the Mahabharata and narrate to us the incidents as well of his own birth from Narayana. Conversant as he was with all topics of enquiry, he at first discoursed to us on the interpretations of the Srutis and the Mahabharata, and then set himself to narrate to us the following incidents relating to his birth from Narayana.

"Vyasa said, 'Listen, ye disciples, to this foremost of narratives, to this best of histories that relates again to the birth of a Rishi. Appertaining to the Krita age, this narrative has become known to me through my penances, ye regenerate ones. On the occasion of the seventh creation, viz., that which was due to the primeval Lotus, Narayana, endued with the austerest penances, transcending both good and ill, and possessed of unrivalled splendour, at first created Brahma, from his navel. After Brahma had started into birth, Narayana addressed him, saying; Thou halt sprung from my navel. Endued with puissance in respect of creation, do thou set thyself to create diverse kinds of creatures, rational and irrational. Thus addressed by the author of his being, Brahma with his mind penetrated by anxiety, felt the difficulty of his task and became unwilling to do what he was commenced to do. Bowing his head unto the boon-giving and illustrious Hari, the Lord of the universe, Brahma said these words unto him,--I bow to thee, O Lord of the deities, but I ask what puissance have I to create diverse creatures? I have no wisdom. Do thou ordain what should be ordained in view of this. Thus addressed by Brahma, the Lord of the universe, viz., Narayana, disappeared there and then from Brahma's sight. The Supreme Lord, the god of gods, the chief of those endowed with intelligence, then began to think. The Goddess of Intelligence forthwith made her appearance before the puissant Narayana. Himself transcending all Yoga, Narayana then, by dint of Yoga, applied the Goddess of Intelligence properly. The illustrious and puissant and immutable Hari, addressing the Goddess of Intelligence who was endued with activity and goodness and all the puissance of Yoga, said unto her these words:--For the accomplishment of the task of creating all the worlds do thou enter into Brahma. Commanded thus by the Supreme Lord, Intelligence forthwith entered Brahma. When Hari beheld that Brahma had become united with Intelligence. He once more addressed him, saying--Do thou now create diverse kinds of creatures.--Replaying unto Narayana by uttering the word 'Yes,' Brahma reverently accepted the command of his progenitor. Narayana then disappeared from Brahma's presence, and in a moment repaired to his own place, known by the name of Deva (Light or Effulgence). Returning to His own disposition (of Uumanifestness), Hari remained in that state of oneness. After the task of creation, however, had been accomplished by Brahma, another thought arose in the mind of Narayana. Indeed, he reflected in this strain:--Brahma, otherwise called Parameshthi, has created all these creatures, consisting of Daityas and Danavas and Gandharvas and Rakshasas. The helpless Earth has become burthened with the weight of creatures. Many among the Daityas and Danavas and Rakshasas on Earth will become endued with great strength. Possessed of penances, they will at diverse times succeed in acquiring many excellent boons. Swelling with pride and might in consequence of those boons that they will succeed in obtaining, they will oppress and afflict the deities and the Rishis possessed of ascetic might. It is, therefore, meet that I should now and then lighten the burthen of the Earth, by assuming diverse forms one after another as occasion would require. I shall achieve this task by chastising the wicked and upholding the righteous. (Thus looked after by me), the Earth, which is the embodiment of Truth, will succeed in bearing her load of creatures. Assuming the form of a mighty snake I myself have to uphold the Earth in empty space. Upheld by me thus, she will uphold the entire creation, mobile and immobile. Incarnated on the Earth, therefore, in different forms, I shall have to rescue her at such times from peril. Having reflected in this way, the illustrious slayer of Madhu created diverse forms in his mind in which to appear from time to time for accomplishing the task in view. Assuming the form of a Boar, of Man-lion, of a Dwarf, and of human beings, I shall quell or slay such enemies of the deities as will become wicked and ungovernable. After this, the original Creator of the universe once more uttered the syllable, Bho, causing the atmosphere to resound with it. From this syllable of speech (Saraswati) arose a Rishi of the name Saraswat. The son, thus born of the Speech of Narayana, came to be, also called by the name of Apantara-tamas. Endued with great puissance, he was fully conversant with the past, the present, and the future. Firm in the observance of vows, he was truthful in speech. Unto that Rishi who, after birth, had bowed his head unto Narayana, the latter, who was the original Creator of all the deities and possessed of a nature that was immutable, said those words: Thou shouldst devote thy attention to the distribution of the Vedas, O foremost of all persons endued with intelligence. Do thou, therefore, O ascetic, accomplish what I command thee.--In obedience to this command of the Supreme Lord from whose Speech the Rishi Apantaratamas sprang into existence, the latter, in the Kalpa named after the Self-born Manu, distributed and arranged the Vedas. For that act of the Rishi, the illustrious Hari became gratified with him, as also for his well-performed penances, his vow and observances, and his restraint of the senses or passions. Addressing him,--Narayana said,--At each Manwantara, O son, thou wilt act in this way with respect to the Vedas. Thou shalt, in consequence of this act of thine, be immutable, O regenerate one, and incapable of being transcended by any one. When the Kali age will set in, certain princes of Bharata's line, to be called by the name of Kauravas, will take their birth from thee. They will be celebrated over the Earth as high-souled princes ruling over powerful kingdoms. Born of thee, dissensions will break out among them ending in their destruction at one another's hands excepting yourself. O foremost of regenerate persons, in that age also, endued with austere penances, thou wilt distribute the Vedas into diverse classes. Indeed, in that dark age, thy complexion will become dark. Thou shalt cause diverse kinds of duties to flow and diverse kinds of knowledge also. Although endued with austere penances, yet thou shalt never be able to free thyself from desire and attachment to the world. Thy son, however, will be freed from every attachment like unto the Supreme Soul, through the grace of Madhava. It will not be otherwise. He whom learned Brahmanas call the mind-born son of the Grandsire, viz., Vasishtha endued with great intelligence and like unto an ocean of penances, and whose splendour transcends that of the Sun himself, will be the progenitor of a race in which a great Rishi of the name of Parasara, possessed of mighty energy and prowess, will take his birth. That foremost of persons, that ocean of Vedas, that abode of penances, will become thy sire (when thou wilt take birth in the Kali age). Thou shalt take thy birth as the son of a maiden residing in the house of her sire, through an act of congress with the great Rishi Parasara. Doubts thou wilt have none with respect to the imports of things past, present, and future. Endued with penances and instructed by me, thou wilt behold the incidents of thousands and thousands of ages long past away. Thou wilt see through thousands and thousands of ages also in the future. Thou shalt, in that birth, behold me, O ascetic,--me that am without birth and death,--incarnated on Earth (as Krishna of Yadu's race), armed with the discus. All this will happen to thee, O ascetic, through the merit that will be thine in consequence of thy ceaseless devotion to me. These words of mine will never be otherwise. Thou shalt be one of the foremost of creatures. Great shall be thy fame. Surya's son Sani (Saturn) will, in a future Kalpa, take birth as the great Manu of that period. During that Manwantara, O son, thou shalt, in respect of merits, be superior to even the Manus of the several periods. Without doubt, thou shalt be so through my grace. Whatever exists in the world represents the result of my exertion. The thoughts of others may not correspond with their acts. As regards myself, however, I always ordain what I think, without the least impediment! Having said these words unto the Rishi Apantaratamas, otherwise called by the name of Saraswat, the Supreme Lord dismissed him, saying unto him.--Go. I am he that was born as Apantaratamas through the command of Hari. Once more have I taken birth as the celebrated Krishna-Dwaipayana, a delighter of the race of Vasishtha. I have thus told you, my dear disciples, the circumstances, of my own former birth which was due to the grace of Narayana in so much that I was a very portion of Narayana himself. Ye foremost of intelligent persons, I underwent, in days of yore, the austerest penances, with the aid of the highest abstraction of the mind. Ye sons, moved by my great affection for yourselves that are devoted to me with reverence, I have told you everything relating to what you wished to know from me, viz., my first birth in days of remote antiquity and that other birth subsequent to it (viz., the present one)!"

Vaisampayana continued, "I have thus narrated to thee, O monarch, the circumstances connected with the former birth of our revered preceptor, viz., Vyasa of unstained mind, as asked by thee. Listen to me once again. There are diverse kinds of cults, O royal sage, that go by diverse names such as Sankhya, Yoga, the Pancha-ratra, Vedas, and Pasupati. The promulgator of Sankhya cult is said to be the great Rishi

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Kapila. The primeval Hiranyagarbha, and none else, is the promulgator of the Yoga system. The Rishi Apantaratamas is said to be the preceptor of the Vedas, some call that Rishi by the name of Prachina-garbha. The cult known by the name of Pasupata was promulgated by the Lord of Uma, that master of all creatures, viz., the cheerful Siva, otherwise known by the name of Sreekantha, the son of Brahma. The illustrious Narayana is himself the promulgator of the cult, in its entirety, contained in the Pancharatra scriptures. In all these cults, O foremost of kings, it is seen that the puissant Narayana is the one sole object of exposition. According to the scriptures of these cults and the measure of knowledge they contain, Narayana is the one sole object of worship they inculcate. Those persons whose visions, O king, are blinded by darkness, fail to understand that Narayana is the Supreme Soul pervading the entire universe. Those persons of wisdom who are the authors of the scriptures say that Narayana, who is a Rishi, is the one object of reverent worship in the universe. I say that there is no other being like Him. The Supreme Deity, called by the name of Hari, resides in the hearts of those that have succeeded (with the aid of the scriptures and of inference) in dispelling all doubts. Madhava never resides in the hearts of those that are under the sway of doubts and that would dispute away everything with the aid of false dialectics. They that are conversant with the Pancharatra scriptures, that are duly observant of the duties laid down therein, and that are devoted to Narayana with their whole souls, succeed in entering into Narayana. The Sankhya and the Yoga systems are eternal. All the Vedas, again, O monarch, are eternal. The Rishis, in all these systems of cult, have declared that this universe existing from ancient times is Narayana's self. Thou shouldst know that whether acts, good or bad, are laid down in the Vedas and occurrence in heaven and Earth, between the sky and the waters, are all caused by and flow from that ancient Rishi Narayana.

SECTION 351

Janamejaya said, "O regenerate one, are there many Purushas or is there only one? Who, in the universe, is the foremost of Purushas? What, again, is said to be the source of all things?"

Vaisampayana said, In the speculations of the Sankhya and the Yoga systems many Purushas have been spoken of, O jewel of Kuru's race. Those that follow these systems do not accept that there is but one Purusha in the universe. In the same manner in which the many Purushas are said to have one origin in the Supreme Purusha, it may be said that this entire universe is identical with that one Purusha of superior attributes. I shall explain this now, after bowing to my preceptor Vyasa, that foremost of Rishis, who is conversant with the soul, endued with penances, self-restrained, and worthy of reverent worship. This speculation on Purusha, O king, occurs in all the Vedas. It is well known to be identical with Rita and Truth. The foremost of Rishis, viz., Vyasa, has thought upon it. Having occupied themselves with reflection on what is called Adhyatma, diverse Rishis, O king, having Kapila for their first, have declared their opinions on the topic both generally and particularly. Through the grace of Vyasa of immeasurable energy, I shall expound to thee what Vyasa has said in brief on this question of the Oneness of Purusha. In this connection is cited the old narrative of the discourse between Brahma, O king, and the Three-eyed Mahadeva. In the midst of the Ocean of milk, there is a very high mountain of great effulgence like that of gold, known, O monarch, by the name of Vaijayanta. Repairing thither all alone, from his own abode of great splendour and felicity, the illustrious deity Brahma used very often to pass his time, engaged in thinking on the course of Adhyatma. While the four-faced Brahma of great intelligence was seated there, his son Mahadeva, who had sprung from his forehead encountered him one day in course of his wanderings through the universe. In days of yore, the Three-eyed Siva endued with puissance and high Yoga, while proceeding along the sky, beheld Brahma seated on that mountain and, therefore, dropped down quickly on its top. With a cheerful heart he presented him before his progenitor and worshipped his feet. Beholding Mahadeva prostrated at his feet, Brahma took him up with his left hand. Having thus raised Mahadeva up, Brahma, that puissant and one Lord of all creatures, then addressed his son, whom he met after a long time, in these words.

"The Grandsire said, 'Welcome art thou, O thou of mighty arms. By good luck I see thee after such a long time come to my presence. I hope, O son, that everything is right with thy penances and thy Vedic studies and recitations. Thou art always observant of the austerest penances. Hence I ask thee about the progress and well-being of those penances of thine!'

"Rudra said, 'O illustrious one, through thy grace, all is well with my penances and Vedic studies. It is all right, again, with the universe. I saw thy illustrious self a long while ago in thy own home of felicity and effulgence. I am coming thence to this mountain that is now the abode of thy feet. Great is the curiosity excited in my mind by this withdrawal of thyself into such a lone spot from thy usual region of felicity and splendour. Great must the reason be, O Grandsire, for such an act on thy part. Thy own foremost abode is free from the pains of hunger and thirst, and inhabited by both deities and Asuras, by Rishis of immeasurable splendour, as also by Gandharvas and Apsaras. Abandoning such a spot of felicity, thou residest alone in this foremost of mountains. The cause of this cannot but be grave.

"Brahma said, 'This foremost of mountains, called Vaijayanta, is always my residence. Here, with concentrated mind, I meditate on the one universal Purusha of infinite proportions.'

"Rudra said, 'Self-born thou art. Many are the Purushas that have been created by thee. Others again, O Brahma, are being created by thee. The Infinite Purusha, however, of whom thou speakest, is one and single. Who is that foremost of Purushas, O Brahma, that is being meditated by thee? Great is the curiosity I feel on this point. Do thou kindly dispel the doubt that has taken possession of my mind.

"Brahma said, 'O son, many are those Purushas of whom thou speakest. The one Purusha, however, of whom I am thinking, transcends all Purushas and is invisible. The many Purushas that exist in the universe have that one Purusha as their basis; and since that one Purushas is said to be the source whence all the innumerable Purushas have sprung, hence all the latter, if they succeed in divesting themselves of attributes, become competent to enter into that one Purusha who is identified with the universe, who is supreme, who is the foremost of the foremost, who is eternal, and who is himself divested of and is above all attributes."

SECTION 352

'Brahma said,--'Listen, O son, as to how that Purusha is indicated. He is eternal and immutable. He is undeteriorating and immeasurable. He pervades all things. O best of all creatures, that Purusha cannot be seen by thee, or me, or others. Those that are endued with the understanding and the senses but destitute of self-restraint and tranquility of soul cannot obtain a sight of him. The Supreme Purusha is said to be one that can be seen with the aid of knowledge alone. Though divested of body, He dwells in every body. Though dwelling, again, in bodies, He is never touched by the acts accomplished by those bodies. He is my Antaratma (inner soul). He is thy inner soul. He is the all-seeing Witness dwelling within all embodied creatures and engaged in marking their acts. No one can grasp or comprehend him at any time. The universe is the crown of his head. The universe is his arms. The universe is his feet. The universe is his eyes. The universe is his nose. Alone and single, he roves through all Kshetras (Bodies) unrestrained by any limitations on his will and as he likes. Kshetra is another name for body. And because he knows all Kshetras as also all good and bad deeds, therefore he, who is the soul of Yoga, is called by the name of Kshetrajna. No one succeeds in perceiving how he enters into embodied creatures and how he goes out of them. Agreeably to the Sankhya mode, as also with the aid of Yoga and the due observance of the ordinances prescribed by it, I am engaged in thinking of the cause of that Purusha, but alas, I am unable to comprehend that cause, excellent as it is. I shall, however, according to the measure of my knowledge, discourse to thee upon that eternal Purusha and his Oneness and supreme greatness. The learned speak of him as the one Purusha. That one eternal Being deserves the appellation of Mahapurusha (the great supreme Purusha). Fire is an element, but it may be seen to blaze up in a thousand places under thousand different circumstances. The Sun is one and single, but his rays extend over the wide universe. Penances are of diverse kinds, but they have one common origin whence they have flowed. The Wind is one, but it blows in diverse forms in the world. The great Ocean is the one parent of all the waters in the world seen under diverse circumstances. Divested of attributes, that one Purusha is the universe displayed in infinitude. Flowing from him, the infinite universe enters into that one Purusha again who transcends all attributes, when the time of its destruction comes. By casting off the consciousness of body and the senses, by casting off all acts good and bad, by casting off both truth and falsehood, one succeeds in divesting oneself of attributes. The person who realises that inconceivable Purusha and comprehends his subtile existence in the quadruple form of Aniruddha, Pradyumna, Sankarshana, and Vasudeva, and who, in consequence of such comprehension, attains to perfect tranquillity of heart, succeeds in entering into and identifying himself with that one auspicious Purusha. Some persons possessed of learning speak of him as the supreme soul. Others regarded him as the one soul. A third class of learned men describe him as the soul. [The sense seems to be this; in the Yoga system He is called the Supreme Soul, for Yogins affirm the existence of two souls, the Jivatman and the Supreme Soul, and assert the superiority of the latter over the former. The Sankhyas regard the Jiva-soul and the Supreme Soul to be one and the same. A third class of men think everything as Soul, there being no difference between the one Soul and the universe displayed in infinitude.] The truth is that he who is the Supreme Soul is always divested of attributes. He is Narayana. He is the universal soul, and he is the one Purusha. He is never affected by the fruits of acts even as the leaf of the lotus is never drenched by the water one may throw upon it. The Karamta (acting Soul) is different. That Soul is sometimes engaged in acts and when it succeeds in casting off acts attains to Emancipation or identity with the Supreme Soul. The acting Soul is endued with the seven and ten possessions. Thus it is said that there are innumerable kinds of Purushas in due order. In reality, however, there is but one Purusha. He is the abode of all the ordinances in respect of the universe. He is the highest object of knowledge. He is at once the knower and the object to be known. He is at once the thinker and the object of thought. He is the eater and the food that is eaten. He is the smeller and the scent that is smelled. He is at once he that touches and the object that is touched. He is the agent that sees and the object that is seen. He is the hearer and the object that is heard. He is the conceiver and the object that is conceived. He is possessed of attributes and is free from them. What has previously, O son, been named Pradhana, and is the mother of the Mahat tattwa is no other than the Effulgence of the Supreme Soul; because He it is who is eternal, without destruction and any end and ever immutable. He it is who creates the prime ordinance in respect of Dhatri himself. Learned Brahmanas call Him by the name of Aniruddha. Whatever acts, possessed of excellent merits and fraught with blessings, flow in the world from the Vedas, have been caused by Him. All the deities and all the Rishis, possessed of tranquil souls, occupying their places on the altar, dedicate to him the first share of their sacrificial offerings. I, that am Brahma, the primeval master of all creatures, have started into birth from Him, and thou hast taken thy birth from me. From me have flowed the universe with all its mobile and immobile creatures, and all the Vedas, O son, with their mysteries. Divided into four portions (viz., Aniruddha, Pradyumna, Sankarshana, and Vasudeva), He sports as He pleases. That illustrious and divine Lord is even such, awakened by His own knowledge. I have thus answered thee, O son, according to thy questions, and according to the way in which the matter is expounded in the Sankha system and the Yoga philosophy."

SECTION 353

"Sauti said, 'After Vaisampayana had explained to king Janamejaya in this way the glory of Narayana, he began to discourse on another topic by reciting the question of Yudhishthira and the answer that Bhishma gave in the presence of all the. Pandavas and the Rishis as also of Krishna himself. Indeed, Vaisampayana began by saying what follows.

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou hast, O grandsire discoursed to us on the duties appertaining to the religion of Emancipation. It behoveth thee now to tell us what the foremost duties are of persons belonging to the several modes of life!' [The object of the question is to ascertain which is the foremost of all the modes of life. Although Renunciation has been described to be the best of all modes, still the duties of that mode are exceedingly difficult of practice. Hence, Yudhishthira wishes to know if the duties of any other mode can be regarded as superior.]

"Bhishma said, 'The duties ordained in respect of every mode of life are capable, if well performed, of leading to heaven and the high fruit of Truth. Duties which are as so many doors, to great sacrifices and gifts and none of the practices inculcated by them are futile in respect of consequence. One who adopts particular duties with steady and firm faith, praises these duties adopted by him to the exclusion of the rest, O chief of Bharata's race. This particular topic, however, on which thou wishest me to discourse was in days of yore the subject of conversation between the celestial Rishi Narada and the chief of the deities, viz., Indra. The great Rishi Narada, O king, revered by all the world is a siddha i.e., his sadhana has met fulfilment. He wanders through all the worlds unobstructed by anything, like the all-pervading wind itself. Once upon a time he repaired to the abode of Indra. Duly honoured by the chief of the deities, he sat close to his host. Beholding him seated at his ease and free from fatigue, the lord of Sachi addressed him, saying,--O great Rishi, is there any thing wonderful that has been beheld by thee, O sinless one? O regenerate Rishi, crowned with ascetic success, thou rovest, moved by curiosity, through the universe of mobile and immobile objects, witnessing all things. O celestial Rishi, there is nothing in the universe that is unknown to thee. Do thou tell me, therefore, of any wonderful incident which thou may t have seen or heard of or felt. Thus questioned, Narada, that foremost of speakers, O king, then commented to recite unto the chief of the celestials the extensive history that follows. Listen now to me as I recite that story which Narada told before Indra. I shall narrate it in the same manner in which the celestial Rishi had narrated it, and for the same purpose that he had in view!'"

SECTION 354

"Bhishma said, 'In an excellent town called by the name of Mahapadma which was situate on the southern side of the river Ganga, there lived, O, best of men, a Brahmana of concentrated soul. Born in the race of Atri, he was endued with amiability. All his doubts had been dispelled (by faith

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and contemplation) and he was well conversant with the path he was to follow. Ever observant of the religious duties, he had his anger under perfect control. Always contented, he was the, complete master of his senses. Devoted to penances and study of the Vedas, he was honoured by all good men. He earned wealth by righteous means and his conduct in all things corresponded with the mode of life he led and the order to which he belonged. The family to which he belonged was large and celebrated. He had many kinsmen and relatives, and many children and spouses. His behaviour was always respectable and faultless. Observing that he had many children, the Brahmana betook himself to the accomplishment of religious acts on a large scale. His religious observances, O king, had reference to the customs of his own family. [Family customs are always observed with great care. Even when inconsistent with the ordinances of the scriptures, such customs do not lose their binding force. Reprehensible as the sale of a daughter or sister is, the great king Salya, when he bestowed his sister Madri on Pandu, insisted upon taking a sum of money, alleging family custom not only as an excuse but as something that was obligatory. To this day, animals are slain in the sacrifices of many families which follow the Vaishnava faith, the justification being family custom.] The Brahmana reflected that three kinds of duties have been laid down for observances. There were first, the duties ordained in the Vedas in respect of the order in which he was born and the mode of life he was leading (viz., a Brahmana in the observance of domesticity). There were secondly, the duties prescribed in the scriptures, viz., those especially called the Dharmasastras. And, thirdly, there were those duties that eminent and revered men of former times have followed though not occurring either in the Vedas or the scriptures [The Vedas are, strictly speaking, not scriptures, for they (as oral traditions) are heard the scriptures being those ordinances that are written down. Of course, the Vedas have been reduced into writing, but for all that, they continue to be called the Srutis, as the Common Law of England, though reduced into writing, is still called the unwritten law etc. etc.]. Which of these duties should I follow? Which of them, again, followed by me, are likely to lead to my benefit? Which, indeed, should be my refuge?--Thoughts like these always troubled him. He could not solve his doubts. While troubled with such reflections, a Brahmana of concentrated soul and observant of a very superior religion, came to his house as a guest. The house-holder duly honoured his guest according to those ordinances of worship that are laid down in the scriptures. Beholding his guest refreshed and seated at ease, the host addressed him in the following words."

"The Brahmana said, 'O sinless one, I have become exceedingly attached to thee in consequence of the sweetness of thy conversation. Thou hast become my friend. Listen to me, for I wish to say something unto thee. O foremost of Brahmanas, after making over the duties of a householder to my son, I wish to discharge the highest duties of man.

What, O regenerate one, should be my path? Relying upon the Jiva soul, I wish to achieve existence in the one (supreme) soul. Alas, bound up in the ties of attachment, I have not the heart to actually set myself to the accomplishment of that task. And since the best portion of my life has passed away in the observance of domesticity, I desire to devote the remnant of my life in earning the means of defraying the expenses of my journey in respect of the time to come. The desire has arisen in my mind of crossing the ocean of the world. Alas, whence shall I get the raft of religion (with which to accomplish my purposes)? Hearing that even the very deities are persecuted and made to endure the fruits of their acts, and beholding the rows of Yama's standards and flags floating over the heads of all creatures, my heart fails to derive pleasure from the diverse objects of pleasure with which it comes into contact. Beholding also that the Yatis depend for their sustenance upon alms obtained in course of their rounds of mendicancy, I have no respect for the religion of the Yatis as well. O my reverend guest, do thou, aided by that religion which is founded upon the basis of intelligence and reason, set me to the observance of a particular course of duties and observance!' [Sattwikani implies the deities and others that are endued with the attribute of Sattwa. Samyujyamanani refers to their births and deaths as deities and men in consequence of the fruits reaped of acts done. Niryyatyamanani is distressed or afflicted in consequence of such birth and deaths'. The rows of Yama's standards and flags refer to the diverse diseases that afflict all creatures.]

SECTION 355

"Bhishma continued, 'Endued with great wisdom, the guest, hearing this speech of his host which was consistent with righteousness, said these sweet words in a melodious voice.'

"The guest said, 'I myself also am confounded with respect to this topic. The same thought occupies my mind. I am unable to arrive at definite conclusions. Heaven has many doors. There are some that applaud Emancipation. Some regenerate persons praise the fruits attainable by the performance of sacrifices. Some there are that take refuge in the forest mode of life. Some, again, betake themselves to the domestic mode of life. Some rely upon the merits attainable by an observance of the duties of kings. Some rely upon the fruits of that culture which consists in restraining the soul. Some think that the merits resulting from a dutiful obedience to preceptors and seniors are efficacious. Some betake themselves to restraints imposed on speech. Some by waiting dutifully upon their mothers and fathers, have gone to heaven. Some have ascended to heaven by practising the duty of compassion, and some by practising Truth. Some rush to battle, and after laying down their lives, have attained to heaven. Some, again, attaining to success by practising the vow called Unccha, have betaken themselves to the path of heaven. Some have devoted themselves to the study of the Vedas. Endued with auspiciousness and wedded to such study, these men, possessed of intelligence, with tranquil souls, and having their senses under complete control, attain to heaven. Others characterised by simplicity and truth, have been slain by men of wickedness. Endued with pure souls, such men of truth and simplicity, have become honoured denizens of heaven. In this world, it is seen, that men betake themselves to heaven, through a thousand doors of duty, all standing wide open. My understanding has been troubled by thy question, like a fleecy cloud before the wind.'"

SECTION 356

"The guest continued, 'For all that, O Brahmana, I shall endeavour to instruct thee duly. Listen to me as I recite to thee that which I have heard from my preceptor. In that place whence, in course of a former creation, the wheel of righteousness was set in motion, in that forest which is known by the name of Naimisha, and which is situate on the banks of the Gomati, there is a city called after the Nagas. There, in that region, all the deities, being assembled together, had in days of old performed a grand sacrifice. There the foremost of earthly kings, Mandhatri, vanquished Indra, the chief of the celestials. A mighty Naga, of righteous soul, dwells in the city that stands in that region. That great Naga is known by the name of Padmanabha or Padma. Walking in the triple path (of acts, knowledge, and adoration) he gratifies all creatures in thought, word, and deed. Reflecting upon all things with great care, he protects the righteous and chastises the wicked by adopting the quadruple policy of conciliation, provoking dissensions, making gifts or bribes, and using force. Repairing thither, thou shouldst put to him the questions thou wishest. He will show thee truly what the highest religion is. That Naga is always fond of guests. Endued with great intelligence, he is well conversant with the scriptures. He is possessed of all desirable virtues the like of which are not to be noticed in any other person. By disposition he is always observant of those duties which are performed with or in water. He is devoted to the study of the Vedas. He is endued with penances and self-restraint. He has great wealth. He performs sacrifice, makes gifts, abstains from inflicting injury and practises forgiveness. His conduct in all respects is excellent. Truthful in speech and freed from malice, his behaviour, is good and his senses are under proper control. He eats after feeding all his guests and attendants. He is kind of speech. He has knowledge of what is beneficial and what is simple and right and what is censurable. He takes stock of what he does and what he leaves undone. He never acts with hostility towards any one. He is always engaged in doing what is beneficial to all creatures. He belongs to a family that is as pure and stainless as the water of a lake in the midst of the Ganges.'"

SECTION 357

"The host replied, 'I have heard these words of thine, that are so consoling, with as much gratification as is felt by a person heavily loaded when that load is taken off his head or shoulders. The gratification that a traveller who has made a long journey on foot feels when he lies down on a bed, that which a person feels when he finds a seat after having stood for a long while for want of room, or that which is felt by a thirsty person when he finds a glass of cool water, or that which is felt by a hungry man when he finds savoury food set before him, or that which a guest feels when a dish of desirable food is placed before him at the proper time, or that which is felt by an old man when after long coveting he gets a son, or that which is experienced by one when meeting with a dear friend or relative about whom one had become exceedingly anxious, resembles that with which I have been filled in consequence of these words uttered by thee. [It is desirable to note that the word atithi which is rendered guest here and elsewhere, means a person who enters without invitation the abode of a householder. Such an individual is adorable. All the deities reside in his person. He is supposed to favour the householder by giving him an opportunity of performing the rites of hospitality. Whatever the respect, however, that is paid to a guest, he cannot expect to be served with food till the householder, has done his best for serving him as sumptuously as his circumstances would permit. Hence, by the time the food is placed before him, the guest becomes very hungry.] Like a person with upturned gaze I have heard what has fallen from thy lips and am reflecting upon their import. With these wise words of thine thou hast truly instructed me! Yes, I shall do what thou hast commanded me to do. Thou mayst go tomorrow at dawn, passing the night happily with me and dispelling thy fatigue by such rest. Behold, the rays of the divine Surya have been partially dimmed and the god of day is proceeding in his downward course!'"

"Bhishma continued, 'Hospitably waited upon by that Brahmana, the learned guest, O slayer of foes, passed that night in the company of his host. Indeed, both of them passed the night happily, conversing cheerfully with each other on the subject of the duties of the fourth mode of life, viz., Sannyasa (Renunciation). So engrossing was the nature of their conversation that the night passed away as if it were day. When morning came, the guest was worshipped with due rites by the Brahmana whose heart had been eagerly set upon the accomplishment of what (according to the discourse of the guest) was regarded by him to be beneficial for himself. Having dismissed his guest, the righteous Brahmana, resolved to achieve his purpose, took leave of his kinsmen and relatives, and set out in due time for the abode of that foremost of Nagas, with heart steadily directed towards it.'"

SECTION 358

"Bhishma said, 'Proceeding by many delightful forests and lakes and sacred waters, the Brahmana at last arrived at the retreat of a certain ascetic. Arrived there, he enquired of him, in proper words, about the Naga of whom he had heard from his guest, and instructed by him he pursued his journey. With a clear idea of the purpose of his journey, the Brahmana then reached the house of the Naga. Entering it duly, he proclaimed himself in proper words, saying,--Ho! who is there!' I am a Brahmana, come hither as a guest!--Hearing these words, the chaste wife of the Naga, possessed of great beauty and devoted to the observance of all duties, showed herself. Always attentive to the duties of hospitality, she worshipped the guest with due rites, and welcoming him, said, 'What can I do for you?'

"The Brahmana said, 'O lady, I am sufficiently honoured by thee with the sweet words thou hast said unto me. The fatigue of my journey has also been dispelled. I desire, O blessed lady, to see thy excellent lord. This is my high object. This is the one object of my desire. It is for this reason that I have come today to the residence of the Naga, thy husband.'

"The wife of the Naga said, 'Reverend sir, my husband has gone to drag the car of Surya for a month. O learned Brahmana, he will be back in fifteen days, and will, without doubt show himself unto thee. I have thus told thee the reason of my husband's absence from home. Be that as it may, what else is there that I can do for thee? Tell me this!'

"The Brahmana said, 'O chaste lady, I have come hither with the object of seeing thy husband. O reverend dame, I shall dwell in the adjacent forest, waiting for his return. When thy husband comes back, do kindly tell him that I have arrived at this place impelled by the desire of seeing him. Thou shouldst also inform me of his return when that event occurs. O blessed lady, I shall, till then, reside on the banks of the Gomati, waiting for his return and living all the while upon frugal fare. Having said this repeatedly unto the wife of the Naga, that foremost of Brahmanas proceeded to the banks of the Gomati for residing there till the time of the Naga's return.'"

SECTION 359

"Bhishma continued, 'The Nagas of that city became exceedingly distressed when they saw that that Brahmana, devoted to the practice of penances, continued to reside in the forest, entirely abstaining all the while from food, in expectation of the arrival of the Naga chief. All the kinsmen and relatives of the great Naga, including his brother and children and wife, assembling together, repaired to the spot where the Brahmana was staying. Arrived on the banks of the Gomati, they beheld that regenerate person seated in a secluded spot, abstaining from food of every kind, observant the while of excellent vows, and engaged in silently reciting certain Mantras. Approaching the presence of the Brahmana and offering him due worship, the kinsmen and relatives of the great Naga said unto him these words fraught with candour:--O Brahmana, endued with wealth of asceticism, this is the sixth day of thy arrival here, but thou sayest no word about thy food, O regenerate one, thou art devoted to righteousness. Thou hast come to us. We two are here in attendance upon thee. It is absolutely necessary that we should do the duties of hospitality to thee. We are all relations of the Naga chief with whom thou hast business. Roots or fruits, leaves, or water, or rice or meat, O best of Brahmanas, it behoveth thee to take for thy food. In consequence of thy dwelling in this forest under such circumstances of total abstention from food, the whole community of Nagas, young and old, is being afflicted, since this thy fast implies negligence on our part to discharge the duties of hospitality. We have none amongst us that has been guilty of Brahmanicide. None of us has ever lost a son immediately after birth. No one has been born in our race that has eaten

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before serving the deities or guests or relatives arrived at his residence.

"The Brahmana said, 'In consequence of these solicitations of you all, I may be regarded to have broken my fast. Eight days are wanting for the day to come when the chief of the Nagas will return. If, on the expiry of the eighth night hence, the chief of the Nagas does not come back, I shall then break this fast by eating. Indeed, this vow of abstaining from all food that I am observing is in consequence of my regard for the Naga chief. You should not grieve for what I am doing. Do you all return to whence you came. This my vow is on his account. You should not do anything in consequence of which this my vow may be broken.--The assembled Nagas, thus addressed by the Brahmana, were dismissed by him, whereupon, O foremost of men, they returned to their respective residences.'"

SECTION 360

"Bhishma said, 'Upon the expiry of the period of full fifteen days, the Naga chief (Padmanabha), having finished his task of dragging the car of Surya and obtained the latter's permission, came back to his own house. Beholding him come back, his spouse approached him quickly for washing his feet and dutifully discharging other tasks of a similar nature. Having gone through these tasks, she took her seat by his side, The Naga then, refreshed from fatigue, addressed his dutiful and chaste wife, saying, I hope, my dear wife, that during my absence thou hast not been unmindful of worshipping the deities and guests agreeably to the instructions I gave thee, and according to the ordinances laid down in the scriptures. I hope, without yielding to that uncleansed understanding which is natural to persons of thy sex, thou hast, during my absence from home, been firm in the observance of the duties of hospitality. I trust that thou hast not transcended the barriers of duty and righteousness.'

"The wife of the Naga said, 'The duty of disciples is to wait with reverence upon their preceptor accomplishing his bidding; that of Brahmanas is to study the Vedas and bear them in memory; that of servants is to obey the commands of their masters; that of the king is to protect his people by cherishing the good and chastising the wicked. It is said that the duties of a Kshatriya embrace the protection of all creatures from wrong and oppression. The duty of the Sudra is to serve with humility persons of the three regenerate orders, viz., Brahmanas, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. The religion of the house-holder, O chief of the Nagas, consists in doing good to all creatures. Frugality of fare and observance of vow in due order, constitute merit (for persons of all classes) in consequence of the connection that exists between the senses and the duties of religion. Who am I? Whence have I come? What are others to me and what am I to others?--these are the thoughts to which the mind should ever be directed by him who leads that course of life which leads to Emancipation. Chastity and obedience to the husband constitute the highest duty of the wife. Through thy instruction, O chief of the Nagas, I have learnt this well. I, therefore, that am well conversant with my duty, and that have thee for my husband--thee that art devoted to righteousness,--O, why shall I, swerving from the path of duty, tread along the path of disobedience and sin? During thy absence from home, the adorations to the deities have not fallen off in any respect. I have also, without the slightest negligence, attended to the duties of hospitality towards persons arrived as guests in thy abode. Fifteen days ago a Brahmana has come here. He has not disclosed his object to me. He desires to have an interview with thee. Dwelling the while on the banks of the Gomati he is anxiously expecting thy return. Of rigid vows, that Brahmana is sitting there, engaged in the recitation of the Vedas. O chief of the Nagas, I have made a promise to him to the effect that I would despatch thee to him as soon as thou wouldst come back to thy abode. Hearing these words of mine, O best of Nagas, it behoveth thee to repair thither. O thou that hearest with thy eyes, it behoveth thee to grant unto that regenerate person the object that has brought him hither!'" [Darsana-sravas means one who hears with the eye. The Nagas or snakes are believed to have no ears (which is biologically of course not true, they have neither an outer nor a middle ear but they have an inner ear with which they can hear frequencies between c. 50 and 500 Hertz; these vibrations are magnified with their skull, spine, and the underside of their body so that they can hear any enemy approaching from large distances.), but to use their eyes both for seeing and hearing. Who the Nagas of the Mahabharata or the Puranas were, it is difficult to determine. They seem to have been a superior order of beings, having their abode in the nether regions.]

SECTION 361

"The Naga said, 'O thou of sweet smiles, for whom hast thou taken that Brahmana? Is he really a human being or is he some deity that has come hither in the disguise of a Brahmana? O thou of great fame, who is there among human beings that would be desirous of seeing me or that would be competent for the purpose? Can a human being, desiring to see me, leave such a command with thee about dispatching me to him for paying him a visit at the place where he is dwelling? Amongst the deities and Asuras and celestial Rishis, O amiable lady, the Nagas are endued with great energy. Possessed of great speed, they are endued again with excellent fragrance. They deserve to be worshipped. They are capable of granting boons. Indeed, we too deserve to be followed by others in our train. I tell thee, O lady, that we are incapable of being seen by human beings.'

"The spouse of the Naga chief said, 'Judging by his simplicity and candour I know that that Brahmana is not any deity who subsists on air. O thou of great wrath, I also know this, viz., that he reveres thee with all his heart. His heart is set upon the accomplishment of some object that depends upon thy aid. As the bird called Chataka, which is fond of rain, waits in earnest expectation of a shower (for slaking its thirst), even so is that Brahmana waiting in expectation of a meeting with thee. [The Indian bird Chataka has a natural hole on the upper part of its long neck in consequence of which it is seen to always sit with beaks upturned, so that the upper part of the neck keeps the hole covered. The Chataka is incapable of slaking its thirst in a lake or river, for it cannot bend its neck down. Rain water is what it must drink.] Let no calamity betake him in consequence of his inability to obtain a sight of thee. No person born like thee in a respectable family can be regarded to remain respectable by neglecting a guest arrived at his house. Casting off that wrath which is natural to thee, it behoveth thee to go and see that Brahmana. It behoveth thee not to suffer thyself to be consumed by disappointing that Brahmana. The king or the prince, by refusing to wipe the tears of persons that come to him from hopes of relief, incurs the sin of foeticide. By abstaining from speech one attains to wisdom. By practising gifts one acquires great fame. By adhering to truthfulness of speech, one acquires the gift of eloquence and comes to be honoured in heaven. By giving away land one attains to that high end which is ordained for Rishis leading the sacred mode of life. By earning wealth through righteous means, one succeeds in attaining to many desirable fruits. By doing in its entirety what is beneficial for oneself, one can avoid going to hell. That is what the righteous say.

"The Naga said, 'I had no arrogance due to pride. In consequence, however, of my birth, the measure of my arrogance was considerable. Of wrath, which is born of desire, O blessed lady, I have none. It has all been consumed by the fire of thy excellent instructions. I do not behold, O blessed dame, any darkness that is thicker than wrath. In consequence, however, of the Naga having excess of wrath, they have become object of reproach with all persons. By succumbing to the influence of wrath, the ten-headed Ravana of great prowess, became the rival of Sakra and was for that reason slain by Rama in battle. Hearing that the Rishi Rama of Bhrigu's race had entered the inner apartments of their palace for bringing away the calf of the Homa cow of their sire, the sons of Karttaviryya, yielding to wrath, took such entry as an insult to their royal house, and as the consequence thereof, they met with destruction at the hands of Rama. Indeed, Karttaviryya of great strength, resembling the Thousand-eyed Indra himself, in consequence of his having yielded to wrath, was slain in battle by Rama of Jamadagni's race. Verily, O amiable lady at thy words I have restrained my wrath, that foe of penances that destroyer of all that is beneficial for myself. I praise my own self greatly since, O large-eyed one, I am fortunate enough to own thee for my wife,--thee that are possessed of every virtue and that hast inexhaustible merits. I shall now proceed to that spot where the Brahmana is staying. I shall certainly address that Brahmana in proper words and he shall certainly go hence, his wishes being accomplished."

SECTION 362

"Bhishma said, 'Having said these words unto his dear spouse, the chief of the Nagas proceeded to that place where the Brahmana was sitting in expectation of an interview with him. As he proceeded, he thought of the Brahman and wandered as to what the business could be that had brought him to the Naga city. Arrived at his presence, O chief of men, that foremost of Nagas devoted by his nature to righteousness, addressed his guest in sweet words, saying, O Brahmana do not yield to wrath. I address thee in peace. Do not be angry. After whom hast thou come hither? What is thy object? Coming to thee, I ask thee in affection, O regenerate one whom dost thou adore in this retired spot on the banks of the Gomati!'

"The Brahmana said, 'Know that my name is Dharmaranya, and that I have come hither for obtaining a sight of the Naga Padmanabha, O foremost of all regenerate persons. With him I have some business. I have heard that he is not at home and that, therefore, I am not now near his present quarters. Like a Chataka waiting in expectation of the clouds, I am waiting for him whom I regard as dear to me. For dispelling all evil from him and bringing about what is beneficial to him, I am engaged in reciting the Vedas till he comes and am in Yoga and passing my time happily.'

"The Naga said, 'Verily, thy conduct is exceedingly good. Pious thou art and devoted to the good of all righteous persons. O highly blessed Brahmana, every praise is due to thee. Thou beholdest the Naga with eyes of affection. I am that Naga, O learned Rishi, whom thou seekest. Do thou command me, as thou wishest, in respect of what is agreeable to thee and what I should do for thee. Having heard from my spouse that thou art here, I have approached this spot, O regenerate one, for beholding thee. When thou hast come hither, thou art certain to return hence with thy object fulfilled. It behoveth thee, O foremost of regenerate persons, to employ me to any task with all confidence. All of us have certainly been purchased by thee with thy merits, since thou, disregarding what is for thy own good, hast employed thy time in seeking the good of ourselves.'

"The Brahmana said, 'O highly blessed Naga, I have come hither, moved by the desire of obtaining a sight of thee. I have come here, ignorant as I am with all things, for asking thee about something, O Naga, relying on the Jiva-soul, I desire to attain to the Supreme Soul which is the end of the Jiva-soul. I am neither attached to, nor dissociated from, the world. Thou shinest with the effulgence of thy own merits covered by pure fame,--with an effulgence that is as agreeable as that of the moon. O thou that livest on air alone, do thou first answer a question that I wish to put to thee. Afterwards I shall inform thee of the object that has brought me hither!'"

SECTION 363

"The Brahmana said, 'Thou goest away for dragging the one-wheeled car of Vivaswat according to thy turn. It behoveth thee to describe to me anything wonderful that thou mayst have noticed in those regions through which thou sojournest!'

"The Naga said, 'The divine Surya is the refuge or home of innumerable wonders. All the creatures that inhabit the three worlds have flowed from Surya. Innumerable Munis, crowned with ascetic success, together with all the deities, reside in the rays of Surya like birds perching on the branches of trees. What, again, can be more wonderful than this that the mighty Wind, emanating from Surya, takes refuge in his ray and thence yawns over the universe? What can be more wonderful than this, O regenerate Rishi, that Surya, dividing the Wind into many portions from desire of doing good to all creatures, creates rain that falls in the rainy season? What can be more wonderful than this that the Supreme Soul, from within the solar disc, himself bathed in blazing effulgence, looketh upon the universe? What can be more wonderful than this that Surya has a dark ray which transforms itself into clouds charged with rain and pours showers of rain when the season comes? What can be more wonderful than this that drinking up for eight months the rain he pours down, he pours it down once again in the rainy season? In certain rays of Surya, the Soul of the universe is said to reside. From Him is the seed of all things, and it is He that upholds the Earth with all her mobile and immobile creatures. What can be more wonderful, O Brahmana, than this, that the foremost of Purushas, eternal and mighty-armed, endued with exceeding effulgence, eternal, and without beginning and without end, resides in Surya? Listen however, to one thing I shall tell you now. It is the wonder of wonders. I have seen it in the clear sky, in consequence of my adjacence to Surya. In former times, one day at the hour of noon, while Surya was shining in all his glory and giving heat to everything we beheld a Being coming towards Surya, who seemed to shine with effulgence that was equal to that of Surya himself. Causing all the worlds to blaze up with his glory and filling them with his energy, he came, as I have already told thee, towards Surya, rending the firmament, as it were, for making his path through it. The rays that emanated from his body seemed to resemble the blazing effulgence of libations of clarified butter poured into the sacrificial fire. In consequence of his energy and splendour he could not be looked at. His form seemed to be indescribable. Indeed, he appeared to us to be like a second Surya. As soon as he came near, Surya extended his two hands (for giving him a respectful reception). For honouring Surya in return, he also extended his right-hand. The latter then, piercing through the firmament, entered into Surya's disc. Mingling then with Surya's energy, he seemed to be transformed into Surya's self. When the two energies thus met together, we were so confounded that we could not any longer distinguish which was which. Indeed, we could not make out who was Surya whom we bore on his car, and who was the Being that we had seen coming through the sky. Filled with confusion, we then addressed Surya, saying,--'O illustrious one who is this Being that has mixed himself with thee and has been transformed into thy second self?'

SECTION 364

"Surya said, 'This Being is not the god of fire, he is not an Asura. Nor is he a Naga. He is a Brahmana who has attained to heaven in consequence of his having been crowned with success in the observance of the vow called Unccha. This person had subsisted upon fruits and roots and upon the fallen leaves of trees. He had sometimes subsisted upon water, and sometimes upon air alone, passing his days with concentrated soul. The deity Mahadeva had been gratified by him with constant recitation of the Samhitas. He had endeavoured to

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accomplish those acts that lead to heaven. Through the merits of those acts he hath now attained to heaven. Without wealth and without desire of any kind, he had observed the vow called Unccha in the matter of his sustenance. This learned Brahmana, ye Nagas, had been devoted to the good of all creatures. Neither deities, nor Gandharvas, nor Asuras, nor Nagas, can be regarded as superior to those creatures that attain to this excellent end of coming into the solar disc?--Even such, O regenerate one, was the wonderful incident that I beheld on that occasion. That Brahmana, who was crowned with success by the observance of the Unccha vow and who thus obtained an end that persons crowned with ascetic success acquire, to this day, O regenerate one, goes round the Earth, staying in the disc of Surya!'"

SECTION 365

"The Brahmana said, 'Without doubt, this is very wonderful, O Naga, I have been highly gratified by listening to thee. By these words of thine that are fraught with subtile meaning, thou hast shown me the way I am to follow. Blessed be thou, I desire to depart hence O best of Nagas, thou shouldst recollect me now and then and enquire after me by sending thy servant.'

"The Naga said, 'The object that brought thee higher is still in thy breast, for thou hast not as yet disclosed it to me. Where then wilt thou go? Tell me, O regenerate one, what should be done by me, and what that object is which brought thee hither. After the accomplishment of thy business, whatever it is, expressed or unexpressed in speech, thou mayst depart, O foremost of regenerate persons, saluting me and dismissed by me cheerfully, O thou of excellent vows. Thou hast conceived a friendship for me. O regenerate Rishi, it behoveth thee not to depart from this place after having only seen me, thyself sitting under the shade of this tree. Thou hast become dear to me and I have become dear to thee, without doubt. All the persons in this city are thine. What objection then is there, O sinless one, to pass some time in my house?--'

"The Brahmana said, 'It is even so, O thou of great wisdom, O Naga that hast acquired a knowledge of the soul. It is very true that the deities are not superior to thee in any respect. He that is thyself, is verily myself, as he that is myself is truly thyself. Myself, thyself, and all other creatures, shall all have to enter into the Supreme Soul. Doubt penetrated my mind, O chief of Nagas, in the matter of the best means for winning righteousness or merit. That doubt has been dispelled by thy discourse, for I have learnt the value of the Unccha vow. I shall hence follow that which is so very efficacious in the matter of beneficial consequences. That, O blessed one, has become my certain conclusion now, based on excellent reasons. I take thy leave. Blessings to thee. My object has been accomplished, O Naga.'"

"Bhishma said, 'Having saluted that foremost of Nagas in this way, the Brahmana (named Dharmaranya), firmly resolved to follow the Unccha mode of life, proceeded to the presence, O king, of Chyavana of Bhrigu's race, from desire of being formally instructed and initiated in that vow. [The formal initiation or diksha is a ceremony of great importance. No sacrifice or vow, no religious rite, can be performed without the diksha. The rite of diksha is performed with the assistance of a preceptor or priest. In leaving the domestic mode for the life of a forest recluse, the diksha is necessary. In following the Unccha vow, this rite is needed. Any religious act performed by one without having undergone the formal diksha, becomes sterile of results.] Chyavana performed the Samskara rites of the Brahmana and formally initiated him into the Unccha mode of life. The son of Bhrigu, O monarch, recited this history to king Janaka in his place. King Janaka, in his turn, narrated it to the celestial Rishi Narada of high soul. The celestial Rishi Narada too, of stainless acts, repairing on one occasion to the abode of Indra, the chief of the deities, gave to Indra this history upon being asked by him. The chief of the celestials, having obtained it thus from Narada, recited this blessed history to a conclave consisting of all the foremost Brahmanas, O monarch. On the occasion, again, of my dreadful encounter with Rama of Bhrigu's race (on the field of Kurukshetra), the celestial Vasus, O king, recited this history to me. [Bhishma abducted, with the might of his single arms, the three daughters of the king of Kasi, viz., Amva, Amvika, and Amvalika. He wished to marry the princesses to his brother Vichitravirya. The eldest princess, having previously to her abduction selected king Salwa for her lord was let off. When, however, she presented herself before her lover, the latter refused to wed her. She, therefore, applied to Rama for wreaking vengeance on Bhishma whom she regarded as the author of her wrongs. Rama took up her cause and fought with Bhishma, but was obliged to acknowledge defeat at the hands of his antagonist who was his disciple in arms. For fuller particulars, vide Amvopakhyana Parvan in Udyoga Parvan.] Asked by thee, O foremost of righteous men, I have recited this history that is excellent and sacred and fraught with great merit. Thou hadst asked me about that constitutes the highest duty, O king. This history is my answer to thy query. A brave man he was, O monarch, that betook himself to the practice of the Unccha vow in this way, without expectation of any fruit. Firmly resolved, that Brahmana, instructed, by the chief of Nagas in this way about his duty, betook himself to the practice of Yama and Niyama, and subsisting the while upon such food as was allowed by the Unccha vow, proceeded to another forest.'"

The end of Santi Parva.

THE MAHABHARATA, BOOK 13 (IN TWO PARTS)
(PART ONE OF TWO)
ANUSASANA PARVA

PART 1
SECTION 1
(Anusasanika Parva)

Om! Having bowed down unto Narayana, and Nara the foremost of male beings, and unto the goddess Saraswati, must the word Jaya be uttered.

"Yudhishthira said, 'O grandsire, tranquillity of mind has been said to be subtile and of diverse forms. I have heard all thy discourses, but still tranquillity of mind has not been mine. In this matter, various means of quieting the mind have been related (by thee), O sire, but how can peace of mind be secured from only a knowledge of the different kinds of tranquillity, when I myself have been the instrument of bringing about all this? Beholding thy body covered with arrows and festering with bad sores, I fail to find, O hero, any peace of mind, at the thought of the evils I have wrought. Beholding thy body, O most valiant of men, bathed in blood, like a hill overrun with water from its springs, I am languishing with grief even as the lotus in the rainy season. What can be more painful than this, that thou, O grandsire, hast been brought to this plight on my account by my people fighting against their foes on the battle-field? Other princes also, with their sons and kinsmen, having met with destruction on my account. Alas, what can be more painful than this. Tell us, O prince, what destiny awaits us and the sons of Dhritarashtra, who, driven by fate and anger, have done this abhorrent act. O lord of men, I think the son of Dhritarashtra is fortunate in that he doth not behold thee in this state. But I, who am the cause of thy death as well as of that of our friends, am denied all peace of mind by beholding thee on the bare earth in this sorry condition. The wicked Duryodhana, the most infamous of his race, has, with all his troops and his brothers, perished in battle, in the observance of Kshatriya duties. That wicked-souled wight does not see thee lying on the ground. Verily, for this reason, I would deem death to be preferable to life. O hero that never swervest from virtue, had I with my brothers met with destruction ere this at the hands of our enemies on the battle-field, I would not have found thee in this pitiful plight, thus pierced with arrows. Surely, O prince, the Maker had created is to become perpetrators of evil deeds. O king, if thou wishest to do me good, do thou then instruct me in such a way that I may be cleansed of this sin in even another world.'

"Bhishma replied, 'Why, O fortunate one, dost thou consider thy soul, which is dependent (on God and Destiny and Time) to be the cause of thy actions? The manifestation of its inaction is subtle and imperceptible to the senses. In this connection is cited the ancient story of the conversation between Mrityu and Gautami with Kala and the Fowler and the serpent. There was, O son of Kunti, an old lady of the name of Gautami, who was possessed of great patience and tranquillity of mind. One day she found her son dead in consequence of having been bitten by a serpent. An angry fowler, by name Arjunaka, bound the serpent with a string and brought it before Gautami. He then said to her,--This wretched serpent has been the cause of thy son's death, O blessed lady. Tell me quickly how this wretch is to be destroyed. Shall I throw it into the fire or shall I hack it into pieces? This infamous destroyer of a child does not deserve to live longer.'

"Gautami replied, 'Do thou, O Arjunaka of little understanding, release this serpent. It doth not deserve death at thy hands. Who is so foolish as to disregard the inevitable lot that awaits him and burdening himself with such folly sink into sin? Those that have made themselves light by the practice of virtuous deeds, manage to cross the sea of the world even as a ship crosses the ocean. But those that have made themselves heavy with sin sink into the bottom, even as an arrow thrown into the water. By killing the serpent, this my boy will not be restored to life, and by letting it live, no harm will be caused to thee. Who would go to the interminable regions of Death by slaying this living creature?'

"The fowler said, 'I know, O lady that knowest the difference between right and wrong, that the great are afflicted at the afflictions of all creatures. But these words which thou hast spoken are fraught with instruction for only a self-contained person (and not for one plunged in sorrow). Therefore, I must kill this serpent. Those who value peace of mind, assign everything to the course of Time as the cause, but practical men soon assuage their grief (by revenge). People through constant delusion, fear loss of beatitude (in the next world for acts like these). therefore, O lady, assuage thy grief by having this serpent destroyed (by me).

"Gautami replied, 'People like us are never afflicted by (such misfortune). Good men have their souls always intent on virtue. The death of the boy was predestined: therefore, I am unable to approve of the destruction of this serpent. Brahmanas do not harbour resentment, because resentment leads to pain. Do thou, O good man, forgive and release this serpent out of compassion.'

"The fowler replied, 'Let us earn great and inexhaustible merit hereafter by killing (this creature), even as a man acquires great merit, and confers it on his victim sacrificed as well, by sacrifice upon the altar. Merit is acquired by killing an enemy: by killing this despicable creature, thou shalt acquire great and true merit hereafter.'

"Gautami replied, 'What good is there in tormenting and killing an enemy, and what good is won by not releasing an enemy in our power? Therefore, O thou of benign countenance, why should we not forgive this serpent and try to earn merit by releasing it?'

"The fowler replied, 'A great number (of creatures) ought to be protected from (the wickedness of) this one, instead of this single creature being protected (in preference to many). Virtuous men abandon the vicious (to their doom): do thou, therefore, kill this wicked creature.'

"Gautami replied, 'By killing this serpent, O fowler, my son will not be restored to life, nor do I see that any other end will be attained by its death: therefore, do thou, O fowler, release this living creature of a serpent.

"The fowler said, 'By killing Vritra, Indra secured the best portion (of sacrificial offerings), and by destroying a sacrifice Mahadeva secured his share of sacrificial offerings: do thou, therefore, destroy this serpent immediately without any misgivings in thy mind!'

"Bhishma continued, 'The high-souled Gautami, although repeatedly incited by the fowler for the destruction of the serpent did not bend her mind to that sinful act. The serpent, painfully bound with the cord: sighing a little and maintaining its composure with great difficulty, then uttered these words slowly, in a human voice.'

"The serpent said, 'O foolish Arjunaka, what fault is there of mine? I have no will of my own, and am not independent. Mrityu sent me on this errand. By his direction have I bitten this child, and not out of any anger or choice on my part. Therefore, if there be any sin in this, O fowler, the sin is his.'

"The fowler said, 'If thou hast done this evil, led thereto by another, the sin is thine also as thou art an instrument in the act. As in the making of an earthen vessel the potter's wheel and rod and other things are all regarded as causes, so art thou, O serpent, (cause in the production of this effect). He that is guilty deserves death at my hands. Thou, O serpent, art guilty. Indeed, thou confessest thyself so in this matter!'

"The serpent said, 'As all these, viz., the potter's wheel, rod, and other things, are not independent causes, even so I am not an independent cause. Therefore, this is no fault of mine, as thou shouldst grant. Shouldst thou think otherwise, then these are to be considered as causes working in unison with one another. For thus working with one other, a doubt arises regarding their relation as cause and effect. Such being the case, it is no fault of mine, nor do I deserve death on this account, nor am I guilty of any sin. Or, if thou thinkest that there is sin (in even such causation), the sin lies in the aggregate of causes.'

"The fowler said, 'If thou art neither the prime cause nor the agent in this matter, thou art still the cause of the death (of his child). Therefore, thou dost deserve death in my opinion. If, O serpent, thou thinkest that when an evil act is done, the doer is not implicated therein, then there can be no cause in this matter; but having done this, verily thou deservest death. What more dost thou think?'

"The serpent said, 'Whether any cause exists or not, no effect is produced without an (intermediate) act. Therefore, causation being of no moment in either case, my agency only as the cause (in this matter) ought to be considered in its proper bearings. If, O fowler, thou thinkest me to be the cause in truth, then the guilt of this act of killing a living being rests on the shoulders of another who incited me to this end.'

"The fowler said, 'Not deserving of life, O foolish one, why dost thou bandy so many words, O wretch of a serpent? Thou deservest death at my hands. Thou hast done an atrocious act by killing this infant.'

"The serpent said, 'O fowler, as the officiating priests at a sacrifice do not acquire the merit of the act by offering oblations of clarified butter to the fire, even so should I be regarded with respect as to the result in this connection.'

"Bhishma continued, 'The serpent directed by Mrityu having said this, Mrityu himself appeared there and addressing the serpent spoke thus.

"Mrityu said, 'Guided. by Kala, I, O serpent, sent thee on this errand, and neither art thou nor am I the cause of this child's death. Even as the clouds are tossed hither and thither by the wind, I am like the clouds, O serpent, influenced by Kala. All attitudes appertaining to Sattwa or Rajas, or Tamas, are provoked by Kala, and operate in all creatures. All

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creatures, mobile and immobile, in heaven, or earth, are influenced by Kala. The whole universe, O serpent, is imbued with this same influence of Kala. All acts in this world and all abstentions, as also all their modifications, are said to be influenced by Kala, Surya, Soma, Vishnu, Water, Wind, the deity of a hundred sacrificer, Fire, Sky, Earth, Mitra and Parjanya, Aditi, and the Vasus, Rivers and Oceans, all existent and non-existent objects, are created and destroyed by Kala. Knowing this, why dost thou, O serpent, consider me to be guilty? If any fault attaches to me in this, thou also wouldst be to blame.'

"The serpent said, 'I do not, O Mrityu, blame thee, nor do I absolve thee from all blame. I only aver that I am directed and influenced (in my actions) by thee. If any blame attaches to Kala, or, if it be not desirable to attach any blame to him, it is not for me to scan the fault. We have no right to do so. As it is incumbent on me to absolve myself from this blame, so it is my duty to see that no blame attaches to Mrityu.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Then the serpent, addressing Arjunaka, said--Thou hast listened to what Mrityu has said. Therefore, it is not proper for thee to torment me, who am guiltless, by tying me with this cord.'

"The fowler said, 'I have listened to thee, O serpent, as well as to the words of Mrityu, but these, O serpent, do not absolve thee from all blame. Mrityu and thyself are the causes of the child's death. I consider both of you to be the cause and I do not call that to be the cause which is not truly so. Accursed be the wicked and vengeful Mrityu that causes affliction to the good. Thee too I shall kill that art sinful and engaged, in sinful acts!'

"Mrityu said, 'We both are not free agents, but are dependent on Kala, and ordained to do our appointed work. Thou shouldst not find fault with us if thou dost consider this matter thoroughly.'

"The fowler said, 'If ye both, O serpent and Mrityu, be dependent on Kala, I am curious to know how pleasure (arising from doing good) and anger (arising from doing evil) are caused.'

"Mrityu said, 'Whatever is done is done under the influence of Kala. I have said it before, O fowler, that Kala is the cause of all and that for this reason we both, acting under the inspiration of Kala, do our appointed work and therefore, O fowler, we two do not deserve censure from thee in any way!'

"Bhishma continued, 'Then Kala arrived at that scene of disputation on this point of morality, and spoke thus to the serpent and Mrityu and the fowler Arjunaka assembled together.'

"Kala said, 'Neither Mrityu, nor this serpent, nor I, O fowler, am guilty of the death of any creature. We are merely the immediate exciting causes of the event. O Arjunaka, the Karma of this child formed the exciting cause of our action in this matter. There was no other cause by which this child came by its death. It was killed as a result of its own Karma. It has met with death as the result of its Karma in the past. Its Karma has been the cause of its destruction. We all are subject to the influence of our respective Karma. Karma is an aid to salvation even as sons are, and Karma also is an indicator of virtue and vice in man. We urge one another even as acts urge one another. As men make from a lump of clay whatever they wish to make, even so do men attain to various results determined by Karma. As light and shadow are related to each other, so are men related to Karma through their own actions. Therefore, neither art thou, nor am I, nor Mrityu, nor the serpent, nor this old Brahmana lady, is the cause of this child's death. He himself is the cause here. Upon Kala, O king, expounding the matter in this way, Gautami, convinced in her mind that men suffer according to their actions, spoke thus to Arjunaka.'

"Gautami said, 'Neither Kala, nor Mrityu, nor the serpent, is the cause in this matter. This child has met with death as the result of its own Karma. I too so acted (in the past) that my son has died (as its consequence). Let now Kala and Mrityu retire from this place, and do thou too, O Arjunaka, release this serpent.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Then Kala and Mrityu and the serpent went back to their respective destinations, and Gautami became consoled in mind as also the fowler. Having heard all this, O king, do thou forego all grief, and attain to peace of mind. Men attain to heaven or hell as the result of their own Karma. This evil has neither been of thy own creation, nor of Duryodhana's. Know this that these lords of Earth have all been slain (in this war) as a result of acts of Kalas.'"

Vaisampayana said, "Having heard all this, the powerful and virtuous Yudhishthira became consoled in mind, and again enquired as follows."

SECTION 2

"Yudhishthira said, 'O grandsire, O wisest of men, O thou that art learned in all the scriptures, I have listened to this great story, O foremost of intelligent men. I am desirous of again hearing the recital of some history full of religious instruction, and it behoves thee to gratify me. O lord of Earth, tell me if any householder has ever succeeded in conquering Mrityu by the practice of virtue. Do thou recite this to me with all details!'

"Bhishma said, 'This ancient history is recited as an illustration of the subject of the conquest by a householder, over Mrityu, through the practice of virtue. The Prajapati Manu had a son, O king, of the name of the Ikshwaku. Of that king, illustrious as Surya, were born a hundred sons. His tenth son, O Bharata, was named Dasaswa, and this virtuous prince of infallible prowess became the king of Mahismati. Dasaswa's son, O king, was a righteous prince whose mind was constantly devoted to the practice of truth and charity and devotion. He was known by the name of Madiraswa and ruled over the Earth as her lord. He was constantly devoted to the study of the Vedas as also of the science of arms. Madiraswa's son was the king named Dyutimat who possessed great good fortune and power and strength and energy. Dyutimat's son was the highly devout and pious king who was famous in all the worlds under the name of Suvira. His soul was intent on religion and he possessed wealth like another Indra, the lord of the deities. Suvira too had a son who was invincible in battle, and who was the best of all warriors and known by the name of Sudurjaya. And Durjya too, possessed of a body like that of Indra, had a son who beamed with splendour like that of fire. He was the great monarch named Duryodhana who was one of the foremost of royal sages. Indra used to pour rain profusely in the kingdom of this monarch, who never fled from the battlefield and was possessed of valour like unto Indra himself. The cities and the kingdom of this king were filled with riches and gems and cattle and grain of various kinds. There was no miser in his kingdom nor any person afflicted with distress or poverty. Nor was there in his kingdom any person that was weak in body or afflicted with disease. That king was very clever, smooth in speech, without envy, a master of his passions, of a righteous soul, full of compassion, endued with prowess, and not given to boasting. He performed sacrifices, and was self-restrained and intelligent, devoted to Brahmanas and Truth. He never humiliated others, and was charitable, and learned in the Vedas and the Vedanta. The celestial river Narmada, auspicious and sacred and of cool waters, in her own nature, O Bharata, courted him. He begot upon that river, a lotus-eyed daughter, by name Sudarsana, who was, O king, endued with great beauty. No creature, O Yudhisthira, had ever been born before among womankind, that was, possessed of such beauty as that excellent damsel who was the daughter of Duryodhana. The god Agni himself courted the beautiful princess Sudarsana, and taking the shape of a Brahmana, O monarch, sought her hand from the king. The king was unwilling to give his daughter in marriage to the Brahmana who was poor and not of the same rank with himself. Thereupon Agni vanished from his great sacrifice. The king, grieved at heart, then addressed the Brahmanas, saying,--Of what sin have I, ye excellent Brahmanas, or you, been guilty, that Agni should disappear from this sacrifice, even as good done unto wicked men disappears from their estimation. Great, indeed, must that sin of ours be for which Agni has thus disappeared. Either must the sin be yours, or, it must be mine. Do you fully investigate the matter.--Then hearing the king's words, O foremost prince of Bharata's race, the Brahmanas, restraining speech, sought with concentrated faculties the protection of the god of fire. The divine carrier of oblations, resplendent as the autumnal Sun, appeared before them, enveloping his self in glorious refulgence. The high-souled Agni then addressed those excellent Brahmanas, saying,--I seek the daughter of Duryodhana for my own self. At this all those Brahmanas were struck with wonder, and rising on the morrow, they related to the king what had been said by the fire-god. The wise monarch, hearing the words of those utterers of Brahma, was delighted at heart, and said,--Be it so.--The king craved a boon of the illustrious fire-god as the marriage dower,--Do thou, O Agni, deign to remain always with us here.--Be it so--said the divine Agni to that lord of Earth. For this reason Agni has always been present in the kingdom of Mahismati to this day, and was seen by Sahadeva in course of his conquering expedition to the south. Then the king gave his daughter, dressed in new garments and decked with jewels, to the high-souled deity, and Agni too accepted, according to Vedic rites, the princess Sudarsana as his bride, even as he accepts libations of clarified butter at sacrifices, Agni was well pleased with her appearance, her beauty, grace, character, and nobility of birth, and was minded to beget offspring upon her. And a son by Agni, of the name of Sudarsana, was soon born of her. Sudarsana also was, in appearance, as beautiful as the full moon, and even in his childhood he attained to a knowledge of the supreme and everlasting Brahma. There was also a king of the name of Oghavat, who was the grandfather of Nriga. He had a daughter of the name of Oghavati, and a son too of the name of Ogharatha born unto him. King Oghavat gave his daughter Oghavati, beautiful as a goddess, to the learned Sudarsana for wife. Sudarsana, O king, leading the life of a householder with Oghavati, used to dwell in Kurukshetra with her. This intelligent prince of blazing energy took the vow, O lord, of conquering Death by leading the life of even a householder. The son of Agni, O king, said to Oghavati,--Do thou never act contrary to (the wishes of) those that seek our hospitality. Thou shouldst make no scruple about the means by which guests are to be welcomed, even if thou have to offer thy own person. O beautiful one, this vow is always present in the mind, since for householders, there is no higher virtue than hospitality accorded to guests. Do thou always bear this in mind without ever doubting it, if my words be any authority with thee. O sinless and blessed one, if thou hast any faith in me, do thou never disregard a guest whether I be at thy side or at a distance from thee! Unto him, with hands clasped and placed on her head, Oghavati replied, saying,--'I shall leave nothing undone of what thou commandest me.--Then Mrityu, O king, desiring to over-reach Sudarsana, began to watch him for finding out his lathes. On a certain occasion, when the son of Agni went out to fetch firewood from the forest, a graceful Brahmana sought the hospitality of Oghavati with these words:--O beautiful lady, if thou hast any faith in the virtue of hospitality as prescribed for householders, then I would request thee to extend the rites of hospitality to me to-day.--The princess of great fame, thus addressed by that Brahmana, O king, welcomed him according to the rites prescribed in the Vedas. Having offered him a seat, and water to wash his feet, she enquired, saying,--What is thy business? What can I offer thee? The Brahmana said unto her,--My business is with thy person, O blessed one. Do thou act accordingly without any hesitation in thy mind. If the duties prescribed for householders be acceptable to thee, do thou, O princess, gratify me by offering up thy person to me.--Though tempted by the princess with offers of diverse other things, the Brahmana, however, did not ask for any other gift than the offer of her own person. Seeing him resolved, that lady, remembering the directions which had before been given to her by her husband, but overcome with shame, said, to that excellent Brahmana,--Be it so.--Remembering the words of her husband who was desirous of acquiring the virtue of householders, she cheerfully approached the regenerate Rishi. Meanwhile, the son of Agni, having collected his firewood, returned to his home. Mrityu, with his fierce and inexorable nature, was constantly by his side, even, as one attends upon one's devoted friend. When the son of Pavaka returned to his own hermitage, he called Oghavati by name, and (receiving no answer) repeatedly, exclaimed,--Whether art thou gone?--But the chaste lady, devoted to her husband, being then locked in the arms of that Brahmana, gave no reply to her husband. Indeed, that chaste woman, considering herself contaminated became speechless, overcome with shame. Sudarsana, addressing her again, exclaimed,--Where can my chaste wife be? Whither has she gone? Nothing can be of greater moment to me than this (her disappearance). Why does not that simple and truthful lady, devoted to her husband, alas, answer to my call today as she used to do before with sweet smiles? Then that Brahmana, who was within the hut, thus replied to Sudarsana,--Do thou learn, O son of Pavaka, that a Brahmana guest has arrived, and though tempted by this thy wife with diverse other offers of welcome, I have, O best of Brahmanas, desired only her person, and this fair-faced lady is engaged in welcoming me with due rites. Thou art at liberty to do whatever thou thinkest to be suitable to this occasion. Mrityu, armed with the iron club, pursued the Rishi at that moment, desirous of compassing the destruction of one that would, he thought, deviate from his promise. Sudarsana was struck with wonder, but casting off all jealousy and anger by look, word, deed, or thought, said,--Do thou enjoy thyself, O Brahmana. It is a great pleasure to me. A householder obtain the highest merit by honouring a guest. It is said by the learned that, as regards the householder, there is no higher merit than what results unto him from a guest departing from his house after having been duly honoured by him. My life, my wife, and whatever other worldly possessions I have, are all dedicated to the use of my guests. Even this is the vow that I have taken. As I have truly made this statement, by that truth, O Brahmana, I shall attain to the knowledge of Self. O foremost of virtuous men, the five elements, viz., fire, air, earth, water, and sky, and the mind, the intellect and the Soul, and time and space and the ten organs of sense, are all present in the bodies of men, and always witness the good and evil deeds that men do. This truth has today been uttered by me, and let the gods bless me for it or destroy me if I have spoken falsely. At this, O Bharata, there arose in all directions, in repeated echoes, a voice, crying,--This is true, this is not false. Then that Brahmana came out of the hovel, and like the wind rising and encompassing both Earth and sky, and making the three worlds echo with Vedic sounds, and calling that virtuous man by name, and congratulating him said,--O sinless one, I am Dharma; All glory to thee. I came here, O truth-loving one, to try thee, and I am well pleased with thee by knowing thee to be virtuous. Thou hast subdued and conquered Mrityu who always has pursued thee, seeking thy laches? O best of men, no one in the three worlds has the ability to insult, even with looks, this chaste lady devoted to her husband, far less to touch her person. She has been protected from defilement by thy virtue and by her own chastity. There can be nothing

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contrary to what this proud lady will say. This utterer of Brahma, endued with austere penances, shall, for the salvation of the world, be metamorphosed into a mighty river. And thou shalt attain to all the worlds in this thy body, and as truly as the science of Yoga is within her control, this highly blessed lady will follow thee with only half of her corporeal self, and with the other half will she be celebrated as the river Oghavati! And thou shalt attain with her to all the worlds that acquired through penances, Those eternal and everlasting worlds from which none cometh back will be attained by thee even in this gross body of thine. Thou hast conquered Death, and attained to the highest of all felicities, and by thy own power (of mind), attaining to the speed of thought, thou hast risen above the power of the five elements! By thus adhering to the duties of a householder, thou hast conquered thy passions, desires, and anger, and this princess, O prince of virtuous men has, by serving thee, conquered affliction, desire, illusion, enmity and lassitude of mind!'

"Bhishma continued, 'Then the glorious Vasava (the lord of the gods), riding in a fine chariot drawn by a thousand white horses, approached that Brahmana. Death and Soul, all the worlds, all the elements, intellect, mind, time, and space as also desire and wrath, were all conquered. There-fore, O best of men, do thou bear this in mind, that to a householder there is no higher divinity than the guest. It is said by the learned that the blessings of an honoured guest are more efficacious than the merit of a hundred sacrifices. Whenever a deserving guest seeks the hospitality of a householder and is not honoured by him, he takes away (with him) all the virtues of the latter giving him his sins (in return). I have now recited to thee, my son, this excellent story as to how Death was conquered of old by a householder. The recital of this excellent story confers glory, fame, and longevity (upon those that listen to it). The man that seeks worldly prosperity should consider it as efficacious in removing all evil. And, O Bharata, the learned man that daily recites this story of the life of Sudarsana attains to the regions of the blessed.'"

SECTION 3

"Yudhishthira said, 'If, O prince, Brahmanahood be so difficult of attainment by the three classes (Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras), how then did the high souled Viswamitra, O king, though a Kshatriya (by birth), attain to the status of a Brahmana? I desire to know this, O sire. Therefore, do thou truly relate this matter to me. That powerful man, O sire, by virtue of his austerities, destroyed in a moment the hundred sons of the high-souled Vasishtha. While under the influence of anger, he created numerous evil spirits and Rakshasas of mighty vigour and resembling the great destroyer Kala himself. The great and learned race of Kusika, numbering hundreds of regenerate sages and belauded by the Brahmanas, was founded in this world of men by him. Sunasepha of austere penances, the son of Richika, having been sought to be slain as an animal in the great sacrifice of Amvarisha, obtained his deliverance through Viswamitra. Harishchandra, having pleased the gods at a sacrifice, became a son of the wise Viswamitra. For not having honoured their eldest brother Devarat, whom Viswamitra got as a son from the gods, the other fifty brothers of his were cursed, and all of them became Chandalas. Trisanku, the son of Ikshwaku, through the curse of Vasistha became a Chandala, and when abandoned by his friends, and remaining suspended with his head downwards in the lower regions, was translated to heaven at the pleasure of Viswamitra. Viswamitra had a large river, by name Kausika, that was frequented by celestial Rishis. This sacred and auspicious stream was frequented by the gods and regenerate Rishis. For disturbing his devotions, the famous celestial nymph Rambha of fine bracelets, was cursed and metamorphosed into a rock. Through fear of Viswamitra the glorious Vasishtha, in olden times, binding himself with creepers, threw himself down into a river and again rose released from his bonds. In consequence of this, that large and sacred river become thenceforth celebrated by the name of Vipasa. He prayed to the glorious and puissant Indra who was pleased with him and absolved him from a curse. Remaining on the northern side of the firmament, he sheds his lustre from a position in the midst of the seven regenerate Rishis, and Dhruva the son of Uttanpada [The Pole Star.]. These are his achievements as well as many others. O descendant of Kuru, as they were performed by a Kshatriya, my curiosity has been roused in this matter. Therefore, O foremost one of Bharata's race, do thou relate this matter to me truly. How without casting off his corporeal frame and taking another tenement of flesh could he become a Brahmana? Do thou, O sire, truly relate this matter to me as thou hast related to me the story of Matanga. Matanga was born as a Chandala, and could not attain to Brahmanahood,(with all his austerities) but how could this man attain to the status of a Brahmana?"

SECTION 4

"Bhishma said, 'Listen truly in detail, O son of Pritha, how in olden times Viswamitra attained to the status of a Brahmana Rishi. There was, O foremost of Bharata's descendants, in the race of Bharata, a king of the name of Ajamida, who performed many sacrifices and was the best of all virtuous men. His son was the great king named Jahnu. Ganga was the daughter of this high-minded prince. The farfamed and equally virtuous Sindhudwipa was the son of this prince. From Sindhudwipa sprung the great royal sage Valakaswa. His son was named Vallabha who was like a second Dharma in embodied form. His son again was Kusika who was refulgent with glory like unto the thousand-eyed Indra. Kusika's son was the illustrious King Gadhi who, being childless and desiring to have a son born unto him, repaired to the forest. Whilst living there, a daughter was born unto him. She was called Satyavati by name, and in beauty of appearance she had no equal on Earth. The illustrious son of Chyavana, celebrated by the name of Richika, of the race of Bhrigu, endued with austere penances, sought the hand of this lady. Gadhi, the destroyer of his enemies, thinking him to be poor, did not bestow her in marriage upon the high-souled Richika. But when the latter, thus dismissed, was going away, the excellent king, addressing him said,--'If thou givest me a marriage dower thou shalt have my daughter for thy wife.'

"Richika said, 'What dower, O king, shall I offer thee for the hand of thy daughter? Tell me truly, without feeling any hesitation in the matter. Gadhi said,--'O descendant of Bhrigu, do thou give me a thousand horses fleet as the wind, and possessing the hue of moon-beams, and each having one ear black.'

"Bhishma said, 'Then that mighty son of Chyavana who was the foremost of Bhrigu's race, besought the deity Varuna, the son of Aditi, who was the lord of all the waters.--O best of gods, I pray to thee to give me a thousand horses, all endued with the speed of the wind and with complexion as effulgent as the moon's, but each having one ear black. The god Varuna, the son of Aditi, said to that excellent scion of Bhrigu's race,--Be it so. Wheresoever thou shalt seek, the horses shalt arise (in thy presence).--As soon as Richika thought of them, there arose from the waters of Ganga thousand high-mettled horses, as lustrous in complexion as the moon. Not far from Kanyakubja, the sacred bank of Ganga is still famous among men as Aswatirtha in consequence of the appearance of those horses at that place. Then Richika, that best of ascetics, pleased in mind, gave those thousand excellent horses unto Gadhi as the marriage-dower. King Gadhi, filled with wonder and fearing to be cursed, gave his daughter, bedecked with jewels, unto that son of Bhrigu. That foremost of regenerate Rishis accepted her hand in marriage according to the prescribed rites. The princess too was well-pleased at finding herself the wife of that Brahmana. That foremost of regenerate Rishis, O Bharata, was well pleased with her conduct and expressed a wish to grant her boon. The princess, O excellent king, related this to her mother. The mother addressed the daughter that stood before her with down-cast eyes, saving,--It behoves thee, O my daughter, to secure a favour for me also from thy husband. That sage of austere penances is capable of granting a boon to me, the boon, viz. of the birth of a son to me.--Then, O king, returning quickly to her husband Richika, the princess related to him all that had been desired by her mother. Richika said,--By my favour, O blessed one, she will soon give birth to a son possessed of every virtue. May thy request be fulfilled. Of thee too shall be born a mighty and glorious son who, endued with virtue, shall perpetuate my race. Truly do I say this unto thee! When you two shall bathe in your season, she shall embrace a peepul tree, and thou, O excellent lady, shalt likewise embrace a fig tree, and by so doing shall ye attain the object of your desire. O sweetly-smiling lady, both she and you shall have to partake of these two sacrificial offerings (in form of a charu; a charu is properly an oblation of rice, barley, and pulse, boiled with butter and milk, for presentation to the gods in a sacrifice or ordinary worship.) rated with hymns, and then shall ye obtain sons (as desired).--At this, Satyavati, delighted at heart, told her mother all that had been said by Richika as also of the two balls of charu. Then the mother, addressing her daughter Satyavati, said:--O daughter, as I am deserving of greater consideration from thee than thy husband, do thou obey my words. The charu, duly consecrated with hymns, which thy husband has given to thee, do thou give unto me and thyself take the one that has been prescribed for me. O sweetly-smiling one of blameless character, if thou hast any respect for my word, let us change the trees respectively designed for us. Every one desires to possess an excellent and stainless being for his own son. The glorious Richika too must have acted from a similar motive in this matter, as will appear in the end. For this reason, O beautiful girl, my heart inclines towards thy charu, and thy tree, and thou too shouldst consider how to secure an excellent brother for thyself.--The mother and the daughter Satyavati having acted in this way, they both, O Yudhishthira, became big with child. And that great Rishi, the excellent descendant of Bhrigu, finding his wife quick with child, was pleased at heart, and addressing her, said,--O excellent lady, thou hast not done well in exchanging the charu as will soon become apparent. It is also clear that thou hast changed the trees. I had placed the entire accumulated energy of Brahma in thy charu and Kshatriya energy in the charu of thy mother. I had so ordered that thou wouldst give birth to a Brahmana whose virtues would be famous throughout the three worlds, and that she (thy mother) would give birth to an excellent Kshatriya. But now, O excellent lady, that thou hast reversed the order (of the charu) so, thy mother will give birth to an excellent Brahmana and thou too, O excellent lady, will give birth to a Kshatriya terrible in action. Thou hast not done will, O lady, by acting thus out of affection for thy mother.--Hearing this, O king the excellent lady Satyavati, struck with sorrow, fell upon the ground like a beautiful creeper cut in twain. Regaining her senses and bowing unto her lord with head (bent), the daughter of Gadhi said to her husband, that foremost one of Bhrigu's race,--O regenerate Rishi, O thou that art foremost amongst those versed in Brahma, do thou take pity on me, thy wife, who is thus appeasing thee and so order that a Kshatriya son may not be born unto me. Let my grandson be such a one as will be famous for his terrible achievements, if it be thy desire, but not my son, O Brahmana. Do thou confer this favour on me.--Be it so,--said that man of austere penances to his wife and then, O king, she gave birth to a blessed son named Jamadagni. The celebrated wife of Gadhi too gave birth to the regenerate Rishi Viswamitra versed in the knowledge of Brahma, by favour of that Rishi. The highly devout Viswamitra, though a Kshatriya, attained to the state of a Brahmana and became the founder of a race of Brahmanas. His sons became high-souled progenitors of many races of Brahmanas who were devoted to austere penances, learned in the Vedas, and founders, of many clans. The adorable Madhuchcchanda and the mighty Devrat, Akshina, Sakunta, Vabhru, Kalapatha, the celebrated Yajnavalkya, Sthula of high vows, Uluka, Mudgala, and the sage Saindhavayana, the illustrious Valgujangha and the great Rishi Galeva, Ruchi, the celebrated Vajra, as also Salankayana, Liladhya and Narada, the one known as Kurchamuka, and Vahuli, Mushala, as also Vakshogriva, Anghrika, Naikadrik, Silayupa, Sita, Suchi, Chakraka, Marrutantavya, Vataghna, Aswalayana, and Syamayana, Gargya, and Javali, as also Susruta, Karishi, Sangsrutya, and Para Paurava, and Tantu, the great sage Kapila, Tarakayana, Upagahana, Asurayani, Margama, Hiranyksha, Janghari, Bhavravayani, and Suti, Bibhuti, Suta, Surakrit, Arani, Nachika, Champeya, Ujjayana, Navatantu, Vakanakha, Sayanya, Yati, Ambhoruha, Amatsyasin, Srishin, Gardhavi Urjjayoni, Rudapekahin, and the great Rishi Naradin,--these Munis were all sons of Viswamitra and were versed in the knowledge of Brahma. O king Yudhishthira, the highly austere and devout Viswamitra, although a Kshatriya (by descent), became a Brahmana for Richika having placed the energy of supreme Brahma (in the charu), O foremost prince of Bharata's race, I have now related to you, with all details, the story of the birth of Viswamitra who was possessed of energy of the sun, the moon, and the fire-god. O best of kings, if thou hast any doubt with regard to any other matter, do thou let me know it, so that I may remove it.'"

SECTION 5

"Yudhishthira said, 'O thou that knowest the truths of religion, I wish to hear of the merits of compassion, and of the characteristics of devout men. Do thou, O sire, describe them to me.'

"Bhishma said, In this connection, this ancient legend, the story of Vasava and the high-minded Suka, is cited as an illustration. In the territories of the king of Kasi, a fowler, having poisoned arrows with him went out of his village on a hunting excursion in search of antelopes. Desirous of obtaining, meat, when in a big forest in pursuit of the chase, he discovered a drove of antelopes not far from him, and discharged his arrow at one of them. The arrows of that folder of irresistible arms, discharged for the destruction of the antelope, missed its aim and pierced a mighty forest-tree. The tree, violently pierced with that arrow tipped with virulent poison, withered away, shedding its leaves and fruits. The tree having thus withered a parrot that had lived in a hollow of its trunk all his life, did not leave his nest out of affection for the lord of the forest. Motionless and without food silent and sorrowful, that grateful and virtuous parrot also withered away with the tree. The conqueror of Paka (Indra) was struck with wonder upon finding that high-souled, and generous-hearted bird thus uninfluenced by misery or happiness and possessing extraordinary resolution. Then the thought arose in Sakra's mind,--How could this bird come to possess humane and generous feelings which are impossible in one belonging to the world of lower animals? Perchance, there is nothing wonderful in the matter, for all creatures are seen to evince kindly and generous feelings towards others.--Assuming then the shape of a Brahmana, Sakra descended on the Earth and addressing the bird, said,--O Suka, O best of birds, the grand-daughter (Suki) of Daksha has become blessed (by having thee as her offspring). I ask thee, for what reason dost thou not leave this withered tree?--Thus questioned, the Suka bowed unto him and thus replied:--Welcome to thee O chief of the gods, I have recognised thee by the merit of my austere penances--Well-done, well-done!--

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exclaimed the thousand-eyed deity. Then the latter praised him in his mind, saying,--O, how wonderful is the knowledge which he possesses.--Although the destroyer of Vala knew that parrot to be of a highly virtuous character and meritorious in action, he still enquired of him about the reason of his affection for the tree. This tree is withered and it is without leaves and fruits and is unfit to be the refuge of birds. Why dost thou then cling to it? This forest, too, is vast and in this wilderness there are numerous other fine trees whose hollows are covered with leaves and which thou canst choose freely and to thy heart's content. O patient one exercising due discrimination in thy wisdom, do thou forsake this old tree that is dead and useless and shorn of all its leaves and no longer capable of any good.'"

"Bhishma said, 'The virtuous Suka, hearing these words of Sakra, heaved a deep sigh and sorrowfully replied unto him, saying--O consort of Sachi, and chief of the gods, the ordinances of the deities are always to be obeyed. Do thou listen to the reason of the matter in regard to which thou hast questioned me. Here, within this tree, was I born, and here in this tree have I acquired all the good traits of my character, and here in this tree was I protected in my infancy from the assaults of my enemies. O sinless one, why art thou, in thy kindness, tampering with the principle of my conduct in life? I am compassionate, and devoutly intent on virtue, and steadfast in conduct. Kindliness of feeling is the great test of virtue amongst the good, and this same compassionate and humane feeling is the source of perennial felicity to the virtuous. All the gods question thee to remove their doubts in religion, and for this reason, O lord, thou hast been placed in sovereignty over them all. It behoves thee not, O thousand-eyed one, to advise me now to abandon this tree for ever. When it was capable of good, it supported my life. How can I forsake it now?--The virtuous destroyer of Paka, pleased with these well-meant words of the parrot, thus said to him:--I am gratified with thy humane and compassionate disposition. Do thou ask a boon of me.--At this, the compassionate parrot craved this boon of him, saying,--Let this tree revive.--Knowing the great attachment of the parrot to that tree and his high character, Indra, well-pleased, caused the tree to be quickly sprinkled over with nectar. Then that tree became replenished and attained to exquisite grandeur through the penances of the parrot, and the latter too, O great king, at the close of his life, obtained the companionship of Sakra by virtue of that act of compassion. Thus, O lord of men, by communion and companionship with the pious, people attain all the objects of their desire even as the tree die through its companionship with the parrot.'"

SECTION 6

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me, O learned sire that art versed in all the scriptures, of Exertion and Destiny which is the most powerful?'

"Bhishma said, 'This ancient story of the conversation of Vasishtha and Brahma, O Yudhishthira, is an illustration in point. In olden times the adorable Vasishtha enquired of Brahma as to which among these two, viz., the Karma of a creature acquired in this life, or that acquired in previous lives (and called Destiny), is the more potent in shaping his life. Then, O king, the great god Brahma, who had sprung from the primeval lotus, answered him in these exquisite and well-reasoned words, full of meaning.'"

"Brahma said, 'Nothing comes into existence without seed. Without seed, fruits do not grow. From seeds spring other seeds. Hence are fruits known to be generated from seeds. Good or bad as the seed is that the husbandman soweth in his field, good or bad are the fruits that he reaps. As, unsown with seed, the soil, though tilled, becomes fruitless, so, without individual Exertion, Destiny is of no avail. One's own acts are like the soil, and Destiny (or the sum of one's acts in previous births) is compared to the seed. From the union of the soil and the seed doth the harvest grow. It is observed every day in the world that the doer reaps the fruit of his good and evil deeds; that happiness results from good deeds, and pain from evil ones; that acts, when done, always fructify; and that, if not done, no fruit arises. A man of (good) acts acquires merits with good fortune, while an idler falls away from his estate, and reaps evil like the infusion of alkaline matter injected into a wound. By devoted application, one acquires beauty, fortune, and riches of various kinds. Everything can be secured by Exertion: but nothing can be gained through Destiny alone, by a man that is wanting in personal Exertion. Even so does one attain to heaven, and all the objects of enjoyment, as also the fulfilment of one's heart's desires by well-directed individual Exertion. Al! the luminous bodies in the firmament, all the deities, the Nagas, and the Rakshasas, as also the Sun and the Moon and the Winds, have attained to their high status by evolution from man's status, through dint of their own action. Riches, friends, prosperity descending from generation to generation, as also the graces of life, are difficult of attainment by those that are wanting in Exertion. The Brahmana attains to prosperity by holy living, the Kshatriya by prowess, the Vaisya by manly exertion, and the Sudra by service. Riches and other objects of enjoyment do not follow the stingy, nor the impotent, nor the idler. Nor are these ever attained by the man that is not active or manly or devoted to the exercise of religious austerities. Even he, the adorable Vishnu, who created the three worlds with the Daityas and all the gods, even He is engaged in austere penances in the bosom of the deep. If one's Karma bore no fruit, then all actions would become fruitless, and relying on Destiny men would become idlers. He who, without pursuing the human modes of action, follows Destiny only, acts in vain, like unto the woman that has an impotent husband. In this world the apprehension that accrues from performance of good or evil actions is not so great if Destiny be unfavourable as one's apprehension of the same in the other world if Exertion be wanting while here. [The meaning seems to be that if Destiny be unfavourable, there need not be much fear with respect to this world. But if one be wanting in Exertion, great must his fear be with respect to the next world, for happiness can never be obtained in the next world unless one acts righteously while here.] Man's powers, if properly exerted, only follow his Destiny, but Destiny alone is incapable of conferring any good where Exertion is wanting. When it is seen that even in the celestial regions, the position of the deities themselves is unstable, how would the deities maintain their own position or that of others without proper Karma? The deities do not always approve of the good deeds of others in this world, for, apprehending their own overthrow, they try to thwart the acts of others. There is a constant rivalry between the deities and the Rishis, and if they all have to go through their Karma, still it can never be averted that there is no such thing as Destiny, for it is the latter that initiates all Karma. How does Karma originate, if Destiny form the prime spring of human action? (The answer is) that by this means, an accretion of many virtues is made even in the celestial regions. One's own self is one's friend and one's enemy too, as also the witness of one's good and evil deeds. Good and evil manifest themselves through Karma. Good and evil acts do not give adequate results. Righteousness is the refuge of the gods, and by righteousness is everything attained. Destiny thwarts not the man that has attained to virtue and righteousness. In olden times, Yayati, falling from his high estate in heaven descended on the Earth but was again restored to the celestial regions by the good deeds of his virtuous grandsons. The royal sage Pururavas, celebrated as the descendant of Ila, attained to heaven through the intercession of the Brahmanas. Saudasa, the king of Kosala, though dignified by the performance of Aswamedha and other sacrifices, obtained the status of a man-eating Rakshasa, through the curse of a great Rishi. Aswatthaman and Rama, though both warriors and sons of Munis, failed to attain to heaven by reason of their own actions in this world. Vasu, though he performed a hundred sacrifices like a second Vasava, was sent to the nethermost regions, for making a single false statement. Vali, the son of Virochana, righteously bound by his promise, was consigned to the regions under the Earth, by the prowess of Vishnu. Was not Janamejaya, who followed the foot-prints of Sakra, checked and put down by the gods for killing a Brahmana woman? Was not the regenerate Rishi Vaisampayana too, who slew a Brahmana in ignorance, and was polluted by the slaughter of a child, put down by the gods? In olden times the royal sage Nriga became transmuted into a lizard. He had made gifts of kine unto the Brahmanas at his great sacrifice, but this availed him not. The royal sage Dhundhumara was overwhelmed with decrepitude even while engaged in performing his sacrifices, and foregoing all the merits thereof, he fell asleep at Girivraja. The Pandavas too regained their lost kingdom, of which they had been deprived by the powerful sons of Dhritarashtra, not through the intercession of the fates, but by recourse to their own valour. Do the Munis of rigid vows, and devoted to the practice of austere penances, denounce their curses with the aid of any supernatural power or by the exercise of their own puissance attained by individual acts? All the good which is attained with difficulty in this world is possessed by the wicked, is soon lost to them. Destiny does not help the man that is steeped in spiritual ignorance and avarice. Even as a fire of small proportions, when fanned by the wind, becomes of mighty power, so does Destiny, when joined with individual Exertion, increase greatly (in potentiality). As with the diminution of oil in the lamp its light is extinguished so does the influence of Destiny is lost if one's acts stop. Having obtained vast wealth, and women and all the enjoyments of this world, the man, without action is unable to enjoy them long, but the high-souled man, who is even diligent, is able to find riches buried deep in the Earth and watched over by the fates. The good man who is prodigal (in religious charities and sacrifices) is sought by the gods for his good conduct, the celestial world being better than the world of men, but the house of the miser though abounding in wealth is looked upon by the gods as the house of dead. The man that does not exert himself is never contented in this world nor can Destiny alter the course of a man that has gone wrong. So there is no authority inherent in Destiny. As the pupil follows one's own individual perception, so the Destiny follows Exertion. The affairs in which one's own Exertion is put forth, there only Destiny shows its hand. O best of Munis, I have thus described all the merits of individual Exertion, after having always known them in their true significance with the aid of my yogic insight. By the influence of Destiny, and by putting forth individual Exertion, do men attain to heaven. The combined aid of Destiny and Exertion, becomes efficacious.'"

SECTION 7

"Yudhishthira said, 'O the best of Bharata's race and the foremost of great men, I wish to know what the fruits are of good deed. Do thou enlighten me on this point.'"

"Bhishma said, 'I shall tell thee what thou hast asked. Do thou, O Yudhishthira, listen to this which constitutes the secret knowledge of the Rishis. Listen to me as I explain what the ends, long coveted, are which are attained by men after death. Whatever actions are performed by particular corporeal beings, the fruits thereof are reaped by the doers while endued with similar corporeal bodies; for example, the fruits of actions done with mind are enjoyed at the time of dreams, and those of actions performed physically are enjoyed in the working state physically. In whatever states creatures perform good or evil deeds, they reap the fruits thereof in similar states of succeeding lives. No act done with the aid of the five organs of sensual perception, is ever lost. The five sensual organs and the immortal soul which is the sixth, remain its witnesses. One should devote one's eye to the service of the guest and should devote one's heart on the same; one should utter words that are agreeable; one should also follow and worship (one's guest). This is called Panchadakshin Sacrifice, (the sacrifice with five gifts). He who offers good food to the unknown and weary travellers fatigued by a long journey, attains to great merit. Those that use the sacrificial platform as their only bed obtain commodious mansions and beds (in subsequent births). Those that wear only rags and barks of trees for dress, obtain good apparel and ornaments in next birth. One possessed of penances and having his soul on Yoga, get vehicles and riding animals (as the fruit of their renunciation in this life). The monarch that lies down by the side of the sacrificial fire, attains to vigour and valour. The man who renounces the enjoyment of all delicacies, attains to prosperity, and he that abstains from animal food, obtains children and cattle, He who lies down with his head downwards, or who lives in water, or who lives secluded and alone in the practice of Brahmacharya, attains to all the desired ends. He who offers shelter to a guest and welcomes him with water to wash his feet as also with food, light and bed, attains to the merits of the sacrifice with the five gifts. He who lays himself down on a warrior's bed on the battle-field in the posture of a warrior, goes to those eternal regions where all the objects of desire are fulfilled. A man, O king, attains to riches that makes charitable gifts. One secures obedience to one's command by the vow of silence, all the enjoyments of life by practice of austerities, long life by Brahmacharya, and beauty, prosperity and freedom from disease by abstaining from injury to others. Sovereignty falls to the lot of those that subsist on fruits and roots only. Residence in heaven is attained by those that live on only leaves of trees. A man, O king, is said to obtain happiness, by abstention from food. By confining one's diet to herbs alone, one becomes possessed of cows. By living on grass one attains to the celestial regions. By foregoing all intercourse with one's wife and making ablutions three times during the day and by inhaling the air only for purposes of subsistence, one obtains the merit of a sacrifice. Heaven is attained by the practice of truth, nobility of birth by sacrifices. The Brahmana of pure practices that subsists on water only, and performs the Agnihotra ceaselessly, and recites the Gayatri, obtains a kingdom. By abstaining food or by regulating it, one attains to residence in heaven. O king, by abstaining from all but the prescribed diet while engaged in sacrifices, and by making pilgrimage for twelve years, one attains to a place better than the abodes reserved for heroes. By reading all the Vedas, one is instantly liberated from misery, and by practising virtue in thought, one attains to the heavenly regions. That man who is able to renounce that intense yearning of the heart for happiness and material enjoyments,--a yearning that is difficult of conquest by the foolish and that doth not abate with the abatement of bodily vigour and that clings like a fatal disease unto him,--is able to secure happiness. As the young calf is able to recognise its dam from among a thousand cows, so does the previous acts of a man pursue him (in all his different transformations). As the flowers and fruits of a tree, unurged by visible influences, never miss their proper season, so does Karma done in a previous existence bring about its fruits in proper time. With age, man's hair grows grey, his teeth become loose; his eyes and ears too become dim in action; but the only thing that does not abate is his desire for enjoyments. Prajapati is pleased with those acts that please one's father, and the Earth is pleased with those acts that please one's mother, and Brahma is adored with those acts that please one's preceptor. Virtue is honoured by him who honours these three. The acts of those that despise these three do not avail them.'"

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"Vaisampayana said, 'The princes of Kuru's race became filled with wonder upon listening to this speech of Bhishma. All of them became pleased in mind and overpowered with joy. As Mantras applied with a desire to win victory, or the performance of the Shoma sacrifice made without proper gifts, or oblations poured on the fire without proper hymns, become useless and lead to evil consequences, even so sin and evil results flow from falsehood in speech. O prince, I have thus related to thee this doctrine of the fruition of good and evil acts, as narrated by the Rishis of old. What else dost thou wish to hear?"

SECTION 8

"Yudhishthira said, 'Who are deserving of worship? Who are they unto whom one may bow? Who are they, O Bharata, unto whom thou wouldst bend thy head? Who, again, are they whom thou likest? Tell me all this, O prince. What is that upon which thy mind dwells when affliction overwhelms thee? Do thou discourse to me on what is beneficial here, that is, in this region of human beings, as also hereafter.'"

"Bhishma said, 'I like those regenerate persons whose highest wealth is Brahman, whose heaven consists in the knowledge of the soul, and whose penances are constituted by their diligent study of the Vedas. My heart yearns after those in whose race persons, young and old diligently bear the ancestral burthens without languishing under them. Brahmanas well-trained in several branches of knowledge, self-controlled, mild-speeched, conversant with the scriptures, well-behaved, possessed of the knowledge of Brahman and righteous in conduct, discourse in respectable assemblies like flights of swans. Auspicious, agreeable, excellent, and well-pronounced are the words, O Yudhishthira, which they utter with a voice as deep as that of the clouds. Fraught with happiness both temporal and spiritual, such words are uttered by them in the courts of monarchs, themselves being received with honour and attention and served with reverence by those rulers of men. Indeed, my heart yearns after them who listen to the words uttered in assemblies or the courts of kings by persons endued with knowledge and all desirable attributes, and are respected by others. My heart, O monarch, always yearns after them who, for the gratification of Brahmanas, O Yudhishthira, give unto them, with devotion, food that is well-cooked and clean and wholesome. It is easy to fight in battle, but not so to make a gift without pride or vanity. In this world, O Yudhishthira, there are brave men and heroes by hundreds. While counting them, he that is a hero in gifts should be regarded as superior, O amiable one, if I had been even a vulgar Brahmana, I would have regarded myself as very great, not to speak of one born in a good Brahmana family endued with righteousness of conduct, and devoted to penances and learning. There is no one, O son of Pandu, in this world that is dearer to me than thou, O chief of Bharata's race but dearer to me than thou are the Brahmanas. And since, O best of the Kurus, the Brahmanas are very much dearer to me than thou, it is by that truth that I hope to go to all those regions of felicity which have been acquired by my sire Santanu. Neither my sire, nor my sire's sire, nor any one else connected with me by blood, is dearer to me than the Brahmanas. I do not expect any fruit, small or great, from my worship of the Brahmanas (for I worship them as deities because they are deserving of such worship). In consequence of what I have done to the Brahmanas in thought, word, and deed, I do not feel any pain now (even though I am lying on a bed of arrows). People used to call me as one devoted to the Brahmanas. This style of address always pleased me highly. To do good to the Brahmanas is the most sacred of all sacred acts. I behold many regions of beautitude waiting for me that have reverentially walked behind the Brahmanas. Very soon shall I repair to those regions for everlasting time, O son. In this world, O Yudhishthira, the duties of women have reference to and depend upon their husbands. To a woman, verily, the husband is the deity and he is the highest end after which she should strive. As the husband is to the wife, even so are the Brahmanas unto Kshatriyas. If there be a Kshatriya of full hundred years of age and a good Brahmana child of only ten years, the latter should be regarded as a father and the former as a son, for among the two, verily, the Brahmana is superior. A woman in the absence of her husband, takes his younger brother for her lord; even so the Earth, not having obtained the: Brahmana, made the Kshatriya her lord. The Brahmanas should be protected like sons and worshipped like sires or preceptors. Indeed, O best of the Kurus, they should be waited upon with reverence even as people wait with reverence upon their sacrificial or Homa fires. The Brahmanas are endued with simplicity and righteousness. They are devoted to truth. They are always engaged in the good of every creature. Yet when angry they are like snakes of virulent poison. They should, for these reasons, be always waited upon and served with reverence and humility. One should, O Yudhishthira, always fear these two, viz. Energy and Penances. Both these should be avoided or kept at a distance. The effects of both are speedy. There is the superiority, however, of Penances, viz., that Brahmanas endued with Penances, O monarch, can, if angry, slay the object of their wrath (regardless of the measure of Energy with which that object may be endued). Energy and Penances, each of the largest measure, become neutralised if applied against a Brahmana that has conquered wrath. If the two,--that is, Energy and Penances,--be set against each other, then destruction would overtake both but not destruction without, a remnant, for while Energy, applied against Penances, is sure to be destroyed without leaving a remnant. Penances applied against Energy cannot be destroyed completely [i.e., one should keep oneself aloof from both Energy and Penances, for both these can consume, if troubled or interfered with. By 'Energy' is meant both physical and mental force. It belongs to the Kshatriya as Penances belong to the Brahmana.]. As the herdsman, stick in hand, protects the herd, even so should the Kshatriya always protect the Vedas and the Brahmanas. Indeed, the Kshatriya should protect all righteous Brahmanas even as a sire protects his sons. He should always have his eye upon the house of the Brahmanas for seeing that their means of subsistence may not be wanting.'"

SECTION 9

"Yudhisthira said, 'O grandsire, O thou of great splendour, what do those men become who, through stupefaction of intellect, do not make gifts unto Brahmanas after having promised to make those gifts? O thou that art the foremost of all righteous persons, do tell me what the duties are in this respect. Indeed, what becomes the end of those wicked wights that do not give after having promised to give.'"

"Bhishma said, 'The person that, after having promised, does not give, be it little or much, has the mortification to see his hopes (in every direction) become fruitless like the hopes of a eunuch in respect of progeny. Whatever good acts such a person does between the day of his birth and that of his death, O Bharata, whatever libations he pours on the sacrificial fire, whatever gifts he makes, O chief of Bharata's race, and whatever penances he performs all become fruitless. They that are conversant with the scriptures declare this as their opinion, arriving at it, O chief of the Bharatas, with the aid of a well-ordered understanding. Persons conversant with the scriptures are also of opinion that such a man may be cleansed by giving away a thousand horses with ears of a dark hue. In this connection is cited the old narrative of the discourse between a jackal and an ape. While both were human beings, O scorcher of foes, they were intimate friends. After death one of them became a jackal and the other an ape. Beholding the jackal one day eating an animal carcase in the midst of a crematorium, the ape, remembering his own and his friend's former birth as human beings, addressed him, saying,--Verily, what terrible sin didst thou perpetrate in thy former birth in consequence of which thou art obliged in this birth to feed in a crematorium upon such repulsive fare as the putrid carcase of an animal?--Thus addressed, the jackal replied unto the ape, saying,--Having promised to give unto a Brahmana I did not make him the gift. It is for that sin, O ape, that I have fallen into this wretched order of existence. It is for that reason that, when hungry, I am obliged to eat such food.'

"Bhishma continued, 'The jackal then, O best of men, addressed the ape and said,--What sin didst thou commit for which thou hast become an ape?"

"The ape said, 'In my former life I used to appropriate the fruits belonging to Brahmanas. Hence have I become an ape. Hence it is clear that one possessed of intelligence and learning should never appropriate what belongs to Brahmanas. Verily, as one should abstain from this, one should avoid also all disputes with Brahmanas. Having promised, one should certainly make the promised gift unto them.'

"Bhishma continued, 'I heard this, O king, from my preceptor while he was engaged in discoursing upon the subject of Brahmanas. I heard this from that righteous person when he recited the old and sacred declaration on this topic. I heard this from Krishna also, O king, while he was engaged in discoursing, O son of Pandu, upon Brahmanas. The property of a Brahmana should never be appropriated. They should always be let alone. Poor, or miserly, or young in years, they should never be disregarded. The Brahmanas have always taught me this. Having promised to make them a gift, the gift should be made. A superior Brahmana should never be disappointed in the matter of his expectations. A Brahmana, O king, in whom an expectation has been raised, has, O king, been said to be like a blazing fire. That man upon whom a Brahmana with raised expectations casts his eye, is sure, O monarch, to be consumed even as a heap of straw is capable of being consumed by a blazing fire. When the Brahmana, gratified (with honours and gifts) by the king addresses the king in delightful and affectionate words, he becomes, O Bharata, a source of great benefit to the king, for he continues to live in the kingdom like a physician combating against diverse ills of the body. [The sense is that as a physician cures diverse ailments of the body, after the same manner, a gratified Brahmana cures diverse faults of the kingdom in which he continues to live honoured and gratified by the king.] Such a Brahmana is sure to maintain by his puissance and good wishes, the sons and grandsons and animals and relatives and ministers and other officers and the city and the provinces of the king. Even such is the energy, so great, of the Brahmana like unto that of the thousand-rayed Surya himself, on the Earth. There-fore, O Yudhishthira, if one wishes to attain to a respectable or happy order of being in one's next birth, one should, having passed the promise to a Brahmana, certainly keep it by actually making the gift to him. By making gifts to a Brahmana one is sure to attain to the highest heaven. Verily, the making of gifts is the highest of acts that one can achieve. By the gifts one makes to a Brahmana, the deities and the pitris are supported. Hence one possessed of knowledge should ever make gifts unto the Brahmanas. O chief of the Bharatas, the Brahmana is regarded as the highest object unto whom gifts should be made. At no time should a Brahmana be received without being properly worshipped."

SECTION 10

"Yudhisthira said, 'I wish to know, O royal sage, whether any fault is incurred by one who from interested or disinterested friendship imparts instructions unto a person belonging to a low order of birth! O grandsire, I desire to hear this, expounded to me in detail. The course of duty is exceedingly subtile. Men are often seen to be stupefied in respect of that course.'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection, O king, I shall recite to thee, in due order, what I heard certain Rishis say in days of yore. Instruction should not be imparted unto one that belongs to a low or mean caste. It is said that the preceptor who imparts instruction to such a person incurs great fault. Listen to me, O chief of Bharata's race, as I recite to thee, O Yudhishthira, this instance that occurred in days of old, O monarch, of the evil consequences of the imparting of instruction unto a low-born person fallen into distress. The incident which I shall relate occurred in the asylum of certain regenerate sages that stood on the auspicious breast of Himavat. There, on the breast of that prince of mountains, was a sacred asylum adorned with trees of diverse kinds. Overgrown also with diverse species of creepers and plants, it was the resort of many animals and birds. Inhabited by Siddhas and Charanas also, it was exceedingly delightful in consequence of the woods that flowered these at every season. Many were the Brahmacharins that dwelt there, and many belonging to the forest mode of life. Many also were the Brahmanas that took up their residence there, that were highly blessed and that resembled the sun or the fire in energy and effulgence. Ascetics of diverse kinds, observant of various restraints and vows, as also others, O chief of the Bharatas, that had undergone Diksha and were frugal in fare and possessed of cleansed souls, took up their residence there. Large numbers of Valakhilyas and many that were observant of the vow of Sanyasa also, used to dwell there. The asylum, in consequence of all this, resounded with the chanting of the Vedas and the sacred Mantras uttered by its inhabitants. Once upon a time a Sudra endued with compassion for all creatures, ventured to come into that asylum. Arrived at that retreat, he was duly honoured by all the ascetics. Beholding those ascetics of diverse classes that were endued with great energy, that resembled the deities (in purity and power), and that were observing diverse kinds of Diksha, O Bharata, the Sudra became highly pleased at heart. Beholding everything, O chief of Bharata's race, the Sudra felt inclined to devote himself to the practice of penances. Touching the feet of the Kulapati (the head man of the group), O Bharata, he addressed him saying, 1 'Through thy grace, O foremost of regenerate persons, I desire, to learn (and practise) the duties of religion. It behoveth thee, O illustrious one, to discourse to me on those duties and introduce me (by performing the rites of initiation) into a life of Renunciation. I am certainly inferior in colour, O illustrious one, for I am by caste a Sudra, O best of men. I desire to wait upon and serve you here. Be gratified with me that humbly seek thy shelter.'"

"The Kulapati said, 'It is impossible that a Sudra should live here adopting the marks specially intended for those practising lives of Renunciation. If it pleases thee, thou mayest stay here, engaged in waiting upon and serving us. Without doubt, by such service thou shalt attain to many regions of high felicity.'"

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed by the ascetic, the Sudra began to reflect in his mind, O king, saying, How should I now act? Great is my reverence for those religious duties that lead to merit. Let this, however, be settled, that I shall do what would be for my benefit.' Proceeding to a spot that was distant from that asylum, he made a hut of the twigs and leaves of trees. Erecting also a sacrificial platform, and making a little space for his sleep, and some platforms for the use of the deities, he began, O chief of the Bharatas, to lead a life regulated by rigid observances and vows and to practise penances, abstaining entirely from speech all the while. He began to perform ablutions thrice a day, observe other vows (in respect of food and sleep), make sacrifices to the deities, pour libations on the sacrificial fire, and adore the worship and deities in this way. Restraining all carnal desires, living abstemiously upon fruits and roots, controlling all his senses,

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he daily welcomed and entertained all that came to his retreat as guests, offering them herbs and fruits that grew plentifully around. In this way he passed a very long time in that hermitage of his. One day an ascetic came to that Sudra's retreat for the purpose of making his acquaintance. The Sudra welcomed and worshipped the Rishi with due rites, and gratified him highly. Endued with great energy, and possessed of a righteous soul, that Rishi of rigid vows conversed with his host on many agreeable subjects and informed him of the place whence he had come. In this way, O chief of the Bharatas, that Rishi, O best of men, came into the asylum of the Sudra times out of a number for the object of seeing him. On one of these occasions, the Sudra, O king, addressing the Rishi said,--I desire to perform the rites that are ordained for the Pitris. Do thou instruct me kindly in this matter.--Very well,--the Brahmana said in reply unto him, O monarch. The Sudra then, purifying himself by a bath, brought water for the Rishi to wash his feet, and he also brought some Kusa grass, and wild herbs and fruits, and a sacred seat, and the seat called Vrishi. The Vrishi, however, was placed by the Sudra towards the south, with his head turned to the west. Beholding, this and knowing that it was against the ordinance, the Rishi addressed the Sudra, saying,--Place the Vrishi with its head turned towards the East, and having purified thyself, do thou sit with thy face turned towards the north--The Sudra did everything as the Rishi directed. Possessed of great intelligence, and observant of righteousness, the Sudra received every direction, about the Sraddha, as laid down in the ordinance, from that Rishi endued with penances regarding the manner of spreading the Kusa grass, and placing the Arghyas, and as regards the rites to be observed in the matter of the libations to be poured and the food to be offered. After the rites in honour of the Pitris had been accomplished, the Rishi, was dismissed by the Sudra, whereupon he returned to his own abode. [No Brahmana, the scriptures declare, should ever assist a Sudra in the performance of his religious or Pitri rites. Those Brahmanas that violate this injunction fall away from their superior position. They are condemned as Sudra-yajins. Here the Rishi, by only giving directions to the Sudra as to how the Pitri rites were to be performed, became a Sudra-yajin. There are many families to this day whose status has been lowered in consequence of such or similar acts of indiscretion on the part of their ancestors.] After a long time, the whole of which he passed in the practice of such penances and vows, the Sudra ascetic met with his death in those woods. In consequence of the merit he acquired by those practices, the Sudra in the next life, took birth in the family of a great king, and in course of time became possessed of great splendour. The regenerate Rishi also, when the time came, paid his debt in Nature. In his next life, O chief of Bharata's race, he took birth in the family of a priest. It was in this way that those two, viz., that Sudra who had passed a life of penances and that regenerate Rishi who had in kindness given the former some instructions in the matter of the rites performed in honour of the Pitris, became reborn, the one as scion of a royal race and the other as the member of a priestly family. Both of them began to grow and both acquired great knowledge in the usual branches of study. The Brahmana became well versed in the Vedas as also in the Atharvans. In the matter, again of all sacrifices ordained in the Sutras, of that Vedanga which deals with religious rites and observances, astrology and astronomy the reborn Rishi attained great excellence. In the Sankhya philosophy too he began to take great delight. Meanwhile, the reborn Sudra who had become a prince, when his father, the king died, performed his last rites; and after he had purified himself by accomplishing all the obsequial ceremonies, he was installed by the subjects of his father as their king on his paternal throne. But soon after his own installation as king, he installed the reborn Rishi as his priest. Indeed, having made the Brahmana his priest, the king began to pass his days in great happiness. He ruled his kingdom righteously and protected and cherished all his subjects. Everyday, however, the king on the occasion of receiving benedictions from his priest as also of the performance of religious and other sacred rites, smiled or laughed at him loudly. In this way, O monarch, the reborn Sudra who had become a king, laughed at sight of his priest on numberless occasions. [Punyaha-vachana is a peculiar rite. The priest or some other Brahmana is invited. Gifts are then made to him, and he utters benedictions in return upon the giver. Yudhishthira used to invite every day a large number of Brahmanas and make them very valuable presents for obtaining their benedictions.] The priest, marking that the king always smiled or laughed whenever he happened to cast his eyes on him, became angry. On one occasion he met the king in a place where there was nobody else. He pleased the king by agreeable discourse. Taking advantage of that moment, O chief of Bharata's race, the priest addressed the king, saying,--'O thou of great splendour, I pray thee to grant me a single boon.'

"The king said, 'O best of regenerate persons, I am ready to grant thee a hundred of boons, what dost thou say then of one only? From the affection I bear thee and the reverence in which I hold thee, there is nothing that I cannot give thee.'

"The priest said, 'I desire to have only one boon, O king, thou hast been pleased with me. Swear that thou wouldst tell me the truth instead of any untruth.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed by the priest, O Yudhishthira, the king said unto him--So be it. If what thou wouldst ask me be known to me, I shall certainly tell thee truly. If on the other hand, the matter be unknown to me, I shall not say anything.'

"The priest said, 'Every day, on occasions of obtaining my benedictions, when, again, I am engaged in the performance of religious rites on thy behalf, on occasions also of the Homa and other rites of propitiation, why is it that thou laughest upon beholding me? Seeing thee laugh at me on all occasions, my mind shrinks with shame. I have caused thee to swear, O king, that thou wouldst answer me truly. It does not behove thee to say what is untrue. There must be some grave reason for thy behaviour. Thy laughter cannot be causeless. Great is my curiosity to know the reason. Do thou speak truly unto me.'

"The king said, 'When thou hast addressed me in this strain, O regenerate one, I am bound to enlighten thee, even if the matter be one that should not be divulged in thy hearing. I must tell thee the truth. Do thou listen to me with close attention, O regenerate one. Listen to me, O foremost of twice-born persons, as I disclose to thee what happened (to us) in our former births. I remember that birth. Do thou listen to me with concentrated mind. In my former life I was a Sudra employed in the practice of severe penances. Thou, O best of regenerate persons, wert a Rishi of austere penances. O sinless one, gratified with me, and impelled by the desire of doing me good, thou, O Brahmana, wert pleased to give me certain instructions in the rites I performed (on one occasion) in honour of my Pitris. The instructions thou gayest me were in respect of the manner of spreading the Vrishi and the Kusa blades and of offering libations and meat and other food to the manes, O foremost of ascetics. In consequence of this transgression of thine thou hast taken birth as a priest, and I have taken birth as a king, O foremost of Brahmanas. Behold the vicissitudes that Time brings about. Thou hast reaped this fruit in consequence of thy having instructed me (in my former birth). It is for this reason, O Brahmana, that I smile at sight of thee, O foremost of regenerate persons. I do not certainly laugh at thee from desire of disregarding thee. Thou art my preceptor. At this change of condition I am really very sorry. My heart burns at the thought. I remember our former births, hence do I laugh at sight of thee. Thy austere penances were all destroyed by the instructions thou gayest me. Relinquishing thy present office of priest, do thou endeavour to regain a superior birth. Do thou exert so that thou mayst not obtain in thy next life a birth meaner than thy present one. Take as much wealth as thou wishest. O learned Brahmana, and cleanse thy soul, O best of men.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Dismissed by the king (from the office of priest), the Brahmana made many gifts, unto persons of his own order, of wealth and land and villages. He observed many rigid and severe vows as laid down by the foremost of Brahmanas. He sojourned to many sacred waters and made many gifts unto Brahmanas in those places. Making gifts of kine unto persons of the regenerate order, his soul became cleansed and he succeeded in acquiring a knowledge of it. Repairing to that very asylum whither he had lived in his former birth, he practised very severe penances. As the consequence of all this, O foremost of kings, that Brahmana succeeded in attaining to the highest success. He became an object of veneration with all the ascetics that dwelt in that asylum. In this way, O best of monarchs, that regenerate Rishi fell into great distress. Unto Sudras, therefore, the Brahmanas should never give instructions. Hence, O king, the Brahmana should avoid imparting instructions (to such as are low-born), for it was by imparting instruction to a low-born person a Brahmana came to grief. O best of kings, the Brahmana should never desire to obtain instruction from, or impart instruction to, a person that belongs to the lowest order. Brahmanas and Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, the three orders, are regarded as twice-born. By imparting instruction unto these, a Brahmana does not incur any fault. They, therefore, that are good, should never discourse on any subject, for imparting any instruction, before persons of the inferior order. The course of morality is exceedingly subtile and incapable of being comprehended by persons of uncleansed souls. It is for this reason that ascetics adopt the vow of silence, and being respected by all, pass through Diksha (initiation) without indulging in speech. For fear of saying what is incorrect or what may offend, ascetics often forego speech itself. Even men that are righteous and possessed of every accomplishment, and endued with truth and simplicity of behaviour, have been known to incur great fault in consequence of words spoken improperly. Instruction should never be imparted on anything unto any person. If in consequence of the instructions imparted, the instructed commit any sin, that sin, attaches to the Brahmana who imparted the instruction. The man of wisdom, therefore, that desires to earn merit, should always act with wisdom. That instruction which is imparted in barter for money always pollutes the instructor. Solicited by others, one should say only what is correct after settling it with the aid of reflection. One should impart instruction in such a way that one may, by imparting it, earn merit. I have thus told thee everything respecting the subject of instructions. Very often persons become plunged into great afflictions in consequence of imparting instructions. Hence it is meet that one should abstain from giving instruction unto others.'"

SECTION 11

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me, O grandsire, in what kind of man or woman, O chief of the Bharatas, does the goddess of prosperity always reside?'

"Bhishma said, 'I shall, in this connection, narrate to thee what occurred and what I have heard. Once on a time, beholding the goddess of prosperity blazing with beauty and endued with the complexion of the lotus, the princess Rukmini the mother of Pradyumna that bore the device of the Makara on his banner, filled with curiosity, asked this question in the presence of Devaki's son. Who are those beings by whose side thou stayest and whom thou favours? Who again, are those whom thou dost not bless with favour. O thou that art dear unto Him that is the lord of all creatures, tell me this truly, O thou that art equal to a great Rishi in penances and puissance. Thus addressed by the princess, the goddess of prosperity, with a face as beautiful as the moon, and moved by grace, in the presence of him who has Garuda on his banner, said these words in reply that were sweet and charming.'

"Sree said, 'O blessed lady, I always reside with him that is eloquent, active, attentive to business, free from wrath, given to the worship of the deities, endued with gratitude, has his passions under complete control, and is high-minded in everything. I never reside with one that is inattentive to business, that is an unbeliever, that causes an intermixture of races in consequence of his lustfulness, that is ungrateful, that is of impure practices, that uses harsh and cruel words, that is a thief, that cherishes malice towards his preceptors and other seniors, those persons that are endued with little energy, strength, life, and honour, that are distressed at every trifle, and that always indulge in wrath. I never reside with these that think in one strain and act in a different one. I never reside also with him who never desires any acquisition for himself, of him who is so blinded as to rest content with the lot in which he finds himself without any exertion or with those that are contented with small acquisitions. I reside with those that are observant of the duties of their own order, or those that are conversant with the duties of righteousness, or those that are devoted to the service of the aged or those that have their passions under control, or those that are endued with cleansed souls or those that observe the virtue of forgiveness, or those that are able and prompt in action, or with such women as are forgiving and self-restrained. I reside with those women also that are devoted to truth and sincerity and that worship the deities. I do not reside with those women also that do not attend to household furniture and provisions scattered all around the house, and that always utter words contrary to the wishes of their husbands. I always avoid those women that are fond of the houses of other people and that have no modesty. On the other hand, I reside with those women that are devoted to their husbands, that are blessed in behaviour, and that are always decked in ornaments and attired in good robes. I always reside with those women that are truthful in speech, that are of handsome and agreeable features, that are blessed and that are endued with all accomplishments. I always avoid such women as are sinful and unclean or impure, as always lick the corners of their mouths, as have no patience or fortitude, and as are fond of dispute and quarrelling, as are given to much sleep, and as always lie down. I always reside in conveyances and the animals that drag them, in maidens, in ornaments and good vestments, in sacrifices, in clouds charged with rain, in full-blown lotuses, and in those stars that bespangle the autumnal firmament. I reside in elephants, in the cow pen, in good seats, and in lakes adorned with full-blown lotuses. I live also in such rivers as babble sweetly in their course, melodious with the music of cranes, having banks adorned with rows of diverse trees, and restored to by Brahmanas and ascetics and others crowned with success. I always reside in those rivers also that have deep and large volumes of rolling waters rendered turbid by lions and elephants plunging into them for bathing or slaking their thirst. I reside also in infuriate elephants, in bovine bulls, in kings, on the throne and good men. I always reside in that house in which the inmate pours libation on the sacrificial fire and worships kine, Brahmanas and the deities. I reside in that house where at the proper time offerings are made unto the deities, in course of worship. [Vali (sing. of valayah) means anything offered or dedicated to the deities. The sense of the second line is that the goddess of prosperity resides in that house in which flowers are offered to the deities instead of animal life.] I always reside in such Brahmanas as are devoted to the study of the Vedas, in Kshatriyas devoted to the observance of righteousness, in Vaisyas devoted to cultivation, and the Sudras devoted to the (menial) service of the three

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upper classes. I reside, with a heart firm and unchangeable, in Narayana, in my embodied self. In Him is righteousness in its perfection and full measure, devotion to the Brahmanas, and the quality of agreeableness. Can I not say, O lady that I do not reside in my embodied form, (in any of these places that I have mentioned, except Narayana)? That person in whom I reside in spirit increases in righteousness and fame and wealth and objects of desire.'"

SECTION 12

"Yudhishthira said, 'It behoveth, O king to tell me truly which of the two viz., man or woman derives the greater pleasure from an act of union with each other. Kindly resolve my doubt in this respect."

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection is cited this old narrative of the discourse between Bhangaswana and Sakra as a precedent illustrating the question. In days of yore there lived a king of the name of Bhangaswana. He was exceedingly righteous and was known as a royal sage. He was, however, childless, O chief of man, and therefore performed a sacrifice from desire of obtaining an issue. The sacrifice which that mighty monarch performed was the Agnishtuta. In consequence of the fact that the deity of fire is alone adored in that sacrifice, this is always disliked by Indra. Yet it is the sacrifice that is desired by men when for the purpose of obtaining an issue they seek to cleanse themselves of their sins. [The belief is that a man remains childless in consequence of his sins. If these sins can be washed away, he may be sure to obtain children.] The highly blessed chief of the celestials, viz. Indra, learning that the monarch was desirous of performing the Agnishtuta, began from that moment to look for the laches of that royal sage of well-restrained soul (for if he could succeed in finding some laches, he could then punish his disregarder). Notwithstanding all his vigilance, however, O king, Indra failed to detect any laches, on the part of the high-souled monarch. Some time after, one day, the king went on a hunting expedition. Saying unto himself--This, indeed, is an opportunity,--Indra stupefied the monarch. The king proceeded alone on his horse, confounded because of the chief of the celestials having stupefied his senses. Afflicted with hunger and thirst, the king's confusion was so great that he could not ascertain the points of the compass. Indeed, afflicted with thirst, he began to wander hither and thither. He then beheld a lake that was exceedingly beautiful and was full of transparent water. Alighting from his steed, and plunging into the lake, he caused his animal to drink. Tying his horse then, whose thirst had been slaked, to a tree, the king plunged into the lake again for performing his ablutions. To his amazement he found that he was changed, by virtue of the waters, into a woman. Beholding himself thus transformed in respect of sex itself, the king became overpowered with shame. With his senses and mind completely agitated, he began to reflect with his whole heart in this strain:--Alas, how shall I ride my steed? How shall I return to my capital? In consequence of the Agnishtuta sacrifice I have got a hundred sons all endued with great might, and all children of my own loins. Alas, thus transformed, what shall I say unto them? What shall I say unto my spouses, my relatives and well-wishers, and my subjects of the city and the provinces? Rishis conversant with the truths of duty and religion and other matters say that mildness and softness and liability to extreme agitation are the attributes of women, and that activity, hardness, and energy are the attributes of men. Alas, my manliness has disappeared. For what reason has femininity come over me? In consequence of this transformation of sex, how shall I succeed in mounting my horse again?--Having indulged in these sad thoughts, the monarch, with great exertion, mounted his steed and came back to his capital, transformed though he had been into a woman. His sons and spouses and servants, and his subjects of the city and the provinces, beholding that extraordinary transformation, became exceedingly amazed. Then that royal sage, that foremost of eloquent men, addressing them all, said,--I had gone out on a hunting expedition, accompanied by a large force. Losing all knowledge of the points of the compass, I entered a thick and terrible forest, impelled by the fates. In that terrible forest, I became afflicted with thirst and lost my senses. I then beheld a beautiful lake abounding with fowl of every description. Plunging into that stream for performing my ablutions, I was transformed into a woman!--Summoning then his spouses and counsellors, and all his sons by their names, that best of monarchs transformed into a woman said unto them these words:--Do ye enjoy this kingdom in happiness. As regards myself, I shall repair to the woods, ye sons.--Having said so unto his children, the monarch proceeded to the forest. Arrived there, she came upon an asylum inhabited by an ascetic. By that ascetic the transformed monarch gave birth to a century of sons. Taking all those children of hers, she repaired to where her former children were, and addressing the latter, said,--Ye are the children of my loins while I was a man. These are my children brought forth by me in this state of transformation. Ye sons, do ye all enjoy my kingdom together, like brothers born of the same parents.--At this command of their parent, all the brothers, uniting together, began to enjoy the kingdom as their joint property. Beholding those children of the king all jointly enjoying the kingdom as brothers born of the same parents, the chief of the celestials, filled with wrath, began to reflect--By transforming this royal sage into a woman I have, it seems, done him good instead of an injury. Saying this, the chief of the celestials viz., Indra of a hundred sacrifices, assuming the form of a Brahmana, repaired to the capital of the king and meeting all the children succeeded in disuniting the princes. He said unto them--Brothers never remain at peace even when they happen to be the children of the same father. The sons of the sage Kasyapa, viz., the deities and the Asuras, quarrelled with each other on account of the sovereignty of the three worlds. As regards ye princes, ye are the children of the royal sage Bhangaswana. These others are the children of an ascetic. The deities and the Asuras are children of even one common sire, and yet the latter quarrelled with each other. How much more, therefore, should you quarrel with each other? This kingdom that is your paternal property is being enjoyed by these children of an ascetic. With these words, Indra succeeded in causing a breach between them, so that they were very soon engaged in battle and slew each other. Hearing this, king Bhangaswana, who was living as an ascetic woman, burnt with grief and poured forth her lamentations. The lord of the celestials viz. Indra, assuming the guise of a Brahmana, came to that spot where the ascetic lady was living and meeting her, said,--O thou that art possessed of a beautiful face, with what grief dost thou burn so that thou art pouring forth thy lamentations?--Beholding the Brahmana the lady told him in a piteous voice,--Two hundred sons of mine O regenerate one, have been slain by Time. I was formerly a king, O learned Brahmana and in that state had a hundred sons. These were begotten by me after my own form, O best of regenerate persons. On one occasion I went on a hunting expedition. Stupefied, I wandered amidst a thick forest. Beholding at last a lake, I plunged into it. Rising, O foremost of Brahmanas, I found that I had become a woman. Returning to my capital I installed my sons in the sovereignty of my dominions and then departed for the forest. Transformed into a woman, I bore a hundred sons to my husband who is a high souled ascetic. All of them were born in the ascetic's retreat. I took them to the capital. My children, through the influence of Time, quarrelled with each other, O twice-born one. Thus afflicted by Destiny, I am indulging in grief. Indra addressed him in these harsh words.--In former days, O lady, thou gayest me great pain, for thou didst perform a sacrifice that is disliked by Indra. Indeed, though I was present, thou didst not invoke me with honours. I am that Indra, O thou of wicked understanding. It is I with whom thou hast purposely sought hostilities. Beholding Indra, the royal sage fell at his feet, touching them with his head, and said,--Be gratified with me, O foremost of deities. The sacrifice of which thou speakest was performed from desire of offspring (and not from any wish to hurt thee). It behoveth thee therefore, to grant me thy pardon.--Indra, seeing the transformed monarch prostrate himself thus unto him, became gratified with him and desired to give him a boon. Which of your sons, O king, dost thou wish, should revive, those that were brought forth by thee transformed into a woman, or those that were begotten by thee in thy condition as a person of the male sex? The ascetic lady, joining her hands, answered Indra, saying, O Vasava, let those sons of mine come to life that were borne by me as a woman. Filled with wonder at this reply, Indra once more asked the lady, Why dost thou entertain less affection for those children of thine that were begotten by thee in thy form of a person of the male sex? Why is it that thou bearest greater affection for those children that were borne by thee in thy transformed state? I wish to hear the reason of this difference in respect of thy affection. It behoveth thee to tell me everything.'

"The lady said, 'The affection that is entertained by a woman is much greater than that which is entertained by a man. Hence, it is, O Sakra, that I wish those children to come back to life that were borne by me as a woman.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed, Indra became highly pleased and said unto her, O lady that art so truthful, let all thy children come back into life. Do thou take another boon, O foremost of kings, in fact, whatever boon thou likest. O thou of excellent vows, do thou take from me whatever status thou choosest, that of woman or of man.'

"The lady said, 'I desire to remain a woman, O Sakra. In fact,--do not wish to be restored to the status of manhood, O Vasava.--Hearing this answer, Indra once more asked her, saying,--Why is it, O puissant one, that abandoning the status of manhood thou wishest that of womanhood? Questioned thus, that foremost of monarchs transformed into a woman answered, 'In acts of congress, the pleasure that women enjoy is always much greater than what is enjoyed by men. It is for this reason, O Sakra, that I desire to continue a woman; O foremost of the deities, truly do I say unto thee that I derive greater pleasure in my present status of womanhood. I am quite content with this status of womanhood that I now have. Do thou leave me now, O lord of heaven.--Hearing these words of hers, the lord of the celestials answered,--So be it,--and bidding her farewell, proceeded to heaven. Thus, O monarch, it is known that woman derives much greater pleasure than man under the circumstances thou hast asked.'"

SECTION 13

"Yudhishthira said, 'What should a man do in order to pass pleasantly through this and the other world. How, indeed, should one conduct oneself? What practices should one adopt with this end in view?'

"Bhishma said, 'One should avoid the three acts that are done with the body, the four that are done with speech, the three that are done with the mind, and the ten paths of action. The three acts that are done with the body and should be wholly avoided are the destruction of the lives of other creatures, theft or appropriation of what belongs to other persons, and the enjoyment of other people's wives. The four acts that are done with speech, O king, and that should never be indulged in or even thought of, are evil conversation, harsh words, publishing other people's faults, and falsehood. Coveting the possessions of others, doing injury to others, and disbelief in the ordinances of the Vedas, are the three acts done with the mind which should always be avoided. [I give, in the affirmative form of speech, the three mental acts that are directed to be avoided. In the original, these are given in the negative form. Absence of coveting the possessions of others is the act that is directed to be followed. So compassion for all creatures is prescribed; and, lastly, the belief is directed to be entertained that acts have fruits, for the Vedas declare as such. He that does not believe that acts have fruits disbelieve the very Vedas which of course, is a sinful act.--This refers to one of the 5 Precepts which are equivalent to the 10 Commandments; See: The Instructions of Shuruppak, Grand Bible.] Hence, one should never do any evil act in word, body, or mind. By doing good and evil acts, one is sure to enjoy or endure the just consequences thereof. Nothing can be more certain than this.'"

SECTION 14

"Yudhishthira said, 'O son of the River Ganga, thou hast heard all the names of Maheshwara, the Lord of the universe. Do thou tell us, O grandsire, all the names that are applied, O puissant one, unto Him who is called Isa and Sambhu. Do thou tell us all those names that are applied unto Him who is called Vabhru or vast, Him that has the universe for his form, Him that is the illustrious preceptor of all the deities and the Asuras, that is called Swayambhu (self-creating) and that is the cause of the origin and dissolution of the universe. Do thou tell us also of the puissance of Mahadeva.'

"Bhishma said, 'I am quite incompetent to recite the virtues of Mahadeva of highest intelligence. He pervades all things in the universe and yet is not seen anywhere. He is the creator of universal self and the Pragna (knowing) self and he is their master. All the deities, from Brahman to the Pisachas, adore and worship him. He transcends both Prakriti and Purusha. It is of Him that Rishis, conversant with Yoga and possessing a knowledge of the tattwas, think and reflect. He is indestructible and Supreme Brahman. He is both existent and non-existent. Agitating both Prakriti and Purusha by means of His energy, He created therefrom the universal lord of creatures, viz., Brahma. Who is there that is competent to tell the virtues of that god of gods, that is endued with supreme Intelligence? Man is subject to conception (in the mother's womb), birth, decrepitude, and death. Being such, what man like me is competent to understand Bhava? Only Narayana, O son, that bearer of the discus and the mace, can comprehend Mahadeva. He is without deterioration. He is the foremost of all beings in attributes. He is Vishnu, because of his pervading the universe. He is irresistible. Endued with spiritual vision, He is possessed of supreme Energy. He sees all things with the eye of Yoga. It is in consequence of the devotion of the high-souled Krishna to the illustrious Rudra whom he gratified. O Bharata, in the retreat of Vadari, by penances, that he has succeeded in pervading the entire universe. O king of kings, it is through Maheswara of celestial vision that Vasudeva has obtained the attribute of universal agreeableness,--an agreeableness that is much greater than what is possessed by all articles included under the name of wealth. [The sense is this: wealth is always agreeable to all persons but Vasudeva is more agreeable than wealth. This attribute of being more agreeable than wealth itself, that is being agreeable to all the universe,--is due to the favour of Mahadeva. The commentator explains it in an esoteric sense, coming to the conclusion that arthat priyataratwancha means the attribute of becoming the Soul of all things in the universe.] For a full thousand years this Madhava underwent the austerest penances and at last succeeded in gratifying the illustrious and boon giving Siva, that Master of all the mobile and the immobile universe. In every new Yuga has Krishna (by such penances) gratified Mahadeva. In every Yuga has Mahadeva been gratified with the great devotion of the high-souled Krishna. How great is the puissance of the high-souled Mahadeva,--that original cause of the universe,--has been seen with his own eyes by Hari who himself transcends all

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deterioration, on the occasion of his penances in the retreat of Vadari undergone for obtaining a son. I do not, O Bharata, behold any one that is superior to Mahadeva. To expound the names of that god of gods fully and without creating the desire of hearing more only Krishna is competent. This mighty-armed one of Yadu's race is alone competent to tell the attributes of the illustrious Siva. Verily, O king, only he is able to discourse on the puissance, in its entirety of the Supreme deity?'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having said these words, the illustrious Bhishma, the grandsire of the Kurus, addressing Vasudeva, said the following words, dealing with the subject of the greatness of Bhava, O monarch.

"Bhishma said, 'Thou art the Master of all the deities and the Asuras. Thou art illustrious. Thou art Vishnu in consequence of thy pervading the whole universe. It behoveth thee to discourse on those subjects connected with Siva of universal form about which Yudhishthira has asked me. In days of yore, the Rishi Tandin, sprung from Brahma, recited in Brahma's region and before Brahma himself the thousand names of Mahadeva. Do thou recite those names before this conclave so that these Rishis endued with wealth of asceticism, observant of high vows, possessed of self-restraint, and numbering the Island-born Krishna among them, may hear thee. Do thou discourse on the high blessedness of Him who is immutable, who is always cheerful and happy, who is Hotri, who is the universal Protector, who is Creator, of the universe, and who is called Mundin and Kaparddin.'

"Vasudeva said, 'The very deities with Indra, and the Grandsire Brahma numbering among them, and the great Rishis also, are incompetent to understand the course of Mahadeva's acts truly and in all their details. Even He is the end which all righteous people attain. The very Adityas who are endued with subtile sight, are unable to behold his abode. How then can one that is merely a man succeed in comprehending Him? I shall, therefore, truly recite to you some of the attributes of that illustrious slayer of Asuras, who is regarded as the Lord of all sacrifices and vows.

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having said these words, the illustrious Vasudeva began his discourse on the attributes of the high-souled Mahadeva endued with the highest intelligence, after having purified himself by touching water."

"Vasudeva said, 'Hear, ye foremost of Brahmana's and thou Yudhishthira also, O sire, and hear thou too, O Ganga's son, the names that are applied unto Kaparddin. Hear ye, how in former days, I obtained a sight, so difficult to obtain, (of that great god), for the sake of Samva. Verily, in those days was the illustrious deity seen by me in consequence of Yoga-abstraction. [It is said that for obtaining a worthy son, Krishna underwent the austerest of penances on the breast of Himavat, with a view to gratifying the god Mahadeva. The son obtained as a boon from Mahadeva was Samva, as would appear from this and the succeeding verses. Elsewhere, however, it is stated that the son so obtained was Pradyumna begotten upon Rukmini. The inconsistency would disappear if we suppose that Krishna adored Mahadeva twice for obtaining sons.] After twelve years had expired from the time when Pradyumna, the son of Rukmini, who is endued with great intelligence, slew the Asura Samvara in days of yore, my spouse Jamvavati addressed me. Indeed, beholding Pradyumna and Charudeshna and other sons born of Rukmini, Jamvavati, desirous of a son, said these words unto me, O Yudhishthira,--Grant me, O thou of unfading glory, a son endued with heroism, the foremost of mighty men, possessed of the most agreeable features, sinless in conduct, and like unto thyself. And O, let there be no delay on thy part in granting this prayer of mine. There is nothing in the three worlds that is unattainable by thee, O perpetuator of Yadu's race, thou canst create other worlds if only thou wishest it. Observing a vow for twelve years and purifying thyself, thou hadst adored the Lord of all creatures (viz., Mahadeva) and then begot upon Rukmini the sons that she has obtained from thee, viz., Charudeshna and Sucharu and Charuvesa and Yasodhana and Charusravas and Charuyasas and Pradyumna and Sambhu. O slayer of Madhu, do thou grant to me a son like unto those of great powers whom thou hast begotten upon Rukmini?--Thus addressed by the princess, I replied unto her of slender waist,--Let me have thy permission (to leave thee for some time), O queen. I shall certainly obey thy behest. She answered me, saying,--Go, and may success and prosperity always attend thee. Let Brahma and Siva and Kasyapa, the Rivers, those deities that preside over the mind, the soil, all deciduous herbs, those Chhandas (Rhymes) that are regarded as bearers of the libations poured in sacrifices, the Rishis, Earth, the Oceans, the sacrificial presents, those syllables that are uttered for completing the cadences of Samans, the Rikshas, the Pitris, the Planets, the spouses of the deities, the celestial maidens, the celestial mothers, the great cycles, kine, Chandramas, Savitri, Agni, Savitri, the knowledge of the Vedas, the seasons, the year, small and big divisions of time, e.g., the Kshanas, the Labas, the Muhurtas, the Nimeshas, and the Yugas in succession, protect thee, O Yadava, and keep thee in happiness, wherever thou mayst stay. Let no danger overtake thee on thy way, and let no heedlessness be thine, O sinless one.--Thus blessed by her, I took her leave, bidding farewell unto the daughter of the prince of apes. Repairing then into the presence of that foremost of men, viz., my father, of my mother, of the king, and of Ahuka, I informed them of what the daughter of the prince of the Vidyadharas, in great affliction, had said unto me. Bidding them farewell with a sorrowful heart, I then repaired to Gada and to Rama of great might. These two cheerfully addressed me saying,--Let thy penances increase without any obstruction.--Having obtained the permission of all of them, I thought of Garuda. He immediately came to me and bore me to Himavat (at my bidding). Arrived at Himavat, I dismissed him. There on that foremost of mountains, I beheld many wonderful sights. I saw an excellent, wonderful, and agreeable retreat for the practice of penances. That delightful retreat was owned by the high-souled Upamanyu who was a descendant of Vyaghrapada. That retreat is applauded and reverenced by the deities and the Gandharvas, and seemed to be covered with Vedic beauty. It was adorned with Dhavas Kakubhas and Kadamvas and Cocas, with Kuruvakas and Ketakas and Jamvus and Patalas, with banians and Varunakas and Vatsanabhas and Vilwas, with Saralas and Kapitthas and Piyalas and Salas and palmyras with Vadaris and Kundas and Punnagas and Asokas and Amras and Kovidaras and Champakas and Panasas, and with diverse other trees endued with fruits and flowers. And that retreat was also decked with the straight stems of the Musa Supienta. [Dhava is Anogeissus latifolia. Wall, sin, Conocarpus latifolia Roxb. Kakubha is otherwise called Arjuna which is identified with Terminalia Arjuna, syn. Pentaptera Arjuna. Kadamva is Nauclea cadamba, Roxb. Kuruveka is Barleria cristata, Linn. Ketaka is Pandanus odoratissimus, Linn. Jamvu is Eugenia Jambolana. Patala is Stereospermum suaveolens syn. Bignonia suaveolens, Roxb. Varunaka is Crataea, religiosa, syn. Capparis trifoliata, Roxb. Vatasanabha is Aconitum ferox, Wall. Vilwa is Aegle Marmelos. Sarala is Pinus longifolia, Roxb. Kapittha is Feronia Elephantum. Piyala is Buchanania latifolia. Sala is Shorea robusta. Vadari is Zisyphus jujuba. Kunda is Balanites Roxburghii, Punnaga is Callophyllum inophyllum. Asoka is Saraca. Indica, Linn, syn Jonesia Asoka, Roxb. Amra is Mangifera Indica. Kovidara is Bauhinia, accuminata Linn. Champaka is Michelia Champaka, Linn. Panasa is Artocarpus integrifolia, Linn.] Truly, that asylum was adorned with diverse other kinds of trees and with diverse kinds of fruits forming the food of diverse kinds of birds. Heaps of ashes (of sacrificial fires) were thrown in proper places all around, which added to the beauty of the scene. It abounded with Rurus and apes and tigers and lions and leopards, with deer of diverse species and peacocks, and with cats and snakes. Indeed, large numbers of other animals also were seen there, as also buffaloes and bears. Delicious breezes constantly blew bearing the melodious strains of celestial nymphs. The babblings of mountain rivulets and springs, the sweet notes of winged choristers, the gruntings of elephants, the delicious stains of Kinnaras, and the auspicious voice of ascetics singing the Samans, O hero, and diverse other kinds of music, rendered that retreat extremely charming. The very imagination cannot conceive another retreat as delightful as the one I beheld. There were also large houses in that asylum, intended for keeping the sacred fire, and covered all over with flowering creepers. It was adorned with the river Ganga of clear and sacred water. Indeed, the daughter of Jahnu always remained there. It was decked also with many ascetics who were the foremost of all righteous persons, who were endued with high souls, and who resembled fire itself in energy. Some of those ascetics subsisted upon air and some upon water, some were devoted to Japa or the silent recitation of sacred Mantras, and some were engaged in cleansing their souls by practising the virtues of compassion while some amongst them were Yogins devoted to the abstraction of Yoga-meditation. Some amongst them subsisted upon smoke only, and some subsisted upon fire, and some upon milk. Thus was that retreat adorned with many foremost of regenerate persons. And some there were amongst them that had taken the vow of eating and drinking like kine,--that is, by giving up the use of the hands at once. And some used only two pieces of stone for husking their grain, and some used their teeth only for that purpose. And some subsisted by drinking only the rays of the moon, and some by drinking only froth. And some had betaken themselves to vow of living like deer. And some there were that lived upon the fruits of the Ficus religiosa, and some that used to live upon water. And some dressed themselves in rags and some in animal skins and some in barks of trees. Indeed, I beheld diverse ascetics of the foremost order observing these and other painful vows. I desired then to enter that asylum. Verily, that asylum was honoured and adored by the deities and all high-souled beings, by Siva and others, O Bharata, and by all creatures of righteous acts. Thus addressed, it stood in all its beauty on the breast of Himavat, like the lunar disc in the firmament. The mongoose sported there with the snake, and the tiger with the deer, like friends, forgetting their natural enmity, in consequence of the energy of those ascetics of blazing penances and for their proximity to these high-souled ones. In that foremost of asylums, which was delightful to all creatures, inhabited by many foremost of Brahmanas fully conversant with the Vedas and their branches, and by many high-souled Rishis celebrated for the difficult vows they observed, I saw, as soon as I entered, a puissant Rishi with matted locks on head and dressed in rags, who seemed to blaze forth like fire with his penances and energy. Waited upon by his disciples and possessed of tranquil soul, that foremost of Brahmanas was young in aspect. His name was Upamanyu. Unto me who bowed unto him with a nod of the head, he said,--Welcome art thou, O thou of eyes like lotus petals. Today, by this visit of thine, we see that our penances have borne fruit. Thou art worthy of our adoration, but thou adorest us still. Thou art worthy of being seen, but thou desirest to see me.--Joining my hands I addressed him the usual enquiries respecting the well-being of the animals and birds that resided in his asylum, of the progress of his righteousness, and of his disciples. The illustrious Upamanyu then addressed me in words that were exceedingly sweet and delightful,--Thou shalt, O Krishna, obtain without doubt a son like unto thyself. Betaking thyself to severe penances, do thou gratify Isana, the Lord of all creatures. That divine Master, O Adhokshaja, sporteth here with his spouse by his side. O Janarddana, it was here that the deities with all the Rishis, in days of yore, gratified that foremost of deities by their penances and Brahmacharyya and truth and self-restraint, and succeeded in obtaining the fruition of many high desires. That illustrious god is verily the vast receptacle of all energies and penances. Projecting into existence and withdrawing once more unto himself all things fraught with good and evil, that inconceivable Deity whom thou seekest, O destroyer of foes, lives here with his spouse. He who took his birth as the Danava named Hiranyakashipu, whose strength was so great that he could shake the very mountains of Meru, succeeded in obtaining from Mahadeva the puissance belonging to all the deities and enjoyed it for ten millions of years. He who was the foremost of all his sons and who was celebrated by the name of Mandara, succeeded, through the boon he had obtained from Mahadeva, in fighting Sakra for a million of years. The terrible discus of Vishnu and the thunderbolt of Indra were both unable to make the slightest impression, O Kesava, in days of yore, upon the body of that great cause of universal affliction. [Graha is literally a planet; here, Mandara who is likened to an evil planet in consequence of the mischief he did unto all.] The discus which thou bearest, O sinless one, was given unto thee by Mahadeva after he had slain a Daitya that was proud of his strength and used to live within the waters. That discus, blazing with energy and like unto fire, was created by the great god having for his device the bull. Wonderful and irresistible in energy it was given unto thee by that illustrious god. In consequence of its blazing energy it was incapable of being gazed at by any person save Siva the wielder of Pinaka. It was for this reason that Bhava (Siva) bestowed upon it the name of Sudarsana. From that time the name Sudarsana came to be current in all the worlds. Even the weapon, O Kesava, failed to make the slightest impression on the body of Hiranyakashipu's son Mandara, that appeared like an evil planet in the three worlds. Hundreds of Chakras like thine and thunderbolts like that of Sakra, could not inflict a scratch on the body of that evil planet endued with great might, who had obtained a boon from Mahadeva. Afflicted by the mighty Mandara, the deities fought hard against him and his associates, all of whom had obtained boons from Mahadeva. Gratified with another Danava named Vidyutprabha, Mahadeva granted to him the sovereignty of the three worlds. That Danava remained the sovereign of the three worlds for a hundred thousand years. And Mahadeva said unto him,--Thou shalt become one of my attendants.--Indeed, the puissant Lord further bestowed upon him the boon of a hundred millions of children. The Master without birth, of all creatures further gave the Danava the region known by the name of Kusadwipa for his kingdom. Another great Asura, of the name of Satamukha, was created by Brahma. For a hundred years he poured on' the sacrificial fire (as offerings unto Mahadeva) the flesh of his own body. Gratified with such penances, Sankara said unto him,--What can I do for thee?--Satamukha replied unto him, saying,--O thou that art most wonderful, let me have the power of creating new creatures and animals. Give also unto me, O foremost of all deities, eternal power.--The puissant lord, thus addressed by him, said unto him,--So be it.--The Self-born Brahma, concentrating his mind in Yoga, in days of yore, made a sacrifice for three hundred years, with the object of obtaining children. Mahadeva granted him a thousand sons possessed of qualifications commensurate with the merits of the sacrifice. Without doubt, thou knowest, O Krishna, the lord of Yoga, him that is, who is sung by the deities. The Rishi known by the name of Yajnavalkya is exceedingly virtuous. By adoring Mahadeva he has acquired great fame. The great ascetic who is Parasara's son, viz., Vyasa, of soul set on Yoga, has obtained great celebrity by adoring Sankara. The Valikhilyas were on a former occasion disregarded by Maghavat. Filled with wrath at this, they gratified the illustrious Rudra. That lord of the universe, that foremost

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one of all the deities, thus gratified by the Valikhilyas, said unto them,--Ye shall succeed by your penances in creating a bird that will rob Indra of the Amrita. Through the wrath of Mahadeva on a former occasion, all the waters disappeared. The deities gratified him by performing a sacrifice called Saptakapala, and caused, through his grace, other waters to flow into the worlds. Verily, when the three-eyed deity became gratified, water once more appeared in the world. The wife of Atri, who was conversant with the Vedas, abandoned her husband in a huff and said,--I shall no longer live in subjection to that ascetic.--Having said these words, she sought the protection of Mahadeva. Through fear of her lord, Atri, passed three hundred years, abstaining from all food. And all this time she slept on wooden clubs for the purpose of gratifying Bhava. The great deity then appeared unto her and then smilingly addressed her, saying--Thou shalt obtain a son. And thou shalt get that son without the need of a husband, simply through the grace of Rudra. Without doubt that son, born in the race of his father, shall become celebrated for his worth, and assume a name after thee. The illustrious Vikarna also, O slayer of Madhu, full of devotion to Mahadeva, gratified him with severe penances and obtained high and happy success. Sakalya, too, of restrained soul, adored Bhava in a mental sacrifice that he performed for nine hundred years, O Kesava. Gratified with him the illustrious deity said unto him,--Thou shalt become a great author. O son, inexhaustible shall thy fame be in the three worlds. Thy race also shall never come to an end and shall be adorned by many great Rishis that shall take birth in it. Thy son will become the foremost of Brahmanas and will make the Sutras of thy work. There was a celebrated Rishi of the name of Savarni in the Krita age. Here, in this asylum, he underwent severe penances for six thousand years. The illustrious Rudra said,--I am gratified with thee, O sinless one! Without being subject to decrepitude or death, thou shalt become an author celebrated through all the worlds!--In days of yore, Sakra, also, in Baranasi, filled with devotion, O Janarddana, adored Mahadeva who has empty space alone for his garments and who is smeared with ashes as an agreeable unguent. Having adored Mahadeva thus, he obtained the sovereignty of the celestials. Narada also, in days of yore, adored the great Bhava with devotion of heart. Gratified with him, Mahadeva, that preceptor of the celestial preceptor, said these words.--No one shall be thy equal in energy and penances. Thou shalt always attend upon me with thy songs and instrumental music. Hear also, O Madhava, how in former times I succeeded in obtaining a sight of that god of gods, that Master of all creatures, O Lord. Hear also in detail for what object, O thou of great puissance. I invoked with restrained senses and mind that illustrious deity endued with supreme energy. I shall, O sinless one, tell thee with full details all that I succeeded in obtaining from that god of gods, viz., Maheswara. In ancient times, viz., Krita age, O son, there was a Rishi of great fame, named Vyaghrapada. He was celebrated for his knowledge and mastery over the Vedas and their branches. I was born as the son of that Rishi and Dhaumya took birth as my younger brother. On a certain occasion, Madhava, accompanied by Dhaumya, I came upon the asylum of certain Rishis of cleansed souls. There I beheld a cow that was being milked. I saw the milk and it appeared to me to resemble Amrita itself in taste. I then came home, and impelled by childishness, I addressed my mother and said,--Give me some food prepared with milk.--There was no milk in the house, and accordingly my mother was much grieved at my asking for it. My mother took a piece of (rice) cake and boiled it in water, Madhava. The water became whitened and my mother placed it before us saying that it was milk and bade us drink it. I had before that drunk milk on one occasion, for my father had, at the time of a sacrifice, taken me to the residence of some of our great kinsmen. A celestial cow, who delights the deities, was being milked on that occasion. Drinking her milk that resembled Amrita in taste, I knew what the virtues are of milk. I therefore, at once understood the origin of the substance that my mother offered me, telling me that it was milk. Verily, the taste of that cake, O son, did not afford me any pleasure whatever. Impelled by childishness I then addressed mother, saying,--This O mother, that thou hast given me is not any preparation of milk.--Filled with grief and sorrow at this, and embracing me from parental affection and smelling my head, O Madhava, she said unto me,--Whence, O child, can ascetics of cleansed souls obtain food prepared with milk? Such men always reside in the forest and subsist upon bulbs and roots and fruits. Whence shall we who live by the banks of rivers that are the resort of the Valikhilyas, we who have mountains and forest, for our home,--whence, indeed, O child, shall we obtain milk? We, dear child, live (sometimes) on air and sometimes on water. We dwell in asylums in the midst of forests and woods. We habitually abstain from all kinds of food that are taken by persons living in villages and towns. We are accustomed to only such food as is supplied by the produce of the wilderness. There cannot be any milk, O child, in the wilderness where there are no offspring of Surabhi. [Surabhi is the celestial cow, the original progenetrix of all kine in Heaven and on Earth.] Dwelling on the banks of rivers or in caves or on mountain-breasts, or in tirthas and other places of the kind, we pass our time in the practice of penances and the recitation of sacred Mantras, Siva being our highest refuge. Without gratifying the boon-giving Sthanu of unfading glory,--him, that is, who has three eyes,--whence, O child, can one obtain food prepared with milk and good robes and other objects of enjoyment in the world? Do thou devote thyself, O dear son, to Sankara with thy whole soul. Through his grace, O child, thou art sure to obtain all such objects as administer to the indulgence of all thy wishes,--Hearing these words of my mother, O slayer of foes, that day, I joined my hands in reverence and bowing unto her, said,--O mother, who this Mahadeva? In what manner can one gratify him? Where does that god reside? How may he be seen? With what does he become pleased? What also is the form of Sarva? How may one succeed in obtaining a knowledge of him? If gratified, will he, O mother, show himself unto me?--After I had said these words, O Krishna, to my mother, she, filled with parental affection, smelt my head, O Govinda, her eyes covered with tears the while. Gently patting my body, O slayer of Madhu, my mother, adopting a tone of great humility, addressed me in the following words, O best of the deities.'

"My mother said, 'Mahadeva is exceedingly difficult to be known by persons of uncleansed souls. These men are incapable of bearing him in their hearts of comprehending him at all. They can retain him in their minds. They cannot seize him, nor can they obtain a sight of him. Men of wisdom aver that his forms are many. Many, again, are the places in which he resides. Many are the forms of his Grace. Who is there that can understand in their details the acts, which are all excellent, of Isa, or of all the forms that he has assumed in days of yore? Who can relate how Sarva sports and how he becomes gratified? Maheswara of universal form resides in the hearts of all creatures. While Munis discoursed on the auspicious and excellent acts of Isana, I have heard from them how, impelled by compassion towards his worshippers, he grants them a sight of his person. For the purpose of showing a favour unto the Brahmanas, the denizens of heaven have recited for their information the diverse forms that were assumed by Mahadeva in days of yore. Thou hast asked me about these. I shall recite them to thee, O son.'

"My mother continued, 'Bhava assumes the forms of Brahma and Vishnu and the chief of the celestials of the Rudras, the Adityas, and the Aswins; and of those deities that are called Viswadevas. He assumes the forms also of men and women, of Pretas and Pisachas, of Kiratas and Savaras, and of all aquatic animals. That illustrious deity assumes the forms of also those Savaras that dwell in the woods and forests. He assumes the forms of tortoises and fishes and conches. He it is that assumes the forms of those coral sprouts that are used as ornaments by men. He assumes also the forms of Yakshas, Rakshasas and Snakes, of Daityas and Danavas. Indeed, the illustrious god assumes the forms of all creatures too that live in holes. He assumes the forms of tigers and lions and deer, of wolves and bears and birds, of owls and of jackals as well. He it is that assumes the forms of swans and crows and peacocks, of chameleons and lizards and storks. He it is that assumes the forms of cranes and vultures and Chakravakas. Verily, he it is that assumes the forms of Chasas and of mountains also. O son, it is Mahadeva that assumes the forms of kine and elephants and horses and camels and asses. He assumes also the forms of goats and leopards and diverse other varieties of animals. It is Bhava who assumes the forms of diverse kinds of birds of beautiful plumage. It is Mahadeva who bears the forms of persons with sticks and those with umbrellas and those with calabashes among Brahmanas. 1 He sometimes becomes six-faced and sometimes becomes multifaced. He sometimes assumes forms having three eyes and forms having many heads. And he sometimes assumes forms having many millions of legs and forms having innumerable stomachs and faces and forms endued with innumerable arms and innumerable sides. He sometimes appears surrounded by innumerable spirits and ghosts. He it is that assumes the forms of Rishis and Gandharvas, and of Siddhas and Charanas. He sometimes assumes a form that is rendered white with the ashes he smears on it and is adorned with a half-moon on the forehead. Adored with diverse hymns uttered with diverse kinds of voice and worshipped with diverse Mantras fraught with encomiums, he, that is sometimes called Sarva, is the Destroyer of all creatures in the universe, and it is upon him, again, that all creatures rest as on their common foundation. Mahadeva is the soul of all creatures. He pervades all things. He is the speaker of all discourses (on duties and rituals). He resides everywhere and should be known as dwelling in the hearts of all creatures in the universe. He knows the desire cherished by every one of his worshippers. He becomes acquainted with the object in which one pays him adorations. Do thou then, if it pleases thee, seek the protection of the chief of the deities. He sometimes rejoices, and sometimes yields to wrath, and sometimes utters the syllable Hum with a very loud noise. He sometimes arms himself with the discus, sometimes with the trident, sometimes with the mace, sometimes with the heavy mullets, sometimes with the scimitar, and sometimes with the battle axe. He it is that assumes the form of Sesha who sustains the world on his head. He has snakes for his belt, and his ears are adorned with ear-rings made of snakes. Snakes form also the sacred thread he wears. An elephant skin forms his upper garment. He sometimes laughs and sometimes sings and sometimes dances most beautifully. Surrounded by innumerable spirits and ghosts, he sometimes plays on musical instruments. Diverse, again are the instruments upon which he plays, and sweet the sounds they yield. He sometimes wanders (over crematoria), sometimes yawns, sometimes cries, and sometimes causes others to cry. He sometimes assumes the guise of one that is mad, and sometimes of one that is intoxicated, and he sometimes utters words that are exceedingly sweet. Endued with appalling fierceness, he sometimes laughs loudly, frightening all creatures with his eyes. He sometimes sleeps and sometimes remains awake and sometimes yawns as he pleases. He sometimes recites sacred Mantras and sometimes becomes the deity of those Mantras which are recited. He sometimes performs penances and sometimes becomes the deity for whose adoration those penances are undergone. He sometimes makes gifts and sometimes receives those gifts; sometimes disposes himself in Yoga and sometimes becomes the object of the Yoga contemplation of others. He may be seen on the sacrificial platform or in the sacrificial stake; in the midst of the cow-pen or in the fire. He may not again be seen there. He may be seen as a boy or as an old man. He sports with the daughters and the spouses of the Rishis. His hair is long and stands erect. He is perfectly naked, for he has the horizon for his garments. He is endued with terrible eyes. He is fair, he is darkish, he is dark, he is pale, he is of the colour of smoke, and he is red. He is possessed of eyes that are large and terrible. He has empty space for his covering and he it is that covers all things. Who is there that can truly understand the limits of Mahadeva who is formless, who is one and indivisible, who conjures of illusions, who is of the cause of all actions and destructive operations in the universe, who assumes the form of Hiranyagarbha, and who is without beginning and without end, and who is without birth. He lives in the heart (of every creature). He is the prana, he is the mind, and he is Jiva (that is invested in the material case). He is the soul of Yoga, and it is that is called Yoga. He is the Yoga-contemplation into which Yogins enter. He is the Supreme Soul. Indeed Maheswara, the purity in essence, is capable of being comprehended not by the senses but through only the Soul seizing his existence. He plays on diverse musical instruments. He is a vocalist. He has a hundred thousand eyes, he has one mouth, he has two mouths, he has three mouths, and he has many mouths. Devoting thyself to him, setting thy heart upon him, depending upon him, and accepting him as thy one refuse, do thou, O son, adore Mahadeva and then mayst thou obtain the fruition of all thy wishes. Hearing those words of my mother, O slayer of foes, from that day my devotion was directed to Mahadeva, having nothing else for its object. I then applied myself to the practice of the austerest penances for gratifying Sankara. For one thousand years I stood on my left toe. After that I passed one thousand years, subsisting only upon fruits. The next one thousand years I passed, subsisting upon the fallen leaves of trees. The next thousand years I passed, subsisting upon water only. After that I passed seven hundred years, subsisting on air alone. In this way, I adored Mahadeva for a full thousand years of the celestials. After this, the puissant Mahadeva, the Master of all the universe, became gratified with me. Desirous of ascertaining whether I was solely devoted to him and him alone, he appeared before me in the form of Sakra surrounded by all the deities. As the celebrated Sakra, he had a thousand eyes on his person and was armed with the thunderbolt. And he rode on an elephant whose complexion was of the purest white, with eyes red, ears folded, the temporal juice trickling down his cheeks, with trunk contracted, terrible to look at, and endued with four tusks. Indeed, riding on such an elephant, the illustrious chief of the deities seemed to blaze forth with his energy. With a beautiful crown on his head and adorned with garlands round his neck and bracelets round his arms, he approached the spot where I was. A white umbrella was held over his head. And he was waited upon by many Apsaras, and many Gandharvas sang his praise. Addressing me, he said,--O foremost of regenerate persons, I have been gratified with thee. Beg of me whatever boon thou desirest,--Hearing these words of Sakra I did not become glad. Verily, O Krishna, I answered the chief of the celestials in these words.--I do not desire any boon at thy hands, or from the hands of any other deity. O amiable deity, I tell thee truly, that it is Mahadeva only from whom I have boons to ask. True, true it is, O Sakra, true are these words that I say unto thee. No other words are at all agreeable to me save those which relate to Maheswara. At the command of Pashupati, that Lord of all creatures, I am ready to become a worm or a tree with many branches. If not obtained through the grace represented by Mahadeva's boons, the very sovereignty of the three worlds would not be acceptable to me. Let me be born among the very Chandalas but let me still be devoted to the feet of Hara. Without, again, being devoted to that Lord of all creatures, I would not like to have birth in the palace of Indra himself. If a

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person be wanting in devotion to that Lord of the universe,--that Master of the deities and the Asuras,--his misery will not end even if from want of food he has to subsist upon only air and water. What is the need of other discourses that are even fraught with other kinds of morality and righteousness, unto those persons who do not like to live even a moment without thinking of feet of Mahadeva? When the unrighteous or sinful Kali Yuga comes, one should never pass a moment without devoting his heart upon Mahadeva. One that has drunk the Amrita constituted by the devotion to Hara, one becomes freed from the fear of the world. One that has not obtained the grace of Mahadeva can never succeed to devote oneself to Mahadeva for a single day or for half a day or for a Muhurta or for a Kshana or for a Lava (very small unit of time). At the command of Mahadeva I shall cheerfully become a worm or an insect, but I have no relish for even the sovereignty of the three worlds, if bestowed by thee, O Sakra. At the word of Hara I would become even a dog. In fact, that would accord with my highest wish. If not given by Maheswara, I would not have the sovereignty of the very deities. I do not wish to have this dominion of the Heavens. I do not wish to have the sovereignty of the celestials. I do not wish to have the region of Brahma. Indeed, I do not wish to have that cessation of individual existence which is called Emancipation and which involves a complete identification with Brahma. But I want to become the slave of Hara. As long as that Lord of all creatures, the illustrious Mahesa, with crown on his head and body possessed of the pure white complexion of the lunar disc, does not become gratified with me, so long shall I cheerfully bear all those afflictions, due to a hundred repetitions of decrepitude, death and birth, that befall to the lot of embodied beings. What person in the universe can obtain tranquillity, without gratifying Rudra that is freed from decripitude and death, that is endued with the effulgence of the Sun, the Moon, or the fire, that is the root or original cause of everything real and unreal in the three worlds, and that exists as one and indivisible entity? If in consequence of my faults, rebirths be mine, I shall, in those new births, devote myself solely to Bhava.'"

"Indra said, 'What reason canst thou assign for the existence of a Supreme Being or for His being the cause of all causes?'"

"Upamanyu said, 'I solicit boons from that great Deity named Siva whom utterers of Brahma has described as existent and non-existent, manifest and unmanifest, eternal or immutable, one and many. I solicit boons from Him who is without beginning and middle and end, who is Knowledge and Puissance, who is inconceivable and who is the Supreme Soul. I solicit boons from Him whence comes all Puissance, who has not been produced by any one, who is immutable, and who, though himself unsprung from any seed, is the seed of all things in the universe. I solicit boons from Him who is blazing Effulgence, (beyond Darkness) who is the essence of all penances, who transcends all faculties of which we are possessed and which we may devote for the purpose of comprehending him, and by knowing whom every one becomes freed from grief or sorrow. I worship him, O Purandara, who is conversant with the creation of all elements and the thought of all living creatures, and who is the original cause of the existence or creation of all creatures, who is omnipresent, and who has the puissance to give everything. I solicit boons from Him who cannot be comprehended by argument, who represents the object of the Sankhya and the Yoga systems of philosophy, and who transcends all things, and whom all persons conversant with the topics of enquiry worship and adore. I solicit boons from Him, O Maghavat, who is the soul of Maghavat himself, who is said to be the God of the gods, and who is the Master of all creatures. I solicit boons from Him who it is that first created Brahma, that creator of all the worlds, having filled Space (with His energy) and evoked into existence the primeval egg. Who else than that Supreme Lord could be creator of Fire, Water, Wind, Earth, Space, Mind, and that which is called Mahat? Tell me, O Sakra, who else than Siva could create Mind, Understanding, Consciousness or Ego, the Tanmatras, and the senses? Who is there higher than Siva? The wise say that the Grandsire Brahma is the creator of this universe. Brahma, however, acquired his high puissance and prosperity by adoring and gratifying Mahadeva, that God of gods. That high puissance (consisting of all the three attributes of creation, protection, and destruction), which dwells in that illustrious Being who is endowed with the quality of being one, who created Brahma, Vishnu, and Rudra, was derived from Mahadeva. Tell me who is there that is superior to the Supreme Lord? Who else than that God of gods is competent to unite the sons of Diti with lordship and puissance, judging by the sovereignty and the power of oppressing conferred upon the foremost of the Daityas and Danavas? The different points of the horizon, Time, the Sun, all fiery entities, planets, wind, water, and the stars and constellations,--these, know thou, are from Mahadeva. Tell us who is higher than the Supreme Lord? Who else is there, except Mahadeva, in the matter of the creation of Sacrifice and the destruction of Tripura? Who else except Mahadeva, the grinder of the foes, has offered lordship to the principal? What need, O Purandara, of many well-sounding statements fraught with spacious sophisms, when I behold thee of a thousand eyes, O best of the deities,--thee that art worshipped by Siddhas and Gandharvas and the deities and the Rishis? O best of the Kusikas, all this is due to the grace of that God of gods viz., Mahadeva. Know, O Kesava, that this all, consisting of animate and inanimate existences with heaven and other unseen entities, which occur in this world, and which has the all-pervading Lord for their soul, has flowed from Maheswara and has been created (by him) for enjoyment by Jiva. In the worlds that are known by the names of Bhu, Bhuva, Swah, and Maha, in the midst of the mountains of Lokaloka, in the islands, in the mountains of Meru, in all things that yield happiness, and in the hearts of all creatures, O illustrious Maghavat, resides Mahadeva, as persons conversant with all the topics of enquiry say. If, O Sakra, the Devas (deities) and the Asuras could see any other puissant form than Bhava's, would not both of them, especially the former, when opposed and afflicted by the latter, have sought the protection of that form? In all hostile encounters of the deities, the Yakshas, the Uragas and the Rakshasas, that terminating in mutual destruction, it is Bhava that gives unto those that meet with destruction, puissance commensurate with their respective locations as dependent upon their acts. Tell me, who else than Maheswara is there for bestowing boons upon, and once more chastising the Andhaka and Sukra and Dundubhi and Maharshi and many foremost of Yakshas, Indra and Vala and Rakshasas and the Nivatakavachas? Was not the vital seed of Mahadeva, that Master of both the deities and the Asuras, poured as a libation upon the fire? From that seed sprung a mountain of gold. Who else is there whose seed can be said to be possessed of such virtue. Who else in this world is praised as having the horizon only for his garments? Who else can be said to be a Brahmacharin with his vital seed drawn up? Who else is there that has half his body occupied by his dear spouse? Who else is there that has been able to subjugate Kama, the god of desire? Tell me, O Indra, what other Being possesses that high region of supreme felicity that is applauded by all the deities? Who else has the crematorium as his sporting ground? Who else is there that is so praised for his dancing? Whose puissance and worship remain immutable? Who else is there that sports with spirits and ghosts? Tell me, O deity, who else has associate that are possessed of strength like his own and that are, therefore, proud of that strength or puissance? Who else is there whose status is applauded as unchangeable and worshipped with reverence by the three worlds? Who else is there that pours rain, gives heat, and blazes forth in Energy? From whom else do we derive our wealth of herbs? Who else upholds all kinds of wealth? Who else sports as much as he pleases in the three worlds of mobile and immobile things? O Indra, know Maheswara to be the original cause (of everything). He is adored by Yogins, by Rishis, by the Gandharvas, and by the Siddhas, with the aid of knowledge, (of ascetic) success, and of the rites laid down in the scriptural ordinances. He is adored by both the deities and the Asuras with the aid of sacrifices by acts and the affliction of the ritual laid down in the scriptures. The fruits of action can never touch him for he transcends them all. Being such, I call him the original cause of everything. He is both gross and subtile. He is without compare. He cannot be conceived by the senses. He is endued with attributes and he is divested of them. He is the lord of attributes, for they are under his control. Even such is the place that is Maheswara's. He is the cause of the maintenance and the creation (of the universe). He is the cause of the universe and the cause also of its destruction. He is the Past, the Present, and the Future. He is the parent of all things. Verily, He is the cause of every thing. He is that which is mutable, He is the unmanifest, He is Knowledge; He is ignorance; He is every act, He is every omission; He is righteousness; and He is unrighteousness. Him, O Sakra, do I call the cause of every thing. Behold, O Indra, in the image of Mahadeva the indications of both the sexes. That god of gods, viz., Rudra, that cause of both creation and destruction, displays in his form the indications of both the sexes as the one cause of the creation of the universe. My mother formerly told me that he is the cause of the universe and the one cause of everything. There is no one that is higher than Isa, O Sakra. If it pleases thee, do thou throw thyself on his kindness and protection. Thou hast visible evidence, O chief of the celestials, of the fact that the universe has sprung from the union of the sexes (as represented by Mahadeva). The universe, thou knowest, is the sum of what is vested with attributes and what else is divested of attributes and has for its immediate cause the seeds of Brahma and others. Brahma and Indra and Hutasana and Vishnu and all the other deities, along with the Daityas and the Asuras, crowned with the fruition of a thousand desires, always say that there is none that is higher than Mahadeva. Impelled by desire, I solicit, with restrained mind, that god known to all the mobile and immobile universe,--him, that is, who has been spoken of as the best and highest of all the gods, and who is auspiciousness itself, for obtaining without delay that highest of all acquisitions, viz., Emancipation. What necessity is there of other reasons (for establishing) what I believe? The supreme Mahadeva is the cause of all causes. We have never heard that the deities have, at any time, adored the sign of any other god than Mahadeva. If Maheswara be not accepted, tell me, if thou hast ever heard of it, who else is there whose sign has been worshipped or is being worshipped by all the deities? He whose sign is always worshipped by Brahma, by Vishnu, by thee, O Indra, with all the other deities, is verily the foremost of all adorable deities. Brahma has for his sign the lotus, Vishnu has for his the discus, Indra has for his sign the thunder-bolt. But the creatures of the world do not bear any of the signs that distinguish these deities. On the other hand, all creatures bear the signs that mark Mahadeva and his spouse. Hence, all creatures must be regarded as belonging to Maheswara. All creatures of the feminine sex, have sprung from Ulna's nature as their cause, and hence it is they bear the mark of femininity that distinguishes Uma; while all creatures that are masculine, having sprung from Siva, bear the masculine mark that distinguishes Siva. That person who says that there is, in the three worlds with their mobile and immobile creatures, any other cause than the Supreme Lord, and that which is not marked with the mark of either Mahadeva or his spouse should be regarded as very wretched and should not be counted among the creatures of the universe. Every being with the mark of the masculine sex should be known to be of Isana, while every being with the mark of the feminine sex should be known to be of Uma. This universe of mobile and immobile creatures is provided by two kinds of forms (viz., male and female). It is from Mahadeva that I wish to obtain boons. Failing in this, O Kausika, I would rather prefer dissolution itself. Go or remain, O Sakra, as thou, O slayer of Vala, desirest. I wish to have boons or curses from Mahadeva. No other deity shall I ever acknowledge, nor would I have from any other deity the fruition of all my wishes.--Having said these words unto the chief of the celestials, I became overwhelmed with grief at the thought of Mahadeva not having been gratified with me not withstanding my severe austerities. Within the twinkling of an eye, however, I saw the celestial elephant I had beheld before me transformed into a bull as white as a swan, or the Jasminum pubescens, or a stalk of the lotus or silver, or the ocean of milk. Of huge body, the hair of its tail was black and the hue of its eyes was tawny like that of honey. Its horns were hard as adamant and had the colour of gold. With their very sharp ends, whose hue was a mild red, the bull seemed to tear the Earth. The animal was adorned all over with ornaments made of the purest gold. Its face and hoofs and nose and ears were exceedingly beautiful and its waist too exceedingly well-formed. Its flanks were possessed of great beauty and its neck was very thick. Its whole form was exceedingly agreeable and beautiful to look at. Its hump shone with great beauty and seemed to occupy the whole of its shoulder-joint. And it looked like the summit of a mountain of snow or like a cliff of white clouds in the sky. Upon the back of that animal I beheld seated the illustrious Mahadeva with his spouse Uma. Verily, Mahadeva shone like the lord of stars while he is at his full. The fire born of his energy resembled in effulgence the lightening that flashes amid clouds. Verily, it seemed as if a thousand suns rose there, filling every side with a dazzling splendour. The energy of the Supreme Lord looked like the Samvartaka fire which destroys all creatures at the end of the Yuga. Overspread with that energy, the horizon became such that I could see nothing on any side. Filled with anxiety I once more thought what it could mean. That energy, however, did not pervade every side for any length of time, for soon, through the illusion of that god of gods, the horizon became clear. I then behold the illustrious Sthanu or Maheswara seated on the back of his bull, of blessed and agreeable appearance and looking like a smokeless fire. And the great god was accompanied by Parvati of faultless features. Indeed, I beheld the blue-throated and high-souled Sthanu, unattached to everything, that receptacle of all kinds of force, endued with eight and ten arms and adorned with all kinds of ornaments. Clad in white vestments, he wore white garlands, and had white unguents smeared upon his limbs. The colour of his banner, irresistible in the universe, was white. The sacred thread round his person was also white. He was surrounded with associates, all possessed with prowess equal to his own, who were singing or dancing or playing on diverse kinds of musical instruments. A crescent moon, of pale hue, formed his crown, and placed on his forehead it looked like the moon that rises in the autumnal firmament. He seemed to dazzle with splendour, in consequence of his three eyes that looked like three suns. The garland of the purest white, that was on his body, shone like a wreath of lotuses, of the purest white, adorned with jewels and gems. I also beheld, O Govinda, the weapons in their embodied forms and fraught with every kind of energy, that belong to Bhava of immeasurable prowess. The high-souled deity held a bow whose hues resembled those of the rainbow. That bow is celebrated under the name of the Pinaka and is in reality a mighty snake. Indeed, that snake of seven heads and vast body, of sharp fangs and virulent poison, of large neck and the masculine sex, was twined round with the cord that served as its bowstring. And there was a shaft whose splendour looked like that of the sun or of the fire that

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appears at the end of the Yuga. Verily, that shaft was the excellent Pasupata that mighty and terrible weapon, which is without a second, indescribable for its power, and capable of striking every creature with fear. Of vast proportions, it seemed to constantly vomit sparks of fire. Possessed of one foot, of large teeth, and a thousand heads and thousand Stomachs, it has a thousand arms, a thousand tongues, and a thousand eyes. Indeed, it seemed to continually vomit fire. O thou of mighty arms, that weapon is superior to the Brahma, the Narayana, the Aindra, the Agneya, and the Varuna weapons. Verily, it is capable of neutralising every other weapon in the universe. It was with that weapon that the illustrious Mahadeva had in days of yore, burnt and consumed in a moment the triple city of the Asuras. With the greatest ease, O Govinda, Mahadeva, using that single arrow, achieved that feat. That weapon, shot by Mahadeva's arms, can, without doubt consume in half the time taken up by a twinkling of the eyes the entire universe with all its mobile and immobile creatures. In the universe there is no being including even Brahma and Vishnu and the deities, that are incapable of being slain by that weapon. O sire, I saw that excellent, wonderful and incomparable weapon in the hand of Mahadeva. There is another mysterious and very powerful weapon which is equal or perhaps, superior to the Pasupata weapon. I beheld that also. It is celebrated in all the worlds as the Sum of the Sula-armed Mahadeva. Hurled by the illustrious deity, that weapon is competent to rive the entire Earth or dry up the waters of the ocean or annihilate the entire universe. In days of yore, Yuvanaswa's son, king Mandhatri, that conqueror of the three worlds, possessed of imperial sway and endued with abundant energy, was, with all his troops, destroyed by means of that weapon. Endued with great might and great energy and resembling Sakra himself in prowess, the king, O Govinda, was slain by the Rakshasa Lavana with the aid of this Sula which he had got from Siva. The Sula has a very keen point. Exceedingly terrible, it is capable of causing everybody's hair stand on its end. I saw it in the hand of Mahadeva, as if roaring with rage, having contracted its forehead into three wrinkles. It resembled, O Krishna, a smokeless fire or the sun that rises at the end of the Yuga. The handle of that Sula, was made of a mighty snake. It is really indescribable. It looked like the universal Destroyer himself armed with his noose. I saw this weapon, O Govinda, in the hand of Mahadeva. I beheld also another weapon, viz., that sharp-edged battle-axe which, in days of yore, was given unto Rama by the gratified Mahadeva for enabling him to exterminate the Kshatriyas. It was with this weapon that Rama (of Bhrigu's race) slew in dreadful battle the great Karttaviryya who was the ruler of all the world. It was with that weapon that Jamadagni's son, O Govinda, was able to exterminate the Kshatriyas for one and twenty times. Of blazing edge and exceedingly terrible, that axe was hanging on the shoulder, adorned with a snake, of Mahadeva. Indeed, it shone on Mahadeva's person like the flame of a blazing fire. I beheld innumerable other celestial weapons with Mahadeva of great intelligence. I have, however named only a few, O sinless one, in consequence of their principal character. On the left side of the great god stood the Grandsire Brahma seated on an excellent car unto which were attached swans endued with the speed of the mind. On the same side could be seen Narayana also, seated on the son of Vinata, and bearing the conch, the discus, and the mace. Close to the goddess Uma was Skanda seated on his peacock, bearing his fatal dart and bells, and looking like another Agni. In the front of Mahadeva I beheld Nandi standing armed with his Sula and looking like a second Sankara (for prowess and energy). The Munis headed by the Self-born Manu and Rishis having Bhrigu for their first, and the deities with Sakra at their head, all came there. All the tribes of spirits and ghosts, and the celestial Mothers, stood surrounding Mahadeva and saluting him with reverence. The deities were engaged in singing the praises of Mahadeva by uttering diverse hymns. The Grandsire Brahma uttering a Rathantara, praised Mahadeva. Narayana also, uttering the Jyestha Saman, sang the praises of Bhava. Sakra also did the same with the aid of those foremost of Vedic Mantras, viz., the Sata-Rudriam. Verily, Brahma and Narayana and Sakra,--those three high-souled deities,--shone there like three sacrificial fires. In their midst shone the illustrious God like the sun in the midst of his corona, emerged from autumnal clouds. I beheld myriads of suns and moons, also in the sky, O Kesava. I then praised the illustrious Lord of everything, the supreme Master of the universe.

"Upamanyu continued, 'I said, Salutations to thee, O illustrious one, O thou that constitutest the refuge of all things, O thou that art called Mahadeva! Salutations to thee that assumest the form of Sakra, that art Sakra, and that disguisest thyself in the form and vestments of Sakra. Salutations to thee that art armed with the thunder, to thee that art tawny, and thee that art always armed with the Pinaka. Salutations to thee that always bearest the conch and the Sula. Salutations to thee that art clad in black, to thee that art of dark and curly hair, to thee that hast a dark deer-skin for thy upper garment, to thee that presidest over the eighth lunation of the dark fortnight. Salutations to thee that art of white complexion, to thee that art called white, to thee that art clad in white robes, to thee that hast limbs smeared with white ashes, to thee that art ever engaged in white deeds. Salutations to thee that art red of colour, to thee that art clad in red vestments, to thee that ownest a red banner with red flags, to thee that wearest red garlands and usest red unguents. Salutations to thee that art brown in complexion, to thee that art clad in brown vestments, to thee, that hast a brown banner with brown flags, to thee that wearest brown garlands and usest brown unguents. Salutations to thee that hast the umbrella of royalty held over thy head, to thee that wearest the foremost of crowns. Salutations unto thee that art adorned with half a garland and half an armlet, to thee that art decked with one ring for one year, to thee that art endued with the speed of the mind, to thee that art endued with great effulgence. Salutations to thee that art the foremost of deities, to thee that art the foremost of ascetics, to thee that art the foremost of celestials. Salutations to thee that wearest half a wreath of lotuses, to thee that hast many lotuses on thy body. Salutations to thee that hast half thy body smeared with sandal paste, to thee that hast half thy body decked with garlands of flowers and smeared with fragrant unguents. [Mahadeva's body is half male and half female. The male half has garlands of bones, the female half garlands of flowers. The male half has everything that is rejected by others; the female half has all things that are coveted by others. This particular form of Mahadeva is called Hara-Gauri.] Salutations to thee that art of the complexion of the Sun, to thee that art like the Sun, to thee whose face is like the Sun, to thee that hast eyes each of which is like the Sun. Salutations to thee that art Soma, to thee that art as mild as Soma, to thee that bearest the lunar disc, to thee that art of lunar aspect, to thee that art the foremost of all creatures, to thee that art adorned with a set of the most beautiful teeth. Salutations to thee that art of a dark complexion, to thee that art of a fair complexion, to thee that hast a form half of which is yellow and half white, to thee that hast a body half of which is male and half female, to thee that art both male and female. Salutations to thee that ownest a bull for thy vehicle, to thee that proceedest riding on the foremost of elephants, to thee that art obtained with difficulty, to thee that art capable of going to places unapproachable by others. Salutations to thee whose praises are sung by the Ganas, to thee that art devoted to the diverse Ganas, to thee that followest the track that is trod by the Ganas, to thee that art always devoted to the Ganas as to a vow. Salutations to thee that art of the complexion of white clouds, to thee that hast the splendour of the evening clouds, to thee that art incapable of being described by names, to thee that art of thy own form (having nothing else in the universe with which it can be compared). Salutations to thee that wearest a beautiful garland of red colour, to thee that art clad in robes of red colour. Salutations to thee that hast the crown of the head decked with gems, to thee that art adorned with a half-moon, to thee that wearest many beautiful gems in thy diadem, to thee that hast eight flowers on thy head. Salutations to thee that hast a fiery mouth and fiery eyes, to thee that hast eyes possessing the effulgence of a thousand moons, to thee that art of the form of fire, to thee that art beautiful and agreeable, to thee that art inconceivable and mysterious. Salutations to thee that rangest through the firmament, to thee that lovest and residest in lands affording pasture to kine, to thee that walkest on the Earth, to thee that art the Earth, to thee that art infinite, to thee that art exceedingly auspicious. Salutations to thee that art unclad (or has the horizon alone for thy vestments), to thee that makest a happy home of every place where thou mayst happen to be for the moment. Salutations to thee that hast the universe for thy home, to thee that hast both Knowledge and Felicity for thy Soul. Salutations to thee that always wearest a diadem, to thee that wearest a large armlet, to thee that hast a snake for the garland round thy neck, to thee that wearest many beautiful ornaments on thy person. Salutations to thee that hast the Sun, the Moon, and Agni for thy three eyes, to thee that art possessed of a thousand eyes, to thee that art both male and female, to thee that art divested of sex, to thee that art a Sankhya, to thee that art a Yogin. Salutations to thee that art of the grace of those deities who are worshipped in sacrifices, to thee that art the Atharvans, to thee that art the alleviator of all kinds of disease and pain, to thee that art the dispeller of every sorrow. Salutations to thee that roarest as deep as the clouds, to thee that puttest forth diverse kinds of illusions, to thee that presidest over the soil and over the seed that is sown in it, to thee that art the Creator of everything. Salutations to thee that art the Lord of all the celestials, to thee that art the Master of the universe, to thee that art endued with the speed of the wind, to thee that art of the form of the wind. Salutations to thee that wearest a garland of gold, to thee that sportest on hills and mountains, to thee that art adorned by all who are enemies of the gods, to thee that art possessed of fierce speed and energy. Salutations to thee that torest away one of the heads of the Grandsire Brahma, to thee that hast slain the Asura named Mahisha, to thee that assumest three forms, to thee that bearest every form. Salutations to thee that art the destroyer of the triple city of the Asuras, to thee that art the destroyer of (Daksha's) sacrifice, to thee that art the destroyer of the body of Kama (the deity of Desire), to thee that wieldest the rod of destruction. Salutations to thee that art Skanda, to thee that art Visakha, to thee that art the rod of the Brahmana, to thee that art Bhava, to thee that art Sarva, to thee that art of universal form. Salutations to thee that art Isana, to thee that art the destroyer of Bhaga, to thee that art the slayer of Andhaka, to thee that art the universe, to thee that art possessed of illusion, to thee that art both conceivable and inconceivable. Thou art the one end of all creatures, thou art the foremost, thou art the heart of everything. Thou art the Brahma of all the deities, thou art the Nilardhita Red and Blue of the Rudras. Thou art the Soul of the creatures, thou art He who is called Purusha in the Sankhya philosophy, thou art the Rishabha among all things sacred, thou art that which is called auspicious by Yogins and which, according to them, is without parts (being indivisible). Amongst those that are observant of the different modes of life, thou art the House-holder, thou art the great Lord amongst the lords of the universe. Thou art Kuvera among all the Yakshas, and thou art Vishnu amongst all the sacrifices. Thou art Meru amongst mountains, thou art the Moon among all luminaries of the firmament, thou art Vasishtha amongst Rishis, thou art Surya among the planets. Thou art the lion among all wild animals, and among all domestic animals, thou art the bull that is worshipped by all people. Among the Adityas thou art Vishnu (Upendra), among the Vasu thou art Pavaka, among birds thou art the son of Vinata (Garuda), and among snakes thou art Ananta (Sesha). Among the Vedas thou art the Samans, among the Yajushes thou art the Sata-Rudriyam, among Yogins thou art Sanatkumara, and among Sankhyas thou art Kapila. Among the Maruts thou art Sakra, among the Pitris thou art Devarat, among all the regions (for the residence of created beings) thou art the region of Brahman, and amongst all the ends that creatures attain to, thou art Moksha or Emancipation. Thou art the Ocean of milk among all oceans, among all rocky eminences thou art Himavat, among all the orders thou art the Brahmana, and among all learned Brahmanas thou art he that has undergone and is observant of the Diksha. Thou art the Sun among all things in the world, thou art the destroyer called Kala. Thou art whatever else possessed of superior energy of eminence that exists in the universe. Thou art possessed of supreme puissance. Even this is what represents my certain conclusion. Salutations to thee, O puissant and illustrious one, O thou that art kind to all thy worshippers. Salutations to thee, O lord of Yogins. I bow to thee, O original cause of the universe. Be thou gratified with me that am thy worshipper, that am very miserable and helpless, O Eternal Lord, do thou become the refuge of this adorer of thine that is very weak and miserable. O Supreme Lord, it behoveth thee to pardon all those transgressions of which I have been guilty, taking compassion upon me on the ground of my being thy devoted worshipper. I was stupefied by thee, O Lord of all the deities, in consequence of the disguise in which thou showest thyself to me. O Maheswara, I did not give thee the Arghya or water to wash thy feet. Having hymned the praises of Isana in this way, I offered him, with great devotion, water to wash his feet and the ingredients of the Arghya, and then, with joined hands, I resigned myself to him, being prepared to do whatever he would bid. Then, O sire, an auspicious shower of flowers fell upon my head, possessed of celestial fragrance and bedewed with cold water. The celestial musicians began to play on their kettle-drums. A delicious breeze, fragrant and agreeable, began to blow and fill me with pleasure. Then Mahadeva accompanied by his spouse, and having the bull for his sign, having been gratified with me, addressed the celestials assembled there in these words, filling me with great joy,--Behold, ye deities, the devotion of the high-souled Upamanyu. Verily, steady and great is that devotion, and entirely immutable, for it exists unalterably.--Thus addressed by the great God armed with the Sula, the deities, O Krishna, having bowed down unto him and joined their hands in reverence, said these words,--O illustrious one, O God of the gods, O master of the universe, O Lord of all, let this best of regenerate persons obtain from thee the fruition of all his desires.--Thus addressed by all the deities, with the Grandsire Brahma among them. Sarva, otherwise called Isa and Sankara, said these words as if smiling unto me.'"

"The illustrious Sankara said, 'O dear Upamanyu, I am gratified with thee. Behold me, O foremost of Munis, O learned Rishi, thou art firmly devoted to me and well hast thou been tested by me. I have been very highly pleased with thee in consequence of this thy devotion to Siva. I shall, therefore, give thee today the fruition of whatever desires thou mayst have in thy heart. Thus addressed by Mahadeva of great wisdom, tears of joy came into my eyes and my hair stood on its end (through emotion). Kneeling down unto him and bowing unto him repeatedly, I then, with a voice that was choked with delight, said unto him,--O illustrious god, it seems to me that I was hitherto dead and that it is only today that I have taken my birth, and that my birth bath today

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borne fruit, since I am staying now in the presence of Him who is the Master of both the deities and the Asuras! Who else is more praiseworthy than I, since I am beholding with these eyes of mine, Him of immeasurable prowess whom the very deities are unable to behold without first paying hearty worship? That which they that are possessed of learning and wisdom say is the highest of all topics, which is Eternal, which is distinguished from all else, which is unborn, which is Knowledge, which is indestructible, is identical with thee, O puissant and illustrious one, thee that art the beginning of all the topics, thee that art indestructible and changeless, thee that art conversant with the ordinances which govern all the topics, thee that art the foremost of Purushas, thee that art the highest of the high. Thou art he that hadst created from thy right side the Grandsire Brahma, the Creator of all things. Thou art he that hadst created from thy left side Vishnu for protecting the Creation. Thou art that puissant Lord who didst create Rudra when the end of the Yuga came and when the Creation was once more to be dissolved. That Rudra, who sprang from thee destroyed the Creation with all its mobile and immobile beings, assuming the form of Kala of great energy, of the cloud Samvartaka (charged with water which myriads of oceans are not capacious enough to bear), and of the all consuming fire. Verily, when the period comes for the dissolution of the universe, that Rudra stands, ready to swallow up the universe. Thou art that Mahadeva, who is the original Creator of the universe with all its mobile and immobile entities. Thou art he, who, at the end of the Kalpa, stands, withdrawing all things into thyself. Thou art he that pervadest all things, that art the Soul of all things, thou art the Creator of the Creator of all entities. Incapable of being seen by even any of the deities, thou art he that exists, pervading all entities. If, O lord, thou hast been gratified with me and if thou wouldst grant me boons, let this be the boon, O Lord of all the deities, that my devotion to thee may remain unchanged. O best of the deities, let me, through thy grace, have knowledge of the Present, the Past, and the Future. I shall also, with all my kinsmen and friends, always eat food mixed with milk. And let thy illustrious self be for ever present at our retreat.--Thus addressed by me, the illustrious Maheswara endued with supreme energy, that Master of all mobile and immobile, viz., Siva, worshipped of all the universe, then said unto me these words.'

"The illustrious Deity said, 'Be thou free from every misery and pain, and be thou above decrepitude and death. Be thou possessed of fame, be thou endued with great energy, and let spiritual knowledge be thine. Thou shalt, through my grace, be always sought for by the Rishis. Be thy behaviour good and righteous, be every desirable attribute thine, be thou possessed of universal knowledge, and be thou of agreeable appearance. Let undecaying youth be thine, and let thy energy be like that of fire. Wherever, again, thou mayst desire the presence of the ocean of milk that is so agreeable to thee, there shall that ocean appear before thee (ready for being utilised by thee and thy friends for purposes of thy food). Do thou, with thy friends, always obtain food prepared with milk, with the celestial nectar besides being mixed with it. After the expiration of a Kalpa thou shalt then obtain my companionship. Thy family and race and kinsmen shall be exhaustless. O foremost of regenerate ones, thy devotion to me shalt be eternal. And. O best of Brahmanas, I shall always accord my presence to thy asylum. Live, O son, whithersoever thou likest, and let no anxiety be thine. Thought of by thee, I shall, O learned Brahmana, grant thee a sight of myself again.--Having said these words, and granted me these boons, the illustrious Isana, endued with the effulgence of millions of Suns, disappeared there and then. It was even thus, O Krishna, that I beheld, with the aid of austere penances, that God of gods. I also obtained all that was said by the great Deity endued with supreme intelligence. Behold, O Krishna, before thy eyes, these Siddhas residing here and these Rishis and Vidyadharas and Yakshas and Gandharvas and Apsaras. Behold these trees and creepers and plants yielding all sorts of flowers and fruits. Behold them bearing the flowers of every season, with beautiful leaves, and shedding a sweet fragrance all around. O thou of mighty arms, all these are endued with a celestial nature through the grace of that god of gods, that Supreme Lord, that high-souled Deity.'

"Vasudeva continued, 'Hearing these words of his and beholding, as it were, with my own eyes all that he had related to me, I became filled with wonder. I then addressed the great ascetic Upamanyu and said unto him,--Deserving of great praise art thou, O foremost of learned Brahmanas, for what righteous man is there other than thou whose retreat enjoys the distinction of being honoured with the presence of that God of gods? Will the puissant Siva, will the great Sankara, O chief of ascetics, grant me also a sight of his person and show me favour.'

"Upamanyu said, 'Without doubt, O thou of eyes like lotus-petals, thou wilt obtain a sight of Mahadeva very soon, even as, O sinless one, I succeeded in obtaining a sight of him. O thou of immeasurable prowess, I see with my spiritual eyes that thou wilt, in the sixth month from this, succeed in obtaining a sight of Mahadeva, O best of all persons. Thou, O foremost of the Yadus, wilt obtain from Maheswara and his spouse, four and twenty boons. I tell thee what is true. Through the grace of that Deity endued with supreme wisdom, the Past, the Future and the Present are known to me. The great Hara has favoured these Rishis numbering by thousands and others as numerous. Why will not the puissant Deity show favour to thee, O Mahadeva? The meeting of the gods is always commendable with one like thee, with one that is devoted to the Brahmanas, with one that is full of compassion and that is full of faith. I shall give thee certain Mantras. Recite them continuously. By this thou art certain to behold Sankara.'

"The blessed Vishnu continued, 'I then said unto him, O regenerate one, through thy grace, O great ascetic. I shall behold the lord of the deities, that grinder of multitudes of Diti's sons. Eight days, O Bharata, passed there like an hour, all of us being thus occupied with talk on Mahadeva. On the eighth day, I underwent the Diksha (initiation) according to due rites, at the hands of that Brahmana and received the staff from his hands. I underwent the prescribed shave. I took up a quantity of Kusa blades in my hand. I wore rags for my vestments. I rubbed my person with ghee. I encircled a cord of Munja grass round my loins. For one month I lived on fruits. The second month I subsisted upon water. The third, the fourth and the fifth months I passed, living upon air alone. I stood all the while, supporting myself upon one foot and with my arms also raised upwards, and foregoing sleep all the while. I then beheld, O Bharata, in the firmament an effulgence that seemed to be as dazzling as that of a thousand Suns combined together. Towards the centre of that effulgence, O son of Pandu, I saw a cloud looking like a mass of blue hills, adorned with rows of cranes, embellished with many a grand rainbow, with flashes of lightning and the thunder-fire looking like eyes set on it. Within that cloud was the puissant Mahadeva. himself of dazzling splendour, accompanied by his spouse Uma. Verily, the great Deity seemed to shine with his penances, energy, beauty, effulgence, and his dear spouse by his side. The puissant Maheswara, with his spouse by his side, shone in the midst of that cloud. The appearance seemed to be like that of the Sun in the midst of racking clouds with the Moon by his side. The hair on my body, O son of Kunti, stood on its end, and my eyes expanded with wonder upon beholding Hara, the refuge of all the deities and the dispeller of all their griefs. Mahadeva was adorned with a diadem on his head. He was armed with his Sula. He was clad in a tiger-skin, had matted locks on his head, and bore the staff (of the Sanyasin) in one of his hands. He was armed, besides with his Pinaka and the thunderbolt. His teeth was sharp-pointed. He was decked with an excellent bracelet for the upper arm. His sacred thread was constituted by a snake. He wore an excellent garland of diversified colours on his bosom, that hung down to his toes. Verily, I beheld him like the exceedingly bright moon of an autumnal evening. Surrounded by diverse clans of spirits and ghosts, he looked like the autumnal Sun difficult of being gazed at for its dazzling brightness. Eleven hundred Rudras stood around that Deity of restrained soul and white deeds, then seated upon his bull. All of them were employed in hymning his praises. The Adityas, the Vasus, the Sadhyas, the Viswedevas, and the twin Aswins praised that Lord of the universe by uttering the hymns occurring in the scriptures. The puissant Indra and his brother Upendra, the two sons of Aditi, and the Grandsire Brahma, all uttered, in the presence of Bhava, the Rathantara Saman. Innumerable masters of Yoga, all the regenerate Rishis with their children, all the celestial Rishis, the goddess Earth, the Sky (between Earth and Heaven), the Constellations, the Planets, the Months, the Fortnights, the Seasons, Night, the Years, the Kshanas, the Muhurtas, the Nimeshas, the Yugas one after another, all the celestial Sciences and branches of knowledge, and all beings conversant with Truth, were seen bowing down unto that Supreme Preceptor, that great Father, that giver (or origin) of Yoga. Sanatkumara, the Vedas, the Histories, Marichi, Angiras, Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, the seven Manus, Soma, the Atharvans, and Vrihaspati, Bhrigu, Daksha, Kasyapa, Vasishtha, Kasya, the Schandas, Diksha, the Sacrifices, Dakshina, the Sacrificial Fires, the Havis (clarified butter) poured in sacrifices, and all the requisites of the sacrifices, were beheld by me, O Yudhishthira, standing there in their embodied forms. All the guardians of the worlds, all the Rivers, all the snakes, the mountains, the celestial Mothers, all the spouses and daughters of the celestials, thousands upon thousands and millions of ascetics, were seen to bow down to that puissant Lord who is the soul of tranquillity. The Mountains, the Oceans, and the Points of the compass also did the same, the Gandharvas and the Apsaras highly skilled in music, in celestial strains, sang and hymned the praises of Bhava who is full of wonder. The Vidyadharas, the Danavas, the Guhyakas, the Rakshasas, and all created beings, mobile and immobile, adorned, in thought, word and deed, that puissant Lord. Before me, that Lord of all the gods viz., Sarva, appeared seated in all his glory. Seeing that Isana had showed himself to me by being seated in glory before my eyes, the whole universe, with the Grandsire and Sakra, looked at me. I, however, had not the power to look at Mahadeva. The great Deity then addressed me saying, 'Behold, O Krishna, and speak to me. Thou hast adorned me hundreds and thousands of times. There is no one in the three worlds that is dearer to me than thou.' After I had bowed unto him, his spouse, viz., the goddess Uma, became gratified with me. I then addressed in these words the great God whose praises are hymned by all the deities with the Grandsire Brahma at their head.'

"The blessed Vishnu said, 'I saluted Mahadeva, saying,--Salutations to thee, O thou that art the eternal origin of all things. The Rishis say that thou art the Lord of the Vedas. The righteous say that thou art Penance, thou art Sattwa, thou art Rajas, thou art Tamas, and thou art Truth. Thou art Brahman, thou art Rudra, thou art Varuna, thou art Agni, thou art Manu, thou art Bhava, thou art Dhatri, thou art Tashtri, thou art Vidhatri, thou art the puissant Master of all things, and thou art everywhere. All beings, mobile and immobile, have sprung from thee. This triple world with all its mobile and immobile entities, has been created by thee. The Rishis say that thou art superior to the senses, the mind, the vital breaths, the seven sacrificial fires, all others that have their refuge in the all-pervading Soul, and all the deities that are adored and worthy of adoration. Thou, O illustrious one, art the Vedas, the Sacrifices, Soma, Dakshina, Pavaka, Havi, and all other requisites of sacrifice. The merit obtained by sacrifices, gifts made to others, the study of the Vedas, vows, regulations in respect of restraint, Modesty, Fame, Prosperity, Splendour, Contentment, and Success, all exist for leading to thee. Desire, Wrath, Fear, Cupidity, Pride, Stupefaction, and Malice, Pains and Diseases, are, O illustrious one, thy children. Thou art all acts that creatures do, thou art the joy and sorrow that flow from those acts, thou art the absence of joy and sorrow, thou art that Ignorance which is the indestructible seed of Desire, thou art the high origin of Mind, thou art Puissance, and thou art Eternity. Thou art the Unmanifest, thou art Pavana, thou art inconceivable, thou art the thousand-rayed Sun, thou art the effulgent Chit, thou art the first of all the topics, and thou art the refuge of life. The use of words like Mahat, Soul, Understanding, Brahman, Universe, Sambhu, and Self-born and other words occurring in succession (in the Vedas), show that thy nature has been judged (by persons conversant with the Vedas) as identical with Mahat and Soul. Verily, regarding thee as all this, the learned Brahmanas win over that ignorance which lies at the root of the world. Thou residest in the heart of all creatures, and thou art adored by the Rishis as Kshetrajna. Thy arms and feet extend to every place, and thy eyes, head, and face are everywhere. Thou hearest everywhere in the universe, and thou stayest, pervading all things. Of all acts that are performed in the Nimeshas and other divisions of time that spring in consequence of the puissance of the Sun, thou art the fruit. Thou art the original effulgence (of the supreme Chit). Thou art Purusha, and thou residest in the hearts of all things. Thou art the various Yogic attributes of success, viz., Subtility and Grossness and Fruition and Supremacy and Effulgence and Immutability. Understanding and intelligence and all the worlds rest upon thee. They that are devoted to meditation, that are always engaged in Yoga, that are devoted to or firm in Truth and that have subjugated their passions, seek thee and rest on thee. They that know thee for one that is Immutable, or one that resides in all hearts, or one that is endued with supreme puissance, or one that is the ancient Purusha, or one that is pure Knowledge, or one that is the effulgent Chit, or one that is the highest refuge of all persons endued with intelligence, are certainly persons of great intelligence. Verily, such persons stay, transcending intelligence. By understanding the seven subtile entities (viz., Mahat, Ego, and five subtile primal elements called Tanmatras), by comprehending thy six attributes (of Omniscience, Contentment of Fullness, Knowledge without beginning, Independence, Puissance that is not at fault at any time and that is infinite), and being conversant with Yoga that is freed from every false notion, the man of knowledge succeeds in entering into thy great self.--After I had said these words, O Partha, unto Bhava, that dispeller of grief and pain, the universe, both mobile and immobile, sent up a leonine shout (expressive of their approval of the correctness of my words). The innumerable Brahmanas there present, the deities and the Asuras, the Nagas, the Pisachas, the Pitris, the birds, diverse Rakshasas, diverse classes of ghosts and spirits, and all the great Rishis, then bowed down unto that great Deity. There then fell upon my head showers of celestial flowers possessed of great fragrance, and delicious winds blew on the spot. The puissant Sankara then, devoted to the good of the universe, looked at the goddess Uma and the lord of the celestials and myself also, and thus spoke unto me,--We know, O Krishna, that thou, O slayer of foes, art filled with the greatest devotion towards us. Do what is for thy good. My love and affection for thee is very great. Do thou ask for eight boons. I shall verily give them unto thee, O Krishna, O best of all persons, tell me what they are, O chief of the Yadavas. Name what thou wishest. However difficult of attainment they be, thou shalt have them still.'"

SECTION 15

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"The blessed Krishna said, 'Bowing my head with great joy unto that mass of energy and effulgence, I said these words unto the great Deity, with a heart filled with gladness,--Firmness in virtue, the slaughter of foes in battle, the highest fame, the greatest might, devotion to Yoga, thy adjacence, and hundreds upon hundreds of children, these are the boons I solicit of thee,--So be it,--said Sankara repeating the words I had uttered. After this, the mother of the universe, the upholders of all things, who cleanses, all things, viz., the spouse of Sarva, that vast receptacle of penances said with a restrained soul these words unto me,--'The puissant Mahadeva has granted thee, O sinless one, a son who shall be named Samva. Do thou take from me also eight boons which thou choosest. I shall certainly grant them to thee.--Bowing unto her with a bend of my head, I said unto her, O son of Pandu,--I solicit from thee non-anger against the Brahmanas, grace of my father, a hundred sons, the highest enjoyments, love for my family, the grace of my mother, the attainment of tranquillity and peace, and cleverness in every act!'

"Uma said, 'It shall be even so, O thou that art possessed of prowess and puissance equal to that of a celestial. I never say what is untrue. Thou shalt have sixteen thousand wives. Thy love for them and theirs also for thee shall be unlimited. From all thy kinsmen also, thou shalt receive the highest affection. Thy body too shall be most beautiful. Seven thousand guests will daily feed at thy palace.'

"Vasudeva continued, 'Having thus granted me boons both the god and the goddess, O Bharata, disappeared there and then with their Ganas, O elder brother of Bhima. All those wonderful facts I related fully, O best of kings, to that Brahmana of great energy, viz., Upamanyu (from whom I had obtained the Diksha before adoring Mahadeva). Bowing down unto the great God, Upamanyu said these words to me.'

"Upamanyu said, 'There is no deity like Sarva. There is no end or refuge like Sarva. There is none that can give so many or such high boons. There is none that equal him in battle.'"

SECTION 16

"Upamanyu said, 'There was in the Krita age, O sire, a Rishi celebrated under the name of Tandi. With great devotion of heart he adored, with the aid of Yoga-meditation, the great God for ten thousand years. Listen to me as I tell thee fruit or reward he reaped of such extraordinary devotion. He succeeded in beholding Mahadeva and praised him by uttering some hymns. Thinking, with the aid of his penances, of Him who is the supreme Soul and who is immutable and undeteriorating, Tandi became filled with wonder, and said these words,--I seek the protection of Him whom the Sankhyas describe and the Yogins think of as the Supreme, the Foremost, the Purusha, the pervader of all things, and the Master of all existent objects, of him who, the learned say, is the cause of both the creation and the destruction of the universe; of him who is superior to all the celestials, the Asuras, and the Munis, of him who has nothing higher, who is unborn, who is the Lord of all things, who has neither beginning nor end, and who is endued with supreme puissance, who is possessed of the highest felicity, and who is effulgent and sinless.--After he had said these words, Tandi beheld before him that ocean of penances, that great Deity who is immutable and undeteriorating, who is without compare, who is inconceivable, who is eternal, and who is without any change, who is indivisible, who is whole, who is Brahma, who transcends all attributes, and who is endued with attributes, who is the highest delight of Yogins, who is without deterioration, who is called Emancipation, who is the refuge of the Mind, of Indra, of Agni, of the god of wind, of the entire universe, and of the Grandsire Brahma; who is incapable of being conceived by the Mind, who is without mutation of any kind, who is pure, who is capable of being apprehended by understanding only and who is immaterial as the Mind; who is difficult of comprehension, who is incapable of being measured, who is difficult of being attained by persons of uncleansed souls, who is the origin of the universe, and who transcends both the universe and the attribute of darkness; who is ancient, who is Purusha, who is possessed of effulgence, and who is higher than the highest. The Rishi Tandin, desirous of beholding Him who making himself endued with life-breaths, resides in what results from it viz., Jiva, in the form of that effulgence which is called the Mind, passed many years in the practice of the severest austerities, and having succeeded in beholding Him as the reward of those penances, he praised the great God in the following terms.'

"Tandi said, 'Thou art the holiest of holies and the refuge of all, O foremost of all beings endued with intelligence. Thou art the fiercest energy of all kinds of energy. Thou art the austerest penance of all penances. Thou, O puissant one, art the liberal giver of blessings. Thou art the supreme Truth. Salutations to thee, O thou of a thousand rays, and, O refuge of all felicity. Thou art the giver of that Nirvana which, O puissant one, Yatis, standing in fear of birth and death, strive for so hard. The Grandsire Brahma, he of a hundred sacrifices, (viz., Indra) Vishnu, the Viswadevas, the great Rishis, are incapable of comprehending thee and thy real nature. How then can persons like ourselves hope to comprehend thee? From thee flows everything. Upon thee rests everything. Thou art called Kala, thou art called Purusha, thou art called Brahma. Celestial Rishis conversant with the Puranas, say that thou hast three bodies viz., those pertaining to Kalas, those pertaining to Purusha and those pertaining to Brahma or the three forms namely Brahma, Vishnu and Rudra. Thou art Adhi-Purusha, (occupying the physical flame from head to foot) thou art Adhyatma, thou art Adhibhuta, and Adhi-Daivata, thou art Adhi-loka, Adhi-Vijnanam and Adhi-Yajna. Men of wisdom, when they succeed in knowing thee that resident in themselves and that art incapable of being known by the very gods, become freed from all bonds and pass into a state of existence that transcends all sorrow. They that do not wish to know thee, O thou of great puissance, have to undergo innumerable births and deaths. Thou art the door of heaven and of Emancipation. Thou art he that projectest all beings into existence and withdrawest them again into thyself. Thou art the great giver. Thou art heaven, thou art Emancipation, thou art desire (the seed of action). Thou art wrath that inspires creatures. Thou art Sattwa, thou art Rajas, thou art Tamas, thou art the nether regions, and thou art the upper regions. Thou art the Grandsire Brahma, thou art Bhava, thou art Vishnu, thou art Skanda, thou art Indra, thou art Savitri, thou art Yama, thou art Varuna, Soma, thou art Dhatri, thou art Manu, thou art Vidhatri and thou art Kuvera, the Lord of treasures. Thou art Earth, thou art Wind, thou art Water, thou art Agni, thou art Space, thou art Speech, thou art the Understanding, thou art Steadiness, thou art Intelligence, thou art the acts that creatures do, thou art Truth, thou art Falsehood, thou art existent and thou art non-existent. Thou art the senses, thou art that which transcends Prakriti, thou art immutable. Thou art superior to the universe of existent objects, thou art superior to the universe of non-existent objects, thou art capable of being conceived, thou art incapable of being conceived. That which is supreme Brahman, that which is the highest entity, that which is the end of both the Sankhyas and the Yogins, is, without doubt, identical with thee. Verily, rewarded have I been today by thee in consequence of thy granting me a sight of thy form. I have attained the end which the righteous alone attain to. I have been rewarded with that end which is solicited by persons whose understandings have been cleansed by Knowledge. Alas, so long I was steeped in Ignorance; for this long period I was a senseless fool, since I had no knowledge of thee that art the Supreme Deity, thee that art the only eternal Entity as can be only known by all persons endued with wisdom. In course of innumerable lives have I at last succeeded in acquiring that Devotion towards thee in consequence of which thou hast shown thyself to me. O thou that art ever inclined to extend thy grace to those that are devoted to thee. He that succeeds in knowing thee is enable to enjoy immortality. Thou art that which is ever a mystery with the gods, the Asuras, and the ascetics. Brahman is concealed in the cave of the heart. The very ascetics are unable to behold or know Him. Thou art that puissant deity who is the doer of everything and whose face is turned towards every direction. Thou art the Soul of all things, thou seest all things, thou pervadest all things, and thou knowest all things. Thou makest a body for thyself, and bearest that body. Thou art an embodied Being. Thou enjoyest a body, and thou art the refuge of all embodied creatures. Thou art the creator of the life-breaths, thou possessest the life-breaths, thou art one that is endued with life-breaths, thou art the giver of the life-breaths, and thou art the refuge of all beings endued with life-breaths. Thou art that Adhyatma which is the refuge of all righteous persons that are devoted to Yoga-meditation and conversant with the Soul and that are solicitous of avoiding rebirth. Verily, thou art that Supreme Lord who is identical with that refuge. Thou art the giver unto all creatures of whatever ends become theirs, fraught with happiness or misery. Thou art he that ordains all created beings to birth and death. Thou art the puissant Lord who grants success to Rishis crowned with success in respect of the fruition of their wishes. Having created all the worlds beginning with Bhu, together with all the denizens of heaven, that upholdest and cherishest them all, distributing thyself into thy well-known forms numbering Eight. [The worlds or regions commonly enumerated are Bhu, Bhuva, Swa, Maha, Jana, Tapa, and Satya. The eight well-known forms of Mahadeva are Water, Fire, Hotri, Sun, Moon, Space, Earth and Wind. In his form of water he is called Bhava; in that of fire, he is called Rudra; in that of Hotri he is called Pasupati; in that of the Sun, he is called Isana, in that of the Moon, he is called Mahadeva; in that of Space, he is called Bhima; in that of Earth, he is called Sarva; and in that of wind, he is called Ugra. Compare the benediction in Kalidasa's Shakuntalam.] From thee flows everything. Upon thee rests all things. All things, again, disappear in thee. Thou art the sole object that is Eternal. Thou art that region of Truth which is sought by the righteous and regarded by them as the highest. Thou art that cessation of individual existence which Yogins seek. Thou art that Oneness which is sought by persons conversant with the soul. Brahma and the Siddhas expounding the mantras have concealed thee in a cave for preventing the deities and Asuras and human beings from beholding thee. Although thou residest in the heart, yet thou are concealed. Hence, stupefied by thee, deities and Asuras and human beings are all unable to understand thee, O Bhava, truly and in all thy details. Unto those persons that succeed in attaining to thee after having cleansed themselves by devotion, thou showest thyself of thy own accord, O thou that residest in all hearts. By knowing thee one can avoid both death and rebirth. Thou art the highest object of knowledge. By knowing thee no higher object remains for one to know. Thou art the greatest object of acquisition. The person that is truly wise, by acquiring thee, thinks that there is no higher object to acquire. By attaining to thee that art exceedingly subtile and that art the highest object of acquisition, the man of wisdom becomes immortal and immutable. The followers of the Sankhya system, well conversant with their own philosophy and possessing a knowledge of the attributes (of Sattwa, Rajas and Tamas) and of those called the topics of enquiry,--those learned men who transcend the destructible by attaining to a knowledge of the subtile or indestructible--succeed, by knowing thee, in freeing themselves from all bonds. Persons conversant with the Vedas regard thee as the one object of knowledge, which has been expounded in the Vedantas. These men, devoted to the regulation of the breaths, always meditate on thee and at last enter into thee as their highest end. Riding on the car made of Om, those men enter into Maheswara. Of that which is called the Devayana (the path of the deities) thou art the door called Aditya. Thou art again, the door, called Chandramas, of that which is called the Pitriyana (the path of the Pitris). [Devayana and Pitriyana are the two courses or paths by which the departed have to attain to their ends. Those going by the former reach the Sun; while those that go by the latter reach the Moon.] Thou art Kashtha, thou art the points of the horizon, thou art the year, and thou art the Yugas. Thine is the sovereignty of the heavens, thine is the sovereignty of the Earth, thou art the Northern and the Southern declensions. The Grandsire Brahma in days of yore uttered thy praises, O thou that art called Nilarohita (blue and red), by reciting diverse hymns and urged thee to create living creatures. Brahmanas conversant with Richs praise thee by uttering Richs, regarding thee as unattached to all things and as divested of all forms. Adhyaryus, in sacrifices, pour libations, uttering Yajushes the while, in honour of thee that art the sole object of knowledge, according to the three well-known ways. Persons of cleansed understandings, that are conversant with Samans, sing thee with the aid of Samans. Those regenerate persons, again, that are conversant with the Atharvans, hymn thee as Rita, as Truth, as the Highest, and as Brahma. Thou art the highest cause, whence Sacrifice has flowed. Thou art the Lord, and thou art Supreme. The night and day are thy sense of hearing and sense of sight. The fortnights and months are thy head and arms. The seasons are thy energy, penances are thy patience, and the year is thy anus, thighs and feet. Thou art Mrityu. thou art Yama, thou art Hutasana, thou art Kala, thou art endued with speed in respect of destruction, thou art the original cause of Time, and thou art eternal Time. Thou art Chandramas and Aditya. with all the stars and planets and the atmosphere that fills space. Thou art the pole-star, thou art constellation called the seven Rishis, thou art the seven regions beginning with Bhu. Thou art Pradhana and Mahat, thou art Unmanifest, and thou art this world. Thou art the universe beginning with Brahman and ending with the lowest forms of vegetation. Thou art the beginning or original cause of all creatures. Thou art the eight Prakritis. Thou art, again, above the eight Prakritis. Everything that exists, represents a portion of thy divine Self. Thou art that supreme Felicity which is also Eternal. Thou art the end which is attained to by all things. Thou art that highest existence which is sought for by the Righteous. Thou art that state which is freed from every anxiety. Thou art eternal Brahman! Thou art that highest state which constitutes the meditation of persons learned in the scriptures and the Vedangas. Thou art the highest Kashtha, thou art the highest Kala. Thou art the highest Success, and thou art the highest Refuge. Thou art the highest Tranquillity. Thou art the highest cessation of Existence. By attaining to thee, Yogins think that they attain to the highest success that is open to them. Thou art Contentment, thou art Success, thou art the Sruti, and thou art the Smriti. Thou art that Refuge of the Soul after which Yogins strive, and thou art that indestructible Prapti which men of Knowledge pursue. Thou art, without doubt, that End which those persons have in view that are habituated to sacrifices and that pour sacrificial libations, impelled by specific desires, and that make large presents on such occasions. Thou art that high End which is sought for by persons that waste and scorch their bodies with severe penances with ceaseless recitations, with those rigid vows and fasts that appertain to their tranquil lives, and with other means of self-affliction. O Eternal one, thou art that End which is theirs that are unattached to all things and that have relinquished all acts. Thou, O Eternal one, art that End which is theirs that are desirous of achieving Emancipation from rebirth, that live in dissociation from all enjoyments, and that desire the

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annihilation of the Prakriti elements. Thou art that high End, O illustrious one, which is indescribable, which is stainless, which is the immutable one, and which is theirs that are devoted to knowledge and science. These are the live Ends that have been declared in the Vedas and the Scriptures and the Puranas. It is through thy grace that persons attain to those Ends, or, if they fail to attain to them, it is through thy grace being denied to them.--It was thus Tandi, who was a vast heap of penances, praised Isana. And he sang also that high Brahman which in ancient days was sung by the Creator himself (in honour of Mahadeva).

"Upamanyu continued, 'Thus praised by that utterer of Brahma, Viz., Tandi, Mahadeva that illustrious and puissant Deity, who was accompanied by his spouse lima, said these words. Tandi had further said,--Neither Brahma, nor Indra nor Vishnu, nor the Viswedevas, nor the great Rishis, know thee. Gratified at this, Siva said the following words.'

"The holy one said, 'Thou shalt be indestructible and eternal. Thou shalt be freed from all sorrow. Great fame shall be thine. Thou shalt be endued with energy. Spiritual knowledge shall be thine. All the Rishis shall seek thee, and thy son, through my grace, shall become the author of Sutras, O foremost of regenerate persons. What wishes of thine shall I grant today? Tell me, O son, what those objects are which thou desirest.--At this, Tandi joined his hands and said--O Lord, let my devotion to thee be steady.'

"Upamanyu continued, 'Having given unto Tandi these boons and having received the adorations of both the deities and the Rishis, the great Deity disappeared there and then. When the illustrious deity, O lord of the Yadavas, thus, disappeared with all his followers, the Rishi came to my asylum and said unto me all that had happened to him. Do thou hear, O foremost of men, all those celebrated names (of Mahadeva) that Tandi said unto me for thy spiritual success. The Grandsire had at one time recited ten thousand names that apply to Mahadeva. In the scriptures, a thousand names occur of that illustrious deity. These names are not known to all. O thou that transcendest destruction, in days of yore, the Grandsire Brahma uttered these names for adoring the high-souled Deity. Having acquired them through the grace of the Grandsire, Tandi communicated them to me!'"

SECTION 17

"Vasudeva said, 'Concentrating his mind, O Yudhishthira. the regenerate Rishi Upamanyu, with hands joined together in reverence uttered this abstract of names (applying to Mahadeva), commencing from the beginning.'

"Upamanyu said, 'I shall adore that great Deity who deserves the adorations of all creatures, by uttering those names that are celebrated over all the worlds,--names some of which were uttered by the Grandsire Brahma, some by the Rishis, and some of which occur in the Vedas and the Vedangas. Those names have been applied (unto the great Deity) by persons that are eminent. Those names of him that are, again, true and fraught with success and are capable of accomplishing all the purposes which the utterer may have in view, have been applied unto Mahadeva by Tandi after calling them from the Vedic lore with the aid of his devotion. Indeed, with those names that have been uttered by many well-known persons of righteousness and by ascetics conversant with all the spiritual principles. I shall adore him who is the foremost, who is the first, who leads to heaven, who is ready to confer benefits upon all creatures, and who is auspicious. Those names have been heard everywhere in the universe, having spread from the region of Brahma (where they were originally invented). All of them are fraught with the element of Truth. With those names I shall adore him who is Supreme Brahman, who has been declared (unto the universe) by the Vedas, and who is Eternal. I shall now tell thee, O chief of Yacht's race those names. Do thou hear them with rapt attention. Thou art a devoted worshipper of the Supreme Deity. Do thou worship the illustrious Bhava, distinguishing him above all the deities. And because thou art devoted to him, I shall therefore, recite those names in thy hearing. Mahadeva is Eternal Brahman. Persons endued with Yoga; Yoga's achievements are unable to know in even a hundred years, the glory and puissance of the great Deity in their entirety. Verily, the beginning, middle or end of Mahadeva cannot be apprehended by the very deities. Indeed, when the case is such, who is there O Madhava, that can recite the attributes of Mahadeva in their entirety? For all that, I shall through the grace of that illustrious and supreme Deity of perfect wisdom, extended to me for my devotion to him, recite his attributes as embodied in an abstract of few words and letters. The Supreme Lord is incapable of being adored by any one if he does not grant his permission to the adorer. As regards myself, it is only when I become fortunate enough to receive his permission that I succeed in adoring him. I shall indicate only a few names of that great Deity who is without birth and without destruction, who is the original cause of the universe, who is endued with the highest Soul, and whose origin is unmanifest. Hear, O Krishna, a few names, that were uttered by Brahma himself, of that giver of boons, that adorable deity, that puissant one who has the universe for his form, and who is possessed of supreme wisdom. These names that I shall recite are extracted from the ten thousand names that the great Grandsire had uttered in days of yore, as ghee is extracted from curds. As gold represents the essence of rocky mountains, as honey represents the essence of flowers, as Manda represents the extract from ghee, even so have these names been extracted from and represent the essence of those ten thousand names that were uttered by Grandsire Brahma. This abstract of names is capable of cleansing every sin, however heinous. It possesses the same merit that is attached to the four Vedas. It should be comprehended with attention by spiritual aspirants and engraved on the memory. These names fraught with auspiciousness, leading to advancement, destructive of Rakshasas, and great cleansers should be imparted to only him that is devoted to the great Lord, to him that has faith, to him that believes. Unto him that has no faith, him that is an unbeliever, him that has not subjugated his soul, it should never be communicated. That creature, O Krishna, who cherishes malice towards the illustrious Mahadeva who is the original cause of everything, who is the Supreme Soul, and who is the great Lord, has certainly to go to hell with all his ancestors before and all his children after him. This abstract of names that I shall recite to thee is looked upon as Yoga. This is looked upon as the highest object of meditation. This is that which one should constantly recite as Japya. This is equivalent to Knowledge. This is the highest Mystery. If one, even during his last moments, recites it or hears it recited unto him, one succeeds in attaining to the highest end. This is holy. This is auspicious, this is fraught with every kind of benefit. This is the best of all things. Brahma, the Grandsire of all the universe, having in days of old composed it, assigned to it the foremost place among all excellent hymns. From that time, this hymn to the greatness and glory of the high-souled Mahadeva, which is held in the highest esteem by all the deities, has come to be regarded as the king of all hymns. This king of all hymns was first conveyed from the region of Brahman to heaven, the region of the celestials. Tandi then obtained it from heaven. Hence is it known as the hymn composed by Tandi. From heaven Tandi brought it down on Earth. It is the most auspicious of all auspicious things, and is capable of cleansing the heart from all sins however heinous. O thou of mighty arms, I shall recite to thee that best of all hymns. This hymn relates to him who is the Veda of the Vedas, and the most ancient of all ancient objects, to him who is the energy of all energies, and the penance of all penances; to him who is the most tranquil of all creatures endued with tranquillity, and who is the splendour of all splendours; to him who is looked upon as the most restrained of all creatures that are restrained, and him who is the intelligence of all creatures endued with intelligence; to him who is looked upon as the deity of all deities, and the Rishi of all Rishis; to him who is regarded as the sacrifice of all sacrifices and the most auspicious of all things fraught with auspiciousness; to him who is the Rudra of all Rudras and the effulgence of all things endued with effulgence; to him who is the Yogin of all Yogins, and the cause of all causes; to him from whom all the worlds start into existence, and unto whom all the worlds return when they cease to exist; to him who is the Soul of all existent creatures, and who is called Hara of immeasurable energy. Hear me recite those thousand and eight names of the great Sarva. Hearing those names, O foremost of all men, thou shalt be crowned with fruition in respect of all thy wishes,--Om! thou art Immobile, thou art Fixed, thou art Puissant, thou art Terrible, thou art Foremost, thou art boon-giving, and thou art Superior. 1 Thou art the Soul of all creatures, thou art celebrated over all creatures, thou art all things, thou art the Creator of all, and thou art Bhava." Thou art the bearer of matted locks on thy head. Thou wearest animal skins for thy vestments. Thou wearest a crest of matted hair on thy head like the peacock. Thou art he who has the whole universe for thy limbs. Thou art the Creator of all things. Thou art Hara in consequence of thy being the destroyer of all things. Thou art he that has eyes resembling those of the gazelle. Thou art the destroyer of all creatures. Thou art the supreme enjoyer of all things. Thou art that Pravritti whence all actions flow. Thou art that Nivritti or abstention from acts. Thou art observant of fasts and vows, thou art Eternal, thou art Unchangeable. Thou art he that resides in crematoria, thou art the possessor of the six well-known attributes of Lordship and the rest, thou resides in the heart of every creature, thou art he that enjoys all things with the senses, thou art the grinder of all sinful creatures. Thou art he that deserves the salutations of all, thou art of great feats, thou art he that has penances for his wealth, thou greatest all the elements at thy will, thou concealest thy real nature by putting on the guise of a lunatic. Thou art the Master of all the worlds and of all living creatures. Thou art of immeasurable form, thou art of vast body, thou art of the form of Righteousness, thou art of great fame, thou art of high Soul, thou art the Soul of all creatures, thou hast the universe for thy form. Thou art of vast jaws (for thou swallowest the universe when the time comes for the dissolution of all things). Thou art the protector of all the lokas (the worlds). Thou art the soul residing in the inner heart and as such devoid of ahamkara originating from ignorance and is one and undivided; Thou art anandam (gladness). Thou art he whose car is borne by mules. Thou art he that protects Jiva from the thunderbolt of rebirth. Thou art adorable. Thou art obtained by purity and self-restraint and vows. Thou art again the refuge of all kinds of vows and observances including purity and self-restraint. Thou art the celestial artificer that is conversant with every art. Thou art Self-create (for no one has created thee). Thou art the beginning of all creatures and things. Thou art Hiranyagarbha, the Creator of all things. Thou art inexhaustible puissance and felicity. Thou hast a hundred eyes, thou hast eyes of vast power. Thou art Soma. Thou art he that causest all righteous creatures assume shapes of glory for shining in the firmament. Thou art Chandramas, thou art Surya, thou art the planet Saturn, thou art the descending node (of the moon), thou art the ascending node, thou art Mangala (Mars), and thou art Vrihaspati (Jupiter) and Sukra (Venus), thou art Vudha (Mercury) thou art the worshipper of Atri's wife, thou art he who shot his shaft in wrath at Sacrifice when Sacrifice fled away from him in the form of a deer. Thou art sinless. [Many of these names require comments to be intelligible. Ketu is no plant but Hindu astronomers name the descending node of the Moon by that name. Hence Rahu is the ascending node of the Moon. Graha, is that which seizes; Grahapati is Mangala, so called for its malevolence, Varah is Vrihaspati or Jupiter, who is the counterself of Sukra or Venus. In Hindu mythology, Sukra is a male person, the preceptor of the Daityas and Asuras. Atri is Vudha or Mercury, represented as the sons of Atri. Atryahnamaskarta is Durvasas who was the son of Atri's wife, got by the lady through a boon of Mahadeva. Daksha's Sacrifice sought to fly away from Siva, but the latter pursued it and shot his arrow at it for destroying it downright.] Thou art possessed of penances that have conferred upon thee the power of creating the universe. Thou art possessed of penances that have rendered thee capable of destroying the universe. Thou art high minded (in consequence of thy great liberality towards thy devotees). Thou fulfillest the wishes of all who resign themselves to thee. Thou art the maker of the year (for it is thou who settest the wheel of Time revolving, by assuming the form of the sun and the planets). Thou art Mantra (in the form of Pranava and other sacred words and syllables). Thou art the authority for all acts (in the form of the Vedas and the scriptures). Thou art the highest Penance. Thou art devoted to Yoga. Thou art he who merges himself in Brahman (by Yoga-abstraction). Thou art the great seed (being the cause of causes). Thou art the displayer of what is unmanifest in the manifest form in which the universe exists. Thou art possessed of infinite might. Thou art he whose seed is gold. Thou art omniscient, (being as thou art all things and the great knower). Thou art the cause of all things. Thou art he that has the seed of action (viz., ignorance and desire) for the means of sojourning from this world to the other and the other to this. Thou hast ten arms. Thou hast winkless eyes (for thou seest at all times). Thou hast a blue throat (in consequence of thy bearing in thy throat the poison that arose upon churning the ocean and which, if not so borne, was capable of destroying the universe). Thou art the Lord of Uma. Thou art the origin of all the infinite forms that occur in the universe. Thou art he whose superiority is due to thyself. Thou art a hero in might (in consequence of thy having achieved such grand feats as the quick destruction of the triple city of the Asuras). Thou art inert matter (which cannot move unless co-existing with the Soul). Thou art all the tattwas (subjects of enquiry as counted by the Sankhyas). Thou art the ordainer and ruler of the tattwas. Thou art the chief of those beings that wait upon thee and are called Ganas. Thou coverest infinite space. Thou art Kama, the God of Desire. Thou art conversant with Mantras (in the sense of knowledge being thy penance). Thou art the highest Mantra for thou art that philosophy which consists in the ascertainment of the nature and attributes of the soul (and its differences from the Non-soul). Thou art the cause of the universe (since all that exists has sprung from thy Soul). Thou art universal destroyer (for all that ceases to exist becomes merged unto thee who art as the unmanifest Brahman). Thou bearest in one of thy hands the calabash, and in another thou holdest the bow; in another hand thou bearest shafts and in another thou bearest a skull. Thou bearest the thunder-bolt. Thou art armed with the hundred-killer. Thou art armed with the sword. Thou wieldest the battle-axe. Thou art armed with the Sula (trident). Thou art adorable. Thou host the sacrificial ladle in one of thy hands. Thou art of beautiful form. Thou art endued with abundant energy. Thou givest in the most liberal measure all that tends to adorn those that are devoted to thee. Thou wearest a turban on thy head. Thou art of beautiful face. Thou art he who swells with splendour and puissance. Thou art he that is humble and modest. Thou art exceedingly tall. Thou art he who has the senses for thy rays. Thou art the greatest of preceptors. Thou art Supreme Brahman (being a state of pure felicitous existence). Thou art he that took the shape of a jackal (for consoling the Brahmana who, when insulted by a wealthy Vaisya, had resolved to commit suicide).

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Thou art he whose object are all crowned with fruition, of themselves and without waiting for the puissance (derivable from penances). Thou art one who bears a bald head (as the sign of the mendicant order). Thou art one who does good to all creatures. Thou art unborn. Thou hast innumerable forms. Thou bearest all kinds of fragrance on thy person. The matted locks on thy head had sucked up the river Ganga when it first fell from heaven (although they again gave out the waters at the earnest solicitations of king Bhagiratha). Thou art the giver of sovereignty and lordship. Thou art a Brahmacharin without having ever fallen away from the rigid vow of continence. Thou art distinguished for thy sexual continence. Thou always liest on thy back. Thou hast thy abode in Puissance. Thou hast three matted locks on thy head. Thou art he that is clad in rags. Thou art Rudra (in consequence of thy fierceness). Thou art the celestial generalissimo, and thou art all pervading. Thou art he that moves about during the day. Thou art he that moves about in the night. Thou art of fierce wrath. Thou art possessed of dazzling effulgence (born of Vedic study and penances). Thou art the slayer of the mighty Asura who had come in the form of an infuriate elephant for destroying thy sacred city of Varanasi. Thou art the slayer of such Daityas as become the oppressors of the universe. Thou art Kala or Time which is the universal destroyer. Thou art the supreme ordainer of the universe. Thou art a mine of excellent accomplishments. Thou art of the form of the lion and the tiger. Thou art he that is clad in the skin of an elephant. Thou art the Yogin who deceives Time by transcending its irresistible influence. Thou art the original sound. Thou art the fruition of all desires. Thou art he that is adored in four ways. Thou art a night-wanderer (like Vetala and others). Thou art he that wanders in the company of spirits. Thou art he that wanders in the company of ghostly beings. Thou art the Supreme Lord of even Indra and the other celestials. Thou art he that hast multiplied himself infinitely in the form of all existent and non-existent things. Thou art the upholder of both Mahat and all the innumerable combinations of the five primal elements. Thou art the primeval Ignorance or Tamas that is known by the name of Rahu. Thou art without measure and hence infinite. Thou art the supreme End that is attained by the Emancipate. Thou art fond of dancing. Thou art he that is always engaged in dancing. Thou art he that causes others to dance. Thou art the friend of the universe. Thou art he whose aspect is calm and mild. Thou art endued with penances puissant enough to create and destroy the universe. Thou art he who binds all creatures with the bonds of thy illusion. Thou art he that transcends destruction. Thou art he who dwells on the mount Kailasa. Thou transcendest all bonds and art unattached in respect of all things, like Space. Thou art possessed of a thousand arms. Thou art victory. Thou art that perseverance which is the cause of success or victory. Thou art without idleness or procrastination that interferes with persevering activity. Thou art dauntless. Thou art fear, Thou art he who put a stop to Vali's sacrifice. Thou fulfillest the desires of all thy devotees. Thou art the destroyer of Daksha's sacrifice. Thou art amiable. Thou art slightly amiable. Thou art exceedingly fierce and robbest all creatures of their energy. Thou art the slayer of the Asura Vala. Thou art always cheerful. Thou art of the form of wealth which is coveted by all. Thou hast never been vanquished. There is none more adorable than thou. Thou art he who utters deep roars (in the form of Ocean). Thou art that which is so deep that no one can measure it (because thou art of the form of space). Thou art he whose puissance and the might of whose companions and of the bull have never been measured by anybody. Thou art the tree of the world (whose roots extend upwards and branches hang downwards). Thou art the banian. Thou art he that sleeps on a human leaf when the universe, after dissolution, becomes one infinite expanse of water. Thou art he that shows compassion to all worshippers assuming as thou listest, the form of Hari or Hara or Ganesa or Arka or Agni or Wind, etc. Thou art possessed of teeth that are exceedingly sharp (since thou art competent to chew innumerable worlds even as one munches nuts and swallows them speedily). Thou art of vast dimensions in respect of thy forms. Thou art possessed of a mouth that is hast enough to swallow the universe at once. Thou art he whose troops are adored everywhere. Thou art he who dispelled all the fears of the deities when the prince of elephants had to be captured. Thou art the seed of the universe. Thou art he who has for his vehicle the same bull that forms again the device on his banner in battle. Thou hast Agni for thy soul. Thou art Surya who has green steeds yoked unto his car. Thou art the friend of Jiva. Thou art he that is conversant with the proper time for the accomplishment of all religious acts. Thou art he unto whom Vishnu paid his adorations (for obtaining his celebrated discus). Thou art the sacrifice being in the form of Vishnu. Thou art the ocean. Thou art the Barabanala Mare's head that ranges within the ocean, ceaselessly vomitting fire and drinking the saline waters as if they were sacrificial butter. Thou art Wind, the friend of Agni. Thou art of tranquil soul like the ocean when at rest and unstirred by the mildest breeze. Thou art Agni that drinks the libations of clarified butter poured in sacrifices with the aid of Mantras. Thou art he whom it is difficult to approach. Thou art he whose effulgence spreads over the infinite universe. Thou art ever skilful in battle. Thou art well conversant with the time when one should engage in battle so that victory may be achieved. Thou art that science which treats of the motions of heavenly bodies. Thou art of the form of success or victory. Thou art he whose body is Time (for thy body is never subject to destruction). Thou art a householder for thou wearest a tuft of hair on thy head Thou art a Sanyasin for thy head is bald. Thou wearest matted locks on thy head (being, as thou art, a Vanaprastha). Thou art distinguished for thy fiery rays (for the effulgent path by which the righteous proceed is identical with thee). Thou art he that appears in the firmament in the heart encased in the body of every creature. Thou art he who enters into the cranium (brain) of every creature. Thou bearest the wrinkles of age. Thou bearest the bamboo flute. Thou hast also the tabour. Thou bearest the musical instrument called Tali. Thou hast the wooden vessel used for husking grain. Thou art he who covers that illusion which covers Yama. Thou art an astrologer inasmuch as thy understanding is always directed towards the motion of the wheel of time which is made up of the luminaries in the firmament. Thou art Jiva whose understanding is directed to things that are the result of the attributes of Sattwa, Rajas, and Tamas. Thou art that in which all things merge when dissolution overtakes them. Thou art stable and fixed, there being nothing in thee that is subject to change or mutation of any kind. Thou art the Lord of all creatures. Thy arms extend all over the vast universe. Thou art displayed in innumerable forms that are but fractions of thyself. Thou pervadest all things. Thou art he that has no mouth (for thou enjoyest not the objects of thy own creation). Thou art he who frees thy creatures from the bonds of the world. Thou art easily attainable. Thou art he that manifested himself with a golden mail. Thou art he that appears in the phallic emblem. 'Thou art he that wanders in the forests in quest of fowls and animals. Thou art he that wanders over the Earth. Thou art, he that is omnipresent. Thou art the blare that is produced by all the trumpets blown in the three worlds. Thou art he that has all creatures for his relatives. Thou art of the form of a snake (for thou art identical with the mighty Naga named Sesha). Thou art he that lives in mountain caves (like Jaigishavya), or any other Yogin. Thou art identical with Guha (the celestial generalissimo). Thou wearest garlands of flowers. Thou art he who enjoys the happiness that springs from the possession of worldly objects. Thou art he from whom all creatures have derived their three states of birth, existence, and destruction. Thou art he that upholds all things that exist or occur in the three stages of time viz., the Past, the Present, and the Future. Thou art he that frees creatures from the effects of all acts belonging to previous lives as well as those accomplished in the present life and from all the bonds due to Ignorance and Desire. Thou art he who is the binder or Asura chiefs. Thou art he who is the slayer of foes in battle. Thou art that which is attainable by knowledge alone. Thou art Durvasas. Thou art he who is waited upon and adored by all the righteous. Thou art he who causes the fall of even Brahma and the others. Thou art he that gives unto all creatures the just share of joy and grief that each deserves according to his own acts. Thou art he that is incomparable. Thou art well conversant with the shares that are given and appropriated in sacrifices. Thou residest in every place. Thou wanderest everywhere. Thou art he that has mean vestments. Thou art Vasava. Thou art immortal. Thou art identical with the Himavat mountains. Thou art the maker of pure gold. Thou art without acts. Thou upholdest in thyself the fruits of all acts. Thou art the foremost of all creatures that are regarded as upholders. Thou art he that has bloody eyes. Thou art he that has eyes whose vision extends over the infinite universe. Thou art he that has a car whose wheels are ever victorious. Thou art he that is possessed of vast learning. Thou art he that accepts thy devotees for thy servants. Thou art he that restrains and subjugates thy senses. Thou art he that acts. Thou wearest clothes whose warp and woof are made of snakes. Thou art Supreme. Thou art he who is the lowest of the celestials. Thou art he that is well-grown. Thou ownest the musical instrument called Kahala. Thou art the giver of every wish. Thou art the embodiment of grace in all the three stages of Time, viz., the Past, the Present, and the Future. Thou art possessed of might that is always well spent. Thou art he who had assumed the form of Valarama (the elder brother of Krishna). Thou art the foremost of all colleted things, being Emancipation or the highest of all ends to which creatures attain. Thou art the giver of all things. Thy face is turned towards all directions, Thou art he from whom diverse creatures have sprung even as all forms have sprung from space or are modifications or that primal element. Thou art he who falls into the pit called body. Thou art he that is helpless (for, falling into the pit constituted by the body, thou canst not transcend the sorrow that is thy portion). Thou residest in the firmament of the heart. Thou art exceedingly fierce in form. Thou art the Deity called Ansu. Thou art the companion of Ansu and art called Aditya. Thou art possessed of innumerable rays. Thou art endued with dazzling effulgence. Thou hast the speed of the Wind. Thou art possessed of speed that is greater than that of the Wind. Thou art possessed of the speed of the mind. Thou art Nishachara as thou enjoyest all things, being invested with Ignorance. Thou dwellest in every body. Thou dwellest with Prosperity as thy companion. Thou art he that imparts knowledge and instruction. Thou art he who imparts instruction in utter silence. Thou art he that observes the vow of taciturnity (for thou instructest in silence). Thou art he who passes out of the body, looking at the soul. Thou art he that is well adored. Thou art the giver of thousands (since the lord of all the treasures derived those treasures of his from thee). Thou art the prince of birds, (being Garuda the son of Vinata and Kasyapa). Thou art the friend that renders aid. Thou art possessed of exceeding effulgence (for thy splendour is like that of a million suns risen together). Thou art the Master of all created beings. Thou art he who provokes the appetites. Thou art the deity of Desire. Thou art of the form of lovely women that are coveted by all. Thou art the tree of the world. Thou art the Lord of Treasures. Thou art the giver of fame. Thou art the Deity that distributes unto all creatures the fruits (in the form of joys and griefs) of their acts. Thou art thyself those fruits which thou distributest. Thou art the most ancient (having existed from a time when there was no other existent thing). Thou art competent to cover with a single footstep of thine all the three worlds. Thou art Vamana (the dwarf) who deceived the Asura chief Vali (and depriving him of his sovereignty restored it unto Indra). Thou art the Yogin crowned with success (like Sanatkumara and others). Thou art a great Rishi (like Vasishtha and others). Thou art one whose objects are always crowned with success (like Rishava or Dattatreya). Thou art a Sanyasin (like Yajnavalkya and others). Thou art he that is adorned with the marks of the mendicant order. Thou art he that is without such marks. Thou art he that transcends the usages of the mendicant order. Thou art he that assures all creatures from every sort of fear. Thou art without any passions thyself (so that glory and humiliation are alike to thee). Thou art he that is called the celestial generalissimo. Thou art that Visakha who took his rise from the body of the celestial generalissimo when Indra hurled his thunder-bolt at him. Thou art conversant with the sixty tattwas or heads of enquiry in the universe. Thou art the Lord of the senses (for these achieve their respective functions guided by thee). Thou art he that is armed with the thunder-bolt (and that rives the mountains). Thou art infinite. Thou art the stupefier of Daitya ranks in the field of battle. Thou art he that moves his car in circles among his own ranks and that makes similar circles among the ranks of his foes and who conies back safe and sound after devastating then. Thou art he that is conversant with the lowest depth of the world's ocean (in consequence of thy knowledge of Brahman). Thou art he called Madhu (who has founded the race in which Krishna has taken his birth). Thou hast eyes whose colour resembles that of honey. Thou art he that has taken birth after Vrihaspati. Thou art he that does the acts which Adhyaryus have to do in sacrifices. Thou art he who is always adored by persons whatever their modes of life. Thou art devoted to Brahman. Thou wanderest amongst the habitations of men in the world (in consequence of thy being a mendicant). Thou art he that pervadest all beings. Thou art he that is conversant with truth. Thou knowest and guidest every heart. Thou art he that overspreads the whole universe. Thou art he that collects or stores the good and bad acts of all creatures in order to award them the fruits thereof Thou art he that lives during even the night that follows the universal dissolution. Thou art the protector wielding the bow called Pinaka. Thou residest in even the Daityas that are the marks at which shootest thy arrows. Thou art the author of prosperity. Thou art the mighty ape Hanuman that aided Vishnu in the incarnation of Rama in his expedition against Ravana. Thou art the lord of those Ganas that are thy associates, Thou art each member of those diverse Ganas. Thou art he that gladdens all creatures. Thou art the enhancer of the joys of all. Thou takest away the sovereignty and prosperity of even such high beings as Indra and others. Thou art the universal slayer in the form of Death. Thou art he that resides in the four and sixty Kalas. Thou art very great. Thou art the Grandsire (being the sire of the great sire of all). Thou art the supreme phallic emblem that is adored by both deities and Asuras. Thou art of agreeable and beautiful features. Thou art he who presides over the variety of evidences and tendencies for action and non-action. Thou art the lord of vision. Thou art the Lord of Yoga (in consequence of thy withdrawing all the senses into the heart and combining them together in that place). Thou art he that upholds the Krita and the other ages (by causing them to run ceaselessly). Thou art the Lord of seeds (in consequence of thy being the giver of the fruits of all acts good and bad). Thou art the original cause of such seeds. Thou actest in the ways that have been pointed out in the scriptures beginning with those that treat of the Soul. Thou art he in whom reside might and the other attributes. Thou art the Mahabharata and other histories of the kind. Thou art the treatises called Mimansa. Thou art Gautama (the founder of the science of dialectics).

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Thou art the author of the great treatise on Grammar that has been named after the Moon. Thou art he who chastises his foes. Thou art he whom none can chastise. Thou art he who is sincere in respect of all his religious acts and observances. Thou art he that becomes obedient to those that are devoted to thee. Thou art he that is capable of reducing others to subjection. Thou art he who foments quarrels among the deities and the Asuras. Thou art he who has created the four and ten worlds (beginning with Bhu). Thou art the protector and cherisher of all Beings commencing from Brahma and ending with the lowest forms of vegetable life (like grass and straw). Thou art the Creator of even the five original elements. Thou art he that never enjoys anything (for thou art always unattached). Thou art free from deterioration. Thou art the highest form of felicity. Thou art a deity proud of his might. Thou art Sakra. Thou art the chastisement that is spoken of in treatises on morality and is inflicted on offenders. Thou art of the form of that tyranny which prevails over the world. Thou art of pure Soul. Thou art stainless (being above faults of every kind). Thou art worthy of adoration. Thou art the world that appears and disappears ceaselessly. Thou art he whose grace is of the largest measure. Thou art he that has good dreams. Thou art a mirror in which the universe is reflected. Thou art he that has subjugated all internal and external foes. Thou art the maker of the Vedas. Thou art the maker of those declarations that are contained in the Tantras and the Puranas and that are embodied in language that is human. 1 Thou art possessed of great learning. Thou art the grinder of foes in battle. Thou art he that resides in the awful clouds that appear at the time of the universal dissolution. Thou art most terrible (in consequence of the dissolution of the universe that thou bringest about). Thou art he who succeeds in bringing all persons and all things into thy subjection. Thou art the great Destroyer. Thou art he that has fire for his energy. Thou art he whose energy is mightier than fire. Thou art the Yuga-fire that consumes all things. Thou art he that is capable of being gratified by means of sacrificial libations. Thou art water and other liquids that are poured in sacrifices with the aid of Mantras. Thou art in the form of the Deity of Righteousness, the distributor of the fruits that attach to acts good and bad. Thou art the giver of felicity. Thou art always endued with effulgence. Thou art of the form of fire. Thou art of the complexion of the emerald. Thou art always present in the phallic emblem. Thou art the source of blessedness. Thou art incapable of being baffled by anything in the prosecution of your objects. Thou art the giver of blessings. Thou art of the form of blessedness. Thou art he unto whom is given a share of sacrificial offerings. Thou art he who distributes unto each his share of that is offered in sacrifices. Thou art endued with great speed. Thou art he that is dissociated from all things. Thou art he that is possessed of the mightiest limb. Thou art he that is employed in the act of generation. Thou art of a dark complexion, (being of the form of Vishnu). Thou art of a white complexion (being of the form of Samva, the son of Krishna). Thou art the senses of all embodied creatures. Thou art possessed of vast feet. Thou hast vast hands. Thou art of vast body. Thou art endued with wide extending fame. Thou hast a vast head. Thou art of vast measurements. Thou art of vast vision. Thou art the home of the darkness of ignorance. Thou art the Destroyer of the Destroyer. Thou art possessed of vast years. Thou hast vast lips. Thou art he that has vast cheeks. Thou hast a vast nose. Thou art of a vast throat. Thou hast a vast neck. Thou art he that tears the bond of body. Thou hast a vast chest. Thou hast a vast bosom. Thou art the inner soul which resides in all creatures. Thou hast a deer on thy lap. Thou art he from whom innumerable worlds hang down like fruits hanging down from a tree. Thou art he who stretches his lips at the time of the universal dissolution for swallowing the universe. Thou art the ocean of milk. Thou hast vast teeth. Thou hast vast jaws. Thou hast a vast bristle. Thou hast hair of infinite length. Thou hast a vast stomach. Thou hast matted locks of vast length. Thou art ever cheerful. Thou art of the form of grace. Thou art of the form of belief. Thou art he that has mountains for his bow (or weapons in battle). Thou art he that is full of affection to all creatures like a parent towards his offspring. Thou art he that has no affection. Thou art unvanquished. Thou art exceedingly devoted to (Yoga) contemplation. Thou art of the form of the tree of the world. Thou art he that is indicated by the tree of the world. Thou art never satiated when eating (because of thy being of the form of fire, for of all elements, fire is never satiated with the quantity offered it for consumption). Thou art he that has the Wind for thy vehicle for going from place to place (in consequence of thy identity with fire). Thou art he that rangest over hills and little eminences. Thou art he that has his residence on the mountains of Meru. Thou art the chief of the celestials. Thou hast the Atharvans for thy head. Thou hast the Samans for thy mouth. Thou hast the thousand Richs for thy immeasurable eyes. Thou hast the Yajushes for thy feet and hands. Thou art the Upanishads. Thou art the entire body of rituals (occurring in the scriptures). Thou art all that is mobile. Thou art he whose solicitations are never unfulfilled. Thou art he who is always inclined to grace. Thou art he that is of beautiful form. Thou art of the form of the good that one does to another. Thou art that which is dear. Thou art he that always advances towards thy devotees (in proportion as these advance for meeting thee). Thou art gold and other precious metals that are held dear by all. Thy effulgence is like that of burnished gold. Thou art the navel (of the universe). Thou art he that makes the fruits of sacrifices grow (for the benefit of those that perform sacrifices to thy glory). Thou art of the form of that faith and devotion which the righteous have in respect of sacrifices. Thou art the artificer of the universe. Thou art all that is immobile (in the form of mountains and other inert objects). Thou art the two and ten stages of life through which a person passes. Thou art he that causes fright (by assuming the intermediate states between the ten enumerated). Thou art the beginning of all things. Thou art he that unites Jiva with Supreme Brahman through Yoga. Thou art identifiable with that Yoga which causes such a union between Jiva and Supreme Brahman. Thou art unmanifest (being the deepest stupefaction). Thou art the presiding deity of the fourth age (in consequence of thy identity with lust and wrath and cupidity and other evil passions that flow from that deity). Thou art eternal Time (because of thy being of the form of that ceaseless succession of birth and death that goes on in the universe). Thou art of the form of the Tortoise. Thou art worshipped by the Destroyer himself. Thou livest in the midst of associates. Thou admittest thy devotees as members of thy Gana. Thou hast Brahma himself for the driver of thy car. Thou sleepest on ashes. Thou protectest the universe with ashes. Thou art he whose body is made of ashes. Thou art the tree that grants the fruition of all wishes. Thou art of the form of those that constitute thy Gana. Thou art the protector of the four and ten regions. Thou transcendent all the regions. Thou art full, (there being no deficiency). Thou art adored by all creatures. Thou art white (being pure and stainless). Thou art he that has his body, speech and mind perfectly stainless. Thou art he who has attained to that purity of existence which is called Emancipation. Thou art he who is incapable of being stained by impurity of any kind. Thou art he who has been attained to by the great preceptors of old. Thou residest in the form of Righteousness or duly in the four modes of life. Thou art that Righteousness which is of the form of rites and sacrifices. Thou art of the form of that skill which is possessed by the celestial artificer of the universe. Thou art he who is adored as the primeval form of the universe. Thou art of vast arms. Thy lips are of a coppery hue. Thou art of the form of the vast waters that are contained in the Ocean. Thou art exceedingly stable and fixed (being of the form of mountains and hills). Thou art Kapila. Thou art brown. Thou art all the hues whose mixture produces white. Thou art the period of life. Thou art ancient. Thou art recent. Thou art a Gandharva. Thou art the mother of the celestials in the form of Aditi (or the mother of all things, in the form of Earth). Thou art Garuda, the prince of birds, born of Vinata by Kasyapa, otherwise called Tarkshya. Thou art capable of being comprehended with ease. Thou art of excellent and agreeable speech. Thou art he that is armed with the battle-axe. Thou art he that is desirous of victory. Thou art he that assists others in the accomplishment of their designs. Thou art an excellent friend. Thou art he that bears a Vina made of two hollow gourds. Thou art of terrible wrath (which thou displayest at the time of the universal dissolution). Thou ownest for thy offspring, beings higher than men and deities (viz., Brahma and Vishnu). Thou art of the form of that Vishnu who floats on the waters after the universal dissolution. Thou devourest all things with great ferocity. Thou art he that procreates offspring. Thou art family and race, continuing from generation to generation. Thou art the blare that a bamboo flute gives out. Thou art faultless. Thou art he every limb of whose body is beautiful. Thou art full of illusion. Thou dost good to others without expecting any return. Thou art Wind. Thou art Fire. Thou art the bonds of the worlds which bind Jiva. Thou art the creator of those bonds. Thou art the tearer of such bonds. Thou art he that dwells with even the Daityas (who are the foes of all sacrifices). Thou dwellest with those that are the foes of all acts (and that have abandoned all acts). Thou art of large teeth, and thou art of mighty weapons. Thou art he that has been greatly censured. Thou art he that stupefied the Rishis dwelling in the Daruka forest. Thou art he that did good unto even thy detractors, viz., those Rishis residing in the Daruka forest. Thou art he who dispels all fears and who dispelling all the fears of those Rishis gave them Emancipation. Thou art he that has no wealth (in consequence of his inability to procure even his necessary wearing apparel). Thou art the lord of the celestials. Thou art the greatest of the gods (in consequence of thy being adored by even Indra and others that are regarded as the highest of the celestials). Thou art an object of adoration with even Vishnu. Thou art the slayer of those that are the foes of the deities. Thou art he that resides (in the form of the snake Sesha) in the nethermost region. 1 Thou art invisible but capable of being comprehended, even as the wind which though invisible is perceived by every body. Thou art he whose knowledge extends to the roots of everything and unto whom all things, even in their inner nature, are known. Thou art the object that is enjoyed by him that enjoys it. Thou art he among the eleven Rudras who is called Ajaikapat. Thou art the sovereign of the entire universe. Thou art of the form of all Jivas in the universe (in consequence of thy being covered by the three well-known attributes of Sattwa, Rajas, and Tamas). Thou art he that is not subject to those three attributes. Thou art he that transcends all attributes and is a state of pure existence which is incapable of being described with the aid of any adjective that language can yield. Thou art the prince of physicians called Dhanwantari. Thou art a comet (in consequence of the calamities that flow from thee unto the sinful). Thou art the celestial generalissimo called Skanda. Thou art the king of the Yakshas, called Kuvera, who is thy inseparable associate and who is the Lord of all treasures in the world. Thou art Dhatri. Thou art Sakra. Thou art Vishnu. Thou art Mitra. Thou art Tashtri (the celestial artificer). Thou art the Pole Star. Thou art he that upholds all things. Thou art he called Prabhava amongst the Vasus. Thou art the wind which is capable of going everywhere (being the Sutra-atma that connects all things in the universe with a thread). Thou art Aryaman. Thou art Savitri. Thou art Ravi. Thou art that ancient king of great celebrity known by the name of Ushangu. Thou art he who protects all creatures in diverse ways. Thou art Mandhatri (because of thy competence to gratify all creatures). Thou art he from whom all creatures start into life. Thou art he who exists in diverse form. Thou art he who causes the diverse hues to exist in the universe. Thou art he who upholds all desires and all attributes (because of these flowing from thee). Thou art he who has the lotus on thy navel. Thou art he within whose womb are innumerable mighty creatures. Thou art of face as beautiful as the moon. Thou art wind. Thou art fire. Thou art possessed of exceeding might. Thou art endued with tranquillity of soul. Thou art old. Thou art he that is known with the aid of Righteousness. Thou art Lakshmi. Thou art the maker of the field of those actions (by which persons adore the supreme Deity). Thou art he who lives in the field of action. Thou art the soul of the field of action. Thou art the medicine or provoker of the attributes of sovereignty and the others. All things lie in thee (for, as the Srutis declare, all things becomes one in thee, thyself being of the nature of that unconsciousness which exhibits itself in dreamless slumber). Thou art the lord of all creatures endued with life-breaths. Thou art the god of the gods. Thou art he who is attached to felicity. Thou art Sat (in the form of cause). Thou art Asat (in the form of effect). Thou art he who possesses the best of all things. Thou art he who resides on the mountains of Kailasa. Thou art he who repairs to the mountains of Himavat. Thou washest away all things besides thee like a mighty current washing away trees and other objects standing on its banks. Thou art the maker of Pushkara and other large lakes and pieces of natural water. Thou art possessed of knowledge of infinite kinds. Thou art the giver of infinite blessings. Thou art a merchant (who conveys the goods of this country to that country and brings the goods of that country to this for the convenience of human beings). Thou art a carpenter. Thou art the tree (of the world that supplies the timber for thy axe). Thou art the tree called Vakula (Mimusops Elengi, Linn.) Thou art the sandal-wood tree (Santalum album, Linn.). Thou art the tree called Chchada (Alstonia Scholaris, syn Echitis, Scholaris, Roxb.). Thou art he whose neck is very strong. Thou art he whose shoulder joint is vast. Thou art not restless (but endued with steadiness in all thy acts and in respect of all thy faculties). Thou art the principal herbs and plants with their produce (in the form of rice and wheat and the other varieties of grain). Thou art he that grants success upon others in respect of the objects upon which they bestow their heart. Thou art all the correct conclusions in respect of both the Vedas and Grammar. Thou art he who utters leonine roars. Thou art endued with leonine fangs. Thou ridest on the back of a lion for performing thy journeys. Thou ownest a car that is drawn by a lion. Thou art he called the truth of truth. Thou art he whose dish or plate is constituted by the Destroyer of the universe. Thou art always engaged in seeking the good of the worlds. Thou art he who rescues all creatures from distress (and leads them to the felicity of Emancipation). Thou art the bird called Saranga. Thou art a new (Young) swan. Thou art he who is displayed in beauty in consequence of the crest thou bearest on thy head (like the cock or the peacock). Thou art he who protects the place where assemblies of the wise sit for dispensing justice. Thou art the abode of all creatures. Thou art the cherisher of all creatures. Thou art Day and Night (which are the constituent elements of Eternity). Thou art he that is without fault and therefore, never censured. Thou art the upholder of all creatures. Thou art the refuge of all creatures. Thou art without birth. Thou art existent. Thou art ever fruitful. Thou art endued with Dharana and Dhyana and Samadhi. Thou art the steed Uchchaisravas. Thou art the giver of food. Thou art he who upholds the life-breaths of living creatures. Thou art endued with patience. Thou art possessed of intelligence. Thou art endued with exertion and cleverness. Thou art honoured by all. Thou art the giver of the fruits of Righteousness and sin.

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Thou art the cherisher of the senses (for the senses succeed in performing their respective functions in consequence of thee that presidest over them). Thou art the lord of all the luminaries. Thou art all collections of objects. Thou art he whose vestments are made of cowhides. Thou art he who dispels the grief of his devotees. Thou hast a golden arm. Thou art he who protects the bodies of Yogins who seek to enter their own selves. Thou art he who has reduced to nothingness all his foes. Thou art he the measure of whose gladness is very great. Thou art he who achieved victory over the deity of desire that is irresistible. Thou art he who has subjugated his senses. Thou art the note called Gandhara in the musical octave. Thou art he who has an excellent and beautiful home (in consequence of its being placed upon the delightful mountains of Kailasa). Thou art he who is ever attached to penances. Thou art of the form of cheerfulness and contentment. Thou art he called vast or infinite. Thou art he in whose honour the foremost of hymns has been composed. Thou art he whose dancing is characterised by vast strides and large leaps. Thou art he who is adored with reverence by the diverse tribes of Apsaras. Thou art he who owns a vast standard (bearing the device of the bull). Thou art the mountains of Meru. Thou art he who roves among all the summits of that great mountain. Thou art so mobile that it is very difficult to seize thee. Thou art capable of being explained by preceptors to disciples, although thou art incapable of being described in words. Thou art of the form of that instruction which preceptors impart to disciples. Thou art he that can perceive all agreeable scents simultaneously or at the same instant of time. Thou art of the form of the porched gates of cities and palaces. Thou art of the form of the moats and ditches that surround fortified towns and give the victory to the besieged garrison. Thou art the Wind. Thou art of the form of fortified cities and towns encompassed by walls and moats. Thou art the prince of all winged creatures, (being, as thou art, of the form of Garuda). Thou art he who multiplies the creation by union with the opposite sexes. Thou art the first of all in respect of virtues and knowledge. Thou art superior to even him who is the first of all in virtues and knowledge. Thou transcendest all the virtue and knowledge. Thou art eternal and immutable as also dependent on thyself. Thou art the master and protector of the deities and Asuras. Thou art the master and protector of all creatures. Thou art he who wears a coat of mail. Thou art he whose arms are competent to grind all foes. Thou art an object of adoration with even him who is called Suparvan in heaven. Thou art he who grants the power of bearing or upholding all things. Thou art thyself capable of bearing all things. Thou art fixed and steady (without being at all unstable). Thou art white or pure (being, as thou art, without any stain or blot). Thou bearest the trident that is competent to destroy (all things). Thou art the grantor of bodies or physical forms unto those that constantly revolve in the universe of birth and death. Thou art more valuable than wealth. Thou art the conduct or way of the righteous (in the form of goodness and courtesy). Thou art he who had torn the head of Brahma after due deliberation (and not impelled by mere wrath). Thou art he who is marked with all those auspicious marks that are spoken of in the sciences of palmistry and phrenology and other branches of knowledge treating of the physical frame as the indicator of mental peculiarities. Thou art that wooden bar which is called the Aksha of a car and, therefore, art thou he who is attached to the car represented by the body. Thou art attached to all things (in consequence of thy pervading all things as their soul). Thou art endued with very great might, being as thou art a hero of heroes. Thou art the Veda. Thou art the Smritis, the Itihasas, the Puranas, and other scriptures. Thou art the illustrious deity of every sacred shrine. Thou art he who has the Earth for his car. Thou art the inert elements that enter into the composition of every creature. Thou art he who imparts life into every combination of those inert element. Thou art the Pranava and other sacred Mantras that instil life into dead matter. Thou art he that casts tranquil glances. Thou art exceedingly harsh (in consequence of thy being the destroyer of all things). Thou art he in whom are innumerable precious attributes and possessions. Thou hast a body that is red. Thou art he who has all the vast oceans as so many ponds filled for thy drinking. Thou art the root of the tree of the world. Thou art exceedingly beautiful and shinest with surpassing grandeur. Thou art of the form of ambrosia or nectar. Thou art both cause and effect. Thou art an ocean of penances (being as thou art a great Yogin). Thou art he that desirous of ascending to the highest state of existence. Thou art he that has already attained to that state. Thou art he who is distinguished for the purity of his conduct and acts and observances. Thou art he who possessed of great fame (in consequence of the Righteousness of his behaviour). Thou art the ornament of armies (being as thou art of the form of prowess and courage), Thou art he who is adorned with celestial ornaments. Thou art Yoga. Thou art he from whom flow eternal time measured by Yugas and Kalpas. Thou art he who conveys all creatures from place. Thou art of the form of Righteousness and sin and their intermixture (such as are displayed in the successive Yugas). Thou art great and formless. Thou art he who slew the mighty Asura that had approached against the sacred city of Varanasi in the form of an infuriate elephant of vast proportions. Thou art of the form of death. Thou givest to all creatures such fruition of their wishes as accords with their merits. Thou art approachable. Thou art conversant with all things that are beyond the ken of the senses. Thou art conversant with the Tattwas (and therefore, thoroughly fixed). Thou art he who incessantly shines in beauty. Thou wearest garlands that stretch down from thy neck to the feet. Thou art that Hara who has the Moon for his beautiful eye. Thou art the salt ocean of vast expanse. Thou art the first three Yugas (viz., Krita, Treta, and Dwapara). Thou art he whose appearance is always fraught with advantage to others. Thou art he who has three eyes (in the form of the scriptures, the preceptor, and meditation). Thou art he whose forms are exceedingly subtile (being as thou art the subtile forms of the primal elements). Thou art he whose ears are bored for wearing jewelled Kundalas. Thou art the bearer of matted locks. Thou art the point (in the alphabet) which indicates the nasal sound. Thou art the two dots i.e., Visarga (in the Sanskrit alphabet which indicate the sound of the aspirated H). Thou art possessed of an excellent face. Thou art the shaft that is shot by the warrior for encompassing the destruction of his foe. Thou art all the weapons that are used by warriors. Thou art endued with patience capable of bearing all things. Thou art he whose knowledge has arisen from the cessation of all physical and mental functions. Thou art he who has become displayed as Truth in consequence of the cessation of all other faculties. Thou art that note which, arising from the region called Gandhara, is exceedingly sweet to the ear. Thou art he who is armed with the mighty bow (called Pinaka). Thou art he who is the understanding and the desires that exist in all creatures, besides being the supreme upholder of all beings. Thou art he from whom all acts flow. Thou art that wind which rises at the time of the universal dissolution and which is capable of churning the entire universe even as the staff in the hands of the dairy-maid churns the milk in the milkpot. Thou art he that is full. Thou art he that sees all things. Thou art the sound that arises from slapping one palm against another. Thou art he the palm of whose hand serves as the dish or plate whence to take his food. Thou art he who is possessed of an adamantine body. Thou art exceedingly great. Thou art of the form of an umbrella. Thou art he who has an excellent umbrella. Thou art well-known to be identical with all creatures. Thou art he who having put forth three feet covered all the universe with two and wanted space for the remaining one. Thou art he whose head is bald. Thou art he whose form is exceedingly ugly and fierce. Thou art he who has undergone infinite modifications and become all things in the universe. Thou art he who bears the well-known badge of Sanyasa, viz., the stick. Thou art he who has a Kunda. Thou art he who is incapable of being attained to by means of acts. Thou art he who is identical with the green-eyed king of beasts (viz., the lion). Thou art of the form of all the points of the compass. Thou art he who is armed with the thunder. Thou art he who has a hundred tongues. Thou art he who has a thousand feet and thousand heads. Thou art the lord and chief of the celestials. Thou art he that is made up of all the gods. Thou art the great Master or preceptor. Thou art he who has a thousand arms. Thou art he who is competent to obtain the fruition of every wish. Thou art he whose protection is sought by every one. Thou art he who is the creator of all the worlds. Thou art he who is the great cleanser of all from every kind of sin, in the form of shrines and sacred waters. Thou art he who has three high Mantras. Thou art the youngest son of Aditi and Kasyapa, (being in the form of the dwarf who is otherwise known by the name of Upendra and who beguiled the Asura Vali of his lordship of the three worlds and restored it to the chief of the celestials). Thou art both black and tawny (being of the form which is known as Hari-Hara). Thou art the maker of the Brahmana's rod. Thou art armed with the hundred-killer, the noose, and the dart. Thou art he that took his birth within the primeval lotus.

Thou art he who is endued with a vast womb. Thou art he who has the Vedas in his womb. Thou art he who takes his rise from that infinite waste of waters which succeeds the dissolution of the universe. Thou art he who is endued with rays of effulgent light. Thou art the creator of the Vedas. Thou art he who studies the Vedas. Thou art he who is conversant with the meaning of the Vedas. Thou art devoted to Brahman. Thou art the refuge of all persons devoted to Brahman. Thou art of infinite forms. Thou art the bearer of innumerable bodies. Thou art endued with irresistible prowess. Thou art the soul or nature that transcends the three universal attributes (of Sattwa, Rajas, and Tamas). Thou art the lord of all Jivas. Thou art endued with the speed of the wind. Thou art possessed of the fleetness of the mind. Thou art always smeared with sandal-paste. Thou art the end of the stalk of the primeval lotus. Thou art he who brought the celestial cow Surabhi down from a superior station to an inferior one by denouncing a curse upon her. Thou art that Brahma who was unable to see thy end. Thou art adorned with a large wreath of Karnikara flowers. Thou art adorned with a diadem of blue gems. Thou art the wielder of the bow called Pinaka. Thou art the master of that knowledge which treats of Brahman. Thou art he who has subjugated his senses by the aid of thy knowledge of Brahman. Thou art he who bearest Ganga on thy head. [Falling from the celestial regions, the river Ganga was held by Mahadeva on his head, among his matted locks. At the earnest solicitations of King Bhagiratha he gave her out so that flowing along the surface of the Earth she met the ocean, first passing over the spot where the ashes of Bhagiratha's ancestors, the sixty thousand sons of king Sagara of the solar race, lay.] Thou art the husband of Uma, the daughter of Himavat. Thou art mighty (in consequence of thy having assumed the form of the vast Boar for raising the submerged Earth). Thou art he who protects the universe by assuming diverse incarnations. Thou art worthy of adoration. Thou art that primeval Being with the equine head who recited the Vedas with a thundering voice. Thou art he whose grace is very great. Thou art the great subjugator. Thou art he who has slain all his foes (in the form of passions). Thou art both white and tawny (being as thou art half male and half female). Thou art possessed of a body whose complexion is like that of gold. Thou art he that is of the form of pure joy, (being, as thou art, above the five sheathes which the Jiva consists of, viz., the Anna-maya, the Prana-maya, the Mano-maya, the Vijnana-maya, and the Ananda-maya ones). Thou art of a restrained soul. Thou art the foundation upon which rests that Ignorance which is called Pradhana and which, consisting of the three attributes of Sattwa, Rajas, and Tamas is the cause whence the universe has sprung. Thou art he whose faces are turned to every direction. Thou art he who has three eyes (in the forms of the Sun, the Moon, and Fire). Thou art he who is superior to all creatures (in consequence of thy righteousness whose measure is the greatest). Thou art the soul of all mobile beings. Thou art of the form of the subtile soul (which is incapable of being perceived). Thou art the giver of immortality in the form of Emancipation as the fruit of all acts of righteousness achieved by creatures without the desire of fruits. Thou art the preceptor of even those that are the gods of the gods. Thou art Vasu, the son of Aditi. Thou art he who is endued with innumerable rays of light, who brings forth the universe, and who is of the form of that Soma which is drunk in sacrifices. Thou art Vyasa, the author of the Puranas and other sacred histories. Thou art the creations of Vyasa's brain (because of thy being identical with the Puranas and other sacred histories) both abridged and unabridged. Thou art the sum total of Jivas. Thou art the Season. Thou art the Year. Thou art the Month. Thou art the Fortnight. Thou art those sacred Days that end or conclude these periods. Thou art the Kalas. Thou art the Kashthas. Thou art the Lavas. Thou art the Matras. Thou art the Muhurtas and Days and Nights. Thou art the Kshanas. 5 Thou art the soil upon which the tree of the universe stands. Thou art the seed of all creatures [being of the form of that Unmanifest Chaitanya (consciousness) endued with Maya or illusion whence all creatures spring]. Thou art Mahattatwa. Thou art the sprout of Jiva, (being of the form of Consciousness which springs up after Mahattatwa). Thou art Sat or Effect. Thou art Asat or Cause. Thou art Manifest (being seizable by the senses). Thou art the Father. Thou art the Mother. Thou art the Grandfather. Thou art the door to Heaven (because of thy identity with Penances). Thou art the door of the generation of all creatures (because of thy identity with desire). Thou art the door of Emancipation (because of thy identity with the absence of Desire which alone can lead to the merging into Brahman). Thou art those acts of righteousness which lead to the felicity of heaven. Thou art Nirvana (or that cessation of individual or separate existence which is Emancipation). Thou art the gladdener (who gives all kinds of joy to every creature). Thou art that region of Truth (to which they that are foremost in righteousness attain). Thou art superior to even that region of Truth which is attainable by the righteous. Thou art he who is the creator of both the deities and the Asuras. Thou art he who is the refuge of both the deities and the Asuras. Thou art the preceptor of both the deities and the Asuras (being as thou art of the form of both Vrihaspati and Sukra). Thou art he who is ever victorious. Thou art he who is ever worshipped by the deities and the Asuras. Thou art he who guides the deities and the Asuras even as the Mahamatra guides the elephant. Thou art the refuge of all the deities and the Asuras. Thou art he who is the chief of both the deities and the Asuras (being as thou art of the form of both India and Virochana). Thou art he who is the leader in battle of both the deities and the Asuras (being as thou art of the form of Karttikeya and Kesi, the leaders of the celestial and the Daitya armies). Thou art he who transcends the senses and shines by himself. Thou art of the form of the celestial Rishis like Narada and others. Thou art the grantor of boons unto the deities and Asuras (in the form of Brahman and Rudra). Thou art he who rules the hearts of the deities and the Asuras. Thou art he into whom the universe enters (when it is dissolved). Thus art the refuge of even him who is the ruler of the hearts of both the deities and the Asuras. Thou art he whose body is made up of all the deities. Thou art he who has no Being superior to thee of whom to think. Thou art he who

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is the inner soul of the deities. Thou art he who has sprung from his own self. Thou art of the form of immobile things. Thou art he who covers the three worlds with three steps of his. Thou art possessed of great learning. Thou art stainless. Thou art he who is freed from the quality of Rajas. Thou art he who transcends destruction. Thou art he in whose honour hymns should be sung. Thou art the master of the irresistible elephant represented by Time. Thou art of the form of that lord of Tigers who is worshipped in the country of the Kalingas. Thou art he who is called the lion among the deities (in consequence of the pre-eminence of thy prowess). Thou art he who is the foremost of men. Thou art endued with great wisdom. Thou art he who first takes a share of the offerings in sacrifice. Thou art imperceptible. Thou art the sum-total of all the deities. Thou art he in whom penances predominate. Thou art always in excellent Yoga. Thou art auspicious. Thou art armed with the thunder-bolt. Thou art the source whence the weapons called Prasas have taken their origin. Thou art he whom thy devotees attain to in diverse ways. Thou art Guha (the celestial generalissimo). Thou art the supreme limit of felicity. Thou art identical with thy creation. Thou art he who rescues thy creatures from death (by granting them Emancipation). Thou art the cleanser of all including Brahma himself. Thou art of the form of bulls and other horned animals. Thou art he who is fond of mountain summits. Thou art the planet Saturn. Thou art Kuvera, the chief of the Yakshas. Thou art complete faultlessness. Thou art he who inspires gladness. Thou art all the celestials united together. Thou art the cessation of all things. Thou art all the duties that appertain to all the modes of life. Thou art he who has an eye on his forehead. Thou art he who sports with the universe as his marble ball. Thou art of the form of deer. Thou art endued with the energy that is of the form of knowledge and penance. Thou art the lord of all immobile things (in the form of Himavat and Meru). Thou art he who has subjugated his senses by various regulations and vows. Thou art he whose objects have all been fulfilled. Thou art identical with Emancipation. Thou art different from him whom we worship. Thou hast truth for thy penances. Thou art of a pure heart. Thou art he who presides over all vows and fasts (in consequence of thy being the giver of their fruits). Thou art the highest (being of the form of Turiya). Thou art Brahman. Thou art the highest refuge of the devotees. Thou art he who transcends all bonds (being Emancipate). Thou art freed from the linga body. Thou art endued with every kind of prosperity. Thou art he who enhances the prosperity of thy devotees. Thou art that which is incessantly undergoing changes.'

"I have thus, 'O Krishna, hymned the praises of the illustrious Deity by reciting his names in the order of their importance. Who is there that can hymn the praises of the lord of the universe, that great Lord of all who deserves our adorations and worship and reverence, whom the very gods with Brahma at their head are unable to praise and whom the Rishis also fail to sing? Aided, however, by my devotion to him, and having received his permission, I have praised that Lord of sacrifices, that Deity of supreme puissance, that foremost of all creatures endued with intelligence. By praising with these names that enhance one's auspiciousness of the great lord of blessedness, a worshipper of devoted soul and pure heart succeeds in attaining to his own self. These names constitute a hymn that furnishes the best means of attaining to Brahman. With the aid of this hymn one is sure to succeed in attaining to Emancipation. Rishis and the deities all praise the highest deity by uttering this hymn. Hymned by persons of restrained soul Mahadeva becomes gratified with those that hymn his praises so. The illustrious deity is always full of compassion towards his devotees. Endued with omnipotence, he it is that gives Emancipation to those that worship him. So also, they among men that are foremost, that are possessed of faith and devotion hear and recite for others and utter with reverence the praises of that highest and eternal Lord viz. Isana, in all their successive lives and adore him in thought, word, and deed, and adoring him thus at all times, viz. when they are lying or seated or walking or awake or opening the eyelids or shutting them, and thinking of him repeatedly, become objects of reverence with all their fellowmen and derive great gratification and exceeding joy. When a creature becomes cleansed of all his sins in course of millions of births in diverse orders of being, it is then that devotion springs up in his heart for Mahadeva. It is through good luck alone that undivided devotion to Bhava who is the original cause (of the universe) fully springs up in the heart of one that is conversant with every mode of worshipping that great Deity. Such stainless and pure devotion to Rudra, that has singleness of purpose and that is simply irresistible in its course, is seldom to be found among even the deities, and never among men. It is through the grace of Rudra that such devotion arises in the hearts of human beings. In consequence of such devotion, men, identifying themselves wholly with Mahadeva, succeed in attaining to the highest success. The illustrious Deity who is always inclined to extend his grace towards them that seek him with humility, and throw themselves with their whole soul upon him rescues them from the world. Except the great Deity who frees creatures from rebirth, all other gods constantly nullify the penances of men, for men have no other source of puissance that is as great as these. [There are numerous instances of the gods having become alarmed at the penances of men and done their best to nullify those penances by despatching celestial nymphs for attracting them of carnal pleasures.] It was even thus Tandi of tranquil soul, resembling Indra himself in splendour, praised the illustrious Lord of all existent and non-existent things,--that great Deity clad in animal skins. Indeed, Brahma had sung this hymn in the presence of Sankara. Thou art a Brahmana (being conversant with Brahman and devoted to those that are conversant with Brahman). Thou shalt, therefore, comprehend it well. This is cleansing, and washes away all sins. This confers Yoga and Emancipation and heaven and contentment. He who recites this hymn with undivided devotion to Sankara succeeds in attaining to that high end which is theirs that are devoted to the doctrines of the Sankhya philosophy. That worshipper who recites this hymn daily for one year with singleness of devotion succeeds in obtaining the end that he desires. This hymn is a great mystery. It formerly resided in the breast of Brahma the Creator. Brahma imparted it unto Sakra. Sakra imparted unto Mrityu. Mrityu imparted it unto the Rudras. From the Rudras Tandi got it. Indeed Tandi acquired it in the region of Brahman as the reward of his severe austerities. Tandi communicated it to Sukra, and Sukra of Bhrigu's race communicated it to Gautama. Gautama in his turn, O descendant of Madhu, communicated it to Vaivaswata-Manu. Manu communicated it unto Narayana of great intelligence, numbered among the Sadhyas and held exceedingly dear by him. The illustrious Narayana, numbered among the Sadhyas and possessed of glory that knows no diminution, communicated it to Yama. Vaivaswat Yama communicated it to Nachiketa. Nachiketa, O thou of Vrishni's race, communicated to Markandeya. From Markandeya, O Janarddana, I obtained it as the reward of my vows and fasts. To thee, O slayer of foes, I communicate that hymn unheard by others. This hymn leads to heaven. It dispels disease and bestows long life. This is worthy of the highest praise, and is consistent with the Vedas.'

"Krishna continued, 'That person, O Partha, who recites this hymn with a pure heart observing the vow of Brahmacharyya, and with his senses under control, regularly for one whole year, succeeds in obtaining the fruits of a horse-sacrifice. Danavas and Yakshas and Rakshasas and Pisachas and Yatudhanas and Guhyakas and snakes can do no injury to him.'"

SECTION 18

"Vaisampayana said, 'After Vasudeva had ceased to speak, the great Yogin, viz. the Island-born Krishna, addressed Yudhisthira, saying,--O son, do thou recite this hymn consisting of the thousand and eight names of Mahadeva, and let Maheswara be gratified with thee. In former days, O son, I was engaged in the practice of severe austerities on the breast of the mountains of Meru from desire of obtaining a son. It is this very hymn that was recited by me. As the reward of this, I obtained the fruition of all my wishes, O son of Pandu. Thou wilt also, by reciting this same hymn, obtain from Sarva the fruition of all thy wishes.--After this, Kapila, the Rishi who promulgated the doctrines that go by the name of Sankhya, and who is honoured by the gods themselves, said,--I adore Bhava with great devotion for many lives together. The illustrious Deity at last became gratified with me and gave me knowledge that is capable of aiding the acquirer in getting over rebirth.--After this, the Rishi named Charusirsha, that dear friend of Sakra and known otherwise under the name of Alamvana's son and who is filled with compassion, said,--I, in former days, repaired to the mountains of Gokarna and sat myself to practise severe penances for a hundred years. As the reward of those penances, I obtained from Sarva, O son of king Pandu, a hundred sons, all of whom were born without the intervention of woman, of well-restrained soul, conversant with righteousness, possessed of great splendour, free from disease and sorrow, and endued with lives extending over a hundred thousand years--Then the illustrious Valmiki, addressing Yudhishthira, said,--Once upon a time, in course of a dialectical disputation, certain ascetics that were possessors of the homa fire denounced me as one guilty of Brahmanicide. As soon as they had denounced me as such, the sin of Brahmanicide, O Bharata, possessed me. I then, for cleansing myself, sought the protection of the sinless Isana who is irresistible in energy. I become cleansed of all my sins. That dispeller of all sorrows, viz., the destroyer of the triple city of the Asuras, said unto me,--Thy fame shall be great in the world--Then Jamadagni's son, that foremost of all righteous persons, shining like the Sun with blazing splendour in the midst of that conclave of Rishis, said unto the son of Kunti these words;--I was afflicted with the sin, O eldest son of Pandu, of Brahmanicide for having slain my brothers who were all learned Brahmanas. For purifying myself, I sought the protection, O king, of Mahadeva. I hymned the praises of the great Deity by reciting his names. At this, Bhava became gratified with me and gave me a battle-axe and many other celestial weapons. And he said unto me,--Thou shalt be freed from sin and thou shalt be invincible in battle; Death himself shall not succeed in overcoming thee for thou shalt be freed from disease.--Even thus did the illustrious and crested Deity of auspicious form said unto me. Through the grace of that Deity of supreme intelligence I obtained all that He had said. Then Viswamitra said,--I was formerly a Kshatriya. I paid my adorations to Bhava with the desire of becoming a Brahmana Through the grace of that great Deity I succeeded in obtaining the high status of a Brahmana that is so difficult to obtain.--Then the Rishi Asita-Devala, addressing the royal son of Pandu, said,--In former days, O son of Kunti, through the curse of Sakra, all my merit due to the acts of righteousness I had performed, was destroyed. The puissant Mahadeva it was who kindly gave me back that merit together with great fame and a long life.--The illustrious Rishi Gritsamada, the dear friend of Sakra, who resembled the celestial preceptor Vrihaspati himself in splendour, addressing Yudhishthira of Ajamidha's race said,--The inconceivable Sakra had, in days of yore, performed a sacrifice extending over a thousand years. While that sacrifice was going on, I was engaged by Sakra in reciting the Samans. Varishtha, the son of that Manu who sprung from the eyes of Brahma, came to that sacrifice and addressing me, said.--O foremost of regenerate persons, the Rathantara is not being recited properly by thee. O best of Brahmanas, cease to earn demerit by reading so faultily, and with the aid of thy understanding do thou read the Samans correctly. O thou of wicked understanding, why dost thou perpetrate such sin that is destructive of sacrifice.--Having said these words, the Rishi Varishtha, who was very wrathful, gave way to that passion and addressing me once more, said,--Be thou an animal divested of intelligence, subject to grief, ever filled with fear, and a denizen of trackless forests destitute of both wind and water and abandoned by other animals. Do thou thus pass ten thousand years with ten and eight hundred years in addition. That forest in which thou shalt have to pass this period will be destitute of all holy trees and will, besides, be the haunt of Rurus and lions. Verily, thou shalt have to become a cruel deer plunged in excess of grief.--As soon as he had said these words, O son of Pritha, I immediately became transformed into a deer. I then sought the protection of Maheswara. The great Deity said unto me,--Thou shalt be freed from disease of every kind, and besides immortality shall be thine. Grief shall never afflict thee. Thy friendship with Indra shall remain unchanged, and let the sacrifices of both Indra and thyself Increase. The illustrious and puissant Mahadeva favours all creatures in this way. He is always the great dispenser and ordainer in the matter of the happiness and sorrow of all living creatures. That illustrious Deity is incapable of being comprehended in thought, word, or deed. O son, O thou that are the best of warriors (through the grace of Mahadeva), there is none that is equal to me in learning.--After this, Vasudeva, that foremost of all intelligent men, once more said,--Mahadeva of golden eyes was gratified by me with my penances. Gratified with me, O Yudhishthira, the illustrious Deity said unto me,--Thou shalt, O Krishna, through my grace, become dearer to all persons than wealth which is coveted by all. Thou shalt be invincible in battle. Thy energy shall be equal to that of Fire. Thousands of other boons Mahadeva gave unto me on that occasion. In a former incarnation I adored Mahadeva on the Manimantha mountain for millions of years. Gratified with me, the illustrious Deity said unto me these words:--Blessed be thou, do thou solicit boons as thou wishest. Bowing unto him with a bend of my head, I said these words,--If the puissant Mahadeva has been gratified with me, then let my devotion to him be unchanged, O Isana! Even this is the boon that I solicit.--The great God said unto me,--Be it so--and disappeared there and then.'

"Jaigishavya said, 'O Yudhishthira, formerly in the city of Varanasi, the puissant Mahadeva searching me out, conferred upon me the eight attributes of sovereignty.'"

"Garga said,--'O son of Pandu, gratified with me in consequence of mental sacrifice which I had performed, the great God bestowed upon me, on the banks of the sacred stream Saraswati, that wonderful science, viz., the knowledge of Time with its four and sixty branches. He also, bestowed upon me, a thousand sons, all possessed of equal merit and fully conversant with the Vedas. Through his grace, their periods of life as also that of mine have become extended to ten millions of years.'"

"Parasara said,--'In former times I gratified Sarva, O king. I then cherished the desire of obtaining a son that would be possessed of great ascetic merit, endued with superior energy, and addressed to high Yoga, that would earn world-wide fame, arrange the Vedas, and become the home of prosperity, that would be devoted to the Vedas and the Brahmanas and be distinguished for compassion. Even such a son was desired by me from Maheswara. Knowing that this was the wish of my heart, that foremost of Deities said unto me.--Through the fruition of that object of thine which thou wishest to obtain from me, thou shalt have a son of the name of Krishna. In that creation which shall be known after the name of Savarni-Manu, that son of thine shall be reckoned among the seven Rishis. He shall arrange the Vedas, and be the propagator of

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Kuru's race. He shall, besides, be the author of the ancient histories and do good to the universe. Endued with severe penances, he shall, again, be the dear friend of Sakra. Freed from diseases of every kind, that son of thine, O Parasara, shall besides, be immortal.--Having said these words, the great Deity disappeared there and then. Even such is the good, O Yudhishthira, that I have obtained from that indestructible and immutable God, endued with the highest penances and supreme energy.'

"Mandavya said,--'In former times though not a thief and yet wrongly suspected of theft, I was impaled (under the orders of a king). I then adored the illustrious Mahadeva who said unto me,--Thou shalt soon be freed from impalement and live for millions of years. The pangs due to impalement shall not be thine. Thou shalt also be freed from every kind of affliction and disease. And since, O ascetic, this body of thine hath sprung from the fourth foot of Dharma (viz., Truth). Thou shalt be unrivalled on Earth. Do thou make thy life fruitful. Thou shalt, without any obstruction, be able to bathe in all the sacred waters of the Earth. And after the dissolution of thy body, I shall, O learned Brahmana, ordain that thou shall enjoy the pure felicity of heaven for unending Time.--Having said these words unto me, the adorable Deity having the bull for his vehicle, viz., Maheswara of unrivalled splendour and clad in animal skin, O king, disappeared there and then with all his associates.'

"Galava said, Formerly I studied at the feet of my preceptor Viswamitra. Obtaining his permission I set out for home with the object of seeing my father. My mother (having become a widow), was filled with sorrow and weeping bitterly, said unto me,--Alas, thy father will never see his son who, adorned with Vedic knowledge, has been permitted by his preceptor to come home and who, possessed of all the graces of youth, is endued with self-restraint.--Hearing these words of my mother, I became filled with despair in respect of again beholding my sire. I then paid my adoration with a rapt soul to Maheswara who, gratified with me, showed himself to me and said,--Thy sire, thy mother, and thyself, O son, shall all be freed from death. Go quickly and enter thy abode; thou shall behold thy sire there.--Having obtained the permission of the illustrious Deity, I then repaired to my home, O Yudhishthira, and beheld my father, O son, coming out after having finished his daily sacrifice. And he came out, bearing in his hands a quantity of Homa-fuel and Kusa grass and some fallen fruits. And he seemed to have already taken his daily food, for he had washed himself properly. Throwing down those things from his hand, my father, with eyes bathed in tears (of joy), raised me, for I had prostrated myself at his feet. Embracing me he smelt my head, O son of Pandu, and said.--By good luck, O son, art thou seen by me. Thou hast come back, having acquired knowledge from the preceptor.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these marvellous and most wonderful feats of the illustrious Mahadeva recited by the ascetics, the son of Pandu became amazed. Then Krishna, that foremost of all intelligent persons, spoke once more unto Yudhishthira, that ocean of righteousness, like Vishnu speaking unto Puruhuta.'

"Vasudeva said, 'Upamanyu, who seemed to blaze with effulgence like the Sun, said unto me,--Those sinful men that are stained with unrighteous deeds, do not succeed in attaining to Isana. Their dispositions being stained by the attributes of Rajas and Tamas, they can never approach the Supreme Deity. It is only those regenerate persons who are of cleansed souls that succeed in attaining to the Supreme Deity. Even if a person lives in the enjoyment of every pleasure and luxury, yet if he be devoted to the Supreme Deity, he comes to be regarded as the equal of forest recluses of cleansed souls. If Rudra be gratified with a person, he can confer upon him the states of ether Brahma or of Kesava or of Sakra with all the deities under him, or the sovereignty of the three worlds. Those men, O sire, who worship Bhava even mentally, succeed in freeing themselves from all sins and attain to a residence in heaven with all the gods. A person who raises houses to the ground and destroys tanks and lakes indeed, who devastates the whole universe, does not become stained with sin, if he adores and worships the illustrious Deity of three eyes. A person that is destitute of every auspicious indication and that is stained by every sin, has all his sins destroyed by meditating upon Siva. Even worm and insects and birds, O Kesava, that devote themselves to Mahadeva, are enabled to rove in perfect fearlessness. Even this is my settled conviction that those men who devote themselves to Mahadeva become certainly emancipated from rebirth. After this, Krishna again addressed Yudhishthira the son of Dharma in the following words.

"Vishnu said, O Great King, 'Aditya, Chandra, Wind, Fire, Heaven, Earth, the Vasus, the Viswedevas, Dhatri, Aryyaman, Sukra, Vrihaspati, the Rudras, the Saddhyas, Varuna, Brahma, Sakra, Maruts, the Upanishads that deal with knowledge of Brahman, Truth, the Vedas, the Sacrifices, Sacrificial Presents, Brahmanas reciting the Vedas, Soma, Sacrificer, the shares of the deities in sacrificial offerings or clarified butter poured in sacrifices, Raksha, Diksha, all kinds of restraints in the form of vows and fasts and rigid observances, Swaha, Vashat, the Brahmanas, the celestial cow, the foremost acts of righteousness, the wheel of Time, Strength, Fame, Self-restraint, the Steadiness of all persons endued with intelligence, all acts of goodness and the reverse, the seven Rishis, Understanding of the foremost order, all kinds of excellent touch, the success of all (religious) acts, the diverse tribes of the deities, those beings that drink heat, those that are drinkers of Soma, Clouds, Suyamas, Rishitas, all creatures having Mantras for their bodies, Abhasuras, those beings that live upon scents only, those that live upon vision only, those that restrain their speech, those that restrain their minds, those that are pure, those that are capable of assuming diverse forms through Yoga-puissance, those deities that live on touch (as their food), those deities that subsist on vision and those that subsist upon the butter poured in sacrifices, those beings that are competent to create by fiats of their will the objects they require, they that are regarded as the foremost ones among the deities, and all the other deities, O descendant of Ajamila, the Suparnas, the Gandharvas, the Pisachas, the Danavas, Yakshas, the Charanas, the snakes, all that is gross and all that is exceedingly subtile, all that is soft and all that is not subtile, all sorrows and all joys, all sorrows that come after joy and all joy that comes after sorrow, the Sankhya philosophy, Yoga, and that which transcends objects which are regarded as foremost and very superior,--all adorable things, all the deities, and all the protectors of the universe who entering into the physical forces sustain and uphold this ancient creation of that illustrious Deity,--have sprung from that Creator of all creatures. All this that I have mentioned is grosser than that which the wise think of with the aid of Penances. Indeed, that subtile Brahma is the cause of life. I bow my head in reverence to it. Let that immutable and indestructible Master, always adored by us, grant us desirable boons. That person who, subjugating his senses and purifying himself, recites this hymn, without interruption in respect of his vow, for one month, succeeds in obtaining the merit that is attached to a Horse-sacrifice. By reciting this hymn the Brahmana succeeds in acquiring all the Vedas; the Kshatriya becomes crowned with victory, O son of Pritha; the Vaisya becomes successful in obtaining wealth and cleverness; and the Sudra, in winning happiness here and a good end hereafter. Persons of great fame, by reciting this prince of hymns that is competent to cleanse every sin and that is highly sacred and purifying, set their hearts on Rudra. A man by reciting this prince of hymns succeeds in living in heaven for as many years as there are pores in his body.'"

SECTION 19

"Yudhishthira said, 'I ask, O chief of Bharata's race, what is the origin of the saying, about discharging all duties jointly at the time of a person's taking the hand of his spouse in marriage? Is that saying in respect of discharging all duties together, due only to what is laid down by the great Rishis in days of yore, or does it refer to the duty of begetting offspring from religious motives, or has it reference to only the carnal pleasure that is expected from such union? I he doubt that fills my mind in this respect is very great. What is spoken of as joint duties by the sages is in my consideration incorrect. That which is called in this world the union for practising all duties together ceases with death and is not to be seen to subsist hereafter. This union for practising all duties together leads to heaven. But heaven, O grandsire, is attained to by persons that are dead. Of a married couple it is seen that only one dies at a time. Where does the other then remain? Do tell me this. Men attain to diverse kinds of fruits by practising diverse kinds of duties. The occupations again, to which men betake themselves are of diverse kinds. Diverse, again, are the hells to which they go in consequence of such diversity of duties and acts. Women, in particular, the Rishis have said, are false in behaviour. When human beings are such, and when women in particular have been declared in the ordinances to be false, how, O sire, can there be a union between the sexes for purposes of practising all duties together? In the very Vedas one may read that women are false. The word 'Duty', as used in the Vedas, seems to have been coined in the first instance for general application (so that it is applied to practices that have no merit in them). Hence the application of that word to the rites of marriage is, instead of being correct, only a form of speech forcibly applied where application it has none. 1 The subject seems to me to be inexplicable although I reflect upon it incessantly. O grandsire, O thou of great wisdom, it behoveth thee to expound this to me in detail, clearly and according to what has been laid down in the Sruti. In fact, do thou explain to me what its characteristics are, and the way in which it has come to pass!" [The subject propounded by Yudhishthira is this: marriage is always spoken of as a union of the sexes for practising all religious duties together. The king asks, how can this be. Marriage, as seems to him, is a union sought for pleasure. If it be said that the two individuals married together are married for practising religious duties jointly, such practice is suspended by death. Persons act differently and attain to different ends. There is, therefore, no prospect of a reunion after death. When, again, one of them dies, the joint practice of duties can no longer take place. The other objections, urged by Yudhishthira, to the theory of marriage being a union of the sexes for only practising religious duties jointly, are plain.]

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection is cited the old narrative of the discourse between Ashtavakra and the lady known by the name of Disa. In days of yore Ashtavakra of severe penances, desirous of marriage, begged the high-souled Rishi Vadanya of his daughter. The name by which the damsel was known was Suprabha. In beauty she was unrivalled on Earth. In virtues, dignity, conduct, and manners, she was superior to all the girls. By a glance alone that girl of beautiful eyes had robbed him of his heart even as a delightful grove in spring, adorned with flowers, robs the spectator of his heart. The Rishi addressed Ashtavakra and said,--Yes, I shall bestow my daughter on thee. Listen, however, to me. Make a journey to the sacred North. Thou wilt see many things there!'

"Ashtavakra said, 'It behoveth thee to tell me what I shall see in that region. Indeed, I am ready to execute whatever command may be laid upon me by thee.'"

"Vadanya said, 'Passing over the dominions of the lord of Treasures thou will cross the Himavat mountains. Thou wilt then behold the plateau on which Rudra resides. It is inhabited by Siddhas and Charanas. It abounds with the associates of Mahadeva, frolicsome and fond of dance and possessed of diverse forms. It is peopled with also many Pisachas, O master, of diverse forms and all daubed with fragrant powders of diverse hues, and dancing with joyous hearts in accompaniment with instruments of different kinds made of brass. Surrounded by these who move with electric rapidity in the mazes of the dance or refrain at times altogether from forward or backward or transverse motion of every kind, Mahadeva dwells there. That delightful spot on the mountains, we have heard, is the favourite abode of the great Deity. It is said that that great god as also his associates are always present there. It was there that the goddess Uma practised the severest austerities for the sake of (obtaining for her lord) the three-eyed Deity. Hence, it is said, that spot is much liked by both Mahadeva and Uma. In days of yore there, on the heights of the Mahaparswa, which are situate to the north of the mountains sacred to Mahadeva, the sessions, and the last Night, and many deities, and many human beings also (of the foremost order), in their embodied forms, had adored Mahadeva. Thou shalt cross that region also in thy northward journey. Thou will then see a beautiful and charming forest blue of hue and resembling a mass of clouds. There, in that forest, thou wilt behold a beautiful female ascetic looking like Sree herself. Venerable in age and highly blessed, she is in the observance of the Diksha. Beholding her there thou shouldst duly worship her with reverence. Returning to this place after having beheld her, thou wilt take the hand of my daughter in marriage. If thou wanteth to make this agreement, proceed then on thy journey and do what I command thee.'"

"Ashtavakra said, 'So be it. I shall do thy bidding. Verily, I shall proceed to that region which thou speakest of, O thou of righteous soul. On thy side, let thy words, accord with truth.'"

"Bhishma continued, "The illustrious Ashtavakra set out on his journey. He proceeded more and more towards the north and at last reached the Himavat mountains peopled by Siddhas and Charanas. Arrived at the Himavat mountains, that foremost of Brahamanas then came upon the sacred river Vahuda whose waters produce great merit. He bathed in one of the delightful Tirthas of that river, which was free from mud, and gratified the deities with oblations of water. His ablutions being over, he spread a quantity of Kusa grass and laid himself down upon it for resting awhile at his ease. Passing the night in this way, the Brahmana rose with the day. He once more performed his ablutions in the sacred waters of the Vahuda and then ignited his homa fire and worshipped it with the aid of many foremost of Vedic mantras. He then worshipped with due rites both Rudra and his spouse Uma, and rested for some more time by the side of that lake in the course of the Vahuda whose shores he had reached. Refreshed by such rest, he set out from that region and then proceeded towards Kailasa. He then beheld a gate of gold that seemed to blaze with beauty. He saw also the Mandakini and the Nalini of the high-souled Kuvera, the Lord of Treasures. Beholding the Rishi arrived there, all the Rakshasas having Manibhadra for their head, who were engaged in protecting that lake abounding with beautiful lotuses, came out in a body for welcoming and honouring the illustrious traveller. The Rishi worshipped in return those Rakshasas of terrible prowess and asked them to report, without delay, his arrival unto the Lord of Treasures. Requested by him to do this, those Rakshasas, O king, said unto him,--King Vaisravana, without waiting for the news from us, is coming of his own accord to thy presence. The illustrious Lord of Treasures is well acquainted with the object of this thy journey. Behold him,--that blessed Master,--who blazes with his own energy. Then king Vaisravana, approaching the faultless Ashtavakra, duly enquired about his welfare. The usual enquiries of politeness being over, the Lord of Treasures then addressed the regenerate Rishi, saying,--Welcome art thou here. Do tell me what it is thou seekest at my hands. Inform me of it. I shall, O regenerate one,

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accomplish whatever thou mayst bid me to accomplish. Do thou enter my abode as pleases thee, O foremost of Brahamanas. Duly entertained by me, and after thy business is accomplished, thou mayst go without any obstacles being placed in thy way.--Having said these words, Kuvera took the hand of that foremost of Brahmanas and led him into his palace. He offered him his own seat as also water to wash his feet and the Arghya made of the usual ingredients. After the two had taken their seats, the Yakshas of Kuvera headed by Manibhadra, and many Gandharvas and Kinnaras, also sat down before them. After all of them had taken their seats, the Lord of Treasures said these words,--Understanding what thy pleasure is, the diverse tribes of Apsaras will commence their dance. It is meet that I should entertain thee with hospitality and that thou shouldst be served with proper ministrations. Thus addressed, the ascetic Ashtavakra said, in a sweet voice, Let the dance proceed. Then Urvara and Misrakesi, and Rambha and Urvasi, and Alumvusha and Ghritachi, and Chitra and Chitrangada and Ruchi, and Manohara and Sukesi and Sumukhi and Hasini and Prabha, and Vidyuta, and Prasami and Danta and Vidyota and Rati,--these and many other beautiful Apsaras began to dance. The Gandharvas played on diverse kinds of musical instruments. After such excellent music and dance had commenced, the Rishi Ashtavakra of severe penances unconsciously passed a full celestial year there in the abode of king Vaisravana. Then king Vaisravana said unto the Rishi,--O learned Brahmana, behold, a little more than a year has passed away since thy arrival here. This music and dance, especially known by the name of Gandharva, is a stealer of the heart (and of time). Do thou act as thou wishes or let this go on if that be thy pleasure. Thou art my guest and, therefore, worthy of adoration. This is my house. Givest thou thy commands. We are all bound to thee. The illustrious Ashtavakra, thus addressed by king Vaisravana, replied unto him, with a pleased heart, saying,--I have been duly honoured by thee. I desire now, O Lord of Treasures, to go hence. Indeed, I am highly pleased. All this befits thee, O Lord of Treasures. Through thy grace, O illustrious one, and agreeably to the command of the high-souled Rishi Vadanya, I shall now proceed to my journey's end. Let growth and prosperity be thine.--Having said these words, the illustrious Rishi set out of Kuvera's abode and proceeded northwards. He crossed the Kailasa and the Mandara as also the golden mountains. Beyond those high and great mountains is situated that excellent region where Mahadeva, dressed as an humble ascetic, has taken up his residence. He circumambulated the spot, with concentrated mind, bending his head in reverence the while. Descending then on the Earth, he considered himself sanctified for having obtained a sight of that holy spot which is the abode of Mahadeva. Having circumambulated that mountain thrice, the Rishi, with face turned towards the north, proceeded with a joyous heart. He then beheld another forest that was very delightful in aspect. It was adorned with the fruits and roots of every season, and it resounded with the music of winged warblers numbering by thousands. There were many delightful groves throughout the forest. The illustrious Rishi then beheld a charming hermitage. The Rishi saw also many golden hills decked with gems and possessed of diverse forms. In the begemmed soil he saw many lakes and tanks also. And he saw diverse other objects that were exceedingly delightful. Beholding these things, the mind of that Rishi of cleansed soul became filled with joy. He then saw a beautiful mansion made of gold and adorned with gems of many kinds. Of wonderful structure, that mansion surpassed the place of Kuvera himself in every respect. Around it there were many hills and mounts of jewels and gems. Many beautiful cars and many heaps of diverse kinds of jewels also were visible in that place. The Rishi beheld there the river Mandakini whose waters were strewn with many Mandara flowers. Many gems also were seen there that were self-luminous, and the soil all around was decked with diamonds of diverse species. The palatial mansion which the Rishi saw contained many chambers whose arches were embellished with various kinds of stones. Those chambers were adorned also with nets of pearls interspersed with jewels and gems of different species. Diverse kinds of beautiful objects capable of stealing the heart and the eye, surrounded that palace. That delightful retreat was inhabited by numerous Rishis. Beholding these beautiful sights all around, the Rishi began to think where he would take shelter. Proceeding then to the gate of the mansion, he uttered these words:--Let those that live here know that a guest has come (desirous of shelter). Hearing the voice of the Rishi, a number of maidens came out together from that palace. They were seven in number, O King, of different styles of beauty, all of them were exceedingly charming. Every one of those maidens upon whom the Rishi cast his eyes, stole his heart. The sage could not, with even his best efforts, control his mind. Indeed, at the sight of those maidens of very superior beauty, his heart lost all its tranquillity. Seeing himself yielding to such influences, the Rishi made a vigorous effort and possessed as he was of great wisdom he at last succeeded in controlling himself. Those damsels then addressed the Rishi, saying,--Let the illustrious one enter. Filled with curiosity in respect of those exceedingly beautiful damsels as also of that palatial mansion, the regenerate Rishi entered as he was bidden. Entering the mansion he beheld an old lady, with indications of decrepitude, attired in white robes and adorned with every kind of ornament. The Rishi blessed her, saying,--Good be to you.--The old lady returned his good wishes in proper form. Rising up, she offered a seat to the Rishi. Having taken his seat, Ashtavakra said,--Let all the damsels go to their respective quarters. Only let one stay here. Let that one remain here who is possessed of wisdom and who has tranquillity of heart. Indeed, let all the others go away at their will.--Thus addressed, all those damsels circumambulated the Rishi and then left the chamber. Only that aged lady remained there. The day quickly passed and night came. The Rishi seated on a splendid bed, addressed the old lady, saying,--O blessed lady, the night is deepening. Do thou address thyself to sleep. Their conversation being thus put a stop to by the Rishi, the old lady laid herself down on an excellent bed of great splendour. Soon after, she rose from her bed and pretending to tremble with cold, she left it for going to the bed of the Rishi. The illustrious Ashtavakra welcomed her with courtesy. The lady however, stretching her arms, tenderly embraced the Rishi, O foremost of men. Beholding the Rishi quite unmoved and as inanimate as a piece of wood, she became very sorry and began to converse with him. There is no pleasure, save that which waits upon Kama (desire), which women can derive from a person of the other sex. I am now under the influence of desire. I seek thee for that reason. Do thou seek me in return. Be cheerful, O learned Rishi, and unite thyself with me. Do thou embrace me, O learned one, for I desire thee greatly. O thou of righteous soul, even this union with me is the excellent and desirable reward of those severe penances which thou hast undergone. At the first sight I have become disposed to seek thee. Do thou also seek me. All this wealth, and everything else of value that thou seest here are mine. Do thou verily become the lord of all this along with my person and heart. I shall gratify every wish of thine. Do thou sport with me, therefore, in these delightful forest, O Brahmana, that are capable of granting every wish. I shall yield thee complete obedience in everything, and thou shall sport with me according to thy pleasure. All objects of desire that are human or that appertain to heaven shall be enjoyed by us. There is no pleasure more agreeable to women (than that which is derivable from the companionship of a person of the other sex). Verily, congress with a person of the opposite sex is the most delicious fruit of joy that we can reap. When urged by the god of desire, women become very capricious. At such times they do not feel any pain, even if they walk over a desert of burning sand.'"

"Ashtavakra said, 'O blessed lady, I never approach one that is another's spouse. One's congress with another man's wife is condemned by persons conversant with the scriptures on morality. I am an utter stranger to enjoyments of every kind. O blessed lady, know that I have become desirous of wedlock for obtaining offspring. I swear by truth itself. Through the aid of offspring righteously obtained, I shall proceed to those regions of felicity which cannot be attained without such aid. O good lady, know what is consistent with morality, and knowing it, desist from thy efforts.'"

"The lady said, 'The very deities of wind and fire and water, or the other celestials, O regenerate one, are not so agreeable to women as the deity of desire. Verily, women are exceedingly fond of sexual congress. Among a thousand women, or, perhaps, among hundreds of thousands, sometimes only one may be found that is devoted to her husband. When under the influence of desire, they care not for family or father or mother or brother or husband or sons or husband's brother (but pursue the way that desire points out). Verily, in pursuit of what they consider happiness, they destroy the family (to which they belong by birth or marriage) even as many queenly rivers eat away the banks that contain them. The Creator himself had said this, quickly marking the faults of women.'" [A woman is said to destroy a family by staining it with her unchastity.]

"Bhishma continued, 'The Rishi, bent upon finding out the faults of women, then addressed that lady, saying,--Cease to speak to me in this strain. Yearning springs from liking. Tell me what (else) I am to do.--That lady then said in return,--O illustrious one, thou shalt see according to time and place (as do whether I have anything agreeable in me). Do thou only live here (for some time). O highly blessed one, and I shall regard myself amply rewarded.--Thus addressed by her, the regenerate Rishi, O Yudhishthira, expressed his resolution to comply with her request, saying,--Verily, I shall dwell with thee in this place as long as I can venture to do so.--The Rishi then, beholding that lady afflicted with decrepitude, began to reflect earnestly on the matter. He seemed to be even tortured by his thoughts. The eyes of that foremost of Brahmanas failed to derive any delight from those parts of that lady's person whereupon they were cast. On the other hand, his glances seemed to be dispelled by the ugliness of those particular limbs.--This lady is certainly the goddess of this palace. Has she been made ugly through some curse. It is not proper that I should hastily ascertain the cause of this.--Reflecting upon this in the secrecy of his heart, and curious to know the reason, the Rishi passed the rest of that day in an anxious state. The lady then addressed him, saying,--O illustrious one, behold the aspect of the Sun reddened by the evening clouds. What service shall I do unto thee.--The Rishi addressed her, saying,--.'Fetch water for my ablutions. Having bathed, I shall say my evening prayers, restraining my tongue and the senses.'"

SECTION 20

"Bhishma said, 'Thus commanded, the lady said,--Be it so. She then brought oil (for rubbing the Rishi's body therewith) and a piece of cloth for his wear during the ablutions. Permitted by the ascetic, she rubbed every part of his body with the fragrant oil she had brought for him. Gently was the Rishi rubbed, and when the process of rubbing was over, he proceeded to the room set apart for the performance of ablutions. There he sat upon a new and excellent seat of great splendour. After the Rishi had taken his seat upon it, the old lady began to wash his person with her own soft hands whose touch was exceedingly agreeable. One after another in due order, the lady rendered the most agreeable services to the Rishi in the matter of his ablutions. Between the lukewarm water with which he was washed, and the soft hands that were employed in washing him, the Rishi of rigid vows failed to understand that the whole night had passed away in the process. Rising from the bath the Rishi became highly surprised. He saw the Sun risen above the horizon on the East. He was amazed at this and asked himself,--Was it really so or was it an error of the understanding?--The Rishi then duly worshipped the god of a thousand rays. This done, he asked the lady as to what he should do. The old lady prepared some food for the Rishi that was as delicious to the taste as Amrita itself. In consequence of the delicious character of that food the Rishi could not take much. In taking that little, however, the day passed away and evening came. The old lady then asked the Rishi to go to bed and sleep. An excellent bed was assigned to the Rishi and another was occupied by herself. The Rishi and the old lady occupied different beds at first but when it was midnight, the lady left her own bed for coming to that of the Rishi.'

"Ashtavakra said, 'O blessed lady, my mind turns away from sexual congress with one who is the spouse of another. Leave my bed, O good lady. Blessed be thou, do thou desist from this of thy own accord.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus dissuaded by that Brahmana with the aid of his self-restraint, the lady answered him, saying,--I am my own mistress. In accepting me thou wilt incur no sin.'

"Ashtavakra said, 'Women can never be their own mistresses. This is the opinion of the Creator himself, viz., that a woman never deserves to be independent.'

"The lady said, 'O learned Brahmana, I am tortured by desire. Mark my devotion to thee. Thou incurrest sin by refusing to accost me lovingly.'

"Ashtavakra said, 'Diverse faults, drag away the man that acts as he likes. As regards myself, I am able to control my inclinations by self-restraint. O good lady, do thou return to thy own bed.'

"The lady said, 'I bow to thee, bending my head. It behoves thee to show me thy grace. O sinless one, I prostrate myself before thee, do thou become my refuge. If indeed, thou seest such sin in congress with one that is not thy spouse, I yield myself unto thee. Do thou, O regenerate one, accept my hand in marriage. Thou wilt incur no sin. I tell thee truly. Know that I am my own mistress. If there by any sin in this, let it be mine alone. My heart is devoted to thee. I am my own mistress. Do thou accept me.'

"Ashtavakra said, 'How is it, O good lady, that thou art thy own mistress. Tell me the reason of this. There is not a single woman in the three worlds that deserves to be regarded as the mistress of her own self. The father protects her while she is a maiden. The husband protects her while she is in youth. Sons protect her when she is aged. Women can never be independent as long as they live!'

"The lady said, 'I have since my maidenhood, adopted the vow of Brahmacharyya. Do not doubt it. I am still a maid. Do thou make me thy wife. O Brahmana, do not kill this devotion of mine to thee.'

"Ashtavakra said, 'As thou art inclined to me, so I am inclined to thee. There is this question, however, that should be settled. Is it true that by yielding to my inclinations I shall not be regarded as acting in opposition to what the Rishi (Vadanya) wishes. This is very wonderful. Will this lead to what is beneficial? Here is a maiden adorned with excellent ornaments and robes. She is exceedingly beautiful. Why did decrepitude cover her beauty so long? At present she looks like a beautiful maiden. There is no knowing what form she may take hereafter. I shall never swerve from that restraint which I have over desire and the other passions or from contentment with what I have already got. Such swerving does not seem to be good. I shall keep myself united with truth!'

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SECTION 21

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me why had that lady no fear of Ashtavakra's curse although Ashtavakra was endued with great energy? How also did Ashtavakra succeed in coming back from that place?'"

"Bhishma said, 'Ashtavakra asked her, saying,--How dost thou succeed in altering thy form so? Thou shouldst not say anything that is untrue. I wish to know this. Speakest thou truly before a Brahmana.'

"The lady said, 'O best of Brahmana, wherever thou mayst reside in heaven or on Earth, this desire of union between the sexes is to be observed. O thou of infallible prowess, listen, with concentrated attention, to this all. This trial was devised by me. O sinless one, for testing thee aright. O thou of infallible prowess, thou hast subjugated all the worlds for not foregoing your previous resolution. Know that I am the embodiment of the Northern point of the compass. Thou hast seen the lightness of the female character. Even women that are aged are tortured by the desire of sexual union. The Grandsire himself and all the deities with Indra have been pleased with thee. The object for which thy illustrious self has come here (is known to me). O foremost of regenerate persons, thou hast been despatched higher by the Rishi Vadanya--the father of thy bride--in order that I may instruct thee. Agreeably to the wishes of that Rishi I have already instructed thee. Thou wilt return home in safety. Thy journey back will not be toilsome. Thou wilt obtain for wife and girl thou hast chosen. She will bear thee a son. Through desire I had solicited thee, thou madest me the very best answer. The desire for sexual union is incapable of being transcended in the three worlds. Go back to thy quarters, having achieved such merit. What else is there that thou wishest to hear from me? I shall discourse on it, O Ashtavakra, in accordance with the truth. I was gratified by the Rishi Vadanya in the first instance for thy sake, O regenerate ascetic For the sake of honouring him, I have said all this to thee.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Hearing these words of hers, the regenerate Ashtavakra joined his hands in a reverential attitude. He then solicited the lady for her permission to go back. Obtaining the permission he came back to his own asylum. Resting himself for some time at home and obtaining the permission of his kinsmen and friends, he then in a proper way, proceeded, O delighter of the Kurus, to the Brahmana Vadanya. Welcomed with the usual enquiries by Vadanya, the Rishi Ashtavakra, with a well-pleased heart, narrated all that he had seen (in course of his sojourn to the North). He said,--Commanded by thee I proceeded to the mountains of Gandhamadana. In the regions lying to the north of these mountains I beheld a very superior goddess. I was received by her with courtesy. She named you in my hearing and also instructed me in various matters. Having listened to her I have come back, O lord. Unto him that said so, the learned Vadanya said,--Take my daughter's hand according to due rites and under the proper constellations. Thou art the fittest bridegroom I can select for the girl.'

'Bhishma continued, 'Ashtavakra said,--So be it and took the hand of the girl. Indeed, the highly righteous Rishi, having espoused the girl, became filled with joy. Having taken as his wife that beautiful damsel, the Rishi continued to dwell in his own asylum, freed from (mental) fever of every kind.'"

SECTION 22

"Yudhishthira said, 'Whom do the eternal Brahmanas strictly observing religious rites call a proper object of gifts? Is a Brahmana that bears the symbols of the order of life he follows to be regarded as such or one who does not bear such indications is to be so regarded?' [Linga means signs or indications. A Lingin is one that bears signs and indications. Brahmanam (in both places) means one conversant with Brahman. The first, that is, Lingin implies either a Brahmacharin or a Sanyasin that always bears the marks of his order. An Alingin is one that is divested of such marks. Yudhishthira's question is, who, amongst these, should be considered worthy of gifts?

"Bhishma said, 'O monarch, it has been said that gifts should be made unto a Brahmana that adheres to the duties of his own order, whether, he bears the indications of a Brahmachari or not, for both are faultless, viz., he that bears such indications and he that is divested of them.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'What fault does an uncleansed person incur, if he makes gifts of sacrificial butter or food with great devotion unto persons of the regenerate order?'

"Bhishma said, 'Even one that is most destitute of self-restraint becomes, without doubt, cleansed by devotion. Such a man, O thou of great splendour, becomes cleansed in respect of every act (and not with reference to gift alone).'

"Yudhishthira said, 'It has been said that a Brahmana that is sought to be employed in an act having reference to the deities, should never be examined. The learned, however, say that with respect to such acts as have reference to the Pitris, the Brahmana that is sought to be employed, should be examined (in the matter of both his conduct and competence).'

"Bhishma said, 'As regards acts that have reference to the deities, these fructify not in consequence of the Brahmana that is employed in doing the rites but through the grace of the deities themselves. Without doubt, those persons that perform sacrifice obtain the merit attached to those acts, through the grace of the deities. The Brahmanas, O chief of the Bharatas, are always devoted of Brahman. The Rishi Markandeya, one of the greatest Rishis endued with intelligence in all the worlds, said this in days of yore.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Why, O grandsire, are there five viz., he that is a stranger, he that is endued with learning (connected with the duties of his order), he that is connected by marriage, he that is endued with penances, and he that adheres to the performance of sacrifices, regarded as proper persons?'

"Bhishma said, 'The first three, viz., strangers, relatives, and ascetics, when possessed of these attributes, viz., purity of birth, devotion to religious acts, learning, compassion, modesty, sincerity, and truthfulness, are regarded as proper persons. The other two, viz., men of learning and those devoted to sacrifices, when endued with five of these attributes, viz., purity of birth, compassion, modesty, sincerity, truthfulness, are also regarded as proper persons. Listen now to me, O son of Pritha, as I recite to thee the opinions of these four persons of mighty energy, viz., the goddess Earth, the Rishi Kasyapa, Agni (the deity of fire) and the ascetic Markandeya.'

"The Earth said, 'As a clod of mud, when thrown into the great ocean quickly dissolves away, even so every kind of sin disappears in the three high attributes viz., offiiciation at sacrifices, teaching and receiving of gifts.

"Kasyapa said, 'The Vedas with their six branches, the Sankhya philosophy, the Puranas, and high birth, these fail to rescue a regenerate person if he falls away from good conduct.'

"Agni said, 'That Brahmana who, engaged in study and regarding himself learned, seeks with the aid of his learning to destroy the reputation of others, falls away from righteousness, and comes to be regarded as dissociated from truth. Verily regions of felicity herein-after are never attained to by such a person of destructive genius.'

"Markandeya said, 'If a thousand Horse-sacrifices and Truth were weighed in the balance, I do not know whether the former would weigh even half as heavy as the latter.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Having spoken these words, those four persons, each of whom is endued with immeasurable energy, viz., the goddess Earth, Kasyapa, Agni, and Bhrigu's son armed with weapons, quickly went away.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'If Brahmanas observant of the vow of Brahmacharyya in this world solicit the offerings one makes (unto one's deceased ancestors in Sraddhas) I ask, can the Sraddha be regarded well-performed, if the performer actually makes over those offerings unto such Brahmanas.

"Bhishma said, 'If, having practised the vow of Brahmacharyya for the prescribed period (of twelve years) and acquired proficiency in the Vedas and their branches, a Brahmana himself solicits the offering made in Sraddhas and eats the same, he is regarded to fall away from his vow. The Sraddha, however, is not regarded as stained in any way.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'The wise have said that duty of righteousness has many ends and numerous doors. Tell me, O grandsire, what however are the settled conclusions in this matter.'

Bhishma said, 'Abstention from injury to others, truthfulness, the absence of wrath (forgiveness), compassion, self-restraint, and sincerity or candour, O monarch, are the indications of Righteousness. There are persons who wander over the earth, praising righteousness but without practising what they preach and engaged all the while in sin. O king, He who gives unto such persons gold or gems or steeds, has to sink in hell and to subsist there for ten years, eating the while the faeces of such persons as live upon the flesh of dead kine and buffalos, of men called Pukkasas, of others that live in the outskirts of cities and villages, and of men that publish, under the influence of wrath and folly, the acts and the ommissions of others. Those foolish men who do give unto a Brahmana observant of the vow of Brahmacharyya the offerings made in Sraddhas (unto one's deceased ancestors), have to go, O monarch into regions of great misery.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me, O grandsire, what is superior to Brahmacharyya? What is the highest indication of virtue? What is the highest kind of purity?'

"Bhishma said,--'I tell thee, O son, that abstention from honey and meat is even superior to Brahmacharyya. Righteousness consists in keeping within boundaries or in self-restraint, the best indication of Righteousness is Renunciation (which is also the highest kind of purity).

"Yudhishthira said, 'In what time should one practise Righteousness? In what time should wealth be sought? In what time should pleasure be enjoyed? O grandsire, do tell me this.'

"Bhishma said,--'One should earn wealth in the first part of one's life. Then should one earn Righteousness, and then enjoy pleasure. One should not, however, attach oneself to any of these. One should regard the Brahmanas, worship one's preceptor and seniors, show compassion for all creatures, be of mild disposition and agreeable speech. To utter false-hood in a court of justice, to behave deceitfully towards the king, to act falsely towards preceptors and seniors, are regarded as equivalent (in heinousness) to Brahmanicide. One should never do an act of violence to the king's person. Nor should one ever strike a cow. Both these offences are equivalent to the sin of foeticide. One should never abandon one's (homa) fire. One should also never cast off one's study of the Vedas. One should never assail a Brahmana by words or acts. All these offences are equivalent to Brahmanicide.'

"Yudhishthira said,--'What kind of Brahmanas should be regarded as good? By making presents unto (what kind of) Brahmanas one may acquire great merit? What kind of Brahmanas are they whom one should feed? Tell me all this, O grandsire!'

"Bhishma said, 'Those Brahmanas that are freed from wrath, that are devoted to acts of righteousness, that are firm in Truth, and that practise self-restraint are regarded as good. By making gifts unto them one acquires great merit. One wins great merit by making presents unto such Brahmanas as are free from pride, capable of bearing everything, firm in the pursuit of their objects, endued with mastery over their senses, devoted to the good of all creatures, and disposed to be friendly towards all. One earns great merit by making gifts unto such Brahmanas as are free from cupidity, as are pure of heart and conduct, possessed of learning and modesty, truthful in speech and observant of their own duties as laid down in the scriptures. The Rishis have declared that Brahmana to be a deserving object of gifts who studies the four Vedas with all their branches and is devoted to the six well-known duties (laid down in the scriptures). One acquires great merit by making gifts unto Brahmanas possessed of such qualifications. The man who makes gifts unto a deserving Brahmana multiplies his merit a thousand-fold. A single righteous Brahmana possessed of wisdom and Vedic lore, observant of the duties laid down in the scriptures, distinguished by purity of behaviour, is competent to rescue a whole race. One should make gifts of kine and horses and wealth and food and other kinds of articles unto a Brahmana that is possessed of such qualifications. By making such gifts unto such persons one earns great happiness in the next world. As I have already told thee even one such Brahmana is fully competent to rescue the entire race to which the giver belongs. What need I say, therefore, O dear son, of the merit of making gifts unto many Brahmanas of such qualifications? In making gifts, therefore one should always select the object to whom the gifts are to be made. Hearing of a Brahmana possessed of proper qualifications and regarded with respect by all good people, one should invite him even if he resides at a distance and welcome him when he arrives and one should worship him by all means in his power.'"

SECTION 23

"Yudhishthira said, 'I desire thee, O grandsire, to tell me what the ordinances are that have been laid down by the acts touching the deities and the (deceased) ancestors on occasions of Sraddhas.'

"Bhishma said, 'Having purified oneself (by baths and other purificatory acts) and then going through the well-known auspicious rites, one should carefully do all act relating to the deities in the forenoon, and all acts relating to the Pitris in the afternoon. What is given to men should be given in the midday with affection and regard. That gift which is made untimely is appropriated by Rakshasas. Gifts of articles that have been leapt over by any one, o been licked or sucked, that are not given peacefully, that have been seen by women that are impure in consequence of their season having come, do not produce any merit. Such gifts are regarded as the portion belonging to the Rakshasas. Gifts of articles that have been proclaimed before many people or from which a portion has been eaten by a Sudra, or that have been seen or licked by a dog, form portions of Rakshasas. Food which is mixed with hair or in which there are worms, or which has been stained with spittle or saliva or which has been gazed at by a dog or into which tear-drops have fallen or which has been trodden upon should be known as forming the portion of Rakshasa. Food that has been eaten by a person incompetent to utter the syllable Om, or that has been eaten by a person bearing arms, O Bharata, or that has been eaten by a wicked person should be known to form the portion of Rakshasas. The food that is eaten by a person from which a portion has already been eaten by another, or which is eaten without a part thereof having been offered to deities and guests and children, is appropriated by Rakshasas. Such stained food, if offered to the deities and Pitris is never accepted by them but is appropriated by Rakshasas. The food offered by the three regenerate classes in Sraddhas, in which Mantras are either not uttered or uttered incorrectly and in which the ordinances laid down in the scriptures are not complied with, if distributed to guests and other people, is appropriated by Rakshasas. The food that is distributed to guests without having been previously dedicated to the deities or the Pitris with the aid of libation on the sacred fire, which has been stained in consequence of a portion thereof having been eaten

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by a person that is wicked or of irreligious behaviour, should be known to form the portion of Rakshasas.'

"'I have told thee what the portions are of the Rakshasas. Listen now to me as I lay down the rules for ascertaining who the Brahmana is that is deserving of gift. All Brahmanas that have been outcasted (on account of the commission of heinous sins), as also Brahmanas that are idiots and out of mind, do not deserve to be invited to Sraddhas in which offerings are made to either the deities or the Pitris. That Brahmana who is afflicted with leucoderma, or he that is destitute of virility, or he that has got leprosy, or he that has got phthisis or he that is labouring under epilepsy (with delusions of the sensorium), or he that is blind, should not, O king, be invited. Those Brahmanas that practise the calling of physicians, those that receive regular pay for worshipping the images of deities established by the rich, or live upon the service of the deities, those that are observant of vows from pride or other false motives, and those that sell Soma, do not deserve to be invited. Those Brahmanas that are, by profession, vocalists, or dancers or players or instrumental musicians, or reciters of sacred books, or warriors and athletes, do not, O king, deserve to be invited. Those Brahmanas who pour libations on the sacred fire for Sudras, or who are preceptors of Sudras, or who as servants of Sudra masters, do not deserve to be invited. That Brahmana who is paid for his services as preceptor, or who attends as pupil upon the lectures of some preceptor because of some allowance that is granted to him, does not deserve to be invited, for both of them are regarded as sellers of Vedic lore. That Brahmana who has been once induced to accept the gift of food in a Sraddha at the very outset, as also he who has married a Sudra wife, even if possessed of every kind of knowledge do not deserve to be invited. [An Agrani or Agradani is that Brahmana unto whom the food and other offerings to the Preta in the first Sraddha are given away. Such a person is regarded as fallen.] Those Brahmanas that are destitute of their domestic fire, and they that attend upon corpses, they that are thieves, and they that have otherwise fallen away do not, O king, deserve to be invited. [When corpses are taken to crematoria, certain rites have to be performed upon them before they can be consumed. Those Brahmanas that assist at the performance of those rites are regarded as fallen. Those Brahmanas whose antecedents are not known or are vile, and they that are Putrika-putras, do not, O king, deserve to be invited on occasions of Sraddhas. 4 That Brahmana who gives loans of money, or he who subsists upon the interest of the loans given by him, or he who lives by sale of living creatures, does not deserve, O king, to be invited. Persons who have been subjugated by their wives, or they who live by becoming the paramours of unchaste women, or they who abstain from their morning and evening prayers do not deserve, O king, to be invited to Sraddhas.'

"'Listen now to me as I mention who the Brahmana is that has been ordained for acts done in honour of the deities and the Pitris. Indeed, I shall tell thee what those merits, are in consequence of which one may become a giver or a recipient of gifts in Sraddhas (notwithstanding the faults mentioned above). Those Brahmanas that are observant of the rites and ceremonies laid down in the scriptures, or they that are possessed of merit, or they that are conversant with the Gayatri, or they that are observant of the ordinary duties of Brahmanas, even if they happen to betake themselves to agriculture for a living, are capable, O king, of being invited to Sraddhas. If a Brahmana happens to be wellborn, he deserves to be invited to Sraddhas notwithstanding his profession of arms for fighting the battle of others. That Brahmana, however, O son, who happens to betake himself to trade for a living should be discarded (even if possessed of merit). The Brahmana who pours libations every day on the sacred fire, or who resides in a fixed habitation, who is not a thief and who does the duties of hospitality to guests arrived at his house, deserves, O king, to be invited to Sraddhas. The Brahmana, O chief of Bharata's race, who recites the Savitri morning, noon, and night, or who subsists upon eleemosynary charity, who is observant of the rites and ceremonies laid down in the scriptures for persons of his order, deserves, O king, to be invited to Sraddhas. That Brahmana who having earned wealth in the morning becomes poor in the afternoon, or who poor in the morning becomes wealthy in the evening or who is destitute of malice, or is stained by a minor fault, deserves, O king, to be invited to Sraddhas. That Brahmana who is destitute of pride or sin, who is not given to dry disputation, or who subsists upon alms obtained in his rounds of mendicancy from house to house deserves, O king, to be invited to sacrifices. One who is not observant of vows, or who is addicted to falsehood (in both speech and conduct), who is a thief, or who subsists by the sale of living creatures or by trade in general, becomes worthy of invitation to Sraddhas, O king, if he happens to offer all to the deities first and subsequently drink Soma. That man who having acquired wealth by foul or cruel means subsequently spends it in adoring the deities and discharging the duties of hospitality, becomes worthy, O king, of being invited to Sraddhas. The wealth that one has acquired by the sale of Vedic lore, or which has been earned by a women, or which has been gained by meanness (such as giving false evidence in a court of law), should never be given to Brahmanas or spent in making offerings to the Pitris. That Brahmana, O chief of Bharata's race, who upon the completion of a Sraddha that is performed with his aid, refuses to utter the words 'astu swadha,' incurs the sin of swearing falsely in a suit for land. The time for performing Sraddha, O Yudhishthira, is that when one obtains a good Brahmana and curds and ghee and the sacred day of the new moon, and the meat of wild animals such as deer and others. Upon the completion of a Sraddha performed by a Brahmana the word Swadha should be uttered. If performed by a Kshatriya the words that should be uttered are--Let thy Pitris be gratified.--Upon the completion of a Sraddha performed by a Vaisya, O Bharata, the words that should be uttered are--Let everything become inexhaustible.--Similarly, upon the conclusion of a Sraddha performed by a Sudra, the word that should be uttered is Swasti,--In respect of a Brahmana, the declaration regarding Punyaham should be accompanied with the utterance of the syllable Om. In the case of a Kshatriya, such declaration should be without the utterance of syllable Om. In the rites performed by a Vaisya, the words that should be uttered, instead of beings the syllable Om, are,--Let the deities be gratified.--Listen now to me as I tell thee the rites that should be performed, one after another, conformably to the ordinances, (in respect of all the orders). All the rites that go by the name of Jatakarma, O Bharata, are indispensable in the case of all the three orders (that are regenerate). All these rites, O Yudhishthira, in the case of both Brahmanas and Kshatriyas as also in that of Vaisyas are to be performed with the aid of mantras. The girdle of a Brahmana should be made of Munja grass. That for one belonging to the royal order should be a bowstring. The Vaisya's girdle should be made of the Valwaji grass. Even this is what has been laid down in the scriptures. Listen now to me as I expound to thee what constitutes the merits and faults of both givers and recipients of gifts. A Brahmana becomes guilty of a dereliction of duty by uttering a falsehood. Such an act on his part is sinful. A Kshatriya incurs four times and a Vaisya eight times the sin that a Brahmana incurs by uttering a falsehood. A Brahmana should not eat elsewhere, having been previously invited by a Brahmana. By eating at the house of the person whose invitation has been posterior in point of time, he becomes inferior and even incurs the sin that attaches to the slaughter of an animal on occasions other than those of sacrifices. So also, if he eats elsewhere after having been invited by a person of the royal order or a Vaisya, he falls away from his position and incurs half the sin that attaches to the slaughter of an animal on occasions other than those of sacrifices. That Brahmana, O king, who eats on occasions of such rites as are performed in honour of the deities or the Pitris by Brahmanas and Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, without having performed his ablutions, incurs the sin of uttering an untruth for a cow. That Brahmana, O king, who eats on occasions of similar rites performed by persons belonging to the three higher orders, at a time when he is impure in consequence either of a birth or a death among his cognates, through temptation, knowing well that he is impure incurs the same sin. He who lives upon wealth obtained under false pretences like that of sojourns to sacred places or who solicits the giver for wealth pretending that he would spend it in religious acts, incurs, O monarch, the sin of uttering a falsehood. That person, belonging to any of the three higher orders, O Yudhishthira, who at Sraddhas and on other occasions distributes food with the aid of Mantras, unto such Brahmanas as do not study the Vedas and as are not observant of vows, or as have not purified their conduct, certainly incurs sin.'

"Yudhishthira said,--'I desire, O grandsire, to know by giving unto whom the things dedicated to the deities and the Pitris, one may earn the amplest rewards.'

"Bhishma said,--'Do thou, Yudhishthira, feed those Brahmanas whose spouses reverently wait for the remnants of the dishes of their husbands like tillers of the soil waiting in reverence for timely showers of rain. One earn great merit by making gifts unto those Brahmanas that are always observant of pure conduct, O king, that are emaciated through abstention from all luxuries and even full meals, that are devoted to the observances of such vows as lead to the emaciation of the body, and that approach givers with the desire of obtaining gifts. By making gifts unto such Brahmanas as regard conduct in this light of food, as regard conduct in the light of spouses and children, as regard conduct in the light of strength, as regard conduct in the light of their refuge for crossing this world and attaining to felicity in the next, and as solicit wealth only when wealth is absolutely needed, one earns great merit. By making gifts unto those persons, O Yudhishthira, that having lost everything through thieves or oppressors, approach the giver, one acquires great merit. By making gifts unto such Brahmanas as solicit food from the hands of even a poor person of their order who has just got something from others, one earns great merit. By making gifts unto such Brahmanas as have lost their all in times of universal distress and as have been deprived of their spouses on such occasions, and as come to givers with solicitations for alms, one acquires great merit. By making gifts unto such Brahmanas as are observant of vows, and as place themselves voluntarily under painful rules and regulations, as are respectful in their conduct to the declaration laid down in the Vedas, and as come to solicit wealth for spending it upon the rites necessary to complete their vows and other observances, one earns great merit. By making gifts unto such Brahmanas as live at a great distance from the practices that are observed by the sinful and the wicked, as are destitute of strength for want of adequate support, and as are very poor in earthly possessions, one earns great merit. By making gifts unto such Brahmanas as have been robbed of all their possessions by powerful men but as are perfectly innocent, and as desire to fill their stomachs any how without, that is, any scruples respecting the quality of the food they take, one earns great merit. By making gifts unto such Brahmanas as beg on behalf of others that are observant of penances and devoted to them and as are satisfied with even small gifts, one earns great merit. Thou hast now, O bull of Bharata's race, heard what the declarations are of the scriptures in respect of the acquisition of great merit by the making of gifts. Listen now to me as I expound what those acts are that lead to hell or heaven. They, O Yudhishthira, that speak an untruth on occasions other than those when such untruth is needed for serving the purpose of the preceptor or for giving the assurance of safety to a person in fear of his life, sink into hell [The two exceptions have been much animadverted upon by unthinking persons. I have shown that according to the code of morality, that is in vogue among people whose Christianity and civilisation are unquestionable, a lie may sometimes be honourable. However casuists may argue, the world is agreed that a lie for saving life and even property under certain circumstances, and for screening the honour of a confiding woman, is not inexcusable. The goldsmith's son who died with a lie on his lips for saving the Prince Chevalier did a meritorious act. The owner also who hides his property from robbers, cannot be regarded as acting dishonourably.]. They who ravish other people's spouses, or have sexual congress with them, or assist at such acts of delinquency, sink in hell. They who rob others of their wealth or destroy the wealth and possessions of other people, or proclaim the faults of other people, sink in hell. They who destroy the containers of such pieces of water as are used by cattle for quenching thirst, as injure such buildings as are used for purposes of public meetings, as break down bridges and causeways, and as pull down houses used for purposes of habitation, have to sink to hell. They who beguile and cheat helpless women, or girls, or aged dames, or such women as have been frightened, have to sink to hell. They who destroy the means of other people's living, they who exterminate the habitations of other people, they who rob others of their spouses, they who sow dissensions among friends, and they who destroy the hopes of other people, sink into hell. They who proclaim the faults of others, they who break down bridges or causeways, they who live by following vocations laid down for other people, and they who are ungrateful to friends for services received, have to sink in hell. They who have no faith in the Vedas and show no reverence for them, they who break the vows made by themselves or oblige others to break them, and they who fall away from their status through sin, sink in hell. They who betake themselves to improper conduct, they who take exorbitant rates of interest, and they who make unduly large profits on sales, have to sink in hell. They who are given to gambling, they who indulge in wicked acts without any scruple, and they who are given to slaughter of living creatures, have to sink in hell. They who cause the dismissal by masters of servants that are hoping for rewards or are expectant of definite need or are in the enjoyment of wages or salaries or are waiting for returns in respect of valuable services already rendered, have to sink in hell. They who themselves eat without offering portions thereof unto their spouse or their sacred fires or their servants or their guests, and they who abstain from performing the rites laid down in the scriptures for honouring the Pitris and deities, have to sink in hell. They who sell the Vedas, they who find fault with the Vedas, and they who reduce the Vedas into writing, have all to sink in hell. [By selling the Vedas is meant the charging of fees for teaching them. As regards the Vedas, the injunction in the scriptures is to commit them to memory and impart them from mouth to mouth. Hence to reduce them into writing was regarded as a transgression.] They who are out of the pale of the four well-known modes of life, they who betake themselves to practices interdicted by the Srutis and the scriptures, and they who live by betaking themselves to acts that are wicked or sinful or that do not belong to their order of birth, have to sink in hell. They who live by selling hair, they who subsist by selling poisons, and they who live by selling milk, have to sink in hell. They who put obstacles in the path of Brahmanas and kine and maidens, O Yudhishthira, have to sink in hell. They who sell weapons, they who forge weapons, they who make shafts, and they who make bows, have to sink in hell. 'I hey who obstruct paths and roads with stones and thorns and holes have to sink in hell. They who abandon and cast off preceptors and servants and loyal

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followers without any offence, O chief of Bharata's race, have to sink in hell. They who set bullocks to work before the animals attain to sufficient age, they who bore the noses of bullocks and other animals for controlling them the better while employed in work, and they who keep animals always tethered, have to sink in hell. Those kings that do not protect their subjects while forcibly taking from them a sixth share of the produce of their fields, and they who, though able and possessed of resources, abstain from making gifts, have to sink in hell. They who abandon and cast off persons that are endued with forgiveness and self-restraint and wisdom, or those with whom they have associated for many years, when these are no longer of services to them, have to sink in hell. Those men who themselves eat without giving portions of the food to children and aged men and servants, have to sink in hell.'

"'All these men enumerated above have to go to hell. Listen now to me, O bull of Bharata's race, as I tell thee who those men are that ascend to heaven. The man who transgresses against a Brahmana by impeding the performances of all such acts in which the deities are adored, becomes afflicted with the loss of all his children and animals. (They who do not transgress against Brahmanas by obstructing their religious acts ascend to heaven). Those men, O Yudhishthira, who follow the duties as laid down in the scriptures for them and practise the virtues of charity and self-restraint and truthfulness, ascend to heaven. Those men who having acquired knowledge by rendering obedient services to their preceptors and observing austere penances, become reluctant to accept gifts, succeed in ascending to heaven. Those men through whom other people are relieved and rescued from fear and sin and the impediments that lie in the way of what they wish to accomplish and poverty and the afflictions of disease, succeed in ascending to heaven. Those men who are endued with a forgiving disposition, who are possessed of patience, who are prompt in performing all righteous acts, and who are of auspicious conduct, succeed in ascending to heaven. Those men who abstain from honey and meat, who abstain from sexual congress with the spouses of other people, and who abstain from wines and spirituous liquors, succeed in ascending to heaven. Those men that help in the establishment of retreats for ascetics, who become founders of families, O Bharata, who open up new countries for purposes of habitation, and lay out towns and cities succeed in ascending to heaven. Those men who give away cloths and ornaments, as also food and drink, and who help in marrying others, succeed in ascending to heaven. [In this country to this day (1880s and 1890s), the act of marrying a helpless person with a good girl by paying all the expenses of the marriage, is regarded as an act of righteousness. Of course, the man that is so married is also given sufficient property for enabling him to maintain himself and his wife.] Those men that have abstained from all kinds of injury or harm to all creatures, who are capable of enduring everything, and who have made themselves the refuge of all creatures, succeed in ascending to heaven. Those men who wait with humility upon their fathers and mothers, who have subjugated their senses, and who are affectionate towards their brothers, succeed in ascending to heaven. Those men that subjugate their senses notwithstanding the fact of their being rich in worldly goods and strong in might and in the enjoyment of youth, succeed in ascending to heaven. Those men that are kind towards even those that offend against them, that are mild of disposition, that have an affection for all who are of mild behaviour, and that contribute to the happiness of others by rendering them every kind of service in humility, succeed in ascending to heaven. Those men that protect thousands of people, that make gifts unto thousands of people, and that rescue thousands of people from distress, succeed in ascending to heaven. Those men who make gifts of gold and of kine, O chief of Bharata's race, as also those of conveyances and animals, succeed in ascending to heaven. Those men who make gifts of such articles as are needed in marriages, as also those of serving men and maids, and cloths and robes, succeed in ascending to heaven [Articles needed in marriages are, of course, girls and ornaments.]. Those men who make public pleasure-houses and gardens and wells, resting houses and buildings for public meetings and tanks for enabling cattle and men to quench their thirst, and fields for cultivation, O Bharata, succeed in ascending to heaven. [Vapra has various meanings. I think, it means here a field. Large waste lands often require to be enclosed with ditches and causeways. Unless so reclaimed, they cannot be fit for cultivation.] Those men who make gifts of houses and fields and populated villages unto persons that solicit them, succeed in ascending to heaven. Those men who having themselves manufactured juicy drinks of sweet taste and seeds and paddy or rice, make gifts of them unto others succeed in ascending to heaven. Those men who being born in families high or low beget hundreds of children and live long lives practising compassion and keeping wrath under complete subjection, succeed in ascending to heaven. I have thus expounded to thee, O Bharata, what the rites are in honour of the deities and the Pitris which are performed by people for the sake of the other world, what the ordinances are in respect of making gifts, and what the views are of the Rishis of former times in respect of both the articles of gift and the manner of giving them.'"

SECTION 24

"Yudhishthira said, 'O royal son of Bharata's race, it behoveth thee to answer this question of mine truly and in detail. What are those circumstances under which a person may become guilty of Brahmanicide without actually slaying a Brahmana!'

"Bhishma said, 'Formerly, O monarch, I had one day requested Vyasa to explain to me this very subject. I shall now narrate to thee what Vyasa told me on that occasion. Do thou listen to it with undivided attention. Repairing to the presence of Vyasa, I addressed him, saying,--Thou, O great ascetic, art the fourth in descent from Vasishtha. Do thou explain to me this. What are those circumstances under which one becomes guilty of Brahmanicide without actually slaying a Brahmana,--Thus addressed by me, the son of Parasara's loins, O king, well-skilled 'n the science of morality, made me the following answer, at once excellent and fraught with certainty, Thou shouldst know that man as guilty of Brahmanicide who having of his own will invited a Brahmana of righteous conduct to his house for giving him alms subsequently refuses to give anything to him on the pretence of there being nothing in the house. Thou shouldst, O Bharata, know that man as guilty of Brahmanicide who destroys the means of living of a Brahmana learned in the Vedas and all their branches, and who is freed from attachments to worldly creatures and goods. Thou shouldst, O king, know that man to be guilty of Brahmanicide, who causes obstructions in the way of thirsty kine while employed in quenching that thirst. Thou shouldst take that man as guilty of Brahmanicide who, without studying the Srutis that have flowed from preceptor to pupil for ages and ages together, finds fault with the Srutis or with those scriptures that have been composed by the Rishis. Thou shouldst know that man as guilty of Brahmanicide who does not bestow upon a suitable bride-groom his daughter possessed of beauty and other excellent accomplishments. Thou shouldst know that foolish and sinful person to be guilty of Brahmanicide who inflicts such grief upon Brahmanas as afflict the very core of their hearts. Thou shouldst know that man to be guilty of Brahmanicide who robs the blind, the lame, and idiots of their all. Thou shouldst know that man to be guilty of Brahmanicide who sets fire to the retreats of ascetics or to woods or to a village or a town.'"

SECTION 25

"Yudhishthira said, 'It has been said that sojourns to sacred waters as fraught with merit; that ablutions in such waters is meritorious; and that listening to the excellence of such waters is also meritorious. I desire to hear thee expatiate on this subject, O grandsire. It behoveth thee, O chief of Bharata's race, to mention to me the sacred waters that exist on this earth. I desire, O thou of great puissance, to hear thee discourse on this topic.'

"Bhishma said, 'O thou of great splendour, the following enumeration of the sacred waters on the Earth was made by Angiras. Blessed be thou, it behoveth thee to listen to it for thou shalt then earn great merit. Once on a time, Gautama of rigid vows, approaching the great and learned Rishi Angiras endued with tranquillity of soul, while he was dwelling in a forest, questioned him, saying,--O illustrious one, I have some doubts regarding the merits attaching to sacred waters and shrines. So I desire to hear thee discourse on that topic. Do thou, therefore, O ascetic, discourse to me. What merits are earned by a person in respect of the next world, by bathing in the sacred waters on the Earth, O thou of great wisdom? Do thou expound to me this truly and according to the ordinance.'

"Angiras said, 'A person by bathing for seven days in succession in the Chandrabhaga or the Vitasta whose waters are always seen to dance in waves, observing a fast the while, is sure to become cleansed of all his sins and endued with the merit of an ascetic. [The river Chenab in the Punjab was known in former times by the name of Chandrabhaga. So the river Jhelum was known by the name of Vitasta.] The very many rivers that flowing through Kasmira, fall into the great river called Sindhu (Indus). By bathing in these rivers one is sure to become endued with good character and to ascend to heaven after departing from this world. By bathing in Pushkara, and Prabhasa, and Naimisha, and the ocean, and Devika, and Indramarga, and Swarnavindu, one is sure to ascend to heaven being seated on a celestial car, and filled with transports of joy at the adorations of Apsara. By plunging in the waters of Hiranyavindu with a concentrated mind and reverencing that sacred stream, and bathing next at Kusesaya and Devendra, one becomes cleansed of all one's sins. Repairing to Indratoya in the vicinity of the mountains of Gandhamadana and next to Karatoya in the country called Kuranga, one should observe a fast for three days and then bathe in those sacred waters with a concentrated heart and pure body. By doing this, one is sure to acquire the merit of a Horse-sacrifice. Bathing in Gangadwara and Kusavarta and Vilwaka in the Nita mountains, as also in Kankhala, one is sure to become cleansed of all one's sins and then ascend to heaven. If one becomes a Brahmacharin and subdues one's wrath, devotes oneself to truth and practises compassion towards all creatures, and then bathes in the Jala parda (Lake of Waters), one is sure to acquire the merit of a Horse-sacrifice. That part where Bhagirathi-Ganga flows in a northward direction is known as the union of heaven, earth, and the nether regions. Observing a fast for one month and bathing in that sacred Tirtha which is known to be acceptable to Maheswara, one becomes competent to behold the deities. One who gives oblations of water unto one's Pitris at Saptaganga and Triganga and Indramarga, obtains ambrosia for food, if one has still to undergo rebirth. The man who in a pure state of body and mind attends to his daily Agnihotra and observes a fast for one month and then baths in Mahasrama, is sure to attain success in one month. By bathing, after a fast of three days and purifying the mind of all evil passions, in the large lake of Bhrigu Kunda, one becomes cleansed of even the sin of Brahmanicide. By bathing in Kanyakupa and performing one's ablutions in Valaka, one acquires great fame among even the deities and shines in glory. Bathing in Devika and the lake known by the name of Sundarika as also in the Tirtha called Aswini, one acquires, in one's next life, great beauty of form. By fasting for a fortnight and bathing in Mahaganga and Krittikangaraka, one becomes cleansed of all one's sins and ascends to heaven. Bathing in Vaimanika and Kinkinika, one acquires the power of repairing everywhere at will and becomes an object of great respect in the celestial region of the Apsaras. If a person, subduing his wrath and observing the vow of Brahmacharyya for three days, bathes in the river Vipasa at the retreat called Kalika, he is sure to succeed in transcending the obligation of rebirth. Bathing in the asylum that is sacred to the Krittakas and offering oblations of water to the Pitris, and then gratifying Mahadeva, one becomes pure in body and mind and ascends to heaven. If one, observing a fast for three days with a purified body and mind, bathes in Mahapura, one becomes freed from the fear of all mobile and immobile animals as also of all animals having two feet. By bathing in the Devadaru forest and offering oblations of water to the Pitris and dwelling there for seven nights with a pure body and mind, one attains to the region of the deities on departing from this world. Bathing in the waterfalls at Sarastamva and Kusastambha and Dronasarmapada, one is sure to attain to the region of the Apsaras where one is waited upon with dutiful services by those superhuman beings. If one, observing a fast, bathes at Chitrakuta and Janasthana and the waters of Mandakini, one is sure to be united with prosperity that is royal [i.e., one acquires sovereignty.]. By repairing to the retreat that is known by the name of Samya and residing there for a fortnight and bathing in the sacred water that exists there, one acquires the power of disappearing at will (and enjoy the happiness that has been ordained for the Gandharvas). Repairing to the tirtha known by the name of Kausiki and residing there with a pure heart and abstaining from all food and drink for three days, one acquires the power of dwelling (in one's next life) in the happy region of the Gandharvas. Bathing in the delightful tirtha that goes by the name of Gandhataraka and residing there for one month, abstaining all the while from food and drink, one acquires the power of disappearing at pleasure and, then one and twenty days, of ascending to heaven. He that bathes in the lake known by the name of Matanga is sure to attain to success in one night. He that bathes in Analamva or in eternal Andhaka, or in Naimisha, or the tirtha called Swarga, and offers oblations of water to the Pitris, subduing his senses the while, acquires the Merit of a human sacrifice. Bathing in Ganga hrada and the tirtha known by the name of Utpalavana and daily offering oblations of water there for a full month to the Pitris, one acquires the merit of a Horse-sacrifice. Bathing in the confluence of the Ganga and the Yamuna as also at the tirtha in the Kalanjara mountains and offering every day oblations of water to the Pitris for a full month, one acquires the merit that attaches to ten Horse-sacrifices. Bathing in the Shashthi lake one acquires merit much greater than what is attached to the gift of food. Ten thousand tirthas and thirsty millions of other tirthas come to Prayaga (the confluence of Ganga and Yamuna), O chief of Bharata's race in the month of Magha. He who bathes in Prayaga, with a restrained soul and observing rigid vows the while, in the month of Magha, becomes cleansed of all his sins, O chief of Bharata's race, and attains to heaven. Bathing in the tirtha that is sacred to the Maruts, as also in that which is situate in the retreat of the Pitris, and also in that which is known by the name of Vaivaswata, one becomes cleansed of all one's sins and becomes as pure and sanctified as a tirtha. Repairing to Brahmasaras as also to the Bhagirathi and bathing there and offering oblations to the Pitris every day for a full month, abstaining from food all the while, one is sure to attain to the region of Soma, Bathing in Utpataka and then in Ashtavakra and offering oblations of water to the Pitris every day for twelve days in succession, abstaining the while from food, one

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acquires the merits of a Horse-sacrifice. Bathing in Asmaprishtha and Niravinda mountains and Kraunchapadi,--all three in Gaya--one becomes cleansed of the sin of Brahmanicide. A bath in the first place cleanses one of a single Brahmanicide; a bath in the second cleanses one of two offences of that character; and a bath in the third cleanses one of three such offences. Bathing in Kalavinga, one acquires a large quantity of water (for use in the next world). A man, by bathing in the city of Agni, acquires such merit as entitles him to live during his next birth in the city of Agni's daughter. Bathing in Visala in Karavirapura and offering oblations of water unto one's Pitris, and performing one's ablutions in Devahrada too, one becomes identified with Brahma and shines in glory as such. Bathing in Punaravarta-nanda as also Mahananda, a man of restrained senses and universal compassion repairs to the celestial gardens called Nandana of Indra and is waited upon there by Apsaras of diverse tribes. Bathing with concentrated soul in the tirtha that is called after the name of Urvasi and that is situate in the river Lohitya, on the day of full moon of the month of Kartika, one attains to the merits that attach to the sacrifice called Pundarika. Bathing in Ramahrada and offering oblations of water to the Pitris in the river Vipasa (Beas), and observing a fast for twelve days, one becomes cleansed of all sins. Bathing in the tirtha called Maha-hrada with a purified heart and after observing a fast for one month, one is sure to attain to the end which was the sage Jamadagni's. By exposing oneself to heat in the tirtha called Vindhya, a person devoted to truth and endued with compassion for all creatures should then betake himself to austere penances, actuated by humility. By so doing, he is sure to attain to ascetic success in course of a single month. Bathing in the Narmada as also in the tirtha known by the name of Surparaka, observing a fast for a full fortnight, one is sure to become in one's next birth a prince of the royal line. If one proceeds with restrained senses and a concentrated soul to the tirtha known under the name of Jamvumarga, one is sure to attain to success in course of a single day and night. By repairing to Chandalikasrama and bathing in the tirtha called Kokamukha, having subsisted for sometime on potherbs alone and worn rags for vestments, one is sure to obtain ten maidens of great beauty for one's spouses. One who lives by the side of the tirtha known by the name of Kanya-hrada has never to go to the regions of Yama. Such a person is sure to ascend to the regions of felicity that belong to the celestials. One who bathes with restrained senses on the day of the new moon in the tirtha known by the name of Prabhasa, is sure, O thou of mighty arms, of at once attaining to success and immortality. Bathing in the tirtha known by the name of Ujjanaka which occurs in the retreat of Arshtisena's son, and next in the tirtha that is situate in the retreat of Pinga, one is sure to be cleansed of all one's sins. Observing a fast for three days and bathing in the tirtha known as Kulya and reciting the sacred mantras that go by the name of Aghamarshana, one attains the merit of a horse-sacrifice. Observing a fast for one night and bathing in Pindaraka, one becomes purified on the dawn of the next day and attains to the merit of an Agnishtoma sacrifice. One who repairs to Brahmasara which is adorned by the woods called Dharmaranya, becomes cleansed of all one's sins and attains to the merit of the Pundarika sacrifice. Bathing in the waters of the Mainaka mountain and saying one's morning and evening prayers there and living at the spot for a month, restraining desire, one attains to the merit of all the sacrifices. Setting out for Kalolaka and Nandikunda and Uttara-manasa, and reaching a spot that is hundred yojanas remote from any of them, one becomes cleansed of the sin of foeticide, One who succeeds in obtaining a sight of image of Nandiswara, becomes cleansed of all sins. Bathing in the tirtha called Swargamarga one is sure to proceed to the regions of Brahman. The celebrated Himavat is sacred. That prince of mountains is the father-in-law of Sankara. He is a mine of all jewels and gems and is the resort of the Siddhas and Charanas. That regenerate person who is fully conversant with the Vedas and who, regarding this life to be exceedingly unstable, casts off his body on those mountains, abstaining from all food and drink in accordance with the rites laid down in the scriptures, after having adored the deities and bent his head in worship of the ascetics, is sure to attain to success and proceed to the eternal regions of Brahman. There is nothing unattainable to him who resides in a tirtha, restraining lust and subjugating wrath, in consequence of such residence. For the purpose of repairing to all the tirthas in the world, one should mentally think of those amongst them that are almost inaccessible or sojourns to which are attended with insurmountable difficulties. Sojourns to tirthas is productive of the merits of sacrifices. They are competent to cleanse everybody of sin. Fraught with great excellence, they are capable of leading to heaven. The subject is truly a great mystery. The very deities should bathe in tirthas. To them also they are sin-cleansing. This discourse on tirthas should be imparted to Brahmanas, and to such honest or righteous persons as are bent upon achieving what is for their own good. It should also be recited in the hearing of one's well-wishers and friends and of one's obedient and devoted disciples. Angiras possessed of great ascetic merit, had imparted this discourse to Gautama. Angiras himself had obtained it from Kasyapa of great intelligence. The great Rishi regard this discourse as worthy of constant repetition. It is the foremost of all cleansing things. If one recites it regularly every day, one is sure to become cleansed of every sin and to proceed to heaven after the termination of this life. One who listens to this discourse recited in his hearing,--this discourse, viz., of Angiras, that is regarded as a mystery,--is sure to attain in one's next life to be born in a good family and, what is more, one would become endued with the memory of one's previous existence.'"

SECTION 26

"Vaisampayana said,--'Equal unto Vrihaspati in intelligence and Brahma himself in forgiveness, resembling Sakra in prowess and Surya in energy, Bhishma the son of Ganga, of infinite might, had been overthrown in battle by Arjuna. Accompanied by his brothers and many other people, king Yudhisthira asked him these questions. The old hero was lying on a bed that is coveted by heroes, in expectation of that auspicious time when he could take leave of the physical frame. Many great Rishis had come there for seeing that foremost one of Bharata's race. Amongst them were Atri and Vasishtha and Bhrigu and Pulastya and Pulaha and Kratu. There were also Angiras and Gotama and Agastya and Sumati of well-restrained soul, and Viswamitra and Sthulasiras and Samvarta and Pramati and Dama. There were also Vrihaspati and Usanas, and Vyasa and Chyavana and Kasyapa and Dhruva, and Durvasas and Jamadagni and Markandeya and Galava, and Bharadwaja and Raibhya and Yavakrita and Trita. There were Sthulaksha and Savalaksha and Kanwa and Medhatithi and Krisa and Narada and Parvata and Sudhanwa and Ekata and Dwita. There were also Nitambhu and Bhuvana and Dhaumya and Satananda and Akritavrana and Rama, the son of Jamadagni and Kacha. All these high-souled and great Rishis came there for seeing Bhishma lying on his bed of arrows. Yudhishthira with his brothers duly worshipped those high-souled Rishis who had come there, one after another in proper order. Receiving that worship, those foremost of Rishis sat themselves down and began to converse with one another. Their conversation related to Bhishma, and was highly sweet and agreeable to all the senses. Hearing that talk of theirs having reference to himself, Bhishma became filled with delight and regarded himself to be already in heaven. Those Rishis then, having obtained the leave of Bhishma and of the Pandava princes, made themselves invisible, vanishing in the very sight of all the beholders. The Pandavas repeatedly bowed and offered their adorations to those highly blessed Rishis, even after they had made themselves invisible. They then with cheerful souls waited upon the son of Ganga, even as Brahmanas versed in Mantras wait with reverence upon the rising Sun. The Pandavas beheld that the points of the compass blazed forth with splendour in consequence of the energy of their penances, and became filled with wonder at the sight. Thinking of the high blessedness and puissance of those Rishis, the Pandava princes began to converse on the subject with their grandsire Bhishma."

"Vaisampayana continued, 'The conversation being over, the righteous Yudhishthira, the son of Pandu; touched Bhishma's feet with his head and then resumed his questions relating to morality and righteousness.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Which countries, which provinces, which retreats, which mountains, and which rivers, O grandsire, are the foremost in point of sanctity?'

"Bhishma said, "In this connection is cited the old narrative of a conversation between a Brahmana in the observance of the Sila and the Unccha vows, O Yudhishthira, and a Rishi crowned with ascetic success. Once on a time, a foremost person, having roamed over this entire earth adorned with mountains, arrived at last in the house of a foremost person leading the domestic mode of life in accordance with the Sila vow. The latter welcomed his guest with due rites. Received with such hospitality, the happy Rishi passed the night happily in the house of his host. The next morning the Brahmana in the observance of the Sila vow, having finished all his morning acts and rites and purified himself duly, very cheerfully approached his guest crowned with ascetic success. Meeting with each other and seated at their ease, the two began to converse on agreeable subjects connected with the Vedas and the Upanishads. Towards the conclusion of the discourse, the Brahmana in the observance of the Sila vow respectfully addressed the Rishi crowned with success. Endued with intelligence, he put this very question which thou, O Yudhisthira, hast put to me.'

"The poor Brahmana said, 'What countries, what provinces, what retreats, what mountains, and what rivers should be regarded as the foremost in point of sanctity? Do thou discourse to me on this.'

"The Rishi crowned with success said, 'Those countries, those provinces, those retreats, and those mountains, should be regarded as the foremost in point of sanctity through which or by the side of which that foremost of all rivers, viz., Bhagirathi flows. That end which a creature is capable of attaining by penances, by Brahmacharyya, by sacrifices, or by practising renunciation, one is sure to attain by only living by the side of the Bhagirathi and bathing in its sacred waters. Those creatures whose bodies have been sprinkled with the sacred waters of Bhagirathi or whose bones have been laid in the channel of that sacred stream, have not to fall away--from heaven at any time. Those men, O learned Brahmana, who use the waters of Bhagirathi in all their acts, surely ascend to heaven after departing from this world. Even those men who, having committed diverse kinds of sinful deeds in the first part of their lives, betake themselves in after years to a residing by the side of Ganga, succeed in attaining to a very superior end. Hundreds of sacrifices cannot produce that merit which men of restrained souls are capable of acquiring by bathing in the sacred waters of Ganga. A person is treated with respect and worshipped in heaven for as long a period as his bones lie in the channel of the Ganga. Even as the Sun, when he rises at the dawn of day, blazes forth in splendour, having dispelled the gloom of night, after the same manner the person that has bathed in the waters of Ganga is seen to shine in splendour, cleansed of all his sins. Those countries and those points of the compass that are destitute of the sacred waters of Ganga are like nights without the moon or like trees without flowers. Verily, a world without Ganga is like the different orders and modes of life when they are destitute of righteousness or like sacrifices without Soma. Without doubt, countries and points of the compass that are without Ganga are like the firmament without the Sun, or the Earth without mountains, or the welkin without air. The entire body of creatures in the three worlds, if served with the auspicious waters of Ganga, derive a pleasure, the like of which they are incapable of deriving from any other source. He who drinks Ganga water that has been heated by the Sun's rays derives merit much greater than that which attaches to the vow of subsisting upon the wheat or grains of other corn picked up from cowdung. It cannot be said whether the two are equal or not, viz., he who performs a thousand Chandrayana rites for purifying his body and he who drinks the water of Ganga. It cannot be said whether the two are equal or not, viz., one who stands for a thousand years on one foot and one who lives for only a month by the side of Ganga. One who lives permanently by the side of Ganga is superior in merit to one who stays for ten thousand Yugas with head hanging downwards. As cotton, when it comes into contact with fire, is burnt off without a remnant, even so the sins of the person that has bathed in Ganga become consumed without a remnant. There is no end superior to Ganga for those creatures who with hearts afflicted by sorrow, seek to attain to ends that may dispel that sorrow of theirs. As snakes become deprived of their poison at the very sight of Garuda, even so one becomes cleansed of all one's sins at the very sight of the sacred stream of Ganga. They that are without good name and that are addicted to deeds of sinfulness, have Ganga for their fame, their protection, their means of rescue, their refuge or cover. Many wretches among men who become afflicted with diverse sins of a heinous nature, when they are about to sink into hell, are rescued by Ganga in the next world (if, notwithstanding their sins, they seek the aid of Ganga in their after-years). They, O foremost of intelligent men, who plunge every day in the sacred waters of Ganga, become the equals of great Munis and the very deities with Vasava at their head. Those wretches among men that are destitute of humility or modesty of behaviour and that are exceedingly sinful, become righteous and good, O Brahmana, by betaking themselves to the side of Ganga. As Amrita is to the deities, as Swadha is to the Pritis, as Sudha is to the Nagas, even so is Ganga water to human beings. As children afflicted with hunger solicit their mothers for food, after the same manner do people desirous of their highest good pay court to Ganga. As the region of the self-born Brahma is said to be the foremost of all places, even so is Ganga said to be foremost of all rivers for those that desire to bathe. As the Earth and the cow are said to be the chief sustenance of the deities and other celestials, even so is Ganga the chief sustenance of all living creatures. [The deities are supported by the offerings made in sacrifices. These offerings consist of the productions of the Earth and the butter produced by the cow. The deities, therefore, are said to be chiefly supported by the Earth and the Cow. The Asuras, by afflicting the Earth and killing kine, used to weaken the deities.] As the deities support themselves upon the Amrita that occurs in the Sun and the Moon and that is offered in diverse sacrifices, even so do human beings support themselves upon Ganga water. One besmeared with the sand taken from the shores of Ganga regards oneself as a denizen of heaven, adorned with celestial unguents. He who bears on his head the mud taken from the banks of Ganga presents an effulgent aspect equal to that of Sun himself bent on dispelling the surrounding darkness. When that wind which is moistened with the particles of Ganga-water touches one's person, it cleanses him immediately of every sin. A person afflicted by calamities and about to sink under their weight, finds all his calamities dispelled by the joy which springs up in his heart at sight of that sacred stream. By the melody of the swans and Kokas and other aquatic fowls that play on her breast, Ganga challenges the very Gandharvas and by her high banks the very mountains on the Earth.

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Beholding her surface teeming with swans and diverse other aquatic fowls, and having banks adorned with pasture lands with kine grazing on them. Heaven herself loses her pride. The high happiness which one enjoys by a residence on the banks of Ganga, can never be his who is residing even in heaven. I have no doubt in this that the person who is afflicted with sins perpetrated in speech and thought and overt act, becomes cleansed at the very sight of Ganga. By holding that sacred stream, touching it, and bathing in its waters, one rescues one's ancestors to the seventh generation, one's descendants to the seventh generation, as also other ancestors and descendant. By hearing of Ganga, by wishing to repair to that river, by drinking its waters, by touching its waters, and by bathing in them a person rescues both his paternal and maternal races. By seeing, touching, and drinking the waters of Ganga, or even by applauding Ganga, hundreds and thousands of sinful men became cleansed of all their sins. They who wish to make their birth, life and learning fruitful, should repair to Ganga and gratify the Pitris and the deities by offering them oblations of water. The merit that one earns by bathing in Ganga is such that the like of it is incapable of being earned through the acquisition of sons or wealth or the performance of meritorious acts. Those who, although possessed of the physical ability, do not seek to have a sight of the auspicious Ganga of sacred current, are, without doubt, to be likened to persons afflicted with congenital blindness or those that are dead or those that are destitute of the power of locomotion through palsy or lameness. What man is there that would not reverence this sacred stream that is adored by great Rishis conversant with the Present, the Past, and the Future, as also by the very deities with Indra at their head. What man is there that would not seek the protection of Ganga whose protection is sought for by forest recluses and householders, and by Yatis and Brahmacharins alike? The man of righteous conduct who, with rapt soul, thinks of Ganga at the time when his life-breaths are about to leave his body, succeeds in attaining to the highest end. That man who dwells by the side of Ganga up to the time of his death, adoring her with reverence, becomes freed from the fear of every kind of calamity, of sin, and of kings. When that highly sacred stream fell from the firmament. Maheswara held it on his head. It is that very stream which is adored in heaven. [The river Ganga has three courses. On Earth it is called Bhagirathi or Ganga; in heaven it is called Mandakini; and in the nether regions it is known by the name of Bhogabati.] The three regions, viz., (Earth, Heaven, and the nether place called Patala) are adorned by the three courses of this sacred stream. The man who uses the waters of that stream becomes certainly crowned with success. As the solar ray is to the deities in heaven, as Chandramas is to the Pitris, as the king is to human beings, even such is Ganga unto all streams. [Devesh is lit. the lord of the deities; but here it means the King or Emperor.] One who becomes bereaved of mother or father or sons or spouses or wealth does not fell that grief which becomes one's, when one becomes bereaved of Ganga. One does not obtain that joy through acts that lead to the region of Brahma, or through such sacrifices and rites that lead to heaven, or through children or wealth, which one obtain from a sight of Ganga. The pleasures that men derive from a sight of Ganga is equal to what they derive from a sight of the full moon. That man becomes dear to Ganga who adores her with deep devotion, with mind wholly fixed upon her, with a reverence that refuses to take any other object within its sphere, with a feeling that there is nothing else to the universe worthy of similar adoration, and with a steadiness that knows no failing away. Creatures that live on Earth, in the welkin, or in Heaven, indeed, even beings that are very superior,--should always bathe in Ganga. Verily, this is the foremost of all duties with those that are righteous. The fame of Ganga for sanctity has spread over the entire universe, since she bore all the sons of Sagara, who had been reduced to ashes, from here to Heaven. [The story referred to is this: King Sagara of the solar race* had sixty thousand sons, all of whom were reduced to ashes by the curse of Kapila. [* In Indian epics, the Solar dynasty or the Ikshvaku dynasty was founded by the legendary king Ikshvaku. The dynasty is also known as Suryavamsa ("Solar dynasty" or "Descendants of the Sun"). According to the book Harivamsa, Ikshvaku is considered the primogenitor of the dynasty of, and was granted the kingdom of Aryavarta by his father Vaivasvata Manu. The following personalities are claimed to be members of the Solar Dynasty: Rama, Pasenadi, Mandhatri, Muchukunda, Ambarisha, Bharata Chakravartin, Bahubali, Harishchandra, Dilīpa, Sagara, Raghu, Siddhartha (father of Mahavira), Mahavira, also known as Vardhamana, c. 540-468 BC, (founder of Jainism; traditionally: c. 599-527 BC), Shuddodhana (father of Gautama Buddha), Siddhartha Gautama Buddha, also known as Shakyamuni, c. 480-400 BC (founder of Buddhism; traditionally: c.563-483 BC), and his son Rahula.] Afterwards Bhagiratha, a prince of the same race, brought down Ganga from heaven for their redemption.] Men who are washed by the bright, beautiful, high, and rapidly moving waves, raised by the wind, of Ganga, became cleansed of all their sins and resemble in splendour the Sun with his thousand rays. Those men of tranquil souls that have cast off their bodies in the waters of Ganga whose sanctity is as great as that of the butter and other liquids poured in sacrifices and which are capable of conferring merits equal to those of the greatest of sacrifices, have certainly attained to a station equal to that of the very deities. Verily, Ganga, possessed of fame and vast extent and identical with the entire universe and reverenced by the deities with Indra at their head, the Munis and human beings, is competent to bestow the fruition of all their wishes upon them that are blind, them that are idiots, and them that are destitute of all things. [Identical with the universe because capable of conferring the fruition of every wish. Vrihati--literally, large or vast, is explained by the commentator as implying foremost or superior.] They that sought the refuge of Ganga, that protectress of all the universe, that flows in three streams, that is filled with water at once highly sacred and sweet as honey and productive of every kind of good, have succeeded in attaining to the beatitude of Heaven. That mortal who dwells by the side of Ganga and beholds her every day, becomes cleansed by her sight and touch. Unto him the deities give every kind of happiness here and a high end hereafter. Ganga is regarded as competent to rescue every creature from sin and lead him to the felicity of Heaven. She is held to be identical with Prisni, the mother of Vishnu. She is identical with the Word or Speech. She is very remote, being incapable of easy attainment. She is the embodiment of auspiciousness and prosperity. She is capable of bestowing the six well-known attributes beginning with lordship or puissance. She is always inclined to extend her grace. She is the displayer of all things in the universe, and she is the high refuge of all creatures. Those who have sought her protection in this life have surely attained heaven. The fame of Ganga has spread all over the welkin, and Heaven, and Earth, and all the points, cardinal and subsidiary, of the compass. Mortal creatures, by using the waters of that foremost of streams, always become crowned with high success. That person who himself beholding Ganga, points her out to others, finds that Ganga rescues him from rebirth and confers Emancipation on him. Ganga held Guha, the generalissimo of the celestial forces, in her womb. She bears the most precious of all metals, viz., gold, also in that womb of hers. They who bathe in her waters every day in the morning, succeed in obtaining the aggregate of three, viz., Righteousness, Wealth and Pleasure. Those waters are, again, equal in point of sanctity to the butter that is poured with Mantras on the sacrificial fire. Capable of cleansing one from every sin, she has descended from the celestial region, and her current is held in high esteem by every one. Ganga is the daughter of Himavat, the spouse of Hara, and the ornament of both Heaven and Earth. She is the bestower of everything auspicious, and is competent to confer the six well-known attributes beginning with lordship or puissance. Verily O king, Ganga is the one object of great sanctity in the three worlds and confers merit upon all. Truly, O monarch, Ganga is Righteousness in liquefied form. She is energy also running in a liquid form over the Earth. She is endued with the splendour or puissance that belongs to the butter that is poured with Mantras on the sacrificial fire. She is always adorned with large waves as also with Brahmanas who may at all times be seen performing their ablutions in her waters. Falling from Heaven, she was held by Siva on his head. The very mother of the heavens, she has sprung from the highest mountain for running over the plains and conferring the most precious benefits on all creatures of the Earth. She is the highest cause of all things; she is perfectly stainless. She is as subtile as Brahma. She affords the best bed for the dying. She leads creatures very quickly to heaven. She bears away a large volume of water. She bestows great fame on all. She is the protectress of the universe. She is identical with every form. She is very much coveted by persons crowned with success. Verily, Ganga is the path to Heaven of those that have bathed in her current. The Brahmanas hold Ganga as equalling the Earth in forgiveness, and in the protection and upholding of those that live by her; further, as equalling Fire and Surya in energy and splendour; and, lastly, as always equalling Guha himself in the matter of showing favours unto the regenerate class. Those men who, in this life, even mentally seek with their whole souls that sacred stream which is praised by the Rishis, which has issued out of the feet of Vishnu, which is very ancient, and which is exceedingly sacred, succeed in repairing to the regions of Brahman. Fully convinced that children and other possessions, as also regions possessed by every kind of felicity, are transitory or liable to destruction, men of subdued souls, who are desirous of attaining to that everlasting station which is identical with Brahma, always pay their adorations to Ganga with that reverence and love which are due from a son to mother. The men of cleansed soul who is desirous of achieving success should seek the protection of Ganga who is like a cow that yields Amrita instead of ordinary milk, who is prosperity's self, who is possessed of omniscience, who exists for the entire universe of creatures, who is the source of all kinds of food, who is the mother of all mountains, who is the refuge of all righteous persons, who is immeasurable in puissance and energy, and who charms the heart of Brahma himself. Having, with austere penances, gratified all the deities with the Supreme Lord (Vishnu), Bhagiratha brought Ganga down on the Earth. Repairing unto her, men always succeed in freeing themselves from every kind of fear both here and hereafter. Observing with the aid of intelligence, I have mentioned to thee only a small part of the merits of Ganga. My power, however, is inadequate to speak of all the merits of the sacred river, or, indeed, to measure her puissance and sanctity. One may, by putting forth one's best powers, count the stones that occur in the mountains of Meru or measure the waters that occur in the ocean, but one cannot count all the merits which belong to the waters of Ganga. Hence, having listened to these particular merits of Ganga which I have uttered with great devotion, one should, in thought, word and deed, reverence them with faith and devotion. In consequence of thy having listened to those merits which I have recited, thou art sure to fill all the three regions with fame and attain to a measure of success that is very large and that is difficult of being attained to by any other person. Verily, thou shalt, soon after that, sport in joy many a region of great felicity created by Ganga herself for those that reverence her. Ganga always extends her grace unto those that are devoted to her with humbleness of heart. She unites those that are so devoted to her with every kind of happiness. I pray that the highly-blessed Ganga may always inspire thy heart and mine with such attributes as are fraught with righteousness'.

"Bhishma continued, 'The learned ascetic endued with high intelligence and great illumination, and crowned with success, having in this manner discoursed unto that poor Brahmana in the observance of the Sila vow, on the subjects of the infinite merits of Ganga, then ascended the firmament. The Brahmana in the observance of Sila vow, awakened by the words of that ascetic crowned with success, duly worshipped Ganga and attained to high success. Do thou also, O son of Kunti, seek Ganga with great devotion, for thou shalt then, as the reward thereof, attain to high and excellent success.

"Vaisampayana continued 'Hearing this discourse from Bhishma that was fraught with the praise of Ganga, Yudhishthira with his brothers became filled with great delight. That person who recites or hears recited this sacred discourse fraught with the praise of Ganga, becomes cleansed of every sin.'"

SECTION 27

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou O grandsire, art endued with wisdom and knowledge of the scriptures, with conduct and behaviour, with diverse kinds of excellent attributes, and also with years. Thou art distinguished above others by intelligence and wisdom and penances. I shall, therefore, O thou that art the foremost of all righteous men, desire to address enquiries to thee respecting Righteousness. There is not another man, O king, in all the worlds, who is worthier of being questioned on such subjects. O best of kings, how may one, if he happens to be a Kshatriya or a Vaisya or a Sudra, succeed in acquiring the status of a Brahmana? It behoveth thee to tell me the means. Is it by penances the most austere, or by religious acts, or by knowledge of the scriptures, that a person belonging to any of the three inferior orders succeeds in acquiring the status of a Brahmana? Do tell me this, O grandsire!'

"Bhishma said, 'The status of a Brahmana, O Yudhishthira, is incapable of acquisition by a person belonging to any of the three other orders. That status is the highest with respect to all creatures. Travelling through innumerable orders of existence, by undergoing repeated births, one at last, in some birth, becomes born as a Brahmana. In this connection is cited an old history, O Yudhishthira, of a conversation between Matanga and a she-ass. Once on a time a Brahmana obtained a son who, though procreated by a person belonging to a different order, had, however, the rites of infancy and youth performed in pursuance of the ordinances laid down for Brahmanas. The child was called by the name of Matanga and was possessed of every accomplishment. His father, desiring to perform a sacrifice, ordered him, O scorcher of foes, to collect the articles required for the act. Having received the command of his father, he set out for the purpose, riding on a car of great speed, drawn by an ass. It so happened that the ass yoked unto that car was of tender years. Instead therefore, of obeying the reins, the animal bore away the car to the vicinity of its dam, viz., the she-ass that had brought it forth. Matanga, dissatisfied with this, began to strike repeatedly the animal with his goad on its nose. Beholding those marks of violence on her child's nose, the she-ass, full of affection for him, said--Do not grieve, O child, for his treatment. A chandala it is that is driving thee. There is no severity in a Brahmana. The Brahmana is said to be the friend of all creatures. He is the teacher also of all creatures and their ruler. Can he chastise any creature so cruelly? This fellow, however, is of sinful deeds. He hath no compassion to show unto even a creature of such tender years as thou. He is simply proving the order of his birth by conducting himself in this way. The nature which he hath derived from his sire forbids the rise of those sentiments of pity and kindness that are natural to the Brahmana. Hearing these harsh words of the she-ass, Matanga

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quickly, came down from the car and addressing the she-ass, said,--Tell me, O blessed dame, by what fault is my mother stained? How dost thou know that I am a Chandala? Do thou answer me without delay. How, indeed, dost thou know that I am a Chandala? How has my status as a Brahmana been lost? O thou of great wisdom, tell me all this in detail, from beginning to end.'

"The she-ass said, Begotten thou wert, upon a Brahmana woman excited with desire, by a Sudra following the profession of a barber. Thou art, therefore, a Chandala by birth. The status of Brahmana thou hast not at all.'

"Brahmana continued, 'Thus addressed by the she-ass, Matanga retraced his way homewards. Seeing him return, his father said,--I had employed thee in the difficult task of gathering the requisites of my intended sacrifice. Why hast thou come back without having accomplished thy charge? Is it the case that all is not right with thee?

"Matanga said, 'How can he who belongs to no definite order of birth, or to an order that is very low be regarded as all right and happy? How, O father, can that person be happy whose mother is stained? O father, this she-ass, who seems to be more than a human being, tells me that I have been begotten upon a Brahmani woman by a Sudra. I shall, for this reason, undergo the severest penances.--Having said these words to his father, and firmly resolved upon what he had said he proceeded to the great forest and began to undergo the austerest of penances. Setting himself to the performance of those penances for the purpose of happily acquiring the status of a Brahmana, Matanga began to scorch the very deities by the severity of his asceticism. Unto him thus engaged in penances, the chief of the celestials, viz., Indra, appeared and said,--Why, O Matanga, dost thou pass thy time in such grief, abstaining from all kinds of human enjoyments? I shall give thee boons. Do thou name the boons thou desirest. Do not delay, but tell me what is in thy breast. Even if that be unattainable, I shall yet bestow it on thee.'

"Matanga said, 'Desirous of attaining to the status of Brahmana I have begun to practise these penances. After having obtained it, I shall go home. Even this is the boon solicited by me.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Hearing these words of his, Purandara said unto him. The status of a Brahmana, O Matanga, which thou desirest to acquire is really unattainable by thee. It is true, thou desirest to acquire it, but then it is incapable of acquisition by persons begotten on uncleansed souls. O thou of foolish understanding, thou art sure to meet with destruction if thou persistest in this pursuit. Desist, therefore, from this vain endeavour without any delay. This object of thy desire, viz., the status of a Brahmana, which is the foremost of everything, is incapable of being won by penances. Therefore, by coveting that foremost status, thou wilt incur sure destruction. One born as a Chandala can never attain to that status which is regarded as the most sacred among the deities and Asuras and human beings!'"

SECTION 28

"Bhishma said, 'Thus addressed by Indra, Matanga of restrained vows and well regulated soul, (without hearkening to the counsels of the chief of the celestials), stood for a hundred years on one foot, O thou of unfading glory. Sakra of great fame once more appeared before him and addressing him, said,--The status of a Brahmana, O child, is unattainable. Although thou covetest it, it is impossible for thee to obtain it. O Matanga, by coveting that very high status thou art sure to be destroyed. Do not, O son, betray such rashness. This cannot be a righteous path for thee to follow. O thou of foolish understanding, it is impossible for thee to obtain it in this world. Verily, by coveting that which is unattainable, thou art sure to meet with destruction in no time. I am repeatedly forbidding thee. By striving, however, to attain that high status by the aid of thy penances, notwithstanding my repeated admonition, thou art sure to meet with destruction. From the order of brute life one attains to the status of humanity. If born as human being, he is sure to take birth as a Pukkasa or a Chandala. Verily, one having taken birth in that sinful order of existence, viz., Pukkasa, one, O Matanga, has to wander in it for a very long time. Passing a period of one thousand years in that order, one attains next to the status of a Sudra. In the Sudra order, again, one has to wander for a long time. After thirty thousand years one acquire the status of a Vaisya. There, in that order, one has to pass a very long period. After a time that is sixty times longer than what has been stated as the period of Sudra existence, one becomes a person of the fighting order. In the Kshatriya order one has to pass a very long time. After a time that is measured by multiplying the period last referred to by sixty, one becomes born as a fallen Brahmana. In this order one has to wander for a long period. After a time measured by multiplying the period last named by two hundred, one becomes born in the race of such a Brahmana as lives by the profession of arms. There, in that order, one has to wander for a long period. After a time measured by multiplying the period last named by three hundred, one takes birth in the race of a Brahmana that is given to the recitation of the Gayatri and other sacred Mantras. There, in that order, one has to wander for a long period. After a time measured by multiplying the period last named by four hundred, one takes birth in the race of such a Brahmana as is conversant with the entire Vedas and the scriptures, There, in that order, one has to wander for a very long period. While wandering in that status of existence, joy and grief, desire and aversion, vanity and evil speech, seek to enter into him and make a wretch of him. If he succeeds in subjugating those foes, he then attains a high end. If, on the other hand, those enemies succeed in subjugating him, he falls down from that high status like a person falling down on the ground from the high top of a palmyra tree. Knowing this for certain, O Matanga, I say unto thee, do thou name some other boon, for the status of a Brahmana is incapable of being attained by thee (that hast been born as a Chandala)!'

SECTION 29

"Bhishma said, 'Thus advised by Indra, Matanga, observant of vows, refused, to hear what he was bid. On the other hand, with regulated vows and cleansed soul, he practised austere penances by standing on one foot for a thousand years, and was deeply engaged in Yoga-meditation. After a thousand years had passed away, Sakra once more came to see him. Indeed, the slayer of Vala and Vritra said unto him the same words.'

'Matanga said, 'I have passed these thousand years, standing on one foot, in deep meditation, observing of the vow of Brahmacharyya. Why is it that I have not yet succeeded in acquiring the status of a Brahmana?'

'Sakra said, 'One born on a Chandala cannot, by any means acquire the status of a Brahmana. Do thou, therefore name some boon so that all this labour of thine may not prove fruitless--Thus addressed by the chief of the celestials, Matanga became filled with grief. He repaired to Prayaga, and passed there a hundred years, standing all the while on his toes. In consequence of the observance of such Yoga which was extremely difficult to bear, he became very much emaciated and his arteries and veins became swollen and visible. He was reduced to only skin and bones. Indeed, it has been heard by us that the righteous-souled Matanga, while practising those austerities at Gaya, dropped down on the ground from sheer exhaustion. The lord and giver of boons, engaged in the good of all creatures, viz., Vasava beholding him falling down, quickly came to that spot and held him fast.'

"Sakra said, 'It seems, O Matanga, that the status of a Brahmana which thou seekest is ill-suited to thee. That status is incapable of being attained by thee. Verily, in thy case, it is surrounded by many dangers. A person by worshipping a Brahmana obtains happiness; while by abstaining from such worship, he obtains grief and misery. The Brahmana is, with respect to all creatures, the giver of what they prize or covet and the protector of what they already have. It is through the Brahmanas that the Pitris and the deities become gratified. The Brahmana, O Matanga, is said to be foremost of all created Beings. The Brahmana grants all objects that are desired and in the way they are desired? [Kurute may mean also makes. The sense is that the Brahmana grants to others whatever objects are desired by them. In his own case also, he creates those objects that he himself desires. His puissance is great and it is through his kindness that others get what they wish or seek.] Wandering through innumerable orders of Being and undergoing repeated rebirths, one succeeds in some subsequent birth in acquiring the status of a Brahmana. That status is really incapable of being obtained by persons of uncleansed souls. Do thou, therefore, give up the idea. Do thou name some other boon. The particular boon which thou seekest is incapable of being granted to thee.'

"Matanga said, 'Afflicted as I am with grief, why, O Sakra, dost thou afflict me further (with such speeches as these)? Thou art striking one that is already dead, by this behaviour. I do not pity thee for having acquired the status of a Brahmana thou now failest to retain it (for thou hast no compassion to show for one like me). O thou of a hundred sacrifices, the status of a Brahmana as thou sayest be really unattainable by any of the three other orders, yet, men that have succeeded in acquiring (through natural means) that high status do not adhere to it (for what sins do net even Brahmanas commit). Those who having acquired the status of a Brahmana that, like affluence, is so difficult to acquire, do not seek to keep it up (by practising the necessary duties), must be regarded to be the lowest of wretches in this world. Indeed, they are the most sinful of all creatures. Without doubt, the status of a Brahmana is exceedingly difficult to attain, and once being attained, it is difficult to maintain it. It is capable of dispelling every kind of grief. Alas, having attained to it, men do not always seek to keep it up (by practising righteousness and the other duties that attach to it). When even such persons are regarded as Brahmanas why is it that I, who am contented with my own self, who am above all couples of opposites, who am dissociated from all worldly objects, who am observant of the duty of compassion towards all creatures and of self-restraint of conduct, should not be regarded as deserving of that status. [Ekaramah is one who sports with one's own self, i.e., who is not dependant on others for his joy or happiness; one who has understood the soul.] How unfortunate I am, O Purandara, that through the fault of my mother I have been reduced to this condition, although I am not unrighteous in my behaviour? Without doubt, Destiny is incapable of being warded off or conquered by individual exertion, since, O lord, I am unable to acquire, notwithstanding these persistent efforts of mine, the object, upon the acquisition of which I have set my heart. When such is the case, O righteous one, it behoves thee to grant me some other boon if, indeed, I have become worthy of thy grace or if I have a little of merit.'

"Bhishma continued, 'The slayer of Vala and Vritra then said unto him,--Do thou name the boon.--Thus urged by the great Indra, Matanga said the following words:

"Matanga said, 'Let me be possessed of the power of assuming any form at will, and journeying through the skies and let me enjoy whatever pleasures I may set my heart upon. And let me also have the willing adorations of both Brahmanas and Kshatriyas. I bow to thee by bending my head, O god. It behoveth thee to do that also by which my fame, O Purandara, May live for ever in the world.'

"Sakra said, 'Thou shalt be celebrated as the deity of a particular measure of verse and thou shalt obtain the worship of all woman. Thy fame, O son, shall become unrivalled in the three worlds.'--Having granted him these boons, Vasava disappeared there and then. Matanga also, casting off his life-breaths, attained to a high place. Thou mayst thus see, O Bharata, that the status of a Brahmana is very high. That status is incapable of being acquired here (except in the natural way of birth) as said by the great Indra himself.'

SECTION 30

"Yudhishthira said, 'I have heard this great narrative, O perpetuator of Kuru's race. Thou, O foremost of eloquent men, hast said that the status of a Brahmana is exceedingly difficult of acquisition. It is heard, however, that in former times the status of a Brahmana had been acquired by Viswamitra. Thou, however, O best of men, tellest us that status is incapable of being acquired. I have also heard that king Vitahavya in ancient times succeeded in obtaining the status of a Brahmana. I desire to hear, O puissant son of Ganga, the story of Vitahavya's promotion. By what acts did that best of kings succeed in acquiring the status of a Brahmana? Was it through some boon (obtained from some one of great puissance) or was it through the virtue of penances? It behoveth thee to tell me everything.'

"Bhishma said, 'Hear, O monarch, how the royal sage Vitahavya of great celebrity succeeded in ancient times in acquiring the status of a Brahmana that is so difficult to attain and that is held in such high reverence by all the world. While the high-souled Manu in days of yore was employed in righteously ruling his subjects, he obtained a son of righteous soul who became celebrated under the name of Saryati. In Saryati's, race, O monarch, two kings took their birth, viz., Haihaya and Talajangha. Both of them were sons of Vatsa, O foremost of victorious kings. Haihaya, O monarch, had ten wives. Upon them he begot, O Bharata, a century of sons all of whom were highly inclined to fighting. All of them resembled one another in features and prowess. All of them were endued with great strength and all of them were possessed of great skill in battle. They all studied the Vedas and the science of weapons thoroughly. In Kasi also, O monarch, there was a king who was the grandfather of Divodasa. The foremost of victorious men, he was known by the name of Haryyaswa. The sons of king Haihaya, O chief of men (who was otherwise known by the name of Vitahavya), invaded the kingdom of Kasi and advancing to the country that lies between the rivers Ganga and Yamuna, fought a battle with king Haryyaswa and also slew him in it. Having slain king Haryyaswa in this way, the sons of Haihaya, those great car-warriors, fearlessly went back to their own delightful city in the country of the Vatsas. Meanwhile Haryyaswa's son Sudeva, who looked like a deity in splendour and who was a second god of righteousness, was installed on the throne of Kasi as its ruler. The delighter of Kasi, that righteous-souled prince ruled his kingdom for sometime, when the hundred sons of Vitahavya once more invaded his dominions and defeated him in battle. Having vanquished king Sudeva thus, the victors returned to their own city. After that Divodasa, the son of Sudeva, became installed on the throne of Kasi as its ruler. Realising the prowess of those high-souled princes, viz., the sons of Vitahavya, king Divodasa, endued with great energy, rebuilt and fortified the city of Baranasi at the command of Indra. The territories of Divodasa were full of Brahmanas and Kshatriyas, and abounded with Vaisyas and Sudras. And they teemed with articles and provisions of every kind, and were adorned with shops and marts swelling with prosperity. Those territories, O best of kings, stretched northwards from the banks of Ganga to the southern banks of Gomati, and resembled a second Amravati (the city of Indra). The Haihayas once again, O Bharata, attacked that tiger among kings, as he ruled his

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kingdom. The mighty king Divodasa endued with great splendour, issuing out of his capital, gave them battle. The engagement between the two parties proved so fierce as to resemble the encounter in days of old between the deities and the Asuras. King Divodasa fought the enemy for a thousand days at the end of which, having lost a number of followers and animals, he became exceedingly distressed. [Dasatirdasa is ten times hundred or one thousand Dasati, like Saptati, Navati, etc., means ten times ten. Both the Vernacular translators have erred in rendering the word.] King Divodasa, O monarch, having lost his army and seeing his treasury exhausted, left his capital and fled away. Repairing to the delightful retreat of Bhardwaja endued with great wisdom the king, O chastiser of foes joining his hands in reverence, sought the Rishi's protection. Beholding King Divodasa before him, the eldest son of Vrihaspati, viz., Bharadwaja of excellent conduct, who was the monarch's priest, said unto him, What is the reason of thy coming here? Tell me everything, O king. I shall do that which is agreeable to thee, without any scruple.'

"The king said, 'O holy one, the sons of Vitahavya have slain all the children and men of my house. I only have escaped with life, totally discomfited by the foe. I seek thy protection. It behoveth thee, O holy one, to protect me with such affection as thou hast for a disciple. Those princes of sinful deeds have slaughtered my whole race, leaving myself only alive.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Unto him who pleaded so piteously, Bharadwaja of great energy said, Do not fear! Do not fear! O son of Sudeva, let thy fears be dispelled. I shall perform a sacrifice, O monarch, in order that thou mayst have a son through whom thou shalt be able to smite thousands upon thousands of Vitahavya's party. After this, the Rishi performed a sacrifice with the object of bestowing a son on Divodasa. As the result thereof, unto Divodasa was born a son named Pratarddana. Immediately on his birth he grew up like a boy of full three and ten years and quickly mastered the entire Vedas and the whole of arms. Aided by his Yoga powers, Bharadwaja of great intelligence had entered into the prince. Indeed, collecting all the energy that occurs in the object of the universe, Bharadwaja put them together in the body of prince Pratarddana. Put on shining mail on his person and armed with the bow, Pratarddana, his praises sung by bards and the celestial Rishis, shone resplendent like the risen star of day. Mounted on his car and with the scimitar tied to his belt, he shone like a blazing fire. With scimitar and shield and whirling his shield as he went, he proceeded to the presence of his sire. Beholding the prince, the son of Sudeva, viz., king Divodasa, became filled with joy. Indeed, the old king thought the sons of his enemy Vitahavya as already slain. Divodasa then installed his son Pratarddana as Yuvaraja, and regarding himself crowned with success became exceedingly happy. After this, the old king commanded that chastiser of foes, viz., prince Pratarddana to march against the sons of Vitahavya and slay them in battle. Endued with great powers. Pratarddana, that subjugator of hostile cities speedily crossed Ganga on his car and proceeded against the city of the Vitahavyas. Hearing the clatter produced by the wheels of his car, the sons of Vitahavya, riding on their own cars that looked like fortified citadels and that were capable of destroying hostile vehicles, issued out of their city. Issuing out of their capital, those tigers among men, viz., the sons of Vitahavya, who were all skilful warriors cased in mail, rushed with uplifted weapons towards Pratarddana, covering him with showers of arrows. Encompassing him with innumerable cars, O Yudhisthira, the Vitahavyas poured upon Pratarddana showers of weapons of various kinds like clouds pouring torrents of rain on the breast of Himavat. Baffling their weapons with his own, prince Pratarddana endued with mighty energy slew them all with his shafts that resembled the lighting fire of Indra. Their heads struck off, O king, with hundreds and thousands of broad-headed arrows, the warriors of Vitahavya fell down with blood-dyed bodies like Kinsuka trees felled by woodmen with their axes on every side. After all his warriors and sons had fallen in battle, king Vitahavya fled away from his capital to the retreat of Bhrigu. Indeed, arrived there, the royal fugitive sought the protection of Bhrigu. The Rishi Bhrigu, O monarch, assured the defeated king of his protection. Pratarddana followed in the footsteps of Vitahavya. Arrived at the Rishi's retreat, the son of Divodasa said in a loud voice.--Ho, listen ye disciples of the high souled Bhrigu that may happen to be present, I wish to see the sage. Go and inform him of this. Recognising that it was Pratarddana who had come, the Rishi Bhrigu himself came out of his retreat and worshipped that best of kings according to due rites. Addressing him then, the Rishi said,--Tell me, O king, what is thy business. The king, at this, informed the Rishi of the reason of his presence.'

"The king said, 'King Vitahavya has come here, O Brahmana. Do thou give him up. His sons, O Brahmana, had destroyed my race. They had laid waste the territories and the wealth of the kingdom of Kasi. Hundred sons, however, of this king proud of his might, have all been slain by me. By slaying that king himself I shall today pay off the debt I owe to my father. Unto him that foremost of righteous men, viz., the Rishi Bhrigu, penetrated with compassion, replied by saying,--There is no Kshatriya in this retreat. They that are here are all Brahmanas. Hearing these words of Bhrigu that must accord he thought with truth, Pratarddana touched the Rishi's feet slowly and, filled with delight, said,--By this, O holy one, I am without doubt, crowned with success, since this king becomes abandoned by the very order of his birth in consequence of my prowess. Give me thy permission, O Brahmana, to leave thee, and let me solicit thee to pray for my welfare. This king, O founder of the race that goes by the name, has been compelled to leave of the very community of his birth, in consequence of my might. Dismissed by the Rishi Bhrigu, king Pratarddana then departed from that retreat, having even as a snake vomits forth its real poison and repaired to the place he had come from. Meanwhile, king Vitahavya attained to the status of a Brahmana sage by virtue of the words only of Bhrigu. And he acquired also a complete mastery over all the Vedas through the same cause. Vitahavya had a son named Gritsamada who in beauty of person was a second Indra. Once on a time the Daityas afflicted him much, believing him to be none else than Indra. With regard to that high-souled Rishi, one foremost of Srutis in the Richs goes like this viz., He with whom Gritsamada stays, O Brahmana, is held in high respect by all Brahmanas. Endued with great intelligence, Gritsamada become a regenerate Rishi in the observance of Brahmacharyya. Gritsamada had a regenerate son of the name of Sutejas. Sutejas had a son of the name of Varchas, and the son of Varchas was known by the name of Vihavya. Vihavya had a son of his loins who was named Vitatya and Vitatya had a son of name Satya. Satya had a son of name Santa. Santa had a son, viz., the Rishi Sravas. Sravas begot a son named Tama. Tama begot a son named Prakasa, who was a very superior Brahmana. Prakasa had a son named Vagindra who was the foremost of all silent reciters of sacred Mantras. Vagindra begot a son named Pramati who was a complete master of all the Vedas and their branches. Pramati begot upon the Apsara Ghritachi a son who was named Ruru. Ruru begot a son upon his spouse Pramadvara. That son was the regenerate Rishi Sunaka. Sunaka begot a son who is named Saunaka. It was even thus, O foremost of monarchs, that king Vitahavya, though a Kshatriya by the order of his birth, obtained the status of a Brahmana, O chief of Kshatriyas, through the grace of Bhrigu. I have also told thee the genealogy of the race that sprung from Gritsamada. What else wouldst thou ask?'

SECTION 31

"Yudhishthira said, 'What men, O chief of Bharata's race, are worthy of reverent homage in the three worlds? Tell me this in detail verily. I am never satiated with hearing thee discourse on these topics.'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection is cited the old narrative of the discourse between Narada and Vasudeva. Beholding Narada on one occasion worshipping many foremost of Brahmanas with joined hands, Kesava addressed him saying, Whom dost thou worship? Whom amongst these Brahmanas, O holy one dost thou worship with so great reverence? If it is a matter that I can heard of, I then wish to hear it. Do, O foremost of righteous men, tell me this!'

"Narada said, 'Hear, O Govinda, as to who those are whom I am worshipping, O grinder of foes. Who else is there in this world that so much deserves to hear this? I worship the Brahmanas, O puissant one, who constantly worship Varuna and Vayu and Aditya and Parjanya and the deity of Fire, and Sthanu and Skanda and Lakshmi and Vishnu and the Brahmanas, and the lord of speech, and Chandramas, and the Waters and Earth and the goddess Saraswati. O tiger of Vrishni's race, I always worship those Brahmanas that are endued with penances, that are conversant with the Vedas, that are always devoted to Vedic study, and that are possessed of high worth. O puissant one, I bow down my head unto those persons who are freed from boastfulness, who discharge, with an empty stomach, the rites in honour of the deities, who are always contented with what they have and who are endued with forgiveness. I worship them, O Yadava, that are performers of sacrifices, that are of a forgiving disposition, and self restrained, that are masters of their own senses, that worship truth and righteousness, and that give away land and kine unto good Brahmanas. I bow unto them, O Yadava, that are devoted to the observance of penances, that dwell in forests, that subsist upon fruits and roots, that never store anything for the morrow, and that are observant of all the acts and rites laid down in the scriptures. I bow unto them, O Yadava, that feed and cherish their servants, that are always hospitable to guests, and that eat only the remnants of what is offered to the deities. I worship them that have become irresistible by studying the Vedas, that are eloquent in discoursing on the scriptures, that are observant of the vow of Brahmacharyya, and that are always devoted to the duties of officiating at the sacrifices of others and of teaching disciples. I worship them that are endued with compassion towards all creatures, and that study the Vedas till noon (i.e. till their backs are heated by the sun). I bow unto them, O Yadava, that strive to obtain the grace of their preceptors, that labour in the acquisition of their Vedas, that are firm in the observance of vows, that wait, with dutiful obedience, upon their preceptors and seniors, and that are free from malice and envy. I bow unto them, O Yadava, that are observant of excellent vows, that practice taciturnity, that have knowledge of Brahman, that are firm in truth, that are givers of libations of clarified butter and oblations of meat. I bow to them, O Yadava, that subsist upon eleemosynary alms, that are emaciated for want of adequate food and drink, that have lived in the abodes of their preceptors, that are averse to and destitute of all enjoyments, and that are poor in the goods of this Earth. I bow unto them, O Yadava, that have no affection for things of this Earth, that have no quarrels to wage with others, that do not clothe themselves, that have no wants, that have become irresistible through the acquisition of the Vedas, that are eloquent in the exposition of righteousness, and that are utterers of Brahma, I bow unto them that are devoted to the practice of the duty of compassion towards all creatures, that are firm in the observance of truth, that are self-restrained, and that are peaceful in their behaviour. I bow unto them, O Yadava, that are devoted to the worship of deities and guests, that are observant of the domestic mode of life, and that follow the practice of pigeons in the matter of their subsistence. [Pigeons pick up scattered grains and never store for the morrow. In the Sila and other vows, the picking up of scattered and cast off grains from the field after the crops have been taken away by the owners, is recommended as the means of filling the stomach.] I always bow unto those persons whose aggregate of three exists, without being weakened, in all their acts, and who are observant of truth and righteous behaviour*, I bow unto them, O Kesava, that are conversant with Brahma, that are endued with knowledge of the Vedas, that are attentive to the aggregate of three, that are free from cupidity, and that are righteous in their behaviour. [* The aggregate of three is Righteousness, Wealth, and Pleasure. Persons who, in all the acts they do, keep an eye upon these three, are said to have their aggregate of three existing in all their acts.] I bow unto them, O Madhava, that subsist upon water only, or upon air alone, or upon the remnants of the food that is offered to deities and guests, and that are observant of diverse kinds of excellent vows. I always worship them that have no spouses (in consequence of the vow of celibacy they observe), that have spouses and the domestic fire (in consequence of the domestic mode of life they lead), that are the refuge of the Vedas, and that are the refuge of all creatures in the universe (in consequence of the compassion they feel towards them). I always bow unto those Rishis, O Krishna, that are the creators of the universe, that are the elders of the universe, that are the eldest members of the race or the family, that are dispellers of the darkness of ignorance, and that are the best of all persons in the universe (for righteousness of behaviour and knowledge of the scriptures). For these reasons, do thou also, O scion of Vrishni's race, worship every day those regenerate persons of whom I speak. Deserving as they are of reverent worship, they will when worshipped, confer happiness on thee, O sinless one. Those persons of whom I speak are always givers of happiness in this world as well as in the next. Reverenced by all, they move about in this world, and if worshipped by thee are sure to grant thee happiness. They who are hospitable to all persons that come unto them as guests, and who are always devoted to Brahmanas and kine, as also to truth (in speech and behaviour), succeed in crossing all calamities and obstacles. They who are always devoted to peacefulness of behaviour, as also they who are freed from malice and envy, and they who are always attentive to the study of the Vedas, succeed in crossing all calamities and obstacles. They who bow unto all the deities (without showing a preference for any and thereby proving their tolerance), they who betake themselves to one Veda as their refuge, they who are possessed of faith and are self-restrained, succeed in crossing all calamities and obstacles. They who worship the foremost of Brahmanas with reverence and are firm in the observance of excellent vows and practise the virtue of charity, succeed in crossing all calamities and obstacles. They who are engaged in the practice of penances, they who are always observant of the vow of celibacy, and they whose souls have been cleansed by penances, succeed in crossing all calamities and obstacles. They who are devoted to the worship of the deities and guests and dependants, as also of the Pitris, and they who eat the remnant of the food that is offered to deities, Pitris, guests and dependants, succeed in crossing all calamities and obstacles. They who, having ignited the domestic fire, duly keep it burning and worship it with reverence and they who have duly poured libations (to the deities) in Soma-sacrifices, succeed in crossing all calamities and obstacles. They who behave as they should towards their mothers and fathers and preceptors and other seniors even as thou, O tiger among the Vrishnis, dost behave, succeed in crossing all calamities and obstacles--Having said these words, the celestial Rishi ceased speaking.'

"Bhishma continued. 'For these reasons, do thou also, O son of Kunti, always worship with reverence the deities, the Pitris, the Brahmanas, and guests arrived at thy mansion and

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as the consequence of such conduct thou art sure to attain to a desirable end!'"

SECTION 32

"Yudhishthira said,--'O grandsire, O thou of great wisdom, O thou that art conversant with all branches of knowledge, I desire to hear thee discourse on topics connected with duty and Righteousness. Tell me truly, O chief of Bharata's race, what the merits are of those persons that grant protection to living creatures of the four orders when these pray for protection.'

"Bhishma said, 'O Dharma's son of great wisdom and widespread fame, listen to this old history touching the great merit of granting protection to others when protection is humbly sought. Once on a time, a beautiful pigeon, pursued by a hawk, dropped down from the skies and sought the protection of the highly-blessed king Vrishadarbha. The pure-souled monarch, beholding the pigeon take refuge in his lap from fear, comforted him, saying, Be comforted, O bird; do not fear, Whence hast thou taken such great fright? What hast thou done and where hast thou done it in consequence of which thou hast lost thy senses in fear and art more dead than alive? Thy colour, beautiful bird, is such as to resemble that which adorns a fresh-blown lotus of the blue variety. Thy eyes are of the hue of the pomegranate or the Asoka flower. Do not fear. I bid thee, be comforted. When thou hast sought refuge with me, know that no one will have the courage to even think of seizing thee,--thee that hast such a protector to take care of thy person. I shall for thy sake, give up today the very kingdom of the Kasi and, if need be, my lice too. Be comforted, therefore, and let no fear be thine, O pigeon.'

"The hawk said, 'This bird has been ordained to be my food. It behoves thee not, O king, to protect him from me. I have outcoursed this bird and have got him. Verily, with great effort have I got at him at last. His flesh and blood and marrow and fat will be of great good to me. This bird will be the means of gratifying me greatly. Do not, O king, place thyself between him and me in this way. Fierce is the thirst that is afflicting me, and hunger is gnawing my bowels. Release the bird and cast him off. I am unable to bear the pains of hunger any longer. I pursued him as my prey. Behold, his body is bruised and torn by me with my wings and talons. Look, his breath has become very weak. It behoves thee not, O king, to protect him from me. In the exercise of that power which properly belongs to thee, thou art, indeed competent to interfere in protecting human beings when they are sought to be destroyed by human beings. Thou canst not, however, be admitted to have any power over a sky-ranging bird afflicted with thirst. Thy power may extend over thy enemies, thy servants, thy relatives, the disputes that take place between thy subjects. Indeed, it may extend over every part of thy dominions and over also thy own senses. Thy power, however, does not extend over the welkin. Displaying thy prowess over such foes as act against thy wishes, thou mayst establish thy rule over them. Thy rule, however, does not extend over the birds that range the sky. Indeed, if thou hast been desirous of earning merit (by protecting this pigeon), it is thy duty to look at me also (and do what is proper for enabling me to appease my hunger and save my life)!

"Bhishma continued, 'Hearing these words of the hawk, the royal sage became filled with wonder. Without disregarding these words of his, the king, desirous of attending to his comforts, replied unto him saying the following words.'

"The king said, 'Let a bovine bull or boar or deer or buffalo be dressed today for thy sake. Do thou appease thy hunger on such food today. Never to desert one that has sought my protection in my firm vow. Behold, O bird, this bird does not leave my lap!'

"The hawk said, 'I do not, O monarch, eat the flesh of the boar or the ox or of any of the diverse kinds of fowl. What need have I of food of this or that kind? My concern is with that food which has been eternally ordained for beings of my order? Hawks feed on pigeons,--this is the eternal ordinance. O sinless, Usinara, if thou feelest such affection for this pigeon, do thou then give me flesh from thy own body, of weight equal to that of this pigeon.'

"The king said, 'Great is the favour thou showiest me today by speaking to me in this strain. Yes, I shall do what thou biddest. Having said this, that best of monarchs began to cut off his own flesh and weigh it in a balance against the pigeon. Meanwhile, in the inner apartments of the palace, the spouses of king, adorned with jewels and gems, hearing what was taking place, uttered exclamations of woe and came out, stricken with grief. In consequence of those cries of the ladies, as also of the ministers and servants, a noise deep as the roar of the clouds arose in the palace. The sky that had been very clear became enveloped with thick clouds on every side. The Earth began to tremble, as the consequence of that act of truth which the monarch did. The king began to cut off the flesh from his flanks from the arms, and from his thighs, and quickly fill one of the scales for weighing it against the pigeon. In spite of all that, the pigeon continued to weigh heavier. When at last the king became a skeleton of bones, without any flesh, and covered with blood, he desired to give up his whole body and, therefore, ascended the scale in which he had placed the flesh that he had previously cut off. At that time, the three worlds, with Indra at their head, came to that spot for beholding him. Celestial kettle-drums and diverse drums were struck and played upon by invisible beings belonging to the firmament. King Vrishadarbha was bathed in a shower of nectar that was poured upon him. Garlands of celestial flowers, of delicious fragrance and touch, were also showered upon him copiously and repeatedly. The deities and Gandharvas and Apsaras in large bands began to sing and dance around him even as they sing and dance around the Grandsire Brahma. The king then ascended a celestial car that surpassed (in grandeur and beauty) a mansion made entirely of gold, that had arches made of gold and gems, and that was adorned with columns made of lapis lazuli. Through the merit of his act, the royal sage Sivi proceeded to eternal Heaven. Do thou also, O Yudhishthira, act in the same way towards those that seek thy protection. He who protects those that are devoted to him, those that are attached to him from love and affection, and those that depend upon him, and who has compassion for all creatures, succeeds in attaining to great felicity hereafter. That king who is of righteous behaviour and who is observant of honesty and integrity, succeeds by his acts of sincerity in acquiring every valuable reward. The royal sage Sivi of pure soul and endued with great wisdom and unbaffled prowess, that ruler of the kingdom of Kasi, became celebrated over the three worlds for his deeds of righteousness. Anybody who would protect in the same way a seeker for protection, would certainly attain (like Sivi himself) to the same happy end, O best of the Bharatas. He who recites this history of the royal sage Vrishadarbha is sure to become cleansed of every sin, and the person who hears this history recited by another is sure to attain to the same result.'"

SECTION 33

"Yudhishthira said, 'Which act, O grandsire, is the foremost of all those that have been laid down for a king? What is that act by doing which a king succeeds in enjoying both this world and the next?'

"Bhishma said, 'Even this viz., the worship of the Brahmanas, is the foremost of all those act, O Bharata, which have been laid down for a king duly installed on the throne, if, indeed, he is desirous of obtaining great happiness. Even this is what the foremost of all kings should do. Know this well, O chief of Bharata's race. The king should always worship with reverence all righteous Brahmanas possessed of Vedic lore. The king should, with bows and comforting speeches and gifts of all articles of enjoyment, worship all Brahmanas possessed of great learning who may dwell in his city or provinces. This is the foremost of all acts laid down for the king. Indeed, the king should always keep his eyes fixed on this. He should protect and cherish these, even as he protects his own self or his own children. The king should worship with greater reverence those amongst the Brahmanas that may be worthy of it (for their superior sanctity and learning). When such men are freed from all anxiety, the whole kingdom blazes forth in beauty. Such individuals are worthy of adoration. Unto such the king should bow his head. Verily, they should be honoured, even as one honours one's sires and grandsires. Upon them depends the course of conduct followed by men, even as the existence of all creatures depends upon Vasava. Of prowess incapable of being baffled and endued with great energy, such men, if enraged, are capable of consuming the entire kingdom to ashes by only fiat of their will, or by acts of incantation, or by other means (derived from the power of penance). I do not see anything that can destroy them. Their power seems to be uncontrolled, being capable of reaching to the farthest end of the universe. When angry, their glances fall upon men and things like a blazing flame of fire upon a forest. The most courageous men are struck with fear at their men. Their virtues and powers are extraordinary and immeasurable. Some amongst them are like wells and pits with mouths covered by grass and creepers, while others resemble the firmament cleared of clouds and darkness. Some amongst them are of fierce dispositions (like Durvasas and others of that stamp). Some are as mild and soft in disposition as cotton (like Gautama and others). Some amongst them are very cunning (like Agastya who devoured the Asura Vatapi, and Rishis of that class). Some amongst them are devoted to the practice of penances. Some amongst them are employed in agricultural pursuits (like the preceptor of Uddalaka). Some amongst them are engaged in the keep of kine (as Upamanyu while attending his preceptor). Some amongst them live upon eleemosynary alms. Some amongst them are even thieves (like Valmiki in his early years and Viswamitra during a famine). Some amongst them are fond of fomenting quarrels and disputes (like Narada). Some, again, amongst them are actors and dancers (like Bharata). Some amongst them are competent to achieve all feats, ordinary and extraordinary (like Agastya drinking up the entire ocean, as if it were a palmful of water). The Brahmanas, O chief of Bharata's race are of diverse aspects and behaviour. One should always utter the praises of the Brahmanas who are conversant with all duties, who are righteous of behaviour, who are devoted to diverse kinds of act, and who are seen to derive their sustenance from diverse kinds of occupations. [Though really conversant with all duties, and of righteous behaviour, the Brahmanas, nevertheless, for concealing their real natures or for protecting the world, are seen to be employed in diverse kinds of occupations.] The Brahmanas, O ruler of men, who are highly blessed, are elder in respect of their origin than the Pitris, the deities, human beings (belonging to the three other orders), the Snakes and the Rakshasas. These regenerate persons are incapable of being vanquished by the deities or the Pitris, or the Gandharvas or the Rakshasas, or the Asuras or the Pisachas. The Brahmanas are competent to make him a deity that is not a deity They can, again, divest one that is a deity of his status as such. He becomes a king whom they wish to make a king. He, on the other hand, goes to the wall whom they do not love or like. I tell thee truly, O king, that those foolish persons, without doubt, meet with destruction who calumniate the Brahmanas and utter their dispraise. Skilled in praise and dispraise, and themselves the origin or cause of other people's fame and ignominy the Brahmanas, O king, always become angry with those that seek to injure others. That man whom the Brahmanas praise succeeds in growing in prosperity. That man who is censured and is cast off by the Brahmanas soon meets with discomfiture. It is in consequence of the absence of Brahmanas from among them that the Sakas, the Yavanas, the Kamvojas and other Kshatriya tribes have become fallen and degraded into the status of Sudras. The Dravidas, the Kalingas, the Pulandas, the Usinaras, the Kolisarpas, the Mahishakas and other Kshatriyas, have, in consequence of the absence of Brahmanas from among their midst, become degraded into Sudras. Defeat at their hands is preferable to victory over them, O foremost of victorious persons. One slaying all other living creatures in the world does not incur a sin so heinous as that of slaying a single Brahmana. The great Rishis have said that Brahmanicide is a heinous sin. One should never utter the dispraise or calumny of the Brahmanas. Where the dispraise of Brahmanas is uttered, one should sit with face hanging down or leave that spot (for avoiding both the utterer and his words). That man has not as yet been born in this world or will not take birth here, who has been or will be able to pass his life in happiness after quarrelling with the Brahmanas. One cannot seize the wind with one's hands. One cannot touch the moon with one's hand. One cannot support the Earth on one's arms. After the same manner, O king, one is not able to vanquish the Brahmanas in this world.'"

SECTION 34

"Bhishma said, 'One should always offer the most reverent worship unto the Brahmanas. They have Soma for their king, and they it is who confer happiness and misery upon others. They, O king, should always be cherished and protected as one cherishes and protects one's own sires and grandsires, and should be adored with bows and gifts of food and ornaments and other articles of enjoyment, as also with such things as they may desire. The peace and happiness of the kingdom flow from such respect shown to the Brahmanas even as the peace and happiness of all living creatures flow from Vasava, the chief of the celestials. Let Brahmanas of pure behaviour and Brahma-effulgence be born in a kingdom. Kshatriyas also that are splendid car-warriors and that are capable of scorching all foes, should be desired (amongst those that settle in a kingdom). This was said unto me by Narada. There is nothing higher, O king, than this, viz., the act of causing a Brahmana possessed of good birth, having a knowledge of morality and righteousness, and steadfast in the observance of excellent vows, to take up his residence in one's mansion. Such an act is productive of every kind of blessing. The sacrificial offerings given unto Brahmanas reach the very deities who accept them. Brahmanas are the sires of all creatures. There is nothing higher than a Brahmana. Aditya, Chandramas, Wind, Water, Earth, Sky and the points of the compass, all enter the body of the Brahmana and take what the Brahmana eats. 1 In that house where Brahmanas do not eat, the Pitris refuse to eat. The deities also never eat in the house of the wretch who hates the Brahmanas. When the Brahmanas are gratified, the Pitris also are gratified. There is no doubt in this. They that give away the sacrificial butter unto the Brahmanas become themselves gratified (in this and the other world). Such men never meet with destruction. Verily, they succeed in attaining to high ends. Those particular offerings in sacrifices with which one gratifies the Brahmanas go to gratify both the Pitris and the deities. The Brahmana is the cause of that sacrifice whence all created things have sprung. The Brahmana is acquainted with that from which this universe has sprung and unto which, when apparently destroyed, it returns. Indeed the Brahmana knows the path that leads to Heaven and the other path that leads to the opposite place. The Brahmana is conversant with what has happened and what will happen. The Brahmana is the foremost of all two-legged beings. The Brahmana, O chief of the Bharatas, is fully conversant with the duties that have been laid down for his order. Those persons that follow the Brahmanas are never

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vanquished. Departing from this world, they never meet with destruction. Indeed victory is always theirs. Those high-souled persons,--indeed, those persons that have subdued their souls,--who accept the words that fall from the lips of the Brahmanas, are never vanquished. Victory always becomes theirs. The energy and might of those Kshatriyas who scorch everything with their energy and might become neutralised when they encounter the Brahmanas. The Bhrigus conquered the Talajanghas. The son of Angiras conquered the Nipas. Bharadwaja conquered the Vitahavyas as also the Ailas. O chief of Bharata's race. Although all these Kshatriyas were capable of using diverse kinds of arms, yet the Brahmanas named, owning only black deer skins for their emblems, succeeded in conquering them effectually. Bestowing the Earth upon the Brahmanas and illuminating both the worlds by the splendour of such a deed, one should accomplish acts through which one may succeed in attaining to the end of all things. Like fire concealed within wood, everything that is said or heard or read in this world, lies ensconced in the Brahmana. In this connection is cited the old history of the conversation between Vasudeva and the Earth, O chief of Bharata's race!'

"Vasudeva said, 'O mother of all creatures, O auspicious goddess, I desire to ask thee for a solution of this doubt of mine. By what act does a man leading the domestic mode of life succeed in cleansing all his sins?'

"The Earth said, 'One should serve the Brahmanas. This conduct is cleansing and excellent. All the impurities destroyed of that man who serves the Brahmanas with reverence. From this (conduct) arises prosperity. From this arises fame. From this springs forth intelligence or knowledge of the soul. A Kshatriya by this conduct, becomes a mighty car-warrior and a scorcher of foes and succeeds in acquiring great fame. Even this is what Narada said unto me, viz., that one should always revere a Brahmana that is well-born, of rigid vows and conversant with the scriptures, if one desires every kind of prosperity. That man really grows in prosperity who is applauded by the Brahmanas, who are higher than those that are regarded superior to all men high or low. That man who speaks ill of the Brahmanas soon meets with discomfiture, even as a clod of unbaked earth meets with destruction when cast into the sea. After the same manner, all acts that are hurtful to the Brahmanas are sure to bring about discomfiture and ruin. Behold the dark spots on the Moon and the salt waters of the ocean. The great Indra had at one time been marked all over with a thousand sex-marks. It was through the power of the Brahmanas that those marks became altered into as so many eyes. Behold, O Mahadeva how all those things took place. Desiring fame and prosperity and diverse regions of beautitude in the next world, a person of pure behaviour and soul should, O slayer of Madhu, live in obedience to the dictates of the Brahmanas.' [The dark spots on the Moon were due to the curse of Daksha. The waters of the Ocean became saltish owing to the curse of a Rishi.]

"Bhishma continued, 'Hearing these words of the goddess Earth, the slayer of Madhu, O thou of Kuru's race, exclaimed,--Excellent, Excellent--and honoured the goddess in due form. Having heard this discourse between the goddess Earth and Madhava, do thou, O son of Pritha, always, with rapt soul, worship all superior Brahmanas. Doing this, thou shalt verily obtain what is highly beneficial for thee!'"

SECTION 35

"Bhishma said, 'O blessed king, Brahmana, by birth alone, becomes an object of adoration with all creatures and are entitled, as guests, to eat the first portion of all cooked food. From them flow all the great objects of life (viz., Righteousness and Wealth and Pleasure and Emancipation). They are the friends of all creatures in the universe. They are again the mouths of the deities (for food poured into their mouths is eaten by the deities). Worshipped with reverence, they wish us prosperity by uttering words fraught with auspiciousness. Disregarded by our foes, let them be enraged with these, and let them wish evil unto those detractors of theirs, uttering words fraught with severe curses. In this connection, persons conversant with ancient history repeat the following verses sung of old respecting how in ancient times the Creator, after having created the Brahmanas, ordained their duties.--A Brahmana should never do anything else than what has been ordained for him. Protected, they should protect others. By conducting themselves in this way, they are sure to attain to what is mightily advantageous for them. By doing those acts that are ordained for them, they are sure to obtain Brahma-prosperity. Ye shall become the exemplars of all creatures, and reins for restraining them. A Brahmana possessed of learning should never do that which is laid down for the Sudras. By doing such acts, a Brahmana loses merit [In this country to this day 1880s and 1890s), when food is prepared in view of guests invited to a house, no portion of such food can be offered to any one before it is dedicated to the deities and placed before those for whom it is intended. An exception, however, is made for children. What is stated here is that a good Brahmana can take the precedence of even children in the matter of such food.]. By Vedic study he is sure to obtain prosperity and intelligence and energy and puissance competent to scorch all things, as also glory of the most exalted kind. By offering oblations of clarified butter unto the deities, the Brahmanas attain to high blessedness and become worthy of taking the precedence of even children in the matter of all kinds of cooked food, and endued with Brahma-prosperity. [What is stated here is that those Brahmanas that do not accept gifts are very superior. Their energy and might are great. Bhishma directs Yudhishthira to be always careful of how he would treat such superior Brahmanas. After rakshyam, the words swakulam are understood. The Burdwan translator misunderstands the second line of the verse.] Endued with faith that is fraught with compassion towards all creatures, and devoted to self-restraint and the study of the Vedas, ye shall attain to the fruition of all your wishes. Whatever things exist in the world of men, whatever things occur in the region of the deities, can all be achieved acquired with the aid of penances and knowledge and the observance of vows and restraints. I have thus recited to thee, O sinless one, the verses that were sung by Brahma himself. Endued with supreme intelligence and wisdom, the Creator himself ordained this, through compassion for the Brahmanas. The puissance of those among them that are devoted to penances is equal to the might of kings. They are verily irresistible, fierce, possessed of the speed of lightning, and exceedingly quick in what they do. There are amongst them those that are possessed of the might of lions and those that are possessed of the might of tigers. Some of them are endued with the might of boars, some with that of the deer, and some with that of crocodiles. Some there are amongst them whose touch resembles that of snakes of virulent poison, and some whose bite resembles that of sharks. Some amongst them are capable of compassing by speech alone the destruction of those that are opposed to them; and some are competent to destroy by a glance only of their eyes. Some, amongst them, as already said, are like snakes of virulent poison, and some of them are possessed of very mild dispositions. The dispositions, O Yudhisthira, of the Brahmanas, are of diverse kinds. The Mekalas, the Dravidas, the Lathas, the Paundras, the Konwasiras, the Saundikas, the Daradas, the Darvas, the Chauras, the Savaras, the Varvaras, the Kiratas, the Yavanas, and numerous other tribes of Kshatriyas, have become degraded into the status of Sudras through the wrath of Brahmanas. In consequence of having disregarded the Brahmanas, the Asuras have been obliged to take refuge in the depths of the ocean. Through the grace of the Brahmanas, the deities have become denizens of the happy regions of Heaven. The element of space or ether is incapable of being touched. The Himavat mountains are incapable of being moved from their site. The current of Ganga is incapable of being resisted by a dam. The Brahmanas are incapable of being subjugated. Kshatriyas are incapable of ruling the Earth without cultivating the good will of the Brahmanas. The Brahmanas are high-souled beings. They are the deities of the very deities. Do thou always worship them with gifts and obedient services: if, indeed, thou wishest to enjoy the sovereignty of the whole Earth with her belt of seas. The energy and might of Brahmanas, O sinless one, become abated in consequence of the acceptance of gift. Thou shouldst protect thy race. O king, from those Brahmanas that do not desire to accept gifts!'"

SECTION 36

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection is cited the old history of the discourse between Sakra and Samvara. Do thou listen to it, O Yudhishthira. Once upon a time Sakra, assuming the guise of an ascetic with matted locks on his head and body smeared with ashes all over, rode on an ugly car and repaired to the presence of the Asura Samvara.'

"Sakra said, 'Through what conduct, O Samvara, hast thou been able to get at the head of all individuals of thy race? For what reason do all people regard thee as superior? Do thou tell me this truly and in detail.'

"Samvara said, 'I never cherish any ill-feelings towards the Brahmanas. Whatever instructions they impart I accept with unquestioning reverence. When the Brahmanas are engaged in interpreting the scriptures, I listen to them with great happiness. Having heard their interpretations I never disregard them. Nor do I ever offend against the Brahmanas in any way. I always worship those Brahmanas that are endued with intelligence. I always seek information from them. I always worship their feet. Approaching me with confidence, they always address me with affection and enquire after my welfare. If they ever happen to be heedless, I am always heedful. If they happen to sleep, I always remain wakeful. Like bees drenching the cells of the comb with honey, the Brahmanas, who are my instructors and rulers, always drench me with the nectar of knowledge--me that am always devoted to the path pointed out by the scriptures, that am devoted to the Brahmanas, and that am perfectly free from malice or evil passion. Whatever they say with cheerful hearts, I always accept aided by memory and understanding. I am always careful of my own faith in them and I always think of my own inferiority to them. I always lick the nectar that dwells at the end of their tongue, and it is for this reason that I occupy a position far above that of all others of my race like the Moon transcending all the stars. The scriptural interpretations which fall from the lips of the Brahmanas and listening to which every wise man acts in the world, constitute nectar on earth and may also be likened to eyes of remarkable excellence. I Witnessing the encounter between the deities and the Asuras in days of old, and understanding the puissance of the instructions that fell from the Brahmanas, my father became filled with delight and wonder. [Etat karanam seems to refer to Brahamana-mukhat sastram. The sense seems to be that in the encounter between the deities and the Asuras the power of the Brahmanas was p. 2 abundantly proved, for Sukra aided the Asuras with his Mantras and incantations, while Vrihaspati and others aided the deities by the same means.] Beholding the puissance of high-souled Brahmanas, my sire asked Chandramas the question, 'How do the Brahmanas attain to success?

'Soma said, 'The Brahmanas become crowned with success through their penances. Their strength consists in speech. The prowess of persons belonging to the kingly order resides in their arms. The Brahmanas, however, have speech for their weapons. Undergoing the discomforts of a residence in the abode of his preceptor, the Brahmana should study the Vedas or at least the Pranava. Divesting himself of wrath and renouncing earthly attachments, he should become a Yati, viewing all things and all creatures with equal eyes. If remaining in the abode of his sire he masters all the Vedas and acquiring great knowledge attains to a position that should command respect people still condemn him as untravelled or homekeeping. Like a snake swallowing mice, the earth swallows up these two, viz., a king that is unwilling to fight and a Brahmana that is unwilling to leave home for acquiring knowledge. Pride destroys the prosperity of persons of little intelligence. A maiden, if she conceives, becomes stained. A Brahmana incurs reproach by keeping at home. Even this is what my father heard from Soma of wonderful aspect. My father, in consequence of this, began to worship and reverence the Brahmanas. Like him, I also worship and adore all Brahmanas of high vows.'

"Bhishma continued, "Hearing these words that fell from the mouth of that prince of Danavas, Sakra began to worship the Brahmanas, and as a consequence thereof he succeeded in obtaining the chiefdom of the deities.'"

SECTION 37

"Yudhishthira said, 'Which amongst these three persons, O grandsire, should be regarded as the best for making gifts unto, viz., one who is a thorough stranger, or one who is living with and who has been known to the giver for a long time, or one who presents himself before the giver, coming from a long distance?'

"Bhishma said, 'All these are equal. The eligibility of some consists in their soliciting alms for performing sacrifices or for paying the preceptor's fee or for maintaining their spouses and children. The eligibility of some for receiving gifts, consists in their following the vow of wandering over the earth, never soliciting anything but receiving when given. We should also give unto one what one seeks. We should, however, make gifts without afflicting those that depend upon us. Even this is what we have heard. By afflicting one's dependants, one afflicts one's own self. The stranger,--one, that is, who has come for the first time,--should be regarded as a proper object of gifts. He who is familiar and well-known and has been living with the giver, should be regarded in the same light. The learned know that he too who comes from a distant place should be regarded in an equal light.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'It is true that we should make gifts unto others without afflicting anyone and without doing violence to the ordinances of the scriptures. One should, however, correctly ascertain who the person is that should be regarded as a proper object for making gifts. He should be such that the gift itself, by being made over to him, may not grieve.' [It is said that food or other things, when given to an undeserving person, feels grief. What Yudhishthira asks is who the proper person is unto whom gifts may be made.]

"Bhishma said, 'If the Ritwik, the Purohita, the preceptor, the Acharya, the disciple, the relative (by marriage), and kinsmen, happen to be possessed of learning and free from malice, then should they be deemed worthy of respect and worship. Those persons that do not possess such qualifications cannot be regarded as worthy of gifts or hospitality. Hence, one should with deliberation examine persons with whom one comes into contact. Absence of wrath, truthfulness of speech, abstention from injury, sincerity, peacefulness of conduct, the absence of pride, modesty, renunciation, self-restraint, and tranquillity or contentment of soul, he in whom these occur by nature, and in whom there are no wicked acts, should be regarded as a proper object. Such a person deserves honours. Whether the person he one who is well-known and familiar, or one who has come newly, whether he has not been seen before, if he happens to possess these qualifications, he should be regarded as worthy of honours and hospitality. He who denies the authority of the Vedas, or strives to show that the

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scriptures should be disregarded, or approves of all breaches or restraint in society,--simply brings about his own ruin (and should not be regarded as worthy of gifts). That Brahmana who is vain of his learning, who speaks ill of the Vedas or who is devoted to the science of useless disputation, or who is desirous of gaining victory (in disputations) in assemblies of good men by disproving the reasons that exist for morality and religion and ascribing everything to chance, or who indulges in censuring and reproaching others or who reproves Brahmanas, or who is suspicious of all persons, or who is foolish and bereft of judgement, or who is bitter of speech, should be known to be as hateful as a dog. As a dog encounters others, barking the while and seeking to bite, such a person is even so, for he spends his breath in vain and seeks to destroy the authority of all the scriptures. Those practices that support society, the duties of righteousness, and all those acts which are productive of benefit to one's own self, should be attended to. A person that lives, attending to these, grows in prosperity for everlasting time. By paying off the debt one owes to the deities by performing sacrifices, that to the Rishis by studying the Vedas, that to the Pitris by procreating children, that to the Brahmanas by making presents unto them and that to guests by feeding them, in due order, and with purity of intention, and properly attending to the ordinances of the scriptures, a householder does not fall away from righteousness.'" [All these acts should be performed with purity of intention and according to the ordinances of the scriptures. For example, sacrifices should not be performed with vanity or pride. The Vedas should not be studied without faith. Children should not be procreated from lust, etc.]

SECTION 38

"Yudhishthira said, 'O best of the Bharatas, I wish to hear thee discourse on the disposition of women. W omen are said to be the root of all evil. They are all regarded as exceedingly frail.'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection is cited the old history of the discourse between the celestial Rishi Narada and the (celestial) courtezan Panchachuda. Once in ancient times, the celestial Rishi Narada, having roamed over all the world, met the Apsara Panchachuda of faultless beauty, having her abode in the region of Brahman. Beholding the Apsara every limb of whose body was endued with great beauty, the ascetic addressed her, saying, 'O thou of slender waist, I have a doubt in my mind. Do thou explain it.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed by the Rishi, the Apsara said unto him, 'If the subject is one which is known to me and if thou thinkest me competent to speak on it, I shall certainly say what is in my mind.'

"Narada said, 'O amiable one, I shall not certainly appoint thee to any task that is beyond thy competence. O thou of beautiful face, I wish to hear from thee of the disposition of women.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Hearing these words of the celestial Rishi, that foremost of Apsaras replied unto him, saying, 'I am unable, being myself a woman, to speak ill of women. Thou knowest what women are and with what nature they are endued. It behoveth thee not, O celestial Rishi, to set me to such a task.' Unto her the celestial Rishi said, 'It is very true, O thou of slender waist! One incurs fault by speaking what is untrue. In saying, however, what is true, there can be no fault.' Thus addressed by him, the Apsara Panchachuda of sweet smiles consented to answer Narada's question. She then addressed herself to mention what the true and eternal faults of women are!'

"Panchachuda said, 'Even if high-born and endued with beauty and possessed of protectors, women wish to transgress the restraints assigned to them. This fault truly stains them, O Narada! There is nothing else that is more sinful than women. Verily, women, are the root of all faults. That is, certainly known to thee, O Narada! Women, even when possessed of husbands having fame and wealth, of handsome features and completely obedient to them, are prepared to disregard them if they get the opportunity. This, O puissant one, is a sinful disposition with us women that, casting off modesty, we cultivate the companionship of men of sinful habits and intentions. Women betray a liking for those men who court them, who approach their presence, and who respectfully serve them to even a slight extent. Through want of solicitation by persons of the other sex, or fear of relatives, women, who are naturally impatient of all restraints, do not transgress those that have been ordained for them, and remain by the side of their husbands. There is none whom they are incapable of admitting to their favours. They never take into consideration the age of the person they are prepared to favour. Ugly or handsome, if only the person happens to belong to the opposite sex, women are ready to enjoy his companionship. That women remain faithful to their lords is due not to their fear of sin, nor to compassion, nor to wealth, nor to the affection that springs up in their hearts for kinsmen and children. Women living in the bosom of respectable families envy the condition of those members of their sex that are young and well-adorned with jewels and gems and that lead a free life. Even those women that are loved by their husbands and treated with great respect, are seen to bestow their favours upon men that are hump-backed, that are blind, that are idiots, or that are dwarfs. Women may be seen to like the companionship of even those men that are destitute of the power of locomotion or those men that are endued with great ugliness of features. O great Rishi, there is no man in this world whom women may regard as unfit for companionship. Through inability to obtain persons of the opposite sex, or fear of relatives, or fear of death and imprisonment, women remain, of themselves, within the restraints prescribed for them. They are exceedingly restless, for they always hanker after new companions. In consequence of their nature being unintelligible, they are incapable of being kept in obedience by affectionate treatment. Their disposition is such that they are incapable of being restrained when bent upon transgression. Verily, women are like the words uttered by the wise. 1 Fire is never satiated with fuel. Ocean can never be filled with the waters that rivers bring unto him. The Destroyer is never satiated with slaying even all living creatures. Similarly, women are never satiated with men. This, O celestial Rishi. is another mystery connected with women. As soon as they see a man of handsome and charming features, unfailing signs of desire appear on their persons. They never show sufficient regard for even such husbands as accomplish all their wishes, as always do what is agreeable to them and as protect them from want and danger. Women never regard so highly even articles of enjoyment in abundance or ornaments or other possessions of an agreeable kind as they do the companionship of persons of the opposite sex. The destroyer, the deity of wind, death, the nether legions, the equine mouth that roves through the ocean, vomiting ceaseless flames of fire, the sharpness of the razor, virulent poison, the snake, and Fire--all these exist in a state of union in women. That eternal Brahman whence the five great elements have sprung into existence, whence the Creator Brahma hath ordained the universe, and whence, indeed, men have sprung, verily from the same eternal source have women sprung into existence. At that time, again, O Narada, when women were created, these faults that I have enumerated were planted in them!'"

SECTION 39

"Yudhishthira said, 'All men, O king, in this world, are seen to attach themselves to women, overcome by the illusion that is created by the divine Being. Similarly, women too are seen to attach themselves to men. All this is seen taking place everywhere in the world. On this subject a doubt exists in my mind. Why, O delighter of the Kurus, do men (when women are stained with so many faults) still attach themselves to women? Who, again, are those men with whom women are highly pleased and who are they with whom they are displeased? It behoveth thee, O chief of men, to explain to me how men are capable of protecting women? While men take pleasure in women and sport with them, women, it seems, are engaged in deceiving men. Then, again, if a man once falls into their hands, it is difficult for him to escape from them. Like kine ever seeking pastures new women seek new men one after another. That illusion which the Asura Samvara possessed, that illusion which the Asura Namuchi possessed, that illusion which Vali or Kumbbinasi had, the sum total thereof is possessed by women. If man laughs, women laugh. If man weeps, they weep. If the opportunity requires, they receive the man that is disagreeable to them with agreeable words. That science of policy which the preceptor of the Asuras knew, that science of policy which the preceptor of the celestials, Vrihaspati, knew, cannot be regarded to be deeper or more distinguished for subtility than what woman's intelligence naturally brings forth. Verily how can women, therefore, be restrained by men? They make a lie appear as truth, and a truth appear as a lie. They who can do this,--I ask, O hero,--how can they be ruled by persons of the opposite sex? It seems to me that Vrihaspati and other great thinkers, O slayer of foes, evolved the science of policy from observation of the understandings of women. Whether treated by men with respect or with disdain, women are seen to turn the heads and agitate the hearts of men. [The sense is this: women agitate the hearts of those that treat them with respect as of those that treat them with disdain.] Living creatures, O thou of mighty arms, are virtuous. Even this is what has been heard by us. (How then, can this be consistent with fact)? For treated with affection and respect or otherwise, women (forming a fair portion of living creatures) are seen to deserve censure for their conduct towards men. [All living creatures are virtuous, for they are capable of progressing towards godship by their own acts.] This great doubt fills my mind, viz., when their behaviour is such, what man is there that can restrain them within the bounds of righteousness? Do thou explain this to me, O highly blessed scion of Kuru's race! It behoves thee to tell me, O chief of Kuru's race, whether women are truly capable of being restrained within the bonds prescribed by the scriptures or whether any one before our time did really succeed in so restraining them.'"

SECTION 40

"Bhishma said, 'It is even so as thou sayest, O thou of mighty arms. There is nothing untrue in all this that thou sayest, O thou of Kuru's race, on the subject of women. In this connection I shall recite to thee the old history of how in days of yore the high-souled Vipula had succeeded in restraining women within the bounds laid down for them. I shall also tell thee, O king, how women were created by the Grandsire Brahman and the object for which they were created by Him. There is no creature more sinful, O son, than women. Woman is a blazing fire. She is the illusion, O king, that the Daitya Maya created. She is the sharp edge of the razor. She is poison. She is a snake. She is fire. She is, verily, all these united together. It has been heard by us that all persons of the human race are characterised by righteousness, and that they, in course of natural progress and improvement, attain to the status of deities. This circumstance alarmed the deities. They, therefore, O chastiser of foes, assembled together and repaired to the presence of the Grandsire. Informing Him of what was in their minds, they stood silent in his presence, with downcast eyes. The puissant Grand sire having ascertained what was in the hearts of the deities, created women, with the aid of an Atharvan rite. In a former creation, O son of Kunti, women were all virtuous. Those, however, that sprang from this creation by Brahman with the aid of an illusion became sinful. The grandsire bestowed upon them the desire of enjoyment, all kinds of carnal pleasure. Tempted by the desire of enjoyment, they began to pursue persons of the other sex. The puissant lord of the deities created Wrath as the companion of Lust. Persons of the male sex, yielding to the power of Lust and Wrath, sought the companionship of women. Women have no especial acts prescribed for them. Even this is the ordinance that was laid down. The Sruti declares that women are endued with senses the most powerful, that they have no scriptures to follow, and that they are living lies. Beds and seats and ornaments and food and drink and the absence of all that is respectable and righteous, indulgence in disagreeable words, and love of sexual companionship,--these were bestowed by Brahman upon women. Men are quite unable to restrain them within bounds. The Creator himself is incapable of restraining them within the limits that are proper: what need then be said of men? This, O chief of men, I heard in former days, viz., how Vipula had succeeded in protecting his preceptor's spouse in ancient times. There was in days of yore a highly blessed Rishi of the name of Devasarman of great celebrity. He had a wife, Ruchi by name, who was unequalled on earth for beauty. Her loveliness intoxicated every beholder among the deities and Gandharvas and Danavas. The chastiser of Paka, viz., Indra, the slayer of Vritra, O monarch, was in particular enamoured of her and coveted her person. The great ascetic Devasarman was fully cognisant of the disposition of women. He, therefore, to the best of his power and energy, protected her (from every kind of evil influence). The Rishi knew that Indra was restrained by no scruples in the matter of seeking the companionship of other people's wives. It was for this reason that he used to protect his spouse, putting forth all his power. Once on a time, O son, the Rishi became desirous of performing a sacrifice. He began to think of how (during his own absence from home) his wife could be protected. Endued with high ascetic merit, he at last hit upon the course he should adopt. Summoning his favourite disciple whose name was Vipula and who was of Bhrigu's race, he said as follows:

"Devasarman said, 'I shall leave home (for a while) in order to perform a sacrifice. The chief of the celestials always covets this Ruchi of mine. Do thou, during my absence, protect her, putting forth all thy might! Thou shalt pass thy time heedfully in view of Purandara. O foremost one of Bhrigu's race, that Indra assumes various disguises.'

Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed by his preceptor, the ascetic Vipula with senses under control, always engaged in severe penances, possessed of the splendour, O king, of fire or the sun conversant with all the duties of righteousness, and ever truthful in speech, answered him, saying, 'So be it.' Once more, however, as his preceptor was about to set out Vipula asked him in these words.'

"Vipula said, Tell me, O Muni, what forms does Sakra assume when he presents himself. Of what kind is his body and what is his energy? It behoveth thee to say all this to me.'

"Bhishma continued, 'The illustrious Rishi then truly described unto the high-souled Vipula all the illusions of Sakra, O Bharata.'

"Devasarman said, 'The puissant chastiser of Paka, O regenerate Rishi, is full of illusion. Every moment he assumes those forms that he chooses. Sometimes he wears a diadem and holds the thunderbolt. Sometimes armed with the thunderbolt and wearing a crown on his head, he adorns himself with ear-rings, in a moment he transforms himself into the shape and aspect of Chandala. Sometimes, he appears with coronal locks on his head: soon again, O son, he shows himself with matted locks, his person clad the while in rags. Sometimes, he assumes a goodly and gigantic frame. The next moment he transforms himself into one of emaciated limbs, and dressed in rags. Sometimes he becomes fair, sometimes

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darkish, sometimes dark of complexion. Sometimes he becomes ugly and sometimes as possessed of great comeliness of person. Sometimes he shows himself as young and sometimes as old Sometimes he appears as a Brahmana, sometimes as a Kshatriya, sometimes as a Vaisya, and sometimes as a Sudra. Verily, he of a hundred sacrifices appears at times as a person born of impure order, that is as the son of a superior father by an inferior mother or of an inferior father by a superior mother. Sometimes he appears as a parrot, sometimes as a crow, sometimes as a swan, and sometimes as a cuckoo. He assumes the forms also of a lion, a tiger, or an elephant. Sometimes he shows himself as a god, sometimes as a Daitya, and sometimes he assumes the guise of a king. Sometimes he appears as fat and plump. Sometimes as one whose limbs have been broken by the action of disordered wind in the system, sometimes as a bird, and sometimes as one of exceedingly ugly features. Sometimes he appears as a quadruped. Capable of assuming any form, he sometimes appears as an idiot destitute of all intelligence. He assumes also the forms of flies and gnats. O Vipula, no one can make him out in consequence of these innumerable disguises that he is capable of assuming. The very Creator of the universe is not equal to that feat. He makes himself invisible when he chooses. He is incapable of being seen except with the eye of knowledge. The chief of the celestials sometimes transforms himself into the wind. The chastiser of Paka always assumes these disguises. Do thou, therefore, O Vipula, protect this slender-waisted spouse of mine with great care. O foremost one of Bhrigu's race, do thou take every care for seeing that the chief of the celestials may not defile this spouse of mine like a wretched dog licking the Havi kept in view of a sacrifice. Having said these words, the highly-blessed Muni, viz., Devasarman, intend upon performing a sacrifice, set out from his abode, O chief of the Bharatas. Hearing these words of his preceptor, Vipula began to think, 'I shall certainly protect this lady in every respect from the puissant chief of the celestials. But what should be the means? What can I do in this matter of protecting the wife of my preceptor? The chief of the celestials is endued with large powers of illusion. Possessed of great energy, he is difficult of being resisted. Indra cannot be kept out by enclosing this retreat of ours or fencing this yard, since he is capable of assuming innumerable forms. Assuming the form of the wind, the chief of the celestials may assault the spouse of my preceptor. The best course, therefore, for me, would be to enter (by Yoga-power) the body of this lady and remain there. By putting forth my prowess I shall not be able to protect the lady, for the puissant chastiser of Paka, it has been heard by me, is capable of assuming any form he likes. I shall, therefore, protect this one from Indra by my Yoga-power. For carrying out my object I shall with my body enter the body of this lady. If my preceptor, coming back, beholds his spouse defiled, he will, without doubt, curse me through wrath, for endued with great ascetic merit, he is possessed of spiritual vision. This lady is incapable of being protected in the way in which other women are protected by men, since the chief of the celestials is endued with large powers of illusion. Alas, the situation in which I find myself is very critical. The behest of my preceptor should certainly be obeyed by me. If, therefore, I protect her by my Yoga-power, the feat will be regarded by all as a wonderful one. By my Yoga-power, therefore, I shall enter the body of my preceptor's lady. I shall stay within her and yet not touch her person, like a drop of water on a lotus-leaf which lies on it and yet does not drench it at all. If I be free from the taint of passion, I cannot incur any fault by doing what I wish to do. As a traveller, in course of his sojourn, takes up his residence (for a while) in any empty mansion he finds, I shall, after the same manner, reside this day within the body of my preceptor's lady Verily, with mind rapt up in Yoga, I shall dwell today in this lady's body! Giving his best consideration to these points of righteousness, thinking of all the Vedas and their branches, and with eye directed to the large measure of penances which his preceptor had and which he himself also was possessed of, and having settled in his mind, with a view only to protect the lady, to enter her person by Yoga-power. Vipula of Bhrigu's race took great care (for accomplishing his purpose). Listen now to me, O monarch, as I recite to thee what he did. Endued with great penances, Vipula sat himself down by the side of his preceptor's spouse as she of faultless features was sitting in her cottage, Vipula then began to discourse to her bringing her over to the cause of righteousness and truth. Directing his eyes then to hers and uniting the rays of light that emanated from her organs of vision with those that issued from his, Vipula (in his subtile form) entered the lady's body even as the element of wind enters that of ether of space. Penetrating her eyes with his eyes and her face with his face, Vipula stayed, without moving, within her invisibly, like her shadow. Restraining every part of the lady's body, Vipula continued to dwell within her, intent on protecting her from Indra. The lady herself knew nothing of this. It was in this way, O monarch, that Vipula continued to protect the lady till the time of his high-souled preceptor's coming back after accomplishing the sacrifice which he had gone out to perform.'"

SECTION 41

'Bhishma said, One day the chief of the celestials assuming a form of celestial beauty, came to the retreat of the Rishi, thinking that the opportunity he had been expecting had at last come. Verily, O king, having assumed a form unrivalled for comeliness and exceedingly tempting to women and highly agreeable to look at, Indra entered the ascetic's asylum. He saw the body of Vipula staying in a sitting posture, immovable as a stake, and with eyes destitute of vision, like a picture drawn on the canvas. And he saw also that Ruchi was seated there, adorned with eyes whose ends were extremely beautiful, possessed of full and rotund hips, and having a deep and swelling bosom. Her eyes were large and expansive like the petals of the lotus, and her face was as beautiful and sweet as the moon at full. Seeing Indra come in that guise, the lady wished to rise up and offer him a welcome. Her wonder having been excited at the unrivalled beauty of form which the person possessed, she very much wished to ask him as to who he was. Although, however, she wished to rise up and offer him a welcome, yet her limbs having been restrained by Vipula who was dwelling within her, she failed, O king, to do what she wished. In fact, she was unable to move from the place where she sat. The chief of the celestials then addressed her in agreeable words uttered with a sweet voice. Indeed, he said, 'O thou of sweet smiles, know that I am Indra, arrived here for thy sake! Know, O sweet lady, that I am afflicted by the deity of desire provoked by thoughts of thee! O thou of beautiful brows, I have come to thy presence. Time wears off.' 1 These words that Indra spoke were heard by the ascetic Vipula. Remaining within the body of his preceptor's wife, he saw everything that occurred. The lady of faultless beauty, though she heard what Indra said, was, however, unable to rise up for welcoming or honouring the chief of the celestials. Her senses restrained by Vipula, she was unable to utter a word in reply. That scion of Bhrigu's race, of mighty energy, judging from the indications afforded by the body of his preceptor's wife that she was not unwilling to receive Indra with kindness, restrained her limbs and senses all the more effectually, O king, by his Yoga-powers. With Yoga-bonds he bound up all her senses. Beholding her seated without any indication of agitation on her person, the lord of Sachi, abashed a little, once more addressed that lady who was stupefied by the Yoga-powers of her husband's disciple, in these words, 'Come, come, O sweet lady!' Then the lady endeavoured to answer him. Vipula, however restrained the words that she intended to utter. The words, therefore, that actually escaped her lips (under the influence of Vipula) were. 'What is the reason of thy coming hither?' These words adorned with grammatical refinements, issued out of her mouth that was as beautiful as the moon. [Ladies spoke in Prakrita and not in Sanskrit. The latter is refined, the former is unrefined. (Sanskrit and Prakrit were the same language; Sanskrit being the language of books or education, Prakrit the vernacular.) Hence Indra's surprise at hearing Sanskrit words from the lady's lips (Woman had no or a much lower education than men).] Subject to the influence of another, she uttered these words, but became rather ashamed for uttering them. Hearing her, Purandara became exceedingly cheerless. Observing that awkward result, the chief of the celestials, O monarch, adorned with a thousand eyes saw every thing with his spiritual eye. He then beheld the ascetic staying within the body of the lady. Indeed, the ascetic remained within the body of his preceptor's wife like an image or reflection on a mirror. Beholding the ascetic endued with the terrible might of penances, Purandara, O monarch, fearing the Rishi's curse, trembled in fright. Vipula then, possessed of high ascetic might, left the body of his preceptor's wife and returned to his own body that was lying near. He then addressed the terrified Indra in the following words:

"Vipula said, 'O wicked-souled Purandara, O thou of sinful mind, O wretch that hast no control over thy senses, neither the deities nor human beings will worship thee for any length of time! Hast thou forgotten it. O Sakra,--does it not still dwell in thy remembrance,--that Gautama had cursed thee in consequence of which thy body became disfigured with a thousand sex-marks, which, owing to the Rishi's compassion, were afterwards changed into organs of vision? I know that thou art of an exceedingly foolish understanding, that thy soul is uncleansed, and that thou art of an exceedingly unstable mind! O fool, know that this lady is being protected by me. O sinful wretch, go back to that place whence thou tamest. O thou of foolish soul, I do not consume thee today into ashes with my energy. Verily, I am filled with compassion for thee. It is for this that I do not, O Vasava, wish to burn thee. My preceptor, endued with great intelligence, is possessed of terrible might. With eyes blazing with wrath, he would, if he saw thee, have burnt thy sinful self today. Thou shouldst not, O Sakra, do like this again. The Brahmanas should be regarded by thee. See that thou dost not, with thy sons and counsellors, meet with destruction, afflicted by the might of the Brahmanas. Thou thinkest that thou art an immortal and that, therefore, art at liberty to proceed in this way. Do not, however, disregard the Brahmanas. Know that there is nothing unattainable by penance.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Hearing these words of the high-souled Vipula, Sakra without saying anything, and overwhelmed with shame, made himself invisible. A moment after he had gone away, Devasarman of high ascetic merit, having accomplished the sacrifice he had intended to perform, came back to his own asylum. When his preceptor came back, Vipula, who had done an agreeable deed, gave, unto him his wife of faultless beauty whom he had successfully protected against the machinations of Indra. Of tranquil soul and full of reverence for his preceptor, Vipula respectfully saluted him and stood in his presence with a fearless heart. After his preceptor had rested a while and when he was seated with his wife on the same seat, Vipula represented unto him everything that Sakra had done. Hearing these words of Vipula, that foremost of Munis, endued with great prowess, became highly gratified with him for his conduct and disposition, his penances, and his observances. Observing Vipula's conduct towards himself--his preceptor--and his devotion also, and noting his steadiness in virtue, the puissant Devasarman exclaimed, "Excellent, excellent!' The righteous-souled Devasarman, receiving his virtuous disciple with a sincere welcome, honoured him with a boon. Indeed, Vipula, steady in virtue obtained from his preceptor the boon that he would never swerve or fall away from righteousness. Dismissed by his preceptor he left his abode and practised the most severe austerities. Devasarman also, of severe penances, with his spouse, began from that day to live in those solitary woods, perfectly fearless of him who had slain Vala and Vritra.'"

SECTION 42

"Bhishma said, 'Having accomplished his preceptor's behest, Vipula practised the most severe penances. Possessed of great energy, he at last regarded himself as endued with sufficient ascetic merit, Priding himself upon the feat he had achieved, he wandered fearlessly and contentedly over the earth, O monarch, regarded by all as one possessed of great fame for what he had done. The puissant Bhargava regarded that he had conquered both the worlds by that feat of his as also by his severe penances. After some time had passed away, O delighter of the Kurus, the occasion came for a ceremony of gifts to take place with respect to the sister of Ruchi. Abundant wealth and corn were to be given away in it. [The adana ceremony was a rite in course of which friends and kinsmen had to make presents unto the person performing the ceremony. The investiture with the sacred-thread, marriage, the rite performed in the sixth and the ninth month of pregnancy, are all ceremonies of this kind.] Meanwhile, a certain celestial damsel endued with great beauty, was journeying through the skies. From her body as she coursed through the welkin, some flowers dropped down on the earth. Those flowers possessed of celestial fragrance fell on a spot not far from the retreat of Ruchi's husband. As the flowers lay scattered on the ground, they were picked up by Ruchi of beautiful eyes. Soon after an invitation came to Ruchi from the country of the Angas. The sister, referred to above, of Ruchi, named Prabhavati, was the spouse of Chitraratha, the ruler of the Angas. Ruchi, of very superior complexion, having attached those flowers to her hair, went to the palace of the king of the Angas in answer to the invitation she had received. Beholding those flowers on her hair the queen of the Angas, possessed of beautiful eyes, urged her sister to obtain some for her. Ruchi, of beautiful face, speedily informed her husband of that request of her sister. The Rishi accepted the prayer of his sister-in-law. Summoning Vipula into his presence Devasarman of severe penances commanded his disciple to bring him some flowers of the same kind, saying, 'Go, go!' Accepting without hesitation the behest of his preceptor, the great ascetic Vipula, O king, answered, 'So be it!' and then proceeded to that spot whence the lady Ruchi had picked up the flowers that were coveted by her sister. Arrived at that spot where the flowers (picked up by Ruchi) had fallen from the welkin, Vipula saw some others still lying scattered. They were all as fresh as if they had been newly plucked from the plants whereon they had grown. None of them had drooped in the least. He took up those celestial flowers of great beauty. Possessed of celestial fragrance, O Bharata, Vipula got them there as the result of his severe penances. The accomplisher of his preceptor's behest, having obtained them, he felt great delight and set out speedily for the city of Champa adorned with festoons of Champaka flowers. As he proceeded, he saw on his way a human couple moving in a circle hand in hand. One of them made a rapid step and thereby destroyed the cadence of the movement. For this reason, O king, a dispute arose between them. Indeed, one of them charged the other, saying, 'Thou hast made a quicker step!' The other answered, 'No, verily', as each maintained his own opinion obstinately, each, O king, asserted what the other denied, and denied what the other asserted. While thus disputing with each other with great assurance, an oath was then heard among them. Indeed, each of them suddenly named Vipula in what they uttered. The oath each of them took was even this, 'That one amongst us two who speaketh falsely, shall in the next world, meet with the end which will be the regenerate Vipula's!' Hearing these words of theirs, Vipula's

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face became very cheerless. He began to reflect, saying unto himself, 'I have undergone severe penances. The dispute between this couple is hot. To me, again, it is painful. What is the sin of which I have been guilty that both these persons should refer to my end in the next world as the most painful one among those reserved for all creatures?' Thinking in this strain, Vipula, O best of monarchs, hung down his head, and with a cheerless mind began to recollect what sin he had done. Proceeding a little way he beheld six other men playing with dice made of gold and silver. Engaged in play, those individuals seemed to him to be so excited that the hair on their bodies stood on end. They also (upon a dispute having arisen among them) were heard by Vipula to take the same oath that he had already heard the first couple to take. Indeed, their words had reference in the same way to Vipula, 'He amongst us who, led by cupidity, will act in an improper way, shall meet with that end which is reserved for Vipula in the next world!' Hearing these words, however, Vipula, although he strove earnestly to recollect failed to remember any transgression of his from even his earliest years, O thou of Kuru's race. Verily he began to burn like a fire placed in the midst of another fire. Hearing that curse, his mind burnt with grief. In this state of anxiety a long time elapsed. At last he recollected the manner in which he had acted in protecting his preceptor's wife from the machinations of Indra. 'I had penetrated the body of that lady, placing limb within limb, face within face, Although I had acted in this way, I did not yet tell my preceptor the truth!' Even this was the transgression. O thou of Kuru's race which Vipula recollected in himself. Indeed, O blessed monarch, without doubt that was the transgression which he had actually committed. Coming to the city of Champa, he gave the flowers to his preceptor. Devoted to superiors and seniors, he worshipped his preceptor in due form.'"

SECTION 43

"Bhishma said, 'Beholding his disciple returned from his mission, Devasarman of great energy addressed him in words which I shall recite to thee O king!'

"Davasarman said, 'What hast thou seen, O Vipula, in course of thy progress, O disciple, through the great forest' 'They whom thou hast seen knew thee, O Vipula. I, as also my spouse Ruchi, know how thou hadst acted in the matter of protecting Ruchi.'

"Vipula said, 'O regenerate Rishi, who are those two whom I first saw? Who also are those other six whom I saw subsequently? All of them know me: who, indeed, are they to whom thou alludest in thy speech to me?'

"Devasarman said, The first couple, O regenerate one, whom thou sawest, are Day and Night. They are ceaselessly moving like a circle. Both of them know the transgression of which thou hast been guilty, those other men (six in number) whom, O learned Brahmana, thou sawest playing cheerfully at dice, are the six Seasons. They also are acquainted with thy transgressions. Having committed a sin in secrecy, no sinful man should cherish the assuring thought that his transgression is known only to himself and not to any one else. When a man perpetrates a sinful deed in secret, the Seasons as also Day and Night behold it always. Those regions that are reserved for the sinful shall be thine (for what thou hast done) What thou hadst done thou didst not tell me. That thy sin was not known to any one, was thy belief, and this conviction had filled thee with joy. Thou didst not inform the preceptor of the whole truth, choosing to hide from him a material portion. The Seasons, and Day and Night, whom thou hast heard speak in that strain, thought it proper to remind thee of thy transgression. Day and Night and the Seasons are ever conversant of all the good and the bad deeds that are in a man. They spoke to thee in that way, O regenerate one, because they have full knowledge of what thou hadst done but which thou hadst not the courage to inform me of, fearing thou hadst done wrong. For this reason those regions that are reserved for the sinful will be thine as much. Thou didst not tell me what thou hadst done. Thou weft fully capable, O regenerate one, of protecting my spouse whose disposition by nature, is sinful. In doing what thou didst, thou didst not commit any sin. I was, for this, gratified with thee! O best of Brahmanas, if I had known thee to have acted wickedly, I would without hesitation, have cursed thee. Women become united with men. Such union is very desirable with men. Thou hadst, however, protected my wife in a different spirit. If thou hadst acted otherwise, a curse would have been uttered upon thee. Even this is what I think. Thou hadst O son, protected my spouse. The manner in which thou didst it hath now become known to me as if thou hadst thyself informed me of it. I have, O son, become gratified with thee. Relieved of all anxiety, thou shalt go to heaven!' Having said these words unto Vipula, the great Rishi Devasarman, ascended to heaven with his wife and his disciple and began to pass his time there in great happiness. In course of conversation, O king, on a former occasion, the great ascetic Markandeya had narrated to me this history on the banks of the Ganga. I, therefore, recite to thee. Women should always be protected by thee (from temptations and opportunities of every kind). Amongst them both kinds are to be seen, that is, those that are virtuous and those that are not so. Those women that are virtuous are highly blessed. They are the mothers of the universe (for they it is that cherish all creatures on every side). They, it is, O king, that uphold the earth with all her waters and forests. Those women that are sinful, that are of wicked behaviour, that are the destroyers of their races, and that are wedded to sinful resolves, are capable of being ascertained by indications, expressive of the evil that is in them, which appear, O king, on their bodies. It is even thus that high-souled persons are capable of protecting women. They cannot, O tiger among kings, be protected in any other way. Women, O chief of men, are fierce. They are endued with fierce prowess. They have none whom they love or like so much as they that have sexual congress with them. Women are like those (Atharvan) incantations that are destructive of life. Even after they have consented to live with one, they are prepared to abandon him for entering into engagements with others. They are never satisfied with one person of the opposite sex, O son of Pandu! Men should feel no affection for them. Nor should they entertain any jealousy on account of them, O king! having a regard only for the considerations of virtue, men should enjoy their society, not with enthusiasm and attachment but with reluctance and absence of attachment. By acting otherwise, a man is sure to meet with destruction, O delighter of the Kurus. Reason is respected at all times and under all circumstances. Only one man, viz., Vipula, had succeeded in protecting woman. There is none else, O king, in the three worlds who is capable of protecting women.'"

SECTION 44

"Yudhishthira said, "Tell me of that, O grandsire, which is the root of all duties, which is the root of kinsmen, of home, of the Pitris and of guests. I think this should be regarded as the foremost of all duties, (viz., the marriage of one's daughter). Tell me, however, O king, upon what sort of a person should one bestow one's daughter?'

"Bhishma said, 'Having enquired into the conduct and disposition of the person, his learning and acquirements, his birth, and his acts, good people should then bestow their daughter upon accomplished bridegrooms. All righteous Brahmanas, O Yudhishthira, act in this way (in the matter of the bestowal of their daughters). This is known as the Brahma marriage, O Yudhishthira! Selecting an eligible bridegroom, the father of the girl should cause him to marry his daughter, having, by presents of diverse kinds, induced the bridegroom to that act. This form of marriage constitutes the eternal practice of all good Kshatriyas. When the father of the girl', disregarding his own wishes, bestows his daughter upon a person whom the daughter likes and who reciprocates the girl's sentiments, the form of marriage, O Yudhishthira, is called Gandharva by those that are conversant with the Vedas. The wise have said this, O king, to be the practice of the Asuras, viz., wedding a girl after purchasing her at a high cost and after gratifying the cupidity of her kinsmen. Slaying and cutting off the heads of weeping kinsmen, the bridegroom sometimes forcibly takes away the girl he would wed. Such wedding, O son, is called by the name of Rakshasa. Of these five (the Brahma, the Kshatra, the Gandharva, the Asura, and the Rakshasa), three are righteous, O Yudhishthira, and two are unrighteous. The Paisacha and the Asura forms should never be resorted to. The Brahma, Kshatra, and Gandharva forms are righteous, O prince of men! Pure or mixed, these forms should be resorted to, without doubt. A Brahmana can take three wives. A Kshatriya can take two wives. As regards the Vaisya, he should take a wife from only his own order. The children born of these wives should all be regarded as equal. [Thus, there was no difference, in status, in ancient times, between children born of a Brahmana, a Kshatriya or a Vaisya mother. The difference of status was of later origin.] Of the three wives of a Brahmana, she taken from his own order should be regarded as the foremost. Similarly, of the two wives permitted to the Kshatriya, she taken from his own order should be regarded as superior. Some say that persons belonging to the three higher orders may take, only for purposes of enjoyment (and not for those of virtue), wives from the lowest or the Sudra order. Others, however, forbid the practice.

The righteous condemn the practice of begetting issue upon Sudra women. A Brahmana, by begetting children upon a Sudra woman, incurs the liability of performing an expiation. A person of thirty years of age should wed a girl of ten years of age called a Nagnika. Or, a person of one and twenty years of age should wed a girl of seven years of age. That girl who has no brother nor father should not be wed, O chief of Bharata's race, for she may be intended as Putrika of her sire. [When a father happens to have an only daughter, he frequently bestows her in marriage upon some eligible youth on the understanding that the son born of her shall be the son, for purposes of both Sraddha rites and inheritance, not of the husband begetting him but of the girl's father. Such a contract would be valid whether expressed or not at the time of marriage. The mere wish of the girl's father, unexpressed at the time of marriage, would convert the son into a son not of the father who begets him but of the father of the girl herself. A daughter reserved for such a purpose is said to be a putrikadharmini or 'invested with the character of a son.' To wed such a girl was not honourable. It was in effect an abandonment of the fruits of marriage. Even if dead at the time of marriage, still if the father had, while living, cherished such a wish, that would convert the girl into a putrikadharmini. The repugnance to wedding girls without father and brothers exists to this day.] After the appearance of puberty, the girl (if not married) should wait for three years. On the fourth year, she should look for a husband herself (without waiting any longer for her kinsmen to select one for her). The offspring of such a girl do not lose their respectability, nor does union with such a girl become disgraceful. If, instead of selecting a husband for herself, she acts otherwise, she incurs the reproach of Prajapati herself. One should wed that girl who is not a Sapinda of one's mother or of the same Gotra with one's father. Even this is the usage (consistent with the sacred law) which Manu has declared.' [For understanding the meanings of Sapinda and Sagotra see any work on Hindu law civil or canonical.]

"Yudhishthira said, 'Desirous of marriage someone actually gives a dower to the girl's kinsmen; someone says, the girl's kinsmen consenting promises to give a dower; someone says, 'I shall abduct the girl by force;' someone simply displays his wealth (to the girl's kinsmen, intending to offer a portion thereof as dower for her); someone, again, actually takes the hand of the girl with rites of wedding. I ask thee, O grandsire, whose wife does the girl actually become? Unto its that are desirous of knowing the truth, thou art the eye with which to behold.'

"Bhishma said, 'Whatever acts of men have been approved or settled in consultation by the wise, are seen to be productive of good. False speech, however, is always sinful. The girl himself that becomes wife, the sons born of her, the Ritwiks and preceptors and disciples and Upadhyayas present at the marriage all become liable to expiation if the girl bestow her hand upon a person other than he whom she had promised to wed. Some are of opinion that no expiation is necessary for such conduct. Manu does not applaud the practice of a girl living with a person whom she does not like. [Hence, having promised to wed such a one, she is at liberty to give him over and wed another whom she likes.] Living as wife with a person whom she does not like, leads to disgrace and sin. No one incurs much sin in any of these cases that follow. In forcibly abducting for marriage a girl that is bestowed upon the abductor by the girl's kinsmen, with due rites, as also a girl for whom dower has been paid and accepted, there is no great sin. Upon the girl's kinsmen having expressed their consent, Mantras and Homa should be resorted to. Such Mantras truly accomplish their purpose. Mantras and Homa recited and performed in the case of a girl that has not been bestowed by her kinsmen, do not accomplish their purpose. The engagement made by the kinsmen of a girl is, no doubt, binding and sacred. But the engagement that is entered into by the wedder and wedded, with the aid of Mantras, is very much more so (for it is this engagement that really creates the relationship of husband and wife). According to the dictates of the scriptures, the husband should regard his wife as an acquisition due to his own acts of a previous life or to what has been ordained by God. One, therefore, incurs no reproach by accepting for wife a girl that had been promised to another by her kinsmen or for whom dower had been accepted by them from another.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'When after the receipt of dower for a girl, the girl's sire sees a more eligible person present himself for her hand,--one, that is who is endued with the aggregate of Three in judicious proportions, does the girl's sire incur reproach by rejecting the person from whom dower had been received in favour of him that is more eligible? In such a case either alternative seems to be fraught with fault, for to discard the person to whom the girl has been promised can never be honourable, while to reject the person that is more eligible can never be good (considering the solemn obligation there is of bestowing one's daughter on the most eligible person). I ask, how should the sire conduct himself so that he might be said to do that which is beneficial? To us, of all duties this seems to demand the utmost measure of deliberation. We are desirous of ascertaining the truth. Thou, indeed, art our eyes! Do thou explain this to us. I am never satiated with listening to thee!'

'Bhishma said, 'The gift of the dower does not cause the status of wife to attach to the girl. This is well-known to the person paying it. He pays it simply as the price of the girl. Then again they that are good never bestow their daughters, led by the dowers that others may offer. When the person desirous of wedding happens to be endued with such qualities as do not go down with the girl's kinsmen, it is then that kinsmen demand dower from him. That person, however, who won over by another's accomplishments, addresses him, saying, 'Do thou wed my girl, adorning her with proper ornaments of gold and gems,'--and that person who complies with this request, cannot be said to demand dower or give it, for such a transaction is not really a sale. The bestowal of a daughter

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upon acceptance of what may strictly be regarded as gifts (of affection or love) is the eternal practice. In matters of marriage some fathers say, 'I shall not bestow my daughter upon such and such a person;' some say, 'I shall bestow my daughter upon such a one.'--Some again say with vehemence, 'I must bestow my daughter upon such an individual.' These declarations do not amount to actual marriage. People are seen to solicit one another for the hands of maidens (and promise and retreat). Till the hand is actually taken with due rites, marriage cannot be said to take place. It has been beard by us that' even this was the boon granted to men in days of old by the Maruts in respect of maidens [In consequence of that boon no one incurs sin by retracting promises of bestowing daughters upon others in view of more eligible husbands.]. The Rishis have laid the command upon all men that maidens should never be bestowed upon persons unless the latter happen to be most fit or eligible. The daughter is the root of desire and of descendants of the collateral line. Even this is what I think. [Hence, no one should bestow his daughter upon a person that is not eligible, for the offspring of such marriage can never be good and such a marriage can never make the daughter's sire or kinsmen happy.] The practice has been known to human beings from a long time,--the practice, of sale and purchase of the daughter. In consequence of such familiarity with the practice, thou mayst be able, upon careful examination, to find innumerable faults in it. The gift or acceptance of dower alone could not be regarded as creating the status of husband and wife. Listen to what I say on this head.

"Formerly, having defeated all the Magadhas, the Kasis, and the Kosalas, I brought away by force two maidens for Vichitravirya. One of those two maidens was wedded with due rites. The other maiden was not formally wedded on the ground that she was one for whom dowry had been paid in the form of valour. My uncle of Kuru's race, viz., king Valhika, said that the maiden so brought away and not wedded with due rites should be set free. That maiden, therefore, was recommended to Vichitravirya for being married by him according to due rites. Doubting my father's words I repaired to others for asking their opinion. I thought that my sire was exceedingly punctilious in matters of morality. I then went to my sire himself, O king, and addressed him these words from desire of knowing something about the practices of righteous people in respect of marriage, 'I desire, O sire, to know what in truth the practices are of righteous people.' I repeated the expression of my wish several times, so great was my eagerness and curiosity. After I had uttered those words, that foremost of righteous men, viz., my sire, Valhika answered me, saying, 'If in your opinion the status of husband and wife be taken to attach on account of the gift and acceptance of dowry and not from the actual taking of the maiden's hand with due rites, the father of the maiden (by permitting his daughter to go away with the giver of the dowry) would so himself to be the follower of a creed other than that which is derivable from the ordinary scriptures. Even this is what the accepted scriptures declare. Persons conversant with morality and duty do not allow that their words are at all authoritative who say that the status of husband and wife arises from the gift and acceptance of dowry, and not from the actual taking of the hand with due rites. The saying is well-known that the status of husband and wife is created by actual bestowal of the daughter by the sire (and her acceptance by the husband with due rites). The status of wife cannot attach to maidens through sale and purchase. They who regard such status to be due to sale and the gift of dowry are persons that are certainly unacquainted with the scriptures. No one should bestow his daughter upon such persons. In fact, they are not men to whom one may marry his daughter. A wife should never be purchased. Nor should a father sell his daughter. Only those persons of sinful soul who are possessed, besides, by cupidity, and who sell and purchase female slaves for making serving women, regard the status of wife as capable of arising from the gift and acceptance of a dowry. On this subject some people on one occasion had asked prince Satyavat the following question, 'If the giver of a dowry unto the kinsmen of a maiden happens to die before marriage, can another person take the hand of that maiden in marriage? We have doubts on this matter. Do thou remove these doubts of ours, for thou art endued with great wisdom and art honoured by the wise. Be thou the organ of vision unto ourselves that are desirous of learning the truth.' Prince Satyavat answered saying, 'The kinsmen of the maiden should bestow her upon him whom they consider eligible. There need be no scruples in this. The righteous act in this way without taking note of the giver of the dower even if he be alive; while, as regards the giver that is dead, there is not the slightest doubt. Some say that the virgin wife or widow,--one, that is, whose marriage has not been consummated with her husband by actual sexual congress in consequence of his absence or death,--may be allowed to unite herself with her husband's younger brother or such other relation. The husband dying before such consummation, the virgin-widow may either surrender herself to her husband's younger brother or betake herself to the practice of penances. In the opinion of some, the younger brother of the husband or such other relation may thus use the unused wife or widow, though others maintain that such practice, notwithstanding its prevalence, springs from desire instead of being a scriptural ordinance. They that say so are clearly of opinion that the father of a maiden has the right to bestow her upon any eligible person, disregarding the dowry previously given by another and accepted by himself. If after the hand of a maiden has been promised all the initial rites before marriage be performed, the maiden may still be bestowed upon a person other than the one unto whom she had been promised. Only the giver incurs the sin of falsehood: so far, however, as the status of wife is concerned, no injury can occur thereto. The Mantras in respect of marriage accomplish their object of bringing about the indissoluble union of marriage at the seventh step. The maiden becomes the wife of him unto whom the gift is actually made with water. [One of the most important rites of marriage is the ceremony of circumambulation. The girl is now borne around the bride-groom by her kinsmen. Formerly, she used to walk herself. All gifts, again, are made with water. The fact is, when a thing is given away, the giver, uttering the formula, sprinkles a drop of water upon it with a blade of Kusa grass.] The gift of maidens should be made in the following way. The wise know it for certain. A superior Brahmana should wed a maiden that is not unwilling, that belongs to a family equal to his own in purity or status, and that is given away by her brother. Such a girl should be wed in the presence of fire, with due rites, causing her, amongst other things, to circumambulate for the usual number of times."

SECTION 45

"Yudhishthira said, 'If a person, after having given dowry for a maiden, goes away, how should the maiden's father or other kinsmen who are competent to bestow her, act? Do tell me this, O grandsire!'

"Bhishma said, 'Such a maiden, if she happens to be the daughter of a sonless and rich father, should be maintained by the father (in view of the return of him who has given the dowry). Indeed, if the father does not return the dowry unto the kinsmen of the giver, the maiden should be regarded as belonging to the giver of the dowry. She may even raise offspring for the giver (during his absence) by any of those means that are laid down in the scriptures. No person, however, can be competent to wed her according to due rites. Commanded by her sire, the princess Savitri had in days of old chosen a husband and united herself with him. This act of hers is applauded by some; but others conversant with the scriptures, condemn it. Others that are righteous have not acted in this way. Others hold that the conduct of the righteous should ever be regarded as the foremost evidence of duty or morality. Upon this subject Sukratu, the grandson of the high-souled Janaka, the ruler of the Videhas, has declared the following opinion. There is the well-known declaration of the scriptures that women are incompetent to enjoy freedom at any period of their life. If this were not the path trodden by the righteous, how could this scriptural declaration exist? As regards the righteous, therefore, how can there be any question or doubt in respect of this matter? How can people condemn that declaration by choosing to conduct themselves otherwise? The unrighteous dereliction of eternal usage is regarded as the practice of the Asuras. Such practice we never hear of in the conduct of the ancients the relationship of husband and wife is very subtile (having reference to the acquisition of destiny, and, therefore, capable of being understood with the aid of only the inspired declarations in scriptures). It is different from the natural relationship of male and female which consists only in the desire for sexual pleasure. This also was said by the king alluded to of Janaka's race.' [Hence, no one should wed, led by desire alone. Nor should the maiden be permitted to choose for herself. She may be guided in her choice by improper considerations connected with only carnal pleasure.]

"Yudhishthira said, 'Upon what authority is the wealth of men inherited (by others when they happen to have daughters)? In respect of her sire the daughter should be regarded the same as the son.'

"Bhishma said, 'The son is even as one's own self, and the daughter is like unto the son. How, therefore, can another take the wealth when one lives in one's own self in the form of one's daughter? Whatever wealth is termed the Yautuka property of the mother, forms the portion of the maiden daughter. If the maternal grandfather happens to die without leaving sons, the daughter's son should inherit it. The daughter's son offers pindas to his own father and the father of his mother. Hence, in accordance with considerations of justice, there is no difference between the son and the daughter's son. When a person has got only a daughter and she has been invested by him with the status of a son, if he then happens to have a son, such a son (instead of taking all the wealth of his sire) shares the inheritance with the daughter. [The property is divided into five parts, two of which are taken by the daughter under such circumstances and three by the son.] When, again, a person has got a daughter and she has been invested by him with the status of a son, if he then happens to take a son by adoption or purchase then the daughter is held to be superior to such a son (for she takes three shares of her father's wealth, the son's share being limited to only the remaining two). In the following case I do not see any reason why the status of a daughter's son should attach to the sons of one's daughter. The case is that of the daughter who has been sold by her sire. The sons born of a daughter that has been sold by her sire for actual price, belong exclusively to their father (even if he do not beget them himself but obtain them according to the rules laid down in the scriptures for the raising of issue through the agency of others). Such sons can never belong, even as daughter's sons, to their maternal grandfather in consequence of his having sold their mother for a price and lost all his rights in or to her by that act. Such sons, again, become full of malice, unrighteous in conduct, the misappropriators of other people's wealth, and endued with deceit and cunning. Having sprung from that sinful form of marriage called Asura, the issue becomes wicked in conduct. Persons acquainted with the histories of olden times, conversant with duties, devoted to the scriptures and firm in maintaining the restraints therein laid down, recite in this connection some metrical lines sung in days of yore by Yama. Even this is what Yama had sung. That man who acquires wealth by selling his own son, or who bestows his daughter after accepting a dower for his own livelihood, has to sink in seven terrible hells one after another, known by the name of Kalasutra. There that wretch has to feed upon sweat and urine and stools during the whole time. In that form of marriage which is called Arsha, the person who weds has to give a bull and a cow and the father of the maiden accepts the gift. Some characterise this gift as a dowry (or price), while some are of opinion that it should not be regarded in that light. The true opinion, however, is that a gift for such a purpose, be it of small value or large, should, O king, be regarded as dowry or price, and the bestowal of the daughter under such circumstances should be viewed as a sale. Notwithstanding the fact of its having been practised by a few persons it can never be taken as the eternal usage. Other forms of marriage are seen, practised by men, such as marrying girls after abducting them by force from amidst their kinsmen. Those persons who have sexual intercourse with a maiden, after reducing her to subjection by force, are regarded as perpetrators of sin. They have to sink in darkest hell. [Valatah vasyam implies only those whose consent is obtained by force. Hence, such cases as those of Krishna abducting Rukmini and Arjuna abducting Subhadra, are excluded from this denunciation.] Even a human being with whom one has no relationship of blood should not form the subject of sale. What need then be said of one's own issue? With the wealth that is acquired by doing sinful deeds, no action leading to merit can be performed.'"

SECTION 46

"Bhishma said, They that are conversant with ancient history recite the following verse of Daksha, the son of Prachetas: That maiden, in respect of whom nothing is taken by her kinsmen in the form of dowry cannot be said to be sold. [The maiden may herself accept ornaments. That would not convert the transaction into a sale.] Respect, kind treatment, and everything else that is agreeable, should all be given unto the maiden whose hand is taken in marriage. Her sire and brothers and father-in-law and husband's brothers should show her every respect and adorn her with ornaments, if they be desirous of reaping benefits, for such conduct on their part always leads to considerable happiness and advantage. If the wife does not like her husband or fails to gladden him, from such dislike and absence of joy, the husband can never have issue for increasing his race. Women, O king, should always be worshipped and treated with affection. There where women are treated with respect, the very deities are said to be filled with joy. There where women are not worshipped, all acts become fruitless. If the women of a family, in consequence of the treatment they receive, grieve and shed tears, that family soon becomes extinct. Those houses that are cursed by women meet with destruction and ruin as if scorched by some Atharvan rite. Such houses lose their splendour. Their growth and prosperity cease. O king, Mann, on the eve of his departure for Heaven, made over women to the care and protection of men, saying that they are weak, that they fall an easy prey to the seductive wiles of men [Swalpa-kaupinah literally is covered with a small piece of cloth, hence, capable of being easily seduced.], disposed to accept the love that is offered them, and devoted to truth. There are others among them that are full of malice, covetous of honours, fierce in disposition, unlovable, and impervious to reason. Women, however, deserve to be honoured. Do ye men show them honour. The righteousness of men depends upon women. All pleasures and enjoyments also completely depend upon them. Do ye serve them and worship them. Do ye bend your wills before them. The begetting of offspring, the nursing of children already born, and the accomplishment of all acts necessary for the needs of society, behold, all these have women for their cause. By honouring women, ye are sure to attain to the fruition of all objects. In this connection a

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princess of the house of Janaka the ruler of the Videhas, sang a verse. It is this: Women have no sacrifices ordained for them. There are no Sraddhas which they are called upon to perform. They are not required to observe any facts. To serve their husbands with reverence and willing obedience is their only duty. Through the discharge of that duty they succeed in conquering heaven. In childhood, the sire protects her. The husband protects her in youth. When she becomes old, her sons, protect her. At no period of her life does woman deserve to be free. Deities of prosperity are women. The person that desire affluence and prosperity should honour them. By cherishing women, O Bharata, one cherishes the goddess of prosperity herself, and by afflicting her, one is said to afflict the goddess of prosperity.'"

SECTION 47

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou art fully conversant with the ordinances of all the scriptures. Thou art the foremost of those that are acquainted with the duties of kings. Thou art celebrated over the whole world as a great dispeller of doubts. I have a doubt, do thou explain it to me, O grandsire! As regards this doubt that has arisen in my mind, I shall not ask any other person for its solution. It behoveth thee, O thou of mighty arms, to expound as to how a man should conduct himself who is desirous of treading along the path of duty and righteousness. It has been laid down, O grandsire, that a Brahmana can take four wives, viz., one that belongs to his own order, one that is a Kshatriya, one that is a Vaisya, and one that is a Sudra, if the Brahmana wishes to indulge in the desire of sexual intercourse. Tell me, O best of the Kurus, which amongst those sons deserves to inherit the father's wealth one after another? Who amongst them, O grandsire, shall take what share of the paternal wealth? I desire to hear this, viz., how the distribution has been ordained amongst them of the paternal property.'

"Bhishma said, 'The Brahmana, the Kshatriya, and the Vaisya are regarded as the three regenerate orders. To wed in these three orders has been ordained to be the duty of the Brahmana, O Yudhishthira. Through erroneous judgement or cupidity or lust, O scorcher of foes, a Brahmana takes a Sudra wife. Such a wife, however, he is not competent to take according to the scriptures. A Brahmana, by taking a Sudra woman to his bed, attains to a low end in the next world. He should, having done such an act, undergo expiation according to the rites laid down in the scriptures. That expiation must be twice heavier or severer if in consequence of such an act, O Yudhishthira, the Brahmana gets offspring. I shall now tell thee, O Bharata, how the (paternal) wealth is to be distributed (among the children of the different spouses.) The son born of the Brahmana wife shall, in the first place, appropriate from his father's wealth a bull of good marks, and the best car or vehicle. What remains of the Brahmana's property, O Yudhishthira, after this should be divided into ten equal portions. The son by the Brahmana wife shall take four of such portions of the paternal wealth. The son that is born of the Kshatriya wife is, without doubt, possessed of the status of a Brahmana. In consequence, however, of the distinction attaching to his mother, he shall take three of the ten shares into which the property has been divided. The son that has been born of the wife belonging to the third order, viz., the woman of the Vaisya caste, by the Brahmana sire, shall take, O Yudhishthira, two of the three remaining shares of the father's property. It has been said that the son that has been begotten by the Brahmana sire upon the Sudra wife should not take any portion of the father's wealth, for he is not to be considered an heir. A little, however, of the paternal wealth should be given to the son of the Sudra wife, hence the one remaining share should be given to him out of compassion. Even this should be the order of the ten shares into which the Brahmana's wealth is to be divided. All the sons that are born of the same mother or of mothers of the same order, shall share equally the portion that is theirs. The son born of the Sudra wife should not be regarded as invested with the status of a Brahmana in consequence of his being unskilled (in the scriptures and the duties ordained for the Brahmana). Only those children that are born of wives belonging to the three higher orders should be regarded as invested with the status of Brahmanas. It has been said that there are only four orders there is no fifth that has been enumerated. The son by the Sudra wife shall take the tenth part of his sire's wealth (that remains after the allotment has been made to the others in the way spoken of). That share, however, he is to take only when his sire has given it to him. He shall not take it if his sire does not give it unto him. Some portion of the sire's wealth should without doubt, be given, O Bharata, to the son of the Sudra wife. Compassion is one of the highest virtues. It is through compassion that something is given to the son of the Sudra wife. Whatever be the object in respect of which compassion arises, as a cardinal virtue it is always productive of merit. Whether the sire happens to have children (by his spouses belonging to the other orders) or to have no children (by such spouses), unto the son by the Sudra wife, O Bharata, nothing more than a tenth part of the sire's wealth should be given. If a Brahmana happens to have more wealth than what is necessary for maintaining himself and his family for three years, he should with that wealth perform sacrifices. A Brahmana should never acquire wealth for nothing [i.e., he should not acquire for storing. He may acquire to spend in sacrifices and gifts or for maintaining himself and his family.]. The highest sum that the husband should give unto the wife is three thousand coins (of the prevailing currency). The wealth that the husband gives unto the wife, the latter may spend or dispose of as she likes. Upon the death of the childless husband, the wife shall enjoy all his wealth. (She shall not, however, sell or otherwise dispose of any portion of it). The wife should never take (without her husband's knowledge) any portion of her husband's wealth. Whatever wealth, O Yudhishthira, the Brahmana wife may acquire by gift from her father, should be taken (after her death) by her daughter, for the daughter is like the son. The daughter, O king, has been ordained in the scriptures, to be equal to the son, O delighter of the Kurus. Even thus hath the law of inheritance been ordained, O bull of Bharata's race. Remembering these ordinances about the distribution and disposal of wealth, one should never acquire wealth uselessly.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'If the son born of a Sudra woman by a Brahmana father has been declared in the scriptures to be disentitled to any wealth, by what exceptional rule then is a tenth part of the paternal property to be given to him? A son born of a Brahmana wife by a Brahmana is unquestionably a Brahmana. One born of a Kshatriya wife or of a Vaisya wife, by a Brahmana husband, is similarly invested with the status of a Brahmana. Why then, O best of kings, are such sons to share the paternal wealth unequally? All of them, thou hast said, are Brahmanas, having been born of mothers that belong to the three higher orders equally entitled to the name of regenerate.'

"Bhishma said, 'O scorcher of foes, all spouses in this world are called by the name of Data. Although that name is applied to all, yet there is this great distinction to be observed. If, having married three wives belonging to the three other orders, a Brahmana takes a Brahmana wife the very last of all yet shall she be regarded as the first in rank among all the wives, and as deserving of the greatest respect. Indeed, among all the co-wives, she shall be the foremost in consideration. In her apartments should be kept all those articles that are necessary in view of the husband's baths, personal decorations, washing of teeth, and application of collyrium to the eyes. In her apartments should be kept the Havya and the Kavya and all else that the husband may require for the performance of his religious acts. If the Brahmana wife is in the house, no other wife is entitled to attend to these needs of the husband. Only the Brahmana wife, O Yudhishthira, should assist in these acts of the husband. The husband's food and drink and garlands and robes and ornaments, all these should be given by the Brahmana wife to the husband, for she is the foremost in rank and consideration among all the spouses of the husband. These are the ordinances of the scriptures as laid down by Manu, O delighter of the Kurus! Even this, O monarch, is seen to be the course of eternal usage. If a Brahmana, O Yudhishthira, led by lust, acts in a different way, he shall come to be regarded as a Chandala among Brahmanas. [i.e., if the Brahmana, led by affection for any other wife, disregards the wife belonging to his own order and shows preference for those of the other orders, he then incurs the liability of being regarded as a Chandala that has come to be numbered among Brahmanas.] The son born of the Kshatriya wife has been said to be equal in status to the son born of the Brahmana wife. For all that, a distinction attaches to the son of the Brahmana wife in consequence of the superiority of the Brahmana to the Kshatriya in respect of the order of birth. The Kshatriya cannot be regarded as equal to the Brahmana woman in point of birth. Hence, O best of kings, the son born of the Brahmana wife must be regarded as the first in rank and superior to the son born of the Kshatriya wife. Because, again the Kshatriya is not equal in point of birth to the Brahmana wife, hence the son of the Brahmana wife takes one after another, all the best things, O Yudhishthira, among his father's possessions. Similarly, the Vaisya cannot be regarded as the equal of the Kshatriya in point of birth. Prosperity, kingdom, and treasury, O Yudhishthira, belong to the Kshatriya. All these have been ordained for the Kshatriya. The whole earth, O king, with her belt of seas, is seen to belong to him. By following the duties of his own order, the Kshatriya acquires an extensive affluence. The sceptre of royalty is held by him. Without the Kshatriya, O king, there can be no protection. The Brahmanas are highly blessed, for they are the deities of the very deities. Following the ordinances laid down by the Rishis, the Kshatriyas should worship the Brahmanas according to due rites. Even this is the eternal usage. Coveted by thieves and others, the possessions of all men are protected by Kshatriyas in the observance of the duties assigned to their order. Indeed, wealth and spouses and every other possession owned by people would have been forcibly taken away but for this protection that the Kshatriyas afford. The Kshatriya, as the king, becomes the protector or rescuer of all the others. Hence, the son of the Kshatriya wife shall, without doubt, be held to be superior to him that is born of the Vaisya wife. The son of the Kshatriya wife, for this, takes a larger share of the paternal property than the son of the Vaisya mother.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou hast duly said what the rules are that apply to Brahmanas. What, however, are the rules that apply to the others?'

"Bhishma said, 'For the Kshatriya, O delighter of the Kurus, two wives have been ordained. The Kshatriya may take a third wife from the Sudra order. Such practice prevails, it is true, but it is not sanctioned by the scriptures. Even this should be the order, O Yudhisthira, of the spouses of a Kshatriya. The property of a Kshatriya should, O king, be divided into eight shares. The son of the Kshatriya wife shall take four of such shares of the paternal property. The son of the Vaisya wife shall take three of such shares. The remaining one or the eighth share shall be taken by the son of the Sudra wife. The son of the Sudra wife, however, shall take only when the father gives but not otherwise. For the Vaisya only one wife has been ordained. A second wife is taken from the Sudra order. The practice prevails, it is true, but it is not sanctioned by the scriptures. If a Vaisya has two wives, one of whom is a Vaisya and the other a Sudra, there is a difference between them in respect of status. The wealth of a Vaisya, O chief of Bharata's race, should be divided Into five portions. I shall now speak of the sons of a Vaisya by a wife of his own order and by one belonging to the inferior order, as also of the manner in which, O king his wealth is to be distributed among those children. The son born of the Vaisya wife shall take four of such shares of his father's wealth. The fifth share, O Bharata, has been said to belong to the son born of the Sudra wife. Such a son, however, shall take when the father gives. He should not take anything unless the father gives it to him. The son that is begotten on a Sudra wife by persons of the three higher orders should always be regarded as disentitled to any share of the sire's wealth. The Sudra should have only one wife taken from his own order. He can under no circumstances, take any other spouse. Even if he happens to have a century of sons by such a spouse, all of them share equally the wealth that he may leave behind. As regards all the orders, the children born of the spouse taken from the husband's own order shall, it has been laid down, share equally the father's wealth. The eldest son's share shall be greater than that of every other son, for he shall take one share more than each of his brothers, consisting of the best things of his father. Even this is the law of inheritance, O son of Pritha, as declared by the Self-born himself. Amongst children all born of the spouse taken from the husband's own order, there is another distinction, O king! In marrying, the elder ones should always precede the younger ones. The spouses being all equal in respect of their order of birth, and the children also being all equal in respect of the status of their mothers, the son that is first-born shall take one share more than each of his other brothers. The son that comes next in point of age shall take a share that is next in value, while the son that is youngest shall take the share that belongs to the youngest. [The sense of this verse seems to be this: If a Brahmana takes in succession three spouses all belonging to his own order, the son born of his first wife shall take the share that is allotted to the eldest; that born of the second wife shall take a share next in value; and that born of the youngest wife shall take the share allotted to the youngest. After such especial shares are taken, the residue of the property is to be distributed unto equal shares each of which shall be taken by each of the children. If this interpretation be correct, it would appear that the contention waged some years ago in Bengal, that the scriptures do not allow a person the liberty of taking more than one spouse from his own order, falls to the ground. Upon other grounds also, that contention was absurd, for Kshatriya kings often took more than one Kshatriya spouse.] Thus among spouses of all orders, they that belong to the same order with the husband are regarded as the first. Even this is what was declared by the great Rishi Kasyapa the son of Marichi.'

SECTION 48

"Yudhishthira said, 'Through inducements offered by wealth, or through mere lust, or through ignorance of the true order of birth (of both males and females), or through folly, intermixture happens of the several order What, O grandsire, are the duties of persons that are born in the mixed classes and what are the acts laid down for them? Do thou discourse to me on this!'

"Bhishma said, 'In the beginning, the Lord of all creatures created the four orders and laid down their respective acts or duties, for the sake of sacrifice. The Brahmana may take four wives, one from each of the four orders. In two of them (viz., the wife taken from his own order and that taken from the one next below), he takes birth himself (the children begotten upon them being regarded as invested with the same status as his own). Those sons, however, that are begotten by him on the two spouses that belong to the next two orders (viz., Vaisya and Sudra), are inferior, their status being determined not by that of their father but by that of their mothers. The son that is begotten by a Brahmana upon a Sudra wife is

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called Parasara, implying one born of a corpse, for the Sudra woman's body is as inauspicious as a corpse. He should serve the persons of his (father's) race. Indeed, it is not proper for him to give up the duty of service that has been laid down for him. Adopting all means in his power, he should uphold the burden of his family. Even if he happens to be elder in age, he should still dutifully serve the other children of his father who may be younger to him in years, and bestow upon them whatever he may succeed in earning. A Kshatriya may take three wives. In two of them (viz., the one taken from his own order and the other that is taken from the order immediately below), he takes birth himself (so that those children are invested with the status of his own order). His third wife being of the Sudra order is regarded as very inferior. The son that he begets upon her comes to be called as an Ugra. The Vaisya may take two spouses. In both of them (viz., the one taken from his own order, and the other from the lowest of the four pure orders), he takes birth himself (so that those children become invested with the status of his own order). The Sudra can take only one wife, viz., she that is taken from his own order. The son begotten by him upon her becomes a Sudra. A son that takes birth under circumstances other than those mentioned above, comes to be looked upon as a very inferior one If a person of a lower order begets a son upon a woman of a superior order, such a son is regarded as outside the pale of the four pure orders. Indeed, such a son becomes on object of censure with the four principal orders. If a Kshatriya begets a son upon a Brahmana woman, such a son, without being included in any of the four pure orders, comes to be regarded as a Suta The duties of a Suta are all connected with the reciting of eulogies and encomiums of kings and other great men. The son begotten by a Vaisya upon a woman of the Brahmana order comes to be regarded as a Vaidehaka. The duties assigned to him are the charge of bars and bolts for protecting the privacy of women of respectable households. Such sons have no cleansing rites laid down for them. If a Sudra unites with a woman belonging to the foremost of the four orders, the son that is begotten is called a Chandala. Endued with a fierce disposition, he must live in the outskirts of cities and towns and the duty assigned to him is that of the public executioner. Such sons are always regarded as wretches of their race. These, O foremost of intelligent persons, are the offspring of intermixed orders. The son begotten by a Vaisya upon a Kshatriya woman becomes a Vandi or Magadha. The duties assigned to him are eloquent recitations of praise. The son begotten through transgression, by a Sudra upon a Kshatriya women, becomes a Nishada and the duties assigned to him have reference to the catching of fish. If a Sudra happens to have intercourse with a Vaisya woman, the son begotten upon her comes to be called Ayogava. The duty assigned to such a person are those of a Takshan (carpenter). They that are Brahmanas should never accept gifts from such a person. They are not entitled to possess any kind of wealth. Persons belonging to the mixed castes beget upon spouses taken from their own castes children invested with the status that is their own. When they beget children in women taken from castes that are inferior to theirs, such children become inferior to their fathers, for they become invested with the status that belongs to their mothers Thus as regards the four pure orders, persons beget children invested with their own status upon spouses taken from their own orders as also upon them that are taken from the orders immediately below their own. When, however, offspring are begotten upon other spouses, they come to be regarded as invested with a status that is, principally, outside the pale of the four pure orders. When such children beget sons in women taken from their own classes, those sons take the status of their sires. It is only when they take spouse from castes other than their own, that the children they beget become invested with inferior status. As an example of this it may be said that a Sudra begets upon a woman belonging to the most superior order a son that is outside the pale of the four orders (for such a son comes to be regarded as a Chandala who is much inferior). The son that is outside the pale of the four orders by uniting with women belonging to the four principal orders, begets offspring that are further degraded in point of status. From those outside the pale of the four orders and those again that are further outside that pale, children multiply in consequence of the union of persons with women of classes superior to their own. In this way, from persons of inferior status classes spring up, altogether fifteen in number, that are equally low or still lower in status. It is only from sexual union of women with persons who should not have such union with them that mixed classes spring up. Among the classes that are thus outside the pale of the four principal or pure orders, children are begotten upon women belonging to the class called Sairindhri by men of the class called Magadha. The occupation of such offspring is the adornment of the bodies of kinds and others. They are well-acquainted with the preparation of unguents, the making of wreaths, and the manufacture of articles used for the decoration of the person. Though free by the status that attaches to them by birth, they should yet lead a life of service. From the union of Magadhas of a certain class with women of the caste called Sairindhri, there springs up another caste called Ayogava. Their occupation consists in the making of nets (for catching fish and fowl and animals of the chase). Vaidehas, by uniting themselves with women of the Sairindhri caste, beget children called Maireyakas whose occupation consists in the manufacture of wines and spirits. From the Nishadas spring a caste called Madgura and another known by the name of Dasas whose occupation consists in plying boats. From the Chandala springs a race called Swapaka whose occupation consists in keeping guard over the dead. The women of the Magadhi caste, by union with these four castes of wicked dispositions produce four others who live by practising deceit. These are Mansa, Swadukara, Kshaudra, and Saugandha. From the Vaideha springs up a cruel and sinful caste that lives by practising deception. From the Nishadas again springs up the Madranabha caste whose members are seen to ride on cars drawn by asses. From the Chandalas springs up the caste called Pukkasa whose members are seen to eat the flesh of asses, horses and elephants. These cover themselves with the garments obtained by stripping human corpses. They are again seen to eat from broken earthenware [Broken earthenpots (terracotta products) are always cast off. They are some times utilised by persons of the lower orders.]. These three castes of very low status are born of women of the Ayogava caste (by fathers taken from different castes). The caste called Kshudra springs from the Vaidehaka. The caste called Andhra which takes up its residence in the outskirts of towns and cities, also springs up (from the Vaidehakas). Then again the Charmakara, uniting himself with a woman of Nishada caste, begets the class called Karavara. From the Chandala again springs up the caste known by the name of Pandusaupaka whose occupation consists in making baskets and other things with cleft bamboos. From the union of the Nishada with a woman of the Vaidehi caste springs one who is called by the name of Ahindaka. The Chandala begets upon a Saupaka woman, a son that does not differ from the Chandala in status or occupation. A Nishada woman, by union with a Chandala, brings forth a son who lives in the outskirts of villages and towns. Indeed, the members of such a caste live in crematoria and are regarded by the very lowest orders as incapable of being numbered among them. Thus to these mixed castes spring up from improper and sinful union of fathers and mothers belonging to different castes. Whether they live in concealment or openly, they should be known by their occupations. The duties have been laid down in the scriptures for only the four principal orders. As regards the others the scriptures are entirely silent. Among all the orders, the members of those castes that have no duties assigned to them by the scriptures, need have no fears as to what they do (to earn their livelihood). Persons unaccustomed to the performance or for whom sacrifices have not been laid down, and who are deprived of the company and the instructions of the righteous whether numbered among the four principal orders or out of their pale, by uniting themselves with women of other castes, led not by considerations of righteousness but by uncontrolled lust, cause numerous mixed castes to come into existence whose occupations and abodes depend on the circumstances connected with the irregular unions to which they owe their origin. Having recourse to spots where four roads meet, or crematoria, or hills and mountains, or forests and trees, they build their habitations there. The ornaments they wear are made of iron. Living in such places openly, they betake themselves to their own occupations to earn their livelihood. They may be seen to live in this way, adorning their persons with ornaments and employed in the task of manufacturing diverse kinds of domestic and other utensils. Without doubt, by assisting kine and Brahmanas, and practising the virtues of abstention from cruelty, compassion, truthfulness of speech, and forgiveness, and, if need be, by preserving others by laying down their very lives, persons of the mixed castes may achieve success. I have no doubt, O chief of men, that these virtues become the causes of their success. He that is possessed of intelligence, should, taking everything into consideration, beget offspring according to the ordinances of the scriptures, upon woman that have been declared proper or fit for him. A son begotten upon a women belonging to a degraded caste, instead of rescuing the sire, brings him to grief even as a heavy weight brings to grief a swimmer desirous of crossing water. Whether a man happens to be possessed of learning or not, lust and wrath are natural attributes of humanity in this world. Women, therefore, may always be seen to drag men into the wrong path. This natural disposition of women is such that man's contact with her is productive of misery to him. Hence, men possessed of wisdom do not suffer themselves to be excessively attached to women.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'There are men who belong to the mixed castes, and who are of very impure birth. Though presenting the features of respectability, they are in reality disrespectable. In consequence of these external aspects we may not be able to know the truth about their birth. Are there any signs, O grandsire, by which the truth may be known about the origin of such men?"

SECTION 49

"Bhishma said, 'A person that is born of an irregular union presents diverse features of disposition. One's purity of birth, again, is to be ascertained from one's acts which must resemble the acts of those who are admittedly good and righteous. A disrespectable behaviour, acts opposed to those laid down in the scriptures, crookedness and cruelty, and abstention from sacrifices and other spiritual acts that lead to merit, proclaim one's impurity of origin. A son receives the disposition of either the sire or the mother. Sometimes he catches the dispositions of both. A person of impure birth can never succeed in concealing his true disposition. As the cub of a tiger or a leopard resembles its sire and dam in form and in (the matter of) its stripes of spots, even so a person cannot but betray the circumstance of his origin. However covered may the course of one's descent be, if that descent happens to be impure, its character or disposition is sure to manifest itself slightly or largely. A person may, for purposes of his own, choose to tread on an insincere path, displaying such conduct as seems to be righteous. His own disposition, however, in the matter of those acts that he does, always proclaims whether he belongs to a good order or to a different one. Creatures in the world are endued with diverse kinds of disposition. They are, again, seen to be employed in diverse kinds of acts. Amongst creatures thus employed, there is nothing that is so good or precious as pure birth and righteous conduct. If a person be born in a low order, that good understanding which arises from a study of the scriptures fails to rescue his body from low acts. Absolute goodness of understanding may be of different degrees. It may be high, middling, or low. Even if it appears in a person of low extraction, it disappears like autumnal clouds without producing any consequences. On the other hand, that other goodness of understanding which, according to its measure, has ordained the status in which the person has been born, shows itself in his acts. If a person happens to belong to a superior order but still if he happens to be divested of good behaviour, he should receive no respect or worship. One may worship even a Sudra if he happens to be conversant with duties and be of good conduct. A person proclaims himself by his own good and acts and by his good or bad disposition and birth. If one's race of birth happens to be degraded for any reason, one soon raises it and makes it resplendent and famous by one's acts. For these reasons they that are endued with wisdom should avoid those women, among these diverse castes mixed or pure, upon whom they should not beget offspring.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Do thou discourse to us, O sire, upon the orders and classes separately, upon different kinds of sons begotten upon different types of women, upon the person entitled to have them as sons, and upon their status in life. It is known that disputes frequently arise with respect to sons. It behoveth thee, O king, to solve the doubts that have taken possession of our minds. Indeed, we are stupefied with respect to this subject.'

"Bhishma said, 'The son of one's loins is regarded as one's own self. The son that is begotten upon one's wife by a person whom one has invited for the task, is called Niruktaja. The son that is begotten upon one's wife by somebody without one's permission, is Prasritaja. The son begotten upon his own wife by a person fallen away from his status is called Patitaja. There are two other sons, viz., the son given, and the son made. There is another called Adhyudha. [The son begotten upon a maiden by one who does not become her husband, and born after her marriage, is regarded as belonging not to the begetter but to the husband.] The son born of a maiden in her father's house is called Kanina. Besides these, there are six kinds of sons called Apadhwansaja and six others that are Apasadas. These are the several kinds of sons mentioned in the scriptures, learn, O Bharata!

"Yudhishthira said, 'Who are the six that are called Apadhwansajas? Who also are the Apasadas? It behoveth thee to explain all these to me in detail.'

"Bhishma said, 'The sons that a Brahmana begets upon spouses taken from the three inferior orders, those begotten by a Kshatriya upon spouses taken from the two orders inferior to his own, O Bharata, and the sons that a Vaisya begets upon a spouse taken from the one order that is inferior to his,--are all called Apadhwansajas. They are, as thus explained, of six kinds. Listen now to me as I tell thee who the Apasadas, are. The son that a Sudra begets upon a Brahmana woman is called a Chandala. Begotten upon a Kshatriya woman by a person of the Sudra order, the son is called a Vratya. He who is born of a Vaisya woman by a Sudra father is called a Vaidya. These three kinds of sons are called Apasadas. The Vaisya, by uniting himself with a woman of the Brahmana order, begets a son that is called a Magadha, while the son that he gets upon a Kshatriya woman is called a Vamaka. The Kshatriya can beget but one kind of son upon a woman of a superior order. Indeed, the son begotten by a Kshatriya upon a Brahmana woman, is called a Suta. These three also are called Apasadas. It cannot be said, O king, that these six kinds of sons are no sons.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Some say that one's son is he that is born in one's soil. Some, on the other hand, say that one's son

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is he who has been begotten from one's seed. Are both these kinds of sons equal? Whore, again, is the son to be? Do thou tell me this, O grandsire!

"Bhishma said, 'His is the son from whose seed he has sprung. If, however, the owner of the seed abandons the son born of it, such a son then becomes his upon whose spouse he has been begotten. The same rule applies to the son called Adhyudha. He belongs to the person from whose seed he has taken his birth. If, however, the owner of the seed abandons him, he becomes the son of the husband of his mother. [Such a son becomes the property of the mother's husband and not of his begetter. If however, the begetter expresses a wish to have him and rear him, he should be regarded as the begetter's. The principle upon which he becomes the child of the mother's husband is that the begetter conceals himself and never wishes to have him.] Know that even this is what the law declares.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'We know that the son becomes his from whose seed he has taken birth. Whence does the husband of the woman that brings forth the son derive his right to the latter? Similarly, the son called Adhyudha should be known to be the son of him from whose seed he has sprung. How can they be sons of others by reasons of the engagement about owning and rearing them having been broken?'

"Bhishma said, 'He who having begotten a son of his own loins, abandons him for some reason or other, cannot be regarded as the sire of such a son, for vital seed only cannot create sonship. Such a son must be held to belong to the person who owns the soil. When a man, desiring to have a son, weds a girl quick with child, the son born of his spouse must belong to him, for it is the fruit of his own soil. The person from whose vital seed the son has sprung can have no right to such a son. The son that is born in one's soil but not begotten by the owner, O chief of Bharata's race, bears all the marks of the sire that has actually begotten him (and not the marks of one that is only the husband of his mother). The son thus born is incapable of concealing the evidences that physiognomy offers. He is at once known by eyesight (to belong to another). As regards the son made, he is sometimes regarded as the child of the person who has made him a son and so brings him up. In his case, neither the vital seed of which he is born nor the soil in which he is born, becomes the cause of sonship.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'What kind of a son is that who is said to be a made son and whose sonship arises from the fact of his being taken and brought up and in whose case neither the vital seed nor the soil of birth, O Bharata, is regarded as the cause of sonship?'

"Bhishma said, 'When a person takes up and rears a son that has been cast off on the road by his father and mother, and when the person thus taking and rearing him fails to find out his parents after search, he becomes the father of such a son and the latter becomes what is called his made son. Not having anybody to own him, he becomes owned by him who brings him up. Such a son, again, comes to be regarded as belonging to that order to which his owner or rearer belongs.'

"Yudhishthira said, How should the purificatory rites of such a person be performed? In whose case what sort of rites are to be performed? With what girl should he be wedded? Do thou tell me all this, O grandsire!"

"Bhishma said, 'The rites of purification touching such a son should be performed conformably to the usage of the person himself that raises him, for, cast off by his parents, such a son obtains the order of the person that takes him and brings him up. Indeed, O thou of unfading glory, the rearer should perform all the purificatory rites with respect to such a son according to the practices of the rearer's own race and kinsmen. As regards the girl also, O Yudhishthira, that should be bestowed in marriage upon such a son, who belongs to the order of the rearer himself, All this is to be done only when the order of son's true mother cannot be ascertained. Among sons, he that is born of a maiden and he that is born of a mother that had conceived before her marriage but had brought him fourth subsequent to that are regarded as very disgraceful and degraded. Even those two, however, should receive the same rites of purification that are laid down for the sons begotten by the father in lawful wedlock. With respect to the son that becomes his sire's in consequence of his birth in the sire's soil and of those sons that are called Apasadas and, those conceived by the spouse in her maidenhood but brought forth after marriage, Brahmanas and others should apply the same rites of purification that hold good for their own orders. These are the conclusions that are to be found in the scriptures with respect to the different orders. I have thus told thee everything appertaining to thy questions. What else dost thou wish to hear?"

SECTION 50

"Yudhishthira said, 'What is the nature of the compassion or pity that is felt at the sight of another's woe? What is the nature of that compassion or sympathy that one feels for another in consequence of one's living in the companionship of that other? What is the nature (and degree) of the high blessedness that attaches to kine? It behoveth thee, O grandsire, to expound all this to me.'

"Bhishma said, 'I shall, in this connection, O thou of great effulgence, recite to thee an ancient narrative of a conversation between Nahusha and the Rishi Chyavana. In days of yore O Chief of Bharata's race, the great Rishi Chyavana of Bhrigu's race, always observant of high vows, became desirous of leading for some time the mode of life called Udavasa and set himself to commence it. Casting off pride and wrath and joy and grief, the ascetic, pledging himself to observe that vow, set himself to live for twelve years according to the rules of Udavasa. The Rishi inspired all creatures with a happy trust. And he inspired similar confidence in all creatures living in water. The puissant ascetic resembled the Moon himself in his behaviour to all. Bowing unto all the deities and having cleansed himself of all sins, he entered the water at the confluence of the Ganga and the Yamuna, and stood there like an inanimate post of wood. Placing his head against it, he bore the fierce and roaring current of the two streams united together,--the current whose speed resembled that of the wind itself. The Ganga and the Yamuna, however, and the other streams and lakes, whose waters unite together at the confluence at Prayaga, instead of afflicting the Rishi, went past him (to show him respect). Assuming the attitude of a wooden post, the great Muni sometimes laid himself down in the water and slept at ease. And sometimes, O chief of Bharata's race, the intelligent sage stood in an erect posture. He became quite agreeable unto all creatures living in water. Without the least fear, all these used to smell the Rishi's lips. In this way, the Rishi passed a long time at that grand confluence of waters. One day some fishermen came there. With nets in their hands, O thou of great effulgence, those men came to that spot where the Rishi was. They were many in number and all of them were bent upon catching fish. Well-formed and broad-chested, endued with great strength and courage and never returning in fear from water, those men who lived upon the earnings by their nets, came to that spot, resolved to catch fish. Arrived at the water which contained many fish, those fishermen, O chief of the Bharatas, tied all their nets together. Desirous of fish, those Kaivartas, many in number united together and surrounded a portion of the waters of the Ganga and the Yamuna with their nets. Indeed, they then cast into water their net which was made of new strings, capable of covering a large space, and endued with sufficient length and breadth. All of them, getting into the water, then began to drag with great force that net of theirs which was very large and had been well-spread over a large space. All of them were free from fear, cheerful, and fully resolved to do one another's bidding. They had succeeded in enmeshing a large number of fish and other aquatic animals. And as they dragged their net, O king, they easily dragged up Chyavana the son of Bhrigu along with a large number of fish. His body was overgrown with the river moss. His beard and matted locks had become green. And all over his person could be seen conchs and other molluscs attached with their heads. Beholding that Rishi who was well-conversant with the Vedas dragged up by them from water, all the fishermen stood with joined palms and then prostrated themselves on the ground and repeatedly bent their heads. Through fear and pain caused by the dragging of the net, and in consequence of their being brought upon land, the fish enmeshed in the net yielded up their lives. The ascetic, beholding that great slaughter of fishes, became filled with compassion and sighed repeatedly.'

"The fishermen said, 'We have committed this sin (of dragging thy sacred self from water) through ignorance. Be gratified with us! What wish of thine shall we accomplish? Command us, O great ascetic!'

"Bhishma continued, 'This addressed by them, Chyauana, from among that heap of fishes around him, said, 'Do ye with concentrated attention hear what my most cherished wish is. I shall either die with these fishes or do ye sell me with them. I have lived with them for a long time within the water. I do not wish to abandon them at such a time.' When he said these words unto them, the fishermen became exceedingly terrified. With pale faces they repaired to king Nahusha and informed him of all that had taken place.'"

SECTION 51

"Bhishma said, 'King Nahusha hearing the pass to which Chyavana was reduced, quickly proceeded to that spot accompanied by his ministers and priest. Having cleansed himself duly, the king, with joined palms and concentrated attention, introduced himself unto the high-souled Chyavana. The king's priest then worshipped with due ceremonies that Rishi, O monarch, who was observant of the vow of truth and endued with a high soul, and who resembled a god himself (in splendour and energy).'

"Nahusha said, 'Tell me, O best of regenerate persons, what act shall we do that may be agreeable to thee? However difficult that act may be, there is nothing, O holy one, that I shall not be able to accomplish at thy bidding.'

"Chyavana said, 'These men that live by catching fish have all been tried with labour. Do thou pay them the price that may be set upon me along with the value of these fish.'

"Nahusha said, 'Let my priest give unto these Nishadas a thousand coins as a price for purchasing these sacred one as he himself has commanded.'

"Chyavana said, 'A thousand coins cannot represent my price. The question depends upon your discretion. Give them a fair value, settling with thy own intelligence what it should be.'

"Nahusha said, 'Let, O learned Brahmana, a hundred thousand coins be given unto these Nishadas. Shall this be thy price, O holy one, or dost think otherwise?'

"Chyavana said, 'I should not be purchased for a hundred thousand coins, O best of monarchs! Let a proper price be given unto them. Do thou consult with thy ministers.'

"Nahusha said, 'Let my priest give unto these Nishadas a crore of coins. If even this does not represent thy price, let more be paid unto them.'

"Chyavana said, 'O king, I do not deserve to be purchased for a crore of coins or even more. Let that price be given unto those men which would be fair or proper. Do thou 'consult with the Brahmanas.'

"Nahusha said, 'Let half of my kingdom or even the whole be given away unto these Nishadas. I think that would represent thy price. What, however, dost thou think, O regenerate one?'

"Chyavana said, 'I do not deserve to be purchased with half thy kingdom or even the whole of it, O king! Let thy price which is proper be given unto these men. Do thou consult with the Rishis.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Hearing these words of the great Rishi, Nahusha became afflicted with great grief. With his ministers and priest he began to deliberate on the matter. There then came unto king Nahusha an ascetic living in the woods and subsisting upon fruit and roots and born of a cow. That best of regenerate persons, addressing the monarch, O king, said these words, 'I shall soon gratify thee. The Rishi also will be gratified. I shall never speak an untruth.--no, not even in jest, what then need I say of other occasions? Thou shouldst, without any scruple, do what I bid thee.'

"Nahusha said, 'Do thou, O illustrious one, say what the price is of that great Rishi of Bhrigu's race. O, save me from this terrible pass, save my kingdom, and save my race! If the holy Chyavana became angry, he would destroy the three worlds: what need I say them of my poor self who is destitute of penances and who depends only upon the might of his arm? O great Rishi, do thou become the raft unto us that have all fallen into a fathomless ocean with all our counsellors and our priest! Do thou settle what the price should be of the Rishi.'

"Bhishma said, 'Hearing these words of Nahusha, the ascetic born of a cow and endued with great energy spoke in this strain, gladdening the monarch and all his counsellors, 'Brahmanas, O king, belong to the foremost of the four orders. No value, however great, can be set upon them. Cows also are invaluable. Therefore, O chief of men, do thou regard a cow as the value of the Rishi.' Hearing these words of the great Rishi, Nahusha became, O king, filled with joy along with all his counsellors and priest. Proceeding then to the presence of Bhrigu's son, Chyavana, of rigid vows, he addressed him thus, O monarch, for gratifying him to the best of his ability.'

'Nahusha said, 'Rise, rise, O regenerate Rishi, thou hast been purchased. O son of Bhirgu, with a cow as thy price. O foremost of righteous persons, even this, I think, is thy price.'

"Chyavana said. 'Yes, O king of kings, I do rise up. I have been properly purchased by thee, O sinless one! I do not, O thou of unfading glory, see any wealth that is equal to kine. To speak of kine, to hear others speak of them, to make gifts of kine, and to see kine, O king, are acts that are all applauded, O hero, and that are highly auspicious and sin-cleansing. Kine are always the root of prosperity. There is no fault in kine. Kine always afford the best food, in the form of Havi, unto the deities. The sacred Mantras, Swaha and Vashat, are always established upon kine. Kine are the chief conductresses of sacrifices. They constitute the mouth of sacrifice. They bear and yield excellent and strength-giving nectar. They receive the worship of all the worlds and are regarded as the source of nectar. On earth, kine resemble fire in energy and form. Verily, kine represent high energy, and are bestowers of great happiness upon all creatures. That country where kine, established by their owners, breathe fearlessly, shines in beauty. The sins, also of that country are all washed off. Kine constitute the stairs that lead to heaven. Kine are adorned in heaven itself. Kine are goddesses that are competent to give everything and grant every wish. There is nothing else in the world that is so high or so superior!' [There is no fault in kine (cattle), etc., and kine are like fire etc. The Hindu idea is that kine are cleansing or sanctifying. The Rishis discovered that the magnetism of the cow is something that is possessed of extraordinary virtues. Give the same kind of food to a cow and a horse. The horse-dung emits an unhealthy stench, while the cowdung is an efficacious disinfectant. Western science has not yet turned its attention to the subject, but there can be little doubt that the urine and dung of the cow possess untold virtues.]

"Bhishma continued, "Even this is what I say unto thee on the subject of the glory and superiority of kine, O chief of

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Bharata's race. I am competent to proclaim a part only of the merits that attach to kine. I have not the ability to exhaust the subject!'

"Then Nishadas said, 'O ascetic, thou hast seen us and hast also spoken with us. It has been said that friendship with those that are good, depends upon only seven words [Saptopadam mitram means that by speaking only seven words or walking only seven steps together, two persons, if they be good, become friends.]. Do thou then, O lord, show us thy grace. The blazing sacrificial fire eats all the oblations of clarified butter poured upon it. Of righteous soul, and possessed of great energy thou art among men, a blazing fire in energy. We propitiate thee, O thou of great learning! We surrender ourselves to thee. Do thou, for showing us favour, take back from us this cow.'

"Chyavana said, 'The eye of a person that is poor or that has fallen into distress, the eye of an ascetic, or the eye of a snake of virulent poison, consumes a man with his very roots, even as a fire that, blazing up with the assistance of the wind, consumes a stack of dry grass or straw. I shall accent the cow that ye desire to present me. Ye fishermen, freed from every sin, go ye to heaven without any delay, with these fishes also that ye have caught with your nets.'

"Bhishma continued, 'After this, in consequence of the energy of the great Rishi of cleansed soul, those fishermen along with all those fish through virtue of those words that he had uttered, proceeded to heaven. King Nahusha, beholding the fishermen ascending to heaven with those fishes in their company, became filled with wonder, O chief of Bharata's race. After this, the two Rishis, viz., the one born of a cow and the other who was Chyavana of Bhrigu's race, gladdened king Nahusha by granting him many boons. Then king Nahusha of great energy, that lord of all the earth, filled with joy, O best of the Bharatas, said, 'Sufficient!' Like unto a second Indra, the chief of the celestials, he accepted the boon about his own steadiness in virtue. The Rishis having granted him the boon, the delighted king worshipped them both with great reverence. As regards Chyavana, his vow having been completed, he returned to his own asylum. The Rishi that had taken his birth from the cow, and who was endued with great energy, also proceeded to his own retreat. The Nishadas all ascended to heaven as also the fishes they had caught, O monarch. King Nahusha, too, having obtained those valuable boons, entered his own city. I have thus, O son, told thee everything respecting what thou hadst asked me. The affection that is generated by the sight alone of others as also by the fact of living with them, O Yudhishthira, and the high-blessedness of kine too, and the ascertainment of true righteousness, are the topics upon which I have discoursed. Tell me, O hero what else is in thy breast.'"

SECTION 52

"Yudhishthira said, 'O thou of great wisdom, a doubt I have that is very great and that is as vast as the ocean itself. Listen to it, O mighty-armed one and having learnt what it is, it behoves thee to explain it unto me. I have a great curiosity with respect to Jamadagni's son, O lord, viz., Rama, that foremost of all righteous persons. It behoveth thee to gratify that curiosity. How was Rama born who was endued with prowess incapable of being baffled? He belonged by birth to a race of regenerate Rishis. How did he become a follower of Kshatriya practices? Do thou, then, O king, recite to me in detail the circumstances of Rama's birth. How also did a son of the race of Kusika who was Kshatriya become a Brahmana? Great, without doubt, was the puissance of the high-souled Rama, O chief of men, as also of Viswamitra. Why did the grandson of Richika instead of his son become a Kshatriya in conduct? Why also did the grandson of Kusika and not his son become a Brahmana? Why did such untoward incidents overtake the grandsons of both, instead of their sons? It behoveth thee to explain the truth in respect of these circumstances.'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection is cited an old history of the discourse between Chyavana and Kusika, O Bharata! Endued with great intelligence, Chyavana of Bhrigu's race, that best of ascetics beheld (with his spiritual eye) the stain that would affect his own race (in consequence of some descendant of his becoming wedded to Kshatriya practice). Reflecting upon the merits and faults of that incident, as also its strength and weakness, Chyavana endued with wealth of asceticism became desirous of consuming the race of the Kusikas (for it was from that race that the stain of Kshatriya practices would, he knew, affect his own race). Repairing then to the presence of king Kusika, Chyavana said unto him, 'O sinless one, the desire has arisen in my heart of dwelling with thee for some time.'

"Kusika said, 'O holy one, residence together is an act which the learned ordain for girls when these are given away. They that are endued with wisdom always speak of the practice in such connection only. O Rishi endued with wealth of asceticism, the residence which thou seekest with me is not sanctioned by the ordinance. Yet, however opposed to the dictates of duty and righteousness, I shall do what thou mayst be pleased to command.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Ordering a seat to be placed for the great ascetic Chyavana, king Kusika, accompanied by his wife, stood in the presence of the ascetic. Bringing a little jar of water, the king offered him water for washing his feet. He then, through his, servants, caused all the rites to be duly performed in honour of his high-souled guest. The high-souled Kusika, who was observant of restraints and vows, then cheerfully presented, according to due forms, the ingredients consisting of honey and the other things, to the great Rishi and induced him to accept the same. Having welcomed and honoured the learned Brahmana in this way, the king once more addressed him and said, 'We two await thy orders! Command us what we are to do for thee, O holy one! If it is our kingdom or wealth or kine, O thou of rigid vows, or all articles that are given away in sacrifices, which thou wantest, tell us the word, and we shall bestow all upon thee! This palace, the kingdom, this seat of justice, await thy pleasure. Thou art the lord of all these! Do thou rule the earth! As regards myself, I am completely dependent upon thee.' Addressed in these words by the king, Chyavana of Bhrigu's race, filled with great delight, said unto Kusika these words in reply.'

"Chyavana said, 'I do not, O king, covet thy kingdom, nor thy wealth, nor the damsels thou hast, nor thy kine, nor thy provinces, nor articles needed for sacrifice. Do thou listen to me. If it pleases thee and thy wife, I shall commence to observe a certain vow. I desire thee and thy wife to serve me during that period without any scruples. Thus addressed by the Rishi, the king and the queen became filled with joy, O Bharata, and answered him, saving, 'Be it so, O Rishi!' Delighted with the Rishi's words, the king led him into an apartment of the palace. It was an excellent one, agreeable to see. The king showed him everything in that room. And the king said. 'This, O holy one, is thy bed. Do thou live here as thou pleasest! O thou that art endued with wealth of asceticism, myself and my queen shall strive our best to give thee every comfort and every pleasure.' While they were thus conversing with each other, the sun passed the meridian. The Rishi commanded the king to bring him food and drink, King Kusika, bowing unto the Rishi, asked him, saying, 'What kind of food is agreeable to thee? What food, indeed, shall be brought for thee?' Filled with delight, the Rishi answered that rule of men, O Bharata, saying, 'Let food that is proper be given to me.' Receiving these words with respect, the king said, 'So be it!' and then offered unto the Rishi food of the proper kind. Having finished his meals, the holy Chyavana, conversant with every duty, addressed the king and the queen, saying, 'I desire to slumber. O puissant one, sleep hinders me now.' Proceeding thence to a chamber that had been prepared for him, that best of Rishis then laid himself down upon a bed. The king and the queen sat themselves down. The Rishi said to them, 'Do not, while I sleep, awake me. Do ye keep yourselves awake and continually press my feet as long as I sleep.' Without the least scruple, Kusika, conversant with every duty, said, 'So be it!' Indeed, the king and the queen kept themselves awake all night, duly engaged in tending and serving the Rishi in the manner directed. The royal couple, O monarch accomplished the Rishi's bidding with earnestness and attention. Meanwhile the holy Brahmana, having thus laid his commands upon the king, slept soundly, without changing his posture or turning even once, for a space of one and twenty days. The king, O delighter of the Kurus, foregoing all food, along with his wife, sat joyfully the whole time engaged in tending and serving the Rishi. On the expiration of one and twenty days, the son of Bhrigu rose of his own accord. The great ascetic then went out of the room, without accosting them at all. Famished and toil-worn the king and the queen followed him, but that foremost of Rishis did not deign to cast a single glance upon any of them. Proceeding a little way, the son of Bhrigu disappeared in the very sight of the royal couple (making himself invisible by his Yoga-power). At this, the king, struck with grief, fell down on the earth. Comforted, he rose up soon, and accompanied by his queen, the monarch, possessed of great splendour, began to search everywhere for the Rishi.'

SECTION 53

"Yudhishthira said, 'After the Rishi had disappeared, what did the king do and what also did highly-blessed spouse do? Tell me this, O grandsire!'

"Bhishma said, 'Having lost sight of the Rishi, the king, overwhelmed with shame, toil-worn and losing his senses, returned to his palace, accompanied by his queen. Entering his mansion in a cheerless mood, he spoke not a word with any one. He thought only of that conduct of Chyavana. With a despairing heart he then proceeded to his chamber. There he saw the son of Bhrigu stretched as before on his bed. Beholding the Rishi there, they wondered much. Indeed, they began to reflect upon that very strange incident. The sight of the Rishi dispelled their fatigue. Taking their seats once more by his side, they again set themselves to gently press his feet as before. Meanwhile, the great ascetic continued to sleep soundly as before. Only, he now lay on another side. Endued with great energy, he thus passed another period measured by one and twenty day. Agitated by their fears, the royal couple showed no change in their attitude or sentiment towards the Rishi. Awaking then from his slumber, the ascetic addressed the king and the queen, saying, 'Do ye rub my body with oil. I wish to have a bath.' Famishing and toil-worn though they were they readily assented, and soon approached the Rishi with a costly oil that had been prepared by boiling it a hundred times. While the Rishi was seated at his ease, the king and the queen, restraining speech, continued to rub him. Endued with high ascetic merit the son of Bhrigu did not once utter the word 'Sufficient.' Bhrigu's son, however, saw that the royal couple were totally unmoved. Rising up suddenly, he entered the bathing chamber. The diverse article necessary for a bath and such as were fit for a king's use, were ready there. Without honouring, however, any of those articles by appropriating them to his use, the Rishi once more disappeared there and then by his Yoga-power, in the very sight of king Kusika (and his spouse). This, however, O chief of the Bharatas, failed to disturb the equanimity of the royal couple. The next time the puissant Rishi was seen seated, after a bath on the throne. Indeed, it was from that place that he then showed himself to the king and the queen, O delighter of the Kurus. With a cheerful face, king Kusika, together with his wife, then offered the Rishi cooked food with great reverence. Endued with wisdom, and with heart totally unmoved, Kusika made this offer. 'Let the food be brought' were the words that were then uttered by the ascetic. Assisted by his spouse, the king soon brought thither the food. There were diverse kinds of meat and different preparations also thereof. There was a great variety of vegetables also and pot-herbs. There were juicy cakes too among those viands, and several agreeable kinds of confectionery, and solid preparations of milk. Indeed, the viands offered presented different kinds of taste. Among them there was also some food--the produce of the wilderness--such as ascetics liked and took. Diverse agreeable kinds of fruit, fit to be eaten by kings, were also there. There were Vadaras and Ingudas and Kasmaryas and Bhallatakas. Indeed, the food that was offered contained such things as are taken by persons leading a domestic mode of life as also such things as are taken by denizens of the wilderness. Through fear of the Rishi's curse, the king had caused all kinds of food to be collected and dressed for his guest. All this food, brought from the kitchen, was placed before Chyavana. A seat was also placed for him and a bed too was spread. The viands were then caused to be covered with white cloths. Soon, however, Chyavana of Bhrigu's race set fire to all the things and reduced them to ashes. Possessed of great intelligence, the royal couple showed no wrath at this conduct of the Rishi, who once more, after this made himself invisible before the very eyes of the king and the queen. The Royal sage Kusika thereupon stood there in the same posture for the whole night, with his spouse by his side, and without speaking a word. Endued with great prosperity, he did not give way to wrath. Every day, good and pure food of diverse kinds, excellent beds, abundant articles needed for bath, and cloths of various kinds, were collected and kept in readiness in the palace for the Rishi. Indeed, Chyavana failed to notice any fault in the conduct of the king. Then the regenerate Rishi, addressing king Kusika, said unto him, 'Do thou with thy spouse, yoke thyself unto a car and bear me on it to whichever place I shall direct.' Without the least scruple, the king answered Chyavana endued with wealth of asceticism, saying, 'So be it!' and he further enquired of the Rishi, asking, 'Which car shall I bring? Shall it be my pleasure-car for making progress of pleasure, or, shall it be my battle-car? Thus addressed by the delighted and contented monarch, the ascetic said unto him, 'Do thou promptly equip that car of thine with which thou penetratest into hostile cities. Indeed that battle-car of thine, with every weapon, with its standard and flags, its darts and javelins and golden columns and poles, should be made ready. Its rattle resembles the tinkling of bells. It is adorned with numerous arches made of pure gold. It is always furnished with high and excellent weapons numbering by hundreds!' The king said, 'So be it!' and soon caused his great battle-car to be equipped. And he yoked his wife thereto on the left and his own self on the right. And the king placed on the car, among its other equipments, the goad which had three handles and which had a point at once hard as the thunderbolt and sharp as the needle. [Vajrasuchyagram may also mean furnished with an end like that of the needle with which diamonds and other hard gems are bored through.] Having placed every requisite upon the car, the king said unto the Rishi, 'O holy one, whither shall the car proceed? O, let the son of Bhrigu issue his command! This thy car shall proceed to the place which thou mayst be pleased to indicate.' Thus addressed the holy man replied unto the king, saying, 'Let the car go hence, dragged slowly, step by step. Obedient to my will, do ye two proceed in such a way that I may not feel any fatigue, I should be borne away pleasantly, and let all thy people see this progress that I make through their midst. Let no person that comes to me, as I proceed along the road, be driven away. I shall make gifts of wealth unto all. Unto them amongst the Brahmanas that may approach me on the way, I shall grant their wishes and bestow upon all of them gems and wealth

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without stint. Let all this be accomplished, O king, and do not entertain any scruples.' Hearing these words of the Rishi, the king summoned his servants and said, 'Ye should, without any fear, give away whatever the ascetic will order.' Then jewels and gems in abundance, and beautiful women, and pairs of sheep, and coined and uncoined gold, and huge elephants resembling hills or mountain summits, and all the ministers of the king, began to follow the Rishi as he was borne away on that car. Cries of 'Oh' and 'Alas' arose from every part of the city which was plunged in grief at that extraordinary sight. And the king and the queen were suddenly struck by the Rishi with that goad equipped with sharp point. Though thus struck on the back and the cheeks, the royal couple still showed no sign of agitation. On the other hand, they continued to bear the Rishi on as before. Trembling from head to foot, for no food had passed their lips for fifty nights, and exceedingly weak, the heroic couple somehow succeeded in dragging that excellent car. Repeatedly and deeply cut by the goad, the royal couple became covered with blood. Indeed, O monarch, they then looked like a couple of Kinsuka trees in the flowering season. The citizens, beholding the plight to which their king and queen had been reduced, became afflicted with great grief. Filled with fear at the prospect of the curse of the Rishi, they kept silent under their misery. Gathering in knots they said unto each other, 'Behold the might of penances! Although all of us are angry, we are still unable to look at the Rishi! Great is the energy of the holy Rishi of cleaned soul! Behold also the endurance of the king and his royal spouse! Though worn out with toil and hunger, they are still bearing the car! The son of Bhrigu notwithstanding the misery he caused to Kusika and his queen, failed to mark any sign of dissatisfaction or agitation in them.'

"Bhishma continued, 'The perpetuator of Bhrigu's race beholding the king and the queen totally unmoved, began to give away very largely (wealth obtained from the king's treasury) as if he were a second Lord of Treasures. At this act also, king Kusika Showed no mark of dissatisfaction. He did as the Rishi commanded (in the matter of those gifts). Seeing all this, that illustrious and best of ascetics became delighted. Coming down from that excellent car, he unharnessed the royal couple. Having freed them, he addressed them duly. Indeed, the son of Bhrigu, in a soft, deep, and delighted voice, said, 'I am ready to give an excellent boon unto you both!' Delicate as they were, their bodies had been pierced with the goad. That best of ascetics, moved by affection, softly touched them with his hands whose healing virtues resembled those of nectar itself, O chief of the Bharatas. Then the king answered, 'My wife and I have felt no toil!' Indeed, all their fatigue had been dispelled by the puissance of the Rishi, and hence it was that the king could say so unto the Rishi. Delighted with their conduct, the illustrious Chyavana said unto them, 'I have never before spoken an untruth. It must, therefore, be as I have said. This spot on the banks of the Ganga is very delightful and auspicious. I shall, observant of a vow, dwell for a little while here, O king! Do thou return to thy city. Thou are fatigued! Thou shalt come again. Tomorrow, O king, thou shalt, returning with thy spouse, behold me even here. Thou shouldst not give way to wrath or grief. The time is come when thou shalt reap a great reward! That which is coveted by thee and which is in thy heart shall verily be accomplished.' Thus addressed by the Rishi, king Kusika, with a delighted heart, replied unto the Rishi in these words of grave import, 'I have cherished no wrath or grief, O highly-blessed one! We have been cleansed and sanctified by thee, O holy one! We have once more become endued with youth. Behold our bodies have become exceedingly beautiful and possessed of great strength. I do not any longer see those wounds and cicatrices that were caused by thee on our persons with thy goad. Verily, with my spouse, I am in good health. I see my goddess become as beautiful in body as an Apsara. Verily, she is endued with as much comeliness and splendour as she had ever been before. All this, O great ascetic, is due to thy grace. Verily, there is nothing astonishing in all this, O holy Rishi of puissance ever unbaffled.' Thus addressed by the king, Chyavana said unto him, 'Thou shalt, with thy spouse, return hither tomorrow, O monarch!' With these words, the royal sage Kusika was dismissed. Saluting the Rishi, the monarch, endued with a handsome body, returned to his capital like unto a second chief of the celestials. The counsellors then, with the priest, came out to receive him. His troops and the dancing women and all his subjects, also did the same. Surrounded by them all, king Kusika, blazing with beauty and splendour, entered his city, with a delighted heart, and his praises were hymned by bards and encomiasts. Having entered his city and performed all his morning rites, he ate with his wife. Endued with great splendour, the monarch then passed the night happily. Each beheld the other to be possessed anew of youth. All their afflictions and pains having ceased, they beheld each other to resemble a celestial. Endued with the spendour they had obtained as a boon from that foremost of Brahmanas, and possessed as they were of forms that were exceedingly comely and beautiful, both of them passed a happy night in their bed. Meanwhile, the spreader of the feats of Bhrigu's race, viz., the Rishi possessed of the wealth of penances, converted, by his Yoga-power, that delightful wood on the bank of the Ganga into a retreat full of wealth of every kind and adorned with every variety of jewels and gems in consequence of which it surpassed in beauty and splendour the very abode of the chief of the celestials."

SECTION 54

"Bhishma said, 'When that night passed away, the high-souled king Kusika awoke and went through his morning rites. Accompanied by his wife he then proceeded towards that wood which the Rishi had selected for his residence. Arrived there, the monarch saw a palatial mansion made entirely of gold. Possessed of a thousand columns each of which was made of gems and precious stones, it looked like an edifice belonging to the Gandharvas. 1 Kusika beheld in every part of that structure evidences of celestial design. And he beheld hills with delightful valleys, and lakes with lotuses on their bosom; and mansions full of costly and curious articles, and gateways and arches, O Bharata. And the king saw many open glades and open spots carpeted with grassy verdure, and resembling level fields of gold. And he saw many Sahakaras adorned with blossoms, and Ketakas and Uddalakas, and Dhavas and Asokas, and blossoming Kundas, and Atimuktas. And he saw there many Champakas and Tilakas and Bhavyas and Panasas and Vanjulas and Karnikaras adorned with flowers. And the king beheld many Varanapushpas and the creepers called Ashtapadika all clipped properly and beautifully. [Some of these trees and creepers are identifiable. Sahakara is Mangifera Indica, Linn. Ketaka is a variety of Pandanus Odoratissimus, Linn. Uddalaka is otherwise called Vahuvara and sometimes Selu. It is the Cordia Myxa, Linn. It may be a misreading for Uddanaka, which is the well-known Cirisha or the Mimosa Sirisca of Roxburgh. Dhava is Conocarpus latifolia, Roxb. Asoka is Saraca Indica, Linn., syn, Jonesia Asoka, Roxb. Kunda is Jasminum pubescens, Linn. Atimukta is otherwise called Madhavi. It is Gaertinera racemosa, Roxb. Champaka is Michelia Champaca, Linn. Tilaka sometimes stands for Lodhra, i.e., Symplocos racemosa, Roxb. The word is sometimes used for the Aswattha or Ficus religiosa, Linn. Bhavya is Dillenia Indica, Linn. Panasa is Artocarpus integrifolia, Linn. The Indian Jack-tree. Vyanjula stands for the Asoka, also Vetasa (Indian cane), and also for Vakula, i.e., Mimusops Elengi, Linn. Karnikara is Pterospermum accrifolium, Linn. Cyama is sometimes used for the Pilu, i.e., Salvadora Persica, Linn. Varanapushpa or Nagapushpa or Punnaga is Colophyllum inophyllum, Linn. Astapadika or padika is otherwise called Bhardravalli. It is the Vallaris dichotoma, Wall., Syn., Echites dichotoma, Roxb.] And the king beheld trees on which lotuses of all varieties bloomed in all their beauty, and some of which bore flowers of every season. And he noticed also many mansions that looked like celestial cars or like beautiful mountains. And at some places, O Bharata, there were tanks and lakes full of cool water and at others were those that were full of warm or hot water. And there were diverse kinds of excellent seats and costly beds, and bedsteads made of gold and gems and overlaid with cloths and carpets of great beauty and value. Of comestible there were enormous quantities, well-dressed and ready for use. And there were talking parrots and she-parrots and Bhringarajas and Kokilas and Catapatras with Koyashtikas and Kukkubhas, and peacocks and cocks and Datyuhas and Jivajivakas and Chakoras and monkeys and swans and Sarasas and Chakravakas. [Bhringaraja is the Lanius Malabaricus. Kokila is the well-known Indian Koel or cuckoo. Catapatra is the wood-pecker. Koyashtika is the Lapwing. Kukkubhas are wild-cocks (Phasinus gallus). Datyuhas are a variety of Chatakas or Gallinules. Their cry resembles the words (phatikjal). Jivajivaka is a species of partridges. Chakora is the Greek partridge. Sarasa is the Indian crane. Chakravaka is the Brahmini duck or goose.] Here and there he beheld bevies of rejoicing Apsaras and conclaves of happy Gandharvas, O monarch. And he beheld other Gandharvas at other places rejoicing with their dear spouses. The king sometimes beheld these sights and sometimes could not see them (for they seemed to disappear from before his eyes). The monarch heard also melodious strains of vocal music and the agreeable voices of preceptors engaged in lecturing to their disciples on the Vedas and the scriptures. And the monarch also heard the harmonious cackle of the geese sporting in the lakes. Beholding such exceedingly wonderful sights, the king began to reflect inwardly, saying, 'Is this a dream? Or is all this due to an aberration of my mind? Or, is it all real? O, I have, without casting off my earthly tenement, attained to the beatitude of heaven! This land is either the sacred country of the Uttara-Kurus, or the abode, called Amaravati, of the chief of the celestials! O, what are these wonderful sights that I behold!' Reflecting in this strain, the monarch at last saw that foremost of Rishis. In that palace of gold (endued) with columns (made) of jewels and gems, lay the son of Bhrigu stretched on a costly and excellent bed. With his wife by his side the king approached with a delighted heart the Rishi as he lay on that bed. Chyavana, however, quickly disappeared at this, with the bed itself upon which he lay. The king then beheld the Rishi at another part of those woods seated on a mat made of Kusa grass, and engaged in mentally reciting some high Mantras. By his Yoga-power, even thus did that Brahmana stupefy the king. In a moment that delightful wood, those bevies of Apsaras, those bands of Gandharvas, those beautiful trees,--all disappeared. The bank of the Ganga became as silent as usual, and presented the old aspect of its being covered with Kusa grass and ant-hills. King Kusika with his wife having beheld that highly wonderful sight and its quick disappearance also, became filled with amazement. With a delighted heart, the monarch addressed his wife and said unto her, 'Behold, O amiable one, the various agreeable scenes and sights, occurring nowhere else, which we two have just witnessed! All this is due to the grace of Bhrigu's son and the puissance of his penances. By penances all that becomes attainable which one cherishes in one's imagination. Penances are superior to even the sovereignty over the three worlds. By penances well-performed, emancipation itself may be achieved. Behold, the puissance of the high-souled and celestial Rishi Chyavana derived from his penances. He can, at his pleasure, create even other worlds (than those which exist). Only Brahmanas are born in this world to attain to speech and understanding and acts that are sacred. Who else than Chyavana could do all this? Sovereignty may be acquired with ease. But the status of a Brahmana is not so attainable. It was through the puissance of a Brahmana that we were harnessed to a car like well-broken animals!' These reflections that passed through the king's brain became known to Chyavana. Ascertaining the king's thoughts, the Rishi addressed him and said, 'Come hither quickly!' Thus addressed, the king and the queen approached the great ascetic, and, bending their heads, they worshipped him who deserved worship. Uttering a benediction upon the monarch, the Rishi, possessed of great intelligence, O chief of men, comforted the king and said, 'Sit down on that seat!' After this, O monarch, the son of Bhrigu, without guile or insincerity of any kind, gratified the king with many soft words, and then said, 'O king, thou hast completely subjugated the five organs of action and the five organs of knowledge with the mind as their sixth. Thou hast for this come out unscathed from the fiery ordeal I had prepared for thee. I have been properly honoured and adored, O son, by thee, O foremost of all persons possessed of speech. Thou hast no sin, not even a minute one, in thee! Give me leave, O king, for I shall now proceed to the place I came from. I have been exceedingly pleased with thee, O monarch! Do thou accept the boon I am ready to give.'

"Kusika said, 'In thy presence, O holy one, I have stayed like one staying in the midst of a fire. That I have not yet, O chief of Bhrigu's race been consumed, is sufficient! Even this is the highest boon that has been obtained, O delighter of Bhrigu! That thou hast been gratified by me, O Brahmana, and that I have succeeded in rescuing my race from destruction, O sinless one, constitute in my case the best boons. This I regard, O learned Brahmana, as a distinct evidence of thy grace. The end of my life has been accomplished. Even this is what I regard the very end of my sovereignty. Even this is the highest fruit of my penances! If, O learned Brahmana, thou hast been pleased with me, O delighter of Bhrigu, then do thou expound some doubts which are in my mind!'

SECTION 55

"Chyavana said, 'Do thou accept a boon from me. Do thou also, O chief of men, tell me what the doubt is that is in thy mind. I shall certainly accomplish all thy purposes.'

"Kusika said, 'If thou hast been gratified by me, O holy one, do thou then, O son of Bhrigu, tell me thy object in residing in my palace for sometime, for I desire to hear it. What was thy object in sleeping on the bed I assigned thee for one and twenty days continuously, without changing sides? O foremost of ascetics, what also was thy object, again, in going out of the room without speaking a single word? Why didst thou, again, without any ostensible reason, make thyself invisible, and once more become visible? Why, O learned Brahmana, didst thou again, lay thyself down on the bed and sleep as before for one and twenty days? For what reason didst thou go out after thou wert rubbed by us with oil in view of thy bath? Why also, after having caused diverse kinds of food in my palace to be collected, didst thou consume them with the aid of fire? What was the cause of thy sudden journey through my city on the car? What object hadst thou in view in giving away so much wealth? What was thy motive in showing us the wonders of the forest created by the Yoga-puissance? What indeed was thy motive for showing, O great ascetic, so many palatial mansions made of gold and so many bedsteads supported on posts of jewels, and gems? Why also did all these wonders vanish from our sight? I wish to hear the cause of all this. In thinking of all these acts of thine, O perpetuator of Bhrigu's race, I became stupefied repeatedly. I fail to find what the certain motive was which influenced thee! O thou, that art endued with wealth of penances, I wish to hear the truth about all those acts of thine in detail.'

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"Chyavana said, 'Listen to me as I tell thee in detail the reasons which had impelled me in all these acts of mine. Asked by thee, O monarch, I cannot refuse to enlighten thee. In days past, on one occasion, when the deities had assembled together, the Grandsire Brahman said some words I heard them, O king, and shall presently repeat them to thee.' In consequence of a contention between Brahmana and Kshatriya energy, there will occur an intermixture in my race. Thy grandson, O king, will become endued with great energy and puissance. Hearing this, I came hither, resolved to exterminate thy race. Indeed, I came, O Kusika, seeking the utter extermination of thy race,--in fact, for consuming into ashes all thy descendants. Impelled by this motive I came to thy palace, O monarch, and said unto thee, 'I shall observe some vow. Do thou attend upon me and serve me dutifully. While residing, however, in thy house I failed to find any laches in thee. It is for that reason, O royal sage, that thou art still alive, for otherwise thou wouldst have by this time been numbered with the dead. It was with this resolution that I slept for one and twenty days in the hope that somebody would awake me before I arose of my own accord. Thou, however, with thy wife, didst not awaken me. Even then, O best of kings, I became pleased with thee. Rising from my bed I went out of the chamber without accosting any of you. I did this, O monarch, in the hope that thou wouldst ask me and thus I would have an opportunity of cursing thee. I then made myself invisible, and again showed myself in the room of thy palace, and, once more betaking myself to Yoga, slept for one and twenty days. The motive that impelled me was this. Worn out with toil and hunger you two would be angry with me and do what would be unpleasant to me. It was from this intention that I caused thyself and thy spouse to be afflicted with hunger. In thy heart however, O king, the slightest feeling of wrath or vexation did not rise. For this, O monarch, I became highly delighted with thee. When I caused diverse kinds of food to be brought and then set fire to them, I hoped that thyself with thy wife wouldst give way to wrath at the sight. Even that act however, of mine was tolerated by thee. I then ascended the car, O monarch, and addressed thee, saying, 'Do thou with thy wife bear me.' Thou didst what I bade, without the least scruple, O king! I became filled with delight at this. The gifts of wealth I made could not provoke thy anger. Pleased with thee, O king, I created with the aid of my Yoga puissance that forest which thyself with thy wife didst behold here. Listen, O monarch, to the object I had. For gratifying thee and thy queen I caused thee to have a glimpse of heaven. All those things which thou hast seen in these woods, O monarch, are a foretaste of heaven. O best of kings, for a little while I caused thee and thy spouse to behold, in even your earthly bodies, some sights of heaven. All this was done for showing the puissance of penances and the reward that is in store for righteousness. The desire that arose in thy heart, O monarch, at the sight of those delightful objects, is known to me. Thou becamest desirous of obtaining the status of a Brahmana and the merit of penances, O lord of Earth, disregarding the sovereignty of the earth, nay, the sovereignty of very heaven! That Which thou thoughtest, O king, was even this. The status of a Brahmana is exceedingly difficult to obtain; after becoming a Brahmana, it is exceedingly difficult to obtain the status of a Rishi; for even a Rishi it is difficult to become an ascetic! I tell thee that thy desire will be gratified. From thee, O Kusika, will spring a Brahmana, who shall be called after thy name. The person that will be the third in descent from thee shall attain to the status of a Brahmana. Through the energy of the Bhrigus, thy grandson, O monarch, will be an ascetic endued with the splendour of fire. He shall always strike all men, indeed, the inhabitants of the three worlds, with fear. I tell thee the truth. O royal sage, do thou accept the boon that is now in thy mind. I shall soon set out on a tour to all the sacred waters. Time is expiring.'

"Kusika said, 'Even this, O great ascetic, is a high boon, in my case, for thou hast been gratified by me. Let that take place which thou hast said. Let my grandson become a Brahmana, O sinless one! Indeed, let the status of Brahmanahood attach to my race, O holy one. This is the boon I ask for. I desire to once more ask thee in detail, O holy one! In what way, O delighter of Bhrigu, will the status of Brahmanahood attach to my race? Who will be my friend? Who will have my affection and respect?'"

SECTION 56

"Chyavana said, 'I should certainly, O chief of men, tell you everything about the circumstance for which, O monarch, I came hither for exterminating thy race. This is well-known, O king, that the Kshatriyas should always have the assistance of the sons of Bhrigu in the matter of sacrifices. Through an irresistible decree of Destiny, the Kshatriyas and the Bhargavas will fall out. The Kshatriyas, O king, will slay the descendants of Bhrigu. Afflicted by an ordinance of fate, they will exterminate the race of Bhrigu, not sparing even infants in their mothers' wombs. There will then spring in Bhrigu's race a Rishi of the name of Urva. Endued with great energy, he will in splendour certainly resemble fire or the sun. He will cherish such wrath (upon hearing of the extermination of his race) as will be sufficient to consume the three worlds. He will be competent to reduce the whole earth with all her mountains and forests into ashes. For a little while he will quell the flames of that fiery rage, throwing it into the Mare's mouth that wanders through the ocean. He will have a son of the name of Richika. The whole science of arms, O sinless one, in its embodied form will come to him, for the extermination of the entire Kshatriya race, through a decree of Destiny. Receiving that science by inward light, he will, by Yoga-puissance, communicate it to his son, the highly-blessed Jamadagni of cleansed soul. That tiger of Bhrigu's race will bear that science in his mind. O thou of righteous soul, Jamadagni will wed a girl, taking her from thy race, for spreading its glory, O chief of the Bharatas. Having obtained for wife the daughter of Gadhi and thy grand-daughter, O king that great ascetic will beget a regenerate son endued with Kshatriya accomplishments. In thy race will be born a son, a Kshatriya endued with the virtues of a Brahmana. Possessed of great righteousness, he will be the son of Gadhi. Known by the name of Viswamitra, he will in energy come to be regarded as the equal of Vrihaspati himself, the preceptor of the celestials. The illustrious Richika will grant this son to thy race, this Kshatriya that will be endued with high penances. In the matter of this exchange of sons, (viz., a Kshatriya son in the race of Bhrigu and a Brahamana son in thy race) the cause will be two women. All this will happen at the command of the grandsire. It will never be otherwise. Unto one that is third in descent from thee, the status of Brahmanahood will attach. Thou shalt become a relative (by marriage) of the Bhargavas.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Hearing these words of the high-souled ascetic Chyavana, king Kusika became filled with joy, and made answer in the following words, 'Indeed, O best of the Bharatas', he said, 'So be it!' Endued with high energy, Chyavana once more addressed the king, and urged him to accept a boon from himself. The king replied, 'Very well.' From thee, O great ascetic, I shall obtain the fruition of my wish. Let my race become invested with the status of Brahmanahood, and let it always set its heart upon righteousness.' The ascetic Chyavana, thus solicited, granted the king's prayer, and bidding farewell to the monarch, set out on his intended tour to the sacred waters. I have now told thee everything, O Bharata, relating to thy questions, viz., how the Bhrigus and the Kusikas became connected with each other by marriage. Indeed, O king, everything fell out as the Rishi Chyavana had said. The birth of Rama (of Bhrigu's race) and of Viswamitra (of Kusika's race) happened in the way that Chyavana had indicated.'"

SECTION 57

"Yudhishthira said, 'Hearing thy words I become stupefied, O grandsire! Reflecting that the earth is now destitute of a very large number of kings all of whom were possessed of great prosperity, my heart becomes filled with grief. Having conquered the earth and acquired kingdoms numbered by hundreds, O Bharata, I turn with grief, O Grandsire, at the thought of the millions of men I have slaughtered. Alas, what will be the plight of those foremost ladies who have been deprived by us of husbands and sons and maternal uncles and brothers? Having slain those Kurus--our kinsmen, that is, our friends and well-wishers,--we shall have to sink in hell, beads (hanging) downwards. There is no doubt of this. I desire, O Bharata, to address my body to severe penances. With that end in view, O king, I wish to receive instructions from thee.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'The high-souled Bhishma, hearing these words of Yudhishthira, reflected upon them acutely with the aid of his understanding, and addressed Yudhishthira in reply.'

"Bhishma said, 'Hear what I say unto thee. It is exceedingly wonderful, and constitutes a great mystery. The topic is the object that creatures obtain after death as the rewards of particular acts or courses of conduct they follow. One attains to Heaven by penances. By penances one attains to fame. By penances, O puissant king, one attains to length of life and all articles of enjoyment. By penances one attains to knowledge, to science, to health and freedom from disease, beauty of person, prosperity, and blessedness, O chief of Bharata's race. By penances one attains to wealth. By observing the vow of taciturnity one succeeds in bringing the whole world under one's sway. By making gifts one acquires all kinds of enjoyable articles. By observing the right of Diksha one acquires birth in a good and high family. Those that spend their lives subsisting only upon fruits and roots (and avoiding cooked food) succeed in obtaining kingdom and sovereignty. Those that live upon the leaves of plants and trees as their food succeed in attaining to heaven. One that subsists upon water only attains to heaven. By making gifts one simply increases one's wealth. By serving with reverence one's preceptor one acquires learning. By performing Sraddhas every day in honour of one's Pitris (manes), one acquires a large number of children. By observing Diksha upon potherbs and vegetables, one acquires a large number of kine. Those that subsist upon grass and straw succeed in attaining to heaven. By bathing thrice every day with the necessary rites one acquires a large number of spouses. By drinking water alone one acquires residence in the regions of Prajapati. The Brahmana, who bathes every day and recites sacred Mantras in the twilights, becomes possessed of the status of Daksha himself. By worshipping the deities in a wilderness or desert, one acquires a kingdom or sovereignty, and by observing the vow of casting off the body by a long fast, one ascends to Heaven. One possessed of the wealth of penances and always passing his days in Yoga obtains good beds and seats and vehicles. Casting off the body by entering a blazing fire, one becomes an object of reverence in the region of Brahman. Those that lie on the hard and bare ground acquire houses and beds. Those that clothe themselves in rags and barks obtain good robes and ornaments. By avoiding the several agreeable tastes one succeeds in acquiring great prosperity. By abstaining from meat and fish, one gets long-lived children. One who passes some time in that mode of life which is called Udavasa, becomes the very lord of Heaven. The man who speaks the truth, O best of men, succeeds in sporting happily with the deities themselves. By making gifts one acquires great fame in consequence of one's high achievements. By abstention from cruelty one acquires health and freedom from disease. By serving Brahmanas with reverence one attains to kingdom and sovereignty, and the high status of a Brahmana. By making gifts of water and other drinks, one acquires eternal fame in consequence of high achievements. By making gifts of food one acquires diverse articles of enjoyment. One who gives peace unto all creatures (by refraining from doing them any injury), becomes freed from every region. By serving the deities one obtains a kingdom and celestial beauty. By presenting lights at places which are dark and frequented by men, one acquires a good vision. By giving away good and beautiful objects one acquires a good memory and understanding. By giving away scents and garlands, one acquires fame that spreads over a large area. Those who abstain from shaving off their hair and beards succeed in obtaining excellent children.. By observing fasts and Diksha and baths, O Bharata, for twelve years (according to the ordinance), one acquires a region that is superior to that attainable by unreturning heroes. By bestowing one's daughter on an eligible bridegroom according to the Brahma form, one obtains, O best of men, male and female slaves and ornaments and fields and houses. By performing sacrifices and observing fasts, one ascends to Heaven, O Bharata. The man who gives away fruits and flowers succeeds in acquiring auspicious knowledge. The man who gives a thousand kine with horns adorned with gold, succeeds in acquiring heaven. Even this has been said by the very deities in a conclave in heaven. One who gives away a Kapila cow with her calf, with a brazen pot of milking with horns adorned with gold, and possessed of diverse other accomplishments, obtains the fruition of all his wishes from that cow. Such a person, in consequence of that act of gift, resides in heaven for as many years as there are hairs on the body of the cow and rescues in the next world (from the misery of hell) his sons and grandsons and all his race to the seventh degree. [By ancestors to the seventh degree also descendants to the same degree are meant.] The regions of the Vasus become attainable to that man who gives away a cow with horns beautifully decorated with gold, accompanied with a brazen jar for milking, along with a piece of cloth embroidered with gold, a measure of sesame and a sum of money as Dakshina. A gift of kine rescues the giver in the next world then he finds himself falling into the deep darkness of hell and restrained by his own acts in this world, like a boat with sails that have caught the air rescuing a person from being drowned in the sea. He who bestows a daughter according to the Brahma form upon an eligible person, or who makes a gift of land unto a Brahmana, or who gives food (to a Brahmana) according to due rites, succeeds in attaining to the region of Purandara. That man who makes a gift of a house, equipped with every kind of furniture, unto a Brahmana given to Vedic studies and possessed of every accomplishment and good behaviour, acquires residence in the country of the Uttara-Kurus. By making gifts of draft bullocks, a person acquires the region of the Vasus. Gifts of gold lead to heaven. Gifts of pure gold lead to greater merit still. By making a gift of an umbrella one acquires a palatial mansion. By making a gift of a pair of sandals or shoes one acquires good vehicles. The reward attached to a gift of cloths is personal beauty, and by making gifts of scents one becomes a fragrant person in one's next life. One who gives flowers and fruits and plants and trees unto a Brahmana, acquires, without any labour, palatial mansion equipped with beautiful women and full of plenty of wealth. The giver of food and drink of different tastes and of other articles of enjoyment succeeds in acquiring a copious supply of such articles. The giver, again, of houses and cloths gets articles of a similar kind. There is no doubt about it. That person who makes gifts of garlands and incense and scents and unguents and the articles needed by men after a bath, and floral wreaths, unto Brahmanas, becomes freed from every disease and possessed of personal beauty, sports in joy in the region reserved for great kings. The man, O king, who makes unto a Brahmana the gift of a house that is stored with grain, furnished with beds full of

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much wealth, auspicious, and delightful, acquires a palatial residence. He who gives unto a Brahmana a good bed perfumed with fragrant scents, overlaid with an excellent sheet, and equipped with pillows, wins without any effort on his part a beautiful wife, belonging to a high family and of agreeable manners. The man who takes to a hero's bed on the field of battle becomes the equal of the Grandsire Brahman himself. There is no end higher than this. Even this is what the great Rishis have declared.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words of his grandfather, Yudhishthira, the delighter of the Kurus, became desirous of the end that is reserved for heroes and no longer expressed any disgust at leading a householder's mode of life. Then, O foremost of men, Yudhishthira, addressing all the other sons of Pandu, said unto them, 'Let the words which our grandfather has said command your faith.' At this, all the Pandavas with the famous Draupadi amongst them, applauded the words of Yudhishthira and said, 'Yes'.'"

SECTION 58

"Yudhishthira said, 'I desire, O chief of the Bharatas, to hear from thee what the rewards are which are attached, O best of the Kurus, to the planting of trees and the digging of tanks.'

"Bhishma said, 'A piece of land that is agreeable to the sight, fertile, situate in the midst of delightful scenes adorned with diverse kinds of metals, and inhabited by all sorts of creatures, is regarded as the foremost of sports. A particular portion of such land should be selected for digging a tank. I shall tell thee, in due order, about the different kinds of tanks. I shall also tell thee what the merits also are that attach to the digging of tanks (with the view of drawing water for the benefit of all creatures). The man who causes a tank to be dug becomes entitled to the respect and worship of the three worlds. A tank full of water is as agreeable and beneficial as the house of a friend. It is gratifying to Surya himself. It also contributes to growth to the deities. It is the foremost of all things that lead to fame (with respect to the person who causes it to be excavated). The wise have said that the excavation of a tank contributes to the aggregate of three, Righteousness, Wealth and Pleasure. A tank is said to be properly excavated, if it is made on a piece of land that is inhabited by respectable persons. A tank is said to be subservient to all the four purposes of living creatures. Tanks, again, are regarded as constituting the excellent beauty of a country. The deities and human beings and Gandharvas and Pitris and Uragas and Rakshasas and even immobile beings--all resort to a tank full of water as their refuge. I shall, therefore, tell thee what the merits are that have been said by great Rishis to be attached to tanks, and what the rewards are that are attainable by persons that cause them to be excavated. The wise have said that that man reaps the merit of an Agnihotra sacrifice in whose tank water is held in the season of the rains. The high reward in the world that is reaped by the person who makes a gift of a thousand kine is won by that man in whose tank water is held in the season of autumn. The person in whose tank water occurs in the cold season acquires the merit of one who performs a sacrifice with plentiful gifts of gold. That person in whose tanks water occurs in the season of dew, wins, the wise have said, the merits of an Agnishtoma sacrifice. That man in whose well-made tank water occurs in the season of spring acquires the merit of the Atiratra sacrifice. That man in whose tank water occurs in the season of summer acquires, the Rishis say, the merits that attach to a horse-sacrifice. That man rescues all his race in whose tank kine are seen to allay their thirst and from which righteous men draw their water. That man in whose tank kine slake their thirst as also other animals and birds, and human beings, acquires the merits of a horse-sacrifice. Whatever measure of water is drunk from one's tank and whatever measure is taken therefrom by others for purposes of bathing, all become stored for the benefit of the excavator of the tank and he enjoys the same for unending days in the next world. Water, especially in the other world, is difficult to obtain, O son. A gift of drink produces eternal happiness. Make gifts of sesame here. Make gifts of water. Do thou also give lamps (for lighting dark places.) While alive and awake, do thou sport in happiness with kinsmen. These are acts which thou shalt not be able to achieve in the other world. [Heaven and Hell are places of only enjoyment and endurance. There can be no acts there leading to merit or demerit. This world is the only place which is called the field of acts.] The gift of drink, O chief of men, is superior to every other gift. In point of merit it is distinguished above all other gifts. Therefore, do thou make gifts of water. Even thus have the Rishis declared what the high merits of the excavation of tanks are I shall now discourse to thee on the planting of trees. Of immobile objects six classes have been spoken of. They are Vrikshas, Gulmas, Latas, Vallis, Twaksaras, and Trinas of diverse kinds. [Vrikshas are large or small trees generally. Gulma is a shrub, or bushy plant. Lata is a creeper, which cannot grow without a support. Talli is of the same variety, with this difference, perhaps, that its stems are more tree-like than those of creepers. Twaksara is the bamboo. Trina includes all kinds of grass.] These are the several kinds of vegetables. Listen now to the merit that attaches to their planting. By planting trees one acquires fame in the world of men and auspicious rewards in the world hereafter. Such a man is applauded and reverenced in the world of the Pitris. Such a man's name does not perish even when he becomes a citizen of the world of deities. The man who plants trees rescues the ancestors and descendants of both his paternal and maternal lines. Do thou, therefore, plant trees, O Yudhishthira! The trees that a man plants become the planter's children. There is no doubt about this. Departing from this world, such a man ascends to Heaven. Verily many eternal regions of bliss become his. Trees gratify the deities by their flowers; the Pitris by their fruits; and all guests and strangers by the shadow they give. Kinnaras and Uragas and Rakshasas and deities and Gandharvas and human beings, as also Rishis, all have recourse to trees as their refuge. Trees that bear flowers and fruits gratify all men. The planter of trees is rescued in the next world by the trees he plants like children rescuing their own father. Therefore, the man that is desirous of achieving his own good, should plant trees by the side of tanks and cherish them like his own children. The trees that a man plants are, according to both reason and the scriptures, the children of the planter. That Brahmana who excavates a tank, and he that plants trees, and he that performs sacrifices, are all worshipped in heaven even as men that are devoted to truthfulness of speech. Hence one should cause tanks to be excavated and trees to be planted, worship the deities in diverse sacrifices, and speak the truth.'"

SECTION 59

"Yudhishthira said, 'Amongst all those gifts that are mentioned in the treatises other than the Vedas, which gift, O chief of Kuru's race, is the most distinguished in thy opinion? O puissant one, great is the curiosity I feel with respect to this matter. Do thou discourse to me also of that gift which follows the giver into the next world.'

"Bhishma said, 'An assurance unto all creatures of love and affection and abstention from every kind of injury, acts of kindness and favour done to a person in distress, gifts of articles made unto one that solicits with thirst and agreeable to the solicitor's wishes, and whatever gifts are made without the giver's ever thinking of them as gifts made by him, constitute, O chief of Bharata's race, the highest and best of gifts. Gift of gold, gift of kine, and gift of earth,--these are regarded as sin-cleansing. They rescue the giver from his evil acts. O chief of men, do thou always make such gifts unto those that are righteous. Without doubt, gifts rescue the giver from all his sins. That person who wishes to make his gifts eternal should always give unto persons possessed of the requisite qualifications whatever articles are desired by all and whatever things are the best in his house. The man who makes gifts of agreeable things and who does to others what is agreeable to others, always succeeds in obtaining things that are agreeable to himself. Such a person certainly becomes agreeable unto all, both here and hereafter. That man, O Yudhishthira, is a cruel wretch, who, through vanity, does not, to the extent of his means, attend to the wishes of one who is poor and helpless, and who solicits assistance. 1 He is verily the foremost of men who shows favour unto even an helpless enemy fallen into distress when such enemy presents himself and prays for help. No man is equal to him (in merit) who satisfies the hunger of a person that is emaciated, possessed of learning, destitute of the means of support, and weakened by misery. One should always, O son of Kunti, dispel by every means in one's power, the distress of righteous persons observant of vows and acts, who, though destitute of sons and spouses and plunged into misery, do not yet solicit others for any kind of assistance. Those persons who do not utter blessings upon the deities and men (in expectation of gifts), who are deserving of reverence and always contented, and who subsist upon such alms as they get without solicitation of any kind, are regarded as veritable snakes of virulent poison. Do thou, O Bharata, always protect thyself from them by making gifts unto them. They are competent to make the foremost of Ritwikas. Thou art to find them out by means of thy spies and agents. Thou shouldst honour those men by gifts of good houses equipped with every necessary article, with slaves and serving men, with good robes and vestments, O son of Kuru, and with all articles competent to contribute to one's pleasure and happiness. Righteous men of righteous deeds should make such gifts, impelled by the motive that it is their duty to act in that way and not from desire of reaping any rewards therefrom. Verily good men should act in this way so that the virtuous men described above might not, O Yudhishthira, feel any disinclination to accept those gifts sanctified by devotion and faith. There are persons bathed in learning and bathed in vows. Without depending upon anybody they obtain their means of subsistence. These Brahmanas of rigid vows are devoted to Vedic study and penances without proclaiming their practices to any one. Whatever gifts thus mayst make unto those persons of pure behaviour, of thorough mastery over their senses, and always contented with their own wedded spouses in the matter of desire, are sure to win for thee a merit that will accompany thee into all the worlds into which thou mayst go. One reaps the same merit by making gifts unto regenerate persons of restrained souls which one wins by properly pouring libations unto the sacred fire morning and evening. Even this is the sacrifice spread out for thee,--a sacrifice that is sanctified by devotion and faith and that is endued with Dakshina. It is distinguished above all other sacrifices. Let that sacrifice ceaselessly flow from thee as thou givest away. Performed in view of such men, O Yudhishthira, a sacrifice in which the water that is sprinkled for dedicating gifts constitutes the oblations in honour of the Pitris, and devotion and worship rendered unto such superior men, serves to free one of the debts one owes to the deities. [The sense is this: gifts made to such superior Brahmanas serve to free a person from the debts which he owes to the deities. The 'water of gifts' means the water that the giver sprinkles, with a blade of Kusa grass, over the article given away, saying, 'I give this away'. In the sacrifice constituted by gifts, such water is like the dedication of offerings to the Pitris. A knowledge of the ritual of sacrifice is needed to understand and appreciate the figures employed in such verses.] Those persons that do not yield to wrath and that never desire to take even a blade of grass belonging to others, as also they that are of agreeable speech, deserve to receive from us the most reverent worship. Such persons and others (because free from desire) never pay their regards to the giver. Nor do they strive for obtaining gifts. They should, however, be cherished by givers as they cherish their own sons. I bend my head unto them. From them also both Heaven and Hell may become one's. Ritwiks and Purohitas and preceptors, when conversant with the Vedas and when behaving mildly towards disciples, become such. Without doubt, Kshatriya energy loses its force upon a Brahmana when it encounters him. Thinking that thou art a king, that thou art possessed of great power, and that thou hast affluence, do not, O Yudhishthira, enjoy thy affluence without giving anything unto the Brahmanas. Observing the duties of thy own order, do thou worship the Brahmanas with whatever wealth thou hast, O sinless one, for purposes of adornment or sustaining thy power. Let the Brahmanas live in whatever way they like. Thou shouldst always bend thy head unto them with reverence. Let them always rejoice in thee as thy children, living happily and according to their wishes. Who else than thou, O best of the Kurus, is competent to provide the means of subsistence for such Brahmanas as are endued with eternal contentment as are thy well-wishers, and as are gratified by only a little? As women have one eternal duty, in this world, viz., dependence upon and obedient service to their husbands, and as such duty constitutes their only end, even so is the service to Brahmanas Our eternal duty and end. If, at sight of cruelties and other sinful acts in Kshatriyas, the Brahmanas, O son, unhonoured by us, forsake us all, I say, of what use would life be to us, in the absence of all contact with the Brahmanas, especially as we shall then have to drag on our existence without being able to study the Vedas to perform sacrifices, to hope for worlds of bliss hereafter, and to achieve great feats? I shall, in this connection, tell thee what the eternal usage is. In days of yore, O king, the Kshatriyas used to serve the Brahmanas. The Vaisya in a similar manner used in those days to worship the royal order, and the Sudra to worship the Vaisya. Even this is what is heard. The Brahmana was like a blazing fire. Without being able to touch him or approach his presence, the Sudra used to serve the Brahmana from a distance. It was only the Kshatriya and the Vaisya who could serve the Brahmana by touching his person or approaching his presence. The Brahmanas are endued with a mild disposition. They are truthful in behaviour. They are followers of the true religion. When angry, they are like snakes of virulent poison. Such being their nature, do thou, O Yudhishthira, serve and attend upon them with obedience and reverence. The Brahmanas are superior to even those that are higher than the high and the low. The energy and penances of even those Kshatriyas who blaze forth with energy and might, become powerless and neutralised when they come in contact with the Brahmanas. My sire himself is not dearer to me than the Brahmanas. My mother is not dearer to me than they. My grandsire, O king, is not dearer, my own self is not dearer, my life itself is not dearer, O king, to me than the Brahmanas! On earth there is nothing, O Yudhishthira, that is dearer to me than thou. But, O chief of Bharata's race, the Brahmanas are dearer to me than even thou. I tell thee truly, O son of Pandu! I swear by this truth, by which I hope to acquire all those regions of bliss that have been Santanu's. I behold those sacred regions with Brahma shining conspicuously before them. I shall repair thither, O son, and reside in them for unending days. Beholding these regions, O best of the Bharatas (with my spiritual eyes), I am filled with delight at the thought of all these acts which I have done in aid and honour of the Brahmanas, O monarch!'"

SECTION 60

"Yudhishthira said, 'Unto which of two Brahmanas, when both happen to be equally pure in behaviour, equally

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possessed of learning and purity, of birth and blood, but differing from each other in only this, viz., the one solicits and the other does not,--I ask, O grandsire, unto which of these two would a gift be more meritorious?"

"Bhishma said, 'It has been said. O son of Pritha, that a gift made unto an unsoliciting person is productive of greater merit than one made to a person who solicits. One possessed of contentment is certainly more deserving than that person who is destitute of that virtue and is, therefore, helpless amidst the storms and buffets of the world. The firmness of a Kshatriya consists in the protection he gives to others. The firmness of a Brahmana consists in his refusal to solicit. The Brahmana possessed of steadiness and learning and contentment gladdens the deities. The wise have said that an act of solicitation on the part of a poor man is a great reproach. Those persons that solicit others are said to annoy the world like thieves and robbers. [Yachyam is yachanarupamkarma, Anisasya is daridrasya. Abhiharam is tirashkaram. Yachanti bhutani means those who beg or solicit. In the Santi Parva, Bhishma in one place directs beggars to be driven away from towns and cities as annoyers of respectable people. This, however, applies to professional beggars, and not persons in real distress.] The person who solicits is said to meet with death. The giver, however, is said not to meet with death. The giver is said to grant life unto him who solicits. By an act of gift, O Yudhishthira, the giver is said to rescue his own self also. Compassion is a very high virtue. Let people make gift from compassion unto those that solicit. Those, however, that do not beg, but are plunged into poverty and distress should be respectfully invited to receive assistance. If such Brahmanas, who must be regarded as the foremost of their order, live in thy kingdom, thou shouldst regard them as fire covered with ashes. Blazing with penances, they are capable of consuming the whole earth. Such persons, O son of Kuru's race, though not generally worshipped, should still be regarded as deserving of worship in every way. Endued with knowledge and spiritual vision and penances and Yoga, such persons always deserve our worship. O scorcher of foes, do thou always offer worship unto such Brahmanas. One should repair of one's own accord unto those foremost of Brahmanas that do not solicit anybody and make unto them gifts of diverse kinds of wealth in abundance. The merit that flows from properly pouring libations into the sacred fire every morning and evening is won by the person who makes gifts unto a Brahmana endued with learning, with the Vedas and with high and excellent vows. Thou shouldst, O son of Kunti, invite those foremost of Brahmanas who are cleansed by learning and the Vedas and vows, who live in independence, whose Vedic studies and penances are hidden without being proclaimed from the house-top, and who are observant of excellent vows, and honour them with gifts of well-constructed and delightful houses equipped with servitors and robes and furniture, and with all other articles of pleasure and enjoyment. Conversant with all duties and possessed of minute vision, those foremost of Brahmanas, O Yudhishthira, may accept the gifts offered to them with devotion and respect, thinking that they should not refuse and disappoint the giver. Thou shouldst invite those Brahmanas whose wives wait for their return like tillers in expectation of rain. Having fed them well thou shouldst make gifts of additional food unto them so that upon their return home their expectant wives might be able to distribute that food among their children that had clamoured for food but that had been pacified with promises Brahmacharins of restrained senses, O son, by eating at one's house in the forenoon, cause the three sacrificial fires to be gratified with the householder at whose house they eat. Let the sacrifice of gift proceed in thy house at midday, O son, and do thou also give away kine and gold and robes (unto thy guests after feeding them well). By conducting thyself, in this way, thou art sure to gratify the chief of the celestials himself. That would constitute thy third sacrifice, O Yudhishthira, in which offerings are made unto the deities, the Pitris, and the Brahmanas. By such sacrifice thou art sure to gratify the Viswedevas. Let compassion unto all creatures, giving unto all creatures what is due unto them, restraining the senses, renunciation, steadiness, and truth, constitute the final bath of that sacrifice which is constituted by gift. Even this is the sacrifice that is spread out for thee,--a sacrifice that is sanctified by devotion and faith, and that has a large Dakshina attached to it. This sacrifice which is constituted by gift is distinguished above all other sacrifices, O son, let this sacrifice be always performed by thee.'"

SECTION 61

"Yudhishthira said, 'I wish to know in detail, O Bharata, where one meets with the high rewards of gifts and sacrifices. Are those rewards earned here or are they to come hereafter? Which amongst these two (viz., Gift and Sacrifice) is said to be productive of superior merit? Unto whom should gifts be made? In what manner are gifts and sacrifices to be made? When also are they to be made? I ask thee all these. O learned sire! Do thou discourse to me on the duty of gifts! Do tell me, O grandsire, what leads to the highest reward, viz., gifts made from the sacrificial platform or those made out of that place?

'Bhishma said, 'O son, a Kshatriya is generally employed in deeds of fierceness. In his case, sacrifices and gifts are regarded as cleansing or sanctifying him. They, that are good and righteous, do not accept the gifts of persons of the royal order, who are given to sinful acts. For this reason, the king should perform sacrifices with abundant gifts in the form of Dakshina. [Sacrifices are a means of giving away unto the Brahmanas.] If the good and righteous would accept the gifts made unto them, the Kshatriya, O monarch, should incessantly make gifts with devotion and faith unto them. Gifts are productive of great merit, and are highly cleansing. Observant of vows, one should perform sacrifices and gratify with wealth such Brahmanas as are friends of all creatures, possessed of righteousness, conversant with the Vedas, and preeminent for acts, conduct, and penances. If such Brahmanas do not accept thy gifts, no merit becomes thine. Do thou perform sacrifices with copious Dakshina, and make gifts of good and agreeable food unto those that are righteous. By making an act of gift thou shouldst regard thyself as performing a sacrifice. Thou shouldst with gifts adore those Brahmanas who perform sacrifices. By doing this thou will acquire a share in the merits of those sacrifices of theirs. Thou shouldst support such Brahmanas as are possessed of children and as are capable of sending people to Heaven. By conducting thyself in this way thou art sure to get a large progeny--in fact as large a progeny as the Prajapati himself. They that are righteous support and advance the cause of all righteous acts. One should, by giving up one's all, support such men, as also those that do good unto all creatures. Thyself being in the enjoyment of affluence, do thou, O Yudhishthira, make unto Brahmanas gifts of kine and bullocks and food and umbrellas, and robes and sandals or shoes Do thou give unto sacrificing Brahmanas clarified butter, as also food and cars and vehicles with horses harnessed thereto, and dwelling houses and mansions and beds. Such gifts are fraught with prosperity and affluence to the giver, and are regarded as pure, O Bharata. Those Brahmanas that are not censurable for anything they do, and that have no means of support assigned to them, should be searched out. Covertly or publicly do thou cherish such Brahmanas by assigning them the means of support. Such conduct always confers higher benefit upon Kshatriyas than the Rajasuya and the Horse-sacrifices. Cleansing thyself of sin, thou art sure of attaining to Heaven. Filling thy treasury thou shouldst do good to thy kingdom. By such conduct thou art sure to win much wealth and become a Brahmana (in thy next life). Do thou, O Bharata, protect thy own means (of support and of doing acts of righteousness), as also the means of other people's subsistence. Do thou support thy servants as thy own children. Do thou, O Bharata, protect the Brahmanas in the enjoyment of what they have and make gifts unto them of such articles as they have not. Let thy life be devoted to the purpose of the Brahmanas. Let it never be said that thou dost not grant protection to the Brahmanas. Much wealth or affluence, when possessed by a Brahmana, becomes a source of evil to him. Constant association with affluence and prosperity is certain to fill him with pride and cause him to be stupefied (in respect of his true duties). If the Brahmanas become stupefied and steeped in folly, righteousness and duties are sure to suffer destruction. Without doubt, if righteousness and duty come to an end, it will lead to the destruction of all creatures. That king who having amassed wealth makes it over (for safe keep) to his treasury officers and guards, and then commences again to plunder his kingdom, saying unto his officers, 'Do ye bring me as much wealth as you can extort from the kingdom,' and who spends the wealth that is thus collected at his command under circumstances of fear and cruelty, in the performance of sacrifices, should know that those sacrifices of his are never applauded by the righteous. The king should perform sacrifices with such wealth as is willingly paid into his treasury by prosperous and unpersecuted subjects. Sacrifices should never be performed with wealth acquired by severity and extortion. The king should then perform great sacrifices with large presents in the shape of Dakshina, when in consequence of his being devoted to the good of his subjects, the latter bathe him with copious showers of wealth brought willingly by them for the purpose. The king should protect the wealth of those that are old, of those that are minors, of those that are blind, and of those that are otherwise disqualified. The king should never take any wealth from his people, if they, in a season of drought, succeed in growing any corn with the aid of water obtained from wells. Nor should he take any wealth from weeping women. [Weeping women means women of destitute condition and, therefore, unable to pay.] The wealth taken from the poor and the helpless is sure to destroy the kingdom and the prosperity of the king. The king should always make unto the righteous gifts of all enjoyable articles in abundance. He should certainly dispel the fear of famishing which those men may have. There are no men more sinful than those upon whose food children look with wistfulness without being able to eat them duly. If within thy kingdom any learned Brahmana languishes with hunger like any of those children, thou shalt then incur the sin of foeticide for having allowed such an act. King Sivi himself had said this, viz., 'Fie on that king in whose kingdom a Brahmana or even any other man languishes from hunger.' That kingdom in which a Brahmana of the Snataka class languishes with hunger becomes overwhelmed with adversity. Such a kingdom with its king also incurs reproach. That king is more dead than alive in whose kingdom women are easily abducted from the midst of husbands and sons, uttering cries and groans of indignation and grief The subjects should arm themselves to slay that King who does not protect them, who simply plunders their wealth, who confounds all distinctions, who is ever incapable of taking their lead, who is without compassion, and who is regarded as the most sinful of kings. That king who tells his people that he is their protector but who does not or is unable to protect them, should be slain by his combined subjects, like a dog that is affected with the rabies and has become mad. A fourth part of whatever sins are committed by the subjects clings to that king who does not protect, O Bharata. Some authorities say that the whole of those sins is taken by such a king. Others are of opinion that a half thereof becomes his. Bearing in mind, however, the declaration of Manu, it is our opinion that a fourth part of such sins becomes the unprotecting king's. That king, O Bharata, who grants protection to his subjects obtains a fourth part of whatever merits his subjects acquire living under his protection. Do thou, O Yudhishthira, act in such a way that all thy subjects may seek thee as their refuge as long as thou art alive, even as all creatures seek the refuge of the deity of rain or even as the winged denizens of the air seek the refuge of a large tree. Let all thy kinsmen and all thy friends and well-wishers, O scorcher of foes, seek thee as their refuge even as the Rakshasas seek Kuvera or the deities seek Indra as theirs.'"

SECTION 62

"Yudhishthira said, 'People accept with affection the declarations of the Srutis which say, 'This is to be given.' 'This other thing is to be given!' As regards kings, again, they make gifts of various things unto various men. What, however, O grandsire, is the best or foremost of all gifts.'

"Bhishma said, 'Of all kinds of gifts, the gift of earth has been said to be the first (in point of merit). Earth is immovable and indestructible. It is capable of yielding unto him who owns it all the best things upon which his heart may be set. It yields robes and vestments, jewels and gems, animals, paddy and barley. Amongst all creatures, the giver of earth grows in prosperity for ever and ever. As long as the earth lasts, so long does the giver thereof grow in prosperity. There is no gift that is higher, O Yudhishthira, than the gift of earth. It hath been heard by us that all men have given a little quantity of earth. All men have made gifts of earth, hence all men enjoy a little of earth. Whether in this or in the next world all creatures live under conditions dependent upon their own acts. Earth is Prosperity's self. She is a mighty goddess. She makes him her lord (in next life) who makes gifts of her in this life to other people. That person, O best of kings, who gives away earth, which is indestructible, as Dakshina, becomes born in next life as a man and becomes also a lord of earth. The measure of one's enjoyment in this life is commensurate with the measure of one's gifts in a previous life. Even this is the conclusion to which the scriptures point. For a Kshatriya should either give away the earth in gift or cast off his life in battle. Even this constitutes the highest source of prosperity with regard to Kshatriyas. It has been heard by us that earth, when given away, cleanses and sanctifies the giver. The man that is of sinful behaviour, that is guilty of even the slaughter of a Brahamana and of falsehood, is cleansed by a gift of earth. Indeed, such a gift rescues even such a sinner from all his sins. The righteous accept gifts of earth only and no other thing from kings that are sinful. Like one's mother, earth, when given away, cleanses the giver and the taker. This is an eternal and secret name of earth, viz., Priyadatta. Given away or accepted in gift, the name that is dear to her is Priyadatta. The gift of earth is desirable. That king who makes a gift of earth unto a learned Brahmana, obtains from that gift a kingdom. Upon re-birth in this world, such a man without doubt attains to a position that is equal to that of a king. Hence a king as soon as he gets earth, should make gifts of earth unto the Brahmanas. None but a lord of earth; is competent to make gifts of earth. Nor should one that is not a deserving person accept a gift of earth. They who desire earth should, without doubt, conduct themselves in this way (i.e., make gifts of earth). That person who takes away earth belonging to a righteous person never gets any earth. By making gifts of earth unto the righteous, one gets good earth. Of virtuous soul, such a giver acquires great fame both here and hereafter. That righteous king respecting whom the Brahmanas say, 'We live on earth given to us by him,' is such that his very enemies cannot utter the least reproach respecting his kingdom. Whatever sins a man commits from want of the means of support, are all washed off by gift of only so much earth as is covered by a cow-hide. Those kings that are mean in their acts or are of fierce deeds, should be taught that gift of earth is exceedingly cleansing and is at the same time the highest gift (in respect of merit). The ancients

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thought that there was always very little difference between the man who performs a Horse-sacrifice and him that makes a gift of earth unto one that is righteous. The learned doubt the acquisition of merit by doing all other acts of righteousness. The only act with respect to which they do not entertain doubt is the gift of earth which, indeed, is the foremost of all gifts. The man of wisdom who makes gifts of earth, gives away all these, viz., gold, silver, cloth, gems and pearls and precious stones. Penances, sacrifice, Vedic lore, good behaviour, absence of cupidity, firmness in truth, worship of seniors, preceptors, and the deities--all these dwell in him who makes a gift of earth. They who ascend to the region of Brahman by leaving off their lives in battle, after having fought without any regard for themselves to secure the benefit to their masters--even they are unable to transcend the merit of those that make gilts of earth. As the mother always nourishes her own child with milk from her breast, even so doth the earth gratify with all the tastes the person that makes a gift of earth. Mrityu, Vaikinkara, Danda, Yama, Fire who is possessed of great fierceness, and all heinous and terrible sins are incapable of touching the person that makes a gift of earth. That man of tranquil soul who makes a gift of earth gratifies (by that act) the Pitris dwelling in their own region and the deities also hailing from the region that is theirs. The man who makes a gift of earth unto one that is emaciated and cheerless and destitute of the means of life and languishing with weakness, and who thereby supplies one with the means of subsistence, becomes entitled to the honour and merit of performing a sacrifice. Even as an affectionate cow runs towards her calf, with full udders dropping milk, the highly-blessed earth after the same manner, runs towards the person who makes a gift of earth. That man who makes unto a Brahmana a gift of earth which has been tilled, or sown with seeds or which contains standing crops, or a mansion well-equipped with every necessary, succeeds in becoming (in next life) the accomplisher of the wishes of everybody. The man who causes a Brahmana possessed of the means of life, owning a domestic fire and of pure vows and practices, to accept a gift of earth, never falls into any danger or distress. As the moon waxes day by day, even so the merit of a gift of earth becomes enhanced every time such earth produces crops. Those conversant with ancient history sing this verse in connection with the gift of earth. Hearing that verse Jamadagni's son (Rama) gave away the whole earth unto Kasyapa. The verse to which I refer is this, 'Receive me in gift. Give me away. By giving me away, thou (O giver) shall obtain me again!' That which is given away in this life is re-acquired in the next. That Brahmana who recites this high declaration of the Vedas at the time of a Sraddha attains to the highest reward. A gift of earth is a high expiation for the sin of those puissant men who betake themselves to Atharvan rites for doing injuries to others. Indeed, by making a gift of earth one rescues ten generations of one's paternal and maternal race. That person who is even conversant with this Vedic declaration respecting the merits of a gift of earth, succeeds in rescuing ten generations of both his paternal and maternal families. The earth is the original source of all creatures (for it is from earth that all creatures derive their sustenance). It has been said that the deity of fire is the presiding genius of the earth. After the coronation ceremony has been performed of a king, this Vedic declaration should be re-cited to him, so that he may make gifts of earth and may never take away earth from a righteous person. Without doubt, the entire wealth owned by the king belongs to the Brahmanas. A king well-conversant with the science of duty and morality is the first requisite of the kingdom's prosperity. Those people whose king is unrighteous and atheistic in conduct and belief can never be happy. Such people can never sleep or wake in peace. In consequence of his acts of wickedness his subjects become always filled with anxiety. Protection of what the subjects already have and new acquisitions according to lawful means are incidents that are not noticeable in the kingdom of such a ruler. Those people, again, who have a wise and righteous king, sleep happily and wake up in happiness. Through the blessed and righteous acts of such a king, his subjects become freed from anxiety. The subjects, restrained from wicked acts, grow in prosperity through their own conduct. Capable of retaining what they have, they go on making new acquisitions. That king who makes gifts of earth is regarded as well-born. He is regarded as a man. He is a friend. He is righteous in his acts. He is a giver. He is regarded as possessing prowess. Those men who make gifts of ample and fertile earth unto Brahmanas conversant with the Vedas, always shine in the world, in consequence of their energy, like so many suns. As seeds scattered on the soil grow and return a goodly crop, even so all one's wishes become crowned with fruition in consequence of one's making gifts of earth. Aditya and Varuna and Vishnu and Brahman and Soma and Hutasana, and the illustrious and trident-bearing Mahadeva, all applaud the man that makes a gift of earth. Living creatures spring into life from the earth and it is into the earth that they become merged when they disappear. Living creatures which are distributed into four classes (i.e., viviparous, oviparous, filthborn, and vegetables) have earth for their constituent essence. The earth is both the mother and father of the universe of creatures, O monarch. There is no element, O ruler of men, that can compare with earth. In this connection is cited the old narrative of a discourse between the celestial preceptor Vrihaspati and Indra the ruler of Heaven, O Yudhishthira. Having adored Vishnu in a hundred sacrifices each of which was distinguished by plentiful gifts as Dakshina, Maghavat put this question to Vrihaspati, that foremost of all eloquent persons.'

"Maghavat said, 'O illustrious one, by what gift does one succeed in coming to Heaven and attaining to beatitude? O foremost of speakers, do thou tell me of that gift which is productive of high and inexhaustible merit.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed by the chief of the celestials the preceptor of the deities, viz., Vrihaspati of great energy, said these words in reply unto him of a hundred sacrifices. Endued as he is with the merits that attach to the gift of earth, the region of felicity reserved for the person who makes gift of such earth as is auspicious and rich with every taste*, never become exhausted. That king, O Sakra, who desires to have prosperity and who wishes to win happiness for himself, should always make gifts of earth, with due rites, unto deserving persons. If after committing numerous sins a person makes gifts of earth unto members of the regenerate class, he casts off all those sins like a snake casting off its slough. The person that makes a gift of earth is said to make gifts of everything, that is, of seas and rivers and mountains and forests. By making a gift of earth, the person is said to give away lakes and tanks and wells and streams. In consequence of the moisture of earth, one is said to give away articles of diverse tastes by making a gift of earth. The man who makes a gift of earth is regarded as giving away herbs and plants possessed of high and efficacious virtues, trees adorned with flowers and fruit, delightful woods, and hillocks. The merit that a person acquires by making a gift of earth is incapable of being acquired by the performance of even such great sacrifices as the Agnishtoma and others with plentiful gifts in the shape of Dakshina. [* Rich with every taste' the idea is that things have six tastes, viz., Sweet,Sour, Salty, Spicy (pungent), Bitter, Astringent. The quality of taste is drawn by things from the soil or earth. The tastes inhere in earth, for it is the same earth that produces the sugarcane and the tamarind. Details according to the Ayurveda: 1st Sweet taste (ripe Fruit, grains, natural sugars, milk): Builds tissues, calms nerves; 2nd Sour taste (Sour fruits, yogurt, fermented foods): Cleanses tissues, increases absorption of minerals; 3rd Salty taste (Natural salts, sea vegetables): Improves taste to food, lubricates tissues, stimulates digestion; 4th Bitter taste (Dark leafy greens, herbs and spices): Detoxifies and lightens tissues; 5th Spicy taste [Pungent] (Chili peppers, garlic, herbs and spices): Stimulates digestion and metabolism; 6th Astringent taste which is a taste that puckers the mouth, numbs the tongue, and constricts the throat. This taste is caused by astringents such as tannins. (The astringent taste is in unripened bananas, unripe persimmons and cashew fruits; and acorns dominantly, but also Legumes, raw fruits and vegetables, herbs which prevents them from being eaten): Absorbs water, tightens tissues, dries fats.] The giver of earth, it has been already said, rescues ten generations of both his paternal and maternal races. Similarly, by taking away earth that was given away, one hurls oneself into hell and casts ten generations of both one's paternal and maternal lines into the same place of misery. That man who having promised to make a gift of earth does not actually make it, or who having made a gift takes it back, has to pass a long time, in great misery in consequence of being tied with the noose of Varuna at the command of Death. Those men have never to go to Yama who honour and worship those foremost of Brahmanas that pour libations every day on their domestic fire, that are always engaged in the performance of sacrifices, that have scanty means of livelihood, and that receive with hospitality every guest seeking shelter in their abodes The king, O Purandara, should free himself from the debt he owes to the Brahmanas and protect the helpless and the weak belonging to the other orders. The king should never resume, O chief of the deities, earth that has been given away by another unto a Brahmana, O ruler of the celestials, that is destitute of the means of life. The tears that would fall from the eyes of such cheerless and destitute Brahmanas in consequence of their lands being taken back are capable of destroying the ancestors and descendants to the third generation of the resumer. That man who succeeds by his endeavours in re-establishing a king driven away from his kingdom, obtains residence in heaven and is much honoured by the denizens thereof. That king who succeeds in making gifts of earth with such crops standing thereon as sugar-cane or barley or wheat, or with kine and horses and other draft cattle,--earth that has been won with the might of the giver's arms,--that has mineral wealth in its bowels and that is covered with every kind of wealth of the surface, wins inexhaustible regions of felicity in the next world, and such a king it is that is said to perform the earth-sacrifice. That king who makes a gift of earth becomes washed of every sin and is, therefore, pure and approved of the righteous. In this world he is highly honoured and applauded by all righteous men. The merit that attaches to a gift of earth increases every time the earth given away bears crops for the benefit of the owner, even as a drop of oil, falling upon water, is seen to extend on every side, and cover the watery surface. Those heroic kings and ornaments of assemblies who cast off their lives in battle with faces towards the foe, attain, O Sakra, to the region of Brahman. Beautiful damsels skilled in music and dancing and adorned with garlands of celestial flowers, approach, O chief of the deities, the giver of earth as he comes to heaven departing from the earth. That king who makes gifts of earth with due rites unto persons of the regenerate order, sports in bliss in the celestial regions, adorned all the while by the deities and Gandharvas. A century of Apsaras, adorned with celestial garlands, approach, O chief of the deities, the giver of earth as he ascends to the region of Brahman. Flowers of excellent perfumes, an excellent conch and excellent seat, an umbrella and excellent steeds with excellent vehicles, are always ready for the person how makes gifts of earth. By making gifts of earth a king can always command flowers of excellent perfumes and heaps of gold. Possessed of all kinds of wealth the commands of such a king can never be disobeyed anywhere, and cries of victory hail him wheresoever he may approach. The rewards that attach to gifts of earth consist of residence in heaven, O Purandara, and gold, and flowers, and plants and herbs of medicinal virtue, and Kusa and mineral wealth and verdant grass. A person by making a gift of earth acquires in his next life nectar yielding earth. There is no gift that is equal to a gift of earth. There is no senior worthy of greater respect than the mother. There is no duty higher than truth. There is no wealth more precious than that which is given away.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Hearing these words from the son of Angiras, Vasava made a gift unto him of the whole earth with all her jewels and gems and all her wealth of diverse kinds. If these verses declaring the merit attaching to gifts of earth be recited on the occasion of a Sraddha, neither Rakshasas nor Asuras can succeed in appropriating any share of the offerings made in it. Without doubt, the offerings one makes unto the Pitris at such a Sraddha become inexhaustible. Hence, on occasions of Sraddhas, the man of learning should recite these verses on the subject of the merits that attach to gifts of earth, in the presence and hearing of the invited Brahmanas when engaged in eating. I have thus, O chief of the Bharatas, discoursed unto thee of that gift which is the foremost of all gifts. What else dost thou wish to hear?'"

SECTION 63

"Yudhishthira said, 'When a king becomes desirous of making gifts in this world, what, indeed, are those gifts which he should make, O best of the Bharatas, unto such Brahmanas as are possessed of superior accomplishments? What gift is that by which the Brahmanas become immediately gratified? What fruits do they bestow in return? O thou of mighty arms, tell me what is the high reward attainable through the merit arising from gifts. What gifts, O king, are productive of rewards both here and hereafter? I desire to hear all this from thee. Do thou discourse to me on all this in detail.'

"Bhishma said, 'These very questions were on a former occasion put by me to Narada of celestial appearance. Hear me as I recite to thee what that celestial sage told me in reply.'

"Narada said, 'The deities and all the Rishis applaud food. The course of the world and the intellectual faculties have all been established on food. There has never been, nor will be any gift that is equal to the gifts of food. Hence, men always desire particularly to make gifts of food. In this world, food is the cause of energy and strength. The life-breaths are established on food. It is food that upholds the wide universe, O puissant one. All classes of men, householders and mendicants and ascetics, exist, depending upon food. The life-breaths depend upon food. There is no doubt in this. Afflicting (if need be) one's relatives, one is desirous of one's own prosperity, should make gifts of food unto a high-souled Brahmana or a person of the mendicant order. That man who makes a gift of food unto an accomplished Brahmana who solicits the same, secures for himself in the world to come wealth of great value. The householder who is desirous of his own prosperity should receive with reverence a deserving old man that is spent with toil while proceeding on his way far from home, when such a man honours the householder's abode with his presence. That man who, casting off wrath that overleaps every bound and becoming righteous in disposition and freed from malice, makes gifts of food, is sure to attain to happiness, O king, both here and hereafter. The householder should never disregard the man that comes to his abode, nor should he insult him by sending him away. A gift of food made unto even a Chandala or a dog is never lost. That man who makes a gift of clean food unto a person on the way who is toil-worn and unknown to the giver, is sure to acquire great merit. The man who gratifies with gifts of food the Pitris, the deities, the Rishis, the Brahmanas, and guests arrived at his abode, acquires merit whose measure is very large. That person who having committed even a heinous sin makes a gift of food unto one that solicits, or unto a Brahmana, is never stupefied by that heinous sin. A gift of food made unto a Brahmana becomes inexhaustible. One made to a Sudra

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becomes productive of great merit. Even this is the difference between the merits that attach to gifts of food made unto Brahmanas and Sudras. Solicited by it Brahmana, one should not enquire about his race or conduct or Vedic lore. Asked for food, one should give food to him that asks. There is no doubt in tits, O king, that he who makes gifts of food obtains both here and hereafter many trees yielding food and every other object of desire. Like tillers expecting auspicious showers of rain, the Pitris always expect that their sons and grandsons would make offerings unto them of food (in Sraddhas). The Brahmana is a great being. When he comes into one's anode and solicits, saying, 'Give me,' the owner of the abode, whether influenced or not by the desire of acquiring merit, is sure to win great merit by listening to that solicitation. The Brahmana is the guest of all creatures in the universe. He is entitled to the first portion of every food. That house Increases in prosperity to which the Brahmanas repair from desire of soliciting alms and from which they return honoured in consequence of their desires being fulfilled. The owner of such a house takes birth in his next life in a family, O Bharata, that can command all the comforts and luxuries of life. A man, by making gifts of food in this world, is sure to attain to an excellent place hereafter. He who makes gifts of sweetmeat and all food that is sweet, attains to a residence in heaven where he is honoured by all the deities and other denizens. Food constitutes the life-breath of men. Everything is established upon food. He who makes gifts of food obtains many animals (as his wealth), many children, considerable wealth (in other shape), and a command in abundance of all articles of comfort and luxurious enjoyment. The giver of food is said to be the giver of life. Indeed, he is said to be the giver of everything. Hence, O king, such a man acquires both strength and beauty of form in this world. If food be given duly unto a Brahmana arrived at the giver's house as a guest, the giver attains to great happiness, and is adored by the very deities. The Brahmana, O Yudhishthira, is a great being. He is also a fertile field. Whatever seed is sown on that field produces an abundant crop of merit. A gift of food is visibly and immediately productive of the happiness of both the giver and the receiver. All other gifts produce fruits that are unseen. Food is the origin of all creatures. From food, comes happiness and delight. O Bharata, know that religion and wealth both flow from food. The cure of disease or health also flows from food. In a former Kalpa, the Lord of all creatures said that food is Amrita or the source of immortality. Food is Earth, food is Heaven, food is the Firmament. Everything is established on food. In the absence of food, the five elements that constitute the physical organism cease to exist in a state of union. From absence of food the strength of even the strongest man is seen to fail. Invitations and marriages and sacrifices all cease in the absence of food. The very Vedas disappear when food there is none. Whatever mobile and immobile creatures exist in the universe are dependent on food. Religion and wealth, in the three worlds, are all dependent on food. Hence the wise should make gifts of food. The strength, energy, fame and achievements of the man who makes gifts of food, constantly increase in the three worlds, O king. The lord of the life-breaths, viz., the deity of wind, places above the clouds (the water sucked up by the Sun). The water thus borne to the clouds is caused by Sakra to be poured upon the earth, O Bharata. The Sun, by means of his rays, sucks up the moisture of the earth. The deity of wind causes the moisture to fall down from the Sun. When the water falls down from the clouds upon the Earth, the goddess Earth becomes moist, O Bharata. Then do people sow diverse kinds of crops upon whose outturn the universe of creatures depends. It is in the food thus produced that the flesh, fat, bones and vital seed of all beings have their origin. From the vital seed thus originated, O king, spring diverse kinds of living creatures. Agni and Soma, the two agents living within the body, create and maintain the vital seed. Thus from food, the Sun and the deity of wind and the vital seed spring and act. All these are said to constitute one element or quantity, and it is from these that all creatures spring. That man who gives food into one who comes into his house and solicits it, is said, O chief of the Bharatas, to contribute both life and energy unto living creatures.'

'Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed by Narada, O king, I have always made gifts of food. Do thou also, therefore, freed from malice and with a cheerful heart, make gifts of food. By making gifts of food, O king, unto deserving Brahmanas with due rites, thou mayst be sure, O puissant one, of attaining to Heaven. Hear me, O monarch, as I tell thee what the regions are that are reserved for those that make gifts of food. The mansions of those high-souled persons shine with resplendence in the regions of Heaven. Bright as the stars in the firmament, and supported upon many columns, white as the disc of the moon, and adorned with many tinkling bells, and rosy like the newly-risen sun, those palatial abodes are either fixed or movable. Those mansions are filled with hundreds upon hundreds of things and animals that live on land and as many things and animals living in water. Some of them are endued with the effulgence of lapis lazuli and some are possessed of the resplendence of the sun. Some of them are made of silver and some of gold. Within those mansions are many trees capable of crowning with fruition every desire of the inmates. Many tanks and roads and halls and well and lakes occur all around. Thousands of conveyances with horses and other animals harnessed thereto and with wheels whose clatter is always loud, may be seen there. Mountains of food and all enjoyable articles and heaps of cloths and ornaments are also to be seen there. Numerous rivers that run milk, and hills of rice and other edibles, may also be seen there. Indeed, many palatial residences looking like white clouds, with many beds of golden splendour, occur in those regions, All these are obtained by those men that make gifts of food in this world. Do thou, therefore, become a giver of food. Verily, these are the regions that are reserved for those high-souled and righteous persons that make gifts of food in this world. For these reasons, men should always make gifts of food in this world.'"

SECTION 64

"Yudhishthira said, 'I have heard the discourse regarding the ordinance about the gift of food. Do thou discourse to me now about the conjunction of the planets and the stars in relation to the subject of making gifts. [What Yudhishthira wishes to know is what conjunctions should be utilized for making what particular gifts.]

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection is recited this ancient narrative of the discourse between Devaki and Narada, that foremost of Rishis. Once on a time when Narada of godlike feature and conversant with every duty arrived at Dwaraka, Devaki asked him this question. Unto her that had asked him, the celestial Rishi Narada duly answered in the following words. Do thou hear as I recite them.'

"Narada said, 'By gratifying, O blessed lady, deserving Brahmanas with Payasa mixed with ghee, under the constellation Krittika one attains to regions of great happiness. [Payasa is rice boiled in sugared milk. It is a sort of liquid food that is regarded as very agreeable.] Under the constellation Rohini, one should for freeing oneself from the debt one owes to the Brahmanas make gift unto them of many handfuls of venison along with rice and ghee and milk, and other kinds of edibles and drinks. One giving away a cow with a calf under the constellation called Somadaivata (or Mrigasiras), proceeds from this region of human beings to a region in heaven of great felicity. One undergoing a fast and giving away Krisara mixed with sesame, transcends all difficulties in the next world, including those mountains with rocks sharp as razors. By making gifts, O beautiful lady, of cakes and other food under the constellation Punarvasu one becomes possessed of personal beauty and great fame and takes birth in one's next life in a family in which there is abundance of food. Making a gift of wrought or unwrought gold, under the constellation Pushya, one shines in effulgence like Soma himself in regions of surrounding gloom. He who makes a gift, under the constellation Aslesha, of silver of a bull, becomes freed from every fear and attains to great affluence and prosperity. By making a gift, under the constellation Magha, of earthen dishes filled with sesame, one becomes possessed of children and animals in this world and attains to felicity in the next. [Vardhamana, Sarava or Saravika. It is a flat certain cup or dish.] For making gifts unto Brahmanas, under the constellation called Purva-Phalguni of food mixed with Phanita the giver observing a fast the while, reward is great prosperity both here and hereafter. [Phanita is the inspissated juice of the sugarcane.] By making a gift, under the constellation called Uttara-Phalguni, of ghee and milk with rice called Shashthika, one attains to great honours in heaven. Whatever gifts are made by men under the constellation of Uttara-Phalguni produce great merit, which, again, becomes inexhaustible. This is very certain. Observing a fast the while, the person that makes, under the constellation Hasta, a gift of a car with four elephants, attains to regions of great felicity that are capable of granting the fruition of every wish. By making a gift, under the constellation Chitra, of a bull and of good perfumes, one sports in bliss in regions of Apsaras like the deities sporting in the woods of Nandana. By making gifts of wealth under the constellation Swati, one attains to such excellent regions as one desires and wins besides great fame. By making gifts, under constellation Visakha, of a bull, and a cow that yields a copious measure of milk, a cart full of paddy, with a Prasanga for covering the same, and also cloths for wear, [A prasanga is a basket of bamboo or other material for covering paddy.] a person gratifies the Pitris and the deities attains to inexhaustible merit in the other world. Such a person never meets with any calamity and gratifies the Pitris and the deities and attains to inexhaustible merit in the other world. Such a person never meets with any calamity and certainly reaches heaven. By making gifts unto the Brahmanas of whatever articles they solicit, one attains to such means of subsistence as one desires, and becomes rescued from hell and every calamity that visits a sinner after death. This is the certain conclusion of the scriptures. By making gifts, under the constellation Anuradha of embroidered cloth and other vestments and of food, observing a fast the while, one becomes honoured in heaven for a hundred Yugas. By making a gift under the constellation Jyeshtha, of the potherb called Kalasaka with the roots, one attains to great prosperity as also to such an end as is desirable. By making unto Brahmanas a gift under the constellation Mula, of fruits and roots, with a restrained soul, one gratifies the Pitris and attains to a desirable end. By making under the constellation Purvashadha, a gift, unto a Brahmana conversant with the Vedas and of good family and conduct, of cups filled with curds, while one is in the observance of a fast, one takes birth in one's next life in a family possessed of abundant kine. One obtains the fruition of every wish, by making gifts, under the constellation Uttarashadha, of jugs full of barley-water, with ghee and inspissated juice of sugarcane in abundance. By making a gift under the conjunction called Abhijit, of milk with honey and ghee unto men of wisdom, a righteous person attains to heaven and becomes an object of attention and honour there. By making under the conjunction Sravana, a gift of blankets or other cloth of thick texture, one roves freely through every region of felicity, riding on a white car of pure resplendence. By making with a restrained soul, under the constellation Dhanishtha, a gift of a vehicle with bulls yoked thereto, or heaps of cloths and wealth, one at once attains to heaven in one's next life. By making gifts, under the constellation Satabhisha, of perfumes with Aquilaria Agallocha and sandalwood, one attains in the next world to the companionship of Apsaras as also eternal perfumes of diverse kinds. By making gifts, under the constellation Purva-Bhadrapada, or Rajamasha, one attains to great happiness in the next life and becomes possessed of an abundant stock of every kind of edibles and fruits. [Rajamasha is a kind of bean. It is the Vinga sinensis, syn. Dilicheos sinensis Linn.] One who makes, under the constellation Uttara, a gift of mutton, gratifies the Paris by such an act attains to inexhaustible merit in the next world. Unto one who makes a gift, under the constellation Revati, of a cow with a vessel of white copper for milking her, the cow so given away approaches in the next world, ready to grant the fruition of every wish. By making a gift, under the constellation Aswini, of a car with steeds yoked thereto, one is born in one's next life in a family possessed of numerous elephants and steeds and cars, and becomes endued with great energy. By making, under the constellation Bharani, a gift unto the Brahmanas of kine and sesame, one acquires in one's next life great fame and an abundance of kine.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Even thus did Narada discourse unto Devaki upon the subject of what gifts should be made under what constellations. Devaki herself, having listened to this discourse, recited it in her turn unto her daughters-in-law (viz., the spouses of Krishna).'"

SECTION 65

"Bhishma said, 'The illustrious Atri, the son of the Grandsire Brahman, said, 'They who make gifts of gold are said to make gifts of everything in the world.' King Harischandra said that the gift of gold is sin-cleansing, leads to long life, and becomes productive of inexhaustible merit unto the Pitris. Manu has said that a gift of drink is the best of all gifts: therefore should a man cause wells and tanks and lakes to be excavated. A well full of water and from which diverse creatures draw water, is said to take off half the sinful acts of the person who has excavated it. The whole race of a person is rescued from hell and sin in whose well or tank or lake kine and Brahmanas and righteous people constantly quench their thirst. That man transcends every kind of calamity from whose well or tank every one draws water without restraint during the summer season. Ghee is said to gratify the illustrious Vrihaspati, Pushan, Bhaga, the twin Aswins, and the deity of fire. Ghee is possessed of high medicinal virtues. It is a high requisite for sacrifice. It is the best of all liquids. The merit a gift of ghee produces is very superior. That man who is desirous of the reward of happiness in the next world, who wishes for fame and prosperity, should with a cleansed soul and having purified himself make gifts of ghee unto the Brahmanas. Upon that man who makes gifts of ghee unto the Brahmanas in the month of Aswin, the twin Aswins, gratified, confer personal beauty. Rakshasas never invade the abode of that man who makes gifts unto the Brahmanas of Payasa mixed with ghee. That man never dies of thirst who makes gifts unto the Brahmanas of jars filled with water. Such a person obtains every necessary of life in abundance, and has never to undergo any calamity or distress. That man, who with great devotion and restrained senses makes gifts unto the foremost of Brahmanas, is said to take a sixth part of the merits won by the Brahmanas by their penances. That man who makes presents unto Brahmanas having the means of life, of firewood for purposes of cooking as also of enabling them to drive cold, finds all his purposes and all his acts crowned with success. Such a one is seen to shine with great splendour over all his enemies. The illustrious deity of fire becomes pleased with such a man. As another reward, he never becomes divested of cattle, and he is sure to achieve victory in battles. The man who makes a gift of an umbrella obtains children and great prosperity. Such a

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person is never affected by any eye-disease. The merits also that spring from the performance of a sacrifice become his. That man who makes a gift of an umbrella in the season of summer or rains, has never to meet with any heart-burning on any account. Such a man quickly succeeds in freeing himself from every difficulty and impediment. The highly blessed and illustrious Rishi Sandilya has said that, of all gifts, the gift of a car, O king, is the best.'"

SECTION 66

"Yudhishthira said, 'I desire to hear, O grandsire, what the merits are of that person who makes the gift of a pair of sandals unto a Brahmana whose feet are burning or being scorched by hot sand, while he is walking.'

"Bhishma said, 'The man, that gives unto the Brahmanas sandals for the protection of their feet, succeeds in crushing all thorns and gets over every kind of difficulty. Such a man, O Yudhishthira, stays over the heads of all his foes. Vehicles of pure splendour, with mules harnessed thereto, and made of gold and silver, O monarch, approach him. He who makes a gift of sandals is said to earn the merit of making the gift of a vehicle with well-broken steeds yoked thereto.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Do thou tell me in detail once more, O grandsire, of the merits that attach to gifts of sesame and land and kine and food.'

"Bhishma said, 'Do thou hear, O son of Kunti, what the merits are that attach to the gift of sesame. Hearing me, do thou, then, O best of the Kurus, make gifts of sesame according to the ordinance. Sesame seeds were created by the Self-born Brahman as the best food for the Pitris. Hence, gifts of sesame seeds always gladden the Pitris greatly. The man who makes gifts of sesame seeds, in the month of Magha, unto the Brahmanas, has never to visit hell which abounds with all frightful creatures. He who adores the Pitris with offerings of sesame seeds is regarded as worshipping the deities at all the sacrifices. One should never perform a Sraddha with offerings of sesame seeds without cherishing some purpose. 1 Sesame seeds sprang from the limbs of the great Rishi Kasyapa. Hence, in the matter of gifts, they have come to be regarded as possessed of high efficacy. Sesame seeds bestow both prosperity and personal beauty and cleans the giver of all his sins It is for this reason that the gift of sesame seeds is distinguished above the gift of every other article. Apastamva of great intelligence, and Kankha and Likhita, and the great Rishi Gautama have all ascended to heaven by having made gifts of sesame seeds. Those Brahmanas that make Homa with offerings of sesame, abstain from sexual intercourse, and are observant of the religion of Pravritti or acts, are regarded as equal (in purity and efficacy) to bovine Havi. The gift of sesame seeds is distinguished above all gifts. Amongst all gifts, the gifts of sesame is regarded as productive of inexhaustible merit. In ancient times when Havi (clarified butter) on one occasion had become unobtainable the Rishi Kusika, O scorcher of foes, made offerings of sesame seeds to his three sacrificial fires and succeeded in attaining to an excellent end. I have thus said unto thee, O chief of the Kurus, what the regulations are respecting the excellent gift of sesame seeds. It is in consequence of these regulations that the gift of sesame seeds has come to be regarded as endued with very superior merit. After this, listen to what I would say. Once on a time the deities, desirous of making a sacrifice, repaired, O monarch, to the presence of the Self-born Brahman. Having met Brahman, being desirous of performing a sacrifice on earth, they begged him for a piece of auspicious earth, saying, 'We want it for our sacrifice.'

'The deities said, 'O illustrious one, thou art the lord of all the earth as also of all the deities. With thy permission, O highly blessed one, we desire to perform a sacrifice. The person who has not obtained by lawful means the earth whereon to make the sacrificial altar, earns not the merit of the sacrifice he performs. Thou art the Lord of all the universe consisting of its mobile and immobile objects. Hence, it behoveth thee to grant us a piece of earth for the sacrifice we wish to make.'

"Brahman said, 'Ye foremost of deities, I shall give you a piece of earth whereon, ye sons of Kasyapa, you shall perform your intended sacrifice.'

"The deities said, 'Our wishes, O holy one, have been crowned with fruition. We shall perform our sacrifice even here with large Dakshina. Let, however, the Munis always adore the piece of earth. Then there came to that place Agastya and Kanwa and Bhrigu and Atri and Vrishakapi, and Asita and Devala. The high-souled deities then, O thou of unfading glory, performed their sacrifice. Those foremost of gods concluded it in due time. Having completed that sacrifice of theirs on the breast of that foremost of mountains. Himavat, the deities attached to the gift of earth a sixth part of the merit arising from their sacrifice. The man who makes a gift of even a span of earth (unto a Brahmana) with reverence and faith, has never to languish under any difficulty and has never to meet with any calamity. By making a gift of a house that keeps out cold, wind, and sun, and that stand upon a piece of clean land, the giver attains to the region of the deities and does not fall down even when his merit becomes exhausted. By making a gift of a residential house, the giver, possessed of wisdom, lives, O king, in happiness in the company of Sakra. Such a person receives great honours in heaven. That person in whose house a Brahmana of restrained sense, well-versed in the Vedas, and belonging by birth to a family of preceptors, resides in contentment, succeeds in attaining to and enjoying a region of high felicity. After the same manner, O best of the Bharatas, by giving away a shed for the shelter of kine that can keep out cold and rain and that is substantial in structure, the giver rescues seven generations of his race (from hell). By giving away a piece of arable earth the giver attains to excellent prosperity. By giving a piece of earth containing mineral wealth, the giver aggrandises his family and race. One should never give away any earth that is barren or that is burnt (arid); nor should one give away any earth that is in close vicinity to a crematorium, or that has been owned and enjoyed by a sinful person before such gift. When a man performs a Sraddha in honour of the Pitris on earth belonging to another person, the Pitris render both the gift of that earth and the Sraddha itself futile. Hence, one possessed of wisdom should buy even a small piece of earth and make a gift of it. The Pinda that is offered to one's ancestors on earth that has been duly purchased becomes inexhaustible. Forests, and mountains, and rivers, and Tirthas are regarded as having no owners. No earth need be purchased here for performing Sraddhas. Even this has been said, O king, on the subject of the merits of making gifts of earth. After this, O sinless one, I shall discourse to thee on the subject of the gift of kine. Kine are regarded as superior to all the ascetics. And since it is so, the divine Mahadeva for that reason performed penance in their company. Kine, O Bharata, dwell in the region of Brahman, in the company of Soma. Constituting as it does the highest end, regenerate Rishis crowned with success strive to attain to that very region. Kine benefit human beings with milk, ghee, curds, dung, skin, bones, horns, and hair, O Bharata. Kine do not feel cold or heat. They always work. The season of rains also cannot afflict them at all. And since kine attain to the highest end (viz., residence in the region of Brahman), in the company of Brahmanas, therefore do the wise say that king and Brahmanas are equal. In days of yore, king Rantideva performed a grand sacrifice in which an immense number of kine were offered up and slaughtered. From the juice that was secreted by the skins of the slaughtered animals, a river was formed that came to be called by the name of Charmanwati. Kine no longer form animals fit for sacrifice. They now constitute animals that are fit for gift. That king who makes gifts of kine unto the foremost of Brahmanas, O monarch, is sure to get over every calamity even if he falls into it. The man who makes a gift of a thousand kine has not to go to hell. Such a person, O ruler of men, obtains victory everywhere. The very chief of the deities had said that the milk of kine is nectar. For this reason, one who makes a gift of a cow is regarded as making a gift of nectar. Persons conversant with the Vedas have declared that the Ghee manufactured from cows' milk is the very best of all libations poured into the sacrificial fire. For this reason, the man who makes a gift of a cow is regarded as making a gift of a libation for sacrifice. A bovine bull is the embodiment of heaven. He who makes the gift of a bovine bull unto an accomplished Brahmana, receives great honours in heaven. Kine, O chief of Bharata's race, are said to be the life-breath of living creatures. Hence, the man who makes the gift of a cow is said to make the gift of life-breath. Persons conversant with the Vedas have said that kine constitute the great refuge of living creatures. Hence, the man who makes the gift of a cow is regarded as making the gift of what is the high refuge for all creatures. The cow should never be given away for slaughter (i.e., unto one who will kill her); nor should the cow be given unto a tiller of the soil; nor should the cow be given unto an atheist. The cow should not also, O chief of the Bharatas, be given unto one whose occupation is the keeping of kine. 1 The wise have said that a person who gives away the cow unto any of such sinful persons has to sink into everlasting hell. One should never give unto a Brahmana a cow that is lean, or that produces calves that do not live, or that is barren, or that is diseased, or that is defective of limb, or that is worn out with toil. The man that gives away ten thousand kine attains to heaven and sports in bliss in the companionship of Indra. The man who makes gifts of kine by hundred thousand acquires many regions of inexhaustible felicity. Thus have I recited to thee the merits attaching to the gift of kine and of sesame, as also to the gift of earth. Listen now to me as I discourse to thee upon the gift of food, O Bharata. The gift of food, O son of Kunti, is regarded as a very superior gift. King Rantideva in days of yore ascended to heaven by having made gifts of food. That king, who make a gift of food unto one that is toil-worn and hungry, attains to that region of supreme felicity which is the Self-born's own. Men fail to attain by gifts of gold and robes and of other thing, to that felicity to which givers of food succeed in attaining, O thou of great puissance! Food is, indeed, the first article. Food is regarded as the highest prosperity. It is from food that life springs, as also energy and prowess and strength. He who always makes gifts of food, with attention, unto the righteous, never falls into any distress.. Even this has been said by Parasara. Having worshipped the deities duly, food should be first dedicated to them. It has been said, O king, that the kind of food that is taken by particular men is taken also by the deities those men worship. That man who makes a gift of food in the bright fortnight of the month of Kartika, succeeds in crossing every difficulty here add attains to inexhaustible felicity hereafter. That man who makes a gift of food unto a hungry guest arrived at his abode, attains to all those regions, O chief of Bharata's race, that are reserved for persons acquainted with Brahma. The man who makes gifts of food is sure to cross every difficulty and distress. Such a person comes over every sin and cleanses himself of every evil act. I have thus discoursed to thee upon the merits of making gifts of food, of sesame, of earth, and of kine.'"

SECTION 67

"Yudhishthira said, 'I have heard, O sire, of the merits of the different kinds of gift upon which thou hast discoursed to me. I understand, O Bharata, that the gift of food is especially laudable and superior. What however, are the great merits of making gifts of drink. I desire to hear of this in detail, O grandsire!'

"Bhishma said, 'I shall, O chief of Bharata's race, discourse to thee upon this subject. Listen to me, O thou of unbaffled prowess, as I speak to thee. I shall, O sinless one, discourse unto thee of gifts beginning with that of drink. The merit that a man acquires by making gifts of food and drink is such that the like of it, I think, is incapable of being acquired through any other gift. There is no gift, therefore, that is superior to that of either food or drink. It is no food that all living creatures are able to exist. For this reason, food is regarded as a very superior object in all the worlds. From food the strength and energy of living creatures constantly increases. Hence, the lord of all creatures has himself said that the gift of food is a very superior gift. Thou hast heard, O son of Kunti, what the auspicious words are of Savitri herself (on the subject of the gift of food). Thou knowest for what reason those words were said, what those words were, and how they were said in course of the sacred Mantras, O thou of great intelligence. A man, by making a gift of food, really makes a gift of life itself. There is no gift in this world that is superior to the gift of life. Thou art not unacquainted with this saying of Lomasa, O thou of mighty arms! The end that was attained in former days by king Sivi in consequence of his having granted life to the pigeon is acquired by him, O monarch, who makes a gift of food unto a Brahmana. Hence, it has been heard by us that they that give life attain to very superior regions of felicity in after life. Food, O best of the Kurus, may or may not be superior to drink. Nothing can exist without the aid of what springs from water. The very lord of all the planets, viz., the illustrious Soma, has sprung from water. Amrita and Sudha and Swadha and milk as also every kind of food, the deciduous herbs, O monarch, and creepers (medicinal and of other virtues), spring from water. From these, O king, the life-breath of all living creatures flows. The deities have nectar for their food. The Nagas have Sudha. The Pitris have Swadha for theirs. The animals have herbs and plants for their food. The wise have said that rice, etc., constitute the food of human beings. All these, O chief of men, spring from water. Hence, there is nothing superior to the gift of water or drink. If a person wishes to secure prosperity for himself, he should always make gifts of drink. The gift of water is regarded as very praiseworthy. It leads to great fame and bestows long life on the giver. The giver of water, O son of Kunti, always stays over the heads of his enemies. Such a person obtains the fruition of all his wishes and earns everlasting fame. The giver, O chief of men, becomes cleansed of every sin and obtains unending felicity hereafter as he proceeds to heaven, O thou of great splendour. Mann himself has said that such a person earns regions of inexhaustible bliss in the other world.'"

SECTION 68

"Yudhishthira said, 'Do thou discourse to me once again, O grandsire, upon the merits attaching to gifts of sesame and of lamps for lighting darkness, as also of food and robes.'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection, O Yudhishthira, is recited the narrative of the discourse that took place in ancient times between a Brahmana and Yama. In the country lying between the rivers Ganga and Yamuna, at the foot of the hills called Yamuna, there was a large town inhabited by Brahmanas. The town was celebrated under the name of Parnasala and was very delightful in appearance, O king. A large number of learned Brahmanas lived in it. One day, Yama, the ruler of the dead, commanded a messenger of his, who was clad in black, endued with blood-red eyes and hair standing erect, and possessed of feet, eyes, and nose all of which resembled those of a crow, saying, 'Go thou to the town inhabited by Brahmanas and bring hither the person known by the name of Sarmin and belonging by birth to the race of Agastya. He is intent on mental tranquillity and possessed of learning. He is a preceptor engaged in teaching the Vedas and his practices are well-known. Do not bring me another person

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belonging to the same race and living in the same neighbourhood. This other man is equal unto him I want, in virtues, study, and birth. With respect to children and conduct, this other resembles the intelligent Sarmin. Do thou bring the individual I have in view. He should be worshipped with respect (instead of being dragged hither with irreverence).' The messenger having come to the place, did the very reverse of what he had been bidden to do. Attacking that person, he brought him who had been forbidden by Yama to be brought. Possessed of great energy, Yama rose up at the sight of the Brahmana and worshipped him duly. The king of the dead then commanded his messenger, saying, 'Let this one be taken back, and let the other one be brought to me.' When the great judge of the dead said these words, that Brahmana addressed him and said, 'I have completed my study of the Vedas and am no longer attached to the world. Whatever period may yet remain of my mortal existence, I wish to pass, dwelling even here, O thou of unfading glory!

"Yama said, 'I cannot ascertain the exact period, ordained by Time, of one's life, and hence, unurged by Time, I cannot allow one to take up one's residence here. I take note of the acts of righteousness (or otherwise) that one does in the world. Do thou, O learned Brahmana of great splendour return immediately to thy abode. 'I ell me what also is in thy mind and what I can do for thee, O thou of unfading glory!'

"The Brahmana said, 'Do thou tell me what those acts are by accomplishing which one may earn great merit. O best of all beings, thou art the foremost of authorities (on the subject) even in the three worlds.'

"Yama said, 'Do thou hear, O regenerate Rishi, the excellent ordinances regarding gifts. The gift of sesame seeds is a very superior one. It produces everlasting merit. O foremost of regenerate ones, one should make gifts of as much sesame as one can. By making gifts of sesame every day, one is sure to attain the fruition of one's every wish. The gift of sesame at Sraddhas is applauded. Verily the gift of sesame is a very superior one. Do thou make gifts of sesame unto the Brahmanas according to the rites ordained in the scriptures. One should on the day of the full moon of the month of Vaisakha, make gilts of sesame unto the Brahmanas. They should also be made to eat and to touch sesame on every occasion that one can afford. They that are desirous of achieving what is beneficial to them should, with their whole souls, do this in their houses. Without doubt, men should similarly make gifts of water and establish resting places for the distribution of drinking water. [In Bengal, to this day (1880s and 1890s), those who can afford, particularly pious ladies, establish shady resting places in the month of Vaisakha (the hottest month of the year), by the side of the public roads, for travellers, where good cool drinking water, a handfull of well-drenched oats, and a little of raw sugar, are freely distributed. Such institutions, on the old Benares Road and the Grand Trunk Road, considerably refresh travellers. There are miles upon miles along these roads where good water is not at all procurable.] One should cause tanks and lakes and wells to be excavated. Such acts are rare in the world, O best of regenerate persons! Do thou always make gifts of water. This act is fraught with great merit. O best of regenerate persons, thou shouldst establish resting places along the roads for the distribution of water. After one has eaten, the gift unto one should especially be made of water for drink.'

"Bhishma continued, 'After Yama had said these words unto him, the messenger who had borne him from his abode conveyed him back to it. The Brahmana, on his return, obeyed the instructions he had received. Having thus conveyed him back to his abode the messenger of Yama fetched Sarmin who had really been sought by Yama. Taking Sarmin unto him, he informed his master. Possessed of great energy, the judge of the dead worshipped that righteous Brahmana, and having conversed with him a while dismissed him for being taken back to his abode. Unto him also Yama gave the same instructions. Sarmin, too, coming back into the world of men, did all that Yama had said. Like the gift of water, Yama, from a desire of doing good to the Pitris, applauds the gift of lamps to light dark places. Hence, the giver of a lamp for lighting a dark place is regarded as benefiting the Pitris. Hence, O best of the Bharatas, one should always give lamps for lighting dark spots. The giving of lamps enhances the visual power of the deities, the Pitris, and one's own self. It has been said, O king, that the gift of gems is a very superior gift. The Brahmana, who, having accepted a gift of gems, sells the same for performing a sacrifice, incurs no fault. The Brahmana, who, having accepted a gift of gems makes a gift of them unto Brahmanas. acquires inexhaustible merit himself and confers inexhaustible merit upon him from whom he had originally received them. Conversant with every duty Manu himself has said that he, who, observant of proper restraints, earns makes a gift of gems unto a Brahmana observant of proper restraints earns inexhaustible merit himself and confers inexhaustible merit upon the recipient. The man who is content with his own wedded wife and who makes a gift of robes, earns an excellent complexion and excellent vestments for himself. I have told thee, O foremost of men, what the merits are that attach to gifts of kine, of gold, and the sesame agreeably to deserve precepts of the Vedas and the scriptures One should marry and raise offspring upon one's wedded wives. Of all acquisitions, O son of Kuru's race, that of male issue is regarded as the foremost.'"

SECTION 69

"Yudhishthira said, 'Do thou, O foremost one of Kuru's race, discourse unto me once again of the excellent ordinance regarding gifts, with especial reference, O thou of great wisdom, to the gift of earth. A Kshatriya should make gifts of earth unto a Brahmana of righteous deeds. Such a Brahmana should accept the gift with due rites. None else, however, than a Kshatriya is competent to make gifts of earth. It behoves thee now to tell me what these objects are that persons of all classes are free to bestow if moved by the desire of earning merit. Thou shouldst also tell me what has been said in the Vedas on this subject.'

"Bhishma said, 'There are three gifts that go by the same name and that are productive of equal merits. Indeed, these three confer the fruition of every wish. The three objects whose gifts are of such a character are kine, earth, and knowledge. 1 That person who tells his disciple words of righteous import drawn from the Vedas acquires merit equal to that which is won by making gifts of earth and kine. Similarly are kine praised (as objects of gifts). There is no object of gift higher than they. Kine are supposed to confer merit immediately. They are also, O Yudhishthira, such that a gift of them cannot but lead to great merit. Kine are the mothers of all creatures. They bestow every kind of happiness. The person that desires his own prosperity should always make gifts of kine. No one should kick at kine or proceed through the midst of kine. Kine are goddesses and homes of auspiciousness. For this reason, they always deserve worship. Formerly, the deities, while tilling the earth whereon they performed a sacrifice, used the goad for striking the bullocks yoked to the plough. Hence, in tilling earth for such a purpose, one may, without incurring censure or sin, apply the goad to bullocks. In other acts, however, bullocks should never be struck with the goad or the whip When kine are grazing or lying down no one should annoy them in any way. When the cows are thirsty and they do not get water (in consequence of any one obstructing their access to the pool or tank or river), they, by merely looking at such a person, can destroy him with all his relatives and friends. What creatures can be more sacred than kine when with the very dung of kine altars whereon Sraddhas are performed in honour of the Pitris, or those whereon the deities are worshipped, are cleansed and sanctified? That man, who, before eating himself gives every day, for a year, only a handful of grass unto a cow belonging to another, is regarded as undergoing a vow or observance which bestows the fruition of every wish. Such a person ac-quires children and fame and wealth and prosperity, and dispels all evils and dreams.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'What should be the indications of those kine that deserve to be given away? What are those kine that should be passed over in the matter of gifts? What should be the character of those persons unto whom kine should be given? Who, again, are those unto whom kine should not be given?

"Bhishma said, 'A cow should never be given unto one that is not righteous in behaviour, or one that is sinful, or one that is covetous or one that is untruthful in speech, or one that does not make offerings unto the Pitris and deities. A person, by making a gift of ten kine unto a Brahmana learned in the Vedas, poor in earthly wealth, possessed of many children, and owning a domestic are, attains to numerous regions of great felicity. When a man performs any act that is fraught with merit assisted by what he has got in gift from another, a portion of the merit attaching to that act becomes always his with whose wealth the act has been accomplished. He that procreates a person, he that rescues a person, and he that assigns the means of sustenance to a person are regarded as the three sires. Services dutifully rendered to the preceptor destroys sin. Pride destroys even great fame. The possession of three children destroys the reproach of childlessness, and the possession of ten kine dispels the reproach of poverty. Unto one that is devoted to the Vedanta, that is endued with great learning, that has been filled with wisdom, that has a complete control over his senses, that is observant of the restraints laid down in the scriptures, that has withdrawn himself from all worldly attachments, unto him that says agreeable words unto all creatures, unto him that would never do an evil act even when impelled by hunger, unto one that is mild or possessed of a peaceful disposition, unto one that is hospitable to all guests,--verily unto such a Brahmana should a man, possessed of similar conduct and owning children and wives, assign the means of sustenance. The measure of merit that attaches to the gift of kine unto a deserving person is exactly the measure of the sin that attaches to the act of robbing a Brahmana of what belongs to him. Under all circumstances should the spoliation of what belongs to a Brahmana be avoided, and his spouses kept at a distance.'"

SECTION 70

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection, O perpetuator of Kuru's race, is recited by the righteous the narrative of the great calamity that overtook king Nriga in consequence of his spoliation of what had belonged to a Brahmans. Some time before, certain young men of Yadu's race, while searching for water, had come upon a large well covered with grass and creepers. Desirous of drawing water from it, they laboured very much for removing the creepers that covered its mouth. After the mouth had been cleaned, they beheld within the well a very large lizard residing within it. The young men made strong and repeated efforts for rescuing the lizard from that situation. Resembling a very hill in size, the lizard was sought to be freed by means of cords and leathern tongs. Not succeeding in their intention the young men then went to Janardana. Addressing him they said, 'Covering the entire space of a well, there is a very large lizard to be seen. Notwithstanding our best efforts we have not succeeded in rescuing it from that situation.' Even this was what they represented unto Krishna. Vasudeva then proceeded to the spot and took out the lizard and questioned it as to who it was. The lizard said that it was identical with the soul of king Nriga who had flourished in days of old and who had performed many sacrifices. Unto the lizard that said those words, Madhava spoke, 'Thou didst perform many righteous acts. No sin didst thou commit. Why, then, O king, hast thou come to such a distressful end? Do thou explain what this is and why it has been brought about. We have heard that thou didst repeatedly make gifts unto the Brahmanas of hundreds upon hundreds of thousands and once again eight times hundreds upon hundreds of ten thousands of kine. 1 Why, therefore, has this end overtaken thee?' Nriga then replied unto Krishna, saying, 'On one occasion a cow belonging to a Brahmana who regularly worshipped his domestic fire, escaping from the owner's abode while he was absent from home entered my flock. The keepers of my cattle included that cow in their tale of a thousand. In time that cow was given away by me unto a Brahmana, acting as I did from desire of happiness in heaven. The true owner, returning home, sought for his lost cow and at last saw it in the house of another.' Finding her, the owner said, 'This cow is mine!' The other person contested his claim, till both, disputing and excited with wrath, came to me. Addressing me one of them said, 'Thou hast been the giver of this cow!' The other one said, 'Thou hast robbed me of this cow--she is mine! I then solicited the Brahmana unto whom I had given that cow, to return the gift in exchange for hundreds upon hundreds of other kine. Without acceding to my earnest solicitations, he addressed me, saying. 'The cow I have got is well-suited to time and place. She yields a copious measure of milk, besides being very quiet and very fond of us. The mills she yields is very sweet. She is regarded as worthy of every praise in my house. She is nourishing, besides, a weak child of mine that has just been weaned. She is incapable of being given up by me.' Having said these words, the Brahmana went away. I then solicited the other Brahmana offering him an exchange, and saying, 'Do thou take a hundred thousand kine for this one cow.' The Brahmana, however, replied unto me, saying, 'I do not accept gifts from persons of the kingly order. I am able to get on without help. Do thou then, without loss of time, give me that very cow which was mine.' Even thus, O slayer of Madhu, did that Brahmana speak unto me. I offered to make gifts unto him of gold and silver and horses and cars. That foremost of Brahmanas refused to accept any of these as gift and went away. Meanwhile, urged by time's irresistible influence, I had to depart from this world. Wending to the region of the Pitris I was taken to the presence of the king of the dead. Worshipping me duly Yama addressed me, saying, 'The end cannot be ascertained, O king, of thy deed. There is, however, a little sin which was unconsciously perpetrated by thee. Do thou suffer the punishment for that sin now or afterwards as it pleases thee. Thou hadst (upon thy accession to the throne) sworn that thou wouldst protect (all persons in the enjoyment of their own). That oath of thine was not rigidly kept by thee. Thou tookest also what belonged to a Brahmana. Even this has been the two-fold sin thou hast committed.' I answered, saying, 'I shall first undergo the distress of punishment, and when that is over, I shall enjoy the happiness that is in store for me, O lord!' After I had said those words unto the king of the dead, I fell down on the Earth. Though fallen down I still could hear the words that Yama said unto me very loudly. Those words were, Janardana the son of Vasudeva, will rescue thee! Upon the completion of a full thousand years, when the demerit will be exhausted of thy sinful act, thou shalt then attain to many regions of inexhaustible felicity that have been acquired by thee through thy own acts of righteousness. Falling down I found myself, with head downwards, within this well, transformed into a creature of the intermediate order. Memory, however, did not leave me. By thee I have been rescued today. What else can it testify to than the puissance of thy penances? Let me have thy permission. O Krishna! I desire to ascend to heaven! permitted then by Krishna, king Nriga bowed his head unto him and then mounted a celestial car and proceeded to heaven. After Nriga

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had thus proceeded to heaven, O best of the Bharatas, Vasudeva recited this verse, O delighter of the Kurus. No one should consciously appropriate anything belonging to a Brahmana. The property of a Brahmana, if taken, destroys the taker even as the Brahmana's cow destroyed king Nriga! I tell thee, again, O Partha, that a meeting with the good never proves fruitless. Behold, king Nriga was rescued from hell through meeting with one that is good. As a gift is productive of merit even so an act of spoliation leads to demerit. Hence also, O Yudhishthira, one should avoid doing any injury to kine.'"

SECTION 71

"Yudhishthira said, V sinless one, do thou discourse to me more in detail upon the merits that are attainable by making gifts of kine. O thou of mighty arms, I am never satiated with thy words!'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection is recited the old history of the discourse between the Rishi Uddalaki and his son called Nachiketa. Once on a time the Rishi Uddalaki endued with great intelligence, approaching his son Nachiketa, said unto him, 'Do thou wait upon and serve me.' Upon the completion of the vow he had observed the great Rishi once more said unto his son, 'Engaged in performing my ablutions and deeply taken up with my Vedic study, I have forgotten to bring with me the firewood, the Kusa blades, the flowers, the water jar, and the potherbs I had gathered. Do thou bring me those things from the riverside.' The son proceeded to the spot indicated, but saw that all the articles had been washed away by the current. Coming back to his father, he said, 'I do not see the things!' Afflicted as he then was with hunger, thirst, and fatigue, the Rishi Uddalaki of high ascetic merit, in a sudden wrath, cursed his son, saying, 'Do thou meet with Yama today!' Thus struck by his sire with the thunder of his speech, the son, with joined palms, said, 'Be appeased with me!' Soon, however, he fell down on the earth, deprived of life. Beholding Nachiketa prostrated upon the earth, his sire became deprived of his senses through grief. He, too, exclaiming, 'Alas, what have I done,' fell down on the earth. Filled with grief, as he indulged in lamentations for his son, the rest or that day passed away and night came. Then Nachiketa, O son of Kuru's race, drenched by the tears of his father, gave signs of returning life as he lay on a mat of Kusa grass. His restoration to life under the tears of his sire resembled the sprouting forth of seeds when drenched with auspicious showers. The son just restored to consciousness was still weak. His body was smeared with fragrant unguents and he looked like one just awaking from a deep slumber. The Rishi asked him, saying, 'Hast thou, O son, acquired auspicious regions by thy own acts? By good luck, thou hast been restored to me! Thy body does not seem to be human!' Thus asked by high-souled father, Nachiketa who had seen every thing with his own eyes, made the following answer unto him in the midst of the Rishis, 'In obedience to thy command I proceeded to the extensive region of Yama which is possessed of a delightful effulgence. There I beheld a palatial mansion which extended for thousands of Yojanas and emitted a golden splendour from every part. As soon as Yama beheld me approaching with face towards him, he commanded his attendants saying, 'Give him a good seat, verily, the king of the dead, for thy sake worshipped we with the Arghya and the other ingredients.' Thus worshipped by Yama and seated in the midst of his counsellors, I then said mildly, 'I have come to thy abode, O judge of the dead! Do thou assign me those regions which I deserve for my acts!' Yama then answered me, saying, 'Thou art not dead, O amiable one!' Endued with penances, thy father said unto thee, 'Do thou meet with Yama! The energy of thy sire is like that of a blazing fire. I could not possibly falsify that speech of his. Thou hast seen me. Do thou go hence, O child! The author of thy body is indulging in lamentations for thee. Thou art my dear guest. What wish of thine cherished by thee in thy heart shall I grant thee? Solicit the fruition of whatever desire thou mayst cherish.' Thus addressed by him, I replied unto the king of the dead, saying, 'I have arrived within thy dominions from which no traveller ever returns. If I really be an object deserving of thy attentions, I desire, O king of the dead, to have a sight of those regions of high prosperity and happiness that have been reserved for doers of righteous deeds.' Thus addressed by me, Yama caused me to be mounted upon a vehicle of splendour as effulgent as that of the sun and unto which were harnessed many excellent steeds. Bearing me on that vehicle, he showed me, O foremost of regenerate persons, all those delightful regions that are reserved for the righteous. I beheld in those regions many mansions of great resplendence intended for high-souled persons. Those mansions are of diverse forms and are adorned with every kind of gem. Bright as the disc of the moon, they are ornamented with rows of tinkling bells. Hundreds among them are of many storeys. Within them are pleasant groves and woods and transparent bodies of water. Possessed of the effulgence of lapis lazuli and the sun, and made of silver and gold, their complexion resembles the colour of the morning sun. Some of them are immovable and some movable. Within them are many hills of viands and enjoyable articles and robes and beds in abundance. Within them are many trees capable of granting the fruition of every wish. There are also many rivers and roads and spacious halls and lakes and large tanks. Thousands of cars with rattling wheels may be seen there, having excellent steeds harnessed unto them. Many rivers that run milk, many hills of ghee, and large bodies of transparent water occur there. Verily, I beheld many such regions, never seen by me before of happiness and joy, approved by the king of the dead. Beholding all those objects, I addressed the ancient and puissant judge of the dead, saying, 'For whose use and enjoyment have these rivers with eternal currents of milk and ghee been ordained?' Yama answered me saying, 'These streams of milk and ghee, know thou, are for the enjoyment of those righteous persons, that make gifts in the world of men. Other eternal worlds there are which are filled with such mansions free from sorrow of every kind. These are reserved for those persons that are engaged in making gifts of kine. 1 The mere gift of kine is not worthy of praise. There are considerations of propriety or otherwise about the person unto whom kine should be given, the time for making those gifts, the kind of kine that should form the object of gifts, and the rites that should be observed in making the gifts. Gifts of kine should be made after ascertaining the distinctive qualifications of both Brahmanas (who are to receive them) and the kine themselves (which are to be given away). Kine should not be given unto one in whose abode they are likely to suffer from fire or the sun. That Brahmana who is possessed of Vedic lore, who is of austere penances, and who performs sacrifices, is regarded as worthy of receiving kine in gift. Those kine that have been rescued from distress situation, or that have been given by poor householders from want of sufficient means to feed and cherish them, are, for these reasons, reckoned as of high value. Abstaining from all food and living upon water alone for three nights and sleeping the while on the bare earth, one should, having properly fed the kine one intends to give away, give them unto Brahmanas after having gratified them also (with other gifts). The kine given away should be accompanied by their calves. They should, again, be such as to bring forth good calves, at the proper seasons. They should be accompanied with other articles so given away. Having completed the gift, the giver should live for three days on only milk and forbearing from food of every other kind. He, who gives a cow that is not vicious, that brings forth good calves at proper intervals, and that does not fly away from the owners' house, and accompanies such gift with a vessel of white brass for milking her, enjoys the felicity of heaven for as many years as are measured by the number of hairs on the animal's body. He, who gives unto a Brahmana a bull well-broken and capable of bearing burdens, possessed of strength and young in years, disinclined to do any mischief, large-sized and endued with energy, enjoys those regions, that are reserved for givers of kine. He is regarded as a proper person for receiving a cow in gift who is known to be mild towards kine, who takes kine for his refuge, who is grateful, and who has no means of subsistence assigned unto him. When an old man becomes ill, or when a Brahmana intends to perform a sacrifice, or when one wishes to till for agriculture, or when one gets a son through the efficacy of a Homa performed for the purpose, or for the use of one's preceptor, or for the sustenance of a child (born in the usual way), one should give away a beloved cow. Even these are the considerations that are applauded (in the matter of making gifts of kine) in respect of place and time. The kine that deserve to be given away are those that yield copious measures of milk, or those that are well-known (for their docility and other virtues). or those that have been purchased for a price, or those that have been acquired as honoraria for learning, or those that have been obtained in exchange by offering other living creatures (such as sheep and goats, etc.), or those that have been won by prowess of arms, or those that have been gained as marriage-dower (from fathers-in-law and other relations of the wife).'

"Nachiketa continued, 'Hearing these words of Vaivaswata, I once more addressed him, saying, 'What are those objects by giving which, when kine are not procurable, givers may yet go to regions reserved for men making gifts of kine?' Questioned by me, the wise Yama answered, explaining further what the end is that is attainable by making gifts of kine. He said, 'In the absence of kine, a person by making gifts of what has been regarded as the substitute of kine, wins the merit of making gifts of kine. If, in the absence of kine, one makes a gift of a cow made of ghee, observant of a vow the while, one gets for one's use these rivers of ghee all of which approach one like an affectionate mother approaching her beloved child. If, in the absence of even a cow made of ghee, one makes a gift of a cow made of sesame seeds, observing a cow the while, one succeeds with the assistance of that cow to get over all calamities in this world and to enjoy great happiness hereafter from these rivers of milk that thou beholdest! If in the absence of a cow made of sesame seeds, one makes a gift of a cow made of water one succeeds in coming to these happy regions and enjoying this river of cool and transparent water, that is, besides capable of granting the fruition of every wish.' The king of the dead explained to me all this while I was his guest, and, O thou of unfading glory, great was the joy that I felt at sight of all the wonders he showed me. I shall now tell thee what would certainly be agreeable to thee. I have now got a great sacrifice whose performance does not require much wealth. That sacrifice (constituted by gifts of kine) may be said to flow from me, O sire! Others will obtain it also. It is not inconsistent with the ordinances of the Vedas. The curse that thou hadst pronounced upon me was no curse but was in reality a blessing, since it enabled me to have a sight of the great king of the dead. There I have beheld what the rewards are that attach to gifts. I shall, henceforth, O thou of great soul, practise the duty of gift without any doubt lurking in my mind respecting its rewards. And, O great Rishi, the righteous Yama, filled with joy, repeatedly told me, 'One, who, by making frequent gifts, has succeeded in acquiring purity of mind should then make gifts of kine specially. This topic (about gifts) is fraught with sanctity. Do thou never disregard the duties in respect of gifts. Gifts, again, should be made unto deserving persons, when time and place are suitable. Do thou, therefore, always make gifts of kine. Never entertain any doubts in this respect. Devoted to the path of gifts, many high-souled persons in days of yore used to make gifts of kine. Fearing to practise austere penances, they made gifts according to the extent of their power. In time they cast off all sentiments of pride and vanity, and purified their souls. Engaged in performing Sraddhas in honour of the Pitris and in all acts of righteousness, they used to make, according to the extent of their power, gifts of kine, and as the reward of those acts they have attained to heaven and are shining in effulgence for such righteousness. One should, on the eighth day of the moon that is known by the name of Kamyashtami, make gifts of kine, properly won, unto the Brahmanas after ascertaining the eligibility of the recipients (by the ordinances already laid down). After making the gift, one should then subsist for ten days together upon only the milk of kine, their dung and their urine (abstaining from all other food the while). The merit that one acquires by making a gift of a bull is equal to that which attaches to the divine vow. By making a gift of a couple of kine one acquires, as the reward thereof, a mastery of the Vedas. By making a gift of cars and vehicles with kine yoked thereto, one acquires the merit of baths in sacred waters. By making a gift of a cow of the Kapila species, one becomes cleansed of all one's sins. Verily, by giving away even a single cow of the Kapila species that has been acquired by legitimate means, one becomes cleansed of all the sins one may have committed. There is nothing higher (in point of tastes) than the milk which is yielded by kine. The gift of a cow is truly regarded as a very superior gift. Kine by yielding milk, rescue all the worlds from calamity. It is kine, again, that produce the food upon which creatures subsist. One, who, knowing the extent of the service that kine do, does not entertain in one's heart affection for kine, is a sinner that is certain to sink in hell. [Kine produce food not only by assisting at tillage of the soil, but also by aiding in the performance of sacrifices. The ghee burnt in the sacrificial fire sustains the under-deities, who pour rain and cause crops to grow.] If one gives a thousand or a hundred or ten or five kine, verily, if one gives unto a righteous Brahmana even a single cow which brings forth good calves at proper intervals, one is sure to see that cow approach one in heaven in the form of a river of sacred water capable of granting the fruition of every wish. In respect of the prosperity and the growth that kine confer, in the matter also of the protection that kine grant unto all creatures of the earth, kine are equal to the very rays of the sun that fall on the earth. The word that signifies the cow stands also for the rays of the sun. The giver of a cow becomes the progenitor of a very large race that extends over a large part of the earth. Hence, he that gives a cow shines like a second sun in resplendence. The disciple should, in the matter of making gifts of kine, select his preceptor. Such a disciple is sure to go to heaven. The selection of a preceptor (in the matter of the performance of pious deeds) is regarded as a high duty by persons conversant with the ordinances. This is, indeed, the initial ordinance. All other ordinances (respecting the gift of kine) depend upon it. [The sense seems to be this: in doing all pious acts, one should first take the aid of a preceptor, even if one be well-conversant with the ordinances one has to follow. Without the selection of a preceptor in the first place, there can be no pious act. In the matter, therefore, of making gifts of kine according to the ordinances laid down, one should seek the help of a preceptor as well as in the matter of every other act of piety.] Selecting, after examination, an eligible person among the Brahmanas, one should make unto him the gift of a cow that has been acquired by legitimate means, and having made the gift cause him to accept it. The deities and men and ourselves also, in wishing good to other, say, 'Let the merits attaching to gifts be thine in consequence of thy righteousness!' Even thus did the judge of the dead speak unto me, O regenerate Rishi. I then bowed my head unto the righteous Yama. Obtaining his permission I left his dominions and have now come to the sole of thy feet.'"

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SECTION 72

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou hast, O grandsire, discoursed to me the topic of gifts of kine in speaking of the Rishi Nachiketa Thou hast also impliedly discoursed, O puissant one, on the efficacy and pre-eminence of that act. Thou hast also told me, O grandsire of great intelligence, of the exceedingly afflicting character of the calamity that overtook the high-souled king Nriga in consequence of a single fault of his. He had to dwell for a tong time at Dwaravati (in the form of a mighty lizard) and how Krishna became the cause of his rescue from that miserable plight. I have, however, one doubt. It is on the subject of the regions of kine. I desire to hear, in detail, about those regions which are reserved for the residence of persons that make gifts of kine.'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection is recited the old narrative of the discourse between Him who sprang from the primeval lotus and him who performed a hundred sacrifices.'

"Sakra said, 'I see, O Grandsire, that those who are residents of the region of kine transcend by their resplendence the prosperity of the denizens of heaven and pass them by (as beings of an inferior station). This has raised a doubt in my mind. Of what kind, O holy one, are the regions of kine? Tell me all about them, O sinless one! Verily, what is the nature of those regions that are inhabited by givers of kine? I wish to know this of what kind are those regions? What fruits do they bring? What is the highest object there which the denizens thereof succeeds in winning? What are its virtues? How also do men, freed from every kind of anxiety, succeed in going to those regions? For what period does the giver of a cow enjoy the fruits that are borne by his gift? How may persons make gifts of many kine and how may they make gifts of a few kine? What are the merits attaching to gifts of many kine and what those that attach to gifts of a few only? How also do persons become givers of kine without giving any kine in reality? Do thou tell me all this. How does one making gifts of even many kine, O puissant lord, become the equal of one that has made gift of only a few kine? How also does one who make gifts of only a few kine succeed in becoming the equal of one who has made gifts of many kine? What kind or Dakshina is regarded as distinguished for pre-eminence in the matter of gifts of kine? It behoveth thee, O holy one, to discourse unto me on all this agreeably to truth.'"

SECTION 73

"The Grandsire said, 'The questions thou hast asked me in respect of kine, beginning with their gift, are such that there is none else in the three worlds, O thou of a hundred sacrifices, who could put them! There are many kinds of regions, O Sakra, which are invisible to even thee. Those regions are seen by me, O Indra, as also by those women that are chaste and that have been attached to only one husband. Rishis observant of excellent vows, by means of their deeds of righteousness and piety, and Brahmanas of righteous souls, succeed in repairing to them in even their fleshy forms. Men that are observant of excellent vows behold those regions which resemble the bright creations of dreams, aided by their cleansed minds and by that (temporary) emancipation which succeeds the loss of one's consciousness of body. Listen, O thou of a thousand eyes, to me as I tell thee what the attributes are with which those regions are endued. There the very course of Time is suspended. Decrepitude is not there, nor Fire which is omnipresent in the universe. There the slightest evil does not occur, nor disease, nor weakness of any kind. The kine that live there, O Vasava, obtain the fruition of every desire which they cherish in their hearts. I have direct experience of what I say unto thee. Capable of going everywhere at will and actually repairing from place to place with ease, they enjoy the fruition of wish after wish as it arises in their minds. Lakes and tanks and rivers and forests of diverse kinds, and mansions and hills and all kinds of delightful objects,--delightful, that is, to all creatures,--are to be seen there. There is no region of felicity that is superior to any of these of which I speak. All those foremost of men, O Sakra, who are forgiving unto all creatures, who endure everything, who are full of affection for all things, who render dutiful obedience unto their preceptors, and who are free from pride and vanity, repair to those regions of supreme felicity. He, who abstains from every kind of flesh, who is possessed of a cleansed heart, who is endued with righteousness, who worships his parents with reverence, who is endued with truthfulness of speech and conduct, who attends with obedience upon the Brahmanas, who is faultless in conduct, who never behaves with anger towards kine and towards the Brahmanas, who is devoted to the accomplishment of every duty, who serves his preceptors with reverence, who is devoted for his whole life to truth and to gifts, and who is always forgiving towards all transgression against himself, who is mild and self-restrained, who is full of reverence for the deities, who is hospitable to all guests, who is endued with compassion,--verily, he, who is adorned with these attributes,--succeeds in attaining to the eternal and immutable region of kine. He, who is stained with adultery, sees not such a region; nor he, who is a slayer of his preceptor; nor he, who speaks falsely or indulges in idle boasts; nor he, who always disputes with others; nor he who behaves with hostility towards the Brahmanas. Indeed, that wicked wight, who is stained with such faults fails to attain even a sight of these regions of felicity; also he that injures his friends; also he that is full of guile; also he that is ungrateful; also he that is a cheat; also he that is crooked in conduct; also he that is a disregarder of religion; also he that is a slayer of Brahmanas. Such men are incapable of beholding in even imagination the region of kine that is the abode of only those who are righteous of deeds. I have told thee everything about the region of kine in minute detail, O chief of the deities! Hear now, O thou of a hundred sacrifices, the merit that is theirs who are engaged in making gifts of kine. He, who make gifts of kine, after purchasing them with wealth obtained by inheritance or acquired lawfully by him, attains, as the fruit of such an act to many regions of inexhaustible felicity. He, who makes a gift of a cow, having acquired it with wealth won at dice, enjoys felicity, O Sakra, for ten thousand years of celestial measure, He, who acquires a cow as his share of ancestral wealth is said to acquire her legitimately. Such a cow may be given away. They that make gifts of kine so acquired obtain many eternal regions of felicity that is inexhaustible. That person, who, having acquired a cow in gift makes a gift of her with a pure heart, succeeds without doubt, O lord of Sachi, in obtaining eternal regions of beatitude. That person, who, with restrained senses speaks the truth from his birth (to the time of his death) and who endures everything at the hands of his preceptor and of the Brahmanas, and who practises forgiveness, succeeds in attaining to an end that is equal to that of kine. That speech which is improper, O lord of Sachi, should, never be addressed to a Brahmana. One, again, should not, in even one's mind, do an injury to a cow. One should, in one's conduct, imitate the cow, and show compassion towards the cow. Hear, O Sakra, what the fruits are that become his, who is devoted to the duty of truth. If such a person gives away a single cow, that one cow becomes equal to a thousand kine. If a Kshatriya, possessed of such qualifications, makes a gift of a single cow, his merit becomes equal to that of a Brahmana's. That single cow, listen, O Sakra which such a Kshatriya gives away becomes the source of as much merit as the single cow that a Brahmana gives away under similar circumstances. Even this is the certain conclusion of the scriptures. If a Vaisya, possessed of similar accomplishments, were to make a gift of a single cow, that cow would be equal to five hundred kine (in respect of the merit she would produce) If a Sudra endued with humility were to make a gift of a cow, such a cow would be equal to a hundred and twenty-five kine (in respect of the merit it would produce) Devoted to penances and truth, proficient (in the scriptures and all acts) through dutiful services rendered to his preceptor, endued with forgiveness of disposition, engaged in the worship of the deities, possessed of a tranquil soul, pure (in body and mind), enlightened, observant of all duties, and freed from every kind of egotism, that man who makes a gift of a cow unto a Brahmana, certainly attains to great merit through that act of his, viz., the gift, according to proper rites, of a cow yielding copious milk. Hence, one, with singleness of devotion, observant of truth and engaged in humbly serving one's preceptor, should always make gifts of kine. Hear, O Sakra, what the merit is of that person, who, duly studying the Vedas, shows reverence for kine, who always becomes glad at sight of kine, and who, since his birth has always bowed his head unto kine. The merit that becomes one's by performing the Rajasuya sacrifice, the merit that becomes one's by making gifts of heaps of gold, that high merit is acquired by a person who shows such reverence for kine. Righteous Rishis and high-souled persons crowned with success have said so. Devoted to truth, possessed of a tranquil soul, free from cupidity, always truthful in speech, and behaving with reverence towards kine with the steadiness of a vow, the man, who, for a whole year before himself taking any food, regularly presents some food to kine, wins the merit, by such an act, of the gift of a thousand kine. That man, who takes only one meal a day and who gives away the entire quantity of his other meal unto kine.--verily, that man, who thus reverences kine with the steadiness of a vow and shows such compassion towards them,--enjoys for ten years' unlimited felicity. That man, who confines himself to only one meal a day and 'with the other meal saved for some time purchases a cow and makes a gift of it (unto a Brahmana), earns, through that gift, O thou of a hundred sacrifices, the eternal merit that attaches to the gift of as many kine as there are hairs on the body of that single cow so given away. These are declarations in respect of the merit that Brahmanas acquire by making gifts of kine. Listen now to the merits that Kshatriyas may win. It has been said that a Kshatriya, by purchasing a cow in this manner and making a gift of it unto a Brahmana, acquires great felicity for five years. A Vaisya, by such conduct, acquires only half the merit of a Kshatriya, and a Sudra, by such conduct, earns half the merit that a Vaisya does. That man, who sells himself and with the proceeds thereof purchases kine and gives them away unto Brahmanas, enjoy felicity in heaven for as long a period as kine are seen on earth. It has been said, O highly blessed one, that in every hair of such kite as are purchased with the proceeds obtained by selling oneself, there is a region of inexhaustible felicity. That man, who having acquired kine by battle makes gifts of them (unto Brahmanas), acquires as much merit as he, who makes gifts of kine after having purchased the same with the proceeds of selling oneself. That man, who, in the absence of kine, makes a gift of a cow made of sesame seeds, restraining his senses the while, is rescued by such a cow from every kind of calamity or distress. Such a man sports in great felicity. The mere gift of kine is not fraught with merit. The considerations of deserving recipients, of time, of the kind of kine, and of the ritual to be observed, should be attended to. One should ascertain the proper time for making a gift of kine. One should also ascertain the distinctive qualifications of both Brahmanas (who are to receive them) and of kine themselves (which are to be given away). Kine should not be given unto one in whose abode they are likely to suffer from fire or the sun. One, who is rich in Vedic lore, who is of pure lineage, who is endued with a tranquil soul, who is devoted to the performance of sacrifices, who fears the commission of sin, who is possessed of varied knowledge, who is compassionate towards kine, who is mild in behaviour, who accords protection unto all that seek it of him, and who has no means of sustenance assigned unto him, is regarded as a proper person for receiving a gift of kine. Unto a Brahmana who has no means of sustenance, unto him while he is exceedingly afflicted for want of food (in a time, of famine, for example) for purposes of agriculture, for a child born in consequence of Homa, for the purposes of his preceptor, for the sustenance of a child born (in the ordinary course), should a cow be given. Verily, the gift should be made at a proper time and in a proper place. Those kine, O Sakra, whose dispositions are well-known, which have been acquired as honoraria for knowledge, or which have been purchased in exchange for other animals (such as goats, sheep, etc.), or which have been who by prowess of arms, or obtained as marriage-dower; or which have been acquired by being rescued from situations of danger, or which incapable of being maintained by their 'poor owner have been made over for careful keep, to another's house are, for such reasons, regarded as proper objects of gift. Those kine which are strong of body, which have good dispositions, and which emit an agreeable fragrance, are applauded in the matter of gifts. As Ganga is the foremost of all streams, even so is a Kapila cow the foremost of all animals of the bovine breed. Abstaining from all food and living only upon water for three nights, and sleeping for the same period upon the bare earth, one should make gifts of kine unto Brahmanas after having gratified them with other presents. Such kine, freed from every vice should, at the same time, be accompanied by healthy calves that have not been weaned. Having made the gift, the giver should live for the next three days in succession on food consisting only of the products of the cow. By giving away a cow that is of good disposition, that quietly suffers herself to be milked that always brings forth living and hale calves, and that does not fly away from the owner's abode, the giver enjoys felicity in the next world for as many years as there are hairs on her body. Similarly, by giving unto a Brahmana a bull that is capable of bearing heavy burden, that is young and strong and docile, that quietly bears the yoke of the plough, and that is possessed of such energy as is sufficient to undergo even great labour one attains to such regions as are his who gives away ten kine. That person, who rescues kine and Brahmanas (from danger) in the wilderness, O Kausika, becomes himself rescued from every kind of calamity. Hear what his merit is. The merit such a man acquires is equal to the eternal merit of a Horse-sacrifice. Such a person attains to whatever end he desires at the hour of death. Many a region of felicity,--in fact, whatever happiness he covets in his heart,--becomes attainable to him in consequence of such an act of his. Verily, such man, permitted by kine, lives honoured in every region of felicity. That man, who follows kine every day in the woods himself subsisting the while on grass and cowdung and leaves of trees, his heart freed from desire of fruit, his senses restrained from every improper object and his mind purified of all dross,--that man,--O thou of a hundred sacrifices, lives in joy and freed from the dominion of desire in my region or in any other region of happiness that he wishes, in the company of the deities!"

SECTION 74

"Indra said, 'I wish to know, O Grandsire, what the end is that is attained by him who consciously steals a cow or who sells one from motives of cupidity."

"The Grandsire said, 'Hear what the consequences are that overtake those persons that steal a cow for killing her for food or selling her for wealth, or making a gift of her unto a Brahmana. He, who, without being checked by the restraints of the scriptures, sells a cow, or kills one, or eats the flesh of a cow, or they, who, for the sake of wealth, suffer a person to kill kine,--all these, viz., he that kills, he that eats, and he that permits the slaughter,--rot in hell for as many years as there are hairs on the body of the cow so slain. O thou of great puissance, those faults and those kinds of faults that have been said to attach to one that obstructs a Brahmana's sacrifice, are said to attach to the sale and the theft of kine. That man, who,

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having stolen a cow makes a gift of her unto a Brahmana, enjoys felicity in heaven as the reward of the gift but suffers misery in hell for the sin of theft for as long a period. Gold has been said to constitute the Dakshina, O thou of great splendour, in gifts of kine. Indeed, gold has been said to be the best Dakshina in all sacrifices. By making a gift of kine one is said to rescue one's ancestors to the seventh degree as also one's descendants to the seventh degree. By giving away kine with Dakshina of gold one rescues one's ancestors and descendants of double the number. The gift of gold is the best of gifts. Gold is, again, the best Dakshina. Gold is a great cleanser, O Sakra, and is, indeed, the best of all cleansing objects. O thou of a hundred sacrifices, gold has been said to be the sanctifier of the entire race of him who gives it away. I have thus, O thou of great splendour, told thee in brief of Dakshina.'

"Bhishma said, 'Even this was said by the Grandsire unto Indra, O chief of Bharata's race! Indra imparted it unto Dasaratha, and Dasaratha in his turn unto his son Rama, Rama of Raghu's race imparted it unto his dear brother Lakshmana of great fame. While dwelling in the woods, Lakshmana imparted it unto the Rishis. It has then come down from generation to generation, for the Rishis of rigid vows held it amongst themselves as also the righteous kings of the earth. My preceptor, O Yudhishthira, communicated it to me. That Brahmana, who recites it every day in the assemblies of Brahmanas, in sacrifices or at gifts of kine, or when two persons meet together, obtains hereafter many regions of inexhaustible felicity where he always resides with the deities as his companions. The holy Brahman, the Supreme Lord, had said so (unto Indra on the subject of kine).'"

SECTION 75

"Yudhishthira said, 'I have been greatly assured, O thou of puissance, by thee thus discoursing unto me of duties. I shall, however, give expression to the doubts I have. Do thou explain them to me, O grandsire! What are the fruits, declared in the scriptures, of the vows that men observe. Of what nature are the fruits, O thou of great splendour, of observances of other kinds? What, again, are the fruits, of one's studying the Vedas properly? 1 What are the fruits of gifts, and what those of holding the Vedas in memory? What are the fruits that attach to the teaching of the Vedas? I desire to know all this. What, O grandsire, are the merits attaching to the non-acceptance of gifts in this world? What fruits are seen to attach to him who mazes gifts of knowledge? What are the merits acquired by persons that are observant of the duties of their order, as also by heroes that do not flee from battle? What are the fruits that have been declared to attach to the observance of purity and to the practice of Brahmacharya? What are the merits that attach to the service of the father and of the mother? What also are the merits of serving preceptors and teachers, and what are the merits of compassion and kindness? I desire to know all these, O grandsire, truly and in detail, O thou that art conversant with all the scriptures! Great is the curiosity I feel.'

"Bhishma said, 'Eternal regions of felicity become his, who, having properly commenced a Vrata (vow) completes its observance according to the scriptures, without a break. The fruits of Niyamas, O king, are visible even in this world. These rewards that thou hast won are those of Niyamas and sacrifices. The fruits that attach to the study of the Vedas are seen both here and hereafter. The person, who is devoted to the study of the Vedas is seen to sport in felicity both in this world and in the region of Brahma. Listen now to me, O king, as I tell thee in detail what the fruits are of self-restraint. They that are self-restrained are happy everywhere. They that are self-restrained are always in the enjoyment of that felicity which attaches to the absence or subjugation of desire. They that are self-restrained are competent to go everywhere at will. They that are self-restrained are capable of destroying every foe. Without doubt, they that are self-restrained succeed in obtaining everything they seek. They that are self-restrained, O son of Pandu, obtain the fruition of every wish. The happiness that men enjoy in heaven through penances and prowess (in arms) through gift, and through diverse sacrifices, becomes theirs that are self-restrained and forgiving. Self-restraint is more meritorious than gift. A giver, after making a gift unto the Brahmanas, may yield to the Influence of wrath. A self-restrained man, however, never yields to wrath. Hence, self-restraint is superior (in point of merit) to gift. That man, who makes gifts without yielding to wrath, succeeds in attaining to eternal regions of felicity. Wrath destroys the merit of a gift. Hence, self-restraint is superior to gift. There are various invisible places, O monarch, numbering by ten thousands, in heaven. Existing in all the regions of heaven, these places belong to the Rishis. Persons, leaving this world, attain to them and become transformed into deities. O king, the great Rishis repair thither, aided only by their self-restraint, and as the end of their efforts to attain to a region of superior happiness. Hence, self-restraint is superior (in efficacy) to gift. The person, who becomes a preceptor (for teaching the Vedas), and who duly worships the fire, taking leave of all his afflictions in this world, enjoys inexhaustible felicity, O king, in the region of Brahma. That man, who, having himself studied the Vedas, imparts a knowledge thereof unto righteous disciples, and who praises the acts of his own preceptor, attain to great honours in heaven. That Kshatriya, who takes to the study of the Vedas, to the performance of sacrifices, to the making of gifts, and who rescues the lives of others in battle, similarly attains to great, honours in heaven. The Vaisya, who, observant of the duties of his order, makes gifts, reaps as the fruit of those gifts, a crowning reward. The Sudra, who duly observes the duties of his order (which consist of services rendered to the three other orders) wins heaven as the reward of such services. Diverse kinds of heroes have been spoken of (in the scriptures). Listen to me as I expound to thee what the rewards are that they attain to. The rewards are fixed of a hero belonging to a heroic race. There are heroes of sacrifice, heroes of self-restraint, heroes of truth, and others equally entitled to the name of hero. There are heroes of battle, and heroes of gift of liberality among men. There are many persons, who may be called the heroes of the Sankhya faith as, indeed, there are many others that are called heroes of Yoga. There are others that are regarded as heroes in the matter of forest-life, of householding or domesticity, and of renunciation (or Sannyasa). Similarly, there are others that are called heroes of the intellect, and also heroes of forgiveness. There are other men, who live in tranquillity and who are regarded as heroes of righteousness. There are diverse other kinds of heroes that practise diverse other kinds of vows and observances. There are heroes devoted to the study of the Vedas and heroes devoted to the teaching of the same. There are, again, men that come to be regarded as heroes for the devotion with which they wait upon and serve their preceptors, as indeed, heroes in respect of the reverence they show to their sires. There are heroes in respect of obedience to mothers, and heroes in the matter of the life of mendicancy they lead. There are heroes in the matter of hospitality to guests, whether living as householders. All these heroes attain to very superior, regions of felicity which are, of course, acquired by them as the rewards of their own acts. Holding all the Vedas in memory, or ablutions performed in all the sacred waters, may or may not be equal to telling the Truth every day in one's life. A thousand horse sacrifices and Truth were once weighed in the balance. It was seen that Truth weighed heavier than a thousand horse-sacrifices. It is by Truth that the sun is imparting heat, it is by Truth that fire blazes up, it is by Truth that the winds blow; verily, everything rests upon Truth. It is Truth that gratifies the deities, the Pitris and the Brahmanas. Truth has been said to be the highest duty. Therefore, no one should ever transgress Truth. The Munis are all devoted to Truth. Their prowess depends upon Truth. They also swear by Truth. Hence, Truth is pre-eminent. All truthful men, O chief of Bharata's race, succeed by their truthfulness in attaining to heaven and sporting there in felicity. Self-restraint is the attainment of the reward that attaches to Truth. I have discoursed on it with my whole heart. The man of humble heart who is possessed of self-restraint, without doubt, attains to great honours in heaven. Listen now to me, O lord of Earth, as I expound to thee the merits of Brahmacharya. That man, who practises the vow of Brahmacharya from his birth to the time of his death, know, O king, has nothing unattainable! Many millions of Rishis are residing in the region of Brahma. All of them, while here, were devoted to Truth, and self-restrained and had their vital seed drawn up. The vow of Brahmacharya, O king, duly observed by a Brahmana, is sure to burn all his sins. The Brahmana is said to be a blazing fire. In those Brahmanas that are devoted to penances, the deity of fire becomes visible. If a Brahmacharin yields to wrath in consequence of any slight the chief of the deities himself trembles in fear. Even this is the visible fruit of the vow of Brahmacharya that is observed by the Rishis. Listen to me, O Yudhishthira, what the merit is that attaches to the worship of the father and the mother. He, who dutifully serves his father without ever crossing him in anything, or similarly serves his mother or (elder) brother or other senior or preceptor, it should be known, O king, earns a residence in heaven. The man of cleansed soul, in consequence of such service rendered to his seniors, has never even to behold hell.'"

SECTION 76

"Yudhishthira said, 'I desire, O king, to hear thee discourse in detail upon those high ordinances which regulate gifts of kine, for it is by making gifts (of kine) according to those ordinances that one attains to innumerable regions of eternal felicity.'

"Bhishma said, 'There is no gift, O lord of Earth, that is higher in point of merit than the gift of kine. A cow, lawfully acquired, if given away, immediately rescues the whole race of the giver. That ritual which sprang for the benefit of the righteous, was subsequently declared for the sake of all creatures. That ritual has come down from primeval time. It existed even before it was declared. Verily, O king, listen to me as I recite to thee that ritual which affects the gift of kine. [The orthodox belief is that all rituals are literally eternal. As eternal, they existed before anybody declared them or set them down in holy writ. The ritual in respect of gifts of kine sprang in this way, i.e., in primeval time. It was only subsequently declared or set down in holy writ.] In days of yore when a number of kine (intended to be given away) was brought (before him), king Mandhatri, filled with doubt in respect of the ritual he should observe (in actually giving them away), properly questioned Vrihaspati (the preceptor of the celestials) for an explanation of that doubt. Vrihaspati said, 'Duly observing restraints the while, the giver of kine should, on the previous day, properly honour the Brahmanas and appoint the (actual) time of gift. As regards the kine to be given away, they should be of the class called Rohini. The kine also should be addressed with the words--Samange and Vahule--Entering the fold where the kine are kept, the following Srutis should be uttered,--The cow is my mother. The bull is my sire. (Give me) heaven and earthly prosperity! The cow is my refuge!--Entering the fold and acting in this way, the giver should pass the night there.' He should again utter the formula when actually giving away the kine. The giver, thus residing with the kine in the fold without doing anything to restrain their freedom, and lying down on the bare earth (without driving away the gnats and other insects that would annoy him as they annoy the kine), becomes immediately cleansed of all his sins in consequence of his reducing himself to a state of perfect similitude with the kine. When the sun rises in the morning, thou shouldst give away the cow, accompanied by her calf and a bull. As the reward of such an act, heaven will certainly become attainable to thee. The blessings also that are indicated by the Mantras will also be thine. The Mantras contain these references to kine: Kine are endued with the elements of strength and energetic exertion. Kine have in them the elements of wisdom. They are the source of that immortality which sacrifice achieves. They are the refuge of all energy. They are the steps by which earthly prosperity is won. They constitute the eternal course of the universe. They lead to the extension of one's race. Let the kine (I give away) destroy my sins. They have that in them which partakes in the nature of both Surya, and Soma. Let them be aids to my attainment of heaven. Let them betake themselves to me as a mother takes to her offspring. Let all other blessings also be mine that have not been named in the Mantras I have uttered! In the alleviation or cure of phthisis and other wasting diseases, and in the matter of achieving freedom from the body, if a person takes the help of the five products of the cow, kine become inclined to confer blessings upon the person like the river Saraswati--Ye kine, ye are always conveyers of all kinds of merit! Gratified with me, do ye appoint a desirable end for me! I have today become what ye are! By giving you away, I really give myself away. (After these words have been uttered by giver, the receiver should say),--Ye are no longer owned by him who gives you away! Ye have now become mine. Possessed of the nature of both Sutya and Soma, do ye cause both the giver and the receiver to blaze forth with all kinds of prosperity!--(As already indicated), the giver should duly utter the words occurring in the first part of the above verse. The regenerate recipient, conversant with the ritual that regulates the gift of kine, should, when receiving the kine in gift, utter (as already) said the words occurring in the latter half of the above verse. The man who, instead of a cow, gives away the usual value thereof or cloths or gold, comes to be regarded as the giver of a cow The giver, when giving away the usual value of a cow (as the substitute of a cow) should utter the words,--This cow with face upturned is being given away. Do thou accept her!--The man who gives away cloths (as the substitute of a cow) should utter the words,--Bhavitavya--(meaning that the gift should be regarded as representing a cow). The man who gives away gold (as the substitute of a cow) should utter the word,--Vaishnavi (meaning, this gold that I give away is of the form and nature of a cow).--Even these are the words that should be uttered in the order of the kind of gift mentioned above. The reward that is reaped by making such vicarious gifts of kine is residence in Heaven for six and thirty thousand years, eight thousand years, and twenty thousand years respectively. Even these are the merits, respectively, of gifts of things as substitute of kine. While as regards him who gives an actual cow all the merits that attach to vicarious gifts of kine become his at only the eight step (homewards) of the recipient. He that gives an actual cow becomes endued with righteous behaviour in this world. He that gives the value of a cow becomes freed from every kind of fear. He that gives a cow (as a substitute in way for a real cow) never meet with sorrow. All the three, as also they that regularly go through their ablutions and other acts at early dawn, and he that is well-conversant with the Mahabharata, it is well-known, attain to the regions of Vishnu and Soma. Having given away a cow, the giver should, for three nights, adopt the vaccine vow, and pass one night with kine. Commencing again from that lunation, numbering the eight, which is known by the name of Kamya, he should pass three nights, supporting himself entirely on milk and urine and dung of the cow. [Ashtami is the eighth day of the lunar fortnight. There must be two Ashtamis in every lunar month. A particular Ashtami is

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known as the Kamya or the Goshtha. On that day, kine are worshipped with sandalpaste, vermilion, floral wreaths, etc.] By giving away a bull, one attains to the merit that attaches to the divine vow (Brahmacharya). By giving away a couple of kine, one acquires the mastery of the Vedas. That man who performs a sacrifice and makes gifts of kine agreeably to the ritual laid down, attains to many regions of a superior character. These, however, are not attainable by the person who is unacquainted with that ritual (and who, therefore, gives away kine without observing the scriptural declarations). That man who gives away even a single cow that yields a copious measure of milk, acquires the merit of giving away all desirable things on Earth collected together. What need, therefore, be said of the gift of many such kine as yield Havya and Kavya in consequence of their full udders? The merit that attaches to the gift of superior oxen is greater than that which attaches to the gift of kine. One should not, by imparting a knowledge of this ritual, benefit a person that is not one's disciple or that is not observant of vows or that is bereft of faith or that is possessed of a crooked understanding. Verily, this religion is a mystery, unknown to most people. One that knows it should not speak of it at every place. There are, in the world, many men that are bereft of faith. There are among men many persons that are mean and that resemble Rakshasas. This religion, if imparted unto them, would lead to evil. It would be productive of equal evil if imparted to such sinful men as have taken shelter in atheism.--Listen to me, O king, as I recite to thee the names of those righteous monarchs that have attained to regions of great felicity as the reward of those gifts of kine which they made agreeable to the instructions of Vrihaspati, Usinara, Viswagaswa, Nriga, Bhagiratha, the celebrated Mandhatri the son of Yuvanaswa, king Muchukunda, Bhagiratha, Naishadha. Somaka, Pururavas, Bharata of imperial sway to whose race belongs all the Bharatas, the heroic Rama the son of Dasaratha, and many other celebrated kings of great achievement, and also king Dilipa of widely known deeds, all, in consequence of their gifts of kine agreeable to the ritual, attained to Heaven. King Mandhatri was always observant of sacrifices, gifts, penances, kingly duties, and gifts of kine. Therefore, O son of Pritha, do thou also bear in mind those instructions of Vrihaspati which I have recited unto thee (in respect of gifts of kine). Having obtained the kingdom of the Kurus, do thou, with a cheerful heart, make gifts of good kine unto foremost of Brahmanas!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed by Bhishma on the subject of properly making gifts of kine, king Yudhishthira did all that Bhishma wished. Verily, king Yudhishthira bore in mind the whole of that religion which the preceptor of the deities imparted unto the royal Mandhatri. Yudhishthira from that time began to make always gifts of kine and to support himself on grains of barley and on cowdung as both his food and drink. The king also began to sleep from that day on the bare earth, and possessed of restrained soul and resembling a bull in conduct, he became the foremost of monarchs. [Sikhi means a bull, so called from the hump it carries. The construction is sikhi Vrishaiva etc,] The Kuru king from that day became very attentive to kine and always worshipped them, hymning their praises. From that day, the king gave up the practice of yoking kine unto his vehicles. Wheresoever he had occasion to go, he proceeded on cars drawn by horses of good mettle.'"

SECTION 77

"Vaisampayana said, 'King Yudhishthira endued with humility, once again questioned the royal son of Santanu on the subject of gifts of kine in detail.'

"The king said, 'Do thou, O Bharata, once more discourse to me in detail on the merits of giving away kine. Verily, O hero, I have not been satiated with hearing thy nectar-like words!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed by king Yudhishthira the just, Santanu's son began to discourse to him once again, in detail on the merits attaching to the gift of kine.'

"Bhishma said, 'By giving unto a Brahmana a cow possessed of a calf, endued with docility and other virtues, young in years, and wrapped round with a piece of cloth, one becomes cleansed of all one's sins. There are many regions (in Hell) which are sunless. One who makes the gift of a cow has not to go thither. That man, however, who gives unto a Brahmana a cow that is incapable of drinking or eating, that has her milk dried up, that is endued with senses all of which have been weakened, and that is diseased and overcome with decrepitude, and that may, therefore, be likened to a tank whose water has been dried up,--indeed, the man who gives such a cow unto a Brahmana and thereby inflicts only pain and disappointment upon him, has certainly to enter into dark Hell. That cow which is wrathful and vicious, or diseased, or weak or which has been purchased without the price agreed upon having been paid,--or which would only afflict the regenerate recipient with distress and disappointment, should never be given. The regions such a man may acquire (as the rewards of other acts of righteousness performed by him) would fail to give him any happiness or impart to him any energy. Only such kine as are strong, endued with good behaviour, young in years, and possessed of fragrance, are applauded by all (in the matter of gift). Verily, as Ganga is the foremost of all rivers, even so is a Kapila cow the foremost of all kine.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Why, O grandsire, do the righteous applaud the gift of a Kapila cow (as more meritorious) when all good kine that are given away should be regarded as equal? O thou of great puissance, I wish to hear what the distinction is that attaches to a Kapila cow. Thou art, verily, competent to discourse to me on this topic!'

"Bhishma said, 'I have, O son, heard old men recite this history respecting the circumstances under which the Kapila cow was created. I shall recite that old history to thee! In days of yore, the Self-born Brahman commanded the Rishi Daksha, saying,--Do thou create living creatures! From desire of doing good to creatures, Daksha, in the first instance, created food. Even as the deities exist, depending upon nectar, all living creatures, O puissant one, live depending upon the sustenance assigned by Daksha. Among all objects mobile and immobile, the mobile are superior. Among mobile creatures Brahmanas are superior. The sacrifices are all established upon them. It is by sacrifice that Soma (nectar) is got. Sacrifice has been established upon kine. The gods become gratified through sacrifices. As regards the Creation then, the means of support came first, creatures came next. As soon as creatures were born, they began to cry aloud for food. All of them then approached their creator who was to give them food like children approaching their father or mother. Knowing the intention which moved all his creatures, the holy lord of all creatures, viz., Daksha, for the sake of the beings he had created, himself drank a quantity of nectar. He became gratified with the nectar he quaffed and thereupon an eructation came out, diffusing an excellent perfume all around. As the result of that eructation. Daksha saw that it gave birth to a cow which he named Surabhi. This Surabhi was thus a daughter of his, that had sprung from his mouth. The cow called Surabhi brought forth a number of daughters who came to be regarded as the mothers of the world. Their complexion was like that of gold, and they were all Kapilas. They were the means of sustenance for all creatures. As those kine, whose complexion resembled that of Amrita, began to pour milk, the froth of that milk arose and began to spread on every side, even as when the waves of a running stream dashing against one another, copious froth is produced that spreads on every side. Some of that froth fell, from the mouths of the calves that were sucking, upon the head of Mahadeva who was then sitting on the Earth. The puissant Mahadeva thereupon, filled with wrath, cast his eyes upon those kine. With that third eye of his which adorns his forehead, he seemed to burn those kine as he looked at them. Like the Sun tingeing masses of clouds with diverse colours the energy that issued from the third eye of Mahadeva produced, O monarch, diverse complexion in those kine. Those amongst them, however, which succeeded in escaping from the glance of Mahadeva by entering the region of Soma, remained of the same colour with which they were born, for no change was produced in their complexion. Seeing that Mahadeva had become exceedingly angry; Daksha, the lord of all creatures, addressed him, saying--Thou hast, O great deity, been drenched with nectar. The milk or the froth that escapes from the mouths of calves sucking their dams is never regarded as impure remnant. Chandramas, after drinking the nectar, pours it once more. It is not, however, on that account, looked upon as impure. After the same manner, the milk that these kine yield, being born of nectar, should not be regarded as impure (even though the udders have been touched by the calves with their mouths). The wind can never become impure. Fire can never become impure. Gold can never become impure. The Ocean can never become impure. The Nectar, even when drunk by the deities, can never become impure. Similarly, the milk of a cow, even when her udders are sucked by her calf, can never become impure. These kine will support all these worlds with the milk they will yield and the ghee that will be manufactured therefrom. All creatures wish to enjoy the auspicious wealth, identifiable with nectar, that kine possess!--Having said these words, the lord of creatures, Daksha, made a present unto Mahadeva of a bull with certain kine. Daksha gratified the heart of Rudra, O Bharata, with that present, Mahadeva, thus gratified, made that bull his vehicle. And it was after the form of that bull that Mahadeva adopted the device on the standard floating on his battle-car. For this reason it is that Rudra came to be known as the bull-bannered deity. It was on that occasion also that the celestials, uniting together, made Mahadeva the lord of animals. Indeed, the great Rudra became the Master of kine and is named as the bull-signed deity. Hence, O king, in the matter of giving away kine, the gift is regarded as primarily desirable of Kapila kine which are endued with great energy and possessed of colour unchanged (from white). Thus are kine, the foremost of all creatures in the world. It is from them that the means have flowed of the sustenance of all the worlds. They have Rudra for their master. They yield Soma (nectar) in the form of milk. They are auspicious and sacred, and grantors of every wish and givers of life. A person by making a gift of a cow come to be regarded as making a gift of every article that is desired to be enjoyed by men. That man who, desiring to attain to prosperity, reads with a pure heart and body these verses on the origin of kine, becomes cleansed of all his sins and attains to prosperity and children and wealth and animals. He who makes a gift of a cow, O king, always succeeds in acquiring the merits that attach to gifts of Havya and Kavya, to the offer of oblations of water unto the Pitris, to other religious acts whose performance brings peace and happiness, to the gift of vehicles and cloths, and to the cherishing of children and the old.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words of his grandsire, Pritha's son, viz., the royal Yudhishthira of Ajamida's race, uniting with his brothers, began to make gifts of both bulls and kine of different colours unto foremost of Brahmanas. Verily, for the purpose of subduing regions of felicity in the next, and winning great fame, king Yudhishthira performed many sacrifices and, as sacrificial presents, gave away hundreds of thousands of kine unto such Brahmanas.'"

SECTION 78

"Bhishma said, 'In days of yore, king Saudasa born of Ikshvaku's race, that foremost of eloquent men, on one occasion approached his family priest, viz., Vasishtha, that foremost of Rishis, crowned with ascetic success, capable of wandering through every region, the receptacle of Brahma, and endued with eternal life and put him the following question.'

"Saudasa said, 'O holy one, O sinless one, what is that in the three worlds which is sacred and by reciting which at all times a man may acquire high merit?'

"Bhishma said, 'Unto king Saudasa who stood before him with head bent in reverence, the learned Vasishtha having first bowed unto kine and purified himself (in body and mind), discoursed upon the mystery relating to kine, a topic that is fraught with result highly beneficial to all persons.'

"Vasishtha said, 'Kine are always fragrant. The perfume emanated by the exudation of the Amytis agallochum issues out of the bodies. Kine are the great refuge of all creatures. Kine constitute the great source of blessing unto all. 1 Kine are the Past and the Future. Kine are the source of eternal growth. Kine are the root of Prosperity. Anything given to kine is never lost. Kine constitute the highest food. They are the best Havi for the deities. The Mantras called Swaha and Vashat are forever established in kine. Kine constitute the fruit of sacrifices. Sacrifices are established in kine. Kine are the Future and the Past, and Sacrifice rest on them. Morning and evening kine yield unto the Rishis, O foremost of men, Havi for use in Homa, O thou of great effulgence. They who make gift of kine succeed in transcending all sins which they may have committed and all kinds of calamities into which they may fall, O thou of great puissance. The man possessing ten kine and making a gift of one cow, he possessing a hundred kine and making a gift of ten kine, and he possessing a thousand kine and making a gift of a hundred kine, all earn the same measure of merit. The man who, though possessed of hundred kine, does not establish a domestic fire for daily worship, that man who though possessed of a thousand kine does not perform sacrifices, and that man who though possessed of wealth acts as a miser (by not making gift and discharging the duties of hospitality), are all three regarded as not worthy of any respect. Those men who make gift of Kapila king with their calves and with vessel of white brass for milking them,--kine, that is, which are not vicious and which while given away, are wrapped round with cloths,--succeed in conquering both this and the other world. Such persons as succeed in making gift of a bull that is still in the prime of youth, that has all its senses strong, and that may be regarded as the foremost one among hundreds of herds, that has large horns adorned with ornaments (of gold or silver), unto a Brahmana possessed of Vedic learning, succeed, O scorcher of foes, its attaining to great prosperity and affluence each time they take birth in the world. One should never go to bed without reciting the names of kine. Nor should one rise from bed in the morning without a similar recitation of the names of kine. Morning and evening one should bend one's head in reverence to kine. As the consequence of such acts, one is sure to attain to great prosperity. One should never feel any repugnance for the urine and the dung of the cow. One should never eat the flesh of kine. As the consequence of this, one is sure to attain to great prosperity. One should always take the names of kine. One should never show any disregard for kine in any way. If evil dreams are seen, men should take the names of kine. One should always bathe, using cow-dung at the time. One should sit on dried cowdung. One should never cast one's urine and excreta and other secretions on cowdung. One should never obstruct kine in any way. One should eat, sitting on a cowhide purified by dipping it in water, and then cast one's eyes towards the west, Sitting with restrained speech, one should eat ghee, using the bare earth as one's dish. One reaps, in consequence of such acts, that prosperity of which kine are the source. One should pour libations on the fire,

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using ghee for the purpose. One should cause Brahmanas to utter blessings upon one, by presents of ghee. One should make gift of ghee. One should also eat ghee. As the reward of such acts one is sure to attain to that prosperity which kine confer. That man who inspires a vaccine form made of sesame seeds by uttering the Vedic Mantras called by the name of Gomati, and then adorns that form with every kind of gems and makes a gift of it, has never to suffer any grief on account of all his acts of omission and commission,--Let kine that yield copious measures of milk and that have horns adorned with gold,--kine viz., that are Surabhis or the daughters of Surabhis.--approach me even as rivers approach the ocean! I always look at kine. Let kine always look at me. Kine are ours. We are theirs. Ourselves are there where kine are!--Even thus, at night or day, in happiness or woe, verily, at times of even great fear,--should a man exclaim. By uttering such words he is certain to become freed from every fear.'"

SECTION 79

"Vasishtha said, 'The kine that had been created in a former age practised the austerest penances for a hundred thousand years with the desire of attaining to a position of great pre-eminence. Verily, O scorcher of foes, they said unto themselves,--We shall, in this world, become the best of all kinds of Dakshina in sacrifices, and we shall not be liable to be stained with any fault! By bathing in water mixed with our dung people shall become sanctified. The deities and men shall use our dung for the purpose of purifying all creatures mobile and immobile. They also that will give us away shall attain to those regions of happiness which will be ours.--The puissant Brahman, appearing unto them at the conclusion of their austerities, gave them the boons they sought, saying,--it shall be as ye wish! Do ye (thus) rescue all the worlds!--Crowned with fruition in respect of their wishes, they all rose up,--those mothers of both the Past and the Future. Every morning, people should bow with reverence unto kine. As the consequence of this, they are certain to win prosperity. At the conclusion of their penances O monarch, kine became the refuge of the world. It is for this that kine are said to be highly blessed, sacred, and the foremost of all things. It is for this kine are said to stay at the very head of all creatures. By giving away a Kapila cow with a calf resembling herself, yielding a copious measure of milk, free from every vicious habit, and covered with a piece of cloth, the giver attains to great honours in the region of Brahma. By giving away a cow of red complexion, with a calf that resembles herself, yielding milk, free from every vice, and covered with a piece of cloth, one attains to great honours in the region of Surya. By giving away a cow of variegated hue, with a calf similar to herself, yielding milk, free from every vice, and covered with a piece of cloth, one attains to great honours in the region of Soma. By giving away a cow of white complexion, with a calf similar to herself, yielding milk, free from every vice, and covered with a piece of cloth, one attains to great honours in the region of Indra. By giving away a cow of dark complexion, with a calf similar to herself, yielding milk, free from every vice, and covered with a piece of cloth, one attains to great honours in the region of Agni. By giving away a cow of the complexion of smoke, with a calf similar to herself, yielding milk, free from every vice, and covered with a piece of cloth, one attains to great honours in the region of Yama. By giving away a cow of the complexion of the foam of water, with a calf and a vessel of white brass for milking her, and covered with a piece of cloth, one attains to the region of Varuna. By giving away a cow whose complexion is like that of the dust blown by the wind, with a calf, and a vessel of white brass for milking her, and covered with a piece of cloth, one attains to great honours in the region of the Wind-god. By giving a cow of the complexion of gold, having eyes of a tawny hue with a calf and a vessel of white brass for milking her and covered with a piece of cloth, one enjoys the felicity of the region of Kuvera. By giving away a cow of the complexion of the smoke of straw, with a calf and a vessel of white brass for milking her, and covered with a piece of cloth, one attains to great honours in the region of the Pitris. By giving away a fat cow with the flesh of its throat hanging down and accompanied by her calf, one attains with ease to the high region of the Viswedevas. By giving away a Gouri cow, with calf similar to her, yielding milk, free from every vice, and covered with a piece of cloth, one attains to the region of the Vasus. By giving away a cow of the complexion of a white blanket, with a calf and a vessel of white brass, and covered with a piece of cloth, one attains to the region of the Sadhyas. By giving away a bull with a high hump and adorned with every jewel, the giver, O king, attains to the region of the Maruts. By giving away a bull of blue complexion, that is full-grown in respect of years and adorned with every ornament, the giver attains to the regions of the Gandharvas and the Apsaras. By giving away a cow with the flesh of her throat hanging down, and adorned with every ornament, the giver, freed from every grief, attains to those regions that belong to Prajapati himself. That man, O king, habitually makes gifts of kine, proceed, piercing through the clouds, on a car of solar effulgence to Heaven and shines there in splendour. That man who habitually makes gifts of kine comes to be regarded as the foremost of his species. When thus proceeding to Heaven, he is received by a thousand celestial damsels of beautiful hips and adorned with handsome robes and ornaments. These girls wait upon him there and minister to his delight. He sleeps there in peace and is awakened by the musical laughter of those gazelle-eyed damsels, the sweet notes of their Vinas, the soft strains of their Vallakis, and the melodious tinkle of their Nupuras. [Vallaki is the Indian lute. The Nupura is an ornament for the ankles.] The men who makes gifts of kine resides in Heaven and is honoured there for as many years as there are hairs on the bodies of the kine he gives away. Falling off from Heaven (upon the exhaustion of his merit), such a man takes birth in the order of humanity and, in fact, in a superior family among men.'"

SECTION 80

"Vasishtha said, 'Kine are yielders of ghee and milk. They are the sources of ghee and they have sprung from ghee. They are rivers of ghee, and eddies of ghee. Let kine ever be in my house! Ghee is always my heart. Ghee is even established in my navel. Ghee is in every limb of mine. Ghee resides in my mind. Kine are always at my front. Kine are always at my rear. Kine are on every side of my person. I live in the midst of kine!--Having purified oneself by touching water, one should, morning and evening, recite these Mantras every day. By this, one is sure to be cleansed of all the sins one may commit in course of the day. They who make gifts of a thousand kine, departing from this world, proceed to the regions of the Gandharvas and the Apsaras where there are many palatial mansions made of gold and where the celestial Ganga, called the current of Vasu, runs. Givers of a thousand kine repair thither where run many rivers having milk for their water, cheese for their mire, and curds for their floating moss. That man who makes gifts of hundreds of thousands of kine agreeably to the ritual laid down in the scriptures, attains to high prosperity (here) and great honours in Heaven. Such a man causes both his paternal and maternal ancestors to the tenth degree to attain to regions of great felicity, and sanctifies his whole race. Kine are sacred. They are the foremost of all things in the world. They are verily the refuge of the universe. They are the mothers of the very deities. They are verily incomparable. They should be dedicated in sacrifices. When making journeys, one should proceed by their right (i.e., keeping them to one's left). Ascertaining the proper time, they should be given away unto eligible persons. By giving away a Kapila cow having large horns, accompanied by a calf and a vessel of white brass for milking her, and covered with a piece of cloth, one succeeds in entering, freed from fear, the palace of Yama that is so difficult to enter. One should always recite this sacred Mantra, viz.,--Kine are of beautiful form. Kine are of diverse forms. They are of universal form. They are the mothers of the universe. O, let kine approach me!--There is no gift more sacred than the gift of kine. There is no gift that produces more blessed merit. There has been nothing equal to the cow, nor will there be anything that will equal her. With her skin, her hair, her horns, the hair of her tail, her milk, and her fat,--with all these together,--the cow upholds sacrifice. What thing is there that is more useful than the cow? Bending my head unto her with reverence, I adore the cow who is the mother of both the Past and the Future, and by whom the entire universe of mobile and immobile creatures is covered. O best of men, I have thus recited to thee only a portion of the high merits of kine. There is no gift in this world that is superior to the gift of trine. There is also no refuge in this world that is higher than kine.'

"Bhishma continued, 'That high-souled giver of land (viz., king Saudasa), thinking these words of the Rishi Vasishtha to be foremost in point of importance, then made gifts of a very large number of kine unto the Brahmanas, restraining his senses the while, and as the consequence of those gifts, the monarch succeeded in attaining to many regions of felicity in the next world.'" [Bhumidah is literally, a giver of land. King Saudasa, the commentator explains, was known by the name of Bhumidah in consequence of his liberality in the matter of giving away land unto the Brahmanas.]

SECTION 81

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me, O grandsire, what is that which is the most sacred of all sacred things in the world, other than that which has been already mentioned, and which is the highest of all sanctifying objects.'

"Bhishma said, 'Kine are the foremost of all objects. They are highly sacred and they rescue men (from all kinds of sin and distress). With their milk and with the Havi manufactured therefrom, kine uphold all creatures in the universe. O best of the Bharatas, there is nothing that is more sacred than kine. The foremost of all things in the three worlds, kine are themselves sacred and capable of cleansing others, Kine reside in a region that is even higher than the region of the deities. When given away, they rescue their givers. Men of wisdom succeed in attaining to Heaven by making gifts of kine. Yuvanaswa's son Mandhatri, Yayati, and (his sire) Nahusha, used always to give away kine in thousands. As the reward of those gifts, they have attained to such regions as are unattainable by the very deities. There is, in this connection, O sinless one, a discourse delivered of old. I shall recite it to thee. Once on a time, the intelligent Suka, having finished his morning rites, approached with a restrained mind his sire, that foremost of Rishis, viz., the Island-born Krishna, who is acquainted with the distinction between that which is superior and that which is inferior, and saluting him, said, 'What is that sacrifice which appears to thee as the foremost of all sacrifices? What is that act by doing which men of wisdom succeed in attaining to the highest region? What is that sacred act by which the deities enjoy the felicity of Heaven? What constitutes the character of sacrifice as sacrifice? What is that upon which sacrifice rests? What is that which is regarded as the best by the deities? What is that sacrifice which transcends the sacrifices of this world? Do thou also tell me, O sire, what is that which is the most sacred of all things. Having heard these words of his son, O chief of Bharata's race, Vyasa, the foremost of all persons conversant with duties, discoursed as follows unto him.'

"Vyasa said, 'Kine constitute the stay of all creatures. Kine are the refuge of all creatures. Kine are the embodiment of merit. Kine are sacred, and kine are sanctifiers of all. Formerly kine were hornless as it has been heard by us. For obtaining horns they adored the eternal and puissant Brahmana. The puissant, Brahmana, seeing the kine paying their adorations to him and sitting in praya, granted unto each of them what each desired. Thereafter their horns grew and each got what each desired. Of diverse colours, and endued with horns, they began to shine in beauty, O son! Favoured by Brahman himself with boons, kine are auspicious and yielders of Havya and Kavya. They are the embodiments of merit. They are sacred and blessed. They are possessed of excellent form and attributes. Kine constitute high and highly excellent energy. The gift of kine is very much applauded. Those good men who, freed from pride, make gifts of kine, are regarded as doers of righteous deeds and as givers of all articles. Such men, O sinless one, attain to the highly sacred region of kine. The trees there produce sweet fruits. Indeed, those trees are always adorned with excellent flowers and fruits. Those flowers, O best of regenerate persons, are endued with celestial fragrance. The entire soil of that region is made of gems. The sands there are all gold. The climate there is such that the excellencies of every season are felt. There is no more mire, no dust. It is, indeed, highly auspicious. The streams that run there shine in resplendence for the red lotuses blooming upon their bosoms, and for the jewels and gems and gold that occur in their banks and that display the effulgence of the morning Sun. There are many lakes also in that region on whose breasts are many lotuses, mixed here and there with Nymphoea stellata, and having their petals made of costly gems, and their filaments adorned with a complexion like that of gold. They are also adorned with flowering forests of the Nerium odorum with thousands of beautiful creepers twining round them, as also with forests of Santanakas bearing their flowery burdens. There are rivers whose banks are variegated with many bright pearls and resplendent gems and shining gold. Portions of those regions are covered with excellent trees that are decked with jewels and gems of every kind. Some of them are made of gold and some display the splendour of fire. There stand many mountains made of gold, and many hills and eminences made of jewels and gems. These shine in beauty in consequence of their tall summits which are composed of all kinds of gems. The trees that adorn those regions always put forth flowers and fruits, and are always covered with dense foliage. The flowers always emit a celestial fragrance and the fruits are exceedingly sweet, O chief of Bharata's race. Those persons that are of righteous deeds, O Yudhishthira, always sport there in joy. Freed from grief and wrath, they pass their time there, crowned with the fruition of every wish. Persons of righteous deeds, possessed of fame, sport there in happiness, moving from place to place, O Bharata, on delightful vehicles of great beauty. Auspicious deed, bands of Apsaras always amuse them there, with music and dance. Indeed O Yudhishthira, a person goes to such regions as the reward of his making gifts of kine. Those regions which have for their lords Pushan, and the Maruts of great puissance, are attained to by givers of kine. In affluence the royal Varuna is regarded as pre-eminent. The giver of kine attains to affluence like that of Varuna himself. One should, with the steadiness of a vow, daily recite these Mantras declared by Prajapati himself (in respect of kine). Viswarupa and viz.,--Yugandharah, Surupah, Vahurupah, and Matara. [These are the several names by which kine are known. The first is probably derived from kine bearing the plough and thus assisting the tillage of the soil. The second implies beauty of form. The third is derived from the cow being regarded as the origin of all things in the universe: all things, therefore, are only so many forms of the cow. Viswarupa implies the same thing. Matara implies mothers, kine being regarded as the mothers of all.]--He who serves kine with reverence and who follows them with humility, succeeds in obtaining many invaluable boons from kine who become gratified with him. One should never, in even one's heart, do an injury to kine.

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One should, indeed, always confer happiness on them. One should, always reverence kine and worship them, with bends of one's head. He who does this, restraining his senses the while and filled with cheerfulness, succeeds in attaining to that felicity which is enjoyed by kine (and which kine alone can confer). One should for three days drink the hot urine of the cow. For the next three days one should drink the hot milk of the cow. Having thus drunk for three days hot milk, one should next drink hot ghee for three days. Having in this way drunk hot ghee for three days, one should subsist for the next three days on air only. That sacred thing by whose aid the deities enjoy regions of felicity, that which is the most sacred of all sacred things, viz., ghee should then be borne on the head. [Ghee is regarded so sacred because of its use in sacrifices. It is with the aid of ghee that the deities have become what they are. Itself sacred, it is also cleansing at the same time.] With the aid of ghee one should pour libations on the sacred fire. By making gifts of ghee, one should cause the Brahman to utter benedictions on oneself. One should eat ghee and make gifts of ghee. As the reward of this conduct, one may then attain to that prosperity which belongs to kine. That man who, for a month, subsists upon the gruel of barley picked up every day from cow dung becomes cleansed of sins as grave as the slaughter of a Brahman. After their defeat at the hands of the Daityas, the deities practised this expiation. It was in consequence of this expiation that they succeeded in regaining their position as deities. Verily, it was through this that they regained their strength and became crowned with success. Kine are sacred. They are embodiments of merit. They are high and most efficacious cleansers of all. By making gifts of kine unto the Brahmanas one attains to Heaven. Living in a pure state, in the midst of kine, one should mentally recite those sacred Mantras that are known by the name of Gomati, after touching pure water. By doing this, one becomes purified and cleansed (of all sins). Brahmanas of righteous deeds, who have been cleansed by knowledge, study of the Vedas, and observance of vows, should, only in the midst of sacred fires or kine or assemblies of Brahmanas, impart unto their disciples a knowledge of the Gomati Mantras which are every way like unto a sacrifice (for the merit they produce). One should observe a fast for three nights for receiving the boon constituted by a knowledge of the import of the Gomati Mantras. The man who is desirous of obtaining a son may obtain one by adoring these Mantras. He who desires the possession of wealth may have his desire gratified by adoring these Mantras. The girl desirous of having a good husband may have her wish fulfilled by the same means. In fact, one may acquire the fruition of every wish one may cherish, by adoring these sacred Mantras. When kine are gratified with the service one renders them, they are, without doubt, capable of granting the fruition of every wish. Even so, kine are highly blessed. They are the essential requisites of sacrifices. They are grantors of every wish. Know that there is nothing superior to kine.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed by his high-souled sire, Suka, endued with great energy, began from that time to worship kine every day. Do thou also, O son, conduct thyself in the same way.'"

SECTION 82

"Yudhishthira said, 'I have heard that the dung of the cow is endued with Sree. I desire to hear how this has been brought about. I have doubts, O grandsire, which thou shouldst dispel.' [Sri is the goddess of Prosperity. The answer of Bhishma will explain the question fully.]

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection is cited the old story, O monarch, of the conversation between kine and Sree, O best of the Bharatas! Once on a time the goddess Sree, assuming a very beautiful form, entered a herd of kine. The kine, beholding her wealth of beauty, became filled with wonder.'

"The kine said, 'Who art thou, O goddess? Whence hast thou become unrivalled on earth for beauty? O highly blessed goddess, we have been filled with wonder at thy wealth of beauty. We desire to know who thou art. Who, indeed, art thou? Whither wilt thou proceed? O thou of very superior splendour of complexion, do tell us in detail all we wish to know.'

"Sri said, 'Blessed be ye, I am dear unto all creatures. Indeed, I am known by the name of Sri. Forsaken by me, the Daityas have been lost for ever. The deities, viz., Indra, Vivaswat, Soma, Vishnu, Varuna, and Agni, having obtained me, are sporting in joy and will do so for ever. Verily, the Rishis and the deities, only when they are endued with me, have success. Ye kine, those beings meet with destruction into whom I do not enter. Religion, wealth, and pleasure, only when endued with me, become sources of happiness. Ye kine who are givers of happiness, know that I am possessed of even such energy! I wish to always reside in every one of you. Repairing to your presence, I solicit you. Be all of you endued with Sri.

"The kine said, 'Thou art fickle and restless. Thou sufferest thyself to be enjoyed by many persons. We do not desire to have thee. Blessed be thou, go wheresoever thou pleasest. As regards ourselves, all of us are possessed of good forms. What need have we with thee? Go wheresoever thou likest. Thou hast already (by answering our questions) gratified us exceedingly.'

"Sri said, 'Is it proper with you, ye kine that you do not welcome me? I am difficult of being attained. Why then do you not accept me? It seems, ye creatures of excellent vows, that the popular proverb is true, viz., that it is certain that when one come to another of one's own accord and without being sought, one meets with disregard. The Gods, the Danavas, the Gandharvas, the Pisachas, the Uragas, the Rakshasas and human beings succeed in obtaining me only after undergoing the severest austerities. You who have such energy, do ye take me. Ye amiable ones, I am never disregarded by any one in the three worlds of mobile and immobile creatures.'

"The kine said, 'We do not disregard thee, O goddess. We do not show thee a slight! Thou art fickle and of a very restless heart. It is for this only that we take leave of thee. What need of much talk? Do thou go wheresoever thou choosest. All of us are endued with excellent forms. What need have we with thee, O sinless one?'

"Sri said, 'Ye givers of honours, cast off by you in this way, I shall certainly be an object of disregard with all the world. Do ye show me grace. Ye are all highly blessed. Ye are ever ready to grant protection unto those that seek your protection. I have come to you soliciting your protection. I have no fault. Do you rescue me (from this situation). Know that I shall always be devoted to you. I am desirous of residing in any parts, however repulsive, of your bodies. Indeed, I wish to reside in even your rectum. Ye sinless ones, I do not see that ye have any part in your bodies that may be regarded as repulsive, for ye are sacred, and sanctifying, and highly blessed. Do ye, however, grant my prayer. Do ye tell me in which part, of your bodies I shall take up my residence.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed by Sri, the kine, always auspicious and inclined to kindness unto all who are devoted to them, took counsel with one another, and then addressing Sri, and unto her, O king, these words.'

"The kine said, 'O thou of great fame, it is certainly desirable that we should honour thee. Do thou live in our urine and dung. Both these are sacred, O auspicious goddess!

"Sri said, 'By good luck, ye have shown me much grace implying your desire to favour me. Let it be even as ye say! Blessed be ye all, I have really been honoured by you, ye givers of happiness!

"Bhishma continued, 'Having, O Bharata, made this compact with the kine, Sri, there and then, in the very sight of those kine, rendered herself invisible. I have thus told thee, O son, the glory of the dung of kine, I shall once again discourse to thee on the glory of kine. Do thou listen to me."

SECTION 83

"Bhishma said, 'They who make gifts of kine, and who subsist upon the remnants of things offered as libations on the sacred fire, are regarded, O Yudhishthira, as always performing sacrifices of every kind. No sacrifice can be performed without the aid of curds and ghee. The very character as sacrifice which sacrifices have, depends upon ghee. Hence ghee (or, the cow from which it is produced) is regarded as the very root of sacrifice. Of all kinds of gifts, the gift of kine is applauded as the highest. Kine are the foremost of all things. Themselves sacred, they are the best of cleansers and sanctifiers. People should cherish kine for obtaining prosperity and even peace. The milk, curds, and ghee that kine yield are capable of cleansing one from every kind of sin. Kine are said to represent the highest energy both in this world and the world that is above. There is nothing that is more sacred or sanctifying than kine, O chief of Bharata's race. In this connection is recited the ancient narrative, O Yudhishthira, of the discourse between the Grandsire and the chief of celestials. After the Daityas had been defeated and Sakra had become the lord of the three worlds all creatures grew in prosperity and became devoted to the true religion. Then, on one occasion, the Rishis, the Gandharvas, the Kinnaras, the Uragas, the Rakshasas, the Deities, the Asuras, the winged creatures and the Prajapatis, O thou of Kuru's race, all assembled together and adored the Grandsire. There were Narada and Parvata and Viswavasu and Haha-Huhu, who sang in celestial strains for adoring that puissant lord of all creatures. The deity of wind bore thither the fragrance of celestial flowers. The Seasons also, in their embodied forms, bore the perfumes of flowers peculiar to each, unto that conclave of celestials, that gathering of all creatures of the universe, where celestial maidens danced and sang in accompaniment with celestial music. In the midst of that assembly, Indra, saluting the Lord of all the deities and bowing his head unto him with reverence, asked him, saying, 'I desire, O Grandsire, to know why the region of kine is higher, O holy one, than the region of the deities themselves who are the lords of all the worlds. What austerities, what Brahmacharya, O lord, did kine perform in consequence of which they are able to reside happily in a region that is even above that of the deities?' Thus addressed by Indra, Brahman said unto the slayer of Vala, 'Thou hast always, O slayer of Vala, disregarded kine. Hence, thou art not acquainted with the glorious pre-eminence of kine. Listen now to me, O puissant one, as I explain to thee the high energy and glorious pre-eminence of kine, O chief of the celestials! Kine have been said to be the limbs of sacrifice. They represent sacrifice itself, O Vasava! Without them, there can be no sacrifice. With their milk and the Havi produced therefrom, they uphold all creatures. Their male calves are engaged in assisting at tillage and thereby produce diverse kinds of paddy and other seeds. From them flow sacrifices and Havya and Kavya, and milk and curds and ghee. Hence, O chief of the deities, kine are sacred. Afflicted by hunger and thirst, they bear diverse burdens. Kine support the Munis. They uphold all creatures by diverse acts, O Vasava, kine are guileless in their behaviour. In consequence of such behaviour and of many well-performed acts, they are enabled to live always in regions that are even above ours. I have thus explained to thee today, O thou of a hundred sacrifices, the reason, O Sakra of kine residing in a place that is high above that of the deities. Kine obtained many excellent forms, O Vasava, and are themselves givers of boons (to others). They are called Surabhis. Of sacred deeds and endued with many auspicious indications, they are highly sanctifying Listen to me also, O slayer of Vala, as I tell thee in detail the reason why kine,--the offspring of Surabhi,--have descended on the earth, O best of the deities. In day of yore, O son, when in the Devayuga the high soused Danavas became lords of the three world, Aditi underwent the severest austerities and got Vishnu within her womb (as the reward thereof). Verify, O chief of the celestials, she had stood upon one leg for many long years, desirous of having a son. Beholding the great goddess Aditi thus undergoing the severest austerities, the daughter of Daksha, viz., the illustrious Surabhi, herself devoted to righteousness, similarly underwent very severe austerities upon the breast of the delightful mountains of Kailasa that are resorted to by both the deities and the Gandharvas. Established on the highest Yoga she also stood upon one leg for eleven thousand years. The deities with the Rishis and the great Nagas all became scorched with the severity of her penances. Repairing thither with me, all of them began to adore that auspicious goddess. I then addressed that goddess endued with penances and said, 'O goddess, O thou of faultless conduct, for what purpose, dost thou undergo such severe austerities. O highly blessed one, I am gratified with thy penances, O beautiful one! Do thou, O goddess, solicit what boon thou desirest. I shall grant thee whatever thou mayst ask.' Even these were my words unto her, O Purandara. Thus addressed by me, Surabhi answered me, saying, 'I have no need, O Grandsire, of boons. Even this, O sinless one, is a great boon to me that thou hast been gratified with me.' Unto the illustrious Surabhi, O chief of the celestials who said so unto me, O lord of Sachi, I answered even in these words, O foremost of the deities, viz., 'O goddess, at this exhibition of thy freedom from cupidity and desire and at these penances of thine, O thou of beautiful face, I have been exceedingly gratified. I, therefore, grant thee the boon of immortality. Thou shalt dwell in a region that is higher than the three worlds, through my grace. That region shall be known to all by the name of Goloka. Thy offspring, ever engaged in doing good acts, will reside in the world of men. In fact, O highly blessed one, thy daughters will reside there. All kinds of enjoyment, celestial and human, that thou mayst think of, will immediately be thine. Whatever happiness exists in Heaven, will also be thine, O blessed one.' The regions, O thou of a hundred eyes, that are Surabhi's are endued with means for the gratification of every wish. Neither Death, nor Decrepitude, nor fire, can overcome its denizens. No ill luck, O Vasava, exists there. Many delightful woods, and delightful ornaments and objects of beauty may be seen there. There many beautiful cars, all excellently equipped, which move at the will of the rider, may be seen, O Vasava, O thou of eyes like lotus-petals, it is only by Brahmacharya, by penances, by Truth, by self-restraint, by gifts, by diverse kinds of righteous deeds, by sojourns to sacred waters, in fact, by severe austerities and righteous acts well-performed, that one can attain to Goloka. Thou hast asked me, O Sakra, and I have answered the in full, O slayer of Asuras, thou shouldst never disregard kine.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Having heard these words of the self-born Brahman, O Yudhishthira, Sakra of a thousand eyes began from that time to worship kine every day and to show them the greatest respect. I have thus told thee everything about the sanctifying character of kine, O thou of greet splendour. The sacred and high pre-eminence and glory of kine, that is capable of cleansing one from every sin, has, O chief of men, been thus explained to thee. That man who with senses withdrawn from every other object will recite this account unto Brahmanas, on occasions when Havya and Kavya are offered, or at sacrifices, or on occasions of adoring the Pitris, succeeds in conferring upon his ancestors an inexhaustible felicity fraught with the fruition of every wish. That man who is devoted to kine succeeds in obtaining the fruition of every wish of his. Indeed, even those women that are devoted to kine succeed in obtaining the accomplishment of every wish of theirs. He that desireth sons obtaineth them. He that desireth daughters obtaineth them. He that desireth

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wealth succeedeth in aquiring it and he that desireth religious merit succeedeth in winning it. He that desireth knowledge acquireth it and he that desireth felicity succeedeth in acquiring it. Indeed, O Bharata, there is nothing that is unattainable to one that is devoted to kine.'"

SECTION 84

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou hast, O grandsire, discoursed to me on the gift of kine that is fraught with great merit. In the case of kings observant of their duties, that gift is most meritorious. Sovereignty is always painful. It is incapable of being borne by persons of uncleansed souls. In the generality of cases, kings fail to attain to auspicious ends. By always making, however, gifts of earth, they succeed in cleansing themselves (of all their sins). Thou hast, O prince of Kuru's race, discoursed to me on many duties. Thou hast discoursed to me on the gifts of kine made by king Nriga in days of old. The Rishi Nachiketa, in ancient times, had discoursed on the merits of this act. The Vedas and the Upanishads also have laid down that in all sacrifices,--in fact, in all kinds of religious acts,--the Dakshina should be earth or kine or gold. The Srutis, however, declare that in all Dakshinas, gold is superior and is, indeed, the best. I desire, O grandsire, to hear thee discourse truly on this topic. What is gold? How did it spring up? When did it come into existence? What is its essence? Who is its presiding deity? What are its fruits? Why is it regarded as the foremost of all things? For what reason do men of wisdom applaud the gift of gold? For what reason is gold regarded as the best Dakshinas in all sacrifices? Why also is gold regarded as a cleanser superior to earth itself and kine? Why, indeed, is it regarded so superior as a Dakshina? Do thou, O grandsire, discourse to me on all this!'

"Bhishma said, Listen, O king, with concentrated attention to me as I recite to thee in detail the circumstances connected with the origin of gold as understood by me. When my father Santanu of great energy departed from this world, I proceeded to Gangadwara for performing his Sraddha. Arrived there, I commenced the Sraddha of my father. My mother Jahnavi, coming there, rendered me great help. Inviting many ascetics crowned with success and causing them to take their seats before me, I commenced the preliminary rites consisting of gifts of water and of other things. Having with a concentrated mind performed all preliminary rites as laid down in the scriptures, I set myself to duly offer the obsequial cake. I then saw, O king, that a handsome arm, adorned with Angadas and other ornaments, rose up, piercing the ground, through the blades of Kusa grass which I had spread. Beholding that arm rise from the ground, I became filled with wonder. Indeed, O chief of Bharata's race, I thought that my father had come himself for accepting the cake I was about to offer. Reflecting then, by the light of the scriptures, the conviction soon came upon me that the ordinance does occur in the Vedas that the cake should not be presented into the hand of him whose Sraddha is performed. Even this was the conviction that took possession of my mind, viz., that the obsequial cake should never be presented in this world by a man into the visible hand of the man whose obsequial rites are performed. The Pitris do not come in their visible forms for taking the cake. On the other hand, the ordinance provides that it should be presented on the blades of Kusa grass spread on the earth for the purpose. I then, disregarding that hand which constituted an indication of my father's presence, and recollecting the true ordinance depending upon the authority of the scriptures respecting the mode of presenting the cake, offered the entire cake, O chief of the Bharatas, upon those blades of Kusa grass that were spread before me. Know, O prince of men, that what I did was perfectly consistent with the scriptural ordinance. After this, the arm of my sire, O monarch, vanished in our very sight. On that night as I slept, the Pitris appeared to me in a dream. Gratified with me they said, O chief of Bharata's race, even these words, 'We have been pleased with thee, for the indication thou hast afforded today of thy adherence to the ordinance. It has pleased us to see that thou hast not swerved from the injunctions of the scriptures. The scriptural ordinance, having been followed by thee, has become more authoritative, O king. By such conduct thou hast honoured and maintained the authority of thyself, the scriptures, the auditions of the Vedas, the Pitris and the Rishis, the Grandsire Brahman himself, and those seniors, viz., the Prajapatis. Adherence to the scriptures has been maintained. Thou hast today, O chief of the Bharatas, acted very properly. Thou hast made gifts of earth and kine. Do thou make gifts of gold. The gifts of gold is very cleansing. O thou that art well-conversant with duties, know that by such acts of thine, both ourselves and our forefathers will all be cleansed of all our sins. Such gifts rescue both ancestors and descendants to the tenth degree of the person who makes them.' Even these were the words that my ancestors, appearing unto me in a dream, said unto me, I then awoke, O king, and became filled with wonder. Indeed, O chief of Bharata's race, I set my heart then upon making gifts of gold. Listen now, monarch, to this old history. It is highly praiseworthy and it extends the period of his life who listens to it. It was first recited to Rama, the son of Jamadagni In former days Jamadagni's son Rama, filled with great wrath, exterminated the Kshatriyas from off the face of the earth for thrice seven times. Having subjugated the entire earth the heroic Rama of eyes like lotus-petals began to make preparations for performing a Horse-sacrifice, O king, that is praised by all Brahmanas and Kshatriyas and that is capable of granting the fruition of every wish. That sacrifice cleanses all creatures and enhances the energy and splendour of those who succeed in performing it. Endued with great energy, Rama, by the performance of that sacrifice became purified. Having, however, performed that foremost of sacrifices, the high-souled Rama failed yet to attain to perfect lightness of heart. Repairing unto Rishis conversant with every branch of learning as also the deities, Rama of Bhrigu's race questioned them. Filled with repentance and compassion, he addressed them, saying, 'Ye highly blessed ones, do ye declare that which is more cleansing still for men engaged in fierce deeds.' Thus addressed by him, those great Rishis, fully acquainted with the Vedas and the scriptures, answered him, saying, 'O Rama, guided by the authority of the Vedas, do thou honour all learned Brahmanas. Following this conduct for some time do thou once more ask the regenerate Rishis as to what should be done by thee for cleansing thyself. Follow the advice which those persons of great wisdom give.' Repairing then to Vasishtha and Agastya and Kasyapa, that delighter of the Bhrigus, endued with great energy, asked them that question, 'Ye foremost of Brahmanas, even this is the wish that has arisen in my heart. How, indeed, may I succeed in cleansing myself? By what acts and rites may this be brought about? Or, if by gifts, what is that article by giving away which this wish of mine may be accomplished? Ye foremost or righteous persons, if your minds be inclined to do me a favour, then do tell me, ye that are endued with wealth of asceticism, what is that by which I may succeed in cleansing myself.'

"The Rishis said, 'O delighter of the Bhrigus, the mortal that has sinned becomes cleansed by making gifts of kine, of earth, and of wealth. Even this is what we have heard. There is another gift that is regarded as a great cleanser. Listen to us, O regenerate Rishi, as we discourse on it. That article is excellent and is endued with wonderful aspect and is, besides, the offspring of Fire. In days of yore, the god Agni burnt all the world. It has been heard by us that from his seed sprung gold of bright complexion. It came to be celebrated under the name of good complexioned. By making gifts of gold thou art sure to have thy wish crowned with fruition. Then the illustrious Vasishtha in especial, of rigid vows, addressing him, said, 'Hear, O Rama, how gold, which has the splendour of fire sprang into existence. That gold will confer merit on thee. In matters of gifts, gold is highly applauded. I shall also tell thee what is gold, whence it has come, and how it has come to be invested with superior attributes. Listen to me, O thou of mighty arms, as I discourse upon these topics. Know this as certain that gold is of the essence of Fire and Soma. The goat is Fire (for it given, it leads to the region of the deity of fire); the sheep is Varuna (for if leads to the region of Varuna the lord of waters); the horse is Surya (for if leads to the region of Surya); elephants are Nagas (for they lead to the world of Nagas); buffaloes are Asuras (for they lead to the region of Asuras); cocks and boars are Rakshasas (for they lead to the regions of the Rakshasas), O delighter of the Bhrigus; earth is sacrifice, kine, water, and Soma (for it leads to the merits of sacrifice, and to the region of kine, of the lord of waters and of Soma). Even these are the declarations of the Smritis. Churning the entire universe, a mass of energy was found. That energy is gold. Hence, O regenerate Rishi, compared to all these objects (which I have named above) gold is certainly superior. It is a precious thing, high and excellent.' It is for this reason that the deities and Gandharvas and Uragas and Rakshasas and human beings and Pisachas hold it with care. All these beings, O son of Bhrigu's race, shine in splendour, with the aid of gold, after converting it into crowns and armlets and diverse kinds of ornaments. It is also for this reason that gold is regarded as the most cleansing of all cleansing things such as earth and kine and all other kinds of wealth, O prince of men. The gift of gold, O puissant king, is the highest gift. It is distinguished above the gifts of earth, of kine, and of all other things, O thou that art endued with the effulgence of an immortal, gold is an eternal cleanser. Do thou make gifts of it unto the foremost of Brahmanas as it is the foremost of cleansing things. Of all kinds of Dakshina, gold is the best. They who make gifts of gold are said to be givers of all things. Indeed, they who make gifts of gold come to be regarded as givers of deities. Agni is all the deities in one, and gold has Agni for its essence. Hence it is that the person who makes gifts of gold gives away all the deities. Hence, O chief of men, there is no gift higher than the gift of gold.'

"Vasishtha continued, 'Hear once more, O regenerate Rishi, as I discourse upon it, the pre-eminence of gold, O foremost of all wielders of weapons. I heard this formerly in the Purana, O son of Bhrigu's race. I represent the speech of Prajapati himself. After the wedding was over of the illustrious and high-souled Rudra armed with the trident, O son of Bhrigu's race, with the goddess who became his spouse, on the breast of that foremost of mountains, viz., Himavat, the illustrious and high-souled deity wished to unite himself with the goddess. Thereupon all the deities, penetrated with anxiety, approached Rudra. Bending their heads with reverence and gratifying Mahadeva and his boon giving spouse Uma, both of whom were seated together, they addressed Rudra, O perpetuator of Bhrigu's race, saying, 'This union, O illustrious and sinless one, of thine with the goddess, is a union of one endued with penances with another of penances as severe! Verily, it is the union, O lord, of one possessed of very great energy with another whose energy is scarcely less! Thou, O illustrious one, art of energy that is irresistible. The goddess Uma, also is possessed of energy that is equally irresistible. The offspring that will result from a union like this, will, without doubt, O illustrious deity, be endued with very great might. Verily, O puissant lord, that offspring will consume all things in the three worlds without leaving a remnant. Do thou then, O lord of all the universe, O thou of large eyes, grant unto these deities prostrated before thee, a boon from desire of benefiting the three worlds! Do thou, O puissant one, restrain this high energy of thine which may become the seed of offspring. Verily, that energy is the essence of all forces in the three worlds. Ye two, by an act of congress, are sure to scorch the universe! The offspring that will be born of you two will certainly be able to afflict the deities! Neither the goddess Earth, nor the Firmament, nor Heaven, O puissant one, nor all of them together, will be able to bear thy energy, we firmly believe. The entire universe is certain to be burnt through the force of thy energy. It behoveth thee, O puissant one, to show us favour, O illustrious deity. That favour consists in thy not begetting a son, O foremost of the deities, upon the goddess Uma. Do thou, with patience, restrain thy fiery and puissant energy!' Unto the deities that said so the holy Mahadeva having the bull for his sign, O regenerate Rishi, answered, saying, 'So be it!' Having said so, the deity that has the bull for his vehicle, drew up his vital seed. From that time he came to be called by the name, of Urdhvaretas (one that has drawn up the vital seed). The spouse of Rudra, however, at this endeavour of the deities to stop procreation, became highly incensed. In consequence of her being of the opposite sex (and, therefore, endued with little control upon her temper) she used harsh words, thus, 'Since ye have opposed my lord in the matter of procreating a child when he was desirous of procreating one upon me, as the consequence of this act, ye deities, ye all shall become sonless. Verily, since ye have opposed the birth of issue from me, therefore, ye shall have no offspring of your own.' At the time this curse was denounced, O perpetuator of Bhrigu's race, the deity of fire was not there. It is in consequence of this curse of the goddess that the deities have become childless. Rudra, solicited by them, held in himself his energy of incomparable puissance. A small quantity, however, that came out of his body fell down on the earth. That seed, falling on the earth, leaped into a blazing fire and there began to grow (in size and power) most wonderfully. The energy of Rudra, coming in contact with another energy of great puissance, became identified with it in respect of essence. Meanwhile, all the deities having Sakra at their head, were scorched a good deal by the Asura named Taraka. The Adityas, the Vasus, the Rudras, the Maruts, the Aswins, and the Sadhyas all became exceedingly afflicted in consequence of the prowess of that son of Diti. All the regions of the deities, their beautiful cars, and their palatial mansions, and the retreats of the Rishis, were snatched away by the Asuras. Then the deities and the Rishis, with cheerless hearts, sought the protection of the illustrious and puissant Brahman of unfading glory.'"

SECTION 85

'The Deities said, 'The Asura named Taraka who has received boons from thee, O puissant one, is afflicting the deities and the Rishis. Let his death be ordained by thee. O Grandsire, great has been our fear from him. O illustrious one, do thou rescue us. We have no other refuge than thee.'

"Brahman said, 'I am equal in my behaviour towards all creatures. I cannot, however, approve of unrighteousness. Let Taraka, that opponent of the deities and Rishis, be quickly destroyed. The Vedas and the eternal duties shall not be exterminated, ye foremost of celestials! I have ordained what is proper in this matter. Let the fever of your hearts be dispelled.'

"The Deities said, 'In consequence of thy having granted him boons, that son of Diti has been proud of his might. He is incapable of being slain, by the deities. How then will his death be brought about? The boon which, O Grandsire, he has obtained from thee is that he should not be slayable by deities or Asuras or Rakshasas. The deities have also been cursed by the spouse of Rudra in consequence of their endeavour in former days to stop propagation. The curse denounced by her has been, O lord of the universe, even this, viz., that they are not to have any offspring.'

"Brahman said, 'Ye foremost of deities, Agni was not there at the time the curse was denounced by the goddess. Even he will beget a son for the destruction of the enemies of the gods. Transcending all the deities and Danavas and Rakshasas and human beings and Gandharvas and Nagas and feathery

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creatures, the offspring of Agni with his dart, which in his hands will be a weapon incapable of being baffled if once hurled at the foe, will destroy Taraka from whom your fear hath arisen. Verily, all other enemies of yours will also be slain by him. Will is eternal. That Will is known by the name of Kama and is identical with Rudra's seed a portion of which fell into the blazing form of Agni. That energy, which is a mighty substance, and which resembles a second Agni, will be cast by Agni into Ganga for producing a child upon her in order to effect the destruction of the enemies of the gods. Agni did not come within the range of Uma's curse. The eater of sacrificial libations was not present there when the curse was denounced. Let the deity of fire, therefore, be searched out. Let him now be set to this task. Ye sinless ones, I have told you what the means are for the destruction of Taraka. The curses of those that are endued with energy fail to produce any effect upon those that are endued with energy. Forces, when they come into contact with something that is endued with stronger force, become weakened. They that are endued with penances are competent to destroy even the boon-giving deities who are indestructible. Will, or Like, or Desire (which is identifiable with Agni) sprang in former times and is the most eternal of all creatures. Agni is the Lord of the universe. He is incapable of being apprehended or described. Capable of going everywhere and existing in all things, he is the Creator of all beings. He lives in the hearts of all creatures. Endued with great puissance, He is older than Rudra himself. Let that eater of sacrificial libations, who is a mass of energy, be searched out. That illustrious deity will accomplish this desire of your hearts.' Hearing these words of the Grandsire, the high-souled gods then proceeded to search out the god of fire with hearts cheerful in consequence of their purpose having been achieved. The gods and the Rishis then searched every part of the three worlds, their hearts filled with the thought of Agni and eagerly desiring to obtain a sight of him. Endued with penances, possessed of prosperity, celebrated over all the worlds, those high-souled ones, all crowned with ascetic success, sojourned over every part of the universe, O foremost one of Bhrigu's race. They failed, however, to find out the eater of sacrificial libations who had concealed himself by merging his self into self. About this time, a frog, living in water, appeared on the surface thereof from the nethermost regions, with cheerless heart in consequence of having been scorched by the energy of Agni. The little creature addressed the deities who had become penetrated with fear and who were all very eager to obtain a sight of the deity of fire, saying, 'Ye gods, Agni is now residing in the nethermost regions. Scorched by the energy of that deity, and unable to bear it longer, I have come hither. The illustrious bearer of sacrificial libations, ye gods, is now under the waters. He has created a mass of waters within which he is staying. All of us have been scorched by his energy. If, ye gods, ye desire to obtain a sight of him,--verily, if ye have any business with him,--do ye go to him thither. Do, indeed, repair thither. As regards ourselves, we shall fly from this place, ye deities, from fear of Agni.' Having said this much, the frog dived into the water'. The eater of sacrificial libations learnt of the treachery of the frog. Coming to that animal, he cursed the whole batrachian race, saying, 'Ye shall henceforth be deprived of the organ of taste. Having denounced this curse on the frog, he left the spot speedily for taking up his abode elsewhere. Verily, the puissant deity did not show himself. Seeing the plight to which the frogs were reduced for having done them a service, the deities, O best of the Bhrigus, showed favour unto those creatures. I shall tell thee everything regarding it. Do thou listen to me, O mighty-armed hero.'

"The Deities said, 'Though deprived of tongues through the curse of Agni and, therefore, reft of the sensation of taste, ye shall yet be able to utter diverse kinds of speech. Living within holes, deprived of food, reft of consciousness, wasted and dried up, and more dead than alive, all of you will be held by the Earth nevertheless. Ye shall also be able to wander about at night-time when everything is enveloped in thick darkness.' Having said this unto the frogs, the deities once more went over every part of the earth for finding out the deity of blazing flames. In spite of all their efforts, however, they failed to get at him. Then, O perpetuator of Bhrigu's race, an elephant, as large and mighty as the elephant of Sakra, addressed the gods, saying, 'Agni is now residing within this Aswattha tree!' Incensed with wrath, Agni cursed all the elephants, O descendant of Bhrigu saying, 'Your tongues will be bent back.' Having been pointed out by the elephants, the deity of fire cursed all elephants even thus and then went away and entered the heart of the Sami tree from the desire of residing within it for some time. Listen now, O puissant hero, what favour was shown unto the elephants, O foremost one of Bhrigu's race, by the deities of unbaffled prowess who were all gratified with the service a representative of their had done them.'

"The Deities said, 'With the aid of even your tongues bent inwards ye shall be able to eat all things, and with even those tongues ye shall be able to utter cries that will only be indistinct. Having blessed the elephants in this way, the denizens of Heaven once more resumed their search after Agni. Indeed, having issued out of the Aswattha tree, the deity of fire had entered the heart of Sami. This new abode of Agni was divulged by a parrot. The gods thereupon proceeded to the spot. Enraged with the conduct of the parrot, the deity of blazing flames cursed the whole parrot race, saying, 'Ye shall from this day be deprived of the power of speech.' Indeed, the eater of sacrificial libations turned up the tongues of all the parrots. Beholding Agni at the place pointed out by the parrot, and witnessing the curse denounced upon him, the gods, feeling a compassion for the poor creature, blessed him, saying, 'In consequence of thy being a parrot, thou shalt not be wholly deprived of the power of speech. Though thy tongue has been turned backwards, yet speech thou shalt have, confined to the letter K. Like that of a child or an old man, thy speech shall be sweet and indistinct and wonderful.' Having said these words unto the parrot, and beholding the deity of fire within the heart of the Sami, the gods made Sami wood a sacred fuel fit for producing fire in all religious rites. It was from that time that fire is seen to reside in the heart of the Sami. Men came to regard the Sami as proper means for producing fire (in sacrifice). The waters that occur in the nethermost regions had come into contact with the deity of blazing flames. Those heated waters, O thou of Bhrigu's race, are vomited forth by the mountain springs. In consequence, indeed, of Agni having resided in them for some time, they became hot through his energy. Meanwhile, Agni, beholding the gods, became grieved. Addressing the deities, he asked them, 'What is the reason of your presence here?' Unto him the deities and the great Rishi said, 'We wish to set thee to a particular task. It behoveth thee to accomplish it. When accomplished, it will redound greatly to thy credit.'

"Agni said, 'Tell me what your business is. I shall, ye gods, accomplish it. I am always willing to be set by you to any task you wish. Do not scruple, therefore, to command me.'"

"The Deities said, 'There is an Asura of the name of Taraka who has been filled with pride in consequence of the boon he has obtained from Brahman. Through his energy he is able to oppose and discomfit us. Do thou ordain his destruction. O sire, do thou rescue these deities, these Prajapatis, and these Rishis, O highly blessed Pavaka! O puissant one, do thou beget a heroic son possessed of thy energy, who will dispel, O bearer of sacrificial libations, our fears from that Asura. We have been cursed by the great goddess Uma. There is nothing else then thy energy which can be our refuge now. Do thou, therefore, O puissant deity, rescue us all.' Thus addressed, the illustrious and irresistible bearer of sacrificial libations answered, saying, 'Be it so', and he than proceeded towards Ganga otherwise called Bhagirathi. He united himself in (spiritual) congress with her and caused her to conceive. Verily, in the womb of Ganga the seed of Agni began to grow even as Agni himself grows (when supplied with fuel and aided by the wind). With the energy of that god, Ganga became exceedingly agitated at heart. Indeed, she suffered great distress and became unable to bear it. When the deity of blazing flames cast his seed endued with great energy into the womb of Ganga, a certain Asura (bent on purposes of his own) uttered a frightful roar. In consequence of that frightful roar uttered by the Asura for purposes of his own (and not for terrifying her), Ganga became very much terrified and her eyes rolled in fear and betrayed her agitation. Deprived of consciousness, she became unable to bear her body and the seed within her womb. The daughter of Jahnu, inseminated with the energy of the illustrious deity, began to tremble. Overwhelmed with the energy of the seed she held in her womb, O learned Brahmana, she then addressed the deity of blazing fire, saying, 'I am no longer capable, O illustrious one, of bearing thy seed in my womb. Verily, I am overcome with weakness by this seed of thine. The health I had in days before is no longer mine. I have been exceedingly agitated, O illustrious one, and my heart is dead within me, O sinless one. O foremost of all persons endued with penances, I am in capable of bearing thy seed any longer. I shall cast it off, compelled by the distress that has overtaken me, and not by caprice. There has been no actual contact of my person with thy seed, O illustrious deity of blazing flames! Our union, having for its cause the distress that has overtaken the deities, has been suitable and not of the flesh, O thou of great splendour. Whatever merit or otherwise there may be in this act (intended to be done by me), O eater of sacrificial libations, must belong to thee. Verily, I think, the righteousness or unrighteousness of this deed must be thine.' Unto her the deity of fire said, 'Do thou bear the seed. Do, indeed, bear the foetus endued with my energy. It will lead to great results. Thou art, verily, capable of bearing the entire earth. Thou wilt gain nothing by not holding this energy.' That foremost of streams, though thus passed by the deity of fire as also by all the other deities, cast off the seed on the breast of Meru, that foremost of all mountains. Capable (somehow) of bearing that seed, yet oppressed by the energy of Rudra (for Agni is identical with Rudra), she failed to hold that seed longer in consequence of its burning energy. After she had cast it off, through sheer distress, that blazing seed having the splendour of fire, O perpetuator of Bhrigu's race, Agni saw her, and asked that foremost of streams, 'Is it all right with the foetus thou hast cast off? Of what complexion has it been, O goddess? Of what form does it look? With what energy does it seem to be endued? Do thou tell me all about it.'

"Ganga said, 'The foetus is endued with the complexion of gold. In energy it is even like thee, O sinless one! Of an excellent complexion, perfectly stainless, and blazing with splendour, it has illuminated the entire mountain. O foremost of all persons endued with penances, the fragrance emitted by it resembles the cool perfume that its scattered by lakes adorned with lotuses and Nyphoea stellata, mixed with that of the Nauclea Cadamba. With the splendour of that foetus everything around it seemed to be transformed into gold even as all things on mountain and low land seem to be transformed into gold by the rays of the Sun. Indeed, the splendour of that foetus, spreading far, falls upon mountains and rivers and springs. Indeed, it seems that the three worlds, with all their mobile and immobile creatures, are being illuminated by it. Even of this kind is thy child, O illustrious bearer of sacrificial libations. Like unto Surya or thy blazing self, in beauty it is even like a second Soma.' Having said these words, the goddess disappeared there and then. Pavaka also, of great energy, having accomplished the business of the deities proceeded to the place he liked, O delighter of the Bhrigus. It was in consequence of the result of this act that the Rishis and the deities bestowed the name of Hiranyaretas upon the deity of fire. And because the Earth held that seed (after the goddess Ganga had cast it upon her), she also came to be called by the name of Vasumati. Meanwhile; that foetus, which had sprung from Pavaka and been held for a time by Ganga, having fallen on a forest of reeds, began to grow and at last assumed a wonderful form. The presiding goddess of the constellation Krittika beheld that form resembling the rising sun. She thenceforth began to rear that child as her son with the sustenance of her breast. For this reason, that child of pre-eminent splendour came to be called Kartikeya after her name. And because he grew from seed that fell out of Rudra's body, he came to be called Skanda. The incident also of his birth having taken place in the solitude of a forest of reeds, concealed from everybody's view, led to his being called by the name of Guha. It was in this way that gold came into existence as the offspring of the deity of blazing flames. Hence it is that gold came to be looked upon as the foremost of all things and the ornament of the very gods. It was from this circumstance that gold came to be called by the name of Jatarupam. It is the foremost of all costly things, and among ornaments also it is the foremost. The cleanser among all cleansing things, it is the most auspicious of all auspicious objects. Gold is truly the illustrious Agni. the Lord of all things, and the foremost of all Prajapatis. The most sacred of all sacred things is gold, O foremost of re-generate ones. Verily, gold is said to have for its essence Agni and Soma.'

"Vasishtha continued, 'This history also, O Rama, called Brahmadarsana, was heard by me in days of yore, respecting the achievement of the Grandsire Brahman who is identifiable with the Supreme Soul. To a sacrifice performed in days of yore by that foremost of gods, viz., Lord Rudra, O thou of great might, who on that occasion had assumed the form of Varuna, there came the Munis and all the deities with Agni at their head. To that sacrifice also came all the sacrificial limbs (in their embodied forms), and the Mantra called Vashat in his embodied form. All the Samans also and all the Yajushes, numbering by thousands and in their embodied forms, came there. The Rig-Veda also came there, adorned with the rules of orthoepy. The Lakshanas, the Suras, the Niruktas, the Notes arranged in rows, and the syllable Om, as also Nigraha and Pragraha, all came there and took their residence in the eye of Mahadeva. The Vedas with the Upanishads, Vidya and Savitri, as also, the Past, the Present, and the Future, all came there and were held by the illustrious Siva. The puissant Lord of all then poured libations himself into his own self. Indeed, the wielder of Pinaka caused that Sacrifice of multifarious form to look exceedingly beautiful. He is Heaven, Firmament, Earth, and the Welkin. He is called the Lord of the Earth. He is the Lord whose sway is owned by all obstacles. He is endued with Sri and He is identical with the deity of blazing flames. That illustrious deity is called by various names. Even He is Brahman and Siva and Rudra and Varuna and Agni and Prajapati. He is the auspicious Lord of all creatures. Sacrifice (in his embodied form), and Penance, and all the union rites, and the goddess Diksha blazing with rigid observances, the several points of the compass with the deities that respectively preside over them, the spouses of all the deities, their daughters, and the celestial mothers, all came together in a body to Pasupati, O perpetuator of Bhrigu's race. Verily, beholding that sacrifice of the high-souled Mahadeva who had assumed the form of Varuna, all of them became highly pleased. Seeing the celestial damsels of great beauty, the seed of Brahman came out and fell upon the earth. In consequence of the seed having fallen on the dust, Pushan (Surya) took up that dust mixed with the particles of seed from the earth with his hands and cast it into the sacrificial fire. Meanwhile, the sacrifice with the sacred fire of blazing flames was commenced and it went on. Brahman (as the Hotri) was pouring libations on the fire. While thus employed, the grandsire became

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excited with desire (and his seed came out). As soon as that seed came out, he took it up with the sacrificial ladle and poured it as a libation of ghee, O delighter of the Bhrigus, with the necessary Mantras, on the blazing fire. From that seed, Brahman of great energy caused the four orders of creatures to spring into existence. That seed of the Grandsire was endued with the three attributes of Sattwa, Rajas, and Tamas. From that element in it which represented the principle of Rajas, sprang all mobile creatures endued with the principle of Pravritti or action. From the element of Tamas in it, sprang all immobile creatures. The principle of Sattwa, however, which dwelt in that seed, entered both kinds of existences. That attribute of Sattwa is of the nature of Tejas or Light (being identical with Buddhi or the Understanding). It is eternal and of it is unending Space. In all creatures the attribute of Sattwa is present and is identical with that light which shows what is right and what is wrong. When the seed of Brahman was thus poured as a libation on that sacrificial fire, there sprang from it, O mighty one, three beings into existence. They were three male persons, endued with bodies that partook of the characters of the circumstances from which they respectively sprang. One arose first from the flames of the fire (called Bhrig) and hence he came to be called by the name of Bhrigu. A second came from the burning charcoals (called Angara) and hence he came to be called by the name of Angiras. The third sprang from a heap of extinguished charcoals and he came to be called by the name of Kavi. It has been already said that the first came out with flames emanating from his body and hence he was called Bhrigu. From the rays of the sacrificial fire sprang another called Marichi. From Marichi (afterwards) sprang Kasyapa. It has been already said that from the (burning) charcoals sprang Angiras. The (diminutive) Rishis called Valakhilyas sprang from the blades of Kusa grass spread out in that sacrifice. From the same blades of Kula grass, O thou of great puissance, sprang Atri. From the ashes of the fire sprang all those that are numbered among the regenerate Rishis, viz., the Vaikhanasas, endued with penances and devoted to Vedic lore and all excellent accomplishments. From the eyes of Agni sprang the twin Aswins endued with great beauty of person. At last, from his ears, sprang all the Prajapatis. The Rishis sprang from the pores of Agni's body. From his sweat sprang Chhandas, and from his strength sprang Mind. For this reason, Agni has been said to be all the deities in his individual self, by Rishis endued with Vedic lore, guided by the authority of the Vedas. The pieces of wood that keep alive the flames of Agni are regarded as the Months. The Juices that the fuel yields constitute the Fortnights. The liver of Agni is called the Day and Night, and his fierce light is called the Muhurtas. The blood of Agni is regarded as the source of the Rudras. From his blood sprang also the gold-complexioned deities called the Maitradevatas. From his smoke sprang the Vasus. From his flames sprang the Rudras as also the (twelve) Adityas of great effulgence. The Planets and Constellations and other stars that have been set in their respective orbits in the firmament, are regarded as the (burning) charcoals of Agni. The first Creator of the universe declared Agni to be Supreme Brahma and Eternal, and the giver of all wishes. This is verily a mystery.

"After all these births had taken place, Mahadeva who had assumed the form of Varuna (for his sacrifice) and who had Pavana for his soul, said, 'This excellent Sacrifice is mine. I am the Grahapati in it. The there beings that first sprang from the sacrificial fire are mine. Without doubt, they should be regarded as my offspring. Know this, ye gods who range through the skies! They are the fruits of this Sacrifice.'"

"Agni said, 'These offspring have sprung from my limbs. They have all depended upon me as the cause of their starting into life. They should, therefore, be regarded, as my children. Mahadeva in the form of Varuna is in error in respect of this matter. After this, the master of all the worlds, the Grandsire of all creatures, viz., Brahman, then said, 'These children are mine. The seed was mine which I poured upon the sacrificial fire. I am the accomplisher of this Sacrifice. It was I who poured on the sacrificial fire the seed that came out of myself. The fruit is always his who has planted the seed. The principal cause of these births is the seed owned by me.' The deities then repaired to the presence of the Grandsire and having bowed their heads unto him joined their hands in reverence and they said unto him, "All of us, O illustrious one, and the entire universe of mobile and immobile creatures, are thy offspring. O sire, let Agni of blazing flames, and the illustrious and puissant Mahadeva who has, for this sacrifice, assumed the form of Varuna, have their wish (in the matter of the offspring).' At these words, although born of Brahman, the puissant Mahadeva in the form of Varuna, the ruler of all aquatic creatures received the firstborn one, viz., Bhrigu endued with the effulgence of the sun as his own child. The Grandsire then intended that Angiras should become the son of Agni. Conversant with the truth in respect of everything, the Grandsire then took Kavi as his own son. Engaged in procreating creatures for peopling the earth, Bhrigu who is regarded as a Prajapati thence came to be called as Varuna's offspring. Endued with every prosperity, Angiras came to be called the offspring of Agni, and the celebrated Kavi came to be known as the child of Brahman himself. Bhrigu and Angiras who had sprung from the flame and the charcoals of Agni respectively, became the procreators of extensive races and tribes in the world. Verily, these three, viz., Bhrigu and Angiras and Kavi, regarded as Prajapati, are the progenitors of many races and tribes. All are the children of these three. Know this, O puissant hero. Bhrigu begot seven sorts all of whom became equal to him in merits and accomplishments. Their names are Chyavana, Vajrasirsha, Suchi, Urva, Sukra, that giver of boons, Vibhu, and Savana. These are the seven. They are children of Bhrigu and are hence Bhargavas. They are also called Varunas in consequence of their ancestor Bhrigu having been adopted by Mahadeva in the form of Varuna. Thou belongest to the race of Bhrigu. Angiras begot eight sons. They also are known as Varunas. Their names are Vrihaspati, Utathya, Payasya, Santi, Dhira, Virupa, Samvarta, and Sudhan was the eighth. These eight are regarded also as the offspring of Agni. Freed from every evil, they are devoted to knowledge only. The sons of Kavi who was appropriated by Brahman himself are also known as Varunas. Numbering eight, all of them became progenitors of races and tribes. Auspicious by nature, they are all conversant with Brahma. The names of the eight sons of Kavi are Kavi, Kavya, Dhrishnu, Usanas endued with great intelligence, Bhrigu, Viraja, Kasi, and Ugra conversant with every duty. These are the eight sons of Kavi. By them the whole world has been peopled. They are all Prajapatis, and by them have been procreated many offspring. Thus, O chief of Bhrigu's race, hath the whole world been peopled with the progeny of Angiras, and Kavi and Bhrigu. The puissant and supreme Lord Mahadeva in the form of Varuna which he had assumed for his sacrifice had first, O learned Brahmana, adopted both Kavi and Angiras. Hence, these two are regarded as of Varuna. After that the eater of sacrificial libations, viz., the deity of blazing flames, adopted Angiras. Hence, all the progeny of Angiras are known as belonging to the race of Agni. The Grandsire Brahman was, in olden days, gratified by all the deities who said unto him, 'Let these lords of the universe (referring to Bhrigu and Angiras and Kavi and their descendants) rescue us all. Let all of them become progenitors of offspring (for peopling the earth). Let all of them become endued with penances. Through thy grace, let all these rescue the world (from becoming an uninhabited wilderness). Let them become procreators and extenders of races and tribes and let them increase thy energy. Let all of them become thorough masters of the Vedas and let them be achievers of great deeds. Let all of them be friends to the cause of the deities. Indeed, let all of them become endued with auspiciousness. Let them become founders of extensive races and tribes and let them be great Rishis. Let all of them be endued with high penances and let all of them be devoted to high Brahmacharya, All of us, as also all these are thy progeny, O thou of great puissance. Thou, O Grandsire, art the Creator of both, deities and the Brahmanas. Marichi is thy first son. All these also that are called Bhargavas are thy progeny. (Ourselves also are so). Looking at this fact, O Grandsire, we shall all aid and support one another. All these shall, in this way, multiply their progeny and establish thyself at the commencement of each creation after the universal destruction.' Thus addressed by them, Brahman, the Grandsire of all the worlds, said unto them, 'So be it! I am gratified with you all! Having said so unto the deities he proceeded to the place he had come from. Even this is what happened in days of old in that sacrifice of the high-souled Mahadeva, that foremost one of all the deities, in the beginning of creation, when he for the purposes of his sacrifice had assumed the form of Varuna. Agni is Brahman. He is Pasupati. He is Sarva. He is Rudra. He is Prajapati. [These are different names of Brahman and Mahadeva.] It is well-known that gold is the offspring of Agni. When fire is not obtainable (for the purposes of a sacrifice), gold is used as substitute. Guided by the indications afforded by the auditions of the Veda, one that is conversant with authorities and that knows the identity of gold with fire, acts in this way. Placing a piece of gold on some blades of Kusa grass spread out on the ground, the sacrificer pours libations upon it. Upon also the pores of an ant-hill, upon the right ear of a goat, upon a piece of level earth, upon the waters of a Tirtha, or on the hand of a Brahmana, if libations are poured, the illustrious deity of fire becomes gratified and regards It as a source of his own aggrandisement as also that of the deities through his. Hence, it is that we have heard that all the deities regard Agni as their refuse and are devoted to him. Agni sprang from Brahman, and from Agni sprang gold. Hence, it has been heard by us, that those persons observant of righteousness that make gifts of gold are regarded as giving away all the deities. The man who makes gifts of gold attains to a very high end. Regions of blazing effulgence are his. Verily, O Bhargava, he becomes installed as the king of kings in heaven. That person who, at sunrise, makes a gift of gold according to the ordinance and with proper Mantras, succeeds in warding off the evil consequences foreshadowed by ominous dreams. The man who, as soon as the sun has risen, makes a gift of gold becomes cleansed of all his sins. He who makes a gift of gold at midday destroys all his future sins. He who with restrained soul, makes a gift of gold at the second twilight succeeds in attaining to a residence with Brahman and the deity of wind and Agni and Soma in their respective regions. Such a man attains to auspicious fame in regions of great felicity that belong to Indra himself. Attaining to great fame in this world also, and cleansed of all his sins, he sports in joy and happiness. Verily, such a man attains to many other regions of happiness and becomes unequalled for glory and fame. His course perfectly unobstructed, he succeeds in going everywhere at will. He has never to fall down from the regions to which he attains and the glory he acquires becomes great. Indeed, by making gifts of gold one attains to innumerable regions of felicity all of which he enjoys for eternity. That man who, having ignited a fire at sunrise, makes gifts of gold in view of the observance of a particular vow, succeeds in attaining to the fruition of all his wishes. It has been said that gold is identical with Agni. The gift of gold, therefore, is productive of great felicity. The gift of gold leads to the possession of those merits and accomplishments that are desired, and cleanses the heart. I have thus told thee, O sinless one, the origin of gold. O thou of puissance, hear how Kartikeya grew up, O delighter of Bhrigu's race. After a long time Kartikeya grew up. He was then, O perpetuator of Bhrigu's race, chosen by all the deities with Indra at their head, as the generalissimo of the celestial forces. He slew the Daitya Taraka as also many other Asuras, at the command of the chief of the celestials, O Brahmana, and actuated also by the desire of benefiting all the worlds. I have also, O thou of great might, discoursed to thee on the merits of making gifts of gold. Do thou, therefore, O foremost of all speakers make gifts of gold.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed by Vasishtha, Jamadagni's son of great prowess then made gifts of gold unto the Brahmanas and became cleansed of his sins. I have thus told thee, O king, everything about the merits of the gifts of gold and about its origin also, O Yudhishthira. Do thou also, therefore, make abundant gifts of gold unto the Brahmanas. Verily, O king, by making such gifts of gold, thou wilt surely be cleansed of all thy sins!'"

SECTION 86

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou hast, O grandsire, discoursed to me, in detail on the merits that attach to the gift of gold agreeably with the ordinances laid down in the scriptures as indicated in the auditions of the Veda. Thou hast also narrated what the origin is of gold. Do thou tell me now how Taraka met with destruction. Thou hast said, O king, that Asura had become unslayable by the gods. Do thou tell me in detail how his destruction was brought about. O perpetuator of Kuru's race, I desire to hear this from thee. I mean the details of Taraka's slaughter. Great is my curiosity to hear the narrative.'

"Bhishma said, 'The gods and the Rishis, O monarch, reduced to great distress (by Taraka's prowess and the conduct of Ganga in casting off Agni's seed), urged the six Krittikas to rear that child. Amongst the celestial ladies there were none, save these, that could, by their energy, bear the seed of Agni in their wombs. The god of fire became exceedingly gratified with those goddesses for their readiness to sustain the conception caused by the cast off seed of Agni which was endued with his own high energy. When the energy of Agni, O king, was divided into six portions and placed within the channels (leading to the womb), the six Krittikas began to nourish the portion that each held in her womb. As the high-souled Kumara, however, began to grow within their wombs, their bodies being afflicted by his energy, they failed to obtain peace anywhere (in heaven or on earth). Filled with energy as their bodies were, the time at last came for delivery. All of them, it so happened, O prince of men, delivered at the same time. Though held in six different wombs, yet all the portions, as they came out, united into one. The goddess Earth held the child, taking it up from a heap of gold. Verily, the child, endued with excellent form, blazed with splendour even like the god of Fire. Of beautiful features, he began to grow in a delightful forest of reeds. The six Krittikas beheld that child of theirs looking like the morning sun in splendour. Filled with affection for him,--indeed, loving him very much,--they began to rear him with the sustenance of their breasts. In consequence of his having been born of the Krittikas and reared by them, he came to be known throughout the three worlds as Kartikeya. Having sprung from the seed which had fallen off from Rudra he was named Skanda, and because of his birth in the solitude of a forest of reeds he came to be called by the name of Guha (the secret-born). The gods numbering three and thirty, the points of the compass (in their embodied forms) together with the deities presiding over them, and Rudra and Dhatri and Vishnu and Yama and Pushan and Aryaman and Bhaga, and Angas and Mitra and the Sadhyas and Vasava and the Vasus and the Aswins and the Waters and the Wind and the Firmament and Chandramas and all the Constellations and the Planets and Surya, and all the Ricks and Samans and

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Yajuses in their embodied forms, came there to behold that wonderful child who was the son of the deity of blazing flames. The Rishis uttered hymns of praise and the Gandharvas sang in honour of that child called Kumara of six heads, twice six eyes, and exceedingly devoted to the Brahmanas. His shoulders were broad, and he had a dozen arms, and the splendour of his person resembled that of fire and Aditya. As he lay stretched on a clump of heath, the gods with the Rishis, beholding him, became filled with great delight and regarded the great Asura as already slain. The deities then began to bring him diverse kinds of toys and articles that could amuse him. As he played like a child, diverse kinds of toys and birds were given unto him. Garuda of excellent feathers gave unto him a child of his, viz., a peacock endued with plumes of variegated hue. The Rakshasas gave unto him a boar and a buffalo. Aruna himself gave him a cock of fiery splendour. Chandramas gave him a sheep, and Aditya gave him some dazzling rays of his. The mother of all kine, viz., Surabhi, gave him kine by hundreds and thousands. Agni gave him a goat possessed of many good qualities. Ila gave him an abundant quantity of flowers and fruit. Sudhanwan gave him a riding chariot and a car of Kuvara. Varuna gave him many auspicious and excellent, products of the Ocean, with some elephants. The chief of the celestials gave him lions and tigers and pards and diverse kinds of feathery denizens of the air, and many terrible beasts of prey and many umbrellas also of diverse kinds. Rakshasas and Asuras, in large bands, began to walk in the train of that puissant child. Beholding the son of Agni grow up, Taraka sought, by various means, to effect his destruction, but he failed to do anything unto that puissant deity. The god in time invested Agni's son born in the solitude (of a forest of reeds) with the command of their forces. And they also informed him of the oppressions committed upon them by the Asura Taraka. The generalissimo of the celestial forces grew up and became possessed of great energy and puissance. In time Guha slew Taraka, with his irresistible dart. Verily, Kumara slew the Asura as easily as if in sport. Having accomplished the destruction of Taraka he re-established the chief of the deities in his sovereignty of the three worlds. Endued with mighty prowess, the celestial generalissimo blazed with beauty and splendour. The puissant Skanda became the protector of the deities and did what was agreeable to Sankara. The illustrious son of Pavaka was endued with a golden form. Verily, Kumara is always the leader of the celestial forces. Gold is the puissant energy of the god of fire and was born with Kartikeya (from the same seed). Hence is Gold highly auspicious and, as a valuable, is excellent and endued with inexhaustible merit. Even thus, O son of Kuru's race, did Vasishtha recite this discourse unto Rama of Bhrigu's race in days of old. Do thou, therefore, O king of men, try to make gifts of Gold. By making gifts of Gold, Rama became cleansed of all his sins, and finally attained to a high place in heaven that is unattainable by other men.'"

SECTION 87

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou hast discoursed to me, O thou of righteous soul, on the duties of the four orders. Do thou, after the same manner, Q king, discourse to me now on all the ordinances respecting the Sraddha (of deceased ancestors).'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed by Yudhishthira, the son of Santanu set himself to declare unto him the following ritual, consistent with the ordinance of the Sraddha.'

"Bhishma said, 'Listen, O king, with close attention, to me as I discourse to you on the ritual of the Sraddha. That ritual is auspicious, worthy of praise, productive of fame and progeny, and is regarded as a sacrifice, O scorcher of foes, in honour of the Pitris. Gods or Asuras or human beings, Gandharvas or Uragas or Rakshasas, Pisachas or Kinnaras,--every one should always worship the Pitris. It is seen that people worship the Pitris first, and gratify the deities next by offering them their adorations. Hence, one should always worship the Pitris with every care. It is said, O king, that the Sraddha performed in honour of the Pitris is performable afterwards. But this general rule is restrained by a special one (which directs that the Sraddha in honour of the Pitris should be performed on the afternoon of the day of the New moon). The (deceased) grandsires become gratified with the Sraddha that may be performed on any day. I shall, however, tell thee now what the merits and demerits are of the respective lunar days (in view of their adaptability to the performance of the Sraddha). I shall discourse to thee, O sinless one, what fruits are attained on what days by performing the Sraddha. Do thou listen to me with close attention. By adoring the Pitris on the first day of the lighted fortnight, one obtains in one's abode beautiful spouses capable of producing many children all possessed of desirable accomplishments. By performing the Sraddha on the second day of the lighted fortnight one gets many daughters. By performing it on the third day, one acquires many steeds. By performing it on the fourth day, one gets a large herd of smaller animals (such as goats and sheep) in one's house. They, O king, who perform the Sraddha on the fifth day, get many sons. Those men who perform the Sraddha on the sixth day acquire great splendour. By performing it on the seventh day, O monarch, one acquires great fame. By performing it on the eighth day one makes great profits in trade. By performing it on the ninth day one acquires many animals of uncloven hoofs. By performing it on the tenth day one acquires much wealth in kine. By performing it on the eleventh day one becomes the possessor of much wealth in clothes and utensils (of brass and other metals). Such a man also obtains many sons all of whom become endued with Brahma splendour. By performing the Sraddha on the twelfth day one always beholds, if one desires, diverse kinds of beautiful articles made of silver and gold. By performing the Sraddha on the thirteenth day one attains to eminence over one's kinsmen. Without doubt, all the young men in the family of him who performs the Sraddha on the fourteenth day meet with death. Such a man becomes entangled in war, By performing the Sraddha on the day of the new moon, one obtains the fruition of every wish. In the dark fortnight, all the days commencing with the tenth (and ending with that of the new moon), leaving only the fourteenth day out, are laudable days for the performance of the Sraddha. Other days of that fortnight are not so. Then, again, as the dark fortnight is better than the lighted one, so the afternoon of the day is better than the forenoon in the matter of the Sraddha.'"

SECTION 88

"Yudhishthira said, 'O thou of great puissance, tell me what that object is which, if dedicated to the Pitris, becomes inexhaustible! What Havi, again, (if offered) lasts for all time? What, indeed, is that which (if presented) becomes eternal?'"

"Bhishma said, 'Listen to me, O Yudhishthira, what those Havis are which persons conversant with the ritual of the Sraddha regard as suitable in view of the Sraddha and what the fruits are that attach to each. With sesame seeds and rice and barley and Masha and water and roots and fruits, if given at Sraddhas, the Pitris, O king, remain gratified for the period of a month. Manu has said that if a Sraddha is performed with a copious measure of sesame, such Sraddha becomes inexhaustible. Of all kinds of food, sesame seeds are regarded as the best. With fishes offered at Sraddhas, the Pitris remain gratified for a period of two months. With mutton they remain gratified for three months and with the flesh of the hare for four. With the flesh of the goat, O king, they remain gratified for five months, with bacon for six months, and with the flesh of birds for seven. With venison obtained from those deer that are called Prishata, they remain gratified for eight months, and with that obtained from the Ruru for nine months, and with the meat of the Gavaya for ten months. With the meat of the buffalo their gratification lasts for eleven months. With beef presented at the Sraddha, their gratification, it is said, lasts for a full year. Payasa mixed with ghee is as much acceptable to the Pitris as beef. With the meat of the Vadhrinasa the gratification of the Pitris lasts for twelve years. 1 The flesh of the rhinoceros, offered to the Pitris on the anniversaries of the lunar days on which they died, becomes inexhaustible. The potherb called Kalasaka, the petals of the Kanchana flower, and meat of the goat also, thus offered, prove inexhaustible. In this connection, O Yudhishthira, there are some verses, originally sung by the Pitris, that are sung (in the world). They were communicated to me in former days by Sanatkumara.--He that has taken birth in our race should give us Payasa mixed with ghee on the thirteenth day (of the dark fortnight), under the constellation Magha, during the Sun's southward course. One born in our race should, under the constellation Magha, as if in the observance of a vow, offer the meat of goat or the petals of the Kanchana flower. One should also offer us, with due rites, Payasa mixed with ghee, dedicating it on a spot covered by the shadow of an elephant.--Many sons should be coveted so that even one may go to Gaya (for performing the Sraddha of his ancestors), where stands the banian that is celebrated over all the worlds and that makes all offerings made under its branches inexhaustible. [To this day the sanctity of Gaya is universally recognised by all Hindus. Sraddhas are performed there under the banian called the Akshaya or inexhaustible banian. -- Gaya is a holy city in the Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist religions. Gaya is 116 km (72 mi) south of Patna, the capital city of Bihar. Gaya district is mentioned in the great epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. It is the place where Rama, with Sita and Lakshmana, came to offer pind-daan for their father, Dasharath, and continues to be a major Hindu pilgrimage site for the pind-daan ritual. Bodh Gaya, where Buddha is said to have attained enlightenment, and is one of the four holy sites of Buddhism. The Mahabodhi Temple complex at Bodh Gaya is a World Heritage site.] Even a little of water, roots, fruits, meat, and rice, mixed with honey, if offered on the anniversary of the day of death becomes inexhaustible.'"

SECTION 89

"Bhishma continued, 'Listen to me, O Yudhishthira, as I tell thee what those optional Sraddhas are that should be performed under the different constellations and that were first spoken of by Yama unto king Sasavindu. [All religious acts are either nitya or kamya. The former imply acts that are obligatory and by doing which no particular merit is acquired but by not doing which sin is incurred. The latter imply those optional acts which, if done, produce merit but which, if omitted, leads to no sin.] That man who always performs the Sraddha under the constellation Krittika is regarded as performing a sacrifice after establishing the sacred fire. Such a person, freed from fear, ascends to heaven with his children. He that is desirous of children should perform the Sraddha under the constellation Rohini, while he that is desirous of energy should do it under the constellation Mrigasiras. By performing the Sraddha under the constellation Ardra, a man becomes the doer of fierce deeds. A mortal, by performing the Sraddha under Punarvasu, makes such again by agriculture. The man that is desirous of growth and advancement should perform the Sraddha under Pushya. By doing it under the constellation Aslesha one begets heroic children. By doing it under the Maghas one attains to pre-eminence among kinsmen. By doing it under the prior Phalgunis, the doer of it becomes endued with good fortune. By doing the Sraddha under the later Phalgunis one attains to many children; while by performing it under Hasta, one attains to the fruition of one's wishes. By performing it under the constellation Chitra one obtains children endued with great beauty. By doing it under the constellation Swati, one makes much profit by trade. The man that desires children acquires the fruition of his wish by performing the Sraddha under the constellation Visakha. By doing it under Anuradha one becomes a king of kings [Literally, 'set in motion a body of kings,' i.e., become an Overlord."]. By making offerings in honour of the Pitris under the constellation Jyeshtha with devotion and humility, one attains to sovereignty, O foremost one of Kuru's race. By doing the Sraddha under Mula one attains to health, and by doing it under the prior Ashadha, one acquires excellent fame. By performing it under the later Ashadha one succeeds in roving over the whole world, freed from every sorrow. By doing it under the constellation Abhijit one attains to high knowledge. By doing it under Sravana one, departing from this world, attains to a very high end. The man that performs the Sraddha under the constellation Dhanishtha becomes the ruler of a kingdom. By doing it under the constellation presided over by Varuna (viz., Satabhisha), one attains to success as a physician. By performing the Sraddha under the constellation of the prior Bhadrapada one acquires large property in goats and sheep; while by doing it under the later Bhadrapada one acquires thousands of kine. By performing the Sraddha under the constellation Revati one acquires much wealth in utensils of white brass and copper. By doing it under Aswini one acquires many steeds, while under Bharani one attains to longevity. Listening to these ordinances about the Sraddha, king Sasavindu acted accordingly, and succeeded in easily subjugating and ruling the whole earth.'"

SECTION 90

"Yudhishthira said, 'It behoves thee, O foremost one of Kuru's race, to tell me unto what kind of Brahmanas, O grandsire, should the offers made at Sraddhas be given away.'

"Bhishma said, The Kshatriya who is conversant with the ordinances about gift should never examine Brahmanas (when making gifts unto them). In all acts, however, that relate to the worship of the deities and the Pitris, an examination has been said to be proper. The deities are worshipped on earth by men only when they are filled with devotion that comes from the deities themselves. Hence, one should, approaching them, make gifts unto all Brahmanas (without any examination of their merits), regarding such gifts as are made to the deities themselves. In Sraddhas, however, O monarch, the man of intelligence should examine the Brahmanas (to be employed for assisting the doers of the Sraddha in getting through the ritual and making gifts unto them of the offerings made to the Pitris). Such examination should concern itself with their birth and conduct and age and appearance and learning and nobility (or otherwise) of parentage. Amongst the Brahmanas there are some that pollute the line and some that sanctify it. Listen to me, O king, as I tell thee who those Brahmanas are that should be excluded from the line. He that is full of guile, or he that is guilty of foeticide, or he that is ill of consumption, or he that keeps animals, of is destitute of Vedic study, or is a common servant of a village, or lives upon the interest of loans, or he that is a singer, or he that sells all articles, or he that is guilty of arson, or he that is a poisoner or he that is a pimp by profession, or he that sells Soma, or he that is a professor of palmistry, or he that is in the employ of the king, or he that is seller of oil, or he that is a cheat and false swearer, or he that has a quarrel with his father, or he that tolerates a paramour of his wife in his house, or he that has been cursed, or he that is a thief, or he that lives by some mechanical art, or he that puts on disguises, or he that is deceitful in his behaviour, or he that is hostile to those he calls his friends, or he that is an adulterer, or he that is a preceptor of Sudras, or he that has betaken himself to the profession of arms, or he that wanders with dogs (for hunting), or he that has been bit by a dog, or he that has wedded before his elder brothers, or he that seems to have undergone circumcision, he

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that violates the bed of his preceptor, he that is an actor or mime, he that lives by setting up a deity and he that lives by calculating the conjunctions of stars and planets and asterisms, are regarded as fit to be excluded from the line. Persons conversant with the Vedas say that the offerings made at Sraddhas, if eaten by such Brahmanas, go to fill the stomachs of Rakshasas (instead of filling those of the Pitris), O, Yudhishthira. That person who having eaten at a Sraddha does not abstain that day from study of the Vedas or who has sexual congress that day with a Sudra woman, must know that his Pitris, in consequence of such acts of his, have to lie for a month on his dung. The offerings made at Sraddhas if presented to a Brahmana who sells Soma, become converted into human ordure; if presented to a Brahmana who is engaged in the practice of Medicine, they become converted into pus and blood; if presented to one who lives by setting up a deity, they fail to produce any fruit; if presented to one who lives upon the interest of loans they lead to infamy; if presented to one who is engaged in trade, they become productive of no fruits either here or hereafter. If presented to a Brahmana who is born of a widowed mother (by a second husband), they become as fruitless as libations poured on ashes. They who present the Havya and Kavya (offered at Sraddhas) unto such Brahmanas as are divested of the duties ordained for them and of those rules of good conduct that persons of their order should observe, find such presents productive of no merits hereafter. That man of little intelligence who makes gifts of such articles unto such men knowing their dispositions, obliges, by such conduct, his Pitris to eat human ordure in the next world. Thou shouldst know that these wretches among Brahmanas deserve to be excluded from the line. Those Brahmanas also of little energy who are engaged in instructing Sudras are of the same class. A Brahmana that is blind stains sixty individual of the line; one that is destitute of virile power a hundred; while one that is afflicted with white leprosy stains as many as he looks upon, O king. Whatever offerings made at Sraddhas are eaten by one with his head wrapped round with a cloth, whatever is eaten by one with face southwards, and whatever is eaten with shoes or sandals on all goes to gratify the Asuras. Whatever, again, is given with malice, and whatever is given without reverence, have been ordained by Brahmana himself as the portion of the prince of Asuras (viz., Vali). Dogs, and such Brahmanas as are polluters of lines, should not be allowed to cast their eyes upon the offerings made at Sraddhas. For this reason, Sraddhas should be performed in a spot that is properly hedged around or concealed from the view. That spot should also be strewn with sesame seeds. That Sraddha which is performed without sesame seeds, or that which is done by a person in anger, has its Havi robbed by Rakshasas and Pisachas. Commensurate with the number of Brahmanas seen by one that deserves to be excluded from the line, is the loss of merit he causes of the foolish performer of the Sraddha who invites him to the feast.

'I shall now, O chief of Bharata's race, tell thee who are sanctifiers of the line. Do thou find them out by examination. All those Brahmanas that are cleansed by knowledge, Vedic study, and vows and observances, and they that are of good and righteous behaviour, should be known as sanctifiers of everything. I shall now tell thee who deserve to sit in the line. Thou shouldst know them to be such whom I shall indicate presently. He that is conversant with the three Nachiketas, he that has set up the five sacrificial fires, he that knows the five Suparnas, he that is conversant with the six branches (called Angas) of the Veda, he that is a descendant of sires who were engaged in teaching the Vedas and is himself engaged in teaching, he that is well-conversant with the Chhandas, he that is acquainted with the Jeshtha Saman, he that is obedient to the sway of his parents, he that is conversant with the Vedas and whose ancestors have been so for ten generations, he that has congress with only his wedded wives and this at their seasons, and he who has been cleansed by knowledge, by the Veda, and by vows and observances,--even such a Brahmana,--sanctifies the line. He who reads the Atharva-siras, who is devoted to the observance of Brahmacharya practices, and who is steady in observance of righteous vows, who is truthful and of righteous conduct, and who is duly observant of the duties laid down for his order, they also that have undergone fatigue and labour for bathing in the waters of tirthas, that have undergone the final bath after performing sacrifices with proper Mantras that are freed from the sway of wrath, that are not restless, that are endued with forgiving dispositions, that are self-restrained masters of their senses, and they are devoted to the good of all creatures,--these should be invited to Sraddhas. Anything given to these becomes inexhaustible. These indeed, are sanctifiers of lines. There are others also, highly blessed, that should be regarded as sanctifiers of the line. They are Yatis and those that are conversant with the religion of Moksha, and they that are devoted to Yoga, and they that properly observe excellent vows and they that, with collected mind recite (sacred) histories unto foremost of Brahmanas. They that are conversant with Bhashyas, they also that are devoted to grammatical studies, they that study the Puranas and they that study the Dharmasastras and having studied them (i.e., the Puranas and Dharmasastras) act up to the standard laid down in them, he that has lived (for the stated period) in the abode of his preceptor, he that is truthful in speech, he that is a giver of thousands, they that are foremost in (their knowledge of) all the Vedas and the scriptural and philosophical aphorisms,--these sanctify the line as far they look at it. And because they sanctify all who sit in the line, therefore are they called sanctifiers of lines. Utterers of Brahma say that even a single person that happens to be the descendant of sires who were teachers of the Veda and that is himself a Vedic teacher, sanctifies full seven miles around him. If he that is not a Ritwik and that is not a Vedic teacher takes the foremost seat in a Sraddha, with even the permission of the other Ritwiks there present, he is said to take (by that act of his) the sins of all who may be sitting in the line. If, on the other hand, he happens to be conversant with the Vedas and freed from all those faults that are regarded as capable of polluting the line, he shall not, O king, be regarded as fallen (by taking the foremost seat in a Sraddha). Such a man would then be really a sanctifier of the line. For these reasons, O king, thou shouldst properly examine the Brahmanas before inviting them to Sraddhas. Thou shouldst invite only such among them as are devoted to the duties laid down for their order, and as are born in good families, and as are possessed of great learning. He who performs Sraddhas for feeding only his friends and whose Havi does not gratify the deities and the Pitris, fails to ascend to Heaven. He who collects his friends and relatives only on the occasion of the Sraddha he performs (without keeping an eye on properly honouring deserving persons by inviting and feeding them), fails to proceed (after death) by the path of the deities (which is a lighted one and free from all afflictions and impediments). The man who makes the Sraddha he performs an occasion for only gathering his friends, never succeeds in ascending to heaven. Verily, the man who converts the Sraddha into an occasion for treating his friends, becomes dissociated from heaven even like a bird dissociated from the perch when the chain tying it breaks. [The idea is that heaven is the result of one's deeds. It is attached to the fruits of one's acts. The man falling off from heaven is identical with heaven being dissociated from the fruits of his acts. Hence such a falling off at the man or the dissociation of heaven is likened to a bird's dissociation from its perch when the chain tying it to the perch is broken. The simile seems to be far-fetched.] Therefore, he that performs a Sraddha should not honour (on such occasions) his friends. He may make gifts of wealth unto them on other occasions by collecting them together. The Havi and the Kavi offered at Sraddhas should be served unto them that are neither friends nor foes but are only indifferent or neutral. As seed sown on a sterile soil does not sprout forth, or as one that has not sown does not get a share of the produce, even so that Sraddha the offerings in which are eaten by an unworthy person, yields no fruit either here or hereafter. That Brahmana who is destitute of Vedic study is like a fire made by burning grass or straw; and becomes soon extinguished even like such a fire. The offerings made at Sraddhas should not be given to him even as libations should not be poured on the ashes of the sacrificial fire. When the offerings made at Sraddhas are exchanged by the performers with one another (instead of being given away unto worthy persons), they come to be regarded as Pisacha presents. Such offerings gratify neither the gods nor the Pitris. Instead of reaching the other world, they wander about even here like a cow that has lost her calf wandering about within the fold. As those libations of ghee that are poured upon the extinguished ashes of a sacrificial fire never reach either the gods or the Pitris, after the same manner a gift that is made to a dancer or a singer or a Dakshina presented to a lying or deceitful person, produces no merit. The Dakshina that is presented to a lying or deceitful person destroys both the giver and the receiver without benefiting them in any respect. Such a Dakshina is destructive and highly censurable. The Pitris of the person making it have to fall down from the path of the deities. The gods know them to be Brahmanas who always tread, O Yudhishthira, within the bounds set up by the Rishis who are conversant with all duties, and who have a firm faith in their efficacy. Those Brahmanas that are devoted to Vedic study, to knowledge, to penances, and to acts, O Bharata, should be known as Rishis. The offerings made at Sraddhas should be given unto those that are devoted to knowledge. Verily, they are to be regarded as men who never speak ill of the Brahmanas. Those men should never be fed on occasions of Sraddhas who speak ill of Brahmanas in course of conversation in the midst of assemblies. If Brahmanas, O king, be calumniated, they would destroy three generations of the calumniator. [The sense is that the calumniator, his sire, and son meet with destruction in consequence of such an act.] This is the declaration, O king, of the Vaikhanasa Rishis. Brahmanas conversant with the Vedas should be examined from a distance. Whether one likes them or feels a dislike for them, one should give unto such Brahmanas the offerings made at Sraddhas. That man who feeds thousands upon thousands of false Brahmanas acquires merit that is attainable by feeding even one Brahmana if the latter happens to be possessed of a knowledge of the Vedas, O Bharata!"

SECTION 91

"Yudhishthira said, 'By whom was the Sraddha first conceived and at what time? What also is its essence? During the time when the world was peopled by only the descendants of Bhrigu and Angiras; who was the muni that established the Sraddha? What acts should not be done at Sraddha? What are those Sraddhas in which fruits and roots are to be offered? What species' also of paddy should be avoided in Sraddhas? Do thou tell me all this, O grandsire!'

"Bhishma said, 'Listen to me, O ruler of men, as I tell thee how the Sraddha was introduced, the time of such introduction, the essences of the rite, and the Muni who conceived it. From the Self-born Brahman sprang Atri, O thou of Kuru's race. In Atri's race was born a Muni of the name of Dattatreya. Dattatreya got a son of the name of Nimi possessed of wealth of asceticism. Nimi got a son named Srimat who was endued with great beauty of person. Upon the expiration of a full thousand years, Srimat, having undergone the severest austerities, succumbed to the influence of Time and departed from this world. His sire Nimi, having performed the Purificatory rites according to the ritual laid down in the ordinance, became filled with great grief, thinking continually of the loss of his son. [These purificatory rites, after the usual period of mourning, consists in shaving and bathing and wearing new clothes.] Thinking of that cause of sorrow the high-souled Nimi collected together various agreeable objects (of food and drink) on the fourteenth day of the moon. The next morning he rose from bed. Pained his heart was with grief, as he rose from sleep that day--he succeeded in withdrawing it from the one object upon which it had been working. His understanding succeeded in busying itself with other matters. With concentrated attention he then conceived the idea of a Sraddha. All those articles of his own food, consisting of fruits and roots, and all those kinds of staple grains that were agreeable to him, were carefully thought of by that sage possessed of wealth of penances. On the day of the New moon he invited a number of adorable Brahmanas (to his asylum). Possessed of great wisdom, Nimi caused them to be seated on seats (of Kusa grass) and honoured them by going around their persons. Approaching seven such Brahmanas whom he had brought to his abode together, the puissant Nimi gave unto them food consisting of Syamaka rice, unmixed with salt. Towards the feet of those Brahmanas engaged in eating the food that was served unto them a number of Kusa blades was spread out on the seats they occupied, with the top ends of the blades directed towards the south. With a pure body and mind and with concentrated attention, Nimi, having placed those blades of sacred grass in the way indicated, offered cakes of rice unto his dead son, uttering his name and family. Having done this, that foremost of Munis became filled with regret at the idea of having achieved an act that had not (to his knowledge) been laid down in any of the scriptures. Indeed, filled with regret he began to think of what he had done. 'Never done before by the Munis, alas, what have I done! How shall I (for having done an act that has not been ordained) avoid being cursed by the Brahmanas (as an introducer of strange rites)?' He then thought of the original progenitor of his race. As soon as he was thought of, Atri endued with wealth of penances came there. Beholding him exceedingly afflicted with grief on account of the death of his son, the immortal Atri comforted him with agreeable counsels. He said unto him, 'O Mini, this rite that thou hast conceived, is a sacrifice in honour of the Pitris. Let no fear be thine, O thou that art possessed of the wealth of asceticism! The Grandsire Brahman himself, in days of old, laid it down! This rite that thou hast conceived has been ordained by the Self-born himself. Who else than the Self-born could ordain this ritual in Sraddhas? I shall presently tell thee, O son, the excellent ordinance laid down in respect of Sraddhas. Ordained by the Self-born himself, O son, do thou follow it. Listen to me first! Having first performed the Karana on the sacred fire with the aid of Mantras, O thou that art possessed of wealth of penances, one should always pour libations next unto the deity of fire, and Soma, and Varuna. Unto the Viswedevas also, who are always the companions of the Pitris, the Self-born then ordained a portion of the offerings. The Earth also, as the goddess that sustains the offerings made at Sraddhas, should then be praised under the names of Vaishnavi, Kasyapi, and the inexhaustible. When water is being fetched for the Sraddha, the deity Varuna of great puissance should be praised. After this, both Agni and Soma should be invoked with reverence and gratified (with libations), O sinless one. Those deities that are called by the name of Pitris were created by the Self-born. Others also, highly blessed, viz., the Ushnapsa, were created by him. For all these shares have been ordained of the offerings made at Sraddhas. By adoring all these deities at Sraddhas, the ancestors of the persons performing them become freed from all sins. The Pitris referred to above as those created by the Self-born number seven. The Viswedevas having Agni for their mouth (for it is through Agni that they

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feed), have been mentioned before. I shall now mention the names of those high-souled deities who deserve shares of the offerings made at Sraddhas. Those names at Vala, Dhriti, Vipapa, Punyakrit, Pavana, Parshni, Kshemak, Divysanu, Vivaswat, Viryavat, Hrimat, Kirtimat, Krita, Jitatman, Munivirya, Diptaroman, Bhayankara, Anukarman, Pratia, Pradatri, Ansumat, Sailabha, Parama krodhi, Dhiroshni, Bhupati, Sraja, Vajrin, and Vari,--these are the eternal Viswedevas. There are others also whose names are Vidyutvarchas, Somavarchas, and Suryasri. Others also are numbered amongst them, viz., Somapa, Suryasavitra, Dattatman, Pundariyaka, Ushninabha, Nabhoda, Viswayu, Dipti, Chamuhara, Suresa, Vyomari, Sankara Bhava, Isa, Kartri, Kriti, Daksha, Bhuvana, Divya, Karmakrit, Ganita Panchavirya, Aditya, Rasmimat, Saptakrit, Somavachas, Viswakrit, Kavi, Anugoptri, Sugoptri, Naptri, and Iswara:--these highly blessed ones are numbered as the Viswedevas. They are eternal and conversant with all that occurs in Time. The species of paddy which should not be offered at Sraddhas are those called Kodrava, and Pulka. Assafoetida also, among articles used in cooking, should not be offered, as also onions and garlic, the produce of the Moringa pterygosperma, Bauhinia Variegata, the meat of animals slain with envenomed shafts all varieties of Sucuribita Pepo, Sucuribita lagenaria, and black salt. The other articles that should not be offered at Sraddhas are the flesh of the domesticated hog, the meat of all animals not slaughtered at sacrifices, Nigella sativa, salt of the variety called Vid, the potherb that is called Sitapaki, all sprouts (like those of the bamboo), and also the Trapa bispinosa. All kinds of salt should be excluded from the offerings made at Sraddhas, and also the fruits of the Eugenia Jamblana. All articles, again, upon which any one has spat or upon which tears have fallen should not be offered at Sraddhas. Among offerings made to the Pitris or with the Havya and Kavya offered to the deities, the potherb called Sudarsana (Menispermum tomentosum, Rox) should not be included. Havi mixed with this is not acceptable to Pitris. From the place where the Sraddha is being performed, the Chandala and the Swapacha should be excluded, as also all who wear clothes steeped in yellow, and persons affected with leprosy, or one who has been excasted (for transgressions), or one who is guilty of Brahmanicide, or a Brahmana of mixed descent or one who is the relative of an excasted man. These all should be excluded by persons possessed of wisdom from the place where a Sraddha is being performed,' Having said these words in days of old unto the Rishi Nimi of his own race, the illustrious Atri possessed of wealth of penances then went back to the Grandsire's assembly in Heaven.'"

SECTION 92

"Bhishma said, 'After Nimi had acted in the way described above, all the great Rishis began to perform the sacrifice in honour of the Pitris (called the Sraddha) according to rites laid down in the ordinance. Firmly devoted to the discharge of all duties, the Rishis, having performed Sraddhas, began to also offer oblations (unto the Pitris) of sacred waters, with attention. In consequence, however, of the offerings made by persons of all classes (unto the Pitris), the Pitris began to digest that food. Soon they, and the deities also with them, became afflicted with indigestion. Indeed, afflicted with the heaps of food that all persons began to give them, they repaired to the presence of Soma. Approaching Soma they said, 'Alas, great is our affliction in consequence of the food that is offered to us at Sraddhas. Do thou ordain what is necessary for our ease.' Unto them Soma answered, saying, 'If, ye gods, ye are desirous of obtaining ease, do ye repair then into the abode of the Self-born. Even he will do what is for your good.' At these words of Soma, the deities and the Pitris then proceeded, O Bharata, to the Grandsire where he was seated on the summit of the mountains of Meru.'

"The deities, 'O illustrious one, with the food that is offered us in sacrifices and Sraddhas, we are being exceedingly afflicted. O lord, show us grace and do what would be for our good.' Hearing these words of theirs, the Self-born said unto them in reply, 'Here, the god of fire is sitting beside me, Even he will do what is for your benefit.'

"Agni said, 'Ye sires, when a Sraddha comes, we shall together eat the offerings made to us. If ye eat those offerings with me, ye shall then, without doubt, succeed in digesting them easily.' Hearing these words of the deity of fire, the Pitris became easy of heart. It is for this reason also that in making offerings at Sraddhas a share is first offered to the deity of fire, O king. If a portion of the offerings be first made to the deity of fire at a Sraddha, O prince of men, Rakshasas of regenerate origin cannot then do any injury to such a Sraddha. [Ravana and other Rakshasas who spring from Pulastya's line are known as Brahma-Rakshasas or Rakshasas of regenerate origin.] Beholding the deity of fire at a Sraddha Rakshasas fly away from it. The ritual of the Sraddha is that the cake should first be offered to the (deceased) sire. Next, one should be offered to the grandsire. Next should one be offered to the great-grandsire. Even this is the ordinance in respect of the Sraddha. Over every cake that is offered, the offerer should, with concentrated attention, utter the Savitri Mantras. This other Mantra also should be uttered, viz., unto Soma who is fond of the Pitris. A woman that has become impure in consequence of the advent of her season, or one whose ears have been cut off, should not be allowed to remain where a Sraddha is being performed. Nor should a woman (for cooking the rice to be offered in the Sraddha) be brought from a Gotra other than that of the person who is performing the Sraddha. While crossing river, one should offer oblations of water unto one's Pitris, naming them all. Indeed, when one comes upon a river one should gratify one's Pitris with oblations of water. Having offered oblations of water first unto the ancestors of one's own race, one should next offer such oblations to one's (deceased) friends and relatives. When one crosses a stream on a car unto which is yoked a couple of oxen of variegated hue, or from them that cross a stream on boats, the Pitris expect oblations of water. Those that know this always offer oblations of water with concentrated attention unto the Pitris, Every fortnight on the day of the New moon, one should make offerings unto one's deceased ancestors. Growth, longevity, energy, and prosperity become all attainable through devotion to the Pitris. The Grandsire Brahman, Pulastya, Vasishtha, Pulaha, Angiras, Kratu and the great Rishi Kasyapa--these, O prince of Kuru's race, and regarded as great masters of Yoga. They are numbered among the Pitris. Even this is the high ritual in respect of the Sraddha, O monarch! Through Sraddhas performed on earth the deceased members of one race become freed from a position of misery. I have thus, O prince of Kuru's race, expounded to thee agreeably with the scriptures, the ordinances in respect of Sraddhas. I shall once more discourse to thee on gifts."

SECTION 93

"Yudhishthira said, 'If Brahmanas that are in the observance of a vow (viz., fast) eat, at the invitation of a Brahmana, the Havi (offered at a Sraddha), can they be charged with the transgression or a violation of their vow, or should they refuse the invitation of a Brahmana when such invitation is received by them? Tell me this, O grandsire!'

"Bhishma said, 'Let those Brahmanas eat, impelled by desire, who are observant of such vows as are not indicated in the Vedas. As regards those Brahmanas, however, that are observant of such vows are indicated in the Vedas, they are regarded as guilty of a breach of their vow, O Yudhishthira, by eating the Havi of a Sraddha at the request of him who performs the Sraddha.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Some people say that fast is a penance. Is penance really identifiable with fast or is it not so? Tell me this, O grandsire!'

"Bhishma said, 'People do regard a regular fast for a month or a half month as a penance. The truth, however, is that one who mortifies one's own body is not to be regarded either as an ascetic or as one conversant with duty. Renunciation, however, is regarded as the best of penances. A Brahmana should always be an abstainer from food, and observe the vow called Brahmacharya. A Brahmana should always practise self-denial restraining even speech, and recite the Vedas. The Brahmana should marry and surround himself with children and relatives, from desire of achieving righteousness. He should never sleep. He should abstain from meat. He should always read the Vedas and the scriptures. He should always speak the truth, and practise self-denial. He should eat Vighasa (viz., what remains after serving the deities and guests). Indeed, he should be hospitable towards all that come to his abode. He should always eat Amrita (viz., the food that remains in the house after all the family, including guests and servants have eaten) He should duly observe all rites and perform sacrifices.'"

"Yudhishthira said, "How may one come to be regarded as always observant of fasts? How may one become observant of vows? How, O king, may one come to be an eater of Vighasa? By doing what may one be said to be found of guest?'"

"Bhishma said, 'He who takes food only morning and evening at the prescribed hours and abstains from all food during the interval between, is said to be an abstainer from food. He who has congress with only his wedded wife and that only at her season, is said to be observant of the vow of Brahmacharya. By always making gifts, one comes to be regarded as truthful in speech. By abstaining from all meat obtained from animals slaughtered for nothing, one becomes an abstainer from meat. [Meat of animals slaughtered in sacrifices is allowable. By taking such meat, one does not become an eater of meat.] By making gifts one becomes cleansed of all sins, and by abstaining from sleep during daytime one comes to be regarded as always awake. He who always eats what remains after serving the needs of guests and servants is said to always eat Amrita. He who abstains from eating till Brahmanas have eaten (of that food), is regarded as conquering heaven by such abstention. He who eats what remains after serving the deities, the Pitris, and relatives and dependants, is said to eat Vighasa. Such men acquire many regions of felicity in the abode of Brahman himself. There, O king, they dwell in the company of Apsaras and Gandharvas. Indeed, they sport and enjoy all sports of delight in those regions, with the deities and guests and the Pitris in their company, and surrounded by their own children and grandchildren. Even such becomes their high end.'"

"Yudhishthira said, 'People are seen to make diverse kinds of gifts unto the Brahmanas. What, however, is the difference, O grandsire, between the giver and the receiver?'"

"Bhishma said, 'The Brahmana accepts gifts from him that is righteous, and from him that is unrighteous. If the giver happens to be righteous, the receiver incurs little fault. If on the other hand, the giver happens to be unrighteous the receiver sinks in hell. In this connection is cited an old history of the conversation between Vrishadarbhi and the seven Rishis, O Bharata. Kasyapa and Atri and Vasishtha and Bharadwaja and Gautama and Viswamitra and Jamadagni, and the chaste Arundhati (the wife of Vasishtha), all had a common maidservant whose name was Ganda. A Sudra of the name of Pasusakha married Ganda and became her husband. Kasyapa and others, in days of old, observed the austerest penances and roved over the world, desirous of attaining to the eternal region of Brahman by the aid of Yoga-meditation. About that time, O delighter of the Kurus, there occurred a severe drought. Afflicted by hunger, the whole world of living creatures became exceedingly weak. At a sacrifice which had been performed in former times by Sivi's son he had given away unto the Ritwiks a son of his as the sacrificial present. About this time, unendued with longevity as the prince was, he died of starvation. The Rishis named, afflicted with hunger, approached the dead prince and sat surrounding him. Indeed, those foremost of Rishis, beholding the son of him at whose sacrifice they had officiated, O Bharata, thus dead of starvation, began to cook the body in a vessel, impelled by the pangs of hunger. All food having disappeared from the world of men, those ascetics, desirous of saving their lives, had recourse, for purposes of sustenance, to such a miserable shift. While they were thus employed. Vrishadarbha's son, viz., king Saivya, in course of his roving, came upon those Rishis. Indeed, he met them on his way, engaged in cooking the dead body, impelled by the pangs of hunger.'"

"The son of Vrishadarbha said, 'The acceptance of a gift (from me) will immediately relieve you all. Do you, therefore, accept a gift for the support of your bodies! Ye ascetics endued with wealth of penances, listen to me as I declare what wealth I have! That Brahmana who solicits me (for gifts) is ever dear to me. Verily, I shall give unto you a thousand mules. Unto each of you I shall give a thousand kine of white hair, foremost in speed, each accompanied by a bull, and each having a well-born calf, and, therefore, yielding milk. I shall also give unto you a thousand bulls of white complexion and of the best breed and capable of bearing heavy burdens. I shall also give you a large number of kine, of good disposition, the foremost of their kind, all fat, and each of which, having brought forth her first calf, is quick with her second. [Prashthauhi means a cow pregnant with her second calf. Grishti means a cow that has brought forth only her first calf.] Tell me what else I shall give of foremost villages, of grain, of barley, and of even the rarer and costly jewels. Do not seek to eat this food that is inedible. Tell me what I should give unto you for the support of your bodies!'

"The Rishis said, 'O king, an acceptance of gifts from a monarch is very sweet at first but it is poison in the end. Knowing this well, why do you, O king, tempt us then with these offers? The body of the Brahmana is the field of the deities. By penance, it is purified. Then again, by gratifying the Brahmana, one gratifies the deities. If a Brahmana accepts the gifts made to him by the king, he loses, by such acceptance, the merit that he would otherwise acquire by his penances that day. Indeed, such acceptance consumes that merit even as a blazing conflagration consumes a forest. Let happiness be thine, O king, as the result of the gifts thou makest to those that solicit thee!' Saying these words unto them, they left the spot, proceeding by another way. The flesh those high-souled ones had intended to cook remained uncooked. Indeed, abandoning that flesh, they went away, and entered the woods in search of food. After this, the ministers of the king, urged by their master, entered those woods and plucking certain figs endeavoured to give them away unto those Rishis. The officers of the king filled some of those figs with gold and mixing them with others sought to induce those ascetics to accept them. Atri took up some of those figs, and finding them heavy refused to take them. He said, 'We are not destitute of knowledge. We are not fools! We know that there is gold within these figs. We have our senses about us. Indeed, we are awake instead of being asleep. If accepted in this world, those will produce bitter consequence hereafter. He who seeks happiness both here and hereafter should never accept these.'"

"Vasishtha said, 'If we accept even one gold coin, it will be counted as a hundred or even a thousand (in assigning the demerit that attaches to acceptance). If, therefore, we accept many coins, we shall surely attain to an unhappy end hereafter!'"

Kasyapa said, 'All the paddy and barley on earth, all the gold and animals and women that occur in the world, are incapable of gratifying the desire of a single person. Hence,

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one possessed of wisdom should dispelling cupidity, adopt tranquillity!'"

"Bharadwaja said, 'The horns of a Ruru, after their first appearance, begin to grow with the growth of the animal. The cupidity of man is even like this. It has no measure!'"

"Gautama said, 'All the objects that exist in the world are incapable of gratifying even a single person. Man is even like the ocean, for he can never be filled (even as the ocean can never be filled by all the waters that are discharged into it by the rivers).'"

"Viswamitra said, 'When one desire cherished by a person becomes gratified, there springs up immediately another whose gratification is sought and which pierces him like a shaft.'"

"Jamadagni said, 'Abstention from accepting guts supports penances as their foundation. Acceptance, however, destroys that wealth (viz., the merit of penances).'"

"Arundhati said, 'Some people are of opinion that things of the world may be stored with a view to spend them upon the acquisition of righteousness (by gifts and sacrifices). I think, however, that the acquisition of righteousness is better than that of worldly wealth.'"

"Ganda said, 'When these my lords, who are endued with great energy, are so very much afraid of this which seems to be a great terror a weak man as I am fear it the more.'"

"Pasusakha said, 'The wealth there is in righteousness is very superior. There is nothing superior to it. That wealth is known to the Brahmans. I wait upon them as their servant, only for learning to value that wealth.'"

"The Rishis (all together) said, 'Let happiness be his, as the result of the gifts he makes, who is the king of the people of this land. Let his gift be successful who has sent these fruits to us, enclosing gold within them.'"

"Bhishma continued, 'Having said these words, those Rishis of steadfast vows, abandoning the figs having gold within them, left that spot and proceeded to whatever destination they liked.'"

"The ministers said, 'O king, coming to know of the existence of gold within the figs, the Rishis have gone away! Let this be known to thee!'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed by his ministers, king Vrishadarbhi became filled with wrath against all those Rishis. Indeed, to take vengeance upon them, the monarch entered his own chamber. Observing the austerest of penances, he poured on his sacred fire libations of ghee, accompanying each with Mantras uttered by him. From that fire there then arose as the result of the incantation, a form capable of striking every one with fear. Vrishadarbhi named her as Yatudhani. That form which had been from the incantations of the king, looking as terrible as the Last Night, appeared with joined hands before the monarch. Addressing king Vrishadarbhi, she said, 'What shall I accomplish?'"

"Vrishadarbhi said, 'Go and follow the seven Rishis, as also Arundhati, and the husband of their maid-servant, and the maid-servant herself, and comprehend what the meanings are of their names. Having ascertained their names, do thou slay all of them. After slaying them thou mayst go whatever destination thou likest.'"

"Bhishma continued, 'Saying, 'So be it! the Rakshasi who had been named Yatudhani, in her proper form, proceeded to that forest in which the great Rishis wandered in search of food. Indeed, O king, those great Rishis, with Atri among them, roved within the forest, subsisting upon fruits and roots. In course of their wanderings they saw a mendicant of broad shoulders, and plump arms and legs and well-nourished face and abdomen. Of limbs that were all adipose, he was wandering with a dog in his company. Beholding that mendicant whose limbs were all well-developed and handsome, Arundhati exclaimed, addressing the Rishis, 'None of you will ever be able to show such well-developed features!'"

"Vasishtha said, 'The sacred fire of this person is not like ours for while he is able to pour libations on it, morning and evening, none of us are able to do the same. It is for this reason that we see both him and his dog so well-developed."

"Atri said, 'This man does not, like us, feel the pangs of hunger. His energy has not sustained, like ours, any diminution. Acquired with the greatest difficulty, his Vedas have not, like ours, disappeared. Hence, it is that we see both him and his dog so well-developed.'

"Viswamitra said, 'This man is not, like us, unable to observe the eternal duties inculcated in the scriptures. I have become idle. I feel the pangs of hunger. I have lost the knowledge I had acquired. This man is not like us in this respect. Hence I see both him and his dog so well-developed.'"

"Jamadagni said, 'This man has not to think of storing his annual grain and fuel as we are compelled to, do. Hence I see both him and his dog so well-developed!'

"Kasyapa said, 'This man has not, like us, four brothers of the whole blood who are begging from house to house, uttering the words, 'Give--Give!' Hence it is that I see him and his dog so well-developed.'

"Bharadwaja said, 'This man hath no regret like ours for having condemned and cursed his spouse. He hath not acted so wickedly and senselessly. Hence I see both him and his dog so well-developed!'

"Gautama said, 'This man bath not like us only three pieces of covering made of Kusa grass, and a single Ranku-skin, each of which again, is three years old. Hence it is that I see both him and his dog so well-developed!'

"Bhishma continued, 'The wandering mendicant, beholding those great Rishis, approach them, and accosted them all by touching their hand according to the custom. Conversing then with each other about the difficulty of obtaining sustenance in that forest and the consequent necessity of bearing the pangs of hunger, all of them left that spot. Indeed, they wandered through that wilderness, all bent upon a common purpose, viz., the plucking of fruits and the extraction of roots for sustenance. One day, as they were wandering they beheld a beautiful lake overgrown with lotuses. Its banks were covered with trees that stood thickly near one another. The waters of the lake were pure and transparent. Indeed, the lotuses that adorned the lake were all of the hue of the morning sun. The leaves that floated on the water were of the colour of lapis lazuli. Diverse kinds of aquatic fowls were sporting on its bosom. There was but one path leading to it. The banks were not miry and the access to the water was easy. Urged by Vrishadarbhi, the Rakshasi of frightful mien who had sprung from his incantations and who had been named Yatudhani, guarded the lake. Those foremost of Rishis, with Pasusakha in their company, proceeded towards the lake, which was thus guarded by Yatudhani for the object of gathering some lotus stalks. Beholding Yatudhani, of frightful aspect standing on the banks of the lake, those great Rishis addressed her, saying, 'Who art thou that thus standest alone in these solitary woods? For whom dost thou wait here? What, indeed, is thy purpose? What dost thou do here on the banks of this lake adorned with lotuses?'"

"Yatudhani said, 'It matters not who I am. I deserve not to be questioned (respecting my name and race and purposes). Ye that are possessed of ascetic wealth, know that I am the guard set to watch this lake.'"

'The Rishis said, 'All of us are hungry. We have nothing else to eat. With thy permission we would gather some lotus-stalks!'"

"Yatudhani said, 'Agreeably with a compact, do ye take the lotus-stalks as ye please. Ye must, one by one, give me your names. Ye may then, without delay, take the stalks!'"

"Bhishma continued, 'Ascertaining that her name was, Yatudhani and that she stood there for slaying them (after knowing, from the meanings their names, what the extent was of their power), Atri, who was famishing with hunger, addressed her, and said these words.'"

"Atri said, 'I am called Atri because I cleanse the world from sin. For, again, thrice studying the Vedas every day, I have made days of my nights. That, again, is no night in which I have not studied the Vedas. For these reasons also I am called Atri, O beautiful lady!'"

"Yatudhani said, 'O thou of great effulgence, the explanation thou hast given me of thy name is incapable of being comprehended by me. Do thou, therefore, go and plunge into this tank filled with lotuses!'"

"Vasishtha said, 'I am endued with the wealth (that consists of the Yoga attributes of puissance, etc.) I lead, again, a domestic mode of life, and am regarded as the foremost of all persons that lead such a mode of life. In consequence of being endued with (such) wealth, of my living as a householder, and of my being regarded as the foremost of all householders, I am called Vasishtha.'

"Yatudhani said, 'The etymological explanation of thy name is perfectly incomprehensible to me, in as much as the inflections which the original roots have undergone are unintelligible. Rio and plunge into this lake of lotuses!'"

"Kasyapa said, 'I always protect my body, and in consequence of my penances I have become endued with effulgence. For thus protecting the body and for this effulgence that is due to my penances, I have come to be called by the name of Kasyapa!'

"Yatudhani said, 'O thou of great effulgence, the etymological explanation thou hast given of thy name is incapable of being comprehended by me. Go and plunge into this lake filled with lotuses!'

"Bharadwaja said, 'I always support my sons, my disciples, the deities, the Brahmanas, and my wife. In consequence of thus supporting all with ease, I am called Bharadwaja!'

"Yatudhani said, 'The etymological explanation thou hast given me of thy name is perfectly incomprehensible to me, in consequence of the many inflections the root has undergone. Go and plunge into this lake filled with lotuses!'"

"Gotama said, 'I have conquered heaven and earth by the aid of self-restraint. In consequence of my looking upon all creatures and objects with an equal eye, I am like a smokeless fire. Hence I am incapable of being subjugated by thee. When, again, I was born, the effulgence of my body dispelled the surrounding darkness. For these reasons I am called Gotama!'

"Yatudhani said, 'The explanation thou hast given me of thy name, O great ascetic, is incapable of being understood by me. Go and plunge into this lake of lotuses!'"

"Viswamitra said, 'The deities of the universe are my friends. I am also the friend of the universe. Hence, O Yatudhani, know that I am called Viswamitra!'

"Yatudhani said, 'The explanation thou hast given of thy name is incomprehensible to me in consequence of the inflections the root has undergone. Go and plunge into this lake of lotuses!'"

"Jamadagni said, 'I have sprung from the sacrificial fire of the deities. Hence am I called Jamadagni, O thou of beautiful features!'"

"Yatudhani said, 'The etymological explanation thou hast given me, O great ascetic, of thy name, is incomprehensible to me (in consequence of the diverse inflections the root has undergone) Do thou go and plunge into this lake of lotuses!'"

"Arundhati said, 'I always stay by the side of my husband, and hold the earth jointly with him. I always incline my husband's heart towards me. I am, for these reasons called Arundhati!'

"Yatudhani said, The explanation thou hast given me of thy name is perfectly incomprehensible to me in consequence of the inflections the roots have undergone. Go and plunge into this lake of lotuses!'

"Ganda said, 'The Ganda means a portion of the cheek. As I have that portion a little elevated above the others, I am, O thou that hast sprung from the sacrificial fire of Saivya, called by the name of Ganda!'"

"Yatudhani said, 'The explanation which thou hast given me of thy name is perfectly incomprehensible to me in consequence of the inflections which the root has undergone. Go and plunge into this lake of lotuses!'"

"Pasusakha said, 'I protect and tend all animals that I see, and I am always a friend to all animals. Hence am I called Pasusakha, O thou that hast sprung from the (sacrificial) fire (of king Vrishadarbhi).'

"Yatudhani said, 'The explanation thou hast given me of thy name is perfectly incomprehensible to me in consequence of the inflections which the roots have undergone. Go and plunge into this lake of lotuses!'"

"Sunahsakha said, 'I am incapable of explaining the etymology of my name after the manner of these ascetics. But know, O Yatudhani, that I am called by the name of Sunahsakha!'

"Yatudhani said, 'Thou hast mentioned thy name only once. The explanation thou hast offered I have not able to catch. Do thou, therefore, mention it again, O regenerate one!'"

"Sunahsakha said, 'Since thou hast been unable to catch my name in consequence of my having mentioned it only once, I shall strike thee with my triple stick! Struck with it, be thou consumed into ashes without delay!'"

"Bhishma continued, 'Struck then, on the head, by the Sannyasin, with his triple stick which resembled the chastisement inflicted by a Brahmana, the Rakshasi who had sprung from the incantations of king. Vrishadarbhi fell down on the earth and became reduced to ashes. Having thus destroyed the mighty Rakshasi, Sunahsakha thrust his stick into the earth and sat himself down on a grassy plot of land. The Rishis then, having, as they liked, plucked a number of lotuses and taken up a number of lotus-stalks, came up from the lake, filled with joy. Throwing on the ground the heap of lotuses which they had gathered with much toil, they plunged once more into it for offering oblations of water to the Pitris. Coming up, they proceeded to that part of the bank where they had deposited the lotus-stalks. Reaching that spot, those foremost of men found that the stalks were nowhere to be seen.'"

"The Rishis said, 'What sinful and hard-hearted man has stolen away the lotus-stalks gathered by our hungry selves from desire of eating?'

"Bhishma continued, 'Those foremost of regenerate persons, suspecting one another, O crusher of foes, said, 'We shall each have to swear to our innocence! All those ascetics then, famishing with hunger and worn out with exertion, agreeing to the proposal, took these oaths.'

"Atri said, 'Let him who has stolen the lotus-stalk touch kine with his foot, make water facing the sun, and study the Vedas on excluded days!'"

"Vasishtha said, 'Let him who has stolen the lotus-stalks abstain from studying the Vedas, or leash hounds, or be a wandering mendicant unrestrained by the ordinances laid down for that mode of life, or be a slayer of persons that seek his protection, or live upon the proceeds of the sale of his daughter, or solicit wealth from those that are low and vile!'"

"Kasyapa, said, 'Let him who has stolen the lotus-stalks utter all kinds of words in all places, give false evidence in a court of law, eat the flesh of animals not slain in sacrifices, make gifts to undeserving persons or to deserving persons at unseasonable times, and have sexual congress with women during daytime!'"

"Bharadwaja said, 'Let him who has stolen the lotus-stalks be cruel and unrighteous in his conduct towards women and kinsmen and kine. Let him humiliate Brahmanas, in disputations, by displaying his superior knowledge and skill. Let him study the Riks and the Yajuses, disregarding his

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preceptor! Let him pour libations upon fires made with dry grass or straw!"

"Jamadagni said, 'Let him who has stolen the lotus-stalks be guilty of throwing filth and dirt on water. Let him be inspired with animosity towards kine. Let him be guilty of having sexual congress with women at times other than their season. Let him incur the aversion of all persons. Let him derive his maintenance from the earnings of his wife! Let him have no friends and let him have many foes! Let him be another's guest for receiving in return those acts of hospitality which he has done to that other!'" [To derive the means of sustenance from a wife was always viewed with feelings of aversion in this country. It seems, therefore, that the custom of domesticating sons-in-law was not unknown in ancient times. To receive acts of hospitality in return for those rendered was regarded as not only meanness but also destructive of merit.]

"Gotama said, 'Let him who has stolen the lotus-stalks be guilty of throwing away the Vedas after having studied them! Let him cast off the three sacred fires! Let him be a seller of the Soma (plant or juice)! Let him live with that Brahmana who resides in a village which has only one well from which water is drawn by all classes and who has married a Sudra woman!'"

"Viswamitra said, 'Let him who has stolen the lotus-stalks be fated to see his preceptors and seniors and his servants maintained by others during his own life-time. Let him not have a good end. Let him be the father of many children! Let him be always impure and a wretch among Brahmanas! Let him be proud of his possessions! Let him be a tiller of the soil and let him be filled with malice! Let him wander in the season of rains. Let him be a paid servant! Let him be the priest of the king! Let him assist at the sacrifices of such impure persons as do not deserve to be assisted at their sacrifices!'"

"Arundhati said, 'Let her who has stolen the lotus-stalks always humiliate her mother-in-law! Let her be always vexed with her husband! Let her eat whatever good things come to her house without sharing them with others! Disregarding the kinsmen of her lord, let her live in her husband's house and eat, at the day's close, the flour of fried barely! Let her come to be regarded as unenjoyable (in consequence of the stains that would tarnish her)! Let her be the mother of a heroic son!'" [Jnatinam is an instance of the genitive in what is called Anadara. The meaning, therefore, is disregarded them. For a Brahmana woman to bring forth a son devoted to heroic deeds is a reproach.]

"Ganda said, 'Let her who has stolen, the lotus-stalks be always a speaker of falsehoods! Let her always quarrel with her kinsmen! Let her bestow her daughter in marriage for a pecuniary consideration! Let her eat the food which she has cooked, alone and without sharing it with anybody! Let her pass her whole life in slavery! Indeed, let her who has stolen the lotus-stalks be quick with child in consequence of sexual congress under circumstances of guilt.'"

"Pasusakha said, 'Let him who has stolen the lotus-stalks be born of a slave-mother. Let him have many children all of whom are worthless! And let him never bow to the deities.'"

"Sunahsakha said, 'Let him who has removed the lotus-stalks obtain the merit of bestowing his daughter in marriage upon a Brahmana, who has studied all the Samans and the Yajuses and who has carefully observed the vow of Brahmacharya, Let him perform the final ablutions after having studied all the Atharvans!'"

"All the Rishis said, 'The oath thou hast taken is no oath at all, for all the acts which thou hast mentioned are very desirable for the Brahmanas! It is evident, O Sunahsakha, that thou hast appropriated our lotus-stalks!'"

"Sunahsakha said, 'The lotus stalks deposited by you not being seen, what you say is perfectly true, for it is I who have actually stolen them. In the very sight of all of you I have caused the disappearance of those stalks! Ye sinless ones, the act was done by me from desire of testing you! I came hither for protecting you. That woman who lies slain there was called Yatudhani. She was of a fierce disposition. Sprung from the incantations of king Vrishadarbhi, she had come here from the desire of slaying all of you! You ascetics endued with wealth of penances, egged on by that king, she had come, but I have slain her. That wicked and sinful creature, sprung from the sacrificial fire, would otherwise have taken your lives. It was for killing her and saving you that I came here, ye learned Brahmanas! Know that I am Vasava! Ye have completely freed yourselves from the influence of cupidity. In consequence of this, ye have won many eternal regions fraught with the fruition of every wish as soon as it rises in the heart! Do ye rise, without delay, from this place and repair to those regions of beatitude, ye regenerate ones, that are reserved for you!'

"Bhishma continued, 'The great Rishis, highly gratified at this, replied unto Purandara, saying, 'So be it!' They then ascended to heaven in company of Indra himself. Even thus, those high-souled persons, though famishing with hunger and though tempted at such a time with the offer of diverse kinds of enjoyable articles, refrained from yielding to temptation. As the result of such self-denial, they attained to heaven. It seems, therefore, that one should, under all circumstances, cast off cupidity from oneself. Even this, O king, is the highest duty. Cupidity should be cast off. The man who recites this account (of the deeds of the righteous Rishis) in assemblies of men, succeeds in acquiring wealth. Such a man has never to attain to a distressful end. The Pitris, the Rishis, and the deities become all pleased with him. Hereafter, again, he becomes endued with fame and religious merit and wealth!'"

SECTION 94

"Bhishma said, "In this connection is cited the old history of the oaths (taken by many Rishis one after another) on the occasion of a sojourn to the sacred waters. O best of the Bharatas, the act of theft had been done by Indra, and the oaths were taken by many royal and regenerate Rishis. Once on a time, the Rishis, having assembled together, proceeded to the western Prabhasa. They held a consultation there which resulted in a resolve on their part to visit all the sacred waters on earth. There were Sakra and Angiras and Kavi of great learning and Agastya and Narada and Pravata; and Bhrigu and Vasishtha and Kasyapa and Gautama and Viswamitra and Jamadagni, O king! There were also the Rishi Galava, and Ashtaka and Bharadwaja and Arundhati and the Valakhilyas; and Sivi and Dilipa and Nahusha and Amvarisha and the royal Yayati and Dhundhumara and Puru. These foremost of men, placing the high-souled Satakratu, the slayer of Vritra, at their head, went to all the sacred waters one after another, and at last reached the highly sacred Kausiki on the day of the full moon in the month of Magha. Having cleansed themselves of all sins by ablutions performed in all the sacred waters, they at last proceeded to the very sacred Brahmasara. Bathing in that lake, those Rishis endued with energy like that of fire began to gather and eat the stalks of the lotus. Amongst those Brahmanas, some had extracted the stalks of the lotus and some the stalks of the Nymphoea stellata. Soon they found that the stalks extracted by Agastya (and deposited on the bank) had been taken away by somebody. The foremost of Rishis, Agastya, addressing them all, said, 'Who has taken away the good stalks which I had extracted and deposited here? I suspect some one amongst you must have done the act. Let him who has taken them away give them back to me. It behoves you not thus to misappropriate my stalks! It is heard that Time assails the energy of Righteousness. That Time has come upon us. Hence, Righteousness is afflicted. It is meet that I should go to heaven for good, before unrighteousness assails the world and establishes itself here! [The scriptures declare that Righteousness loses its strength as Time advances. In the Krita age, it exists in entirety. In the Treta, it loses a quarter. In the Dwapara, another quarter is lost. In the Kali age, full three quarters are lost and only a quarter is all that remains.] Before the time comes when Brahmanas, loudly uttering the fully Vedas, within the precincts of villages and inhabited places, cause the Sudras to hear them, before the time comes when kings often against the rules of Righteousness from motives of policy, I shall go to heaven for good! Before men cease to regard the distinctions between the lower, the middle, and the higher classes, I shall go to heaven for good. Before Ignorance assails the world and envelops all things in darkness, I shall go to heaven for good. Before the time comes when the strong begin to lord it over the weak and treat them as slaves, I shall go to heaven for good. Indeed, I dare not remain on earth for witnessing these things.' The Rishis, much concerned at what he said, addressed that great ascetic and said, 'We have not stolen thy stalks! Thou shouldst not harbour these suspicions against us. O great Rishi, we shall take the most frightful oaths!' Having said these words, conscious of their own innocence, and desirous of upholding the cause of righteousness, those Rishis and sages of royal descent then began to swear, one after another, the following oaths.'"

"Bhrigu said, 'Let him who has stolen thy stalks censure when censured, assail when assailed, and eat the flesh that is attached to the back-bone of animals (slaughtered in sacrifice)!'" [Forgiveness is the duty of the Brahmana. To fall off from forgiveness is to fall off from duty. To censure when censured and assail the assailer, are grave transgressions in the case of a Brahmana. The idea of retaliation should never enter the Brahmana's heart; for the Brahmana is the friend of the universe. His behaviour to friend and foe should be equal. To eat the flesh that attaches itself to the back-bone of a slaughtered animal is also a grave transgression.]

"Vasishtha said, 'Let him who has stolen thy stalks neglect his Vedic studies, leash hounds, and having, taken himself to the mendicant order live in a city or town!'

"Kasyapa said, 'Let him who has stolen thy stalks sell all things in all places, misappropriate deposits, and give false evidence!'

"Gautama said, 'Let him who has stolen thy stalks live, displaying pride in all things, with an understanding that does not see all creatures with an equal eye, and always yielding himself to the influence of desire and wrath! Let him be a cultivator of the soil, and let him be inspired by malice!'

"Angiras said, 'Let him who has stolen thy stalks be always impure! Let him be a censurable Brahmana (for his misdeeds). Let him leash hounds. Let him be guilty of Brahmanicide. Let him be averse to expiations after having committed transgressions!'"

"Dhundhumara said, 'Let him who has stolen thy stalks be ungrateful to his friends! Let him take birth in a Sudra woman! Let him eat alone any good food (coming to the house), without sharing it with others!'" [Good food should never be taken alone. It should always be shared with children and servants.]

"Dilipa said, 'Let him who has stolen thy stalks descend to those regions of misery and infamy which are reserved for that Brahmana who re-sides in a village having but one well and who has sexual congress with a Sudra woman!'" [A village having only one well should be abandoned by a Brahmana, for he should not draw water from such a well which is used by all classes of the population.]

"Puru said, 'Let him who has stolen thy stalks adopt the occupation of a physician! Let him be supported by the earnings of his wife! Let him draw his sustenance from his father-in-law!'"

"Sukra said, 'Let him who has stolen thy stalks eat the flesh of animals not slain in sacrifices! Let him have sexual congress at day-time! Let him be a servant of the king!'"

"Jamadagni said, 'Let him who has stolen thy stalks study the Vedas on forbidden days or occasions. Let him feed friends at Sraddhas performed by him! Let him eat at the Sraddha of a Sudra!'

"Sivi said, 'Let him who has stolen thy stalks die without having established a fire (for daily worship)! Let him be guilty of obstructing the performance of sacrifices by others! Let him quarrel with those that are observant of penances!'"

"Yayati said, 'Let him who has stolen thy stalks be guilty of having sexual congress with his wife when she is not in her season and when he is himself in the observance of a vow and bears matted locks on his head! Let him also disregard the Vedas!'"

"Nahusha said, 'Let him who has stolen thy stalks live in domesticity after having betaken himself to the vow of mendicancy! Let him act in whatever way he pleases (and without restraint of any kind), after having undergone the initiatory rites in view of a sacrifice or some solemn observance! Let him take pecuniary gratification for prelections to disciples (on any branch of knowledge that the latter come to learn)!'

"Amvarisha said, 'Let him who has stolen thy stalks be cruel and unrighteous in his behaviour towards women and kinsmen and kine! Let him be guilty also of Brahmanicide!'"

"Narada said, 'Let him who has stolen thy stalks be one that identifies the body with the soul! Let him study the scriptures with a preceptor that is censurable! Let him chant the Vedas, offending at each step against the rules of orthoepy! Let him disregard all his seniors!'"

"Nabhaga said, 'Let him who has stolen thy stalks always speak false-hoods and quarrel with those that are righteous! Let him bestow his daughter in marriage after accepting a pecuniary gratification offered by his son-in-law!'"

"Kavi said, 'Let him who has stolen thy stalks he guilty of striking a cow with his foot. Let him make water, facing the sun! Let him cast off the person that seeks shelter at his hands!'"

"Viswamitra said, 'Let him who has stolen thy stalks become a servant that behaves with deceit towards his master! Let him be the priest of a king! Let him be the Ritwik of one that should not be assisted at his sacrifices!'"

"Parvata said, 'Let him who has stolen thy stalks be the chief of a village! Let him make journeys on asses! Let him leash hounds for a living!'"

"Bharadwaja said, 'Let him who has stolen thy stalks be guilty of all the demerits that become his who is cruel in his behaviour and untruthful in speech!'"

"Ashtaka said, 'Let him who has stolen thy stalks be a king destitute of wisdom capricious and sinful in his behaviour, and disposed to rule the Earth unrighteously!'"

"Galava said, 'Let him who has stolen thy stalks be more infamous than a sinful man! Let him be sinful in his acts towards his kinsmen and relatives! Let him proclaim the gifts he makes to others!'"

"Arundhati said, 'Let her who has stolen thy stalks speak ill of her mother-in-law! Let her feel disgust for her lord. Let her eat alone any good food that comes to her house!'"

"The Valakhilyas said, 'Let him who has stolen thy stalks stand on one foot at the entrance of a village (for earning his subsistence)! Let him. while knowing all duties, be guilty of every breach!'"

"Sunahsakha said, 'Let him who has stolen thy stalks be a Brahmana that sleeps in happiness, having disregarded his daily Homa! Let him, after becoming a religious mendicant, behave in whatever way he pleases, without observing any restraint!'"

"Surabhi said, 'Let her who has stolen thy stalks be milked, with her (hind) legs bound with a rope of human hair, and with the aid of a calf not her own, and, while milked, let her milk be held in a vessel of white brass!' [Some kine that are vicious have their hind legs tied with a rope while they are

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milked. If the rope be made of human hair, the pain felt is supposed to be very great. To obtain the aid of a calf belonging to another cow is regarded as sinful. To the cow also, the process of sucking cannot be agreeable. If the milk is held in a vessel of white brass, it becomes unfit for gods and guests.]

"Bhishma continued, 'After the Rishis and the royal sages had sworn these diverse oaths, O Kuru king, the thousand-eyed chief of the deities, filled with joy, cast his looks on the angered Rishi Agastya. Addressing the Rishi who was very angry at the disappearance of his lotus-stalks, Maghavat thus declared what was passing in his mind. Hear, O king, what the words were that Indra spoke in the midst of those regenerate and celestial Rishis and royal sages.'"

"Sakra said, 'Let him who has stolen thy stalks be possessed of the merit of him who bestows his daughter in marriage upon a Brahmana that has duly observed the vow of Brahmacharya or that has duly studied the Samans and the Yajuses! Let him also have the merit of one that undergoes the final bath after completing one's study of the Atharva Veda! Let him who has stolen thy stalks have the merit of having studied all the Vedas. Let him be observant of all duties and righteous in his behaviour! Indeed, let him go to the region of Brahman!'

"Agastya said, 'Thou hast, O slayer of Vala, uttered a benediction instead of a curse! (It is evident), thou hast taken my stalks!" Give them to me, for that is the eternal duty!'"

"Indra said, 'O holy one, I did not remove thy stalks, led by cupidity! Indeed, I removed them from desire of hearing this conclave recite what the duties are that we should observe. It behoveth thee not to give way to anger! Duties are the foremost of Srutis. Duties constitute the eternal path (for crossing the sea of the world)! I have listened to this discourse of the Rishis (on duties) that is eternal and immutable, and that transcends all change! [The discourse is called eternal and immutable because of its subject being so. Duties are eternal truths.] Do thou then, O foremost of learned Brahmanas, take back these stalks of thine! O holy one, it behoves thee to forgive my transgression, O thou that art free from every fault!'"

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed by the chief of the deities, the ascetic, viz., Agastya, who had been very angry, took back his stalks. Endued with great intelligence, the Rishi became cheerful. After this, those denizens of the woods proceeded to diverse other sacred waters. Indeed, repairing to those sacred waters they performed their ablutions everywhere. The man who reads this narrative with close attention on every Parva day, will not have to become the progenitor of an ignorant and wicked son. He will never be destitute of learning. No calamity will ever touch him. He will, besides, be free from every kind of sorrow. Decrepitude and decay will never be his. Freed from stains and evil of every kind, and endued with merit, he is sure to attain to Heaven. He who studies this Sastra observed by the Rishis, is sure, O prince of men, to attain to the eternal region of Brahman that is full of felicity!'" [This discourse on duties delivered by the Rishis is called a Sastra. Literally, anything that governs men, i.e., regulates their behaviour, is called a Sastra. As such, the enumeration of duties occurring in this Lesson, although it has been made by a reference to their breaches, is therefore, a Sastra.]

SECTION 95

"Yudhishthira said, 'O chief of Bharata's rare, by whom was the custom of giving umbrellas and sandals at obsequial ceremonies introduced? Why was it introduced and for what purpose are those gifts made? They are given not only at obsequial ceremonies but also at other religious rites. They are given on many occasions with a view to acquiring religious merit. I wish to know, in detail, O regenerate one, the true meaning of this custom!'"

"Bhishma said, 'Do thou, O prince, attentively listen to the details I shall recite in respect of the custom of giving away umbrellas and shoes at religious rites, and as to how and by whom it was introduced. I shall also tell thee in full, O prince, how it acquired the force of a permanent observance and how it came to be viewed as a meritorious act. I shall, in this connection, recite the narrative of the discourse between Jamadagni and the high-souled Surya. In ancient times, the illustrious Jamadagni, O puissant king, of Bhrigu's race, was engaged in practising with his bow. Taking his aim, he shot arrow after arrow. His wife Renuka used to pick up the shafts when shot and repeatedly bring them back to that descendant, endued with blazing energy, of Bhrigu's race. Pleased with the whizzing noise of his arrows and the twang of his bow, he amused himself thus by repeatedly discharging his arrows which Renuka brought back into him. One day, at noontide, O monarch, in that month when the sun was in Jyesthamula, the Brahmana, having discharged all his arrows, said to Renuka, 'O large-eyed lady, go and fetch me the shafts I have shot from my bow, O thou of beautiful eye-brows! I shall again shoot them with my bow.' The lady proceeded on her errand but was compelled to sit under the shade of a tree, in consequence of her head and feet being scorched by the heat of the sun. The black-eyed and graceful Renuka, having rested for only a moment, feared the curse of her husband and, therefore, addressed herself again to the task of collecting and bringing back the arrows. Taking them with her, the celebrated lady of graceful features came back, distressed in mind and her feet smarting with pain. Trembling with fear, she approached her husband. The Rishi, filled with wrath, repeatedly addressed his fair-faced spouse, saying, 'O Renuka, why hast thou teen so late in returning?'"

"Renuka said, 'O thou that art endued with wealth of penances, my head and feet were scorched by the rays of the sun! Oppressed by the heat, I had betaken myself to the shade of a tree! Just this has been the cause of the delay! Informed of the cause, do thou, O lord, cease to be angry with me!'"

"Jamadagni said, 'O Renuka, this very day shall I destroy, with the fiery energy of my weapons, the star of day with his blazing rays, that has afflicted thee in this way!'"

"Bhishma continued, 'Drawing his celestial bow, and taking up many arrows, Jamadagni stood, turning his face towards the sun and watching him as he moved (in his diurnal course). Then, O son of Kunti, beholding him addressed for fight, Surya approached him in the guise of a Brahmana, and said unto him. 'What has Surya done to displease thee? Coursing through the firmament, he draws up the moisture from the earth, and in the form of rains he pours it down once more on her. It is through this, O regenerate one, that the food of human beings springs up,--food that is so agreeable to them! The Vedas say that it is food that constitutes the life-breaths. O Brahmana, hidden in the clouds and encompassed by his rays, the sun drenches the seven islands with showers of rain. O puissant one, the moisture, thus poured, diffusing itself into the leaves and fruits of vegetables and herbs, is transformed into food. O son of Bhrigu, the rites of nativity, religious observances of every kind, investiture with the sacred thread, gifts of kine, weddings, all articles in view of sacrifices, the rules for the governance of men, gifts, all sorts of union (between man and man), and the acquisition of wealth, have their origin in food! Thou knowest this well! All the good and agreeable things in the universe, and all the efforts made by living creatures, flow from food. I duly recite what is well-known to thee! Indeed, thou fully knowest all that I have said! Do thou, therefore, O regenerate Rishi, appease thy anger! What wilt thou gain by annihilating the sun?'"

SECTION 96

"Yudhishthira said, 'What did that foremost of ascetics, viz., Jamadagni endued with great energy, do when thus besought by the maker of day?'"

"Bhishma said, 'O descendant of Kuru, despite all the supplications of Surya, the sage Jamadagni, endued with the effulgence of fire, continued to cherish his anger. Then. O king, Surya, in the guise of a Brahmana, bowed his head unto him and addressed him, with folded hands, in these soft words. 'O regenerate Rishi, the sun is always in motion! How shalt thou pierce the Lord of day who is continually moving forward?'"

"Jamadagni said, With the eye of knowledge I know thee to be both moving and motionless! I shall surely read thee a lesson this day. At midday thou seemest to stay in the heavens for a moment. It is then, O Surya, that I shall pierce thee with my arrows! There is no swerving from this my resolution!'"

"Surya said 'O regenerate Rishi, without doubt, thou knowest me, O best of archers! But, O holy one, though I have offended, behold, I am a suppliant for thy protection!'"

"Bhishma continued, 'At this, the adorable Jamadagni smilingly addressed the maker of day, saying, 'O Surya, when thou hast sought my protection, thou hast nothing to fear! He would transcend the simplicity that exists in Brahmanas, the stability that exists in the Earth, the mildness existing in the Moon, the gravity existing in Varuna, the effulgence existing in Agni, the brightness of Meru, and the heat of the sun, who would slay a suppliant for protection! The man that can slay a suppliant is capable of violating the bed of his preceptor, of slaying a Brahmana, and of drinking alcohol. Do thou, therefore, think of some remedy for this evil, by which people may be relieved when heated by the rays!'"

"Bhishma continued, 'So saying, that excellent descendant of Bhrigu remained silent for a while, and Surya forthwith made over to him an umbrella and a pair of sandals.'"

"Surya said, 'Do thou, O great Rishi, take this umbrella wherewith the head may be protected and my rays warded off. This pair of sandals is made of leather for the protection of the feet. From this day forth the gift of these articles in all religious rites shall be established as an inflexible usage!'"

"Bhishma continued, 'This custom of giving umbrellas and shoes was introduced by Surya! O descendant of Bharata, these gifts are considered meritorious in the three worlds. Do thou, therefore, give away umbrellas and shoes to Brahmanas. I have no doubt that thou shalt then acquire great religious merit by the act. O foremost one of Bharata's race, he who gives away a white umbrella with a hundred ribs to a Brahmana, attains to eternal felicity after death and resides in the region of Indra, respected by Brahmanas, Apsaras, and Devas. O puissant one, he who gives shoes to Snataka Brahmanas as also to Brahmanas practising the rites of religion whose feet have become sore with the heat of the sun, attains to regions coveted by the very deities. Such a man, O Bharata, dwells in happiness in the highest Heaven after his death. O foremost one of Bharata's race, I have thus recited to thee in full, the merits of giving away shoes and umbrellas at religious ceremonies!'"

SECTION 97

"Yudhishthira said, 'O foremost one of Bharata's race, do thou relate to me all the duties of the household mode and tell me all that a man should do in order to attain to prosperity in this world.'

"Bhishma said, 'O Bharata, I shall, in this connection, recite to thee the old story of Vasudeva and the goddess Earth, The puissant Vasudeva. O excellent prince of Bharata's race, after hymning the praises of the goddess Earth, questioned her about this very topic that thou hast enquired about.'

"Vasudeva said, 'Having adopted the state of a householder, what acts should I, or one like me, perform and how are such acts to fructify in good?'"

"The goddess Earth said, 'O Madhava, the Rishis, the deities, the Pitris, and men should be worshipped, and sacrifices should be performed, by a householder. Do thou also learn this from me that the deities are always pleased with sacrifices, and men are gratified with hospitality. Therefore, the householder should gratify them with such objects as they desire. By such acts, O slayer of Madhu, the Rishis also are gratified. The householder, abstaining from food, should daily attend to his sacred fire and to his sacrificial offerings. The deities, O slayer of Madhu, are gratified with such acts. The householder should daily offer oblations of food and water, or of fruits, roots and water, for the gratification of the Pitris, and the Vaiswadeva offering should be performed with rice boiled, and oblations of clarified butter unto Agni, Soma, and Dhanwantari. He should offer separate and distinct oblations unto Prajapati. He should make sacrificial offerings in due order; to Yama in the Southern region, to Varuna in Western region, to Soma in the Northern region, to Prajapati within the homestead, to Dhanwantari in the North-eastern region, and to Indra in the Eastern region. He should offer food to men at the entrance of his house. These, O Madhava, are known as the Vali offerings. The Vali should be offered to the Maruts and the deities in the interior of one's house. To the Viswedevas it should be offered in open air, and to the Rakshasas and spirits the offerings should be made at night. After making these offerings, the householder should make offerings unto Brahmanas, and if no Brahmana be present, the first portion of the food should be thrown into the fire. When a man desires to offer Sraddha to his ancestors, he should, when the Sraddha ceremony is concluded, gratify his ancestors and then make the Vali offerings in due order. He should then make offerings unto the Viswedevas. He should next invite Brahmanas and then properly regale guests arrived at his house, with food. By this act, O prince, are guests gratified. He who does not stay in the house long, or, having come, goes away after a short time, is called a guest. To his preceptor, to his father, to his friend and to a guest, a householder should say, 'I have got this in my house to offer thee today!' And he should offer it accordingly every day. The householder should do whatever they would ask him to do. This is the established usage. The householder, O Krishna, should take his food last of all after having offered food to all of them. The householder should worship, with offerings of Madhuparka his king, his priest, his preceptor, and his father-in-law as also Snataka Brahmanas even if they were to stay in his house for a whole year. In the morning as well as in the evening, food should be offered on the ground to dogs, Swapachas*, and birds. [* Literally, they who cook for dogs, i.e., keep dogs a, companions; meaning members of the 5th, lowest caste, the Untouchables.] This is called the Vaiswadeva offering. The householder, who performs these ceremonies with a mind uncloudedby passion, obtains the blessings of the Rishis in this world, and after death attains to the heavenly regions.'"

"Bhishma continued, "The puissant Vasudeva, having listened to all this from the goddess Earth, acted accordingly. Do thou also act in the same way. By performing these duties of a householder, O king, thou shalt acquire fame in this world and attain to heaven after death!'"

SECTION 98

"Yudhishthira said, 'Of what kind is the gift of light, O chief of Bharata's race? How did this gift originate? What are the merits that attach to it? Do thou tell me all this.'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection, O Bharata, is recited the old narrative of the discourse between Manu, that lord of creatures, and Suvarna. There was in days of yore an ascetic, O Bharata, of the name of Suvarna. His complexion was like that of gold and hence he was called Suvarna (the gold-complexioned), Endued with a pure lineage, good behaviour, and excellent accomplishments, he had mastered all the Vedas. Indeed, by the accomplishments he possessed, he succeeded in

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surpassing many persons of high lineage. One day that learned Brahmana saw Manu, the lord of all creatures, and approached him. Meeting with each other, they made the usual enquiries of politeness. Both of them were firm in the observance of truth. They sat down on the delightful breast of Meru, gnat mountain of gold. Seated there they began to converse with each other on diverse subjects connected with the high-souled deities and regenerate Rishis and Daityas of ancient times. Then Suvarna, addressing the Self-born Menu, said these words, 'It behoveth thee to answer one question of mine for the benefit of all creatures. O lord of all creatures, the deities are seen to be worshipped with presents of flowers and other good scents. What is this? How has this practice been originated? What also are the merits that attach to it? Do thou discourse to me on this topic.'"

"Manu said, 'In this connection is recited the old history of the discourse between Sukra and the high-souled (Daitya) Vali. Once on a time, Sukra of Bhrigu's race approached the presence of Vali, the son of Virochana, while he was ruling the three worlds. The chief of the Asuras, that giver of sacrificial presents in abundance, having worshipped the descendant of Bhrigu with the Arghya (and offering him a seat), sat down after his guest had seated himself. This very topic that thou hast started relating to the merits attaching to the gift of flowers and incense and lamps, came up on the occasion. Indeed, the chief of the Daityas put this high question to Sukra, that most learned of all ascetics.'

"Vali said, 'O foremost of all persons conversant with Brahma, what, indeed, is the merit of giving flowers and incense and lamps? It behoveth thee, O foremost of Brahmanas, to discourse to me on this.'

"Sukra said, 'Penance first sprang into life. Afterwards came Dharma (or compassion and other virtues). In the interval between started into life many creepers and herbs. Innumerable were the species of those. All of them have (the deity) Soma for their lord. Some of these creepers and herbs came to be regarded as Amrita and some came to be regarded as Poison. Others that were neither this nor that formed one class. That is Amrita which gives immediate gratification and joy to the mind. That is Poison which tortures the mind exceedingly by its odour. Know again that Amrita is highly auspicious and that Poison is highly inauspicious. All the (deciduous) herbs are Amrita. Poison is born of the energy of fire. Flowers gladden the mind and confer prosperity. Hence, men of righteous deeds bestowed the name Sumanas on them. That man who is in a state of purity offers flowers into the deities finds that the deities become gratified with him, and as the consequence of such gratification bestow prosperity upon him. O ruler of the Daityas, those deities unto whom worshippers offer flowers, O lord, uttering their names the while, become gratified with the offers in consequence of their devotion. The (deciduous) herbs are of diverse kinds and possess diverse kinds of energy. They should be classed as fierce, mild, and powerful. Listen to me as I tell thee which trees are useful for purposes of sacrifice and which are not so. Hear also what garlands are acceptable to Asuras, and what are beneficial when offered to the deities. I shall also set forth in their due order what garlands are agreeable to the Rakshasas, what to the Uragas, what to the Yakshas, what to human beings, and what to the Pitris, in proper order. Flowers are of diverse kinds. Some are wild, some are from trees that grew in the midst of human habitations; some belong to trees that never grow unless planted on well-tilled soil; some are from trees growing on mountains; some are from trees that are not prickly; and some from trees that are prickly. Fragrance, beauty of form, and taste also may offer grounds of classification. The scent that flowers yield is of two kinds, agreeable and disagreeable. Those flowers that emit agreeable scent should be offered to the deities. The flowers of trees that are destitute of thorns are generally white in hue. Such flowers are always acceptable to the deities, O lord! One possessed of wisdom should offer garlands of aquatic flowers, such as the lotus and the like, unto the Gandharvas and Nagas and Yakshas. Such plants and herbs as produce red flowers, as are possessed of keen scent, and as are prickly, have been laid down in the Atharvana as fit for all acts of incantation for injuring foes. Such flowers as are possessed of keen energy, as are painful to the touch, as grow on trees and plants having thorns, and as are either bloody-red or black, should be offered to (evil) spirits and unearthly beings. Such flowers as gladden the mind and heart, as are very agreeable when pressed, and as are of beautiful form, have been said, O lord, to be worthy of being offered to human beings. Such flowers as grow on cemeteries and crematoria, or in places dedicated to the deities, should not be brought and used for marriage and other rites having growth and prosperity for their object, or for acts of dalliance and pleasure in secrecy. Such flowers as are born on mountains and in vales, and as are agreeable in scent and aspect, should be offered unto the deities. Sprinkling them with sandal-paste, such agreeable flowers should be duly offered according to the ordinances of the scriptures. The deities become gratified with the scent of flowers; the Yakshas and Rakshasas with their sight, the Nagas with their touch; and human beings with all three, viz., scent, sight, and touch. Flowers, when offered to the deities gratify them immediately. They are capable of accomplishing every object by merely wishing its accomplishment. As such, when gratified with devotees offering them flowers, they cause all the objects cherished by their worshippers to be immediately accomplished. Gratified, they gratify their worshippers. Honoured, they cause their worshippers to enjoy all honours. Disregarded and insulted, they cause those vilest of men to be ruined and consumed. I shall, after this, speak to thee of the merits that attach to the ordinances about the gift of incense. Know, O prince of Asuras, that incenses are of diverse kinds. Some of them are auspicious and some inauspicious. Some incenses consist of exudations. Some are made of fragrant wood set on fire. And some are artificial, being made by the hand, of diverse articles mixed together. Their scent is of two kinds, viz., agreeable and disagreeable. Listen to me as I discourse on the subject in detail. All exudations except that of the Boswellia serrata are agreeable to the deities. It is, however, certain that the best of all exudations is that of the Balsamodendron Mukul. Of all Dhupas of the Sari class, the Aquilaria Agallocha is the best. It is very agreeable to the Yakshas, the Rakshasas, and Nagas. The exudation of the Boswellia serrata, and others of the same class, are much desired by the Daityas. Dhupas made of the exudation of the Shorea robusta and the Pinus deodara, mixed with various spirits of strong scent, are, O king, ordained for human beings. Such Dhupas are said to immediately gratify the deities, the Danavas, and spirits. Besides these, there are many other kinds of Dhupas used by men of purposes of pleasure or enjoyment. All the merits that have been spoken of as attaching to the offer of flowers should be known equally to attach to the gift of such Dhupas as are productive of gratification. I shall now speak of the merits that attach to the gift of lights, and who may give them at what time and in what manner, and what should be the kind of lights that should be offered. Light is said to be energy and fame and has an upward motion. Hence the gift of light, which is energy, enhances the energy of men. There is a hell of the name of Andhatamas. The period also of the sun's southward course is regarded as dark. For escaping that hell and the darkness of this period, one should give lights during the period when the sun is in his northward course. Such an act is applauded by the good. Since, again, light has an upward course and is regarded as a remedy for darkness, therefore, one should be a giver of light. Even this is the conclusion of the scriptures. It is owing to the lights offered that the deities have become endued with beauty, energy, and resplendence. By abstention from such an act, the Rakshasas have become, endued with the opposite attributes. Hence, one should always give lights. By giving lights a man becomes endued with keen vision and resplendence One that gives lights should not be an object of jealousy with others. Lights, again, should not be stolen, nor extinguished when given by others. One that steals a light becomes blind. Such a man has to grope through darkness (in the next world) and becomes destitute of resplendence. One that gives lights shines in beauty in the celestial regions like a row of lights. Among lights, the best are those in which ghee is burnt. Next in order are those in which the juice of (the fruits yielded by) deciduous herbs is burnt. One desirous of advancement and growth should never burn (for light) fat or marrow or the juice that flows from the bones of creatures. The man who desires his own advancement and prosperity should always give lights at descents from mountains, in roads through forests and inaccessible regions, under sacred trees standing in the midst of human habitations, and in crossings of streets. The man who gives lights always illumines his race, attains to purity of soul and effulgence of form. Verily, such a man, after death, attains to the companionship of the luminous bodies in the firmament. I shall now discourse to thee upon the merits, with the fruits they bring about, that attach to Vali offerings made to the deities, the Yakshas, the Uragas, human beings, spirits, and Rakshasas. Those unscrupulous and wicked men that eat without first serving Brahmanas and deities and guests and children, should be known as Rakshasas. Hence, one should first offer the food one has got ready unto the deities after having worshipped them duly with restrained senses and concentrated attention. One should offer the Vali unto the deities, bending one head in reverence. The deities are always supported by food that householders offer. Verily, they bless such houses in which offerings are made to them. The Yakshas and Rakshasas and Pannagas, as also guests and all homeless persons, are supported by the food that are offered by persons leading the domestic mode of life, Indeed, the deities and the Pitris derive their sustenance from such offerings. Gratified with such offerings they gratify the offerer in return with longevity and fame and wealth. Clean food, of agreeable scent and appearance, mixed with milk and curds, should, along with flowers, be offered to the deities. The Valis that should be offered to Yakshas and Rakshasas should be rich with blood and meat, with wines and spirits accompanying, and adorned with coatings of fried paddy. Valis mixed with lotuses and Utpalas are very agreeable to the Nagas. Sesame seeds, boiled in raw sugar, should be offered to the spirits and other unearthly Beings. He who never takes any food without first serving therefrom the Brahmanas and deities and guests, becomes entitled to first portions of food. Such a man becomes endued with strength and energy. Hence, one should never take any food without first offering a portion thereof to the deities after worshipping them with reverence. One's house always blazes forth with beauty in consequence of the household deities that live in it. Hence, he that desires his own advancement and prosperity should worship the household deities by offering them the first portion of every food. Even thus did the learned Kavi of Bhrigu's race discourse to Vali, the chief of the Asuras. That discourse was next recited by Manu unto the Rishi Suvarna, Suvarna, in his turn, recited it to Narada. The celestial Rishi Narada recited unto me the merits that attach to the several acts mentioned. Informed of those merits, do thou, O son, perform the several acts mentioned!'"

SECTION 99

"Yudhishthira said, 'I have, O chief of the Bharatas, heard what the merits are that are won by presenters of flowers and incense and lights. I have heard thee speak also of the merits that attach to a due observance of the ordinances in respect of the presentation of the Vali. It behoveth thee, O grandsire, to discourse unto me once more on this subject. Indeed, tell me, O sire, once more of the merits of presenting incense and lights. Why are Valis offered on the ground by persons leading the domestic mode of life?'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection is recited the old narrative of the discourse between Nahusha and Agastya and Bhrigu. The royal sage Nahusha, O monarch, possessed of wealth of penances, acquired the sovereignty of Heaven by his own good deeds. With restrained senses, O king, he dwelt in Heaven, engaged in doing diverse acts of both human and celestial nature. From that high-souled monarch flowed diverse kinds of human acts and diverse kinds of celestial acts also, O chief of men. The diverse rites with respect to the sacrificial fire, the collection of sacred fuel and of Kusa grass, as also of flowers, and the presentation of Vali consisting of food adorned with fried paddy (reduced to powder), and the offer of incense and of light,--all these, O monarch, occurred daily in the abode of that high-souled king while he dwelt in heaven. Indeed, though dwelling in heaven, he performed the sacrifice of Japa (or silent recitation) and the sacrifice of meditation. And, O chastiser of foes, Nahusha, although he had become the chief of the deities, yet worshipped all the deities, as he used to do in days of yore, with due rites and ceremonies. Some time after, Nahusha realised his position as the chief of all the deities. This filled him with pride. From that time all his acts (of the kind spoken of) were suspended. Filled with arrogance in consequence of the boon he had received from all the deities, Nahusha caused the very Rishis to bear him on their shoulders. In consequence, however, of his abstention from all religious acts, his energy began to sustain a diminution. The time was very long for which Nahusha filled with pride, continued to employ the foremost of Rishis, possessed of wealth of penances, as the bearers of his vehicles. He caused the Rishis to discharge by turns his humiliating work. The day came when it was Agastya's turn to bear the vehicles, O Bharata. At that time, Bhrigu, that foremost of all persons conversant with Brahma, repaired to the presence of Agastya while the latter was seated in his asylum, and addressing him, said, 'O great ascetic, why should we patiently put up with such indignity inflicted on us by this wicked-souled Nahusha who has become the chief of the deities?'

"Agastya said, 'How can I succeed in cursing Nahusha, O great Rishi? It is known to thee how the boon-giving (Brahman) himself has given Nahusha the best of boons! Coming to heaven, the boon that Nahusha solicited was that whoever would come within the range of his vision would, deprived of all energy, come within his sway. The self-born Brahman granted him even this boon, and it is for that reason that neither thyself nor I have been able to consume him. Without doubt, is for this reason that none else amongst the foremost of Rishis has been able to consume or hurl him down from his high position, Formerly, O Lord, nectar was given by Brahman to Nahusha for quaffing. For that reason also we have become powerless against him. The supreme deity, it seems, gave that boon to Nahusha for plunging all creatures into grief. That wretch among men behaves most unrighteously towards the Brahmanas. O foremost of all speakers, do thou tell us what should be done in view of the situation. Without doubt, I shall do what thou wilt advise.'

"Bhrigu said, 'It is at the command of the Grandsire that I have come to thee with the view of counteracting the puissance of Nahusha who is possessed of great energy but who has been stupefied by fate. That exceedingly wicked-souled wight who has become the chief of the deities will today yoke thee to his car. With the aid of my energy I shall today hurl him down from his position as Indra in consequence of his having transcended all restraints! I shall today, in thy very sight, re-establish the true Indra in his position--him, viz., who has performed a hundred horse-

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sacrifices,--having hurled the wicked-souled and sinful Nahusha from that seat! That unrighteous chief of the deities will today insult thee by a kick, in consequence of his understanding being afflicted by fate and for bringing about his own downfall. Incensed at such an insult I shall today curse that sinful wretch, that enemy of the Brahmanas, that has transcended all restraints, saying, 'Be thou transformed into a snake!' In the very sight, O great ascetic, I shall today hurl down on the earth the wicked-souled Nahusha who shall be deprived of all energy in consequence of the cries of 'Fie' that will be uttered from all sides. 1 Verily, I shall hurl down Nahusha today, that wight of unrighteous deeds, who has, besides, been stupefied by lordship and power. I shall do this, if it be acceptable to thee, O ascetic! Thus addressed by Bhrigu, Mitravaruna's son Agastya of unfading puissance and glory, became highly gratified and freed from every anxiety.'"

SECTION 100

"Yudhishthira said, 'How was Nahusha plunged into distress? How was he hurled down on the earth? How, indeed, was he deprived of the sovereignty of the gods? It behoveth thee to recite everything to me.'

"Bhishma said, 'Even thus did those two Rishis, viz., Bhrigu and Agastya, converse with each other. I have already told thee how Nahusha, when he first became the chief of the gods, acted in a becoming way. Verily, all acts of human and celestial nature flowed from that high souled royal sage! The offering of light, and all other rites of a similar kind, the due presentation of Valis, and all rites as are performed on especially sacred days,--all these were properly observed by the high-souled Nahusha who had become the sovereign of the deities. Pious acts are always observed by those that are possessed of wisdom, in both the world of men and that of the deities. Verily, O foremost of kings, if such acts are observed, householders always succeed in acquiring prosperity and advancement. Even such is the effect of the gift of lamps and of incense, as also of bows and prostrations, to the deities. When food is cooked, the first portion thereof should be offered to a Brahmana. The particular offerings called Vali should also be presented to the household deities. The deities become gratified with such gifts. It is also well-known that the measure of gratification which the deities derive from such offerings is a hundred times as great as that which the householder himself derives from making them. Persons endued with piety and wisdom make offerings of incense and lights, accompanying them with bows and prostrations. Such acts are always fraught with advancement and prosperity to those that do them. Those rites which the learned go through in course of their ablutions, and with the aid of waters, accompanied with bows unto the gods, always contribute to the gratification of the gods. When worshipped with proper rites, the highly blessed Pitris, Rishis possessed of wealth of asceticism, and the household deities, all become gratified. Filled with such ideas, Nahusha, that great king, when he obtained the sovereignty of the deities, observed all these rites and duties fraught with great glory. Some time after the good fortune of Nahusha waned, and as the consequence thereof, he disregarded all these observances and began to act in defiance of all restraints in the manner I have already adverted to. The chief of the deities, in consequence of his abstention from observing the ordinances about the offers of incense and light, began to decline in energy. His sacrificial rites and presents were obstructed by Rakshasas. It was at this time that Nahusha yoked that foremost of Rishis, viz., Agastya, to his car. Endued with great strength, Nahusha, smiling the while, set that great Rishi quickly to the task, commanding him to bear the vehicle from the banks of the Saraswati (to the place he would indicate). At this time, Bhrigu, endued with great energy, addressed the son of Mitravaruna, saying, 'Do thou close thy eyes till I enter into the matted locks on thy head.' Having said this, Bhrigu of unfading glory and mighty energy entered into the matted locks of Agastya who stood still like a wooden post for hurling king Nahusha from the throne of Heaven. Soon after Nahusha saw Agastya approach him for bearing his vehicle. Beholding the lord of the deities Agastya addressed him, saying, 'Do thou yoke me to thy vehicle without delay. To what region shall I bear thee? O lord of the deities, I shall bear thee to the spot which thou mayst be pleased to direct.' Thus addressed by him, Nahusha caused the ascetic to be yoked to his vehicle. Bhrigu, who was staying within the matted locks of Agastya, became highly pleased at this act of Nahusha. He took care not to cast his eyes upon Nahusha. Fully acquainted with the energy which the illustrious Nahusha had acquired in consequence of the boon which Brahman had granted him, Bhrigu conducted himself in this way. Agastya also, though treated by Nahusha in this way, did not give way to wrath. Then, O Bharata, king Nahusha urged Agastya on with, his goad. The righteous-souled Rishi did not still give way to anger. The lord of the deities, himself giving way to anger, then struck Agastya on the head with his left foot. When the Rishi was thus struck on the head, Bhrigu, who was staying within Agastya's matted locks, became incensed and cursed Nahusha of sinful soul, saying, 'Since thou hast struck with thy foot on the head of this great Rishi, do thou, therefore, fall down on the earth, transformed into a snake, O wretch of wicked understanding!' Thus cursed by Bhrigu who had not been seen. Nahusha immediately became transformed into a snake and fell down on the earth, O chief of Bharata's race! If O monarch, Nahusha had seen Bhrigu, the latter would not then have succeeded, by his energy, in hurling the former down on the earth. In consequence of the various gifts that Nahusha had made, as also his penances and religious observances though hurled down on the earth, O king, he succeeded in retaining his memory. He then began to propitiate Bhrigu with a view to the working out of the course. Agastya also, filled with compassion, joined Nahusha in pacifying Bhrigu for bringing about an end of the course. At last Bhrigu felt compassion for Nahusha and provided' for the working out of the course.'

'Bhrigu said, 'There will appear a king (on earth) of the name of Yudhishthira, the foremost of his race. He will rescue thee from this curse.' Having said this, the Rishi vanished in the very sight of Nahusha. Agastya also, of mighty energy, having thus accomplished the business of the true Indra, that performer of a hundred sacrifices, returned to his own asylum, worshipped by all members of the regenerate order. Thou hast, O king, rescued Nahusha from Bhrigu's curse. Verily, rescued by thee, he ascended to the region of Brahman in thy sight. As regards Bhrigu, having hurled Nahusha on the earth, he went to the region of Brahman and informed the Grandsire of it. The Grandsire, having called Indra back, addressed the deities, saying. 'Ye deities, through the boon I had granted him, Nahusha had obtained the sovereignty of heaven. Deprived, however, of that sovereignty by the enraged Agastya, he has been hurled on the earth. Ye deities, ye will not succeed in living without a chief. Do ye, therefore, once more install Indra in the sovereignty of Heaven.' Unto the Grandsire, O son of Pritha, who said so unto them, the deities filled with joy, replied, saying, 'So be it!' The divine Brahman then, O best of monarchs, installed Indra in the sovereignty of heaven. Made once more the chief' of the deities, Vasava began to shine in beauty and resplendence. Even this is what occurred in days of yore through the transgression of Nahusha. In consequence, however, of the merits he had acquired through acts of the kind I have mentioned Nahusha succeeded in once more regaining his lost position. Hence, when evening comes, persons leading the domestic mode of life should give lights. The giver of lights is sure to acquire celestial sight after death. Verily, givers of light become as resplendent as the full moon. The giver of lights becomes endued with beauty of form and strength for as many years as correspond with the number of twinkles for which the lights given by him burn or blaze.'" ['Jwalante' has 'dwipah' for its nominative understood. A twinkle occupies an instant of time. What is said here is that the giver of lights becomes endued with beauty and strength for as many years as the number of instants for which the lights given by him are seen to burn.]

SECTION 101

"Yudhishthira said, 'Where do those foolish, wretched, and sinful men go, O chief of men, that steal or misappropriate such articles as belong to Brahmanas?'

"Bhishma said, 'I shall, in this connection, O Bharata, recite to thee the old narrative of a conversation between a Chandala and a low Kshatriya.'

"The person of the royal order said, 'Thou seemest, O Chandala, to be old in years, but thy conduct seems to be like that of a boy! Thy body is besmeared with the dust raised by dogs and asses, but without minding that dust thou art anxious about the little drops of vine milk that have fallen upon thy body! It is plain that such acts as are censured by the pious are ordained for the Chandala. Why, indeed, dost thou seek to wash off the spots of milk from thy body?'

"The Chandala said, 'Formerly, O king, certain kine belonging to Brahmana were stolen. While they were being carried away, some milk from their udders fell upon a number of Soma plants that grew by the roadside. Those Brahmanas that drank the juice of the plants thus bedewed with milk, as also the king who performed the sacrifice in which that Soma was drunk, had to sink in hell. Indeed, for having thus appropriated some thing that had belonged to a Brahmana, the king with all the Brahmanas that had assisted him had to go to hell. All those men also, Brahmanas and Kshatriyas, that drank milk or ghee or curds, in the palace of the king who had stolen the Brahmana's kine, had to fall into hell. The stolen kine also, shaking their bodies, slew with their milk the sons and grandsons of those that had stolen them, as also the king and the queen although the latter treated the animals with great care and attention. As regards myself, O king, I used to live in the observance of the vow of Brahmacharya in that place where these kine were placed after they had been stolen away. The food I had obtained by begging became sprinkled over with the milk of those kine. Having taken that food, O thou of the royal order, I have, in this life, become a Chandala. The king who had stolen the kine belonging to a Brahmana obtained an infamous end. Hence, one should never steal or appropriate anything that belongs to a Brahmana. Behold to what state I am reduced in consequence of my having eaten food that had been sprinkled over with milk belonging to a Brahmana! It is for this reason that Soma plants become unsaleable by a person possessed of wisdom. They who sell the Soma plant are censured by the wise. Indeed, O son, they who purchase Soma and they who sell it, both sink in the hell called Raurava when, departing from this world, they repair to the region of Yama. That man who, possessing a knowledge of the Vedas, duly sells Soma, becomes in his next life a usurer and quickly meets with destruction. For three hundred times he has to sink into hell and become transformed into an animal that subsists upon human ordure. Serving a person that is vile and low, pride, and rape upon a friend's wife, if weighed against one another in a balance, would show that pride, which transcends all restraints, is the heaviest. Behold this dog, so sinful and disagreeably pale and lean! (He was a human being in his former life). It is through pride that living creatures attain to such a miserable end. As regards myself, I was born in a large family, in a former birth of mine. O lord, and I was a thorough master of all branches of knowledge and all the sciences. I knew the gravity of all these faults, but influenced by pride, I became blinded and ate the meat attached to the vertebral columns of animals. In consequence of such conduct and such food, I have come to this state. Behold the reverses brought about by Time! Like a person whose cloth has taken fire at one end, or who is pursued by bees, behold, I am running, penetrated with fear, and smeared with dust! They that lead the domestic mode of life are rescued from all sins by a study of the Vedas, as also by gifts of other kinds, as declared by the wise. [The study of the Vedas is regarded as equivalent in merit of gifts. Hence actual gifts of articles are spoken of as 'gifts of other kinds.'] O thou of the royal order, a Brahmana that is sinful in conduct, becomes rescued from all his sins by the study of the Vedas if he betakes himself to the forest mode of life and abstains from attachment of every kind. O chief of Kshatriyas, I am in this life, born in a sinful order! I fail to see clearly how I may succeed in cleansing myself from all sins. In consequence of some meritorious act of a former life, I have not lost the memory of my previous lives. O king, I throw myself on the mercy! I ask thee! Do thou resolve my doubt. By what auspicious course of conduct should I wish to achieve my emancipation? O foremost of men, by what means shall I succeed in getting rid of my status as a Chandala?'

"The person of the royal order said, 'Know, O Chandala, the means by which thou mayst be able to attain to emancipation. By casting off thy life-breaths for the sake of a Brahmana thou mayst attain a desirable end! By throwing thy body on the fire of battle as a libation to the beasts and birds of prey for the sake of a Brahmana, indeed, by casting off thy life-breaths thus, thou mayst achieve emancipation! By no other means wilt thou succeed in achieving it!'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed, that Chandala, O scorcher of foes, poured his life-breaths as a libation on the fire of battle for the sake of protecting a Brahmana's wealth and as the consequence of that act attained to a very desirable end. Hence, O son, thou shouldst always protect the property of the Brahmanas, if, O chief of Bharata's race, thou desirest, O thou of mighty arms, an end that is eternal felicity!'"

SECTION 102

"Yudhishthira said, 'O grandsire, it has been said that all pious men attain to the same region after death. Is it true, O Bharata, that there is difference of position or status among them?'

"Bhishma said, 'By different deeds, O son of Pritha, men attain to different regions. They who are righteous in conduct attain to regions of felicity, while they who are sinful attain to regions that are fraught with misery. In this connection is cited the old narrative of the discourse, O son, between the ascetic Gautama and Vasava. A certain Brahmana of the name of Gautama, mild and self-restrained and with all his senses under complete control, beheld an infant elephant that had lost his mother and that was exceedingly cheerless on that account. Full of compassion and steady in the observance of his vows, the ascetic nursed that infant animal. After a long time the little beast grew up into a large and mighty elephant. One day, Indra, assuming the form of king Dhritarashtra, seized that mighty elephant which was as huge as a hill and from whose rent temples the juice was trickling down. Beholding the elephant dragged away, the great ascetic Gautama of rigid vows addressed king Dhritarashtra and said, 'O ungrateful Dhritarashtra, do not rob me of this elephant. It is looked upon by me as a son and I have reared it with much pain. It is said that between the righteous, friendship springs up if only they exchange seven words. [Literally 'friendship is seven-word.' Sometimes the same expression is understood as meaning 'seven-paced,' The sense, of course, is that if the righteous meet and exchange seven words (or, walk with each other for only seven steps), they become friends.] Thou shouldst see, O king, that the sin of injuring a friend does not touch thee! It behoveth thee not, O king, to take away by force this elephant that brings me my fuel and water, that protects my asylum when I am away, that exceedingly docile and obedient to his instructor, that is mindful of doing

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all the offices that his preceptor commands, that is mild and well-broken, and that is grateful and very dear to me! Indeed, thou shouldst not bear it away, disregarding my protestations and cries!'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'I shall give thee a thousand kine, a hundred maid-servants, and five hundred pieces of gold. I shall also, O great Rishi, give thee diverse other kinds of wealth. What use can Brahmanas have with elephants?'

"Gautama said, Keep, O king, thy kine and maid-servants and coins of gold and various gems and diverse other kinds of wealth! What, O monarch, have Brahmanas to do with wealth?'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Brahmana, have no use for elephants. Verily, O learned Brahmana, elephants are meant for persons of the royal order. In taking away an animal, viz., this foremost of elephants, for my use as vehicle, I cannot be regarded as committing any sin. Do thou cease obstructing me in this way, O Gautama!'

"Gautama said, 'O illustrious king, repairing even to that region of Yama where the righteous live in joy and the sinful in grief, I shall take from thee this my elephant!'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'They that are destitute of (religious) acts, they that have no faith and are atheists, they that are of sinful souls and are always engaged in gratifying their senses, only they have to go to the region of Yama and endure the misery he inflicts. Dhritarashtra shall go to a higher region, and not thither!'

"Gautama said, 'The region of Yama is such that men are there controlled. No untruth can be told there. Only truth prevails in that place. There the weak persecute the strong. Repairing. thither I shall force thee to yield up this elephant to me!'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Only those persons, that intoxicated with pride, conduct themselves towards their eldest sister and father and mother as towards foes, have to repair, O great ascetic, to such a region. I shall repair to a higher region. Indeed, Dhritarashtra shall not have to go thither!'

"Gautama said, 'The region, called Mandakini, of king Vaisravana is attained by those highly blessed persons for whom are every joy and comfort. There Gandharvas and Yakshas and Apsaras live (gladdening all the denizens with enchanting dances and music). Repairing even thither, O king, I shall force thee to yield up this elephant to me!'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Those persons who regard hospitality to guests as a vow, who are observant of good vows (having other objects), who give shelter to Brahmanas, and who eat what remains after distribution among all those that are dependent upon them, adorn the region called Mandakini of Kuvera. (I shall not go thither, for a higher region is reserved for me)!'

"Gautama said, 'If thou repairest to those delightful woods decked with flowers, that stand on the summit of Meru, that echo with melodious voice of Kinnaris, and that are graced with beautiful Jamvus of wide-spreading branches, I shall proceed even thither and force thee to yield up this elephant to me!'

'Dhritarashtra said, 'Those Brahmanas that are endued with mild dispositions, that are devoted to truth, that are possessed of great learning in the scriptures, that are compassionate unto all creatures, that study the Puranas with all the histories, that pour libations on the sacred fire and make gifts of honey unto the Brahmanas, repair to such regions, O great Rishi! I shall repair to a region that is higher. Indeed Dhritarashtra shall not go thither. If thou art acquainted with any other well-known region of felicity, speak unto me, for I shall repair even thither!'

"Gautama said, 'If thou proceedest to the woods owned by Narada and held dear by him, that are adorned with flowers and that echo with the melodious songs of the prince of Kinnaras, and that are the eternal abode of Gandharvas and Apsaras, I shall follow thee thither and force thee to yield up this elephant to me!'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'They who never solicit alms, they who cultivate music and dancing, and always rove about in joy, proceed to such regions. O great Rishi, I shall repair to a region that is higher. Indeed, Dhritarashtra shall not have to go thither!'

"Gautama said, 'If thou goest to that region where the Uttara-Kurus blaze in beauty and pass their days in gladness, O king, in the company of the very deities, where those beings that have their origin in fire, those that have their origin in water, and those having their origin in mountains, reside in happiness, and where Sakra raineth down the fruition of every wish, and where women live in perfect freedom, unrestrained by rules of any kind regulating their conduct of motions, and where there is no feeling of jealousy between the sexes,--if thou repairest thither, even thither shall I proceed and force thee to yield up this elephant to me!'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Those men that are freed from desire with respect to all articles of enjoyment, that abstain from meat, that never take up the rod of chastisement, and never inflict the least harm on mobile and immobile creatures, that have constituted themselves the soul of all creatures, that are entirely freed from the idea of meum, that have cast off attachments of every kind, that regard gain and loss as also praise and blame as equal,--only those men, O great Rishi, repair to such regions. I shall repair to a higher region. Verily, Dhritarashtra shall not go thither!'

"Gautama said, 'Next to these blaze in beauty those eternal regions, redolent with excellent perfumes, that are free from passions of every kind and that are destitute of sorrow. These constitute the abode of the high-souled king Soma. If thou repairest thither, even thither shall I proceed and force thee to yield up this elephant to me!'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Those men that always make gifts without receiving any gift, who never accept any service from others, who own nothing which they cannot give to a deserving person, who are hospitable to all creatures, who are inclined to show grace to every one, who are endued with forgiving dispositions, who never speak ill of others, who protect all creatures by throwing over them the shroud of compassion, and who are always righteous in their behaviour,--only those men, O great Rishi, proceed to such regions. I shall proceed to a higher region. Verily, Dhritarashtra shall not go there!'

"Gautama said, 'Next to these blaze in beauty other regions that are eternal, free from passion and darkness and sorrow, and that lie at the foot of the high-souled deity of the Sun. If thou repairest thither, even thither shall I go and force thee to yield up this elephant to me!'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Those men that are attentive to the study of the Vedas, that are devoted to the service of their preceptors, that are observant of penances and excellent vows, that are firm in truth, that never utter anything that smacks of disobedience or enmity to their preceptors, that are always alert, and ever ready in service of seniors and preceptors,--they repair, O great Rishi, to such regions, they that are pure (of mind and body), that are endued with cleansed souls, that are of restrained speech, that are firm in truth, and that are well-versed in the Vedas. I shall proceed to a higher region! Verily, Dhritarashtra shall not go thither!'

"Gautama said, 'Next to those are the eternal regions that blaze in beauty, that are redolent with excellent perfumes, that are free from passion, and that are free from every sorrow. They constitute the abode of the high-souled king Varuna. If thou proceedest thither, even thither shall I go and force thee to yield up this elephant to me!'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Those men who worship the deities by observing the vow called Chaturmasya, that perform a hundred and ten sacrifices, that pour libations every day on their sacred fire with devotion and faith for three years agreeably with the ordinances declared in the Vedas, that bear without flinching the burden of all duties, that walk steadily along the way trod by the righteous, that steadily sustain the course of conduct followed by the righteous-souled,--only they repair to such regions. I shall repair to a higher region. Verily, Dhritarashtra shall not go thither!'

"Gautama said, 'Above them are the regions of Indra, free from passion and sorrow, that are difficult of access and coveted by all men. Proceeding even to the abode of Indra himself of mighty energy, I shall, O king, force thee to yield up this elephant to me!'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'He who lives for a hundred years, who is endued with heroism, who studies the Vedas, and who performs sacrifices with devotion, verity, such men proceed to the region of Sakra. I shall repair to a higher region. Verily, Dhritarashtra shall not go there!'

"Gautama said, 'Above the Heavens are the regions of the Prajapatis of superior felicity abounding in every happiness, and divested of sorrow. Belonging to those puissant ones from whom the creation has sprung, they are coveted by all persons. If thou repairest thither, even thither shall I go and force thee to yield up this elephant to me!'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Those kings that have bathed upon the completion of the Rajasuya sacrifice, that are endued with righteous souls, that have protected their subjects properly, and that have washed their limbs with sanctified water upon the completion of the horse-sacrifice, repair to such regions. Verily, Dhritarashtra shall not go there!'

"Gautama said, 'Next to those, blaze in beauty those eternal regions, redolent with delicious perfumes, free from passion, and transcending all sorrow. Those are the regions of kine difficult of attainment where oppression can never be. If thou repairest thither, I shall proceed even thither and force thee to yield up this elephant to me!'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'He who, owning thousand kine, gives away a hundred kine every year, or owning a hundred kine gives away ten every year to the best of his might, or owning only ten or even five kine gives away therefrom one cow, and they who attain to a mature old age practising the vows of Brahmacharya all their days, who obey the declarations of the Vedas, and who, endued with energy of mind, betake themselves to pilgrimages to sacred waters and shrines, dwell in felicity in the region of kine. They who repair to Prabhasa and Manasa, the lakes of Pushkara, the large lake called Mahatsara, the sacred woods of Naimisha, Vahuda, Karatoya, Ganga, Gayasiras, Vipasa, Sthulavaluka, Krishna, the five rivers (of the Punjab), the extensive lake called Mahahrada, Gomati, Kausiki, Champa, Saraswati, Drisadwati, and Yamuna,--indeed, those illustrious Brahmanas, steady in the observance of vows, who go to these sacred waters,--repair to the regions of which thou speakest. Endued with celestial bodies and adorned with celestial garlands those blessed individuals, always emitting the most delightful perfumes, repair to those regions of joy and gladness. Verily, Dhritarashtra shall not go there!'

"Gautama said, 'Next to these are regions where there is no fear of the least cold or heat, no hunger, no thirst, no pain, no sorrow, no joy, no one that is agreeable or disagreeable, on friend, and on enemy: where decrepitude and death are not, and where there is neither righteousness nor sin. Proceeding even to that region which is freed from passion, which abounds with equable happiness, and where there is wisdom and the: tribute of Sattwa,--verily, proceeding to even that sacred abode of the self-born Brahman,--I shall force thee to yield up this elephant to me!'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'They who are freed from all attachments, who are possessed of cleansed souls, who are steady in the observance of the foremost vows, who are devoted to the Yoga that depends on tranquillising the mind, and who have (in this life) attained to the happiness of heaven,--those persons wedded to the attribute of Sattwa--attain to the sacred region of Brahman. O great ascetic, thou shalt not be able to discover Dhritarashtra there!'

"Gautama said, 'There where the foremost of Rathantaras is sung, where altars are strewn with the sacred Kusa blades, for the performance of Pundarika sacrifices, there where Soma-drinking Brahmanas go on vehicles drawn by excellent steeds, 1 proceeding even thither I shall force thee to yield up this elephant. I think, thou art the slayer of Vritra, viz., the deity that has performed a hundred sacrifices, engaged in roving through all the regions of the universe! I hope, I have not, through mental weakness (not recognising thee before) committed any fault by the words I have addressed thee!'

"The deity of a hundred sacrifices said, 'Yes, I am Maghavat. I came to the world of human beings, for seizing this elephant. I bow to thee. Do thou command me! I shall readily accomplish all that thou mayst be pleased to say!'

"Gautama said, 'Do thou give me, O chief of the deities, this elephant that is of white complexion and that is so young, for it is only ten years of age. I have brought it up as a child of my own. Dwelling in these woods, it has grown under my eye and has been to me a dear companion. Do thou set free this my child that thou hast seized and wishest to drag away!'

"The deity of a hundred sacrifices said, 'This elephant that has been a son to thee, O foremost of Brahmanas, cometh to thee looking wishfully at thee! Behold, it sniffs thy feet with its nostrils! My salutations to thee! Do thou pray for my welfare!'

"Gautama said, 'O chief of the deities, I do always think of thy good! I always offer thee worship! Do thou also, O Sakra, bestow thy blessings on me! Given by thee, I accept this elephant!'

"The deity of a hundred sacrifices said, 'Amongst all those high-souled and foremost of Rishis that firmly adhere to truth and that have the Vedas planted in their heart, thou alone hast been able to recognise me. For this reason I am exceedingly pleased with thee! Do thou, therefore, O Brahmana, come with me quickly, accompanied by this thy son! Thou deservest to attain to diverse regions of great felicity without the delay of even a single day!'

"Bhishma continued, 'Having said these words, the wielder of the thunderbolt, taking Gautama with him and placing him before, along with his son, viz., that elephant, proceeded to heaven, that is difficult of attainment by even the righteous. He who would listen to this history every day or would recite it, restraining his senses the while, proceedeth (after death) to the region of Brahman even as Gautama himself.'"

SECTION 103

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou hast discoursed to us on diverse kinds of gift, on tranquillity of soul, on Truth, on compassion, on contentment with one's wedded wife, and the merits of gift. It is known to thee, O grandsire, that there is nothing whose puissance is superior to that of penances. It behoveth thee to expound to us what constitutes the highest penances.'

"Bhishma said, 'I tell thee, O Yudhishthira, that one attains to a region of felicity that corresponds with the kind of penances that one observes. This is what I hold, O son of Kunti, that there is no penance that is superior to abstention from food! In this connection is recited the ancient narrative of the discourse between Bhagiratha and the illustrious Brahman (the Grandsire of the Creation). It has been heard by us, O Bharata, that Bhagiratha attained to that region which transcends that of the deities, of kine, and of the Rishis. Beholding this, O monarch, the Grandsire Brahman, addressing Bhagiratha, said, 'How, O Bhagiratha, hast thou attained to this region that is so difficult of attainment? Neither the deities, nor Gandharvas, nor human beings, O Bhagiratha succeed in coming here without having practised the severest austerities. How, indeed, hast thou attained to this region?'

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"Bhagiratha said, 'I used to make gifts of hundreds of thousands of gold coin unto the Brahmanas, observing the Brahmacharya vow all the while, it is not through the merit on those gifts, O learned one, that I have attained to this region. I performed the Ekaratra sacrifice for ten times, and the Pancharatra sacrifice for as many times. The Ekadasaratra sacrifice was performed by me eleven times. The great sacrifice of Jyotishtoma was performed by me a hundred times. It is not, however, through the merits of those sacrifices that I have attained to this region of felicity. [The Ekaratra, Pancharatra, and Ekadasaratra, sacrifices consist of fasts and gifts for the periods indicated by the names, viz., one night, five nights, and eleven nights.] For a hundred years I lived continuously by the side of the holy Jahnavi, all the while practising the severest austerities. There I made gifts unto the Brahmanas of thousands of male and female slaves. By the side of the Pushkara lakes I made gifts unto the Brahmanas, for a hundred thousand times, a hundred thousand steeds, and two hundred thousand kine. I also gave away a thousand damsels of great beauty, each adorned with golden moons, and sixty thousand more decked with ornaments of pure gold. It is not, however, through the merits of those acts that I have succeeded in attaining to these regions. ['Golden moons' imply those well-carved and beautifully fringed discs of gold that are worn by Hindu ladies on the forehead and that hang by thin chains of gold attached to the, hair. In Bengal, ladies of respectable houses wear a kind of ornament called 'Chandrahara' or the moon-wreath. This ornament is worn round the waist, on the hip. Several chains of gold, from half a dozen to a dozen, having a large disc of well-carved gold to which they are attached, constitute this really very beautiful ornament. The disc is divided into two halves, attached to each other by hinges, so that in sitting down, the ornament produces no inconvenience.] O lord of the universe, performing those sacrifices known by the name of Gosava, I gave away ten Arvudas of kine, presenting each Brahmana with ten kine, each of whom was accompanied with her calf, each of whom yielded milk at the time, and with each of whom were given a vessel of gold and one of white brass for milking her. Performing many Soma sacrifices, I gave away unto each Brahmana ten kine each of whom yielded milk, and each of whom had brought forth only her first calf, besides making presents unto them of hundreds of kine belonging to that species which is known by the name of Rohini. I also gave away unto the Brahmanas twice ten Prayutas of other kine, all yielding milk. It is not through the merit of those gifts, O Brahman, that I have succeeded in attaining to this region of felicity. I also gave away a hundred thousand horses of the Valhika breed, all white of complexion, and adorned with garlands of gold. It is not, however, through the merits of those acts that I have attained to this region. I gave away eight crores of golden coins unto the Brahmanas, O Brahman, and then another ten crores also, in each sacrifice that I performed. It is not, however, through the merits of those acts that I have attained to this region of felicity. I also gave away ten and then seven crores of steeds, O Grandsire, each of green complexion, each having ears that were dark, and each adorned with garlands of gold. I also gave away ten and seven thousand elephants of huge size, of teeth as large as plough-shares, each having those whorls on its body which are called Padmas, and each adorned with garlands of gold. I gave away ten thousand cars, O Grandsire, whose limbs were made of gold, and which were adorned with diverse ornaments of gold. I also gave away seven thousand other cars with steeds yoked unto each. All the steeds that were yoked unto them were adorned with ornaments of gold. Those cars represented the Dakshinas of a sacrifice and were of exactly that kind which is indicated in the Vedas. In the ten great Vajapeya sacrifices that I performed, I gave away a thousand horses each endued with the puissance of Indra himself, judged by their prowess and the sacrifices they had performed. Spending a vast sum of money, O Grandsire, and performing eight Rajasuya sacrifices, I gave away (unto the Brahmanas that officiated in them) a thousand kings whose necks were adorned with garlands of gold, after having vanquished them in battle. It is not, however, through the merits of those acts that I have attained to this region. In those sacrifices, O Lord of the universe, the presents that flowed from me were as copious as the stream of Ganga herself. Unto each Brahmana I gave two thousand elephants decked with gold, as many steeds adorned with golden ornaments, and a hundred villages of the best kind. Verily, I gave these unto each Brahmana for three times in succession. Observant of penances, subsisting on regulated diet, adopting tranquillity of soul, and restraining speech, I dwelt for a long time on the breast of Himavat by the side of that Ganga whose irresistible current (as it fell from heaven) was borne by Mahadeva on his head. It is not through the merit of these acts, O Grand sire, that I have attained to this region. Throwing the Sami, I adored the gods in myriads of such sacrifices as are completed in course of a single day, and such others as take twelve days for completing, and others still as can be completed in three and ten days, besides many Pundarikas. I have not attained to this region through the merits of any of those sacrifices. [In the Santi Parva it has been explained that in ancient times kings sometimes performed sacrifices causing altars to be raised at small distances from one another. These distances were measured by hurling a heavy piece of wood called Sami, so that throwing the Sami from one altar, the next altar would be created upon the spot where it fell.] I gave unto the Brahmanas eight thousand white-complexioned bulls, each graced with a beautiful hump, and each having one of its horns covered with gold. Unto them I also gave beautiful wives whose necks were adorned with chains of gold. I also gave away large heaps of gold and wealth of other kinds. Verily, I gave away hills of gems and precious stones. Villages, numbering by thousands and teeming with wealth and corn, were also given away by me. With all my senses about me, I gave away unto the Brahmanas a hundred thousand kine each of whom had brought forth only her first calf, at many great sacrifices which I performed. It is not, however, through the merits of those acts that I have attained to this region. I adored the deities in a sacrifice that is completed in eleven days. Twice I adored them in sacrifices that are completed in twelve days. I adored them also many a time in the horse-sacrifices. Six and ten times I performed the Arkayana sacrifice. It is not through the merits of those acts that I have attained to this region. I also gave unto each Brahmana a forest of Kanchana trees extending for a Yojana on every side, and with each tree adorned with jewels and gems. It is not through the merits of that act that I have attained to this region. For thirty years, with heart perfectly freed from wrath, I observed the Turayana vow that is possessed of very superior merit, and gave away unto the Brahmanas every day nine hundred kine. Indeed, O Lord of the universe, every one of those kine belonged to the Rohini species, and yielded milk at the time I gave them away. It is not through the merits of those acts, O chief of the deities, that I have attained to this region. I worshipped thirty fires, O Brahmana, every day. I adored the deities in eight sacrifices in which the fat of all animals was poured on the fire. I adored them in seven sacrifices in which the fat of human beings was poured on the fire. I adored them in a thousand and twenty-eight Viswajit sacrifices. It is not through the merits of those sacrifices O Lord of all the deities, that I have attained to this region. On the banks of Sarayu and Vahuda and Ganga as also in the woods of Naimisha, I gave away millions of kine unto the Brahmanas. It is not through the merits of those acts that I have attained to this region. The vow of fast had been known to Indra. He had, however, kept it a secret. Sukra, the descendant of Bhrigu, obtained a knowledge of it by means of spiritual sight acquired through penances. Blazing with energy as he does, it is Usanas who first made it known to the universe. I observed that vow, O boon giving Deity! When I accomplished that very superior vow, the Brahmana became all gratified with me. A thousand Rishis came thither. All those Brahmanas and Rishis, O puissant lord, gratified with me, said, 'Do thou repair to the region of Brahmana! It is in consequence of the merits of that vow that I have succeeded in attaining to this region of very superior felicity. There is no doubt in this. Asked by the Supreme Ordainer of all things, I have duly expounded the merits of the vow of fast. In my opinion, there is no penance higher than fast. I vow to thee, O foremost of all the deities! Be thou propitious unto me!'

"Bhishma continued, 'King Bhagiratha, who had said so and who deserved every honour was on the conclusion of his speech, honoured by Brahman according to the rites ordained for that purpose. Do thou, therefore, O Yudhishthira, observe the vow of fast and worship the Brahmanas every day. The words uttered by Brahmanas can accomplish everything both here and hereafter. Indeed, the Brahmanas should ever be gratified with gifts of robes food and white complexioned kine and good dwelling houses and mansions. The very deities should gratify the Brahmanas. Freeing thyself from cupidity, do thou practise this vow of very superior merit that is not known to all!'"

SECTION 104

"Yudhishthira said, 'Man, it is said, is endued with a period of life extending for a hundred years, and with energy and might that are considerable. Why then, O grandsire, do human beings die even when they are very young? By what does a man become endued with longevity, and by what is his life shortened? Through what does a man acquire the fame that rests upon great achievements? Through what does one attain to wealth and prosperity? Is it by penances, or Brahmacharya, or silent recitation of sacred Mantras, or drugs? Is it by his acts, or speech? Do thou explain to me this, O grandsire!'

"Bhishma said, 'I shall tell thee what thou askest me. In fact, I shall tell thee what the reason is for which one becomes shortlived, and what the reason is for which one becomes endued with longevity. I shall also explain to thee the reason for which one succeeds in acquiring the fame that rests on great achievements, and the reason for which one succeeds in acquiring wealth and prosperity. Indeed, I shall enlighten thee as to the manner in which one must live in order to be endued with all that is beneficial for him. It is by conduct that one acquires longevity, and it is by conduct that one acquires wealth and prosperity. Indeed, it is by conduct that one acquires the fame that rests upon great achievements both here and hereafter. The man whose conduct is improper or wicked never acquires a long life. All creatures become afraid of such a man and are oppressed by him. If, therefore, one wishes one's own advancement and prosperity, one should, in this world, betake to conduct that is proper and good. Good conduct succeeds in dispelling the inauspiciousness and misery of even one that is sinful. [i.e. if a sinful man mends his conduct, he succeeds in warding off the misery and evils to which he would otherwise be subject in consequence of his sins.] Righteousness has conduct for its indication. They that are good and righteous are so in consequence of the conduct they follow. The indications, again, of good conduct are afforded by the acts of those that are good or righteous. People esteem that man who acts righteously and who does good acts even if they only hear of him without actually seeing him. They that are atheists, they that are destitute of all acts, they that are disobedient to preceptors and transgress the injunctions of the scriptures, they that are unacquainted with and, therefore, unobservant of duties, and they that are wicked of conduct, become shortlived. They that are of improper behaviour, they that transgress all restraints, they that are unscrupulous in respect of sexual congress, become shortlived here and have to go to Hell hereafter. Even those men live for a hundred years who, though destitute of all accomplishments, betake themselves to propriety and righteousness of conduct and become endued with faith and freed from malice. He that is free from wrath, that is truthful in speech, that never does any injury to any creature in the universe, that is divested of malice and crookedness and insincerity, succeeds in living for a hundred years. He who always breaks little clods of earth, or tears up the grass that grows under his feet, or cuts off his nails with his teeth, or is always impure, or very restless, never succeeds in acquiring a long life. [What is said here is this; certain persons have the ugly habit of picking up little clods of earth and pound them into dust, while sitting on the ground and engaged in talking. The habit also of tearing the grass while sitting on the ground may be marked. It should be remembered that the people of India in ancient times used often to sit on the bare ground. As to cutting off the nails with the teeth, it is an ugly habit with many young men.] One should wake up from sleep at the hour known as the Brahma Muhurta and then think of both religion and profit. Getting up from bed, one should then wash one's face and mouth, and joining one's hands in an attitude of reverence, say the morning prayers. In this way, one should when evening comes, say one's evening prayers also, restraining speech (with other people) the while. One should never look at the rising sun, nor at the setting sun. [The prayers said in the morning and the evening are also spoken of as adoring the two twilights.] Nor should one look at the sun when he is in eclipse; nor at his image in the water; nor at midday when he is at the meridian. The Rishis, in consequence of their adoring the two twilights with great regularity succeeded in attaining to longevity. Hence, one should, restraining speech, say one's prayers regularly at the two twilights. As regards those Brahmanas that do not say their prayers at the two twilights, a righteous king should set them to accomplish such acts as are ordained for the Sudras. Persons of every order should never have sexual congress with other people's wives. There is nothing that shortens life so effectually as sexual congress with other people's wives. For as many thousand years shall the adulterer have to live in Hell as the number of pores on the bodies of the women with whom he may commit the offence. One should dress one's hair, apply collyrium to one's eyes, and wash one's teeth, as also worship the deities, in the forenoon. One should not gaze at urine or faeces, or tread on it or touch it with one's feet. One should not set out on a journey at early dawn, or at midday, or in the evening twilight, or with a companion that is unknown, or with a Sudra, or alone. While going along a road, one should, standing aside, always make way to a Brahmana, to kine, to kings, to an old man, to one that is weighted with a burden, to a woman quick with child, or to one that is weak. When one meets a large tree that is known, one should walk round it. One should also, when coming upon a spot where four roads meet, walk round it before pursuing one's journey. At midday, or at midnight, or at night in general, or at the two twilights, one should not proceed to spots where four roads meet. One should never wear sandals or clothes that have been worn by another. One should always observe the vow of Brahmacharya, and should never cross one's legs. One should observe the vow of Brahmacharya on the day of the new moon, as also on that of the full moon, as also on the eighth lunar day of both fortnights. One should never eat the flesh of animals not slain in sacrifice. One should never eat the flesh of the back of an animal. One should avoid censuring and calumniating others, as also all kinds of deceitful behaviour. One should never pierce others with wordy shafts. Indeed, one should never utter any cruel speech. One should never accept a gift from a person that is low and vulgar. One should never jitter such words as trouble other people or as are inauspicious or are as' sinful. Wordy shafts fall from the mouth. Pierced therewith,

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the victim grieves day and night. The man of wisdom should never shot them for piercing the vitals of other people. A forest, pierced with shafts or cut down with the axe, grows again. The man, however, that is pierced with words unwisely spoken, becomes the victim of wounds that fester and lead to death. 1 Barbed arrows and Nalikas and broadheaded shafts are capable of being extracted from the body. Wordy shafts, however, are incapable of being extracted, for they lie embedded in the very heart. One should not taunt a person that is defective of a limb or that has a limb in excess, or one that is destitute of learning, or one that is miserable, or one that is ugly or poor, or one that is destitute of strength. One should avoid atheism, calumniating the Vedas, censuring the deities, malice, pride, arrogance, and harshness. One should not, in wrath, take up the rod of chastisement for laying it upon another. Only the son or the pupil, it has been said, can be mildly chastised for purposes of instruction. One should not speak ill of Brahmanas; nor should he point at the stars with one's fingers. If asked, one should not say what the lunation is on a particular day. By telling it, one's life becomes shortened. Having answered calls of nature or having walked over a road, one should wash one's feet. One should also wash one's feet before sitting to recite the Vedas or to eat any food. These are the three things which are regarded as pure and sacred by the deities and as such fit for the Brahmana's use, viz., that whose impurity is unknown, that which has been washed in water, and that which has been well-spoken of. Samyava, Krisara, meat, Sashakuli and Payasa should never be cooked for one's own self. Whenever cooked, these should be offered to the deities. [Samyava is a thin cake of unleavened bread, fried with ghee, pounded and again made up into an oblong form with fresh bread, sugar and spices, and again fried with ghee. Krisara is a kind of liquid food made of milk, sesame, rice, sugar, and spices. Sashkuli is a kind of pie. Payasa is rice boiled in sugar and milk.] One should attend every day to one's fire. One should every day give alms. One should, restraining speech the while, clean one's teeth with the tooth-stick. One should never be in bed when the sun is up. If one fails any day to be up with the sun, one should then perform an expiation. Rising from bed, one should first salute one's parents, and preceptors, or other seniors deserving of respect. By so doing one attains to long life. The tooth-stick should be cast off when done with, and a new one should be used every day. One should eat only such food as is not forbidden in the scriptures, abstaining from food of every kind on days of the new moon and the full moon. One should, with senses restrained, answer calls of nature, facing the north. One should not worship the deities without having first washed one's teeth, Without also worshipping the deities first, one should never repair to any person save one's preceptor or one that is old in years or one that is righteous or one that is possessed of wisdom. They that are wise should never see themselves in an unpolished or dirty mirror. One should never have sexual congress with a woman that is unknown or with one that is quick with child. One should never sleep with head turned towards the north or the west. One should not lie down upon a bed-stead that is broken or rickety. One should not sleep on a bed without having examined it first with the aid of a light. Nor should one sleep on a bed with another (such as wife) by one's side. One should never sleep in a transverse direction. One should never make a compact with atheists or do anything in conjunction with them. One should never drag a seat with the foot and sit on it. One should never bathe in a state of nudity, nor at night. One possessed of intelligence should never suffer one's limbs to be rubbed or pressed after bathing. One should never smear unguents upon one's body without having first taken bath. Having bathed, one should never wave one's cloth in the air (for drying it). One should not always wear wet clothes. One should never take off one's body the garlands of flowers one may wear. Nor should one wear such garlands over one's outer garments. One should never even talk with a woman during the period of her functional change. One should not answer a call of nature on a field (where crops are grown) or at a place too near an inhabited village. One should never answer a call of nature on a water. One should first wash one's mouth thrice with water before eating any food. Having finished one's meals, one should wash one's mouth thrice with water and twice again. One should eat, with face turned eastwards, one's food, restraining speech the while and without censuring the food that is eaten. One should always leave a remnant of the food that is placed before one for eating. Having finished one's meals, one should mentally touch fire. If one eats with face turned eastwards, one becomes endued with longevity. By eating with face turned southwards, one acquires great fame. By eating with face turned westwards, one acquires great wealth. By eating with face turned northwards, one becomes truthful in speech. Having finished one's meals one should wash all the upper holes of one's body with water. Similarly, all the limbs, the navel, and the palms of the hands should be washed with water. One should never seat oneself upon husk of corn, or upon hair, or upon ashes, or upon bones. One should, on no account, use the water that has been used by another for bathing. One should always perform the Homa for propitiating the deities, and recite the Savitri Mantra. One should always eat in a seated posture. One should never eat while walking. One should never answer a call of nature in a standing posture. One should never answer a call of nature on ashes or in a cow-pen. One should wash one's feet before sitting to one's meals. One should never sit or lie down for sleep with wet feet. One who sits to one's meals after having washed one's feet, lives for a hundred years. One should never touch these three things of great energy, while one is in an impure state, viz., fire, a cow, and a Brahmana. By observing this rule, one acquires longevity. One should not, while one is in an impure state, cast one's eyes on these three things of great energy, viz., the sun, the moon, and the stars. The life-breaths of a young man go upwards when an old and venerable person comes to his abode. He gets them back by standing up and properly saluting the guest. Old men should always be saluted. One should, upon seeing them, offer seats with one's own hand. After the old man has taken his seat, one should seat oneself and remain with hands joined in reverence. When an old man goes along the road, one should always follow him instead of walking ahead. One should never sit on a torn or broken seat. One should, without using it any longer, cast away a broken vessel of white brass. One should never eat without a piece of upper garment wrapping one's body. One should never bathe in a state of nudity. One should never sleep in a state of nudity. One should never even touch the remnants of other people's dishes and plates. One should never, while one is in an impure state, touch another's head, for it is said in the scriptures that the life-breaths are all concentrated in the head. One should never strike another on the head or seize another by the hair. One should not join one's hands together for scratching one's head. One should not, while bathing, repeatedly dip one's head in water. By so doing one shortens one's life. One who has bathed by dipping the head in water should not, afterwards, apply oil to any part of one's body. One should never take a meal without eating some sesame. One should never teach (the Vedas or any scriptures) at a time when one is impure. Nor should one study while one is impure. When a storm rises or a bad odour permeates in the atmosphere, one should never think of the Vedas. Persons conversant with ancient history recite a Gatha sung by Yama in days of old. He that runs while impure or studies the Vedas under similar circumstances, indeed, that regenerate Brahman who studies the Vedas at forbidden times, loses his Vedas and shortens his life. Hence, one should never study the Vedas with concentrated attention at forbidden times. They who answer a call of nature, with face towards the sun, or towards a blazing fire, or towards a cow, or towards a regenerate person, or on the road, become shortlived. At daytime both calls of nature should be answered with face turned towards the north. At night, those calls should be answered facing the south. By so doing one does not shorten one's life. One that wishes to live long should never disregard or insult any of these three, however weak or emaciated they may appear to be, viz., the Brahmana, the Kshatriya, and the snake. All three are endued with virulent poison. The snake, if angry, burns the victim with only a glance of its eyes. The Kshatriya also, if angry, burns the objects of his wrath, as soon as he sees him, with his energy. The Brahmana, stronger than any of these two, destroys not only the objects of his wrath but his whole race as well, not by vision alone but by thought also. [The Brahmana is more powerful than the other two, for while the other two cannot injure except when they have, their foe within sight, the Brahmana can do so even by not seeing his enemy.] The man of wisdom should, therefore, tend these three with care. One should, never engage in any disputation with one's preceptor. O Yudhishthira, if the preceptor becomes angry, he should always be pacified by due honours being paid to him. Even if the preceptor happens to be entirely wrong, one should still follow and honour him. Without doubt, calumnious sayings against the preceptor always consume the lives of those that utter them. One should always answer a call of nature at a spot far removed from one's habitation. One should wash one's feet at a distance from one's habitation. One should always throw the remnants of one's dishes and plates at a spot far removed from one's habitation. Verily, he who desires his own good should do all these. One should not wear garlands of red flowers. Indeed, they who are possessed of wisdom should wear garlands of flowers that are white in hue. Rejecting the lotus and the lily, O thou of great might, one may bear on one's head, however, a flower that is red, even if it be an aquatic one. [The custom in India, with especially all orthodox Brahmanas, is to wear a single flower on the head, inserted into the coronal lock. This flower may be a red one, it is said, after the prohibition in the previous verse about the wearing of garlands made of red flowers.] A garland of gold can under no circumstances become impure. After one has bathed, O king, one should use perfumes mixed with water. [What is stated here is that dry perfumes should not be used, but those which are pounded with water and made into a paste.] One should never wear one's upper garment for covering the lower limbs or the lower garments for covering the upper ones. Nor should one wear clothes worn by another. One should not, again, wear a piece of cloth that has not its lateral fringes. [The cloth worn by a Hindu has two lateral fringes which contain a lesser number of threads than the body of the cloth.] When one goes to bed, O king, one should wear a different piece of cloth. When making a journey also on a road, one should wear a different piece of cloth. So also, when worshipping the deities, one should wear a different piece of cloth. [It has been said that Hinduism is a vast system of personal hygiene. These directions about change of attire are scrupulously observed by every rigid Hindu to this day. No change seems to have taken place in the daily habits of the people.] The man of intelligence should smear his limbs with unguents made of Priyangu, sandalwood, Vilwa, Tagara, and Kesara. In observing a fast, one should purify oneself by a bath, and adorn one's person with ornaments and unguents. One should always abstain from sexual congress on days of the full moon and the new moon. One should never, O monarch, eat off the same plate with another even if that other happens to be of one's own or equal rank. Nor should one ever eat any food that has been prepared by a woman in her functional period. One should never eat any food or drink, any liquid whose essence has been taken off. Nor should one eat anything without giving a portion thereof to persons that wishfully gaze at the food that one happens to take. The man of intelligence should never sit close to one that is impure. Nor should one sit close to persons that are foremost in piety. All food that is forbidden in ritual acts should never be taken even on other occasions. The fruits of the Ficus religiosa and the Ficus Bengalensis as also the leaves of the Crotolaria Juncea, and the fruits of the Ficus glomerata, should never be eaten by one who is desirous of his own good. The flesh of goats, of kine, and the peacock, should never be eaten. One should also abstain from dried flesh and all flesh that is stale. The man of intelligence should never eat any salt, taking it up with his hand. Nor should he eat curds and flour of fried barley at night. One should abstain also from flesh of animals not slain in sacrifices. One should, with concentrated attention, eat once on the morning and once in the evening, abstaining entirely from all food, during the interval. One should never eat any food in which one may detect a hair. Nor should one eat at the Sraddha of an enemy. One should eat silently; one should never eat without covering one's person with an upper garment, and without sitting down. One should never eat any food placing it on the bare ground. One should never eat except in a sitting posture. One should never make any noise while eating. The man of intelligence should first offer water and then food to one that has become his guest, and after having served the guest thus, should then sit to his meals himself. He who sits down to dinner in a line with friends and himself eats any food without giving thereof to his friends, is said to eat virulent poison. As regards water and Payasa and flour of fried barley and curds and ghee and honey, one should never, after drinking or eating these, offer the remnants thereof to others. One should never, O chief of men, eat any food doubtingly. One desirous of food should never drink curds at the conclusion of a meal. After the meal is finished, one should wash one's mouth and face with the (right) hand only, and taking a little water should then dip the toe of the right foot in it. After washing, one should touch the crown of one's head with the (right) hand. With concentrated attention, one should next touch fire. The man who knows how to observe all these ordinances with care, succeeds in attaining to the foremost place among his kinsmen. One should, after finishing one's meals, with one's nose and eyes and ears and navel and both hands wash with water. One should not, however, keep one's hands wet. Between the tip and the root of the thumb is situate the sacred Tirtha known by the name of Brahma. On the back of the little finger, it is said, is situate the Deva-tirtha. The intervening space between the thumb and the forefinger, O Bharata, should be used for discharging the Pitri rites, after touching water according to the ordinance. One should never indulge in other people's calumny. Nor should one ever utter anything that is disagreeable. The man that desires his own good should never seek to provoke against himself the wrath of others. One should never seek to converse with a person that has fallen away from his order. The very sight of such a person should be avoided. One should never come in contact with a fallen person. By avoiding such contact one succeeds in attaining to a long life. One should never indulge in sexual congress at day-time. Nor should one have congress with a maiden, nor with a harlot nor with a barren woman. One should never have congress with a woman that has not bathed after the expiry of her functional period. By avoiding such acts one succeeds in attaining to a long life. After washing the several limbs directed, in view of religious acts, one should wash one's lips thrice, and once more twice. By doing this, one becomes purified and fit for religious acts. The several organs of sense should each be washed once, and water should also be sprinkled over the whole body. Having done this, one should go through the worship of the Pitris and the deities, agreeably with the ordinances of the Vedas. Listen to me, O thou of Kuru's race, as I tell thee what purification is cleansing and beneficial for a Brahmana. Before beginning to

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eat and after finishing the meal, and in all acts requiring purification, the Brahmana should perform the achamana with water placed on the limb called the Brahmatirtha. After ejecting any matter from the throat or spitting, one should wash one's mouth before one can become pure. A kinsman who happens to be old, or a friend who happens to be poor, should be established in one's house and his comforts looked after as if he were a member of the family. By doing this, one succeeds in acquiring both fame and long life. The establishment of pigeons in one's house is fraught with blessedness, as also of parrots both male and female. If female these taken to one's abode, they succeed in dispelling calamity. The same is the case with cockroaches, If fireflies and vultures and wood-pigeons and bees enter a house or seek residence in it, acts of propitiating the deities should be performed. These are creatures of evil omen, as also ospreys. One should never divulge the secrets of high-souled men; one should never have sexual congress with a forbidden woman. Nor should one ever have such congress with the spouse of a king or with women that are the friends of queens. One should never cultivate intimacy with physicians, or with children, or with persons that are old, or with one's servants, O Yudhishthira. One should always provide for friends, for Brahmanas, and for such as seek one's protection. By doing this, O king, one acquires a long life. The man of wisdom should reside in such a house as has been constructed with the aid of a Brahmana and an engineer skilled in his profession, if indeed, O king, he desires his own good. 1 One should not, O king, sleep at the evening twilight. Nor should one study at such an hour for acquiring any branch of knowledge. The man of intelligence should never eat also at such an hour. By acting in this way one acquires a long life. One should never perform any act in honour of the Pitris at night time. One should not deck one's person after finishing one's meals. One should bathe at night, if one desires one's own advancement. One should also, O Bharata, always abstain from the flour of fried barley at night. The remnants of food and drink, as also the flowers with which one has worshipped the deities, should never be used. Inviting a guest at night, one should never, with excessive courtesy, force him to eat to the point of gratification. Nor should one eat oneself to the point of gratification, at night. One should not slay a bird (for eating it), especially after having fed it. One possessed of wisdom should wed a maiden born in a high family, endued with auspicious indications, and of full age. Begetting children upon her and thus perpetuating one's race by that means, one should make over one's sons to a good preceptor for acquiring general knowledge, O Bharata, as also a knowledge of the especial customs of the family, O monarch. The daughters that one may beget should be bestowed upon youths of respectable families, that are again possessed of intelligence. Sons should also be established and a portion of the family inheritance, given to them, O Bharata, as their provision. One should bathe by dipping one's head in water before one sits down to perform any act in honour of the Pitris of the deities. One should never perform a Sraddha under the constellation of one's nativity. No Sraddha should be performed under any of the Bhadrapadas (prior or later), nor under the constellation Krittika, O Bharata. The Sraddha should never be performed under any of those constellations that are regarded as fierce (such as Aslesha, etc) and any of those that, upon calculation, seem to be hostile. Indeed, in this respect, all these constellations should be avoided which are forbidden in treatises on astrology. One should sit facing either the east or the north while undergoing a shave at the hands of the barber. By so doing, O great king, one succeeds in acquiring a long life. One should never indulge in other people's calumny or self-reproach, for, O chief of the Bharatas, it is said that calumny is sinful, whether of others or of oneself. In wedding, one should avoid a woman that is deficient of any limb. A maiden too, if such, should also be avoided. A woman of the same Pravaras should also be avoided; as also one that has any malformation; as also one that has been born in the race to which one's mother belongs. 1 One possessed of wisdom should never have sexual congress with a woman that is old, or one that has abandoned the domestic mode of life for entering the forest mode, or one that is true to her lord, or one whose organs of generation are not healthy or well-formed. It behoveth thee not to wed a woman that is of a yellow complexion, or one that is afflicted with leprosy, or one born in a family in which there has been epilepsy, or one that is low in birth and habits, or one that is born in a family in which the disease called Switra (leprosy) has appeared, or one belonging by birth to a race in which there are early deaths. Only that maiden who is endued with auspicious indications, and who is accomplished for qualifications of diverse kinds, who is agreeable and handsome, should be wedded. One should wed, O Yudhishthira, in a family that is higher or at least equal to one's own. One who is desirous of one's own prosperity, should never wed a woman that is of an inferior order or that has fallen away from the order of her birth. Carefully igniting the fire, one should accomplish all those acts which have been ordained and declared in the Vedas or by the Brahmanas. One should never seek to injure women. Spouses should always be protected. Malice always shortens life. Hence, one should always abstain from cherishing malice. Sleep at day-time shortens life. To sleep after the sun has risen shortens life. They who sleep at any of the twilights, or at nightfall or who go to sleep in a state of impurity, have their lives shortened. Adultery always shortens life. One should not remain in a state of impurity after shaving. One should, O Bharata, carefully abstain from studying or reciting the Vedas, and eating, and bathing, at eventide. When the evening twilight comes, one should collect one's senses for meditation, without doing any act. One should, O king, bathe and then worship the Brahmanas. Indeed, one should bathe before worshipping the deities and reverentially saluting the preceptor. One should never go to a sacrifice unless invited. Indeed, one may go there without an invitation if one wishes only to see how the sacrifice is conducted. If one goes to a sacrifice (for any other purpose) without an invitation and if one does not, on that account, receive proper worship from the sacrificer, one's life becomes shortened. One should never go alone on a journey to foreign parts. Nor should one ever proceed alone to any place at night. Before evening comes, one should come back to one's house and remain within it. One should always obey the commands of one's mother and father and preceptor, without at all judging whether those commands are beneficial or otherwise. One should, O king, attend with great care to the Vedas and the science of arms. Do then, O king, carefully attend to the practice of riding an elephant, a steed, and a war-chariot. The man who attends to these with care succeeds in attaining to happiness. Such a king succeeds in becoming unconquerable by foes, and sway his servants and kinsmen without any of them being able to get the better of him. The king that attains to such a position and that carefully attends to the duty of protecting his subjects, has never to incur any loss. Thou shouldst acquire, O king, the science of reasoning, as also the science of words, the science of the Gandharvas, and the four and sixty branches of knowledge known by the name of Kala. One should every day hear the Puranas and the Itihasas and all the other narratives that exist, as also the life-stories of all high-souled personages. When one's spouse passes through functional period, one should never have congress with her, nor even summon her for conversation. The man endued with wisdom may accept her companionship on the fourth day after the bath of purification. If one indulges in congress on the fifth day from the first appearance of the functional operation, one gets a daughter. By indulging in congress on the sixth day, one happens to have a son. The man of wisdom should in the matter of congress, attend to this rule (about odd and even days). Kinsmen and relatives by marriage and friends should all be treated with respect. One should, according to the best of one's power, adore the deities in sacrifices, giving away diverse kinds of articles as sacrificial Dakshina. After the period ordained for the domestic mode of life has been passed, one should, O king, enter the life of a forest recluse. I have thus told thee all the indications, in brief, of persons who succeed in living long. What remains untold by me should be heard by thee from the mouths of persons well-versed in the three Vedas, O Yudhishthira. Thou shouldst know that conduct is the root of prosperity. Conduct is the enhancer of fame. It is conduct that prolongs life. It is conduct that destroys all calamities and evils. Conduct has been said to be superior to all the branches of knowledge. It is conduct that begets righteousness, and it is righteousness that prolongs life. Conduct is productive of fame, of long life, and of heaven. Conduct is the most efficacious rite of propitiating the deities (for bringing about auspiciousness of every kind). The Self-born Brahman himself has said that one should show compassion unto all orders of men.'"

SECTION 105

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me, O chief of Bharata's race, how the eldest brother should behave towards his younger brothers and how the younger brothers should behave towards their eldest brother.'

"Bhishma said, 'Do thou, O son, always behave towards thy younger brothers as their eldest brother should. Thou art always the eldest of all these thy brothers. That high conduct which the preceptor should always adopt towards his disciples should be adopted by thee towards thy younger brothers. If the preceptor happens to be unendued with wisdom, the disciple cannot possibly behave towards him in a respectful or proper way. If the preceptor happens to be possessed of purity and highness of conduct, the disciple also succeeds in attaining to conduct of the same kind, O Bharata. The eldest brother should at times be blind to the acts of his younger brothers, and though possessed of wisdom should at times act as if he does not understand their acts. If the younger brothers be guilty of any transgression, the eldest brother should correct them by indirect ways and means. If there be good understanding among brothers and if the eldest brother seek to correct his younger brothers by direct or ostensible means, persons that are enemies, O son of Kunti, that are afflicted with sorrow at the sight of such good understanding and who, therefore, always seek to bring about a disunion, set themselves to disunite the brothers and cause dissension among them. It is the eldest brother that enhances the prosperity of the family or destroys it entirely. If the eldest brother happens to be unendued with sense and wicked in behaviour, he brings about the destruction of the whole family. The eldest brother who injures his younger brothers ceases to be regarded as the eldest and forfeits his share in the family property and deserves to be checked by the king. That man who acts deceitfully, has, without doubt, to go to regions of grief and every kind of evil. The birth of such a person serves no useful purpose even as the flowers of the cane. [The flower of the cane cannot be plucked for being offered to the deities.] That family in which a sinful person takes birth becomes subject to every evil. Such a person brings about infamy, and all the good acts of the family disappear. Such among the brothers as are wedded to evil acts forfeit their shares of the family property. In such a case; the eldest brother may appropriate the whole Yautuka property without giving any portion thereof to his younger brothers. If the eldest brother makes any acquisition, without using the paternal property and by going to a distant place he may appropriate for his own use, such acquisitions, without giving any share thereof to his younger brothers. If unseparated brothers desire (during the lifetime of their father) to portion the family property, the father should give equal shares unto all his sons. If the eldest brother happens to be of sinful acts and undistinguished by accomplishments of any kind he may be disregarded by his younger brothers. If the wife or the younger brother happens to be sinful, her or his good must still be looked after. Persons conversant with the efficacy of righteousness say that righteousness is the highest good. The Upadhyaya is superior to even ten Acharyas. The sire is equal to ten Upadhyayas. The mother is equal to ten sires or even the whole earth. There is no senior equal to the mother Verily, she transcends all in respect of the reverence due to her. [An Acharya is an ordinary instructor. He is called an Upadhyaya who teaches the Vedas. The Upadhyaya is greater than even ten Acharyas or ordinary teachers. The father, again, deserves ten times as much respect as is paid to the Upadhyaya. As regards the mother, again, the reverence due to her is greater than what is due to the father. The mother is equal to the whole earth.] It is for this reason that people regard the mother to deserve so much reverence. After the father has ceased to breathe, O Bharata, the eldest brother should be regarded as the father. It is the eldest brother who should assign unto them their means of support and protect and cherish them. All the younger brothers should bow to him and obey his authority. Indeed, they should live in dependence upon him even as they did upon their father while he was alive. So far as the body is concerned, O Bharata, it is the father and the mother that create it. That birth, however, which the Acharya ordains, is regarded as the true birth, that is, besides, really unfading and immortal. The eldest sister, O chief of Bharata's race, is like unto the mother The wife of the eldest brother also is like unto the mother, for the younger brother, in infancy, receives, suck from her.'" [Many of the verses of this Lesson are from Manu. The relative positions of the Acharya, the Upadhyaya, the father, and the mother, as given in verse 15, is not consistent with Manu. verse 15 would show that the Upadhyaya was regarded as very much superior of the Acharya. In Manu, II--140-41, he is called an Acharya who taught all the Vedas, without any remuneration. He, on the other hand, who taught a particular Veda for a living, was called an Upadhyaya. The first line of verse 19 corresponds with Manu, II--148. The sense is that that birth which one derives from one's parents is subject to death; while the birth derived from the preceptor is true regeneration, unfading and immortal. It is a question whether any other nation paid such respect to persons employed in teaching.]

SECTION 106

"Yudhishthira said, 'The disposition is seen, O grandsire, in all the orders of men, including the very Mlechchhas, of observing fasts. The reason, however, of this is not known to us. It has been heard by us that only Brahmanas and Kshatriyas should observe the vow of fasts. How, O grandsire, are the other orders to be taken as earning any merit by the observance of fasts? How have vows and fasts come to be observed by persons of all orders, O king? What is that end to which one devoted to the observance of fasts attains? It has been said that fasts are highly meritorious and that fasts are a great refuge. O prince of men, what is the fruit that is earned in this world by the man that observe fasts? By what means is one cleansed of one's sins? By what means doth one acquire righteousness? By what means, O best of the Bharatas, doth one succeed in acquiring heaven and merit? After having observed a fast, what should one give away, O king? O, tell me, what those duties are by which one may succeed in obtaining such objects as lead to happiness?'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Unto Kunti's son by the deity of Dharma, who was conversant with every duty and who said so unto him, Santanu's son, Bhishma, who was acquainted with every duty, answered in the following words.'

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"Bhishma, said, 'In former days, O king, I heard of these high merits, O chief of Bharata's race, as attaching to the observance of fasts according to the ordinance, I had, O Bharata, asked the Rishi Angiras of high ascetic merit, the very same questions which thou hast asked me today. Questioned by me thus, the illustrious Rishi, who sprang from the sacrificial fire, answered me even thus in respect of the observance of fasts according to the ordinance.'

"Angiras said, 'As regards Brahmanas and Kshatriyas, fasts for three nights at a stretch are ordained for them, O delighter of the Kurus. Indeed, O chief of men, a fast for one night, for two nights, and for three nights, may be observed by them. (They should never go beyond three nights). As regards Vaisyas and Sudras, the duration of fasts prescribed for them is a single night. If, from folly, they observe fasts for two or three nights, such fasts never lead to their advancement. Indeed, for Vaisyas and Sudras, fasts for two nights have been ordained (on certain special occasions). Fasts for three nights, however, have not been laid down for them by persons conversant with and observant of duties. That man of wisdom who, with his senses and soul under control, O Bharata, fasts, by abstaining from one of the two meals, on the fifth and the sixth days of the moon as also on the day of the full moon, becomes endured with forgiveness and beauty of person and conversance with the scriptures. Such a person never becomes childless and poor. He who performs sacrifices for adoring the deities on the fifth and sixth days of the moon, transcends all the members of his family and succeeds in feeding a large number of Brahmanas. He who observes fasts on the eighth and the fourteenth days of the dark fortnight, becomes freed from maladies of every kind and possessed of great energy. The man who abstains from one meal every day throughout the month called Margasirsha, should, with reverence and devotion, feed a number of Brahmanas. By so doing he becomes freed from all his sins. Such a man becomes endued with prosperity, and all kinds of grain become his. He becomes endued with energy. In fact, such a person reaps an abundance of harvest from his fields, acquires great wealth and much corn. That man, O son of Kunti, who passes the whole month of Pausha, abstaining every day from one of two meals, becomes endued with good fortune and agreeable features and great fame. He who passes the whole month of Magha, abstaining every day from one of the two meals, takes birth in a high family and attains to a position of eminence among his kinsmen. He who passes the whole month of Bhagadaivata, confining himself every day to only one meal becomes a favourite with women who, indeed, readily own his sway. He who passes the whole of the month of Chaitra, confining himself every day to one meal, takes birth in a high family and becomes rich in gold, gems, and pearls. The person, whether male or female, who passes the month of Vaisakha, confining himself or herself every day to one meal, and keeping his or her senses under control, succeeds in attaining to a position of eminence among kinsmen. The person who passes the month of Jyaishtha confining himself every day to one meal a day, succeeds in attaining to a position of eminence and great wealth. If a woman, she reaps the same reward. He who passes the month of Ashadha confining himself to one meal a day and with senses steadily concentrated upon his duties, becomes possessed of much corn, great wealth, and a large progeny. He who passes the month of Sravana, confining himself to one meal a day, receives the honours of Abhisheka wherever he may happen to reside, and attains to a position of eminence among kinsmen whom he supports. That man who confines himself to only one meal a day for the whole month of Proshthapada, becomes endued with great wealth and attains, to swelling and durable affluence. The man who passes the month of Aswin, confining himself to one meal a day, becomes pure in soul and body, possessed of animals and vehicles in abundance, and a large progeny. He who passes the month of Kartika, confining himself to one meal every day, becomes possessed of heroism, many spouses, and great fame. I have now told thee, O chief of men what the fruits are that are obtained by men by observing fasts for the two and ten months in detail. Listen now, O king, to me as I tell thee what the rules are in respect of each of the lunar days. The man who, abstaining from it every day, takes rice at the expiration of every fortnight, becomes possessed of a great many kine, a large progeny, and a long life. He who observes a fast for three nights every month and conducts himself thus for two and ten years, attains to a position of supremacy among his kinsmen and associates, without a rival to contest his claim and without any anxiety caused by any one endeavouring to rise to the same height. These rules that I speak of, O chief of Bharata's race, should be observed for two and ten years. Let the inclination be manifested towards it. That man who eats once in the forenoon and once after evening and abstains from drinking (or eating anything) in the interval, and who observes compassion, towards all creatures and pours libations of clarified butter on his sacred fire every day, attains to success, O king, in six years. There is no doubt in this. Such a man earns the merit that attaches to the performance of the Agnishtoma sacrifice. Endued with merit and freed from every kind of stain, he attains to the region of the Apsaras that echo with the sound of songs and dance, and passes his days in the company of a thousand damsels of great beauty. He rides on a car of the complexion of melted gold and receives high honours in the region of Brahma. After the exhaustion of that merit such a person comes back to earth and attains to pre-eminence of position. That man who passes one whole year, confining himself every day to only one meal, attains to the merit of the Atiratra sacrifice. He ascends to heaven after death and receives great honours there. Upon the exhaustion of that merit he returns to earth and attains to a position of eminence. He who passes one whole year observing fasts for three days in succession and taking food on every fourth day, and abstaining from injury from every kind adheres to truthfulness of speech and keeps his senses under control, attains to the merit of the Vajapeya sacrifice. Such a person ascends to heaven after death and receives high honours there. That man, O son of Kunti, who passes a whole year observing fasts for five days and taking food on only the sixth day, acquires the merit of the Horse-sacrifice. The chariot he rides is drawn by Chakravakas. Such a man enjoys every kind of happiness in heaven for full forty thousand years. He who passes a whole year observing fasts for seven days and taking food on only every eighth day, acquires the merit of the Gavamaya sacrifice. The chariot he rides is drawn by swans and cranes. Such a person enjoys all kinds of happiness in Heaven for fifty thousand years. He who passes a whole year, O king, eating only at intervals of a fortnight, acquires the merit of a continuous fast for six months. This has been said by the illustrious Angiras himself. Such a man dwells in heaven for sixty thousand years. He is roused every morning from his bed by the sweet notes of Vinas and Vallakis and flutes, O king. He who passes a whole year, drinking only a little water at the expiration of every month, acquires, O monarch, the merit of the Viswajit sacrifice. Such a man rides a chariot drawn by lions and tigers. He dwells in heaven for seventy thousand years in the enjoyment of every kind of happiness. No fast for more than a month, O chief of men, has been ordained. Even this, O son of Pritha, is the ordinance in respect of fasts that has been declared by sages conversant with duties. That man who, unafflicted by disease and free from every malady, observes a fast, verily acquires, at every step the merits that attach to Sacrifices. Such a man ascends to Heaven on a car drawn by swans. Endued with puissance, he enjoys every kind of happiness in heaven for a hundred years. A hundred Apsaras of the most beautiful features wait upon and sport with him. He is roused from his bed every morning by the sound of the Kanchis and the Nupuras of those damsels. [Kanchi is an ornament worn by ladies round the waist or hips. There is a shining disc of gold or silver, which dangles on the hip. It is commonly called Chandra-hara. The Nupura is an anklet of silver, with moving bullets placed within, so that when the wearer moves, these make an agreeable sound.] Such a person rides on a car drawn by a thousand swans. Dwelling, again, in a region teeming with hundreds of the most beautiful damsels, he passes his time in great joy. The person who is desirous of heaven does not like the accession of strength when he becomes weak, or the cure of wounds when he is wounded, or the administration of healing drugs when he is ill, or soothing by others when he is angry, or the mitigation, by the expenditure of wealth, of sorrows caused by poverty, Leaving this world where he suffers only privations of every kind, he proceeds to heaven and rides on cars adorned with gold, his person embellished with ornaments of every kind. There, in the midst of hundreds of beautiful damsels, he enjoys all kinds of pleasure and happiness, cleansed of every sin. Indeed, abstaining from food and enjoyments in this world, he takes leave of this body and ascends to heaven as the fruit of his penances. There, freed from all his sins, health and happiness become his and whatever wishes arise in his mind become crowned with fruition. Such a person rides on a celestial car of golden complexion, of the effulgence of the morning sun, set with pearls and lapis lazuli, resounding with the music of Vinas and Murajas, adorned with banners and lamps, and echoing with the tinkle of celestial bells, such a person enjoys all kinds of happiness in heaven for as many years as there are pores in his body. There is no Sastra superior to the Veda. There is no person more worthy of reverence than the mother. There is no acquisition superior to that of Righteousness, and no penance superior to fast. There is nothing, more sacred, in heaven or earth, than Brahmanas. After the same manner there is no penance that is superior to the observance of fasts. It was by fasts that the deities have succeeded in becoming denizens of heaven. It is by fasts that the Rishis have attained to high success. Viswamitra passed a thousand celestial years, confining himself every day to only one meal, and as the consequence thereof attained to the status of a Brahmana. Chyavana and Jamadagni and Vasishtha and Gautama and Bhrigu--all these great Rishis endued with the virtue of forgiveness, have attained to heaven through observance of fasts. In former days Angiras declared so unto the great Rishis. The man who teaches another the merit of fasts have never to suffer any kind of misery. The ordinances about fasts, in their due order, O son of Kunti, have flowed from the great Rishi Angiras. The man who daily reads these ordinances or hears them read, becomes freed from sins of every kind. Not only is such a person freed from every calamity, but his mind becomes incapable of being touched by any kind of fault. Such a person succeeds in understanding the sounds of all creatures other than human, and acquiring eternal fame, become foremost of his species.'"

SECTION 107

"Yudhishthira said, 'O high-souled grandsire, thou hast duly discoursed to us on the subject of Sacrifices, including the merits in detail that attach to them both here and hereafter. It should be remembered, however, O grandsire, that Sacrifices are incapable of being performed, by people that are poor, for these require a large store of diverse kinds of articles. Indeed, O grandsire, the merit attaching to Sacrifices can be acquired by only kings and princes. That merit is incapable of being acquired by those that are destitute of wealth and divested of ability and that live alone and are helpless. Do thou tell us, O grandsire, what the ordinances are in respect of those acts that are fraught with merit equal to what attaches to sacrifices and which, therefore, are capable of being performed by persons destitute of means.'

"Bhishma said, 'Listen, O Yudhishthira! Those ordinances that I have told thee of,--those, viz., that were first promulgated by the great Rishi Angiras, and that have reference to meritorious facts for their soul,--are regarded as equal to Sacrifices (in respect of the fruits they bring about both here and hereafter). That man who takes one meal in the forenoon and one at night, without taking any food or drink during the interval, and who observes this regulations for a period of six years in succession, abstaining all the while from injuring any creature and regularly pouring libations on his sacred fire every day, attains, without doubt, to success. Such a man acquires hereafter a car of the complexion of heated gold, and attains to a residence, for millions of years, in the region of Prajapati, in the company of celestial damsels, that ever echoes with the sound of music and dance, and blazes with the effulgence of fire. He who passes three years, confining himself every day to one meal and abstaining all the while from congress with any other woman save his own wedded wife, attains to the merit of the Agnishtoma sacrifice, Such a man is regarded as having performed a Sacrifice, with plenty of gifts in gold, that is dear to Vasava himself. By practising truthfulness of speech, making gifts, reverencing the Brahmanas, avoiding malice, becoming forgiving and self-restrained, and conquering wrath, a man attains to the highest end. Riding on a car of the complexion of white clouds that is drawn by swans, he lives, for millions and million of years, in the company of Apsaras. Fasting for a whole day and eating only one meal on the second day, he who pours libations upon his sacred fire for the period of a whole year,--verily, he who observes such a fast and attends every day to his fire and rises every day from bed before sunrise, attains to the merit of the Agnishtoma sacrifice. Such a man acquires a car drawn by swans and cranes. Surrounded by the most beautiful damsels, he resides in the region of Indra. That man who eats only one meal every third day, and pours libations every day on his sacred fire for a period of a whole year,--indeed, he who thus attends to his fire every day and wakes up from sleep every morning before the sun is up, attains to the high merit of the Atiratra sacrifice. He acquires a car drawn by peacocks and swans and cranes. Proceeding to the region of the seven (celestial) Rishis, he takes up his residence there, surrounded by Apsaras of great beauty. It is well-known that such residence lasts for full three Padmas of years. Fasting for three days in succession, he who takes only one meal every fourth day, and pours libations every day on his sacred fire, acquires the high merit of the Vajapeya sacrifice. The car he ac-quires is graced by celestial damsels of great beauty that have Indra for their father. He resides in the region of Indra for millions and millions of years and experiences great happiness by witnessing the sports of the chief of the deities. Fasting for four days in succession, he who eats only one meal every fifth day, and pours libations on the sacred fire every day for the period of a whole year, and who lives without cupidity, telling the truth, reverencing the Brahmanas, abstaining from every kind of injury, and avoiding malice and sin, acquires the merit of the Vajapeya sacrifice. The car he rides is made of gold and drawn by swans and endued with the effulgence of many suns rising together. He acquires, a palatial mansion of pure white. He lives there in great happiness for full one and fifty Padmas of years. [A Padma is a very large number. Instead of rendering such words exactly, have, in some of the preceding verses, following the sense, put down 'millions upon millions of years.' From very early on, Indians have been using large numbers.] Fasting for five days, he who takes food on only the sixth day, and pours libations on his sacred fire every day for a whole year, and who performs three ablutions in course of the day for purifying himself and saying his prayers and doing his worship, and who leads a life of Brahmacharya, divested of malice in his conduct, acquires the merit of the Gomedha sacrifice. He acquires an excellent car adorned with pure gold,

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possessed of the effulgence of a blazing fire and drawn by swans and peacocks. He sleeps on the lap of Apsaras and is awakened every morning by the melodious tinkle of Nupuras and Kanchis. He leads such a life of happiness for ten thousand million years and three thousand million besides and eight and ten Padmas and two Patakas. Such a man resides also, honoured by all, in the region of Brahma for as many years as there are hairs on the bodies of hundreds of bears. Fasting for six days, he who eats only one meal every seventh day and pours libations on the sacred fire every day, for a full year, restraining speech all the while and observing the vow of Brahmacharya, and abstaining from the use of flowers and unguents and honey and meat, attains to the region of the Maruts and of India. Crowned with the fruition of every desire as it springs up in the mind, he is waited upon and adored by celestial damsels. He acquires the merits of a sacrifice in which abundance of gold is given away. Proceeding to the regions named, he lives there for countless years in the greatest happiness. He who shows forgiveness to all and fasting for seven days eats on every eighth day for a whole year, and, pouring libations every day on the sacred fire, adores the deities regularly, acquires the high merits of the Paundarika sacrifice. The car he rides is of a colour like that of the lotus. Without doubt, such a man acquires also a large number of damsels, possessed of youth and beauty, some having complexions that are dark, some with complexions like that of gold, and some that are Syamas, whose looks and attitudes are of the most agreeable kind. He who fasts for eight days and takes only one meal on every ninth day for a whole year, and pours libations on the sacred fire every day, acquires the high merits of a thousand Horse-sacrifices. The car he rides in Heaven is as beautiful as a lotus. He always makes his journeys on that car, accompanied by the daughters of Rudra adorned with celestial garlands and endued with the effulgence of the midday sun or the fires of blazing flames. Attaining to the regions of Rudra, he lives there in great happiness for countless years. He who fasts for nine days and takes only one meal every tenth day for a whole year, and pours libations on his sacred fire every day, acquires the high merit of a thousand Horse-sacrifices, and attains to the companionship of Brahmanas' daughters endued with beauty capable of charming the hearts of all creatures. These damsels, possessed of such beauty, and some of them possessed of complexion like that of the lotus and some like that of the same flower of the blue variety, always keep him in joy. He acquires a beautiful vehicle, that moves in beautiful circles and that looks like the dense cloud called Avarta, verily, it may be said to resemble also an ocean-wave. That vehicle resounds with the constant tinkle of rows of pearls and gems, and the melodious blare of conchs, and is adorned with columns made of crystals and diamonds, as also with an altar constructed of the same minerals. He makes his journeys on such a car, drawn by swans and cranes and lives for millions and millions of years in great happiness in heaven. He who fasts for ten days and eats only ghee on every eleventh day for a whole year and pours libations on his sacred fire every day, who never, in word or thought, covets the companionship of other people's wives and who never utters an untruth even for the sake of his mother and father, succeeds in beholding Mahadeva of great puissance seated on his car. Such a person acquires the high merit of a thousand Horse-sacrifices. He beholds the car of the Self-born Brahman himself approach for taking him on it. He rides in it, accompanied by celestial damsels possessed of great beauty, and complexion as effulgent as that of pure gold. Endued with the blazing splendour of the Yoga-fire, he lives for countless years in a celestial mansion in heaven, full of every happiness. For those countless years he experiences the joy of bending his head in reverence unto Rudra adored by deities and Danavas. Such a person obtains every day the sight of the great deity. That man who having fasted for eleven days eats only a little ghee on the twelfth, and observes this conduct for a whole year, succeeds in obtaining the merits attaching to all the sacrifices. The car he rides in is possessed of the effulgence of a dozen suns. Adorned with gems and pearls and corals of great value, embellished with rows of swans and snakes and of peacocks and Chakravakas uttering their melodious notes, and beautified with large domes, is the residence to which he attains in the region of Brahman. That abode, O king, is always filled with men and women (who wait upon him for service). Even this is what the highly blessed Rishi Angiras, conversant with every duty, said (regarding the fruits of such a fast). That man who having fasted for twelve days eats a little ghee on the thirteenth, and bears himself in this way for a whole year, succeeds in attaining to the merits of the divine sacrifice. Such a man obtains a car of the complexion of the newly-blown lotus, adorned with pure gold and heaps of jewels and gems. He proceeds to the region of the Maruts that teem with celestial damsels, that are adorned with every kind of celestial ornament, that are redolent with celestial perfumes, and that contain every element of felicity. The number of years he resides in those happy regions is countless. Soothed with the sound of music and the melodious voice of Gandharvas and the sounds and blare of drums and Panavas, he is constantly gladdened by celestial damsels of great beauty. That man who having fasted for thirteen days eats a little ghee on the fourteenth day, and bears himself in this way for a full year, obtains the merits of the Mahamedha sacrifice. Celestial damsels of indescribable beauty, and whose age cannot be guessed for they are for ever young in appearance, adorned with every ornament and with armlets of blazing effulgence, wait upon him with many cars and follow him in his journeys. He is waked every morning from his bed by the melodious voice of swans, the tinkle of Nupuras, and the highly agreeable jingle of Kanchis. Verily, he resides in a superior abode, waited upon by such celestial damsels, for years as countless as the sands on the shores of Ganga. That man who, keeping his senses under control, fasts for a fortnight and takes only one meal on the sixteenth day, and bears himself in this way for a whole year, pouring libations every day on his sacred fire, acquires the high merits that attach to a thousand Rajasuya sacrifices. The car he rides in is possessed of great beauty and is drawn by swans and peacocks. Riding in such a vehicle, that is, besides, adorned with garlands of pearls and the purest gold and graced with bevies of celestial damsels decked with ornaments of every kind, having one column and four arches and seven altars exceedingly auspicious, endued with thousands of banners and echoing with the sound of music, celestial and of celestial attributes, embellished with gems and pearls and corals, and possessed of the effulgence of lightning, such a man lives in heaven for a thousand Yugas, having elephants and rhinoceroses for dragging that vehicle of his. That man who having fasted for fifteen days takes one meal on the sixteenth day and bears himself in this way for one whole year, acquires the merits attaching to the Soma sacrifice. Proceeding to Heaven he lives in the company of Soma's daughters. His body fragrant with unguents whose perfumes are as sweet as those of Soma himself, he acquires the power of transporting himself immediately to any place he likes. Seated on his car he is waited upon by damsels of the most beautiful features and agreeable manners, and commands all articles of enjoyment. The period for which he enjoys such happiness consists of countless years. [The exact number of years is given, consisting of a fabulous figure.] That man who having fasted for sixteen days eats a little ghee on the seventeenth day and bears himself in this way for a whole year, pouring libations every day on his sacred fire, proceeds to the regions of Varuna and Indra, and Rudra and the Maruts and Usanas and Brahman himself. There he is waited upon by celestial damsels and obtains a sight of the celestial Rishi called Bhurbhuva and grasps the whole universe in his ken. The daughters of the deity of the deities gladden him there. Those damsels, of agreeable manners and adorned with every ornament, are capable of assuming two and thirty forms. As long as the Sun and the Moon move in firmament, so long does that man of wisdom reside in those regions of felicity, subsisting upon the succulence of ambrosia and nectar. That man who having fasted for seventeen days eats only one meal on the eighteenth day, and bears himself in this way for a whole year, succeeds in grasping the seven regions, of which the universe consist, in his ken. While performing his journeys on his car he is always followed by a large train of cars producing the most agreeable rattle and ridden by celestial damsels blazing with ornament and beauty. Enjoying the greatest happiness, the vehicle he rides in is celestial and endued with the greatest beauty. It is drawn by lions and tigers, and produces a rattle as deep as the sound of the clouds. He lives in such felicity for a thousand Kalpas subsisting upon the succulence of ambrosia that is as sweet as nectar itself. That man who having fasted for eighteen days eats only one meal on the nineteenth day and bears himself in this way for a full year, succeeds in grasping within his ken all the seven regions of which the universe consists. The region to which he attains is inhabited by diverse tribes, of Apsaras and resounds with the melodious voice of Gandharvas. The car he rides in is possessed of the effulgence of the sun. His heart being freed from every anxiety, he is waited upon by the foremost of celestial damsels. Decked with celestial garlands, and possessed of beauty of form, he lives in such happiness for millions and millions of years. That man who having fasted for nineteen days eats only one meal on every twentieth day and bears himself in this way for a full year, adhering all the while to truthfulness of speech and to the observance of other (excellent) rituals, abstaining also from meat, leading the life of a Brahmacharin, and devoted to the good of all creatures, attains to the extensive legions, of great happiness, belonging to the Adityas. While performing his journeys on his own car, he is followed by a large train of cars ridden by Gandharvas and Apsaras decked with celestial garlands and unguents. That man who having fasted for twenty days takes a single meal on the twenty-first day and bears himself in this way for a full year, pouring libations every day on his sacred fire, attains to the regions of Usanas and Sakra, of the Aswins and the Maruts, and resides there in uninterrupted happiness of great measure. Unacquainted with sorrow of every kind, he rides in the foremost of cars for making his journeys, and waited upon by the foremost of celestials, damsels, and possessed of puissance, he sports in joy like a celestial himself. That man who having fasted for one and twenty days takes a single meal on the twenty-second day and bears himself in this way for a full year, pouring libations on his sacred fire every day, abstaining from injuring any creature, adhering to truthfulness of speech, and freed from malice attains to the regions of the Vasus and becomes endued with effulgence of the sun. Possessed of the power of going everywhere at will, subsisting upon nectar, and riding in the foremost of cars, his person decked with celestial ornaments, he sports in joy in the company of celestial damsels. That man who having fasted for two and twenty days takes a single meal on the twenty-third day and bears himself in this way for a full year, thus regulating his diet and keeping his senses under control, attains to the regions of the deity of Wind, of Usanas, and of Rudra. Capable of going every where at will and always roving at will, he is worshipped by diverse tribes of Apsaras. Riding in the foremost of cars and his person decked with celestial ornaments, he sports for countless years in great felicity in the company of celestial damsels. That man who having fasted for three and twenty days eats a little ghee on the twenty-fourth day, and bears himself in this way for a full year, pouring libations on his sacred fire, resides for countless years in great happiness in the regions of the Adityas, his person decked with celestial robes and garlands and celestial perfumes and unguents. Riding in an excellent car made of gold and possessed of great beauty and drawn by swans, he sports in joy in the company of thousands and thousands of celestial damsels. That man who having fasted for four and twenty days eats a single meal on the twenty-fifth day and bears himself thus for a full year, succeeds in obtaining a car of the foremost kind, full of every article of enjoyment. He is followed in his journeys by a large train of cars drawn by lions and tigers, and producing a rattle as deep as the roar of the clouds ridden by celestial damsels, and all made of pure gold and possessed of great beauty. Himself riding on an excellent celestial car possessed of great beauty, he resides in those regions for a thousand Kalpas, in the company of hundreds of celestial damsels, and subsisting upon the succulence of ambrosia that is sweet as nectar itself. That man who having fasted for five and twenty days eats only one meal on the twenty-sixth day, and bears himself thus for a full year in the observance of such a regulation in respect of diet, keeping his senses under control, freed from attachment (to worldly objects), and pouring libations every day on his sacred fire,--that blessed man,--worshipped by the Apsaras, attains to the regions of the seven Maruts and of the Vasus. When performing his journeys he is followed by a large train of cars made of excellent crystal and adorned with all kinds of gems, and ridden by Gandharvas and Apsaras who show him every honour. He resides in those regions, in enjoyment of such felicity, and endued with celestial energy, for two thousand Yugas. That man who having fasted for six and twenty days eats a single meal on the twenty-seventh day and bears himself in this way for a full year, pouring libations every day on his sacred fire, acquires great merit and proceeding to Heaven receives honours from the deities. Residing there, he subsists on nectar, freed from thirst of every kind, and enjoying every felicity. His soul purified of every dross and performing his journeys on a celestial car of great beauty, he lives there, O king, bearing himself after the manner of the celestial Rishis and the royal sages. Possessed of great energy, he dwells there in great happiness in the company of celestial damsels of highly agreeable manners, for three thousand Yugas and Kalpas. That man who having fasted for seven and twenty days eats a single meal on the twenty-eighth day and bears himself in this way for a full year, with soul and senses under perfect control, acquires very great merit, which, in fact, is equal to what is acquired by the celestial Rishis. Possessed of every article of enjoyment, and endued with great energy, he blazes with the effulgence of the midday sun. Sportive damsels of the most delicate features and endued with splendour of complexion, having deep bosoms, tapering thighs and full and round hips, decked with celestial ornaments, gladden him with their company while he rides on a delightful and excellent car possessed of the effulgence of the sun and equipped with every article of enjoyment, for thousands and thousands of Kalpas. That man who having fasted for eight and twenty days eats a single meal on the twenty-ninth day, and bears himself in this way for a full year, adhering all the while to truthfulness of speech, attains to auspicious regions of great happiness that are worshipped by celestial Rishis and royal sages. The car he obtains is endued with the effulgence of the sun and the moon; made of pure gold and adorned with every kind of gem, ridden by Apsaras and Gandharvas singing melodiously. Thereon he is attained by auspicious damsels adorned with celestial ornaments of every kind. Possessed of sweet dispositions and agreeable features, and endued with great energy, these gladden him with their company. Endued with every article of enjoyment and with great energy, and possessed of the splendour of a blazing fire, he shines like a celestial, with a celestial form having every excellence. The regions he attains are those of the Vasus and the Maruts, of the Sadhyas and the Aswins, of the Rudras and of Brahman himself. That man who having fasted for a full month takes a single meal on the first day of the following month and bears

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himself in this way for a full year, looking on all things with an equal eye attains to the regions of Brahman himself. There he subsists upon the succulence of ambrosia. Endued with a form of great beauty and highly agreeable to all, he shines with energy and prosperity like the sun himself of a thousand rays. Devoted to Yoga and adorned with celestial robes and garlands and smeared with celestial perfumes and unguents, he passes his time in great happiness, unacquainted with the least sorrow. He shines on his car attended by damsels that blaze forth with effulgence emitted by themselves. Those damsels, the daughters of the celestial Rishis and the Rudras, adore him with veneration. Capable of assuming diverse forms that are highly delightful and highly agreeable, their speech is characterised by diverse kinds of sweetness, and they are able to gladden the person they wait upon in diverse kinds of ways. While performing his journeys, he rides on a car that looks like the firmament itself in colour (for subtlety of the material that compose it). In his rear are cars that look like the moon; before him are those that resemble the clouds; on his right are vehicles that are red; below him are those that are blue; and above him are those that are of variegated hue. He is always adored by those that wait upon him. Endued with great wisdom, he lives in the region of Brahman for as many years as are measured by the drops of rain that fall in course of a thousand years on that division of the earth which is called Jamvudwipa. Verily, possessed of the effulgence of a deity, he lives in that region of unalloyed felicity for as many years as the drops of rain that fall upon the earth in the season of showers. The man who, having fasted for a whole month, eats on the first day of the following month, and bears himself in this way for ten years, attains to the status of a great Rishi. He was not to undergo any change of form while proceeding to heaven for enjoying the rewards of his acts in his life. Verily, even this is the status to which one attains by restraining speech, practising self-denial, subjugating wrath, sexual appetite, and the desire to eat, pouring libations on the sacred fire, and regularly adoring the two twilights. That man who purifies himself by the observance of these and similar vows and practices, and who eats in this way, becomes as stainless as ether and endued with effulgence like that of the sun himself. Such a man, O king, proceeding to heaven in even his own carnal form, enjoys all the felicity that is there like a deity at his will.

'I have thus told thee, O chief of the Bharatas, what the excellent ordinances are in respect of sacrifices, one after another, as dependent upon the fruits of fasts. [Sacrifices have for their soul either the actual rites laid down in the scriptures or fasts of several kinds. The observance of fasts is equal to the performance of sacrifices, for the merits of both are equal.] Poor men, O son of Pritha (who are unable to perform sacrifices) may; nevertheless, acquire the fruits thereof (by the observance of fasts). Verily, by observing these fasts, even a poor man may attain to the highest end, O foremost one of Bharata's race, attending all the while, besides, to the worship of the deities and the Brahmanas I have thus recited to thee in detail the ordinances in respect of fasts. Do not harbour any doubt in respect of those men that are so observant of vows, that are so heedful and pure and high-souled, that are so freed from pride and contentions of every kind, that are endued with such devoted understandings, and that pursue their end with such steadiness and fixity of purpose without ever deviating from their path.'"

SECTION 108

"Yudhishthira said, 'Do thou tell me, O grandsire, of that which is regarded as the foremost of all Tirthas. Indeed, it behoveth thee to expound to me what that Tirtha is which conduces to the greatest purity.' [The word Tirtha as already explained (in the Santi Parva) means a sacred water. There can be no Tirtha without water, be it a river, a lake, or even a well. Bhishma, however, chooses to take the word in a different sense.]

"Bhishma said, 'Without doubt, all Tirthas are possessed of merit. Listen, however, with attention to me as I tell thee what the Tirtha, the cleanser, is of men endued with wisdom. Adhering to eternal Truth, one should bathe in the Tirtha ("holy pilgrimage site") called, Manasa* which is unfathomable (for its depth), stainless, and pure, and which has Truth for its waters and the understanding for its lake. [* The language is figurative. By Manasa is not meant the trans-Himalayan lake of that name, which to this day is regarded as highly sacred and draws numerous pilgrims from all parts of India. The word is used to signify the Soul. It is fathomless in consequence of nobody being able to discover its origin. It is pure and stainless by nature. It is represented here as having Truth for its waters and the Understanding for its lake. Probably, what is meant by this is that the Understanding, containing the waters of Truth, forms a part of this Tirtha as the lakes of Pushkara form a part of the Tirtha called by that name. -- Additional note on that name: The name Manasa is most likely of non-Indo-Iranian origin, it rather points to a Semitic, an Akkadian or Aramaic origin. Manasa was originally an Adivasi (tribal) goddess. (Adivasi is the collective term used for ethnic minorities and for tribes of the Indian subcontinent in general. It is an old term denoting a foreign tribe.) The town and holy site of Manasa in the state of Madhya Pradesh in northwestern India is probaly named after her. The goddess Manasa was worshipped by Hindu lower caste groups. Later, she was included in higher caste Hindu pantheon, where she is now regarded as a Hindu goddess rather than a tribal one. Edward C. Dimock says (The Goddess of Snakes in Medieval Bengali Literature, 1962) that though snake worship is found in the Vedas, Manasa - a human goddess of snakes - has "little basis" in early Hinduism. One possible origin of Manasa could be Manasseh (Akkadian: Menasii; Hebrew Aramaic: Manasse, "Forgetter"; Greek, Latin: Manasses; reigned c. 687–643 BC) who was the 14th king of the Kingdom of Judah (Yudah). According to the Hebrew Bible, the Tribe of Manasseh (Hebrew: Shevet Menashe, "who makes to forget") was one of the Tribes of Israel. It is one of the ten lost tribes. Together with the Tribe of Ephraim, Manasseh also formed the House of Joseph. There is a strong indication that some of the Lost Tribes ended up in India. Judaism was one of the first foreign religions to arrive in India in recorded history. The history of the Jews in India reaches back to the times of the Neo-Assyrian Empire (911–609 BC). While some Jews state their ancestors arrived in India during the time of the Kingdom of Judah (Yudah, 930–586 BC), others identify themselves as descendants of Israel's Ten Lost Tribes (which origins in the same period of time). The ten lost tribes were the ten of the Twelve Tribes of Israel that were said to have been exiled from the Kingdom of Israel after its conquest by the Neo-Assyrian Empire circa 722 BC. These were the tribes of Reuben, Simeon, Dan, Naphtali, Gad, Asher, Issachar, Zebulun, Manasseh, and Ephraim. Indian Jews are a religious minority of India, but, unlike many parts of the world, have historically lived in India without any instances of anti-Semitism from the local majority populace. The oldest of the Indian Jewish communities are the Cochin and Malabar Jews. The traditional account is that traders of Judaea arrived at Cranganore, an ancient port near Cochin in 562 BC, and that more Jews came as exiles from Judaea during and after the First Roman-Jewish War (66-73 AD).] The fruits in the form of cleansing, that one acquires by bathing in that Tirtha, are freedom from cupidity, sincerity, truthfulness, mildness (of behaviour), compassion, abstention from injuring any creature, self-restraint, and tranquillity. Those men that are freed from attachments, that are divested of pride, that transcend all pairs of opposites (such as pleasure and pain, praise and blame, heat and cold, etc.), that have no spouses and children and houses and gardens, etc., that are endued with purity, and that subsist upon the alms given to them by others, are regarded as Tirthas. He who is acquainted with the truths of all things and who is freed from the idea of meum, is said to be the highest Tirtha. 1 In searching the indications of purity, the gaze should ever be directed towards these attributes (so that where these are present, thou mayst take purity to be present, and where these are not, purity also should be concluded to be not). Those persons from whose souls the attributes of Sattwa and Rajas and Tamas have been washed off, they who, regardless of (external) purity and impurity pursue the ends they have proposed to themselves, they who have renounced everything, they who are possessed of omniscience and endued with universal sight, and they who are of pure conduct, are regarded as Tirthas possessing the power of cleansing. That man whose limbs only are wet with water is not regarded as one that is washed. He, on the other hand, is regarded as washed who has washed himself by self-denial. Even such a person is said to be pure both inwardly and outwardly. They who never concern themselves with what is past, they who feel no attachment to acquisitions that are present, indeed, they who are free from desire, are said to be possessed of the highest purity. Knowledge is said to constitute the especial purity of the body. So also freedom from desire, and cheerfulness of mind. Purity of conduct constitutes the purity of the mind. The purity that one attains by ablutions in sacred waters is regarded as inferior. Verily, that purity which arises from knowledge, is regarded as the best. Those ablutions which one performs with a blazing mind in the waters of the knowledge of Brahma in the Tirtha called Manasa, are the true ablutions of those that are conversant with Truth. That man who is possessed of true purity of conduct and who is always devoted to the preservation of a proper attitude towards all, indeed, he who is possessed of (pure) attributes and merit, is regarded as truly pure. These that I have mentioned have been said to be the Tirthas that inhere to the body. Do thou listen to me as I tell thee what those sacred Tirthas are that are situate on the earth also. Even as especial attributes that inhere to the body have been said to be sacred, there are particular spots on earth as well, and particular waters, that are regarded as sacred. By reciting the names of the Tirthas, by performing ablutions there, and by offering oblations to the Pitris in those places, one's sins are washed off. Verily, those men whose sins are thus washed off succeed in attaining to heaven when they leave this world. In consequence of their association with persons that are righteous, through the especial efficacy of the earth itself of those spots and of particular waters, there are certain portions of the earth that have come to be regarded as sacred. The Tirthas of the mind are separate and distinct from those of the earth. That person who bathes in both attains to success without any delay. As strength without exertion, or exertion without strength can never accomplish anything, singly, and as these, when combined, can accomplish all things, even so one that becomes endued with the purity that is contributed by the Tirthas in the body as also by that which is contributed by the Tirthas on the earth, becomes truly pure and attains to success. That purity which is derived from both sources is the best.'"

SECTION 109

"Yudhishthira said, 'It behoveth thee, O grandsire, to tell me what are the highest, the most beneficial, and the most certain fruit of all hinds of fasts k this world.'

"Bhishma said, 'Listen, O king, to what was sung by the Self-born himself and by accomplishing which a person, without doubt, attains to the highest happiness. That man who fasts on the twelfth day of the moon in the month called Margasirsha and worships Krishna as Kesava for the whole day and night, attains to the merit of the Horse-sacrifice and becomes cleansed of all his sins. He who; after the same manner, fasts on the twelfth day of the moon in the month of Pausha and worships Krishna as Narayana, for the whole day and night, attains to the merits of the Vajapeya sacrifice and the highest success. He who fasts on the twelfth day of the moon in the month of Magha and worships Krishna as Madhava, for the whole day and night, attains to the merits of the Rajasuya sacrifice, and rescues his own race (from misery). 1 He who fasts on the twelfth day of the moon in the month of Phalguna and worships Krishna as Govinda, for the whole day and night, attains to the merit of the Atiratra sacrifice and goes to the region of Soma. He who fasts on the twelfth day of the moon in the month of Chaitra and worship Krishna as Vishnu, for the whole day and night, attains to the merit of the Pundarika sacrifice and proceeds to the region of the deities. By observing a similar fast on the twelfth day of the month of Vaisakha and worshipping Krishna as the slayer of Madhu for the whole day and night, one attains to the merits of the Agnishtoma sacrifice and proceeds to the region of Soma. By observing a fast on the twelfth lunar day in the month of Jyaishtha and worshipping Krishna as him who had (in Vali's sacrifice) covered the universe with three steps of his, one attains to the merits of the Gomedha sacrifice and sports with the Apsaras in great happiness. By observing a fast on the twelfth day of the moon in the month of Ashadha and worshipping Krishna as the dwarf (who beguiled the Asura king Vali), one attains to the merits of the Naramedha 1 sacrifice and sports in happiness with the Apsaras. By observing a fast for the twelfth lunar day of the month Sravana and worshipping Krishna for day and night as Sridhara, one attains to the merits of the sacrifice called Panchayajna and acquires a beautiful car in Heaven whereon he sports in joy. By observing a fast on the twelfth day of the moon in the month of Bhadrapada and worshipping Krishna as Hrishikesa for the whole day and night, one attains to the merits of the Sautramani sacrifice and becomes cleansed of all sins. By observing a fast for the twelfth day of the moon in the month of Aswin and worship-ping Krishna as Padmanabha, one attains without doubt, to the merits of the sacrifice in which a thousand kine are given away. By observing a fast for the twelfth day of the moon in the month of Kartika and worshipping Krishna as Damodara, one attains, without doubt, to the combined merits of all the sacrifices. He who, in this way, adores Krishna for a whole year as Pundarikaksha, acquires the power of recollecting the incidents of his past births and wins much wealth in gold. Similarly, he who worships Krishna every day as Upendra attains to identity with him. After Krishna has been worshipped in this way, one should, at the conclusion of one's vow, feed a number of Brahmanas or make gifts unto them of ghee. The illustrious Vishnu, that ancient Being, has himself said that there is no fast that possesses merits superior to what attach to fast of this kind.'"

SECTION 110

"Vaisampayana said, 'Approaching the Kuru grandsire, venerable in years, viz., Bhishma, who was then lying on his bed of arrows, Yudhishthira possessed of great wisdom put the following question.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'How, O grandsire, does one acquire beauty of form and prosperity and agreeableness of disposition? How, indeed, does one become possessed of religious merit and wealth and pleasure? How does one become endued with happiness?'

"Bhishma said, 'In the month of Margasirsha, when the moon comes in conjunction with the asterism called Mula, when his two feet are united with that very asterism, O king, when Rohini is in his calf, when his knee-joints are in Aswini, and his shins are in the two Ashadhas, when Phalguni makes his anus, and Krittika his waist, when his navel is in Bhadrapada, his ocular region in. Revati, and his back on the Dhanishthas, when Anuradha makes his belly, when with his

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two arms he reaches the Visakhas, when his two hands are indicated by Hasta, when Punarvasu, O king, makes his fingers, Aslesha his nails, when Jyeshtha is known for his neck, when by Sravana is pointed out his ears, and his mouth by Pushya, when Swati is said to constitute his teeth and lips, when Satabhisha is his smile and Magha his nose, when Mrigasiras is known to be in his eye, and Chitra in his forehead, when his head is in Bharani, when Ardra constitutes his hair, O king, the vow called Chandravrata should be commenced. Upon the completion of that vow, gift of ghee should be made unto Brahmanas conversant with the Vedas. As the fruit of that vow, one becomes possessed about knowledge. Indeed, one becomes, in consequence of such a vow, as full (of every blessed attribute) as the moon himself when he is at full.'"

SECTION 111

"Yudhishthira said, 'O grandsire, O thou that art possessed of great wisdom and conversant with all the scriptures. I desire to know those excellent ordinances in consequence of which mortal creatures have to travel through their rounds of rebirth. What is that conduct by following which, O king, men succeed in attaining to high heaven, and what is that conduct by which one sinks in Hell? When, abandoning the dead body that is as inert as a piece of wood or clod of earth, people proceed to the other world, what are those that follow them thither?'

"Bhishma said, 'Yonder comes the illustrious Vrihaspati of great intelligence! Do thou ask his blessed self. The subject is an eternal mystery. None else is capable of explaining the matter. There is no speaker like Vrihaspati.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'While the son of Pritha and the son of Ganga were thus speaking with each other, there came to that spot from the firmament the illustrious Vrihaspati of cleansed soul. King Yudhishthira, and all others, with Dhritarashtra at their head, stood up and received Vrihaspati with proper honours. Verily, the worship they offered to the preceptor of the celestials was excellent. Then Dharma's royal son, Yudhishthira, approaching the illustrious Vrihaspati, asked him the question in proper form, desirous of knowing the truth.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'O illustrious one, thou art conversant with all duties and all the scriptures. Do thou tell me, what is truly the friend of mortal creatures? Is the father, or mother, or son, or preceptor, or kinsmen, or relatives, or those called friends, that may be said to truly constitute the friend of a mortal creature? One goes to the next world, leaving one's dead body that is like a piece of wood or a clod of earth. Who is it that follows him thither?'

"Vrihaspati said, 'One is born alone, O king, and one dies alone; one crosses alone the difficulties one meets with, and one alone encounters whatever misery falls to one's lot. One has really no companion in these acts. The father, the mother, the brother, the son, the preceptor, kinsmen, relatives, and friends, leaving the dead body as if it were a piece of wood or a clod of earth, after having mourned for only a moment, all turn away from it and proceed to their own concerns. Only Righteousness follows the body that is thus abandoned by them all. Hence, it is plain, that Righteousness is the only friend and that Righteousness only should be sought by all. One endued with righteousness would attain to that high end which is constituted by heaven. If endued with unrighteousness, he goes to Hell. Hence, the man of intelligence should always seek to acquire religious merit through wealth won by lawful means. Piety is the one only friend which creatures have in the world hereafter. Let by cupidity, or stupefaction, or compassion, or fear, one destitute of much knowledge is seen to do improper acts, for the sake of even another, his judgement thus stupefied by cupidity. [The sense seems to be this: One that is not possessed of much learning is liable to do improper acts. These acts are all done for another, viz., one's body and the senses and not oneself. The para here is, the Not-self.] Piety, wealth and pleasure,--these three constitute the fruit of life. One should acquire these three by means of being free from impropriety and sin.'

"Yudhishthira, said, 'I have carefully heard the words spoken by thy illustrious self,--these words that are fraught with righteousness, and that are highly beneficial. I wish now to know of the existence of the body (after death). The dead body of man becomes subtil and unmanifest. It becomes invisible. How is it possible for piety to follow it?'

"Vrihaspati said, 'Earth, Wind, Ether, Water, Light, Mind, Yama (the king of the dead), Understanding, the Soul, as also Day and Night, all together behold as witnesses the merits (and demerits) of all living creatures. With these, Righteousness follows the creature (when dead). When the body becomes bereft of life, skin, bones, flesh, the vital seed, and blood, O thou of great intelligence, leave it at the same time. Endued with merit (and demerit) Jiva (after the destruction of this body) attains to another. After the attainment by Jiva of that body, the presiding deities of the five elements once more behold as witnesses all his acts good and bad. What else dost thou wish to hear? If endued with righteousness, Jiva enjoys happiness. What other topic, belonging to this or the other world, shall I discourse upon?'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thy illustrious self has explained how Righteousness follows Jiva. I desire to know how the vital seed is originated.'

"Vrihaspati said, 'The food that these deities, O king, who dwell in the body, viz., Earth, Wind, Ether, Water, Light, and Mind eat, gratifies them. When those five elements become gratified, O monarch, with Mind numbering as their sixth, their vital seed then becomes generated, O thou of cleansed soul! When an act of union takes place between male and female, the vital seed flows out and causes conception. I have thus explained to thee what thou hast asked. What else dost thou wish to hear?'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou hast, O illustrious one, said how conception takes place. Do thou explain how the Jiva that takes birth grows (by becoming possessed of body).'

"Vrihaspati said, 'As soon as Jiva enters the vital seed, he becomes overwhelmed by the elements already mentioned. When Jiva becomes disunited therewith, he is said to attain to the other end (viz., death). Endued as Jiva becomes with all those elements, he attains, in consequence thereof, a body. The deities, that preside over those elements behold as witnesses all his acts, good and bad. What else dost thou wish to hear?'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Leaving off skin and bone and flesh, and becoming destitute of all those elements, in what does Jiva reside, O illustrious one, for enjoying and enduring happiness and misery?'

"Vrihaspati said, 'Endued with all his acts, the Jiva quickly enters the vital seed, and utilizing the functional flow of women, takes birth in time, O Bharata. After birth, the Jiva receives woe and death from the messengers of Yama. Indeed, misery and a painful round of rebirth are his inheritance. Endued with life, O king, the Jiva in this world, from the moment of his birth, enjoys and endures his own (previous) acts, depending upon righteousness (and its reverse). If the Jiva, according to the best of his power, follows righteousness from the day of his birth, he then succeeds in enjoying, when reborn, happiness without interruption. If, on the other hand, without following righteousness without interruption, he acts sinfully, he reaps happiness at first as the reward of his righteousness and endures misery after that. Endued with unrighteousness, the Jiva has to go to the dominions of Yama and suffering great misery there, he has to take birth in an intermediate order of being, 1 Listen to me as I tell thee what the different acts are by doing which the diva, stupefied by folly, has to take birth in different orders of being, as declared in the Vedas, the scriptures, and the (sacred) histories. Mortals have to go to the frightful regions of Yama. In those regions, O king, there are places that are fraught with every merit and that are worthy on that account of being the abodes of the very deities. There are, again, places in those regions that are worse than those which are inhabited by animals and birds. Indeed, there are spots of these kinds in the abode of Yama which (so far as its happier regions are concerned) is equal to the region of Brahman himself in merits. Creatures, bound by their acts, endure diverse kinds of misery. I shall, after this, tell thee what those acts and dispositions are in consequence of which a person obtains to an end that is fraught with great misery and terror. If a regenerate person, having studied the four Vedas, becomes stupefied by folly and accepts a gift from a fallen man, he has then to take birth in the asinine order. He has to live as an ass for five and ten years. Casting off his asinine form, he has next to take birth as an ox, in which state he has to live for seven years. Casting off his bovine form, he has next to take birth as a Rakshasa of regenerate order. Living as Rakshasa of the regenerate order for three months, he then regains his status (in his next birth) of a Brahmana. A Brahmana, by officiating at the sacrifice of a fallen person, has to take birth as a vile worm. In this form he has to live for five and ten years, O Bharata. Freed from the status of a worm, be next takes birth as an ass. As an ass he has to live for five years, and then a hog, in which state also he has to remain for as many years. After that, he takes birth as a cock, and living for five years in that form, he takes birth as a jackal and lives for as many years in that state. He has next to take birth as a dog, and living thus for a year he regains his status of humanity. That foolish disciple who offends his preceptor by doing any injury to him, has certainly to undergo three transformations in this world. Such a person, O monarch, has in the first instance to become a dog. He has then to become a beast of prey, and then an ass. Living his asinine form, he has to wander for some time in great affliction as a spirit. After the expiration of that period, he has to take birth as a Brahmana. That sinful disciple who even in thought commits adultery with the wife of his preceptor, has in consequence of such a sinful heart, to undergo many fierce shapes in this world. First taking birth in the canine order he has to live for three years. Casting off the canine form when death comes, he takes birth as a worm or vile vermin. In this form he has to live for a year. Leaving that form he succeeds in regaining his status as a human being of the regenerate order. If the preceptor kills, without reason, his disciple who is even as a son to him, he has, in consequence of such a wilful act of sin on his part, to take birth as a beast of prey. That son who disregards his father and mother, O king, has to take birth, after eaving off his human form as an animal of the asinine order. Assuming the asinine form he has to live for ten years. After that he has to take birth as a crocodile, in which form he has to live for a year. After that he regains the human form. That son with whom his parents become angry, has, in consequence of his evil thoughts towards them, to take birth as an ass. As an ass he has to live for ten months. He has then to take birth as a dog and to remain as such for four and ten months. After that he has to take birth as a cat and living in that form for seven months he regains his status of humanity. Having spoken ill of parents, one has to take birth as a Sarika. Striking them, one has to take birth, O king, as tortoise. Living as a tortoise for ten years, he has next to take birth as a porcupine. After that he has to take birth as a snake, and living for six months in that form he regains the status of humanity. That man who, while subsisting upon the food that his royal master supplies, commits acts that are injurious to the interests of his master,--that man, thus stupefied by folly, has after death to take birth as an ape. For ten years he has to live as an ape, and after that for five years as a mouse. After that he has to become a dog, and living in that form for a period of six months he succeeds in regaining his status of humanity. That man who misappropriates what is deposited with him in trustfulness has to undergo a hundred transformations. He at last takes birth as a vile worm. In that order he has to live for a period of ten and five years, O Bharata. Upon the exhaustion of his great demerit in this way, he succeeds in regaining his status of humanity. That man who harbours malice towards others has, after death, to take birth as a Sarngaka. That man of wicked understanding who becomes guilty of breach of trust has to take birth as a fish. Living as a fish for eight years, he takes birth, O Bharata, as a deer. Living as a deer for four months, he has next to take birth as a goat. After the expiration of a full year he casts off his goatish body, he takes birth then as a worm. After that he succeeds in regaining his status of humanity. That shameless insensate man who, through stupefaction, steals paddy, barley, sesame, Masha, Kulattha, oil-seeds, oats, Kalaya, Mudga, wheat, Atasi, and other kinds of corn, has to take birth as a mouse. After leading the life for some time he has to take birth as a hog. As soon as he takes birth as a hog he has to die of disease. In consequence of his sin, that foolish man has next to take birth as a dog, O king. Living as a dog for five years, he then regains his status of humanity. Having committed an act of adultery with the spouse of another man, one has to take birth as a wolf. After that he has to assume the forms of a dog and jackal and vulture. He has next to take birth as a snake and then as a Kanka and then as a crane. That man of sinful soul who, stupefied by folly, commits an act of sexual congress with the spouse of a brother, has to take birth as a male Kokila and to live in that form for a whole year, O king. He who, through lust, commits an act of sexual congress with the wife of a friend, or the wife of preceptor, or the wife of his king, has, after death, to take the form of a hog. He has to live in his porcine form for five years and then to assume that of a wolf for ten years. For the next five years he has to assume that of a wolf for ten years. For the next five years he has to live as a cat and then for the next ten years as a cock. He has next to live for three months as an ant, and then as a worm for a month. Having undergone these transformations he has next to live as a vile worm for four and ten years. When his sin becomes exhausted by such chastisement, he at last regains the status of humanity. When a wedding is about to take place, or a sacrifice, or an act of gifts is about to be made, O thou of great puissance, the man who offers any obstruction, has to take birth in his next life as a vile worm, Assuming such a form he has to live, O Bharata, for five and ten years. When his demerit is exhausted by such suffering, he regains the status of humanity. Having once bestowed his daughter in marriage upon a person, he who seeks to bestow her again upon a second husband, has, O king, to take birth among vile worms. Assuming such a form, O Yudhisthira, he has to live for a period of three and ten years. Upon the exhaustion of his demerit by such sufferance, he regains the status of humanity. He who eats without having performed the rites in honour of the deities or those in honour of the Pitris or without having offered (even) oblations of water to both the Rishis and the Pitris, has to take birth as a crow. Living as a crow for a hundred years he next assumes the form of a cock. His next transformation is that of a snake for a month. After this, he regains the status of humanity. He who disregards his eldest brother who is even like a sire, has, after death, to take birth in the order of cranes. Having assumed that form he has to live in it for two years. Casting off that form at the conclusion of that period, he regains the status of humanity. That Sudra who has sexual intercourse with a Brahmana woman, has, after death, to take birth as a hog. As soon as he takes birth in the porcine order he dies of disease, O king. The wretch has next to take birth as a dog. O king, in consequence of his dire act of sin. Casting off his canine form he regains upon the exhaustion of his demerit, the status of humanity. The Sudra

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who begets offspring upon a Brahmana woman, leaving off his human form, becomes reborn as a mouse. The man who becomes guilty of ingratitude O king, has to go to the regions of Yama and there to undergo very painful and severe treatment at the hands of the messengers, provoked to fury, of the grim king of the dead. Clubs with heavy hammers and mallets, sharp-pointed lances, heated jars, all fraught with severe pain, frightful forests of sword-blades, heated sands, thorny Salmalis--these and many other instruments of the most painful torture such a man has to endure in the regions of Yama, O Bharata!

The ungrateful person, O chief of Bharata's race, having endured such terrible treatment in the regions of the grim king of the dead, has to come back to this world and take birth among vile vermin. [He is repeatedly struck with the clubs and hammers and mallets. He is frequently impaled. He is confined with fiery vessels. He is dragged with forests of sword-blades. He is made to walk over heated sand. He is rubbed against thorny Salmalis. The Salmali is the Bombox Malabaricum.] He has to live as a vile vermin for a period of five and ten years. O Bharata, He has then to enter the womb and die prematurely before birth. After this, that person has to enter the womb a hundred times in succession. Indeed, having, undergone a hundred rebirths, he at last becomes born as a creature in some intermediate order between man and inanimate nature. Having endured misery for a great many years, he has to take birth as a hairless tortoise. A person that steals curds has to take birth as a crane. One becomes a monkey by stealing raw fish. That man of intelligence who steals honey has to take birth as a gadfly. By stealing fruits or roots or cakes one becomes an ant. By stealing Nishpava one becomes a Halagolaka. By stealing Payasa one becomes in one's next birth a Tittiri bird. By stealing cakes one becomes a screech-owl. That man of little intelligence who steals iron has to take birth as a cow. That man of little understanding who steals white brass has to take birth as a bird of the Harita species. By stealing a vessel of silver one becomes a pigeon. By stealing a vessel of gold one has to take birth as a vile vermin. By stealing a piece of silken cloth, one becomes a Krikara. By stealing a piece of cloth made of red silk, one becomes a Vartaka. By stealing a piece of muslin one becomes a parrot. By stealing a piece of cloth that is of fine texture, one becomes a duck after casting off one's human body. By stealing a piece of cloth made of cotton, one becomes a crane. By stealing a piece of cloth made of jute, one becomes a sheep in one's next life. By stealing a piece of linen, one has to take birth as a hare. By stealing different kinds of colouring matter one has to take birth as a peacock. By stealing a piece of red cloth one has to take birth as a bird of the Jivajivaka species. By stealing unguents (such as sandal-paste) and perfumes in this world, the man possessed of cupidity, O king, has to take birth as a mole. Assuming the form of a mole one has to live in it for a period of five and ten years. After the exhaustion of his demerit by such sufferings he regains the status of humanity. By stealing milk, one becomes a crane. That man, O king, who through stupefaction of the understanding, steals oil, has to take birth, after casting off this body, as an animal that subsists upon oil as his form. That wretch who himself well armed, slays another while that other is unarmed, from motives of obtaining his victim's wealth or from feelings of hostility, has, after casting off his human body, to take birth as an ass. Assuming that asinine form he has to live for a period of two years and then he meets with death at the edge of a weapon. Casting off in this way his asinine body he has to take birth in his next life as a deer always filled with anxiety (at the thought of foes that may kill him). Upon the expiration of a year from the time of his birth as a deer, he has to yield up his life at the point of a weapon. Thus casting off his form of a deer, he next takes birth as a fish and dies in consequence of being dragged up in net, on the expiration of the fourth month. He has next to take birth as a beast of prey. For ten years he has to live in that form, and then he takes birth as a pard in which form he has to live for a period of five years. Impelled by the change that is brought about by time, he then casts off that form, and his demerit having been exhausted he regains the status of humanity. That man of little understanding who kills a woman has to go the regions of Yama and to endure diverse kinds of pain and misery. He then has to pass through full one and twenty transformations. After that, O monarch, he has to take birth as a vile vermin. Living as a vermin for twenty years, he regains the status of humanity. By stealing food, one has to take birth as a bee. Living for many months in the company of other bees, his demerit becomes exhausted and he regains the status of humanity. By stealing paddy, one becomes a cat. That man who steals food mixed with sesame cakes has in his next birth to assume the form of a mouse large or small according to the largeness or smallness of the quantity stolen. He bites human beings every day and as the consequence thereof becomes sinful and travels through a varied round of rebirths. That man of foolish understanding who steals ghee has to take birth as a gallinule. That wicked person who steals fish has to take birth as a crow. By stealing salt one has to take birth as a mimicking bird. That man who misappropriates what is deposited with him through confidence, has to sustain a diminution in the period of his life, and after death has to take birth among fishes. Having lived for some time as a fish he dies and regains the human form. Regaining, however, the status of humanity, he becomes short-lived. Indeed, having committed sins, O Bharata, one has to take birth in an order intermediate between that of humanity and vegetables. Those people are entirely unacquainted with righteousness which has their own hearts for its authority. Those men that commit diverse acts of sin and then seek to expiate them by continuous vows and observances of piety, become endued with both happiness and misery and live in great anxiety of heart. Those men that are of sinful conduct and that yield to the influence of cupidity and stupefaction, without doubt, take birth as Mlechchhas that do not deserve to be associated with. Those men on the other hand, who abstain from sin all their lives, become free from disease of every kind, endued with beauty of form and possessed of wealth.

Women also, when they act in the way indicated, attain to births of the same kind. Indeed, they have to take births as the spouses of the animals I have indicated. I have told thee all the faults that relate to the appropriation of what belongs to others. I have discoursed to thee very briefly on the subject, O sinless one. In connection with some other subject, O Bharata, thou shalt again hear of those faults. I heard all this, O king, in days of old, from Brahman himself, and I asked all about it in a becoming way, when he discoursed on it in the midst of the celestial Rishis. I have told thee truly and in detail all that thou hadst asked me. Having listened to all this, O monarch, do thou always set thy heart on righteousness.'"

SECTION 112

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou hast told me, O regenerate one, what the end is of unrighteousness or sin. I desire now to hear, O foremost of speakers, of what the end is of Righteousness. Having committed diverse acts of sin, by what acts of people succeed in attaining to an auspicious end in this world? By what acts also do people attain to an auspicious end in heaven?'

"Vrihaspati said, 'By committing sinful acts with perverted mind, one yields to the sway of unrighteousness and as a consequence goeth to hell. That man who, having perpetrated sinful acts through stupefaction of mind, feels the pangs of repentance and sets his heart on contemplation (of the deity), has not to endure the consequences of his sins. One becomes freed from one's sins in proportion as one repents for them. If one having committed a sin, O king, proclaims it in the presence of Brahmanas conversant with duties, one becomes quickly cleansed from the obloquy arising from one's sin. Accordingly as one becomes cleansed therefrom fully or otherwise, like a snake freed from his diseased slough. By making, with a concentrated mind, gifts of diverse kinds unto a Brahmana, and concentrating the mind (on the deity), one attains to an auspicious end. I shall now tell thee what those gifts are, O Yudhisthira, by making which a person, even if guilty of having committed sinful acts, may become endued with merit. Of all kinds of gifts, that of food is regarded as the best. One desirous of attaining to merit should, with a sincere heart, make gifts of food. Food is the life-breath of men. From it all creatures are born. All the worlds of living creatures are established upon food. Hence food is applauded. The deities, Rishis, Pitris, and men, all praise food. King Rantideva, in days of old, proceeded to Heaven by making gifts of food. Food that is good and that has been acquired lawfully, should be given, with a cheerful heart, unto such Brahmanas as are possessed of Vedic lore. That man has never to take birth in an intermediate order, whose food, given with a cheerful heart is taken by a thousand Brahmanas. A person, O chief of men, by feeding ten thousand Brahmanas, becomes cleansed of the piety and devoted to Yoga practices. A Brahmana conversant with the Vedas, by giving away food acquired by him as alms, unto a Brahmana devoted to the study of the Vedas, succeeds in attaining to happiness here. That Kshatriya who, without taking anything that belongs to a Brahmana, protects his subjects lawfully, and makes gifts of food, obtained by the exercise of his strength, unto Brahmanas foremost in Vedic knowledge, with concentrated heart, succeeds by such conduct, O thou of righteous soul, in cleansing himself, O son of Pandu, of all his sinful acts. That Vaisya who divides the produce of his fields into six equal shares and makes a gift of one of those shares unto Brahmanas, succeeds by such conduct in cleansing himself from every sin. That Sudra who, earning food by hard labour and at the risk of life itself, makes a gift of it to Brahmanas, becomes cleansed from every sin. That man who, by putting forth his physical strength, earns food without doing any act of injury to any creature, and makes gift of it unto Brahmanas succeeds in avoiding all calamities. A person by cheerfully making gifts of food acquired by lawful means unto Brahmanas pre-eminent for Vedic lore, becomes cleansed of all his sins. By treading in the path of the righteous one becomes freed from all sins. A person by making gifts of such food as is productive of great energy, becomes himself possessed of great energy. The path made by charitable persons is always trod by those that are endued with wisdom. They that make gifts of food are regarded as givers of life. The merit they acquire by such gifts is eternal. Hence, a person should, under all circumstances, seek to earn food by lawful means, and having earned to make always gifts of it unto deserving men. Food is the great refuge of the world of living creatures. By making gifts of food, one has never to go to hell. Hence, one should always make gifts of food, having earned it by lawful means. The householder should always seek to eat after having made a gift of food unto a Brahmana. Every man should make the day fruitful by making gifts of food. 1 A person by feeding, O king, a thousand Brahmanas all of whom are conversant with duties and the scriptures and the sacred histories, has not to go to Hell and to return to this world for undergoing rebirths. Endued with the fruition of every wish, he enjoys great felicity hereafter. Possessed of such merit, he sports in happiness, freed from every anxiety, possessed of beauty of form and great fame and endued with wealth. I have thus told thee all about the high merit of gifts of food. Even this is the root of all righteousness and merit, as also of all gifts, O Bharata!'"

SECTION 113

"Yudhishthira said, 'Abstention from injury, the observance of the Vedic ritual, meditation, subjugation of the senses, penances, and obedient services rendered to the preceptors,--which amongst these is fraught with the greatest merit with respect to a person?'

"Vrihaspati said, All these six are fraught with merit. They are different doors of piety. I shall discourse upon them presently. Do thou listen to them, O chief of the Bharatas! I shall tell thee what constitutes the highest good of a human being. That man who practises the religion of universal compassion achieves his highest good. That man who keeps under control the three faults, viz., lust, wrath, and cupidity, by throwing them upon all creatures (and practises the virtue of compassion), attains to success. He who, from motives of his own happiness, slays other harmless creatures with the rod of chastisement, never attains to happiness, in the next world. That man who regards all creatures as his own self, and behaves towards them as towards his own self, laying aside the rod of chastisement and completely subjugating his wrath, succeeds in attaining to happiness. The very deities, who are desirous of a fixed abode, become stupefied in ascertaining the track of that person who constitutes himself the soul of all creatures and looks upon them all as his own self, for such a person leaves no track behind. One should never do that to another which one regards as injurious to one's own self. This, in brief, is the rule of Righteousness. One by acting in a different way by yielding to desire, becomes guilty of unrighteousness. In refusals and gifts, in happiness and misery, in the agreeable, and the disagreeable, one should judge of their effects by a reference to one's own self. [The sense is that when one refuses a solicitation one should think how one would feel if another were to refuse the solicitations one addressed to that other. So with regard to the rest.] When One injures another, the injured turns round and injures the injurer. Similarly, when one cherishes another, that other cherishes the cherisher. One should frame one's rule of conduct according to this. I have told thee what Righteousness is even by this subtile way.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'The preceptor of the deities, possessed of great intelligence, having said this unto king Yudhishthira the just, ascended upwards for proceeding to Heaven, before our eyes.'"

SECTION 114

"Vaisampayana said, 'After this, king Yudhishthira, endued with great energy, and the foremost of eloquent men, addressed his grandsire lying on his bed of arrows, in the following words.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'O thou of great intelligence, the Rishis and Brahmanas and the deities, led by the authority of the Vedas, all applaud that religion which has compassion for its indication. But, O king, whet I ask thee is this: how does a man, who has perpetrated acts of injury to others in word, thought and deed, succeed in cleansing himself from misery?'

"Bhishma said, 'Utterers of Brahma have said that there are four kinds of compassion or abstention from injury. If even one of those four kinds be not observed, the religion of compassion, it is said, is not observed. As all four-footed animals are incapable of standing on three legs, even so the religion of compassion cannot stand if any of those four divisions or parts be wanting. As the footprints of all other animals are engulfed in those of the elephant, even so all other religions are said to be comprehended in that of compassion. A person becomes guilty of injury through acts, words and thoughts [By committing a slaughter, one becomes guilty of it. By inciting others to it one becomes guilty. By mentally committing an act of slaughter, one becomes guilty of it.]. Discarding it mentally at the outset, one should next discard in word and thought. He who, according to this rule, abstains from eating meat is said to be cleansed in a threefold way. It is heard that utterers of Brahma ascribe to three causes (the sin

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of eating meat). That sin may attach to the mind, to words, and to acts. It is for this reason that men of wisdom who are endued with penances refrain from eating meat. Listen to me, O king, as I tell thee what the faults are that attach to the eating of meat. The meat of other animals is like the flesh of one's son. That foolish person, stupefied by folly, who eats meat is regarded as the vilest of human beings. The union of father and mother produces an offspring. After the same manner, the cruelty that a helpless and sinful wretch commits, produces its progeny of repeated rebirths fraught with great misery. As the tongue is the cause of the knowledge or sensation of taste, so the scriptures declare, attachment proceeds from taste. [i.e. by eating meat, one feels the desire for meat increasing. A taste or predilection for meat is thus created. Hence, the best course is total abstinence.] Well-dressed, cooked with salt or without salt, meat, in whatever form one may take it, gradually attracts the mind and enslaves it. How will those foolish men that subsist upon meat succeed in listening to the sweet music of (celestial) drums and cymbals and lyres and harps? They who eat meat applaud it highly, suffering themselves to be stupefied by its taste which they pronounce to be something inconceivable, undescribable, and unimaginable. Such praise even of meat is fraught with demerit. In former days, many righteous men, by giving the flesh of their own bodies, protected the flesh of other creatures and as a consequence of such acts of merit, have proceeded to heaven. In this way, O monarch the religion of compassion is surrounded by four considerations. I have thus declared to thee that religion which comprises all other religions within it.'"

SECTION 115

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou hast told it many times that abstention from injury is the highest religion. In Sraddhas, however, that are performed in honour of the Pitris, persons for their own good should make offerings of diverse kinds of meat. Thou hast said so while discoursing formerly upon the ordinances in respect of Sraddhas. How can meat, however, be procured without slaying a living creature? Thy declarations, therefore, seem to me to be contradictory. A doubt has, therefore, arisen in our mind respecting the duty of abstaining from meat. What are the faults that one incurs by eating meat, and what are the merits that one wins? What are the demerits of him who eats meat by himself killing a living creature? What are the merits of him who eats the meat of animals killed by others? What the merits and demerits of him who kills a living creature for another? Or of him who eats meat buying it of others? I desire, O sinless one, that thou shouldst discourse to me on this topic in detail. I desire to ascertain this eternal religion with certainty. How does one attain to longevity? How does one acquire strength? How does one attain to faultlessness of limbs? Indeed, how does one become endued with excellent indications?

"Bhishma said, 'Listen to me, O, scion of Kuru's race, what the merit is that attaches to abstention from meat. Listen to me as I declare to thee what the excellent ordinances, in truth, are on this head. Those high-souled persons who desire beauty, faultlessness of limbs, long life, understanding, mental and physical strength, and memory, should abstain from acts of injury. On this topic, O scion of Kuru's race, innumerable discourses took place between the Rishis. Listen, O Yudhishthira, what their opinion was. The merit acquired by that person, O Yudhishthira, who, with the steadiness of a vow, adores the deities every month in horse-sacrifices, is equal to his who discards honey and meat. The seven celestial Rishis, the Valakhilyas, and those Rishis who drink the rays of the sun, endued with great wisdom, applaud abstention from meat. The Self-born Manu has said that that man who does not eat meat, or who does not slay living creatures, or who does not cause them to be slain, is a friend of all creatures. Such a man is incapable of being oppressed by any creature. He enjoys the confidence of all living beings. He always enjoys, besides, the approbation and commendation of the righteous. The righteous-souled Narada has said that that man who wishes to increase his own flesh by eating the flesh of other creatures, meets with calamity. Vrihaspati has said that that man who abstains from honey and meat acquires the merit of gifts and sacrifices and penances. In my estimation, these two persons are equal, viz., he who adores the deities every month in a horse-sacrifice for a space of hundred years and he who abstains from honey and meat. In consequence of abstention from meat one comes to be regarded as one who always adores the deities in sacrifices, or as one who always makes gifts to others, or as one who always undergoes the severest austerities. That man who having eaten meat gives it up afterwards, acquires merit by such an act that is so great that a study of all the Vedas or a performance, O Bharata, of all the sacrifices, cannot bestow its like. It is exceedingly difficult to give up meat after one has become acquainted with its taste. Indeed, it is exceedingly difficult for such a person to observe the high vow of abstention from meat, a vow that assures every creature by dispelling all fear. That learned person who giveth to all living creatures the Dakshina of complete assurance comes to be regarded, without doubt, as the giver of life-breaths in this world. [The sense is this: he who observes the vow of abstention from injury comes to be regarded as the giver of life-breaths in this world. The assurance given to all creatures of never injuring them on any occasion is the Dakshina or Sacrificial present of the great sacrifice that is constituted by universal compassion or abstention from injury.] Even this is the high religion which men of wisdom applaud. The life-breaths of other creatures are as dear to them as those of one's to one's own self. Men endued with intelligence and cleansed souls should always behave towards other creatures after the manner of that behaviour which they like others to observe towards themselves. It is seen that even those men who are possessed of learning and who seek to achieve the highest good in the form of Emancipation, are not free from the fear of death. What need there be said of those innocent and healthy creatures endued with love of life, when they are sought to be slain by sinful wretches subsisting by slaughter? For this reason, O monarch, know that the discarding of meat is the highest refuge of religion, of heaven, and of happiness. Abstention from injury is the highest religion. It is, again, the highest penance. It is also the highest truths from which all duty proceeds. Flesh cannot be had from grass or wood or stone. Unless a living creature is slain, it cannot be had. Hence is the fault in eating flesh. The deities who subsist upon Swaha, Swadha, and nectar, are devoted to truth and sincerity. Those persons, however, who are for gratifying the sensation of taste, should be known as Rakshasas wedded to the attribute of Passion. That man who abstains from meat, is never put in fear, O king, by any creature, wherever he may be, viz., in terrible wildernesses or inaccessible fastnesses, by day or by night, or at the two twilights, in the open squares of towns or in assemblies of men, from upraised weapons or in places where there is great fright from wild animals or snakes. All creatures seek his protection. He is an object of confidence with all creatures. He never causes any anxiety in others, and himself has never to become anxious. If there were nobody who ate flesh there would then be nobody to kill living creatures. The man who kills living creatures kill them for the sake of the person who eats flesh. If flesh were regarded as inedible, there would then be no slaughter of living creatures. It is for the sake of the eater that the slaughter of living creatures goes on in the world. Since, O thou of great splendour, the period of life is shortened of persons who slaughter living creatures or cause them to be slaughtered, it is clear that the person who wishes his own good should give up meat entirely. Those fierce persons who are engaged in slaughter of living creatures, never find protectors when they are in need. Such persons should always be molested and persecuted even as beasts of prey. Through cupidity or stupefaction of the understanding, for the sake of strength and energy, or through association with the sinful, the disposition manifests itself in men for sinning. That man who seeks to increase his own flesh by (eating) the flesh of others, has to live in this world in great anxiety and after death has to take birth in indifferent races and families. High Rishis devoted to the observance of vows and self-restraint have said that abstention from meat is worthy of every praise, productive of fame and Heaven, and a great propitiation by itself. This I heard in days of old, O son of Kunti, from Markandeya when that Rishi discoursed on the demerits of eating flesh. He who eats the flesh of animals that are desirous of living but that have been killed by either himself or others, incurs the sin that attaches to the slaughter for his this act of cruelty. He who purchases flesh slays living creatures through his wealth. He who eats flesh slays living creatures through such act of eating. He who binds or seizes and actually kills living creatures is the slaughterer. Those are the three kinds of slaughter, each of these three acts being so. He who does not himself eat flesh but approves of an act of slaughter becomes stained with the sin of slaughter. By abstaining from meat and showing compassion to all creatures one becomes incapable of being molested by any creature, and acquires a long life, perfect health, and happiness. The merit that is acquired by a person by abstaining from meat, we have heard, is superior to that of one who makes presents of gold, of kine, and of land. One should never eat meat of animals not dedicated in sacrifices and that are, therefore, slain for nothing, and that has not been offered to the gods and Pitris with the aid of the ordinances. There is not the slightest doubt that a person by eating such meat goes to Hell. If one eats the meat that has been sanctified in consequence of its having been procured from animals dedicated in sacrifices and that have been slain for the purpose of feeding Brahmanas, one incurs a little fault. By behaving otherwise, one becomes stained with sin. That wretch among men who slays living creatures for the sake of those who would eat them, incurs great demerit. The eater's demerit is not so great. That wretch among men who, following the path of religious rites and acrifices laid down in the Vedas, would kill a living creature from desire of eating its flesh, would certainly become a resident of hell. That man who having eaten flesh abstains from it afterwards, attains to great merit in consequence of such abstention from sin. He who arranges for obtaining flesh, he who approves of those arrangements, he who slays, he who buys or sells, he who cooks, and he who eats, are all regarded as eaters of flesh. I shall now cite another authority, depending upon that was declared by the ordainer himself, and established in the Vedas. It has been said that that religion which has acts for its indications has been ordained for householders, O chief of kings, and not for those men who are desirous of emancipation. Mann himself has said that meat which is sanctified with mantras and properly dedicated, according to the ordinances of the Vedas, in rites performed in honour of the Pitris, is pure. All other meat falls under the class of what is obtained by useless slaughter, and is, therefore, uneatable, and leads to Hell and infamy. One should never eat, O chief of Bharata's race, like a Rakshasa, any meat that has been obtained by means not sanctioned by the ordinance. Indeed, one should never eat flesh obtained from useless slaughter and that has not been sanctified by the ordinance. That man who wishes to avoid calamity of every kind should abstain from the meat of every living creature. It is heard that in the ancient Kalpa, persons, desirous of attaining to regions of merit hereafter, performed sacrifices with seeds, regarding such animals as dedicated by them. Filled with doubts respecting the propriety of eating flesh, the Rishis asked Vasu the ruler of the Chedis for solving them. King Vasu, knowing that flesh is inedible, answered that is was edible, O monarch. From that moment Vasu fell down from the firmament on the earth. After this he once more repeated his opinion, with the result that he had to sink below the earth for it. Desirous of benefiting all men, the high-souled Agastya, by the aid of his penances, dedicated, once for all, all wild animals of the deer species to the deities. Hence, there is no longer any necessity of sanctifying those animals for offering them to the deities and the Pitris. Served with flesh according to the ordinance, the Pitris become gratified. Listen to me, O king of kings, as I tell thee this, O sinless one. There is complete happiness in abstaining from meat, O monarch. He that undergoes severe austerities for a hundred years and he that abstains from meat, are both equal in point of merit. Even this is my opinion, In the lighted fortnight of the month of Karttika in especial, one should abstain from honey and meat. In this, it has been ordained, there is great merit. He who abstains from meat for the four months of the rains acquires the four valued blessings of achievements, longevity, fame and might. He who abstains for the whole month of Karttika from meat of every kind, transcends all kinds of woe and lives in complete happiness. They who abstain from flesh by either months or fortnights at a stretch have the region of Brahma ordained for them in consequence of their abstention from cruelty. Many kings in ancient days, O son of Pritha, who had constituted themselves the souls of all creatures and who were conversant with the truths of all things, viz., Soul and Not-soul, had abstained from flesh either for the whole of the month of Karttika or for the whole of the lighted fortnight in that month. They were Nabhaga and Amvarisha and the high-souled Gaya and Ayu and Anaranya and Dilipa and Raghu and Puru and Kartavirya and Aniruddha and Nahusha and Yayati and Nrigas and Vishwaksena and Sasavindu and Yuvanaswa and Sivi, the son of Usinara, and Muchukunda and Mandhatri, and Harischandra. Do thou always speak the truth. Never speak an untruth. Truth is an eternal duty. It is by truth that Harischandra roves through heaven like a second Chandramas. These other kings also, viz., Syenachitra, O monarch, and Somaka and Vrika and Raivata and Rantideva and Vasu and Srinjaya, and Dushmanta and Karushma and Rama and Alarka and Nala, and Virupaswa and Nimi and Janaka of great intelligence, and Aila and Prithu and Virasena, and Ikshvaku, and Sambhu, and Sweta, and Sagara, and Aja and Dhundhu and Suvahu, and Haryaswa and Kshupa and Bharata, O monarch, did not eat flesh for the month of Karttika and as the consequence thereof attained to heaven, and endued with prosperity, blazed forth with effulgence in the region of Brahman, adored by Gandharvas and surrounded by thousand damsels of great beauty. Those high-souled men who practise this excellent religion which is characterised by abstention from injury succeed in attaining to a residence in heaven. These righteous men who, from the time of birth, abstain from honey and meat and wine, are regarded as Munis. That man who practises this religion consisting of abstention from meat or who recites it for causing others to hear it, will never have to go to hell even if he be exceedingly wicked in conduct in other respects. He, O king, who (often-times) reads these ordinances about abstention from meat, that are sacred and adored by the Rishis, or hears it read, becomes cleansed of every sin and attains to great felicity in consequence of the fruition of every wish. Without doubt, he attains also to a position of eminence among kinsmen. When afflicted with calamity, he readily transcends it. When obstructed with impediments, he succeeds in freeing himself from them with the utmost ease. When ill with disease, he becomes cured speedily, and afflicted with sorrow he becomes liberated from it with greatest ease. Such a man has never to take birth in the intermediate order of animals or birds. Born in the order of humanity, he attains to great beauty of person. Endued with great prosperity, O chief of Kuru's race, he acquires great fame as well. I have thus told

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thee, O king, all that should be said on the subject of abstention from meat, together with the ordinances respecting both the religion of Pravritti and Nivritti as framed by the Rishis."

SECTION 116

"Yudhishthira said, 'Alas, those cruel men, who, discarding diverse kinds of food, covet only flesh, are really like great Rakshasas! Alas, they do not relish diverse kinds of cakes and diverse sorts of potherbs and various species of Khanda with juicy flavour so much as they do flesh! My understanding, for this reason, becomes stupefied in this matter. I think, when such is the case, that, there is nothing which can compare with flesh in the matter of taste, I desire, therefore, O puissant one, to hear what the merits are of abstention from flesh, and the demerits that attach to the eating of flesh, O chief of Bharata's race. Thou art conversant with every duty. Do thou discourse to me in full agreeably to the ordinances on duty, on this subject. Do tell me what, indeed, is edible and what inedible. Tell me, O grandsire, what is flesh, of what substances it is, the merits that attach to abstention from it, and what the demerits are that attach to the eating of flesh.'

"Bhishma said, 'It is even so, O mighty-armed one, as thou sayest. There is nothing on earth that is superior to flesh in point of taste. There is nothing that is more beneficial then flesh to persons that are lean, or weak, or afflicted with disease, or addicted to sexual congress or exhausted with travel. Flesh speedily increases strength. It produces great development. There is no food, O scorcher of foes, that is superior to flesh. But, O delighter of the Kurus, the merits are great that attach to men that abstain from it. Listen to me as I discourse to thee on it. That man who wished to increase his own flesh by the flesh of another living creature is such that there is none meaner and more cruel than he. In this world there is nothing that is dearer to a creature than his life. Hence (instead of taking that valuable possession), one should show compassion to the lives of others as one does to one's own life. Without doubt, O son, flesh has its origin in the vital seed. There is great demerit attaching to its eating, as, indeed, there is merit in abstaining from it. One does not, however, incur any fault by eating flesh sanctified according to the ordinances of the Vedas. The audition is heard that animals were created for sacrifice. They who eat flesh in any other way are said to follow the Rakshasa practice. Listen to me as I tell thee what the ordinance is that has been laid down for the Kshatriyas. They do not incur any fault by eating flesh that has been acquired by expenditure of prowess. All deer of the wilderness were dedicated to the deities and the Pitris in days of old, O king, by Agastya. Hence, the hunting of deer is not censured. There can be no hunting without risk of one's own life. There is equality of risk between the slayer and the slain. Either the animal is killed or it kills the hunter. Hence, O Bharata, even royal sages betake themselves to the practice of hunting. By such conduct they do not become stained with sin. Indeed, the practice is not regarded as sinful. There is nothing, O delighter of the Kurus, that is equal in point of merit, either here or hereafter, to the practice of compassion to all living creatures. The man of compassion has no fear. Those harmless men that are endued with compassion have both this world and the next. Persons conversant with duty say that that Religion is worthy of being called Religion which has abstention from cruelty for its indication. The man of cleansed soul should do only such acts as have compassion for their soul. That flesh which is dedicated in sacrifices performed in honour of the deities and the Pitris is called Havi (and, as such, is worthy of being eaten). That man who is devoted to compassion and who behaves with compassion towards others, has no fear to entertain from any creature. It is heard that all creatures abstain from causing any fear unto such a creature. Whether he is wounded or fallen down or prostrated or weakened or bruised, in whatever state he may be, all creatures protect him. Indeed, they do so, under all circumstances, whether he is on even or uneven ground. Neither snakes nor wild animals, neither Pisachas nor Rakshasas, ever slay him. When circumstances of fear arise, he becomes freed from fear who frees others from situations of fear. There has never been, nor will there ever be, a gift that is superior to the gift of life. It is certain that there is nothing dearer to oneself than one's life. Death, O Bharata, is a calamity or evil unto all creatures. When the time comes for Death, a trembling of the whole frame is seen in all creatures. Enduring birth in the uterus, decrepitude and afflictions of diverse kinds, in this ocean of the world, living creatures may be seen to be continually going forward and coming back. Every creature is afflicted by death. While dwelling in the uterus, all creatures are cooked in the fluid juices, that are alkaline and sour and bitter, of urine and phlegm and faeces,--juices that produce painful sensations and are difficult to bear. There in the uterus, they have to dwell in a state of helplessness and are even repeatedly torn and pierced. They that are covetous of meat are seen to be repeatedly cooked in the uterus in such a state of helplessness. Attaining to diverse kinds of birth, they are cooked in the hell called Kumbhipaka. They are assailed and slain, and in this way have to travel repeatedly. There is nothing so dear to one as one's life when one comes to this world. Hence, a person of cleansed soul should be compassionate to all living creatures. That man, O king, who abstains from every kind of meat from his birth, without doubt, acquires a large space in Heaven, They who eat the flesh of animals who are desirous of life, are themselves eaten by the animals they eat, without doubt. Even this is my opinion. Since he hath eaten me, I shall eat him in return,--even this, O Bharata, constitutes the character as Mansa of Mansa. [Mansa is flesh. This verse explains the etymology of the word, Mam (me) sa; Me he eateth, therefore, I shall eat him. The words following Me he should be supplied in order to get at the meaning.] The slayer is always slain. After him the eater meets with the same fate. He who acts with hostility towards another (in this life) becomes the victim of similar acts done by that other. Whatever acts one does in whatever bodies, one has to suffer the consequences thereof in those bodies. [The sense is this; one, while endued with a human body injures another, the consequences of that injury the doer will suffer in his human body. One becomes a tiger and slays a deer. The consequences of that act one will have to endure while one becomes reborn as a tiger.] Abstention from cruelty is the highest Religion. Abstention from cruelty is the highest self-control. Abstention from cruelty is the highest gift. Abstention from cruelty is the highest penance. Abstention from cruelty is the highest sacrifice. Abstention from cruelty is the highest puissance. Abstention from cruelty is the highest friend. Abstention from cruelty is the highest happiness. Abstention from cruelty is the highest truth. Abstention from cruelty is the highest Sruti. Gifts made in all sacrifices, ablutions performed in all sacred waters, and the merit that one acquires from making all kinds of gifts mentioned in the scriptures,--all these do not come up to abstention from cruelty (in point of the merit that attaches to it). The penances of a man that abstains from cruelty are inexhaustible. The man that abstains from cruelty is regarded as always performing sacrifices. The man that abstains from cruelty is the father and mother of all creatures. Even these, O chief of Kuru's race, are some of the merits of abstention from cruelty. Altogether, the merits that attach to it are so many that they are incapable of being exhausted even if one were to speak for a hundred years."

SECTION 117

"Yudhishthira said, 'Desiring to die or desiring to live, many persons give up their lives in the great sacrifice (of battle). Tell me, O grandsire, what is the end that these attain to. To throw away life in battle is fraught with sorrow for men. O thou of great wisdom, thou knowest that to give up life is difficult for men whether they are in prosperity, or adversity, in felicity or calamity. In my opinion, thou art possessed of omniscience. Do thou tell me the reason of this.'

"Bhishma said, 'In prosperity or adversity, in happiness or woe, living creatures, O lord of the earth, coming into this world, live according to a particular tenor. Listen to me as I explain the reason to thee. The question thou hast asked me is excellent, O Yudhishthira! In this connection, O king, I shall explain to thee the old narrative of the discourse that took place in former times between the Island-born Rishi and a crawling worm. In days of old, when that learned Brahmana, viz., the Island-born Krishna, having identified himself with Brahma, roamed over the world, he beheld, on a road over which cars used to pass, a worm moving speedily. The Rishi was conversant with the course of every creature and the language of every animal. Possessed of omniscience, he addressed the worm he saw in these words.'

"Vyasa said, 'O worm, thou seemest to be exceedingly alarmed, and to be in great haste. Tell me, whither dost thou run, and whence hast thou been afraid.'

"The worm said, 'Hearing the rattle of yonder large car I am filled with fear. O thou of great intelligence, fierce is the roar it makes. It is almost come! The sound is heard. Will it not kill me? It is for this that I am flying away. The sound, as it is heard from a near point, I catch, of the bulls I hear. They are breathing hard under the whip of the driver, as they are drawing the heavy burden. I hear also the diverse sounds made by the men who are driving the bulls. Such sounds are incapable of being heard by a creature that like us has taken his birth in the order of worms. It is for this reason that I am flying from this situation of great fright. Death is felt by all creatures to be fraught with pain. Life is an acquisition difficult to make. Hence, I fly away in fear, I do not wish to pass from a state of happiness to one of woe.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed, the Island-born Vyasa said, 'O worm, whence can be thy happiness? Thou belongest to the inter-mediate order of being. I think, death would be fraught with happiness to thee! Sound, touch, taste, scent, and diverse kinds of excellent enjoyments are unknown to thee, O worm! I think, death will prove a benefit to thee!'

"The worm said, 'A living creature, in whatever situation he may be placed, becomes attached to it. In even this order of being I am happy, I think, O thou of great wisdom! It is for this that I wish to live. In even this condition, every object of enjoyment exists for me according to the needs of my body. Human beings and those creatures that spring from immobile objects have different enjoyments. In my former life I was a human being. O puissant one, I was a Sudra possessed of great wealth. I was not devoted to the Brahmanas. I was cruel, vile in conduct, and a usurer. I was harsh in speech. I regard cunning as wisdom. I hated all creatures. Taking advantage of pretexts in compacts made between myself and others. I was always given to taking away what belonged to others. Without feeding servants and guests arrived at my house, I used to fill, when hungry, my own stomach, under the impulse of pride, covetous of good food. Greedy I was of wealth, I never dedicated, with faith and reverence, any food to the deities and the Pitris although duty required me to dedicate food unto them. Those men that came to me, moved by fear, for seeking my protection, I sent adrift without giving them any protection. I did not extend my protection to those that came to me with prayers for dispelling their fear. I used to feel unreasonable envy at seeing other people's wealth, and corn, and spouses held dear by them, and articles of drink, and good mansions. Beholding the happiness of others, I was filled with envy and I always wished them poverty, Following that course of conduct which promised to crown my own wishes with fruition, I sought to destroy the virtue, wealth, and pleasures of other people. In that past life of mine, I committed diverse deeds largely fraught with cruelty and such other passions. Recollecting those acts I am filled with repentance and grief even as one is filled with grief at the loss of one's dear son. In consequence of these acts of mine I do not know what the fruits are of good deeds. I, however, worshipped my old mother and on one occasion worshipped a Brahmana. Endued with birth and accomplishments, that Brahmana, in course of his wanderings, came to my house once as a guest. I received him with reverent hospitality. In consequence of the merit attaching to that act, my memory has not forsaken me. I think that in consequence of that act I shall once more succeed in regaining happiness. O thou of ascetic wealth, thou knowest everything. Do thou in kindness tell me what is for my good."

SECTION 118

"Vyasa said, 'It is in consequence of a meritorious act, O worm, that thou, though born in the intermediate order of being, art not stupefied. That act is mine, O worm, in consequence of which thou art not stupefied. [What the sage says is that the fact of the worm's being able to recollect the incidents of his past life is due to some meritorious act. That meritorious act is the very sight of the sage which the worm has been fortunate to obtain.] In consequence of the puissance of my penances, I am able to rescue a being of demerit by granting him a sight only of my person. There is no stronger might than the might that attaches to penances, I know, O worm, that thou hast taken birth in the order of worms through the evil acts of thy past life. If, however, thou thinkest of attaining to righteousness and merit, thou mayst again attain to it. Deities as well as beings crowned with ascetic success, enjoy or endure the consequence of acts done by them in this field of action. Amongst men also, when acts of merit are performed, they are performed from desire of fruit (and not with disregard for fruit). The very accomplishment that one seeks to acquire are sought from desire of the happiness they will bring. [The sense is that among human beings also, acts are done with the intention of securing happiness. In other words, human beings also enjoy the fruits of their good acts and endure those of their evil ones.] Learned or ignorant (in a former life) the creature that is, in this life, destitute of speech and understanding and hands and feet, is really destitute of everything. He that becomes a superior Brahmana adores, while alive, the deities of the sun and the moon, uttering diverse sacred Mantras. O worm, thou shalt attain to that state of existence. Attaining to that status, thou wilt enjoy all the elements converted into articles of enjoyment. When thou hast attained to that state, I shall impart to thee Brahma. Or, if thou wishest, I may place thee in any other status!' The worm, agreeing to the words of Vyasa, did not leave the road, but remained on it. Meanwhile, the large vehicle which was coming in that direction came to that spot. Torn to pieces by the assault of the wheels, the worm gave up his life-breath. Born at last in the Kshatriya order through the grace of Vyasa of immeasurable puissance, he proceeded to see the great Rishi. He had, before becoming a Kshatriya, to pass through diverse orders of being, such as hedgehog and Iguana and boar and deer and bird, and Chandala and Sudra and Vaisya. Having given an account of his various transformations unto the truth-telling Rishi, and remembering the Rishi's kindness for him, the worm (now transformed into a Kshatriya) with joined palms fell at the Rishi's feet and touched them with his head.'

"The worm said, 'My present status is that high one which is coveted by all and which is attainable by the possession of the ten well-known attributes. Indeed, I who was formerly a worm have thus attained to the status of a prince. Elephants of great strength, decked with golden chains, bear me on their backs. Unto my cars are yoked Kamvoja steeds of high mettle. Numerous vehicles, unto which are attached camels and mules,

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bear me. With all my relatives and friends I now eat food rich with meat. Worshipped by all, sleep, O highly blessed one, on costly beds in delightful rooms into which disagreeable winds cannot blow. Towards the small hours of every night, Sutas and Magadhas and encomiasts utter my praises even as the deities utter the agreeable praises of Indra, their chief. Through the grace of thyself that art firm in truth and endued with immeasurable energy, I who was before a worm have now become a person of the royal order. I bow my head to thee, O thou of great wisdom. Do thou command me as to what I should do now. Ordained by the puissance of thy penances, even this happy status hath now become mine!'

"Vyasa said, 'I have today been worshipped by thee, O king, with diverse words expressive of reverence. Transformed into a worm, thy memory had become clouded. That memory has again appeared. The sin thou committed in a former life has not yet been destroyed,--that sin, viz., which was earned by thee while thou wert a Sudra covetous of wealth and cruel in behaviour and hostile to the Brahmanas. Thou wert able to obtain a sight of my person. That was an act of merit to thee while thou wert a worm. In consequence of thy having saluted and worshipped me thou shalt rise higher, for, from the Kshatriya order thou shalt rise to the status of a Brahmana, if only thou castest off thy life-breaths on the field of battle for the sake of kine or Brahmanas. O prince, enjoying much felicity and performing many sacrifices with copious presents, thou shalt attain to heaven and transformed into eternal Brahma, thou wilt have perfect beatitude. Those that take birth in the intermediate order (of animals) become (when they rise) Sudras. The Sudra rises to the status of the Vaisya; and the Vaisya to that of the Kshatriya. The Kshatriya who takes pride in the discharge of the duties of his order, succeeds in attaining to the status of a Brahmana. The Brahmana, by following a righteous conduct, attains to heaven that is fraught with great felicity.'"

SECTION 119

"Bhishma said, 'Having cast off the status of a worm and taken birth as a Kshatriya of great energy, the person (of whom I am speaking), remembering his previous transformations, O monarch, began to undergo severe austerities. Beholding those severe austerities of the Kshatriya who was well-conversant with religion and wealth, the Island-born Krishna, that foremost of Brahmanas, went to him.'

"Vyasa said, The penances that appertain, O worm, to the Kshatriya order consist of the protection of all creatures. Do thou regard these duties of the Kshatriya order to be the penances laid down for thee. Thou shalt then attain to the status of a Brahmana. Ascertaining what is right and what is wrong, and cleansing thy soul, do thou duly cherish and protect all creatures, judiciously gratifying all good desires and correcting all that is unholy. Be thou of cleansed soul, be thou contented and be thou devoted to the practice of righteousness. Conducting thyself in this way, thou wilt then, when thou castest off thy life-breaths, become a Brahmana!'

"Bhishma continued, 'Although he had retired into the woods, yet, O Yudhishthira, having heard the words of the great Rishi he began to cherish and protect his subjects righteously. Soon, O best of kings, that worm, in consequence of the due discharge of the duty of protecting his subjects, became a Brahmana after casting off his Kshatriya body. Beholding him transformed into a Brahmana, the celebrated Rishi, viz., the Island-born Krishna of great wisdom, came to him.'

"Vyasa said, 'O chief of Brahmanas, O blessed one, be not troubled (through fear of death)! He who acts righteously attains to respectable birth. He, on the other hand, who acts unrighteously attains to a low and vile birth, O thou that art conversant with righteousness, one attains to misery agreeably the measure of one's sin. Therefore, O worm, do not be troubled through fear of death. The only fear thou shouldst entertain is about the loss of righteousness. Do thou, therefore, go on practising righteousness.'

"The worm said, 'Through thy grace, O holy one, I have attained from happy to happier positions! Having obtained such prosperity as has its roots in righteousness, I think, my demerits have been lost.'

"Bhishma said, 'The worm having, at the command of the holy Rishi, attained to the status of a Brahmana that is so difficult to attain, caused the earth to be marked with a thousand sacrificial stakes. That foremost of all persons conversant with Brahma then obtained a residence in the region of Brahman himself. Indeed, O son of Pritha, the worm attained to the highest status, viz., that of eternal Brahma, as the result of his own acts done in obedience to the counsels of Vyasa. Those bulls among Kshatriyas, also, who have cast off their life-breaths (on the field of Kurukshetra) exerting their energy the while, have all attained to a meritorious end. Therefore O king, do not mourn on their account.'"

SECTION 120

"Yudhishthira said, 'Which amongst these three is superior, viz., knowledge, penances, and gifts? I ask thee, O foremost of righteous persons! Do tell me this, O grandsire!'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection is cited the old narrative of the conversation between Maitreya and the Island-born Krishna. Once on a time, the Island-born Krishna, O king, while wandering over the world in disguise, proceeded to Baranasi and waited upon Maitreya who belonged by birth to a race of Munis. Seeing Vyasa arrive, that foremost of Rishis, viz., Maitreya, gave him a seat and after worshipping him with due rites, fed him with excellent food. Having eaten that good food which was very wholesome and which produced every kind of gratification, the high-souled Krishna became exceedingly delighted and as he sat there, he even laughed aloud. Seeing Krishna laugh, Maitreya addressed him, saying, 'Tell me, O righteous-souled one, what the reason is of thy laughter! Thou art an ascetic, endued with capacity to control thy emotions. Great joy, it seems, has come over thee! Saluting thee, and worshipping thee with bent head, I ask thee this, viz., what the puissance is of my penances and what the high blessedness is that is thine! The acts I do are different from those which thou doest. Thou art already emancipated though still owning life-breaths. I, however, am not yet freed. For all that I think that there is not much difference between thee and me. I am again, distinguished by birth.'

"Vyasa said, 'This wonder that has filled me hath arisen from an ordinance that looks like a hyperbole, and from its paradoxical statement for the comprehension of the people. The declaration of the Vedas seems to be untrue. But why should the Vedas say an untruth? It has been said that there are three tracks which constitute the best vows of a man One should never injure; one should always tell the truth; and one should make gifts. The Rishis of old announced this, following the declarations of the Vedas. These injunctions were heard in days of old,--they should certainly be followed by us even in our times. Even a small gift, made under the circumstances laid down, produces great fruits. Unto a thirsty man thou hast given a little water with a sincere heart. Thyself thirsty and hungry, thou hast, by giving me such food, conquered many high regions of felicity, O puissant one, as, one does by many sacrifices. I am exceedingly delighted with thy very sacred gift, as also with thy penances. Thy puissance is that of Righteousness: Thy appearance is that of Righteousness. The fragrance of Righteousness is about thee. I think that all thy acts are performed agreeably to the ordinance, O son, superior to ablutions in sacred waters superior to the accomplishment of all Vedic vows, is gift. Indeed, O Brahmana, gift is more auspicious than all sacred acts. If it be not more meritorious than all sacred acts, there can be no question about its superiority. All those rites laid down in the Vedas which thou applaudest do not come up to gift, for gift without doubt, is as I hold, fraught with very superior merit. The track that has been made by those men who make gifts is the track that is trodden by the wise. They who make gifts are regarded as givers of even the life-breaths. The duties that constitute Righteousness are established in them. As the Vedas when well-studied, as the restraining of the senses, as a life of universal Renunciation, even so is gift which is fraught with very superior merit. Thou, O son, wilt rise from joy to greater joy in consequence of thy having betaken thyself to the duty of making gifts The man of intelligence (who practises this duty) certainly rises from joy to greater joy. We have without doubt, met with many direct instances of this. Men endued with prosperity succeed in acquiring wealth, making gifts, performing sacrifices, and earning happiness as the result thereof. It is always observed, O thou of great wisdom, to happen naturally that happiness is followed by misery and misery is followed by happiness. [The sense is that those who pursue carnal pleasures meet with misery as the end, and those who practise austerities meet with felicity as their reward.] Men of wisdom nave said that human beings in this world have three kinds of conduct. Some are righteous, some are sinful: and some are neither righteous nor sinful. The conduct of the person who is devoted to Brahma is not regarded either way. His sins are never regarded as sins. So also the man who is devoted to the duties laid down for him is regarded as neither righteous nor sinful (for the observance of those duties). Those men that are devoted to sacrifices, gifts, and penances, are regarded as righteous. These, however, that injure other creatures and are unfriendly to them, are regarded as sinful. There are some men who appropriate what belongs to others. These certainly fall into Hell and meet with misery. All other acts that men do are indifferent, being regarded as neither righteous nor sinful. Do thou sport and grow and rejoice and make gifts and perform sacrifices. Neither men of knowledge nor those endued with penances will then be able to get the better of thee!'"

SECTION 121

"Bhishma said, 'Thus addressed by Vyasa, Maitreya, who was a worshipper of acts, who had been born in a race endued with great prosperity, who was wise and possessed of great learning said unto him these words'.

"Maitreya said, 'O thou of great wisdom, without doubt it is as thou hast said, O puissant one, with thy permission I desire to say something.'

"Vyasa said, 'Whatever thou wishest to say, O Maitreya, do thou say, O man of great wisdom, for I wish to hear thee.

"Maitreya said. 'Thy words on the subject of Gift are faultless and pure. Without doubt, thy soul has been cleansed by knowledge and penances. In consequence of thy soul being cleansed, even this is the great advantage I reap from it. With the aid of my understanding I see that thou art endued with high penances. As regards ourselves we succeed in acquiring prosperity through only a sight of personages like thee I think, that is due to thy grace and flows from the nature of my own acts. [To obtain a sight of thee is the reward or result of my own acts. A sight of thy person leads to prosperity, through the kindness thou cherishest for us.] Penances, knowledge of the Vedas, and birth in a pure race,--these are the causes of the status which one acquires of a Brahmana. When one has these three attributes, then does he come to be called a regenerate person. If the Brahmana be gratified, the Pitris and the deities are also gratified. There is nothing superior to a Brahmana possessed of Vedic lore. Without the Brahmana, all would be darkness. Nothing would be known. The four orders would not exist. The distinction between Righteousness and Unrighteousness. Truth and Falsehood, would cease. On a well-tilled field, an abundant harvest can be reaped. Even so, one may reap great merit by making gifts unto a Brahmana possessed of great learning. If there were no Brahmanas endued with Vedic lore and good conduct for accepting gifts, the wealth possessed by wealthy people would be useless. The ignorant Brahmana, by eating the food that is offered to him, destroys what he eats (for it produces no merit to him who gives it). The food that is eaten also destroys the eater (for the eater incurs sin by eating what is offered to him). That ought to be properly termed an eatable which is given away to a deserving man, in all other cases, he that takes it makes the donor's gift thrown away and the receiver is likewise ruined for his improperly accepting it. The Brahmana possessed of learning becomes the subjugator of the food that he eats. Having eaten it, he begets other food. The ignorant who eats the food offered to him loses his right to the children he begets, for the latter become his whose food has enabled the progenitor to beget them. Even this is the subtle fault that attaches to persons eating other people's food when they have not the puissance to win that food. The merit which the giver acquires by making the gift, is equal to what the taker acquires by accepting the food. Both the giver and the acceptor depend equally upon each other. Even this is what the Rishis have said. There where Brahmanas exist, possessed of Vedic lore and conduct, people are enabled to earn the sacred fruits of gifts and to enjoy them both here and hereafter. Those men who are of pure lineage, who are exceedingly devoted to penances, and who make gifts, and study the Vedas, are regarded as worthy of the most reverent worship. It is those good men that have chalked out the path by treading on which one does not become stupefied. It is those men that are the leaders of others to heaven. They are the men who bear on their shoulders the burden of sacrifices and live for eternity."

SECTION 122

"Bhishma said, 'Thus addressed, the holy one replied unto Maitreya, saying 'by good luck, thou art endued with knowledge. By good luck, thy understanding is of this kind! They that are good highly applaud all righteous attributes. That personal beauty and youth and prosperity do not succeed in overwhelming thee is due to good luck. This favour done to thee is due to the kindness of the deities. Listen to me as I discourse to thee upon what is even superior (in efficacy) to gift. Whatever scriptures and religious treatises there are, whatever (righteous) inclinations are observable in the world, they have flowed in their due order, agreeably with the lead of the Vedas, according to their due order. Following them I applaud gift. Thou praisest penances and Vedic lore. Penances are sacred. Penances are the means by which one may acquire the Vedas and heaven also. With the aid of penances and of knowledge, one attains to the highest fruits, we have heard. It is by penances that one destroys one's sins and all else that is evil. It has been heard by us that with whatever purpose in view one undergoes penances, one attains the fruition thereof in consequence of those penances. The same may be said of knowledge. Whatever is difficult to accomplish, whatever is difficult to conquer, what is difficult to attain, and whatever is difficult to cross, can all be achieved with the aid of penances. Of all things, penances are possessed of very superior might. The man who drinks alcohol, or he that takes by force what belongs to others, or he that is guilty of foeticide, or he that violates the bed of his preceptor, succeeds in crossing with the aid of penances. Indeed, one becomes cleansed of all these sins through penances. One possessed of all knowledge and, therefore, having true vision, and an ascetic of whatever kind, are equal. One should always bow unto these two [The sense is that an ascetic observant of penances, in whatever stage, and a man possessed of omniscience, are regarded as equal.]. All men who have the Vedas for their wealth should be worshipped. Similarly, all men endued with penances deserve to be worshipped. Those who make gifts obtain happiness hereafter and much

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prosperity here. Righteous men of this world, by making gifts of food obtain both this world and that of Brahman himself with many other regions of superior felicity. Those men who are adored by all, themselves adore him who makes gifts. Those men that are honoured everywhere themselves honour him who make gifts. Wherever the giver goes, he bears himself praised, He who does acts and he who omits to do them gets each what is proportionate to his acts and omissions. Whether one dwells in the upper regions or in the nether, one always attains to those places to which one becomes entitled by one's acts. As regards thyself, thou wilt certainly obtain whatever food and drink thou mayst covet, Tot thou art endued with intelligence, good birth, Vedic lore, and compassion! Thou art possessed of youth, O Maitreya! Thou art observant of vows. Be thou devoted to Righteousness. Do thou take instructions from me regarding those duties which thou shouldst first follow,--the duties, viz., of householders. In that house in which the husband is gratified with his wedded wife, and the wife gratified with her husband, all auspicious results ensue. As filth is washed away from the body with water, as darkness is dispelled by the splendour of fire even so is sin washed off by gifts and penances. Bless thee, O Maitreya, let mansions be thine! I depart hence in peace. Do thou keep in mind what I have said. Thou shalt then be able to reap many advantages! Maitreya then walked round his illustrious guest and bowed his head unto him, and joining his hands in reverence said, 'Let blessing be to thee also, O holy one!"

SECTION 123

"Yudhishthira said, 'O thou that art conversant with all duties, I desire to hear, in detail, what the excellent behaviour is of good and chaste women. Do thou, O grandsire, discourse to me on this.'

"Bhishma said, 'Once on a time, in the celestial regions, a lady named Sumana of Kekaya's race addressing Sandili possessed of great energy and conversant with the truth relating to everything and endued with omniscience, said, 'By what conduct, O auspicious lady, by what course of acts, hast thou succeeded in attaining to heaven, purged of every sin? Thou blazest forth with thy own energy like a flame of fire. Thou seemest to be a daughter of the Lord of stars, come to heaven in thy own effulgence. Thou wearest vestments of pure white, and art quite cheerful and at thy ease. Seated on that celestial chariot, thou shinest, O auspicious dame, with energy multiplied a thousandfold. Thou hast not, I ween, attained to this region of happiness by inconsiderable penances and gifts and vows. Do thou tell me the truth'. Thus questioned sweetly by Sumana, Sandili of sweet smiles, addressing her fair interrogatrix, thus answered her out of the hearing of others, I did not wear yellow robes; nor barks of trees. I did not shave my head; nor did I keep matted locks on my head. It is not in consequence of these acts that I have attained to the status of a celestial. I never, in heedlessness, addressed any disagreeable or evil speech to my husband. I was always devoted to the worship of the deities, the Pitris, and the Brahmanas. Always heedful I waited upon and served my mother-in-law and father-in-law. Even this was my resolution that I should never behave with deceit. I never used to stay at the door of our house nor did I speak long with anybody. I never did any evil act; I never laughed aloud; I never did any injury. I never disclosed any secret. Even thus did I bear myself always. When my husband, having left home upon any business, used to come back, I always served him by giving him a seat, and worshipped him with reverence. I never ate food of any kind which was unknown to my husband and at which my husband was not pleased. Rising at early dawn I did and caused to be done whatever was brought about and required to be accomplished for the sake of relatives and kinsmen. When my husband leaves home for going to a distant place on any business, I remain at home engaged in diverse kinds of auspicious acts for blessing his enterprise. Verily, during the absence of my husband I never use collyrium, or ornaments; I never wash myself properly or use garlands and unguents, or deck my feet with lac-dye, or person with ornaments. When my husband sleeps in peace I never awake him even if important business required his attention. I was happy to sit by him lying asleep. I never urged my husband to exert more energetically for earning wealth to support his family and relatives. I always kept secrets without disclosing them to others. I used to keep always our premises clean. That woman who with concentrated attention, adheres to this path of duty, becomes the recipient of considerable honours in heaven like a second Arundhati.'

"Bhishma continued, 'The illustrious and highly blessed Sandili, of righteous conduct, having said these words unto Sumana on the subject of woman's duties towards her husband, disappeared there and then. That man, O son of Pandu, who reads this narrative at every full moon and new moon, succeeds in attaining to heaven and enjoying great felicity in the woods of Nandana."

SECTION 124

"Yudhishthira said, 'Which is of superior efficacy, Conciliation or Gifts? Tell me, O chief of Bharata's race, which of these two is superior in point of efficacy.'

'Bhishma said, 'Some become gratified by conciliation, while others are gratified by gifts. Every man, according to his own nature, affects the one or the other. Listen to me, O king, as I explain to thee the merits of conciliation, O chief of Bharata's race, so that the most furious creatures may be appeased by it. In this connection is cited the ancient narrative of how a Brahmana, who had been seized in the forest by a Rakshasa, was freed (with the aid of conciliation). A certain Brahmana, endued with eloquence and intelligence, fell into distress, for he was seized in a lone forest by a Rakshasa who wished to feed on him. The Brahmana, possessed of understanding and learning, was not at all agitated.' Without suffering himself to be stupefied at the sight of that terrible cannibal, he resolved to apply conciliation and see its effect on the Rakshasa. The Rakshasa, respectfully saluting the Brahmana so far as words went, asked him this question, 'Thou shalt escape, but tell me for what reason I am pale of hue and so lean!' Reflecting for a brief space of time, the Brahmana accepted the question of the Rakshasa and replied in the following well-spoken words'.

"The Brahmana said, 'Dwelling in a place that is distant from thy abode, moving in a sphere that is not thy own, and deprived of the companionship of thy friends and kinsmen, thou art enjoying vast affluence. It is for this that thou art so pale and lean. Verily, O Rakshasa, thy friends, though well-treated by thee, are still not well-disposed towards thee in consequence of their own vicious nature. It is for this that thou art pale and lean. Thou art endued with merit and wisdom and a well-regulated soul. Yet it is thy lot to see others that are destitute of merit and wisdom honoured in preference to thyself. It is for this that thou art pale and lean. Persons possessed of wealth and affluence much greater than thine but inferior to thee in point of accomplishments are, verily, disregarding thee. It is for this that thou art pale and lean. Though distressed through want of the means of support, thou art led by the highness of thy soul to disregard such means as are open to thee for drawing thy sustenance. It is for this that thou art pale and lean. In consequence of thy righteousness thou hadst stinted thyself for doing good to another, This other, O righteous Rakshasa, thinks thee deceived and subjugated (by his superior intelligence). It is for this that thou art pale and lean. I think, thou art grieving for those persons who with souls overwhelmed by the lust and wrath are suffering misery in this world. It is for this that thou art pale and lean. Though graced with the possession of wisdom, thou art ridiculed by others who are entirely destitute of it. Verily, persons of wicked conduct are condemning thee. It is for this that thou art pale and lean. Verily, some enemy of thine, with a friendly tongue, coming to thee behaved at first like a righteous person and then has left thee, beguiling thee like a knave. It is for this that thou art pale and lean. Thou art well-conversant with the course of world's affairs. Thou art well-skilled in all mysteries. Thou art endued with capacity. Those who know thee to be such do not yet respect and praise thee. It is for this that thou art pale and lean. Staying in the midst of bad men engaged together in some enterprise, thou hadst discoursed to them, dispelling their doubts. For all that they did not admit thy superior merits. It is for this that thou art pale and lean. Verily, though destitute of wealth and intelligence and Vedic lore, thou desirest yet, with the aid of thy energy alone, to accomplish something great. It is for this that thou art pale and lean. It seems that although thou art resolved to undergo severe austerities by retiring into the forest, yet thy kinsmen art not favourably inclined towards this project of thine. It is this for that thou art pale and lean. Some neighbour of thine, possessed of great wealth and endued with youth and handsome features, verily, covets thy dear spouse. It is for this that thou art pale and lean. The words spoken by thee, even when excellent, in the midst of wealthy men, are not regarded by them as wise or well-timed. It is for this that thou art pale and lean. Some dear kinsman of thine, destitute of intelligence though repeatedly instructed in the scriptures, has become angry. Thou hast not succeeded in pacifying him. It is for this that thou art pale and lean. Verily, some-body, having first set thee to the accomplishment of some object desirable to thee is now seeking to snatch the fruit thereof from thy grasp. It is for this that thou art pale and lean. Verily, though possessed of excellent accomplishments and worshipped by all on that account, thou art yet regarded by thy kinsmen as worshipped for their sake and not for thy own. It is for this that thou art pale and lean. Verily, through shame thou art unable to give out some purpose in thy heart, moved also by the inevitable delay that will occur in its accomplishment. It is for this that thou art pale and lean. Verily, thou desirest, with the aid of thy intelligence, to bring under thy influence, diverse persons with diverse kinds of understandings and inclinations. It is for this that thou art pale and lean. [Such an object can never be accomplished. Hence thy paleness and leanness.] Destitute of learning, without courage, and without much wealth, thou seekest such fame as is won by knowledge and prowess and gifts. Verily, it is for this that thou hast been pale and lean. Thou hast not been able to acquire something upon which thou hast set thy heart for a long time. Or, that which thou seekest to do is sought to be undone by somebody else. It is for this that thou art pale and lean. Verily, without being able to see any fault on thy part, thou hast been cursed by somebody. It is for this that thou art pale and lean. [Though completely innocent, thou hast yet been cursed. The anxiety due to this has made thee so.] Destitute of both wealth and accomplishments thou seekest in vain to dispel the grief of thy friends and the sorrows of sorrowing men. It is for this that thou art pale and lean. Beholding righteous persons the domestic mode of life, unrighteous persons living according to the forest mode, and emancipated persons attached to domesticity and fixed abodes, thou hast become pale and lean. Verily, thy acts connected with Righteousness, with Wealth, and with Pleasure, as also the well-timed words spoken by thee, do not bear fruit. It is for this that thou art pale and lean. Though endued with wisdom, yet desirous of living, thou livest with wealth obtained by thee in gift from somebody of evil conduct. It is for this that thou art pale and lean. Beholding unrighteousness increasing on every side and righteousness languishing, thou art filled with grief. It is for this that thou art pale and lean. Urged by time thou seekest to please all thy friends even when they are disputing and ranged on sides opposite to one another. It is for this that thou art pale and lean. Beholding persons possessed of Vedic lore engaged in improper acts, and persons of learning unable to keep their senses under control, thou art filled with grief. It is for this that thou art pale and lean.' Thus praised, the Rakshasa worshipped that learned Brahmana in return, and making him his friend and bestowing sufficient wealth upon him in gift, let him off (without devouring him).'"

SECTION 125

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me, O grandsire, how a poor man, desirous of achieving his own good, should bear himself after having acquired the status of humanity and come into this region of acts that is so difficult to attain. Tell me also what is the best of all gifts, and what should be given under what circumstances. Tell me, O son of Ganga, who art truly deserving of honour and worship. It behoveth thee to discourse to us on these mysteries.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus questioned by that famous monarch, viz., the son of Pandu, Bhishma explained (in these words) unto that king these high mysteries appertaining to duty.'

"Bhishma said, 'Listen to me with concentrated attention, O king, as I explain to thee, O Bharata, these mysteries appertaining to duties, after the same manner in which the holy Vyasa had explained them to me in days of yore. This subject is a mystery to the very deities, O monarch. Yama of stainless deeds, with the aid of vows well-observed and Yoga meditation, had acquired the knowledge of these mysteries as the high fruits of his penances. What pleases what deity, what pleases the Pitris, the Rishis, the Pramathas (associates of Mahadeva), the goddess Sri, Chitragupta (the recording assistant of Yama), and the mighty Elephants at the cardinal points of the compass, what constitutes the religion of the Rishis--the religion, which has many mysteries and which is productive of high fruits,--the merits of what are called great gifts, and the merits that attach to all the sacrifices, he who knows these, O sinless one, and knowing acts according to his knowledge, becomes freed from stains if he has stains and acquires the merits indicated. Equal to ten butchers is one oilman. Equal to ten oilmen is one drinker of alcohol. Equal to ten drinkers of alcohol is one courtezan. Equal to ten courtezans is a single (territorial) chief. [The sense is this; one should not accept gifts made by a butcher or slayer of animals. Ten butchers are equal to a single oilman. By accepting a gift from an oilman, therefore, one incurs ten times as much sin as by accepting a gift from a butcher. In this way, the measure of sin goes on increasing according to the ratio given. A Nripa, as explained by the commentator, means here a small chief. A small king is equal to ten thousand butchers. A great king, however, is equal to half of that, i.e., five thousand butchers, In other words, by accepting a gift from a great king, a man incurs as much sin as is a full five thousand times of the sin which is incurred by accepting a gift from a butcher.] A great king is said to be equal to half of these all. Hence, one should not accept, gifts from these. On the other hand, one should attend to the science, that is sacred and that has righteousness for its indications, of the aggregate of three (viz., Religion, Wealth, and Pleasure). Amongst these, Wealth and Pleasure are naturally attractive. Hence, one should, with concentrated attention, listen to the sacred expositions of Religion (in particular), for the fruits are very great of listening to the mysteries of Religion. One should certainly hear every topic connected with Religion as ordained by the deities themselves. In it is contained the ritual in respect of the Sraddha in which have been declared the mysteries connected with the Pitris. The mysteries connected with all the deities have also been explained there. It comprehends the duties and practices,

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productive of great merit, of the Rishis also, together with the mysteries attaching to them. It contains an exposition of the merits o f great sacrifices and those that attach to all kinds of gifts. Those men who always read the scriptures bearing on these topics, those who bear them properly in their mind, and he who, having listened to them, follows them in practice, are all regarded to be as holy and sinless as the puissant Narayana himself. The merits that attach to the gift of kine, those that belong to the performance of ablutions in sacred waters, those that are won by the performance of sacrifices,--all these are acquired by that man who treats guests with reverence. They who listen to these scriptures, they who are endued with faith, and they who have a pure heart, it is well-known, conquer many regions of happiness. Those righteous men who are endued with faith, become cleansed of all stains and no sin can touch them. Such men always increase in righteousness and succeed in attaining to heaven. Once on a time, a celestial messenger, coming to the court of Indra of his own accord, but remaining invisible, addressed the chief of the deities in these words, 'At the command of those two deities who are the foremost of all physicians, and who are endued with every desirable attribute, I have come to this place where I behold human beings and Pitris and the deities assembled together. Why, indeed, is sexual congress interdicted for the man who performs a Sraddha and for him also who eats at a Sraddha (for the particular day)? Why are three rice-balls offered separately at a Sraddha? Unto whom should the first of those balls be offered? Unto whom should the second one be offered? And whose has it been said is the third or remaining one? I desire to know all this.' After the celestial messenger had said these words connected with righteousness and duty, the deities who were seated towards the east, the Pitris also, applauding that ranger of the sky, began as follows.'

"The Pitris said, 'Welcome art thou, and blessings upon thee! Do thou listen, O best of all rangers of the sky! The question thou hast asked is a high one and fraught with deep meaning. The Pitris of that man who indulges in sexual congress on the day he performs a Sraddha, or eats at a Sraddha have to lie for the period of a whole month on his vital seed. As regards the classification of the rice-balls offered at a Sraddha, we shall explain what should be done with them one after another. The first rice-ball should be conceived as thrown into the waters. The second ball should be given to one of the wives to eat. The third ball should be cast into the blazing fire. Even this is the ordinance that has been declared in respect of the Sraddha. Even this is the ordinance that is followed in practice according to the rites of religion. The Pitris of that man who act according to this ordinance become gratified with him and remain always cheerful. The progeny of such a man increases and inexhaustible wealth always remains at his command.'

"The celestial messenger said, 'Thou hast explained the division of the rice-balls and their consignment one after another to the three (viz., water, the spouse, and the blazing fire), together with the reasons thereof. Whom does that rice-tall which is consigned to the waters reach? How does it, by being so consigned, gratify the deities and how does it rescue the Pitris? The second ball is eaten by the spouse. That has been laid down in ordinance. How do the Pitris of that man (whose spouse eats the ball) become the eaters thereof? The last ball goes into the blazing fire. How does that ball succeed in finding its way to thee, or who is he unto whom it goes? I desire to bear this,--that is, what are the ends attained by the rice-balls offered at Sraddhas when thus disposed of by being cast into the water, given to the spouse, and thrown into the blazing fire!

"The Pitris said, 'Great is this question which thou hast asked. It involves a mystery and is fraught with wonder. We have been exceedingly gratified with thee, O ranger of the sky! The very deities and the Munis applaud acts done in honour of the Pitris. Even they do not know what the certain conclusions are of the ordinances in respect of the acts done in honour of the Pitris. Excepting the high souled, immortal, and excellent Markandeya, that learned Brahmana of great fame, who is ever devoted to the Pitris, none amongst them is conversant with the mysteries of the ordinances in respect of the Pitris. Having heard from the holy Vyasa what the end is of the three rice-balls offered at the Sraddha, as explained by the Pitris themselves in reply to the question of the celestial messenger, I shall explain the same to thee. Do thou hear, O monarch, what the conclusions are with respect to the ordinances about the Sraddha. Listen with rapt attention, O Bharata, to me as I explain what the end is of the three rice-balls. That rice-ball which goes into water is regarded as gratifying the deity of the moon. That deity, thus gratified, O thou of great intelligence, gratifies in return the other deities and the Pitris also with them. It has been laid down that the second rice-ball should be eaten by the spouse (of the man that performs the Sraddha). The Pitris, who are ever desirous of progeny, confer children on the woman of the house. Listen now to me as I tell thee what becomes of the rice-ball that is cast into the blazing fire. With that ball the Pitris are gratified and as the result thereof they grant the fruition of all wishes unto the person offering it. I have thus told thee everything about the end of the three rice-balls offered at the Sraddha and consigned to the three (viz., water, the spouse, and the fire). That Brahmana who becomes the Ritwik at a Sraddha constitutes himself, by that act, the Pitri of the person performing the Sraddha. Hence, he should abstain that day from sexual intercourse with even his own spouse. O best of all rangers of the sky, the man who eats at Sraddha should bear himself with purity for that day. By acting otherwise, one surely incurs the faults I have indicated. It cannot be otherwise. Hence, the Brahmana who is invited to a Sraddha for eating the offerings should eat them after purifying himself by a bath and bear himself piously for that day by abstaining from every kind of injury or evil. The progeny of such a person multiply and he also who feeds him reaps the same reward.'

"Bhishma continued, 'After the Pitris said so, a Rishi of austere penances, named Vidyutprabha, whose form shone with splendour like that of the sun, spoke. Having heard those mysteries of religion as propounded by the Pitris, he addressed Sakra, saying, 'Stupefied by folly, men slay numerous creatures born in the intermediate orders, such as worms and ants and snakes and sheep and deer and birds. Heavy is the measure of sin they incur by these acts. What, however, is the remedy? When this question was asked, all the gods and Rishis endued with wealth of penances and the highly blessed Pitris, applauded that ascetic.'

"Sakra said, 'Thinking in one's mind of Kurukshetra and Gaya and Ganga and Prabhasa and the lakes of Pushkara, one should dip one's head in water. By so doing one becomes cleansed of all one's sins like Chandramas freed from Rahu. One should bathe in this way for three days in succession and then fast for every day. Besides this, one should touch (after bathing) the back of a cow and bow one's head to her tail. Vidyutprabha, after this, once more addressing Vasava, said, 'I shall declare a rite that is more subtle. Listen to me, O thou of a hundred sacrifices. Rubbed with the astringent powder of the hanging roots of the banian and anointed with the oil of Priyangu, one should eat the Shashtika paddy mixed with milk. By so doing one becomes cleansed of all one's sins. Listen now to another mystery unknown to many but which was discovered by the Rishis with the aid of meditation. I heard it from Vrihaspati while he recited it in the presence of Mahadeva. O chief of the deities, do thou hear it with Rudra in thy company, O lord of Sachi! If a person, ascending a mountain, stands there on one foot, with arms upraised and joined together, and abstaining from food looks at a blazing fire, he acquires the merits of severe penances and obtains the rewards that attach to fasts. Heated by the rays of the sun, he becomes cleansed of all his sins. One who acts in this way in both the summer and the winter seasons, becomes freed from every sin. Cleansed of every sin, one acquires a splendour of complexion for all time. Such a man blazes with energy like the Sun or shines in beauty like the Moon!' After this, the chief of the deities, viz., he of a hundred sacrifices, seated in the midst of the gods, then sweetly addressed Vrihaspati, saying these excellent words, 'O holy one, do thou duly discourse on what those mysteries of religion are that are fraught with happiness to human beings, and what the faults are which they commit, together with the mysteries that attach to them!'

"Vrihaspati said, 'They who pass urine, facing the sun, they who do not show reverence for the wind, they who do not pour libations on the blazing fire, they who milk a cow whose calf is very young, moved by the desire of obtaining from her as much milk as possible, commit sins. I shall declare what those faults are, O lord of Sachi! Do thou listen to me.

The Sun, Wind, the bearer of sacrificial oblations, O Vasava, and kine who are the mothers of all creatures, were created by the Self born himself, for rescuing all the worlds, O Sakra! These are the deities of human beings. Listen all of ye to the conclusions of religion. Those wicked men and wicked women who pass urine facing the sun, live in great infamy for six and eighty years. That man, O Sakra, who cherishes no reverence for the wind, gets children that fall away prematurely from the womb of his spouse. Those men who do not pour libations on the blazing fire find that the fire, when they do ignite it for such rites as they wish to perform, refuses to eat their libations [The sense seems to be that the libations, few and far between, of men who do not daily worship their fire are not borne by the fire to the destined places.]. Those men who drink the milk of kine whose calves are very young, never get children for perpetuating their races. Such men see their children, die and their races shrink. Even these are the consequences of the acts referred to, as observed by regenerate persons venerable for age in their respective races. Hence, one should always avoid that which has been interdicted, and do only that which has been directed to be done, if one is desirous of achieving prosperity. This that I say unto thee is very true.' After the celestial preceptor had said this, the highly blessed deities, with the Maruts, and the highly blessed Rishis questioned the Pitris, saying, 'Ye Pitris, at what acts of human beings, who are generally endued with little understanding, do ye become gratified? What gifts, made in course of such rites as are gone through for improving the position of deceased persons in the other world, become inexhaustible in respect of their efficacy? By performing what acts can men become freed from the debt they owe to the Pitris? We desire to hear this. Great is the curiosity we feel.'

"The Pitris said, 'Ye highly blessed ones, the doubt existing in your minds has been properly propounded. Listen as we declare what those acts are of righteous men that gratify us. Bulls endued with blue complexion should be set free. Gifts should be made to us, on the day of the new moon, of sesame seeds and water. In the season of rains, lamps should be lighted. By these acts of men, they can free themselves from the debt they owe to the Pitris. Such gifts never become vain. On the other hand, they become inexhaustible and productive of high fruits. The gratification we derive from them is regarded to be inexhaustible. Those men who, endued with faith, beget offspring, rescue their deceased ancestors from miserable Hell'. Hearing these words of the Pitris, Vriddha-Gargya, possessed of wealth of penances and high energy, became filled with wonder so that the hair on his body stood erect. Addressing them he said, 'Ye that are all possessed of wealth of penances, tell us what the merits are that attach to the setting free of bulls endued with blue complexion. What merits, again, attach to the gift of lamps in the season of rains and the gift of water with sesame seeds?'

"The Pitris said, 'If a bull of blue complexion, upon being set free, raises a (small) quantity of water with its tail, the Pitris (of the person that has set that bull free) become gratified with that water for full sixty thousand years. The mud such a bull raises with its horns from the banks (of a river or lake), succeeds, without doubt, in sending the Pitris (of the person that sets the animal free) to the region of Soma. By giving lamps in the season of rains, one shines with effulgence like Soma himself. The man who gives lamps is never subject to the attribute of Darkness. Those men who make gifts, on the day of the new moon, of sesame seeds and water, mixed with honey and using a vessel of copper, O thou that art possessed of wealth of penances, are regarded as duly performing a Sraddha with all its mysteries. These men get children of sound health and cheerful minds. The merit acquired by the giver of the Pinda (to the Pitris) takes the form of the growth of his race. Verily, he who performs these acts with faith, becomes freed from the debt he owes to the Pitris. Even thus has been laid down the proper time for the performance of the Sraddha, the ordinance in respect of the rites to be observed, the proper person that should be fed at the Sraddha, and the merits that attach to it. I have declared everything to thee in due order.'

SECTION 126

"Bhishma said, 'The chief of the deities, Indra, after the Pitri has ceased to speak, addressed the puissant Hari, saying, 'O Lord, what are those acts by which thou becomest gratified? How, indeed, do men succeed in gratifying thee?'

"Vishnu said, "That which I greatly hate is the detraction of Brahmanas; without doubt, if the Brahmanas are worshipped, I regard myself worshipped. All superior Brahmanas should always be saluted with reverence, after feeding them with hospitality. One should reverence one's own feet also (in the evening). I am gratified with men who act in this way, as also with those who worship and make offerings to the whirl that is noticeable on cowdung (when it first drops from the cow). They who behold a Brahmana that is a dwarf in stature, or a boar that has just risen from water and that bears on his head a quantity of mud taken up from the bank, have never to meet with any evil. They become freed from every sin. That man who worships every day the Aswattha (Ficus religiosa) and the substance called Gorochana and the cow, is regarded as worshipping the whole universe with the deities and Asuras and human beings. Verily, staying within these, I accept, in my own form, the worship that is offered to them. The worship that is offered to these is the worship offered to me. This has been so as long as the worlds have been created. Those men of little understanding that worship me in a different way worship me in vain, for the worship of that kind I never accept. Verily, the worship of other kinds is not at all gratifying to me.'

"Indra said, 'Why dost thou applaud the circular marks on cowdung, the feet, the boar, the Brahmana that is a dwarf in stature, and mud raised up from the soil? It is thou who greatest and it is thou who destroyest them. Thou art the eternal nature of all mortal or transitory things:'

"Bhishma continued, 'Hearing these words of Indra. Vishnu smiled a little and then said, 'It was with my circular disc that the Daityas were slain. It was with my two feet that the world was covered. Assuming the form of a boar I slew Hiranyaksha. Assuming the form of a dwarf I conquered (the Asura) king Vali. Those high-souled men who worship these gratify me. Verily, they who worship me in these forms never meet with discomfiture. If one beholding a Brahmana leading the Brahmacharya mode of life arrived at one's house, offers unto him the first portion of one's food that belongs as of right to a Brahmana, and eats what remains thereafter, one is regarded as eating Amrita. If one, after adoring the morning twilight, stands with face directed towards the sun, one reaps the merit

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that attaches to the performance of ablutions in all tirthas and becomes cleansed of all sins. Ye Rishis possessed of wealth of penances, I have told you in details what constitutes a great mystery. On what else shall I discourse unto you? Tell me your doubts.'

"Baladeva said, 'Listen now to another great mystery that is fraught with happiness to men. Ignorant persons, unacquainted with it, meet with much distress at the hands of other creatures. That man who, rising at early dawn, touches a cow, ghee, and curds, as also mustard seeds and the larger variety thereof called Priyangu, becomes cleansed of all sins. As regards Rishis possessed of wealth of penances, they always avoid all creatures both before and behind, as also all that is impure while performing Sraddhas.

"The deities said, 'If a person, taking a vessel of copper, filling it with water, and facing the east, resolves upon a fast or the observance of a particular vow, the deities become gratified with him and all his wishes become crowned with success. By observing fasts, or vows in any other way, men of little understandings gain nothing. In uttering the resolution about the observance of fasts and in making offerings to the deities, the use of a vessel of copper is preferable. In presenting the offerings to the deities, in (giving and accepting) alms, in presenting the ingredients of the Arghya and in offering oblations of water mixed with sesame seeds to the Pitris, a vessel of copper should be used. By doing these acts in any other way, one acquires little merit. Even these mysteries have been laid down relating to how the deities are gratified.'

"Dharma said, 'The offerings made in all rites in honour of the deities and in those in honour of the Pitris should never be given away to a Brahmana that has accepted service under the king, or that rings the bell or attends to subsidiary duties in acts of worship or at Sraddhas, or that keeps kine, or that is engaged in trade, or that follows some art as a profession, or that is an actor, or that quarrels with friends or that is destitute of Vedic studies, or that marries a Sudra* woman [Vrishalipati literally means the husband of a Sudra woman. By actually marrying a woman of the lowest order, by marrying before the elder brother, by marrying a girl that has attained to puberty, and by certain other acts, a Brahmana comes to be regarded as a Vrishalipati.]. [* Sudra (also: Shudra, Shoodra) is the lowest ranked of the four varnas of the Hindu caste system. The Sudra Kingdom is mentioned as one of the kingdoms of ancient India mentioned in the epic Mahabharata. They were mentioned along with another tribe called the Abhiras* (Abiru, Habiru, Hebrew) along the banks of Sarasvati River where it dried up in the desert. The Yadava* (Yudahvah) Balarama visited this place during his pilgrimage along the partially dried up river Saraswati. After this place, only a dried up river bed existed and the desert or the Maru region began. *Names of Semitic origin.] The performer of the Sraddha who gives away such offerings unto such a Brahmana falls away from prosperity and multiplies not his race. He fails, again, to gratify his Pitris by doing such an act. From the house of that person whence a guest returns unsatisfied, the Pitris, the deities, and the sacred fires, all return disappointed in consequence of such treatment of the guest. That man who does not discharge the duties of hospitality towards the guest arrived at his abode, comes to be regarded as equally sinful with those that are slayers of women or of kine, that are ungrateful towards benefactors, that are slayers of Brahmanas, or that are violators of the beds of their preceptors.'

"Agni said, 'Listen ye with concentrated attention. I shall recite the demerits of that man of wicked understanding who lifts up his feet for striking therewith a cow or a highly blessed Brahmana or a blazing fire. The infamy of such a man spreads throughout the world and touches the confines of heaven itself. His Pitris become filled with fear. The deities also become highly dissatisfied on his account. Endued with great energy, Fire refuses to accept the libations poured by him. For a hundred lives he has to rot in hell. He is never rescued at any time. One should, therefore, never touch a cow with one's feet, or a Brahmana of high energy, or a blazing fire, if one is endued with faith and desires one's own good. These are the demerits declared by me of one who lifts up one's feet towards these three.'

"Viswamitra said, 'Listen to a high mystery that is unknown to the generality of men and that is connected with religion. He who offers the Pitris rice boiled in sugared milk, sitting with face directed to the south at noontide in the shade caused by an elephant's body, in the month of Bhadrapada, under the constellation Magha, acquires great merits. Listen to what those merits are. The man who makes such an offering to the Pitris under such circumstances, is regarded as performing a great Sraddha each year for thirteen years in succession.'

"The kine said, 'That man becomes cleansed of all his sins who adores a cow with these Mantras, viz., 'O Vahula, O Samanga, O thou that art fearless everywhere, O thou that art forgiving and full of auspiciousness, O friend, O source of all plenty, in the region of Brahman, in days of yore, thou wert present with thy calf in the sacrifice of Indra, the wielder of the thunderbolt. Thou tookest thy station in the firmament and in the path of Agni. The deities with Narada among them adored thee on that occasion by calling thee Sarvamsaha. Such man attains to the region of Purandara. He acquires, besides, the merits that attach to kine, and the splendour of Chandramas also. Such a man becomes freed from every sin, every fear, every grief. At the end, he obtains residence in the happy region of the Thousand-eyed Indra!'

"Bhishma continued, 'After this, the highly blessed and celebrated seven Rishis, with Vasishtha at their head, rose and circumambulating the Lotus-born Brahman, stood around him with hands joined in reverence. Vasishtha, that foremost of all persons conversant with Brahma, became their spokesman and asked this question that is beneficial to every creature, but especially so to Brahmanas and Kshatriyas, 'By doing what acts may men of righteous conduct who are, however, destitute of the good of this world, succeed in acquiring merits attaching to sacrifices?' Hearing this question of theirs, the Grandsire Brahman began to say what follows.'

"Brahman said, 'Excellent is this question, ye highly blessed ones! It is at once auspicious and high and fraught with a mystery. This question that ye have put is subtil and is fraught with high benefit to mankind. Ye Rishis possessed of wealth of penances, I shall recite everything to you in detail. Do ye listen with attention to what I say as to how men acquire the merits attaching to sacrifices (even when they are unable to perform them through poverty.) In the lighted fortnight of the month of Pausha, when the constellation Rohini is in conjunction, if one, purifying oneself by a bath, lies under the cope of heaven, clad in a single piece of raiment, with faith and concentrated attention, and drinks the rays of the moon, one acquires the merits that attach to the performance of great sacrifices. Ye foremost of regenerate persons, this is a high mystery that I declare unto you in reply to your questions, ye that are possessed of insight into the subtil truths of all topics of enquiry.'"

SECTION 127

"Vibhavasu (otherwise called Surya) said, 'There are two offerings. One of those consists of a palmful of water and the other called Akshata consists of rice-grains with ghee. One should, on the day of the full moon, stand facing that bright orb and make unto him the two offerings mentioned, viz., a palmful of water and the rice-grains with ghee called Akshata. The man who presents these offerings is said to adore his sacred fire. Verily, he is regarded as one that has poured libations on the three (principal) fires. That man of little understanding who cutteth down a large tree on the day of the new moon, becomes stained with the sin of Brahmanicide. By killing even a single leaf one incurs that sin. That foolish man who chews a tooth-brush on the day of the new moon is regarded as injuring the deity of the moon by such an act. The Pitris of such a person become annoyed with him. [In India the tooth-brush consists of a twig or a little branch. One end of it is chewed and softened. The softened fibres serve the purpose of a brush. Such a brush is used only once. It is thrown away after the brushing of the teeth is over.] The deities do not accept the libations poured by such a man on days of the full moon and the new moon. His Pitris become enraged with him, and his race and the family become extinct.'

"Sree said, 'That sinful house, in which eating and drinking vessels and seats and beds lie scattered, and in which women are beaten, the deities and Pitris leave in disgust. Verily, without accepting the offerings made unto them by the owners of such houses, the deities and the Pitris fly away from such a sinful habitation.'

"Angiras said, 'The offspring of that man increase who stands every night for a full year under a Karanjaka tree with a lamp for lighting it, and holds besides in his hand the roots of the Suvarchala plant.'

"Gargya said, 'One should always do the duties of hospitality to one's guests. One should give lamps in the hall or shed where sacrifices are performed. One should avoid sleep during the day, and abstain from all kinds of flesh or food. One should never injure kine and Brahmanas. One should always recite names of the Pushkara lakes and the other sacred waters. Such a course of duty, is the foremost. Even this constitutes a high religion with its mysteries. If observed in practice, it is sure to produce great consequences. If a person performs even a hundred sacrifices, he is doomed to see the exhaustion of the merits attaching to the libations poured therein. The duties, however, which I have mentioned are such that when observed by a person endued with faith, their merit becomes inexhaustible. Listen now to another high mystery concealed from the view of many. The deities do not accept the libations (poured upon the fire) on the occasion of Sraddhas and rites in their honour or on the occasion of those rites that are performable on ordinary lunar days or on the especially sacred days of the full moon and the new moon, if they behold a woman in her season of impurity or one that is the daughter of a mother afflicted with leprosy. The Pitris of the man who allows such a woman to come near the place where the Sraddha is being performed by him, do not become gratified with him for thirteen years. Robed in raiment of white, and becoming pure in body and mind, one should invite Brahmanas and cause them to utter their benedictions (when one performs the Sraddha). On such occasions one should also recite the Bharata. It is by observing all these that the offerings made at Sraddhas become inexhaustible.'

"Dhaumya said, 'Broken utensils, broken bedsteads, cocks and, dogs, as also such trees as have grown within the dwelling houses, are all inauspicious objects. In a broken utensil is Kali himself, while in a broken bedstead is loss of wealth. When a cock or a dog is in sight, the deities do not eat the offerings made to them. Under the roots of a tree scorpions and snakes undoubtedly find shelter. Hence, one should never plant a tree within one's abode.' [Bhanda includes utensils of copper and brass such as plates and cups and jars and jugs. Broken utensils, to this day, are regarded inauspicious. They are rejected, as a rule, by every family. Kali (Evil?) has his abode in them, meaning that such utensils cause quarrels and disputes. Broken bed-steads also are regarded as capable of causing loss of wealth. Cocks and dogs should never be kept or reared in a house. The roots of trees afford shelter to scorpions and snakes and venomous insects and worms. One should not, therefore, plant trees or allow them to grow up within one's abode.]

"Jamadagni said, 'That man whose heart is not pure is sure to go to Hell even if he adores the deities in a Horse-sacrifice or in a hundred Vajapeya sacrifices, or if he undergoes the severest austerities with head downmost. Purity of heart is regarded as equal to sacrifices and Truth. A very poor Brahmana, by giving only a Prastha of powdered barley with a pure heart unto a Brahmana, attained to the region of Brahman himself. This is a sufficient proof (of the importance of purity of heart).'"

SECTION 128

"Vayu said, 'I shall recite some duties the observance of which is fraught with happiness to mankind. Do ye listen also with concentrated attention to certain transgressions with the secret causes upon which they depend. That man who offers for the four months of the rainy season sesame and water (unto the Pitris), and food, according to the best of his power, unto a Brahmana well-conversant with the duties, who duly pours libations on the sacred fire, and makes offerings of rice boiled in sugared milk, who gives lamps in honour of the Pitris, with sesame and water,--verily he who does all this with faith and concentrated attention acquires all the merits that attach to a hundred sacrifices in which animals are offered to the deities. Listen to this other high mystery that is unknown to all. That man who thinks it all right when a Sudra ignites the fire upon which he is to pour libations or who does not see any fault when women who are incompetent to assist at Sraddhas and other rites are allowed to assist at them, really becomes stained with sin [A Brahmana's fire should never be ignited by a Sudra. Women also should never be allowed to assist at Sraddhas for arranging the offerings.]. The three sacrificial fires become enraged with such a person. In his next life he has to take birth as a Sudra. His Pitris, together with the deities are never gratified with him. I shall now recite what the expiations are which one must go through for cleansing oneself from such sins. Listen to me with attention. By performing those expiatory acts, one becomes happy and free from fever. Fasting all the while, one should, for three days, with concentrated attention, pour libation, on the sacred fire, of the urine of the cow mixed with cowdung and milk and ghee. The deities accept the offerings of such a man on the expiration of a full year. His Pitris also, when the time comes for him for performing the Sraddha, become gratified with him. I have thus recited what is righteous and what is unrighteous, with all their unknown details, in respect of human beings desirous of attaining to heaven. Verily, men who abstain from these transgressions or who having committed them undergo the expiatory rites indicated, succeed, in attaining to heaven when they leave this world."

SECTION 129

"Lomasa said, 'The Pitris of those men who, without having wedded wives of their own, betake themselves to the wives of other people, become filled with disappointment when the time for the Sraddhas comes. He who betakes himself to the wives of other people, he who indulges in sexual union with a woman that is barren, and he who appropriates what belongs to a Brahmana, are equally sinful. Without doubt, the Pitris of such people cut them off without desiring to have any intercourse with them. The offerings they make fail to gratify the deities and the Pitris. Hence, one should always abstain from sexual congress with women that are the wedded wives of others, as also with women that are barren. The man who desires his own good should not appropriate what belongs to a Brahmana. Listen now to another mystery, unknown to all with regard to religion. One should, endued with faith, always do the bidding of one's preceptor and other seniors. On the twelfth lunar day, as also on the day of the full moon, every month, one should make gifts unto Brahmanas of ghee and the offerings that constitute Akshata. Listen to me

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as I say what the measure is of the merit that such a person acquires. By such an act one is said to increase Soma and the Ocean. Vasava, the chief of the celestials, confers upon him a fourth part of the merits that attach to a Horse-sacrifice. By making such gifts, a person becomes endued with great energy and prowess. The divine Soma, well-pleased with him, grants him the fruition of his wishes. Listen now to another duty, together with the foundation on which it rests, that is productive of great merit. In this age of Kali, that duty, if performed, brings about much happiness to men. That man who, rising at early dawn and purifying himself by a bath, attires himself in white robes and with the concentrated attention makes gifts unto Brahmanas of vessels full of sesame seeds, who makes offerings unto the Pitris of water with sesame seeds and honey, and who gives lamps as also the food called Krisara acquires substantial merits. Listen to me as I say what those merits are. The divine chastiser of Paka has ascribed these merits to the gift of vessels of copper and brass filled with sesame seeds. He who makes gifts of kine, he who makes gifts of land that are productive of eternal merit, he who performs the Agnishtoma sacrifice with copious presents in the form of Dakshina to the Brahmanas, are all regarded by the deities as acquiring, merits equal to those which one acquires by making gifts of vessels filled with sesame seeds. Gifts of water with sesame seeds are regarded by the Pitr is as productive of eternal gratification to them. The grandsires all become highly pleased with gifts of lamps and Krisara. I have thus recited the ancient ordinance, laid down by the Rishis, that is highly applauded by both the Pitris and the deities in their respective regions.'"

SECTION 130

"Bhishma said, 'The Rishis there assembled, together with the Pitris and the deities, then, with concentrated attention, questioned Arundhati (the spouse of Vasishtha) who was endued with great ascetic merit. Possessed of abundant wealth of penances, Arundhati was equal to her husband, the high-souled Vasishtha in energy for in both vows and conduct she was her husband's equal. Addressing her they said, 'We desire to hear from thee the mysteries of duty and religion. It behoveth thee, O amiable lady, to tell us what thou regardest as a high mystery.'

"Arundhati said, 'The great progress I have been able to achieve in penances is due to your consideration for me in thus remembering my poor self. With your gracious permission I shall now discourse on duties that are eternal, on duties that are high mysteries. I shall discourse thereon with the causes on which they depend. Listen to me as I discourse to you elaborately. A knowledge of these should be imparted unto him only that is possessed of faith or that has a pure heart. These four, viz., he that is bereft of faith, he that is full of pride, he that is guilty of Brahmanicide, and he that violates the bed of his preceptor, should never be talked to. Religion and duty should never be communicated unto them. The merits acquired by a person who gives away a Kapila cow every day for a period of two and ten years, or by a person who adores the deities every month in a sacrifice, or by him who gives away hundreds of thousands of kine in the great Pushkara, do not come up to those that are his with whom a guest is gratified. Listen now to another duty whose observance is fraught with happiness to mankind. It should be observed with its secret ritual by a person endued with faith, Its merits are certainly high. Listen to what they are. If a person, rising at early dawn and taking with him a quantity of water and a few blades of Kusa grass, proceeds into a cow-pen and arriving there washes a cow's horns by sprinkling thereon that water with those blades of Kusa grass and then causes the water to drip down on his own head, he is regarded, in consequence of such a bath, as one that has performed his ablutions in all the sacred waters that the wise have heard to exist in the three worlds and that are honoured and resorted to by Siddhas and Charanas.' After Arundhati had said these words, all the deities and Pitris applauded her, saying, 'Excellent, Excellent,' Indeed, all the beings there were highly gratified and all of them worshipped Arundhati.'

"Brahman said, 'O highly blessed one, excellent is the duty that thou hast enunciated, together with its secret ritual. Praise be to thee! I grant thee this boon, viz., that thy penances will continually increase!'

"Yams said, 'I have heard from thee an excellent and agreeable discourse. Listen now to what Chitragupta has said and what is agreeable to me. Those words relate to duty with its secret ritual, and are worthy of being heard by the great Rishis, as also by men endued with faith and desirous of achieving their own good. Nothing is lost of either piety or sin that is committed by creatures. On days of the full moon and the new moon, those acts are conveyed to the sun where they rest. When a mortal goes into the region of the dead, the deity of the sun bears witness to all his acts. He that is righteous acquires the fruits of his righteousness there. I shall now tell you of some auspicious duties that are approved by Chitragupta. Water for drink, and lamps for lighting darkness, should always be given, as also sandals and umbrellas and Kapila kine with due rites. In Pushkara especially should one make the gift of a Kapila cow unto a Brahmana conversant with the Vedas. One should also always maintain one's Agnihotra with great care. Here is another duty which was proclaimed by Chitragupta. It behoveth them that are the best of creatures to listen to what the merits are of that duty separately. In course of time, every creature is destined to undergo dissolution. They that are of little understanding meet with great distress in the regions of the dead, for they become afflicted by hunger and thirst. Indeed, they have to rot there, burning in pain. There is no escape for them from such calamity. They have to enter into a thick darkness. I shall now tell you of those duties by performing which one may succeed in crossing such calamity. The performance of those duties costs very little but is fraught with great merit. Indeed, such performance is productive of great happiness in the other world. The merits that attach to the gift of water for drink are excellent. In the next world in especial, those merits are very high. For them that make gifts of water for drink there is ordained in the other world a large river full of excellent water. Indeed, the water contained in that river is inexhaustible and cool and sweet as nectar. He who makes gifts of water in this world drinks from that stream in the world hereafter when he goes thither. Listen now to the abundant merits that attach to the giving of lamps. The man who gives lamps in this world has never to even behold the thick darkness (of Hell). Soma and Surya and the deity of fire always give him their light when he repairs to the other world. The deities ordain that on every side of such a person there should be blazing light. Verily, when the giver of lights repairs to the world of the dead, he himself blazes forth in pure effulgence like a second Surya. Hence, one should give lights while here and water for drink in especial. Listen now to what the merits are of the person who makes the gift of a Kapila cow to a Brahmana conversant with the Vedas, especially if the gift be made in Pushkara. Such a man is regarded as having made a gift of a hundred kine with a bull, a gift that is productive of eternal merit. The gift of a single Kapila cow is capable of cleansing whatever sins the giver may be guilty of even if those sins be as grave. Brahmanicide, for the gift of a single Kapila cow is regarded as equal in point of merit to that of a hundred kine. Hence, one should give away a Kapila cow at that Pushkara which is regarded as the senior (of the two Tirthas known by that name) on the day of the full moon in the month of Karttika. Men that succeed in making such a gift have never to encounter distress of any kind, or sorrow, or thorns giving pain. That man who gives away a pair of sandals unto a superior Brahmana that is deserving of the gift, attains to similar merits. By giving away an umbrella a person obtains comfortable shade in the next world. (He will not have to be exposed to the sun). A gift made to a deserving person is never lost. It is certain to produce agreeable consequences to the giver.' Hearing these opinions of Chitragupta, Surya's hairs stood on their ends. Endued with great splendour, he addressed all the deities and the Pitris, saying 'Ye have heard the mysteries relating to duty, as propounded by the high-souled Chitragupta. Those human beings who, endued with faith, make these gifts unto high-souled Brahmanas, become freed from fear of every kind. These five kinds of men, stained with vicious deeds, have no escape. Verily, of sinful behaviour and regarded as the worst of men, they should never be talked to. Indeed they should always be avoided. Those five are he who is the slayer of a Brahmana, he who is the slayer of a cow, he who is addicted to sexual congress with other people's wives, he who is bereft of faith (in the Vedas), and he who derives his sustenance by selling the virtue of his wife. These men of sinful conduct, when they repair to the region of the dead, rot in hell like worms that live upon pus and blood. These five are avoided by the Pitris, the deities, the Snataka Brahmanas, and other regenerate persons that are devoted to the practice of penances.'"

SECTION 131

"Bhishma said, 'Then all the highly blessed deities and the Pitris, and the highly blessed Rishis also, addressing the Pramathas, said, 'Ye are all highly blessed beings. Ye are invisible wanderers of the night. Why do you afflict those men that are vile and impure and that are unclean? What acts are regarded as impediments to your power? What, indeed, are those acts in consequence of which ye become incompetent to afflict men? What are those acts that are destructive of Rakshasas and that prevent you from asserting your power over the habitations of men? Ye wanderers of the night, we desire to hear all this from you.'

"The Pramathas said, 'Men are rendered unclean by acts of sexual congress. They who do not purify themselves after such acts, they who insult their superiors, they who from stupefaction eat different kinds of meat, the man also who sleeps at the foot of a tree, he who keeps any animal matter under his pillow while lying down for sleep, and he who lies down or sleeps placing the head where his feet should be placed or his feet where the head should be placed,--these men are regarded by us as unclean. Verily, these men have many holes. Those also are numbered in the same class who throw their phlegm and other unclean secretions into the water. Without doubt these men deserve to be slain and eaten up by us. Verily, we afflict those human beings who are given to such conduct. Listen now to what those acts are which are regarded as antidotes and in consequence of which we fail to do any injury to men. Those men upon whose persons occur streaks of Gorochana, or who hold Vachas in their hands, or who make gifts of ghee with those ingredients that go by the name of Akshata, or who place ghee and Akshata on their heads, or those who abstain from meat are incapable of being afflicted by us. That man in whose house the sacred fire burns day and night without being ever put out, or who keeps the skin or teeth of a wolf in his abode or a hill-tortoise, or from whose habitation the sacrificial smoke is seen to curl upwards, or who keeps a cat or a goat that is either tawny or black in hue, is free from our power. Verily, those householders who keep these things in their houses always find them free from the inroads of even the fiercest spirits that live on carrion. Those beings also, that like us range through different worlds in pursuit of pleasure, are unable to do any injury to such houses. Hence, ye deities, should men keep such articles in their houses,--articles that are destructive of Rakshasas (and other beings of the kind). We have thus told you everything about that respecting which ye had great doubts.'"

SECTION 132

"Bhishma said, 'After this, the Grandsire Brahman, sprang from the primeval lotus and resembling the lotus (in agreeableness and fragrance), addressed the deities with Vasava, the lord of Sachi, at their head,--Yonder sits the mighty Naga who is a resident of the nether regions. Endued with great strength and energy, and with great prowess also, his name is Renuka. He is certainly a great being. Those mighty elephants endued with great energy and power, who hold the entire earth with her hills, waters, and lakes should be interviewed by this Renuka at your request. Let Renuka go to them and ask them about the mysteries of religion or duty.--Hearing these words of the Grandsire, the deities, with well-pleased minds commissioned (the elephant) Renuka to where those upholders of the world are.'"

"Renuka, proceeding to where those elephants are, addressed them, saying, 'Ye mighty creatures, I have been commanded by the deities and the Pitris to question you about the mysteries of religion and duty. I desire to bear you discourse on that subject in detail. Ye highly blessed ones, do ye discourse on the subject as your wisdom may dictate.'

"The (eight) elephants standing in the eight quarters said, 'On the auspicious eighth day of the dark fortnight in the month of Karttika when the constellation Aslesha is in the ascendant, one should make gifts of treacle and rice. Casting aside wrath, and living on regulated diet, one should make these offerings at a Sraddha, uttering these mantras the while--Let Valadeva and other Nagas possessed of great strength, let other mighty snakes of huge bodies that are indestructible and eternal, and let all the other great snakes that have taken their birth in their race, make Vali offerings to me for the enhancement of my strength and energy. Verily, let my strength be as great as that of the blessed Narayana when he raised the submerged Earth!--Uttering these mantras, one should make Vali offerings upon an ant-hill. When the maker of day retires to his chambers in the west, upon the ant-hill selected should offerings be made of raw sugar and rice. The ant-hill should previously be scattered with Gajendra flowers, Offerings should also be made of blue cloths and fragrant unguents. If offerings are made in this way, those beings that live in the nether regions, bearing the weight of the upper regions upon their heads or shoulders, become well-pleased and gratified. As regards ourselves, we also do not feel the labour of upholding the Earth, in consequence of such offerings being made to us. Afflicted with the burden we bear, even this is what we think (beneficial for men), without the slightest regard for selfish concerns. Brahmanas and Kshatriyas and Vaisyas and Sudras, by observing this rule for a full year, fasting on each occasion, acquire great merits from such gifts. We think that the making of such Vali offerings on the ant-hill is really fraught with very superior merits. By making such offerings, one is regarded as doing the duties of hospitality for a hundred years to all the mighty elephants that exist in the three worlds.' Hearing these words of the mighty elephants, the deities and the Pitris and the highly blessed Rishis, all applauded Renuka."

SECTION 133

"Maheswara said, 'Searching your memories, excellent are the duties ye all have recited. Listen all of you now to me as I declare some mysteries relating to religion and duty. Only those persons whose understanding has been set on religion and who are possessed of faith, should be instructed in respect of those mysteries of duty and religion that are fraught with high merits. Hear what the merits are that become his who, with heart free from anxiety, gives food everyday, for a month, to kine and contents himself with one meal a day throughout such period. The kine are highly blessed. They are regarded as the most sacred of all sacred things. Verily, it is they that are

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upholding the three worlds with the deities, the Asuras, and human beings. Respectful services rendered to them are fraught with high merit and grave consequences. That man who every day gives food to kine advances every day in religious merit. Formerly, in the Krita age I had expressed my approval of these creatures. Afterwards Brahman, born of the primeval lotus, solicited me (to show kindness towards kine). It is for this reason that a bull to this day stands as the device on my standard overhead. I always sport with kine. Hence should kine be worshipped by all. Kine are possessed of great power. They are givers of boons. If worshipped, they would grant boons. That person who gives food to kine even for a single day receives from those beneficent creatures for that act a fourth part of the merits he may win by all his good acts in life.'"

SECTION 134

"Skanda said, 'I shall now declare a duty that is approved of by me. Do ye listen to it with concentrated attention. That person who takes a little earth from the horns of a bull of blue complexion, smears his body therewith for three days, and then performs his ablutions, acquires great merits. Hear what those merits are. By such an act he would wash away every stain and evil, and attain to sovereign sway hereafter. As many times he takes his birth in this world, so many times does he become celebrated for his heroism. Listen now to another mystery unknown to all. Taking a vessel of copper and placing therein some cooked food after having mixed it with honey, one should offer it as Vali unto the rising moon on the evening of the day when that luminary is at full. Do ye learn, with faith, what the merits are of the person that acts in this way. The Sadhyas, the Rudras, the Adityas, the Viswedevas, the twin Aswins, the Maruts, and the Vasus, all accept that offering. By such an offering Soma increases as also the ocean, that vast receptacle of waters. This duty that is declared by me and that is unknown to all, if performed, is certainly fraught with great happiness.'

"Vishnu said, 'That person who, endued with faith and freed from malice, listens every day with concentrated attention to the mysteries in respect of religion and duty that are preserved by the high-souled deities and those mysteries also of the same kind that are preserved by the Rishis, has never to succumb to any evil. Such a person becomes also freed from every fear. That man who, with his senses under thorough control, reads these sections which treat of these auspicious and meritorious duties, together with their mysteries,--duties that have been declared (by the previous speakers), acquires all the merits that attach to their actual performance. Sin can never overmaster him. Verily, such a man can never be stained with faults of any kind. Indeed, one wins abundant merits by reading these mysteries (as declared), or by reciting them to others, or by hearing them recited. The deities and the Pitris eat, for ever the Havya and the Kavya offered by such a creature. Both these, in consequence of the virtues of the offerer become inexhaustible. Even such is the merit that attaches to the person who, with concentrated attention, recites these mysteries to foremost of Brahmanas on days of the full moon or the new moon. Such a person, in consequence of such an act, becomes steady in the observance of all duties. Beauty of form and prosperity also become his. He succeeds, besides this, in becoming the favourite, for all time, of the Rishis and the deities and the Pitris. If a person becomes guilty of all sins save those which are classed as grave or heinous, he becomes cleansed of them all by only listening to the recitation of these mysteries about religion and duty.'

"Bhishma continued, 'Even these, O king of men, are the mysteries in respect of religion and duty dwelling in the breasts of the deities. Held in high respect by all the gods and promulgated by Vyasa, they have now been declared by me for thy benefit. One who is conversant with religion and duty thinks that this excellent knowledge is superior (in value) to even the whole earth full of riches and wealth. This knowledge should not be imparted to one that is bereft of faith, or to one that is an atheist, or to one that has fallen away from the duties of his order, or to one that is destitute of compassion, or to one that is devoted to the science of empty disputations, or to one that is hostile to one's preceptors, or to one that thinks all creatures to be different from oneself.'"

SECTION 135

"Yudhishthira said, 'Who are those persons, O Bharata, from whom a Brahmana in this world may accept his food? From whom may a Kshatriya, a Vaisya, and a Sudra take their food respectively?'

"Bhishma said, 'A Brahmana may take his food from another Brahmana or from a Kshatriya or a Vaisya, but he must never accept food from a Sudra. A Kshatriya may take his food from a Brahmana, a Kshatriya or a Vaisya. He must, however, eschew food given by Sudras who are addicted to evil ways and who partake of all manner of food without any scruple. Brahmanas and Kshatriyas can partake of food given by such Vaisyas as tend the sacred fire every day, as are faultless in character, and as perform the vow of Chaturmasya. But the man who takes food from a Sudra, swallows the very abomination of the earth, and drinks the excretions of the human body, and partakes of the filth of all the world. He partakes of the very filth of the earth who takes his food thus from a Sudra. Verily, those Brahmanas that take their food from Sudras, take the dirt of the earth. If one engages in the service of a Sudra, one is doomed to perdition though one may duly perform all the rites of one's order. A Brahmana, a Kshatriya, or a Vaisya, so engaging, is doomed, although devoted to the due performance of religious rites. It is said that a Brahmana's duty consists in studying the Vedas and seeking the welfare of the human race; that a Kshatriya's duty consists in protecting men, and that a Vaisya's in promoting their material prosperity. A Vaisya lives by distributing the fruits of his own acts and agriculture. The breeding of kine and trade are the legitimate work in which a Vaisya may engage without fear of censure. The man who abandons his own proper occupation and betakes himself to that of a Sudra, should be considered as a Sudra and on no account should any food be accepted from him. Professors of the healing art, mercenary soldiers, the priest who acts as warder of the house, and persons who devote a whole year to study without any profit, are all to be considered as Sudras. And those who impudently partake of food offered at ceremonials in a Sudra's house are afflicted with a terrible calamity. In consequence of partaking such forbidden food they lose their family, strength, and energy, and attain to the status of animals, descending to the position of dogs, fallen in virtue and devoid of all religious observances. He who takes food from a physician takes that which is no better than excrement; the food of a harlot is like urine; that of a skilled mechanic is like blood. If a Brahmana approved by the good, takes the food of one who lives by his learning, he is regarded as taking the food of a Sudra. All good men should forego such food. The food of a person who is censured by all is said to be like a draught from a pool of blood. The acceptance of food from a wicked person is considered as reprehensible as the slaying of a Brahmana. One should not accept food if one is slighted and not received with due honours by the giver. A Brahmana, who does so, is soon overtaken by disease, and his race soon becomes extinct. By accepting food from the warder of a city, one descends to the status of the lowest outcaste. If a Brahmana accepts food from one who is guilty of killing either a cow or a Brahmana or from one who has committed adultery with his preceptor's wife or from a drunkard, he helps to promote the race of Rakshasas. By accepting food from a eunuch, or from an ungrateful person, or from one who has misappropriated wealth entrusted to his charge, one is born in the country of the Savaras situated beyond the precincts of the middle country. I have thus duly recited to thee the persons from whom food may be accepted and from whom it may not. Now tell me, O son of Kunti, what else thou wishest to hear from me today.'"

SECTION 136

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou hast told me in full of those from whom food may be accepted and of those from whom it should not be taken. But I have grave doubts on one point. Do thou, O sire, enlighten me, do thou tell me what expiation a Brahmana should make (for the sin he incurs) upon accepting the different kinds of food, those especially offered in honour of the gods and the oblations made to the manes.'

"Bhishma said, 'I shall tell thee, O prince, how high-souled Brahmanas may be absolved from all sin incurred by accepting food from others. In accepting clarified butter, the expiation is made by pouring oblations on the fire, reciting the Savitri hymn. In accepting sesamum, O Yudhishthira, the same expiation has to be made. In accepting meat, or honey, or salt, a Brahmana becomes purified by standing till the rising of the sun. If a Brahmana accepts gold from any one, he becomes cleansed of all sins by silently reciting the great Vedic prayer (Gayatri) and by holding a piece of iron in his hand in the presence of the public. In accepting money or clothes or women or gold, the purification is the same as before. In accepting food, or rice boiled in milk and sugar, or sugarcane juice, or sugar-cane, or oil, or any sacred thing, one becomes purified by bathing thrice in the course of the day, viz., at morn, noon and eve. If one accepts, paddy, flowers, fruits, water, half-ripe barley, milk, or curdled milk, or anything made of meal or flour, the expiation is made by reciting the Gayatri prayer a hundred times. In accepting shoes or clothes at obsequial ceremonies, the sin is destroyed by reciting devoutly the same hymn a hundred times. The acceptance of the gift of land at the time of an eclipse or during the period of impurity, is expiated by observing a fast during three successive nights. The Brahmana who partakes of oblations offered to deceased ancestors, in course of the dark fortnight, is purified by fasting for a whole day and night. Without performing his ablutions a Brahmana should not say his evening prayers, nor betake himself to religious meditation, nor take his food a second time. By so doing he is purified. For this reason, the Sraddha of deceased ancestors has been ordained to be performed in the afternoon and then the Brahmana who has been invited beforehand should be feasted, The Brahmana who partakes of food at the house of a dead person on the third day after the death, is purified by bathing three times daily for twelve days. After the expiration of twelve days, and going through the purification ceremonies duly, the sin is destroyed by giving clarified butter to Brahmanas. If a man takes any food in the house of a dead person, within ten days after the death, he should go through all the expiations before mentioned, and should recite the Savitri hymn and do the sin-destroying Ishti and Kushmanda penances. The Brahmana who takes his food in the house of a dead person for three nights, becomes purified by performing his ablutions thrice daily for seven days, and thus attains all the objects of his desire, and is never troubled by misfortunes. The Brahmana who takes his food in the company of Sudras is purged from all impurity by duly observing the ceremonies of purification. The Brahmana who takes his food in the company of Vaisyas is absolved from sin by living on alms for three successive nights. If a Brahmana takes his food with Kshatriyas, he should make expiation by bathing with his clothes on. By eating with a Sudra from off the same plate the Sudra loses his family respectability; the Vaisya by eating from off the same plate with a Vaisya, loses his cattle and friends. The Kshatriya loses his prosperity, and the Brahmana his splendour and energy. In such cases, expiations should be made, and propitiatory rites should be observed, and oblations offered to the gods. The Savitri hymn should be recited and the Revati rites and Kushmanda penances should be observed with the view of destroying the sin. If any of the above four classes partake of food partly eaten by a person of any other class, the expiation is undoubtedly made by smearing the body with auspicious substances like Rochana, Durva grass, and turmeric.'"

SECTION 137

"Yudhishthira said, 'O Bharata, of the two things charity and devotion, do thou condescend to tell me, O sire, which is the better in this world? Do thou, by this, remove a great doubt from my mind.'

"Bhishma said, 'Do thou, listen to me as I recite the names of the princes who having been devoted to virtue, and having cleansed their hearts by penances and practised gifts and other acts of piety, undoubtedly attained to the different celestial regions. The Rishi Atreya revered by all, attained, O monarch, to the excellent celestial regions, by imparting the knowledge of the unconditional Supreme Being to his pupils. King Sivi, the son of Usinara, by offering the life of his dear son, for the benefit of a Brahmana, was translated from this world to heaven. And Pratardana, the king of Kasi, by giving his son to a Brahmana, secured to himself unique and undying fame in this as well as in the other world. Rantideva, the son of Sankriti, attained to the highest heaven by duly making gifts to the high-souled Vasishtha. Devavriddha too went to heaven by giving a hundred-ribbed and excellent golden umbrella to a Brahmana for a sacrifice. The worshipful Amvarisha too has attained to the region of the gods, by making a gift of all his kingdom to a Brahmana of great power. King Janamejaya of the solar race, went to the highest heaven by making a gift of ear-rings, fine vehicles, and cows to Brahmanas. The Royal sage Vrishadarbhi went to heaven by making gifts of various jewels and beautiful houses to Brahmanas. King Nimi of Vidarva, attained to heaven with his sons, friends and cattle, by giving his daughter and kingdom to the high-souled Agastya. The far-famed Rama, the son of Jamadagni, attained to the eternal regions, far beyond his expectation, by giving lands to Brahmanas. Vasishtha, the prince of Brahmanas, preserved all the creatures at a time of great drought when the god Parjjanya did not bestow his grateful showers upon the earth, and for this act he has secured eternal bliss for himself. Rama, the son of Dasaratha, whose fame is very high in this world, attained to the eternal regions by making gifts of wealth at sacrifices. The far-famed royal sage Kakshasena, went to heaven by duly making over to the high-souled Vasishtha the wealth which he had deposited with him. Marutta, the son of Parikshita and the grandson of Karandhama, by giving his daughter in marriage to Angiras, immediately went to heaven. The highly devout king of Panchalal Brahmadatta, attained the blessed way by giving away a precious conch-shell. King Mitrasaha, by giving his favourite wife Madayanti to the high-souled Vasishtha, ascended to heaven. Sudyumna, the son of Manu, by causing the proper punishment to be inflicted upon the high-souled Likhita, attained to the most blessed regions. The celebrated royal sage Saharachitta went to the blessed regions, by sacrificing his dear life for the sake of a Brahmana. The king Satadyumna went to heaven by giving to Maudgaya a golden mansion replete with all the objects of desire. In ancient times, king Sumanyu by giving to Sandilya heaps of food looking like a hill, proceeded to heaven. The Salwa prince Dyutimat of great splendour attained to the highest regions by giving his kingdom to Richika. The Royal sage Madiraswa by giving his slender-waisted daughter to Hiranyahasta went to the region of the gods. The lordly Lomapada attained all the vast objects of his desire by giving his daughter Santa in marriage to Rishyasringa. The royal sage Bhagiratha, by giving his famous daughter Hansi in

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marriage to Kautsa, went to the eternal regions. King Bhagiratha by giving hundreds and thousands of kine with their young ones to Kohala attained to the most blessed regions. These and many other men, O Yudhishthira, have attained to heaven, by the merit of their charities and penances and they have also returned from thence again and again. Their fame will endure as long as the world will last. I have related to thee, O Yudhishthira, this story of those good householders who have attained to eternal regions by dint of their charities and penances. By their charities and by performing sacrifices and by procreating offspring, these people have attained to the heavenly regions. O foremost scion of Kuru's race, by always performing acts of charity, these men applied their virtuous intellects to the performance of sacrifices and charities. O mighty prince, as night has approached I shall explain to thee in the morning whatever doubts may arise in thy mind.'"

SECTION 138

"Yudhishthira said, 'I have heard from thee, O sire, the names of those kings that have ascended to heaven. O thou whose power is great in the observance of the vow of truth by following the religion of gift. How many kinds of gift are there that should be given? What are the fruits of the several kinds of gifts respectively? For what reasons, what kinds of gifts, made to what persons are productive of merits? Indeed, unto what persons should what gifts be made? For what reasons are how many kinds of gifts to be made? I desire to hear all this in detail.'"

"Bhishma said, 'Listen, O son of Kunti, in detail to me, O sinless one as I discourse on the subject of gifts. Indeed, I shall tell you, O Bharata, how gifts should be made unto all the orders of men. From desire of merit, from desire of profit, from fear, from free choice, and from pity, gifts are made, O Bharata! Gifts, therefore, should be known to be of five kinds. Listen now to the reasons for which gifts are thus distributed in five classes. With mind freed from malice one should make gifts unto Brahmanas, for by making gifts unto the one acquires fame here and great felicity hereafter. (Such gifts are regarded as made from desire of merit.) He is in the habit of making gifts; or he has already made gifts to me. Hearing such words from solicitors one gives away all kinds of wealth unto a particular solicitor. (Such gifts are regarded as made from desire of profit.) I am not his, nor is he mine. If disregarded, he may injure me. From such motives of fear even a man of learning and wisdom may make gifts unto an ignorant wretch. (Such gifts are regarded as made from fear.) This one is dear to me, I am also dear to him. Influenced by considerations like these, a person of intelligence, freely and with alacrity, make gifts unto a friend. (Such gifts are regarded as made from free choice.) The person that solicits me is poor. He is, again, gratified with a little. From considerations such as these, one should always make gifts unto the poor, moved by pity. (Gifts made from such considerations are regarded as made from pity.) These are the five kinds of gift. They enhance the giver's merits and fame. The Lord of all creatures (Brahman himself) has said that one should always make gifts according to one's power.'"

SECTION 139

"Yudhishthira said, 'O grandsire, thou art possessed of great wisdom. Indeed, thou art fully conversant with every branch of learning. In our great race thou art the only individual that swellest with all the sciences. I desire to hear from thee discourses that are interwoven with Religion and Profit, that lead to felicity hereafter, and that are fraught with wonder unto all creatures. The time that has come is fraught with great distress. The like of it does not generally come to kinsmen and friends. Indeed, save thee, O foremost of men, we have now none else that can take the place of an instructor. If, O sinless one, I with my brothers deserve the favour, it behoveth thee to answer the question I desire to ask thee. This one is Narayana who is endued with every prosperity and is honoured by all the kings. Even he waits upon thee, showing thee every indulgence and honouring thee greatly. It behoveth thee to discourse unto me, through affection, for my benefit as also for that of my brothers, in the presence of Vasudeva himself and of all these kings.'"

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words of king Yudhishthira, Bhishma, the son of the river called after Bhagiratha, filled with joy in consequence of his affection for the monarch and his brothers, said what follows.'

"Bhishma said, 'I shall certainly recite to thee discourses that are delightful, on the subject, O king, of the puissance of this Vishnu as displayed in days of yore and as I have heard (from my preceptors). Listen to me also as I describe the puissance of that great god who has a bull for his device. Listen to me as I narrate also the doubt that filled the mind of the spouse of Rudra and that of Rudra himself. Once on a time the righteous souled Krishna observed a vow extending for ten and two years. For beholding him who had gone through the rite of initiation for the observance of his great vow, there came to that place Narada and Parvata, and the Island-born Krishna, and Dhaumya, that foremost of silent reciters, and Devala, and Kasyapa, and Hastikasyapa. Other Rishis also, endued with Diksha and self-restraint, followed by their disciples and accompanied by many Siddhas and many ascetics of great merit, came there. The son of Devaki offered them such honours of hospitality as are deserving of the highest praise and as are offered unto the gods alone. Those great Rishis sat themselves down upon seats some of which were green and some endued with the colour of gold and some that were fraught with the plumes of the peacock and some that were perfectly new and fresh. Thus seated, they began to converse sweetly with one another on subjects connected with Religion and duty as also with many royal sages and deities. At that time the energy, in the form of fire, Narayana, rising from the fuel that consisted of the rigid observance of his vow, issued out of the mouth of Krishna of wonderful feats. That fire began to consume those mountains with their trees and creepers and little plants, as also with their birds and deer and beasts of prey and reptiles. Soon the summit of that mountain presented a distressing and pitiful appearance, Inhabited by animals of diverse kinds which began to utter cries of woe and pain, the summit soon became bereft of every living creature. That fire of mighty flames, having consumed everything without leaving a remnant at last came back to Vishnu and touched his feet like a docile disciple. That crusher of foes, viz., Krishna, beholding that mountain burnt, cast a benignant look upon it and thereby brought it back to its former condition. That mountain thereupon once more became adorned with flowering trees and creepers, and once more echoed with the notes and cries of birds and deer and animals of prey and reptiles. Seeing that wonderful and inconceivable sight, all the ascetics became amazed. Their hairs stood on end and their vision was blurred with tears. That foremost of speakers, Narayana, beholding those Rishis thus filled with wonder, addressed them in these sweet and refreshing words, 'Why, indeed, has wonder filled the hearts of this assemblage of Rishis, these ascetics that are always free from attachment of every kind, that are divested of the idea of meum, and that are fully conversant with every sacred science? It behoveth these Rishis possessed of wealth of penances and freed from every stain to explain to me truly this doubt that has arisen in my mind.'"

"The Rishis said, 'It is thou that createst all the worlds, and it is thou that destroyest them again. It is thou that art Winter, it is thou that art Summer, and it is thou that art the season of rains. Of all the creatures, mobile and immobile, that are found on the earth, thou art the father, thou art the mother, thou art the master, and thou art the origin! Even this, O slayer of Madhu, is a matter of wonder and doubt with us. O source of all auspiciousness, it behoveth Thee to resolve to us that doubt, viz., the issue of fire from Thy mouth. Our fears being dispelled we shall then, O Hari, recite to thee what we have heard and seen.'"

"Vasudeva said, 'The fire that issued from my mouth and that resembles the all-consuming Yuga-fire in splendour, and by which this mountain has been crushed and scorched, is nothing else than the energy of Vishnu. Ye Rishis, ye are persons that have subjugated wrath, that have brought your senses under complete control, that are endued with wealth of penances, and that are very gods in puissance. Yet ye have suffered yourselves to be agitated and distressed! I am now engaged wholly with the observances relating to rigid vow. Verily, in consequence of my observing the vows of an ascetic, a fire issued from my mouth. It behoves you not to suffer yourselves to be agitated. It is for observing a rigid vow that I came to this delightful and auspicious mountain. The object that has brought me here is to acquire by the aid of penances a son that would be my equal in energy. In consequence of my penances, the Soul existing in my body became transformed into fire and issued out of my mouth. That fire had repaired to behold the boon-giving Grandsire of all the universe. The Grandsire, ye foremost of ascetics, told my soul that half the energy of the great god having the bull for his device would take birth as my son. That fire returning from its mission, has come back to me and approached my feet like a disciple desirous of serving me dutifully. Indeed, casting off its fury it has come back to me to its own proper nature. I have thus told you, in brief, a mystery appertaining to Him who has the lotus for his origin and who is endued with great intelligence. Ye Rishis possessed of wealth of penances, ye should not give way to fear! Ye are endued with far-reaching vision. Ye can proceed to every place without any impediment. Blazing with vows observed by ascetics, ye are adorned with knowledge and science. I now ask you to tell me something that is highly wonderful which you have heard of or seen on earth or in heaven. I feel an eager desire to taste the honey of that speech which will drop from your lips, the honey that will, I am sure, be as sweet as a jet of nectar itself. If I behold anything on earth or in heaven, which is highly delightful and of wonderful aspect but which is unknown to all of you, ye Rishis that look like so many gods, I say that that is in consequence of my own Supreme Nature which is incapable of being obstructed by anything. Anything wonderful whose knowledge dwelleth in me or is acquired by my own inspiration ceases to appear wonderful to me. Anything, however, that is recited by pious persons and that is heard from those that are good, deserves to be accepted with respect and faith. Such discourses exist on earth for a long time and are as durable as characters engraved on rocks. I desire, therefore, to hear, at this meeting something dropping from the lips of persons that are good and that cannot fail to be productive of good to men.' Hearing these words of Krishna all those ascetics became filled with surprise. They began to gaze at Janardana with those eyes of theirs that were as beautiful and large as the petals of the lotus. Some of them began to glorify him and some began to worship him with reverence. Indeed, all of them then hymned the praises of the slayer of Madhu with words whose meanings were adorned with the eternal Riks. All those ascetics then appointed Narada, that foremost of all persons conversant with speech, to gratify the request of Vasudeva.'

"The ascetics said, 'It behoveth thee, O Narada, to describe, in full, from the beginning, unto Hrishikesa, that wonderful and inconceivable incident which occurred, O puissant one, on the mountains of Himavat and which, O ascetic, was witnessed by those of us that had proceeded thither in course of our pilgrimage to the sacred waters. Verily, for the benefit of all the Rishis here assembled, it behoveth thee to recite that incident.' Thus addressed by those ascetics, the celestial Rishi, viz., the divine Narada, then recited the following story whose incidents had occurred some time before.'"

SECTION 140

"Bhishma said, 'Then Narada, that holy Rishi, that friend of Narayana, recited the following narrative of the discourse between Sankara and his spouse Uma.'

"Narada said, 'Once on a time the righteous-souled lord of all the deities, viz., Mahadeva with the bull for his device, practised severe penances on the sacred mountains of Himavat that are the resort of Siddhas and Charanas. Those delightful mountains are overgrown with diverse kinds of herbs and adorned with various species of flowers. At that time they were peopled by the different tribes of Apsaras and crowds of ghostly beings. There the great god sat, filled with joy, and surrounded by hundreds of ghostly beings who presented diverse aspects to the eye of the beholder. Some of them were ugly and awkward, some were of very handsome features, and some presented the most wonderful appearances. Some had faces like the lion's, some like the tiger's and some like the elephant's. In fact, the faces of those ghostly creatures presented every variety of animal faces. Some had faces resembling that of the jackal, some whose faces resembled the pard's; some like the ape's, some like the bull's. Some of them had faces like the owl's; some like the hawk's; some had faces like those of deer of diverse varieties. The great god was also surrounded by Kinnaras and Yakshas and Gandharvas and Rakshasas and diverse other created beings. The retreat to which Mahadeva had betaken himself also abounded with celestial flowers and blazed with celestial rays of light. It was perfumed with celestial sandal, and celestial incense was burnt on every side. And it echoed with the sounds of celestial instruments. Indeed, it resounded with the beat of Mridangas and Panavas, the blare of conchs, and the sound of drums. It teemed with ghostly beings of diverse tribes that danced in joy and with peacocks also that danced with plumes outspread. Forming as it did the resort of the celestial Rishis, the Apsaras danced there in joy. The place was exceedingly agreeable to the sight. It was exceedingly beautiful, resembling Heaven itself. Its entire aspect was wonderful and, indeed, it is indescribable in respect of its beauty and sweetness. Verily, with the penances of that great deity who sleeps on mountain breasts, that prince of mountains shone with great beauty. It resounded with the chant of the Vedas uttered by learned Brahmanas devoted to Vedic recitation. Echoing with the hum of bees, O Madhava, the mountain became incomparable in beauty. The ascetics, beholding the great deity who is endued with a fierce form and who looks like a great festival, became filled, O Janardana, with great joy. All the highly blessed ascetics, the Siddhas who have drawn in their vital seed, the Maruts, the Vasus, the Sadhyas, the Viswedevas, Vasava himself, the Yakshas, the Nagas, the Pisachas, the Regents of the world, the several sacred Fires, the Winds, and all the great creatures dwelt on that mountain with minds concentrated in Yoga. All the Seasons were present there and scattered those regions with all kinds of wonderful flowers. Diverse kinds of blazing herbs illuminated the woods and forests on that mountain. Various species of birds, filled with joy, hopped about and sang merrily on the delightful beast of that mountain. Those birds were exceedingly lovable in consequence of the notes they uttered. The high-souled Mahadeva sat, displayed in beauty, on one of the peaks that was adorned with excellent minerals, as if it served the purposes of a fine bedstead. Round his loins was a tiger-skin, and a lion-skin formed his upper garments. His sacred thread consisted of a snake. His arms were decked with a pair of red Angadas, His beard was green. He had matted locks on his head. Of terrible features, he it is that inspires with fear the hearts of all the enemies of the gods. It is he, again, that assures all creatures by dispelling their fears. He is adored by

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his worshippers as the deity having the bovine bull for his device. The great Rishis, beholding Mahadeva, bowed to him by touching the ground with their heads. Endued with forgiving souls, they all became (in consequence of the sight they had obtained of the great deity) freed from every sin and thoroughly cleansed. The retreat of that lord of all creatures with many terrible forms, shone with a peculiar beauty. Abounding with many large snakes, it became unapproachable and unbearable (by ordinary beings). Within the twinkling of the eye. O slayer of Madhu, everything there became exceedingly wonderful. Indeed, the abode of that great deity having the bovine bull for his device began to blaze with a terrible beauty. Unto Mahadeva seated there, came his spouse, the daughter of Himavat, surrounded by the wives of the ghostly beings who are the companions of the great deity. Her attire was like that of her lord and the vows she observed were like those of his. She held a jar on her loins that was filled with the waters of every Tirtha, and was accompanied by the presiding deities (of her own sex) of all the mountain streams. Those auspicious ladies walked in her train. The goddess approached raining flowers on every side and diverse kinds of sweet perfumes. She who loved to reside on the breast of Himavat advanced in this guise towards her great lord. The beautiful Uma, with smiling lips and desirous of playing a jest, covered from behind, with her two beautiful hands, the eyes of Mahadeva. As soon as Mahadeva's eyes were thus covered, all the regions became dark and life seemed to be extinct everywhere in the universe. The Homa rites ceased. The universe became suddenly deprived of the sacred Vashat also. All living creatures became cheerless and filled with fear. Indeed, when the eyes of the lord of all creatures were thus closed, the universe seemed to become sunless. Soon, however, that overspreading darkness disappeared. A mighty and blazing flame of fire emanated from Mahadeva's forehead. A third eye, resembling another sun, appeared (on it). That eye began to blaze forth like the Yuga-fire and began to consume that mountain. The large-eyed daughter of Himavat, beholding what occurred, bowed her head unto Mahadeva endued with that third eye which resembled a blazing fire. She stood there with gaze fixed on her lord. When the mountain forests burned on every side, with their Was and other trees of straight Trunks, and their delightful sandals and diverse excellent medicinal herbs, herds of deer and other animals, filled with fright, came with great speed to the place where Hara sat and sought his protection. With those creatures almost filling it, the retreat of the great deity blazed forth with a kind of peculiar beauty. Meanwhile, that fire, swelling wildly, soared up to the very heavens and endued with the splendour and unsteadiness of lightning and looking like a dozen suns in might and effulgence, covered every side like the all-destroying Yuga-fire. In a moment, the Himavat mountains were consumed, with their minerals and summits and blazing herbs. Beholding Himavat crushed and consumed, the daughter of that prince of mountains sought the protection of the great deity and stood before him her hands joined in reverence. Then Sarva, seeing Uma overcome by an accession of womanly mildness and finding that she was unwilling to behold her father Himavat reduced to that pitiable plight, cast benignant looks upon the mountain. In a moment the whole of Himavat was restored to his former condition and became as beautiful to look at as ever. Indeed, the mountain put forth a cheerful aspect. All its trees became adorned with flowers. Beholding Himavat to his natural condition, the goddess Uma, divested of every fault, addressed her lord, that master of all creatures, the divine Maheswara, in these words.'

"Uma said, 'O holy one, O lord of all creatures, O deity that art armed with the trident, O thou of high vows, a great doubt has filled my mind. It behoveth thee to resolve that doubt for me. For what reason has this third eye appeared in thy forehead? Why also was the mountain consumed with the woods and all that belonged to it? Why also, O illustrious deity, hast thou restored the mountain to its former condition? Indeed, having burnt it once, why hast thou again caused it to be covered with trees?'

"Maheswara said, 'O goddess without any fault, in consequence of thy having covered my eyes through an act of indiscretion the universe became in a moment devoid of light. When the universe became sunless and, therefore, all became dark, O daughter of the prince of mountains, I created the third eye desirous of protecting all creatures. The high energy of that eye crushed and consumed this 'mountain. For pleasing thee, however, O goddess, I once more made Himavat what he was by repairing the injury.'

"Uma said, 'O holy one, why are those faces of thine which are on the east, the north, and the west, so handsome and so agreeable to look at like the very moon? And why is that face of thine which is on the south so terrible? Why are thy matted locks tawny in hue and so erect? Why is thy throat blue after the manner of the peacock's plumes? Why, O illustrious deity, is the Pinaka always in thy hand? Why art thou always a Brahmacharin with matted locks? O lord, it behoves thee to explain all these to me. I am thy spouse who seeks to follow the same duties with thee. Further, I am thy devoted worshipper, O deity, having the bull for thy mark!'

"Narada continued, 'Thus addressed by the daughter of the prince of mountains, the illustrious wielder of Pinaka, the puissant Mahadeva, became highly gratified with her. The great god then addressed her saying, 'O blessed lady, listen to me as I explain, with the reasons thereof, why my forms are so.'"

SECTION 141

"The blessed and holy one said, 'In days of yore, a blessed woman was created by Brahman, called Tilottama, by culling grains of beauty from every beautiful object in the universe. One day, that lady of beautiful face, unrivalled in the universe for beauty of form, came to me, O goddess, for circumambulating me but really impelled by the desire of tempting me. In whatever direction that lady of beautiful teeth turned, a new face of mine instantly appeared (so eager did I become to see her). All those faces of mine became agreeable to look at. Thus, in consequence of the desire of beholding her, I became four-faced, through Yoga-puissance, Thus, I showed my high Yoga-power in becoming four-faced. With that face of mine which is turned towards the east, I exercise the sovereignty of the universe, With that face of mine which is turned towards the north, I sport with thee, O thou of faultless features! That face of mine which is turned towards the west is agreeable and auspicious. With it I ordain the happiness of all creatures. That face of mine which is turned towards the south is terrible. With it I destroy all creatures. I live as a Brahmacharin with matted locks on my head, impelled by the desire of doing good to all creatures. The bow Pinaka is always in my hand for accomplishing the purposes of the deities. In days of yore, Indra, desirous of acquiring my prosperity, had hurled his thunderbolt at me. With that weapon my throat was scorched. For this reason I have become blue-throated.'

"Uma said, 'When, O foremost of all creatures, there are so many excellent vehicles endued with great beauty, why is it that thou hast selected a bovine bull for thy vehicle?'

"Maheswara said, 'In the days of yore, the Grandsire Brahma created the celestial cow Surabhi yielding abundant milk. After her creation there sprang from her a large number of kine all of which yielded copious quantities of milk sweet as nectar. Once on a time a quantity of froth fell from the mouth of one of her calves on my body. I was enraged at this and my wrath scorched all the kine which thereupon became diversified in hue. I was then pacified by the Master of all the worlds, viz., Brahma, conversant with all topics. It was he who gave me this bull both as a vehicle for bearing me and as a device on my banner.'

"Uma said, 'Thou hast many abodes in heaven, of diverse forms and possessed of every comfort and luxury. Why, O holy one, dost thou reside in the crematorium, abandoning all those delightful mansions? The crematorium is full of the hair and bones (of the dead), abounds with vulture and jackals, and is strewn with hundreds of funeral pyres. Full of carrion and muddy with fat and blood, with entrails and bones strewn all over it, and always echoing with the howls of jackals, it is certainly an unclean place.'

"Maheswara said, 'I always wander over the whole earth in search of a sacred spot. I do not, however, see any spot that is more sacred than the crematorium. Hence, of all abodes, the crematorium pleases my heart most, shaded that it generally is by branches of the banian and adorned with torn garlands of flowers. O thou of sweet smiles, the multitudes of ghostly beings that are my companions love to reside in such spots. I do not like, O goddess, to reside anywhere without those ghostly creatures being by my side. Hence, the crematorium is a sacred abode to me. Indeed, O auspicious lady, it seems to me to be the very heaven. Highly sacred and possessed of great merit, the crematorium is much applauded by persons desirous of having holy abodes.'

"Uma said, 'O holy one, O lord of all creatures, O foremost of all observers of duties and religious rites, I have a great doubt, O wielder of Pinaka, O giver of boons. These ascetics, O puissant lord, have undergone diverse kinds of austerities. In the world are seen ascetics wandering everywhere under diverse forms and clad in diverse kinds of attire. For benefiting this large assemblage of Rishis, as also myself, do thou kindly resolve, O chastiser of all foes, this doubt of mine. What indications has Religion or Duty been said to possess? How, indeed, do men become unacquainted with the details of Religion or Duty to succeed in observing them? O puissant lord, O thou that art conversant with Religion, do thou tell me this.'

"Narada continued, 'When the daughter of Himavat put this question, conclave of Rishis there present worshipped the goddess and adored her with words adorned with Riks and with hymns fraught with deep import.'

"Maheswara said, 'Abstention from injury, truthfulness of speech, compassion towards all beings, tranquillity of soul, and the making of gifts to the best of one's power, are the foremost duties of the householder. Abstention from sexual congress with the spouses of other men, protection of the wealth and the woman committed to one's charge, unwillingness to appropriate what is not given to one, and avoidance of honey and meat,--these are the five chief duties. Indeed, Religion or Duty has many branches all of which are fraught with happiness. Even these are the duties which these embodied creatures who regard duty as superior should observe and practise. Even these are the sources of merit.'

"Uma said, O holy one, I wish to ask thee another question about which I have great doubts. It behoveth thee to answer it and dispel my doubts. What are the meritorious duties of the four several orders? What duties appertain to the Brahmana? What to the Kshatriya? What are the indications of those duties that appertain to the Vaisya? And what kind of duties appertain to the Sudra?'

"The holy one said, 'O highly blessed lady, the question thou hast asked is a very proper one. Those persons that belong to the regenerate order are regarded as highly blessed, and are, indeed, gods on earth. Without doubt, the observance of fasts (i.e., subjugation of the senses) is always the duty of the Brahmana. When the Brahmana succeeds in properly observing all his duties, he attains to identity with Brahma. The proper observance of the duties of Brahmacharya, O goddess, are his ritual. The observance of vows and the investiture with the sacred thread are his other duties. It is by these that he becomes truly regenerate. He becomes a Brahmana for worshipping his preceptors and other seniors as also the deities. Verily, that religion which has for its soul the study of the Vedas is the source of all piety. Even that is the religion which those embodied creatures who are devoted to piety and duty should observe and practise.'

"Uma said, 'O holy one, my doubts have not been dispelled. It behoveth thee to explain in detail what the duties are of the four respective orders of men.'

"Maheswara said, 'Listening to the mysteries of religion and duty, observance of the vows indicated in the Vedas, attention to the sacred fire, and accomplishment of the business of the preceptor, leading a mendicant life, always bearing the sacred thread, constant recitation of the Vedas, and rigid observance of the duties of Brahmacharya, are the duties of the Brahmana. After the period of study is over, the Brahmana, receiving the command of his preceptor, should leave his preceptor's abode for returning to his father's house. Upon his return he should duly wed a wife that is fit for him. Another duty of the Brahmana consists in avoiding the food prepared by the Sudra. Walking along the path of righteousness, always observing fasts and the practices of Brahmacharya, are his other duties. [He who takes his meals at the proper hours is said to observe fasts. He who avoids sexual congress with other women and associates with only his wedded spouse and that at her season, is said to observe Brahmacharya.] The householder should keep up his domestic fire for daily worship. He should study the Vedas. He should pour libations in honour of the Pitris and the deities. He should keep his senses under proper control. He should eat what remains after serving gods and guests and all his dependants. He should be abstemious in food, truthful in speech, and pure both externally and internally. Attending to guests is another duty of the householder, as also the keeping up of the three sacrificial fires. The householder should also attend to the ordinary sacrifices that go by the name of Ishti and should also dedicate animals to the deities according to the ordinances. Indeed, the performance of sacrifices is his highest duty as also a complete abstention from injury to all creatures. Never to eat before serving the deities and guests and dependants is another duty of the householder. The food that remains after serving gods and guests and dependants is called Vighasa. The householder should eat Vighasa. Indeed, to eat after the members of one's family including servants and other dependants, is regarded as one of the special duties of the regenerate householder, who should, be conversant with the Vedas. The conduct of husband and wife, in the case of householder, should be equal. He should every day make offerings of flowers and other articles unto those deities that preside over domesticity. The householder should take care that his house is every day properly rubbed (with cowdung and water). He should also observe fasts every day. Well-cleaned and well-rubbed, his house should also be every day fumigated with the smoke of clarified butter poured on his sacred fire in honour of the deities and the Pitris. Even these are the duties appertaining to the householder's mode of life as observable by a regenerate person. Those duties really uphold the world. Verily, those duties always and eternally flow from those righteous persons among the Brahmanas that lead a life of domesticity. Do thou listen to me with concentrated attention, O goddess, for I shall now tell thee what the duties are which appertain to the Kshatriya and about which thou hast asked me. From the beginning it has been said that the duty of the Kshatriya is to protect all creatures. The king is the acquirer of a fixed share of the merits earned by his subjects. By that means the king becomes endued with righteousness. That ruler of men who rules and protects his subjects righteously, acquires, by virtue of the protection he offers to others, many regions of felicity in the world to come. The other duties of a person of the kingly

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order consist of self-restraint and Vedic study, the pouring of libations on the sacred fire, the making of gifts, study, the bearing of the sacred thread, sacrifices, the performance of religious rites, the support of servants and dependants, and perseverance in acts that have been begun. Another duty of his is to award punishments according to the offences committed. It is also his duty to perform sacrifices and other religious rites according to the ordinances laid down in the Vedas. Adherence to the practice of properly judging the disputes of litigants before him, and a devotion to truthfulness of speech, and interference for aiding the distressed, are the other duties by discharging which the king acquires great glory both here and hereafter. He should also lay down his life on the field of battle, having displayed great prowess on behalf of kine and Brahmanas. Such a king acquires in Heaven such regions of felicity as are capable of being won by the performance of Horse-sacrifices. The duties of the Vaisya always consist of the keeping of cattle and agriculture, the pouring of libations on the sacred fire, the making of gifts, and study. Trade, walking in the path of righteousness, hospitality, peacefulness, self-restraint, welcoming of Brahmanas, and renouncing things (in favour of Brahmanas), are the other eternal duties of the Vaisya. The Vaisya, engaged in trade and walking in the path of righteousness, should never sell sesame and perfumery and juices or liquid substances. He should discharge the duties of hospitality towards all. He is at liberty to pursue religion and wealth and pleasure according to his means and as much as is judicious for him. The service of the three regenerate classes constitutes the high duty of the Sudra. That Sudra who is truthful in speech and who has subdued his senses is regarded as having acquired meritorious penances. Verily, the Sudra, who having got a guest, discharges the duties of hospitality towards him, is regarded as acquiring the merit of high penances. That intelligent Sudra whose conduct is righteous and who worships the deities and Brahmanas, becomes endued with the desirable rewards of righteousness. O beautiful lady, I have thus recited to thee what the duties are of the four orders. Indeed, O blessed lady, I have told thee what their respective duties are. What else dost thou wish to hear?'

"Uma said, 'Thou has recited to me what the respective duties are of the four orders, auspicious and beneficial for them. Do thou now tell me, O holy one, what the common duties are of all the orders.'

"Maheswara said, 'The foremost of all beings in the universe viz., the Creator Brahma, ever desirous of righteous accomplishments, created the Brahmanas for rescuing all the worlds. Among all created beings, they are, verily, gods on earth. I shall at the outset tell thee what the religious acts are which they should do and what the rewards are which they win through them. That religion which has been ordained for the Brahmanas is the foremost of all religions. For the sake of the righteousness of the world, three religions were created by the Self-born One. Whenever the world is created (or re-created), those religions are created by the Grandsire. Do thou listen. These are the three eternal religions. The religion that is propounded in the Vedas is the highest; that which is propounded in the Smritis is the next in the order of importance; the third in importance is that which is based upon the practices of those who are regarded as righteous. The Brahmans possessed of learning should have the three Vedas. He should never make the study of the Vedas (or recitation of the scriptures) the means of his living. He should devote himself to the three well-known acts (of making gifts, studying the Vedas, and performing sacrifices). He should transcend' the three (viz., lust, wrath, and covetousness). He should be the friend of all creatures. A person that possesses these attributes is called a Brahmans. The lord of the universe declared these six acts for the observance of Brahmanas. Listen to those eternal duties. The performance of sacrifices, officiating at the sacrifices of others, the making of gifts, the acceptance of gifts, teaching, and study, are the six acts by accomplishing which a Brahmans wins religious merit. Verily, the daily study of the Vedas is a duty. Sacrifice is (another) eternal duty. The making of gifts according to the measure of his power and agreeable to the ordinance, is, in his case, much applauded. Tranquillity of mind is a high duty that has always been current among them that are righteous. Householders of pure mind are capable of earning very great merit. Indeed, he who cleanses his soul by the performance of the five sacrifices, who is truthful in speech, who is free from malice, who makes gifts, who treats with hospitality and honour all regenerate guests, who lives in well-cleaned abodes, who is free from pride, who is always sincere in his dealings, who uses sweet and assuring words towards others, who takes pleasure in serving guests and others arrived at his abode, and who eats the food that remains after the requirements have been gratified of all the members of his family and dependants, wins great merit. That man who offers water to his guests for washing their feet and hands, who presents the Arghya for honouring the recipient, who duly gives seats, and beds, and lamps for lighting the darkness, and shelter to those that come to his abode, is regarded as highly righteous. That householder who rises at dawn and washes his mouth and 'face and serves food to his guests, and having honoured them duly dismisses them from his abode and follows them (as a mark of honour) for a little distance, acquires eternal merit. Hospitality towards all, and the pursuit of the aggregate of three, are the duties of the householder. The duties of the Sudra consist in the pursuit of the aggregate of three. The Religion ordained for the householder is said to have Pravritti for its chief indication. Auspicious, and beneficial to all creatures, I shall expound it to thee. The householder should always make gifts according to the measure of his power. He should also perform sacrifices frequently after the same manner. Indeed, he who wishes to achieve his own good should always achieve meritorious acts. The householder, should acquire wealth by righteous means. The wealth thus acquired should be carefully divided into three portions, keeping the requirements of righteousness in view. With one of those portions he should accomplish all acts of righteousness. With another he should seek to gratify his cravings for pleasure. The third portion he should lay out for increasing. The Religion of Nivritti is different. It exists for emancipation (from re-birth by absorption into Brahman). I shall tell thee the conduct that constitutes it. Listen to me in detail, O goddess. One of the duties inculcated by that religion is compassion towards all creatures. The man that follows it should not reside in one place for more than one day. Desirous of achieving emancipation, the followers of this Religion free themselves from the bonds of hope (or desire). They have no attachment to habitation, to the Kamandalu they bear for keeping water, to the robes that cover their loins, or the seat whereupon they rest, or the triple stick they bear in their hands, or the bed they sleep on, or the fire they want, or the chamber that houses them. A follower of this Religion sets his heart upon the workings of his soul. His mind is devoted to Supreme Brahman. He is filled with the idea of attaining to Brahman. He is always devoted to Yoga and the Sankhya Philosophy. He desires no other shelter than the foot of a tree. He houses himself in empty abodes of men. He sleeps on the banks of rivers. He takes pleasure in staying by such banks. He is freed from every attachment, and from every tie of affection. He merges the existence of his own soul into the Supreme Soul. Standing like a stake of wood, and abstaining from all food he does only such acts as point to Emancipation. Or, he may wander about, devoted to Yoga. Even these are the eternal duties of a follower of the Religion of Nivritti. He lives aloof from his species. He is freed from all attachments. He never resides in the same place for more than a day. Freed from all bonds he roves over the world. Emancipated from all ties, he never sleeps on even the same river-bank for more than a day. Even this is the religion of persons conversant with Emancipation as declared in the Vedas. Even this is the righteous path that is trodden by the righteous. He who follows in this track leaves no vestige behind. Bhikshus (or followers of the religion of Emancipation) are of four kinds. They are Kutichakas, Vahudakas, Hansas, and Paramahansas. The second is superior to the first, the third to the second, and the fourth to the third. There is nothing superior to the Paramahansa; nor is there anything inferior to it or beside it or before it. It is a condition that is divested of sorrow and happiness; that is auspicious and freed from decrepitude and death and that knows no change.'

"Uma said, 'Thou halt recited the religion of the householders, that of Emancipation, and that which is based upon the observances of the righteous. These paths are high and exceedingly beneficial to the world of living creatures. O thou that art conversant with every religion, I desire now to hear what is the high religion of the Rishis. I always have a liking for those that dwell in ascetic retreats. The perfume that emanates from the smoke of the libations of clarified butter poured on the sacred fire seems to pervade the entire retreats and make them delightful. Marking this, O great god, my heart becomes always filled with delight. O puissant deity, I have doubts regarding the religion of the ascetics. Thou art conversant with the details of all religions. Do thou enlighten me, O god of gods, in detail, respecting this topic truly about which I have asked thee, O great deity!'

"The blessed and holy one said, 'Yes, I shall recite to thee the high and excellent religion of the ascetics. By following the dictates of that religion, O auspicious lady, the ascetics attain to success through the severe penances they practise. O highly blessed one, do thou hear, from the beginning, what the duties are of those righteous Rishis that are conversant with every duty and that are known by the name of Phenapas. The Grandsire Brahma (during the days he devoted to the observance of penances) drank some nectar (in the form of water). That water had flowed in heaven from a great sacrifice. The froth of that water is highly auspicious and (in consequence of Brahma's having drunk it) it partook of His own nature. Those Rishis that subsist upon the measure of froth that thus issued (from the water indicated) are called Phenapas (Froth-eaters). Even this is the conduct of those pure-souled Rishis, O lady, possessed of wealth of penances! Listen now to me as I explain to thee who the Valkhilyas are. The Valkhilyas are ascetics that have won success by their penances. They reside in the solar disc. Adopting the means of subsistence that is followed by the birds, those Rishis, conversant with every duty of righteousness, live according to the Unchha mode. Their attire consists of deer-skins or barks of trees. Freed from every pair of opposites, the Valkhilyas, possessed of wealth of penances, walk in this track of righteousness. They are as big as a digit of the thumb. Distributed into classes, each class lives in the practice of the duties assigned to it. They desire only to practise penance. The merits they win by their righteous conduct are very high. They are regarded as having attained to an equality with the gods and exist for the accomplishment of the purposes of the gods. Having burnt off all their sins by severe penances, they blaze forth in effulgence, illuminating all the points of the compass. Others, called Chakracharas, are endued with cleansed souls and devoted to the practice of compassion. Righteous in their conduct and possessed of great sanctity, they live in the region of Soma. Thus residing near enough to the region of the Pitris, they duly subsist by drinking the rays of Soma. There are others called Samprakshalas and Asmkuttas and Dantolukhalas. [Samprakshalas are those Rishis who wash all their utensils daily so that nothing is stored for them for the next day. Asmakuttas are those that use only two pieces of stone for husking their grain. Dantolukhalas are those that use their teeth for purposes of husking the grain they eat.] These live near the Soma-drinking deities and others that drink flames of fire. With their wedded spouses, and with passions under complete control, they too subsist upon the rays of Soma. They pour libations of clarified butter on the sacred fire, and adore the Pitris under proper forms. They also perform the well-known sacrifices. Even this is said to constitute their religion. The religion of the Rishis, O goddess, is always observed by those who are houseless and who are free to rove through every region including that of the gods. There are, again, other classes about whom I shall speak presently. Do thou listen. It is necessary that they who observe the different religions of the Rishis, should subjugate their passions and know the Soul. Indeed, in my opinion, lust and wrath should be completely conquered. With corn (wealth) acquired by the Unchha mode, they should discharge the following duties, viz., the pouring of libations on the sacred fire, occupying a fixed seat employing oneself the while in the sacrifice called Dharmaratri, performance of she Soma-sacrifice, acquisition of especial knowledge, the giving of sacrificial presents which forms the fifth, the daily performance of sacrifices, devotion to the worship of the Pitris and the deities, hospitality towards all. Abstention from all luxurious viands prepared from cow's milk, taking a pleasure in tranquillity of heart, lying on bare rocks or the earth, devotion to Yoga, eating potherbs and leaves of trees, and subsisting upon fruits and roots and wind and water and moss, are some of the practices of the Rishis by which they attain to the end that belongs to persons unsubjugated (by the world). When the smoke has ceased to curl upwards from a house, when the husking machine has ceased to ply, when the hearth-fire has been extinguished, when all the inmates have taken their food, when dishes are no longer carried from room to room, when mendicants have ceased to walk the streets, it is then that the man who is devoted to the religion of truth and tranquillity of soul, desiring to have a guest (but finding his desire ungratified), should eat what remnant of food may still occur in the house. By acting in this way, one becomes a practiser of the religion of the Munis. One should not be arrogant, nor proud, nor cheerless and discontented; nor should one wonder at anything. Indeed, one should behave equally towards friends and foes. Verily, one who is the foremost of all persons conversant with duties should also be friendly towards all creatures."

SECTION 142

"Uma said, 'Forest recluses reside in delightful regions, among the springs and fountains of rivers, in bowers by the sides of streams and rills, on hills and mountains, in woods and forests, and in sacred spots full of fruits and roots. With concentrated attention and observant of vows and rules, they dwell in such places. I desire, O Sankara, to hear the sacred ordinances which they follow. These recluses, O god of all gods, are persons that depend, for the protection of their bodies, upon themselves alone.'

Maheswara said, 'Do thou hear with concentrated attention what the duties are of forest recluses. Having listened to them with one mind, O goddess, do thou set thy heart upon righteousness. Listen then to what the acts are that should be practised by righteous recluses crowned with success, observant of rigid vows and rules, and residing in woods and forests. Performing ablutions thrice a day, worshipping the Pitris and the deities, pouring libations on the sacred fire, performing those sacrifices and rites that go by the name of Ishti-homa, picking up the grains of Nivara-paddy, eating fruit and roots, and using oil that is pressed out from Inguda and castor-seeds are their duties. Having gone through the practices of Yoga and become crowned with (ascetic) success and freed from lust and wrath, they should seat themselves in the attitude called Virasana. Indeed, they should reside in those places which are inaccessible to cowards. [The great

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forests are called Virasthana for cowards cannot enter or reside in them.] Observant of the excellent ordinances relating to Yoga, sitting in summer in the midst of four fires on four sides with the sun overhead, duly practising what is called Manduka Yoga, and always seated in the attitude called Virasana, and lying on bare rocks or the earth, these men, with hearts set upon righteousness, must expose themselves to cold and water and fire. They subsist upon water or air or moss. They use two pieces of stones only for husking their corn. Some of them use their teeth only for such a purpose. They do not keep utensils of any kind (for storing anything for the day to come). Some of them clothe themselves with rags and barks of trees or deer-skins. Even thus do they pass their lives for the measure of time allotted to them, according to the ordinances (set forth in the scriptures). Remaining in woods and forests, they wander within woods and forests, live within them, and are always to be found within them. Indeed, these forest recluses entering into woods and forests live within them as disciples, obtaining a preceptor, live with him. The performance of the rites of Homa is their duty, as also the observance of the five sacrifices. A due observance of the rules about distribution (in respect of time) of the fivefold sacrifices as laid down in the Vedas, devotion to (other) sacrifices, forming the eighth, observance of the Chaturmasya, performance of the Paurnamasya, and other sacrifices, and performance of the daily sacrifices, are the duties of these men dissociated from wives, freed from every attachment, and cleansed from every sin. Indeed, they should live even thus in the forest. The sacrificial ladle and the water-vessel are their chief wealth. They are always devoted to the three fires. Righteous in their conduct and adhering to the path of virtue, they attain to the highest end. These Munis, crowned with (ascetic) success and ever devoted to the religion of Truth, attain to the highly sacred region of Brahman or the eternal region of Soma. O auspicious goddess, I have thus recited to thee, in brief, the outlines of the religion that is followed by forest recluses and that has many practices in detail.'

"Uma said, 'O holy one, O lord of all creatures, O thou that art worshipped by all beings, I desire to hear what the religion is of those Munis that are followers of the scriptures treating of ascetic success. Do thou recite it to me. Residing in woods and forests and well-accomplished in the scriptures of success, some amongst them live and act as they like, without being restrained by particular practices; others have wives. How, indeed, have their practices been laid down?'

"Mahadeva said, 'O goddess, the shaving of the head and the wearing of the brown robes are the indications of those recluses that rove about in freedom; while the indications of those that sport with wedded wives consist in passing their nights at home. Performing ablutions there times a day is the duty of the classes, while the Homa, with water and fruits from the wilderness, belongs to the wedded recluses as performed by the Rishis in general. Absorption, Yoga-meditation, and adherence to those duties that constitute piety and that have been laid down as such (in the scriptures and the Vedas) are some of the other duties prescribed for them. All those duties also of which I have spoken to thee before as appertaining to recluses residing in forests, are the duties of these also. Indeed, if those duties are observed, they that observe them, attain to the rewards that attach to severe penances. Those forest recluses that lead wedded lives should confine the gratification of their senses to these wedded wives of theirs. By indulging in sexual congress with their wives at only those times when their seasons come, they conform to the duties that have been laid down for them. The religion which these virtuous men are to follow is the religion that has been laid down and followed by the Rishis. With their eyes set upon the acquisition of righteousness, they should never pursue any other object of desire from a sense of unrestrained caprice. That man who makes the gift unto all creatures of an assurance of perfect harmlessness or innocence, freed as his soul becomes from the stain of malice or harmfulness, becomes endued with righteousness. Verily, that person who shows compassion to all creatures, who adopts as a vow a behaviour of perfect sincerity towards al creatures, and who constitutes himself the soul of all creatures, becomes endued with righteousness. A bath in all the Vedas, and a behaviour of sincerity towards all creatures, are looked upon as equal in point of merit; or, perhaps, the latter is a little distinguished above the other in point of merit. Sincerity, it has been said, is Righteousness; while insincerity or crookedness is the reverse. That man who conducts himself with sincerity becomes endued with Righteousness. The man who is always devoted to sincerity of behaviour, succeeds in attaining to a residence among the deities. Hence, he who wishes to achieve the merit of righteousness should become endued with sincerity. Possessed of a forgiving disposition and of self-restraint, and with wrath under complete subjection, one should transform oneself into an embodiment of Righteousness and become freed from malice. Such a man, who becomes devoted, besides, to the discharge of all the duties Religion, becomes endued with the merit of Righteousness. Freed from drowsiness and procrastination, the pious person, who adheres to the path of Righteousness to the best of his power, and becomes possessed of pure conduct, and who is venerable in years, comes to be regarded as equal to Brahma himself.'

"Uma said. By what course of duties, O god, do those ascetics who are attached to their respective retreats and possessed of wealth of penances, succeed in becoming endued with great splendour? By what acts again, do kings and princes who are possessed of great wealth, and others who are destitute of wealth, succeed in obtaining high rewards? By what acts, O god, do denizens of the forest succeed in attaining to that place which is eternal and in adorning their persons with celestial sandal-paste? O illustrious god of three eyes, O destroyer of the triple city, do thou dispel this doubt of mine connected with the auspicious subject of the observance of penances by telling everything in detail.'

"The illustrious deity said, 'Those who observe the vows relating to fasts and restrain their senses, who abstain from injury of any kind to any creature, and who practise truthfulness of speech, attain to success and ascending to Heaven sport in felicity with the Gandharvas as their companions, freed from every kind of evil. The righteous souled man who lies down in the attitude which appertains to Manduka-Yoga, and who properly and according to the ordinance performs meritorious acts after having taken the Diksha, sports in felicity in the next world in the company of the Nagas. That man who lives in the company of deer and subsists upon such grass and vegetables as fall off from their mouths, and who has undergone the Diksha and attends to the duties attached to it, succeeds in attaining to Amaravati (the mansions of Indra). That man who subsists upon the moss he gathers and the fallen leaves of trees that he picks up, and endures all the severities of cold, attains to very high place. That man who subsists upon either air or water, or fruits and roots, attains in after life to the affluence that belongs to the Yakshas and sports in felicity in the company of diverse tribes of Apsaras. Having practised for two and ten years, according to the rites laid down in the ordinances, the vow relating to the endurance of the five fires in the summer season, one becomes in one's next life a king. That man who, having observed vows with respect to food, practises penances for two and twelve years, carefully abstaining from all interdicted food, taken at forbidden hours, during the periods becomes in his next life a ruler of earth. 1 That man who sits and lies on the bare ground with the cope of the firmament alone for his shelter, observes the course of duties that attach to Diksha, and then casts off his body by abstaining from all food, attains to great felicity in Heaven. The rewards of one who sits and lies down upon the bare ground (with the welkin alone for his shelter) are said to be excellent vehicles and beds, and costly mansions possessed of the resplendence of the moon, O lady! That man who, having subsisted upon abstemious diet and observed diverse excellent vows, lives depending upon his own self and then casts off his body by abstaining from all food, succeeds in ascending to heaven and enjoying all its felicity. That man who, having lived in entire dependence upon his own self, observes for two and ten years the duties that appertain to Diksha, and at last casts off his body on the great ocean, succeeds in attaining to the regions of Varuna after death. That man who, living in entire dependence upon his own self observes the duties that attach to Diksha for two and ten years, and pierces his own feet with a sharp stone, attains to the felicity of the region that belongs to the Guhyakas. He who cultivates self with the aid of self, who frees himself from the influence of all pairs of opposites (such as heat and cold, joy and sorrow, etc), who is freed from every kind of attachment, and who mentally observes for two and ten years such a course of conduct after Diksha, attains to Heaven and enjoys every happiness with the deities as his companions. He who lives in entire dependence upon his own self and observes for two and ten years the duties that attach to Diksha and finally casts off his body on the fire as an oblation to the deities, attains to the regions of Brahman and is held in high respect there. That regenerate man, O goddess, who having properly gone through the Diksha keeps his senses under subjugation, and placing his Self on Self frees himself from the sense of meum, desirous of achieving righteousness, and sets out, without a covering for his body, after the due observance of the duties of Diksha for two and ten years and after having placed his sacred fire on a tree, and walks along the path that belongs to heroes and lies down (when need for lying down comes) in the attitude of heroes, and conducts himself always after the manner of heroes, certainly attains to the end that is reserved for heroes. [It should be noted that the word Vira in the various compounds in which, it occurs here, does not mean heroes of war. On the other hand, it signifies heroes of righteousness and penances. The path of heroes is the forest, for cowards cannot go there. The attitude of heroes (Virasana) is a kind of attitude for Yogins to sit in.] Such a man repairs to the eternal region of Sakra where he becomes crowned with the fruition of all his wishes and where he sports in joy, his person decked with garlands of celestial flowers and celestial perfumes. Indeed, that righteous souled person lives happily in Heaven, with the deities as his companions. The hero, observant of the practices of heroes and devoted to that Yoga which belongs to heroes, living in the practice of Goodness, having renounced everything, having undergone the Diksha and subjugated his senses, and observing purity of both body and mind, is sure to attain to that path which is reserved for heroes. Eternal regions of happiness are his. Riding on a car that moves at the will of the rider, he roves through all those happy regions as he likes. Indeed, dwelling in the region of Sakra, that blessed person always sports in joy, freed from every calamity."

SECTION 143

"Uma said, 'O holy one, O thou that didst tear off the eyes of Bhaga and the teeth of Pushan, O destroyer of the sacrifice of Daksha, O three-eyed deity, I have a great doubt. In days of yore, the Self-born One created the four orders. Through the evil consequence of what acts cloth a Vaisya become a Sudra? Through what acts doth a Kshatriya become a Vaisya and a regenerate person (Brahmana) becomes a Kshatriya? By what means may such degradation of castes be prevented? Through what acts does a Brahmana take birth in his next life, in the Sudra order? Through what acts, O puissant deity, does a Kshatriya also descend to the status of Sudra? O sinless one, O lord of all created beings, do thou, O illustrious one, dispel this doubt of mine. How, again, can the three other orders naturally succeed in attaining to the status of Brahmanhood?"

"The illustrious one said, 'The status of a Brahmana, O goddess, is exceedingly difficult to attain. O auspicious lady, one becomes a Brahmana through original creation or birth. After the same manner the Kshatriya, the Vaisya, and the Sudra, all become so through original creation. Even this is my opinion. He, however, that is born a Brahmana falls away from his status through his own evil acts. Hence, the Brahmana, after having attained to the status of the first order, should always protect it (by his acts). If one, who is a Kshatriya or Vaisya, lives in the practice of those duties that are assigned to the Brahmana, after the manner of a Brahmana he becomes (in his next life) a Brahmana. That Brahmana who casts off the duties of his order for following those assigned for the Kshatriya, is regarded as one that has fallen away from the status of a Brahmana and that has become a Kshatriya. That Brahmana of little understanding, who, impelled by cupidity and folly, follows the practices assigned to Vaisyas forgetful of his status as a Brahmana that is exceedingly difficult to attain, comes to be regarded as one that has become a Vaisya. Similarly, one that is a Vaisya by birth may, by following the practices of a Sudra, become a Sudra. Indeed, a Brahmana, falling away from the duties of his own order, may descend to the status of even a Sudra, Such a Brahmana, falling away from the order of his birth and turned out of it, without attaining to the region of Brahmana (which is his goal if he duly observes his own duties), sinks into Hell and in his next birth becomes born as a Sudra. A highly blessed Kshatriya or a Vaisya, that abandons those practices of his that are consistent with the duties laid down for his order, and follows the practices laid down for the Sudra, falls away from his own order and becomes a person of mixed caste. It is in this way that a Brahmana. or a Kshatriya, or a Vaisya, sinks into the status of a Sudra. That man who has attained to clearness of vision through practice of the duties of his own order, who is endued with knowledge and science, who is pure (in body and mind), who is conversant with every duty and devoted to the practice of all his duties, is sure to enjoy the rewards of righteousness. I shall now recite to thee, O goddess, a saying uttered by Brahma (the Self-born) on this subject. Those that are righteous and desirous of acquiring merit always pursue with firmness the culture of the soul. The food that comes from cruel and fierce persons is censurable. So also is the food that has been cooked for serving a large number of persons. The same is said of the food that is cooked in view of the first Sraddha of a deceased person. So also is the food that is stained in consequence of the usual faults and the food that is supplied by a Sudra. These should never be taken by a Brahmana at any time. The food of a Sudra, O goddess, is always disapproved of by the high-souled deities. Even this, I think, is the authority enunciated by the Grandsire with his own mouth. If a Brahmana, who has set up the sacred fire and who performs sacrifices, were to die with any portion of a Sudra's food remaining undigested in his stomach, he is sure to take birth in his next life as a Sudra. In consequence of those remains of a Sudra's food in his stomach, he falls away from the status of a Brahmana. Such a Brahmana becomes invested with the status of a Sudra. There is no doubt in this. This Brahmana in his next life becomes invested with the status of that order upon whose food he subsists through life or with the undigested portion of whose food in his stomach he breathes his last. [The sense is this: if a Brahmana dies with any portion of the food of a Sudra, a Vaisya, or a Kshatriya in his stomach, in his next life he has to take birth as a Sudra, a Vaisya, or a Kshatriya. If, again, during life he subsists upon food supplied to him by a Sudra, a Vaisya, or a Kshatriya, he has to take birth in his next life as a Sudra, a Vaisya, or a Kshatriya.] That man who, having attained to the auspicious status of a Brahmana which is so difficult to acquire, disregards it and eats interdicted food, falls away from his high status. That Brahmana who drinks alcohol,

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who becomes guilty of Brahmanicide or mean in his behaviour, or a thief, or who breaks his vows, or becomes impure, or unmindful of his Vedic studies, or sinful, or characterised by cupidity, or guilty of cunning or cheating, or who does not observe vows, or who weds a Sudra woman, or who derives his subsistence by pandering to the lusts of other people or who sells the Soma plant, or who serves a person of an order below his, falls away from his status of Brahmanahood. That Brahmana who violates the bed of his preceptor, or who cherishes malice towards him, or who takes pleasure in speaking ill of him, falls away from the status of Brahmanahood even if he be conversant with Brahman. By these good acts, again, O goddess, when performed, a Sudra becomes a Brahmana, and a Vaisya becomes a Kshatriya. The Sudra should perform all the duties laid down for him, properly and according to the ordinance. He should always wait, with obedience and humility, upon person of the three other orders and serve them with care. Always adhering to the path of righteousness, the Sudra should cheerfully do all this. He should honour the deities and persons of the regenerate orders. He should observe the vow of hospitality to all persons. With senses kept under subjection and becoming abstemious in food, he should never approach his wife except in her season. He should ever search after persons that are holy and pure. As regards food, he should eat that which remains after the needs of all persons have been satisfied. If, indeed, the Sudra desires to be a Vaisya (in his next life), he should also abstain from meat of animals not slain in sacrifices. If a Vaisya wishes to be a Brahmana (in his next life), he should observe even these duties. He should be truthful in speech, and free from pride or arrogance. He should rise superior to all pairs of opposites (such as heat and cold, joy and sorrow, etc.) He should be observant of the duties of peace and tranquillity. He should adore the deities in sacrifices, attend with devotion to the study and recitation of the Vedas, and become pure in body and mind. He should keep his senses under subjection, honour the Brahmanas, and seek the welfare of all the orders. Leading the domestic mode of life and eating only twice a day at the prescribed hours he should gratify his hunger with only such food as remains after the needs have been satisfied of all the members of his family with dependants and guests. He should be abstemious in food, and act without being impelled by the desire of reward. He should be free from egotism. He should adore the deities in the Agnihotra and pour libations according to the ordinance. Observing the duties of hospitality towards all persons, he should, as already said, eat the food that remains after serving all others for whom it has been cooked. He should, according to the ordinance laid down, worship the three fires. Such a Vaisya of pure conduct takes birth in his next life in a high Kshatriya family. If a Vaisya, after having taken birth as a Kshatriya, goes through the usual purificatory rites, becomes invested with the sacred thread, and betakes himself to the observance of vows, he becomes, in his next life, an honoured Brahmana. Indeed, after his birth as a Kshatriya, he should make presents, adore the deities in great sacrifices with plentiful Dakshinas, study the Vedas, and desirous of attaining to Heaven should worship the three fires. He should interfere for dispelling the sorrows of the distressed, and should always righteously cherish and protect those subjects that own his sway. He should be truthful, and do all acts that have truth in them, and seek happiness in conduct like this. He should award punishments that are righteous, without laying aside the rod of chastisement for good. He should induce men to do righteous deeds. Guided by considerations of policy (in the matter of swaying his people), he should take a sixth of the produce of the fields. 1 He should never indulge in sexual pleasure, but live cheerfully and in independence, well-conversant with the science of Wealth or Profit. Of righteous soul, he should seek his wedded spouse only in her season. He should always observe fasts, keep his soul under control, devote himself to the study of the Vedas, and be pure in body and mind. He should sleep on blades of Kusa grass spread out in his fire, chamber. He should pursue the aggregate of Three (viz., Righteousness, Wealth, and Pleasure), and be always cheerful. Unto Sudras desirous of food, he should always answer that it is ready. He should never desire any thing from motives of gain or pleasure. He should worship the Pitris and gods and guests. In his own house he should live the life of a mendicant. He should duly adore the deities in his Agnihotra, morning, noon, and evening every day, by pouring libations agreeably to the ordinance. With his face turned towards the foe, he should cast off his life-breath in battle fought for the benefit of kine and Brahmanas. Or he may enter the triple fires sanctified with Mantras and cast off his body. By pursuing this line of conduct he takes birth in his next life as a Brahmana. Endued with knowledge and science, purified from all dross, and fully conversant with the Vedas, a pious Kshatriya, by his own acts, becomes a Brahmana. It is with the aid of these acts, O goddess, that a person who has sprung from a degraded order, viz., a Sudra, may become a Brahmana refined of all stains and possessed of Vedic lore, One that is a Brahmana, when he becomes wicked in conduct and observes no distinction in respect of food, falls away from the status of Brahmanahood and becomes a Sudra. Even a Sudra, O goddess, that has purified his soul by pure deeds and that has subjugated all his senses, deserves to be waited upon and served with reverence as a Brahmana. This has been said by the Self-born Brahmana himself. When a pious nature and pious deeds are noticeable in even a Sudra, he should, according to my opinion, be held superior to a person of the three regenerate classes. Neither birth, nor the purificatory rites, nor learning, nor offspring, can be regarded as grounds for conferring upon one the regenerate status. Verily, conduct is the only ground. All Brahmanas in this world are Brahmanas in consequence of conduct. A Sudra, if he is established on good conduct, is regarded as possessed of the status of a Brahmana. The status of Brahma, O auspicious lady, is equal wherever it exists. Even this is my opinion. He, indeed, is a Brahmana in whom the status of Brahma exists,--that condition which is bereft of attributes and which has no stain attached to it. The boon-giving Brahma, while he created all creatures, himself said that the distribution of human beings into the four orders dependent on birth is only for purposes of classification. The Brahmana is a great field in this world,--a field equipped with feet for it moves from place to place. He who plants seeds in that field, O beautiful lady, reaps the crop in the next world. That Brahmana who wishes to achieve his own good should always live upon the remains of the food that may be there in his house after gratifying the needs of all others. He should always adhere to the path of righteousness. Indeed, he should tread along the path that belongs to Brahma. He should live engaged in the study of the Samhitas and remaining at home he should discharge all the duties of a householder. He should always be devoted to the study of the Vedas, but he should never derive the means of subsistence from such study. That Brahmana who always conducts himself thus, adhering to the path of righteousness, worshipping his sacred fire, and engaged in the study of the Vedas, comes to be regarded as Brahma. The status of a Brahmana once gained, it should always be protected with care, O thou of sweet smiles, by avoiding the stain of contact with persons born in inferior orders, and by abstaining from the acceptance of gifts. I have thus told thee a mystery, viz., the manner in which a Sudra may become a Brahmana, or that by which a Brahmana falls away from his own pure status and becomes a Sudra (socially inferior)."

SECTION 144

"Uma said, 'O holy one, O Lord of all beings, O thou that art worshipped by the deities and Asuras equally, tell me what are the duties and derelictions of men. Indeed, O puissant one, resolve my doubts. It is by these three, viz., thought, word, and deed, that men become bound with bonds. It is by these same three that they become freed from those bonds. By pursuing what conduct, O god,--indeed, by what kind of acts,--by what behaviour and attributes and words, do men succeed in ascending to heaven?'

"The god of gods said, 'O goddess, thou art well-conversant with the true import of duties. Thou art ever devoted to righteousness and self-restraint. The question thou hast asked me is fraught with the benefit of all creatures. It enhances the intelligence of all persons. Do thou, therefore, listen to the answer. Those persons that are devoted to the religion of Truth, that are righteous and destitute of the indications of the several modes of life, and that enjoy the wealth earned by righteous means, succeed in ascending to heaven. Those men that are freed from all doubts, that are possessed of omniscience, and that have eyes to behold all things, are never enchained by either virtue or sin. Those men that are freed from all attachments can never be bound by the chains of action. They who never injure others in thought, word, or deed, and who never attach themselves to anything, can never be bound by acts. They who abstain from taking the lives of any creature, who are pious in conduct, who have compassion, who regard friends and foes in an equal light and who are self-restrained, can never be bound by acts. Those men that are endued with compassion towards all beings, that succeed in inspiring the confidence of all living creatures, and that have cast off malice in their behaviour, succeed in ascending to heaven. Those men that have no desire to appropriate what belongs to others, that keep themselves aloof from the wedded wives of others, and that enjoy only such wealth as has been earned by righteous means, succeed in ascending to heaven. Those men who behave towards the wives of other people as towards their own mothers and sisters and daughters, succeed in attaining to heaven. Those men that abstain from appropriating what belongs to others, that are perfectly contented with what they possess, and that live depending upon their own destiny, succeed in ascending to heaven. Those men that, in their conduct, always shut their eyes against association with other people's spouses, that are masters of their senses, and that are devoted to righteous conduct, succeed in ascending to heaven. Even this is the path, created by the gods, that the righteous should follow. This is the path, freed from passion and aversion, laid down for the righteous to follow. Those men who are devoted to their own spouses and who seek them only in their seasons, and who turn themselves away from indulgence in sexual pleasure, succeed in ascending to Heaven Conduct marked by charity and penances, and characterised by righteousness of deeds and purity of both body and heart, should be followed by those that are wise for the sake of adding to their merit or for earning their means of subsistence. Those who wish to ascend to Heaven should follow in this track and not in any other.'

"Uma said, 'Tell me, O illustrious deity, O sinless lord of all creatures, what are those words by which one becomes enchained and what are those words by uttering which one may be freed from one's bonds.'

"Maheswara said, 'Those men who never tell lies for either themselves or for others, or in jest or for exciting laughter, succeed in ascending to Heaven. They who never tell lies for earning their subsistence or for earning merit or through mere caprice, succeed in ascending to Heaven. They who utter words that are smooth and sweet and faultless, and who welcome all whom they meet with sincerity, succeed in ascending to Heaven. They who never utter words that are harsh and bitter and cruel. and who are free from deceitfulness and evil of every kind, succeed in ascending to Heaven. Those men who never utter words that are fraught with deceit or that cause breach of understanding between friends, and who always speak what is true and what promotes good feelings, succeed in ascending to Heaven. Those men who avoid harsh speeches and abstain from quarrels with others, who are impartial in their behaviour to all creatures, and who have subjugated their souls, succeed in ascending to Heaven. They who abstain from evil speech or sinful conversation, who avoid such speeches as are disagreeable, and who utter only such words as are auspicious and agreeable, succeed in ascending to Heaven. They who never utter, under anger, such words as tear the hearts of other people, and who, even when under the influence of wrath, speak words that are peaceful and agreeable, succeed in ascending to Heaven. The religion, O goddess, appertaining to speech, should always be followed by men. It is auspicious and characterised by truth. They that are possessed of wisdom should always avoid untruth.'

"Uma said, 'Do thou tell me, O god of gods, O wielder of Pinaka, O thou that art highly blessed, what those mental acts or thoughts are by which a person may be enchained.'

"Maheswara said, 'Endued with merit that arises from mental acts, O goddess, one ascends to Heaven. Listen to me, O auspicious one, as I recite to thee what those acts are. Listen to me, O thou of sweet face, how also a mind of ill-regulated features becomes enchained by ill-regulated or evil thoughts. Those men who do not seek even mentally, to take what belongs to others even when they see it lying in a lone forest, succeed in ascending to Heaven. Those men who care not to appropriate what belongs to others even when they see it lying in a house or a village that has been deserted, ascend to Heaven. Those men that do not seek, even mentally, to associate with the wedded spouses of others even when they behold them in deserted places and under the influence of desire, succeed in ascending to Heaven. Those men who, meeting with friends or foes, behave in the same friendly way towards all, succeed in ascending to Heaven. Those men that are possessed of learning and compassion, that are pure in body and mind, that are firm in their adherence to truth, and that are contented with what belongs to them, succeed in ascending to Heaven. Those men that do not bear ill-will to any creature, that do not stand in need of labour for their subsistence, that bear friendly hearts towards all beings, and that entertain compassion towards all, succeed in ascending to Heaven. Those men that are endued with faith, that have compassion, that are holy, that seek the company of holy men, and that are conversant with the distinctions between right and wrong, succeed in ascending to Heaven. Those men, O goddess, that are conversant with what the consequences are of good and bad deeds, succeed in ascending to Heaven. Those men that are just in all their dealings, that are endued with all desirable accomplishments, that are devoted to the deities and the Brahmanas, and that are endued with perseverance in the doing of good acts, succeed in ascending to Heaven. All these men, O goddess, succeed in ascending to Heaven through the meritorious consequences of their deeds. What else dost thou wish to hear?'

"Uma said, 'I have a great doubt, O Maheswara, on a subject connected with human beings. It behoveth thee to explain it to me carefully. By what acts does a man succeed, O puissant deity, in acquiring a long life? By what penances also does one acquire a long life? By what acts does one become shortlived on earth? O thou that art perfectly stainless, it behoveth thee to tell me what the consequences are of acts (in the matter of bestowing a long or a short life on the doer). Some are seen to be possessed of great good fortune and some weighted with misfortune. Some are of noble birth while others of ignoble birth. Some are of such repulsive features as if they are made of wood, while others are of very agreeable features at even the first sight. Some appear to be destitute of wisdom while others are possessed of it. Some, again, are seen endued with high intelligence and wisdom, enlightened by knowledge and science. Some have to endure little pain, while others there are that are weighted with heavy calamities. Even

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such diverse sights are seen with respect to men. It behoveth thee, O illustrious one, to tell me the reason of all this.'

"The god of gods said, 'Verily, O goddess, I shall discourse to thee on the manifestation of the fruits of acts. It is by the rules of that manifestation that all human beings in this world enjoy or endure the consequences of their acts. That man who assumes a fierce aspect for the purpose of taking the lives of other creatures, who arms himself with stout sticks for injuring other creatures, who is seen with uplifted weapons, who slays living creatures, who is destitute of compassion, who always causes agitation to living beings, who refuses to grant protection to even worms and ants, who is endued with cruelty,--one who is such, O goddess, sinks in Hell. One who is endued with an opposite disposition and who is righteous in acts, is born as a handsome man. The man who is endued with cruelty, goes to Hell, while he that is endued with compassion ascends to Heaven. The man who goes to Hell has to endure excruciating misery. One who, having sunk in Hell, rises therefrom, take birth as a man endued with short life. That man who is addicted to slaughter and injury, O goddess, becomes, through his sinful deeds, liable to destruction. Such a person becomes disagreeable to all creatures and endued with a short life. That man who belongs to what is called the White class, who abstains from the slaughter of living creatures, who has thrown away all weapons, who never inflicts any chastisement on any body, who never injures any creatures, who never causes any body to slay creatures for him, who never slays or strikes even when struck or attempted to be slain, who never sanctions or approves an act of slaughter, who is endued with compassion towards all creatures, who behaves towards others as towards his own self,--such a superior man, O goddess, succeeds in attaining to the status of a deity. Filled with joy, such a man enjoys diverse kinds of luxurious articles. If such a person ever takes birth in the world of men, he becomes endued with longevity and enjoys great happiness. Even this is the way of those that are of righteous conduct and righteous deeds and that are blessed with longevity, the way that was indicated by the Self-born Brahman himself and that is characterised by abstention from the slaughter of living creatures.'"

SECTION 145

"Uma said, 'By what disposition, what conduct, what acts, and what gifts, does a man succeed in attaining to Heaven?'

"Maheswara said, 'He who is endued with a liberal disposition, who honours Brahmanas and treats them with hospitality, who makes gifts of food and drink and robes and other articles of enjoyment unto the destitute, the blind, and the distressed, who makes gifts of houses, erects halls (for use of the public), digs wells, constructs shelters whence pure and cool water is distributed (during the hot months unto thirsty travellers), excavates tanks, makes arrangements for the free distribution of gifts every day, gives to all seekers what each solicits, who makes gifts of seats and beds and conveyances, wealth, jewels and gems, houses, all kinds of corn, kine, fields, and women,--verily, he who always makes these gifts with a cheerful heart, becomes a denizen, O goddess, of Heaven. He resides there for a long period, enjoying diverse kinds of superior articles. Passing his time happily in the company of the Apsaras, he sports in the woods of Nandana and other delightful regions. After the exhaustion of his merits he falls down from Heaven and takes birth in the order of humanity, in a family, O goddess, that is possessed of wealth in abundance and that has a large command of every article of enjoyments. In that life he becomes endued with all articles for gratifying his wishes and appetites. Indeed, blessed with the possession of such articles, he becomes endued with affluence and a well-filled treasury. The self-born Brahman himself declared it in days of old that it is even such persons, O goddess, that become highly blessed and possessed of liberal dispositions and agreeable features. There are others, O goddess, that are incapable of making gifts. Endued with small understandings, they cannot make gifts even when solicited by Brahmanas and possessed of abundant wealth. Beholding the destitute, the blind, the distressed, and mendicants, and even guests arrived at their abodes, those persons, always filled with the desire of gratifying the organ of taste, turn away, even when expressly solicited by them. They never make gifts of wealth or robes, or viands, or gold, or kine, or any kind of food. Those men who are disinclined to relieve the distress of others, who are full of cupidity, who have no faith in the scriptures, and who never make gifts,--verily, these men of little understanding, O goddess, have to sink in Hell. In course of time, when their sufferings in Hell come to an end, they take birth in the order of humanity, in families that are entirely destitute of wealth. Always suffering from hunger and thirst, excluded from all decent society, hopeless of ever enjoying good things, they lead lives of great wretchedness. Born in families that are destitute of all articles of enjoyment, these men never succeed in enjoying the good things of the world. Indeed, O goddess, it is through their acts that persons become wretched and poor. There are others who are full of arrogance and pride caused by the possession of riches. Those senseless wretches never offer seats to those that deserve such an offer. Endued with little understandings they do not give way to them that deserve such an honour. [In India an inferior should always stand aside for letting his superior pass. The Kshatriya should give way to the Brahmana, the Vaisya to the Kshatriya, and the Sudra to the Vaisya.] Nor do they give water for washing the feet to persons unto whom it should be given. Indeed, they do not honour, agreeably to the ordinance, with gifts of the Arghya, such persons as deserve to be honoured therewith. They do not offer water for washing the mouth unto such as deserve to have that honour. They do not treat their very preceptors, when the latter arrive at their houses, in the manner in which preceptors should be treated. Living in cupidity and arrogance, they refuse to treat their seniors and aged men with love and affection, even insulting those that deserve to be honoured and asserting their superiority over them without showing reverence and humility. Such men, O goddess, sink in Hell. When their sufferings come to an end after a long course of years, they rise from Hell, and take birth in the order of humanity, in low and wretched families. Indeed. they who humiliate their preceptors and seniors, have to take their birth in such castes as those of Swapakas and Pukkasas who are exceedingly vile and bereft of intelligence. He who is not arrogant or filled with pride, who is a worshipper of the deities and Brahmanas, who enjoys the respect of the world, who bows to every one that deserves his reverence, who utters smooth and sweet words, who benefits persons of all orders, who is always devoted to the good of all beings, who does not feel aversion for anybody, who is sweet-tongued, who is an utterer of agreeable and cooling words, who gives way to one that deserves to have way, who adores his preceptors in the manner in which preceptors deserve to be adored, who welcomes all creatures with proper courtesy, who does not hear ill will towards any creature, who lives, worshipping seniors and guests with such honours as they deserve, who is ever bent upon securing as many guests as possible, and who worships all who honour his house with their presence, succeeds, O goddess, in ascending to Heaven. Upon the exhaustion of his merit, he takes birth in the order of humanity in a high and respectable family. In that life he becomes possessed of all articles of enjoyment in abundance and jewels and gems and every kind of wealth in profusion. He gives unto deserving persons what they deserve. He becomes devoted to the observance of every duty and every act of righteousness. Honoured by all creatures and receiving their reverence, he obtains the fruits of his own acts. Even such a person acquires a high lineage and birth in this world. This that I have recited to thee was said by the Ordainer (Brahman) himself in days of old. That man who is fierce in conduct, who inspires terror in all creatures, who injures other beings with hands or feet or cords or sticks, or brick-bats or clods of hard clay, or other means of wounding and paining, O beautiful lady, who practises diverse kinds of deceit for slaying living creatures or vexing them, who pursues animals in the chase and causes them to tremble in fear,--verily, that man, who conducts himself in this way, is certain to sink in Hell. If in course of time he takes birth in the order of humanity, he is obliged to be born in a low and wretched race or family that is afflicted with impediments of every kind on every side. He becomes an object of aversion to all the world. Wretched among men, he becomes so through the consequence of his own acts. Another, who is possessed of compassion, casts his eye on all creatures. Endued with a friendly vision, behaving towards all creatures as if he were their father, divested of every hostile feeling, with all his passions under complete control, he never vexes any creature and never inspires them with fear by means of his hands or feet which are always under his control. He inspires the confidence of all beings. He never afflicts any creature with either cords or clubs or brick-bats or clods of hard earth or weapons of any kind. His deeds are never fierce or cruel, and he is full of kindness. One who is endued with such practices and conduct certainly ascend to Heaven. There he lives like a god in a celestial mansion abounding with every comfort. If, upon the exhaustion of his merit, he has to take birth in the order of humanity, he becomes born as a man that has not to fight with difficulties of any kind or to encounter any fear. Indeed, he enjoys great happiness. Possessed of felicity, without the obligation of undergoing distressing labour for his subsistence, he lives freed from every kind of anxiety. Even this, O goddess, is the path of the righteous. In it there are no impediments or afflictions.'

"Uma said, 'In the world some men are seen well-versed in inferences and the premises leading to them. Indeed, they are possessed of science and knowledge, have large progeny, and are endued with learning and wisdom. Others, O god, are destitute of wisdom, science, and knowledge, and are characterised by folly. By what particular acts does a person become possessed of wisdom? By what acts, again, does one become possessed of little wisdom and distorted vision? Do thou dispel this doubt of mine, O thou that art the foremost of all beings conversant with duties. Others there are, O god, that are blind from the moment of their birth. Others there are that are diseased and afflicted and impotent. Do thou, O god, tell me the reason of this.'

"Maheswara said, 'Those men that always enquire, about what is for their benefit and what is to their detriment, Brahmanas learned in the Vedas, crowned with success, and conversant with all duties, that avoid all kinds of evil deeds and achieve only such deeds as are good, succeed in ascending to Heaven after departing from this world and enjoy great happiness as long as they live here. Indeed, upon the exhaustion of their merit when they take birth in the order of humanity, they become born as men possessed of great intelligence. Every kind of felicity and auspiciousness becomes theirs in consequence of that intelligence with which they are born. Those men of foolish understandings who cast wicked eyes upon the wedded spouses of other men, become cursed with congenital blindness in consequence of that sinfulness of theirs. Those men who, impelled by desire in their hearts, cast their eyes on naked women, those men of wicked deeds take birth in this world to pass their whole lives in one continuous disease. Those men of foolish and wicked deeds who indulge in sexual congress with women of orders different from their own,--those men of little wisdom,--have to take birth in their next lives as persons destitute of virility. Those men who cause animals to be slain, and those who violate the beds of their preceptors, and those who indulge promiscuously in sexual congress, have to take birth in their next lives as persons destitute of the virile power.'

"Uma said, 'What acts, O foremost of the deities, are faulty, and what acts are faultless? What, indeed, are those acts by doing which a man succeeds in attaining to what is for your highest good?'

"Maheswara said, 'That man who is desirous of ascertaining what is righteousness, and who wishes to acquire prominent virtues and accomplishments, and who always puts questions to the Brahmanas with a view to find out the path that leads to his highest good, succeed in ascending to Heaven. If (after exhaustion of his merit) he takes birth in the order of humanity, he becomes endued with intelligence and memory and great wisdom. This, O goddess, is the line of conduct that the righteous are to follow and that is fraught with great benefit. I have told thee of it for the good of human beings.'

"Uma said, 'There are men who hate righteousness and who are possessed of little understanding. They never wish to approach Brahmanas conversant with the Vedas. There are others who are observant of vows and who are devoted to the duty of performing Sraddhas. Others, again, are destitute of all vows. They are unmindful of observance and are like Rakshasas in conduct. Some there are who are devoted to the performance of sacrifices and some who are unmindful of the Homa. Through the consequences of what acts do men become possessed of These different natures?'

"Maheswara said, 'Through the Vedas, the limits have been assigned of all the acts of human beings. Those men that conduct themselves according to the authority of the Vedas, are seen (in their next lives) to become devoted to the observance of vows. Those men, however, who having become subject to the sway of folly accept unrighteousness for its reverse, become destitute of vows, transgress all restraints, and come to be regarded as Brahmarakshasas. Indeed, it is these men that become unmindful of the Homa, that never utter the Vashat and other sacred Mantras, and that come to be regarded as the lowest and vilest of men Thus, O goddess, have I explained to thee the entire ocean of duties in respect of human beings for the sake of removing thy doubts, not omitting the sins of which they become guilty.'"

SECTION 146

"Narada said, 'Having said these words, the puissant Mahadeva himself became desirous of hearing (instead of talking), and with that view he questioned his dear spouse who was seated by his side and she was fully inclined to act up to his desire.'

"Mahadeva said, 'Thou, O goddess, art conversant with what is Supreme and what is not. Thou art acquainted with all duties, O thou that lovest to reside in the retreats of ascetics. Thou art endued with every virtue, possessed of beautiful eyebrows and hair ending in the fairest curls, O daughter of Himavat, the king of mountains! Thou art skilled in every work. Thou art endued with self-restraint and thou lookest impartially upon all creatures. Divested of the sense of meum, thou art devoted to the practice of all the duties. O thou of beautiful features, I desire to ask thee about something. I wish that, asked by me, thou wilt discourse to me on that topic. Savitri is the chaste wife of Brahma. The chaste Sachi is the wife of Indra. Dhumrorna is the spouse of Markandeya, and Riddhi of (king) Vaisravana. Varuna has Gauri for his spouse, and Surya has Suvarchala. Rohini is the chaste wife of Sasin, and Swaha of Vibhavasu. Kasyapa has Aditi. All these regard their husbands as their gods. Thou hast, O goddess, conversed and associated with all of them every day. It is for this reason, O thou that art conversant with every duty, that I desire to question thee about the duties of women, O thou whose words are always consistent with righteousness. I desire to hear thee discourse on that subject

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from the beginning. Thou practisest all the duties of righteousness with me. Thy conduct is exactly like mine, and the vows thou observest are the same that are observed by me. Thy puissance and energy are equal to mine, and thou hast undergone the austerest penances. The subject, when discoursed upon by thee, will become endued with great merit. Indeed, that discourse will then become authoritative in the world. Women, in especial, are the highest refuge of women. O thou of beautiful hips, among human beings that course of conduct which thou wilt lay down will be followed from generation to generation. Half of my body is made up of half thy body. Thou art always engaged in doing the work of the deities, and it is thou that art the cause of the peopling of the earth, O auspicious lady, all the eternal duties of women are well-known to thee. Do thou, therefore, tell me in detail what are the duties of thy sex.'

"Uma said, 'O holy one, O lord of all created things, O source of all that is past, present, and future, it is through thy grace that the words I am uttering are taking their rise in my mind. All these Rivers (that are of my sex), O god of gods, endued with the waters of all the Tirthas, are approaching thy presence for enabling thee to perform thy ablutions in them. After consulting them I shall discourse on the topic named, in due order. That person who, though competent, is still free from egotism, is rightly called a Purusha. As regards woman, O lord of all beings, she follows persons of her sex. By consulting these foremost of Rivers, they will be honoured by me. The sacred Saraswati is the foremost river of all rivers. She courses towards the ocean and is truly the first of all streams. Vipasa also here, and Vitasta, and Chandrabhaga, and Iravati, and Satadru, and the river Devika, and Kausiki, and Gomati. [The word Sindhu in this verse does not imply the river Indus, but stands for a river in general. Grammatically, it qualifies Devika before it. Devika is another name of Sarayu.] and this celestial River who has in her all the sacred Tirthas, viz., the goddess Ganga, who having her rise in Heaven hath descended on the Earth and is regarded as the foremost of all streams; Having said this, the spouse of that god of gods, that foremost of all righteous persons, smilingly addressed all those Rivers of her sex. Indeed, the spouse of the great god, devoted to the performance of all duties, questioned those individuals of her sex about the duties of women. Verily, those foremost of rivers having Ganga for their first are all conversant with the duties of women.'

"Uma said, 'The illustrious god has asked a question relating to the duties of women. I desire to answer Sankara after having consulted with you. I do not see any branch of knowledge on Earth or Heaven that is capable of being mastered by any unaided individual. Ye rivers that run towards the ocean, it is for this that I seek your opinions! It was in this way that those foremost of Rivers, all of whom were auspicious and highly sacred, were questioned by Siva's spouse. Then the celestial River Ganga, who worshipped the daughter of the prince of mountains in return, was selected for answering the question. Verily, she of sweet smiles is held as swelling with diverse kinds of understanding and well-conversant with the duties of women. The sacred goddess, capable of dispelling all fear of sin, possessed of humility in consequence of her intelligence, well acquainted with all duties, and enriched with an intelligence exceedingly comprehensive, sweetly smiling, uttered these, words, 'O goddess, thou art always devoted to the due performance of all duties. Thou hast favoured me highly by thus questioning me! O sinless one, thou art honoured by the entire universe, yet thou askest me that am but a river. That person who, though himself competent (to discourse on a topic) yet asks another, or who pays a graceful tribute to another, certainly deserves, I think, to be regarded as righteous-souled. Verily, such a person deserves to be called learned and wise. That person never falls into disgrace who asks such speakers as are endued with knowledge and science and as are well-conversant with premises and inferences. A proud man, even when enriched with intelligence, by speaking in the midst of an assembly otherwise (that is, by relying upon his own powers alone and without reference to or consultation with others), finds himself uttering only words of weak import. Thou art possessed of spiritual insight, Thou art the foremost of all denizens in Heaven. Thou hast taken thy rise accompanied by diverse kinds of excellent merit. Thou, O goddess, art fully competent to discourse on the duties of women! In this way, the goddess Uma was worshipped by Ganga and honoured with the ascription of many high merits. The beautiful, goddess, thus praised, then began to discourse upon all the duties of women in full.'

"Uma said, 'I shall, according to the ordinance, discourse on the subject of women's duties as far as they are known to me. Do ye all listen with concentrated attention! The duties of women arise as created at the outset by kinsmen in the rites of wedding. Indeed, a woman becomes, in the presence of the nuptial fire, the associate of her lord in the performance of all righteous deeds. [According to the Hindu scriptures, marriage is not a contract. It is the union of two individuals of opposite sexes into one person for better performance of all deeds of piety.] Possessed of a good disposition, endued with sweet speech, sweet conduct, and sweet features, and always looking at the face of her husband and deriving as much joy from it as she does from looking at the face of her child, that chaste woman who regulates her acts by observing the prescribed restraints, comes to be regarded as truly righteous in her conduct. Listening (with reverence) to the duties of wedded life (as expounded in the scriptures), and accomplishing all those auspicious, duties, that woman who regards righteousness as the foremost of all objects of pursuit, who observes the same vows as those that are observed by her husband, who adorned with chastity, looks upon her spouse as a god, who waits upon and serves him as if he is a god, who surrenders her own will completely to that of her lord, who is cheerful, who observes excellent vows, who is endued with good features, and whose heart is completely devoted to her husband so much that she never thinks even of any other man, is regarded as truly righteous in conduct. That wife who, even when addressed harshly and looked upon with angry eyes by her lord, presents a cheerful aspect to him, is said to be truly devoted to her husband. She who does not cast her eyes upon the Moon or the Sun or a tree that has a masculine name, who is adored by her husband and who is possessed of beautiful features, is regarded as truly righteous. That woman who treats her husband with the affection which she shows towards her child, even when he (the husband) happens to be poor or diseased or weak or worn out with the toil of travelling, is regarded as truly righteous in her conduct. That woman who is endued with self-control, who has given birth to children, who serves her husband with devotion, and whose whole heart is devoted to him, is regarded as truly righteous in her conduct. That woman who waits upon and serves her lord with a cheerful heart, who is always cheerful of heart, and who is possessed of humility, is regarded as truly righteous in her conduct. That woman who always supports her kinsmen and relatives by giving them food, and whose relish in gratifying her desires or for articles of enjoyment, or for the affluence of which she is possessed, or for the happiness with which she is surrounded, falls short of her relish for her husband, is regarded as truly righteous in her conduct. That woman who always takes a pleasure in rising at early down, who is devoted to the discharge of all household duties, who always keeps her house clean, who rubs her house daily with cowdung, who always attends to the domestic fire (for pouring libations upon it), who never neglects to make offerings of flowers and other articles to the deities, who with her husband gratifies the deities and guests and all servants and dependants of the family with that share of food which is theirs by the ordinances, and who always takes, according to the ordinance, for herself, what food remains in the house after the needs have been met of gods and guests and servants, and who gratifies all people who come in contact with her family and feed them to their fill, succeeds in acquiring great merit. That woman who is endued with accomplishments, who gratifies the feet of her father-in-law and mother-in-law, and who is always devoted to her father and mother, is regarded as possessed of ascetic wealth. That woman who supports with food Brahmanas that are weak and helpless, that are distressed or blind or destitute, comes to be regarded as entitled to share the merit of her husband. That woman who always observes, with a light heart vows that are difficult of observance, whose heart is devoted to her lord, and who always seeks good of her lord, is regarded as entitled to share the merits of her husband. Devotion to her lord is woman's merit; it is her penance; it is her eternal Heaven. Merit, penances, and Heaven become hers who looks upon her husband as her all in all, and who, endued with chastity, seeks to devote herself to her lord in all things. The husband is the god which women have. The husband is their friend, The husband is their high refuge. Women have no refuge that can compare with their husbands, and no god that can compare with him. The husband's grace and Heaven, are equal in the estimation of a woman; or, if unequal, the inequality is very trivial. O Maheswara, I do not desire Heaven itself if thou are not satisfied with me. If the husband that is poor, or diseased or distressed or fallen among foes, or afflicted by a Brahmana's curse, were to command the wife to accomplish anything that is improper or unrighteous or that may lead to destruction of life itself, the wife should, without any hesitation, accomplish it, guided by the code whose propriety is sanctioned by the law of Distress. I have thus, O god, expounded, at thy command, what the duties of women are, Verily, that woman who conducts herself in this way becomes entitled to a share of the merits won by her husband,'

"Narada continued, 'Thus addressed, the great god applauded the daughter of the prince of mountains and then dismissed all persons that had assembled there, together with all his own attendants. The diverse tribes of ghostly beings, as also all the embodied Rivers, and the Gandharvas and Apsaras, all bowed their heads unto Mahadeva and departed for returning to the places whence they had come."

SECTION 147

"The Rishis said, 'O wielder of Pinaka, O tearer of the eyes of Bhaga, O thou that art worshipped by all the universe, we desire to hear the glory of Vasudeva.'

"Maheswara said, 'Hari is superior to the Grandsire himself. He is the Eternal Purusha. Otherwise called Krishna, he is endued with the splendour of gold, and shines with effulgence like a second sun. Possessed of ten arms, he is endued with great energy, and is the slayer of the foes of the gods. Having a whorl on his breast, he has curly locks of hair on his head. He is worshipped by all the deities. Brahman has risen from his abdomen. I have sprung from his head, All the luminaries in the firmament have sprung from his hair. From the bristles on his body have sprung all the gods and Asuras. From his body have sprung the Rishis as also all the eternal worlds. He is the veritable abode of the Grandsire and the abode of all the gods besides. He is the Creator of this whole Earth, and He is the Lord of the three worlds He is also the Destroyer of all creatures mobile and immobile. He is verily the foremost of all the deities. He is their master. He is the chastiser of all foes. He is possessed of omniscience. He exists in everything. He is capable of going everywhere. He is of universal extent (pervading as he does everything). He is the Supreme Soul. He is the urger of all the senses. He covers the universe. He is the Supreme Lord. There is nothing in the three worlds that is superior to him. He is Eternal. He is the slayer of Madhu, and is otherwise called Govinda. The giver of honours, He will cause all the kings of Earth to be slain in battle, for achieving the purposes of the deities, taking birth in a human form. The deities, abandoned by Him, are unable to accomplish their purposes on earth. Without obtaining him as their leader they cannot do anything. He is the leader of all creatures and is adored by all the gods. Within the abdomen of this Master of the gods who is ever devoted to the accomplishment of their purposes, of this one who is identical with Brahma and who is always the refuge of the regenerate Rishis, resides Brahma (the Grandsire). Indeed, the latter dwells happily in Hari's body which is the abode. I myself, that am called Sarva, also reside happily in that happy abode of mine. All the deities too reside in happiness in His body. Endued with great effulgence, he has eyes that resemble the petals of the lotus. Sri dwells within Him and He dwells always associated with her. The bow called Saranga and the discus (called Sudarsana) are his weapons, together with a sword. He has the enemy of the snakes (viz., Garuda) sitting on his standard. He is distinguished by excellent conduct, by purity (of both body and mind), by self-restraint, by prowess, by energy, by the handsomest form, by tallness and well-proportioned limbs, by patience, by sincerity, by affluence, by compassion, by excellence of form, and by might. He shines, endued with all celestial weapons of wonderful form and make. He has Yoga for his illusion. He is possessed of a thousand eyes. He is free from every stain or fault. He is high-minded. He is endued with heroism. He is an object of pride with all his friends. He is dear to all his kinsmen and relatives and they are dear to him. He is endued with forgiveness. He is free from pride or egotism. He is devoted to the Brahmanas and is their leader. He dispels the fears of all persons afflicted with fear. He enhances the joys of all his friends. He is the refuge of all creatures. He is ever engaged in protecting and cherishing the distressed. Possessed of a thorough acquaintance with all the scriptures, and every kind of affluence, He is worshipped by all beings. Con-versant with all duties, He is a great benefactor of even enemies when they seek His protection. Conversant with policy and endued with policy, He is an utterer of Brahma and has all His senses under perfect control. For doing good to the deities, Govinda will take birth in the race of the high-souled Manu. Verily, endued with high intelligence, He will take birth in the auspicious and righteous race of that Prajapati. Manu will have a son of the name of Anga. After Anga will come Antardhaman. From Antardhaman will spring Havirdhaman, that lord of all creatures, free from every stain. Havirdhaman will have an illustrious son of the name of Rachinavarhi. He will have ten sons having Prachetas for their first. Prachetas will have a son named Daksha who will be regarded as a Prajapati. Daksha will beget a daughter who will be named Dakshayani. From Dakshayani will spring Aditya, and from Aditya will spring Manu. From Manu will spring a daughter named Ila and a son to be named Sudyumna. Ila will have Vudha for her husband, and from Vudha will spring Pururavas. From Pururavas will spring Ayu. From Ayu will spring Nahusha, and Nahusha will beget a son named Yayati. From Yayati will spring a mighty son of the name of Yadu, Yadu will beget Kroshtri. Kroshtri will beget a mighty son to be named Vrijinivat. From Vrijinivat will spring Ushadgu the unvanquished. Ushadgu will beget a son of the name of Chitraratha. Chitraratha will have a younger son of the name of Sura. Indeed, in the race of these mighty men, of energy celebrated over all the world, possessed of excellent conduct and diverse accomplishments, devoted to the performance of sacrifices and pure in behaviour,--in the pure race honoured by the Brahmanas, Sura will take his birth. He will be a foremost Kshatriya, endued with great energy, and possessed

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of great fame. Sura, that giver of honours, will beget a son, the spreader of his race, of the name of Vasudeva, otherwise called Anakadundhuvi. Vasudeva will have a son of the name of Vasudeva. He will have four hands. He will be exceedingly liberal, and will honour the Brahmanas greatly. Identical with Brahma, he will like and love the Brahmanas, and the Brahmanas will like and love him, that scion of Yadu's race will liberate many kings immured in the prison of the ruler of the Magadhas, after vanquishing that ruler named Jarasandha in his capital buried among mountains. Endued with great energy, he will be rich with the jewels and gems of all the rulers of the earth. Indeed, in energy he will be unrivalled on earth, possessed of great prowess, he will be the king of all kings of the earth. Foremost among all the Surasenas, the puissant one, residing at Dwaraka, will rule and protect the whole earth after vanquishing all her lords, conversant as he will be with the science of polity. Assembling together, do ye all adore Him, as ye adore the Eternal Brahman, with speech, floral wreaths, and excellent incense and perfumes. He who wishes to see me or the Grandsire Brahma should first see the illustrious Vasudeva of great puissance, If He is seen I am seen, as also the Grandsire Brahman, that foremost of all the gods. In this I do not deem there is any difference. Know this, ye Rishis of ascetic wealth! That person with whom the lotus-eyed Vasudeva becomes gratified, all the deities with Brahma amongst them will also become gratified with. That man who will seek the protection of Kesava will succeed in earning great achievements and victory and Heaven. He will be an instructor in religion and duties, and will earn, great religious merit. All persons conversant with religion and duties should, with great alacrity, bow down unto that Lord of all the gods. By adoring that puissant one, one will acquire great merit. Endued with great energy, that god, with the desire of benefiting all creatures, created millions of Rishis for the sake of righteousness. Those millions of Rishis, thus created by that great Ordainer are no residing on the mountains of Gandhamadana, headed by Sanatkumara and engaged in the observance of penances. Hence, ye foremost of regenerate ones, that foremost of all eloquent persons, the righteous Vasudeva should be adored by all. The illustrious Hari, the puissant Narayana, is verily, the foremost of all beings in Heaven. Adored, he adores, and honoured he honours; unto them that make offerings to him, he makes offerings in return. Worshipped, he worships in return, if seen always, he sees the seers always. If one seeks His refuge and protection, He seeks the seeker as his refuge in return. Ye foremost of all righteous ones, if adored and worshipped, He adores and worships in return. Even this is the high practice of the faultless Vishnu. Even this is the vow that is practised by all righteous people, of that first of all deities, that puissant Lord of all creatures. He is always worshipped in the world. Verily, that Eternal Being is worshipped by even the deities. Those persons that are devoted to Him with the steadiness of a vow become liberated from calamity and fear in proportion to his devotion. The regenerate ones should always worship Him in thought, word, and deed. The son of Devaki should be seen by them with reverence and in order to see Him with reverence they should address themselves to the performance of penances. Ye foremost of ascetics, even this is the path that I show unto you. By beholding Him, ye will have behold all the foremost of deities, I too bow my head in reverence unto that Lord of the universe, that Grandsire of all the worlds, that mighty and vast boar. By beholding Him one beholds the Trinity. Ourselves, i.e., all the deities, reside in Him. He will have an elder brother who will become known over all the world as Vala. Having a plough for his weapon, in form he will look like a white hill. In fact, he will be endued with might capable of uplifting the whole earth. Upon the car of that divine person a tall palmyra, three-headed and made of gold, will form his proud standard. The head of that mighty-armed hero, that Lord of all the worlds, will be shaded by many high-souled snakes of vast bodies. All weapons of attack and defence will also come to him as soon as he will think of them. He is called Ananta (Infinite) Verily, that illustrious one is identical with the immutable Hari. Once on a time the mighty Garuda, the son of Kasyapa, was addressed by the deities in these words, 'Do thou, O puissant one, see if this one has any end!' Though possessed of great energy and might, Garuda, however, failed to find out the end of this illustrious one who is identical with the Supreme Soul. Supporting the whole earth on his head, he resides in the nether regions. He roves through the universe as Sesha, filled with great joy. He is Vishnu, He is the illustrious Ananta. He is the supporter of the earth. He that is Rama is Hrishikesa. He that is Achyuta is Ananta, the bearer of the earth. Both of those foremost of all creatures are celestial and endued with celestial prowess. One of them is armed with the discus and the other with the plough. They deserve every honour and should be seen, I have, through my kindness for you, have thus declared to you the nature of Vasudeva. Even this, ye ascetics possessed of wealth of penances, is Righteousness, I have declared all this to you so that ye may, with reverence and care, worship Krishna, that foremost one of Yadu's race."

SECTION 148

"Narada said, 'At the conclusion of Mahadeva's speech, loud roars were heard in the firmament. Thunders bellowed, with flashes of lightening. The welkin was enveloped with blue and thick clouds. The deity of the clouds then poured pure water like to what he does in the season of rains. A thick darkness set in. The points of the compass could no longer be distinguished. Then on that delightful, sacred, and eternal breast of that celestial mountain, the assembled Rishis no longer saw the multitude of ghostly beings that associate with Mahadeva. Soon, however, the welkin cleared. Some of the Rishis set out for the sacred waters. Others returned whence they came. Verily, beholding that wonderful and inconceivable sight, they became filled with amazement. The discourse too between Sankara and Uma had been heard by them with the feelings. That foremost of all Beings, of whom the high-souled Sankara spoke to us on that mountain, art Thou. Verily, thou art identical with Eternal Brahma. Some time also Mahadeva burnt Himavat with his energy. Thou too hast shown us a similar sight of wonder. Indeed, we have been put in remembrance of that fact by what we have witnessed today. O mighty-armed Janardana, I have thus, O puissant one, recited to thee the glory of that god of gods, viz., him that is called Kapardin or Girisa!'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed by those denizens of ascetic retreats, Krishna, the delighter of Devaki paid due honours unto all those Rishis. Filled with delight, those Rishis once more addressed Krishna, saying, 'O slayer of Madhu, do Thou repeatedly show Thyself to us at all times! O puissant one, Heaven itself cannot rejoice us so much as a right of Thyself Everything that was said by the illustrious Bhava (regarding Thyself) is true. O crusher of foes, we have told Thee all about that mystery. Thou art Thyself conversant with the truth of every topic. Since, however, asked by us, it pleased Thee to ask us in return, we have, for that reason, recited everything (about the discourse of Bhava with Uma) to Thee for only pleasing Thee. There is nothing in the three worlds that is unknown to Thee. Thou art fully conversant with the birth and origin of all things, indeed, with everything that operates as a cause (for the production of other objects). In consequence of the lightness of our character, we are unable to bear (within ourselves the knowledge of) any mystery (without disclosing it). [The sense seems to be this: Thou knowest all things, all mysteries, yet Thou canst bear all this knowledge within Thyself. We, however, are so light-minded, i.e., destitute of gravity, that we are unable to bear within ourselves the knowledge of a mystery. As soon as we got that knowledge from Mahadeva, we felt the desire of letting it out; and, indeed, we have let it out at thy request, and let out unto whom?--unto one that must be secretly laughing at us for our seeming pride.] Indeed, in Thy presence, O puissant one, we indulge in incoherences from the lightness of our hearts. There is no wonderful thing that is unknown to Thee! Whatever is on earth, and whatever is in heaven, all is known to Thee! We take our leave of Thee, O Krishna, for returning to our respective abodes Mayst Thou increase in intelligence and prosperity! O sire, Thou wilt soon get a son like unto Thee or even more distinguished than Thyself. He will be endued with great energy and splendour. He will achieve great feats, and become possessed of puissance as great as Thine!' [It is said that no person wishes to be vanquished by another in respect of anything. The only one whose victory or superiority, however, is bearable or, rather, prayed for, is the son. Hence, the Rishis wish unto Krishna a son even superior to him.]

"Bhishma continued, 'After this, the great Rishis bowed unto that god of gods, that scion of Yadu's race, that foremost of all Beings. They then circumambulated Him and taking His leave, departed. As regards Narayana, who is endued with prosperity and blazing effulgence, He returned to Dwaraka after having duly observed that vow of His. His spouse Rukmini conceived, and on the expiration of the tenth month a son was born of her, possessed of heroism and honoured by all for his highly wonderful accomplishments. He is identical with that Kama (Desire) which exists in every creature and which pervades every existent condition. Indeed, he moves within the hearts of both gods and Asuras. This Krishna is that foremost of all persons. Even he, endued with the hue of the clouds is that four-handed Vasudeva. Through affection He has attached himself to the Pandavas, and you also, ye sons of Pandu, have attached yourselves to Him. Achievements, Prosperity, Intelligence, and the path that leads to heaven, are all there where this one, viz., the illustrious Vishnu of three steps, is. He is the three and thirty gods with Indra at their head. There is no doubt in this. He is the one Ancient God. He is the foremost of all gods. He is the refuge of all creatures. He. is without beginning and without destruction. He is unmanifest. He is the high-souled slayer of Madhu. Endued with mighty energy, He has taken birth (among men) for accomplishing the purpose of the gods. Verily, this Madhava is the expounder of the most difficult truths relating to Profit or Wealth, and he is also their achiever. O son of Pritha, the victory thou hast obtained over thy enemies, thy unrivalled achievements, the dominion thou hast acquired over the whole earth, are all due to thy side having been taken up by Narayana. The fact of thy having got the inconceivable Narayana for thy protector and refuge, enabled thee to become an Adharyu (chief sacrificer) for pouring multitudes of kings as libations on the blazing fire of battle. This Krishna was thy great sacrificial ladle resembling the all-destroying fire that appears at the end of the Yuga. Duryodhana, with his sons, brothers and kinsmen, was much to be pitied inasmuch as, moved by wrath, he made war with Hari and the wielder of Gandiva. Many sons of Diti, many foremost of Danavas, of huge bodies and vast strength, have perished in the fire of Krishna's discus like insects in a forest conflagration. How incapable then must human beings be of battling against that Krishna,--human beings who, O tiger among men, are destitute of strength and might! As regards Jaya, he is a mighty Yogin resembling the all-destroying Yuga-fire in energy. Capable of drawing the bow equally with both hands, he is always in the van of fight. With his energy, O king, he has slain all the troops of Suyodhana. Listen to me as I tell thee what Mahadeva having the bovine bull for the device on his standard had recited unto the ascetics on the breast of the Himavat. His utterances constitute a Purana. The advancement of greatness, energy, strength, prowess, puissance, humility, and lineage that are in Arjuna can come up to only a third part of the measure in which those attributes reside in Krishna. Who is there that can transcend Krishna in these attributes? Whether that is possible or not, listen (and judge). There where the illustrious Krishna is, there is unrivalled Excellence. As regards ourselves, we are persons of little understanding. Dependent upon the will of others, we are exceedingly unfortunate. Knowingly we betook ourselves to the eternal path of death. Thou, however, art devoted to sincerity of conduct. Having formerly pledged thyself against taking thy kingdom, thou didst not take it, desirous of maintaining thy pledge. O king, thou makest too much of the slaughter of thy kinsmen and friends in battle (brought about, as thou believest, by thyself). Thou shouldst remember, however, O chastiser of foes, that it is not right to violate a pledge. All those who have fallen on the field of battle have really been slain by Time. Verily, all of us have been slain by Time. Time is, indeed, all-powerful. Thou art fully conversant with the puissance of Time. Afflicted by Time, it does not behove thee to grieve. Know that Krishna Himself, otherwise called Hari, is that Time with blood-red eyes and with club in hand. For these reasons, O son of Kunti, it does not behove thee to grieve for thy (slain) kinsfolk. Be thou always free, O delighter of the Kurus, from grief. Thou hast heard of the glory and greatness of Madhava as recited by me. That is sufficient for enabling a good man to understand Him. Having heard the words of Vyasa as also of Narada endued with great intelligence, I have discoursed to thee on the adorableness of Krishna. I have myself added; from my own knowledge, something to that discourse. Verily, I have discoursed also on the surpassing puissance of Krishna as recited by Mahadeva, unto that conclave of Rishis (on the breast of the Himavat). The discourse too between Maheswara and the daughter of Himavat, O Bharata, has been recited by me to thee. He who will bear in mind that discourse when emanating from a foremost person, he who will listen to it, and he who will recite it (for other people's hearing), is sure to win what is highly beneficial. That man will find all his wishes fulfilled. Departing from this world he will ascend to Heaven. There is no doubt in this. That man who, desirous of obtaining what is beneficial for himself, should devote himself to Janardana. O king of the Kurus, it behoves thee also to always bear in mind those incidents of duty and righteousness which were declared by Maheswara. if thou conduct thyself according to those precepts, if thou bear the rod of chastisement rightly, if thou protect thy subjects properly, thou mayst be sure of attaining to heaven. It behoves thee, O king, to protect thy subjects always according to the dictates of righteousness. The stout rod of chastisement which the king bears has been said to be the embodiment of his righteousness or merit. Hearing this discourse, fraught with righteousness, between Sankara and Uma, that I have recited in the presence of this righteous conclave, one should worship with reverence that god having the bovine bull for the device on his banner. One that becomes even desirous of listening to that discourse should worship Mahadeva with reverence. Verily, the person that wishes to obtain what is beneficial for him, should adore Mahadeva with a pure heart. Even this is the command of the faultless and high-souled Narada. Even he has commanded such worship of the great god, O son of Pandu, do thou obey that command of Narada. O puissant king, even these are the wonderful incidents that occurred on the sacred breast of the Himavat respecting Vasudeva and Sthanu, O son of Kunti. Those occurrences flowed from the very nature of those high-souled deities. Vasudeva, accompanied by the wielder of Gandiva, practised eternal penances in the retreat of Vadari for ten thousand years. [Vasudeva (The father of the Hindu deities Krishna (also called Vasudeva), Balarama and Subhadra.) is Narayana, and Arjuna is Nara. Nara and Narayana had practised severe penances at Vadari on the breast of the Himavat for many

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thousand years. Vyasa afterwards adopted Vadari as his retreat.] Verily, Vasudeva and Dhananjaya, both of eyes like lotus-petals, underwent severe austerities for the duration of three whole Yugas. I have learnt this from Narada and Vyasa, O king. The lotus-eyed and mighty-armed Vasudeva, while yet a child (in human form) achieved the great feat of slaying Kansa for the relief of his kinsmen. I do not venture, O son of Kunti, to enumerate the feats of this Ancient and Eternal Being, O Yudhishthira. Without doubt, O son, high and great benefits will be reaped by thee who ownest that foremost of all persons, viz., Vasudeva, for thy friend. I grieve for the wicked Duryodhana in respect of even the next world to which he has gone. It was for him that the whole earth has been depopulated with her seeds and elephants. Indeed, through the fault of Duryodhana, of Karna, of Sakuni, and of Duhsasana numbering the fourth, that the Kurus have perished.

"Vaisampayana continued, 'While that foremost of men, viz., the son of Ganga, addressed him in this strain, the Kuru king (Yudhishthira) remained entirely silent in the midst of those high-souled persons (who had assembled together for listening to the discourses of Bhishma). All the kings with Dhritarashtra amongst them became filled with wonder upon hearing the words of the Kuru grandsire. In their minds they worshipped Krishna and then turned towards him with hands joined in reverence. The Rishis also with Narada at their head, accepted and applauded the words of Bhishma and approved of them joyfully. These were the wonderful discourses recited by Bhishma which Pandu's son (Yudhishthira) with all his brothers heard with joy. Some time after, when king (Yudhishthira) saw that Ganga's son who had given away abundant wealth as presents unto the Brahmanas in the sacrifices performed by him, had rested and become refreshed, the intelligent king once more asked him as follows.'"

SECTION 149

"Vaisampayana said, 'Having heard all the duties in their entirety and all those sacred acts and objects that cleanse human beings of their sins. Yudhishthira once more addressed the son of Santanu in the following words.'

"Yudhishthira said, "Who may be said to be the one god in the world? Who may be said to be the one object which is our sole refuge? Who is he by worshipping whom or hymning whose praises human being would get what is beneficial? What religion is that which, according to thy judgement, is the foremost of all religions? What are those Mantras by reciting which a living creature becomes freed from the bonds of birth and life?'

"Bhishma said, 'One should always, with alacrity and throwing away all languor, hymn the praises of that Lord of the universe, that god of gods (viz., Vasudeva), who is Infinite and the foremost of all Beings, by uttering His thousand names. By always worshipping with reverence and devotion that immutable Being, by meditating on him, by hymning His praises and bowing the head unto Him, and by performing sacrifices unto Him, indeed by always praising Vishnu, who is without beginning and without end or destruction, who is the Supreme Lord of all the worlds, and who is the Master and Controller of the universe, one can succeed in transcending all sorrow. Verily, He is devoted to the Brahmanas, conversant with all duties and practices, the enhancer of the fame and achievement of all persons, the master of all the worlds, exceedingly wonderful, and the prime cause of the origin of all creatures. Even this, in my judgement, is the foremost religion of all religions, viz., one should always worship and hymn the praises of the lotus-eyed Vasudeva with devotion. He is the highest Energy. He is the highest Penance. He is the highest Brahma. He is the highest refuge. He is the most holy of all holies, the most auspicious of all auspicious objects. He is the god of all the gods and He is the immutable father of all creatures. On the advent of the primal Yuga, all creatures spring from Him. On the expiration, again of a Yuga, all things disappear in Him. [The Hindu sages never attempt to speculate on the original creation of the universe. Their speculations, however, are concerned with what is called Avantara srishti or that creation which springs forth with the awakening of Brahman. Creation and Destruction have occurred ceaselessly and will occur ceaselessly. The original creation is impossible to conceive as Eternity cannot have a beginning.] Hear, O king, the thousand names, possessed of great efficacy in destroying sins, of that foremost one in all the worlds that Master of the universe, viz., Vishnu. All those names derived from His attributes, secret and well-known, of the high-souled Vasudeva which were sung by Rishis, I shall recite to thee for the good of all. They are, Om! He that enters all things, besides Himself, He that covers all things, He unto whom sacrificial libations are poured, the Lord of the Past, the Present, and the Future, the Creator (or Destroyer) of all existent things, the upholder of all existent things, the Existent, the Soul of all, the Originator of all things (I--IX); of cleansed Soul, the Supreme Soul, the highest Refuge of all emancipated persons, the Immutable, He that lies enclosed in a case, the Witness, He that knows the material case in which He resides, the Indestructible*; He upon whom the mind rests during Yoga-abstraction, the Guide or leader of all persons conversant with Yoga, the Lord of both Pradhana (or Prakriti) and Purusha. [* Putatman means, of cleansed Soul. This implies that though He is the Lord or ruler of all existent objects, yet He is dissociated from them The Refuge of the Emancipated--Comp. Gita, 'Mamupetya tu Kaunteya punarjanma na vidyate,' etc., Purusha is He that lies in a pura or the nine-doored mansion, i.e., the body. Sakshi or Witness implies that He sees all things directly, without any medium obstructing His vision. Kshetrajna implies the Chit lying within the body and who knows the body; however, being inert, is not cognisant of the Chit it holds.] He that assumed a human form with a leonine head, He of handsome features and equipments, He of beautiful hair, the foremost of Purushas [He is called Yoga because of the mind resting upon Him while it is in Yoga abstraction. Pradhana, in Sankhya philosophy, is another name of Prakriti or original Nature. All things have sprung from the union of Prakriti and Purusha. Vasudeva, however, transcends Prakriti and Purusha and is their Lord. Narasinghavapu--He assumed the human form with a lion's head for slaying the Asura Hiranyakasipu, the father of Prahlada.]; the embodiment of all things, the Destroyer of all things, He that transcends the three attributes of Sattwa, Rajas and Tamas, the Motionless, the Beginning of all things, the Receptacle into which all things sink at the universal Dissolution, the Immutable, He who takes birth at his own will, He who causes the acts of all living creatures to fructify (in the form of weal or woe) the Upholder of all things, the Source from which the primal elements have sprung, the Puissant One, He in whom is the unbounded Lordship over all things; the Self-born, He that gives happiness to His worshippers, the presiding Genius (of golden form) in the midst of the Solar disc, the Lotus-eyed, Loud-voiced, He that is without beginning and without end. He that upholds the universe (in the form of Ananta and others), He that ordains all acts and their fruits, He that is superior to the Grandsire Brahma; the Immeasurable, the Lord of the senses (or He that has curled locks), He from whose navel the primeval lotus sprang, the Lord of all the deities, the Artificer of the universe, the Mantra, He that weakens or emaciates all things, He that is vast, the Ancient one, He that is enduring. He that is incapable of being seized (by either the senses or the mind), the Eternal One, Krishna, the Red-eyed, He that kills all creatures at the time of the universal dissolution, He that is vast for knowledge and puissance and other attributes of the kind, He that resides in three parts (above, middle, and below) of every, creature. That which cleanses, is auspicious, and high. He that urges all creatures in respect of all their acts. He that causes the life-breaths to act. He that causes all living creatures to live, the Eldest, the Foremost of all those that are regarded as the Lords of all creatures, He that has gold in his abdomen, He that has the Earth for his abdomen, the Lord of Sri or Lakshmi, the Slayer of Madhu: the Omnipotent, He that is endued with great prowess, He that is armed with the bow, He that is Possessed of a mind capable of bearing the contents of all treatises, He that roves through the universe, riding on Garuda. He that is well suited to the offerings made unto Him and that has the power to enjoy them properly, the Unrivalled, He that is incapable of being discomfited, He that knows all acts that are done, He that is identical with all acts, He that rests on His own true self the Lord of all the deities, He that is the Refuge of all, the embodiment of the highest felicity, He whose seed is the universe, He that is the source of all things, the day (in consequence of His awakening Jiva who is steeped in the sleep of Nescience), the Year, the Snake (owing to His being incapable of being seized), the embodiment of Conviction, He that sees all things: the Unborn, the Lord of all creatures, He that has achieved success, He that is Success itself, He that is the beginning of all things (in consequence of His being the cause of all things), He that is above deterioration, He that is Righteousness in the form of the bovine bull and the great boar that raised the submerged Earth, He that is of immeasurable soul, He that stands aloof from all kinds of union; He that is Pauaka among the deities called Vasus (or, He that dwells in His worshippers). He that is liberal soul, being freed from wrath and hatred and pride and other evil passions. Truth whose soul is equable in consequence of His thorough impartiality, He that has been measured by His worshippers, He that is always equal, being above all change or modification, He that never refuses to grant the wishes of His worshippers, He whose eyes are like the petals of the lotus, He whose acts are always characterised by Righteousness (or He who is always engaged in granting the wishes of those that are devoted to Him), He that is of the form of Righteousness; He that destroys all creatures (or their pains), the Many headed, He that upholds the universe, He that is the source of the universe, He who is of pure or spotless fame, the Immortal One He that is Eternal and Fixed, He that is possessed of beautiful limbs, (or, He the ascension unto whom is the best of all acts), He who has such knowledge having penance for its indication that He is able to agitable Prakriti for evolving the universe out of her; He that goes everywhere (in the sense of pervading all things as their cause), the Omniscient One, He that blazes forth in unmodified effulgence, He whose troops are everywhere (in the form of devoted associates), (or He at whose very sight the Danava troops are scattered in all directions). He that is coveted (or sought) by all (or, He that grinds all His foes), He that is the Veda, He that is conversant with the Veda, He that is conversant with all the limbs (or branches) of the Veda, He that represents the limbs (or branches) of the Veda (i.e., all the subsidiary sciences), He that settles the interpretations of the Vedas, He that has no superior in wisdom; He that is the master of all the worlds, He that is the master of the deities, He that is the Supervisor of both Righteousness and Unrighteousness (for giving the fruits thereof to those that seek the one or the other), He that is both Effect and Cause, (or, He whose life has not been determined by acts achieved on any previous occasion in consequence of His transcending Prakriti). He that is four-souled (in consequence of His four forms of Aniruddha, Pradyumna, Sankarshana and Vasudeva). He that is known by four forms (as above), He that has four horns (which appeared on Him when He had assumed a human form with a lion's head for slaying the Asura chief Hiranya-Kasipu), He that has four arms (for holding the conch, discus, mace, and lotus); He that blazes forth in effulgence, He that is the giver of food and cherishes those that are good; He that does not bear or put up with those that are wicked, (or, He that puts up with the occasional transgressions of his devotees); He that existed before the universe started into life; He that is stainless; He that is ever victorious; He that vanquishes the very deities; He that is the material cause of the universe; He that repeatedly resides in material causes; He that is the younger brother of Indra, (or He that transcends Indra in accomplishments and attributes). He that took birth as a dwarf (from Aditi by her husband Kasyapa in order to beguile the Asura king Vali of the sovereignty of the three worlds, and bestow the same upon Indra who had been dispossessed of it), He that is tall (in allusion to the vast universal form of His which He assumed at the sacrifice of Vali for covering Heaven, Earth, and the Nether regions with three steps of His). He whose acts are never futile, He that cleanses (those that worship Him, those that hear of Him and those that think of Him), He that is endued with pre-eminent energy and strength, He that transcends Indra in all attributes, He that accepts all His worshippers, He that is the Creation itself in consequence of His being the Causes thereof, He that upholds His self in the same form without being ever subject to birth, growth, or death, He that sustains all creatures in their respective functions in the 'universe, He that controls the hearts of all creatures; He that deserves to be known by those who wish to achieve what is for their highest good; He who is the celestial physician in the form of Dhanwantari, (or He who cures that foremost of all diseases, viz., the bonds that bind one to the world); He that is always engaged in Yoga; He that slays great Asuras for establishing Righteousness; He that is the Lord of that Lakshmi who sprang from the ocean when it was churned by the deities and the Asuras, (or, He that cherishes both the goddesses of prosperity and learning); He that is honey (in consequence of the pleasure He gives to those that succeed in having a taste of him); He that transcends the senses (or is invisible to those that turn away from Him); He that is possessed of great powers of illusion (manifested in His beguiling Mahadeva and the deities on many occasions); He that puts forth great energy (in achieving mighty feats); He that transcends all in might; He that transcends all in intelligence; He that transcends all in puissance; He that transcends all in ability; He that discovers the universe by the effulgence emanating from his body; He whose body is incapable of being ascertained by the eye (or any other sense organ of knowledge); He that is possessed of every beauty; He whose soul is incapable of being comprehended by either deities or men; He that held on his back, in the form of the vast tortoise, the huge mountain, Mandara, which was made the churning staff by the deities and the Asuras when they set themselves to churn the great ocean for obtaining therefrom all the valuables hid in its bosom; (or, He who held up the mountains of Govardhana in the woods of Brinda for protecting the denizens of that delightful place, who were especial objects of His kindness, from the wrath of Indra who poured incessant showers for days together with a view to drowning every thing); He that can shoot His shafts to a great distance, piercing through obstruction of every kind; He that raised the submerged Earth, having assumed the form of the mighty Boar; He on whose bosom dwells the goddess of Prosperity; (or He that is identical with Kama, the lord of Rati); He that is the Refuge of those that are righteous; He that is incapable of being won without thorough devotion; (or, He that is incapable of being immured or restrained by any one putting forth his powers); He that is the delight of the deities, or, He that is the embodiment of fullness of joy; He that rescued the submerged Earth; (or He that understands the hymns addressed to him by His devotees); He that is the Master of ell eloquent persons (or He that dispels the calamities of all those who know him); He that is full of blazing effulgence) He that suppressed the afflictions of His

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adorers; (or, He that assumes the form of Yama, the universal Destroyer, for chastising all persons that fall away from their duties); He that assumed the form of a Swan for communicating the Vedas to the Grandsire Brahman; (or, He that enters into the bodies of all persons); He that has Garuda, the prince of the feathery denizens of the welkin, for His vehicle; He that is the foremost of snakes in consequence of His identity with Sesha or Ananta who upholds on his head the vast Earth, (or, He that has the hood of the prince of snakes for His bed while He lies down to sleep on the vast expansion of water after the dissolution of the universe); He whose navel is as beautiful as gold; He that underwent the severest austerities in the form of Narayana at Vadari on the breast of Himavat; He whose navel resembles a lotus; (or, He from whose navel sprang the primeval lotus in which the Grandsire Brahma was born); He that is the Lord of all creatures; He that transcends death; (or, He that wards off Death from those that are devoted to him); He that always casts a kind eye on His worshippers; (or, He that sees all things in the universe); He that destroys all things; (or, He that drenches with nectar all those that worship Him with single-minded devotion); He that is the Ordainer of all ordainers; (or, He that unites all persons with the consequences of their acts); He that himself enjoys and endures the fruits of all acts, (or, He that assumed the form of Rama, the son of Dasaratha, and going into exile at the command of His sire made a treaty with Sugriva the chief of the Apes for aiding him in the recovery of his kingdom from the grasp of his elder brother Vali in return for the assistance which Sugriva promised Him for recovering from Ravana His wife Sita who had been ravished by that Rakshasa and borne away to his island home in Lanka), He that is always of the same form; (or, He that is exceedingly affectionate unto His worshippers); He that is always moving; (or, He that is of the form of Kama who springs up in the heart of every creature); He that is incapable of being endured by Danavas and Asuras (or, He that rescued His wife Sita after slaying Ravana, or, He that shows compassion towards even Chandalas and members of other low castes when they approach Him with devotion, in allusion to His friendship, in the form of Rama, for Guhaka the chief of the Chandalas, inhabiting the country known by the name of Sringaverapura); He that chastises the wicked; (or, He that regulates the conduct of all persons by the dictates of the Srutis and the Smritis); He whose soul has true knowledge for its indication; (or, He that destroyed Ravana, the foe of the gods, having assumed the form of Rama that was full of compassion and other amiable virtues); He that destroys the foes of the deities (or, He that slays those who obstruct or forbid the giving of presents unto deserving persons); He that is the instructor in all sciences and the father of all; He that is the instructor of even the Grandsire Brahma; He that is the abode or resting place of all creatures; He that is the benefactor of those that are good and is free from the stain of falsehood; He whose prowess is incapable of being baffled; He that never casts his eye on such acts as are not sanctioned or approved by the scriptures; He that casts his eye on such acts as are sanctioned or approved by the scriptures; (or, He whose eye never winks or sleeps); He that wears the unfading garland of victory called by the name of Vaijayanti; He that is the Lord of speech and that is possessed of great liberality insomuch that He rescued the lowest of the low and the vilest of the vile by granting them His grace; He that leads persons desirous of Emancipation to the foremost of all conditions, viz., Emancipation itself; (or, He that assumes the form of a mighty Fish and scudding through the vast expanse of waters that cover the Earth when the universal dissolution comes, and dragging the boat tied to His horns, leads Manu and others to safety); He that is the leader of all creatures; (or, He that sports in the vast expanse of waters which overwhelm all things at the universal dissolution); He whose words are the Veda and who rescued the Vedas when they were submerged in the waters at the universal dissolution; He that is the accomplisher of all functions in the universe; He that assumes the form of the wind for making all living creatures act or exert themselves; (or, He whose motions are always beautiful, or, who wishes His creatures to glorify Him); He that is endued with a thousand heads; He that is the Soul of the universe and as such pervades all things; He that has a thousand eyes and a thousand legs; He that causes the wheel of the universe to revolve at His will; He whose soul is freed from desire and who transcends those conditions that invest Jiva and to which Jiva is liable; He that is concealed from the view of all persons that are attached to the world; (or, He that has covered the eyes of all persons with the bandage of nescience); He that grinds those that turn away from him; He that sets the days a-going in consequence of His being identical with the Sun; He that is the destroyer of all-destroying Time itself; He that conveys the libations poured on the sacred fire unto those for whom they are intended; (or, He that bears the universe, placing it on only a minute fraction of His body); He that has no beginning; (or, He that has no fixed habitation) He that upholds the Earth in space (in the form of Sesha, or, rescues her in the form of the mighty boar or supports her as a subtil pervader); He that is exceedingly inclined to grace, insomuch that He grants happiness to even foes like Sisupala; He that has been freed from the attributes of Rajas (passion) and Tamas (darkness) so that He is pure or stainless Sattwa by itself; (or, He that has obtained the fruition of all His wishes); He that supports the universe; He that feeds (or enjoys the universe); He that is displayed in infinite puissance; He that honours the deities, the Pitris, and His own worshippers; He that is honoured or adored by those that are themselves honoured or adored by others; (or, He whose acts are all beautiful and enduring); He that accomplishes the purposes of others; (or, He that is the benefactor of others); He that withdraws all things unto Himself at the universal dissolution; (or, He that destroys the foes of the deities or of His worshippers); He that has the waters for his home; (or, He that is the sole Refuge of all creatures or He that destroys the ignorance of all creatures; He that is distinguished above all, He that cherishes the righteous, He that cleanses all the worlds, He that crowns with fruition the desires of all creatures, He whose wishes are always crowned with fruition, He that gives success to all, He that bestows success upon those that solicit Him for it; He that presides over all sacred days; (or, He that overwhelms Indra himself with His own excellent attributes), He that showers all objects of desire upon His worshippers, He that walks over all the universe, He that offers the excellent flight of steps constituted by Righteousness (unto those that desire to ascend to the highest place); He that has Righteousness in His abdomen; (or, He that protects Indra even as a mother protects the child in her womb); He that aggrandises (His worshippers), He that spreads Himself out for becoming the vast universe, He that is aloof from all things (though pervading them); He that is the receptacle of the ocean of Srutis; He that is possessed of excellent arms (i.e., arms capable of upholding the universe); He that is incapable of being borne by any creature, He from whom flowed the sounds called Brahman (or Veda), He that is the Lord of all Lords of the universe, He that is the giver of wealth, He that dwells in His own puissance, He that is multiform, He that is of vast form, He that resides in the form of Sacrifice in all animals, He that causes all things to be displayed, He that is endued with great might, energy, and splendour; He that displays Himself in visible forms to His worshippers, He that scorches the unrighteous with His burning energy, He that is enriched with the sixfold attributes (of affluence, etc.), He that imparted the Veda to the Grandsire Brahma, He that is of the form of the Samans, Riks, and Yajuses (of the Veda); He that soothes His worshippers burning with the afflictions of the world like the rays of the moon cooling all living creatures of the world, He that is endued with blazing effulgence like the sun; He from whose mind has sprung the moon, He that blazes forth in His own effulgence, He that nourishes all creatures even like the luminary marked by the hare, He that is the Master of the deities, He that is the great medicine for the disease of worldly attachment, He that is the great causeway of the universe, He that is endued with knowledge and other attributes that are never futile and with prowess that is incapable of being baffled; He that is solicited by all creatures at all times, viz., the Past, the Present, and the Future; He that rescues his worshippers by casting kind glances upon them, He that sanctifies even them that are sacred; He that merges the life-breath in the Soul; (or, He that assumes diverse forms for protecting both the Emancipated and the Unemancipated); He that kills the desires of those that are Emancipated; (or, He that prevents evil desires from arising in the minds of His worshippers); He that is the sire of Kama (the principle of desire or lust); He that is most agreeable, He that is desired by all creatures, He that grants the fruition of all desires, He that has the ability to accomplishing all acts; He that sets the four Yugas to begin their course; He that causes the Yugas to continually revolve as on a wheel, He that is endued with the diverse kinds of illusion (and, therefore, the cause from which spring the different kinds of acts that distinguish the different Yugas); He that is the greatest of eaters (in consequence of His swallowing all things at the end of every Kalpa); He that is incapable of being seized (by those that are not His worshippers); He that is manifest (being exceedingly vast); He that subjugates thousands of foes (of the deities); He that subjugates innumerable foes; He that is desired (by even the Grandsire and Rudra, or He that is adored in sacrifices); He that is distinguished above all; He that is desired by those that are endued with wisdom and righteousness; He that has an ornament of (peacock's) feathers on His headgear; He that stupefies all creatures with His illusion; He that showers His grace on all His worshippers; He that kills the wrath of the righteous; He that fills the unrighteous with wrath; He that is the accomplisher of all acts; He who holds the universe on his arms; He that upholds the Earth; He that transcends the six well-known modifications (of inception, birth or appearance growth, maturity, decline, and dissolution); He that is endued with great celebrity (in consequence of His feats); He that causes all living creatures to live (in consequence of His being the all-pervading soul); He that gives life; the younger brother of Vasava (in the form of Upendra or the dwarf); He that is the receptacle of all the waters in the universe; He that covers all creatures (in consequence of His being the material cause of everything); He that is never heedless (being always above error); He that is established on His own glory; He that flows in the form of nectar; (or, He that dries up all things); He upholds the path of righteousness; He that bears the burden of the universe; He that gives desirable boons unto those that solicit them: He that causes the winds to blow; He that is the son of Vasudeva; (or, He that covers the universe with His illusions and sports in the midst of it); He that is endued with extraordinary lustre; He that is the originating cause of the deities; He that pierces all hostile towns; He that transcends all sorrow and grief; He that leads us safely across the ocean of life or the world; He that dispels from the hearts of all His worshippers the fear of rebirth; He that is possessed of infinite courage and prowess; He that is an offspring of Sura's race; He that is the master of all living creatures; He that is inclined to show His grace unto all; He that has come on earth for a hundred times (for rescuing the good, destroying the wicked, and establishing righteousness); He that holds a lotus in one of his hands; He whose eyes resemble the petals of the lotus; He from whose navel sprang the primeval lotus; (or, He that is seated upon a lotus); He that is endued with eyes resembling the petals of the lotus; He that is adored by even worshippers as one seated within the lotus of His hearts; He that assumed the form of embodied Jiva (through His own illusion); He that is endued with puissance of every kind; He that grows in the form of the five primal elements; the Ancient Soul; He that is endued with vast eyes; He that has Garuda sitting on the standard of His car; He that is incomparable; the Sarabha (the lion-killing animal); He that strikes the wicked with terror; He that knows everything that has occurred in Time; He that accepts, in the forms of the deities, the butter poured on the sacrificial fire; He that is known by all kinds of evidence or proof; He upon whose breast sits Prosperity always; He that is victorious in every battle; He that is above destruction; He that assumes a red form; (or, becomes wrathful unto the enemies of His worshippers); He that is an object of search with the righteous; He that is at the root of all things; He that has the mark of the string around his abdomen (for Yasoda had bound Him with a cord while He was Krishna); He that bears or forgives all injuries; He that upholds the Earth in the form of her mountains; He that is the foremost of all objects of worship; He that is endued with great speed; He that swallows vast quantities of food; He that caused the creation to start into life; He that always agitates both Prakriti and Purusha; He that shines with resplendence; (or, sports in joy); He that has puissance in his stomach; He that is the Supreme Master of all; He that is the material out of which the universe has been made; He that is the cause or Agent who has made the universe: He that is independent of all things; He that ordains variety in the universe; He that is incapable of being comprehended; He that renders Himself invisible by the screen of illusion; He that is Chit divested of all attributes; He on whom all things rest; He in whom all things reside when the universal dissolution comes; He that assigns the foremost place to those that worship Him; He that is durable; He that is endued with the highest puissance; He that has been glorified in the Vedanta; He that is contented; He that is always full; He whose glance is auspicious; He that fills all Yogins with delight; He that is the end of all creatures (for it is in Him that all things merge at the universal dissolution); He that is the faultless Path; He that in the form of Jiva, leads to Emancipation; He that leads (Jiva to Emancipation); He that has none to lead Him; He that is endued with great might; He that is the foremost of all beings possessed of might; He that uphold He that is the foremost of all Beings conversant with duty and religion; He that joins, at the time of creation, the disunited elements for forming all objects; He that resides in all bodies; He that causes all creatures to act in the form of Kshetrajna; He that creates all creatures after destroying them at the universal dissolution; He unto whom every one bows with reverence; He that is extended over the entire universe; He that owns the primeval golden egg as his abdomen (whence, as from the female uterus), everything proceeds; He that destroys the foes of the deities; He that overspreads all things (being the material cause whence they spring); He that spreads sweet perfumes; He that disregards the pleasures of the senses; He that is identifiable with the seasons; He at whose sight alone all worshippers succeed in obtaining the great object of their wish; He that weakens all creatures; He that dwells in the firmament of the heart, depending upon His own glory and puissance; He that is capable of being known everywhere (in consequence of His omnipresence); He that inspires everyone with dread; He in whom all creatures dwell; He that is clever in accomplishing all acts; He that constitutes the rest of all creatures (being, as He is, the embodiment of Emancipation); He that is endued with competence greater than that of other Beings; He in whom the whole Universe is spread out? He that is Himself immobile and in whom all things rest for ever; He that is an object of proof; He that is the Indestructible and unchanging seed; He that is sought by all (in consequence of His being happiness); He that has no desire (in consequence of all His desires having been gratified);

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He that is the great cause (which covers the universe): He that has all sorts of things to enjoy; He that has great wealth wherewith to secure all objects of desire; He that is above despair; He that exists in the form of Renunciation; He that is without birth; He that is the stake unto which Righteousness is tethered; He that is the great embodiment of sacrifice; He who is the nave of the starry wheel that revolves in the firmament; 1 He that is the Moon among the constellations; He that is competent to achieve every feat; He that stays in His own soul when all things disappear He that cherishes the desire for Creation; He that is the embodiment of all sacrifices; He that is adored in all sacrifices and religious rites; He that is the most adorable of the deities present in the sacrifices that men perform; He that is the embodiment of all such sacrifices in which animals are offered up according to the ordinance; He that is adored by persons before they take any food; [In India, no man should worship the deities, with a full stomach. Indeed, one must abstain from every kind of food and drink if one has to worship the deities formally.] He that is the Refuge of those that seek emancipation; He that beholds the acts and omissions of all creatures; He whose soul transcends all attributes; He that is possessed of omniscience; He that is identical with knowledge that is unacquired, unlimited, and capable of accomplishing everything; He that is observant of excellent vows (chief amongst which is the granting of favour unto one that solicits it with a pure heart); He that has a face always full of delight; He that is exceedingly subtle; He that utters the most agreeable sounds (in the form of the Veda or as Krishna playing on the lute); He that gives happiness (to all His worshippers); He that does good to others without expecting any return; He that fills all creatures with delight; He that has subdued wrath; He that has mighty arms (so mighty that He has slain as if in sport the mightiest of Asuras); He that tears those that are unrighteous; He that causes those persons who are destitute of knowledge of the soul to be steeped in the deep sleep of His illusion; He that relies on Himself (being entirely independent of all persons and things); He that overspreads the entire universe; He that exists in infinite forms; He that is engaged in vocations infinite in number; He that lives in everything; He that is full of affection towards all His worshippers; He that is the universal father (all living creatures of the universe being as calves sprung from Him); He that holds, in the form of the vast Ocean, all jewels and gems in His abdomen, He that is the Lord of all treasures; He that is the protector of righteousness; He that accomplishes all the duties of righteousness; He that is the substratum of righteousness; He that is existent for all time; He that is non-existent (in the form of the universe, for the manifested universe is the result of illusion); He that is destructible (in the form of the universe); He that is indestructible as Chit; He that is, in the form of Jiva, destitute of true knowledge; He that is, in the form of the Sun, is endued with a thousand rays; He that ordains (even all such great and mighty creatures as Sesha and Garuda, etc.); He that has created all the Sastras; He that exists, in the form of the Sun, as the centre of innumerable rays of light; He that dwells in all creatures; He that is possessed of great prowess; He that is the Master of even Yama and others of similar puissance; He that is the oldest of the deities (existing as He does from the beginning); He that exists in His own glory, casting off all conditions; He that is the Lord of even all the deities; He that is the ruler of even him that upholds the deities (viz., Indra); He that transcends birth and destruction; He that tended and protected kine (in the form of Krishna); He that nourishes all creatures; He that is approachable by knowledge alone; He that is Ancient; He that upholds the elements which constitute the body; He that enjoys and endures (weal and woe, in the form of Jiva); He that assumed the form of a vast Boar; (or, He that, in the form of Rama, was the Lord of a large monkey host); He that gave plentiful presents unto all in a grand sacrifice performed by Him; He that drinks Soma in every sacrifice; He that drinks nectar; He that, in the form of Soma (Chandramas), nourishes all the herbs and plants; He that conquers foes in a trice when even they are infinite in number; He that is of universal form and is the foremost of all existent entities; He that is the chastiser; He that is victorious over all; He whose purposes are incapable of being baffled; He that deserves gifts; He that gives what His creatures have not and who protects what they have; He that holds the life-breaths; He that beholds all His creatures as objects of direct vision; He that never beholds anything beside His own Self; He that gives emancipation; He whose footsteps (three in number) covered Heaven, Earth, and the Nether regions; He who is the receptacle of all the water; He that overwhelms all Space, all Time, and all things; He that lies on the vast expanse of waters after the universal dissolution; He that causes the destruction of all things; He that is without birth; He that is exceedingly adorable; He that appears in His own nature; He that has conquered all foes (in the form of wrath and other evil passions); He that delights those that meditate on Him; He that is joy; He that fills others with delight; He that swells with all causes of delight; He that has truth and other virtues for His indications; He whose foot steps are in the three worlds; He that is the first of the Rishis (being conversant with the entire Vedas); He that is identical with the preceptor Kapila; He that is the knower of the Universe; He that is Master of the Earth; He that has their feet; He that is the guardian of the deities; He that has large horns (in allusion to the piscatory form in which He saved Manu on the occasion of the universal deluge by scudding through the waters with Manu's boat tied to His horns); He that exhausts all acts by causing their doers to enjoy or endure their fruits; (or, He that grinds the Destroyer himself); the great Boar: He that is understood or apprehended by the aid of the Vedanta; He that has beautiful troops (in the form of His worshippers); He that is adorned with golden armlets; He that is concealed (being knowledge with the aid of the Upanishads only); He that is deep (in knowledge and puissance); He that is difficult of access; He that transcends both word and thought, that is armed with the discus and the mace; the Ordainer; He that is the cause (in the form of helper of the universe); He that has never been vanquished; He that is the Island-born Krishna; He that is enduring (in consequence of His transcending decay): He that mows all things and is Himself above deterioration; the Varuna (the deity of the waters); the son of Varuna (in the form of Vasishtha or Agastya); He that is immovable as a tree; He that is displayed in His own true form in the lotus of the heart; He that creates, preserves, and destroys by only a fiat of the mind; He that is possessed of the sixfold attributes (of sovereignty etc.); He that destroys the sixfold attributes (at the universal dissolution); He that is felicity (in consequence of His swelling with all kinds of prosperity); He that is adorned with the triumphal garland (called Vaijayanta); He that is armed with the plough (in allusion to His incarnation as Valadeva); He that took birth from the womb of Aditi (in the form of the dwarf that beguiled Vali); He that is endued with effulgence like unto the Sun's; He that endures all pairs of opposites (such as heat and cold, pleasure and pain, etc.); He that is the foremost Refuge of all things; He that is armed with the best of bows (called Saranga); He that was divested of His battle-axe (by Rama of Bhrigu's race); He that is fierce; He that is the giver of all objects of desire; He that is so tall as to touch the very heavens with his head (in allusion to the form He assumed at Valis sacrifice); He whose vision extends over the entire universe; He that is Vyasa (who distributed the Vedas); He that is the Master of speech or all learning; He that has started into existence without the intervention of genital organs; He that is hymned with the three (foremost) Samans; He that is the singer of the Samans; He that is the Extinction of all worldly attachments (in consequence of His being the embodiment of Renunciation); He that is the Medicine; He that is the Physician (who applies the medicine); He that has ordained the fourth or last mode of life called renunciation (for enabling His creatures to attain to emancipation); He that causes the passions of His worshippers to be quieted (with a view to give them tranquillity of soul); He that is contented (in consequence of His utter dissociation with all worldly objects); He that is the Refuge of devotion and tranquillity of Soul; He that is possessed of beautiful limbs; He that is the giver of tranquillity of soul; He that is Creator; He that sports in joy on the bosom of the earth; He that sleeps (in Yoga) lying on the body of the prince of snakes, Sesha, after the universal dissolution; the Benefactor of kine; (or, He that took a human form for relieving the earth of the weight of her population); the Master of the universe; the Protector of the universe; He that is endued with eyes like those of the bull; He that cherishes Righteousness with love: He that is the unreturning hero; He whose soul has been withdrawn from all attachments; He that reduces to a subtle form the universe at the time of the universal dissolution; He that does good to His afflicted worshippers; He whose name, as soon as heard, cleanses the hearer of all his sins; He who has the auspicious whorl on His breast; He in whom dwells the goddess of Prosperity for ever; He who was chosen by Lakshmi (the goddess of Prosperity) as her Lord; He that is the foremost one of all Beings endued with prosperity; He that give prosperity unto His worshippers; the Master of prosperity; He that always lives with those that are endued with prosperity; He that is the receptacle of all kinds of prosperity; He that gives prosperity unto all persons of righteous acts according to the measure of their righteousness; He that holds the goddess of Prosperity on his bosom; He that bestows prosperity upon those that hear of, praise, and mediate on Him; He that is the embodiment of that condition which represents the attainment of unattainable happiness; He that is possessed of every kind of beauty; He that is the Refuge of the three worlds; He that is possessed of beautiful eye; He that is possessed of beautiful limbs; He that is possessed of a hundred sources of delight; He that represents the highest delight; He that is the Master of all the luminaries in the firmament (for it is He that maintains them in their places and orbits); He that has subjugated His soul; He whose soul is not swayed by any superior Being; He that is always of beautiful acts; He whose doubts have all been dispelled (for He is said to behold the whole universe as an Amlaka in His palm); He that transcends all creatures; He whose vision extends in all directions: He that has no Master; He that at all times transcends all changes; He that (in the form of Rama) had to lie down on that bare ground; He that adorns the earth (by His incarnations); He that is puissance's self; He that transcends all grief; He that dispels the griefs of all His worshippers as soon as they remember His; He that is possessed of effulgence, He that is worshipped by all; He that is the water-pot (as all things reside within Him); He that is of pure soul; He that cleanses all as soon as they hear of him; He that is free and unrestrained; He whose car never turns away from battles; He that is possessed of great wealth; He whose prowess is incapable of being measured; He that is the slayer of the Asura named Kalanemi; He that is the Hero; He that has taken birth in the race of Sura; He that is the Lord of all the deities; the soul of the three worlds; the Master of the three worlds; He that has the solar and lunar rays for his hair; the slayer of Kesi; He that destroys all things (at the universal dissolution); the Deity from whom the fruition of all desires is sought; He that grants the wishes of all; He that has desires; He that has a handsome form; He that is endued with thorough knowledge of Srutis and Smritis; He that is possessed of a form that is indescribable by attributes; He whose brightest rays overwhelm heaven; He that has no end; He that (in the form of Arjuna or Nara) acquired vast wealth on the occasion of his campaign of conquest; He who is the foremost object of silent recitation, of sacrifice, of the Vedas, and of all religious acts; He that is the creator of penances and the like; He that is the form of (the grandsire) Brahman, He that is the augmentor of penances; He that is conversant with Brahma; He that is of the form of Brahmana; He that has for His limbs Him that is called Brahma; He that knows all the Vedas and everything in the universe; He that is always fond of Brahmanas and of whom the Brahmanas also are fond; He whose footsteps cover vast areas; He whose feats are mighty; He who is possessed of vast energy; He that is identical with Vasuki, the king of the snakes; He that is the foremost of all sacrifices; He that is Japa, that first of sacrifices; He that is the foremost of all offerings made in sacrifices; He that is hymned by all; He that loves to be hymned (by his worshippers); He that is himself the hymns uttered by His worshippers; He that is the very act of hymning; He that is the person that hymns; He that is fond of battling (with everything that is evil); He that is full in every respect; He that fills others with every kind of affluence; He that destroys all sins as soon as He is remembered; He whose acts are all righteous; He that transcends all kinds of disease; He that is endued with the speed of the mind; He that is the creator and promulgator of all kinds of learning; He whose vital seed is gold; He that is giver of wealth (being identical with Kuvera the Lord of treasures); He that takes away all the wealth of the Asuras; the son of Vasudeva; He in whom all creatures dwell; He whose mind dwells in all things in thorough identity with them; He that takes away the sins of all who seek refuge in him; He that is attainable by the righteous; He whose acts are always good; He that is the one entity in the universe; He that displays Himself in diverse forms; He that is the refuge of all those that are conversant with truth; He who has the greatest of heroes for his troops; He that is the foremost of the Yadavas; He that is the abode of the righteous He that sports in joy (in the woods of Brinda) on the banks of Yamuna; He in whom all created things dwell; the deity that overwhelms the universe with His Maya (illusion); He in whom all foremost of Beings become merged (when they achieve their emancipation) He whose hunger is never gratified; He that humbles the pride of all; He that fills the righteous with just pride; He that swells with joy; He that is incapable of being seized; He that has never been vanquished; He that is of universal form; He that is of vast form; He whose form blazes forth with energy and effulgence; He that is without form (as determined by acts); He that is of diverse forms; (He that is unmanifest); He that is of a hundred forms; He that is of a hundred faces; He that is one; He that is many (through illusion); He that is full of felicity; He that forms the one grand topic of investigation; He from whom is this all; He that is called THAT; He that is the highest Refuge; He that confines Jiva within material causes; He that is coveted by all; He that took birth in the race of Madhu; He that is exceedingly affectionate towards His worshippers; He that is of golden complexion; He whose limbs are like gold (in hue); He that is possessed of beautiful limbs; He whose person is decked with Angadas made with sandal-paste; He that is the slayer of heroes; He that has no equal; He that is like cipher (in consequence of no attributes being affirmable of Him); He that stands in need of no blessings (in consequence of His fulness); He that never swerves from His own nature and puissance and knowledge; He that is mobile in the form of wind; He that never identifies Himself with anything that is not-soul; He that confers honours on His worshippers; He that is honoured by all; He that is the Lord of the three worlds; He that upholds the three worlds; He that is possessed of intelligence and memory capable of holding in His mind the contents of all treatises; He that took birth in a sacrifice; He that is worthy of the highest praise; He whose intelligence and memory are never futile; He that upholds the earth; He that pours forth heat in the form of the Sun; He that is the bearer of great beauty of limbs; He that is the foremost of all bearers of weapons; He that accepts the flowery and

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leafy offerings made to Him by His worshippers; He that has subdued all his passions and grinds all His foes; He that has none to walk before Him; He that has four horns; He that is the elder brother of Gada; He that has four arms; He from whom the four Purushas have sprung; He that is the refuge of the four modes of life and the four orders of men; He that is of four souls (Mind, Understanding, Consciousness, and Memory); He from whom spring the four objects of life, viz., Righteousness, Wealth, Pleasure, and Emancipation; He that is conversant with the four Vedas; He that has displayed only a fraction of His puissance; He that sets the wheel of the world to revolve round and round; He whose soul is dissociated from all worldly attachments; He that is incapable of being vanquished; He that cannot be transcended; He that is exceedingly difficult of being attained; He that is difficult of being approached; He that is difficult of access; He that is difficult of being brought within the heart (by even Yogins); He that slays even the most powerful foes (among the Danavas); He that has beautiful limbs; He that takes the essence of all things in the universe; He that owns the most beautiful warp and woof (for weaving this texture of fabric of the universe); He that weaves with ever-extending warp and woof; He whose acts are done by Indra; He whose acts are great; He who has no acts undone; He who has composed all the Vedas and scriptures; He whose birth is high; He that is exceedingly handsome; He whose heart is full of commiseration; He that has precious gems in His navel; He that has excellent knowledge for His eye; He that is worthy of worship by Brahman himself and other foremost ones in the universe; He that is giver of food; He that assumed horns at the time of the universal dissolution; He that has always subjugated His foes most wonderfully; He that knows all things; He that is ever victorious over those that are of irresistible prowess; He whose limbs are like gold; He that is incapable of being agitated (by wrath or aversion or other passion); He that is Master of all those who are masters of all speech; He that is the deepest lake; He that is the deepest pit; He that transcends the influence of Time; He in whom the primal elements are established; He that gladdens the earth; He that grants fruits which are as agreeable as the Kunda flowers (Jasmim pubescens, Linn); He that gave away the earth unto Kasyapa (in His incarnation as Rama); He that extinguishes the three kinds of misery (mentioned in the Sankhya philosophy) like a rain-charged cloud cooling the heat of the earth by its downpour; He that cleanses all creatures; He that has none to urge Him; He that drank nectar; He that has an undying body; He that is possessed of omniscience; He that has face and eyes turned towards every direction; He that is easily won (with, that is, such gifts as consist of flowers and leaves); He that has performed excellent vows; He that is crowned with success by Himself; He that is victorious over all foes; He that scorches all foes; He that is the ever-growing and tall Banian that overtops all other trees; He that is the sacred fig tree (Ficus glomerata, Willd); He that is the Ficus religiosa; (or, He that is not durable, in consequence of His being all perishable forms in the universe even as he is all the imperishable forms that exist); He that is the slayer of Chanura of the Andhra country; He that is endued with a thousand rays; He that has seven tongues (in the forms of Kali, Karali, etc.); He that has seven flames (in consequence of His being identical with the deity of fire); He that has seven horses for bearing His vehicle; (or, He that owns the steed called Sapta); He that is formless; He that is sinless: He that is inconceivable; He that dispels all fears; He that destroys all fears; He that is minute; He that is gross; He that is emaciated; He that is adipose; He that is endued with attributes; He that transcends all attributes; He that is unseizable; He that suffers Himself to be easily seized (by His worshippers); He that has an excellent face; He that has for His descendants the people of the accidental regions; He that extends the creation consisting of the fivefold primal elements; He that bears heavy weights (in the form of Ananta); He that has been declared by the Vedas; He that is devoted to Yoga; He that is the lord of all Yogins; He that is the giver of all wishes; He that affords an asylum to those that seek it; He that sets Yogins to practise Yoga anew after their return to life upon the conclusion of their life of felicity in heaven; He that invests Yogins with puissance even after the exhaustion of their merits; He that has goodly leaves (in the form of the Schhandas of the Vedas, Himself being the tree of the world); He that causes the winds to blow; He that is armed with the bow (in the form of Rama); He that is conversant with the science of arms; He that is the rod of chastisement; He that is chastiser; He that executes all sentences of chastisement; He that has never been vanquished; He that is competent in all acts; He that sets all persons to their respective duties; He that has none to set Him to any work; He that has no Yama to slay Him; He that is endued with heroism and prowess; He that has the attribute of Sattwa (Goodness); He that is identical with Truth; He that is devoted to Truth and Righteousness; He that is sought by those who are resolved to achieve emancipation; (or, He towards whom the universe proceeds when the dissolution comes); He that deserves to have all objects which His worshippers present unto Him; He that is worthy of being adored (with hymns and flowers and other offering of reverence); He that does good to all; He that enhances the delights of all; He whose track is through the firmament; He that blazes forth in His own effulgence; He that is endued with great beauty; He that eats the offerings made on the sacrificial fire; He that dwells everywhere and is endued with supreme puissance; He that sucks the moisture of the earth in the form of the Sun; He that has diverse desires; He that brings forth all things; He that is the parent of the universe; He that has the Sun for His eye; He that is Infinite; He that accepts all sacrificial offerings; He that enjoys Prakriti in the form of Mind; He that is giver of felicity; He that has taken repeated births (for the protection of righteousness and the righteous); He that is First-born of all existent things; He that transcends despair (in consequence of the fruition of all His wishes); He that forgives the righteous when they trip; He that is the foundation upon which the universe rests; He that is most wonderful; He that is existent from the beginning of Time; He that has been existing from before the birth of the Grandsire and others; He that is of a tawny hue; (or, He that discovers or illumines all existent things by His rays); He that assumed the form of the great Boar; He that exists even when all things are dissolved; He that is the giver of all blessings; He that creates blessings; He that is identifiable with all blessings; He that enjoys blessings; He that is able to scatter blessings; He that is without wrath; He that lies ensconced in folds (in the form of the snake Sesha); (or, He that is adorned with ear-rings); He that is armed with the discus; He that is endued with great prowess; He whose sway is regulated by the high precepts of the Srutis and the Smritis; He that is incapable of being described by the aid of speech; He whom the Vedantas have striven to express with the aid of speech; He that is the dew which cools those who are afflicted with the three kinds of grief; He that lives in all bodies, endued with the capacity of dispelling darkness; He that is divested of wrath; He that is well-skilled in accomplishing all acts by thought, word, and deed; He that can accomplish all acts within the shortest period of time; He that destroys the wicked; He that is the foremost of all forgiving persons; He that is foremost of all persons endued with knowledge; He that transcends all fear; He whose names and feats, heard and recited, lead to Righteousness, He that rescues the Righteous from the tempestuous ocean of the world; He that destroys the wicked; He that is Righteousness; He that dispels all evil dreams; He that destroys all bad paths for leading His worshippers to the good path of emancipation; He that protects the universe by staying in the attribute of Sattwa; He that walks along the good path; He that is Life; He that exists overspreading the universe; He that is of infinite forms; He that is endued with infinite prosperity; He that has subdued wrath; He that destroys the fears of the righteous; He that gives just fruits, on every side, to sentient beings according to their thoughts and acts; He that is immeasurable Soul; He that bestows diverse kinds of fruits on deserving persons for their diverse acts; He that sets diverse commands (on gods and men); He that attaches to every act its proper fruit; He that has no beginning; He that is the receptacle of all causes as well as of the earth; He that has the goddess of Prosperity ever by his side; He that is the foremost of all heroes; He that is adorned with beautiful armlets; He that produces all creatures; He that is the original cause of the birth of all creatures; He that is the terror of all the wicked Asuras; He that is endued with terrible prowess; He that is the receptacle and abode of the five primal elements; He that gulps down His throat all creatures at the time of the universal dissolution; He whose smile is as agreeable as the sight of flowers; (or, He who laughs in the form of flowers); He that is always wakeful; He that stays at the head of all creatures; He whose conduct consists of those acts which the Righteous do; He that revives the dead (as in the case of Parikshit and others); He that is the initial syllable Om; He that has ordained all righteous acts; He that displays the truth about the Supreme Soul; He that is the abode of the five life-breaths and the senses; He that is the food which supports the life of living creatures; He that causes all living creatures to live with the aid of the life-breath called Prana; He that is the great topic of every system of philosophy; He that is the One Soul in the universe; He that transcends birth, decrepitude, and death; He that rescues the universe in consequence of the sacred syllable Bhuh, Bhuvah, Swah, and the others with which Homa offerings are made; He that is the great rescuer; He that is the sire of all; He that is the sire of even the Grandsire (Brahman); He that is of the form of Sacrifice; He that is the Lord of all sacrifices (being the great deity that is adored in them); He that is the sacrificer; He that has sacrifices for his limbs; He that upholds all sacrifices; He that protects sacrifices; He that has created sacrifices; He that is the foremost of all performers of sacrifices; He that enjoys the rewards of all sacrifices; He that causes the accomplishment of all sacrifices; He that completes all sacrifices by accepting the full libation at the end; He that is identical with such sacrifices as are performed without desire of fruit; He that is the food which sustains all living creatures; He that is also the eater of that food; He that is Himself the cause of His existence; He that is self-born; He that penetrated through the solid earth (and repairing to the nether regions slew Hiranyaksha and others); He that sings the Samans; He that is the delighter of Devaki; He that is the creator of all; He that is the Lord of the earth; He that is the destroyer of the sins of his worshippers; He that bears the conch (Panchajanya) in His hands; He that bears the sword of knowledge and illusion; He that sets the cycle of the Yugas to revolve ceaselessly; He that invests Himself with consciousness and senses; He that is endued with the mace of the most solid understanding. He that is armed with a car-wheel; He that is incapable of being agitated; He that is armed with all kinds of weapons. Om, salutations to Him!

'Even thus have I recited to thee, without any exception, the thousand excellent names of the high-souled Kesava whose glory should always be sung That man who hears the names every day or who recites them every day, never meets with any evil either here or hereafter. If a Brahmana does this he succeeds in mastering the Vedanta; if a Kshatriya does it, he becomes always successful in battle. A Vaisya, by doing it, becomes possessed of affluence, while a Sudra earns great happiness. If one becomes desirous of earning the merit of righteousness, one succeeds in earning it (by hearing or reciting these names). If it is wealth that one desires, one succeeds in earning wealth (by acting in this way). So also the man who wishes for enjoyments of the senses succeeds in enjoying all kinds of pleasures, and the man desirous of offspring acquires offspring (by pursuing this course of conduct). That man who with devotion and perseverance and heart wholly turned towards him, recites these thousand names of Vasudeva every day, after having purified himself, succeeds in acquiring great fame, a position of eminence among his kinsmen, enduring prosperity, and lastly, that which is of the highest benefit to him (viz., emancipation itself). Such a man never meets with fear at any time, and acquires great prowess and energy. Disease never afflicts him; splendour of complexion, strength, beauty, and accomplishments become his. The sick become hale, the afflicted become freed from their afflictions; the affrighted become freed from fear, and he that is plunged in calamity becomes freed from calamity. The man who hymns the praises of that foremost of Beings by reciting His thousand names with devotion succeeds in quickly crossing all difficulties. That mortal who takes refuge in Vasudeva and who becomes devoted to Him, becomes freed of all sins and attains to eternal Brahma. They who are devoted to Vasudeva have never to encounter any evil. They become freed from the fear of birth, death, decrepitude, and disease. That man who with devotion and faith recites this hymn (consisting of the thousand names of Vasudeva) succeeds in acquiring felicity of soul, forgiveness of disposition, Prosperity, intelligence, memory, and fame. Neither wrath, nor jealousy, nor cupidity, nor evil understanding ever appears in those men of righteousness who are devoted to that foremost of beings. The firmament with the sun, moon and stars, the welkin, the points of the compass, the earth and the ocean, are all held and supported by the prowess of the high-souled Vasudeva. The whole mobile and immobile universe with the deities, Asuras, and Gandharvas, Yakshas, Uragas and Rakshasas, is under the sway of Krishna. The senses, mind, understanding, life, energy, strength and memory, it has been said, have Vasudeva for their soul. Indeed, this body that is called Kshetra, and the intelligent soul within, that is called the knower of Kshetra, also have Vasudeva for their soul. Conduct (consisting of practices) is said to be the foremost of all topics treated of in the scriptures. Righteousness has conduct for its basis. The unfading Vasudeva is said to be the lord of righteousness. The Rishis, the Pitris, the deities, the great (primal) elements, the metals, indeed, the entire mobile and immobile universe, has sprung from Narayana. Yoga, the Sankhya Philosophy, knowledge, all mechanical arts, the Vedas, the diverse scriptures, and all learning, have sprung from Janardana. Vishnu is the one great element or substance which has spread itself out into multifarious forms. Covering the three worlds, He the soul of all things, enjoys them all. His glory knows no diminution, and He it is that is the Enjoyer of the universe (as its Supreme Lord). This hymn in praise of the illustrious Vishnu composed by Vyasa, should be recited by that person who wishes to acquire happiness and that which is the highest benefit (viz., emancipation). Those persons that worship and adore the Lord of the universe, that deity who is inborn and possessed of blazing effulgence, who is the origin or cause of the universe, who knows on deterioration, and who is endued with eyes that are as large and beautiful as the petals of the lotus, have never to meet with any discomfiture.'"

SECTION 150

"Yudhishthira said, 'O grandsire, O thou of great wisdom, O thou that art conversant with all branches of knowledge, what is that subject of silent recitation by reciting which every day one may acquire the merit of righteousness in a large measure? What is that Mantra for recitation which bestows

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success if recited on the occasion of setting out on a journey or in entering a new building, or at the commencement of any undertaking, or on the occasion of sacrifices in honour of the deities or of the Pitris? It behoveth thee to tell me what indeed, what Mantra it is, which propitiates all malevolent influences, or leads to prosperity or growth, or protection from evil, or the destruction of foes, or the dispelling of fears, and which, at the same time, is consistent with the Vedas.'

"Bhishma said, 'Hear, O king, with concentrated, attention, what that Mantra is which was declared by Vyasa. It was ordained by Savitri and is possessed of great excellence. It is capable of cleansing a person immediately of all his sins. Hear, O sinless one, as I recite to thee the ordinances in respect of that Mantra. Indeed, O chief of the sons of Pandu, by listening to those ordinances, one becomes cleansed of all one's sins. One who recites this Mantra day and night becomes never stained by sin. I shall now declare it to thee what that Mantra is. Do thou listen with concentrated attention. Indeed, the man that hears it becomes endued with long life, O prince, and attaining to the fruition of all his wishes, sports in felicity both here and hereafter. This Mantra, O king, was daily recited by the foremost of royal sages devoted to the practice to Kshatriya duties and steadily observant of the vow of truth. Indeed, O tiger among kings, those monarchs who, with restrained senses and tranquil soul, recite this Mantra every day, succeed in acquiring unrivalled prosperity--Salutations to Vasishtha of high vows after having bowed with reverence unto Parasara, that Ocean of the Vedas! Salutations to the great snake Ananta, and salutations to all those who are crowned with success, and who are of unfading glory! Salutations to the Rishis, and unto Him that is the Highest of the High, the god of gods, and the giver of boons unto all those that are foremost. Salutations unto Him of a thousand heads, Him that is most auspicious, Him that has a thousand names, viz., Janardana! Aja. Ekapada, Ahivradhna, the unvanquished Pinakin, Rita Pitrirupa, the three-eyed Maheswara, Vrishakapi, Sambhu, Havana, and Iswara--these are the celebrated Rudras, eleven in number, who are the lords of all the worlds. Even these eleven high-souled ones have been mentioned as a hundred in the Satarudra (of the Vedas). Ansa, Bhaga, Mitra, Varuna the lord of waters, Dhatri, Aryaman, Jayanta, Bhaskara, Tvashtri, Pushan, Indra and Vishnu, are said to comprise a tale of twelve. These twelve are called Adityas and they are the sons of Kasyapa as the Sruti declares. Dhara, Dhruva, Some, Savitra. Anila, Anala, Pratyusha, and Prabhava, are the eight Vasus named in the scriptures, Nasataya and Dasra are said to be the two Aswins. They are the sons of Martanda born of his spouse Samjna, from whose nostrils they came out. After this I shall recite the names of those who are the witnesses of all acts in the worlds. They take note of all sacrifices, of all gifts, of all good acts. Those lords among the deities behold everything although they are invisible. Indeed, they behold all the good and bad acts of all beings. They are Mrityu, Kala, the Viswedevas, the Pitris endued with forms, the great Rishis possessed of wealth of penances, the Munis, and others crowned with success and devoted to penances and emancipation. These of sweet smiles, bestow diverse benefits upon those men that recite their names. Verily, endued with celestial energy, they bestow diverse regions of felicity created by the Grandsire upon such men. They reside in all the worlds and attentively note all acts. By reciting the names of those lords of all living creatures, one always becomes endued with righteousness and wealth and enjoyments in copious measure. One acquires hereafter diverse regions of auspiciousness and felicity created by the Lord of the universe. These three and thirty deities, who are the lords of all beings as also Nandiswara of huge body, and that pre-eminent one who has the bull for the device on his banner, and those masters of all the worlds, viz., the followers and associates of him called Ganeswara, and those called Saumyas, and called the Rudras, and those called the Yogas, and those that are known as the Bhutas, and the luminaries in the firmament, the Rivers, the sky, the prince of birds (viz., Garuda), all those persons on earth who have become crowned with success in consequence of their penances and who are existing in an immobile or mobile form, the Himavat, all the mountains, the four Oceans, the followers and associates of Bhava who are possessed of prowess equal to that of Bhava himself, the illustrious and ever-victorious Vishnu, and Skanda, and Ambika,--these are the great souls by reciting whose name with restrained senses, one becomes cleansed of all sins. After this I shall recite the names of those foremost Rishis who are known as Manavas. They are Yavakrita, and Raibhya, and Arvavasu, and Paravasu, and Aushija, and Kakshivat, and Vala the son of Angiras. Then comes Kanwa the son of the Rishi Medhatithi, and Varishada. All these are endued with the energy of Brahma and have been spoken of (in the scriptures) as creators of the universe. They have sprung from Rudra and Anala and the Vasus. By reciting their names people obtain great benefits. Indeed, by doing good deeds on earth, people sport in joy in heaven, with the deities. These Rishis are the priests of Indra. They live in the east. That man who, with rapt attention, recites the names of these Rishis, succeeds in ascending to the regions of Indra and obtaining great honours there. Unmachu, Pramchu, Swastyatreya of great energy, Dridhavya, Urdhvavahu, Trinasoma, Angiras, and Agastya of great energy, the son of Mitravaruna,--these seven are the Ritwiks of Yama the king of the dead, and dwell in the southern quarter. Dridheyu and Riteyu, and Pariyadha of great fame, and Ekata, and Dwita, and Trita--the last three endued with splendour like that of the sun,--and Atri's son of righteous soul, viz., the Rishi Saraswata,--these seven who had acted as Ritwiks in the great sacrifice of Varuna--have taken up their abodes in the western quarter. Atri, the illustrious Vasishtha, the great Rishi Kasyapa, Gotama, Bharadwaja, Viswamitra, the son of Kusika, and Richika's fierce son Jamadagni of great energy,--these seven are the Ritwiks of the Lord of treasures and dwell in the northern quarter. There are seven other Rishis that live in all directions without being confined to any particular one. They, it is, who are the inducers of fame and of all this beneficial to men, and they have been sung as the creators of the worlds. Dharma, Kama, Kala, Vasu, Vasuki, Ananta, and Kapila,--these seven are the upholders of the world. Rama, Vyasa, Drona's son Aswatthaman, are the other Rishis (that are regarded as the foremost). These are the great Rishis as distributed into seven groups, each group consisting of seven. They are the creators of that peace and good that men enjoy. They are said to be the Regents of the several points of the compass. One should turn one's face to that direction in which one of these Rishis live if one wishes to worship him. Those Rishis are the creators of all creatures and have been regarded as the cleansers of all. Samvarta, Merusavarna, the righteous Markandeya, and Sankhya and Yoga, and Narada and the great Rishi Durvasa,--these are endued with severe penance and great self-restraint, and are celebrated over the three worlds. There are others who are equal to Rudra himself. They live in the region of Brahman. By naming them with reverence a sonless man obtains a son, and a pool man obtains wealth. Indeed, by naming them, one acquires success in religion, and wealth and pleasure. One should also take the name of that celebrated king who was Emperor of all the earth and equal to a Prajapati, viz., that foremost of monarchs, Prithu, the son of Vena. The earth became his daughter (from love and affection). One should also name Pururavas of the Solar race and equal unto Mahendra himself in prowess. He was the son of Ila and celebrated over the three worlds. One should, indeed, take the name of that dear son of Vudha. One should also take the name of Bharata, that hero celebrated over the three worlds. He also who in the Krita age adored the gods in a grand Gomedha sacrifice, viz., Rantideva of great splendour, who was equal unto Mahadeva himself, should be named. Endued with penances, possessed of every auspicious mark, the source of every kind of benefit to the world, he was the conqueror of the universes. One should also take the name of the royal sage Sweta of illustrious fame. He had gratified the great Mahadeva and it was for his sake that Andhaka was slain. One should also take the name of the royal sage Bhagiratha of great fame, who, through the grace of Mahadeva, succeeded in bringing down the sacred river from heaven (for flowing over the earth and cleansing all human beings of their sins). It was Bhagiratha who caused the ashes of the sixty thousand sons of Sagara to be overflowed with the sacred waters of Ganga and thereby rescued them from their sin. Indeed, one should take the names of all these that were endued with the blazing effulgence of fire, great beauty of person, and high energy. Some of them were of awe-inspiring forms and great might. Verily, one should take the names of these deities and Rishis and kings, those lords of the universe,--who are enhancers of fame. Sankhya, and Yoga which is highest of the high, and Havya and Kavya and that refuge of all the Srutis, viz., Supreme Brahma, have been declared to be the sources of great benefit to all creatures. These are sacred and sin-cleansing and have been spoken of very highly. These are the foremost of medicines for allaying all diseases, and are the inducers of the success in respect of all deeds. Restraining one's senses, one should, O Bharata, take the names of these, morning and evening. It is these that protect. It is these that shower rain. It is these that shine and give light and heat. It is these that blow. It is these that create all things. These are regarded as the foremost of all, as the leaders of the universe, as highly clever in the accomplishment of all things, as endued with forgiveness, as complete masters of the senses. Indeed, it has been said that they dispel all the evils to which human beings are subject. These high-souled ones are the witnesses of all good and bad deeds. Rising up in the morning one should take their names, for by this, one is sure to acquire all that is good. He who takes the names of them becomes freed from the fear of fires and of thieves. Such a man never finds his way obstructed by any impediment. By taking the names of these high-souled ones, one becomes free from bad dreams of every kind. Cleared from every sin, such men take birth in auspicious families. That regenerate person who, with restrained senses, recites these names on the occasions of performing the initiatory rites of sacrifices and other religious observances, becomes, as the consequence thereof, endued with righteousness, devoted to the study of the soul, possessed of forgiveness and self-restraint, and free from malice. If a man that is afflicted with disease recites them, he becomes freed from his sin in the form of disease. By reciting them within a house, all evils are dispelled from the inmates. By reciting them within a field, the growth is helped of all kinds of crops. Reciting them at the time of setting out on a journey, or while one is away from one's home, one meets with good fortune. These names lead to the protection of one's own self, of one's children and spouses, of one's wealth, and of one's seeds, and plants. The Kshatriya who recites these names at the time of joining a battle sees destruction overtake his foes and good fortune crown him and his party. The man who recites these names on the occasions of performing the rites in honour of the deities or the Pitris, helps the Pitris and deities eat the sacrificial Havya and Kavya. The man that recites them becomes freed from fear of diseases and beasts of prey, of elephants and thieves. His load of anxiety becomes lightened, and he becomes freed from every sin. By reciting these excellent Savitri Mantras on board a vessel, or in a vehicle, or in the courts of kings, one attains to high success. There where these Mantras are recited, fire does not burn wood. There children do not die, nor snakes dwell. Indeed, at such places, there can be no fear of the king, nor of Pisachas and Rakshasas. [The sense is that untimely deaths do not occur in such places; nor fear of oppression or unlawful chastisement by the king; etc.] Verily, the man who recites these Mantras ceases to have any fear of fire or water or wind or beasts of prey. These Savitri Mantras, recited duly, contribute to the peace and well-being of all the four orders. Those men who recite them with reverence become freed from every sorrow and at last attain to a high end. Even these are the results achieved by them that recite these Savitri Mantras which are of the form of Brahma. That man who recites these Mantras in the midst of kine sees his kine become fruitful. Whether when setting out on a journey, or entering a house on coming back, one should recite these Mantras on every occasion. These Mantras constitute a great mystery of the Rishis and are the very highest of those which they silently recite. Even such are these Mantras unto them who practise the duty of recitation and pour libations on the sacrificial fire. This that I have said unto thee is the excellent opinion of Parasara. It was recited in former days unto Sakra himself. Representing as it does Truth or Eternal Brahman. I have declared it in full to thee. It constitutes that heart of all creatures, and is the highest Sruti. All the princes of the race of Soma and of Surya, viz., the Raghavas and the Kauravas, recite these Mantras every day after having purified themselves, These constitute the highest end of human creatures. There is rescue from every trouble and calamity in the daily recitation of the names of the deities of the seven Rishis, and of Dhruva. Indeed, such recitation speedily frees one from distress. The sages of olden times, viz., Kasyapa, Gotama, and others, and Bhrigu Angiras and Atri and others, and Sukra, Agastya, and Vrihaspati, and others, all of whom are regenerate Rishis, have adored these Mantras. Approved of by the son of Bharadwaja, these Mantras were attained by the sons of Richika. Verily, having acquired them again from Vasishtha, Sakra and the Vasus went forth to battle and succeeded in subjugating the Danavas. That man who makes a present of a hundred kine with their horns covered with plates of gold unto a Brahmana possessed of much learning and well-conversant with the Vedas, and he who causes the excellent Bharata story to be recited in his house every day, are said to acquire equal merits. By reciting the name of Bhrigu one's righteousness becomes enhanced. By bowing to Vasishtha one's energy become enhanced. By bowing unto Raghu, one becomes victorious in battle. By reciting the praises of the Aswins, one becomes freed from diseases. I have thus, O king, told thee of the Savitri Mantras which are identical with eternal Brahman. If thou wishest to question me on any other topic thou mayst do so. I shall, O Bharata, answer thee.'"

SECTION 151

"Yudhishthira said, 'Who deserve to be worshipped? Who are they unto whom we should bow? How, indeed, should we behave towards whom? What course of conduct, O grandsire, towards what classes of persons is regarded faultless?'

"Bhishma said, 'The humiliation of Brahmanas would humiliate the very deities. By bowing unto Brahmanas one does not, O Yudhishthira, incur any fault. They, deserve to be worshipped. They deserve to have our Salutations. Thou shouldst behave towards them as if they are thy sons. Indeed, it is those men endued with great wisdom that uphold all the worlds. The Brahmanas are the great causeways of Righteousness in respect of all the worlds. Their happiness consists in renouncing all kinds of wealth. They are devoted to the vow of restraining speech. They are agreeable to all creatures, and observant of diverse excellent vows. They are the refuge of all creatures in the universe. They are the authors of all the regulations which govern the worlds. They are possessed of great fame Penances are always their great wealth. Their power consists in speech. Their energy flows from the duties they observe. Conversant with all duties, they are possessed of minute vision, so that they are cognizant of

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the subtlest considerations. They are of righteous desires. They live the observance of well-performed duties. They are the causeways of Righteousness. The four kinds of living creatures exist, depending upon them as their refuge. They are the path or road along which all should go. They are the guides of all. They are the eternal upholders of all the sacrifices. They always uphold the heavy burdens of sires and grandsires. They never droop under heavy weights even when passing along difficult-roads like strong cattle. They are attentive to the requirements of Piths and deities and guests. They are entitled to eat the first portions of Havya and Kavya. By the very food they eat, they rescue the three worlds from great fear. They are as it were, the Island (for refuge) for all worlds. They are the eyes of all persons endued with sight. The wealth they possess consists of all the branches of knowledge known by the name of Siksha and all the Srutis. Endued with great skill, they are conversant with the most subtle relations of things. They are well-acquainted with the end of all things, and their thoughts are always employed upon the science of the soul. They are endued with the knowledge of the beginning, the middle, and the end of all things, and they are persons in whom doubts no longer exist in consequence of feeling certain of their knowledge. They are fully aware of the distinctions between what is superior and what is inferior. They it is who attain to the highest end. Freed from all attachments, cleansed of all sins, transcending all pairs of opposites (such as heat and cold, happiness and misery, etc.), they are unconnected with all worldly things. Deserving of every honour, they are always held in great esteem by persons endued with knowledge and high souls. They cast equal eyes on sandal-paste and filth or dirt, on what is food and what is not rood. They see with an equal eye their brown vestments of coarse cloth and fabrics of silk and animal skins. They would live for many days together without eating any food, and dry up their limbs by such abstention from all sustenance. They devote themselves earnestly to the study of the Vedas, restraining their senses. They would make gods of those that are not gods, and not gods of those that are gods. Enraged, they can create other worlds and other Regents of the worlds than those that exist. Through the course of those high-souled ones, the ocean became so saline as to be undrinkable. The fire of their wrath yet burns in the forest of Dandaka, unquenched by time. They are the gods of the gods, and the cause of all cause. They are the authority of all authorities. What man of intelligence and wisdom is there that would seek to humiliate them? Amongst them the young and the old all deserve honours. They honour one another (not in consequence of distinctions of age but) in consequence of distinctions in respect of penances and knowledge. Even the Brahmana that is destitute of knowledge is a god and is a high instrument for cleansing others. He amongst them, then, that is possessed of knowledge is a much higher god and like unto the ocean when full (to the brim). Learned or unlearned, Brahmana is always a high deity. Sanctified or unsanctified (with the aid of Mantras), Fire is ever a great deity. A blazing fire even when it burns on a crematorium, is not regarded as tainted in consequence of the character of the spot whereon it burns. Clarified butter looks beautiful whether kept on the sacrificial altar or in a chamber. So, if a Brahmana be always engaged in evil acts, he is still to be regarded as deserving of honour. Indeed, know that the Brahmana is always a high deity.'"

SECTION 152

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell us, O king, what is that reward attached to the worship of Brahmanas, seeing which thou worshippest them, O thou of superior intelligence! Indeed, what is that success, flowing from their worship, guided by which thou worshippest them?'

"Bhishma said, 'In this connection is cited this old narrative of a conversation between Pavana and Arjuna, O Bharata! Endued with a thousand arms and great beauty the mighty Kartavirya, in days of yore, became the lord of all the world. He had his capital in the city of Mahishmati. Of unbaffled prowess, that chief of the Haihaya race of Kshatriyas swayed the whole earth with her belt of seas, together with all her islands and all her precious mines of gold and gems. Keeping before him the duties of the Kshatriya order, as also humility and Vedic knowledge, the king made large gifts of wealth unto the Rishi Dattatreya. Indeed, the son of Kritavirya thus adored the great ascetic who, becoming pleased with him, asked him to solicit three boons. Thus requested by the Rishi in respect of boons, the king addressed him, saying, 'Let me become endued with a thousand arms when I am in the midst of my troops. While, however, I remain at home let me have, as usual only two arms! Indeed, let combatants, when engaged in battle, behold me possessed of a thousand arms, observant also of high vows, let me succeed in subjugating the whole earth by dint of my prowess. Having acquired the earth righteously, let me sway her with vigilance. There is a fourth boon which, O foremost of regenerate persons, I solicit thee to grant. O faultless one, in consequence of the disposition to favour me, it behoveth thee to grant it to me. Dependent that I am on thee, whenever I may happen to go wrong, let the righteous come forth to instruct and set me right! Thus addressed, the Brahmana replied unto the king, saying, 'So let it be!' Even thus were those boons acquired by that king of blazing effulgence. Riding then on his car whose splendour resembled that of fire or the Sun, the monarch, blinded by his great prowess, said, 'Who, indeed, is there that can be regarded as my equal in patience and energy, in fame and heroism, in prowess and strength?' After he had uttered these words, an invisible voice in the welkin said, 'O ignorant wretch, dost thou not know that the Brahmana is superior to the Kshatriya? The Kshatriya, assisted by the Brahmana rules all creatures!'

"Arjuna said, 'When gratified, I am able to create many creatures. When angry, I am able to destroy all. In thought, word, and deed, I am the foremost. The Brahmana is certainly not above me!' The first proposition here is that the Brahmana is superior to the Kshatriya. The counter-proposition is that the Kshatriya is superior. Thou hast said, O invisible being that the two are united together (in the act upon which the Kshatriya's superiority is sought to be based). A distinction, however, is observable in this. It is seen that Brahmanas take refuge with Kshatriyas. The Kshatriyas never seek the refuge of Brahmanas. indeed, throughout the earth, the Brahmanas, accepting such refuge under the pretence of teaching the Vedas, draw their sustenance from the Kshatriyas. The duty of protecting all creatures is vested in Kshatriyas. It is from the Kshatriyas that the Brahmanas derive their sustenance. How then can the Brahmana be superior to the Kshatriyas? Well, I shall from today, bring under my subjection, your Brahmanas who are superior to all creatures but who have mendicancy for their occupation and who are so self-conceited! What the virgin Gayatri has said from the welkin is not true. Robed in skins, the Brahmanas move about in independence. I shall bring those independent wights under my subjection. Deity or man, there is none in the three worlds who can hurl me from the sovereignty I enjoy. Hence, I am certainly superior to the Brahmanas. This world that is now regarded as having Brahmanas for its foremost denizens shall soon be made such as to have Kshatriyas for its foremost denizens. There is none that is capable of bearing my might in battle! Hearing these words of Arjuna, the welkin-ranging goddess became agitated. Then the god of wind, addressing the king from the sky, said, 'Cast off this sinful attitude. Bow unto the Brahmanas. By injuring them thou wilt bring about troubles on thy kingdom. The Brahmanas will either slay thee, king though thou art, or, endued with great might that they are, they will drive thee away from thy kingdom, despoiling thee of thy energy!' The king, hearing this speech, addressed the speaker, saying, Who, indeed, art thou?' The god of wind answered, 'I am the god of wind and the messenger of the deities! I say unto thee what is for thy benefit.'

"Arjuna said, 'Oh, I see that thou hast today shown thy devotion and attachment to the Brahmanas. Tell me now what kind of earthly creature is the Brahmana! Tell me, does a superior Brahmana resemble the Wind in any respect? Or, is he like Water, or Fire, or the Sun, or the Firmament?'"

SECTION 153

"The god of wind said, 'Hear, O deluded man, what the attributes are that belong to Brahmanas all of whom are endued with high souls. The Brahmana is superior to all those which, O king, thou hast named! In days of yore, the earth, indulging in a spirit of rivalry with the kind of the Angas, forsook her character as Earth. The regenerate Kasyapa caused destruction to overtake her by actually paralysing her. The Brahmanas are always unconquerable, O king, in heaven as also on earth. In days of yore, the great Rishi Angiras, through his energy, drank off all the waters. The high-souled Rishi, having drank off all the waters as if they were milk, did not feel yet his thirst to be slaked. He, therefore, once more caused the earth to be filled with water by raising a mighty wave. On another occasion, when Angiras became enraged with me, I fled away, leaving the world, and dwelt for a long time concealed in the Agnihotra of the Brahmanas through fear of that Rishi. The illustrious Purandara, in consequence of his having coveted the body of Ahalya, was cursed by Gautama, yet, for the sake of Righteousness and wealth, the Rishi did not destroy outright the chief of the deities. The Ocean, O king, that was full in former days of crystal water, cursed by the Brahmanas, became saline in taste. Even Agni who is of the complexion of gold, and who blazes with effulgence when destitute of smoke, and whose flames uniting together burn upwards, when cursed by the angry Angiras, became divested of all these attributes. Behold, the sixty thousand sons of Sagara, who came here to adore the Ocean, have all been pulverised by the Brahmana. Kapila of golden complexion. Thou art not equal to the Brahmanas. Do thou, O king, seek thy own good. The Kshatriya of even great puissance bows to Brahmana children that are still in their mothers' wombs. The large kingdom of the Dandakas was destroyed by a Brahmana. The mighty Kshatriya Talajangala was destroyed by a single Brahmana. viz., Aurva. Thou too hast acquired a large kingdom, great might, religious merit, and learning, which are all difficult of attainment, through the grace of Dattatreya. Why dost thou, O Arjuna, worship Agni everyday who is a Brahmana? He is the bearer of sacrificial libations from every part of the universe. Art thou ignorant of this fact? Why, indeed, dost thou suffer thyself to be stupefied by folly when thou art not ignorant of the fact that a superior Brahmana is the protector of all creatures in the world and is, indeed, the creator of the living world? The Lord of all creatures, Brahman, unmanifest, endued with puissance, and of unfading glory, who created this boundless universe with its mobile and immobile creatures (is a Brahman). Some persons there are, destitute of wisdom, who say that Brahman was born of an Egg. From the original Egg, when it burst forth, mountains and the points of the compass and the waters and the earth and the heavens all sprang forth into existence. This birth of the creation was not seen by any one. How then can Brahman be said to have taken his birth from the original Egg, when especially he is declared as Unborn? It is said that vast uncreate Space is the original Egg. It was from this uncreate Space (or Supreme Brahman) that the Grandsire was born. If thou askest, 'Whereon would the Grandsire, after his birth from uncreate Space, rest, for there was then nothing else?' The answer may be given in the following words, 'There is an existent Being of the name of Consciousness. That mighty Being is endued with great energy. There is no Egg. Brahman, however, is existent. He is the creator of the universe and is its king! Thus addressed by the god of wind, king Arjuna remained silent.'"

SECTION 154

"The god of wind said, 'Once on a time, O king, a ruler of the name of Anga desired to give away the whole earth as sacrificial present unto the Brahmanas. At this, the earth became filled with anxiety. 'I am the daughter of Brahman. I hold all creatures. Having obtained me, alas, why does this foremost of kings wish to give me away unto the Brahmanas? Abandoning my character as the soil, I shall now repair to the presence of my sire. Let this king with all his kingdom meet with destruction? Arrived at this conclusion, she departed for the region of Brahman The Rishi Kasyapa, beholding goddess Earth on the point of departing, himself immediately entered the visible embodiment of the goddess, casting off his own body, by the aid of Yoga. The earth thus penetrated by the spirit of Kasyapa, grew in prosperity and became full of all kinds of vegetable produce. Indeed, O king for the time that Kasyapa pervaded the earth, Righteousness became foremost everywhere and all fears ceased. In this way, O king, the earth remained penetrated by the spirit of Kasyapa for thirty thousand celestial years, fully alive to all those functions which it used to discharge while it was penetrated by the spirit of Brahman's daughter. Upon the expiry of this period, the goddess returned from the region of Brahman and arrived here bowed unto Kasyapa and from that time became the daughter of that Rishi, Kasyapa is a Brahmana. Even this was the feat, O king, that a Brahmana did. Tell me the name of the Kshatriya who can be held to be superior to Kasyapa! Hearing these words, king Arjuna remained silent. Unto him the god of wind once more said, 'Hear now, O king, the story of Utathya who was born in the race of Angiras. The daughter of Soma, named Bhadra, came to be regarded as unrivalled in beauty. Her sire Soma regarded Utathya to be the fittest of husbands for her. The famous and highly blessed maiden of faultless limbs, observing diverse vows, underwent the severest austerities from the desire of obtaining Utathya for her lord. After a while, Soma's father Atri, inviting Utathya to his house, bestowed upon him the famous maiden. Utathya, who used to give away sacrificial presents in copious measure, duly received the girl for his wife. It so happened, however, that the handsome Varuna had, from a long time before, coveted the girl. Coming to the woods where Utathya dwelt, Varuna stole away the girl when she had plunged into the Yamuna for a bath. Abducting her thus, the Lord of the waters took her to his own abode. That mansion was of a wonderful aspect. It was adorned with six hundred thousand lakes. There is no mansion that can be regarded more beautiful than that palace of Varuna. It was adorned with many palaces and by the presence of diverse tribes of Apsaras and of diverse excellent articles of enjoyment. There, within that palace, the Lord of waters; O king, sported with the damsel. A little while after, the fact of the ravishment of his wife was reported to Utathya. Indeed, having heard all the facts from Narada, Utathya addressed' the celestial Rishi, saying, 'Go, O Narada, unto Varuna and speak with due severity unto him. Ask him as to why he has abducted my wife, and, indeed, tell him in my name that he should yield her up. Thou mayst say to him further, 'Thou are a protector of the worlds, O Varuna, and not a destroyer! Why then hast thou abducted Utathya's wife bestowed upon him by Soma?' Thus requested by Utathya, the celestial Rishi Narada repaired to where Varuna was and addressing him, said, 'Do thou set free the wife of Utathya. Indeed, why hast thou abducted her?' Hearing these words of Narada, Varuna replied unto him, saying, 'This timid girl is exceedingly dear to me. I dare not let her go!' Receiving this reply, Narada repaired to Utathya and cheerlessly said, 'O great ascetic, Varuna has driven me out from his house,

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seizing me by the throat. He is unwilling to restore to thee thy spouse. Do thou act as thou pleasest.' Hearing these words of Narada, Angiras became inflamed with wrath. Endued with wealth of penances, he solidified the waters and drank them off, aided by his energy. When all the waters were thus drunk off, the Lord of that element became very cheerless with all his friends and kinsfolk. For all that, he did not still give up Utathya's wife. Then Utathya, that foremost of regenerate persons, filled with wrath, commanded Earth, saying, 'O amiable one, do thou show land where there are at present the six hundred thousand lakes.' At these words of the Rishi, the Ocean receded from the spot indicated, and land appeared which was exceedingly sterile. Unto the rivers that flowed through that region, Utathya said, 'O Saraswati, do thou become invisible here. Indeed, O timid lady, leaving this region, go thou to the desert! O auspicious goddess, let this region, destitute of thee, cease to become sacred.' When that region (in which the lord of waters dwelt) became dry, he repaired to Angiras, taking with him Utathya's spouse, and made her over to him. Getting back his wife, Utathya became cheerful. Then, O chief of the Haihaya race, that great Brahmana rescued both the universe and the Lord of waters from the situation of distress into which he had brought them. Conversant with every duty, the Rishi Utathya of great energy, after getting back his spouse, O king, said so unto Varuna, 'I have recovered my wife, O Lord of waters, with the aid of my penances and after inflicting such distress on thee as made thee cry aloud in anguish! Having said this, he went home, with that wife of his. Even such, O king, was Utathya, that foremost of Brahmanas. Shall I go on? Or, will you yet persist in thy opinion? What, is there a Kshatriya that is superior to Utathya?'

SECTION 155

"Bhishma said, "Thus addressed, king Arjuna remained silent. The god of wind once more spoke to him, 'Listen now, O king, to the story of the greatness of the Brahmana Agastya. Once on a time, the gods were subjugated by the Asuras upon which they became very cheerless. The sacrifices of the deities were all seized, and the Swadha of the Pitris was also misappropriated. Indeed, O Chief of the Haihayas, all the religious acts and observances of human beings also were suspended by the Danavas. Divested of their prosperity, the deities wandered over the earth as we have heard. One day, in course of their wandering they met Agastya of high vows, that Brahmana, O king, who was endued with great energy and splendour which was as blazing as that of the sun. Saluting him duly, the deities made the usual enquiries of politeness. They then, O King, said these words unto that high-souled one, 'We have been defeated by the Danavas in battle and have, therefore, fallen off from affluence and prosperity. Do thou, therefore, O foremost of ascetics, rescue us from this situation of great fear.' Thus informed of the plight to which the deities had been reduced, Agastya became highly incensed (with the Danavas). Possessed of great energy, he at once blazed forth like the all-consuming fire at the time of the universal dissolution. With the blazing rays that then emanated from the Rishi, the Danavas began to be burnt. Indeed, O king, thousands of them began to drop down from the sky. Burning with the energy of Agastya, the Danavas, abandoning both heaven and earth, fled towards the southern direction. At that time the Danava king Vali was performing a Horse-sacrifice in the nether regions. Those great Asuras who were with him in those regions or who were dwelling in the bowels of the earth, were not burnt. The deities, upon the destruction of their foes, then regained their own regions, their fears entirely dispelled. Encouraged by what he accomplished for them, they then solicited the Rishi to destroy those Asuras who had taken refuge within the bowels of the earth or in the nether regions. Thus solicited by the gods, Agastya replied unto them, saying, 'Yes, I am fully competent to consume those Asuras that are dwelling underneath the earth; but if I achieve such a feat, my penances will suffer a diminution. Hence, I shall not exert my power.' Even thus, O king, were the Danavas consumed by the illustrious Rishi with his own energy. Even thus did Agastya of cleansed soul, O monarch, accomplish that feat with the aid of his penances. O sinless one, even so was Agastya as described by me! Shall I continue? Or, will you say anything in reply? Is there any Kshatriya who is greater than Agastya?'

"Bhishma continued, 'Thus addressed, king Arjuna remained silent. The god of wind once more said, 'Hear, O king, one of the great feats of the illustrious Vasishtha. Once on a time the deities were engaged in performing a sacrifice on the shores of the lake Vaikhanasa. Knowing of his puissance, the sacrificing gods thought of Vasishtha and made him their priest in imagination. Meanwhile, seeing the gods reduced and emaciated in consequence of the Diksha they were undergoing, a race of Danavas, of the name of Khalins, of statures as gigantic as mountains, desired to slay them. Those amongst the Danavas that were either disabled or slain in the fight were plunged into the waters of the Manasa lake and in consequence of the boon of the Grandsire they instantly came back to vigour and life. Taking up huge and terrible mountain summits and maces and trees, they agitated the waters of the lake, causing them to swell up to the height of a hundred yojanas. They then ran against the deities numbering ten thousand. Afflicted by the Danavas, the gods then sought the protection of their chief, Vasava-Sakra, however, was soon afflicted by them. In his distress he sought the protection of Vasishtha. At this, the holy Rishi Vasishtha assured the deities, dispelling their fears. Understanding that the gods had become exceedingly cheerless, the ascetic did this through compassion. He put forth his energy and burnt, without any exertion, those Danavas called Khalins. Possessed of wealth of penances, the Rishi brought the River Ganga, who had gone to Kailasa, to that spot. Indeed, Ganga appeared, piercing through the waters of the lake. The lake was penetrated by that river. And as that celestial stream, piercing through the waters of the lake, appeared, it flowed on, under the name of Sarayu. The place whereon those Danavas fell came to be called after them. Even thus were the denizens of Heaven, with Indra at their head, rescued from great distress by Vasishtha, It was thus that those Danavas, who had received boons from Brahman, were slain by that high-souled Rishi. O sinless one, I have narrated to thee the feat which Vasishtha accomplished. Shall I go on? Or, will you say anything! Was there a Kshatriya who could be said to surpass the Brahmana Vasishtha?'

SECTION 156

"Bhishma said, 'Thus addressed, Arjuna remained silent. The god of wind once more addressed him, saying, 'Hear me, O foremost one of the Haihayas, as I narrate to thee the achievement of the high-souled Atri. Once on a time as the gods and Danavas were fighting each other in the dark, Rahu pierced both Surya and Soma with his arrows. The gods, overwhelmed by darkness, began to fall before the mighty Danavas, O foremost of kings! Repeatedly struck by the Asuras, the denizens of heaven began to lose their strength. They then beheld the learned Brahmana Atri, endued with wealth of penances, engaged in the observance of austerities. Addressing that Rishi who had conquered all his senses and in whom wrath had been extinguished, they said 'Behold, O Rishi, these two, viz., Soma and Surya, who have both been pierced by the Asuras with their arrows! In consequence of this, darkness has overtaken us, and we are being struck down by the foe. We do not see the end of our troubles! Do thou, O lord of great puissance, rescue us from this great fear.'

"The Rishi said, 'How, indeed, shall I protect you? They answered, saying, 'Do thou thyself become Chandramas. Do thou also become the sun, and do thou begin to slay these robbers!' Thus solicited by them, Atri assumed the form of the darkness-destroying Soma. Indeed, in consequence of his agreeable disposition, he began to look as handsome and delightful as Soma himself. Beholding that the real Soma and the real Surya had become darkened by the shafts of the foe, Atri, assuming the forms of those luminaries, began to shine forth in splendour over the field of battle, aided by the puissance of his penances. Verily Atri made the universe blaze forth in light, dispelling all its darkness. By putting forth his puissance, he also subjugated the vast multitudes of those enemies of the deities. Beholding those great Asuras burnt by Atri, the gods also, protected by Atri's energy, began to despatch them quickly. Putting forth his prowess and mastering all his energy, it was even in this way that Atri illumined the god of day, rescued the deities, and slew the Asuras! Even this was the feat that regenerate one, aided by his sacred fire,--that silent reciter of Mantras, that one clad in deer-skins,--accomplished! Behold, O royal sage, that act achieved by that Rishi who subsisted upon fruits only! I have thus narrated to thee, in detail, the feat of the high-souled Atri. Shall I go on! Or, will you say anything? Is there a Kshatriya that is superior to this regenerate Rishi?'

"Thus addressed, Arjuna remained silent. The god of wind once more spake unto him, 'Hear, O king, the feat achieved by the high-souled Chyavana (in days of old). Having passed his promise to the twin Aswins, Chyavana addressed the chastiser of Paka, saying, 'Do thou make the Aswins drinkers of Soma with all other deities!'

"Indra said, 'The Aswins have been cast away by us. How then, can they be admitted into the sacrificial circle for drinking Soma with the others? They are not numbered with the deities. Do not, therefore, tell us so! O thou of great vows, we do not wish to drink Soma in the company of the As wins. Whatever other behest thou mayst be pleased to utter, O learned Brahmana, we are ready to accomplish.'

"Chyavana said, 'The twin Aswins shall drink Soma with all of you! Both of them are gods, O chief of the deities, for they are the sons of Surya. Let the gods do what I have said. By acting according to those words, the gods will reap great advantage. By acting otherwise, evil will overtake them.'

"Indra said, 'I shall not, O foremost of regenerate persons, drink Soma with the Aswins! Let others drink with them as they please! As regards myself, I dare not do it.'

"Chyavana said, 'If, O slayer of Vala, thou wilt not obey my words, thou shalt, this very day, drink Soma with them in sacrifice, compelled by me!

"The god of wind said, 'Then Chyavana, taking the Aswins with him, commenced a great religious rite for their benefit. The gods all became stupefied by Chyavana with his Mantras. Beholding that feat commenced by Chyavana, Indra became incensed with wrath. Taking up a huge mountain he ran against that Rishi. The chief of the deities was also armed with the thunderbolt. Then the illustrious Chyavana, endued with penances, cast an angry glance upon Indra as he advanced. Throwing a little water at him, he paralysed the chief of the deities with his thunderbolt and mountain. As the result of the religious rite he had commenced, he created a terrible Asura hostile to Indra. Made of the libations he had poured on the sacred fire, that Asura was called Mada, of mouth gaping wide. Even such was the Asura that the great ascetic created with the aid of Mantras. There were a thousand teeth in his mouth, extending for a hundred yojanas. Of terrible mien, his fangs were two hundred yojanas in length. One of his cheeks rested on the earth and the other touched the heavens. Indeed, all the gods with Vasava seemed to stand at the root of that great Asura's tongue, even as fishes when they enter into the wide open mouth of a leviathan. While standing within the mouth of Mada, the gods held a quick consultation and then addressing Indra, said, 'Do thou soon bend thy head in reverence unto this regenerate personage! Freed from every scruple, we shall drink Soma with the Aswins in our company! Then Sakra, bowing down his head unto Chyavana, obeyed his behest. Even thus did Chyavana make the Aswins drinkers of Soma with the other gods. Calling back Mada, the Rishi then assigned him the acts he was to do. That Mada was commanded to take up his residence in dice, in hunting, in drinking, and in women. Hence, O king, those men that betake themselves to these, meet with destruction, without doubt. Hence, one should always cast off these faults to a great distance. Thus, O king, I have narrated to thee the feat achieved by Chyavana. Shall I go on? Or, will you say anything in reply? Is there a Kshatriya that is higher than the Brahmana Chyavana?'"

SECTION 157

"Bhishma said, 'Hearing these words of the god of wind, Arjuna remained silent. At this, the god of wind once more addressed him, saying, 'When the denizens of heaven, with Indra at their head, found themselves within the mouth of the Asura Mada, at that time Chyavana took away from them the earth. Deprived previously of heaven and now shorn of the earth also, the gods became very cheerless. Indeed, those high-souled ones, afflicted with grief, then threw themselves unreservedly upon the Grandsire's protection.'

"The gods said, 'O thou that art adored by all creatures of the universe, the earth has been taken away from us by Chyavana, while we have been deprived of heaven by the Kapas, O puissant one!'

"Brahmana said, 'Ye denizens of heaven, do you, with Indra at your head, repair quickly and seek the protection of the Brahmanas. By gratifying them you will succeed in regaining both the regions as before.' Thus instructed by the Grandsire, the deities repaired to the Brahmanas and became suppliants for their protection. The Brahmanas replied, enquiring, 'Whom shall we subjugate?' Thus asked, the deities said unto them, 'Do ye subjugate the Kapas.' The Brahmanas then said, 'Bringing them down on the earth first, we shall speedily subjugate them.' After this, the Brahmanas commenced a rite having for its object the destruction of the Kapas. As soon as this was heard of by the Kapas, they immediately despatched a messenger of theirs, named Dhanin, unto those Brahmanas. Dhanin, coming to them as they sat on the earth, thus delivered to them the message of the Kapas. The Kapas are even like you all! (They are not inferior to any of you). Hence, what will be the effect of these rites which you seem to be bent upon achieving? All of them are well-conversant with the Vedas and possessed of wisdom. All of them are mindful of sacrifices. All of them have Truth for their vow, and for these reasons all of them are regarded as equal to great Rishis. The goddess of Prosperity sports among them, and they, in their turn, support her with reverence. They never indulge in acts of fruitless congress with their wives, and they never eat the flesh of such animals as have not been killed in sacrifices. They pour libations on the blazing sacrificial fire (every day) and 'are obedient to the behests of their preceptors and seniors. All of them are of souls under perfect control, and never take any food without dividing it duly among their children. They always proceed on cars and other vehicles together (without any of them riding his own vehicle while others journey on foot). They never indulge in acts of congress with their spouses when the latter are in midst of their functional period. They all act in such a way as to attain to regions of felicity hereafter. Indeed, they are always righteous in their deeds. When women quick with child or old men have not eaten, they never eat anything themselves. They never indulge in play or sports of any kind in the forenoon. They never sleep during the day. When the Kapas have these and many other virtues and accomplishments, why, indeed, would you seek to subjugate them? You should abstain from the endeavour!

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Verily, by such abstention ye would achieve what is for your good.'

"The Brahmanas said, 'Oh, we shall subjugate the Kapas! In this matter, we art one with the deities. Hence, the Kapas deserve slaughter at your hands. As regards Dhanin, he should return whence he came! After this, Dhanin, returning to the Kapas, said unto them, 'The Brahmanas are not disposed to do you any good! 'Hearing this, all the Kapas took up their weapons and proceeded towards the Brahmanas. The Brahmanas, beholding the Kapas advancing against them with the standards of their cars upraised, forthwith created certain blazing fires for the destruction of the Kapas. Those eternal fires, created with the aid of Vedic Mantras, having effected the destruction of the Kapas, began to shine in the firmament like so many (golden) clouds. The gods, having assembled together in battle, slew many of the Danavas. They did not know at that time that it was the Brahmanas who had effected their destruction. Then Narada of great energy, coming there, O king, informed the deities how their foes; the Kapas, had been really slain by the Brahmanas of mighty energy (and not by deities themselves). Hearing these words of Narada, the denizens of heaven became highly gratified. They also applauded those regenerate allies of theirs that were possessed of great fame. The energy and prowess of the deities then began to increase, and worshipped in all the worlds, they acquired also the boon of immortality!' After the god of wind had said these words, king Arjuna worshipped him duly and addressing him answered in these words, 'Hear, O mighty armed monarch, what Arjuna said.'

"Arjuna said, O puissant god, always and by all means do I live for the Brahmanas! Devoted to them, I worship them always! Through the grace of Dattatreya I have obtained this might of mine! Through his grace have I been able to accomplish great feats in the world and achieve high merit! Oh, I have, with attention, heard of the achievements, O god of the wind, of the Brahmanas with all their interesting details as recited by thee truly.'

"The god of wind said, 'Do thou protect and cherish the Brahmanas, in the exercise of those Kshatriya duties which are thine by birth. Do thou protect them even as thou protectest thy own senses! There is danger to thee from the race of Bhrigu! All that, however, will take place on a distant day.'"

SECTION 158

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou always worshippest, O king, Brahmanas of praiseworthy, vows. Whatever, however is that fruit seeing which thou worshippest them, O king? O thou of high vows, beholding what prosperity attaching to the worship of the Brahmanas dost thou worship them? Tell me all this, O thou of mighty arms!

"Bhishma said, 'Here is Kesava endued with great intelligence. He will tell thee everything. Of high vows and endued with prosperity, even he will tell you what the prosperity is that attaches to the worship of Brahmanas. My strength, ears, speech, mind, eyes, and that clear understanding of mine (are all clouded today). I think, the time is not distant when I shall have to cast off my body. The sun seems to me to go very slowly. Those high duties, O king, that are mentioned in the Puranas as observed by Brahmanas and Kshatriyas and Vaisyas and Sudras, have all been recited by me. Do thou, O son of Pritha, learn from Krishna what little remains to be learnt on that head. I know Krishna truly. I know who he is and what his ancient might is. O chief of the Kauravas, Kesava is of immeasurable soul. Whenever doubts arise, it is he who upholds Righteousness then. [The sense is that it is this Kesava who upholds the cause of Righteousness when dangers overtake it. cf. 'Yada yada hi dharmasya, etc.' in the Gita. It does not mean that when doubts are entertained by persons on questions of morality, it is Kesava who dispels them.] It is Krishna who created the earth, and sky, and the heavens. Indeed, the earth has sprung from Krishna's body. Of terrible prowess and existing from the beginning of time, it is Krishna who became the mighty Boar and raised the submerged Earth. It is He who created all the points of the compass, together with all the mountains. Below Him are the welkin, heaven, the four cardinal points, and the four subsidiary points. It is from him that the entire creation has flowed. It is He who has created this ancient universe. In His navel appeared a Lotus. Within that Lotus sprang Brahma himself of immeasurable energy. It was Brahma, O son of Pritha, who rent that darkness which existed surpassing the very ocean (in depth and extent). In the Treta age, O Partha, Krishna existed (on the earth), in the form of Righteousness. In the Treta age, he existed in the form of Knowledge. In the Dwapara age, he existed in the form of might. In the Kali age he came to the earth in the form of unrighteousness. It is He who in days of yore slew the Daityas. It is He who is the Ancient God. It is He who ruled the Asuras in the form of their Emperor (Valin). It is He who is the Creator of all beings. It is He who is also the future of all created Beings. It is He who is also the protector of this universe fraught with the seed of destruction. When the cause of Righteousness languishes, this Krishna takes birth in the race of either the gods or among men. Staying on Righteousness, this Krishna of cleansed soul (on such occasion) protects both the higher and the lower worlds. Sparing those that deserve to be spared, Krishna sets himself to the slaughter of the Asura, O Partha! It is he who is all acts proper and improper and it is he who is the cause. It is Krishna who is the act done, the act to be done, and the act that is being done. Know that that illustrious one is Rahu and Soma and Sakra. It is he that is Viswakarma. It is he that is of universal form. He is the destroyer and he is the Creator of the universe. He is the wielder of the Sula (lance); He is of human form; and He is of terrible form. All creatures sing his praises, for he is known by his acts. Hundreds of Gandharvas and Apsaras and deities always accompany him. The very Rakshasas hymn his praise. He is the Enhancer of Wealth; He is the one victorious Being in the universe. In Sacrifices, eloquent men hymn His praises. The singers of Samans praise Him by reciting the Rathantaras. The Brahmanas praise Him with Vedic Mantras. It is unto Him that the sacrificial priests pour their libations. The deities with Indra at their head hymned His praise when He lifted up the Gobardhana mountains for protecting the cow-herds of Brindavana against the incessant showers that Indra poured in rage. He is, O Bharata, the one Blessing unto all creatures. He, O Bharata, having entered the old Brahma cave, beheld from that place the original cover of the world in the beginning of Time. Agitating all the Danavas and the Asuras, this Krishna of foremost feats rescued the earth. It is unto Him that people dedicate diverse kinds of food. It is unto Him that the warriors dedicate all kinds of their vehicles at the time of war. He is eternal, and it is under that illustrious one that the welkin, earth, heaven, all things exist and stay. He it is who has caused the vital seed of the gods Mitra and Varuna to fall within a jar, whence sprang the Rishi known by the name of Vasishtha. It is Krishna who is the god of wind; it is He who is the puissant Aswins; it is He who is that first of gods, viz., the sun possessed of a thousand rays. It is He by whom the Asuras have been subjugated. It is He who covered the three worlds with three steps of His. He is the soul of the deities and human beings, and Pitris. It is He who is the Sacrifice performed by those persons that are conversant with the rituals of sacrifices. It is He who rises every day in the firmament (in the form of the sun) and divides Time into day and night, and courses for half the year northwards and for half the year southwards. Innumerable rays of light emanate from Him upwards and downwards and transversely and illumine the earth. Brahmanas conversant with the Vedas adore Him. Taking a portion of His rays the sun shines in the firmament. Month after month, the sacrificer ordains Him as a sacrifice. Regenerate persons conversant with the Vedas sing His praises in sacrifices of all kinds. He it is that constitutes the wheel of the year, having three naves and seven horses to drag it. It is in this way that He supports the triple mansion (of the seasons), Endued with great energy, pervading all things, the foremost of all creatures, it is Krishna who alone upholds all the worlds. He is the sun, the dispeller of all darkness. He is the Creator of all. Do thou, O hero, approach that Krishna! Once on a time, the high-souled and puissant Krishna dwelt, for a while, in the form of Agni in the forest of Khandava among some straw or dry grass. Soon was He gratified (for he consumed all the medicinal herbs in that forest). Capable of going everywhere at will, it was Krishna who, having subjugated the Rakshasas and Uragas, poured them as libations upon the blazing fire. It is Krishna who gave unto Arjuna a number of white steeds. It is He who is the creator of all steeds. This world (or, human life) represents his car. He it is that yokes that car for setting it in motion. That car has three wheels (viz., the three attributes of Sattwa, Rajas, and Tamas). It has three kinds of motion (for it goes upwards or downwards or transversely, implying superior, inferior, and intermediate birth as brought about by acts). It has four horses yoked to it (viz., Time, Predestiny, the will of the deities, and one's own will). It has three naves (white, black, and mixed, implying good acts, evil acts and acts that are of a mixed character). It is this Krishna who is the refuge of the five original elements with the sky among them. It is He who created the earth and heaven and the space between. Indeed, it is this Krishna of immeasurable and blazing energy who has created the forests and the mountains. It is this Krishna who, desirous of chastising Sakra who was about to hurl his thunder at him, crossed the rivers and once paralysed him. He is the one great Indra that is adored by the Brahmanas in great sacrifices with the aid of a thousand old Riks. It was this Krishna, O king, who alone was able to keep the Rishi Durvasa of great energy as a guest for some time in his house. He is said to be the one ancient Rishi. He is the Creator of the universe. Indeed, He creates everything from His own nature. Superior to all two deities it is He who teaches all the deities. He scrupulously observes all ancient ordinances. Know, O king, that this Krishna, who is called Vishwaksena, is the fruit of all acts that relate to pleasure, of all acts that are founded on the Vedas, and of all acts that appertain to the world. He is the white rays of light that are seen in all the worlds. He is the three worlds. He is the three Regents of all the worlds. He is the three sacrificial fires. He is the three Vyahritis; indeed, this son of Devaki is all the gods together. He is the year; He is the Seasons; He is the Fortnights; He is the Day and the Night; He is those divisions of time which are called Kalas, and Kashthas, and Matras, and Muhurtas, and Lavas, and Kshanas. Know that this Vishwaksena is all these. The Moon and the Sun, the Planets, the Constellations, and the Stars, all the Parva days, including the day of the full moon, the conjunctions of the constellations and the seasons, have, O son of Pritha, flowed from this Krishna who is Vishwaksena. The Rudras, the Adityas, the Vasus, the Aswins, the Sadhyas, the Viswedevas, the diverse Maruts, Prajapati himself, the mother of the deities, viz., Aditi, and the seven Rishis, have all sprung from Krishna. Transforming Himself into the Wind, He scatters the universe. Of Universal form, He becomes Fire that burns all things. Changing Himself into Water, He drenches and submerges all, and assuming the form of Brahman, He creates all the diverse tribes of animate and inanimate creatures. He is Himself the Veda, yet he learns all the Vedas. He is Himself all the ordinances, yet He observes all the ordinances that have been laid down in matters connected with Righteousness and the Vedas and that force or might which rules the world. Indeed, know, O Yudhishthira, that this Kesava is all the mobile and immobile universe. He is of the form of the most resplendent light. Of universal form, this Krishna is displayed in that blazing effulgence. The original cause of the soul of all existent creatures, He at first created the waters. Afterwards He created this universe. Know that this Krishna is Vishnu. Know that He is the soul of the universe. Know that He is all the seasons; He is these diverse wonderful vegetations of Nature which we see; He is the clouds that pour rain and the lightening that flashes in the sky. He is the elephant Airavata. In fact, He is all the immobile and mobile universe. The abode of the universe and transcending all attributes, this Krishna is Vasudeva. When He becomes Jiva He comes to be called Sankarshana. Next, He transforms Himself into Pradyumna and then into Aniruddha. In this way, the high-souled Krishna, who has Himself for His origin divides (or displays) Himself in fourfold form. Desirous of creating this universe which consists of the fivefold primal elements. He sets himself to his task, and causes it to go on in the fivefold form of animate existence consisting of deities and Asuras and human beings and beasts and birds. He it is that then creates the Earth and the Wind, the Sky, Light, and also Water, O son of Pritha! Having created this universe of immobile and mobile objects distributed into four orders of being (viz., viviparous, oviparous, vegetable and filth-born), he then created the earth with her fivefold seed. He then created the firmament for pouring copious showers of water on the earth. Without doubt, O king, it is this Krishna who has created this universe. His origin is in his own self; it is He who causes all things to exist through his own puissance. He it is that has created the deities, the Asuras, the human beings, the world, the Rishis, the Pitris, and all creatures. Desirous of creating, that Lord of all creatures duly created the whole universe of life. Know that good and evil, mobile and immobile, have all flowed from this One who is Vishwaksena. Whatever exists, and whatever will spring into existence, all is Kesava. This Krishna is also the death that overtakes all creatures when their end comes. He is eternal and it is He who upholds the cause of Righteousness. Whatever existed in the past, and whatever we do not know, verily, all that also is this Vishwaksena. Whatever is noble and meritorious in the universe, indeed, whatever of good and of evil exists, all that is Kesava who is inconceivable. Hence, it is absurd to think of anything that is superior to Kesava. Kesava is even such. More than this, He is Narayana, the highest of the high, immutable and unfading. He is the eternal and immutable cause of the entire mobile and immobile universe with its beginning, middle, and end, as also of all creatures whose birth follows their wish.'"

SECTION 159

"Yudhishthira said, 'Do thou tell us, O slayer of Madhu, what the prosperity is that attaches to the worship of the Brahmanas. Thou art well-conversant with this topic. Verily, our grandsire knows thee.'

"Vasudeva said, 'Hear, O king, with rapt attention to me, O chief of Bharata's race, as I recite to thee what the merits of the Brahmanas are, in accordance with truth, O foremost one of Kuru's race! Once on a time while I was seated at Dwaravati, O delighter of the Kurus, my son Pradyumna, enraged by certain Brahmanas, came to me and said, 'O slayer of Madhu, what merit attaches to the worship of the Brahmanas? Whence is their lordship derived both here and hereafter? O giver of honours, what rewards are won by constantly Worshipping the Brahmanas? Do thou kindly explain this clearly to me, for my mind is disturbed by doubts in respect of this.' When these words were addressed to me by Pradyumna, I answered him as follows, Do thou hear, O king, with close attention, what those words were, 'O child of Rukmin, listen to me as I tell thee what the prosperity is that one may win by worshipping the Brahmanas. When one sets oneself to the acquisition of the well-known aggregate of three (viz., Righteousness, Wealth, and Pleasure), or to the achievement of Emancipation, or to that of fame and prosperity, or to the treatment and cure of

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disease, or to the worship of the deities and the Pitris, one should take care to gratify the regenerate ones. They are each a king Soma (that sheds such agreeable light in the firmament.) They are dispensers of happiness and misery. O child of Rukmini, whether in this or in the next world, O son, everything agreeable has its origin in the Brahmanas. I have no doubt in this! From the worship of the Brahmanas flow mighty achievements and fame and strength. The denizens of all the worlds, and the Regents of the universe, are all worshippers of Brahmanas. How then, O son, can we disregard them, filled with the idea that we are lords of the earth? O mighty-armed one, do not suffer thy wrath to embrace the Brahmanas as its object. In this as also in the next world, Brahmanas are regarded as beings. They have direct knowledge of everything in the universe. Verily, they are capable of reducing everything into ashes, if angry. They are capable of creating other worlds and other Regents of worlds (than those that exist). Why then should not persons who are possessed of energy and correct knowledge behave with obedience and respect towards them? Formerly, in my house, O son, dwelt the Brahmana Durvasa whose complexion was green and tawny. Clad in rags, he had a stick made of the Vilwa tree. 1 His beard was long and he was exceedingly emaciated. He was taller in stature than the tallest man on earth. Wandering over all the worlds, viz., that which belongs to human beings and those that are for the deities and other superior beings, even this was the verse which he sang constantly among assemblies and in public squares. 'Who is there that would cause the Brahmana Durvasa to dwell in his house, doing the duties of hospitality towards him? He becomes enraged with every one if he finds even the slightest transgression? Hearing this regarding my disposition, who is there that will give me refuge? Indeed, he that would give me shelter as a guest should not do anything to anger me!' When I saw that no one ventured to give him shelter in his house. I invited him and caused him to take up his residence in my abode. On certain days he would eat the food sufficient for the needs of thousands of persons. On certain other days he would eat very little. On some days he would go out of my house and would not return. He would sometimes laugh without any ostensible reason and sometimes cry as causelessly. At that time there was nobody on earth that was equal to him in years. One day, entering the quarters assigned to him he burnt all the beds and coverlets and all the well-adorned damsels that were there for serving him. Doing this, he went out. Of highly praiseworthy vows, he met me shortly after this and addressing me, said, 'O Krishna, I wish to eat frumenty without delay!' Having understood his mind previously, I had set my servants to prepare every kind of food and drink. Indeed, many excellent viands had been kept ready. As soon as I was asked, I caused hot frumenty to be brought and offered to the ascetic. Having eaten some, he quickly said unto me, 'Do thou, O Krishna, take some of this frumenty and smear all thy limbs with it!' Without any scruple I did as directed. Indeed, with the remnant of that frumenty I smeared my body and head. The ascetic at that time saw thy mother of sweet face standing near. Laughing the while, he smeared her body also with that frumenty. The ascetic then caused thy mother, whose body was smeared over with frumenty, to be yoked unto a car without any delay. Ascending that car he set out of my house. Endued with great intelligence, that Brahmana blazed with effulgence like fire, and struck, in my presence, my Rukmini endued with youth, as if she were an animal destined to drag the cars of human beings. Beholding this, I did not feel the slightest grief born of malice or the desire to injure the Rishi. Indeed, having yoked Rukmini to the car, he went out, desirous of proceeding along the high road of the city. Seeing that extraordinary sight, some Dasarhas, filled with wrath, addressed one another and began to converse in this way, 'Who else is there on earth that would draw breath after having yoked Rukmini to a car! Verily, let the world be filled with Brahmanas only! Let no other orders take birth here. The poison of a virulent snake is exceedingly keen. Keener than poison is a Brahmana. There is no physician for a person that has been bitten or burnt by the virulent snake of a Brahmana, 'As the irresistible Durvasa proceeded on the car, Rukmini tottered on the road and frequently fell down. At this the regenerate Rishi became angry and began to urge Rukmini on by striking her with the whip. At last, filled with a towering passion, the Brahmana leapt down from the car, and fled towards the south, running on foot, over a pathless ground. Beholding that foremost of Brahmanas flying along the pathless ground, we followed him, although we were smeared with frumenty, exclaiming behind him, 'Be gratified with us, O holy one! Endued with great energy, the Brahmana, seeing me, said, 'O mighty-armed Krishna, thou hast subdued wrath by the strength of thy nature? O thou of excellent vows, I have not found the slightest fault in thee! O Govinda, I have been highly gratified with thee. Do thou solicit the fruition of such wishes as thou pleasest! Behold duly, O son, what the puissance is of myself when I become gratified with any one. As long as deities and human beings will continue to entertain a liking for food, so long will every one among them cherish the same liking for thee that they cherish for their food! As long, again, as there will be Righteousness in the several world, so long will the fame of thy achievements last! Indeed, thy distinction will last so long in the three worlds! O Janardana, agreeable thou shalt be to all persons! Whatever articles of thine have been broken or burnt or otherwise destroyed (by me), thou shalt see restored, O Janardana, to their former state or they will reappear even in a better form! As long, again, O thou of unfading glory, as thou wilt wish to live, so long wilt thou have no fear of death assailing thee through such parts of thy body as have been smeared with the frumenty I gave thee! O son, why didst thou not smear that frumenty on the soles of thy feet as well? By not doing it, thou have acted in a way that is not approved by me! Even these were the words that he said, well-pleased with me on that occasion. After he had ceased speaking, I saw that my body became endued with great beauty and splendour. Unto Rukmini also, the Rishi, well-pleased with her, said, 'O beautiful lady, thou shalt be the foremost one of thy sex in fame, and great glory and achievements will be thine. Decrepitude or disease or loss of complexion will never be thine! Every one will see thee engaged in waiting upon Krishna, possessed as thou already art with a fragrant odour which is always present in thee. Thou shalt become the foremost of all spouses, numbering sixteen thousand, O Kesava. At last, when the time comes for thy departure from the world, thou shalt attain to the inseparable companionship of Krishna hereafter!' Having said these words unto thy mother, the Rishi once more addressed me and uttering following words, left the spot. Indeed, the Rishi Durvasa, blazing like a fire, said, 'O Kesava, let thy understanding be always disposed even thus towards the Brahmana!' Verily after uttering these words, that Brahmana disappeared there and then before my eyes. After his disappearance I took to the observance of the vow of uttering certain Mantras silently without being heard by anybody. Verily, from that day I resolved to accomplish whatever behests I should receive from the Brahmanas. Having adopted this vow, O son, along with thy mother, both of us, with hearts filled with joy re-entered our palace, Entering our house I saw that everything which the Rishi had broken or burnt had reappeared and become new. Beholding those new articles, which had besides become more durable, I became filled with wonder. Verily, O son of Rukmini, from that day forth I have always worshipped the Brahmanas in my mind! Even this, O chief of Bharata's race, is what I said on that occasion regarding the greatness of those Brahmanas who are the foremost of their order. Do thou also, O son of Kunti, worship the highly blessed Brahmanas every day with gifts of wealth and kine, O puissant one! It was in this way that I acquired the prosperity I enjoy, the prosperity that is born of the grace of Brahmanas. Whatever, again, Bhishma has said of me, O chief of the Bharatas, is all true!'"

SECTION 160

"Yudhishthira said, 'It behoveth thee, O slayer of Madhu, to expound to me that knowledge which thou hast acquired through the grace of Durvasa! O foremost of all persons endued with intelligence, I desire to know everything about the high blessedness and all the names of that high-souled one truly and in detail! [Durvasa is regarded as a portion of Mahadeva. The question of Yudhishthira, therefore, really relates to Mahadeva although the name that occurs is of Durvasa.]

"Vasudeva said, 'I shall recite to thee the good that I have acquired and the fame that I have won through the grace of that high-souled one. Verily, I shall discourse to thee on the topic, after having bowed unto Kapardin. O king, listen to me as I recite to thee that Sata-rudriya which I repeat; with restrained senses, every morning after rising from bed. The great lord of all creatures, viz., the Grandsire Brahman himself, endued with wealth of penances, composed those Mantras, after having observed especial penances for some time. O sire it is Sankara who created all the creatures in the universe, mobile and immobile. There is no being that is higher, O monarch, than Mahadeva. Verily, he is the highest of all beings in the three worlds. There is no one who is capable of standing before that high-souled Being. Indeed, there is no Being in the three worlds that can be regarded as his equal. When he stands, filled with rage, on the field of battle, the very odour of his body deprives all foes of consciousness and they that are not slain tremble and fall down. His roars are terrible, resembling those of the clouds. Hearing those roars in battle, the very hearts of the deities break in twain. When the wielder of Pinaka becomes angry and assuming a terrible form merely casts his eye upon deity, Asura, Gandharva, or snake, that individual fails to obtain peace of mind by taking shelter in the recesses of even a mountain-cave. When that lord of all creatures, viz., Daksha, desirous of performing a sacrifice, spread his sacrifice out, the dauntless Bhava, giving way to wrath (at Daksha's slight of him), pierced (the embodied) sacrifice, shooting his shaft from his terrible bow, he roared aloud. Indeed, when Maheswara became angry and suddenly pierced with his shaft the embodied form of sacrifice, the deities become filled with grief, losing happiness and tranquillity of heart. In consequence of the twang of his bow-string the whole universe became agitated. The deities and the Asuras, O son of Pritha, all became cheerless and stupefied. The ocean rolled in agitation and the earth trembled to her centre. The hills and mountains began to move from their bases and ran on every side. The vault of the welkin became cracked. All the worlds became enveloped in gloom. Nothing could be seen. The light of all the luminaries became darkened, along with that of the sun himself, O Bharata! The great Rishis, penetrated with fear and desirous of doing good to themselves and the universe, performed the usual rites of propitiation and peace. Meanwhile, Rudra of terrible prowess rushed against the deities. Filled with rage, he tore out the eyes of Bhaga. Incensed with wrath, he assailed Pushan with his foot. He tore out the teeth of that god as he sat employed in eating the large sacrificial ball (called Purodasa). Trembling with fear, the deities bent their heads to Sankara. Without being appeased, Rudra once more placed on his bow-string a sharp and blazing arrow. Beholding his prowess, the deities and the Rishis became all alarmed. Those foremost of gods began to pacify him! Joining their hands in reverence, they began to recite the Sata-rudriya Mantras. At last Maheswara, thus praised by the deities, became gratified. The deities than assigned a large share (of the sacrificial offerings) to him. Trembling with fear, O king, they sought his protection. When Rudra became gratified, the embodiment of sacrifice, which had been pierced in twain, became once more united. Whatever limbs of his had been destroyed by the shafts of Mahadeva, became once more whole and sound. The Asuras possessed of great energy had in days of yore three cities in the firmament. One of these had been made of iron, one of silver, and the third of gold. With all his weapons, Maghavat, the chief of the deities, was unable to pierce those cities. Afflicted by the Asuras, all the deities then sought the protection of the great Rudra. Assembled together the high-souled deities addressed him, saying, 'O Rudra, the Asuras threaten to exert their destructive influence in all acts! Do thou slay the Daityas and destroy their city for the protection of the three worlds, O giver of honours!' Thus addressed by them, he replied, saying, 'So be it!' and then made Vishnu his excellent shaft-head. He made the deity of fire his shaft-reed, and Surya's son Yama the wings of that shaft. He made the Vedas his bow and the goddess Savitri his excellent bow-string. And he made the Grandsire Brahma his charioteer. Applying all these, he pierced the triple city of the Asuras with that shaft of his, consisting of three Parvans and three Salyas. [A Parvam is a knot. Reeds and bamboos consist of a series of knots. The space between two knots is called a Salya.] Indeed, O Bharata, the Asuras with their cities, were all burnt by Rudra with that shaft of his whose complexion was like that of the sun and whose energy resembled that of the fire which appears at the end of the Yuga for consuming all things. Beholding that Mahadeva changed into a child with five locks of hair lying on the lap of Parvati, the latter asked the deities as to who he was. Seeing the child, Sakra became suddenly filled with jealousy and wrath and resolved to kill him with his thunder. The child, however, paralysed the arm, looking like a mace of iron, of Indra with the thunderbolt in it. The deities all became stupefied, and they could not understand that the child was the Lord of universe. Verily, all of them along with the very Regents of the world, found their intellects stupefied in the matter of that child who was none else than the Supreme Being. Then the illustrious Grandsire Brahma, reflecting with the aid of his penances, found out that that child was the foremost of all Beings, the lord of Uma, Mahadeva of immeasurable prowess. He then praised the Lord. The deities also began to hymn the praises of both Uma and Rudra. The arm (which had been paralysed) of the slayer of Vala then became restored to its former state. The Mahadeva, taking birth as the Brahmana Durvasa of great energy, resided for a long time at Dwaravati in my house. While residing in my abode he did diverse acts of mischief. Though difficult of being borne, I bore them yet from magnanimity of heart. He is Rudra; he is Shiva; he is Agni; he is Sarva; he is the vanquisher of all; he is Indra, and Vayu, and the Aswins and the god of lightning. He is Chandramas; he is Isana; he is Surya; he is Varuna; he is Time; he is the Destroyer; he is Death; he is the Day and the Night; he is the fortnight; he is the seasons; he is the two twilights; he is the year. He is Dhatri and he is Vidhatri; and he is Viswakarma; and he is conversant with all things. He is the cardinal points of the compass and the subsidiary points also. Of universal form, he is of immeasurable soul. The holy and illustrious Durvasa is of the complexion of the celestials. He sometimes manifests himself singly; sometimes divides himself into two portions; and sometimes exhibits himself in many, a hundred thousand forms. Even such is Mahadeva. He is, again, that god who is unborn. In even a hundred years one cannot exhaust his merits by reciting them.'"

SECTION 161

"Vasudeva said, 'O mighty-armed Yudhishthira, listen to me as I recite to thee the many names of Rudra as also the high blessedness of that high-souled one. The Rishis describe

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Mahadeva as Agni, and Sthanu, and Maheswara; as one-eyed, and three-eyed, of universal form, and Siva or highly auspicious. Brahmanas conversant with the Vedas say that that god has two forms. One of these is terrible, and the other mild and auspicious. Those two forms, again, are subdivided into many forms. That form which is fierce and terrible is regarded as identical with Agni and Lightning and Surya. The other form which is mild and auspicious is identical with Righteousness and water and Chandramas. Then, again, it is said that half his body is fire and half is Soma (or the moon). That form of his which is mild and auspicious is said to be engaged in the practice of the Brahmacharya vow. The other form of his which is supremely terrible is engaged in all operations of destruction in the universe. Because he is great (Mahat) and the Supreme Lord of all (Iswara), therefore he is called Maheswara. And since he burns and oppresses, is keen and fierce, and endued with great energy, and is engaged in eating flesh and blood and marrow, he is said to be Rudra. Since he is the foremost of all the deities, and since his dominion and acquisitions are very extensive, and since he protects the extensive universe, therefore he is called Mahadeva. Since he is of the form or colour of smoke, therefore he is called Dhurjati. Since by all his acts he performs sacrifices for all and seeks the good of every creature, therefore he is called Siva or the auspicious one. Staying above (in the sky) he burns the lives of all creatures and is, besides, fixed in a particular route from which he does not deviate. His emblem, again, is fixed and immovable for all time. He is, for these reasons, called Sthanu. He is also of multiform aspect. He is present, past, and future. He is mobile and immobile. For this he is called Vahurupa (of multiform aspect). The deities called Viswedevas reside in his body. He is, for this, called Viswarupa (of universal form). He is thousand-eyed; or, he is myriad-eyed; or, he has eyes on all sides and on every part of his body, His energy issues through his eyes. There is no end of his eyes. Since he always nourishes all creatures and sports also with them, and since he is their lord or master, therefore he is called Pasupati (the lord of all creatures). Since his emblem is always observant of the vow of Brahmacharya, all the worlds worship it accordingly. This act of worship is said to gratify him highly. If there is one who worship him by creating his image, another who worships his emblem, the latter it is that attains to great prosperity for ever. The Rishis, the deities, the Gandharvas, and the Apsaras, worship that emblem of his which is ever erect and upraised. If his emblem is worshipped, Maheswara becomes highly gratified with the worshipper. Affectionate towards his devotees, he bestows happiness upon them with a cheerful soul. This great god loves to reside in crematoria and there he burns and consumes all corpses. Those persons that perform sacrifices on such grounds attain at the end to those regions which have been set apart for heroes. Employed in his legitimate function, he it is That is regarded as the Death that resides in the bodies of all creatures. He is, again, those breaths called Prana and Apana in the bodies of all embodied beings. He has many blazing and terrible forms. All those forms are worshipped in the world and are known to Brahmanas possessed of knowledge. Amongst the gods he has many names all of which are fraught with grave import. Verily, the meanings of those names are derived from either his greatness or vastness, or his feats, or his conduct. The Brahmanas always recite the excellent Sata-rudriya in his honour, that occurs in the Vedas as also that which has been composed by Vyasa. Verily, the Brahmanas and Rishis call him the eldest of all beings. He is the first of all the deities, and it was from his mouth that he created Agni. That righteous-souled deity, ever willing to grant protection to all, never gives up his suppliants. He would much rather abandon his own life-breaths and incur all possible afflictions himself. Long life, health and freedom from disease, affluence, wealth, diverse kinds of pleasures and enjoyments, are conferred by him, and it is he also who snatches them away. The lordship and affluence that one sees in Sakra and the other deities are, verily his. It is he who is always engaged in all that is good and evil in the three worlds. In consequence of his fullest control over all objects of enjoyment he is called Iswara (the Supreme Lord or Master). Since, again, he is the master of the vast universe, he is called Maheswara. The whole universe is pervaded by him in diverse forms. It is that deity whose mouth roars and burns the waters of the sea in the form of the huge mare's head!'" [The allusion is to the fiery mare's head which is supposed to wander through the ocean.]

SECTION 162

"Vaisampayana said, 'After Krishna, the son of Devaki, had said these words, Yudhishthira once more asked Bhishma the son of Santanu, saying, 'O thou of great intelligence; O foremost of all persons conversant with duties, which, indeed, of the two, direct perception and the scriptures, is to be regarded as authority for arriving at a conclusion?'

"Bhishma said, 'I think, there is no doubt in this. Listen to me, O thou of great wisdom! I shall answer thee. The question thou hast asked is certainly proper. It is easy to cherish doubt. But the solution of that doubt is difficult. Innumerable are the instances, in respect of both direct perception and audition (or the scriptures), in which doubts may arise. Certain persons, who delight in the name of logicians, verily imagining themselves to be possessed of superior wisdom, affirm that direct perception is the only authority. They assert that nothing, however true, is existent which is not directly perceivable; or, at least they doubt the existence of those objects. Indeed, such assertions involve an absurdity and they who make them are of foolish understanding, whatever may be their pride of learning. If, on the other hand, thou doubtest as to how the one (indivisible Brahman) could be the cause, I answer that one would understand it only after a long course of years and with the assistance of Yoga practised without idleness. Indeed, O Bharata, one that lives according to such means as present themselves (without, i.e., one's being wedded to this or that settled mode of life), and one that is devoted (to the solution of the question), would be capable of understanding it. None else, truly, is competent for comprehending it. When one attains to the very end of reasons (or reasoning processes), one then attains to that excellent and all comprehending knowledge--that vast mass of effulgence which illumines all the universe (called Brahma). That knowledge, O king, which is derived from reason (or inferences) can scarcely be said to be knowledge. Such knowledge should be rejected. It should be noted that it is not defined or comprehended by the word. It should, therefore, be rejected!'"

"Yudhisthira said, 'Tell me, O grandsire, which among these (four) is most authoritative, viz., direct perception, inference from observation, the science of Agama or scriptures, and diverse kinds of practices that distinguish the good.'

"Bhishma said, 'While Righteousness is sought to be destroyed by wicked persons possessed of great might, it is capable of being protected for the time being by those that are good exerting themselves with care and earnestness. Such protection, however, avails not in the long run, for destruction does overtake Righteousness at the end. Then, again, Righteousness often proves a mask for covering Unrighteousness, like grass and straw covering the mouth of a deep pit and concealing it from the view. Hear, again, O Yudhisthira! In consequence of this, the practices of the good are interfered with and destroyed by the wicked. Those persons who are of evil conduct, who discard the Srutis--indeed, those wicked wights who are haters of Righteousness,--destroy that good course of conduct (which could otherwise be set up as a standard). Hence, doubts attach to direct perception, inference, and good conduct. Those, therefore, among the good that are possessed of understanding born of (or cleansed by) the scriptures and that are ever contented, are to be regarded as the foremost. Let those that are anxious and deprived of tranquillity of soul, approach these. Indeed, O Yudhishthira., do thou pay court to them and seek of them the solutions of thy doubt! Disregarding both pleasure and wealth which always follow cupidity and awakened into the belief that only Righteousness should be sought, do thou, O Yudhishthira, wait upon and ask those persons (for enlightening thyself). The conduct of those persons never goes wrong or meets with destruction, as also their sacrifices and Vedic study and rites. Indeed, these three, viz., conduct as consisting of overt acts, behaviour in respect of (mental) purity, and the Vedas together constitute Righteousness.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'O grandsire, my understanding is once more stupefied by doubt. I am on this side the ocean, employed in searching after the means of crossing it. I do not, however, behold the other shore of the ocean! If these three, viz., the Vedas, direct perception (or acts that are seen), and behaviour (or, mental purity) together constitute what is to be regarded as authority, it can be alleged that there is difference between them. Righteousness then becomes really of three kinds, although it is one and indivisible.'

"Bhishma said, 'Righteousness is sometimes seen to be destroyed by wicked wights of great power. If thou thinkest, O king, that Righteousness should really be of three kinds, my reply is that thy conclusion is warranted by reason. The truth is that Righteousness is one and indivisible, although it is capable of being viewed from three different points. The paths (indications) of those three that constitute the foundation of Righteousness have each been laid down. Do thou act according to the instructions laid down. Thou shouldst never wrangle about Righteousness and then seek to have those doubts solved into which thou mayst arrive. O chief of the Bharatas, let no doubts like these ever take possession of thy mind! Do thou obey what I say without scruple of any kind. Follow me like a blind man or like one who, without being possessed of sense himself, has to depend upon that of another. Abstention from injury, truth, absence of wrath (or forgiveness), and liberality of gifts,--these four, O king, that hast no foe, do thou practise, for these four constitute eternal Righteousness! Do thou also, O mighty-armed prince, pursue that conduct towards the Brahmanas which is consistent with what has been observed towards them by thy sires and grandsires. These are the principal indications of Righteousness. That man of little intelligence who would destroy the weight of authority by denying that to be a standard which has always been accepted as such would himself fail to become an authority among men. Such a man becomes the cause of much grief in the world. Do thou reverence the Brahmanas and treat them with hospitality. Do thou always serve them in this way. The universe rests on them. Do thou understand them to be such!'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me, O grandsire, what the respective ends are of those that hate Righteousness and of those that adore and observe it!'

"Bhishma said, 'Those men that hate Righteousness are said to have their hearts overwhelmed by the attributes of passion and darkness. Such men have always to go to Hell. Those men, on the other hand, O monarch, who always adore and observe Righteousness, those men who are devoted to truth and sincerity, are called good. They always enjoy the pleasures or felicity of heaven. In consequence of their waiting upon their preceptors with reverence their hearts always turn towards Righteousness. Verily, they who adore Righteousness attain to the regions of the deities. Those individuals, whether human beings or deities who divest themselves of cupidity and malice and who emaciate or afflict their bodies by the observance of austerities, succeed, in consequence of the Righteousness which then becomes theirs to attain to great felicity. Those that are gifted with wisdom have said that the Brahmanas, who are the eldest sons of Brahmana, represent Righteousness. They that are righteous always worship them, their hearts regarding them with as much love and affection as a hungry man's stomach entertains for ripe and delicious fruits.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'What is the appearance presented by those that are wicked, and what are those acts which they that are called good are to do? Explain to me this, O holy one! Indeed, tell me what the indications are of the good and the wicked.'

"Bhishma said, 'They that are wicked are evil in their practices, ungovernable or incapable of being kept within the restraints of rules, and foul mouthed. They, on the other hand, they are good, are always good in their acts. Verily, the acts these men do are regarded as the indications of that course of conduct which is called good. They that are good or righteous, O monarch, never answer the two calls of nature on the public road, or in the midst of a cow-pen, or on a field of paddy, After feeding the five they take their own food. They never talk while eating, and never go to sleep with wet hands (i.e., without rubbing them dry with towels or napkins). Whenever they see any of the following, they circumambulate them for showing them reverence, viz., a blazing fire, a bull, the image of a deity, a cow-pen, a place where four roads meet, and an old and virtuous Brahmana. They give the way, themselves standing aside, unto those that are old, those that are afflicted with burdens, ladies, those that hold high appointments in the village or town administration, Brahmanas, kine, and kings. The righteous or good man is he that protects his guests, servants and other dependents, his own relatives, and all those that seek his protection. Such a man always welcomes these with the usual enquiries of politeness. Two times have been appointed by the deities for human beings to take their food, viz., morning and evening. During the interval one should not eat anything. By following this rule about eating, one is said to observe a fast. As the sacred fire waits for libations to be poured upon it when the hour for Homa arrives, even so a woman, when her functional period is over, expects an act of congress with her husband. One that never approaches one's spouses at any other time save after the functional period, is said to observe the vow of Brahmacharya. Amrita (nectar), Brahmanas, and kine,--these three are regarded as equal. Hence, one should always worship, with due rites, Brahmanas and kine. One does not incur any fault or stain by eating the meat of animals slain in sacrifices with the aid of Tantras from the Yajur Veda. The flesh of the back-bone, or that of animals not slain in sacrifice, should be avoided even as one avoids the flesh of one's own son. One should never cause one's guest to go without food whether when one resides in one's own country or in a foreign land. After completing one's study one should present the Dakshina unto one's preceptor. When one sees one's preceptor, one should congratulate him with reverence and worshipping him present him a seat. By worshipping one's preceptor, one increases the period of one's life as also one's fame and prosperity. One should never censure the old, nor send them on any business. One should never be seated when any one that is old is standing. By acting in this way one protects the duration of one's life. One should never cast one's eyes on a naked woman, nor a naked man. One should never indulge in sexual congress except in privacy. One should eat also without being seen by others. Preceptors are the foremost of Tirthas; the heart is the foremost of all sacred objects; knowledge is the foremost of all objects of search; and contentment is the foremost of all happiness. Morning and evening one should listen to the grave counsels of those that are aged. One attains to wisdom by constant waiting upon those that are venerable for years. While reading the Vedas or employed in eating, one should use one's right hand. One should always keep one's speech and mind under thorough control, as also one's senses. With well-cooked frumenty,

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Yavaka, Krisara, and Havi (clarified butter), one should worship the Pitris and the deities in the Sraddha called Ashtaka. The same should be used in worshipping the Planets. One should not undergo a shave without calling down a blessing upon oneself. If one sneezes, one should be blessed by those present. All that are ill or afflicted with disease, should be blessed. The extension of their lives should be prayed for. One should never address an eminent person familiarly (by using the word Twam). Under even the great difficulties one should never do this. To address such a person as Twam and to slay him are equal, persons of learning are degraded by such a style of address. Unto those that are inferior, or equal, or unto disciples, such a word can be used. The heart of the sinful man always proclaims the sins he has committed. Those men who have deliberately committed sins meet with destruction by seeking to conceal them from the good. Indeed, they that are confirmed sinners seek to conceal their sinful acts from others. Such persons think that their sins are witnessed by neither men nor the deities. The sinful man, overwhelmed by his sins, takes birth in a miserable order of being. The sins of such a man continually grow, even as the interest the usurer charge (on the loans he grants) increase from day to day. If, having committed a sin, one seeks to have it covered by righteousness, that sin becomes destroyed and leads to righteousness instead of other sins. ['Covered by righteousness' implies 'if, having once tripped, the sinner restrains himself and engages to do acts of righteousness.'] If a quantity of water be poured upon salt, the latter immediately dissolves away. Even so when expiation is performed, sin dissolves away. For these reasons one should never conceal a sin. Concealed, it is certain to increase. Having committed a sin, one should confess it in the presence of those that are good. They would destroy it immediately. If one does not enjoy in good time what one has stored with hope, the consequence is that the stored wealth finds another owner after the death of him who has stored it. The wise have said that the mind of every creature is the true test of Righteousness. Hence, all creatures in the world have an innate tendency to achieve Righteousness. One should achieve Righteousness alone or single-handed. Verily, one should not proclaim oneself Righteous and walk with the standard of Righteousness borne aloft for purpose of exhibition. They are said to be traders in Righteousness who practise it for enjoying the fruits it brings about. One should adore the deities without giving way to sentiments of pride. Similarly, one should serve one's preceptor without deceit. One should make arrangements for securing to oneself invaluable wealth in the hereafter which consists in gifts made here to deserving persons.'"

SECTION 163

"Yudhishthira said, 'It is seen that if a person happens to be unfortunate, he fails to acquire wealth, how great so ever his strength. On the other hand, if one happens to be fortunate, he comes to the possession of wealth, even if he be a weakling or a fool. When, again, the time does not come for acquisition, one cannot make an acquisition with even one's best exertion. When, however, the time comes for acquisition, one wins great wealth without any exertion. Hundreds of men may be seen who achieve no result even when they exert their best. Many persons, again, are seen to make acquisitions without any exertion. If, wealth were the result of exertion, then one could, with exertion, acquire it immediately. Verily, if the case were so, no man of learning could then be seen to take the protection for the sake of his livelihood, of one destitute of learning, Among men, that which is not (destined) to be attained, O chief of the Bharatas, is never attained. Men are seen to fail in achieving results even with the aid of their best exertions. One may be seen to seek wealth by hundreds of means (and yet failing to acquire it); while another, without at all seeking it, becomes happy in its possession. Men may be seen doing evil acts continually (for wealth) and yet failing to acquire it. Others are in the enjoyment of wealth without doing any evil act whatever. Others, again, who are observant of the duties assigned to them by the scriptures, are without wealth. One may be seen to be without any knowledge of the science of morals and policy even after one has studied all the treatises on that science. One, again, may be seen appointed as the prime minister of a king without having at all studied the science of morals and policy. A learned man may be seen that is possessed of wealth. One destitute of learning may be seen owning wealth. Both kinds of men, again, may be seen to be entirely destitute of wealth. If, by the acquisition of learning one could acquire the happiness of wealth, then no man of learning could be found living, for the very means of his subsistence, under the protection of one destitute of learning. Indeed, if one could obtain by the acquisition of learning, all desirable objects like a thirsty individual having his thirst slaked upon obtaining water, then none in this world would have shown idleness in acquiring learning. If, one's time has not come, one does not die even if one be pierced with hundreds of shafts. On the other hand, one lays down one's life, if one's hour has come, even if it be a blade of grass with which one is struck.'

"Bhishma said, 'If one, setting oneself to undertaking involving even great exertions, fails to earn wealth, one should then practise severe austerities. Unless seeds be sown, no crops appear. It is by making gifts (to deserving persons in this life) that one acquires (in one's next life) numerous objects of enjoyment, even as one becomes possessed of intelligence and wisdom by waiting upon those that are venerable for years. The wise have said that one becomes possessed of longevity by practising the duty of abstention from cruelty to all creatures. Hence, one should make gifts and not solicit (or accept them when made by others). One should worship those individuals that are righteous. Verily, one should be sweet-speeched towards all, and always do what is agreeable to others. One should seek to attain to purity (both mental and external). Indeed, one should always abstain from doing injury to any creature. When in the matter of the happiness and woe of even insects and ants, their acts (of this and past lives) and Nature constitute the cause, it is meet, O Yudhishthira, that thou shouldst he tranquil!'" [What is stated here is this; the condition of all living creatures is determined by their acts of this and past lives.. Nature, again, is the cause of acts. What of felicity and misery, therefore, one sees in this world, must be ascribed to these two causes. As regards the self also, O Yudhishthira, thou art not freed from that universal law. Do thou, therefore, cease to cherish doubts of any kind. If thou seest a learned man that is poor, or an ignorant man that is wealthy, if thou seest exertion failing and the absence of exertion leading to success. thou must always ascribe the result to acts and Nature.]

SECTION 164

"Bhishma said, 'If one does acts oneself that are good or causes others to accomplish them, one should then expect to attain to the merits of righteousness. Similarly, if one does acts oneself that are evil, and causes others to accomplish them, one should never expect to attain to the merits of righteousness. [What is stated here is this; one may become righteous by accomplishing oneself righteous deeds or inducing or helping others to do them. Similarly, one becomes unrighteous by doing oneself acts that are evil or by inducing or helping others to do them.] At all times, it is Time that, entering the understandings of all creatures, sets them to acts of righteousness or unrighteousness, and then confer felicity or misery upon them. When a person, beholding the fruits of Righteousness, understands Righteousness to be superior, it is then that he inclines towards Righteousness and puts faith in it. One, however, whose understanding is not firm, fails to put faith in it, As regards faith in Righteousness, it is this (and nothing else). To put faith in Righteousness is the indication of the wisdom of all persons. One that is acquainted with both (i.e., what should be done and what should not be done), with a view to opportuneness, should, with care and devotion, achieve what is right. Those Righteous men who have in this life been blessed with affluence, acting of their own motion, take particular care of their souls so that they may not, in their next lives, have to take birth as persons with the attribute of Passion predominating in them. Time (which is the supreme disposer of all things) can never make Righteousness the cause of misery. One should, therefore, know that the soul which is righteous is certainly pure (i.e., freed from the element of evil and misery). As regards Unrighteousness, it may be said that, even when of large proportions, it is incapable of even touching Righteousness which is always protected by Time and which shines like a blazing fire. These are the two results achieved by Righteousness, viz., the stainlessness of the soul and unsusceptibility of being touched by Unrighteousness. Verily, Righteousness is fraught with victory. Its effulgence is so great that it illumines the three worlds. A man of wisdom cannot catch hold of a sinful person and forcibly cause him to become righteous. When seriously urged to act righteously, the sinful only act with hypocrisy, impelled by fear. They that are righteous among the Sudras never betake themselves to such hypocrisy under the plea that persons of the Sudra order are not permitted to live according to any of the four prescribed modes. I shall tell thee particularly what the duties truly are of the four orders. So far as their bodies are concerned, the individuals belonging to all the four orders have the five primal elements for the constituent ingredients. Indeed, in this respect, they are all of the same substance. For all that, distinctions exist between them in respect of both practices relating to life or the world and the duties of righteousness. Notwithstanding these distinctions, sufficient liberty of action is left to them in consequence of which all individuals may attain to an equality of condition. The regions of felicity which represent the consequences or rewards of Righteousness are not eternal, for they are destined to come to an end. Righteousness, however, is eternal. When the cause is eternal, why is the effect not so? [Righteousness leads to regions of felicity. The former is said to be eternal. While the latter are not so. The question asked (or doubt raised) is why is the effect not eternal when the cause is eternal? It is explained below.] The answer to this is as follows. Only that Righteousness is eternal which is not promoted by the desire of fruit or reward. (That Righteous, however, which is prompted by the desire of reward, not eternal. Hence, the reward though undesired that attaches to the first kind of Righteousness, viz., attainment of identity with Brahman, is eternal. The reward, however, that attaches to that Righteousness prompted by desire of fruit. Heaven is not eternal). [There are two kinds of Righteousness, viz., nishkama and sakama. The former leads to attainment of Brahma, the latter to heaven and felicity. Brahma is eternal; the latter not so. Nishkama Righteousness being eternal, leads to an eternal reward. Sakama Righteousness not being so, does not lead to an eternal reward. The word Kala here means Sankalpa, hence Dhruvahkalah means nishkama Dharma.] All men are equal in respect of their physical organism. All of them, again, are possessed of souls that are equal in respect of their nature. When dissolution comes, all else dissolve away. What remains is the inceptive will to achieve Righteousness. That, indeed, reappears (in next life) of itself. When such is the result (that is, when the enjoyments and endurance of this life are due to the acts of a past life), the inequality of lot discernible among human beings cannot be regarded in any way anomalous. So also, it is seen that those creatures that belong to the intermediate orders of existence are equally subject, in the matter of their acts, to the influence of example.'"

SECTION 165

"Vaisampayana said, 'That perpetuator of Kuru's race, viz., Yudhishthira the son of Pandu, desirous of obtaining such good as is destructive of sins, questioned Bhishma who was lying on a bed of arrows, (in the following words).'

"Yudhishthira said, 'What, indeed, is beneficial for a person in this world? What is that by doing which one may earn happiness? By what may one be cleansed of all one's sins? Indeed, what is that which is destructive of sins?'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'In this connection, the royal son of Santanu, O foremost of men, duly recited the names of the deities unto Yudhishthira who was desirous of hearing.'

"Bhishma said, 'O son, the following names of the deities with those of the Rishis, if duly recited morning, noon, and evening, become efficacious cleansers of all sins. Acting with the aid of one's senses (or knowledge and action), whatever sins one may commit by day or by night or by the two twilights, consciously, or unconsciously one is sure to be cleansed therefrom and become thoroughly pure by reciting these names. One that takes those names has never to become blind or deaf; indeed, by taking those names, one always succeeds in attaining to what is beneficial. Such a man never takes birth in the intermediate order of beings, never goes to hell, and never becomes a human being of any of the mixed castes. He has never to fear the accession of any calamity. When death comes, he never becomes stupefied. The master of all the deities and Asuras, resplendent with effulgence, worshipped by all creatures, inconceivable, indescribable, the life of all living beings, and unborn, is the Grandsire Brahma, the Lord of the universe. His chaste spouse is Savitri. Then comes that origin of the Vedas, the creator Vishnu, otherwise called Narayana of immeasurable puissance. Then comes the three-eyed Lord of Lima; then Skanda the generalissimo of the celestial forces; then Visakha; then Agni the eater of sacrificial libations; then Vayu the god of wind; then Chandramas; then Aditya the god of the sun, endued with effulgence; then the illustrious Sakra the lord of Sachi; and Yama with his spouse Dhumorna; and Varuna with Gauri; Kuvera the lord of treasures, with his spouse Riddhi; the amiable and illustrious cow Surabhi; the great Rishi Visravas; Sankalpa, Ocean, Gangs: the other sacred Rivers; the diverse Maruts; the Valkhilyas crowned with success of penances; the island-born Krishna; Narada; Parvata; Viswavasu; the Hahas; the Huhus; Tumvuru; Chitrasena; the celestial messenger of wide celebrity; the highly blessed celestial maidens; the celestial Apsaras, Urvasi, Menaka, Rambha; Misrakesi, Alamvusha, Viswachi, Ghritachi, Panchachuda, Tilottama, the Adityas, the Vasus, the Aswins, the Pitris; Dharma (Righteousness); Vedic lore, Penances, Diksha, Perseverance (in religious acts), the Grandsire, Day and Night, Kasyapa the son of Marichi, Sukra, Vrihaspati, Mangala the son of Earth, Vudha, Rahu, Sanischara, the Constellations, the Seasons, the Months, the Fortnights, the Year, Garuda, the son of Vinata, the several Oceans, the sons of Kadru, viz., the Snakes, Satadru, Vipasa, Chandrabhaga, Saraswati, Sindhu, Devika, Prabhasa, the lakes of Pushkara, Ganga, Mahanadi, Vena, Kaveri, Narmada, Kulampuna Visalya, Karatoya, Amvuvahini. Sarayu, Gandaki, the great river Lohita, Tamra, Aruna, Vetravati, Parnasa, Gautami, the Godavari, Vena, Krishnavena, Dwija, Drishadvati, Kaveri, Vankhu, Mandakini Prayaga, Prabhasa, the sacred Naimisha, the spot sacred to Visweswara or Mahadeva, viz., Kasi, that lake of crystal water, Kurukshetra full of many sacred waters, the foremost of oceans (viz., the ocean of milk), Penances, Gifts, Jamvumarga, Hiranwati, Vitasta, the river Plakshavati, Vedasmriti, Vedavati, Malava, Aswavati, all sacred spots on Earth, Gangadwara, the sacred Rishikulya, the river Chitravaha, the Charmanwati, the sacred river Kausiki, the

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Yamuna, the river Bhimarathi, the great river Vahuda, Mahendravani, Tridiva Nilika, Saraswati, Nanda, the other Nanda, the large sacred lake, Gaya, Phalgutirtha Dharmarayana (the sacred forest) that is peopled with the deities, the sacred celestial river, the lake created by the Grandsire Brahma which is sacred and celebrated over the three worlds, and auspicious and capable of cleansing all sins, the Himavat mountain endued with excellent herbs, the Vindhya mountain variegated with diverse kinds of metals, containing many Tirthas and overgrown with medicinal herbs. Meru, Mahendra, Malaya, Sweta endued with silver, Sringavat, Mandara, Nila, Nishada, Dardurna, Chitrakuta, Anjanabha, the Gandhamadana mountains; the sacred Somagiri, the various other mountains, the cardinal points of the compass, the subsidiary points, the Earth, all the trees, the Viswedevas, the Firmament, the Constellations, the Planets, and the deities,--let these all, named and unnamed, rescue and cleanse us! The man who takes the names of these becomes cleansed of all his sins. By hymning their praises and gratifying them, one becomes freed from every fear. Verily, the man who delights in uttering the hymns in praise of the deities becomes cleansed of all such sins as lead to birth in impure orders. After this recital of the deities, I shall name those learned Brahmanas crowned with ascetic merit and success and capable of cleaning one of every sin. They are Yavakrita and Raibhya and Kakshivat and Aushija, and Bhrigu and Angiras and Kanwa, and the puissant Medhatithi, and Varhi possessed of every accomplishment. These all belong to the eastern region. Others, viz., Unmuchu, Pramuchu, all highly blessed, Swastyatreya of great energy, Agastya of great prowess, the son of Mitra and Varuna; Dridhayu and Urdhavahu, those two foremost and celebrated of Rishis,--these live in the southern region. Listen now to me as I name those Rishis that dwell in the western region. They are Ushango with his uterine brothers, Parivyadha of great energy, Dirghatamas, Gautama, Kasyapa, Ekata, Dwita, Trita, the righteous-souled son of Atri (viz., Durvasa), and puissant Saraswat. Listen now to me as I name those Rishis that worship the deities in sacrifices, dwelling in the northern region. They are Atri, Vasishtha, Saktri, Parasara's son Vyasa of great energy; Viswamitra, Bharadwaja, Jamadagni, the son of Richika, Rama, Auddalaka, Swetaketu, Kohala, Vipula, Devala, Devasarman, Dhaumya, Hastikasyapa, Lomasa, Nachiketa, Lomaharsana, Ugrasravas, and Bhrigu's son Chyavana. This is the tale of Rishis possessed of Vedic lore. They are primeval Rishis, O king, whose names, if taken, are capable of cleansing one of every sin. After this I shall recite the names of the principal kings. They are Nriga, Yayati, Nahusha, Yadu, Puru of great energy, Sagara, Dhundhumara, Dilipa of great prowess, Krisaswa, Yauvanaswa, Chitraswa, Satyavat, Dushmanta, Bharata who became an illustrious Emperor over many kings, Yavana, Janaka, Dhrishtaratha, Raghu, that foremost of kings, Dasaratha, the heroic Rama, that slayer of Rakshasas, Sasavindu. Bhagiratha, Harischandra, Marutta, Dridharatha, the highly fortunate Alarka, Aila, Karandhama, that foremost of men, Kasmira, Daksha, Amvarisha, Kukura, Raivata of great fame, Kuru, Samvarana, Mandhatri of unbaffled prowess, the royal sage Muchukunda, Jahnu who was much favoured by Janhavi (Ganga), the first (in point of time) of all kings, viz., Prithu the son of Vena, Mitrabhanu, Priyankara, Trasadasyu, Sweta that foremost of royal sages, the celebrated Mahabhisha, Nimi Ashtaka, Ayu, the royal sage Kshupa, Kaksheyu, Pratardana, Devodasa, Sudasa, Kosaleswara, Aila, Nala, the royal sage Manu, that lord of all creatures, Havidhara, Prishadhara, Pratipa, Santanu, Aja, the senior Varhi, Ikshwaku of great fame, Anaranya, Janujangha, the royal sage Kakshasena, and many others not named (in history). That man who rising at early dawn takes the names of these kings at the two twilights, viz., at sunset and sunrise, with a pure body and mind and without distracted attention, acquires great religious merit. One should hymn the praises of the deities, the celestial Rishis, and the royal sages and say, 'These lords of the creation will ordain my growth and long life and fame! Let no calamity be mine, let no sin defile me, and let there be no opponents or enemies of mine! Without doubt, victory will always be mine and an auspicious end hereafter!'"

SECTION 166

"Janamejaya said, 'When that foremost person among the Kauravas, viz., Bhishma, was lying on a bed of arrows,--a bed that is always coveted by heroes,--and when the Pandavas, were sitting around him, my great grandsire Yudhishthira of much wisdom, heard these expositions of mysteries with respect to the subject of duty and had all his doubts solved. He heard also what the ordinance are that apply to the subjects of gifts, and thus had all his doubts removed with respect to the topics of righteousness and wealth. It behoveth thee, O learned Brahmana, to tell me now what else did the great Pandava king do.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'When Bhishma became silent, the entire circle of king (who were seated around him) became perfectly silent. Indeed, they all sat motionless there, like figures painted on canvass. Then Vyasa the son of Satyavati, having reflected for a moment, addressed the royal son of Ganga, saying, 'O king, the Kuru chief Yudhishthira has been restored to his own nature, along with all brothers and followers. With Krishna of great intelligence by his side, he bends his head in reverence unto thee. It behoveth thee to give him leave for returning to the city.' Thus addressed by the holy Vyasa, the royal son of Santanu and Ganga dismissed Yudhishthira and his counsellors. The royal son of Santanu, addressing his grandson in a sweet voice, also said, 'Do thou return to the city, O king! Let fever of thy heart be dispelled. Do thou adore the deities in diverse sacrifices distinguished by large gifts of food and wealth, like Yayati himself, O foremost of kings, endued with devotion and self-restraint. Devoted to the practice of the Kshatriya order, do thou, O son of Pritha, gratify the Pitris and the deities. Thou shalt then earn great benefits. Indeed, let the fever of thy heart be dispelled. Do thou gladden all thy subjects. Do thou assure them and establish peace among all. Do thou also honour all thy well-wishers with such rewards as they deserve! Let all thy friends and well-wishers live, depending on thee for their means, even as birds live, depending for their means upon a full-grown tree charged with fruit and standing on a sacred spot. When the hour comes for my departure from this world, do thou come here, O king. The time when I shall take leave of my body is that period when the sun, stopping in his south-ward course, will begin to return northwards!' The son of Kunti answered, 'So be it!' And saluted his grandsire with reverence and then set out, with all his relatives and followers, for the city called after the elephant. Placing Dhritarashtra at the head and also Gandhari who was exceedingly devoted to her lord, and accompanied by the Rishis and Kesava, as also by the citizens and the inhabitants of the country and by his counsellors, O monarch, that foremost one of Kuru's race entered the city named after the elephant.'"

SECTION 167

"Vaisampayana said, 'Then the royal son of Kunti, having duly honoured the citizens and the inhabitants of the province, dismissed them to their respective homes. The Pandava king then consoled these women, who had lost their heroic husbands and sons in the battle, with abundant gift of wealth. Having recovered his kingdom, Yudhishthira of great wisdom caused himself to be duly installed on the throne. That foremost of men then assured all his subjects by diverse acts of good will. That foremost of righteous men then set himself to earn the substantial blessing of the Brahmanas, of the foremost military officers, and the leading citizens. The blessed monarch having passed fifty nights in the capital recollected the time indicated by his grandsire as the hour of his departure from this world. Accompanied by a number of priests he then set out of the city named after the elephant, having seen that the sun ceasing to go southwards had begun to proceed in his northward course. Yudhishthira the son of Kunti took with him a large quantity of clarified butter and floral garlands and scents and silken cloths and excellent sandalwood and Aquilaria Agallocha and dark sloe wood, for cremating the body of Bhishma. Diverse kinds of costly garlands and gems also were among those stores. Placing Dhritarashtra ahead and queen Gandhari celebrated for her virtues, and his own mother Kunti and all his brothers also, Yudhishthira of great intelligence, accompanied by Krishna and Vidura of great wisdom, as also by Yuyutsu and Yuyudhana, and by his other relatives and followers forming a large train, proceeded, his praises hymned the while by eulogists and bards. The sacrificial fires of Bhishma were also borne in the procession. Thus accompanied, the king set out from his city like a second chief of the deities. Soon he came upon the spot where the son of Santanu was till lying on his bed of arrows. He beheld his grandsire waited upon with reverence by Parasara's son Vyasa of great intelligence, by Narada, O royal sage, by Devala and Asita, and also by the remnant of unslain kings assembled from various parts of the country. Indeed, the king saw that his high-souled grandsire, as he lay on his heroic bed, was guarded on all sides by the warriors appointed for that duty. Alighting from his car, King Yudhishthira with his brothers saluted his grandsire, the chastiser of all foes. They also saluted the Rishis with the island-born Vyasa at their head. They were saluted in return by them. Accompanied by his priests each of whom resembled the grandsire Brahman himself, as also by his brothers, Yudhishthira of unfading glory then approached that spot whereon Bhishma lay on his bed of arrows surrounded by these reverend Rishis. Then king Yudhishthira the just, at the head of his brothers, addressed that foremost one of Kuru's race, viz., the son of the River Ganga, as he lay on that bed of his, saying, 'I am Yudhishthira, O king! Salutations to thee, O son of the River Janhavi! If thou hearest me still, tell me what I am to do for thee! Bearing with me thy sacrificial fires, I have come here, O king, and wait upon thee at the hour indicated! Preceptors of all branches of learning, Brahmanas, Ritwiks, all my brothers, thy son, viz., king Dhritarashtra of great energy, are all here with my counsellors as also Vasudeva of great prowess. The remnant of unslain warriors, and all the denizens of Kurujangala, are also here. Opening thy eyes, O chief of Kuru's race, do thou behold them! Whatever should be done on this occasion has all been arranged and provided for by me. Indeed, at this hour which thou hadst indicated, all things have been kept ready!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed by Kunti's son of great intelligence, the son of Ganga opened his eyes and saw all the Bharatas assembled there and standing around him. The mighty Bhishma then, taking the strong hand of Yudhishthira, addressed him in a voice deep as that of the clouds. That thorough master of words said, 'By good luck, O son of Kunti, thou hast come here with all thy counsellors, O Yudhishthira! The thousand-rayed maker of day, the holy Surya has begun his northward course. I have been lying on my bed here for eight and fifty nights. Stretched on these sharp-pointed arrows I have felt this period to be as long as if it was a century. O Yudhishthira, the lunar month of Magha has come. This is, again, the lighted fortnight and a fourth part of it ought by this (according to my calculations) be over.' Having said so unto Yudhishthira the son of Dharma, Ganga's son Bhishma then saluted Dhritarashtra and said unto him as follows.'

"Bhishma said, 'O king, thou art well-conversant with duties. All thy doubts, again, relating to the science of wealth have been well-solved. Thou hast waited upon many Brahmanas of great learning. The subtle sciences connected with the Vedas, all the duties of religion, O king, and the whole of the four Vedas, are well-known to thee! Thou shouldst not grieve, therefore, O son of Kuru! That which was pre-ordained has happened. It could not be otherwise. Thou hast heard the mysteries relating to the deities from the lips of the island-born Rishi himself. Yudhishthira and his brothers are morally as much thy sons as they are the sons of Pandu. Observant of the duties of religion, do thou cherish and protect them. In their turn, they are always devoted to the service of their seniors. King Yudhishthira the just is pure-souled. He will always prove obedient to thee! I know that he is devoted to the virtue of compassion or abstention from injury. He is devoted to his seniors and preceptors. Thy sons were all wicked-souled. They were wedded to wrath and cupidity. Overwhelmed by envy, they were all of wicked behavior. It behoveth thee not to grieve for them!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having said this much unto Dhritarashtra of great wisdom, the Kuru hero then addressed Vasudeva of mighty arms.'

"Bhishma said, 'O holy one, O god of all gods, O thou that art worshipped by all the deities and Asuras, O thou that didst cover the three worlds with three steps of thine, salutations to thee, O wielder of the conch, the discus, and the mace! Thou art Vasudeva, thou art of golden body, thou art the one Purusha (or active agent), thou art the creator (of the universe), thou art of vast proportions. Thou art Jiva. Thou art subtle. Thou art the Supreme and eternal Soul. Do thou, O lotus-eyed one, rescue me, O foremost of all beings! Do thou, give me permission, O Krishna, to depart from this world, O thou that art Supreme felicity, O foremost of all beings! The sons of Pandu should ever be protected by thee. Thou art, indeed, already their sole refuge. Formerly, I spoke to the foolish Duryodhana of wicked understanding that thither is Righteousness where Krishna is, and that there is victory where Righteousness is. I further counselled him that relying on Vasudeva as his refuge, he should make peace with the Pandavas. Indeed, I repeatedly told him, 'This is the fittest time for thee to make peace! The foolish Duryodhana of wicked understanding, however, did not do my bidding. Having caused a great havoc on earth, at last, he himself laid down his life. Thee, O illustrious one, I know to be that ancient and best of Rishis who dwelt for many years in the company of Nara, in the retreat of Vadari. The celestial Rishi Narada told me this, as also Vyasa of austere penances. Even they have said unto me that. Thyself and Arjuna are the old Rishis Narayana and Nara born among men. Do thou, O Krishna, grant me leave, I shall cast off my body. Permitted by thee, I shall attain to the highest end!'

"Vasudeva said, 'I give thee leave, O Bhishma! Do thou, O king, attain to the status of the Vasus, O thou of great splendour, thou hast not been guilty of a single transgression in this world. O royal sage, thou art devoted to thy sire. Thou art, therefore, like a second Markandeya! It is for that reason that death depends upon thy pleasure even as thy slave expectant of reading thy pleasure!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having said these words, the son of Ganga once more addressed the Pandavas headed by Dhritarashtra, and other friends and well-wishers of his, 'I desire to cast off my lifebreaths. It behoveth you to give me leave. Ye should strive for attaining to truth. Truth constitutes the highest power. Ye should always live with Brahmanas of righteous conduct, devoted to penances, ever abstaining from cruel behaviour, and who have their souls under control!' Having said these words unto his friends and embraced them all, the intelligent Bhishma once more addressed Yudhishthira, saying, 'O king, let all Brahmanas, especially those that are endued with wisdom, let them who are preceptors, let those who are priests capable of assisting as sacrifices, be adorable in thy estimation.'"

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SECTION 168

"Vaisampayana said, 'Having said so unto all the Kurus, Bhishma, the son of Santanu, remained silent for sometime, O chastiser of foes He then held forth his life-breaths successively in those parts of his body which are indicated in Yoga. The life-breaths of that high-souled one, restrained duly, then rose up. Those parts of the body of Santanu's son, in consequence of the adoption, of Yoga, from which the life-breaths went up, became soreless one after another. In the midst of those high-souled persons, including those great Rishis with Vyasa at their head, the sight seemed to be a strange one, O king. Within a short time, the entire body of Bhishma became shaftless and soreless. Beholding it, all those distinguished personages with Vasudeva at their head, and all the ascetics with Vyasa, became filled with wonder. The life-breaths, restrained and unable to escape through any of the outlets, at last pierced through the crown of the head and proceeded upwards to heaven. The celestial kettle-drums began to play and floral showers were rained down. The Siddhas and regenerate Rishis, filled with delight, exclaimed, 'Excellent, Excellent!' 'The life-breaths of Bhishma, piercing through the crown of his head, shot up through the welkin like a large meteor and soon became invisible. Even thus, O great king, did Santanu's son, that pillar of Bharata's race, united himself with eternity. Then the high-souled Pandavas and Vidura, taking a large quantity of wood and diverse kinds of fragrant scents, made a funeral pyre. Yuyutsu and others stood as spectators of the preparations. Then Yudhishthira and the high-souled Vidura wrapped Bhishma's body with silken cloth and floral garlands. Yuyutsu held an excellent umbrella, over it Bhimasena and Arjuna both held in their hands a couple of yak-tails of pure white. The two sons of Madri held two head-gears in their hands. Yudhishthira and Dhritarashtra stood at the feet of the lord of the Kurus, taking up palmyra fans, stood around the body and began to fan it softly. The Pitri sacrifice of the high-souled Bhishma was then duly performed. Many libations were poured upon the sacred fire. The singers of Samans sang many Samans. Then covering the body of Ganga's son with sandal wood and black aloe and the bark wood, other fragrant fuel, and setting fire to the same, the Kurus with Dhritarashtra and others, stood on the right sight of the funeral pyre. Those foremost ones of Kuru's race, having thus cremated the body of the son of Ganga, proceeded to the sacred Bhagirathi, accompanied by the Rishis. They were followed by Vyasa, by Narada, by Asita, by Krishna, by the ladies of the Bharata race, as also by such of the citizens of Hastinapore as had come to the place. All of them, arrived at the sacred river, duly offered oblation of water unto the high-souled son of Ganga. The goddess Bhagirathi, after those oblations of water had been offered by them unto her son, rose up from the stream, weeping and distracted by sorrow. In the midst of her lamentations, she addressed the Kurus, 'Ye sinless ones, listen to me as I say unto you all that occurred (with respect to my son). Possessed of royal conduct and disposition, and endued with wisdom and high birth, my son was the benefactor of all the seniors of his race. He was devoted to his sire and was of high vows. He could not be vanquished by even Rama of Jamadagni's race with his celestial weapons of great energy. Alas, that hero has been slain by Sikhandin. Ye kings, without doubt, my heart is made of adamant, for it does not break even at the disappearance of that son from my sight! At the Self choice at Kasi, he vanquished on a single car the assembled Kshatriyas and ravished the three princesses (for his step-brother Vichitravirya)! There was no one on earth that equalled him in might. Alas, my heart does not break upon hearing the slaughter of that son of mine by Sikhandin!' The puissant Krishna, hearing the goddess of the great river indulging in these lamentations consoled her with many soothing words. Krishna said, 'O amiable one, be comforted. Do not yield to grief, O thou of beautiful features! Without doubt, thy son has gone to the highest region of felicity! He was one of the Vasus of great energy. Through a curse, O thou of beautiful features, he had to take birth among men. It behoveth thee not to grieve for him. Agreeably to Kshatriya duties, he was slain by Dhananjaya on the field of battle while engaged in battle. He has not been slain, O goddess, by Sikhandin. The very chief of the celestials himself could not slay Bhishma in battle when he stood with stretched bow in hand. O thou of beautiful face, thy son has, in felicity, gone to heaven. All the gods assembled together could not slay him in battle. Do not, therefore, O goddess Ganga, grieve for that son of Kuru's race. He was one of the Vasus, O goddess! Thy son has gone to heaven. Let the fever of thy heart be dispelled.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'That foremost of all rivers, thus addressed by Krishna and Vyasa, cast off her grief, O great king, and became restored to equanimity. All the kings there present, headed by Krishna, O monarch, having honoured that goddess duly, received her permission to depart from her banks.'"

The end of Anusasana Parva.

THE MAHABHARATA, BOOK 14
ASWAMEDHA PARVA

SECTION 1

(Aswamedhika Parva)

OM! HAVING BOWED down unto Narayana, and Nara the foremost of male beings, and unto the goddess Saraswati, must the word Jaya be uttered.

"Vaisampayana said, "After the king Dhritarashtra had offered libations of water (unto the manes of Bhisma), the mighty-armed 1 Yudhishthira, with his senses bewildered, placing the former in his front, ascended the banks (of the river), his eyes suffused with tears, and dropt down on the bank of the Ganga like an elephant pierced by the hunter. Then incited by Krishna, Bhima took him up sinking. 'This must not be so,' said Krishna, the grinder of hostile hosts. The Pandavas, O king, saw Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma, troubled and lying on the ground, and also sighing again and again. And seeing the king despondent and feeble, the Pandavas, overwhelmed with grief, sat down, surrounding him. And endowed with high intelligence and having the sight of wisdom, king Dhritarashtra, exceedingly afflicted with grief for his sons, addressed the monarch, saying,--'Rise up, O thou tiger among the Kurus. Do thou now attend to thy duties. O Kunti's son, thou hast conquered this Earth according to the usage of the Kshatriyas. Do thou now, O lord of men, enjoy her with thy brothers and friends. O foremost of the righteous, I do not see why thou shouldst grieve. O lord of the Earth, having lost a hundred sons like unto riches obtained in a dream, it is Gandhari and I, who should mourn. Not having listened to the pregnant words of the high-souled Vidura, who sought our welfare, I, of perverse senses, (now) repent. The virtuous Vidura, endowed with divine insight, had told me,--'Thy race will meet with annihilation owing to the transgressions of Duryodhana. O king, if thou wish for the weal of thy line, act up to my advice. Cast off this wicked-minded monarch, Suyodhana, and let not either Karna or Sakuni by any means see him. Their gambling too do thou, without making any fuss suppress, and anoint the righteous king Yudhishthira. That one of subdued senses will righteously govern the Earth. If thou wouldst not have king Yudhishthira, son of Kunti, then, O monarch, do thou, performing a sacrifice, thyself take charge of the kingdom, and regarding all creatures with an even eye, O lord of men, do thou let thy kinsmen. O thou advancer of thy kindred, subsist on thy bounty.' When, O Kunti's son, the far-sighted Vidura said this, fool that I was I followed the wicked Duryodhana. Having turned a deaf ear to the sweet speech of that sedate one, I have obtained this mighty sorrow as a consequence, and have been plunged in an ocean of woe. Behold thy old father and mother, O king, plunged in misery. But, O master of men, I find no occasion for thy grief.'"

SECTION 2

"Vaisampayana said, "Thus addressed by the intelligent king Dhritarashtra Yudhishthira, possessed of understanding, became calm. And then Kesava (Krishna) accosted him,--'If a person indulges excessively in sorrow for his departed forefathers, he grieves them. (Therefore, banishing grief), do thou (now) celebrate many a sacrifice with suitable presents to the priests; and do thou gratify the gods with Soma liquor, and the manes of thy forefathers with their due food and drink. Do thou also gratify thy guests with meat and drink and the destitute with gifts commensurate with their desires. A person of thy high intelligence should not bear himself thus. What ought to be known hath been known by thee; what ought to be done, hath also been performed. And thou hast heard the duties of the Kshatriyas, recited by Bhishma, the son of Bhagirathi, by Krishna Dwaipayana, Narada and Vidura. Therefore thou shouldst not walk the way of the stupid; but pursuing the course of thy forefathers, sustain the burthen (of the empire). It is meet that a Kshatriya should attain heaven for certain by his (own) renown. Of heroes, those that came to be slain never shall have to turn away (from the celestial regions). Renounce thy grief, O mighty sovereign. Verily, what hath happened was destined to happen so. Thou canst in no wise see those that have been slain in this war.--Having said this unto Yudhishthira, prince of the pious, the high-spirited Govinda paused; and Yudhishthira answered him thus, 'O Govinda, full well do I know thy fondness for me. Thou hast ever favoured me with thy love and thy friendship. And, O holder of the mace and the discus. O scion of Yadu's race, O glorious one, if (now) with a pleased mind thou dost permit me to go to the ascetic's retreat in the woods, then thou wouldst compass what is highly desired by me. Peace find I none after having slain my grand-father, and that foremost of men, Karna, who never fled from the field of battle. Do thou, O Janarddana, so order that I may be freed from this heinous sin and that my mind may be purified. As Pritha's son was speaking thus, the highly-energetic Vyasa, cognisant of the duties of life, soothing him, spoke these excellent words, My child, thy mind is not yet calmed; and therefore thou art again stupefied by a childish sentiment. And wherefore, O child, do we over and over again scatter our speech to the winds? Thou knowest duties of the Kshatriyas, who live by warfare. A king that hath performed his proper part should not suffer himself to be overwhelmed by sorrow. Thou hast faithfully listened to the entire doctrine of salvation; and I have repeatedly removed thy misgivings arising out of desire. But not paying due heed to what I have unfolded, thou of perverse understanding hast doubtless forgotten it clean. Be it not so. Such ignorance is not worthy of thee. O sinless one, thou knowest all kinds, of expiation; and thou hast also heard of the virtues of kings as well as the merits of gifts. Wherefore then, O Bharata, acquainted with every morality and versed in all the Agamas, art thou overwhelmed (with grief) as if from ignorance?'"

SECTION 3

"Vyasa said, 'O Yudhishthira, thy wisdom, I conceive, is not adequate. None doth any act by virtue of his own power. It is God. who engageth him in acts good or bad, O bestower of honour. Where then is the room for repentance? Thou deemest thyself as having perpetrated impious acts. Do thou, therefore, O Bharata, harken as to the way in which sin may be removed. O Yudhishthira, those that commit sins, can always free themselves from them through penance, sacrifice and gifts. O king, O foremost of men, sinful people are purified by sacrifice, austerities and charity. The high-souled celestials and Asuras perform sacrifices for securing religious merit; and therefore sacrifice are of supreme importance. It is through sacrifices that the high-souled celestials had waxed so wondrously powerful; and having celebrated rites did they vanquish the Danavas. Do thou, O Yudhishthira, prepare for the Rajasuya, and the horse-sacrifice, as well as, O Bharata, for the Sarvamedha and the Naramedha [i.e., human sacrifice. From this it appears that the sacrifice of human beings was in vogue at the time.]. And then as Dasaratha's son, Rama, or as Dushmanta's and Sakuntala's son, thy ancestor, the lord of the Earth, the exceedingly puissant king Bharata, had done, do thou agreeably to the ordinance celebrate the Horse-sacrifice with Dakshinas. Yudhishthira replied, 'Beyond a doubt, the Horse-sacrifice purifieth princes. But I have a purpose of which it behoveth thee to hear. Having caused this huge carnage of kindred, I cannot, O best of the regenerate ones, dispense gifts even on a small scale; I have no wealth to give. Nor can I for wealth solicit these juvenile sons of kings, staying in sorry plight, with their wounds yet green, and undergoing suffering. How, O foremost of twice-born ones, having myself destroyed the Earth can I, overcome by sorrow, levy dues for celebrating a sacrifice? Through Duryodhana's fault, O best of ascetics, the kings of the Earth have met with destruction, and we have reaped ignominy. For wealth Duryodhana hath wasted the Earth; and the treasury of that wicked-minded son of Dhritarashtra is empty. (In this sacrifice), the Earth is the Dakshina; this is the rule that is prescribed in the first instance. The usual reversal of this rule, though sanctioned, is observed, by the learned as such. Nor, O ascetic, do I like to have a substitute (for this process). In this matter, O reverend sir, it behoveth thee to favour me with thy counsel'. Thus addressed by Pritha's son, Krishna Dwaipayana, reflecting for a while, spoke unto the righteous king,--'This treasury, (now) exhausted, shall be full. O son of Pritha, in the mountain Himavat (The Himalayas) there is gold which had been left behind by Brahmanas at the sacrifice of the high-souled Marutta.' [King Marutta celebrated a sacrifice in the Himalayas, bestowing gold on Brahmanas. Not being able to carry the entire quantity, they had carried as much as they could, throwing away the remainder.] Yudhishthira asked, 'How in that sacrifice celebrated by Marutta was so much gold amassed? And, O foremost of speakers, when did he reign?' Vyasa said 'If, O Pritha's son, thou art anxious to hear concerning that king sprung from the Karandhama race, then listen to me as I tell thee when that highly powerful monarch possessed of immense wealth reigned.'"

SECTION 4

"Yudhishthira said, 'O righteous one, I am desirous of hearing the history of that royal sage Marutta. Do thou, O Dwaipayana, relate this unto me, O sinless one.'

"Vyasa said, 'O child, in the Krita age Manu was lord (of the Earth) wielding the sceptre. His son was known under the name of Prasandhi. Prasandhi had a son named Kshupa, Kshupa's son was that lord (of men), king Ikshwaku. He, O king, had a hundred sons endowed with pre-eminent piety. And all of them were made monarchs by king Ikshwaku. The eldest of them, Vinsa by name became the model of bowmen. Vinsa's son, O Bharata, was the auspicious Vivinsa. Vivinsa, O king, had five and ten sons; all of them were powerful archers, reverencial to the Brahmanas and truthful, gentle and ever speaking fair. The eldest brother, Khanitra, oppressed all his brothers. And having conquered the entire kingdom rid of all troubles, Khanitra could not retain his supremacy; nor were the people pleased with him. And dethroning him, they, O foremost of monarchs, invested his son Suvarcha with the rights of sovereignty and (having effected this) experienced joy (in their hearts). Seeing the

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reverses sustained by his site as well as his expulsion from the empire, he was ever intent on bringing about the welfare of the people, being devoted to the Brahmanas, speaking the truth, practising purity and restraining his senses and thoughts. And the subjects were well pleased with that high-minded one constant in virtue. But he being constantly engaged in virtuous deeds, his treasures and vehicles became greatly reduced. And on his treasury having become depleted, the feudatory princes swarming round him began to give him trouble. Being thus oppressed by many foes while his treasury, horses and vehicles were impoverished, the king underwent great tribulation along with his retainers and the denizens of his capital. Although his power waned greatly, yet the foes could not slay the king, for his power, O Yudhishthira, was established in righteousness. And when he had reached the extreme of misery along with the citizens, he blew his hand (with his mouth), and from that there appeared a supply of forces. And then he vanquished all the kings living along the borders of his dominions. And from this circumstance O king, he hath been celebrated as Karandhama. His son, (the first) Karandhama who was born at the beginning of the Treta age, equalled Indra himself and was endowed with grace, and invincible even by the immortals. At that time all the kings were under his control; and alike by virtue of his wealth and for his prowess, he became their emperor. In short, the righteous king Avikshit by name, became like unto Indra himself in heroism; and he was given to sacrifices, delight took in virtue and held his senses under restraint. And in energy he resembled the sun and in forbearance Earth herself; in intelligence, he was like Vrihaspati, and in calmness the mountain Himavat himself. And that king delighted the hearts of his subjects by act, thought, speech, self-restraint, and forbearance. He performed hundreds of horse-sacrifices, and the potent and learned Angira himself served him as priest. His son surpassed his sire in the possession of good qualities. Named Marutta, that lord of kings was righteous and o great renown, an possessed the might of ten thousand elephants. He was like unto Vishnu's second self. Desirous of celebrating a sacrifice, that virtuous monarch, coming to Mount Meru on the northern side of Himavat, caused thousands of shining golden vessels to be forged. There on a huge golden hill he performed the rites. And goldsmiths made basins and vessels and pans and seats without number. And the sacrificial ground was near this place. And that righteous lord of Earth, king Marutta, along with other princes, performed a sacrifice there.'"

SECTION 5

"Yudhishthira said, 'O best of speakers, how that king became so powerful? And how, O twice-born one, did he obtain so much gold? And where now, O reverend sire, is all his wealth? And, O ascetic, how can we secure the same?'

"Vyasa thereupon said,--'As the numerous offspring of the Prajapati Daksha, the Asuras and the Celestials challenged each other (to encounter), so in the same way Angira's sons, the exceedingly energetic Vrihaspati and the ascetic, Samvarta, of equal vows, challenged each other, O king. Vrihaspati began to worry Samvarta again and again. And constantly troubled by his elder brother, he, O Bharata, renouncing his riches, went to the woods, with nothing to coyer his body save the open sky. (At that time), Vasava having vanquished and destroyed the Asuras, and obtained the sovereignty of the celestial regions had appointed as his priest Angira's eldest son, that best of Brahmanas, Vrihaspati. Formerly Angira was the family-priest of king Karandhama. Matchless among men in might, prowess and character; powerful like unto Satakratu, righteous souled and of rigid vows, O king, he had vehicles, and warrior, and many adherents, and superb and costly bedsteads, produced through dint of meditation by the breath of his mouth. And by his native virtues, the monarch had brought all the princes under his sway. And having lived as long as he desired, he ascended to the heaven in his corporal embodiment. And his son named Avikshit--conqueror of foes,--righteous like unto Yayati, brought all the Earth under his dominion. And both in merit and might the king resembled his sire. He had a son named Marutta, endowed with energy, and resembling Vasava himself. This earth clad in oceans; felt herself drawn towards him. He always used to defy the lord of the celestials; and O son of Pandu, Vasava also defied Marutta. And Marutta,--master of Earth--was pure and possessed of perfections. And in spite of his striving, Sakra could not prevail over him. And incapable of controlling him, he riding on the horse, along with the celestials summoning Vrihaspati, spoke to him thus, 'O Vrihaspati, if thou wishest to do what is agreeable to me, do not perform priestly offices for Marutta on behalf of the deities or the ancestral Manes. I have, O Vrihaspati, obtained the sovereignty of the three worlds, while Marutta is merely the lord of the Earth. How, O Brahmana, having acted as priest unto the immortal king of the celestials, wilt thou unhesitatingly perform priestly function unto Marutta subject to death? Good betide thee! Either espouse my side or that of the monarch, Marutta or forsaking Marutta, gladly come over to me.--Thus accosted by the sovereign of the celestials, Vrihaspati, reflecting for a moment, replied unto the king of the immortals. Thou art the Lord of creatures, and in thee are the worlds established, And thou hast destroyed Namuchi, Viswarupa and Vala. Thou, O hero, alone encompassest the highest prosperity of the celestials, and, O slayer of Vala, thou sustainest the earth as well as the heaven. How, O foremost of the celestials, having officiated as thy priest, shall I, O chastiser of Paka, serve a mortal prince. Do thou listen to what I say. Even if the god of fire cease to cause heat and warmth, or the earth change its nature, or the sun ceases to give light, I shall never deviate from the truth (that I have spoken).

Vaisampayana continued,--'On hearing this speech from Vrihaspati Indra became cured of his envious feelings, and then praising him he repaired to his own mansion.'

SECTION 6

"Vyasa said, 'The ancient legend of Vrihaspati and the wise Marutta is cited in this connection. On hearing of the compact made by Angira's son Vrihaspati with the lord of the gods (Indra), king Marutta made the necessary preparations for a great sacrifice. The eloquent grandson of Karandhama, (Marutta) having conceived the idea of a sacrifice in his mind, went to Vrihaspati and addressed him thus, 'O worshipful ascetic, I have intended to perform the sacrifice which thou didst propose to me once on a previous occasion and in accordance with thy instructions, and I now desire to appoint thee as officiating priest in this sacrifice, the materials whereof have also been collected by me.--O excellent one, thou art our family priest, therefore do thou take those sacrificial things and perform the sacrifice thyself.'

Vrihaspati said, 'O lord of the earth, I do not desire to perform thy sacrifice. I have been appointed as priest by the Lord of the gods (Indra) and I have promised to him to act as such.'

Marutta said, 'Thou art our hereditary family priest, and for this reason I entertain great regard for thee, and I have acquired the right of being assisted at sacrifices by thee, and therefore it is meet that thou shouldst officiate as priest at my sacrifice.'

Vrihaspati said, 'Having, O Marutta, acted as priest to the Immortals, how can I act as such to mortal men, and whether thou dost depart hence or stay, I tell thee, I have ceased to act as priest to any but the Immortals. O thou of mighty arms, I am unable to act as thy priest now. And according to thy own desire, thou canst appoint any one as thy priest who will perform thy sacrifice.'

Vyasa said, 'Thus told, king Marutta became confused with shame, and while returning home with his mind oppressed by anxiety, he met Narada on his way. And that monarch on seeing the divine Rishi Narada stood before him with due salutation, with his hands clasped together. Then Narada addressing him thus said,--O royal sage, thou seemest to be not well-pleased in thy mind; is all well with thee? Where hast thou been, O sinless one, and whence the cause of this thy mental disquietude? And, O king, if there be no objection to thy telling it to me, do thou, O best of kings, disclose (the cause of thy anxiety) to me, so that, O prince, I may allay the disquietude of thy mind with all my efforts.'

Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed by the great Rishi Narada, king Marutta informed him of the rebuff he had received from his religious preceptor.'

Marutta said, 'Seeking for a priest to officiate at my sacrifice, I went to that priest of the Immortals, Vrihaspati, the son of Angira, but he did not choose to accept my offer. Having met with this rebuff from him, I have no desire to live any longer now, for by his abandoning me thus, I have, O Narada, become contaminated with sin.'

Vyasa said, 'Thus told by that king, Narada, O mighty prince, made this reply to him with words which seemed to revive that son of Avikshit.'

Narada said, 'The virtuous son of Angira, Samvarta by name is wandering over all the quarters of the earth in a naked state to the wonder of all creatures; do thou, O prince, go to him. If Vrihaspati does not desire to officiate at thy sacrifice, the powerful Samvarta, if pleased with thee, will perform thy sacrifice.'

Marutta said, 'I feel as if instilled with new life, by these thy words, O Narada, but O the best of speakers, do thou tell me where I can find Samvarta, and how I can remain by his side, and how I am to act so that he may not abandon me, for I do not desire to live if I meet with a rebuff from him also.'

Narada said, 'Desirous of seeing Maheswara, O prince, he wanders about at his pleasure in the city of Varanasi, in the garb of a mad man. And having reached the gate of that city, thou must place a dead body somewhere near it, and the man who shall turn away on seeing the corpse, do thou, O prince, know that man to be Samvarta, and knowing him, do thou follow his footsteps wheresoever that powerful man chooses to go and finding him (at length) in a lonely place thou must seek his protection with thy hands clasped together in supplication to him. And if he enquires of thee as to the person who has given thee the information about his own self, do thou tell him that Narada has informed thee about Samvarta. And if he should ask thee to follow me, thou must tell him without any hesitation, that I have entered into the fire.'

Vyasa said, 'Having signified his assent to the proposal of Narada, that royal sage after duly worshipping him, and taking his permission, repaired to the city of Varanasi, and having reached there, that famous prince did as he had been told, and remembering the words of Narada, he placed a corpse at the gate of the city. And by coincidence, that Brahmana also entered the gate of the city at the same time. Then on beholding the corpse, he suddenly turned away. And on seeing him turn back, that prince, the son of Avikshit followed his footsteps with his hands clasped together, and with the object of receiving instruction from him. And then finding him in a lonely place, Samvarta covered the king with mud and ashes and phlegm and spittle. And though thus worried and oppressed by Samvarta, the king followed that sage with his hands clasped together in supplication and trying to appease him. At length overcome with fatigue, and reaching the cool shade of a sacred fig tree with many branches, Samvarta desisted from his course and sat himself to rest.'

SECTION 7

"Samvarta said, 'How hast thou come to know me, and who has referred thee to me, do thou tell this to me truly, if thou wishest me to do what is good to thee. And if thou speak truly, thou shalt attain all the objects of thy desire, and shouldst thou tell a lie, thy head shall be riven in a hundred pieces.' Marutta said, 'I have been told by Narada, wandering on his way, that thou art the son of our family-priest, and this (information) has inclined my mind (towards thee), with exquisite satisfaction.'

Samvarta said, 'Thou hast told this to me truly. He (Narada) knows me to be a performer of sacrifices. Now tell me where is Narada living at present.'

Marutta said, 'That prince of celestial saints (Narada) having given me this information about thee, and commended me to thy care, has entered into the fire.'

Vyasa said, 'Hearing these words from the king (Marutta) Samvarta was highly gratified, and he said (addressing Marutta). 'I too am quite able to do all that.' Then, O prince, that Brahmana, raving like a lunatic, and repeatedly scolding Marutta with rude words, again accosted him thus, 'I am afflicted with a cerebral disorder, and, I always act according to the random caprices of my own mind. Why art thou bent upon having this sacrifice performed by a priest of such a singular disposition? My brother is able to officiate at sacrifices, and he has gone over to Vasava (Indra), and is engaged in performing his sacrifices, do thou therefore have thy sacrifice performed by him. My elder brother has forcibly taken away from me all my household goods and mystical gods, and sacrificing clients, and has now left to me only this physical body of mine, and, O son of Avikshit, as he is worthy of all respect from me, I cannot by any means officiate at thy sacrifice, unless with his permission. Thou must therefore go to Vrihaspati first, and taking his permission thou canst come back to me, if thou hast any desire to perform a sacrifice, and then only shall I officiate at thy sacrifice.'

Marutta said, 'Do thou listen to me, O Samvarta, I did go to Vrihaspati first, but desiring the patronage of Vasava, he did not wish to have me as his sacrificer. He said, 'Having secured the priesthood of the Immortals, I do not desire to act for mortals, and, I have been forbidden by Sakra (Indra) to officiate at Marutta's sacrifice, as he told me that Marutta having become lord of the earth, was always filled with a desire to rival him.' And to this thy brother assented by saying to the Slayer of Vala (Indra),--Be it so. Know thou, O best of ascetics, that as he had succeeded in securing the protection of the Lord of the Celestials, I repaired to him with gratified heart, but he did not agree to act as my priest. And thus repulsed, I now desire to spend all I possess, to have this sacrifice performed by thee, and to outstrip Vasava by the merit of thy good offices. As I have been repulsed by Vrihaspati for no fault of mine, I have now no desire, O Brahmana, to go to him to seek his aid in this sacrifice."

Samvarta said, 'I can certainly, O king, accomplish all that thou desirest, if only thou agree to do all that I shall ask thee to do, but I apprehend that Vrihaspati and Purandara (Indra) when they will learn that I am engaged in performing thy sacrifice, will be filled with wrath, and do all they can to injure thee. Therefore, do thou assure me of thy steadfastness, so as to ensure my coolness and constancy, as otherwise. if I am filled with wrath against thee, I shall reduce (destroy) thee and thy kindred to ashes."

Marutta said, 'If ever I forsake thee, may I never attain the blessed regions as long as the mountains shall exist, and the thousand-rayed sun continue to emit heat: if I forsake dice, may I never attain true wisdom, and remain for ever addicted to worldly (material) pursuits."

Samvarta said, "Listen, O son of Avikshit, excellent as it is the bent of thy mind to perform this act, so too, O king, have I in my mind the ability to perform the sacrifice, I tell thee, O

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king, that thy good things will become imperishable, and that thou shalt lord it over Sakra and the Celestials with Gandharvas. For myself, I have no desire to amass wealth or sacrificial presents, I shall only do what is disagreeable to both Indra and my brother, I shall certainly make thee attain equality with Sakra, and I tell thee truly that I shall do what is agreeable to thee."

SECTION 8

"Samvarta said, "There is a peak named Munjaban on the summits of the Himalaya mountains, where the adorable Lord of Uma (Mahadeva) is constantly engaged in austere devotional exercises. There the mighty and worshipful god of great puissance, accompanied by his consort Uma, and armed with his trident, surrounded by wild goblins of many sorts, pursuing his random wish or fancy, constantly resides in the shade of giant forest trees, or in the caves, or on the rugged peaks of the great mountain. And there the Rudras, the Saddhyas, Viswedevas, the Vasus, Yama, Varuna, and Kuvera with all his attendants, and the spirits and goblins, and the two Aswins, the Gandharvas, the Apsaras, the Yakshas, as also the celestial sages, the Sun-gods, as well as the gods presiding over the winds, and evil spirits of all sorts, worship the high-souled lord of Uma, possessed of diverse characteristics. And there, O king, the adorable god sports with the wild and playful followers of Kuvera, possessed of weird and ghostly appearances. Glowing with its own splendour, that mountain looks resplendent as the morning sun. And no creature with his natural eyes made of flesh, can ever ascertain its shape or configuration, and neither heat nor cold prevails there, nor doth the sun shine nor do the winds blow. And, O king, neither doth senility nor hunger, nor thirst, nor death, nor fear afflict any one at that place. And, O foremost of conquerors, on all sides of that mountain, there exist mines of gold, resplendent as the rays of the sun. And O king, the attendants of Kuvera, desirous of doing good to him, protect these mines of gold from intruders, with uplifted arms. Hie thee thither, and appease that adorable god who is known by the names of Sarva, Bedha, Rudra, Sitikantha, Surapa, Suvarcha, Kapardi, Karala, Haryyaksha, Varada, Tryaksha, Pushnodantabhid, Vamana, Siva, Yamya, Avyaktarupa, Sadvritta, Sankara, Kshemya, Harikesa, Sthanu, Purusha, Harinetra, Munda, Krishna, Uttarana, Bhaskara, Sutirtha, Devadeva, Ranha, Ushnishi, Suvaktra, Sahasraksha, Midhvan, Girisa, Prasanta, Yata, Chiravasa, Vilwadanda, Siddha, Sarvadandadhara, Mriga, Vyadha, Mahan, Dhanesa, Bhava, Vara, Somavaktra, Siddhamantra, Chakshu, Hiranyavahu, Ugra, Dikpati, Lelihana, Goshtha, Shiddhamantra, Vrishnu, Pasupati, Bhutapati, Vrisha, Matribhakta, Senani, Madhyama, Sruvahasta, Yati, Dhanwi, Bhargava, Aja, Krishnanetra, Virupaksha, Tikshnadanshtra, Tikshna, Vaiswanaramukha, Mahadyuti, Ananga, Sarva, Dikpati, Bilohita, Dipta, Diptaksha, Mahauja, Vasuretas, Suvapu, Prithu, Kritivasa, Kapalmali, Suvarnamukuta, Mahadeva, Krishna, Tryamvaka, Anagha, Krodhana, Nrisansa, Mridu, Vahusali, Dandi, Taptatapa, Akrurakarma, Sahasrasira, Sahasra-charana, Swadha-swarupa, Vahurupa, Danshtri, Pinaki, Mahadeva, Mahayogi, Avyaya, Trisulahasta, Varada, Tryamvaka, Bhuvaneswara, Tripuraghna, Trinayana, Trilokesa, Mahanja, Sarvabhuta-prabhava, Sarvabhuta-dharana, Dharanidhara, Isana, Sankara, Sarva, Siva, Visveswara, Bhava, Umapati, Pasupati, Viswarupa, Maheswara, Virupaksha, Dasabhuja, Vrishavadhwaja, Ugra, Sthanu, Siva, Rudra, Sarva, Girisa, Iswara, Sitakantha, Aja, Sukra, Prithu, Prithuhara, Vara, Viswarupa, Virupaksha, Vahurupa, Umapati, Anangangahara, Hara, Saranya, Mahadeva, Chaturmukha. There bowing unto that deity, must thou crave his protection. And thus, O prince, making thy submission to that high-souled Mahadeva of great energy, shalt thou acquire that gold. And the men who go there thus, succeed in obtaining the gold. Thus instructed, Marutta, the son of Karandhama, did as he was advised. And made superhuman arrangements for the performance of his sacrifice. And artisans manufactured vessels of gold for that sacrifice. And Vrihaspati too, hearing of the prosperity of Marutta, eclipsing that of the gods, became greatly grieved at heart, and distressed at the thought that his rival Samvarta should become prosperous, became sick at heart, and the glow of his complexion left him, and his frame became emaciated. And when the lord of the gods came to know that Vrihaspati was much aggrieved, he went to him attended by the Immortals and addressed him thus."

SECTION 9

"Indra said, "Dost thou, O Vrihaspati, sleep in peace, and are thy servants agreeable to thee, dost thou seek the welfare of the gods, and do the gods, O Brahmana, protect thee?"

Vrihaspati said, "I do sleep in peace in my bed. O Lord of the gods, and my servants are to my liking and I always seek the welfare of the gods, and they cherish me well."

Indra said, "Whence then is this pain, mental or physical, and why art thou pale and altered in appearance (complexion) at present? Tell me, O Brahmana, who those people are, who have caused thee pain, so that I may kill them all."

Vrihaspati said, "O Indra, I have heard that Marutta will perform a great sacrifice at which exquisite presents will be given by him (to Brahmanas) and that at his sacrifice Samvarta will act as the officiating priest, and therefore do I desire that he may not officiate as priest at that sacrifice."

Indra said, "Thou, O Brahmana, hast attained all the object of thy desire when thou hast become the excellent priest of the gods, versed in all the sacred hymns, and hast overreached the influence of death and dotage, what can Samvarta do to thee now?"

Vrihaspati said, "Prosperity of a rival is always painful to one's feelings, and for this reason too, thou dost with try attendant gods persecute the Asuras with their with and kin, and kill the most prosperous among them; hence, O Lord of the gods, am I changed in appearance at the thought that my rival is prospering, therefore, O Indra, do thou, by all means, restrain Samvarta and king Marutta."

Indra turning to Agni said, "Do thou, O Jataveda, following my direction, go to king Marutta to present Vrihaspati to him, and say unto him that this Vrihaspati will officiate at his sacrifice and make him immortal."

Agni said, "I shall presently, O adorable one, repair thither as thy messenger, to present Vrihaspati to king Marutta; and to make Indra's words true, and to show respect to Vrihaspati, Agni departed."

Vyasa said, "Then the high-souled fire-god went on his errand, devastating all the forests and trees, like unto the mighty wind, roaring and revolving at random at the end of the winter season."

Marutta said, "Behold! I find the fire-god come in his own embodiment, this day, therefore do thou, O Muni, offer him a seat and water, and a cow, and water for washing the feet."

Agni said, "I accept thy offerings of water, seat, and water for washing the feet, O sinless one, do thou know me as the messenger of Indra, come to thee, in accordance with his directions."

Marutta said, "O Fire-god, is the glorious Lord of the Celestials happy, and is he pleased with us, and are the other gods loyal to him? Do thou enlighten me duly on all these points."

Agni said, "O lord of the earth, Sakra is perfectly happy, he is pleased with thee, and wishes to make thee free from senility, and all the other gods are loyal to him. Do thou, O king, listen to the message of the Lord of the Celestials. And the object for which he has sent me to thee is to present Vrihaspati to Marutta. O prince, let this priest (of the Celestials) perform thy sacrifice, and make thee, who art only a mortal, attain immortality."

Marutta said, "This twice-born Brahmana Samvarta will perform my sacrifice, and I pray to Vrihaspati, that he having acted as priest to Mahendra (Indra), it does not look well for him now to act as priest to mortal men."

Agni said, "If this Vrihaspati officiate as thy priest, then shalt thou by the blessings of Devaraja (Indra) attain the highest region in the celestial mansion and attaining fame shalt thou certainly conquer the heavenly region. And, O lord of men, if Vrihaspati act as thy priest, thou shalt be able to conquer all the regions inhabited by men, and the heavenly regions, and all the highest regions created by Prajapati and even the entire kingdom of the gods."

Samvarta said, "Thou must never come again thus to present Vrihaspati to Marutta: for know, O Pavaka, (Agni) if thou dost, I losing my temper, will burn thee with my fierce evil eyes."

Vyasa said, "Then Agni apprehending destruction by fire, and trembling like the leaves of the Aswattha tree (Ficus religiosa), returned to the gods, and the high-souled Sakra seeing that carrier of oblations (Agni) in the company of Vrihaspati said as follows:

Indra said, "O Jataveda (Agni), didst thou go to present Vrihaspati to Marutta according to my direction? What did that sacrificing king say unto thee and did he accept my message?"

Agni said, "Thy message was not acceptable by Marutta and when urged by me, he clasping the hands of Vrihaspati, repeatedly said, that Samvarta would act as his priest. And he also observed that he did not desire to attain the worldly and the heavenly regions and all the highest regions of Prajapati, and that if he were so minded, he would accept the terms of Indra."

Indra said, "Do thou go back to that king and meeting him, tell him these words of mine, full of significance, and if he obey them not, I shall strike him with my thunderbolt."

Agni said, "Let this king of the Gandharvas repair thither as thy messenger, O Vasava, for, I am afraid to go thither myself. Know, O Sakra, that highly incensed Samvarta, used to ascetic practices, told me these words in a rage. 'I shall burn thee with my fierce evil eyes if thou on any account come again here to present Vrihaspati to king Marutta.'"

Sakra said, "O Jataveda, it is thou who dost burn all other things and there is none else who can reduce thee to ashes. All the world is afraid to come in contact with thee. O carrier of oblations, these words of thine are worthy of no credence."

Agni said, "Thou, O Sakra, hast encompassed the dominion of the heaven and the earth and the firmament by the might of thy own arms, but even thus how could Vritra (of old) wrest from thee the sovereignty of the celestial regions?"

Indra said, "I can reduce my foes to submission and can even reduce the size of a mountain to an atom, if I will it. But, O Vahnni, as I do not accept the libation of Soma if offered by a foe, and as I do not strike the weak with my thunderbolt, Vritra seemed to triumph over me for a time. But who among mortals can live in peace by creating feud with me. I have banished the Kalakeyas to the earth, and removed the Danavas from heaven, and have terminated the existence of Prahlada in heaven. Can there be any man who can live in peace by provoking my enmity?"

Agni said, "Dost thou, O Mahendra, remember that in olden times when the sage Chyavana officiated at the sacrifice of Saryati with the twin gods Aswins and himself appropriated the Soma offering alone, thou wert filled with wrath, and when bent upon preventing Saryati's sacrifice, thou didst violently strike Chyavana with thy thunderbolt? But that Brahmana, O Purandara, giving way to passion, was able by the power of his devotions to seize and hold fast by hand with thy thunder-bolt in it. And in a rage, he again created a terrible looking enemy of thine, the Asura named Mada assuming all shapes, on beholding whom thou didst shut thine eyes with fear, whose one huge jaw was placed on earth, and the other extended to the celestial regions, and who looked terrible with his thousand sharp teeth extending over a hundred Yojanas, and had four prominent ones thick-set, and shining like a pillar of silver, and extending over two hundred Yojanas. And when grinding his teeth he pursued thee with his terrible and uplifted pike with the object of killing thee. Thou on beholding that terrible monster, presented a (pitiful) spectacle to all the by-standers. Then, O slayer of Danavas, overcome with fear of the monster, with thy hands clasped in supplication, thou didst seek the protection of the great sage. The might of Brahmanas, O Sakra, is greater than that of the Kshatriyas. None are more powerful than Brahmanas and knowing duly, as I do, the power of Brahmanas, I do not, O Sakra, desire to come in conflict with Samvarta."

SECTION 10

"Indra said, "Even so it is; the might of Brahmanas is great and there are none more powerful than Brahmanas, but I can never bear with equanimity the insolent pride of Avikshita's son, and so shall I smite him with my thunderbolt. Therefore, O Dhritarashtra, do thou according to my direction repair to king Marutta attended by Samvarta, and deliver this message to him--'Do thou, O prince, accept Vrihaspati as thy spiritual preceptor, as otherwise, I shall strike thee with my terrific thunderbolt.'"

Vyasa said, "Then Dhritarashtra betook himself to that monarch's court and delivered this message to him from Vasava."

Dhritarashtra said, "O lord of men, know that I am Dhritarashtra the Gandharva, come here with the object of delivering to thee the message of Indra. Do thou, O lion among kings, listen to the words which the high-souled lord of all the worlds meant for thee,--That one of incomprehensible achievements (Indra) only said this much, 'Do thou accept Vrihaspati as thy officiating priest for the sacrifice, or if thou do not comply with my request, I shall strike thee with my terrific thunderbolt.'"

Marutta said, "Thou, O Purandara, the Viswadevas, the Vasus and the Aswins ye all know, that in this world there is no escape from the consequences of playing false to a friend; it is a great sin like unto that of murdering a Brahman. Let Vrihaspati (therefore) officiate as priest to that Mahendra the supreme Deva (god), the highest one wielding the thunderbolt, and O prince, Samvarta will act as my priest, as neither his (Indra's) words, nor thine commend themselves to me."

The Gandharva said, "Do thou, O lion among princes, listen to the terrible war-cry of Vasava roaring, in the heavens. Assuredly, and openly will Mahendra hurl his thunderbolt at thee. Do thou therefore be-think thyself of thy good, for this is the time to do it."

Vyasa said, "Thus accosted by Dhritarashtra, and hearing the roar of howling Vasava, the king communicated this intelligence to Samvarta steadfast in devotion and the highest of all virtuous men."

Marutta said, "Verily this rain-cloud floating in the air indicates that Indra must be near at present, therefore, O prince of Brahmanas, I seek shelter from thee. Do thou, O best of Brahmanas, remove this fear of Indra from my mind. The Wielder of the thunderbolt is coming encompassing the ten directions of space with his terrible and superhuman refulgence and my assistants at this sacrificial assembly have been overcome with fright.

Samvarta said, "O lion among kings, thy fear of Sakra will soon be dispelled, and I shall soon remove this terrible pain by means of my magic lore (incantation); be calm and have no fear of being overpowered by India. Thou hast nothing to fear from the god of a hundred sacrifices. I shall use my staying charms, O king, and the weapons of all the gods will avail

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them not. Let the lightening flash in all the directions of space, and the winds entering into the clouds pour down the showers amid the forests and the waters deluge the heavens and the flashes of lightning that are seen will avail not. Thou hast nothing to fear, let Vasava pour down the rains and plast his terrific thunderbolt where he will, floating among the watery masses (clouds) for thy destruction, for the god Vahnni (Agni) will protect thee in every way, and make thee attain all the objects of thy desire."

Marutta said, "This appalling crash of the thunderbolt together with the howling of the winds, seem terrible to my ears and my heart is afflicted again and again, O Brahmana, and my peace of mind is gone at present."

Samvarta said, "O king, the feat in thy mind from this terrible thunderbolt will leave thee presently. I shall dispel the thunder by the aid of the winds, and setting aside all fear from thy mind, do thou accept a boon from me according to thy heart's desire, and I shall accomplish it for thee."

Marutta said, "I desire, O Brahmana, that Indra all on a sudden should come in person at this sacrifice, and accept the oblation offered to him, and that all the other gods also come and take their own shares of the offerings and accept the libations of Soma offered to them."

Samvarta said, "I have by the power of my incantations attracted Indra in person to this sacrifice. Behold, O monarch, Indra coming with his horses, and worshipped by the other gods hastening to this sacrifice."

Then the lord of the Devas attended by the other gods and riding in his chariot drawn by the most excellent steeds, approached the sacrificial altar of that son of Avikshit and drank the Soma libations of that unrivalled monarch. And king Marutta with his priest rose to receive Indra coming with the host of gods and well-pleased in mind, he welcomed the lord of the Devas with due and foremost honours according to the Sastras.

Samvarta said, "Welcome to thee, O Indra, by thy presence here, O learned one, this sacrifice has been made grand. O slayer or Vala and Vritra. do thou again quaff this Soma juiced produced by me today.' Marutta said, "Do thou look with kindness upon me, I bow unto thee, O Indra, by thy presence, my sacrifice has been perfected, and my life too blessed with good results. O Surendra, this excellent Brahmana, the younger brother of Vrihaspati is engaged in performing my sacrifices."

Indra said. "I know thy priest, this highly energetic ascetic, the younger brother of Vrihaspati, at whose invitation I have come to this sacrifice. I am, O monarch, well-pleased with thee and my resentment against thee hath been destroyed."

Samvarta said, "If, O prince of the Devas, thou art pleased with us, do thou thyself give all the directions for this sacrifice, and O Surendra, thyself ordain the sacrificial portions (for the gods), so that, O god, all the world may know that it hath been done by thee."

Vyasa said, "Thus accosted by the son of Angira, Sakra himself gave directions to all the gods to erect the hall of assembly, and a thousand well-furnished excellent rooms looking grand as in a picture, and speedily to complete the staircase massive and durable, for the ascent of the Gandharvas and Apsaras and to furnish that portion of the sacrificial ground reserved for the dance of the Apsaras, like unto the palace of Indra in the heaven. O king, thus directed, the renowned dwellers of heaven speedily fulfilled the directions of Sakra. And then, O king, Indra well-pleased and adored, thus said to king Marutta,--O prince, by associating with thee at this sacrifice, thine ancestors who have gone before thee, as well as the other gods have been highly gratified and have accepted the oblations offered by thee. And now, O king, let the foremost of regenerate beings offer on the sacrificial altar a red bull appertaining to the Fire-god and a sacred and duly consecrated blue bull with a variegated skin, appertaining to the Viswedevas. Then, O king, the sacrificial ceremony grew in splendour, wherein the gods themselves collected the food, and Sakra, the lord of the gods, possessed of horses, and worshipped by the Brahmanas, became an assistant at the sacrifice. And then the high-souled Samvarta ascending the altar, and looking radiant as the second embodiment of the blazing fire, loudly addressing the gods with complaisance, offered oblations of clarified butter to the fire with incantation of the sacred hymns. And then the slayer of Vala first drank the Soma juice, and then the assembly of other gods drank Soma. And then in happiness and with the king's permission they returned home and well-pleased and delighted. Then that monarch, the slayer of his enemies, with a delighted heart, placed heaps of gold on diverse spots, and distributing the immense wealth to the Brahmanas, he looked glorious like Kuvera, the god of wealth. And with a buoyant heart, the king filled his treasury with different kinds of wealth, and with the permission of his spiritual preceptor, he returned (to his kingdom) and continued to rule the entire realm extending to the borders of the sea. So virtuous in this world was that king, at whose sacrifice such an enormous quantity of gold vas collected, and now, O prince, thou must collect that gold and worshipping the gods with due rites, do thou perform this sacrifice."

Vaisampayana continued, "Then the Pandava prince Yudhishthira was delighted on hearing this speech of the son of Satyavati (Vyasa), and desirous of performing his sacrifice with those riches, he held repeated consultations with his ministers."

SECTION 11

Vaisampayana said, "When Vyasa of wonderful achievements had concluded his speech to the king, the highly-puissant son of Vasudeva (Krishna) also addressed him. Knowing the king, the son of Pritha, afflicted in mind, and bereft of his relatives and kinsmen slain in battle, and appearing crest-fallen like the sun darkened eclipse, or fire smothered by smoke, that prop of the Vrishni race (Krishna), comforting the son of Dharma, essayed to address him thus."

Vasudeva said, "All crookedness of heart leads to destruction (perdition?) and all rectitude leads to Brahman (spiritual excellence). If this and this only is the aim and object of all true wisdom, then what can mental distraction do (to one who understands this)? Thy Karma has not yet been annihilated, nor have thy enemies been subjugated, for thou dost not yet know the enemies that are still lurking within thine own flesh. I shall (therefore) relate to thee truly as I have heard it, the story of the war of Indra with Vritra as it took place. In ancient times the Prithivi (earth), O king, was encompassed by Vritra, and by this abstraction of earthly matter, the seat of all odour, there arose bad odours on all sides, and the Performer of a hundred sacrifices (Indra), being much enraged by this act, hurled his thunderbolt at Vritra. And being deeply wounded by the thunderbolt of mighty Indra, Vritra entered into the (waters), and by doing so he destroyed their property. The waters being seized by Vritra, their liquid property left them. At this Indra became highly enraged and again smote him with his thunderbolt. And he (Vritra) smitten by the thunderbolt by the most powerful Indra betook himself to the Jyoti (luminous matter) and abstracted its inherent property. The luminous matter being overwhelmed by Vritra and its property, colour and form being thereby lost, the wrathful Indra again hurled his thunderbolt at him. And thus wounded again by Indra of immeasurable power, Vritra entered all on a sudden into the Vayu (gaseous matter). and thereafter made away with its inherent property. And this matter being overpowered by Vritra and its property, viz., touch being lost, Indra became again filled with wrath and flung his thunderbolt at him. And wounded therein by the mighty (Indra), he overwhelmed the Akasa (ether), and took away its inherent property, and the Akasa being overwhelmed by Vritra, and its property, sound being destroyed, the god of a hundred sacrifices highly incensed, again smote him with his thunderbolt. And thus smitten by the mighty Indra, he suddenly entered into his (Sakra's) body, and took away its essential attributes. And overtaken by Vritra, he was filled with great illusion. And, O venerable sir, the mightiest of Bharata's race, we have heard that Vasistha comforted Indra (when he was thus afflicted) and that the god of a hundred sacrifices slew Vritra in his body by means of his invisible thunderbolt, and know, O prince, that this religious mystery was recited by Sakra to the great sages, and they in turn told it to me."

SECTION 12

"Vasudeva said, "There are two kinds of ailments, physical and mental. They are produced by the mutual action of the body and mind on each other, and they never arise without the interaction of the two. The ailment that is produced in the body, is called the physical ailment, and that which has its seat in the mind, is known as the mental ailment. The cold, the warm (phlegm and bile) as well as the windy humours, O king, are the essential transformations generated in the physical body, and when these humours are evenly distributed, and are present in due proportions, they are said to be symptomatic of good health. The warm humour is acted upon (allayed) by the cold, and the cold by the warm. And Sattwa, Rajas and Tamas are the attributes of the soul, and it is said by the learned that their presence in due proportions indicates health (of the mind). But if any of the three preponderates, some remedy is enjoined (to restore the equilibrium). Happiness is overcome by sorrow, and sorrow by pleasure. Some people while afflicted by sorrow, desire to recall (past) happiness, while others, while in the enjoyment of happiness, desire to recall past sorrow. But thou, O son of Kunti, dost neither desire to recall thy sorrows nor thy happiness; what else dost thou desire to recall barring this delusion of sorrow? Or, perchance, O son, of Pritha, it is thy innate nature, by which thou art at present overpowered. Thou dost not desire to recall to thy mind the painful sight of Krishna standing in the hall of assembly with only one piece of cloth to cover her body, and while she was in her menses and in the presence of all the Pandavas. And it is not meet that thou shouldst brood over thy departure from the city, and thy exile with the hide of the antelope for thy robe, and thy wanderings in the great forest, nor shouldst thou recall to thy mind the affliction from Jatasura, the fight with Chitrasena, and thy troubles from the Saindhavas. Nor it is proper, O son of Pritha, and conqueror of thy foes, that thou shouldst recall the incident of Kichaka's kicking Draupadi, during the period of thy exile passed in absolute concealment, nor the incidents of the fight which took place between thyself and Drona and Bhishma. The time has now arrived, when thou must fight the battle which each must fight single-handed with his mind. Therefore, O chief of Bharata's race, thou must now prepare to carry the struggle against thy mind, and by dint of abstraction and the merit of thine own Karma, thou must reach the other side of (overcome) the mysterious and unintelligible (mind). In this war there will be no need for any missiles, nor for friends, nor attendants. The battle which is to be fought alone and single-handed has now arrived for thee. And if vanquished in this struggle, thou shalt find thyself in the most wretched plight, and O son of Kunti, knowing this, and acting accordingly, shalt thou attain success. And knowing this wisdom and the destiny of all creatures, and following the conduct of thy ancestors, do thou duly administer thy kingdom."

SECTION 13

"Vasudeva said, "O scion of Bharata's race, salvation is not attained by foregoing the external things (like kingdom, etc), it is only attained by giving up things which pander to the flesh (body). The virtue and happiness which are attainable by the person who has renounced only the external objects, but who is at the same time engrossed by passions and weakness of the flesh, let these be the portion of our enemies. The word with two letters is Mrit-yu (death of the soul or perdition), and the word with three letters is Sas-wa-ta (Brahman) or the eternal spirit. The consciousness that this or that thing is mine, or the state of being addicted to worldly objects is Mrityu and the absence of that feeling is Saswatam. And these two, Brahman and Mrityu, O king, have their seats in the souls of all creatures, and remaining unseen, they, without doubt, wage war with each other. And if, O Bharata, it be true that no creature is ever destroyed, then one doth not make oneself guilty of the death of a creature by piercing (destroying) its body. What matters the world to a man, if having acquired the sovereignty of the whole earth with its mobile and immobile creation, he does not become attached to it, or engrossed in its enjoyment. But the man who having renounced the world, has taken to the life of the recluse in the forest, living on wild roots and edibles, if such a man, O son of Pritha, has a craving for the good things of the world, and is addicted to them, he may be said to bear Mrityu (death) in his mouth. Do thou, O Bharata, watch and observe the character of thy external and internal enemies, (by means of thy spiritual vision), And the man who is able to perceive the nature of the eternal reality is able to overreach the influence of the great fear (perdition). Men do not look with approbation upon the conduct of those who are engrossed in worldly desires and there is no act without having a desire (at its root) and all (Kama) desires are, as it were, the limbs (offshoots) of the mind. Therefore, wise men knowing this subjugate their desires. The Yogi who holds communion with the Supreme Spirit, knows Yoga to be the perfect way (to salvation) by reason of the practices of his many former births. And remembering that, what the soul desires, is not conducive to piety and virtue, but that the suppression of the desires is at the root of all true virtue, such men do not engage in the practice of charity, Vedic learning, asceticism and Vedic rites whose object is attainment of worldly prosperity, ceremonies, sacrifices, religious rules and meditation, with the motive of securing any advantage thereby. By way of illustration of this truth, the sages versed in ancient lore, recite these Gathas called by the name of Kamagita, do thou O Yudhishthira, listen to the recital of them in detail. (Kama says) No creature is able to destroy me without resorting to the proper methods (viz., subjugating of all desires and practice of Yoga etc.) If a man knowing my power, strive to destroy me by muttering prayers etc., I prevail over him by deluding him with the belief that I am the subjective ego within him. If he wish to destroy me by means of sacrifices with many presents, I deceive him by appearing in his mind as a most virtuous creature amongst the mobile creation, and if he wish to annihilate me by mastering the Vedas and Vedangas, I over reach him by seeming to his mind to be the soul of virtue amongst the immobile creation. And if the man whose strength lies in truth, desire to overcome me by patience, I appear to him as his mind, and thus he does not perceive my existence, and if the man of austere religious practices, desire to destroy me by means of asceticism, I appear in the guise of asceticism in his mind, and thus he is prevented from knowing me, and the man of learning, who with the object of attaining salvation desires to destroy me, I frolic and laugh in the face of such a man intent on salvation. I am the everlasting one without a compeer, whom no creature can kill or destroy. For this reason thou too, O prince, divert thy desires (Kama) to Virtue, so that, by this means, thou mayst attain what is well for thee. Do thou therefore make preparations for the due performance of the horse sacrifice with presents, and various other sacrifices of great splendour, and accompanied with presents. Let not therefore grief overpower thee again, on beholding thy friends lying slain on the battlefield. Thou canst not see the

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men slain in this battle alive again. Therefore shouldst thou perform magnificent sacrifices with presents, so that thou mayst attain fame in this world, and reach the perfect way (hereafter)."

SECTION 14

"Vaisampayana said, "With such speeches as these, was the royal saint Yudhishthira, bereft of his friends, consoled by those sages of great ascetic merits. And O monarch, that lord of men exhorted by the worshipful Viswarasraba himself, and by Dwaipayana (Vyasa), Krishna Devasthana, Narada, Bhima, Nakula, Krishna (Draupadi), Sahadeva, and the sharpwitted Vijaya, as well as by other great men, and Brahmanas versed in the Sastras, became relieved of all mental affliction and sorrow arising from the death of his dear relations. And that monarch Yudhishthira after performing the obsequial ceremonies of his departed friends, and honouring the Brahmanas and Devas (gods), brought the kingdom of the earth with its girdle of oceans, under his sway. And that prince of Kuru's race having regained his kingdom, with a tranquil mind, thus addressed Vyasa, Narada and the other sages who were present. I have been comforted by the words of so great, ancient and aged saints as yourselves, and I have now no cause left for the least affliction. And likewise, I have attained great wealth, with which I may worship the gods. Therefore, with your assistance, I shall now perform the sacrifice, O the best of regenerate beings. We have heard that those (Himalayan) regions are full of wonders. Therefore, O Brahmana, saint and grandsire do thou so ordain that under thy protection we may safety reach the Himalaya mountains, the performance of my sacrifice being entirely within thy control, and then the adorable celestial saint Narada and Devasthana have also addressed exquisite and well-meaning words for our well being. No unlucky man in times of great tribulation and distress, has ever the good fortune to secure the services of such preceptors and friends approved by all virtuous men. Thus addressed by the king, those great saints, bidding the king and Krishna and Arjuna to repair to the Himalayan regions, then and there vanished in the presence of the assembled multitude, and the king, the lordly son of Dharma, then seated himself there for a while. And the Pandavas then in consequence of the death of Bhishma, were engaged in performing his funeral ceremonies. And their time, while thus engaged, seemed too long in passing and performing the last rites to the mortal remains of Bhishma, Karna and other foremost Kauravas, they gave away large presents to Brahmanas. And then the foremost descendant of Kuru again performed with Dhritarashtra the funeral rites (of the heroes slain in battle), and having given away immense wealth to the Brahmanas, the Pandava chief with Dhritarashtra in advance, made this entry into the city of Hastina Nagar, and consoling his lordly uncle, possessed of eyes of wisdom, that virtuous prince continued to administer the earth with his brothers.

SECTION 15

Janamejaya said, 'O the best of regenerate beings, when the Pandavas had reconquered and pacified their kingdom, what did the two warriors, Vasudeva and Dhananjaya do?

Vaisampayana said, 'O lord of the earth, Vasudeva and Dhananjaya were highly pleased when the Pandavas had succeeded in regaining and pacifying their dominions, and they deported themselves with great satisfaction, like unto Indra and his consort in the celestial regions, and amidst picturesque woodland sceneries, and tablelands of mountains, and sacred places of pilgrimage, and lakes and rivers, they travelled with great pleasure like the two Aswins in the Nandana garden of Indra. And, O Bharata, the high-souled Krishna and the son of Pandu (Dhananjaya) entering the beautiful hall of assembly at Indraprastha, whiled away their time in great merriment. And there, O prince, they passed their time in recounting the stirring incidents of the war, and the sufferings of their past lives. And those two high-souled ancient sages, glad at heart, recited the genealogy of the races of saints and gods. Then Kesava, knowing the full import of all matters, addressed Partha in a sweet and beautiful speech of excellent style and import. And then Janarddana comforted the son of Pritha afflicted by the death of his sons, and thousands of other relatives. And he of great ascetic merit and knowing the science of all things having duly consoled him, Arjuna rested for a while, as if a great burden had been removed from his own person. Then Govinda (Krishna) consoling Arjuna with sweet speech addressed these well-reasoned words to him.

Vasudeva said, 'O Arjuna, the terror of thine enemies, this whole earth has been conquered by the king, the son of Dharma, relying on the power of thy arms. And O the best of men, the virtuous king Yudhishthira now enjoys the sovereignty of the earth without a rival, by the might of Bhimasena and the twin brothers. O thou who knowest what virtue is, it was by righteousness alone that the king has been able to regain his kingdom free from all enemies (thorns), and it was by the action of righteousness that king Suyodhana has been killed in battle, and, O son of Pritha and pillar of the Kuru race, the wicked sons of Dhritarashtra, avaricious, always rude in speech, and bent upon an unrighteous course of conduct, having been exterminated with their followers, the king, the son of Dharma and lord of the earth, now peaceably enjoys the entire kingdom of the earth with thy aid, and I too, O son of Pandu, have been pleasantly whiling away my time in thy company, amidst woodland scenes. O terror of thine enemies, what more need I tell thee, but that where thou and Pritha, and the king, the son of Dharma, and the mighty Bhimasena and the two sons of Madri are, there am I attracted with exquisite delight. O descendant of Kuru, in these delightful and sacred and heaven-like halls of assembly a long time hath fleeted away in thy company without my seeing Vasudeva, Valadeva and other leaders of the Vrishni race. And now I am desirous of repairing to the city of Dwaravati. Do thou therefore, O most valorous of men, assent to my departure. When king Yudhishthira was smitten heavily with affliction, I with Bhishma, have recited to him many appropriate legends suited to the occasion with a view of assuaging his grief, and the pliant and high-minded Yudhishthira, though our sovereign and versed in all lore paid due heed to our words. That son of Dharma honours truth, and is grateful and righteous, therefore will his virtue and good sense and the stability of his power always endure. And now, O Arjuna, if it pleases thee, do thou go to that high-minded prince and tell him of my intention to depart from this place. For, O thou of mighty arms, even if death cometh to me, I am unwilling to do anything that may displease him, leaving alone my going to the city of Dwaravati. O son of Pritha and descendant of Kuru, I now tell thee truly, desiring to do only what is good and agreeable to thee, and there can be nothing equivocal in it in any way, that the necessity for my staying here no longer exists, because, O Arjuna, that monarch the son of Dhritarashtra bath been slain with his armies and attendants, and the earth, my friend, with its girdle of seas and its mountains and woods and forests, and the kingdom of the Kuru king filled with various gems, have passed under the sway of that wise son of Dharma. And O foremost prince of Bharata's race, may that virtuous prince administer the entire kingdom of the earth in righteousness, and with the respect and approbation of numerous high-souled Siddhas, and having his praises always extolled by the court heralds. Do thou, O chieftain of Kuru's race, accompany me to-day to the presence of the king, the great aggrandiser of the Kuru race, and sound him of my intended return to Dwaraka. As Yudhishthira the high-souled king of the Kurus always commands my love and respect, I have, O son of Pritha, placed this my body and all the wealth that I have in my house, at his disposal. And O prince Partha (son of Pritha), when this earth has come under thy sway and that of the worshipful Yudhishthira of excellent character, there no longer remains any necessity for my staying here except for my affection for thee. And O monarch, when the redoubtable Arjuna had been thus accosted by the noble-hearted Janarddana, he, showing all the honours due to him, sorrowfully replied by merely saying 'be it so.'

SECTION 16

(Anugita Parva)

"Janamejaya said, "When the high-souled Kesava and Arjuna after slaying their enemies repaired to the assembly rooms, what conversation, O regenerate one, took place between them?'

Vaisampayana said, "The son of Pritha (Arjuna), having recovered his own kingdom, joyously spent his time, without doing anything else, in the company of Krishna, his heart filled with delight, in that palace of celestial beauty. One day, those two listlessly proceeded to a particular part of the palace that looked, O king, like a veritable portion of Heaven. Themselves filled with delight, they were then surrounded by their relatives and attendents. Pandu's son, Arjuna, filled with joy in the company of Krishna, surveyed that delightful mansion, and then addressed his companion, saying, 'O--mighty-armed one, thy greatness became known to me upon the approach of the battle. O son of Devaki, thy form also, as the Lord of the universe, then became known to me! What thy holy self said unto me at that time, O Kesava, through affection, has all been forgotten by me, O chief of men, in consequence of the fickleness of my mind. Repeatedly, however, have I been curious on the subject of those truths. Thou again, O Madhava, wilt repair to Dwaraka soon.' Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed by him, Krishna of mighty energy, that foremost of speakers, embraced Phalguna and replied unto him as follows.

'Vasudeva said, 'I made thee listen to truths that are regarded as mysteries. I imparted to thee truths that are eternal. Verily, I discoursed to thee on Religion in its true form and on all the eternal regions. It is exceedingly disagreeable to me to learn that thou didst not, from folly, receive what I imparted. The recollection of all that I told thee on that occasion will not come to me now. Without doubt, O son of Pandu, thou art destitute of faith and thy understanding is not good. It is impossible for me, O Dhananjaya, to repeat, in detail, all that I said on that occasion. That religion (about which I discoursed to thee then) is more than sufficient for understanding Brahma. I cannot discourse on it again in detail. I discoursed to thee on Supreme Brahma, having concentrated myself in Yoga. I shalt now, however, recite to thee an old history upon the same topic. O foremost of all persons, observant of duty, listen to everything I now say, so that, with an understanding adapted to my teaching, thou mayst succeed in attaining to the highest end. O chastiser of foes, on one occasion, a Brahmana came to us from the regions of Heaven. Of irresistible energy, he came from the regions of the Grandsire. He was duly reverenced by us. Listen. O son of Pritha, without yielding to scruples of any kind, to what he, O chief of Bharata's race, said, in answer to our enquiries, agreeably to heavenly forms.'

The Brahmana said, That which thou askest me, O Krishna, connected with the religion of Moksha (Emancipation), led by thy compassion for all creatures (and not for thy own good),--that, indeed, which destroys all delusion, O thou that art possessed of supreme puissance I shall now tell thee duly, O slayer of Madhu. Do thou listen with concentrated attention as I discourse to thee, O Madhava. A Brahmana of the name of Kasyapa, possessed of penances and the foremost of all persons conversant with duties, came to a certain other Brahmana who had become conversant with all the mysteries of religion. Indeed, the latter had mastered all the knowledge which the scriptures teach respecting the departure and reappearance of beings and possessed that direct knowledge of all things which Yoga gives. He was well skilled in the truths of all topics relating to the world. He had mastered the truth about pleasure and pain. He knew the truth about birth and death, and understood the distinctions between merit and demerit. He was a beholder of the ends attained to by embodied creatures high and low in consequence of their acts. He lived like one emancipated from the world. Crowned with ascetic success and possessed of perfect tranquillity of soul, he had all his senses under complete control. He seemed to blaze with the resplendence of Brahma and was capable of going everywhere at will. He knew the science of disappearing at will from before the eyes of all. He used to rove in the company of invisible Siddhas and celestial musicians. He used to sit and converse with them on some spot retired from the bustle of humanity. He was as unattached to all things as the wind. Kasyapa having heard of him truly, desired to see him. Possessed of intelligence, that foremost of all Brahmanas, approached the sage. Himself possessed of penances, Kasyapa, moved by the desire of acquiring merit, fell, with a rapt heart, at the feet of the sage when he had seen all those wonderful attributes. Filled with wonder at the sight of those extraordinary accomplishments, Kasyapa began to wait upon that foremost of all Brahmanas, with the dutiful reverence of a disciple waiting upon his preceptor and succeeded in propitiating him. By his devotion, O scorcher of foes, rendering to hint the obedience due from a disciple to a preceptor, Kasyapa gratified that Brahmana who possessed all these accomplishments and was endued, besides, with scriptural learning and excellent conduct. Gratified with Kasyapa, that Brahmana one day addressed him cheerfully and spoke as follows, with an eye to the highest success. Listen to those words, O Janarddana, as I repeat them.

"--'The ascetic crowned with success said,'--By diverse acts, O son, as also by the aid of merit, mortal creatures attain to diverse ends here and residence in Heaven. Nowhere is the highest happiness; nowhere can residence be eternal. There are repeated falls from the highest regions acquired with such sorrow. In consequence of my indulgence in sin, I had to attain to diverse miserable and inauspicious ends, filled as I was with lust and wrath, and deluded by cupidity. I have repeatedly undergone death and rebirth. I have eaten diverse kinds of food, I have sucked at diverse breasts. I have seen diverse kinds of mothers, and diverse fathers dissimilar to one another. Diverse kinds of happiness have been mine and diverse kinds of misery, O sinless one. On diverse occasions have I been separated from what was agreeable and united with what was disagreeable. Having earned wealth with great toil I have had to put up with its loss. Insults and excessive misery I have received from king and relatives. Mental and physical pain, of great severity, have been mine. Humiliations I have undergone, and death and immurement under circumstances of great severity. Falls into Hell have been mine, and great tortures in the domains of Yama. Decrepitude and diseases have repeatedly assailed me, and calamities, as frequent, in copious measure. In this world I have repeatedly undergone all those afflictions that flow from a perception of all pairs of opposites. After all this, one day, overwhelmed with sorrow, blank despair came upon me. I took refuge in the Formless. Afflicted as I was with great distress, I gave up the world with all its joys and sorrows. Understanding then this path, I exercised myself in it in this world. Afterwards, through tranquillity of soul, I attained to this success that thou seest. I shall not have to come to this world again (after my departure hence). Verily, till I attain to absorption into eternal Brahman, till, in fact, the final dissolution of the universe, I shall look on those happy ends that will be mine, and on those beings that constitute this universe. [The

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dissolution here spoken of is the Mahapralaya and not the Khanda or Avantara Pralayas. Till then, the sage will look upon all beings, i.e., their repeated migrations.] Having acquired this excellent success, I shall, after departing from this world, proceed, to what is above it (i.e., Satyaloka) and thence to what is higher (i.e., absorption into Brahman). Verily, I shall attain to the condition, which is unmanifest aspect of Brahman. Let no doubt be thine as regards this. O scorcher of foes, I shall not return to this world of mortal creatures. O thou of great wisdom, I have become gratified with thee. Tell me what I shall do for thee. The time has come for the accomplishment of that purpose for which thou hast come hither. Verily, I know that object for which thou hast sought me. I shall soon depart from this world. Hence it is that I have given thee this hint. O thou of great wisdom and experience, I have been highly gratified with thee for thy behaviour. Do thou question me. I shall discourse on what is beneficial to thee, agreeably to thy desire. I think thy intelligence is great. Indeed, I applaud it much, for it was with the aid of that intelligence that thou wert able to recognise me. Surely, O Kasyapa, thou art possessed of great intelligence.'

SECTION 17

"Vasudeva said, touching the feet of that sage, the Brahmana asked him some questions that were exceedingly difficult to answer. That foremost of all righteous persons then discoursed on those duties that were referred to.

'Kasyapa said, 'How does the body dissolve away, and how is another acquired? How does one become emancipated after passing through a repeated round of painful rebirths? Enjoying Prakriti for sometime, how does Jiva cast off the particular body (which Prakriti gives)? How does Jiva, freed from the body, attain to what is different from it (viz., Brahman)? How does a human being enjoy (and endure the fruits of) the good and bad acts done by him? Where do the acts exist of one that is devoid of body?

'The Brahmana said,--Thus urged by Kasyapa, the emancipated sage answered those questions one after another. Do thou listen to me, O scion of the Vrishi race, as I recite to thee the answers he made.'

'--The Emancipated sage said, 'Upon the exhaustion of those acts capable of prolonging life and bringing on fame which are done in a particular body that Jiva assumes, the embodied Jiva, with the span of his life shortened, begins to do acts hostile to life and health. On the approach of destruction, his understanding turns away from the proper course. The man of uncleansed soul, after even a correct apprehension of his constitution and strength and of the season of both his own life and of the year, begins to eat at irregular intervals and to eat such food as is hostile to him. At such a time he indulges in practices that are exceedingly harmful. He sometimes eats excessively and sometimes abstains altogether from food. He eats bad food or bad meat or takes bad drinks, or food that has been made up of ingredients incompatible with one another. He eats food that is heavy in excess of the measure that is beneficial, or before the food previously taken has been digested. He indulges in physical exercise and sexual pleasure in excess of the due measure, or through avidity for work, suppresses the urgings of his corporeal organism even when they become pronounced. Or, he takes food that is very juicy, or indulges in sleep during daytime. Food that is not properly digested, of itself excites the faults, when the time comes. [The faults are three, viz., Wind, Bile, and Phlegm. When existing in a state of harmony, they produce health. When one is excited or two, or all, indisposition sets in. They are called dosha or faults, because of their liability to be excited and product, disease. Telang, not suspecting that the whole passage is a reproduction of a passage in the ancient work edited by Charaka, misunderstands some expressions and wrongly renders doshan into 'disorders.'] From such excitement of the faults in his body, he gets disease ending in death itself. Sometimes the person engages in perverse or unnatural acts like hanging (for bringing about his death). Through these causes the living body of the creature dissolves away. Understand correctly the manner as I declare it to thee. Urged on by the Wind which becomes violent, the heat in the body, becoming excited and reaching every part of the body one after another, restrains all the (movements of the) vital breaths. Know truly that excited all over the body, the heat becomes very strong, and pierces every vital part where life may be said to reside. In consequence of this, Jiva, feeling great pain, quickly takes leave of its mortal casement. Know, O foremost of regenerate persons, that when the vital parts of the physical organism become thus afflicted, Jiva slips away from the body, overwhelmed with great pain. All living creatures are repeatedly afflicted with birth and death. It is seen, O chief of Brahmanas, that the pain which is felt by a person when casting off his bodies is like what is felt by him when first entering the womb or when issuing out of it. His joints become almost dislocated and he derives much distress from the waters (of the womb). Urged on by (another) violent wind, the wind that is in the body becomes excited through cold, and dissolves away the union of matter (called the body) into its respective elements numbering five. That wind which resides in the vital breaths called Prana and Apana occurring within this compound of the five primal elements, rushes upwards, from a situation of distress, leaving the embodied creature. It is even thus that the wind leaves the body. Then is seen breathlessness. The man then becomes destitute of heat, of breath, of beauty, and of consciousness. Deserted by Brahman (for Jiva is Brahman), the person is said to be dead. By those ducts through which he perceives all sensuous objects, the bearer of the body no longer perceives them. It is the eternal Jiva who creates in the body in those very duets the life-breaths that are generated by food. The elements gathered together become in certain parts firmly united. Know that those parts are called the vitals of the body. It is said so in the Sastras. When those vital parts are pierced, Jiva, rising up, enters the heart of the living creature and restrains the principle of animation without any delay. The creature then, though still endued with the principle of consciousness, fails to know anything. The vital parts being all overwhelmed, the knowledge of the living creature becomes overwhelmed by darkness. Jiva then, who has been deprived of everything upon which to stay, is then agitated by the wind. He then, deeply breathing a long and painful breath, goes out quickly, causing the inanimate body to tremble. Dissociated from the body, Jiva, however, is surrounded by his acts. He becomes equipped on every side with all his auspicious acts of merit and with all his sins. Brahmanas endued with knowledge and equipped with the certain conclusions of the scriptures, know him, from indications, as to whether he is possessed of merit or with its reverse. Even as men possessed of eyes behold the fire-fly appearing and disappearing amid darkness, men possessed of the eye of knowledge and crowned with success of penances, behold, with spiritual vision, Jiva as he leaves the body, as he is reborn, and as he enters the womb. It is seen that Jiva has three regions assigned to him eternally. This world where creatures dwell is called the field of action. Accomplishing acts good or bad, all embodied creatures attain to the fruits thereof. In consequence of their own acts, creatures acquire even here superior or inferior enjoyments. Doers of evil deeds here, in consequence of those acts of theirs, attain to Hell. This condition of sinking with head downwards, in which creatures are cooked, is one of great misery. It is such that a rescue therefrom is exceedingly difficult. Indeed; one should strive hard for saving oneself from this misery. Those regions where creatures dwell when they ascend from this world I shall now declare truly. Do thou listen to me with attention. By listening to what I say, thou shalt attain to firmness of understanding and a clear apprehension of (good and bad) acts. Know that even those are the regions of all creatures of righteous deeds, viz., the stellar worlds that shine in the firmament, the lunar disc, and the solar disc as well that shines in the universe in its own light. Upon the exhaustion, again, of their merits, they fall away from those regions repeatedly. There, in Heaven itself, is distinction of inferior, superior, and middling felicity. There, in Heaven itself, is discontent at sight of prosperity more blazing than one's own. Even these are the goals which I have mentioned in detail. I shall, after this, discourse to you on the attainment by Jiva of the condition of residence in the womb. Do thou hear me, with concentrated attention, O regenerate one, as I speak to thee!'

SECTION 18

"--The Brahmana said, 'The acts, good and bad, that a Jiva does are not subject to destruction. Upon attainment of body after body, those acts produce fruits corresponding with them. As a fruit-bearing tree, when the season comes of productivity, yields a large quantity of fruit, similarly merit, achieved with a pure heart, yields a large crop (of felicity). After the same fashion, sin, done with a sinful heart, produces a large crop of misery. The Soul (or Jiva), placing the mind ahead, addresses himself to action. Hear then how Jiva, equipt with all his acts and overwhelmed with lust and wrath, enters the womb. The vital seed, mixed with blood, enters the womb of females and becomes the field (of Jiva), good or bad, born of (his) acts. In consequence of his subtlety and the condition of being unmanifest, Jiva does not become attached to anything even after attaining to a body. Therefore, he is called Eternal Brahman. That (viz., Jiva or Brahman) is the seed of all creatures. It is in consequence of Him that living creatures live. That Jiva, entering all the limbs of the foetus part by part, accepting the attribute of mind, and residing within all the regions that belong to Prana, supports (life). In consequence of this, the foetus becoming endued with mind begins to move its limbs. As liquified iron, poured (into a mould), takes the form of the mould, know that the entrance of Jiva into the foetus is even such. As fire, entering a mass of iron, heats it greatly, do thou know that the manifestation of Jiva in the foetus is such. As a lamp, burning in a room, discovers (all things within it), after the same manner mind discovers the different limbs of the body. Whatever acts, good or bad, Jiva does in a former body, have certainly to be enjoyed or endured by him. By such enjoyment and endurance former acts are exhausted, and other acts, again, accumulate, till Jiva succeed in acquiring a knowledge of the duties included in that contemplation which leads to Emancipation. Regarding this, I shall tell thee those acts by which Jiva, O best of men, while coursing through a repeated round of re-births, becomes happy, Gifts, observances of austerity, Brahmacharyya, bearing Brahman according to the ordinances laid down, self-restraint, tranquillity, compassion for all creatures, restraint of passions, abstentions from cruelty as also from appropriating what belongs to others, refraining from doing even mentally all acts that are false and injurious to living creatures on the Earth, reverently serving mother and father, honouring deities and guests, worship of preceptors, pity, purity, constant restraint of all organs, and causing of all good acts, are said to constitute the conduct of the good. From observance of such conduct, arises Righteousness which protects all creatures eternally. Such conduct one would always behold among persons that are good. Verily, such conduct resides there eternally. That course of practices to which persons of tranquil souls adhere indicates Righteousness. Among them is thrown that course of practices which constitutes eternal Righteousness. He who would betake himself to that Righteousness would never have to attain to a miserable end. It is by the conduct of the good that the world is restrained in the paths of Righteousness when it falls away. He that is a Yogin is Emancipated, and is, therefore, distinguished above these (viz., the good). Deliverance from the world takes place, after a long time, of one who acts righteously and well on every occasion as he should. A living creature thus always meets with the acts done by him in a former life. All these acts constitute the cause in consequence of which he comes into this world in a state different from his true form. There is a doubt in the world as regards the question. By what was the acceptance (by Jiva) of a body first determined. The Grandsire of all the worlds, viz., Brahma having first formed a body of his own, then created the three worlds, in their entirety, of mobile and immobile creatures. Having first himself assumed a body, he then created Pradhana. That Pradhana is the material cause of all embodied creatures, by whom is all this covered and whom all came to know as the highest. This that is seen is said to be destructible; while the other is immortal and indestructible. This that (is seen) is said to be Kshara (the destructible); that, however, which is Para (the other) is the Immortal, (as also) Akshara (the Indestructible). Of each Purusha taken distributively, the whole is duality among these three. Seen first (to appear in an embodied form) Prajapati (then) created all the primal elements and all immobile creatures. Even this is the ancient audition. Of that (acceptance of body), the Grandsire ordained a limit in respect of time, and migrations among diverse creatures and return or rebirth. All that I say is proper and correct, like to what a person who is endued with intelligence and who has seen his soul, would say on this topic of previous births. That person who looks upon pleasure and pain as inconstant, which, indeed, is the correct view, who regards the body as an unholy conglomeration, and destruction as ordained in action, and who remembers that what little of pleasure there is, is really all pain, will succeed in crossing this terrible ocean of worldly migration that is so difficult to cross. Though assailed by decrepitude and death and disease, he that understands Pradhana beholds with all equal eye that Consciousness which dwells in all beings endued with consciousness. Seeking the supreme seat, he then becomes utterly indifferent to all (other) things. O best of men, I shall now impart instruction to thee, agreeably to truth, concerning this. Do thou, O learned Brahmana, understand in completeness that which constitutes the excellent knowledge, as I declare it, of that indestructible seat.--'"

SECTION 19

"--The Brahmana said, 'He who becomes absorbed in the one receptacle (of all things), freeing himself from even the thought of his own identity with all things,--indeed, ceasing to think of even his own existence,--gradually casting off one after another, will succeed in crossing his bonds. That man who is the friend of all, who endures all, who is attached to tranquillity, who has conquered all his senses, who is divested of fear and wrath, and who is of restrained soul. succeeds in emancipating himself. He who behaves towards all creatures as towards himself, who is restrained, pure, free from vanity and divested of egoism is regarded as emancipated from everything. He also is emancipated who looks with an equal eye upon life and death, pleasure and pain, gain and loss, agreeable and disagreeable. He is in every way emancipated who does not covet what belongs to others, who never disregards any body, who transcends all pairs of opposites, and whose soul is free from attachment. He is emancipated who has no enemy, no kinsman, and no child, who has cast off religion, wealth, and pleasure, and who is freed from desire or cupidity. He becomes emancipated who acquires neither merit nor demerit, who casts off the merits and demerits accumulated in previous births, who wastes the elements of his body for attaining to a tranquillised soul, and who transcends all pairs of opposites. He who abstains from all acts, who is

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free from desire or cupidity, who looks upon the universe as unenduring or as like an Aswattha tree, ever endued with birth, death and decrepitude, whose understanding is fixed on renunciation, and whose eyes are always directed towards his own faults, soon succeeds in emancipating himself from the bonds that bind him. He that sees his soul void of smell, of taste and touch, of sound, of belongings, of vision, and unknowable, becomes emancipated. He who sees his soul devoid of the attributes of the five elements to be without form and cause, to be really destitute of attributes though enjoying them, becomes emancipated. Abandoning, with the aid of the understanding, all purposes relating to body and mind, one gradually attains to cessation of separate existence, like a fire unfed with fuel. [Nirvana, according to orthodox commentators, implies the annihilation or cessation of separate or individual existence by absorption into universal and eternal Brahman.] One who is freed from all impressions, who transcends all pairs of opposites, who is destitute of all belongings, and who uses all his senses under the guidance of penances, becomes emancipated. Having become freed from all impressions, one then attains to Brahma which is Eternal and supreme, and tranquil, and stable, and enduring, and indestructible. After this I shall declare the science of Yoga to which there is nothing superior, and how Yogins, by concentration, behold the perfect soul. I shall declare the instructions regarding it duly. Do thou learn from me those doors by which directing the soul within the body one beholds that which is without beginning and end. Withdrawing the senses from their objects, one should fix the mind upon the soul; having previously undergone the severest austerities, one should practise that concentration of mind which leads to Emancipation (Enlightenment, Salvation). Observant of penances and always practising concentration of mind, the learned Brahmana, endued with intelligence, should observe the precepts of the science of Yoga, beholding the soul in the body. If the good man succeeds in concentrating the mind on the soul, he then, habituated to exclusive meditation, beholds the Supreme soul in his own soul. Self-restrained, and always concentrated, and with all his senses completely conquered, the man of cleansed soul, in consequence of such complete concentration of mind, succeeds in beholding the soul by the soul. As a person beholding some unseen individual in a dream recognises him, saying,--This is he,--when he sees him after waking, after the same manner the good man having seen the Supreme Soul in the deep contemplation of Samadhi recognises it upon waking from Samadhi. As one beholds the fibrous pith after extracting it from a blade of the Saccharum Munja, even so the Yogin beholds the soul, extracting it from the body. The body has been called the Saccharum Munja, and the fibrous pith is said to stand for the soul. This is the excellent illustration propounded by persons conversant with Yoga. When the bearer of a body adequately beholds the soul in Yoga, he then has no one that is master over him, for he then becomes the lord of the three worlds. He succeeds in assuming diverse bodies according as he wishes. Turning away decrepitude and death, he neither grieves nor exults. The self-restrained man, concentrated in Yoga, can create (for himself) the godship of the very gods. Casting off his transient body he attains to immutable Brahma. No fear springs up in him at even the sight of all creatures falling victims to destruction (before his eyes). When all creatures are afflicted,--he can never be afflicted by any one. Devoid of desire and possessed of a tranquil mind, the person in Yoga is never shaken by pain and sorrow and fear, the terrible effects that flow from attachment and affection. Weapons never pierce him; death does not exist for him. Nowhere in the world can be seen any one that is happier than he. Having adequately concentrated his soul, he lives steadily on himself. Turning off decrepitude and pain and pleasure, he sleeps in comfort. Casting off this human body he attains to (other) forms according to his pleasure. While one is enjoying the sovereignty that Yoga bestows, one should never fall away from devotion to Yoga. When one, after adequate devotion to Yoga, beholds the Soul in oneself, one then ceases to have any regard for even him of a hundred sacrifices (Indra). Hear now how one, habituating oneself to exclusive meditation, succeeds in attaining to Yoga. Thinking of that point of the compass which has the Sun behind it, the mind should be fixed, not outside, but in the interior of that mansion in which one may happen to live. Residing within that mansion, the mind should then, with all its outward and inward (operations), behold in that particular room in which one may stay. At that time when, having deeply meditated, one beholds the All (viz., Brahman, the Soul of the universe), there is then nothing external to Brahman where the mind may dwell. Restraining all the senses in a forest that is free from noise and that is uninhabited, with mind fixed thereon, one should meditate on the All (or universal Brahman) both outside and inside one's body. One should meditate on the teeth, the palate, the tongue, the throat, the neck likewise; one should also meditate on the heart and the ligatures of the heart!

"The Brahmana continued, 'Thus addressed by me, that intelligent disciple, O slayer of Madhu, once more asked me about this religion of Emancipation that is so difficult to explain. How does this food that is eaten from time to time become digested in the stomach? How does it become transformed into juice? How, again, into blood? How does it nourish the flesh, the marrow, the sinews, the bones? How do all these limbs of embodied creatures grow? How does the strength grow of the growing man? How occurs the escape of all such elements as are not nutritive, and of all impurities separately? How does this one inhale and again, exhale? Staying upon what particular part does the Soul dwell in the body? How does Jiva, exerting himself, bear the body? Of what colour and of what kind is the body in which he dwells again (leaving a particular body)? O holy one, it behoveth thee to tell me all this accurately, O sinless one,--even thus was I interrogated by that learned Brahmana, O Madhava. I replied unto him, O thou of mighty arms, after the manner I myself had heard, O chastiser of all foes. As one placing some precious object in one's store-room should keep one's mind on it, so, placing the mind within one's own body, one should then, restraining all the senses, seek after the Soul, avoiding all heedlessness. One would, becoming always assiduous in this way and gratified with one's own self, within a very short time attain to that Brahma by beholding which one would become conversant with Pradhana. He is not capable of being seized by the eye; nor even by all the senses. It is only with the lamp of the mind that great Soul can be seen. He has hands and feet on all sides; he has ears on all sides; he dwells, pervading all things in the world. Jiva beholds the Soul as extracted from the body (like the stalk from a blade of Saccharum Munja, when knowledge comes). Then casting off Brahma as invested with form, by holding the mind in the body, he beholds Brahma as freed from all attributes. He sees the Soul with his mind, smiling as it were at the time. Depending upon that Brahma, he then attains to Emancipation in me. [The speaker here is the regenerate visitor of Krishna. The latter is repeating the words of that visitor. In this verse, Krishna, forgetting that he is merely reciting the words of another, refers to himself as the Supreme Brahman in whom one must merge for attaining to Emancipation.] O foremost of regenerate ones, all this mystery has now been declared by me. I ask thy permission, for I shall leave this spot. Do thou (also) go withersoever thou pleasest. Thus addressed by me, O Krishna, on that occasion, that disciple of mine, endued with austere penances, that Brahmana of rigid vows, went away according to his pleasure.

"Vasudeva continued, 'That best of Brahmanas, O son of Pritha, having said these words unto me, on that occasion, properly relating to the religion of Emancipation, disappeared then and there. Has this discourse been heard by thee, O son of Pritha, with mind directed solely towards it? Even this was what thou didst hear on that occasion while thou wert on thy car. It is my opinion, O son of Pritha, that this is difficult of being comprehended by one whose understanding is confused, or who has acquired no wisdom by study, or who eats food incompatible with his body, or whose Soul is not purified. O chief of Bharata's race, this is a great mystery among the deities that has been declared (to thee). At no time or place, O son of Pritha, has this been heard by man in this world. O sinless one, no other man than thyself is deserving of hearing it. It is not, at this time, capable of being easily understood by one whose inner soul is confused. The world of the deities is filled, O son of Kunti, with those who follow the religion of actions. The cessation of the mortal form (by practising the religion of inaction) is not agreeable to the deities. [Heaven is the reward of those who follow the religion of Pravritti or acts, such as sacrifices, religious observances, etc. The followers, however, of the religion of Nivritti or inaction, i.e., they who betake themselves to the path of knowledge, become emancipated. The deities derive their sustenance from the former and become even jealous of the latter, for the emancipate state is higher than that of the deities themselves.] That goal, O son of Pritha, is the highest which is constituted by eternal Brahman where one, casting off the body, attains to immortality and becomes always happy. By adhering to this religion, even they who axe of sinful birth, such as women and Vaisyas and Sudras, attain to the highest goal. What need be said then, O son of Pritha, of Brahmanas and Kshatriyas possessed of great learning, always devoted to the duties of their own orders and who are intent on (the acquisition of) the region of Brahma? This has been laid down with the reasons (on which it rests); and also the means for its acquisition; and its complete attainment and fruit, viz., Emancipation and the ascertainment of the truth regarding pain. O chief of Bharata's race, there is nothing else that is fraught with happiness greater than this. That mortal, O son of Pandu, who, endued with intelligence, and faith, and prowess, renounces as unsubstantial what is regarded as substantial by the world, succeeds within a short time in obtaining the Supreme by these means. This is all that is to be said,--there is nothing else that is higher than this. Yoga takes place in his case, O son of Pritha, who devotes himself to its constant practice for a period of six months.'"

SECTION 20

"Vasudeva said, 'In this connection is cited the ancient narrative, O son of Pritha, of the discourse that took place between a married couple. A certain Brahmana's spouse, beholding the Brahmana, her husband who was a complete master of every kind of knowledge and wisdom, seated in seclusion, said unto him,--Into what region shall I go, depending on thee as my husband,--thee that art seated, having cast off all (religious) acts, that art harsh in thy conduct towards me, and that art so undiscerning? [Avichakshanam is undiscerning, in the sense of the husband's not knowing that the interrogatrix as wife, has no other refuge than her lord with all his defects.] It has been heard by us that a wife attains to those regions which are acquired by her husband. What, indeed, is the goal that I shall attain, having obtained thee for my husband?--Thus questioned, that Brahmana of tranquil soul then said unto her, smilingly,--O blessed dame, I am not offended with these words of thine, O sinless one. Whatever acts exist that are adopted with the aid of others, that are seen (in consequence of their grossness), and that are true, are done as acts by men devoted to acts. Those persons that are destitute of knowledge, only store delusion by acts. Freedom from acts, again, is incapable of being attained in this world for even a moment. From birth to the attainment of a different form, action good or bad, and accomplished by acts, mind, or speech, exists in all beings. Those paths (of action) which are characterised by visible objects (such as Soma-juice and ghee for libations) being destroyed by Rakshasas, turning away from them I have perceived the seat (of the soul) that is in the body, without the aid of the soul. There dwells Brahma transcending all pairs of opposites; there Soma with Agni: and there the urger of the understanding (viz., Vayu) always moves, upholding all creatures. It is for that seat that the Grandsire Brahman and others, concentrated in Yoga, worship the Indestructible. It is for that seat that men of learning and excellent vows, of tranquil souls, and of senses completely vanquished, strive. That is not capable of being smelt by the sense of smell; nor tasted by the tongue; or touched by the organs of touch. It is by the mind that that is attained. It is incapable of being conquered by the eye. It transcends the sense of hearing. It is destitute of scent, taste, touch, and form as attributes. It is that from which proceeds the well-ordained universe, and it is that upon which it rests. The life-breaths called Prana and Apana and Samana and Vyana and Udana flow from it, and it is that into which they again enter. The breaths Prana and Apana move between Samana and Vyana. When the soul sleeps, both Samana and Vyana are absorbed. Between Apana and Prana, Udana dwells, pervading all. Hence, Prana and Apana do not desert a sleeping person. In consequence of its controlling all the life-winds, the controlling breath is called Udana. Hence, utterers of Brahman undergo penances which have myself for their goal. In the midst of all those life-breaths that swallow up one another and move within the body, blazes forth the fire called Vaiswanara made up of seven flames. The nose, the tongue, the eye, the skin, the ear which numbers the fifth, the mind, and the understanding,--these are the seven tongues of that Vaiswanara's flame. That which is smelt, that which is seen, that which is drunk, that which is touched, as also that which is heard, that which is thought of, and that which is understood,--these are the seven sorts of fuel for me. That which smells, that which eats, that which sees, that which touches, that which hears numbering the fifth; that which thinks, and that which understands,--these are the seven great officiating priests. Behold, O blessed one, learned sacrificers duly casting seven libations in seven ways in the seven fires, viz., that which is smelt, that which is drunk, that which is seen, that which is touched, as also that which is heard, that which is thought of, and that which is understood, create them in their own wombs. Earth, Wind, Ether, Water, and Light numbering as the fifth, Mind, and Understanding--these seven are called wombs (of all things). All the attributes which constitute the sacrificial offerings, enter into the attribute that is born of the fire, and having dwelt within that dwelling became reborn in their respective wombs. Thither also, viz., in that which generates all beings, they remain absorbed during the period for which dissolution lasts. From that is produced smell, from that is produced taste, from that is produced colour, and from that is produced touch; from that is produced sound; from that arises doubt; and from that is produced resolution. This is what is known as the sevenfold creation. It is in this very way that all this was comprehended by the ancients. By the three full and final libations, the full become full with light.'"

SECTION 21

"The Brahmana said, 'In this connection is cited the following ancient story. Do thou understand, of what kind the institution is of the ten Hotris (sacrificing priests). The ear, the skin, the two eyes, the tongue, the nose, the two feet, the two hands, the genital organ, the lower duct, and speech,--these, O beautiful one, are the ten sacrificing priests. Sound and touch, colour and taste, scent, speech, action, motion, and the discharge of vital seed, of urine and of excreta, are the

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ten libations. The points of the compass, Quarters, Wind, Sun, Moon, Earth, Fire, Vishnu, Indra, Prajapati, and Mitra,--these, O beautiful one, are the ten (sacrificial) fires. The ten organs (of knowledge and action) are the sacrificing priests. The libations, O beautiful one, are ten. The objects of the senses are the fuel that are cast into these ten fires, as also the mind, which is the ladle, and the wealth (viz., the good and bad acts of the sacrificer). What remains is the pure, highest knowledge. We have heard that all this universe was well differentiated (from Knowledge). All objects of knowledge are Mind. Knowledge only perceives (i.e., discovers the Mind without being attached to it). The knower (or Jiva), encased in subtle form, lives within the gross body that is produced by the vital seed. The bearer of the body is the Garhapatya fire. From that is produced another. Mind is the Ahavaniya fire. Into it is poured the oblation. From that was produced the Veda (or Word); (then was born Mind); Mind (desirous of creation) sets itself on the Veda (or the Word). Their arises form (or colour) undistinguished by particular colours. It runs towards the Mind.'" [The Hridaya or heart is the Garhapatya fire. From it is produced another fire, the Ahavaniya, viz., the mind. 'The heart was pierced. From the heart arose mind, for the mind arose Chandramas,' is the declaration of the Sruti cited by Nilakantha. The Ahavaniya fire or mind is the mouth. Asyam ahavaniya is the Sruti. Annamayam hi Somya manas, apomayah pranah, tejomayi vak is the Sruti that bears upon this. Food or fire, poured into the mouth develops into speech or word. Vachaspati implies the Veda or word. First arises the word, the mind sets itself upon it, desirous of creation. This corresponds with the Mosaic Genesis.--'God said; let there be light, and there was light.' The word was first.]

"The Brahmana's wife said, 'Why did Word first arise and why did Mind arise afterwards, seeing that Word starts into existence after having been thought upon by Mind? Upon that authority can it be said that Mati (Prana) takes refuge in Mind. Why, again, in dreamless slumber, though separated from Mind, does not Prana apprehend (all objects)? What is that which restrains it then?'"

"The Brahmana said, 'The Apana breath, becoming the lord (i.e., bringing the Prana under its control), in consequence of such lordship over it, makes it identical with itself. That restrained motion of the Prana breath (which for the time becomes identical with that of the Apana) has been said to be the motion of the mind. Hence the mind is dependent upon Prana, not Prana upon the mind. Therefore, in dreamless slumber, upon the disappearance of mind, Prana does not disappear. But since thou askest me a question about word and mind, I shall, therefore, relate to thee a discourse between them. Both Word and Mind, repairing to the Soul of matter, asked him,--Do thou say who amongst us is superior. Do thou, O puissant one, dispel our doubt.--On that occasion, the holy one made this answer.--The mind undoubtedly (is superior). Unto him Word said,--'I yield to thee the fruition of all thy desires!'

"The Brahmana said, 'Know that I have two minds, immovable and movable. That which is immovable is, verily, with me; the movable is in your dominion. That mind is verily called movable which, in the form of Mantra, letter, or voice, is referable to your dominion. Hence, thou art superior (to the other mind which concerns itself with only the external world). But since, coming of thy own accord, O beautiful one, thou enterest into the engagement (about the fruition of all wishes), therefore, filling myself with breath, I utter thee. The goddess Word used always to dwell between Prana and Apana. But, O blessed one, sinking into Apana, though urged upwards, in consequence of becoming dissociated from Prana, she ran to Prajapati and said,--Be gratified with me, O holy one.--The Prana appeared, once more fostering Word. Hence, Word, encountering deep exhalation, never utters anything. Word always flows as endued with utterance or unendued with it [i.e., as noisy or noiseless.]. Amongst those two, Word without utterance is superior to Word with utterance. Like a cow endued with excellent milk, she (Word without utterance) yields diverse kinds of meaning. This one always yields the Eternal (viz., Emancipation), speaking of Brahman. O thou of beautiful smiles, Word is a cow, in consequence of her puissance which is both divine and not divine. Behold the distinction of these two subtle forms of Word that flow.'"

"The Brahmana's wife said, 'What did the goddess of Word then say, in days of old, when, though impelled by the Wish to speak, Speech could not come out?'"

"The Brahmana said, 'The Word that is generated in the body by Prana, then attains to Apana from Prana. Then transformed into Udana and issuing out of the body, envelops all the quarters, with Vyana. After that, she dwells in Samana. Even in this way did Word formerly speak. Hence Mind, in consequence of being immovable, is distinguished, and the goddess Word, in consequence of being movable, is also distinguished.'"

SECTION 22

"The Brahmana said, 'In this connection is cited the ancient story, O blessed one, of what the institution is of the seven sacrificing priests. The nose, the eye, the tongue, the skin, and the ear numbering the fifth, the mind, and the understanding,--these are the seven sacrificing priests standing distinctly from one another. Dwelling in subtle space, they do not perceive one another. Do thou, O beautiful one, know these sacrificing priests that are seven by their nature.'"

"The Brahmana's wife said, 'How is it that dwelling in subtle space, these do not perceive one another? What are their (respective) natures, O holy one? Do thou tell me this, O lord.'"

"The Brahmana said, 'Not knowing the qualities (of any object) is ignorance (of that object); while knowledge of the qualities is (called) knowledge (of the object which possesses those qualities). These seven never succeed in apprehending or knowing the qualities of one another. The tongue, the eye, the ear too, the skin, the mind, and the understanding, do not succeed in apprehending smells. It is the nose alone that apprehends them. The nose, the tongue, the ear also, the skin, the mind, and the understanding, never succeed in apprehending colours. It is the eye alone that apprehends them. The nose, the tongue, the eye too, the ear, the understanding, and the mind, never succeed in apprehending sensations of touch It is the skin alone that apprehends them. The nose, the tongue, the eye, the skin, the mind, and the understanding, never succeed in apprehending sounds. It is the ear alone that apprehends them. The nose, the tongue, the eye, the skin, the ear, and the understanding never succeed in apprehending doubt. It is the mind that apprehends it. The nose, the tongue, the eye, the skin, the ear, and the mind, never succeed in apprehending determination (certainty in respect of knowledge). It is the understanding alone that apprehends it. In this connection, is cited, O beautiful lady, this ancient narrative of a discourse between the senses and the mind.'

"The mind said, 'The nose does not smell without me. (Without me) the tongue does not apprehend taste. The eye does not seize colour, the skin does not feel touch, the ear does not apprehend sound, when deprived of me. I am the eternal and foremost one among all the elements. It always happens that destitute of myself, the senses never shine, like habitations empty of inmates or fires whose flames have been quenched. Without me, all creatures fail to apprehend qualities and objects, with even the senses exerting themselves, even as fuel that is wet and dry (failing to ignite a fire).'

"Hearing these words, the Senses said, 'Even this would be true as thou thinkest in this matter, if, indeed, thou couldst enjoy pleasures without either ourselves or our objects. What thou thinkest, would be true, if, when we are extinct, there be gratification and support of life, and a continuation of thy enjoyments, or, if, when we are absorbed and objects are existing, thou canst have thy enjoyments by thy desire alone, as truly as thou hast them with our aid. If, again, thou deemest thy power over our objects to be always complete, do thou then seize colour by the nose, and taste by the eye. Do thou also take smell by the ear, and sensations of touch by the tongue. Do thou also take sounds by the skin, and likewise touch by the understanding. They that are powerful do not own the dominion of any rules. Rules exist for those only that are weak. Do thou seize enjoyments unenjoyed before; it behoves thee not to enjoy what has been tasted before (by others). As a disciple repairs to a preceptor for the sake of (acquiring) the Srutis, and then, having acquired the Srutis, dwells on their import (by obeying their injunctions), even so dost thou regard as thine those objects which are shown by us, past or future, in sleep or in wakefulness. Of creatures, again, that are of little intelligence, when their mind becomes distracted and cheerless, life is seen to be upheld upon our objects discharging their functions. It is seen also that a creature, after having formed even innumerable purposes and indulged in dreams, when afflicted by the desire to enjoy, runs to objects of sense at once. One entering upon enjoyments depending on mental purposes alone and unconnected with actual objects of sense, always meets with death upon the exhaustion of the life-breaths, like an enkindled fire upon the exhaustion of fuel. True it is that we have connections with our respective attributes; true it is, we have no knowledge of one another's attributes. But without us thou canst have no perception. Without us no happiness can come to thee.'"

SECTION 23

"The Brahmana said, 'In this connection, O blessed lady, is cited the ancient story of what kind the institution is of the five sacrificing priests. The learned know this to be a great principle that Prana and Apana and Udana and Samana and Vyana are the five sacrificing priests.'"

"The Brahmana's wife said, 'That naturally there are seven sacrificing priests is what was my former conviction. Let the great principle be declared to 'me as to how, verily, the number is five of the sacrificing priests.'"

'The Brahmana said, 'The wind nursed by Prana afterwards takes birth in Apana. The wind nursed in Apana then becomes developed into Vyana. Nursed by Vyana, the wind is then developed into Udana. Nursed in Udana, the wind is then generated as Samana. Those good beings in days of yore asked the first-born Grandsire, saying--Do thou say who amongst us is the foremost. He (whom thou wilt indicate) will be our chief.'

"Brahmana said, 'He upon whose extinction all the life-breaths become extinct in the bodies of living creatures, he upon whose moving they move, is verily the foremost (among you). Do ye go where ye like.'

"Prana said, 'Upon my extinction all the life-breaths become extinct in the bodies of living creatures. Upon my moving they once more move. I am (therefore) the foremost. Behold, I go into extinction!'

"The Brahmana continued, 'Prana then became extinct and once more moved about. Then Samana and Udana also, O blessed one, said these words--Thou dost not dwell here, pervading all this, as we do. Thou art not the foremost amongst us, O Prana. (Only) Apana is under thy dominion. Prana then moved about, and unto him Apana spoke.'

"Apana said, 'When I become extinct, all the life-winds become extinct in the bodies of living creatures. When I move about, they again move about. I am, therefore, the foremost. Behold, I go into extinction!'

"The Brahmana continued, 'Unto Apana who said so, both Vyana and Udana said--O Apana, thou art not the foremost. (Only) Prana is under thy dominion. Then Apana began to move about. Vyana once more addressed him saying, I am the foremost of all (the life-winds). Listen, for what reason. When I become extinct, all the life-winds become extinct in the bodies of living creatures. When I move about, they once more move about. I am (therefore) the foremost. Behold, I go into extinction!'

"The Brahmana continued, 'Then Vyana went into extinction and once more began to move about. At this, Prana and Apana and Udana and Samana addressed him, saying, 'Thou art not the foremost among us, O Vyana! (Only) Samana is under thy dominion--Vyana then began to move about and Samana said unto him,--I am the foremost of you all. Listen, for what reason. When I become extinct, all the life-winds become extinct in the bodies of living creatures. When I begin to move about, they once more move about. Hence, I am the foremost. Behold, I go into extinction! Then Samana began to move about. Unto him Udana said, I am the foremost of all the life-winds. Listen, for what reason. When I become extinct, all the life-winds become extinct in the bodies of living creatures. When I move about they once more move about. Hence, I am the foremost. Behold, I go into extinction!--Then Udana, after having gone into extinction, began once more to move about, Prana and Apana and Samana and Vyana said, unto him, O Udana, thou art not the foremost one among us, only Vyana is under thy dominion.'

"The Brahmana continued, 'Unto them assembled together, the Lord of creatures, Brahma, said, 'No one of you is superior to others. Ye are all endued with particular attributes. All are foremost in their own spheres, and all possess special attributes. Thus said unto them, that were assembled together, the Lord of all creatures. There is one that is unmoving, and one that is moving. In consequence of special attributes, there are five life-winds. My own self is one. That one accumulates into many forms. Becoming friendly unto one another, and gratifying one another, depart in peace. Blessings to ye, do ye uphold one another!'"

SECTION 24

"The Brahmana said, 'In this connection is cited the ancient story of the discourse between Narada and the Rishi Devamata.'

"Devamata said, 'What verily, comes first into existence, of a creature that takes birth? Is it Prana, or Apana, or Samana, or Vyana, or Udana?'

"Narada said, 'By whatever the creature is created, that first comes unto him which is other (or separate from him). The life winds are to be known as existing in pairs, viz., those that move transversely, upwards, and downwards.'

"Devamata said, 'By whom (among the life-winds) is a creature produced? Who (amongst) them comes first? Do thou tell me what the pairs are of the life-winds, that move transversely, upwards, and downwards.'

"Narada said, 'From Sankalpa (wish) arises Pleasure. It also arises from sound. It arises also from taste; it arises too from colour. From the semen, united with blood, first flows Prana. Upon the semen being modified by Prana, flows Apana. Pleasure arises from the semen as well. It arises from taste also. This is the form (effect) of Udana. Pleasure is produced from union. Semen is generated by desire. From desire is produced the menstrual flow. In the union of semen and blood, generated by Samana and Vyana, the pair that consists of Prana and Apana, enters, moving transversely and upwards, Vyana and Samana both form a pair that moves transversely. Agni (fire) is all the deities. Even this is the teaching of the Veda. The knowledge of Agni arises in a Brahmana with intelligence. The smoke of that fire is of the form of (the attribute called) Darkness. The attribute that is known by the name of Passion is in its ashes. The quality of goodness arises from that portion of the fire into which the oblation is poured. They that are conversant with sacrifices

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know that Samana and Vyana are from the attribute of Goodness. Prana and Apana are portions of the oblation (of clarified butter). Between them is the Fire. That is the excellent form (or seat) of Udana, as the Brahmanas know. Listen as I say which is distinct from the pairs. Day and Night constitute a pair. Between them is the Fire. That is the excellent seat of Udana as the Brahmanas know. The existent and the non-existent form a pair. Between them is the Fire. That is the excellent seat of Udana as the Brahmanas know. First is Samana; then Vyana. The latter's function is managed through it (viz., Samana). Then, secondly, Samana once more comes into operation. Only Vyana exists for tranquillity. Tranquillity is eternal Brahman. This is the excellent seat of Udana as the Brahmanas know.'"

SECTION 25

"The Brahmana said, 'In this connection is recited the ancient story of what the institution is of the Chaturhotra (sacrifice). The ordinances are now being duly declared of that in its entirety. Listen to me, O amiable lady, as I declare this wonderful mystery. The agent, the instrument, the action and Emancipation,--these, O beautiful lady, are the four sacrificing priests by whom the universe is enveloped. Hear in its entirety the assignment of causes (relating to this topic). The nose, the tongue, the eye, the skin, the ear numbering the fifth, the mind, and the understanding,--these seven should be understood as being caused by (the knowledge of) qualities. Smell, taste, colour, sound, touch, numbering the fifth, the objects of the mind, and the objects of the understanding, these seven are caused by action. He who smells, he who eats, he who sees, he who speaks, he who hears, numbering the fifth, he who thinks, and he who understands--these seven should be known as caused by the agent. Possessed of qualities, these enjoy their own qualities, agreeable or disagreeable. ['These' refers to action, agent and instrument. The qualities of which they are possessed are goodness, passion, and darkness.] As regards the Soul, that is destitute of qualities. These seven are the causes of Emancipation. With them that are learned and possessed of sufficient understanding, the qualities, which are in the position of deities, eat the oblations, each in its proper place, and agreeably to what has been ordained. The person who is destitute of learning, eating diverse kind of food, becomes seized with the sense of mineness. Digesting food for himself, he becomes ruined through the sense of mineness. The eating of food that should not be eaten, and the drinking of wine, ruin him. He destroys the food (he takes), and having destroyed that food, he becomes destroyed himself. The man of learning, however, being possessed of puissance, destroys his food for reproducing it. The minutest transgression does not arise in him from the food he takes. Whatever is thought of by the mind, whatever is uttered by speech, whatever is heard by the ear, whatever is seen by the eye, whatever is touched by the (sense of) touch, whatever is smelt by the nose, constitute oblations of clarified butter which should all, after restraining the senses with the mind numbering the sixth, be poured into that fire of high merits which burns within the body, viz., the Soul. The sacrifice constituted by Yoga is going on as regards myself. The spring whence that sacrifice proceeds is that which yields the fire of knowledge. The upward life-wind Prana is the Stotra of that sacrifice. The downward life-wind Apana is its Sastra. The renunciation of everything is the excellent Dakshina of that sacrifice. Consciousness, Mind, and Understanding--these becoming Brahma, are its Hotri, Adhwaryyu, and Udgatri. The Prasastri, his Sastra, is truth. Cessation of separate existence (or Emancipation) is the Dakshina. In this connection, people conversant with Narayana recite some Richs. Unto the divine Narayana were animals offered in days of yore. Then are sung some Samanas. On that topic occurs an authority. O timid one, know that the divine Narayana is the soul of all.'"

SECTION 26

"The Brahmana said, 'There is one Ruler. There is no second beside him. He that is Ruler resides in the heart. I shall speak now of him. Impelled by Him, I move as directed, like water along an inclined plane. There is one Preceptor. There is no second beside him. He resides in the heart, and of him I shall now speak. Be instructed by that preceptor; they who are always endued with feelings of animosity are like snakes. There is one kinsman. There is no second beside him. He resides in the heart of him I shall now speak. Instructed by him, kinsmen become possessed of kinsmen, and the seven Rishis, O son of Pritha, shine in the firmament. There is one dispeller. There is no second beside him. He resides in the heart. Of him I shall now speak. Having lived with that instructor under the proper mode of living, Sakra attained to the sovereignty of all the worlds. There is one enemy. There is no second beside him. He resides in the heart. Of him I shall now speak. Instructed by that preceptor all snakes in the world are always endued with feelings of animosity. In this connection is cited the ancient story of the instruction of the snakes, the deities, and the Rishis by the Lord of all creatures. The deities and the Rishis, the snakes, and the Asuras, seated around the Lord of all creatures, asked him, saying,--Let that which is highly beneficial for us be declared. Unto them that enquired about what is highly beneficial, the holy one uttered only the word Om, which is Brahman in one syllable. Hearing this, they ran away in various directions. Amongst them that thus ran in all directions from desire of self-instruction, the disposition first arose in snakes of biting. Of the Asuras, the disposition, born of their nature for ostentations, pride arose. The deities betook themselves to gifts, and the great Rishis to self-restraint. Having repaired to one teacher, and having been instructed (refined) by one word, the snakes, the deities, the Rishis, and the Danavas, all betook themselves to diverse different dispositions. It is that one who hears himself when speaking, and apprehends it duly. Once, again, is that heard from him when he speaks. There is no second preceptor. It is in obedience to his counsels that action afterwards flows. The instructor, the apprehender, the hearer, and the enemy, are pleased within the heart. By acting sinfully in the world it is he that becomes a person of sinful deeds. By acting auspiciously in the world, it is he who becomes a person of auspicious deeds. It is he who becomes a person of unrestrained conduct by becoming addicted to the pleasures of sense, impelled by desire. It is he who becomes a Brahmacharin by always devoting himself to the subjugation of his senses. It is he, again, that casts off vows and actions and takes refuge on Brahman alone. By moving in the world, identifying himself the while with Brahman, he becomes a Brahmacharin. Brahman. is his fuel; Brahman is his fire; Brahman is his origin; Brahman is his water; Brahman is his preceptor: he is rapt in Brahman. Brahmacharyya is even so subtle, as understood by the wise. Having understood it, they betook themselves to it, instructed by the Kshetrajna!'" [One who understands the truth.]

SECTION 27

"The Brahmana said, 'Having crossed that impassable fastness (the world) which has purposes for its gadflies and mosquitoes, grief and joy for its cold and heat, heedlessness for its blinding darkness, cupidity and diseases for its reptiles, wealth for its one danger on the road, and lust and wrath its robbers, I have entered the extensive forest of (Brahman)'.

"The wife of the Brahmana said, 'Where is that foremost, O thou of great wisdom? What are its trees? What its rivers? What its mountains and hills? How far is that forest?'

"The Brahmana said, 'There exists nothing that is separate from it. There is nothing more delightful than it. There is nothing that is unseparated from it. There is nothing more afflicting than it. There is nothing smaller than that. There is nothing vaster than that. There is nothing minuter than that. There is no happiness that can resemble it. Regenerate persons, entering into it, at once transcend both joy and sorrow. They (then) never stand in fear of any creature, nor does any creature stand in fear of them. In that forest are seven large trees, seven fruits, and seven guests. There are seven hermitages, seven (forms of) Yoga concentration, and seven (forms) of initiation. Even this a description of that forest. [The seven large trees are the five senses, the mind, and the understanding. The fruits are the pleasures and pains derived from or through them. The guests are the powers of each sense, for it is they that receive those pleasures and pains. The hermitages are those very trees under which the guests take shelter. The seven forms of Yoga are the extinctions of the seven senses. The seven forms of initiation are the repudiation, one after another, of the actions of the seven senses.] The trees which stand filling that forest, produce excellent flowers and fruits of five colours. The trees which stand there filling that forest, produce flowers and fruits that are of excellent colours and that are, besides, of two kinds. The trees which stand there filling that forest, produce flowers and fruits that are endued with fragrance and that are, besides, of two colours. The trees which stand there filling that forest, produce flowers and fruits that are possessed of fragrance and that are, besides, of one colour. The two trees which stand filling that forest, produce many flowers and fruits that are of unmanifest colours. There is one fire here, possessed of a good mind. That is connected with Brahmana. The five senses are the fuel here. The seven forms of Emancipation flowing from them are the seven forms of Initiation. The qualities are the fruits, and the guests eat those fruits. There, in diverse places, the great Rishis accept hospitality. When they, having been worshipped, become annihilated, then another forest shines forth. In that forest, Intelligence is the tree; Emancipation is the fruit; Tranquillity is the shade of which it is possessed. It has knowledge for its resting house, contentment for its water, and the Kshetrajna for its sun. Its end cannot be ascertained upwards, downwards, or horizontally. Seven females always dwell there, with faces downwards, possessed of effulgence, and endued with the cause of generations. They take up all the different tastes from all creatures, even as inconstancy sucks up truth. In that itself dwell, and from that emerge, the seven Rishis who are crowned with ascetic success, with those seven having Vasishtha for their foremost. Glory, effulgence, greatness, enlightenment, victory, perfection, and energy, these seven always follow this same like rays following the sun. Hills and mountains also exist there, collected together; and rivers and streams bearing waters in their course, waters that are born of Brahma. And there happens a confluence also of streams in the secluded spot for sacrifice. Thence those that are contented with their own souls proceed to the Grandsire. Those whose wishes have been reduced, whose wishes have been directed to excellent vows, and whose sins have been burnt off by penances, merging themselves in their souls, succeed in attaining to Brahman. Tranquillity is praised by those who are conversant with the forest of knowledge. Keeping that forest in view, they take birth so as not to lose courage. Even such is that sacred forest that is understood by Brahmanas, and understanding it, they live (in accordance with the ordinance), directed by the Kshetrajna.'"

SECTION 28

"The Brahmana said, 'I do not smell scents. I do not perceive tastes. I do not see colours. I do not touch. I do not likewise hear the diverse sounds (that arise). Nor do I entertain purposes of any kind. It is Nature that desires such objects as are liked; it is Nature that hates such objects as are disliked. Desire and aversion spring from Nature, after the manner of the upward and the downward life-winds when souls have entered animate bodies. Separated from them are others; in them are eternal dispositions; (these as also) the soul of all creatures, Yogins would behold in the body. Dwelling in that, I am never attached to anything through desire and wrath, and decrepitude and death. Not having any desire for any object of desire, and not having any aversion for any evil, there is no taint on my natures, as there is no taint of a drop of water on (the leaves of) the lotus. Of this constant (principle) which looks upon diverse natures, they are inconstant possessions. Though actions are performed, yet the assemblage of enjoyments does not attach itself to them, even as the assemblage of rays of the sun does not attach to the sky. In this connection is recited an ancient story of a discourse between an Adhwaryu and a Yati. Do thou hear it, O glorious lady. Beholding an animal sprinkled with water at a sacrificial ceremony, a Yati said unto the Adhwaryu seated there these words in censure,--This is destruction of life! unto him the Adhwaryu said in reply,--This goat will not be destroyed. The animal (sacrificed) meets with great good, if the Vedic declaration on this subject be true. That part of this animal which is of earth will go to earth. That part of this one which is born of water, will enter into water. His eye will enter the sun; his ear will enter the different points of the horizon; his life-winds will enter the sky. I who adhere to the scriptures incur no fault (by assisting at the killing of this animal).'

"The Yati said, 'If thou beholdest such good to the goat in this dissociation with (his) life-winds, then this sacrifice is for the goat. What need hast thou for it? Let the brother, father, mother, and friend (of this goat) give thee their approval in this. Taking him (to them) do thou consult them. This goat is especially dependent. It behoveth thee to see them who can give their consent in this. After hearing their consent; the matter will become fit for consideration. The life-winds of this goat have been made to return to their respective sources. Only the inanimate body remains behind. This is what I think. Of those who wish to enjoy felicity by means of the inanimate body (of an animal) which is comparable with fuel, the fuel (of sacrifice) is after all the animal himself. Abstention from cruelty is the foremost of all deities. Even this is the teaching of the elders. We know this is the proposition, viz.,--No slaughter (of living creatures).--If I say anything further, (it will then appear that) diverse kinds of faulty actions are capable of being done by thee. Always abstaining from cruelty to all creatures is what meets with our approbation. We establish this from what is directly perceptible. We do not rely on what is beyond direct perception.'

"The Adhwaryu said, 'Thou enjoyest the properties of smell which belong to the earth. Thou drinkest the tastes which appertain to water. Thou seest colours which belong to lighted bodies. Thou touchest the properties which, have their origin in wind. Thou hearest the sounds which have their origin in space (or ether). Thou thinkest thoughts with the mind. All these entities, thou art of opinion, have life. Thou dost not then abstain from taking life. Really, thou art engaged in slaughter. There can be no movement without slaughter. Or, what dost thou think, O regenerate one.'

"The Yati said, 'The Indestructible and the Destructible constitute the double manifestation of the soul. Of these the Indestructible is existed. The Destructible is said to be exceedingly non-existent. The life-wind, the tongue, the mind, the quality of goodness, along with the quality of passion, are all existent. The Atman is above these forms and hence is without duality and hope. As regards one that is freed from these existent objects, that transcends all pairs of opposites, that does not cherish any expectation, that is alike to all creatures, that is liberated from the idea of meum, that has subjugated his self, and that is released from all his surroundings,--for him no fear exists from any source!'

"The Adhwaryu said, 'O foremost of intelligent men, one should reside with those that are good. Hearing thy opinion my understanding shines with light. O illustrious one, I come

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to thee, believing thee to be a god; and I say I have no fault, O regenerate one, by performing these rites with the aid of Mantras!'

"The Brahmana continued, 'With this conclusion, the Yati remained silent after this. The Adhwaryu also proceeded with the great sacrifice, freed from delusion. The Brahmanas understand Emancipation, which is exceedingly subtle, to be of this kind and having understood it, they live accordingly directed by the Kshetrajna, that beholder of all topics.'"

SECTION 29

"The Brahmana said, 'In this connection is cited the ancient story, O lady, of the discourse between Karttaviryya and the Ocean. There was a king of the name of Karttaviryya-Arjuna who was endued with a thousand arms. He conquered, with his bow, the Earth, extending to the shores of the ocean. It has been heard by us that, once on a time, as he was walking on the shores of the sea, proud of his might, he showered hundreds of shafts on that vast receptacle of waters. The Ocean, bowing down unto him, said, with joined hands,--Do not, O hero, shoot thy shafts (at me)! Say, what shall I do to thee. With these mighty arrows shot by thee, those creatures which have taken shelter in me are being killed, O tiger among kings. Do thou, O lord, grant them security.'

"Arjuna said, 'If any wielder of the bow exists that is equal to me in battle, and that would stand against me in the field, do thou name him to me!'

"The Ocean said, If thou hast heard, O king, of the great Rishi Jamadagni, his son is competent to duly receive thee as a guest.--Then that king proceeded, filled with great wrath. Arrived at that retreat, he found Rama himself. With his kinsmen he began to do many acts that were hostile to Rama, and caused much trouble to that high-souled hero. Then the energy, which was immeasurable of Rama blazed forth, burning the troops of the foe, O lotus-eyed one. Taking up his battle-axe, Rama suddenly put forth his power, and hacked that thousand-armed hero, like a tree of many branches. Beholding him slain and prostrated on the earth, all his kinsmen, uniting together, and taking up their darts, rushed at Rama, who was then seated, from all sides. Rama also, taking up his bow and quickly ascending on his car, shot showers of arrows and chastised the army of the king. Then, some of the Kshatriyas, afflicted with the terror of Jamadagni's son, entered mountain-fastnesses, like deer afflicted by the lion. Of them that were unable, through fear of Rama, to discharge the duties ordained for their order, the progeny became Vrishalas owing to their inability to find Brahmanas. [Kshatriyas always require Brahmanas for assisting them in their acts. These particular Kshatriyas, through fear of Rama, fled to the forests and mountains. They could not, accordingly, find Brahmanas for assisting them. Their children, therefore, fell away from the status of Kshatriyas and became Vrishalas or Sudras.] In this way Dravidas and Abhiras and Pundras, together with the Savaras, became Vrishalas through those men who had Kshatriya duties assigned to them (in consequence of their birth), falling away (from those duties). Then the Kshatriyas that were begotten by the Brahmanas upon Kshatriya women that had lost their heroic children, were repeatedly destroyed by Jamadagni's son. The slaughter proceeded one and twenty times. At its conclusion a bodiless voice, sweet and proceeding from heaven, and which was heard by all people, spoke to Rama, 'O Rama, O Rama, desist! What met it dost thou see, O son, in thus destroying repeatedly these inferior Kshatriyas?' In this way, O blessed dame, his grandsires, headed by Richika, addressed that high-souled one, saying. 'Do thou desist.' Rama, however, unable to forgive the slaughter of his sire, replied unto those Rishis saying, 'It behoves you not to forbid me.' The Pitris then said, 'O foremost of all victorious men, it behoves thee not to slay these inferior Kshatriyas. It is not proper that thyself, being a Brahmana, should slay these kings.'"

SECTION 30

"The Pitris said, 'In this connection is cited this old history. Having heard it, thou shouldst act according to it, O foremost of all regenerate persons. There was a royal sage of the name Alarka endued with the austerest of penances. He was conversant with all duties, truthful in speech, of high soul, and exceedingly firm in his vows. Having, with his bow, conquered the whole Earth extending to the seas, and thereby achieved an exceedingly difficult feat, he set his mind on that which is subtle. While sitting at the root of a tree, his thoughts, O thou of great intelligence, abandoning all those great feats, turned towards that which is subtle.'

"Alarka said, 'My mind has become strong. Having conquered the mind, one's conquest becomes permanent. Though surrounded by foes, I shall (henceforth) shoot my arrows at other objects. Since in consequence of its unsteadiness, it sets all mortals to accomplish acts, I shall shoot very sharp-pointed shafts at the mind.'

"The mind said, 'These arrows, O Alarka, will never pierce me through. They will pierce only thy own vital parts, Thy vital parts being pierced, thou shalt die. Do thou look out for other arrows with which to destroy me.' Hearing these words and reflecting upon them, he said as follows.

"Alarka said, 'Smelling very many perfumes, the nose hankers after them only. Hence I shall shoot whetted arrows at the nose.'

"The nose said, 'These arrows will never cross through me, O Alarka. They will pierce only thy own vital parts, and thy vital parts being pierced, thou shalt die. Do thou look for other arrows with which to destroy me.'

Hearing these words and reflecting upon them, he said as follows. "Alarka said, This one (viz., the tongue), enjoying savoury tastes, hankers after them only. Hence I shall shoot whetted shafts at the tongue.'

"The tongue said, 'These arrows, O Alarka, will not cross through me. They will only pierce thy own vital parts and thy vital parts being pierced, thou shalt die. Do thou look for other arrows with which to destroy me.' Hearing these words and reflecting upon them, he said as follows.

"Alarka said, 'The skin, touching diverse objects of touch, hankers after them only. Hence, I shall tear off the skin with diverse arrows equipt with the feathers of the Kanka.'

"The skin said, 'These arrows will not, O Alarka, cross through me. They will pierce thy own vital parts only, and thy vital parts being pierced, thou shalt die. Do thou look for other arrows with which to destroy me.' Hearing these words and reflecting on them, he said as follows.

"Alarka said, 'Hearing diverse sounds, (the ear) hankers after them only. Hence, I shall shoot whetted shafts at the ear.'

"The ear said, 'These arrows will not, O Alarka, cross through me. They will pierce thy own vital parts only, and thy vital parts being pierced, thou shalt die. Do thou then look for other arrows with which to destroy me.' Hearing these words and reflecting upon them, he said as follows.

"Alarka said, 'Seeing many colours, the eye hankers after them only. Hence, I shall destroy the eye with sharp-pointed arrows.'

"The eye said. 'These arrows will not, O Alarka, cross through me at all. They will pierce thy own vital parts only, and thy vital parts being pierced, thou shalt die. Do thou then look for other arrows with which to destroy me!' Hearing these words and reflecting upon them, he said as follows.

"Alarka said, 'This (viz., the understanding) forms many determinations with the aid of ratiocination. Hence, I shall shoot whetted arrows at the understanding.'

"The understanding said, 'These arrows will not, O Alarka, cross through me at all. They will pierce thy vital parts only, and thy vital parts being pierced, thou shalt die. Do thou then look for other arrows with which to destroy me!'

"The Brahmana continued, 'Then Alarka, employing himself, even there, on penances difficult to perform and exceedingly austere, failed to obtain, by the high power (of his penances) arrows for casting at these seven. Endued with puissance, he then, with mind well concentrated, began to reflect. Then O best of regenerate ones, Alarka, that foremost of intelligent men, having reflected for a long time, failed to obtain anything better than Yoga. Setting his mind on one object, he remained perfectly still, engaged in Yoga. Endued with energy, he quickly slew all the senses with one arrow, having entered by Yoga into his soul and thereby attained to the highest success. Filled with wonder, that royal sage then sang this verse: Alas, it is a pity that we should have accomplished all acts that are external! Alas, that we should have, endued with the thirst for enjoyment, courted (the pleasures of) sovereignty before now! I have learnt this afterwards. There is no happiness that is higher than Yoga.--Do thou know this, O Rama. Cease to slay the Kshatriyas. Do thou practise the austerest of penances. Thou wilt then attain to what is good.--Thus addressed by his grandsires, Jamadagni's son practised the austerest penances, and having practised them, that highly blessed one attained to that success which is difficult to reach.'"

SECTION 31

"The Brahmana said, 'There are three foes in the world. They are said to be ninefold, agreeably to their qualities. Exultation, satisfaction, and joy,--these three qualities appertain to Goodness. Cupidity, wrath, and hatred, these three qualities are said to appertain to Passion. Lassitude, procrastination, and delusion, these three qualities appertain to darkness. Cutting these with showers of arrows, the man of intelligence, free from procrastination, possessed of a tranquil soul, and with his senses under subjection, ventures to vanquish others. [The sense seems to be this. Having first conquered the internal foes mentioned, the man of intelligence, bent on effecting his deliverance, should then seek to vanquish all external foes standing in his way.] In this connection, persons conversant with (the occurrence of) ancient cycles recite some verses which were sung in days of old by king Amvarisha who had acquired a tranquil soul. When diverse kinds of faults were in the ascendant and when the righteous were afflicted, Amvarisha of great fame put forth his strength for assuming sovereignty. Subduing his own faults and worshipping the righteous, he attained to great success and sang these verses.--I have subdued many faults. I have killed all foes. But there is one, the greatest, vice which deserves to be destroyed but which has not been destroyed by me! Urged by that fault, this Jiva fails to attain to freedom from desire. Afflicted by desire, one runs into ditches without knowing it. Urged by that fault, one indulges in acts that are forbidden. Do thou cut off, cut off, that cupidity with sharp-edged swords. From cupidity arise desires. From desire flows anxiety. The man who yields to desire acquires many qualities that appertain to passion. When these have been acquired, he gets many qualities that appertain to Darkness. In consequence of those qualities, he repeatedly takes birth, with the bonds of body united, and is impelled to action. Upon the expiration of life, with body becoming dismembered and scattered, he once meets with death which is due to birth itself. Hence, duly understanding this, and subduing cupidity by intelligence, one should desire for sovereignty in one's soul. This is (true) sovereignty. There is no other sovereignty here. The soul, properly understood, is the king. Even these were the verses sung by king Ambarisha of great celebrity, on the subject of sovereignty which he kept before him,--that king who had cut off the one foremost fault viz., cupidity.'"

SECTION 32

"The Brahmana said, 'In this connection is cited the old narrative, O lady, of the discourse between a Brahmana and (king) Janaka. King Janaka (on a certain occasion), desirous of punishing him, said unto a Brahmana who had become guilty of some offence, 'Thou shalt not dwell within my dominions.' Thus addressed, the Brahmana replied unto that best of kings, saying, 'Tell me, O king, what the limits are of the territories subject to thee. I desire, O lord, to dwell within the dominions of another king. Verily, I wish to obey thy behest, O lord of Earth, agreeably to the scriptures.--Thus addressed by that celebrated Brahmana, the king, hearing repeated and hot sighs, said not a word in reply. Like the planet Rahu overwhelming the Sun, a cloudedness of understanding suddenly overwhelmed that king of immeasurable energy as he sat plunged in thought. When that cloudedness of understanding passed away and the king became comforted, he spoke after a short while these words unto that Brahmana.'

"Janaka said, 'Although a (large) inhabited tract is subject to me within this ancestral kingdom of mine, yet I fail to find my dominion, searching through the whole Earth. When I failed to find it on the Earth, I then searched Mithila (for it). When I failed to find it in Mithila, I then searched for it among my own children. When I failed to find it even there, a cloudedness of understanding came over me. After that cloudedness of understanding passed away, intelligence came back to me. Then I thought that I have no dominion, or that everything is my dominion. Even this body is not mine, or the whole Earth is mine. At the same time, O best of regenerate persons, I think that that is as much mine as it is of others. Do thou, therefore, dwell (here) as long as thy choice leads thee, and do thou enjoy as long as thou pleasest.'

"The Brahmana said, 'When there is a large inhabited tract in thy ancestral kingdom, tell me, depending upon what understanding, has the idea of meum been got rid of by thee. What also is that understanding depending upon which thou hast come to the conclusion that everything constitutes thy dominion? What, indeed, is the notion through which thou hast no dominion, or everything is thy dominion?'

"Janaka said, 'All conditions here, in all affairs, have been understood by me to be terminable. Hence, I could not find that which should be called mine. (Considering) whose is this, I thought of the Vedic text about anybody's property, I could not, therefore, find, by my understanding, what should be (called) mine. Depending upon this notion, I got rid of idea of mineness. Hear now what that notion is depending upon which I came to the conclusion that I have dominion everywhere. I do not desire for my own self those smells that are even in my nose. Therefore, the earth, subjugated by me, is always subject to me. I do not desire for my own self those tastes that exist in contact with even my tongue. Therefore, water, subjugated by me, is always subject to me. I do not desire for my own self the colour or light that appertains to my eye. Therefore, light subjugated by me, is always subject to me. I do not desire for my own self those sensations of touch which are in contact with even my skin. Therefore, the wind, subjugated by me, is always subject to me. I do not desire for my own self those sounds which are in contact with even my ear. Therefore sounds, subjugated by me, are always subject to me. I do not desire for my own self the mind that is always in my mind. Therefore the mind, subjugated by me, is subject to me. All these acts of mine are for the sake of the deities, the Pitris, the Bhutas, together with guests [i.e., I live and act for these and not my own self.]. --The Brahmana then, smiling, once more said unto Janaka,--Know that I am Dharma, who have come here today for examining thee. Thou art verily the one person for setting this wheel in motion, this wheel that has the quality of Goodness for its circumference, Brahmin for its nave, and the understanding for its spokes, and which never turns back!'"

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SECTION 33

"The Brahmana said, 'I do not, O timid one, move in this world in that manner which thou, according to thy own understanding, censurest. I am a Brahmana possessed of Vedic knowledge, I am emancipated. I am a forest recluse. I am an observer of the duties of a house-holder. I observe vows. I am not what thou seest me in good and bad acts. By me is pervaded everything that exists in this universe. Whatever creatures exist in the world, mobile or immobile, know that I am the destroyer of them all, even as fire is (the destroyer) of all kinds of wood. Of sovereignty over the whole Earth or over Heaven (on the one hand), or this knowledge (of my identity with the universe), this knowledge is my wealth. This is the one path for Brahmanas, by which they who understand it proceed to house-holds, or abodes in the forest, or residence with preceptors, or among mendicants. [These are different modes of life.] With numerous unconfused symbols, only one knowledge is worshipped. Those who, whatever the symbols and modes of life to which they adhere, have acquired an understanding having tranquillity for its essence, attain to that one entity even as numerous rivers all meeting the Ocean. The path is traversable with the aid of the understanding and not of this body. Actions have both beginning and end, and the body has actions for its bonds. Hence, O blessed lady, thou needst have no apprehension in respect of the world hereafter. With thy heart intent upon the real entity, it is my soul into which thou wilt come.'"

SECTION 34

"The Brahmana's wife said, 'This is incapable of being understood by a person of little intelligence as also by one whose soul has not been cleansed. My intelligence is very little, and contracted, and confused. Do thou tell me the means by which the knowledge (of which thou speakest) may be acquired. I wish to learn from thee the source from which this knowledge flows.'

"The Brahmana said, 'Know that intelligence devoted to Brahman, is the lower Arani; the preceptor is the upper Arani; penances and conversance wit tithe scriptures are to cause the attrition. From this is produced the fire of knowledge.'

"The Brahmana's wife said, 'As regards this symbol of Brahman, which is designated Kshetrajna, where, indeed, occurs a description of it by which it is capable of being seized?'

"The Brahmana said, 'He is without symbols, and without qualities. Nothing exists that may be regarded as his cause. I shall, however, tell thee the means by which he can be seized or not. A good means may be found; viz., perception of hearing, etc. as flowers are perceived by bees. That means consists of an understanding cleansed by action. Those whose understandings have not been so cleansed, regard that entity, through their own ignorance, as invested with the properties of knowledge and others. It is not laid down that this should be done, of that this should not be done, in the rules for achieving Emancipation,--those, that is, in which a knowledge of the soul arises only in him who sees and hears. [What is stated here is this. In the matter of achieving Emancipation, no ordinances have been laid down, positive or negative, like those in respect of other things. If one wishes to attain to Heaven, he should do this and abstain from the other. For achieving Emancipation, however, only seeing and hearing are prescribed. Seeing implies contemplation, and hearing, the receiving of instructions from the preceptor. Nilakantha explains hearing as Vedantadisravanam (vide his comment on the word 'srutam' in verse 3 above).] One should comprehend as many parts, unmanifest and manifest by hundreds and thousands, as one is capable of comprehending here. Indeed, one should comprehend diverse objects of diverse import, and all objects of direct perception. Then will come, from practice (of contemplation and self-restraint, etc.), that above which nothing exists.'

"The holy one continued, 'Then the mind of that Brahmana's wife, upon the destruction of the Kshetrajna, became that which is beyond Kshetrajna, in consequence of the knowledge of Kshetra.'

"Arjuna said, 'Where, indeed, is that Brahmana's wife, O Krishna, and where is that foremost of Brahmanas, by both of whom was such success attained. Do thou, tell me about them, O thou of unfading glory.'

"The blessed and holy one said, 'Know that my mind is the Brahmana, and that my understanding is the Brahmana's wife. He who has been spoken of as Kshetrajna is I myself, O Dhananjaya!'"

SECTION 35

"Arjuna said, 'It behoveth thee to expound Brahma to me,--that which is the highest object of knowledge. Through thy favour, my mind is delighted with these subtle disquisitions.'

"Vasudeva said,--'In this connection is recited the old history of the discourse between a preceptor and his disciple on the subject of Brahman. Once on a time, O scorcher of foes, an intelligent disciple questioned a certain Brahmana of rigid vows who was his preceptor, as he was seated (at his ease), saying,--What, indeed, is the highest good? Desirous of attaining to that which constitutes the highest good, I throw myself at thy feet, O holy one. O learned Brahmana, I solicit thee, bending my head, to explain to me what I ask.--Unto that disciple, O son of Pritha, who said so, the preceptor said,--O regenerate one, I shall explain to thee everything about which thou mayst have any doubts.--Thus addressed, O foremost one of Kuru's race, by his preceptor, that disciple who was exceedingly devoted to his preceptor, spoke as follows, with joined hands. Do thou hear what he said, O thou of great intelligence.'

"The Disciple said, 'Where am I? Whence art thou? Explain that which is the highest truth. From what source have sprung all creatures mobile and immobile? By what do creatures live? What is the limit of their life? What is truth? What is penance, O learned Brahmana? What are called attributes by the good? What paths are to be called auspicious? What is happiness? What is sin? O holy one, O thou of excellent vows, it behoves thee to answer these questions of mine, O learned Rishi, correctly, truly, and accurately. Who else is there in this world than thee that is capable of answering these questions? Do thou answer them, O foremost of all persons conversant with duties. My curiosity is great. Thou art celebrated in all the worlds as one well skilled in the duties relating to Emancipation. There is none else than thou that is competent to remove all kinds of doubts. Afraid of worldly life, we have become desirous of achieving Emancipation.'

"Vasudeva said, 'Unto that disciple who had humbly sought his instruction and put the questions duly, who was devoted to his preceptor and possessed of tranquillity, and who always behaved in a manner that was agreeable (to his instructor), who lived so constantly by the side of his instructor as to have almost become his shadow, who was self-restrained, and who had the life of a Yati and Brahmacharin, O son of Pritha, that preceptor possessed of intelligence and observant of vows, duly explained all the questions, O foremost one of Kuru's race, O chastiser of all foes.'

"The preceptor said, 'All this was declared (In days of old) by Brahma himself (the Grandsire of all the worlds). Applauded and practised by the foremost of Rishis, and depending on a knowledge of the Vedas, it involves a consideration of what constitutes the real entity. We regard knowledge to be the highest object, and renunciation as the best penance. He who, with certainty, knows the true object of knowledge which is incapable of being modified by circumstances, viz., the soul abiding in all creatures, succeeds in going whithersoever he wishes and comes to be regarded as the highest. That learned man who beholds the residence of all things in one place and their severance as well, and who sees unity in diversity, succeeds in freeing himself from misery. He who does not covet anything and does not cherish the idea of mineness with regard to anything, comes to be regarded, although residing in this world, as identifiable with Brahman, He who is conversant with the truth about the qualities of Pradhana (or Nature), acquainted with the creation of all existent objects, divested of the idea of mineness, and without pride, succeeds, without doubt, in emancipating himself. Understanding properly that great tree which has the unmanifest for its seed sprout, and the understanding for its trunk, and high consciousness of self for its branches, and the senses for the cells whence its twigs issue, and the (five) great elements for its flower-buds, and the gross elements for its smaller boughs, which is always endued with leaves, which always puts forth flowers, and upon which all existent objects depend, whose seed is Brahman, and which is eternal,--and cutting all topics with the sharp sword of knowledge, one attains to immortality and casts off birth and death. The conclusions with regard to the past, present, and future, etc, and religion, pleasure and wealth, which are all well known to conclaves of Siddhas, which appertain to remote cycles, and which are, indeed, eternal, I shall declare to thee, O thou of great wisdom. These constitute what is called Good. Men of wisdom, understanding them in this world, attain to success. In days of old, the Rishis Vrihaspati and Bharadwaja, and Gautama and Bhargava, and Vasishtha and Kasyapa, and Viswamitra, and Atri, assembled together for the purpose of asking one another. They thus assembled together after having travelled over all paths and after they had got tired with the acts each of them had done. Those regenerate persons, placing the sage son of Angiras at their head, proceeded to the region of the Grandsire. There they beheld Brahma perfectly cleansed of all sin. Bowing their heads unto that high-souled one who was seated at his ease, the great Rishis, endued with humility, asked him this grave question regarding the highest good. How should a good man act? How would one be released from sin? What paths are auspicious for us? What is truth, and what is sin? By what action are the two paths, northern and southern, obtained? What is destruction? What is Emancipation? What is birth and what is death of all existent objects? I shall tell thee, O disciple, what the Grandsire, thus addressed, said unto them, conformably to the scriptures. Do thou listen.'

"Brahma said, 'It is from Truth that all creatures, mobile and immobile, have been born. They live by penance (of action). Understand this, O ye of excellent vows. In consequence of their own actions they live, transcending: their own origin. For Truth, when united with qualities, becomes always possessed of five indications. Brahman is Truth. Penance is truth. Prajapati is truth. It is from Truth that all creatures have sprung. Truth is the universe of being. It is for this that Brahmanas who are always devoted to Yoga, who have transcended wrath and sorrow, and who always regard Religion as the causeway (along which every one must pass for avoiding the morass below), take refuge in Truth. I shall now speak of those Brahmanas who are restrained by one another and possessed of knowledge, of the orders, and of those who belong to the four modes of life. The wise say that Religion or duty is one, (though) having four quarters. Ye regenerate ones, I shall speak to ye now of that path which is auspicious and productive of good. That path has constantly been trod over by men possessed of wisdom in order to achieve an identity with Brahman. I shall speak now of that path which is the highest and which is exceedingly difficult of being understood. Do you understand, in all its details, ye highly blessed ones, what is the highest seat. The first step has been said to be the mode of life that appertains to Brahmacharins. The second step is domesticity. After this is the residence in the woods. After that it should be known is the highest step, viz., that relating to Adhyatma. [i.e., that course of life which has for its object the acquisition of knowledge relating to the soul. This, of course, includes the knowledge that is needed for achieving identification with the Supreme Soul or Brahman.] Light, ether (or space), sun, wind, Indra, and Prajapati,--one sees these as long as one does not attain to Adhyatma. I shall declare the means (by which that Adhyatma may be attained). Do ye first understand them. The forest mode of life that is followed by ascetics residing in the woods and subsisting upon fruits and roots and air is laid down for the three regenerate classes. The domestic mode of life is ordained for all the orders. They that are possessed of wisdom say that Religion or duty has Faith for its (chief) indication. Thus have I declared to you the paths leading to the deities. They are adopted by those that are good and wise by their acts. Those paths are the causeways of piety. That person of rigid vows who adopts any one of these modes separately, always succeeds in time to understand the production and destruction of all creatures. I shall now declare, accurately and with reasons, the elements which reside in parts in all objects. The great soul, the unmanifest, egoism (consciousness of identity), the ten and one organs (of knowledge and action), the five great elements, the specific characteristics of the five elements,--these constitute the eternal creation. The number of elements has been said to be four and twenty, and one (more). That person of wisdom who understands the production and destruction of all these elements, that man among all creatures, never meets with delusion. He who understands the elements accurately, all the qualities, all the deities, succeeds in cleansing himself of all sin. Freed from all bonds, such a man succeeds in enjoying all regions of spotless purity.'"

SECTION 36

"Brahma said, 'That which is unmanifest, which is indistinct, all-pervading, everlasting, immutable, should be known to become the city (or mansion) of nine portals, possessed of three qualities, and consisting of five ingredients. Encompassed by eleven including Mind which distinguishes (objects), and having Understanding for the ruler, this is an aggregate of eleven. [The total eleven is made up of the three qualities, the five elements, the group of organs and senses as one, egoism and understanding.] The three ducts that are in it support it constantly. These are the three Nadis. They run continually, and have the three qualities for their essence: Darkness, Passion, and Goodness. These are called the (three) qualities. These are coupled with one another. They exist, depending on one another. They take refuge in one another, and follow one another. They are also joined with one another. The five (principal) elements are characterised by (these) three qualities. Goodness is the match of Darkness. Of Goodness the match is Passion. Goodness is also the match of Passion, and of Goodness the match is Darkness. There where Darkness is restrained, Passion is seen to flow. There where Passion is restrained, Goodness is seen to flow. Darkness should be known to have the night (or obscurity) for its essence. It has three characteristics, and is (otherwise) called Delusion. It has unrighteousness (or sin) also for its indication, and it is always present in all sinful acts. This is the nature of Darkness and it appears also as confined with others. Passion is said to have activity for its essence. It is the cause of successive acts. When it prevails, its indication, among all beings, is production. Splendour, lightness, and faith,--these are the form, that is light, of Goodness among all creatures, as regarded by all good men. The true nature of their characteristics will now be declared by me, with reasons. These shall be stated in aggregation and separation. Do ye understand them. Complete delusion, ignorance; illiberality, indecision in respect of action, sleep, haughtiness, fear, cupidity, grief, censure of good acts, loss of memory,--

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unripeness of judgement, absence of faith, violation of all rules of conduct, want of discrimination, blindness, vileness of behaviour, boastful assertions of performance when there has been no performance, presumption of knowledge in ignorance, unfriendliness (or hostility), evilness of disposition, absence of faith, stupid reasoning, crookedness, incapacity for association, sinful action, senselessness, stolidity, lassitude, absence of self-control, degradation,--all these qualities are known as belonging to Darkness. Whatever other states of mind, connected with delusion, exist in the world, all appertain to Darkness. Frequent ill-speaking of other people, censuring the deities and the Brahmanas, illiberality, vanity, delusion, wrath, unforgiveness, hostility towards all creatures, are regarded as the characteristics of Darkness. Whatever undertakings exist that are unmeritorious (in consequence of their being vain or useless), what gifts there are that are unmeritorious (in consequence of the unworthiness of the donees, the unreasonableness of the time, the impropriety of the object, etc.), vain eating,--these also appertain to Darkness. Indulgence in calumny, unforgiveness, animosity, vanity, and absence of faith are also said to be characteristics of Darkness. Whatever men there are in this world who are characterised by these and other faults of a similar kind, and who break through the restraints (provided by the scriptures), are all regarded as belonging to the quality of Darkness. I shall now declare the wombs where these men, who are always of sinful deeds, have to take their birth. Ordained to go to hell, they sink in the order of being. Indeed, they sink into the hell of (birth in) the brute creation. They become immobile entities, or animals, or beasts of burden; or carnivorous creatures, or snakes, or worms, insects, and birds; or creatures, of the oviparous order, or quadrupeds of diverse species; or lunatics, or deaf or dumb human beings, or men that are afflicted by dreadful maladies and regarded as unclean. These men of evil conduct, always exhibiting the indications of their acts, sink in Darkness. Their course (of migrations) is always downwards. Appertaining to the quality of Darkness, they sink in Darkness. I shall, after this, declare what the means are of their improvement and ascent; indeed, by what means they succeed in attaining to the regions that exist for men of pious deeds. Those men who take birth in orders other than humanity, by growing up in view of the religious ceremonies of Brahmanas devoted to the duties of their own order and desirous of doing good to all creatures, succeed, through the aid of such purificatory rites, in ascending upwards. Indeed, struggling (to improve themselves), they at last attain to the same regions with these pious Brahmanas. Verily, they go to Heaven. Even this is the Vedic audition. [Anyatha pratipannah is explained by Nilakantha as 'born in other orders'. Telang takes it as 'Behaving in a contrary way.' 'How can goats and sheep behave otherwise?' The sense seems to be that those born as goats, succeed in ascending upwards through the efficacy of the religious acts of the Brahmanas. By becoming sacrificial victims they regain their true position.] Born in orders other than humanity and growing old in their respective acts, even thus they become human beings that are, of course, ordained to return. Coming to sinful births and becoming Chandalas or human beings that are deaf or that lisp indistinctly, they attain to higher and higher castes, one after another in proper turn, transcending the Sudra order, and other (consequences of) qualities that appertain to Darkness and that abide in it in course of migrations in this world. Attachment to objects of desire is regarded as great delusion. Here Rishis and Munis and deities become deluded, desirous of pleasure. Darkness, delusion, the great delusion, the great obscurity called wrath, and death, that blinding obscurity, (these are the five great afflictions). As regards wrath, that is the great obscurity (and not aversion or hatred as is sometimes included in the list). With respect then to its colour (nature), its characteristics, and its source, I have, ye learned Brahmanas, declared to you, accurately and in due order, everything about (the quality of) Darkness. Who is there that truly understands it? Who is there that truly sees it? That, indeed, is the characteristic of Darkness, viz., the beholding of reality in what is not real. The qualities of Darkness have been declared to you in various ways. Duly has Darkness, in its higher and lower forms, been described to you. That man who always bears in mind the qualities mentioned here, will surely succeed in becoming freed from all characteristics that appertain to Darkness.'"

SECTION 37

"Brahman said, 'Ye best of beings, I shall now declare to you accurately what (the quality of) Passion is. Ye highly blessed ones, do you understand what those qualities are that appertain to Passion, Injuring (others), beauty, toil, pleasure and pain, cold and heat, lordship (or power), war, peace, arguments, dissatisfaction, endurance, might, valour, pride, wrath, exertion, quarrel (or collision), jealousy, desire, malice, battle, the sense of meum or mineness, protection (of others), slaughter, bonds, and affliction, buying and selling, lopping off, cutting, piercing and cutting off the coat of mail that another has worn, fierceness, cruelty, villifying, pointing out the faults of others, thoughts entirely devoted to worldly affairs, anxiety, animosity, reviling of others, false speech, false or vain gifts, hesitancy and doubt, boastfulness of speech, dispraise and praise, laudation, prowess, defiance, attendance (as on the sick and the weak), obedience (to the commands of preceptors and parents), service or ministrations, harbouring of thirst or desire, cleverness or dexterity of conduct, policy heedlessness, contumely, possessions, and diverse decorations that prevail in the world among men, women, animals, inanimate things, houses, grief, incredulousness, vows and regulations, actions with expectation (of good result), diverse acts of public charity, the rites in respect of Swaha salutations, rites of Swadha and Vashat, officiating at the sacrifices of others, imparting of instruction, performance of sacrifices, study, making of gifts, acceptance of gifts, rites of expiation, auspicious acts, the wish to have this and that, affection generated by the merits of the object for which or whom it is felt, treachery, deception, disrespect and respect, theft, killing, desire of concealment, vexation, wakefulness, ostentation, haughtiness, attachment, devotion, contentment, exultation, gambling, indulgence in scandal, all relations arising out of women, attachment to dancing, instrumental music and songs--all these qualities, ye learned Brahmanas, have been said to belong to Passion. Those men on Earth who meditate on the past, present, and the future, who are devoted to the aggregate of three, viz., Religion, Wealth, and Pleasure, who acting from impulse of desire, exult on attaining to affluence in respect of every desire, are said to be enveloped by Passion. These men have downward courses. Repeatedly reborn in this world, they give themselves up to pleasure. They covet what belongs to this world as also all those fruit, that belong to the world hereafter. They make gifts, accept gifts, offer oblations to the Pitris, and pour libations on the sacrificial fire. The qualities of Passion have (thus) been declared to you in their variety. The course of conduct also to which it leads has been properly described to you. The man who always understands these qualities, succeeds in always freeing himself from all of them which appertain to Passion.'"

SECTION 38

"Brahmana said, 'I shall, after this discourse to you on that excellent quality which is the third (in the order of our enumeration). It is beneficial to all creatures in the world, and unblamable, and constitutes the conduct of those that are good. Joy, satisfaction, nobility, enlightenment, and happiness, absence of stinginess (or liberality), absence of fear, contentment, disposition for faith, forgiveness, courage, abstention from injuring any creature, equability, truth, straightforwardness, absence of wrath, absence of malice, purity, cleverness, prowess, (these appertain to the quality of Goodness). He who is devoted to the duty of Yoga, regarding knowledge to be vain, conduct to be vain, service to be vain, and mode of life to be vain, attains to what is highest in the world hereafter. Freedom from the idea of meum, freedom from egoism, freedom from expectations, looking on all with an equal eye, and freedom from desire,--these constitute the eternal religion of the good. Confidence, modesty, forgiveness, renunciation, purity, absence of laziness, absence of cruelty, absence of delusion, compassion to all creatures, absence of the disposition to calumniate, exultation, satisfaction, rapture, humility, good behaviour, purity in all acts having for their object the attainment of tranquillity, righteous understanding, emancipation (from attachments), indifference, Brahmacharyya, complete renunciation, freedom from the idea of meum, freedom from expectations, unbroken observance of righteousness, belief that gifts are vain, sacrifices are vain, study is vain, vows are vain, acceptance of gifts is vain, observance of duties is vain, and penances are vain--those Brahmanas in this world, whose conduct is marked by these virtues, who adhere to righteousness, who abide in the Vedas, are said to be wise and possessed of correctness of vision. Casting off all sins and freed from grief, those men possessed of wisdom attain to Heaven and create diverse bodies (for themselves). Attaining the power of governing everything, self-restraint, minuteness, these high-souled ones make by operations of their own mind, like the gods themselves dwelling in Heaven. Such men are said to have their courses directed upwards. They are veritable gods capable of modifying all things. Attaining to Heaven, they modify all things by their very nature. They get whatever objects they desire and enjoy them. Thus have I, ye foremost of regenerate ones, described to you what that conduct is which appertains to the quality of goodness. Understanding these duly, one acquires whatever objects one desires. The qualities that appertain to goodness have been declared particularly. The conduct which those qualities constitute has also been properly set forth. That man who always understands these qualities, succeeds in enjoying the qualities without being attached to them.'"

SECTION 39

"Brahmana said, 'The qualities are incapable of being declared as completely separate from one another. Passion and Goodness and Darkness are seen existing in a state of union. They are attached to one another. They depend on one another. They have one another for their refuge. They likewise follow one another. As long as goodness exists, so long does Passion exist. There is no doubt in this. As long as Darkness and Goodness exist, so long does Passion exist. They make their journey together, in union, and moving collectively. They, verily, move in body, when they act with cause or without cause. Of all these which act with one another, however, much they may differ in their development, the manner in which their increase and diminution take place will now be declared. There where Darkness exists in an increased measure, in the lower creatures (for example), Passion exists in a smaller measure and Goodness in a measure that is still less. There where Passion exists in a copious measure, in creatures of middle course, Darkness exists in a smaller measure and Goodness in a measure that is still less. There where Goodness exists in a copious measure, in creatures of upward courses, Darkness should be known to exist in a small measure and Passion in a measure that is still less. Goodness is the spring that causes the modifications of the senses. It is the great enlightener. No duty has been laid down that is higher than Goodness. They who abide in Goodness proceed upwards. They who abide in Passion remain in the middle. They who abide in Darkness, being characterised by qualities that are low, sink downwards. Darkness occurs in the Sudra; Passion in the Kshatriya; and Goodness, which is the highest, in the Brahmana. The three qualities exist even thus in the three orders. Even from a distance, the three qualities of darkness and Goodness and Passion, are seen to exist in a state of union and more collectively. They are never seen in a state of separation. Beholding the sun rising, men of evil deeds become inspired with fear. Travellers on their way become afflicted with heat, and suffer distress. The Sun is Goodness developed, men of evil deeds represent Darkness; the heat which travellers on their way feel is said to be a quality of Passion. The sun representing light is Goodness; the heat is the quality of Passion; the shading (or eclipse) of the sun on Parvana days should be known to represent Darkness. Even thus, the three qualities exist in all luminous bodies. They act by turns in diverse places in diverse ways. Among immobile objects, the quality of Darkness exists in a very large measure. The qualities appertaining to Passion are those properties of theirs which undergo constant changes. Their oleaginous attributes appertain to Goodness. [What is said here is this: the three qualities exist in even the immobile objects of the universe. As regards Darkness, it predominates in them. As regards Passion, it dwells in such properties of theirs as pungency, sourness, sweetness, etc, which change with time or in consequence of cooking or through admixture. Their only properties are said to appertain to Goodness. Tiryagbhavagatam is explained by Nilakantha as adhikyam gatam. Telang thinks this is unwarrantable. His own version, however, of the first line is untenable. What can be the tiryagbhava or 'form of lower species' of immobile objects? Telang frequently forgets that Nilakantha represents a school of interpretation not founded by him but which existed from a time long anterior to him.] The Day should be understood as threefold. The Night has been ordained to be threefold. So also are fortnight, months, years, seasons, and conjunctions. The gifts that are wide are threefold. Threefold is sacrifice that flows. Threefold are the worlds; threefold the deities; threefold is knowledge; and threefold the path or end. The past, the Present. and the Future; Religion, Wealth. and Pleasure. Prana, Apana, and Udana; these also are fraught with the three qualities. Whatever object exists in this world, everything in it is fraught with the three qualities. The three qualities act by turns in all things and in all circumstances. Verily, the three qualities always act in an unmanifest form. The creation of those three, viz., Goodness, Passion, and Darkness is eternal. The unmanifest, consisting of the three qualities, is said to be darkness, unperceived, holy, Constant. unborn, womb, eternal. Nature, change or modification, destruction, Pradhana, production, and absorption, undeveloped, not small (i.e., vast), unshaking, immovable, fixed, existent, and non-existent. All these names should be known by those who meditate on matters connected with the soul. That person who accurately knows all the names of the unmanifest, and the qualities, as also the pure operations (of the qualities), is well conversant with the truth about all distinctions and freed from the body, becomes liberated from all the qualities and enjoys absolute happiness.'"

SECTION 40

"Brahmana said, 'From the unmanifest first sprang Mahat (the Great Soul) endued with great intelligence, the source of all the qualities. That is said to be the first creation. The Great Soul is signified by these synonymous words--the Great Soul, Intelligence, Vishnu, Jishnu, Sambhu of great valour, the Understanding, the means of acquiring knowledge, the means of perception, as also fame, courage, and memory. Knowing this, a learned Brahmana has never to encounter delusion. It has hands and feet on every side, it has ears on every side. It stands, pervading everything in the universe. Of great power, that Being is stationed in the heart of all.

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Minuteness, Lightness and Affluence, are his. He is the lord of all, and identical with effulgence, and knows not decay. In Him are all those who comprehend the nature of the understanding, all those who are devoted to goodness of disposition, all those who practise meditation, who are always devoted to Yoga, who are firm in truth, who have subdued their senses, who are possessed of knowledge, who are freed from cupidity, who have conquered wrath, who are of cheerful hearts, who are endued with wisdom, who are liberated from ideas of meum (and teum), and who are devoid of egoism. All these, freed from every kind of attachment, attain to the status of Greatness. That person who understands that holy and high goal, viz., the Great Soul, becomes freed from delusion. The self-born Vishnu becomes the Lord in the primary creations. He who thus knows the Lord lying in the cave, the Supreme, Ancient Being, of universal form, the golden one, the highest goal of all persons endued with understanding,--that intelligent man lives, transcending the understanding.'"

SECTION 41

"Brahmana said, 'That Mahat who was first produced is called Egoism. When it sprang up as I, it came to be called as the second creation. That Egoism is said to be the source of all creatures, for these have sprung from its modifications. It is pure effulgence and is the supporter of consciousness. It is Prajapati. It is a deity, the creator of deities, and of mind. It is that which creates the three worlds. It is said to be that which feels--I am all this.--That is the eternal world existing for those sages who are contented with knowledge relating to the soul, who have meditated on the soul, and who have won success by Vedic study and sacrifices. By consciousness of soul one enjoys the qualities. That source of all creatures, that creator of all creatures, creates (all creatures) even in this way. It is that which causes all changes. It is that which causes all beings to move. By its own light it illuminates the universe likewise.'"

SECTION 42

'Brahmana said, From Egoism were verily born the five great elements. They are earth, air, ether, water, and light numbering the fifth. In these five great elements, in the matter of the sound, touch, colour, taste, and smell, all creatures become deluded. When at the close of the destruction of the great elements, the dissolution of the universe approaches, ye that are possessed of wisdom, a great fear comes upon all living creatures. Every existent object is dissolved into that from which it is produced. The dissolution takes place in an order that is the reverse of that in which creation takes place. Indeed, as regards birth, they are born from one another. Then, when all existent objects, mobile and immobile, become dissolved, wise men endued with powerful memory never dissolve. Sound, touch, colour, taste, and smell numbering the fifth, are effects. They are, however, inconstant, and called by the name of delusion. Caused by the production of cupidity, not different from one another, without reality, connected with flesh and blood, and depending upon one another, existing outside the soul, these are all helpless and powerless. Prana and Apana, and Udana and Samana and Vyana,--these five winds are always closely attached to the soul. Together with speech, mind, and understanding, they constitute the universe of eight ingredients. He whose skin, nose, ear, eyes, tongue, and speech are restrained, whose mind is pure, and whose understanding deviates not (from the right path), and whose mind is never burnt by those eight fires, succeeds in attaining to that auspicious Brahman to which nothing superior exists. Those which have been called the eleven organs and which have sprung from Egoism, I shall now, ye regenerate ones, mention particularly. They are the ear, the skin, the two eyes, the tongue, the nose numbering the fifth, the two feet, the lower duct, the organ of generation, the two hands, and speech forming the tenth. These constitute the group of organs, with mind numbering as the eleventh. One should first subdue this group. Then will Brahman shine forth (in him). Five amongst these are called organs of knowledge, and five, organs of action. The five beginning with the ear are truly said to be connected with knowledge. The rest, however, that are connected with action, are without distinction. The mind should be regarded as belonging to both. The understanding is the twelfth in the top. Thus have been enumerated the eleven organs in due order. Learned men, having understood these, think they have accomplished everything. I shall, after this, enumerate all the various organs. Space (or Ether) is the first entity. As connected with the soul, it is called the ear. As connected with objects, that is sound. The presiding deity (of this) is the quarters. The Wind is the second entity. As connected with the soul, it is known as the skin. As connected with objects, it is known as objects of touch; and the presiding deity there is touch. The third is said to be Light. As connected with the soul, it is known as the eye. As connected with objects, it is colour; and the sun is its deity. The fourth (entity) should be known as Water. As connected with the soul, it is said to be the tongue. As connected with objects, it is taste, and the presiding deity there is Soma. The fifth entity is Earth. As connected with the soul, it is said to be the nose. As connected with objects, it is scent; and the presiding deity there is the wind. Thus has the manner been declared of how the five entities are divided into sets of three. After this I shall declare everything about the diverse (other) organs. Brahmanas conversant with the truth say that the two feet are mentioned as connected with the soul. As connected with objects, it is motion; and Vishnu is there the presiding deity. The Apana wind, whose motion is downward, as connected with the soul, is called the lower duct. As connected with objects, it is the excreta that is ejected; and the presiding deity there is Mitra. As connected with the soul, the organ of generation is mentioned, the producer of all beings. As connected with objects, it is the vital seed; and the presiding deity is Prajapati. The two hands are mentioned as connected with the soul by persons conversant with the relations of the soul. As connected with objects, it is actions; and the presiding deity there is Indra. Next, connected with the soul is speech which relates to all the gods. As connected with objects, it is what is spoken. The presiding deity there is Agni. As connected with the soul, the mind is mentioned, which moves within the soul of the five elements. As connected with objects, it is the mental operation; and the presiding deity is Chandramas (moon). As connected with the soul is Egoism, which is the cause of the whole course of worldly life. As connected with objects, it is consciousness of self; and the presiding deity there is Rudra. As connected with the soul is the understanding, which impels the six senses. As connected with objects, it is that which is to be understood, and the presiding deity there is Brahma. Three are the seats of all existent objects. A fourth is not possible. These are land, water, and ether. The mode of birth is fourfold. Some are born of eggs; some are born of germs which spring upwards, penetrating through the earth; some are born of filth; and some are born of fleshy balls in wombs. Thus is the mode of birth seen to be of four kinds, of all living creatures. Now, there are other inferior beings and likewise those that range the sky. These should be known to be born of eggs as also those which crawl on their breasts. Insects are said to be born of filth, as also other creatures of a like description. This is said to be the second mode of birth and is inferior. Those living creatures that take birth after the lapse of some time, bursting through the earth, are said to be germ-born beings, ye foremost of regenerate persons. Creatures of two feet or of many feet and those which move crookedly, are the beings born of wombs. Among them are some that are deformed, ye best of men. The eternal womb of Brahma should be known to be of two kinds, viz., penance and meritorious acts. Such is the doctrine of the learned. Action should be understood to be of various kinds, such as sacrifice, gifts made at sacrifices, and the meritorious duty of study for every one that is born; such is the teaching of the ancients. He who duly understands this, comes to be regarded as possessed of Yoga, ye chief of regenerate persons. Know also that such a man becomes freed too from all his sins. I have thus declared to you duly the doctrine of Adhyatma. Ye Rishis conversant with all duties, a knowledge of this is acquired by those who are regarded as persons of knowledge. Uniting all these together, viz., the senses, the objects of the senses, and the five great entities, one should hold them in the mind. When everything is attenuated (by absorption) in the mind, one no longer esteems the pleasures of life. Learned men, whose understandings are furnished with knowledge, regard that as true happiness. I shall after this, tell thee of renunciation with respect to all entities by means, gentle and hard, which produces attachment to subtle topics and which is fraught with auspiciousness. That conduct which consists in treating the qualities is not qualities, which is free from attachment, which is living alone, which does not recognise distinctions, and which is full of Brahman, is the source of all happiness. The learned man who absorbs all desires into himself from all sides like the tortoise withdrawing all its limbs, who is devoid of passion, and who is released from everything, becomes always happy. Restraining all desires within the soul, destroying his thirst, concentrated in meditation, and becoming the friend of good heart towards all creatures, he succeeds in becoming fit for assimilation with Brahman. Through repression of all the senses which always hanker after their objects, and abandonment of inhabited places, the Adhyatma fire blazes forth in the man of contemplation. As a fire, fed with fuel, becomes bright in consequence of the blazing flames it puts forth, even so, in consequence of the repression of the senses, the great soul puts forth its effulgence. When one with a tranquil soul beholds all entities in one's own heart, then, lighted by one's own effulgence, one attains to that which is subtler than the subtle and which is unrivalled in excellence. It is settled that the body has fire for colour, water for blood and other liquids, wind for sense of touch, earth for the hideous holder of mind (viz., flesh and bones, etc.), space (or ether) for sound; that it is pervaded by disease and sorrow; that it is overwhelmed by five currents; that it is made up of the five elements; that it has nine doors and two deities [The two deities are Jiva and Iswara.]; that it is full of passion; that it is unfit to be seen (owing to its unholy character); that it is made up of three qualities; that it has three constituent elements, (viz., wind, bile and phelgm); that it is delighted with attachments of every kind, that it is full of delusions. It is difficult of being moved in this mortal world, and it rests on the understanding as its support. That body is, in this world, the wheel of Time that is continually revolving. That (body), indeed, is a terrible and unfathomable ocean and is called delusion. It is this body which stretches forth, contracts, and awakens the (whole) universe with the (very) immortals. By restraining the senses, one casts off lust, wrath, fear, cupidity, enmity, and falsehood, which are eternal and, therefore, exceedingly difficult to cast off. He who has subjugated these in this world, viz., the three qualities and the five constituent elements of the body, has the Highest for his seat in Heaven. By him is Infinity attained. Crossing the river, that has the five senses for its steep banks, the mental inclinations for its mighty waters, and delusion for its lake, one should subjugate both lust and wrath. Such a man freed from all faults, then beholds the Highest, concentrating the mind within the mind and seeing self in self. Understanding all things, he sees his self, with self, in all creatures, sometimes as one and sometimes as diverse, changing form from time to time. Without doubt he can perceive numerous bodies like a hundred lights from one light. Verily he is Vishnu, and Mitra, and Varuna, and Agni, and Prajapati. He is the Creator and the ordainer: he is the Lord possessed of puissance, with faces turned in all directions. In him, the heart of all creatures, the great soul, becomes resplendent. Him all conclaves of learned Brahmanas, deities and Asuras, and Yakshas, and Pisachas, the Pitris, and birds, and bands of Rakshasas, and bands of ghostly beings, and all the great Rishis, praise.'"

SECTION 43

"Brahmana said, 'Among men, the royal Kshatriya is (endued with) the middle quality. Among vehicles, the elephant (is so); and among denizens of the forest the lion; among all (sacrificial) animals, the sheep; among all those that live in holes, is the snake; among cattle, the bovine bull; among females, the mule. There is no doubt in this that in this world, the Nyagrodha, the Jamvu, the Pippala, the Salmali, and Sinsapa, the Meshasringa, and the Kichaka, are the foremost ones among trees. [Nyagrodha is the Ficus Bengalensis, Linn. Jamvu is Eugenia Jambolana, Lamk. Pippala is Ficus religiosa, Linn. Salmali is Bombax Malabaricum. Sinsapa is Dalbergia Sissoo, Roxb. Meshasringa is Asclepia geminata, Roxb. Kichaka is a variety of mountain bamboo. Here however it evidently implies the Nimba or Melia Azadirachta, Linn.] Himavat, Patipatra, Sahya, Vindhya, Trikutavat, Sweta, Nila, Bhasa, Koshthavat, Guruskandha, Mahendra and Malayavat,--these are the foremost of mountains. Likewise the Maruts are the foremost of the Ganas. Surya is the lord of all the planets, and Chandramas of all the constellations. Yama is the lord of the Pitris; Ocean is the lord of all rivers. Varuna is the king of the waters. Indra is said to be the king of the Maruts. Arka is the king of all hot bodies, and Indra of all luminous bodies. Agni is the eternal lord of the elements, and Vrihaspati of the Brahmanas. Soma is the lord of (deciduous) herbs, and Vishnu is the foremost of all that are endued with might. Tashtri is the king of Rudras, and Siva of all creatures. Sacrifice is the foremost of all initiatory rites, and Maghavat of the deities. The North is the lord of all the points of the compass; Soma of great energy is the lord of all learned Brahmanas. Kuvera is the lord of all precious gems, and Purandara of all the deities. Such is the highest creation among all entities. Prajapati is the lord of all creatures. Of all entities whatever, I, who am full of Brahman, am the foremost. There is no entity that is higher than myself or Vishnu. The great Vishnu, who is full of Brahman, is the king of kings over all. Know him to be the ruler, the creator, the uncreated Hari. He is the ruler of men and Kinnaras and Yakshas and Gandharvas, and Snakes and Rakshasas, and deities and Danavas and Nagas. Among those that are followed by persons full of desire is the great goddess Maheswari of beautiful eyes. She is otherwise called by the name of Parvati. Know that the goddess Uma is the foremost and the most auspicious of women. Among women that are a source of pleasure, the foremost are the Apsaras who are possessed of great splendour. Kings are desirous of acquiring piety, and Brahmanas are causeways of piety. Therefore, the king should always strive to protect the twice-born ones. Those kings in whose dominions good men languish are regarded as bereft of the virtues of their order. Hereafter they have to go into wrong paths. Those kings in whose dominions good men are protected, rejoice in this world and enjoy happiness hereafter. Verily, those high-souled ones attain to the highest seat. Understand this, ye foremost of regenerate ones. I shall after this state the everlasting indications of duties. Abstention from injury is the highest duty. Injury is an indication of unrighteousness. Splendour is the indication of the deities. Men have acts for their indications. Ether (or space) has sound for its characteristic. Wind has touch for its characteristic. The characteristic of lighted bodies is colour, and water has taste for its characteristic. Earth, which holds all entities, has smell for its characteristic. Speech has words

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for its characteristic, refined into vowels and consonants. Mind has thought for its characteristic. Thought has, again, been said to be the characteristic of the understanding. The things thought of by the mind are ascertained with accuracy by the understanding. There is no doubt in this, viz., that the understanding, by perseverance, perceives all things. The characteristic of mind is meditation. The characteristic of the good man is to live unperceived. Devotion has acts for its characteristic. Knowledge is the characteristic of renunciation. Therefore keeping knowledge, before his view, the man of understanding should practise renunciation. The man who has betaken himself to renunciation and who is possessed of knowledge, who transcends all pairs of opposites, as also darkness, death, and decrepitude, attains to the highest goal. I have thus declared to you duty what the indications are of duty. I shall, after this, tell you of the seizure (comprehension) of qualities. Smell, which appertains to earth, is seized by the nose. The wind, that dwells in the nose is likewise appointed (as an agent) in the perception of smell. Taste is the essence of water. That is seized by the tongue. Soma, who resides in the tongue, is appointed likewise in the perception of taste. The quality of a lighted body is colour. That is seized by the eye. Aditya who always resides in the eye has been appointed in the perception of colour. Touch always appertains to the wind (as its quality). That is perceived by the skin. The wind that always resides in the skin has been appointed in apprehending touch. The quality of ether is sound. That is seized by the ear. All the quarters, which reside in the ear, have been appointed in apprehending sound. The quality of the mind is thought. That is seized by the understanding. The upholder of consciousness, residing in the heart, has been appointed in apprehending the mind. The understanding is apprehended in the form of determination or certitude, and Mahat in the form of knowledge. The unperceived (Prakriti) has been, it is evident, appointed for the seizure of all things after certitude. There is no doubt in this. The Kshetrajna which is eternal and is destitute of qualities as regards its essence, is incapable of being seized by symbols. Hence, the characteristic of the Kshetrajna, which is without symbols, is purely knowledge. The unmanifest resides in the symbol called Kshetra, and is that in which the qualities are produced and absorbed. I always see, know, and hear it (though) it is hidden. Purusha knows it: therefore is he called Kshetrajna. The Kshetrajna perceives also the operations of the qualities and absence of their operations. The qualities, which are created repeatedly, do not know themselves, being unintelligent, as entities to be created and endued with a beginning, middle, and end. No one else attains, only the Kshetrajna attains, to that which is the highest and great and which transcend the qualities and those entities which are born of the qualities. Hence one who understands duties, casting off qualities and the understanding, and having his sins destroyed, and transcending the qualities, enters the Kshetrajna. One that is free from all pairs of opposites, that never bends his head to any one, that is divested of Swaha, that is immovable, and homeless, is the Kshetrajna. He is the Supreme Lord.'"

SECTION 44

"Brahmana said, 'I shall now tell you truly about all that which has a beginning, middle, and end, and which is endued with name and characteristics, together with the means of apprehension. It has been said that the Day was first, Then arose Night. The Months are said to have the lighted fortnights first. The constellations have Sravana for their first; the Seasons have that of dews (viz., Winter) for their first. Earth is the source of all smells; and Water of all tastes. The solar light is the source of all colours: the Wind of all sensations of touch. Likewise, of sound the source is space (or Ether). These are the qualities of elements. I shall, after this, declare that which is the first and the highest of all entities. The sun is the first of all lighted bodies. Fire is said to be the first of all the elements. Savitri is the first of all branches of learning. Prajapati is the first of all the deities. The syllable Om is the first of all the Vedas, and the life-wind Prana is the first of all winds. All that is called Savitri which is prescribed in this world. The Gayatri is the first of all metres; of all (sacrificial) animals the first is the goat. Kine are the first of all quadrupeds. The twiceborn ones are the first of all human beings. The hawk is the first of all birds. Of sacrifices the first is the pouring of clarified butter on the fire. Of all reptiles the first, O foremost of regenerate ones, is the snake. The Krita is the first of all the Yugas; there is no doubt in this. Gold is the first of all precious things. Barley is the first of all plants. Food is the first of all things to be eaten or swallowed. Of all liquid substances to be drunk, water is the foremost. Of all immobile entities without distinction, Plaksha is said to be the first, that ever holy field of Brahman. Of all the Prajapatis I am the first. There is no doubt in this. Of inconceivable soul, the self-existent Vishnu is said to be my superior. Of all the mountains the great Meru is said to be the first-born. Of all the cardinal and subsidiary points of the horizon, the eastern is said to be the foremost and first-born. Ganga of three courses is said to be the firstborn of all rivers. Likewise, of all wells and reservoirs of waters, the ocean is said to be the first-born. Iswara is the supreme Lord of all the deities and Danavas and ghostly beings and Pisachas, and snakes and Makshasas and human beings and Kinnaras and Yakshas. The great Vishnu, who is full of Brahma, than whom there is no higher being in the three worlds, is the first of all the universe. Of all the modes of life, that of the householder is the first. Of this there is no doubt. The Unmanifest is the source of all the worlds as, indeed, that is the end of every thing. Days end with the sun's setting and Nights with the sun's rising. The end of pleasure is always sorrow, and the end of sorrow is always pleasure. All accumulations have exhaustion for their end, and all ascent have falls for their end. All associations have dissociations for their end, and life has death for its end. All action ends in destruction, and all that is born is certain to meet with death. Every mobile and immobile thing in this world is transient. Sacrifice, gift, penances, study, vows, observances,--all these have destruction for their end. Of Knowledge, there is no end. Hence, one that is possessed of a tranquil soul, that has subjugated his senses, that is freed from the sense of meum, that is devoid of egoism, is released from all sins by pure knowledge.'"

ECTION 45

"Brahmana said, 'The wheel of life moves on. It has the understanding for its strength; the mind for the pole (on which it rests); the group of senses for its bonds, the (five) great elements for its nave, and home for its circumference. It is overwhelmed by decrepitude and grief, and it has diseases and calamities for its progeny. That wheel relates in time and place. It has toil and exercise for its noise. Day and Night are the rotations of that wheel. It is encircled by heat and cold. Pleasure and pain fire its joints, and hunger and thirst are the nails fixed into it. Sun-shine and shade are the ruts (it causes). It is capable of being agitated during even such a short space of time as is taken up by the opening and the closing of the eyelid. It is enveloped in the terrible waters of delusion. It is ever revolving and void of consciousness. It is measured by months and half-months. It is not uniform (being ever-changing), and moves through all the worlds. Penances and vows are its mud. Passion's force is its mover. It is illuminated by the great egoism, and is sustained by the qualities. Vexations (caused by the non-acquisition of what is desired) are the fastenings that bind it around. It revolves in the midst of grief and destruction. It is endued with actions and the instruments of action. It is large and is extended by attachments. It is rendered unsteady by cupidity and desire. It is produced by variegated Ignorance. It is attended upon by fear and delusion, and is the cause of the delusion of all beings. It moves towards joy and pleasure, and has desire and wrath for its possession. It is made up of entities beginning with Mahat and ending with the gross elements. It is characterised by production and destruction going on ceaselessly. Its speed is like that of the mind, and it has the mind for its boundary. This wheel of life that is associated with pairs of opposites and devoid of consciousness, the universe with the very immortals should cast away, abridge, and check. That man who always understands accurately the motion and stoppage of this wheel of life, is never seen to be deluded, among all creatures. Freed from all impressions, divested of all pairs of opposites, released from all sins, he attains to the highest goal. The householder, the Brahmacharin, the forest recluse and the mendicant,--these four modes of life have all been said to have the householder's mode for their foundation. Whatever system of rules is prescribed in this world, their observance is beneficial. Such observance has always been highly spoken of. He who has been first cleansed by ceremonies, who has duly observed vows, who belongs in respect of birth to a race possessed of high qualifications, and who understands the Vedas, should return (from his preceptor's house). [Implying that he should go to the house of his preceptor, study and serve there, and after completing his course, return for leading a life of domesticity.] Always devoted to his wedded spouse, conducting himself after the manner of the good, with his senses under subjugation, and full of faith, one should in this world perform the five sacrifices. He who eats what remains after feeding deities and guests, who is devoted to the observance of Vedic rites, who duly performs according to his means sacrifices and gifts, who is not unduly active with his hands and feet, who is not unduly active with his eye, who is devoted to penances, who is not unduly active with his speech and limits, comes under the category of Sishta or the good. One should always bear the sacred thread, wear white (clean) clothes, observe pure vows, and should always associate with good men, making gifts and practising self-restraint. One should subjugate one's lust and stomach, practise universal compassion, and be characterised by behaviour that befits the good. One should bear a bamboo-stick, and a water-pot filled with water. Having studied, one should teach; likewise should also make sacrifices himself and officiate at the sacrifices of others. One should also make gifts made to oneself. Verily, one's conduct, should be characterised by these six acts. Know that three of these acts should constitute the livelihood of the Brahmanas, viz., teaching (pupils), officiating at the sacrifices of others, and the acceptance of gifts from a person that is pure. As to the other duties that remain, numbering three, viz., making of gifts, study, and sacrifice, these are accompanied by merit. Observant of penances, self-restrained, practising universal compassion and forgiveness, and looking upon all creatures with an equal eye, the man that is conversant with duties should never be heedless with regard to those three acts. The learned Brahmana of pure heart, who observes the domestic mode of life and practises rigid vows, thus devoted and thus discharging all duties to the best of his power, succeeds in conquering Heaven.'"

SECTION 46

"Brahmana said, 'Duly studying thus to the best of his power, in the way described above, and likewise living as a Brahmacharin, one that is devoted to the duties of one's own order, possessed of learning, observant of penances, and with all the senses under restraint, devoted to what is agreeable and beneficial to the preceptor, steady in practising the duty of truth, and always pure, should, with the permission of the preceptor, eat one's food without decrying it. He should eat Havishya made from what is obtained in alms, and should stand, sit, and take exercise (as directed). [Havishya is food cooked in a particular way and offered to the deities. It must be free from meat. There may be milk or ghee in it, but the cooking must be done in a single pot or vessel continuously; no change of vessels is allowed.] He should pour libations on the fire twice a day, having purified himself and with concentrated mind. He should always bear a staff made of Vilwa or Palasa. [Vilwa is the Aegle marmelos, and Palasa is the Butea frondosa of Roxburgh.] The robes of the regenerate man should be linen, or of cotton, or deer-skin, or a cloth that is entirely brown-red. There should also be a girdle made of Munja-grass. He should bear matted locks on head, and should perform his ablutions every day. He should bear the sacred thread, study the scriptures, divest himself of cupidity, and be steady in the observance of vows. He should also gratify the deities with oblations of pure water, his mind being restrained the while. Such a Brahmacharin is worthy of applause. With vital seed drawn up and mind concentrated, one that is thus devoted succeeds in conquering Heaven. Having attained to the highest seat, he has not to return to birth. Cleansed by all purificatory rites and having lived as a Brahmacharin, one should next go out of one's village and next live as an ascetic in the woods, having renounced (all attachments). Clad in animal skins or barks of trees he should perform his ablutions morning and evening. Always living within the forest, he should never return to an inhabited place. Honouring guests when they come, he should give them shelter, and himself subsist upon fruits and leaves and common roots, and Syamaka. He should, without being slothful subsist on such water as he gets, and air, and all forest products. He should live upon these, in due order, according to the regulations of his initiation. [At first he should live on fruits and roots and leaves, etc. Next on water, and then on air. There are different sects of forests recluses. The course of life is settled at the time of the initiatory rites.] He should honour the guest that comes to him with alms of fruits and roots. He should then, without sloth, always give whatever other food he may have. Restraining speech the while, he should eat after gratifying deities and guests. His mind should be free from envy. He should eat little, and depend always on the deities. Self-restrained, practising universal compassion, and possessed of forgiveness, he should wear both beard and hair (without submitting to the operations of the barber). Performing sacrifices and devoting himself to the study of the scriptures, he should be steady in the observance of the duty of truth. With body always in a state of purity, endued with cleverness, ever dwelling in the forest, with concentrated mind, and senses in subjection, a forest-recluse, thus devoting himself, would conquer Heaven. A householder, or Brahmacharin, or forest-recluse, who would wish to achieve Emancipation, should have recourse to that which has been called the best course of conduct. Having granted unto all creatures the pledge of utter abstention from harm, he should thoroughly renounce all action. He should contribute to the happiness of all creatures, practise universal friendliness, subjugate all his senses, and be an ascetic. Subsisting upon food obtained without asking and without trouble, and that has come to him spontaneously, he should make a fire. He should make his round of mendicancy in a place whence smoke has ceased to curl up and where all the inhabitants have already eaten. [What is stated here is this. The Sannyasin should not ask for alms: or, if he ever seeks for aims, he should seek them in a village or house where the cooking has been already done and where every one has already eaten. This limitation is provided as otherwise the Sannyasin may be fed to his fill by the householder who sees him.] The person who is conversant with the conduct that leads to Emancipation should seek for alms after the vessels (used in cooking) have been washed. He should never rejoice when he obtains anything, and never be depressed if he obtains nothing. Seeking just what is needed for supporting life, he should, with concentrated mind, go about his round of mendicancy, waiting for the proper time. He should not wish for earnings

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in common with others, nor eat when honoured. The man who leads the life of mendicancy should conceal himself for avoiding gifts with honour. While eating, he should not eat such food as forms the remains of another's dish, nor such as is bitter, or astringent, or pungent. He should not also eat such kinds of food as have a sweet taste. He should eat only so much as is needed to keep him alive. The person conversant with Emancipation should obtain his subsistence without obstructing any creature. In his rounds of mendicancy he should never follow another (bent on the same purpose). He should never parade his piety; he should move about in a secluded place, freed from passion. Either an empty house, or a forest, or the foot of some tree, or a river, or a mountain-cave, he should have recourse to for shelter. In summer he should pass only one night in an inhabited place; in the season of rains he may live in one place. He should move about the world like a worm, his path pointed out by the Sun. From compassion for creatures, he should walk on the Earth with his eyes directed towards it. He should never make any accumulations and should avoid residence with friends. The man conversant with Emancipation should every day do all his acts with pure water. Such a man should always perform his ablutions with water that has been fetched up (from the river or the tank). Abstention from harm, Brahmacharyya, truth, simplicity, freedom from wrath, freedom from decrying others, self-restraint, and habitual freedom from backbiting: these eight vows, with senses restrained, he should steadily pursue. He should always practise a sinless mode of conduct, that is not deceptive and not crooked. Freed from attachment, he should always make one who comes as a guest eat (at least) a morsel of food. He should eat just enough for livelihood, for the support of life. He should eat only such food as has been obtained by righteous means, and should not pursue the dictates of desire. He should never accept any other thing than food and clothing only. He should, again, accept only as much as he can eat and nothing more. He should not be induced to accept gifts from others, nor should he make gifts to others. Owing to the helplessness of creatures, the man of wisdom should always share with others. He should not appropriate what belongs to others, nor should he take anything without being asked. He should not, having enjoyed anything become so attached to it as to desire to have it once more. One should take only earth and water and pebbles and leaves and flowers and fruits, that are not owned by any body, as they come, when one desires to do any act. One should not live by the occupation of an artisan, nor should one covet gold. One should not hate, nor teach (one that does not seek to be taught); nor should one have any belongings. One should eat only what is consecrated by faith. One should abstain from controversies. One should follow that course of conduct which has been said to be nectarine. One should never be attached to anything, and should never enter into relations of intimacy with any creature. One should not perform, nor cause to perform, any such action as involves expectation of fruit or destruction of life or the hoarding of wealth or articles. Rejecting all objects, content with a very little, one should wander about (homeless) pursuing an equal behaviour towards all creatures mobile and immobile. One should never annoy another being; not should one be annoyed with another. He who is trusted by all creatures is regarded as the foremost of those persons that understand Emancipation. One should not think of the past, nor feel anxious about the future. One should disregard the present, biding time, with concentrated mind. One should never defile anything by eye, mind, or speech. Nor should one do anything that is wrong, openly or in secret. Withdrawing one's senses like the tortoise withdrawing its limbs, one should attenuate one's senses and mind, cultivate a thoroughly peaceful understanding, and seek to master every topic. Freed from all pairs of opposites, never bending one's head in reverence, abstaining from the rites requiring the utterance of Swaha, one should be free from mineness, and egoism. With cleansed soul, one should never seek to acquire what one has not and protect what one has. Free from expectations, divested of qualities, wedded to tranquillity, one should be free from all attachments and should depend on none. Attached to one's own self and comprehending all topics, one becomes emancipated without doubt. Those who perceive the self, which is without hands and feet and back, which is without head and without stomach, which is free from the operation of all qualities, which is absolute, untainted, and stable, which is without smell, without taste, and touch, without colour, and without sound, which is to be comprehended (by close study), which is unattached, which is without flesh, which is free from anxiety, unfading, and divine, and, lastly, which though dwelling in a house resides in all creatures, succeed in escaping death. There the understanding reaches not, nor the senses, nor the deities, nor the Vedas, nor sacrifices, nor the regions (of superior bliss), nor penance, nor vows. The attainment to it by those who are possessed of knowledge is said to be without comprehension of symbols. Hence, the man who knows the properties of that which is destitute of symbols, should practise the truths of piety. [The sense seems to be this; the self or soul is without qualities. He who knows the self, or rather he who pursues the self with the desire of knowing it, should practise the truths of Piety laid down above. They constitute the path that leads to the self.] The learned man, betaking himself to a life of domesticity, should adopt that conduct which is conformable to true knowledge. Though undeluded, he should practise piety after the manner of one that is deluded, without finding fault with it. Without finding fault with the practices of the good, he should himself adopt such a conduct for practising piety as may induce others to always disrespect him. That man who is endued with such a conduct is said to be the foremost of ascetics. The senses, the objects of the senses, the (five) great elements, mind, understanding, egoism, the unmanifest, Purusha also, after comprehending these duly with the aid of correct inferences, one attains to Heaven, released from all bonds. One conversant with the truth, understanding these at the time of the termination of his life, should meditate, exclusively resting on one point. Then, depending on none, one attains to Emancipation. Freed from all attachments, like the wind in space, with his accumulations exhausted, without distress of any kind, he attains to his highest goal.'"

SECTION 47

"Brahmana said. 'The ancients who were utterers of certain truth, say that Renunciation is penance. Brahmanas, dwelling in that which has Brahman for its origin, understand Knowledge to be high Brahman. Brahman is very far off, and its attainments depends upon a knowledge of the Vedas. It is free from all pairs of opposites, it is divested of all qualities; it is eternal; it is endued with unthinkable qualities: it is supreme. It is by knowledge and penance that those endued with wisdom behold that which is the highest. Verily, they that are of untainted minds, that are cleansed of every sin, and that have transcended all passion and darkness (succeed in beholding it). They who are always devoted to renunciation, and who are conversant with the Vedas, succeed in attaining to the supreme Lord who is identical with the path of happiness and peace, by the aid of penance. Penance, it has been said, is light. Conduct leads to piety. Knowledge is said to be the highest. Renunciation is the best penance. He who understands self through accurate determination of all topics, which is unperturbed, which is identical with Knowledge, and which resides in all entities, succeeds in going everywhere. The learned man who beholds association, and dissociation, and unity in diversity, is released from misery. He who never desires for anything, who despises nothing, becomes eligible, even when dwelling in this world, for assimilation with Brahman. He who is conversant with the truths about qualities of Pradhana, and understands the Pradhana as existing in all entities who is free from mineness and egoism, without doubt becomes emancipated. He who is freed from all pairs of opposites, who does not bend his head to any body, who has transcended the rites of Swadha, succeeds by the aid of tranquillity alone in attaining to that which is free from pairs of opposites, which is eternal, and which is divested of qualities. Abandoning all action, good or bad, developed from qualities, and casting off both truth and falsehood, a creature, without doubt, becomes emancipated. Having the unmanifest for the seed of its origin, with the understanding for its trunk, with the great principle of egoism for its assemblage of boughs, with the senses for the cavities of its little sprouts, with the (five) great elements for its large branches, the objects of the senses for its smaller branches, with leaves that are ever present, with flowers that always adorn it and with fruits both agreeable and disagreeable always produced, is the eternal tree of Brahman which forms the support of all creatures. Cutting and piercing that tree with knowledge of truth as the sword, the man of wisdom, abandoning the bonds which are made of attachment and which cause birth, decrepitude and death, and freeing himself from mineness and egoism, without doubt, becomes emancipated. These are the two birds, which are immutable, which are friends, and which should be known as unintelligent. That other who is different from these two is called the Intelligent. When the inner self, which is destitute of knowledge of nature, which is (as it were) unintelligent, becomes conversant with that which is above nature, then, understanding the Kshetra, and endued with an intelligence that transcends all qualities and apprehends everything, one becomes released from all sins.'"

SECTION 48

"Brahmana said, 'Some regard Brahman as a tree. Some regard Brahman as a great forest. Some regard Brahman as unmanifest. Some regard it as transcendant and freed from every distress. They think that all this is produced from and absorbed into the unmanifest. He who, even for the short space of time that is taken by a single breath, when his end comes, becomes equable, attaining to the self, fits himself for immortality. Restraining the self in the self, even for the space of a wink, one goes, through the tranquillity of the self, to that which constitutes the inexhaustible acquisition of those that are endued with knowledge. Restraining the life-breaths again and again by controlling them according to the method called Pranayama, by the ten or the twelve, he attains to that which is beyond the four and twenty. Thus having first acquired a tranquil soul, one attains to the fruition of all one's wishes. [Commentators differ about what is implied by the ten or the twelve. Nilakantha thinks that the ten mean the eight characteristics of Yoga, viz., Yama, Niyama, Asana, Pranayama, Pratyahara, Dharana, Dhyana, Samadhi, and Tarka and Vairagya. The twelve would imply the first eight, and these four, viz., Maitri, Karuna, Mudita, and Upeksha. If ten plus twelve or two and twenty be taken, then that number would be made up by the five modes of Yama, the five of Niyama, the remaining six of Yoga (beginning with Asana and ending with Samadhi), the four beginning with Maitri, and the two, viz., Tarka and Vairagya.] When the quality of Goodness predominates in that which arises from the Unmanifest, it becomes fit for immortality. They who are conversant with Goodness applaud it highly, saying that there is nothing higher than Goodness. By inference we know that Purusha is dependent on Goodness. Ye best of regenerate ones, it is impossible to attain to Purusha by any other means. Forgiveness, courage, abstention from harm, equability, truth, sincerity, knowledge, gift, and renunciation, are said to be the characteristics of that course of conduct which arises out of Goodness. It is by this inference that the wise believe in the identity of Purusha and Goodness, There is no doubt in this. Some learned men that are devoted to knowledge assert the unity of Kshetrajna and Nature. This, however, is not correct. It is said that Nature is different from Purusha: that also will imply a want to consideration. Truly, distinction and association should be known (as applying to Purusha and Nature). Unity and diversity are likewise laid down. That is the doctrine of the learned. In the Gnat and Udumbara both unity and diversity are seen. As a fish in water is different from it, such is the relation of the two (viz., Purusha and Nature). Verily, their relation is like that of water drops on the leaf of the lotus.'"

"The preceptor continued, 'Thus addressed, those learned Brahmanas, who were the foremost of men, felt some doubts and (therefore) they once more questioned the Grandsire (of all creatures).'" [What is said in this Lesson seems to be this: the Unmanifest or Prakriti is that condition in which all the three qualities of Goodness, Passion, and Darkness exist in a state of combination. The unmanifest is the condition existing before creation. When one particular quality, viz., Goodness prevails over the others, there arises Purusha, viz., that from whom everything flows. The relation of Purusha and Nature is both unity and diversity. The three illustrations of the Gnat and the Udumbara the fish and water, and water drops and the lotus leaf, explain the relation between Purusha and Nature. He is in Nature, yet different from it. There is both association and dissociation.]

SECTION 49

"The Rishis said,--'Which among the duties is deemed to be the most worthy of being performed? The diverse modes of duty, we see, are contradictory. Some say that (it remains) after the body (is destroyed). Others say that it does not exist. Some say that everything is doubtful. Others have no doubts. [The doubts appertain to duties, that is whether they should be done or not, and whether they have any effects here and hereafter.] Some say that the eternal (principle) is not eternal. Some say that it exists, and some that it exists not. Some say it is of one form, or two-fold, and others that it is mixed. Some Brahmanas who are conversant with Brahman and utterers of truth regard it to be one. Others, that it is distinct; and others again that it is manifold. Some say that both time and space exist; others, that it is not so. Some bear matted locks on their heads and are clad in deer-skins. Others have shaven crowns and go entirely naked. Some are for entire abstention from bathing, and some for bathing. Such differences of views may be seen among deities and Brahmanas conversant with Brahman and endued with perceptions of truth. Some are for taking food; while some are devoted to fasts. Some applaud action; others applaud perfect tranquillity. Some applaud Emancipation; some, various kinds of enjoyments. Some desire diverse kinds of wealth; some, poverty. Some say that means should be resorted to; others, that this is not so. Some are devoted to a life of abstention from harm; others are addicted to destruction. Some are for merit and glory, others say that this is not so. Some are devoted to goodness; others are established on doubt. Some are for pleasure; some are for pain. Other people say that it is meditation. Other learned Brahmanas say that it is Sacrifice. Others, again, say that it is gift. Others applaud penances; others, the study of the scriptures. Some say that knowledge and renunciation (should be followed). Others who ponder on the elements say that it is Nature. Some extol everything; others, nothing. O foremost one of the deities, duty being thus confused and full of contradictions of various kinds, we are deluded and unable to come to any conclusion. People stand up for acting, saying,--This is good,--This is good--He that is attached to a certain duty applauds that duty as the best. For this reason our understanding breaks down and our mind is distracted. We therefore, wish, O best of all beings, to know what is good. It

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behoves thee to declare to us, after this, what is (so) mysterious, and what is the cause of the connection between the Kshetrajna and Nature. Thus addressed by those learned Brahmanas, the illustrious creator of the worlds, endued with great intelligence and possessed of a righteous soul, declared to them accurately what they asked.'"

SECTION 50

"Brahmana said, 'Well then, I shall declare to you what you ask. Learn what was told by a preceptor to a disciple that came unto him. Hearing it all, do you settle properly (what it should be). Abstention from harming any creature is regarded as the foremost of all duties. That is the highest seat, free from anxiety and constituting an indication of holiness. The ancients who were beholders of the certain truth, have said that knowledge is the highest happiness. Hence, one becomes released of all sins by pure knowledge. They that are engaged in destruction and harm, they that are infidels in conduct, have to go to Hell in consequence of their being endued with cupidity and delusion. Those who, without procrastination, perform acts, impelled thereto by expectation become repeatedly born in this world and sport in joy. Those men who, endued with learning and wisdom, perform acts with faith, free from expectations, and possessed of concentration of mind, are said to perceive clearly. I shall, after this, declare how the association and the dissociation takes place of Kshetrajna and Nature. Ye best of men, listen. The relation here is said to be that between the object and the subject. 1 Purusha is always the subject; and Nature has been said to be the object. It has been explained, by what has been said in a previous portion of the discourse where it has been pointed out, that they exist after the manner of the Gnat and the Udumbara. An object of enjoyment as it is, Nature is unintelligent and knows nothing. He, however, who enjoys it, is said to know it. Kshetrajna being enjoyer, Nature is enjoyed. The wise have said that Nature is always made up of pairs of opposites (and consists of qualities). Kshetrajna is, on the other hand, destitute of pairs of opposites, devoid of parts, eternal, and free, as regards its essence, from qualities. He resides in everything alike, and walks, with knowledge. He always enjoys Nature, as a lotus leaf (enjoys) water. Possessed of knowledge, he is never tainted even if brought into contact with all the qualities. Without doubt, Purusha is unattached like the unsteady drop of water on the lotus-leaf. This is the certain conclusion (of the scriptures) that Nature is the property of Purusha. The relation between these two (viz., Purusha and Nature) is like that existing between matter and its maker. As one goes into a dark place taking a light with him, even so those who wish for the Supreme proceed with the light of Nature. As long as matter and quality (which are like oil and wick) exist, so long the light shines. The flame, however, becomes extinguished when matter and quality (or oil and wick) are exhausted. Thus Nature is manifest; while Purusha is said to be unmanifest. Understand this, ye learned Brahmanas. Well, I shall now tell you something more. With even a thousand (explanations), one that has a bad understanding succeeds not in acquiring knowledge. One, however, that is endued with intelligence succeeds in attaining happiness, through only a fourth share (of explanations). Thus should the accomplishment of duty be understood as dependent on means. For the man of intelligence, having knowledge of means, succeeds in attaining to supreme felicity. As some man travelling along a road without provisions for his journey, proceeds with great discomfort and may even meet with destruction before he reaches the end of his journey, even so should it be known that ill acts there may not be fruits. The examination of what is agreeable and what is disagreeable in one's own self is productive of benefit. The progress in life of a man that is devoid of the perception of truth is like that of a man who rashly journeys on a long road unseen before. The progress, however, of those that are endued with intelligence is like that of men who journey along the same road, riding on a car unto which are yoked (fleet) steeds and which moves with swiftness. Having ascended to the top of a mountain, one should not cast one's eyes on the surface of the earth. Seeing a man, even though travelling on a car, afflicted and rendered insensible by pain, the man of intelligence journeys on a car as long as there is a car path. [The sense is this: riding on a car may not always be comfortable. As long as there is a car path, one should travel on one's car. If, however, the road be such as not to be fit for a car to proceed along it, one should avoid a car in going over it, for the car instead of conducing to comfort, would, on such a path, be productive of only discomfort.] The man of learning, when he sees the car path end, abandons his car for going on. Even thus proceeds the man of intelligence who is conversant with the ordinances respecting truth and Yoga (or Knowledge and Devotion). Conversant with the qualities, such a man proceeds, comprehending what is next and next. As one that plunges, without a boat, into the terrible ocean, with only one's two arms, through delusion, undoubtedly wishes for destruction; while the man of wisdom, conversant with distinctions, goes into the water, with a boat equipt with oars, and soon crosses the lake without fatigue, and having crossed it attains to the other shore and casts off the boat, freed from the thought of meum. This has been already explained by the illustration of the car and the pedestrian. One who has been overwhelmed by delusion in consequence of attachment, adheres to it like a fisherman to his boat. Overcome by the idea of meum, one wanders within its narrow range. After embarking on a boat it is not possible in moving about on land. Similarly, it is not possible in moving about on water after one has mounted on a car. There are thus various actions with regard to various objects. And as action is performed in this world, so does it result to those that perform them. That which is void of smell, void of taste, and void of touch and sound, that which is meditated upon by the sages with the aid of their understanding, is said to be Pradhana. Now, Pradhana is unmanifest. A development of the unmanifest is Mahat. A development of Pradhana when it has become Mahat is Egoism. From egoism is produced the development called the great elements. And of the great elements respectively, the objects of sense are said to be the developments. The unmanifest is of the nature of seed. It is productive in its essence. It has been heard by us that the great soul has the virtues of a seed, and that is a product. Egoism is of the nature of seed and is a product again and again. And the five great elements are of the nature of seed and products. The objects of the five great elements are endued with the nature of seed, and yield products. These have Chitta for their property. Among them, space has one quality; wind is said to have two. Light, it is said, is endued with three qualities; and water as possessed of four qualities. Earth, teeming with mobiles and immobiles, should be known as possessed of five qualities. She is a goddess that is the source of all entities and abounds with examples of the agreeable and the disagreeable. Sound, likewise touch, colour, taste, and smell numbering the fifth,--these are the five qualities of earth, ye foremost of regenerate persons. Smell always belongs to earth, and smell is said to be of various kinds. I shall state at length the numerous qualities of smell. Smell is agreeable or disagreeable, sweet, sour, pungent, diffusive and compact, oily and dry, and clear. Thus smell, which belongs to the earth, should be known as of ten kinds. [Katu is not bitter but pungent or sharp, as that which is attached to chillies.] Sound, touch, likewise colour, and taste have been said to be the qualities of water. I shall now speak of the qualities of Taste. Taste has been said (in the Ayurveda) to be of various kinds. Sweet, sour, pungent, bitter, astringent, and saline likewise. Taste, which has been said to appertain to water, is thus of six varieties. Sound, touch, and likewise colour,--these are the three qualities which light is said to be possessed of. Colour is the quality of light, and colour is said to be of various kinds. White, dark, likewise red, blue, yellow, and grey also, and short, long, minute, gross, square and circular, of these twelve varieties in colour which belongs to light. These should be understood by Brahmanas venerable for years, conversant with duties, and truthful in speech. Sound and touch should be known as the two qualities of wind. Touch has been said to be of various kinds. Rough, cold and like wise hot, tender and clear, hard, oily, smooth, slippery, painful and soft, of twelve kinds is touch, which is the quality of wind, as said by Brahmanas crowned with success, conversant with duties, and possessed of a sight of truth. Now space has only one quality, and that is said to be sound. I shall speak at length of the numerous qualities of sound. Shadaja, Rishabha, together with Gandhara, Madhyama, and likewise Panchama; after this should be known Nishada, and then Dhaivata. Besides these, there are agreeable sounds and disagreeable sounds, compact, and of many ingredients. Sound which is born of space should thus be known to be of ten kinds. Space is the highest of the (five) elements. Egoism is above it. Above egoism is understanding. Above understanding is the soul. Above the soul is the Unmanifest. Above the Unmanifest is Purusha. One who knows which is superior and inferior among existent creatures, who is conversant with the ordinances in respect of all acts, and who constitutes himself the soul of all creatures, attains to the Unfading Soul.'"

SECTION 51

"Brahmana said, 'Since the mind is the ruler of these five elements, in the matter of controlling and bringing them forth, the mind, therefore, is the soul of the elements. The mind always presides over the great elements. The understanding proclaims power, and is called the Kshetrajna. The mind yokes the senses as a charioteer yokes good steeds. The senses, the mind, and the understanding are always joined to the Kshetrajna. The individual soul, mounting the chariot to which big steeds are yoked and which has the understanding for the reins, drives about on all sides. With all the senses attached to it (for steeds), with the mind for the charioteer, and the understanding for the eternal reins, exists the great Brahman-car. Verily, that man endued with learning and wisdom who always understands the Brahman-car in this way, is never overwhelmed by delusion in the midst of all entities. This forest of Brahman begins with the Unmanifest and ends with gross objects. It includes mobile and immobile entities, and receives light from the radiance of the sun and the moon, and is adorned with planets and constellations. It is decked, again, on all sides with nets of rivers and mountains. It is always embellished likewise by diverse kinds of waters. It is the means of subsistence for all creatures. It is, again, the goal of all living creatures. In that forest the Kshetrajna always moves about. Whatever entities exist in this world, mobile and immobile, are the very first to be dissolved away. After this (are dissolved) those qualities which compose all entities. After the qualities (are dissolved) the five elements. Such is the gradation of entities. Gods, men, Gandharvas, Pisachas, Asuras, and Rakshasas, have all sprung from Nature, and not from actions, not from a cause. The Brahmanas, who are creators of the universe, are born here again and again. All that springs from them dissolves, when the time comes, in those very five great elements like billows in the ocean. All the great elements are beyond those elements that compose the universe. He that is released from those five elements goes to the highest goal. The puissant Prajapati created all this by the mind only. After the same manner Rishis attained to the status of deities by the aid of penance. After the same manner, those who have achieved perfection, who were capable of the concentration of Yoga, and who subsist on fruits and roots, likewise perceive the triple world by penance. Medicines and herbs and all the diverse sciences are acquired by means of penance alone, for all acquisition has penance for its root. Whatever is difficult of acquisition, difficult to learn, difficult to vanquish, difficult to pass through, are all achievable by penance, for penance is irresistible. One that drinks alcoholic liquors, one that slays a Brahmana, one that steals, one that destroys a foetus, one that violates one's preceptor's bed, becomes cleansed of such sin by penance well performed. Human beings, Pitris, deities, (sacrificial) animals, beasts and birds, and all other creatures mobile and immobile, by always devoting themselves to penances, become crowned with success by penance alone. In like manner, the deities, endued with great powers of illusion, have attained to Heaven. Those who without idleness perform acts with expectations, being full of egoism, approach the presence of Prajapati. Those high-souled ones, however, who are devoid of mineness and freed from egoism through the pure contemplation of Yoga, attain to the great and highest regions. Those who best understand the self, having attained to Yoga contemplation and having their minds always cheerful, enter into the unmanifest accumulation of happiness. Those persons who are freed from the idea of mineness as also from egoism and who are reborn after having attained to the fullness of Yoga contemplation, enter (when they depart from such life) into the highest region reserved for the great, viz., the Unmanifest. Born from that same unmanifest (principle) and attaining to the same once more, freed from the qualities of Darkness and Passion, and adhering to only the quality of Goodness, one becomes released from every sin and creates all things. Such a one should be known to be Kshetrajna in perfection. He that knows him, knows the Veda. [The man who reads the book called Veda is not truly conversant with the Veda. He, however, who knows Kshetrajna, is regarded as truly knowing the Veda (knowledge; Dutch: weten).] Attaining to pure knowledge from (restraining) the mind, the ascetic should sit self-restrained. One necessarily becomes that on which one's mind is set. This is an eternal mystery. That which has the unmanifest for its beginning and gross qualities for its end, has been said to have Ne-science for its indication. But do you understand that whose nature is destitute of qualities? Of two syllables is Mrityu (death); of three syllable is the eternal Brahman. Mineness is death, and the reverse of mineness is the eternal. Some men who are led by bad understanding applaud action. Those, however, that are numbered among the high-souled ancients never applaud action. By action is a creature born with body which is made up of the sixteen. (True) Knowledge swallows up Purusha (Self with consciousness of body). Even this is what is highly acceptable to eaters of Amrita. Therefore, those whose vision extends to the other end (of the ocean of life) have no attachment for actions. This Purusha, however, is full of knowledge and not full of action. He dies not who understands Him that is immortal, immutable, incomprehensible, eternal and indestructible--Him that is the restrained Soul and that transcends all attachments. He who thus understands the Soul to which there is nothing prior which is uncreated, immutable, unconquered, and incomprehensible even to those that are eaters of nectar, certainly becomes himself incomprehensible and immortal through these means. Expelling all impressions and restraining the Soul in the Soul, he understands that auspicious Brahman than which nothing greater exists. Upon the understanding becoming clear, he succeeds in attaining to tranquillity. The indication of tranquillity is like what takes place in a dream. [The meaning is this: in a dream what is seen is all unreal. So, when tranquillity has been attained, all the surroundings become unreal. Nilakantha gives a slightly different interpretation; it is this: when tranquillity has been attained, the Soul lives without attachment to the body and all external objects. Indeed, the Soul then lives completely in itself even as it works in course of a dream.] This is the goal of

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these emancipated ones who are intent on knowledge. They behold all those movements which are born of successive developments. This is the goal of those who are unattached to the world, This is the eternal usage. This is the acquisition of men of knowledge. This is the uncensured mode of conduct. This goal is capable of being attained by one that is alike to all creatures, that is without attachment, that is without expectations, and that looks equally on all things. I have now declared everything to you, ye foremost of regenerate Rishis. Do you act in this way forthwith; you will then acquire success.'

"The preceptor continued, 'Thus addressed by the preceptor Brahma, those high-souled sages acted accordingly and then attained to many regions (of great felicity). Do thou also, O blessed one, duly act according to the words of Brahma as declared by me, O thou of pure soul. Thou wilt then attain to success.'

"Vasudeva said,--'Thus instructed in the principles of high religion by the preceptor, the pupil, O son of Kunti, did everything accordingly, and then attained to Emancipation. Having done all that he should have done, the pupil, O perpetuator of Kuru's race, attained to that seat repairing whither one has not to grieve.'

"Arjuna said, 'Who, indeed, was that Brahmana, O Krishna, and who the pupil, O Janarddana. Truly, if it is fit to be heard by me, do thou then tell me, O lord!'

"Vasudeva said, 'I am the preceptor, O mighty-armed one, and know that the mind is my pupil. Through my affection for thee, O Dhananjaya, I have related this mystery to thee. If thou hast any love for me, O perpetuator of Kuru's race, do thou then, after having heard these instructions relating to the Soul, always act duly (according to them), O thou of excellent vows. Then when this religion has been duly practised, O mower of foes, thou wilt become freed from all thy sins and attain to absolute emancipation. Formerly, when the hour of battle came, this very religion, O thou of mighty arms, was declared by me (to thee)! Do thou, therefore, set thy mind on it. And now, O chief of Bharata's race, it is long since that I saw the lord my sire. I wish to see him again, with thy leave, O Phalguna!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Unto Krishna who had said so, Dhananjaya said in reply,--We shall go to-day from this town to the city called after the elephant. Meeting king Yudhishthira of virtuous soul there, and informing him (of thy intention) thou shalt then repair to thy own city!'"

SECTION 52

"Vaisampayana said, 'After this, Krishna ordered Daruka, saying--Let my car be yoked.--Within a very short space of time Daruka informed (his master), saying,--It has been yoked.--The son of Pandu then commanded all his attendants, saying,--Prepare yourselves and be ready. We shall repair to-day to the city named after the elephant. Thus addressed, O king, those troops accoutred themselves, and informed Pritha's son of immeasurable energy, saying,--Everything is equipt. Then those two, viz., Krishna and the son of Pandu, ascended their car and proceeded on the journey, the loving friends engaged the while in delightful conversation. Unto Vasudeva seated on the car, Dhananjaya of great energy once more said these words, O chief of Bharata's race!--O perpetuator of the Vrishni race, the king has obtained victory through thy grace. All his foes have been slain, and he has recovered his kingdom without a thorn in it (to make it disagreeable). O slayer of Madhu, through thee the Pandavas are endued with a powerful protector. Having obtained thee for our raft we have crossed the Kuru ocean. O thou that hast this universe for thy handiwork, salutations to thee, O Soul of the universe, O best of all beings in the universe. I know thee in that measure in which I am approved by thee. O slayer of Madhu, the soul of every creature is always born of thy energy. Playful sport (in the from of creation, preservation, and destruction) is thine. Earth and sky, O lord, are thy illusion. This whole universe, consisting of mobile and immobile objects, is established on thee. Thou createst, by modification, the four orders of Being (viz., viviparous, oviparous, filth-born, and vegetables). Thou createst the Earth, the Welkin, and Heaven, O slayer of Madhu. The stainless lunar light is thy smile. The seasons are thy senses. The ever-moving wind is thy breath, and death, existing eternally, is thy wrath. In thy grace is the goddess of prosperity. Verily, Sree is always established in thee, O thou of the highest intelligence. Thou art the sport (in which creatures engage); thou art their contentment; thou their intelligence, thou their forgiveness, thou their inclinations, thou their beauty. Thou art the universe with its mobile and immobile objects. At the end of the cycle, it is thou, O sinless one, that art called destruction. I am incapable of reciting all thy qualities in course of even a long period. Thou art the Soul and the Supreme Soul. I bow to thee, O thou of eyes like the petals of the lotus. O thou that art irresistible, I have learnt it from Narada and Devala and the Island-born (Vyasa), and the Kuru grandsire also, that all this (universe) rests on thee. Thou art the one Lord of all creatures. This, O sinless one, that thou hast declared unto me in consequence of thy favour for myself, I shall duly accomplish in its entirety, O Janarddana. Exceedingly wonderful is this which thou hast done from desire of doing what is agreeable to us, viz., the destruction in battle of the Kaurava (prince), the son of Dhritarashtra. Thai host had been burnt by thee which I (subsequently) vanquished in battle. That feat was achieved by thee in consequence of which victory became mine. By the power of thy intelligence was shown the means by which was duly affected the destruction of Duryodhana in battle, as also of Karna, as of the sinful icing of the Sindhus; and Bhurisravas. I shall accomplish all that which, O son of Devaki, pleased with me thou hast declared to myself. I do not entertain any scruple in this. Repairing to king Yudhishthira of righteous soul, I shall, O sinless one, urge him to dismiss thee, O thou that art conversant with every duty. O lord, thy departure for Dwaraka meets with my approbation. Thou shalt soon see my maternal uncle, O Janarddana. Thou shalt also see the irresistible Valadeva and other chiefs of the Vrishni race.--Thus conversing with each other, the two reached the city named after the elephant. They then, with cheerful hearts, and without any anxiety, entered the palace of Dhritarashtra which resembled the mansion of Sakra. They then saw, O monarch, king Dhritarashtra, and Vidura of great intelligence, and king Yudhishthira and the irresistible Bhimasena, and the two sons of Madri by Pandu; and the unvanquished Yuyatsu, seated before Dhritarashtra and Gandhari of great wisdom, and Pritha, and the beautiful Krishna, and the other ladies of Bharata's race with Subhadra counting first. They also saw all those ladies that used to wait upon Gandhari. Then approaching king Dhritarashtra, those two chastisers of foes announced their names and touched his feet. Indeed, those high-souled ones also touched the feet of Gandhari and Pritha and king Yudhishthira the Just, and Bhima. Embracing Vidura also, they enquired after his welfare. In the company of all those persons, Arjuna and Krishna then approached king Dhritarashtra (again). Night came and then king Dhritarashtra of great intelligence dismissed all those perpetuators of Kuru's race as also Janarddana for retiring to their respective chambers. Permitted by the king all of them entered their respective apartments. Krishna of great energy proceeded to the apartments of Dhananjaya. Worshipped duly and furnished with every object of comfort and enjoyment, Krishna of great intelligence passed the night in happy sleep with Dhananjaya as his companion. When the night passed away and morning came, the two heroes, finishing their morning rites and dealing their persons properly, proceeded to the mansion of king Yudhishthira the just. There Yudhishthira the just, of great might, sat with his ministers. The two high-souled ones, entering that well-adorned chamber, beheld king Yudhishthira the just like the two Aswins beholding the chief of the celestials. Meeting the king, he of Vrishni's race as also that foremost hero of Kuru's race, obtaining the permission of Yudhishthira who was highly pleased with them, sat themselves down. Then the king, gifted with great intelligence, seeing those two friends, became desirous of addressing them. Soon that best of monarchs, that foremost of speakers addressed them in the following words.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Ye heroes, ye foremost ones of Yadu's and Kuru's race, it seems that ye two are desirous of saying something to me. Do ye say what is in your mind. I shall soon accomplish it. Do not hesitate.'

"Thus addressed, Phalguna, well conversant with speech, humbly approached king Yudhishthira the just and then said these words.--'Vasudeva here, of great prowess, O king, is long absent from home. He desires, with thy permission, to see his sire. Let him go, if thou thinkest it meet, to the city of the Anarttas. It behoveth thee; O hero, to grant him permission!'

"Yudhishthira said, 'O lotus-eyed one, blessed be thou. O slayer of Madhu, do thou go this very day to the city of Dwaravati for seeing, O puissant one, that foremost one of Sura's race. O mighty-armed Kesava, thy departure is approved by me. Thou hast not seen my maternal uncle as also the goddess Devaki, for a long time. Meeting my maternal uncle and repairing to Valadeva also, O giver of honours, thou wilt, O thou of great wisdom, worship both of them at my word as they deserve. [Krishna's father Vasudeva is maternal uncle. Yudhishthira asks Krishna to worship Vasudeva and Valadeva on his behalf, i.e., he charges Krishna to bear to them a message of respect and love from him.] Do thou also think of me daily as also of Bhima, that foremost of mighty men, and of Phalguna and Nakula and Sahadeva, O giver of honours. Having seen the Anarttas, and thy sire, O mighty-armed one, and the Vrishnis, thou wilt come back to my horse-sacrifice, O sinless one. Do thou then depart, taking with thee diverse kinds of gems and various sorts of wealth. Do thou, O hero of the Satwata race, also take with thee whatever else thou likest. It is through thy grace, O Kesava, that the whole Earth, O hero, has come under our dominion and all our foes have been slain.'

When king Yudhishthira the just of Kuru's race said so, Vasudeva, that foremost of men, said these words (in reply).

"Vasudeva said, 'O mighty-armed one, all jewels and gems, all wealth, and the entire Earth, are thine and thine alone. Whatever wealth exists in my, abode, thou, O lord, art always the owner thereof.' Unto him Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma, said,--'Be it so'--and then duly worshipped (Krishna) the eldest brother, endued with great energy, of Gada. Vasudeva then proceeded to his paternal aunt (Kunti). Duly honouring her, he circumambulated her person. He was properly accosted by her in return, and then by all the others having Vidura for their first. The four-armed eldest brother of Gada then set out from Nagapura on his excellent car. [The city of Hastinapura is sometimes called Nagapura, both Hasti and Naga being words expressive of the elephant. 'The city called after the elephant' is the usual description of the Kuru capital.] Placing his sister, the lady Subhadra, on the car, the mighty-armed Janarddana then, with the permission of both Yudhishthira and (Kunti) his paternal aunt, set out, accompanied by a large train of citizens. The hero who had the foremost of apes on his banner, as also Satyaki, and the two sons of Madravati, and Vidura of immeasurable intelligence, and Bhima himself whose tread resembled that of a prince of elephants, all followed Madhava. Janarddana of mighty energy causing all those extenders of the Kuru kingdom and Vidura also to return, addressed Daraka, and Satyaki, saying,--'Urge the steeds to speed.' Then that grinder of hostile masses, viz., Janarddana of great prowess, accompanied by Satyaki, the foremost one of Sini's race, proceeded to the city of the Anarttas, after having slain all his foes, like He of a hundred sacrifices proceeding to Heaven (after slaughtering all his foes).'

SECTION 53

"Vaisampayana said, 'As he of Vrishni's race was proceeding to Dwaraka, those foremost princes of Bharata's race, those chastisers of foes embraced him and fell back with their attendants. Phalguna repeatedly embraced the Vrishni hero, and as long as he was within the range of vision, he repeatedly turned his eyes towards him. With great difficulty, the son of Pritha withdrew his gaze that had fallen on Govinda. The unvanquished Krishna also (did the same). The indications that were manifested on the occasion of that high-souled one's departure, I shall now detail. Do thou listen to me. The wind blew with great speed before the car, clearing the path of sand-grains and dust and thorns. Vasava rained pure and fragrant showers and celestial flowers before the wielder of Saranga. As the mighty-armed hero proceeded, he came upon the desert ill supplied with water. There he beheld that foremost of ascetics, named Utanka, of immeasurable energy. The hero of large eyes and great energy worshipped that ascetic. He was then worshipped by the ascetic in return. Vasudeva then enquired after his welfare. That foremost of Brahmanas, viz., Utanka, politely accosted by Madhava, honoured him duly and then addressed him in these words.--'O Saurin, having repaired to the mansions of the Kurus and the Pandavas, hast thou succeeded in establishing a durable understanding between them such as should exist between brothers? It behoves thee to tell me everything. Dost thou come, O Kesava, after having united them in peace,--them that are thy relatives and that are ever dear to thee, O foremost one of Vrishni's race? Will the five sons of Pandu, and the children of Dhritarashtra, O scorcher of foes, sport in the world in joy with thee? Will all the kings enjoy happiness in their respective kingdoms, in consequence of the pacification of the Kauravas brought about by thee? Has that trust, O son, which I had always reposed on thee, borne fruit with regard to the Kauravas?'

"The blessed and holy one said, 'I strove my best at first, for bringing about a good understanding, in regard to the Kauravas. When I could not by any means succeed in establishing them on peace, it happened that all of them, with their relatives and kinsmen, met with death. It is impossible to transgress destiny by either intelligence or might. O great Rishi, O sinless one, this also cannot be unknown to thee. They (the Kauravas) transgressed the counsels which Bhishma and Vidura gave them referring to me. Encountering one another they then became guests of Yama's abode. Only the five Pandavas constitute the remnant of the unslain, all their friends and all their children having been slaughtered. All the sons of Dhritarashtra also with their children and kinsmen, have been slain.' When Krishna had said these words, Utanka, filled with wrath, and with eyes expanded in rage, addressed him in these words.

"Utanka said,--'Since, though able, O Krishna, thou didst not rescue those foremost ones of Kuru's race, who were thy relatives and, therefore, dear to thee, I shall, without doubt, curse thee. Since thou didst not forcibly compel them to forbear, therefore, O slayer of Madhu, I shall, filled with wrath, denounce a curse on thee. It seems, O Madhava, that though fully able (to save them), thou wert indifferent to these foremost of Kurus who, overwhelmed by insincerity and hypocrisy have all met with destruction.'

"Vasudeva said, 'O scion of Bhrigu's race, listen to what I say in detail. Do thou accept my apologies also. O thou of Bhrigu's race, thou art an ascetic. After having heard my words relating to the soul, thou mayst then utter thy curse. No man is able, by a little ascetic merit, to put me down. O foremost of ascetics, I do not wish to see the destruction of all

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thy penances. Thou hast a large measure of blazing penances. Thou hast gratified thy preceptors and seniors. [An ascetic loses his penances by cursing another rightly or wrongly. Hence, forgiveness was always practised by the Brahmanas who were ascetics. A Brahmana's strength consisted in forgiveness. The more forgiving he was, the more powerful he became.] O foremost of regenerate ones, I know that thou hast observed the rules of Brahmacharyya from the days of thy infancy. I do not, therefore, desire the loss or diminution of thy penances achieved with so much pain.'"

SECTION 54

"Utanka said, 'Do thou, O Kesava, tell me that faultless Adhyatma. Having heard thy discourse I shall ordain what is for thy good or denounce a curse to thee, O Janarddana.'

"Vasudeva said, 'Know that the three qualities of Darkness and Passion and Goodness exist, depending on me as their refuge. So also, O regenerate one, know that the Rudras and the Vasus have sprung from me. In me are all creatures, and in all creatures do I exist; know this. Let no doubt arise in thy mind respecting this. So also, O regenerate one, know that all the tribes of the Daityas, all the Yakshas, Gandharvas, Rakshasas, Nagas. Apsaras, have sprung from me. Whatever has been called existent and non-existent, whatever is manifest and not-manifest, whatever is destructible and indestructible, all have me for their soul. Those fourfold courses of duty which, O ascetic, are known to attach to the (four) modes of life, and all the Vedic duties, have me for their soul. Whatever is non-existent, whatever is existent and non-existent, and whatever transcends that which is existent and non-existent,--all these which constitute the universe--are from me. There is nothing higher (or beyond) me who am the eternal god of gods. [The first asat or non-existent refers to such objects as the horns of the hare. The second, viz., sadasat, or existent and non-existent refers to such objects as exist and meet with destruction. Sadasat param or that which transcends the existent and non-existent, refers to the unmanifest. The universe consists of these three. All this is from Vasudeva.] O perpetuator of Bhrigu's race, know that all the Vedas beginning with (the original syllable) Om are identical with me. Know, O son of Bhrigu's race, that I am the sacrificial stake; I am the Soma (drunk in sacrifices); I am the Charu (cooked in sacrifices for being offered to the deities); I am the Homa (that is performed); I am those acts which sacrificers perform for gratifying the deities; I am even the pourer of the sacrificial libation: and I am the Havi or libation that is poured. I am the Adharyu. I am the Kalpaka; and I am the highly sanctified sacrificial Havi. It is me whom the Udgatri, in the great sacrifice, hymns by the sound of his songs. In all rites of expiation, O Brahmana, the utterers of auspicious Mantras and benedictions fraught with peace hymn my praises who am the artificer, O foremost of regenerate ones, of the universe. Know, O best of regenerate person, that Dharma is my eldest-born offspring, sprung from my mind, O learned Brahmana, whose essence is compassion for all creatures. Constantly transforming myself, I take birth in diverse wombs, O best of men, for upholding that son of mine, with the aid of men now existing in or departed from the world. Indeed, I do this for protecting Righteousness and for establishing it. In those forms that I assume for the purpose, I am known, O son of Bhrigu's race, in the three worlds as Vishnu and Brahman and Sakra. I am the origin and I am the destruction of all things. I am the creator of all existent objects and I am their destroyer. Knowing no change myself, I am the destroyer of all those creatures that live in sinfulness. In every Yuga I have to repair the causeway of Righteousness, entering into diverse kinds of wombs from desire of doing good to my creatures. When, O son of Bhrigu's race, I live in the order of the deities, I then verily act in every respect as a deity. When I live in the order of the Gandharvas, I then, O son of Bhrigu's race, act in every respect as a Gandharva. When I live in the order of the Nagas, I then act as a Naga, and when I live in the order of Yakshas or that of Rakshasas, I act after the manner of that order. Born now in the order of humanity, I must act as a human being. I appealed to them (the Kauravas) most piteously. But stupefied as they were and deprived of their senses, they refused to accept my words. I frightened them, filled with wrath, referring to some great fear (as the consequence of their slighting my message). But once more I showed themselves my usual (human) form. Possessed as they were of unrighteousness, and assailed by the virtue of Time, all of them have been righteously slain in battle, and have, without doubt, gone to Heaven. The Pandavas also, O best of Brahmanas, have acquired great fame. I have thus told thee all that thou hadst asked me.'"

SECTION 55

"Utanka said, 'I know thee, O Janarddana, to be the creator of the universe. Without doubt, this knowledge that I have is the result of thy grace towards me, O thou of unfading glory, my heart is possessed of cheerful tranquillity in consequence of its being devoted to thee. Know, O chastiser of foes, that my heart is no longer inclined to curse thee. If, O Janarddana, I deserve the least grace from thee, do thou then show me once thy sovereign form.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Gratified with him, the holy one then showed Utanka that eternal Vaishnava form which Dhananjaya of great intelligence had seen. Utanka beheld the high-souled Vasudeva's universal form, endued with mighty arms. The effulgence of that form was like that of a blazing fire of a thousand suns. It stood before him filling all space. It had faces on every side. Beholding that high and wonderful Vaishnava form of Vishnu, in act, seeing the Supreme Lord (in that guise), the Brahmana Utanka became filled with wonder.'

"Utanka, said, 'O thou whose handiwork is the universe, I bow to thee, O Soul of the universe, O parent of all things. With thy feet thou hast covered the whole Earth, and with thy head thou fillest the firmament. That which lies between the Earth and the firmament has been filled by thy stomach. All the points of the compass are covered by thy arms. O thou of unfading glory, thou art all this. Do thou withdraw this excellent and indestructible form of thine. I wish to behold thee now in thy own (human) form which too is eternal!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Unto him, O Janamejaya, Govinda of gratified soul said these words,--'Do thou ask for some boon' Unto him Utanka, however, said--Even this is a sufficient boon from thee for the present, O thou of great splendour, in that, O Krishna, I have beheld this form of thine, O foremost of all beings. Krishna, however, once more said unto him--Do not scruple in this matter. This must be done. A sight of my form cannot be fruitless.'

"Utanka said, 'I must accomplish that, O lord, which thou thinkest should be done. I desire to have water wherever my wish for it may arise. Water is scarce in such deserts.' Withdrawing that energy, the Supreme Lord then said unto Utanka--Whenever thou wilt require water, think of me! Having said so, he proceeded towards Dwaraka. Subsequently, one day, the illustrious Utanka, solicitous of water and exceedingly thirsty, wandered over the desert. In course of his wanderings he thought of Krishna of unfading glory. The intelligent Rishi then beheld in that desert a naked hunter (of the Chandala class), all besmeared with dirt, surrounded by a pack of dogs. Extremely fierce-looking, he carried a sword and was armed with bow and arrows. That foremost of regenerate ones beheld copious streams of water issuing from the urinary organs of that hunter. As soon as Utanka had thought of Krishna, that hunter smilingly addressed him, saying,--'O Utanka, O thou of Bhrigu's race, do thou accept this water from me. Beholding thee afflicted by thirst I have felt great compassion for thee.' Thus addressed by the hunter, the ascetic showed no inclination to accept that water. The intelligent Utanka even began to censure Krishna of unfading glory. The hunter, how ever, repeatedly addressed the Rishi, saying,--'Drink!' The ascetic refused to drink the water thus offered. On the other hand, with heart afflicted by hunger and thirst, he even gave way to wrath. Disregarded by the high-souled Rishi through that conviction, the hunter, O king, with his pack of dogs, disappeared there and then. Beholding that (wonderful) disappearance, Utanka became filled with shame. He even thought that Krishna, that slayer of foes, had beguiled him (in the matter of the boon he had granted). Soon after, the holder of the conch and discus and mace, endued with great intelligence, came to Utanka by the way (along which the hunter had come). Addressing Krishna, the Brahmana said,--'O foremost of beings, it was scarcely proper for thee to offer water unto foremost of Brahmanas in the form of a hunter's urine, O lord.' Unto Utanka who said these words, Janarddana of great intelligence replied, comforting him with many soft words--'That form which it was proper to assume for offering thee water, in that form was water offered to thee. But, also, thou couldst not understand it. The wielder of the thunder bolt, Purandara, was requested by me for thy sake. My words to that puissant deity were--'Do thou give nectar in the form of water unto Utanka.' The chief of the celestials replied to me saying--It is not proper that a mortal should become immortal. Let some other boon be granted to Utanka.'--O son of Bhrigu's race, these words were repeatedly addressed to me. The lord of Sachi, however, was once more requested by me in these words, viz., even nectar should be given to Utanka.'--The chief of the celestials then, comforting me, said,--'If, O thou of great intelligence, nectar is to be given to him, I shall then assume the form of a hunter and give it to that high-souled descendant of Bhrigu's race. If that son of Bhrigu accepts it thus, I then go to him, O lord, for giving it unto him. If, however, he sends me away from disregard,--I shall not then give it to him on any account,--Having made this compact with me, Vasava appeared before thee, in that disguise, for giving thee nectar. Thou, however, didst disregard him and send him away, seeing that the illustrious one had put on the guise of a Chandala. Thy fault has been great. Once more, with regard to thy desire, I am prepared to do what is in my power. Indeed, this painful thirst of thine, I shall arrange, shall be slaked. On those days, O regenerate one, in which thou wilt feel a desire for water, clouds well-charged with water will rise over this desert. Those clouds, O son of Bhrigu's race, will give thee savoury water to drink. Verily, those clouds will become known in the world as Utanka-clouds.' Thus addressed by Krishna, Utanka became filled with gladness, and to this day, O Bharata, Utanka-clouds (appear and) shower rain on and deserts.'"

SECTION 56

"Janamejaya said, 'With what penances was the high-souled Utanka endued so that he entertained the wish to denounce a curse on Vishnu himself, who is the source of all puissance?'

"Vaisampayana said, 'O Janamejaya, Utanka was endued with austere penances. He was devoted to his preceptor. Endued with great energy, he abstained from worshipping anybody else. All the children of the Rishis O Bharata, entertained even this wish, viz., that their devotion to preceptors should be as great as that of Utanka. Gautama's gratification with and affection for Utanka, among his numerous disciples, were very great, O Janamejaya. Indeed, Gautama was highly pleased with the self-restraint and purity of behaviour that characterised Utanka, and with his acts of prowess and the services he rendered to him. One after another, thousands of disciples received the preceptor's permission to return home (after the completion of their pupilage). In consequence, however, of his great affection for Utanka, Gautama could not permit him to leave his retreat. Gradually, in course of time, O son, decrepitude overtook Utanka, that great ascetic. The ascetic, however, in consequence of his devotion to his preceptor, was not conscious of it. One day, he set out, O monarch, for fetching fuel for his preceptor. Soon after Utanka brought a heavy load of fuel. Toil-worn and hungry and afflicted by the load he bore on his head, O chastiser of foes, he threw the load down on the Earth, O king. One of his matted locks, white as silver, had become entangled with the load. Accordingly, when the load was thrown down, with it fell on the earth that matted lock of hair. Oppressed as he had been by that load and overcome by hunger, O Bharata, Utanka, beholding that sign of old age, began to indulge in loud lamentations from excess of sorrow. Conversant with every duty, the daughter of his preceptor the, who was possessed of eyes that resembled the petals of the lotus, and of hips that were full and round, at the command of her sire, sought, with downcast face, to hold Utanka's tears in her hands. Her hands seemed to burn with those tear-drops that she held. Unable, accordingly, to hold them longer, she was obliged to throw them down on the Earth. The Earth herself was unable to hold those tear-drops of Utanka. With a gratified heart, Gautama then said unto the regenerate Utanka,--Why, O son, is thy mind so afflicted with grief today? Tell me calmly and quietly, O learned Rishi, for I wish to hear it in detail.'

"Utanka said, 'With mind entirely devoted to thee, and wholly bent upon doing what is agreeable to thee, with my, heart's devotion turned to thee, and with thoughts entirely dwelling on thee, (I have resided here till) decrepitude has come upon me without my knowing it at all. I have not, again, known any happiness. Though I have dwelt with thee for a hundred years, yet thou hast not granted me permission to depart. Many disciples of thine, that were my juniors, have, however, been permitted by thee to return. Indeed, hundreds and thousands of foremost Brahmanas have, equipt with knowledge, been permitted by thee (to depart from thy retreat and set themselves up as teachers)!'

"Gautama said, 'Through my love and affection for thee, and in consequence of thy dutiful services to me, a long time has elapsed without my knowing it, O foremost of Brahmanas. If, however, O thou of Bhrigu's race, the desire is entertained by thee of leaving this place, do thou go without delay, receiving my permission.'

"Utanka said. 'What shall I present to my preceptor? Tell me this, O best of regenerate persons. Having brought it, I shall go hence, O lord, with thy permission.'

"Gautama said. 'The good that the gratification of the preceptor is the final fee. [To this day preceptors in India have to feed and teach their disciples without any pecuniary compensation. In fact, the sale of knowledge has been strictly forbidden. Pupils, however, after completing their studies, had to give the final Dakshina which varied according to their means. The kings and princes of India thought themselves honoured if solicited by pupils in search of the final Dakshina. What Gautama says here is that the object of the final present is to gratify the preceptor. He (Gautama), however, had already been gratified with the dutiful conduct of Utanka. There was no need, therefore, of any present.] Without doubt, O regenerate one. I have been highly gratified with thy conduct. Know, O perpetuator of Bhrigu's race, that I have been exceedingly gratified with thee for this. If thou becomest a young man today of sixteen years, I shall bestow on thee, O regenerate one, this my own daughter for becoming thy wife. No other woman save this one is capable of waiting upon thy energy.' At these words of Gautama, Utanka once again became a youth and accepted that famous maiden for his wife. Receiving the permission of his preceptor, he then addressed his preceptor's wife, saying,--'What shall I give thee as final fee for my preceptor? Do thou command me. I desire to accomplish, with wealth or even my life, what is agreeable and

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beneficial to thee. Whatever gem, exceedingly wonderful and of great value, exists in this world, I shall bring for thee with the aid of my penances. I have no doubt in this.'

"Ahalya said, 'I am highly gratified with thee, O learned Brahmana, with thy unintermitting devotion, O sinless one. This is enough. Blessed be thou, go whithersoever thou likest.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Utanka, however, O monarch, once more, said these words,--Do thou command me, O mother. It is meet that I should do something that is agreeable to thee.'

"Ahalya said, 'Blessed be thou, bring for me those celestial ear-rings that are worn by the wife of Saudasa. That which is due to thy preceptor will then be well-discharged.' Replying unto her 'So be it,'--Utanka departed, O Janamejaya, resolved to bring those ear-rings for doing what was agreeable to his preceptor's wife. That foremost of Brahmanas, Utanka, proceeded without any loss of time to Saudasa who had (through the curse of Vasishtha) become a cannibal, in order to solicit the ear-rings from him. Gautama meanwhile said unto his wife,--'Utanka is not to be seen today.' Thus addressed, she informed him how he had departed for fetching the jewelled ear-rings (of Saudasa's queen). At this, Gautama said,--'Thou hast not acted wisely. Cursed (by Vasishtha), that king (who has been transformed into a man-eater) will verily slay Utanka.'

"Ahalya said, 'Without knowing this, O holy one, I have set Utanka to this task. He shall not, however, incur any danger through thy grace. Thus addressed by her, Gautama said,--'Let it be so!' Meanwhile, Utanka met king Saudasa in a deserted forest.'"

SECTION 57

"Vaisampayana said, "Beholding the king, who had become so, of frightful mien, wearing a long beard smeared with the blood of human beings, the Brahmana Utanka, O king, did not become agitated. That monarch of great energy, inspiring terror in every breast and looking like a second Yama, rising up, addressed Utanka, saying,--'By good luck, O best of Brahmanas, thou hast come to me at the sixth hour of the day when I am in search of food.'

"Utanka said, 'O king, know that I have come hither in course of my wanderings for the sake of my preceptor. The wise have said that I while one is employed for the sake of one's preceptor, one should not be injured.'

"The king said, 'O best of Brahmanas, food has been ordained for me at the sixth hour of the day. I am hungry. I cannot, therefore, allow thee to escape today.'

"Utanka said, 'Let it be so, O king. Let this compact be made with me. After I have ceased to wander for my preceptor, I shall once more come and place myself within thy power. It has been heard by me, O best of kings, that the object I seek for my preceptor is under thy control, O monarch. Therefore, O ruler of men, I solicit thee for it. Thou daily givest many foremost of gems unto superior Brahmanas. Thou art a giver, O chief of men, from whom gifts may be accepted, know that I too am a worthy object of charity present before thee, O best of kings. Having accepted from thee in gift that object for my preceptor which is under thy control, I shall, O king, in consequence of my compact, once more come back to thee and place myself under thy power. I assure thee truly of this. There is no falsehood in this. Never before have I spoken anything untrue, no, not even in jest. What shall I say then of other occasions?'

"Saudasa said, 'If the object thou seekest for thy preceptor is capable of being placed in thy hands by me, if I be regarded as one from whom a gift may be accepted, do thou then say what that object is.'

"Utanka said, 'O foremost of men, O Saudasa, in my estimation thou art a worthy person from whom gifts may be accepted. I have, therefore, come to thee for begging of thee the jewelled ear-rings (worn by thy queen).'

"Saudasa said, 'Those jewelled ear-rings, O learned and regenerate Rishi, belong to my wife. They should be asked from her. Do thou, therefore, solicit some other thing from me. I shall give it to thee, O thou of excellent vows.'

"Utanka said, 'If we be regarded as any authority, do thou cease then to urge this pretext. Do thou give those jewelled ear-rings to me. Be thou truthful in speech, O king.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed, the king once more addressed Utanka and said unto him, 'Do thou, at my word, go to my venerable queen, O best of men, and ask her, saying,--Give!--She of pure vows, thus solicited by thee, will certainly, at my command, give thee, O foremost of regenerate persons, those jewelled ear-rings of hers without doubt.'

"Utanka said, 'Whither, O ruler of men, shall I be able to meet thy queen? Why dost thou not thyself go to her?'

"Saudasa said, 'Thou wilt find her today in the vicinity of a foremost fountain. I cannot see her today as the sixth hour of the day has come.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed, Utanka, O chief of Bharata's race, then left that spot. Beholding Madayanti, he informed her of his object. Hearing the command of Saudasa, that lady of large eyes replied unto the highly intelligent Utanka, O Janamejaya, in these words: 'It is even so, O regenerate one. Thou shouldst, however, O sinless one, assure me that thou dost not say what is untrue. It behoves thee to bring me some sign from my husband. These celestial ear-rings of mine, made of costly gems, are such that the deities and Yakshas and great Rishis always watch for opportunities for bearing them away. If placed at any time on the Earth, this costly article would then be stolen by the Nagas. If worn by one who is impure in consequence of eating, it would then be taken away by the Yakshas. If the wearer falls asleep (without taking care of these precious ear-rings) the deities would then take them away. O best of Brahmanas, these ear-rings are capable of being taken away, when such opportunities present themselves, by deities and Rakshasas and Nagas, if worn by a heedless person. O best of regenerate ones, these ear-rings, day and night, always produce gold. At night, they shine brightly, attracting the rays of stars and constellations. O holy one, if worn by any one, he would be freed from hunger and thirst and fear of every kind. The wearer of these ear-rings is freed also from the fear of poison and fire and every kind of danger. If worn by one of short stature, these become short. If worn by one of tall stature, these grow in size. Even of such virtues are these ear-rings of mine. They are praised and honoured everywhere. Indeed, they are known over the three worlds. Do thou, therefore, bring me some sign (from my husband).'"

SECTION 58

"Vaisampayana said, 'Utanka, coming back to king Saudasa who was always well-disposed towards all his friends, solicited him for some sign (to convince Madayanti of the fact of his being really commissioned by the king). That foremost one of Ikshwaku's race then gave him a sign.'

"Saudasa said, 'This my present condition is intolerable. I do not behold any refuge. Knowing this to be my wish, do thou give away the jewelled ear-rings.' [These words of the king are intended to be reported to his queen who would understand the allusion. The sense is this: cursed by Vasishtha, I have become a cannibal. My condition is intolerable. By this gift of the ear-rings to a deserving Brahmana, much merit may arise. That merit may relieve me.] Thus addressed by the king, Utanka went back to the queen and reported to her the words of her lord. Hearing those words, the queen gave unto Utanka her jewelled ear-rings. Having obtained the ear-rings, Utanka came back to the king and said unto him, 'I desire to hear, O monarch, what the import is of those mysterious words Which thou saidst as a sign to thy queen.'

"Saudasa said, 'Kshatriyas are seen to honour the Brahmanas from the very beginning of the creation. Towards the Brahmanas, however, many offences arise (on the part of Kshatriyas). As regards myself, I am always bent in humility before them. I am overtaken by a calamity through a Brahmana. Possessed of Madayanti, I do not see any other refuge. Indeed, O foremost of all persons having of a high goal, I do not behold any other refuge for myself in the matter of approaching the gates of Heaven, or in continuing here, O best of regenerate ones. It is impossible for a king that is hostile to Brahmanas to continue living in this world or in attaining to happiness in the next. Hence have I given thee these my jewelled ear-rings which were coveted by thee. [This also is an allusion to the dreadful curse of Vasishtha. The king refers to Madayanti as his only refuge. She may save him by doing an act or special merit, viz., giving away her costly ear-rings to a truly deserving Brahmana.] Do thou now keep the compact which thou hast made with me today.'

"Utanka said, 'O king, I shall certainly act according to my promise. I shall truly come back and place myself under thy power. There is, however, a question, O scorcher of foes, which I wish to ask thee.'

"Saudasa said, 'Say, O learned Brahmana, what is in thy mind. I shall certainly reply unto thy words. I shall dispel whatever doubt may be in thy mind. I have no hesitation in this.'

"Utanka said, 'Those who are skilled in the rules of duty say that Brahmanas are of restrained speech. One who behaves wrongly towards friends is regarded as vile as a thief.' [The sense is this: a Brahmana is never loose of tongue. He is truthful. Hence, having passed my word to thee about my return, thou mayst be sure that I would keep my word. One, again, that acts improperly towards a friend, comes to be regarded as a thief. By this, Utanka reminds the king that he should not inflict any wrong on him by carrying out his intention of eating him up.] Thou, again, O king, hast become my friend today. Do thou then, O foremost of men, give me such counsel as is approved by the wise. As regards myself, I have now obtained the fruition of my wishes. Thou, again, art a cannibal. Is it proper for me to come back to thee or not?'

"Saudasa said, 'If it is proper (for me), O foremost of superior Brahmanas, to say what thou askest, I should then, O best of regenerate ones, tell thee that thou shouldst never come back to me. O perpetuator of Bhrigu's race, by acting even thus, thou wilt attain to what is beneficial to thee. If thou comest back, O learned Brahmana, thou wilt surely meet with death.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed by the intelligent king in respect of what was beneficial for him. Utanka took leave of the monarch and set out for the presence of Ahalya. Desirous of doing what was agreeable to the wife of his preceptor, he took the ear-rings with him and set out with great speed for reaching the retreat of Gautama. Protecting them even in the manner directed by Madayanti, that is, binding them within the folds of his black deer-skin, he proceeded on his way. After he had proceeded for some distance, he became afflicted by hunger. He there beheld a Vilwa tree bent down with the weight of (ripe) fruits. [Vilwa is the Aegle marmalos.] He climbed that tree. Causing his deer-skin, O chastiser of foes, to hang on a branch, that foremost of regenerate persons then began to pluck some fruits. While he was employed in plucking those fruits with eyes directed towards them, some of them fell, O king, on that deerskin in which those ear-rings had been carefully tied by that foremost of Brahmanas. With the strokes of the fruits, the knot became untied. Suddenly that deer-skin, with the ear-rings in it, fell down. When the knot being unfastened, the deer-skin fell down on the ground, a snake who was there beheld those jewelled ear-rings. That snake belonged to the race of Airavata. With great promptness he took up the ear-rings in his mouth and then entered an anthill. Beholding the ear-rings taken away by that snake, Utanka, filled with wrath and in great anxiety of mind, came down from the tree. Taking his staff he began to pierce that anthill. That best of Brahmanas, burning with wrath and the desire for revenge, ceaselessly employed himself for five and thirty days in that task. The goddess Earth, unable to bear the force of Utanka's walking staff and with body torn therewith, became exceedingly anxious. Unto that regenerate Rishi then, who continued to dig the Earth from desire of making a path to the nether regions inhabited by the Nagas, the chief of the celestials, armed with the thunder, came there, on his car drawn by green horses. Endued with great energy, he beheld that foremost of Brahmanas, as he sat there engaged in his task.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Assuming the garb of a Brahmana afflicted with the sorrow of Utanka, the chief of the celestials addressed him, saying, 'This (purpose of thine) is incapable of being achieved. The regions of the Nagas are thousands of Yojanas removed from this place. I think that thy purpose is not capable of being achieved with thy walking staff.'

"Utanka said, 'If, O Brahmana, the ear-rings be not recovered by me from the regions of the Nagas, I shall cast off my life-breaths before thy eyes, O foremost of regenerate persons!'

"Vaisampayana said, 'When the thunder-armed Indra failed to divert Utanka from his purpose, he united the latter's walking staff with the force of thunder. Then, O Janamejaya, the Earth, opening with those strokes having the force of thunder, yielded a way to the (nether) regions inhabited by the Nagas. By that path Utanka entered the world of Nagas. He saw that that region lay extended thousands of Yojanas on all sides. Indeed, O blessed one, it was equipt with many walls made of pure gold and decked with jewels and gems. There were many fine tanks of water furnished with flights of stair-cases made of pure crystal, and many rivers of clear and transparent water. He saw also many trees with diverse species of birds perching on them. That perpetuator of Bhrigu's race behold the gate of that region which was full five Yojanas high and a hundred Yojanas in width. Beholding the region of the Nagas, Utanka became very cheerless. Indeed, he, despaired of getting back the earrings. Then there appeared unto him a black steed with a white tail. His face and eyes were of a coppery hue, O thou of Kuru's race, and he seemed to blaze forth with energy. Addressing Utanka, he said, 'Do thou blow into the Apana duct of my body. Thou wilt then, O learned Brahmana, get back thy ear-rings which have been taken away by a descendant of Airavata's race! Do not loathe to do my bidding, O son. Thou didst it often at the retreat of Gautama in former days.'

"Utanka said, 'How did I know thee in the retreat of my preceptor? Indeed, I wish to hear how I did in those days what thou biddest me do now.'

"The steed said, 'Know, O learned Brahmana, that I am the preceptor of thy preceptor, for I am the blazing Jatavedas (deity of fire). By thee I was often worshipped for the sake of thy preceptor, O child of Bhrigu's race, duly and with a pure heart and body. For that reason I shall accomplish what is for thy good. Do my bidding without delay.' Thus addressed by the deity of fire, Utanka did as he was directed. The deity then, gratified with him, blazed up for consuming everything. From the pores of his body, O Bharata, in consequence of his very nature, a thick smoke issued threatening terrors to the world of Nagas. With that mighty and wide-spreading smoke, O Bharata, everything became enveloped in gloom, so that nothing, O king, could any longer be seen in the world of the Nagas. Cries of woe were heard throughout the mansions of the Airavatas, uttered by the Nagas headed by Vasuki, O Janamejaya. Enveloped by that smoke, the palaces could no longer be seen, O Bharata. These resembled woods and hill

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overwhelmed by a thick forest. With eyes that were red in consequence of that smoke, and afflicted by the energy of the deity of fire, the Nagas came out of their mansions to the high-souled son of Bhrigu's race for ascertaining what was the matter. Having heard what the matter was from that ascetic of immeasurable energy, all the Nagas, with fear depicted on their eyes, offered him their worship according to due forms. Indeed, all the Nagas placing the old and the young one's before them, bowed unto him with their heads and joining their hands addressed him, saying, 'Be gratified with us, O holy one!' Having gratified that Brahmana and offered him water to wash his feet and the ingredients of the Arghya (for honouring him), the Nagas gave him those celestial and highly-adored ear-rings. Thus honoured by them, Utanka of great prowess, circumambulating the deity of fire, started for the retreat of his preceptor. Indeed, repairing quickly to Gautama's asylum, O king, he presented those ear-rings unto the wife of his preceptor, O sinless one. That best of Brahmanas also told his preceptor everything about Vasuki and the other Nagas that had occurred. It was even thus, O Janamejaya, that the high-souled Utanka, having wandered through the three worlds, fetched those jewelled ear-rings (for his preceptor's wife). Of such prowess, O chief of Bharata's race, was the ascetic Utanka. So austere were the penances with which he was endued. I have thus told thee what thou hadst asked me.'"

SECTION 59

"Janamejaya said, 'After having conferred that boon on Utanka, O foremost of regenerate persons, what did the mighty-armed Govinda of great celebrity next do?'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Having granted that boon to Utanka, Govinda, accompanied by Satyaki, proceeded to Dwaraka on his car drawn by his large steeds endued with great speed. Passing many lakes and rivers and forests and hills, he at last came upon the delightful city of Dwaravati. It was at the time, O king, when the festival of Raivataka had begun, that he of eyes like lotus-petals arrived with Satyaki as his companion. Adorned with many beautiful things and covered with diverse Koshas made of jewels and gems, the Raivataka hill shone, O king, with great splendour. That high mountain, decked with excellent garlands of gold and gay festoons of flowers, with many large trees that looked like the Kalpa trees of Indra's garden, and with many golden poles on which were lighted lamps, shone in beauty through day and night. By the caves and fountains the light was so great that it seemed to be broad day. On all sides beautiful flags waved on the air with little bells that jingled continuously. The entire hill resounded with the melodious songs of men and women. Raivataka presented a most charming prospect like Meru with all his jewels and gems. Men and women, excited and filled with delight, O Bharata, sang aloud. The swell of music that thus rose from that foremost of mountains seemed to touch the very heavens. Everywhere were heard spouts and loud whoops of men who were in all stages of excitement. The cackle of thousands of voices made that mountain delightful and charming. It was adorned with many shops and stalls filled with diverse viands and enjoyable articles. There were heaps of cloths and garlands, and the music of Vinas and flutes and Mridangas was heard everywhere. Food mixed with wines of diverse kinds was stored here and there. Gifts were being ceaselessly made to those that were distressed, or blind, or helpless. In consequence of all this, the festival of that mountain became highly auspicious. There were many sacred abodes built on the breast of that mountain, O hero, within which resided many men of righteous deeds. Even thus did the heroes of Vrishni's race sport in that festival of Raivataka. Equipt with those mansions, that mountain shone like a second Heaven. At the arrival of Krishna, O chief of Bharata's race, that prince of mountains resembled the blessed abode of Indra himself. Worshipped (by his relatives), Krishna then entered a beautiful mansion. Satyaki also went to his own quarters with a delighted soul. Govinda entered his residence after a long absence, having accomplished feats of great difficulty like Vasava amid the Danava host. The heroes of the Bhoja, Vrishni, and Andhaka races, all came forward to receive that high-souled one like the deities advancing to receive him of a hundred sacrifices. Endued with great intelligence, he honoured them in return and enquired after their welfare. With a gratified heart he then saluted his father and mother. The mighty-armed hero was embraced by both of them and comforted too (by numerous evidences of affection). He then took his seat with all the Vrishnis sitting around him. Having washed his feet and dispelled his fatigue, Krishna of mighty energy, as he sat there, then recounted the chief incidents of the great battle in answer to the questions put to him by his sire.'"

SECTION 60

"Vasudeva said, 'O thou of Vrishni's race, I have repeatedly heard men speaking of the wonderful battle (between the Kurus and the Pandavas). Thou, however, O mighty-armed one, hast witnessed it with thy own eyes. Do thou, therefore, O sinless one, describe the battle in detail. Indeed, tell me how that battle took place between the high-souled Pandavas (on the one side) and Bhishma and Karna and Kripa and Drona and Salya and others (on the other side), between, in fact, numerous other Kshatriyas well-skilled in aims, differing from one another in mien and attire, and hailing from diverse realms.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed by his sire, he of eyes like lotus-petals narrated, in the presence of his mother also, how the Kaurava heroes had been slain in battle.'

"Vasudeva said, 'The feats were highly wonderful that were achieved by those high-souled Kshatriyas. In consequence of their large number, they are incapable of being enumerated in even hundreds of years. I shall however, mention only the foremost of them. Do thou listen, therefore, to me as I mention in brief those feats achieved by the kings of Earth. O thou of godlike splendour. Bhishma of Kuru's race became the generalissimo, having eleven divisions of the Kaurava princes under his command, like Vasava of the celestial forces. Sikhandin of great intelligence, protected by the blessed Arjuna, became the leader of the seven divisions of the sons of Pandu. The battle between the Kurus and the Pandavas (under these leaders) raged for ten days. It was so fierce as to make one's hair stand on its end. Then Sikhandin, in great battle, aided by the wielder of Gandiva, slew, with innumerable arrows, the son of Ganga fighting bravely. Lying on a bed of arrows, Bhishma waited like an ascetic till the sun leaving his southward path entered on his northerly course when that hero gave up his life-breaths. Then Drona, that foremost of all persons conversant with arms, that greatest of men under Duryodhana, like Kavya himself of the lord of the Daityas, became generalissimo. That foremost of regenerate persons, ever boasting of his prowess in battle, was supported by the remnant of the Kaurava force consisting then of nine Akshauhinis, and protected by Kripa and Vrisha and others. Dhrishtadyumna conversant with many mighty weapons, and possessed of great intelligence, became the leader of the Pandavas. He was protected by Bhima like Varuna protected by Mitra. That high-souled hero, always desirous of measuring his strength with Drona, supported by the (remnant of the) Pandava army, and recollecting the wrongs inflicted (by Drona) on his sire (Drupada, the king of the Panchalas), achieved great feats in battle. In that encounter between Drona and the son of Prishata, the kings assembled from diverse realms were nearly exterminated. That furious battle lasted for five days. At the conclusion of that period, Drona, exhausted, succumbed to Dhrishtadyumna. After that, Karna became the generalissimo of Duryodhana's forces. He was supported in battle by the remnant of the Kaurava host which numbered five Akshauhinis. Of the sons of Pandu there were then three Akshauhinis. After the slaughter of innumerable heroes, protected by Arjuna, they came to battle. The Suta's son Karna, though a fierce warrior, encountering Partha, came to his end on the second day, like an insect encountering a blazing fire. After the fall of Karna, the Kauravas became dispirited and lost all energy. Numbering three Akshauhinis, they gathered round the ruler of the Madras. Having lost many car-warriors and elephants and horsemen, the remnant of the Pandava army, numbering one Akshauhini and penetrated with cheerlessness, supported Yudhishthira (as their leader). The king Yudhishthira, in the battle that ensued, achieved the most difficult feats and slew, before half the day was over, the king of the Madras. After the fall of Salya, the high-souled Sahadeva of immeasurable prowess slew Sakuni, the man who had brought about the quarrel (between the Pandavas and the Kurus). After the fall of Sakuni, the royal son of Dhritarashtra, whose army had suffered an extensive carnage and who on that account had become exceedingly cheerless, fled from the field, armed with his mace. Then Bhimasena of great prowess, filled with wrath, pursued him and discovered him within the waters of the Dwaipayana lake. With the remnant of their army, the Pandavas surrounded the lake and, filled with joy, encountered Duryodhana concealed within the waters. Their wordy shafts, penetrating through the waters, pierced Duryodhana. Rising up from the lake, the latter approached the Pandavas, armed with his mace, desirous of battle. Then, in the great battle that ensued, the royal son of Dhritarashtra was slain by Bhimasena who put forth his great prowess, in the presence of many kings. After this the remnant of the Pandava army, as it slept in the camp, was slaughtered at night time by Drona's son who was unable to put up with the slaughter of his father (at the hands of Dhrishtadyumna). Their sons slain, their forces slain, only the five sons of Pandu are alive with myself and Yuyudhana. With Kripa and the Bhoja prince Kritavarman, the son of Drona represents the unslain remnant of the Kaurava army. Dhritarashtra's son Yuyutsu also escaped slaughter in consequence of his having adopted the side of the Pandavas. Upon the slaughter of the Kaurava king (Suyodhana) with all his followers and allies, Vidura and Sanjaya have come to the presence of king Yudhishthira the just. Even thus did that battle occur, O lord, for eight and ten days. Many kings of Earth, slain therein, have ascended to Heaven.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'The Vrishnis, as they heard, O king, that dreadful account became filled with grief and sorrow and pain.'

SECTION 61

"Vaisampayana said, 'After the high-souled Vasudeva of great prowess had finished his narration of the great battle of the Bharatas before his sire, it was plain that that hero had passed over the slaughter of Abhimanyu. The motive of the high-souled one was that his sire might not hear what was highly unpleasant to him. Indeed, the intelligent Krishna did not wish that his sire Vasudeva should, on hearing the dreadful intelligence of the death of his daughter's son, be afflicted with sorrow and grief. (His sister) Subhadra, noticing that the slaughter of her son had not been mentioned, addressed her brother, saying,--Do thou narrate the death of my son, O Krishna--and fell down on the earth (in a swoon). Vasudeva beheld his daughter fallen on the ground. As soon as he saw this, he also fell down, deprived of his senses by grief. (Regaining his senses) Vasudeva, afflicted with grief at the death of his daughter's son, O king, addressed Krishna, saying, 'O lotus-eyed one, thou art famed on Earth for being truthful in speech. Why, however, O slayer of foes, dost thou not tell me today of the death of my daughter's son? O puissant one, tell me in detail of the slaughter of thy sister's son. Possessed of eyes resembling thine, alas, how was he slain in battle by foes? Since my heart does not from grief break into a hundred pieces, it seems, O thou of the Vrishni's race, that it does not die with men when its hour does not come. Oh, at the time of his fall, what words did he utter; apostrophising his mother? O lotus-eyed one what did that darling of mine, possessed of restless eyes, say unto me? I hope he has not been slain by foes while retreating from battle with his back towards them? I hope, O Govinda, that, his face did not become cheerless while fighting? He was possessed, O Krishna, of mighty energy. From a spirit of boyishness, that puissant hero, boasting (of his prowess) in my presence, used to speak of his skill (in battle). I hope that boy does not lie on the field, slain deceitfully by Drona and Karna and Kripa and others? Do thou tell me this. That son of my daughter always used to challenge Bhishma and that foremost of all mighty warriors, viz., Karna, in battle.' Unto his sire who, from excess of grief, indulged in such lamentations, Govinda, more afflicted than he answered in these words. 'His face did not become cheerless as he fought in the van of battle. Fierce though that battle was, he did not turn his back upon it. Having slain hundreds and thousands of kings of Earth, he was brought to grief by Drona and Karna and at last succumbed to the son of Dussasana. If, O lord, he had been encountered, one to one, without intermission, he was incapable of being slain in battle by even the wielder of the thunderbolt. When his sire Arjuna was withdrawn from the main body by the Samsaptakas (who challenged to fight him separately), Abhimanyu was surrounded by the enraged Kaurava heroes headed by Drona in battle. Then, O sire, after he had slaughtered a very large number of foes in battle, thy daughter's son at last succumbed to the son of Dussasana. Without doubt, he has gone to Heaven. Kill this grief of thine, O thou of great intelligence. They that are of cleansed understandings never languish when they meet with any calamity. He by whom Drona and Karna and others were checked in battle,--heroes that were equal to Indra himself in might--why would not he ascend to Heaven? O irresistible one, do thou kill this grief of thine. Do not suffer thyself to be swayed by wrath. That conqueror of hostile cities has attained in that sanctified goal which depends upon death at the edge of weapons. After the fall of that hero, this my sister Subhadra stricken with grief, indulged in loud lamentations, when she saw Kunti, like a female ospray. When she met Draupadi, she asked her in grief,--O reverend lady, where are all our sons? I desire to behold them. Hearing her lamentations, all the Kaurava ladies embraced her and wept sitting around her. Beholding (her daughter-in-law) Uttara, she said,--'O blessed girl, where has thy husband gone? When he comes back, do thou, without losing a moment, apprise me of it. Alas, O daughter of Virata, as soon he heard my voice, he used to come out of his chamber without the loss of a moment. Why does not thy husband come out today? Alas, O Abhimanyu, thy maternal uncles--mighty car-warriors--are all hale. They used to bless thee when they saw thee come here prepared to go out for battle. Do thou tell me the incidents of battle today as before, O chastiser of foes. Oh. why dost thou not answer me today--me who am weeping so bitterly?'--Hearing these lamentations of this daughter of the Vrishni race, Pritha, deeply afflicted with grief, addressed her and slowly said,--'O Subhadra, though protected by Vasudeva and Satyaki and by his own sire, thy youthful son has yet been slain. That slaughter is due to the influence of Time! O daughter of Yadu's race, mortal thy son was. Do not grieve. Irresistible in battle, thy son has, without doubt, attained to the highest goal. Thou art born in a high race of high-souled Kshatriyas. Do not grieve, O thou of restless glances, O girl of eyes like lotus-petals. Do thou cast thy eyes on Uttara who is quick with child. O blessed lady, do not yield to sorrow. This auspicious girl will soon bring forth

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a son to that hero. Having comforted her in this way, Kunti, conversant with every duty, O perpetuator of Yadu's race, casting off her grief, O irresistible one, made arrangements for Abhimanyu's obsequial rites, with the acquiescence of king Yudhishthira and Bhima, and the twins (viz., Nakula and Sahadeva) who in prowess resembled Yama himself. She also made many presents unto the Brahmanas, and bestowed upon them many kine, O perpetuator of Yadu's race, Then the Vrishni dame (Kunti), comforted a little, addressed the daughter of Virata, saying,--O faultless daughter of Virata, thou shouldst not indulge in grief. For the sake of thy husband, O thou of rotund hips, protect the child in thy womb.--Having said these words, O thou of great splendour, Kunti ceased. With her permission I have brought Subhadra here. It was even thus, O giver of honours, that thy daughter's son met with his death. Cast off thy burning grief, O irresistible one. Indeed, do not set thy heart on sorrow.'

SECTION 62

"Vaisampayana said, 'Having heard these words of his son Vasudeva, that descendant of Sura, of righteous soul, casting off his grief, made excellent obsequial offerings (unto Abhimanyu). Vasudeva also performed those rites for the ascension (to Heaven) of his high-souled nephew, that hero who was ever the darling of his sire (Vasudeva). He duly fed six millions of Brahmanas, endued with great energy, with edibles possessed of every recommendation. Presenting many clothes unto them, Krishna gratified the thirst for wealth of those Brahmanas. Wonderful were the heaps of gold, the number of kine and of beds and clothes, that were then given away. The Brahmanas loudly declared--'Let (Krishna's wealth) increase.' Then Vasudeva of Dasarha's race, and Valadeva, and Satyaki, and Satyaka, each performed the obsequial rites of Abhimanyu. Exceedingly afflicted with grief, they failed to attain comfort. The same was the case with the sons of Pandu in the city called after the elephant. Deprived of Abhimanyu, they failed to obtain peace of mind. The daughter of Virata, O monarch, for many days, totally abstained from all food, exceedingly afflicted by grief on account of the death of her husband. At this all her relatives became plunged into excess of grief. They all feared that the embryo in her womb might be destroyed. Then Vyasa, ascertaining the state of things by his spiritual vision, came there. The highly intelligent Rishi, endued with great energy, arrived (at the palace), addressed Pritha of large eyes, as also Uttara herself, saying,--'Let this grief be abandoned. O famous lady, a son endued with mighty energy will be born to thee, through the puissance of Vasudeva and at my word. That son will rule the Earth after the Pandavas (have departed from it).' Beholding Dhananjaya, he said unto him, in the hearing of king Yudhishthira the just, and gladdening him with his words, 'O Bharata.--'The grandson, O highly blessed one, will become a high-souled prince. He will righteously rule the whole Earth to the verge of the sea. Therefore, O foremost one of Kuru's race, cast off this grief, O mower of foes. Do not doubt this. This will truly happen. That which was uttered by the Vrishni hero on a former occasion, will, without doubt, happen. Do not think otherwise. As regards Abhimanyu, he has gone to the regions of the deities, conquered by him with his own acts. That hero should not be grieved for by thee or, indeed, by the other Kurus.' Thus addressed by his grandsire, Dhananjaya of righteous soul, O king, cast off his grief and even became cheerful. Thy sire, O prince, that art conversant with all duties, began to grow in that womb, O thou of great intelligence, like the Moon in the lighted fortnight. Then Vyasa urged the royal son of Dharma for performing the horse-sacrifice. Having said so, he made himself invisible there and then. The intelligent king Yudhishthira the just, hearing the words of Vyasa, set his mind on the journey for bringing wealth (for the sacrifice).'"

SECTION 63

"Janamejaya said, 'Having heard these words, O regenerate one, that were spoken by the high-souled Vyasa in respect of the horse-sacrifice, what steps were taken by Yudhishthira? Do thou tell me, O foremost of regenerate ones, how the king succeeded in obtaining the wealth which Marutta had buried in the Earth.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Having heard the words of the Island-born ascetic, king Yudhishthira the just, summoned all his brothers, viz., Arjuna and Bhimasena and the twin sons of Madri, in proper time and then said unto them (the following words),--'Ye heroes, you have heard the words which the highly intelligent and high-souled Krishna has said from his friendship for and the desire of doing good to the Kurus! [Krishna implies Vyasa here. The great Rishi was called 'the island-born Krishna'.] Verily, you have heard those words that have been uttered by that ascetic of abundant penances, that great sage desirous of bestowing prosperity on his friends, that preceptor of righteous behaviour, viz., Vyasa of wonderful feats. You have heard what Bhishma also said, and what Govinda too of great intelligence has uttered. Remembering those words, ye gong of Pandu, I desire to obey them duly. By obeying those words of theirs great blessedness will attach to all of you. Those words spoken by those utterers of Brahma are certain (if obeyed) to bring in their train considerable benefit. Ye perpetuators of Kuru's race, the Earth has become divested of her wealth. Ye kings, Vyasa, therefore, informed us of the wealth (that lies buried in the Earth) of Marutta. If you think that wealth abundant or sufficient, how shall we bring it (to our capital)? What, O Bhima, dost thou think as regards this? When the king, O perpetuator of Kuru's race, said these words, Bhimasena, joining his hands, said these words in reply,--'The words thou hast said, O thou of mighty-arms, on the subject of bringing the wealth indicated by Vyasa, are approved by me. If, O puissant one, we succeed in getting the wealth kept there by the son of Avikshita, then this sacrifice, O king, purposed by us will be easily accomplished. Even this is what I think. We shall, therefore, bowing our heads unto the high-souled Girisa, and offering due worship unto that deity, bring that wealth. Blessed be thou. Gratifying that god of gods, as also his companions and followers, in words, thought, and deed, we shall, without doubt, obtain that wealth. Those Kinnaras of fierce mien who are protecting that treasure will certainly yield to us if the great deity having the bull for his sign become gratified with us!'--Hearing these words uttered by Bhima, O Bharata, king Yudhishthira the son of Dharma became highly pleased. The others, headed by Arjuna, at the same time, said, 'So be it.' The Pandavas then, having resolved to bring that wealth, ordered their forces to march under the constellation Dhruba and on the day called by the same name. Causing the Brahmanas to utter benedictions on them, and having duly worshipped the great god Maheswara, the sons of Pandu get out (on their enterprise). Gratifying that high-souled deity with Modakas and frumenty and with cakes made of meat, the sons of Pandu set out with cheerful hearts. While they thus set out, the citizen, and many foremost of Brahmanas, with cheerful hearts, uttered auspicious blessings (on their heads). The Pandavas, circumambulating many Brahmanas that daily worshipped their fires, and bending their heads unto them, proceeded on their journey. Taking the permission of king Dhritarashtra who was afflicted with grief on account of the death of his sons, his queen (Gandhari), and Pritha also of large eyes, and keeping the Kaurava prince Yuyutsu, the son of Dhritarashtra, in the capital, they set out, worshipped by the citizens and by many Brahmanas possessed of great wisdom.'"

SECTION 64

"Vaisampayana said, 'They then set out, with cheerful hearts, and accompanied by men and animals all of whom and which were equally cheerful. They filled the whole Earth with the loud clatter of their wheels. Their praises hymned by eulogists and Sutas and Magadhas and bards, and supported by their own army, they looked like so many Adityas adorned with their own rays. With the white umbrella held over his head, king Yudhishthira shone with beauty like the lord of the stars on the night when he is at full. That foremost of men, the eldest son of Pandu, accepted, with due forms, the blessings and cheers of his gladdened subjects as he proceeded on his way. As regards the soldiers that followed the king, their confused murmurs seemed to fill the entire welkin. That host crossed many lakes and rivers and forests and pleasure gardens. They at last came upon the mountains. Arrived at that region where that wealth was buried, O king, the royal Yudhishthira fixed his camp with all his brothers and troops. The region selected for the purpose, O chief of Bharata's race, was perfectly level and auspicious There the king pitched his camp, placing in his van such Brahmanas as were endued with penances and learning and self-restraint, as also his priest Agnivesya, O thou of Kuru's race, who was well-conversant with the Vedas and all their branches. [Agnivesya was another name of Dhaumya.] Then the royal sons of Pandu, and the other kings (who accompanied that expedition), and the Brahmanas and priests well-skilled in sacrificial rites, having duly performed same propitiatory ceremonies, spread themselves all over that spot. Having duly placed the king and his ministers in the middle, the Brahmanas caused the camp to be pitched by laying out six roads and nine divisions. [Three roads running north to south, and three running cast to west and intersecting the former, are the six roads that are directed to be laid out in pitching encampments. Those give nine squares with two boundary lines at right angles with each other.] King Yudhishthira caused a separate encampment to be duly made for the infuriate elephants that accompanied his force. When everything was complete, he addressed the Brahmanas, saying, 'Ye foremost of Brahmanas, let that be done which you think should be done in view of the matter at hand. Indeed, let an auspicious day and constellation be fixed for it. Let not a long time pass away over our heads as we wait in suspense here. Ye foremost of learned Brahmanas, having formed this resolution, let that be done which should be done after this.' Hearing these words of the king, the Brahmanas with those amongst them that were well-skilled in the performance of religious rites, became filled with gladness and desirous of doing what was agreeable to king Yudhishthira the just, said these words in reply, 'This very day is, an auspicious one with an auspicious constellation. We shall, therefore, strive to accomplish those high rites we propose. We shall today, O king, live upon water alone. Do you all fast also today' Hearing those words of those foremost Brahmanas, the royal sons of Pandu passed that night, abstaining from all food, and lying confidently on beds of Kusa grass, like blazing fires in a sacrifice. And the night wore away as they listened to the discourses of the learned Brahmanas (on diverse subjects). When the cloudless morning came, those foremost of Brahmanas addressed the royal son of Dharma (saying as follows).'

SECTION 65

"'The Brahmanas said, 'Let offerings be made unto the high-souled Mahadeva of three eyes. Having duly dedicated those offerings, O king, we shall then strive to gain our object.' Hearing these words of those Brahmanas, Yudhishthira caused offerings to be duly made unto that deity who loved to lie down on mountain-breasts. Gratifying the (sacrificial) fire with (libations of) sanctified butter according to the ordinance, the priest (Dhaumya) cooked Charu with the aid of Mantras and performed the necessary rites. He took up many flowers and sanctified them with Mantras, O king. With Modakas and frumenty and meat, he made offerings to the deity. With diverse kinds of flowers and with fried paddy, of very superior kind, Dhaumya, well-versed in the Vedas, performed the remaining rites. He next presented offerings according to the ordinance unto those ghostly beings who formed Mahadeva's train. And offerings were next made to Kuvera, the chief of the Yakshas, and unto Manibhadra also. Unto the other Yakshas also and unto them that were the foremost ones among the ghostly companions of Mahadeva, the priest offered due worship, having filled many jugs with food, with Krisaras and meat and Nivapas mixed with sesame seeds. The king gave away unto the Brahmanas thousands of kine. He then directed the presentation, according to due rites, of offerings unto those night-wandering beings (who live with Mahadeva). Surcharged, as it were, with the scent of Dhupas, and filled with the fragrance of flowers, that region, sacred to the deity of deities, O king, became exceedingly delightful. Having performed the worship of Rudra and of all the Ganas, the king, placing Vyasa ahead, proceeded towards the place where the treasure was buried. Once more worshipping the Lord of treasures, and bowing unto him with reverence and saluting him properly, with diverse kinds of flowers and cakes and Krisara, having worshipped those foremost of gems, viz., Sankha and Nidhi, and those Yakshas who are the lords of gems, and having worshipped many foremost of Brahmanas and caused them to utter blessings, the king endued with great puissance, strengthened by the energy and the auspicious benedictions of those Brahmanas, caused that spot to be excavated. Then numerous vessels of diverse and delightful forms, and Bhringaras and Katahas and Kalasas and Bardhamanakas, and innumerable Bhajanas of beautiful forms, were dug out by king Yudhishthira the just. The wealth thus dug out was placed in large 'Karaputas' for protection. [Karaputa is made up of two wooden chests united with each other by chains or cords and intended to be borne by camels and bullocks.] A portion of the wealth was caused to be borne upon the shoulders of men in stout balances of wood with baskets slung like scales at both ends. Indeed, O king, there were other methods of conveyance there for bearing away that wealth of the son of Pandu. [The first line of 17 is exceedingly terse. Literally rendered, it runs,--'Each vessel was united with another, and became half the (total) weight slung on balance.'] There were sixty thousands of camels and a hundred and twenty thousand horses, and of elephants, O monarch, there were one hundred thousand. Of cars there were as many, and of carts, too as many, and of she-elephants as many. Of mules and men the number was untold. That wealth which Yudhishthira caused to be dugout was even so much. Sixteen thousand coins were placed on the back of each camel; eight thousand on each car; four and twenty thousand on each elephant; (while proportionate loads were placed on horses and mules and on the backs, shoulder and heads of men). Having loaded these vehicles with that wealth and once more worshipping the great deity Siva, the son of Pandu set out for the city called after the elephant, with the permission of the Island-born Rishi, and placing his priest Dhaumya in the van. That foremost of men, viz., the royal son of Pandu, made short marches everyday, measured by a Goyuta (4 miles, 6 km). That mighty host, O king, afflicted with the weight they bore, returned, bearing that wealth, towards the capital, gladdening the hearts of all those perpetuators of the Kuru race.'"

SECTION 66

"Vaisampayana said, 'Meanwhile, Vasudeva of great energy accompanied by the Vrishnis, came to the city called after the elephant. While leaving that city for returning to his own Dwaraka, he had been requested by the son of Dharma to come back. Hence, knowing that the time fixed for the horse-sacrifice had come, that foremost of men came back (to the Kuru capital). Accompanied by the son of Rukmini, by

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Yuyudhana, by Charudeshna, by Samva, by Gada, by Kritavarman, by the heroic Sarana, by Nisatha, and by the Unmukha, Vasudeva came with Valadeva at the head of the train, with Subhadra also accompanying him. Indeed, that hero came for seeing Draupadi and Uttara and Pirtha and for comforting those Kshatriya ladies of distinction who had been bereft of many of their protectors. Beholding those heroes come, king Dhritarashtra, as also the high-souled Vidura, received them with due honours. That foremost of men, viz., Krishna of great energy, well adored by Vidura and Yuyutsu, continued to reside in the Kuru capital. It was while the Vrishni heroes, O Janamejaya, were residing in the Kuru city, O king, that thy sire, that slayer of hostile heroes, was born. The royal Parikshit, O monarch, afflicted by the Brahma weapon (of Aswatthaman), upon coming out of the womb, lay still and motionless, for life he had not. By his birth he had gladdened the citizens but soon plunged them into grief. The citizens, learning of the birth of the prince, uttered a leonine shout. That noise proceeded to the utmost verge of every point of the compass. Soon, however, (when it was known that the prince was bereft of life), that noise ceased. With great haste Krishna, his senses and mind considerably affected, with Yuyudhana in his company, entered the inner apartments of the palace. He beheld his own paternal aunt (Kunti) coming, loudly weeping and calling upon him repeatedly. Behind her were Draupadi and the famous Subhadra, and the wives of the relatives of the Pandavas, all weeping piteously. Meeting Krishna, Kunti, that daughter of the Bhoja race, said unto him, O foremost of monarchs, these words in a voice chocked with tears, 'O Vasudeva, O mighty-armed hero, Devaki by having borne thee, has come to be regarded as an excellent genetrix. Thou art our refuge, and our glory. This race (of Pandu) depends upon thee for its protector. O Yadava hero, O puissant one, this child of thy sister's son, has come out of the womb, slain by Aswatthaman. O Kesava, do thou revive him. O delighter of the Yadavas, even this was vowed by thee, O puissant one, when Aswatthaman had inspired the blade of grass into a Brahma-weapon of mighty energy. Indeed, O Kesava, thy words were even these, I shall revive that child if he comes out of the womb dead.--That child, O son, has been born dead. Behold him, O foremost of men. It behoveth thee, O Madhava, to rescue Uttara and Subhadra and Draupadi and myself, and Dharma's son (Yudhishthira), and Bhima and Phalguna, and Nakula, and the irresistible Sahadeva. In this child are bound the life-breaths of the Pandavas and myself. O thou of the Dasarha race, on him depends the obsequial cake of Pandu, as also of my father-in-law, and of Abhimanyu too, blessed be thou, that darling nephew of thine who was so very like unto thee. Do thou accomplish today what will be beneficial to all these. I urge thee earnestly, O Janarddana. Uttara, O slayer of foes, always repeats the words said unto her by Abhimanyu. Without doubt, O Krishna, those words were highly agreeable to her. O thou of the Dasarha race, Arjuna's son said unto this daughter of Virata,--Thy son, O blessed girl, will go to my maternal uncles. Taking up his residence with the Vrishnis and Andhakas, he will obtain from them the science of arms, indeed, diverse wonderful weapons and the whole of the science of politics and morality. Even these were the words, O son, that that slayer of hostile heroes, viz., the son of Subhadra, that irresistible hero, said unto Uttara. from his affection for her. O slayer of Madhu, bowing our heads unto thee, we pray thee for making those words of Abhimanyu true. In view also of the time that has come, do thou accomplish what is highly beneficial. Having said these words unto that hero of the Vrishni's race, Pritha of large eyes, raised her arms upwards and with the other ladies in her company, fell down on the Earth. All of them, with eyes rendered muddy by tears, repeatedly exclaimed, saying, 'Alas, the son of Vasudeva's nephew has been born dead.' After Kunti had said so, Janarddana took hold of her, O Bharata, and gently raising her from the Earth, comforted her as follows.'"

SECTION 67

"Vaisampayana said, 'After Kunti had sat up, Subhadra, beholding her brother, began to weep aloud, and afflicted with excessive grief, said,--'O thou of eyes like lotus petals, behold the grandson of Arjuna of great intelligence. Alas, the Kuru race having been thinned, a child has been born that is feeble and dead. The blade of grass (inspired into a weapon of great efficacy), uplifted by Drona's son for compassing the destruction of Bhimasena, fell upon Uttara and Vijaya and myself. [Vilava is Arjuna.] Alas, that blade, O Kesava, is still existing unextracted in me, after having pierced my heart, since I do not, O irresistible hero, behold this child with (his sire who was) my son. What will the righteous-souled king Yudhishthira the just say? What will Bhimasena and Arjuna and the two sons of Madravati also say? Hearing that Abhimanyu's son was born and dead, the Pandavas, O thou of Vrishni's race, will regard themselves as cheated by Aswatthaman. Abhimanyu, O Krishna, was the favourite of all the Pandava brothers, without doubt. Hearing this intelligence, what will those heroes, vanquished by the weapon of Drona's son say? What grief, O Janarddana, can be greater than this viz., that Abhimanyu's son should be born dead! Bowing unto thee with my head, O Krishna, I seek to gratify thee today. Behold, O foremost of men, these two standing here, viz., Pritha and Draupadi. When, O Madhava, the son of Drona sought to destroy the embryos even in the wombs of the ladies of the Pandavas, at that time, O grinder of foes, thou saidst in wrath unto Drona's son (ever these words), 'O wretch of a Brahmana, O vilest of men, I shall disappoint thy wish. I shall revive the son of Kiritin's son.' Hearing these words of thine and well knowing thy puissance, I seek to gratify thee, O irresistible hero. Let the son of Abhimanyu be revived. It having pledged thyself previously thou dost not accomplish thy auspicious vow, do thou then know for certain, O chief of the Vrishni race, that I shall cast off my life. If, O hero, this son of Abhimanyu doth not revive when thou, O irresistible one, art alive and near, of what other use wilt thou be to me? Do thou, therefore, O irresistible one, revive this son of Abhimanyu,--this child possessed of eyes similar to his,--'even as a rain-charged cloud revives the lifeless crops (on a field). Thou, O Kesava, art righteous-souled, truthful, and of prowess incapable of being baffled. It behoveth thee, O chastiser of foes, to make thy words truthful. If only thou wishest it, thou canst revive the three worlds (of being) if dead. What need I say, therefore, of this darling child, born but dead, of thy sister's son? I know thy puissance, O Krishna. Therefore, do I solicit thee. Do thou show this great favour to the sons of Pandu. It behoveth thee, O mighty-armed one, to show compassion to this Uttara or to me, thinking that I am thy sister or even a mother that hath lost her son, and one that hath thrown herself upon thy protection.'"

SECTION 68

"Vaisampayana said, 'Thus addressed, O king, (by his sister and others), the slayer of Kesin, exceedingly afflicted by grief, answered,--'So be it!'--These words were uttered with sufficient loudness and they gladdened all the inmates of the inner apartments of the palace. The puissant Krishna, that foremost of men, by uttering these words, gladdened all the people assembled there, like one pouring cold water on a person afflicted with sweat. He then quickly entered the lying-in room in which thy sire was born. It was duly sanctified, O chief of men, with many garlands of white flowers, with many well-filled water pots arranged on every side; with charcoal, soaked in ghee, of Tinduka wood, and mustard seeds, O thou of mighty arms; with shining weapons properly arrayed, and several fires on every side. And it was peopled by many agreeable and aged dames summoned for waiting (upon thy grandmother). It was also surrounded by many well-skilled and clever physicians, O thou of great intelligence. Endued with great energy, he also saw there all articles that are destructive of Rakshasas, duly placed by persons conversant with the subject. Beholding the lying-in room in which thy sire was born thus equipt, Hrishikesa became very glad and said,--'Excellent, Excellent!' When he of Vrishni's race said so and presented such a cheerful countenance, Draupadi, repairing thither with great speed, addressed the daughter of Virata, saying,--'O blessed lady, here comes to thee thy father-in-law, the slayer of Madhu, that ancient Rishi of inconceivable soul, that unvanquished one.'--Virata's daughter, checking her tears, said these words in a voice suffocated with grief. Covering herself properly, the princess waited for Krishna like the deities reverentially waiting for him. The helpless lady, with heart agitated by grief, beholding Govinda coming, indulged in these lamentations; O lotus-eyed one, behold us two deprived of our child. O Janarddana, both Abhimanyu and myself have been equally slain. O thou of Vrishni's race, O slayer of Madhu, I seek to gratify thee by bending my head, O hero, unto thee. Do thou revive this child of mine that has been consumed by the weapon of Drona's son. If king Yudhishthira the just, or Bhimasena, or thyself, O lotus-eyed one, had, on that occasion, said, 'Let the blade of grass (inspired by Aswatthaman into a Brahma-weapon) destroy the unconscious mother'--O puissant one, then I would have been destroyed and this (sad occurrence) would not have happened. Alas, what benefit has been reaped by Drona's son by accomplishing this cruel deed, viz., the destruction of the child in the womb by his Brahma-weapon. The self-same mother now seeks to gratify thee, O slayer of foes, by bending her head. Surely, O Govinda, I shall cast off my life-breaths if this child does not revive. In him, O righteous one, were placed many expectations by me. Alas, when these have been frustrated by Drona's son, what need have I, O Kesava, to bear, the burden of life? The hope, O Krishna, was cherished by me that with my child on my lap, O Janarddana, I would salute thee with reverence. Alas, O Kesava, that hope has been destroyed. O foremost of all beings, at the death of this heir of Abhimanyu of restless eyes, all the hopes in my breast have been destroyed. Abhimanyu of restless eyes, O slayer of Madhu, was exceedingly dear to thee. Behold this child of his slain by the Brahma-weapon. This child is very ungrateful and very heartless, like his sire, for, behold, disregarding the prosperity and affluence of the Pandavas, he has gone to Yama's abode. I had, before this, vowed, O Kesava, that if Abhimanyu fell on the field of battle, O hero, I would follow him without any loss of time. I did not, however, keep my vow, cruel that I am and fond of life. If I repair to him now, what, indeed, will Phalguna's son say?'"

SECTION 69

"Vaisampayana said, 'The helpless Uttara, desirous of getting back her child, having indulged in these piteous lamentations, fell down in affliction on the earth like a demented creature. Beholding the princess fallen on the earth deprived of her son and with her body uncovered, Kunti as also all the (other) Bharata ladies deeply afflicted, began to weep aloud. Resounding with the voice of lamentation, the palace of the Pandavas, O king, was soon converted into a mansion of sorrow where nobody could remain. Exceedingly afflicted by grief on account of her son, Virata's daughter, O king, seemed to be struck down for some time by sorrow and cheerlessness. Regaining consciousness, O chief of Bharata's race, Uttara took up her child on her lap and said these words: Thou art the child of one who was conversant with every duty. Art thou not conscious then of the sin thou committest, since thou dost not salute this foremost one of the Vrishni's race? O son, repairing to thy sire tell him these words of mine, viz.,--it is difficult for living creatures to die before their time comes, since though reft of thee, my husband, and now deprived of my child also, I am yet alive when I should die, unendued as I am with everything auspicious and everything possessed of value.--O mighty-armed one, with the permission of king Yudhishthira the just I shall swallow some virulent poison or cast myself on the blazing fire. O sire, difficult of destruction is my heart since, though I am deprived of husband and child, that heart of mine does not yet break into a thousand pieces. Rise, O son and behold this thy afflicted great-grandmother. She is deeply afflicted with grief, bathed in tears, exceedingly cheerless, and plunged in an ocean of sorrow. Behold the reverend princess of Panchala, and the helpless princess of the Satwata race. Behold myself, exceedingly afflicted with grief, and resembling a deer pierced by a hunter. Rise, O child, and behold the face of this lord of the worlds, that is endued with great wisdom, and possessed of eyes like lotus-petals and resembling thy sire of restless glance. Beholding Uttara, who indulged in these lamentations, fallen on the earth, all those ladies, raising her, caused her to sit up. Having sat up, the daughter of the king of the Matsyas, summoning her patience, joined her hands in reverence and touched the earth with her head for saluting Kesava of eyes like the petals of the lotus. That foremost of beings, hearing those heart-rending lamentations of hers, touched water and withdrew the (force of the) Brahma-weapon. [Before performing any rite or act of a grave nature, Hindus are required to touch water or perform what is called the 'achamana'. A little quantity of water is taken on the palm of the right hand, and with it are touched the lips, the nostrils, the ears, and the eyes.] That hero of unfading glory, belonging to the race of the Dasarhas, promised to give the child his life. Then he of pure soul, said these words in the hearing of the whole universe,--'O Uttara, I never utter an untruth. My words will prove true. I shall revive this child in the presence of all creatures. Never before have I uttered an untruth even in jest. Never have I turned back from battle. (By the merit of those acts) let this child revive! As righteousness is dear to me, as Brahmanas are specially dear to me, (by the merit of that disposition of mine) let Abhimanyu's son, who is born dead, revive! Never hath a misunderstanding arisen between me and my friend Vijaya. Let this dead child revive by that truth! As truth and righteousness are always established in me, let this dead child of Abhimanyu revive (by the merit of these)! As Kansa and Kesi have been righteously slain by me, let this child revive today by that truth!' After these words were uttered by Vasudeva, that child, O foremost one of Bharata's race, became animate and began gradually to move, O monarch.'

SECTION 70

"Vaisampayana said, 'When the Brahma-weapon was withdrawn by Krishna, at that time, the laying-in room was illumined by thy father with his energy. All the Rakshasas (that had come there) were forced to leave the room and many of them met with destruction. In the welkin a voice was heard, saying, 'Excellent, O Kesava, Excellent!'--The blazing Brahma-weapon then returned to the Grandsire (of all the worlds). Thy sire got back his life-breaths, O king. The child began to move according to his energy and might. The Bharata ladies became filled with joy. At the command of Govinda, the Brahmanas were made to utter benedictions. All the ladies, filled with joy, praised Janarddana. Indeed, the wives of those Bharata lions, viz., Kunti and Drupada's daughter and Subhadra, and Uttara, and the wives of other lions among men, like (ship-wrecked) persons who have reached the shore after having obtained a boat, became exceedingly glad. Then wrestlers and actors and astrologers and those who enquire after the slumbers (of princes), and bands of bards and eulogists all uttered the praises of Janarddana, while uttering benedictions fraught with the

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praises of the Kuru race, O chief of the Bharatas. Uttara, rising up at the proper time, with a delighted heart and bearing her child in her arms, reverentially saluted the delighter of the Yadus. Rejoicing greatly, Krishna made gifts unto the child of many valuable gems. The other chiefs of the Vrishni race, did the same. Then the puissant Janarddana, firmly adhering to truth, bestowed a name on the infant who was thy sire, O monarch.--'Since this child of Abhimanyu has been born at a time when this race has become nearly extinct, let his name be Parikshit!' Even this is what he said. Then thy father, O king, began to grow, and gladden all the people, O Bharata. When thy father was a month old, O hero, the Pandavas came back to their capital, bringing with them a profusion of wealth. Hearing that the Pandavas were near, those foremost ones of the Vrishni race went out. The citizens decked the city called after the elephant with garlands of flowers in profusions, with beautiful pennons and standards of diverse kinds. The citizens also, O king, adorned their respective mansions. Desirous of doing what was beneficial to the sons of Pandu, Vidura ordered diverse kinds of worship to be offered to the deities established in their respective temples. The principal streets of the city were adorned with flowers. Indeed, the city was filled with the hum of thousands of voices which resembled the softened roar of distant ocean waves. With dancers all engaged in their vocation, and with the voice of singers, the (Kuru) city then resembled the mansion of Vaisravana himself. [The abode of Vaisravana is called Alaka. Vaisravana is, of course, Kuvera, the lord of treasures, friend of Mahadeva, and chief of the Yakshas.] Bards and eulogists, O king, accompanied by beautiful women were seen to adorn diverse retired spots in the city. The pennons were caused by the wind to float gaily on every part of the city, as if bent upon showing the Kurus the southern and the northern points of the compass. All the officers also of the government loudly proclaimed that that was to be a day of rejoicing for the entire kingdom as an indication of the success of the enterprise for bringing a profusion of gems and other valuables.'"

SECTION 71

Vaisampayana, said, 'Hearing that the Pandavas were near, that crusher of foes, viz., Vasudeva, accompanied by his ministers, went out for seeing them. The Pandavas then, uniting with the Vrishnis according to the usual formalities, together entered, O king, the city named after the elephant. With the hum of voices and the clatter of cars of that mighty host, the Earth and the welkin, and the firmament itself, became as it were entirely filled. The Pandavas, with rejoicing hearts, accompanied by their officers and friends entered the capital, placing that treasure in their van. Repairing, agreeably to custom, to king Dhritarashtra first, they worshipped his feet, announcing their respective names. Those foremost ones of Bharata's race, O chief of kings, then paid their respectful salutations to Gandhari, the daughter of Suvala and to Kunti, They next worshipped (their uncle) Vidura and met Yuyutsu, the son of Dhritarashtra by his Vaisya wife. Those heroes were then worshipped by others and they blazed forth in beauty, O king. After this, O Bharata, those heroes heard the tidings of that highly wonderful and marvellous and glad-some birth of thy father. Hearing of that feat of Vasudeva of great intelligence, they all worshipped Krishna, the delighter of Devaki, who was every way worthy of worship. Then, after a few days, Vyasa, the son of Satyavati, endued with great energy, came to the city named after the elephant. The perpetuators of Kuru's race worshipped the great Rishi according to the usual custom. Indeed, those heroes, with those foremost princes of the Vrishni and the Andhaka races, paid the sage their adorations. After having conversed on various subjects, Dharma's son Yudhishthira addressed Vyasa and said, 'This treasure, O holy one, which has been brought through thy grace I wish to devote to that great sacrifice known by the name of the horse-sacrifice. O best of ascetics, I desire to have thy permission. We are all, O Rishi, at thy disposal, and at that of the high-souled Krishna.'

"Vyasa said, 'I give thee permission, O king. Do what should be done after this. Do thou worship the deities duly by performing the horse-sacrifice with profuse gifts. The horse-sacrifice, O king, is a cleanser of all sins. Without doubt, having worshipped the deities by that sacrifice thou wilt surely be cleansed of all sins.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed, the Kuru king Yudhisthira of righteous soul then set his heart, O monarch, on making the necessary preparations for the horse-sacrifice. Having represented all this unto the Island-born Krishna, the king endued with great eloquence approached Vasudeva and said,--'O foremost of all beings, the goddess Devaki has, through thee, come to be regarded as the most fortunate of mothers! O thou of unfading glory, do thou accomplish that which I shall now tell thee, O mighty-armed one. O delighter of the Kurus, the diverse enjoyments we enjoy have all been acquired through thy puissance. The whole Earth has been subjugated by thee with the aid of thy prowess and intelligence. Do thou, therefore, cause thyself to undergo the rites of initiation. Thou art our highest preceptor and master. If thou performest the sacrifice, O thou of the Dasarha race, I shall be cleansed from every sin. Thou art Sacrifice. Thou art the Indestructible. Thou art this All. Thou art Righteousness. Thou art Prajapati. Thou art the goal of all creatures. Even this is my certain conclusion.' "Vasudeva said, 'O mighty-armed one, it becomes thee to say so, O chastiser of foes. Thou art the goal of all creatures. Even this is my certain conclusion. Amongst the heroes of the Kuru race, in consequence of thy righteousness, thou shinest today in great glory. They have all been cast into the shade, O king, by thee. Thou art our king, and thou art our senior. With my approval freely granted, do thou adore the deities in the sacrifice suggested. Do thou, O Bharata, appoint us to whatever tasks thou likest. Truly, do I pledge myself that I shall accomplish all, O sinless one, that thou mayst bid me accomplish. Bhimasena and Arjuna and the two sons of Madravati will be sacrificing when thou, O king, sacrificest.'" [The sense is this: thou art the eldest brother of the Pandavas; if thou sacrificest, thy brothers also will come to be regarded as sacrificing with thee.]

SECTION 72

"Vaisampayana said, 'Thus addressed by Krishna, Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma, endued with great intelligence, saluted Vyasa and said these words: 'Do thou cause me to be initiated when the proper hour, as thou truly knowest, comes for that rite. This my sacrifice is entirely dependent on thee.'

"Vyasa said, 'Myself, O son of Kunti, and Paila and Yajnavalkya, shall without doubt, achieve every rite at the proper time. The rite of initiating thee will be performed on the day of full moon belonging to the month of Chaitra. Let all the necessaries of the sacrifice, O foremost of men, be got ready. Let Sutas well-versed in the science of horses, and let Brahmanas also possessed of the same lore, select, after examination, a worthy horse in order that thy sacrifice maybe completed. Loosening the animal according to the injunctions of the scriptures, let him wander over the whole Earth with her belt of seas, displaying thy blazing glory, O king!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed (by the Rishi), Yudhishthira, the son of Pandu, that lord of Earth, answered,--'So be it!'--and then, O monarch, he accomplished all that that utterer of Brahma had directed. All the articles necessary for the sacrifice, O king, were duly procured. The royal son of Dharma, possessed of immeasurable soul, having procured all the necessaries, informed the Island-born Krishna of it. Then Vyasa of great energy said unto the royal son of Dharma,--'As regards ourselves, we are all prepared to initiate thee in view of the sacrifice. Let the Sphya and the Kurcha and all the other articles that, O thou of Kuru's race, may be needed for thy sacrifice, be made of gold. [Sphya was a wooden sword or scimitar, used for slaying the sacrificial animal. Kurcha is a handful of Kusa grass. All these things are directed by Vyasa to be made of pure gold.] Let the horse also be loosened today, for roaming on the Earth, agreeably to the ordinances of the scriptures. Let the animal, duly protected, wander over the Earth.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Let arrangements be made by thee, O regenerate one, about loosening this horse for enabling it to wander over the Earth at its will. It behoveth thee, O ascetic, to say who will protect this steed while roaming over the Earth freely according to its will.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed (by king Yudhishthira), O monarch, the Island-born Krishna said,--'He who is born after Bhimasena, who is the foremost of all bowmen, who is called Jishnu, who is endued with great patience and capable of overcoming all resistance,--he will protect the horse. That destroyer of the Nivatakavachas is competent to conquer the whole Earth. In him are all celestial weapons. His body is like that of a celestial in its powers of endurance. His bow and quivers are celestial. Even he will follow this horse.--He is well versed in both Religion and wealth. He is a master of all the sciences. O foremost of kings, he will agreeably to the scriptures, cause the steed to roam and graze at its will. This mighty-armed prince, of dark complexion, is endued with eyes resembling the petals of the lotus. That hero, the father of Abhimanyu, will protect the steed. Bhimasena also is endued with great energy. The son of Kunti is possessed of immeasurable might. He is competent to protect the kingdom, aided by Nakula, O monarch. Possessed of great intelligence and fame, Sahadeva will, O thou of Kuru's race, duly attend to all the relatives that have been invited to thy capital.' Thus addressed by the Rishi, that perpetuator of Kuru's race, viz., Yudhishthira, accomplished every injunction duly and appointed Phalguna to attend to the horse.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Come, O Arjuna, let the horse, O hero, be protected by thee. Thou alone art competent to protect it, and none else. Those kings, O mighty-armed hero, who will come forward to encounter thee, try, O sinless one, to avoid battles with them to the best of thy power. Thou shouldst also invite them all to this sacrifice of mine. Indeed, O mighty-armed one go forth but try to establish friendly relations with them.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'The righteous-souled king Yudhishthira, having said so unto his brother Savyasachin, commanded Bhima and Nakula to protect the city. With the permission of king Dhritarashtra, Yudhishthira then set Sahadeva, that foremost of warriors, to wait upon all the invited guests.'"

SECTION 73

"Vaisampayana said, 'When the hour for initiation came, all those great Ritwijas duly initiated the king in view of the horse-sacrifice. Having finished the rites of binding the sacrificial animals, the son of Pandu, viz., king Yudhishthira the just endued with great energy, the initiation being over, shone with great splendour along with those Ritwijas. The horse that was brought for the horse-sacrifice was let loose, agreeably to the injunctions of the scriptures, that utterer of Brahma, viz., Vyasa himself of immeasurable energy. The king Yudhishthira the just, O monarch, after his initiation, adorned with a garland of gold around his neck, shone in beauty like a blazing fire. Having a black deer skin for his upper garment, bearing a staff in hand, and wearing a cloth of red silk, the son of Dharma, possessed of great splendour, shone like a second Prajapati seated on the sacrificial altar. All his Ritwijas also, O king, were clad in similar robes. Arjuna also shone like a blazing fire. Dhananjaya, unto whose car were yoked white steeds, then duly prepared, O king, to follow that horse of the complexion of a black deer, at the command of Yudhishthira. Repeatedly drawing his bow, named Gandiva, O king, and casing his hand in a fence made of iguana skin, Arjuna, O monarch, prepared to follow that horse, O ruler of men, with a cheerful heart. All Hastinapore, O king, with very children, came out at that spot from desire of beholding Dhananjaya, that foremost of the Kurus on the eve of his journey. So thick was the crowd of spectators that came to behold the horse and the prince who was to follow it, that in consequence of the pressure of bodies, it seemed a fire was created. Loud was the noise that arose from that crowd of men who assembled together for beholding Dhananjaya the son of Kunti, and it seemed to fill all the points of the compass and the entire welkin. And they said,--'There goes the son of Kunti, and there that horse of blazing beauty. Indeed, the mighty-armed hero follows the horse, having armed himself with his excellent bow.'--Even these were the words which Jishnu of noble intelligence heard. The citizens also blessed him, saying,--'Let blessings he thine! Go thou safely and come back, O Bharata.' Others, O chief of men uttered these words--'So great is the press that we do not see Arjuna. His bow, however, is visible to us. Even that is celebrated bow Gandiva of terrible twang. Blessed be thou. Let all dangers fly from thy path. Let fear nowhere inspire thee. When he returns we shall behold him, for it is certain that he will come back.' The high-souled Arjuna repeatedly heard these and similar other sweet words of men and women, O chief of the Bharatas. A disciple of Yajnavalkya, who was well-versed in all sacrificial rites and who was a complete master of the Vedas, proceeded with Partha for performing auspicious rites in favour of the hero. Many Brahmanas also, O king, all well-conversant with the Vedas, and many Kshatriyas too, followed the high-souled hero, at the command, O monarch, of Yudhishthira the just. The horse then roamed, O foremost of men, wherever he liked over the Earth already conquered by Pandavas with the energy of their weapons. In course of the horse's wanderings, O king, many great and wonderful battles were fought between Arjuna and many kings. These I shall describe to thee. The horse, O king, roamed over the whole Earth. Know, O monarch, that from the north it turned towards the East. Grinding the kingdoms of many monarchs that excellent horse wandered. And it was followed slowly by the great car-warrior Arjuna of white steeds. Countless, O monarch, was the fete of Kshatriyas,--of kings in myriads--who fought with Arjuna on that occasion, for having lost their kinsmen on the geld of Kurukshetra. Innumerable Kiratas also, O king, and Yavanas, all excellent bowmen, and diverse tribes of Mlechechas too, who had been discomfited before (by the Pandavas on the field of Kurukshetra), and many Aryan kings, possessed of soldiers and animals endued with great alacrity, and all irresistible in fight encountered the son of Pandu in battle. Thus occurred innumerable battles in diverse countries, O monarch, between Arjuna and the rulers of diverse realms who came to encounter him. I shall, O sinless king, narrate to thee those battles only which raged with great fury and which were the principal ones among all he fought.'"

SECTION 74

"Vaisampayana said. 'A battle took place between the diadem-decked (Arjuna) and the sons and grandsons of the Trigartas whose hostility the Pandavas has incurred before and all of whom were well-known as mighty car-warriors. Having learnt that that foremost of steeds, which was intended for the sacrifice, had come to their realm, these heroes, casing themselves in mail, surrounded Arjuna. Mounted on their cars, drawn by excellent and well-decked horses, and with quivers on their backs, they surrounded that horse, O king, and endeavoured to capture it. The diadem-decked Arjuna, reflecting on that endeavour of theirs, forbade those heroes, with conciliatory speeches, O chastiser of foes.

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Disregarding Arjuna's message, they assailed him with their shafts. The diadem-decked Arjuna resisted those warriors who were under the sway of darkness and passion. Jishnu, addressed them smilingly and said, 'Desist, ye unrighteous ones. Life is a benefit (that should not be thrown away).' At the time of his setting out, he had been earnestly ordered by king Yudhishthira the just, not to slay those Kshatriyas whose kinsmen had been slain before on the field of Kurukshetra. Recollecting these commands of king Yudhishthira the just who was endued with great intelligence, Arjuna asked the Trigartas to forbear. But they disregarded Arjuna's injunction. Then Arjuna vanquished Suryavarman, the king of the Trigartas, in battle, by shooting countless shafts at him and laughed in scorn. The Trigarta warriors, however, filling the ten points with the clatter of their cars and car-wheels, rushed towards Dhananjaya. Then Suryavarman, displaying his great lightness of hand, pierced Dhananjaya with hundreds of straight arrows, O monarch. The other great bowmen who followed the king and who were all desirous of compassing the destruction of Dhananjaya, shot showers of arrows on him. With countless shafts shot from his own bow-siring, the son of Pandu, O king, cut off those clouds of arrows; upon which they fell down. Endued with great energy, Ketuvarman, the younger brother of Suryavarman, and possessed of youthful vigour, fought, for the sake of his brother, against Pandu's son possessed of great fame. Beholding Ketuvarman approaching towards him for battle, Vibhatsu, that slayer of hostile heroes, slew him with many sharp-pointed arrows. Upon Ketuvarman's fall, the mighty car-warrior Dhritavarman, rushing on his car towards Arjuna, showered a perfect downpour of arrows on him. Beholding that lightness of hand displayed by the youth Dhritavarman, Gudakesa of mighty energy and great prowess became highly gratified with him. The son of Indra could not see when the young warrior took out his arrows and when he placed them on his bow-string aiming at him. He only saw showers of arrows in the air. For a brief space of time, Arjuna gladdened his enemy and mentally admired his heroism and skill. The Kuru hero, smiling the while, fought with that youth who resembled an angry snake. The mighty armed Dhananjaya, glad as he was in beholding the valour of Dhritavarman, did not take his life. While, however, Partha of immeasurable energy fought mildly with him without wishing to take his life, Dhritavarman shot a blazing arrow at him. Deeply pierced in the hand by that arrow, Vijaya became stupefied and his bow Gandiva fell down on the Earth from his relaxed grasp. The form of that bow, O king, when it fell from the grasp of Arjuna, resembled, O Bharata, that of the bow of Indra (that is seen in the welkin after a shower). When that great and celestial bow fell down, O monarch, Dhritavarman laughed loudly in battle. At this, Jishnu, excited with rage, wiped the blood from his hand and once more taking up his bow, showered a perfect downpour of arrows. Then a loud and confused noise arose, filling the welkin and touching the very heavens as it were, from diverse creatures who applauded that feat of Dhananjaya. Beholding Jishnu inflamed with rage and looking like Yama himself as he appears at the end of the Yuga, the Trigarta warriors hastily surrounded him, rushing from their posts and desirous of rescuing Dhritavarman. Seeing himself surrounded by his foes, Arjuna became more angry than before. He then quickly despatched eight and ten of their foremost warriors with many shafts of hard iron that resembled the arrows of the great Indra himself. The Trigarta warriors then began to fly. Seeing them retreat, Dhananjaya, with great speed, shot many shafts at them that resembled wrathful snakes of virulent poison, and laughed aloud. The mighty car-warriors of the Trigartas, with dispirited hearts, fled in all directions, exceedingly afflicted by Dhananjaya with his arrows. They then addressed that tiger among men, that slayer of the Samsaptaka host (on the field of Kurukshetra), saying, 'We are your slaves. We yield to thee. [It will be remembered that the Samsaptaka host which had engaged Arjuna for several days on the field of Kurukshetra, all consisted of Trigarta warriors led by their king Susarman, Samsaptaka means 'sworn'. Those soldiers who took the oath that they would either conquer or die, wore called by that name.] Do thou command us, O Partha. Lo, we wait here as the most docile of thy servants. O delighter of the Kurus, we shall execute all thy commands.' Hearing these words expressive of their submission, Dhananjaya, said unto them, 'Do ye, O kings, save your lives, and accept my dominion.'"

SECTION 75

"Vaisampayana said, 'That foremost of steeds then proceeded to the realm of Pragjyotisha and began to wander there. At this, Bhagadatta's son, who was exceedingly valorous in battle, came out (for encountering Arjuna). King Vajradatta, O chief of the Bharatas, finding the (sacrificial) steed arrived within his realm, fought (for detaining it). The royal son of Bhagadatta, issuing out of his city, afflicted the steed that was coming (and seizing it), marched back towards his own place. Marking this, the mighty-armed chief of the Kuru race, speedily stretched his Gandiva, and suddenly rushed towards his foe. Stupefied by the shafts sped from Gandiva, the heroic son of Bhagadatta, letting off loose the steed, fled from Partha. Once more entering his capital, that foremost of kings, irresistible in battle, cased himself in mail, and mounting on his prince of elephants, came out. That mighty car-warrior had a white umbrella held over his head, and was fanned with a milk-white yak-tail. Impelled by childishness and folly, he challenged Partha, the mighty car-warrior of the Pandavas, famed for terrible deeds in battle, to an encounter with him. The enraged prince then urged towards Arjuna that elephant of his, which resembled a veritable mountain, and from whose temples and mouth issued streams of juice indicative of excitement. Indeed, that elephant showered its secretions like a mighty mass of clouds pouring rain. Capable of resisting hostile feats of its own species, it had been equipped agreeably to the ordinances of the treatises (on war-elephants). Irresistible in battle, it had become so infuriate as to be beyond control. Urged on by the prince with the iron-hook, that mighty elephant then seemed (as it advanced) as if it would cut through the welkin (like a flying hill). Beholding it advance towards him, O king, Dhananjaya, filled with rage and standing on the earth, O Bharata, encountered the prince on its back. Filled with wrath, Vajradatta quickly sped at Arjuna a number of broad-headed shafts endued with the energy of fire and resembling (as they coursed through the air) a cloud of speedily-moving locusts. Arjuna, however, with shafts sped from Gandiva, cut off those arrows, some into two and some into three pieces. He cut them off in the welkin itself with those shafts of his coursing through the welkin. The son of Bhagadatta, beholding his broad-headed shafts thus cut off, quickly sped at Arjuna a number of other arrows in a continuous line. Filled with rage at this, Arjuna, more quickly than before, shot at Bhagadatta's son a number of straightly coursing arrows equipt with golden wings. Vajradatta of mighty energy, struck with great force and pierced with these arrows in that fierce encounter, fell down on the Earth. Consciousness, however, did not desert him. Mounting on his prince of elephants again in the midst of that battle the son of Bhagadatta, desirous of victory, very coolly sped a number of shafts at Arjuna. Filled with wrath, Jishnu then sped at the prince a number of arrows that looked like blazing flames of fire and that seemed to be so many snakes of virulent poison. Pierced therewith, the mighty elephant, emitting a large quantity of blood, looked like a mountain of many springs discharging rills of water coloured with red chalk.'"

SECTION 76

"Vaisampayana said, 'Thus waged that battle, O chief of the Bharatas, for three days between Arjuna and that prince like the encounter between him of a hundred sacrifices and Vritra. On the fourth day, Vajradatta of great might laughed loudly and, addressing Arjuna, said these words: 'Wait, wait, O Arjuna. Thou shalt not escape me with life. Slaying thee I shall duly discharge the water-rite of my sire. My aged sire, Bhagadatta, who was the friend of thy sire, was slain by thee in consequence of his weight of years. Do thou, however, fight me that am but a boy!' [Bhagadatta was the friend of Indra, the father of Arjuna.] Having said these words, O thou of Kuru's race, king Vajradatta, filled with rage, urged his elephant towards the son of Pandu. Urged on by Vajradatta of great intelligence, that prince of elephants, as if desirous of cutting through the welkin, rushed towards Dhananjaya. That prince of elephants drenched Arjuna with a shower of juice emitted from the end of his trunk, like a mass of blue clouds drenching a hill with its downpour. Indeed, urged on by the king, elephant, repeatedly roaring like a cloud, rushed towards Phalguna, with that deep noise emitted from its mouth. Verily, urged on by Vajradatta, that prince of elephants quickly moved towards the mighty car-warrior of the Kurus, with the tread of one that seemed to dance in excitement. Beholding that beast of Vajradatta advance towards him, that slayer of foes, viz., the mighty Dhananjaya, relying on Gandiva, stood his ground without shaking with fear. Recollecting what an obstacle Vajradatta was proving to the accomplishment of his task, and remembering the old enmity of the house (of Pragjyotisha towards the Pandavas), the son of Pandu became exceedingly inflamed with wrath against the king. Filled with rage, Dhananjaya impeded the course of that beast with a shower of arrows like the shore resisting the surging sea. That prince of elephants possessed of beauty (of form), thus impeded by Arjuna, stopped in its course, with body pierced with many an arrow, like a porcupine with its quills erect. Seeing his elephant impeded in its course, the royal son of Bhagadatta, deprived of sense by rage, shot many whetted arrows at Arjuna. The mighty-armed Arjuna baffled all those arrows with many foe-slaying shafts of his. The feat seemed to be exceedingly wonderful. Once more the king of the Pragjyotishas, inflamed with ire, forcibly urged his elephant, which resembled a mountain, at Arjuna. Beholding the beast once more advancing towards him, Arjuna shot with great strength a shaft at it that resembled a veritable flame of fire. Struck deeply in the very vitals, O king, by the son of Pandu, the beast suddenly fell down on the Earth like a mountain summit loosened by a thunder-bolt. Struck with Dhartanjaya's shaft, the elephant, as it lay on the Earth, looked like a huge mountain cliff lying on the ground, loosened by the bolt of Indra. When the elephant of Vajradatta was prostrated on the ground, the son of Pandu, addressing the king who had fallen down with his beast, said,--'Do not fear. Indeed, Yudhishthira of mighty energy said unto me while commissioning me for this task even these words,--'Thou shouldst not, O Dhananjaya, slay those kings (who may encounter thee in battle). O tiger among men, thou shouldst regard thy task as accomplished if only thou disablest those hostile kings. Thou shouldst not also, O Dhananjaya, slay the warriors of those kings who may come forth to fight thee, with all their kinsmen and friends. They should be requested to come to the horse-sacrifice of Yudhishthira.'--Having heard these commands of my brother, I shall not slay thee, O king. Rise up; let no fear be thine; return to thy city safe and sound, O lord of Earth. When the day of full moon in the month of Chaitra comes, thou shalt, O great king, repair to that sacrifice of king Yudhishthira the just, for it takes place on that day. Thus addressed by Arjuna, the royal son of Bhagadatta, defeated by the son of Pandu, said,--'So be it.'"

SECTION 77

"Vaisampayana said, 'There occurred a great battle between the diadem-decked Arjuna and the hundreds of Saindhavas who still lived after the slaughter of their clan (on the field of Kurukshetra). Hearing that he of white steeds had entered their territories, those Kshatriyas came out against him, unable to bear that foremost one of Pandu's race. Those warriors who were as terrible as virulent poison, finding the horse within their dominion, seized it without being inspired with any fear of Partha who was the younger brother of Bhimasena. Advancing against Vibhatsu who waited on foot, armed with his bow, upon the sacrificial steed, they assailed him from a near point. Defeated in battle before, those Kshatriyas of mighty energy, impelled by the desire of victory, surrounded that foremost of men. Proclaiming their names and families and their diverse feats, they showered their arrows on Partha. Pouring showers of arrows of such fierce energy as were capable of impeding the course of hostile elephants, those heroes surrounded the son of Kunti, desirous of vanquishing him in battle. Themselves seated on cars, they fought Arjuna of fierce feats who was, on foot. From every side they began to strike that hero, that slayer of the Nivatakavachas, that destroyer of the Samasaptakas, that killer of the king of the Sindhus. Surrounding him on every side as within a cage by means of a thousand cars and ten thousand horses, those brave warriors expressed their exaltation. Recollecting the slaughter by Dhananjaya of Jayadratha in battle, O thou of Kuru's race, they poured heavy showers of arrows on that hero like a mass of clouds showering a heavy downpour. Over-whelmed with that arrowy shower, Arjuna looked like the sun covered by a cloud. That foremost son of Pandu, in the midst of that cloud of arrows, resembled a bird in the midst of an iron cage, O Bharata. Seeing the son of Kunti thus afflicted with shafts, cries of Oh and Alas were uttered by the three worlds and the Sun himself became shorn of his splendour. Then, O king, a terrible wind began to blow, and Rahu swallowed up both the Sun and the Moon at the same time. Many meteors struck the solar disc and then shot in different directions. The prince of mountains, viz., Kailasa, began to tremble. The seven (celestial) Rishis, as also the other Rishis of Heaven, penetrated with fear, and afflicted with grief and sorrow, breathed hot sighs. Piercing through the welkin, those meteors fell on the lunar disc as well. All the points of the compass became filled with smoke and assumed a strange aspect. Reddish clouds, with flashes of lightning playing in their midst and the bow of Indra measuring them from side to side, suddenly covered the welkin and poured flesh and bloods on the Earth. Even such was the aspect which all nature assumed when that hero was overwhelmed with showers of shafts. Indeed, when Phalguna, that foremost one among the Bharatas, was thus afflicted, those marvels were seen. Overwhelmed by that dense cloud of arrows, Arjuna became stupefied. His bow, Gandiva, fell down from his relaxed grip and his leathern fence also slipped down. When Dhananjaya became stupefied, the Saindhava warriors once more shot at that senseless warrior, without loss of time, innumerable other shafts. Understanding that the son of Pritha was deprived of consciousness, the deities, with hearts penetrated by fear, began to seek his welfare by uttering diverse benedictions. Then the celestial Rishis, the seven Rishis, and the regenerate Rishis, became engaged in silent recitations from desire of giving victory to Pritha's son of great intelligence. When at last the energy of Partha blazed forth through those acts of the denizens of Heaven, that hero, who was conversant with celestial weapons of high efficacy, stood immovable like a hill. The delighter of the Kurus then drew his celestial bow. And as he repeatedly stretched the bowstring, the twang that followed resembled the loud sound of some mighty machine. Like Purandara pouring rain, the

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puissant Arjuna then, with that bow of his, poured incessant showers of shafts on his foes. Pierced by those shafts the Saindhava warriors with their chiefs became invisible like trees when covered with locusts. They were frightened at the very sound of Gandiva, and afflicted by fear they fled away. In grief of heart they shed tears and uttered loud lamentations. The mighty warrior moved amidst that host of foes with the celerity of a fiery wheel, all the time piercing those warriors with his arrows. Like the great Indra, the wielder of the thunder-bolt, that slayer of foes, viz., Arjuna, shot from his bow in every direction that shower of arrows which resembled a sight produced by magic (instead of any human agency). The Kaurava hero, piercing the hostile host with showers of arrows, looked resplendent like the autumnal Sun when he disperses the clouds with his powerful rays.'"

SECTION 78

"Vaisampayana said, 'The irresistible wielder of Gandiva, addresst for battle, stood immovable on the field like Himavat himself. The Saindhava warriors, once more rallying, showered in great wrath repeated down-pours of shifts on him. The mighty-armed hero, laughing at his foes, who had once more rallied but who were on the point of death, addressed them in these soft words,--'Do ye fight to the best of your power and do ye endeavour to vanquish me. Do ye however, accomplish all necessary acts, for a great danger awaits you all. See, I fight all of you, baffling your clouds of arrows. Bent as you are on battle, tarry a little. I shall soon quell your pride.' The wielder of Gandiva, having said these words in wrath, recollected, however, the words, O Bharata, of his eldest brother. Those words were,--'Thou shouldst not, O child, slay those Kshatriyas who will come against thee for battle. They should, however, be vanquished by thee. That foremost of men, Phalguna, had been thus addressed by king Yudhishthira the just, of great soul. He, therefore, began to reflect in this strain. 'Even thus was I commissioned by my brother. Warriors advancing against me should not be slain. I must act in such a way as not to falsify the words of king Yudhishthira the just.' Having arrived at this conclusion, Phalguna, that foremost of men, then said unto those Saindhavas who were all fierce in battle, these words:--'I say what is for your benefit. Though staying before me. I do not wish to slay you. He amongst you who will say unto me that he has been vanquished by me and that he is mine, will be spared by me. Having heard these words of mine, act towards me in that way which may best conduce to your benefit. By acting in a different way you will place yourselves in a situation of great fear and danger.' Having said these words unto those heroic warriors the chief of the Kurus began to fight them. Arjuna was inflamed with wrath. His foes, desirous of victory, were equally enraged. The Saindhavas then, O king, shot hundreds and thousands of straight arrows at the wielder of Gandiva. Dhananjaya, with his own whetted shafts, cut off those arrows of sharp and terrible points, resembling snakes of virulent poison, before they could come up to him. Having cut off those sharp arrows equipt with Kanka feathers, Arjuna pierced each of the warriors opposed to him with a whetted shaft. The Saindhava Kshatriyas, recollecting that it was Dhananjaya who had slain their king Jayadratha, then hurled at him darts and javelins with great force. The diadem-decked Dhananjaya of great might baffled their intent by cutting off all those weapons before any of them could reach him. At length the son of Pandu became highly angry. With many straight and broad-headed arrows, he felled the heads of many of those warriors who were rushing at him from desire of victory. Many fled, many rushed at Arjuna; many moved not, all of them, however, uttered such aloud noise (of wrath and grief) that it resembled the roar of the ocean. As they were slain by Partha of immeasurable might, they fought him, each according to his strength and prowess. Their animals being all exhausted, Partha succeeded in depriving a large number of those warriors of their senses by means of his sharpest shafts in that battle. Then Dussala, their queen, the daughter of Dhritarashtra, knowing that they were rendered cheerless by Arjuna, took her grandson in her arms and repaired to Arjuna. The child was the son of Suratha (the son of Jayadratha). The brave prince proceeded to his maternal uncle on his car for the safety of all the Saindhava warriors. The queen, arrived at the presence of Dhananjaya, began to weep in sorrow. The puissant Dhananjaya, seeing her, cast off his bow. Abandoning his bow, Partha duly received his sister and enquired of her as to what he could do for her. The queen replied unto him, saying,--'O chief of the Bharatas, this child is the son of thy sister's son. He salutes thee, O Partha. Look at him, O foremost of men.' Thus addressed by her, Partha enquired after his son (Suratha), saying--'Where is he?' Dussala then answered him, saying,--'Burning with grief on account of the slaughter of his sire, the heroic father of this child died in great affliction of heart. Listen to me how he met with his death. 'O Dhananjaya, he had heard before that his sire Jayadratha had been slain by thee, O sinless one. Exceedingly afflicted with grief at this, and hearing of thy arrival here as the follower and protector of the sacrificial horse, he at once fell down and gave up his life-breaths. Verily, deeply afflicted with grief as he was, as go on as he heard of thy arrival he gave up his life. Seeing him prostrate on the Earth, O lord, I took his infant son with me and have come to thee, desirous of thy protection.' Having said these words, the daughter of Dhritarashtra began to lament in deep affliction. Arjuna stood before her in great cheerlessness of heart. His face was turned towards the Earth. The cheerless sister then said unto her brother, who was equally cheerless, these words: 'Behold thy sister. Behold the child of thy sister's son. O perpetuator of Kuru's race, O thou that art fully conversant with every duty, it behoveth thee to show mercy to this child, forgetting the Kuru prince (Duryodhana) and the wicked Jayadratha. Even as that slayer of hostile heroes, Parikshit, has been born of Abhimanyu, so has this mighty-armed child, my grandson, sprung from Suratha. Taking him with me, O chief of men, I have come to thee, desirous of the safety of all the warriors. Do thou listen to these words of mine. This child of that wicked foe of thine hath now come to thee, O mighty-armed hero. It behoveth thee, therefore to show mercy to this infant. O chastiser of foes, this infant seeks to gratify thee by bending his head. He solicits thee for peace. O mighty-armed hero, be inclined to make peace. O thou that art conversant with every duty, be thou gratified with the child whose friends and kinsmen have all been slain and who himself knows nothing of what has happened. Do not yield to wrath. Forgetting his disreputable and cruel grandfather, who offended against thee so highly, it behoveth thee to show thy grace towards this child.' Recollecting queen Gandhari and king Dhritarashtra, Dhananjaya, afflicted with grief, addressed Dussala who had said so unto him, and answered her, censuring Kshatriya practices the while. 'Fie on Duryodhana, that mean wight, covetous of kingdom and full of vanity! Alas, it was for him that all my kinsmen have been despatched by me to the abode of Yama.' Having said so, Dhananjaya comforted his sister and became inclined to make peace. Cheerfully he embraced her and then dismissed her, telling her to return to her palace. Dussala bade all her warriors desist from that great battle, and worshipping Partha, she of beautiful face retraced her steps towards her abode. Having vanquished those heroes, viz., the Saindhavas, thus, Dhananjaya began to follow that steed which roved at its will. The heroic Arjuna duly followed that sacrificial horse even as the divine wielder of Pinaka had in days of yore followed the deer through the firmament. The steed, at its will, wandered through various realms one after another, enhancing the feats of Arjuna. In course of time, O chief of men, the horse wandering at its pleasure, at last arrived within the dominions of the ruler of Manipura, followed by the son of Pandu.'"

SECTION 79

"Vaisampayana said, 'The ruler of Manipura, Vabhruvahana, hearing that his sire Arjuna had arrived within his dominions, went out with humility, with a number of Brahmanas and some treasure in his van. [The Brahmanas were to receive Arjuna duly and the treasure was intended as a present or offering of respect.] Remembering, however, the duties of Kshatriyas, Dhananjaya of great intelligence, seeing the ruler of Manipura arrive in that guise, did not approve of it. The righteous-souled Phalguna angrily said, 'This conduct of thine is not becoming. Thou hast certainly fallen away from Kshatriya duties. I have come here as the protector of Yudhishthira's sacrificial horse. Why, O son, wilt thou not fight me, seeing that I have come within thy dominions? Fie on thee, O thou of foolish understanding, fie on thee that hast fallen away from Kshatriya duties! Fie on thee that would receive me peacefully, even though I have come here for battling with thee. In thus receiving me peacefully thou actest like a woman. O thou of wretched understanding, if I had come to thee, leaving aside my arms, then would this behaviour of thine have been fit, O worst of men.' Learning that these words were addressed by her husband, the daughter of the Snake-king, viz., Ulupi unable to tolerate it, pierced through the Earth and came up to that spot. [Ulupi was one of the wives of Arjuna. She was, therefore, the step-mother of Vabhruvahana] She beheld her son standing there perfectly cheerless and with face hanging down. Indeed, the prince was repeatedly rebuked by his sire who was desirous of battle with him, O monarch. The daughter of the snake, with every limb possessed of beauty, viz., Ulupi, said these words consistent with righteousness and duty unto the prince who was conversant with righteousness and duty,--'Know that I am thy mother Ulupi that am the daughter of a snake. Do thou accomplish my behest, O son, for thou wouldst then attain to great merit. Fight thy father, this foremost one of Kuru's race, this hero that is irresistible in battle. Without doubt, he will then be gratified with thee.' In this way was king Vabhruvahana incited against his sire by his (step) mother. At last, endued as he was with great energy, he made up his mind, O chief of the Bharata's, to fight Dhananjaya. Putting on his armour of bright gold and his effulgent head-gear, he ascended an excellent car which had hundreds of quivers ready on it. That car was equipt with necessaries for battle and had steeds yoked to it that were endued with the speed of the mind. It had excellent wheels and a strong Upashkara, and was adorned with golden ornaments of every kind. Raising his standard which was decorated most beautifully and which bore the device of a lion in gold, the handsome prince Vabhruvahana proceeded against his sire for battle. Coining upon the sacrificial steed which was protected by Partha, the heroic prince caused it to be seized by persons well-versed in horse-lore. Beholding the steed seized, Dhananjaya became filled with joy. Standing on the Earth, that hero began to resist the advance of his son who was on his car. The king afflicted the hero with repeated showers of shafts endued with whetted points and resembling snakes of virulent poison. The battle that took, place between sire and son was incomparable. It resembled the encounter between the deities and the Asuras of old. Each was gratified with obtaining the other for an antagonist. Then Vabhruvahana, laughing, pierced the diadem-decked Arjuna, that foremost of men, in the shoulder with a straight shaft. Equipt with feathers, that shaft penetrated Arjuna's body like a snake penetrating on an anthill. Piercing the son of Kunti through, the shaft went deep into the Earth. Feeling acute pain, the intelligent Dhananjaya rested awhile, supporting himself on his excellent bow. He stood, having recourse to his celestial energy and seemed to outward appearance like one deprived of life. That foremost of men, then regaining consciousness, praised his son highly. Possessed of great splendour, the son of Sakra said, 'Excellent, Excellent, O mighty-armed one, O son of Chitrangada! O son, beholding this feat, so worthy of thee, I am highly gratified with thee. I shall now shoot these arrows at thee, O son. Stand for fight (without running away).' Having said these words, that slayer of foes shot a shower of arrows on the prince. King Vabhruvahana, however, with his own broad-headed shafts, cut all those arrows which were shot from Gandiva and which resembled the thunder-bolt of Indra in splendour, some in twain and some into three parts. Then the standard, decked with gold and resembling a golden palmyra, on the king's car was cut off by Partha with some excellent shafts of his. The son of Pandu, laughing, next slew the king's steeds endued with large size and great speed. Descending from his car, the king inflamed with rage, fought his sire on foot. Gratified with the prowess of his son, that foremost one of the sons of Pritha, viz., the son of the wielder of the thunder-bolt, began to afflict him greatly. The mighty Vabhruvahana, thinking that his father was no longer able to face him, again afflicted him with many shafts resembling snakes of virulent poison. From a spirit of boyishness he then vigorously pierced his father in the breast with a whetted shaft equipt with excellent wings. That shaft, O king, penetrated the body of Pandu's son and reaching his very vital caused him great pain. The delighter of the Kurus, Dhananjaya, deeply pierced therewith by his son, then fell down in a swoon on the Earth, O king. When that hero, that bearer of the burthens of the Kuru's fell down, the son of Chitrangada also became deprived of his senses. The latter's swoon was due to his exertions in battle as also to his grief at seeing his sire slain. He had been pierced deeply by Arjuna with clouds of arrows. He, therefore, fell down at the van of battle embracing the Earth. Rearing that her husband had been slain and that her son had fallen down on the Earth, Chitrangada, in great agitation of mind, repaired to the field of battle. Her heart burning with sorrow, weeping piteously the while, and trembling all over, the mother of the ruler of Manipura saw her slain husband.'"

SECTION 80

"Vaisampayana said, 'That lady of eyes like lotus petals, having indulged in copious lamentations, and burning with grief, at last lost her senses and fell down on the Earth. Regaining consciousness and seeing Ulupi, the daughter of the snake chief, queen Chitrangada endued with celestial beauty, said unto her these words, 'Behold. O Ulupi, our ever-victorious husband slain in battle, through thee, by my son of tender years. Art thou conversant with the practices of the respectable? Art thou a wife devoted to thy lord? It is through thy deed that thy husband is laid low, slain in battle. If Dhananjaya hath offended against thee in every respect, do thou forgive him I solicit thee, do thou revive that hero. O righteous lady, thou art conversant with piety. Thou art, O blessed one, known (for thy virtues) over the three worlds. How is it that having caused thy husband to be slain by my son, thou dost not indulge in grief? O daughter of the snake chief, I do not grieve for my slain son. I grieve for only my husband who has received this hospitality from his son.' Having said these words unto the queenly Ulupi, the daughter of the snake chief, the illustrious Chitrangada proceeded to where her husband lay on the Earth and addressing him, said, 'Rise, O dear lord, thou occupiest the foremost place in the affections of the Kuru king (Yudhishthira). Here is that steed of thine. It has been set free by me. Verily, O puissant one, this sacrificial steed of king Yudhishthira the just, should be followed by thee. Why then dost thou lie still on the Earth? My life-breaths depend on thee, O delighter of the Kurus. How is it that he who is the giver of other people's life-breaths

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casts off his own life-breaths today? Behold, O Ulupi, this goodly sight of thy husband lying prostrate on the ground. How is it that thou dost not grieve, having caused him to be slain through my son when thou didst excite with thy words? It is fit that this boy should succumb to the power of death and lie thus on the ground beside his own sire. Oh, let Vijaya, let him that is called Gudakesa, let this hero with reddish eyes, come back O life. O blessed lady, polygamy is not fault with men. Women only incur fault by taking more than one husband. Do not, therefore, harbour such thoughts (of vengeance). [Yahubharyyata, meaning polygamy in the first line, should, as the noun of reference for Eshah be taken as vahunam bharyyata, i.e., polyandry, in the second line.] This relationship was ordained by the Supreme ordainer himself. It is, besides, an eternal and unchangeable one. Do thou attend to that relationship. Let thy union (with Dhananjaya) be made true. If, having slain thy husband through my son, thou dost not revive him today before my eyes, I shall then cast off my life-breaths. Without doubt, O reverend lady, afflicted as I am with grief and deprived as I am of both husband and son, I shall sit here today in Praya in thy very sight!' Having said so unto the daughter of the snake chief, who was a co-wife with her to Arjuna, the princess Chaitravahini sat in Praya, O king, restraining speech.' [To sit in Praya is to remain seated in a particular spot, abstaining from food and drink with a view to cast off one's life-breaths.]

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Ceasing to lament, the cheerless queen, taking upon her lap the feet of her husband, sat there, sighing heavily and wishing also the restoration of her son to life. King Vabhruvahana then, regaining consciousness, saw his mother seated in that guise on the field of battle. Addressing her he said, 'What can be more painful than the sight of my mother, who has been brought up in luxury, lying on the bare ground beside her heroic husband stretched thereon? Alas, this slayer of all foes, this foremost of all wielders of weapons, hath been slain by me in battle, It is evident that men do not die till their hour comes. [The sense is, that 'grief does not kill; one does not die till one's hour comes. If it were otherwise, I would have died, so heavy is the load of my affliction.'] Oh, the heart of this princess seems to be very hard since it does not break even at the sight of her mighty-armed and broad-chested husband lying dead on the ground. It is evident that one does not die till one's hour comes, since neither myself, nor my mother is deprived of life (at even such a sight). Alas, alas, the golden coat of mail of this foremost hero of Kuru's race, slain by me, his son, knowingly, is lying on the ground, cut off from his body. Alas, ye Brahmanas, behold my heroic sire lying prostrate on the Earth, on a hero's bed, slain by his son. What benefit is done to this hero, slain by me in battle, by those Brahmanas who were commissioned to attend upon this foremost one of Kuru's race engaged in following the steed? Let the Brahmanas direct what expiation should now be undergone by me, a cruel and sinful wretch, that has slain his own sire in battle. Having slain my own sire, I should, suffering every kind of misery, wander over the Earth, cruel that I am, covering myself with his skin. Give me the two halves of my sire's head to day, (so that I may wander over the Earth with them for that period), for there is no other expiation for me that have slain my own sire. Behold, O daughter of the foremost of snakes, thy husband slain by me. Verily, by slaying Arjuna in battle I have accomplished what is agreeable to thee. I shall today follow in the track by which my sire has gone. O blessed one, I am unable to comfort myself. Be happy today, O mother, seeing myself and the wielder of Gandiva both embrace death today. I swear to thee by truth itself (that I shall castoff my life-breaths).' Having said these words, the king, deeply afflicted with grief, O monarch, touched water, and exclaimed in sorrow, 'Let all creatures, mobile and immobile, listen to me. Do thou also listen to me, O mother. I say the truth, O best of all daughters of the snakes. If this best of men, Jaya, my sire, does not rise up, I shall emaciate my own body, sitting on the field of battle. Having slain my sire, there is no rescue for me (from that dire sin). Afflicted as I am with the sin of slaying my sire, I shall without doubt have to sink in Hell. By slaying a heroic Kshatriya one becomes cleansed by making a gift of a hundred kine. By slaying my sire, however, so dire has been my sin that my I rescue is impossible. This Dhananjaya, the son of Pandu, was the one hero endued with mighty energy. Possessed of righteous soul, he was the author of my being. How can I be rescued after having slain him? Having uttered these lamentations, the high-souled son of Dhananjaya, king Vabhruvahana, touched water and became silent, vowing to starve himself to death.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'When the king of Manipura, that chastiser of foes, afflicted with grief, along with his mother, sat down to starve himself to death, Ulupi then thought of the gem that has the virtue of reviving a dead man. The gem, the great refuge of the snakes, thus thought of, came there. The daughter of the prince of snakes taking it up, uttered these words that highly gladdened the combatants standing on the field. 'Rise up, O son. Do not grieve. Jishnu has not been vanquished by thee. This hero is incapable of being vanquished by men as also by the deities with Vasava himself at their head I have exhibited this illusion, deceiving your senses, for the benefit of this foremost of men, viz., thy illustrious sire. O thou of Kuru's race, desirous of ascertaining the prowess of thyself, his son, this slayer of hostile heroes, O king, came here for battling with thee. It was for that reason, O son, that thou wert urged by me to do battle. O puissant king, O son, do not suspect that thou hast committed any, even the least, fault, by accepting his challenge. He is a Rishi, of a mighty soul, eternal and indestructible. O dear son, Sakra himself is incapable of vanquishing him in battle. This celestial gem has been brought by me, O king. It always revives the snakes as often as they die. O puissant king, do thou place this gem on the breast of thy sire. Thou shalt then see the son of Pandu revived.' Thus addressed, the prince who had committed no sin, moved by affection for his sire, then placed that gem on the breast of Pritha's son of immeasurable energy. After the gem had been placed on his breast; the heroic and puissant Jishnu became revived. Opening his red eyes he rose up like one who had slept long. Beholding his sire, the high-souled hero of great energy, restored to consciousness and quite at his ease, Vabhruvahana worshipped him with reverence. When that tiger among men, O puissant one, awoke from the slumber of death with every auspicious sign of life, the chastiser of Paka rained down celestial flowers. Kettle-drums struck by nobody, produced their music deep as the roar of the cloud. A loud uproar was heard in the welkin consisting of the words--Excellent, Excellent! The mighty-armed Dhananjaya, rising up and well-comforted, embraced Vabhruvahana and smelled his head. He saw sitting at a distance from his son, this latter's mother afflicted with grief, in the company of Ulupi. Dhananjaya asked,--'Why is it that every thing in the field of battle seems to bear the indications of grief, wonder, and joy? If, O slayer of foes, the cause is known to thee, do thou then tell me. Why has thy mother come to the field of battle? Why also has Ulupi, the daughter of the prince of snakes, come here? I know that thou hadst fought this battle with me at my own command. I desire to know what the cause is that has brought out the ladies.' The intelligent ruler of Manipura, thug questioned by Dhananjaya, gratified him by bending his head in reverence, and then said,--'Let Ulupi be questioned.'

SECTION 81

"Arjuna said, 'What business brought thee here, O daughter (-in-law) of Kuru's race, and what also is the cause of the arrival on the field of battle of her who is the mother of the ruler of Manipura? Dost thou entertain friendly motives towards this king, O daughter of a snake? O thou of restless glances, dost thou wish good to me too? I hope, O thou of ample hips, that neither I, nor this Vabhruvahana here, have, O beautiful lady, done any injury to thee unconsciously? Has Chitrangada of faultless limbs, descended from the race of Chitravahana, done thee any wrong?' Unto him, the daughter of the prince of snakes answered smilingly, 'Thou hast not offended me, nor has Vabhruvahana done me any wrong; nor this prince's mother who is always obedient to me as a hand-maid. Listen, how all this has been brought about by me. Thou shouldst not be angry with me. Indeed, I seek to gratify thee by bending my head in reverence. O thou of Kuru's race, all this has been done by me for thy good, O puissant one. O mighty-armed Dhananjaya, hear all that I have done. In the great battle of the Bharata princes, thou hadst slain the royal son of Santanu by unrighteous ways. What I have done has expiated thy sin. Thou didst not overthrow Bhishma while battling with thee. He was engaged with Sikhandin. Relying on him as thy help, thou didst compass the overthrow of Santanu's son. If thou hadst died without having expiated thy sin, thou wouldst then have fallen without doubt into Hell in consequence of that sinful act of thine. Even this which thou hast got from thy son is the expiation of that sin. Formerly, O ruler of Earth, I heard this said by the Vasus while they were in the company of Ganga, O thou of great intelligence. After the fall of Santanu's son, those deities, viz., the Vasus, coming to the banks of Ganga, bathed in her waters, and calling the goddess of that stream, they uttered these terrible words having the sanction of Bhagirathi herself, viz.,--Santanu's son Bhishma has been slain by Dhananjaya. Verily, O goddess, Bhishma then was engaged with another, and had ceased to fight. For this fault we shall today denounce a curse on Dhananjaya.--To this, the goddess Ganga readily assented, saying,--Be it so!--Hearing these words I became very much afflicted and penetrating into the nether regions represented everything to my sire. Informed of what had happened, my sire became plunged in grief. Repairing to the Vasus, he solicited them for thy sake, repeatedly gratifying them by every means in his power. They then said unto him, 'Dhananjaya has a highly blessed son who, endued with youth, is the ruler of Manipura. He will, standing on the field of battle, cast Dhananjaya down on the Earth. When this will happen, O prince of snakes, Arjuna will be freed from our curse. Do thou go back.--Thus addressed by the Vasus, he came back and informed me of what had happened. Having learnt all this, O hero, I have freed thee from the curse of the Vasus even in this way. The chief of the deities himself is incapable of vanquishing thee in battle. The son is one's own self. It is for this that thou hast been vanquished by him. I cannot be held, O puissant one, to have committed any fault. How, indeed, wouldst thou hold me censurable?'--Thus addressed (by Ulupi), Vijaya became cheerful of heart and said unto her, 'All this that thou hast done, O goddess, is highly agreeable to me.' After this, Jaya addressed his son, the ruler of Manipura, and said unto him in the hearing of Chitrangada, the daughter (-in-law) of Kuru's house, the Horse-sacrifice of Yudhishthira will take place on the day of full moon in the coming month of Chaitra. Come there, O king, with thy mother and thy counsellors and officers.' Thus addressed by Partha, king Vabhruvahana of great intelligence, with tearful eyes, said these words to his sire, 'O thou that art conversant with every duty, I shall certainly repair, at thy command, to the great Horse-sacrifice, and take upon myself the task of distributing food among the regenerate ones. For, however, showing thy grace towards me, thou enter thy own city with thy two wives. Let no scruple, be thine as regards this, O thou that art fully acquainted with every duty. O lord, having lived for one night in thy own mansion in happiness, thou mayst then follow the steed, O foremost of victorious warriors. The ape-bannered son of Kunti, thus addressed by his son, answered the child of Chitrangada, saying 'Thou knowest, O mighty-armed one, what vow I am observing. O thou of large eyes, till the termination of this my vow, I cannot enter thy city. O foremost of men, this sacrificial horse wanders at will. (I have to follow it always.) Blessings on thee! I must go away. Place I have none wherein to rest for even a short while.' The son of the chastiser of Paka then, duly worshipped by his son and obtaining the permission of his two wives, left the spot and proceeded on his way.'"

SECTION 82

"Vaisampayana said, 'The (sacrificial) steed, having wandered over the whole Earth bounded by the ocean, then ceased and turned his face towards the city called after the elephant. Following as he did that horse, the diadem-decked Arjuna also turned his face towards the Kuru capital. Wandering at his will, the steed then came to the city of Rajagriha. Beholding him arrived within his dominion, O monarch, the heroic son of Sahadeva, observant of Kshatriya duties, challenged him to battle. Coming out of his city, Meghasandhi, mounted on his car and equipt with bow and arrows and leathern fence, rushed towards Dhananjaya who was on foot. Possessed of great energy, Meghasandhi approaching Dhananjaya, O king, said these words from a spirit of childishness and without any skill. 'This steed of thine, O Bharata, seems to move about, protected by women only. I shall take away the horse. Do thou strive to free him. Although my sires did not teach thee in battle, I, however, shall do the duties of hospitality to you. Do thou strike me, for I shall strike thee.' Thus addressed, the son of Pandu, smiling the while, answered him, saying, 'To resist him who obstructs me is the vow cast on me by my eldest brother. Without doubt, O king, this is known to thee. Do thou strike me to the best of thy power. I have no anger.' Thus addressed, the ruler of Magadha first struck the son of Pandu, showering his arrows on him like the thousand-eyed Indra showering heavy downpour of rain. Then, O chief of Bharata's race, the heroic wielder of Gandiva, with shafts sped from his excellent bow, baffled all the arrows shot carefully at him by his antagonist. Having thus baffled that cloud of arrows, the ape-bannered hero sped a number of blazing arrows at his foe that resembled snakes with fiery mouths. These arrows he shot at his flag and flag-staff and car and poles and yoke and the horses, sparing the body of his foe and his car-driver. Though Partha who was capable of shooting the bow with the left hand (as well as with the right) spared the body of the prince of Magadha, yet the latter thinking that his body was protected by his own prowess, shot many arrows at Partha. The wielder of Gandiva, deeply struck by the prince of Magadha, shone like a flowering Palasa (Butea frondosa) in the season of spring. Arjuna had no desire of slaying the prince of Magadha. It was for this that, having struck the son of Pandu, he succeeded in remaining before that foremost of heroes. Then Dhananjaya, becoming angry, drew his bow with great force, and slew his antagonist's steeds and then struck off the head of his car-driver. With a razor-headed shaft he then cut off Meghasandhi's large and beautiful bow, and then his leathern fence. Then cutting off his flag and flag-staff, he caused it to fall down. The prince of Magadha, exceedingly afflicted, and deprived of his steeds and bow and driver, took up a mace and rushed with great speed at the son of Kunti. Arjuna then with many shafts of his equipt with vulturine feathers cut off into fragments, that mace of his advancing foe which was adorned with bright gold. Thus cut off into fragments, that mace with its begemmed bonds and knots all severed, fell on the Earth like a she-snake helplessly hurled down by somebody. When his foe became deprived of his car, his bow, and his mace, that foremost of warriors, viz., the intelligent Arjuna, did not wish to strike him. The ape-bannered hero then, comforting his cheerless foe who had been observant of Kshatriya duties, said unto him these words,

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'O son, thou hast sufficiently displayed thy adherence to Kshatriya duties. Go now. Great have been the feats, O king, which thou hast accomplished in battle although thou art very young in years. The command I received from Yudhishthira was that kings who oppose me should not be slain. It is for this thou livest yet, O monarch, although thou hast offended me in battle. Thus addressed, the ruler of Magadha considered himself vanquished and spared. Thinking then that it was his duty to do so, he approached Arjuna and joining his hands in reverence worshipped him. And he said, 'Vanquished have I been by thee. Blessed be thou, I do not venture to continue the battle. Tell me what I am to do now for thee. Regard thy behest as already accomplished. Comforting him again, Arjuna once more said unto him, 'Thou shouldst repair to the Horse-sacrifice of our king which takes place at the coming full moon of Chaitra.' Thus addressed by him, the son of Sahadeva said, 'So be it,'--and then duly worshipped that horse as also Phalguna, that foremost of warriors. The sacrificial horse then, equipt with beautiful manes, proceeded at his will along the sea-coast, repairing to the countries of the Bangas, the Pundras, and the Kosalas. In those realms Dhananjaya, with his bow Gandiva, O king, vanquished innumerable Mlechecha armies one after another.'"

SECTION 83

"Vaisampayana said, 'Worshipped by the ruler of Magadha, Pandu's son having white steeds yoked unto his car, proceeded along the south, following the (sacrificial) steed. Turning round in course of his wanderings at will, the mighty steed came upon the beautiful city of the Chedis called after the oyster. [The name of the city was Suktimati.] Sarabha, the son of Sisupala, endued with great strength, first encountered Arjuna in battle and then worshipped him with due honours. Worshipped by him, O king, that best of steeds then proceeded to the realms of the Kasis, the Angas, the Kosalas, the Kiratas, and the Tanganas. Receiving due honours in all those realms, Dhananjaya turned his course. Indeed, the son of Kunti then proceeded to the country of the Dasarnas. The ruler of that people was Chitrangada who was endued with great strength and was a crusher of foes. Between him and Vijaya occurred a battle exceedingly terrible. Bringing him under his sway the diadem-decked Arjuna, that foremost of men, proceeded to the dominions of the Nishada king, viz., the son of Ekalavya. The soon of Ekalavya received Arjuna in battle. The encounter that took place between the Kuru hero and the Nishadas was so furious as to make the hair stand on end. Unvanquished in battle, the valiant son of Kunti defeated the Nishada king who proved an obstacle to the sacrifice. Having subjugated the son of Ekalavya, O king, the son of Indra, duly worshipped by the Nishadas, then proceeded towards the southern ocean. In those regions battle took place between the diadem-decked hero and the Dravidas and Andhras and the fierce Mahishakas and the hillmen of Kolwa. Subjugating those tribes without having to accomplish any fierce feats, Arjuna proceeded to the country of the Surashtras, his footsteps guided by the horse. Arrived at Gokarna, he repaired thence to Prabhasa. Next he proceeded to the beautiful city of Dwaravati protected by the heroes of the Vrishni race. When the beautiful sacrificial horse of the Kuru king reached Dwaravati, the Yadava youths, used force against that foremost of steeds. King Ugrasena, however, soon went out and forbade those youths from doing what they meditated. Then the ruler of the Vrishnis and the Andhakas, issuing out of his palace, with Vasudeva, the maternal uncle of Arjuna, in his company, cheerfully met the Kuru hero and received him with due rites. The two elderly chiefs honoured Arjuna duly. Obtaining their permission, the Kuru prince then proceeded to where the horse he followed, led him. The sacrificial steed then proceeded along the coast of the western ocean and at last reached the country of the five waters which swelled with population and prosperity. Thence, O king, the steed proceeded to the country of Gandharas. Arrived there, it wandered at will, followed by the son of Kunti. Then occurred a fierce battle between the diadem-decked hero and the ruler of Gandharas, viz., the son of Sakuni, who had a bitter rememberance of the grudge his sire bore to the Pandavas.'

SECTION 84

"Vaisampayana said, 'The heroic son of Sakuni, who was a mighty car-warrior among the Gandharas, accompanied by a large force, proceeded against the Kuru hero of curly hair. That force was properly equipt with elephants and horses and cars, and was adorned with many flags and banners. Unable to bear and, therefore, burning to avenge, the slaughter of their king Sakuni, those warriors, armed with bows, rushed together at Partha. The unvanquished Vibhatsu of righteous soul addressed them peacefully, but they were unwilling to accept the beneficial words of Yudhishthira (through Arjuna). Though forbidden by Partha with sweet words, they still gave themselves up to wrath and surrounded the sacrificial steed. At this, the son of Pandu became filled with wrath. Then Arjuna, carelessly shooting from Gandiva many shafts with razor-like heads that blazed with splendour, cut off the heads of many Gandhara warriors. While thus slaughtered by Partha, the Gandharas, O king, exceedingly afflicted, set free the horse, moved by fear and desisted from battle. Resisted, however, by those Gandhara combatants who still surrounded him on every side, the son of Pandu, possessed of great energy, felled the heads of many, previously naming those whom he thus despatched. When the Gandhara warriors were thus being slain all around him in battle, the royal son of Sakuni came forward to resist the son of Pandu. Unto the Gandhara king who was fighting with him, impelled by Kshatriya duty, Arjuna said, 'I do not intend to slay the kings who fight with me, in consequence of the commands of Yudhishthira. Cease, O hero, to fight with me. Do not court defeat.' Thus addressed the son of Sakuni, stupefied by folly, disregarded that advice and covered with many swift arrows the Kuru hero who resembled Sakra himself in the feats he accomplished in battle. Then Partha, with a crescent-shaped arrow, cut off the head-gear of his foe. Of immeasurable soul, he also caused that head-gear to be borne along a great distance like the head of Jayadratha (after he had cut it off in the battle of Kurukshetra). Beholding this feat, all the Gandhara warriors became filled with wonder. That Arjuna voluntarily spared their king was well understood by them. The prince of the Gandharas then began to fly away from the field, accompanied by all his warriors who resembled a flock of frightened deer. The Gandharas, through fear, lost their senses and wandered over the field, unable to escape. Arjuna, with his broad-headed shafts, cut off the heads of many. Many there were who lost their arms in consequence of Arjuna's arrows, but so stupefied were they with fear that they were not aware of the loss of that limb. Verity, the Gandhara army was exceedingly afflicted with those large shafts which Partha sped from Gandiva. That army, which then consisted of frightened men and elephants and horses, which lost many warriors and animals, and which had been reduced to a rabble and put to rout, began to wander and wheel about the field repeatedly. Among those foes who were thus being slaughtered none could be seen standing in front of the Kuru hero famed for foremost of feats. No one could be seen who was able to bear the prowess of Dhananjaya. Then the mother of the ruler of the Gandharas, filled with fear, and with all the aged ministers of state, came out of her city, bearing an excellent Arghya for Arjuna. She forbade her brave son of steady heart from fighting any longer, and gratified Jishnu who was never fatigued with toil. The puissant Vibhatsu worshipped her and became inclined to show kindness towards the Gandharas. Comforting the son of Sakuni, he said, 'Thou hast not, O mighty-armed hero, done what is agreeable to me by getting thy heart upon these measures of hostility. O slayer of heroes, thou art my brother, O sinless one. [Sakuni was the maternal uncle of Duryodhana and, therefore, of Arjuna also. Sakuni's son and Arjuna, hence, were cousins.] Recollecting my mother Gandhari, and for the sake of Dhritarashtra also, I have not taken thy life. It is for this, O king, that thou livest still. Many of thy followers, however, have been slain by me. Let not such a thing happen again. Let hostilities cease. Let not thy understanding again go astray. Thou shouldst go to the Horse-sacrifice of our king which comes off on the day of full moon of the month of Chaitra.'

SECTION 85

"Vaisampayana said, 'Having said these words, Partha set out, following the horse which wandered at its will. The sacrificial steed then turned towards the road that led to the city called after the elephant. Yudhishthira heard from his intelligence-bearers that the steed had turned back. And hearing also that Arjuna was hale and hearty, he became filled with joy. [The word chara does not mean always a spy. The ancient kings of India had their spies it is true, but they had a regular intelligence department. It was the business of these men to send correct reports to the king of every important occurrence. The news letter-writers of the Mussalman time, or Harkaras, were the successors of the charas of Hindu times.] Hearing also the feats, accomplished by Vijaya in the country of the Gandharas as also in another realms, the king became exceedingly glad. Meanwhile, king Yudhishthira the just, seeing that the twelfth day of the lighted fortnight in the month of Magha had come, and noticing also that the constellation was favourable, summoned all his brothers, viz., Bhima and Nakula and Sahadeva. Endued with great energy, the king, O thou of Kuru's race, that foremost of all persons conversant with duties, said these words in proper time. Indeed, that foremost of all speakers, addressing Bhima, the first of all smiters, said;--'Thy younger brother (Arjuna), O Bhimasena, is coming back with the horse. I have learnt this from those men who had followed Arjuna. The time (for the sacrifice) is come. The sacrificial horse is near. The day of full moon of the month of Magha is at hand. The month is about to expire, O Vrikodara. Let, therefore, learned Brahmanas conversant with the Vedas look for a sacrificial spot for the successful accomplishment of the Horse-sacrifice.' Thus addressed, Bhima obeyed the royal behest. He became very glad upon hearing that Arjuna of curly hair was about to come back. Then Bhima went out with a number of men well conversant with the rules of laying out sacrificial grounds and constructing buildings. And he took with him many Brahmanas well-versed in all the rites of sacrifices. Bhima selected a beautiful spot and caused it to be duly measured out for laying the sacrificial compound. Numerous houses and mansions were constructed on it and high and broad roads also were laid out. Soon enough the Kaurava hero caused that ground to teem with hundreds of excellent mansions. The surface was levelled and made smooth with jewels and gems, and adorned with diverse structures made of gold. Columns were raised, ornamented with bright gold, and high and wide triumphal arches also were constructed on that sacrificial compound. All these were made of pure gold. The righteous-souled prince also caused apartments to be duly constructed for the accommodation of ladies and of the numerous kings who, hailing from many realms, were expected to grace the sacrifice with their presence. The son of Kunti also caused many mansions to be duly erected for Brahmanas who were expected to come from diverse realms. Then the mighty-armed Bhimasena, at the command of the king, sent out messengers to the great kings of the Earth. Those best of kings, came to the Horse-sacrifice of the Kuru monarch for doing what was agreeable to him. And they brought many gems with them and many female slaves and horses and weapons. The sounds that arose from those high-souled kings who resided within those pavilions touched the very heavens and resembled the noise made by the roaring ocean. King Yudhishthira, the delighter of the Kurus, assigned unto the monarchs who thus came to his sacrifice diverse kinds of food and drink, and beds also of celestial beauty. The chief of the Bharatas, viz., king Yudhishthira the just, assigned several stables well filled with different kinds of corn and sugarcane and milk to the animals (that came with the guests). To that great sacrifice of king Yudhishthira the just who was possessed of high intelligence, there also came a large number of Munis all of whom were utterers of Brahman. Indeed, O lord of Earth, all the foremost ones among the regenerate class that were then alive, came to that sacrifice, accompanied by their disciples. The Kuru king received them all. King Yudhishthira of mighty energy, casting off all pride, himself followed all his guests to the pavilions that had been assigned for their residence. Then all the mechanics and engineers, having completed the arrangements of the sacrifice informed king Yudhishthira of it. Hearing that everything was ready, king Yudhishthira the just, full of alertness and attention, became highly glad along with his brothers all of whom honoured him duly.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'When the great sacrifice of Yudhishthira commenced, many eloquent dialecticians started diverse propositions and disputed thereon, desirous of vanquishing one another. [Hetuvadins are dialecticians or philosophers who dispute on the reasons of things.] The (invited) kings beheld the excellent preparations of that sacrifice, resembling those of the chief himself of the deities, made, O Bharata, by Bhimasena. They beheld many triumphal arches made of gold, and many beds and seats and other articles of enjoyment and luxury, and crowds of men collected at different sports. There were also many jars and vessels and cauldrons and jugs and lids and covers. The invited kings saw nothing there that was not made of gold. Many sacrificial stakes also were set up, made, according to the directions of the scriptures of wood, and adorned with gold. Endued with great effulgence, these were duly planted and dedicated (with scriptural Mantras). The king saw all animals, again, which belong to land and all those which belong to water, collected there on the occasion. And they also beheld many kine and many buffaloes and many old women, and many aquatic animals, many beasts of prey and many species of birds, and many specimens of viviparous and oviparous creatures, and many that are filth-born, and many belonging to the vegetable kingdom, and many animals and plants that live or grow on mountains. Beholding the sacrificial compound thus adorned with animals and kine and corn, the invited kings became filled with wonder. Large heaps of costly sweet-meats were kept ready for both the Brahmanas and the Vaisyas. And when the feeding was over of a hundred thousand Brahmanas, drums and cymbals were beat. And so large was the number fed that the sounds of drums and cymbals were repeatedly heard, indeed, from day to day those sounds continued. Thus was performed that sacrifice of king Yudhishthira of great intelligence. Many hills of food, O king, were dedicated on the occasion. Many large tanks were seen of curds and many lakes of ghee. In that great sacrifice, O monarch, was seen the entire population of Jamvudwipa, with all its realms and provinces, collected together. Thousands of nations and races were there. A large number of men, O chief of Bharata's race, adorned with garlands and wearing bright ear-rings made of gold, taking innumerable vessels in their hands, distributed the food unto the regenerate classes by hundreds and thousands. The attendants of the Pandavas gave away unto the Brahmanas diverge kinds of food and drink which were, besides, so costly as to be worthy of being eaten and drunk by kings themselves.'"

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SECTION 86

"Vaisampayana said, 'Beholding those kings--lords of Earth--all conversant with the Vedas, arrive, king Yudhishthira, addressing Bhimasena, said,--'O chief of men, let proper honours be paid to these kings who have come (to my sacrifice), for these foremost of men are all worthy of the highest honours.' Thus addressed by king Yudhishthira of great fame Pandu's son Bhimasena of mighty energy did as he was enjoined, assisted by the twins. The foremost of all men, viz., Govinda, came there, accompanied by the Vrishnis, and with Valadeva in the van. He was accompanied by Yuyudhana and Pradyumna and Gada, and Nisatha and Samvo and Kritavarman. The mighty car-warrior Bhima offered them the most reverential worship. Those princes then entered the palaces, adorned with gems, that were assigned to them. At the end of a conversation he had with Yudhishthira, the slayer of Madhu referred to Arjuna who had been emaciated in consequence of many fights. The son of Kunti repeatedly asked Krishna, that chastiser of foes, about Arjuna. Unto Dharma's son, the lord of all the universe began to speak about Jishnu, the son of Sakra. 'O king, a confidential agent of mine residing in Dwaraka came to me. He had seen Arjuna, that foremost of Pandu's sons. Indeed, the latter has been very much emaciated with the fatigue of many battles. O puissant monarch, that agent of mine informed me that the mighty-armed hero is very near to us. Do thou set thyself to accomplish thy Horse-sacrifice.' Thus addressed, king Yudhishthira the just, said unto him,--'By good luck, O Madhava, Arjuna comes back safely. I desire to ascertain from thee, O delighter of the Yadavas, what has been said in this matter by that mightiest of heroes among the song of Pandu.' Thus addressed by king Yudhishthira the just, the lord of the Vrishnis and the Andhakas, that foremost of eloquent men, said these words unto that monarch of righteous soul,--'My agent, recollecting the words of Partha, reported them thus to me, O great king,--Yudhishthira, O Krishna, should be told these words of mine when the time comes. O chief of the Kauravas. many kings will come (to thy sacrifice). When they arrive, high honours should be paid unto them. This would, indeed, be worthy for us. O giver of honours, the king should further be informed at my request that he should do what is necessary for preventing a carnage similar to what took place at the time of presenting the Arghya (on the occasion of the Rajasuya-sacrifice). Let Krishna also approve of this. Let not. O king, through the ill-feeling of kings, the people be slaughtered. My man further reported, O king, these words of Dhananjaya. Listen as I repeat them, 'O monarch, the ruler of Manipura, my dear son Vabhruvahana, will come at the sacrifice. Do thou honour him duly for my sake. O puissant one. He is always attached and deeply devoted to me.'--Hearing these words, king Yudhishthira the just, approved of them and said as follows.'

SECTION 87

"Yudhishthira said, 'I have heard, O Krishna, thy agreeable words. They are such as deserve to be spoken by thee. Gladsome and sweet as nectar are they, indeed, they fill my heart with great pleasure, O puissant one. O Hrishikesa, I have heard that innumerable have been the battles which Vijaya has fought with the kings of the Earth. For what reason is Partha always dissociated from ease and comfort? Vijaya is exceedingly intelligent. This, therefore, pains my heart very much. I always, O Janarddana, think, when I am withdrawn from business, of Kunti's son Jishnu. The lot of that delighter of the Pandus is exceedingly miserable. His body has every auspicious mark. What, however, O Krishna, is that sign in his excellent body in consequence of which he has always to endure misery and discomfort? That son of Kunti has to bear an exceedingly large share of unhappiness. I do not see any censurable indication in his body. It behoves thee to explain the cause to me it I deserve to hear it. Thus addressed, Hrishikesa, that enhancer of the glory of the Bhoja princes, having reflected for a long time, answered as follows--'I do not see any censurable feature in this prince, except that the cheek bones of this lion among men are a little too high. It is in consequence of this that that foremost of men has always to be on the road. I really do not see anything else in consequence of which he could be made so unhappy.' Thus answered by Krishna of great intelligence, that foremost of men, viz., king Yudhishthira, said unto the chief of the Vrishnis that it was even so. The princess Draupadi, however, looked angrily and askance at Krishna, (for she could not bear the ascription of any fault to Arjuna). The slayer of Kesi, viz., Hrishikesa, approved of that indication of love (for his friend) which the princess of Panchala, who also was his friend, displayed. [It is worthy of note that Draupadi was always styled by Krishna as his sakhi or 'friend'. Krishna was highly chivalrous to the other sex at an age when women were universally regarded as the inferiors of men.] Bhimasena and the other Kurus, including the sacrificial priests, who heard of the agreeable triumphs of Arjuna in course of his following the horse, became highly gratified. While they were still engaged in discoursing on Arjuna, an envoy came from that high-souled hero bearing a message from him. Repairing to the presence of the Kuru king, the intelligent envoy bowed his head in reverence and informed him of the arrival of that foremost of men, viz., Phalguna. On receipt of this intelligence, tears of joy covered the king's eyes. Large gifts were made to the messenger for the very agreeable tidings he had brought. On the second day from that date, a loud din was heard when that foremost of men, that chief of the Kurus, came. The dust raised by the hoofs of that horse as it walked in close adjacence to Arjuna, looked as beautiful as that raised by the celestial steed Uchchaisravas. And as Arjuna advanced he heard many gladdening words uttered by the citizens. 'By good luck, O Partha, thou art out of danger. Praise to you and king Yudhishthira! Who else than Arjuna could come back after having caused the horse to wander over the whole Earth and after having vanquished all the kings in battle? We have not heard of such a feat having been achieved by even Sagara and other high-souled kings of antiquity. Future kings also will never be able to accomplish so difficult a feat, O foremost one of Kuru's race, as this which thou hast achieved.' Listening to such words, agreeable to the ear, of the citizens, the righteous-souled Phalguna entered the sacrificial compound. Then king Yudhishthira with all his ministers, and Krishna, the delighter of the Yadus, placing Dhritarashtra in their van, went out for receiving Dhananjaya. Saluting the feet of his sire (Dhritarashtra), and then of king Yudhishthira the just of great wisdom, and then worshipping Bhima and others, he embraced Kesava. Worshipped by them all and worshipping them in return according to due rites, the mighty-armed hero, accompanied by those princes, took rest like a ship-wrecked man tossed on the waves resting on reaching the shore. Meanwhile king Vabhruvahan of great wisdom, accompanied by his mothers (Chitrangada and Ulupi), came to the Kuru capital. The mighty-armed prince duly saluted all his seniors of Kuru's race and the other kings present there, and was honoured by them all in return. He then entered the excellent abode of his grand-mother Kunti.'"

SECTION 88

"Vaisampayana said, 'Entering the palace of the Pandavas the mighty-armed prince saluted his grand-mother in soothing and sweet accents. Then queen Chitrangada, and (Ulupi) the daughter of (the snake) Kauravya, together approached Partha and Krishna with humility. They then met Subhadra and the other ladies of the Kuru race with due formalities. Kunti gave them many gems and costly things. Draupadi and Subhadra and the other ladies of Kuru's race all made presents to them. The two ladies took up their residence there, using costly beds and seats, treated with affection and respect by Kunti herself from desire of doing what was agreeable to Partha. King Vabhruvahana of great energy, duly honoured (by Kunti), then met Dhritarashtra according to due rites. Repairing then to king Yudhishthira and Bhima and the other Pandavas, the mighty prince of Manipura saluted them all with humility. They all embraced him with great affection and honoured him duly. And those mighty car-warriors highly gratified with him, made large gifts of wealth unto him. The king of Manipura then humbly approached Krishna, that hero armed with the discus and the mace, like a second Pradyumna approaching his sire. Krishna gave unto the king a very costly and excellent car adorned with gold and unto which were yoked excellent steeds. Then king Yudhishthira the just, and Bhima, and Phalguna, and the twins, each separately honoured him and made costly presents unto him. On the third day, the sage Vyasa, the son of Satyavati, that foremost of eloquent men, approaching Yudhishthira said,--'From this day, O son of Kunti, do thou begin thy sacrifice. The time for it has come. The moment for commencing the rite is at hand. The priests are urging thee. Let the sacrifice be performed in such a way that no limb may become defective. In consequence of the very large quantity of gold that is required for this sacrifice, it has come to be called the sacrifice of profuse gold. Do thou also, O great king, make the Dakshina of this sacrifice three times of what is enjoined. Let the merit of thy sacrifice increase threefold. The Brahmanas are competent for the purpose. [The sense is this: for a horse-sacrifice, the Dakshina or sacrificial present, payable to the principal Ritwija or to be distributed among all the Ritwijas including the other Brahmanas, is enjoined to be of a certain measure. Vyasa advises Yudhishthira to make that Dakshina triple of what the enjoined measure is. By thus increasing the Dakshina, the merit of the sacrificer will increase correspondingly.] Attaining to the merits then of three Horse-sacrifices, each with profuse presents, thou shalt be freed, O king, from the sin of having slain thy kinsmen. The bath that one performs upon completion of the Horse-sacrifice, O monarch, is highly cleansing and productive of the highest merit. That merit will be thine, O king of Kuru's race. Thus addressed by Vyasa of immeasurable intelligence, the righteous-souled Yudhishthira of great energy underwent the Diksha for performance of the Horse-sacrifice. [The Diksha is the ceremony of initiation. Certain mantras (prayers) are uttered in which the intention is declared of performing what is desired to be performed.] The mighty-armed monarch then performed the great Horse-sacrifice characterised by gifts of food and presents in profusion and capable of fructifying every wish and producing every merit. The priests, well conversant with the Vedas, did every rite duly, moving about in all directions. They were all well-trained, and possessed of omniscience. In nothing was there a swerving from the ordinances and nothing was down improperly. Those foremost of regenerate persons followed the procedure as laid down (in the scriptures) and as it should be followed in those points about which no directions are given. [The Karma of a sacrifice or religious rite is the procedure. It is, of course, laid down in the scriptures on the ritual. There are certain acts, however, which, though not laid down, should be done agreeably to reasonable inferences. What is said, therefore, in the second line of 20 is that the procedure was fully followed, both as laid down and as consistent with inferences.] Those best of regenerate ones, having first performed the rite called Pravargya, otherwise called Dharma, then duly went through the rite of Abhishava, O king. [Pravargya is a special preliminary rite performed in a sacrifice. 'Abhishva' is the extraction of the juice of the Soma plant after its consecration with Mantras (prayers).] Those foremost of Soma-drinkers, O monarch, extracting the juice of the Soma, then performed the Savana rite following the injunctions of the scriptures. Among those that came to that sacrifice none could be seen who was cheerless, none who was poor, none who was hungry, none who was plunged into grief, and none that seemed to be vulgar. Bhimasena of mighty energy at the command of the king, caused food to be ceaselessly distributed among those that desired to eat. Following the injunctions of the scriptures, priests, well-versed in sacrificial rites of every kind, performed every day all the acts necessary to complete the great sacrifice. Amongst the Sadasayas of king Yudhishthira of great intelligence there was none who was not well conversant with the six branches of (Vedic). learning. There was none among them that was not an observer of vows, none that was not an Upadhyaya; none that was not well versed in dialectical disputations. When the time came for erecting the sacrificial stake, O chief of Bharata's race, six stakes were set up that were made of Vilwa, six that were made of Khadira, and six that were made of Saravarnin. Two stakes were get up by the priests that were made of Devadaru in that sacrifice of the Kuru king, and one that was made of Sleshmataka. At the command of the king, Bhima caused some other stakes to be set up, for the sake of beauty only, that were made of gold. Adorned with fine cloths supplied by the royal sage, those stakes shone there like Indra and the deities with the seven celestial Rishis standing around them in Heaven. A number of golden bricks were made for constructing therewith a Chayana. The Chayana made resembled in beauty that which had been made for Daksha, the lord of creatures (on the occasion of his great sacrifice). The Chayana measured eight and ten cubits and four stories or lairs. A golden bird, of the shape of Garuda, was then made, having three angles. [They were probably figures drawn on the sacrificial altar, with gold-dust. At the present day, powdered rice, coloured red, yellow, blue, etc, is used.] Following the injunctions of the scriptures, the priests possessed of great learning then duly tied to the stakes both animals and birds, assigning each to its particular deity. [Each animal is supposed to be agreeable to a particular deity.] Bulls, possessed of such qualifications as are mentioned in the scriptures, and aquatic animals were properly tied to the stakes after the rites relating to the sacrificial fire had been performed. In that sacrifice of the high-souled son of Kunti, three hundred animals were tied to the stakes setup, including that foremost of steeds. That sacrifice looked exceedingly beautiful as if adorned with the celestial Rishis, with the Gandharvas singing in chorus and the diverse tribes of Apsaras dancing in merriment. It teemed, besides, with Kimpurushas and was adorned with Kinnaras. All around it were abodes of Brahmanas crowned with ascetic success. There were daily seen the disciples of Vyasa, those foremost of regenerate ones, who are compilers of all branches of learning, and well conversant with sacrificial rites. There was Narada, and there was Tumvuru of great splendour. There were Viswavasu and Chitrasena and others, all of whom were proficient in music. At intervals of the sacrificial rites, those Gandharvas, skilled in music and well versed in dancing, used to gladden the Brahmanas who were engaged in the sacrifice.'"

SECTION 89

"Vaisampayana said, 'Having cooked, according to due rites, the other excellent animals that were sacrificed, the priests then sacrificed, agreeably to the injunctions of the scriptures, that steed (which had wandered over the whole world). After cutting that horse into pieces, conformably to scriptural directions, they caused Draupadi of great intelligence, who was possessed of the three requisites of mantras, things, and devotion, to sit near the divided animal. The Brahmanas then with cool minds, taking up the marrow of that steed, cooked it duly, O chief of Bharata's race. King Yudhishthira the just, with all his younger brothers, then smelled, agreeably to the scriptures, the smoke, capable of

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cleansing one from every sin, of the marrow that was thus cooked. The remaining limbs, O king, of that horse, were poured into the fire by the sixteen sacrificial priests possessed of great wisdom. Having thus completed the sacrifice of that monarch, who was endued with the energy of Sakra himself, the illustrious Vyasa with his disciples eulogised the king greatly. Then Yudhishthira gave away unto the Brahmanas a thousand crores of golden nishkas, and unto Vyasa he gave away the whole Earth. Satyavati's son Vyasa, having accepted the Earth, addressed that foremost one of Bharata's race, viz., king Yudhishthira the just, and said, 'O best of kings, the Earth which thou hast given me I return unto thee. Do thou give me the purchasing value, for Brahmanas are desirous of wealth (and have no use with the Earth).' The high-souled Yudhishthira of great intelligence staying with his brothers in the midst of the kings invited to his sacrifice, said unto those Brahmanas, The 'Dakshina ordained in the scriptures for the great Horse-sacrifice is the Earth. Hence, I have given away unto the sacrificial priests the Earth conquered by Arjuna. Ye foremost of Brahmanas, I shall enter the woods. Do ye divide the Earth among yourselves. Indeed, do you divide the Earth into four parts according to what is done in the Chaturhotra sacrifice. Ye best of regenerate ones I do not desire to appropriate what now belongs to the Brahmanas. Even this, ye learned Brahmanas, has been the intention always cherished by myself and my brothers.' When the king said these words, his brothers and Draupadi also said, 'Yes, it is even so.' Great was the sensation created by this announcement. Then, O Bharata, an invisible voice was heard in the welkin, saying,--'Excellent, Excellent!' The murmurs also of crowds of Brahmanas as they spoke arose. The Island-born Krishna, highly applauding him, once more addressed Yudhishthira, in the presence of the Brahmanas, saying, 'The Earth has been given by thee to me. I, however, give her back to thee. Do thou give unto these Brahmanas gold. Let the Earth be thine.' Then Vasudeva, addressing king Yudhishthira the just, said, 'It behoveth thee to do as thou art bid by the illustrious Vyasa.' Thus addressed, the foremost one of Kuru's race, along with all his brothers, became glad of soul, and gave away millions of golden coins, in fact, trebling the Dakshina ordained for the Horse-sacrifice. No other king will be able to accomplish what the Kuru king accomplished on that occasion after the manner of Marutta. Accepting that wealth, the Island-born sage, Krishna, of great learning, gave it unto the sacrificial priests, dividing it into four parts. Having paid that wealth as the price of the Earth, Yudhishthira, cleansed of his sins and assured of Heaven rejoiced with his brothers. The sacrificial priests, having got that unlimited quantity of wealth, distributed it among the Brahmanas gladly and according to the desire of each recipient. The Brahmanas also divided amongst themselves, agreeably to Yudhishthira's permission, the diverse ornaments of gold that were in the sacrificial compound, including the triumphal arches, the stakes, the jars, and diverse kinds of vessels. After the Brahmanas had taken as much as they desired, the wealth that remained was taken away by Kshatriyas and Vaisyas and Sudras and diverse tribes of Mlechechas. Thus gratified with presents by king Yudhishthira of great intelligence, the Brahmanas, filled with joy, returned to their respective abodes. The holy and illustrious Vyasa respectfully presented his own share, which was very large, of that gold unto Kunti. Receiving that gift of affection from her father-in-law, Pritha became glad of heart and devoted it to the accomplishment of diverge acts of merit. King Yudhishthira, having bathed at the conclusion of his sacrifice and become cleansed of all his sins, shone in the midst of his brothers, honoured by all, like the chief of the celestials in the midst of the denizens of Heaven. The sons of Pandu, surrounded by the assembled kings, looked as beautiful, O king, as the planets in the midst of the stars. Unto those kings they made presents of various jewels and gems, and elephants and horses and ornaments of gold, and female slaves and cloths and large measures of gold. Indeed, Pritha's son by distributing that untold wealth among the invited monarchs, shone, O king, like Vaisravana, the lord of treasures. Summoning next the heroic king Vabhruvahana, Yudhishthira gave unto him diverse kinds of wealth in profusion and gave him permission to return home. The son of Pandu, for gratifying his sister Dussala, established her infant grandson in his paternal kingdom. The Kuru king Yudhishthira, having a full control over his senses, then dismissed the assembled kings all of whom had been properly classed and honoured by him. The illustrious son of Pandu, that chastiser of foes, then duly worshipped the high-souled Govinda and Valadeva of great might, and the thousands of other Vrishni heroes having Pradyumna for their first. Assisted by his brothers, he then dismissed them for returning to Dwaraka. Even thus was celebrated that sacrifice of king Yudhishthira the just, which was distinguished by a profuse abundance of food and wealth and jewels and gems, and oceans of wines of different kinds. There were lakes whose mire consisted of ghee, and mountains of food. There were also, O chief of Bharata's race, miry rivers made of drinks having the six kinds of taste. Of men employed in making and eating the sweetmeats called Khandavaragas, and of animals slain for food, there was no end. [Khandavaraga was made of piper longum and dried ginger (powdered), and the juice of Phaseolus Mungo, with sugar. Probably, it is identical with what is now called Mungka laddu in the bazars of Indian towns.] The vast space abounded with men inebriated with wine, and with young ladies filled with joy. The extensive grounds constantly echoed with the sounds of drums and the blare of conches. With all these, the sacrifice became exceedingly delightful. 'Let agreeable things be given away,'--'Let agreeable food be eaten,'--these were the sounds that were repeatedly heard day and night in that sacrifice. It was like a great festival, full of rejoicing and contented men. People of diverse realms speak of that sacrifice to this day. Having showered wealth in torrents, and diverse objects of desire, and jewels and gems, and drinks of various kinds, the foremost one of Bharata's race, cleansed of all his sins, and his purpose fulfilled, entered his capital. '"

SECTION 90

"Janamejaya said, 'It behoveth thee to tell me of any wonderful incident that occurred in the sacrifice of my grandsires.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Hear, O chief of kings of a most wonderful incident that occurred, O puissant monarch, at the conclusion of that great horse-sacrifice. After all the foremost of Brahmanas and all the kinsmen and relatives and friends, and all the poor, the blind, and the helpless ones had been gratified, O chief of Bharata's race, when the gifts made in profusion were being spoken of on all sides, indeed, when flowers were rained down on the head of king Yudhishthira the just, a blue-eyed mongoose, O sinless one, with one side of his body changed into gold, came there and spoke in a voice that was as loud and deep as thunder. Repeatedly uttering such deep sounds and thereby frightening all animals and birds, that proud denizen of a hole, with large body, spoke in a human voice and said, 'Ye kings, this great sacrifice is not equal to a prastha of powdered barley given away by a liberal Brahmana of Kurukshetra who was observing the Unccha vow.' Hearing these words of the mongoose, O king, all those foremost of Brahmanas became filled with wonder. Approaching the mongoose, they then asked him, saying, 'Whence hast thou come to this sacrifice, this resort of the good and the pious? What is the extent of thy might? What thy learning? And what thy refuge? How should we know thee that thus censurest this our sacrifice? Without having disregarded any portion of the scriptures, everything that should be done has been accomplished here according to the scriptures and agreeably to reason, with the aid of diverse sacrificial rites. Those who are deserving of worship have been duly worshipped here according to the way pointed out by the scriptures. Libations have been poured on the sacred fire with the aid of proper mantras. That which should be given has been given away without pride. The regenerate class have been gratified with gifts of diverse kinds. The Kshatriyas have been gratified with battles fought according to just methods. The grandsires have been gratified with Sraddhas. The Vaisyas have been gratified by the protection offered to them, and many foremost of women have been gratified by accomplishing their desires. The Sudras have been gratified by kind speeches, and others with the remnants of the profuse wealth collected on the spot. Kinsmen and relatives have been gratified by the purity of behaviour displayed by our king. The deities have been gratified by libations of clarified butter and acts of merit, and dependants and followers by protection. That therefore, which is true, do thou truly declare unto these Brahmanas. Indeed, do thou declare what is agreeable to the scriptures and to actual experience, asked by the Brahmanas who are eager to know. Thy words seem to demand credit. Thou art wise. Thou bearest also a celestial form. Thou hast come into the midst of learned Brahmanas. It behoveth thee to explain thyself.' Thus addressed by those regenerate persons, the mongoose, smiling, answered them as follows. 'Ye regenerate ones, the words I have uttered are not false. Neither have I spoken them from pride. That which I have said may have been heard by you all. Ye foremost of regenerate persons, this sacrifice is not equal in merit to the gift of a prastha of powdered barley. Without doubt, I should say this, ye foremost of Brahmanas. Listen to me with undivided attention as I narrate what happened to thee truly. Wonderful and excellent was the occurrence that fell out. It was witnessed by me and its consequences were felt by me. The incident relates to a liberal Brahmana dwelling in Kurukshetra in the observance of the Unccha vow. In consequence of that incident he attained to Heaven, ye regenerate ones, along with his wife and son and daughter-in-law. And in consequence of what then happened half my body became transformed into gold.'

"The Mongoose continued, 'Ye regenerate ones, I shall presently tell you what the excellent fruit was of the gift, made by a Brahmana, of a very little measure (of powdered barley) obtained by lawful means. On that righteous spot of ground known by the name of Kurukshetra, which is the abode of many righteous persons, there lived a Brahmana in the observance of what is called the Unccha vow. That mode of living is like unto that of the pigeon. He lived there with his wife and son and daughter-in-law and practised penances. Of righteous soul, and with senses under complete control, he adopted the mode of living that is followed by a parrot. Of excellent vows, he used to eat everyday at the sixth division. If there was nothing to eat at the sixth division of the day, that excellent Brahmana would fast for that day and eat the next day at the sixth division. On one occasion, ye Brahmanas, there occurred a dreadful famine in the land. During that time there was nothing stored in the abode of that righteous Brahmana. The herbs and plants were all dried up and the whole realm became void of foodstore. When the accustomed hours came for eating, the Brahmana had nothing to eat. This occurred day after day. All the members of his family were afflicted with hunger but were obliged to pass the days as best they could. One day, in the month of Jaishtha, while the Sun was in the meridian, the Brahmana was engaged in picking up grains of corn. Afflicted by heat and hunger, he was practising even this penance. Unable to obtain grains of corn, the Brahmana soon became worn out with hunger and toil. Indeed, with all the members of his family, he had no food to eat. That best of Brahmanas passed the days in great suffering. One day, after the sixth division came, he succeeded in obtaining a prastha of barley. That barley was then reduced by those ascetics to powder for making what is called Saktu of it. Having finished their silent recitations and other daily rites, and having duly poured libations on the sacred fire, those ascetics divided that little measure of powdered barley amongst themselves so that the share of each came up to the measure of a Kudava. As they were about to sit down for eating, there came unto their abode a guest. Beholding the person who came as a guest, all of them became exceedingly glad. Indeed, seeing him, they saluted him and made the usual enquiries of welfare. They were of pure minds, self-restrained, and endued with faith and control over the passions. Freed from malice, they had conquered wrath. Possessed of piety, they were never pained at the sight of other people's happiness. They had cast off pride and haughtiness and anger. Indeed, they were conversant with every duty, ye foremost of regenerate ones. Informing their guest of their own penances and of the race or family to which they belonged, and ascertaining from him in return those particulars, they caused that hungry guest of theirs to enter their cottage. Addressing him they said, 'This is the Arghya for thee. This water is for washing thy feet. There are scattered some Kusa grass for thy seat, O sinless one. Here is some clean Saktu acquired by lawful means, O puissant one. Given by us, O foremost of regenerate persons, do thou accept it,' Thus addressed by them, that Brahmana accepted the Kudava of powdered barley that was offered to him and ate it all. But his hunger, O king, was not appeased by what he ate. The Brahmana in the observance of the Unccha vow, seeing that his guest's hunger was still unappeased, began to think of what other food he could place before him for gratifying him. Then his wife said unto him,--'Let my share be given unto him. Let this foremost of regenerate persons be gratified and let him then go whithersoever he will.' Knowing that his chaste wife who said so was herself afflicted by hunger, that best of Brahmanas could not approve of her share of the powdered barley being given to the guest. Indeed, that best of Brahmanas possessed of learning, knowing from his own state that his aged, toil-worn, cheerless, and helpless wife was herself afflicted by hunger and seeing that lady who had been emaciated into mere skin and bone was quivering with weakness, addressed her and said, 'O beautiful one, with even animals, with even worms and insects, wives are fed and protected. It behoveth thee not, therefore, to say so. The wife treats her lord with kindness and feeds and protects him. Everything appertaining to religion, pleasure, and wealth, careful nursing, offspring for perpetuating the race, are all dependent on the wife. Indeed, the merits of a person himself as also of his deceased ancestors depend also on her. The wife should know her lord by his acts. Verily, that man who fails to protect his wife earns great infamy here and goes into Hell hereafter. Such a man falls down from even a position of great fame and never succeeds in acquiring regions of happiness hereafter.' Thus addressed, she answered him, saying, 'O regenerate one, our religious acts and wealth are united. Do thou take a fourth of this barley. Indeed, be gratified with me. Truth, pleasure, religious merit, and Heaven as acquirable, by good qualities, of women, as also all the objects of their desire, O foremost of regenerate ones, are dependent on the husband. In the production of offspring the mother contributes her blood. The father contributes his seed. The husband is the highest deity of the wife. Through the grace of the husband, women obtain both pleasure and offspring as the reward. Thou art my Pati (lord) for the protection thou givest me. Thou art my Bhartri for the means of sustenance thou givest me. Thou art, again, boon-giver to me in consequence of thy having presented me a son. Do thou, therefore, (in return for so many favours), take my share of the barley and give it unto the guest. Overcome by decrepitude, thou art of advanced years. Afflicted by hunger thou art exceedingly weakened. Worn out

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with fasts, thou art very much emaciated. (If thou couldst part with thy share, why should not I part with mine)' Thus addressed by her, he took her share of the powdered barley and addressing his guest said,--'O regenerate one, O best of men, do thou accept this measure of powdered barley as well.' The Brahmana, having accepted that quantity, immediately ate it up, but his hunger was not yet appeased. Beholding him ungratified, the Brahmana in the observance of the Unccha vow became thoughtful. His son then said unto him, 'O best of men, taking my share of the barely do thou give it to the guest. I regard this act of mine as one of great merit. Therefore, do it. Thou shouldst be always maintained by me with great care. Maintenance of the father is a duty which the good always covet. The maintenance of the father in his old age is the duty ordained for the son. Even this is the eternal sruti (audition) current in the three worlds, O learned Rishi. By barely living thou art capable of practising penances. The life-breath is the great deity that resides in the bodies of all embodied creatures.'

"The father, at this, said, 'If thou attainest to the age of even a thousand years, thou wilt still seem to me to be only a little child. Having begotten a son, the sire achieves success through him. O puissant one, I know that the hunger of children is very strong. I am old. I shall somehow succeed in holding my life-breaths. Do thou, O son, become strong (by eating the food that has fallen to thy share). Old and decrepit as I am, O son, hunger scarcely afflicts me. I have, again, for many years, practised penances. I have no fear of death.'

"The son said, 'I am thy offspring. The Sruti declares that one's offspring is called putra because one is rescued by him. One's own self, again, takes birth as one's son. Do thou, therefore, rescue thyself by thy own self (in the form of thy son).'

"The father said, 'In form thou art like me. In conduct and in self-restraint also thou art my like. Thou hast been examined on various occasions by me. I shall, therefore, accept thy share of the barley, O son.' Having said this, that foremost of regenerate persons cheerfully took his son's share of the barley and smilingly presented it to his regenerate guest. Having eaten that barley also, the guest's hunger was not appeased. The righteous-souled host in the observance of the unccha vow became ashamed (at the thought that he had nothing more to give). Desirous of doing what was agreeable to him, his chaste daughter-in-law then, bearing her share of the barley, approached him and said, 'Through thy son, O learned Brahmana, I shall obtain a son. Do thou, therefore, take my share of the barley and give it unto this guest. Through thy grace, numerous regions of beatitude will be mine for eternity. Through the grandson one obtains those regions repairing whither one has not to endure any kind of misery. Like the triple aggregate beginning with Religion, or the triple aggregate of sacred fires, there is a triple aggregate of everlasting Heavens, depending upon the son, the grandson, and the great-grandson. The son is called Putra because he frees his sires from debt. Through sons and grandsons one always enjoys the happiness of those regions which are reserved for the pious and the good.'

"The father-in-law said, 'O thou of excellent vows and conduct, beholding thee wasted by wind and sun, deprived of thy very complexion, emaciated and almost destitute of consciousness through hunger, how can I be such a transgressor against the rules of righteousness as to take thy share of the barley? O auspicious damsel, it behoves thee not to say so, for the sake of those auspicious results for which every family must strive. [The sense is this: for the sake of those auspicious results after which every family should strive, the daughter-in-law should be well treated. How then can I deprive thee of food?] O auspicious damsel, how can I behold thee: at even this, the sixth division of the day, abstaining from food and observing vows? Thou art endued with purity and good conduct and penances. Alas, even thou hast to pass thy days in so much misery. Thou art a child, afflicted by hunger, and belongest to the softer sex. Thou shouldst be always protected by me. Alas, I have to see thee worn out with fasts, O thou that art the delighter of all thy kinsmen.'

"The daughter-in-law said, 'Thou art the senior of my senior since thou art the deity of my deity. Thou art verily the god of my god. Do thou, therefore, O puissant one, take my share of the barley. My body, life-breaths, and religious rites have all one purpose viz., the service of my senior. Through thy grace, O learned Brahmana, I shall obtain many regions of happiness hereafter. I deserve to be looked after by thee. Know, O regenerate one, that I am wholly devoted to thee. Cherishing also this thought, viz., that my happiness is thy concern, it behoveth thee to take this my share of the barley.'

"The father-in-law said, 'O chaste lady, in consequence of such conduct of thine thou wilt for ever shine in glory, for endued with vows and steadiness in religious rites, thy eyes are directed to that conduct which should be observed towards seniors. Therefore, O daughter-in-law, I shall take thy share of the barley. Thou deservest not to be deceived by me, reckoning all thy virtues. Thou art truly, O blessed damsel, the foremost of all persons observing the duties of righteousness.' Having said so unto her, the Brahmana took her share of the barley and gave it unto his guest. At this the guest became gratified with the high-souled Brahmana endued with great piety. With gratified soul, that first of regenerate person, possessed of great eloquence, who was none else than the deity of Righteousness in a human form, then addressed that foremost of Brahmanas and said, 'O best of regenerate ones, I am exceedingly gratified with this pure gift of thine, this gift of what was acquired by lawful means by thee, and which thou didst freely part with, agreeably to the rules of righteousness. Verily, this gift of thine is being bruited about in Heaven by the denizens of that happy region. Behold, flowers have been rained down from the firmament on the Earth. The celestial Rishis, the deities, the Gandharvas, those who walk before the deities, and the celestial messengers, are all praising thee, struck with wonder at thy gift. The regenerate Rishis who dwell in the regions of Brahma, seated on their cars, are solicitous of obtaining thy sight. O foremost of regenerate persons, go to Heaven. The Pitris residing in their own region have all been rescued by thee. Others also who have not attained to the position of Pitris have equally been rescued by thee for countless Yugas. For thy Brahmacharyya, thy gifts, thy sacrifices, thy penances, and thy acts of piety done with a pure heart, go thou to Heaven. O thou of excellent vows, thou practisest penances with great devotion. Thy gifts have, therefore, gratified the deities highly, O best of regenerate ones. Since thou hast made this gift, in a season of great difficulty, with a pure heart, thou hast, by this act of thine, conquered Heaven. Hunger destroys one's wisdom and drives off one's righteous understanding. One whose intelligence is overwhelmed by hunger casts off all fortitude. He, therefore, that conquers hunger conquers Heaven without doubt. One's righteousness is never destroyed as long as one cherishes the inclination of making gifts. Disregarding filial affection, disregarding the affection one feels for one's wife, and reckoning righteousness as the foremost, thou hast paid no heed to the cravings of nature. The acquisition of wealth is an act of slight merit. Its gift to a deserving person is fraught with greater merit. Of still greater merit is the (proper) time. Lastly, devotion (in the matter of gift) is fraught with the highest merit. The door of Heaven is very difficult to see. Through heedlessness men fail to obtain a sight of it. The bar of Heaven's door has cupidity for its seed. That bar is kept fastened by desire and affection. Verily, Heaven's door is unapproachable. Those men who subdued wrath and conquered their passions, those Brahmanas who are endued with penances and who make gifts according to the measure of their ability, succeed in beholding it. It has been said that he that gives away a hundred, having a thousand, he that gives away ten, having a hundred, and he that gives a handful of water, having no wealth, are all equal in respect of the merit they earn. King Rantideva, when divested of all his wealth, gave a small quantity of water with a pure heart. Through this gift, O learned Brahmana, he went to Heaven. The deity of righteousness is never gratified so much with large gifts of costly things as with gifts of even things of no value, if acquired lawfully and given away with devotion and faith. King Nriga had made gifts of thousands of kine unto the regenerate class. By giving away only one cow that did not belong to him, he fell into Hell. Usinara's son Sivi of excellent vows, by giving away the flesh of his own body, is rejoicing in Heaven, having attained to the regions of the righteous. Mere wealth is not merit. Good men acquire merit by exerting to the best of their power and with the aid of pious meals. One does not acquire such merit by means of even diverse sacrifices as with even a little wealth that has been earned lawfully. Through wrath, the fruits of gifts are destroyed. Through cupidity one fails to go to Heaven. One conversant with the merits of gift, and leading a just course of conduct succeeds, through penances, in enjoying Heaven. The fruit, O Brahmana, of this gift made by thee (of a prastha of powdered barley) is much greater than what one acquires by many Rajasuya sacrifices with profuse gifts or many Horse-sacrifices. With this prastha of powdered barley thou hast conquered the eternal region of Brahman. Go thou in happiness, O learned Brahmana, to the abode of Brahman that is without the stain of darkness. O foremost of regenerate persons, a celestial car is here for all of you. Do thou ascend it as pleasest thee, O Brahmana, I am the deity of Righteousness. Behold me! Thou hast rescued thy body. The fame of thy achievement will last in the world. With thy wife, thy son, and thy daughter-in-law, go now to Heaven.'--After the deity of Righteousness had said these words, that Brahmana, with his wife, son and daughter-in-law, proceeded to Heaven. After that learned Brahmana, conversant with all duties, had thus ascended to Heaven with his son, daughter-in-law, and wife numbering the fourth, I came out of my hole. There with the scent of that powdered barley, with the mire caused by the water (which the Brahmana had given to his guest), with the contact (of my body) with the celestial flowers that had been rained down, with the particles of the barley-powder which that good man had given away, and the penances of that Brahmana, my head became gold, Behold, in consequence of the gift of that Brahmana who was firm in truth, and his penances, half of this my ample body has become golden. Ye regenerate ones, for converting the rest of my body into gold I repeatedly repair, with a cheerful heart, to the retreats of ascetics and the sacrifices performed by kings. Hearing of this sacrifice of the Kuru king endued with great wisdom, I came hither with high hopes. I have not, however, been made gold. Ye foremost of Brahmanas, it was for this that I uttered those words, viz., that this sacrifice can by no means compare with (the gift of) that prastha of powdered barley. With the grains of that prastha of powdered barley, I was made gold on that occasion. This great sacrifice however, is not equal to those grains. Even this is my opinion.' Having said those words unto all those foremost of Brahmanas, the mongoose disappeared from their sight. Those Brahmanas then returned to their respective homes.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'O conquerer of hostile towns, I have now told thee all relating to that wonderful incident which occurred in that great Horse-sacrifice. Thou shouldst not, O king, think highly of sacrifice. Millions of Rishis have ascended to Heaven with the aid of only their penances. Abstention from injury as regards all creatures, contentment, conduct, sincerity, penances, self-restraint, truthfulness, and gifts are each equal in point of merit to sacrifice.'"

SECTION 91

"Janamejaya said, 'O puissant Rishi, kings are attached to sacrifices. The great Rishis are attached to penances. Learned Brahmanas are observant of tranquillity of mind, peacefulness of behaviour, and self-restraint. Hence it seems that nothing can be seen in this world which can compare with the fruits of sacrifices. Even this is my conviction. That conviction, again, seems to be undoubtedly correct. Innumerable kings, O best of regenerate persons, having worshipped the deities in sacrifices, earned high fame here and obtained Heaven hereafter. Endued with great energy, the puissant chief of the deities viz., Indra of a thousand eyes, obtained the sovereignty over the deities through the many sacrifices he performed with gifts in profusion and attained to the fruition of all his wishes. When king Yudhishthira, with Bhima and Arjuna by him, resembled the chief of the deities himself in prosperity and prowess, why then did that mongoose depreciate that great Horse-sacrifice of the high-souled monarch?'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Do thou listen to me, O king, as I discourse to thee duly, O Bharata, on the excellent ordinances relating to sacrifice and the fruits also, O ruler of men, that sacrifice yields. Formerly, on one occasion Sakra performed a particular sacrifice. While the limbs of the sacrifice were spread out, the Ritwijas became busy in accomplishing the diverse rites ordained in the scriptures. The pourer of libations, possessed of every qualification, became engaged in pouring libations of clarified butter. The great Rishis were seated around. The deities were summoned one by one by contented Brahmanas of great learning uttering scriptural Mantras in sweet voices. Those foremost of Adhwaryyus, not fatigued with what they did, recited the Mantras of the Yajurveda in soft accents. The time came for slaughtering the animals. When the animals selected for sacrifice were seized, the great Rishis, O king, felt compassion for them. Beholding that the animals had all become cheerless, those Rishis, endued with wealth of penances, approached Sakra and said unto him, 'This method of sacrifice is not auspicious. Desirous of acquiring great merit as thou art, this is verily an indication of thy unacquaintance with sacrifice. O Purandara, animals have not been ordained to be slaughtered in sacrifices. O puissant one, these preparations of thine are destructive of merit. This sacrifice is not consistent with righteousness. The destruction of creatures can never be said to be an act of righteousness. If thou wishest it, let thy priests perform thy sacrifice according to the Agama. By performing a sacrifice according to the (true import of the) scriptural ordinances, great will be the merit achieved by thee. O thou of a hundred eyes, do thou perform the sacrifice with seeds of grain that have been kept for three years. Even this, O Sakra, would be fraught with great righteousness and productive of fruits of high efficacy.' The deity of a hundred sacrifices, however, influenced by pride and overwhelmed by stupefaction, did not accept these words uttered by the Rishis. Then, O Bharata, a great dispute arose in that sacrifice of Sakra between the ascetics as to how sacrifices should be performed, that is, should they be performed with mobile creatures or with immobile objects. All of them were worn out with disputation. The Rishis then, those beholders of truth, having made an understanding with Sakra (about referring the matter to arbitration) asked king Vasu, 'O highly blessed one, what is the Vedic declaration about sacrifices? Is it preferable to perform sacrifices with animals or with steeds and juices? Hearing the question, king Vasu, without all judging of the strength or weakness of the arguments on the two sides, at once answered, saying, 'Sacrifices may be performed with whichever of the two kinds of objects is ready.' Having answered the question thus, he had to enter the nether regions. Indeed the puissant ruler of the Chedis had to undergo that misery for having answered falsely. Therefore, when a doubt arises, no person, however wise, should singly decide the matter, unless he be the puissant and self-born Lord himself of

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creatures. Gifts made by a sinner with an impure understanding, even when they are very large, become lost. Such gifts go for nothing. By the gifts made by a person of unrighteous conduct,--one, that is, who is of sinful soul and who is a destroyer, just fame is never acquired either here or hereafter. That person of little intelligence who, from desire of acquiring merit, performs sacrifices with wealth acquired by unrighteous means, never succeeds in earning merit. That low wretch of sinful soul, who hypocritically assuming a garb of righteousness mikes gifts unto Brahmanas, only creates the conviction in men about his own righteousness (without earning true merit). That Brahmana of uncontrolled conduct, who acquires wealth by sinful acts, over overwhelmed by passion and stupefaction, attains at last to the goal of the sinful. Someone, overwhelmed by cupidity and stupefaction, becomes bent on strong wealth. He is seen to persecute all creatures, urged by a sinful and impure understanding. He who, having acquired wealth by such means, makes gifts or performs sacrifices therewith, never enjoys the fruits of those gifts or sacrifices in the other world in consequence of the wealth having been earned by unrighteous means. Men endued with wealth of penances, by giving away, to the best of their power, grains of corn picked up from the fields or roots or fruits or pot-herbs or water or leaves, acquire great merit and proceed to Heaven. Even such gifts, as also compassion to all creatures, and Brahmacharyya, truthfulness of speech and kindness, and fortitude, and forgiveness, constitute the eternal foundations of Righteousness which itself is eternal. We hear of Visvamitra and other kings of ancient times. Indeed, Visvamitra, and Asita, and king Janaka, and Kakshasena and Arshtisena, and king Sindhudwipa,--these and many other kings, endued with wealth of penances, having made gifts of articles acquired lawfully, have attained to high success. Those amongst Brahmanas and Kshatriyas and Vaisyas and Sudras who betake themselves to penances, O Bharata, and who purify themselves by gifts and other acts of righteousness, proceed to Heaven."

SECTION 92

"Janamejaya said, 'If, O illustrious one, Heaven is the fruit of wealth acquired by lawful means, do thou discourse to me fully on it. Thou art well-conversant with the subject and therefore, it behoveth thee to explain it. O regenerate one, thou hast said unto me what the high fruit was that accrued unto that Brahmana, who lived according to the Unccha mode, through his gift of powdered barley. Without doubt, all thou hast said is true. In what way, however, was the attainment held certain of the highest end in all sacrifices? O foremost of regenerate persons, it behoveth thee to expound this to me in all its details.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'In this connection is cited this old narrative, O chastiser of foes, of what occurred in former days in the great sacrifice of Agastya. In olden days, O king, Agastya of great energy, devoted to the good of all creatures, entered into a Diksha extending for twelve years. In that sacrifice of the high-souled Rishi many Hotris were engaged that resembled blazing fires in the splendour of their bodies. Among them were men that subsisted upon roots or fruits, or that used two pieces of stone only for husking their corn, or that were supported by only the rays (of the moon). Among them were also men who never took any food unless it was placed before them by others solicitous of feeding them, and those who never ate anything without having first served the deities, the Pitris, and guests, and those who never washed the food which they took. There were also Yatis and Bikshus among them, O king. All of them were men who had obtained a sight of the deity of Righteousness in his embodied form. They had subjugated wrath and acquired a complete mastery over all their senses. Living in the observance of self-restraint, they were freed from pride and the desire of injuring others. They were always observant of a pure conduct and were never obstructed (in the prosecution of their purposes) by their senses. Those great Rishis attended that sacrifice and accomplished its various rites. The illustrious Rishi (Agastya) acquired the food that was collected in that sacrifice and that came up to the required measure, by lawful means according to the best of his power. Numerous other ascetics at that time performed large sacrifices. As Agastya, however, was engaged in that sacrifice of his, the thousand-eyed Indra, O best of the Bharatas, ceased to pour rain (on the Earth). At the intervals, O king, of the sacrificial rites, this talk occurred among those Rishis of cleansed souls about the high-souled Agastya, viz., 'This Agastya, engaged in sacrifice, is making gifts of food with heart purged of pride and vanity. The deity of the clouds, however, has ceased to pour rain. How, indeed, will food grow? This sacrifice of the Rishi, ye Brahmanas, is great and extends for twelve years. The deity will not pour rain for these twelve years. Reflecting on this, it behoveth you to do some favour unto this Rishi of great intelligence, viz., Agastya of severe penances.' When these words were said, Agastya of great prowess, gratifying those ascetics by bending his head, said, 'If Vasava does not pour rain for those twelve years, I shall then perform the mental sacrifice. Even this is the eternal ordinance. If Vasava does not pour rain for these twelve years, I shall then perform the Touch-sacrifice. Even this is the eternal sacrifice. If Vasava does not pour rain for these twelve years, I shall then, putting forth all my exertion, make arrangements for other sacrifices characterised by the observance of the most difficult and severe vows. This present sacrifice of mine, with seeds, has been arranged for by me with labour extending for many years. I shall, with seeds, accomplish much good. No impediment will arise. This my sacrifice is incapable of being baffled. It matters little whether the deity pours rains or no downpours happen. Indeed, if Indra does not, of his own will, show any regard for me, I shall, in that case, transform myself into Indra and keep all creatures alive. Every creature, on whatever food he has been nourished, will continue to be nourished on it as before. I can even repeatedly create a different order of things. Let gold and whatever else of wealth there is, come to this place today. Let all the wealth that occurs in the three worlds come here today of its own accord. Let all the tribes of celestial Apsaras, all the Gandharvas along with the Kinnaras, and Viswavasu, and others there are (of that order), approach this sacrifice of mine. Let all the wealth that exists among the Northern Kurus, come of their own accord to these sacrifices. Let Heaven, and all those who have Heaven for their home, and Dharma himself, come hither.'--After the ascetic had uttered these words, everything happened as he wished, in consequence of his penances, for Agastya was endued with a mind that resembled a blazing fire and was possessed of extraordinary energy. The Rishis who were there beheld the power of penances with rejoicing hearts. Filled with wonder they then said these words of grave import.'

"The Rishis said, 'We have been highly gratified with the words thou hast uttered. We do not, however, wish that thy penances should suffer any diminution. Those sacrifices are approved by us which are performed by lawful means. Indeed, we desire duly those sacrifices which rest on lawful means. Earning our food by lawful means and observant of our respective duties, we shall seek to go through sacrificial initiations and the pouring of libations on the sacred fire and the other religious rites. We should adore the deities, practising Brahmacharyya by lawful means. Completing the period of Brahmacharyya we have come out of our abode, observing lawful methods. That understanding, which is freed from the desire of inflicting any kind of injury on others, is approved by us. Thou shouldst always, O puissant one, command such abstention from injury in all sacrifices. We shall then be highly gratified, O foremast of regenerate ones. After the completion of thy sacrifice, when dismissed by thee, we shall then, leaving this place, go away.' As they were saying these words, Purandara, the chief of the deities, endued with great energy, beholding the power of Agastya's penances, poured rain. Indeed, O Janamejaya, till the completion of the sacrifice of that Rishi of immeasurable prowess, the deity of rain poured rain that met the wishes of men in respect of both quantity and time. Placing Vrihaspati before him, the chief of the deities came there, O royal sage, and gratified the Rishi Agastya. On the completion of that sacrifice, Agastya, filled with joy, worshipped those great Rishis duly and then dismissed them all.'

"Janamejaya said, 'Who was that mongoose with a golden head, that said all those words in a human voice? Asked by me, do thou tell me this.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Thou didst not ask me before and, therefore, I did not tell thee. Hear as I tell thee who that mongoose was and why he could assume a human voice. In former times, the Rishi Jamadagni proposed to perform a Sraddha. His Homa cow came to him and the Rishi milked her himself. He then placed the milk in a vessel that was new, durable and pure. The deity Dharma, assuming the form of Anger, entered that vessel of milk. Indeed, Dharma was desirous of ascertaining what that foremost of Rishis would do when seeing some injury done to him. Having reflected thus, Dharma spoiled that milk. Knowing that the spoiler of his milk was Anger, the ascetic was not at all enraged with him. Anger, then, assuming the form of a Brahmana lady, showed himself to the Rishi. Indeed, Anger, finding that he had been conquered by that foremost one of Bhrigu's race, addressed him, saying, 'O chief of Bhrigu's race, I have been conquered by thee. There is a saying among men that the Bhrigus are very wrathful. I now find that that saying is false, since I have been subdued by thee. Thou art possessed of a mighty soul. Thou art endued with forgiveness. I stand here today, owning thy sway. I fear thy penances, O righteous one. Do thou, O puissant Rishi, show me favour.'

"Jamadagni said, 'I have seen thee, O Anger, in thy embodied form. Go thou whithersoever thou likest, without any anxiety. Thou hast not done me any injury today. I have no grudge against thee. Those for whom I had kept this milk are the highly blessed Pitris. Present thyself before them and ascertain their intentions.' Thus addressed, penetrated with fear, Anger vanished from the sight of the Rishi. Through the curse of the Pitris he became a mongoose. He then began to gratify the Pitris in order to bring about an end of his curse. By them he was told these words, 'By speaking disrespectfully of Dharma thou shalt attain to the end of thy curse.' Thus addressed by them he wandered over places where sacrifices were performed and over other sacred places, employed in censuring great sacrifices. It was he that came to the great sacrifice of king Yudhishthira. Dispraising the son of Dharma by a reference to the prastha of powdered barley, Anger became freed from his curse, for Yudhishthira (as Dharma's son) was Dharma's self. Even this is what occurred in the sacrifice of that high-souled king. Mongoose disappeared there in our very sight.'" [It is difficult to resist the conviction that as much of this section as relates to the mongoose is an interpolation. The Brahmanas could not bear the idea of a sacrifice with such profusion of gifts, as that of Yudhishthira, being censurable. Hence the invention about the transformation of the mongoose. Truly speaking, the doctrine is noble of the gift of a small quantity of barley made under the circumstances being superior in point of merit to even a Horse-sacrifice performed by a king with gifts in profusion made to the Brahmanas.]

The end of Aswamedha Parva

THE MAHABHARATA, BOOK 15
ASRAMAVASIKA PARVA

SECTION I

(Asramavasa Parva)

OM! AFTER HAVING bowed down to Narayana, and Nara, the foremost of men, and unto the goddess Saraswati also, must the word Jaya be uttered.

"Janamejaya said 'After having acquired their kingdom, how did my grandsires, the high-souled Pandavas, conduct themselves towards the high-souled king Dhritarashtra? How, indeed, did that king who had all his counsellors and sons slain, who was without a refuge, and whose affluence had disappeared, behave? How also did Gandhari of great fame conduct herself? For how many years did my high-souled grandsires rule the kingdom? It behoveth thee to tell me all this.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Having got back their kingdom, the high-souled Pandavas, their foes all slain, ruled the Earth, placing Dhritarashtra at their head. Vidura, and Sanjaya and Yuyutsu of great intelligence, who was Dhritarashtra's son by his Vaisya wife, used to wait upon Dhritarashtra. The Pandavas used to take the opinion of that king in all matters. Indeed, for ten and five years, they did all things under the advice of the old king. Those heroes used very often to go to that monarch and sit beside him, after having worshipped his feet, agreeably to the wishes of king Yudhishthira the just. They did all things under the command of Dhritarashtra who smelt their heads in affection. The daughter of king Kuntibhoja also obeyed Gandhari in everything. Draupadi and Subhadra and the other ladies of the Pandavas behaved towards the old king and the queen as if they were their own father-in-law and mother-in-law. Costly beds and robes and ornaments, and food and drink and other enjoyable articles, in profusion and of such superior kinds as were worthy of royal use, were presented by king Yudhishthira unto Dhritarashtra. Similarly Kunti behaved towards Gandhari as towards a senior. Vidura, and Sanjaya, and Yuyutsu, O thou of Karu's race, used to always wait upon the old king whose sons had all been slain. The dear brother-in-law of Drona, viz., the very Superior Brahmana, Kripa, that mighty bowman, also attended upon the king. The holy Vyasa also used to often meet with the old monarch and recite to him the histories of old Rishis and celestial ascetics and Pitris and Rakshasas. Vidura, under the orders of Dhritarashtra, superintended the discharge of all acts of religious merit and all that related to the administration of the law. Through the excellent policy of Vidura, by the expenditure of even a small wealth, the Pandavas obtained numerous agreeable services from their feudatories and followers. King Dhritarashtra liberated prisoners and pardoned those that were condemned to death. King Yudhishthira the just never said anything to this. On those occasions when the son of Amvika went on pleasure excursions, the Kuru king Yudhishthira of great energy used to give him every article of enjoyment. Aralikas, and juice-makers, and makers of Ragakhandavas waited on king Dhritarashtra as before. [The derivation of Aralikas is explained by Nilakantha thus; Potherbs cut off with a kind of weapon called Ara are called Aralu. They who were expert in cooking those potherbs were called Aralikas. Ragakhandava was manufactured from piper longum, dry ginger, sugar, and the juice of Phaseolus Mango.] Pandu's son, collected costly robes and garlands of diverse kinds and duly offered them to Dhritarashtra. Maireya wines, fish of various kinds, and sherbets and honey, and many delightful kinds of food prepared by modifications (of diverse articles), were caused to be made for the old king as in his days of prosperity. Those kings of Earth who came there one after another, all used to wait upon the old Kuru monarch as before. Kunti, and Draupadi, and she of the Sattwata race, possessed of great fame, and Ulupi, the daughter of the snake chief, and queen Chitrangada, and the sister of Dhrishtaketu, and the daughter of Jarasandha,--these and many other ladies, O chief of men,

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used to wait upon the daughter of Suvala like maids of all work. That Dhritarashtra, who was deprived of all his children, might not feel unhappy in any matter, was what Yudhishthira often said unto his brothers to see. They also, on their part, listening to these commands of grave import from king Yudhishthira, showed particular obedience to the old king. There was one exception, however. It embraced Bhimasena. All that had followed from that match at dice which had been brought about by the wicked understanding of Dhritarashtra, did not disappear from the heart of that hero. (He remembered those incidents still).'"

SECTION 2

"Vaisampayana said, 'Thus worshipped by the Pandavas, the royal soil of Amvika passed his time happily as before, waited upon and honoured by the Rishis. That perpetuator of Kuru's race used to make those foremost of offerings which should be given to the Brahmanas. The royal son of Kunti always placed those articles under Dhritarashtra's control. Destitute of malice as king Yudhishthira was, he was always affectionate towards his uncle. Addressing his brothers and councillors, the king said, 'King Dhritarashtra should be honoured both by myself and you all. He. indeed, is a well-wisher of mine who is obedient to the commands of Dhritarashtra. He, on the other hand, who behaves otherwise towards him, is my enemy. Such a man should certainly be punished by me. On days of performing the rites ordained for the Pitris, as also in the Sraddhas performed for his sons and all well-wishers, the high-souled Kuru king Dhritarashtra, gave away unto Brahmanas, as each deserved, as profuse measures of wealth as he liked. King Yudhishthira the just, and Bhima, and Arjuna, and the twins, desirous of doing what was agreeable to the old king, used to execute all his orders. They always took care that the old king who was afflicted with the slaughter of his sons and grandsons,--with, that is, grief caused by the Pandavas themselves,--might not die of his grief Indeed, the Pandavas bore themselves towards him in such a way that that Kuru hero might not be deprived of that happiness and all those articles of enjoyment which had been his while his sons lived. The five brothers, viz., the sons of Pandu, behaved themselves even thus towards Dhritarashtra, living under his command. Dhritarashtra also, seeing them so humble and obedient to his commands and acting towards him as disciples towards preceptors, adopted the affectionate behaviour of a preceptor towards them in return. Gandhari, by performing the diverse rites of the Sraddha and making gifts unto Brahmanas of diverse objects of enjoyment, became freed from the debt she owed to her slain children. Thus did that foremost of righteous men, viz., king Yudhishthira the just, possessed of great intelligence, along with his brothers, worship king Dhritarashtra.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Possessed of great energy, that perpetuator of Kuru's race, viz., the old king Dhritarashtra, could not notice any ill-will in Yudhishthira Seeing that the high-souled Pandavas were in the observance of a wise and righteous conduct, king Dhritarashtra, the son of Amvika, became gratified with them. Suvala's daughter, Gandhari, casting off all sorrow for her (slain) children, began to show great affection for the Pandavas as if they were her own children. Endued with great energy, the Kuru king Yudhishthira, never did anything that was disagreeable to the royal son of Vichitraviryya. On the other hand, he always behaved towards him in a highly agreeable way. Whatever acts, grave or light, were directed by king Dhritarashtra, or the helpless Gandhari to be done, were all accomplished with reverence, O monarch, by that slayer of hostile heroes, viz., the Pandava king. The old king became highly gratified with such conduct of Yudhishthira. Indeed, he was grieved at the remembrance of his own wicked son. Rising every day at early dawn, he purified himself and went through his recitations, and then blessed the Pandavas by wishing them victory in battle. Making the usual gifts unto the Brahmanas and causing them to utter benedictions, and Pouring libations on the sacred fire, the old king prayed for long life to the Pandavas. Indeed, the king had never derived that great happiness from his own sons which he always derived from the sons of Pandu. King Yudhishthira at that time became as agreeable to the Brahmanas as to the Kshatriyas, and the diverse bands of Vaisyas and Sudras of his realm. Whatever wrongs were done to him by the sons of Dhritarashtra, king Yudhishthira, forgot them all, and reverenced his uncle. If any man did anything that was not agreeable to the son of Amvika, he became thereby an object of hatred to the intelligent son of Kunti. Indeed, through fear of Yudhishthira, nobody could talk of the evil deeds of either Duryodhana or Dhritarashtra. Both Gandhari and Vidura also wore well pleased with the capacity the king Ajatasatru showed for bearing wrongs. They were, however, not so pleased, O slayer of foes, with Bhima. Dharma's son, Yudhishthira, was truly obedient to his uncle. Bhima, however, at the sight of Dhritarashtra, became very cheerless. That slayer of foes, seeing Dharma's son reverencing the old king, reverenced him outwardly with a very unwilling heart.'"

SECTION 3

"Vaisampayana said, 'The people who lived in the Kuru kingdom failed to notice any variance in the cordiality that subsisted between king Yudhishthira and the father of Duryodhana. When the Kuru king recollected his wicked son, he then could not but feel unfriendly, in his heart, towards Bhima. Bhimasena also, O king, impelled by a heart that seemed to be wicked, was unable to put up with king Dhritarashtra. Vrikodara secretly did many acts that were disagreeable to the old king. Through deceitful servitors he caused the commands of his uncle to be disobeyed. Recollecting the evil counsels of the old king and some acts of his, Bhima, one day, in the midst of his friends, slapped his armpits, in the hearing of Dhritarashtra and of Gandhari. The wrathful Vrikodara, recollecting his foes Duryodhana and Karna and Dussasana, gave way to a transport of passion, and said these harsh words: 'The sons of the blind king, capable of fighting with diverse kinds of weapons, have all been despatched by me to the other world with these arms of mine that resemble a pair of iron clubs. Verily, these are those two arms of mine, looking like maces of iron, and invincible by foes, coming within whose clasp the sons of Dhritarashtra have all met with destruction. These are those two well-developed and round arms of mine, resembling a pair of elephantine trunks. Coming within their clasp, the foolish sons of Dhritarashtra have all met with destruction. Smeared with sandal-paste and deserving of that adornment are those two arms of mine by which Duryodhana has been despatched to the other world along with all his sons and kinsmen.' Hearing these and many other words, O king, of Vrikodara, that were veritable darts, king Dhritarashtra gave way to cheerlessness and sorrow. Queen Gandhari, however, who was conversant with every duty and possessed of great intelligence, and who knew what Time brings on its course, regarded them as untrue. After five and ten years had passed away, O monarch, king Dhritarashtra afflicted (constantly) by the wordy darts of Bhima, became penetrated with despair and grief. King Yudhishthira the son of Kunti, however, knew it not; nor Arjuna of white steeds, nor Kunti; nor Draupadi possessed of great fame; nor the twin sons of Madri, conversant with every duty and who were always engaged in acting after the wishes of Dhritarashtra. Employed in doing the behests of the king, the twins never said anything that was disagreeable to the old king. Then Dhritarashtra one day honoured his friends by his confidence. Addressing 'them with tearful eyes, He said these words.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'How the destruction of the Kurus has happened is well known to you. All that was brought about by my fault though the Kauravas approved of all my counsels. Fool that I was, I installed the wicked minded Duryodhana, that enhancer of the terrors of kinsmen, to rule over the Kurus. Vasudeva had said unto me, 'Let this sinful wretch of wicked understanding be killed along with all his friends and counsellors.' I did not listen to those words of grave import. All wisemen gave me the same beneficial advice. Vidura, and Bhishma, and Drona, and Kripa, said the same thing. The holy and high-souled Vyasa repeatedly said the same, as also Sanjaya and Gandhari. Overwhelmed, however, by filial affection, I could not follow that advice. Bitter repentance is now my lot for my neglect. I also repent for not having bestowed that blazing prosperity, derived from sires and grand sires, on the high-souled Pandavas possessed of every accomplishment. The eldest brother of Gada foresaw the destruction of all the kings; Janarddana, however, regarded that destruction as highly beneficial. [It will be remembered, Earth, unable to bear her load of population, prayed to the Grandsire for lightening that load. The Grandsire urged Vishnu to do the needful. Hence Vishnu incarnated himself as Krishna and brought about a lightening of Earth's load.] So many Anikas of troops, belonging tome, have been destroyed. Alas, my heart is pierced with thousands of darts in consequence of all these results. Of wicked understanding as I am, now after the lapse of five and ten years, I am seeking to expiate my sins. Now at the fourth division of the day or sometimes at the eighth division, with the regularity of a vow, I eat a little food for simply conquering my thirst. Gandhari knows this. All my attendants are under the impression that I eat as usual. Through fear of Yudhishthira alone I concealed my acts, for if the eldest son of Pandu came to know of my vow, he would feel great pain. Clad in deer-skin, I lie down on the Earth, spreading a small quantity of Kusa grass, and pass the time in silent recitations. Gandhari of great fame passes her time in the observance of similar vows. Even thus do we both behave, we that have lost a century of gong none of whom even retreated from battle. I do not, however, grieve for those children of mine. They have all died in the observance of Kshatriya duties.' Having said these words, the old king then addressed Yudhishthira in particular and said, 'Blessed be thou, O son of the princess of Yadu's race. Listen now to what I say. Cherished by thee, O son, I have lived these years very happily. I have (with thy help) made large gifts and performed Sraddhas repeatedly. [Mahadana implies such gifts as elephants, boats, cars, horses, etc. Everybody does not accept these gifts, for their acceptance causes a Brahmana to fall away from his status.] I have, O son, to the best of my power, achieved merit largely. This Gandhari, though destitute of sons, has lived with great fortitude, looking all the while at me. They whom inflicted great wrongs on Draupadi and robbed thee of thy affluence,--those cruel wights--have all left the world, slain in battle agreeably to the practice of their order.

I have nothing to do for them, O delighter of the Kurus. Stain with their faces towards battle, they have attained to those regions which are for wielders of weapons. I should now accomplish what is beneficial and meritorious for me as also for Gandhari. It behoveth thee, O great king, to grant me permission. Thou art the foremost of all righteous persons. Thou art always devoted to righteousness. The king is the preceptor of all creatures. It is for this that I say so. With thy permission, O hero, I shall retire into the woods, clad in rags and barks. O king, alone with this Gandhari, I shall live in the woods, always blessing thee. It is meet, O son, for the members of our race, to make over sovereignty, when old age comes, to children and lead the forest mode of life. Subsisting there on air alone, or abstaining from all food, I shall, with this wife of mine, O hero, practise severe austerities. Thou shalt be a sharer of these penances, O son, for thou art the king. Kings are sharers of both auspicious and inauspicious acts done in their kingdom.' [The king gets a sixth share of the penances performed by the Rishis living under his protection. The demerit, again, of all evil deeds done within his realm is shared by the king, for such deeds become possible through absence of supervision by the king.]

"Yudhishthira said, 'When thou, O king, art thus subject to grief, sovereignty does not please me at all. Fie on me that am of wicked understanding, devoted to the pleasures of rule, and utterly heedless of my true concerns. Alas, I, with all my brothers, was ignorant of thyself having so long been afflicted with grief, emaciated with fasts, abstaining from food, and lying on the bare ground. Alas, foolish that I am, I have been deceived by thee that hast deep intelligence, inasmuch as, having inspired me with confidence at first thou hast latterly undergone such grief. What need have I of kingdom or of articles of enjoyment, what need of sacrifices or of happiness, when thou, O king, hast undergone go much affliction? I regard my kingdom as a disease, and myself also as afflicted. Plunged though I am in sorrow, what, however, is the use of these words that I am addressing thee? Thou art our father, thou art our mother; thou art our foremost of superiors. Deprived of thy presence, how shall we live? O best of king, let Yuyutsu, the son of thy loins, be made king, or, indeed, anybody else whom thou mayst wish. I shall go into the woods. Do thou rule the kingdom. It behoveth thee not to burn me that am already burned by infamy. I am not the king. Thou art the king. I am dependent on thy will. How can I dare grant permission to thee that art my preceptor? O sinless one, I harbour no resentment in my heart on account of the wrongs done to us by Suyodhana. It was ordained that it should be so. Both ourselves and others were stupefied (by fate). We are thy children as Duryodhana and others were. My conviction is that Gandhari is as much my mother as Kunti. If thou, O king of kings, goest to the woods leaving me, I shall the, follow thee. I swear by my soul. This Earth, with her belt of seas, go full of wealth, will not be a source of joy to me when I am deprived of thy presence. All this belongs to thee. I gratify thee, bending my head. We are all dependent on thee, O king of kings. Let the fever of thy heart be dispelled. I think, O lord of Earth, that all this that has come upon thee is due to destiny. By good luck, I had thought, that waiting upon thee and executing thy commands obediently, I would rescue thee from the fever of thy heart.'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'O delighter of the Kurus, my mind is fixed, O son, on penances. O puissant one, it is meet for our race that I should retire into the woods. I have lived long under thy protection, O son, I have for many years been served by thee with reverence. I am now old. It behoveth thee, O king, to grant me permission (to take up my abode in the woods).'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having said these words unto king Yudhishthira, the just, king Dhritarashtra, the son of Amvika, trembling the while and with hands joined together, further said unto the high-souled Sanjaya and the great car-warrior Kripa, these words, 'I wish to solicit the king through you. My mind has become cheerless, my mouth has become dry, through the weakness of age and the exertion of speaking.' Having said so, that perpetuator of Kuru's race, viz., the, righteous-souled old king, blessed with prosperity, leaned on Gandhari and suddenly looked like one deprived of life. Beholding him thus seated like one deprived of consciousness, that slayer of hostile heroes, viz., the royal son of Kunti, became penetrated by a poignant grief.

"Yudhishthira said, 'Alas, he whose strength was equal to that of a hundred thousand elephants, alas, that king sitteth today, leaning on a woman. Alas! he by whom the iron image of Bhima on a former occasion wag reduced to fragments, leaneth today on a weak woman. Fie on me that am exceedingly unrighteous! Fie on my understanding! Fie on my knowledge of the scripture! Fie on me for whom this lord of Earth lieth today in a manner that is not becoming of him! I

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also shall fast even as my preceptor. Verily, I shall fast if this king and Gandhari of great fame abstain from food.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'The Pandava king, conversant with every duty, using his own hand, then softly rubbed with cold water the breast and the face of the old monarch. At the touch of the king's hand which was auspicious and fragrant, and on which were jewels and medicinal herbs, Dhritarashtra regained his senses. [Formerly kings and noblemen wore jewels and medicinal herbs on their arms. The last were enclosed in drum-like capsules of gold, hermetically closed on both sides. It was believed that jewels and medicinal herbs are a great protection against many evils.]

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Do thou again touch me, O son of Pandu, with thy hand, and do thou embrace me. O thou of eyes like lotus petals, I am restored to my senses through the auspicious touch of thy hand. O ruler of men, I desire to smell thy head. The clasp of thy arms is highly gratifying to me. This is the eighth division of the day and, therefore, the hour of taking my food. For not having taken my food, O child of Kuru's race, I am so weak as to be unable to move. In addressing my solicitations to thee, great hag been my exertion. Rendered cheerless by it, O son, I had fainted. O perpetuator of Kuru's race, I think that receiving the touch of thy hand, which resembles nectar in its vivifying effects I have been restored to my senses.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Thus addressed, O Bharata, by the eldest brother of his father, the son of Kunti, from affection, gently touched every part of his body. Regaining his life-breaths, king Dhritarashtra embraced the son of Pandu with his arms and smelled his head. Vidura and others wept aloud in great grief. In consequence, however, of the poignancy of their sorrow, they said nothing to either the old king or the son of Pandu. Gandhari, conversant with every duty, bore her sorrow with fortitude, and loaded as her heart was, O king, said nothing. The other ladies, Kunti among them, became greatly afflicted. They wept, shedding copious tears, and sat surrounding the old king. Then 'Dhritarashtra, once more addressing Yudhishthira, said these words, Do thou, O king, grant me permission to practise penances. By speaking repeatedly, O son, my mind becomes weakened. It behoveth thee not, O son, to afflict me after this.' When that foremost one of Kuru's race was saying go unto Yudhishthira, a loud sound of wailing arose from all the warriors there present. Beholding his royal father of great splendour, emaciated and pale, reduced to a state unbecoming of him, worn out with fasts, and looking like a skeleton covered with skin, Dharma's son Yudhishthira shed tears of grief and once more said these words. 'O foremost of men, I do not desire life and the Earth. O scorcher of foes, I shall employ myself in doing what is agreeable to thee. If I deserve thy favour, if I am dear to thee, do thou eat something. I shall then know what to do.' Endued with great energy, Dhritarashtra then said to Yudhishthira,--'I wish, O son, to take some food, with thy permission.' When Dhritarashtra said these words to Yudhishthira, Satyavati's son Vyasa came there and said as follows.`

SECTION 4

"Vyasa said, 'O mighty-armed Yudhishthira, do without any scruple what Dhritarashtra of Kuru's race hag said. This king is old. He has, again, been made sonless. I think he will not be able to bear his grief long. The highly blessed Gandhari, possessed of great wisdom and endued with kindly speech, bears with fortitude her excessive grief owing to the logs of her song. I also tell thee (what the old king says). Do thou obey my words. Let the old king have thy permission. Let him not die an inglorious death at home. Let this king follow the path of all royal sages of old. Verily, for all royal sages, retirement into the woods comes at last.'"

"Vaisampayana said, 'Thus addressed at that time by Vyasa of wonderful deeds, king Yudhishthira the just, possessed of mighty energy, said unto the great ascetic these words, 'Thy holy self is held by us in great reverence. Thou alone art our preceptor. Thou alone art the refuge of this our kingdom as also of our race. I am thy son. Thou, O holy one, art my father. Thou art our king, and thou art our preceptor. The son should, agreeably to every duty, be obedient to the commands of his sire.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed by the king. Vyasa, that foremost of poets, foremost of all persons conversant with the Vedas, endued with great energy once more said unto Yudhishthira these words, 'It is even so, O mighty-armed one. It is even as thou sayest, O Bharata. This king has reached old age. He is now in the last stage of life. Permitted both by me and thee, let this lord of Earth do what he proposes. Do not stand as an impediment in his way. Even this is the highest duty, O Yudhishthira, of royal sages. They should die either in battle or in the woods agreeably to the scriptures. Thy royal sire, Pandu, O king of kings, reverenced this old king as a disciple reverences his preceptor. (At that time) he adored the gods in many great sacrifices with profuse gifts consisting of hills of wealth and jewels, and ruled the Earth and protected his subjects wisely and well. Having obtained a large progeny and a swelling kingdom, he enjoyed great influence for thirteen years while you were in exile, and gave away much wealth. Thyself also, O chief of men, with thy servants, O sinless one, hast adored this king and the famous Gandhari with that ready obedience which. a disciple pays to his preceptor. Do thou grant permission to thy father. The time has come for him to attend to the practice of penances. He does not harbour, O Yudhishthira, even the slightest anger against any of you.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having said these words, Vyasa soothed the old king. Yudhishthira then answered him, saying, 'So be it.' The great ascetic then left the palace for proceeding to the woods. After the holy Vyasa had gone away, the royal son of Pandu softly said these words unto his old father, bending himself in humility,--What the holy Vyasa has said, what is thy own purpose, what the great bowman Kripa has said, what Vidura has expressed, and what has been asked for by Yuyutsu and Sanjaya, I shall accomplish with speed. All these are worthy of my respect, for all of them are well-wishers of our race. This, however, O king, I beg of thee by bending my head. Do thou first eat and afterwards go to thy forest retreat.'"

SECTION 5

"Vaisampayana said, 'Having received the king's permission, king Dhritarashtra of great energy then proceeded to his own palace, followed by Gandhari. With weakened strength and slow motion, that king of great intelligence walked with difficulty, like the leader, worn out with age, of an elephantine herd. He was followed by Vidura of great learning, and his charioteer Sanjaya, as also that mighty bowman Kripa, the son of Saradwata. Entering his mansion, O king, he went through the morning rites and after gratifying many foremost of Brahmanas he took some food. Gandhari conversant with every duty, as also Kunti of great intelligence, worshipped with offers of various articles by their daughters-in-law, then took some food, O Bharata. After Dhritarashtra had eaten, and Vidura also and others had done the same, the Pandavas, having finished their meals, approached and sat around the old king. Then the son of Amvika, O monarch, addressing Kunti's son who was seated near him and touching his back with his hand, said, 'Thou shouldst always, O delighter of the Kurus, act without heedlessness as regards everything connected with thy kingdom consisting of eight limbs, O foremost of rulers, and in which the claims of righteousness should ever be kept foremost. [The eight limbs of a kingdom are the law, the judge, the assessors, the scribe, the astrologer, gold, fire, and water.] Thou art possessed, O son of Kunti, of intelligence and learning. Listen to me, O king, as I tell thee what the means are by which, O son of Pandu, the kingdom is capable of being righteously protected. Thou shouldst always, O Yudhishthira, honour those persons that are old in learning. Thou shouldst listen to what they would say, and act accordingly without any scruple. Rising at dawn, O king, worship them with due rites, and when the time comes for action, thou shouldst consult them about thy (intended) acts. When, led by the desire of knowing what would be beneficial to thee in respect of thy measures, thou honourest them; they will, O son, always declare what is for thy good, O Bharata. Thou shouldst always keep thy senses, as thou keepest thy horses. They will then prove beneficial to thee, like wealth that is not wasted. Thou shouldst employ only such ministers as have passed the tests of honesty, (i.e., as are possessed of loyalty, disinterestedness, continence, and courage), as are hereditary officers of state, possessed of pure conduct, self-restrained, clever in the discharge of business, and endued with righteous conduct. Thou shouldst always collect information through spies in diverse disguises, whose faithfulness have been tasted, who are natives of thy kingdom, and who should not be known to thy foes. Thy citadel should be properly protected with strong walls and arched gates. On every side the walls, with watch-towers on them standing close to one another, should be such as to admit of six persons walking side by side on their top. 2 The gates should all be large and sufficiently strong. Kept in proper places those gates should be carefully guarded. Let thy purposes be accomplished through men whose families and conduct are well known. Thou shouldst always protect thy person also with care, in matters connected with thy food, O Bharata, as also in the hours of sport and eating and in matters connected with the garlands thou wearest and the beds thou liest upon. The ladies of thy household should be properly protected, looked over by aged and trusted servitors, of good behaviour, well-born, and possessed of learning, O Yudhishthira. Thou shouldst make ministers of Brahmanas possessed of learning, endued with humility, well-born, conversant with religion and wealth, and adorned with simplicity of behaviour. Thou shouldst hold consultations with them. Thou shouldst not, however, admit many persons into thy consultations. On particular occasions thou mayst consult with the whole of thy council or with a portion of it. Entering a chamber or spot that is well protected (from intruders) thou shouldst hold thy consultation. Thou mayst hold thy consultation in a forest that is divested of grass. Thou shouldst never consult at night time. [Grass may conceal the spies of foes. The darkness of night also may do the same.] Apes and birds and other animals that can imitate human beings should all be excluded from the council chamber, as also idiots and lame and palsied individuals. I think that the evils that flow from the divulgence of the counsels of kings are such that they cannot be remedied. Thou shouldst repeatedly refer, in the midst of thy counsellors, to the evils that arise from the divulgence of counsels, O chastiser of foes, and to the merits that flow from counsels properly kept. Thou shouldst, O Yudhishthira, act in such a manner as to ascertain the merits and faults of the inhabitants of thy city and the provinces. Let thy laws, O king, be always administered by trusted judges placed in charge thereof, who should also be contented and of good behaviour. Their acts should also be ascertained by thee through spies. Let thy judicial officers, O Yudhishthira, inflict punishments, according to the law, on offenders after careful ascertainment of the gravity of the offences. They that are disposed to take bribes, they that are the violators of the chastity of other people's wives, they that inflict heavy punishments, they that are utterers of false speeches, they that are revilers, they that are stained by cupidity, they that are murderers, they that are doers of rash deeds, they that are disturbers of assemblies and the sports of others, and they that bring about a confusion of castes, should, agreeably to considerations of time and place, be punished with either fines or death. [Adanaruchi is a very civil way of indicating corrupt officials and thieves. Inflictors of severe punishments (upon corrupt bureaucrats) were looked upon as tyrants deserving of being put down (Some Roman rulers ended up murdered for this reason; examples: Gaius Julius Caesar or Titus Flavis Domitianus). Heavy fines were at one time interdicted in England. Sahasapriya is a doer of rash deeds, such as culpable homicide not amounting to murder, to adopt the terminology of the Indian Penal Code.] In the morning thou shouldst see those that are employed in making thy disbursements. After that thou shouldst look to thy toilet and then to thy food. Thou shouldst next supervise thy forces, gladdening them on every occasion. Thy evenings should be set apart for envoys and spies. The latter end of the night should be devoted by thee to settle what acts should be done by thee in the day. Mid-nights and mid-days should be devoted to thy amusements and sports. At all times, however thou shouldst think of the means for accomplishing thy purposes. At the proper time, adorning thy person, thou shouldst sit prepared to make gifts in profusion. The turns for different acts, O son, ceaselessly revolve like wheels. Thou shouldst always exert thyself to fill thy treasuries of various kinds by lawful means. Thou shouldst avoid all unlawful means towards that end. Ascertaining through thy spies who thy foes are that are bent on finding out thy laches, thou shouldst, through trusted agents, cause them to be destroyed from a distance. Examining their conduct, thou shouldst O perpetuator of Kuru's race, appoint thy servants. Thou shouldst cause all thy acts to be accomplished through thy servitors: whether they are appointed for those acts or not. The commandant of thy forces should be of firm conduct, courageous, capable of bearing hardships, loyal, and devoted to thy good. Artisans and mechanics, O son of Pandu, dwelling in thy provinces, should always do thy acts like kine and asses. [i.e., content to work on receiving their food only. Their wages should not be higher that' what is needed to feed them.] Thou shouldst always, O Yudhishthira, be careful to ascertain thy own laches as also those of thy foes. The laches also of thy own men as also of the men of thy foes should equally be ascertained. Those men of thy kingdom, that are well skilled in their respective vocations, and are devoted to thy good, should be favoured by thee with adequate means of support. A wise king, O ruler of men, should always see that the accomplishments of his accomplished subjects might be kept up. They would then be firmly devoted to thee, seeing that they did not fall away from their skill.'"

SECTION 6

"Dhritarashtra said, Thou shouldst always ascertain the Mandalas that belong to thee, to thy foes, to neutrals, and to those that are disposed equally towards thee and thy foes, O Bharata. The Mandalas also of the four kinds of foes, of these called Atatayins*, and of allies, and the allies of foes, should be distinguished by thee, O crusher of foes. [* The four kinds of foes, as explained by the commentator, are (1st) foes proper, (2nd) allies of foes, (3rd) those that wish victory to both sides, and (4th) those that wish defeat to both sides. As regards Atatayins (a Sanskrit technical term corresponding to "assassin"), there are six kinds of assassins (according to Vasistha 3.15-18). They are: (1st) he that sets fire to one's house, (2nd) he that mixes poison with one's food, (3rd) he that advances, weapon in hand, with hostile intent, (4th) he that robs one of one's wealth, (5th) he that invades one's fields, and (6th) he that steals one's wife. And further: "One may slay an assassin who comes with the intention of killing, even though he may be knowing the whole Veda along with the Upanishads; by that act one does not incur the guilt of Brahmana-slaughter." Also see the Manubhasya, verse 8.350.] The ministers of state, the people of the provinces, the garrisons of forts, and the forces, O foremost one of Kuru's

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race, may or may not be tampered with. (Thou shouldst, therefore, behave in such a manner that these may not be tampered with by thy foes). The twelve (enumerated above), O son of Kunti, constitute the principal concerns of kings. These twelve, as also sixty, having Ministers for their foremost, should be looked after by the king. [The sixty are thus made up. Eight consisting of agriculture and the rest; twenty-eight consisting of forces and the rest; fourteen consisting of atheists and the rest and eighteen consisting of counsels and the rest.] Professors conversant with the science of politics call these by the name of Mandala. Understand, O Yudhishthira, that the six incidents (of peace, war, march, halt, sowing dissensions, and conciliation) depend upon these. Growth and diminution should also be understood, as also the condition of being stationary. The attributes of the sixfold incidents, O thou of mighty arms, as resting on the two and seventy (already enumerated), should also be carefully understood. When one's own side has become strong and the side of the foe his become weak, it is then, O son of Kunti, that the king should war against the foe and strive to will victory. When the enemy is strong and one's own side is weak, then the weak king, if possessed of intelligence, should seek to make peace with the enemy. The king should collect a large store of articles (for his commissariat). When able to march out, he should on no account make a delay, O Bharata. Besides, he should on that occasion set his men to offices for which they are fit, without being moved by any other consideration. (When obliged to yield a portion of his territories) he should give his foe only such land as does not produce crops in abundance. (When obliged to give wealth), he should give gold containing much base metal. (When obliged to give a portion of his forces), he should give such men as are not noted for strength. One that is skilled in treaties should, when taking land or gold or men from the foe, take what is possessed of attributes the reverse of this [i.e., land that is fertile, gold that is pure, and men that are strong.]. In making treaties of peace, the son of the (defeated) king, should be demanded as a hostage, O chief of the Bharatas. A contrary course of conduct would not be beneficial, O son. If a calamity comes over the king, he should, with knowledge of means-and counsels, strive to emancipate himself from it. The king, O foremost of monarchs, should maintain the cheerless and the destitute (such as the blind, the deaf and dumb, and the diseased) among his people. Himself protecting his own kingdom, the king, possessed of great might, should direct all his efforts, either one after another or simultaneously, against his foes. He should afflict and obstruct them and seek to drain their treasury. The king that desires his own growth should never injure the subordinate chieftains that are under his sway. O son of Kunti, thou shouldst never seek to war with that king who desires to conquer the whole Earth. Thou shouldst seek to gain advantages by producing, with the aid of thy ministers, dissensions among his aristocracy and subordinate chieftains. A powerful king should never seek to exterminate weak kings, for these do good to the world by cherishing the good and punishing the wicked. O foremost of kings, thou shouldst live, adopting the behaviour of the cane. [The cane yields when pressure is directed towards it. In the Santi Parva occurs the detailed conversation between the Ocean and the Rivers. The former enquired why, when the Rivers washed down the largest trees, they could not wash into the Ocean a single cane. The answer was that the cane was yielding; the trees were not so.] If a strong king advances against a weak one, the latter should make him desist, by adopting conciliation and other modes. If unable to stop the invader in this way, then he, as also those that are disposed to do him good, should fall upon the foe for battling with him. Indeed, with his ministers and treasury and citizens, he should thus adopt force against the invader. If battling with the foe becomes hopeless, then he should fall, sacrificing his resources one after another. Casting off his life in this way, he will attain to liberation from all sorrow.'"

SECTION 7

"Dhritarashtra said, 'O best of kings, thou shouldst also reflect properly on war and peace. Each is of two kinds. The means are various, and the circumstances also, under which war or peace may be made, are various, O Yudhishthira. [War and peace are each of two kinds, i.e., war with a strong foe and that with a weak foe: peace with a strong foe and that with a weak foe. The Bengal texts wrongly read dividhopayam or vividhopayam.] O thou of Kuru's race, thou shouldst, with coolness, reflect on the two (viz., thy strength and weakness) with regard to thyself. Thou shouldst not suddenly march against a foe that is possessed of contented and healthy soldiers, and that is endued with intelligence. On the other hand, thou shouldst think carefully of the means of vanquishing him. Thou shouldst march against a foe that is not provided with contented and healthy combatants. When everything is favourable, the foe may be beaten. After that, however, the victor should retire (and stay in a strong position). He should next cause the foe to be plunged into various calamities, and sow dissensions among his allies. He should afflict the foe and inspire terror in his heart, and attacking him weaken his forces. The king, conversant with the scriptures that marches against a foe, should think of the three kinds of strength, and, indeed, reflect on his own strength and of his foe. Only that king, O Bharata, who is endued with alacrity, discipline, and strength of counsels, should march against a foe. When his position is otherwise, he should avoid defensive operations. [Utsaha is readiness or alacrity, of the forces to attack the foe: prabhusakti is the complete mastery of the king over his forces, i.e., through discipline. By strength of counsels, in this connection, is meant well-formed plans of attack and defence.] The king should provide himself with power of wealth, power of allies, power of foresters, power of paid soldiery, and power of the mechanical and trading classes, O puissant one. [Maulam is explained as the strength of money. In modern warfare also, money is called 'the sinews of war'. Atavivala or the force consisting of foresters, was, perhaps, the body of Irregulars that supported a regular army of combatants. Bhritavala implies the regular army, drawing pay from the state at all times. In India, standing armies have existed from remote times. Sreni-vala is, perhaps, the forces of artisans, mechanics, and engineers, who looked after the roads and the transport, as also of traders who supplied the army with provision.] Among all these, power of allies and power of wealth are superior to the rest. The power of classes and that of the standing army are equal. The power of spies is regarded by the king as equal in efficacy to either of the above, on many occasions, when the time comes for applying each. Calamity, O king, as it overtakes rulers should be regarded as of many forms. Listen, O thou of Kuru's race, as to what those diverge forms are. Verily of various kinds are calamities, O son of Pandu. Thou shouldst always count them, distinguishing their forms, O king, and strive to meet them by applying the well-known ways of conciliation and the rest (without concealing them through idleness). The king should, when equipt with a good force, march (out against a foe), O scorcher of enemies. He should attend also to the considerations of time and place, while preparing to march, as also to the forces he has collected and his own merits (in other respects). That king who is attentive to his own growth and advancement should not march unless equipt with cheerful and healthy warriors. When strong, O son of Pandu, he may march in even an unfavourable season. The king should make a river having quivers for its stones, steeds and cars for its current, and standards for the trees that cover its banks, and which is miry with foot-soldiers and elephants. Even such a river should the king apply for the destruction of his foe. Agreeably to the science known to Usanas, arrays called Sakata, Padma, and Vijra, should be formed, O Bharata, for fighting the enemy. [A sakata array was an array after the form of a car. It is described in Sukraniti fully, and occurs in the Drona Parva, ante. The Padma is a circular array with angular projections. It is the same with what is now called the starry with angular projections. It is the same what is now called the starry array, many modern forts being constructed on this plan. The Vajra is a wedge-like array. It penetrates into the enemy's divisions like a wedge and goes out, routing the foe. It is otherwise called suchivyuha.] Knowing everything about the enemy's strength through spies, and examining his own strength himself the king should commence war either within his own territories or within those of his foe [i.e., meet the foe whether within his own kingdom or invade the foe's realm and thus oblige the foe to fall back for resisting him there.]. The king should always gratify his army, and hurl all his strongest warriors (against the enemy). First ascertaining the state of his kingdom, he should apply conciliation or the other well-known means. By all means, O king, should the body be protected. One should do that which is highly beneficial for one both here and hereafter. The king, O monarch, by behaving duly according to these ways, attains to Heaven hereafter, after ruling his subjects righteously in this world. O foremost one of Kuru's race, it is even thus that thou shouldst always seek the good of thy subjects for attaining to both the worlds. Thou hast been instructed in all duties by Bhishma, by Krishna, and by Vidura, I should also, O best of kings, from the affection I bear thee, give thee these instructions. O giver of profuse presents in sacrifices, thou shouldst do all this duly. Thou shalt, by conducting thyself in this way, become dear to thy subjects and attain to felicity in Heaven. That king who adores the deities in a hundred horse-sacrifices, and he who rules his subjects righteously, acquire merit that is equal.'"

SECTION 8

"Yudhishthira said, 'O lord of Earth, I shall do as thou biddest me. O foremost of kings, I should be further instructed by thee. Bhishma has ascended to Heaven. The slayer of Madhu has departed (for Dwaraka). Vidura and Sanjaya also will accompany thee to the forest. Who else, therefore, than thee will teach me? Those instructions which thou imparted today, desirous of doing good to me, I shall certainly follow, O lord of Earth. Be thou assured of this, O king.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed by king Yudhishthira the just, of great intelligence, the royal sage, Dhritarashtra, O chief of the Bharatas, wished to obtain the king's permission (about his retirement to the forest). And he said, 'Cease, O son, great has been my toil.' Having said these words, the old king entered the apartments of Gandhari. Unto that husband of hers who resembled a second Lord of all creatures, while resting on a seat, Gandhari of righteous conduct, conversant with the opportuneness of everything, said these words, the hour being suited to them,--'Thou hast obtained the permission of that great Rishi, viz., Vyasa himself. When, however, wilt thou go to the forest, with the permission of Yudhishthira?'

"Dhritarashtra said, 'O Gandhari, I have received the permission of my high-souled sire. With the permission of Yudhishthira (next obtained), I shall soon retire into the woods. I desire, however, to give away some wealth capable of following the status of Preta, in respect of all those sons of mine who were addicted to calamitous dice. Verily, I desire to make those gifts, inviting all the people to my mansion.' [Those who die become at first what is called Preta. They remain so for one year, till the Sapindikarana Sraddha is performed. They then become united with the Pitris. The gifts made in the first Sraddha as also in the monthly ones, have the virtue of rescuing the Preta or bringing him an accession of merit. The gifts in annual Sraddhas also have the same efficacy.]

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having said so (to Gandhari), Dhritarashtra sent for Yudhishthira. The latter, at his uncle's command, brought all the articles necessary. Many Brahmanas residing in Kuru-jangala, and many Kshatriyas, many Vaisyas, and many Sudras also, came to Dhritarashtra's mansion, with gratified hearts. The old king, coming out of the inner apartments, beheld them all, as also his subjects assembled together. Beholding all those assembled citizens and inhabitants of the provinces, and his well-wishers also thus gathered together, and the large number of Brahmanas arrived from diverge realms, king Dhritarashtra of great intelligence, O monarch, said these words,--'Ye all and the Kurus have lived together for many long years, well-wishers of each other, and each employed in doing good to the other. What I shall now say in view of the opportunity that has come, should be accomplished by you all even as disciples accomplish the biddings of their preceptors. I have set my heart upon retiring into the woods, along with Gandhari as my companion. Vyasa has approved of this, as also the son of Kunti. Let me have your permission too. Do not hesitate in this. That goodwill, which has always existed between you and us, is not to be seen, I believe, in other realms between the rulers and the ruled. I am worn out with this load of years on my head. I am destitute of children. Ye sinless ones, I am emaciated with fasts, along with Gandhari. The kingdom having passed to Yudhishthira, I have enjoyed great happiness. Ye foremost of men, I think that happiness has been greater than what I could expect from Duryodhana's sovereignty. What other refuge can I have, old as I am and destitute of children, save the woods? Ye highly blessed ones, it behoves you to grant me the permission I seek. Hearing these words of his, all these residents of Kurujangala, uttered loud lamentations, O best of the Bharatas, with voices choked with tears. Desirous of telling those grief-stricken people something more, Dhritarashtra of great energy, once more addressed them and said as follows.'"

SECTION 9

"Dhritarashtra said, 'Santanu duly ruled this Earth. Similarly, Vichitraviryya also, protected by Bhishma, ruled you. Without doubt, all this is known to you. It is also known to you how Pandu, my brother, was dear to me as also to you. He also ruled you duly. Ye sinless ones, I have also served you. Whether those services have come up to the mark or fallen short of it, it behoveth you to forgive me, for I have attended to my duties without heedlessness. Duryodhana also enjoyed this kingdom without a thorn in his side. Foolish as he was and endued with wicked understanding, he did not, however, do any wrong to you. Through the fault, however, of that prince of wicked understanding, and through his pride, as also through my own impolicy, a great carnage has taken place of persons of the royal order. Whether I have, in that matter, acted rightly or wrongly, I pray you with joined hands to dispel all remembrance of it from your hearts.--This one is old; this one has lost all his children; this one is afflicted with grief; this one was our king;--this one is a descendant of former kings;--considerations like these should induce you to forgive me. This Gandhari also is cheerless and old. She too has lost her children and is helpless. Afflicted with grief for the loss of her sops, she solicits you with me. Knowing that both of us are old and afflicted and destitute of children, grant us the permission we seek. Blessed be you, we seek your protection. This Kuru king, Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, should be looked after by you all, in prosperity as well as in adversity. He will never fall into distress, he that has for his counsellors four such brothers of abundant prowess. All of them are conversant with both righteousness and wealth, and resemble the very guardians of the world. Like the illustrious Brahman himself, the Lord of the universe of creatures, this

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Yudhishthira of mighty energy will rule you. That which should certainly be said is now said by me. I make over to you it this Yudhishthira here as a deposit. I make you also a deposit in the hands of this hero. It behoves you all to forget and forgive whatever injury has been done to you by those sons of mine that are no longer alive, or, indeed, by any one else belonging to me. Ye never harboured any wrath against me on any previous occasion. I join my hands before you who are distinguished for loyalty. Here, I bow to you all. Ye sinless one, I, with Gandhari by my side, solicit your pardon now for anything done to you by those sons of mine, of restless understandings, stained by cupidity, and ever acting as their desires prompted.' Thus addressed by the old monarch, all those citizens and inhabitants of the provinces, filled with tears, said nothing but only looked at one another."'

SECTION 10

"Vaisampayana said, 'Thus addressed, O thou of Kuru's race, by the old king, the citizens and the inhabitants of the provinces stood sometime like men deprived of consciousness. King Dhritarashtra, finding them silent, with their throats choked by grief, once more addressed them, saying, 'Ye best of men, old as I am, sonless, and indulging, through cheerlessness of heart, in diverse lamentations along with this my wedded wife, I have obtained the permission, in the matter of my retirement into the forest, of my sire, the Island-born Krishna himself, as also of king Yudhishthira, who is conversant with every duty, ye righteous denizens of this kingdom. Ye sinless ones, I, with Gandhari, repeatedly solicit you with bent heads. It behoves you all to grant us permission.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these pitiable words of the Kuru king, O monarch, the assembled denizens of Kurujangala all began to weep. Covering their faces with their hands and upper garments, all those men burning with grief, wept for a while as fathers and mothers would weep (at the prospect of a dear son about to leave them for ever). Bearing in their hearts, from which every other thought had been dispelled, the sorrow born of Dhritarashtra's desire to leave the world, they looked like men deprived of all consciousness. Checking that agitation of heart due to the announcement of Dhritarashtra's desire of going to the forest, they gradually were able to address one another, expressing their wishes. Settling their words in brief, O king, they charged a certain Brahmana with the task of replying unto the old monarch. That learned Brahmana, of good behaviour, chosen by unanimous consent, conversant with all topics, master of all the Richs, and named Samba, endeavoured to speak. Taking the permission of the whole assembly and with its full approbation, that learned Brahmana of great intelligence, conscious of his own abilities, said these words unto the king,--'O monarch, the answer of this assembly has been committed to my care. I shall voice it, O hero. Do thou receive it, O king. What thou gayest, O king of kings, is all true, O puissant one. There is nothing in it that is even slightly untrue. Thou art our well-wisher, as, indeed, we are thine. Verily, in this race of kings, there never wag a king who coming to rule his subjects became unpopular with them. Ye have ruled us like fathers or brothers. King Duryodhana never did us any wrong. Do that, O king, which that righteous-souled ascetic, the son of Satyavati, has said. He is, verily, our foremost of instructors. Left by thee, O monarch, we shall have to pass our days in grief and sorrow, filled with remembrance of thy hundreds of virtues. We were well protected and ruled by king Duryodhana even as we had been ruled by king Santanu, or by Chitrangada, or by thy father, O monarch, who was protected by the prowess of Bhishma, or by Pandu, that ruler of Earth, who was overlooked by thee in all his acts. Thy son, O monarch, never did us the slightest wrong. We lived, relying on that king as trustfully as on our own father. It is known to thee how we lived (under that ruler). After the same manner, we have enjoyed great happiness, O monarch, for thousands of years, under the rule of Kunti's son of great intelligence and wisdom. This righteous-souled king who performs sacrifices with gifts in profusion, follows the conduct of the royal sages of old, belonging to thy race, of meritorious deeds, having Kuru and Samvara and others and Bharata of great intelligence among them. There is nothing, O monarch, that is even slightly censurable in the matter of this Yudhishthira's rule. Protected and ruled by thee, we have all lived in great happiness. The slightest demerit is incapable of being alleged against thee and thy son. Regarding what thou hast said about Duryodhana in the matter of this carnage of kinsmen, I beg thee, O delighter of the Kurus (to listen to me).'

"The Brahmana continued, 'The destruction that has overtaken the Kurus was not brought about by Duryodhana. It was not brought about by thee. Nor was it brought about by Karna and Suvala's son. We know that it was brought about by destiny, and that it was incapable of being counteracted. Verily, destiny is not capable of being resisted by human exertion. Eight and ten Akshauhinis of troops, O monarch, were brought together. In eight and ten days that host was destroyed by the foremost of Kuru warriors, viz., Bhishma and Drona and Kripa and others, and the high-souled Karna, and the heroic Yuyudhana, and Dhrishtadyumna, and by the four sons of Pandu, that is, Bhima and Arjuna and twins. This (tremendous) carnage, O king, could not happen without the influence of destiny. Without doubt, by Kshatriyas in particular, should foes be slain and death encountered in battle. By those foremost of men, endued with science and might of arms, the Earth has been exterminated with her steeds and cars and elephants. Thy son was not the cause of that carnage of high-souled kings. Thou wert not the cause, nor thy servants, nor Karna, nor Suvala's son. The destruction of those foremost ones of Kuru's race and of kings by thousands, know, was brought about by destiny. Who can say anything else in this? Thou art regarded as the Guru and the master of the whole world. We, therefore, in thy presence, absolve thy righteous-souled son. Let that king, with all his associates, obtain the regions reserved for heroes. Permitted by foremost of Brahmanas, let him sport blissfully in heaven. Thou also shalt attain to great merit, and unswerving steadiness in virtue. O thou of excellent vows, follow thou fully the duties indicated in the Vedas. It is not necessary for either thee or ourselves to look after the Pandavas. They are capable of ruling the very Heavens, what need then be said of the Earth? O thou of great intelligence, in prosperity as in adversity, the subjects of this kingdom, O foremost one of Kuru's race, will be obedient to the Pandavas who have conduct for their ornament. The son of Pandu makes those valuable gifts which are always to be made to foremost of regenerate persons in sacrifices and in obsequial rites, after the manner of all the great kings of antiquity. The high-minded son of Kunti is mild, and self-restrained, and is always disposed to spend as if he were a second Vaisravana. He has great ministers that attend on him. He is compassionate to even his foes. Indeed, that foremost one of Bharata's race is of pure conduct. Endued with great intelligence, he is perfectly straight-forward in his dealings and rules and protects us like a father protecting his children. From association with him who is the son of Dharma, O royal sage, Bhima and Arjuna and others will never do us the least wrong. They are mild, O thou of Kuru's race, unto them that are mild, and fierce like snakes of virulent poison unto them that are fierce. Possessed of great energy, those high-souled ones are always devoted to the good of the people. Neither Kunti, nor thy (daughter-in-law) Panchali, nor Ulupi, nor the princess of the Sattwata race, will do the least wrong to these people. The affection which thou hast shown towards us and which in Yudhishthira is seen to exist in a still larger measure is incapable of being forgotten by the people of the city and the provinces. Those mighty car-warriors, viz., the son of Kunti, themselves devoted to the duties of the righteousness, will protect and cherish the people even if these happen to be unrighteous. Do thou, therefore, O king, dispelling all anxiety of heart on account of Yudhishthira, set thyself to the accomplishment of all meritorious acts, O foremost of men.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these words, fraught with righteousness and merit, of that Brahmana and approving of them, every person in that assembly said, 'Excellent, Excellent' and accepted them as his own. Dhritarashtra also, repeatedly applauding those words, slowly dismissed that assembly of his subjects. Thus honoured by them and looked upon with auspicious glances, the old king, O chief of Bharata's race, joined his hands and honoured them all in return. He then entered his own mansion with Gandhari. Listen now to what he did after that night had passed away."'

SECTION 11

"Vaisampayana said, 'After that night had passed away, Dhritarashtra, the son of Amvika, despatched Vidura to Yudhishthira's mansion. Endued with great energy and the foremost of all persons possessed of intelligence, Vidura, having arrived at Yudhishthira's mansion, addressed that foremost of men, that king of unfading glory, in these words, 'King Dhritarashtra has undergone the preliminary rites for accomplishing his purpose of retiring into the woods. He will set out for the woods, O king, on the coming day of full moon of the month of Kartika. He now solicits from thee, O foremost one of Kuru's race, some wealth. He wishes to perform the Sraddha of the high-souled son of Ganga, as also of Drona and Somadatta and Valhika of great intelligence, and of all his sons as also of all well-wishers of his that have been slain, and, if thou permittest it, of that wicked-souled wight, viz., the ruler of the Sindhus.' ['It is difficult to imagine why the rider of the Sindhus, Jayadratha, only should be regarded as a wrong-doer to the Pandavas. In the matter of the slaying of Abhimanyu he played a very minor part, by only guarding the entrance of the array against the Pandava warriors. It is true he had attempted to abduct Draupadi from the forest retreat of the Pandavas, but even in this, the wrong was not so great as that which Duryodhana and others inflicted on the Pandavas by dragging Draupadi to the court of the Kurus.] Hearing these words of Vidura, both Yudhishthira, and Pandit's son Arjuna of curly hair, became very glad and applauded them highly. Bhima, however, of great energy and unappeasable wrath, did not accept those words of Vidura in good spirits, recollecting the acts of Duryodhana. The diadem-decked Phalguna, understanding the thoughts of Bhimasena, slightly bending his face downwards, addressed that foremost of men in these words, 'O Bhima, our royal father who is advancing in years, has resolved to retire into the woods. He wishes to make gifts for advancing the happiness of his slain kinsmen and well-wishers now in the other world. O thou of Kuru's race, he wishes to give away wealth that belongs to thee by conquest. Indeed, O mighty-armed one, it is for Bhishma and others that the old king is desirous of making those gifts. It behoves thee to grant thy permission. By good luck it is, O thou of mighty arms that Dhritarashtra today begs wealth of us, he who was formerly begged by us. Behold the reverse brought about by Time. That king who was before the lord and protector of the whole Earth, now desires to go into the woods, his kinsmen and associates all slain by foes. O chief of men, let not thy views deviate from granting the permission asked for. O mighty-armed one, refusal, besides bringing infamy, will be productive d demerit. Do thou learn your duty in this matter from the king, thy eldest brother, who is lord of all. It becometh thee to give instead of refusing, O chief of Bharata's race. Vibhatsu who was saying so wag applauded by king Yudhishthira the just. Yielding to wrath, Bhimasena said these words, 'O Phalguna, it is we that shall make gifts in the matter of Bhishma's obsequies, as also of king Somadatta and of Bhurisravas, of the royal sage Valhika, and of the high-souled Drona, and of all others. Our mother Kunti shall make such obsequial offerings for Karna. O foremost of men, let not Dhritarashtra perform those Sraddhas. Even this is what I think. Let not our foes be gladdened. Let Duryodhana and others sink from a miserable to a more miserable position. Alas, it was those wretches of their race that caused the whole Earth to be exterminated. How hast thou been able to forget that anxiety of twelve long years, and our residence in deep incognito that was so painful to Draupadi? Where was Dhritarashtra's affection for us then? Clad in a black deer-skin and divested of all thy ornaments, with the princess of Panchala in thy company, didst thou not follow this king? Where were Bhishma and Drona then, and where was Somadatta? Thou hadst to live for thirteen years in the woods, supporting thyself on the products of the wilderness. Thy eldest father did not then look at thee with eyes of parental affection. Hast thou forgotten, O Partha, that it was this wretch of our race, of wicked understanding, that enquired of Vidura, when the match at dice was going on,--'What has been won?' Hearing thus far, king Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, endued with great intelligence, rebuked him and told him to be silent."'

SECTION 12

"Arjuna said, 'O Bhima, thou art my elder brother and, therefore, my senior and preceptor. I dare not say anything more than what I have already said. The royal sage Dhritarashtra deserves to be honoured by us in every respect. They that are good, they that are distinguished above the common level, they that break not the distinctions which characterise the good, remember not the wrongs done to them but only the benefits they have received.' Hearing these words of the high-souled Phalguna, the righteous-souled Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, addressed Vidura and said these words, 'Instructed by me, O Kshattri, do thou say unto the Kuru king that I shall give him as much wealth from my treasury as he wishes to give away for the obsequies of his song, and of Bhishma and others among his well-wishers and benefactors. Let not Bhima be cheerless at this!'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Having said these words, king Yudhishthira the just, highly applauded Arjuna. Meanwhile Bhimasena began to cast angry glances at Dhananjaya. Then Yudhishthira, endued with great intelligence, once more addressed Vidura and said, 'It behoves not king Dhritarashtra to be angry with Bhimasena. This Bhima of great intelligence was greatly afflicted by cold and rain and heat and by a thousand other griefs while residing in the woods. All this is not unknown to thee. Do thou, however, instructed by me, say unto the king, O foremost one of Bharata's race, that he may take from my house whatever articles he wishes and in whatever measure also he likes. Thou shalt also tell the king that he should not allow his heart to dwell on this exhibition of pride in which Bhima, deeply afflicted, has indulged. Whatever wealth I have and whatever Arjuna has in his house, the owner thereof is king Dhritarashtra. Even this thou shouldst tell him. Let the king make gifts unto the Brahmanas. Let him spend as largely as he likes. Let him free himself from the debt he owes to his sons and well-wishers. Let him be told besides,--O Monarch, this very body of mine is at thy disposal and all the wealth I have. Know this, and let there be no doubt in this.

SECTION 13

"Vaisampayana said, 'Thus addressed by king Yudhishthira, Vidura, that foremost of all intelligent persons, returned to Dhritarashtra and said unto him these words of grave import.

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'I at first reported thy message to king Yudhishthira. Reflecting on thy words, Yudhishthira of great splendour applauded them highly. Vibhatsu also, of great energy, places all his mansions, with all the wealth therein, as also his very life-breaths, at thy disposal. Thy son, king Yudhishthira, too, offers thee, O royal sage, his kingdom and life-breath and wealth and all else that belongs to him. Bhima, however, of mighty arms, recollecting all his innumerable sorrows, has with difficulty given his consent, breathing many heavy sighs. That mighty-armed hero, O monarch, was solicited by the righteous king as also by Vibhatsu, and induced to assume relations of cordiality towards thee. King Yudhishthira the just, his prayed thee not to give way to dissatisfaction for the improper conduct which Bhima has displayed at the recollection of former hostilities. This is generally the behaviour of Kshatriyas in battle, O king, and this Vrikodara is devoted to battle and the practices of Kshatriyas. Both myself and Arjuna, O king, repeatedly beg thee for pardoning Vrikodara. Be gracious unto us. Thou art our lord. Whatever wealth we have, thou mayst give away as thou likest, O ruler of Earth. Thou, O Bharata. art the Master of this kingdom and of all lives in it. Let the foremost one of Kuru's race give away, for the obsequial rites of his sons, all those foremost of gifts which should be given to the Brahmanas. Indeed, let him make those gifts unto persons of the regenerate order, taking away from our mansions jewels and gems, and kine, and slaves both mate and female, and goats and sheep. Let gifts be made unto also those that are poor or sightless or in great distress, selecting the objects of his charity as he likes. Let, O Vidura, large pavilions be constructed, rich with food and drink of diverse tastes collected in profusion. Let reservoirs of water be constructed for enabling kine to drink, and let other works of merit be accomplished.--Even these were the words said unto me by the king as also by Pritha's son Dhananjaya. It behoveth thee to say what should be done next. After Vidura had said these words, O Janamejaya, Dhritarashtra his satisfaction at them and set his heart upon making large presents on the day of full moon in the month of Kartika."'

SECTION 14

"Vaisampayana said,--'Thus addressed by Vidura, king Dhritarashtra became highly pleased, O monarch, with the act of Yudhishthira and Jishnu. Inviting then, after proper examination, thousands of deserving Brahmanas and superior Rishis, for the sake of Bhishma, as also of his sons and friends, and causing a large quantity of food and drink to be prepared, and cars and other vehicles and clothes, and gold and jewels and gems, and slaves both male and female, and goats and sheep, and blankets and costly articles to be collected, and villages and fields, and other kines of wealth to be kept ready, as also elephants and steeds decked with ornaments, and many beautiful maidens who were the best of their sex, that foremost of kings gave them away for the advancement of the dead, naming each of them in due order as the gifts were made. Naming Drona, and Bhishma, and Somadatta, and Valhika, and king Duryodhana, and each one of his other sons, and all his well-wishers with Jayadratha numbering first, those gifts were made in due order. With the approval of Yudhishthira, that Sraddha-sacrifice became characterised by large gifts of wealth and profuse presents of jewels and gems and other kinds of treasure. Tellers and scribes on that occasion, under the orders of Yudhishthira, ceaselessly asked the old king.--Do thou command, O monarch, what gifts should be made to these. All things are ready here.--As soon as the king spoke, they gave away what he directed. [The usual way in which gifts are made at the present day on occasions of Sraddhas and marriages or other auspicious rites very nearly resembles what is described here. Instead of dedicating each gift with mantras and water and making it over to the receiver, all the articles in a heap are dedicated with the aid of mantras. The guests are then assembled, and are called up individually. The Adhyaksha or superintendent, according to a list prepared, names the gifts to be made to the guest called up. The tellers actually make them over, the scribes noting them down.] Unto him that was to receive a hundred, a thousand was given, and unto him that was to receive a thousand was given ten thousand, at the command of the royal son of Kunti. [Each gift that was indicated by Dhritarashtra was multiplied ten times at the command of Yudhishthira.] Like the, clouds vivifying the crops with their downpours, that royal cloud gratified the Brahmanas by downpours of wealth. After all those gifts had been distributed, the king, O thou of great intelligence, then deluged the assembled guests of all the four orders with repeated surges of food and drink of diverge tastes. Verily, the Dhritarashtra-ocean, swelling high, with jewels and gems for its waters, rich with the villages and fields and other foremost of gifts constituting its verdant islands, heaps of diverse kinds of precious articles for its rich caves, elephants and steeds for its alligators and whirlpools, the sound of Mridangas for its deep roars, and clothes and wealth and precious stories for its waves, deluged the Earth. It was even in this way, O king, that that monarch made gifts for the advancement in the other world of his sons and grandsons and Pitris as also of himself and Gandhari. At last when he became tired with the task of making gifts in such profusion, that great Gift-sacrifice carne to an end. Even thus did that king of Kuru's race perform his Gift-sacrifice. Actors and mimes continually danced and sang on the occasion and contributed to the merriment of all the guests. Food and drink of diverse tastes were given away in large quantities. Making gifts in this way for ten days, the royal son of Amvika, O chief of Bharata's race, became freed from the debts he owed to his sons and grandsons."'

SECTION 15

"Vaisampayana said,--'The royal son of Amvika, viz., Dhritarashtra, having settled the hour of his departure for the woods, summoned those heroes, the Pandavas. Possessed of great intelligence, the old monarch, with Gandhari, duly accosted those princes. Having caused the minor rites to be performed, by Brahmanas conversant with the Vedas, on that day which was the day of full moon in the month of Kartika, he caused the fire which he worshipped daily to be taken up. Leaving his usual robes he wore deer-skins and barks, and accompanied by his daughters-in-law, he set out of his mansion. When the royal son of Vichitraviryya thus set out, a loud wail was uttered by the Pandava and the Kaurava ladies as also by other women belonging to the Kaurava race. The king worshipped the mansion in which he had lived with fried paddy and excellent flowers of diverse kinds. He also honoured all his servants with gifts of wealth, and then leaving that abode set out on his journey. Then O son, king Yudhishthira, trembling all over, with utterance choked with tears, said these words in a loud voice, viz.,--'O righteous monarch, where dost thou go?--and fell down in a swoon. Arjuna, burning with great grief, sighed repeatedly. That foremost of Bharata princes, telling Yudhishthira that he should not behave in that manner, stood cheerlessly and with heart plunged into distress. Vrikodara, the heroic Phalguna, the two sons of Madri, Vidura, Sanjaya, Dhritarashtra's son by his Vaisya wife, and Kripa, and Dhaumya, and other Brahmanas, all followed the old monarch, with voices choked in grief. Kunti walked ahead, bearing on her shoulders the hand of Gandhari who walked with her bandaged eyes. King Dhritarashtra walked confidently behind Gandhari, placing his hand on her shoulder. [As Dhritarashtra was blind, his queen Gandhari, whose devotion to her lord was very great, had, from the days of her marriage, kept her eyes bandaged refusing to look on the world which her lord could not see.] Drupada's daughter Krishna, she of the Sattwata race, Uttara the daughter-in-law of the Kauravas, who had recently become a mother, Chitrangada, and other ladies of the royal house-hold, all proceeded with the old monarch. The wail they uttered on that occasion, O king, from grief, resembled the loud lamentations of a swarm of she-ospreys. Then the wives of the citizens,--Brahmanas and Kshatriyas and Vaisyas and Sudras,--also came out into the streets from every side. At Dhritarashtra's departure, O king, all the citizens of Hastinapore became as distressed as they had been, O monarch, when they had witnessed the departure of the Pandavas in former days after their defeat at the match at dice. Ladies that had never seen the sun or the moon, came out into the streets on the occasion, in great grief, when king Dhritarashtra proceeded towards the great forest."'

SECTION 16

"Vaisampayana said, 'Great was the uproar, at that time, O king, of both men and women standing on the terraces of mansions or on the Earth. Possessed of great intelligence, the old king, with joined hands, and trembling with weakness, proceeded with difficulty along the principal street which was crowded with persons of both sexes. He left the city called after the elephant by the principal gate and then repeatedly bade that crowd of people to return to their homes. Vidura had set his heart on going to the forest along with the king. The Suta Sanjaya also, the son of Gavalgani, the chief minister of Dhritarashtra, was of the same heart. King Dhritarashtra however, caused Kripa and the mighty car-warrior Yuyutsu to refrain from following him. He made them over into Yudhishthira's hands. After the citizens had ceased following the monarch, king Yudhishthira, with the ladies of his house-hold, prepared to stop, at the command of Dhritarashtra. seeing that his mother Kunti was desirous of retiring into the woods, the king said unto her, 'I shall follow the old monarch. Do thou desist.' It behoveth thee, O queen, to return to the city, accompanied by these thy daughters-in-law. This monarch proceeds to the woods, firmly resolved to practise penances. Though king Yudhishthira said these words unto her, with his eyes bathed in tears, Kunti, however, without answering him, continued to proceed, catching hold of Gandhari.

"Kunti said, 'O king, never show any disregard for Sahadeva. He is very much attached to me, O monarch, and to thee also always. Thou shouldst always bear in mind Karna who never retreated from battle. Through my folly that hero has been slain in the field of battle. Surely, my son, this heart of mine is made of steel, since it does not break into a hundred pieces at not seeing that child born of Surya. When such has been the case, O chastiser of foes, what can I now do? I am very much to blame for not having proclaimed the truth about the birth of Surya's child. O crusher of foes, I hope thou wilt, with all thy brothers, make excellent gifts for the sake of that son of Surya. O mower of foes, thou shouldst always do what is agreeable to Draupadi. Thou shouldst look after Bhimasena and Arjuna and Nakula and Sahadeva. The burthens of the Kuru race have now fallen on thee, O king. I shall live in the woods with Gandhari, besmearing my body with filth, engaged in the performance of penances, and devoted to the service of my father-in-law and mother-in-law.' [Nilakantha explains that as Dhritarashtra is Pandu's elder brother, therefore, Kunti regards him as Pandu's father. Queen Gandhari therefore is Kunti's mother-in-law. The eldest brother is looked upon as a father.]

'Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed by her, the righteous-souled Yudhishthira, with passions under complete control, became, with all his brothers, plunged into great distress. Endued with great intelligence, the king said not a word. Having reflected for a little while, king Yudhishthira the Just, cheerless and plunged in anxiety and sorrow, addressed his mother, saying,--'Strange, indeed, is this purpose of thine? It behoves thee not to accomplish it. I can never grant thee permission. It behoves thee to show us compassion. 'Formerly, when we were about to set out of Hastinapore for the woods, O thou of agreeable features, it was thou who, reciting to us the story of Vidula's instructions to her son, excited us to exertion. It behoves thee not to abandon us now. Having slain the kings of Earth, I have won sovereignty, guided by thy words of wisdom communicated through Vasudeva. Where now is that understanding of thine about which I had heard from Vasudeva? Dost thou wish now to fall away from those Kshatriya practices about which thou hadst instructed us? Abandoning ourselves, this kingdom, and this daughter-in-law of thine who is possessed of great fame, how wilt thou live in the inaccessible woods? Do thou relent! Kunti, with tears in her eyes, heard these words of her son, but continued to proceed on her way. Then Bhima addressed her, saying,--'When, O Kunti, sovereignty has been won, and when the time has come for thee to enjoy that sovereignty thus acquired by thy children, when the duties of royalty await discharge by thee, whence has this desire got hold of thy mind? Why then didst thou cause us to exterminate the Earth? For what reason wouldst thou leave all and wish to take up thy abode in the woods? We were born in the woods. Why then didst thou bring us from the woods while we were children? Behold, the two sons of Madri are overwhelmed with sorrow and grief. Relent, O mother, O thou of great fame, do not go into the woods now. Do thou enjoy that prosperity which acquired by might, has become Yudhishthira's today.' Firmly resolved to retire into the woods, Kunti disregarded these lamentations of her sons. Then Draupadi with a cheerless face, accompanied by Subhadra, followed her weeping mother-in-law who was journeying on from desire of going into the woods. Possessed of great wisdom and firmly resolved on retirement from the world, the blessed dame walked on, frequently looking at her weeping children. The Pandavas, with all their wives and servitors, continued to follow her. Restraining then her tears, she addressed her children in these words.'"

SECTION 17

"Kunti said, 'It is even so, O mighty-armed son of Pandu, as thou sayest. Ye kings, formerly when ye were cheerless, it was even in this way that I excited you all. Yes, seeing that your kingdom was wrested from you by a match at dice, seeing that you all fell from happiness, seeing that you were domineered over by kinsmen, I instilled courage and high thoughts into your minds. Ye foremost of men, I encouraged you in order that they that were the sons of Pandu might not be lost, in order that their fame might not be lost. You are all equal to Indra. Your prowess resembles that of the very gods. In order that you might not live, watching the faces of others, I acted in that way. I instilled courage into thy heart in order that thou who art the foremost of all righteous persons, who art equal to Vasava, might not again go into the woods and live in misery. I instilled courage into your hearts in order that this Bhima who is possessed of the strength of ten thousand elephants and whose prowess and manliness are widely known, might not sink into insignificance and ruin. I instilled courage into your hearts in order that this Vijaya, who was born after Bhimasena, and who is equal unto Vasava himself might not be cheerless. I instilled courage into your hearts in order that Nakula and Sahadeva, who are always devoted to their seniors, might not be weakened and rendered cheerless by hunger. I acted in that way in order that this lady of well-developed proportions and of large expansive eyes might not endure the wrongs inflicted on her in the public hall without being avenged. In the very sight of you all, O Bhima, Dussasana, through folly, dragged her trembling all over like a plantain plant, during the period of her functional illness, and after she had been won at dice, as if she were a slave. All this was known to me. Indeed, the race of Pandu had been subjugated (by foes). The Kurus, viz., my father-in-law and others, were

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cheerless when she, desirous of a protector, uttered loud lamentations like a she-osprey. When she was dragged by her fair locks by the sinful Dussasana with little intelligence, I was deprived of my senses, O king. Know, that for enhancing your energy, I instilled that courage into your hearts by reciting the words of Vidula, O my sons. I instilled courage into your hearts, O my sons, in order that the race of Pandu, represented by my children, might not be lost. The sons and grandsons of that person who brings a race to infamy never succeed in attaining to the regions of the righteous. Verily, the ancestors of the Kaurava race were in danger of losing those regions of felicity which had become theirs. As regards myself, O my sons, I, before this, enjoyed the great fruits of that sovereignty which my husband had acquired. I made large gifts. I duly drank the Soma juice in sacrifice. It was not for my own sake that I had urged Vasudeva with the stirring words of Vidula. It was for your sake that I had called upon you to follow that advice. O my sons, I do not desire the fruits of that sovereignty which has been won by my children. O thou of great puissance, I wish to attain, by my penances, to those regions of felicity which have been acquired by my husband. By rendering obedient service to my father-in-law and mother-in-law both of whom wish to take up their abode in the woods, and by penances, I desire, O Yudhishthira, to waste my body. Do thou cease to follow me, O foremost one of Kuru's race, along with Bhima and others. Let thy understanding be always devoted to righteousness. Let thy mind be always great.'"

SECTION 18

"Vaisampayana said, 'Hearing these words of Kunti, the sinless Pandavas, O best of kings, became ashamed. They, therefore, desisted, along with the princess of-Panchala, from following her. Beholding Kunti resolved to go into the woods, the ladies of the Pandava household uttered loud lamentations. The Pandavas then circumambulated the king and saluted him duly. They ceased to follow further, having failed to persuade Pritha to return. Then Amvika's son of great energy, viz., Dhritarashtra, addressing Gandhari and Vidura and supporting himself on them, said, 'Let the royal mother of Yudhishthira cease to go with us. What Yudhishthira has said is all very true. Abandoning this high prosperity of her sons, abandoning those high fruits that may be hers, why should she go into the inaccessible woods, leaving her children like a person of little intelligence? Living in the enjoyment of sovereignty, she is capable of practising penances and observing the high vow of gifts. Let her, therefore, listen to my words. O Gandhari, I have been much gratified with the services rendered to me by this daughter-in-law of mine. Conversant as thou art with all duties, it behoveth thee to command her return.' Thus addressed by her lord, the daughter of Suvala repeated unto Kunti all those words of the old king and added her own words of grave import. She, however, failed to cause Kunti to desist inasmuch as that chaste lady, devoted to righteousness, had firmly set her heart upon residing in the woods. The Kuru ladies, understanding how firm her resolution was regarding her retirement into the woods, and seeing that those foremost ones of Kuru's race (viz., their own lords), had ceased to follow her, set up a loud wail of lamentation. After all the sons of Pritha and all the ladies had retraced their steps, king Yudhishthira of great wisdom continued his journey to the woods. The Pandavas, exceedingly cheerless and afflicted with grief and sorrow accompanied by their wives, returned to the city, on their cars. At that time the city of Hastinapura, with its entire population of men, both old and young, and women, became cheerless and plunged into sorrow. No festivals of rejoicing were observed. Afflicted with grief, the Pandavas were without any energy. Deserted by Kunti, they were deeply afflicted with grief, like calves destitute of their dams. Dhritarashtra reached that day a place far removed from the city. The puissant monarch arrived at last on the banks of the Bhagirathi and took rest there for the night. Brahmanas conversant with the Vedas duly ignited their sacred fires in that retreat of ascetics. Surrounded by those foremost of Brahmanas, those sacred fires blazed forth in beauty. The sacred fire of the old king was also ignited. Sitting near his own fire, he poured libations on it according to due rites, and then worshipped the thousand-rayed sun as he was on the point of setting. Then Vidura and Sanjaya made a bed for the king by spreading some blades of Kusa grass. Near the bed of that Kuru hero they made another for Gandhari. In close proximity to Gandhari, Yudhishthira's mother Kunti, observant of excellent vows, happily laid herself down. Within hearing distance of those three, slept Vidura and others. The Yajaka Brahmanas and other followers of the king laid themselves down on their respective beds. The foremost of Brahmanas that were there chanted aloud many sacred hymns. The sacrificial fires blazed forth all around. That night, therefore, seemed as delightful to them as a Brahmi night. When the night passed away, they all arose from their beds and went through their morning acts. Pouring libations then on the sacred fire, they continued their journey. Their first day's experience of the forest proved very painful to them on account of the grieving inhabitants of both the city and the provinces of the Kuru kingdom."

SECTION 19

"Vaisampayana said. 'Following the advice of Vidura, the king took up his abode on the banks of the Bhagirathi which were sacred and deserved to be peopled with the righteous. There many Brahmanas who had taken up their abode in the woods, as also many Kshatriyas and Vaisyas and Sudras, came to see the old monarch. Sitting in their midst, he gladdened them all by his words. Having duly worshipped the Brahmanas with their disciples, he dismissed them all. As evening came, the king, and Gandhari of great fame, both descended into the stream of the Bhagirathi and duly performed their ablutions for purifying themselves. The king and the queen, and Vidura and others, O Bharata, having bathed in the sacred stream, performed the usual rites of religion. After the king had purified himself by a bath, the daughter of Kuntibhoja gently led both him, who was to her as her father-in-law and Gandhari from the water into the dry bank. The Yajakas had made a sacrificial altar there for the king. Devoted to truth, the latter poured libations then on the fire. From the banks of the Bhagirathi the old king, with his followers, observant of vows and with senses restrained, then proceeded to Kurukshetra. Possessed of great intelligence, the king arrived at the retreat of the royal sage Satayupa of great wisdom and had an interview with him. Satayupa, O scorcher of foes, had been the great king of the Kekayas. Having made over the sovereignty of his kingdom to his son he had come into the woods. Satayupa, received king Dhritarashtra with due rites. Accompanied by him, the latter proceeded to the retreat of Vyasa. Arrived at Vyasa's retreat, the delighter of the Kurus received his initiation into the forest mode of life. Returning he took up his abode in the retreat of Satayupa. The high-souled Satayupa, instructed Dhritarashtra in all the rites of the forest mode, at the command of Vyasa. In this way the high-souled Dhritarashtra set himself to the practice of penances, and all his followers also to the same course of conduct. Queen Gandhari also, O monarch, along with Kunti, assumed barks of trees and deer-skins for her robe, and set herself to the observance of the same vows as her lord. Restraining their senses in thought, words, and deeds, as well as by eye, they began to practise severe austerities. Divested of all stupefaction of mind, king Dhritarashtra began to practise vows and penances like a great Rishi, reducing his body to skin and bones, for his flesh was all dried up, bearing matted locks on head, and his person clad in barks and skins. Vidura, conversant with the true interpretations of righteousness, and endued with great intelligence, as also Sanjaya, waited upon the old king with his wife. Both of them with souls under subjection, Vidura and Sanjaya also reduced themselves, and wore barks and rags.'"

SECTION 20

"Vaisampayana said, 'Those foremost of ascetics, viz. Narada and Parvata and Devala of austere penances, came there to see king Dhritarashtra. The Island-born Vyasa with all his disciples, and other persons endued with great wisdom and crowned with ascetic success, and the royal sage Satayupa of advanced years and possessed of great merit, also came. Kunti worshipped them with due rites, O king. All those ascetics were highly gratified with the worship offered to them. Those great Rishis gladdened the high-souled king Dhritarashtra with discourses on religion and righteousness. At the conclusion of their converse, the celestial Rishi Narada, beholding all things as objects of direct perceptions, said the following words.'

"Narada said, 'There was a ruler of the Kekayas, possessed of great prosperity and perfectly fearless. His name was Sahasrachitya and he was the grandfather of this Satayupa. Resigning his kingdom to his eldest son endued with a large measure of righteousness, the virtuous king Sahasrachitya retired into the woods. Reaching the other end of blazing penances, that lord of Earth. endued with great splendour, attained to the region of Purandara where he continued to live in his company. On many occasions, while visiting the region of Indra, O king, I saw the monarch, whose sins had all been burnt off by penances, residing in Indra's abode. After the same manner, king Sailalaya, the grandfather of Bhagadatta, attained to the region of Indra by the power alone of his penances. There was another king, O monarch, of the name of Prishadhra who resembled the wielder of the thunder-bolt himself. That king also, by his penances proceeded from the Earth to Heaven. In this very forest, O king, that lord of Earth, Purukutsa, the soil of Mandhatri, attained to high success. That foremost of rivers, viz., Narmada, became the consort of that king. Having undergone penances in this very forest, that ruler of Earth proceeded to Heaven. There was another king, highly righteous, of the name of Sasaloman. He too underwent severe austerities in this forest and then ascended to Heaven. Thou also, O monarch, having arrived at this forest, shalt, through the grace of the Island-born, attain to a goal that is very high and that is difficult of attainment. Thou also, O foremost of kings, at the end of thy penances, become endued with great prosperity and, accompanied by Gandhari, attain to the goal reached by those high-souled ones. Dwelling in the presence of the slayer of Vala, Pandu thinks of thee always. He will, O monarch, certainly assist thee in the attainment of prosperity. Through serving thee and Gandhari, this daughter-in-law of thine, possessed of great fame, will attain to residence with her husband in the other world. She is the mother of Yudhishthira who is the eternal Dharma. We behold all this, O king, with our spiritual vision. Vidura will enter into the high-souled Yudhishthira. Sanjaya also, through meditation, will ascend from this world into Heaven.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'That high-souled chief of Kuru's race, possessed of learning, having, with his wife, heard these words of Narada, praised them and worshipped Narada with unprecedented honours. The conclave of Brahmanas there present became filled with great joy, and desirous of gladdening king Dhritarashtra, O monarch, themselves worshipped Narada with profound regards. Those foremost of regenerate persons also praised the words of Narada. Then the royal sage Satayupa, addressing Narada, said, 'Thy holy self hath enhanced the devotion of the Kuru king, of all those people here, and of myself also, O thou of great splendour. I have, however, the wish to ask thee something. Listen to me as I say it. It has reference to the king Dhritarashtra, O celestial Rishi, that art worshipped by all the worlds. Thou art acquainted with the truth of every affair. Endued with celestial sight, thou beholdest, O regenerate Rishi, what the diverse goals are of human beings. Thou hast said what the goal has been of the kings mentioned by thee, viz., association with the chief of celestials. Thou hast not, however, O great Rishi, declared what those regions are that will be acquired by this king. O puissant one, I wish to hear from thee what region will be acquired by the royal Dhritarashtra. It behoveth thee to tell me truly the kind of region that will be his and the time when he will attain to it.' Thus addressed by him, Narada of celestial sight and endued with austere penances, said in the midst of the assembly these words highly agreeable to the minds of all.'

"Narada said, 'Repairing at my will to the mansion of Sakra, I have seen Sakra the lord or Sachi; and there, O royal sage. I have beheld king Pandu. There a talk arose, O monarch, regarding this Dhritarashtra and those highly austere penances which he is performing. There I heard from the lips of Sakra himself that there are three years yet of the period of life allotted to this king. After that, king Dhritarashtra, accompanied by his wife Gandhari, will go to the regions of Kuvera and be highly honoured by that king of kings. He will go there on a car moving at his will, his person adorned with celestial ornaments. He is the son of a Rishi; he is highly blessed; he has burnt all his sins by his penances. Endued with a righteous soul, lie will rove at will through the regions of the deities, the Gandharvas, and the Rakshasas. That about which thou hast enquired is a mystery of the gods. Through my affection for you, I have declared this high truth. Ye all are possessed of the wealth of Srutis and have consumed all your sins by your penances.'

"Vaisampayana continued.. "Hearing these sweet words of the celestial Rishi, all the persons there assembled, as also king Dhritarashtra, became greatly cheered and highly pleased. Having cheered Dhritarashtra of great wisdom with such talk, they left the spot, wending away by the path that belongs to those who are crowned with success.'"

SECTION 21

"Vaisampayana said, 'Upon the retirement of the chief of the Kurus into the forest, the Pandavas, O king, afflicted besides by grief on account of their mother, became very cheerless. The citizens also of Hastinapura were possessed by deep sorrow. The Brahmanas always talked of the old king. 'How, indeed, will the king, who has become old, live in the solitary woods? How will the highly blessed Gandhari, and Pritha, the daughter of Kuntibhoja, live there? The royal sage has always lived in the enjoyment of every comfort. He will certainly be very miserable. Arrived in deep woods, what is now the condition of that personage of royal descent, who is, again, bereft of vision? Difficult is the feat that Kunti has achieved by separating herself from her sons. Alas casting off kingly prosperity, she chose a life in the woods. What, again, is the condition of Vidura who is always devoted to the service of his elder brother? How also is the intelligent son of Gavalgani who is so faithful to the food given him by his master? Verily, the citizens, including those of even nonage meeting together, asked one another these questions. The Pandavas also, exceedingly afflicted with grief, sorrowed for their old mother, and could not live in their city long, Thinking also of their old sire, the king, who had lost all his children, and the highly blessed Gandhari, and Vidura of great intelligence, they failed to enjoy peace of mind. They had no pleasure in sovereignty, nor in women, nor in the study of the Vedas. Despair penetrated their souls as they thought of the old king and as they repeatedly reflected on that terrible slaughter of kinsmen. Indeed, thinking of the

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slaughter of the youthful Abhimanyu on the field of battle, of the mighty-armed Karna who never retreated from the fray, of the sons of Draupadi, and of other friends of theirs, those heroes became exceedingly cheerless. They failed to obtain peace or mind upon repeatedly reflecting that the Earth had become divested of both her heroes and her wealth. Draupadi had lost all her children, and the beautiful Subhadra also had become childless. They too were of cheerless hearts and grieved exceedingly. Beholding, however, the son of Virata's daughter, viz., thy sire Parikshit, thy grandsires somehow held their life-breaths.'

SECTION 22

"Vaisampayana said, 'Those foremost of men, the heroic Pandavas,--those delighters of their mother--became exceedingly afflicted with grief. They who had formerly been always engaged in kingly offices, did not at that time attend to those acts at all in their capital. Afflicted with deep grief, they failed to derive pleasure from anything. If any body accosted them, they never honoured him with an answer. Although those irresistible heroes were in gravity like the ocean, yet they were now deprived of their knowledge and their very senses by the grief they felt. Thinking of their mother, the sons of Pandu were filled with anxiety as to how their emaciated mother was serving the old couple. 'How, indeed, is that king, whose sons have all been slain and who is without refuge, living alone, with only his wife, in the woods that are the haunt of beasts of prey? Alas, how does that highly blessed queen, Gandhari, whose dear ones have all been slain, follow her blind lord in the solitary woods?'--Even such was the anxiety manifested by the Pandavas when they talked with one another. They then set their hearts upon seeing the king in his forest retreat. Then Sahadeva, bowing down to the king, said, 'I see thy heart to be set upon seeing our sire. From my respect for thee, however, I could not speedily open my mouth on the subject of our journey to the woods. The time for that sojourn is now come. By good luck I shall see Kunti living in the observance of penances, with matted locks on her head, practising severe austerities, and emaciated with sleeping on blades of Kusa and Kasa. She was brought up in palaces and mansions, and nursed in every comfort and luxury. Alas, when shall I see my mother who is now toil-worn and plunged into exceeding misery? Without doubt, O chief of Bharata's race, the ends of mortals are exceedingly uncertain, since Kunti, who is a princess by birth, is now living in misery in the woods.' Hearing these words of Sahadeva, queen Draupadi, that foremost of all women duly honouring the king said, with proper salutations,--Alas, when shall I see queen Pritha, if, indeed, she be yet alive. I shall consider my life as not passed in vain if I succeed in beholding her once more, O king. Let this sort of understanding be ever stable in thee. Let thy mind always take a pleasure in such righteousness as is involved, O king of kings, in thy desire of bestowing such a high boon on us. Know, O king, that all these ladies of thy house are staying with their feet raised for the journey, from desire of beholding Kunti, and Gandhari, and my father-in-law. Thus addressed by queen Draupadi, the king, O chief of Bharata's race, summoned all the leaders of his forces to his presence and told them,--'Cause my army, teeming with cars and elephants, to march out. I shall behold king Dhritarashtra who is now living in the woods.' Unto those that supervised the concerns of the ladies, the king gave the order, 'Let diverse kinds of conveyances be properly equipt, and all my closed litters that count by thousands. Let carriages and granaries, and wardrobes, and treasuries, be equipt and ordered out, and let mechanics have the command to march out. Let men in charge of treasuries go out on the way leading to the ascetic retreats on Kurukshetra. Whoever amongst the citizens wishes to see the king is allowed to do so without any restriction. Let him proceed, properly protected. Let cooks and superintendents of kitchens, and the whole culinary establishment, and diverse kinds of edibles and viands, be ordered to be borne out on carts and conveyances. Let it be proclaimed that we march out tomorrow. Indeed, let no delay occur (in carrying out the arrangements). Let pavilions and resting houses of diverse kinds be erected on the way.' Even these were the commands which the eldest son of Pandu gave, with his brothers. When morning came, O monarch, the king set out, with a large train of women and old men. Going out of his city, king Yudhishthira waited five days for such citizens as might accompany him, and then proceeded towards the forest.'"

SECTION 23

"Vaisampayana said. 'That foremost one of Bharata's race, then ordered his troops, which were protected by heroes that were headed by Arjuna and that resembled the very guardians of the universe, to march out. Instantly, a loud clamour arose consisting of the words--Equip, Equip!--of horse-men, O Bharata, engaged in equipping and their steeds. Some proceeded on carriages and vehicles, some on horses of great speed, and some on cars made of gold endued with the splendour of blazing fires. Some proceeded on mighty elephants, and some on camels, O king. Some proceeded on foot, that belonged to that class of combatants which is armed with tiger-like claws. The citizens and inhabitants of the provinces, desirous of seeing Dhritarashtra, followed the king on diverse kinds of conveyances. The preceptor Kripa also, of Gotama's race, that great leader of forces, taking all the forces with him, proceeded, at the command of the king, towards the old monarch's retreat. The Kuru king Yudhishthira, that perpetuator of Kuru's race, surrounded by a large number of Brahmanas, his praises sung by a large band of Sutas and Magadhas and bards, and with a white umbrella held over his head and encompassed around by a large number of cars, set out on his journey. Vrikodara, the son of the Wind-god, proceeded on an elephant as gigantic as a hill, equipt with strung bow and machines and weapons of attack and defence. The twin sons of Madri proceeded on two fleet steeds, well cased in mail, well protected, and equipt with banners. Arjuna of mighty energy, with senses under control, proceeded on an excellent car endued with solar effulgence and unto which were equipt excellent steeds of white hue. The ladies of the royal household, headed by Draupadi, proceeded in closed litters protected by the superintendents of women. They scattered copious showers of wealth as they proceeded. Teeming with cars and elephants and steeds, and echoing with the blare of trumpets and the music of Vinas, the Pandava host, O monarch, blazed with great beauty. Those chiefs of Kuru's race proceeded slowly, resting by delightful banks of rivers and lakes, O monarch. Yuyutsu of mighty energy, and Dhaumya, the priest at the command of Yudhishthira, were engaged in protecting the city. By slow marches, king Yudhishthira reached Kurukshetra, and then, crossing the Yamuna, that highly sacred river, he beheld from a distance the retreat, O thou of Kuru's race, of the royal sage of great wisdom and of Dhritarashtra. Then all the men became filled with joy and quickly entered the forest, filling it with loud sounds of glee, O chief of Bharata's race.'"

SECTION 24

"Vaisampayana said, 'The Pandavas alighted, at a distance, from their cars and proceeded on foot to the retreat of the king, bending themselves in humility. All the combatants also, and all the denizens of the kingdom, and the spouses of the Kuru chiefs, followed them on foot. The Pandavas then reached the sacred retreat of Dhritarashtra which abounded with herds of deer and which was adorned with plantain plants. Many ascetics of rigid vows, filled with curiosity, came there for beholding the Pandavas who had arrived at the retreat. The king, with tears in his eyes, asked them, saying,--'Where has my eldest sire, the perpetuator of Kuru's race, gone?' They answered, O monarch, telling him that he had gone to the Yamuna for his ablutions, as also for fetching flowers and waters. Proceeding quickly on foot along the path pointed out by them, the Pandavas beheld all of them from a distance. Desirous of meeting with their sire they walked with a rapid pace. Then Sahadeva ran with speed towards the spot where Pritha was. Touching the feet of his mother, he began to weep aloud. With tears gushing down her cheeks, she saw her darling child. Raising her son up and embracing him with her arms, she informed Gandhari of Sahadeva's arrival. Then seeing the king and Bhimasena and Arjuna, and Nakula, Pritha endeavoured to advance quickly towards them. She was walking in advance of the childless old couple, and was dragging them forward. The Pandavas, beholding her, fell down on the earth. The puissant and high-souled monarch, endued with great intelligence, recognising them by their voices and also by touch, comforted them one after another. Shedding tears, those high-souled princes, with due formalities, approached the old king and Gandhari, as also their own mother. Indeed, regaining their senses, and once more comforted by their mother, the Pandavas took away from the king and their aunt and mother the jars full of water which they had been carrying, forbearing them themselves. The ladies of those lions among men, and all the women of the royal household, as also all the inhabitants of the city and provinces, then beheld the old king. King Yudhishthira presented all those individuals one after another to the old king, repeating their names and races, and then himself worshipped his eldest sire with reverence. Surrounded by them all, the old monarch, with eyes bathed in tears of joy, regarded himself as once more staying in the midst of the city called after the elephant. Saluted with reverence by all his daughters-in-law headed by Krishna, king Dhritarashtra, endued with great intelligence, with Gandhari and Kunti, became filled with joy. He then reached his forest-retreat that was applauded by Siddhas and Charanas, and that then teemed with vast crowds of men all desirous of beholding him, like the firmament teeming with innumerable stars."

SECTION 25

"Vaisampayana said, 'The king, O chief of Bharata's race, with those foremost of men, viz., his brothers, who were all possessed of eyes that resembled lotus-petals, took his seat in the retreat of his eldest sire. There sat around him many highly-blessed ascetics, hailing from diverse regions, from desire of beholding the sons of that lord of Kuru's race., viz., the Pandavas of wide chests. They said, 'We wish to know who amongst these is Yudhishthira, who are Bhima and Arjuna, who the twins, and who is Draupadi of great fame.' Then the Suta, Sanjaya, in answer to their queries, pointed out to them the Pandavas. naming each, and Draupadi too as also the other ladies of the Kuru household.'

"Sanjaya said, 'This one that is as fair of complexion as pure gold, that is endued with a body which looks like that of a full-grown lion, that is possessed of a large aquiline nose, and wide and expansive eyes that are, again, of a coppery hue, is the Kuru king. This one, whose tread resembles that of an infuriate elephant, whose complexion is as fair as that of heated gold, whose frame is of large and expansive proportions and whose arms are long and stout, is Vrikodara. Behold him well! The mighty bowman who sits besides him, of darkish complexion and youthful frame, who resembles the leader of an elephantine herd, whose shoulders are as high as those of a lion, who walks like a sporting elephant, and whose eyes are as expansive as the petals of a lotus, is the hero called Arjuna. Those two foremost of men, that are sitting besides Kunti, are the twins, resembling Vishnu and Mahendra. In this whole world of men, they have not their equals in beauty and strength and excellence of conduct. This lady, of eyes as expansive as lotus petals, who seems to have touched the middle age of life, whose complexion resembles that of the blue lotus, and who looks like a goddess of Heaven, is Krishna, the embodied form of the goddess of prosperity. She who sits besides her, possessed of the complexion of pure gold, who looks like the embodied rays of the moon, in the midst of the other ladies, is, ye foremost of regenerate ones, the sister of that unrivalled hero who wields the discus. This other, as fair as pure gold, is the daughter of the snake-chief and wife of Arjuna. This other whose complexion is like that of pure gold or like that of Madhuka flowers, is the princess Chitrangada. This one, that is possessed of the complexion of an assemblage of blue lotuses, is the sister of that monarch, that lord of hosts, who used to always challenge Krishna. She is the foremost wife of Vrikodara. This is the daughter of the king of Magadha who was known by the name of Jarasandha. Possessed of the complexion of an assemblage of Champakas, she is the wife of the youngest son of Madravati. Possessed of a complexion as darkish as that of the blue lotus, she who sits there on the earth, and whose eyes are as expansive as lotus-petals, is the wife of the eldest son of Madravati, This lady whose complexion is as fair as that of heated gold and who sits with her child on her lap, is the daughter of king Virata. She is the wife of that Abhimanyu who, while divested of his car, was slain by Drona and others fighting from their cars. [Implying the unfair character of the fight, for one on the earth should never be assailed by one on his car.] These ladies, the hair on whose heads shows not the parted line, and who are clad in white, are the widows of the slain sons of Dhritarashtra. They are the daughters-in-law of this old king, the wives of his hundred sons, now deprived of both their husbands and children who have been slain by heroic foes. I have now pointed them out in the order of precedence. In consequence of their devotion to Brahmanas, their understandings and hearts are divested of every kind of crookedness. Possessed of pure souls, they have all been pointed out by me,--these princesses of the Kaurava household,--in answer to your queries.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus that king of Kuru's race, of very advanced years, having met with those sons of him that was a deity among men. enquired about their welfare after all the ascetics had gone away. The warriors who had accompanied the Pandavas, leaving the retreat, sat themselves down at a little distance, alighting from their cars and the animals they rode. Indeed, after all the crowd, viz., the ladies, the old men, and the children, had been seated, the old king duly addressed them, making the usual enquiries of politeness.'"

SECTION 26

"Dhritarashtra said. 'O Yudhishthira, art thou in peace and happiness, with all thy brothers and the inhabitants of the city and the provinces? Are they that live in dependance on thee also happy? Are they ministers, and servitors, and all thy seniors and preceptors also, happy? Are those also that live in thy dominions free from fear? Dost thou follow the old and traditional conduct of rulers of men? Is thy treasury filled without disregarding the restraints imposed by justice and equity? Dost thou behave as thou shouldst towards foes, neutrals, and allies? Dost thou duly look after the Brahmanas, always making them the first gifts (ordained in sacrifices and religious rites)? What need I say of the citizens, and thy servants, and kinsmen,--are they foes, O chief of Bharata's race, gratified with thy behaviour? Dost thou, O king of kings, adore with devotion the Pitris and the deities? Dost thou worship guests with food and drink, O Bharata? Do the Brahmanas in thy dominions, devoted to the duties of their order, walk along the path of righteousness? Do the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas and Sudras also within thy kingdom, and all thy relatives, observe their respective duties? I hope the women, the children, and the old, among thy subjects, do

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not grieve (under distress) and do not beg (the necessaries of life). Are the ladies of thy household duly honoured in thy house, O best of men? I hope, O monarch, that this race of royal sages, having obtained thee for their king, have not fallen away from fame and glory.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Unto the old king who said so, Yudhishthira, conversant with morality and justice, and well-skilled in acts and speech, spoke as follows, putting some questions about his welfare.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Doth thy peace, O king, thy self-restraint, thy tranquillity of heart, grow? Is this my mother able to serve thee without fatigue and trouble? Will, O king, her residence in the woods be productive of fruits? I hope this queen, who is my eldest mother, who is emaciated with (exposure to) cold and wind and the toil of walking, and who is now devoted to the practice of severe austerities, no longer gives way, to grief for her children of mighty energy, all of whom, devoted to the duties of the Kshatriya order, have been slain on the field of battle. Does she accuse us, sinful wretches, that are responsible for their slaughter? Where is Vidura, O king? We do not see him here. I hope this Sanjaya, observant of penances, is in peace and happiness. "Vaisampayana continued, 'Thus addressed, Dhritarashtra answered king Yudhishthira, saying,--'O son. Vidura is well. He is performing austere penances, subsisting on air alone, for he abstains from all other food. He is emaciated and his arteries and nerves have become visible. Sometimes he is seen in this empty forest by Brahmanas.' While Dhritarashtra was saying this Vidura was seen at a distance. He had matted locks on his head, and gravels in his mouth, and was exceedingly emaciated. He was perfectly naked. His body was besmeared all over with filth, and with the dust of various wild flowers. When Kshattri was beheld from a distance, the fact was reported to Yudhishthira. Vidura suddenly stopped, O king, casting his eyes towards the retreat (and seeing it peopled by so many individuals). King Yudhishthira pursued him alone, as he ran and entered the deep forest, sometimes not seen by the pursuer. He said aloud, 'O Vidura, O Vidura, I am king Yudhishthira, thy favourite!'--Exclaiming thus, Yudhishthira, with great exertion, followed Vidura. That foremost of intelligent men, viz., Vidura, having reached a solitary spot in the forest, stood still, leaning against a tree. He was exceedingly emaciated. He retained only the shape of a human being (all his characteristic features having totally disappeared). Yudhishthira of great intelligence recognised him, however, (in spite of such change). Standing before him, Yudhishthira addressed him, saying, 'I am Yudhishthira!' Indeed, worshipping Vidura properly, Yudhishthira said these words in the hearing of Vidura. Meanwhile Vidura eyed the king with a steadfast gaze. Casting his gaze thus on the king, he stood motionless in Yoga. Possessed of great intelligence, he then (by his Yoga-power) entered the body of Yudhishthira, limb by limb. He united his life-breaths with the king's life-breaths, and his senses with the king's senses. Verify, with the aid of Yoga-power, Vidura, blazing with energy, thus entered the body of king Yudhishthira the just. Meanwhile, the body of Vidura continued to lean against the tree, with eyes fixed in a steadfast gaze. The king soon saw that life had fled out of it. At the same time, he felt that he himself had become stronger than before and that he had acquired many additional virtues and accomplishments. Possessed of great learning and energy, O monarch, Pandu's son, king Yudhishthira the just, then recollected his own state before his birth among men. [Yudhishthira was Dharma's self, Vidura also was Dharma born as a Sudra through the curse of the Rishi Animandavya. Both, therefore, were of the same essence. When Vidura left his human body, he entered the body of Yudhishthira and thus the latter felt himself strengthened greatly by the accession.] Endued with mighty energy, he had heard of Yoga practice from Vyasa. King Yudhishthira the just, possessed of great learning, became desirous of doing the last rites to the body of Vidura, and wished to cremate it duly. An invisible voice was then heard,--saying,--'O king, this body that belonged to him called Vidura should not be cremated. In him is thy body also. He is the eternal deity of Righteousness. Those regions of felicity which are known by the name of Santanika will be his, O Bharata. He was an observer of the duties of Yatis. Thou shouldst not, O scorcher of foes, grieve for him at all. Thus addressed, king Yudhishthira the just, returned from that spot, and represented everything unto the royal son of Vichitraviryya. At this, that king of great splendour, all these men, and Bhimasena and others, became filled with wonder. Hearing what had happened, king Dhritarashtra became pleased and then, addressing the son of Dharma. said,--'Do thou accept from me these gifts of water and roots and fruits. It has been said, O king, that one's guest should take that which one takes oneself.' Thus addressed, Dharma's son answered the king, saying,--'So be it.' The mighty-armed king ate the fruits and roots which the monarch gave him. Then they all spread their beds under a tree and passed that night thus, having eaten fruits and roots and drunk the water that the old king had given them.'"

SECTION 27

"Vaisampayana said, 'They passed that night which was characterised by auspicious constellations even thus, O king, in that retreat of righteous ascetics. The conversation that occurred was characterised by many reflections on morality and wealth. Consisting of delightful and sweet words, it was graced with diverse citations from the Srutis. The Pandavas, O king, leaving costly beds, laid themselves down, near their mother, on the bare ground. Indeed, those heroes passed that night, having eaten the food which was the food of the high-souled king Dhritarashtra. After the night had passed away, king Yudhishthira, having gone through his morning acts, proceeded to survey that retreat in the company of his brothers. With the ladies of his household the servants, and his priest, the king roved about the retreat in all directions, as he pleased, at the command of Dhritarashtra. He beheld many sacrificial altars with sacred fires blazing on them and with many ascetics seated on them, that had performed their oblations and poured libations in honour of the deities. Those altars were overspread with fruits and roots of the forest, and with heaps of flowers. The smoke of clarified butter curled upwards from them. They were graced, besides, with many ascetics possessed of bodies that looked like the embodied Vedas and with many that belonged to the lay brotherhood. Herds of deer were grazing, or resting here and there, freed from every fear. Innumerable birds also were there, engaged in uttering their melodious notes, O king. The whole forest seemed to resound with the notes of peacocks and Datyuhas and Kokilas and the sweet songs of other warblers. 1 Some spots echoed with the chant of Vedic hymns recited by learned Brahmanas. Some were adorned with large heaps of fruits and roots gathered from the wilderness. King Yudhishthira then gave those ascetics jars made of gold or copper which he had brought for them, and many deer-skins and blankets and sacrificial ladles made of wood, and Kamandalus and wooden platters, and pots and pans, O Bharata. [Nilakantha here implies the peacock and not the blue jay, for the word keka is applied to the notes of the peacock alone. Datyuhas are gallinules or a species of Chatakas whose cry resembles, Phatik jal--phatik jal--phatik jal! repeated very distinctly, the second syllable being lengthened greatly.] Diverse kinds of vessels, made of iron, and smaller vessels and cups of various sizes, were also given away by the king, the ascetics taking them away, each as many as he liked. King Yudhishthira of righteous soul, having thus roved through the woods and beheld the diverse retreats of ascetics and made many gifts, returned to the place where his uncle was. He saw king Dhritarashtra, that lord of Earth, at his ease, with Gandhari beside him, after having finished his morning rites. The righteous-souled monarch saw also his mother, Kunti, seated not much remote from that place, like a disciple with bent head, endued with humility. He saluted the old king, proclaiming his name. 'Sit down' were the words the old king said. Receiving Dhritarashtra's permission, Yudhishthira sat himself down on a mat of Kusa grass. Then the other sons of Pandu with Bhima among them, O thou of Bharata's race, saluted the king and touched his feet and sat themselves down, receiving his permission. The old Kuru king, surrounded by them, looked exceedingly beautiful. Indeed, he blazed with a Vedic splendour like Vrihaspati in the midst of the celestials. After they had sat themselves down, many great Rishis, viz., Satayupa and others, who were denizens of Kurukshetra, came there. The illustrious and learned Vyasa, possessed of great energy, and reverenced by even the celestial Rishis, showed himself, at the head of his numerous disciples, unto Yudhishthira. The Kuru king Dhritarashtra, Kunti's son Yudhishthira of great energy, and Bhimasena and others, stood up and advancing a few steps, saluted those guests. Approaching near, Vyasa, surrounded by Satayupa and others, addressed king Dhritarashtra, saying,--'Be thou seated.' The illustrious Vyasa then took an excellent seat made of Kusa grass placed upon a black deer-skin and covered with a piece of silken cloth. They had reserved that seat for him. After Vyasa had been seated, all those foremost of regenerate persons, endued with abundant energy, sat themselves down, having received the permission of the Island-born sage."

SECTION 28

"Vaisampayana said, 'After the high-souled Pandavas had all been seated, Satyavati's son Vyasa said,--O Dhritarashtra of mighty arms, hast thou been able to achieve penances? Is thy mind, O king, pleased with thy residence in the woods? Has the grief that was thine, born of the slaughter of thy sons in battle, disappeared from thy heart? Are all thy perceptions, O sinless one, now clear? Dost thou practise the ordinances of forest life after having made thy heart firm? Does my daughter-in-law, Gandhari, allow herself to be overwhelmed by grief? She is possessed of great wisdom. Endued with intelligence, that queen understands both Religion and Wealth. She is well conversant with the truths that relate to both prosperity and adversity. Does she still grieve? Does Kunti, O king, who in consequence of her devotion to the service of her seniors, left her children, attend to thy wants and serve thee with all humility? Have the high-minded and high-souled king, Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma and Bhima and Arjuna and the twins been sufficiently comforted? Dost thou feet delight at seeing them? Has thy mind become freed from every stain? Has thy disposition, O king, become pure in consequence of the increase of thy knowledge? This aggregate of three, O king, is the foremost of all concerns, O Bharata, viz., abstension from injury to any creature, truth, and freedom from anger. Does thy forest life any longer prove painful to thee? Art thou able to earn with thy own exertions the products of the wilderness for thy food? Do fasts give thee any pain now? Hast thou learnt, O king, how the high-souled Vidura, who was Dharma's self, left this world? Through the curse of Mandavya, the deity of Righteousness became born as Vidura. He was possessed of great intelligence. Endued with high penances, he was high-souled and high-minded. Even Vrihaspati among the celestials, and Sukra among the Asuras, was not possessed of such intelligence as that foremost of persons. The eternal deity of Righteousness was stupefied by the Rishi Mandavya with an expenditure of his penances earned for a long time with great care. [Audumvaran is an adjective of kalasan. It means 'made of copper'. Praveni is a kutha or blanket. Sruk is a ladle having the cup like cavity at one extremity only. Sruv is a ladle having cup-like cavities at both extremities.] At the command of the Grandsire, and through my own energy, Vidura of great intelligence was procreated by me upon a soil owned by Vichitraviryya. A deity of deities, and eternal, he was, O king, thy brother. The learned know him to be Dharma in consequence of his practices of Dharana and Dhyana. He grows with (the growth of) truth, self-restraint, tranquillity of heart, compassion, and gifts. He is always engaged in penances, and is eternal. From that deity of Righteousness, through Yoga-puissance, the Kuru king Yudhishthira also took his birth. Yudhishthira, therefore, O king, is Dharma of great wisdom and immeasurable intelligence. Dharma exists both here and hereafter, and is like fire or wind or water or earth or space. He is, O king of kings, capable of going everywhere and exists, pervading the whole universe. He is capable of being beheld by only those that are the foremost of the deities and those that are cleansed of every sin and crowned with ascetic success. He that is Dharma is Vidura; and he that is Vidura is the (eldest) son of Pandu. That son of Pandu. O king, is capable of being perceived by thee. He stays before thee as thy servitor. Endued with great Yoga-puissance, thy high-souled brother, that foremost of intelligent men, seeing the high-souled Yudhishthira, the son of Kunti, has entered into his person. These also, O chief of Bharata's race, I shall unite with great benefit. Know, O son, that I am come here for dispelling thy doubts. Some feat that has never been accomplished before by any of the great Rishis, some wonderful effect of my penances,--I shall show thee. What object is that, O king, whose accomplishment thou desirest from me? Tell me what is that which thou wishest to see or ask or hear? O sinless one, I shall accomplish it.'

SECTION 29

(Putradarsana Parva)

"Janamejaya said, 'Tell me. O learned Brahmana, what that wonderful feat was which the great Rishi Vyasa of high energy accomplished after his promise to the old king, made when Dhritarashtra, that lord of Earth, that foremost one of Kuru's race, had taken up his abode in the forest, with his wife and with his daughter-in-law Kunti; and after, indeed, Vidura had left his own body and entered into Yudhishthira, and at the time when all the sons of Pandu were staying in the ascetic retreat. For how many days did the Kuru king Yudhishthira of unfading glory stay, with his men, in the woods? On what food, O puissant one, did the high-souled Pandavas support themselves, with their men, and wives, while they lived in the woods? O sinless one, do thou tell me this.'

"Vaisampayana said, 'With the permission of the Kuru king, the Pandavas, O monarch, with their troops and the ladies of their household, supported themselves on diverse kinds of food and drink and passed about a month in great happiness in that forest. Towards the close of that period, O sinless one, Vyasa came there. While all those princes sat around Vyasa, engaged in conversation on diverse subjects, other Rishis came to that spot. They were Narada, and Parvata and Devala of austere penances, and Viswavasu and Tumvuru, and Chitrasena., O Bharata. Endued with severe penances, the Kuru king Yudhishthira, with the permission of Dhritarashtra, worshipped them according to due rites. Having obtained that worship from Yudhishthira, all of them sat down on sacred seats (made of Kusa grass), as also on excellent seats made of peacock feathers. After they had all taken their seats, the Kuru king of high intelligence took his seat there, surrounded by the sons of Pandu. Gandhari and Kunti and Draupadi, and she of the Sattwata race, and other ladies of the royal household also sat down. The conversation that then arose was excellent and had reference to topics connected with piety, and the Rishis of old, and the deities and the Asuras. At the close of that conversation Vyasa of great energy, that foremost of eloquent men, that first of all

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persons conversant with the Vedas, highly gratified, addressed the blind monarch and once more said,--'Burning as thou art with grief on account of thy children, I know, O king of kings, what object is cherished by thee in thy heart. The sorrow that always exists in the heart of Gandhari, that which exists in the heart of Kunti, and that also which is cherished by Draupadi in her heart, and that burning grief, on account of the death of her son, which Krishna's sister Subhadra also cherishes, are all known to me. Hearing of this meeting, O king, of thine with all these princes and princesses of thy house, I have come here, O delighter of the Kauravas, for dispelling thy doubts. Let the deities and Gandharvas, and all these great Rishis, behold today the energy of those penances which I have acquired for these long years. Therefore, O king, tell me what wish of thine I shall grant today. I am puissant enough to grant thee a boon. Behold the fruit of my penances.' Thus addressed by Vyasa of immeasurable understanding, king Dhritarashtra reflected for a moment and then prepared to speak. He said,--'I am exceedingly fortunate. Lucky am I in obtaining thy favour. My life is crowned with success today,--since this meeting has happened between me and ye all of great piety. Today I shall attain to that highly happy goal which is reserved for me, since, ye ascetics endued with wealth of penances, ye who are equal to Brahma himself, I have succeeded in obtaining this meeting with you all. There is not the least doubt that this sight that I have obtained of you all has cleansed me of every sin. Ye sinless ones, I have no longer any fear in respect of my end in the next world. Full as I am of love for my children, I always cherish their remembrance. My mind, however, is always tortured by the recollection of the diverse acts of wrong which my wicked son of exceedingly evil understanding perpetrated. Possessed of a sinful understanding, he always persecuted the innocent Pandavas. Alas, the whole Earth has been devastated by him, with her steeds, elephants and men. Many high-souled kings, rulers of diverse realms, came for siding my son and succumbed to death. Alas, leaving their beloved sires and wives and their very life-breaths, all those heroes have become guests of the king of the dead. What end, O regenerate one, has been attained by those men who have been slain, for the sake of their friend, in battle? What end also has been attained by my sons and grandsons who have fallen in the fray? My heart is always pained at the thought of my having brought about the slaughter of the mighty Bhishma, the son of Santanu, and of Drona, that foremost of Brahmanas, through my foolish and sinful son who was an injurer of his friends. Desirous of obtaining the sovereignty of the Earth, he caused the Kuru race, blazing with prosperity, to be annihilated. Reflecting on all this, I burn day and night with grief. Deeply afflicted with pain and grief, I am unable to obtain peace of mind. Indeed, O father, thinking of all this, I have no peace of mind.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Hearing these lamentations expressed in diverse ways, of that royal sage, the grief, O Janamejaya, of Gandhari, became fresh. The grief also of Kunti, of the daughter of Drupada, of Subhadra, and of the other members, male and female, and the daughters-in-law, of the Kuru race, became equally green. Queen Gandhari, with bandaged eyes, joining her hands, addressed her father-in-law. Deeply afflicted with grief on account of the slaughter of her sons, she said,--'O foremost of ascetics, sixteen years have passed over the head of this king grieving for the death of his sons and divested of peace of mind. Afflicted with grief on account of the slaughter of his children, this king Dhritarashtra, always breathes heavily, and never sleeps at night. O great Rishi, through the power of thy penances thou art competent to create new worlds. What need I say then about showing this king his children who are now in the other world? This Krishna, the daughter of Drupada, hath lost all her kinsmen and children. For this, she who is the dearest of my daughters-in-law grieves exceedingly. The sister of Krishna, viz., Subhadra of sweet speech, burning with the loss of her son, grieves as deeply. This lady that is respected by all, that is the wife of Bhurisravas, afflicted with grief on account of the fate that has overtaken her husband, always indulges in heart-rending lamentations. Her father-in-law was the intelligent Valhika of Kuru's race. Alas, Somadatta also was slain, along with his sire, in the great battle! [Valhika was the sire of Somadatta and the grandsire of Bhurisravas. Valhika, therefore, was the grand-father-in-law of the lady mentioned by Gandhari.] Alas, a century of sons, heroes that never retreated from battle, belonging to this son of thine, this king of great intelligence and great prosperity, has been slain in battle. The hundred wives of those sons are all grieving and repeatedly enhancing the grief of both the king and myself. O great ascetic, stricken by that great slaughter, they have gathered round me. Alas, those high-souled heroes, those great car warriors, my fathers-in-law, Somadatta and others,--alas, what end has been theirs, O puissant one? Through thy grace, O holy one, that will happen in consequence of which this lord of Earth, myself, and this daughter-in-law of thine, viz., Kunti, shall all become freed from our grief. After Gandhari had said so, Kunti, whose face had become wasted through observance of many hard vows, began to think of her secret-born son endued with solar effulgence. The boon giving Rishi Vyasa, capable of both beholding and hearing what happened at a remote distance, saw that the royal mother of Arjuna was afflicted with grief. Unto her Vyasa said,--'Tell me, O blessed one, what is in thy mind. Tell me what thou wishest to say. At this, Kunti, bending her head unto her father-in-law, and overcome with bashfulness, said these words unto him, relating to the occurrences of the past.'"

SECTION 30

"Kunti said, 'O holy one, thou art my father-in-law and therefore, my deity of deities. Verily, thou art my god of gods. Hear my words of truth. An ascetic named Durvasas, who is of the regenerate order and who is full of wrath, came to my father's house for eleemosynary charity. I succeeded in gratifying him by the purity of my external behaviour and of my mind, as also by refusing to notice the many wrongs he did. I did not give way to wrath although there was much in his behaviour quite capable of exciting that passion. Served with care, the great ascetic became highly pleased with me and disposed to grant me a boon. 'Thou must accept the boon I shall give,' were his words to me. Fearing his curse, I answered him, saying,--'So be it.' The regenerate Rishi once more said unto me,--'O blessed damsel, O thou of beautiful face, thou wilt become the mother of Dharma. Those deities whom thou wilt summon will be obedient to thee.' Having said those words, the regenerate one vanished away from my sight. I became filled with wonder. The mantra, however, which the Rishi gave has dwelt in my memory at all times. One day, sitting within my chamber I beheld the sun rising. Desiring to bring the maker of day before me, I recollected the words of the Rishi. Without any consciousness of the fault I committed, I summoned the deity from mere girlishness. The deity, however, of a thousand rays, (summoned by me) came to my presence. He divided himself in twain. With one portion he was in the firmament, and with the other he stood on the Earth before me. With one he heated the worlds and with another he came to me. He told me, while I was trembling at his sight, these words,--'Do thou ask a boon of me.' Bowing unto him with my head, I asked him to leave me. He replied unto me, saying,--'I cannot bear the idea of coming to thee fruitlessly. I shall consume thee as also that Brahmana who gave thee the Mantra as a boon.' The Brahmana who had done no evil--I wished to protect from Surya's curse. I therefore, said--'Let me have a son like thee, O god.' The deity of thousand rays then penetrated me with his energy and stupefied me completely. He then said unto me,--'Thou wilt have a son,' and then went back to the firmament. I continued to live in the inner apartments and desirous of saying the honour of my sire, I cast into the waters my infant son named Karna who thus came into the world secretly. Without doubt, through the grace of that god, I once more became a virgin, O regenerate one, even as the Rishi Durvasas had said unto me. Foolish that I am, although he knew me for his mother when he grew up, I yet made no effort to acknowledge him. This burns me, O regenerate Rishi, as is well-known to thee. Whether it is sinful or not so, I have told thee truth. It behoveth thee, O holy one, to gratify the craving I feel for beholding that son of mine. O foremost of ascetics, let this king also, O sinless one, obtain the fruition today of that wish of his which he cherishes in his bosom and which has become known to thee.' Thus addressed by Kunti, Vyasa, that foremost of all persons, said unto her in reply,--'Blessed be thou; all that thou hast said unto me will happen. (As regards the birth of Karna) no fault is ascribable to thee. Thou wert restored to virginity. The deities are possessed of (Yoga) puissance. They are able to penetrate human bodies. There are deities. They beget (offspring) by thought alone. By word, by sight, by touch, and by sexual union, also, they beget children. These are the five methods. Thou belongest to the order of humanity. Thou hast no fault (in what happened). Know this. O Kunti. Let the fever of thy heart be dispelled. For those that are mighty, everything is becoming. 'For those that are mighty, everything is pure. For those that are mighty, everything is meritorious. For those that are mighty, everything is their own.'"

SECTION 31

"Vyasa said, 'Blessed be thou, O Gandhari, thou shalt behold thy sons and brothers and friends and kinsmen along with thy sires this night like men risen from sleep. Kunti also shall behold Karna, and she of Yadu's race shall behold her son Abhimanyu. Draupadi shall behold her five sons, her sires, and her brothers also. Even before ye had asked me, this was the thought in my mind. I entertained this purpose when I was urged to that effect by the king, by thee, O Gandhari, and by Kunti. Thou shouldst not grieve for those foremost of men. They met with death in consequence of their devotion to the established practices of Kshatriyas. O faultless one, the work of the gods could not but be accomplished. It was for accomplishing that object that those heroes came down on Earth. They were all portions of the deities. Gandharvas and Apsaras, and Pisachas and Guhyakas and Rakshasas, many persons of great sanctity, many individuals crowned with success (of penances), celestial Rishis, deities and Danavas and heavenly Rishis of spotless character, met with death on the battle-field of Kurukshetra. [The sense is that those had been incarnated as human beings and fighting with one another met with death as regards their human existence.] It is heard that he that was the intelligent king of the Gandharvas, and named Dhritarashtra, took birth in the world of men as thy lord Dhritarashtra. Know that Pandu of unfading glory and distinguished above all others, sprung from the Maruts. Kshattri and Yudhishthira are both portions of the deity of Righteousness. Know that Duryodhana was Kali, and Sakuni was Dwapara. O thou of good features, know that Dussasana and others were all Rakshasas. Bhimasena of great might, that chastiser of foes, is from the Maruts. Know that this Dhananjaya, the son of Pritha, is the ancient Rishi Nara. Hrishikesa is Narayana, and the twins are the Aswins. The foremost of heat-giving ones, viz., Surya, having divided his body in twain, continued with one portion to give heat to the worlds and with another to live (on Earth.) as Karna. He that took his birth as the son of Arjuna, that gladdener of all, that heir to the possessions of the Pandavas, who was slain by six great car-warriors (fighting together), was Soma. He was born of Subhadra. Through Yoga-puissance he had divided himself in twain. Dhrishtadyumna who sprung with Draupadi from the sacrificial fire, was an auspicious portion of the deity of fire. Sikhandin was a Rakshasa. Know that Drona was a portion of Vrihaspati, and that Drona's son is born of a portion of Rudra. Know that Ganga's son Bhishma was one of the Vasus that became born as a human being. Thus, O thou of great wisdom, the deities had taken birth as human beings, and after having accomplished their purposes have gone back to Heaven. That sorrow which is in the hearts of you all, relating to the return of these to the other world, I shall today dispel. Do you all go towards the Bhagirathi.--You will then behold all those that have been slain on the field of battle.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'All the persons there present, having heard the words of Vyasa, raised a loud leonine shout and then proceeded towards the Bhagirathi. Dhritarashtra with all his ministers and the Pandavas, as also with all those foremost of Rishis and Gandharvas that had come there, set out as directed. Arrived at the banks of Ganga, that sea of men took up their abode as pleased them. The king possessed of great intelligence, with the Pandavas, took up his abode in a desirable spot, along with the ladies and the aged ones of his household. They passed that day as if it were a whole year, waiting for the advent of the night when they would behold the deceased princes. The Sun then reached the sacred mountain in the west and all those persons, having bathed in the sacred stream, finished their evening rites.'"

SECTION 32

"Vaisampayana said, 'When night came, all those persons, having finished their evening rites, approached Vyasa. Dhritarashtra of righteous soul, with purified body and with mind solely directed towards it, sat there with the Pandavas and the Rishis in his company. The ladies of the royal household sat with Gandhari in a secluded spot. All the citizens and the inhabitants of the provinces ranged themselves according to their years. Then the great ascetic, Vyasa, of mighty energy, bathing in the sacred waters of the Bhagirathi, summoned all the deceased warriors, viz., those that had fought on the side of the Pandavas, those that had fought for the Kauravas, including highly blessed kings belonging to diverse realms. At this, O Janamejaya, a deafening uproar was heard to arise from within the waters, resembling that which had formerly been heard of the forces of the Kurus and the Pandavas. Then those kings, headed by Bhishma and Drona, with all their troops, arose by thousands from the waters of the Bhagirathi. There were Virata and Drupada, with their sons and forces. There were the sons of Draupadi and the son of Subhadra, and the Rakshasa Ghatotkacha. There were Karna and Duryodhana, and the mighty car-warrior Sakuni, and the other children, endued with great strength, of Dhritarashtra, headed by Dussasana. There were the son of Jarasandha, and Bhagadatta, and Jalasandha of great energy, and Bhurisravas, and Sala, and Salya, and Vrishasena with his younger brother. There were prince Lakshmana (the son of Duryodhana), and the son of Dhrishtadyumna, and all the children of Sikhandin, and Dhrishtaketu, with his younger brother. There were Achala and Vrishaka, and the Rakshasa Alayudha, and Valhika, and Somadatta, and king Chekitana. These and many others, who for their number cannot be conveniently named, appeared on that occasion. All of them rose from the waters of the Bhagirathi, with resplendent bodies. Those kings appeared, each clad in that dress and equipt with that standard and that vehicle which he had while fighting on the field. All of them were now robed in celestial vestments and all had brilliant ear-rings. They were free from all animosity and pride, and divested of wrath and jealousy. Gandharvas sang their praises, and bards waited on them, chanting their deeds. Robed in celestial vestments and wearing celestial garlands, each of them was waited upon by bands of Apsaras. At that time, through the puissance of his penances, the great ascetic, the

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son of Satyavati, gratified with Dhritarashtra, gave him celestial vision. Endued with celestial knowledge and strength, Gandhari of great fame saw all her children as also all that had been slain in battle. All persons assembled there beheld with steadfast gaze and hearts filled with wonder that amazing and inconceivable phenomenon which made the hair on their bodies stand on its end. It looked like a high carnival of gladdened men and women. That wondrous scene looked like a picture painted on the canvas. Dhritarashtra, beholding all those heroes, with his celestial vision obtained through the grace of that sage, became full of joy, O chief of Bharata's race.'"

SECTION 33

"Vaisampayana said. 'Then those foremost of men divested of wrath and jealousy, and cleansed of every sin, met with one another, agreeably to those high and auspicious ordinances that have been laid down by regenerate Rishis. All of them were happy of hearts and looked like gods moving in Heaven. Son met with sire or mother, wives with husbands, brother with brother, and friend with friend, O king. The Pandavas, full of joy, met with the mighty bowman Karna as also with the son of Subhadra, and the children of Draupadi. With happy hearts the sons of Pandu approached Karna, O monarch, and became reconciled with him. All those warriors, O chief of Bharata's race, meeting with one another through the grace of the great ascetic, became reconciled with one another. Casting off all unfriendliness, they became established on amity and peace. It was even thus that all those foremost of men, viz., the Kauravas and other kings became united with the Kurus rid other kinsmen of theirs as also with their children. The whole of that night they passed in great happiness. Indeed, the Kshatriya warriors, in consequence of the happiness they felt, regarded that place as Heaven itself. There was no grief, no fear, no suspicion, no discontent, no reproach in that region, as those warriors, O monarch, met with one another on that night. Meeting with their sires and brothers and husbands and sons, the ladies cast off all grief and felt great raptures of delight. Having sported with one another thus for one night, those heroes and those ladies, embracing one another and taking one another's leave returned to the places they had come from. Indeed, that foremost of ascetics dismissed that concourse of warriors. Within the twinkling of an eye that large crowd disappeared in the very sight of all those (living) persons. Those high-souled persons, plunging into the sacred river Bhagirathi proceeded, with their cars and standards, to their respective abodes. Some went to the regions of the gods, some to the region of Brahman, some to the region of Varuna, and some to the region of Kuvera. Some among those kings proceeded to the region of Surya. Amongst the Rakshasas and Pisachas some proceeded to the country of Uttara-Kurus. Others, moving in delightful attitudes, went in the company of the deities. Even thus did all those high-souled persons disappear with their vehicles and animals and with all their followers. After all of them had gone away, the great sage, who was standing in the waters of the sacred stream viz., Vyasa of great righteousness and energy, that benefactor of the Kurus, then addressed those Kshatriya ladies who had become widows, and said these words, 'Let those amongst these foremost of women that are desirous of attaining to the regions acquired by their husbands cast away all sloth and quickly plunge into the sacred Bhagirathi.--Hearing these words of his, those foremost ladies, placing faith in them, took the permission of their father-in-law, and then plunged into the waters of the Bhagirathi. Freed from human bodies, those chaste ladies then proceeded, O king, with their husbands to the regions acquired by the latter. Even thus, those ladies of virtuous conduct, devoted to their husbands entering, the waters of the Bhagirathi, became freed from their mortal tenements and attained to the companionship of their husbands in the regions acquired by them. Endued with celestial forms, and adorned with celestial ornaments, and wearing celestial vestments and garlands, they proceeded to those regions where their husbands had found their abodes. Possessed of excellent behaviour and many virtues, their anxieties all dispelled, they were seen to ride on excellent cars, and endued with every accomplishment they found those regions of happiness which were theirs by right. Devoted to the duties of piety, Vyasa, at that time, becoming a giver of boons, granted unto all the men there assembled the fruition of the wishes they respectively cherished. People of diverse realms, hearing of this meeting between the hallowed dead and living human beings, became highly delighted. That man who duly listens to this narrative meets with everything that is dear to him. Indeed, he obtains all agreeable objects both here and hereafter. That man of learning and science, that foremost of righteous persons, who recites this narrative for the hearing of others acquires great fame here and an auspicious end hereafter, as also a union with kinsmen and all desirable objects. Such a man has not to undergo painful labour for his sustenance, and meets with all sorts of auspicious objects in life. Even these are the rewards reaped by a person who, endued with devotion to Vedic studies and with penances, recites this narrative in the hearing of others. Those persons who possessed of good conduct, devoted to self-restraint, cleansed of all sins by the gifts they make, endued with sincerity, having tranquil souls, freed from falsehood and the desire of injuring others, adorned with faith, belief in the scriptures, and intelligence, listen to this wonderful parvan, surely attain to the highest goal hereafter."

SECTION 34

"Sauti said, 'Hearing this story of the re-appearance and departure of his forefathers, king Janamejaya of great intelligence became highly pleased. Filled with joy, he once more questioned Vaisampayana on the subject of the reappearance of dead men, saying,--"How is it possible for persons whose bodies have been destroyed to re-appear in those very forms?" Thus asked, that foremost of regenerate persons, viz., the disciple of Vyasa, that first of speakers, possessed of great energy, thus answered Janamejaya.

"Vaisampayana said, 'This is certain, viz., that acts are never destroyed (without their consequences being enjoyed or endured). Bodies, O king, are born of acts; so also are features. The great primal elements are eternal (indestructible) in consequence of the union with them of the Lord of all beings. They exist with what is eternal. Accordingly, they have no destruction when the non-eternal are destroyed. Acts done without exertion are true and foremost, and bear real fruit. The soul, united however with such acts as require exertion for their accomplishment, enjoys pleasure and pain. Though united so (that is, with pleasure and pain), yet it is a certain inference that the soul is never modified by them, like the reflection of creatures in a mirror. It is never destroyed. As long as one's acts are not exhausted (by enjoyment or endurance of their fruits good and bad), so long does one regard the body to be oneself. The man, however, whose acts have been exhausted, without regarding the body to be self, takes the self to be something otherwise. Diverse existent objects (such as the primal elements and the senses, etc.) attaining to a body, become united as one. To men of knowledge who understand the difference (between the body and self), those very objects become eternal. In the Horse-sacrifice, this Sruti is heard in the matter of the slaying of the horse. Those which are the certain possessions of embodied creatures, viz., their life-breaths (and the senses, etc.), exist eternally even when they are borne to the other world. I shall tell thee what is beneficial, if it be agreeable to thee, O king. Thou hast, while employed in thy sacrifices, heard of the paths of the deities. When preparations were made for any sacrifice of thine, the deities became beneficially inclined to thee. When indeed, the deities were thus disposed and came to thy sacrifices, they were lords in the matter of the passage (from this to the next world) of the animals slain. For this reason, the eternal ones (viz., Jivas), by adoring the deities in sacrifices, succeed in attaining to excellent goals. When the five primal elements are eternal, when the soul also is eternal, he called Purusha (viz., the soul invested with case) is equally so. When such is the case, he who beholds a creature as disposed to take diverse forms, is regarded as having an erroneous understanding. He who indulges in too much grief at separation is, I think, a foolish person. He who sees evil in separation should abandon union. By standing aloof, no unions are formed, and sorrow is cast off, for sorrow in the world is born of separation. Only he who understands the distinction between body and self, and not another, becomes freed from the erroneous conviction. He that knows the other (viz., self) attains to the highest understanding and becomes freed from error. As regards creatures. they appear from an invisible state, and once more disappear into invisibleness. I do not know him. He also does not know me. As regards myself, renunciation is not yet mine. He that is not possessed of puissance enjoys or endures the fruits of all his acts in those too dies in which he does them. If the act be a mental one, its consequences are enjoyed or endured mentally; if it be done with the body, its consequences are to be enjoyed or endured in the body.'" [What is stated here is that if a man does an act that is bad, its consequences he will have to endure in a human body. The same with regard to rewards. By doing a meritorious act in one's human form, one will enjoy its good consequences in one's human body. So acts done mentally affect the mind and those done with the body affect the body. It should be noted that the whole of the above translation is offered tentatively. A verbal rendering has been attempted. The chain of reasoning is not at all clear. The commentator has done much to elucidate the sense, but the original obscurities have scarcely been removed.]

SECTION 35

"Vaisampayana said, 'King Dhritarashtra had never beheld his own sons. Obtaining eye-sight through the grace of the Rishi, he beheld, for the first time, O perpetuator of Kuru's race, those children of his that were very like his own self. That foremost of men, viz., the Kuru monarch, had learnt all the duties of kings, as also the Vedas and the Upanishadas, and had acquired certitude of understanding (from the same source). Vidura of great wisdom attained to high success through the power of his penances. Dhritarashtra also attained to great success in consequence of having met the ascetic Vyasa.'

"Janamejaya said, 'If Vyasa, disposed to grant me a boon, kindly show me my sire in that form which he had, clad as he used to be clad, and as old as he was when he departed from this world, I may then believe all that thou hast told me. Such a sight will be most agreeable to me. Indeed, I shall regard myself crowned with success. I shall have gained a certainty of conclusion. O, let my wish be crowned with fruition through the grace of that foremost of Rishis.'

"Sauti said,--'After king Janamejaya had said these words, Vyasa of great energy and intelligence showed his grace and brought Parikshit (from the other world). King Janamejaya beheld his royal father, possessed of great beauty, brought down from Heaven, in the same form that he had and of the same age as he was (at the time of leaving this world). The high-souled Samika also, and his son Sringin, were similarly brought there. All the counsellors and ministers of the king beheld them. King Janamejaya. performing the final bath in his sacrifice, became highly glad. He poured the sacred water on his father, even as he caused it to be poured on himself. Having undergone the final bath, the king addressed the regenerate Astika who had sprung from the race of the Yayavaras and who was the son of Jaratkaru, and said these words,--'O Astika, this sacrifice of mine is fraught with many wonderful incidents, since this my sire has been seen by me--he who has dispelled all my sorrows.'

"Astika said, 'The performer of that sacrifice in which the ancient Rishi, the Island-born Vyasa, that vast receptacle of penances, is present, is sure, O foremost one of Kuru's race, to conquer both the worlds. O son of the Pandavas, thou hast heard a wonderful history. The snakes have been consumed into ashes and have followed the footsteps of thy sire. Through thy truthfulness, O monarch, Takshaka has with difficulty escaped a painful fate. The Rishis have all been worshipped. Thou hast seen also the end that has been attained by thy high-souled sire. Having heard this sin-cleansing history thou hast achieved abundant merit. The knots of thy heart have been untied through sight of this foremost of person. They that are the supporters of the wings of Righteousness, they that are of good conduct and excellent disposition, they at sight of whom sins become attenuated,--we should all bow to them.'

"Sauti continued, 'Having heard this from that foremost of regenerate ones, King Janamejaya worshipped that Rishi, repeatedly honouring him in every way. Conversant with all duties he then asked the Rishi Vaisampayana of unfading glory about the sequel, O best of ascetics, of king Dhritarashtra's residence in the woods.'"

SECTION 36

"Janamejaya said, 'Having seen his sons and grandsons with all their friends and followers, what, indeed, did that ruler of men, viz., Dhritarashtra, and king Yudhishthira also, do?'

"Vaisampayana said, 'Beholding that exceedingly wonderful sight, viz., the re-appearance of his children, the royal sage, Dhritarashtra, became divested of his grief and returned (from the banks of the Bhagirathi) to his retreat. The common people and all the great Rishis, dismissed by Dhritarashtra, returned to the places they respectively wished. The high-souled Pandavas, accompanied by their wives, and with a small retinue, went to the retreat of the high-souled monarch. Then Satyavati's son, who was honoured by regenerate Rishis and all other persons, arrived at the retreat, addressed Dhritarashtra, saying,--'O mighty-armed Dhritarashtra. O son of Kuru's race, listen to what I say. Thou hast heard diverse discourses from Rishis of great knowledge and sacred deeds, of wealth of penances and excellence of blood, of conversance with the Vedas and their branches, of piety and years, and of great eloquence. Do not set thy mind again on sorrow. He that is possessed of wisdom is never agitated at ill luck. Thou hast also heard the mysteries of the deities from Narada of celestial form. Thy children have all attained, through observance of Kshatriya practices, to that auspicious goal which is sanctified by weapons. Thou hast seen how they move about at will in great happiness. This Yudhishthira of great intelligence is awaiting thy permission, with all his brothers and wives and kinsmen. Do thou dismiss him. Let him go back to his kingdom and rule it. They have passed more than a month in thus residing in the woods. The station of sovereignty should always be well guarded. O king, O thou of Kuru's race, thy kingdom has many foes.' Thus addressed by Vyasa of incomparable energy, the Kuru king, well-versed in words, summoned Yudhishthira and said unto him,--'O Ajatasatru, blessings on thee! Do thou listen to me, with all thy brothers. Through thy grace, O king, grief no longer stands in my way. I am living as happily, O son, with thee here as if I were in the city called after the elephant. With thee as my protector, O learned one, I am enjoying all agreeable objects. I have obtained from thee all those services which a son renders to his sire. I am highly gratified with thee. I have not the least dissatisfaction with thee, O mighty-armed one. Go now, O son, without tarrying here any longer.

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Meeting with thee, my penances are being slackened. This my body, endued with penances, I have been able to sustain only in consequence of my meeting with thee. These two mothers of thine, subsisting now upon fallen leaves of trees, and observing vows similar to mine, will not live long. Duryodhana and others, who have become denizens of the other world, have been seen by us, through the puissance of Vyasa's penances and through (the merit of) this my meeting with thee. O sinless one, the purpose of my life has been attained. I now wish to set myself to the practice of the austerest of penances. It behoveth thee to grant me permission. On thee now the obsequial cake, the fame and achievements, and the race of our ancestors, rest. O mighty-armed one, do thou then depart either tomorrow or this very day. Do not tarry, O son. O chief of Bharata's race, thou hast repeatedly heard what the duties are of kings. I do not see what more I can say unto thee. I have no longer any need with thee, O thou of great puissance.'

"Vaisampayana continued, 'Unto the (old) monarch who said so, king Yudhishthira replied,--'O thou that art conversant with every rule of righteousness, it behoveth thee, not to cast me off in this way. I am guilty of no fault. Let all my brothers and followers depart as they like. With steadfast vows I shall wait upon thee and upon these two mothers of mine.' Unto him Gandhari then said,--'O son, let it not be so. Listen, the race of Kuru is now dependant on thee. The obsequial cake also of my father-in-law depends on thee. Depart then, O son. We have been sufficiently honoured and served by thee. Thou shouldst do what the king says. Indeed, O son, thou shouldst obey the behests of thy sire.'

"Vaisampayana continued,--'Thus addressed by Gandhari, King Yudhishthira, rubbing his eyes which were bathed in tears of affection, said these words of lament. 'The king casts me off, as also Gandhari of great fame. My heart, however, is bound to thee. How shall I, filled as I am with grief, leave thee? I do not, however, at the same time, venture to obstruct thy penances, O righteous lady. There is nothing higher than penances. It is by penances that one attains to the Supreme. O queen, my heart no longer turns as of old towards kingdom. My mind is wholly set upon penances now. The whole Earth is empty now. O auspicious lady, she does not please me any longer. Our kinsmen have been reduced in number. Our strength is no longer what it was before. The Panchalas have been wholly exterminated. They exist in name only. O auspicious lady, I do not behold any one that may assist as their re-establishment and growth. All of them have been consumed to ashes by Drona on the field of battle. Those that remained were slain by Drona's son at night. The Chedis and the Matsyas, who were our friends, no longer exist. Only the tribes of the Vrishnis are all that remain, Vasudeva having upheld them. Beholding only the Vrishnis I wish to live. My desire of life, however, is due to my wish of acquiring merit and not wealth or enjoyment. Do thou cast auspicious looks upon us all. To obtain thy sight will be difficult for us. The king will commence to practise the most austere and unbearable of penances.' Hearing these words, that lord of battle, the mighty-armed Sahadeva, with eyes bathed in tears, addressed Yudhishthira, saying,--'O chief of Bharata's race, I dare not leave my mother. Do thou return to the capital soon. I shall practise penances, O puissant one. Even here I shall emaciate my body by penances, engaged in serving the feet of the king and of these my mothers.' Unto that mighty-armed hero, Kunti, after an embrace, said--'Depart, O son. Do not say so. Do my bidding. Do all of you go hence. Let peace be yours. Ye sons, let happiness be yours. By your stay here, our penances will be obstructed. Bound by the ties of my affection for thee, I shall fall off from my high penances. Therefore, O son, leave us. Short is the period that we have of life, O thou of great puissance.' By these and diverse other speeches of Kunti, the minds of Sahadeva and king Yudhishthira were composed. Those foremost ones of Kuru's race, having received the permission of their mother as also of the (old) monarch, saluted the latter and began to take his leave.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Gladdened by auspicious blessings, we shall return to the capital. Indeed, O king, having received thy permission, we shall leave this retreat, freed from every sin.' Thus addressed by the high-souled king Yudhishthira the just, that royal sage, viz., Dhritarashtra, blessed Yudhishthira and gave him permission. The king comforted Bhima, that foremost of all persons endued with great strength. Endued with great energy and great intelligence, Bhima showed his submissiveness to the king. Embracing Arjuna and clasping those foremost of men, viz., the twins also, and blessing them repeatedly, the Kuru king gave them permission to depart. They worshipped the feet of Gandhari and received her blessings also. Their mother Kunti then smelt their heads, and dismissed them. They then circumambulated the king like calves, when prevented from sucking their dams. Indeed, they repeatedly walked round him, looking steadfastly at him. Then all the ladies of the Kaurava household, headed by Draupadi, worshipped their father-in-law according to the rites laid down in the scriptures, and took his leave. Gandhari and Kunti embraced each of them, and blessing them bade them go. Their mothers-in-law instructed them as to how they should conduct themselves. Obtaining leave, they then departed, with their husbands. Then loud sounds were heard, uttered by the charioteers that said,--'Yoke, yoke,'--as also of camels that grunted aloud and of steeds that neighed briskly. King Yudhishthira, with his wives and troops and all his kinsmen, set out for Hastinapura.'"

SECTION 37

(Naradagamana Parva)

"Vaisampayana said, 'After two years had elapsed from the date of the return of the Pandavas (from the retreat of their sire), the celestial Rishi, Narada, O king, came to Yudhishthira. The mighty-armed Kuru king, that foremost of speakers, viz., Yudhishthira, having duly worshipped him, caused him to take a seat. After the Rishi had rested awhile, the king asked him, saying,--'It is after a long time that I behold thy holy self arrived at my court. Art thou in peace and happiness, O learned Brahmana? What are those countries which thou hast passed through? What shall I do to thee? Do thou tell me. Thou art the foremost of regenerate ones, and thou art our highest refuge.'

"Narada said, 'I have not seen thee for a long while. Hence it is that I have come to thee from my ascetic retreat. I have seen many sacred waters, and the sacred stream Ganga also, O king.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'People dwelling on the banks of Ganga report that the high-souled Dhritarashtra is practising the austerest of penances. Hast thou seen him there? Is that perpetuator of Kuru's race in peace? Are Gandhari and Pritha, and the Suta's son Sanjaya also, in peace? How, indeed, is it faring with that royal sire of mine? I desire to hear this, O holy one, if thou hast seen the king (and knowest of his condition).'

"Narada said, 'Listen, O king, with calmness to me as I tell thee what I have heard and seen in that ascetic retreat. After thy return from Kurukshetra, O delighter of the Kurus, thy sire, O king, proceeded towards Gangadwara. That intelligent monarch took with him his (sacred) fire, Gandhari and his daughter-in-law Kunti, as also Sanjaya of the Suta caste, and all the Yajakas. Possessed of wealth of penances, thy sire set himself to the practice of severe austerities. He held pebbles of stone in his mouth and had air alone for his subsistence, and abstained altogether from speech. Engaged in severe penances, he was worshipped by all the ascetics in the woods. In six months the king was reduced only to a skeleton. Gandhari subsisted on water alone, while Kunti took a little every sixth day. The sacred fire, O monarch, (belonging to the Kuru king) was duly worshipped by the sacrificing assistants that were with him, with libations of clarified butter poured on it. They did this whether the king saw the rite or not. The king had no fixed habitation. He became a wanderer through those woods. The two queens, as also Sanjaya, followed him. Sanjaya acted as the guide on even and uneven land. The faultless Pritha, O king, became the eye of Gandhari. One day, that best of kings proceeded to a spot on the margin of Ganga. He then bathed in the sacred stream and finishing his ablutions turned his face towards his retreat. The wind rose high. A fierce forest-conflagration set in. It began to burn that forest all around. When the herds of animals were being burnt all around, as also the snakes that inhabited that region, herds of wild boars began to take themselves to the nearest marshes and waters. When that forest was thus afflicted on all sides and such distress came upon all the living creatures residing there, the king, who had taken no food, was incapable of moving or exerting himself at all. Thy two mothers also, exceedingly emaciated, were unable to move. The king, seeing the conflagration approach him from all sides, addressed the Suta Sanjaya, that foremost of skilful charioteers, saying,--'Go, O Sanjaya, to such a place where the fire may not burn thee. As regards ourselves, we shall suffer our bodies to be destroyed by this fire and attain to the highest goal.' Unto him, Sanjaya, that foremost of speakers, said,--'O king, this death, brought on by a fire that is not sacred, will prove calamitous to thee. I do not, however, see any means by which thou canst escape from this conflagration. That which should next be done should be indicated by thee.' Thus addressed by Sanjaya the king once more said,--'This death cannot be calamitous to us, for we have left our home of our own accord. Water, fire, wind, and abstention from food, [Vikarshanam is emaciation of the body by abstention from all food.] (as means of death), are laudable for ascetics. Do thou, therefore, leave us, O Sanjaya, without any delay. Having said these words to Sanjaya, the king concentrated his mind. Facing the east, he sat down, with Gandhari and Kunti. Beholding him in that attitude, Sanjaya walked round him. Endued with intelligence, Sanjaya said,--'Do thou concentrate thy soul, O puissant one.' The son of a Rishi, and himself possessed of great wisdom, the king acted as he was told. Restraining all the senses, he remained like a post of wood. The highly blessed Gandhari, and thy mother Pritha too, remained in the same attitude. Then thy royal sire was overtaken by the forest-conflagration. Sanjaya, his minister, succeeded in escaping from that conflagration. I saw him on the banks of Ganga in the midst of ascetics. Endued with great energy and great intelligence, he bade them farewell and then started for the mountains of Himavat. Even thus the high-souled Kuru king met with his death, and it was even thus that Gandhari and Kunti, thy two mothers, also met with death, O monarch. In course of my wanderings at will, I saw the bodies of that king and those two queens, O Bharata. Many ascetics came to that retreat, having heard of the end of king Dhritarashtra. They did not at all grieve for that end of theirs. There, O best of men, I heard all the details of how the king and the two queens, O son of Pandu, had been burnt. O king of kings, thou shouldst not grieve for him. The monarch, of his own will, as also Gandhari and thy mother, obtained that contact with fire.'

"Vaisampayana continued,--'Hearing of the exit of Dhritarashtra from this world, the high-souled Pandavas all gave way to great grief. Loud sounds or wailing were heard within the inner apartments of the palace. The citizens also, hearing of the end of the old king, uttered loud lamentations. 'O fie! cried king Yudhishthira in great agony, raising his arms aloft. Thinking of his mother, he wept like a child. All his brothers too, headed by Bhimasena, did the same. Hearing that Pritha had met with such a fate, the ladies of the royal household tittered loud lamentations of grief. All the people grieved upon hearing that the old king, who had become childless, had been burnt to death and that the helpless Gandhari too had shared his fate. When those sounds of wailing ceased for a while, king Yudhishthira the just, stopping his tears by summoning all his patience, said these words.'"

SECTION 38

"Yudhishthira said, 'When such a fate overtook that high-souled monarch who was engaged in austere penances, notwithstanding the fact of his having such kinsmen as ourselves all alive, it seems to me, O regenerate one, that the end of human beings is difficult to guess. Alas, who would have thought that the son of Vichitraviryya would thus be burnt to death. He had a hundred sons each endued with mighty arms and possessed of great prosperity. The king himself had the strength of ten thousand elephants. Alas, even he has been burnt to death in a forest-conflagration! Alas, he who had formerly been fanned with palm leaves by the fair hands of beautiful women was fanned by vultures with their wings after he had been burnt to death in a forest-conflagration! He who was formerly roused from sleep every morning by bands of Sutas and Magadhas had to sleep on the bare ground through the acts of my sinful self. I do not grieve for the famous Gandhari who had been deprived of all her children. Observing the same vows as her husband, she has attained to those very regions which have become his. I grieve, however, for Pritha who, abandoning the blazing prosperity of her sons, became desirous of residing in the woods. Fie on this sovereignty of ours, fie on our prowess, fie on the practices of Kshatriyas! Though alive, we are really dead! O foremost of superior Brahmanas, the course of Time is very subtle and difficult to understand, inasmuch as Kunti, abandoning sovereignty, became desirous of taking up her abode in the forest. How is it that she who was the mother of Yudhishthira, of Bhima, of Vijaya, was burnt to deathlike a helpless creature. Thinking of this I become stupefied. In vain was the deity of fire gratified at Khandava by Arjuna. Ingrate that he is, forgetting that service he has burnt to death the mother of his benefactor! Alas, how could that deity burn the mother of Arjuna. Putting on the guise of a Brahmana, he had formerly come to Arjuna for soliciting a favour. Fie on the deity of fire! Fie on the celebrated success of Partha's shafts! This is another incident, O holy one, that appears to me to be productive of greater misery, for that lord of Earth met with death by union with a fire that was not sacred. How could such a death overtake that royal sage of Kuru's race who, after having ruled the whole Earth, was engaged in the practice of penances. In that great forest there were fires that had been sanctified with mantras. Alas, my father has made his exit from this world, coming in contact with an unsanctified fire! I suppose that Pritha, emaciated and reduced to a form in which all her nerves became visible, must have trembled in fear and cried aloud, saying,--O son Yudhishthira, and awaited the terrible approach of the conflagration. She must have also said,--O Bhima, rescue me from this danger--when she, my mother, was surrounded on all sides by that terrible conflagration. Among all her sons, Sahadeva, was her darling. Alas, that heroic son of Madravati did not rescue her.' Hearing these lamentations of the king, those persons that were present there began to weep, embracing each other. In fact, the five sons of Pandu were so stricken with grief that they resembled living creatures at the time of the dissolution of the universe. The sound of lamentations uttered by those weeping heroes, filling the spacious chambers of the palace, escaped therefrom and penetrated the very welkin.'"

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SECTION 39

"Narada said, 'The king has not been burnt to death by an unsanctified fire. I have heard this there. I tell thee, O Bharata, such has not been the fate of Vichitraviryya. It has been heard by us that when the old king endued with great intelligence and subsisting on air alone entered the woods (after his return from Gangadwara), he caused his sacrificial fires to be duly ignited. Having performed his sacred rites therewith, he abandoned them all. Then the Yajaka Brahmanas he had with him cast off those fires in a solitary part of the woods and went away as they liked on other errands, O foremost one of Bharata's race. The fire thus cast off grew in the woods. It then produced a general conflagration in the forest. Even this is what I have heard from the ascetics dwelling on the banks of Ganga. United with that (sacred) fire of his own, O chief of the Bharatas, the king, as I have already said unto thee, met with death on the banks of Ganga. O sinless one, this is what the ascetics have told me,--those, viz., whom I saw on the banks of the sacred Bhagirathi, O Yudhishthira. Thus O lord of Earth, king Dhritarashtra, coming into contact with his own sacred fire, departed from this world and attained to that high goal that has been his. Through service rendered by her to her seniors, thy mother, O lord of men, has attained to very great success. There is not the slightest doubt of this. It behoveth thee, O king of kings, to now discharge the rites of water to their honour, with all thy brothers. Let, therefore, the necessary steps be taken towards that end.'

"Vaisampayana continued,--'Then that lord of Earth, that foremost of men, that upholder of the burthens of the Pandavas, went out, accompanied by all his brothers as well as the ladies of his household. The inhabitants of the city as also those of the provinces, impelled by their loyalty, also went out. They all proceeded towards the banks of Ganga, every one clad in only single peace of raiment. Then all those foremost of men, having plunged into the stream, placed Yuyutsu at their head, and began to offer oblations of water unto the high-souled king. And they also gave similar oblations unto Gandhari and Pritha, naming each separately and mentioning their families. Having finished those rites that cleanse the living, they came back but without entering their capital took up their residence outside of it. They also despatched a number of trusted people well conversant with the ordinances relating to the cremation of the dead, to Gangadwara where the old king had been burnt to death. The king, having rewarded those men beforehand, commanded them to accomplish those rites of cremation which the bodies of Dhritarashtra and Gandhari and Kunti still awaited. 1 On twelfth day, the king, properly purified, duly performed the Sraddhas of his deceased relations, which were characterised by gifts in abundance. Referring to Dhritarashtra, Yudhishthira made many gifts of gold and silver, of kine and costly beds. Uttering the names of Gandhari and Pritha, the king, endued with great energy, made many excellent gifts. Every man received what thing he wished and as much of it as he wished. Beds and food, and cars and conveyances, and jewels and gems, and other wealth were given away in profusion. Indeed, the king referring to his two mothers, gave away cars and conveyances, robes and coverlets, various kinds of food, and female slaves adorned with diverse ornaments. Having thus made many kinds of gifts in profusion, that lord of Earth then entered his capital called after the elephant. Those men who had gone to the banks of Ganga at the command of the king, having disposed of (by cremation) the remains of the king and two queens, returned to the city. Having duly honoured those remains with garlands and scents of diverse kinds and disposed of them, they informed Yudhishthira of the accomplishment of their task. The great Rishi Narada, having comforted king Yudhishthira of righteous soul, went away to where he liked. Even thus did king Dhritarashtra make his exit from this world after having passed three years in the forest and ten and five years in the city. Having lost all his children in battle, he had many gifts in honour of his kinsmen, relatives, and friends, his brethren and own people. King Yudhishthira after the death of his uncle, became very cheerless. Deprived of his kinsmen and relatives, he somehow bore the burthen of sovereignty. One should listen with rapt attention to this Asramavasika Parvan, and having heard it recited, one should feed Brahmanas with Habishya, honouring them with scents and garlands.'"

The end of Asramavasika Parvan.

The Mahabharata, Book 16
Mausala Parva

SECTION 1

Om! Having bowed down unto Narayana, and to Nara, the foremost of men, as also to the goddess Sarasvati, should the word "Jaya" be uttered.

Vaishampayana said: "When the thirty-sixth year (after the battle) was reached, the delighter of the Kurus, Yudhishthira, beheld many unusual portents. Winds, dry and strong, and showering gravels, blew from every side. Birds began to wheel, making circles from right to left. The great rivers ran in opposite directions. The horizon on every side seemed to be always covered with fog. Meteors, showering (blazing) coals, fell on the Earth from the sky. The Sun's disc, O king, seemed to be always covered with dust. At its rise, the great luminary of day was shorn of splendour and seemed to be crossed by headless trunks (of human beings). Fierce circles of light were seen every day around both the Sun and the Moon. These circles showed three hues. Their edges seemed to be black and rough and ashy-red in colour. These and many other omens, foreshadowing fear and danger, were seen, O king, and filled the hearts of men with anxiety. A little while after, the Kuru king Yudhishthira heard of the wholesale carnage of the Vrishnis in consequence of the iron bolt. The son of Pandu, hearing that only Vasudeva and Rama had escaped with life, summoned his brothers and took counsel with them as to what they should do. Meeting with one another, they became greatly distressed upon hearing that the Vrishnis had met with destruction through the Brahmana's rod of chastisement. The death of Vasudeva, like the drying up of the ocean, those heroes could not believe. In fact the destruction of the wielder of Saranga was incredible to them. Informed of the incident about the iron bolt, the Pandavas became filled with grief and sorrow. In fact, they sat down, utterly cheerless and penetrated with blank despair."

Janamejaya said: "Indeed, O holy one, how was it that the Andhakas along with Vrishnis, and those great car-warriors, the Bhojas, met with destruction in the very sight of Vasudeva?"

Vaishampayana continued: "When the thirty-sixth year was reached (after the great battle) a great calamity overtook the Vrishnis. Impelled by Time, they all met with destruction in consequence of the iron bolt."

Janamejaya said: "Cursed by whom did those heroes, the Vrishnis, the Andhakas, and the Bhojas, met with destruction? O foremost regenerate persons, do thou tell me this in detail.

Vaishampayana continued: "One day, the Vrishni heroes numbering Sarana amongst them, saw Vishvamitra and Kanwa and Narada arrived at Dwaraka. Afflicted by the rod of chastisement wielded by the deities, those heroes, causing Samva to be disguised like a woman, approached those ascetics and said, 'This one is the wife of Vabhru of immeasurable energy who is desirous of having a son. Ye Rishis, do you know for certain what this one will bring forth?'

"Hear now, O king, what those ascetics, attempted to be thus deceived, said: 'This heir of Vasudeva, by name Samva, will bring forth a fierce iron bolt for the destruction of the Vrishnis and the Andhakas. Ye wicked and cruel ones, intoxicated with pride, through that iron bolt ye will become the exterminators of your race with the exception of Rama and Janarddana. The blessed hero armed with the plough will enter the ocean, casting off his body, while a hunter of the name of Jara will pierce the high-souled Krishna while lying on the ground.'

"Endeavoured to be deceived by those wicked ones, those ascetics, with eyes red in wrath, looked at each other and uttered those words. Having said so they then proceeded to see Keshava. The slayer of Madhu, informed of what had taken place, summoned all the Vrishnis and told them of it. Possessed of great intelligence and fully acquainted with what the end of his race would be, he simply said that that which was destined would surely happen. Hrishikesa having said so, entered his mansion. The Lord of the universe did not wish to ordain otherwise. When the next day came, Samva actually brought forth an iron bolt through which all the individuals in the race of the Vrishnis and the Andhakas became consumed into ashes. Indeed, for the destruction of the Vrishnis and the Andhakas, Samva brought forth, through that curse, a fierce iron bolt that looked like a gigantic messenger of death. The fact was duly reported to the king. In great distress of mind, the king (Ugrasena) caused that iron bolt to be reduced into fine powder. Men were employed, O king, to cast that powder into the sea. At the command of Ahuka, of Janarddana, of Rama, and of the high-souled Vabhru, it was, again, proclaimed throughout the city that from that day, among all the Vrishnis and the Andhakas no one should manufacture wines and intoxicating spirits of any kind, and that whoever would secretly manufacture wines and spirits should be impaled alive with all his kinsmen. Through fear of the king, and knowing that it was the command of Rama also of unimpeachable deeds, all the citizens bound themselves by a rule and abstained from manufacturing wines and spirits."

SECTION 2

Vaishampayana said: "While the Vrishnis and the Andhakas were thus endeavouring (to avoid the impending calamity), the embodied form of Time (death) every day wandered about their houses. He looked like a man of terrible and fierce aspect. Of bald head, he was black and of tawny complexion. Sometimes he was seen by the Vrishnis as he peered into their houses. The mighty bowmen among the Vrishnis shot hundreds and thousands of shafts at him, but none of these succeeded in piercing him, for he was none else than the Destroyer of all creatures. Day by day strong winds blew, and many were the evil omens that arose, awful and foreboding the destruction of the Vrishnis and the Andhakas. The streets swarmed with rats and mice. Earthen pots showed cracks or broke from no apparent cause. At night, the rats and mice ate away the hair and nails of slumbering men. Sarikas chirped, sitting within the houses of the Vrishnis. The noise made by those birds ceased not for even a short while by day or by night. The Sarashas were heard to imitate the hooting of the owl, and goats imitated the cries, O Bharata, of jackals. Many birds appeared, impelled by Death, that were pale of complexion but that had legs red of hue. Pigeons were seen to always disport in the houses of the Vrishnis. Asses were born of kine, and elephants of mules. Cats were born of bitches, and mouse of the mongoose. The Vrishnis, committing sinful acts, were not seen to feel any shame. They showed disregard for Brahmanas and the Pitris and the deities, They insulted and humiliated their preceptors and seniors. Only Rama and Janardana acted differently. Wives deceived their husbands, and husbands deceived their wives. Fires, when ignited, cast their flames towards the left. Sometimes they threw out flames whose splendour was blue and red. The Sun, whether when rising or setting over the city, seemed to be surrounded by headless trunks of human form. In cook rooms, upon food that was clean and well-boiled, were seen, when it was served out for eating, innumerable worms of diverse kinds. When Brahmanas, receiving gifts, blessed the day or the hour (fixed for this or that undertaking) or when high-souled men were engaged in silent recitations, the heavy tread was heard of innumerable men running about, but no one could be seen to whom the sound of such tread could be ascribed. The constellations were repeatedly seen to be struck by the planets. None amongst the Yadavas could, however, obtain a sight of the constellation of his birth. When the Panchajanya was blown in their houses, asses of dissonant and awful voice brayed aloud from every direction. "Beholding these signs that indicated the perverse course of Time, and seeing that the day of the new moon coincided with the thirteenth (and the fourteenth) lunation, Hrishikesa, summoning the Yadavas, said unto them these words: 'The fourteenth lunation has been made the fifteenth by Rahu once more. Such a day had happened at the time of the great battle of the Bharatas. It has once more appeared, it seems, for our destruction.' "The slayer of Keshi, Janardana, thinking upon the omens that Time showed, understood that the thirty-sixth year had come, and that what Gandhari, burning with grief on account of the death of her sons, and deprived of all her kinsmen, had said was about to transpire. 'The present is exactly similar to that time when Yudhishthira noted at such awful omens when the two armies had been arrayed in order of battle.' Vasudeva, having said so, endeavoured to bring about those occurrences which would make Gandhari's words true. That chastiser of foes commanded the Vrishnis to make a pilgrimage to some sacred water. The messengers forthwith proclaimed at the command of Keshava that the Vrishnis should make a journey to the sea-coast for bathing in the sacred waters of the ocean."

SECTION 3

Vaishampayana said: "At that time the Vrishni ladies dreamed every night that a woman of black complexion and white teeth, entering their abodes, laughed aloud and ran through Dvaraka, snatching from them the auspicious threads in their wrists. The men dreamt that terrible vultures, entering their houses and fire-chambers, gorged themselves on their bodies. Their ornaments and umbrellas and standards and armour were seen to be taken away by terrible Rakshasas. In the very sight of the Vrishnis, the discus of Krishna, given by Agni, made of iron and having its nave composed of hardest adamant, ascended into the firmament. In the very sight of Daruka, the excellent car of Vasudeva, of solar effulgence, and properly equipped, was taken away by the horses yoked unto it. Those foremost of steeds, numbering four, (Saivya, Sugriva, Meghapushpa and Valahaka), and endued with the speed of thought, fled away, dragging the car after them along the surface of the ocean. The two great standards of Krishna's car and Valadeva's car, that with the device of Garuda and that bearing the device of the palmyra, which were reverently worshipped by those two heroes, were taken away by Apsaras who, day and night, called upon the Vrishnis and the Andhakas to set out on a pilgrimage to some sacred water. When these omens were seen and heard, those foremost of men, the mighty car-warriors of the Vrishnis and the Andhakas, became desirous of setting out, with their whole families, on a pilgrimage to some sacred water. They prepared diverse kinds of viands and edibles and diverse kinds of wines and meat. The troops of the Vrishnis and the Andhakas, blazing with beauty and endued with fierce energy, then set out from the city on cars and steeds and elephants. The Yadavas, then, with their wives, proceeded to Prabhasa and took up their residence there, each in the (temporary) habitation that was assigned to him, and all having an abundance of provisions consisting of edibles and drink.

"Hearing that they had taken up their abode on the sea-coast, Uddhava, the wisest of men, who was, besides, well-

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versed in Yoga, proceeded there and took his leave (for departing). Krishna, with joined hands, saluted Uddhava, and seeing him bent on departing (from the world) and knowing that the destructions of the Vrishnis was at hand, did not feel any disposition to prevent him. The mighty car-warriors among the Vrishnis and the Andhakas, whose hour had come, then saw Uddhava proceed on his great journey, filling the whole welkin with his splendour. The Vrishnis, mixing with wine the food that had been cooked for high-souled Brahmanas, gave it away unto monkeys and apes. Those heroes of fierce energy then began their high revels, of which drinking formed the chief feature, at Prabhasa. The entire field echoed with the blare of hundreds of trumpets and abounded with actors and dancers plying their vocations. In the very sight of Krishna, Rama began to drink, with Kritavarma, Yuyudhana and Gada; and Vabhru also did the same. Then Yuyudhana, inebriated with wine, derisively laughing at and insulting Kritavarma in the midst of that assembly, said, 'What Kshatriya is there who, armed with weapons, will slay men locked in the embraces of sleep and, therefore, already dead? Hence, O son of Hridika, the Yadavas will never tolerate what thou hast done.' When Yuyudhana had said these words, Pradyumna, that foremost of car-warriors, applauded them, expressing his disregard for the son of Hridika.

"Highly incensed at this, Kritavarma, emphasising his disregard for Satyaki, by pointing to him with his left hand, said these words: 'Professing thyself to be a hero, how couldst thou so cruelly slay the armless Bhurishrava who, on the field of battle, (gave up all hostile intentions and) sat in praya?'

"Hearing these words of his, Keshava, that slayer of hostile heroes, giving way to wrath, cast an angry glance at Kritavarma. Then Satyaki informed the slayer of Madhu as to how Kritavarma had behaved towards Satrajit for taking away from him the celebrated gem Syamantaka. Hearing the narrative, Satyabhama, giving way to wrath and tears, approached Keshava and sitting on his lap enhanced his anger (for Kritavarma). Then rising up in a rage, Satyaki said, 'I swear to thee by Truth that I shall soon cause this one to follow in the wake of the five sons of Draupadi, and of Dhrishtadyumna and Shikhandi—they that were slain by this sinful wretch, while they were asleep, with the assistance of Drona's son. O thou of slender waist, Kritavarma's period of life and fame have come to their end.'

"Having said these words, Satyaki rushed at Kritavarma and severed his head with a sword in the very sight of Keshava. Yuyudhana, having achieved this feat, began to strike down others there present. Hrishikesa ran to prevent him from doing further mischief. At that time, however, O monarch, the Bhojas and Andhakas, impelled by the perverseness of the hour that had come upon them, all became as one man and surrounded the son of Sini. Janardana of mighty energy, knowing the character of the hour, stood unmoved without giving way to anger at the sight of those heroes rushing in wrath at Satyaki from every side. Urged by fate and inebriated with drink, they began to strike Yuyudhana with the pots from which they had been eating. When the son of Sini was being thus assaulted, Rukmini's son became highly enraged. He rushed forward for rescuing Satyaki who was engaged with the Bhojas and the Andhakas. Endued with might of arms and wealth of energy, those two heroes exerted themselves with great courage. But as the odds were overwhelming, both of them were slain in the very sight of Krishna. The delighter of the Yadus, beholding his own son, and the son of Sini too, slain, took up, in wrath, a handful of the Eraka grass that grew there. That handful of grass became a terrible bolt of iron endued with the energy of the thunderbolt. With it Krishna slew all those that came before him. Then the Andhakas and the Bhojas, the Saineyas and the Vrishnis, urged by Time, struck one another in that fearful mêlée. Indeed, O king, whoever amongst them took up in wrath a few blades of the Eraka grass, these, in his hands, became soon converted into a thunderbolt, O puissant one. Every blade of grass there was seen to be converted into a terrible iron bolt. All this, know, O king, was due to the curse denounced by Brahmanas. He who hurled a blade of grass saw that it pierced through even such things as were utterly impenetrable. In fact, every blade was seen to become a terrible bolt having the force of thunder. Son killed sire, and sire killed son, O Bharata. Inebriated with wine, they rushed and fell upon one another. The Kukuras and the Andhakas met with destruction like insects rushing at a blazing fire. As they were thus being slaughtered, no one among them thought of escaping by fight. Knowing that the hour of destruction had come, the mighty-armed Keshava stood there, eyeing everything. Indeed, the slayer of Madhu stood, raising a bolt of iron formed of a blade of grass. Beholding that Samva was slain, as also Charudeshna and Pradyumna and Aniruddha, Madhava became filled with rage. Beholding Gada lying dead on the ground, his wrath became enhanced. The wielder of Sarnga and the discus and the mace then exterminated the Vrishnis and the Andhakas. Hear, O king, what that conquerer of hostile towns, Vabhru of mighty energy and Daruka then said to Krishna, 'O holy one, a very large number of men has been slain by thee. Turn now to where Rama has gone. We wish to go there where he has proceeded.'"

SECTION 4

Vaishampayana said: "Then Daruka and Keshava and Vabhru left that spot, following in the wake of Rama (for discovering his retreat). They beheld that hero of infinite energy sitting thoughtfully, reclining his back against a tree, in a solitary spot of earth. Finding Rama of great soul, Krishna commanded Daruka, saying, 'Going to the Kurus, inform Partha of this great slaughter of the Yadus. Let Arjuna come here quickly, hearing of the destruction of the Yadavas through the Brahmanas' curse.'

"Thus addressed, Daruka, deprived of his senses by grief, proceeded on a car to the (capital of the) Kurus. After Daruka had gone away, Keshava, seeing Vabhru waiting on him, told him these words: 'Do thou go quickly for protecting the ladies. Let not robbers do them any injury, tempted by the wealth (that is with them).' Thus commanded by Keshava, Vabhru, still helpless with wine but cheerless at the slaughter of his kinsmen, departed. He had rested for a while by the side of Keshava, but as soon as he had proceeded to a distance, the iron-bolt, attaching itself to a mallet in the hands of a hunter, suddenly sprang of itself upon that solitary survivor of the Yadava race and slew him, who also had been included in the curse of the Brahmanas. Beholding Vabhru slain, Keshava of great energy addressed his elder brother and said, 'Do thou, O Rama wait for me here till I place the ladies under the care of kinsmen.'

"Entering the city of Dwaravati, Janardana said these words unto his father, 'Do thou protect all the ladies of our house, till Dhananjaya comes. At the skirts of the forest Rama is waiting for me. I shall meet him today. This great carnage of the Yadus has been beheld by me even as I beheld before the carnage of those Kshatriyas who were the foremost ones of Kuru's race. It is impossible for me to see this city of the Yadavas without the Yadus beside me. Know that proceeding to the woods I shall practise penances with Rama in my company.' Having said these words, Krishna touched the feet of his father with his head, and quickly left his presence. Then a loud wail of sorrow arose from the ladies and children of his house. Hearing that loud sound of wailing uttered by the weeping ladies, Keshava retraced his foot-steps and said unto them, 'Arjuna will come here. That foremost of man will relieve you of your grief.'

"Proceeding then to the forest, Keshava beheld Rama sitting in a solitary spot thereof. He also saw that Rama had set himself to Yoga and that from out his mouth was issuing a mighty snake. The colour of that snake was white. Leaving the human body (in which he had dwelt so long), that high-souled naga of a 1,000 heads and having a form as large as that of a mountain, endued besides with red eyes, proceeded along that way which led to the ocean. Ocean himself, and many celestial snakes, and many sacred Rivers were there, for receiving him with honour. There were Karkotaka and Vasuki and Takshaka and Prithusravas and Varuna and Kunjara, and Misri and Sankha and Kumuda and Pundarika, and the high-souled Dhritarashtra, and Hrada and Kratha and Sitikantha of fierce energy, and Chakramanda and Atishanda, and that foremost of Nagas called Durmukha, and Amvarisha, and king Varuna himself, O monarch. Advancing forward and offering him the Arghya and water to wash his feet, and with diverse other rites, they all worshipped the mighty Naga and saluted him by making the usual enquiries.

"After his brother had thus departed from the (human) world, Vasudeva of celestial vision, who was fully acquainted with the end of all things, wandered for some time in that lonely forest thoughtfully. Endued with great energy he then sat down on the bare earth. He had thought before this of everything that had been fore-shadowed by the words uttered by Gandhari in former days. He also recollected the words that Durvasas had spoken at the time his body was smeared by that Rishi with the remnant of the Payasa he had eaten (while a guest at Krishna's house). The high-souled one, thinking of the destruction of the Vrishnis and the Andhakas, as also of the previous slaughter of the Kurus, concluded that the hour (for his own departure from the world) had come. He then restrained his senses (in Yoga). Conversant with the truth of every topic, Vasudeva, though he was the Supreme Deity, wished to die, for dispelling all doubts and establishing a certainty of results (in the matter of human existence), simply for upholding the three worlds and for making the words of Atri's son true. Having restrained all his senses, speech, and mind, Krishna laid himself down in high Yoga.

"A fierce hunter of the name of Jara then came there, desirous of deer. The hunter, mistaking Keshava, who was stretched on the earth in high Yoga, for a deer, pierced him at the heel with a shaft and quickly came to that spot for capturing his prey. Coming up, Jara beheld a man dressed in yellow robes, rapt in Yoga and endued with many arms. Regarding himself an offender, and filled with fear, he touched the feet of Keshava. The high-souled one comforted him and then ascended upwards, filling the entire welkin with splendour. When he reached Heaven, Vasava and the twin Ashvinis and Rudra and the Adityas and the Vasus and the Viswedevas, and Munis and Siddhas and many foremost ones among the Gandharvas, with the Apsaras, advanced to receive him. Then, O king, the illustrious Narayana of fierce energy, the Creator and Destroyer of all, that preceptor of Yoga, filling Heaven with his splendour, reached his own inconceivable region. Krishna then met the deities and (celestial) Rishis and Charanas, O king, and the foremost ones among the Gandharvas and many beautiful Apsaras and Siddhas and Saddhyas. All of them, bending in humility, worshipped him. The deities all saluted him, O monarch, and many foremost of Munis and Rishis worshipped him who was the Lord of all. The Gandharvas waited on him, hymning his praises, and Indra also joyfully praised him."

SECTION 5

Vaishampayana said: "Meanwhile Daruka, going to the Kurus and seeing those mighty car-warriors, the son of Pritha, informed them of how the Vrishnis had slain one another with iron bolts. Hearing that the Vrishnis along with the Bhojas and Andhakas and Kukuras had all been slain, the Pandavas, burning with grief, became highly agitated. Then Arjuna, the dear friend of Keshava, bidding them farewell, set out for seeing his maternal uncle. He said that destruction would soon overtake everything. Proceeding to the city of the Vrishnis with Daruka in his company, O puissant king, that hero beheld that the city of Dwaraka looked like a woman bereft of her husband. Those ladies who had, before this, the very Lord of the universe for their protector, were now lordless. Seeing that Partha had come for protecting them, they all set up a loud wail. 16,000 ladies had been wedded to Vasudeva. Indeed, as soon as they saw Arjuna arrive, they uttered a loud cry of sorrow. As soon as the Kuru prince met those beauteous ones deprived of the protection of Krishna and of their sons as well, he was unable to look at them, his vision being obstructed by tears. The Dwaraka river had the Vrishnis and the Andhakas for its water, steeds for its fishes, cars for its rafts, the sound of musical instruments and the rattle of cars for its waves, houses and mansions and public squares for its lakes. Gems and precious stones were its abundant moss. The walls of adamant were the garlands of flowers that floated on it. The streets and roads were the strong currents running in eddies along its surface. The great open squares were the still large lakes in its course. Rama and Krishna were its two mighty alligators. That agreeable river now seemed to Arjuna to be the fierce Vaitarani bound up with Time's net. Indeed, the son of Vasava, endued with great intelligence, beheld the city to look even thus, reft as it was of the Vrishni heroes. Shorn of beauty, and perfectly cheerless, it presented the aspect of a lotus flower in the season of winter. Beholding the sight that Dwaraka presented, and seeing the numerous wives of Krishna, Arjuna wailed aloud with eyes bathed in tears and fell down on the earth. Then Satya, the daughter of Satrajit, and Rukmini too, O king, fell down beside Dhananjaya and uttered loud wails of grief. Raising him then they caused him to be seated on a golden seat. The ladies sat around that high-souled one, giving expression to their feelings. Praising Govinda and talking with the ladies, the son of Pandu comforted them and then proceeded to see his maternal uncle."

SECTION 6

Vaishampayana said: "The Kuru prince beheld the heroic and high-souled Anakadundubhi lying on the ground and burning with grief on account of his sons. The broad-chested and mighty-armed son of Pritha, more afflicted than his uncle, with eyes bathed in tears, touched his uncle's feet, O Bharata. The mighty-armed Anakadundubhi wished to smell the head of his sister's son but failed to do it, O slayer of foes. The old man of mighty arms, deeply afflicted, embraced Partha with his arms and wept aloud, remembering his sons, brothers, grandsons, daughter's sons, and friends.

"Vasudeva said, 'Without beholding those heroes, O Arjuna, who had subjugated all the kings of the Earth and the Daityas a hundred times, I am still alive! Methinks, I have no death! Through the fault of those two heroes who were thy dear disciples and who were much regarded by thee, also, O Partha, the Vrishnis have been destroyed. Those two who were regarded as Atirathas amongst the foremost of the Vrishnis, and referring to whom in course of conversation thou wert wont to indulge in pride, and who, O chief of Kuru's race, were ever dear to Krishna himself—alas, those two, O Dhananjaya, have been the chief causes of the destruction of the Vrishnis! I do not censure the son of Sini or the son of Hridika, O Arjuna. I do not censure Akrura or the son of Rukmini. No doubt, the curse (of the Rishis) is the sole cause. How is it that that lord of the universe, the slayer of Madhu, who had put forth his prowess for achieving the destruction of Kesin and Kansa, and Chaidya swelling with pride, and Ekalavya, the son of the ruler of the Nishadas, and the Kalingas and the Magadhas, and the Gandharas and the king of Kasi, and many rulers assembled together in the midst of the desert, many heroes belonging to the East and the South,

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and many kings of the mountainous regions—alas, how could he remain indifferent to such a calamity as the curse denounced by the Rishis? Thyself, Narada, and the Munis, knew him to be the eternal and sinless Govinda, the Deity of unfading glory. Alas, being puissant Vishnu himself, he witnessed, without interfering, the destruction of his kinsmen! My son must have himself allowed all this to happen. He was the Lord of the universe. He did not, however, wish to falsify the words of Gandhari and the Rishis, O scorcher of foes. In thy very sight, O hero, thy grandson, who had been slain by Ashvatthama, was revived through his energy. That friend, however, of yours did not wish to protect his kinsmen. Beholding his sons and grandsons and brothers and friends lying dead, he said unto me these words, O chief of Bharata's race, "The destruction of this our race has at last come. Vibhatsu will come to this city, Dwaravati. Tell him what has occurred, this great carnage of the Vrishnis. I have no doubt that as soon as he will hear of the destruction of the Yadus, that hero of mighty energy will come here without any loss of time. Know, O father, that I am Arjuna and Arjuna is myself. That should be done by thee which he would say. The son of Pandu will do what is best for the women and the children. Even he will perform thy funeral rites. This city of Dwaravati, after Arjuna's departure, will, with its walls and edifices, be swallowed up by the ocean without any delay. As regards myself, retiring to some sacred place, I shall bide my hour, with the intelligent Rama in my company, observing strict vows all the while." Having said these words unto me, Hrishikesa of inconceivable prowess, leaving me with the children, has gone away to some spot which I do not know. Thinking of those two high-souled brothers of thine, as also of the terrible carnage of my kinsmen, I have abstained from all food, and am emaciated with grief. I shall neither eat, nor live. By good luck thou meetest me, O son of Pandu. Do thou accomplish all, O Partha, that Krishna has said. This kingdom, with all these women, and all the wealth here, is thine now, O son of Pritha. As regards myself, O slayer of foes, I shall cast off my life-breaths dear though they be.'"

SECTION 7

Vaishampayana said: "That scorcher of foes, Vibhatsu, thus addressed by his maternal uncle, replied, with great cheerlessness of heart, unto Vasudeva who was equally cheerless, saying, 'O uncle, I am unable to look at this Earth when she is reft of that hero of Vrishni's race and those my other kinsmen. The king and Bhimasena and Sahadeva and Nakula and Yajnaseni, numbering the sixth, are of the same mind with myself in this matter. The time has come for the departure of the king also. Know this, that the hour of our departure too is at hand. Thou art the foremost of those that are well conversant with the course of time. I shall, however, O chastiser of foes, first remove to Indraprastha the women of the Vrishni race as also the children and the aged.' Having said so unto his uncle, Arjuna next addressed Daruka, saying, 'I wish to see without any delay the chief officers of the Vrishni heroes.' Having uttered these words, the heroic Arjuna, grieving for those great car-warriors (who had been slain), entered the great hall of the Yadavas (where they used to hold their court), called Sudharma. When he had taken his seat there, all the citizens, including the Brahmanas, and all the ministers of state came and stood surrounding him. Then Partha, more grieved than they, addressed those grieving and cheerless citizens and officers who were more dead than alive, and said these words that were well suited to the occasion: 'I shall take away with me the remnants of the Vrishnis and the Andhakas. The sea will soon engulf this city. Equip all your cars and place on them all your wealth. This Vajra (the grandson of Krishna) will be your king at Shakraprastha. On the seventh day from this, at sunrise, we shall set out. Make your preparations without delay.'

"Thus addressed by Pritha's son of pure deeds, all of them hastened their preparations with eagerness for achieving their safety. Arjuna passed that night in the mansion of Keshava. He was suddenly overwhelmed with great grief and stupefaction. When morning dawned, Vasudeva of great energy and prowess attained, through the aid of Yoga, to the highest goal. A loud and heart-rending sound of wailing was heard in Vasudeva's mansion, uttered by the weeping ladies. They were seen with dishevelled hair and divested of ornaments and floral wreaths. Beating their breasts with their hands, they indulged in heart-rending lamentations. Those foremost of women, Devaki and Bhadra and Rohini and Madira threw themselves on the bodies of their lord. Then Partha caused the body of his uncle to be carried out on a costly vehicle borne on the shoulders of men. It was followed by all the citizens of Dwaraka and the people of the provinces, all of whom, deeply afflicted by grief, had been well-affected towards the deceased hero. Before that vehicle were borne the umbrella which had been held over his head at the conclusion of the horse-sacrifice he had achieved while living, and also the blazing fires he had daily worshipped, with the priests that had used to attend to them. The body of the hero was followed by his wives decked in ornaments and surrounded by thousands of women and thousands of their daughters-in-law. The last rites were then performed at that spot which had been agreeable to him while he was alive. The four wives of that heroic son of Sura ascended the funeral pyre and were consumed with the body of their lord. All of them attained to those regions of felicity which were his. The son of Pandu burnt the body of his uncle together with those four wives of his, using diverse kinds of scents and perfumed wood. As the funeral pyre blazed up, a loud sound was heard of the burning wood and other combustible materials, along with the clear chant of Samans and the wailing of the citizens and others who witnessed the rite. After it was all over, the boys of the Vrishni and Andhaka races, headed by Vajra, as also the ladies, offered oblations of water to the high-souled hero.

"Phalguna, who was careful in observing every duty, having caused this duty to be performed, proceeded, O chief of Bharata's race, next to the place where the Vrishnis were slaughtered. The Kuru prince, beholding them lying slaughtered all around, became exceedingly cheerless. He, however, did what was required to be done in view of that which had happened. The last rites were performed, according to the order of seniority, unto the bodies of those heroes slain by the iron bolts born, by virtue of the curse denounced by the Brahmanas, of the blades of Eraka grass. Searching out the bodies then of Rama and Vasudeva, Arjuna caused them to be burnt by persons skilled in that act. The son of Pandu, having next performed duly those sraddha rites that are done to the dead, quickly set out on the seventh day, mounting on his car. The widows of the Vrishni heroes, wailing aloud, followed the high-souled son of Pandu. Dhananjaya, on cars drawn by bullocks and mules and camels. All were in deep affliction. The servants of the Vrishnis, their horsemen, and their car-warriors too, followed the procession. The citizens and the inhabitants of the country, at the command of Pritha's son, set out at the same time and proceeded, surrounding that cavalcade destitute of heroes and numbering only women and the aged and the children. The warriors who fought from the backs of elephants proceeded on elephants as huge as hills. The foot-soldiers also set out, together with the reserves. The children of the Andhaka and the Vrishni races, all followed Arjuna. The Brahmanas and Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas, and wealthy Sudras, set out, keeping before them the 16,000 women that had formed Vasudeva's harem, and Vajra, the grandson of the intelligent Krishna. The widows of the other heroes of the Bhoja, the Vrishni, and the Andhaka races, lordless now, that set out with Arjuna, numbered many millions. That foremost of car-warriors, that conqueror of hostile towns, the son of Pritha, escorted this vast procession of Vrishnis, which still abounded with wealth, and which looked like a veritable ocean.

"After all the people had set out, the ocean, that home of sharks and alligators, flooded Dvaraka, which still teemed with wealth of every kind, with its waters. Whatever portion of the ground was passed over, ocean immediately flooded over with his waters. Beholding this wonderful sight, the inhabitants of Dvaraka walked faster and faster, saying, 'Wonderful is the course of fate!' Dhananjaya, after abandoning Dvaraka, proceeded by slow marches, causing the Vrishni women to rest in pleasant forests and mountains and by the sides of delightful streams. Arrived at the country of the five waters, the puissant Dhananjaya planted a rich encampment in the midst of a land that abounded with corn and kine and other animals. Beholding those lordless widows escorted by Pritha's son alone O Bharata, the robbers felt a great temptation (for plunder). Then those sinful wretches, with hearts overwhelmed by cupidity, those Abhiras of ill omen, assembled together and held a consultation. They said, 'Here there is only one bowman, Arjuna. The cavalcade consists of children and the old. He escorts them, transgressing us. The warriors (of the Vrishnis) are without energy.' Then those robbers, numbering by thousands, and armed with clubs, rushed towards the procession of the Vrishnis, desirous of plunder. Urged by the perverse course of time they fell upon that vast concourse, frightening it with loud leonine shouts and desirous of slaughter. The son of Kunti, suddenly ceasing to advance along the path, turned, with his followers, towards the place where the robbers had attacked the procession. Smiling the while, that mighty-armed warrior addressed the assailants, saying, 'You sinful wretches, forbear, if ye love your lives. Ye will rue this when I pierce your bodies with my shafts and take your lives.' Though thus addressed by that hero, they disregarded his words, and though repeatedly dissuaded, they fell upon Arjuna. Then Arjuna endeavoured to string his large, indestructible, celestial bow with some effort. He succeeded with great difficulty in stringing it, when the battle had become furious. He then began to think of his celestial weapons but they would not come to his mind. Beholding that furious battle, the loss of the might of his arm, and the non-appearance of his celestial weapons, Arjuna became greatly ashamed. The Vrishni warriors including the foot-soldiers, the elephant-warriors, and the car-men, failed to rescue those Vrishni women that were being snatched away by the robbers. The concourse was very large. The robbers assailed it at different points. Arjuna tried his best to protect it, but could not succeed. In the very sightof all the warriors, many foremost of ladies were dragged away, while others went away with the robbers of their own accord. The puissant Arjuna, supported by the servants of the Vrishnis, struck the robbers with shafts sped from Gandiva. Soon, however. O king, his shafts were exhausted. In former days his shafts had been inexhaustible. Now, however, they proved otherwise. Finding his shafts exhausted, he became deeply afflicted with grief. The son of Indra then began to strike the robbers with the horns of his bow. Those Mlecchas, however, O Janamejaya, in the very sight of Partha, retreated, taking away with them many foremost ladies of the Vrishnis and Andhakas. The puissant Dhananjaya regarded it all as the work of destiny. Filled with sorrow he breathed heavy sighs at the thought of the non-appearance of his (celestial) weapons, the loss of the might of his arms, the refusal of his bow to obey him, and the exhaustion of his shafts. Regarding it all as the work of destiny, he became exceedingly cheerless. He then ceased, O king, to make further efforts, saying, he had not the power which he had before. The high-souled one, taking with him the remnant of the Vrishni women, and the wealth that was still with them, reached Kurukshetra. Thus bringing with him the remnant of the Vrishnis. he established them at different places. He established the son of Kritavarma at the city called Marttikavat, with the remnant of the women of the Bhoja king. Escorting the remainder, with children and old men and women, the son of Pandu established them, who were reft of heroes, in the city of Indraprastha. The dear son of Yuyudhana, with a company of old men and children and women, the righteous-souled Arjuna established on the banks of the Sarasvati. The rule of Indraprastha was given to Vajra. The widows of Akrura then desired to retire into the woods. Vajra asked them repeatedly to desist, but they did not listen to him. Rukmini, the princess of Gandhara, Saivya, Haimavati, and queen Jamvabati ascended the funeral pyre. Satyabhama and other dear wives of Krishna entered the woods, O king, resolved to set themselves to the practice of penances. They began to live on fruits and roots and pass their time in the contemplation of Hari. Going beyond the Himavat, they took up their abode in a place called Kalpa. Those men who had followed Arjuna from Dwaravati, were distributed into groups, and bestowed upon Vajra. Having done all these acts suited to the occasion, Arjuna, with eyes bathed in tears, then entered the retreat of Vyasa. There he beheld the Island-born Rishi seated at his ease."

SECTION 8

Vaishampayana said: "As Arjuna entered the asylum of the truthful Rishi, he beheld the son of Satyavati seated in a secluded spot.

"Approaching that Rishi of high vows and endued with a knowledge of all duties, he said, 'I am Arjuna,' and then awaited his pleasure. Satyavati's son, endued with high penances, answered, saying 'Welcome!' Of tranquil soul, the great Muni further said, 'Take thy seat.' Seeing that the son of Pritha was exceedingly cheerless and breathing heavy sighs repeatedly and filled with despair, Vyasa addressed him, saying, "Hast thou been sprinkled with water from anybody's nails or hair, or the end of anybody's cloth, or from the mouth of a jar? Hast thou had sexual congress with any woman before the cessation of her functional flow? Hast thou slain a Brahmana? Hast thou been vanquished in battle? Thou lookest like one shorn of prosperity. I do not know that thou hast been defeated by anyone. Why then, O chief of Bharata's race, this exceedingly dejected aspect? It behoveth thee, O son of Pritha, to tell me all, if, indeed, there be no harm in telling it."

"Arjuna said, 'He whose complexion was like that of a (newly-risen) cloud, he whose eyes were like a pair of large lotus petals, Krishna, has, with Rama, cast off his body and ascended to Heaven. At Prabhasa, through iron bolts generated by the curse denounced by Brahmanas, the destruction has taken place of the Vrishni heroes. Awful hath that carnage been, and not even a single hero has escaped. The heroes of the Bhoja, the Andhaka, and the Vrishni races, O Brahmana, who were all endued with high souls, great might, and leonine pride, have slaughtered one another in battle. Possessed of arms that looked like maces of iron, and capable of bearing the strokes of heavy clubs and darts, alas, they have all been slain with blades of Eraka grass. Behold the perverse course of Time. 500,000 mighty-armed warriors have thus been laid low. Encountering one another, they have met with destruction. Thinking repeatedly of this carnage of the Yadava warriors of immeasurable energy and of the illustrious Krishna, I fail to derive peace of mind. The death of the wielder of Sarnga is as incredible as the drying up of the ocean, the displacement of a mountain, the falling down of the vault of heaven, or the cooling property of fire. Deprived of the company of the Vrishni heroes, I desire not to live in this world. Another incident has happened that is more painful than this, O thou that art possessed of wealth of penances. Repeatedly thinking of it, my heart is breaking. In my very sight, O Brahmana, thousands of Vrishni ladies were carried away by the Abhiras of the country of the five waters, who

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assailed us. Taking up my bow I found myself unequal to even string it. The might that had existed in my arms seemed to have disappeared on that occasion. O great ascetic, my weapons of diverse kinds failed to make their appearance. Soon, again, my shafts became exhausted. That person of immeasurable soul, of four arms, wielding the conch, the discus, and the mace, clad in yellow robes, dark of complexion, and possessing eyes resembling lotus-petals, is no longer seen by me. Alas, reft of Govinda, what have I to live for, dragging my life in sorrow? He who used to stalk in advance of my car, that divine form endued with great splendour and unfading puissance, consuming as he proceeded all hostile warriors, can no longer be seen by me. No longer beholding him who by his energy first burnt all hostile troops whom I afterwards despatched with shafts sped from Gandiva, I am filled with grief and my head swims, O best of men. Penetrated with cheerlessness and despair, I fail to obtain peace of mind. I dare not live, reft of the heroic Janardana. As soon as I heard that Vishnu had left the Earth, my eyes became dim and all things disappeared from my vision. O best of men, it behoveth thee to tell me what is good for me now, for I am now a wanderer with an empty heart, despoiled of my kinsmen and of my possession.'

"Vyasa said, 'The mighty car-warriors of the Vrishni and the Andhaka races have all been consumed by the Brahmana's curse. O chief of Kuru's race, it behoveth thee not to grieve for their destruction. That which has happened had been ordained. It was the destiny of those high-souled warriors. Krishna suffered it to take place although he was fully competent to baffle it. Govinda was able to alter the very course of the universe with all its mobile and immobile creatures. What need then be said of the curse of even high-souled Brahmanas? He who used to proceed in front of thy car, armed with discus and mace, through affection for thee, was the four-armed Vasudeva, that ancient rishi. That high-souled one of expansive eyes, Krishna, having lightened the burthen of the Earth and cast off his (human) body, has attained to his own high seat. By thee also, O foremost of men, with Bhima for thy helpmate and the twins, O mighty-armed hero, has the great work of the gods been accomplished. O foremost one of Kuru's race, I regard thee and thy brothers as crowned with success, for ye have accomplished the great purpose of your lives. The time has come for your departure from the world. Even this, O puissant one, is what is beneficial for you now. Even thus, understanding and prowess and foresight, O Bharata, arise when days of prosperity have not outrun. These very acquisitions disappear when the hour of adversity comes. All this has Time for its root. Time is, indeed, the seed of the universe, O Dhananjaya. It is Time, again, that withdraws everything at its pleasure. One becomes mighty, and, again, losing that might, becomes weak. One becomes a master and rules others, and, again, losing that position, becomes a servant for obeying the behests of others. Thy weapons, having achieved success, have gone away to the place they came from. They will, again, come into thy hands when the Time for their coming approaches. The time has come, O Bharata, for you all to attain to the highest goal. Even this is what I regard to be highly beneficial for you all, O chief of Bharata's race."

Vaishampayana continued: "Having heard these words of Vyasa of immeasurable energy, the son of Pritha, receiving his permission, returned to the city named after the elephant. Entering it, the hero approached Yudhishthira and informed him of all that had taken place with reference to the Vrishnis."

The end of Mausala-parva

THE MAHABHARATA, BOOK 17
MAHAPRASTHANIKA PARVA

SECTION 1

Om! Having bowed down unto Narayana, and to Nara, the foremost of men, as also to the goddess Sarasvati, should the word "Jaya" be uttered.

Janamejaya said: "Having heard of that encounter with iron bolts between the heroes of the Vrishni and the Andhaka races, and having been informed also of Krishna's ascension to Heaven, what did the Pandavas do?"

Vaishampayana said: "Having heard the particulars of the great slaughter of the Vrishnis, the Kaurava king set his heart on leaving the world. He addressed Arjuna, saying, 'O thou of great intelligence, it is Time that cooks every creature (in his cauldron). I think that what has happened is due to the cords of Time (with which he binds us all). It behoveth thee also to see it.'

"Thus addressed by his brother, the son of Kunti only repeated the word 'Time, Time!' and fully endorsed the view of his eldest brother gifted with great intelligence. Ascertaining the resolution of Arjuna, Bhimasena and the twins fully endorsed the words that Arjuna had said. Resolved to retire from the world for earning merit, they brought Yuyutsu before them. Yudhishthira made over the kingdom to the son of his uncle by his Vaisya wife. Installing Parikshit also on their throne, as king, the eldest brother of the Pandavas, filled with sorrow, addressed Subhadra, saying, 'This son of thy son will be the king of the Kurus. The survivor of the Yadus, Vajra, has been made a king. Parikshit will rule in Hastinapura, while the Yadava prince, Vajra, will rule in Shakraprastha. He should be protected by thee. Never set thy heart on unrighteousness.'

"Having said these words, king Yudhishthira the just, along with his brothers, promptly offered oblations of water unto Vasudeva of great intelligence, as also unto his old maternal uncle and Rama and others. He then duly performed the Sraddhas of all those deceased kinsmen of his. The king, in honour of Hari and naming him repeatedly, fed the Island-born Vyasa, and Narada, and Markandeya possessed of wealth of penances, and Yajnavalkya of Bharadwaja's race, with many delicious viands. In honour of Krishna, he also gave away many jewels and gems, and robes and clothes, and villages, and horses and cars, and female slaves by hundreds and thousands unto foremost of Brahmanas. Summoning the citizens. Kripa was installed as the preceptor and Parikshit was made over to him as his disciple, O chief of Bharata's race.

"Then Yudhishthira once more summoned all his subjects. The royal sage informed them of his intentions. The citizens and the inhabitants of the provinces, hearing the king's words, became filled with anxiety and disapproved of them. 'This should never be done,' said they unto the king. The monarch, well versed with the changes brought about by time, did not listen to their counsels. Possessed of righteous soul, he persuaded the people to sanction his views. He then set his heart on leaving the world. His brothers also formed the same resolution. Then Dharma's son, Yudhishthira, the king of the Kurus, casting off his ornaments, wore barks of trees. Bhima and Arjuna and the twins, and Draupadi also of great fame, similarly clad themselves in bark of trees, O king. Having caused the preliminary rites of religion, O chief of Bharata's race, which were to bless them in the accomplishment of their design, those foremost of men cast off their sacred fires into the water. The ladies, beholding the princes in that guise, wept aloud. They seemed to look as they had looked in days before, when with Draupadi forming the sixth in number they set out from the capital after their defeat at dice. The brothers, however, were all very cheerful at the prospect of retirement. Ascertaining the intentions of Yudhishthira and seeing the destruction of the Vrishnis, no other course of action could please them then.

"The five brothers, with Draupadi forming the sixth, and a dog forming the seventh, set out on their journey. Indeed, even thus did king Yudhishthira depart, himself the head of a party of seven, from the city named after the elephant. The citizen and the ladies of the royal household followed them for some distance. None of them, however, could venture to address the king for persuading him to give up his intention. The denizens of the city then returned; Kripa and others stood around Yuyutsu as their centre. Ulupi, the daughter of the Naga chief, O thou of Kunti's race, entered the waters of Ganga. The princess Chitrangada set out for the capital of Manipura. The other ladies who were the grandmothers of Parikshit centered around him. Meanwhile the high-souled Pandavas, O thou of Kuru's race, and Draupadi of great fame, having observed the preliminary fast, set out with their faces towards the east. Setting themselves on Yoga, those high-souled ones, resolved to observe the religion of Renunciation, traversed through various countries and reached diverse rivers and seas. Yudhishthira, proceeded first. Behind him was Bhima; next walked Arjuna; after him were the twins in the order of their birth; behind them all, O foremost one of Bharata's race, proceeded Draupadi, that first of women, possessed of great beauty, of dark complexion, and endued with eyes resembling lotus petals. While the Pandavas set out for the forest, a dog followed them.

"Proceeding on, those heroes reached the sea of red waters. Dhananjaya had not cast off his celestial bow Gandiva, nor his couple of inexhaustible quivers, actuated, O king, by the cupidity that attaches one to things of great value. The Pandavas there beheld the deity of fire standing before them like a hill. Closing their way, the god stood there in his embodied form. The deity of seven flames then addressed the Pandavas, saying, 'Ye heroic sons of Pandu, know me for the deity of fire. O mighty-armed Yudhishthira, O Bhimasena that art a scorcher of foes, O Arjuna, and ye twins of great courage, listen to what I say! Ye foremost ones of Kuru's race, I am the god of fire. The forest of Khandava was burnt by me, through the puissance of Arjuna and of Narayana himself. Let your brother Phalguna proceed to the woods after casting off Gandiva, that high weapon. He has no longer any need of it. That precious discus, which was with the high-souled Krishna, has disappeared (from the world). When the time again comes, it will come back into his hands. This foremost of bows, Gandiva, was procured by me from Varuna for the use of Partha. Let it be made over to Varuna himself.'

"At this, all the brothers urged Dhananjaya to do what the deity said. He then threw into the waters (of the sea) both the bow and the couple of inexhaustible quivers. After this, O chief of Bharata's race, the god of the fire disappeared then and there. The heroic sons of Pandu next proceeded with their faces turned towards the south. Then, by the northern coast of the salt sea, those princes of Bharata's race proceeded to the south-west. Turning next towards the west, they beheld the city of Dwaraka covered by the ocean. Turning next to the north, those foremost ones proceeded on. Observant of Yoga, they were desirous of making a round of the whole Earth."

SECTION 2

Vaishampayana said: "Those princes of restrained souls and devoted to Yoga, proceeding to the north, beheld Himavat, that very large mountain. Crossing the Himavat, they beheld a vast desert of sand. They then saw the mighty mountain Meru, the foremost of all high-peaked mountains. As those mighty ones were proceeding quickly, all rapt in Yoga, Yajnaseni, falling of from Yoga, dropped down on the Earth. Beholding her fallen down, Bhimasena of great strength addressed king Yudhishthira the just, saying, 'O scorcher of foes, this princess never did any sinful act. Tell us what the cause is for which Krishna has fallen down on the Earth!'

"Yudhishthira said: 'O best of men, though we were all equal unto her she had great partiality for Dhananjaya. She obtains the fruit of that conduct today, O best of men.'"

Vaishampayana continued: "Having said this, that foremost one of Bharata's race proceeded on. Of righteous soul, that foremost of men, endued with great intelligence, went on, with mind intent on itself. Then Sahadeva of great learning fell down on the Earth. Beholding him drop down, Bhima addressed the king, saying, 'He who with great humility used to serve us all, alas, why is that son of Madravati fallen down on the Earth?'

"Yudhishthira said, 'He never thought anybody his equal in wisdom. It is for that fault that this prince has fallen down.'

Vaishampayana continued: "Having said this, the king proceeded, leaving Sahadeva there. Indeed, Kunti's son Yudhishthira went on, with his brothers and with the dog. Beholding both Krishna and the Pandava Sahadeva fallen down, the brave Nakula, whose love for kinsmen was very great, fell down himself. Upon the falling down of the heroic Nakula of great personal beauty, Bhima once more addressed the king, saying, 'This brother of ours who was endued with righteousness without incompleteness, and who always obeyed our behests, this Nakula who was unrivalled for beauty, has fallen down.'

"Thus addressed by Bhimasena, Yudhishthira, said, with respect to Nakula, these words: 'He was of righteous soul and the foremost of all persons endued with intelligence. He, however, thought that there was nobody that equalled him in beauty of person. Indeed, he regarded himself as superior to all in that respect. It is for this that Nakula has fallen down. Know this, O Vrikodara. What has been ordained for a person, O hero, must have to be endured by him.'

"Beholding Nakula and the others fall down, Pandu's son Arjuna of white steeds, that slayer of hostile heroes, fell down in great grief of heart. When that foremost of men, who was endued with the energy of Shakra, had fallen down, indeed, when that invincible hero was on the point of death, Bhima said unto the king, 'I do not recollect any untruth uttered by this high-souled one. Indeed, not even in jest did he say anything false. What then is that for whose evil consequence this one has fallen down on the Earth?'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Arjuna had said that he would consume all our foes in a single day. Proud of his heroism, he did not, however, accomplish what he had said. Hence has he fallen down. This Phalguna disregarded all wielders of bows. One desirous of prosperity should never indulge in such sentiments.'"

Vaishampayana continued: "Having said so, the king proceeded on. Then Bhima fell down. Having fallen down, Bhima addressed king Yudhishthira the just, saying, 'O king, behold, I who am thy darling have fallen down. For what reason have I dropped down? Tell me if thou knowest it.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'Thou wert a great eater, and thou didst use to boast of thy strength. Thou never didst attend, O Bhima, to the wants of others while eating. It is for that, O Bhima, that thou hast fallen down.'

"Having said these words, the mighty-armed Yudhishthira proceeded on, without looking back. He had only one companion, the dog of which I have repeatedly spoken to thee, that followed him now.

SECTION 3

Vaishampayana said: "Then Shakra, causing the firmament and the Earth to be filled by a loud sound, came to the son of Pritha on a car and asked him to ascend it. Beholding his brothers fallen on the Earth, king Yudhishthira the just said unto that deity of a 1,000 eyes these words: 'My brothers have all dropped down here. They must go with me. Without them by me I do not wish to go to Heaven, O lord of all the deities. The delicate princess (Draupadi) deserving of every comfort, O Purandara, should go with us. It behoveth thee to permit this.'

"Shakra said, 'Thou shalt behold thy brothers in Heaven. They have reached it before thee. Indeed, thou shalt see all of

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them there, with Krishna. Do not yield to grief, O chief of the Bharatas. Having cast off their human bodies they have gone there, O chief of Bharata's race. As regards thee, it is ordained that thou shalt go thither in this very body of thine.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'This dog, O lord of the Past and the Present, is exceedingly devoted to me. He should go with me. My heart is full of compassion for him.'

"Shakra said, 'Immortality and a condition equal to mine, O king, prosperity extending in all directions, and high success, and all the felicities of Heaven, thou hast won today. Do thou cast off this dog. In this there will be no cruelty.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'O thou of a 1,000 eyes. O thou that art of righteous behaviour, it is exceedingly difficult for one that is of righteous behaviour to perpetrate an act that is unrighteous. I do not desire that union with prosperity for which I shall have to cast off one that is devoted to me.'

"Indra said, 'There is no place in Heaven for persons with dogs. Besides, the (deities called) Krodhavasas take away all the merits of such persons. Reflecting on this, act, O king Yudhishthira the just. Do thou abandon this dog. There is no cruelty in this.'

"Yudhishthira said, 'It has been said that the abandonment of one that is devoted is infinitely sinful. It is equal to the sin that one incurs by slaying a Brahmana. Hence, O great Indra, I shall not abandon this dog today from desire of my happiness. Even this is my vow steadily pursued, that I never give up a person that is terrified, nor one that is devoted to me, nor one that seeks my protection, saying that he is destitute, nor one that is afflicted, nor one that has come to me, nor one that is weak in protecting oneself, nor one that is solicitous of life. I shall never give up such a one till my own life is at an end.'

"Indra said, 'Whatever gifts, or sacrifices spread out, or libations poured on the sacred fire, are seen by a dog, are taken away by the Krodhavasas. Do thou, therefore, abandon this dog. By abandoning this dog thou wilt attain to the region of the deities. Having abandoned thy brothers and Krishna, thou hast, O hero, acquired a region of felicity by thy own deeds. Why art thou so stupefied? Thou hast renounced everything. Why then dost thou not renounce this dog?' "Yudhishthira said, 'This is well known in all the worlds that there is neither friendship nor enmity with those that are dead. When my brothers and Krishna died, I was unable to revive them. Hence it was that I abandoned them. I did not, however, abandon them as long as they were alive. To frighten one that has sought protection, the slaying of a woman, the theft of what belongs to a Brahmana, and injuring a friend, each of these four, O Shakra, is I think equal to the abandonment of one that is devoted.'"

Vaishampayana continued: "Hearing these words of king Yudhishthira the just, (the dog became transformed into) the deity of Righteousness, who, well pleased, said these words unto him in a sweet voice fraught with praise.

"Dharma said: 'Thou art well born, O king of kings, and possessed of the intelligence and the good conduct of Pandu. Thou hast compassion for all creatures, O Bharata, of which this is a bright example. Formerly, O son, thou wert once examined by me in the woods of Dwaita, where thy brothers of great prowess met with (an appearance of) death. Disregarding both thy brothers Bhima and Arjuna, thou didst wish for the revival of Nakula from thy desire of doing good to thy (step-) mother. On the present occasion, thinking the dog to be devoted to thee, thou hast renounced the very car of the celestials instead of renouncing him. Hence. O king, there is no one in Heaven that is equal to thee. Hence, O Bharata, regions of inexhaustible felicity are thine. Thou hast won them, O chief of the Bharatas, and thine is a celestial and high goal.'"

Vaishampayana continued: "Then Dharma, and Shakra, and the Maruts, and the Ashvinis, and other deities, and the celestial Rishis, causing Yudhishthira to ascend on a car, proceeded to Heaven. Those beings crowned with success and capable of going everywhere at will, rode their respective cars. King Yudhishthira, that perpetuator of Kuru's race, riding on that car, ascended quickly, causing the entire welkin to blaze with his effulgence. Then Narada, that foremost of all speakers, endued with penances, and conversant with all the worlds, from amidst that concourse of deities, said these words: 'All those royal sages that are here have their achievements transcended by those of Yudhishthira. Covering all the worlds by his fame and splendour and by his wealth of conduct, he has attained to Heaven in his own (human) body. None else than the son of Pandu has been heard to achieve this.'

"Hearing these words of Narada, the righteous-souled king, saluting the deities and all the royal sages there present, said, 'Happy or miserable, whatever the region be that is now my brothers', I desire to proceed to. I do not wish to go anywhere else.'

"Hearing this speech of the king, the chief of the deities, Purandara, said these words fraught with noble sense: 'Do thou live in this place, O king of kings, which thou hast won by thy meritorious deeds. Why dost thou still cherish human affections? Thou hast attained to great success, the like of which no other man has ever been able to attain. Thy brothers, O delighter of the Kurus, have succeeded in winning regions of felicity. Human affections still touch thee. This is Heaven. Behold these celestial Rishis and Siddhas who have attained to the region of the gods.'

"Gifted with great intelligence, Yudhishthira answered the chief of the deities once more, saying, 'O conqueror of Daityas, I venture not to dwell anywhere separated from them. I desire to go there, where my brothers have gone. I wish to go there where that foremost of women, Draupadi, of ample proportions and darkish complexion and endued with great intelligence and righteous of conduct, has gone.'"

The end of Mahaprasthanika-parva

THE MAHABHARATA, BOOK 18
SVARGAROHANIKA PARVA

SECTION 1

Om! Having bowed down into Narayana, and to Nara, the foremost of men, as also to the goddess Sarasvati, should the word "Jaya" be uttered.

Janamejaya said, "Having attained to Heaven, what regions were respectively attained by my grandsires of old, viz., the Pandavas and the sons of Dhritarashtra? I desire to hear this. I think that thou art conversant with everything, having been taught by the great Rishi Vyasa of wonderful feats.

Vaishampayana said, "Listen now to what thy grandsires, Yudhishthira and others, did after having attained to Heaven, that place of the deities. Arrived at Heaven, king Yudhishthira the just, beheld Duryodhana endued with prosperity and seated on an excellent seat. He blazed with effulgence like the sun and wore all those signs of glory which belong to heroes. And he was in the company of many deities of blazing effulgence and of Sadhyas of righteous deeds. Yudhishthira, beholding Duryodhana and his prosperity, became suddenly filled with rage and turned back from the sight.

"He loudly addressed his companions, saying, 'I do not desire to share regions of felicity with Duryodhana who was stained by cupidity and possessed of little foresight. It was for him that friends, and kinsmen, over the whole Earth were slaughtered by us whom he had afflicted greatly in the deep forest. It was for him that the virtuous princess of Pancala, Draupadi of faultless features, our wife, was dragged into the midst of the assembly before all our seniors. Ye gods, I have no desire to even behold Suyodhana. I wish to go there where my brothers are.'

"Narada, smiling, told him, 'It should not be so, O king of kings. While residing in Heaven, all enmities cease. O mighty-armed Yudhishthira, do not say so about king Duryodhana. Hear my words. Here is king Duryodhana. He is worshipped with the gods by those righteous men and those foremost of kings who are now denizens of Heaven. By causing his body to be poured as a libation on the fire of battle, he has obtained the end that consists in attainment of the region for heroes. You and your brothers, who were veritable gods on Earth, were always persecuted by this one. Yet through his observance of Kshatriya practices he has attained to this region. This lord of Earth was not terrified in a situation fraught with terror.

"'O son, thou shouldst not bear in mind the woes inflicted on thee on account of the match at dice. It behoveth thee not to remember the afflictions of Draupadi. It behoveth thee not to remember the other woes which were yours in consequence of the acts of your kinsmen,—the woes, viz., that were due to battle or to other situations. Do thou meet Duryodhana now according to the ordinances of polite intercourse. This is Heaven, O lord of men. There can be no enmities here.'

"Though thus addressed by Narada, the Kuru king Yudhishthira, endued with great intelligence, enquired about his brothers and said, 'If these eternal regions reserved for heroes be Duryodhana's, that unrighteous and sinful wight, that man who was the destroyer of friends and of the whole world, that man for whose sake the entire Earth was devastated with all her horses and elephants and human beings, that wight for whose sake we were burnt with wrath in thinking of how best we might remedy our wrongs, I desire to see what regions have been attained by those high-souled heroes, my brothers of high vows, steady achievers of promises, truthful in speech, and distinguished for courage. The high-souled Karna, the son of Kunti, incapable of being baffled in battle, Dhrishtadyumna, Satyaki, the sons of Dhrishtadyumna and those other Kshatriyas who met with death in the observance of Kshatriya practices, where are those lords of Earth, O Brahmana? I do not see them here, O Narada. I desire to see, O Narada, Virata and Drupada and the other great Kshatriyas headed by Dhrishtaketu, as also Shikhandi, the Pancala prince, the sons of Draupadi, and Abhimanyu, irresistible in battle.'

SECTION 2

"Yudhishthira said, 'Ye deities, I do not see here Radha's son of immeasurable prowess, as also my high-souled brothers, and Yudhamanyu and Uttamaujas, those great car-warriors that poured their bodies (as libations) on the fire of battle, those kings and princes that met with death for my sake in battle. Where are those great car-warriors that possessed the prowess of tigers? Have those foremost of men acquired this region? If those great car-warriors have obtained these regions, then only do you know, ye gods, that I shall reside here with those high-souled ones. If this auspicious and eternal region has not been acquired by those kings, then know, ye gods, that without those brothers and kinsmen of mine, I shall not live here. At the time of performing the water rites (after the battle), I heard my mother say, 'Do thou offer oblations of water unto Karna.' Since hearing those words of my mother, I am burning with grief. I grieve also incessantly at this, ye gods, that when I marked the resemblance between the feet of my mother and those of Karna of immeasurable soul, I did not immediately place myself under orders of that afflicter of hostile ranks. Ourselves joined with Karna, Shakra himself would have been unable to vanquish in battle. Wherever may that child of Surya be, I desire to see him. Alas, his relationship with us being unknown, I caused him to be slain by Arjuna. Bhima also of terrible prowess and dearer to me than my life-breaths, Arjuna too, resembling Indra himself, the twins also that resembled the Destroyer himself in prowess, I desire to behold. I wish to see the princess of Pancala, whose conduct was always righteous. I wish not to stay here. I tell you the truth. Ye foremost ones among the deities, what is Heaven to me if I am dissociated from my brothers? That is Heaven where those brothers of mine are. This, in my opinion, is not Heaven.'

"The gods said, 'If thou longest to be there, go then, O son, without delay. At the command of the chief of the deities, we are ready to do what is agreeable to thee.'

Vaishampayana continued: Having said so, the gods then ordered the celestial messenger, O scorcher of foes, saying, 'Do thou show unto Yudhishthira his friends and kinsmen.' Then the royal son of Kunti and the celestial messenger proceeded together, O foremost of kings, to that place where those chiefs of men (whom Yudhishthira had wished to see) were. The celestial messenger proceeded first, the king followed him behind. The path was inauspicious and difficult and trodden by men of sinful deeds. It was enveloped in thick darkness, and covered with hair and moss forming its grassy vesture. Polluted with the stench of sinners, and miry with flesh and blood, it abounded with gadflies and stinging bees and gnats and was endangered by the inroads of grisly bears. Rotting corpses lay here and there. Overspread with bones and hair, it was noisome with worms and insects. It was skirted all along with a blazing fire. It was infested by crows and other birds and vultures, all having beaks of iron, as also by evil spirits with long mouths pointed like needles. And it abounded with inaccessible fastnesses like the Vindhya mountains. Human corpses were scattered over it, smeared with fat and blood, with arms and thighs cut off, or with entrails torn out and legs severed.

"Along that path so disagreeable with the stench of corpses and awful with other incidents, the righteous-souled king proceeded, filled with diverse thoughts. He beheld a river full of boiling water and, therefore, difficult to cross, as also a forest of trees whose leaves were sharp swords and razors. There were plains full of fine white sand exceedingly heated, and rocks and stones made of iron. There were many jars of iron all around, with boiling oil in them. Many a Kuta-salmalika was there, with sharp thorns and, therefore, exceedingly painful to the touch. The son of Kunti beheld also the tortures inflicted upon sinful men.

"Beholding that inauspicious region abounding with every sort of foulness, Yudhishthira asked the celestial messenger, saying, 'How far shall we proceed along a path like this? It behoveth thee to tell me where those brothers of mine are. I desire also to know what region is this of the gods?'

"Hearing these words of king Yudhishthira the just, the celestial messenger stopped in his course and replied, saying, 'Thus far is your way. The denizens of Heaven commanded me that having come thus far, I am to stop. If thou art tired, O king of kings, thou mayst return with me.'

"Yudhishthira, however, was exceedingly disconsolate and stupefied by the foul odour. Resolved to return, O Bharata, he retraced his steps. Afflicted by sorrow and grief, the righteous-souled monarch turned back. Just at that moment he heard piteous lamentations all around, 'O son of Dharma, O royal sage, O thou of sacred origin, O son of Pandu, do thou stay a moment for favouring us. At thy approach, O invincible one, a delightful breeze hath begun to blow, bearing the sweet scent of thy person. Great hath been our relief at this. O foremost of kings, beholding thee, O first of men, great hath been our happiness. O son of Pritha, let that happiness last longer through thy stay here, for a few moments more. Do thou remain here, O Bharata, for even a short while. As long as thou art here, O thou of Kuru's race, torments cease to afflict us.' These and many similar words,

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uttered in piteous voices by persons in pain, the king heard in that region, wafted to his ears from every side.

"Hearing those words of beings in woe, Yudhishthira of compassionate heart exclaimed aloud, 'Alas, how painful!' And the king stood still. The speeches of those woe-begone and afflicted persons seemed to the son of Pandu to be uttered in voices that he had heard before although he could not recognise them on that occasion.

"Unable to recognise voices, Dharma's son, Yudhishthira, enquired, saying, 'Who are you? Why also do you stay here?'

"Thus addressed, they answered him from all sides, saying, 'I am Karna!' 'I am Bhimasena!' 'I am Arjuna!' 'I am Nakula!' 'I am Sahadeva!' 'I am Dhrishtadyumna!' 'I am Draupadi!' 'We are the sons of Draupadi!' Even thus, O king, did those voices speak.

"Hearing those exclamations, O king, uttered in voices of pain suitable to that place, the royal Yudhishthira asked himself 'What perverse destiny is this? What are those sinful acts which were committed by those high-souled beings, Karna and the sons of Draupadi, and the slender-waisted princess of Pancala, so that their residence has been assigned in this region of foetid smell and great woe? I am not aware of any transgression that can be attributed to these persons of righteous deeds. What is that act by doing which Dhritarashtra's son, king Suyodhana, with all his sinful followers, has become invested with such prosperity? Endued with prosperity like that of the great Indra himself, he is highly adored. What is that act through the consequence of which these (high-souled ones) have fallen into Hell? All of them were conversant with every duty, were heroes, were devoted to truth and the Vedas; were observant of Kshatriya practices; were righteous in their acts; were performers of sacrifices; and givers of large presents unto brahmanas. Am I asleep or awake? Am I conscious or unconscious? Or, is all this a mental delusion due to disorders of the brain?'

"Overwhelmed by sorrow and grief, and with his senses agitated by anxiety, king Yudhishthira indulged in such reflections for a long time. The royal son of Dharma then gave way to great wrath. Indeed, Yudhishthira then censured the gods, as also Dharma himself. Afflicted by the very foul odour, he addressed the celestial messenger, saying, 'Return to the presence of those whose messenger thou art. Tell them that I shall not go back to where they are, but shall stay even here, since, in consequence of my companionship, these afflicted brothers of mine have become comforted.' Thus addressed by the intelligent son of Pandu, the celestial messenger returned to the place where the chief of the deities was, viz., he of a hundred sacrifices. He represented unto him the acts of Yudhishthira. Indeed, O ruler of men, he informed Indra of all that Dharma's son had said!

SECTION 3

Vaishampayana said, "King Yudhishthira the just, the son of Pritha, had not stayed there for more than a moment when, O thou of Kuru's race, all the gods with Indra at their head came to that spot. The deity of Righteousness in his embodied form also came to that place where the Kuru king was, for seeing that monarch. Upon the advent of those deities of resplendent bodies and sanctified and noble deeds, the darkness that had overwhelmed that region immediately disappeared. The torments undergone by beings of sinful deeds were no longer seen. The river Vaitarani, the thorny Salmali, the iron jars, and the boulders of rock, so terrible to behold, also vanished from sight. The diverse repulsive corpses also, which the Kuru king had seen, disappeared at the same time. Then a breeze, delicious and fraught with pleasant perfumes, perfectly pure and delightfully cool, O Bharata, began to blow on that spot in consequence of the presence of the gods. The Maruts, with Indra, the Vasus with the twin Ashvinis, the Sadhyas, the Rudras, the Adityas, and the other denizens of Heaven, as also the Siddhas and the great Rishis, all came there where Dharma's royal son of great energy was.

"Then Shakra, the lord of the deities, endued with blazing prosperity, addressed Yudhishthira and comforting him, said, 'O Yudhishthira of mighty arms, come, come, O chief of men. These illusions have ended, O puissant one. Success has been attained by thee, O mighty-armed one, and eternal regions (of felicity) have become thine. Thou shouldst not yield to wrath. Listen to these words of mine. Hell, O son, should without doubt be beheld by every king. Of both good and bad there is abundance, O chief of men. He who enjoys first the fruits of his good acts must afterwards endure Hell. He, on the other hand, who first endures Hell, must afterwards enjoy Heaven. He whose sinful acts are many enjoys Heaven first. It is for this, O king, that desirous of doing thee good, I caused thee to be sent for having a view of Hell. Thou hadst, by a pretence, deceived Drona in the matter of his son. Thou hast, in consequence thereof, been shown Hell by an act of deception. After the manner of thyself, Bhima and Arjuna, and Draupadi, have all been shown the place of sinners by an act of deception. Come, O chief of men, all of them have been cleansed of their sins. All those kings who had aided thee and who have been slain in battle, have all attained to Heaven. Come and behold them, O foremost one of Bharata's race.

"'Karna, the mighty bowman, that foremost of all wielders of weapons for whom thou art grieving, has also attained to high success. Behold, O puissant one, that foremost of men, viz., the son of Surya. He is in that place which is his own, O mighty-armed one. Kill this grief of thine, O chief of men. Behold thy brothers and others, those kings, that is, who had espoused thy side. They have all attained to their respective places (of felicity). Let the fever of thy heart be dispelled. Having endured a little misery first, from this time, O son of Kuru's race, do thou sport with me in happiness, divested of grief and all thy ailments dispelled. O mighty-armed one, do thou now enjoy, O king, the rewards of all thy deeds of righteousness of those regions which thou hast acquired thyself by thy penances and of all thy gifts. Let deities and Gandharvas, and celestial Apsaras, decked in pure robes and excellent ornaments, wait upon and serve thee for thy happiness. Do thou, O mighty-armed one, enjoy now those regions (of felicity) which have become thine through the Rajasuya sacrifice performed by thee and whose felicities have been enhanced by the sacrificial scimitar employed by thee. Let the high fruits of thy penances be enjoyed by thee. Thy regions, O Yudhishthira, are above, those of kings. They are equal to those of Hariscandra, O son of Pritha. Come, and sport there in bliss. There where the royal sage Mandhatri is, there where king Bhagiratha is, there where Dushmanta's son Bharata is, there wilt thou sport in bliss. Here is the celestial river, sacred and sanctifying the three worlds. It is called Heavenly Ganga. Plunging into it, thou wilt go to thy own regions. Having bathed in this stream, thou wilt be divested of thy human nature. Indeed, thy grief dispelled, thy ailments conquered, thou wilt be freed from all enmities.'

"While, O Kuru king, the chief of the gods was saying so unto Yudhishthira, the deity of Righteousness, in his embodied form, then addressed his own son and said, 'O king, I am greatly pleased, O thou of great wisdom, with thee, O son, by thy devotion to me, by thy truthfulness of speech, and forgiveness, and self-restraint. This, indeed, is the third test, O king, to which I put thee. Thou art incapable, O son of Pritha, of being swerved from thy nature or reason. Before this, I had examined thee in the Dwaita woods by my questions, when thou hadst come to that lake for recovering a couple of fire sticks. Thou stoodst it well. Assuming the shape of a dog, I examined thee once more, O son, when thy brothers with Draupadi had fallen down. This has been thy third test; thou hast expressed thy wish to stay at Hell for the sake of thy brothers. Thou hast become cleansed, O highly blessed one. Purified of sin, be thou happy.

O son of Pritha, thy brothers, O king, were not such as to deserve Hell. All this has been an illusion created by the chief of the gods. Without doubt, all kings, O son, must once behold Hell. Hence hast thou for a little while been subjected to this great affliction. O king, neither Arjuna, nor Bhima, nor any of those foremost of men, viz., the twins, nor Karna, ever truthful in speech and possessed of great courage, could be deserving of Hell for a long time. The princess Krishna too, O Yudhishthira, could not be deserving of that place of sinners. Come, come, O foremost one of the Bharatas, behold Ganga who spreads her current over the three worlds.'

"Thus addressed, that royal sage, viz., thy grandsire, proceeded with Dharma and all the other gods. Having bathed in the celestial river Ganga, sacred and sanctifying and ever adored by the Rishis, he cast off his human body. Assuming then a celestial form, king Yudhishthira the just, in consequence of that bath, became divested of all his enmities and grief. Surrounded by the deities, the Kuru king Yudhishthira then proceeded from that spot. He was accompanied by Dharma, and the great Rishis uttered his praises. Indeed, he reached that place where those foremost of men, those heroes, viz., the Pandavas and the Dhartarashtras, freed from (human) wrath, were enjoying each his respective status.

SECTION 4

Vaishampayana said, "King Yudhishthira, thus praised by the gods, the Maruts and the Rishis, proceeded to that place where those foremost ones of Kuru's race were. He beheld Govinda endued with his Brahma-form. It resembled that form of his which had been seen before and which, therefore, helped the recognition. Blazing forth in that form of his, he was adorned with celestial weapons, such as the terrible discus and others in their respective embodied forms. He was being adored by the heroic Phalguna, who also was endued with a blazing effulgence. The son of Kunti beheld the slayer of Madhu also in his own form. Those two foremost of Beings, adored by all the gods, beholding Yudhishthira, received him with proper honours.

"In another place, the delighter of the Kurus beheld Karna, that foremost one among all wielders of weapons, resembling a dozen Suryas in splendour. In another part he beheld Bhimasena of great puissance, sitting in the midst of the Maruts, and endued with a blazing form. He was sitting by the side of the God of Wind in his embodied form. Indeed, he was then in a celestial form endued with great beauty, and had attained to the highest success. In place belonging to the Ashvinis, the delighter of the Kurus beheld Nakula and Sahadeva, each blazing with his own effulgence.

"He also beheld the princess of Pancala, decked in garlands of lotuses. Having attained to Heaven, she was sitting there, endued with a form possessed of solar splendour. King Yudhishthira suddenly wished to question her. Then the illustrious Indra, the chief of the gods, spoke to him, 'This one is Sree herself. It was for your sake that she took birth, as the daughter of Drupada, among human beings, issuing not from any mother's womb, O Yudhishthira, endued with agreeable perfume and capable of delighting the whole world. For your pleasure, she was created by the wielder of the trident. She was born in the race of Drupada and was enjoyed by you all. These five highly blessed Gandharvas endued with the effulgence of fire, and possessed of great energy, were, O king, the sons of Draupadi and yourself.

"Behold Dhritarashtra, the king of the Gandharvas, possessed of great wisdom. Know that this one was the eldest brother of thy sire. This one is thy eldest brother, the son of Kunti, endued with effulgence of fire. The son of Surya, thy eldest brother, the foremost of men, even this one was known as the son of Radha. He moves in the company of Surya. Behold this foremost of Beings. Among the tribes of the Saddhyas, the gods, the Viswedevas, and the Maruts, behold, O king of kings, the mighty car-warriors of the Vrishnis and the Andhakas, viz., those heroes having Satyaki for their first, and those mighty ones among the Bhojas. Behold the son of Subhadra, invincible in battle, now staying with Soma. Even he is the mighty bowman Abhimanyu, now endued with the gentle effulgence of the great luminary of the night. Here is the mighty bowman Pandu, now united with Kunti and Madri. Thy sire frequently comes to me on his excellent car. Behold the royal Bhishma, the son of Santanu, now in the midst of the Vasus. Know that this one by the side of Brihaspati is thy preceptor Drona. These and other kings, O son of Pandu, who had warred on thy side now walk with the Gandharvas or Yakshas or other sacred beings. Some have attained to the status of Guhyakas, O king. Having cast off their bodies, they have conquered Heaven by the merit they had acquired through word, thought and deed.'

SECTION 5

Janamejaya said, "Bhishma and Drona, those two high-souled persons, king Dhritarashtra, and Virata and Drupada, and Sankha and Uttara. Dhrishtaketu and Jayatsena and king Satyajit, the sons of Duryodhana, and Shakuni the son of Subala, Karna's sons of great prowess, king Jayadratha, Ghatotkaca and others whom thou hast not mentioned, the other heroic kings of blazing forms—tell me for what period they remained in Heaven. O foremost of regenerate persons, was theirs an eternal place in Heaven? What was the end attained to by those foremost of men when their acts came to an end? I desire to hear this, O foremost of regenerate persons, and therefore have I asked thee. Through thy blazing penances thou seest all things.

Sauti said: Thus questioned, that regenerate Rishi, receiving the permission of the high-souled Vyasa, set himself to answer the question of the king.

Vaishampayana said, "Every one, O king of men, is not capable of returning to his own nature at the end of his deeds. Whether this is so or not, is, indeed a good question asked by thee. Hear, O king, this which is a mystery of the gods, O chief of Bharata's race. It was explained (to us) by Vyasa of mighty energy, celestial vision and great prowess, that ancient ascetic, O Kauravya, who is the son of Parasara and who always observes high vows, who is of immeasurable understanding, who is omniscient, and who, therefore knows the end attached to all acts.

"Bhishma of mighty energy and great effulgence attained to the status of the Vasus. Eight Vasus, O chief of Bharata's race, are now seen. Drona entered into Brihaspati, that foremost one of Angirasa's descendants. Hridika's son Kritavarma entered the Maruts. Pradyumna entered Sanatkumara whence he had issued. Dhritarashtra obtained the regions, so difficult of acquisition, that belong to the Lord of treasures. The famous Gandhari obtained the same regions with her husband Dhritarashtra. With his two wives, Pandu proceeded to the abode of the great Indra. Both Virata and Drupada, the king Dhrishtaketu, as also Nishatha, Akrura, Samva, Bhanukampa, and Viduratha, and Bhurishrava and Sala and king Bhuri, and Kansa, and Ugrasena, and Vasudeva, and Uttara, that foremost of men, with his brother Sankha—all these foremost of persons entered the deities. Soma's son of great prowess, named Varchas of mighty energy, became Abhimanyu, the son of Phalguna, that lion among men. Having fought, agreeably to Kshatriya practices, with bravery such as none else had ever been able to show, that mighty-armed and righteous-souled being entered Soma. Slain on the field of battle, O foremost of men, Karna entered Surya. Shakuni obtained absorption into Dwapara, and Dhrishtadyumna into the deity of fire. The sons of Dhritarashtra were all Rakshasas of fierce might. Sanctified by death caused by weapons, those high-souled

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beings of prosperity all succeeded in attaining to Heaven. Both Kshattri and king Yudhishthira entered into the god of Righteousness. The holy and illustrious Ananta (who had taken birth as Balarama) proceeded to the region below the Earth. Through the command of the Grandsire, he, aided by his Yoga power, supported the Earth. Vasudeva was a portion of that eternal god of gods called Narayana. Accordingly, he entered into Narayana. 16,000 women had been married to Vasudeva as his wives. When the time came, O Janamejaya, they, plunged into the Sarasvati. Casting off their (human) bodies there, they re-ascended to Heaven. Transformed into Apsaras, they approached the presence of Vasudeva. Those heroic and mighty car-warriors, Ghatotkaca and others, who were slain in the great battle, attained to the status, some of gods and some of Yakshas. Those that had fought on the side of Duryodhana are said to have been Rakshasas. Gradually, O king, they have all attained to excellent regions of felicity. Those foremost of men have proceeded, some to the abode of Indra, some to that of Kuvera of great intelligence, and some to that of Varuna. I have now told thee, O thou of great splendour, everything about the acts, O Bharata, of both the Kurus and the Pandavas.

Sauti said: Hearing this, ye foremost of regenerate ones, at the intervals of sacrificial rites, king Janamejaya became filled with wonder. The sacrificial priests then finished the rites that remained to be gone through. Astika, having rescued the snakes (from fiery death), became filled with joy. King Janamejaya then gratified all the Brahmanas with copious presents. Thus worshipped by the king, they returned to their respective abodes. Having dismissed those learned Brahmanas, king Janamejaya came back from Takshasila to the city named after the elephant.

I have now told everything that Vaishampayana narrated, at the command of Vyasa, unto the king at his snake sacrifice. Called a history, it is sacred, sanctifying and excellent. It has been composed by the ascetic Krishna, O Brahmana, of truthful speech. He is omniscient, conversant with all ordinances, possessed of a knowledge of all duties, endued with piety, capable of perceiving what is beyond the ken of the senses, pure, having a soul cleansed by penances, possessed of the six high attributes, and devoted to Sankhya Yoga. He has composed this, beholding everything with a celestial eye that has been cleansed (strengthened) by varied lore. He has done this, desiring to spread the fame, throughout the world, of the high-souled Pandavas, as also of other Kshatriyas possessed of abundant wealth of energy.

That learned man who recites this history of sacred days in the midst of a listening auditory becomes cleansed of every sin, conquers Heaven, and attains to the status of Brahma. Of that man who listens with rapt attention to the recitation of the whole of this Veda composed by (the Island-born) Krishna, a million sins, numbering such grave ones as Brahmanicide and the rest, are washed off. The Pitris of that man who recites even a small portion of this history at a Sraddha, obtain inexhaustible food and drink. The sins that one commits during the day by one's senses or the mind are all washed off before evening by reciting a portion of the Mahabharata. Whatever sins a Brahmana may commit at night in the midst of women are all washed off before dawn by reciting a portion of the Mahabharata.

The high race of the Bharatas is its topic. Hence it is called Bharata. And because of its grave import, as also of the Bharatas being its topic, it is called Mahabharata. He who is versed in interpretations of this great treatise, becomes cleansed of every sin. Such a man lives in righteousness, wealth, and pleasure, and attains to Emancipation also, O chief of Bharata's race.

That which occurs here occurs elsewhere. That which does not occur here occurs nowhere else. This history is known by the name of Jaya. It should be heard by every one desirous of Emancipation. It should be read by Brahmanas, by kings, and by women quick with children. He that desires Heaven attains to Heaven; and he that desires victory attains to victory. The woman quick with child gets either a son or a daughter highly blessed. The puissant Island-born Krishna, who will not have to come back, and who is Emancipation incarnate, made an abstract of the Bharata, moved by the desire of aiding the cause of righteousness. He made another compilation consisting of sixty lakhs of verses. Thirty lakhs of these were placed in the region of the deities. In the region of the Pitris fifteen lakhs, it should be known, are current; while in that of the Yakshas fourteen lakhs are in vogue. One lakh is current among human beings.

Narada recited the Mahabharata to the gods; Asita-Devala to the Pitris; Suka to the Rakshasas and the Yakshas; and Vaishampayana to human beings. This history is sacred, and of high import, and regarded as equal to the Vedas. That man, O Saunaka, who hears this history, placing a Brahmana before him, acquires both fame and the fruition of all his wishes. He who, with fervid devotion, listens to a recitation of the Mahabharata, attains (hereafter) to high success in consequence of the merit that becomes his through understanding even a very small portion thereof. All the sins of that man who recites or listens to this history with devotion are washed off.

In former times, the great Rishi Vyasa, having composed this treatise, caused his son Suka to read it with him, along with these four Verses. —Thousands of mothers and fathers, and hundreds of sons and wives arise in the world and depart from it. Others will (arise and) similarly depart. There are thousands of occasions for joy and hundreds of occasions for fear. These affect only him that is ignorant but never him that is wise. With uplifted arms I am crying aloud but nobody hears me. From Righteousness is Wealth as also Pleasure. Why should not Righteousness, therefore, be courted? For the sake neither of pleasure, nor of fear, nor of cupidity should any one cast off Righteousness. Indeed, for the sake of even life one should not cast off Righteousness. Righteousness is eternal. Pleasure and Pain are not eternal. Jiva is eternal. The cause, however, of Jiva's being invested with a body is not so.

That man who, waking up at dawn, reads this Savittri of the Bharata, acquires all the rewards attached to a recitation of this history and ultimately attains to the highest Brahma. As the sacred Ocean, as the Himavat mountain, are both regarded as mines of precious gems, even so is this Bharata (regarded as a mine of precious gems). The man of learning, by reciting to others this Veda or Agama composed by (the Island-born) Krishna, earns wealth. There is no doubt in this that he who, with rapt attention, recites this history called Bharata, attains to high success. What need has that man of a sprinkling of the waters of Pushkara who attentively listens to this Bharata, while it is recited to him? It represents the nectar that fell from the lips of the Island-born. It is immeasurable, sacred, sanctifying, sin-cleansing, and auspicious.

SECTION 6

Janamejaya said, "O holy one, according to what rites should the learned listen to the Bharata? What are the fruits (acquirable by hearing it)? What deities are to be worshipped during the several paranas? What should be the gifts that one should make, O holy one, at every parva or sacred day (during the continuance of the recitation)? What should be the qualification of the reciter to be engaged? Tell me all this!

Vaishampayana said, "Hear, O king, what the procedure is, and what the fruits, O Bharata, are that will spring from one's listening (to a recitation of the Bharata). Even this, O king of kings, is what thou askest me. The deities of Heaven, O ruler of Earth, came to this world for sport. Having achieved their task, they ascended once more to Heaven. Listen to what I shall tell thee in brief. In the Mahabharata is to be found the births of Rishis and deities on the Earth. In this treatise, called Bharata, O foremost one of Bharata's race, are to be seen in one place the eternal Rudras, the Saddhyas, and the Viswedevas; the Adityas, the two deities named the Ashvinis, the regents of the World, the great Rishis, the Guhyakas, the Gandharvas, the Nagas, the Vidyadharas, the Siddhas, the diverse deities, the Self-born visible in a body, with many ascetics; the Hills and Mountains, Oceans and Seas and Rivers, the diverse tribes of Apsaras; the Planets, the Years, the Half-years, and the Seasons; and the whole universe of mobile and immobile entities, with all the gods and Asuras.

"Hearing their celebrity, and in consequence of a recitation of their names and achievements, a man that has committed even terrible sins, will be cleansed. Having, with a concentrated soul and cleansed body, heard this history duly, from the beginning, and having reached its end, one should make Sraddha offerings, O Bharata, unto those (foremost of persons who have been mentioned in it). Unto the Brahmanas also, O chief of Bharata's race, should, with due devotion and according to one's power, be made large gifts and diverse kinds of gems, and kine, and vessels of white brass for milking kine, and maidens decked with every ornament, and possessed of every accomplishment suited to enjoyment, as also diverse kinds of conveyances, beautiful mansions, plots of land, and cloths. Animals also should be given, such as horses and elephants in rage, and beds, and covered conveyances borne on the shoulders of men, and well-decked cars. Whatever objects occur in the house, of the foremost kind, whatever wealth of great value occurs in it, should be given away unto Brahmanas. Indeed, one should give away one's own self, wives, and children.

"One desirous of hearing the Bharata, should hear it without a doubting heart, with cheerfulness and joy; and as, he proceeds listening to its recitation, he should according to the extent of his power, make gifts with great devotion.

"Hear how a person that is devoted to truth and sincerity, that is self-restrained, pure (in mind), and observant of those acts which lead to purity of body, that is endued with faith, and that has subjugated wrath, attains to success (in the matter of a recitation of the Bharata). He should appoint as reciter one that is pure (of body), that is endued with good and pious conduct, that should be robed in white, that should have a complete mastery over his passions, that is cleansed of all offences, that is conversant with every branch of learning, that is endued with faith, that is free from malice, that is possessed of handsome features, that is blessed, self-restrained, truthful, and with passions under control, and that is beloved of all for the gifts he makes and the honours of which he is the possessor.

"The reciter, seated at his ease, free from all bodily complaints, and with rapt attention, should recite the text without too much slowness, without a labouring voice, without being fast or quick, quietly, with sufficient energy, without confusing the letters and words together, in a sweet intonation and with such accent and emphasis as would indicate the sense giving full utterance to the three and sixty letters of the alphabet from the eight places of their formation. Bowing unto Narayana, and to Nara, that foremost of men, as also to the goddess Sarasvati, should the word Jaya be uttered.

"Listening to the Bharata, O king, when recited, O thou of Bharata's race, by a reader of this kind, the listener, observant of vows all the while and cleansed by purificatory rites, acquires valuable fruits. When the first Parana is reached, the hearer should gratify Brahmanas with presents of all desirable objects. By doing this, one obtains the fruits of the Agnishtoma sacrifice. He acquires a large (celestial) car teeming with diverse orders of Apsaras (that wait upon him). With a glad heart, and with the deities in his company, he proceeds to Heaven, his heart rapt (in felicity).

"When the second Parana is reached, the hearer acquires the fruits of the Atiratra vow. Indeed, he ascends a celestial car made entirely of precious gems. Wearing celestial garlands and robes, and decked with celestial unguents and always shedding a celestial fragrance around, he receives high honours in Heaven.

"When the third Parana is reached, he acquires the fruits of the Dwadasaha vow. Indeed be resides in Heaven for myriads of years, like a god.

"At the fourth Parana he acquires the fruits of the Vajapeya sacrifice.

"At the fifth, twice those fruits are his. Ascending a celestial car that resembles the rising sun or a blazing fire, and with the deities for his companions, he goes to Heaven and sports in felicity for myriads of years in the abode of Indra.

"At the sixth Parana, twice, and at the seventh, thrice those fruits become his. Ascending a celestial car that resembles the summit of the Kailasa mountains (in beauty), that is equipt with an altar made of stones of lapis lazuli and other precious gems, that is surrounded by beautiful objects of diverse kinds, that is decked with gems and corals, that moves at the will of the rider, and that teems with waiting Apsaras, he roves through all the regions of felicity, like a second deity of the Sun.

"At the eight Parana, he acquires the fruits of the Rajasuya sacrifice. He ascends a car as beautiful as the rising moon, and unto which are yoked steeds white as the rays of the moon and endued with the speed of thought. He is served by women of the foremost beauty and whose faces are more charming than the moon. He hears the music of the garlands that encircle their waists and the Nupuras encircling their ankles. Sleeping with his head resting on the laps of women of transcendent beauty, he awakes greatly refreshed.

"At the ninth Parana, he acquires, O Bharata, the fruits of that foremost of sacrifices, viz., the Horse-sacrifice. Ascending on a car equipt with a chamber consisting of a top supported by columns of gold, furnished with a seat made of stones of lapis lazuli, with windows on all sides made of pure gold, and teeming with waiting Apsaras and Gandharvas and other celestials, he blazes forth in splendour. Wearing celestial garlands and robes, and decked with celestial unguents, he sports in bliss, with deities for his companions, in Heaven, like a second deity himself.

"Reaching the tenth Parana and gratifying Brahmanas, he acquires a car which tinkles with innumerable bells, which is decked with flags and banners, which is equipt with a seat made of precious gems, which has many arches made of lapis lazuli, which has a net-work of gold all round, which has turrets made of corals, which is adorned with Gandharvas and Apsaras well-skilled in singing, and which is fit for the residence of the Righteous. Crowned with a diadem of the complexion of fire, decked with ornaments of gold, his person smeared with celestial sandalpaste, garnished with celestial wreaths, he roves through all celestial regions, enjoying all celestial objects of enjoyment, and endued with great splendour, through the grace of the deities.

"Thus accoutred, he receives high honours in Heaven for many long years. With Gandharvas in his company, for full 21,000 years, he sports in bliss with Indra himself in abode of Indra. He roves at pleasure every day through the diverse regions of the gods, riding on celestial cars and conveyances, and surrounded by celestial damsels of transcendent beauty. He is able to go to the abode of the solar deity, of the lunar deity, and of Siva, O king. Indeed, he succeeds in living in the same region with Vishnu himself. It is even so, O monarch. There is no doubt in this. A person listening with faith, becomes even so. My preceptor has said this. Unto the reciter should be given all such objects as he may wish. Elephants and steeds and cars and conveyances, especially animals and the vehicles they draw, a bracelet of gold, a pair of ear-rings,

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sacred threads, beautiful robes, and perfumes in especial (should be given). By worshipping him as a deity one attains to the regions of Vishnu.

"After this I shall declare what should be given away, as each parva is reached of the Bharata in course of its recitation, unto brahmanas, after ascertaining their birth, country, truthfulness, and greatness, O chief of Bharata's race, as also their inclination for piety, and unto kshatriyas too, O king, after ascertainment of similar particulars. Causing the Brahmanas to utter benedictions, the business of recitation should be begun. When a parva is finished, the brahmanas should be worshipped to the best of one's power. At first, the reciter, clad in good robes and smeared with perfumed paste, should, O king, be duly fed with honey and frumenty of the best kind.

"When the Astika-parva is being recited, brahmanas should be entertained with fruits and roots, and frumenty, and honey and clarified butter, and rice boiled with raw sugar.

"When the Sabha-parva is being recited, brahmanas should be fed with habisya along with apupas and pupas and modakas, O king.

"When the Aranyaka-parva is being recited, superior brahmanas should be fed with fruits and roots.

"When the Arani-parva is reached, water-pots full of water should be given away. Many superior kinds of delicious food, also rice and fruits and roots, and food possessed of every agreeable attribute, should be presented unto the brahmanas.

"During the recitation of the Virata-parva diverse kinds of robes should be given away; and during that of the Udyoga-parva, O chief of the Bharatas, the twice-born ones, after being decked with perfumes and garlands, should be entertained with food possessed of every agreeable quality.

"During the recitation of the Bhishma-parva, O king of kings, after giving them excellent cars and conveyances, food should be given that is pure and well-cooked and possessed of every desirable attribute.

"During the Drona-parva food of very superior kind should be given to learned brahmanas, as also beds, O monarch, and bows and good swords.

"During the recitation of the Karna-parva, food of the foremost kind, besides being pure and well-cooked, should be presented unto the brahmanas by the house-holder with rapt mind.

"During the recitation of the Shalya-parva, O king of kings, food with confectionery and rice boiled with raw sugar, as also cakes of wheat and soothing and nutritive viands and drinks should be presented.

"During the recitation of the Gada-parva, brahmanas should be entertained with food mixed with mudga.

"During the recitation of the Stri-parva, foremost of brahmanas should be entertained with gems and precious stones; and during the recitation of the Aishika-parva, rice boiled in ghee should first be given, and then food pure and well-cooked, and possessed of every desirable quality, should be presented.

"During the recitation of the Shanti-parva, the brahmanas should be fed with havisya.

"When the Asvamedhika-parva is reached, food possessed of every agreeable quality should be given; and when the Asramvasika is reached, brahmanas should be entertained with havisya.

"When the Mausala is reached, scents and garlands possessed of agreeable qualities should be given away.

"During the Mahaprasthanika, similar presents should be made, possessed of every quality of an agreeable kind.

"When the Svarga-parva is reached, the brahmanas should be fed with havisya.

"Upon the conclusion of the Harivansa, a 1,000 brahmanas should be fed. Unto each of them should be presented a cow accompanied with a piece of gold. Half of this should be presented to each poor man, O king.

"Upon the conclusion of all the Parvas, the house-holder of wisdom should give unto the reciter a copy of the Mahabharata with a piece of gold. When the Harivansa Parva is being recited, Brahmanas should be fed with frumenty at each successive Parana, O king. Having finished all the Parvas, one versed in the scriptures, robing himself in white, wearing garlands, decked with ornaments, and properly purified, should place a copy of the Mahabharata on an auspicious spot and cover it with a piece of silken cloth and worship it, according to due rites, with scents and garlands, offering each at a time. Indeed, O king, the several volumes of this treatise should be worshipped by one with devotion and concentrated mind. Offerings should be made unto them of diverse kinds of food and garlands and drinks and diverse auspicious articles of enjoyment. Gold and other precious metals should be given as Dakshina. The names should then be taken of all the deities as also of Nara and Narayana. Then, adorning the persons of some foremost of Brahmanas with scents and garlands, they should be gratified with diverse kinds of gifts of enjoyable and very superior or costly articles. By doing this, one attains to the merits of the Atiratra sacrifice. Indeed, at each successive Parva, he acquires the merits that attach to the performance of a sacrifice. The reciter, O chief of the Bharatas, should be possessed of learning and endued with a good voice and a clear utterance respecting both letters and words. Even such a man should, O chief of the Bharatas, recite the Bharata. After entertaining a number of foremost Brahmanas, presents should be made unto them according to the ordinances. The reciter also, O chief of the Bharatas, should be decked with ornaments and fed sumptuously. The reciter being gratified, the house-holder attains to an excellent and auspicious contentment. If the Brahmanas are gratified, all the deities are gratified. After this, O chief of the Bharatas, Brahmanas should be duly entertained with diverse kinds of enjoyable articles and superior things.

"I have thus indicated the ordinances, O foremost of men, (about the manner of reciting these scriptures) in answer to thy enquiries. Thou shouldst observe them with faith. In listening to a recitation of the Bharata and at each Parana, O best of kings, one that desires to attain to the highest good should listen with the greatest care and attention. One should listen to the Bharata every day. One should proclaim the merits of the Bharata every day. One in whose house the Bharata occurs, has in his hands all those scriptures which are known by the name of Jaya. The Bharata is cleansing and sacred. In the Bharata are diverse topics. The Bharata is worshipped by the very gods. The Bharata is the highest goal. The Bharata, O chief of the Bharatas, is the foremost of all scriptures. One attains to Emancipation through the Bharata. This that I tell thee is certain truth. One that proclaims the merits of this history called the Mahabharata, of the Earth, of the cow, of Sarasvati (the goddess of speech), of Brahmanas, and of Keshava, has never to languish.

"In the Vedas, in the Ramayana, and in the sacred Bharata, O chief of Bharata's race, Hari is sung in the beginning, the middle, and at the end. That in which occur excellent statements relating to Vishnu, and the eternal Srutis, should be listened to by men desirous of attaining to the highest goal. This treatise is sanctifying. This is the highest indicator as regards duties; this is endued with every merit. One desirous of prosperity should listen to it. Sins committed by means of the body, by means of words, and by means of the mind, are all destroyed (through listening to the Bharata) as Darkness at sunrise. One devoted to Vishnu acquires (through this) that merit which is acquired by listening to the eighteen Puranas. There is no doubt in this. Men and women (by listening to this) would certainly attain to the status of Vishnu. Women desirous of having children should certainly listen to this which proclaims the fame of Vishnu. One desirous of attaining to the fruits that attach to a recitation of the Bharata should, according to one's power, give unto the reciter Dakshina, as also an honorarium in gold. One desirous of one's own good should give unto the reciter a Kapila cow with horns cased in gold and accompanied by her calf, covered with a cloth. Ornaments, O chief of Bharata's race, for the arms, as also those for the ears, should be given. Besides these, other kinds of wealth should be presented. Unto the reciter, O king of men, gift of land should be made. No gift like that of land could ever be or will be. The man that listens (to the Bharata) or that recites it to other people, becomes cleansed of all his sins and attains at last to the status of Vishnu. Such a man rescues his ancestors to the eleventh degree, as also himself with his wives and sons, O chief of Bharata's race. After concluding a recitation of the Bharata, one should, O king, perform a Homa with all its ten parts.

"I have thus, O chief of men, told everything in thy presence. He that listens with devotion to this Bharata from the beginning becomes cleansed of every sin even if he be guilty of Brahmanicide or the violation of his preceptor's bed, or even if he be a drinker of alcohol or a robber of other people's wares, or even if he be born in the Chandala order. Destroying all his sins like the maker of day destroying darkness, such a man, without doubt, sports in felicity in the region of Vishnu like Vishnu himself."

The End of the Svargarohanika-parva

The Eighteen parvas of the Mahabharata are thus completed

THE HARIVAMSHA

The Lineage of Hari (Krishna)
Genealogy of the God Hari
Also known as the "19th Book of the Mahabharata"
Author: Krishna-Dwaipayana, aka: Veda Vyasa
Elysium Press, H. C. Dass, Calcutta
Translated Literally Into English Prose.
Translation: Manmatha Nath Dutt, 1897
Estimated Range of Dating: 200 B.C. - 500 A.D.

(The Harivamsa (Sanskrit, literally: "the lineage of Hari;" also: Harivamsha or Harivansha) is an important work of Sanskrit literature. The text is also known as the Harivamsa Purana and is traditionally ascribed to Vyasa. This text is believed to be a khila (appendix or supplement) to the Mahabharata due to a commentary of the Mahabharata by 17th century scholar Neelakantha Chaturdhara. The Harivamsa is divided into three parvas (books): 1. The Harivamsa Parva; 2. The Vishnu Parva; 3. The Bhavishya Parva. The Harivamsa of Veda Vyasa contains roughly 16,000 Sanskrit metrical verses (slokas) and consists of three sections (Harivamsa-parva, Vishnu-parva and Bhavishya-parva).

While the Harivamsa has been regarded as an important source of information on the origin of Vishnu's incarnation Krishna, there has been speculation as to whether this text was derived from an earlier text and what its relationship is to the Brahma Purana, another text that deals with the origins of Krishna. Harivamsha consists of the life and miracles of Lord Krishna together with an account of his family. Any impartial student, of Mahabharata and other authentic writings regarding his life, will admit that he was a real historical personage—a man of wonderful power and superhuman intellect. He was a great politician and a great prophet. Such a combination is rare in the history of men. If the battle of Kurukshetra is a historical incident which many inscriptions prove we fail to see why the central figure should not be a historical character. Lord Krisna is a grand figure in the history of the Hindus. Scholars have even been arguing in their respective works that the history of life and miracles of Christ have been borrowed from those of Indian Krishna. We know that Hindus and Buddhist traveled to the Holy Land, to Egypt, and even to Greece. In their discourses with philosophers in the West, they might have left their mark or not. The Harivamsha is an account of the life and family of this Greatest Prophet of the Hindus.

The account of Krishna's early life and some of his miracles are merely the counterparts of the same in Vishnupuran. Thus it is evident that though this work is not included in the list of Puranas it is in reality one of them written with the same object and in the same style. It is called a sequel of the Mahabharata only because it gives a profuse account of what has been left off in that work. The greatest interest however lies in the fact that it gives an elaborate account of the life of Lord Krishna and as such it is always regarded as an authority.

The text is complex, containing layers that may go back to the 4th or 3rd centuries BC. Some editings of the text might have taken place up to the 5th century AD. The various episodes of these works passed orally from one generation to another for centuries before they were committed to writing in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. And even after this many interpolations had been added by various writers in the shape of references to contemporaneous events. The ancient Hindu writers were so very modest that they never liked the idea of making their names known as authors. Many works written by those unknown writers passed in the names of their Gurus or spiritual guides. Thus from internal evidence it is not safe to make any attempt for the determination of date or authorship. From the evidence of style, the treatment of subject matter, the account of Creation and Patriarchal families it is clear, that Harivamsa, although it is a sequel to the Mahabharata, was written long after that great work. If it was not written in the same period when the Puranas were composed it was not at least written earlier. Although officially not mentioned as one of the Puranas, it is an epic story resembling such works including topics on creation, geology, time, ancient history and accounts of royal dynasties.)

THE HARIVAMSHA BOOK 1 - HARIVAMSA PARVA
THE PRELUDE.

Salutation unto Ganesha [The deity Ganesha, according to the Hindus, confers the accomplishment of all objects. It is customary with them to offer him worship at the beginning of every ceremony.]. Salutation unto Veda Vyasa [Vyasa is a generic term meaning compiler. Here it refers to the person who arranged the Vedas and compiled the Puranas.]. Having saluted Narayana and the best of male beings Nara as well as the goddess of learning Saraswati let us cry success. What is the use of bathing at the sacred shrine of Pushkara [It is a lake situated in the District of Ajmir, Marwar, where thousands of pilgrims resort every year for bathing.] for him who listens to the recitation of the Mahabharata, dropped off the lips of Dwaipayana, wondrous, destructive of sins, auspicious and highly sacred. May Vyasa, the son of Paraçara and the delighter of Satyavati, be crowned with success, from whose lotus mouth the wordy ambrosia has come down which the world drinks. He, who listens to the sacred theme of Bharata, acquires the same fruit with him who makes a gift of a hundred kine with golden horns unto a Brahmana conversant with the Vedas and many Srutis. By making a gift of Harivamsha a man acquires far more everlasting piety than what is acquired by the celebration of a hundred horse sacrifices, or by the distribution of inexhaustive food, or by doing what secures the dignity of Indra. This has been recounted by the great Rishi Vyasa. This bestows the same fruit as is given by Bajpeya [A particular sacrifice at which the acetous fermentation of meat and water is drunk by the gods.] or Rajashuya [A sacrifice at which all the tributary kings assemble to pay homage to their Emperor.] Yagnas or by

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making a gift of a car with elephants. Vyasa's word is the proof hereof and this has also been said by the great Rishi Valmiki. The great ascetic, who duly commits to writing Harivamsha, speedily approaches the lotus-feet of Hari like a bee moving towards a lotus, drawn by the smell of honey. I consider Dwaipayana as the supreme cause of all, who is the sixth in descent from Brahma, who is a Rishi endued with eternal spiritual greatness, who has descended from a portion of Narayana and who has only Suka for his son.

CHAPTER 1. AN ACCOUNT OF THE PRIMEVAL CREATION

Having saluted Hari, the master of senses and the preceptor or the mobile and immobile, the Prime Purusha Icana, who is eulogised and propitiated with oblations by many in sacrifices, who is real, who is Brahman, shorn of all attachments, is both manifest and not manifest, who does exist for ever, who is above the real and unreal and from whom has emanated this universe, visible and invisible, who is above all, the creator of all, ancient, great and undecaying; who is joy and the giver of joy, who is Vishnu, the worshipful of all, sinless and pure, the virtuous-souled great Muni Kulapati* Sounaka, well-read in all scriptures, said to Souti in the forest of Naimisha. [* The head of the family of Rishis of the same name.]

Sounakla said:—O Souti, you have recounted the great history of the descendants of Bharata as well as that of other kings; of the gods, demons, Gandharvas, serpents, Rakshasas, Daityas, Siddhas and of Guhyakas as well (5-6). You have described in sweet words the most excellent and sacred Purana, dealing with their wondrous deeds, heroic feats and religious practices and their births. This nectarine theme, affording pleasure unto the mind and ears, O Souti, has given us satisfaction. O son of Lomaharshana, while describing the birth and history of the Kurus, you forgot to narrate the history of Vrishnis and Andhakas. [Two clans representing two royal families of ancient India.] It becomes you to relate their history.

Souti said:—I shall now relate to you the story of the birth of Vrishnis from the very beginning about which the pious disciples of Vyasa, Vaishampayana was accosted by Janamejaya. Hearing the complete history of the descendants of Bharata, the highly wise Janamejaya, born in their race, said to Vaishampayana.

Janemejaya said:—You described before in full and I heard the story of Mahabharata full of many meanings and Historical accounts. Therein you mentioned the names and deeds of many mighty car-warriors and heroes of the Vrishni and Andhaka families. O foremost of the twice born, you have described briefly and fully their many excellent deeds. Though this ancient story has been recounted again and again, still I have not been satiated with it. The Pandavas and Vrishnis are related to each other; you are competent enough to describe their families and you have with your own eyes seen everything. Therefore, O you having asceticism for your wealth, do you describe their family at length. I wish to know who were born in which families. Therefore, O great ascetic, beginning with the Patriarch and recollecting their previous creations, do you describe truly everything at length.

Souti said:—Having been welcomed and accosted by him, the high-souled ascetic of rigid austerities described in full the whole story from the very beginning.

Vaishampayana said:—Listen, O king, to the sacred theme, as narrated by me, heavenly, destructive of sins, wonderful and abounding in various meanings and sacred stories. He, who circulates this story or listens to it constantly, multiplies his own family and is spoken high of in the celestial region. This universe, permeated by Isvara (God), emanated from Pradhana Purusha who is the unmanifest cause, eternal and identical with the existent and non-existent. Know him, O monarch, as Brahma (Creator) of incomparable energy, the creator of all beings and ever devoted to Narayana (Vishnu). From Mahat has emanated Ahankara; from the latter the five subtle elements have sprung and from them the grosser elements: thus the eternal work of creation is carried on. [According to Sankhya, Mahat is the intellect. It is the intellectual principle which appertains to individual beings. Ahankara is self consciousness or the consciousness of ego. The five subtle elements are Akasa or ether, air, fire, water and earth. By them are produced the four kinds of grosser elements such as Viviparous born from the womb as man and other animals; oviparous, or born of the egg as birds, fishes and serpents; those engendered by heat and damp as insects and worms; and those springing from the earth—as vegetables, trees etc.] Hear, I shall relate as I have heard and as I think, of the long extending genealogies of families increasing the glory of their fore-fathers. The account of these pious men of everlasting glory always gives fruit and leads to the multiplication of race and attainment of heaven. On account of this theme being fruitful and because you are competent to hear it and are pure I shall relate, to you, beginning with the family of Vrishnis the most excellent creation of beings.

Thereupon desirous of creating various creatures the Divine Self-sprung (Brahma) at first created waters and then created seeds therein. The waters are designated as Nara for they are the offspring of Nara. The deity first rested thereon and is therefore called Narayana. The egg, lying in the waters, assumed golden hue—from that sprang Brahma, of his own accord and he is (therefore) called Self-sprung. Having lived there for many years the divine Hiranyagarbha divided the egg into two and they were called the heaven and earth. The Lord created Akasa or space between the two portions and in the waters he created the floating earth and the ten quarters. There-upon desirous of creating the Patriarchs or lords of creation he created time, mind, speech, passion, anger and desire). The highly effulgent deity then created his seven mind-born sons—Marichi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and Vashistha.. These seven have been ascertained as Brahmanas in the Puranas. These seven created by Brahma, are like Narayana himself. There-upon Brahma created Rudra born of his anger and Sanat Kumar, the predecessor of those born before. O descendant of Bharata, these seven and Rudra engaged in the work of creation. Skanda and Sanat Kumar sustained the energy of creation. Their seven great families consisted of Yakshas, Pishachas, the celestials and others who all performed heavenly deeds and created progeny and were adorned with Kaçyapa and other leading saints. He then created lightning, thunderbolt, the straight and bent rainbows, the rangers of the sky and clouds. He, then for the successful celebration of Paynas, created Riks, Yuyush and Saman; he then created the gods from his mouth and the ancestral manes from his breast. He then engendered human beings from his organ of generation and from his hips the Asuras, Sadhyas and other classes of gods. This we have heard. From the body of the Patriarch Vashishtha when he was desirous of creating progeny, sprang the various kinds of elemental creations. When the progeny, created by his mind, did not multiply he divided his own body into two and with the half he created man. With the other half he created woman and through her he engendered various kinds of progeny. He resides enveloping the heaven and earth with his own glory. Vishnu created a universal form which again created a Purusha: You should know him as Manu and his regeme is known as Manwantara. The second creation of Washishtha is called Manwantara. The great Virat Purusha created the progeny. He is the creation of Narayana and his progeny are not born in any sex. Having known this primaeval creation a man gains longevity, fame, wealth, progeny and his wished-for region.

CHAPTER 2. THE ORIGIN OF MEN: THE BIRTH OF DAKSHA.

Vaishampayana said:—When the work of his creation of progeny was complete the Patriarch Vashishtha obtained Shatarupa, not born of a woman, as his spouse. While he resided covering the etherial region, he created Shatarupa, O monarch, by his greatness and Yoga power. Having carried on rigid austerities for a million of years she obtained her husband of burning asceticism. That Purusha, O my child, is called Swayambhuva Manu. His own Manwantara in this world consists of seventy-one Yugas. The Universal Purusha begat on Shatarupa a son by name Veera who begat on Kamya two sons by name Pryavrata and Uttanapada. Kamya, the daughter of the Patriarch Kardama, gave birth to four sons, O you of large arms, namely Samrat, Kukshi, Virat, and Prabhu. Obtaining Pryavrata as her husband she gave birth to them The Patriarch Atri adopted Uttanapada as his son. Sunrita gave birth to four sons through Uttanapada. The youthful daughter of Dharma was known as Sunrita. She originated from a horse sacrifice and that pure damsel was the mother of Dhruva. The Patriarch Uttanapada begat on Sunrita, four sons by name, Dhruva, Kirtiman, Ayushman, and Vasu. O descendant of Bharata, O monarch, with a view to obtain the great Brahman, Vishnu, Dhruva carried on hard austerities for three thousand celestial years. Being propitiated the Patriarch Brahma conferred on him a permanent region, peerless on earth, in the front of the region of the seven Rishis. Beholding his great prosperity and greatness the preceptor of the gods and demons, (Ushana) sang the following hymn. "Oh, wonderful is his energy of asceticism, knowledge of scriptures and prowess, placing whom before them the seven Rishis are living". From Dhruva were born Shlishthi, Bhavya and Shumbha. Shlishthi begat on Suchaya seven sinless sons. They were Ripu, Ripunjaya, Pushpa, Vrikala and Vrikateja. Ripu begat on Vrihati, a son, gifted with all energies, by the name of Chakshusha. The noble Chakshusha begat Muni on Pushkarini, a mother of heroes and the daughter of the Patriarch Aranya. O foremost of Bharatas, Muni begat ten highly powerful sons on Nadvala, the daughter of the Patriarch Vairaj, Uru, Puru, Shata dyumna, Tapaswi, Satyavan, Kavi, Agnistut and Atiratra; and Sudyumna was the ninth. The tenth was Abhimanyu; these were the sons of Nadvala. Uru begat on Agneyi six highly powerful sons-Anga, Sumanas, Swati, Kratu, Angiras and Gaya. Anga begat only one son on Sunitha, by name Vena. By the irregularities of Vena (the Rishis) were highly irritated. For creating progeny the Rishis churned his right arm. When Vena's right arm was churned by the ascetics, therefrom originated Prithu. Seeing him the Rishis said in delight, "This highly powerful one will delight his subjects and will attain to fame". As if burning all with his energy he took his birth with a bow and a coat of mail [Also called chain mal coat. [Chain mail armour is mentioned in the Zend Avesta, the scripture of the Zoroastrians, as well as by Diodorus (5,30:3), Strabo (2, 3:6), and others, all mention that the Celts used chainmail. The earliest examples of surviving mail were found in the Carpathian Basin at a burial in Horny Jatov, Slovakia dated at 3rd century BC, and in a chieftain's burial located in Ciumesti, Romania, dated 280/277 – 175 BC (Horedt 1973:32, 2006:43). Chain mail coats, or "coats of mail" are distinctively first mentioned in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata that date back to the 5th and the 4th century BC, respectively. It could mean that mail armour was invented in India.] Born first in the race of Kshatriyas, Vena's son Prithu protected this earth. That lord of the earth was the first born of those who are sprinkled with water at the Rajshuya sacrifices. For him were born Suta and Magadha, experts in singing the glories of kings. O descendant of Bharata, to give livelihood to his subjects by him the earth was milched for corns in the company of the gods, Rishis, the ancestral manes, Danavas, Gandharvas, Apsaras, serpents, Guyakas, creepers and mountains (25–26). When milched the earth gave wished-for milk in their respective vessels; by it they maintain their lives. Two sons, conversant with religion, were born to Prithu, Antardhi and Palita. Antardhi begat Havirdhana on Shikhandin. Havirdhana begat on Agneyidhishana six sons—Prachina varhis, Sukra, Gaya, Krishna, Vraja and Ajina. Thus O monarch, Prachinavarhis, gifted with great spiritual power, was born of Havirdhana. He was a great Patriarch and multiplied the progeny. O Janamejaya, the tips, of the Kuça grass in his sacrificial ground, were directed towards the east and they covered the entire earth. And therefore he was celebrated by the name of Prachinavarhis. Having carried on great austerities that king espoused Savarna the daughter of the ocean, who gave birth to ten sons for Prachinavarhis who were all called Prachetas and had mastered the science of archery. Observing the same religion and lying in the waters of the ocean they carried on great austerities for ten thousand years.

When the Prachetas were engaged in carrying on penances the trees covered the unprotected earth and so the creatures were being destroyed. The wind could not blow and the sky was covered with trees. The creatures could set forth no exertion for ten thousand years. Perceiving this and getting angry all those Prachetas, observant of rigid austerities, created air and fire from their mouths. Having uprooted those trees the wind dried them up and the fire then burnt them up—thus their was a dreadful destruction of trees. Informed of the destruction of trees and when a few plants still survived the king Soma, approaching the Patriarchs, said. "O Ye kings of the family of Prachinavarhis, do ye control your anger. The earth is shorn of trees and so let fire and air be pacified. This beautiful daughter of the trees is like a jewel. Knowing the future I begat her. This girl is called Marisha and is created for the trees. Let this great one, multiplying the race of Soma, be your wife. By the half of your energy and that of mine, your son, the Patriarch Daksha will be born of her. That one, effulgent like fire, will multiply the creation well-nigh destroyed by your fire-like energy".

Thereupon in accordance with the words of Soma restraining their anger against the trees the Prachetas duly married Marisha. Then they all mentally thought of conception in Marisha. O Bharata, the Patriarch Daksha was born of Marisha through the tenth Prachetas with a portion of Soma's energy. Then to multiply the race of Soma he created various offspring, mobile, immobile, two legged and four legged sons. Having created mentally first the sons Daksha created his daughters. Of them Dharma espoused ten and Kagyapa thirteen. The Lord Daksha then conferred on the king Soma the remaining ones called Nakshatras or planets, They gave birth to gods, sky-rangers, cows, Nagas, Danavas, Gandharvas, Apsaras and various other beings. Since then, O king, creatures are being engendered by sexual intercourse. Their predecessors were created by (mere) thinking, seeing and touching.

Janemejaya said:—You had described before the birth of the gods, demons, Gandharvas, serpents and Rakshasas as well as that of the high-souled Daksha. O sinless one, you have said that Daksha sprang from the right thumb of Brahma and his wife from the left. How could they then enter into a matrimonial alliance? How could the great ascetic Daksha attain to the energy of Prachetas? Being a grand-son of Soma how could he become his father-in-law? I have grave doubts in this, O Vipra, it behoves you to remove them.

Vaishampayana said:—Origin and destruction are always present in the elemental creation. The Rishis and the wise are not bewildered at it. O king, the Dakshas are born in every yuga. There is one Daksha in one yuga and another in another. The learned make no mistakes in it. O king, there was formerly no priority of birth among them—they were considered elder by asceticism and their prowess was the cause thereof. He, who knows the mobile and immobile creation of

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Daksha, gets offspring and when the lease of his life runs out is worshipped in the celestial region.

CHAPTER 3. AN ACCOUNT OF VARIOUS FAMILIES; DAKSHA'S OFFSPRING.

Janamejaya said:—O Vaishampayana, do thou describe at length the origin of the gods, Danavas, Gandharvas, serpents and Rakshasas.

Vaishampayana said:—O king, hear how Daksha created progeny when he was commanded by Swayambhuva, saying "create progeny." The capable Daksha first created his mental offspring—the Rishis, gods, Gandharvas, Asuras, Rakshasas, Yakshas, goblins, Pishachas, beasts, birds, and reptiles. When this his mind-born creation did not multiply, for such was the thought of the intelligent Mahadeva, the Patriarch, thinking again of the multiplication of his creation and desirous of creating progeny by sexual intercourse, married Asniki, the daughter of the Patriarch Virana, engaged in a penance for a son and capable of giving birth to a great race. Thereupon the energetic Patriarch Daksha begat five thousand sons on Asniki, the daughter of Virana. Beholding those great men desirous of multiplying progeny, the celestial saint Narada, ever fond of carrying news, for their destruction and for his own imprecation, said. Afraid of Daksha and his imprecation the ascetic Kaçyapa begat on his daughter the same celestial saint Narada who had been begotten by Brahma. Narada was formerly begotten by Brahma; and then that foremost of celestial saints (Kaçyapa) again begat that best of ascetics on Asniki, daughter of Virana. Undoubtedly by him the sons of Daksha, celebrated under the name of Haryaswas were freed from attachment to body through scriptural knowledge and rendered invisible. When Daksha, of immeasurable prowess, was ready to destroy Narada, Parameshti (Brahma), with leading saints before him, begged him (not to do it). Thereupon Daksha made this contract with Parameshti that his son Narada would be born as the son of his (Daksha's) daughter. Thereupon Daksha gave away his daughter unto Parameshti: and the Rishi, in fear of the imprecation of Daksha, begat Narada on her.

Janamejaya said:—O foremost of the twice-born, I wish to hear truly why Daksha's sons were killed by the great saint Narada.

Vaishampayana said:—When the highly energetic sons of Daksha called Haryaswas came there with a view to multiply the progeny Narada said to them, "O ye sons of Daksha, how stupid you are all, since you do not know the cause of all and still desire to create progeny; with out knowing him who is in heaven, earth and nether region how do you wish to create progeny?" Hearing his words those descendants of Daksha, without caring for each other, repaired to various directions to see the cause of all. Having restrained vital airs, and attained to the pure Brahman they secured emancipation. Even now they have not returned like the rivers from the ocean. When the Haryaswas were thus lost sight of, Daksha, the son of Prachetas, capable of creating progeny, again begat one thousand sons on the daughter of Virana. When those Shavalashwas were again desirous of multiplying progeny they were addressed by Narada with the self-same words. They then spoke amongst themselves, "The great saint Narada has spoken the just thing. We should follow the footsteps of our brothers; there is no doubt about that. Learning the dimension of the earth, we will, at ease and with whole minded attention, create progeny in due order". They, by the same way, repaired to various directions. Even now they have not returned like the rivers from the ocean. When the Shavalashwas too were lost sight of, Daksha, possessed by anger, said to Narada:—"Do thou meet with destruction and experience the pain of living in the womb". Since then, O king, if a brother issues out in quest of another he meets with destruction. So the learned should not do it. Knowing his sons thus exiled and destroyed the Patriarch Daksha again begat sixty daughters on the daughter of Virana. This we have heard. O descendant of Kuru, the Patriarch Kaçyapa, the Moon, Dharma and other Rishis took their wives from among those daughters of Daksha. Of them Daksha conferred ten on Dharma, thirteen on Kaçyapa, twenty seven on the Moon, four on Arishtanemi, two on Vahuputra, two on Angiras and two on the learned Krisashwa. Hear from me their names. Arundhuti, Vasu, Yami, Lamva, Bhanu, Marutvati, Sankalpa Muhurta, Sadhya and Vishwa, these ten, O descendant of Bharata, were the wives of Dharma. Hear from me of their offspring. Vishwadevas were the sons of Vishwa and Sadhya gave birth to Sadhyas. Marutvati was the mother of Maruts and Vasus were the sons of Vasu). Bhanus were the sons of Bhanu and the Muhurttas of Muhurtta. Gosha was born of Lamva and Nagavithi of Yami. Arundhuti gave birth to all the herbs of the earth. The Deity of determination, the soul of all, took his birth from Sankalpa and Vrihalamva took his birth from Nagabitha. O king, all the daughters, whom Daksha conferred on the Moon, have been celebrated by the name of Nakshatras or planets in astrology. The celestials, who have profuse effulgence before them, were celebrated by the name of eight Vasus. I will mention their names at length. Apa, Dhruva, Soma, Dhara, Anila, Anala, Pratyusha, and Pravasha—these eight are known as eight Vasus, Apa's sons were Vaitandya, Sranta and Muni. Dhruva's son was the Divine Kala, the destroyer of creatures. Soma's son was the Divine Varchas who begat Varcaaswi. Dhara's son was Dravina the carrier of sacrificial oblations. He begat on his wife Manohara, Sishira, Prana and Ramana. Anila's wife was Shiva whose son was Manojava. Anila, whose course is not known, had two sons. Agni's son Kumara shone in the thickets of Sara grass. His names are Shakha, Vishakha, Naigameya and Prishthaja. And on account of his being an offspring of Kirtikas* he was called Kartikeya: With the fourth part of his energy Agni created Skanda and Sanat Kumar. [* They are nymphs and the nurses of Kumara.]

Pratyusha's son was the Rishi Devala whose two sons were forgiving and observant of hard austerities. Shorn of attachment Vrihaspati's sister, the beautiful Yogasiddha, who led a life of celibacy, ranged all over the earth. She became the wife of the eighth Vasu Prabhasa. The noble Patriarch Vishwakarma was born of her. He made chariots for the celestials, was their architect, the maker of thousands of fine things and dresses and the foremost of artizans. Adopting his art as their profession mankind are now making their livelihoods . By the grace of Siva and having her heart purified by virtue of asceticism, Surabhi gave birth, through Kaçyapa, to the eleventh Rudra. O descendant of Bharata, Ajaikapat, Ahir-Budhna, Rudrashwa, Tasta, Sriman and Vishwarupa, those were the highly illustrious sons of Tastu. Hara, Vahurupa, Tryamvaka, Aparajita, Vrishakapi, Sambhu, Kapardi, Raivata, Mrigavyadha, Sarpa and Kapali—these are known as the eleven Rudras who lord over the three worlds. O foremost of Bharatas, in Puranas, hundreds, of such Rudras of incomparable energy, have been mentioned who have spread over the mobile and immobile creation. O foremost of Bharatas, hear from me of the wives of Kaçyapa who have spread over all the worlds: They are Aditi, Diti, Dana, Aristha, Surava, Surabhi, Vinata, Tamra, Krodhavasha, Ira, Kadru, Muni and Swasa; hear now of their offspring. In the previous Manwantara they were twelve leading celestials. In the Manwantara of Vaivaswata they used to address one another by the name of Tushita. During the reign of the present highly illustrious Manu Chakshusha, they all assembled together for the benefit of all creatures and said. "Let us all enter into the womb of Aditi to be born in the Manwantara of Vaivaswata and we will attain well-being".

Vaishampayana said:—Having said this during the Manwantara of Manu Chakshusha, they were begotten on Aditi, daughter of Daksha by Kagyapa the son of Marichi. Sakra and Vishnu were also born of her. Besides, O descendant of Bharata, Aryama, Dhata, Twasta, Pusha, Vivashman, Savita, Mitra, Varuna, Ansha, and the highly effulgent Bhaga—these eight were also born of Aditi; so it is said. Those who passed by the name of Tushita during the Manwantara of Chakshusha were known as twelve Adityas during the Manwantara of Vaivaswata. The twenty seven wives of Soma, observant of vows and of incomparable energy, gave birth to luminous bodies as their offspring. Arishthanemi's wives had sixteen sons. The learned Patriarch Vahuputra had four sons:—Vidyut (lightning), Açani (thunder-bolt), Megha (cloud) and Indradhanu (rain-bow). The best of works Riks originated from Pratyangiras and the celestial saint Krishaswa begat deities presiding over various celestial weapons.

O child, these deities take their births again after a thousand Yugas. Of them thirty three* take birth of their own accord). [* The thirty three gods are:—8 Vasus, 11, Rudras, 12 Adityas, Brahma and Indra.] As in this world the sun rises and sets, so O king, the origin and disappearance of all these gods are also mentioned. They appear and disappear at every Yuga.

Kaçyapa begat on Diti two sons, the powerful Hiranyakashipu and Hiranyaksha. This we have heard. He had a daughter (also) by name Sinhika whom Viprachitti espoused. Her highly powerful sons were celebrated by the name of Saihinkeyas. It is said, O king, that their number was ten thousand. They had, O thou having mighty arms, hundreds and thousands of sons and grandsons. Hear now from me of the children of Hiranykashipu. He had four sons of well-known prowess—Anurhada, Hrada, and the energetic Pralhada. And Sanghrada was the fourth. Hrada's son was Hrada. Sangrada's sons were Sunda and Nisunda. Anurahada's sons were Ayu, Sivi and Kala. Virochana was Pralhada's son; and his son was Vali. O king, Vali had a hundred sons, of whom Vana was the eldest. Dhritarashtra, Surya, Chandrama, Indratapana, Kumbhanabha, Gardhabhaksha, Kukshi and others were their names. Of them Vana was the eldest, powerful and a beloved votary of Paçupati. In the previous Kalpa, Vana, having propitiated the Divine Lord of Uma, prayed to him for the boon "I shall remain by your side.". Vana begat on his wife Lohita, a son, by name Indradamana. Hundreds and thousands of Asuras yielded to his power. The five sons of Hiranyaksha were learned and highly powerful—they were Jarjara, Sakuni, Bhutasantapana, the powerful Mahanabha and Kalanabha. Hundred sons of dreadful prowess were born to Danu. They were all ascetic and endued with great energy. Hear their names in order of precedence. Dwimurdha, Shakuni, Shankushira, Vibhu, Shankukarna, Virava, Gaveshtha, Dundubhi, Ayomukha, Shamvara, Kapila, Vamana Marichi, Maghavana, Ira, Vrika, Vikshovana, Ketu, Ketuvirya, Shatahrada, Indrajit, Satyajit, Vajranabha, the powerful Mahanabha, Kalanabha Ekachakra, the highly powerful and mighty-armed Taraka, Vaishvanara, Puloma, Victravana, Mahasura, Swarbhanu, Vrishaparva, the great Asura Tuhunda, Sukhshma, Nichandra, Urnanabha, Mahagiri, Asiloma, Sukeshi, Shatha, Valaka, Mada, Gaganamurdha, the great ascetic Kumbhanabha, Pramada, Daya, Kupatha, the energetic Hayagriva, Vaisripa, Virupaksha, Supatha, Hara, Ahara, Hiranyakashipu, Salya and the energetic Viprachitta—these sons of Danu were begotten by Kaçyapa. Amongst those highly powerful Dinavas Viprachitta was the head. O king, I cannot enumerate the offspring, sons and grandsons, of all these Danavas. Sarvana's daughter was Prabha, Puloma's daughter was Sachi, Hayasira's daughter was Upadanavi and Vrishaparva's daughter was Sharmishtha.

Vaishwanara had two daughters Puloma and Kalika-they were both highly powerful, gave birth to many children and were the wives of Kaçyapa, the son of Marichi. They gave birth to sixty thousand Danavas; of them fourteen thousand lived in the city of Hiranya. Being observant of rigid austerities Kaçyapa begat highly powerful Danavas called Poulamas and Kalakeyas. Those living in the city of Hiranya were placed by Brahma above destruction even by the gods. They were afterwards killed by Savyasachi in battle. Nahusha was Prabha's son, Jayanta was Sachi's son, Sarmistha gave birth to Puru and Upadanavi gave birth to Dushmanta. Viprachitta begat on Singhika another class of highly dreadful Danavas. By the union of Daity and Danava energies they grew of dreadful prowess. Those thirteen highly powerful Danavas were celebrated by the name of Sainghikeyas. They were the powerful Aisha, Nabha, Vala, Vatapi, Namuchi, Ilvala, Khasrima, Anjika, Naraka, Kalanabha, Shara, Potarana, and the energetic Vajranabha. Of them Rahu, the represser of the sun and the moon, was the eldest. Hrada had two sons, Suka and Tuhunda. Sunda begat on Taraka a son by name Marachi, another (by name) Sivamana, energetic like a celestial. All these Danavas, multiplying the race of Danu, were great. Their sons and grandsons were hundreds and thousands in number. The noble Nivatakavachas endued with great asceticism were born in the race of the Daitya Sanghrada. Those Danavas, living in the city of Manimati, begat three Koti offspring. The gods could not destroy them and they were slain by Arjuna. It is said that Tamra gave birth to six highly powerful daughters—Kake, Sweni, Bhasi, Sugrivi, Suchi, and Gidhrika. Kaki gave birth to crows, Uluki to owls, Sweni to Swena birds, Bhasi to Bhasa birds, Gidhri to vultures, Suchi to waterfowls and Sugrivi to horses, camels and asses. Such is the description of Tamra's family. Vinata had two sons, Aruna and Garuda. Suparna, the foremost of birds, grew immensely powerful by his own action. Surasa gave birth to a thousand highly powerful serpents and high-souled sky-rangers of many heads. Powerful, and many headed Nagas endued with immeasurable energy, the offspring of Kadru, were born as being subject to Suparna. Amongst them Sesha, Vasuki, Takshaka, Airavata, Mahapadma, Kamvala, Aswatara, Ekapatra, Shankha, Karko taka, Dhananjaya, Mohaneela, Mahakarna, Dhritarashtra, Valahaka, Kuhara, Pushpapangstra, Durmukha, Sumukha, Shankhapala, Kapila, Vamana, Nahusha, Sangkaroma and Manu were the heads. Fourteen thousand sons and grand sons of these dreadful serpents were devoured by Garuda, living on serpents. Know this class to be full of anger. All animals having teeth, those born on land, birds and those produced by water are the offspring of Dhara. Surabhi gave birth to kine and buffaloes. Ira produced trees, creepers, groves and all kinds of grasses and Khasa gave birth to Yakshas, Rakshas, Munis and Apsaras. Aristha gave birth to the powerful Gandharvas of unmitigated prowess and the mobile and immobile creation is said to have originated from Kaçyapa. Hundreds and thousands of sons and grandsons have been born to them. Such was the creation, O my child, in Swarochisha Manwantara. I shall now describe to you the creation of the Patriarch Brahma who offered oblation to fire at the long-extending sacrifice of Varuna in Vaivaswata Manwantara. Formerly when seven Rishis were procreated by his mind the grand-father considered them as his sons.

O descendant of Bharata, when the conflict between the gods and demons raged on, Diti, who had her sons slain, began to propitiate Kaçyapa. Being duly adored by her and propitiated, Kaçyapa pleased her by giving a boon. She too prayed for a highly powerful son for killing Indra. That great ascetic, when thus begged, conferred on her the same boon. Having conferred on her the boon without the least anxiety the son of Marichi said:—"If being pure and observant of vows you can hold your conception for one hundred years you will give birth to such a son as will slay Indra." O monarch, saying so be it and being pure Diti obtained her conception from her that great ascetic husband. Thinking of one of the

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leadings gods of immeasurable power and infusing energy which the immortals even can not destroy he knew Diti. Then that one of great vows repaired to a hilly region for carrying on penances. From that day the slayer of Paka (Indra) began to seek her fault. One day before hundred years were complete Diti, without washing her feet, lay down on her bed. Beholding her impure state the king of gods entered into her abdomen and made her asleep.

Then the holder of thunderbolt sundered the embryo into seven pieces. Cut into pieces with the thunderbolt the embryo began to cry. Sakra again and again prevented him saying "Do not cry! Do not cry!" The embryo was then divided into seven pieces. Indra too, the slayer of enemies, worked up with anger, again cut every piece into seven portions with his thunder-bolt. From them originated the gods called Maruts, O foremost of Bharatas. Because they were addressed by Maghavan (saying "Do not weep" Ma ruda) so the Maruts were born and they all became of help to the holder of thunder-bolt. When creatures thus multiplied, O Janamejaya, Hari consoled that foremost of gods of immeasurable energy, and then conferred kingdoms on various Patriarchs of whom Prithu was first installed as king. That Hari is the heroic person Vishnu, Jishnu, the Patriarch, the king of rains and is the air in his visible form. The whole universe is His. O foremost of Bharatas, he, who is informed of this creation of creatures, and he who reads or hears the auspicious birth of the Maruts, has no fear of being born again in this world—what of fear in the next world?

CHAPTER 4. A QUERY REGARDING THE ORIGIN OF THE ARTICLES OF FOOD.

Janamejaya said:—Having installed Prithu the son of Vena, in the office of the Lord Paramount the Patriarch began to confer kingdoms on Soma and others. He placed Soma in charge of the twice-born, herbs, planets, stars, sacrifices and hard austerities. He then installed Varuna as the king of waters, Vaishravana as the lord of kings, Vishnu the king of Adityas, Pavaka the king of Vasus, Laksha the king of Patriarchs, Vasava the king of Maruts, Pralhada of incomperable energy the king of Daityas, and and Danavas, Yama, the offspring of the sun, as the king of the departed manes, Narayana as the king of Matris, vows, Mantras, kine, Yakshas, Rakshasas and kings and Siva, having the emblem of a bull, as the king of Sadhyas and Rudras. He then ordered Viprachitta to become the king of the Danavas and made Girisha (Siva) the holder of mace, the king of all ghosts and goblins. He made Himavan, the king of mountains, and the ocean the king of rivers and appointed the greatly power Vayu as the king of smell, bodiless creatures, sound, ether and earth. He made the lord Chitraratha the king of Gandarvas, Vasuki, the king of Nagas and Takshaka the king of serpents. He ordered Airavat to become the king of the elephants, Ushaishrava, of the horses and Garuda the king of birds, tiger the king of beasts and the bull, the king kine, Plaksha the king of trees, and, installed Parjanya as the king of ocean, rivers, showers and Adityas. He installed Sesha as the king of wild animals and Takshaka, the king of reptiles and serpents. He made Kamadeva the king of Gandharvas and Asuras and Samvatsara the king of seasons, months, days, fortnights, moments, conjunctions of planets, Parvas, Kalas, Kashthas, Pramasha, Ayanas, Mathematics and all conjunctions. Having divided the kingdom in such an order Brahma placed all the guardians of the quarters. He installed Sudhanna, the son of the Patriarch Vairaja as the Protector of the eastern quarter. He placed in the South the high-souled Sankhapada, the son of the Patriarch Kardama. He installed the high-souled Ketuman, the son of Raja, as the king of the West. And he made the irrepressible, Hirany roma, the son of the Patriarch Prajanya, the king of the North. Even now they have been piously ruling over their respective provinces of the earth consisting of seven insular continents and mountains. By all those kings Prithu was appointed as the Lord Paramonnt in a Rajshuya sacrifice according to rites laid down in the Vedas, O king. After the expiration of the highly vigorous Manwantara of Chakshusha the Patriarch Brahma conferred the kingdom on Manu Vaivaswata. If you wish to listen, O sinless king, I shall give you at length an account (of his life) for your help. This has been described fully in Purana. It is sacred and confers fame, longevity, residence in heaven and auspicious ness.

Janamejaya said:—O Vaishampayana, do thou describe in full, the birth of Prithu and how by that high-souled one this earth was milched; how was she milched by the ancestral manes, gods, Rishis, Daityas, Nagas, Yakshas, serpents, mountains, Pishachas, Gandharvas, the leading Brahmanas, Rakshasas, and other great creatures, (27–28). Do thou also describe fully, O Vaishampayana, their various vessels, the calves and the various articles in order, for which she was milched. Do thou also relate, why formerly Vena's arm was churned by the angry Rishis.

Vaishampayana said:—O Janamejaya, listen, with attention and concentrated mind, I shall give you a detailed account of Prithu, the son of Vena. O monarch, I do not describe this unto him, who is impure, little-witted, who is not a worthy disciple, who does not observe vows, who is ungrateful and injures people). O king, do thou listen duly to this theme described by the god-like Rishis which secures heaven, longevity, fame and riches (for all). He, who having saluted the Brahmanas daily, listens to the birth story of Vena's son, Prithu, does not grieve for iniquities committed by him.

CHAPTER 5. AN ACCOUNT OF VENA AND PRITHU.

Vaishampayana said:—Formerly the Patriarch Anga, born in the race of Atri, and equally all-powerful like him, became the protector of religion. A highly impious son by name Vena was born to him. That Patriarch was begotten on Sunitha the daughter of Death. Imbibing the defect of his maternal grand-father, that son of Kala's daughter deviated from his own duties and preached freedom of conduct in the world. That king established an irreligious order and disregarding Vedic observances he engaged in impious actions. During his administration the study of the Vedas and the performance of the Vedic rites were suspended. And the celestials did not get Soma juice consecrated in Yajnas. Such was the dreadful promise of the Patriarch that no one would perform, even at the time of destruction, either Homa or Yajna. O foremost of Kurus, (he said) I am worthy of being adored, I am the agent of Yajna, I am identical with Yajna—you should dedicate all your Yajnas and Homas unto me. Beholding him thus transgress the order and partake unduly and unfairly of the sacrificial offerings the great Rishis, headed by Marichi, said:–"We shall enter upon the initiation ceremony for many long years—therefore do not act irreligiously, O Vena, for such is the eternal religion. After the death of Atri you have forsooth been born as a Patriarch. And you made the contract that you would govern the subjects". After they had said this the wicked and ill-disposed Vena, laughing, said to all those great Rishis, the following evil words. Vena said "Who else will be the founder of religion? Whom shall I hear? Who else is superior to me on this earth in learning, energy, prowess, asceticism and truth? All creatures and especially all forms of religion have originated from me. You are all stupid and void of consciousness and therefore you do not know me. If I wish I can burn down the earth or overflow it with water. I can obstruct the heaven and earth: there is no need of discussing it". When the noble Rishis could not make Vena humble on account of his pride and egotism, they, worked up with anger, belaboured that highly powerful king and began to churn his left thigh. When the thigh of that king was thus churned there arose from it a greatly short and dark person. O Janamejaya, he stood there, stricken with fear and folding his arms. Beholding him thus possessed by fear Atri said to him "Nishida" Sit down. O foremost of speakers, he became the originator of the race of Nishadas (hunters) and procreated the race of fishermen begotten of the sins of Vena. And Tukharas, Tumuras and other races taking delight in impiety who live on the Vindhya mountain were also born of Vena. Thereupon, those high-souled Rishis, worked up with anger, began to churn the right arm of Vena like a piece of wood used for kindling fire. From that arm originated Prithu resembling the very flame, and burning in effulgence like the fire itself. The highly illustrious Prithu was born with his most excellent prime bow Ajagava, heavenly arrows and a highly lustrous coat of mail to protect his body. At his birth all the creatures were filled with delight and Vena too, O monarch, repaired to the celestial region. O descendant of Kuru, the great Prithu, a good son, being born he saved Vena from the hell called Put [It is a hell where all those who have no son born to them go after death. It is for this that the Hindus look so eagerly to the birth of a son.]. Taking all the jewels the oceans came to him with water for his installation. The Divine Brahma with the Devas, the offspring of Angiras, and all other creatures, mobile and immobile, came there and installed the effulgent king, the son of Vena, the lord of an extensive kingdom. The highly energetic and powerful son of Vena, Prithu, was installed as the first king by the leading Rishis conversant with the Vedas and other scriptures By him were pleased the subjects who had been dissatisfied by his father. On account of his being the object of their love he was called Raja (king). When he used to make a voyage in the ocean the water used be grow hard as land and the mountains made way for him and the branches of the trees were not broken down). The earth grew easy of production and yielded articles of food as soon as thought of. The kine gave milk whenever milched and honey grew in every leaf. In the meantime at the sacred Yajna of Brahma, was born the highly intelligent Suta. At that great Yajna was also born the wise Magadha. They were invited by the celestial saints for chanting the glories of Prithu. All the Rishis said to them "Do ye sing the glories of this king. This is a work that befits you and this king too is also an worthy subject for it". Then Suta and Magadha said to all those Rishis:—"We shall, with our own actions, delight the gods and Rishis. O ye twice born ones, we are not cognizant of the actions, characteristics and fame of this energetic king. How shall we then chant his glories?" They were then engaged by the Rishis (to chant his glories) saying "Do ye chant his glories by the deeds which the highly powerful Prithu did in the previous Kalpa. This king speaks truth, has a good character, keeps his promise, is modest, does good unto all, is forgiving, powerful, represses the wicked, observes his duties, is grateful, merciful, always speaks sweet words and respects those who deserve it, performs Yajnas, is devoted to Brahmanas, is of a quiet temperament, and observes the rules of society." Since then, O Janmejaya, at the time of chanting glories Sutas and Magadhas (panegyrists) pour their benedictions in this world. Being highly pleased with their eulogy the king Prithu conferred upon Suta the province of Arupa, and on Magadha, that of Magadha. Thereat delighted the great Rishis and the subjects said "The king will forsooth grant us maintenances in abundance". Thereupon at the words of the great saints, the subjects approached the son of Vena and begged of him their maintenances. Thus approached by his subjects and with a view to do them good the powerful king took up his bow and assailed the earth. Thereupon assuming the form of a cow the earth fled away in fear of Vena's son. Prithu too, taking up his bow, pursued her. Traversing the region of Brahma and all other regions in fear of Vena's son she saw him everywhere before her with the bow in his hand. He looked effulgent like the burning eternal fire with his sharpened arrows and even the immortals could not repress that high-souled one. Even when repairing to the region of Brahma she could not find safety; the earth, adored even by the three worlds with folded hands then said to the son of Vena:—"You should not perpetrate the iniquity of slaying a woman. Without me, how will you be able, O king, to protect your subjects. O king, all the worlds are situated on me, and this universe is sustained by me. Know this, O king, that with my destruction all the creatures will be destroyed. O king, if you wish to encompass the well being of your subjects it does not behove you to kill me. Listen to these words of mine. If works are undertaken commensurate with their means they are crowned with success. Do you, O king, find out the means by which you will protect your subjects. By slaying me, O king, you will not be able to protect your subjects by any means. O you of great effulgence, I will find it out; do you restrain your anger. Even women of inferior births should not be slain. Therefore, O king, you should not forsake your morality."

Hearing those various words of the earth the high-souled and pious king, restraining his anger, said to her.

CHAPTER 6. THE ORIGIN OF THE EARTH.

Prithu said:—He, who for one individual destroys many lives either belonging to his own side or to his opposite party, commits a sin in this world. By slaying that harmful person at whose death many become happy one is not visited by sin, either great or small. If by the destruction of one wicked person the well-being of many is secured such an act leads to the acquisition of virtue. I shall therefore, for the behoof of my subjects, kill you, O earth. If you do not satisfy this command of mine conducive to the well-being of the world I shall kill you with this arrow who have neglected my command. And having buried my own self (under the earth) I shall uphold my subjects forever. O you ever observant of pious rites, do you, during my regeme, give life to my subjects for you are capable of protecting them. Do you give milk for me and then I will withdraw the dreadful arrow that I have taken up for your destruction.

The earth said:—O hero, forsooth shall I carry out all that you have said. If works are undertaken along with the means they always prove a success. So do you resort to the means by which all the subjects may be protected. Behold this my calf. Being attached to it I shall give milk, O you foremost of the pious, do you level my surface all over, so that my milk may reach everywhere.

Vaishampayana said:—Thereupon Vena's son, with the end of his bow, uprooted thousands of hills for which they multiplied greatly (in number). Vena's son Prithu then levelled the surface of the earth. In the past Manwantara she was of uneven surface. The earth was by nature both even and uneven; such was her state in Chakshusha Manwantara. The earth having been uneven in the previous Manwantara there existed no regular division of the cities and villages. There was no corn, no rearing of kine, agriculture or trade. There was neither truth, untruth, avarice nor pride. O king, now with the advent of Vaivaswata Manwantara, agriculture, trade and the keeping of kine have originated from Vena's son Prithu. O sinless one, at that time people desired to makes their habitations at all those places of the earth which were levelled. Then with great difficulty people could live upon fruits and roots. This I have heard. Having converted the Manu Swayambhuva into a calf the powerful son of Vena, Prithu, the foremost of men, milched the earth for all sorts of corns with his own hands. On that food, O my child, the people are daily living even now. I have heard the earth was again milched by the Rishis. Soma became their calf; the son of Angiras, the highly energetic Vrihaspati, milched her. The Vedas were the vessels, O descendant of Bharata, and the eternal devotion to Brahman was the incomparable milk. I have heard she was again milched by all the celestials headed by Purandara with golden vessels (in their hands). Then

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Maghavan (Indra) became the calf and the lord Sun milched her. A continued flow of milk came out on which the Devas are living. I have heard the earth was again milched by the ancestral manes of unlimited prowess, with silver vessels (in their hands). The powerful son of Vivaswat became the calf and Antaka, the destroyer of Lokas (worlds), milched her. O foremost of men, I have heard, that making Takshaka the calf, the Nagas milched her with the cavity of their palms as vessels and got poison for the milk. O foremost of Bharatas, O king, the powerful Airavata Dhritarashtra became the milcher when the Nagas and serpents milched her. By that poison the huge serpents of deadly venom are living their dreadful lives. They live on poison, they give out poison and poison constitutes their energy. I have heard that the earth was again milched by Asuras with iron vessels for the illusory power capable of over-powering the enemies. Pralhada's son Virochana became their calf and the highly powerful, two-headed Madhu, the priest of the Daityas milched her. By that Maya (illusory power) the Asuras have been rendered adepts in illusion. The Asuras, endued with immeasurable wisdom, are therefore so very powerful. I have heard, O monarch, that the earth was again, in the days of yore, milched by Yakshas for eternal disappearance from view with uncouth vessels). The highly effulgent and pious Yakshas made Vaisravana their calf. The ascetic three-headed son of Yaksha, by name Rajatanabha, the father of Maninabha, milched (the earth). By that (power of disappearance into another's body) they are now still living. This the great saint Narada has said. O foremost of men, with a view to afford gratification to their children the earth was again milched by the Rakshasas and Pishachas with the skulls of dead bodies. O glory of the Kuru race, Rajatanabha milched (the earth) for them. Sumali became the calf and blood came out for the milk. By that bloody milk the immortal Yakshas, Rakshasas, Pishachas and other ghosts are keeping their lives. O foremost of men, having made Chitraratha their calf the Gandharvas and Apsaras again milched her with lotus vessels for sweet perfume. O foremost of Bharatas, the greatly powerful and the high-souled king of Gandharvas, Suruchi, resembling the Sun itself, milched (her) for them. O king, I have heard that the mountains again milched her for the herbs in forms and various jewels. Himavana became the calf and the great mountain Sumeru milched (her). Other great mountains were the vessels and by that the mountains are increasing in proportions. I have heard, O king, that the trees, in the days of yore, once milched her with Palasa leaves as vessels for reviving the scorched and burnt trees and creepers. The blossoming Sala tree milched her and the Plaksha tree became the calf. That purifying Earth, who sustains all, is the instrument of the birth and preservation of the entire mobile and immobile creations. When milched she gives all desired-for objects and produces all corns. Extending up to the ocean she was celebrated under the name of Medini. Her entire surface was filled with the fat (of the demons) Madhu and Katabha. Therefore was she called Medini by Brahma and others. O descendant of Bharata, when she was brought under the subjection of the king Prithu, the son of Vena and became his daughter [Literally it means 'when she was milched by him'. She was milched by the king Prithu and became his daughter and therefore she was called Prithivi.] she came by the name of Prithivi. Being divided and purified by Prithu the earth has become full of corns, mines, cities and provinces. O best of kings, such a powerful king was the son of Vena. Undoubtedly he is an object of reverence and adoration of all creatures. Prithu, born of eternal Brahma, is worthy of the adoration even of the great Brahmanas, well-read in the Vedas and all their divisions. The powerful prime king Prithu, the son of Vena, deserves also the adoration of the great kings who desire kingdoms. The first king of the heroes, Prithu, is also worthy of the adoration of the valiant warriors who wish for victory in battle. The warrior, who issues out for battle after reciting the name of the king Prithu, is crowned with success and glory even in dreadful battles. The illustrious king Prithu, who conferred livelihood on all, is worthy of the adoration of the wealthy Vaisyas who carry on trade. The first king is also worthy of the adoration of the pure Sudras who serve the three other Varnas and who wish for supreme well-being. O monarch, I have thus described the various calves, those who milched, the various sorts of milk and vessels. What more shall I describe to you?

CHAPTER 7. AN ACCOUNT OF MANWANTARAS.

Janamejaya said:—O Vaishampayana, O you having asceticism for your wealth, do you describe at length all the Manwantaras and the creations previous to them. O. Brahman, I wish to hear, in sooth, of all the Manus and the extent of their reigns.

Vaishampayana said:—O descendant of Kuru, I cannot give a detailed account of Manwantaras even in hundreds of years. Do you hear from me in brief. O descendant of Kuru, Swayambhuva, Swarochisha, Auttami, Tamasa, Raivata, Chakshusha, the present Manu Vaivaswata, the four Manus Savarne, Bhoutya, Rouchya and Manu Savarna—these all are Manus. I have described, as I have heard, of Manus, present, past and future. I will now describe the Rishis, the sons of Manus, and the celestials who were born in the various Manwantaras. Marichi, the reverend Atri, Angira, Puloha, Kratu, Pulastya and Vasishtha—these seven are the sons of Arahma. O king, during Swayambhava Manwantara there were seven Rishis and the celestials by the name of Yamas in the north. Agnidhra, Agnivahu, Medha, Medhatithi, Vasu, Yotishman, Dyutiman, Havya, Savana and Putra: these were the ten highly powerful sons of Manu Swayambhuva. I have thus described to you, O king, the first Manwantara. O child, during Swarochisha Manwantara narrated by Vayu, Aurva, the son of Vasistha, Stambha, the son of Kagyapa, Prana, Vrihaspati, Datta, Atri and Chyavana—these were the great Rishis of great vows and Tushitas were the gods. Havirdhra, Sukriti, Jyoti, Apomurti, Ayaprathita, Nabhasya, Nabha and Urja—these were the sons of the high-souled Swarochisha Manu. They have been described, O king, as being gifted with high energy and prowess. I have thus described to you the second Manwantara. Hear, O king, I shall describe the third. The seven sons of Vasishtha, celebrated under the name of Vasishtha and the highly energetic sons of Hiranyagarbha by name Sutejas were the seven Rishis, as I have said. O monarch, Auttama had ten beautiful sons. Hear I shall describe them. They were Isha, Urja, Tanurjja, Madhu, Madhava, Suchi, Sukra, Saha, Nabharya and Nabha. It is said that the Bhanus were the celestials in that Manwantara. Hear, I shall describe the fourth Manwantara. O descendant of Bharata, Kavya, Prithu, Agni, Jahnu, Dhata, Kapivan and Akapivan—these were the seven Rishis, O descendant of Bharata, in Puranas their sons and grandsons have been mentioned. Satyas were the celestials in Tamasa Manwantara. O king, I shall now enumerate the sons of Tamasa Manu-Dyuti, Tapasya, Sutapa, Tapomula, Tapogana, Taporati, Akalmasha, Tanvi, Dhanvi and Parantapa—these ten were the sons of the highly powerful Manu Tamasa. So Vayu has said. During the fifth Manwantara Vedavahu, Yadudhra, Muni, Vedaçira, Hiranyaroma, Parijanya, Somasuta, Urdhavahu, Atreya and Satyanetra were the seven Rishis. The celestials of that period passed under the name of Abhutarajas—having their nature not permeated by the quality of darkness. There were also two other classes of celestials by the name of Pariplava and Raivya. Hear, I shall enumerate the names of their sons—Dhritiman, Avya, Yukta, Tatwadarshi, Nirutsuka, Arany, Prakasha, Nirmoha, Satyavak and Kadi were the sons of Manu Raivata-and this is the fifth Manwantara. Hear, O king, I shall describe the sixth Manwantara. Bhrigu, Nabha, Vivaswan, Sudhama, Viraja, Atinama and Sahishnu these were the seven Rishis in the sixth Manwantara. Hear the names of the celestials who flourished in Chakshusha Manwantara. O king, Adya, Prasuta, Rishabha Prithokbhava and Lekha—these have been recorded as the five classes of deities. The high-souled and the highly energetic sons of Angiras were the Rishis). O monarch, those ten sons, Uru and others, passed under the name of Nadvaleyas. This is known as the sixth Manwantara. Atri, the reverend Vasistha, the great saint Kaçyapa, Goutama Bharadwaja, Vishwamitra, the reverend Jamadagni, the son of the high-souled Richika-these seven Rishis are now living in heaven. The Sadhyas, Vishwas, Rudras, Vasus, Maruts, Adityas, Vaivaswan, the two Açwinis are now all living during the present Manwantara of Vaivaswat. He had ten high-souled sons headed by Ikshwaku. O descendant of Bharata, the sons and grandsons of those great Rishis of great energy are living in all the quarters. In all the Manwantaras, as in the previous Kalpa, exist the forty nine Maruts for protecting and governing the people. After the expiration of a Manwantara twenty Maruts, having performed heavenly deeds, attain to the region of Brahma freed from all dangers. Thereupon others, observing rigid austerities, succeed them. O descendant of Bharata, I have thus described to you the past and present Manwantaras as well as the seven Manus, O descendant of Kuru. Hear, I shall describe the Manwantara that is to come. Hear from me an account of the five Savarni Manus; of them one is the son of the Sun and the four are the offspring of Prajapati Paramesthi. O king, they are the grandsons of Daksha and sons of Prya. Because those mighty and energetic ones carried on hard austerities on the mount Meru they were called Meru Savarni. The son of the Patriarch Ruchi was celebrated by the name of Rouchya. The son whom Ruchi begat on Bhuti came by the name of Bhoutya. Hear now of the seven Rishis of Savarni Manwantara, who have not come as yet and who are said to be living in the celestial region. Rama, Vyasa, the effulgent and celebrated Atreya, the highly energetic Aswathama, the son of Drona, the son of Bharadwaja, Kripa, the son of Goutama's son Saradvan, Galava, the son of Kushika and Ruru, the son of Kaçyapa—these seven high souled ones are the future Munis. These seven Rishis are equal to Brahma and fortunate. By asceticism practised from their very birth, by their knowledge of sacred formulae and grammar they will secure a position in the region of Brahma and will be celebrated as pure Brahmana saints. Being repeatedly born in every Yuga beginning with the golden, the noble and truthful seven Rishis institute the various orders and lay down their duties. They are endued with the knowledge of the present, past and future, have themselves become, by means of their asceticism, well known, just and considerate. By the knowledge of formulae, and grammar and by their spiritual insight they see everything like an emblic myrobalam in their hands. They are known as seven Rishis by their sevenfold qualities. They are long-lived, far-sighted and have seen the God. They are the first born, well-versed in various duties and the founders of various families. When virtue suffers any deterioration, the Rishis, the originators of Mantras (mystic formulae) and Brahmanas are repeatedly born in their families. When all the Rishis are capable of conferring boons and are all respectively great there is no evidence of the time when they flourished and of their age. O king, I have thus described to you the seven Rishis. O best of the Bharata race, hear now of the future sons of Manu Savarni. Varian, Avarian, Sammala, Dhritiman, Vasu, Varishna, Arya, Dhrishnu, Raja and Sumati, these are the ten future sons of Manu Savarni, O descendant of Bharata. Hear, I shall enumerate the names of the Munis of the reign of the first Manu Savarni. Medhatithi, the son of Palastya, Kavyapa's son Vasu, Bhrigu's son Yotismana, Angira's son Dyutimana, Vasistha's son Savana, Atri's son Havyavahana and Poulaha—these seven Rishis flourished in Rohita Manwantara. O king, these were the three classes of deities. They were the sons of the Patriarch Rohita,—the son of Dhksha, Manu's son Dhrishthaketu, Panchahotra, Nirakriti, Prithu, Shrava, Bhuridyumna, Richaka, Vrihata and Gaya, these were the sons of the highly energetic first Manu Savarni during the second Manwantara of the tenth order. Pulaha's son Havishman, Bhrigu's son Sukriti, Atri's son Apomurti, Vasishtha's son Ashwathama, Pulastya's son Pramati, Kagyapa's son Nabhaga and Angira's son Nabhasa Satya—these were the seven great saints. The two classes of the deities and the Rishis have (already) been enumerated. Manusuta, Uttamanja, Kunishanja, Viryavan, Satanika, Niramitra, Vrishasena, Jayadratha, Bhuridyumna and Suvarcha—these ten were Manu's sons. Hear, I shall enumerate the names of the seven Rishis who flourished during the eleventh period of the third Manwantara. Kaçyapa's son Havishman, Bhrigu's son Havishman, Atri's son Taruna, Vasishtha's son Taruna, Angira's son Urudhisna, Pulastya's son Nischara, Pulaha's son Agniteja,—these are the future seven great Rishis. It is said that Brahma's sons, the deities were divided into three classes. Sarvatraga, Susharma, Devanika, Purudvaha, Kshemadanva, the long-lived Adarsha, Parudaka and Manu—these were the nine sons of the third Manu Savarni. Hear from me the names of the seven Rishis of the fourth Manwantara.

They were Vasishtha's son Dyuti, Atri's son Sutapa, Pulastya's son Taposhana, and Pulaha's son Taporavi. Know Bhrigu's son Tapovriti as their seventh. It is said, there were five classes of deities—the mind-born sons of Brahma. Devavayu, Adura, Devasreshtha, Viduratha, Mitravan, Mitradeva, Mitrasena, Mitrakrit, Mitravaha, and Suvarcha—these are the sons of the twelfth Manu. During the thirteenth Manwantara that is to come Angira's son Dhritiman, Pulastya's son Havyapa, Pulaha's son Tatwadarshi, Bhrigu's son Nirutsuka, Atri's son Nishprakampa, Kacyapa's son Nirmoha and Vasishtha's son Sutapa will be the seven Rishis and three classes of deities as mentioned by the self-sprung (Brahma)ss. During the thirteenth Manwantara Manu's sons were the sons of Ruchi, Chitrasen, Vichitra, Naya, Dharmacrit, Dhrita, Sunetra, Kshatra, Vriddhi, Sutapa, Nirbhaya, and Drida—these were the sons of Manu Rouchaya in the thirteenth Manwantara. During the fourteenth Manwantara of Manu Bhoutya, Kacyapa's son Agnidhra, Pulasta's son Bhargava, Bhrigu's son Ativahu, Angira's son Suchi, Atri's son-Yukta, Vasistha's son Asukra, and Pulaha's son Ajita were the last seven Rishis. Chanting the glory of their period a man attains happiness, great renown and long life. He, who recites always the names of the great Rishis, past and present, becomes long-lived and gains renown. O foremost of the Bharatas, five classes of deities, it is said, flourished then. Tarangabhira, Bushma, Tarashman, Ugra, Abhimani, Pravira, Jishuu, Sangkrandana, Tejashi, and Savala are the sons of Manu Bhoutya. With the completion of Bhoutya Manwantara one Kalpa will be complete, I have thus enumerated the names of the past and future Manus. O king, these Manus with with their children, rule over the earth extending to the ocean for thousands of Yugas and govern the subjects with asceticism. And they also in time perish away as usual.

CHAPTER 8. DIVISION OF TIME.

Janamejaya said:—O you highly intelligent twice-born one, you should enumerate the Yugas and mention the extent of Brahma's day.

Vaishampayana said:—O subduer of enemies, hear, I shall enumerate the days of Brahma by the same calculation by which men make divisions of day and night. Five Nimeshas make one Kastha, thirty Kashthas make one Kala and thirty Kalas make one Muhurtta. And the intelligent consider thirty Muhurttas constituting one day and night comprising the motion of the sun and moon. Such days and nights daily take place in all the countries around the mount Meru (3–4).

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Fifteen days and nights make one Paksha (fortnight); two fortnights make one month—two months make one Ritu (season). Three Ritus make one Ayana and two Ayanas make one year. Those, conversant with the science of enumeration, divide Ayana (course) into two—northern and southern. Those, who have mastered (the various divisions of) time, consider a month, consisting of two fort-nights, as the one day and night of the ancestral manes. The dark-half of the month is their day and the light half is their night. Therefore, O king, Sradhas, for the departed manes, are performed in the dark half of the month. That which is considered as a Samvatsara (year) for human beings is a day and night for the celestials. Of them the northern course is considered by the learned as their day and the southern course as their night. When a celestial year is multiplied ten-fold it is considered as one day and night of Manu. A day and a night, when multiplied ten-fold, constitute one Paksha (fortnight) of Manu. A Paksha, when multiplied tenfold, forms one month; and twelve months are regarded by the wise, discriminating truth, as forming a season of Manu. Three Ritus (seasons) make one Ayana and two Ayanas make one Samvatsara (year). Their four thousand years constitute the extent of Krita Yuga (golden age). O king, four hundred years form the Sandhya [The period that elapses between the expiration of one Yuga or age and the commencement of another.] and four hundred such form the Sandhyangsha [The period at the end of each Yuga.]. The extent of the Treta Yuga is three thousand years. Its Sandhya and Sandhyangsha severally extend over three hundred years. It is said that the duration of Dwapara Yuga is two thousand years. Its Sandhya and Sandhyangsha are said to extend each over two hundred years. The wise have enumerated the duration of Kali Yuga as extending over a thousand years. Its Sandhya and Sandhyangsha too extend over one hundred years each. I have thus described the extent of Yugas comprising twelve thousand years. Hear, from me, the enumeration of Yugas measured by celestial Ayanas. Krita, Treta, Dwapara and Kali these are the four Yugas. O foremost of kings, with such seventy-one Yugas one Manwantara is completed. So is said by those who are versed in the science of enumeration. The Ayana, that has been mentioned before, is two-fold, northern and southern. When one Manu disappears his Ayana is completed, and then another reigns. In this way when many a Manu rise and disappear one Samvatsara of Brahma is completed. His one Samvatsara has been described by the truth-observing ascetics as consisting of one million of years. Brahma's one day is said to be tantamount to one Kalpa. The earth, with her mountains, woods, and forests, sinks into water in the night which is enumerated by the wise as extending over a thousand Yugas. O foremost of Bharatas, at the completion of that one thousand Yugas, Brahma's one day is completed and the termination of a Kalpa is said to be brought about. I have thus described to you the preceding seventy Yugas. Krita, Treta and other Yugas are said to constitute one Manwantara. I have also described to you fourteen Manus, enhancing their (own) glory. O king, all these patriarchs were masters of the Vedas and Puranas. Even the chanting of their glories is crowned with success. At the termination of a Manwantara sets in the dissolution (of the universe) after which again begins the work of creation. Even with hundred years I cannot enumerate this period, O foremost of Bharatas, during these Man wantaras, the termination of the creation and destruction of creatures is brought about. This I have heard. At that time there exist the gods with gross and subtle elements and the seven Rishis, who carry on penances, lead a life of celibacy and are endued with the knowledge of scriptures. One Kalpa terminates with the completion of a thousand Yugas. Then scorched by the rays of the sun, all the creatures, placing the lord Brahma before them, and accompanied by the Adityas, approached the omnipotent lord Narayana, the foremost of gods, ever engaged in Yoga, the master of Yogins, unborn, eternal, the soul of all, who repeatedly engenders all creatures at various Kalpas. He is the unseen and eternal God to whom belongs the whole universe. Then there sets in night when all are converted into one ocean. They all sleep in the belly of Narayana for one thousand years of Brahma). That extent of time goes by the name of night when the Grandfather (Brahma) enters upon the Yoga of sleep. After the expiration of that night extending over a thousand Yugas awakes the Divine Brahma, the Grand-father of all. Desirous of engendering progeny again he sets his mind on the work of creation. There comes into existence the same ancient recollection, the same character, the same energy for action, the same abode for the gods, but only a change in order of things takes place. O foremost of Bharatas, then are born again at the commencement of Yuga, the celestials saints, Yakshas, Gandharvas, Pishachas, serpents and Rakshas, that had (before) been consumed by the rays of the sun. As the signs of various seasons are changed with the change of cycles, so the various orders of creations are metamorphosed in Brahma's night. Having come out (of the lotus navel of Narayana) Prajapati engages, for sooth, in the work of creation. O my child, O foremost of Bharatas, those gods, men and saints, who renouncing all attachment for the body, and being pure of mind, are united with Great Brahman, are never born in the next cycle. Having divided his own day into a thousand Yugas (cycles) and his night into an equal number of cycles in due order, the Divine Brahma, the ordainer of all, well-versed in the enumeration of time, creates and destroys the creatures again and again (41–42). The Great God the Lord Narayana, Hari exists both in his subtle and gross form. I shall relate the history of Manu Vaivaswata born of a portion of his energy. O foremost of Bharatas, hear the ancient story of the highly effulgent Manu described incidentally along with the description of Vrishni race. Here the omnipotent, Great Lord, Hari was born for the destruction of all the demons and the behoof of all the worlds.

CHAPTER 9. ACCOUNT OF THE SUN'S OFFSPRING.

Vaishampayana said:—O subduer of foes, Kaçyapa begat Vivaswan on Aditi, the daughter of Daksha. He espoused the goddess Sajna. That beautiful damsel was celebrated over the three worlds by the name of Surenu. The wife, of that high-souled, divine Martanda (sun) gifted with beauty and youth (as she was) was, not satisfied with the beauty of her husband. Amongst females on this earth Sajna was gifted with great ascetic powers. Having her body scorched by the rays of the sun she did not look beautiful. Kaçyapa affectionately said (to Aditi) who was ignorant "your embryo* is not dead" and so he is called Martanda [* The allusion is:—When Aditi was enciente Budha went to her for alms. For her condition she was late in complying with his request and Budha imprecated a curse on her saying "the child will be dead." At this she grew pale, and Kaçyapa, knowing all this by his ascetic power, preserved the child.]. The rays of the sun are always very powerful, O my child, and the son of Kaçyapa oppresses the three worlds therewith. Q foremost of Kouravas, that best of luminous bodies, Aditya begat on Sajna three children, one daughter and two sons who became patriarchs. First was born Manu Vaivaswata and then the patriarch Sraddhadeva, then Yama and Yamuna were born as twins. Thereupon beholding the pale countenance of Vivaswan and unable to bear her own form she created Savarna out of her own shadow. Sajna was an adept in illusion and so, O king, her shadow at once sprang up and bowing with folded hands said to her.

She said:—"O thou of pure smiles, tell me what I am to do. Command me, O fair one, I am at your service".

Sajna said:—"May good betide you, I shall now go to my father's house. Do you now live in this my house without any anxiety. You should look after these my boys and my youthful daughter. Never give out this secret to the Divine (Sun)".

The shadow said:—"I shall not give out your secret so long the sun does not hold me by the hair or imprecate a curse on me. Go now at your pleasure, O goddess".

Vaishampayana said:—Having said carefully "so be it". to Sarvana, the ascetic Sajna went to Twasta as if in shame. When she met her father he remonstrated with her repeatedly and asked her to go to her husband again. Then hiding her beauty and assuming the form of a mare, that faultless (damsel) repaired to the (province of) Uttarakuru and began to graze there. Then taking the second Sajna for the (real) one, Aditya begat a son on her after his own self. This lord was like the first-born Manu and people designate him as Manu Savarni. He became Manu Savarni. Her second son was known by the name of Sani. O child, the immitation Sajna did not show that affection towards the first-born children which she did towards her own son. Manu forgave her for that but Yama could not do so. Out of childishness, anger and future glory, Vivaswata's son Yama threatened Sajna with a stroke of his foot. O king, greatly stricken with sorrow Savarni's mother (accordingly) cursed him in anger, saying "your foot shall drop". Then worked up with anxiety on account of the imprecation and assailed by Sajna's words, Yama, with folded hands, communicated everything unto his sire. He said to his father:—"Do thou so arrange as to withdraw the curse. It is the duty of a mother to show affection equally towards all her sons. Disregarding us she always loves the youngest son. So I did lift up my foot but it did not fall on her body. You should forgive me for the offence that I have committed out of childishness or ignorance; since I have insulted her, being a son, who is worthy of my respect, forsooth shall my foot drop off. A son may prove a bad son, but never does the mother. O foremost of luminous bodies, O lord of the worked, I have been cursed by my mother. Let not my foot drop by your favour".

Vivaswat said:—"Undoubtedly, my son, there must be a mighty cause for it, since anger has possessed you who are truthful and pious. I shall not be able to make otherwise your mother's words; taking flesh from your foot the worms shall fall on the surface at the earth, O highly wise one, and you will, accordingly attain to happiness. This being done the words of your mother shall prove true. And you will also be saved from the effect of the imprecation". Aditya then said to Sajna:—"Equal affection should be shown towards all children. Why are you then again and again showing partiality towards one?" In order to evade it she made no reply to the sun. Then having concentrated his own self by virtue of Yoga, he found out the truth. O descendant of Kuru, then to imprecate a curse of destruction on her the lord sun held her by the hair. The terms of contract being thus transgressed she communicated the truth unto Vivaswan (35-36). Hearing all Vivaswan got enraged and approached Twasta. He too, having eulogized him (the sun) properly who was bent upon consuming him, pacified his anger.

Twasta said:—"This your highly effulgent form does not look graceful. Unable to bear your lustre Sajna is wandering in the yellow forest. To-day will you behold your wife of pure conduct, who is daily engaged in hard austerities under the guise of a mare. Living on leaves, and a life of a female anchorite, she has grown emaciated and poorly; her hairs have grown into matted locks and she has been agitated like a lotus crushed by the trunk of an elephant. O lord of rays, if you accept my view, I may, for that praiseworthy damsel endued with ascetic power, resorting to Yoga, O king of gods, convert this form of yours into a beautiful one, O slayer of enemies." The rays of the sun were crooked and extended above. Gifted with such a celestial form the sun was not of a gentle look. So the Patriarch (sun) attached great importance to Twasta's words and gave order to the celestial Architect for beautifying his own form. Thereupon Twasta approached the effulgent Martanda. And then placing him on a chisel, O descendant of Bharata, he cut lose his lustre. When his effulgence was thus reduced and he appeared in his new form he looked superbly beautiful and more than it. The beautiful form of that lord of rays was thus easily formed. Since then the countenance of the deity, sun, is red. The twelve Adityas, originated from his mouth, sprang from the portions of his effulgence dropped from the countenance of Martanda when the act of chiselling was performed; they were Dhata, Aryama, Mitra, Varuna, Angsha, Bhaga, Indra, Vivaswan, Pusha, the tenth Parjanya, the eleventh Twasta and the youngest Vishnu. Thereupon beholding the Adityas begotten of his own body he attained delight. Then Twasta worshipped him with scents, flowers, ornaments and a brilliant crown and said to him:—"O god, go to your own wife in Uttarakuru, who, assuming the form of a mare, is grazing in the forest of green grass." Thereupon assuming sportively a similar form, he, by virtue of his Yoga power, espied his own wife in the form of a mare. O king, assuming the form of a mare she was fearlessly wandering there and no one could distress her on account of her energy and pious observances. Then the powerful sun, in his horse form, knew her by his mouth (48–53). Taking him for another man the mare did not yeild to his desire. Then from his nostril the two Aswinis, the foremost of the physicians, were born. They were the sons of the eighth Patriarch Martanda. Aditya begat the two Aswinis on Sajna in the guise of a mare and he then appeared before his wife in his beautiful form.

O Janamejaya, beholding her husband she (Sajna) was greatly delighted. Yama, greatly sorry at heart on account of his own mis-deed, began to please his subjects with his pious rule and he was accordingly called Dharmaraj. By his holy act of pleasing his subjects he was appointed the regent of the ancestral manes and elevated to the dignity of a patriarch. The ascetic Savarni Manu was a patriarch and in the future Savarni Manwantara he will be the Manu. The all-powerful Manu, even now, is carrying on penances on the summit of the mount Meru. His brother Shanischara has attained to the status of a planet. Those, who were known as Aswinis, became the physicians of the celestial region. O king, Sevata too became the physician of the horses. Twasta, with that effulgence, created the discus of Vishnu. With a view to destroy the Danavas that discus is never baffled in a warfare. Their illustrious twin sister Yamuna became the foremost of rivers of that name purifying the world. Manu was known as Savarni Manu in the world. His second son, Manu's brother Sanischara attained to the status of a planet, worshipped of all the worlds. He, who listens to this story of the birth of gods or meditates on it, is freed from all calamities and attains great renown).

CHAPTER 10. VAIVASWATA MANU'S OFFSPRING.

Vaishampayana said:—O foremost of Bharatas, Vivaswata Manu had nine sons after him—Ikshwaku, Nabhaga, Dhrishnu, Sharyati, Narishyan, Prangsha, Nabhagarishtha, Korusha and Prishadhra. O king, desirous of progeny the patriarch Manu performed a sacrifice before Mitra and Varuna. O descendant of Bharata, before the birth of these nine sons of his, Muni offered oblation to the portions of Mitra and Varuna in the present sacrifice. When this oblation was offered, the gods, Gandharvas, men and ascetics attained to great delight and exclaimed. "Oh! wonderful is his ascetic energy! Oh! Wonderful is his knowledge of scriptures." The tradition is, that in that sacrifice was born Ila, clad in a celestial raiment, adorned with celestial ornaments and equipped with a celestial armour. Manu, with a rod of chastisement in his hand, said to her: "Follow me, O fair one." She gave the following moral reply to that Patriarch desirous of offspring.

Ila said:—"O best of speakers, I am born of the energy of Mitra and Varuna and so I shall go to them. Do not destroy my morality."

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Having said this to Manu Ila approached Mitra and Varuna and that fair one with folded hands said to them, "I am born of your energy; Manu has asked me to follow him. Tell me what I shall do". Hear from me what Mitra and Varuna did say to the pious and chaste Ila who had addressed them thus. "O you fair one of beautiful hips, we have been pleased with your virtue, humility, self restraint and truthfulness. Therefore O great lady, you will be celebrated as our daughter, O fair one, you will be the son of Manu, perpetuating his race, celebrated in the three worlds by the name of Sudyumna. You will be pious, beloved of the world and multiply the race of Manu." While she, on hearing this, was about to return to her father (Manu), she was invited, on the way, by Buddha, for conjugal purposes. Then Soma's son Buddha begat on her Pururava. Having given birth to that son Ila became Pradyumna. O descendant of Bharata, the three kinsmen of Sudyumna-Uutkala, Gaya and the energetic Vinatashwa were greatly pious, O king, the northern quarter was under Utkala, the western under Vinatashwa and the city Gaya was under Gaya. O subduer of foes, Manu having entered the sun, his sons divided the earth into ten parts. The eldest of them Ikshwaku obtained the central portion by whose sacrificial stakes the earth, with her forests and mines, has been marked. On account of his partaking of the nature of a female Sudyumna did not obtain this (central region). According to the words of Vasishtha, the high-souled pious king Sudyumna was installed in the province of Pratishtana [Pratishtana or Prayaga is the modern Allahabad]. O foremost of Kurus. Having obtained that kingdom the highly illustrious Sudyumna conferred it on Pururava and he himself reigned in Partishtana. Utkala had three sons celebrated in the three worlds Dhristaka, Amvarisha and Danda. Amongst them the noble Danda founded the most excellent Dandakaranya (the forest of Danda) celebrated in the world as the abode of the ascetics. As soon as a man enters there he is freed from sins. O descendant of Bharata, having begotten Aila, Sudyumna repaired to heaven, O monarch, that son of Manu, who was endowed with the characteristics of both a man and woman, and who took the name of Ila, was celebrated by the name of Sudyumna. O descendant of Bharata, Shakas were the sons of Narishwanta, and Amvarisha, the foremost of kings, was the son of Nabhaga. Dhrishnu's son Dharshtaka and Ranadhrishta became known as Kshatra. And Karusha's sons were the Kshatrya Karushas, dreadful in battle. In this way a thousand mighty powerful Kshatryas were born, O descendant of Bharata. The sons of Nabhagarishtha, although Kshatryas (by birth), came by the status of Vaishyas. Prangshu had one son celebrated by the name of Sharyati. Narishwanta's son was the powerful Danda. Saryati had a twin son and daughter. The son was named Anartta and the daughter Sukanya became the wife of Chyavana. Anartta's successor was the highly effulgent Reva (31–32). His city Kusasthali was in the province of Anartta. Reva's son Raivata passed by the name of Kukudmi and was pious). Having obtained the kingdom of Kusasthali he became the father of a hundred sons. He, along with his daughter, received from Brahma instructions in music. And O lord, many a Yuga passed away to him like a moment. He then, in his youthful state, returned to his own city filled with Yadavas. The city of Dwaravati, charming with many damsels, was protected by the descendants of Bhoja and Vrishni races headed by Vasudeva.

O slayer of foes, then informed of all these details Raivata conferred upon Baladeva that vow-observing maiden by name Revati. Having given away (his daughter) he repaired to the summit of the mount Sumeru for carrying on hard austerities. Rama too lived happily in the company of Revati.

CHAPTER 11. ACCOUNT OF RAIVATA AND HIS SONS.

Janamejaya said:—O foremost of the twice-born, why were not Revati and Revata's son Kukudmi, visited by decrepitude although they lived for many years. Why does Saryati's grandson, even after his retirement to Meru, still live in this world? I wish to hear all this in sooth.

Vaishampayana said:—O sinless one, O foremost of Bharatas, there is neither decrepitude, hunger, thirst, death, nor the change of seasons in the region of Brahma. After the departure of Revata's son Kukudmi, his city Kushasthali was destroyed by demons and goblins. That high-souled and pious king had a hundred brothers. When the Rakshasas began to carry on the work of destruction they fled away in various directions. O king of kings, when after their escape all the hundred brothers settled in various parts the Kshatriyas thereof were stricken with fear, O king, their families extended to all those countries and are known as Sharyatas. O foremost of Bharatas, in all the quarters those pious Kshatriyas reside; O descendant of Kurus, amongst them many entered into mountainous regions. The two sons of Nabhagaristha, although born of a Vaishya mother, attained to the status of a Brahmana. The sons of Karusha, Kshatriyas dreadful in battle, passed by the name of Karushas. Only one son of Prangshu is mentioned by the name of Prajapati. O Janamejaya, having killed the cow of his preceptor, Prishata is said to have come by the birth of a Sudra. O fore most of Bharatas, I have thus given an account of the nine sons of Manu Vaivaswata. When Manu sneezed there came out from his nostril a son by name Ikshawku. He had a hundred sons who gave away profuse gifts. The eldest of them Vikukshi, on account of his huge abdomen, could not make a warrior and so that pious king reigned as the lord of Ayodhya. He had fifty excellent sons headed by Sakuni. They all reigned, O king, protecting the province of Uttarapatha. O king, thirty-eight sons headed by Shashada protected the southern quarter. On an Ashtaka [The eighth day of three months on which the progenitors are worshipped.] day Ikshwaku commanded Vikukshi by saying "O you of great strength, do you bring meat for the Sraddha after killing deer." Having taken the meat of a hare before the performance of the Sraddha for which it was collected he returned from hunting with the name of Shashada [Meaning one who eats the meat of a hare.]. He was forsaken by Ikshwaku at the words of Vashishtha. After the demise of Ikshwaku Shashada began to live in the city (of Ayodhya). Shashada's son was the powerful Kakutstha. Seated on the hump of Indra in the guise of a bull he defeated the Asuras in the days of yore in battle and accordingly he was called Kakutstha. Kakustha's son was Anena and his son was Prithu. Prithu's son was Vishtarashwa and from him was born Adra. Adra's son was Yuvanashwa and his son was Shrava. The king Shrava made a city by the name of Shravasti. And his son was highly illustrious Vrihadashwa. His son was the highly pious king Kuvalashwa, who, by killing (the demon) Dhundhu, came by the name of king Dhundhumara.

Janamejaya said:—O Brahman, I wish to hear the true account of the destruction of Dhundhu for which Kuvalashwa came by the name of Dhundhumara.

Vaishampayana said:—Kuvalashwa had a hundred sons all skillful archers; they were all well-educated, powerful irrepressible and pious and performed sacrifices and gave away profuse gifts. Kuvalashwa installed his son Vrihadashwa in the kingdom. Having made over the charge of his kingdom to his son he repaired to the forest. But the saint Uttanka prevented him (from doing that). He said:—"O king, it behoves you to protect your subjects; you should not carry on penances, relieved of all anxiety (for the state). O king, high-souled as you are, the earth should be protected by you. Setting aside all cares you should not enter into woods. It is seen that great virtue consists in protecting the subjects, but not so, in repairing to the forest Such is upheld to be the duty of a king and even the former saintly kings used to protect their subjects. Therefore, you should look after your subjects. On the even ground near my hermitage, all desert and with little water, there is a tract full of the sands of the ocean called Ujjanaka [Literally Ut and Janaka or collection of men, i.e., divested of men. It means that in that tract of land there was no human habitation.]. There entered into the ground full of sand a huge-bodied and highly powerful (demon) whom it was beyond (the power of the) gods even to destroy. That son of the Rakshasa, Madhu, also passed by the name of the huge Asura, Dhundhu. Resorting to dreadful penances, he is lying there for the destruction of men. When he breathes after the expiration of a year the earth trembles with her mountains, forest and wood. The heavy dust, raised by his breath, obstructs the path of the sun—the earth-quake continues for one week—and there comes out smoke with scintillations of fire and cinders. At that time, O my child, I cannot live at my hermitage. Therefore, for the behoof of mankind, do you slay that huge-bodied demon. On the destruction of that demon people will be at ease. O king, you alone are competent to kill him. O sinless one, in the previous Yuga Vishnu conferred a boon on me. 'You will welcome his energy with a boon who will kill that dreadful and highly powerful great Asura'. O king, even in a hundred celestial years trifling energy cannot consume that highly powerful Dhundhu. Great is his energy which even the gods cannot with difficulty overcome". Thus accosted by the high-souled Uttanka the royal saint despatched his son Kuvalashwa for suppressing Dhundhu.

Vrihadashwa said:—"O Reverend Sir, I have given up the use of weapons. He is my son, and forsooth, O foremost of the twice-born, he will destroy Dhundhu (and acquire the name of Dhundhumara)".

Having ordered his son for the destruction of Dhundhu, the self-controlled royal saint went to the mountain for carrying on penances. O king, Kuvalashwa, with his hundred sons and the ascetic, issued out to destroy Dhundhu. For the behoof of mankind and at the behest of Uttanka the Lord Divine Vishnu entered into him by his own energy. After his departure a terrible sound was heard in the sky. "This graceful prince will be Dhundhamara" [Lit: Destroyer of (the Demon) Dhundhu. This will be his surname after the destruction of the demon Dhundhu by him.]. Then the celestials engarlanded him with heavenly garlands. The celestial bugles were also sounded, O foremost of Bharatas.

Having gone there, that best of victors, the energetic (Kuvalashwa) made his sons dig up the un-ending sandy ocean. O descendant of Kuru, being invigorated by Narayana's energy he became highly powerful and energetic. Digging up the sandy ocean his sons, O king, found out Dhundhu, lying in the west. He seemed, as if, to have burnt down the quarters in anger with fire coming out of his mouth. O foremost of Bharatas, as the ocean swells up with the rise of the moon, so (by the movement of that demon) mighty torrents of water began to flow. Excepting three the hundred sons of that king were consumed by that Rakshasa. Thereupon, O descendant of Kuru, the highly energetic king Dhundhumara confronted the highly powerful Rakshasa Dhundhu. Then having drunk up, by his Yoga power, his (Rakshasa's) watery energy the ascetic (king) quenched the fire with water. Then having slain with his strength that demon of the water the king proved himself successful to Uttanka. Uttanka too conferred a boon on the high souled king—via endless riches, victory over his enemies, inclination to virtue and eternal habitation in heaven, as well as the attainment to the eternal region of those of his sons who were killed by the Rakshasa.

CHAPTER. 12. THE STORY OF SATYAVRATA.

Vaishampayana said:—Of his three surviving sons Dridhashwa is spoken of as the eldest; Chandrashwa and Kapilashwa were the two younger sons. Haryashwa was the son of Dhundhumara's son Dridhashwa. His son was Nikumbhu always observant of the duties of the Kshatryas. Nikumbhu's son was Sanghatashwa, well-versed in the art of warfare. O king, Sanghatashwa had two sons Krishashwa and Akrishashwa. Himalaya's daughter Drishadvati, respected by the good and celebrated in the three worlds, was his spouse. Her son was Prasenajit Prasenajit got a wife by name Gouri ever devoted to her husband. Cursed by her husband she became a river by name Vahuda. His son was the emperor Yuvanashwa whose son was Mandhata, the victor of the three worlds. His wife was Chaitrarathi the daughter of Shashavindhu—her another name was the chaste Vindumati unequalled in beauty in the world. She was chaste and the eldest of ten million brothers. O king, Mandhata begat on her two sons—the pious Purukutsa and the virtuous Muchukunda. Purukutsa's son was the emperor Trasadasyu. He begat a son on Narmada by name Sambhuta whose son was the king Sudhanwa. Sudhanwa's son was Tridhanwa, the represser of foes; the educated powerful king Trayyaruna was Tridhanwa's son. His highly powerful son, of vicious understanding, by name Satyavrata, put obstacles to the nuptial mantras. On account of his childishness, fickleness, lust, ignorance and joy he took as his wife the duly wedded spouse of another man. Out of lust he stole away the daughter of another citizen. Pierced by the dart of iniquity and worked up with anger (therefore) the king Trayyaruna renounced him saying. "Go to rack and ruin." Forsaken by his sire he again and again said to him "Where shall I go?".

The father then said to him "Go and live with the Chandalas [A low caste people, by living with whom the people are outcasted.]. O you who have sullied your family, I do not like to be the father of a son like you". Thus spoken to by his father he issued out of the city. The omniscient Rishi Vasishtha did not prevent him (however) O child, thus forsaken by his father the heroic Satyavrata repaired to where the Chandalas were living. His father too left for the forest. On account of his iniquity the chastiser of Paka* (Indra), did not pour rain in his kingdom for twelve long years. [* This refers to Indra the god of rain. He received this appellation by destroying a demon by name Paka.] Having made over the kingdom to his wives the great ascetic Viswamitra carried on hard penances near the sea. Having tied a rope round the neck of his own begotten second son his wife sold him for a hundred coins for the maintenance of the remaining sons. O descendant of Bharata, when he saw the ascetic's son thus bound for sale the pious prince released him. For encompassing Viswamitra's pleasure and for his favour the mighty-armed Satyavrata maintained his sons. On account of his being bound by the neck the great ascetic passed by the name of Galava. And that great saint Kausika was released by that heroic (king).

CHAPTER 13. THE SAME STORY CONTINUED.

Vaishampayana said:—Thus on account of his Bhakti, mercy and promise* Satyavrata, ever stationed in humility, took charge of Vishwamitra's offspring [* The promise refers to that of his no longer being a disciple of Vashishtha.]. Having killed wild deer, bear and buffaloes he used to keep meat tied to the trees near the hermitage of Vishwamitra. After the king had left for the forest he, taking the vow of not taking another's wife, passed twelve years at the behest of his sire as a probationer. On account of his being the royal priest the ascetic Vashishtha protected the city of Ayodhya and the kingdom. Satyavrata too, on account of his childishness and future greatness, foolishly got greatly enraged with Vashishtha. O king, when his father renounced his own son Satyavrata, Vashishtha, for some reason, did not prevent him.(6). By proceeding seven footsteps all the nuptial mantras are annulled. Satyavrata, however, could not hear those muttering prayers. O descendant of Bharata, thinking "although Vashishtha is pious still he is not saving me" Satyavrata got highly enraged with him. Thinking well however the great Vashishtha did not prevent him then; but

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Satyavrata could not understand his intention. His high-souled sire was not satisfied with him and therefore the slayer of Paka did not send showers for twelve years. By carrying on those hard austerities now on earth he is releasing his family (from that sin). When he was forsaken by his father Vashishtha did not prevent him because the ascetic had in view of placing his (Satyavrata's) son on the throne. Carrying on hard austerities for twelve years, one day the powerful prince Satyavrata, stricken with anger, ignorance, labour and hunger, for not finding meat, saw the high-souled Vashishtha's milch-cow conferring the grant of all desires. O Janamejaya, possessed by drunkenness, madness, exhaustion, anger, hunger, hastiness, cowardice, avarice and lust he killed that cow. He himself took the meat and made Vishwamitra's children partake of it. Hearing it Vashishtha was enraged. The revered Rishi, worked up with anger, then said to the prince. "O wicked man, I discharge at you this javelin (of sin); if you had not two other javelins of sin (stuck to you) forsooth I would not have discharged it [This passage requires a little elucidation. He had already been visited by two transgressions, namely the incurring of his father's displeasure and the killing of his preceptor's cow. Now he commits another transgression, namely the eating of forbidden meat—these three transgressions are compared to three javelins.]. You have committed threefold transgressions, namely the incurring of your father's displeasure, the killing of your preceptor's milch-cow and the eating of forbidden meat".

Vaishampayana said:—The incurring of his father's displeasure, the killing of his preceptor's cow and the eating of forbidden meat formed as it were three javelins to him and therefore he was called Trishankhu. After his return Vishwamitra found his wife and children looked after by him and pleased accordingly the ascetic conferred a boon on Trishankhu. When that ascetic was about to confer a boon on him the prince begged of him (the boon) of going bodily to heaven. Then the fear of draught, extending over twelve years, was gone and the ascetic, having installed him on the throne, began to act as his priest. The all-powerful son of Kushika took him bodily to heaven in the presence of all the gods and the great saint Vashishtha. He had a wife by name Satyaratha born in the race of Kekayas. He begat on her the sinless prince Harishchandra. The king Harishchandra was called Traishankava. [The son of Trishankhu.] Having celebrated a a Rajasuya sacrifice he became the Lord Paramount. Harishchandra had a powerful son by name Rohita by whom, for the advancement of his kingdom, the city of Rohitapura was founded. Having governed his kingdom and the subjects and been convinced of the worthlessness of the world the royal saint (Rohita) gave away that city unto the Brahmanas. Rohita's son was Harita, whose son was Chanchu who had two sons, by name Vijaya and Sudeva. Vijaya defeated all the Kshatryas and therefore he got that name. His son was Ruruka who was virtuous-souled and studied the Vedas. Ruruka's son was Vrika and of him was born Vahu. Haihaya, Talajangha and other Kshatriya clans accompanied by Shaka, Javana, Kamvoja, Parada Palhava and other clans discomfitted that king for he was not greatly virtuous even in golden age. Vahu's son was born with poison and therefore he was called Sagara. Coming to the hermitage of Aurva he was protected by Bhargava). O foremost of Kurus, having obtained a fiery weapon from Bhargava the pious king Sagara, endued with great strength, slew all the Haihayas and Talajanghas, conquered all the world and put down the religious practices of Shaka, Palhava and Parada Kshatryas.

CHAPTER 14. AN ACCOUNT OF SAGARA.

Janamejaya said:—Why was the powerful king Sagara born with poison? And why did he, worked up with anger, put down the religious practices of Shakas and other highly powerful Kshatriya clans as laid down by their respective orders. And why was he not injured by poison? Describe all this at length, O great ascetic.

Vaishampayana said:—O king, when Vahu grew addicted to vice, Haihaya, with Talajanghas and Shakas spoliated his territories. Yavanas, Paradas, Kambhojas, Palhavas and Shakas—these five classes (of Mlechhas) displayed their prowess for Haihaya. Deprived of his kingdom, the king Vahu retired into a forest life. Followed by his wife he gave up his life there in great misery. His wife of the Yadu race was (at that time) enciente and she followed her husband whose other wife had administered poison unto her before (her departure). When she, making a funeral pyre for her husband in that forest, got upon it Aurva, born in the family of Bhrigu, out of compassion, prevented her. In his hermitage she gave birth to the highly powerful and mighty-armed king Sagara together with poison. Having performed all the rites consequent upon the birth of that high-souled (king) Aurva taught him the Vedas and then gave him at last the fiery weapon which even the immortals cannot withstand. Gifted with great strength he, by dint of the prowess of that weapon, in no time destroyed the Haihayas like unto enraged Rudra slaying the beasts. That foremost of the illustrious (kings) spread his own fame in the world. Thereupon he made up his mind for extirpating the race of the Shakas, Kambhojas and Palhavas. When about to be slain by the high-souled hero, they, seeking refuge with the intelligent Vasishtha, bowed unto him. Seeing them arrived in proper time the highly effulgent Vasishtha promised them security and prevented Sagara. Considering his own promise and the words of his preceptor Sagara violated their religious practices and made them change their dress. Having made the Shakas shave half of their heads he dismissed them. He made the Yavanas and Kambhojas shave their entire head. Paradas used to have their hairs dishevelled and Palhavas kept beards. They were prohibited from studying the Vedas, and offering oblation to fire by the high-souled (Sagara). O my child, Shakas, Yavanas, Kambhojas, Paradas, Kolasapyas, Mahishas, Darvas, Cholas and Keralas were all Kshatriyas. O king, at the words of Vasishtha their religious practices were put down by the high-souled Sagara. Having conquered the entire earth consisting of (the provinces of) Khasa, Tukhara, China, Madra, Kishkindhaka, Kountala, Banga, Shalwa, Konkashaka and others, that king, who had put down other religious forms, entered upon the performance of Bajapeya sacrifice and let loose a horse. The horse, while it was roaming near the bank of the south eastern ocean, was pilfered and made to enter into the earth. Then the king had that portion of the country dug by his sons. When that mighty ocean was thus dug up they arrived at a place where the prime deity, the Patriarch Hari, the best of male beings, in the shape of Kapila, was sleeping. O great king, when he awoke all the sons (of Sagara), with the exception of four, were all consumed by the fire coming out of his eyes. O king, they were Varhaketu, Suketu, Dharmaratha and the heroic Panchajana—they perpetuated the race of Sagara. The Omniscient Hari Narayana conferred on him many boons viz.—unending family, the eternal glory of the Ikshwaku family, the birth of the ocean as his son, eternal habitation in heaven, and the ascension into the eternal region of those of his sons who had been consumed by the fiery looks of Kapila. Thereupon the ocean worshipped that king with Arghya, and for this it obtained the appellation of Sagara. He obtained from the ocean that horse destined for the Aswamedha sacrifice. The highly illustrious king performed a hundred horse sacrifices and we have heard that he had sixty thousand sons.

CHAPTER 15. THE SAME STORY CONTINUED.

Janamejaya said:—By what observance, O twice-born one, did the sixty thousand heroic and powerful sons of Sagara attain to greatness?

Vaishampayana said:—Sagara had two wives whose sons had been consumed by ascetic observances. The oldest of them, the daughter of the king of Vidarbha, was celebrated by the name Keshini. His youngest wife was the pious daughter of Arishthanemi, who was unequalled on earth in beauty. Hear, O king, what boons Aurva conferred upon them. He wanted one of them to take sixty thousand sons and the other to pray for one son (only) after her heart who will perpetuate the race. Of them she, who was avaricious, prayed for many mighty sons. The other prayed for only one son, who will keep up the prestige of the family. The ascetic conferred on her the same boon. Sagara begat on Keshini a son named Asmanja. That highly powerful king also passed by the name of Panchajana. The other, as the rumour is, gave birth to a long gourd consisting of seeds. Therein lay like corns sixty thousand embryos. They grew up duly in proper time. The father threw those embryos into vessels full of clarified butter and appointed equal number of nurses to look after them. When ten months were complete thence came out with ease and in proper time those sons of Sagara enhancing his delight. In this way, O king, there originated from bottle gourd the sixty thousand sons of Sagara. When they were consumed by Narayana's energy one of them only survived namely, Panchajana who became the king. Panchajana's son was the energetic Angsuman. His son Dilipa also passed by the name of Khattanga. Coming down to this earth from heaven and taking birth there he, within a moment, ransacked the three worlds by virtue of his intelligence and truthfulness, O sinless one. Dilipa's son was the great king Bhagiratha who, powerful as he was, brought down the best of rivers Ganga. That noble and illustrious king, equal to Sakra in prowess, brought her to the ocean and then considered her as his daughter. Therefore by the Rishis who keep account of families she has been styled Bhagirathi. Bhagiratha's son was the celebrated king Shruta. The highly pious Nabhaga was Shruta's son Nabhaga's son was Ambarisha who was the father of Sindhudwipa, whose son was the powerful Ayutajit. The illustrious Rituparna was Ayutajit's son. He was powerful, well-versed in the game of celestial dice and a friend of king Nala. The king Artaparni was Rituparna's son, whose son was the king Sudasa who became the friend of Indra. The king Soudasa was Sudasa's son. He was celebrated by the name of Kalmashapada and was greatly attached to his friends. Kalmashapada's son was known by the name of Sarvakarma whose son was the celebrated Anaranya. Anaranya's son was Nighna who had two sons, both leading kings, by name Anamitra and Raghu. Anamitra's son was the educated and pious Duliduho. His son was Dilipa, the grandfather of Rama. Dilipa's son was the large-armed Raghu. The highly powerful king Raghu reigned in Ayodhya. Aja was born of Raghu and Aja's son was Dasharatha whose son was the virtuous-souled and illustrious Rama. Rama's son passed by the name of Kusha whose son was Atithi and whose son was Nishadha. Nishadhas son was Nala whose son was Nabha. Nabha's son was Pundarika whose son passed by the name of Kshemadhanwa. Kshemadhanwa's son was the powerful Devanika whose son was the great Ahinagu. Ahinagu's good son was the king Sudhanwa, as whose son was born the king Anala. Anala's son was the virtuous Uktha, the son of which high souled (king) was Vajranabha. His son Shankha was celebrated for his great learning and passed by the name of Dhyushitashwa. His son was the learned Pushpa, whose son was Arthasiddhi). His son was Sudarshana, whose son was Shighra and whose son was Maru. Maru practised Yoga in the island of Kala. His son was the illustrious king Vrihadvala. O foremost of Bharatas, in Purana, there are two kings celebrated by the name of Nala. Of them one was the son of Veerasena and the other was a descendant of Ikshwaku. I have thus described (to you) in order of precedence the leading members of the Ikshwaku race. These kings, of immeasurable energy, belonged to the solar dynasty. By reading the account of creation by the illustrious Sradhadeva Aditya who confers nourishment upon creatures a man gets offspring, attains to the same status with the sun, is freed from sins and haughtiness and obtains longevity.

CHAPTER 16. THE ORIGIN OF PITRIS AND FRUITS OF SRADDHAS.

Janamejaya said:—How did the illustrious Aditya become the (presiding) deity of Sraddhas? What is the most excellent mode of performing them? I wish to hear all this, O Vipra.. What is the origin of the Pitris and who are they? We have heard from the conversation of the Brahmanas that the Pitris (ancestral manes), stationed in heaven, are even the gods of the gods. This is said by those well read in the Vedas. I therefore wish to know this. I wish to hear of the most excellent creation of Pitris, their various orders, their great strength, how are they propitiated by the Sraddhas performed by us, and how they, delighted, shower benedictions on us.

Vaishampayana said:—I will now describe to you the most excellent creation of the Pitris; how they are propitiated by Sraddhas performed by us and how they, being pleased, pour blessings on us. Markandeya described this when he was accosted by Bhishma. The question, that you have asked me, was put to Bhishma by the pious king (Yudhisthira) when the former was lying on the bed of arrows.

Yudhisthira said:—O you conversant with virtue, how people, seeking nourishment, get it? By doing what do they not grieve I wish to hear this.

Bhishma said:—O Yudhishthira, he, who propitiates the departed manes by the performance of Sraddhas that secure all desired for objects, who always performs them with a concentrated mind, attains to delight both in this world and in the next. The Pitris confer virtue on him who seeks it, children on him who wants them and nourishment on him who desires for it.

Yudhisthira said:—The departed manes of some persons live in heaven, and those of others live in hell. The fruits of Karma, it is said, eternally exist with people. Persons, in expectation of fruits, perform Sraddhas for their father, grand-father, and great-grand-father. How those offerings reach the ancestral manes? How can they, while living in hell, grant them the fruits (thereof)? Who are those ancestral manes Who else are others? To whom do we offer our offerings? We have heard that even the gods, in the celestial region, dedicate offerings to the ancestral manes. I wish to hear all this at length O you of great effulgence. You are endued with immeasurable intelligence, do you describe to me, how by making gifts to the ancestral manes we are released (from worldly trammels).

Bhishma said:—O slayer of foes, I shall describe to you what I have heard on this subject from my deceased father—who are those ancestral manes and who are others to whom we dedicate our offerings. When on the occasion of my father's Sraddha I was about to offer him Pinda* my father, rending assunder the earth, begged it of me with his hand. [* An oblation to deceased ancestors as a ball or lump of meat or rice mixed up with milk curds, flowers etc and offered to the manes at the several Sraddhas by the nearest surviving relations.] His arm was adorned with bracelet and other ornaments—his fingers and palm were as red as I had seen them before. Thinking that no such practice is seen in Kalpa [One of the six Vedangas and comprehending the description of religious rites. It is called Kalpa Sutra.]. I offered the Pinda at the Kusa grass, without any consideration. O sinless one, then my father delightedly said to me in sweet accents:—"O foremost of Bharatas, I have been blessed with a son like you, both in this world and the next-a good son, pious and learned as you are. You are also of firm vows, O sinless one; with a view to lay down the religious practices of people, I issued this command. As a man, observing the religious practices, is entitled to a fourth part of the virtue thereof, so a stupid

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person, transgressing them, is visited by one fourth of the sin (consequent thereon). The subjects follow the example set by the king in religious practices. O foremost of Bharatas, you have observed the practices laid down in the eternal Vedas and incomparable is my satisfaction therefore. Greatly pleased with you I will confer upon you a most excellent boon—do you pray for it which it is hard to get in the three worlds. As long as you will wish to live Death will not be able to extend his influence on you. When you will permit him he will overpower you then only. O foremost of Bharatas, if there is any other boon which you wish to pray for, tell me and I shall grant it."

On (my father) saying this, I, saluting him with folded hands, said "O most exalted person, with your being propitiated I have achieved all my objects. O you of great effulgence, if I am again entitled to a favour, I wish to put a question which I desire you to answer yourself)." My virtuous-souled father then said to me "O Bhishma, tell me whatever you like. O Bharata, I will remove your doubt about what you will ask me". Filled with curiosity I asked my father who had repaired to the region of the performers of good deeds and who then disappeared from that place.

Bhishma said:—"I have heard that the ancestral manes are the gods of the gods. Are they the gods or they are others to whom we offer our adoration? How the Pindas offered at Sraddhas propitiate the Pitris who have gone to the other world? What are the fruits of a Sraddha? To whom the people, accompanied by the gods, Danavas, Yakshas, Rakshasas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras and huge serpents, dedicate their offerings? O you conversant with virtue, I consider you as omniscient—I have grave doubts in this and great is my curiosity—do you explain it to me." Hearing these words of Bhishma his father said.

Shantanu said:—Hear, O sinless descendant of Bharata, I will describe in brief the origin of the Pitris and the fruits of Sraddhas. Do you hear with a concentrated mind the object of performing Sraddhas for the Pitris. The sons of the Prime Deity are known in heaven as Pitris. The gods, Asuras, men, Yakshas, Rakshasas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras and huge serpents, dedicate offerings to them. Propitiated by Sraddhas they please the world with the gods and the Gandharvas—such is the command of Brahma. Therefore, "O great one, worship them with excellent Sraddhas. They grant all desired-for objects and they will encompass your well-being. When you will worship them by reciting their names and families, we also, O Bharata, will be welcomed by them in heaven. Markandeya will explain to you the remaining portion. O descendant of Bharata, this ascetic, devoted to his father and having a knowledge of atman, is present to-day at the Sraddha for extending his favour unto me. Ask him, O great one, about this." Saying this he disappeared.

CHAPTER 17. THE SAME STORY CONTINUED.

Bhishma said:—Thereupon at the words (of my father) I put to Markandeya with attention the same question which I had put to my father before. The great and virtuous ascetic Markandeya too said to me:—"O sinless Bhishma, hear with attention, I will describe everything".

Markandeya said:—I have attained longevity by my father's favour. For my devotion to my father, I attained great fame in the world in the days of yore. At the termination of the cycle extending over many thousand years, I carried on hard penances on the mount Sumeru. Thereupon one day I espied a huge car coming from the north of the mountain and lighting the heaven with its lustre. Therein, a vehicle in the midst of fire, I saw a person measuring a thumb effulgent like fire or the Sun. Saluting that lord with my head touching the ground I worshipped him, lying in the vehicle, with arghya and water for washing feet. I asked that unthought-of (person). "How can I know thee, O lord (6–8)? Methinks thou hast originated from ascetic energy endued with the qualities of Narayana. Thou art the god of gods". O Sinless one, that virtuous-souled one as if surprisingly said to me: "You have not practised well hard penances, so you cannot recognize me." Within a moment he assumed another most excellent form, the like of which I had not seen before. Sanatkumar said:—"Know me as the first mind-begotten son of the all-powerful Brahma. From ascetic energy I have been born with the essential characteristics of Narayana. I am that Sanatkumar who had been celebrated in the Vedas in the days of yore. O Bhargava, may good betide you and what desire of yours shall I fulfill? The other seven irrepressible sons of Brahma are my younger brothers. Their families have been established (on this earth). They are Kretu, Vasishtha, Pulaha, Pulastya, Atri, Angira, and the learned Marichi—the gods and Gandharvas worship them also. Those ascetics, worshipped of the gods and Danavas, are upholding the three worlds. I am leading the life of a Yatin [A sage whose passions are completely under subjection.]. Having controlled my ownself and my passions I was born, O great Muni, and I am still living so. Know me as an unmarried person. And therefore I have obtained the appellation of Sanatkumar. Out of devotion to me, you have been carrying on hard penances to behold me. Therefore I have come to you, tell me what desire of yours I can fulfill". On his saying this and commanded by that all-powerful deity who was pleased with me, I replied to that eternal god, O descendant of Bharata, O sinless one, I then accosted the ever-existent (deity) regarding the origin of the Pitris and the fruits of Sraddhas. O Bhishma, that foremost of gods has removed all my doubts. After holding conversation for many years that virtuous-souled deity said to me:—"O Brahmana saint, I have been pleased (with your question), hear from me all in due order. O descendant of Bhrigu, Brahma created all the gods, thinking that they would dedicate offerings to him. But leading aside they began to perform sacrifices in expectation of fruits. Then imprecated by Brahma, the inhabitants of heaven lost all sense and consciousness. They could not understand any thing and the entire world was bewildered. Then prostrating themselves before the Grand-Father (Brahma) they again prayed to him for the behoof of the world. There upon he (Brahma) said to them:—'You should undergo a penance for you have committed a transgression. [For the negligence of not worshipping the true object of adoration.] Do ye accost your sons and you will come by true knowledge'. (Thereupon) for the purpose of going through a penance they, in great misery, asked their sons, who, self-controlled as they were, communicated to them (the truth). 'Persons conversant with religious practices lay down penances for sins committed by words, deeds and thoughts and they daily perform them.' Then informed of the true import of Prayaschitta (penance) the gods regained their consciousness and were accosted by the sons, saying 'Go ye sons'. Thus cursed and reviled the gods, at the words of sons, approached the grand-father (Brahma) to have their doubts* removed. [* The doubt, referred to, is why they were addressed by their sons, as sons.] The Deity (Brahma) then said to them:—'Ye are all Brahmavadins. [Brahmavadins means conversant with the knowledge of Brahmana. The sentence is elliptical, the full import is: ye are all conversant with the knowledge of Brahmana but not gifted with Yoga powers.] So what they have said will come to pass and it will not be otherwise. O gods, ye have given them the body and they have given ye the knowledge and are undoubtedly your fathers. Ye are gods and they are the Pitris and undoubtedly you are their fathers and they are yours'").

Thereupon the dwellers of heaven returned and said to the sons:—"Our doubts have been snapped by Brahma and so we shall be loving towards each other. Since ye, being conversant with religious merit, have conferred upon us knowledge, you are our fathers. Tell us what do you seek and what boons may we confer upon you. What you have said will forsooth prove true and not be otherwise. Since you have addressed us as sons undoubtedly you will be our fathers. The Rakshasas, Danavas and Nagas will be entitled to the fruits of an action which a man will perform without propitiating the Pitris with the performance of Sraddhas [It is for this reason the usual practice amongst the Hindus is that they perform the Sraddha of their ancestral manes before the commencement of any ceremony.]. Being propitiated by Sraddhas the Pitris will propitiate the eternal. Moon. And being propitiated by you, they will continue flourishing every day. Being propitiated by Sraddha the Moon will afford delight to all the worlds consisting of oceans, mountains, forests and all creatures both mobile and immobile. The Pitris will always confer nourishment and progeny upon those men, who desirous of nourishment, will perform Sraddhas. Being propitiated with oblations afforded at Sraddhas, the Pitris with the Omnipresent Grand-Father will advance the prosperity of those who will offer three Pindas uttering their names and Gotras at the time of Sraddha. This order was formerly announced by Parameshthi Brahma. Let his words prove true to-day, O gods, and we are now respectively fathers and sons".

Sanatkumar said:—Those Pitris are the gods and the gods are the gods, and they are respectively each other's fathers.

CHAPTER 18. AN ACCOUNT OF PITRIS.

Markandeya said:—Hear from me everything from the very beginning, O son of Ganga, of my doubts which I again referred to that reverend eternal deity Sanatkumar the foremost of immortals after having been addressed by that effulgent god of gods. What is the number of those ancestral manes and in what region are they stationed? And where do live the leading gods who derive nourishment from Soma (juice)?

Sanatkumar said:—O foremost of those who perform sacrifices, it is laid down in Scriptures, that there are seven ancestral manes who all live in heaven. Of them four are with forms and three without them. O you having asceticism for your wealth, hear, I will describe at length their region, creation, prowess and greatness. Of them the most excellent three assumed the form of Dharma (virtue). Hear, I shall describe their names and regions. The regions, where the effulgent and formless ancestral manes, the sons of Prajapati live, are (designated as) eternal. O foremost of the twice-born, the region of Viraja is known by the name of Vairaja. The celestials adore them with ceremonies laid down in Scriptures. These Brahmavadins, when they deviate from the paths of Yoga come down to Sanatana (eternal) regions and after the expiration of a thousand yugas they take their birth. Then obtaining again the recollection of the most excellent Sankhya Yoga and securing the consummate development of their powers they again attain to that Yoga state which it is so hard to acquire. O my child, they are the Pitris who enhance the ascetic powers of the Yogins and they, by their Yoga, propitiated Soma in the days of yore. Therefore Sraddhas should be performed particularly for the Yogins. This is the first creation of the high-souled drinkers of Soma. Their mind-begotten daughter Mena was the first wife of the mountain chief Himalaya. Her son was called Mainaka. His son was the effulgent great mountain Krauncha. This best of mountains was white and abounded in various sorts of jewels. The mountain-king begat on Mena three daughters, namely, Aparna, Ekaparna—and the third was Ekapatala. Having carried on hard austerities, which even the Gods and Danavas cannot practise with difficulty, those three daughters disturbed all the worlds consisting of mobile and immobile creatures. Ekaparna used to live upon one leaf only and Ekapatala used to live upon one Patala flower only. And when Aparna divorced from food began to carry on hard austerities, her mother, stricken with sorrow, consequent upon her motherly affection, prevented her, saying "U. Ma.". Thus addressed by her mother, that fair goddess, carrying on hard penances, became celebrated in the three worlds by the name of Uma. She also became celebrated by the name of Yogadharmin. [This is a name of the Goddess Uma. It literally means who is naturally intent on carrying on Yoga practises.] O Bhargava, this world consisting of three maidens shall (for ever) exist. All the three were endued with yoga energy and bodies perfected by hard austerities. They were all conversant with the knowledge of Brahman and had controlled their carnal desires. The beautiful Uma was the eldest and foremost of them. Gifted with great yoga powers she approached the Great Deity Siva. Ekaparna was given away as a wife unto the high-souled, intelligent and the great Yogin and preceptor, the black Devala. Know Ekapatala as the wife of Jaigishavya. Those two noble maidens approached those two preceptors of yoga. The celestials offer watery oblations for all those regions of Somayagins* that are called Somapada and where dwell the sons and ancestral manes of the Patriarch Marichi. [* Those who invoke the deities by offering them Soma juice—a delicious drink which is much liked by the gods according to Hindu ideas.] They all pass by the name of Agnisvatta and are gifted with immeasurable energy. They have a mind-born daughter by name Achhoda who travels underneath [This mind-born daughter refers to a river of the same name that has come down from that region to earth.]. From that (river) has sprung a lake by the name of Achhoda. She had never seen her ancestral manes before. That one of beautiful smiles (thou) saw her bodiless ancestral manes. She was begotten of their mind and did not know her. For this misfortune that beautiful damsel was greatly ashamed. Beholding the ancestral mane Vasu, the illustrious son of Ayu by the name of Amavasu, who was passing through the etherial region in a car along with the Apsara Adrika, she thought of him* (first) [* The word in the text is Vabre which literally means to choose as a husband.]. On account of her this frailty, that she thought of another and not her own father, that one capable of assuming forms of her will lost her Yoga power and fell down. When she fell down from the celestial region she behold three cars of the size of Esarenu and espied in them her ancestral manes). They looked exceedingly subtle, indistinct and like fire offered into clarified butter. While she was in distress and falling down with her head downwards she exclaimed "Save me". The ancestral manes stationed on the cars said to their girl who was in the etherial region "do not fear." Then with purely words she began to propitiate the ancestral manes. The ancestral manes then said to that girl who was divested of all her merits on account of this transgression:—"O thou of pure smiles, for thy own folly, thou hast been divested of all thy merits. The celestials attain, in heaven, to the fruits of their actions which they perform with their bodies in this world. (Sometimes) the celestials, by their (mere) determination attain to the fruits of their actions but mankind reap them only when they repair to the next world. Therefore, O daughter, by practising hard austerities in this world thou shalt reap the fruits thereof in the next."

Thus accosted by her own Pitris the maiden began propitiating them. Then realising the truth in their own minds, they all, out of compassion, became pleased with her. Knowing that all this is inevitable they asked that maiden to act (in that way) and said to her:—"Thou shalt be born as the daughter of the high-souled king Vasu who is born on earth among men. Being born as his daughter thou shalt again attain to thy own regions which it is so hard to gain. Thou shalt give birth to the illustrious son of Parashara. [This refers to Veda Vyasa who compiled and arranged the four Vedas. The word Vyasa means "an arranger" Veda Vyasa is the surname of a Rishi, the son of Parashara, who compiled the four Vedas. The Vedas originally existed in the shape of hymns that were sung by the ancient Aryans and passed from one family to another as sacred heir-looms. For some

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centuries they existed in this form. It was this great Rishi who first committed them to writing and arranged them in the order in which they are now found. The four divisions are his own creation. On account of this great work he received the appellation 'Veda-Vyasa'.] That great Brahmana saint shall divide the one Veda into four parts. Two sons, the illustrious and pious Vichitravirya and Chitrangada, will be born unto the king Shantanu, who was (in another birth the king) Mahabhisha. Having given birth to these sons thou shalt again attain to thy own regions. On account of thy transgressions towards thy ancestral manes thou shalt come by these inferior births. Thou shalt be begotten as his daughter by this king on his wife Adrika. In the eighteenth Dwapara cycle thou shalt be born as a fish". Thus spoken to by her ancestral manes that maiden was born in Dasha family as Satyavati. First born as a fish she became the daughter of the king Vasu.

The picturesque region Vaibhraja, where dwell the Pitris celebrated in heaven as Varhishadas, is situate in Dyuloka. The highly effulgent celestials, Yakshas, Gandharvas, Rakshasas, Nagas, Sarpas (serpents), Suparnas (birds) offer oblations for (the attainment of those) regions. They are the offspring of the high-souled Patriarch Pulastya. They were all great, highly meritorious, energetic and used to carry on ascetic observances. Their mind-born daughter was known as Pivari. She was (herself) a great ascetic, the wife of an ascetic, and the mother of an ascetic.

O you foremost of the pious, at the commencement of Dwapara Yuga, the great ascetic and Yogin Suka, the foremost of Brahmanas born in the race of Parashara, will take birth in that Yuga. He will be begotten by Vyasa on Arani like fire divested of smoke. He will beget on that daughter of the ancestral manes four sons, viz, the highly powerful Yoga-teacher Krishna, Goura, Prabhu and Shambhu, and a daughter by name Kritwa, who will be the mother of Brahmadatta and the queen of king Anuha. Having begotten these vow-observing teachers of Yoga and listened to various forms of religion from his own sire Vyasa, the immeasurably intelligent, pious and ascetic Rishi Suka repaired to the region from where no one returns—the eternal, undecaying region of Brahman shorn of all troubles, where reside the shape-less Pitris in the form of virtue, and where has originated this theme of Vrishnis and Andhakas. The ancestral manes of the Patriarch Vasishtha, known as Sukatas, live eternally in heaven and the region lighted by the effulgence that grants the consummation of all desires. The Brahmanas always offer them oblations. Their mind born daughter is known as Go in the region of celestials, who will be given (in marriage) to your family and be the other beloved wife of Suka. The Sadhyas have a well-known daughter, ever enhancing their fame, by name Ekashringa.. She lives in the regions effulgent like the rays of the Sun. The Kshatriyas, who wish to reap the fruits of their actions, propitiate the sons of Angiras, who had formerly been rendered prosperous by Saddhyas. Their mind-born daughter is known as Yashoda. She was the wife of Vishwamahata, daughter-in-law of Vriddhasharma and the mother of the high-souled royal saint Dilipa. O my son, formerly in the cycle of gods, at the great horse-sacrifice of the king Dilipa the great saints chanted various themes with joy. Hearing of the birth of Agni (fire-god) from some descendant of Shandili, those men, who will behold the truthful and high-souled performer of sacrifices Dilipa, will conquer the celestial region. The ancestral manes of the Patriarch Karddama, Sudhanwas by name, came into being from the noble Brahmana Pulaha. They, gifted with etherial movements, are living in the regions where the dwellers move about of their own will. The Vaishyas who wish to reap the fruits of their actions, offer oblations unto them. Their mind-born daughter is celebrated by the name of Viraja. O Brahman, she will be the mother of Yayati and the wife of Nahusha). Thus I have described to you the three orders: hear from me of the fourth order. The drinkers of Soma juice, who were begotten on Swadha the daughter of Kavi, were the offspring of Hiranyagarbha. The Sudras encompass their gratification. The etherial region where they dwell is called Manasa. Their mind-born daughter is Narmada the foremost of streams. Traversing the southern way she is purifying the creatures. She is the wife of Purukutsa and the mother of Trasadasyu. The ancestral manes are to be adored—and when this is neglected at various cycles the Patriarch Manu introduces the performance of Sraddha in their honour.

O foremost of the twice-born, of all the ancestral manes Yama was first born and he protected all created beings by his own virtue. Therefore he is designated in the Vedas as Sraddhadeva. When after reciting the mystic formulae, oblation is offered in silver or silver-plated vessels to the ancestral manes it encompasses their gratification. Having first propitiated Yama the son of Vivaswan and then Soma, one should offer oblation unto fire; and in the absence of fire unto water. The ancestral manes are pleased with him who reverentially brings about their gratification, and confer upon him nourishment, innumerable offspring, wealth and all other desired-for objects. O ascetic, the worship of the ancestral manes is preferred to that of the celestials. It is ordained by scriptures that before the celestials the ancestral manes should be gratified. The latter are easily pleased, freed from anger and they confer the most excellent gratification on men. O descendant of Bhrigu, the gratification of ancestral manes is ever constant. Therefore do thou bow unto them. Thou art ever devoted unto thy ancestral manes and specially unto me. I shall do what conduces to thy well-being. Do thou witness it thyself. O sinless one, I shall confer on thee celestial vision together with discriminative knowledge. Listen attentively, O Markandeya, to the means thereof. This is not the Yoga state of the celestials but the most excellent state of the celestials. Such persons of consummate ascetic powers behold me with their own eyes. Having thus spoken to me who was present before him and conferred upon me celestial vision together with discriminative knowledge, which even the celestials can with difficulty acquire, the Lord of celestials (Sanatkumar) repaired to his wished-for region like the second burning fire. O foremost of Kurus, hear now, what I had heard, by the favour of that God—(things) above the comprehension of men in this world.

CHAPTER 19. BHARADWAJA's FAMILY.

Markandeya said:—"O my child, in the previous Yuga, the Brahmanas, the sons of Bharadwaja, although carrying on Yoga practices, were polluted by their transgressions. On account of their degradation consequent upon the violation of Yoga practices they will remain in an unconscious state on the other side of the huge lake called Manasa. Stupified by the thought that the transgressions (they had committed) had been washed away and having failed to attain to the state of union (with Brahman) they became invested with the characteristics of time [i. e. They became mortal like other creatures who become subject to death in time.]. And although they had deviated from the path of Yoga, they lived for a long time in the land of celestials. They will be born in the land of Kurus as foremost of men, the sons of Kushika. They will carry on religious practices by slaying creatures for the ancestral manes. And again being (thus) degraded they will come by the most inferior birth. On account of the favour of ancestral manes and their pristine birth they will have recollection of those inferior births. They will be of controlled minds and always carry on religious practices. And again by their own Karma they will acquire the status of Brahmanas. They will then acquire the knowledge of unification (of the human soul with the divine soul) on account of their pristine birth. And then having attained perfection again they will acquire the eternal region. Thus you will repeatedly pay attention towards religion and acquire a most consummate mastery of Yoga. It is very difficult for men of limited understanding to acquire mastery of Yoga. If they happen to acquire it, that even is destroyed on account of their being contaminated by vices. Those who commit iniquities and torture their elders (also lose their Yoga). Those, who do not beg by unfair means, who protect those seeking refuge with them, who do not disregard the poor, who are not elated with pride on account of their riches, who are of regular habits both as regards diet and other appetites, who energetically carry on their own work, who are bent upon carrying on meditation and studies, who do not seek to recover their stolen properties, who do not always seek enjoyments, who do not take meat or drink intoxicating liquors, who are not addicted to sexual pleasures, who serve the Brahmanas, who do not take pleasure in impure conversation, who are not idle, who are not haughty and egoistic, such accomplished persons acquire Yoga, which it is so hard to acquire in this world. Persons of quiescent souls, who have mastered anger, who are shorn of egotism and pride and who are observant of vows, are crowned with blessings. Such were the Brahmanas of that period. They used to remember their follies consequent upon their mistakes, engage in study and meditation and walk in the path of peace There is no other religious rite, O you conversant with religion, superior to Yoga. It reigns supreme over all other religious observances. Practise it therefore, O descendant of Bhrigu. With the advancement of years, one, who lives upon restricted diet, who has mastered his senses and who is respectful, acquires Yoga". Having said this the reverend Sanatkumara disappeared therefrom. Eighteen years appeared to me as one day. Having worshipped that lord of deities for eighteen years, by the grace of that divine person, I did not suffer any pain. O sinless one, I did not feel then hunger and thirst nor (the progress of) time. Afterwards I learnt about time from my disciple.

CHAPTER 20. ACCOUNT OF BRAHMADATTA AND THE STRANGE BIRD.

Markandeya said:—After the disappearance of that deity and according to the words of that lord, I acquired discriminative knowledge along with celestial vision. Thereupon, O son of Ganga, I saw at Kurukshetra, all those Brahmanas, the descendants of Koushika of whom that lord (Sanatkumar) spoke to me. Of them the seventh Brahmana became the king Brahmadatta. By his name, character and action he also became celebrated by the name Pitridatta. In an excellent city by name Kampilya, the foremost of kings Anuha begat that monarch on Suka's daughter Kritvi.

Bhishma said:—O king, hear I shall describe the family of that king as recounted by the highly regenerate great Rishi Markandeya.

Yudhisthira said:—Whose son was Anuha, the foremost of the pious? In what age was he born? How powerful was he? Whose son was the highly illustrious king Brahmadatta? How did the seventh Brahmana become a king (6-7)? (Certainly) the self-controlled, omnipotent sage Suka, respected by all the world, did not give away his illustrious daughter Kritvi to an effeminate person. O thou of great effulgence, I wish to hear at length the account of Brahmadatta; it behoves thee to describe it. Do thou describe unto me how the Brahmanas, mentioned by Markandeya, are living in the world.

Bhishma said:—I have heard that this king (Brahmadatta) was contemporary of my grand-father the royal saint Pratipa. The noble ascetic Brahmadatta, the foremost of royal saints, was grateful unto all creatures and engaged in their well-being. He made (that division of the Vedas) which is called Siksha* by means of his Tapas and instituted an order of study. [* This is one of the parts of Vedanga—a sacred science, considered as subordinate to and in some sense a part of the Vedas; six sciences come under this denomination; Siksha or the science of pronounciation and articulation; Kalpa, the detail of religious ceremonies; Vyakarana or grammar; Chhandas, prosody; Jyotish, astronomy; and Nirukta, or the explanation of the difficult and obscure words and phrases that occur in the Vedas.] The highly illustrious teacher of Yoga, Galava, was his friend and the ascetic Kandarik was his minister. In another birth they all help each other. As narrated by the noble and great ascetic Markandeya they, in the seventh birth, were all gifted with unlimited energy. Hear, O king, I shall describe to you the ancient family of the high-souled king Brahmadatta born in the race of Puru.

The pious son of Vrihatkshetra was celebrated by the name of Suhotra. Suhotra's son was known by the name of Hasti. By him in the days of yore the most excellent city of Hastinapur was founded. Hasti had three highly pious sons. Of them the eldest was Ajamida, the second Dwimida and the youngest Paramida. Ajamida begat on Dhumini the king Vrihadishu whose son was the highly illustrious Vrihaddhanu. His son Vrihadbharma was known as a highly pious king. His son was Satyajit whose son was Viswajit. His son was the king Senajit who had four sons celebrated in the world. Ruchira, Swetaketu, Mahim nara and Vatsa, the king of Avanti—these were his four sons. Ruchira's son was the highly illustrious Prithusena whose son was Para, from whom was born Neepa. Neepa had a hundred sons who all were of unlimited energy, mighty car-warriors, heroic and powerful. All these kings were known by the name of Neepa. The illustrious descendant of those Neepas was known as Samara in the Province of Kampilya. He was greatly fond of Dar. Samara had three sons—Para, Para and Sadashwa, who were all greatly pious. Para's son was Prithu. Prithu's son was Sukrita, who, by good actions, was endued with all accomplishments. His son was Vibhraja. His son was the king Anuha. He was the illustrious son-in-law of Suka and the husband of Kritvi. Anuha's son was the royal saint Brahmadatta. His son was the ascetic Viswaksena, the subduer of foes. By his own actions Vibhraja was again born (as the son of Brahmadatta). He had another son by the name of Sarvasena. His eyes, O king, were torn by a sparrow known by the name of Pujanya (worshipful) that lived in the house of Brahmadatta for a long time. Brahmadatta had an other highly powerful son by the name of Viswaksena. His son was the king Dandasena. His son was Bhattata who was formerly killed by Karna). This son of Dandasena was heroic and perpetuated his race. O Yudhishthira, Bhattata's son was evil-minded. O king, he brought about the fall of the house of Neepas. For him all the Neepas were destroyed by Ugrayudha. I have killed Ugrayudha, in battle, on account of his being elated with pride. He was proud and took delight in haughtiness and sinful ways.

Yudhisthira said:—Whose son was Ugrayudha? And in whose family was he born? For what did you kill him? Tell me all this.

Bhishma said:—Ajamida's son was the learned king Yavinara. His son was Dhritiman whose son was Satyadhriti. His son was the powerful Dridanemi whose son was the king Sudharma. His son was the king Sarvabhouma. He was the only Lord Paramount of the world and was (therefore) called Sarvabhouma. In his family was born Mahan, the descendant of Puru. Mahan's son was known as the king Rukmaratha. His son was the king Suparshwa, whose son was the pious Sumati. His son was the virtuous-souled and powerful Sannati. His son was the valiant king Krita. He was the disciple of the high-souled Hiranyanabha. By him the Sanhita of the Sama Veda has been sung in twenty-four ways. For this reason the western Saman and the chanters thereof are known under the appellation of Karti. Krita's son was the heroic Ugrayudha, born in the race of Puru. By displaying his prowess he slew the highly energetic king of Panchala, Neepa by name, the grand-father of Prishata. Ugrayudha's son was the highly

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illustrious king Kshemya, whose son was Suvira and whose son was Nripanjaya. From Nripanjaya was born Vahuratha—all these kings are called Pauravas. O my son, Ugrayudha grew highly vicious. Having burnt down all the Neepas he brought about their extinction. Slaying all the Neepas and other kings he was filled with pride. After the death of my father he told me (many) sinful words. O king, while I was lying down on earth encircled by my courtiers Ugrayudha's messenger came to me and said:—"O foremost of Kurus, do thou give me thy illustrious mother Gandhakali, the jewel of a female, as my wife. Forsooth shall I confer upon thee a prosperous kingdom and riches. I have acquired jewels, according to my desire, on earth. O descendant of Bharata, by merely hearing of this my effulgent and irrepressible discus or at the very sight of it the enemies fly away from the field of battle. If dost thou seek thy kingdom, life and the well-being of thy family, obey my command or else thou shalt have no peace".

I heard these words resembling the flames of fire from the messenger despatched by him while I was lying down on earth on a Kuça bed. O undeteriorating one, thus informed of the desire of that vicious-minded one, I ordered my commander-in-chief to undertake a war. As Vichitravirja was a boy and under my protection, I was filled with rage and made up my mind for engaging in a war. But, O sinless one, all my ministers, well-versed in counsels, the god-like Ritwikas, well-meaning friends and companions well-read in scriptures, all requested me to desist and pointed out sound reasonings too.

The ministers said:—"O lord, this vicious-souled (Ugravudha) is carrying on the work of devastation and thou, too, art impure [i.e. Thou art in mourning on account of the death of thy father.]. So thou shouldst not undertake a war as thy first work. We shall first resort to the expedients of conciliation, gifts and sowing dissension. And afterwards when thou shalt be pure [After the performance of thy father's Sraddha.], thou shouldst bow unto the gods, make the Brahmanas perform benedictorv rites and then having saluted them and obtained their permission, thou shouldst set out for victory. It has been laid down by the elderly sages that a man, when he is in mourning, should not take up a weapon or enter into a contract. First thou shouldst try the expedient of conciliation and gift and then try to sow dissension. And afterwards thou shouldst slay him, manifesting thy prowess, as Indra killed (the demon) Samvara. O king, the words of the elderly sages should be obeyed in proper time." Hearing this I desisted from fightlng.

Thereupon those ministers, well-versed in counsels, tried all the expedients. O foremost of Kurus, at that time the most excellent work began. Although solicited by the expedients of conciliation and others settled upon by the sages that wicked-minded one was not won over). Though the discus of that sinful one was set in motion, it immediately stopped on account of his longing for others' wives. . I did not perceive then that his most excellent discus had stopped, which, spoken ill of by the pious, had been rendered abortive by its own action. Then being purified and having benedictorv rites performed by the Brahmanas, I set out from the city in a car with my bow and arrows and engaged in a fight with my enemy. Thereupon encountering the army strengthened by weapons there took place a mad fight which lasted for three days like that between the gods and demons. When the battle raged to its highest pitch, that hero, consumed completely by the might of my weapons, gave up his ghost and fell down with his face downwards. In the meantime, O my son, Prishata started for the province of Kampilya. On the king Neepa and Ugrayudha being slain that highly effulgent one obtained his ancestral kingdom Ahichhatra. O king, he was the father of king Drupada and an ally of mine. Afterwards having defeated Drupada by force in battle, Arjuna conferred the province of Kampilya together with that of Ahichchatra on Drona. Having accepted both the kingdom, Drona, the foremost of victors, gave away Kampilya to Drupada. This is known to you. I have thus described to you in detail the race of Brahmadatta, the ancestor of Drupada and that of the hero Ugrayudha.

Yudhisthira said:—O son of Ganga, why did the bird Pujanya put out the eyes of the eldest son of the Brahmadatta? She lived for a long time in his house. Why did she (then) commit such a mischief by that high-souled king? Why did Pujanya contract friendship with him? Do thou duly satisfy all these my doubts.

Bhishma said:—O Emperor! O Yudhishthira! hear in due order what took place formerly in the house of Brahmadatta, O king, a certain female bird was the companion of Brahmadatta. Her two wings were white, head red and back and abdomen were black. Brahmadatta was greatly attached to that female companion. O best of men, she made a nest in his house and lived there. She every day used to go out of the palace and roam at large on the bank of ocean, in lakes and ponds. Having ranged over the rivers, mountains, woods, pleasure gardens, ponds perfumed with fragrant white water-lilies and places the air whereof is impregnated with the perfume of lilies and lotuses and abounding in swans, Sarasas and Karandavas, she used to come back in the night to the city of Kampilya and live in the house of the intelligent king Brahmadatta (84–86). O king, whatever strange things she saw in her peregenations in various parts of the country, she used to describe them to the king in her conversation in the night. O descendant of Kuru, once on a time a son, the foremost of kings, was born to Brahmadatta, celebrated by the name of Sarvasena. Pujanya also gave birth to an egg there. In time that egg opened and thence came out a lump of flesh with legs, arms and face. O king, its face was tawny coloured and had no eyes. Gradually that young one got its eyes and its wings grew a little. Pujanya used to love equally her young one and the Prince, and gradually became fond of them. And she every evening used to pick up with her beaks two ambrosial fruits for (the prince) Sarvasena and her young one. Brahmadatta's son and the young one delightedly lived upon those two fruits. By daily partaking of those fruits they began to grow up. When during the day Pujanya used to go away the nurse gave play to Brahmadatta's son in the company of that young one of the bird. When Pujanya went out of the nest the Prince used to take away that young sparrow for play. Once on a time the Prince held fast the young bird by the neck for which, O king, it immediately died. Beholding the young bird set free a little with its mouth wide open, that had been killed by the boy, the king was greatly sorry and remonstrated with the nurse. He was filled with great grief for that young sparrow. Pujanya too, who used to range in the forest, came at that time to the palace of Brahmadatta with two fruits. Coming there she saw the child, that came out of her body, dead. Beholding her dead young one she at first lost consciousness but afterwards gradually regained it. Regaining her consciousness the poor bird began to bewail.

Pujanya said:—"O my child, when I used to come back to my nest emitting my cries you were wont to come to me with your thousand indistinct accents. Why do you not come to me to-day with your mouth open, yellow face and black throat? I always cry embracing you with my wings. Why do I not hear to-day your inarticulate sound? I had always this desire that some day or other I shall see my young one begging water with its mouth open and shaking its wings. That desire of mine is now frustrated with your death." Having thus bewailed in various ways she said to the king. "O king, you are a Kshatriya*, you know the eternal ways of religion [* Literally it means on whose head water is sprinkled. The Kshatriyas go through this ceremony at the time of installation.]. Then why have you got my young one slain by the nurse O wretch of a Kshasriya, why did your son take away my young one and kill it? Methinks, you have not listened to Sruti of Angiras. One who seeks shelter, one who is hungry, one who is assailed by his enemies and one who lives for ever in his house should be protected by a man. He who neglects this duty goes without any doubt to the hell Kumbhipaka. How can the deities and the manes accept Havi and food consecrated with Swadha mantras offered by him?"

Having thus said to the great king, (the bird), stricken with grief and possessed by ten-fold characteristics [i.e. Those of a drunkard, a madman, of one exhausted with fatigue, hungry, angry, hasty, of one afraid, stupified and passionate.], tore off the eyes of the boy. Thereupon the eyes of the prince were put out. Having thus blinded him the bird Pujanya flew away into the sky.

Thereupon beholding his own son the king said to the bird:—"Renounce your grief, O auspicious one. You have done well, O timid bird. Give up your sorrow and come back; may your friendship become everlasting. Live in my city and enjoy. May good betide you. For the misfortune of my son I have not the least anger for you. Be my friend. May you fare well. You have done your duty." Pujanya said:—"I know how much love you have for your son like me. Making your son blind I do not wish to live here. Hear I shall recount the themes narrated by the preceptor Sukra. 'One should always leave at a distance a bad friend, a bad country, a bad son and a bad wife. There can be no friendship for an evil friend and attachment for a bad wife. One cannot expect Pinda from: a bad son and one cannot rely on a bad king. Who can trust a bad friend? One cannot live in a bad country. People are always afraid of a bad king and a bad son always brings on misery. That wretch of a man, who being weak and having none to protect him, confides in a man who does him injury, does not live long. Do not trust a faithless man and do not place too much confidence even on a man who is faithful. Fear, begotten by confidence, destroys all the roots. That stupid man, who serves a man and confides in a low caste, does not survive long. As earthworms are devoured by birds as soon as they are born, so men, obtaining advancement from a king, undoubtedly meet with destruction soon. As a creeper destroys a huge tree so even a learned man, resorting to mildness of nature and destroying his body, daily brings about the destruction of his enemies. An enemy, first becoming mild, delicate and emaciated, gradually makes the body lean and then kills us as an earth-worm gradually eradicates a tree. Having made this promise in the presence of the ascetics 'I shall not destroy anybody' Hari, afterwards, O king, killed Namuchi with a foam. A man destroys his enemy either with poison, fire or water whether he be asleep, drunk or careless In fear of future enmity men do not leave the remnant of enemies. Remembering this, example, O king, they bring about the entire extermination of their enemies'".

O king, the remnant of enemies, debt and fire, becomes again united and assumes proportion. Therefore the remnant of these three should never be kept. An enemy laughs, talks, takes food from the same plate, sits on the same seat, but he always keeps in mind that sin. Even contracting a relationship with an enemy one should not trust him. The king of gods, though himself a son-in-law, killed Puloma. As a deer does not approach a hunter so a wise man should not near him who speaks sweet words keeping enmity at heart. It is not proper to live near an enemy who has prospered. He brings about our destruction as a river destroys a tree. Even obtaining advancement from an enemy one should not trust him. Securing prosperity from him one meets with destruction like an earth-worm. Learned persons, who are to protect themselves, should always keep in mind these verses chanted by the preceptor Sukra, O king. By making your son blind I have committed a great iniquity so I place no confidence in you.

Having said all this the bird at once flew up into the sky. I have thus O king, described to you, what took place formerly between Pujanya and the king Brahmadatta. O highly intelligent one, O Yudhisthira, I shall describe to you the ancient history of Sradha as accosted by you which was recounted by Sanatkumar in response to a question from Markandeya. O king, hear what happened in the days of yore to Galava, Kundarika and Brahmadatta the three Brahmacharins in their seventh birth who longed for the fruit of Sraddha and good actions.

CHAPTER 21. AN ACCOUNT OF THE SEVEN BRAHMANAS.

Markandeya said:—The people perform Sradha and even the Yogins do the same. So I shall describe to you its most excellent fruit. O descendant of Bharata, religious knowledge gradually evolved from what Brahmadatta had obtained in his seventh birth. O you of great intellect shorn of sins, hear what in the days of yore the Brahmanas obtained by performing Sradhas to the neglect of religion. O my son, I saw with my celestial vision at the field of Kurukshetra the seven impious Brahmanas engaged in performing religious rites for ancestral manes as pointed out by Sanatkumar. Vagdustha, Krodhana, Hingsra, Pishuna, Kavi, Khasrima and Pitrivarti—these seven Brahmanas, by name and action, were the sons of Koushika and the disciples of Garga. When after imprecating a curse their father left the house, they, taking the vow of celibacy, began to live in the house of Garga. Once on a time at the command of their preceptor they all went to the forest to tend the milch-cow Kapila with its calf that had been obtained fairly. O descendant of Bharata, being stricken with hunger on the way they cherished the sinful desire of killing the cow. Kavi and Khasrima, however, did not wish it then and they two could not prevent the other Brahmanas. Of these the Brahmana Pitrivarti, who used to perform daily Sradha and other evening rites and abide by virtuous ways, said in anger to his brothers:—"If you are all bent upon slaying this cow then we all, with our minds controlled, dedicate it to the ancestral manes. By this, even this cow will acquire virtue no doubt. And if we perform a pious rite for our ancestral manes we shall not commit an iniquity."

Thereupon, O descendant of Bharata, they all, having agreed to this, killed the cow and having dedicated it to the ancestral manes, took its meat. Having taken the meat of the cow they all said to their preceptor:—"The cow has been killed by a tiger and here is her calf". Out of simplicity the Brahmana took the calf. Having imposed on their preceptor by a false story all those Brahmanas, on the expiration of their lease of life, met with death. On account of their that sinful conduct towards their preceptor and for the destruction of the cow, they, possessed by envy, ruthlessness and anger, were born as the sons of a hunter. They were all strong and liberal-minded. On account of their duly worshipping the ancestral manes and killing the cow they carried with them the knowledge of their pristine birth and actions. Those learned seven Brahmanas were born as hunters in the province of Dasharna. They were all intent upon performing their own duties, were truthful and shorn of avarice. They used to work only for the time that was necessary to keep their body and soul together. The rest of the time they used to spend in meditation. Their names, O king, were respectively Nirvaira, Nivirta, Kshanta, Nirmangu, Kriti, Vaighasa and Matrivarti. They were all very highly pious hunters. Thus living and performing the duties of a hunter they worshipped and satisfied their old parents. When in time their parents died, they, leaving aside their bows and arrows, renounced their lives in the forest. By those pious actions they, in the next birth, became deer carrying with them the recollection of their pristine birth. Because they used to strike terror and slay (the deer) they, filled with fear, were born in the beautiful Kalanjara mountain as deer, named Unmakha, Nityavitrasta, Stabdhakarna, Vilochana, Pandit, Ghasmar and Nadi.

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Recollecting their former birth and species they used to roam in the forest. They were all of subdued minds, peaceful, unmarried and used to perform good works and observe the same religious rites. Adopting the life of a Yogin they used to live there. Leading the life of ascetics and taking a small quantity of food they gave up their lives in a desert. O king, O descendant of Bharata, even now in the desert attached to the Kalanjara mountain their footsteps are seen. By those pious actions, O my son, they were divested of all evils—and they were born in a more auspicious species, namely that of Chakravakas. Leading a life of celibacy those pious ascetics were born in the holy island of Shara as seven water-fowls. Their names were Nispriha, Nirmama, Kshanta, Nirdanda, Nisparigraha, Nivritti and Nivrita. Those pious Chakravakas were all Brahmacharins. Abstaining from food and carrying on hard austerities they died on the bank of a river). Those seven brothers have become these ganders ranging at will. These are the seven intelligent Brahmacharins carrying the recollection of their pristine birth. Because born as Brahmanas they, by false words, imposed on their preceptor, they are now born as birds moving about in the world. And because though for their selfish ends they worshipped their ancestral manes they have obtained a knowledge of their previous birth. These ganders are respectively named Sumana, Suchivak, Sudha, Panchama, Chinnadarshana, Sunetra and Swatantra. Of them the fifth came by the name of Panchika in his seventh birth, the sixth by that of Pandarika, and the seventh by that of Brahmadatta. On account of the hard austerities performed by them in seven births, of the Yoga practices carried on by them and of their good Karma they listened to the recitation of the Vedic hymns in their first birth in the house of their preceptor. In consequence thereof their inclination remained pure though they lived in the world. All these Brahmacharins had the knowledge of Brahman; and having been engaged in meditation they lived there. While all those birds were living together there, the highly prosperous, all-powerful and the effulgent king Vibhraja, the head of Neepas, born in the race of Puru, along with the females of his house, came to that forest. Beholding that prosperous king the bird Swatantra was possessed by envy and wished to become so. (He thought):—"If I have done any good deed and practised Tapas, forsooth I shall become such a king. I have been greatly emaciated by hard-austerities yielding no fruits nor happiness."

CHAPTER 22. THE CURSE OF THE BIRDS.

Markandeya said:—Thereupon his comrades the other two Chakravakas said to him:—"We shall be your ministers ever doing you good". Having said "So be it" his mind was engaged in Yoga. After they had entered into this contract Shuchivak said to them. "While deviating from the path of a Yogin and possessed by desire you pray for such a boon, hear what I have got to say in this matter. Undoubtedly you will become the king of Kampilya and these two will be your ministers". With these words the four ganders imprecated a curse on the other three. And on account of their falling off from Yoga consequent upon their praying for a kingdom they did not converse with those three. Losing their Yoga (acquirements) and having their senses bewildered the cursed ganders prayed to their comrades for relief. They were propitiated and Sumana, as the spokesman of all, communicated to them the following words of grace. "Undoubtedly there will be an end of your curse. Freed from this birth you will be again born as men and practise Yoga. Swatantra will be able to understand the sound of all animals. By his counsels we have secured the favour of the ancestral manes. On account of our dedicating the cow to the ancestral manes after killing we have all acquired knowledge and been practising Yoga." Hearing this only sloka, containing the story of those (seven) men, recited one shall acquire most excellent Yoga.

CHAPTER 23. THE STORY OF THE BIRDS—CONTINUED.

Markandeya said:—Those seven ganders, ever practising Yoga and ranging in the Manasa lake, namely Padmagarbha, Aravindaksha, Kshiragarbha, Sulochana, Uruvindu, Suvindu and Hemagarbha, used always to live upon air and water and nourish their body. At that time shining in the grace of his person and surrounded by his female companions the king was ranging in that forest like the king of celestials in the pleasure garden of Nandana. By their earnestness and other external marks the king perceived that those birds were Yogins. Then out of shame and thinking upon it he returned to his own city. He had a highly pious son by name Anuha. He had his eye on the minutest details of morality and accordingly became the Defender of Faith. Sukha conferred upon him his accomplished and worshipful daughter Kritvi gifted with all auspicious marks and endued with the quality of goodness. O Bhishma, formerly Sanatkumar mentioned that beautiful damsel to me as Pivari, the daughter of the ancestral manes Vahirshadas. She was the foremost of the truthful, beyond the comprehension of persons of uncontrolled mind, was herself an ascetic, the wife of a Yogin and the mother of a Yogin. I had described this to you before while giving an account of the ancestral manes. Having placed Anuha on the throne, welcomed the citizens with a delighted heart and made the Brahmanas perform the benedictory rite the king Vibhraja repaired to the Manasa lake, where the ganders were ranging, for carrying on hard austerities (9–10). Having renounced all desires, abstained from food and living on air only he began to practise penances on one side of that lake. O descendant of Bharata, his resolution was that he might become the son of one of them and thus acquire Yoga. Having made this resolution he began to carry on hard austerities and shone there like the sun. O foremost of Kurus, on account of its being rendered brilliant by Vibhraja that forest, where the four ascetic ganders and the other three who had deviated from the path of Yoga gave up their lives, became celebrated by the name Vaibhraja. Being freed from sins those seven high-souled men (born as birds) were born in the city of Kampilya under the names of Brahmadatta and others. Amongst them four, by knowledge, meditation and asceticism, mastered the holy Vedas and Vedangas and had (a good) memory. The other three remained in ignorance. Swatantra was born as the highly illustrious son of Anuha by the name of Brahmadatta. According to his resolution in the previous birth as a bird he was endued with knowledge, meditation and Tapas and mastered the Vedas and Vedangas. Chitradarshi and Sunetra were born as Srotrya Brahmanas*, well read in the Vedas with all their auxiliaries, in the races Vabhravya and Vatsa. [* There are two classes of Brahmins, one of them who are the superior is called Kulsa and another next to them is called Srotrya.] For having lived with him in the previous birth they became helpmates to Brahmadatta. The others were born as Panchala, Pinchika and Kandarika. Of them Panchala was well versed in the Rig Veda and (accordingly) performed the duties of a preceptor. Kandarika was well read in the other two Vedas and acted as Chhandoga [A reciter or chanter of the Sama Veda from Chhandas the metre of the Vedas and Ga who sings.] and Adhvaryu [A Brahman versed in the Yayurveda.]. Anuha's son, the king (Brahmadatta), was conversant with the voice of all animals. He was a great friend of Panchala and Kandarika. Although they were addicted to vulgar pleasures they, on account of their pristine good deeds, were conversant with morality, temporal profit and desires. Having installed the sinless Brahmadatta on the throne the foremost of ascetic kings, Anuha attained to the most excellent state. Brahmadatta's wife, who was the daughter of Devala, was a great female anchorite. Her name was Sunnati. Thus from Devala Brahmadatta obtained his daughter the high-minded ascetic Sunnati who was of the same temperament with him.

O descendant of Bharata, in his seventh birth Panchika was the fifth, Kandarika the sixth and Brahmadatta the seventh. The remaining ganders were born as brothers in a poor Srotrya family in the city of Kampilya. Their names were Dhritiman, Sumana, Vidvan and Tatwadarshi. They were well read in the Vedas and gifted with keen observation. They were all endowed with the recollection of their pristine birth. When after having attained to the consummation of Yoga practices and welcomed their father they were about to depart he said to them "Verily by your renouncing me you will commit a mighty iniquity. How can you (all) depart, without removing my poverty and satisfying the other duties of a son viz—the spreading of progeny, the performing of Sraddha at Gya, and attending upon me (in my old age)."

The twice-born ones again said to their father:—"We will make arrangements by which you will live. Do you go to the sinless king Brahmadatta and recite before him and his minister the Sloka pregnant with great import. He will then, with great joy, confer upon you many villages and desired-for objects. Therefore O father, go there". Having said this and worshipped their father they attained to beatitude as the result of the practices of Yoga.

CHAPTER 24. BRAHMADATTA RETIRES FROM THE WORLD.

Markandeya said:—One of (those ganders) Vaibhraja, an ascetic and anchorite as he was, was born as the son of Brahmadatta by name Viswaksena. Once on a time Brahmadatta was sporting delightedly in a forest in the company of his wife like Indra in the company of Sachi. Thereupon the king heard the noise made by an ant who was soliciting a female-ant and displaying his displeasure. Hearing that the poor female ant was expressing her disgust at the request of her husband Brahmadatta laughed aloud. Thereat his wife Saunati was stricken with sorrow and shame. That beautiful damsel had been abstaining from food for a long time. When her husband attempted to please her, that one of pure smiles said "O king, while you laughed at me I do not like to live". The king however communicated to her the cause of his laughter but she placed no confidence in his words but rather said in anger "This is not within the power of a man. What man can decipher the sound of an ant save by the favour of the Providence or by the good deeds of his pristine birth? O king, if by virtue of Tapas or any other knowledge you have acquired the power of understanding the sound of animals, then by some means create confidence in me by which I may know it. Otherwise, O king, I shall renounce my life. I do swear truly".

Hearing those harsh words of the queen the highly illustrious king Brahmadatta was greatly distressed. He then reverentially sought the protection of the Omnipotent Narayana, the lord of all the worlds. Having controlled his senses and abstaining from food the highly illustrious king, within six nights, saw the Omnipotent Deity Narayana. The Lord, compassionate unto all creatures, said to him. "O Brahmadatta, after the night has passed away you will attain to well-being." Having said this the lord disappeared there from. Having learnt a Sloka from his sons the father, of those four high-souled Brahmanas, considered himself blessed. He then desired to go to the King and his Minister. Going there, he however found no opportunity of reciting the sloka to them.

Thereupon having bathed in the tank and obtained the boon from Narayana, he, delightedly ascending a golden chariot, entered the city. Kandarika, the foremost of the twice-born, acted as his charioteer and Panchala held the chowries. Considering that to be a favourable moment the Brahmana recited the sloka before the King and the two ministers.

"Having been born as seven hunters in the Province of Dasharna they were, in their next birth, born as deer on the Kalanjara mountain,—and then they were born as Chakravakas in the island of Shara. Then they were born as ganders in the Manasa lake. And at last they were born in Kurukshetra as Brahmanas well read in the Vedas. Amongst them the four, that where born of a good family, have gone to a distant region. You, deviating from the path of Yoga, are sinking" (20–21). O descendant of Bharata, hearing this the king Brahmadatta was stupified, and the reins of the horses and chowries slipped off respectively from the hands of Kandarika and Panchala. Seeing this the citizens and friends were all greatly agitated. Having waited for a moment with his two ministers on the car the king, after regaining his consciousness, returned to the palace.

Thereupon recollecting the tank mentioned and regaining the Yoga power practised in the previous birth he honoured the Brahmana with various enjoyable things and chariots. Then placing on the throne his son Viswaksena, the subduer of enemies, Brahmadatta retired to a forest with his wife. After the king had gone to the forest for practising Yoga Devala's daughter, the good-natured Sunnati said with great delight to the king:—"O monarch, you can understand the sound of the ants and still you are addicted to sexual desires; therefore in great anger I wanted to work you up. From this birth we must attain to the most excellent state. You had deviated from the practice of Yoga and accordingly I reminded you of it". Hearing the words of his wife the king was highly pleased. And having acquired Yoga power he attained to a state which it is very difficult to obtain. Having purified himself by his own actions and acquired the most excellent Sankhya Yoga he attained to a consummate state. Having instituted only Siksha and laid down the order of the Vedas the great ascetic Panchalya acquired renown and the status of a Yoga preceptor). O son of Ganga, all this happened in the days of yore before my very eyes. Meditate on this and you will meet with well-being. Others also, who will meditate on this most excellent account, will never be visited by inferior births. O descendant of Bharata, listening to this highly momentous history, one has his mind always bent on practising Yoga. He, who will meditate on this, shall always enjoy peace and gradually attain to the pure state of a Yogin which it is difficult to acquire in this world. Vaishampayana said:—In order to propagate the practice of Yoga the intelligent Markandeya thus spoke in the days of yore by way of describing the fruits of a Sraddha. The Divine Soma confers nourishment on all creatures. Therefore hear from me an account of the lunar family while describing the family of Vrishnis.

CHAPTER 25. AN ACCOUNT OF THE BIRTH OF THE MOON.

Vaisampayana said:—O king, Soma's father the Divine Rishi Atri was the mind-begotten son of Brahma when, in the days of yore, he grew desirous of creating progeny. Atri, with all his sons, began to do good unto all creatures, by his words, mind and action. That innocent, highly effulgent and virtuous-souled Rishi, of firm vows, formerly pratised, with his arms raised, the most excellent penance of silence for three thousand celestial years. This we have heard (3–4).

O descendant of Bharata, when that Rishi, having controlled his senses, began to practise penances steadfastly his person assumed the mild lustre of the moon. This moon-like lustre, of the person of that one of controlled senses, soon spread over the sky. Then from his eyes tears began to trickle down and flood the ten quarters. Thereupon the ten goddesses delightedly conceived in ten different ways. Though they all did it unitedly they however could not keep it. Thereupon the effulgent, all-protecting moon in the embryo fell down

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lighting up all the quarters. When the quarters could not bear this conception any more the embryo, along with them, fell down on earth. Beholding the moon thus fallen Brahma, the grand-father of all, got on his chariot for doing good unto all people That chariot was made of the Vedas; its form was virtue and it carried Brahma; thousands of Mantra horses wore yoked to it; this we have heard. When that great soul, the son of Atri, came down on earth, all the deities and the seven mind-begotten sons of Brahma began to chant his glories. In the same way, O my child, Angira's sons and Bhrigu with his sons began to hymn his glories with Rik and Yayush Mantras. Having his glories thus chanted by the Rishis the effulgent moon had his increasing lustre stationed in a circular form in the sky. It fully lighted up the three worlds. In his that most excellent chariot the highly illustrious moon circumambulated, for twenty-one times, the world bounded by the sea. His lustre, that melted down on earth on account of the motion of his car, became plants that shone in their effulgence. O king, those plants conduce to the nourishment of the gods, ancestral manes, men, beasts, birds, reptiles and other creatures; the moon is thus the nourisher of the universe. O great one, having acquired lustre through his own deeds and the chanting of his glories by the Rishis the divine moon carried on hard austerities for one thousand Padma years. The moon was the asylum of all those silvery goddesses in the shape of water who upheld the universe. He became celebrated by his own actions.

Thereupon, O Janamejaya, Brahma, the foremost of those conversant with the Vedas, conferred upon him the sovereignty over seeds, plants, the Brahmanas and water. After his installation on the throne, O monarch, the lord of rays lighted up the three worlds with his rays. Daksha had twenty-seven daughters of great vows. People knew them as stars. Pracheta's son Daksha conferred them all on him. Having obtained that great kingdom the moon, the lord of ancestral manes, made arrangements for a Rajsuya sacrifice in which ten million kine were given away as presents. The divine Atri was the Hota [A priest who at a sacrifice recites the prayers (mantras) of the Rig-Veda.] thereof, Bhrigu Adhvaryu [A Brahmana versed in the rituals of the Yayur-Veda.] Hiranyagarbha, Udgata [A reciter of the prayers etc. of the Sama Veda.] and Brahma himself was Brahma [The Superintending or presiding priest of the sacrifice.]. And the Divine Narayana, surrounded by Sanatkumar and other Prime Rishis, became the member thereof. O descendant of Bharata, we have heard that the Divine Soma conferred presents on the leading Brahmana saints and all other Rishis of the three worlds who had assembled there. Sinivali, Kuhu, Dyuti, Pushti, Prabha, Vasu, Dhriti, Kirti and Lakshmi, these nine goddesses attended upon him. Having bathed after the termination of the Yagna the foremost of kings, the moon, worshipped of all the gods and Rishis, began steadily to light up the ten quarters. O my child, having been honoured by the sages and acquired prosperity which it is very difficult to obtain his mind began to deviate from humility. And accordingly sullied by immorality he lost all control over himself. Having disregarded Vrihaspati, the son of Angiras, the moon by force carried away his illustrious wife Tara. And albeit solicited by the gods and Rishis he did not return her. Vrihaspati, the the preceptor of the gods, was accordingly enraged with him. Ushana (Suka) began to protect his sides. The illustrious deity Rudra was formerly a disciple of Vrihaspati's father. Out of reverence for him he (Rudra) protected his rear, taking his Ajagava bow in his hands. A terrible battle, destructive of the gods and demons on account of Tara, was fought at the place where the high-souled Siva discharged his mighty weapon Brahmasiras—for the destruction of the demons and where their glory was (accordingly) destroyed.

O descendant of Bharata, in that battle the gods, well read in the precepts of religion who had sided Vrishaspati, and the deities Tushitas, who belonged to Soma's party who had stolen away his preceptor's wife, sought refuge with the Prime Deity the Eternal Brahma. Thereupon the Grand-father himself came there, prevented Sukra and Sankara (to fight) and gave back Tara to Vrihaspati. Beholding Tara enciente Vrihaspati said to her:—"You must not give birth to this child at my house". She then gave birth to a son, the destroyer of robbers, effulgent like a burning flame, on a bundle of fibrous sticks. As soon as he was born that beautiful boy overclouded the beauty of the celestials. Filled with suspicion accordingly the deities enquired of Tara saying "Who is he? Tell us truly if he is Vrihaspati's son or Soma's." When she was thus questioned by the gods she could give no reply out of shame. Thereupon her son, the slayer of robbers, was about to imprecate a curse on her. Preventing him Brahma himself asked Tara for the solution of the doubt. "Tell us, O Tata, what the truth is. Whose son is he?" Thereupon with folded hands she said to the Lord Brahma, the conferrer of boons:—"(He is) Soma's." Then his father the Patriarch Soma smelt the crown of his high-souled son, the destroyer of robbers. The intelligent (Soma) named his son Budha. He always rises in the sky in a hostile direction Budha begat a son on Vairaja's daughter Ila. His son was the great king Pururava. He begat on Urvashi seven high-souled sons. On account of his arrogance the Moon was attacked with consumption. On account of his thus being subject to this disease his orbit suffered decrease. He then sought refuge with his father Atri. The great ascetic Atri released him from his sins. And accordingly freed from consumption he again shone in his effulgence. O monarch, I have thus described to you, the account of the birth of the Moon enhancing glory. I shall now describe his family. On hearing of the story of the birth of the Moon ever giving blessedness, freedom from diseases, long life and progeny one is freed from all his sins.

CHAPTER 26. AN ACCOUNT OF PURURAVA.

Vaishampayana said:—O great king, Budha's son Pururava was learned, energetic, and charitably disposed. He performed many sacrifices and gave away many presents. He was conversant with the knowledge of Brahman and powerful and the enemies could not defeat him in battle. That king kept up perpetual fire in his house and celebrated many sacrifices. He was truthful, pious and highly handsome. He had an entire control over his sexual appetites. At that time there was none in the three worlds equal to him in glory. Having cast off her pride the illustrious Urvashi selected, as her lord, that forgiving and pious king conversant with the knowledge of Brahman. O descendant of Bharata, the king Pururava lived with Urvashi at the charming Chaitraratha garden for ten years, on the banks of the river Mandakini for five years, in the city of Alaka for five years, in the forest of Vadari for six, in the best of gardens Nandana for seven, in the province of Uttara kuru where the trees bear fruits whenever desired for eight, at the foot of the mount Gandhamadana for ten and on the summit of the North Sumeru for eight years. In these most beautiful gardens resorted to by the gods the king Pururava sported most delightedly with Urvashi. That king ruled over the sacred province of Prayaga, so highly spoken of by the great Rishis. His seven sons were all high-souled and like the sons of the gods born in the celestial region. They were named Ayu, Dhiman, Amavasu, the pious-souled Vishvayu, Shrutayu, Dridayu, Valayu and Shatayu. They were all given birth to by Urvashi.

Janamejaya said:—O you well-read in various Srutis, why did Urvashi, who was an Apsara, leave aside the gods and come to a human king? Do you relate this to me.

Vaishampayana said:—Having been imprecated with a curse by Brahma and abiding by the time the most beautiful Urvashi came to a man, the son of Ila. In order to free herself from the curse Urvashi made a contract with the king saying "O king, I shall not see you naked and you should associate with me whenever you will find me filled with desire. Two lambs should always be kept near my bed and you should always live on a small quantity of clarified butter during the day. O king, if you satisfy this contract and as long as you will remain true to it so long I shall live with you. This is our contract." The king satisfied all her conditions. Thus under the influence of a curse, that damsel, out of reverence towards Pururava, lived with him at the above-mentioned places for fifty-nine years. On account of Urvashi's living with a man all the Gandharvas were filled with anxiety. The Gandharvas said:—"O you great ones, concert some measure, by which that best of damsels Urvashi, the ornament of the celestial region, may come back to the gods". Amongst them a Gandharva by name Viswavasu, the foremost of speakers said:—"I heard them when they entered into the contract. As soon as the king will violate that contract Urvashi will forsake him. I know full well how that king will be divorced from Urvashi. I shall therefore depart with a companion for accomplishing your work." Having said this the highly illustrious (Gandharva) repaired to the city of Pratisthana. Having reached there during the night he pilfered away a lamb. That damsel, of beautiful smiles, was like a mother to that pair of lambs. Hearing of the arrival of the Gandharva and understanding that the hour of the termination of the curse had come, that illustrious (damsel) said to the king, "Who has stolen away one of my sons"? Although thus accosted by her he did not get up for he was naked, thinking "If the goddess beholds me without any raiment on then the terms of our contract will be cancelled".

Thereupon the Gandharvas again stole away the other lamb. When the second was carried away the damsel said to the son of Ila. "O king, O lord, who is stealing away my sons as if I have none to look after me?" Thus addressed the king, although he had no cloth on, ran away in search of the lambs. In the meantime the Gandharvas created lightnings. When the king was going out of the place lighted up by lightnings she, all on a sudden, saw him naked. Beholding him thus without any cloth on that Apsara, coursing at her will, went away. Beholding the pair of lambs left there the king took them and came to his house. (On his return), he did not see Urvashi and greatly stricken with grief began to bewail. He travelled over the entire earth in search of her. Then the highly powerful king saw her bathing at a tank called Haimavati at the sacred shrine of Plaksha in the province of Kurukshetra. That beautiful damsel was sporting with five other Apsaras. Beholding her thus sport the king, filled with mighty sorrow, began to bewail. Seeing the king at a distance Urvashi too said to her companions. "This is the foremost of men with whom I lived for some time." Saying this she pointed out the king to them. O king, the Apsaras then grew anxious lest she might go back. The king then addressed her in sweet words saying:—"O cruel lady, you may show yourself cruel in words but remain my wife at heart." Urvashi then said to the son of Ila, "O lord, through you I have become enciente. Forsooth within a year all your sons will be born. O king live with me for one night more". Hearing this the highly illustrious king was pleased and returned to his own city. After the expiration of a year Urvashi again came to him. The highly illustrious king lived with her for one night. Thereupon Urvashi said to the son of Ila:—"The Gandharvas will confer a boon on you. O king, beg of them a boon and tell them that you want equal beauty with the high-souled Gandharvas". Then the king prayed for a boon from the Gandharvas and they too said "so be it." Thereupon filling a bag with fire the Gandharvas said to him:—"O king, having celebrated a Yajna with this fire you will attain to our region." Thereupon taking the princes with him the king left for his city. Having thrown away that fire into the forest the king, with his sons, went to his own city. He did not see there the Treta fire [* The three sacred fires collectively or the southern, household and sacrificial fires.] but only saw a fig tree. Beholding that fig tree of Sami species he was stricken with surprise. He then communicated to the Gandharvas the destruction of fire. Hearing the whole story they ordered for a piece of wood to enkindle it. Then taking a piece of wood from the fig tree, churning the fire duly and worshipping the gods with various Yajnas there with, he attained the region of the Gandharvas. Having obtained the boon from the Gandharvas he placed Treta fire. The fire was at first one. The son of Ila divided it into three. So powerful was that foremost of men the royal son of Ila. The greatly illustrious king Pururava reigned in the city of Pratishthana situate on the northern bank of the Ganges in the Province of Prayaga, so highly spoken of by the Rishis.

CHAPTER 27. AN ACCOUNT OF ILA'S FAMILY.

Vaishampayana said:—Ila's* son had seven high-souled sons resembling the sons of the celestials born in the celestial region [Ila is another form of the Semitic Phoenician-Canaanite word El, Eloa or Ilah. It is cognate to the word l-h-m (vocalised as "Elohim") which is found in Ugaritic Canaanite, where it is used as the pantheon for Canaanite gods, the children of El. The word Allah is also related to it. See: Epic of Kret by Elimelek of Ugarit, 14th century BC, Grand Bible.]. They were Ayu, Dhiman, Amavasu, the high-souled Vishwayu, Srutayu, Dridayu, Valayu, and Shatayu. They were all Urvashi's sons. Amavasu's sons were Bhima and Nagnajit. Bhima's son was the king Kanchanaprabha. Kanchana's son was the highly powerful and learned Suhotra who begat on Keshini a son by name Janhu who celebrated the great sacrifice Sarvamedha (3–4). Ganga solicited him to become her husband but on account of his refusal she flooded the Yajna ground. O foremost of the Bharata race, beholding the ground thus flooded by Ganga Suhotra's son Janhu became enraged and said to her, "I shall exhaust your water by drinking it up and you will thus meet with punishment for your arrogance." The royal saint having drunk up Ganga the great Rishis designated her as his daughter by name Janhavi. Janhu espoused Yuvanashwa's daughter Kaveri. On account of Yuvanashwa's curse Ganga made, with one half of her person, that foremost of rivers, Janhu's wife the blameless Kaveri. Janhu begat on Kaveri a beloved and pious son by name Susaha whose son was Ajaka. Ajaka's son the king Valakashwa was greatly fond of hunting. His son was Kusha. He had four sons effulgent like the gods. They were Kushika, Kushanabha, Kushashwa and Murtiman. The king Kushika grew up with Pazhavas* ranging in the forest. [* The name of one of the degraded Kshatrya races sentenced by Sagara to wear beards, perhaps a Parthian.] He carried on hard penances for obtaining a son like Indra. Out of fear, accordingly the king of gods was born as a son to him. After he had carried on penances for one thousand years Sakra saw that royal saint of hard austerities. Seeing him the thousand-eyed Purandara thought him capable of creating progeny and accordingly entered into his energy. When the king of celestials was thus begotten by Kushika as his son he became the king Gadhi who was born of Purukutsa's daughter who was the wife of Kushika. Gadhi's daughter was the noble and amiable Satyavati. He gave her away to Bhrigu's son Richika. Bhrigu's son was pleased with her and therefore made Charu for his own and Gadhi's sons. Then calling his own wife Bhrigu's son Richika said to her "you and your mother should eat this Charu. (Your mother) will give birth to an effulgent son the foremost of Kshatryas. No other Kshatriya in this world will be able to vanquish him and he will destroy all the leading heroes of the military caste. O auspicious damsel, this Charu will make your son intelligent, a great ascetic of controlled senses and the foremost of the twice born."

Having said this to his wife Bhrigu's son Richika entered into woods for carrying on hard austerities without any interruption. At that time starting on pilgrimage with his

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family the king Gadhi arrived at Richika's hermitage for seeing his own daughter. Taking the two cups of Charu from the Rishi, Satyavati with great care gave one to her mother. By a mere accident the mother unwittingly gave her own Charu to her daughter and ate herself the one intended for the latter. Thereupon Satyavati conceived the dreadful offspring whereof was destined to slay all the Kshatryas. She then shone in great effulgence. Seeing her and knowing every thing by meditation the foremost of the twice-born Richika said to his beautiful wife, "By the change of Charu you have been imposed on by your mother. You will give birth to a highly terrible and ruthless son. Your brother will be born as a great ascetic conversant with all the Vedas. By virtue of my Tapas I have handed over my entire knowledge of the Vedas to him." Thus addressed by her husband the great Satyavati said to him "I do not wish to have such a wretch of a Brahmana as my son from you" and began to propitiate him. Thus accosted the ascetic again said to her. "O you auspicious dame, I myself did not wish for such a son. On account of the father and mother the son becomes cruel." Satyavati again replied to him. "You can create the worlds if you like, what to speak of a son. You should therefore give me a simple-minded son capable of controlling his senses). O lord, O foremost of the twice-born, if you cannot undo this, may a grandson be born after my heart."

Thereupon by virtue of his Tapas he became propitiated with her and said "O fair one, I make no distinction between a son and a grandson. Therefore what you have said will come to pass".

Satyavati then gave birth to a son by name Jamadagni always controlling his senses and intent upon carrying on hard austerities. On account of the change of Bhrigu's Charu and the union (of the energies) of Rudra and Vishnu Jamadagni was born from the energy of the latter. And the truthful and pious Satyavati now passes as the celebrated river Koushiki.

There was another powerful king of the Ikshwaku race by name Renuka. His daughter was the great Renuka. The great ascetic Jamadagni begat on that Renuka a dreadful and highly effulgent son by name Rama, the destroyer of all the Kshatryas, a master of all sciences and specially that of archery. Thus by virtue of Tapas Richika begat on Satyavati the highly illustrious Jamadagni—the foremost of those conversant with the Vedas. His second son was Shunasepha and his youngest son was Shunapuchha. Kushika's son Gadhi begat as his son Viswamitra endued with Tapas and the quality of self-control. Having obtained the status of Brahmana saints he became one of the seven Rishis. The virtuous souled Viswamitra also passed by the name of Viswaratha. By Bhrigu's favour he took his birth from Koushika as the multiplier of his race. Viswamitra's sons were Devarat and others celebrated in the three worlds. Hear from me their names. He begat Kati on Devasrava from whom Katyanas received their name. He begat Hiranyaksha on Shalavati and Renuman on Renu. Sangkriti Galava and Mudgala are also well-known. Madhuchhanda and other Devalas, Ashtaka, Kachhapa and Purita are all the offspring of Viswamitra. The families of the high-souled descendants of Kushika are all well-known. Panis, Vabhrus, Karajapas and other kings are the descendants of Devarat. Shalankayanas, Vaskalas, Lohityas, Yamadutas, Karishis, Soushrutas and besides Saindavayanas are all the descendants of Koushika. Devalas and Renus are the grandsons of Renuka. Yajnawalka, Aghamarshana, Udumvara, Abhiglana, Tarakayana and Chunchula are the grandsons of Salavati and sons of Hiranyaksha. Sanskritya, Galava, Badrayana and others are the offspring of the intelligent Viswamitra. Thus the family of Koushika is well-known to all. They are married according to grades. The connection, between the Brahmanas and Kshatryas amongst the family of Puru and the Brahmana saint Vasishtha and of Koushikas, is well known for ever. Of the sons of Viswamitra Sunasepha was the eldest. The foremost of saints Bhargava became also a Koushika. Viswamitra's son Sunasepha was destined to be killed at the sacrifice of Haridashwa. The gods again returned Sunasepha unto Viswamitra and for this he passed by the name of Devarata. Devarata and six others were the sons of Viswamitra, who begat on Drishadvati another son by name Ashtaka. Ashtaka's son was Louhi. Thus I have described the family of Janhu and I shall now describe the progeny of Ayu.

CHAPTER 28. AN ACCOUNT OF RAJI AND HIS SONS.

Vaishampayana said:—O king, Ayu had five sons who were all heroic and mighty car-warriors. They were begotten on Swarbhanu's daughter. Of them Nahusha was born first and next to him Vriddhasharma. Afterwards Rambha, Raji and Anena were born; they were all well-known in the three worlds. Raji begat five hundred sons who were known on earth by the name of Rajeyas. Those Kshatriyas made even Indra terrified. When the terrible battle, between the gods and demons, came to pass they went to the Grandfather and said "O lord of all the gods, say who amongst us will be crowned with victory. We wish to hear it from you."

Brahma said:—"Forsooth they will conquer the three worlds on whose behalf the king Raji will take up arms in battle. Wherever Raji is, there is forbearance; and wherever forbearance reigns there is prosperity. And wherever forbearance and prosperity are there exist morality and victory." O foremost of Bharatas, pleased with what they heard from the Grandfather, the gods and demons, with a view to gain victory, went to Raji for making him their commander. Raji was the grandson of Swarbhanu and was begotten on his daughter Prabha. That highly powerful king multiplied the race of Soma. The gods and demons, all with delighted minds, said to Raji:—"Do you, for accomplishing own victory, take up a most excellent bow and arrows". Then identifying his own interest with that of theirs and displaying his own glory the king Raji said to the gods and demons. "O Indra and gods, I shall then only engage in fight if I can attain to the dignity of Indra after vanquishing the demons in battle." The gods were at first delighted and said, "O king, whatever you wish it will be; your desire shall be fulfilled." Hearing the words of the gods the king Raji said to the leading Asuras what he had spoken to the gods. Thinking it conducive to their own interest the haughty Danavas, with great indignation, replied to that king. "Pralhada is our lord for whom we seek victory. O foremost of kings, fulfill the contract that you have made with the gods for obtaining the kingdom." Having said 'so be it' he was appointed by the gods (their commander). Then entering upon the contract that he would become Indra the king slew all the Danavas whom the wielder of thunderbolt could not kill. Having brought about the destruction of all the Danavas the highly beautiful, powerful and self-controlled king Raji regained the lost prosperity of the gods. Then Satakratu [Literally performer of hundred sacrifices, a name of Indra.], with all the gods, said to Raji "I am Raji's son." He again addressed him saying:—"Forsooth you have become the lord of all creatures, O sire, I, Indra, have become your son and I shall gain renown by this action". Hearing the words of Satakratu and having been imposed on by his Maya the king Raji delightedly said to the king of gods "Let it be so". After the ascension to heaven of that god-like king his sons took away from the lord of gods his celestial kingdom following the practice that ancestral properties should be equally distributed amongst all the sons. Raji's five hundred sons simultaneously attacked Trivisthapa and the celestial kingdom of Indra. After the lapse of many years the king of gods, being deprived of his kingdom and share in the sacrificial offerings, grew very feeble. He then said to Vrihaspati "O Brahmarshi, do thou arrange for me clarified butter of the weight of a Jujube fruit so that I may live on its strength. O lord, having snatched away my kingdom from me the sons of the king Raji have made me emaciated, absent-minded, shorn of seat and energy, weak and stupid".

Vrihaspati said:—"O sinless one, if you had said this to me before I would not have been required to do an unfair work for your well-being. I shall however, O king of gods, surely strive to do you good and you will soon regain your kingdom and due share of the sacrificial offerings. O my child, I will make arrangements for this and let not your mind be possessed by stupefaction." He then did something for increasing the energy of the king of gods. The foremost of the twice-born then brought about the derangement of their (Raji's sons') understanding. For this purpose he wrote a treatise on atheism, the best of all works on Tarka, dealing with attacks against religion and much liked by the impious. Those, who regard religion as the supreme (end of life), do not like this system. Listening to the contents of that treatise written by Vrihaspati the ignorant sons of Raji began expressing their disgust at the previous works on Dharma sastra). They began respecting highly that atheistical system of their preceptor. By this irreligious act those sinners met with destruction. Having gained, by the favour of Vrishapati, the kingdom of the three worlds which it is so hard to acquire the king of gods was highly pleased. The sons (of the king Raji) grew foolish, maddened with anger and irreligious. They began to hate the Brahmanas and were shorn of energy and prowess. Thereupon slaying those sons of Raji possessed by anger and lust the king of the celestials regained his prosperity and kingdom (35-36). He, who listens to or meditates on the account of the loss of kingdom by the king of gods and of the restitution of his prestige, is never visited by any oppression.

CHAPTER 29. AN ACCOUNT OF KASHI KINGS.

Vaishampayana said:—Rambha had no issue. I shall describe the progeny of Anena. His son was the highly illustrious king Pratikshatra. His son passed by the name of Srinjaya whose son was Jaya and his son was Vijaya. His son was Kriti whose son was Haryaswan. His son was the powerful king Sahadeva. Sahadeva's son was the virtuous-souled Nadina whose son was Jagatsena whose son was Satkriti. Satkriti's son was the pious-souled and highly illustrious Kshatravriddha ever satisfying the duties of a Kshatrya. I have thus described the progeny of Anena. Hear now of the descendants of Kshatravriddha. Kshatravriddha's son was the highly illustrious Sunahotra. He had three highly pious sons whose names were Kasha, Shala and Gritsamada. Gritsamada's son was Shunaka, whose offspring, the Saunakas, were Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras. Shala's son was Arshnisena whose son was Sutapa. O king, Kasha's sons were Kashya and Dirghatapa. The latter's son was the learned Dhanwantari. At the termination of the rigid penances of the intelligent old king Dirghatapa Dhanwantari arose from the ocean and took his birth for the second time in this world.

Janamejaya said:—O lord, why was Dhanwantari born in the land of men? I wish to know this duly and truly from you. Describe it therefore.

Vaishampayana said:—O foremost of Bharatas, hear of the birth of Dhanwantari. When ambrosia was being churned out in the days of yore Dhanwantari arose from the ocean. Enveloped completely with personal grace he came out of the vessel of ambrosia. Meditating on Vishnu who grants success in business he stood up as soon as he saw Him (11–13). Vishnu said to him "As you have come out of water you will be known by the name of Avja." And so he passed by the name of Avja. Avja then replied:—"O lord I am your son. Confer upon me therefore, O lord of celestials, a share in the sacrificial offerings and a place in this world." Thus addressed and seeing him the Divine Lord spoke to him the truth. "The gods, who present themselves at Yajnas, have already made apportionments of sacrificial offerings amongst themselves. The great saints too have dedicated various articles of oblation to various gods. Know therefore, I shall not be able to give you any thing however trifling it may be, that is not mentioned in the Vedas. O my son, you have been born after the gods and so you will not be able to partake of sacrificial offerings. In your second birth you will gain renown in the world. While in the womb you will acquire Anima Siddhi [Final emancipation or enlightenment from existence.]. With that body you will acquire the dignity of a god. The twice-born ones will worship you with Charu, Mantra, vows and Japas. You will propagate Ayurveda with its eight divisions. This work, which is sure to come off, is known to you in your watery birth. When the second Yuga Dwapara will set in you will undoubtedly take your birth again." Having conferred this boon on Dhanwantari Vishnu disappeared again. Thereupon when the second Dwapara Yuga set in Sunohotra's son Dirghatapa, the king of Kashi, desirous of having a son, began carrying on hard austerities affording delight to his worshipful deity saying—"I shall lay myself under the protection of that god who will confer on me a son." That king worshipped the deity Avja for a son. Thereupon that Divine lord, being pleased with the king, said to him "O you of good vows, I shall grant you any boon that you may choose to have". The king said "O lord, if thou art pleased be born unto me as my illustrious son." Then saying "Let it be so" he disappeared therefrom. The deity Dhanwantari was then born in his house. He became the king of Kashi who could destroy all diseases. Having acquired the kowledge of Ayurveda from Bharadwaja he divided the work of the physicians into eight classes and then conferred it upon his disciples. Dhanwantari's son was known by the name of Ketuman whose son was the heroic Bhimaratha. His son was the king Divodasa. The pious-souled Divodasa became the king of Baranashi. O king, at this time the Rakshasa Kshemaka, an attendant of Rudra, made the city of Baranashi divested of its inhabitants. The intelligent and high-souled Nikumbha uttered a curse against Baranashi saying, "Thou shalt forsooth have none to live in thee for one thousand years". As soon as this curse was pronounced against Baranashi the king Divodasa laid out his charming capital on the bank of Gomati (near Baranashi)). Formerly Baranashi belonged to Bhadrashenya, son of Mahishman, of the Yadu race. Having slain the hundred sons of Bhadrasenya who were all most excellent bowmen Divodasa acquired that city. Thus Bhadrasenya was deprived forcibly of his kingdom by the (king Divodasa).

Janamejaya said:—Why did the powerful Nikumbha imprecate a curse on Baranasi? Who is the virtuous Nikumbha who pronounced a curse on that holy land?

Vaishampayana said:—Having acquired that prosperous city the highly powerful emperor, the royal saint Divodasa began to live there. At this time, having accepted a gift the lord Siva was living at his father-in-law's residence for pleasing the goddess (his wife Durga). At the command of the god (Siva) the great saints Parshadas, born in a respectable family, in this above mentioned form and dress, were propitiating Parvati. The great goddess Parvati was highly pleased thereby but not so was Menaka. She began continually villifying that god and goddess. She said to Parvati:—"Your husband Maheswara is always doing vile things in the company of Parshadas. He is always poor and his character is not good".

Thus spoken to by his mother the goddess became enraged as is usually the case with women. Smiling a little she came to Bhava. With her countenance pale the goddess said to Mahadeva:—"O lord, I shall not live here; take me to your own house". In order to find out a house for himself Mahadeva eyed all the world. O descendant of Kuru, the highly powerful Maheswara selected Baranashi where every

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body attains to the consummation of religious culture. Learning that Divodasa had occupied the city, Bhava said to Nikumbha who was by him:—"O king of Ganas, go to the city of Beneres, and make it shorn of its inhabitants by mild means for the king there is very powerful."

Thereupon going to the city of Baranasi Nikumbha appeared in a dream to a barber by name Kanduka and said to him. "O sinless one, I shall encompass your well-being. Place a faithful image of mine in the city." O king, what he commanded in a dream was all carried out. Having duly made an announcement to the king at the gate of the city he began daily to worship him (Nikumbha) with scents, garland, incense, lamps, food, and drink. This appeared to be extremely wondrous (49–50). Thus the lord of Ganas was daily worshipped. Thereupon he began to confer thousands of boons on the citizens, such as sons, gold, long life and various desired-for objects. The eldest queen of the king Divodasa was celebrated by the name of Suyasha. Despatched by her husband that chaste damsel appeared there for a son. Offering him a grand Puja she prayed for a son. Thus did she daily come there for a son. But for some reason Nikumbha did not give her a son, thinking "If the king gets enraged I shall accomplish my object". Thereupon after a long time the king was possessed by anger. He said "This ghost, stationed at the main gate, is delightedly conferring hundreds of boons on my citizens; why does he not confer one on me? My people in this city are always worshipping him. I requested of him for a son for my queen. Why does not that ungrateful wretch confer a son on me? So this ghost does not deserve good treatment from any, especially from me. I shall therefore have the habitation of this vicious-souled one destroyed". Having made this resolution that vicious-souled, wicked king sacked the house of that king of Ganas. Having seen his own house destroyed Nikumbha imprecated a curse on the king saying, "I have committed no offence; and still while my house has been ruined, this city, all on a sudden, shall be shorn of its people".

Thereupon by his curse the city of Baranasi was divested of its people. Having pronounced that curse against the city Nikumbha went to Mahadeva. The inhabitants of Baranasi suddenly fled away to different directions. The God Siva then built his own house in that city. Mahadeva lived there sporting with the daughter of the Mountain-king. On account of the liberation being given even to those who did not deserve it the goddess did not like that place. She then said "I shall not live here". Siva said:—"I do not live in my house. My house (body) remains always intact. I shall not go there. Go you, O goddess, to your house." The three-eyed lord, the slayer of Tripura said these words with a smile. From that time that city has been spoken of as Avimukta by the god Siva himself. Thus Baranasi has been described as Avimukta). The pious-souled Deity Maheswara, adored of all the gods, lived there in the company of the goddess for the three Yugas, Satwa, Treta, and Dwapara. The city of that high-souled god disappeared in the Kali Yuga. When that city disappeared Maheswara lived there invisible. Thus Baranasi was cursed and peopled again. Bhadrasenya had a son by name Durdama. Having slain the hundred sons of Bhadrasenya Divodasa spared him out of mercy considering him a child. O great king, the emperor Durdama was adopted by Haihaya as his son. In order to put an end to hostilities, Bhadrasenya's son the high souled Kshatriya king Durdama took back again his ancestral kingdom which had been forcibly occupied by Divodasa. Divodasa begat on Vrishadvati the heroic Pratardana. That boy son of his again defeated Durdama. Pratardana had two sons by name Vatsa and Bhaga. Vatsa's son was Alarka whose son was Sannati. Alarka, the king of Kashi, was truthful and devoted to Brahman. The ancient sages composed the following hymn in praise of the royal saint Alarka. "This foremost of the rulers of Kashi will enjoy youth and beauty for sixty thousand and sixty hundred years". By the favour of Lopamudra he gained that longevity. That youthful and beautiful king had an extensive kingdom. After the termination of the curse that mighty-armed king slew the Rakshasa Kshemaka and laid out again the picturesque city of Baranasi. Sannati's son was the pious Sunitha. Sunitha's son was the highly illustrious Kshemya whose son was Ketuman whose son was Suketu. His son passed by the name of Dharmaketu, whose son was the mighty car-warrior Satya ketu. His son was the king Bibhu whose son was Avarta, and whose son was Sukumara. His son was the highly pious Dhristaketu, whose son was the king Venuhotra, and whose son was the king Bharga. The province of Vatsa belonged to Vatsa and the land of Bhrigu derived its name from Bhargava. These sons of Angiras were born in the race of Bhrigu. He had thousands of sons amongst the Brahmanas, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. Thus I have described to you the family of Kashi kings. I shall now describe the progeny of Nahusha.

CHAPTER 30. ACCOUNT OF THE KING YAYATI.

Vaishampayana said:—The highly energetic Nahusha begat on his father's daughter Viraja six sons gifted with the effulgence of Indra. They were Yati, Yayati, Sang yati, Ayati and Yati. And the sixth was Suyati; of them Yayati became the king. Yati was the eldest of all. Next to him was Yayati. On account of his being the foremost of the pious he obtained a daughter of Kakuthsthas by name Go. Yati was an ascetic. Having acquired final liberation he was united with Brahman. Of the other five Yayati conquered this world. He espoused Sukracharya's daughter Devayani as well as Sharmistha the daughter of an Asura by name Vrishaparva. Devayani gave birth to Yadu and Turvasu and Vrishaparva's daughter Sharmishtha to Drahyu, Anu, and Puru. Being pleased Sakra gave him a highly effulgent, celestial, golden chariot going every where without any interruption. White celestial and excellent horses, fleet like the mind, were yoked to it. By that chariot he used to accomplish every work. Ascending that car, Yayati, irrepressible in battle, within six nights conquered the entire earth and even the gods with Vasava. That car was in the possession of the Pauravas till Sunama was born, O Janamejaya. Kuru's son the king Parikshit lost that car by the imprecation of the intelligent Gargya. O Janamejaya, that king slew the harsh-speeched boy of Gargya and accordingly he was guilty of the crime of Brahmanicide. With a stench all about his body that royal saint moved about hither and thither. Then cast off both by the citizens and villagers he could not enjoy happiness anywhere. Thereupon stricken with grief he could not find relief anywhere. He then sought refuge with the ascetic Indrota born in the race of Shounaka. Indrota then undertook the celebration of a horse-sacrifice for purifying that king. When he bathed after the termination of a Yajna, that stench disappeared from his body. Then O king, the lord of gods, with pleasure, gave away that celestial car to Vasu the king of Chedis; from him Vrihadratha acquired it. From him that car gradually passed into the hands of Jarasandha. Thereupon slaying Jarasandha Bhima, the descendant of Kuru, delightedly conferred that most excellent car on Vasudeva.

Having conquered the earth consisting of seven insular continents with its oceans Yayati divided it (amongst his sons). Nahusha's son installed Turvasa as the king of the south-eastern quarter, Anu and Druhya as the kings of the northern and eastern divisions respectively, the eldest Yadu as the king of the north-east, and Puru as the king of the Central division. Even now they are righteously ruling over the earth consisting of seven insular continents and various cities in their respective provinces. O foremost of kings, I shall afterwards describe their progeny. Having been thus blessed with five sons and conferred upon them his bows, arrows and the charge of the kingdom, the foremost of men, that king Yayati was possessed by decrepitude. Divested of weapons when that ever victorious king cast his eyes on the earth he felt joy. Having thus divided the earth he said to Yadu [Name of Semitic origin: Yudah.]:—"Retiring from thy office, O my son, do thou take this decrepitude of mine upon thee. Making over my decrepitude to thee and being gifted with thy youth and beauty I shall range over the earth." Whereto Yadu replied:—"I have promised to give alms to a Brahmana. It has not been decided as yet. Without ascertaining this I cannot accept your decrepitude. There are many inconveniences regarding food and drink in decrepitude. Therefore, O king, I do not like to take your decrepitude on me. O king, you have many other sons who are more beloved than I. Therefore, O pious king, command any other son of yours to take your decrepitude".

Thus accosted by Yadu the king was filled with anger. Then blaming his son Yayati, the foremost of speakers, said:—"O you of vicious intellect, disregarding me who am your preceptor and who have given you education, whom else can you seek and what religion can you follow?" Having addressed Yadu thus in anger he imprecated a curse on him, saying, "O foolish wight, your sons will be deprived of their kingdom".

That king, the foremost of Bharatas, likewise requested Turvasu, Drahyu and Anu and was equally dishonoured by them all. Being enraged that ever victorious Yayati cursed them all as I had described to you before, O foremost of the royal saints. Having thus cursed his four sons who preceded Puru the king said to him, O descendant of Bharata). "O Puru, if you agree, I shall transfer this my decrepitude to you and being invested with your beauty and youth I shall roam over this world". His powerful son Puru accepted his decrepitude. Yayati too, endued with Puru's beauty, ranged over the earth. Seeing the termination of pleasures, O foremost of Bharatas, that lord lived in the Chaitraratha forest with Vishravya. When he was satiated with enjoyments the king came to Puru and took back from him his decrepitude. Hear, O great king, the songs sung there by Yayati. Hearing them a man withdraws himself from pleasures as a tortoise draws in its limbs. "Desire is never satiated with the enjoy ment of its object. It rather assumes proportions like a fire when clarified butter is thrown into it. Rice, barley, gold, animals and women, that are on earth, are not sufficient to afford satisfaction to one man. Seeing this even men are not brought to their senses. When a man does not commit injury to any creature even by his action, thought and words, he is unified with Brahman. When a man is not afraid of another, when no one is afraid of him, when he cherishes no desire or malice he is unified with Brahman. Verily does he attain to happiness when a man relinquishes thirst, which wicked people can never cast off, which does not wear out even when a man is possessed by decrepitude and which is like a fatal malady. When a man is worn out with age his hairs and teeth fall off but the desire for life and wealth never disappears. Whatever pleasure is there in this world derivable from the satisfaction of sensual appetites, whatever great heavenly pleasure is there none of them is equal to the one sixteenth of the pleasure derived from the extinction of desire". Having said this the royal saint Yayati retired into the forest with his wife and for many long years he carried on hard austerities. Having carried on his penances on the Bhrigu hill that great ascetic, renouncing his body, attained to heaven with his wife.

O great king, in his family five royal saints were born. By them the whole earth was occupied as by the rays of the sun. Hear now of the family of Yadu honoured by all the royal saints. In his family Narayana Hari, the perpetuator of Vrishni race, took his birth, O king, he, who listens to the sacred biography of the king Yayati or reads it, acquires health, offspring, long life and renown.

CHAPTER 31. AN ACCOUNT OF PURU'S FAMILY.

Janamejaya said:—O Brahman, I wish to hear truly and separately of the families of Puru, Drahyu, Anu, Yadu, and Turvasu. Do you describe them at length from the very beginning while describing the race of Vrishnis (1–2). Vaishampayana said:—O king, hear first of your own family, the brave Puru race, from the very beginning in which you have been born. O king, I shall describe to you the most excellent family of Puru as well as those of Drahyu, Anu, Yadu and Turvasu. O Janamejaya, Puru's son was a highly powerful king; his son was Prachinvan who conquered the eastern quarter. Prachinvana's son was Pravira whose son was Manasyu. His son was the king Abhayada whose son was the king Sudhanwa. His son was Vahugava whose son was Shamyati. His son was Rahaswati whose son was Roudrashwa. The latter had ten sons and daughters. The sons were respectively named Dasharneyu, Krikaneyu, Kaksheyu, Sthandileshu, Saunateshu, Richeyu, Sthaleyu, the highly illustrious Jalayeu, Dhaneyu and Vaneyu. The daughters were named Rudra, Shudra, Bhadra, Shalada, Malada, Khala, Chala, Valada, Suratha and Gochapata. These ten daughters defeated, with their beauty, Urvashi and other jems of women. The Rishi Prabhakara, born in the race of Atri, was their husband. He begat on Rudra his illustrious son, Soma. When defeated by Rahu the sun falls down on earth, and when the whole world is accordingly enveloped with darkness he spreads his rays all over. When that sage said "May good betide you" the sun, according to his words, did not fall from the sky. The great ascetic Atri was the founder of great families. At his sacrifice even the celestials carried the riches. This high-souled Rishi begat on the ten daughters of Roudrashwa ten sons ever engaged in carrying on hard penances. O king, those Rishis, who had mastered the Vedas, were the founders of families. They passed by the name of Swastatreya. But Atri had no money. Kasheyu had three sons who were all mighty car-warriors—they were Subhanava, Chakshusa and Parmekshu. The learned king Kalanala was Subhanava's son. His son was the pious Srinjaya. The heroic king Puranjaya was Srinjaya's son. O king, Janamejaya was Puranjaya's son. The royal saint Mahashala was Janamejaya's son. He was well-read in the Vedas and renowned on earth. The pious Mahamana was Mahashala's son. He was heroic, liberal-minded and honoured of all gods. O descendant of Bharata, Mahamana begat two sons, the pious Ushinara and Titikshu, endued with great strength. Ushinara had five wives born in the families of royal saints—Nriga, Krimi, Nava, Darvi and Drisadvati. He begat on those wives five sons who perpetuated his race. By carrying on hard austerities he got all those sons in his old age, O descendant of Bharata. Nriga's son was Nriga, Krimi's son was Krima, Nava's son was Nava, Darvi's son was Suvrata and from Drisadvati was born the king Sivi. Sivi's sons passed by the name of Sivis, and Nriga's sons by that of Youdheyas, Nava's capital was Navarashtra and that of Krimi was Krimita; whereas the metropolis of Suvrata was celebrated by the name of Amvastha. Hear from me the names of Sivi's sons. He had four sons who were famous in the three worlds for their heroism. They were Drishadarbha, Saviria, Kaikaya and Madrapa. Their prosperous cities passed by the names of Kaikeya, Madrapa and others. Vrishadarbha and others were all very heroic. Hear now the names of the sons of Titikshu. O scion of the Bharata race, Titikshu's son Ushadratha was the king of the eastern division. His son was Phena whose son was Sutapa from whom Bali was born. That (demon) king was born as man. He had a golden quiver. The king Bali was a great ascetic in the days of yore. He begat five sons in the world who multiplied his progeny. Of them Anga was born first. Then were born Banga and Sumha. Next to them were born Pundra and Kalinga. These were the Kshatriya sons of Bali. Brahmana descendants of Bali also flourished on this earth. O descendant of Bharata, being pleased Brahma confered on him several boons. (They were)—the dignity of a great ascetic, a

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long life extending over a Kalpa, invincibleness in a battle, leadership of a religious order, the vision of three worlds, supremacy in issuing commands, an insight into the subtleties of religion and matchlessness in strength. The king Bali was then addressed by Brahma saying "You will always be a defender of the four castes in this world." Thereat he attained to a great equanimity of mind. (Bali led a life of celibacy) and accordingly the highly powerful and leading ascetic Dirghatama begat on his wife Sudeshna all those Kshetraja sons—the foremost of Munis. Having installed his five sinless sons on the throne Bali thought himself blessed. Thereupon practising Yoga that great ascetic, irrepressible unto all, began to wait for time. After a long time, O king, he returned to his own region. His sons had five provinces, namely Anga, Banga, Sumha, Kalinga and Pundraka. Hear now of the sons of Anga. The great emperor Dadhivahana was Anga's son. His son was the king Diviratha. His son was the learned king Dharmaratha equal to Indra in prowess. His son was Chitraratha. Having celebrated a Yajna on the mount Vishnupada the high-souled Chitraratha drank Soma juice with the king of gods. Chitraratha's son was Dasharatha who passed by the name of Lomapada whose daughter was Shanta. By Rishyasringa's favour he got a highly illustrious and heroic son by name Chaturanga who perpetuated his race. Chaturanga's son passed by the name of Prithulaksha whose son was the highly illustrious king Champa. Champa's capital was Champa which formerly passed by the name of Malini. By the favour of the ascetic Purnabhadra Haryanga was born as his son. Thereupon Vibhandaka's son, the ascetic Rishyasringa, brought down, by virtue of incantation, Indra's elephant Airavata to carry him in this world. Haryanga's son was the king Bhadraratha whose son was the king Vrihadkarma. His son was Vrihadarbha from whom was born Vrihan mana, who begat the heroic king Jayadratha whose son was Dridaratha. O Janamejaya, Dridaratha's son was Viswajita. His son was Karna whose son was Vikarna. He had a hundred sons who multiplied the race of Anga. Vrihadarbha's son Vrihanmana had two wives in the two beautiful daughters of Chaidya. They were Yashodevi and Satvi who divided the family. O king, Jayadratha was born of Yashodevi. And from Satvi was born the celebrated king Vijaya, who (by his equanimity of mind and other qualities) was superior to the Brahmanas and (by heroism and other accomplishments was superior to) the Kshatriyas. Vijaya's son was Dhriti whose son was Dhritavrata. His son was the highly illustrious Satyakarma. His son was the mighty car-warrior Suta who adopted Karna as his son. It is therefore Karna was called the son of a charioteer. The family of the highly powerful Karna has thus been described. Karna's son was Vrishasena whose son was Vrisha. I have thus described to you the truthful and noble kings of the Anga family who had all many sons and were mighty car-warriors. O king, hear now of the family of Roudraswa's son Richeyu in which you have been born.

CHAPTER 32. AN ACCOUNT OF RICHEYU'S FAMILY.

Vaishampayana said:—The invincible king Richeyu had none to equal him. His wife was Ivalana, the daughter of Takshaka. That saintly queen gave birth to the saintly emperor Matinara. He had three highly pious sons. Of them the first was Tangsu, the second Pratiratha and the youngest was Suvahu. He had another well-known daughter by name Gouri who was the mother of Mandhata. They were all well-read in the Vedas, conversant with the knowledge of Brahman, truthful, well-versed in the use of arms, powerful and skillful in war-fare. O king, Pratiratha's son was Kanwa whose son was Medhatithi. From him the twice-born ones derived the family of Kanyayana. O Janamejaya, he had a daughter by name Ilini. Tangsu, far more powerful than even the Brahmavadins, espoused her. His son was the royal saint Surodha, who propagated religion, was Brahmavadhin, powerful and heroic. His wife was Upadanavi. She had four warrior sons. They were Dushmanta, Sushvanta, Pravira and Anagha. The heroic Bharata was Dushmanta's son. (In his boyhood) he passed by the name of Sarvadamana, was high-souled and gifted with the strength of ten million elephants. Noble Dushmanta begat on Sakuntala a son by name Bharata who became Lord Paramount. From him you have all derived the name of Bharatas. A voice from heaven spoke to the king Dushmanta. "The mother is only a leathern case. The son belongs to the father. He takes after him by whom he is begotten. O Dushmanta, take care of your son and do not disregard Sakuntala. O king, a son, born of a portion of the father, releases him from the abode of Death. Through you she has conceived. Sakuntala has spoken the truth." As described by me before when the sons of the king Bharata were all destroyed by the anger of their mother, the great ascetic Bharadwaja, the son of Angira's son Vrihaspati, was chosen as a son of Bharata by Marutas, the presiding deities of Yajnas. This instance, of the Marutas assigning this duty to the intelligent Bharadwaja on behalf of Bharata, is often cited. Bharadwaja honoured the Marutas with sacrifices. When the power of procreating sons was withdrawn from Bharata, Bharadwaja begat a son whose name was Vitatha. When his grandson Vitatha was born Bharata repaired to heaven.

Thereupon placing Vitatha on the throne Bharadwaja retired into woods. He again begat five sons-Suhotra, Suhota, Gaya, Garga and the high-souled Kapila. Suhotra had two sons, the highly powerful Kashika and the king Gritsamati. The latter had sons amongst the Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas. Kashika's sons were Kasheya and Dirghatapa; by the latter the learned Dhanwantari was begotten. Dhanwantari's son passed by the name of Ketuman. His son was the heroic king Bhimaratha. His son was the celebrated king of Baranashi by name Divodasa who slew all the Rakshasas. At this time, O king, a Rakshasa, by name Kshemaka, depopulated the city of Baranashi for the high-souled and intelligent Nikumbha imprecated a curse against that city saying that it would be without any inhabitants for one thousand years. As soon as this curse was pronounced against the city of Baranashi the king Divodasa laid a most beautiful city on the bank of Gomati. Formerly the city of Baranashi was in the possession of the ascetic king Bhadrasenya born in the race of Yadu. Having slain his hundred sons who were all excellent bowmen the king Divodasa laid out his kingdom there. The heroic king Pratardanna was Divodasa's son. He had two sons, Vatsa and Bharga. Vatsa's son was Alarka from whom Sannatiman was born. Bhadrasenya's son, the high-souled Durdama was adopted by Haihaya as his son. He regained his ancestral kingdom that was forcibly invaded by Divodasa. He was out of mercy spared by Divodasa, who thought him a mere child. The king Ashtaratha was the son of Bhimaratha. By putting an end to hostilities that Kshatriya killed all the little boys of (Durdama). Alarka, the king of Kashi, was truthful and looked after the well-being of the Brahmanas. That youthful and beautiful king ruled over his kingdom for sixty thousand and sixty hundred years. The king of Kashi was endued both with beauty and youth. By Lopamudra's favour he acquired a long life. After the termination of the curse that mighty-armed king slew the Rakshasa Kshemaka and laid out again the charming city at Baranashi. The king Sunitha was Alarka's son. The highly illustrious Kshemya was Sunitha's son. Kshemya's son was Ketuman whose son was Varshaketu; the latter's son was the king Bibhu. Bibhu's son was Anartha from whom was born Sukumara. His son was the mighty car-warrior, the highly energetic and pious king Satyaketu. From Vatsa his province was called Vatsa and from Bhargava his province was name Bharga. These were all born as the sons of Angiras in the Bhargava race. O foremost of Bharatas, they were Brahamanas, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas.

Suhotra's son was Vrihat who had three sons, Ajamida, Dwimida and the energetic Purumida. Ajamida had three beautiful wives namely Nilini, Keshina and the beautiful damsel Bhumini. Ajamida begat the powerful Janhu on Keshni. He undertook the celebration of the great sacrifice Sarvamedha. Ganga solicited him to become her husband. But on his refusing to accept her proposals she flooded his sacrificial ground, O foremost of Bharatas, beholding his sacrificial ground thus flooded by Ganga, Janhu, the slayer of enemies, grew enraged and said to her:—"O Ganga, I shall exhaust all your waters in the three worlds, by drinking them. You will pay then dearly for your arrogance".

Beholding Ganga then drunk up by Janhu the high-souled Rishis made her his daughter by the name of Janhavi. Janhu espoused Yuvanashwa's daughter Kaveri. By imprecating a curse on her, Ganga afterwards converted one-half of her body into a river. Janhu's favourite son was the emperor Balakashwa. He was very fond of hunting. His son was Kushika who grew up with the Panhavas in the forest. Kushika carried on hard austerities with the desire that he would obtain as powerful a son as Indra. Therefore Sakra, out of fear, took his birth as his son. Maghavan, born of his own accord in the race of Kushika, passed by the name of king Gadhi. His sons were Vishwamitra, Vishwaratha, Viswajit and Viswakrit. O king, their youngest daughter was Satyavati. Richika begat Jamadagni on her. Vishwamitra's sons Devarata and others are celebrated over the three worlds. Hear their names from me. Devashrava's son was Kati from whom the Katyayanas received their name. Hiranyaksha was begotten on Shalavatt and Renuman on Renu. Besides, O king, there were Sangskritya, Galava and Moudgalya. The families of those high-souled Koushikas are still well-known. The Panis, Babhrus, Dhyanajapyas, the king Devarata and others, Satangkayana, Soushrava, Louhitya, Yamadula, Karishis and Sonshrutas were all descendants of Koushika. Besides there are Saindhavayanas and others. They contract matrimonial alliances amongst themselves according to the distinction of grades. O emperor, the alliance, between the Brahmana saints Koushikas and the Pouravas is known as the intermarriage between the Brahmanas and Kshatriyas. Amongst the sons of Viswamitra Sunasepha was the eldest. Although born in the race of Bhrigu, that foremost of Munis attained to the station of a Koushika. Viswamitra had other sons too Devarata and others. Viswamitra begat a son on Drishadvati by name Ashtaka whose son was Louha. I have thus described the progeny of Janhu.

O foremost of men, hear of the other sons of Ajamida. He begat Sushanti on his wife Nilini. From Sushanti was born Purujati from whom again was Vahyashwa. The latter had five sons resembling the immortals. They were Mudgala, the king Srinjaya, Vrihadishu, Yavanira and the powerful Krimitashwa. We have heard that the five of them were capable of protecting their country—and they were the lords of the Panchala Province consisting of prosperous villages). Because the five of them were capable of protecting their land therefore it is called Panchala. Mudgala's sons were the highly illustrious Moudgalyas. They were all noble, twice-born and abided by the duties of Kshatriyas. The descendants of Kanwa and Mudgala took the side of Angiras. Mudgala's eldest son was the highly illustrious Brahmana saint Indrasena from whom was born Badhyashwa. He begat twins on Menaka; such we have heard. One of them was the royal saint Livodasa and the other was the illustrious Ahalya. Sharadvana begat on Ahalya the foremost of Rishis Shatanada. His son the highly illustrious Satyadhriti was a master of the science of archery. Seeing a nymph before him he was possessed by desire, the out-come of which was a twin. Going out a-hunting the king Shantanu, out of mercy, took them up. Accordingly the son was named Kripa and the daughter Kripi, they are called Sharadwatas and known as Goutamas.

I shall now describe the progeny of Divodasa. The saintly king Mitreyu was Divodasa's son. From him branched off the Matrayani line and after him were named the Matreyas. These descendants of Bhrigu took the side of Kshetropota. The high-souled Srinjaya had a son by name Panchajana, whose son was the king Somadatta. His son was the highly illustrious Sahadwa whose son was the king Somaka. When the family was verging on extinction Somaka was again born of the twins of Ajamida. His son was Jantu who had a hundred sons. Of them the youngest was Prishata who was Drupada's father. Drupada's son was Dhaistadyumna whose son was Dhristaketu. These high-souled Somakas are known as Ajamidas. And the sons of the high-souled Ajamida became known by the name of Somakas.

O king, the mother of your fore-fathers, Dhumini, desirous of having sons, was the third queen of Ajamida. That lady, ever observant of vows, practised, for having a son, hard austerities which it is difficult for women to perform, extending over a million of years. O Janamejaya, living on pure and restricted fare, offering duly oblation to fire she used to lie down on Kusa grass intended for fire-worship. Ajamida knew the lady Dhumini and she gave birth to a smoky coloured beautiful son by name Riksha. From him was born Samvarana who again begat Kuru, who passing by Prayaga, laid out the city of Kurukshetra. After that high-minded king had carried on penances for many thousand years and cultivated that holy and charming province resorted to by the pious, Sakra conferred on him a boon. His family was highly great from whom the Kouravas received their appellation. Kuru had four sons, namely, Sudhanwa, Sudhana, the mighty armed Parikshit and Pravara at whose name the enemies used to tremble. Sudhanwa's son was the intelligent Suhotra. His son was Chyavana who was well read in the Vedas and other scriptures. Chyavana's son was Krityajna. Celebrating many sacrifices that pious king begat a son equal to Indra in glory. He was Vasu the king of Chedis who could range in the sky and move about in the air. He begat on Girika seven sons. They were the mighty car-warrior Vrihadratha the king of Magadha, Pratyagraha, Kusha, who passed by the name of Manivahana, Maruta, Yadu the fish Kali and Sattama. Vrihadratha's son was known by the name of Kushagra. His son was the learned and powerful Brishabha whose son was the pious Puspavari. His powerful son passed by the name of king Satyatula (94-95). His son was the virtuous souled Urja whose son was Sambhava. A powerful son was born to Sambhava in two portions which were sewed up by Jara. And this son was accordingly named Jarasandha. That highly powerful Jarasandha defeated all the Kshatriyas. His son was the powerful Sahadeva. His son was the beautiful and highly illustrious Udayu who begat a highly pious son. His name was Srutadharma who lived in the country of Magadha. Parikshita's son was the pious Janamejaya. He had three sons who were all mighty car-warriors; they were Srutasena, Ugrasena and Bhimasena. They were all highly prosperous, powerful and brave. Besides these three sons Janamejaya begat on Manimati another two who were named Suratha and Matiman. Suratha's son was the powerful Viduratha whose son was the mighty car-warrior Riksha. Though he was the second Riksha he was illustrious like the first. O king, in your family were born two Rikshas, two Parikshits, three Bhimasenas and two Janamejayas. Riksha the second had a son by name Bhimasena whose son was Pratipa. His sons were Shantanu, Devapi and Valhika who were all mighty car-warriors.

O king, the family, in which you have been born, is Shantanu's family. O king, Valhika had seven kingdoms. Valhika's son was the highly illustrious Somadatta whose sons were Bhuri, Bhurishrava and Shala. The ascetic Devapi was the priest of the gods. He was the favourite son of the high-

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souled Chyavana. The king Shantanu was the foremost of the Kuru kings. The family in which, O great king, you have been born as Shantanu's race. He begat on Ganga a son by name Devavrata. He was celebrated by the name of Bhishma the grand-father of the Pandavas. Kali (Satyavati) gave birth to Vichitravirya who was the most favourite, virtuous-souled and sinless son of Shantanu. Krishnadwaipayana begat on Vichitravirya's wife Dhritarastra, Pandu and Vidura. Dhritarastra begat on Gandhari a hundred sons, of whom Duryodhana was the eldest and became king. Pandu's son was Dhananjaya whose son was Abhimanyu who was given birth to by Subhadra. O king, your father Parikshit is Abhimanyu's son. O king, such is the account of the Puru race in which you have been born. I shall presently describe the families of Turvasu, Drahyu, Puru and Yadu. Turvasu's son was Vanhi, whose son was Gobhanu, whose son was the irrepressible king Traisanu. His son was Karandhama whose son was Marutha. I have mentioned before the name of another Marutta who was the son of Avikshit. This king Marutta had no issue and accordingly he celebrated many Yajnas accompanied with profuse presents. O king, he had a daughter by name Sarmata. He made a gift of her to the high-souled Samvarta. Afterwards he obtained the sinless Puru king Dushmanta as his son.

O foremost of kings, thus on account of Yayati's curse and of his transferring of his decrepitude Turvasu's line became identified with that of Kurus. Dushmanta's son was the king Karuthama whose son was Akrida. He (again) had four sons whose names were Pandya, Kerala, Kola and Chola. Their prosperous territories were respectively named Pandya, Chola and Kerala. O king, Drahyu's sons were Babhru and Setu. Setu's son was Angara who was also known as lord of Maruts. That powerful king was slain, with difficulty, by Youvanashwa in battle. He fought with him a dreadful combat for fourteen months. The king Gandhara was Angara's son, after whose name the celebrated Gandhara kingdom still passes. The horses of that province are the best of their kind. Anu's son was Dharma whose son was Ghrita. Ghrita begat Duduha whose son was Pracheta. Sucheta was Pracheta's son. I have thus described the family of Anu. Hear, I shall now describe at length the most excellent and powerful family of the eldest Yadu.

CHAPTER 33. AN ACCOUNT OF HAIHAYAS AND KARTAVIRYA.

Vaishampayana said:—Yadu had five sons equal unto the sons of the celestials. They were Sahasrada, Payoda, Kroshta, Neela and Anjika. O king, Sahasrada had three highly pious sons–Haihaya, Haya and Venuhaya. Haihaya's son was celebrated by the name of Dharmanetra. His son was Karta whose son was Sahanja. That king founded a city named Sahanjani. The king Mahishman was his son. By him the city of Mahishmati was founded. The powerful Bhadrasenya was Mahishman's son. As recount ed by me before he was the ruler of Baranashi. Bhadrasenya's son was Durdama. Durdama's son was Kanka who was very intelligent. Kanka had four sons well-known in the world, namely Kritavirya, Kritouja, Kritavarma and Kritagni. From Kritavirya, Arjuna was born who had a thousand arms and became the emperor of the seven insular continents. He alone, in his car effulgent like the sun, conquered the world. Having carried on hard austerities for a million of years that royal son of Kritavirya succeeded in pleasing Atri's son Datta who conferred on him four very powerful boons. The first of these, was that he would get one thousand arms. The second was that the sages would prevent him from imbibing irreligious thoughts. The third was that having conquered the world with fierce Kshatriya energies he would please his subjects duly. The fourth was that when he would gain many battles and destroy thousands of enemies he would be killed in battle by a highly powerful man. O king, when that ascetic king engaged in a battle, he, by virtue of asceticism and illusory energy, acquired thousand arms. By his dreadful prowess he conquered the earth consisting of seven insular continents, many mountains and oceans. O Janamejaya, we have heard that king duly celebrated seven hundred Yajnas in the seven insular continents. O large-armed one, in those Yajnas thousands of presents were given away. In those Yajnas golden sacrificial posts and altars were set up. They were all adorned with gods in celestial cars, with Gandharvas and Apsaras. In his Yajnas, the Gandharvas and Narada sang hymns. Seeing his glory Baridasa was struck with wonder.

Narada said:—None, among the kings, will attain to the dignity of Kartavirya by celebrating Yajnas, making presents, by his prowess and knowledge of scriptures. People saw him ranging in his car simultaneously, by virtue of his Yoga power, over the seven insular continents with his armour, sword and bow. On account of his righteously protecting his subjects that great king lost nothing, never felt any grief nor made a mistake. He was the owner of all sorts of jewels and Lord Paramount. He ruled for eighty-five thousand years. He performed many Yajnas and owned extensive lands. He was like Indra on account of profuse showers and like Arjuna for his ascetic powers. Like the sun shining with all its thousand rays during the autumn he shone with his thousand arms with armours on and hardened by the strokes of his bow-string. Having defeated the sons of the Naga* Karkotaka that highly effulgent king occupied his city, by name Mahishmati, for the habitation of mankind. [* The Nagas were evidently an aboriginal race amongst whom many powerful kings flourished.] While sporting in the water during the rains that lotus-eyed king changed the current of the ocean with his thousand arms. While he sported and bathed in the water of the river Narmada engarlanded with her foam she used to approach him in fear with her thousand waves. When he used to agitate the mighty deep with his thousand arms the great Asuras, living in the nether region, became inert and silent. As the mount Mandara, when thrown off by the gods and demons, (agitated) the ocean of milk so did the king Arjuna, the son of Kritavirya, crush down the waves of the ocean, shake the fish and other huge acquatic animals, whirl the foam with air and create whirlpools of water. Awakened by the motion of the mount Mandara, terrified by the production of ambrosia and troubled all on a sudden, the huge Uragas became motionless and humble at the sight of that terrible man. They trembled before him like plantain leaves shaken by the evening breeze. Having vanquished, with his might, the haughty king of Lanka, Ravana with his army and made him senseless with five arrows he bound him with his bow-string, brought him to the city of Mahishmati and kept him in chains there.

Hearing that his son Ravana had been kept in chains by Arjuna Pulastya went to him. Then solicited by him Kritavirya's son Arjuna set free Pulastya's son Ravana. The twang of his bow, when drawn by his thousand arms, was like the clapping of thunder-bolts accompanied by clouds at the time of the universal dissolution. But how great was the power of Bhrigu's son (Parashurama) who sundered in battle the thousands arms of that king resembling a forest of golden palm trees. Once on a time Chitrabhanu, stricken with thirst, begged of him (something). Arjuna conferred on Vibhavasu the seven insular continents. The fire god (some time after) wished to consume his cities and villages. With the help of that foremost of men, the great Kartavirya he succeeded in destroying the mountains and forests. The effulgent Vasishtha, whom Varuna obtained as his son in the days of yore, passed by another name Apava. The fire-god, together with Kartavirya burnt down the charming hermitage of Varuna's son. He was therefore greatly terrified. The ascetic Apava, in anger, imprecated a curse on Arjuna, saying:—"Since O Haihaya, you have not left out my hermitage, another man will destroy your work so acquired by you with difficulty. The ascetic, powerful and the mighty-armed Brahmana, Rama, the son of Jamadagni born in the Bhrigu race, will chop off your thousand arms and slay you."

Vaishampayana said:—O king, O subduer of enemies, on account of the imprecation of the ascetic Apava Kritavirya's son the king Arjuna, under whose righteous rule even his subjects did not lose anything, met with his death. O descendant of Kuru, he himself prayed to Datatreya for this boon. Amongst the hundred sons of that high-souled one only five survived him. They were all powerful, heroic, virtuous and intelligent, and were proficient in the use of weapons. They were Shurasena, Shura, Dhristokta, Krishna and Jayadhwaja, king of Avanti. Kartavirya's sons were all powerful, and mighty car-warriors. Jayadhwaja's son was the highly powerful Talajangha. His sons passed by the name of Talajanghas. O king, in the race of the high-souled Haihayas, Vitihotra, Sujata, Bhoja, Avanti, the powerful Toundika, and several others were known by the name of Talajanghas. It is needless to describe the descendants of Bharata and Sujata. The pious Vrisha and others, O king, were born in the Yadu race. Vrisha was the head of the family and his son was Madhu. He had a hundred sons of whom Vrishana perpetuated the race. From Vrishana were born the Vrishnis, from Madhu the Madhavas and from Yadu the Yadavas. These were the various branches of the Haihaya family. Shura, Shurasena and Shuravira passed by the name of Haihayas. The country, of those high-souled ones, was celebrated by the name of Shurasena. He, who in this world, recounts daily the birth of Kritavirya's son, Arjuna, does not lose his property. And even if he loses it he acquires it again.

O king, thus I have described the families of the five heroic sons of Yayati, celebrated in the world. They are like the five elements preserving the mobile and immobile creation. A king, well read in the Vedas and other religious scriptures, becomes the master of five senses and god-like and obtains the five boons which it is difficult to get in this world, if he listens to the various creations of those five kings. By listening to an account of the families of these five kings Ayu acquired renown, riches, sons, power and prosperity.

Hear, O king, now of the most excellent and powerful family of the pious Krousthu, the head of the Yadu family who performed Yajnas. In his family the lord of the Vrishni race, Vishu was born as Krishna. By hearing of an account of Krousthu's family a man is freed from all his sins.

CHAPTER 34. KROUSTHU'S FAMILY.

Vaishampayana said:–Krousthu had two wives Gandhri and Madri; of them Gandhari gave birth to the highly powerful Anamitra and Madri to Yudhajit and Devamidusha. There came into being three offshoots of the Vrishni race. Madri's son begat two sons Vrishni and Andhaka. Vrishni's sons were Shaphalka and Chitraka. Wherever, O king, the virtuous souled Shaphalka lived there existed no fear of disease or of draught. O foremost Bharatas, once on a time Indra, the god of rain, poured no showers in the territories of the king of Kashi for three years. The king accordingly brought the reverend Shaphalka to his kingdom. In consequence of his living there Indra showered rain. Shaphalka obtained as his wife Gandini the daughter of the king of Kashi. She every day used to distribute kine amongst the Brahmanas. She lived in her mother's womb for many years. For her living in her mother's womb for many years, her father said to her:—"Be born very soon. May you farewell, why do you live there?" The daughter from the womb replied "I shall daily give away a cow. If you agree to this I shall take my birth." The father, saying "So be it," satisfied the wishes of his daughter (8-10). Shaphalka begat on Gandini the heroic and liberal Akrura, who was well read in Shastras, celebrated many Yajnas, gave away many presents and was fond of guests. Upasanja, Shadgu, Mridara, Arimejaya, Arikshipta, Upeksha, Shatrughna, Arimarddana, Dharmadhrik, Yatidharma, Gidhramoja, Andhaka, Avahu, and Prativahu were Akrura's brothers. And the beautiful Sundari was his sister.

O descendant of Kuru, Akrura begat on Sugatri the daughter of Ugrasena, Prasena and Upadeva powerful like the celestials Prithu, Viprithu, Ashwagriva, Ashwavahu, Suparshwaka, Gaveshi, Aristhanemi, Ashwa, Sudharma, Dharmavrit, Suvahu and Vahuvahu were the sons of Akrura's brother Chitraka. He had also two daughters by name Shravishta and Sravana. Kroushthu's third son Devamidusha begat on Ashmaki a son by name Shura. He begat ten sons on his Bhoja queen. Amongst them the mighty armed Vasudeva, surnamed Anakadunduvi was born first. At the time of his birth bugles were sounded in heaven and the great sound of kettle-drums arose on earth. A great shower of flowers took place at the house of Shura. Vasudeva's beauty was matchless in the world of men. That foremost of men was beautiful like the moon. Then were born in order Devabhaga, Devashrava, Anadrishti, Kanavaka, Vatsavan, Grinjima, Shyama, Shamika and Gandusha. These were the ten sons of Shura. Besides he had five beautiful daughters, namely Prithukirti, Prithu, Shratadeva, Shrutashrava and Rajadhidevi. Every one of them gave birth to heroic sons. O descendant of Kuru, the king Kunti wanted Pritha. Therefore Shura conferred her on the aged and worshipful Kuntibhoja. On her thus being adopted by Kuntibhoja she passed by the name of Kunti. Anta begat Jagrehu on Shrutadeva. The king of Chedi begat on Shrutashrava the highly powerful Shishupala. He was in his previous birth the Daitya king Hiranyakashipu. Vriddhasharma begat on Prithukirti the highly powerful hero Dantavakra the king of Karusha. Kuntibhoja adopted Pritha as his daughter. Pandu married her. Dharma begat on her the pious Yudhishthira, Vayu (Wind-god) begat Bhimasena and Indra the foremost of heroes Dhananjaya [Another name of Arjuna. He was named so because he defeated the god of riches, Kuvera.], equally powerful like him and celebrated in the world. From Anamitra, the youngest of Vrishni's sons was born Shini. His son was Satyaka whose sons were Yuyudhana and Satyaki. Yuyudhana's son was Asanga whose son was Bhumi. His son was Yugandhara with whom the family ended. The great Uddhava was Devabhaga's son. He was known as the foremost of the learned and was illustrious like a celestial. Anadhrishthi begat on his wife Ashmaki an illustrious son by name Nivartashatru. Devashrava begat a son by name Shatrughna). Devashrava's son Ekalavya was brought up by Nishadas [A low caste people also called Mleccha (Sanskrit for "non-Vedic", barbarian or uncivilised), denoting people such as Sakas (Sogdians, Scythians), Hunas (Huns), Yavanas (Greeks), Kambojas (Hindu Kush people), Pahlavas (Pahlavi, Persians), Bahlikas (Bactrians) and Rishikas (Tocharians, Yuezi). The Kiratas (Tibetans), Khasas (Kushans, Nepali) and others.] and was accordingly called Naishadi. Vatsavan had no issue and therefore Shura's son the powerful Vasudeva gave him his own be gotten heroic son Koushika. Gandusha too had no issue and therefore Vishwaksena gave him his four sons namely Charudeshna, Sucharu, Panchala and Kritalakshmana. The heroic (Charudeshna) never used to come back from a battle without fighting. O foremost of men, the large-armed Roukshmineya was the youngest of all. Whenever he used to travel thousands of crows followed him with the hope "We shall feed upon the sweet meat of various animals slain by Charudeshna". Kanavaka had two sons Tantrija and Tantripala. Avagrinjima had two sons Vira and Ashwahanu. Both of them were heroes. Shyama's sons were Sumitra and Shamika. The latter obtained the kingdom. He considered himself unworthy for being the king of one province and accordingly undertook the celebration of a Rajashuya* sacrifice. [* It is a religious ceremony which only an Emperor can perform when he becomes Lord Paramount after

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subjugating all the Powers. The king Shamika was not satisfied with his being the king of one Province only.] Having secured the help of Yudhishthira who had no enemies he slew all his foes. Hear, I shall now describe the descendants of Vasudeva. He who meditates on this very powerful threefold Vrishni race consisting of many branches is never visited by any misfortune in this world.

CHAPTER 35. VASUDEVA'S FAMILY.

Vaishampayana said:—Of the fourteen beautiful wives of Vasudeva, Rohini, of Puru's race, was the first Madira, the second, Vaishakhi the third, Bhadra the fourth, Sunama the fifth, Sahadeva the sixth, Devaki the seventh, Shantideva the eighth, Shrideva the ninth, Devarakshita the tenth, Vrikadevi the eleventh, Upadevi the twelfth, Sutanu the thirteenth, and Badarva the fourteenth. The last two were his female attendants. Rohini, of Puru's race, was the daughter of Valhika. O king, she was the first and most beloved wife of Anakadundhuvi. Vasudeva begat on Rohini his eldest son Raina, Sharana, Shatha, Durdhama, Damana, Swabhra, Pindaraka, Ushinara, and a daughter by name Chitra. O descendant of Kuru, it was Chitra who passed by the name of Subhadra. Vasudeva begat on Devaki the highly illustrious Shouri [A name of Krishna; origin probably Iranian: Shuri.]. Rama begat on Revati his beloved son Nishatha. Arjuna begat on Subhadra the mighty car-warrior Abhimanyu. Akrura begat Satyaketu on the daughter of the king of Kashi. Hear, now, of the heroic sons whom Vasudeva begat on his seven noble wives. Bhoja and Viyaya were the sons of Shantideva. Vrika deva and Gada were the sons of Sunama. Devarakshita obtained Upasangavara as his son. Vrikadevi, the daughter of the Trigarta king, gave birth to the high-souled Agavaha. His priest Shaishirayana once grew desirous of testing the manhood (of his brother-in-law Gargya, the priest of the Yadavas [This is a name of Canaanite Phoenician, of Semitic, origin. It points out that Judaeans arrived in India before the 5th century BC. There are indications that they arrived already in the 8th century BC as deported prisoners of war and as traders.]. On account of a false charge being laid home to him Gargya was filled with anger and remained like black iron for twelve years. [The sentences are very elliptical. The purport is, Saishirayana put his brother-in-law Gargya to test and found him self-controlled. He however put a wrong construction on this fact and thought that he had no manhood in him. This enraged Gargya very much whose anger was pacified after twelve years.] He then began to live with a cow-herd's daughter. A nymph, by name Gopali, came to him in this guise. By the command of Shulapani* Gargya, made his human wife conceive, the embryo whereof was irrepresible and never to die. [A name of Siva. The word literally means one who has a mace in his hand.] She gave birth to a highly powerful king by name Kalayavana. Horses, having their heads like those of bulls, used to carry him in battle. O king that child grew up in the city of the king of Yavanas* who had no issue. [* Yavana, short: Yona, Persian: Yauna, Aramaic: Iawanu, Hebrew: Yavan, refers to the Greek word Ion[a] (pl. Iones) meaning Greek, Greeks. Greek speakers arrived in India most likely first between the 6th and 5th century BC when parts of Greece were part of the Persian Aechaemenid Empire. They were both traders and deported prisoners of war. This gives us an estimated range of dating as to when the Mahabharata was written: not before the 4th century BC. The events narrated in the Mahabharata might happened not before the 6th century BC and not much after the 5th century BC.] And accordingly he was named Kalayavana. Growing desirous of entering into a battle that king questioned the twice born ones. Thereat the omniscient Narada asked him to fight with the members of Vrishni and Andhaka families. Thereupon starting for Mathura with one Akshouhini [A complete army consisting of 109,350 foot soldiers, 65,610 horses, 21,870 chariots, and 21,870 elephants.] of soldiers Kalayavana sent his messenger to the house of Vrishnis and Andhakas. Thereupon being united the Vrishnis and Andhakas, making the highly intelligent Krishna their president, held a conference in fear of Kalayavana. Then honouring Pinaki [A name of Siva. Literally it means the holder of Pinaka, a trident or three-pronged spear.] they resolved upon flying away from the charming city of Mathura and thought of settling down in Kushasthali Dwarka [Dwarka situated in the country of Kanyakuhia or Kanoui, in the Sindhu Kingdom.-- However, it seems more likely that Dwarka was located in modern Gujarat at the mouth of the Gulf of Baruch / Baraka]. He, who being pure and self-controlled, listens to the story of Krishna's birth, becomes learned, happy and freed from debts.

CHAPTER 36. KROUSHTHU'S FAMILY.

Vaishampayana said:—The highly illustrious Vrijinivan was Kroushthu's son. His son was Swaji the foremost of those celebrating Yajnas. Swahu's son was the king Ushadgu the foremost of speakers. Desiring to have a most excellent son he propitiated the celestials with various grand sacrifices accompanied with profuse presents. By performing various religious ceremonies he obtained a son by name Chitraratha. His son was the royal saint Sashavindu who was a hero, performed Yajnas duly and gave away profuse presents The highly illustrious king Prithushrava was Sashavindu's son. Sages, well-read in Puranas, designate Prithushrava's son as Antara. His son was Suyajna whose son was Ushata. He was the foremost of all men desirous of celebrating sacrifices according to the prescribed modes of their respective orders (5–6). Shineyu, the repressor of his enemies, was Ushata's son. The royal saint Marutta was Shineyu's son. Marutta obtained Kamvalavarhisha as his eldest son. He, in anger, performed various religious ceremonies securing excellent fruits in the next world. Kamvalavarhisha obtained Sutaprasuti as his son who again begat a son by name Rukshmakavacha. Having slain in battle a very clever warrior wearing a hundred coats of mail with sharpened arrows Sutaprasuti attained to most excellent prosperity. From Rukshmakavacha was born Parajit the slayer of hostile heroes. Parajit begat five highly powerful sons, namely Rukshmeshu, Prithurukshma, Jyamogha, Palita and Hari. Their father gave away Palita and Hari to the king of Videha. Rukshameshu became the king assisted by Prithurukshma. Having been exiled by them both from the kingdom, Jyamogha lived in a hermitage. Living in the forest and acquiring equanimity of mind he was instructed by the Brahmanas.

Thereupon ascending his car that car-warrior conquered foreign countries and then lived alone in the city of Mirthikavati situate on the bank of Nerbuda. Then conquering the mount Rikshavatam he lived in the city of Shuktimati. Jyamogha's wife Shaivya was very strong and chaste. The king, although he had no issue, did not espouse any other wife. He became victorious in a certain battle and obtained a daughter there. Then the king, in a great hurry, said to his wife "She will be your daughter-in law." Hearing this the queen said "Whose daughter-in-law will she be?" Thereat Jyamogha, the foremost of kings, said "This Upadanavi will be the wife of a son that will be born to you." On account of the hard austerities of that girl that fortunate Shaivya, in her advanced years, gave birth to a son by name Vidarbha. Vidarbha begat on that girl two heroic and learned sons well-acquainted with the various modes of warfare by name Kratha and Kaishika. His third son Lomapada was highly pious. His son was Vabhru whose son was Ahvriti. His son Kaishika was learned and highly pious. His son was Chedi after whose name pass the kings of the Chaidya race. Vidarbha's son was Bhima whose son was Kunti. He begat two sons, namely, Dhrishta and the powerful Anadhristha. Dhrishtha had three highly pious and heroic sons, namely, Avanta, Dhsharha and the powerful Vishahara. Dasharha's son was Vyoma from whom was born Jeemuta. His son was Vrehati whose son again was Bhimaratha. And his son was Navaratha. His son was Dasharatha whose son was Shakuni. From the latter was born Karambha. The king Devarata was Karambha's son. His son was Devakshatra. The highly illustrious, god-like and sweet-speeched king Madhu, the glory of his race, was Devakshatra's son. Madhu begat on his wife Vaidarbhi a son by name Maruvasa. Purudvana, the foremost of men, was Maruvasa's son. O foremost of Kurus, he begat on his Bhadravati, born in the race of Vaidarbhas, a son by name Madhu. Madhu married a lady of the Ikshwaku family from whom was born Satvana. He was endued with the quality of goodness and enhanced the glory of the Satwatas. The man, who knows this account of the family of the high-souled Jyamogha, gets offspring and highest felicity.

CHAPTER 37. AN ACCOUNT OF VABHRU'S FAMILY.

Vaishampayana said:—O king, Satwata, endued with the quality of goodness, begat on Koushalya several sons, namely Bhajina, Bhajamana, Divya, Devavridha, the mighty armed Andhaka, and Yadu's son Vrishni. Listen to a detailed account of theirs progenitors. Bhajamana had two wives, daughters of Srinjaya, by name Vahyaka and Upavahvaka. He had a number of sons by those two wives. Krami, Kramina, Drishta, Shura and Puranjava were begotten on Vahyka. And Ayutajit, Sahasrajit, Shatajit, and Dasaka were begotten on Srinjaya's daughter Upavahvaka by Bhajamana (3-5). Resolving "I must have a son endued with all accomplishments" the king Devavridha, the performer of Yajnas, carried on hard austerities. Controlling his mind he used to bathe in the water of the river Parnasha and rinse his mouth there with. On account of his constant touch, the river accomplished what he liked. Thinking alone, that foremost of rivers Parnasha resolved upon doing some good by that king. Meditating thus she could not set his eye upon a woman capable of giving birth to such an accomplished son. She accordingly made up her mind to become herself the wife of that king. Thereupon becoming a maiden and assuming a most handsome form she selected that king as her husband. He too liked her. She then conceived through that liberal-minded king. In the tenth month, she, from king Devavridha, gave birth to a highly accomplished son by name Vabhru. In this family while describing the accomplishments of the noble Devavridha the sages, well-read in the Puranas, used to say:—Before us, at a distance from us and near us we behold the king Devavridha range assuming various forms by virtue of his illusive energy. Vabhru was the foremost of men, and Devavridha was equal unto the celestials. Being slain in battle by Devavridha and Vabhru four hundred and sixty two thousand men attained to the region of Brahma. Vabhru celebrated many Yajnas, made away gifts, was learned and conversant with the knowledge of Brahman. His weapon was very strong. Besides he was of glorious deeds, highly effulgent and the foremost of Satwatas. His family was extensive and his descendants were Martikavata Bhojas. From Andhaka Kashya's daughter obtained four sons, namely Kukura, Bhajamana, Shama and Kamvalavarhisha. Kukura's son was Dhrishnu and Drishnu's son was Kapotaroma. His son again was Tittiri. From him was born Punarvasu, whose son was Abhijit who had two children. Both Ahuka (a son) and Ahuki (a daughter) were well-known and the foremost of all celebrated persons. The following hymn was chanted in Ahuka's praise. "Encircled by his pure souled descendants he (was noble and energetic) like a young horse". When that king first went out on his excursion he was protected by the gods. [There is another meaning of this text. He used to go out on a conveyance drawn by eighty men. Ashiti means eighty. Charma means a wooden conveyance and Yukta means seated. The meaning that we have adopted is thus made out. Ashitayas means gods, Charma leathern protector of arrows; Yukta protected i.e. he was protected by the gods as arrows are protected by leathern cases i.e. the gods were like leathern cases to him. Both the meanings are equally good. The former gives an idea of his splendour. The latter shows that he was in the good grace of the celestials.] There was none amongst those who followed this Bhoja king who had no issue, who had not made away a hundred presents, who had not a life extending over a thousand years, who was not of pure deeds and who did not perform Yajnas. At the command of Ahuka ten thousand cars with ten thousand elephants, having yokes, pieces of wood at their bottom, flags attached to them, with sounds like the muttering of clouds and golden and silver chains, used to proceed to the eastern quarter. An equal number of cars and elephants was placed in the northern quarter. Having brought under subjection all his commanders Ashuka used to go about with his kinsmen in his car adorned with a gridle of small bells. The Andhakas conferred on Avanti king Ahuka's sister Ahuki. Ahuka begat two sons on the daughter of the king of Kashi. They were Devaka and Ugrasena who were both like the sons of celestials. Devaka had four god-like sons. They were Devavan, Upadeva, Sudeva, and Devarakshit. He had seven daughters of all whom he conferred on Vasudeva. They were Devaki, Shantideva, Srideva, Devarakshita, Vrikadevi, Upadevi and Sunamni was the seventh. Ugrasena had nine sons of whom Kangsa was the eldest. Others were Nyagrodha, Sunama, Kanka, Shambhu, Subhamija, Rashtrapala, Sudhanu, Anadhrishti and Pushtiman. They had five sisters, namely, Kangsa, Kangsavati, Sutanu, Rashtrapali, and the beautiful Kangka. I have described the family of Ugrasena, born in the Kuru race (30–31). Meditating on this highly energetic Kuru race, a man, having offspring, gets a big family).

CHAPTER 38. AN ACCOUNT OF SWYAMANTAKA JEWEL.

Vaishampayana said:—Bhajamana's son was Viduratha, the foremost of car-warriors. The heroic Rajadhideva was Viduratha's son. Rajadhideva had a number of highly powerful sons, namely the powerful Datta, Atidatta, Shonaswa, Swetavahana, Shami, Dandasharma, Dattashatru and Shatrujit. They had two sisters by name Shravana and Shravishtha. Shami's son was Pratikshtra whose son was Swayamboja and whose son was Hridika. His sons were of dreadful prowess. Of them Kritavarma was the eldest and Shatadhanwa was the second. The celestial saint Chyavana begat for him four sons and two daughters. The sons were Vishak, Vaitarana, Suvanta and Adhidanta. The daughters were Kamada and Kamadantika. Kamvalavarhisha had a learned son named Devavan who had three sons namely Asamouja, Veera and Nasamouja. Asamouja had no issue and therefore Andhaka conferred on him his three sons namely Sudangstra, Suvahu and Krishna. These and various others members of the Andhaka family have been described to you. He, who daily meditates upon Andhaka family, forsooth gets his family multiplied. Krousthu had two wives, Gandhari and Madri (9-10). Gandhari gave birth to the highly powerful Anamitra and Madri gave birth to Yudhajit and Devamidusha. Anamitra was ever irrepressible and subduer of his enemies. His son was Nighna who had two sons Prasena and Satrajit both of whom were subduers of hostile armies. Living in the city of Dwarka Prasena obtained from the ocean the peerless celestial jewel called Swyamantaka. The sun was his friend as valuable as his life. Once on a time after the expiration of the night that foremost of car-warriors, ascending his chariot, went to the bank of the ocean for bathing and worshipping the sun. When he worshipped the god of rays the invisible lord Vivaswan appeared in effulgence before him. Thereupon the king said to the Lord Vibhakara before him—"O lord of rays, I see thee although before me in thy same circular effulgent form as I always behold thee in the

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sky. Thou hast appeared before me as a friend but what special favour have I got?" Hearing this, the lord took out from his neck the peerless jewel Swyamantaka and gave it to him. Thereupon the king saw him in his form. Seeing him he was pleased and conversed with him for a moment. While Vivaswan was about to go away the king again said to him:—"O lord, it behoveth thee to confer upon me this jewel with which thou dost always light the worlds". Thereupon Bhaskara gave him the jewel Swyamantaka. Holding it the king entered his own city. All the people followed him thinking that the sun was going. Filling all the citizens with wonder the king entered the inner appartment. The king Satrajit, with great delight, conferred that peerless celestial jewel Swyamantaka on his brother Prasena. That jewel used to produce gold in the palace of Vrishnis and Andhakas. (By its power) the god of rains used to pour shower in due season and there was no fear of disease. Govinda grew desirous of acquiring that peerless jewel Swyamantaka from Prasena. Although capable he did not take it by force or pilfer it. Once on a time adorned with that jewel Prasena went out a-hunting. He was, for that Swyamantaka, slain by a wild lion. Killing that flying lion a highly powerful bear took that jewel and entered into his den.

Hearing of the death of Prasena, all the members of Vrishni and Andhaka families entertained suspicions against Krishna, because they knew that he had a fancy for that jewel. Knowing their suspicion and thinking that he himself was innocent the virtuous-souled Krishna, resolving "I must bring the jewel" set out for the forest where Prasena went for hunting. Following his foot-seps along with his followers and ransacking the mountains Rikshavan and Vindhya the great Krishna was stricken with fatigue. He then saw Prasena and his horse killed there but did not find the jewel. He then saw near Prasena the lion killed by the bear. It was surmised by the footsteps. Following them he searched for the den of the running bear. He heard the voice of a female in the huge den of that bear. A nurse was giving play with that jewel to Jamvavan's son and saying "Do not weep".

The nurse said:—"The lion killed Prasena and he has been killed by Jamvavan. Therefore, O my good boy, do not weep. This Swyamantaka belongs to you".

Thereupon keeping all the Yadavas with Baladeva at the mouth of the den and displaying a beautiful form and voice Krishna, with Sharnga bow, silently entered into it. And having entered there by force the Lord beheld the bear (37–38), Govinda wrestled with Jamvavan in that den for twenty-one days. After Krishna had entered the den all the Yadavas, headed by Baladeva, returned to Dwarka and announced that he had been slain.

Having vanquished the highly powerful Jamvavan he married the most beloved daughter of the king of bears by name Jamvavati and took away the jewel for clearing himself (of the charge). Then saluting the king of Rikshas he came out of the den. Enveloped with great beauty, he, afterwards, returned to the city of Dwarka. Having thus brought the jewel and cleared himself of the charge he handed over Swyamantaka to Satrajit in an assembly of the Satwatas. Having thus acquired the jewel Swyamantaka Krishna, the slayer of enemies, who had been accused of a false charge, cleared himself of the guilt. Satrajit had ten wives who gave birth to a hundred sons. Of them three were well-known. Bhangakara was the eldest, the heroic Batapati was the second, and Viyatsnata was the third. O king, he had three daughters well-known in all the quarters. They were Satyabhama, the most excellent of women, Bratini, of firm vows and Praswapini. Satrajit married them all with Krishna. Bhangakara had two sons, the foremost of men, Sabhaksha and Nareya. Both of them were accomplished, and well-known for their beauty. Madri's son Yudhajit had a son by name Vrishni. He had two sons, Shaphalka and Chitraka. Shaphalka married the daughter of the King of Kashi. Her name was Gandini and her father used to give away a cow every day. She gave birth to the great Akrura who was fond of guests and performed sacrifices accompanied with profuse gifts, Upasanja, Mangu, Mridura, Arimejaya, Girikshipa, Upiksha, Shatruha, Arimardana, Dharmabhrit, Yatidharma, Gridhra, Bhoja, Andhaka, Suvahu and Prativahu and to a beautiful daughter by name Sundari. That beautiful girl was the queen of Virutashwa, was endued with beauty and youth and was charming unto all. O descendant of Kuru, Akrura begat on Ugraseni two sons, Sudeva and Upadeva, who were both powerful like the celestials. Chitraka had many sons, namely, Prithu, Viprithu, Aswagriva, Ashwavahu, Suparshwa, Gaveshi, Aristhnemi, Aswa, Sudharma, Dharmabhrit, Suvahu and Vahuvahu and two daughters by name Shravishtha and Shravana. He, who reads of this false accusation against Srikrishna, suffers from no such thing in his life.

CHAPTER 39. AN ACCOUNT OF AKRURA.

Vaishampayana said:—Akrura had that peerless jewel which Krishna conferred on Satrajit, stolen by Shatadhanwa. Akrura always wished to have the beautiful Satyabhama. [The sentence is elliptical and requires a little elucidation. Akrura had in view of marrying Satyabhama. But when he found that she had been given away to Krishna he was mortified. He was then seeking for an opportunity of getting the jewel Swyamantaka.] As soon as he got an opportunity he desired to possess that valuable jewel. Thereupon, having slain Satrajit at the dead of night the highly powerful Shatadhanwa took away the jewel and made a present of it to Akrura. Taking that jewel he made Shatadhanwa promise that he would never give out that the jewel was in his (Akrura's) possession. (He said):—"If Krishna attacks you I shall follow you. Forsooth the whole of Dwarka is now under my control." On her father (Satrajit) being slain the illustrious Satyabhama, stricken with grief, got on a chariot and repaired to the city of Barawavata. She then communicated to her husband what had been perpetrated by Shatadhanwa of the Bhoja race. Then stricken with grief and standing by his side she began shedding tears. Having performed the watering ceremony of the Pandavas burnt in the house of lac* Krishna engaged Satwaki to perform their obsequial rites. [This refers to an incident in the Mahabharata. Duryodhana treacherously invited the Pandavas to a house of lac constructed for that purpose and set fire to it. They, however, being informed of it beforehand, escaped. Duryodhana, however, thought that they had been consumed and Krishna, to keep up an appearance, was performing the obsequial rites (See Jatugrihadaha Parva.).]

Thereupon hurrying on to the city of Dwarka the graceful slayer of Madhu* said to his elder brother Haladhar** "Prasena has been killed by a lion and Satrajit has been slain by Shatadhanwa. [* The word in the text is Madhusudana, a name of Krishna. He was called so on account of his killing the demon king Madhu.]; [** A name of Balarama because he always used to carry a plough-share in battle.] Therefore I am the master of the jewel Sywamantaka. Therefore speedily get on your car, O mighty armed hero. After slaying the highly powerful Bhoja Swyamataka will be ours". Thereupon there arose a terrible encounter between Krishna and Shatadhanwa The latter saw Akrura on all sides. Thereupon beholding both Krishna and Shatadhanwa enraged Akrura, though capable, out of wickedness did not help the son of Hridika. Thereat stricken with fear Shatadhanwa took to his heels. With one mare he travelled over a distance of more than a hundred Yojanas. [A measure of distance equal to four Kroras which at 8,000 cubits or 4,000 yards to the Krora or Kos will be exactly nine miles; other computations make the Yojana but about five miles, or even no more than four miles and a half.—Wilson.] O king, Shatadanwa, of the Bhoja race, had a mare that could go over a distance of a hundred Yojanas, by name Vijnatahridaya. With her he fought with Krishna. Having travelled over a distance of a hundred Yojanas Shatadhanwa found her motionless and seeing the increased motion of the car he left her off. Thereupon, O descendant of Bharata, on account of the exhaustion and misery of that mare all his vital breaths went up to the sky. Then Krishna said to Rama.. "Wait here, O you of large arms. I have seen the wretched plight of the mare. Going on foot I shall carry away the jewel Swyamantaka". Thereupon, O king, going on foot, Achyuta (Krishna), highly skilled in the use of arms, killed Shatadhanwa on the way to Mithila. Having slain the highly powerful Bhoja king he did not see Swyamantaka. And seeing Krishna return Balarama said to him "Give me the jewel".

Krishna said:—"I have not got it." Thereat Rama was filled with anger. Repeatedly exclaiming "Fie on you, Fie on you," he replied to Janarddana. "I forgive you because you are my brother. May you farewell. I go away. I have nothing to do with you or other Vrishnis of Dwarka." Thereupon Rama, the subduer of enemies, entered the city of Mithila. He was then honoured with all becoming presents after his heart by the king of Mithila. In the interval the most intelligent Vabhru began to collect various articles for the performance of sacrifices. The highly illustrious son of Gandini, on account of the jewel Swyamantaka, entered into the initiation-like coat of mail for protecting himself. [He initiated himself for the performance of sacrifices, for any one so doing is a proof against all misfortunes.] He devoted most excellent jewels and various other articles to the performance of sacrifices for sixty thousand years. That sacrifice, of the high-souled Akrura consisting of food and various presents, was called the Akrura Yajna. Thereupon repairing to the city of Mithila the king Duryodhana received from Balabhadra the most excellent instructions in the use of clubs. Thereupon propitiating Balarama all the mighty car warriors of the Vrishni race and the high-souled Krishna brought him back to the city of Dwarka. Then the foremost of men Akrura, with Andhakas, left Dwarka. Slaying the highly powerful Satrajit in battle with all his friends Krishna, in feat of dissension amongst his kinsmen, neglected him (Akrura). After the departure of Akrura Pakashasana* did not pour rain. [* A name of Indra, the god of rain. He obtained this appellation after slaying a demon by name Paka. The word literally means, "the chastiser of Paka."] When the whole country was devastated by draught the Kukuras and Andhakas began to propitiate Akrura). When the liberal Akrura returned to Dwarka the thousand-eyed Indra began to discharge showers on the bank of the ocean. O foremost of Kurus, in order to please Krishna the intelligent Akrura gave him in marriage his sister Sushila. Guessing by his riches and liberality that Swyamantaka was with Akrura, Janarddana said to him in the midst of an assembly "O lord, the jewel is in thy possession. Do thou give it to me. O giver of honours; do not cheat me. O sinless one, the anger, that possessed me sixty years before, is now enkindled all on a sudden. A long time has elapsed. Give me the Jewel therefore."

Thereupon at the words of Krishna the high-minded Akrura, without experiencing the least pain, gave him the jewel in the midst of the assembled Satwatas. Receiving from Akrura the jewel who gave it away with all simplicity, Hari, the repressor of enemies, returned it to him with a delighted heart. Obtaining the jewel from Krishna's hands and placing it on his breast, Akrura shone there like the sun.

CHAPTER 40. A DESCRIPTION OF VISHNU.

Janamejaya said:—O Brahman, the sages describe in the Puranas, the incarnations of Vishnu of unlimited energy We have heard from them that the Lord incarnated himself as a boar. But we do not know fully his history, his commands, his deeds, his accomplishments, his objects, his conduct and prowess when he assumed before (this form) (1–3). We have heard that Krishna Dwaipayana [This is the surname of Krishna. The word literally means island-born, the place of his nativity being a small island in the Ganges.] described this great boar-incarnation before the twice-born ones when they assembled at a sacrifice, O Brahman, I have heard how Madhusudana, incarnating himself as a boar, saved with his tusks, the earth sunk in the ocean. O Brahman, now I wish to hear at length the various deeds performed by the intelligent Hari the slayer of enemies in his boar and various other incarnations [The ten principal forms which Vishnu assumed at various periods are called his Avataras; they are the fish, tortoise, the bear, the man-lion, the dwarf, the two Ramas, Krishna, Buddha and Kalki.]. You alone are capable of describing in order the various deeds of the lord and his character, O Brahman. Why did the lord Vishnu, the king of the celestials and the slayer of his enemies, take his birth as Vasudeva in Vasudeva's family? Why did He, leaving the land of gods, abounding with immortals and pious men, come down on earth? Why did He, who is the king of gods and men and from whom the earth has emanated, convert his celestial body into a human form. Why did He, who is alone turning the healthy circle of mankind, and who is the foremost of the holders of discus, set his heart upon assuming a human form? Why did the lord Vishnu, who protects all the great men of the world, come down on earth as a milkman? Why was Shrigarbha [Another name of Vishnu from Shree fortune and garbha womb.] identical with elements, who is the cause of the great elements conceived by a woman ranging on earth? He, desired by the celestials, occupied the three worlds with his three foot-steps* and thus laid down on earth the three roads of three Vargas**. [* The allusion is. Bali, a demon king, performed many sacrifices for which he was about to attain to the dignity of Indra. The gods accordingly grew very anxious and prayed to Vishnu for succour. He, at their request, assumed the form of a dwarfish Brahmana and went to Bali for alms. After Bali had promised him that he would give him whatever he would like to have Vishnu assumed a large proportion with three legs and asked Bali to give him room for placing his three feet. He placed one in heaven and the other on the earth. There was no room for the third which he placed on Bali's head.]; [** Three-fold objects of life, namely, Dharma (Virtue), Artha, worldly profit, Kama, Desire. These three roads were laid down by him for mankind. With virtue they can attain to heaven, worldly profit secures, for them, the earth and desire the region underneath it.] He, at the time of the universal dissolution, drank up the earth and assumed the form of water. He then converted the whole earth into one sheet of water [i e., He assumed one form of universal intelligence.]. He assumed in the days of yore the form of a boar and saved the earth with his tusks. Having vanquished the Asuras on behalf of Puruhuta* that foremost of gods conferred upon the celestials the three worlds in the days of yore. Assuming the form of a man-lion he killed the prime Daitya the highly energetic Hiranyakasipu**. [* A name of Indra from Puru much Huta worshipped or invoked.]; [** This refers to the celebrated episode of Pralhada. He was the son of the Demon king Hiranyakasipu. He began worshipping Vishnu who was an enemy of Hiranykasipu. He prosecuted his son in various ways and afterwards was killed by Vishnu in his man-lion form.] Assuming the form of the submarine fire Samvartaka the lord, in the days of yore, drank the watery oblations of the submarine region. O Brahman, in various thousands of Yugas that Lord appeared with a thousand heads, a thousand eyes and a thousand feet. When the whole world was converted into one sheet of water, when the entire mobile and immobile creations were destroyed there sprang from his navel a lotus on which Brahma (Grand-father) rested. In the encounter with Taraka, he, assuming a form consisting of all gods and holding all weapons, slew the demons. Seated

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on Garuda and assuming a huge proportion he killed the great demon Kalanemi and vanquished the great Asura Taraka. Being engaged in eternal Yoga and resorting to his illusive energy he lay on the northern side of the ocean of milk from which came out ambrosia. On account of the consummation of her hard austerities Aditi conceived that celestial ancient Purusha who was like the churning rod of the celestials. Coming out of her womb as a dwarf he satisfied the desire of Indra who had been confined by the demons. Placing his feet in all the worlds he placed all the demons in the water. And making the gods playful in heaven he conferred upon Indra the kingdom of gods. He laid down the rules of Garhapatya [A sacred fire perpetually maintained by a householder, received from his father and transmitted to his descendants, and from which fires for sacrificial purposes are lighted.] and Anwaharya [The monthly Sraddha or funeral repast in honour of the manes held on the day of new moon.] works, created the various articles of sacrifice such as Dakshina [Gifts.], Diksha [Initiation.], Chamasa [A vessel used at sacrifices for drinking the juice of the acid asclepias; a kind of ladle or spoon.] and Ulukhula [A wooden mortar used for cleaning rice.], created the fire where oblations could be offered, made the sacrificial altar, Kusha [A species of grass used in many solemn and religious observances; hence called sacrificial grass.], Sruva [A ladle with a double extremity or two oval collateral excavations made of wood and used to pour ghee upon the sacrificial fire.], Prokshaniya [An object of immolation.], and Dhruva [A Sacrificial vase made in the shape of the Indian fig-leave, and of the wood of the Flacourtia sapida.] created the three sorts of ambrosia beneficial to the bath after the celebration of a sacrifice, made the twice born ones offer Havya [Fit or proper to be offered in oblation. An offering to the gods.] and Kavya [An oblation, eucharist or offering of food to deceased ancestors.], and the celestials to partake of the former and the ancestral manes of the latter. After the lines laid down by Parameshthi (Brahma) He, in the days of yore, by various sacrificial Mantras [Prayers or hymns recited at the time of the celebration of a religious ceremony.], made divisions of Yupas [A sacrificial post or pillar usually made of bamboos or the wood of the Khadira to which the victim at a sacrifice is bound. -- That sounds like a human sacrifice as the Aztec and Maya did.], Samidhas [Fuel, wood, grass, etc., so employed for enkindling fire.], Srukas [A ladle or spoon.], Soma [The juice of a plant of the same name used for drinking purposes.], the sacred Paridhri [A wooden frame round the hole in which a sacrificial fire is lighted.], and of various other sacrificial articles, of the room for placing sacrificial fire of the members, of Yajamanas [Those who perform sacrifices.] and a classification of Medha [A kind of sacrifice.] and other excellent sacrifices. Having made various classifications of Yugas and displaying his prowess before all men he created Kshana [A measure of time equal to thirty Kalas or four minutes.], Lava [A minute division of time, the sixtieth part of the twinkling of an eye.], Kashtha [A measure of time the thirtieth part of a Kala or eighteen twinklings of the eye.], Kala [A division of time.], the present, past and future, divisions of time, Muhutta [An Indian "hour", the 30th part of the entire day (including the night), length: 48 minutes.], Tithi [A lunar day, one-thirtieth of a whole lunation.], months, fortnights, years and seasons, the three divisions of the length of life, the multiplication of the characteristics and the beauty of the mobile and immobile creations, the three Varnas [The three castes, Brahmanas, or the priestly caste, Kshatriyas, the military caste and Vaishyas the mercantile caste.], the three Lokas [Three regions, heaven, earth and the region underneath the earth.] the three Vedas [The three Vedas are Rik, Yajush and Saman.], the three fires [Three fires are Dakshinagni or a kind of sacred fire that which is taken from the domestic or consecrated fire and is placed to the south Garhapatya or a perpetual domestic fire Ahavaniya i.e., a fire into which oblation is offered.], three Kalas [The three Times are the present, past and future.], the threefold actions [They are those partaking of the quality of goodness, darkness, and ignorance respectively.], the three Upayas [The three-fold "means" of attaining salvation are, the destruction of self (or selfishness), the acquisition of wealth and hard study.], and the threefold Gunas [The three-fold qualities are namely, those of goodness, darkness and ignorance.]. By his endless actions these three worlds had been created by Him before. He is the creator of all the elements and Gunas and identical with them all. By introducing birth and death amongst mankind he makes them move about in the universe. He sports everywhere in the shape of an animal. He is the lord of the universe. He is the refuge of the pious and he (only) punishes the wicked. He is the origin of the four Varnas and the protector of the four Hotras [Four classes of priests.]. He is the master of the four-fold knowledge and the preserver of the four Asramas [Four stages of life namely that of a religious student, that of a householder, that of the anchorite (hermit, recluse), and that of the beggar.]. He is identical with the various directions, with the sky, with the air, fire and water. He is identical with the sun, the moon and the rays. He is the lord of Yogins and He only brings about the termination of the night. He is identical with the most excellent lustre and tapas of which we hear. The sages designate him as the thread that connects all the souls; and the whole universe is His form. The Vedas and all the works exist in Narayana. Narayana is the greatest virtue and is the most most excellent condition. Truth exists in Narayana and Tapas exists in Him Salvation exists in Narayana and Narayana is the most excellent refuge. He is the Aditya and other gods and he is the slayer of demons. At the time of the universal dissolution he destroys all. He is the death unto the regent of the dead who destroys all. He is the lord of (Manu and others) who have instituted various orders of honour amongst mankind and he is more sacred than (Ganga and others), who purify the mankind. He is the object of learning unto those who are conversant with the Vedas; he is the lord of the self-controlled (Rishis); he is more handsome than all handsome objects, he is like fire unto those who are endued with fire-like effulgence. He is the mind of men, the ascetic energy of the ascetics, the morality of those who are strict moralists, the energy of the energetic, the creator of all creations and the most excellent origin of all the worlds. He is the idol ef those who seek the idols and he is the motion of those who are endued with it. Ether is the origin of air and air is the life of fire. The vital power of the gods is fire and the life of fire is Madhusudana. Blood is engendered by juice and by blood is created flesh. From flesh originates fat and from fat originate the bones and from the bones originate the veins and from veins originates the seminal fluid. And the seminal fluid is the instrument of conception. By the process of action at the root of which is the juice all this is created. Of them the water is the first portion therefore it is called Soumya [(In anatomy) the blood before it receives the red particles, the Serum.]. The second ingredient is the fire in the womb. Thus the seminal fluid, indential with fire, is also made of blood. Thus the essence of all juice, the seminal fluid, is created by an excess of cough and blood is created by an excess of billious matter. The seat of cough is the heart and the seat of bile is the navel. The heart, which is in the body, is known as the seat of the mind. The fire exists as hunger behind the cavity of the navel. Mind is known as Prajapati (Brahma), the cough as Soma and the bile as Agni (fire-god). Thus the whole world is identical with fire. When a conception, as is the formation of a cloud, takes place, the air, accompanied by Paramatman, enters there [The meaning is; as the cloud increases by the help of smoke, light, water and air so the embryo is nourished by food, fire and water. The air mentioned here refers to the vital power. The soul enters in the shape of the vital power.]. It then creates the various limbs and nourishes them. The vital air, inside the body, divides itself into five and gradually assumes proportions. The five vital airs are Prana, Apana, Samana, Udana, and Vyana. Prana nourishes the most important portion of the body namely, the heart. Apana nourishes the lower portion of the body up to the feet. Udana nourishes the breast and the upper portion of the body. The vital air, by which works, requiring great strength, are performed, is called Vyana. And the vital air, Samana which exists all over the body, remains at the navel and distributes to their proper places whatever is drunk or eaten. (After the distribution of the vital airs) the creatures acquire the knowledge of the earth through their senses. Earth, air, ether, water and light, are converted into senses. And then they occupy their respective portions in the body and perform their respective functions. The tongue, which has the water in it, draws the juice; the eye, which has the light in it, sees the forms; the skin, which has the air in it, hears sound. The hardest portion of the body is the transformation of the earth. The vital air is the metamorphosis of the air; all the holes originate from ether; the liquid portion is but water; the eye is the form of light and the mind, which is the energy of the five elements, is the lord of the senses. It is the mind, that, by its energy, makes the senses perceive their respective objects. Having thus created the ever-existing worlds why did the Great Purusha take his birth as a man in this mortal world? This is my doubt, this is what surprises me. O Brahman, why did He, who is the energy of mankind, take his birth as a man? I have heard an account of my own family as well as of those of my ancestors. I wish now to hear in due order of the families of Vishnu and Vrishnis. That Vishnu is a great wonder is said by the gods and demons. Do you, O great Muni, describe to me the wondrous origin of Vishnu. Do you describe to me truly the wonderful and delightful account of the highly energetic Vishnu of well-known deeds and prowess who surprised the whole world by his actions).

CHAPTER 41. THE INCARNATIONS OF VISHNU.

Vaishampayana said:—O my child, the question that you have put regarding Hari, the holder of Sranga bow, is indeed very great. Listen, I shall still describe the glory of Vishnu as much as lies in my power. Fortunately for you that our mind is bent upon listening to Vishnu's prowess. Hear, I shall describe the celestial origin of the lord. The Brahmanas, well read in the Vedas, describe him as having a thousand eyes, thousand faces, thousand feet, thousand heads, thousand hands, as eternal, as having thousand tongues, as effulgent, as wearing thousand crowns, as giving away thousands presents, as having thousand origins and thousand arms; as sacrifice, oblation, Havya [A food for gods.], Hota [A priest.], the sacred vessels, the sacrificial altar, the initiation, charu [A kind of food.], Sruva; as Sruk, Soma, Shurpa [A winnowing basket.], Musala [A wooden pestle used for cleaning rice.], Prakshanam, Dakshinayanam [Offering of oblation.], Adveryu, Samaga Brahmana, as Sadasya [Members of a sacrifice.], Sadanam Sadas [A house for the assembly of priests.]; as Yupa, Samid, Kusha, Darvi[A ladle or spoon.], Chamasa, Ulukhala, Pragvangsham [The room opposite to that which contains the materials for an oblation and in which the family and friends of the sacrificer assemble.], sacrifice, sacrificial ground, priest and Chayana [A level square piece of ground made of bricks prepared for a sacrifice.]; as the small and big chariots, as the mobile creation, as the penance, as the good fruit thereof, as Sthandila [The same as the previous footnote.] and Kusha; as Mantra, as fire that carries sacrificial offering, as Bhaga [A portion of fire.], Bhagavaha [Gayatri and other metrical verses.], Agrebhuj [Fire.], Somabhuj [A name of fire.], Ghritarchi [A name of fire.], Udaniya [A name of fire. Other words have been explained in previous notes.]; and in the sacrifice as the eternal Lord. That intelligent Lord of gods, Vishnu, having the mystic mark of Srivatsa on his breast, incarnated himself in thousands of forms. And thousands of his incarnations shall take place in future, Brahma has said this. O great king, I shall describe at length, as accosted by you, the sacred and celestial theme, why the Divine lord Vishnu, the king of gods and the slayer of his enemies, took his birth leaving the celestial region, in the race of Vasudeva. For encompassing the well-being of the gods and men and the prosperity of all the worlds, the Soul of all, for a great work of his own, went through various incarnations. I shall describe the sacred and celestial incarnations of the Lord fraught with many virtues that have been recorded in metres and great Srutis. Purifying yourself and controlling your speech, listen to them, O Janamejaya. This highly sacred Purana is equal to the Vedas. Hear, I shall describe this celestial story of Vishnu. O Bharata, whenever virtue suffers deterioration the Lord, for establishing it, incarnates Himself. O great king, he had one form partaking of the quality of goodness. In this form He is constantly practising hard austerities in Heaven. His second form* is possessed by yoga sleep for bringing about the destruction of creatures; and from this sleep originate persons of misconceived spiritual culture. [* This refers to His Rajasik form or the form partaking of the quality of darkness.] Having slept for a thousand yugas He again appears for work. And after the completion of a thousand yugas, the god of gods, the lord of the universe, Vishnu, the Grandfather Brahma, the Regents of all the worlds, the moon, the sun, the fire, Brahma, Kapila, Parameshthi, the gods, the seven Rishis, the highly illustrious, three-eyed god Siva, the air, the oceans and the mountains exist in His form. The great Sanatkumar and the high-souled Manu, the father of creation (also exist in His form). That ancient Lord, effulgent like the fire, has created all the forms. After the destruction of all creatures mobile and immobile, after the destruction of the gods and demons, serpents and Rakshasas that highly powerful Purusha killed the two irrepressible Danavas, Madhu and Kaitava in the midst of the ocean and conferred upon them the boon of final liberation.

While in the days of yore the lotus-navelled Lord lay in the water of the ocean there sprang from His navel the gods and the Rishis. This is the Lotus incarnation of the Lord as recorded in the Vedas and Srutis. Next the Boar incarnation of the Lord is recorded in Srutis, where Vishnu, the foremost of the celestials, assumed the form of a boar and raised up the earth with her forests and mountains, with His tusks sunk in the all-spreading ocean. The (four) Vedas were his feet, the sacrificial altar was his tusk, the sacrifices were his teeth, the funeral pile was his mouth, the fire was his tongue, and the Darbhas were the hairs of his body. The great ascetic Brahma was his head, the days and nights were the eyes of that eldest Purusha, the various divisions of the Vedas were the ornaments of his ears, the progenitors were his nose, the chanting of the Sama Veda was his great voice. He was identical with virtue and truth. Penance was his nostril; dreadful beasts were his nails and he had long arms. The air was his soul, the mantra was his hip, the sanctified Soma juice was his blood, the sacrificial altars were his shoulders. Havi was his smell, Havy and Kavya were his energies, Nagvangsha was his body. He was effulgent and sanctified by various forms of initiation. Dakshina or gift was his heart. He was ascetic and great and the recitation of the Vedic hymns was the ornament of his lips. The great heroes, who stand in the way of virtue, were his ornaments. The various metres were his motion. The sacred Upanishad was his seat. The image of his wife was his help and he was tall like the summit of the mount Meru. This thousand-headed Prime Deity re-established the earth. Thus in the days of yore for encompassing the well-being of creatures the Lord, assuming the shape of a sacrificial boar, raised up the earth from the water of the ocean. This is an account of the boar incarnation. Listen now to an account

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of His man-lion incarnation where assuming the form of a lion he killed Hiranyakashipu.

O king, in the days of yore in the golden age, the first of the Daityas born, Hiranyakesipu, an enemy of the gods, practised most excellent penances. Observing the vow of silence and steadfastly carrying it on he alone, placed in the midst of water, spent eleven thousand and five hundred years. O sinless one, thereupon Brahma was pleased with his self-control, equanimity of mind, asceticism and observance of rules and the vow of celibacy. O great king then the lord of all, the divine self-sprung Brahma, the foremost of all, having the knowledge of Brahman, himself, in his effulgent and sun like car drawn by swans, came to him encircled by all the Adityas, Vasus, Sadhyas, Maruds, gods, Rudras, Viswas, Yakshas, Rakshas, Kinnaras, rivers, oceans, stars, Muhurthas, creatures ranging in the sky, planets, celestial saints, old ascetic Siddhas, the seven Rishis, the great royal saints and Apsaras. He then said to the Daitya:—"O you of firm vows, you are a disciple of mine. I have been pleased with your asceticism. Pray for a boon; may you fare well and acquire your wished-for objects."

Hiranyakasipu said;—O grand-father, I pray for this boon, that the gods, Asuras, Gandharvas, Yakshas, Nagas, Rakshasas, men and goblins may not by any means kill me and that the Rishis, when enraged, may not imprecate a curse on me, and that the weapons, mountains, trees, dry or wet articles or any other things may not bring about my destruction. Let him alone be my destroyer who will be able, with his servants and army, to kill me only with the strokes of his arms. I, myself, shall be the moon, the sun, the air, the fire, air, ether, the stars, the ten quarters, desire, anger, Varuna, Vasava, Yama, the lord of riches and Yaksha, the king of Kimpurushas.

Thus addressed by the king of Daityas, O emperor, the self-sprung Deity smilingly said;—"O my child, I confer upon you these most wonderful and celestial boons. Undoubtedly you will attain to all your desired-for objects." Having said this the divine grand-father repaired, by the etherial region, to his habitation Vairaja resorted to by the Brahmana saints. Hearing that the water-sprung deity, the foremost of the celestials, had conferred this celestial boon on Daitya-king Hiranyakasipu, the gods, headed by Indra, communicated it to the Creator. Hearing of this conferring of the boons the Devas, the Nagas, the Gandharvas and the Munis appeared before the grand-father.

The Gods said—"O lord, by this boon the Asura will oppress us. Be thou propitiated and concert a measure for his destruction". Hearing those words beneficial unto all the lord Prajapati, the omniscient, self-sprung Deity, the invisible and immortal creator of Havy, Kavya and all other creatures said to the gods. "Forsooth he must attain to the fruits of his asceticism. After he enjoys them the lord Vishnu will kill him." Hearing these words from the lotus-sprung Deity all the gods, filled with delight, repaired to their respective celestial habitations. As soon as he obtained the boon the Daitya Hiranyakasipu, elated with the pride thereof, began oppressing all the creatures. He first of all carried his work of oppression on the great, truthful and self-controlled Munis of firm vows living in the hermitages). Having vanquished all the gods of the three worlds and having brought them all under subjection the Daitya Hiranyakasipu lived in the celestial region. As long as he, elated with pride, lived in the celestial region the gods could not partake of the sacrificial offerings and the Daityas were entitled thereto.

Thereupon the Adityas, Viswas and Vasus sought refuge with the highly powerful Narayana Vishnu, the lord of protection, who is Brahman identical with the gods and sacrifices, who is the presiding god of the Brahmanas, who is eternal, the present and past and future and who is omniscient and adored of all the worlds.

The Gods said:—O. king of gods, O foremost of the celestials, do thou save us from the fear of Hiranyakasipu. Thou art the Supreme Lord of us all and of Brahma and others. Thou art our Great God and Great Preceptor. O thou having eyes like the full-blown lotuses, O thou the destroyer of enemies, do thou become our help for bringing about the destruction of the demons.

Vishnu said:—O ye immortals, do ye renounce your fear. I promise you safety. O gods, you will, in no time, acquire as before the celestial region. I will slay this king of Danavas, elated with pride, who is unslayable even by the immortals.

Vaishampayana said:—Having said this and left the company of the king of gods and others the Lord Hari assumed the form of a half-lion and a half-man. Having pressed his one palm against another Hari, in his man-lion form, repaired to the court of Hiranyakasipu. His colour was like that of clouds and his voice was like the muttering thereof. He also became effulgent and fleet like a cloud. He, with his own hand, killed the highly powerful and proud Daitya, gifted with the prowess of a tiger and protected by the mighty Daityas. This is the man-lion incarnation. Next is that of a dwarf. Assuming this form destructive of the Daityas in the days of yore the powerful Vishnu, with his three foot steps, assailed the Asuras in the sacrifice of Bali.

Viprachitti, Shivi, Sangkaraya, Shangku, Ayashiras, the powerful Hayagriva, the fierce Ketuman, Ugra, Sogra, Vyagra, Mahasura, Pushkara, Pushkala, Sayoshya, Aswapati, Pralhada, Aswasira, Kumbha, Sanghrada, Gaganapriya, Amihrada, Hari, Hara, Varaha, Sankara, Ruja, Sharabha, Salabha, Kupana, Kopana, Kratha, Vrihatkirti, Mahagihva, Sankukarna, Mahaswana, Dirghajlbha, Arkanayana, Mriduchapa, Mriduprya, Vayu, Garishtha, Namuchi, Saruvara, Vijvara Mahan, Chakrahanta, Krodhahanta, Krodhavardhana, Kalaka, Kalakeya, Vritta, Krodha, Virochana, Garishtha, Varistha, Pralamva, Naraka, Indratapana, Vatapi, Valadarpita, Ketuman, Asiloma, Puloma, Vashkala, Pramada, Mada, Vaishika, Kalavadana, Karala, Koushika, Shara, Ekaksha, Chadraha, Rahu, Sanharashwa, Mahiswan, Shataghni, Chakrahasta, Parighapani, demons with Ashma and Vindipala weapons in their hands, with those maces and mortars in their hands, those with Parashwa weapon, maces, clubs spikes and various other weapons in their hands, those assuming various dreadful forms, those assuming the forms of tortoise and fowl, the faces of hares, asses, camels, boars, dreadful Makaras, jackals, mice, frogs leopards, cats, elephants, crocodiles, lambs, hogs, kine, buffaloes, Godhas, deer, Garuda, those having faces like swords and peacocks, those having armours made of the skin of elephants, some wearing antelope skin, some covering their bodies with barks, some wearing head-dresses, some wearing crowns, some wearing Asura ear-rings, some wearing Kiritins, some with long tufts of hair, some with conch-like necks—thus a numberless Daityas, wearing various dresses, adorned with diverse garlands and taking up their burning weapons, surrounded on all sides the powerful Hrishikesha. Assuming a highly dreadful form and grinding them all with his hands and feet the Lord immediately freed the earth of the demons. When he placed his foot-step on the earth, the sun, and the moon remained on his breast, and when he placed his foot-step in the sky they lay in his navel. And when he placed his foot-step on a better place (than all these) they lay on the knees of the highly powerful Vishnu. This has been related by the twice-born ones. Having thus slain all the leading Asuras the Lord Vishnu, the foremost of all the gods, saved the earth and conferred the celestial kingdom on the king of gods. Thus have I described the dwarf incarnation of the Great Vishnu. The Brahmanas, well-read in the Vedas, describe it as the glorious conduct of Vishnu.

The Great Vishnu, the soul of all, next incarnated himself as the highly forgiving Dattatreya. When the gods disappeared, the religious works, sacrifices and the four castes suffered deterioration, when truth was lost and untruth flourished, when all the creatures were about to perish, when virtue was on the verge of extinction the Lord re-established the four Vedas with sacrifices as well as the four castes. The boon-giving, intelligent Dattatreya conferred a boon on the Haihaya king Kartavirya, saying:—"O king, these your two arms, by the power of my boon, shall be thousand-fold. O lord of the earth, you will rule over the entire earth and be conversant with virtue. Your enemies shall not be able to look at you". O slayer of enemies, O emperor, as heard by me, I have described to you the most wonderful and auspicious incarnation of Vishnu. The Great Lord next incarnated himself as Jamadagni. In this incarnation Rama killed in battle Arjuna in the midst of his irrepressible army who were filled with wonder at his thousand arms. Having brought the king Arjuna on earth from his car and assailed that king roaring like clouds with all his kinsmen, Bhrigu's son Rama chopped off his thousand arms with his sword. The earth, adorned with the mountains Meru and Mandara, contained Kotis of Kshatryas. He divested the earth of the Kshatryas for twenty one times. Having divested the earth of the Kshatriyas the great ascetic son of Bhrigu undertook the celebration of a horse-sacrifice for the expiation of all his sins. In that sacrifice consisting of profuse gifts Bhrigu's son, with great delight, made a gift of the earth to Marichi's son Kashyapa. In that horse sacrifice the highly liberal and illustrious Rama, the foremost of car-warriors, made presents of quick-coursing horses, cars, endless gold, kine and elephants. Even now practising hard austerities, Bhrigu's son, effulgent like a celestial, is living on the most excellent mountain Mahendra. This is the account of the Jamadagni incarnation of the great and intelligent Vishnu, the foremost of gods, bearing the mystic mark of Srivatsa on his breast.

In the twenty fourth Yuga, sending Viswamitra before him and dividing himself into four parts the mighty-armed Lord Isvara became celebrated in the world as the king Dasaratha's son Rama. He had eyes like lotuses and was effulgent like the sun. For extending his favour to the world, for destroying the Rakshasas and increasing virtue the highly illustrious Lord was thus born. The sages designate that king of men as the body of the masters of Bhutas. Viswamitra instructed that intelligent one in the use of various weapons for the destruction of the enemies of the gods who were irrepressible even unto them and who put obstacles in the sacrifices of the self-controlled ascetics. On their behalf that high-souled (prince) the foremost of the strong killed the two Rakshasas (Marichi and Suvahu). Formerly in the sacrifice of the high-souled Janaka, he, easily out of sport, snapped the bow of Hara. Living in the forest for fourteen years in the company of Lakshmana Raghava, ever engaged in the well-being of all creatures and conversant with all the forms of religion, carried on austerities for fourteen years. The beautiful Sita, well-known in the world used to remain by his side always. She was the Lakshmi known before and followed her husband. Living in Janasthana he accomplished the work of the gods. Raghava practised these hard penances for fourteen years. Lakshmana followed the foot-steps of Sita and remained there as his servant. There were two Rakshasas, Viradha and Kavandha of dreadful prowess. They became so by the imprecation of a Gandharva. Discharging at them burning arrows effulgent like the fire, the rays of the sun or lightning, strong as the thunder-bolt of Indra, and the feathers whereof were made of gold Rama killed them both. On behalf of Sugriva the highly-powerful Rama killed Bali in battle and installed Sugriva on the throne. The gods, the Asuras, the Rakshasas and the Pisacas were not capable of slaying Ravana. He was difficult of being vanquished by any in the battle-field. Ravana, having the hue of a collection of red collyrium, had millions of Rakshasas as his guards. The three worlds were terrorized by him. He was invincible, irrepressible, proud and powerful like a tiger. Even the celestials could not look at him and he was elated with pride on account of the boon. He, assisted by his ministers, killed in battle this highly powerful and huge bodied Ravana, the king of Rakshasas, resembling a massive cloud, along with his army. In the days of yore, Rama killed Ravana the son of Pulastya, with his brothers, sons, ministers and army, who was a confirmed villain, committed a great iniquity and was invincible in battle. Madhu's son the great Asura Lavana, a heroic Danava, who was elated with pride on account of the boon (conferred on him), was killed in battle in the forest of Madhu, by Rama, who was an expert in battle. Other Rakshasas were also slain by him. Having performed these feats Rama, the foremost of the pious, collected continually materials for the celebration of ten horse sacrifices. During Rama's regeme, not a single inauspicious sound was heard, hostile winds did not blow and no body lost his property. No widows bewailed, nobody met with misfortune and the whole world* enjoyed peace during Rama's rule. [By the word world the author evidently means the whole of Rama's dominion which extended over the entire northern and southern India and even the far-off Ceylon. It is frequently seen in Sanskrit works that the word world is generally put for whole of India.] Creatures had no fear from the obstruction of water and air and the aged people had not to perform the obsequial rites of the boys. The Kshatriyas used to serve the Brahmanas, the Vaisyas used to follow the Kshatriyas, and the Sudras, divested of pride, used to serve the three superior castes. The women never disregarded their husbands, and the husbands never ill-treated their wives. The whole world was in peace, and freed from robbers. Rama alone was the lord and protector of all. During Rama's rule people lived for a thousand years and had a thousand sons and no creature suffered from any disease. During Rama's rule, the gods, the Rishis and men assembled together in the world. Persons, well-read in the Puranas who consider Rama as the source of all truths, have sung this hymn in honour of that intelligent one. "Ratha, the king of Ayodhya, had a green hue, black eyes, nectarine speech, a shining face, arms extending up to the knees, a beautiful countenance and leonine shoulders". He ruled for eleven thousand years. In the kingdom of that high-souled king were continually heard the chanting of the Rig, Yajush and Sama Vedas, the twang of bows and the utterances "make gifts and eat". The energetic and accomplished son of Dasaratha, Rama, shining in his own effulgence, surpassed even the sun in his lustre. Having celebrated hundreds of holy sacrifices with perfect and most excellent gifts the highly powerful Raghava left Ayodhya and repaired to the celestial region. Having thus brought about the destruction of Ravana with all his kinsmen, the omniscient and mighty-armed Rama, the descendant of Ikshaku, returned to the region of the celestials.

Vaishampayana said;—In the Mathura Kalpa the high-souled Keshava, for the behoof of mankind, went through this incarnation which I have been, at present, describing. In this incarnation the powerful lord slew Salwa, Mainda, Dwivida, Kansa, Aristha, Vrishabha, Keshi, the demoness Putana, the elephant Kuvalayapida, Chanura, Musthi and other demons in human forms. By Him of wonderful deeds the thousand arms of Vana were chopped off. The Asura, Naraka and highly powerful Yavana were slain by him, in battle. He carried away by force all the jewels of the kings. And all the wicked kings of the earth were slain, by him. After the expiration of the ninth incarnation of the Dwapara Yuga included within the eighteenth Mahayuga, the lord Vishnu, having sent beforehand Jatukarna, took his birth as Veda-Vyasa. [The Vedas are the earliest work on our theology. According to the tradition they were coeval with creation which had itself taken place according to the laws of a pre-existing Veda. They were however scattered; some legends state they were lost; and it was not till after many years that a Rishi or sage arranged them and gave them the form in which

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they are known. These are Rik, Yajush, Saman and Atharvan. The Rig-Veda, from the radical rich to laud, is intended to be read on occasions when encomiastic prayers and hymns to the elemental deities are prescribed, by the law; the Yajush relates chiefly to oblations and sacrifices and contains prayers adapted for certain rites to be performed at the full and change of the moon and hymns and directions character to be recited with melody; and the Atharva Veda, which is considered to be of a late date, consists of various hymns and incantations, the greater part of which are intended for the destruction and perdition of enemies. This arrangement procured to the editor the name of Vyasa or arranger.] The one Veda was divided into four by that high-souled one. This Vyasa, the son of Satyavati*, procreated the race of Bharatas. [* Satyavati was the daughter of a Apsara in the form of a fish. She passed into the hands of a fisherman. A Rishi, Parasara by name, grew amorous on seeing her. He knew her and in time she gave birth to a son on an island in the Yamuna. This son is Vyasa. See Mahabharata, Adi Parva, section 63.]

O king these incarnations, of the Lord, undertaken for the behoof of mankind, have been described. I shall now present an account of the future incarnations. The Lord again, for the well-being of mankind, will appear as Kalki in the house of a Brahmana by name Vishnuyashas in the village of Sambhala. After the expiration of the tenth incarnation He will send Yajnavalka before Him and then engage in a discussion with the followers of Buddhism, who believe in the transcient science, who always praise the present and speak ill of the sacrifices. After defeating them he will disappear at the confluence of the Ganges and Yamuna with his followers. When all the families will be ruined, when all the kings, with their ministers and soldiers will be destroyed there will be none to look after the people. When they will all be killed by internal dessensions and when their riches will be pilfered by one another, they will begin to weep, being stricken with grief. Thus assailed by misfortune at the end of the Kaliyuga all the creatures will meet with destruction along with the Yuga itself.

After the termination of the Kali Yuga the Satya Yuga will again appear in due order. This is the outcome of the natural sequence and there can no perversion of it. These and various other celestial incarnations, consisting of gods, have been recorded in the Puranas by the Rishis conversant with the knowledge of Brahman. I have only given an outline of the incarnations of the Lord the preceptor of all the worlds, by the chanting of which even the gods are charmed and in which exist all the Srutis and Puranas. The ancestral manes of the person are delighted who, with folded palms, listens to or recites the incarnations of Vishnu of unlimited power. If a man listens to the illusive sports of this Lord of Yoga he is freed from all his sins and acquires, by the favour of the Lord, virtue, prosperity, ascetic wealth and various objects of enjoyment.

CHAPTER 42. VISHNU'S APPEARANCE.

Vaishampayana said;—Listen, O king, duly to the dignity of Vishnu as Viswa (the lord of protection) to that of Hari in the Satya Yuga, to that of Vaikunta amongst the gods, to that of Krishna amongst men, to that of Iswara, and to the motive of his various actions past and future. Although invisible the lord assumed forms (at various periods). Narayana is the cause of all creations and is eternal. This Narayana assumed the form of Hari in the Krita Yuga. Brahma, Indra, the moon, Dharma, Sukra and Vrihaspati are all the forms of Narayana. Yadu's son Vishnu became the son of Aditi and passed by the name of king Indravaraja. For encompassing the destruction of the Daityas, Danavas and Rakshasas, the enemies of the celestials, Narayana, out of favour, became the son of Aditi. This Supreme Soul created Brahma in the days of yore. And that Prime Purusha, in the first Kalpa, created all the Prajapatis. They, assuming various forms, became the founders of many most excellent Brahmana families. From these high-souled ones emanated, the eternal Veda* consisting of various branches. [The Hindus have received their religion through revelation, the Vedas. They hold that the Vedas are without beginning and end. It may sound ludicrous how a book can be, without beginning or end. But by the Vedas no books are meant. They mean the accumulated treasury of spiritual laws discovered by different persons in different times. Just as the law of gravitation existed before its discovery land would exist if all humanity forgot it, so with the laws that govern the spiritual world. The moral, ethical and spiritual relation between souls and souls and between individual spirits and the Father all spirits were there before their discovery and would remain even if we forget them. The discoverers of these laws are called Rishis and they are honoured by the Hindus.] I have thus recounted the names of the wonderful Vishnu. Now hear from me the subject that is worthy of being recounted. After the Asura Vitra had been slain and even when Satya Yuga was not over there took, place the world-renowned war with Taraka. Being elated with success in war and assisted by the Gandharvas, Yakshas, Uragas, and Rakshasas the dreadful Danavas engaged in an onslaught of the gods,. When all the weapons were destroyed in battle, they were about to be killed by the Danavas. Accordingly being baffled they sought refuge with the omniscient, Lord Narayana, the God of protection. In the meantime were heard the dreadful mutterings of clouds pouring, showers of embers that covered the sky with, the-sun, moon and planets and that were accompanied by lightnings. And seven kinds of wind were driven against one another. Assailed by boiling water currents, the fall of lightnings and the winds, endued with the velocity of lightnings, and as if being consumed by them the earth began to emit terrible sounds. Thousands of fire-brands fell down from the sky. Cars began to fall down and go up. Beholding those portends the people were stricken with fear as they become at the termination of the four Yugas. The whole world was enveloped with darkness and nothing was visible. The ten cardinal points, being covered with darkness, did not became visible. It appeared as if the incarnate form of the night of the dark half of the month was veiled by the cloud of dissolution. The sun being overclouded the whole sky was enveloped with darkness. Dispersing these clouds together with darkness the Divine black-hued Hari displayed his celestial form. His body was dark-hued like a cloud and his hairs were black like collyrium. In his dark form Krishna appeared like a dark mountain. He put on a burning yellow raiment and was bedecked with gold. It appeared as if a body, enveloped with the darkness of smoke, arose like the fire of dissolution. His shoulders had grown eightfold, his heads were covered with head-gears and his fists were adorned with golden weapons. His hand was delighted with a sword by name Nandaka which was immoveable like a mountain stricken with the rays of the sun and the moon and which was tied to a waist-cloth of the hue of Menas stone. The arrows were like the serpents. He held mace, thunderbolt, a ploughshare, a conch, a discus and a club in his hands. Vishnu was like a mountain of which the base was forgiveness and the tree was Sree. He held the Sranga bow in his hand. He was seated on a car to which were yoked yellow-hued horses, on which were hoisted flags having the emblem of Garuda painted on them, which had the effulgence of the moon, had beautiful wheels, of which Mandara mountain was the axle, and the serpent Ananta was the rein. It had Meru and Kuvera on it, was filled with stars and planets and adorned with variegated flowers. That lord of gods, who always gives protection, was seen seated in the sky on an effulgent celestial car by the gods defeated by the Daityas at a time when they were stricken with fear. All the gods, headed by Indra, at first sent up a shout of exclamation and then sought refuge with the lord to whom all resort for shelter. Hearing this loud exclamation the kind Deity Vishnu made up his mind for destroying the gods in that great encounter. Stationed in the pure sky, Vishnu, that foremost of gods, promised to the celestials, saying, "O ye Maruts, may you fare well, do not fear. Be at ease. I have defeated the Danavas. Do ye take back the three worlds." Thus welcomed by the words of the truthful Hari the gods attained to that supreme delight which they enjoyed when they obtained ambrosia out of the ocean.

Thereupon the darkness was removed and the cranes emitted cries. Auspicious winds blew and the ten directions were cleared up. Shinning stars began to circumambulate the moon, and other luminous bodies began to move round the sun. The planets did not oppose one another and all the rivers grew delightful. Etherial and celestial roads appeared beautiful. The rivers began to flow quietly and the oceans did not suffer any agitation. The internal organs of men worked well. The great saints were shorn of grief and began to chant the Vedic hymns. Hearing the promise of the Lord that he would slay all the enemies in battle the fire began to eat sweet and nourishing oblations. Sacrifices were duly undertaken and the minds of men were delighted.

CHAPTER 43. THE PREPARATION OF THE DANAVAS FOR THE BATTLE.

Vaishampayana said:—O sinless one, thereupon, hearing of the fear from Vishnu, the Daityas and Danavas, irrepressible in battle, began to make preparations for war on a great scale. Being desirous of a battle the Danava Maya ascended a golden car as the sun rises over the mount Meru. It had four strong wheels twelve hundred cubits in circumference, could go anywhere, contained many huge weapons, was filled with the tinkling of small bells, was matted with leopard skins, adorned with jewels and gold, artificial figures of animals and various collections of birds, contained many celestial weapons and quivers, had the sound like the muttering of clouds, had beautiful axles, was the best of the most excellent cars, was filled with beautiful nests, and mountain-like clubs. It was huge like the very ocean itself, and its joints were adorned with golden Keyuras and bracelets. Its poles were made of gold and it was adorned with huge pennons and flags. It looked like the mount Mandara when the sun rises over it, like the prince of elephants and the ocean. It contained thousands of bears and the sound of its wheels was like the roaring of the ocean. It was effulgent, could course in the sky and strike the cars of the enemies. The Danava Tara got upon a most excellent iron car. It was two miles in dimension, was huge like a collection of mountains, was black like red collyrium and was made of strong and well seasoned iron. It had eight wheels, axles and poles and was dark like an ember. Its sound was like the roaring of an ocean and its windows were covered with iron nets. It contained iron Parighas, Kshepanyas, clubs, Prasas, maces, various other wooden weapons, Tomaras and Parashwadas. It was a dread to the enemies and was drawn by a thousand of mules huge like the mount Mandara. On its flag there was an emblem of a crow. Being highly enraged and taking up a club Virochana stood before the army like a mountain with shining summits. The Danava Hayagriva, the repressor of the hostile armies, began to drive a car drawn by a thousand steeds. Stretching his huge bow, many thousand cubits in dimension, the Danava Varaha stood before the army like a fig tree covered with its branches, Shedding tears of anger out of haughtiness and with his lips and teeth trembling the Danava Khara stood for the battle. Ascending a car drawn by twelve horses and surrounded by Danava Vyuhas the energetic Aristha began to move about in the battle-field. Adorned with golden ear-rings, Viprachitti's son Sweta stood before the battle-field like a white mountain. Armed with most excellent weapons made of stone and being tired thereby Bati's son Aristha stood there for battle like a mountain. A Danava, by name Kishora, resembling a young charger in pride, appeared like the sun in the midst of the Daitya army. Being dressed with a long raiment resembling a cloud the Danava Lamva appeared in the midst of the Daitya Vyuhas [The arrangement of troops in various positions, as the array in line, that in column, that in circle, and that in mixed order.] like the sun possessed by Rahu [This is the mythological account of the solar eclipse.]. Taking up weapons in the shape of teeth, lips and eyes the huge-bodied and terrible warrior Sharbhanu smilingly stood before the Daityas. Some shone on the horses and others on the elephants. Some sat on the lions and tigers and others on boars and bears. Some rode the asses and camels and others rode the clouds. And others rode on various birds and some the winds [i.e. were fleet like the wind.]. Other Daitya proceeded on foot. Some Daityas, with dreadful faces, some with one foot and some with two feet began to dance for battle. Some began to strike their arms. Thus the leading Danavas began to roar there like proud tigers. The Daityas, expert in the use of bows, began to assail the gods with fierce clubs, Parighas and their Parigha-like arms. And sporting with maces, Prashas, clubs hooks, swords, Sataghnies, sharpened daggers, excellent iron Parighas and discuses they delighted the soldiers. The Danavas, irrepressible in battle, desired for victory. Thus the Danavas, proud of their various weapons, confronted the gods like rising clouds. That Daitya army, consisting of thousands of Danavas, resembling the air, the fire, the cloud and the mountain and filled with war-like speed and advancement, was maddened with desire for battle.

CHAPTER 44. ARRANGEMENT OF THE CELESTIAL ARMY.

Vaishampayana said:—O my child, you have thus heard of the arrangement of the Daitya army in the war between the gods and demons. Hear, now of an account of the arrangement of the army of the gods as well as that of Vishnu's army. The Adityas, the Vasus, the Rudras and the two highly powerful Aswinis took charge of their respective soldiers and attendants. The commander of the whole celestial army, the thousand-eyed Patriarch Pakashana sat on his elephant Airavata in front (of the army). On his left was kept in readiness a car, quick coursing like Garuda, with beautiful wheels and adorned with gold and diamonds. Thousands of gods and Gandharvas and Yakshas followed him. And the effulgent Brahmana saints, members of his court, began to chant his glories. Protected by Valahakas, carrying weapons, accompanied by lightnings produced by the hurling of Indra's thunder-bolt and resembling mountains moving about at will, the Divine Maghavan began to proceed on his elephant. The Vipras, who live at a place where Havi is kept in Soma's sacrifice, sing his glories. When the king of gods repaired to the celestial region bugles were sounded. Thousands of Apsaras began to dance before him. As the sun shines, protected by Ketu, born in his own family so that chariot, protected by Matali [The charioteer of Indra.], appeared beautiful. That car, drawn by a thousand horses, was fleet like the mind or the air. It appeared as if the mount Meru was enveloped with the rays of the sun. Raising up his rod and mace and terrifying the Daityas Yama stood in the midst of the celestial army. Varuna, with the mace in his hand, also stood there in the midst of the army of gods. He was surrounded by four oceans and Pannagas. His person was full of water and he was adorned with conch, jems and Angadas [A kind of ornament for the Arms.]. He always used to roam with the noose of Kala in his hand. He made thousands of sports with the horses resembling the rays of the moon and waves agitated by the wind. His raiment was black and he put on beautiful Angadas made of corals. His person had the hue of sapphire and a necklace hung round his neck. He stood there in expectation of the battle as the ocean becomes agitated when it is separated from its bank. Kuvera, having a body

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dark-blue like sapphire, and men to carry him, was seen there along with the Yakshas, Rakshasas and Guhyakas. That lord of riches, that king of kings, was armed with conch, Padma [One of Kuvera's treasures or jems.] and a club. That graceful king of riches* was stationed in his car Pushpaka. [* The word in the text is Nidhipati a name of Kuvera. Nidhi means divine treasures nine of which are enumerated, viz., the Padma, Mahapadma, Sankha, Makara, Kachchpa, Mukunda, Nanda, Nila and Kharba: their nature is not exactly defined though some of them appear to be precious jems; according to the Tankrik system, they are personified and worshipped as demigods attendant either upon Kuvera or upon Lakshmi, the goddess of prosperity.] That king of kings, that friend of Siva, that lord having men to carry him, appeared there for battle like the very Siva himself. The thousand-eyed Indra protected the eastern wing of the celestial army, Yama, the king of the ancestral manes, protected the southern wing, Varuna, the western wing and Kuvera, the northern wing. The four Regents of the quarters, dreadful in battle, protected the four sides of the celestial army and kept a vigilant watch over their respective quarters.. The sun shone there burning in his own effulgent rays, on his car, drawn by seven horses that course in the welkin, Shining in his own effulgence of thousand rays, and ascending the car in which he, conferring heat on all the eternal regions, goes to the rising and setting mountains, the Dwadashatma* lord of rays began to move about in the midst of the celestials. [* An appellation of the sun. Dwadasha, twelve and Atman means identity; being represented in and identified with the twelve Adityas or the sun in each month of the year.] Delighting the universe with his cool and watery rays the moon, of cool rays, shone on his car drawn by white horses. The Danavas saw, in the battle-field, Soma, of cool rays who is the presiding deity of the Brahmanas, is encircled by the stars, whose body is marked by the shadow of the earth, who dispells the nocturnal darkness, who is the lord of all luminous bodies in the sky, who is the source of all the juices, who is the lord and protector of all the plants, who is the source of nectar, who is the first source of food to the world, who is identical with gentle and cool juice and who distributes dews. Being excited by his own energy and joined by the cloud Vayu, the life of all creatures, began to blow there in contrary directions and assail the Daityas. He is the life of all creatures and lives in man as five vital airs; and being divided into seven it is sustaining the three worlds consisting of mobile and immobile creations. People call him the charioteer of fire and he is the cause and, lord of all. The source of his origin is the seven musical notes which are used in singing. He is called the most excellent element and is bodiless. He courses in the sky, goes very quickly and has sound for his origin. The Maruts, accompanied by the Devas, Gandharvas and Vidyadharas, began to sport there with unsheathed swords white as the serpents). Pouring, in anger, deadly venom the leading serpents became as it were the arrows of the gods, and began, with their mouths open, to range in the sky. All the mountains appeared before the gods to grind the Danavas with their rocky summits and with trees consisting of hundreds of branches. The highly illustrious and intelligent lord Hari, the holder of discus and mace, who is the lotus-navelled Hrishikesha of three foot-steps, who is highly effulgent like the fire of dissolution, who is the master of the universe, who is Madhusudana, born from the ocean, who feeds on Havya and is honoured by sacrifies, who is identical with earth, water and ether, who is at one with the elements, who gives peace and equanimity of mind, who destroys his enemies, who is the source and seed of the universe, who is the preceptor of the world and who has the emblem of Garuda on his flag, took up, in the midst of the celestial army, his enemy-killing discus, effulgent like the rising fire in the rising solar disc, the maces Vrihati and Mahati, that kill all the Asuras, in his left hand, the bow Sranga and other burning weapons in his remaining hands. The Lord Hari rode that huge-bodied younger brother of Aruna, the foremost of birds, Suparna, who was the best of the twice born living on serpents, who was the son of Kashyapa, who was superior even to the wind in fleetness, who used to agitate the sky, who had big serpents hanging from his mouth, who was huge like the mount Mandara that was set free after the churning of the ocean for ambrosia, who displayed his prowess hundreds of times in the encounter between the gods and demons, whose body was marked with thunder-bolt by the king of gods for ambrosia, who had tufts of down, who was adorned with shining ear-rings, who had a raiment of variegated feathers, who was huge like a mountain consisting of metals and who had on his spacious breast serpents of moon-like lustre shining with brilliant jems. He remained easily in the sky with his two beautifully painted wings like two clouds with rain-bow at the time of the universal dissolution. He was dreadful in the enemy's camp adorned with red, dark and yellow flags. The gods followed him in battle. The great ascetics sang the glories of Gadadhara with excellent hymns. Assisted by Kuvera, headed by Vivaswan's son Yama, encircled by Varuna the king of water, presided over by the king of gods, beautified by the rays of the moon, strengthened by the war-like gods, accompanied by the sounds of the wind, rendered brilliant by fire, and enveloped with Jishnu, Prahishnu, Bhrajishnu, and Vishnu energies the celestial army stood wonderfully for the battle. Angiras prayed for the well-being of the gods and Sukra, the preceptor of the Daityas, prayed for their well-being.

CHAPTER 45. THE FIGHT BETWEEN THE GODS AND DEMONS.

Thereupon there took place a terrible encounter between the armies of the gods and demons desirous of vanquishing each other. Armed with various weapons the Danavas fought with the gods as if the mountains were fighting with the mountains. Thus there took place a wonderful encounter between the gods and demons, with fairness and unfairness, humility and pride. Then there fell on all sides from the sky cars drawn by quick-coursing horses, and soldiers with swords in their hands. Maces were scattered all over. With these and arrows, full drawn bows and clubs that war, of the gods and demons, grew exceedingly terrible. It created terror all over the world and assumed a dreadful form like the whirling clouds at the hour of the universal dissolution. Throwing with their hands Parighas and stones the Danavas began to assail Indra and the other gods in battle. In that great encounter the gods were greatly assailed by the highly powerful Danavas with whom appeared all the signs of success and their (faces) grew pale. They were grinded by the network of weapons of Diti's sons; their heads were cut off by their Parighas, their bodies were mutilated and the wounds made copious discharges of blood. Being fettered by the nooses of the Danavas, wounded by their arrows and possessed by the illusions of their women the gods stood motionless. They were stupified and showed no signs of life. The Asuras made the celestial army inert so that they could not use their weapons.

Throwing away the nooses of illusion of the Danavas, withstanding and cutting off their arrows with his thunder-bolt the thousand-eyed king of gods entered into the dreadful army of the Danavas. Having slain all the Daityas who were stationed in front with his dark weapons he covered the entire demon-army with darkness. Being thus enshrouded with darkness through the energy of the king of gods they could not make any distinction between the gods and demons. Thereupon being freed from the nooses of illusion and being very careful the gods began to slay the Danavas who were overpowered with darkness. Thereat being assailed, bereft of consciousness and dark-hued on account of the darkness, the Danavas began to fall down like mountains having their wings cut off. Then the palace, of the king of Danavas, consisting of cloud-like demons and resembling an ocean stricken with darkness, appeared as the very form of darkness itself. Thereupon consuming that illusion of darkness the Danava Maya created a highly dreadful illusion of forest-fire resembling the fire of dissolution. When that illusion, created by Maya, destroyed all darkness, the Daityas, assuming forms, effulgent like the sun, again appeared in that battle-field.

Being consumed by the illusory forest-fire the gods appeared before Soma lying on the dews. Having their lustre destroyed by the forest-fire and been consumed thereby the gods, stricken with grief and seeking refuge, communicated it to their king the holder of thunder-bolt. When the celestial soldiers were assailed by the illusion of Maya and consumed by the Danavas, Varuna, commanded by the king of gods, thus said.

Varuna said:—O king of gods, in the days of yore, the energetic Urva, the son of the Brahmana saint Bhrigu, adorned with accomplishments like those of Brahma, practised hard austerities. Like the eternal sun he assailed the whole world with his penances. The Brahmana saints, with the gods and ascetics, appeared before him. The Danava-king Hiranyakasipu communicated it to that highly energetic Rishi. The Brahmana saints then addressed to him the following sacred words; "This family, of the Rishis, is about to be extinct now, since, you, being alone and having no issue, are not thinking of perpetuating your race. Adopting a life of celibacy you are practising these hard penances. Many familes of self-controlled Rishis, are on the verge of extinction on account of the absence of of any offspring. Only one body exists. If all these families disappear for want of descendants there is no chance of their being multiplied. You are the foremost of ascetics and are effulgent like Brahma. Therefore think of multiplying your race and you yourself multiply yourself. Devote your great energy and produce your second body."

Thus addressed by the Rishis and having his mind agitated that self-controlled ascetic blamed them and said.

"This had been laid down in the days of yore as the eternal duty of the Munis living in the forest on roots and following the religion of the Aryans). The well-practised vow of celibacy of the Brahmanas, born from Brahma, agitated even Brahma himself. To officiate as priests, to teach and to accept fees are the three-fold duties of the Brahmanas living as house-holders. To live in the forest is our duty who, (observing the vow of celibacy) live in hermitage. Practising hard penances and giving preference to chastity in thought, words and deeds, the Munis, living on water, those living on air, the Dantolukhalikas [One who eats grain without its having been threshed, anchorite.], Ashmakuttas [Breaking or bruising anything with a stone.], Dashanapas [Those who practise penances on the peak of a mountain.], and Panchatapas [Those who practise penances in the midst of fire.], attain to the most excellent state. Through this chastity in thought, words and deeds the Brahmanas attain to their Brahmanahood. The Brahmavadins, living in the most excellent region, have recorded this.

"Patience resides in Brahmacharyya [Chastity in thought, words and deeds.], asceticism exists in Brahmacharyya and those Brahmanas, who practise it, attain to the celestial region. Without Siddhi*, there is no yoga, and without yoga there is no fame. [* The consummation of the Yoga practices and the attainment of the object thereof.] There is no other glorious asceticism in this world than Brahmacharyya. Having subdued the five elements and five organs of sense one should practise Brahmacharyya. What other greater Tapas is there than Brahmacharyya? The shaving of the hairs in the absence of yoga which the Sanyasins are bound to practise, the observance of the difficult (Chandrayana) vow (for pleasing the people) in the absence of determination (to go to the next world), the practice of religion in the absence of Brahmacharyya—these three are designated as Dambha [It means here hypocrisy.]. When Brahma created his mind-begotten progeny where had he his wife and where was his co-habitation and where was the agitation of his mind? You, self-controlled Rishis, have a great ascetic energy. Therefore create your mind-born progeny by your patriarchal works. The ascetics should procreate progeny through their mind-born source. They should not marry and beget children on their wives. What you have said, being yourselves all pious men, about the different religious practices, appears to me as thoroughly immoral. By this my effulgent body consisting of soul and identical with mind, I shall pro-create a son, begotten of my body, without espousing a wife. By the forest, regulations [Observed by Rishis living in the forest.] I shall create, out of this body of mine, a second body capable of consuming the creatures."

Thereupon being engaged in Tapas and placing his thigh into the fire Urva began to churn an Arani [Wood for kindling a fire exciting it by attrition.], capable of giving a son, with a Darbha [Kusa or sacrificial grass.]. Thereupon all on a sudden enveloped with flames there came out the fire in the shape of a son desirous of consuming the universe. Riving the thigh of Urva there came into being the all-ending and the wrathful fire Aurva as if desirous of consuming the three worlds.

As soon as he was born, he said to his father in burning words:—"O father, I am stricken with hunger. Leave me, I shall eat up the whole world". At that time yawning with flames that had gone up to the celestial region the all-ending fire completely consumed the ten quarters and all the elements and thus increased itself. In the meantime the Lord Brahma, the master of all creatures, went where that Muni begat that most excellent son. He saw there the worlds along with the Rishis blazing up with the thigh-begotten fiery son of Urva and assailed by Aurva's fire of anger.

Thereupon honouring the Rishi Urva Brahma said to him:—"Bear this energy of your son out of compassion for the world. O Vipra, I shall confer upon this son of yours the most excellent virtue of patience. And I shall bestow on him the best of habitations and nectarine food. Hear these my truthful words, O foremost of speakers".

Urva said:—"Blessed I am. I have received a great favour since the Lord has conferred a great grace on my child and given him this inclination. How will this my son, when he will attain to the desirable youth, acquire happiness on being honoured with Havyas? Where will be his house and what will be his food? What sort of food will you arrange for this highly powerful one commensurate with his strength."

Brahma said:—This boy will live in the mouth of the ocean resembling that of a mare. O Vipra, I am born of water, so his body will be made of water. Always living on watery food I live in the water. I shall give your son this food. Let him bring it. O you of firm vows, at the time of the termination of a yuga this fire will consume all the worlds. United with him I shall repeatedly eat up the worlds. This fire has been made by me to live upon the water of dissolution. He will consume all the creatures with the gods, Asuras and Rakshasas. Saying "So be it," and casting off his effulgence before his father Aurva, enveloped with consecrated flames of fire, entered into the mouth of the ocean.

Thereupon Brahma and other great Rishis returned to their respective habitations. And being informed of the power of Aurva fire they resorted to their respective courses. Beholding the wondrous affair Hiranyakasipu, placing all his limbs on the ground, worshipped Urva and said the following words) "O Reverend Sir, wonderful is this affair that has been witnessed by all the worlds. O foremost of Munis, the grand-father has been pleased with your penances. O you of great vows, if I am worthy of being praised for my actions know me as your and your son's servant. Behold me as engaged in

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worshipping you. If I meet with discomfiture, O foremost of Munis, it will be your defeat."

Urva said:—"I have been also blessed and honoured since you have accepted me as your preceptor. O you of firm vows, you have no longer any fear of ascetic observances. Do you take this fiery illusion which even the fires, without fuels that have been created my son, cannot easily touch. This illusion will help you in killing the enemies of your family; it will protect your own army and consume the enemies".

Saying 'may it be so' and saluting that foremost of Munis Hiranyakasipu, the king of Danavas, was pleased and returned to the celestial region.

Varuna said:—This is that illusion, which the deities cannot bear, and that had been created in the days of yore by Urva's son Aurva. With the death of that Daitya it has undoubtedly been shorn of its power. It had been imprecated with a curse in the days of yore by him who had created it If we can strike against this illusion the king of gods will be happy. Give me, O Sakra, my friend Nishakara (the moon) who is born of water. Being united with him and Yados [Aquatic animals.] and controlling my senses, I shall by your favour, undoubtedly destroy this illusion.

CHAPTER 46. THE BATTLE OF THE GODS.

Vaishampayana said:—Saying so be it the king of gods, the multiplier of the deities, delightedly, first of all, sent for Soma in battle, who had the dews for his weapons.

Sakra said;—O Sudhakara [This is a name of the moon. According to the Hindu mythology the moon is the mine of nectar.], proceed for the destruction of the demons and for accomplishing the victory of the gods and help the holder of noose [This is a name of Varuna whose weapon is a noose.]. You are gifted with incomparable energy, the lord of all the luminous bodies, the lord of even the sun. The persons, who have a knowledge of the juices, consider you as identical with all the juices. Increase and decrease are manifest in the ocean and your orbit. Attaching time to the universe you are creating days and nights. The shadow of the earth, resembling a hair, exists in your body. The Somadevas even, who are born of the stars, do not know this. You exist above the road of the sun and other luminous bodies. Dispelling darkness with your own body and rays you light up the world. You are of white rays and cool body, the master of the luminous bodies, have a hare on your lap, the ivisible soul of the time, are worshipped in sacrifices, the juice of the sacrifices, eternal, the king of plants, the source of action, water-born, of cool rays, the mine of ambrosia, fickle and have white horses. You are the grace of the beautiful beings, the Soma of the Somadevas and the most beautiful in all the worlds. You dispell darkness and are the king of rays Do you accompany Varuna and his army and destroy the demonaic illusion by which we have been burnt down in battle.

Soma said:—O lord of the universe, O king of gods, I shall do what you have asked me for the battle. I pour the dews which can dispell the demonaic illusion. Behold in this great encounter the Danavas consumed with my cold, covered with dues, divested of their illusive powers and haughtiness.

Vaishampayana said:—Like unto masses of clouds the smoky showers of dues, discharged by the moon, enveloped all the dreadful Danavas. With the pouring of dews and strokes of nooses, Varuna, the holder of noose and the moon of white rays began to slay the demons in that great battle. Pouring water in the battle-field and fighting with the noose and cold those two lords of water began to range like two swelling oceans. As the world is enveloped with Pravartaka cloud discharging copious showers of rain at the time of the universal dissolution so that Danava army was covered with water by Varuna and Soma. Taking up the rays and the noose the moon and Varuna destroyed the illusion of the Daitya. Being exhausted with cold water and fettered by the noose the Daityas, like mountains bereft of their peaks, became (extremely) inactive. Being slain by the moon, crushed down by cold and having their bodies covered with dews those Daityas began to fall down like extinguished fire. The various cars of the demons, shorn of lustre, began to fall down and go up in the sky. The Danava Maya again displayed another huge illusion before the Danavas who had been covered with dews and bound down with the noose. He then spread in the sky an extensive mountainous illusion coursing every where at will created by his son Krouncha. It was covered with stones, and rocks. Its peaks were covered with huge trees, its caves were filled with trees and it was infested with lions, tigers and elephants. It abounded in deer emitting cries and trees shaken by the wind. With a downpour of rocks and trees that mountainous illusion slew the gods and revived the Danavas. Thereupon the illusion, created by the moon and Varuna, was dispelled and Maya's illusion covered the gods in the battle-field with iron clouds and rocks. The earth, already uneven with the collection of mountains and filled with trees, was so thickly covered with mountains that any one could hardly traverse it. Some gods were wounded with rocks, some were assailed with stones and some were hemmed in with trees in that battle. Excepting the holder of club (Vishnu) all the celestial soldiers lost their bows and had their weapons broken. And they all became inactive. But that beautiful lord of the universe, Gadhadhara, although stationed in the battle, was not the least agitated or worked up with anger on account of his patience. In order to witness the assailing of the gods and demons, Janarddana, conversant with the knowledge of proper time, resembling the cloud that appears at the time of the universal dissolution, waited for the proper hour in the battle-field.

Thereupon in the battle-field he ordered the fire and air to destroy the illusion created by Maya). Being united with each other and increased the increasing fire of flames and air, at the command of Vishnu, destroyed that illusion. By that increasing fire of wild course and the air that mountainous illusion was consumed and destroyed in that great battle. The air, assisted by fire, increased like that at the time of the universal dissolution. And the fire assisted by air consumed the army of demons. As soon as the wind blew the fire followed it; it appeared as if the fire and air were sporting in the midst of the army of demons. When all the Danavas were consumed and their cars began to fall down, when the fire was successful in accomplishing its work, when the cars desisted from slaying the demons falling down an all sides quickly like the air, when the Daityas grew inactive and the three worlds were freed from bonds, the gods delightedly sent up from all sides shouts of victory. When the thousand-eyed god achieved victory and the demon Maya met with discomfiture all the quarters became clear and the religious performances began to extend. The path of the moon was cleared up, the sun was placed in its course, all the elements were restored to their natural orders and men, fond of good conduct, were at ease. The Regent of the dead began to carry on his work without any distinction, oblations were offered to fire, the gods were entitled to partake of their portions in the sacrificial offerings and find out the utility of the celestial region. The regents, of the quarters, began to range in their respective provinces, pure persons, intent on carrying on Tapas, began to flourish and there was absence of impious men. The partizans of the gods were delighted and those of the Daityas were depressed. Virtue assumed the form of three legs and vice that of one leg. The great gate was kept open and ways to morality came into being and all the Ashramas and Varnas of the world began to observe their own duties. The wandering kings began to protect their own subjects, and hymns, in praise of the gods, were sung. All the sins were removed, dreadful pride was pacified and that battle of the fire and air was brought to a close. People accorded superiority to them because they accomplished the victory.

Hearing of the fear of the air and fire entertained by the Asuras, the well-known Danava, by name Kalanemi, appeared in the battle-field. His crown was adorned with crests effulgent like the sun; he was adorned with Angada and his hundred arms were bedecked with hundred silvery weapons huge as the mount Mandara. He had a hundred faces and a hundred heads. That beautiful demon appeared there like a mountain with a hundred peaks. He shone there like an increasing fire on a heap of grass in the summer season. His hairs were smoky, his beards were green; he had huge teeth and his face was adorned with lips. He was living in the intervening space of the three worlds with a huge body of very great dimension. With his hands he was raising up the sky, with his feet he was throwing away the mountains, and with his breath he was dissipating the clouds surcharged with watery contents. That Danava, of expansive and red eyes looking awry, and powerful like Indra, was as if consuming and roaring at the gods and covering the ten quarters. They saw that Danava approach like the proud and hungry Death at the time of the universal dissolution (54-55). Raising up the fingers of his right band having a beautiful palm, elevated, adorned with well-polished finger-protectors, covered with garlands and high like moving mountains that Danava was, as if, saying "raise up the slain demons".

The celestials, stricken with fear, saw in the battle Kalanemi, like Death himself unto his enemies. Creatures saw that Kalanemi proceed like the second Narayana of three foot-steps. Raising up his front foot and having his raiment shaken by the wind that demon, striking terror to the gods, came to the battle-field. United with the Asura king Maya Kalanemi began to proceed in battle. They appeared like Indra and Vishnu. Thereupon beholding the dreadful Kalanemi approach like death himself all the gods were filled with anxiety.

CHAPTER 47. THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF DANAVAS.

Vaishampayana said:—In order to welcome the Danavas the highly powerful great Asura Kalanemi assumed proportions like clouds in the end of summer. As by acquiring most excellent ambrosia, people are relieved of their exhaustion so the leading Danavas, on beholding Kalanemi living in the intervening space of the three worlds, rose up as if they had never been tired. Then the terrified Danavas, headed by Maya and Tara, irrepressible in battle, who always wished victory in Taraka's battle, shone there in the battle-field. Beholding Kalanemi all those Danavas, throwing weapons and entering into Vyuhas, were greatly delighted. Of them, the principal soldiers of Maya, who were well-skilled in fighting, cast off fear and delightedly appeared there for battle. Maya, Tara, Varaha, the powerful Hayagriva, Viprachitti's sons Sweta, Khera and Lamva, Bali's son Arishtha, Kishora, Ushtra, the immortal-like Sharbhanu and the great Asura Vakrayodhi, who were all experts in the use of weapons, were devoted to the practice of Tapas, and skilled in fighting, appeared before Kalanemi the foremost of them all. Taking up huge clubs, axes, death-like maces, Kshepanyas, huge rocks, stones, Pattishas, Vindipalas, Parighas made of best steel, dreadful Ghatanis, Sataghnis, Yugas, Yantras, Argalas, Prasas, nooses, serpents, swords, thunder-bolts, blazing Tomaras, unsheathed daggers and sharpened weapons and having their minds worked up with zeal, they, taking Kalanemi before them, stood in front of the battle-field. That Daitya army, adorned with many excellent shining weapons, shone there like the cloudy sky bespangled with stars. Emblazoned with the cool and hot rays of the moon and the sun, the celestial army, reared by the king of gods, also shone there. There appeared that beautiful and great army of gods consisting of dreadful Yakshas and Rakshasas, fleet as the wind, having the stars for the steamers, the clouds for their raiments, abounding in smiling stars and planets, protected by Indra, Varuna and the intelligent Kuvera, the king of riches, accompanied by the fire and air, devoted to Narayana, gifted with the velocity of the ocean, and adorned with celestial weapons. As at the revolution of cycles heaven and earth are united so the celestial and demon armies met with each other. That encounter, between the gods and demons displaying humility and pride, forgiveness and prowess, grew exceedingly dreadful. As the swollen rivers generally issue out of the oceans so the dreadful gods and Asuras came out of both the armies. As the elephants come out of two mountainous forests covered with flowers so issuing out of both the armies the hosts of the gods and demons began delightedly to range there. They confronted each other and repeatedly blew their conches and bugles. That sound filled the heaven, earth and all the quarters. The sound, of the bow-strings against the palms, the twang of the bows and the sound of the bugles rose above the noise of the Daityas. The gods and demons felled and confronted one another. Some grew desirous of fighting duels. Some broke the arms of others with their own. The gods began to throw, in battle, dreadful thunder-bolts and excellent Ayasas and Parighas and the Danavas began to discharge Gurvis, clubs and Nistringshas. Some fell down with their limbs mutilated by the strokes of clubs and with their bodies bent down.

Thereupon worked up with anger, some on cars, some on horse back and some on quick-coursing chariots, ran towards one another in the battle. Some stood in the battle-field and some fled away. The car-warriors were obstructed by cars and the infantry were obstructed by the foot-soldiers. The sound, of the wheels of those cars, grew terrible like the muttering of clouds in the sky. Some broke down the cars, some hurled chariots against chariots and some could not proceed unitedly in the midst of that collection of cars). Striking one another with their arms and sending up shouts, warriors, armed with swords and leathern coats of mail and elated with pride, began to proceed in battle. Some, mutilated and wounded by weapons in battle, began to vomit blood like clouds discharging water in the rains. Filled with those weapons and clubs thrown up and down that encounter of the gods and demons looked exceedingly terrible there. That unfair day of the encounter set in there with celestial weapons for the lightnings, the downpour of arrows for showers and the Danavas for the massive clouds. In the mean time the great Asura Kalanemi, being worked up with anger, began to increase his body like clouds filled with water by the waves of the ocean. The Valahakas, consisting of flickering flames like the lightnings, discharging thunder-bolts and huge like the mountains, were crushed down as soon as they fell on his body. When he breathed in anger and sweated on account of the frowning of his eyebrows there came out of his mouth scintillations of fire, accompanied by lightning and air. His arms began to grow up straight and awry to the sky. It appeared as if the five-hooded black serpents were repeatedly licking their bodies. That Danava enshrouded the sky with various weapons, bows and Parighas high as the mountains. Wearing a raiment shaken by the wind Kalanemi stood in front of the battle-field like the second Sumeru filled with flames and covered by the rays of the setting sun. As the king of gods fells down the huge mountains with his thunder-bolt so did he knock down the gods with the mountain peaks and huge trees uprooted by the strokes of his thighs. Having been wounded by Kalanemi in battle and having their heads and breasts mutilated by diverse weapons and swords the gods could not move about. Some, killed by the stroke of his foot and others grinded by him, fell down with the leading Yakshas, Gandharvas and the great Uragas arranged in Vyuhas. Thus terrorized by Kalanemi in battle the gods, bereft of consciousness, could not set forth their exertions although they were capable of doing it. Being fettered by him with arrows, the thousand-eyed Sakra, seated on his elephant

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Airavata, could not move about in the battle-field. In that battle the demon Kalanemi constrained Varuna, resembling a watering cloud and effulgent like the waterless ocean, desist from displaying any feats and deprived him of his noose. Bewailing in the battle-field the Patriarch Vaishravana, the king of riches, was rendered, by him through illusory weapons, inactive in the battle-field. Yama, who spreads death and destroys everything, was deprived of his consciousness by Kalanemi and fled to his own quarter. Having thus assailed the Patriarchs and protecting their respective quarters Kalanemi divided, then his body, into four parts. Thereupon repairing to the celestial road of stars pointed out by Sharbhanu that demon took, by force, the grace of the moon and his great object. Proceeding to the celestial region he began to direct the sun of burning rays and then occupied for himself his object Sayana* and his daily duties. [* The longitude of a planet reckoned from the vernal equinoctial point from Sa with and Ayana, the equinoctial point.] Beholding fire in the mouth of the gods Kalanemi placed it in his own and having vanquished the air by his own strength kept it under his subjection. Having brought the rivers from the ocean by his own strength and power that demon kept them under his own control and all the seas remained there like his body. Having brought under his subjection all the rivers born in heaven and earth Kalanemi established the world well protected by the mountains. That Daitya, identical with all the worlds and a terror unto all creatures, shone there like the self-born Deity the master of all the elemental deities. That Danava, the one body of all the Lokpakas [He defeated the Lokapalas and became himself the one regent of all the quarters.], identical with the sun, moon and the planets and resembling the fire and air, began to move about in the battle-field. When that Daitya occupied the position of Parameshti, the source of the origin and destruction of all the worlds the demons began to chant his glories as the gods hymn the glories of the grand-father (Brahma).

CHAPTER 48. KALANEMI GOES TO VISHNU.

Vaishampayana said:—On account of his irreligious actions the Vedas, virtue, forgiveness, truth and the prosperity of Narayana, these five did not follow him (Kalanemi). Owing to the absence of the Veda and others that king of Danavas approached Narayana in order to attain to his dignity. He saw him there seated on Suparna with conch, discus and club in his hands. He was whirling a beautiful mace for the destruction of the Danavas. That god, having the hue of a cloud surcharged with water and wearing a raiment resembling lighting, was seated at ease on the bird the son of Kashyapa, gifted with golden wings and a tuft of down on the forepart of head.

Beholding the irrepressible Vishnu stationed in battle for the destruction of the demons, Kalanemi, with a heavy heart, said:—"This is our most dreadful enemy. They say he cannot be vanquished by any means. He is the enemy of our Danava forefathers and that of Madhu and Kaitava living in the ocean. He has slain many of our forest-born Daityas. This man, armed with weapons, is highly ruthless in battle and extremely shameless like a boy. He had the hairs of the Danava women shaved (6–8). He is the Vishnu of the gods, the Vaikuntha of the celestials, the Ananta of the serpents living in the water and the Creator of the creators himself. He is the worshipful of the gods and is ever engaged in doing us wrong. Incurring his displeasure Hiranyakasipu was slain. Following him the gods are entitled to the best portion of the sacrificial offerings and three-fold oblations are offered to fire by the great saints. He is the instrument of the death of all those who are inimical towards the gods. By his discus all the Danavas, born in our race, have been slain in battle. Risking his life even for the gods it is he who hurls his discus, effulgent like the sun, at the enemies in battle. This wicked-minded one is like the death unto the Daityas. Myself, resembling the very Kala himself, living, he will soon meet with inevitable death. By a mere accident Vishnu has appeared before me to-day. Being grinded by me in battle he will be humiliated before me. Having slain in battle this Narayana, the source of fear unto the Danavas I shall worship to-day my predecessors. I shall soon kill also the followers of Narayana. Even when born again he oppresses the Davanas.

"In the days of yore this Ananta again became celebrated by the name of Padmanabha (lotus-navelled). When the whole universe was converted into one sheet of water, he, placing the two Danavas, Madhu and Kaitava within his knee-joints, killed them. Dividing his own body into two and assuming the form of a man-lion he, in the days of yore, killed my father Hiranyakasipu. Auspiciously did Aditi, the mother of gods, conceive him who, assuming the form of a dwarf at the sacrifice of the king Bali, occupied the three worlds with his foot-steps and then killed him. Now encountering me again in this war of Taraka, he along with the gods, will meet with death".

Thus villifying Narayana in the field of battle in various unbecoming words Kalanemi expressed his desire for fighting. Although censured by the king of Asuras Gadadhara (Vishnu) was not angry on account of his extraordinary forgiveness. Rather smilingly he said. "O Daitya, limited is thy strength, still out of anger thou art villifying me. Since thou hast transgressed forgiveness, thou shalt be slain by thy own fault. Wretched thou art indeed and fie on thy vaunting words. Men do not live where the females roar. O Daitya, I see thou shalt follow the footsteps of thy predecessors. Disregarding the orders instituted by Prajapati who can be at ease?. I shall slay thee to-day who hast disturbed the gods. And I shall again place the celestials in their respective positions". After Narayana, bearing the mystic mark of Srivatsa on his breast, had said this in the battle-field, the Danava took up the weapons in anger and began to smile. Uplifting his hundred arms capable of handling all the weapons, he, with eyes reddened with anger, struck at the breast of Vishnu. The other Danavas, headed by Maya and Tara, ran towards Vishnu. Although assailed by the highly powerful Daityas armed with various weapons the lord Narayana remained unshaken in the battle like a mountain. Being engaged in a conflict with Suparna and taking up, with all his strength, a huge and dreadful club burning with the concussion of arms, the highly enraged great Asura Kalanemi hurled it at Garuda. Even Vishnu was filled with wonder seeing that feat of the Daitya). When that club fell on the head of Suparna, that king of birds, with a wounded body, fell down on earth. Thereupon in that great encounter the Danavas began to strike Vishnu and Garuda with clods of earth, stones and thunder bolts. When Narayana moved about in the battle field the gods chanted his glories. "Glory unto thee, O thou of great arms, O destroyer of Madhu and Kaitava. With thy nails thou didst tear off Hiranyakasipu." Thus eulogised by the deities Narayana rose up from the battle-field. Considering Vishnu slain the king of Danavas blew his conch. The great Asuras began to play on the three sorts of Mridangas and dance in accompaniment with the music. It appeared that a great festivity was taking place at that time. Beholding Suparna wounded and his own body unscathed, Vaikuntha, with eyes reddened in anger, took up his discus. The lord then grew highly impetuous along with Suparna. His arms multiplied covering the ten quarters. Filling up all the quarters, the etherial region and the earth he increased his energy as if being desirous of attacking again all the worlds. The Rishis, along with the Gandharvas, began to chant the glories of Madhusudana who had then assumed a huge proportion in the sky for the victory of the gods.

The Lord covered the celestial region with his Kiritin, the sky and the clouds, with his raiment, the earth with his feet and all the quarters with his arms. Thereupon worked up with anger Gadadhara, taking up his discus capable of performing unparalleled feats and effulgent like the sun, destroyed with it, by virtue of his own energy, the effulgence of the Danavas in battle and chopped off the arms of Kalanemi. It was dreadful like the burning fire of a thousand flames resembling the rays of the sun and at the same time beautiful and covered with golden wheels. It was strong like a thunder-bolt, dreadful and besmeared with the blood, fat and bones of the Danavas. It had none to equal it in the matter of striking, was sharpened like a razor, could go any where and could assume any form at will. It was made by the Self-born himself, was a terror to the enemies, possessed by the anger of the great Rishis and was haughty in the battle field. When it is thrown, all the creatures, mobile and immobile, are stupified and creatures, living on flesh, derive greatest satisfaction. Then with his strength Hari began to grind the hundred dreadful faces of that demon with wild laughs like the grinding of fire. Although his arms were chopped off and his heads were cut off the Danava did not tremble the least in the battle and stood there like a tree shorn of all its branches.

Thereupon spreading his two huge wings and assuming the velocity of the wind Garuda, with the stroke of his breast, felled down Kalanemi. Thereupon rolling and leaving the celestial region his body, shorn of heads and arms, fell down on earth from the sky. When that Daitya was killed the Rishis, together with the gods, began to praise Vaikuntha saying "Well done! Well done!". The other Daityas, who were witnessing his prowess in battle, were hemmed in by the arms of Vishnu and could not move in the field. The Lord held some Daityas by the hair, held some by the throat, wounded some on the face and took up some by the waist. Entirely destroyed by the club and discus and deprived of their energy and life they fell down on earth from the sky. After all the Daityas had been slain, that foremost of Purushas Gadadhara, scoring success, stood there doing good to the king of gods. After the termination of that dreadful war with Taraka where many had been grinded the grand-father of all, Brahma speedily came there along with all the Brahmana saints, Gandharvas and Apsaras. Worshipping Hari the god of gods said.

Brahma said:—"O lord, thou hast accomplished a great work; the dart of the celestials has been uprooted. By the destruction of the Daityas we have been pleased. Thou alone art the only destroyer of this Kalanemi whom thou hast just slain in battle. Save thee there is none else who could kill him. Vanquishing the gods and all the creatures mobile and immobile this Danava used to assail the Rishis; even he used to roar at me. Therefore by this thy powerful feat I have been greatly pleased, since thou hast destroyed this death-like Kalanemi. Mayst thou fare well; let us now repair to the most excellent celestial region, where the Brahmana saints, the members of thy court, are waiting for thee. O Achyuta, O foremost of speakers, I shall worship thee there along with the Maharshis with heavenly hymns. O thou the foremost of boon givers, although thou dost confer boons on the celestials and Daityas I shall bestow one on thee. O Narayana, in this war thou hast freed the three worlds of the thorns and therefore do thou now confer upon the high-souled Sakra the prosperous kingdom over the three worlds".

Thus addressed by the Divine Brahma, the Lord Hari said to Indra and other gods in auspicious words). "Listen attentively, all ye gods headed by Purandara, who have assembled here. We have slain, in this battle, many powerful Danavas, Kalnemi and others, who are superior even to the king of gods himself. In this terrible encounter came out both Virochana's son Bali and the huge-bodied Rahu. Let now the king of gods and Varuna repair to their wished-for regions. Let Yama occupy the south and the king of riches protect the north. As before let the noon be united with the stars in proper season. Let the sun, being united with equinoctial points, distribute the seasons all through the year. Let sacrifices be duly undertaken honoured by the ascetic courtiers and let the Vipras, according to the rituals laid down in the Vedas, offer oblations to fire. Let the gods attain gratification from Vali oblations, the Maharshis from the chanting of the Vedas and the ancestral manes from the performance of Sradhas as before. Let the wind blow in its own course, let the fire be enkindled in its three-fold forms, and let the three Varnas, by their natural qualities, bring about the gratification of the world. Let sacrifices be undertaken by the Brahmanas who are worthy of performing initiatory rites and let all the proper sacrificial gifts be distributed. Let the sun afford gratification to all the eyes and let the moon afford delight to all the juices and let the air delight the vital breaths of all creatures, and let them all undertake good and auspicious works. Let the rivers, carrying water from the huge mountains and, the mother of the three worlds, gradually in proper order, proceed to the ocean. Let the gods cast off all fear of the Danavas and let them enjoy peace. May you fare well, O ye gods, I repair to the eternal region of Brahma. Do not live always confidently in your celestial region and specially in the battle-field for the demons are highly deceitful. They strike people as soon as they find a weak point. This order of the world is not permanent. You are all gentle and simple and your mind always moves in innocent matters. O gods, I bring about the stupefaction of all these wicked demons who cherish a desire of injuring you. Whenever you will cherish a dreadful fear of the Danavas I will immediately come and promise you safety)."

Having thus addressed the gods the highly illustrious Narayana, having truth for his prowess, repaired with Brahma to his own region. This was the wonderful encounter, of which you asked, of Narayana and the Danavas in the war of which Taraka was the root.

CHAPTER 49. ATTRIBUTES OF NARAYANA

Janeamejaya said:—O Brahman, after repairing with the water-born Brahma to his own region what did the god of gods Vaikuntha do? After the completion of the massacre of the Daityas why did the water-born deity take away Vishnu, who had been honoured by the gods, to his own region? What sort of Yoga does the Lord Brahma, the Creator of creatures, practise and what sort of regulations does he observe And what sort of regions is that of Brahma How does this great universe attain to the prosperity adored by the gods and Asuras when he does not remain there How does he lie down for rest at the end of the summer and awake with the approach of the rains? How does he, living in the Brahma region, carry on the work of the world? O foremost of Brahmanas, I wish to hear truly of the celestial conduct of this Lord in the land of gods.

Vaishampayana said:—Hear now at length of the deeds of Narayana before you listen to how he sported with Brahma after repairing to his region. His course is very subtle according to his desire which even the gods cannot know. Hear, O king, what I shall relate. This Lord Narayana is identical with the three worlds and the three worlds too are also permeated by him. He is identical with the gods in heaven and they too are identical with him. Many persons, desirous of going to the other end of the world, cannot see his end. This Madhava is the end of all. Hear of an account of his deeds in the Brahmaloka in the days of yore whose true form is hidden by the senses as if with darkness and whom the gods seek,

Repairing to the region of Brahma and beholding the dignity of the Grand-Father Vishnu honoured all the Rishis with works sanctioned by the Vedas. Having performed the rites of the first part of the day the highly energetic Vishnu came to the fire where oblations were being offered in the morning by the great Rishis. He saw his own body most excellently placed in the midst of the sacrifice, worshipped with oblations by the great Rishis and eating his own share of

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the sacrificial offerings. Having saluted the worshipful Rishis of Brahma energy Narayana, who is beyond the comprehension of thought, began to range in the eternal Brahma region. Walking there in the sacrifice he saw hundreds of sacrificial posts adorned with the tops of Chashalas [A wooden ring on the top of a sacrificial post.] and marked by the Brahmana saints. Smelling the smoke of oblations, hearing the sound of the chanting of the Vedas by the twice-born ones, and beholding his own self worshipped in the shape of a sacrifice he began to range there. Taking the sacred grass and Arghya [Water to wash feet.] in their hands the courtier deities and the Rishis said to him:—"Whatever power exists in the gods it emanates from Narayana and whatever is undertaken by the deities that also proceeds from Madhusudana. That eternal Vishnu is the region of Soma and fire about which the people hear from learned men. As curd is produced from milk and clarified butter from curd so when the body and senses are agitated by virtue of meditation the world originates from Janarddana. As the great soul is comprehended by the senses and the five great elements so Hari is comprehended by the gods, the Vedas and all the worlds. As in this world of men the relation between the five elements and senses is perceived so the strength and prosperity of the gods in the celestial region originate from Vishnu. This independent and highly sacred Narayana, who is the thread of the worlds and who confers fruits of sacrifices on those who perform them, is worshipped with Mantras like Mantra itself."

The Rishis said:—O foremost of the celestials, O thou of great effulgence, O lotus-navelled deity, hast thou come with ease? Do thou accept this sacrificial offering offered according to the Mantras. Thou art the sacred vessel of this water sanctified in the sacrifice. Thou wert always known as the guest mentioned in the Mantras and hast now become visible. O Narayana, after thy departure to the battle-field, our works were not undertaken, for a sacrifice, without Vishnu, is never sanctioned. To-day we will acquire the fruit of the sacrifice celebrated with presents. Thou art beholding thyself worshipped by us all. Saying "So be it" the Lord, in return, worshipped the Brahmanas. The Grand-father Brahma who was in his region, was delighted thereat.

CHAPTER 50. AN ACCOUNT OF NARAYANASHRAMA.

Vaishampayana said:—Having been thus worshipped by the Rishis the Lord entered into the celestial habitation of Brahma, the hermitage of Narayana as described in the Puranas. Having honoured delightedly all those Rishis and bowed unto the Prime Deity the Lotus-sprung Brahma he entered into the region mentioned before. Having entered the Narayana hermitage which was so named after Him the Lord left off all his weapons. He saw there his own abode resembling an ocean, filled with the gods and the immortal Rishis. That abode was covered with Samvartaka and other clouds, enshrouded with the darkness of the starry region and was beyond the reach of the gods and demons. There the winds do not blow and the sun and the moon do not shine. It was enveloped with the effulgence of the body of the Lotus-navelled Deity. Entering there, carrying matted locks and being thousand-headed the Lord began to make arrangements for lying down. The death-like sleep, having dark eyes and being informed of the last days of men, appeared before that high-sould deity. On account of his acquiring a mastery over his senses, Hari, the foremost of those observant of vows, laid himself on a celestial bed cool like the water of the Ocean [This is an allegorical account of Vishnu's Samadhi or devout meditation.]. The Rishis and the Gods began to worship the great Omnipotent Vishnu, thus gone to sleep for the creation of the universe [Thus engaged in Samadhi.]. When he was asleep there sprang from his navel a lotus, highly effulgent like the sun (intended for the) seat of the Patriarch Brahma, who is both the beginning and the end. That lotus had a thousand petals, a beautiful hue, was tender and well-adorned. Raising up his hand which is the thread of the pristine desire the great Muni Brahma whirls the wheel of the changes of all the worlds brought about by time. [The meaning is that the creation of the universe is carried on by Brahma. All the changes, that are manifest in the world, are his works. And this creation is the outcome of his desire. He first cherishes the desire and then engages in the work of creation.] From his mouth the Patriarchs come out shaken by the wind of his breath. Sometimes they fall down and sometimes they go up. Human beings, thus created by him, are again divided by Brahma into four orders. And then by performing works laid down in the Vedas they reach their respective goals. Even Brahma himself and the immortal Rishis cannot understand Vishnu, thus engaged in the Yoga of sleep and covered with Tamas*. Those Brahmana saints, headed by the Grand-father, cannot find out when Narayana is asleep and when he does sit up on his bed. Who is awake in this body? Who is asleep? Who, being capable, does not perform a work? Who enjoys the various objects of pleasure? Who is effulgent? And who is subtler than the subtle itself? [* The quality of darkness. The meaning of the passage is that when Vishnu, possessed by the desire of creation, is engaged in meditating upon his own true form. When Satwa, or the quality of goodness, reigns supreme in him, he absolutely retires from the work of creation and when he is possessed by the desire of creation the quality of Tamas or darkness predominates in him. The origin of this desire in him is the root of creation, for the whole universe before us is the outcome of his will. According to the Hindu mythology the work of creation and dissolution is perpetually going on, And each of these work is dependant on the pure and absolute will of the Lord. When Vishnu, the Supreme Lord, happens to cherish a desire for creation he engages in meditating upon his true form. Thus meditation is allegorically represented as his sleep. From this meditation proceeds Brahma who is to make arrangements for this great work. But he is dependant on the will of the Lord. Brahma next creates the Patriarchs who are to be the originators of the various families.]

By the various arguments laid down in Srutis the Rishis seek to find out His existence. By birth or action none can find Him out. The ancient Rishis have sung his glories in the Puranas and his history can be known by the songs composed by him. His ancient history is also heard amongst the gods. After the great Puranas there exists no other record of his doings. All the Srutis, relating to the Vedas and the customs and practices of mankind, are filled with an account of the prowess of that god of gods. The Lord, the origin of all creatures, appears at the time of the creation of all the worlds. And Madhusudana remains awake for the destruction of the Danavas. When this immortal Purusha goes to sleep even the gods cannot look at him. He goes to sleep at the end of the summer and awakes after the termination of the rains. He is identical with the Vedas, the sacrifices and various other supplementary rites. This foremost of Purushas is the course of the sacrifices that has been described. When he falls asleep all the sacrifices, sanctified by Mantras, are brought to a close. And Madhusudana rises up when the autumnal sacrifices are undertaken. When Vishnu goes to sleep, Purandara, the lord of waters, performs all his duties and pours water. The illusion of darkness, sleep, that exists in the world and that is like a night of death to the kings, brings ruination upon them who kill one another by fighting. By its body of darkness it destroys the nights and days. And this dreadful illusion pilfers half of the life of all creatures in the world. Being possessed by this sleep and yawning repeatedly some people cannot bear its power as if they are almost drowned in a vast ocean. This sleep, engendered by the food or toil of the mortals in this world, does not conduce to the well-being of all. It grows enfeebled after the termination of the dream of creatures in this world; and this, at the time of their death, destroys all their vital airs. Amongst the gods, none, but Narayana, can withstand the power of this sleep. This Maya or illusion is the female companion, begotten by his own body, of Vishnu who destroys all). That one, of lotus eyes, was seen on the face of Narayana. This one, who stupifies all the creatures, eats up all the worlds in no time. For the behoof of mankind she is kept by Vishnu. She is adored of all as a chaste lady serves her husband. Being possessed by this sleep and having stupified the eternal world the Lord Vishnu slept in the Narayana hermitage. When that high-souled deity was thus asleep thousands of years passed away with the most excellent of cycles Satya and Treta. That highly effulgent deity awoke at the close of the Dwapara Yuga, when the great saints, on witnessing the distress of mankind, began to chant his glories.

The Rishis said:—O lord, do thou cast off this sleep begotten of thy own self as a garland, already enjoyed, is left off. All the gods, along with Brahma, are waiting to see thee. O Hrishikesha, all these self-controlled Rishis, well-versed in the knowledge of Brahman, and in singing His glories, are welcoming thee. O Vishnu, hear the auspicious words of these Rishis who are identical with the five elements, namely, the earth, ether, fire, air and water. O gods, the seven Rishis, along with all these saints, are chanting with celestial and becoming hymns thy glories. Rise up, O thou of great effulgence, O thou having a navel of a lotus of a hundred petals, some important work of the gods requires thee.

Vaishampayana said:—Having lessened the quantity of water and dispelled darkness Hrishikesha rose up shining in his great beauty. He saw there all the gods assembled along with the Grand-Father, greatly aggrieved for the world and desirous of speaking something to him. The Lord Narayana, with eyes relieved of exhaustion by sleep, addressed to them words fraught with sound reasoning and far-sightedness.

Vishnu said:—"Where have you got your quarrel, O gods? From whom does your fear proceed? Who feels a necessity and for what? And haw can I help you? Has any calamity befallen the world through the Danavas? Have men met with any misfortune on account of their weakness? I wish to know all this without any delay. Having renounced my most excellent bed I stand amongst the Brahmavadins for encompassing your well-being. What can I do for you?"

CHAPTER 51. THE PROPOSAL OF RELIEVING THE EARTH OF HER BURDEN.

Vaishampayana said:—Hearing these words of Vishnu, Brahma, the Grand-Father of all, gave vent to words fraught with the well-being of gods. "There is no fear, from the Asuras, of the gods whom you give protection by becoming their leader in various battles. When you yourself, the slayer of your enemies, and the king of gods, are crowned with victory, what fear do men, engaged in religious observances, cherish? Truthful and pious men are always freed from ills. Death cannot prematurely visit the pious. Enjoying their sixth portion, the kings, the foremost of men, do not fear one another. Doing good to their subjects and realizing duly tributes from their tributary kings without being blamed by them, they fill up their treasuries with wealth. Meting out mild punishment and being forbearing they govern their respective prosperous provinces and protect the four Varnas. Without creating disturbance amongst their subjects and being adored well by their ministers and protected by the four divisions of army they are enjoying the six means [The six acts of a king, in his military character, are peace, war, marching, halting, sowing dissension and seeking protection.]. They are all well-versed in the science of archery, observant of the Vedic rites and they all worship the gods with sacrifices accompanied by profuse gifts. Having performed the ceremony of initiation and studied the Vedas they propitiate the great saints with chastity in thought, words and deeds and the ancestral manes, hundreds of times, with holy Sraddhas. There is no such object in the world, Vedic, customary, and scriptural that is not known to them. Believing in the great Brahman, all those kings, effulgent like the great Rishis, are endeavouring to bring back the golden age. By their power Vasava is pouring good showers, and the winds, with dust removed, are duly blowing in the ten quarters. The earth is freed of all the evil portends and the planets are ranging at ease in the sky. United with the stars the moon is beautifully moving about in the sky. The sun, that produces regular successions, is moving in its two paths. Being propitiated by various oblations the fire has become sweet scented. The sacrifices being thus duly undertaken and multiplied the entire world is propitiated and men cherish no fear of death. The earth has been oppressed by the power of those powerful kings of brilliant fame following one another. The earth, exhausted with this weight and assailed by the kings, has come before us like a boat on the verge of being drowned. Oppressed by the kings resembling the fire of dissolution and having the mountains shaken and the oceans agitated the earth is repeatedly perspiring. With the body, energy, strength and the extensive territories of the Kshatriyas the earth is ever enjoying peace. In every city the king is surrounded by ten millions of soldiers; in every kingdom, hundreds and thousands of villages are growing prosperous and the earth has been completely covered with thousands of kings, their powerful army and millions of villages. Placing before her the Time, freed of all diseases and being shorn of energy the Earth has come to my house. O Vishnu, thou art her most excellent refuge. This Earth, the land of human actions, has been greatly assailed. It behoves thee to do that by which the eternal Earth, the stay of the universe, may not suffer deterioration. O Madhusudana, great is the iniquity in oppressing her, since on her being assailed all the works of the humanity will come to a close and the universe will fare ill. Being oppressed by the kings the earth has become evidently exhausted. Renouncing her firmness and natural forbearance she has grown impatient. We have heard her history. Thou hast listened to it also. We shall therefore consult with thee for relieving her of her load.

"Wending righteous ways all these kings are multiplying their territories. Amongst men the three other Varna are following the Brahmanas. All the words are truthful, all the Varnas are observing their respective duties, all the Brahmanas are studying the Vedas and all other men are devoted to Brahmanas. Thus exist men in the world who are the instruments of righteousness. Let such practices be observed by which virtue may not suffer deterioration. This earth is the goal of the pious and none else. Virtue is the most excellent object they should endeavour to secure. Therefore to relieve the earth of her burden it is meet to destroy the kings. Therefore, O great one, come with us to hold a consultation. With the earth before us let us go to the summit of the mount Meru." Having said this, O foremost of kings, the self-controlled Grand Father of all, Brahma, of great effulgence, began to take rest with the earth.

CHAPTER 52. THE ASSEMBLY OF THE GODS.

Vaishampayana said:—Saying 'so be it' the Lord, having the hue of a cloud and voice like its muttering in an unfair day, went away with the gods like a mountain covered with clouds. At that time Hari, having a dark-blue person, put on shining matted locks crested with jems and pearls like a cloud with the moon. On his spacious breast, the hairs whereof stood erect, there was the mystic mark of Srivatsa. Wearing two pieces of yellow raiment that eternal Hari, the preceptor of the world,

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looked like a mountain covered with evening clouds. When he began to proceed on the back of Garuda the Lotus-born Deity (Brahma) and the gods, having their eyes fixed on him, began to follow him. Having reached the jewelled mountain in no time they saw the assembly hall built after their own hearts. It was built on the summit of the mount Sumeru, and was effulgent like the sun. Its pillars were made of gold and its gateways were crested with diamonds. It contained diverse paintings on account of its being constructed by the mind and hundreds of cars. Its windows were covered with the jewelled nets. It could go any where at will and was embellished with jems. It was filled with many sorts of jewels and flowers made of various metals. That celestial assembly hall, filled with celestial illusion, was constructed by Viswakarman [He was the architect of the gods.]. All the gods, with delighted minds, sat duly on the seats properly assigned to each of them, in that auspicious assembly hall. They sat on cars, seats, Bhadrasanas [Most excellent seat.], Pithas [The seat of the religious student made properly of Kusa grass.], and seats of Kutha [A kind of tree.]. Thereupon at the command of Brahma, the wind Prabhanjana began to patrol on all sides of the assembly hall so that there might not arise any sound. When everything was silent and calm in that assembly of the gods the Earth plaintively began to address them in piteous accounts.

The Earth said:—O god, do thou uphold me. By thee the whole universe has been sustained. Thou art protecting the creatures and three worlds. Whatever thou dost sustain by thy energy and strength, I do afterwards hold it by thy favour. Whatever thou dost hold I do hold it and whatever thou dost not sustain I too do not keep it. There is no element in the universe which thou canst not sustain. O lord Narayana, at various cycles thou dost relieve me of my burthen for the behoof of the world. Being possessed by thy energy I have gone to the region underneath. O foremost of gods, I am at thy mercy. Do thou save me. I have been assailed by the wicked Danavas and Rakshasas. Thou art my eternal saviour and I am always at thy mercy. I know it for hundred times that as long as I shall not seek refuge with Narayana who relieves me of all loads so long I shall be under the influence of a mighty fear. Before agriculture, merchandise and other means of livelihood were instituted by the lotus-sprung Brahma, in the days of yore, I was reduced in dimension. Binding me two great Asuras, made of earth, were born before. While this high-souled Vishnu was sleeping in the mighty deep they originated from the dirt of his ears and remained like two logs of wood. Despatched by the Grand-Father, air, in the shape of vital breath, entered into the body of those two Danavas. Thereupon covering the sky those two great Asuras began to grow up. Brahma gradually touched them both who were gifted with vital breaths. One of them appeared to be soft and the other hard. The water-born Lord Brahma then gave them names. The one, who was soft, was named Madhu and the other, who was hard, was called Kaitava. When those two Daityas were thus named they, elated with the pride of their strength and being fearless, began to range in the world converted into one sheet of water, seeking battle. Beholding them thus approach Brahma, the grand-father of all, disappeared in the water of the universal ocean. The four-mouthed grand-father desired to live secretly in the lotus sprung from the navel of the lotus-navelled Vishnu. When Narayana's grand-sons, Madhu and Kaitava thus lived in the water, they, living there for many long years, were not the least agitated. Thereupon after many years, those two demons, Madhu and Kaitava, came where Brahma was stationed. Beholding those two dreadful, huge-bodied and irrepressible Danavas, Brahma, with the stalk of the lotus, disturbed Narayana. Thereat the highly-effulgent lotus-navelled Deity rose up from his bed. At that time the three worlds were covered with water and so in that one sheet of water there took place a terrible encounter between Narayana and Madhu and Kaitava). That dreadful battle continued for thousand years and those two Danavas did not experience least exhaustion in the encounter. After a long time those two Danavas, dreadful in battle, with a delighted heart, said to the Lord Narayana. "We have been greatly pleased with fighting with thee. Thou art our most desirable death. Do thou bring about our destruction at a place on earth which is not filled with water. O foremost of gods, slain by thee we shall become thy sons who vanquishes us in battle".

Catching these two demons with his arms in battle Narayana assailed them. Thereat Madhu and Kaitava met with death. Thus killed those two Daityas were saturated with water. Their two bodies were then fused into one. And then churned by the waves of the water they began to discharge fat. The water was covered with fat.

O sinless one, thereupon they disappeared and the Lord Narayana again engaged in the work of creation. On account of my being covered with the fat of the demons Madhu and Kaitava I have passed by the name of Medini. I have become the eternal universe by the power of the lotus-navelled deity.

Again assuming the form of a boar in the presence of the Muni Markandeya the Lord raised me up from the water with one tusk. Again at another time before your fiery presence the powerful Vishnu released me from the Daitya chief Bali. Now being oppressed and having none to protect me I have sought refuge with the Lord of the universe Gadadhara who is ever fond of his votaries. Fire is the cause of gold, the sun is the cause of stars and so Narayana is my support. I am alone holding this universe consisting of mobile and immobile creations. And Gadadhara is supporting all these held by me. Desirous of relieving me of my burden Jamadagni's son Rama, out of anger, divested me, for twenty-one times, of the Kshatriyas. Raising up a pillar of victory, Bhrigu's son Rama propitiated me with royal blood at the obsequial rites of his father and then communicated it to Kashyapa. Filled with a bad stench coming out of fat, flesh and bones and saturated with the blood of the Kshatriyas I appeared before Kashyapa like a youthful damsel in her course. The Brahmana saint Kashyapa then said to me:—"O earth, why art thou so depressed? Why dost thou, being the wife of a hero, observe the vow of humiliation". Thereat I said to Kashyapa, the Patriarch of the world:—"O Brahman, the great Bhargava has killed all my husbands. I have been divested of all the powerful Kshatriyas who live on arms, and have lost my husband. I do not wish to carry on me empty cities. Therefore, O Reverend Sir, confer upon me such a king as will be able to protect me abounding in villages and cities and engarlanded by oceans".

Hearing my words the Omnipotent Lord said "Let it be so." Thereupon he gave me away to Manu, the king of men. Thereupon obtaining the god-like kings of the Ikshaku race, originating from Manu, I, under the influence of powerful time, passed from the hands of one king to those of another. When the Lord bestowed me upon the intelligent Manu, the king of men, many kings, born in the families of great saints, ruled over me. Having conquered me many heroic Kshatriyas have gone to the celestial region. Under the influence of time they have disappeared in me. The powerful Kshatriyas, ever victorious in battle, fought for me in this world with one another and they have been still fighting even now. This is the end of destiny despatched by thee. If thou hast commisseration for me, if thou dost wish to relieve me of my burden do thou organise a war for the destruction of the kings for the behoof of the world. May the beautiful holder of discus alone grant me protection. May Narayana command me to whom I have come for help oppressed with a load, if he thinks proper to relieve me of it.

CHAPTER 53. AN ACCOUNT OF SANTANU'S FAMILY.

Vaishampayana said:—Thereupon hearing the words of the earth and thinking minutely on her object the gods said to the grand-father. "O Lord, thou hast created the bodies of all creatures. Thou art the lord of all the worlds. Do thou therefore relieve the earth of her load. O lord, if thou dost wish to accomplish the object of the earth in this her calamity do thou, without delay, ascertain the duties of Mahendra, Yama, Varuna, the king of riches, Narayana, the moon, the sun, the air, the Adityas, the Vasus, the Rudras, the Patriarchs of the world, the celestial physicians, the Aswinis, of the Saddhyas, of Vrihaspati, preceptor Sukra, of Kala, of Kali, of Maheswara, of Kartikeya, of Yakshas, Rakshasas, Gandharvas, Charanas, great serpents, of birds, huge mountains and oceans consisting of great waves of rivers headed by Ganga. O grand-father, how shall we send down our portions? Let us create bodies, not born of any woman, in the family of those kings who range in the sky, in that of the kings who tread the earth and in that of courtier Brahmanas and other princes". Hearing this great resolution of the gods assembled together for one common cause the grand-father of all, eulogised by the celestials, said to them. "O ye leading celestials, I like very much your resolution. Do you create portions of your body on earth with your energy. Ye are all leading celestials, do ye, with your energy, descend on earth. And acquiring the prosperity of the three worlds do you relieve the earth of her burden. Listen to what I did in the days of yore for removing the load of her burden when I was informed of it.

"In the days of yore I was seated on the western bank of the eastern ocean along with my grand-son the great Kashyapa. I was describing various themes relating to the Vedas described before, as well as many other episodes of the Puranas. While I was thus discoursing, you all, accompanied by Maruts and the ocean and Ganga in their forms, came to me. With rushing waves, clad in a variegated raiment of acquatic animals, with a body shining with shells and pearls, adorned with corals and jewels, accompanied by the moon and roaring like a cloud surcharged with water, the ocean, as if vanquishing me, came to its bank. And throwing up its salt waters he greatly distressed that place. When the ocean was about to assail that place with his water I said to him in angry words 'be quiet'. No sooner I said 'be quiet' than he assumed a form. And with all his waves stilled he shone there in right regal grace. Desirous of encompassing your well-being and relieving the earth of her burden I imprecated a curse on the ocean and Ganga, saying 'O ocean, since you have come in a regal form, go, you will be a king. Performing many feats with your own power on earth, you will be born in the race of the great Bharata and be a protector of men. Although impatient you assumed a form as soon as I asked you to be quiet. Therefore gifted with a beautiful person you will be celebrated on earth by the name of Shantanu. And this foremost of rivers, Ganga, of unblemished limbs and expansive eyes, will go to you in a beautiful form'. When I said this, the ocean, being depressed at heart, looked at me. He said 'O Lord, O god of gods, why dost thou imprecate a curse on me? I always obey thy commands. I have been made by thee and am always under thy protection. I am therefore thy son. Why hast thou then cursed me in unbecoming words? O lord, by thy favour, my waves increased with the tides and so I was agitated. O Brahman, how am I to blame for this?. If during that time thou hast been touched by water thrown up by the wind, what reason is there for thy imprecating a curse on me? I was agitated by three-fold instruments namely the blowing wind, the increasing cloud and Parva accompanied by the moon). O Brahman, if I have committed any offence for these three instruments set to work by thee it behoves thee to forgive me and let there be an end of this curse. If dost thou find any evidence, O lord of gods, do thou show me mercy who have been depressed by a curse for no offence of mine. O lord, by thy command, this Ganga will descend on earth. I am guilty but thou shouldst show mercy on this innocent one.'

"Thereupon I said in sweet accents to the great ocean who had been terrified and moved by the curse of the gods who were innocent of the cause thereof. 'O you of great mind, O lord of rivers, be thou at ease, do not fear, I have been propitiated with thee, Listen now to the future object of this imprecation. O lord, renouncing this thy ocean body, go to the race of Bharata. Then, O great ocean, O great king, you will be enveloped with regal grace. There, O lord of waters, you will govern the four Varnas and be pleased. And assuming, a beautiful form of a woman, this Ganga, the foremost of rivers, will serve you. Sporting with Janhavi, by my command you will not experience human miseries. O ocean, be you soon united with Ganga in wed-lock and carry out my command. Exiled from the celestial region the Vasus have entered the Rasatala. I appoint you for procreating them. Let Janhavi, for having offspring, conceive those eight Vasus who are effulgent like fire and increase the joy of the celestials. Having procreated the Vasus, multiplied the Kuru race and cast off your human body, you will, in no time, assume your ocean body'.

"O foremost of gods, thus in the days yore beholding the future burden of the earth, I sowed the seeds of Shantanu's race for your well-being in which have been born the Vasus who live in the celestial region (46–47). Even now in the celestial region exists Ganga's son Bhishma as the eighth Vasu. The seven other Vasus have repaired to their respective regions and only Vishnu is now living. The king Shantanu begat on his second wife the highly effulgent and powerful king Vichitravirya. The two sons of Vichitravirya were the two famous kings of the world Dhritarastra and Pandu, the two foremost of men. Of them Pandu had two beautiful and youthful wives. The first was named Kunti and the second was named Madri. And both of them were like the wives of the celestials. Dhritarashtra had one wife, by name Gandhari, who, by stead-fastly serving her husband, became celebrated in the world. Herein that house will be divided into two hostile parties and a terrible dissension will take place amongst the sons of those two kings. On account of the internal dissensions of these kings all the royal families will be destroyed. A terrible fear, like the hour of universal dissolution will then prevail. When all the kings, with their armies, will be slain by one another the cities and kingdoms will be shorn of their inhabitants and Earth will enjoy relief. I have read in the Puranas that in the end of the Dwapara Yuga, all the kings, with their armies, will be destroyed by weapons. Then Ashwathama, a portion incarnate of Sankara, with the fire of weapon, will consume the remnant of humanity in battle lying unconscious, at night, in sleep. When that one of cruel deeds, the like of death himself, will desist, this story relating to the the Dwapara Yuga, will come to a close. When Ashwathama, a portion of Siva, will disappear, the dreadful Kali Yuga of Maheswara will set in. In this Yuga people will perpetrate many iniquities and there will flourish only a portion of virtue. Truth will disappear and falsehood will be stored up. In this Yuga, people will worship only Maheswara and Skanda; old and long-lived men will not exist on the earth. I have thus described the most excellent annihilation of the kings of this world. Therefore, O ye celestials, descend on earth, without delay in your respective portions. Let Kunti and Madri conceive portions of Dharma and let Gandhari conceive Kali the instrument of all dissensions. These kings, urged on by destiny, will form two parties and being desirous of securing the earth, will seek a war. Let Earth, who upholds all the worlds, enter into her own native source. This sacred and well-known means of the kings is thus created." Hearing the words of the Grand-father Earth with Kala went away happily for encompassing the destruction of the kings).

Thereupon Brahma despatched the gods for slaying their enemies. The ancient Rishi Nara the (Serpent) Sesha, that upholds the earth, Sanatkumar, the Sadhyas, Agni, and other gods, Varuna, the Vasus, the sun, the moon, the Gandharvas,

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the Apsaras, the Rudras, the Viswas, the two Aswinis all descended on earth in their respective portions. As described by me before the incarnations of the portions of gods, those foremost of Purushas were born, through women or otherwise, on earth as the destroyers of the Daityas and Danavas. Some of them multiplied their families like fig-trees. And some of them were hard-bodied like thunder-bolts. Some of them were endued with the strength of a million of elephants. Some of them were powerful like mighty currents and some were capable of handling clubs, Parighas and other weapons. All of them were capable of striking with the summits of the mountains. Hundreds and thousands of men, having arms like Parighas, were born in the race of Vrishnis. And the gods were born in the races of Kuru and Panchala as kings. There were born in the prosperous family of Yadus and those of Brahmanas many sacrificers of pious deeds, well read in the scriptures, mighty bow-men, observant of Vedic rituals and endued with prosperity and accomplishments. Whenever angry they could shake the mountains, the rivers, the surface of the earth, rise up in the sky and agitate the mighty deep.

Having thus commanded the gods the Grand-father Brahma, the master of present, past, and future, consigned all the worlds to Narayana and attained peace. Listen again to what the Omnipotent Narayana, Vishnu, of sacred fame, the lord of wealth and life, did for the behoof of creatures after incarnating himself on earth and taking birth in the family of the intelligent Vasudeva, the descendant of Yayati.

CHAPTER 54. THE BIRTH OF THE DAITYAS.

Vaishampayana said:—After Narayana, on his being successful, had repaired to a house on the earth becoming his position, after the gods had incarnated their portions in the race of Bharata, after the portions of Dharma, Indra, Pavana, the celestial physicians the two Aswinis, and the sun had descended on earth, after the priest, of the gods, had come down on earth, in a portion of his, after the eighth portion of Vasus had come down on earth, after the portion of Death, Kali had been on earth, after the portion of Sukra, Varuna, Sankara, Mitra, Kuvera, Gandharvas, Uragas and Yakshas had come down earth Narada came out of a portion of Narayana's energy. [Dharma's incarnation was Yudhishthira, Sakra's was Arjuna and Pavana's was Bhimasena. The two Aswinis incarnated themselves as Nakula and Sahadeva. The sun incarnated himself as Karna, the priest of the gods Vrihaspati as Drona, the eighth Vasu as Bhishma, death as Vidura, Kali as Duryodhana, Soma as Abhimanyu, Sukra as Bhurisrava, Varuna as Srutayudha, Sankara as Ashwathama, Mitra as Kanika, Kuvera as Dhritarashtra. The Gandharva and others incarnated themselves as Ugrasena, Dushasana and others.] He was effulgent like fire, had eyes like the rising sun and had huge and all-spreading matted locks. He wore a raiment white like the rays of the moon and was adorned with golden ornaments. He carried a big Vina [A stringed musical instrument.] like a female companion always confined in room, had an antelope skin thrown on his body and a sacred thread made of gold. With a staff and Kamandalu* in his hands he appeared like second Sakra. [* A natla, a vessel to carry water, a cup used for ritual washing in Judaism and the Roman Imperial Cult, from the Greek word antlion.] That great sage always used to pick up quarrels, was learned, well-read in Gandharva-Veda [The art of music. This was the special gift of the Gandharvas.] and was capable of deciphering the secret cause of dissensions in this world. That Brahmana used to create enemies of his own accord and was like the second Kali himself. That great Muni was the first speaker in the land of gods and Gandharvas, was the chanter of the four Vedas and was the reciter of the first Rik. That immortal sage Narada, ever ranging in the region of Brahma, with a depressed heart said to Vishnu in the midst of the assembled gods. "O Narayana, useless have been the incarnations of the gods for the destruction of the kings. O lord of the celestial region, thyself existing here, this dissension of the kings will be productive of no fruit. Methinks their work cannot be accomplished without Narayana's Yoga. O god of gods, thou art wise and observant of the true essence of things. It has not been proper for thee to institute such a work for the earth. Thou art the vision of the eyes and the lord of the powerful. Thou art the foremost of the Yogins and the refuge of all. Beholding the incarnation of the gods on earth why didst not thou send, first of all, a portion of thy energy to relieve the earth of her burden?. Making thee their help, and being identical with and guided by thee all the gods will swim on this earth from one action to another. I have therefore hastened to the presence of these assembled gods to send thee, O Vishnu; hear the reason thereof. O Narayana, hear of the movements of those Daityas who, amongst many that had been slain by thee in the war of which Taraka was the root, have gone to the face of the earth. There is a delightful city on the face of the earth by name Mathura. It is situate on the bank of Yamuna and abounds in many prosperous, villages. There was a great Danava, irrepressible in battle, by name Madhu. He was highly powerful and a terror to all creatures. There was a vast and dreadful forest by name Madhu abounding in huge trees where he used to live formerly. The great Danava Lavana was Madhu's son. He was gifted with profuse strength and was a terror to all creatures. Sporting there for many years, that Danava, elated with pride, terrorised all the gods and others. When the pious son of Dasharatha, Rama, a terror to the Rakshasas, was ruling in Ayodhya, that Danava, eulogised by all the Daityas, repaired to a dreadful forest. Lavana despatched to Rama, a harsh-speeched emissary. He said 'O Rama, I am living near your territory. The Danava Lavana is your enemy. The kings do not wish to have a powerful enemy. A king, who seeks the well-being of his subjects, observes his royal duties and wishes to multiply his territories and riches, should always defeat his enemies. That king, desirous of pleasing his subjects, who has his hairs wet with the water* of installation, should first of all conquer his senses, for mastery over senses is the sure victory. [The usual practice is that at the time of installation sacred water is sprinkled on the head of a king. The meaning is that who has gone through the ceremony of installation. It is the Indian form of baptism and anointment.] The king, who wishes to keep his position always intact and strong, should instruct his men in moral laws for there is no other preceptor like him to the people. If when placed in the midst of dangers and vices, an intelligent king strengthens himself by his army he is not to entertain any fear of his enemies). All men are killed by their senses, the powerful enemies born with them. An impatient king is slain by the false notion of good done to them by their enemies. On account of your wife, you have, out of foolish attachment, killed Ravana with his army. I do not consider that sinful action of yours as great and becoming. Living in a forest and observing a vow you have killed a mean Rakshasa. Such a conduct is not seen in the pious. Virtue, begotten of forbearance, takes the pious to an auspicious and righteous station. Out of ignorance you have killed Ravana and honoured the forest ranging Vanaras [Properly speaking they were not monkeys but uncivilised people living in a province of the Southern India.]. Indeed Ravana is blessed, since you, while observing a vow, killed him in battle for your wife, in pursance of the conduct of ordinary men. That wicked-minded Ravana, who has not controlled his senses, has been killed by you in battle. You are therefore capable of fighting. Come and fight with me to-day'.

"Hearing those words of that harsh-speeched emissary, Rama, out of forbearance, smilingly said to him:—'O Emissary, what you have said, out of honour to that night-ranger, is unfair, since you have been blaming me and considering yourself at ease. What is there to blame, if, wending the ways of righteousness, I have been stupified, if Ravana has been slain and my wife has been carried away, The virtuous, always following the ways of morality, do not blame others even with their words. As the God is always awake for the pious, He is equally so for the wicked, You have done what is the duty of a messenger. Go now and make no delay. Persons like me do not hurt the mean: who are fond of making too much of themselves. Here is my younger brother Satrughna, the repressor of enemies in battle. He will wait for that wicked-minded demon.' Thus addressed by Rama and commanded by that king that messenger set out with Satrughna. Ascending upon a quick-coursing car, Sumitra's son Satrughna repaired to the huge forest of Madhu and desirous of entering into a battle pitched a tent there.

"Thereupon hearing the words of that messenger the demon Lavana was beside himself with anger. Leaving behind the Madhu forest he started for battle. Then there took place a terrible encounter between Satrughna and Lavana. They were both heroic and mighty bowmen. Both of them struck each other with sharpened arrows. None of them fled back from the battle-field and none of them felt himself tired.

"Thereupon greatly assailed in battle by Satrughna's shafts the Danava Lavana met with discomfiture for he had not his mace with him. Afterwards taking up a celestial Sankhusha, that was given to him as a boon and was capable of grinding all creatures, Lavana began to shout in the battle. He caught of hold Satrughna's turban with it and began to draw in Raghava's younger brother. Thereat taking up a most excellent dagger having a golden handle Satrughna cut off with it Lavana's head in that great battle. Having slain that demon Lavana in battle, that heroic son of Sumitra, who gives delight to his friends, cleared off his forest with his weapons. Having cleared that forest that pious son of Sumitra, Satrughna, built a city there for the well-being of that province and desired to live there. Having killed, in the days of yore, the demon Lavana in Mudhu forest Setrughna built a city there by name Mathura. That great city was adorned with walls, gate ways and doors. It contained many villages, high buildings and gardens. Its boundaries were well laid and it was beautifully built. The walls were very high. The ditches were like the ornament that a woman uses round her waist. The buildings, made of stone and bricks, were like Keyuras. Beautiful palaces were like the ear-rings. The well-protected gates were like the veils and the prominades were like smiles. It contained many healthy heroes, elephants, horses and cars. It resembled a crescent and was situate on the bank of Yamuna. It contained beautiful markets and was proud of her collection of jems. The fields there were full of corns. The king of gods (Indra) used to pour showers in proper season. Men and women there were always delightful. The highly powerful king Surasena, born in the race of Bhojas, reigned there. He was powerful like Mahasena and was celebrated by the name of Ugrasena.

"He whom thou hast killed, O Vishnu, is his son. The Daitya, by name Kalanemi, whom thou didst slay in the battle of which Taraka was the root, is born as Kansa, and is the scion of the Bhoja race. That king, who treads like a lion, is celebrated in the world. He is a terror to all the kings of the world and a dread to all creatures. He is always beyond the path of righteousness). He is highly persevering and ruthless. He is so very haughty to his subjects that seeing him their hairs stand erect. He never observes his royal duties and is never a source of pleasure to his own men. He never does any good to his kingdom and behaves always like a tyrant. He, who was vanquished by thee in Taraka battle, is now born as Kansa in the Bhoja race. That one, living on meat, is oppressing all the worlds, with his demonaic heart. He, who was like a horse and known by the name, Hayagriva, is born as Keshi the youngest brother of Kansa. That wicked bodiless demon with manes, neighing like a horse, is now living alone in Vrindavana. He lives on human flesh. Bali's son Aristha is born as the great Asura Kakudmi, capable of assuming forms of his own accord. Adopting the form of a bull he has become an enemy of the kine. Diti's son Ristha, the foremost of Danavas, is born as Kansa's elephant. That dreadful demon Lamva is born as Pralamva. He is living under a fig-tree by name Bhandara. That demon, who was known by the name of Khara, is born as the dreadful Asura Dhanuka. Living in the forest of palm-trees he is making a havoc of creatures. Those two foremost of Danavas, by name Varaha and Kishora, have been born as wrestlers Chanuka and Musthika who are always at the arena. Those two Danavas Maya and Tara, who were like death even to the demons, are now living in the city of Bhumi's son Naraka, by name Pragyotish.

"O Narayana, thou didst slay all these Danavas and divest them of their forms. Assuming human bodies they are now oppressing the people of the world. They oppose the chanting of thy name and destroy thy votaries. By thy favour only they will meet with destruction. In heaven they are afraid of thee, in ocean they are afraid of thee and even on earth they afraid of thee. There is no other source of fear to them. O Sridhar, thou dost slay the wicked Danavas; none else can accomplish their destruction. The Daityas, who are sent away from heaven, find refuge on earth.

"O Keshava, thou being awake, it is difficult for that demon to go again to heaven, who, on his being slain in the celestial region, again rises up assuming a human body. Therefore, O Narayana, do thou come to the world. We are also descending on earth. Do thou create your own self for the destruction of Danavas. The forms of thine, which are not manifest, are both visible and invisible to the celestials. In those forms, the gods, created by thee, shall descend on earth.

"O Vishnu, when thou shalt come down on earth, Kansa will not be able to reign and the object, for which the earth has come, will also be accomplished. Thou art the preceptor of all works in the land of Bharata, thou art the eye of all and the supreme refuge. Therefore, O Hrishikesha do thou come on earth and slay those wicked Danavas".

CHAPTER 55. VISHNU'S REPLY.

Vaishampayana said:—Hearing the words of Narada the Lord Madhusudana, the master of gods, smilingly said in auspicious words:—"O Narada, listen to a proper reply to all these words which you have addressed to me for the well-being of the three worlds. It is known to me that all these Danavas, assuming human forms, have been born on earth. I know too that Kansa is born as the son of Ugrasena on earth. I know also that Keshi is born as a horse. I know also the elephant Kuvalayapida, the wrestlers Chanura and Mushthika and the demon Arishtha in the shape of a bull. Khara and the great Asura Pralamva are also known to me. Bali's daughter Putana is also well known to me. I know also Kaliya who is living in the lake of Yamuna and who has entered there in fear of Vinata's son [Garuda who used to eat up serpents.]. I know also Jarasandha who is the head of all kings; and the demon Naraka, who is living in the city of Pragyotish, is also very well-known to me. In the city of Shonitpura on earth Bana is born as a man. That energetic and haughty demon, of thousand arms, is invincible even unto the gods. I know also that the great charge of Bharatvarsa lies with me. I know also how all these kings will disappear. The destruction of those danavas, in human forms, who never come back from battle-field and the rejoicing of the region of Sakra has also been seen by me. For myself and for others I shall enter into Yoga. Going to the region of men and assuming a human form I shall bring about the destruction of all those mighty demons headed by Kansa. I shall slay him by that means by which he will enjoy peace. By my Yoga I shall resort to all these means. It is my incumbent duty to destroy all those enemies of the gods in battle. I shall kill the foes of all those great ones who have sacrificed themselves on behalf of the earth, of all those gods, Rishis and Gandharvas who have come down on earth

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at my behest. O Narada, I have already formed this resolution. Let the grand-father Brahma make a house there for me. O grand-father, do thou relate to me, how, born in what country and living in what house I shall kill them".

Brahma said:—O lord, O Narayana, hear from me of that key to success and who your parents will be on earth. In order to glorify their family you will be born in the race of Yadavas. Eradicating these Asuras for good and multiplying your great family you will establish the orders of mankind. Hear from me about this.

O Narayana, in the days of yore, in the great sacrifice of the high-souled Varuna, Kashyapa stole away all the cows giving milk for the sacrifice. Kashyapa had two wives, Aditi and Surabhi who did not wish to accept the kine from Varuna. Thereupon coming to me and bowing with his head down Varuna said "O revered one, the preceptor has stolen away all my kine. Having accomplished his object, even, O father, he has not ordered the return of those kine. He is under the control of his two wives Aditi and Surabhi. O lord, all those my kine give heavenly and eternal milk whenever wished. Protected by their own power they range in the seas. They perpetually yeild milk like unto the ambrosia of gods. Save Kashyapa there is none else who can charm them. O Brahma, a master, a preceptor or whoever he may be if one goes astray thou dost control him. Thou art our supreme refuge. O preceptor of the world, if punishment is not meted out to powerful persons who do not know their own work, then the order of the world will not exist. Thou art omnipotent and lord of all. Do thou give me my kine, I will go then to the ocean. These kine are my soul—they are my endless strength. Of all thy creation the kine and the Brahmanas are the eternal sources of energy. First of all the kine should be saved. When they are saved they protect the Brahmanas. The world is upheld by the protection of the kine and Brahmanas".

O Achyuta, thus addressed by Varuna, the king of water, and being truly informed of the pilfering of the kine I imprecated a curse on Kashyapa). With that portion, in which the high-souled Kashyapa stole the kine, he will be born as a milkman on earth. His two wives Surabhi and Aditi, who are like pieces of wood for the birth of gods, will also go with him. Being born as a milkman with them he will live there happily. That portion of Kashyapa, equally powerful like himself, will pass by the name of Vasudeva and will live amongst the kine on earth. Near Mathura there is a mountain by name Govardhana. Paying tribute to Kansa he lives there being attached to kine. His two wives Aditi and Surabhi are born as the two wives of Vasudeva by name Devaki and Rohini. Being born there as a boy having all the characteristics of a milkman he there grew up as thou didst do before in thy form with three footsteps. Then covering thyself with the form (of Yoga), O Madhusudana, do thou go there for the well-being of the world. With exclamations of thy victory and benediction all these gods are welcoming thee. Descending on earth and taking thy birth from Rohini and Devaki do thou please them. Thousands of milk maids will also cover the earth. O Vishnu, when thou shalt range in the forest tending kine they will see thy beautiful form adorned with garlands of wild flowers. O thou having eyes like lotus petals, O large-armed Narayana, when thou wilt go as a boy to the villages of milkmen all people will become boys. O thou having lotus eyes, being milkmen with their minds devoted to thee all thy votaries will help thee; tending kine in the forest, running in pastures and bathing in the water of Yamuna they will acquire a great attachment for thee. And Vasudeva's life will be a blessed one. Thou wilt address him as thy father and he will address thee as his son. Save Kashyapa whom else canst thou accept as thy father? O Vishnu, save Aditi who else can conceive thee? Therefore by thy self-begotten Yoga do thou proceed for victory, O Madhusudana. We too repair to our respective habitations.

Vaishampayana said:—Having ordered the gods to repair to the celestial region the Lord Vishnu went to his own abode on the northern side of the ocean of milk. In this quarter there is a cave of the mount Sumeru difficult of being trodden, which is worshipped with his three foot-steps during the solistice. Having left there, in the cave, his old body the omnipotent and intelligent Hari despatched his soul to the house of Vasudeva.

THE HARIVAMSHA BOOK 2 - VISHNU PARVA

CHAPTER 1. KANSA IS INFORMED OF HIS DEATH BY NARADA.

Vaishampayana said:—Being informed of the descension of Vishnu and of the portions of other gods, the celestial saint Narada repaired to the city of Mathura to communicate the future death of Kansa. Coming down from the celestial region and arriving at the garden of Mathura, that foremost of Munis sent a messenger to Kansa, the son of Ugrasena. He communicated the arrival of the Muni at the garden. Hearing of the arrival of Narada, that Asura, having lotus-like eyes, speedily went out of his city. He saw there his guest, the praiseworthy Brahmana saint Narada, shorn of all sins, powerful like the sun and effulgent like fire. Having bowed unto him and worshipped him duly he brought for him a golden seat shining like fire. That Muni, the friend of Sakra, sat on that seat.

He then said to the highly wrathful son of Ugrasena:—O hero, you have duly worshipped me with works laid down in the scriptures. Hear now and accept what I say. O my son, ranging in Nandana and Chaitraratha gardens, in Brahma and other celestial regions I arrived at the great mount Sumeru, the friend of the sun (7–9). The gods also followed me. Having bathed in the holy water of all the sacred rivers I saw the celestial Ganga of three courses and streams, who dissipates all sins as soon as she is recollected. Thereupon having bathed, in order, at all those sacred shrines I saw Brahma's palace, resorted to by the Brahmana saints and filled with the music of the gods, Gandharvas and Apsaras.

Once on a time the Grand-Father held a meeting of the gods on the summit of the mount Sumeru. I, too, taking up my Vina, set to tune, came to that meeting of Brahma and saw that the Grand-Father and the gods, adorned with white turbans and diverse jewels, and seated on celestial seats, were holding counsels. O great king, I heard there that they, with their followers, were concerting dreadful measures for your destruction. The child, of the eighth conception of your youngest sister Devaki who lives in Mathura, will be your death. O hero, it has been ascertained that your death will proceed from that self-born (Vishnu) who is the stay of heaven, is the great mystery of the gods and is identical with all, O Kansa, to meet with death at the hands of that god of Gods, as has been settled upon, is a matter of glory to you. Therefore remember him now. Try to destroy the conception of Devaki and enjoy all your wealth and articles of pleasure. I love you very much and therefore I have come here and described to you what took place on the summit of the mount Sumeru. I; now leave you. May you fare well.

Vaishampayana said:—After Narada had said this and gone away Kansa, meditating on his words, began to laugh aloud with his lips open, and smilingly said to his servants who were before him. "Truly the gods make fun with Narada and he has no knowledge of things. Even when I am seated on my throne, asleep, mad or intoxicated, the gods headed by Vasava cannot terrify me the least. Who is there in the land of men who can dare make me angry? I can even agitate the earth with these two my huge arms. From to-day I shall greatly oppress men, beasts, birds and all other creatures who follow the gods. Do ye issue this command to Keshi, in the shape of a horse, Pralamva, Dhenuka, Aristha, in the form of a bull, Putana, Kaliya and other demons. Assuming diverse forms do ye range all over the world and destroy them whom you will find against me. Narada has said that our fear proceeds from conception and therefore you should always be informed of the movements of all those who have been conceived by women. When I am your master you need not be afraid of any accidental calamity. Therefore freed of all anxiety do ye enjoy objects of pleasure of your own accord. Narada is greatly fond of quarrels and is intent on creating dissensions. In order to set one against another that Brahmana, with a restive mind, travels in all the worlds, creates dissensions even amongst men of highly quiet temparament and works out enmity amongst kings by various means".

Having vauntingly said this Kansa entered his own palace but his heart was burning with the fire of anger).

CHAPTER 2. AN ACCOUNT OF THE BIRTH OF DEMONS

Vaishampayana said:—Thereupon worked up with anger Kansa said to all his well-meaning ministers:—"Do ye always be on your guard for destroying the (eight born) children of Devaki. The calamity, which we suspect, should be eradicated. Therefore from the very beginning destroy all the embryos of Devaki. Let Devaki, well guarded in the inner appartment by the warders, range there confidently. And when she conceives keep her with care. As soon as she will conceive, the women of my harem will count the months from the very first, and being informed of the time of delivery we will do what we think proper. Let Vasudeva too be kept unconsciously day and night in the inner appartment by eunuchs and women engaged in my well being. Let no body disclose to him the secret. With these human efforts people should accomplish their objects. Hear how persons like me avert the course of destiny. Even an adverse destiny is made propitious by well employed mantras, properly administered medicines, care and devotion."

Vaishampayana continued:—Hearing from Narada, the account of his death, Kansa, out of fear, began to hold counsels as to how he should destroy Devaki's embryo. On the other hand, being informed of the portendous and dreadful efforts of Kansa while out of sight, the powerful Vishnu began to think "Bhoja's descendant Kansa will destroy the first seven children of Devaki. In her eighth conception I shall have to live in her womb". While thus meditating his mind flew where the Saragarbha Danavas, by name, Hansa, Suvikratha, Damana, Ripunardana, and Krodhaharta were living in the water. These immortal-like Saragarbhas, the sons of Kalanemi, were powerful like the celestials, were of effulgent persons and experts in battle. Leaving their own grand-father Hiranyakasipu and wearing mantted locks those Saragarbha Daityas worshipped the Grand-father of all, Brahma, with hard penances who, being pleased, conferred on them the following boon.

Brahma said:—"O ye foremost of Danavas, I have been greatly pleased with your ascetic austerities. Express to me clearly your wishes, I shall grant them to you all.". Encouraged by Brahma's words the Daityas said "O lord, if thou art pleased with us do thou confer upon us this best of boons. O Brahman, if thou art ready to confer upon us a boon, do thou grant us such a one as may render us unslayable by the gods, the huge Uragas, Yakshas, Gandharvas, Siddhas, Charanas, men and by the great Rishis ever engaged in penances, whose weapons are their curses".

The Grand-father was greatly delighted at heart with their ascetic observances and therefore affectionately said to them:—"What you have prayed for will all be accomplished." Having conferred this boon on Saragarbhas the self-born repaired to the celestial region.

Thereupon Hiranyakasipu addressed them in angry words saying. "By your disregarding me and praying for a boon to the lotus-sprung Brahma, you have become my enemies. I therefore have no affection for you and forsake you all. That father, who has given you the high sounding name of Saragarbha, will kill you all while in embryo. O ye great Asuras Saragarbhas, you all six will be born in order from Devaki and Kansa will kill you."

Vaishampayana said:—Thereupon repairing to the nether region Vishnu arrived where Saragarbha Asuras, on account of the imprecation of Hiranyakasipu, were living in the womb of water. He saw them lying there possessed by death-like sleep. Thereupon entering into the body of the Saragarbhas in a state of dream, Vishnu, having truth for his prowess, caught hold of their vital breaths and consigned them to the care of sleep. He said "O sleep, by my command take the vital airs of all these leading Danavas Saragarbhas and place them in order in the womb of Devaki. They will be born of her womb and proceed to the abode of Death. Kansa's efforts will be baffled and Devaki's labour will be crowned with success. I will show you such a favour that like me you will be powerful on earth and adored of all creatures. Thereupon when my gentle portion will be conceived by Devaki in her seventh conception, take that eldest brother of mine in the seventh month and place him within Rohini's womb. On account of his thus being taken away from the womb, that moon-like elder brother of mine will pass, in his youth, by the name of Sangkarsana). Thereupon thinking that 'Devaki has untimely given birth to a child out of fear in the seventh time' Kansa will be very careful for the eighth time when I will be in her womb. O goddess, may you fare-well; as being the ninth of our race, you will be conceived by Yashoda, the best of milk-women, the most beloved wife of Nanda the master of Kansa's kine. You will be born on the ninth day of the dark half of the month. I too, in the middle of the night under the influence of Abhijit [One of the Nakshatras or lunar asterisms.], will come out happily of the womb. O sleep, highly dreadful is Kansa's rule. Therefore in the eighth month, we will be simultaneously born (and exchanged by Vasudeva). I will be taken to Yashoda and you will be taken to Devaki. By this our interchange Kansa will be stupified. Then taking you by the leg he will dash you against a stone; you will then at once go up to the sky and attain to your eternal region. O goddess, there the effulgence of your face will be like that of Sangkarshana and your body will be dark-blue like mine and your arms will be as huge as those of mine. O sleep, when armed with an uplifted mace of three heads, and with a dagger of golden handles, when with a cup full of wine and a clean lotus, when adorned with a blue raiment and a yellow cloth thrown round your breast, you will occupy the road of the celestials, your breast will adorned with a necklace shining like the rays of the moon, your two ears will be adorned with two celestial Kundalas and your countenance will shine like the moon. O goddess, adorned, at my command, with a wonderful crown and hair nets, with flags of peacock feather and Angadas, embellishing the ten quarters, with your dreadful arms resembling the serpents, encircled by terrible goblins and observing the vow of celibacy you will enter into the celestial region. When you will reach the land of gods, the thousand-eyed Indra will confer upon you the dignity of a god by sprinkling you with water according to the rules laid down by me and accept you as his sister. Having been adopted in the family of Kushika you will pass by the name of Koushika. Afterwards when Vasava will assign to you the mount Vindhya for your habitation you will adorn the world with thousand provinces. On whomever on earth you will bestow a boon while ranging of your own accord in the three worlds, he will at once attain to the fruit thereof. O goddess, there thinking of me in your mind, and starting with the goblins you will kill the two demons Shumbha and Nishumbha living in mountain, with all their attendants. O sleep, you are greatly fond of an offering of meat. You will therefore, on a Navami [The ninth day of the dark half of the month.], receive, on earth, worship accompanied by the sacrifice of beasts. Children or wealth, it will not be difficult to acquire any of

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these for him, who, amongst men cognizant of my prowess, will bow unto you. You will save them all from danger, those who will be tired in a huge forest, those who will be drowned in a mighty deep, those who will be attacked by robbers. O auspicious lady, I will not kill him who will propitiate you with devotion nor will he meet with ruin at my hands".

CHAPTER 3. ATTRIBUTES OF THE GODDESS.

Vaishampayana said:—Having saluted the goddess Narayani, the mistress of the three worlds I shall recite the sacred hymn as sung by the ancient Rishis.

"O goddess, thou art the salvation, intelligence, glory, bashfulness, learning, advancement and inclination of all the worlds. Thou art identical with twilight, night, ray, sleep and the night of death. Thou art designated as the worshipful goddess Katyayani, Koushiki, observant of the vow of celibacy and the mother of Kartikeya. Thou art highly powerful and dost practise hard austerities. O goddess, thou art Jaya, Vijaya, satisfaction, nourishment, forgiveness and mercy. Thou art clad in a blue silken raiment and the eldest sister of Yama. Thou art of various forms, art without any, hast dreadful and large eyes and art the protector of thy votaries. O great goddess, living on the summits of fearful mountains, in rivers, caves, and forest and being adored by Savaras [A barbarian race inhabiting the mountainous districts of India and wearing the feathers of the peacock as decorations.], Varvaras [One of a degraded tribe or occupation.] and Pulindas [A barbarian using an uncultivated and unintelligible dialect.] thou dost traverse the worlds in a car consisting of peacock-feathered flags. Surrounded by cocks, goats, lambs, lions and tigers and worshipped by the ringing of bells thou dost always live in the mount Vindhya. Thou dost hold trident, Pattisha and other weapons. The sun and the moon are thy flags. Thou art the ninth day of the dark half of the month and the eleventh day of the light half. Thou art the quarrelsome Rajani, the sister of Baladeva, the abode of all creatures, the death and the supreme end of all animals and the daughter of the milk-man Nanda who carries the victory of the gods. Thou dost wear bark, excellent cloth and art the dreadful twilight. Thou art of dishevelled hairs and the death. Thou art fond of wine and meat. Although thou art Lakshmi (of beautiful form) thou dost assume a dreadful form for the destruction of the Danavas. Thou art Savitri [The holy verse of the repetition of which forms an essential part of the ceremonies, enjoined to the Brahmanas for daily observances.] of the Vedas, the mother of mantras, the celibacy of the maidens, the good luck of women, the external altar of the sacrifices, the gift of the priest, the plough of the cultivators, the earth of all creatures, the success of sea-faring merchants, the bank of the ocean, the first woman of the Yakshns [The mother of Kuvera.], Surasa of Nagas [The mother of the Nagas.], art conversant with the knowledge of Brahman, initiation and great beauty. Thou art the effulgence of luminous bodies, Rohini of stars, the consummate prosperity in courts, forts, confluences of rivers and the full-moon. Thou art the goddess of learning in Valmiki [Valmiki the author of the Ramayana.], the memory of Dwaipayana [Dwaipayana Vyasa was celebrated for his memory for he had by heart all the Vedas and Puranas.] the intellect of the Rishis in religious matters, the determination of the gods and dost live in all creatures as the goddess of wine adored by thy own deeds. O goddess, thou art the charming look of the thousand eyes of the king of gods, the Arani of the Agnihotra ascetics, the hunger of all creatures, the gratification, oblation, intellect and brain of the celestials, the receptable of all the Vasus, the hope of men and the pleasure of all those who are crowned with success. Thou art the direction, the contrary direction, the flame of fire, ray, Shakuni, Putana, the terrible Revati, the over-powering sleep of all creatures and Kshatrya. Thou art Brahmavidya [Knowledge of spirit which is regarded as the best of all forms of learning.] in learning, Om [The mystic name of God, prefacing all the prayers and most of the writings of the Hindus, from A a name of Vishnu, U Siva and Ma Brahma. It therefore implies the Indian triad and expresses the three in one.] and Vasha [oblation with fire.]. The Rishis know thee as the ancient Parvati amongst women. As said by Brahma thou art Arundhati [The wife of the sage Vasistha.] amongst chaste women. Truly thou hast been designated by the gods as Indrani [The queen of gods, the wife of Indra.]. This universe, mobile and immobile, is permeated by thee. Undoubtedly thou art the saviour in battle, burning fire, rivers, fear of thieves, caves, foreign countries, courts, in assailing the enemies and in all other matters where life is at stake. My heart, mind and reasoning faculty are all devoted to thee. Do thou save me from all sins; show me this favour.

"O goddess, thou art always propitiated with him, who, rising up early in the morning, purifying himself and controlling his mind, will read this heavenly hymn. Thou dost give their desired-for objects to those who recite it for three months, and a most excellent boon to those who do it for six months, and celestial vision to those who continue it for nine months and Siddhi as they desire to those who sing it for one full year. O goddess, as recorded by the great saint Krishna Dwaipayana thou art the supreme Brahman identical with truth. Thou dost drive away the fear of men, proceeding from chains, death, the destruction of children and wealth and disease. Assuming various forms at thy will, thou dost confer boons. Stupifying Kansa thou shalt alone enjoy the world. And I shall adopt the life of a milk-man amongst kine. For accomplishing my own work I shall become Kansa's milk-man".

Having thus addressed (the goddess of sleep) the lord disappeared and she too, saluting him, expressed her consent by saying, "So be it".

CHAPTER 4. BIRTH OF KRISHNA AND BALADEVA.

Vaishampayana said:—Under these arrangements the celestial-like Devaki conceived for seven times as described before. Kansa killed the Sargarbhas by dashing them against a stone, as soon as they came out. The embryo of the seventh conception was transferred to Rohini. Once on a time at the dead of night while Rohini was sleeping a sound sleep there took place a discharge of blood followed by an abortion. Rohini, in a dream, saw the falling of her embryo and when she awoke, a little after, she was greatly pained on not seeing it. In that dark night Vasudeva's wife Rohini, resembling the moon, was worked up with great anxiety; thereat the goddess of sleep said to her. "O fair one, I have extracted the embryo out of Devaki's womb and placed it in yours. Therefore this your son will be celebrated by the name of Sangkarshana". Obtaining that son she was pleased and with her head down she entered her own house like the beautiful wife of the moon.

When people grew anxious of instituting enquiries about the seventh conception of Devaki she conceived him for the eighth time for whom Kansa had killed her seven children. Kansa's servants began to watch it with great care wherein the Lord Hari was living of his own accord. Yashoda too conceived the goddess of sleep, begotten of a portion of Vishnu's energy and intent on carrying out his command. Before the period of conception was complete, in the eighth month both Devaki and Yashoda simultaneously gave birth to their children. In the same night in which Krishna was born in the race of Vrishnis, Yashoda gave birth to her daughter. Vasudeva's wife Devaki and Nanda's wife Yashoda, both of them, conceived at the same time. In the auspicious midnight and in Abkijit Muhurtta, Devaki gave birth to Vishnu and Yashoda to that daughter. When Janarddana was born, the oceans were agitated, the pillars of the earth were shaken, the fires, that had been extinguished, began to burn, auspicious winds began to blow, the dust was removed and the luminous bodies manifested themselves. When the invisible, eternal and powerful Lord Hari of subtle soul, who encompasses the well-being of the world, was born, the night was Jayanti, the Nakshatra was Abhijit and Muhurtta was Vijaya. As soon as he was born he overpowered all the worlds with his looks. The celestial bugles began to produce sound without being struck and the king of gods showered flowers from the etherial region. The great saints, accompanied by the Gandharvas and Apsaras, chanted the glories of the slayer of Madhu in auspicious hymns. When Hrishikesha was born the whole universe was in an ecstacy of joy. Indra too, along with the gods, eulogised the glories of Madhusudhana. Seeing, in that night, Vishnu* born as his son, bearing the mystic mark of Srivasta and other signs of divinity Vasudeva said to him, "O lord, do thou withdraw this form of thine. O thou having lotus-eyes, I have been greatly terrified, on account of my sons, your elder brothers, being slain by Kansa and therefore I speak thus". [The word in the text is Adhokshaja, a name of Vishnu. It literally means, being produced by or produced to such as have subdued or cast down their passions.]

Vaishampayana said:—Hearing the words of Vasudeva the lord withdrew his form of four arms and addressing him as his father asked him to take him to the house of the milkman Nanda. Taking that boy, Vasudeva too, fond of his sons, speedily repaired to the house of Yashoda. Placing his son in her house against her knowledge he brought her daughter and placed her on Devaki's bedstead.

After the children had been exchanged Anakadundhubi Vasudeva, having accomplished his work and his mind filled with fear, issued out of his house and communicated to Ugrasena's son Kansa the birth of a beautiful daughter. Hearing it the powerful Kansa quickly arrived at Vasudeva's door and enquired of him about what was born. He then ordered him to hand over the new born babe, and remonstrated with him severely.

Hearing this all the women of Devaki's family cried aloud and she, herself shedding tears, prayed humbly to him; "O lord, you have already killed my seven beautiful sons. I have taken this new-born daughter for already slain. Do what you think proper." Seeing that girl and drawing her out the wicked-minded Kansa said:—"While a daughter is born she is already killed." That girl, equal to the earth herself, who was wearied on account of her living in the womb and whose hairs were wet with the water thereof, was placed before him on the ground. Taking her with contempt by the legs and whirling her Kansa dashed her against a stone. Although thrown on a rock in derision, that girl, who is daily worshipped by the gods, was not crushed. On the other hand, casting off her human from and being adorned with celestial garlands, pastes, and a shining crown she, with dishevelled hairs and remonstrating with Kansa, rose up in the sky. She was clad in a dark blue raiment, her breasts were rising, her hip was spacious like a car and she had four arms. Her colour was shining like lightning, her eyes were like the rising sun, and she was like a clouded evening. That dreadful girl, having a moon-like countenance, and roaring like a cloud, was surrounded by ghosts and goblins. Dancing and laughing in that dark night she rose up in the sky. Drinking most excellent wine and laughing aloud she, in anger, said to Kansa.

"O Kansa, for thy own destruction thou hast whirled and dashed me against a rock. Therefore at the time of thy death when thy enemy will attack thee I will tear off thy body with my hands and drink thy hot blood".

Giving vent to these dreadful words, the goddess, by her own wished-for way, rose up in the sky; and encircled by her own followers and in that form she began to range in the celestial region. That girl, worshipped by Vrishnis, grew up there. By the command of their kings the gods brought her up like a child. That daughter, who was formerly created by Brahma through his yoga, was born with the Lord for protecting Keshava. The Yadavas daily worship her, who in her celestial form, protected Krishna. After her departure Kansa took her for the instrument of his death. And being ashamed he secretly said to Devaki.

Kansa said:—"O Sister, I have made endless attempts to escape the hand of death, and for this, I have destroyed many of your children. O Madam, my death has now come from another quarter. Alas! being ruthless, I have, with care, slain my own kinsmen, but have not been able to supersede destiny by my manliness. Under the influence of bad time, I have been the instrument of their death. Therefore cast off your anxiety for the destruction of your embryos and your sorrow for the death of your sons. It is Time that is the enemy of all and brings about their destruction. It is Time that moves every thing. People, like me, are merely the instruments. O lady, calamities, the inevitable out-come of one's own deeds, arrive of them selves in proper time. But pity it is that (they think) 'I am the doer'. Do not lament for your sons and renounce your grief. Such is the course of men and no body can undo the work of Time. The mischiefs, that I have done to you, are all present in my mind. I throw myself at your feet like a son. Be not offended with me".

After Kansa had said this, the poor Devaki, with her face bathed in tears, and casting her looks upon her husband said—"Rise up, my brother, rise up." And then she addressed to him the following.

Devaki said:—"Being like the veritable Death, you have killed, before my very eyes, all my children. You are not to blame for this. Death himself is the instrument hereof. I forgive you for the sin that you have committed by destroying my children, since, touching my feet with your head you are repenting for your mis-deeds. Death, in old age and while in the womb, is however inevitable. And it is equally difficult to escape its hand even in boyhood and youth. This is all the work of Time; you are merely an instrument. One, who is not born, is not to be seen like air. One, who being born attains to the condition of one not born is to be considered as such. [As no love is cherished for a son who is not born so no attachment should be felt for him, who is dead as soon as he is born.] All this is the work of Providence. Death first carries away all and next the instrument is pointed out. Therefore, go, my child, you are not the cause of my children's death. On account of various rites [that are performed beginning with the birth of a child], pristine actions, the time of creation, the works of parents, people meet with death."

Hearing the words of Devaki, Kansa, worked up with anger and his heart consuming, entered his own house. His object being baffled he went there depressed and absent-minded.

CHAPTER 5. A DESCRIPTION OF VILLAGE VRAJA

Vaishampayana said:—Vasudeva had already heard of the son, more beautiful than the moon, given birth to by Rohini in the village of Vraja. He, without delay, said to the milkman Nanda, in sweet words "Quickly go to Vraja with Yashoda. Having performed the various rites consequent upon their birth do you happily bring up in Vraja those two boys (2-3). Do you carefully protect in Vraja that son of mine whom Rohini has given birth to. My name will then be mentioned as having a son in the list of the ancestral manes. Alas, I have not been able to see the face of my only son. Although I am wise this is stealing away my wisdom. I specially fear this woked Kansa for he does not feel the least mercy when he kills the children. Besides various other dangers threaten the children in this world. Therefore, O Nanda, take care of Rohini's son as you do of your own. My son is the eldest and your son is the youngest. The import of their names is also the same. Therefore bring them up with equal care. They are both of equal age. Please see, O milkman, that they may grow up under your fostering care and grace Vraja. In their childhood, everybody takes his own way, becomes naughty and commits mistakes. Therefore train them with great care. Never make your cow-sheds in Vrindavana for there is every fear of the

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wicked Keshi, of various reptiles, insects and vultures. Protect those two boys against the cows and calves in the cow-shed. O Nanda, night is almost over. Go soon to Vraja. See, the birds in the south are also asking you to do so".

Hearing of this secret intelligence from the large-minded Vasudeva, Nanda was greatly pleased and ascended his conveyance along with Yashoda. He placed the baby prince on a vehicle carried by men on their shoulders. He then proceeded by a road situate on the bank of Yamuna, sprinkled with profuse water and filled with cool air.

Thus proceeding to some distance he saw Vraja, the charming village of cows, situated on the bank of Yamuna near the mount Govarddhana and filled with cool air. It was adorned with animals emitting sweet cries, huge trees covered with creepers, and kine, giving milk and grazing. That place was so beautifully level that the kine could range there at ease and the tanks there had all well-levelled stairs. The trees were scratched by the humps and horns of the bulls. Vultures, wild cats, falcons and other birds, who are fond of flesh and always follow them, and other beasts more powerful than they, such as jackals, leopards and lions always live there. And for this that place was filled with fat, marrow and bones. That place, covered with profuse grass, was filled with birds of various species and the roaring of tigers, was well adorned with trees crested with sweet fruits and was resonant with the auspicious sound of kine, and calves. That charming village was filled with milk-maids. The roads, for carriage, were spacious there. It was covered with thorns and its outside was filled with fallen huge trees.

All through the circumference there were stakes fixed on the ground an ropes for the calves; and it was filled with cow-dungs. The temples and cottages there were covered with grass. It was filled with the sound of churning. State officials, possessing all the signs of prosperity and well-developed and delighted persons always live there. The ground there was saturated with the leavings of curd and the drains were covered with moss and it was filled with the sound of the churning bangles of milk-women. The cow-sheds were all properly protected by well-shut doors; inside them were the houses for cows. It was filled with the play-grounds of milk-men and abounded in boys wearing feathers of crows. The youthful damsels of milk-men, clad in blue raiments, prepare clarified butter and accordingly there blows sweet-scented air. Having their heads adorned with garlands of wild flowers and their breasts covered with jackets, the milk-maids, with jars of milk on their heads, always walk about there. The road, on the bank of Yamuna, was also filled with milk-maids, carrying water. When the milk-man Nanda, with a delighted heart, entered by this way to his village there arose a great shout of joy amongst the men of his clan. The elderly milk men and women came out and received him in the city. He also went to that delightful place of his own accord. Thereupon going to the beloved wife of Vasudeva Rohiai, he placed there the mystic Purusha Krishna, resembling the rising sun.

CHAPTER 6. SUPERHUMAN DEEDS OF KRISHNA. HE UPSETS A CARRIAGE AND KILLS PUTANA.

Vaishampayana said:—Without showing himself properly the Lord spent a considerable time as a milk-man in the village of Nanda. Of those two boys the eldest was named Sangkarshana and the youngest Krishna. They grew up there most happily. Incarnating himself as Krishna the Lord Hari, assuming the dark-blue hue of the cloud, grew up there in the midst of milk-men like a cloud in the ocean.

One day while Krishna fell asleep under a carriage, Yashoda, fond of her sons, went to the river Yamuna leaving him there. Thereupon to sport there like a child Krishna began to cry and throw up his arms. Then raising up his legs he overturned the carriage with one of them. And then crawling on his legs he began to cry for milk (5–6). In the meantime, Yashoda, having finished her bath and her person wetted with the milk of her breast like a milch cow, when its calf is tied, came there with her mind stricken with fear. She saw there the carriage over turned without any wind. And then crying aloud she speedily took up her child. She could not truly make out how the carriage was overturned; and then filled with fear she said to her boy "O my child, your father is highly wrathful. I do not know what he will say when he will come to know of your sleeping under the carriage and of its being overturned. What is the use of my bathing? What business had I to go to go the river. On account of this foolish act of mine I saw you under the overturned carriage."

Clad in a silken raiment Nanda had gone to the forest to tend his kine. When he returned to his own house in Vraja he saw the carriage upset. Its two wheels were raised up. The axles, the pitcher and the rod were all broken. Seeing this he was greatly terrified and coming quickly with eyes full of tears he repeatedly asked "Is my son all right?". When he saw his son sucking the breast of Yashoda he was relieved of his anxiety and asked how the carriage was upset without the fighting of the bulls. Terrified and with a suppressed voice Yashoda replied: "O gentle one, I do not know who has upset this carriage. I had been to the river to wash my cloth. When I came back I saw it overturned".

While they were thus talking, the boys, who were present there, said:—"When we came here of our own accord we saw this boy upsetting the carriage with his feet". Hearing this the milkman Nanda was filled with great surprise. Pleased and terrified he began to think how could this be. The other milkmen, having the ordinary intelligence of men, placed no confidence in the words of the boys. Filled with wonder and having their eyes expanded accordingly they replaced the carriage and tied its wheels.

Vaishampayana said:—Once on a time in the mid-night, Kansa's nurse, the dreadful Putana, creating the fear of life, went in the shape of a bird, capable of assuming forms at will, to village of milkmen, shaking her wings. Entering, in the mid-night, into Vraja, roaring like a tiger, Putana assumed the form of a woman. And having her breast pressed by milk she lay down under the wheel of the carriage. When all the inhabitants of Vraja fell asleep she began to give milk to Krishna. Thereupon drink ing up all her vital breaths together with her milk Krishna set up a terrible sound. She too, having her breast sundered, fell down earth. At that sound, Nanda, other milk-men and Yashoda awoke. And they were all beside themselves with fear. They saw there Putana lying down on the ground, bereft of her consciousness and breast, as if she had been crushed down by a thunder-bolt. Exclaiming "What is this? Who has done it?" all the milkmen headed by Nanda stood around her. They however could not, by any means, find out the cause. Exclaiming repeatedly "Wonder! Wonder!" they went to their own houses. After the milkmen had gone away to their respective homes filled with wonder, Nanda respectfully said to Yashoda:—"O timid lady, I have been struck with great wonder and have not been able to trace out its cause. What ever it may be, I am really afraid. Is there any danger for my son?"

Yashoda, too, stricken with fear, replied:—"O reverend Sir, I was asleep with my son and was roused up by this terrible sound. So I do not know what took place before". Hearing the reply of Yashoda, Nanda, together with his friends, was filled with surprise and anticipated fear from Kansa.

CHAPTER 7. THE CHILDISH FREAKS OF KRISHNA.

Vaishampayana said:—As time went on those two boys, named Krishna and Sangkarshana, began to crawl on their legs. Those two beautiful boys, resembling the rising sun, the same person in two bodies, as if turned out by one mould, began to assume the same form, to lie down on the same bed, to live on the same food, and to put on the same dress. They thus sported there like boys. Those two great energies, identical with the witness of the worlds, although of one body, assumed two human forms for the destruction of the demons and for accomplishing the only great work of the resuscitation of sacrifices. Although they were the protectors of the entire universe they were born, for this, as cow-herds. While they sported there they appeared like the sun and moon in the sky possessed by each other's rays. Going every where, they, having arms like serpents, appeared like two proud young elephants covered with dust. And sometimes with their persons pasted with ashes and powdered cow-dung they shone like two princes of fire. Sometimes they used to walk on knees and enter cow-sheds and used to sport there with their persons and hairs covered with cow-dung. Sometimes committing mischiefs to the inhabitants of Vraja those two boys used to create the delight of their sire with their laughing. Those two beautiful boys, of moon-like countenances, used to appear more charming when filled with curiosity and their locks disturbing their eyes. They grew exceedingly playful and naughty and used to walk all over Vraja. And Nanda could not (by any means) check them. One day Yasoda, worked up with anger, brought the lotus-eyed Krishna near the carriage. And fastening a rope round his waist and tying it to a mortar she repeatedly remonstrating with him, said "Go, if you are capable of doing it." Saying this she engaged in her work. When Yashoda was engaged in her household works, Krishna, with a view to surprise the inhabitants of Vraja and play, issued out of the courtyard.

Going out of the courtyard with that mortar Krishna went to the forest where the huge trees Yamala and Arjuna were. Placing that mortar between the two trees he began to drag it. For his thus dragging it the mortar was firmly fixed at the root of the trees. He then began to drag the trees Arjuna and Yamala. Being thus drawn by him with great force those two Arjuna trees were uprooted with their roots and branches. In order to show this to the milk-men the Lord, resorting to his heavenly strength, began to laugh there. That rope, by his power, became stronger. The milk-women, who were then going to the bank of the river Yamuna, saw the child in that condition and were filled with wonder. And weepingly they approached Yashoda. The women, with sorry faces, said to her:—"Tarry not a moment, O Yashoda and come with us quickly. The two huge trees, that are being worshipped as gods on account of their granting objects of desire, have fallen on your son. Being bound by a rope like a calf under the belly (of the cow) your boy is laughing between the two trees. Get up and go, O foolish woman. You think you are wise but you are stupid. Your son is alive as if he has been released from the mouth of Death".

(Hearing this) she was stricken with fear and began to bewail. She then went where the two trees were uprooted. She saw there her child placed between the two trees with the rope round his waist and dragging the mortar. All the milk-men and women, aged or youthful, of Vraja went there quickly to witness this wonderful scene. Those milk-men, who range in the forest, began to speak amongst themselves "Who has uprooted these two huge trees as if forming the extent of our village? There is no storm, no rain, no fall of thunderbolt and no mischief created by elephants. Then why have these two trees, all on a sudden, fallen down? Alas! being felled down on the ground these two trees are shorn of beauty like clouds divested of water. O Nanda, these two Arjuna trees are very favourably disposed towards you and bent upon doing you good. Although they are huge they have fallen in such a way saving your child that his body has not been wounded in the least. Before this Putana had been slain and the carriage broken. And this uprooting of the trees is the third portend in Vraja). It is not meet for the milkmen to live any longer in this village, for these portends do not auger well".

Thereupon releasing the lotus-eyed Krishna from the mortar, taking him up on his lap and looking at him again and again as if he had returned from the land of the dead Nanda could not attain to the consummation of happiness. Remonstrating then with Yashoda, he, followed by all milk-men, returned to Vraja. From that day in which he was bound with the rope Krishna was called Damodara by all the milk-men of that village. O foremost of Bharatas, while living amongst milk-men, although a mere boy, he performed all these wonderful feats. [These miracles of Krishna's early life have been also described in Srimadbhagavatam, the greatest of all Vaishnava works. They have been recorded with the purpose of showing Krishna's superhuman power. The Hindus regard him as the incarnation of Vishnu and these miracles are meant to show that unless he had divinity in him he could not have performed these wonderful feats. The early writers took a special fancy for recording wonderful deeds performed by their hero for proving his superhuman power and origin. It was not only a practice with the early Hindu authors but was so with the western writers too. The miracles, of the Old Testament, will attest this argument. The early life, of Krishna, when he worked these miracles, is described in three most important works, Vishnupurana, Bhagvatpurana and Harivamsha.]

CHAPTER 8. KRISHNA WISHES TO GO TO VRINDAVANA AND PRODUCES WOLVES.

Vaishampayana said:—In this way, Krishna and Sangkarshana passed their childhood in Vraja and became seven years old. They used to put on dark-blue and yellow raiments, paste their persons with yellow and white paints and used to wear feathers of crows while tending kine. While gone to the forest those two beautiful boys used to play on Panavas, the music of which is sweet to the ears, and shone there like three-hooded serpents. Sometimes putting peacock feathers on their ears, crowns of leaves on their heads and garlands of wild flowers on their breast they shone there like two growing trees. Sometimes placing a crown of lotuses on their heads, converting a rope into a sacred thread and gourds with a string suspended, in their hands, they used to play on flutes. Sometimes sporting with one another, laughing and lying down on a bed of leaves they used to enjoy sleep. Thus leading the life of a cow-herd boy and moving about delightedly hither and thither like two young horses they beautified that forest.

One day the beautiful Damodara said to Sangkarshana: "O Sir, by sporting everywhere in the forest we have well nigh spoilt it. We cannot play here any more with the cow-herd boys. It has been divested of grass and twigs and the milk-men have up-rooted the trees. This beautiful forest has been destroyed by us. All the forests and woods, that were thick (with trees), are now all looking blank like the sky. All these eternally beautiful trees, that were in the cow-sheds well-protected by walls and wooden bolts, have been destroyed by the fire of cow-sheds. The trees and grass, that were near us, have been all thrown away on the ground at a great distance. Water, trees, groves and other resorts have now become scarce in this forest. Even by searching we cannot get at a place for rest. It has become very dreary and trees are not to be seen. The trees have been destroyed by the people of this extensive village. The birds have fled away from the useless trees. This forest, divested of birds, has become disgusting like rice without curry and other vegetable dishes. Even the delightful winds do not blow here. Woods and vegetables, grown in the forest, are now being sold. The grass is all destroyed and this village has taken the appearance of a city. The ornament of the mountain is the village of herdsmen, the forest is its ornament and the cows are the ornaments of the forest. And they are our most excellent refuge. Let the wealthy inhabitants of Vraja repair to another forest filled with new trees and grass; when the extensive villages, of milkmen, are shut out by doors and when the fields are covered with houses

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they do not look beautiful like the Chakrachari birds [A kind of wild fowls. As when they are shut up in a cage—they do not feel themselves at ease, so when the villages are well protected by gates like cities they lose their native beauty.]. When excrement and urine fall on grass its juice becomes poisonous. The cows do not like to graze on it and it is unwholesome for milk. We wish to range, with our kine, in the charming new woods which are almost like dry ground. Let this station of milk-men be also transferred there. I have heard that there is a charming forest on the bank of Yamuna abounding in profuse grass, endued with all the virtues and freed of thorns and insects. It is named Vrindavana. It is filled with fruits, water and Kadamba trees. Cool winds always blow there in the forest as if it is an asylum of all the seasons. All the woods there are so very charming that the milk-men will be able to range there happily. Near it is the huge mountain Govardhana with a high summit like the mount Mandara near the celestial garden Nandana. In the centre of that mountain there is a huge fig-tree, by name Bhandira, consisting of high branches and extending over a yojana. It shone there like a dark-blue cloud in the sky. Like unto the river Nalini flowing in the garden of Nandana, Kalindi, the foremost of streams, passes through its middle as if forming a line for separating hairs on each side of the head. With great joy we will always behold there the mount Govardhana, the tree Bhandira and the charming river Kalindi. O Sir, mayst thou fare well. Leaving this forest which has no attractions do thou lay out there the station of milk-men. Let us now, creating some calamity, terrify the milk-men".

While thus talking the intelligent Vasudeva engaged himself in a thought. From the hairs of his body there arose hundreds of wolves living on fat, blood and flesh. As soon as they came out they ran in all directions as if it to devasstate the village Vraja. Beholding them fall upon calves, kine and their women the milk-men were stricken with great fear. Forming themselves into groups of five, ten, thirty, twenty and a hundred those dark-faced wolves, bearing the mystic mark of Srivatsa, that had come out of the body of Krishna, began to range there and increase the fear of milkmen. Thus striking terror to the entire land of milkmen, those wolves, eating up calves, stealing away the boys in the night, well nigh devastated it. None, then, dared enter into woods, tend his kine, fetch any thing from the forest and go to the river. In fact, stricken with fear and motionless, they, with an anxious mind, began to live there. Those wolves, powerful like tigers, created such a fear in the inhabitants of Vraja, that they were afraid of even moving their limbs or shaking their body. And they used all to live together.

CHAPTER 9. THEIR DEPARTURE FOR VRINDAVANA.

Vaishampayana said:—Seeing the number of those irrepressible wolves, daily increased, all the men and women living in that village held a consultation amongst themselves:—"It is not proper for us to live any more in this forest. Let us go to another great forest where we may live happily and the kine may range of their own accord. Even today without any delay we will depart with our precious kine, before these dreadful wolves destroy the entire Vraja. These black-faced wolves, with tawny-coloured limbs, teeth and nails, set up a terrible roar in the night. 'My son, my brother, my calf, my cow have been eaten by the wolves.' Such cries are heard in every house". Hearing the cries of the milk-women and the doleful noise of the kine, the assembled cow-herds wished to transfer, without any delay, their station. Being informed of their desire to go to Vrindavana for fixing their station elsewhere for the well-being of the kine and finding them resolute in this matter, Nanda, like the preceptor of the gods, gave vent to the following weighty accents (6-8):—"If you are resolved upon going away even this very day, then ask the inhabitants of Vraja to get themselves ready without any delay".

Thereupon the menials announced in the village, saying: "This station will be transfared to Vrindavana. Therefore collect your own cows and calves, get ready your carts and place your own vessels thereon". Hearing those well-meaning words of Nanda they all rose up for going away speedily. Then there was set up a tumult of "Come; let us go: what is the delay? Make your carts ready. Rise up. Go". With busy cowherds and milk-women, with their innumerable carts ready that village assumed the appearance of a roaring ocean. The milk-women, with jars on their heads, and being arranged in rows, like stars coming out of the sky, issued out of Vraja. Having their breasts covered with blue, yellow, and shining jackets, those milk-women, while going on the road, appeared like a rain-bow. Carrying the load of ropes hanging on their body some milk-men imitated the beauty of trees covered with branches and leaves. The shining carts moving all around, that village of cowherds appeared like an ocean abounding in boats upset by the wind. Thus divested of all articles in no time and filled with crows it appeared like a desert.

Thereupon having gradually arrived at the forest of Vrindavana, they, for the well-being of the kine, set up many extensive stations there. With roads laid out for carts and situate like a crescent that forest was one Yoyana in breadth and two in circumference. It was protected on all sides with thorny creepers and trees, ditches and flying branches. It was beautified with charming posts and rods, with jars full of water for washing, stakes tied round with ropes and nooses, with upraised pillars, overturned carts, chords thrown upon the pillars of vessels, grass for covering the huts, sheds made of grass, with branches of trees, playing hither and thither and trees abounding in nests, cleansed cow-sheds, well-placed mortars, the burning fire placed in the west, and well stretched beds consisting of clothes and leather coatings. Bringing water and removing the branches of the trees the milk-women began to cleanse the forest. Youthful and old milk-men with axes, began lightly to fell down the trees. This station of the milk-men, abounding in woods, charming habitations, sweet roots, fruits and water, appeared more beautiful. While ranging in the forest before, Krishna, with a delighted heart, looked at that forest for the well-being of the kine. And so obtaining that forest of Vrindavana, filled with the nests of various birds and resembling the garden of Nandana, all the cows, giving milk whenever milched, were highly pleased. In the last month of the dreadful summer season, the king of gods used to pour there nectarine showers. And accordingly the people there did not suffer from any disease and all the vegetables grew in profusion. The calves and ignorant people do not suffer any disease or meet with destruction where the Lord Madhusudana lives himself for the behoof of mankind.

In this way the youthful Sangkarshana, the milk-men and the cows began to live there where Krishna thought of fixing the station.

CHAPTER 10. AN ACCOUNT OF THE RAINY SEASON.

Vaishampayana said:—Thus living in Vrindavana the two highly beautiful sons of Vasudeva began to range there tending kine. Sporting with the milk-men and bathing in the river Yamuna they spent the summer there happily. Thereupon with the advent of the rainy season that creates desire in the mind of men, clouds, containing rainbow, began to discharge their watery contents. The sun was enshrouded by the scattering clouds drawing in new water. The ground was rendered invisible by the new grown grass. With her surface brushed by the new clouds the earth appeared like a youthful damsel. Watered by the new showers, the forests and the forest-roads were divested of dust and filled with Sakragopas [An insect (coccinella of various kinds).]. This was the dancing season of the peacocks emitting sweet notes. And elated with passion they began to pour their Keka notes. The clouds began to embellish the persons of the beautiful Kadamva flowers, that had attained their youth in the wonderful rainy season and which is the only food of the bees. The forest was scented with the fragrance of Kadamva [A plant commonly Kadamba (Nancha Kadamba).] flowers and rendered smiling by the Kutaja [A medicinal plant.] flowers. Its heat was destroyed by the clouds and the earth was satisfied by the showers of rain. Being sprinkled with water by the clouds the mountains, that had been scorched by the rays of the sun and the forest were, as it were, emitting smokes. With terrible winds and huge clouds rising in the sky the earth assumed the appearance of the city of a great king. Adorned hither and thither with Kadamba and plantain flowers, that forest, abounding in delightful Nipa trees, shone there like the burning fire. Smelling the fragrance of the earth wet with the showers of Indra, and scattered by the wind the people were stricken with desire. The earth was filled with the notes of the maddened bees, the sound of the frogs and the wonderful Keka notes of the peacocks. With their currents increased by the downpour of rain the rivers, expanding themselves, began to carry away the trees grown on their banks. And there were seen all over them quickly moving whirlpools. Stupified by the continuous showers and having their wings distressed, the birds, as if on account of their quiet nature, did not leave the branches of the trees. The sun, as if, began to drown himself in the womb of the new clouds surcharged with water and filled with the noise of the falling torrents. The earth put on, as if, a garland of fresh grass. The huge trees, forming the land marks, were uprooted and every where was enveloped with water. And it was difficult, accordingly, to find out the paths. The mountains, abounding in huge trees, were as it were, assailed by thunderbolts and their summits were being carried down by the torrents. The forest-land was filled with the torrents of rain flowing down and overflowing the banks of the lakes. Following the muttering of clouds, raising up their trunks and running to and fro during the rainy season the elephants looked like clouds coming down on earth.

In this way when the rains set in Ronini's son, in order to see the clouds surcharged with water, said to Krishna in private. "O Krishna, look at the dark clouds in the sky adorned with the shining ornaments of lightning. They have, as if, stolen away the hue of your person. This is the time for your sleep. The sky is like your body. As you every year live secretly in this season so the moon is doing. With the advent of the rains, the sky, covered with clouds, growing dark-blue on account of blue clouds and shining like the red-blue lotuses, is appearing more beautiful. Behold, O Krishna, the charming mountain Govardhana, covered with dark clouds surcharged with water, is giving a lie to its own name of bringing up kine. [The word Govardhana literally means one who nourishes kine from Go kine and Vardhana to nourish. The mountain is so beautifully situated that the kine grow up there without any hitch. But in the rains the mountain has been so covered with clouds that they cannot graze there at ease. It has thus given a lie to the true import of its name.] Greatly worked up with passion on account of the falling of the showers the black-bees are ranging happily all over the forest. O you having lotus-like eyes, the highly tender green grass, vegetating profusely by the new water, are, as if, trying to cover the earth. This rainy season has not been able to increase the beauty of the mountain, abounding in fountains, that of the forest filled with water, and that of cultivated fields enveloped with corns. O Damodara, driven by the quick-coursing winds, these clouds, with their dreadful mutterings, are increasing the desire of those living in foreign countries for returning home and are thus displaying shamelessness. O Hari, O you of three foot-steps, behold, your second foot-step* is embellished with rain-bow of three colours without arrows and string. [* This refers to the sky, because at the sacrifice of the demon Bali, he placed his first foot on earth and the second in the sky.] In this month of Sravana the sun is shorn of his beauty. His scorching rays being cooled down by the clouds, he, although of thousand rays, appears to have none. The all-spreading clouds, agitated like the water of the ocean and accompanied by continuous showers, have, as it were, united the earth and sky). The torrents of rain flowing on earth, and the air, perfumed with the fragrance of Nipa, Arjuna and Kadamva flowers and capable of exciting passion, blowing with sound on high, the sky, covered with extensive and heavily showering clouds, is appearing like a deep and vast ocean (33–34). Armed with effulgent Narachas in the shape of showers, having the cloud for his coat of mail, and the rain-bow for his bow, the sky is, as if, ready for battle. O you of a beautiful countenance, covered with clouds, the mountains, forest and the tops of the trees are looking highly beautiful. Enveloped with clouds pouring down their watery contents and resembling an army of elephants the sky is imitating the colour of the ocean. Blowing there with drops of water the dread ful blasts of winds, that shake the tender plants and destroy the gravity of the oceans, are oppressing all with cold. The moon disappearing from view in night after the sun-set, and the clouds continually discharging showers, no quarter of the sky, appears beautiful. Filled with passing clouds resembling leathern bags full of air, the sky appears moving like an animate object. People can make out very little difference between day and night. What shall I speak more, O Krishna, see, Vrindavana, relieved of heat and adorned with showers, is looking beautiful like Chaitraratha garden".

Thus describing the advantages of the rainy season, Krishna's elder brother, the beautiful Balarama entered Vraja. Pleasing each other Krishna and Sangkarshana began to range there in that vast forest in the company of their then kinsmen the cowherds.

CHAPTER 11. AN ACCOUNT OF KALYA.

Vaishampayana said:—One day the lotus-eyed Krishna, having a dark-blue hue and a beautiful countenance, capable of assuming forms at will and wearing a feather of crow, without being united with Sangkarshana, began to range alone in that charming forest. Bearing the mystic mark of Srivatsa on his breast he shone there like the moon with the mark of a hare. His arms, bedecked with Angadas and his tawny coloured two little moving feet shone there like brilliant lotuses. His two pieces of yellow raiments, creating delight of the world and resembling the filaments of a lotus, shone there like the evening clouds. Ropes and rods were shining in his two plump and moving hands engaged in the work of tending kine and worshipped by the celestials. Charming fragrance, resembling that of a dark-blue lotus, was coming out from his beautiful and lotus-like mouth adorned with picturesque lips His countenance, embellished with dishevelled locks, was shining like a lotus encircled by black-bees. Garlands of new grown buds of Arjuna, Kadamba and Nipa flowers were shining on his head like a garland of stars in the sky. That hero, of dark-blue hue of the clouds of the rainy season, with a garland of the same colour around his neck, shone there like the month of Bhadra incarnate. The clean leaves, tied to the thread round his neck, shone there beautiful when shaken by the gentle breeze raised by peacock feathers.

Thus ranging every day in the forest that youth used some where to sing, some where to sport and walk and some where to make, of his own accord, the charming music of of Parna and bugle for pleasing his kine. Ranging in that wonderful forest and fanned by the charming wind proceeding from the trees that powerful and effulgent Krishna, dark blue like cloud, attained to most excellent delight. It was resonant with

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the notes of peacocks, its caves were echoed with the muttering of clouds that excite lust in men, it was adorned with plantain trees and covered with new grown grass, twigs and lotuses. It abounded in many fountains and was fragrant with the filaments of lotuses like the treath of females expressing their desire. While, ranging in that forest one day, along with his kine, he saw there a foremost of trees with high branches. Enveloped with thick leaves it was stationed on earth like a cloud. With its height it traversed half of the sky and if contained as it were the enjoyment of the wind. Covered with fruits of blue and diverse other colours and resorted to by various birds it appeared like a cloud accompanied by rainbow. The wind and cloud were as if simultaneously living in the trees resembling houses, adorned with creepers and flowers and bent down on account of their huge roots. As if by his pristine good deeds, that great tree, who could give protection against rain and the rays of the sun, was ruling over others there. Beholding this Bhandiraka fig-tree resembling the summit of a mountain the sinless Lord Krishna desired to live there. Thereupon engaged in sport there along with other cow-herd boys of his own age, as in the city of the celestials, he spent the day there.

While Krishna began to sport there under Bhandiraka tree the other cow-herds amused him with various wild plays. The milkmen began to sing there and the boys, fond of amusing, sang there many songs relating to Krishna. When they thus began to sing in accompaniment with the music of Panava, the powerful Krishna, too at times, played on his flute and Tumvi.

One day while tending his kine, Krishna, having the eyes of a bull, repaired to the bank of Yamuna abounding in trees adorned with creepers. He saw the delightful wind blowing on the water; and the foremost of rivers Yamuna, embellished with lilies and lotuses, was as if with her waves, casting her glances. All her landing stairs were well-levelled and her water was sweet; she had many lakes and her current was strong. And all the trees (on her bank) were shaken by the watery air. It was resonant with the notes of swans, Karandavas and Sarasas and resorted to by Chakravakas and other fowls that range in pairs Her water was filled with acquatic animals, was endued with all the good qualities, was variegated with various water-born flowers and was rendered yellow by water-born corals). The passing currents were her feet, the bank was her hip, the whirlpool was her navel, the lotuses were her hairs, the cavity of the bank was her belly, the three curves of the wave were her three marks on the fore-head, the sides of the bank were her expansive face, the foams were her teeth, the swans were her smiles, the dark-blue lotuses were her lips, the water-born flowers were her eyes having bent down eye-brows, the lakes were her forehead, the corals were her beautiful hairs, the long extending currents were her high arms, the serpents were her ears, the geese were her ear-rings, the lotuses were her beautiful eyes, the trees grown on her banks were her ornaments, the fishes were her ornaments for the waist, the other sorts of corals were her silken raiment, the notes of Sarasas were the sound of her Nupuras, the Kasa flowers were her cloth, the Swans and tortoises were the auspicious marks, fishes and crocodiles were her pastes; the animals were playing in the ditch and men formed her rising breasts. The animals were agitating her water and her banks were filled with hermitages. Seeing this beautiful river Yamuna, the queen of the ocean, Krishna, as if to beautify her the more, was ranging there. Ranging thus he saw there a vast lake filled with deep water and resembling the sky crested with clouds. It extended over a Yojana and even the celestials could not cross it. Its water was deep and motionless like that of the ocean. It was cast off by beasts, acquatic animals and water-fowls. There being many ponds with serpents on its bank, people, with very great difficulty, could traverse it. It was enveloped with smoke proceeding from poisonous trees. The sages, desirous of performing three oblations in a day, could not enjoy its water. What to speak of its being used by men requiring water it was unworthy even of the beasts. Even the birds could not range in the sky overhanging it and the grass burnt up in no time as soon as it fell into it. Even the gods could not approach that lake extending over a Yojana on all sides. And the trees there were being consumed by the dreadful poisonous fire. Beholding in that province freed from all calamities, such a huge lake at a distance of a Krosa north of Vraja Krishna began to think. "To whom does this huge and deep lake belong? Methinks that dreadful king of serpents Kalya, resembling a heap of collyrium of whom I had heard before and who has left the ocean in fear of the king of birds Garuda, who feeds on serpents, is living here. By him this Yamuna, flowing to the ocean, has been polluted. And in fear of that king of serpents no one lives here. Protected by the ministers of that serpent king, doing him good, this dreadful forest, filled with grass and various trees and creepers, has become unworthy of being resorted to like the sky and being touched like a poisonous food. The banks, filled with corals, trees and creepers, are being protected by his attendants, doing him good. And two artificial roads are seen running over its two banks. I should, however, vanquish this king of serpents. I should defeat the serpent in such a way as may render the water of lake useful to the inhabitants of Vraja, and so that delightful winds may blow here and the landing stairs may become worthy of use. In order to vanquish these wicked ones always following the wrong ways I have taken my birth as a milkman and am living amongst the cow-herds. Therefore sporting like a child I shall climb this Kadamba tree, jump into the lake and vanquish Kalya. Doing this my superior power of arms will be known to all".

CHAPTER 12. KRISHNA SUBDUES KALYA.

Vaishampayana said:—Thinking thus Krishna repaired to the bank of the river. Tying his cloth firmly he, with delight, got upon the Kadamba tree. Climbing up to the top of the tree and emitting a leonine roar the cloud-hued and lotus-eyed Krishna jumped headlong down into the lake. That lake, of the river Yamuna, was agitated by his fall. And the water thereof overflowed (on all sides) like scattering clouds. The huge abode of the serpent (Kalya) was shaken by that sound. And the serpents, with their eyes reddened with anger, rose up from the water. Thereupon was seen the king of serpents Kalya endued with the hue of clouds, having eyes reddened with ire, five hoods, a fiery countenance and tongue and effulgent like the flames of fire. The entire lake was covered with his hood burning like fire and five huge and dreadful faces were seen above (the water). When that king of serpents was burning in his energy and anger the water there appeared as if boiling and the river Yamuna, stricken with fear, flew in her opposite course. Beholding Krishna coming to the lake and sporting like a boy he had powerful winds issue out of his mouth filled with the fire of anger. Scintiliations of fire, accompanied by smoke, came out from the mouth of that king of serpents. All the huge trees, which were grown on the bank near him, were in no time consumed by the fire of anger discharged by that king of serpents, resembling the very incarnation of the end of a Yuga. [When a cycle terminates every thing in the world is destroyed. The serpent is compared to this termination for every thing there was destroyed by his dreadful venom.] Thereupon his son Dara and his servants, the other leading serpents of incomparable energy, came there vomitting the dreadful fire of venom accompanied by smokes. Thereupon they made Krishna enter into a circle of their hoods. Having his hands and feet made incapable of putting forth any exertion he stood there motionless like a mountain. The leading serpents began to sprinkle Krishna with water vitiated by their teeth. The powerful Krishna however did not die. In the meantime the cow-herd boys, filled with fear, returned weeping to Vraja and with suppressed voice said:

"Out of foolishness Krishna is drowned in the lake Kalya. The king of serpents is devouring him. Do ye all come without delay. Do ye speedily go and communicate to Nanda and his followers that Krishna is being dragged into the lake by the serpent".

Hearing those words like unto the fall of a thunderbolt the milk-man Nanda was greatly distressed with sorrow and speedily went to that most excellent lake. All the inhabitants of Vraja, accompanied by the youthful Sangkarshana, boys, old men and young ladies, arrived at the watery abode of that king of serpents. Having reached the the bank of that lake all the milkmen, headed by Nanda, stricken with shame, surprise and sorrow, began to bewail with their eyes full of tears. Some cried, exclaiming "Oh, son!" while others said "Alas! woe to us!". Whereas others, assailed greatly by fear, cried "Alas! We are all slain!" The women, crying aloud, said to Yashoda "Alas! We are all killed. Behold your son brought under the control of the king of serpents. He is trembling there as if churned, like ambrosia, by the hood of the serpent. Forsooth, your heart is made of stone, since it is not breaking assunder even beholding your son in this plight. See, the milkman Nanda, filled with grief, is standing on the bank of the lake like one unconscious, fixing his look on the face of his son. Following Yashoda we shall rather enter into this lake, the abode of the serpents. And still we will not return to Vraja without Damodara. Without Krishna Vraja shall never appear beautiful like the day shorn of the sun, or the night shorn of the moon or the cow divorced from the bull. Separated from Krishna we shall not go there like a cow without her calf".

Hearing the lamentations of the male and female inhabitants of Vraja, and of Nanda and the cries of Yashoda, Sangkarshana, who though of one mind, one body and one intelligence, was still a separate person, said in anger to Krishna:—"O Krishna, O thou of large-arms, O thou who dost enhance the delight of the milkmen, do thou soon destroy this venomous serpent-king. O my brother, O my lord, all these our relations have human understandings and so they are bewailing for thee considering thee a human being".

Hearing those wise words of Rohini's son, Krishna sportively raised up his arms and rose up snapping the fetters of the serpents). And placing his feet on the hoods of the serpent-king that were above the water he got hold of his bead with his hands. Then rising up, by force, on his middle head, Krishna, who was adorned with a beautiful Angada, began to dance there. Thus grinded by Krishna the hoods of that serpent-king became pale and blood came out therefrom. (Kalya) then with dreadful accents said to him. "O Krishna of a beautiful countenance, unwittingly did I display anger against thee. But now I have been vanquished and subdued by thee and my venom has been destroyed. Do thou give me my life and command me whom I am to serve along with my wife, children and friends."

Beholding that five-hooded serpent-king and hearing his distressful words, the Lord Krishna, having the enemy of serpents as his carrier, replied like one having no anger:—"O serpent, I do not wish to allow you to live in this water of Yamuna. Therefore repair to the ocean with your wife and kinsmen. After this whoever amongst your sons and servants shall be seen either in the water or on the land of this province he will be killed by me. O king of serpents, let this water prove wholesome unto all and yourself proceed to the mighty deep. If you remain here after this you will be visited by a great calamity that will bring about the termination of your life. If Garuda, the enemy of serpents, behold in the ocean, my foot-marks on your head he will not kill you".

(Thus accosted by the Lord) that foremost of serpents Kalya, carrying on his head Krishna's foot-marks, fled away stealthily from the lake in the very presence of the milk-men. After the king of serpents had thus fled away vanquished the Lord came out from the water and stood on the bank. Filled with surprise the milk-men chanted his glories and circumambulated him. Thereupon those milk-men, living in the forest, delightedly said to Nanda: "Indeed thou art fortunate and a favourite of the gods since your son is (so very powerful). From to-day, O sinless one, the powerful Krishna, having large eyes, will be a refuge of the milk-men in their perils and a protector of the kine in the cow-shed. The water of the Yamuna has become everywhere delightful and wholesome. From now all our kine will happily range in every landing stair. Really we are milk-men for we have not been able to know Krishna truly in Vraja like fire covered with ashes". Thereupon eulogising the immortal Krishna the milk-men, filled with surprise, entered their hamlet like unto the celestials entering the Chitraratha garden.

CHAPTER 13. THE DESTRUCTION OF KHARA AND DHENUKA.

Vaishampayana said:—After the king of serpents had been vanquished by Krishna in the lake of Yamuna Rama and Keshava began to range there. Thereupon going to the mountain Govarddhana* along with their precious kine, those two heroic sens of Vasudeva beheld a huge forest of palm trees, situate, on its north, on the bank of Yamuna. They were greatly delighted at its sight and began to range in that charming forest of palm trees covered with palm leaves like two new grown plants. It was well levelled, cool, coated with black earth and profuse grass and was freed from stones and clods of earth. Dark-blue and tall palm trees, with fruits and branches hanging, shone there like the trunks of elephants.

[* There is still a mountain of the same name within a few miles' distance from the town of Mathura. -- Mathura is one of the Sapta Puri, the 7 Holy Cities of India: 1) Ayodhya (Ayodhya Puri), birthplace of Lord Rama and setting of the epic Ramayana. It is in Uttar Pradesh, northwestern India. 2) Haridwar (Maya Puri) literally means "gateway to god Vishnu (Hari)" or "gateway to god Shiva (Har)" as Har[i] means "Lord Vishnu", while dwar means "gateway." 3) Varanasi (Kashi Puri), also known as Benares or Banaras, is a city on the banks of the river Ganges in Uttar Pradesh, India. 4) Kanchipuram (Kanchi Puri) in the Indian state of Tamil Nadu, Ka means Brahma + anchi means worship, so it means the City of Lord Brahma in Tamil language. 5) Mathura (Madhura Puri), birthplace of Lord Krishna. It is located c, 55 km (34 mi) north of Agra, and 145 km (90 mi) south-east of Delhi. 6) Ujjain or Ujjaini (Avantika Puri) was a prominent capital city of the Avanti people on the Malwa plateau of central India. It emerged as the political centre of central India around 600 BC. According to the Vishnu Purana (2.3), the Bhagavata Purana (12.1.36) and the Brahma Purana (19.17), the Avantis were associated with the Malava, the Saurashtras, and the Abhiras (Apiru, Habiru, Hebrews), also known as Yadavas (Yoddhaya, Yaudeva, Yudaya, Judaeans), also described as Followers of Krishna. 7) Dwarka (Dwaraka Puri) is often identified with the Dwarka Kingdom, the ancient kingdom of Krishna, and is believed to have been the first capital of Gujarat. The name Dwarka means "gateway" as it was a sea port connected with sea ports in Egypt, Sumer, Akkad, Yemen, and Ethiopia. One of the most important texts to mention the sea ports of northwestern India is the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, a Roman travel guide written in about 50 AD. It describes the Gulf of Baraca (Bharuch, Baruch, an Aramaic name; today known as the Gulf of Kutch) with its sea port Baruch. The Baruch port had trade with Ujjain and Mathura. The coasts of ancient India was littered with Harbour cities. Between 1955 and 1960, archaeologists found one of the oldest sea ports in history on the eastern side of the large Kathiawar peninsula. Its name: Lothal. Lothal is situated in the Bahl region of modern Gujarat and was one of the most prominent cities of the Indus

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Valley civilisation. It is situated near the village of Saragwala in the Ahmedabad district of Gujarat. It was discovered in 1954 and might date back to 2200 BC. Lothal's dock is the oldest known dock not only in India but also in the world; it is c. 220 metres long and 35 metres wide. (S. R. Rao, 1985, Lothal. Archaeological Survey of India. pp. 28–29.) Here is a little list of ancient seaports of India: 1) Lothal, Gujarat; 2) Muziris Port, Kerala; 3) Arikamedu Port; 4) Baruch Port; 5) Poompuhar Port; 6) Calicut Port; 7) Tuticorin Port; 8) Mormugao Port; 9) Chennai Port.]

While thus ranging Damodara, the foremost of speakers, said to Sangkarshana:—"O reverend sir, this forest-land is perfumed with the fragrance of ripe palm fruits. Let us both quickly pluck the sweet, ripe and dark-blue fruits. While its smell is so very sweet and pleasing to the odiferous organ it must undoubtedly be delicious like ambrosia. This is (in short) my conviction."

Hearing the words of Damodara, Rohini's son smilingly shook the trees with a view of felling down the fruits. Appearing like a desert, although very useful, that forest of palm trees was unworthy of being resorted to and traversed by men like a habitation of the Rakshasas. For encircled by a herd of mules that huge and dreadful demon Dhenuka used always to live there, in the shape of an ass. Terrifying men, beasts and birds there that wicked minded ass used to protect the forest of palm trees. Hearing the sound of the fall of palm fruits he grew exceedingly enraged and could not bear it like unto an elephant. Shaking his manes in anger, lifting up his tail in delight and scratching the earth with his hoof that Daitya, of motionless eyes and wide lips, followed the sound of palm fruits and arrived where the son of Rohini was. Beholding under the palm tree that immortal son of Rohini resembling a flag in form, that Daitya-chief Khara, having the teeth for his weapon, all on a sudden bit him; and then turning back his face he struck his breast with his long legs. Then holding that demon in the shape of an ass by the legs and whirling his head and shoulders (Sangkarshana) threw him up on the top of the palm tree. He too, with his thighs, waist, neck and back mutilated and a disfigured form, fell down on earth along with palm fruits. Beholding that ass thus dead and shorn of beauty Baladeva threw up his other relations too on the top of the tree. At that time the ground there was covered with palm fruits and bodies of the asses and it shone there like the autumnal sky covered with clouds.

Thus when that Daitya, in the form of an ass, was slain with all his followers that forest of palm trees assumed again a picturesque view. When that most excellent white forest of palm trees was shorn of fear the kine began to range there with great glee. And entering that forest the milkmen, rangers of woods, began to move about on all sides divested of sorrow and fear. Observing the kine roam on all sides at ease the two sons of Vasudeva, powerful like elephants, spread there seats of grass and sat down at ease.

CHAPTER 14. THE DESTRUCTION OF THE DEMON PRALAMVA

Vaishampayana said:—Thereupon leaving off that forest of palm trees the two sons of Vasudeva again came to the Bhandira tree. Traversing that prosperous forest land and tending the ever increasing flock of kine those two beautiful subduers of enemies began to strike their arms and sing. Sometimes they collected the trees and called the kine with their calves by names. They had ropes hanging on their shoulders and their breasts were adorned with garlands of auspicious wild flowers. And they looked like two bulls with new-grown horns. Having the hue of gold and powdered collyrium and clad in apparels of the same colour with their respective persons, those two boys appeared like white and black clouds accompanied by rain-bow [lit. the the bow of Indra]. Traversing the forest-ways along with their comrades, making beautiful ear-rings with the tips of Kuça grass or flowers, and putting on wild dresses they sometimes sported on the mount Govardhana, sometimes in the forest and some times in the table-land. They thus engaged in a sport which was celebrated all over the world. Thus following human conduct and engaging in a play introduced by milk-men they, who were worshipful even unto the celestials, began to range in the forest.

Thus sporting, they, within a short time, reached the Bhandiraka fig-tree covered with growing branches—the best of the kind. They, who were experts in fighting, began to play there with cradles, nets and stones. Those two heroes, powerful like lions, began to display there, in the company of cow-herd boys, of their own accord and with delight, many a martial feat. While they were thus playing, the foremost of Asuras, by name Pralamva, came there with a view to kill them and began to find out their weak points. Assuming the form of a cow-herd and adorned with wild flowers that Asura began to tempt the two brothers with his play and smiles. Adopting a human form, although not born in the race of men that foremost of Danavas, fearlessly joined their company. Considering him, who came there in the form of a milk-man, as their friend, those cow-herds began to play with that enemy of the immortals. Searching their weak points Pralamva too, who had assumed the guise of a milk-man, cast his dreadful looks at Krishna and Rohini's son. Then considering Krishna of wonderful prowess as irrepressible he gave him up and made up his mind for destroying Baladeva. O sinless one, at that time the Lord introduced a new of play of leaping in pairs. And all of them engaged in it. Krishna jumped with another milk-boy by name Sridama and Sangkarshana with Pralamva, O sinless one. The other milk-boys, of inferior strength, began to leap with great force in the company of their comrades. Krishna defeated Sridama and Rohini's son Pralamva and other boys were vanquished by those of Krishna's party. Thereupon carrying on their shoulders the victorious those, who were vanquished, came delightedly and quickly to the root of the Bhandiraka tree and soon reached their appointed quarter. And carrying on his shoulders Baladeva, the foremost of Danavas, Pralamva, began to proceed quickly in an opposite direction like a cloud with the moon. Being unable to carry the weight of the intelligent son of Rohini that huge-bodied (demon) increased (his body) like a cloud attacked by Sakra. Then that foremost of Danavas Pralamva displayed his own body huge as the Bhandiraka fig-tree and effulgent like a mountain of burnt collyrium. Then that huge-faced and huge-necked dreadful demon, having eyes like unto the wheels of a car, a head adorned with a sun-like coronet of five layers and resembling Death himself, shone like a cloud attacked by the sun. The earth sank under the weight of his feet. As Death carries away men sunk in the waves of the ocean, so the great demon Pralamva, the foremost of heroes, adorned with long garlands and other ornaments and clad in a long raiment, carried away quickly and stealthily Rohini's son like a cloud surcharged with water. While thus carried away by him Sangkarshana shone there like the moon in the sky carried by dreadful clouds. Beholding himself on the shoulders of the demon the dreadful Sangkarshana began to cherish suspicions in his mind and said to Krishna.

"O Krishna, I am being carried away by this Daitya huge like a mountain and clad in a coat of mail who has displayed a great illusion and assumed the form of a man). This wicked-minded Pralamva has grown exceedingly in pride and his power has doubled itself. How shall I vanquish him?"

Krishna knew very well the character and strength of Rohini's son and therefore smilingly and quietly said to him in joyous words:—"O god, thou art identical with the universe and art subtler than the subtle. Thou art merely showing the conduct of a man. Do thou meditate thy own Narayana form at the time of the revolution of the worlds. Do thou now know of thy own true form and body (which thou didst manifest at the time of the) union of the ancient Rishis, powerful on account of their own faculties, of the oceans, Brahma and water. The sky is thy head, the water is thy form, the earth is thy forgiveness, the fire is thy mouth, the life of all the worlds is thy breath, the air is thy abode, and thy mind is the creator all. Thou art of thousand faces, thousand limbs, thousand feet, thousand eyes, thousand lotus-navels and thousand rays, and the slayer of thy enemies. The celestials behold what thou didst display before. None can find out what had not been said by thee before. Whatever is capable of being known in this world thou hast made them all known. All the celestials do not know what thou alone dost know. The deities see thy own natural etherial form and worship that artificial form of thine, begotten of thy own self (which thou didst assume in the golden age). The gods can not see thy end and therefore thou dost pass by the appellation of Ananta [i.e., God has no beginning or end.]. Thou art alone subtle and beyond the comprehension of the subtle. O god, thou art the pillar of this universe. And stationed in thee this world, the source of the origin of all creatures, is upholding all the regions. My body extends over the four oceans and thou hast instituted the division of the four Varnas. [According to the Hindu mythology the world is bounded by the four oceans on the four sides. This figuratively refers to the universal form of the God. -- Therefore, there are four principal Varnas or castes, as mentioned in ancient Hindu texts, describes society as divided into four categories: Brahmins (scholars and yajna priests), Kshatriyas (rulers and warriors), Vaishyas (farmers, merchants and artisans) and Shudras (workmen/service providers). The texts do not mention any hierarchy or a separate, untouchable category in Varna classifications. Scholars believe that the Varnas system was never truly operational in society and there is no evidence of it ever being a reality in Indian history. The earliest reference to the origin of caste is seen in a hymn of the Rig-Veda called Purusha Sukta. There are various other accounts seen in the various Puranas.] Thou art the lord of the four Yugas [The 4 ages of the world of which there are four namely, Satya, Treta, Dwapara and Kali.] and the eater of the fruits of the four Hotras [An article intended as fit for offering with fire. Burnt offering, oblation with fire.]. Although we both are of one body, we have assumed two different forms for protecting the universe, mobile and immobile. As I am the Lord of the universe so thou art. I am the eternal Krishna and thou art the ancient Sesha [A name of Balaveda. It is also the name of the serpent-king, the thousand-headed snake who was the couch and canopy of Vishnu.]. Thou art the ever-existent god Sesha of the world. The world is upheld by our body divided in twain. I am identical with thee and thou art at one with me. Both of us are highly powerful and of one body. What is the use, O God, of waiting like one having no sense? Do thou strike forcibly, with thy fist, firm as a thunder-bolt, the head of this Danava, the enemy of the celestials".

Vaishampayana said:—Hearing those words of Krishna and recollecting the ancient history the mighty-armed son of Rohini was filled with his own strength pervading the three worlds and with his well-formed fist resembling a thunder-bolt struck the wicked Pralamva on the head. His head, shorn of its fore part, entered into the body of the Danava and he too, divested of his life, touched the ground with his knees. Thereupon, with his body out-stretched on the ground Pralamva looked like a cloud scattered on the sky. As streams of water, mixed with various minerals, come out of the summit of a mountain so blood came out of his body shorn of head.

Having thus slain Pralamva and withdrawn his own strength the powerful son of Rohini embraced Krishna. Thereupon Krishna, along with the gods stationed in the sky and milkmen began to chant the glories of the highly powerful Baladeva with benedictory hymns bespeaking his victory. In the sky was heard an invisible voice of the celestials declaring "This Daitya has been by force killed by a boy of unwearied actions". Thus on that Daitya, irrepressible unto the deities, being slain, the celestials, stationed in the sky, gave him the name Baladeva after his action. Therefore all the worlds call him by the name of Baladeva.

CHAPTER 15. AN ACCOUNT OF INDRA-YAJNA.

Vaishampayana said:—Thus ranging and sporting in the forest Krishna and Baladeva spent the two* months of the rainy season. [* In India the year is divided into six seasons of two months each.] Thereupon returning to Vraja those two heroic brothers heard that arrangements were being made for performing a Yajna in honour of Indra and that the milkmen were busily engaged in merriments. Seeing this, Krishna, filled with curiosity, asked "What is that Sakra sacrifice for which you are all filled with delight?" Amongst them an elderly milk-man replied:—"Hear, why Indra's flag is worshipped. O subduer of thy enemies, Indra, the king of the celestials and the lord of the world, is the master of clouds. For this reason from time immemorial and coming down from one family to another, this festival is being celebrated. Commanded by him and embellished by his bow the clouds produce corns with new showers of rain. Pleased with witnessing this festival the Lord Purandara, the giver of clouds and water, and the partaker of many sacrifices, brings about the gratification of the entire world. We and other men live by the corns produced by him and the celestials are also gratified thereby. Corns grow up when the king of gods sends down showers. And when the earth is gratified with oblations the whole universe appears as if full of ambrosia. Fed by the grass produced by him the kine, with the bulls and calves, have attained to nourishment and easiness. Wherever the cloud, pouring down water, is seen, there is observed neither a piece of ground shorn of grass and corns nor an hungry animal. The nectarine rays, of the sun that are milched by the Lord Sakra, are discharged by the clouds in the form of ambrosia-like showers of rain. The mighty leonine roar, announced by the air, which he emits with force from the clouds, is designated by the people as the muttering of clouds. The terrible sound, that he sends forth when carried by clouds accompanied by the wind, is heard like the clap of a thunder-bolt that shatters the mountains. O my child, as the great Lord Siva is encircled by the goblins, so Indra, surrounded by clouds coursing at will, and stationed in the sky, sends down showers accompanied by the clap of a thunder-bolt. Sometimes resembling an unfair day, sometimes resembling scattered gold, sometimes resembling collyrium and sometimes pouring water in drops the clouds paint the sky. Thus extracting water from the earth through the rays of the sun, Indra, the giver of water, sends it down again on earth for the behoof of all creatures. [This shows that the ancient Hindus were not ignorant of the scientific formation of clouds.] For these reasons O Krishna, this rainy season has been fixed upon as the time for worshipping Indra. The kings and others men with delight worship Indra in the rainy season. We too do so".

CHAPTER 16. KRISHNA PROTESTS AGAINST INDRA-YAJNA: AN ACCOUNT OF AUTUMN.

[In this Chapter it will be seen that Krishna attempts to put a stop to Indra-Yajna or a sacrifice in honour of the god of rain. It is evident from the manner in which he preaches against it that he was opposed to lifeless rituals and ceremonials. He exhorts all the people of his clan to believe that every body's calling, on which depends his livelihood, is a god to him. He was not for useless ceremonies and rituals and always tried to present before his country a higher form of faith, freed from the prevailing superstitions. But he introduced it in a very mild form and for this he did not revolutionize the existing modes of things. This his stand

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against Indra-Yajna, and his introduction of the worship of mountain, forest etc ultimately developed itself into the great religion of Duty which he preached in his after life. To worship one's own means of livelihood, when stripped off metaphor, means to perform one's own duty considering it as sacred as the worship of a deity. This incident of introducing a new form of religion also proves his superhuman power. Being a mere boy he produced so great an influence over his people that they left off their established form of religion and followed him.]

Vaishampayana said:—Hearing the words of the aged milk-men regarding the festivity of Indra, Damodara well-informed of Sakra's might, said to him. "We are all milk-men who range in the forest. The precious kine constitute our subsistence. We should therefore worship the kine, the mountains and the forests. Cultivation is the means of subsistence to the cultivators, merchandise is to the merchants and the cow is the best means of livelihood to us. This has been laid down by the scholars well-read in the three Vedas. The respective profession of each caste is their great God, is worshipful, adorable and beneficial unto them. He, who, benefitted by one, worships another, is visited by two fold calamities in this world, and in the next after death. The fields are protected by cultivation, the forests are preserved by fields and the mountains are supported by forests and these mountains are our only refuge. I have heard that the mountains, which exist in this forest, assume forms at their will. And adopting various shapes they sport in their table-lands. Sometimes assuming the forms of tigers, the foremost of those having claws or those of lions adorned with manes, they frighten those who devastate the forest and thus protect their respective woods. When tribes living in the forest [The Bheels or other barbarous tribes who live in the forest.] or those obtaining their livelihood through it* disfigure a wood, they, with their work of eating up manliness, destroy them in no time. [* The milk-men or others who obtain their means of livelihood either by tending their kine in the forest or selling the produce of the forest.] The Brahmanas perform Yajnas wherein the Mantras play an important part, the cultivators should perform a sacrifice in honour of a furrow and we milk-men should celebrate one in honour of the mountains. Therefore we should worship the mountains in the forest. Methinks, therefore, O milk-men, that engaged in celebrating a Yajna in honour of the mountains do ye engage in actions after your own hearts either at the foot of a tree or of a mountain. Digging wells and setting up sheds in that auspicious place and slaying beasts of sacrifice let the milk-men carry on their festivity. There is no need of holding a discussion over it. Circumambulating that best of mountains embellished with autumnal flowers the kine will again return to Vraja. Every one is filled with delight in this charming autumn shorn of clouds, endued with many virtues and abounding in delicious water affording satisfaction to the kine and in grass. Somewhere rendered white by blossoming Pryaka flowers and somewhere made dark blue by Banasanas the forest, abounding in full-grown grass and shorn of peacocks, is appearing greatly beautiful. Clear clouds, shorn of water and lightnings, are moving in the sky like a herd of elephants. The trees, enveloped with new grown foliage, are as if being pleased by the continual muttering of clouds drawing in new water. Having the white cloud for its head-gear, fanned by the swan-like chowries and with the full-moon for its umbrella the sky is shining like a newly installed king. After the termination of the rainy season all the tanks and pools are as if smiling with the rows of swans. And as if filled with the cries of Sarasas, they are daily decreasing in size. The rivers, flowing towards the ocean having the Chakravakas for their breast, the banks for their waist and the swans for their smiles, are as if going to their husbands. The water, beautified by the full blown lilies and the sky crested with stars, as if mock each other in the night. Beholding the highly charming forest resonant with the notes of Kraunchas and blued with the ripe Kalama paddy one attains to delight of mind. The tanks, pools, lakes and rivers and fields, embellished with blossoming trees, are appearing highly beautiful. Copper coloured and dark-blue lotuses are appearing in the beauty of new water. The peacocks are freed of haughtiness, the sky is divested of clouds, the oceans are full of water and the wind is gradually assuming proportions. The earth is appearing as if of many eyes by the feathers cast off by the peacocks after their dancing in the rainy season. With her banks full of mud and covered with Kasa flowers and creepers and abounding in swans and Sarasas the river Yamuna is appearing highly beautiful. Ranging in fields filled with corns ripened in proper season and in the forest, the birds, living on corns and water, are emitting notes in excitement. The tender corns, on which the clouds poured their watery contents in the rainy season, have grown hardened. Casting off his cloudy raiment and illumined by the autumn the moon is, as if, ranging with a delighted heart, in the clear sky. Now the kine have been yielding milk in double the quantity, the bulls have become two-fold maddened, the forest has become twice beautiful and the earth has become highly accomplished with corns. The luminous bodies, divested of clouds, the water beautified with lotuses, and the mind of men are daily becoming delightful. Divested of clouds and shining in autumnal effulgence the sun, of powerful rays, is spreading its lustre on all sides and drawing the water). Having excited their respective armies the kings, the protectors of the world, desirous of achieving victory, are proceeding against one another. The variegated and charming woods, with the mud dried up and reddened by Vandhujiva flowers, are creating the delight of the mind. The blossoming Asana, Saptaparna and Kanchana trees are beautifying the forest. Vanasana, Dantivitapa, Pryaka Svarnaparna, and Ketaki trees have been covered with flowers and the she-owls and black-bees are moving about hither and thither. As if assuming the beauty of a harlot the autumnal season is walking in Vraja and cow-sheds filled with the sound of churning rods. The foremost of the celestials (Vishnu), having the emblem of Garuda on his flag, was happily sleeping during the rainy season. The deities are now trying to awaken him.

"O ye milk-men, in this autumn abounding in beautiful corns, we will worship the foremost of mountains, resembling the abode of the wind-god, resorted to by white, red and blue birds, filled with fruits like clouds adorned with the bow of Indra, crested with groves of creepers and trees and adorned with expansive table-lands. We will, in particular, worship the kine. Adorning the cows with ear-rings, horns, chaplets of peacock feathers, bells hanging around their necks and autumnal flowers, do ye worship them for your well-being. And let the yajna, in honour of the mountain, be undertaken. We will celebrate a yajna in honour of the mountain as Sakra is worshipped by the celestials. And forsooth we will compel you to perform the yajna for the cows. If you have any love for me, and if I am your friend, then do ye all worship the kine. Do not cherish any doubt in this. If you cherish these my conciliating words, you will meet with your well-being. Therefore without questioning its purpose do ye fulfill my words".

CHAPTER 17. THE REPLY OF THE GOPAS.

Vaishampayana said:—Hearing the words of Damodara the Gopas were greatly delighted; and being informed of the true import of his nectarine words they unhesitatingly replied:

"O boy, we have been highly pleased seeing this thy understanding conducive to the multiplication of the kine and the well-being of the milk-men. O Krishna, thou art our course, delight and refuge. Thou dost understand our hearts and art our saviour in great disasters. Thou art the friend of our friends. By thy favour, this entire hamlet of milk-men the delightful Gokula [Another name of Vraja, the village of milk-men.] has been shorn of her enemies. And filled with auspiciousness she is living with joy and happiness like the city of the celestials. Witnessing these thy deeds worthy of being seen and which it is impossible for others to perform, beginning with thy birth and hearing thy haughty words our minds have been filled with surprise. As Purandara is amongst the celestials so thou hast acquired supremacy amongst men by thy matchless strength, power, and fame. By thy fierce power and consummate effulgence thou hast acquired superiority amongst the mortals like unto the sun amongst the deities. As is the moon amongst the gods, so thou hast acquired prominence amongst men by thy grace, beauty, delightful countenance and smiles. In strength, energy, body, and feats performed in boyhood only Kartikeya* can equal thee. [* The deity of war and son of Siva. Derived from Kirtika the personified Pleiades: according to the legend having been fostered and brought up by the nymphs so called. He was so great an adept in the art of war that he was appointed the commander of the celestial army in the war between the gods and demons.] There is none to match thee amongst men. As the great ocean cannot overleap its bank so who can disregard your proposal regarding the performance of a yajna in honour of the mountain? Let now for the well-being of the kine and milkmen the Giri-yajana [A sacrifice in honour of the mount Govardhana], instituted by thee, be undertaken by us in the place of the Indra-yajna. Let delightful viands of milk be prepared and let beautiful jars be placed at the drinking-place The place where water is drunk.]. Let spacious rivers and Dronis* be filled with milk and take such a quantity of fried meat and various sorts of food and drink to the mountain that the Gopas may spend three nights. Let this yajna, consisting of all milkmen and abounding in the meat of buffalo and other beasts, be at once undertaken". [* Any real vessel made of wood, stone and in the shape of a boat and used for holding or pouring out water, as a bathing tub, a bathing vessel, a bucket or watering pot, etc.]

Thereupon the entire village of milkmen was filled with glee along with the delighted kine. Then with the sound of trumpets, the roar of the bulls and the cries of the calves the Gopas were greatly rejoiced. Lakes of curd, whirlpools of clarified butter and rivers of milk were made there. A heap of meat and a mountain-like collection of of boiled rice were taken to the mountain. Thus the Giri-Yajna was undertaken by all the milkmen there. There were present the delighted Gopas and the beautiful milk-women. Hundreds of eating-places were set up there. It abounded in garlands, various sorts of perfumeries and incense. Various articles of sacrifice were spread there duly. And thus in the auspicious hour the Gopas, along with the Brahmanas, celebrated the Giri-Yajna. After the termination of the yajna, Krishna, assuming, by his illusive energy, the form of a mountain, feasted on that most excellent rice, meat, curd and milk. The Brahmanas too were pleased with eating there and all their desires were accomplished. And uttering there delightedly the verses of benediction they went away. Assuming a celestial form and partaking of the food and drink after his own heart in that sacrifice the Lord Krishna smilingly said "I am satisfied". Then beholding on the top of the hill Krishna in the form of a mountain embellished with celestial garlands and pastes, the leading Gopas, bowing, sought refuge with him. The omnipotent Lord Krishna, having his true form hidden by the mountain, himself adored his own self along with the bowing Gopas.

The Gopas, filled with surprise, said to that god stationed on the best of mountains:—"O lord, we are thy devoted servants, command us what we are to do". He replied to them in words originating from the mountain:—"If you have compassion for the kine, engage in my worship from to-day. I am your well-meaning first deity who grant all objects of desire and by my favour you have got, in your possession, ten millions of precious kine. If you all become my votaries, I will encompass your well-being in the forest and enjoy, as in the celestial region, in your company. Being delighted I will confer on Nanda and other leading Gopas immense wealth that is worthy of being acquired by milk-men. Let the cows along with their calves circumambulate me. I will forsooth then attain to highest felicity".

Thereupon to embellish that best of mountains the cows, with all the bulls, in flocks, encircled it). Thereupon with their horns adorned with garlands and be-decked with chaplets on their heads and flowery Angadas, numberless cows delightedly began to circumambulate it quickly. Having their limbs pasted with pastes of diverse colours and clad in red, crimson and yellow raiments the milk-men followed those cows in order to govern them. In that wonderful assembly shone there the milk-men adorned with peacock-feathered Angadas, and chords well arranged for tying their hairs and with weapons in their hands. Some milk-men hastened to control the kine, some danced in joy and some rode the bulls. Thus in due order when that festivity terminated the incarnate god of the hill all on a sudden disappeared and Krishna, too, with the Gopas, returned to Vraja. Thus when the Giri-Yajna was instituted all the milk-men, boys and elderly people were filled with surprise, on witnessing that wonderful scene and began to chant the glories of Madhusudana.

CHAPTER 18. INDRA SENDS DOWN PUNISHMENT.

Vaishampayana said:—While in this wise the festivity, in his honour, was suppressed, Sakra, the king of the celestials said to the clouds called Samvartaka:—"O ye clouds, and elephants, if you cherish any respect for your king and if you consider it as your duty to do what pleases me (listen then to my words). All these inhabitants of Vrindavana are attached to Damodara. Nanda and other Gopas have grown inimical towards my festival. Therefore within seven nights, distress, with rain and winds, the precious kine which constitute their life-long subsistence and for which they pass by the name of Gopas [Literally the word means one who protects kine from go, kine and the root pa, to protect.]. I myself, stationed on (my elephant) Airavata, shall discharge dreadful rain, winds and showers effulgent like thunder and lightning. With dreadful showers and winds you will kill all the kine and the inhabitants of Vraja and leave them after they all kiss the ground".

On account of his festival being put down by Krishna the powerful Pakashasana thus issued his mandate to the clouds. Thereupon, the dreadful dark-blue clouds, resembling a mountain in size and muttering awfully, covered the sky on all sides. Producing lightnings continually the clouds, adorned with the bow of Indra, enshrouded the welkin with darkness. Touching one another, all the clouds, some resembling the elephants, some the Makaras [A root of acquatic animal resembling a crocodile.] and some the serpents, began to move about in the sky. Coming in contact with one another the clouds, resembling a million of elephants, covered the sky and created a very unfair day. Showers of equal size, some resembling the hands of men, some the trunks of elephants and some bamboos the clouds began to pour down their watery contents. People took that dreadful weather as a deep, unpassable and limitless ocean stationed in the sky. Hearing the dreadful mutterings of the mountain like clouds, the birds could not come out of their nests and the animals began to fly away on all sides. By the excessive showers discharged by the dreadful clouds resembling the hour of the universal dissolution the bodies of men grew discoloured. The planets and stars disappearing from view, the sky, shorn of the rays of the sun and the moon was divested of its lustre. With the continual showers of rain let off by the clouds the ground there assumed the form of a tank. The peacocks began to cry aloud and the other birds began to emit their feeble notes.

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And the rivers, increasing their size, carried away the trees grown on their banks. As if remonstrated with by the mutterings of clouds and the clap of thunderbolts the grass and trees began to tremble there. Beside themselves with fear the milk-men began to speak amongst themselves: "We think the end of the world is at hand and the earth will be converted into one sheet of water." The cows were greatly distressed by that dreadful downpour of rain. And they stood motionless and began to cry aloud. Their body was soaked, thighs and feet were motionless, hoops and mouth inert, the hairs stood erect and their belly and udders grew lean. Some died out of exhaustion, some took to their heels in fear and some with their calves sank under frost. Some cows, of emaciated belly on account of hunger and wearied thighs, lay to sleep embracing their calves. The cows and calves, thus assailed by rain, fell down trembling and with poor and distressing countenance looked towards Krishna and cried "Save us! Save us!"

Beholding this dreadful oppression over the cows on account of that inclemeny and the impending death of the Gopas the sweet-speeched Krishna was greatly worked up with anger. And meditating for a while he began to speak to himself:—"I knew before that this will come to pass. However to protect them against this downpour of rain I will uproot this best of mountains Govardhana containing forests and woods and convert it into an asylum for the kine. There is not a shadow of doubt that this mountain, a veritable planet on earth, when upheld by me, will be able to protect the kine and milk-men".

Thus meditating and displaying the strength of his arms Krishna, having truth for his prowess and resembling the best of mountains, uprooted that hill with his hands. Then that foremost of mountains, containing clouds, upheld by Krishna with his left hand, shone there like a house on account of its caves. When that mountain was uprooted the rocks, at its table-land, were shaken and the trees fell down). And although that mountain was immoveable still, on account of Krishna's power, with its whirling summits, falling trees and trembling tops it went up to the sky. All the clouds, united, were pouring down their watery contents in its side. With their quick-coursing streams the rocks were loosened and the mountain too was continually agitated. The milk-men however could not perceive the raining clouds, the rock-pouring mountain and the roaring wind. The clouds, attached to the mountain, coming in contact with the springs that best of mountains shone there as if bedecked with peacock feathers. Vidyadharas, Uragas, Gandharvas and Apsaras began to exclaim from all sides—"Gifted with wings the mount Govardhana is flying up". White, crimson and dark mineral substances began to trickle down from the earthen layer of that uprooted mountain containing a thousand of layers. Some of the summits of that best of mountain were slackened, some were shattered and the highly elevated ones entered into clouds. With the shaking of the mountains, the trees also shook, and their flowers fell down on all sides of the ground. The big-hooded serpents, having half of their body adorned, issued out of their holes and the birds began to fly up in the sky. Out of fear consequent upon the raising up of the mountain and of heavy downpour these sky rangers began continually to fly up and come down. The lions in anger began to roar like clouds surcharged with water and the tigers like that of the churning rods. Having its form metamorphosed that mountain, consisting of even, uneven and impassable places, appeared like another mountain. On account of the excessive downpour of showers it appeared like Tripura* stupified by Rudra in in the sky. [* The Danava chief who was defeated by Rudra or Siva in the war between the gods and demons.] Upheld by the rod-like hand of Krishna that huge mountain, covered with dark-blue clouds, appeared there like an umbrella. The muttering of the clouds making him dream, Govardhana slept there placing his cave-like face on the pillow of Krishna's arm. Having its summit covered with trees divested of the notes of the birds and soaked with the showers and shorn of the cries of peacocks, that mountain shone there like the sky. The summit and forest of that high mountain were as if possessed by fever on account of its table-lands shaking and trembling. Hastened by the king of gods and driven by the wind the clouds began to pour down before it continually their contents. Upheld by Krishna's hand that mountain, covered with clouds, appeared like a country marked with the signs of wheels when oppressed by a king. As a populous village places before it a city so the clouds stood encircling that mountain.

For protecting the Gopas like unto Brahma the Lord Krishna raised up that mountain and kept it on the tip of his finger. He then smilingly said.

"By some heavenly means which is even beyond the comprehension of the gods I have constructed this mountainous house, an asylum for the cows where no wind blows. Let the flocks of cows speedily enter into it and peacefully and happily live there where no violent wind blows. Do ye, of your own accord, make divisions of the room proportionate to your superiority of position and the number of flocks and put a stop to the downpour of showers. The big house, that I have constructed by uprooting this hill extending over five Kos and one Kos in breadth, can even accommodate the three worlds, what to speak of Vraja".

There arose a great tumult of the Gopas accompanied by the mutterings of clouds outside and the noise of the cows. And arranged in rows by the milk-men the kine entered into the huge cave of that best of mountains. And standing at the foot of that mountain like a rising pillar of stone Krishna held that hill with one hand like a beloved guest.

Thereupon taking with them their carts and vessels the inhabitants of Vraja, afraid of rain, entered into that rocky house. Beholding this superhuman feat of Krishna and finding his words falsified the powerful Satakratu asked the clouds to desist. And surrounded by clouds which deprived the earth of all festivities for seven nights he returned again to the celestial region. Thus after seven nights when the king of gods desisted and the sky was freed of clouds and become clear the sun rose in its full effulgence. The cows and the milk-men returned to their respective quarters by the same road by which they had entered (the cave). For the well-being of all the worlds the Lord Krishna, the giver of boons and identical with all the elements, established, with a delighted heart, that best of mountains. [This miracle of Krishna's holding up of the mountain Govardhana on one of his fingers has been described in almost all the Puranas and even in the Sabha Parva of the Mahabharata. This incident, no doubt, on the face of it, appears highly incredible for, it is not possible for a man, nay for a boy of ten years of age to raise up a huge mountain like Govardhana. It is undoubtedly an allegory signifying the wonderful power of Krishna displayed by him for protecting the Gopas. The following explanation may be safely vouchsafed of the allegory. When he suppressed the worship of Indra and all his followers attacked the Gopas, Krishna placed them all, with their cattle and goods, on that hill and himself fought with the followers of Indra. It is mentioned in the latter portion of this Chapter that the Gopas entered into the hollow of the mountain, their 'hilly house' and so forth. This probably may suggest an explanation that they took shelter in one of the huge caves of the mountain and Krishna guarded them against the attack of the worshippers of Indra. Whatever may be the explanation it is undoubtedly true that he displayed a superhuman feat on this occasion.]

CHAPTER 19. INDRA COMES AND EULOGISES KRISHNA.

Vaishampayana said:—Beholding the mount Govardhana thus held up and the kine saved Purandara, the king of the celestials, was filled with great surprise and felt a desire for seeing Krishna. And seated on his elephant Airavata with temporal juice trickling down and resembling a cloud without water he came down on earth. Purandara saw Krishna, of unwearied actions, seated at the foot of the Govardhana hill. He saw there the immortal Vishnu, assuming the guise of a milk-man and shining in his great effulgence and attained to great delight. Sakra, having many eyes, saw, with all his eyes, Krishna bearing the mystic mark of Srivatsa and resembling a dark-blue lotus in hue. Beholding him seated happily at the foot of the hill who was gifted with beauty and was like an immortal in the land of mortals Sakra was ashamed. Disappearing from view, that foremost of birds (Garuda), feeding on serpents, was protecting him, seated at ease, against the rays of the sun with his wings. Leaving behind his elephant, Indra, the slayer of Bala, approached Krishna who was playing in the forest being engaged in human actions. His face was embellished with a crown effulgent like the sun that gives lustre to lightning, and with a pair of celestial ear-rings. His breast was adorned with a neck-lace of five layers of Padmakanta jewel constituting the ornament of the body. Beholding Vasudeva with his thousand eyes the powerful Vasava, the wielder of thunder-bolt, approached Upendra and looked more beautiful with his celestial garlands and pastes. Then with his sweet voice, deep as the muttering of clouds that always issues commands to the deities, he said:—"O Krishna, O thou of large arms, O thou the enhancer of the delight of thy kinsmen, what, thou hast accomplished on thy being pleased with thy kine, is beyond the power of the gods. I have been highly pleased with thy saving the kine from the clouds created by me which bring about the dissolution of the world. Whose mind is not filled with surprise on seeing thee hold up this best of mountains by thy own-begotten Yoga power like a house in the sky(15)? O Krishna, I was enraged on account of the suppression of my sacrifice. And therefore I sent down this excessive rain extending over seven nights and destructive of the kine which even the Devas and Danavas cannot withstand. But thou hast, by thy own power, put down this terrible shower in my very presence. I am highly pleased, O Krishna, for thy, in anger, settling the entire Vaishnava energy in thy human form. On account of thy being endued with thy own energy although in a human form, the work of the gods appears to have been well accomplished. O hero, while thou art at the head of all the works of the gods and their guide, forsooth, every thing will be accomplished and nothing will remain undone. Thou art alone eternal amongst the gods and in all other worlds. I do not see a second capable of carrying the weight thou hast held. As the best of wheels is placed before a pole so dost thou engage in relieving the distress of the gods sunk in an ocean of misery, O thou having a bird for thy carrier. O Krishna, as gold is among the metals, so this universe, created by the Grand-father (Brahma) exists, in thy body. As a cripple cannot follow one who runs fast so even the Lord, Self-sprung (Brahma) cannot follow thee in intelligence or age. As the Himalaya is amongst the mountains, as the great ocean is amongst the watery expanses, as Garuda is amongst the birds so thou art the foremost of the celestials. O Krishna, underneath all is the region of water; above it are afloat the pillars of the earth; above them is the region of man; above it is the etherial region; above it is the effulgent region of the sun constituting the gate of heaven; above it is the great region of the gods forming the abode of the celestials; here I occupy the position of the king of gods; above it is the Brahmaloka where the Brahmarshis live and where move about the high-souled Soma (moon) and other luminous bodies. Above it is the Goloka stationed in the great etherial region. O Krishna, Golaka is the foremost of all regions and is protected by the Sadhyas. There dost thou live carrying on Tapas which we cannot learn even when accosting the Grand-Father about it. This earth is the region of actions for those who engage in them. Underneath it is the dreadful region of the iniquitous). The etherial region is the refuge of moving objects like the air and heaven is the excellent refuge of the pious endued with the qualities of self-control and forbearance. Those, who worship Brahma, live in the Brahmaloka. Goloka is attainable only by the kine; even by hard austerities no one else can obtain it. O intelligent and heroic Krishna, in order to protect these kine, thou didst hold up the mount Govardhana and suppress the calamities sent down by me. Therefore at the request of the Grand Father and the cows and out of respect for thee I have come here.

"O Krishna, I am the lord of Bhutas [A demi-god of a particular class.] and of the gods and I am Purandara. Being born of Aditi I am thy elder brother. Do thou forgive me for displaying my own energy in the shape of clouds which is but the outcome of thy power. O Krishna of the gait of an elephant, be thou delighted now by thy own gentle energy and listen to the words given vent to by Brahma and the cows. Pleased with thy heavenly deeds, hymning of their glories and with the work of protection the Lord Brahma and the cows of the sky have communicated this unto thee. Thyself protecting the great Goloka region and all the cows, our race, through the help of the bulls, will multiply itself. We all, coursing at our will, shall propitiate the cultivators with bulls, their beasts of burden, the celestials with the oblation of Havi and Sri with the profusely increasing corns. O lord, O thou of great strength, thou art our preceptor and saviour. Becoming our king and lord do thou sprinkle thy self to-day with this golden jar full of heavenly water brought by me with my own hands. I am the king of the celestials and thou hast, although eternal, become now the king of the cows. Therefore the people of this world will hymn thee as Govinda. As the dignity of Indra has been bestowed on me so thou art the king of cows. O Krishna, the gods will celebrate thy name as Upendra. Of the four months of my rainy season, I confer the latter half constituting the autumn on thee. From to-day people will recognize the first two months as mine. After the termination of the rains they will take down my flag and thou shalt receive adoration. Shorn of excitement and emitting notes occasionally the peacocks will give up their pride begotten by my clouds. And all other creatures, ranging in my season and emitting notes at the view of clouds, will be silent. Agastya, the regent of the star Canopus, will range like a bird in the southern quarter and the sun, of thousand rays, will distress all with his own effulgence. Thus with the beginning of autumn the peacocks will become silent, the birds will hanker after water, the frogs will desist from leaping, the brinks of the rivers will be filled with swans and Sarasas, the Krounchas will emit their notes, the bulls will become excited, the cows will be pleased and yield profuse milk, the clouds will disappear after filling the earth with water, the cranes will range in the dark sky, the picturesque lakes, pools and rivers will be adorned with clean water and new grown lotuses, the dark-blue fields will be full of corns, the rivers will have waters flowing in their middle [i.e. the waters will not overflood their banks as in the rainy season] the hermitages of the ascetics will also be filled with beautiful corns, the earth, abounding in many provinces, will grow charming after the rains, the roads will look beautiful, the trees will be covered with fruits, the country will be full of sugarcane and Vajapeya and other sacrifices will be undertaken. And thus the sacred autumn will set in. Thou shalt then get up from thy bed. Men in this world and the immortals in the celestial region will worship me as Mahendra and thee as Upendra in the flag-staffs on the earth. The man, who reciting the great and eternal theme of our conduct as Mahendra and Upendra, will bow unto us, will not be visited by any misery".

Thereupon taking those jars full of heavenly water the king of gods, conversant with Yoga, sprinkled* Govinda. [i.e. installed him as the king of cows. At the time of installation

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sacred water is sprinkled on the head of a king as some sort of baptism.] Beholding the eternal Krishna thus annointed, the cows, stationed in the celestial region, along with the bulls, sprinkled him also with a downpour of their milk through clouds. The clear clouds in the sky sprinkled him with nectarine showers. From trees fell down moon-like drops of water. And from the sky the gods set up a leonine sound, made a downpour of flowers and blew the bugles. The Maharshis, who always follow mantras, chanted his glories with becoming verses and the body of the earth was separated from one all-extending ocean. The seas grew delightful and the winds began to blow for bringing about the well-being of the world. And the sun and the moon accompanied by stars stood in their respective roads). The kings were freed of their enemies and the calamity of excessive rain was pacified. And the trees were embellished with leaves and flowers of various colours. The deer grew delighted in the forest and the elephants began to yield temporal juice and the mountains shone with trees grown on them and with metals. And the land of mortals was satisfied with ambrosia-like juice like unto the celestial region. Thus when the ceremony of the royal unction, of the Lord Krishna, accompanied by the nectarine showers coming down from the celestial region, was over the king of gods Purandara said to the eternal Govinda, wearing celestial garlands and installed in the sovereignty of the cows.

"O Krishna, the first work, of installing thee as the king of cows, is now over. Listen now to the next object of my coming here. Slaying speedily Kansa, the wretch of a horse Keshi, and Aristha, always committing mischief do thou engage in governing thy own kingdom. From thy father's sister, a portion of my energy is born as a son by name Arjuna. Contracting friendship with him do thou always protect him. Thou shalt favour him and he, too, acting on thy advice and following thee, will acquire great fame. He will be the foremost of bowmen among the descendants of Bharata and will take after thee. And without thy help he alone will never be pleased with his work. This future war of Bharata* depends on him and thee the foremost of men. [* It refers to the battle of Kurukshetra in which all the kings of the world took part. This big war, also known as Mahabharata War, has most likely a real background. It was fought in northwestern India and territorries that later were ruled by the Persian Achaemenid Empire (550 BC–330 BC); the name Kuru points to the Persian name Kurush meaning Cyrus.]. When you both will be united all the kings will be slain. O Krishna, I have spoken to the gods and Rishis, that the son, begotten by me on Kunti, will be an adept in the use of weapons, the foremost of archers and the greatest of the Kurus. All the warrior-kings will speak of his learning. Ever abiding by the duties of a Kshatrya he alone will be able to kill one Akshouhini of kings skilled in fighting. Save thee there is none among the kings or gods who will be able to weaken the power of his bow or follow the path of his weapons, O lord. O Govinda, he will be thy friend and help in battle. Therefore at my request, do thou instruct him in spiritual knowledge. Thou dost know well Arjuna and all the worlds. So thou shouldst always regard and take care of him as thou dost me. If thou dost protect him in the great battle Death will not be able to extend its influence over him. O Krishna, know Arjuna as me and me as identical with thy own self. As I am at one with thee, so is Arjuna. I am thy elder brother and therefore thou didst, in the days of yore, acquiring the three worlds from Bali with thy three footsteps, install me in the sovereignty over the gods. I know thee as fond of truth, as having truth for thy prowess and as identical with truth. And because thou art bound to the gods by a promise they have engaged thee in this work of the destruction of their enemies. O Krishna, Arjuna, the son of thy father's sister, is my son. As he did become thy companion in the days of yore [When Vishnu assumed the form of Narayana Arjuna became his companion as Nara.] and so now he will contract friendship with thee. O Madhava, as a bull carries a burden, so thou shalt always take care of him when either living in his house, your house or while fighting with the enemies in the battle-field. When Kansa will be slain by thee, ever observant of the real purpose of things there will take place a great war of the kings. Arjuna will vanquish those heroic men of superhuman deeds and thou shalt adorn him with glory. O Keshava, if truth, myself and the celestials are thy favourites thou shouldst carry out whatever I have said".

Hearing the words of Sakra, Krishna, who had become a cow-keeper, with a delighted mind replied. "O lord of Sachi, I am happy to see you. Nothing, of whatever you have said, will be left off. O Sakra, I know your heart. It is not unknown to me that my father's sister has been given away to the high-souled Pandu and that she has given birth to Arjuna. I know also the prince Yudhisthira begotten by Dharma. I know Bhimasena, the multiplier of Vayu's (wind-god's) race. I know also Nakula and Sahadeva begotten on Madri by the two Aswinis [See Mahabharata, Adi Parva, section 123.]. I know also Karna, now known as a charioteer's son, begotten on my father's sister in her maidenhood by the Sun. [Kunti, while a maid, obtained a boon from the Rishi Durvasa that whomever she would wish to have as her consort, he would at once come to her. To make an experiment she invoked the sun and Karna is the issue of her union with him. See Mahabharata, Adi Parva, section 111.] That Pandu is dead on account of the thunder-like imprecation* and that the sons of Dhiitarashtra are desirous of fighting are all known to me, O king of gods, returning now to the city of the celestials increase their delight. [* Once on a time Pandu went out into a forest for hunting. He struck a Rishi's son who was coupling with his mate in the form of a deer. He imprecated a curse on Pandu saying "As you have killed me in the form of a deer when I was full of desire, so you, O foolish man, will certainly meet with the fate that has fallen me. When you will go to your dear one, full of desire as was the case with me, you will at that time, certainly go to the land of the dead. Your wife will also follow you." See Mahabharata, section 118 in Sambhava Parva of Adi Parva.] No enemy will be able to trouble Arjuna when he will be before me. When the great war of Bharata will come to its close, I shall, on account of Arjuna, consign unscathed unto Kunti all the sons of Pandu. O king of gods, I am bound by affection and therefore I shall accomplish like a servant what your son Arjuna will command me." Hearing these words of truthful Krishna, the king of gods returned to the city of the celestials.

CHAPTER 20. RASA DANCE.

Vaishampayana said:—Thereupon after the departure of Sakra, the beautiful Krishna the holder of Gavardhana, entered Vraja honoured by the inhabitants, thereof. The elderly Gopas and his kinsmen and comrades, assembled together, welcomed him and said.

"O Govinda, we have been honoured and favoured by thy conduct and as well as that of the best of mountains. Indeed thy prowess is like that of the celestials. By thy favour the kine have tided over the fear of excessive rain and we too have been relieved of the great fear. O Krishna, O lord of kine, beholding thy superhuman feat of raising up the mountain we consider thee as a divinity. O thou of great strength, art thou Rudra, Marut, or one of the Vasus? Why hast thou taken thy birth as the son of Vasudeva? Beholding this thy low birth amongst us, this thy prowess, sport and feat in thy boyhood our minds are filled with fear. We see, thou art like one of the Lokapalas. But why art thou, in thy wretched guise of a milk-man, engaged in sport with us and in protecting kine? Art thou a Deva, a Danava or a Gandharva now born as our friend? Whatever thou mayst be we bow unto thee. If thou art present here, of thy own accord, for any work of thine, do thou consider us as thy dependants and votaries."

Vaishampayana said:—Hearing the words of Gopas, the lotus-eyed Krishna, smiling a little, said to his assembled kinsmen:— "Ye of dreadful prowess, let not the conviction, that you have all formed about me, take root in your hearts. I am one of your clan and a friend. If however you are all bent upon hearing then wait you will soon listen to an account of (my origin) and see my true form. I am one of your respected friends like unto a god. If you have any affection for me, do not wish to learn any thing more about me."

Thus accosted by Vasudeva's son and covering their own faces and resorting to silence the milk-men went away in in various directions.

Thereupon beholding the charming autumnal night and the beautiful moon the powerful Krishna felt a desire of sporting. Sometimes he made the haughty bulls fight with one another in the roads of Vraja adorned with cow-dung pastes. He again set the powerful cow-herds against one another. He sometimes got hold of the kine in the forest like a crocodile. Sometimes thinking of his boyhood and bringing the youthful women of Gopas under his control at night he used to enjoy there. With their glances those Gopa women used to drink as if the ambrosia of his beautiful face who was like the moon come down on earth. Krishna was by nature beautiful but clad in a silken raiment of shining yellow colour he appeared more beautiful. Having his arms adorned with Angadas and bedecked with garlands of wild flowers Govinda beautified the entire Vraja. Filled with surprise at witnessing the wonderful conduct of that powerful (being) the beautiful Gopa women used to call him by the name of Damodara. And casting again and again their glances accompanied by various gestures they began to assail him with their rising breasts. After a few days had passed away in this way the parents of those milk-women prevented them (from doing so). Those damsels however, fond of amusements, used to hunt Krishna at night. Sometimes arranging themselves in rows and sometimes in circles they, singing hymns relating to Krishna's glories, used to satisfy him. And all of them appeared in pairs with Krishna. Casting loving glances at Krishna and following his course those youthful damsels of Vraja imitated all his sports. Sometimes striking their palms in the forest they used to imitate him and sometimes they used to take delight in imitating his songs and dances accompanied by lovely smiles and looks. Singing sweet songs describing the profuse love for Krishna these beautiful women, devoted to Damodara, used to range at Pleasure in Vraja. As she-elephants, covered with dust, enjoy with an infuriated elephant so those milk-women, their limbs covered all over with dust and cow-dung, used to sport with Krishna encircling him on all sides. Drinking repeatedly his ambrosia-like beauty with their eyes accompanied by side-long and smiling looks the Gopa-women, having antelope eyes, could not attain to the consummation of delight. When Damodara used to exclaim "O! Alas!" the damsels anxiously and delightedly used to listen to the words given vent to by him. Thus encircled by the milk-women Krishna used to sport, of his own accord, in the autumnal night adorned by the moon. [This is one of the principal incidents of Krishna's life on which innumerable poets of India have exhausted their skill and ingenuity. This incident has also been recorded in several Puranas. Some hostile critics interpret this Rasa dance as one of the blemishes of Krishna's character and proceed to prove that he was an emblem of carnality. They draw upon certain Indian scholars in support of their argument. It is therefore necessary to throw a few suggestions before our readers so that they may understand Sri Krishna aright. This Rasa dance is described in a few words in Harivamsha, a little more profusely in Vishnu Puran, but very elaborately in Srimadbhagavatam. There is no mention however to this incident in the Mahabharata. In Vishnu Puran it is described as the out-burst of a tender love of a number of young girls for their youthful companion. In Harivamsha it is the love of youthful damsels for a handsome young man. In Bhagvata it is the passionate love of some women for a young man. In all these books however the different phases of love have been described with a grand esoteric meaning behind them. This Rasa was nothing but a "Ball" dance in which all the youthful damsels and girls took part and which was introduced by Krishna. It was a favourite pastime with the Aryans and frequent references to this dance are seen in Mahabharata and other classical works of note. That it was a purely innocent amusement freed from every shade of carnality is beyond all doubts. From the internal evidences of the three great works on Krishna's life, namely Harivamsa, Vishnu Purana and Srimadbhagavatam it is evident that Krishna, at this period, was merely a boy of ten years of age or so. It is impossible for a boy of this tender age to be so very carnal as he is depicted to have been. All the youthful maidens and girls of Vraja were fond of Krishna. It was not only on them that he exercised his wonderful influence but he did so on the elderly men too. This is clear enough from the incident that he succeeded in suppressing the great Indra-yajna. Krishna used to invent and organise varions sorts of sports for his comrades, both boys and girls. In the previous Chapter his wonderful influence over his male companions and elderly men has been described. This Chapter is introduced by the poet to show that his influence over the women was equally marvellous. All these incidents go to prove more his super human origin. In all these three works no mention is made of the name of a particular woman for whom he cherished a special fancy as Radha. There is a occasional mention of this word in Bhagavat and only once in Harivamsha where it means a worshipper. This story of the carnal love of Krishna for his various companions is described at a length in Brahma Vaivarta Purana which is regarded as a spurious production and is not considered as an authentic record of his life. The esoteric meaning underlying this incident is the union between the human soul and the Supreme Soul. Krishna is the impersonation of the Supreme Soul and Radha or the worshipper is the emblem of the human soul. The worshipper can secure unification with the Supreme Soul by love—earnest and deep-seated devotion. This love, this devotion has been described by various poets in various forms.]

CHAPTER 21. DEATH OF ARISTHA.

Vaishampayana said:—One day in the first part of the night while Krishna was sporting, the dark-hued Danava, Aristha by name, assuming the form of an infuriated bull and resembling Death himself, was seen there terrifying all the inmates of the cow-sheds. His body was like extinguished ember and cloud, his horns were sharpened, his eyes were effulgent like the sun, his feet were endued with sharpened hoops and his hump was extremely hard. He was repeatedly licking his lips with his tongue and moving his tail with pride. And for breaking down many palaces with his hump it became exceedingly hardened. Incapable of being repulsed on account of his own huge body, with his body covered with excreta and urine, that Danava, of huge waist, fleshy mouth, hard knees and long abdomen, terrified all the cows with his skin hanging from his neck and horns. That Daitya Aristha, of huge body, the slayer of inimical bulls and the injurer of the cows, assuming the form of a bull, was running about in the cow-sheds and pasture grounds. His face was marked with strokes against the trees and his horns were adorned as if for a fight (6-7). He used to approach the kine, when big with their young ones and cause abortion and used to know them immediately after their delivery. Without fighting with the bulls and cows that irrepressible, and dreadful Daitya, always intent on striking them with his horns, could not derive pleasure in pasture grounds.

Accidentally on that day, the proud bull, under the influence of Vaivaswan (the regent of the departed), came

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before Keshava. Divesting the cow-sheds of bulls, calves and young bulls that one, elated with proud, used to assail the kine. At that time, that one of wicked soul, under influence of Vaivaswan, terrified the cows that were near Krishna roaring like a cloud accompanied by Indra's thunderbolt. Thereat striking his palms and setting up a leonine shout Govinda ran after him, increasing the anger of the demon in the shape of a bull. Beholding Krishna and enraged with the sound of the strokes of his palms against his arms, moving his tail and expanding his eyes in delight that bull issued out a shout expressing his desire for fight. Beholding that wicked demon of the form of a bull approach Krishna did not move out from where he stood and rather remain there firm like a mountain. With a view to slay Krishna, that bull too, raising up his face and aiming at his belly, came there quickly. Vasudeva, resembling a bull, confronted that irrepressible and collyruim-like bull before him. As a bull faces a huge bull so Arishtha met Krishna and from his nostril came out foams with a sound. Thereupon Krishna and the bull confronting each other they appeared like two clouds, touching each other in the rains. Placing his feet on the space between the horns Krishna humiliated his pride and struck him at the neck resembling the sky. Then uprooting his left horn resembling the rod of Yama he struck him on the face with it; thereat that foremost of bulls breathed his last. With his horns, head and shoulders shattered that demon fell down vomiting blood like a cloud sending down showers.

Thereupon beholding the proud Danava in the shape of a bull slain by Govinda all the people began to eulogise him exclaiming "Well done! Well done!". Slaying that bull demon in that moon light the lotus-eyed Upendra again engaged in sport. Like the immortals adoring their king in the celestial region the Gopas began to worship delightedly the lotus-eyed Krishna.

CHAPTER 22. KANSA INVITES KRISHNA AND SENDS AKRURA TO BRING HIM.

Vaishampayana said:—Hearing that Krishna was advancing in power like fire in Vraja, Kansa, anticipating fear from him, was filled with anxiety. On Putana being slain, the two trees being dragged by the boy of no boy-like deeds, Kalya being vanquished, Dhenuka being killed, Pralamva being discomfitted, the mount Govardhana being raised up, Indra's commandment being disregarded, the kine being protected by enviable deeds and Kakudmi and Arishtha being destroyed the Gopas were filled with delight. Beholding these highly terrible portends indicating his impending death and these unthought of feats amongst his rising enemies Mathura's king Kansa considered himself as brought under the influence of death. And his organs and mind being deprived of consciousness he appeared like one dead (2-6). Thereupon in the noiseless dead of night, Mathura's king Kansa, the son of Ugrasena of fierce commands, summoned his father and kinsmen to his city. Summoning god-like Vasudeva, Kangka, Satyaka, Daruka, Kanka's youngest brother, Bhoja, Vaitarana, the highly powerful Vikadru, the king Bhayesakha, Viprithu of great prosperity, the liberal Kritavarma, the highly energetic and bold Bhurishrava and various other descendants of Yadu race and welcoming them all in due order he said:—"Listen, O ye Yadavas, ye are all business-like, devoted to the Vedas, expert in ascertaining the proper rules of conduct, the introducers of the three Vargas [The three-fold objects of life, namely, Dharma, Artha and Kama.], ever observant of your duties, like gods in this world, and ever wending the good ways and firm as the mountains (8-13). Ye are all shorn of haughtiness and you have all lived properly in the families of your preceptors*, ye are all therefore proficient in archery and capable of holding royal counsels. [* It was the practice in ancient India that the kings used to send their sons to their tutors to recieve proper instructions. These princes lived in the family of their tutors.]. Besides ye are all like lamps of glory in all these worlds, conversant with the real purport of the Vedas, the true import of the Ashramas (conditions of life), with the order of Varnas (castes), the propounder of the beautiful rules of conduct, the leaders of the givers of laws, the conquerors of foreign kingdoms, and the protectors of those seeking refuge with you. You are all so very vivacious in your conversation and endued with such an unimpeachable character, what to speak of the earth even the celestial region may feel itself honoured (by your presence). Your conduct resembles that of the Rishis, your power is like that of the Maruts, your anger is like that of Rudras and your effulgence is like that of the fire. As the earth is supported by the mountains so the decaying race of Yadus is upheld by you all, heroes of far-famed glory You all follow my will, why then are you at present disregarding the rising calamity of mine? Like unto a rising a cloud, Nanda Gopa's son, the celebrated Krishna of Vraja is about to strike at the root (of the race). I have lost my heart and four eyes and I have no able ministers. And therefore that boy was kept secretly in Nanda Gopa's house. Like a malady disregarded, the swelling ocean and the roaring clouds of the rainy season that wicked-minded one is rising in power. I have not been able to find out the means of subduing or to understand the movements of that boy of wonderful deeds born in Nanda Gopa's house. That boy is either the offspring of a god or born of any other powerful being. I however do not know any thing—but I surmise so by his superhuman deeds which even the celestials can not perform. While asleep in his infancy he drank up the life of Putana (going there in the form of a) bird under the pretext of sucking her breast. Vanquished in no time in the lake of Yamuna, that Naga Kalya, ranging in the region underneath, has disappeared. But Nanda's son, by his Yoga power, has risen up again. Dropped down from the top of a palm tree Dhenuka has breathed his last. Pralamva too, whom even the gods could not surpass in battle, has been slain like an ordinary animal, by that powerful one with the strokes of his fist. Suppressing the festivity in honour of Indra, and putting a stop to excessive rain consequent upon his anger that boy held up the mount Govardhana for affording shelter to the kine. The powerful Aristha, with his horns shattered, has been slain by him in Vraja. From the actions of that boy living in the village of milk-men it appears that he is not a boy, but assuming the false guise of a child, is sporting there merely. While he stands before me for a battle, forsooth, I know that he is my Death—(the destroyer) of my former body. There is a vast difference between the birth as a wretched milkman amongst men, weak for their death and his sporting in my cow-settlement with the power of a god. It appears to me as certain that a god, covering his own true form with a Gopa body, is sporting here like fire in the cremation ground. I have heard that in the days of yore in order to accomplish the work of the celestials, Vishnu, assuming the form of a dwarf, took away the earth from Bali. At another time assuming the form of a lion that powerful Vishnu killed Hiranyakashipu the grand-father of the Danavas. Assuming a form, surpassing the range of thought, Bhava (Siva) the destroyer of Tripura killed all the Daityas on the Sweta mountain. Being shaken off his promise [Sukra promised not to consign the mantras of reviving a dead man to any body but this promise was falsified.] by his preceptor Angira's son (Kacha) resorting to a frog's illusion. [As a frog revives as soon as he is dead so Kacha rose up many times alive after his death. The allusion, contained in this chapter, is as follows:—Vrihaspati (Angirasa) was the priest of the gods and Sukra that of the Danavas. There was a rivalry between these two Brahmanas. Sukra knew the mantra of reviving a dead man with which he revived many Daityas. Vrihaspati did not know it. Thereat Kacha, the eldest son of Vrihaspati, was sent to Sukra to learn it. Kacha became his disciple and began to please him and his daughter Devajani. By and by he exercised a great influence on Sukra's daughter who was greatly attached to him. One day while Kacha was tending kine the Danavas, learning that he was the son of Vrihaspati, hacked him into pieces, which were eaten up wolves. Devajani grew mad after him and pressed her father to revive him which Sukra did. Next time he was burnt to ashes and they were mixed up with liquor which Sukra drank up. Devajani again wanted her father to revive Kacha; this was a question of life, and death to him. He therefore taught Kacha the mantra first who came out of his womb and then revived again Sukra. Thus did Kacha learn the art of reviving a dead man. See Mahabharata, Adiparva, sections 75 and 76.] Bhrigu's son (Sukra) caused a drought (in the land of the Danavas). Assuming the form of a boar that thousand-headed eternal deity Vishnu raised up the earth from the great ocean. When the gods and Asuras, assembled for (churning) for ambrosia, Vishnu, in the shape of a tortoise in the ocean, held up the Mandara mountain. And when there arose ambrosia he, assuming the form of a beautiful woman, created a highly terrible battle between the gods and demons. Assuming a wretched dwarf form in the days of yore he rescued the three worlds including the land of the celestials, with his three foot-steps from Bali. It was he, who having divided himself into four portions and taking his birth as Rama in Dasharatha's house, killed Ravana. For accomplishing the work of gods Vishnu assumes various forms and deceitfully does his own work. Forsooth Vishnu, of whom Narada spoke to me, or Sakra, the king of gods, has now come for bringing about my death. In this matter our fear proceeds from Vasudeva; this is even my firm conviction. By his sense we have been reduced to this strait. When I met Narada again in Khatwanga forest that Brahmana said to me "O Kansa, Vasudeva, in the night, has baffled your great care regarding Devaki's child (48–49). The daughter, whom you dashed against a stone in that night, is Yashoda's daughter and know Krishna as Vasudeva's son. Vasudeva, your enemy in the guise of a friend, after due consultation, exchanged the children in night for bringing about your death. Having slain on the Vindhya mountain the two sky-ranging Danavas, Shumbha and Nisumbha, that daughter of Yashoda, sprinkled by the gods, is being worshipped by the dreadful robbers and various animals. She is fond of human and animal sacrifices and confers boon (upon her worshippers) after their hearts. Embellished with two jars full of wine and blood and adorned with peacock-feathers she has made her own abode, by her own power, in the forest of the Vindhya range. It is filled with cries of proud cocks and crows, abounds in free birds and deer, echoes with the roars of lions, tigers and boars, is thick with trees and covered entirely with woods. The temple is filled with golden vases, chowries, mirrors and is resonant with the sound of thousands of trumpets. The beautiful goddess, the mother of fear unto the enemies, daily lives there with great delight and even the celestials adore her. Narada has said that the boy who is known as the son of Nanda Gopa, Krishna, will be the agent of many important deeds. The second son that will be born of Vasudeva and pass by the name of Vasudeva, that kinsman of yours will easily put you to death. He is Vasudeva, the powerful son of Vasudeva. Morally he is my kins-man, but at heart a dreadful enemy. As a crow, with its beaks fond of flesh, distresses the eyes of a man on whose head it sets its foot, so this Vasudeva, brought up by me in my house, along with his son, kinsmen and fruits, is trying to strike at the root of my family. A man, after killing an embryo or a cow or a woman, can somehow save himself, but there is no region for an ungrateful person. An ungrateful man, who for a selfish end, gives vent to sweet words which prove dangerous in the long run, wends the way of out-castes. He, who having his mind bent on iniquity, injures an innocent man, is constrained to wend the way leading to hell). On account of our rules of conduct and accomplishments, we are worthy of praise to persons like you seeking friendship. And such sons are more worthy of praise. As by the dreadful fight of the elephants, trees are destroyed which, after the close of the combat, become their food, so when dissensions take place amongst kinsmen, either relatives or inferior arbitrators meet with destruction (68–69). Vasudeva, while you are about to sow dissensions in this family, I now understand forsooth that without knowing you I fed you who are like death. O foolish man, you are always angry by nature, fond of creating enemies, sinful and of false humility. It is you who have brought this Yadu race into a pitiable strait. O Vasudeva, your old age is of no use. Unknowingly did I reward you who, in his hundred years with all his hairs grey, do not become old? He is aged in this world whose sense is ripe. But he is not aged whose hairs are grey. You are of a harsh temper; your intellect is not ripe and you are merely old in age like an autumnal cloud. O vain Vasudeva, you have thought. 'On Kansa being slain my son will govern Mathura'. Your hope is already frustrated, O you who have uselessly grown old and your resolution is falsified. No, one who has the desire of living, will live before me. By this wicked mind you have thought of injuring me who have confided in you; I will take steps against it in the presence of your two sons. I have never killed an old man, a Brahmana, a woman, or any one specially amongst my kinsmen, and I shall never do it. You are born here and have been brought up by my father. Besides you are my sister's husband and the first preceptor of the Yadus. Born in the great family of the well-known Lords Paramount of the world you are being worshipped as a preceptor by the noble and religious Yadavas. Old man, what shall we do? For such a conduct of a leading Yadava like your self, all the members of the Yadu race have become the butt of peoples' talk. O Vasudeva, if I am dead or defeated, for your improper conduct, it will put the Yadavas to shame before the pious. By concerting this measure for my destruction you have made yourself an object of distrust and the Yadavas of redicule. What more, you have created such an enmity between me and Krishna that there will be no peace in the Yadu family unless one of us dies.

"Whatever it may be, O giver of gifts, go to Vraja, at my command and bring these two boys, Nanda and other Gopas who pay tributes to me. Tell Nanda to come quickly to Mathura with his annual tribute along with other milk-men. Kansa, surrounded by his servants and priests, wants to see Krishna and Sangkarshana, the two sons of Vasudeva. He has heard that, that both of them are of hard limbs, powerful, careful, clever in fighting and well up in holding a match in the arena. Well-armed the two wrestlers of mine are rejoicing to combat with them. They are also experts in fighting and will match them. Besides these two boys, ranging in the woods of Vraja, the two immortal-like best of warriors are my sister's sons and therefore I should see them. Tell the inhabitants of Vraja that the king, of his own accord, is celebrating a bow festivity. Therefore let them come with necessary milk, curd, butter, etc., to cater the invited persons after their hearts and live at ease in the forest attached to the city. O Akrura, I am filled with curiosity to see Krishna and Sangkarshena. Do you go soon, bring them here and satisfy my command. If they come here I shall attain to supreme delight. Beholding those two highly powerful boys I shall engage in a work conducive to my well-being. If they do not come here at my behest I shall subdue them in time. O Akrura, it is better to use conciliatory words first towards the boys. Do you soon bring them here with sweet words. O you of firm vows, if you are not alienated from me by Vasudeva, do you accomplish this great work conducive to my pleasure. Do that by which they may come here."

Thus villified, Vasudeva, resembling a Vasu, resorting to gravity and patience, stood there motionless like an ocean. Assailed by foolish Kansa, with these shaft-like words, he, resorting to forgiveness, did not give any reply. Those, who saw him thus insulted at that time, all exclaimed, bending low

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their heads, "Oh fie Oh fie!". With his celestial vision the liberal Akrura could know everything. And so he was filled with great delight like a thirsty man on seeing water. And in order to see the lotus-eyed Krishna he left Mathura in that very moment.

CHAPTER 23. ANDHAKA'S ADVICE TO KANSA.

Vaishampayana said:—Beholding Vasudeva thus insulted and covering their ears with their hands the leading Yadavas took him for one having his lease of life run out. Resorting to patience, although his mind was worked up with anxiety Andhaka, the foremost of speakers, addressed, mildly in the midst of that assembly, powerful words to Kansa.

"O my son, it is unworthy of you to give vent to such words. To use such words to relatives is considered unbecoming and culpable by the pious. O hero, if you consider yourself as one, not born in the family of the Yadavas listen to what I say. The Yadavas do not by force wish to regard you as one of them. Rather a person like you becoming their master they have become censurable to all. What more, it appears, that the king Asamanja, of the Ikshaku race, has returned in your person. O my son, you may wear matted locks, may have your head shaved, may take any appellation, Bhoja, Yadava or Kansa, your head will remain in its natural shape. Cursed is that Ugrasena who has begotten a son like you, a wretch and curse of our family. O my son, the wise never make themselves a parade of their own accomplishments. The qualities, recognized by the Vedas, attain to fructification when spoken of by others. A stupid boy, the destroyer of his race like you, becoming our king the family of Yadus has become degraded among the royal families of the world. The vilifications, that you have given vent to, considering them as proper, have not been able to accomplish your object rather you have laid bare your character before the public (by it). Will you consider the insulting of a highly worshipful innocent preceptor, like the destruction of a Brahmana, as conducive to well-being? O my son, the aged ought to be adored and worshipped like fire* for their anger can consume even the regions acquired by Yoga. [* Fire was an object of worship with the ancient Aryans. It was compulsory for three higher castes to preserve consecrated fire in their house. It was kept perpetually and handed down from one generation to another. From the Vedic writings it appears that the ancient Aryans used to worship fire as a sacred element. This fire-worship still prevails amongst the followers of Zoroaster. This fact goes to prove that the Parsis and the Hindus are of the same stock.] Self-controlled and learned men, of advanced intellect, should enquire into the conduct of the people as they watch the movements of fish in water. Like an oblation not consecrated by mantras you always pain the fire-like aged people with heart-rending words. You are remonstrating with Vasudeva for his son. We speak ill of your these useless and abominable words. If a son becomes wicked the father is not so, rather he falls into many difficulties on account of his son. You might think that Vasudeva did not do his duty by hiding his own baby son. But ask your own father about it. Chiding Vasudeva and speaking ill of the Yadu race you have acquired poison consequent upon the enmity of the Yadavas. If Vasudeva has acted unfairly by doing this for his son why did not Ugrasena kill you in your infancy? Persons, conversant with moral laws, have given the name of Putra to a son because he saves the departed ancestors from falling into the hell of Put.

"From the very beginning of their birth you have been cherishing enmity towards the youthful Sankarshana and Krishna although born in the race of the Yadavas and they too consider you as their enemy. On account of your chiding Vasudeva and exciting the anger of Vasudeva the hearts of all the Yadavas are trembling.

"On account of your thus remonstrating with Vasudeva Krishna has become your enemy and therefore these evil omens are declaring your future fear. Evil dreams in the end of night and dreadful portends like the vision of of serpents are all declaring that this city will soon be a widow [i.e. The master of the city will soon die.]. Behold in the sky the dreadful planet Rahu, by his own effulgence, is possessing the star Swati [The star Arcturus is the brightest star in the constellation of Boötes. Mythologically it is one of the wives of the sun.] and is waiting in your tenth star Chitra [Spica is the brightest star in the constellation of Virgo.]. The dreadful planet Mangala [The planet Mars.] is united with them in its oblique course. By its dreadful effulgence Budha [The planet Mercury. This portends that his adminstration will come to an end.] has covered the western sky in the evening. And going beyond its course Sukra is ranging in the sky. Separated by the tail of Ketu [The Dragon's tail, the tail of a comet, an evil omen] Bharani [The name of the sacred lunar asterism containing three stars.] and other twelve planets are following the moon. Encircled by a disc the dawn with its effulgence is obstructing the sun and the birds and animals are going in contrary directions with cries Crying continually and emitting ember-like breaths the dreadful jackals are coming out of the cremation-grounds and going towards the city both in the morning and evening. Fire-brands are falling on earth with a terrible sound and the earth and mountain summits are shaking all on a sudden. The sun being possessed by Rahu the day is appearing like a night and all the quarters are filled with portendous smoke and thunder-bolts. The thick clouds, accompanied by lightnings, are pouring down blood—the gods are being shaken off their stations and the birds are leaving their resting trees). What more, all the evil omens, described by the astrologers as indicating the future death of a king, have set in. You are always harmful towards your relatives, backward in observing your royal duties and wrathful for nothing. Therefore your death is imminent. When you have out of your foolishness insulted the aged and god-like Vasudeva resembling a Vasu, there is no peace for you. You are an enemy of our race. From to-day we drive away the love that we had for you. After this we shall not adore you even for a moment. That giver, of gifts among us, is blessed who will behold the lotus-eyed Krishna of unwearied actions (now) ranging in the forest. For you this Yadu race is uprooted. Krishna will again unite his own kinsmen. Your sense has been entirely destroyed by Destiny. Speak whatever you like. Vasudeva will forgive you for all. O Kansa, I think it proper now that aided by Vasudeva, you should go to Krishna and ingratiate yourself to his good graces".

CHAPTER 24. THE DESTRUCTION OF KESHI.

Vaishampayana said:—Hearing the words of Andha ka, Kansa's eyes were reddened with anger. Without giving vent to a single word he entered into his own house. Having their resolution thus frustrated, Yadavas, well-versed in Srutis, repaired to their respective habitations talking over the ill-conduct of Kansa.

Akrura too, as commanded, and desirous of seeing Krishna, set out for Mathura in an excellent car fleet like the mind. Many good signs appeared on Krishna's limbs bespeaking of his union with a father-like relative. Before Akrura's departure, Ugrasena's son king Kansa sent an emissary to Keshi for destroying Krishna. Hearing the words of the messenger, the irrepressible Keshi, always oppressing the people, at once went to Vrindavana and began to torture the Gopas, Feeding upon human flesh in anger that dreadful and wicked demon, in the shape of a horse, began to assail all greatly. Killing the cows and cow-herds, that irrepressible Danava began to feed on beef of his own accord. Wherever in the forest the vicious-souled Danava Keshi lived it was filled with the dead bodies of men and appeared like a cremation ground. He used to scratch the earth with his hoofs, weaken the trees with his velocity, leap up into the sky and trifle at the wind with his neighing. Thus shaking his manes and ranging in the forest, that highly proud, foolish and wicked demon, assuming the form of a horse, began to act there as desired by Kansa. Destroying the Gopas, that horse demon, of wicked deeds, made the forest empty. That wicked one so much vitiated the forest that the Gopas, who derive their sustenance through woods and the kine left it. With his mind worked up with pride he continually fed on human flesh so much so that the animals could not wend the forest roads.

Once during the day, following in anger the noise of men, that Daity, as if urged on by Destiny, arrived at the settlement of the milk-men. As soon as they saw him the Gopa-women, with their children, and the Gopas, setting up a cry, fled away to their master Krishna, the lord of the universe. Hearing the cries of the Gopas and of their women Krishna promised them safety and went out to meet Keshi. Keshi, too, of powerful course, expanding his eyes and teeth and raising up his neck, ran towards Krishna with a great sound. Seeing the horse-demon Keshi fall on him Govinda confronted him as a cloud approaches the moon. Beholding Krishna at that time approach Keshi, the Gopas, endued with human sense, said to him for his well-being:

"O child, O Krishna, do thou not all on a sudden approach this wretch of a horse, for thou art a boy and that one of evil ways is beyond the power of all. This highly powerful Danava, peerless in battle, is born with Kansa, and is his life though ranging outward. He is a dread of the horses and soldiers, cannot be killed by any animal and the foremost of the sinful".

Hearing these words given vent to by the Gopas, Madhusudana, the slayer of his enemies cherished a desire of fighting with Keshi. Thereupon turning reversely to the southern direction in anger that horse-demon began to break down the trees with his two feet. Then from his long mouth, the thick manes on his neck and those falling on his forehead like streams of water began to trickle down drops of perspiration begotten by anger. As the moon pours down dews in the sky during the winter so from his mouth came out loams produced by the strokes of reins. With neighings coming out of his mouth and foams sent out by him like dews, he, as if, O Bharata, sprinkled Madhava. Covered with yellowish dust resembling powdered Madhuka (panic seed) raised up by his horns Krishna's locks became tawny. Trotting and leaping and riving the earth, Keshi, biting his teeth, ran towards Krishna. While engaged in fighting with Krishna, the powerful Danava Keshi, the foremost of horses, struck him on the breast with his fore-feet, and wounded him, of unmitigated prowess, repeatedly with his hoofs. Thereupon in anger, with his sharpened teeth, forming the weapons of his dreadful mouth he bit the upper part of Vasudeva's arm. At that time fighting with Krishna, Keshi, with long manes, shone like the sun in sky united with clouds.

With his strength doubled by anger that powerful horse, with great motion, attempted to strike Krishna on the breast. Thereat, lengthening his arms, Krishna of great prowess, in anger caught hold of the mouth of that demon.. Keshi could not therefore eat up or break down his arms. On the other hand, his teeth being uprooted and broken down he began to vomit foamy blood. His lips were shattered, his jaws were smashed, and his eyes were disfigured. They came out all being disjointed. His jaws were broken and his eyes were filled with blood. Raising up his ears in anger and having his mind agitated he set forth many an exertion. Jumping up again and again with his legs, he discharged urine and excreta, his hairs were soaked with perspiration and feet grew motionless. Thereupon Krishna's arm, thrown round Keshi's head, shone like a cloud stricken with the rays of the half-moon after the termination of the rainy season. With his limbs wearied out Keshi too, while engaged in a conflict with Krishna, appeared like the declining and exhausted moon on the mount Meru in the dawn. His teeth, uprooted by Krishna's hands, from his mouth fell down like white autumnal clouds shorn of water.

Thereupon when Keshi was greatly worn out with fatigue Krishna, stretching his hands a good deal, sundered him in twain. Thus smashed down by Krishna, the face of the Danava Keshi became disfigured and he began to cry most plaintively. All his limbs were shaken and shattered and blood came out of his mouth. He appeared there, accordingly, disfigured like a mountain, with a half of it being chopped off. Thus smothered by Krishna's hands and with his mouth expanded that highly dreadful Asura fell down like an elephant cut into two halves. The dreadful figure of Kehsi, mutilated by Krishna's hand, appeared like a beast slain by Rudra, with trident in his hand. His body being sundered into two equal halves each portion bearing two legs, half of his back and tail, one eye and one nostril, remained on earth. Krishna's arms too, wounded by Keshi's teeth, shone like a growing palm tree in the forest scratched by an elephant's tusks. Having, in this wise, slain Keshi in the battle-field and divided his body into two parts the lotus-eyed Krishna stood there smiling. Beholding Keshi slain, the Gopas and their women, with all their troubles and weariness gone, were greatly delighted. And welcoming the beautiful Damodara according to their respective position and age they honoured him again and again with sweet words.

The Gopas said:—"O child, O Krishna, having slain the Daitya, assuming the form of a horse and ranging on earth—the thorn of people, thou hast performed an arduous work. On this vicious horse being slain by thee Vrindavana is now full of auspiciousness and men, animals and birds are at ease. This vicious-minded one has destroyed many of our milk-men, cows fond of calves and villages. Perhaps divesting the worlds of men this sinful (demon) is about to bring about a universal dissolution for ranging himself at ease. O Krishna, what to speak of mortal men, even amongst the celestials, one, desirous of living, cannot stand before him."

Thereupon the Brahmana Narada, disappearing from view in the sky, said "O Vishnu, O god, O Krishna, I am pleased. The arduous work, that you have performed by destroying Krishna, is in thy power and in that of the three-eyed Deity (Siva) amongst the celestials. O my child, my mind is devoted to thee, and therefore desirous of witnessing this combat between a man and a horse I have come here from the celestial region. O Govinda, beholding thy deeds as the destruction of Putana etc., and this thy present feat I have been highly pleased. When this wicked-minded horse-demon Keshi used to increase his body, even Mahendra, the slayer of Bali, was stricken with fear. With thy outstretched hands thou hast sundered him. This death was ordained for him by Brahma, the root of the universe. Listen now to my declaration, O Vishnu. Since thou hast slain Keshi, thou shalt pass by the name of Keshava in the world. May good betide thee, O Keshava, I shall soon depart. Thou hast many works still to accomplish and thou art capable of doing them. Do thou perform them therefore, without any delay). O god, thyself being engaged in another work, other deities, dependant on thy power, are sporting like men imitating thy feats. The time for the mighty deep of the Bharata war, the battle of the kings, who are about to repair to the celestial region, is near at hand. Because the kings will repair to the region of Sakra, houses are being built for them there, the etherial roads are being cleared off and the cars are being embellished with pennons. O Keshava, when Ugrasena's son will be killed and thou wilt be in thy position this terrible and all-destroying war of kings will commence. O Madhava, unparalleled are thy deeds; therefore at the time of the war the Pandavas will seek refuge with thee and thou too shalt espouse their cause. When thou shalt be on the royal throne, undoubtedly the kings will renounce their most excellent and auspicious prosperity, O Krishna, O lord of the universe, thus I have communicated unto thee the intelligence of the gods living in the celestial region and of the universe. Although this history is recorded in Srutis it will become famous in the world. O lord, I have

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witnessed thy deeds and have seen thee. I now depart and shall return when Kansa will be slain".

Saying this Narada wended the etherial way. And hearing the words of Narada, proficient in celestial music, the Gopas too, along with Krishna, repaired to Vraja.

CHAPTER 25. AKRURA GOES TO VRAJA

Vaishampayana said:—Thereupon when, the sun, with weakened rays, set, when in the evening crimson sky, the disc of the moon became tawny coloured, when the birds entered into their nests, when the fire was enkindled by the sacrificers, when the quarters were enshrouded a little with darkness, when in that delightful night of the spring, Sukas, Valakas and other birds fell asleep in the village of the milk-men, when the night-rangers, fond of meat, became delighted, when the delightful night of Indra Gopas, when the study of the Vedas is stopped, set in, when the hour for boiling milk—a necessary adjunct of an Agnihotra ceremony for the householders, appeared, when the hermits began to offer oblations to fire, when the cows came back, and having their calves bound (to stakes) at the time of yielding milk began to bellow, when the milk-men, with long ropes for binding cows, and setting up a noise, began to call their kine, by names and collect them, when fire was set to dried cow-dung by Gopas returned from the forest and having their shoulders bent down by the weight of woods, when after the termination of the day and with the beginning of night the moon rose and shone, when with the disappearance of the rays of the sun the day passed away and with the shining rays of the moon the night set in, when the sky grew effulgent like burning fire, Akrura, as if along with birds about to enter into their nests, arrived at Vraja in his car, with a view of communicating happy news of union with friends. Having entered there that giver of gifts frequently enquired after Keshava, Rohini's son and Nanda Gopa (1-14).

Thereupon coming down from the chariot that highly powerful and liberal prince, resembling a Vasu, entered Nanda's house. As soon as he entered the gate with his face full of joy and eyes full of tears he saw Krishna stationed at the milking-place in the midst of calves like a bull. Greatly delighted at seeing Krishna, the pious Akrura with heavy accents, said "Come to me, O Keshava." And beholding Vasudeva, at the junction of boyhood and youth who lay on a fig-leaf at the time of the universal dissolution, and who assumed the form of a dwarf at the time of imposing on Bali, served by the prosperity of the three worlds, he praised him again and again and said within himself:—"This is the lotus-eyed Krishna of the size of a huge mountain, resembling an ocean overflowed with water and endued with the prowess of a lion and tiger. Irrepressible in battle he has the mystic mark of Srivatsa on his breast and his well-adorned arms are like a ground where the enemies are being killed (16-20). He is the incarnation of Vishnu under the guise of a milk-man who is the first worshipful of the universe and whose form is Upanishad. His hairs have stood erect (on seeing a votary). His head, resembling an umbrella, is worthy of a crown, his ears of two most excellent Kundalas and his spacious breast of a neck-chain. And his two plump and long arms have increased his beauty (22-23). Clad in a yellow raiment, his body, looked after by a thousand of women can even cut Madana (Cupid) to the quick. He is the eternal Vishnu. The lord, whose two feet are the refuge of the earth, and which covered the three worlds, has himself descended on earth. His beautiful right hand is fit for holding the discus and his left hand is, as if, willing to hold a club. With his first foot* he has descended on earth. And that foremost of the celestials is shining on earth. [* In his true Brahma form devoid of all qualities. The four feet are Viswa, Taijasa, Prajna and Turya.]

"The Brahmanas, conversant with the knowledge of future, have said that the Lord Gopala will multiply the almost extinct Yadu race. As the torrents fill up the great ocean, so hundreds and thousands of Yadavas by his power will fill up their respective families. When the commander of the enemies will be slain the entire, eternal and prosperous universe will abide by his commands, as in the golden age. While on earth he will subjugate the entire world; and though not a king he will rule over all the crowned heads. As in the days of yore, vanquishing Bali with his three foot-steps he installed Purandara as the king of gods in the celestial region, so subjugating the three worlds with his two feet he will forsooth now install Ugrasena as the Lord Paramount-33). While Keshava, the Creator of ocean-like hostilities, who is well-versed in many lores regarding the kings, the Ancient Purusha, whom the Brahmanas have hymned in the Vedas, has become desirous of living like a man, forsooth he will be an object of imitation to all the worlds (34–35). To-day with mantras I shall duly adore in my mind the divinity and the person of Vishnu. The Maharshis, endued with spiritual knowledge, know him as superhuman. That he has appeared amongst men and has become one of our kinsmen is undoubtedly superhuman. However holding a consultation with Krishna in the night, I shall, if he likes, take him and the Gopas to Mathura".

Beholding Krishna and thus recapitulating within himself thoughts pregnant with reasoning and high significance he entered into the court of Nanda Gopa.

CHAPTER 26. AKRURA DESCRIBES TO HIM THE MISERIES OF HIS PARENTS.

Vaishampayana said:—That giver of liberal gifts, having entered Nanda's house with Keshava and collected all the elderly milk-men, said delightedly to Krishna and Rohini's son "O my sons, early in the morning to-morrow, we will all repair to Mathura. Under Kansa's command, the Gopa inhabitants of Vraja, with their family and annual tributes, are to go there. Kansa is celebrating there a prosperous bow-sacrifice.

"You will all witness it and be united with your kinsmen. O my sons, your father Vasudeva is overwhelmed with sorrow consequent upon the destruction of his sons. You will be united with him there. O Krishna, he has grown old and all his limbs have become lean on account of decrepitude. And he is being always oppressed by Kansa of sinful designs. Out of Kansa's fear and your absence his mind is always burning in anxiety. O Govinda, you will also see the sorrowful and goddess-like Devaki. Her breast has not been handled by her sons and she is growing lean out of grief for her sons. She is anxious to see you. And stricken with the sorrow of separation she is there like a cow without her calf. Like unto the moon possessed by Rahu her eyes have run into their sockets and clad in a soiled raiment she is poorly spending her days. O Krishna, that ascetic lady is being exhausted with your sorrow. She is anxious to see you. And the desire for your return is reigning supreme in her mind. O lord, being separated from thee from thy very infancy she could not listen to thy child-like talks nor could she see the beauty of thy moon-like countenance. If by giving birth to thee Devaki is to repent thus what necessity had she then of a son? It would have been better for her not to have any offspring. Women, having no children, are subject to one grief only—but there is no end of their miseries, if they, on having offspring, have not their ends accomplished and fie on such sons. O Madhava, thou art the saviour of even thy enemies, art gifted with prowess like unto that of Indra and art endued with matchless accomplishments. She does not desire such a grief whose son thou art. Although aged thy parents are now serving another man and Kansa, of a sinful mind, is now insulting them on thy account. If like unto earth who holds thee Devaki deserves thy respect it behoves thee to save that goddess sunk into the water of sorrow. O Krishna, subjecting old Vasudeva, ever fond of his son and used to luxuries, to sorrow consequent upon the separation of his sons what religious merit wilt thou acquire? O Madhava, as thou didst vanquish the wicked Naga Kalya in the lake of Yamuna, as thou didst uproot the mount Govardhana for the behoof of the cows, destroy the powerful Arishtha elated with pride, kill the wicked-minded Keshi ever intent upon killing others so do thou now make such an exertion with great care for saving thy aged parents overwhelmed with grief that thou mayst acquire piety. Those, who saw thy father insulted in the court of Kansa, are all, laden with sorrow, continually shedding tears. Brought under the control of Kansa thy mother is suffering diverse miseries as the destruction of her sons. A son, born of his parents, should satisfy all the debts due by him as laid down in the scriptures. O sinless Krishna, if dost thou show this favour towards thy parants they will cast off their grief and thou shalt too satisfy thy duty".

Vaishampayana said:—The powerful Krishna knew everything so without taking any offence at the words of the liberal prince he said "So be it". Hearing the words of Akrura, all the Gopas, headed by Nanda, desired to follow the orders of Kansa. Determined upon going to Mathura the elderly Gopa inhabitants of Vraja dressed themselves. And arranging their presents they all proceeded along. Desiring of offering tributes unto Kansa, the heads of the various Gopa clans arranged according to their herds and quality, buffaloes and bull, curd, milk and clarified butter. And with these their tributes they all set out. Conversing with Krishna and Rohini's son Akrura spent the night without sleep. Thereupon in the dawn resonant with the notes of the birds and after the termination of the night all the rays of the moon were withdrawn. All the luminous bodies disappeared from the welkin covered with the rays of the sun. The earth was soaked with drops of dews driven by the morning breeze. The fading stars fell asleep on their beds of sky and were shorn of lustre. Thus did the night disappear and the sun rose. As if seeing the increasing body of the sun, the moon, of cool rays, withdrew his own form in shame. Thereupon the outskirts of Vraja were filled with cows, the churning vessels were setting up a sound, the young ones were bound down with ropes and the high-ways of Vraja were filled with Gopas. At that time placing on carts their vessels filled with various materials and themselves also getting on them the Gopas set out speedily.

Thereupon Krishna, Rohini's son, and Akrura, the giver of liberal presents proceeded on chariots like three Patriarchs. When they reached the bank of Yamuna Akrura said to Krishna:—"Stop the carriage here and look after the horses. Offer with care barley to the horses in the vessel that is on the car and wait for me for a moment. Ananta, the king of serpents and the protector of all the worlds, is the lord of the universe. Therefore going to the river Yamuna, I shall, with celestial mantras, worship him. When I shall bow unto that mystic lord Ananta, clad in blue a apparel, having an auspicious crown and a thousand heads, nectarine poison will come out of the mouth of that god and I shall drink it like unto the celestials drinking ambrosia. For the peace of the serpents Shesha will convene a meeting and let me behold that king of serpents endued with prosperity and the very abode of auspiciousness. As long as I do not come back from the lake of the king of serpents you both wait here for me".

Hearing this Krishna was pleased and said "Go but do not delay; for without you, we shall not be able to wait here".

Thereupon sinking into the lake of Yamuna the liberal prince saw the region of Nagas in Rasatala like unto this world. He saw there the thousand-headed Deity Ananta having a golden ball for his insignia. In his hand was a plough-share and by his belly was a mace. He was of yellow hue and was seated on a yellow seat. He was clad in a dark-blue raiment and on his ear was shining a Kundala resembling the bud of a lotus. And his lotus-like eye-lids were closed. That serpent was embellished with two Swastikas* and he was seated at ease on a beautiful white seat made by his own body. [A kind of mystical figure the inscription of which on any person or thing is generally considered to be lucky. The Sesha Naga was the couch of Vishnu on whose thousand hoods he lay asleep. -- The swastika is an ancient religious icon in the cultures of Eurasia. It is used as a symbol of divinity and spirituality in Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism. The word swastika comes from Sanskrit, meaning "conducive to well-being". In Hinduism, the right-facing symbol (the hooks bent to the right) is called swastika, symbolizing surya ("sun"), prosperity and good luck, while the left-facing symbol (the hooks bent to the left) is called sauwastika, symbolising night or tantric aspects of Kali. In Jainism, a swastika is the symbol for Suparshvanatha – the seventh of 24 Tirthankaras (spiritual teachers and saviours), while in Buddhism it symbolises the auspicious footprints of the Buddha. In several major Indo-European religions, the swastika symbolises lightning bolts, representing the thunder god and the king of the gods, such as Indra in Vedic Hinduism, Zeus in the ancient Greek religion, Jupiter in the ancient Roman religion, and Thor in the ancient Germanic religion. In the Western world, it was a symbol of auspiciousness and good luck until the 1930 when the svastika became the main symbol of Hitler's Nazi (National Socialist German Workers') Party, his distorted Aryan race theory, and his German Nazi-Empire. Due to the cruel subjugation of Europe committed by Hitler's Germany, the Holocaust (Hebrew term for the systematic murder of 6 million Jews by the Nazis and their collaborators during the Second World War), and the result of World War II, many people in the West strongly associate the svastika with Nazism, Fascism, anti-Semitism (Anti-Jewishness) and genocide. Therefore the display of the svastika is strictly forbidden in Austria, Germany, and other states.] His breast was adorned with a garland of golden lotuses and his head was decked with a golden tiara bent a little towards left. The body, resembling a white cloud of that large-armed king of serpents the slayer of his enemies, was besmeared with crimson-colour ed sandal and adorned with lotus garlands. The four quarters were filled with the lustre (of his person). Vasuki and other leading serpents were worshipping their only king, the powerful Sesha, master of one all spreading ocean. The two Nagas, Kamvala and Ashwatara, by name, were fanning with chowries that king of Nagas, seated on a throne of righteousness. The Pannaga king Vasuki, encircled by his serpent ministers, headed by Karkotaka, was shining near him. With celestial and golden jars covered with lotuses other leading Nagas were sprinkling that king already bathed in one sheet of water. He saw there the dark blue hued Vishnu* clad in a yellow raiment and bearing the mystic mark of Srivatsa, seated at ease on the lap of that king of serpents. [* The Vaishnava writers have variously interpreted this incident. According to them the anecdote is that when Vasudeva was carrying Krishna he slipped off his hand and fell into the water. He however at once picked up the boy. But this time Krishna did not come but Vishnu in Krishna form. When Akrura went to bathe in the Yamuna Krishna came out and went to Mathura while Vishnu lived in Gokula.] Another powerful celestial form, resembling Sankarshana, gifted with the beauty of the moon, was seated there without any seat. That giver of presents was about to address a few words to Krishna there but his power of speech was suppressed by his (Krishna's) prowess.

Beholding such eternal and divine prosperity in the serpents that giver of liberal presents was filled with surprise. And coming to the bank from the water he saw Rama and Krishna of wonderful forms seated on the car and looking towards each other. Seeing this Akrura, again out of curiosity, plunged into the lake and saw that the king of gods, Ananta, having a white face and clad in a blue raiment, was being worshipped as before; and that the powerful Krishna too was

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seated on the lap of that thousand-headed king of serpents and being worshipped as before. Then again coming out all on a sudden and reciting in his mind that mantra he went to the car by the same way by which he had come. Thereupon Krishna delightedly said to Akrura who was before him:—"What did you see of the Naga region situate in this Bhagavat lake? I think you have seen something wonderful for you waited for a long time in the lake and your mind too has been agitated."

Hearing the words of Krishna Akrura replied:—"O Krishna, what wonder is there in the entire world, mobile and immobile, which can be accomplished without thee? The wonder which I saw there, although rare on earth, I am seeing here and enjoying delight. O Krishna, I am united with the wonder incarnate in the world and therefore do not like to see a greater wonder than this. O lord, let us go to the city of king Kansa before the sun sets."

CHAPTER 27. KRISHNA'S ARRIVAL.

Vaishampayana said:—Thereupon yoking (the horses to the) car and ascending thereon the liberal giver Akrura set out with Krishna and Sangkarshana and reached the charming city of Mathura protected by Kansa. And before evening when the sun was in its crimson colour he entered that beautiful city.

Taking the heroic Krishna and Sangkarshana of beautiful colour first to his own house the intelligent giver of liberal presents, effulgent like the sun, said to them:—"O sire, for the present you are to relinquish the desire of going to Vasudeva's house. For you, your old father is being day and night chiden by Kansa. So you should not wait here long. You should do such a good and pleasant work on his behalf that your father may attain to happiness."

Hearing this Krishna said:—"If you like O pious (Akrura) we, while visiting Mathura and her highways, will enter unperceived into Kansa's house."

Vaishampayana said:—Bowing unto Krishna in his mind Akrura too, with a delighted mind, went to Kansa. Thus instructed those two heroes went on visiting all the high-ways like two elephants let free from their posts and desirous of fighting. Seeing a washer-man on the way they asked of him beautiful clothes. The washer man replied to them, saying "Who are you? Out of ignorance you have been fearlessly wanting the robes of the king. It seems you are rangers of the forest. I dye, as he desires, all the clothes of the king Kansa which he gets from various countries. Methinks, born in a forest you have grown up with the deer. Otherwise why do long for and pray for the various dyed clothes. You are stupid and of inferior intellect, or else why do you desire for king's clothes. Perhaps giving up all hopes of your life you have come here."

Destiny was against that stupid washer-man of feeble understanding and therefore he discharged such poisonous words. Krishna grew offended with him and struck him on the head with his fist strong as the thunder-bolt. With his head sundered he fell down lifeless on earth. Thereupon the wives of that washer-man, bewailing for their dead husband indignantly and with dishevelled hairs, soon approached Kansa's house.

Like two elephants attracted by smell those two sweet speeched brothers went to a shop for garlands. There lived a wealthy, sweet-speeched and good-looking garland dealer by name Gunaka. He had a large stock of garlands. Desirous of having garlands Krishna, with sweet words and without any hesitation, said to the shop-keeper "Give me some garlands." Hearing this the garland-dealer was pleased and conferred upon those two beautiful brothers a number of garlands and said "These are all yours." Being pleased Krishna conferred upon Gunaka a boon saying "O gentle one, the goddess of prosperity, who is my dependant, shall always live by you with profuse riches." With his head bending low and touching the feet of Krishna that garland-dealer patiently accepted the boon. Then thinking "They are Yakshas," the garland-dealer, stricken with great fear, did not give any reply.

Thereupon again going to the high-way the two sons of Vasudeva espied Kuvja with pastes in her hands. Seeing her Krishna said:—"O lotus-eyed Kuvja, tell me quickly for whom you are carrying these unguents". Hearing this Kuvja, going obliquely like a lightning, with delightful eyes and smiles said to the lotus-eyed Krishna in words grave as the clouds. "May you fare-well. I was going to the king's bath-room. I am waiting here because you are a darling of my heart; come and accept this unguent. O you of lotus-eyes, of you of a beautiful face, seeing you I am filled with surprise. O gentle one, whence have you come that you do not know me. I am a favourite of the king and engaged in the work of smearing his body".

Krishna then replied to Kuvja who stood there smiling: "Give us unguents befitting our body. O you of a beautiful face, we are wrestlers who travel over the countries. We have come here at present to see this happy and prosperous kingdom and to witness this bow-sacrifice)". She said to Krishna "No sooner I have seen you than you have become my favourite. Without any hesitation accept this unguent becoming a king." Thereupon besmearing their beautiful persons with unguents those two brothers shone like two bulls covered all over their body with the mud of Yamuna. Thereupon Krishna, conversant with the art of arranging for sports, softly touched the haunch of Kuvja with his fingers. Knowing her haunch (thus) broken, the beautiful and sweet smiling Kuvja, like unto a straight creeper, said with love to Krishna displaying her gestures and laughing aloud "Where wilt thou go? Wait here, requested by me. Take me." The eternal Krishna and Rama had a knowledge of Kuvja's accomplishments and therefore looking at each other they began to laugh striking their palms. Thereupon smiling a little Krishna sent away Kuvja who was stricken with desire. Thus liberated from Kuvja's (grasp) they set out for the court.

Thereupon those two brothers, dressed like milk-men and brought up in Vraja, entered the palace without betraying the designs they had at heart by the gestures of their faces. Like two proud lions, born in the Himalaya forests, those two boys, unnoticed, reached the house of bows. Desirous of seeing that bow embellished with celebrity those two heroes said to the keeper of the house of weapons. "O keeper of Kansa's bows, hear our words. O gentle one, where is that bow for which this sacrifice is being celebrated? If you like, show us that celebrated bow." He then showed them the bow resembling a pillar, to which even the gods headed by Vasava cannot set a string and which cannot be broken down. The powerful Krishna took it up with his hand. Taking up with his hand with a delighted mind that bow worshipped of the Daityas the powerful lotus-eyed Krishna stretched and bent it continually. Bent with force by Krishna that celebrated bow, resembling a serpent, broke in twain. Having thus broken that best of bows, the quick-coursing youth Vasudeva issued out of that room along with Sangkarshana. At that time all the quarters were filled with the sound of the snapping of the bow resembling that of the wind and the entire inner appartment shook at it. Thereupon terrified the guard, coming out of the room of weapons, speedily approached the king and breathing like a crow said—"Hear, I shall relate what wonderful incident, like unto the dissolution of the world, has taken place in the house of bows. Two heroic men, capable of assuming forms at will and resembling the sons of gods, clad in blue and and yellow raiments and besmeared with such unguents, at once entered into the inner appartment unnoticed by men. The effulgence of their body is like new fire and their locks are adorned with spreading tufts of hair. They were adorned with beautiful raiments and garlands. Those two gentle heroes, as if at once came, down from the sky and stationed themselves in the bow-room. I have seen this myself distinctly. Of them the lotus-eyed and dark hued hero, who wore yellow apparel and garlands, took up that best of bows which even the gods cannot, O king, although a boy, he easily and speedily with force stringed and bent that huge iron bow. When that large armed hero drew that bow without arrows with a great sound it broke into two pieces in its middle. With the sound of the snapping of that bow the sun was shorn of its effulgence, the earth was agitated and the sky was as if displaced. O you, a terror of your enemies, beholding this great super-human deed I am filled with surprise and in fear come have to communicate to you this news. Of those two heroes of unmitigated prowess, one is like the mount Kailasa and the other is like a mountain of collyrium in hue. I do not know who they are. As an elephant breaks down a pillar so that hero, of great prowess, shattered that precious bow in twain and went away speedily like air with his companion. I do not know who he is, O king" (59–61). Kansa knew everything from before, so hearing of the breaking of the bow he did not say any thing. Dismissing the guard he entered into his most excellent room.

CHAPTER 28. ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE MATCH.

Vaishampayana said:—Meditating on the incident of the breaking of the bow Kansa, of Bhoja race, was greatly stricken with grief and absent-mindedness. He began to think:—"How could a boy fearlessly break down an iron bow guarded by men and go out. None can withstand destiny by manliness for now, as predicted by Narada, that has come to pass for which out of fear I perpetrated a dreadful and highly censurable deed and destroyed the six heroic sons of Devaki".

Thus thinking and issuing out of his own apartment the king went to the arena for examining the platforms. This hall was constructed by clever artizans, abounded in well fixed platforms and was adorned with turrets consisting of beautiful rooms. It had a spacious courtyard and a number of pillars of the same size. It was bedecked on all sides with strong tusks of elephants and with spacious, high and royal seats. It had many passages, could carry the burden of many men and was filled with altars. Beholding this spacious well-built, and strong arena that intelligent best of kings issued the mandate "(tomorrow) the bow sacrifice will take place. Let the platforms, turrets and passages be embellished with garlands, flags and covers and be sweet-scented. Let the enclosures be adorned with bells, covers and becoming edibles and place there profuse cow-dung. Let excellent golden jars full of water be placed in due order. Let jars full of edibles and scents be placed and invite all those who are clever judges of warfare and the citizens. Issue my mandate to the wrestlers and visitors and let beautifully decked and enclosed platforms be set apart." Issuing this command regarding the arrangement of the party Kansa left the arena for his own appartment.

Having entered his own room Kansa sent for Chanura and Mushthika the two wrestlers of unequalled strength. Following Kansa's order those two highly powerful energetic and large armed wrestlers entered his room with a delighted heart. Beholding those two world-renowned wrestlers before him king Kansa addressed to them the following words pregnant with propriety. "You are both my heroic wrestlers well-known (in the world). You are worthy particularly of good treatment and therefore I always regard you. If you remember the honours I have showered upon you then engage in a great work with your energy on my behalf. Forsooth, fighting in the arena with those two forest-ranging cow-herd boys Krishna and Sangkarshana who have grown in Vraja for me you will be able to throw them on earth and kill them. You will be perfectly careful in killing them; do not disregard them as boys of fickle nature. If those two boys are killed in battle in the arena I shall meet with well-being both in present and future."

Hearing these affectionate words of the king the wrestlers Chanura and Mushthika, mad after fight, delightedly replied:—"If those two helpless boys, the very sin of the Gopas, come before us know them as already slain and existing in the shape of ghosts. On our being worked up with anger if those two forest-rangers, enveloped in calamities, withstand us, we will destroy them in your very presence." Giving vent to these poisonous words and commanded by king Kansa those two foremost of wrestlers Chanura and Mushthika returned to their own habitations.

Thereupon Kansa said to his elephant-trainer Mahamatra:—"Keep at the gate of the arena the fickle-natured and powerful elephant Kuvalayapida, the oppressor of other elephants, whose temples are soaked with temporal juice, eyes are always inebriate and who is always angry with men. When the mean forest-ranging sons, of Vasudeva, will come do you so drive that elephant at them that they might at once be deprived of their lives). If by you, through that elephant-chief those two irrepressible Gopas are killed in the arena my eyes will derive pleasure from seeing you. Beholding them slain, Vasudeva, with his root cut off and helpless, will meet with destruction along with his wife. Beholding Krishna thrown down all the stupid Yadavas will give up hope and be slain. Having myself slain those two cow-herd boys through the wrestlers or the elephant I shall divest the city of Mathura of all the Yadavas and live here happily. I have forsaken my father because he belongs to the Yadu race and I do now forsake the remaining Yadavas devoted to Krishna. Verily as said by Narada I am not begotten by Ugrasena a man of feeble energy who hankers after a son."

Mahamatra said:—"How did the celestial saint Narada describe the wonderful story related by thee, O king, O thou, the slayer of thy enemies. O king, how couldst thou take thy birth from any other person save thy father Ugrasena? How could thy mother perpetrate such an abominable deed which even the ordinary women cannot? O great king, curious I am to listen to all these in detail."

Kansa said:—Hear, if you are so anxious, I shall describe what the powerful sage Narada, the foremost of Brahmanas said. Once on a time came to me from Indra's palace his friend the immortal, learned and celestial sage Narada. He was clad in an apparel white as the rays of the moon, wore matted locks, had an antelope skin thrown round his neck, a rough sacred thread, a staff and a pitcher in his hands. He used to recite the four Vedas, was proficient in the art of music and traversed the Brahma region like his second-self. Beholding the arrival of the sage and adoring him duly with arghya, water to wash his feet and a seat I took him to my house and made him seated. Seated at ease that foremost of divine sages Narada, always intent on meditating upon soul, enquired after my well-being and said with a delighted mind.

Narada said:—"O hero, I have been worshipped by you with rites sanctioned by Holy Writs. Listen now to a word of mine and accept it. I had repaired to the golden mountain Meru, the abode of the gods. On the summit of that mountain Sumeru a meeting of the gods was held. I heard them hold counsels regarding the highly dreadful destruction of yourself along with all your followers. I heard there, that the eighth son of Devaki, Vishnu, worshipped of all, would bring about Kansa's death. He is all in all of the gods, the support of the celestial region, the great mystery of the gods. He will be your Death. O king, one should not disregard his enemy, even he may be weak or his own kinsman. Be careful to put Devaki's children to death. O you of great power, Ugrasena is not your father. The energetic and dreadful Drumila, the king of Soubha*, is your father." [* The city of Harishchandra suspended in mid-air.] Hearing his words I was filled with anger a little and accosted him again saying "O Brahman, how could Danava Drumila become my father? How could he

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know my mother, O Vipra? I wish to hear all this at length, O great ascetic."

Narada said:—"O king, listen, I shall truly relate how your mother was united with Drumila. Once on a time your mother, during her menses, went out of curiosity to see the mountain Suyaman along with her female companions. She was ranging in the beautiful summits of the mountain abounding in charming trees and table-lands, and in the caves and on the banks of the rivers. Hearing again and again the lust-exciting words, sweet as the songs of the Kinnaras, pleasant to the ears; and echoing on all sides, the notes of the peacocks and other birds her mind was worked up with desire the usual habit of women. In the meantime there blew the wind carrying the fragrance of flowers of the forest that awakes Manmatha (the god of love). Driven by the wind the Kadamva flowers, closed by continual showers and adorned with black bees, began to pour down fragrance profusely. With the downpour of flowers and filaments the Neepa trees shone there like lamps. Covered with new grass and adorned with Indragopa insects the earth appeared to have her menstrual flow, like a youthful damsel. At that time, O Kansa, as if you urged on by destiny the beautiful Danava Drumila, capable of coursing at-will, the king of Soubha, came there by the etherial way in a quick-coursing car, going everywhere at will, and effulgent like the new sun, to see mount Suyamana. Reaching that foremost of mountains, descending from his car, and keeping his chariot, that is capable of destroying other cars, in the garden on the mountain he began to walk on the summit along with his charioteer. They saw there many forests and gardens endued with characteristics of various seasons and resembling the celestial garden of Nandana, various jewels of golden, silvery and collyrium-like hues, summits covered with diverse mineral substances, various trees adorned with many sorts of fruits and flowers, filled with the fragrance of flowers and resorted to by various creatures and birds of diverse species, various places abounding in herbs and Rishis of accomplished piety, numberless Vidyadharas, Kimpurushas, Vanaras, Rakshasas, lions, tigers, boars, buffaloes, Sarabhas, Shalas, Srimaras, Mahasatwas, elephants and Yakshas as they walked over that best of mountains.

"Thereupon from distance Drumila, the king of Daityas, saw your mother, as if the daughter of a god, culling flowers from the trees and sporting with her companions. Beholding from a distance that goddess of a beautiful hip encircled by her companions the king of Soubha, filled with surprise, said to his charioteer.

"'Who is this beautiful, high-minded and accomplished damsel having the eyes of a roe who is ranging at the outskirt of the forest?. Is she Madana's Rati, Indra's Sachi or Tilottama? Or is she Aila's daughter Urvashi, the jem of a woman who came out riving the thighs of Narayana? When converting the mount Mandara into a churning rod the gods and Asuras, unitedly, churned the ocean of milk for ambrosia the goddess Sree, the root of the world, arose therefrom and adorned the lap of Narayana. Is she the beautiful Sree? Who is she, who, walking in the midst of that bevy of ladies, is lighting up the forest with her beauty like into a lightning, attached to dark clouds, shining up all the quarters. I am beside myself at seeing this highly beautiful damsel of defect-less limbs and moon-like countenance and all my senses have become agitated. [* This refers to Madana (Cupid). He is represented to carry a flowery bow and flowery shafts.] My mind is highly worked up with lust. The holder of the flowery bow* is wounding greatly my body with flowery shafts. Like a ruthless wight he is cutting my heart and consuming it with five arrows and my lust is increasing like fire sprinkled with clarified butter. What work shall I undertake to-day to pacify this fire of lust? On undertaking what will this beautiful damsel worship me?'

"Thinking thus for a long time Danava Drumila could not attain to patience and again said to his charioteer:—'Wait here for a moment, O sinless one. I shall myself go and see whose wife she is. Therefore wait here till my return.' Hearing his words the charioteer said 'So be it.'

"Saying this to his charioteer and rinsing his mouth that powerful king of Danavas, bent on going there, engaged in meditation and thought. Meditating for a moment he, by this knowledge, came to know that she was Ugrasena's wife and was highly pleased. Changing his form and assuming that of Ugrasena that large-armed king of Danavas proceeded smilingly. O Kansa, thus proceeding gradually with smiles in his Ugrasena form that powerful (Danava) caught hold of your mother and ravished her, On account of her exuberance of feelings that lady, devoted heart and soul to her husband, was united with her. Then perceiving the heaviness of his touch, she was filled with fear. Then rising up and terrified she said to him:—'Forsooth thou art not my husband. Who art thou that hast polluted me with thy impure conduct. By thee of mean habits, assuming the form of my husband, my vow, of devotion to one husband, has been spoliated. Alas, being enraged with me what will my kinsmen say to me who have brought disgrace on my family. And forsaken and censured by my husband's relatives where shall I live? O thou born in a degraded race, thou art passionate and shorn of patience. Fie on thee! While thou hast begun to ravish other's wives, thou art not worthy of confidence and your lease of life has run out.'

"While the lady thus remonstrated with him that Danava, filled with anger, said:—'I am Drumila, the king Soubha. O stupid woman vaunting of learning, being under the protection of a human husband subject to mean death, why art thou censuring me. O thou proud of thy womanly honour, eternal is not the understanding of a woman and therefore they are not (by coming in contact with a person like myself) visited by the sin of incontinence. [The purport is that women are mortal and so by living with immortals on immoral terms they commit no sin as they do when they mix with men.] I have heard that by going astray many women have given birth to sons of unlimited prowess like unto the gods. Thou art a most chaste and devoted wife amongst women, and therefore art remonstrating with me, although I am sinless, and saying whatever thou dost like. O excellent woman, because thou hast addressed me as Kastham (who art thou) therefore thou shalt give birth to a son by name Kansa the destroyer of his enemies.'

"Hearing these words the queen was filled with anger and speaking ill of his boon she again, with a heart aching, said to that impudent Danava. 'Fie on thy conduct, O highly wicked one. Thou art speaking against all women. But there are many amongst them who are chaste and many who are unchaste. O wretch of thy race, by Arundhati and other chaste ladies, of whom we hear, all these creatures and worlds are being upheld. I do not like the son that thou, hast given me—the destroyer of my vow. Hear what I say about it. O vile creature, the eternal Purusha, who will be born in the family of my husband, will be the destroyer of thyself and of the son given by thee.'

"Thus addressed and ascending the most excellent car of unobstructed course Drumila went away by the etherial way. And on that very day your mother too went to her city with a poor heart."

Having said this to me the divine Narada, the foremost of sages burning in his ascetic energy like the very fire, playing on his flute of seven notes and singing, set out for the Brahma region to meet the Grand-Father. O Mahamatra, you have listened to the words given vent to by me, Truth has been spoken out by the intelligent Narada conversant with the knowledge of present, past and future. In strength, energy, humility, stature, heroism, manliness, truth, and liberality no man is like me. Seeing all these (accomplishments) in me I placed confidence in his words. O elephant-trainer, I am a Kshetraja* son of Ugrasena. [* Lit: produced in a field, born of the wife. A son, the offspring of the wife by a kinsman or person duly appointed to procreate issue to the husband. This is one of the twelve kinds of issue acknowledged by the old Hindu Law.] If both my parents forsake, I shall be on the royal throne by my own power. I have been hated by them both and especially by my kinsmen. Having slain, through the elephant, first these two sinful cowherd boys I shall afterwards kill all the Yadavas belonging to Krishua's party. Riding your elephant with goads, swords and Tomaras, do you wait, O Mahamatra, at the gate of the arena. Do not tarry.

CHAPTER 29. A DESCRIPTION OF THE ARENA.

Vaishampayana said:—Upon the following day the ampitheatre was filled by the citizens anxious to behold the great game. The place of assembly was supported by octagonal painted pillars, fitted up with terraces, doors and bolts, with windows circular or crescent; shaped and accomodated with seats with cushions; and it shone like the ocean whilst large clouds hang upon it, with spacious substantial pavillions fitted up for the sight of the combat; open to the front but screened with beautiful and fine curtains, crowned with festoons of flowers and glistening with radiance, like autumnal clouds. The pavillions of the different companies and corporations, vast as mountains, were decorated with banners, bearing upon them the implements and emblems of the several crafts. The chambers of the inhabitants of the inner apartments shone near at hand, bright with gold and painting and net-work of gems: they were richly decorated with precious stones, were enclosed below with costly hangings and ornamented above with spires and banners and looked like mountains spreading their rays in the sky; while the rays of light reflected from the valuable jewels were blended with the waving of white chowries and the musical tinkling of female ornaments. The separate pavilions of the courtesans were graced by lovely women attired in the most splendid dresses and emulated the radiance of the cars of the gods. In the place of assembly there were excellent seats, couches made of gold and hangings of various colours, intermixed with bunches of flowers; and there were golden vases of water and handsome places for refreshment, filled with fruits of various kinds and cooling juices, sherbets fit for drinking. And there were many other stages and platforms constructed of strong timber; and hangings by hundreds and thousands were displayed; and upon the tops of the houses, chambers, fitted up with delicate jealousies through which the women might behold the sports, appeared like swans flying through the air. In front stood the pavilion of Kansha surpassing all the rest in splendour looking like mount Meru in radiance; its sides, its columns being covered with furnished gold; fastened with coloured cords and every way worthy the presence of a king.

Having ordered 'Let the elephant Kuvalyapida wait at the gate' the king Kansa entered the arena abounding in men hailing from various countries, echoing with their noise, shaking and radiant like a huge ocean. With two white chowries on his two sides, with two pieces of white raiment on his body and a white turban on his head he shone like the moon of white rays on the white summit of the white mountain. When that intelligent king was seated at ease on his throne, the citizens, beholding his matchless beauty, exclaimed shouts of victory.

Thereupon entering the arena, the powerful wrestlers, with loose garments, took ground on three sides. Afterwards accompanied by the sound of trumpets and the slapping of the arms the two sons of Vasudeva, with delighted minds, arrived at the gate of the arena. As soon as they entered there quickly those two sons of Vasudeva, of beautiful faces, were obstructed by that mad elephant moving hither and thither. Driven again and again that wicked elephant, folding up its trunk, attempted to destroy Rama and Krishna. Thereupon terrorized by the elephant, Krishna, smiling and speaking ill of the intention of the wicked-minded Kansa, said:—"While Kansa is desirous of killing me through this elephant forsooth he is eager to repair to the abode of Yama".

Thereupon when that elephant, roaring like a cloud, neared him, the powerful Govinda, leaping up, slapped his arms. Roaring like a lion and slapping his arms, he, stationed before the elephant, took its trunk covered with water, on his breast. Sometimes he went between his two tusks and again between his two legs and thus agitated him as does wind the ocean. Then coming out of the top of his trunk and tusks and of his legs Vasudeva drew his tail and put it into the ground. Thereat that huge-bodied best of elephants became bewildered and could not slay Krishna. And with his body, as if grinded, he began to roar there. Then touching the earth with his two knees and assailing the surface the earth with his tusks he began to discharge must* in anger like a cloud in the rains. [* It is a Persian word for Mada which means a juice that exudes from the temples of a rutting elephant.] Thus sporting with that elephant under the pretext of a childish freak Krishna, in order to kill Kansa, desired to destroy him soon). Thereupon placing his foot on his lower lip he, with his two hands, uprooted his tusks and struck him therewith. Assailed with the strokes of his own thunder-like tusks the elephant passed urine and excreta with a great sound. Profuse blood came out of the temples of that elephant whose limbs were mutilated by Krishna and whose mind was stricken with sorrow. As Vinata's son (Garuda) draws a serpent lying with its half on the face of a mountain so the holder of plough-share (Baladeva) began to drag him with force by the tail. Thus striking the elephant with the tusks, Krishna, with one stroke, hurt the elephant-driver by name Ulvana. Then setting up a terribly plaintive roar, that huge elephant, with his tusks broken, fell down along with Mahamatra like fire thrown down by thunder bolt. Thereupon taking up a Torana and other weapons those two foremost of men, Rama and Krishna, dreadful in battle, destroyed the guards protecting the rear of the elephant. Having slain them when those two Madhavas, adorned with wild garlands, entered the arena all the Vrishnis, Andhakas and Bhojas took them for two Ashinis coming down, of their own accord, from the celestial region. With their leonine roars, shouts of joy, slapping of arms and striking of palms they pleased all the people there. O descendant of Bharata, beholding them and the attachment and joy of the citizens the vain Kansa was filled with sorrow. Having thus slain the roaring elephant the lotus-eyed Krishna, along with his elder brother, arrived at the ocean-like arena.

CHAPTER 30. TRIAL OF ARMS.

Vaishampayana said:—Shaking the earth with the sound of the slapping of his arms Krishna, the lotus-eyed son of Devaki, entered the arena, with his elder brother before him. His raiment was being shaken by the wind, his body was wounded with the tusks of the elephant and his limbs were covered with must and blood; he was bounding like a lion and entered there quickly like a cloud for bringing about the destruction of Kansa. He was very careful to find out the defects and his beautiful arms were adorned with the tusks of the elephant. Beholding him thus enter with great force the face of Ugrasena's son grew pale and he began to eye them in anger. With the tusks in his hand Keshava shone there like a mountain of one summit stricken with the image of the half-moon. While he ranged by leaps and bounds, that ocean-like arena shone there filled with the echoes of the crowd.

Thereupon with his eyes reddened in anger the highly wrathful Kansa ordered the greatly powerful Chanura to fight with Krishna. He ordered the powerful wrestlers Andhra, Nikriti and Mushthika, resembling so many mountains, to engage with Balarama. Chanura had already been ordered by Kansa to fight with Krishna carefully. And

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again commanded thus, he, with his eyes reddened with ire, went forward to fight like a cloud surcharged with water (9-10). Afterwards when the royal mandate "Be all silent" was announced on all sides and the entire crowd was hushed into silence the Yadavas, assembled together, said: "This trial at arms was first introduced by the Creator as one in which no weapons should be used, in which skill and strength are necessary, in which there should be judges and no cowards should take part. In it (the parties) should await the appointed hour and remove their toil with water. It is also laid down that wrestlers should besmear their body with cow-dung. In it one standing should fight with another such, one lying on the ground should engage with another such; in whatever condition one may be one should fight with him in that order; such the judges say. A boy, a youth, an old man, a strong man or a weak man, whoever he may be, they should be informed of the particulars of the trial waiting in their respective quarters. Persons, conversant with the modes of wrestling, say that one, conversant with this mode, should not display his strength or skill while his antagonist is defeated. Now Krishna and the wrestler Andhra will fight with each other in the arena. Krishna is a mere boy and Andhra is an elderly person. We should exercise our judgement in this matter."

Thereupon a great tumult arose in the midst of that assembly and Govinda, leaping up, said "I am a boy and though Andhra is of a huge body like a mountain I wish to fight with this wrestler of strong arms. Though I am a boy I will commit no transgression of the rules of fight and will not at a stain on the opinions of the wrestlers. Let all the rules, laid down by the cult of wrestlers regarding the use of cow-dung, water and other things for besmearing the body, be followed. One attains to success in the arena by self-control, fortitude, manliness, exercise, good conduct and strength; such is the opinion of exerts. Although I cherish no enmity this man is about to create this feeling in me. Vanquishing him I shall therefore please the world. This wrestler Chanura of huge proportion is born in the province of Karusha. Although he is a wrestler his deeds ought to be considered. This one, desirous of acquiring influence in the arena, has put a stigma on the ways of wrestlers by destroying many of them after their discomfiture. Success, of those fighting with weapons in a battle, consists in cutting off those (of this antagonist). So the success of a wrestler lies in throwing down his antagonist. By acquiring victory in battle one attains to eternal glory; and the slain depart to the land of the celestials. The slayer and the slain, both of them, achieve the same end in a battle; so it is called a life-terminating match and is spoken highly of by the pious. Besides this way of the wrestlers is beyond both strength and deed. Where is heaven for the dead and glory for the victorious? [The meaning is:—In a wrestling match one gives no proof of his power and performs no good deed because it is mere an idle amusement. And so the one slain does not go to heaven and the one successful secures no glory.] By his folly a king, who is proud of his learning, for a display of his power, brings about the death of some wrestlers through his own men. (Herein both the agent and the engager) are visited by the sin of destruction." No sooner had he said this than a highly terrible fight took place between them both like that of two elephants in the forest. They wrestled with each other in various ways, by mutually entwining, laying hold of, letting go the adversary, throwing on earth and taking up in the air). By mutually pulling to and casting back, stricking with fists, elbow, fore-arm and knees, interlacing the arms, kicking and striking blows as hard as stones and shaking their heads awry those two heroes, as if made of the essence of rocks, fought that dreadful contest without weapons. Thereupon at witnessing that strength of arms of the heroes a rejoicing arose in that assembly. The mind of the people was drawn by that acclamation. The other people from the pavillions spoke highly (of this feat).

Casting his looks at Krishna and with his face soaked with perspiration Kansa, with his right hand, prevented the blowing of the bugle. Although his trumpets and bugles were not sounded the celestials in the sky began to blow their own. When the lotus-eyed Hrishikesha engaged in fight the sound of bugles arose of itself on all sides. Along with the Vidyadharas, the Devas, capable of assuming form at will, disappeared from view and began to pray for Krishna's victory. Stationed in the sky the seven Rishis exclaimed "O Krishna, vanquish the Danava in the form of the wrestler Chanura". Wrestling with Chanura for a long time, Devaki's son, who foresaw Kansa's death, stole away his strength. Thereat the earth trembled, the pavillions rolled and the most excellent jewel slipped off from Kansa's crown. Thereupon again throwing down the reviving Chanura by his arms Krishna pressed his breast with his knees and struck him on the head with his fist. Thereat his eyes, covered with tears and blood, were driven out of their sockets. And hanging on his side they appeared like golden bells. Thus with his eyes drawn out Chanura, shorn of his strength and life, lay in the arena. With the body of the wrestler Chanura, deprived of his life, that big arena appeared is if to have been obstructed by a mountain.

After Chanura, proud of his strength, had been slain Rohini's son engaged with Mushthika and Krishna with Toshala again. In the first challenge, those two wrestlers, beside themselves with anger, as if urged on by Destiny met Rama and Krishna. Thrown down by a gust of wind they began to leap and bound in the arena. Taking up Toshala, huge as a mountain summit and whirling him for a hundred times the powerful Krishna grinded him on the earth. Then profuse blood gushed out of the mouth of that powerful wrestler attacked and assailed by Krishna. And he was on the point of death. Displaying various circular feats and fighting for a long time with Mushthika, and the wrestler Andhra the energetic and powerful athlete Baladeva struck his head with his fist resembling a cloud accompanied by a thunderbolt. Thereat his brain came out and his eyes were displaced. When he fell down slain on earth the multitude sent up a great shout. Having thus slain Toshala and Andhra, Krishna and Sangkarshana, with eyes reddened in anger, began to move about with leaps and bounds in the arena. At that time the great wrestlers Andhra and Chanura being slain that grim looking arena grew void of wrestlers. With all their limbs trembling waited there the Gopa spectators headed by Nanda. With her limbs trembling, her breast pained with the discharge of milk and eyes bathed in tears of joy Devaki began to see Krishna. Vasudeva, who had his eyes agitated by tears on seeing Krisana, became youthful as if casting off his decrepitude. As if through the black-bees of their respective glances, the courtesans drank the lotus countenance of Krishna. There were seen drops of perspiration on Kansa's face for seeing Krishna and of anger between his eye-brows. His heart was fanned by the breaths of anger accompanied by smoke-like thoughts of Keshava's destruction and was consumed by the fire of mental anxiety. His lips trembling in anger and the painted lines on his forehead being washed off by perspiration his body appeared like the crimson-coloured sun. As dew-drops, falling from a tree, appear when smitten by the rays of the sun so appeared the drops of perspiration falling from his face reddened with anger. Thereupon greatly worked up with anger Kansa issued a mandate to dreadful persons, saying:—"Turn out of the arena these two sinful, grim-visaged and forest-ranging young cow-herds. I do not wish to see them. Amongst the Gopas none deserves residence in my territory. This Nanda Gopa is wicked and is bent upon committing injury to me. Therefore assail him with iron chains and spikes. Although Vasudeva is my kinsman he is highly wicked. Therefore punish him even today in such a way which persons not, aged, deserve. The other inferior Gopas, whom you see, are all devoted to Krishna. Therefore take away from them their kine and other riches".

Whilst the harsh-speeched Kansa thus issued the mandate, Vasudeva, having truth for his prowess, eyed him with eyes expanded in anger. Beholding his father Vasudeva and Nanda insulted, his kinsmen distressed and Devaki unconscious he was greatly worked up with anger. Desirous of ascending Kansa's pavillion in order to kill him, the powerful, large-armed and eternal Krishna, with the velocity of a lion, began to leap in the arena before him like a cloud driven by the wind'. Only the citizens, seated on the side of Kansa, saw him when he leaped in the arena. Kansa was completely possessed by Destiny and so he considered Govinda coming down from the sky. There upon stretching his own Parigha-like arms Krishna drew Kansa by the hair in the arena. Assailed by Krishna's hands his golden crown, set with diamonds, fell down on earth from his head. When Vasudeva held Kansa by the hair he became motionless, overwhelmed and agitated and began to breath like one lifeless. He was not capable of seeing even Krishna's face. His ears were divested of Kundalas, his necklace was torn off, his arms grew lengthened and his body was shorn of ornaments and body-cloth. Thus possessed by divine effulgence Kansa's face grew bewildered and he set forth many an exertion. Coming down from the pavillion and holding Kansa, deserving of pain, by the hair with force Keshava began to drag him in the arena. The highly effulgent king of Bhoja being thus dragged by Krishna, a ditch was made by his body in the arena. Thus sporting in the arena when Kansa breathed his last Krishna threw away his body at no distance. Thus struck Kansa's body, used to luxuries, was grinded on the ground and covered with dust. His closed eyes and dark face, without the crown, were shorn of beauty like a lotus without leaves. Slain not in a battle and his body not wounded with shafts and killed by being dragged by the hair Kansa was driven away from the path of heroes. But on his body were all on a sudden seen marks of nails set by Keshava, which mutilated his flesh and destroyed his life.

Having thus slain Kansa and removed his thorns and being endued with twofold effulgence in delight the lotus-eyed Krishna first touched Vasudeva's feet. And afterwards the descendant of Yadu bowed at the feet of his mother. She too sprinkled him with torrents of tear begotten by joy (89-90). Thereupon shining in his own effulgence Madhava, according to rank and age, enquired after the well-being of all other Yadavas. Holding powerfully by his hands the proud brother of Kansa, by name Urgita, the virtuous-souled Baladeva killed him. Thus having conquered their enemies and subdued their anger, those two heroes, brought up in Vraja, went delightedly to their father's house.

CHAPTER 31. LAMENTATIONS OF KANSA'S WIVES.

Vaishampayana said:—Beholding their husband slain and fallen Kansa's wives encircled him like planets of decreasing lustre. Beholding their lion-like royal husband slain and lying down on earth his wives began to bewail. "O thou of large arms, a hero, ever observant of heroic vows like thyself, being slain, we all, being the wives of a hero, have become friendless and all our hopes have been frustrated. O foremost of kings, seeing this thy ordained death we are plaintively bewailing along with our relatives. O highly powerful lord, thyself being dead and cast off by thee we have our roots cut off. Alas! When stricken with sexual desire we will tremble in anger like creepers. Who will take us to the bed-room? O gentle one, is it meet that the sun should scorch thy charming face full of breaths like a lotus without water? O thou who wert ever fond of Kundalas! Divested of Kundalas, thy ears, attached to thy neck, are not shining well. O hero, where is that crown crested with jewels and effulgent like the sun that used to increase greatly the beauty of thy head? Thyself repairing to the other world, how will these thy thousand wives, ever gracing thy inner apartment, pass their days poorly? Chaste wives are never disappointed from their enjoying in the company of their husband nor are they forsaken by him; why dost thou then leave us behind? Alas! Time is highly powerful; for although a death to thy enemies thou art being speedily taken away by Time who carries on his work in order. O lord, we are unworthy of sorrow and have been brought up by thee in happiness. Being deprived of our lord and miserly how shall we spend our days. A husband is the only refuge unto those women who care for their character. But the powerful Death has killed such a husband of ours. Possessed by widowhood in thy absence and sunk in the deep ocean of lamentations, where shall we repair, with hearts stricken with sorrow? Alas! fickle is the movement of men. Sporting on thy lap we were spending our days with thee. Now in a moment we have been separated from thee. O thou the conferrer of honours, thyself meeting with this calamity, we have been visited by disasters. It seems, we all perpetrated a similar iniquity for we have all in the like manner, met with widowhood. Alas! We were all fond of thee and thou didst take care of us with heavenly enjoyments. Casting us off where dost thou go now? O lord of the world, O giver of honours, O thou resembling a celestial, thou art our master who have been separated from their lord. O lord, we are bewailing like hind; it behoves thee to give us a reply. O lord sovereign, thy departure, making thy kinsmen sorrowful and thy wives bewail, appears (to us) as terribly hard. Forsooth it appears O lord, that the damsels of the other world are more beautiful, because, O hero, thou hast departed leaving behind thy own people. What is the reason O hero, that thou dost pay no heed to the lamentations of thy wives. Alas, the march of men to the other world is ruthless, because without caring for them they even forsake their own wives. It is better for women not to have husbands than beloved, heroic husbands, because they love the women of the celestial region and they too are fond of heroes. Alas! carrying away imperceptibly such a heroic husband Death has pierced our very vitals. O lord of the world, having slain the army of Jarasandha and vanquished the other enemies in battle why hast thou met with death at the hands of an ordinary man? Alas! Fighting with Indra in a combat of arrows thou wert not defeated by the immortals. How hast thou been then slain by a mortal? Having agitated, with a shower of arrows, the ocean that is incapable of being moved thou didst conquer Varuna the holder of the noose, and take away all his riches. When Vasava did not pour profuse showers, thou didst, for the citizens, bore through the clouds with thy arrows and bring down rain by force. By thy prowess all kings were humiliated and used to send thee the precious jewels and clothes. Alas, thy manliness was manifest unto thy enemies and thou wert like a god. How has then such a life-ending calamity befallen thee? Thyself being slain O lord, we are passing by the name of widows. Although not mad we have become so and have been assailed by death). O lord, if thou wert determined upon departing why hast thou then forgotten us? Would it have tired thee if thou hadst say it in mere words? O lord, O king of Mathura, we bow unto thy feet in fear. Be thou propitiated and return from the distant land. O hero, how dost thou lie down on grass and dust? Prostrating thyself on earth does not thy body feel any inconvenience? Alas, who has inflicted on us this stroke of sleep? Who has ruthlessly struck the body of these women? The woman, who has to survive, should weep and repent. Why should we weep when we are to follow our husband?"

In the meantime trembling poorly and crying aloud "Where is my son? Where is my child?" Kansa's mother arrived there. Beholding her son like unto the moon shorn of its lustre her heart as if broke assunder and she repeatedly lost her consciousness. Beholding her son and exclaiming "Alas! I am undone!" she began to bewail along with her daughters-in-law. Placing on her lap the head of her son, that one, fond of sons, began to bewail plaintively saying "O my son, O thou

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the enhancer of the delight of thy kinsmen, O thou ever devoted to the vow of a hero, why hast thou departed so soon? O my son observant of vows, why art thou asleep before all men? The kings should never lie down on earth in this way. When in the days of yore all the Rakshasas assembled Ravana, the foremost of the strong in all the worlds, uttered the following verse, spoken well of by the sages. 'Although I am of great strength and a destroyer of the immortals, a terrible and irresistable calamity will proceed to me from my kinsmen. And such a life-destroying great calamity will also proceed to my intelligent son from my relatives'". Thereupon weeping like unto a cow, separated from her calf, she said to her husband the old king Ugrasena. "Come and see, O pious king, this thy royal son is lying on the bed of a hero like a mountain clapped by a thunderbolt. O king, you are to perform the obsequial rites of this thy son who has repaired to the abode of Death and attained to the state of a ghost. Kingdoms are worthy of being enjoyed by heroes and we have been defeated. Go and ask Krishna about Kansha's funeral rites. Enmity terminates with death—it ceases with the death of the enemy. His obsequial rites should therefore be performed. What offence has the dead body committed?" Having said this to the Bhoja king with a heart laden with sorrow and casting her looks again on the face of her son Kansa's mother began to bewail anew, saying: "O king, what will thy wives do hereafter, who, even having obtained a husband like thee, have their desires frustrated? How shall I now see thy aged father dried up under the subjection of Krishna like water in the pool? O my son, I am thy mother, why dost thou not speak to me? Leaving behind thy beloved people thou hast departed to a distant land. O hero, the inevitable Death has, against the knowledge of this unfortunate woman, taken away a son like thee well-read in moral laws. O the master of thy clan, thy servants, who were pleased with thy qualities on receiving honours and various presents from thee, are now weeping. O foremost of kings, O thou of large arms and great strength, rise up and save the people of thy house and other poor men."

While the wives of Kansa, stricken with great misery, were thus bewailing the sun, smitten with evening rays, set in.

CHAPTER 32. KRISHNA'S REPLY TO UGRASENA.

Vaishampayana said:—Breathing like a person who has drunk poison, Ugrasena, burning with grief for his son, approached Krishna. He saw him there encircled by Yadavas repenting for his sinful destruction of Kansa. Hearing the heart-rending lamentations of Kansa's wives he, censuring his own self in that assembly of the Yadavas, (said):—"Alas, out of my childish freak and under the influence of anger, I have, by the destruction of Kansa, made widows of these thousand women. On the death of their husband these women are bewailing so very plaintively that even an ordinary man's heart, on hearing it, feels compassion. Hearing the lamentations of these guileless women, even Kritanta's (Regent of the dead) heart is filled with pity. I had determined before that Kansa, the oppresser of the pious, and always given to vice, should be slain. Death is preferable to life unto him who, in this world, is of a degraded conduct, ruthless temper, feeble understanding and whom the people hate. Kansa was highly sinful, never liked by the pious and him every one used to hate. What pity should then be felt for him? The ascetics, as a fruit of their virtuous deeds, live in the celestial region. He, who attains to glory in this world, is also like a dweller in heaven (to). If the subjects are self-controlled, observant of their own duties and perform pious deeds, unrighteousness can never touch the king. Those, who are wicked, are constrained by Death to reap the proper fruits. The pious attain to auspicious fruits in the next world. Many are the agents of impious deeds in these worlds and therefore the gods perfectly protect the pious. That Kansa has been slain by me should be considered by you as righteous for I have eradicated (thereby) his mis-deeds. Do you now console the sorrowful women, the citizens and the merchants."

When Krishna said this, Ugrasena, out of fear for his son's misdeeds, entered lowering his head along with other Yadavas. In that assembly of the Yadus he addressed to the lotus-eyed Krishna the following poor words, sullied by the vapour of grief and becoming the occasion:—"O my son, your anger has been pacified, your enemy has been led to the abode of Yama, your glory has followed your own duties and your name has become celebrated in this world. By this action you have established your glory amongst the pious, terrified your enemies, made strong the position of the Yadavas and rendered your friends proud. Your glory has spread itself amongst the neighbouring chiefs and now they will all seek alliance with you and your friendship. O hero, your subjects will be devoted to you, the Brahmanas will sing your glories and the ministers, well read in peace and dissension making, will bow unto you. O Krishna, accept this immortal army of Kansa abounding in elephants, horses, chariots and infantry. O Madhava, let your men take Kansa's wealth, corn, jewels, covers, gold, clothes, women and all that he possessed. O Krishna, the slayer of your enemies, by the Yoga, to which you have resorted on behalf of the Yadavas, all dissensions have been put a stop to and the earth has been established. O descendant of Yadu, from you now will proceed the happiness or misery of the Yadavas. Hear, what they are saying with a depressed heart. If you please, O Govinda, they may perform the obsequial rites of Kansa, of sinful deeds, who has been consumed by the fire of your anger. Having performed the after-death ceremonies of that king who has met with this calamity, I shall, along with my wife and daughters-in-law, range in the forest with the animals. To perform the obsequial rites of the dead is the duty of men. By performing this, Krishna, people are freed from their social obligations. Therefore having made his funeral pyre, putting fire to it and offering oblation of water I shall have discharged debt to Kansa. This is my only prayer, O Krishna. Show me kindness in this matter. With the performance of his after-death rites let sinful Kansa attain to a blessed state."

Hearing the words of Ugrasena, Krishna was filled with surprise. And consoling him he said. "O sire, O foremost of kings, what you have said behoves your age and family and becomes your nature). While the inevitable work is over, why do you say so? Although dead, Kansa will receive funeral honours befitting a king. O sire, you are born in a great race and know every thing that should be known. Why do you not then understand that destiny is inevitable? O king, pristine deeds of all creatures, mobile and immobile, attain to fullness in time. O foremost of kings, even the liberal, beautiful and rich sovereigns, always kind to the poor, endued with prowess like that of Mahendra, well read in Srutis, laws and knowledge of Brahman, and like unto the regents of quarters, are carried away by Death. You know too that many a pious king, ever intent on protecting their subjects, devoted to Kshitriya dutes, self-controlled and well-read in all, meet with death in time. When the proper time comes men, by enjoyment or suffering, can understand whether his actions have been good or bad. O king, even the gods cannot understand the true nature of Maya that exists in the hearts of all. Karma is the instrument of people's being stupified thereby. Urged on by his pristine deeds Kansa has met with death in time; I am not the cause thereof. Karma (pristine action) and Kala (Time) are the instruments thereof. This universe, consisting of the sun and moon, mobile and immobile creations, meets with dissolution in time and springs up into existence again in time. Time subdues and favours all and therefore all the creatures are subject to time. O king, your son has been consumed by his own sin. I am not the instrument thereof but Time is the cause. Your son has been slain by his own actions; I am surely the instrument no doubt. Powerful is Time and it is difficult to know its course. This is known to persons who impartially look into the essence of things. That is the course of Time by which everything comes within its ken. Let it go, do what I say now.

"I do not care for the kingdom or the royal throne. I did not slay Kansa for a territory. For the behoof of all the worlds and for establishing my glory your son, the curse of this family, has been slain by me along with all his attendants. Like unto a bird coursing at will, I shall again delightedly range in the forest in the midst of kine along with the Gopas. O foremost of kings, I swear a hundred times, that I stand in no need of the kingdom. Communicate this to all O foremost of kings, you are the leader and the lord of the Yadavas and therefore deserve respect from me. Therefore place yourself on the throne and acquire victory by becoming the king. If you think it proper to do what pleases me, and if it does not pain you, do you accept for ever this kingdom abdicated by me."

Vaishampayana said:—Hearing those words of Krishna in the assembly of Yadus Ugrasena bent down his head in bashfulness and could give no reply. Then Govinda, well read in laws, installed him on the throne. With the crown on his head the beautiful and effulgent king Ugrasena, along with Krishna, performed the funeral ceremonies of Kansa. As the celestials follow their king (Indra) so all the leading Yadavas, at the command of Krishna, followed Ugrasena in the high-way of the city. Thereupon when the night passed away and the sun rose, the leading Yadavas began to perform the funeral ceremonies of Kansa. Thereupon desirous of performing the obsequial rites of king Kansa according to the ritualastic laws they placed his body in a palanquin and took it to the northern bank of Yamuna. And in due order they performed his funeral rites by setting fire to the pyre. With the consent of Krishna the Yadavas also performed the funeral ceremonies of the large-armed brother of Kansa by name Sunama. Then repeatedly exclaiming. "May the departed attain to an eternal course" the Vrishnis, Andhakas and Yadavas offered oblations of water in their honour. Having then offered water to Kansa and his brother, all the Yadavas, preceded by Ugrasena, returned to Mathura with a sorrowful heart.

CHAPTER 33. KRISHNA BRINGS BACK HIS PRECEPTOR'S SON FROM THE OCEAN.

Vaishampayana said:—Thereupon united with Rohini's son the heroic and powerful Krishna began to live in the city of Mathura filled with Yadavas. Gradually his body began to shine in royal and youthful grace and he began to range in the city of Mathura adorned with the ocean-like Yamuna.

After a few days, with a view to learn Danurveda (science of war) Rama and Krishna, adorned with vedic study and good conduct, went to this preceptor Sandipani of the city of Avanti in the province of Kashi and communicated to him their family. When they, shorn of pride began to serve him he recognised Janarddana and Rama as his pupils and began to instruct them in that useful science. The heroic Rama and Janarddana could learn anything as soon as they heard it; and therefore within sixty-four days and nights they studied and mastered all the Vedas with their various Angas. [A division of Hindu learning comprehending such science as is considered dependant upon the Vedas, hence called Vedanga; works on six subjects come under this description, viz., pronunciation, grammar, prosody, explanation of obscure terms, description of religious rites and astronomy.] In no time their preceptor taught them Danurveda, consisting of four divisions* and the mysterious use of various other weapons. [* The four division are Diksha, initiation, Sangraha collection, Sidhi, proficiency Prayoga the use.] Thinking of their superhuman merit he used to consider them as the moon and the sun. And when he offered adoration to those two high-souled deities in Parva he used to see Siva and Vishnu before him. Thereupon, O descendant of Bharata, having finished their education Baladeva and Krishna said to their preceptor Sandipani:—"What fee shall we offer thee for your acting as our preceptor?" The preceptor knew their power and so with a delighted heart said "I wish you to return me the son who died in the ocean of salt-water. O Krishna, I had only one son. When I had gone out on a pilgrimage to Pravasa a Timi fish carried away my son. Do you bring me back my that son." With Rama's consent Krishna said "it will be so." And then going to the ocean Hari entered into its water. With folded hands the regent of the ocean came to Vasudeva, who said "Where is Sandipani's son?" The ocean replied, "O Madhava, a huge-bodied demon, by name Panchajana, has devoured that boy, in the form of a Timi fish."

Hearing it the eternal Purusha Achyuta (Krishna) went to Panchajana and killed him. But he did not get his preceptor's son. The conch, which Janarddana obtained after slaying Panchajana, is known amongst gods and men as Panchajanya.

Thereupon that foremost of Purushas repaired to the abode of Vaivaswan (Yama). Then approaching him Yama saluted Gadadhara. Krishna said to him:—"Give me my preceptor's son." Thereat there took place a terrible encounter between them both. Thereupon having vanquished the fearful son of Vivaswan, the foremost of Purusha Achyuta obtained the child son of his preceptor. He then brought from Yama's abode his preceptor's son lost for a long time. By the power of Krishna of peerless energy Sandipani's son, dead long ago, returned in his bodily form. Beholding this highly wonderful feat which cannot be thought of or performed by any all the creatures were filled with surprise. Taking his preceptor's son, Panchajanya and diverse precious jewels, Madhava, the Lord of the universe, returned. Having brought all those precious jewels through Yama's servants the Rakshasas Vasava's younger brother (Krishna) dedicated them to his preceptor. Having handed over to their preceptor Sandipani, his son, of the same age and beauty, as before, together with all the jewels the highly intelligent Rama and Keshava, the foremost of all the warriors, in all the worlds, in the use of clubs, swords and various other weapons, were pleased. Being greatly pleased with the reconciliation with his son, who had been lost for a long time Kashyas's son Sandipani honoured greatly Rama and Keshava. Having acquired mastery in the use of all weapons and honoured their preceptor, those two vow-observing and heroic sons of Vasudeva returned to Mathura. Hearing of the approach of the two scions of the Yadu race, all the Yadavas, boys and old men, headed by Ugrasena, delightedly went out of the city to receive them. All the subjects, old and young, the priests and the ministers stood before the city in rows. Bugles were sounded, people began to chant the glories of Janarddana, and all the streets were adorned with flags and garlands. With Govinda's return all the houses were filled with joy as on the occasion of an Indra-Yajna). The songsters began to sing, in high ways, songs of blessings and eulogy, highly liked by the Yadavas. They made the announcement, "The two brothers, Rama and Govinda, celebrated all over the world, have returned to their city. Let all fearlessly sport with their friends". O king, when Govinda arrived at Mathura, there was none who was poorly, sorrowful or insensible. The birds began to pour sweet notes, and the horses, elephants and cows were all cheerful. And men and women attained to mental felicity. Delightful winds began to blow and the ten quarters were freed from dust and all the tutelary deities in the temples became delighted. What more when Janarddana arrived at the city all the signs, that were visible in the golden age, appeared there.

Thereupon in an auspicious moment ascending a car drawn by horses, Janarddana, the slayer of his enemies, entered the city of Mathura. As the gods follow Sakra so all the Yadavas followed Upendra when he entered the charming city of Mathura. Thereafter as the sun and moon enter into the setting mountain so those two descendants of Yadu

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delightedly entered into Vasudeva's house. Keeping all their arms in their own house those high-souled sons of Vasudeva, ranging at will along with the Yadavas, began to range in woods full of fruits and flowers and in streamlets of clear water near the Raivata mountain beautified with lotus leaves and Karandavas. Thus Rama and Keshava, of beautiful faces and having one heart enjoyed there a few days under Ugrasena.

CHAPTER 34. JARASANDHA PREPARES TO ATTACK MATHURA.

Vaishampayana said:—United with Rohini's son Krishna spent some days happily in the city of Mathura filled with Yadavas. Gradually his person was embellished with the grace of youth and regal prosperity and he began to range all over Mathura adorned with woods. After some days had elapsed in this way, Jarasandha, the king of Rajagriha, heard of Kansa's death from his two daughters. Hearing this the powerful Jarasandha was worked up with anger. And in order to pay his debt to Kansa and to slay all the Yadus, the powerful Jarasandha, in no time, set out with his army consisting of six divisions. O king, the king of Magadha had two very beautiful and youthful daughters by name Asti and Prapti. The royal son of Varhadratha conferred them on Kansa. Having chained his father the son of Ahuka enjoyed in their company. You have heard many a time and oft how, depending on Jarasandha's (help) and disregarding the Yadavas the lord of Surasena became king. In order to satisfy his duties by his kinsmen and to accomplish their objects Vasudeva was always carefully engaged in Ugrasena's well-being. Kansa did not spare him even. When the vicious-souled Kansa was slain by Rama and Krishna, Ugrasena, encircled by Bhojas, Vrishnis and Andhakas, became king.

Asti and Prapti, the wives of a hero, were the beloved daughters of king Jarasandha. Therefore burning like fire in anger at their instigation and making every possible arrangement the king of Magadha started for Mathura. All the highly energetic warrior kings who were defeated and subjugated by Jarasandha's prowess, all those who were his friends, relatives, kinsmen and allies, encircled by their own armies, followed Jarasandha with a view to please him. Dantavakra the king of Karusha, the powerful king of Chedi, the king of Kalinga, the foremost of the powerful, Poundra, Sangkriti, the king of Keshika, the king Bhishmaka, his son Rukshmi, the foremost of bowmen who used to challenge Vasudeva and Arjuna in a fight, Venudari, Shrutarva, Kratha, Angshuman, the powerful kings of Anga, Vanga, the kings of Koshala, Kashi and Dasharna, the powerful king of Sumha, the lord of Vidha, the powerful king of Madra, the lord of Trigarta, the king of Shalwa endued with prowess, the highly powerful Darada, the energetic Bhagadatta the lord of Yavanas, Saivya the king of Shouvira, Pandya the foremost of the strong, Suvala, the king of Gandhara, Mahavala, Nagnajit, Gonarda, the king of Kashmir, the king of Darada, the highly powerful Duryodhana and other sons of Dhritarashtra—these and other highly powerful kings, mighty car-warriors, followed Jarasandha, out of jealousy towards Janarddana. Entering the province of Shurasena, abounding in barley and fuels, they all, placing their respecting detachments before them, laid siege to Mathura.

CHAPTER 35. JARASANDHA'S ARMY.

Vaishampayana said:—Holding their counsels all the Yadavas, headed by Janarddana, surveyed the encampment of the kings in the gardens of Mathura. Afterwards with a delighted heart Krishna said to Rama:—"Forsooth the accomplishment of the object of the gods is near at hand since king Jarasandha has come near us. The pennons of the cars, coursing like air, are being seen. Behold, O Sir, there shine the umbrellas of kings desirous of victory, white as the moon. The rows, of white umbrellas stationed on the cars of the kings, are moving towards us like swans ranging in the sky. However the king Jarasandha has arrived here in proper time. He is our first guest of battle and is the touch-stone for testing our strength or weakness. O Sir, while the emperor has arrived here, we must begin with the fight. Judge now the strength of the enemy's army". Giving vent to these words without any anxiety, Krishna, desirous of slaying Jarasandha and fighting with him, began to survey his army.

Having taken a survey of the assembled kings and armies, the immortal Krishna, the foremost of Yadus conversant with Mantras began to think within himself. "These are the kings assembled who wend the ways of the mortals and will meet with death on account of their own actions as pointed out by scriptures. I consider these leading kings, on the verge of death, sprinkled by Death like unto sacrificial beasts. Their bodies are all shining as if they are about to repair to the celestial region. Assailed by the armies of these sovereigns and exhausted with the weight of their burden Prithivi (earth), covered with powerful kingdoms, went to Brahma in the celestial region. In no time the surface of the earth will be shorn of men. And kings by hundreds will be killed."

Vaishampayana said:—The highly powerful, effulgent and persevering Lord Paramount Jarasandha came there encircled by fore-fold ocean-like forces consisting of war-chariots containing beautiful seats and drawn by powerful steeds whose course is never obstructed any where, cloud-like elephants embellished with bells and golden seats, ridden by car-warriors well-read in the science of war and driven by clever charioteers, horses, going in leaps and bounds, driven by horsemen and resembling clouds and numberless fearful foot-soldiers armed with swords and coats of mail who could bound up in the sky like serpents. Innumerable kings attentively followed him. All the quarters of the city and her woods, resounding with the rattle of cars resembling the muttering of clouds, the tinkling of the ornaments worn by elephants in rut, the neighings of the horses and the leonine shouts of the infantry, the Emperor Jarasandha, with his army, appeared like an ocean. With shouts and slapping of arms, the armies of these kings, consisting of proud warriors, appeared like an army of clouds. That army, consisting of cars and infuriated elephants, quick-coursing horses, and infantry resembling the sky-rangers, appeared like a collection of clouds descending on the ocean in the rains. Thereupon all the kings, headed by Jarasandha, with their armies encamped around the city of Mathura. The detachments of the army accomodated in the tents shone like the ocean overflowing in the light half of the month. After the expiration of the night those kings, desirous of fighting, rose up for entering into the city. Those kings, assembled on the bank of the Yamuna, began, out of curiosity, to hold proper counsels on the eve of the battle. Then there was heard a great tumult of the kings resembling that of the heaving deep at the time of the universal dissolution. At the command of the king, elderly guards, with head-gears on their heads and canes in their hands, began to move about exclaiming Ma (i.e. Do not make noise). Thereupon that army, hushed into silence, shone like an ocean abounding in fishes and huge serpents.

When informed of the mandate of the king that huge ocean-like army stood motionless and silent like a Yogin, the king Jarasandha, spoke, like Vrihaspati). 'Let the armies of the kings united lay siege on all sides to this city. Let them get ready stony weapons and maces and let all the level grounds be overflowed with water. Let them hold up swords and daggers. Let them assail the city with Tankas and Khamitras. And let kings, expert in the ways of war, near the city. As long as I do not kill in the battle, with sharpened arrows, the two sons of Vasudeva Krishna and Sangkarshaa, in the guise of milkmen, as long as the sky is not covered with Tankas so long my army should lay seige to the city. Let all the kings, obeying my command, wait at the outskirts of the city and enter as soon as an opportunity presents itself. Let the Maira king, Kalinga king, Chekitan, the king of Valhika, Kashmira king Gonarda, the king of Karusha, Druma of Kimpurasha country and the Danava of hill tracts, unitedly and speedily protect the western gate of the city. Let Venudari of the Puru race, Sonaka the king of Vidarbha, Rukshmi the king of Bhojas, the Malava king, Suryaksha, the highly powerful Drupada, the king of Panchalas, Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti, the powerful Dantavakra, Chhagali, Purumitra, the emperor Virat, the king of Koushamvi, Malava, Shatadhanwa, Viduratha, Bhurishrava the king of Trigartta, Vanga and Panchanada all these illustrious kings and powerful like a thunder-bolt now capable of attacking a fort, get upon the northern gate and assail the city. Let Ansumana's son the heroic Kaitaveya, Uluka, Ekalavya, Vrihatkshatra, Kshatradharma, Jayadratha, Uttamouja, Shalya, Kouravas, Kekayas, Vamadeva the king of Vidisha, Sangkiti and the king of Seni occupy the eastern gate of the city. Let them proceed destroying everything as the wind disperses the clouds. Myself, Darava and the powerful king of Chedi will protect the Southern gate with our army. Thus beseiged on all sides by these armies let the city entertain a great fear like that at the fall of a lightning. Let club-holders with clubs, Parigha-holders with Parighas and other soldiers with various other weapons rend the city. By you, O kings, this city, of up hills and down hills, should be levelled down to-day.'

Having thus arranged his four-fold forces the king Jarasandha, along with other kings, proceeded angrily towards the Yadavas. The clever and well-armed warriors Dasharhas too confronted them. Thus there commenced a terrible fight, abounding in cars and elephants, between that overwhelming army of the kings and the limited number of Yadavas like that between the gods and Asuras. At that time beholding the two sons of Vasudeva issue out of the city the armies of the kings lost heart and the animals grew terrified and bewildered. Seated on a car those two descendants of Yadu, Rama and Krishna, began to move about in anger like two Makaras that agitate the ocean. Thereafter when in perfect sense they began to fight in the battle there arose in them their ancient intelligence regarding the use of weapons. And even in that battle-field there fell down from the sky, strong, flaming and great weapons. In order to feed upon the flesh of the kings, those huge weapons, assuming bodily forms, stricken with thirst (as if), adorned with celestial garlands and scents, burning in their own effulgence and terrifying the sky-rangers, descended from the welkin. And Rakshasas, desirous of eating royal flesh, followed them. When in that great battle came down for those two Yadavas, the ploughshare Samvartaka, the mace Sounanda, Sranga the foremost of bows, the club Koumodaki—these four powerful weapons of Vishnu, the beautiful Rama, the foremost of Satwatas, took up first of all, with his right hand, the plough-share, embellished with celestial garlands, rising like a flag and proceeding obliquely like a serpent, and that foremost of maces Sounanda that creates depression in the enemy. The powerful Krishna took up the celebrated bow Sranga which is worthy of being seen by all the worlds. The other hand of the lotus-eyed Krishna, the necessity of whose incarnation was known to the gods, was adorned with the club by name Koumodi.

Thus armed the heroic Rama and Govinda, resembling Vishnu himself, opposed the enemies in battle). Displaying their prowess and discomfitting their enemies those two heroic sons of Vasudeva, dependant on each other and designated by the appellations of elder and younger brothers, began to range there like two gods. Raising up in anger his plough-share resembling the king of serpents, ranging in the battle-field like the very death of his enemies and drawing in the cars, elephants and steeds of the Kshatriya car-warriors Rama began to appease his anger. Throwing up these mountain-like elephants with the end of his plough-share and as if churning them with the strokes of his mace he began to move about in that battle-field.

Thus brought on the point of being almost destroyed by Rama the leading Kshatriyas returned in fear to Jarasandha, who, observant of the duties of a Kshatriya, said thus to them:—"Fie on your Kshatriya conduct, since you have returned from the battle-field in fear. The learned say that those, who, deprived of their cars, fly away from the battle-field, are visited by an unbearable sin like that of infanticide. Why do you fly away, O terrified Kshatryas? Fie on your conduct. Urged on by my bows do you return soon. You need not fight. Wait here as spectators. I shall myself despatch these two cow-herds to the abode of Yama."

Thus urged on by Jarasandha the Kshatriyas again rallied round with delighted hearts. And spreading a net-work of arrows they again engaged in fight. Armed with coats of mail, Nishtringshas, pennons, swords, flags, bows with strings, quivers and arrows and accompanied by horses embellished with golden chaplets, cars followed by a rattle like the muttering of clouds and elephants resembling clouds and driven by drivers they again set out for the battle-field. With rising umbrellas held over their heads and fanned by beautiful chowries the kings, stationed on cars, shone greatly in the battle-field. Taking up heavy clubs and maces, some warrior-kings, foremost of car-warriors, out of love for war, entered the battle-field.

In the meantime, seated on a most excellent car, adorned with a pennon carrying the emblem of Garuda the powerful Vasudeva, ever increasing the delight of the celestials, approached carefully Jarasandha and pierced him with eight arrows, his charioteer with five sharpened shafts and his horses with other arrows. Beholding Jarasandha in this perilous plight the mighty car-warriors Chitrasena and the Commander-in Chief Kaishika both cut Krishna with arrows. And Kaishika pierced Baladeva with three arrows. With his spike the heroic Baladeva sundered his bow into two pieces and creating in no time a downpour of arrows assailed many a hero with his arms embellished with gold. Worked up with anger Chitrasena wounded him with nine arrows. Then Kaishika wounded him with five arrows and Jarasandha with seven. Janarddana wounded them each with three winged arrows. The powerful Baladeva struck Chitrasena's car with ten sharpened arrows. Baladeva, with his spike, sundered his bow into two pieces. With his bow shattered and deprived of his car, the powerful Chitrasena, greatly worked up with anger and desirous of slaying the holder of plough-share, proceeded towards him. The highly powerful Jarasandha cut off the bow of Rama who was discharging Narachas in order to kill Chitrasena. The king of Magadha, in anger, struck his horses with his club. The highly powerful and heroic Jarasandha thus confronted Rama. Then taking up a mace Rama pursued Jarasandha. An encounter then took place between them both desirous of killing each other. Beholding the Magadha king fight with Rama, Chitrasena, ascending a war-car, encircled Jarasandha with a huge army of elephants and other warriors. Then began a close fight between the two armies. Thereupon surrounded by his huge army the highly powerful Jarasandha attacked the Yadavas who preceded Rama and Krishna. Then there arose a great tumult from both the armies like that of an agitated ocean. O king, there was heard a great sound of the numberless bugles, conches and trumpets of both the armies. On all sides were heard the shouts and the slapping of the arms of the soldiers. And a storm of dust was raised by the hoofs (of the horses) and the wheels (of the cars). And there stood roaring at one another, heroes armed with bows and various other weapons.

Thereupon giving up all hopes of life, thousands of highly powerful car-warriors, elephant drivers and infantry fearlessly engaged in fight. And a terrible encounter took place between Jarasandha's army and the Yadavas. O Bharata, placing Baladeva before them and taking a half of their army Sini,

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Anadhrishthi, Babhra, Vipritha and Ahuka attacked the sothern flank of the enemy's army protected by Jarasandha, the king of Chedis, the highly powerful Udichya, Salya, Salya and other kings. And renouncing all hopes of life they began to discharge arrows. O foremost kings, Avagaha, Prithu, Kanka, Satadyumna and Viduratha, led by Janarddana, with the other half of the army attached the detachment protected by the highly powerful Bhishmaka, Rukshmi, Devaka, the Madra king and the kings of the West and South endued with energy and prowess. And casting off all hopes of life they began a dreadful fight discharging, Saktis, Rishthis, Prasas and arrows. On that battle encircled by a huge army Salyaki, Chitraka, Shyama, the energetic Yuyudhana, Rajadhideva, Mridara, the mighty car-warriors Swaphalka, Prasena, and Satrajit, attacked the left flank of the enemy's army. They began to fight there attacking half of the enemy's army led by Mridara and assisted by the highly powerful western kings headed by Venudari and the sons of Dhritarashtra.

CHAPTER 36. THE BATTLE BETWEEN KRISHNA AND JARASHANDHA.

Vaishampayana said:—Thereupon there commenced a great battle between the Vrishnis and the commanders and vassal kings of the lord of Magadha. O foremost of the descendants of Bharata, Vasudeva fought with Rukshmi, Ahuka with Bishmaka, Vasudeva with Kratha, Vabhru with Kaishika, the king of Chedi with Gava, and Shambhu with Dantavakra. Thus did the great heroes and soldiers, belonging to the army of Vrishnis, fight for twenty-seven days with the highly powerful sovereigns and soldiers of the king of Magadha's party. Those who rode elephants fought with such, the cavalry with the cavalry, the infantry with the infantry and the car-warriors with the car-warriors. A dreadful hair-stirring encounter took place between Rama and Jarasandha like unto that between Vitra and the king of gods. Caring for Rukshmini's feeling Krishna did not slay Rukshmi, but by virtue of his own learning he sent back his shafts burning like the rays of the sun and dreadful like venomous serpents. A dreadful onslaught of soldiers took place in this battle. The battle-field was covered with mud of flesh and blood of both the armies. In that encounter of both the contending armies an endless number of headless figures arose from all sides. The car-warrior Rama enveloped Jarasandha with arrows resembling poisonous serpents. The heroic king of Magadha too covered him with arrows. Thereupon approaching each other in quick-coursing cars they struck each other with diverse weapons and sent up leonine shouts. After their horses and charioteers been slain, their cars had been shattered and their weapons fallen short they took up their clubs and ran towards each other. The earth shook under the weight of their feet. Taking up their clubs in anger those two highly powerful heroes, expert in fighting with clubs and having arms as huge as mountain summits, ran towards each other. And in order to witness their fight other heroes desisted from the encounter. Thereupon those two highly powerful heroes, celebrated in the worlds as the masters of the art of war, began to fight with each other like two infuriated elephants. O king, thereupon came there from all quarters thousands and thousands of gods Gandharvas, Siddhas, Saints and Yakshas. Shining greatly in their effulgence the battle-field looked like welkin covered with luminous bodies. Then turning toward left the highly powerful Jarasandha ran towards Rama and Baladava too turned towards south. By resounding ten quarters as an elephant strikes his antagonist with his tusks so those two heroes, skilled in club fighting, struck each other. In that encounter the sound of the fall of the Baladeva's club was heard like that of thunder-bolt, and that of Magadha king's club was like the riving of a mountain. As the wind cannot agitate the mount Vindhya so the club, slipped off the hands of Jarasandha, could not shake the foremost of the holders of club. By virtue of learning and patience Jarasandha, the king of Magadha, bore and withstood the velocity of Rama's club.

Thus moving about in diverse circles in the battle-field for a long time both of them grew tired. And then taking rest for some time they began to strike each other again. Those two foremost of warriors fought with each other for some time on equal terms. And none of them left the battle-field. Thereupon witnessing Jarasandha's efficiency in club-fighting the powerful Rama left off his club in anger and took up his mace. When in that great battle Baladeva, in anger, took up the terrible-looking mace of sure aim there was heard in the sky a sweet voice of the witness of the world which said to Baladeva the holder of plough-share. "O Rama, O thou the conferrer of honours, this king of Magadha is not to be slain by thee. Be not sorry therefore and desist. Jarasandha shall, in no time, meet with his death from the means that I have laid out for his destruction."

Hearing this voice of Providence Jarasandha lost heart and Baladeva did not strike him therefore. O Emperor, while they thus desisted from fighting there took place a highly terrible encounter extending over a long time between the Yadavas and other kings in which they struck one. another fiercely. When the Emperor Jarasandha was thus defeated and took to his heels and when the sun set the highly powerful Yadavas, protected by Krishna, who had gained their aim, did not pursue him in night. And gathering their respective soldiers according to the will of Madhava they entered into their own city. And all the weapons that came down from the welkin also disappeared. And filled with absent-mindedness, king Jarasandha too returned to his own city. And the kings, who followed him, returned to their respective kingdoms. On the other hand, O foremost of kings, having defeated Jarasandha the Yadavas could not consider themselves as completely above defeat, for he was a highly powerful king. The great car warriors Yadavas fought with him for eighteen times and still they could not slay him in the battle-field. O foremost of Bharatas, king Jarasandha had twenty Akshouhinis of soldiers who all came with him. The Vrishnis were very few in number and so they were overpowered by the king Varhadratha who was followed by other kings. Having thus defeated Jarasandha the king of Magadha, the great car-warriors Vrishnis began to live happily.

CHAPTER 37. AN ACCOUNT OF HARYASHWA.

Vaishampayana said:—With Rohini's son the powerful Vasudeva began to live happily in the city of Mathura filled with Yadavas. Gradually his person shone greatly in the beauty of youth and regal prosperity. And delightedly he began to range in Mathura adorned with woods. Once again incited by his two daughters and remembering the death of Kansa, Jarasandha, the king of Rajagriha, made preparations for a battle. In this wise the mighty car-warriors Yadavas fought seventeen times with Jarasandha but could not kill him in battle. Thereupon accompanied by his four-fold forces the prosperous king of Magadha made preparations for the eighteenth expedition. Out of shame for his previous defeats and with a view to slay Krishna, the highly-powerful and valiant king of Rajagriha the beautiful Emperor Jarasandha, like unto the king of gods in prowess, set out encircled by a huge army. And despite his many endeavours he again came back unsuccessful. Hearing that Jarasandha had desisted the Yadavas, stricken with his fear, began to hold counsels. There upon the highly effulgent Vikadru, well-read in moral laws, said to the lotus-eyed Krishna in the very presence of Ugrasena.

"O my child Govinda, listen to the origin of our family. I am relating it because the proper time has come. Act according to my words, if you regard them proper, O pious one. Listen, I shall describe at length the origin of this race of Yadavas as related by Vyasa conversant with the knowledge of spirit. In Manu's race flourished a celebrated and prosperous king by name Haryashwa born of Ikshwaku, and powerful like Mahendra himself. Like unto Indra's Sachi he had a beloved spouse by name Madhumati the daughter of the Daitya Madhu. She was youthful and of matchless beauty and used always to carry out king's wishes. And so she grew dearer than his very life. Observing the vow of one wife that daughter of the king of Danavas, of a beautiful hip and capable of assuming forms at will, although a woman, used to satisfy the desire of that foremost of Ikshawkus like the sky-ranging Rohini. O Madhava, once on a time banished from the kingdom by his eldest brother, that lotus-eyed foremost of kings Haryashwa, conversant with the knowledge of time, left Ayodhya of his own accord. And with very few members with him he repaired to woods with his dear wife and began to live there. One day the lotus-eyed Madhumati said to the king who had been exiled by his brother. 'O foremost of kings, do thou cast off all desires for thy kingdom. Let us both go to the house of my father Madhu. There is the charming forest of Madhu like unto the city of the celestials where the trees pour down flowers and fruits as desired. We shall enjoy there happily. O king, thou art dear unto both my parents and for my satisfaction thou art dearer unto my brother Lavana too. So united with him we shall be able to enjoy there happily as if we are in our own kingdom. O foremost of men, repairing there like unto the immortals in the garden of Nandana we shall enjoy there as if in the city of gods. May good betide thee. O sovereign, greatly vain is thy brother. He cherishes malice against us and is always proud of his kingdom. We should therefore renounce him. Oh fie on such a wretched habitation and dependance like a slave. Therefore, O hero, let us both go to my father's house'.

"Although he had no desire of bringing about the destruction of his eldest brother through the help of his father-in-law the lust-stricken king however liked the words of his wife. Thereupon after that foremost of men the king Haryashwa, stricken with desire, had repaired with his beautiful wife to the city of Madhu the king of Danavas said to him with love:—'Welcome to thee, O my son Haryshwa, I am pleased to see thee. O foremost of kings, I confer on thee all this my kingdom except the Madhu forest; do thou live here. In this forest Lavana will become thy help and guide in destroying thy enemies. Do thou rule over this prosperous kingdom abounding in kine, filled with cow-herds and adorned with the water of the ocean. O my son, if thou dost live here thou shalt have a huge mountainous fortress and thy extensive kingdom, consisting of prosperous villages and cities, will be the abode of kings. The country, that is watered by the ocean, is freed from dangers. There thou shalt have an extensive territory by name Anarta), O king, that will however come to pass in time. Do thou now engage in performing the duties of a king in this country. O my child, in time thy family will be amalgamated with the Yadu race originating from Yayati. Although born in the Solar Dynasty thy race shall constitute a subdivision of the Lunar race. My desire is, O my child, that after conferring upon thee this most excellent territory I shall repair to the ocean the abode of salt for carrying on ascetic observances. O my son, being united with Lavana, do thou rule over this prosperous and extensive kingdom for multiplying thy race'.

"Hearing those words of Madhu and exclaiming 'do thou enter into water' Haryashwa accepted the kingdom and the Daitya too repaired to the abode of Varuna, the asylum of ascetics.

"Thereupon Haryashwa, highly effulgent like unto an immortal, laid out a city for habitation on that best of mountains. That kingdom named Anarta, consisting of beautiful cities and precious kine, grew prosperous in no time. Inhabited by subjects Anupa country, adorned with forests, situate on the bank of the ocean and abounding in walls and villages, was filled with fields and corns. The highly powerful king Haryashwa, enhancing the delight of the subjects and cities, ruled over the prosperous kingdom with glory and in pursuance of the royal duties. By the perfect administration of the high-souled Haryashwa that prosperous kingdom became endued with all the characteristics of a kingdom and gradually increased in dimension. Adorned with royal accomplishments, that king, O lord, stationed in a kingdom, by his conduct and morality acquired the prosperity of his family. Thereupon gradually desiring for a son the intelligent Haryashwa began practising holy observances. He begat on Madhumati his highly illustrious son Yadu. Gifted with a voice like the blare of a bugle, irrepressible unto his enemies and endued with all regal marks the highly energetic Yadu began to grow up gradually. He was the only begotten son of the high-souled Haryashwa who ruled over the prosperous earth. Therefore having ruled piously for ten thousand years over his kingdom suffering no deterioration the king Haryashwa disappeared from the earth and repaired to the city of the celestials. Thereupon the subjects installed the valiant Yadu in the kingdom. After the demise of his sire the beautiful Yadu, like unto Indra himself, (from whom the Yadavas have sprung) rose like the sun and governed the earth. (During his regime) the fear of robbers was dispelled.

"Once on a time while engaged in sporting in the water along with his liberal wives like unto the moon (surrounded) by stars the king began to swim in the water of the ocean he was all on a sudden assailed by the powerful king of serpents Dhumavarna. Dragged by the king of serpents he was taken to his city, which had pillars and doors made of diamond, was adorned with a heap of pearls, white conch-shells, masses of various other jewels, corals and trees covered with foliage. It abounded in leading serpents living in the belly of he ocean and in its middle were temples of golden or moon-like lustre. That lord of kings saw there in the clear water of the ocean the city of the serpent chief built as if like one on the surface of the earth. Ease at heart the king Yadu entered that structure of fathomless water filled with serpent females. To him was offered a most excellent watery seat made of jems strewn over with lotus leaves and hung together by a lotus thread. When the king Yadu sat on that superb serpent seat Dhumavarna, the king of Pannagas, respectfully said.

"'O foremost of Yadus, having established this great family on earth and begotten you, a highly powerful sovereign, your father has gone to heaven. O my child, the family, the very mine of kings, that your father has established for the behoof (of the world), will be known as Yadava after your name. O lord in this your family, the gods, the Rishis and the eternal sons of the great Uragas will take birth as men. O foremost of kings, therefore, in pursuance of your own duties and by virtue of patriarchal deeds, accept these five maiden daughters of mine begotten on the sister of Yuvanashwa. You are worthy of obtaining a boon and I shall confer one upon you. Those, who will be born in your family, will be celebrated by the names of Bhouma, Satwata, Bhoja, Andhaka, Yadava, Dasharha and Vrishni—these seven (families).' Having said this and with water in his hands the foremost of Pannagas, Dhumavarna, who was observing the vow of a daughter, gave away to him cheerfully his daughter. And then delightedly he conferred on Yadu the following boon:—'O giver of honours, these my five daughters will give birth to five sons endued with the energies of their parents in equal proportions. By the power of my boon all the kings, born in your family, will be able to assume forms at will and range in water'".

"Having thus obtained the boon and the five maidens the king Yadu, like the moon, rose up soon from the water. Adorned with celestial garlands and unguents the king, in his bridal dress and encircled by the five ladies like unto moon in the midst of five stars, visited the entire inner apartment of the serpent. Then having consoled his five fire-like wives the king, filled with great delight, returned to his own city".

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CHAPTER 38. THE SONS OF YADU AND THEIR CONQUESTS.

Vaishampayana said:—After a long time the king Yadu begat on the five daughters of the Naga king five large armed royal sons, the scions of his family, namely Muchukunda, Padmavarna, Madhava, Sarasa and Harita. Beholding those five sons like unto the five elements the king, of incomparable prowess, was delighted.

Once on a time worked up with pride and strength the five brothers, like unto five pillars of earth, stood before their sire and said:—"O father, we have come of age and have been endued with great strength. Command us soon what we shall do according to your mandate"?

Hearing the words of his sons endued with the prowess of a tiger and marking their earnestness for work Yadu, the foremost of kings, was highly pleased and said:—"Let my son Muchukunda build up two mountainous cities around the mountains Vindhya and Rikshavan. Let my son Padmavarna build up in no time in the South a city on the mountain Sahya. Let my son Sarasa lay out a charming city in the province adorned with Champaka trees in the West on the mount Sahya. Let my son, the large-armed Harita protect the island of Dhumavarna, the king of serpents, situate in the ocean of yellow water. And installed in the office of heir-apparent, let my pious and large-armed son Madhava, the eldest and foremost of all my sons, rule over my own kingdom".

Thereupon according to the mandate of their sire, those foremost of kings, duly installed with chowries and others, and having attained to regal prosperity, set out towards their respective provinces in search of the quarters where they would lay out their cities. Having selected the interior of the Vindhya impassable with hills, situate on the bank of Nermuda, for laying out his city, the royal saint Muchukunda cleared that place, constructed a bridge on a level with Nermuda and laid out ditches full of fathomless water around the city. In the various wards of the city were constructed temples, carriage roads, shops, high ways and gardens. Within a very short time that foremost of kings Muchukunda adorned his city with flag-staffs and pennons and filled it with wealth, corn and kine. It became prosperous like (Amaravati), the capital of Indra. That foremost of kings, powerful like the king of gods, thus named his city built up by his own power. Since this city is built under the protection of the mountain Rikshavan and abounds in rocks it will be celebrated by the name of Mahishmati. Thereupon between the mountains Vindhya and Rikshavan he laid out a highly charming city beautiful like the city of gods, by name Purika consisting of hundreds of gardens, prosperous shops and courtyards. Because that city was laid out around the mount Rikshavan by the pious-souled king Muchakunda it was named Purika. Thus did the powerful king Muchukanda, the foremost of the pious, build two spacious cities worthy of being enjoyed by the gods and began to rule over them. The royal saint Padmavarna laid out, on the mountain Sahya on the bank of the river Vena, the province Padmavata abounding in trees and creepers with a skill like that displayed by the celestial Architect Viswakarma. And his city was known by the name of Karavira. Knowing the small compass of his territories the king laid out one complete kingdom. In the well-known prosperous province of Vanavasi abounding in trees of all seasons Sarasa built his highly charming city Krouncha consisting of many Champoka and Asoka trees and coppery coloured earth. Harita began to govern the island of the ocean abounding in many jewels and beautiful women. In his kingdom the fishermen, called Mudgaras, used to range in the bed of the ocean and collect shells. People of other provinces used to gather heaps of corals and brilliant pearls grown in water.. Searching in small boats and collecting jewels born in water Nishadas used to gather them in big boats). People of that kingdom used to feed upon fish and meat. Taking all sorts of jewels the inhabitants of the jeweled island used to go to distant countries in boats and used to encompass the satisfaction of Harita only like unto the god of riches with articles acquired by merchandise. Thus originating from the Ikshwaku race and being divided into four by the sons of Yadu his family was split up into four branches.

Having conferred in time upon Madhava the foremost of the Yadu race his own kingdom, the Emperor Yadu cast off his earthly body and repaired to the city of the celestials. To Madhava was born a powerful son by name Satwata endued with the quality of goodness and endowed with every sort of royal accomplishment. Satwata's son, the highly powerful Bhima also became a king. After his name his descendants are called Bhaima and those of Satwata are known by the name of Satwatas. While this king was ruling Rama also flourished in Ayodhya. Having slain Lavana Satrughana (at that time) devastated the Madhu forest. That Lord, the enhancer of Sumitra's joy, laid out in that forest the city of Mathura. When in time Rama, Bharata and the two sons of Sumitra (Lakshmana and Satrughna) terminated their career on earth, Bhima, on account of its contiguity to his own kingdom, brought that territory of Vishnu under his own control and began to live there.

Thereupon when in Ayodhya Kusha became the king and Lava the heir apparent Andhaka began to govern that kingdom. Andhaka's son was the king Revata. From him was born the king Riksha on the charming mountain situated on the bank of the ocean. After his name that mountain is known as Raivataka in the world. Raivata's son was the highly illustrious king Vishwagarbha. He was greatly powerful and was a celebrated king in the world. O Keshava, he begat on his three goddess-like wives four auspicious sons like unto patriarchs by name Vasu, Vabhru, Sushena and Sabhaksha. Each, of those leading descendants of Yadu, acquired renown like a patriarch. O Krishna, this family of Yadus has been spread on earth by those kings having off-spring who were born in this family. Vasu had a powerful son by name Vasudeva and two beautiful daughters by name Kunti and Srhutrashrava, Kunti, ranging on earth like a goddess, was the queen of the king Pandu and Shrutashrava was the wife of Damaghosha the king of Chedi. O Krishna, thus I have related to you the origin of your family as I had heard before from Krishna Dwaipayana. At present our family is on the verge of extinction, and therefore for encompassing our well-being and victory, thou, as the self-sprung Deity, art born as our leader in our family. Thou art omniscient and the upholder of all. And thou art above even the comprehension of gods. We can hide thee by recognising thee as one of the citizens. O lord, thou art capable of fighting with king Jarasandha and we too, determined upon entering into a fight, are ready to follow thy guidance. Jarasandha, on the other hand, is of incomparable prowess, the leader of the entire circle of kings and has innumerable soldiers. But our resources are limited. This city has a limited supply of food and fuels. It is not protected by a fort. The diches of water are not well kept and the gateways are not furnished with weapons. It will not therefore be able to stand attack for even one day. Ramparts and walls, extending over a long distance, should be constructed around it. And the arsenal should be repaired with bricks. Kansa used to protect his own city by his own strength and so it is not protected by many men. Now when Kansa is dead and our kingdom is newly acquired this city will not be able to stand a new seige. When besieged this city will be assailed by the enemies and completely ruined forsooth over kingdom, along with men, will meet with destruction. The Yadavas, whom, taking advantage of their internal dissension and desirous of a kingdom we have conquered, are showing signs of enmity. Do what conduces to our well-being. On account of our king at this time when our kingdom is in danger we shall be the butt of redicule even unto those kings who have taken to their heels in fear of Jarasandha. O Keshava, the people, who will be obstructed in the city, will distressingly say "We have been ruined by the internal dissensions of the Yadavas." O Krishna, I do not speak thus with a view to excite in thee thy sense of duty, but have simply expressed my opinion out of affection, O Krishna, do thou encompass what conduces to our well-being now. Thou art the commander of this army and we are to follow thy orders. Besides, thou art the root of their quarrel. Do thou save us as well as thy own self).

CHAPTER 39. KRISHNA MEETS WITH PARASURAMA.

Vaishampayana said:—Hearing the words of Vikadru the highly illustrious Vasudeva, with a delighted mind, said:—"O Krishna, what the intelligent Vikadru, the foremost of royal speakers, and conversant with the meaning of royal counsels has said, is true and well meaning. He has related royal duties and truths conducive to the well-being of the universe. Do what that foremost of Yadus has said".

Hearing the words of his father and of the high-souled Vikadru, Krishna, the foremost of men, gave vent to the following reasonable words. "I have listened to what you have said, surveying (the course of) the Providence according to reason, order, logic and scriptures. Hear the reply that I give and accept it after hearing. The king should behave according to order and moral laws. A king daily meditates on peace, quarrel, conveyance, seats, dissension-making and help. A learned king should not place himself before a powerful enemy, but rather should fly away. And in proper time and according to his strength he should engage in fight. Therefore although I am capable, I shall, at this very moment, fly away with the worshipful Baladeva for saving my life like one incapable. Ascending the mount Sahya beautiful like myself along with my reverend elder brother, I shall enter into Deccan and we shall behold the charming cities of Karavira and Krounch and the foremost of mountains Gomanta. Hearing of this our departure that Emperor, elated with success, will not enter into this city but rather will pursue us in pride. And repairing to the forest of Sahya with his followers he will endeavour to arrest us. Therefore this our departure is conducive to the well-being of the race of Yadu. By this, the Province, the city and the citizens will fare well. When an enemy flies away from his kingdom, the kings, desirous of achieving victory while in another kingdom, do not desist from fighting without killing the enemies".

After this conversation, the heroic Krishna and Sangkarshana, although capable, set out for the south without experiencing the least anxiety in mind. Assuming forms at will they began to travel in hundreds of southern kingdoms. Thereupon getting upon the charming mountain of Sahya and experiencing joy they reached the road leading to the south. Going by that road they, within a short time, reached the city of Karavira, presided over by the members of their own family and adorned with the mount Sahya. They saw there a huge fig tree on the bank of the river Vena (19–20). They saw there the eternal great ascetic Rama, the descendant of Bhrigu who is never exhausted and like the sun on the mount Mandara milching his sacrificial cow with her calf ever giving milk whenever desired and white as the milky Arani tree near the mount Mahendra. He was seated at the foot of that tree, had his axe on his shoulder, wore bark and matted locks, was white as the flames of fire, effulgent like the sun, the destroyer of the Kshatriyas, motionless like the ocean, was preserving the three sacred fires, was emaciated with the performance of three oblations a day and was like the very preceptor of gods.

Thereupon Krishna, the foremost of speakers and conversant with the history of men, addressed that foremost of Rishis, in sweet words saying:—"O Reverend Sir, I have known thee as the foremost of Rishis, Rama, the son of Jamadagni born in the race of Bhrigu, and the destroyer of the Kshatriyas. O descendant of Bhrigu, having agitated the ocean with the velocity of thy shafts thou hast laid out a city by name Surpara, two thousand cubits in breadth and one thousand in length. Thou hast laid out a great province in the prosperous groves of the Sahya mountain situated on the bank of the great ocean. Remembering the destruction of thy sire thou didst, with thy axe, chop off the thousand arms of Kartavirya resembling a forest. Even now the Earth has her mud covered with the cool blood of the Kshatryas who were killed by thy axe and were shorn of effulgence. O son of Renuka, the axe remains here in the same way in which thou didst hold it in battle on earth out of anger against the Kshatryas. O Vipra, we wish to hear from thee some thing. Do thou reply to it without any hesitation of mind. O foremost of Munis, perhaps thou mightest have heard of two Yadavas living on the bank of the Yamuna. We are those two Yadavas living in Mathura. From the very commencement of our birth, our father Vasuveda, the foremost of Yadus and ever observant of vows, afraid of Kansa, placed us in Vraja. There we grew up without any fear. As soon as we came of age we entered into Mathura and powerfully destroyed the haughty Kansa in the assembly. Thereupon placing his father Ugrasena in his royal office we again, as before, engaged in the work of cow-herd boys. O thou of firm vows, thereafter when Jarasandha laid seige to our city for many times and fought we, although capable, in the interest of our city and subjects, in fear of his preparations, left our city on foot, for we are not powerful, have made no preparations and have no soldiers, carts, coats of mail and weapons. Thus, O foremost of Munis, we have come to thee. Do thou welcome us with good counsels."

Hearing those their becoming words Renuka's son Rama, born in the race of Bhrigu, replied in words pregnant with morality.

"O lord Krishna, in order to give you counsels I have just alone come to this place without my disciples. O thou having lotus-eyes, I know thy habitation in Vraja and the destruction of the vicious-souled Kansa and other Danavas. Coming to know now of thine and Rama's quarrel with Jarasandha I have come here, O thou having a beautiful face, O foremost of men. O Krishna, I know, though not a boy, thou, the eternal lord of the universe, hast become a boy, for encompassing the work of the gods. Although there is nothing in the three worlds which thou dost not know still listen to what I say out of devotion. O Govinda, thy predecessors laid out and established this city of Karavirapura. O Krishna, now in this city reigns the highly wrathful, illustrious and celebrated king Vasudeva Shrigala. Out of jealousy towards the heroes that king has destroyed all thy kinsmen and the kings born in thy race. O Govinda, the king Shrigala is greatly proud, of uncontrolled mind, cannot look at other's prosperity, is elated with the pride of his kingdom and riches and is even oppressive towards his own sons. Methinks, O foremost of men, thou shouldst not live in this dreadful Karavirapura, censured by all the kings. Hear, now, I shall describe the place stationed where thou wouldst be able to obstruct and fight with thy enemy Jarasandha puffed up with power. Mayst thou fare well, O Madhava. Let us this very day cross the sacred river Vena with our arms and spend the night on the impassable mountain situated at the boundary of this kingdom. Spending a night on one of the minor ranges of the Sahya mountain named Yajnagiri the abode of dreadful beasts living upon flesh, abounding in trees and creepers and adorned with blossoming trees and crossing the river Khatangi, resembling the water-fall of Ganga issuing out of the great mountain and adorned with golden lotuses we shall see the water-falls of the Ganges adorned with various woods of the ascetics. Repairing to that hill we shall behold there the ascetics who do not care for honours although worthy of them. Then crossing the river we shall go to the charming city of

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Krouncha. O Krishna, the lord of that province is the pious king Mahakapi born in thy race. Without paying a visit to that king we shall repair to the eternally sacred shrine Andhuha for spending the night. Issuing therefrom we shall go to the celebrated hill Gomanta consisting of many summits situate in the valley of the mount Sahya. O Krishna, one of the summits has risen so high up into the sky that even the birds cannot get on it. It is the resting place of the gods, enveloped with luminous bodies, high as an etherial house and like the stare-case of the celestial region; (what more) that mountain is like the second Sumeru and the landing stage for all the celestial conveyances. Getting upon that high summit ye will range there seeing the sun and the moon, the effulgent lords of the luminous bodies, at the time of their rising and setting and the great ocean of heaving waves and adorning the insular continent of Apara. Ranging in the forest situate on the summit of the mount Gomanta if you obstruct Jarasandha by fighting with him in the fort you will be able to conquer him. Beholding you on the summit of the mountain Jarasandha will become incapable of fighting in the rocks. I see before me the weapons that you will acquire when that terrible battle will set in. O Krishna, as ordained by the gods, such a battle will take place there between other kings and the Yadavas that the earth will be filled with the mud of flesh and blood. Appearing as if in the very forms of death, the discus, plough-share, the club Kōumodaki, the mace Saunada and other Vaishana weapons will, in that battle, drink the blood of the kings urged on by death. O Krishna, O thou the stay of the celestials, in that battle of discus and mace, as ordained by the gods and brought on by Time, the celestials and thy enemies will behold thine Vishnu form. For accomplishing the work of the gods, which has not come within thy recollection for a long time, do thou, in thy Vishnu form, take up that discus and club. Let Rohini's son, the stay of the world, take up, for destroying the enemies of the gods, dreadful mace and plough-share capable of grinding the enemies. As spoken by the gods at their meeting held for relieving the earth of her burden this will be thy first battle in the world with the kings. In this battle thou shalt attain to thy Vishnu form, weapons, prosperity and energy and destroy the army of the enemies, O Krishna, this battle will sow the seeds of the great battle, abounding in weapons, that will be named Bharata. Do thou therefore go to that best of mountains Gomanta. From the signs it appears that Jarasandha is on the verge of ruin. Drinking the ambrosia-like milk of this sacrificial cow do ye proceed by the way pointed out by me. May good betide ye".

CHAPTER 40. A DESCRIPTION OF THE MOUNT GOMANTA.

Vaishampayana said:—Thereupon drinking the milk of the sacrificial cow along with Bhrigu's descendant the two foremost of speakers and Yadavas Rama and Keshava, endued with the gait of infuriated elephants proud of their strength, set out by the path pointed out by Jamadghni for beholding the mount Gomanta. As the gods beautify the celestial region so those two heroes, with Jamadagnya as the third, beautified the road like three fires. As the gods come to the mount Mandara, so they, passing over the road frequented by men, reached the mount Gomanta in the evening. It was covered with charming creepers, adorned with various trees, scented with incense, variegated with a row of beautiful peacocks, entirely filled with bees, and rocks abounding in trees, and resonant with the notes of peacocks imitating the muttering of clouds. The summits of that mountain were attached to the sky, the trees were covered with clouds, the rocks were scratched with the tusks of the infuriated elephants, the places around the water-fall were covered with green grass and creepers and were resonant with the notes of birds. With dark-blue rocks that foremost of mountains assumed various colours like a cloud. Its body was besmeared with metalic discharges. It was adorned with table-lands and springs, was filled with beautiful celestials like the mount Mainaka coursing at will, was elevated and of high summits. Its base was filled with water. Its caves were adorned with forest, and white clouds and covered with, Panasa, mango, Amrataka, cane, Syandana, sandal, Hintala, Tamala and Ela woods. It was adorned with Marichakshupa, Pippali, Inguda, Sala, Nimva, Arjuna, Patali and Ponnaga trees. The water was adorned with water-born lotuses and the ground with ground-born ones. It was adorned with Drumashanda, Jamva, and Jamvula trees and completely embellished with Kanda, Kandala, Champaka, Ashoka, Vilwa, Tinduka, Kutaja and Naga flowers. It was filled with elephants and deer-herds. The spacious valleys of that foremost of mountains were resorted to by Siddhas, Charanas and Rakshasas, the rocks were continually filled with Vidyadharas, and echoed with the roars of lions and tigers. It was sprinkled with currents of water and adorned with moon trees. That mountain was highly spoken of by the gods and Gandharvas, adorned with Apsaras and covered with flowers of celestial trees. Its summits had no experience of the strokes of Indra's thunder, forest-fire and fear of high winds. The tops of the summits were beautified with streams of powerful water-falls and shone greatly with the beauty of water and moss. All the passages were inhabited by deer and the sides of that best of mountains were adorned with rocks dark-blue like clouds. As the wives beautify a husband so it was beautified by forests abounding in gentle trees covered with blossoming flowers. At some places its summits, beautified with caves and forests like a man with his wife, burning in effulgence with herbs and inhabited by ascetics, it appeared as if it was adorned with artificial golden forests. It appeared as if with its spacious root and rising summit that mountain was agitating the earth and the sky.

Having reached the charming mount Gomanta, the three immortal-like heroes felt a desire for living there. Thereupon as the birds rise high up into the sky so like Vinata's son with their course not obstructed any where they, with great force and power, got upon that best of mountains. Ascending like gods that most excellent summit of the mountain, they, without any delay, built a habitation there after their own heart.

Seeing the Yadavas stationed on the summit of the mountain the great son of Jamadagni, Rama, with a view to express his liberal views said:—"O my child lord Krishna, I shall now repair to the city of Surparaka. Even if you enter upon a battle with the gods you will not be defeated). O Madhava, by the delight that I acquired on the way by your following me, this my immortal body has been blessed. The battle, in which you will acquire the weapons and which is intended for the after-life behoof of the kings, as ordained by the gods, shall take place here. O Vishnu, O Krishna, eulogised by the gods and the foremost of men do thou listen to the moral words of men in general. This present battle with Jarasandha, as ordained by Time, is the first instalment of thy human actions which thou hast begun to perform in the world assuming a human form. Do thou thyself, O Krishna, by thy own power, hold thy weapon and assume thy form terrible in battle. When thou shalt, with thy uplifted discus and mace, stand in the battle-field, beholding thy well-formed eight arms even the king of gods will be stricken with fear. O foremost of the pious, as settled in the city of the celestials from to-day commences thy march for establishing thy glory in the world in the interest of the gods. O foremost of speakers, O large-armed Govinda, do thou speedily send for Vinatas son for waiting on the flag staff of thy car. For the kings, whose object of life is to fight under the subjection of Dhritarashtra's sons, are waiting for battle as if with their faces turned towards the city of the celestials. As if beholding the future destruction of the kings, possessed by widowhood and with one braid of hairs the Earth is waiting for thee. O Krishna, O thou the slayer of thy enemies, when assuming a human form thou shalt be present in the battle-field the Kshatryas, possessed by hostile stars, without shrinking, will assume a joyous attitude. Therefore O Madhava, do thou soon engage in fight for grinding the host of Danavas, for the attainment of the celestial region by the kings and the happiness of the gods. O Krishna, honoured by thee who art honoured by the universe I consider myself honoured by the entire world, mobile and immobile. O thou of large arms, forsooth thou shalt remember me when thou wilt fight with the assembled kings. I shall endeavour for the accomplishment of thy object."

Having said this to Krishna who never experiences weariness in work, and showered blessings on him Jamadagni's son Rama set out for his wished-for quarter.

CHAPTER 41. BALARAMA GETS DRUNK.

Vaishampayana said:—After the departure of Jamadagni's son Rama, Rama and Krishna, the perpetuators of the Yadu race, assuming forms of their own accord began to range on the charming summit of Gomanta. Wearing on their breast garlands of wild flowers, clad in dark-blue and yellow apparels and with their body besmeared with metalic discharges those two youths, of dark-blue and white persons, began to range, with a view to sport in the charming forests on the summit and see the sun and moon, the lords of luminous bodies at the time of the rising and setting of planets.

Thereupon once on a time while separated from Krishna the powerful and beautiful Sangkarshana, ranging on the summit of the mountain, sat under a charming shade of a blossoming Kadamva tree, sweet-scented wind began to fan him. Thus served by the wind and smell of wine touching his nostril he felt a hankering for wine and his mouth began to dry up like one who had excessively drunk in the previous day. Thereupon recollecting the drinking of ambrosia in the days of yore, he, searching the wine, saw the Kadamva tree. Deposited in its cave, the water, that the clouds showered on the tree in the rains, had become a delightful wine. The powerful Baladeva was over-powered by thirst, so drinking that wine again and again, like a sick person drinking water he grew inebriete and his body began to reel. On account of his being drunk his eyes and face, resembling an autumnal moon, began to roll. The goddess Varuni, who was the churning rod of ambrosia unto the gods, was born in that Kadamva cave in the shape of wine. And so she passed by the name of Kadamvari. Inebriete with Kadamvari wine while Krishna's elder brother began to speak in indistinct but sweet words the wine incarnate Kanti, the beloved spouse of the moon, the goddess Sree the foremost of damsels having the emblem of a cloud on her flag, these three celestial ladies approached him with sweet words. First of all coming before the inebriete son of Rohini the goddess Varuni, with folded hands, addressed to him words conducive to her own well-being:—"O Baladeva, O foremost of gods, do thou consume the host of Daityas. I am here thy beloved lady Varuni. O thou having a pure countenance, thou used always to reside by the forest fire, but now thou hast disappeared. Hearing this, I am ranging on the face of the earth like one whose religious merit has been dissipated. For a long time I lived in the filaments of flowers and spring flowers whose bunches were never touched. But I am fond of pleasures, therefore at the advent of the rains, hiding my own true form I was lying in the Kadamva cave in expectation of thy arrival stricken with thirst. O sinless one, as I was despatched with consummate beauty reigning over all my limbs, by my father Varuna at the time of the churning for ambrosia, so I have been sent by him now. O lord, thou art my beloved preceptor, so I wish to live by thee as I was residing by the forest fire in the ocean. O god, O sinless Ananta, save thee I shall not be able to serve any other people. And so I shall not leave thee even if thou dost remonstrate with me."

With her eyes rolling a little and her hip moving in drunkenness, the goddess incarnate of beauty, Kanti, exclaiming "May victory crown Rama", approached Sangkarsana, who was seated there and lovingly addressed to him with folded-hands the following words pregnant with significance. "I regard the highly powerful god Ananta of thousand heads more than the moon. Therefore with all my accomplishments I am following thee like wine." Thereupon Kamala, the abode of lotuses who always lives on Vishnu's breast, placed herself on the breast of the holder of plough-share like a garland of pure flowers. Taking a garland of pure flowers, placing herself on the breast of the lotus-faced Baladeva, the well-adorned Kamala, with a lotus in her hand, said:—"O Rama, O beautiful Rama, united with Varuni, Kanti and myself thou dost, O king of gods, appear beautiful like the moon. This is thy crown, I have brought from the abode of Varuna, which used to shine over thy thousand heads like the sun. O thou having lotus eyes, the golden Kundalas crested with diamonds and the celestial first lotus, which were thy ear ornaments (have also been brought)). The blue silken apparel, worthy of the ocean, which was in it and the beautiful neck-chain (have also been brought). O god, O thou having large arms, now thy proper time has come. Do thou, as before, adorn thyself with these ornaments and do them honour."

The goddess Sree having said this, Baladeva, accepting those ornaments and the three celestial damsels, shone like the autumnal moon. Thereupon united with the slayer of Madhu resembling a cloud surcharged with water he attained to great delight like the moon released from Rahu. One day while they were conversing as they always do at home Vinata's son, who had just returned from the battle-field, whose body was wounded with the strokes of weapons, who wore celestial garlands and unguents and who used to speak highly of the victory of gods, came there quickly. When the Lord Vishnu was asleep in the abode of Varuna in the ocean of milk, Virochanana's son pilfered his crown. For that crown of Vishnu, Garuda, the foremost of birds, fought a dreadful battle with the Daityas in that ocean, and securing it and not seeing Vishnu there, he was, with great force, passing through the surface of the earth, on his way to the celestial region. While proceeding with that effulgent crown on his lap, Vinata's son arrived there and saw his master Vishnu engaged in another work. Beholding Vishnu in a human form on that best of mountains, without any diadem on his head and with out any visible dress and apprised of his intention that foremost of birds threw from the welkin that crown on Vishnu's head in such a way as if it had been attached to his head from before. And placed upon Madhava's head that diadem shone there like the mid-day sun on the summit of the mount Sumeru.

Beholding his own diadem brought by Vinata's son, Krishna, with a delighted face, said to Rama:— "While arrangements for a battle have been completed on this mountain, methinks, the accomplishment of the work of gods is near at hand. When I fell asleep in the ocean, Virochana's son, assuming a celestial form like that of the king of gods, stole away my diadem and took it away like a planet. Garuda has brought this back (to me). I think it for certain that Jarasandha is near at hand, for the tops of the cars, fleet as the wind, are being seen now. Behold, O reverend sir, there shine the moon-like umbrellas and well-arranged armies of the kings desirous of achieving victory. The white, clean and flying umbrellas, on the cars of the kings, are coming towards us like cranes in the sky. United with the lustre of the sun the effulgence of the weapons shining like the celestial region, is moving about in ten cardinal points. When in the midst of battle the kings will aim at me and discharge these weapons, they will forsooth be destroyed. In proper time the Emperor Jarasandha has come. He is our first guest in battle and is like a touch-stone for testing our military skill. O reverend sir, as

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long as Jarasandha does not come we should not commence the battle. Let us therefore get ready and search for our soldiers."

Saying this and desirous of entering into a battle and of slaying Jarasandha Krishna began quietly to survey his troops. Beholding those kings that eternal Yadu Chief began to recapitulate within himself the counsels that were held before in the celestial region. "All these kings have arrived, who, observant of their royal duties, will be slain by actions laid down in Scriptures. I consider these leading kings sprinkled with water by Death himself like sacrificial beasts and their bodies are turned towards heaven. Her surface being thickly covered with their armies and territories the Earth, worn out with the weight of these kings and their forces, had repaired to the celestial region. However in no time the surface of the earth will be divested of men and the welkin will be filled with kings".

CHAPTER 42. JARASANDHA'S INSTRUCTIONS TO THE KINGS.

Vaishampayana said:—Surrounded by his four-fold forces moving like the ocean, the highly effulgent and powerful king Jarasandha, observant of vows and the leader of kings, arrived there. He had with him war-chariots drawn by spirited horses, trained by expert warriors whose course was not impeded any where, cloud-like elephants, adorned with bells, carrying a golden room with warriors proud of battle and driven by clever drivers, horses leaping and fleet like the wind governed by clever drivers and numberless infantry armed with swords, daggers and leathern fences who could leap even high up into the the sky. A host of kings also followed him. All the caves of that best of mountains and all the quarters echoing with the clatter of car wheels resembling the muttering of clouds, the noise of the elephants in rut, the neighings of the horses and the leonine shouts of the infantry, the emperor Jarasandha, with his army, was seen there like an ocean. Striking this palms against each other and slapping their arms that army of the kings, abounding in delighted warriors, shone there like an army of clouds. That army, variegated with cars, fleet like the wind, with elephants resembling the clouds, with horses resembling white clouds and with well dressed infantry, shone like clouds kissing the ocean after the termination of the rainy season. Thereupon those powerful kings, headed by Jarasandha, encamped encircling that mountain. At that time the encampment of those kings lying outside shone like the full ocean during the full moon.

After the expiration of the night, the kings, having performed the auspicious ceremony of Koutuka, rose up for ascending the hill for fight. Having assembled at the valley of the mountain they, out of curiosity, began to hold counsels befitting the hour of battle. There was heard thus a great tumult like that of the upheaving of the ocean at the time of the dissolution of the world. With Kanchika turbans on their heads and canes in their hands the warders began to move about on all sides exclaiming "Ma" i.e. (do not make noise). That army, hushed into silence, imitated the form of the ocean abounding in fishes and huge serpents. When informed of the mandate of the king that ocean-like army stood silent and motionless the king Jarashdha, like the preceptor of the gods, addressed them, saying:—"United soon let the armies of the kings completely besiege this mountain. Let rocky weapons and clubs be got ready and prashas and Tomaras be placed on high. In order to throw up let artizans make ready means of obstructing the speedy fall of weapons. Let what, the king of Chedi speaks to heroes engaged in fighting with one another, and inebriete with desire for battle, be carried out. Rive this foremost of mountains with Tankas and Khanitras and let kings, expert in fighting, be placed at no distance. As long as I do not kill the two sons of Vasudeva let my army remain besieging the mountain. You will so besiege this mountain sprung from rocks and you will so obstruct the sky with arrows that even the birds may not go out of it. Let the kings, at my command, wait at the base of the mountain and get up on it as soon as an opportunity presents itself. Let Madra, the king of Kalinga, Chekitan, the king of Valhika, Gonarda the king of Kashmira, the king of Karusha, Druma of Kimpurusha, and mountainous tribes ascend the mountain from the other side. Let Venudari of the Puru race, Vidarbha, king Somaka, Bhoja, king Rukshmi, Malava, Suryaksha, Drupada, the king of Panchala, Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti province, the energetic Dantavakra, Chhagali, Purumitra, the emperor Virat, the king of Koushamvi, Malava, Shrutadhanwa, Veduratha, the king of Trigarta, Bhurisrava, Vana and Panchnava, let these kings, powerful like thunderbolt and expert in capturing a fort, get up on this mountain from the north and assail it. Let Ansumana's heroic son Kaitaveya, Uluka, Ekalavya, Dridaksha, Jayadratha, ever observant of Kshatriya duties, Uttamouja, Shalwa, the king of Kerala, Koushika, Vamadeva, the king of Vidisha and powerful Sukeshi get upon the mountain from the east and rive it as the wind dissipates the clouds. Myself, Darada and the powerful king of Chedi, shall rive the western side of the mountain. In this way let the mountain be beseiged completely on all sides by our men and entertain a terrible fright as from the fall of a thunder-bolt. Let the holders of clubs with clubs, Parigha-holders with Parighas and other warriors with diverse other weapons rend this foremost of mountains. O ye kings, you shall have, even to day to level this mountain abounding in high, uneven and dangerous rocks".

As the oceans lie encircling the earth, so those kings, at the command of Jarasandha, stood encircling the mount Gomanta. Thereupon the king of Chedi, like unto Indra the king of gods, said:—"What is the use of capturing like a fort this foremost of mountains Gomanta impassable with high trees and abounding in high summits. Covering it on all sides with twigs and woods we shall burn it even this very day. What is the use of making any other effort? Besides the Kshatriyas are tender and they fight with arrows in battle. We should not engage them to fight on foot in a mountain. By besieging or rising above it even the gods cannot rend this mountain. O king, to lay a siege is proper when capturing a fort. Those, who take shelter on a mountain, yield when they fall short of food, water and fuels. Although we are many in number we should not disregard the two Yadavas stationed in fight. This is not a wise policy. We do not know the strength of those two Yadavas. By their actions they have acquired celestial reputation. And although they are boys they accomplish many difficult feats. Placing all round this mountain dried grass and woods we shall set fire to them. Consumed thereby they will give up their life. If on being burnt they come out of the mountain and approach us we shall, all united, kill them and they too will meet with death".

The kings with all the soldiers liked what the king of Chedi said for their well-being. Thereupon as a cloud is stricken with the rays of the sun so that mountain was ablaze with with dried woods, grass and twigs. According to the course of the wind and place the light-handed kings set fire on all sides of that mountain. Then the fire, excited by the wind, conflagrated on all sides, and with the lustre its flames, accompanied by smokes, beautified the sky. Thus the fire, begotten by the collection of woods, began to burn up the beautiful mountain Gomanta abounding in beautiful trees. And that burning mountain being rent assunder into a hundred (pieces) huge rocks began to come out from all sides, looking like huge fire brands. As the sun, with its lustre, lights up the clouds, so the fire lighted up the mountain with its rising flames. It appeared as if pained with molten metals, burning trees and agitated beasts that mountain was weeping. From that heated mountain which was being consumed by fire began to come out molten metals of golden, dark-blue and silvery hues. With its half enshrouded with the darkness of smoke, that mountain, covered with flames of fire, was shorn of beauty like disappearing clouds.

With the detached collection of rocks and the dreadful down-pour of embers that mountain appeared like a cloud accompanied by a shower of fire-brands. With springs of water rising up and enveloped with smokes the mount Gomanta appeared to have been consumed by the fire of dissolution. With half of this body burnt, serpents, having huge hoods, overwhelmed, with anxious eyes and sighing, began again and again to leap up and fall down with their heads bent downwards. Assailed by fire and excited the lions and tigers began to cry and the trees began to yeild juice consequent upon burning. Rendered coppery with ashes and embers the wind began to rise and cover the sky, with smokes, like clouds. On account of the spread of fire the birds and beasts left the table-lands and the mountain became agitated. As if rent by the thunder-bolt of Vasava that mountain, abounding in shaken and high rocks, began to throw out rocks. Thus setting fire to that mountain and themselves distressed by it the Kshatriyas retreated to a distance of a mile.

When that foremost of mountains was thus burnt the great trees were so scorched that none could look at them, and the root (of the mountain) was slackened, Rama in anger, said to the lotus-eyed Krishna, the slayer of Madhu. "O my brother Krishna, on account of their enmity towards us the enemies are consuming this mountain along with its table-lands, summits and trees. Behold O Krishna, the leading twice-born ones, who are living in the forest of the mountain assailed by fire and covered with smokes, are as if weeping, O brother, if this Gomanta is burnt down on our account we shall acquire great censure and blame in the world. Therefore O foremost of warriors, in order to satisfy our debt to this mountain whose shelter we have taken we shall destroy the Kshatriyas with our very arms. Setting fire to this mountain these foremost of car-warriors, the Kshatriays, well armed, are signifying their desire for battle. (We shall despatch them to the abode Yama)". Saying this Keshava's elder brother, bedecked with a garland of wild flowers, beautiful Kundalas and crown, inebriete with Kadamvari wine, resembling an autumnal moon, clad in a blue raiment, of white face, the beautiful Baladeva jumped down in the midst of kings from the summit of Gomanta like the moon from the summit of Sumeru. When Rama leaped down, the beautiful Krishna, too of incomparable energy, resembling a dark-blue cloud, jumped down from the summit of Gomanta. Thereat the divine Hari, assailing that foremost of mountains with his two feet, its four sides were broken down. Thereupon, water, issuing from its rocks, resembling elephants in rut, immediately extinguished that fire as the sun, at the end of a cycle, puts down the fire of dissolution with showers. Having thus put down the fire the powerful lotus-eyed Krishna, of a gentle face and leonine voice, carrying a beautiful diadem like that of the thousand eyed deity and bearing the mystic mark of Srivatsa on his breast, followed Rama by jumping. When they got down the foremost of mountains, assailed with their foot-steps, began to yield water for extinguishing the flaming fire. Beholding that fire extinguished by water the kings too grew terrified.

CHAPTER 43. KRISHNA MEETS HIS ENEMY.

Vaishampayana said:—Beholding the two sons of Vasudeva come down from the mountain the soldiers of the kings grew terrified and the animals bewildered. Although they had no other weapons but their arms they began to move about there in anger like two Makaras that agitate the ocean. When they began to range there desirous of fighting there arose in them their respective ancient intelligence regarding the handling of weapons. The weapons, which they had obtained before in their encounter at Mathura, came down from the sky like burning flames before the very eyes of the assembled kings. The huge bodily weapons, which the two Yadavas obtained, came down from the sky, as if filled with thirst and the desire of feeding upon human flesh. They, adorned with celestial garlands, lighted up the ten quarters with their lustre and terrified the sky-ranging ones. Beasts of prey followed them with a view to feed upon royal flesh. When in that great battle came down for the two Yadavas four powerful Vaishnava weapons namely, the plough-share Samvartaka, the mace Sounanda, the discus Sudarshana, and the club Koumodaki the powerful Rama, the foremost of Satwatas, first of all, took up with his left hand the plough-share embellished with celestial garlands and moving obliquely like a serpent and with his right hand, the best of maces Saunanda that creates depression in the enemies. Keshava, with delight, took up the discus Sudarshana which is worthy of being looked at by all the worlds and effulgent like the sun. The other hand of Krishna, the necessity of whose incarnation was known to the gods, was bedecked with the club Koumodaki.

Thus armed the heroic Rama and Govinda, the very incarnations of Vishnu, began to withstand the enemies in battle. Displaying their prowess like two gods, the two heroic sons of Vasudeva, designated as the younger and the elder brothers and although one in Vishnu, divided into two as men under the names of Rama and Govinda and dependant on each other, began to range in the battle-field withstanding the enemies. Thereupon raising up his plough-share in anger, resembling the belly of a crow the heroic Rama began to move about in the battle-field like the very Death of the enemies. And dragging the cars of the highly powerful Kshatriyas he began to give effect to his anger on the horses and the elephants. Ranging in that battle-field and assailing with the strokes of his mace mountain-like elephants thrown up with his plough share he began as if to churn them.

Thereupon the leading Kshatriyas, who were on the point of being slain by Rama, left their cars in fear, and went to Jarasandha. Thereat the king Jarasandha, ever observant of Kshatriya duties, said to them:—"O fie on your conduct as Kshatriyas grown tired of battle. The sages say that those, who albeit powerful fly away from the battle-field leaving their cars behind, are visited by the sin of destroying an embryo. Do you not know this? Fie on your conduct as Kshatriyas. Why do ye fly away in fear of a milk-herd of limited power who fights on foot? Do ye return soon according to my order, or you need not fight, but wait in the battle-field as spectators. I shall myself despatch those two cow-herd boys to the abode of Yama."

Thus excited by Jarasandha the Kshatryas delightedly rallied round and engaged in fight with a downpour of arrows. With coats of mail, Nishtringsas, weapons, quivers, arrows and bows, set with strings, horses adorned with golden reins, cars of moon-like lustre and cloud-like elephants driven by Mahamatras they again set out for the battle-field. Covered with rising umbrellas and fanned with beautiful chowries the kings, stationed on cars, shone greatly in beauty in the battle-field. The foremost of warriors, the two heroic sons of Vasudeva, Rama and Keshava were seen ranging about with a desire of fighting as soon as they got down in the battle-field. Thereupon there took place a terrible encounter between them and the kings, accompanied with a profuse discharge of shafts and strokes of clubs. Those two heroic descendants of the Yadu race bore thousands of arrows shot by the kings like two mountains sprinkled with rain. Although assailed by heavy clubs and maces they did not tremble.

Thereupon the highly-powerful Krishna, resembling a cloud and holding conch, discus and club in his hand, increased his body like a cloud accompanied by wind. And with his discus effulgent like the sun he began to cut down men, horses, elephants and mighty car-warriors. On the other side, Rama too so dragged the kings with his plough share and so struck them with his club, that they, deprived of consciousness, could not stand in the battle-field. The car-

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wheels being obstructed the variegated chariots of the kings were broken down and could not go on in the battle-field. Having their tusks broken down with the strokes of maces, Hastihanaya* elephants began to fly away from the battle-field with a great noise like the autumnal clouds. [* A species of elephants. This is one of the finest breeds, invaluable in a battle-field.] Assailed by the flames of the fire wrought by the discus, the cavalry and the infantry began to breathe their last like those struck down by thunder-bolts. Struck and grinded with the plough-share the entire host of the royal army appeared like creatures at the time of the universal dissolution. What to speak of fighting the kings could not even look at the battle-field, the sporting ground of the celestial weapons of Vishnu incarnate. Some of the cars were completely crushed down, of some the kings were killed and some, with one wheel broken down, lay upset on the surface of the earth. In that dreadful battle of discus and plough-share portendous Rakshasas were seen. So great was the number of upturned cars, elephants, horses, and men, who, on being assailed, were plaintively bewailing that even with great care it could not be ascertained. Saturated with the blood of the wounded kings the battle-field appeared like a damsel besmeared with sandal paste. The battle-field was covered with the hairs, bones, fat, entrails and blood of horses, elephants and men. The battle-field was destructive of the men and animals of the kings, was filled with inauspicious cries and bewailings of the jackals, was crested with lakes of blood, was like the sporting-ground of Death, was covered with the bones of elephants, with warriors having their arms cut off and wounded horses and was echoing with the cries of vultures and wolves. In that battle-field in which the kings were killed and death was common Krishna, looking like Death himself, moved about for killing his enemies. Thereupon taking up his discus effulgent like the sun at the time of the universal dissolution and his dark iron club Keshava stood there in the midst of the army and said. "O ye heroes of firm resolution who are clever hands in the use of weapons, though I, a foot-soldier, stand before you with my elder brother, why do you fly away? Why does not that king Jarasandha, ill-fated as he is, come before us by whom you are being protected in the battle-field?"

On his saying this the powerful king Darada ran towards Rama of coppery eyes with a plough-share in his hand who was in the midst of the army and addressed him, like a cultivator calling a bull, saying:—"O Rama, O slayer of enemies, come and fight with me". Thereupon there began an encounter between Rama and Darada, the foremost of men, like unto two powerful elephants. Placing his plough-share on Darada's shoulder, Baladeva, the foremost of those endued with strength, struck him with his mace. Thereupon grinded by that mace and with his head cut off the king Darada fell down on earth like a mountain, with its half rent assunder.

When that foremost of kings Darada was slain by Rama a dreadful, hair-stirring encounter took place between Rama and Jarasandha like that between Vitra and Mahendra. When those two heroes, taking up huge clubs, ran towards each other with great vigior shaking the earth they looked like two mountain summits. When those two highly powerful heroes, celebrated in the world as being most proficient in club-fighting, ran towards each in anger like two infuriated elephants all came away from the battle-field to them. Thereupon thousands of Gandharvas Siddhas, saints, Yakshas, Apsaras and Devas came there. O king, at that time adorned with Gandharvas and great saints the welkin shone greatly in beauty as if crested with luminous bodies.

Thereat as an elephant strikes, with his two tusks, his antagonist so amongst those two heroes proficient in club fighting the king Jarasandha took possession of the eastern side and Baladeva of the southern side; and filling the ten quarters with their leonine shouts they struck each other. In that encounter the sound of Raina's club was heard like the clapping of a thunder-bolt, and that of Jarasandha was like that of the riving of a mountain. The club, slipped off Jarasandha's hand, could not agitate Rama the foremost of the wielders of club and (firm as) the mount Vindhva. By virtue of his great endurance and learning Jarasandha, the king of Magadha, bore the strokes of Rama's club and baffled them. Thereupon was heard in the sky a sweet voice, the witness of the world:—"O Rama, O conferrer of honours, there is is no use of toiling any more. The king of Magadha is not to be slain by thee. As ordained by me the king of Magadha will, in no time, meet with his death".

Hearing this Jarasandha was possessed by absent-mindedness and Baladeva too did not strike him. Then the Vrishnis and other kings retired from the battle-field. Thus, O great king, when after slaying one another for a long time, Jarasandha was defeated and fled away and when the other great car-warriors took to their heels, the army was shorn of soldiers. Then with their elephants, horses and cars, all those kings, like unto herds of deer pursued by a tiger, fled away in fear. That dreadful battle-field, when left off by the royal car-warriors whose pride was humiliated, was filled with beasts of prey and grew exceedingly terrible. O sinless one, after the mighty car-warriors had fled away, the highly effulgent king of Chedi, remembering his relationship with the Yadavas, approached Krishna encircled by his Karusha and Chedi detachments. In order to make closer the tie of relationship he said to Govinda:—"O lord, O descendant of Yadu, I am the husband of thy father's sister. Thou art an object of affection unto me and therefore I have come to thee with my army. O Krishna, I had told king Jarasandha of limited understanding 'O you of vicious intellect, do not quarrel with Krishna and desist from battle'. Jarasandha however disregarded my words. He is therefore flying away unsuccessful from the battle-field with his followers. I have also left him to-day. That king is not returning to his city shorn of hostile feelings. He will again disturb thee with his sinful attack. Therefore, O Madhava, do thou speedily leave this place, strewn over with dead bodies of men, filled with beasts of prey and resorted to by ghosts and goblins. Let us go with our army and followers to the city of Karavira and visit the king Vasudeva Shrigala. I have got these two cars ready for you drawn by fleet horses and consisting of daggers, discuses, axles and poles. May good betide thee, O Krishna; do ye get on them speedily and let us go to visit the king of Karavira".

Hearing the words of the king of Chedi, the husband of his father's sister Krishna, the preceptor of the world, with a delighted mind, said:—"Alas! we were assailed with the fire of battle. But thou hast sprinkled us with the water of thy words according to place and time as befits a friend. O foremost of Chedis, rare in the world is a person who gives vent to well-meaning and sweet words in pursunance of time and place. O king of Chedi, beholding thee now we think that we have got a master. There will be nothing unattainable by us since a king, like thyself, is our friend. O thou the perpetuater of the Chedi race, while thou hast become our help we shall be able to slay Jarasandha and other kings like him. O lord of Chedi, amongst kings, thou art the first friend of the Yadus and therefore thou shouldst superintend all other battles which will take place hereafter. Amongs the war-like kings who will survive us those, who will describe this battle of discus and mace and the defeat of the kings on the mount Gomanta, will repair to the celestial region. And they too, who will think of it, will also go. O king of Chedi, by the way pointed out by thee, we shall repair to the city of Karavira for our own well being". Thereupon mounting a car drawn by horses fleet like the wind they passed over a long distance like three fires incarnate. Spending three nights on the way those three celestial-like heroes reached the foremost of cities Karavira on the fourth day and entered the auspicious place for their well-being.

CHAPTER 44. BATTLE WITH SHRIGALA.

Vaishampayana said:—Being informed of their arrival and thinking that they would attack the city, king Shrigala, terrible in battle and endued with the prowess of Indra, issued (out of the city). Mounting a car filled with weapons, having the clatter of its axles for its smiles, adorned with variegated ornaments, filled with inexhaustible arrows and quivers, making a sound like that of the ocean, drawn by quick-coursing horses, embellished with strong golden axles, coursing like Garuda, governed by reins resembling the rays of the sun, effulgent like the sun and resembling the car of Indra he issued out of the city. In that foremost of cars capable of striking the chariots of the enemies Shrigala approached Krishna like an insect approaching a flame. Bedecked with sharpened arrows, coats of mail, golden garlands, a white cloth and an Ushnisha (turban) the king Shrigala, with a bow in his hand and having fiery eyes, began again and again to whirl his bow endued with the qualities of a lightning. And vomitting air begotten by anger, and effulgent like the flames of fire and burning in the lustre of his ornaments he was seen on the car like Sumeru the foremost of mountains. Stricken with fear at his shouts and the clatter of his car-wheels the Earth sank under his weight. Beholding the beautiful Shrigala approach like unto a patriarch and the incarnation of a mountain Vasudeva was not pained. Gradually under the influence of ire Shrigala, desirous of fighting, approached Vasudeva by the help of a quick-coursing car. When beholding Vasudeva seated at ease, Shrigala ran towards him like unto clouds ranging towards a mountain. Vasudeva, smiling a little, addressed himself too for giving him a return battle. Thereupon there took place a dreadful encounter between them like that of two infuriated elephants in a forest. Out of ignorance, the energetic Shrigala, fond of war and proud of his position, said to Krishna who was present for battle.

"O Krishna, I have heard of thy work in the weak army of the stupid kings on the mount Gomanta who had no leader. I have heard too of the defeat of the useless Kshatriyas inexperienced in war and worthy of pity. However I am now stationed in the dignity of the emperor of the world, do thou wait before me. Thou art not expert in the art of war. Surely wilt thou fly away when I will obstruct thee. Thou art alone and I am with my army; so I should not fight with thee in this way. Come, I shall alone fight with thee; what is the use of other inferior men? We shall both engage in fight and one of us will meet with his death in a fair fight. If thou art slain, O Krishna, I shall be the only Vasudeva in the world. And if I am slain thou shalt be the only one."

Hearing those words of Shrigala and saying "Strike me as you wish" the forgiving Madhava held up his discus. Thereupon losing his sense in anger in the battle field Shrigala, of limited prowess, discharged a net of arrows at Krishna. The powerful Shrigala showered on Krishna mace and various other weapons. And albeit ruthlessly assailed with weapons covered with flames of fire Krishna stood there motionless like a mountain. Thus attacked again and again he was filled with wrath. And holding up his discus he hurled it at Shrigala's breast. Having slain the highly powerful Shrigala, fearful in battle, of growing pride and ever observant of Kshatriya duties, the discus Sudarshana returned to its preceptor's hand. Shrigala too, having his heart pierced by the discus, shorn of life and joy, fell down, bleeding like a cleft mountain (28-29). Beholding the king fallen like a mountain struck down by a thunder-bolt his soldiers lost heart and fled away, on the death of their king. Some, assailed by grief consequent upon the death of their lord and greatly stricken with sorrow, entered into the city and began to weep there. Some, not being able to forsake their fallen king and performing auspicious rites, began to bewail there with their hearts laden with grief).

Thereupon declaring safety unto the people assembled there with his fingers adorned with a discus having silvery handles, the lotus-eyed Krishna, the slayer of his enemies, said with a voice like the rumbling of clouds. "Do not fear! Do not fear." Thus consoled by Krishna, and beholding their king, with his breast wounded, fallen on earth like a mountain with its summits struck down Shrigala's subjects and ministers began to shed tears poorly and were filled with sorrow like his son. Hearing their cries and the hoarse noise of the citizens Shrigala's queens, with their sons, came out weeping from the city. Arriving at the battle-field and beholding their worthy royal husband fallen in that plight they, striking their breasts with their hands, began to weep plaintively. Striking their breasts and tearing ruthlessly their curling hairs those women began to weep in a hoarse voice. And stricken with terrible grief and with their eyes full of tears they fell down on their husband's body like uprooted and roughly handled creepers (41–42). The eyes of the queens, full of tears, shone like lotuses divorced from water. Beholding their husband thus fallen, striking their breast and speaking of his actions they began to bewail plaintively.

Thereupon taking their weeping boy by name Shakradeva, to their husband's side, the the ladies, crying aloud with doubled force, said:—"O hero, although endued with prowess, this thy boy son has not been able to acquire mastery over the art of administration. Without thee how will he be able to attain to the dignity of his father? O lord, we are not satiated with enjoying in thy company. How dost thou leave us all behind simultaneously What shall we all do, widows as we are?"

Thereupon weeping and taking her son with her Shrigala's beautiful queen Padmavati approached Vasudeva and said:—"This is the son of the king, whom, O hero, thou hast slain by thy war-like deeds. He seeks thy shelter. If his father had bowed unto thee and carried out thy mandate he would not have been thus assailed with one single stroke. If this wicked king had contracted friendship with thee, he would not have, with his life gone, taken shelter on the surface of the earth. O hero, O sinless Krishna, do thou protect, like thy own son, this son of thy dead friend, the perpetuator of his race."

Hearing the words of Shrigala's queen Krishna, of the Yadu race, the foremost of speakers, said to her mildly:—"O queen, our anger is gone with this vicious-souled one. We have regained our temper and we are his friends. With your gracious words, O chaste lady, my anger has been appeased; undoubtedly this son of Shrigala is just like mine. I declare safety unto them and gladly annoint him as the king. Inviting the priest, the ministers and the subjects do thou place him on his ancestral throne."

Thereupon in order to perform the ceremony of installation, all the subjects, priests and ministers appeared before Rama and Keshava. Placing the prince on the throne the powerful Janarddana sprinkled him with celestial water. Having installed Shrigala's son in the city of Karavira Krishana desired to go away on the very day. Mounting on a car drawn by horses acquired in battle Krishna went away like Vasava entering into the city of the celestials. Placing Shrigala, terrible in battle, on a conveyance, and going to a distance in the western quarters the pious-souled Sakradeva, the repressor of his enemies, along with his mother, and subjects, headed by boys, aged people and youthful damsels, performed the obsequial rites of his father according to the ordinances. Thereupon reciting the name of the deceased king he offered oblation of water in his favour and thousands of other funeral presents. Having his mind thus worked up with sorrow consequent upon the death of his father and performed his watery ceremony the king Sakradeva entered into his own city.

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CHAPTER 45. KRISHNA'S ARRIVAL AT MATHURA.

Vaishampayana said:—The two heroic sons of Vasudeva, united with Damaghosha, spent five nights with delight like one in the way according to the rules of a traveller. And when they reached the city of Mathura all the Yadavas, headed by Ugrasena, came out to receive them. All the traders, subjects, ministers and the boys and old men of Mathura came out to recieve them. All the crossings of four streets were decorated with garlands and flags; trumpets were beaten announcing joy and panegyrists began to sing the glories of those two foremost of men. At the return of those two brothers the entire city of Mathura appeared delighted, joyous and beautiful as on the occasion of an Indrayajna. The songsters began to sing on highways delightful songs containing a profuse description of the glories of the Yadavas, announcing "O ye Yadavas, the two brothers Rama and Govinda, celebrated in the world, have arrived at their own city. Do you sport happily."

When Rama and Krishna came there none in the city of Mathura was poorly, in dirty clothes and unconscious. Cows, horses and elephants grew delightful and birds began to emit auspicious notes and men and women attained to mental felicity. Auspicious winds, shorn of dust, began to blow in the ten quarters and all the images of deities in temples were delighted. All the signs of the Krita age appeared there in Mathura with their arrival.

Thereupon seated on a car drawn by beautiful horses Rama and Keshava entered the city of Mathura in an auspicious moment. As the gods follow Shakra the Yadavas followed Rama and Govinda to the charming city. As the sun and moon enter into the mountain so those two descendants of Yadu, with delightful faces, entered into the house of their sire Vasudeva. Keeping their respective weapons there of their own accord the two sons of Vasudeva attained to consummate delight. Thereupon bowing unto the feet of Vasudeva they showed proper honour to king Ugrasena and other leading Yadavas who were assembled there. They, too, welcomed by them duly in return, delightedly entered into their mother's appartment. In this way following Ugrasena, Rama and Keshava, of extraordinary deeds and beautiful faces, spent some days happily in Mathura.

CHAPTER 46. BALADEVA VISITS VRAJA.

Vaishampayana said:—After some days had thus elapsed, Rama, recollecting his friendship with Gopas, alone went to Vraja with Krishna's consent. Clad in a beautifully wild attire and quickly entering into Vraja Krishna's elder brother, the slayer of his enemies, saw first his charming and extensive forest that had been enjoyed by him before and the well-scented tanks. Thereupon delighting the Gopas with his sweet behaviour according to age and previous conduct he held various charming conversations with the milk-women.

Thereupon the elderly milk-men said to Rama, the foremost of sporters, who had just returned from a foreign land in sweet words. "Welcome to thee, O thou of large arms, O descendant of Yadu. We have been pleased with seeing thee to-day. O hero, thou art dreadful unto enemies and celebrated in the three worlds. We have been pleased for thy return to Vraja. O hero, O descendant of Yadu, we deserve protection from thee or (it may be) that creatures cherish attachment for their native place. O thou of a pure countenance, no sooner we desired for thy arrival than thou hadst come and seen us. Forsooth we have been rendered worthy of the honour of gods. By thy good luck and by thy own greatness the wrestlers and Kansa were slain and Ugrasena has been installed as a king. We have heard of thy encounter, in the ocean, with Timi-like Panchajana, of his destruction and thy battle with Jarasandha and other Kshatriyas on Gomanta. We have also heard of Darada's death, Jarasandha's defeat and of the descension of weapons in that great battle. O hero, we have also heard, that slaying the king Shrigala in the charming city of Karavira thou didst place his son on the throne and console the subjects. Thy entrance into the city of Mathura is worthy of being narrated even by the gods. By it the earth has been established and all the kings have been brought to subjection. With thy arrival here, we have been, along with our friends, pleased, delighted and favoured as before".

Rama then replied to all the Gopas stationed around him saying:—"You are our better friends than even the Yadavas. We had been reared by you and spent our boyhood in sporting here. We took our meals in your houses and tended the kine. You all are our firm friends". When Halayudha gave vent to these words in the midst of Gopas, marks of joy were visible on the faces of their women.

Thereupon repairing to the forest, the highly powerful Rama, conversant with the knowledge of spirit, began to sport there with Gopa women. Then the milk-men, conversant with the knowledge of time and place, brought Varuni wine to him. Rama, of the hue of a pale cloud, drank that wine in the forest along with his friends. Thereafter the cow-herds brought to him diverse beautiful forest fruits, flowers, meat, sweet juice and full blown lotuses and lilies just collected. As the mount Mandara is adorned by the Kailaga hill so Rama shone, with Kundalas hanging from his cars, with diadem placed a little askance, with locks and head and breast besmeared with sandal and decked with garlands of wild flowers. Clad in an apparel dark-blue like a cloud his white person appeared like the moon enshrouded by darkness. The plough-share, attached to his hands like the hood of a serpent and the burning mace fixed to his finger, increased his beauty the more. Thus with his eyes rolling in intoxication, Rama, the foremost of the strong, began to enjoy there like the moon in an autumnal night.

Thereupon Rama said to Yamuna:—"O great river, going to the ocean, I wish to marry you by bathing in your water; come to me therefore in your bodily form." Out of her womanish habit and ignorance Yamuna disregarded his words as being the out-come of drunkenness and did not come to him. Thereat filled with anger and maddened with drunkenness the powerful Rama took up his plough share and sat with his head looking down in order to drag her). The garland of flowers, that fell down on earth, began to pour, through the leaves, clear water. There upon bending down the head of his plough-share Rama began to drag the bank of the great river like unto a wife following her inclination. At that time the currents of the river were upset and all the fishes and the acquatic animals grew bewildered. And Yamuna too followed the course of the plough-share. Dragged with force by Rama the powerful river Yamuna, going to the ocean, like unto a drunk woman going astray in a high-road and over whelmed with fear, began to follow the way pointed out by the plough-share. She had the bank for her hip, dark-blue lotuses for her lips, the foams driven by the water for her girdle, the grave currents for her moving limbs, the bewildered fishes for her ornaments, the white geese for glances, the rising Kasa flowers for her silken raiment, the trees grown on her back for the ends of her hairs, the current for her slippery gait, and the mark of the plough-share for the outer corner of her eye, and the Chakravakas for her breast. Although she goes by the lower ground she was made to go up and brought to the forest of Vrindavana. When the river Yamuna was brought to Vrindavana the water-fowls, as if weeping, followed her. When she crossed the forest of Vrindavana, Yamuna, assuming the form of a woman, said to Rama:—"Be propitiated with me, O lord. I have been terrified at these thy unfavourable actions. Behold, this my watery form has been changed. O thou of large arms, O son of Rohini, thou hast dragged me away from my own path. Therefore I have become unchaste amongst the rivers. When I shall go to the ocean, other rivers, co-wives with me, proud of their course, will smile at me, with their foams and call me an unchaste river. Show me the favour, O hero, I beg thee, O elder brother, of Krishna. Be thou delighted at heart, O foremost of the celestials. I have been dragged here with thy weapon. Do thou assuage thy ire. O thou of large arms, O thou, the wielder of plough-share, I fall at thy feet. Do thou command me, by what path I shall go."

Beholding Yamuna, the wife of the ocean fallen at his feet the holder of plough-share, inebriate with wine, said:—"O beautiful Yamuna of fair eye-brows, O auspicious damsel seeking union with the ocean, I command thee to follow the way pointed out by my plough-share and water this province. Be thou at peace, O noble one, and do thou proceed at thy pleasure. As long as the world will exist my glory will flourish."

Beholding the dragging of the ocean all the inhabitants of Vraja said to Rama, exclaiming "Well done! Well done!" and bowed unto him. Leaving aside the noble Yamuna, thinking for a moment and taking leave of all the inhabitants of Vraja, Rama, the foremost of strikers, again repaired to the auspicious city of Mathura. Repairing to Mathura Rama saw the slayer of Madhu, the eternal essence of the universe, stationed in his own house. In his wild attire and with his breast covered with garlands of fresh wild flowers he embraced him. Beholding the holder of plough-share Rama arrived there Govinda too rose up soon and offered him the seat. After Rama had taken his seat, Jarasandha, in sweet words, enquired of him about the well-being of his Vraja friends and cows. Rama then replied to his brother of sweet words, saying:—"O Krishna, they, of whose well-being you enquire, are all well?" Thereupon Rama and Keshava held conversations on various ancient and profitable subjects in the very presence of Vasudeva.

CHAPTER 47. RUKSHMINI'S SWAYAMVARA

Vaishampayana said:—At this time the spies assembled at the house of Baladeva resembling that of a patriarch. when those spies arrived there for cropping up the topic of future dissension all the leading Yadavas were present in the assembly at Krishna's mandate. When all the leading Yadavas assembled at the meeting, the emissaries announced the future destruction of the kings, saying: "O Janarddana, at the invitation of Bhoja's son a great meeting of the kings will take place at the city of Kundina. There the kings of various provinces are repairing in haste. People there, as we have heard, are announcing that Rukshmini, the first sister of Rukshmi, will hold her Swayamvara. For this, O Janarddana, all the kings, with their army and followers, are repairing there. O Yadava, on the third day hereof, the Swayamvara, of Rushmini adorned with golden ornaments, the fairest in the three worlds, will take place. Proceeding on elephants, horses and cars, all the kings, elated with pride like unto lions and tigers, bent upon injuring one another, gifted with the gait of infuriated elephants, fond of battle and highly powerful, will assemble there. We shall behold those hundreds of encampments of the high-souled ones. O descendant of Yadu, while all the kings of earth have assembled why should we remain depressed alone? Let us all, encircled by our armies, set out for victory."

Hearing those words like unto a dart stuck to the heart, Keshava, the foremost of Yadus, set out immediately with his army, The Yadavas too, of fierce prowess, got upon their cars, with a view to engage in a battle and followed him like gods filled with pride. With that powerful army ready for action Krishna, with uplifted discus and mace in his hand, and liked by Ishana, shone there. The other Yadavas, following Vasudeva, increased his beauty with the collection of cars effulgent like the sun and echoing with the tinkling of bells.

Govinda, of sure fore-sight, said to Ugrasena, at the time of his departure, "O sinless one, O foremost of kings, do thou wait here with my brother. For when this city will be empty on our departure, those Khatriyas, of deceitful conduct and well-versed in laws, who, although afraid of us, are enjoying in the city of Kundina, like immortals in the land of celestials, may attack it at Jarasandha's desire".

Vaishampayana said:—Hearing the words of Krishna, the highly illustrious king of Bhoja replied in nectarine words impressed with affection. "O Krishna, O thou of large arms, O thou the enhancer of the delight of the Yadus, O slayer of enemies, listen now to what I say. If dost thou go leaving us behind, we shall not be able to live here happily or elsewhere like a woman without her husband. O my child, O conferrer of honours, on thy being our leader, we do not, under the shelter of thy arms, fear even Indra and other gods what to speak of kings. O foremost of Yadus, we shall follow thee wherever thou shalt go for achieving victory."

Hearing the words of the king, Devaki's son smilingly said:—"I should do whatever you wish. There is no doubt, about it."

CHAPTER 48. THE MEETING OF KRISHNA AND GARUDA.

Vaishampayana said:—Having said this, and set out on his car Krishna arrived at Bhishmaka's house in the evening. [The word in the text is Lohitayati Bhaskare, i.e., when the sun became red like heated iron.] When he arrived at that meeting of the kings and saw the spacious arena full of camps he was possessed by Rajasika inclination. [His inclination was possessed by the quality of darkness i.e., He was actuated by a selfish motive but not for a sinful end.] Thereupon in order to terrify the kings and display his own prowess he thought of the highly powerful son of Vinata who had attained Siddhi beforehand. As soon as he was thought of Vinata's son, assuming a form that could be seen easily, approached Keshava. With the strokes of his wings which could agitate even the wind, all the men, trembling and being haunch-backed, fell down on earth. And they began to exert like serpents deprived of the power of rising up. Beholding them all fallen Krishna, firm like a mountain, came to know that the king of birds had arrived. He then saw that Garuda, adorned with celestial garlands and unguents, was approaching him, shaking the earth with the flapping of his wings. The weapons, with their faces down wards, were fixed on his back like licking serpents with a view to be favoured with the touch of Vishnu's hand. Adorned with golden feathers like a mountain consisting of minerals that king of birds was dragging, with his feet, black serpents. Beholding his own carrier the intelligent Garuda arrived and stationed before him like a god, who brought ambrosia for him, who was the destroyer of serpents, the terrifier of the Daityas, whose emblem was on his flag-staff and who was his councillor Madhusudana was pleased and gave vent to the following words befitting the occasion. "O foremost of birds, O grinder of the enemies of the celestial army, O delighter of Vinata's heart, O favourite of Keshava, thou art welcome. O foremost of birds, we shall go to the house of Kaishika and behold the Swayamvara. Do thou also accompany us. There hundreds of highly powerful kings have assembled with their elephants, horses and cars; we shall behold those high-souled ones."

Saying this to the highly powerful son of of Vinata, the beautiful Krishna, of large arms, set out for the city of the high-sould Kaishika along with the mighty car-warriors the Yadavas. When Devaki's son the beautiful Krishna, the friend of Vinata's son, reached the city of Vidarbha along with the mighty car-warrior Yadavas, all the powerful kings, holding all sorts of weapons, were filled with delight and began to make arrangements for his quarters.

Vaishampayana said:—In the meantime the king Kaishika, well read in moral laws, rose up delightedly from among the kings, welcomed himself Krishna with water to wash his feet and rinse his mouth and arghya and placed him in his own city

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(19-20). Like unto Shankara entering into the Kailaca hill Krishna, with his army, entered into the house that had been kept ready for him from before. Adored with various edibles, drinks, jewels, honours and love Vasava's younger brother Krishna lived happily in king Kaishika's house.

CHAPTER 49. JARASANDHA'S ADRESS TO THE KINGS.

Vaishampayana said:—Beholding the eternal Krishna arrive there with Vinata's son the leading kings were stricken with great anxiety. O king, those kings of dreadful prowess, well-read in the science of Polity and expert in counsels, assembled at the golden assembly hall of king Bhismaka for holding consultations. As the gods sit in the celestial assembly hall so they sat there on seats variegated with coverings of diverse colours. As the king of gods addressed the celestials so the highly powerful Jarasandha, of large arms and great energy, addressed them saying.

"O ye foremost of kings, the best of speakers, O highly intelligent Bhishmaka, do you all listen to what I say according to my own understanding. This Krishna, the well known son of Vasudeva, who has come to the city of Kundina with Garuda and other Yadavas, is endued with great energy and prowess. He has come here for the maiden and forsooth he will set forth mighty exertions for acquiring her. O foremost of kings, you should behave in this matter according to the rules of Polity. Do yo all work so considering your own strength and weakness. You know well the highly dreadful work which these two powerful sons of Vasudeva performed on the mount Gomanta without the help of Vinata's son. I cannot say how Krishna will fight united with the mighty car-warriors of the Yadava, Bhoja and Andhaka races. When seated on Garuda Vishnu will set forth his exertions for acquiring the maiden, even Sakra, assisted by the celestials, or any other person, will not be able to stand in the battle-field. When the universe was submerged under one all-spreading ocean, the powerful Vishnu, the Prime cause of the world, assuming a boar form, released the earth gone down to the depth of the nether region and in his same boarish form killed Hiranyaksha the king of Daityas. The highly powerful, uuconquerable Daitya-king, Hiranyakashipu, who did not meet with his death in the three worlds, consisting of immortals, Daityas, Rishis, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Yakshas Rakshasas and Nagas, in the sky, on the earth, and in the nether region, in day or in night, from a dry or an wet article, was slain in the days of yore by Hari in his man-lion form. Binding the powerful Bali, the foremost of Asuras begotten by Kagyapa on Aditi, with a noose of promise Vishnu, in his form of a dwarf, sent him down to the nether region. When at the junction of the Treta and Dwapara ages, the king of seven insular continents, the highly powerful king Kartavirya, endued with thousand arms, grew elated with the pride of kingdom by Dattatreya's favour the highly energetic Vishnu took his birth in disguise, from Jamadagni and Renuka, as Rama, the foremost of warriors and killed him with his axe, hard as the thunder-bolt. Dasharatha's son Rama, born in the race of Ikshaku in the days of yore, killed the heroic Ravana, the conqueror of the three worlds. In the Treta age in the war of which Taraka was the root, the powerful Vishnu, seated on Garuda, assuming a form of eight arms, killed in the battle-field the Asuras, who were elated with the boons conferred on them. By his great Yoga power, Vishnu, having an universal form, killed, with his discus, effulgent like the sun, the demon Kalanemi who terrorized the gods. What more, innumerable Daityas have been despatched by him in time to the abode of Yama. By him as a boy in the forest, many highly powerful and forest-ranging demons, Dhenuka, Arishtha and Pralamva have been slain. Slaying in his cow-herd form Shakuni, Putana, Keshi, Jamala, Arjuna, the elephant Kuvalayapida, Chanura, Mushitika and Kansa with his followers Devaki's son sported there. In disguise thus he performed many superhuman feats. I consider Devaki's son Keshava as the first cause of the celestials, the destroyer of the Asuras, as Narayana, the ancient Purusha, the Prime cause of the universe, as Truth, the creator of all creatures manifest and unmanifest, irrepressible unto all, the adored of all, the first, the middle, as devoid of destruction, eternal, self-born, unborn, stable, mobile and immobile, unconquerable, of three foot-steps, the lord of the three worlds, the destroyer of the enemies of the king of gods, and the eternal Vishnu. This my sure under standing, I have acquired from Mathura. Can Garuda be the carrier of a man even if he be born in the high family of a mortal Lord Paramount? Besides when Janarddana will display his prowess for the maiden what powerful man will be able to stand before Garuda? Forsooth I tell you that Vishnu himself has come for this Swayamvara. Mighty is the calamity that will befall you on his arrival here. You should do whatever you think proper after this."

Vaishampayana said:—After Jarashandha, the king of Magadha, had said this, the greatly wise Sunitha replied saying:

"What the mighty-armed king of Magadha has said, is true. In that great battle on the mount Gomanta Krishna performed many feats, difficult of accomplishment, before the kings. With the fire of their discus and ploughshare the huge army, of the kings, consisting of elephants, horses, cars, infantry and flags, was consumed. Remembering the dreadful plight of the soldiers of the king and fearing their future calamity the king of Magadha is saying this. Though Rama and Keshava fought on foot in battle still the soldiers of the kings were terribly slaughtered and no body could prevent it. O foremost of kings, you all remember that the sky-rangers were overwhelmed by the wind raised by the flapping of the wings of Suparna when he came there. The oceans were agitated and the earth and the mountains were repeatedly shaken. We also were terrified thinking 'what is this calamity?' When armed with his coat of mail, Keshava, seated on Garuda, will engage in fight what man, like ourselves, will be able to stand in the battle-field? The prime kings laid down the practice of holding Swayamvara ever increasing delight, the mine of piety and fame unto the kings. Coming to this city of Kundina the kings will no time combat with that great hero. If this princess selects any one from amongst other kings what person will be able to stand the strength of Krishna's arms? O kings, although a Swayamvara is a matter of festivity, still it will give birth to a calamity and for this Krishna and ourselves have met here. Therefore as the king of Magadha has said, the arrival of Krishna here, for the maiden, bespeaks of a calamity that is to befall the kings".

CHAPTER 50. DANTAVAKRAS SPEECH.

Vaishampayana said:—After the highly powerful Sunitha had thus expressed himself, the heroic Dantavakra, the king of Karusha said.

Dantavakra said:—"O ye kings, what the king of Magadha and Sunitha have said for our well-being appears to me as proper. I cannot blame these nectarine words out of malice, pride or of my own desire for victory. Who, else save them, can give vent, in the midst of kings, to such words grave like an ocean and sanctioned by the science of Polity? Listen to what I say which you should keep in memory. O kings, what wonder is there that Vasudeva has come here? He has come here for this maiden as we have all done. What virtue or blemish lies there?. We all unitedly laid siege to Gomanta. Why do you then find fault with the battle? O kings, on account of Kansa's foolishness those two heroes first lived in Vrindavana. Thereupon in order to slay them both Kansa invited Rama and Keshava and set an infuriated elephant against them. Slaying that elephant those two heroes entered the arena. Thereafter by virtue of their own prowess, they slew Kansa, the king of Mathura, seated in the sporting arena, like one dead, with his followers. What offence did they commit thereby, that we all, elderly in age, came to Mathura at (another's) instigation. O kings, terrified at our huge and overwhelming army, Rama and Keshava, leaving their own city and soldiers, fled away to Gomanta. We still pursued them there; and though expert in the art of fighting we were defeated in the battle-field by those two boys. Though they did not fight with us, with cars, elephants, horses and infantry, still, as the Kshatriyas should do, we laid seige to the hill and set fire to it. O ye leading Kshatryas, if they had given up their life quietly in that conflagration considering it a forest fire we would have considered them humbled. We blame Janarddana because he fought against us. As the matters have now stood it appears that wherever we shall go we will pick up a quarrel. Let us, therefore, O king, contract friendship with Krishna. Besides, Krishna has not come to this city of Kundina for picking up a quarrel. He has come for the maiden. Why should he fight with another? Krishna is not an ordinary human being. He is the foremost of men in this land of mortals, the foremost of gods in the land of celestials. He is the Deity and the Creator of the worlds. In God there is no malice, pride or crookedness. They are not stupified, they do not grow lean and are not visited by any calamity. They always remove the calamities of those who bow unto them. In order to show his true form, Vishnu, the king of gods has come here with Garuda. You should also know that Krishna never goes with his army to slay his enemies. That he has come here accompanied by the leading Bhojas, Vrishnis, Andhakas and Yadavas indicates his desire of contracting friendship with you. Therefore, O kings, let us go and offer the high-souled Keshava hospitality with arghya and water to rinse his mouth. What more, if we make peace with Keshava we shall be able to live freed from anxiety and fear".

Hearing the words of the intelligent Dantavakra, Salwa, the foremost of speakers, said to the kings.

Salwa said:—"What is the use of this fear? Had we trembled in Krishna's fear and thought it proper to make peace with him, we would have left our weapons at that time. Besides what is the necessity of speaking ill of our own army and extolling another? Such is not the duty of the Kshatriya kings. We are all born in great royal families and have glorified our respective races. Why should then our sense be poorly like that of a coward? I know Devaki's son Krishna as the immortal, eternal, Prime Deity Vishnu, invincible unto the kings, powerful, adored of all the worlds, Vaikuntha and the preceptor of the entire world, mobile and immobile. I know full well all the objects of Vishnu. He has in view, for incarnating a portion of His Self, the destruction of king Kansa, the relieving of the earth of her burden, our destruction and the protection of the worlds. (I know also) that a great battle will take place between Vishnu and all the kings. O kings, I know truly that consumed by the fire of his discus we will go to the abode of Yama. Still considering that no one meets with untimely death, no one survives when the proper time comes and the lease of his life runs out in due time; therefore a man should not entertain fear. When the ascetic virtue of the Daityas is annihilated the Divine Vishnu, conversant with Yoga, brings about their destruction in proper time. This Lord of gods sent down Virochona's son, the highly powerful Bali, to the nether region. O kings, Vishnu has performed many other feats like this; you should not therefore question the subject of fighting—for Vishnu has not come here to fight. Besides he, whom the maiden will choose, will get her. What chance is there of a quarrel amongst the kings? Let us all be reconciled now".

Vaishampayana said:—The intelligent kings thus spoke amongst themselves. But king Bhishmaka did not say any thing out of regard for his son.

He knew his own son to be highly-powerful, elated with pride, fearful in battle, a mighty car-warrior and well protected by Bhargava weapons.

Bhishmaka said:—"My son is highly powerful and is ever arrogant. He does not fear any one in battle and he won't stoop before Krishna. If Krishna carries away the maiden by the strength of his arms forsooth a great dissension will take place amongst the powerful warriors. Alas, how will this my son, evil disposed towards Krishna, survive? I do not see any means of his escaping with his life, from Keshava. Alas, how shall I, for my daughter, set my eldest son, the enhancer of the joy of the departed manes, in fight against Keshava and his son. My son Rukshavan, elated with pride and possessed by ignorance, who does not return from the battle-field, does not pray for boons from Narayana. Forsooth he will be consumed like cotton thrown into fire. The heroic king of Karavira Shrigala was in no time consumed by the powerful Keshava, fighting in various ways. While living in Vrindavana, the powerful Keshava held up the mount Govardhana with one finger for seven days. Remembering his superhuman feat my mind is drooping. Coming on the mount (Govardhana) along with all the gods, Sachi's lord (Indra), the slayer of Vitra, sprinkled Krishna and recognised him as Upendra (his younger brother). The dreadful Naga Kalya, burning in the fire of his poison and effulgent like Death, was subdued by Vasudeva in the lake of Yamuna, The highly powerful horse-shaped Danava Keshi, irrepressible even unto the gods, was slain by him. Killing the demon of Panchajana he brought back from the abode of Yama Sandipani's son who was lost in water for ever. Fighting with many on the mount Gomanta both Rama and Keshava destroyed many horses and cars and struck terror into their enemies. There those two highly powerful sons of Vasudeva brought about the destruction of the elephants through elephants, that of the car-warriors through car-warriors, that of the cavalry through cavalry and that of the infantry through infantry. The way in which they destroyed the elephants, horses and cars in that battle, none amongst the gods, Asuras, Gandharvas, Yakshas, Uragas, Rakshasas, Nagas, Daityas, Pichasas, Guhyakas has been able to imitate. Thinking of that battle my mind is greatly drooping. I had never seen before on earth a man more powerful than Vasudeva the foremost of the celestials nor have I heard that such a man was ever born in the land of immortals. Truly has the mighty-armed king Dantavakra said that we should reconciliate the highly powerful Vasudeva for our well-being".

Vaishampayana said:—Having thus thought, in his mind, over the weakness and strength of the respective armies Bhismaka felt a desire to go to eternal Krishna for propitiating him. Many a king, proficient in the Science of Polity, approved of his going, and he too, having benedictory songs sung by panegyrists and bards, set out. After the expiration of the night all the kings, performing their morning rites, sat in their respective quarters. The spies, who were sent to the city of Vidarbha, returned and communicated every thing secretly to their master. Hearing of Krishna's Abhisekha* from their emissaries, some amongst those kings attained to delight and others were stricken with fear and sorrow. [* The literal meaning of abhisekha or abhisheka is bathing or sprinkling (which is in Judaism known as mikveh or mikvah and in Christianity as baptism or baptsing; various texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran describe ritual practices involving washing, bathing, sprinkling, and immersing.). In Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism, it is often used for initiation, royal unction etc. sprinkling with water, preferably of the holy River Ganges.] And many paid no attention to it. Thus moved by the (news of) Krishna's Abhisheka the army of the kings, abounding in men, horses and elephants, was agitated like a huge ocean and divided into three divisions. Marking the division of the kings, the foremost of kings Bhismaka began to think within himself about the unthought-of insult offered to them by him. And in order to be informed of their object he, with a burning heart,

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went to their assembly. In the meantime carrying on their heads the letter announcing Krishna Abhisheka, the emissaries, despatched by Kaishika, entered into that ocean-like assembly of the kings.

CHAPTER 51. KAISHIKA WORSHIPS KRISHNA.

Janamejaya said:—O lord, having slain the highly powerful Kansa irrepressible unto the gods Krishna did not sit on the throne. Then he waited for the maiden and was not welcomed there. Why did he show forgiveness although thus insulted. Vinata's son was highly powerful. Why did he too show forgiveness? O Brahman, I am greatly stricken with curiosity to listen to all this. Do thou describe it at length.

Vaishampayana said:—When with Vinata's son the eternal Vasudeva arrived at the city of Vidarbha Kaishika thought thus about him in his mind:— "Forsooth shall our sins be destroyed if we behold the wonderful Abhisheka of Krishna. And from Krishna who has seen the true essence of things our mind will also be purified. Besides there is no other worthier person in the three worlds than the lotus-eyed Janarddana, Krishna, the king of gods. O kings, what hospitality can we offer to him obtaining such a person? However virtue will not be spoiled?" Thus thinking the two brothers Kratha and Kaishika desired to go to Keshava in order to confer upon him their kingdom. Approaching that god and bending low their heads unto him, the two heroic and noble kings of Vidarbha, said: "Blessed is our birth and fame to-day; blessed are our ancestral manes since thou hast come to our house. We ourselves, our umbrellas, flag-staffs, throne, army and our flourishing city belong to thee. O thou of large arms, formerly thou wert annointed by Indra as Upendra. We now install thee in in our kingdom. The innumerable kings and even the Emperor Jarasandha will not be able to undo what both of us will do. The highly effulgent king Jarasandha, who offers shelter to other kings, is thy enemy. And he always mentions in a conversation 'Devaki's son has not been installed on a throne and he has no city. How will he sit in the same assembly with the kings? The highly effulgent and powerful Krishna too is very proud. He will therefore never come to this Swayamvara for the maiden. When all the kings will sit on their respective seats, how will that highly effulgent one sit on a lower seat?' Hearing this discussion amongst the kings and in order to put a stop to the dissension the king Bhishmaka, after consulting with us, has got ready this most excellent resting house for the thee. O thou of great effulgence, thou art the prime deity amongst the gods and art the lord of all the worlds. Do thou behave now as the Emperor in this land of mortals. O lord, may not difficulties about seats arise in the assembly of kings. Having performed today the ceremony of royal unction according to rites laid down in scriptures, do thou, next morning, seated at ease on an auspicious throne, in the city of Vidarbha, be installed as the Emperor of the kings assembled at the behest of Indra."

Having said this to that foremost of celestials and bowing unto him with folded-hands those two heroes sent an emissary to the kings. As Vasava, the holder of thunderbolt, announced through the celestial emissary so Kaishika announced this intelligence to the assembled kings.

Kaishika said:—O ye kings, you all know that the eternal Hari has arrived at the city of Vidarbha, along with Vinata's son, as our guest. Beholding the worthiest person, to whom a gift could be made, present my eldest brother Kratha, with a view to acquire piety, has conferred upon Vasudeva his kingdom. When my brother said "Sit on this seat" an invisible speech was uttered by a sky-ranger.

The celestial emissary said:—"O king, thou shouldst not offer to Vasudeva the seat on which thou didst sit. For him the king of gods has sent this white seat of gold, constructed by the celestial Architect, crested with all sorts of jems and marked with an emblem of a lion. Do thou along with other kings place him on this seat and sprinkle him. He, who amongst the kings assembled in this city of Kundina for the maiden will not come, will be slain by the king of gods. The eight jars, born of the portions of Nidhis made of celestial gold and jewels and containing celestial ornaments belonging to the high-souled lord of riches, will come amongst those kings for installing this Emperor–33). O king, this order of the lord of gods is communicated to thee. Do thou invite all the kings with a letter and perform the royal unction of Keshava."

Kaishika continued:—"O kings, saying this from the welkin and giving to Krishna, the seat, effulgent like the rising sun the celestial emissary returns to the city of gods. I therefore speak to the assembled kings, that they should all behold Janarddana of a wonderful form rare in the land of mortals whom the king of gods has recognised as dreadful and greatly irrepressible and whom he will sprinkle from the welkin with jars. If we behold the wonderful ceremony, the bathing of Vishnu, the God of gods, surely our sins will be dissipated. Come, O ye leading kings, you need not fear, for you I have made peace with Janarddana. I have known truly that Krishna's mind is pure. He will never make enmity with lords of men. Besides he cherishes no enmity towards the king of Magadha at heart. You should therefore consult and do whatever is proper in this matter".

Vaishampayana said:—O king, hearing the words of Kaishika, while the kings were thinking in fear of a curse, they heard again that an invisible voice, grave like the muttering of a cloud, filling up the sky with its sound, said at the mandate of the king of gods.

Chitrangada said:—"O ye kings, Sakra, the king of the three worlds, for your well-being and for governing the subjects has issued this mandate. O kings, you should not live creating enmity with Krishna. Pleasing him do you all live in your respective kingdoms. Krishna removes the calamity of his votaries, and is like the fire of dissolution unto his enemies. Therefore creating friendship with him be you all happy and freed of anxiety. A king is the lord of men; the celestials are the lords of kings; Indra is the lord of celestials and Janarddana is the lord of Indra. The powerful Lord Vishnu, the God of gods, is born as a man in the land of men under the name of Krishna. He alone, in the worlds, is not to be slain by the gods, Danavas, men and even by Mahadeva, the holder of trident along with Kumara. [The son of Mahadeva, Kartikeya, the commander-in-chief of the gods, who led the life of a bachelor.] What to speak of others, I myself along with the celestials wish to perform the Abhisheka ceremony of the high-souled Keshava, the king of gods. Besides, the gods have no hand in the Abhisheka ceremony of an Emperor; the kings are entitled to it. I cannot perform the royal unction of Keshava, adored of all the worlds: O ye kings, do you repair to the city of Vidarbha, and holding a consultation with Kratha and Kaishika perform the ceremony as laid down in Scriptures. O kings, thinking that the time for making peace and friendship has arrived, Vasava has sent me to you. I am the celestial emissary. To-day the kings Kratha and Kaishika have invited Krishna to the city of Vidarbha for performing the ceremony of his royal unction. United with them, do ye, O kings, perform the Abhisheka ceremony of Krishna. And then taking gifts do you, with delighted hearts, return to the Swayamvara (54–55). Let the four leading kings Jarasandha, Sunitha, the mighty car-warrior, Rukshivan and Shalwa, the king of Soubha, wait here so that the sporting-ground may not remain vacant".

Vaishampayana said:—Listening to the command of the king of gods announced by Chitrangada all the kings desired to go there. And the intelligent king Jarasandha too accorded his permission. And they set out encircled by their own armies and headed by Bhishmaka (57–58). Surrounded by his own followers, and with his heart burning in anxiety, the mighty-armed king Bhishmaka, along with other kings, went to where the large-armed Krishna was living in the house of Kaishika. They saw from distance the brilliance of the picturesque assembly-hall of the celestials that had been brought there for Krishna's Abhisheka, and which was decorated with flags, pennons and garlands, set with celestial gems; adorned with celestial garlands, streamers and ornaments, perfumed with celestial fragrance and encircled by celestial conveyances. There, the Apsaras, Vidyadharas, Gandharvas, Munis and Kinnaras, stationed in the welkin, were singing the accomplishments of Krishna, the lord of celestials. And the great saints and Siddhas were eulogising him. And celestial trumpets were beaten of themselves in the sky. And the immortals, stationed in the sky, showered profusely scented powders made of roots, barks, flowers and fruits of Mandara, Parijata, Santanaka, Kalpa and Harichandana trees). Seated on his own vehicle, the Lord of Sachi himself came there with the gods and showed himself in the sky. Stationed in their respective quarters, the Eight Regents began to sing, dance and eulogise (Krishna's) glories on all sides. Hearing that tumultuous sound and having their eyes expanded in surprise, the kings entered into the assembly-hall. The large-armed and powerful king Kaishika came out and received them duly. When the arrival of the kings was announced to the beautiful Hari, the foremost of the celestials, he issued out with the performance of all benedictory rites. Thereupon from the sky, celestial jars, with pieces of cloth tied round their necks and covered with mango leaves, began to pour down, like clouds, water mixed with gold, gems, flowers and scented powders on the occasion of the ceremony of his royal unction. Having performed duly according to rites, the Abhisheka ceremony of Janarddana, before the very presence of the kings, the king of gods adorned him with celestial ornaments. Having welcomed duly all the kings with celestial garments of various colours, garlands and unguents, Madhava too sat in the auspicious assembly-hall of the celestials for the purpose of bathing. The kings of the Yadu and Vidarbha races began to adore him. The powerful son of Vinata, capable of assuming forms at will, sat on a seat on the right hand side of Keshava. As desired by Vasudeva himself the high-souled and heroic kings, Kratha and Kaishika, sat on their respective seats on his left hand side. The highly powerful and heroic car-warriors headed by Satyaki of the Vrishni and Andhaka races sat on his left hand side. As the gods beautify the Lord of Sachi-so those leading kings beautified the beautiful Krishna seated at ease on a celestial seat covered with a celestial coverlet and effulgent like the sun. Afterwards having been introduced to him by the ministers, various other kings were duly received by Keshava and they too sat at ease on their respective thrones. Thereupon having shown him proper respect, the highly wise king Kaishika, the foremost of speakers and well-read in all Shastras, said:—"O lord, considering thee a human being, these ignorant kings have committed offence by thee. Do thou therefore forgive them, O God."

Krishna said:—"O Kaishika, what of kings observant of Kshatriyas' duties, even if any one else proves inimical to me it does not find room in my heart even for a single day. O kings, how can I be offended with them who have to turn their faces against impiety and to fight virtuously? What is past is gone. Those who are dead have gone to the celestial region. Birth and death are natural with men. Do not grieve, O kings, for them who are dead. I wish that you may all forgive me and cast off your enmity".

Vaishampayana said:—Having consoled the kings with these words, the highly effulgent Madhusudana looked at Kaishika and desisted. In the meantime, showing proper respect to all, Bhishmaka, the foremost of speakers, and of those well read in Polity, said.

CHAPTER 52. CONVERSATION BETWEEN KRISHNA AND BHISHMAKA.

Bhishmaka said:—"O Lord of gods, out of his childish nature, my son wishes to give away his sister in a Swayamvara, but I do not like it. He is entirely childish; I do not like to give away (my daughter in this way). I wish that my daughter may select the only person whom she sees. O Lord, I propitiate thee, for this my son's bad conduct. Be thou propitiated and forgive (him)".

Krishna said:—"While your son, as a boy, has worked up all these kings, I do not know how arrogant he will be when he will be advanced in years. He who, born in a great royal family in this earth, speaks a falsehood, even before one king, consumes with the fire of Yama's tortures: his own-self and all the regions effulgent like the rays of the sun acquired by his asceticism. O Lord, I know this to be the religious duty of the kings, and even Brahma, in the days of yore, pointed it out as the foremost duty of men. Under these circumstances, O king, how can your son give utterance to a lie before the kings in this assembly. Let it go, I doubt also very much your statement that you do not know anything of the great assemblage of the kings invited by your son. O king, you have offered hospitality and welcome duly to the kings, assembled like the sun and moon; cars, elephants, horses and the infantry have made a wild dance in your city, and still you do not know anything of your son's work. How may this be? I doubt very much, O king, how you were not able to know of the arrival of four-fold forces though it might not have been a source of anxiety. O king, perhaps thinking that my arrival was not conducive to your well-being, you did not offer hospitality to such an unworthy person. O you of large arms, why should you not give away your daughter (in Swayamvara) for the very sin of my arrival here. Leaving me aside, do you confer your daughter on a good husband. Manu and other leading Law-givers have ordained that he who puts obstacles in the way of a maiden, wastes himself in hell. O king, for this, I did not enter into the assembly-hall and accept hospitality. O king, when possessed greatly by bashfulness, I prayed for giving rest to my followers in the city of Vidarbha, Kaishika, ever fond of guests, offered us proper hospitality. I too, in the company of Garuda, am living here as in the city of gods".

Vaishampayana said:—When Krishna, effulgent like burning fire, showered these thunder-like words, king Bhishmaka, sprinkling him with sweet words, consoled him.

Bhishmaka said:—"Be thou propitiated, O Lord of the celestial region. Do thou forgive me, O Lord of the land of mortals. I am possessed by the darkness of ignorance; do thou give me eyes of wisdom. We are men of perverse understanding, gifted with fleshy eyes. Therefore whatever we do without judging is not accomplished. However we have obtained thee now who art the God of gods. May my vision grow wise and works be accomplished. The wise, like great commanders, render fruitful unaccomplished works by the discernment of moral laws. Having obtained thy shelter, I do not entertain any fear. Listen to what I wish to accomplish now. O king of gods, I do not wish to allow my daughter to hold her Swayamvara lest she may choose another. Be thou propitiated with me, O Lord of celestials. Do not be angry with me".

Krishna said:—"O king of great intelligence, O sinless one, I do not perceive the utility of your sayings. Who can adjust whether you will give away your daughter or not. O king, the goddess-like form of Rukshmini has brought me to this place. But I should not say that you should give her to me and not to anybody else. When in the days of yore the gods assembled on the summit of the mount Sumeru for incarnating their portions they said to her: 'O thou of spacious hip, do thou with thy husband go to the world of men. And having been born in the house of Bhishmaka in the city of Kundina, be thou united with Keshava'. I tell you this plainly, O king; do what ever you think proper after due consideration. O king,

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truly your daughter Rukshmini is not a woman; she is the very goddess Sree. For some object and at the words of Brahma she is born (as a woman). She should not be given away in a Swayamvara where all the kings will be assembled. She must remain alone, and inviting one bride groom, you should confer her on him. It will be thus performing a Kshatriya's duties). O king, you cannot give away Lakshmi in a Swayamvara. Selecting a good bridegroom, you should give her away according to proper religious rites. In order to put impediments in Swayamvara Vinata's son has been despatched by the king of gods and has come to the city of Kundina. I too have come here to witness this Swayamvara festivity of the kings and your daughter, the beautiful Kamala without lotuses. Your saying before me 'Forgive me' is considered by me as proper. And I do not find any folly in it, O king. O lord, I have already been pacified. Know me as conciliated since I have come to your territory in a gentle form. O king, to cast off one's shortcomings is forgiveness and it is endued with many virtues. So, how can the mind of one like myself be possessed by the sin of non-forgiveness. How can sin, O king, be attached to you who are moral, truthful and born in a family possessing the quality of goodness. Know me conciliated particularly as I have come with my army, for with them I never confront my enemies. When I cherish no forgiveness in my heart I go on the back of my carrier, Garuda, the foremost of birds, with weapons effulgent like the sun in my hand, O king, you are of the same age with my father and are therefore adorable unto me like him. Behaving with me, as a father treats his son, govern your kingdom well. How can that sin, which resides in the heart of a coward, find room in the heart of a pure-souled hero? Know my conduct as pure as a father's feeling towards his son. Treating us with hospitality, these two kings of Vidarbha have given us their kingdom. By the fruit of this gift their ancestral manes of ten generations upwards have gone to the celestial region. And ten succeeding generations too of their royal line from son to grandson will also repair to the celestial region. And they two, enjoying their kingdom for many long years, without any thorns, will attain to emancipation when they will wish it. And those noble kings, who were present at my Abhisheka, will in time repair to the celestial region. O king, may you fare well! I shall now with Vinata's son go to the charming city of Mathura protected by the king Bhoja".

Vaishampayana said:—Saying this to the king Bhishmaka, welcoming all other kings and issuing out of the Hall with Kratha and Kaishika, the lords of Vidarbha, Krishna, the foremost of gods and Yadus, went to his car. Beholding the departure of Keshava, the faces of the royal saint Bhishmaka and of other kings were stricken with sorrow. At that time beholding the prime and self-sprung Krishna, having eyes like red lotuses, thousand feet, thousand eyes, thousand arms, thousand lustrous crowns, thousand heads, adorned with celestial garlands, raiments, scents, unguents and ornaments, holding uplifted celestial weapons and having three eyes of the sun, moon and fire, the king Bhishmaka bowed unto him and began to eulogise his glories, with his body, mind and speech.

Bhishmaka said:—O God of gods, O Narayana, O Parayana, thou hast no origin or destruction. Thou art the eternal prime Deity, I bow unto thee. Thou art the self-sprung Deity, art identical with the universe, lotus navelled, hast clotted hairs, dost hold a staff and art of coppery hue. I bow unto thee. Thou art Hansa, the discus, Vaikuntha, unborn and the great Atman. I bow unto thee. Thou art Yogin, the existent and non-existent, the ancient Purusha, the foremost of Purushas, above three-fold qualities. I bow unto thee. O Lord, O foremost of the celestials, that alone art the lord of all the worlds and the lord of those who have acquired a know fledge of the soul. I am thy votary. Be thou propitiated and confer on me a boon.

Vaishampayana said:—Having thus chanted the glories of the great God Krishna in the presence of the king, Bhishmaka made a present of precious gems, pearls, and plates of Vaidurja unto him. Thereupon he saluted in this way the highly powerful son of Vinata too.

Bhishmaka said:—I bow unto that celestial bird, the son of Kashya endued with the velocity of the wind who can assume various forms at will.

Vaishampayana said:—Having thus chanted, in brief, the glories of Vinata's son Bhismaka offered him various sorts of most excellent raiment. After the lotus-eyed Krishna, the younger brother of Vasava, on taking leave, had departed all the kings followed him. Having thus received honours, taken farewell of all the kings, placed Vinata's son the foremost of birds, of a gentle form before him, been encircled by huge cars, and lighted up all the quarters the energetic Krishna set out for Mathura. At that time there arose a great tumult consisting of the sound of bugles, trumpets, conches, the hissing of the serpents, the neighing of horses, and the rattle of the wheels of the cars resembling the muttering of huge clouds.

After the departure of the highly powerful Krishna the gods repaired to the celestial region with that assembly hall and the most excellent seat. Encircled by their huge four-fold forces the kings followed Janarddana, a distance of two miles and afterwards at his command returned to Swayamvara.

CHAPTER 53. JARASANDHA'S PROPOSAL TO INVITE KALAYAVANA.

Vaishampayana said:—After the departure of Vasudeva's son the kings, who had their limbs embellished with ornaments and who were anxious to go to their respective kingdoms, returned to the assembly-hall of Bhishmaka in order to inform (Jarasandha of their intention). Thereupon king Bhishmaka, the foremost of kings and well-read in moral laws, said to the kings, effulgent like the sun and the moon and seated at ease on beautiful seats. "O ye kings, you all know the calamity that will befall the Swayamvara. Do you forgive me for the fruit that is the outcome of my misconduct".

Vaishampayana said:—Having thus addressed and welcomed duly all the kings, (the king) sent away all the monarchs of Central India and of the East, West and Northern Provinces. Having honoured the king Bhishmaka duly in return, those kings, the foremost of men and mighty car-warriors, went away delightedly. Jarasandha, Sunitha, the energetic Dantavakra, the king of Soubha, the king Mahakurma, Kaishika, all the leading kings of the Pravara race, the royal saint Venudari, the king of Kashmira all those and other kings of the Deccan remained by Bhishmaka desirous of listening to the mystery.

O monarch, beholding these kings waiting there the powerful king Bhishmaka, with an affectionate heart and grave and cool voice, said to them moral words relating to three-fold objects and embellished with figures.

Bhishmaka said:—"O ye kings, I have acted thus in pursuance of moral words given vent to by you; you should forgive me for we must always abide by moral laws".

Vaishampayana said:—Having thus expressed himself in the concourse of kings, the king Bhishmaka, well-versed in moral laws, again said aiming at his son.

Bhishmaka said:—Observing the movements of my son my eyes are agitated with fear; I consider all now as mere boys. He (Krishna) alone is the foremost of Purushas. He, the very incarnation of glory, the foremost of the illustrious, the partaker of fame and powerful, has established great fame and the might of his arms in this land of mortals. Blessed is Devaki, the foremost of damsels who has conceived as her son the lotus-eyed Krishna, identical with the sum total of beauty, the greatest of all in the three worlds, and adored of all the immortals and who has seen his lotus countenance with her eyes full of affection.

Vaishampayana said:—When the king Bhishmaka gave vent to these words again and again in the midst of the assembled kings the highly effulgent king Shalya said in sweet words.

Shalya said:—O slayer of thy enemies, O lord of kings, do not lament for thy son. The Kshatriyas meet either with success or defeat in battle. This is the inevitable course and eternal religion of the mortals. Save Baladeva and Krishna what third person can withstand thy highly powerful son in battle? Taking up his bow thy mighty-armed son is alone capable of withstanding the car-warriors and great heroes of the enemy in battle. When by the might of his arms he handles the Bhargava weapons, difficult of being used even by the celestials what man is capable of bearing it? This Eternal Purusha Krishna is without birth or death. In this land of mortals even the holder of trident (Siva) cannot defeat him. O Emperor, thy son is well-versed in the true meaning of all the Shastras. Knowing Keshava as Ishana he did not engage in fight with him. It is not that there is none who can defeat him. Kalayavana is incapable of being slain by Keshava. With a view to have a son the great Muni Gargya adored Rudra for twelve years living on powdered iron and practising dreadful and highly difficult penances. Thereat pleased when Shankara offered him a boon Gargya prayed for a son whom the kings of Mathura would not be able to slay. Rudra granted him the boon, saying 'so be it'. Thus by virtue of Rudra's boon, Gargya's son Kalayavana is unslayable by the kings of Mathura in the battle-field and especially in the city of Mathura. Though Krishna is highly powerful amongst the princes of Mathura still if he comes to battle and fights with him he will be able to defeat him. O kings, if you accept my words as becoming and sound, send an emissary to the capital of the king of Yavanas.

Vaishampayana said:—Hearing the words of the highly powerful Shalya the king of Soubha all the leading kings were delighted and said "We will do it"). Hearing their words and recollecting those of Brahma the Emperor Jarasandha lost heart and said.

Jarasandha said:—Alas! formerly, assailed by the fear of a foreign king, all the Chiefs, seeking refuge with me, used to get back their lost kingdoms, servants, army and conveyances. Now, on account of their bad feelings towards their lord, they, like unto a damsel, coming in contact with a stranger, are now exciting me to seek another's shelter. Alas! even when I, afraid of Krishna, am constrained to seek refuge with another, Destiny alone is powerful. And by no means can any one overcome it. O ye kings, it is better for me to die than to seek helplessly the protection of another (king). I shall not therefore seek refuge with any body else. I shall give him battle who has been pointed out as my Death by the invisible words, may he be Krishna, or Baladeva, or a man, or some one amongst the immortals. Even this is my firm resolution and such is the conduct of a worthy person. I shall not act against it seeking another's protection. Even if you be all well disposed he (Krishna) may destroy you all. For your protection I shall send an envoy to him, O kings, the messenger should so proceed by the etherial way that Krishna may not put in any impediment. Do ye find out such a person who can go in this way. This effulgent king of Soubha is gifted with the prowess of fire, the sun and the moon. In a sunny car let him proceed to the capital of Yavana. Let him approach the king of Yavanas as our envoy and communicate to him our quarrel with Krishna. Let him try to bring him over to this assemblage of Chiefs.

Vaishampayana said:—Having thus expressed himself the Emperor Jarasandha again said to the powerful king of Soubha:—"Do thou depart, O giver of honours and help all these Chiefs. Use such tactics that the king of Yavanas may proceed and vanquish Krishna and we may be pleased".

Having thus commanded all and worshipped Bhishmaka duly the Emperor, encircled by his own army, set out for his city. Shalya, too, the foremost of kings, having honoured all duly, set out by the etherial way in a car, coursing like air. Following Jarasandha to some distance the Deccan Chiefs repaired to their respective cities. Thinking of his own evil conduct, of Kratha, Kaishika and Krishna, the king Bhishmaka, along with his own son, entered into his Palace. On account of the discomfiture of the kings consequent upon Krishna's arrival and the termination of the Swayamvara the chaste and wise Rukshmini approached her friends and with her face bent down in shame said:—"I tell you truly, I do not wish to be the spouse of any body else save Krishna having lotus eyes".

CHAPTER 54. SHALYA MEETS KALAYAVANA.

Vaishampayana said:—Kalayavana, the king of Yavanas, was highly powerful and used to govern the inhabitants of his city in pursuance of royal duties. He was wise, conversant with three Vargas [Three conditions of a king or state; prosperity, evenness or decay or loss, gain and equality.], proficient in six Gunas [The six acts of a king in his military character, or peace, war, marching, halting, sowing, dissension, seeking potection.] innocent of sevenfold calamities [The seven calamities are gambling, sleeping in a day, calumny, whoring, playing, idle roaming, drinking and hunting.], endued with all accomplishments, well-versed in Srutis, pious, truthful, a master of his senses, acquainted with the rules of war, an expert in capturing forts, heroic, of great strength and used to honour his ministers. One day encircled by his ministers he was seated at ease and the learned and intelligent Yavanas, discoursing amongst themselves on various celestial themes were adoring him. In the meantime there blew delightful, but exciting, cold and fragrant wind. Thereat the assembled Yavanas and the king Kalayavana were all worked up and thought "Whence it has come?" Thereupon they saw a car coming from the south. It was golden and white, lighted up with the lustre of jewels, adorned with celestial flags and pennons, drawn by horses fleet like the mind or air, adorned with tiger-skins, a terror to the enemies, the enhancer of joy to the friends, constructed by the celestial Architect, effulgent like the sun, the grinder of others' cars and embellished with jems like the rays of the sun and moon. The powerful and beautiful king of Soubha was seated thereon. Delighted greatly at seeing his friend the mighty-armed king of Yavanas, the foremost of speakers, repeatedly sent for Arghya and water to wash feet. And rising up from his throne and with Arghya in his hands he went out and waited at the landing stair of the car. Be holding the king Kalayavana, powerful like Sakra the highly energetic Shalya was greatly delighted, got down alone from the chariot with a confident heart and joyously entered into the Palace of Yavana for seeing his friend. Observing arghya in the hands of the king of Yavanas, Shalya, the foremost of kings, said in sweet words:—"O thou of great effulgence, I am not now worthy of arghya. I am now an envoy of the kings and have been despatched to thee by the intelligent Jarasandha. I therefore do not deserve arghya from the kings".

Kalayavana said:—"O you of large-arms, I know that you have been despatched here as an envoy by the king of Magadha for the behoof of kings. O intelligent king, I adore you duly with water to wash feet, seat and various other means of welcome because you have been sent here by the entire circle of kings. By adoring you, O king, I shall worship the entire host of kings and by honouring you all of them will be honoured. Therefore, O king, sit with me on this throne".

Vaishampayana said:—Thereupon shaking hands with each other and enquiring of their mutual welfare those two kings sat at ease on the sacred throne.

Kalayavana said:—What has become impossible to him, depending on the might of whose arms you kings are all living without any anxiety as the gods do under the protection of

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Sachi's lord, that he has sent you to me. Tell me, truly, O king, what mandate, the powerful king of Magadha has issued to me. Even if it be very difficult I shall carry out his command.

Shalya said:—O king of Yavanas, hear I shall describe at length what the king of Magadha has deputed me to communicate to you.

Jarasandha said:—The highly irrepressable Krishna has been oppressing the world from his very birth. Informed of his wicked deeds I attempted to slay him. Accompanied by a number of kings along with their four-fold forces and conveyances I besieged the mount Gomanta with a huge army. And there listening to the highly sensible words of the king of Chedi I set fire to that best of mountains for their (Rama and Krishna's) destruction. Beholding that fire consisting of hundreds and thousands of flames and resembling the fire of dissolution, Rama, holding the golden hilt of a sword, leaped down from the mountain summit in the midst of the ocean-like army of the kings. And that highly irrepressible one began to kill the car-warriors, the infantry and cavalry. He moved about like a serpent; and catching elephants, horses and soldiers with his plough-share he grinded them with his mace. In that battle-field abounding in hundreds of kings that highly energetic Rama, endued with the prowess of the sun, ranging in various ways like the setting sun, destroyed elephants, with elephants, car-warriors with cars, and the cavalry with horses. After Rama, the highly powerful and energetic Yadu hero, Krishna, taking up his discus effulgent like the sun, and his black iron club, forcibly leaped down in the midst of the enemie's army agitating the mountain with the force of his feet as a lion attacks the poor deer (34–35). O king, at that time whirling and bathed with shower that mountain extinguished the fire and entered into the earth as if dancing. Jumping down from that burning mountain Janarddana with his hand holding the discus began to destroy our army. Whirling his huge discus and throwing all down with his club he began to grind men, elephants and horses with his mace. Then with the fire of discus and plough-share begotten by their anger that huge army, protected by sun-like kings, was consumed. Within a moment our army consisting of men, elephants horses infantry and flags, was consumed by those two foot soldiers.

O king, beholding that army distressed by the fear of the fire of discus and routed, I, encircled by a huge collection of cars, engaged in battle. And Keshava's brother the heroic and valiant Baladeva, the destroyer of Bala, stood before me with a club in his hand. Having slain the twelve Akshouhinis of soldiers and cast off his plough-share and mace Sounanda, that leonine hero pursued me with his club. O king, having thrown the club on me with a force like that of the fall of a thunder-bolt he again stood manfully on the ground. Then like unto Kartikeya at the time of the destruction of Krounch, he, with his two large eyes, as if consumed me, looking at my joints. O king of Yavanas, beholding such a form of Baladeva, what person, having hopes of life, can stand before him in the battle-field? When he stood before him holding up that terrible club resembling the rod of the Regent of the dead and whirling it along with his plough-share Brahma, the grand-father of all, filling the welkin with his invisible voice grave as the muttering of clouds, said:—"O sinless Rama, do not strike (him); O holder of plough-share, it has been destined that he shall not meet with his death from any other person." Hearing with my own ears those words given vent to by the Grand-father I was filled with anxiety and returned from the battle-field.

O king, for this reason, and for the behoof of the kings, I communicated this incident to you. Hearing this you should do what you think proper in pursuance of my words. Desirous of having a son your father propitiated Sankara, the god of gods with hard austerities and obtained you as his son unslayable by the princes of Mathura. Fasting and feeding on powdered iron for twelve years the great Muni Gargya propitiated the great god Siva, on whose lotus feet even the gods and Asuras meditate and therefore obtained his wished-for prosperity in the person of yourself. By virtue of the asceticism of the ascetic Gargya and of the power of Mahadeva carrying the emblem of a crescent forsooth, shall Janarddana meet with his death as the dews are dried up by the rays of the sun, O king, thus requested by the kings, be up and doing and march for vanquishing Krishna. And entering the city of Mathura with your army establish your glory there. Vasudeva's son is a native of Mathura and Baladeva is his brother. If you go to the city of Mathura you will be able to defeat them in battle.

Shalya said:—O king, I have thus communicated to you, the message entrusted to me by the Emperor Jarasandha for the behoof of the kings. Do you now undertake what is proper and conducive to your well-being after consulting duly with your ministers.

CHAPTER 55. KALAYAVANA AGREES TO KILL KRISHNA.

Vaishampayana said:—After the king Shalya, as directed by the Emperor Jarasandha had said this Kalayavana, the king of Yavanas, with great delight said.

Kalayavana said:—Oh! highly honoured and blessed I am; and my life is crowned with success since numberless kings have requested me for vanquishing Krishna. The kings have appointed me in the work of subduing Krishna who is invincible in the three worlds, even unto gods and Asuras. And they have blessed me so that I will achieve victory. While the kings, with delighted hearts, have declared my victory I shall, by the very pouring of their water-like words, achieve success. Whatever it may be, I shall carry out the command of the Emperor Jarasandha issued at the request of the kings. Even my discomfiture in it will be, tantamount to my success. O king, to-day, the day and the stars are auspicious and in this auspicious moment I shall even to-day start for Mathura for defeating Keshava in the battle-field.

Vaishampayana said:—Having thus addressed the powerful Shalya the king of Soubha, the lord of Yavanas honoured him duly with highly precious jems and dresses. Afterwards for acquiring unstinted blessings he gave away various riches to his guest and the Brahmanas and duly offered libations to fire. Then after the performance of benedictory rites he set out with his army for vanquishing Janarddana. O foremost of Bharatas, king Shalya too, with his desire fully achieved, embraced the lord of Yavanas and set out with a delighted heart for his own city.

CHAPTER 56. UGRASENA RECEIVES KRISHNA.

Janamejaya said:—O Brahman, when the Lord Krishna, endued with Sakra's prowess, set out from the city of Bidarbha he did not ride the highly powerful son of Vinata, Garuda; why did he then take him away with him? And what did Vinata's son do? O great Muni, I am filled with great curiosity in this; do thou unfold the mystery (1–2).

Vaishampayana said:—O king, listen to the work, difficult of being done by men, which the highly effulgent son of Vinata performed after his departure from the city of Bidarbha. O lord, before his departure to the city of Mathura when Janarddana, the god of gods, said before the assembled kings, "I shall repair to the charming city of Mathura governed by the Bhoja king" the beautiful and intelligent son of Vinata thought for a considerable time, and then saluting Vasudeva, after he has finished his say, said with folded hands.

Garuda said:—"O god, I shall now proceed to Raivata's city Kushasthali, to the charming mount Raivata and the adjacent forest thereto resembling the garden of Nandana.

"The Rakshasas have abandoned the charming city of Kushasthali. It is situate at the base of the Raivata mountain and on the bank of the great ocean. It abounds in trees decorated with filaments of flowers, in groves and creepers. It is scattered with elephants and serpents, and inhabited by bear, monkeys, boars, buffaloes and deer. I shall perfectly examine (that place) and see if it is worthy of thy habitation. O lord, if that extensive and charming city is fitted for thy residence, I shall remove all the thorns and come back to thee".

Vaishampayana said:—Having thus expressed himself before Janarddana, the king of gods, and saluted him the powerful lord of birds set out towards the western direction. And when Krishna too, with the Yadavas, entered into the beautiful city of Mathura, Ugrasena came out of the city with dancing girls and citizens and honoured the victorious Krishna.

Janamejaya said:—What did the mighty-armed Emperor Ugrasena do when he heard of Krishna's installation by the numberless kings?

Vaishampayana said:—Hearing of Krishna's installation as the Emperor by numberless kings, of Indra's making peace with him through his envoy Chitrangada, of the apportionment of wealth, each king being entitled to a lakh, each emperor to a Arvuda and each ordinary men to ten, and that every one, who came there, did not go away empty handed and that the graceful lord of Nidhis, Sanka, commanded by the gods, distributed wealth after Krishna's heart, from his own men and other persons informed of people's conduct, Ugrasena offered a great puja at the temples of the tutelary deities. The two sides of the gate of Vasudeva's house were decorated with flags, pennons and garlands. He also decorated with flags Kansa's assembly hall Suprabha adorned with various sheets of cloth. The doors of the sitting-room of the Emperor Krishna in Gopura were pasted with ambrosia by the king. There was dancing and music on all sides. The city was decorated with flags, garlands of wild flowers and jars full of water. The king sprinkled sandal water in all the high-ways and spread sheets of cloth on the ground. On both sides of the roads incense was kept in vessels and continually burnt with Aguru, molass and various other articles. The elderly women began to sing benedictory hymns and youthful damsels moved about anxiously in their respective houses.

Having thus commenced the festivity in the city the Emperor Ugrasena repaired to Ugrasena's Palace and after communicating to him the pleasant news and consulting with Rama went to the car. O king, in the meantime the great sound of the conch-shell Panchajanya was heard. Hearing that sound of the conch the entire city of Mathura, with their women, boys, elderly men, panegyrists, songsters, and accompanied by a huge army, issued out placing Rama before them. Ugrasena himself carried arghya and water for washing feet for Krishna.

After going over to some distance and coming within the view of Vasudeva the Emperor Ugrasena desired to proceed on foot and accordingly got down from his white car. And beholding Hari, the king of gods, seated on a charming car adorned with celestial jewels he, in words suppressed with joy, said to the lotus-eyed Rama the slayer of his enemy's army. Krishna was adorned with ornaments set with jewels, was shining like the sun on account of the garland of wild flowers decorating his breast, was accompanied by fans, umbrellas and flags with the emblems of Garuda painted thereon, embellished with all the marks of royalty and endued with the beauty of the rising sun.

(Ugrasena said):—"O great one, it does not behove me to proceed on car after this. Thinking this I have got down. Do thou go on the car. Coming to Mathura in the disguise of Keshava Vishnu has manifested himself as the king of gods in the ocean-like assemblage of the kings. I therefore wish to chant his glories properly." The highly effulgent elder brother of Krishna (then) replied to the king (saying):

"O king, it is not proper to chant the glories of that best of kings at the time of his going. Without it Janarddana is pleased with you. What is the use of hymning him who is himself propitiated? Your visit is identical with your chanting of his glories. While Krishna, although he has acquired the dignity of the Lord Paramount, is coming to your house, what is the use of praising him with celestial and super-human hymns?" Thus conversing with each other they went to Keshava.

Beholding the king Ugrasena approach with arghya in his hands Krishna, the foremost of orators, stopped his car and said:—"O king of Mathura, while I have installed you, declaring, 'Be you the lord of Mathura' it does not behove me to make it otherwise. O king, you should not offer me arghya and water for washing my feet and rinsing my mouth. This is my heart-felt desire. O king, informed of your intention I say that you are the king of Mathura. Do not make it otherwise. O king, I will confer upon you your proper share in the land and gift. As I did with the other kings I had kept your share in reserve beforehand, one hundred thousandth portion without any ornaments or raiment. O king, get upon your white car adorned with gold, umbrella, fans, flags and celestial ornaments. And wearing your crown of sunny lustre govern the city of Mathura, delightedly with your sons and grand-sons, defeat your enemies and multiply the Bhoja race. The king of gods, the holder of thunder-bolt sent, for Ananta and Shouri, celestial ornaments and raiments. From the thousand jars of gold coins reserved for the citizens of Mathura in that ceremony of installation the king of gods has ordered that one thousand should be given to each of the panegyrists and bards, one hundred to each old man, prostitute and other men and ten thousand to each of the Yadavas, Vikadru and others who live with the king Ugrasena".

Vaishampayana said:—Having thus honoured the Emperor Ugrasena in the presence of all the soldiers Janarddana, with great delight, entered the city of Mathura. On account of the celestial ornaments, garlands, raiments and unguents it appeared as if he was living in the city of the celestials encircled by gods. Like unto the muttering of clouds there arose a great tumult consisting of the sound of bugles and trumpets, blare of conches, the noise of elephants, the neighing of horses, the leonine shouts of the heroes and rattle of car-wheels. The panegyrists began to sing his praises and the subjects to salute him with numberless presents. At this Hari was not the least surprised. He was high-minded by nature, shorn of egoism and has seen a greater display than this beforehand. And for this he was not filled with surprise. Beholding Madhava's arrival who was shining in the lustre of his own person effulgent like the sun the inhabitants of Mathura saluted him at every step and said:

"He is Narayana, the abode of Shree living in the ocean of milk. Leaving his serpent-couch he has come to the city of Mathura. Having chained Bali irrepressible unto the immortals he conferred the soverignty of the three worlds on Vasava the wielder of thunder-bolt. Having slain Kansa, the foremost of the powerful and other Daityas this slayer of Keshi has conferred the kingdom of Mathura on the Bhoja king. Not being himself installed and not sitting on the royal throne, he, having acquired the dignity of the Lord Paramount, has entrusted Ugrasena with the government of Mathura".

Having heard this conversation of the citizens, the bards, panegyrists and the poets sang, "O thou the ocean of accomplishments, how can we, who are one tongued men, sing the deeds begotten of thy prowess and energy. The thousand-headed serpent-king Vasuki, who has the intellect of a god, can, with his two thousand tongues, to a certain extent describe thy accomplishments). It is a great wonder to the kings of the earth that a throne was sent by Indra. It never happened before nor will it be in future. The descension of the assembly-hall and jars from the celestial region has never been heard of or seen. Therefore we consider it as a wonder. O

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Keshava, conceiving a son like thee, the foremost of gods, Devaki, the best of damsels, has been blessed because she, with her eyes full of affection, saw thy lotus face adored by men and the immortals".

Placing Ugrasena before them and listening to the conversation regarding their praises sung by the citizens the two brothers Rama and Krishna arrived at the gate and the king worshipped them repeatedly sending for arghya and water for washing feet and rinsing mouth. Thereupon approaching Keshava's car, saluting him with his head down and mounting on an elephant the energetic and intelligent Ugrasena began to shower gold as the clouds discharge their watery contents. Having thus showered gold on him the beautiful Madhava arrived at his father's house and said to Ugrasena, the king of Mathura: "O lord, although I have secured the dignity of the Lord Paramount, this throne, conferred by the king of gods, should be kept in the king's Palace. Although acquired by the strength of my own arms I do not like to come by the assembly-hall of the king of Mathura. O lord, I propitiate you. Do not be offended".

O king Janamejaya, at that time Vasudeva, Devaki and Rohini were so much overwhelmed with joy that they could not give vent to any word.

O king, thereupon considering the importance of time and place, Kansa's mother, taking riches and presents of various countries acquired by him, went to Keshava and dedicated them to his feet. Observing it Krishna sent for Ugrasena and said in sweet words.

Krishna said:—"It is time that has snatched away your two sons; I have not slain them either for riches or for the kingdom of Mathura, O king of Mathura, having vanquished your enemies by the might of my arms do you perform many sacrifices and make profuse presents. O king, do you cast off your mental agony and fear consequent upon Kansa's death. I return you these riches; do you accept them"

Having thus consoled the king, Krishna, along with Balarama, went to his parents. There those two highly powerful heroes, with heart full of joy, saluted their parents bending their heads. O Janamejaya, at that time the city of Mathura left off her own form and as if the capital of gods came down there leaving the celestial region. Beholding Vasudeva's house the citizens did not consider it as earth but took it for the region of the celestials. Having thus entered Vasudeva's house the heroic Baladeva and Keshava dismissed Ugrasena, the king of Mathura and his queen. And then leaving off their arms and moving about for some time they went through the evening rites. And then seated at ease they conversed with one another. In the meantime there took place a highly dreadful calamity. The clouds were scattered in the sky, the earth and the mountains were shaken, the oceans were agitated, the serpents were terrified and the Yadavas, trembling, fell down on earth. Beholding them thus fallen the immoveable Rama and Krishna, perceived, from the flapping of the huge wings, the approach of Garuda, the foremost of birds. And within a short time they saw Garuda by them. Saluting them both with his head, Vinata's son, of a gentle form, adorned with celestial garlands and unguents, sat on a seat. Observing the arrival of his war-like minister, the intelligent son of Vinata, the slayer of Madhu said: "O thou the grinder of the enemies of the celestial army, O delight of Vinata's heart, O foremost of birds, O favourite of Keshava, may thy arrival here prove auspicious". Having thus addressed Vinata's son, stationed there like a very god Krishna again said to him who was equally powerful.

Krishna said:—O foremost of birds, let us now go to the highly extensive inner appartment of the Bhoja king, for there, seated at ease we shall be able to hold counsels after our own hearts.

Vaishampayana said:—When having entered the inner appartment of the Bhoja king along with Vinata's son, the highly powerful Krishna and Baladeva held parley, the former said:—"O Vinata's son, the king Jarasandha is unslayable by us. It has been so ordained. Incomparable is his might and he is encircled by a huge army and highly powerful kings. The army of the Magadha king consists of many soldiers and so we shall not be able to consume it even within hundred years. Therefore I tell you, O king of birds, that it never bodes good for us to live in this city of Mathura. Even it is my desire".

Garuda said:—O god of gods, having saluted thee I took leave and went to Kusathali for finding out a worthy habitation for thee, O foremost of gods, having gone there and been stationed in the welkin I reconnoitered all over that city endued with all auspicious marks. That city is situate in an extensive watery province of the ocean. It has the ocean on the east and is therefore always cool. It is surrounded on all sides by the ocean, a mine of every sort of jem, spread with trees conferring wished-for objects, covered on all sides with flowers of all seasons and therefore highly charming; it is the abode of all forms of Ashramas, satisfies every sort of desire, is filled with men and women, is always full of merriment, is encircled by ditches and walls, is embellished with palaces and gates, variegated courtyards and roads, has huge doors and gates, and various bolts and other contrivances, is adorned with a golden wall, is filled with car-warriors, cavalry and infantry, and with trees of various countries covered with celestial flowers and fruits, is adorned with flags and pennons, contains big palaces, strikes terror to the enemies, enhances the joy of the friends and is isolated from other cities presided over by kings. O god, there is that best of mountains Raivata resembling the garden of Nandana. Do thou make it an ornament of thy gate. O foremost of gods, that city will also be liked by thy sons. Do thou go and live there. Like unto Indra's capital Amaravati thy city will be celebrated in the three worlds under the name of Dwaravati. O god, if the great ocean gives there room covered with water the celestial Architect will make works of art after his own heart. O god, out of lustrous jewels, pearls, corals, diamonds, sapphires and other jems produced in the three worlds, do thou have many white palaces built there like unto the assembly hall of the celestials, consisting of hundred heavenly pillars, adorned with all sorts of jewels made of gold, decorated with celestial flags and pennons, guarded by gods and Kinnaras and lighted by the sun and the moon.

Vaishampayana said:—Having said this to Keshava and saluted them both Vinata's son took his seat. Meditating on the words uttered by him conducive to their well-being, and in order to give a proof of his appreciation Krishna, with Rama, honoured Garuda with presents of most excellent and precious dresses and dismissed him. And then they enjoyed there like two immortals in the city of the celestials. When in time the highly illustrious Bhoja king heard of what Garuda had said he affectionately addressed to Keshava the following nectarine words.

He said:—O Krishna, O enhancer of the delight of the Yadavas, O thou of large arms, O slayer of thy enemies, listen to what I say. O my son, without thee, like unto a woman separated from her husband we shall not be able to live happily either in this city of Mathura or in any other kingdom. O conferror of honour, even if Indra comes to the help of all the kings, still we, under the protection of thy arms, do not fear them. O foremost of Yadus, we shall proceed for accomplishing conquests.

Hearing Ugrasena's words Devaki's son smilingly said: "O king, I am ready to do whatever you wish. There is not the least doubt in it".

CHAPTER 57. KRISHNA'S PROPOSAL TO GO TO DWARAKA.

Vaishampayana said:—Once on a time the lotus-eyed Krishna addressed the following reasonable words to the Yadus in their assembly:—"This Mathura city is the abode of the Yadus: we too were born here and brought up in Vraja. However all our griefs have disappeared and the enemies have been defeated. Now our hostilities with the kings and battle with Jarasandea have commenced. The number of our infantry and animals is endless. And we have enough of jewels and friends. Although through our friends and soldiers we have attained to the consummation of prosperity still the city of Mathura is very limited and the enemies can easily enter it. Beside if one Koti of princes and infantry live here jointly there is every possibility of a dissension cropping up amongst them. Therefore, O ye leading Yadus, methinks it is better that we should live elsewhere. If you like it, we will lay out a city elsewhere. If you approve of what I have said before this assemblage of the Yadus for your well-being and in pursuance of the proper time I shall carry it out." Hearing it all the Yadavas delightedly said:—"O Krishna, do what thou deemst proper for the behoof of all these people".

Thereupon the Vrishnis began to hold consultations regarding this most excellent proposal:—"Our enemy the king Jarasandha has been destined as unslayable by us. And his power is also very great. True it is that many armies of the kings have been slain in this city of Mathura. But so great is the number of his soldiers that we shall not be able to bring about their destruction even in hundred years". At that time O king, the emperor Jarasandha, along with Kalayavana was proceeding towards Mathura with his army. Having heard of the approach of Jarasandha and Kalayavana with that highly irrepressible huge army the Yadavas thought of retreating as mentioned before. The truthful Krishna again said to the Yadavas:—"To day is an auspicious day. So we shall, even this very day, issue out of Mathura along with our army and followers".

Having obtained this command from Krishna, the Yadavas, headed by Vasudeva, along with their wives, cars and elephants, set out, echoing the four quarters with the noise of their soldiers resembling that of the waves of the ocean. Leaving Mathura the Yadavas went on with their wealth, kinsmen, friends, golden chariots, infuriated elephants and trotting horses decorated with gold. O foremost of Bharatas, having adorned their respective detachments of the army and moved it on the Yadadas set out for the west. Stationed in front, Vasudeva and other leaving Yadavas, ever adorning a battle-field, guided the army. Having thus wended a very long distance the leading Yadus reached the bank of the ocean. It was variegated with creepers, abounded in coconut trees and beautiful elephants, was covered with Ketaki trees, palmyras, Pannages and vines. Having secured such a picturesque site the Yadavas were highly delighted as if they had arrived at the celestial region. Searching for a site where he would lay out a city Krishna, the slayer of inimical heroes, saw an extensive tract of land situated on the bank of the ocean. The land had a coppery soil mixed with gravels, was well-suited for animals of burden, was endued with all the favourable marks of a city, as if it was presided over by the Goddess of prosperity herself. It was fanned by the sea breeze and was watered by the ocean. Near it was shining in beauty the charming mountain Raivata like the mount Mandara. On that mountain containing all the jems and resorted to by many great men Drona lived for many long years. There lived the king Ekalavya. And the sporting ground laid out by himself like a board of dice is celebrated by the name of Dwaravati. Keshava selected that site for his city and the Yadavas also wanted to encamp their soldiers there. Thereupon the Yadu commanders pitched tents there for the night.

With a view to lay out his city there the Lord Krishna, the foremost of Yadus, lived there with them shorn of anxiety. And that foremost of men, the leader of the Yadavas, having Gada as his elder brother, thought in his mind of the names he would give to the various houses in that city.

O king, having thus secured the city of Dwaravati the Yadavas, along with their friends, lived there happily as do the gods in their own city. O descendant of Bharata, thus informed of the approach of Kalayavana Krishna, the slayer of Keshi, set out for the city of Dwaravati, in fear of Jarasandha.

CHAPTER 58. ACCOUNT OF KALAYAVANA.

Janamejaya said:—O reverend sir, I wish to listen at length to the history of the high-souled and intelligent Vasudeva, the foremost of Yadus. O foremost of the twice-born, why did Janarddana, without fighting, leave Mathura the only abode of Lakshmi (the goddess of prosperity), the hump (the most elevated) of Central India, the very summit of the earth, abounding in profuse corns, wealth and beautiful houses, and consisting of many worshipful Aryans? How did Kalayavana behave towards Krishna? Having obtained the watery fortress Dwarka what did the great Yogin of hard penances the mighty-armed Janarddana do? Whose son was Kalayavana and how powerful was he? Do thou describe all this to me.

Vaishampayana said:—The high-minded Gargya was the preceptor of both the Andhaka and Vrishni races. He always observed the vow of celibacy; and although he had a wife he did not know her. While the eternal Gargya, who was a master of passions, was thus spending his days this brother-in-law described him as impotent before the king. O king, having been thus dishonoured in the city of Ajitanjaya and giving up his desire of being united with his wife out of anger for his brother-in-law, Gargya engaged in hard penances for obtaining a son. And living on pounded iron for twelve years he worshipped Mahadeva, the holder of trident. For this Rudra conferred on him a boon that he would obtain an all powerful son who would be able to discomfit in battle the descendants of the Vishni and Andhaka races.

The king of Yavanas had no son. Hearing of the boon of having a son conferred upon Gargya, the foremost of the twice-born by Mahadeva, the king brought him over to his own kingdom. And having consoled him he engaged the milk-women to attend him in their own settlement. Having assumed the guise of a milk-woman, an Apsara, Gopali by name, conceived that dreadful and undecaying embryo through Gargya. Thus by the command of the holder of trident, Gargya begat on the Apsara, assuming the form of a woman and living by him like a wife, the highly powerful hero Kalayavana. And he was brought up in the inner appartment, like his son, of the king Yavanas who had no issue. O king, after the demise of the lord of Yavanas Kalyavana became king. And being desirous of fighting when he questioned the leading twice-born ones about his antagonist Narada pointed out the heroes of the Vrishnu and Andhaka races. Krishna, the powerful slayer of Madhu, took no notice of Kalayavana, although he grew up in the midst of the Yavanas because he had heard from Narada the story of his obtaining the boon. When the king of Yavanas grew exceedingly powerful, Shaka, Tukhara Darava, Parava, Tangana, Khasha, Panhava and hundreds of Mlechcha kings, living near Himavan, took shelter under him. Encircled by those Dasyu kings resembling a swarm of locusts, assuming various dresses and holding various weapons, the king of Yavanas set out for Mathura. He agitated the surface of the earth with innumerable horses, elephants, asses, camels and a huge army. The path of the sun was covered with the dust raised by the soldiers. By the urine and excreta of the soldiers a river was created. And because that river issued from the excreta of the horses and camels it passed by the name of Aswasakrit.

Hearing of the approach of this huge army Vasudeva, the leader of the Vrishnis and Andhakas, addressed his kinsmen, saying:—"Great is the calamity that has befallen the descendants of the Vrishni and Andhaka races. For this enemy is unslayable by us on account of the boon conferred on him by the holder of the trident. I employed all other means as conciliation etc. to win him over. But he wishes for battle

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worked up with pride. 'I am to live here:' this Narada said to me; I too tell you this. The emperor Jarasandha is not forgiving towards us; and the other kings too, assailed by the Vrishni discus and on account of the distruction of Kansa, have been displeased with us and sought refuge with the Magadha king. Under the protection of Jarasandha they want to obstruct us: and many kinsmen of the Yadavas have been slain by them. What more we will never acquire prosperity if we live in this city."

Saying this and desirous of retreating Keshava sent an envoy to the king of Yavanas. In order to terrorize him (the king of Yavanas) the highly intelligent Madhava put a highly dreadful black serpent, resembling a collection of collyrium, into a jar and sealed it up. He then sent it to the king of Yavanas through his own emissary. O foremost of Bharatas, having said "Krishna is like a deadly serpent" that emissary showed the jar to Kalayavana. Thereupon understanding that the Yadavas had sent it to terrorize him Kalayavana filled that jar with dreadful ants. Thereat that serpent was eaten up by the innumerable ants having sharp beaks and was reduced to ashes. Thereupon sealing up that jar, Kalayavana sent it with a profuse description to Krishna. Observing his own expedient baffled Vasudeva soon left the city of Mathura and went to Dwarka. O king, after that in order to put an end to hostilities, that highly illustrious and powerful hero, Vasudeva settled all the heroes in Dwarka and having consoled them, set out on foot for Mathura with only his own arm for his weapon. Kalayavana was pleased at seeing him and confronted him with rage. The highly powerful Krishna too attracted him of his own accord. In order to get hold of Govinda the lord of Yavanas pursued him, but could not catch that Yogin.

On account of his being successful in the war between gods and demons the former offered a boon to the highly powerful and illustrious king Muchakunda, the son of Mandhata who prayed for sleep. O king, because he was tired in battle he repeatedly said:—"O gods, I will, with my eyes burning in anger, consume him who will arouse me from my sleep". The deities along with their king said "So be it." Having been thus ordered by the gods, that king, worn out with fatigue, first came to the king of mountains. And then entering into a cave he was asleep till he was seen by Krishna. Narada communicated to Krishna the boon obtained by Muchukunda and his power. And therefore when pursued by his Mlechcha enemy he humbly entered into Muchukunda's cave. In order to avoid the look of the royal saint Keshava, the foremost of the intelligent, sat near his head. Following Vasudeva, the wicked minded Yavana king entered into the cave and saw that king there. And like an insect falling into fire he kicked that king with his foot for his own destruction. With the touch of the foot the royal saint Muchukunda awoke and was highly enraged on account of the break of his sleep. Thereupon recollecting the boon that was conferred by Indra he looked at the Yavana king with angry eyes. As soon as he was eyed, the king of Yavanas was all ablaze. O king, as a lightning consumes a dried tree so the fire, engendered by the energy of Muchukunda's eyes, in no time reduced Kalayavana to ashes. Having thus acquired victory by virtue of his own intellect Vasudeva went to the emperor Muchukunda, who was engaged in sleep for a long time and addressed to him the following most excellent words:—"O king, I have heard from Narada—that thou art asleep for a long time. Thou hast performed a great work for me. May good betide thee. I depart".

Beholding Vasudeva of short stature the king Muchukunda thought:—"I was asleep for a long time and the cycle has been changed." Then the emperor said to Govinda:—"Who are you? Why have you come here? Tell me if you can, how long I was asleep?"

Krishna said:—"There flourished a king in the Lunar dynasty, by name Yayati, son of Nahusha. Yadu was his eldest son. He had four other sons Turvasu and others. O lord, know me, as Vasudeva, the son of Vasudeva born in Yadu's family. For some work I had come to you. O king, I have heard from Narada that you fell asleep in the Treta Yuga: and now the Kali has set in. Tell me, what more I can do for you presently. O king, you have reduced him to ashes by virtue of the boon conferred on you by the gods whom, fighting for a hundred years, I could not slay".

Vaishampayana said:—Thus accosted by Krishna the king Muchukunda issued out of the cave. And having accomplished his object the intelligent Vasudeva too followed him. Having come out from the mouth of the cave he saw that the earth had been covered with men of short stature and of limited energy, strength and prowess and that his kingdom had been occupied by others. Having seen all this and resolved upon practising hard penances the king dismissed Krishna and entered into thickets of the Himalaya). Having carried on austerities there he died and repaired to the celestial region acquired by his own good actions. Having brought about the destruction of his own enemy through this expedient, the pious-souled and intelligent Vasudeva went to his soldiers and set out with that army consisting of cars, elephants and horses, who had their master slain. Having thus attained to the consummate accomplishment of his object and conferred upon the king Ugrasena that four-fold army Janarddana embellished the city of Dwarka with wealth acquired by him.

CHAPTER 59. THE LAYING OUT OF DWARKA.

Vaishampayana said:—Thereupon when the sun rose in the clear morning, Hrishikesha, the descendant of Yadu, having performed his morning ablution and sat for some time at the outskirt of the forest, began to survey it for finding out a site where he would build a fortress. The principal members of the Yudu race followed him. Thereafter in an auspicious day under the auspices of the planet Rohini he offered immense presents to the Brahmanas and made them perform benedictory rites. He then commenced the work of the building of the fort. Thus when the construction of the fort was taken in hand, like unto Indra addressing the gods, the lotus-eyed slayer of Keshi, the foremost of creators, said to the Yadavas. "O ye Yadavas, behold the site that I have selected like unto the very abode of the gods. I have also selected the name under which it will be celebrated on earth. I am laying out courtyards, promenades, well-levelled roads and inner appartments, all those marks, for which this city of mine will be celebrated on earth by the name of Dwaravati like unto Indra's Amaravti. Taking Ugrasena before you and putting impediments in the ways of your enemies do you enjoy here shorn of anxiety like the celestials. Let all of you take lands for building houses; let gardens and crossings of four roads be laid out and let a survey of roads and walls be taken. Let artizans, expert in building houses and masons be sent round the country."

Thus accosted the Yadavas gladly selected sites for building their own houses. O king, some of the Yadavas engaged in measuring their own lands with ropes and some of them began to worship the tutelary deity by adorning the Brahmanas on that auspicious day.

Thereupon the high-minded Govinda said to the masons:—"Do ye build for me a temple for my tutelary deity, well laid out with courtyards and roads". Having said "So be it" to the mighty-armed Krishna, the masons collected all the materials for building the fort and began to lay out the gate and the boundary line. Temples, in proper places, were built for Brahma, the god of sacrifices, Indra, the presiding deities of fire and water and other gods. They then constructed the four gates of the temples (namely Shudraksha, Aindra, Bhallata and Pushpadantaka.) Thus when the houses of the high-souled Yadavas were constructed, Madhava thought of laying out the city very soon. Thereupon there arose by accident a pure intellect in his mind conducive to the well-being of the Yadavas and of the city, by which, he could soon lay out the city. (He thought) that Prajapati's son, the powerful Viswakarma, the foremost of architects, would construct the city. Thereupon, seated in a solitary place with his face directed towards the celestial region Krishna thought of Viswakarma, in his mind, so that he might come there. In the meantime the highly intelligent celestial architect, Viswakarma, the foremost of gods, came there and stood before Krishna.

Viswakarma said:—"O Vishnu of firm vows, despatched speedily by the king of gods, this thy servant has arrived here; what command am I to carry out? O god, thou art adorable unto me as the grand-father (Brahma) and the three-eyed deity (Siva). O lord, there is no difference amongst the three. O thou of large arms, do thou gladly issue command to me as thou dost order the three worlds."

Hearing the humble words of Viswakarma, Keshava, the foremost of Yudus and the slayer of Kansa, replied, in incomparable words:—"O foremost of gods, you were also present there and listened to our counsels held in private for the behoof of gods. You are now to build a house for me here. O you of firm vows, do you build a city here for manifesting my own self and decorate it with houses befitting my power. You are an expert, O you of great intellect; what shall I tell you more. Build for me such a city that it may be celebrated on earth like Amaravati; you are to build here such a house for me as I have in the celestial region so that the mortals may see the beauty of my city and of the Yadu race."

Thus accosted the intelligent Viswakarma said to Krishna of unwearied actions, the destroyer of the enemies of the celestials. "O lord, I shall do all that thou hast ordered. But thy city will not sufficiently accommodate such a number of men. So very extensive should be thy city that even the four oceans, in their full forms, may range here. O foremost of Purusas, if the ocean, of his own accord, gives a little more room then thy city may turn highly extensive."

Krishna, the foremost of orators, had already settled this. Therefore thus spoken to by the celestial architect he said to the ocean, the lord of rivers:—"O ocean, if you have any respect for me, then withdraw thy form in the water extending over twelve yojanas. If you give room, this city, abounding in wealth and enjoyments, will be able to afford accommodation to my huge army". Hearing the words of Krishna, the ocean, the lord of rivers, offered him his bed, resorting to his yoga power. Observing the respect shown to Govinda by the ocean and the site for building the city Vishwakarma was highly pleased. Thereupon Vishwakarma said to Krishna, the descendant of Yadu:—"From even this very day you will settle down in the city. O lord, I had already made a plan of this most excellent city in my mind. So in no time it will be decorated with the rows of houses. This charming city will be like the hump of the earth on account of its beautiful gateways, gates and upper-storied rooms". Thereupon having constructed that city in the region liked by the gods he built the inner appartment of Krishna consisting of bathing houses. Thus by Viswakarma's mental effort that beautiful Vaishnava city, by name Dwarkavati, was built. That city was properly protected by doors, adorned with most excellent walls, girt by ditches, filled with palaces, beautiful men and women, traders and various articles of merchandise. And although it was established on earth, it appeared like one ranging in the sky. It was adorned with pools, streamlets of pure water and with gardens. It was covered on all sides like a damsel of spacious eyes. It had prosperous court-yards, high edifices stricken by clouds, many clear public roads and streets for carriages. As Indra's city beautifies the celestial region, so that city, prosperous with all sorts of jems, adorned the ocean on earth. That city, a beautiful field for heroes, that creates envy in the hearts of the neighbouring kings, covered even the sky with its palaces. That city was filled with the noise of people hailing from the various kingdoms of earth and the air was saturated with the water of the waves of the ocean. With its charming sea-side and gardens that beautiful city Dwarka, delightful to the females, shone like the welkin studded with stars. That city was encircled by walls of sun-like and golden lustre, was filled with golden houses and gates like white clouds and was adorned with palaces. At some places the high roads were full of high palaces. As the moon lights up the sky, so Krishna, the enhancer of the joy of the Yadavas, encircled by his own people, began to live in that celestial city abounding in jewels and built by Viswakarma. Having laid out that city resembling that of the celestials and been honoured by Govinda the Divine Architect repaired to the region of gods.

Thus when the city was laid out Krishna, who was conversant with the knowledge of Spirit, felt a desire of gratifying his own people, who were poor, with profuse riches. Thereupon in one night the powerful Upendra invited the foremost of Nidhis, Sankha, who was an attendant of the god of riches Vaishravana, to his own house. As desired by Keshava the lord of Dwaravati, Sankha came to him. As he used to respect Vaishravana, Sankha, humbly and with folded hands, bowed to him and said:—"O lord, I am a guard of treasures of the gods. O descendant of Yadu, O thou of large arms, tell me what command of thine I am to carry out" Hearing this Hrishikesha said to that best of Guhyakas Sankha:—"Give enough of riches to those men of my city who have little wealth. I do not like to see any man in this city unfed, lean, dirty and poor and nor do I wish to hear any man cry out 'Give me some thing'".

Vaishampayana:—In order to satisfy Keshava's order Sankha, the foremost of Kuvera's attendants, ordered them to shower heaps of wealth in every house of Dwaravati and they accordingly did so. Therefore there remained no man poor, or of limited means. Thereupon that Divine Purusha, ever doing good by the Yadavas, sent for the (wind god) Vayu, the vital air of animals, who, appearing before Gadadhara, seated alone, said "O god, I am quick-coursing and can go everywhere. What shall I do for thee? O sinless one, as I am an emissary of the gods, so I am yours". Hearing this the mystic Purusha Krishna said to Vayu, the life of the universe, present there in his own form:—"Go to the gods and their king and offering them my respects beg of them the assembly Hall Sudharma and bring it to Dwarka. O Vayu, these pious Yadavas, endued with prowess, will enter into it; therefore do not bring the false one; for that undecaying assembly hall only, capable of going and assuming forms at will, will be able to accommodate these god-like Yadavas." Hearing the words of Krishna of unwearied actions, Vayu, in his course fleet like the mind, repaired to the celestial region and communicated to the gods Keshava's complements and request. And then taking the assembly-hall Sudharma he returned on earth. Thereupon presenting to the pious and energetic Krishna that Sudharma hall the wind-god disappeared. As it was placed in the land of celestials for the gods so that Sudharma hall was placed by Keshava in Dwaravati for the leading Yadavas. Thus with divine, earthly and watery articles the eternal and intelligent Hari decorated the city of Dwaravati like unto his own wife. Thereupon having fixed the limits of the city the emperor Ugrasena placed in their proper places the commanders of armies and the heads of clans. He then settled in their respective places the priest Sandipani, the commander-in-chief Anadhristhi, the foremost of ministers Vikadru, and the ten elderly persons headed by Udhava, always engaged in Yadava's works. Of the car-warriors the mighty car-warrior Daruka was appointed Keshava's charioteer and, Satyaki, the foremost of warriors, the commander of his army.

Having made these arrangements for his city, the blameless Krishna, the creator of the world, began to live happily on

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earth along with the Yadavas. A few days after with Reshava's consent Baladeva acquired the good-natured daughter of Revata, by name Revati.

CHAPTER 60. AN ACCOUNT OF RUKSHMI: KRISHNA TAKES AWAY RUKSHMINI.

Vaishampayana said:—In the meantime in order to satisfy the king of Chedis the powerful Jarasandha announced "A marriage with presents of gold coins and ornaments will be celebrated between the king Shishupala and Bhishmaka's daughter Rukshmini". And he then excited for battle the highly powerful Suvaktra the son of Dantavakra, an expert in illusions like unto the thousand-eyed deity, the highly powerful and energetic Sudeva, the master of one Akshouhini of soldiers, and the son of Vasudeva, the king of Poundra, the highly powerful son of Ekalavya, the son of Pandya king, the powerful king of Kalinga, the king Venudari, an enemy of Krishana's, Aushuman, Kratha, Shrutarva, the kings of Kalinga and Gandhara, the highly powerful Praghasa, the king of Kashi and others.

Janamejaya said:—"O foremost of the twice-born conversant with the Vedas, in what country and in whose family the effulgent king Rukshmi was born?"

Vaishampayana said:—Bidarbha, the son of royal saint Yadhava, constructed a city by name Bidarbhi, on the southern side of the mount Vindhya. His highly powerful and energetic sons, Kratha and others became all kings of separate kingdoms and founded separate familes. O king, of them the Vrishnis were born in the family of Bhima. Aushuman was born in Kratha's family and Bhishmaka, whom people call Hiranyaroma, the king of Deccan, was born in Kaishika's family. The king Bhishmaka, who, living in the city of Kundina, used to govern the southern quarter presided over by Agastya, had a son by name Rukshmi and a daughter by name Rukshmini. The highly powerful Rukshmi obtained divine weapons from Druma and Brahma weapon from Jamadagni's son Rama. He always used to boast before Krishna of wonderful deeds. O king, Rukshmini was of matchless beauty on earth and therefore the highly effulgent Vasudeva desired to possess her as soon as he heard of it. Rukshmini too, hearing of Janarddana, endued with energy and strength, wished. "He only will be my husband". Filled with grief on account of Kansa's death and thinking "he is his enemy" the highly powerful Rukshmi did not confer Rukshmini on the highly energetic Krishna although he prayed for her. The emperor Jarasandha begged that maiden, of Bhishmaka of dreadful power, for the Chedi king Shishupala, the son of Sunitha.

The king Vrihadratha, who formerly made the city of Girivraja in the province of Magadha, was the son of the Chedi king Vasu. In his family was born the highly powerful Jarasandha; and the Chedi king Damaghosha was also born in the same family. Damaghosha begat on Vasudeva's sister Shrutashrava five sons of dreadful prowess, namely, Dashagriva, Raivahy, Upadisha and Bali. They were all heroic, energetic, powerful and well-versed in the use of all sorts of weapons. The king Sunitha handed over to Jarasandha, born in his own family, his son Shishupala, who brought him up just like his own son. In order to please the highly powerful Jarasandha, an enemy of the Vrishnis, under whose protection he was brought up the Chedi king Shishupala quarrelled with them. Kansa was Jarasandha's son-in-law. On account of his being slain in the arena there took place a dissension between him and the Vrishnis for Krishna. At that time the king of Magadha wanted Rukshmini from the powerful Bhishmaka for Sunitha's son Shishupala. And he too promised to confer her on him.

Thereupon the emperor Jarasandha, with Shishupala and Dantavakra, started for Vidarbha. And the intelligent Poundra-king Vasudeva, the highly powerful kings of Anga, Banga and Kalinga followed him. By going out in advance Rukshmini honoured those kings and welcomed them to his city. In order to please their father's sister Rama and Krishna, with the mighty Vrishni car-warriors and their army, went to that city. Kratha, the king of Kaishika received and duly welcomed those worshipful Yadhavas who lived outside the city). On the day previous to that of the wedding, Rukshmini, gifted with all auspicious marks, after the performance of benedictory rites, shining in her beauty and on a car drawn by four horses and protected by soldiers, was going from her house to that of Indra in order to worship Sachi. Krishna saw, near the temple, Rukshmini, the best of beauties, like unto the burning flame of fire, as if she were the goddess of illusions descended on earth, or the goddess earth herself coming out of the nether region, or the very goddess Shri (the goddess of prosperity) the foremost of damsels, gentle like the rays of the moon, and separated from her lotus, coming down on earth as his wife. That damsel of dark-blue hue and large eyes, Rukshmini, was seated on a car. And though the gods even could not see her with their mind Krishna could see her. Her lips, eyes and the corners were coppery, thighs, hips and breast were plump, her body was tall but thin and beautiful; her countenance was like the moon, her nails were red; eye-brows were charming, hairs were curling and black and her beauty was highly picturesque. Her face was beautified by rows of equal and white teeth. Seeing the beautiful Rukshmini, the foremost of damsels, clad in a blue raiment, matchless in the world at that time for her beauty, fame and grace Krishna's desire grew powerful like fire to which clarified butter is offered and his mind was attracted by her. Thereupon consulting with Rama before the Vrishnis he made up his mind for stealing her away.

Thereupon as soon as Rukshmini came out of the temple after performing the puja, Janarddana assailed all her bodyguards and took her away by force to his own car. Rama too, uprooting a huge tree, began to send away the attacking enemies as guests to the house of Death. According to the command of Baladeva the Dasharhas too dressed themselves completely; and various cars with unfurled flags, horses and elephants encircled Rama. Having entrusted the charge of that warfare with Rama, Yujudhana, Akrura, Viprithu, Gada, Kritavarma, Chakradeva, Sudeva, the highly powerful Sarana, Nivrittashatru, the valiant Bhangakara, Viduratha, Ugrasena's son Kanka, Shatadyumna, Rajadhideva, Mridara, Prasena, Chitraka, Atidanta, Vrihaddurga, Shwaphalka, Satyaka, Prithu and the other heroes of the Vrishni and Andhaka races, the powerful slayer of Madhu, Keshava speedily set out for Dwaraka with Rukshmini.

Armed with coats of mail the powerful Dantavakra, Shishupala and Jarasandha issued out in anger to kill Janarddana. The highly powerful king of Chedi, too, went out with the kings of Anga, Banga, Kalinga, and Poundra and his mighty car-warrior brothers. As the gods, headed by Vasudeva, fight with their antagonists, so the highly powerful Vrishnis, headed by Sangkarshana, gave them battle in anger. In that great battle Satyaki, with six winged shafts, speedily pierced the highly powerful Janarddana, who attacked them. When Akrura struck Dantavakra with nine arrows, Karusha king wounded him in return with ten quick-coursing arrows. Struck by Viprithu with seven shafts the powerful Shishupala pierced him in return with eight. Thereafter Gaveshana with six arrows, Atidanta with eight and Vrihaddurga with five pierced the king of Chedi. He too, piercing each of them in return with five arrows, killed the four horses of Viprithu with four arrows. The next moment sundering Vrihaddurga's head with Bhalla, the king of Chedi, the slayer of his enemies, sent Gaveshana's charioteer to the abode of Yama. Leaving his car, the horses whereof were slain the energetic and the highly powerful Viprithu speedily got upon Vrihaddurga's car. And his charioteer, getting upon Gaveshana's car, drove his quick-coursing steeds. Thereupon the Yadavas, with bows and arrows in hands, angrily covered Sunitha with a downpour of shafts, who was dancing on the car. Having pierced the breast of Dantavakra with arrows in the battle-field Chakradeva as sailed Praghasa with five arrows. He too was wounded by them both with ten shafts cutting to the very vitals. Thereupon Shishupala's brother Bali wounded Chakradeva with ten arrows and Viduratha with five. Then the highly powerful Viduratha struck Bali with six sharpened arrows and himself was wounded in return with thirty arrows. Having pierced Vasudeva's son with three arrows Kritavarma killed his charioteer and struck down his standard. Seeing it Poundra wounded him in return with six arrows and cut off his bow with his Bhalla. Vivrittashatru pierced the king of Kalinga with sharpened arrows, and the king of Kalinga too, struck him, in return, on the shoulder with an iron club. The valiant Kanka made his elephant fall upon that of the king of Anga and wounded his person with his club. Anga too assailed him with his arrows. The mighty car-warriors Chitraka, Shwaphalka, and Satyaki struck the car-warriors of Kalinga, with winged arrows. In the battle-field, Rama hurled a tree in anger and killed with it the king of Banga, and his elephant. Having slain the king of Banga the valiant Sangkarshana got upon his chariot and taking up a bow sent a number of Kaishikas to the abode of Yama with his dreadful arrows. Thereupon having slain the great bow-men Karushas with six arrows, and killed a hundred horses of the Magadha army that mighty-armed and powerful car-warrior ran towards Jarasandha. Beholding the holder of mace (Rama) about to fall on him the king of Magadha cut him with three winged arrows. He too, wounding him in return with eight winged arrows, cut off with his Bhalla in anger his golden standard. Thus there took place a terrible encounter between them both showering arrows on and striking each other resembling that between gods and demons. Engaged angrily in conflict with one another, the elephant riders with the elephant riders, the car-warriors with the car-warriors, the cavalry with the cavalry, the infantry armed with spears, swords and armours with the foot-soldiers, they, cutting off their heads respectively, began to range in the battle-field. There was heard like the cries of the birds the sound of the fall of swords and arrows on armours. The sound of bugles, conches, trumpets and flutes covered that of weapons and the twang of bows of the great warriors.

CHAPTER 61. RUKSHMI ATTACKS KRISHNA AND IS DEFEATED.

Vaishampayana said:—Hearing that his sister had been carried away by Krishna Rukshmi, filled with anger, promised before Bhishmaka saying "I shall not return to the city of Kundina without slaying Krishna and bringing back Rukshmini". Saying this in anger the heroic Rukshmi get upon a car abounding in dreadful weapons and flags. And surrounded by a large army he speedily set out. Bhishmaka's sons, the foremost of car-warriors, Kratha, Angshuman Shrutarva, the valiant Venudari, the kings of Deccan and other mighty car-warriors, headed by Kratha and Kaishika followed him. Having wended a great distance in anger they saw Govinda with his beloved wife near the river Narmada. Having kept his army there proud Rukshmi, in order to fight a duel of cars, went to the slayer of Madhu and pierced him with sixty four sharpened arrows. Janarddana too wounded him in return with seventy arrows. Although Rukshmi was very careful the highly powerful and valiant Madhava cut off the standard of his car and the head of his charioteer from his body. Seeing him in difficulty the kings of Deccan, bent upon killing him, encircled Janarddana. The mighty armed Anshumana struck him with ten arrows Shutarva with five and Venudari with seven.

Thereupon when the energetic Govinda wounded the breast of Angshuman that king, in pain, sat down on his car. Thereafter having slain with four shafts the four horses of Shrutarva Madhava cut down Venudari's standard and and wounded his right arm. The very next moment he wounded Shrutava with five arrows who, in great-pain, sat down, holding the standard of the car.

While Vasudeva began thus to make a downpour of arrows, all the mighty car-warriors, Kratha, Kaishika and others ran towards him. Janarddana, in anger, cut off their arrows with his own. And although they were very careful he wounded them all. Having wounded all those kings with sixty four arrows that highly powerful one ran towards other angry kings. Beholding his army taking to their heels Rukshmi, filled with anger, wounded Keshava on the breast with five sharpened arrows, his charioteer with three such shafts and sundered his standard with a bent one. Piercing in anger, Rukshmi with sixty arrows Keshava cut off his bow although he was very careful. Taking up another such bow the energetic Rukshmi began to discharge celestial weapons for killing Keshava. Counteracting his weapons with his own the highly powerful Madhava again cut off his bow and car with three arrows. Thus having his bow and car sundered the heroic and valiant king Rukshmi, taking up his sword and shield, jumped down from the car. Beholding him thus leap down Keshava, in anger, cut off his sword which fell down on the battle-field and pierced his breast with three winged arrows. Thereupon the mighty-armed king Rukshmi, resounding the whole earth, fell down unconscious like a mighty demon struck down by a thunderbolt. Thereupon Keshava began to assail other kings with his arrows. They however, beholding Rukshmi fallen, took to their heels.

Beholding her brother lying down motionless on earth, Rukshmini, for his life, fell at Vishnu's feet. Keshava took up her, embraced and consoled her. And then promising safety to Rukshmi he set out for his own city.

On the other hand having vanquished Jarasandha and others, the Vrishnis, headed by Rama, gladly set out for Dwarka. After the departure of the lotus-eyed Keshava Shutarva came to the battle-field, placed Rukshmi on his own car and took him to his own city. Being unable to bring back his sister and seeing his promise broken the haughty and sensitive Rukshmi did not like to enter into the city of Kundina. For his residence he built another city in the province of Bidharbha which is celebrated on earth under the name of Bhojakata). Residing in that city the highly powerful Rukshmi began to govern the southern districts and the mighty-armed king Bhishmaka lived in the city of Kundina. When Rama, with the Vrishni army, arrived at Dwaraka the powerful Keshava duly espoused Rukshmini. Thereupon as did Rama lively happily with Sita, as Purandara lived with Sachi, Puloma's daughter so he enjoyed in the company of his sweet partner. That beautiful, good natured and chaste Rukshmini, endued with all accomplishments, was the first wife of Krishna. The powerful Madhava begat on her ten sons—all mighty car-warriors, namely the highly powerful Pradyumna, Charudeshna, Sudeshna, Sushena, Charugupta, the valiant Charuvaha, Charuvinda, Sucharu, Bhadracharu and Charu, the foremost of the strong and a daughter by name Charumati. They were all masters of weapons, dreadful in battle and well read in religious lore and political science. The mighty-armed Madhusudana married seven other beautiful and accomplished maidens born in high families, namely Kalindi, Mitravinda, Satya, the daughter of Nagnajita the king of Ayodhya, Jamvavati, the daughter of Jamvavan, Rohini capable of assuming forms at will, the good-natured daughter of Madra king, Lakshmana of fair eyes and Satrajita's daughter Satyabhama. Besides Gandhari, the daughter of Shavya, like unto an Apsara in beauty, was his another queen. Hrishikesha, of unlimited prowess,

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simultaneously married sixteen thousand maidens and enjoyed in their company simultaneously. They were all used to luxuries and were honoured with precious dresses and ornaments of all sorts as they desired. And thousands of highly powerful and great sons, whom Madhava begat on them, were all great car-warriors, endued with great strength, masters of all weapons and performers of sacrifices and religious rites.

CHAPTER 62. MARRIAGE OF RUKSHMAVATI.

Vaishampayana said:—After a few days the powerful Rukshmi, the slayer of his enemies, announced that his daughter would make her choice of a husband. For this invited by Rukshmi many rich and powerful kings and princes came to his house from various countries. Pradyumna, accompanied by other princes, went there. As soon as she saw him Rukshmini's daughter wanted to marry him. She too, endued with grace and effulgence, was celebrated on earth for her beauty. Keshava's son therefore wished to espouse that one of fair eyes. Thereupon when all the powerful kings took their seats in the Swayamvara hall, the Bidarbha king's daughter chose Pradyumna the slayer of enemies (for her husband). For he was a master of arms and well-built like a lion. Besides Keshava's son was peerless in beauty on earth. And that beautiful, youthful and accomplished princess too was attached to him like unto Narayanas's wife Indra-sena. After the termination of the Swayamvara the kings repaired to their respective cities and Pradyumna too went to Dwaraka with the princess of Bidarbha with him. The hero lived happily in her company as did Nala in that of Damayanti. Pradyumna begat on her a son by name Aniruddha, like unto the son of a god and of matchless deeds on earth. When, Aniruddha, coming of age, mastered the Vedas, the science of archery and the moral laws, Madhava selected the beautiful gold-like Rukshmavati, the grand-daughter of Rukshmi, for his wife. O Janamejaya, the highly illustrious and intelligent king Rukshmi used always to show rivalry with Krishna; still, on account of the eagerness of his son and Rukshmini he cast off his enmity and said with delightedness "I confer Rukshmavati on Aniruddha endued with accomplishments and of a peaceful nature." On this occasion Keshava, surrounded by his own army and accompanied by Rukshmini, Sangkarshana, his own sons and other Yadavas, went to Bidarbha. Rukshmi's kinsmen, friends and allies came there also at his invitation, O king, thereupon, in an auspicious day and under the auspicies of a favourable planet Aniruddha's wedding was celebrated with great festivity. Thus when Aniruddha was married to the Bidarbha princess, the Baidharvas and the Yadavas performed a great festivity. And adored there like immortals the Vrishnis lived happily.

Thereupon the liberal king of Ashmaka, Venudari, Rukshma's son Shrutarva, Chanura, Kratha, Angshuman, the highly powerful king of Kalinga, Jayatsena, the king Pardya and the beautiful king of Rishka, all these highly rich chiefs of Deccan spoke secretly to the powerful Rukshmi:—"You are an expert in dice and we too wish to play; Rama is a novice. Therefore following you we wish to defeat Rama". Thus accosted the mighty car-warrior Rukshmi approved of (their proposal). Thereupon they all delightedly entered into a beautiful hall with golden pillars and its floor covered with flowers. And it was sprinkled with sandal water. Those kings, decorated with beautiful garlands and unguents, and desirous of scoring victory, entered into that hall and sat upon golden seats. Invited by those deceitful kings expert in the game of dice, Rama gladly said:—"See I am sporting". In order to vanquish Revati's husband with a deceitful play the Deecan chiefs brought to the place of gambling innumerable jems, pearls and gold coins.

Thereupon there commenced the game of dice, the object of dreadful quarrels, a source of ruin to the wicked-minded and foe to friendship. In that game of dice with Rukshmi, Baladeva betted from ten to a thousand gold coins. Although the highly powerful Baladeva was very careful Rukshmi won that game and betted another such amount. Thus repeatedly defeated by Rukshmi the highly powerful elder brother of Keshava betted one koti gold coins. Saying to the holder of mace, 'you are defeated' and smiling the greatly wily Rukshmi threw his dice. And with pride he again said "Although unconquerable in battle, Baladeva, a novice and weak in a game of dice, has lost innumerable gold coins to me".

Hearing it the king of Kalinga, delightedly and showing his teeth, laughed aloud. Hearing those words of Rukshmi relating to his defeat the holder of ploughshare (Bala) was worked up with anger. Assailed by the cutting words of Bhishmaka's son, the pious son of Rohini, although a master of anger, again invoked his rage. And although worked up with ire, the highly powerful Rama, controlling his passions, calmly said:—"My next bet is one hundred koti gold coins, O king. Throwing red and copper coloured dice in this sinful country take all this". Thus addressed by Rohini's son, Rukshmi, the wretch of a man, did not say anything at first, then saying "Very well" he again threw his dice. When the dice, bearing four marks, were thrown by him Rukshmi was rightly defeated by Rama. But the descendant of Bhoja did not admit it but smilingly said "I have won the game." Hearing those deceiptful words Baladeva was again filled with anger and therefore did not give any reply. Thereupon increasing the anger of the high-souled Baladeva an invisible voice said solemnly like the muttering of clouds—"Truly has said the beautiful Baladeva. Rukshmi has been defeated in a fair play. Although they know at heart that they have been defeated still they do not admit it in words. Though Baladeva says nothing, still in fact, he has won the game. This is the truth."

Hearing this well-expressed truthful word from the sky the powerful Sangkarshena stood up and began to grind on earth, Rukshmi's elder brother with the huge dice board. Enraged at those words, Rama, the foremost of Yadus, slew with force that harsh-speeched and jealous Rukshmi. Thereupon coming out therefrom in anger he struck down the teeth of the Kalinga king and began to roar there in anger like a lion. Then taking up a dagger he terrified all other kings. Afterwards uprooting, like an elephant, the golden pillars of the hall and terrifying the Kaishikas there Sangkarshana, the foremost of the strong, came out of the door. As a lion assails the little deer so having slain the wicked Rukshmi, Rama, the foremost of Yadus, encircled by his own men, returned to his tent and communicated to Keshava all that had happened. The highly effulgent Krishna said nothing to Rama. Hearing of the death of her own brother and cursing her own self Rukshmini began to shed tears in anger and said:—"Alas, Rukshmi, powerful like Indra, the slayer of hostile heroes who had not been slain by Vasudeva before, has been slain in the gambling-hall with the dice board hurled by Rama.".

On the highly powerful son of Bhishmaka, Rukshmi, trained by Bhargava, and well-versed in warfare and active like Bhargava himself, being slain the Vrishnis and Andhakas were filled with sorrow. O foremost of Bharatas, you have thus listened to how the Vrishnis became enemies, of Rukshmi and how he was slain. O king, a few days after this incident the Vrishnis, who were under Rama and Krishna, came to the city of Dwaravati with profuse riches.

CHAPTER 63. BALADEVA'S GLORIOUS DEEDS DESCRIBED.

Janamejaya said:—O Saint, I wish to listen again to the glorious deeds of the intelligent Baladeva, the personification of Shesa, the upholder of the earth. Sages, well-read in Puranas, designate Baladeva, full of effulgence as highly noble and the highly powerful prime deity Ananta. O Vipra, therefore I wish to listen accurately to his deeds.

Vaishampayana said:—In the Puranas this highly energetic and powerful Baladeva is described as the Naga king Sesha, the mine of lustre, who holds up the earth, as the foremost of Purushas, as a teacher of Yoga and as the foremost of those who are well-read in the Mantras of the Vedas. Many times he defeated Jarasandha while fighting with clubs but he did not kill him. The other celebrated kings, of earth who followed the Maagdha emperor, were defeated by him in battle. In wrestling with him even Bhima, of dreadful prowess, endued with the strength of an Ayuta elephant, was defeated by him. On account of his stealing awaya Duryodhana's daughter Lakshmana, Jamvavati's son Shamva was confined by those princes in the city of Hastina. Hearing of his confinement the highly powerful Rama went to that city for releasing him, but did not find him. Thereat worked up with anger that powerful hero performed the following wonderful feat. Taking up his invincible, incomparable, and celestial weapon, plough-share, powerful like that of Brahma and fixing it on the wall of the city he thought of, throwing that city of the Kauravas into the Ganges.

Beholding his city thus whirled the king Duryodhana sent Shamva with his wife to the highly powerful Rama and presented himself for his discipleship. Rama too accepted the Kuru king as his disciple in club fighting. O king, from that time, this whirling city is seen bent towards the ocean. O king, formerly in the Birandirava forest, Halayudha, the son of a hero, killed Pralamva, with one stroke of his fist. This too is one of his deeds well-known on earth. He hurled up the huge-bodied demon, Dhenuka, coming under the disguise of an ass and threw him up on the top of a tree. And he too fell down dead on the surface of the earth. The holder of plough-share made the great river Yamuna, the sister of Yama, of quick-current and going towards the ocean of salt water, turn her course towards the city. This too is one of his wonderful deeds. O king, I have thus described to you the powerful deeds of Baladeva of matchless strength, the personation of Sesha passing under the name of Ananta. You shall, while listening to the Puranas, hear of many other most excellent feats of Haladara, the foremost of Purushas, which have not been described by me to day.

CHAPTER 64. THE DEFEAT OF THE ASURA NARAKA.

Janamejaya said:—O great Muni, describe to me what the powerful Vishnu did when he came over to Dwaraka after the destruction of Rukshmi.

Vaishampayana said:—The beautiful and powerful lord Vishnu, having lotus eyes, the enhancer of the delight of the Yadavas, encircled by them, directed his mind towards Dwaraka The diverse riches and jewels, he could lay his hands on any where, he made the Rakshasas bring over to his own house. The great Asuras, Danavas and Daityas, who had acquired boons, as also put in many obstacles at that time; but the mighty-armed Madhava destroyed them all.

O king, while Madhava lived in Dwaraka, the Danava Naraka, the great enemy of the king of gods and a terror to the celestials, presented many obstacles in his way. That Danava, residing at Murtilinga, an oppresser of all the gods, used always to oppose the celestials and the Rishis. Once on a time Bhumi's son Naraka, the king of Pragyotish, went to a place called Kasheru. There assuming the form of an elephant he, by force, ravished Twastha's daughter the beautiful Chaturdashi. And shorn of fear or sorrow he foolishly said:—"From this very day, the Rakshasas, Daityas and Danavas will bring for me all the jems the gods and men possess, all that the entire earth contains and all that lie in the ocean." Saying this Bhumi's son began to pilfer diverse riches and clothes. But he did not enjoy them. The powerful Naraka carried all the maidens of the gods, Gandharvas, men and the seven divisions of the Apsaras. Thus sixteen thousand and one hundred chaste maidens, wearing a single braid of hairs, were brought. The powerful Bhouma made a house for them on the mount Mani in Alaka near the territory of the Daitya Maru. There the ten daughters of Maru, those maidens and the other leading Rakshasas used to carry out his command and adore him, the king of Pragyotish. O king, the great Asura Naraka, who had obtained a boon, lived on the bank of the blue ocean. Even all the Asuras, collected together, could not perform before the dreadful feat which this great demon did. O Janamejaya, for ear-rings the great demon Naraka, whom the goddess earth gave birth to and whose capital was Pragyotish, oppressed even Aditi. He had four gate-keepers, dreadful in battle, namely Hayagriva, Nisunda, Panchanada and the great Asura Muru with his thousand sons, proud of his boon. Those warders, terrors to those who perform pious deeds, used to occupy even the aethireal way along with the Rakshasas in battle.

For his destruction. Vasudeva, of the Vishni race, begat the might-armed Janarddana, holding conch, discus, club and sword, on Devaki. After holding consultation with one another the celestials selected the city of Dwaraka for the residence of the great Purusha Madhava, of well-known prowess on earth (20–21). Encircled by the great ocean and beautified with five hills, that city of Dwaraka excelled that of Indra even in beauty. The great assembly-hall in that city, resembling that of gods, which extended over a yojana and had huge golden door-ways, was celebrated by the name of Dasharha; and the leading members of the Vrishni and Andhaka races, headed by Rama and Krishna, used to carry on their daily transactions there.

O foremost of Bharatas, once on a time while the Yadavas sat in that hall there blew the wind carrying celestial fragrance and there was a downpour of flowers. In a moment a great noise, covered with a net of lustre, was heard in the sky. Within that effulgence, Vasava was seen, seated on a white elephant and encircled by the gods. Rama, Krishna and the king Ugrasena, with other leading Yadavas went out and welcomed the king of gods. Afterwards coming down speedily from that elephant chief the king of gods embraced Janarddana, Baladeva, the king Ahuka and then the other Yadavas, in order of age and rank. And then adored by Rama and Krishna he entered into that magnificent assembly-hall. Seated there and adoring it the king of gods duly accepted arghya and other articles of hospitality.

Then touching the auspicious countenance of his younger brother (Krishna) with his hand the highly powerful Vasudava addressed to him the following consoling words). "O Devaki's son, O slayer of Madhu and of thy enemies, hear for what I have come to thee. Elated with the boon conferred on him by Brahma the great Asura Naraka has foolishly stolen the ear-rings of Aditi. He always acts against the gods and Brahmanas and is on the look out for your loopholes. Do thou therefore kill that sinful wretch. This Vinata's son Guruda, highly powerful, capable of ranging anywhere and of assuming any strength and always moving in the sky, will take thee there. O Upendra, Bhumi's son, Naraka, is unslayable by all creatures. Do thou soon kill that sinful one and come back."

Thus addressed by the king of gods, the mighty-armed and lotus-eyed Keshava promised to kill Naraka. Then taking up his conch, discus, club and sword, he, along with Satyabhama, sat on Garuda's back and immediately started with Sakra. Before the very eyes of the leading Yadus, Keshava, assisted by the powerful Garuda, crossed the seven regions of the wind-gods and rose high up. Then on account of the distance the king of gods, seated on the elephant chief and Janarddana, seated on Garuda, appeared like the sun and the moon. Thereupon the Gandharvas and Apsaras chanting their glories in the sky they gradually disappeared. Then advising as to what he should do Vasava, the king of gods, repaired to

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his own abode and Krishna went to the city of Pragyotish. At that time struck by the flapping of Garuda's wings the wind blew in a contrary direction and the sky rangers were assailed by clouds of dreadful sound. By the help of that sky-ranging bird Madhava, in no time, reached his wished-for quarter, and seeing the gate-keepers from distance he went where they were. Arriving at the gate of the mount Mani he saw there elephants, horses, car-warriors and six-thousand nooses sharp like razors.

Vaishampayana said:—Then beholding the beautiful, four-armed Krishna, holding conch, discus, club and sword, wearing a garland of wild flowers round his neck, bearing the moon-like mystic mark Srivatsa on his breast, with his head illumined with a crown effulgent like the sun or moon accompanied by a lightning, looking like a blue ocean, and clad in a yellow raiment, and hearing the dreadful twang of of his bow resembling the fall of a thunder-bolt the Danavas could understand that Vishnu himself had come. Taking up his Sakti, adorned with diamond and gold, the great Asura Muru, resembling Death himself, ran toward him and hurled that huge weapon at him. Beholding that Sati, like unto a burning fire-brand about to fall Vasudeva took up gold feathered arrows. When the powerful Vasudeva discharged that arrow burning like a lightning it cut that Sakti into twain. When that Sakti was sundered Muru, having his eyes reddened in anger, took up a huge club and discharged it as the king of gods hurls his thunder-bolt. Having drawn his crescent-shaped weapon to his ears Keshava, the foremost of gods, cut off with it, in the middle the golden club. And with a Bhalla he cut off the Danava's head.

Having thus slain Muru with his friends and cut off his nooses the Lord, Devaki's son, killed the highly powerful Rakshasa soldiers of Naraka. And crossing the mountain he saw the Danava host consisting of Nisunda, Diti's son Hayagriva and the other heroes capable of fighting in many ways. Thereupon speedily getting upon his chariot and putting on a strong celestial golden armour, the highly powerful Nisunda, with his arms, obstructed Keshava's path. Thereupon he pierced the slayer of Keshi and Madhu with ten arrows who in return wounded him with seventy winged shafts and cut off the Danava's arrow in the sky before they could approach him. Then his army completely surrounded Keshava. Although covered with the net-work of this arrows Janarddana, the foremost of gods, was highly enraged at seeing those Danavas and withstood the Davnava army with a downpour of cloudy weapons and other arrows. Thereupon assailing all of them with five arrows each he pierced them to the very vitals with cloudy weapons. Filled with fear the Danava army fled away from the battle-field. Beholding his army thus flying away he again came to the battle. And making a downpour of arrows he covered Keshava. Neither the sun, the sky nor the ten quarters were visible). Thereupon taking up a divine weapon, by name Savitra, Hari, the foremost of Purushas, cut off his arrows in the battle-field. Cutting off the arrows of the Danavas with his own the highly powerful Krishna sundered his umbrella with one arrow and the pole of his car with three. And again destroying his four horses with four arrows he killed his charioteer with five and cut off his standard with one. Afterwards with a highly sharpened and whetted Bhalla, Krishna, the foremost of gods, cut off Nisunda's head who, alone, in the days of yore, had fought with the gods for a thousand years.

Beholding Nisunda thus slain the foremost of Asuras, Hayagriva, effulgent like a mountain, took up a huge rock and vauntingly hurled it with great force. Thereupon taking up his celestial cloudy weapon and discharging it Vishnu, the foremost of those conversant with the use of weapons, sundered the rock into seven and the stones fell down on earth. O foremost of Bharatas, with huge arrows of diverse colours discharged off the Sranga bow there set in a dreadful battle, abounding in various weapons like that between the gods and demons. Thus seated on Garuda the mighty-armed Janarddana began to destroy the demons; what more, all the Danavas, who approached Narayana, were wounded with the huge ploughshare and killed with arrows and swords. Some, consumed by the fire of the discus, fell down from the sky, and some, coming near, gave up their ghost with grim-visaged countenance. And although mutilated with the arrows of Krishna, some Asuras, capable of fighting in many ways, began to make a downpour of arrows like unto clouds discharging their watery contents. Their persons were besmeared with blood like blossoming Kisgsuka trees and they, with their weapons broken and filled with fright, took to their heels. Thereupon with his eyes red hot in anger the Danava Hayagriva again, with velocity of the wind, drew a tree ten fathoms high. Uprooting speedily that tree, the cloud-coloured Hayagriva ran and hurled it with such a force by virtue of his training, that the huge sound, caused by the tree passing through air, was heard by every body. With a thousand arrows, Janarddana speedily and wonderfully cut that tree into many pieces and with one shaft struck Hayagriva on the breast. That arrow, burning like fire, with great force entered into the breast of the Danava and came out piercing his very vitals (82–85). The dreadful Janarddana, of unlimited prowess, the enhancer of the delight of the Yadavas, killed that highly powerful and irrepressible Hayagriva who alone formerly fought with the gods for one thousand years. Having thus slain the grim-visaged and the iniquitous Hayagriva in the province of Lohitanga in a city encircled by walls and killed eight hundred thousand Danavas Devaki's son, the Lord, the foremost of Pursushas and the slayer of his enemie's, set out for the city of Pragyotish.

Having entered the shining city of Pragyotish, the highly powerful Keshava, after many encounters, killed Naraka's follower, the great Asura Panchajana, and blew his conch Panchjanya. That blare, grave as the muttering of clouds and that of the whirlpool, was heard every where all over the three worlds. Hearing that sound the eyes of the heroic Naraka were reddened with anger. And getting upon his celestial car he shone like the evening sun. It had eight iron wheels, was coloured in gold and red paints, had spacious seats, had golden flags and pennons with golden standards. It had a pole set with diamonds and pearls, was drawn by a thousand horses, was covered with an iron net work, was filled with various weapons and made of gold. At that time Naraka's face looked effulgent like a fire-brand. And he appeared highly beautiful with his white, and moon-like breast plate. On his head shone a crown of sun-like lustre and his ears were shining with a pair of Kundalas. Putting on diverse sorts of armours, the tawny-coloured, grim-visaged and huge-bodied Daity as Danavas, and Rakshasas issued out; of them some had swords and shields, some had arrows and quivers, some had Saktis and some had lances. Those well-armed heroes, expert in fighting, rode elephants and horses and issued out of the city shaking the earth. Encircled by Daityas Naraka, like unto Death him self, while proceeding, heard on all sides the sound of thousands of bugles, conchs, Mridangas and trumpets resembling the muttering of clouds.

Those grim-visaged heroes unitedly went, where Krishna was waiting and began to fight with him. Those soldiers covered Vasudeva with a down-pour of arrows. Discharging thousands of Saktis, maces, lances and arrows they covered the welkin. Moving his Sranga bow, the twang whereof was like the muttering of a cloud, hither and thither, Janarddana, looking like a dark-blue cloud, began to make a down-pour of arrows on the Danavas. And with it their highly powerful soldiers were greatly assailed. Thus there took place a dreadful encounter between him and the fierce-looking Rakshasas; and wounded by Krishna's arrows the Danavas were routed. Some of the Danavas had their arms broken and some were wounded on the head and neck; some were cut in twain by the discus and some were wounded on the breast with arrows. Of the car-warriors, elephant-riders and cavalry some were cut into two pieces and some were wounded with arrows and lances. Thus the entire army, consisting of elephants, horses, and cars, was completely crushed down. There took place a highly dreadful encounter in that battle between him and Naraka. Listen to it, I shall describe it briefly. The energetic Naraka, the terror of gods, fought with the foremost of Purushas, Madhusudana, like Madhu himself. When in that battle, the heroic Naraka, like unto Death himself, took up with reddened eyes, a huge bow resembling that of Sakra, Keshava, taking up an arrow like the fierce ray of the sun, filled his car with celestial weapons. Thereupon when taking up a huge weapon the powerful Naraka was about to withstand the great and war-like slayer of Madhu Janarddana, having a countenance effulgent like lightning, he cut off that weapon with his discus and sent his charioteer to the abode of Death with one arrow. Then destroying the car with horses and standards with ten arrows the slayer of Madhu cut his coat of mail with one arrow. Thereupon having his horses slain, and stripped of his coat of mail like a serpent shorn of its skin, the heroic Danava Naraka, all on a sudden, took up a strong iron dart effulgent like a lightning and sent it down whirling. Seeing that dart covered with gold, about to fall down, Krishna, of wonderful deeds, cut it off into two pieces with his razor-shaped weapon. Thus there went on a dreadful encounter with that highly powerful and grim-visaged Rakshasa Naraka, abounding in most excellent weapons. Fighting with Naraka for a moment the dreadful Janarddana cut him into two pieces with his effulgent discus. His body, sundered into twain with the discus, fell on earth like a mountain summit clapped by a thunder-bolt. It appeared that the sun was enshrouded by Krishna-like black clouds. Naraka's head, cut off by the discus, appeared on the battle-field like unto a mountain of minerals clapped by a thunderbolt. Beholding his son slain, Bhumi came with the pair of Kundalas to Govinda and said "O Govinda, thou dost sport as a boy plays with his toys. Thou hast with thy own hand killed him whom thou didst give. O Lord, however, do thou accept these Kundalas for which thou hast slain Naraka, and protect his children".

CHAPTER 65. KRISHNA VISIT WITH ADITI.

Vaishampayana said:—Having slain Bhumi's son Naraka powerful like Vasava, Vishnu, the younger brother of Indra began to search his house. Having arrived at the Treasury of Naraka, Janarddana saw there, diamonds, pearls, corals, sapphires, emeralds, and various other jems, gold, heaps of jewels and other precious articles, a highly costly bed shining like the moon, a lion-shaped throne effulgent like burning fire, and a huge and beautiful umbrella of the hue of the clouds of the rainy season, of the lustre of the moon and with a golden standard. O Janamejaya, I have heard that there was also the golden fountain of hundreds and thousands of streams, which he had brought from Varuna; what more, we had never seen or heard of even in the palaces of Kuvera, Yama and Indra, the collection of jewels that was in Naraka's treasury. Bhumi's son Naraka, Nisunda and Hayagriva being slain, the surving warders of his Treasury took to Keshava those costly jems and the damsels of the seraglio, considering them as worthy of him.

The Daityas said:—O Janarddana, all these various jems and riches, these goods made of corals, these beautiful flags set with golden threads, these twenty thousand grim-visaged elephants carrying bows, Tomaras and other weapons such-like forty-thousand she-elephants, and eight lacs of horses of most excellent breed have been brought to thee. And we will take to the houses of the Andhakas and Vrishnis as many kine as thou shalt desire to have. O Lord, we will despatch to the houses of the Yadavas, bed-steads of fine workmanship, seals, beautiful birds, sandal and Aguru woods and other jems both in mountains or collected from the three worlds that are in Naraka's palace. There are now in Naraka's houses all the riches and jems that were formerly in the possession of the gods, Gandharvas and Pannagas.

Vaishampayana said:—Having accepted all those jewels and examined them, Hrishikesha, the slayer of Madhu, sent them all speedily to Dwaravati through the Danavas. Taking himself the Varuni umbrella capable of showering gold, he rode Garuda that foremost of birds, the very personification of a cloud, and set out for the foremost of mountains Mani. Janarddana saw there on the mount Mani, gates, summits of sapphire decorated with flags and doors. At that time adorned with rows of palaces painted in golden colours, the entire mount Mani shone like a cloud adorned with lightings. Madhusudana saw there the pure, gold-coloured and plump-hipped daughters of the Gandharvas and leading Asuras whom Naraka had carried away by force and confined there. Although deprived of all sorts of enjoyments, still residing there as if in the city of the celestials, they lived happily like celestial damsels. And nobody, on account of Naraka's powers, could take them away.

In order to behold the large-armed Krishna, the foremost of Yadus, the damsels, controlling their senses, emaciated on account of the observance of vows and fastings, clad in silken raiments and with one braid of hairs approached Janarddana with folded hands and stood encircling him. They fearlessly surrounded Krishna because they had learnt of the death of the great Asuras Naraka, Mura, Hayagriva and Nisunda. The elderly Manavas who were their guards, although more aged, bowed to Krishna, the descendant of Yadu, with folded hands. Beholding the moon-like countenance of the large-armed Krishna, those beautiful damsels were all worked up with desire and wished to select him as their husband. And they accordingly with joyous hearts said:— "What the celestial saint Narada, knowing the hearts of all creatures, and the Wind-god had said to us before, is all true. They said that the Universal Lord Narayana, the holder of conch, discus and club, slaying Bhumi's son Naraka, would in no time become our husband. We behold now our beloved lord, the slayer of his enemies of whom we have been hearing for ever. Oh! we have been blessed to-day by seeing this high-souled deity".

Thereupon having delightedly welcomed those lotus eyed damsels Vasav's younger brother consoled them all. Having welcomed those ladies duly the lotus-eyed Keshava, the slayer of Madhu took them all to Dwaraka in a car protected by servants. Then there arose a great tumult of the Rakshas quick-coursing like air, while carrying the vehicle. Uprooting the most charming and brilliant summit of that best of mountains, Vishnu the foremost of the strong rode that best of birds Garuda. It was like the clear sun and the moon, had gates made of jewels and gold, abounded in birds, deer, various animals and elephants, was beautified with trees and filled with monkeys. It had spacious rocks, boars, buffaloes and antelopes. Its table-land was filled with springs and it had various sorts of trees. Many beasts and peacocks were roving there and it was wonderful above all comprehension. Garuda the king of birds easily carried Janarddana with his wife and the mount Meru. With the flapping of his strong wings, that king of birds, huge like a big mountain summit, raised up a tumultuous sound on all sides. By the weight of his feet the mountain tops were all broken down, the trees were uprooted, huge clouds were dispersed and some of them assumed a wonderful form. In this way, as desired by Janarddana that bird, fleet like the wind, went beyond the paths of the sun and the moon. O Emperor, O thou the slayer of thy enemies, gradually Keshava, the destroyer of his foes, arrived at the mount Sumeru and saw the abodes of the celestials. And then crossing the shining babitations of the Viswadevas, Sadhyas, Maruts, the two Aswins and other auspicious regions, he arrived at the land of gods, and entered into the palace of their king. Coming down from Garuda's back, Madhava there met the king of gods. And Indra too welcomed him with great

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delight. Giving to the king of gods the pair of ear-rings belonging to Aditi and saluting him, Janarddana, the foremost of men, along with his wife, was welcomed by him in return. Puloma's daughter duly received Satyabhama.

Thereupon Vasava and Vasudeva together with their wives repaired to the prosperous abode of Aditi, the mother of celestials. Arriving there, those two great gods saw the Asuras, seated all around worshipping the great Aditi engaged in Tapas. Placing Janarddana before him, Aditi's son and Sachi's lord Purandara approached his mother, saluted her, gave her over the pair of ear-rings and narrated the glorious deeds of Keshava. Hearing them, Aditi was pleased and took up her two sons on her lap. And welcoming them with auspicious blessings, she honoured them. Thereafter Puloma's daughter and Satyabhama with great delight saluted the feet of the goddess Aditi with veneration; welcoming them duly with affection, the illustrious mother of the gods said to Keshava:—"My son, as this king of gods is worshipful to all the worlds, so you are unslayable by all creatures. This most excellent of all your wives, this beautiful and pleasant looking Satyabhama celebrated in all the worlds, will be ever youthful and lucky. And from her person she will emit charming and celestial fragrance. O Krishna, as long as you will be in your human form, this your wife will not be visited by decrepitude."

Thus honoured by the mother of gods, the highly powerful Krishna was honoured by Vasava with various jewels. Thereupon obtaining the permission of the king of gods, riding Vinata's son with Satyabhama and worshipped by the entire host of the celestials, he began to range in the celestial gardens. While crossing the garden of Vasava the mighty-armed Keshava saw the most excellent, sacred and celestial huge tree Parijata always emitting holy fragrance and daily blossoming, approaching which every one regains the recollection of his pristine birth. Although gods were kept there in charge of the tree, Krishna of unlimited powers, forcibly up-rooted it and placed it on Garuda's head. Thereupon viewing the Apsaras, Upendra and Satyabhama proceeded towards Dwarka by the ethereal way. The celestial damsels from behind saw Satyabhama. Hearing of this deed of Krishna the mighty-armed king of gods did not express his disapproval but rather said "Krishna is never successful". Thus adored by the celestials and hymned by the seven saints, the mighty-armed Krishna the slayer of his enemies, set out for Dwarka from the celestial region. Wending the long distance like a short one, he espied the city of the Yadavas. Having performed that great feat Vasava's younger brother the Lord Krishna, riding Garuda, returned to Dwaraka.

CHAPTER 66. THE PRESENT OF THE PARIJATA BY KRISHNA TO RUKSHMINI.

Janamejaya said:—O foremost of Munis, I am not able to attain to the consummation of my satisfaction listening again and again to the sacred theme of Lord Krishna's influence on Mathura. Thou art conversant with the six divisions of Krishna's history while Madhava lived in Dwarka after marrying his wives. Do thou describe it to me now.

Vaishampayana said:—O Janamejaya, O descendant of Bharata, all the deeds which the powerful Krishna performed after taking his wives are all becoming to him. Listen, I shall relate them. O king, after his marriage, the highly energetic and powerful Vasudeva once went to the mount Raivataka with Rukshmini. Madhusudana went there personally because there was to take place a great festival on the day of the termination of Rukshmini's vow and that he would gratify the Brahmanas. O king, according to Narada's command, Vasudeva's sons and brothers had already been sent there. The sixteen thousand wives of the intelligent Madhava with splendour befitting their rank, had gone there.. There the lord of subdued senses, conferred on the twice-borns all their desired-for objects, as well as on the beggars, on those who always practise religious rites and on all those who sought his well-being. Arriving there, O descendant of Kuru with Youna [Those connected by female marriage etc.], Shrouna [Those with whom he studied together.], and Moukh [Priests and sacrifices.], friends, pure, always performing great religious rites and born in great families, the Lord, ever fond of his votaries and the refuge of the pious, satisfied the Brahmanas with sacrifice and his kinsmen according to their rank. At the termination of the fasting, the Lord highly honoured his beloved spouse Rukshmini, the daughter of Bhishmaka.

While residing there, once the highly powerful Krishna, sat on a seat with Rukshmini encircled by his other wives when the ascetic Narada arrived there. When that best of Munis came there, Vasava's younger brother of immeasurable energy Keshava, duly adored him with rites laid down in the Scriptures. O descendant of Bharata, adored by Vasudeva's son Krishna, that foremost of Munis, Narada, adored of the pious, gave him a Parijata flower. O king, Bhoja's daughter Rukshmini was by him, so Hari gave her that Parijata flower. Taking that lovely flower and following Krishna's hint, that blameless lady the object of his love, put it on her head. At that time Bhishmaka's daughter, the very collection of the beauties of the three worlds, ever captivating Narayana, was doubly beautified by that celestial flower.

Thereafter Prajapati's son Narada said to Kama's mother (Rukshmini):—"O goddess, O chaste lady, the flower is worthy of thee. O thou of firm vows, methinks thou art worthy of wearing this flower, for coming in thy contact, it has been perfectly adorned. O thou, endowed with auspicious qualities, O thou ever fond of thy husband, this flower never withers away. O thou of many qualities, O thou, conversant with the knowledge of time, the flower emits wished-for fragrance for one year. O beautiful lady of sweet speech, this flower affords heat and cold as desired, and from it come out various wished-for juices. O beautiful lady, when sought for, this Parijata flower gives good luck and emits delightful fragrance. O goddess, what more, whatever flowers thou shalt wish for, this flower of the king of trees the Parijata will give thee. O auspicious and pious lady, it is the root of good luck and confers piety, and when won, it does not allow the mind, to wend any evil path. Whatever colour thou shalt wish to see, it will assume, and according to thy will, it will become thin or plump. O thou, having lotus eyes, dispelling unwholesome smell, it increases fragrance, and it serves the purpose of a lamp in night. Moreover it will give thee a garland of Santanaka flowers, the most excellent of flowers, and undecaying clothes whenever thou shalt think of them. Whenever thou wilt use the flower like a very goddess thou wilt be the mistress of hunger, thirst, exhaustion and decrepitude. As desired by thee, it will sing songs in accompaniment with good musical instruments. O goddess, as is the rule with this flower, it will go away from thee when the term of one full year will be completed. O fair one, may good betide thee! in order to please the gods the Creator has invested the Parijata flower with such a character). The beloved spouse of Mahadeva, the foremost of gods, Himalaya's daughter Uama is the mistress of the universe: and therefore she always uses this flower. O thou endued with accomplishments, the mother of Mahendra and other gods, Aditi, Puloma's daughter Sachi, Savitri, the mother of gods and the goddess Sree too, always use this flower. Even for the wives of the gods and the leading celestial Vasus and others its period of duration does not exceed more than a year.

"O Bhoja's daughter, among the sixteen thousand wives of Vasudeva, I consider thee as the foremost and the most beloved. O accomplished lady, O thou the beloved wife of the lord of all, thou hast sprinkled to-day the other wives of thy husband with the water of dishonour. Krishna, the slayer of Madhu having conferred on thee this Mandara flower, thy good luck and fame have become manifest. O fair lady, the fortunate and chaste Satyabhama, the daughter of Satrajit who always considers herself as greatly lucky, will come to know of thy good fortune today. Samva's mother Jamvuvati, Gandhari and other wives of the high-souled Vasudeva will forsake to-day their great desire for a good luck. O goddess, such a victorious car of thy good fortune has come out to-day that even a thousand mental cars will not be able to vanquish it. O beautiful and glorious daughter of Bhoja, I know thee to-day as the other soul of Krishna. O beloved wife of Hari, blessed is thy life since Achyuta has conferred on thee, this flower identical with the best collection of jewels of the three worlds".

O Emperor, the female servants, that had been sent there by Satyabhama heard the words of Narada. O king, the other wives of Krishna had sent there, their respective maid servants. Seeing them Narada said so, about Rukshmini. Hearing all this in particular, the assembled maid servants out of their feminine nature, carried the news to the inner appartments of Krishna. Hearing that, the goddesses began to speak into the ears of one another delightedly about Rukshmini's accomplishments befitting her family. Amongst the assembled wives of Damodara almost all said:—"Why should not this be? Rukshmini is Keshava's first wife, and is the mother of his son. So she is worthy of such a respect". But the highly proud Satyabhama, ever beloved of Vishnu, could not bear the accession of such a good fortune unto the other wife of her husband. That youthful and beautiful goddess was always proud of her good luck, and too much sensitive. So hearing of such a good fortune of the other wife she was possessed by jealousy. Worked up with anger like the flame of fire, that one of pure smiles cast off her cloth dyed with red powder and put on a white one. Thereupon as a star enters into a cloud, so burning with the increasing fire of jealousy and shorn of her lustre, she entered into the lonely apartment of anger. To put sandal on the forehead, to wear two pieces of raiment white like snow and to put on red sand on the outskirts of the forehead, are marks of showing anger on the husband. So the goddess Satyabhama did not forget them. She threw off her ornaments on the bed having a big pillow; and then wearing only a single braid of hair and remembering again and again the good fortune of his co-wife, she sat there and shook her head in anger. Although Keshava caressed her dearly, she worked up with ire, at the report of her maid-servants, bent her eye-brow, began to sigh heavily and tore off her sporting lotus with her nails.

CHAPTER 67. SATYABHAMA'S RESENTMENT AND KESHAVA'S CONSOLATION TO HER.

Vaishampayana said:—Finding the sage (Narada) seated with Rukshmini, the high-souled Keshava that knower of all things, set out under some pretext (for the mansion of Satyabhama). He proceeded quickly towards the spacious mansion of Satyabhama that was built on the delightful Raivataka hills by Visvakarma himself. Slowly Vishnu entered (the palace) as he was aware that the daughter of Satrajit, his beloved queen—she dearer to him than this own vital breaths, had been under the influence of jealous resentment. Affectionately thinking of that beloved one who was then excited with jealousy, the slayer of Madhu proceeded with slow steps, and with greater fear. Engaging Pradyumna to entertain and attend upon Narada and telling his servant Daruka "Wait at the gate," he entered into the palace of Satyabhama. There he saw from a distance, his beloved wife then inside the apartment of anger* in the midst of her handmaids sighing hot and frequently in consequence jealous wrath. [This used to be a separate room in the palace of ancient queens, where they resorted in order to indicate their annoyance or anger at the conduct of their husbands.] (He saw) her laughing a derisive laugh mixed with sighs at the lotus that she had brought near her own lotus-like face, and had been nipping with her nails. Sometimes he saw her describing figures on the ground with the tip of her toe slightly bent, and (sometimes) laughing gently with her face turned towards her back. Sometimes he saw his lotus-eyed queen of exquisite shape and form merged in deep thought, the while the lotus of her face resting on the lotus of her left palm. Sometimes he saw his unblameable wife take the delightful sandal from the hands of her maids, smear it on her breast and then again cruelly throw it aside. He saw her rise from her bed and fall into it again and again. There Hari saw these and many other actions of her dear wife (that indicated the pitch of her resentment).

Now as the daughter of Satrajit laid her head on her pillow, previously covering it with her veil, Janardanna thought "This is my opportunity (for effecting an entrance into her room)". Then by (manual) signs commanding the handmaids not to announce his presence, he approached Satyabhama with faltering steps. Taking up the fan and standing by her side, he then began to fan slowly and laugh gently. That illustrious one (Hari), then perfumed in consequence of his contact with the Parijata flower, diffused there a divine, super-natural and rare fragrance. Smelling that wondrous fragrance, and taken with admiration, Satya uncovered her face, and said "What is this?" Then rising from her bed, she of pure and gentle smiles, without bestowing a glance on her godly husband, began to question her maids about the cause of the fragrance. But thus questioned, the maids could not say anything, and kneeling down on the ground they waited there with countenances cast down towards the earth and with palms joined together (in supplication). Then (as if) not finding the source of that wonderful fragrance, Satyabhama bethought herself thus:—"The earth emits diverse kinds of smell; can this fragrance be one of her excellent emissions?" Then when wondering as to what this could be due, she was looking on all sides, her glance suddenly lighted on Kesava that creator of the worlds. She said "Ah! right," and then suddenly her eyes became dimmed with tears, the intensity of love filling her all the more with jealous anger. With her delicate lips pouting and herself sighing, that beautiful lady of dark eyes then turned her down-cast countenance away in another direction, and remained thus for a while. Then contracting her brows in a disapproving frown and placing her face on her palms, she said to Hari with her eyes upraised, "Thou lookest beautiful". Tears of jealous passion began to flow down from her eyes, like drops of dew falling from a pair of lotus-petals. The lotus-eyed Krishna then seeing tears flow down from the lotus-like countenance of her wife, approached her in haste and held them in her hands. Then wiping off with his hands those tears that were falling on her breast, that wearer of the mark of Srivatsa, the lotus-eyed Vishnu spoke to her as follows:—"O lotus-eyed one, O most beautiful and excellent lady,–for what reason is it that tears flow down from thine eyes likes drops of dew from a pair of lotuses? O fascinating lady-why do thy countenance and thy body wear the shape of (appear like) the full moon in the morning sky, or the full-blown lotus at noon. [The moon wanes in the morning and the lotus withers down at noon. Krishna asks in circumlocution the cause of the lady's pale and placid appearance.] O thou of delicate waist, what is the reason that thou dost not wear to-day garments sprinkled with safflower and gold-dust, but choosest the white and plain ones? Although the garments decorated with safflower and gold-dust thou likest most, why hast thou then worn the white garments which ladies do not like to wear except at the time of worshipping the gods? O thou of beautiful limbs—say why are thy limbs unadorned with ornaments? Why, O most excellent lady, is thy seat for writing letters soiled with tears.? Why, O thou of beautiful shape, do the fragrant white sandal (and not red) and the white silk cloth (not yellow or blue) veil thy beautiful forehead)? O dearest object of my heart, O thou

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of expanded eyes—thou hast thus so bedimmed the brightness of thy countenance as to cause, O dear one, great pain to my mind. The unctuous and refrigerent sandal paste that loves thy forehead most, does not look beautiful on that seat for writing letters. Thy neck, deprived of ornaments, does not appear beautiful, just as the autumn sky does not look beautiful being devoid of the planets and stars and the silvery beams of the moon. Why dost thou not to-day greet me, with language flowing out from thy smiling face that breathes the perfume of the lotus and vies with the beauty of the full moon. Why dost thou not to-day cast even a partial glance on me? Why dost thou heave sighs and shed tears that mar the beauty of the collyrium of thine eyes? O thou of complexion bright like the blue lotus, O intelligent lady! do thou not weep any more! Do not shed tears soiled with the collyrium of thine eyes only to prejudice the beauty of thy incomparable face. O thou of divine beauty—I am known in the world as thy servant; Why then, O most excellent lady, dost thou not command me as before?. What act, O beautiful queen, repulsive to thee, have I committed, for which, O dear one, thou gavest thyself so much pain? I have never neglected thee, in thought, in actions or in words; this, O thou of exquisite limbs, I tell thee in all sooth. O beautiful lady, I entertain it is true, regard for my other wives—but save in thyself my regard and affection do not reach the consummation. O thou that may be compared with the daughter of the gods,—my love for thee will not wane even if my life were taken away from me; know this to be my firm belief. Just as endurance, etc., are the constant qualities of the earth, just as sound is the constant quality of space, so sure is my love for thee, O thou of brightness like the lotus-bud. Just as flame is in fire, divine brightness is in the sun, and unfading charms are in the moon, so my love resides in thee and thee only."

When Janardana had thus spoken in his vindication, the blessed Satyabhama, wiping off the tears of her eyes addressed him slowly in the following manner. "Hence-before, O lord, my firm belief was that thou wert mine own. But to-day I come to perceive that thy love for me is nothing more than ordinary and common-place. I did not know before that the course of time is uncertain. But I have come to know to-day that the course of the world is fickle. I entertained the fond hope that so long I live, thou only shalt be my second self and I thine. But what is the good of talking much; I know thy heart, O infallible one. I see that thou usest fascination in speech only and thy love for me is false; whereas it is true in regard to the other wives of thine. Knowing me to be simple and attached to thyself, thou, O foremost of men, dost neglect me with thy cruel, guileful conduct. This surely is more than enough! I have seen what is worth-seeing and have heard what is worth-hearing. I have perceived the fruition of thy love for me. Be that as it may, I have made up my mind to devote myself to the performance of severe penances, and if thou cherishest any love for me, thou ought to permit me to do so; for whatever vows or penances women may observe, must be with the permission of their husbands, in as much as those that are undertaken against the husband's consent, surely become fruitless" (53-55).

Having thus spoken that chaste and beautiful lady again wiped off the tears from her eyes; then that blessed one of pleasing smiles, catching the end of Hari's yellow garment covered her face with it.

CHAPTER 68. SATYABHAMA'S GRIEF.

Vaishampayana said:—O Bharata, Narayana once more affectionately addressed the chaste and beautiful Satyabhama who was thus suffering under the influence of jealousy and resentment, in the following manner.

The auspicious god said:—O lotus-eyed one! sorrow seems to burn through all my limbs (at seeing thee in this plight). What is the cause that has renderd thee so much aggrieved?. O thou beautiful in all thy parts, if there is no harm and if it is proper for thy affectionate husband to hear it, I entreat thee, on my life, to reveal to me the cause of thy grief.

Then Satyabhama seated with her countenance cast down towards the earth thus spoke to her husband, ever truthful in vows, in a voice choked with the vapour of grief. "O lotus-eyed one, O destroyer of Kesin, O bestower of honour it was thy ownself that established my honour and prosperity in days gone—and that honour and that prosperity have now become famous in the worlds. That I am most beloved of thee among all thy wives—is what prompted me to raise my head with pride above all others, O God. But, my maids have told me as they have heard it others say, that to-day I have been laughed at by my rival (co-wives) and by other people also. I hear that the Parijata flower that Narada gave thee, thou hast given to thy dear one, totally neglecting my (poor) self. That thy love and thy regard for her is supreme, thou hast given unmistakable expression to—by presenting her with that best of all precious things (the Parijata flower). Narada also eulogised her in thy presence, and thou surely wert also gratified having heard that eulogy bestowed on thy dear wife. But supposing Narada had some reason for praising her in thy presence, why was it that the name of this unfortunate one was uttered in that connection? O Lord, if I am to repent for having tasted the (sweet) liquor of thy love, it is better I should have nothing to do with it? Be kindly pleased to accord me thy permission. O lotus-eyed one, I could not have believed even in my dream, that thou hast honoured some body else more than myself; but alas, it has come to pass in real life even before the eyes of others. It may be that the sage Narada of incomparable powers has conceived a love for her (Rukshmini), but O lord, the cause of my grief in this, is thy presence in the scene. Thou hast told me that people live for the sake of honour only,–so, thus dishonoured, I do not desire to live any longer. My source of protection has been turned to-day into my source of fear. He that used to protect me in every-thing does not do so to-day, Alas, what course shall I pursue, O Lord, being thus abandoned by thee! Surely renounced by thee, I shall be reduced to the condition of the white lily. [The white lily withers away with the dawn of day, when the beams of the moon cease fall on it. Kumadbati may have another meaning. There was a queen of a certain king Aja of that name, who died before her husband.] Have I done to day something disliked by the gods out of foolishness in consequence of which, O bestower of honour I have incurred thy dislike, although I used to be thy chosen one. How could I who was thy beloved wife, but now discarded, look upon this Raibataka Hills decked with the flowers of the spring? Now that I have been the object of thy hate, how could I, unfortunate one, venture to breathe the pure breeze (of this place) ringing with the sweet notes of the cuckoo and fraught with fragrance of the flowers. How could I, who did sport on thy lap inside the waters of this ocean, again glance at it, O lord, in this my unhappy condition? Thou didst tell me in days gone by,–'O daughter of Satrajit, know that there is no wife of mine dearer to me than thyself'—What of that assurance! Or who cares to remember it! My mother-in-law used to look upon me with much regard and pleasure—but unfortunate lady queen as she was,—she has been contemptuously treated by thee. O Lord, what then is the good of this thy hidden and unmanifest love for me, if thou dost not even deign to reckon me among thy common wives? O subduer of thy foes, I did not know thee hence-before to be so much of a cheat and a knave; but now I have come to know thee as fickle, deceiving, and partial to my rival (co-wife). I have read thy innermost and secret thoughts, O thief, by thy articulations and thy features and signs, although thou triest to conceal them from me; thou knave, thou partisan of my rival, it is thy tongue only that is honeyed, but thou art too guileful".

When the resentful daughter of Satrajit, influenced by jealousy had thus spoken, the god-like Krishna consoling her addressed her in the following manner. "Say not so, O lotus-eyed one, thou dearest ruler of my heart! what shall I tell thee more my darling;—know me to be thine entirely. There is no doubt that in order to please me the sage Narada of unimpeachable deeds gave that Parijata flower to her (Rukshmini) in my presence, merely out of generous feelings or regard for her; (but I did not give it with my own hands). O thou of pure smiles, be consoled; forgive me this my first and only transgression. If thou desirest to have Parijata flowers, O resentful darling, I promise, O thou of delicate waist, to give it to thee—this I speak in all earnestness. (What to speak of a single flower), I shall fetch that best of all trees namely the Parijata tree itself, from the gardens of paradise, and keep it in thy mansion as long as thou chosest."

Thus spoken to by Hari, that lady so deeply attached to him said:—"O infallible one, if thou canst bring that tree down here, my resentment shall leave me,—and it shall then be to my great gratification. O Adhokshaja, for then I shall be the head and the best-honoured among all thy wives". The divine slayer of Madhu—that incomparable being, the origin of the world, beyond the reach of decay, then said to her:—"so be it, then; this shall be my foremost concern".

Vaishampayana said:—O victor of large armies, thus spoken to by the auspicious Krishna, Satyabhama, who was held in high esteem by the pious and who was deeply attached to the slayer of Kansa, became highly gratified. The lord of the world, the the lord of all, the protector of all things, and the bestower of all desires on the good, then bathed himself and discharged all his necessary duties. O king that lord then remembered that best of sages namely Narada who, as soon as he was remembered, came there having performed his ablutions in the waters of the mighty main. O ruler of men! then that refuge of the pious, Krishna, attended by Satyabhama, duly worshipped Narada who had reached there (according to a fiat of his will). The daughter of Satrajit herself washed the feet of that sage; and the lord Krishna himself then poured the water from a golden pitcher. When the sage had seated himself comfortably, that preceptor of the worlds the high-souled Keshava offered him with all respect and carefulness a dish of rice boiled in milk (or delicious edibles). The highly intelligent sage, that best of all orators then partook of the dish with great regard and relish thus hospitably offered him by the creator of the worlds. O lord! satisfied with the hearty meal, Narada having rinsed his mouth, bestowed many a blessing on Keshava, who also accepted them with much gratification of the mind. Thereafter Narada stretching his wet right hand thus spoke to the divinely beautiful daughter of Satrajit, who was then bowing down to him:—"Be thou as faithful and devoted to thy husband, for all future periods, as thou art even now, O queen! Be thou also attended with special good fortune in future through the powers of my religious observances". Thus spoken to by that foremost of sages, that most beloved wife of Hari, Satyabhama rose up, O king (from her bending attitude) filled with immense delight.

Thereafter Krishna that most intelligent personage of immeasurable powers, ate the remnants of the sage's dish having at first obtained his permission. O Bharata, Satyabhama also finishing there all necessary rites gladly entered her inner appartments with the permission of her illustrious husband. Then after a while at the command of Krishna she again came out, and having saluted the high-souled sage with her head, seated herself by Krishna's side. Thus having (comfortably) sat for a while, Narada said to Krishna:—"O Adhokshaja, with thy leave I now intend to go to the regions of Sakra. The gods, the Gandharbhas and the Apsaras there will this day sing songs of praise to that primary divinity Ishana, having at first bowed down to him in homage true. In the residence of Indra, O lord, every month there take place such worship and homage-giving to that god of gods (Siva), and Gandharbha dances in his honour. That god of gods accompanied by his wife Uma, and attended by his followers, witnesseth unseen those festivities celebrated with much reverence by that foremost of immortals, the destroyer of mountains. I was invited there yesterday; I only came here, O highly effulgent one, to present thee with that flower of the beautiful Parijata, that king of all trees. This flower of that best of all trees, though it is a luxury to be enjoyed only by the gods, I brought it, O lord, for thy enjoyment only. O lotus-eyed one! that tree is very dear to Sachi (Indra's wife), and duly worshipped by her every day, it brings her a chain of (unending) prosperity. Pleased with the religious observances of Aditi, the illustrious Kasyapa created the great Parijata tree in order to enable her to accomplish the vow known as Punyaka. In days gone by the highly powerful Kasyapa that receptacle of all powers begot by austerities, having been much gratified with the services of Aditi, desired to bestow a boon on her. Thereupon that very fortunate lady said:—'O foremost of sages, confer on me such a boon by virtue of which I may be decorated with all kinds of ornaments at my will, that I may have the qualities of singing and dancing at my command and that, O mighty possessor of ascetic wealth, I may ever remain youthful; confer on me the boon that I may be always free from all impurities and sorrow, and that I may be ever devoted to my husband and to the performance of religious deeds'.

"Thereupon for pleasing his wife Aditi, he created the Parijata tree covered with ever-fragrant flowers capable of bestowing all desires. The tree had three branches to be always seen and it gladdened the heart of all onlookers. All sorts of flowers are to be seen on this mighty tree. Some beautiful damsels deck themselves with flowers like these; some again beautify themselves with parti-coloured ones, and others with jems and jewels (that also grow on this tree). Taking out the essense of the Mandara tree, Kasyapa created this one; and therefore this best of trees has reached the height of excellence (has been reckoned as the foremost of all trees). The blessed Aditi then binding Kasyapa to that tree gave him over to me, in order to accomplish the Punyaka vow and earn prosperity and good fortune therefrom). Aditi gave Kasyapa over to me with his neck bound to the Parijata tree with a garland of flowers, for the fulfilment of her Punyaka vow. That possessor of ascetic wealth was afterwards released by me on payment of proper ransom. Similarly Indra was given to me by his wife for the furtherance of her prosperity. In this way Soma was given away by Rohini, and Kuvera, the lord of wealth by Riddhi. Thus there is no doubt that the Parijata tree is capable of conferring much prosperity. It is called Parijata as it grows on the other side (Para) of the river Vishnupadi—and this is styled the Mandara for it bears the Mandara flower. As men did say—'What tree is this?'—not exactly knowing what it was, this mighty tree is called Kobidara. The excellent tree that produces this excellent flower is known by the several names, Mandara, Kobidara and Parijata".

CHAPTER 69. THE HISTORY OF THE PARIJATA TREE THE COLOQUY BETWEEN KRISHNA AND NARADA.

Vaishampayana said:—The almighty Vishnu, that possessor of immeasurable powers then finding that the sage Narada was desirous of departing, spoke to him thus:—"O sinless and mighty sage, conversant with the truth of all religions, having repaired to heaven and there interviewed the courtiers of that intelligent slayer of Tripura, remind Pakasasana of all our ancient brotherly love that thou knowest—inform him not as my command but as my request, that the Parijata tree which the illustrious and virtuous Kasyapa that foremost of sages created in days gone by for the sake of Aditi's happiness, that most excellent of all trees that

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bestows religious merit, and unbounded prosperity, that tree that was given to thee away as a gift by the very virtuous goddesses in fulfilment of their vows for the furtherance of their religious merits—inform him that my wives also hearing of the presentation of that tree, desire to give it away, O lord, for earning virtue and religious merit consequent on munificent deeds and also, for my gratification. Ask him therefore to send down to Dwarvati that best of all trees the Parijata; and it shall be restored to heaven after the ceremony of presentation is over. The almighty God the slayer of Vala should thus be spoken to by thee. O foremost of sages thou shalt also so put forth thy endeavours that the lord of the immortals be persuaded to give over the excellent Parijata tree, O possessor of ascetic wealth, this will also bring into prominence what ambassadorial abilities thou dost possess; I know that it is possible for all thine acts to be attended with success".

Thus spoken to by Narayana, the almighty sage Narada that great possessor of ascetic merit smiled and spoke these words to the slayer of Kesin:—"Very well,—I shall thus speak to the lord of the gods, O foremost of Yadus, but I am sure he will never part with the Parijata tree. The Danavas and the gods obtained this Parijata tree by throwing the Mandara mountain into the waters of the ocean. [This surely refers to the churning of the ocean by the gods and Asuras.]

"O Janarddana, at that time the creator of the worlds desired to take away the Parijata tree together with that best of mountains, the Mandara. Thereupon Sakra personally going to Sankara told him:—'This is Sachi's sporting tree, and may be allowed to remain in her gardens'. Thus did he entreat Sankara. Mahadeva granted him the boon saying 'Let it be so then' and O sinless one, he did not also bring the Parijata tree to the beautiful cave-decked Mandara mountain. O mighty armed one, thus in days past, under the pretext that the Parijata is Sachi's tree of sport, did Indra save it from the clutches of Mahadeva. Afterwards Hara, in order to please his wife Uma, created on the dales of the Mandara mountain a forest of the Parijata trees extending over full four miles.

"In that best of forests, O Krishna, neither the rays of the sun, nor the cool beams of the moon, nor even the breaths of the wind can penetrate. Through the powers of Mahadeva that forest is self-luminous, and heat and cold reign there at the pleasure of the mountain's daughter (Durga). Excepting the mighty god and goddess and their followers and myself, O delighter of the Yadus, nobody under any circumstances, can enter that charming wood. O descendant of the Vrishnis, there the Parijatas shower all kinds of best gems and jewels on all sides, even as soon as they are merely thought of in the mind. O Keshava, with the permission of that godhead, that protector of the worlds, troops of the illustrious attendants of Siva, also enjoy that beautiful forest. This forest of Parijata trees, their fruits, their brightness and their qualities exceed by far those of the Parijatas of the heaven. When, O Keshava, that God whose emblem is the sacred bull, repairs with Uma and his attendants, among them, these trees approach him in worship assuming human shapes. Those trees on the Mandara infused with the energy of Rudra, free from all adverse influences and attended with all prosperity, are very dear to the daughter of the mountain. Once upon a time a mighty and dreadful Daitya of cruel motives by name Andhaka, who was puffed up with arrogance through the virtues of a boon obtained by him ventured to transgress into that forest. He was slain by that slayer of foes that foremost of gods Hara, although he was ten times as powerful as Vritra and incapable of being slain by any created being. O lotus-eyes God! I tell thee truly, that the thousand eyed god Indra will never give thee, the Parijata tree obtained with great difficulty. That best of trees always bestows on the goddess Sachi all her desires, as well as, O Krishna, it fulfils the wishes of the highly powerful Indra".

The auspicious god said:—O sage! That the mighty and intelligent Mahadeva did not take away the Parijata tree out of consideration for Sachi, was quite worthy of him. I think that it was quite in keeping with the high estimation in which that infallible being, that origin of the worlds, that supreme and most ancient creator is held). But, O illustrious sage, O most pious one, I am younger than that slayer of Vala, and ought to be cherished by him like (his son) Jayanta. O thou of ascetic wealth, it is thy duty to preserve between us (me and Indra) amicable relations by all means; and I ask thee to do so, because I know thee to be able to do so. I have promised, O sage, that for the accomplishment of Satyabhama's Punyaka vow, I shall, O lord, bring down the Parijata tree from heaven. How can I be able now, O sage, to break that promise of mine, O sinless one, as I have never before O twice-born one, spoken falsehood? If I were to break my promise, the worlds will then meet with their ends [As everybody would then speak falsehood, and truth will be vanished from the face of the earth.], for, O foremost of the sages, it is my duty to protect the virtue and the good qualities of the people. He on whom every one depends, how can he speak untruth? Neither gods, nor the Gandharvas, nor the Rakshasas, nor the Asuras nor Jakshas, nor Pannagas, shall be able to frustrate my promise; this I tell thee truly, and may fortune attend thee. O sage! If that lord of the immortals do not give the Parijata tree at thy request, I shall then hurl my mace at his breast besmeared by Sachi with fragrant ointments. He is also to be informed by thee that if he refuses to part with the Parijata tree when requested in this conciliatory manner, let him rest assured about a visit from me there, and let him prepare for it.

CHAPTER 70. THE COLLOQUY BETWEEN NARADA AND INDRA REGARDING THE TRANSPLANTATION OF THE PARIJATA.

Vaishampayana said:—The sage Narada then repaired to the residence of Mahendra; and there he passed the night in witnessing the festivities (held in honour of Siva). The illustrious Adityas, the best of gods, the Vasus, the learned Rajarshis who had attained to paradise through their meritorious deeds, the Nagas, the Yakshas, the Siddhas, the Charanas, the sages of ascetic austerities, Brahmharsis by thousands, Devarshis and Moonies, the high-souled Saparnas, the highly powerful Marutas, and hundreds of other divine creatures were assembled there. The god Maheswara of immeasurable energy, accompanied by Uma and surrounded by his attendants sat at the head of them all. That protector of all creatures was surrounded also by those foremost of the Devarshis who suffer no decay even at the end of thousands of Kalpas, who are worshipped by gods equal to Indra, are possessed of self-knowledge, free from pride and who ever tread the path of rectitude. The Rudras the progeny of Kasyapa, Skanda, the god of fire, that best of rivers Ganga, Archisman, Tamburu, Bharisa, that foremost of eloquent speakers, those possessed of the ascetic merit, and such other leaders of the divine host, then O Bharata, adored that supreme god Siva. O ruler of men, other gods devoted to religious ways and austerities and followers of the path of the pious,—followed their above-named leaders (i.e., offered homages to Siva),. O king, those men who desirous of good, worship the gods on earth, those men are in their turned worshipped in heaven by the immortals desirous of securing good. O descendant of the Kouravas, those men versed in the Vedas, who live according to the ordinances of the Sastras and who adore the gods in the performance of their religious ceremonies for the benefit of their ancestral manes, those are held in high estimation in the next world by the gods. O ruler of men, there the illustrious Chitraratha, the king of the Gandharvas together with his son, delightfully played upon the heavenly musical instruments. Urnayu, Chitrasena, Hahahuhu, Dumbara, Tamvura and other Gandharvas sang the six different harmonies. Urvasi, Viprachiti, Hema, Rambha, Hemadanta Ghritachi, and Sahajanya and other damsels then performed numerous kinds of dances there. The self-possessed illustrious Siva accepted these homages with pleasure, and that lord of the world pleased with these worshipful acts of Sakra, went back to his own residence.

On the departure of that lord of the created beings, the kings (assembled there) returned to the places whence they came; the gods also honoured by Mahendra repaired to their respective abodes. When everybody had gone away and Purandara was seated comfortably with his own courtiers, the sage Narada approached him. Rising from his seat, Indra received that sage of ascetic wealth, and offered him a seat made of Kusa grass equal to that of his own. Thereafter the highly powerful Narada said these words to Mahendra:—"O foremost of immortals, know me now to be the messenger from Vishnu of matchless might. I have been despatched here by that illustrious one of immense powers on a mission that will remove one of his causes of pain". Thereupon greeting the sage with sweet and agreeable words, the illustrious Pakasasana said with delight:—"O sage, tell me without delay what has that foremost of men said; it is after a long time that the high-souled Krishna has remembered us".

Narada said:—O Mahendra, on some business of mine, I went to Dwarka to see your younger brother Upendra that enhancer of the glory of the Kasyapas. I found that subduer of his foes, that hero seated on the Raivataka mountain in company with his wife Rukshmini and offering eulogies to the God having the bull for his emblem. I gave him then the flower of the Parijata tree, O sinless ruler of the gods, in order that he may astonish his wives therewith. At the sight of that flower, the production of the best of trees that bestows all desires, the wives of Kesava were greatly astonished. O bestower of honour, I related to them the qualities of that flower and the creation of the Parijata tree by the high-souled Kasyapa. (I related to them) how the self-controlled Kasyapa bound by the neck with a garland of flowers was given away to me by Aditi for the sake of her Punyaka vow; how you were given away; by Sachi, and how similarly other gods were given away and O lord of the gods, how Kasyupa and other mighty sages obtained their release, by having paid their ransom. On hearing these from me, one very dear wife of your younger brother, named Satyabhama, made up her mind to perform the Punyaka vow. O lord of the immortals, O bestower of honour, that queen then entreated her husband to help her in the performance of that vow, and your younger brother had pledged himself to that effect). O chief of the gods I now hear attentively as I speak, all that Vishnu that foremost of powerful beings, said to me then to convey to you. With due deference, your younger brother, Achyuta who deserves all indulgence at your hands has said to you:—"O foremost of the gods! it behoves thee to give me that first and excellent of trees, Parijata. Let, O slayer of the Asuras, the desire of thy sister-in-law be fulfilled; specially O foremost of the gods, as she is bent on a religious deed. O lord of created beings, the people of heaven have had the privilege of looking upon that blessed tree; now let the human beings of the earth be blessed with a sight of it through my instrumentality."

Vaishampayana said:—O delighter of your race I having heard the words of Vasudeva's son, Mahendra said these words to Narada that foremost of eloquent speakers: "O foremost of the twice-born ones: take thy seat; thou hast spoken aright and properly; I shall entrust thee with a return message for Vishnu of matchless powers. On Narada resuming his seat, Sakra also, with the former's permission seated himself down on a seat similar to that of Narada. Thus seated, the lord of the gods that slayer of Virtra, cast a glance on his own magnificence [Literally his prowess and energy.] and filled with delight thus addressed the sage Narada".

Indra said:—Mighty and pious sage! After the usual enquiry regarding his health and welfare, Janarddana, that source of happiness to all creatures should be informed of these words of mine by thyself:—"There is not the shadow of a doubt that leaving me, thou art the lord of the worlds. O infallible one, the Parijata and all other precious possessions of heaven are thine own. O divine one, thou hast sojourned to the earth only for relieving her of her burden, and thou art behaving thyself in the human way only for the sake of the success of thy mission. When after the fulfilment of thy earthly mission thou shalt return to heaven, I shall fulfill, O Adhokshaja, all the cherished desires of thy (beloved) wife. O Kesava, it is not at all proper to take the precious things of heaven down to earth merely for the sake of a trifle, and this has been the long-standing practice. If, O mighty lord, I trangress this long-standing rule obtaining in heaven, what shall the Prajapatis themselves say? The high-souled Brahman with his sons and grandsons hath established permanent rules regarding all actions in the worlds. If I venture to walk beyond the path thus laid down by Prajapati Brahman, surely that intelligent lord when apprised of my transgressions will hurl down curses on me. If we ourselves break through these bindings of the standing customs then the Daityas and their partisans, as well as others will violate it without the slightest hesitation. If for the sake of thy wife thou takest the excellent Parijata down to earth, then, O bestower of honour, the inhabitants of heaven will be much depressed. O sage, let my brother, seeing the course of the times, be satisfied with those luxuries only which the uncreate Brahman has ordained for the enjoyment of the human kind. O sire, whatever possessions I have got in heaven, Krishna is at liberty to enjoy them when he remains here. Janarddana is filled with the arrogance that attends those who eat rich dishes of meat, and therefore it is that he is following the course of sin, leaving virtue aside. Born as a man in the human world, the conduct of Krishna towards me his elder brother,—this conduct which he offers me under the influence of his wife—would surely, O Narada, in my opinion redound much to his discredit. This seizure of the precious possessions of heaven will be a direct insult to me; and insult offered by the relatives is all the more disgraceful.. Let the slayer of Madhu enjoy in succession, virtue, wealth and desire, those possessions of the pious ordained by the lotus-born Brahman. If I were to allow this Parijata tree to be taken down to earth, who will, even commencing with the daughter of Puloma, pay me the slightest regard? Moreover, seeing and touching the Parijata tree on the face of the earth, men will no longer endeavour for the attainment of Heaven, as they will then enjoy the blessings of heaven on earth itself. O Narada, if the mortals enjoy the blessings of the Parijata tree, what difference there will be then between themselves and the gods? The acts which men do on earth, they enjoy those acts here; now if they be blessed with the possession of the Parijata, they will no longer exert themselves for attaining heaven. O sage! Parijata is the best of all the precious possessions of heaven, and it is the glory of heaven; this glory removed, the earth with its mortals will be as good as heaven with its immortals. Obtaining as they will, the blessings of heaven on the face of the earth, men will not celebrate sacrifices, nor will they perform acts of pious liberality, having been easily raised to the status of the immortals. Now, O sage, mortals, out of a desire for attaining heaven, gratify ourselves by reverentially performing sacrifices, Japas and Anhikas everyday. Possessed of the blessings of the Parijata, they will not think of adhering to these observances; and if they are neglected, we shall also dwindle away in our strength being deprived of their benefit. [It is believed that the burnt offerings in the celebration of sacrifices etc, constitute the chief sustemance of the immortals.] We rear the corn on which men on earth live, by showering on them sufficient rain from here; and they also in their turn gratify ourselves by the celebration of sacrifices and acts of pious liberality). If when possessed of the blessings of Parijata, hunger, thirst, disease decrepitude, death, dissatisfaction,

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stinking smells and other dreadful visitations of Providence do not afflict men any longer, why should they strive for the attainment of Heaven? For these reasons, it is not at all advisable to take down the Parijata tree there. Thus, O twice-born sage, should Vishnu that performer of sinless deeds, be addressed by thee. If thou wishest to please me, O sage, thou shalt also do, after mature judgement, all that: would go to gratify my brother Kesava. Let Kesava if he desires it, take down to Dwarka, garlands, gems, jewels, the Agura sandal, and beautiful garments and such other things which the mortals are entitled to, for the enjoyment of his wife. But it behoves him not to plunder heaven now. I shall give whatever gems he may desire to have, I shall give beautiful ornaments of all sorts, but I will never give him, O sage, the Parijata tree that most beloved possession of the inhabitants of heaven".

CHAPTER 71. NARADA'S ADVICE AND INDRA'S ANSWERS.

Vaishampayana said:—O delighter of the Kurus, on having heard the words of the lord of the celestials, the pious-minded Narada that most eloquent speaker conversant with the essence of virtue, thus spoke:— "O slayer of Vala, O mighty-armed one, I am much concerned in you; and therefore must say what will be conducive to your good. As I was aware of your attitude, I told the son of Vasudeva that in days gone by, you had not even given the Parijata tree to the mighty god Siva. I tell you truly that I showed him numerous reasons (for not taking down the Parijata tree), but he paid no heed whatever to them. 'I am the younger brother of Indra and therefore I claim indulgence at his hands'—these words did that lotus-eyed one tell me in reply. Repeatedly did I, O god, show him numerous reasons; but O slayer of Vritra, still his mind did not change. Moreover, O god, the slayer of Madhu that foremost of men, did as if in anger say at the conclusion of his address, 'Neither the gods, nor the Gandharvas, nor the Rakshas, nor the Asuras, nor the foremost of the Pannagas, will succeed in attempting to thwart me out of my pledge; O sage mayst thou be attended with all blessings! If Purandara thus requested by thee in a conciliatory manner does not give the Parijata tree to me, then will I hurl my mace at the breast of Purandera on which Sachi besmears fragrant ointments.' O Mahendra, this is the firm determination your brother Upendra; now do you do what seems proper and just to you with regard to this matter. Hear from me, O lord of the celestials, words that will be conducive to your welfare, as I speak them; it seems to me better to allow the Parijata to be transplanted to Dwarka." O ruler of men, thus spoken to by Narada, the destroyer of all, the thousand-eyed deity, inflamed with wrath, thus addressed him in a clear and distinct voice. "O thou of ascetic wealth, if Kesava is bent to behave thus towards me his innocent elder brother, then what harm indeed can he do unto me! O Narada, in times past Krishna committed many acts offensive and insulting to me; I did put up with them all only remembering that he is my brother. On the occasion of the burning of the Khandava forest when he drove Arjuna's chariot, he prevented my clouds from extinguishing the raging conflagration. He committed an act unpleasant and inimical to my interests by lifting up the Govardhana mountain. When again at the time of slaying Vritra I sought his assistance, he replied to me saying—'I am impartial and look equally upon all creatures.' Then I slew Vritra with the help of the strength of my own arms. Thou also knowest well, O sage, that when ever war breaks out between the gods and the Asuras Krishna always fights as it pleases his sweet will (ignoring my authority altogether). What is the use of speaking much on the subject? Do thou endeavour to maintain an amicable feeling between ourselves. O Narada, thou art my witness; a rupture among our relatives is remote from my thoughts. Keshava might well have been prepared to hurl his mace at my breast (there is nothing untoward in it); but no propriety could be conceived as to why the name of Puloma's daughter was uttered in that connection. Our father, the almighty Kasyapa, together with our mother Adity has gone for a sojourn into the waters. This matter ought to be laid before them, namely, that my brother Krishna of uncontrolled Self, filled with ignorance and arrogance, has, through the instigation of his wife, abused me his elder brother (who ought to command his regard and obedience). O twice-born one, fie on women, and fie on the influence of arrogance, in as much as, O Vipra, even Vishnu, instigated by his wife, has this day insulted me. O mighty sage, it is really surprising that Krishna, overcome by passion and lust, did not pay the slightest regard to the race of our father Kasyapa or to the race of the Sukshnas whence our mother Aditi has sprung, or to the fact of my being his elder brother or to my celestial sovereignty and the respect in which I am held by the gods (24–25). O sinless one, Brahma told me in days past, that a well-behaved and wise brother is to me esteemed more than thousands of sons and wives. My father, one of the creators, and my mother Aditi also told me that there is no friend like the brothers, other people are only useless seekers of livelihood. [The author means that true and faithful friendship and love exist only between brothers;—between other parties it is merely a mockery, a business—that of maintenance and support. The wife loves the husband for he supports her—the old parents love their son because he is their maintainer and so forth.] My father Kasyapa also said, that like the uterine brothers there is no friend in the worlds. The Danavas of sinful propensities fight with me because they are not my brothers. What I am now going to tell, O Vipra, ought not be related by me for it contains my own praise; but I may be excused it; I relate it to-day only because there has been an occasion for it. O sinless one, in the days of yore, when through the virtue of the boon bestowed on them, the bow-string of Vishnu was not cut off by certain bow-men, and whence thereafter, O foremost of mighty sages, his head was severed off his trunk, it was I who entered into and sustained his body; and when again, with the energy of the Rudras, I succeeded in carefully replacing his head on his trunk, it was Achyuta himself who said that I am the best and foremost among the gods; and then, O Narada, once more remounting his bow with a new string Keshava stood proudly (to face his antagonists). O sage, what will my father and my mother tell me if I were to neglect Krishna then,—thinking of his only ancient affection did I, O mighty ascetic, incarnate myself in the body of Krishna. O sage, I gave him the Indra's share of the offering of a sacrifice and caused it to be Vaishnava, out of my affection for I look upon him, O Narada, as my younger brother. If however unfortunately a battle takes place between me and him, it shall be he, O thou of ascetic wealth that shall strike the first blow—although in other battles, I myself deal it out in as much as I am a sovereign. O thou conversant with the essence of religions, I have protected the persons of the regardful Keshava as my own during all his incarnations, O sinless one. Dismantling this my residence Vishnu has, with these materials, constructed, O sage, his own Bhubana or world that is superior to all lokas. I did not turn my face on that, O sage, out of regard for my brother, and as I always used to think that 'Krishna is a boy and deserves indulgence at my hands'. My father and my mother, O Narada, cherish Govinda very much saying—'This my son is a mere child and is youngest in age'. Moreover Keshava is the special favourite of my mother, and, as such, I am very jealous of him. There is not the slightest doubt that the depth of (my mother's) affection reaches its height in Keshava. I believed Keshava to be all-knowing, powerful, heroic, and respector of deserving persons; but that belief has proved to be a false one. Go thou, O Narada, and tell Keshava these my words; 'Challenged by my enemies I never turn back from a fight. Come, if thou wishest, I shall suffer what ever thou mayst desire; O henpecked one, strike the first blow if thou likest it. O Janarddana, riding on Garuda and with a firm hand, do thou deal the first blow with thy Sranga mace, or discus or sword, O fie, thus struck, O Keshava, I shall strike thee with all my might; if, indeed, my affection does not overwhelm me in the act.' Until I am conquered in a battle by the wielder of the discus Krishna, I will not, O foremost of sages, part with the Parijata tree. O thou of ascetic wealth, when he, being younger than I am, challenges me his elder brother to fight, for what reason should I then excuse that henpecked Hari? Do thou, O illustrious sage, go to Dwarka protected by Krishna, even to-day and tell Achyuta that I am prepared for the quarrel (struggle). O thou, of ascetic wealth, bearing in mind all my words thou shalt thus speak to the slayer of Madhu;—'Until I am conquered by thee I shall not even let thee have a single leaf or its half of the Parijata tree.' O illustrious sage, for my pleasure thou shalt also tell Achyuta fearlessly:—'It behoveth thee not to steal the tree deceitfully; let there be a fair fight; and fie be on crooked practices'".

CHAPTER 72. NARADA'S ADVICE.

Vaishampayana said:—On having heard the words of Mahendra that foremost of eloquent speakers Narada addressed these words to the king of the celestials in secret. There is not the slightest doubt that kings should be told only what is agreeable. But sometimes when the opportunity presents itself, disagreeable words but conducive to their good should also be spoken to them. The sages say that it is not even proper to appear before a king without having leave to do so. But, as you always seek my advice in matters as to what should be done or not, I shall therefore tell you something to-day uncalled-for and you may accept it if you like. Specially friends, who do not desire to see their friends defeated, should proffer them their just and good advice opportunely even if they are not called upon to do so. Good and pious people should always speak what is conducive to one's welfare although it may be disagreeable and unpleasant. This is the way for the acquittance of the debt of affection that the sages recognised in days gone by. Disagreeable and untrue words that are transgressions of virtue, are not listened to (by anyone). Agreeable but harmful words should never be spoken in as much as they have been condemned by the sages. O foremost of all good listeners, listen to what it is my encumbent duty to speak, and listening to my words that will conduce to your good, act up to them, O knower of all things!.

O Slayer of Vala, there is no doubt, O god, that disunion among friendly or affectionate brothers causes delight into the hearts of the enemy. O foremost of the celestials, those actions only that are connected with a succession of good, should be undertaken; and others, O best of intelligent beings, should be taken in hand after due deliberation. Acts which, if begun, would bring repentance in its train, the learned should not at all begin. This is the policy of the wise and intelligent. I do not really descry any very good result of this act (viz.), refusal to give Parijata to Krishna. O lord of the immortals, now listen to the reasons thereof. That Hari, who doth pervade the world of causes and the world of consequences, and whom the wise know to be the Supreme Soul beyond the influence of Maya, the manifestation of whom is this universe, is that unmanifest Self and all other conscious beings, have all drawn their consciousness from that Supreme Being Vishnu. The illustrious goddess Uma is the best and principal part of Prakiti and Vishnu is the source of consciousness to all conscious creation; he pervades the manifest universe, and is identified with all objects of enjoyment. Like Uma, Rukshmini and other wives of Krishna are his manifest qualities; and the exchangeable Prakriti, and Vishnu and Rudra are all equally possessed of these qualities (gunas). O foremost of gods, there is not the slightest difference between Rudra and Vishnu; and they are the eternal regulators of all qualified creations (i.e. all created things endowed with one of more of the qualities of Satwa, Rajas, Tama), and are also the primary qualities. The all-creating, highly powerful Vishnu, known also as Adhokshaja, that protector of the worlds, is the creator of the world and the god Maheswara is the destroyer. Brahma and the rest of the celestials and the Prajapatis also have been all created afterwards, O lord of the immortals, by the high-souled Mahadeva. That inconceivable, infinite, ancient Purusha Vishnu, who is beyond the qualities themselves, has thus been described in the Vedas. In days gone by, the illustrious Vishnu was worshipped by Aditi with great austerities; and he then, pleased with Aditi, bestowed a boon on her. "I desire to have thee as a son." This your mother Aditi spoke to the god Narayana and after having offered him prayers she bowed down to him. Thereupon she was told by him "There is no person equal to myself in the universe; I shall therefore be born as thy son in my own parts. Thus, O lord of the celestials, that creator of all, the highly powerful Narayana, was born as your brother and he is called Upendra. Thus out of his own will did that lord of the past, present and future, the eternal god Hari, create himself in the race of the Kasyapa, because it is in his nature to incarnate himself in this wise. That lord of the universe, its creator and destroyer, Keshava has manifested himself in Mathura out of a desire for the well-being of the world. O bestower of honour, as just a lump of Palala is pervaded by a lubricating substance, so is the universe itself pervaded by that wondrous powerful Vishnu. That Supreme Brahma, the soul of all, the Protector of all, he that transcends all the gunas (manifested primary elements) being induced by his own desire, incarnates himself in the world and thus produces changes in his own self. For these reasons Keshava is to be worshipped by all the celestials; that lotus-navelled almighty and the creator of the people is attended with great praise because he upholds the world in the shape of Ananta. He is also called Sacrifice (yajna) by pious reciters of the Vedas. That Lord assumed a white semblance in the Satya cycle, a red semblance in the Treta, a yellow semblance in the Dwapara, and he has now assumed a dark semblance in this Kali cycle. This Hari slew Hiranakshya having assumed a divine semblance and this God, out of desire for doing good to the world, upheld the earth when she was sinking into the depth of the waters having assumed the shape of a boar. He slew Hiranyakasipu, in the semblance of the Man-lion–33). Assuming the semblance of the Dwarf, Vishnu conquered the world and that auspicious God also bound Vali with serpentine bonds. The generous Vishnu, of immeasurable prowess, also usurped for your sake, prosperity that was the common heritage of both the gods and Asuras (both having exerted for its production). Janarddana slays him, whose virtue has waned and it is the vow of that high souled one to kill him who rests on untruth. That refuge of the pious, Govinda, who is ever firm in virtue, slew the principal Danavas, the enemies of the gods, only for the sake of pleasing you. That self-contained Being, born as Rama, slew Ravana and other Rakshasas like a lion slaying an elephant. For the sake of the well-being of the world that lord of the universe, that best of all best beings, still lives in the human world, known by the name of Upendra. I have seen Hari wander among the Daityas, wearing matted locks and black deer-skin and bearing a Danda (rod) in his hand, like a raging fire amidst a heap of (dried) grass. I have also seen Govinda rid Danava-ridden world of its Danavas, for the sake of the well-being of the world. O foremost of the gods, Janarddana must take away your Parijata tree to Dwarka. I do not speak untruth. You shall not be able to strike Krishna, filled as you are with fraternal affection; nor shall Krishna be able to deal blows on an elder brother like yourself. If, O God, you do not like to pay any heed to the words spoken by me, then consult with your other counsellors who are conversant with the rules of polity and are bent on our welfare".

Vaishampayana said:—O Janamejaya, thus spoken to by Narada, Mahendra replied to that world-honoured sage in

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the following words:—"This sort of greatness, that thou attributest to Krishna, O twice-born sage, I have heard of many and many a time before. In as much as Krishna is of the nature described by thee, I shall not give him the Parijata tree, bearing fully as I do in mind the duty of the pious and the good. O sage, may good betide thee! I am assured as I know that Krishna, endowed as he is with all commendable qualities and mighty, energy will not be angry merely for a trifle. The highly powerful gods are always very forgiving in their nature, and are obedient to the words of elderly people who look with the eye of knowledge. The high-souled Krishna is the foremost of the virtuous and knows all things; does it therefore befit him to quarrel with his elder brother only for a trivial reason? As Adhokshaja bestowed the boon on my mother, so also it behoveth him now to satisfy the request of her sons who are his elder brothers. As Janarddana out of his own will became Upendra i.e., Indra's younger brother, so also it behoves him now to maintain the honour of his brother Indra. Did not that god, in a previous incarnation, accept my priority of birth? And if the slayer of Madhu now desires to be my elder brother, let him be so!" Then having found the slayer of Vala to be determined (so as not to part with the Parijata) and having been dismissed by that foremost of the celestials, the virtuous, intelligent, and self-controlled Narada went to the city protected by that foremost of the Yadus viz., Krishna.

CHAPTER 73. ATTRIBUTES OF HARI.

Vaishampayana said:—On coming to the beautiful city of Dwarka, that foremost of all sages, Narada, saw that foremost of beings, that subduer of his foes, Narayana comfortably seated with Satyabhama in his own mansion, and appearing highly beautiful in consequence of his charming form that transcended all energies. He saw the high-souled Keshava of firm vows engrossed in that thought (i.e., of the Parijata), and only gratifying the lovely Satyabhama with empty words. On seeing Narada, the divine Adhokshaja rose (from his seat) and worshipped him with prescribed ceremonies. After Narada had been comfortably seated, having cast off the fatigue (of the journey) the slayer of Madhu smilingly questioned him on the subject of the Parijata tree. Thereupon, O Janamejaya, that sage, possessed of ascetic merit, told the younger brother of Indra all his words in full details. Having heard all those words from Narada, Krishna spoke to him thus: "Even to-morrow shall I go to the region of the celestials, O foremost of all virtuous sages". Having spoken this much only Hari entered into the waters of the ocean, accompanied by Narada; and there in secret he again addressed him thus:—"Going to-day to the residence of Mahendra, and offering him my best regards, do thou, O sage, tell that foremost of immortals, the high-souled Indra, these my very words. 'O Sakra, O lord I know me determined as regards the fetching down of the Parijata here; and if a fight does actually take place, thou shalt not be able to stand before me (even for a moment.)'".

Thus spoken to by Krishna, Narada once more went to the celestial region and spoke to the lord of the gods all the words of Krishna of immeasurable energy. Thereupon that slayer of Vala, Sakra spoke every thing to Vrihaspati; on hearing from him, O delighter of the Karus, Vrihaspati thus spoke. "O fie! This nasty affair has originated only because I was absent from the abode of Brahma. This will create a dissension. For what reason, O lord of the universe, hast thou commenced this business, without having previously told me of it? Or, O slayer of Vritra, the world is led to act by fate born out of previous actions; and it is beyond the power of any body to prevent it. A hasty commencement of actions is not commendable; and therefore this business, hastily begun as it is, will surely give us dishonour and defeat". Thereupon Mahendra spoke these words to the high-souled Vrihaspati:—"It now behoves you to say what should be done under the present circumstances." Thereupon after reflecting for a while with his countenance cast down, the virtuous-minded Vrihaspati, of liberal understanding, the knower of all things in the past and the future, thus replied to him. "Now, try your best to fight Janarddana, with the help of your son (Jayanta). O Sakra, I shall afterwards do what shall be more just and politic". Having thus spoken, Vrihaspati went into the milky ocean, and there he said every thing to the high-souled Kashyapa. Having heard that (i.e., the affair of the Parijata,) from Vrihaspati, Kashyapa was enraged and thus spoke to him. "That this was sure to have taken place, there was not the slightest doubt. He, of hundred Sacrifices, was inflamed with a lustful desire towards the worthy wife of the mighty sage Devasoma; the evil of the course he followed has now undertaken him. For the atonement of that sin, I have, O sage, commenced this living in water. But still that heinous sin has now undertaken him. O thou of ascetic merit, I, with Aditi, shall go there, mediations and fate favouring, and shall prevent them both (from splitting each other's blood)." Thereafter the virtuous-souled Vrihaspati thus spoke to the son of Maricha. "If the time comes, thou shalt go in good time". Having said "Very well", Kashyapa dismissed Vrihaspati; thereafter he went to worship the god Rudra, that lord of all beings. There the intelligent and illustrious Kashyapa, desirous of obtaining a boon, worshipped, in company with Aditi, the peaceful and high-souled god, having the bull for his emblem. Thereafter that son of Marichi, Kashyapa, in order to please the god Ishana, that preceptor of the universe, began to eulogise him in Vedic as well as in self-composed hymns.

Kashyapa said:"—To him whose foot-falls are mighty*, who is the nascent cause of the universe, who is the Supreme, who is the creator of the world (potent cause), who is attained only through virtue (Dharma), who is the Lord of grace (i.e., metes out grace to them who worship and adore him), who is Self-controlled and endued with divine energy—I bow down to that illustrious lord of the universe. [* Reference is to the story of the occupation of the three worlds,—the heaven, the earth, and the nether regions by the three feet of Krishna, in his dwarf incarnation-shorn of metaphor, it refers to the doctrine of universal maya inculcated in the Upanishads.] He is the lord of the celestials. He is the destroyer of sin. Through his instrumentality the universe extends, He being the cause nascent and potential. The image of His intelligence, the sacred waters hold [The reference is to the text of Sruti.]. I seek refuge with the Supreme ruler of the universe. He, who under the semblance of a self-controlled ascetic, slew the uncontrolled who were ignorant of the doctrines of the Vedanta and tried to do away with the friendly qualities, He, whose semblance is delightful, and whose origin is sacred, I seek the protection of that lord of the universe with my (bent) head. That great and undisputed Master of the universe, who takes under his benign protection the advanced (i.e., that is morally and religiously) section of worldly beings, He who is the Light of all lights. He, who is identified with the semblance of Brahma known by the designation of Sukrita—is immutable and indomitable; that bestower of boons on those sages who perform penances living upon the juice of the Soma plant and the beams of the moon; may that Being nourish me with his Eternal Energy!) He who is demonstrated in the Atharva Veda; He whose heads* are beautiful, He who is the origin of the beings, who is accomplished, heroic, and destroyer of the Danavas; He who in sacrifices is the sanctified sacrificial burnt offering;—I do seek the refuge of that Divine Being, the Lord of the universe. [* Refers to the five Koshas or "Sheaths" of the self, mentioned in the Upanishadas, vis, the Corporeal (Dehamaya), the Vital (Pranamaya), the Sensorial (Manomaya), the Conceptual (Vijnanmaya), and the Blissful (Anandamaya).] He in whom this illusory universal net is woven; He who is the universe and its soul; He who discovers happiness for his votaries and travels in a vehicle that soars high in the heavens; may that Lord of the universe be ever graciously pleased with me, (or be the source of constant happiness to me). I do bow down to the furious Mahadeva who wanders in our hearts, who is Absolute Intelligence whose branches (the Vedas that have come out of Him) are all beautiful, who is the highly powerful leader of virtue, worshipful, thousand-eyed, distributer of fruits of actions done in a hundred different ways, and who is the creator of the worlds. He that is pure (unconsorted) attainable through Yoga, praised in the Vedas, beyond the reach of sin, the cause of destruction, the source of the world's weal and woe, the Lord of all creation, the upholder of the burden of the universe, the master of the senses, and the resort of the destructive agencies (such as time, etc.,) I do approach, with a bent head, that god whose forehead is beautified with a crescent. He who wields the trident, who gives fruition (of acts) soon, who reduces the influence of the evil passions and increases such qualities as quietude, etc., who is identical with such pious acts as sacrifices, etc., who is that quality of religious merit through which sins dwindle away soon, who is the recipient of the fruits of religious merit consequent on deeds performed with sanctity and the principle of goodness, who is the real essence of all, and who has taken the vow (of purity)—I do seek protection from him. He who is infinite in energy, who is the upholder of all actions, the Primary Being, who is (unlike other gods) free from sacrificial modes, and is endowed with knowledge—He who is the cause of the commencement of sacrifices by sacrificial priests, the eater of sacrificial Havis; who is the first-born in the universe, and the eldest of creation, and who is like a Brahmana among the pious—I do seek his refuge. He who transcends the Gunas (the elements of creation), who is like Vishnu the son of Prisni, who transcends the illusory creation—and agitates the universe through his beatitude, whose semblance is charming; who is of pure self, who is also—but intelligence, who practises Maya in dealing with the wicked—I bow down to him. I bow down to Him who is the Omkara of half syllables of the Yogis who is free from harmful acts and the identity of Virtue, who is firm in vow, and in (handing) the bow, who is the act of throwing, who is heroic, accomplished in bowmanship, beyond the reach of weapons and the Lord of the living creation, and its destroyer. He who is without a second (sole matchless) the friend of all, the past and the future, the discoverer of Havi, (sacrificial burnt offerings), in the shape of fire, the destroyer of all passions as lust, etc., the slayer of Rakshasas, who is undivisible, and the divider,—may that illustrious God protect me. That one Lord of the worlds, who though one—enters into every thing of the universe, that one who gave the vital breaths (Maruts) their life, breath, (i.e., he who is the life of life), he who, out of his innate harmlessness, is ever attended upon by friendliness and amiability, may that god of good actions lead me to-day to blessings and happiness. He, who in the shape of Brahma, created the Satyaloka together with the essence of goodness, and the entire illusory universe, who is all-cognizant and the knower of Brahma and is endowed with six excellences, whose semblance is numerous, in his different enemy-destroying incarnations, may that god protect me! He who is the revealer of the supersensuous and the sensuous objects, who is increate and self-sufficient, who is entire and undivided who is in contact with the sense-objects, the granter of prosperities, the giver of life, the wearer of deer-skin, who is Supreme Ecstacy, the life of the blowing winds, the receptacle of conception, the creator of happiness—may that Lord bless me accompanied by his two wives. He who posseses three eyes, who gives nourishment, who, to inculcate religion to the twice-born ones, accords boons to the sacrificers, He who is the most excellent of the excellent the winner of victory in battles, the Lord, the God of the gods,—I resort to the protection of that Rudra. He that is the mouth of the gods in the shape of fire, the destroyer of the evil doers, who is the Soma sacrifice, the annihilator of the tree of Mundane Existence, the witness of all the actions, the source of dissolution of all things,—I seek refuge with that Lord of Beings, Rudra, the knower of the Gunas and their repository. He who is prideless, the performer of sacrifices, the beginning, the middle and the end of the worlds, the condition of peace and unification,—he who is sung in the sacrifices prescribed in the Vedas as numerous different gods, and He who is the regulator even of the celestial world, I seek refuge with that Rudra. He who is the wearer of the elephant-skin, the performer of vows and observances, who is decorated with a zone, who is easily pleasable, the controller of anger free from sin, ever-existent, and the Supreme Soul, who is immanent in Nature, the wearer of matted locks, I bow, down to that Lord, the adorable of the adorable. The god of gods, the holy of holies, the sacrifice of sacrifices, the greatest of the great, He of hundred (infinite) semblances, the Master of all the masters of the senses, (i.e., eye of eyes, ear of ears, etc.,) the ever-praised one, I seek refuge with him.. He who is the wonder of all hearts, the Purusha of mysterious appellation, the self-manifest Pranava, who is revealed even in the absence of such revealing agencies as light and the eyes, etc., and He, who is the potent cause of the divine image known as Jiva, I bow down to that god endued with the qualities and the repository of all bliss. He who is the producer of the both (matter and mind) but is himself unproduced, (or He from whom matter and mind have been born but who did not produce them, He transcending all causes) who is subtle (inconceivable) and simultaneously the same with and different from all created beings (unified and differentiated) who is self-existent, the place of dissolution of existence, the benign Giver who is sweetness, ecstacy and beatitude, may He protect me. He who is near to every body, and revealed to those who are possessed of Sadhana, who is the bestower of such knowledge as 'I am absolute', to those who reverentially believe in Him, the presiding Deity of the great and the good actions, He who is fulfiller of the desires and the fulfillment of the Six Excellences, may that Lord protect me. He who is destroyer of the mental and physical sources of pain, the efficient as well as the material cause, the evolver (of the passions) may that God of gods, that one possessed of Supreme Energy, cut off the cause of pain of me and of the pious, wielding his potent weapons. By whom in the days of yore the guileful Danavas who used to give much pain to the gods, were cut with dreadful arrows and eradicated as so many thorns, may that upholder of the water of the universe, that Supreme Lord, protect me!

"The destroyer with whom, when he was desirous of abolishing the portion of the sacrificial offerings of the God, the sacrificer Daksha sought refuge,—may that Lord of sacrifices, the beginning and the end of all things, the destroyer of Daksha's sacrifice—the all-intelligent one, protect me. He that creates and annihilates the world, that mystery of mysteries, that one possessed of primary notions, who although different from all things in the shape of Vishnu is present in the sacrifices and is the principal resort of the Six Excellences, may that God Narayana, protect my son Indra. The three conditions of the Gunas, viz., creation, existence, and annihilation, eternally live in him, the principle of Excellence (Sattwa) proceeds from his nature; He is the protector of the protectors of the world, the destroyer of the wicked doers, in the shape of Rudra, the Beginning of the universe and the annihilator of the oppressors of the world. He whose very small part is Vishnu of Infinite Forms, He, into whose residence Brahma and his sons and the Brahmanas headed by Marichi although born from him, are incapable of entering, may that protector of the pious, together with the goddess Uma be pleased with me. He, from whom the elements* have sprung [* These according to the Hindu philosophy are five namely-Earth, water, fire, wind and the sky.], who maintains them, and in whom they become merged

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(in the form of destruction) He, that is the power of retention, the prosperity, and the revelation of mysteries to that high-souled person who devoutly seeks the Supreme Being—surely that God will put an end to all our miseries. The whole male creation, of the universe, is identical with the three-eyed God, and the female portion—is the goddess Uma, the holder of all. There does not in the universe exist any one who may be their third. Mahadeva only is the supreme Brahma, and he is the every thing and the lord of every thing"

Thus eulogised the almighty God, of the emblem of the bull, that soul of virtue, revealed Himself to Kashyapa that foremost of the upholders of virtue. With a pleased heart, that lord of the gods then thus spoke to Kashyapa:—"O Creator of the worlds (Prajapati), I know the reason why you are praying to me. The high-souled gods Indra and Upendra will both be tranquilized; but the illustrious Janarddana will carry off the Parijata tree. O Kashyapa! Mahendra was cursed by the sage Devasoma (Goutoma) of high-penance—for having desired connexion with his wife; (this present calamity is the result of that curse). O virtuous one!—Now do you go accompanied by Aditi to the daughter of Daksha, at the residence of Sakra; surely your two sons will be attended with blessings". Having heard those words of the God Hara, that son of the son of the lotus-born one, that incomparable one—the blessed Kashyapa went to the abode of the gods, with a delighted heart and bowed down to that preceptor of celestials Mahadeva).

CHAPTER 74. THE FIGHT BETWEEN KRISHNA AND INDRA.

Vaishampayana said:—Here the highly energetic Vishnu, a moment after sun rise, went to the Raivataka mountain, under the pretext of hunting, taking up, O descendant of the Kurus, that foremost of men Satyaki on his car and telling Pradyumna "Follow me". On having reached the Raivataka mountain, that divine one thus spoke to Daruka:—"O Daruka, take charge of my chariot and wait here tending and grooming the horses for this half of the day; O foremost of charioteers, I shall re-enter Dwarka on this very car" (3-4). Having thus delivered his command, that illustrious and intelligent god, of immeasurable prowess, rode on the back of Garuda, being accompanied by Satyaki. O descendant of the Kurus, that slayer of his foes Pradyumna followed Krishna from behind on a separate car capable of coursing on hills. Within the twinkle of an eye the intelligent Hari arrived at the pleasure park of the gods, the Nandana forest, with a view to carry away the Parijata from there. There in the garden of gods, the illustrious Adhokshaja saw hosts of celestial warriors, indomitable, courageous and armed with various weapons. That refuge of the pious, the mighty Krishna uprooted the Parijata tree and placed it on the back of Garuda even before their eyes. Thereupon, O Bharata, the Parijata, having embodied itself, approached (with prayer) Kesava and Garuda, that king of birds. The tree Parijata was consoled by the high souled Kesava and was told—"Do thou not fear, O tree". Then assuring himself that the tree Parijata was securely placed (on the bird's back), Adhokshaja began to go round that best of strong-holds, the abode of the gods. Meanwhile the keepers of the garden of gods, had run to Mahendra and informed him saying—"that the most excellent of trees, the Parijata, is being carried away.". Thereupon the subduer of Paka (Indra) came out mounted on Airavata being followed from behind by Jayanta on a car. Then beholding that slayer of his foes Vasudeva, who had by that time reached the Eastern gate, Indra said—"O slayer of Madhu, what is this going on". Thereupon Kesava, seated on the back of Garuda, saluted Sakra with his head and said:—"I am only taking away this excellent tree for a ceremonious observance of your sister-in-law". Sakra replied saying,—"O lotus-eyed one, thou shouldst not take away this tree, O infallible one, without challenging me to fight. O mighty armed Kesava, deal thou the first blow on me; and let thy promise be fulfilled by your hurling the Koumodaki mace at me". Thereupon, O Bharata, Krishna began to pierce the excellent elephant of the king of the celestials, with sharp arrows fierce like thunder itself. Then with excellent arrows of heavenly make, the wielder of the thunder-bolt began to pierce Garuda; and he soon succeeded in cutting off all the arrows of the light-handed Kesava. Madhava cut off all those arrows which the lord of the gods shot; and smiling, the slayer of Vala and Vritra severed those shot by Madhava. Then, O delighter of the Karus, at the sound of Mahendra's bow and at the twang of the Sranga bow, the inhabitants of heaven swooned away. When the fight was thus raging between them the highly powerful Jayanta tried to remove the Parijata tree from the back of Garuda. Thereupon the slayer of Kansa said to Pradyumna "Prevent him (from taking away the Parijata)"; and instantly the highly powerful son of Rukshmini opposed him (firmly). Then Jayanta, seated on his chariot, that foremost of victorious persons, began to pierce with sharp arrows smilingly the son of Rukshmini on all parts of his body. The lotus-eyed god Cupid on the other hand, seated on his chariot, pierced the son of Indra, with arrows looking like snakes. O delighter of the Karus, then a fierce combat raged between the heroic Jayanta and the son of Rukshmini. Then those two mighty heroes, the sons of Upendra and Mahendra, the foremost of the wielders of weapons, used offensive and defensive weapons against each other. The gods, the sages, the Siddhas and the Charnas, all beheld that fierce combat being much struck with wonder.

O delighter of the Kurus, meanwhile, a messenger of the gods, named Pravara, of great strength, tried to take away the Parijata from the back of Garuda. O descendant of the Kurus, this Pravara was the friend of the ruler of the gods; he was accomplished in the use of mighty weapons and able to subdue all his foes; he was incapable of being slain by virtue of a boon obtained from Brahma. Formerly he was a Brahmana inhabiting the Jamva Island, whence through the merit of religious penances, he attained to heaven, and there O ruler of men, he earned the friendship of the slayer of Vala by virtue of his own powers). On beholding him advance, Krishna told Satyaki;—"O Satyaki, even from this place do thou oppose Pravara with thy arrows. Thou shalt not, O Satyaki, shoot fierce arrows at him and his Brahmanical fickleness should be put up with by all means". Thereafter the mighty-armed Pravara, that foremost of twice born ones, pierced Satyaki who was seated on Garuda with a group of sixty sharp arrows. Thereupon, O king, the grandson of Sini, that foremost of warriors, cut off the bow of Pravara with which he was shooting the arrows, and spoke these words to him. "Thou art not to be slain being a Brahmana; go and pursue thy own mode of life; twice-born sages, even if they offend, are incapable of being slain by the Yadavas". O delighter of the Kurus,—Pravara then thus smilingly replied to him—"O foremost of human heroes, thou needst not be forgiving; fight the battle with all thy might. I am the disciple of Jamadagni's son Rama, and my name is Pravara. I enjoy the friendship of the illustrious Sakra. The gods here do not desire to join in the fray out of regard for the slayer of Madhu; but O Madhava, I shall to-day pay off the debt of friendship I owe to Indra, (by slaying his adversary)". Then O king, a fearful battle raged between them, as that foremost of men, the grandson of Sini, and the best of the twice-born one, shot at each other weapons of divine make. Then as the battle between those high-souled ones progressed, the sky began to tremble and the mountains were highly agitated.

Here on the other hand, neither the son of Krishna was able to overpower that foremost of all wielders of weapons the son of Indra, nor was this latter able to defeat that best of heroes, the illustrious and heroic son of Krishna. O best of men, then those two foremost of heroes, each desirous of winning victory over the other, fought on exclaiming—strike, 'hold,' etc.. The powerful son of Sachi then, O king, challenging the son of the wielder of the Sranga bow (Krishna) struck him with a weapon of heavenly make. The son of Krishna, then with an arrowy net woven with sharp shafts, stopped the fight of that blazing darts. This appeared wonderful. But, O descendant of the Kurus, that blazing weapon, dreadful and destructive of the Danavas, after a moment's pause, fell upon the top of the car of the son of Rukshmini. The car of the illustrious Pradyumna was burnt down by that weapon but it could not, O ruler of men, consume the son of Rukshmini, for O Lord of men, fire, although tremendous, cannot burn another fire. Thereafter the mighty-armed son of Rukshmini extricated himself from the burning chariot.

Then the son of Narayana, that best of car-warriors, being deprived of his car, stationed himself in the heaven with bow in hand and thus addressed Jayanta. "O son of Mahendra,—I am incapable of being slain by the weapon of divine make that thou didst hurl at me and by hundreds of such weapons. Try thy best and display to-day all learning and knowledge; but, O son of an immortal, there is none that can overpower me in battle. When armed with weapons thou didst come out in thy car, I was a little afraid; but now having seen thy prowess in battle I do not fear thee the least,. As thou shalt no longer be able to touch this Parijata tree with thy hands, content thyself with its thought in thy mind. Of the illusive chariot that thou hast burnt down with the flame of thy weapon, I can create thousands through the virtue of my illusive powers". Thus spoken to the highly powerful Jayanta, with great force, shot a fierce weapon obtained by him through his austere penances. Pradyumna opposed that weapon of tremendous force with a net-work of arrows; the son of Indra next shot another four arrows. And those weapons, O Bharata, chocked all the quarters of the heavens; then with another set of five arrows, he completely covered the son of Rukshmini on the sky. Arrows like blazing fire and dreadful weapons, all, that the foremost of the immortals showered on Pradyumna, fell from all sides. All those weapons and arrows the son of Krishna checked by a group of his own arrows; and he then also pierced Jayanta with other sharp arrows. Then the immortals of holy deeds, beholding the firmness and light-handedness of the high-souled Pradyumna, exclaimed out in joy. The heroic descendant of Sini also, O Bharata, cut off the bow-string and the finger-protector of Pravara with a sharp arrow. The latter then grasped another mighty bow of excellent make, which was given to him by Mahendra and whose twang resembled the sound of thunder. Then with that mighty bow, that foremost of twice-born ones, that heroic Pravara began to shoot arrows of diverse sorts, bright and effulgent like rays of the sun. He cut off the beautiful bow of the mighty grandson of Sini and pierced him on all parts of his body, with numerous shafts. Thereupon, O delighter of the Kurus, the grandson of Sini took up another bow capable of withstanding much force; and that intelligent one then sorely pierced Pravara in that battle). They cut off each other's armours with sharp shafts; and with arrows capable of penetrating to the very heart they mutilated each other's flesh. Then again the heroic Pravara severed, in twain, the bow of Satyaki with eight whetted shafts and pierced him with three more. When Satyaki thought of taking up another bow, that twice-born one, of great light-handedness, struck him with a mace that could be hurled at the foe. Thereupon Satyaki, with a smile, took up his sword and buckler and that intelligent one did not take up his bow as he was sorely wounded with the bow. But the brave Pravara cut off the sword and buckler shooting a full hundred arrows. Thereupon Pradyumna, beholding that delighter of the Yadus, namely Satyaki disarmed, gave him another sword bright like the cloudless sky. But Pravara, with a smile, cut off even that sword with a sharp Valla, when it was in the grasp of its owner. Thereupon with sharp straight arrows he began to mutilate Satyaki's skin; and that twice born one, struck on the breast with a lance, shouted out in joy. Then finding him over-powered Pravara approached Garuda on his car with a view to take away the Parijata from his back Thereupon Garuda struck him with his wings so vehemently that he, with his car, fell full four miles back and there fainted away. O king! Jayanta then hastened to pick up the Brahmana who was thus hurled back, and taking him up on his car cheered him. On the other hand, Pradyaumna consoled and cheered up his uncle the grandson of Sini who was fainting and falling down over and over and embraced him (in order to infuse strength into him). The slayer of Madhu then touched Satyaki with his right hand; and instantly at the touch the latter was free from pain and distress. Then Pradyumna and Satyaki—the two foremost of warriors, placed themselves on the right and left side of Parijata respectively (in order to protect it).

On the other hand, O Bharata, the high-souled Mahendra beholding Jayanta and Pravara returning to the fight on the same chariot, smilingly said to them:—"Never and under no circumstances go near Garuda, the king of the feathery creation; the son of Vinata is immensely mighty. Do you both place yourselves armed on my left and right side and behold me fight (with Krishna)". Thus spoken to, those two heroes placed themselves on both sides of Sakra and witnessed the fighting between Indra and Janarddana.

Indra then pierced Garuda on all parts of his body with arrows and mighty weapons of excellent make, whose sound resembled the rumble of thunder. But the highly powerful son of Vinata, that heroic subduer of his foes, without paying the least heed to those arrows, flew swiftly towards the elephant of Sakra. Then those two mighty highly powerful, courageous and indomitable bird and elephant began to fight with tremendous fierceness. Emitting loud roars that king of elephants Airavata then began to wound the enemy of the snakes with his tusks, trunk and head. The son of Vinata, of fierce strength, on the other hand attacked the elephant of Indra, with his sharp claws and strokes of wing. Within a moment the fight between the bird and the elephant grew dreadful, so much so as to strike terror into heart of the onlookers, and to cause astonishment to the whole universe. Thereafter O Bharata, Garuda, of mighty strength, struck Airavata on the head with his fierce claws furnished with fearful talons. Afflicted sorely with the wound, O Janamajaya, the elephant fell from the heights of heaven on the top of that best of mountains the Parijatra that exists on this island of ours. But as he fell, the mighty Sakra did not leave her, out of pity, friendliness and of his promise made before. The infallible and mighty Krishna, of supreme intelligence, followed him on Garuda carrying the Parijata, tree. The slayer of Krita was thus born down to the Parijatra mountain.

Then when Airavata regained strength, the battle between Krishna and Indra once more raged fiercely. They shot at each other gem-bedecked arrows resembling snakes in shape and carefully tempered and whetted on stone, O king, thereafter the wielder of the bolt of heaven hurled at Garuda, Airavata's enemy, his thunder again and again with great noise. But that foremost of all beings possessed of prowess, that king of the birds incapable of being slain by any one, patiently endured all those strokes of thunder. But each time out of regard for the bolt of heaven and for his brother the heavenly king Sakra, the king of birds plucked a feather from his wing. O king, the mountain Parijatra then sank down under the weight of Garuda, and trembling in all parts it went inside the earth. It emitted sweet sound in order to show respect for Krishna and Adokshaja then beheld only a very small part of it above the earth. Thereupon forsaking it, he roared into the heaven, on the back of Garuda; and that creator of every thing and the protector of the worlds thereupon thus spoke to Pradyumna:—"With the help of my energy do thou, O mighty-armed one, repair to Dwarka and bring my chariot

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with Daruka without delay. O bestower of honour, thou shouldst inform Valabhadra and the ruler of the Kukuras, that to-morrow after having defeated Indra, I will return to Dwarka".

Thereupon saying "So be it" in reply to his father, the virtuous and powerful Pradyumna went to Dwarka, and spoke to Ugrasena and Valabhadra the words of his father's. Thereafter, O Bharata, within a hour he came back to the scene of fight riding on Krishna's car accompanied by Daruka.

CHAPTER 75. THE FIGHT BETWEEN GARUDA AND AIRAVATA

Vaishampayana said:—Then Krishna, mounted on his car, went to the Parijatra mountain where the mighty Lord of the immortals was remaining on the back of the Airavata. Then that foremost of mountains, the Parijatra, that knew the powers of the high-souled son of Valadeva, on beholding Janarddana approach, entered into the earth, becoming as small as a stone for grinding sandal. O foremost of kings, Keshava was then highly pleased with the mountain.

O delighter of the Kurus, when Krishna proceeded to renew the fight, Garuda, with Parijata on its back, followed him from behind. The highly powerful Satyaki and Pradyumna, those two subduers of their foes, also went there on the back of Garuda in order to protect the Parijata tree. By that time the sun went down the horizon and night set in. But the battle between Sakra and Keshava commenced anew, O king The highly powerful Krishna, then beholding the elephant Airavata sorely afflicted with the wounds inflicted on him, thus addressed the king of the celestials:—

"O mighty-armed one, the foremost of elephants Airavata has been sorely wounded by Garuda: night also grows on apace. Let us refrain from fighting (now). Do as thou wishest to-morrow morning again." Thereupon the mighty king of the celestials replied to him saying "Let it be so then."

O foremost of kings, the king of the gods Purandara of illustrious soul then, erecting a temporary shade with stones, stopped there near the Puskara for the night. Then Brahma, the mighty sage Kasyapa, Aditi, and other gods and sages came to him there. O ruler of men, O descendant of the Kuru dynasty, the Sadhyas, Viswadevas, the Aswini Kumaras, the Adityas, the Rudras, and the Vasus also assembled there.

On the other hand, O Bharata, Narayana also remained on that delightful mountain Parijatra accompanied by his son and Satyaki. The highly effulgent one then bestowed a boon on the mountain Parijatra that, out of regard for him, O king, had assumed the shape of a grinding stone. "O mighty mountain, thou shalt be called Sanapada; and thou shalt be auspicious and holy like the Himalaya Mountain. O foremost of mountains, be thou thus great; and abounding in numerous kinds of gems, do thou outvie the celebrated Meru mountain. I shall ever be glad to see thee full of different kinds of precious stones".

Thus having bestowed the boon on that mountain, Keshava, after due salutation to the God having the emblem of the bull, remembered that foremost of rivers, the Ganges. O Bharata, thus remembered by Krishna, the river Vishnupadi (having the feet of Vishnu for its source) came there, and Krishna, having worshipped her, performed his ablutions in her waters. Then the Eternal Hari, taking up the water of that sacred river Ganga and leaves of Bilwa, invited therewith the god Rudra, lord of all lords of all things. Thereupon the God Mahadeva, accompanied by Uma and attended by their followers, revealed himself there on the Ganga's water and the Bel leaves. Keshava worshipped him with the flowers of the Parijata tree and that eloquent speaker then began to eulogise that lord of lords, the creator of all thus:—

The auspicious Krishna said:—"O God I thou confinest the beings (of thy creations) in Maya and destroyest it; because thou manifestest thyself through sound that pervades the universe to beings as soon as they are born—for this reason thou art called Rudra; thou art self manifest, O Lord; I entirely resign myself to thy benign protection. Do thou crown me, devoted to thy devotees, and beloved of thy beloved—with fame. As thou art the lord of all creatures both of those who are attached to the followers of life and those that have renounced them—thou art designated Pasupati—(Lord of all creatures). Thou art the performer of all acts. O god of gods! There exists no master of the universe superior to thyself that slayeth foes of the celestial heroes. In as much as thou art, O lord, the beginning, the giver of life and the cause of contentment of all the great divine masters, therefore art thou called the God of gods, by the learned and the pious who are conversant with the essential meaning of all the Shastras. Because O source of all intelligence, O lord of all manifest creation, the visible world is begotten of thee thou art the self-create, the creator of all creators—the benign bestower of boons and designated Bhava (the source from which any thing is born). O God over all gods, in as much as thou wert coronated by all the defeated gods and Asuras and all other creatures, therefore art thou denominated Maheswara (the highest divinity) the maker of the universe. O bestower of boons, O thou of immeasurable prowess, thou art the object of adoration of everybody and therefore, it is that gods, desirous of their own welfare, always worship thee, and for this reason again thou art celebrated by the name Bhagavan that is loved by the pious; and it indicates thy presence in the soul of all creatures. O foremost of the lords of the Paradise, O Infinite one! O god, in as much as thou art the cause of production and of the thirteen elements (such as earth, sky, space, sun, fire and the wind, etc., etc.) therefore art thou principally called Tryambaka of immeasurable fame. Thou art designated Sarva for thou subduest thy foes and Aprameya for none can overpower thee. Thou art called all-pervading for thou rulest everything by such principles as Raja, etc.; thou art designated Sankara for thou art the source of pleasure; thou art the Lord of sound for the Veda is thy word and Arkagrateja for thy effulgence is more than that of the sun. O Lord of all, as thou dost ever crown them with bliss who are thy devotees and dost instruct even thy foes the Asuras for their good, it is for thy this universal blissful aspect that the pious, conversant with the essence of virtue, call thee the self-manifest Sankara of infinite prowess. O Ishvar of immense prowess! In the days of yore the lord of the celestials struck thee on the throat with his thunder; but although capable of retaliating it thou didst, out of affection, suffer thy throat to be rendered blue; for this reason thou art celebrated by the name of the Blue-throated. O Somadeva, thou art identical with all the male and female indications amongst the mobile and immobile creation, therefore do the Brahmanas, conversant with the essence of things, call thee the ever adorable Amvica, the protectress of the universe and also call thee the source of qualified existence (as opposed to absolute one)). Thou art that Mahattatwu which the mysterious force known as Maya in the Vedas produceth, and that is endowed with conceptual and active energies. Thou art the Yajna of those initiated into those ceremonies, their prime energy, and the great atman of the Yogis; therefore there has not been, does not exist, and will not be, such a being as thyself. O God of gods, Myself, Brahma, Kapila, Antadeva, and the illustrious sons of Brahma have all been produced by thy parts; and thou art the lord of all, the essential cause of all and the only absolute One that deservest homage".

Thus eulogised the god Mahadeva, having the bull for his emblem, extended his right arm and thus spoke to Narayana:—"O best of gods, thou shalt obtain the things desired by thee; thou shalt carry away the Parijata tree; and thy mind shall not feel the least pain (of disappointment). O powerful Krishna, do thou compose thyself remembering the austerities thou didst practise on the Mainaka mountain and the boon I bestowed on thee on that occasion. 'Thou shalt be incapable of being slain', 'Thou shalt be invincible,' and 'Thou shalt be ever more indomitable than myself'—these and such words which I spoke to thee then-shall be so and not otherwise (i.e. they shall be true to the letter). Moreover, O foremost and virtuous among the gods—he, that will pray to me with this hymn of praise composed by thee, shall attain the highest virtue and victory ever his foes in battle and homage of the highest kind. O sinless one, O lord of the gods, worshipped here by thyself, I shall be called Villodakesara and fulfill the desire of all that will approach me. O Keshava, O Janarddana, whatsoever learned and worshipful devotee will pass three nights here, observing fast, shall attain to such regions as he may desire. Here also shall the Ganges (sacred river) be called Avindhya; and ablutions, performed in its water after due recitation of Mantras, will be equally meritorious with those performed in the Ganges itself. O mighty Janarddana, on the summit of this mountain, within the caves underneath the ground there is a stronghold of the Danavas called Satpura. Hidden inside that fastness live mighty Danavas of wicked soul—who are so many thorns in the ways of the gods and in the universe. O sinless one, through the virtue of a boon bestowed on them by Brahma, they are, O God, incapable of being slain by the celestials; therefore do thou, O Keshava, slay them, disguised as thou art now in a human semblance".

Having thus spoken and after embracing Vasudeva, O ruler of men, the god Mahadeva disappeared on the spot. Thus after Mahadeva's departure, and on the dawn of day, O ruler of men, Govinda, addressing the mountain (Parijatra) said:—"O foremost of mountains, underneath you live mighty Asuras, incapable of being slain by the gods, by virtue of a boon bestowed on them by Brahma. Although highly powerful they shall not be able to come out when I confine them (within the Earth underneath you); and their avenues thus cut off they shall die in that place. O mighty mountain, I shall also be enshrined on you—and O mountain, I shall live on your heights holding in check the dreadful Asuras. O foremost of mountains, who ever climbing upon your top shall behold my image there, he shall attain to the merit of giving away a thousand cows. Those, that will every day devoutly worship me constructing an emblem of mine with your stones, shall attain to my condition".

Thus the boon-giving Vishnu favored that master and thenceforward that infallible God is enshrined there. And there, O descendant of Kurus, persons of purified souls always worship him having constructed a image with the stone of that mountain, with a view to attain to the Vishnu Loka.

CHAPTER 76. INDRA FIGHTS WITH KRISHNA

Vaishampayana said:—Having saluted then the Lord of Vilwa and water, Krishna, the high-minded slayer of Madhu, went away on his own car; and seated thereon he invited the king of gods accompanied by the celestials near Pushkara.

Thereupon the effulgent Sakra, the granter of all desires unto the pious and Jayanta got upon cars drawn by most excellent horses. O descendant of Kurus, then under the influence of destiny there took place an encounter between those two celestials mounted on their cars on account of the Parijata. With straight-coursing arrows Vishnu, the represser of enemies' army, struck the soldiers of the king of gods. Although capable however, O lord, Indra did not strike Upendra in battle nor the latter the former. O king, with ten sharpened arrows Janarddana struck each of the horses of the king of gods: Vasava too, the foremost of the celestials, with dreadful shafts shot off the bow, covered Shaiyya and other horses. With a thousand of arrows Krishna covered the elephant (of Indra) and the highly powerful slayer of Bali covered Garuda too. O descendant of Bharata, while in this way, seated on their cars the high-souled Narayana, dreadful unto his enemies and the king of gods fought with each another, the earth shook like a boat sunk in water and the quarters were fully enshrouded with lustre. Mountains shook, hundreds of trees were uprooted and pious mortals fell down on earth. O king, hundreds of hurricane blew there. And while that battle raged on, the course of the rivers was changed in an opposite direction, the wind blew wild, fire-brands, shorn of lustre, fell down and creatures repeatedly lost their consciousness at the rattle of the car-wheels. What more, O king, fire was lighted even in the water and planets fought with planets in the sky. And hundreds of stars fell down on earth from the sky. Elephants of the quarters and those ranging on earth began to quiver. The welkin was covered with cranes emitting loud cries, pouring down dreadful blood and ash-coloured like asses. O foremost of kings, beholding those two heroic gods engaged in fighting with each other the earth, heaven and sky as if disappeared from view. At that time for the behoof of the world the ascetics began to recite Mantras and the Brahmanas speedily engaged in carrying on meditations.

Thereupon the highly powerful Brahma said to Kashyapa:—"O you of firms vows, go with your wife Aditi and prevent your two sons". Saying "So be it" to the lotus-sprung deity the ascetic speedily went out on his car to that foremost of men. Beholding Kashyapa with Aditi in the battle-field those two heroic and highly powerful slayers of their enemies, ever engaged in the welfare of all beings and well-read in the tenets of religions, got down from their cars, and leaving off their arms, saluted the feet of their parents. Then holding them both by the hands Aditi said:—"Born of the same parents you are trying to slay each other as if you are not brothers. Let pass what has happened. If you think that you should obey the words of your mother and those of your patriarchal father, then lay down your arms and hear what I say." Saying "So be it" those two highly powerful celestials, conversing with each other, went to the bank of the river Janhavi.

Sakra said:—"O Krishna, thou art the Lord Creator of the universe and I have been placed by thee in my kingdom. Having thyself established me here why dost thou disregard me? O thou of lotus eyes, having accepted me as thy elder brother why dost thou wish to destroy me?"

O king, having bathed in the water of the river Janhavi they both returned to the high-souled Kashyapa of firm vows and Aditi. The ascetics designate that place as the union ground of dear ones where those two lotus-eyed brothers were united with their parents. O descendant of Kurus, after Krishna had promised safety unto Indra in the very presence of the pious celestials who were assembled there, they all, shining in their respective beautiful forms, repaired to the celestial region on their own cars. O king, seated on one car Kashyapa, Aditi, Indra and Upendra set out for the celestial region, O descendant of Kuru, after those pious gods had come to Sakra, endued with all qualities and taken their seats, Sachi, ever fond of virtue, adored the high souled Kashyapa along with his wife, ever engaged in the well-being of all creatures. Thereupon after the night had elapsed Aditi, conversant with the principles of religion, said to Hari ever encompassing good unto creatures. "O Upendra! take this Parijata, go to Dwarka and perform the auspicious festival so longed for by your wife. But, O foremost of men, when that ceremony will be over, you are to bring back this tree and place it as before in the garden of Nandana".

Hearing this Krishna said to the illustrious mother of the gods "So be it." The high-souled Narada too gave consent to it. Thereupon having saluted his mother, father and Mahendra with Sachi Janarddana expressed his desire of going to Dwaraka. The pious daughter of Puloma handed over to Krishna many lovely ornaments for his wives. For the sixteen thousand wives of Madhava the high-minded daughter of Puloma gave diverse celestial jewels and raiments of various colours. Having accepted all those presents and been honoured by the pious rangers of the sky the highly energetic

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and effulgent Keshava set out with Pradyumna and Satyaki for Dwaraka and arrived at the mount Raivataka. Having planted there the foremost of trees Parijata Madhava despatched Satyaki to Dwaraka consisting of doors.

Krishna said:—"O large-armed king of Bhaimas, communicate this news to the Bhaimas that I brought here Parijata from the abode of Mahendra. Even to-day I shall take to Dwaraka this best of trees Parijata: let the city be decorated with auspicious marks". O lord, thus accosted Satyaki departed. And having communicated Krishna's words to the Bhaimas he joined the citizens and the princes headed by Samva. Thereupon having placed Parijata on Garuda's back and taking him before, Pradyumna, the foremost of car-warriors, entered the charming city of Dwaraka. Hari, seated on a car drawn by Shaivya and other horses, and Satyaki and Pradyumna, seated on another most excellent car, followed him. O king, speaking highly of that deed of Keshava, other members of the Vrishni family set out delightedly on various conveyances. Hearing from Satyaki of the wonderful feat of Keshava of incomparable energy the Yadu citizens of Anartta were filled with surprise. Now beholding that tree covered with heavenly flowers they could not attain to the consummation of delight though they repeatedly looked at it. Beholding that unthought-of, most excellent and wonderful tree filled with playful birds, even the decrepitude of the elderly women disappeared. Smelling the fragrance of that tree the blind were gifted with celestial vision and the diseased were shorn of their ailments. Hearing the notes of the birds from that tree resembling those of a koel the inhabitants of Anartta were filled with delight and saluted Janarddana. Though living at a distance people of that city listened to various sweet songs and music proceeding from that tree. At that time every man was favoured with whatever fragrance he wished for proceeding from that Parijata tree. Having thus entered the charming city of Dwaraka, Keshava, of Yadu's race, met with Vasudeva, Devaki, his brother Bala, the king of Kukura, and other Yadavas, worthy of respect like unto the immortals. Having honoured them duly the eternal and divine Madhusudana, having Gada as his elder brother, dismissed them all and set out for his own residence. And taking that best of trees Parijata he entered into Satyabhama's palace. Seeing it the divine Satyabhama was highly pleased; and having adored Upendra she accepted that great tree Parijata.

O descendant of Bharata, according to Vasudeva's desire that tree used to lessen its proportion. It created great surprise in all. O Janamejaya, it, sometimes assuming a huge proportion, used to cover the whole of Dwaraka, and again it came within the reach of all being of the shape of a thumb. Having thus accomplished her object Satyabhama began to collect all materials for the performance of the rite of Punyaka. Krishna collected all that could be had in the insular continent of Jamvu. O descendant of Kuru, thereupon seated with Satya the self-controlled Keshava, for taking the vow, thought of the ascetic Narada.

CHAPTER 77. SATYA PERFORM THE RITE.

Vaishampayana said:—O descendant of Kuru, as soon as he was thought of by Krishna, that foremost of Munis and speakers, Narada, having asceticism for his wealth, arrived there, O king, having worshipped him duly, the beautiful lord of Sree invited him reverentially to accept the Punyaka ceremonies. O descendant of Bharata, thereupon when the appointed hour came, the eternal Vasudeva, the creator of all creatures, along with the beloved Satya, delightedly worshipped the great Muni Narada, who had been well bathed, with scents and garlands and fed him. Thereupon the lucky damsel, having a put garland of flowers, around Krishna's neck, bound him to the Parijata tree. Afterwards obtaining his permission she dedicated Keshava unto Narada. Then she gave away sessamum seeds illumined with the lustre of jems and jewels, gold mixed with rice and other plants, mountains of gold and a thousand kine.

Having accepted all those articles the Muni Narada, the foremost of speakers, delightedly said to Keshava:—"O Keshava, given by Satya together with water thou hast become mine. Do thou follow me and do what I say." Hearing it Janarddana said "This is the first stage" and began to follow Narada who was about to go. Having thus cut various jokes and saying "do thou wait here, I shall go" that foremost of Munis, always clever in cutting jokes, took away (from Krishna's neck) the garland of flowers and said: "In order to release thyself do thou give me a Kapila cow with a calf and the skin of a black antelope full of sessamum seeds and gold. This means of release has been laid down by the god (Siva) having a bull for his emblem". O king, Janarddana said "So be it" and offered him the same fee of release. And then smilingly he said to that foremost of Munis Narada:—"O Narada, O you conversant with religion, I have been greatly pleased with you. Pray for a desired-for boon and I will grant it".

Narada said:—"O thou eternal and great Vishnu, may thou always remain pleased with me and may I, with thy favour, obtain habitation with thee. O Vishnu the refuge of the pious, if I am to take birth again may I be born of no woman and be a Brahmana".

O descendant of Bharata, the Lord Vishnu said "So it will be" and the highly intelligent Muni Narada too was pleased. O Kuru Emperor, Satyabhama, the beloved wife of Hari, had invited on the occasion of the Punyaka ceremony, the sixteen thousand wives of the highly powerful Vishnu. And at the termination of the ceremony she distributed amongst them all those celestial raiments and ornaments which Sachi had previously given to Vasudeva. Living there, Parijata, at the command of Vasudeva, began to display its own accomplishments. And invited by the high-souled Narada and Keshava all their friends and relations began to witness the power of Parijata. On the occasion of that great festival the highly powerful Hari had brought there the Pandavas along with Pritha, Draupadi, and Subhadra. O Kuru king, Shrutasrava, with her son, Bhishmaka with his son and other friends and relations were also brought there. O king, in this way, the highly energetic Janarddana, along with Pritha's son Arjuna, began to spend his time happily in the company of the ladies of his seraglio. In this way after a year had elapsed the highly powerful Keshava, of incomparable prowess and intelligence, the foremost of immortals and the preserver of all, returned with Parijata to the city of the celestials and saluted Sakra, Aditi, and Kashyapa. After the slayer of Madhu had bowed unto the mother Aditi she said:—"O foremost of immortals, may you both always entertain such a brotherly feeling. O Janarddana, you are to satisfy this desire of mine." Hearing it the intelligent Keshava said to his mother. "It shall be so". Thereupon having honoured his parents the highly energetic Vasudeva addressed to the king of gods, the following words suited to the occasion. "O king of gods, O giver of honour, I have been commanded by the high-souled Siva, to destroy all the unslayable Danavas living on earth. From to-day within ten days I will kill all those Asuras. O king of gods, at the time of that battle, Pravara, together with the heroic Jayanta, shall have to wait in the sky for slaying those Danavas. Of them one is a god in a human form and the other is the son of a god. Although those Danavas, proud of the boon conferred on them by Brahma, are unslayable by the gods, still we will kill them for I am now a man." Then Indra, pleased, said to Krishna "So it will be." And then, O Janamejaya, they embraced each other.

CHAPTER 78. THE HISTORY OF THE PUNYAKA RITE.

Janamejaya said:—O foremost of the twice-born, by the grace of Dwaipayana you are informed of all things. Relate to me, therefore, the origin of the religious rite of Punyaka.

Vaishampayana said:—O foremost of the pious kings, hear, how, according to the ordinances of Uma, the rite of Punyaka was introduced before amongst mankind O sinless king, after the tree Parijata had been carried away from the celestial region by Krishna of unwearied actions, the battle between the gods and demons had commenced and the dreadful slaughter of the Danavas, of Shatpur, had been brought about the intelligent Muni Narada went to the city of Dwaravati. O king, after the goddess-like Jamvavati, the honourable Satyabhana, the ascetic daughter of the king of Gandhara and numberless other virtuous, chaste and accomplished wives of Keshava had assembled there, Rukshmini, the daughter of Bhishma, asked the foremost of Brahmanas Narada, well read in theology, who was there with Krishna. Rukshmini said:—"O Muni, O foremost of speakers and virtuous men, we are greatly stricken with curiosity to listen to an account of the origin of pious rites, the rules regulating their performance, fruits, time and gifts connected with them. Kindly remove it by describing them in detail."

Narada said:—O sinless lady Vaidharbi, cognizant of religious rites, hear how Uma described the regulations of the Punyaka rite in the days of yore. O goddess, on one occasion, the goddess Uma, of pure vows, performed the religious rite of Punyaka; and at the termination of the ceremony she invited all her friends. Aditi and other daughters of Daksha of indomitable energy, Puloma's daughter Sachi, renowned in the world for her devotion to her husband, the great Sati, Soma's beloved spouse Rohini, Purvaphalguni, Revati, Shatabhisa and Magha had all come there before and had been worshipping the great goddess Uma. The worshipful presiding goddesses of the charming rivers Ganga, Saraswati, Vena, Goda, Vaitarani, Gandaki and others, the auspicious and chaste lady Lopamudra and others who, all, by virtue of their own prowess, have been upholding the universe, the auspicious daughters of the mountains, the daughters of the fire, of firm vows, Shaha, the wife of the Regent of fire, the illustrious goddess Savitri, Hriddhi, the beloved wife of Kuvera, the queen of the lord of waters, the wife of the Regent of departed manes, the wives of Vasus, the ascetic and vow-observing Hri, Shree, Dhriti, Kirti, Asha, Medha, Priti, Mati, Khyati, Sannati and other chaste ladies, ever engaged in the well-being of creatures, (were all present there) O highly youthful lady. At the termination of the ceremony Amvika, with mountains of various corns and jewels, cloths of various colours and most excellent ornaments, honoured them all. Having accepted the offerings of the goddess those chaste ascetic ladies took their seats and engaged in conversation on different topics. O thou having thy husband as thy god, when the subject of the Punyaka rite was cropped up in the course of their conversation the goddess spoke many things about it and of the regulations regarding its performance.

Thereupon with the consent of that assembly of chaste ladies Arundhati, the daughter of Soma, addressed the goddess Uma about the most important regulation regarding the Punyaka rite. O Vaidarbhi, to please them all, the goddess Uma, compassing the well-being of all creatures, gave them an account of religious rites in my presence. O fair one, at that time Uma made over the mountain of jewels to me; and I too, having accepted that present, dedicated it to the service of the Brahmanas. O auspicious lady, listen, with all these (ladies), to what I saw about the Punyaka rites and what Uma said to the chaste Arundhati. I shall relate it in full from the very beginning.

CHAPTER 79. PUNYAKA DESCRIBED BY UMA.

Uma said:—O you of pure smiles, when by the grace of my lord I became omniscient I came to know of the sacred regulations of all the religious rites. O Arundhati, although the regulation of sacred rites exists eternally I however came to know of it through the favour of Mahadeva. O you blameless lady, by the command of my husband, the divine and intelligent Bhava, I performed the religions rites. In the Puranas the religious rites have been sanctioned for them who desire to practise chastity and holy rites. O pious Arundhati, gifts, fastings and performance of good and religious works are fruitless for unchaste women. Religious rites are contaminated by the sin of sexual intercourse. Thereupon those, who deceive their husbands or hold a sinful intercourse, do not attain to the fruits of sacred rites; on the other hand they go to hell. Those good-natured and chaste damsels, having husband for their God, are upholding the universe, who do not know any other man but their lord, who cherish whole-minded devotion for virtue and who follow the way of a chaste woman as their only refuge. Those, who do not commit sin even by speech, who are pure, intelligent, sweet-speeched and always perform pious rites, are preserving the world. A wife, under no circumstances, should relinquish her husband even if he be poor, diseased or outcasted. Such is the eternal virtue. A wife can save herself and her husband even if he be devoid of accomplishments, if he perpetrates wrong deeds and be outcasted. In the Vedas the sages have laid down purificatory rites for women who commit sin by words. But there is no penance (laid down) for them who commit sin by sexual intercourse; consider them as fallen for ever. O blessed lady, the woman, who wishes to wend the ways of the pious, should perform rites and fasts according to the desire of her husband. By a promiscuous intercourse a woman is born in a degraded birth. And she does not attain to a better life even within a thousand births. If accidently an unchaste woman is born as a woman she is born as a Chandala, becomes highly wicked and lives on a dog's flesh. O you having asceticism for your wealth, the sages have designated the husband as the God of women. She is a pious and chaste woman with whom her husband is pleased. There is no sacred region for those women whose fall has been brought about by curiosity. O gentle lady, those women, whose minds are devoted to and fixed on their husbands, and who do not disregard them even by their words, actions and mind, attain to the fruits of religious rites. Such has been laid down by those who are engaged in religious ceremonies. O beautiful lady, listen you all to the regulations of religious rites intended for the celestial region which I have witnessed by virtue of my asceticism.

O you of firm vows, having risen up early in the morning and bathed, a chaste woman, desirous of performing a penance or fasting, should salute the feet of her father-in-law and mother-in-law and then communicate it to her husband. Then taking Kusa grass and a copper vessel she should first sprinkle the right horn of a cow with water. And then with this water she should sprinkle first the head of her husband who had controlled himself and performed ablutions. She should then pour it on her own head. In the code of ordinances this practice is called bathing at all the holy shrines. O great Arundhati, while performing a Vrata or a fast both the husband and wife should bathe in this way. By Hara's energy and by virtue of my asceticism I have seen it myself. While performing a religious ceremony one should herself wash her feet; and using an arrow, sleeping and sitting are forbidden. While fasting or performing a Vrata, a woman should not shed tears, quarrel or be angry or else she would be immediately fallen. O you born of the Moon, on the occasion of a Vrata or a fast, a woman should use a white cloth and a white under-vest. She should use shoes made of reeds and such-like grasses. She should avoid collyrium, perfumeries and flowers. Without rubbing her teeth with a piece of wood and washing her head she should perform all the purificatory rites with earth. With Vilwa and Amlaki mixed with water and free from earth she should wash her head. She should rub oil on her head, feet and body. While fasting or performing a Vrata

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one should always avoid conveyances drawn by bullocks, camels and asses and should not bathe naked. O auspicious daughter of Soma, it is better to bathe in the water of a river or fountain, not to speak of bathing in the tanks and wells full of water-born plants, which is always regarded greatly. It is not con venient for women, who do not come out publicly, consequently they are allowed to bathe with water from a vessel. In such a procedure the ancient custom is to use new vessels. One, washing her head in this way, attains to the fruits of Tapas.

CHAPTER 80. PUNYAKA DESCRIBED BY UMA (continued).

Uma said:—Thus according to all the prescribed rules a self-controlled and chaste woman should observe the vow either for one year, six months or one month; and afterwards, she must reverentially invite eleven chaste women. O auspicious lady, I have myself observed this sacred rule. Having taken those chaste ladies from their husbands after paying them the proper return the principal lady should dedicate them along with water to the preceptor. And having taken them back from the preceptor, paying him his fees according to the practices of the country and time she should return them to their husbands. Thereupon at the end of the month in the light fort-night after offering adoration she should bring about the termination of the rite. In order to accomplish her Vrata, a woman, bent upon performing it, should day and night fast just at the beginning and at the termination. Thus when Vrata terminates she should make her husband trim his nails and crop his hairs. And she should also do it herself. Such is laid down in the Sruti. Thereafter, O auspicious lady, she should bathe and adorn herself with ornaments and garlands as on the occasion of a wedding. Thereupon saluting her husband's feet either with mind or with words, she, after reciting the following Mantra, should bathe with water in the pot. "Water is the procreator of the Rishis and the preserver of the universe. It is born in the celestial region and is called Madanti (in a sacrifice). It is the origin of piety and therefore delightful. It is pure and purifying. Let it therefore, with juice productive of highest good, cover me with blessings. This hymn, (offered) to water is heard everywhere. O you of perfectly beautiful limbs, listen now to Mantras sanctioned by the Puranas for women which run as follows.

"'May I do good unto my husband, may I not waste money, may I be accomplished, and perform religious rites with my husband and serve him as a slave for a boon. May I not disregard my husband with deeds, mind, or words. And even when enraged may I follow him. May I reign supreme over the other wives of my husband, be gifted with a charming beauty, be fortunate, a mother of sons, liberal in distributing food, speak of others' accomplishments and be free from poverty by every means. May my husband be of a beautiful face; may he depend on me, be devoted to me, have his mind fixed on me and follow me. May our attachment be like that of a pair of Chakravaka birds; may not disaffection grow between us and may we be crowned with auspiciousness. May I go to the region of those most excellently chaste women, who, having attained to highest culture through devotion to their husbands, have purified the families of their father and husband and who have been upholding the whole universe. May the earth, air, water, ether, fire, sky, the soul, nature, the principles of greatness and egoism and the sages, who are my witness, remember my penances and reverential faith. May the elemental creation, existing everywhere, who are engaged in the works of creatures, who are born of men and otherwise and are pervaded by the qualities of Satwa, etc., and who have worked out the bodies of creatures, witness my Vrata and reverential faith. May the sun and moon, the witness of pious works, Yama, the ten quarters and my mind always bear testimony to my penances and resolution'. From the very beginning of a Vrata all the articles should be inspired every day with the mantra, for such is laid down in the Puranas. O auspicious Arundhati, after bathing thus she should present to her husband two pieces of raiment made by her own hand. If by an impediment those two pieces of cloth are not made by her own hand, she should present another fresh white cloth together with thread spun by her own hands, O youthful lady, afterwards she should feed, as mush as lies in her power, along with her husband, another Brahmana endued with discriminative knowledge, self-controlled and pure. She should also give to the Brahmana two pieces of cloth, beds, conveyances, corns and a house consisting of servants, male and female. She should also, according to her power, give ornaments and diverse sorts of corn especially a mountain of jems mixed with sessamum seeds. She should also give elephants, horses, and kine, covered with sheets of diverse colours. She should also give salt, butter, treacle, honey, gold, various perfumeries, juice, flowers, silver, copper vessels, all sorts of fruits, raiments, wood, stone, curd, milk, clarified butter, Durva and other articles, which she wishes. With them she should present beautiful idols of Uma and Maheshwara and their likenesses in painting. O chaste lady, all the gifts should be given away according to the husband's desire and in agreement with his means, country and time, either small or great. If the husband permits her she should also give away vessels full of sessamum seeds and Kapila kine with bell-metalled vessels. O blameless and lucky damsel, if one gives away the skin of a black antelope together with sessamum and raiments, a mirror, and deer-skin, she attains to all desired-for objects, O you of a fair face, if a woman thus performs a Vrata (rite) she becomes the foremost of her sex, lucky, a mother of sons, beautiful, liberal, rich and of lotus-eyes. She also gets a daughter, beautiful and accomplished after her own heart. Those, who make presents in this way, become the foremost of all lucky women, mother of sons, rich and endued with accomplishments, O Arundhati, because I was the first person to perform this Vrata, it passes, in the world, by the name of Uma-Vrata, O blameless lady, this is the best of Vratas that women can perform. And if they make presents according to the ordinances of this Vrata they acquire all desired-for objects. O gentle lady, propitiated at the performance of this Vrata the god of gods, Siva, the rider of the bull, selected me as his queenly consort. At the termination of the Vrata, women should distribute edibles and other articles procurable in the country and at the time. O fair lady, the articles of the Vrata should be distributed amongst the Brahmanas. And as desired by them, food should be offered accompanied with presents. Payasa should be given in this Vrata: it gives a separate fruit. However animals should not be sacrificed any how. Such is laid down in the Puranas. O auspicious daughter of Soma, the second Vrata, that I am now, describing to you, I had also known of by the favour of Mahadeva. The learned hold that a son is the only fruit that women should desire for. Those, who wish to have sons should give away small vessels. In the two auspicious months of Jaistha and Ashada, or either in the former or in the latter one should observe the ordinances mentioned before. O fair lady, when the appointed two months or one month will be over one should give away a small vessel filled with Sirbat. O you having the effulgence of the moon, she should also, in the same way, distribute clarified butter, curd, milk, honey and jars full of water. She should give away small vessels proportionate to the number of sons she desires for to a Brahmana self-controlled, of firm vows and of ripened knowledge. If any woman wishes to have a daughter she will undoubtedly have her if she, out of her own will, presents any article to a Brahmana. O you of pure smiles, sheets and kine or gold are the most becoming presents in it. In this Vrata, according to the regulations regarding the gift of small vessels for sons, a wise and pure woman should give away sacrificial threads. A woman, observing the rules of Vrata, should make presents to the Brahmanas for one full year, under the auspicies of the stars (favourable either to the son or to the daughter. [The purport of the sloka (Sanskrit meter) is that some stars as Pushya etc., are favourable for having a son and Rohini and others for a daughter. The woman, who wishes to have a son, must give away presents under the auspices of the former; and she, who wishes to have a daughter, must do so under the auspices of the latter. We have rendered the sloka freely to make the sense clear.] O truthful Arundhati, when one year is complete, she should, with the permission of her husband, make presents of small vessels. Having completed the Vrata, in the full moon of the month of Kartika (October) she should, of her own will, present to a Brahmana, sacrificial thread and golden thread. If a chaste lady, according to her might, gives to a Brahmana sacrificial thread, small vessels and Dakshina (money presents) she attains to all desired-for objects. So long a woman observes this vow she should not take new rice, fruits or enjoy flowers. O you conversant with religious tenets, taking one meal a day, a woman should perform the Punyaka rite; and she should give meals to the Brahmanas and her husband in the same way. If a woman observes a vow in the way for one full year she becomes, lucky, beautiful, mistress of riches and does never become a widow. O Arundhati, a woman, who does not take Vartaku for one full year, never witnesses the destruction of her son; know this for certain. If a woman does not take the meat of a hare or deer she becomes chaste and long-lived. The woman, who seeks the well-being of her husband, should avoid bottle-gourds, potherbs and turmeric. The woman, who after the completion of one year, gives vegetables from the beginning accompanied with money-gifts, will be the foremost of those having sons. The woman, who from the very beginning washes herself her feet, attains to fame and never suffers anxiety. The chaste woman, who avoids taking her food in the night and who takes it only in the day for one full year, becomes lucky and her sons never die. And undoubtedly she rules over the other wives of her husband. In this way when one year will be complete she should present to an illustrious Brahmana after her own heart, a most excellent sun of gold. The pious woman, who will thus observe a Vrata, should dedicate to the sun, not declining, flowers, fruits and other edibles.

"O fair lady, in this way, the chaste woman, who will take her meals after the sunset for full one year, should give to a selected Brahmana edibles purified by the moon and stars, and the moon, stars and planets made of gold and raiments covered with salt. O you having the colour of an immortal, by so doing a woman becomes lucky, beautiful and worthy of being looked at by all. And her body will be cool like the moon. The woman, who in the light half of the month of Kartika, offers to the gods untouched water for washing feet with Kusa, and balls of barley with curd, acquires all desired-for objects. The chaste woman, who does not take her food without seeing the sun either on a clear or a cloudy day, has all her objects accomplished. The liberal-minded woman, who according to her might gives gold to a Brahmana, becomes lucky, beautiful and worthy of of being looked at by all".

CHAPTER 81. PUNYAKA DESCRIBED BY UMA (continued).

The goddess continued:—O Arundhati, hear with these ladies, I shall describe the pious rites, by which the body becomes worthy of attaining to most excellent bliss. If a chaste woman fasts on the eighth day of the dark-half of the month, or living on roots and fruits if she gives a meal to a Brahmana, and if she, clad in a white raiment, and observant of pure conduct, adores her preceptor and gods for one year and gives away to the twice-born, according to her might, chowries of the hairs of cows, flags and sweet meats, her hairs become curling and waving and extend up to the waist and she becomes the most favorite of her husband. The chaste woman, who wishes to make her head worthy of the most excellent bliss, should wash it with milk mixed with bel fruit and myrobalan and should drink the urine of a cow and mix the latter with water for washing her head. O fair lady, if one observes these practises on the fourteenth day of the dark-half of a month, she does not become a widow and becomes lucky and freed from diseases. She never suffers from head-diseases. O you of pure smiles, the woman, who desires to have a beautiful forehead, must spend the first days of the fort-nights, taking her meals once a day. And as long as the year does not run out she should only subsist on milk and food mixed with it. Thereupon, bestowing on a Brahmana a golden seat she attains to a most beautiful fore-head. The youthful woman, who seeks beautiful eye-brows, beginning with the second day of a fortnight, must take her meals every alternate day and live upon vegetables. O gentle lady, after the completion of full one year she should give to a Brahmana ripe fruits, salt and vessels of clarified butter with Dakshina of gold of the weight of a masha and then make him recite benedictory hymns. The youthful lady, who desires to have a pair of beautiful ears, should, under the influence of Sravana, feed on barley. And after the completion of one year she should throw into clarified butter a pair of golden ears and then offer them to a Brahmana with milk. The damsel, who desires for a beautiful nose extending straight to the end of fore-head, should fast every alternate day till the season of the growing of flowers and offer water with sessamum. And when the flowers will grow she should cull some and throw them into clarified butter and then give them away. O you of pure smiles, O you born from ambrosia, the learned and chaste lady, who wishes to have beautiful eyes, should fast every alternate day and live upon milk and curd. Thereupon when one year will be complete, she should throw leaves of lotus and lily upon milk and give them away to a Brahmana when they will remain afloat. O chaste lady, by this gift she will forsooth have eyes like those of a black antelope. The pious and chaste lady, who desires to have a pair of charming lips, should, for one year, live upon unsolicited food on the ninth day of a fortnight and drink water from an earthen pot. After the completion of the year she should give away sapphires. If a woman observes this rule she becomes lucky, mother of sons, rich and a mistress of kine and her lips become shining like Nimva fruits. The fair lady, who wishes to have beautiful teeth, should not take her meals twice on the eight day of a light-half month. O accomplished and pious lady, a chaste woman, completing one year in this way, should throw silver teeth into milk and give them away. O sinless one, observing this rite, a chaste lady will acquire teeth like Tila flowers, good fortune and sons. O you of a beautiful countenance, the lady, who wishes to have a charming countenance, should bathe when the moon rises in a full-moon night and give to a Brahmana barley boiled with milk. Thereupon after the completion of one year, placing a moon made of pure silver on a full blown lotus, she should request a Brahmana to recite benedictory hymns. By such a gift a woman acquires a countenance beautiful like the full-moon. The woman, who desires to have breast rising like Tala fruits, should control her speech and feed upon unsolicited food on the tenth day of a fortnight. After the completion of a year she should give away two Vilwa fruits made of gold to a self-controlled Brahmanana with Dakshina. By this a woman gets rising breast, great fortune and many sons. The woman, who wishes to have a thin-built belly, should live on one meal for one year and should not take her food with water on the fifth day of a fortnight. After the completion of one year she should, with many gifts, give a beautiful Jali creeper to a self-controlled Brahmana. O youthful lady, she, who wishes to have beautiful arms, should live on all sorts of herbs on the twelfth day of every fort-night. And after the completion of one year she should give to a selected Brahmana one golden lotus and two

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born in water. O you of firm vows, she, who wishes to have a spacious waist, should spend the thirteenth day of every fortnight by taking food once unsolicited. O you of a beautiful face, when a year will be complete in this way she should make a model of Brahma's face with salt and give it away. Afterwards the lady, conversant with religious rites, should give away a figure of his made of gold and free from collyrium and other powders, unbroken jems and crimson coloured raiments. O gentle lady, by doing this, one gets a waist after her heart. The chaste lady, who wishes to have sweet words, should avoid the use of salt for one year, at least for one month and should give it to a Brahmana accompanied with money gifts. By this the beautiful lady will have words sweeter than those of Sruti even. O daughter of Soma, she, who wishes to have legs well-built, should take watery food on every sixth day of a fortnight. O you engaged in Tapas, she should not touch fire or a Brahman a with her foot; if she does it any time she must adore them. While observing this rite a chaste lady, well-versed in religious ceremonies, should not wash her foot with another. O sinless one, O chaste lady, after the termination of the Vrata, she should place two golden tortoises into clarified butter and give it to a Brahmana. O beautiful lady, afterwards, keeping two lotuses in a reverse position and mixing them with red articles she should give them away to a Brahmana. O pure lady, the chaste lady, who desires to have all beautiful limbs, should observe this Vrata for three nights in the flowery season. In the full moon day of either the month of Ashara, Aswina, Kartika or Magha she should adore her father and mother as the presiding deity of the day. O honourable lady, the woman, considering her husband as her God, should daily give clarified butter and salt to a Brahmana during that period. She should clean the house and rub it with clay. O pure and illustrious lady, the damsel, looking upon her husband as her God, should not, during that period, commit sin (even) by her words, eat any sort of herb and offer any sort of unclean food.

CHAPTER 82. NARADA GIVES A HISTORY OF VRATAS PERFORMED BY OTHER LADIES.

Uma said:—The chaste woman, who wishes that her friends and relatives may be accomplished, should fast on every seventh day of a fort-night for one year. After the completion of the year, she should give to a Brahmana a golden tree accompanied with money gifts. She will then have pious kinsmen. O pious and foremost of ladies, she, who duly places a lamp before a Karanja tree for one year and a golden one on the day in which the year is complete, becomes the mother of sons, a favourite of her husband by virtue of her beauty and shines over the other wives of her lord like a lamp (3–4). O auspicious lady, the chaste woman who does not cut others to the quick with her harsh words, does not take her food on Wednesday and does not use a harsh word, who always takes food last of all, who is pure in her habits, who serves her father-in-law and mother-in-law, who regards her husband as her god and who is truthful, does not stand in need of the performance of a Vrata or fasting.

O youthful and chaste lady, if any chaste woman accidently suffers widow-hood she should observe some rites laid down in the Puranas. Hear, I shall describe them. Remembering the virtuous conduct of the pious, a widow should place an earthen image of her husband or a painting of his likeness and should worship it. While performing a Vrata or fasting and especially at the time of taking meals a chaste lady should take the permission of that image. The widow, who does not disobey her husband, goes to his region like Shandili and shines there like the sun. From to-day the celestial damsels will learn the eternal religious rites that have been laid down in the Puranas. The pious-souled Muni Narada will learn the entire code of regulations relating to fast and Vrata as described in the Puranas. O most excellent daughter of Soma, in the matter of extending religious rites according to the rules of fast and Vrata as mentioned before the virtuous Aditi, Indrani and yourself will be most celebrated in the band of chaste women. In all the incarnations of the high-souled Vishnu his wives will always be informed of the rules of the eternal Punyaka rite. O chaste lady, what more shall I speak; of all the virtues and especially amongst the duties of women, devotion to husband, absence of wickedness and that of sin even by words are the foremost.

Narada said:—Thus addressed by the great goddess, beloved of Hara, the ascetic ladies, having Tapas for their wealth, saluted her and went away. According to the regulations mentioned before, Aditi, ever observant of religious rites, performed the Uma Vrata. The Vrata, in which she having bound Kashyapa to the Parijata tree, gave him to me, is celebrated by the name of Aditi-Vrata. And according to the rules of that Vrata Satyabhama has presented her gifts. Savitri too, ever stationed in virtue, observed that. Vrata. At present Satyabhama has properly performed this Vrata. It has excelled all others. If this Vrata is performed in the evening or at a proper place, worship, recitation of names and prostration bear double the fruit. Celebrating Savitri Vrata and Aditi-Vrata, a chaste lady can save the family of her husband, that of her father and her own self too. Having performed a rite according to the rules of Uma-Vrata Indra's queen distributed numberless crimson-coloured raiments and food with fish and meat. There is another rule laid down for this Vrata which should be observed on the fourth day. According to it one should fast day and night, and give away a hundred jars. O illustrious lady, having performed that Uma-Vrata the goddess Ganga bathed early in the morning in her own water. O beloved queen of Hari, while performing this Ganga-Vrata in the light-half of the month of Magha, if one bathes in any other water, it is said to give all desired-for objects. O beloved wife of Hari, having performed the Ganga-Vrata a woman, cognizant of all religious rites, can save seven generations of both the sides. O auspicious lady, while performing this Ganga-Vrata that dissipates sorrows and grants all objects of desire one should give away a thousand jars. O beloved queen of Hari, in a country where the dewy season prevails, one can perform the Vrata that Yama's wife celebrated and which passes by the name of Yama-Vratha. O auspicious lady, having bowed unto her husband after bathing, a woman, of pure conduct, while performing this Vrata, should address the following words to the sky:—"As I am, while performing the Vrata Jamaratha, holding the dew on my back, I may become foremost of those women whose sons survive and of those who are devoted to their husbands. May I rule over the other wives of my husband, may I not see Yama and may live happily for ever with my husband and sons. May I, by virtue of this Vrata, repair to the same region with my husband, become rich, have good raiments, become open-handed, fond of my own people and accomplished". Hiving done so she should offer honey to a Brahmana and make him recite benedictory verses and then feed him with sessamum and pudding. O beloved wife of Hari possessing the hue of an immortal, thus the goddesses observed the diverse Vratas described by the great goddess, the wife of Rudra. I tell you the truth; by virtue of my ascetic powers you will reap the fruits of auspicious and holy rites, described in the Puranas, which the goddess Uma obtained before.

Vaishampayana said:—Thereupon by virtue of the boon conferred by Uma Rukshmini observed, by her celestial vision, all the rules of Vrata and performed it. She gave away bulls, jems and food because they yeild greater fruits and grant all desired-for objects in all the forms of Uma-Vrata. O Janamejaya, having celebrated this Vrata formerly Jamavati too made a present of a beautiful jewelled tree. Having performed this Umavrata Satya distributed a number of yellow raiments. O descendant of Kuru, having performed this holy rite Shatabhisha acquired the most exalted position amongst the stars.

CHAPTER 83. AN ACCOUNT OF THE CITY OF ASURAS.

Janamejaya said:—O disciple of Vyasa, O you conversant with the tenets of religion, O you having asceticism for your wealth, O Vaishampayana, while giving an account of the carrying away of the Parijata tree, you have mentioned Shatpura, the abode of the dreadful Asuras. O foremost of ascetics and Munis, do you describe at present the destruction of those Asuras and Andhakas.

Vaishampayana said:—Even after the heroic Tripura had been slain by the energetic Rudra there remained many leading Asuras. There not less than sixty hundred thousands of Asuras, the followers of Tripura, were scorched by the fire of Rudra's arrows. O foremost of kings, stricken with grief consequent upon the destruction of their kith and kin those heroes, with their face towards the sun and living upon air, carried on penances for a hundred of thousands years and adored Brahma in the insular continent, Jamvu, a favourite resort of the pious and great saints. Taking shelter under a fig tree some of them carried on hard austerities; some, under the Kapitha tree and some living in the dens of jackals engaged in hard austerities. O descendant of Kuru, some of those Asuras, resorting to the root of a fig tree, learnt spiritual science, and carried on Tapas. O king, pleased with those penances of theirs, the foremost of the celestials, the Creator Brahma, the best of the pious, came down there to offer them boons. Requested by the lotus-sprung deity, saying "Pray for a boon" they did not pray for any on account of their malice against the Lord Tramvaka. When, O descendant of Kuru, they expressed their desire of wrecking vengeance for the destruction of their kinsmen the omniscient Grand-father said:—"The lord Maheswara, with the goddess Uma, is without birth, middle and destruction. He is the creator and destroyer of the whole universe. Who is therefore capable of injuring them? It is an useless task. Renouncing your malice against him do you wish to live happily in the city of the celestials".

Thus addressed by Brahma many wicked-souled Asuras did not yield: but some of them, who knew Bhava's powers, expressed their willingness. The Grand-father said to the reluctant and wicked Asuras:—"O heroic Asuras, except your vengeance against Rudra do you pray for any other boon".

Hearing it they said "O lord, may we become unslayable by all the gods. May we establish six cities under the earth: and they will pass by the name of Satpura. O lord, going to those six cities we will live there happily. O thou having asceticism for thy wealth, beholding Tripura slain we have been greatly stricken with fear. Do thou so arrange that we may have no fear from Rudra by whom all our kinsmen have been slain."

The Grand-father said:—O Asuras, if you do not throw obstacles in the way of the Brahmanas, fond of the pious and wending fair ways you will be unslayable by the gods and Sankara. If out out of ignorance you happen to injure the Brahmanas you will meet with destruction for they are the most excellent refuge of the world. If you injure the Brahmanas you shall have to fear Narayana for the Lord Janarddana encompasses the well-being of all creatures.

O king, thereupon dismissed by the Grand-father the Asuras went away. Seated on the white bull along with the goddess Uma accompanied by his followers, the Lord, Himself, the Divine Slayer of Tripura, and the refuge of the pious, appeared before those virtuous Asuras who were his followers and said:— "May good betide you, O foremost of Asuras. Casting off enmity, pride and malice you have sought refuge with me. I am therefore ready to grant you a boon. I have been pleased with your actions. Do you repair to the celestial region along with the twice-born ones ever engaged in good works, by whom you have been initiated. The ascetics, conversant with the knowledge of Brahman, who will even live under this Kapithwa tree, will attain to my region. The hermits, who with ascetic rites will adore me for a month or a fortnight, will attain to the fruit of asceticism carried on for a thousand years. If they worship me for three nights they will attain to the desired-for region. If a man, living in the insular continent of Arka, worships me in this way he will reap two-fold fruits; but a man living in a hostile country will gain nothing. He, who will adore me here as Sweta-Vahana (having a white bull for carrier) will attain me even if his mind is possessed by fear. The men, who are virtuous, firm in devotion and who worship especially the Munis who live under fig-trees and in the dens of jackals, will attain to their desired-for regions".

O great king, having said this the Divine, Swetavahana, Mahadeva, repaired to Rudraloka along with them. What more, those even, who merely resolve "I shall go to Jamvudwipa, I shall live there," arrive at the region of Rudra.

CHAPTER 84. THE ASURAS OBSTRUCTING A YAJNA.

Vaishampayana said:—At that time, O king, in the city of Shatpura on the sacred bank of the good river Avarta, resorted to by the Munis, a Vajasaneyi Brahmana, by name Brahmadatta, a disciple of Yajnawalka, well-read in the four Vedas and six Angas and endued with morality, was initiated into a Yajna extending over a year. O kingly discendant of Kuru, as Sakra (the king of gods) protects (their preceptor) Vrihaspati so when that foremost of the twice-born went to Shatpura for carrying on Yajna Vasudeva, with Devaki, repaired there for protecting him, for he was a class friend and preceptor of Anakadundubhi (Vasudeva) (4-5). In that Yajna of Brahmadatta, abounding in profuse food and presents were present Vyasa, Yajnawalka, Sumantu, Jaimini, Dhritiman, Jajali, Devala and other great and leading Munis of firm devotion. And I too had gone there. In that Yajna, by the grace of Vasudeva, the creator of the universe incarnated on earth, the pious Devaki distributed amongst the beggars various articles they wanted proportionate to the wealth of the intelligent Vasudeva. After the commencement of that Yajna, the inhabitants of Shatpura, Nikumbha and other Daityas, proud of their boon, assembled there and said:—"Give us our share in the Yajna. We will drink Soma and Brahmadatta must give us his daughters. We have heard that this great man has many beautiful daughters. So he must send for them and give them over to us. He should also give us the most valuable jems which he has got in his possession. If he transgresses this order we will not allow him to celebrate this Yajna. This is our order". Hearing this Brahmadatta said to the great Asuras:—"O ye leading Asuras, no portion of sacrificial offerings has been laid down for you in the Vedas. How can I then allow you to drink Soma in this Yajna? If you do not believe my words you may ask these great Munis well-read in the Vedas and their commentaries. The daughters whom I shall give away in marriage I shall confer upon proper bridegrooms following the same Vedas with me; this is my resolution. If you however come to terms I may give you the entire collection of my jewels. If you show your force I will not give that even for Devaki's son is my supporter".

Hearing those words the wicked Danavas of Shatpura, Nikumbha and others began to scatter the articles of Yajna and carry away his daughters. Beholding the sacrificial articles robbed by the Asuras Anakadundubhi thought of the great Krishna, Balabhadra and Gada. As soon as he was thought of Krishna came to know of every thing and said to Pradyumna:—"Proceed, O my son, and save the maidens by virtue of your illusive powers. O powerful hero, I myself too will soon go to Shatpura with the Yadava army."

Hearing it the intelligent, highly powerful and heroic Pradyumna, ever obedient to his sire, went to Shatpura within a moment and took away the maidens by virtue of his

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illusive power. Creating their figures by his illusive power the pious son of Rukshmini kept them before the Daityas and said to Devaki "Be not afraid". O king, leaving aside Brahmadatta's daughter the irrepressible Daityas carried away the illusory maidens and entered their city with satisfaction.

Thereupon, O king, that great and glorious Yajna was being celebrated according to proper rites. O descendant of Bharata, all the kings, invited by the intelligent Brahmadatta, arrived at the sacrificial ground. Jarasandha, Shisupala, Dantavakra, the Pandavas, the sons of Dhritarashtra, the Malava and Tangana kings, Rukshmi, Ahvriti, Neela, Narmada, Vinda, Anuvinda, Avantya, Shalya, Shakuni and other heroic, noble and warrior kings encamped near Shatpura. Seeing this the beautiful Narada thought:—"At this Yajna all the Kshatryas and Yadavas have assembled. Surely this will lead to a conflict. I shall therefore try to bring it about." Thinking this he repaired to Nikumbha's house. He was worshipped there by Nikumbha and other Danavas. Thereupon taking his seat the pious-souled Rishi said to Nikumbha:—"Having caused a dissension with the Yadavas how are you sitting here at ease? Do you not know that Brahmadatta is the friend of Krishna's father? The five hundred wives of the intelligent Brahmadatta have been brought at the sacrificial ground for satisfying Vasudeva's son: of them two hundred are of Brahmana origin, one hundred of Kshatrya origin, one hundred of Vaishya and another hundred of Sudra origin. O King, they had all worshipped the learned and pious Rishi Durvasa who had conferred on them all a boon saying 'You will all, one by one, get a son and a daughter.' O heroic Asura, by virtue of this boon and on account of their intercourse with their husband they have all given birth to fair daughters. They are of matchless beauty, tender, ever youthful and chaste. From their body comes out the fragrance of all flowers. O Daitya, by virtue of the boon of that intelligent Rishi, they know the arts of singing and dancing, the accomplishments of the Apsaras; and they are all well accomplished. The sons, in their order, are observant of the duties attached to their respective orders. They are clever in interpreting the the sacred texts and are beautiful. O hero, the intelligent Brahmadatta had conferred almost all of those daughters on the leading Bhaimas. And for the remaining hundred whom you have stolen the Yadavas will fight to their very best. Therefore O hero, you invite in proper order the help of other kings. O Asuras, if you wish to keep in your possession Brahmadatta's daughters pray for the help of the highly powerful kings, giving them various jewels and treat all the kings who will come here as your guests." Thus addressed by Narada the Asuras, with great delight, carried out his orders.

Having obtained various jewels and five hundred devoted maidens the kings divided them duly amongst themselves. Returning in a moment on the other hand the great Narada prevented the heroic sons of Pandu and so they did not take any share in the distribution. Thereupon the leading kings, delighted, said to the Asuras:—"Formerly the Kshatriyas had been adored many times by celestial heroes like yourselves, capable of coursing in the sky and possessed of all the objects of pleasure. And even now they have been duly honoured by you. What will they now give you in return"?

Hearing it Nikumbha, the enemy of the celestials, was filled with joy. Describing the greatness and truthfulness of the Kshatriyas he said to them:—"O ye leading kings, we shall have to fight with our enemies to-day. We wish you may help us to the best of your power." O lord, hearing the words of Nikumbha all the sinful Kshatriyas, save the heroic sons of Pandu, who had learnt the truth from Narada, said "So be it".

O king, on the other side, recollecting the words of Mahadeva in his mind, the powerful Krishna set out with his army for Shatpura leaving Ahuka at Dwaraka. Having arrived at Shatpura with that army the Lord Vasudeva, according to Vasudeva's orders, encamped at an advantageous site near the sacrificial ground for the well-being of the citizens. Making that encampment difficult of access with bushes the powerful and beautiful Krishna engaged Pradyumna in the work of patrolling.

CHAPTER 85. WAR BETWEEN KRISHNA AND ASURAS.

Vaishampayana said:—Within a moment of the clear sun coming within the range of people's vision, Baladeva, Krishna and Satyaki delightedly got upon Garuda's back. Having bathed in the water of the sacred river Avarta, who had obtained a boon from Rudra and who by his words had been made holy like the Ganges, and having put on coats of mail, finger-protectors and armours, those heroes, desirous of fighting, worshipped the god Siva, the lord of bel leaves and water. At that time having placed Pradyumna above in front of the army, the Pandavas in charge of the Yajna and the remaining soldiers at the door of the cave, the Lord Krishna, the giver of honours and the refuge of the pious, thought of Jayanta and Pravara. O descendant of Bharata, they arrived there as soon as they were recollected. The Lord only could see them and they were kept above along with Pradyumna.

Thereupon at Krishna's mandate, war-bugles, Jalaja, Muraja and other musical instruments were sounded. O descendant of Bharata, Samva and Gada arranged the soldiers in the shape of a Makara. Sharana, Uddhava, Vaitarana of Bhoja's race, the virtuous Anadhrishti, Viprithu, Prithu, Kritavarma, Sudangsthra, Vichakshu, the grinder of enemies, the pious Sanatkumar and Charudeshna began to help Aniruddha and protect the rear of the army. O thou the glory of thy race, the remaining portion of the Yadava army, consisting of cars, elephants, horses and men, remained in battle-array. Adorned with crowns, head-gears, bracelets and other ornaments and armed with various weapons, the Danavas too, dreadful in battle, came out of Shatpura, emitting a roar like the muttering of clouds, on asses, elephants, crocodiles, hares, horses, buffaloes, lions and tortoises. Many of their cars were drawn by those animals. O king, as the lord of gods issues out at the head of the celestial host so Nikumbha came out at the head of that Asura army setting up a noise like the muttering of clouds produced by the sound of trumpets, rattle of car wheels, and the blowing of conches. Sending up again and again shouts of various sorts and leonine roars the highly powerful Danavas filled the earth and sky with them. O Janamejaya, the soldiers of the Chedi and other kings were bent upon assisting the Asuras with great care. O heroic king, amongst the followers of the Chedi king Shishupala, the hundred brothers headed by Duryodhana stood there with their cars, making a great rattle and coursing quickly like unto the city of Gandharva. Making up their mind to fight and moving their beautiful bows like unto two palm trees Rukshmi and Ahvati joined them. With a view to fight with the Yadavas and acquire victory the king Bhagadatta, Shalya, Shakuni, Jarasandha, Trigarta, Virata, Uttara and the Asuras headed by Nikumbha got themselves ready for the encounter.

Thereupon when in battle Nikumbha began to assail the dreadful army of the Bhaimas with arrows like serpents, Anadhristhi, the commander-in-chief of the Yadu army, could not bear it. He too, with shafts, adorned with variegated feathers and whetted on stone, began to slay the enemy's army. At that time when everything was covered with arrows, Nikumbha, his chariot, standard and horses became invisible. Seeing it the heroic Nikumbha, the fore most of those possessed of illusive powers, was filled with anger. And he, by his illusive powers, startled the Bhaima chief Anadhristhi. Resorting to his illusive powers, bewildering Anadhristhi and bringing him to the cave named Shatpura the heroic Nikumbha imprisoned him there. And returning again to the battle-field, he, by his illusive powers, took there Kritavarma, Charudeshna, Vaitarana of Bhoja's race, Sanatkumar, Jamvavati's son Arksha, Nishatha, Ulmuku and numerous other Yadavas. O king, when he led the Yadavas to the dreadful cave of Shatpura he so covered himself by his illusive powers that no body could see him. Beholding that fearful onslaught of the Bhaimas the Lord Krishna, Baladeva, Satyaki, Samva, the slayer of inimical heroes, the irrepressible Aniruddha and numerous other Bhaimas, especially Pradyumna, were greatly filled with anger.

Thereupon, O king, setting string to his Sranga bow and shooting arrows the holder of the Sranga (Krishna) began to move about amongst the Danavas as the god of fire ranges on grass. Seeing him, taking up thousands of Sataghnis, Parighas, fiery lances, burning axes, dreadful rocks, and huge stones and throwing up infuriated elephants, cars and horses the Danavas ran towards the effulgent god as the locusts, drawn by the noose of Death, run towards the burning fire. However, O hero, Narayana-fire consumed all those things. And smiling the highly effulgent Yadu chief, the slayer of his enemies and the benefactor of the world, baffled them all with the fire of his arrows. And as a bull suffers the downpour of rain in the autumn so he bore the shower of their arrows. In this way, when the battle continued for some time the Asuras could not withstand the arrows shot off Narayan's bow as a sandy bridge cannot stand showers. O descendant of Bharata, as the bulls cannot stand before the five-mouthed god Siva with his mouths wide open so the Asuras could not stand before Krishna.

O Janamejaya, while thus slain by Narayana Krishna the Asuras, stricken with fear, rose up into the sky. O Lord, as soon as they rose up into the sky Jayanta and Pravara killed them all with arrows burning like fire. At that time the heads of the Asuras, fell down on earth like palm fruits from the tree. Like five headed serpents killed by Time the arms of the Daityas dropped on the surface of the earth. Having created another dreadful illusory cave for the destruction of the Kshatriyas the heroic and virtuous son of Rukshmini imperceptibly came out by the route by which Gada, Sharana, Shatha, Shamva and other heroes had entered there. As soon he came out the powerful son of Krishna began to assail Nikumbha, although careful, who was ranging hither and thither in front of the battle-field. Thereupon, O king, resounding the cave with his leonine shouts he said to the king Duryodhana, Virat, Drupada, Shakuni, Shalya, Neela, Bhishma, Vinda, Anuvinda, Jarasandha, the kings of Trigarta and Malava, the highly powerful Vasalyas, Dhristadyumna and other princes of the Panchala country, conversant with the use of arms, Ahvriti, his uncle Rukshmi, emperor Shishupala, and Bhagadatta:—"O kings, in consideration of your superior position and relationship with me I am not throwing you into this dreadful cave. Even the intelligent, trident-handed God of bel leaves and water has ordered me to throw you all into this cave. I shall exert my best to release the Yadavas who have been imprisoned by the highly powerful Nikumbha resorting to his Shamvari Maya".

Thus addressed the Commander-in-Chief of the kings, Shishupala struck the Bhaimas, especially Pradyumna, with arrows. Thereupon saluting Siva Rukshmini's son began to pierce the emperor Shishupala. In the meantime taking up a thousand of nooses, the foremost of Siva's ghostly followers Nandi came there and said to the highly powerful and heroic son of Rukshmini. "O descendant of Yadu, Vilwodakeshwara (Siva) has ordered you to do what he had told you in the night. Bind these kings with nooses who have been bribed with jewels for the maidens. To release them also depends on you. O hero, O you of large arms, destroy all the Asuras leaving none behind. And communicate this news to Janarddana."

O descendant of Kuru, thereupon binding the king Bhagadatta, Shishupala, Ahvati, Rukshmi and other kings, like hissing serpents, with the nooses given by Hara Rukshmini's son, endued with most excellent energy, took them all to the illusory cave. O descendant of Bharata, having kept there his own son Aniruddha as the guard of the cave, Yadu's descendant Pradyumna took away the elephants, horses and cars of the Kshatriyas and put the remaining commanders and guards in charge of treasury in chain. O lord, thereupon when Krishna's son was ready to slay the Asuras, he, with the coat of mail on, said to Brahmadatta, the foremost of the twice-born "See, Dhananjaya has undertaken to help you. You have no fear. Celebrate your work with a confident heart. O foremost of the twice-born, when the Pandavas have been engaged as your protectors you need not fear the gods, Asuras or any other beings. The Asuras have not been able to touch your daughters even with their mind; see, by my illusory powers I have kept them in the sacrificial ground."

CHAPTER 86. DEFEAT OF THE ASURAS: THEY FIGHT AGAIN.

Vaishampayana said:—O emperor Janamejaya, when the kings, with their followers, were imprisoned fear entered into the mind of the Asuras. Completely routed by Krishna, Anarta and other Yadavas, dreadful in fight, the heroes fled away on all sides. Seeing it, the foremost of Danavas, Nikumbha, filled with anger, said:—"Why do ye, stricken with fear and stupified on account of your ignorance, break your promise and take to your heels? You promised to avenge the destruction of your kinsmen. If you now break your promise and fly away to what region will you all repair (1-4)? You will be able to reap the fruit if you can vanquish your enemies irrepressible in battle. Again if the heroes are slain in a battle-field they live happily in the region of the celestials. If you however fly away whose face will you behold in your house? What will your wives say? Oh fie on you! fie on you! you have not the least shame."

O king, thus addressed, the Asuras, filled with shame, returned with double vigour and again engaged in an encounter with the Yadavas. Dhananjaya, Bhima, Nakula, Sahadeva and Dharma's son, the king Yudhishthira destroyed all who went to that sacrificial ground where took place the martial festivity, consisting of diverse weapons, of those heroes. Those, who rose up into the sky, were slain by Indra's son and the foremost of the twice-born Pravara.

Thereupon, O Janamejaya, in that battle-field there flew a river of blood like a stream filled with water in the rainy season. It took its rise from the mountain Govinda and its water was the blood of the Asuras. The hairs were the mosses and creepers. The wheels were the tortoises and the cars were the whirlpools. It was beautified with rocks of elephants and covered with trees of flags. The cries constituted the noise of the flowing stream—and the foams of blood were the bubbles. The swords were the fishes. And it assailed the heart of the coward. Beholding all his comrades slain and the enemies increase in power, Nikumbha, by virtue of his own energy, all on a sudden leaped up. O descendant of Bharata, there Jayanta and Pravara, with arrows resembling thunder-bolts, obstructed Nikumbha irrepressible in fight. Desisting and biting his own lips the wicked Nikumbha struck Pravara with his Parigha who fell down on earth. As soon as he fell down Indra's son held him up and embraced him with his arms. Knowing him alive he at once let him off and ran towards the Asura. Nearing Nikumbha Jayanta struck him with a Nishtringsha and the Daitya too struck him with a Parigha. In the very next moment Indra's son wounded Nikumbha's person with numerous shafts. Thus wounded in that dreadful battle the great Asura thought:—"I shall fight in the battle-field with my enemy Krishna who has killed my kinsmen. Why do I make myself exhausted by fightlng with Indra's son"?

Having resolved thus Nikumbha disappeared from that place and went where the highly powerful Krishna was.

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Seated on his Airavata the virtuous destroyer of Bala, Vasava, had come there with the gods to witness the battle. Beholding his son victorious he was pleased. And extolling their actions repeatedly he embraced him and Pravara who was freed from stupifaction. Beholding Jayanta, dreadful in battle, victorious, celestial trumpets were struck at the command of the king of gods. On the other side beholding Keshava, dreadful in battle, along with Arjuna near the sacrificial ground, Nikumbha, setting up a leonine shout, attacked, with his Parigha, the king of birds Garuda, Baladeva, Satyaka, Narayana, Arjuna, Bhima, Yudhisthira, Sahadeva, Nakula, Vasudeva, Shamva and Pradyumna. And so fought that quick coursing Daitya by virtue of his illusory powers that none among those heroes, masters of all sorts of weapons, could see him. Not seeing him there Hrishikesha (Krishna) meditated upon Vilwodakeshwara, the lord of goblins.

As soon as Krishna meditated on Him, they all, by the power of the highly powerful Vilwodakeshwara, could at once see Nikumbha, the foremost of those possessed of illusive powers stationed before them like the summit of the Kailasa. At that time as if ready to devour all of them that hero was inviting his enemy Krishna the slayer of his kinsmen. From before Partha had set string to his Gandiva bow. And seeing him for the present he struck his (Nikumbha's) body repeatedly with Parigha and other arrows, O king, as soon as that Parigha, whetted on a stone and other arrows touched his body, they fell down on earth shattered and broken. O descendant of Bharata, seeing the arrows shot off his bow thus baffled Dhananjaya asked Keshava saying;—"What is this, O son of Devaki? My arrows, resembling thunder-bolts, pierce even the mountains. But why are they useless here? I am greatly astonished at this."

O descendant of Bharata, thereupon Krishna smilingly replied:—"O son of Kunti, hear, I shall describe in detail how Nikumbha has become so very powerful. Repairing to the province of Uttarakura, this irrepressible enemy of the gods, this great Asura practised hard austerities for one hundred thousand years. Pleased with it when Lord Hara was about to grant him a boon he prayed for three, as that he would not be killed by celestials and demons. The Lord Mahadeva, having the emblem of a bull on his banner, said:—'O great Asura, if you act against me, Vishnu and the Brahmanas you will even then be slain by Hara only. None else will able to kill you. O Nikumbha, myself and Vishnu are both benefactors of the Brahmanas and the Vipras are our greatest refuge'. O son of Pandu, this Danava is that highly powerful Nikumbha. His three bodies, acquired by virtue of the boon, are accordingly invincible by all sorts of weapons. While carrying away Bhanumati I had destroyed one of his bodies: his other undestructible body lives in Shatpura, and the third, endued with ascetic energy, serves Diti. With his another body he always lives in Shatpura. O hero, I have thus given you a complete account of Nikumbha; now expedite the work of his destruction; the remaining history I shall narrate afterwards".

O descendant of Kuru, while the two Krishnas were thus conversing that Asura, invincible in battle, entered into the cave Shatpura mentioned before. Seeing it and searching for him the Divine Slayer of Madhu entered into that dreadful cave of Shatpura. It was lighted up by its own effulgence and the sun and the moon did not pour its rays there. It distributes happiness, misery, heat, and cold. Entering that cave the Divine Janarddana said to the Yadava kings and engaged in an encounter with the dreadful Nikumbha. The other Yadavas headed by Baladeva and the Pandavas united, with Krishna's permission, followed him to the cave. Nikumbha began to fight with Krishna. And Rukshmini's son, according to the desire of his sire, released the friends who had been brought there by the Danava. Released by Rukshmini's son, they, with a view to kill Nikumbha, delightedly arrived where Janarddana was. Thereupon Krishna again said "O hero, release the kings, subdued by thee." Hearing this the heroic and powerful son of Rukshmini released them all. Then the heroic kings, shorn of prosperity, could not say anything out of shame. Observing silence they only sat down with their faces cast down.

Govinda was fighting with his dreadful enemy Nikumbha who was trying his very best for victory. O lord, there Krishna was struck by Nikumbha with a Parigha and he was wounded by Krishna with a club. Thus cut sorely by each other they both lost their consciousness. Seeing the Pandavas and Yadavas aggrieved the Munis, desirous of doing good unto Krishna, began to recite Mantras and adore him with hymns laid down in the Vedas. Thereupon regaining their consciousness the Danava and Keshava again addressed themselves for fighting. O descendant of Bharata, those two heroes, dreadful in battle, struck each other like two fighting infuriated bulls, or elephants or leopards.

O king, thereupon an invisible voice said to Krishna: "O thou of great strength, the Lord Vilwodakeshwara has order thee to kill this thorn of the Brahmanas with thy discus and acquire great virtue and fame". Hearing this Hari, the refuge of the pious and the protector of the world, said "So be it." And then saluting Mahadeva he discharged his discus Sudarshana, the destroyer of the Daitya race. That discus, effulgent like the solar disc, discharged off Narayana's hand, sundered Nikumbha's head adorned with most beautiful ear-rings. As a peacock falls down on earth from the summit of a mountain, so his head, beautified with ear-rings, dropped down on earth. O king, the powerful Nikumbha, the terror of the world being slain the Lord Vilwodakeshwara was pleased. O slayer of thy enemies, from the sky fell showers of flowers discharged by Indra and the celestial bugles were sounded. The whole world, especially the hermits, attained to an excess of joy. Thereupon the Lord Keshava, having Gada as his elder brother, delightedly conferred upon the Yadavas hundreds of Daitya maidens. And consoling the Kshatriyas repeatedly he gave them precious jewels and diverse raiments. And he gave the Pandavas six thousand cars with horses. The rider of Garuda who always multiplies cities, gave that city of Shatpura to the Brahmana Brahmadatta.

After the termination of Brahmadatta's Yajna the highly powerful Govinda, the holder of conch, discus and club, dismissed the Kshatriyas and gave a grand party with enough of rice, curry, meat and pudding before the Lord of Bel leaves and water. The self-controlled Lord Hari, fond of wrestling, made the expert wrestlers show their performances before that party and gave them money and clothes. Afterwards saluting Brahmadatta he set out for the city of Dwaravati with his father, mother and the other Yadavas. That hero, worshipped by people on his way, entered the charming city abounding in contented and beautiful people, and the streets of which were decorated with flowers. He, who listens to or reads the account of the conquest of Shatpura by the holder of discus, acquires victory in battle. By hearing or reading it one, having no son, gets one, a pauper gets riches, a sick man is cured of his diseases, and one bound is released from the fetters. If this story is recited on the occasion of a Punsavana [A religious and domestic festival held on the mother's perceiving the first signs of a living conception.], Garbhadhana [A ceremony performed prior to conception.] or a Sraddha it is considered as bringing about complete success. O Janamejaya, the man, who always reads the account of the victory of the high-souled Deity, the foremost of immortals of incomparable strength, is freed from tribulation and proceeds from here to a most excellent region. The Purusha, whose palms and feet are adorned with jems and gold, who is effulgent like the great burning sun, who is the subduer of his enemies, who is the Prime Lord, who lies on the bed of four oceans, who has four Atmans and who has a thousand names, always lives in the best place.

CHAPTER 87. THE HISTORY OF THE ASURA ANDHAKA.

Janamejaya said:—O foremost of Munis, O Vaishampayana, I have listened to an account of the spoliation of Shatpura. Do you now describe the destruction of Andhaka mentioned by you before. O foremost of speakers, I am also very anxious to hear of an account of Bhanumati's being carried away and of the destruction of Nikumbha.

Vaishampayana said:–In the days of yore when all her sons had been slain by the Divine Lord Vishnu, Diti, with ascetic penances, worshipped Marichi's son Kashyapa. O descendant of Bharata, pleased with her penances, service, help and beauty the foremost of Munis, Kashyapa, said to her having asceticism for wealth:—"O fair one, O religious lady, I have been pleased with you. Pray for a boon".

Diti said:—O lord, O foremost of the pious, the gods have killed my sons and I have none at present. I pray for such a son of incomparable prowess whom the gods will not be able to kill.

Kashyapa said:—O goddess, O daughter of Daksha, O you having lotus eyes, I have no influence over Rudra, forsooth your soon will not be killed by any other god save him. Your son shall have to protect himself from Rudra.

O descendant of Kuru, thereupon the truthful Kashyapa touched, with his fingers, the belly of that goddess. She gave birth to a son having a thousand arms, thousand heads, two thousand legs, and two thousand eyes. O descendant of Bharata, because he used to go about like a blind man, people of that province called him by the name of Andhaka. O Janamejaya, considering himself as above death, that Daitya used to oppress all and carry away by force their jewels. Having carried them away by force the highly proud Andhaka, a terror to all the worlds, compelled the Apsaras to live in his own house. Out of foolishness, that son of Diti, bent upon committing sin, used to steal other's wives and jewels.

O descendant of Bharata, once on a time that oppresser of all, with his own followers the Asuras, prepared himself for conquering the three worlds. Hearing it the Lord Sakra said to his father Kashyapa:—"O foremost of Munis, Andhaka is doing all this. O lord, command me what I should do. O Muni, how shall I suffer such oppressions of my younger brother? And how shall I strike the dear son of my step mother? O Sire, if the son of this worshipful mother be killed by me forsooth she will be worked up with anger".

Hearing the words of the king of gods the great Muni Kashyapa said:—"May good betide you, O lord of the celestials; I shall prevent him by all means."

Thereupon O descendant of Bharata, Diti and Kashyapa, with great difficulty, desisted Andhaka from conquering the three worlds. Although thus prevented that wicked-souled one began to oppress the immortals and the other inhabitants of the celestial region by various means. The wicked-minded demon uprooted the trees of the forest and spoiled the gardens. O descendant of Bharata, even before the very presence of the gods, that Danava, elated with the pride of his strength, took away the charioteers and horses of Indra and the celestial elephants, of the quarters. That thorn of the gods used to throw obstacles in the way of those men who wanted to propitiate the gods with Yajnas (22–24). O king, in fear of Andhaka and the obstruction of Yajnas, the sacrificers stopped the performance of sacrifies and the ascetics gave up the practice of bare austerities. At his command the wind blew, the sun gave its rays and the moon appeared and disappeared with stars. In fear of the highly dreadful and wicked Andhaka, elated with the pride of his strength, the cars of the sky-rangers could not freely pass in the welkin. O hero! O upholder of the Kuru race, thus in fear of the highly terrible Andhaka the world was divorced from Om and Vashatkar [All the religious ceremonies were stopped.]. Once on a time the sinful demon devastated the provinces of Uttarakura, Bhadraswa, Ketumal and Jamvudwipa. What more, although capable, the gods, Danavas and other creatures used to show him respect.

O foremost of the pious, oppressed by Andhaka the Brahmavadins unitedly concerted measures for his destruction. Amongst them the intelligent Vrihaspati said:—"Save Rudra, no body will be able to kill him, for, at the time of conferring the boon the intelligent Kashyapa said to Aditi 'I shall not be able to protect your son against Rudra (31-33).' We should now find out the means by which the eternal Sarva, the benefactor of all, may be informed of the trouble of all the creatures. If the powerful, Divine Lord Bhava, the refuge of the pious, be informed of our object he will surely remove the misery of the world, for to save the pious especially the Brahmanas from the wicked is the work of Bhava, the god of gods, and the preceptor of the world. Let us go and seek the help of the best of the twice-born Narada. He is a friend of Mahadeva, and will point out to us an expedient." Hearing the words of Vrihaspati the ascetics saw Narada the foremost of the celestial saints in the sky. Worshipping him duly and welcoming him the gods said:—"O celestial saint, O lord, O pious Rishi, go speedily to Kailasha and speak to the great god Hara, for the destruction of Andhaka." They said this to Narada for their own safety. He too said "So be it".

After the departure of the Rishis the learned Muni Narada thought over this matter in his mind and arrived at a conclusion. For seeing the god of gods, Siva, the divine Muni repaired to the garden Mandara where he always lived. O descendant of Bharata, having lived in Sulapani's (Siva's) charming garden of Mandara for one night, he, with the permission of Vrishadhwaja, took a well-set garland of Mandara flowers, the best of all sweet-scented articles and another of Santanaka flowers and set out for the city of the celestials. O king, having placed that highly fragrant garland around his neck Narada went where the wicked-souled Andhaka, proud of his strength, was (43–46). Seeing that garland of Santanaka flowers and smelling its sweet fragrance Andhaka asked him:—"O great Muni, having asceticism for your wealth, where have you got these beautiful flowers which are always carrying such a beautiful scent and colour? They have, by all means, excelled the Santanaka flowers of the celestial region. Where do they grow and who is their owner? O Muni, whom the gods entertain as their guest, if you have respect for me tell me all this".

O descendant of Bharata, hearing this that foremost of Munis, Narada, having tapas for his jems, held him by the hand and said:—"O hero, these flowers grow in the charming forest situated on that best of mountains Mandara. They are the creation of the trident-handed deity. The ghostly attendants of the great Mahadeva guard that forest. So without his permission no body can enter there. Those goblins put on various dresses, use diverse weapons, are dreadful and unapproachable. On account of their being protected well by Mahadeva they are unslayable by all creatures. In that garden of Mandara Hara, the soul and protector of all, and followed by goblins, always plays there with the goddess Uma. O you born in the race of Kashyapa, if one adores Hara, the lord of the three worlds with particular hard austerities he obtains the Mandara flowers. These trees, beloved of Hara, confer jewels of women, other precious stones and all sorts of desired-for objects. O you of incomparable prowess, that forest of trees, where no misery prevails, is self effulgent. The sun or the moon does not pour its rays there. O you of great strength, amongst those huge trees some give scents, some water and some various fragrant raiments. They also pour various desired-for edibles and drinks. O sinless hero, know it for certain that in that Mandara forest no body experiences thirst, hunger or fatigue. What more, even in hundred years cannot be described the virtues, superior to those of the celestial region even, which those trees possess. O foremost of the sons of Diti, he, who lives there even for a day, acquires

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victory over all superior to that of Mahadeva even. There is no doubt about it. In my opinion that region had been selected before the creation of the world, as the heaven of heaven and happiness of happiness".

CHAPTER 88. ANDMAKA GOES TO THE MOUNT MANDARA.

Vaishampayana said:—O descendant of Bharata, hearing attentively the words of Narada the great Asura Andhaka felt a desire for going to the mount Mandara. Having gathered other Asuras (around him) the highly energetic and powerful Andhaka, elated with the pride of his strength, arrived at the mount Mandara. It was covered with huge clouds, great herbs and virtuous Siddhas. There lived the great Rishis and it abounded in many elephants, sandal, Aguru and various other trees. It was rendered charming with the songs of the Kinnaras and it danced as if with the blossoming trees blown by the wind. It was filled with the sweet notes of the birds and swans moving about beautifully. It was adorned with the highly powerful buffaloes, the destroyers of the demons and lions white as the rays of the moon. It was filled with hundreds of deer. Arriving there he said to that best of mountains existing there in his own form. "You know that by virtue of my father's boon I am not to be slain by any. The three worlds, consisting of mobile and immobile creation, are under me. O mountain, out of fear, none is able to fight with me. O great hill, I have heard that on your table-land there is a forest of Parijata trees, the jewels of them, adorned with flowers conferring all desired-for objects. My mind is filled with curiosity-tell me speedily where that forest is on your table-land. O mountain, if angry you will not be able to do any thing against me: on the other hand if I oppress and trouble you, I do not see any one who will be able to protect you." Thus addressed the mount Mandara disappeared therefrom.

Thereupon worked up with great anger Andhaka, proud of his boon, set up a terrible leonine shout and said:—"O mountain, although requested by me you have not shown me sufficient honour. Now witness my strength—I will crush you within this very moment." Saying it the powerful Andhaka, elated with the pride of the boon, uprooted, with the help of the Asuras, a summit extending over many yojanas and began to grind it. O hero, for this all the streams of that huge mountain were blockaded. When Rudra came to know of all this he showed him such a special favour, that it appeared in the same beauty abounding in infuriated elephants, deer, various streams and variegated gardens, which it possessed before it was uprooted by Andhaka.

Thereupon by the power of the Lord, the dreadful summits, uprooted by Andhaka, brought about the destruction of the Asuras themselves. O king, the mountain summits crushed those Asuras to death who uprooting them were flying away. Those Asuras however, who were sitting at ease on the table-land of the mount Mandara, were not killed thereby. Seeing his soldiers thus crushed down Andhaka set up a terrible leonine shout and said:—"O mountain, there is no need of fighting with you. I invite him who is the owner of the garden situate on your elevation. Let him come forward to fight. What is the use of carrying on the work of destruction remaining in disguise in the battle-field".

Thus addressed the Lord Maheswara, desirous of killing him, took up his mace and arrived there riding on his bull. The intelligent, three-eyed deity, the lord of goblins came there encircled by ghosts and goblins. At that time when Mahadeva was worked up with anger the entire world shook and the rivers flew in contrary courses with burning water, O king, by Hara's energy all the quarters were consumed with fire and the planets began to fight with one another. O descendant of Kuru, at that time all the mountains were moved and the god of rains sent down showers of char-coals accompanied with smoke. And the moon became hot and the sun cool. The Brahmavadins forgot the Vedas. O sinless one, at that time the asses gave birth to cows and the cows to horses. The trees were reduced to ashes and fell down on earth. The bulls began to oppress the kine and the kine began to ride on the bulls. All the quarters were filled with Rakshasas, Yatudhanas and Pishacas. Beholding the universe in such an altered condition the Divine Mahadeva cast off his mace effulgent like fire. O king, that dreadful mace, discharged by Hara, fell on the breast of the Asura Andhaka, the thorn of the pious, and immediately reduced him to ashes.

When the enemy of the world was slain, the gods and the Munis, having asceticism for their wealth, began to propitiate Shankara. Celestials bugles were sounded and showers of flowers fell down. O king, the three worlds were freed from anxiety and enjoyed rest. The gods and Gandharvas began to sing and the Apsaras began to dance. The Brahmanas began to recite the Vedas and perform sacrifices. The planets resumed their natural positions and the rivers flew in their proper courses. Fire did not burn in water. All people began to cherish hopes. The foremost of mountains Mandara again shone in beauty—adorned with its pristine prosperity and effulgence. Having thus benefitted the gods the Lord Hara began to sport with Uma again in the garden of Parijata.

CHAPTER 89. THE YADAVAS SPORT IN THE OCEAN.

Janamejaya said:—O Muni, I have thus listened to an account of the necessary destruction of Andhaka, by which the intelligent Mahadeva restored peace in the three worlds. It behoves thee to describe to me why the second body of Nikumbha was destroyed by Krishna, the holder of discus.

Vaishampayana said:—O sinless king, you have the greatest reverences for listening to the history of Hari, the highly powerful lord of the universe. I should therefore describe it to you. O king, while living in the city of Dwarka Hari, of incomparable energy, sailed by sea for the sacred shrine of Pindaraka. O descendant of Bharata, at that time Ugrasena and Vasudeva remained as the governors of the city. All others followed Narayana. O king, Baladeva, Janarddana, and the parties of other princes, energetic like the immortals, set out separately. O king, thousands of dancing girls accompanied the beautiful Vrishni princes adorned with ornaments. O hero, removing the ocean from its own bed the powerful Yadavas had settled those thousands of dancing girls in Dwaravati. Those beautiful dancing girls, on account of their accomplishments, became the objects of enjoyment to the princes. O lord, thinking that the Yadavas might not suffer from an internal feud for women the intelligent Krishna established this practice amongst the Bhaimas. While sporting in the water, the powerful Baladeva, the foremost of Yadus, inebrite with drinking wine and adorned with a garland of wild flowers, was enjoying only with Revati like a Chakravaka bird. Making an enclosure with his own persons Govinda, the creator of all, having eyes black like a cloud, was sporting separately in the ocean with his sixteen thousand wives. O king, at that time, amongst the women of Keshava every one thought:—"I am the most favourite of Keshava: he is sporting only with me". All those damsels, having signs of sporting all over their person, were flirting with Govinda. Amongst those good women the beautiful damsels of Narayana felt conceited by thinking "I alone am the most favourite of Keshava." Krishna's women, as if with their eyes, were drinking the ambrosia of Keshava's countenance. All those damsels, whose minds and eyes were fixed only on Keshava, looked more beautiful than before. The Lord Narayana, having pleased them all, those women, having their minds and eyes fixed on one man, did not cherish jealousy against one another. As if possessed entirely by Keshava those beautiful women began to shake their heads with pride. In pursuance of the ways of his universal form the self-controlled Hari began to sport with those women in this way in the pure water of the ocean. O hero, at that time at the command of Vasudeva the water of the ocean was freed from salt and the great ocean began to carry transparent water, possessing all sorts of fragrance. The ocean yielded its water to whatever extent the women wanted, either up to their knees, thighs or breast. As the rivers pour their watery contents down into the ocean, and as the clouds pour water on the blossoming creepers, so in that watery sport Keshava's women sprinkled him with water. Some of them, having eyes like a deer, held Hari by the neck, and said:—"O Hari, I am being drowned, save me". Some handsome damsels began to row in wooden boats of the shape of herons and serpents. Some began to row in Makara-shaped boats and others in boats of various shapes. In order to please Janarddana in the water of the ocean some women swam depending on their own breast and some on water jars.. Krishna himself, filled with joy, began to sport with Rukshmini. Narayana's wives did what pleased most Keshava, the foremost of immortals. There amongst those thin-built damsels, having cloud like eyes and wearing clothes of fine texture some imitated the movements of Vasudeva. Entering into the minds of those women, Keshava, conversant with the mental desire of all, satisfied whatever they wanted. Although lord of all self-controlled persons, the powerful, eternal, divine Hrishikesha, according to the exigencies of time, brought himself under the control of his beloved wives. Wonder! the damsels regarded Janaddana remaining there in human guise as their becoming husband both as regards birth and accomplishments. In this way those clever women began to seek with devotion and offer sufficient honour to Krishna endued with kindliness and always smiling before speaking.

In order to sport with the women in water the princes formed a separate party. Those heroes, the mines of accomplishments, were sporting under water, O king, the women, proficient in the art of singing and dancing whom the princes had brought there by force, were pleased with their kind behaviour. Seeing the charming acting of those beautiful women, and hearing the music of bugles and their songs the Yadu heroes were greatly pleased (37–38). Thereupon on account of his universal form when Lord Krishna, the master of the world and of immeasurable energy, sent for the most beautiful Apsaras such as Panchachuda, Kouveri and Mahendri, they came with folded hands and saluted him. Consoling them, he said.

Mahadeva said:—"O ye beautiful Apsaras, for satisfying me do you enter here without any anxiety and please the Yadavas as their playing maids. Show them all the accomplishments that you possess in various musical instruments, dancing, singing and other mysterious arts. They are all like my limbs. If you please them therefore you will meet with your well-being." Having accepted that command of Hari's with lowering heads those Apsaras joined the Yadavas as their playful maids.

O sinless one, as clouds in the sky are lighted up by a lightning so the water of the ocean was ablaze as soon as they entered there. Standing in the water as if on land they played many notes on water as in the celestial region. Those women, having expansive eyes, pilfered the minds of the Bhaimas with garlands of celestial fragrance, raiments, sportive smiles, gestures, movements of eyes, anger and service after their own hearts. Those leading Apsaras repeatedly threw up the inebriete Bhaimas into the sky and brought them down. In order to please the Yadavas the powerful Krishna too, with his sixteen thousand wives, began to sport happily in the sky. The heroic Bhaimas knew the power of Krishna of immeasurable energy and so they were not surprised at this feat of his; rather they observed perfect gravity. O Bharata, O slayer of enemies, amongst them some, of their own accord, returned to Raivataka, some to their own houses, and some to desired for forests. The water of the ocean, which no one else can drink, was, by the command of the powerful lord of the world Vishnu, converted into a good drink for all. Holding the damsels, having lotus eyes, by the hand they began to move about freely in the water as on land and dive again into the water. Various sorts of edibles and drinks were brought before them as soon they thought of them. In this way, those damsels, wearing garlands of fresh flowers, began to sport with those Yadu princes in that solitary place.

Thereupon when the evening set in the invincible Vrishnis and Andhakas put on unguents on their persons after bathing and began to sport in house-boats. O descendant of Kuru, in all those boats the celestial architect Viswakarma had made various palaces such as Chaturasra and Swasthika. Some of those boats were like the mounts Kailasha, Mandara and Sumeru. Some of them were like birds and some like deer. The rooms, made on those boats, were spread with carpets, lighted with emeralds, Chandrakanta, Suryakanta and other precious jems. Its doors were made of Vaiduryas. In those boats painted with gold there were rooms of the form of a joy Garuda, Krounchy, Suka and elephant. Those golden boats, guided by boatsmen, beautified greatly the water of the ocean abounding in waves. With floating small boats, large boats, and flats the abode of Varuna was beautified. Like the sky-ranging cities of the Gandharvas the boats of the Bhaimas began to move about in the ocean. O descendant of Bharata, the celestial architect Viswakarma had made all those boats after the celestial garden Nandana. Garden-halls, trees, tanks, chariots and other works of art were laid out there in imitation of those of the Nandana garden. O hero, what more shall I speak, at the command of Narayana, in those boats, resembling those of the celestial regions, every thing was constructed after its celestial model. In the forests that were laid out on the boats of the highly powerful Bhaimas the birds, emitting sweeter notes, were pilfering their minds. The white coels, born in the celestial region, were emitting various notes liked by the Yadavas. Encircled by she-peacocks the peacocks, emitting sweet notes, were dancing on the roofs of the houses beautiful like the rays of the moon. The flags, hoisted on the boats, were filled with diverse birds—and the bees, sitting on the garlands, were humming. At the mandate of Narayana beautiful signs of the season appeared in the sky and the trees were continually showering flowers. There blew charming and delightful wind, surcharged with filaments of flowers, carrying the coolness of sandal and exciting desire in men. O king, at that time by the influence of Vasudeva, the holder of discus, the Bhaimas enjoyed heat and cold according to their pleasure. None of them experienced, hunger, thirst, exhaustion or sorrow. Thus in their sport in the ocean which was continually enlivened by the sound of trumpets, music and dancing the Bhaimas, protected by Krishna, sported obstructing that vast watery expanse for many a yojanas. The Divine Architect had constructed the boat of the high-souled Deity Narayana in imitation of his dress. O king, all the valuable jewels of the three worlds were brought into the boat of the highly energetic Krishna. O descendant of Bharata, for each of the wives of Krishna, a separate room was made of gold and adorned with pearls and sapphires. Thus adorned with flowers of all seasons and supplied with all sorts of perfumeries the leading Yadus played with the auspicious gods.

CHAPTER 90. THE SPORT OF THE YADUS CONTINUED.

Vaishampayana said:—Having lost all control over himself and his movements for drinking Kadamvari wine and with his eyes reddened the highly beautiful Bala, of large arms pasted with sandal, began to sport with Revati. As the full moon shines in a cloud so clad in raiments black like clouds the divine Rama, fair like the rays of the moon and with eyes rolling in intoxication, shone there. With Kundala on his left ear only and adorned with beautiful lotuses, the smiling Rama

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attained to an excess of delight by repeatedly looking at the countenance of his beloved consort adorned with side-long looks.

Thereupon at the command of Keshava, the destroyer of Kansa and Nikumbha, the beautiful Apsaras approached the holder of ploughshare prosperous like heaven itself for beholding Revati and Rama. Those beautiful-bodied Apsaras, endued with charming physical frames, saluted Revati and Rama and began to dance in accompaniment with time. And some of them sang with gestures expressive of every sort of emotion. According to the command of Baladeva and the daughter of the Ravata king they began to display various gestures acquired by them as desired by the Yadavas. Having dressed themselves after the women of the country of the Yadavas those thin-built and beautiful damsels sang, in their language, songs set to thou sands of tunes. O hero, before that assembly they sang various sacred themes conducive to the pleasure of Rama and Keshava, such as the destruction of Kansa, Pralamva, and Chanura; the story of Janarddana's being tied to the mortar for which his glory was established by Yashoda and he obtained the name of Damodara; the destruction of Aristha and Dhenuka; his residence in Vraja; the destruction of Putana; his uprooting of the trees Yamala and Arjuna; his creation of wolves in time, the suppression of the wicked king of serpents Kalya by Krishna in the lake; the return of Madhusudana from that lake with lotuses, lilies, conches and Nidhis; the upholding of the mount Govardhana for the benefit of Gokula by Keshava, the source of well-being to the world; how Krishna cured the hump-backed woman, the seller of powdered scents; these accounts of the Lord shorn of birth and imperfections. The Apsaras also described how the Lord, though not a dwarf Himself, assumed the most wretched dwarfish form; how Soubha was slain; how Baladeva held up his ploughshare in all these battles; the destruction of other enemies of the gods; the battle with the proud kings at the time of the wedding of the Gandhara princess; the carrying away of Subhdra; the battle with Valahaka and Jamvumali; and how he carried away all the jewels in the very presence of Sakra after defeating him (7-14). O king, while those beautiful women were singing all these and various other themes pleasant and delightful to Sangkarshana and Adhokshaja, the highly beautiful Balarama, drunk with Kadamvari wine, began to sing with his wife Revati accompanied with sweet clapping of hands. Beholding Rama sing thus, the intelligent, high-souled and highly powerful Madhusudana, in order to please him, began to sing with Satya. The greatest hero of the world, Partha, who had come there for the sea-voyage, also delightedly joined the beautiful Subhadra and Krishna in their singing. O king, the intelligent Gada, Sarana, Pradyumna, Shamva, Satyaki and the son of Satyarjit, the greatly powerful Charudeshna also sang there in a chorus. Rama's sons, the greatest of heroes, the princes Nishatha and Ulmukha, the commander, Akrura, Sankha and other leading Bhaimas also sang there.

At that time, O king, by Krishna's power the boats increased in size and Janarddana sang to his best along with the leading Bhaimas. O heroic prince, when the immortal-like Yadu chiefs sang in this way the whole world was filled with joy and sins were dissipated. Thereupon for pleasing Keshava, the slayer of Madhu, Narada, the guest of the celestials, began to sing in such a way amongst the Yadavas that a portion of his matted hairs melted away. O prince, composing the songs there and then, that Muni, of immeasurable energy, sang them amongst the Bhaimas again and again with various gestures and motions. Thereupon beholding Baladeva, the daughter of the king Revata, Keshava, Pritha's son, Satyabhana and Subhadra, the intelligent Rishi smiled repeatedly. Although the wives of Keshava were patient by nature still the intelligent Narada, ever fond of joking, with his gestures, smiles, motions and with various other means which could excite their laughter, made them laugh. As if instructed the Divine Muni Narada sang various tunes high and low; and for pleasing Krishna he began to laugh aloud and shed tears of joy. O Prince, then the youthful damsels, conversant with gestures, gave away, at Krishna's command, the best jewels of the world, beautiful raiments, garlands made in heaven, Santanaka flowers, pearls and other flowers born in all seasons.

Thereupon after the termination of the musical soiree the Divine Krishna, holding the great and incomparable Muni Narada, by the hand, jumped into the ocean with Satyabhama and Arjuna. Smiling a little the highly beautiful Krishna, of incomparable prowess, said to Sini's son—"Let us form ourselves into two parties and sport in the water of the ocean with the damsels. In this water of the ocean let Baladeva and Revati with my sons and some of the Bhaimas form one party and let the remaining Bhaimas and Bala's sons join my party".

Afterwards the highly confident Keshava said to the ocean stationed before him with folded hands:—"Ocean, let your water be sweet and shorn of sharks. May your bed be adorned with jems and may your banks be worthy of a happy touch by the two feet. And may you, by my power, give all that you know of suited to the taste of mankind. May you give every sort of drink liked by people and may gentle fishes, adorned with gold, sapphires and pearls, range in your water. May you hold jems, and fragrant, charming and red lotuses and lilies of sweet touch and served by bees. May you hold numerous jars and golden vessels, from which the Bhaimas will drink, of Maireya, Madhvika, and Asava wines. O ocean, be thou of cold water fragrant with the scent of flowers. Be thou so very careful that Yadavas with their women may not suffer any inconvenince".

O king, having said this to the ocean Krishna began to sport with Arjuna. Satrajit's daughter, well-read in hints given by Krishna, sprinkled water on Narada's body. Thereupon Rama, his body reeling with intoxication, held lustfully, with his own hands, those of Revati and jumped sportively into the water of the ocean. Following Rama the sportive sons of Krishna, with their eyes rolling in intoxication and the other leading Bhaimas, shorn of their unguents, raiments and ornaments, delightedly jumped into the ocean. Nishatha, Ulmuka and other sons of Baladeva with garlands of Santanaka flowers around their neck, clad in variegated raiments, drunk and bent on sporting, as well as the remaining Bhaimas joined Keshava's party. The powerful Yadavas, having beautiful marks and pastes on their persons, with watering vessels in their hands, began to sing songs of sweet tunes and beautifully suited for that place. Afterwards hundreds of well dressed damsels, fond of music, united with Apsaras living in the celestial region, began to play various notes. Those youthful damsels, conversant with playing instruments in the water of the etherial Ganges, and having their minds fully possessed by Cupid, delightedly played on Jaladaraura [A kind of musical instrument played in water.] and sang songs in accompaniment with it. At that time the beautiful celestial dancing girls, having eyes like lotus petals and adorned with lotus stalks, assumed the beauty of lotuses blown by the rays of the sun. O king, filled with the moon-like faces of those women appearing like hundreds of full moon, either going there of their own accord or under the decree of the Providence, the ocean appeared like the sky adorned with a thousand moons. O king, the cloud-like ocean was beautified with lighting like woman. The lord of waters appeared like clouds in the sky dispersed by lightning.

Thereupon Narayana, who had put beautiful marks on his body, Narada and other members of his party sprinkled water on Baladeva and his party who had also put on beautiful marks. And the latter also sprinkled water on the former. At that time the wives of Krishna and Sangkarshana, out of intoxication caused by Varuni wine and worked up with music, delightedly threw water upon one another with hands and watering instruments. The Bhaimas, possessed by wine, Cupid and self-dignity, with eyes reddened with intoxication, threw water upon one another and in this way assumed harsh attitude before the very presence of the ladies: they did not desist although they sported for a long time.

Beholding thus their too much familiar intercourse, Krishna, the holder of discus, thought for a moment and then prevented them. He too, with Partha and Narada, desisted from playing on instruments in the water. The Bhaimas, ever affording delight to their beloved women, although they were highly sensitive, at once understood Krishna's intention as soon as he gave hints and desisted from playing in the water: but the damsels continued dancing. After the termination of the dancing party Upendra got upon the shore even while the other Yadavas were in the water. He then gave the best of Munis Narada becoming unguents and afterwards himself partook of them. Then beholding Upendra get out of water the incomparable Bhaimas soon left the water. Then purifying their persons with unguents, they, with the permission of Krishna, retired to the drinking ground. Seated there in order according to their age and position those well-known heroes refreshed themselves with diverse edibles and drinks. Thereupon the cooks, with great pleasure, brought there cooked meat, vinegar, pomegranates and meat of beasts fried on iron rods. Then a young buffalo, well-roasted on a rod, hot, soaked in clarified butter, and mixed with vinegar, Sochal salt and acid, was served. Meat of many fat deer roasted according to the process of skillful cooking, and sweetened with vinegar was next brought. Legs of beasts, mixed with salt and mustard and fried in clarified butter were also served. The incomparable Yadavas, with great pleasure, partook of those dishes with the roots of Arum campanulatum, pomegranates, common citrons, asafaetida, gingerade and other fragrant vegetables. They then drank in beautiful cups. Encircled by their beloved damsels they drank various wines such as Maireya, Madhvika and Asava prepared from the meat of birds roasted on a rod with clarified butter, acid juice, salt and sourish articles. They also partook of other side dishes, various fragrant salted edibles of white and red colour, curd and preparations of clarified butter. O king, Uddhava, Bhoja, and other heroes, who did not drink, delightedly took vegetables, vegetable-curries, cakes, curd and pudding. From the drinking vessel named Palavi, they drank various fragrant drinks, milk and butter with sugar and took various sorts of fruits. In this way the heroic Bhaimas were pleased with eating to their fill. Afterwards, they, having their wives as their companions, joined the music again with pleasure, initiated by their consorts).

Thereupon when the night set in the Divine Upendra asked all present in the party to go on with the song. Chhalikya of various tunes sung by the gods and Gandharvas. O king, then Narada began to play on his Vina which with six scales and Ragas [A mode of music of which six are enumerated viz. Bhairava, Malava Saranga, Hindola, Vasanta, Dipaka and Megha: they are personified in poetry and mythology.] brings about the concentration of mind, Krishna began to perform Hallishaka [A minor dramatic entertainment chiefly of singing and dancing by one male and eight or ten female performers, a ballet.] accompanied with the music of his flute and Partha began to play on his Mridanga [A kind of musical instrument.]: other leading Apsaras played on various other instruments. Thereupon after Asarita, the beautiful Rambha, a clever actress, rose up, played and pleased Rama and Keshava. Afterwards, O king, Urvashi, having beautiful and expansive eyes, Hima, Mishrakeshi, Tilottama, Menaka and other celestial actresses rose up in order and pleased Hari with singing and dancing. Having his mind attracted by their charming singing and dancing Vasudeva pleased them all with presents after their own heart. O prince, those honourable and leading Apsaras, who had been brought there, were honoured with betel leaves at the desire of Krishna. O king, thus the various fragrant fruits and the song Chhalikya, which were brought from the celestial region out of Krishna's desire and his favour towards mankind, were known only to the intelligent son of Rukshmini. It was he who could use them: and it was he who distributed betel leaves at that time. The Chhalikya song, conducive to the well-being, nourishment, and prosperity of Narayana of glorious deeds, and which was great, auspicious and productive of fame and piety to mankind, was sung in chorus by Indra-like Krishna, Rama, Pradyumna, Anuvindha and Shamva. This Chhalikya, which was sung there, was capable of bearing the axle of virtue and destructive of sorrow and sin. Repairing to the celestial region and hearing this Chhalikya song the illustrious king Revata regarded four thousand Yugas as one day. From it originated the various divisions of the Gandharvas as Kumarajati, etc., O king, as hundreds of lights are produced by one light so various classes of Gandharvas have emanated from Chhalikya. O king, with Pradyumna and other leading Bhaimas Krishna and Narada knew all this. Like unto streams and the water of the ocean people of this world knew Chhalikya only by illustration. It is possible to know the virtues and weight of the Himalaya but it is not so, without practising hard austerities to know the Murchana* and time of Chhalikya [* A tone or semitone as placed in its scale, the seventh part of a Grama or scale.]. O king, what of Chhalikya with six scales and Ragas men, with great difficulty, cannot even come to the end of its eleventh division Sukumarajati. Know it for certain, O king, that the slayer of Madhu had so arranged that the gods, Gandharvas and great Rishis might attain to a devotional spirit on account of the virtues of Chhalikya. On account of its being sung by the god, amongst men, Krishna, before the Bhaimas for showing favour unto the world, Chhalikya, sung by the immortals only, attained to such a celebrity, that formerly on the occasion of a festivity Bhaima boys used to cite it as an example. And the elders used to approve of their saying and the boys, youths and old men used to sing it in a chorus. "Love is the test and not age"—to remind the mortals of this virtue of their own race, the heroic Yadavas, the ordainers of ancient religious rites, did so in the land of mortals. O king, friendship is known by love; therefore keeping love before them, the other Vrishnis, Andhakas and Dasharhas, except Keshava, used to treat their own sons even as friends. Thereupon saluting the delighted Madhusudana, the slayer of Kansa, the contented Apsaras returned to the celestial region which too was (accordingly) filled with joy.

CHAPTER 91. NIKUMBHA CARRIES AWAY BHANUMATI.

Vaishampayana said:—While the virtuous Yadavas were thus sporting the highly wicked and unapproachable Danava, Nikumbha, the enemy of the gods, desirous of bringing on his self-destruction, finding a loop-hole, stole away the beautiful daughter of Bhanu by name Bhanumati. O hero, formerly, the daughter of his brother Vajranabha, by name Prabhavati, had been taken away by Pradyumna and Vajranabha had been killed. Remembering this former enmity and keeping himself aside that one, proficient in illusions, played upon the women of the Yadavas and stole away Bhanumati. Although the garden, attached to the female appartment of Bhanu, was unapproachable, still at that time there were no guards for the Yadavas were busy with their sports. Taking advantage of this weak moment the wretched Danava carried away the maiden. O thou the victor of armies, while that weeping maiden was being carried away there arose all on a sudden a great tumult in the female appartment. Hearing lamentations in the female appartment of Bhanu, the heroes, Vasudeva and Ahuka issued out, filled with wrath. And not seeing the offender before them, they, in that dress, went where the

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highly powerful Krishna was. Hearing of that great insult, Janarddana, the slayer of his enemies, rode, together with Partha, Garuda the enemy of the serpents. Having commanded the hero having the emblem of a Makara on his flag to follow him on his car he asked Kashyapa's son Garuda to proceed. O king, before Nikumbha, unconquerable in battle, could reach the city of Vajra, Partha and Krishna, the slayers of their enemies, overtook him in the way. Beholding them the highly powerful Pradyumna, the foremost of those conversant with illusions, divided himself into three portions. On the other hand, Nikumbha, like unto an immortal, smilingly fought with them all with heavy clubs. Holding the maiden Bhanumati by his left hand, the great Asura Nikumbha repeatedly hurled the club with his right hand. Although thus assailed, Keshava, Kama (Pradyumna) and Arjuna, none, could strike him ruthlessly lest they might wound the maiden. O king, although capable of slaying that irrepressible enemy they began to sigh piteously out of their excessive compassion for the maiden. As when a serpent gets round a camel, a man, well up in the use of arms, strikes the serpent leaving the camel to itself, so Partha, the foremost of archers, began to strike the Daitya with his arrows. In pursuance of the rules of art, their training and reasoning, Partha, Kama and Krishna did not strike the maiden but wounded the Danavas with their cane-like arrows. Thereupon resorting to his illusory powers Nikumbha so disappeared with the maiden from that place that nobody could know it: Krishna, Kama and Dhananjaya however immediately pursued him: he, however, went on assuming the semblance of a yellow vulture. Thereupon saving the maiden, the heroic Dhananjaya assailed him again with cane-like arrows piercing his very vitals. Thus pursued by those heroes that great Asura, the slayer of his enemies, travelled all over the earth consisting of seven insular continents and dropped down with the maiden at last on the bank of the river Chela Ganga flowing on the summit of the mount Gokarna. None amongst the gods, Asuras or great ascetics could cross that mountain protected by the energy of Mahadeva. Finding this weak point of Nikumbha, the Bhaima chief Pradyumna, invincible in battle and quick coursing, got hold of the maiden Bhanumati. And Krishna, and Arjuna began to assail the Asura greatly with arrows. Then leaving the northern range of the mount Gokarna, Nikumbha fled to the southern range. Both the Krishnas however, riding on Garuda, pursued him. Gradually the great Asura entered into Shatpura, the abode of his kinsmen and those two heroes spent the night at the mouth of the cave. With Krishna's permission the heroic son of Rukshmini delightedly took Bhaima's daughter to the city of Dwaraka. And keeping her there he returned to Shatpura, full of Danavas and beheld the two Krishnas of dreadful prowess at the mouth of the cave. Thus occupying the entrance of the city of Shatpura the highly powerful Krishna and Arjuna, desirous of slaying Nikumbha, waited there with Pradyumna.

Thereupon desirous of fighting the highly powerful Nikumbha came out of the cave, O king, no sooner he came out of the cave than Dhananjaya, with arrows shot off his Gandiva bow, obstructed the thorough-fair. In spite of it Nikumbha, the foremost of the powerful, came out, took up his club covered with thorns and struck Partha on his head. Thus assailed with that club Pritha's son vomitted blood and lost his consciousness. The Asura, master of illusions, smilingly struck the heroic son of Rukshmini, the foremost of those conversant with illusions, who was waiting with his face against him. Wounded on the head with that unseen stroke of the club the heroic Pradyumna lost his consciousness. Beholding them thus assailed and insensible Govinda, having Gada as his elder brother, beside himself with anger, took up his club Koumodaki and ran towards Nikumbha. Those two irrepressible heroes, roaring, fought with each other. Riding his elephant Airavata along with the gods Sachi's Lord began to witness that dreadful combat like unto the battle between the celestials and Asuras. Beholding the gods Hrishikesha, the slayer of his enemies, tried to kill the Danavas in a wonderful battle, desirous of doing good unto the gods. Whirling his Koumodaki, the large-armed Keshava, conversant with military science, displayed many wondrous manoeuvres. Nikumbha too, the foremost of Asuras, by virtue of his training hurled his club, covered with many thorns, and displayed various manoeuvres. At that time they fought like two roaring bulls for a cow, two roaring elephants and two leopards worked up with anger. O Bharata, thereupon setting a highly dreadful shout, he, with his club, set with eight bells, struck Krishna having Gada as his elder brother. He too hurling his huge club threw it on Nikumbha's head. At that time holding idle for a moment his Koumodaki club the intelligent preceptor of the world, Hari fell down insensible on earth. O king, while the high-souled Vasudeva was reduced to this plight the whole world was filled with lamentations. With the cool water of Mandakini mixed with ambrosia, the king of gods himself sprinkled Keshava. O king, Krishna, the foremost of gods, did so of his own accord, or else who can render the high-souled Hari insensible?

O descendant of Bharata, thereupon regaining his consciousness, Krishna, the slayer of his enemies, took up his discus and asked the wicked Asura to bear it. At that time casting off his body there the irrepressible Nikumbha, a great Mayavin, went away. Keshava however could not know it. Thinking that either he was dead or on the point of death and remembering the obligations of the heroes he did not strike him who was fallen. Thereupon regaining their consciousness Pradyumna and Arjuna came there and considering Nikumbha dead stood by Krishna. Afterwards coming to know of the real truth Pradyumna, conversant with illusions, said to Krishna:—"O father, the wicked Nikumbha is not here. He has fled somewhere else". No sooner Pradyumna said this than Nikumbha's body disappeared. Seeing it the powerful Lord, with Arjuna, laughed. O heroic king, few minutes after they saw all over the earth and welkin thousands of Nikumbha. The spectators also saw the heroic Krishna, Partha and Rukshmini's son in innumerable forms. It appeared indeed wonderful. At that time amongst those great Asuras some held Partha's bow, some his huge arrows, some his hands and some his feet. Thus when the innumerable bodies of Partha were caught the Asuras carried away the heroic Dhananjaya to the sky. Thus when separated from Partha the heroic Krishna and his son pierced Nikumbha with numerous shafts. Still they could not see his end. One Nikumbha, divided into twain, became two. Thereupon seeing every thing correctly by his celestial wisdom the Divine Lord Krishna, the origin of the present and future and the slayer of Asuras, saw the true form of Nikumbha, the creator of illusions and the stealer of Dhananjaya. And before the presence of all creatures he, with his discus, cut off his head O descendant of Bharata, when his head was thus sundered that foremost of Asuras, leaving aside Dhananjaya, fell down like an uprooted tree. O giver of honours, at that time Partha was about to drop down from the sky. At Krishna's mandate his son held him up. When Nikumbha thus fell down on earth the deity Krishna consoled Keshava and with him repaired to Dwaraka.

Having returned delightedly to Dwaraka the Lord Krishna, O descendant of Yadu, and the foremost of Dasharhas, saluted the high-souled Narada). Thereupon the highly energetic Narada said to Bhanu:—"O descendant of Bhaima, do not consider yourself insulted on account of your daughter being carried away (by another). O Bhanu, listen to great cause hereof. O hero, on one occasion while sporting in the garden of Raivata, this your daughter excited the anger of the foremost of Munis Durvasa who wrath fully imprecated a curse on her saying:—'She is very much ill-mannered and she must fall into the hands of an enemy.' At that time, myself along with other Munis, propitiated him on behalf of your daughter saying:—'Muni, O foremost of the pious, dost thou, informed of the essence of religion as thou art, imprecate a curse on this innocent girl who is observing her religious obligations? We request thee to show favour into her'. O Bhaima chief, after we had said this Durvasa stood with his face down for a moment and then stricken with compassion said:—'What I have said will prove true. It will never be otherwise. Forsooth she will fall into the hands of an enemy. Although thus fallen into the hands of an enemy she will not be virtually contaminated; and she will obtain a beautiful husband, will be lucky, a mother of many sons and mistress of immense riches; this thin-built lady will always have beautiful fragrance around her person, will always remain youthful and will forget the sorrow consequent upon her being carried away by the enemy'. O hero, thus it had been pre-ordained so for Bhanumati before; do you now confer her on Sahadeva for that son of Pandu is virtuous, respectful and heroic".

Thereupon regarding the words of Narada, the virtuous souled Bhaima gave away Bhauumati to Madri's son Sahadeva. Having sent an emissary Keshava, the holder of discus, had brought Sahadeva there. After the wedding ceremony was over, he, with his wife, returned to his own city. The man, who reverentially listens to this conquest of Krishna or reads it, acquires success in every business.

CHAPTER 92. THE DESTRUCTION OF VAJRANABHA: AN ACCOUNT OF PRABHAVATI.

Janamejaya said:—O Muni, O thou the foremost of the pious, I have listened to an account of the stealing away of Bhanumati, the conquest of Keshava, the bringing of Chlalikya from the celestial region, and the god-like sport of the Vrishnis of incomparable energy in the ocean and many other wonderful subjects. While describing the destruction of Nikumbha you have mentioned that of Vajranabha. O Muni, I am now curious to hear this.

Vaishampayana said:—O great king, O descendant of Bharata, hear, I shall now describe the destruction of Vajra nabha with an account of the victories of Kama and Shamva, O victor of armies, a great Asura, celebrated by the name of Vajranabha, practised hard austerities on the summit of the mount Sumeru. Pleased with his penances the Divine Brahma, the grand-father of the world, asked him to pray for a boon. O king Janamejaya, thereat, that foremost of Danavas prayed for two boons that even the gods might not kill him, and that he might get the city Vajra where even the air cannot easily enter, which gives every sort of desired-for objects even when they are not thought of, which has gardens encircled by walls, many branch cities, and peerless jems of every description. By that boon he got what he wanted and the great Asura Vajranabha lived in the city of Vajra. O king, seeking refuge with that great Asura who had obtained this boon, millions of demons lived in that city of Vajra, in his garden and in many charming branch cities. O king, the enemies of the gods lived there, healthy, well-fed and contented. Once on a time, elated with the pride of the boon given in his favour and that of his city the wicked Vajranabha got himself ready to impede the course of the world. O king, approaching the king of gods he said "O slayer of Paka, all the three worlds are the common properties of all the high-souled sons of Kashyapa. I therefore wish to govern the three worlds. If you, O king of gods, do not approve of my proposal, give me battle".

O descendant of Kuru, hearing the words of Vajranabha, Mahendra, the foremost of celestials, consulted with Vrihaspati and said:—"O gentle one, our father, the ascetic Kashyapa, is now engaged in a sacrifice. After its termination he will do what is fair".

Thereupon the Danava went to his father Kashyapa and expressed his desire. Kashyapa said what the king of gods had communicated. "O son, go now to the city of Vajra and live there controlling yourself. After the termination of the Yajna I will do what is fair". Thus addressed Vajranabha returned to his own city.

Thereupon Mahendra went to the city of Dwaravati having many doors and communicated secretly to Vasudeva what Vajranabha had said. Thereat Janarddana said "O Vasava, the horse-sacrifice of Vasudeva is now at hand. After its termination I will kill Vajranabha. O lord, O refuge of the pious, even the wind cannot enter into his city if Vajranabha does not wish it. At a convenient hour we will concert measures for entering there".

O descendant of Bharata, honoured by Vasudeva's son in his horse-sacrifice the king of gods set out. Even before the termination of Vasudeva's sacrifice the heroic Vasava and Keshava, the foremost of celestials, began to think of means for entering into the city of Vajra.

During the celebration of Vasudeva's sacrifice an actor, by name Bhadra, pleased the great saints with his beautiful acting. The leading Munis then asked him to pray for a boon. Thereupon saluting those best of Munis assembled in the horse-sacrifice, the actor Bhadra, resembling the king of gods himself, as desired by Krishna and as if urged on by the goddess of learning, prayed for the following boon.

The actor said:—"O foremost of Munis, may I become the food of all the twice-born ones: may I range over the earth consisting of seven insular continents: may I, without any obstruction, range all over the sky: may I be gifted with strength and be not slain by all creatures mobile and immobile. May I assume any form I like either of one born, dead or immediately born. May not decrepitude overtake me and may the Munis always remain pleased with me".

O king, the Munis said "So be it." That immortal-like one began to range all over the earth consisting of seven insular continents. He began to show his performances in the cities of the Danava kings, in Uttarakura, Bhadrashwa, Ketumal and the island of Kalamra. On the occasion of every Parva, that great actor, who had obtained the boon, used to come to Dwaraka adorned with the Yadavas.

Thereupon, one day, the Divine Sakra, the king of gods, said to Dhartarashtra swans:—"O celestial birds, although you are the carriers of the gods and the pious, still you are our brothers on account of your being begotten by Kashyapa. Now the great duty of killing the enemies of the gods awaits us. You should satisfy it. But take care, don't divulge the counsel. If you do not obey the commands of the gods you will meet with a hard punishment. O foremost of swans, you can go anywhere you like. Therefore going to the most excellent city of Vajranabha where no one else can enter you should range in the tanks of his inner appartment. Vajranabha has a jewel of a daughter, peerless in beauty, in the three worlds, by name Prabhavati who is fair like the rays of the moon. I have heard that her mother has obtained that beautiful daughter by virtue of the boon conferred by the goddess Haimavati. O Swans, her friends have kept that beautiful and chaste maiden for Swayemvara and she too will select a husband of her own accord. Do you describe to her the various accomplishments, family, beauty, character, and age, of the high-souled Pradyumna. When you will find that the chaste daughter of Vajranabha has felt some attachment for Pradyumna, take carefully her news to Pradyumna and return with his message to her. In this work of an emissary you should, according to your intelligence, govern your eyes and faces. You should thus do me a good turn now. O swans, what more shall I speak, you should describe all these accomplishments of Pradyumna to her, which will likely attract Prabhavati's mind; you should communicate to me and to my younger brother Krishna at Dwaravati daily what happens there (48–49). You should thus exert yourselves so long as the self-controlled Lord Pradyumna does not carry away Vajranabha's daughter. Those Danavas, elated with the pride of the boon conferred by Brahma, are not to be slain by the gods. So their destruction

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in the battle-field should be brought about by Pradyumna and other sons of gods. An actor, Bhadra by name, has of late obtained the boon (of entering into his city). So the Yadavas, headed by Pradyumna, will enter into Vajranabha's city in his guise. O Dhartarashtras, you are to do all that I have said. Besides for doing me this good you should do what more crops up in time. O swans, to enter into the city of Vajra depends on his will. The gods cannot enter there by any means whatsoever".

CHAPTER 93. THE CELESTIAL SWANS GO TO THE CITY OF VAJRA

Vaishampayana said:—O king, from before the swans used to go to the city of Vajra. So hearing the words of Vasava they at once went there. O hero, those birds jumped into the charming tanks filled with golden lotuses and lilies which could be touched. Although they had come many a time before they now astonished all with their polished and sweet words. O king Janamejaya, speaking in sweet words those celestial swans ranged in the tanks of Vajranabha's inner appartment and became his great favorites. He then said to those Dhartarastras the following words. "You speak these sweet words because you always live in the celestial region. Come here always whenever you will know of a great festival in my house. O swans living in the celestial region, regard this house of mine as your own and enter here confidently". O descendant of Bharata, thus addressed by Vajranabha those birds entered into the palace of the king of Danavas: for the work of the gods they spoke like men and made acquaintance with all speaking various words. At that time the women, who were living in the palaces of Kashya pa's sons (Danavas) partakers of all forms of blessings, attained to great delight on hearing of that beautiful account of the swans.

Thus ranging in the inner appartment of Vajranabha, the swans saw his beautiful and smiling daughter Prabhavati and made her acquaintance. Amongst them the goose Shuchimukhi contracted friendship with the princess of charming smiles. Relating hundreds of beautiful stories Shuchimukhi created the confidence of Vajranabha's daughter and one day she said to her. "O Prabhavati, I consider you the most beautiful in the three worlds as regards your beauty, character and accomplishments. I wish to tell you some thing. O you of beautiful smiles, your youth is almost gone: that which is gone does not return like the water of a stream. There is no other happiness to women greater than enjoyment with men in this world. I tell you the truth, O auspicious lady. O you of fair limbs, although ordered by your father to make a free choice, why do you not select one of the gods or Asuras as your husband? O youthful lady, many a bridegroom, endued with beauty, heroism and other accomplishments, come here and go away disregarded. O lady, when you do not like a bridegroom becoming your family and beauty, why should then, O you of fair limbs, Rukshmini's son Pradyumna, who has none in the three worlds equal to him, in bravery, accomplishments, pedigree and beauty, come here? O you of a beautiful waist, although he is a man of men, that highly powerful and virtuous-souled one shines like a god amongst the gods and like one of them amongst the Danavas. Seeing him the women cannot cheque their natural love as the cow cannot cheque its milk and the stream its water. I dare not compare his face with the full-moon, his eyes with lotuses and his gait with that of a lion. O fair lady, what more shall I say? The powerful Lord Vishnu, having brought Cupid (the limbless god, Ananga) under his subjection as one of his limbs, has created him as his son, extracting the very essence of the world. He was stolen away, in his childhood, by the sinful demon Shamvara: having slain him and kept his character unscathed he learnt all his illusory powers. All the accomplishments, that are worthy of being sought for in the three worlds, and all those that you can imagine, exist in Pradyumna. In his effulgence he is like fire, in patience he is like earth, in lustre he is like a lake." Hearing it Prabhavati said to Suchimukhi:

"O gentle lady, I have heard many a time from the conversation between my father and the intelligent Narada that Vishnu is living in the land of men. With burning cars, Shranga (bow) and club he has consumed the races of the Daityas. O honourable lady, he is the great enemy of the sons of Diti and should be shunned by them. The king of Danavas collects information about Vishnu from the Asuras who live in the branch cities for his well-being. O you of sweet smiles, every woman wishes that the family of her husband may be superior to that of her father. If you however can find out any means for bringing him here you will show me a great favour and purify our family. I ask you, O you of sweet words, tell me how Pradyumna, born in the family of Vrishnis, may become my husband. I have learnt from the conversation of elderly Asura women that Hari is a great enemy of the Daityas and gives them great trouble. I had heard before how Pradyumna was born and how the powerful Shamvara was killed by him. What more shall I say? Pradyumna is always present in my heart. But the means by which I may be united with him is solely wanted. O friend, learned you are no doubt; still as a maid servant of yours, I appoint you as my emissary. Point out to me the means by which I may be united with him." Thereupon consoling her Suchimukhi smilingly said:— "O you of sweet smiles, I will go there as your emissary and communicate to him your great devotion. O you of beautiful waist, O you of sweet smiles, I will so exert that he may come here and you may become the consort of Cupid. O you of fair eyes, regard what I have said as true. Communicate to your father that I speak cleverly; you will reap a great benefit therefrom".

Thus spoken to by the goose Prabhavati acted accordingly. The king of Danavas said to the goose in his inner apartment. "O beautiful Suchimukhi, Prabhavati has communicated to me about your cleverness in speaking. Do you describe to us becoming stories. Tell us what wonders you have seen in this world, not seen before by any and whether worthy or unworthy of being seen by others." O king, the goose then said to Vajranabha.

"O foremost of Danavas, I have seen an intelligent saintly lady, by name Shandili, perform a wonderful feat by the side of the mount Sumeru. That Shandili, the good friend of the auspicious daughter of the mountain chief (Uma) is large-minded and a great benefactress of the world. I have also seen the auspicious actor, who has obtained a boon from the Munis, who can assume shapes at his will, who always gives food to all in the three worlds and is liked by all. O sinless hero, that actor travels always in Uttarakuru, the island of Kalamra, Bhadrashwa, Ketumal, and other islands. He knows many songs and dances of the gods and Gandharvas. And with his dancing he surprises the gods (48–50)."

Vajranabha said:—"O goose, I had heard of this many a time before. The high-souled Siddhas and Charanas had mentioned this to me. O daughter of a bird, I am also stricken with curiosity for seeing that actor who has obtained this boon. But there is none to speak of those accomplishments of mine to him, hearing which he will come to me".

The goose said:—O foremost of Asuras, that actor is an appreciator of merits. Hearing of accomplished persons he travels over the seven insular continents. O great Asura, if he hears of your great accomplishments, know him as already arrived here.

Vajranabha said:—"O auspicious daughter of a bird, O goose! may good betide you. Do you so arrange that the actor may come here".

Thus despatched on an errand by Vajranabha, the swans went to Krishna and the king of gods and communicated to them every thing. Hearing it Adhokshaja engaged Pradyumna in the work of acquiring Prabhavati and killing Vajranabha. O descendant of Bharata, resorting to his celestial Maya Hari sent the Bhaimas there disguised as actors.

They dressed Pradyumna as the hero, Shamva as his fool, Gada as his companion and dressed other Bhaimas with becoming dresses. Leading dancing girls were the fit heroines of that party. The actor Bhadra and his party were also suitably dressed. Thereupon ascending the cars driven by Pradyumna, the great car-warrior Yadavas set out on the mission of the highly powerful celestials. O king, at that time they all assumed the semblances of men and women as necessary though they were men. Thereupon they arrived at Supura, a dependant city of Vajra.

CHAPTER 94. THE YADAVAS ARRIVE AT THE CITY OF ASURAS AS ACTORS.

Vaishampayana said:—Thereupon king Vajramabha ordered the Asuras living in their own cities, "Give them most excellent rooms. Treat them as guests, give them various jewels and various raiments which please people." Receiving the order of their Chief they did all this. And arriving there, the actors too, heard of before, excited their curiosity. With great delight they welcomed the actor with presents of jewels. Thereupon the actor, who had obtained the boon, pleased highly the citizens of Supura with his dancing. They gave a performance of the great epic Ramayana: the birth of the incomparable Vishnu for the destruction of the king of Rakshasas (Ravana). How Lomapada and Dasharatha had brought for Shanta, the Muni Rishwashringa through prostitutes. In that performance the actors so perfectly personated the characters of Rama, Lakshmana, Shatrughna, Bharata, Rishwashringa and Santa, that even the elderly Danavas were startled and spoke repeatedly of the similarity of their appearances. Seeing their dresses, acting, entrance and introduction the Danavas were filled with wonder. With particular parts of the performance the Asuras were so much pleased and attracted that they repeatedly rose up, expressed their appreciation and gave away charming necklaces of gold and Vaidurja, bracelets and cloths. After receiving their remuneration the actors, with separate slokas, eulogised the Asuras in order of their family and birth. O king, afterwards the inhabitants of the dependant cities communicated to Vajra nabha the arrival of the beautiful actors. O Bharata, the king of Daityas had already heard of it. Now pleased he sent a messenger to bring the actor. At the mandate of the king of Danavas, the Daityas, living in branch cities, took the Yadavas, disguised as actors, to the charming city of Vajra. For their accomodation, a beautiful house, built by the celestial architect, was offered, and necessary articles, by hundreds, were given them. There upon having set up a beautiful pandal the great Asura, Vajranabha, made a great festival with the actors. After they had been relieved of toil the highly powerful Vajranabha gave profuse jems and requested them to begin the play. O king, having kept the women of his family behind a screen at a place from which they could see all, the great Asura himself sat with his kinsmen. Then dressing themselves as actors, and arranging for the concert the Bhaimas, of dreadful deeds, went on with the performance. They first played various tunes on musical instruments, as Kansya, Venu, Muraja etc. Afterwards the women, brought by the Bhaimas, sang the Gandharva song Chhalikya, delightful to the mind and ears. Then with seven scales, Gandhara and others, three Gramas, and with Ragas, Vasanta and others, they sang sweetly the song of the sacred discension of Ganga. Hearing that sweet song of the coming down of Ganga set in time and tune Asuras rose up again and again and pleased the actors. For some business the powerful Pradyumna, who had assumed the guise of an actor, Gada and Shamva conducted the Nandi [Eulogium of a king or praise of a deity recited in benedictory verses at the commencement of a religious ceremony or the opening of a drama.]. After the termination of the Prologue Rukshmini's son sang the hymn, accompanied with beautiful gestures, of the descension of Ganga. Afterwards they began the performance of the drama Rambhabhisara [A drama describing the going away of Rambha in search of her lover.], Shura acted the part of Ravana, Monovati represented Rambha, Pradyumna Nalakuvara and Shamva his Vidushaka [Something like a fool attached to the Royal Courts.]. By their illusory powers the Yadavas represented the scene of Kailasha. They acted how the wicked Ravana was imprecated by Nalakuvara, worked up with anger and how Rambha was consoled. After the performance of this drama, the glory of the high-souled Narada by the heroic Yadavas, the Danavas were pleased with the dancing of the highly powerful Bhaimas. They gave them costly apparels, jewelleries, necklaces set with costly jems, beautiful balloons, cars ranging in the sky, elephants coursing in the etherial region, cool and celestial sandal, Agura, and other scents and the valuable jem Chintamani which gives all that is thought of. Giving away presents in this way at every scene those Danavas were deprived of their riches and jewels. Even the women of the Danava-Chiefs shared the same fate.

On the other hand, Prabhavati's friend Suchimukhi said to her:—"O you of fair beauty, I had gone to the charming city of Dwaraka protected by the Bhaimas. O you of sweet smiles and beautiful eyes, I saw Pradyumna there secretly and told him about your love for him, O you having lotus eyes. Pleased he has appointed this evening for meeting you. O you of a beautiful waist, the Bhaimas never speak an untruth; verily to-day you will meet your love". Hearing it Prabhavati, filled with joy, said to the goose:—"O fair lady, to-day wait in my room and sleep here. If you live by me I do not fear any body. With you I wish to see Keshava's son." The goose said to her lotus eyed friend Prabhavati "So it will be." Afterwards with Prabhavati, she went up to her quarters.

Thereupon in the upper storey of that house constructed by the celestial Architect, Prabhavati began to make arrangements against Pradyumna's arrival. After the completion of the arrangements, the goose, with Prabhavati's permission, went away speedily like air for bringing Kama. Going to Kama who was living in the guise of an actor that one of sweet smiles said "You will see her to night". And returning speedily she said to Prabhavati, "O you of expansive eyes, console yourself; Rukshmini's son is coming". Thereupon seeing a fragrant garland filled with bees carried for Prabhavati, the highly powerful and self-controlled hero, Pradyumna, the slayer of his enemies, sat there on assuming the form of a bee. That garland, covered with black-bees, was taken by the maid servants to the inner appartment and kept near Prabhavati. O gentle king, when gradually evening set in, the other bees fled away. Then having none to follow him the heroic Bhaima chief slowly sat on Prabhavati's ear.

Thereupon beholding the highly charming full moon arise there Prabhavati, a clever speaker, said to the goose, "O friend, my limbs are burning, my mouth is being dried up and my heart is filled with curiosity. What is the name of this disease? The newly-risen full moon of cool-rays is liked by all. It is still creating anxiety in me as if it is not liked by me. Oh fie on the nature of a woman! I have not seen him—I have wanted him after only hearing of him—still my limbs are burning. I am saying so of my own accord lest my love may not come. Alas! If he does not come I will meet the same fate with the silly lily. Alas! Although I am self-controlled still I have been bitten by serpent-like Cupid. The rays of the moon are by nature cool, delightful and charming. But, wonder, they are scorching my body. The wind, carrying the filaments of various flowers, is cool by nature, still it is scorching my beautiful frame like forest-fire. I am thinking of being patient, but my weak mind, shattering my resolution, does not allow me to do so. Forsooth, losing control over my mind, I will run mad and be killed, for my heart is trembling and I am looking again and again wildly".

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CHAPTER 95. PRADYUMNA APPEARS BEFORE PRABHAVATI AND MARRIES HER.

Vaishampayana said:—Afterwards thinking "This maiden has been completely possessed by me." Krishna's son delightedly said to the goose:—"Tell the daughter of the Daitya king, that in the guise of a black-bee, I have come here along with other black-bees, attached to the garland. I am now at present under her command. Let her do what she likes to do with me." Saying this, the beautiful husband of Rati appeared there in his own form. At that time the house was lighted up with the effulgence of the person of the intelligent Madana. And the beautiful rays of the moon were put to shame. As the lord of waters (the ocean) rises with the lord of night (moon) on a Parva day, so Prabhavati's ocean of love increased on seeing Kama. Then turning her eyes a little with bashfulness, Prabhavati, having eyes like lotuses, sat there with her face cast down. Seeing it Pradyumna held, with his own, the hands of thin-built and beautiful Prabhavati bedecked with handsome ornaments. Then with hairs of his body standing erect he said:—"Why have you cast down your face resembling the full-moon and acquired after desiring for it a hundred times? Why do you not speak with me O you of a fair face, do not crush the effulgence of your countenance. Cast off your fear and favour this servant of yours. There is no more time, O timid girl. The hour for my return has well-nigh arrived. I pray to you with folded hands, shake off your fear. As you are peerless in beauty and fidelity so according to the condition of time and place favour me by a Gandharva marriage".

Thereupon touching fire existing in the jem (he put on) and reciting the mantra the Bhaima hero Pradyumna performed the Homa ceremony with flowers. Thereupon holding Prabhavati by the arm embellished with most excellent ornaments he circumambulated the fire of the jem. O king, at that time to keep the honour of Achyuta's son, Hutashana, the divine lord of effulgence, the witness of virtue and sin in the world, blazed up. Thereupon settling in his mind about the Dahshina (money-gift) the heroic descendant of Yadu said to the goose:—"O bird, remaining at the gate, do you guard us". Hearing it the goose saluted him and went away. Afterwards spending the whole night he, early in the morning, went to the theatre. Although reluctant Prabhavati gave him farewell, and he too, thinking in his mind of the beauty of his love, went away. Thus awaiting the orders of Indra and Keshava, the Bhaimas, for the great work, lived there disguised as actors. Keeping the secret close those high-souled ones awaited the hour when Vajranabha would go out for conquering the three worlds. O king, as long as Kashyapa was engaged in his sacrifice so long there did not take place any dissension between the high-souled and virtuous celestials and the Asuras ready for conquering the three worlds.

Thus while the intelligent Yadavas were waiting there for the proper hour there appeared the rainy season delightful to all creatures. The swans, fleet like the mind, used daily to carry the intelligence of the highly powerful princes to Shakra and Keshava. Thus well protected by those Dhartarashtras the highly powerful Pradyumna used to spend every night with the beautiful Prabhavati. The Asuras, possessed by Death, could not perceive that they had been surrounded by the swans and actors in the city of Vajra at the command of Vasava. By and by, well protected by the swans the heroic son of Rukshmini began to spend even the day in Prabhavati's house. O descendant of Kuru, on account of his illusory powers, one half of his body used to appear on the stage—and with the other half he lived with Prabhavati. The Asuras used to envy the high-souled Yadavas for their prosperity, humility, character, sportiveness, cleverness, simplicity and learning. Their women used to envy the Yadava women for their beauty, luxury, scents, pure words and conduct.

O king, Vajranabha's illustrious brother Sunabha had two beautiful and accomplished daughters—one of them was named Chandravati, and the other Gunavati. They daily used to go to Prabhavati's house. One day seeing Prabhavati engaged in love affairs in her house they asked her about it on account of their confidence in her love for them. She said:—"I possess a learning which can soon bring a desired-for husband and gives prosperity. It has such a wonderful power, that whoever, may he be a Danava or god, is thought of he at once comes losing all control over himself. By the power of this learning I sport with the son of a god. See, by my power, Pradyumna has become my most favourite." Seeing him, endued with beauty and youthfulness, they were filled with wonder. Afterwards smiling gracefully the beautiful Prabhavati again addressed to her sisters words suited to the time:—"The gods are always engaged in virtuous acts, ascetic penances and are truthful: on the other hand the great Asuras are haughty, fond of pleasures and untruthful. So the gods are superior, for victory is there where reign virtue, asceticism and truth. I will instruct you in this learning; you may select two celestial youths as your becoming husbands. By my power you will soon get them".

Hearing it the two sisters said to Prabhavati having beautiful eyes "So it will be." Thereupon when the honourable daughter of Vajranabha asked Pradyumna about it he mentioned the names of his uncle Gada and the hero Shamva for both of them were beautiful, accomplished and valiant.

Prabhavati said:—Formerly pleased with me Durvasa conferred on me this learning: it gives good luck and always preserves maidenhood. The great saint said: "He, whom amongst the gods, Danavas and Yakshas you will think of, will be your husband. I desired for this hero. Do you take this learning and you will in no time be united with your loves."

Thereupon, O king, those two beautiful daughters of Sunabha, filled with joy, accepted the learning from the mouth of their sister and practised it. Then they thought of Gada and Shamva. Covered with illusion by Pradyumna those two heroic Bhaimas entered there with him. Those two heroes, fond of the pious and the slayers of their enemies, espoused them according to Gandharva rites after reciting the mantras. Of them Gada married Chandravati and Keshava's son Shamva Gunavati. Thus awaiting the orders of Sakra and Keshava those leading Yadus lived there happily with Asura girls.

CHAPTER 96. A DESCRIPTION OF THE RAINY SEASON.

Vaishampayana said:—In the rainy season, while looking at the sky filled with clouds Kama having, a countenance like the full moon, said to Prabhavati of beautiful eyes: "O fair lady, see there appears the moon of beautiful rays covered with clouds like your face covered with hairs. O you of fair eye-brows, see the lightning on the cloud looks beautiful like your handsome gold ornament. O you of fair limbs, the clouds are discharging torrents of rain like unto your necklace (1-3). The cranes, emerging in the drops of water, are shining like the rows of your teeth. O you of fair eye-brows, the lotuses being under water, the tanks full of streams do not look beautiful. The clouds adorned with crane, like beautiful and clean teeth, are appearing like elephants, with huge tusks, about to fight with one another in the forest. O you of beautiful limbs, like unto circlets on your forehead the three coloured rain-bow, adorning the sky and clouds, is gladdening the damsels. Expanding their large feathers, the pea-hens looking perfectly beautiful in the company of their mates and delighted at the muttering of clouds, are dancing and emitting notes in return. Displaying their charming beauty for a moment on the turrets other peacocks are dancing on the roofs of the houses, white like the moon. With their feathers exhausted, the beautiful peacocks, adorning for a moment the tops of the trees, are again going to the naked ground in fear of new grown-grass. The delightful wind, proceeding from cool drops of rain, like sandal-paste, is blowing carrying the fragrance of Sarja and Arjuna flowers the very friend of Cupid. O you of a fair body, had not this wind brought new showers and removed the exhaustion of sporting it would not have been so much liked by me. What is dearer to men in this season of the union of lovers than the approach of this fragrant wind? O you of fair body, beholding the banks of the river overflown with water swans exhausted, and united with Sarasas and Krounchas, are delightfully going to find out quarters after their heart. O you of beautiful eyes, on the departure of the Swans and Sarasas emitting notes like the clatter of car-wheels, the rivers and tanks, shorn of beauty, do not appear charming any more. The goddess sleep, informed of the true character of the rainy season and Hari, having saluted the most beautiful Sree, has sought refuge with Upendra, the lord of the world, lying down for rest in the celestial region. O you having lotus eyes, the divine Upendra having fallen asleep the shining moon, covered with cloth-like cloud, is imitating the colour of his countenance. Seeking to please Krishna, all the seasons are showering all sorts of flowers and bringing garlands of Kadamva, Neepa, Arjuna and Ketaka. All the flowers, and trees, with the elephants, having their faces soiled with poison, and filled with bees, are exciting great curiosity in men. As if seeing the sky, pressed down by the weight of clouds surcharged with water, your beautiful face, breast and thighs have entered into a ditch. Beholding these charming clouds as if adorned with garlands of cranes it appears that they are showering grains on earth for the behoof of the world. As a powerful king makes the infuriated wild elephants fight with his own so the wind is setting clouds surcharged with water against one another. The clouds are pouring unearthly water, purified by air and delightful to sparrows, peacocks and other birds sprung from eggs. As the twice-born ones, fond of truth and religion, recite the Riks encircled by their pupils, so the bulls are roaring with cows in the pasture ground. One of the virtues of the rainy season is that women take pleasure in living always in the company of their lovers. O beautiful lady, the only defect that I perceive of the rainy season is that the moon, resembling your countenance, does not come in view, having his body possessed by the cloud-like Graha. In this season when the moon appears in view at the interval of an approaching cloud, the people, as if with delight, behold a friend returning from a foreign country. Their eyes, on beholding the moon, the witness of the lamentations of women suffering from separation, enjoy that festivity which those of the women, separated from their lovers, do on seeing them. So it appears to me: but this is not the fact. The view of the moon is like a festival to the eyes of those women who are united with their lovers, and is like a forest-fire to those who suffer from separation, so the moon is the source of both pleasure and pain to women. In your father's city there is the effulgence of the rays of the moon even in its absence; so you cannot form an idea of the merits and demerits of the moon and for this I praise him before you. By practising hard austerities which are resorted to by the pious he has attained to the region of Brahma which others can with difficulty acquire and is worshipped by all. The Brahmanas celebrate the glories of the great Soma in sacrifice with Saman verses. When the sacrificial fire was being brought by Pururava from the region of the Gandharvas it was spoiled on the way. While searching that place a fig-tree was seen. Collecting fuels from that tree the three fires were engendered. So it is that the moon, the lord of trees and herbs, revived the spoiled fire from the fig-tree. Chandra (the moon) is the father of Budha, the author of most excellent deeds whose son was the king Pururava. O beautiful lady, formerly when his ambrosial body was drunk by the dreadful Munis the high souled Soma desired for Urvasi, the foremost of Apsaras). In his family the intelligent Ayu attained to the celestial region, through the tips of the Kusa grass and secured the dignity of a demi-god and the heroic Nahusa acquired the dignity of the king of gods. The moon, in whose family, the Divine Lord Hari, the creator of the world is born, for a work of the gods, as a Bhaima chief, remains always encircled by the daughters of Daksha. In his family was born the high-souled Vasu, as if the flag of his race, who, by his deeds, attained to the dignity of a Lord Paramount; the king Yadu, the foremost of the lunar race, in whose family, the Bhojas, resembling the king of gods, were born and who became the Lord Paramount, was also born in the family of the moon. O you having lotus eyes, in Yadu's family, born in the lunar race no king has been born who is wily, atheistic, unrespectful, ugly and coward. You are the daughter-in-law of an accomplished prince as you are the mine of accomplishments. Therefore bow unto Iswara fond of the pious. O lady, the foremost of Purusha Narayana, the refuge of the grand-father, the gods and the worlds, is your father-in-law. Bow unto him".

CHAPTER 97. VAJRANABHA WANTS TO CONQUER THE CELESTIAL REGION.

Vaishampayana said:—After the termination of the sacrifice of Kashyapa of incomparable energy the gods and Asuras repaired to their respective habitations. After the end of the sacrifice Vajranabha too, desirous of conquering the three worlds, went to Kashyapa who told him, "O Vajranabha, hear what I say if you think my words are worthy of your hearing. Sakra is the eldest of you all and the foremost in accomplishments: he is endued with great ascetic powers, is strong by nature, devoted to the Brahmanas, grateful, the king of the whole world and the refuge of the good and the pious. Because he is engaged in the well-being of all creatures he has obtained this sovereignty over the world. O Vajranabha, you will not be able to vanquish him but yourself will be killed. As one who excites the anger of a serpent meets with his own destruction, so you will in no time be destroyed".

O Bharata, as a man, desirous of meeting with death having his limbs tied by the noose of Death, does not take medicine so Vajranabha did not approve of the words of Kashyapa. Having saluted Kashyapa, the preserver of the world, that highly wicked and irrepressible one began to make arrangements for conquering the three worlds. O king, he collected his kinsmen, warriors, and friends. He first set out for conquering the region of the celestials. At that time the highly powerful deities Indra and Upendra had sent the Swans there for bringing about Vajranabha's destruction. Hearing of this intelligence from the Swans the high-souled and the highly powerful Yadus thus consulted and thought:—"Forsooth Vajranabha will be killed now by Pradyumna. But Vajranabha's daughter and Sunabha's daughters are their devoted wives. They are all enciente and the time for their delivery is near at hand. What should we do now?" Having settled this they asked the swans to communicate every thing truly to Sakra and Keshava, and they did so to those two gods. They said to the Swans:—"No fear: you will have beautiful sons like Kama endued with all accomplishments; even when in the womb they will master all the Vedas with their auxilliaries. Your sons will at once grow to youth and they will be masters of all future topics and various scriptures".

O Lord, thus spoken to the Swans returned to the city of Vajra and communicated to the Bhaimas what Sakra and Keshava had said. Prabhavati gave birth to a son, omniscient and youthful after his father. The son Chandraprabha, resembling Gada, whom Chandravati gave birth to after a month, was equally youthful and omniscient. Gunavati too gave birth to a similiarly beautiful son by name Gunavan, youthful and omniscient. These Yadu boys began to grow up in the palaces of Indra and Upendra mastering all the Shastras. They used to move about on the turrets of the palaces and at the desire of Indra and Upendra they were seen (by the

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Daityas); know it for certain. As soon as they saw them the Daityas, stationed in the sky, respectfully communicated it to Vajranabha who was desirous of conquering the celestial region. Hearing it the irrepressible king of Asuras, Vajranabha said:—"Arrest them who have trespassed into my house".

O descendant of Kuru, thereat ordered by the intelligent king of Asuras the soldiers guarded all the quarters. According to the mandate of the Asura king, the destroyer of his enemies, there arose on all sides exclamations, "Arrest them speedily kill them". Hearing it the mothers, fond of sons, began to weep in fear. Pradyumna encouraged them, saying:—"So long we are alive and firm you need not fear. May you fare well. The Daityas will not be able to do any thing to us.". He then said to the bewildered Prabhavati:—"O lady, your father, uncles, brothers kinsmen and other relatives are waiting with clubs in their hands. For you they deserve our respect and honour. But the time is very dreadful. The Danava kings, desirous of killing us, will fight with us. If we bear it we shall have to die. If we fight we will meet with success. Consult with your two sisters and tell us what we should do for we are now under your orders". Placing her hands on her forehead and kneeling down Prabhavati, weeping, said to Pradyumna:—"O descendant of Yadu, O slayer of your enemies, take up your arms and protect yourself. If you yourself survive you will see your wife and sons. Remember the honarable Vaidarbhi and Aniruddha and save yourself from this peril. O son of Upendra, the great and intelligent Rishi had conferred on me the boon that I would lead a blameless life for ever, would not be a widow and my sons would live. I have this hope that the words of the Rishi, effulgent like the sun and fire, will not be falsified". Saying this and rinsing her month, the intelligent Prabhavati, the jem of a woman, handed over a sword to Rukshmini's son had gave him a boon, saying, "Acquire victory". Bending low his head and bowing unto it the virtuous souled Pradyumna delightedly accepted the sword offered by his devoted wife. Chandravati delightedly gave to Gada one Nishtringsha and Gunavati gave another such weapon to the highly powerful Shamva.

Thereupon the powerful Pradyumna said to Hansaketu who saluted him "O slayer of enemies, remain here with Shamva and fight with the Danavas. I will fight in the sky, protecting all the quarters, with the slayer of the enemies." Saying this Pradyumna, the foremost of those conversant with illusions, created a car with his Maya. He made the thousand-headed Naga Ananta, the foremost of their class, his charioteer. As fire ranges on grass, so he, ascending that best of cars, and gladdening Prabhavati, began to move about in the midst of the Asura army. With crescent-shaped arrows, dreadful like serpents, some with sharp heads and some blunt he began to assail the sons of Diti. The Asuras too, resolute and maddened with battle fury, with various weapons struck the lotus-eyed son of Kamala's lord. Krishna's son cut off the arms of some decked with Keyuras and the heads of many. The heads and bodies of the Asuras, sundered with the razor of the highly powerful Pradyumna, filled the surface of the earth. The king of gods, the victor of armies, along with the gods, began to witness with pleasure the battle between the Daityas and Bhaimas. The Daityas, who ran after Gada and Samva, met with destruction like a boat in a mighty ocean.

Thereupon Hari, the lord of gods, seeing that dreadful battle, sent his own car to Gada and asked Matali's son Suvarchha to become its driver. The Lord Indra sent his Airavata to Shamva and engaged Pravara to ride it. He sent Jayanta as an assistant to Rukshmini's son. With the permission of Brahma, the creator of the world and the guide of all good works, Sakra, well-read in the regulations of all good works, had sent there the car driven by Matali's son and the Airavata with the celestial youth Jayanta and the best of the twice-born Pravara. Thinking "His ascetic virtue is gone and this wicked one is to be killed by the Yadavas" the Bhutas entered wherever they liked, Gradually entering into their palaces the highly powerful Pradyumna and Jayanta began to destroy the Asuras with a net-work of arrows Krishna's son, invincible in battle, then said to the irrepressible Gada:—"O Upendra's younger brother, the king of gods has sent for you this car with the horses. The highly powerful son of Matali is its driver. This elephant Airavata, ridden by Pravara, has been sent for Shamva. O younger brother of Acyuta, there will be a great Puja of Rudra at Dwaraka to-day. After its termination the highly powerful Hrishikesha will come here to-morrow. According to his orders we will kill this sinful Vajranabha together with his kinsmen who is elated with the pride of conquering the city of gods. Methinks, we should so carefully concert measures that he may not kill us with our sons. The destruction of one's own sons in this world is more than his death. Therefore the learned should protect their sons by all means".

Having thus commanded Gada and Shamva the highly powerful Pradyumna made, by his illusory power, millions of his own self and dispelled the dreadful darkness created by the Daityas. Seeing him, the destroyer of enemies, the king of gods was highly pleased. As the Divine soul lives in all human souls so the creatures saw Krishna's son in every one of the enemies. The highly powerful son of Rukshmini thus fighting the night elapsed and three fourths of the Asuras were killed. At that time when Jayanta repaired to the Ganges issuing from Vishnu's feet for reciting his evening prayers, Krishna's son fought alone with the Daityas. And afterwards when Pradyumna recited his evening prayers in the etherial Ganga the highly powerful Jayanta alone fought with the Daityas.

CHAPTER 98. THE DESTRUCTION OF VAJRANABHA

Vaishampayana said:—Thereupon after the sun, the eye of the world, had risen for three Muhurttas the deity Hari came there riding on Garuda, the enemy of the serpents. O descendant of Kuru, the king of birds Garuda, coursing more quickly than even the swans, air and the wind, went to Sakra in the etherial region. Coming near Vasava, the lord Krishna duly blew the conch Panchajunya which increased the fear of the Daityas. Hearing that sound Pradyumna, the slayer of his enemies, came near His father Keshava who said to him "Speedily kill Vajraalbha". Afterwards he again said to him "Go there on Garuda's back" Saluting the foremost of celestials Indra and Upendra he did so. O emperor Bharata, riding on Garuda, fleet like the mind Pradyumna approached his great rival Vajranabha. Seated on Garuda firmly the the heroic Pradyumna, well read in the use of all weapons, struck Vajranabha. The highly powerful Vrajranabha was wounded on the breast with a club by the high-souled Krishna's son seated on Garuda. That Daitya hero, sorely mailed by Pradyumna with his club, lost consciousness; and bewildered like one dead he vomitted blood again and again. Thereat Krishna's son, irrepressible in battle, told him "Be consoled". Thereupon on regaining his consciousness in a moment the heroic Vajranabha said to Pradyumna:—"Well done! Oh highly powerful Yadava. By your prowess you have become an illustrious enemy of mine. Now is the time for me to strike you in return; wait here firmly." Saying this and roaring like a hundred clouds the king of Daityas discharged, with great force, a huge club adorned with bells.. O king wounded sorely on his forehead with that club that foremost of Yadus, Pradyumna, vomitted blood and lost his conciousness. Seeing it the divine Krishna, the slayer of his enemies, blew his Panchajanya conch as if consoling his son. At the sound of that Panchanjanya bow the highly powerful Pradyumna revived and stood up. O Bharata, beholding Pradyumna consoled, all the worlds especially Indra and Keshava were greatly delighted.

O Janamejaya, afterwards according to Krishna's desire his discus, set with thousands of sharpened axles and destructive of the Daityas, came into the hand of his son. Saluting the high souled Indra and Upendra he discharged it for destroying his enemy. O Bharata, that discus, discharged by Narayana's son, separated Vajranabha's head from his body before the very presence of the Daityas. The dreadful Sunabha, bent upon killing his enemies and taking delight in battles, was killed by Gada in the battle-field although he was very careful. With sharpened arrows Shamva, the aggrandiser of his enemies, converted in the battle-field, the enemies of the immortals into the family members of Yama. After the destruction of the great Asura Vajranabha, Nikumbha, in fear of Narayana, fled to the city of Shatpura.

In this way, after the irrepressible enemy of the gods, Vajranabha had been slain, the two high-souled Haris came down to the city of Vajra. Having consoled the boys and old persons stricken with fear those two foremost of celestials established peace there. O king, thereupon following Vrihaspati's advice and consulting (with him) about the present and future (arrangements) the highly powerful and great Indra and Upendra divided Vajranabha's kingdom into four parts. O king, one-fourth of that kingdom, gained by conquest, was given to Jayanta's son Vijaya, one-fourth to Pradyumna's son, one-fourth to Shamva's son and the remaining one-fourth to Gada's son Chandraprabha. O king, with great pleasure Sakra and Keshava divided into four parts also the four koti villages and one thousand prosperous branch cities like the town of Vajra of the kingdom of Vajranabha. O hero, the heroic Vasava and Keshava also divided, into four parts, various warm clothings, deer-skin, cloths and jewels. Thereupon those heroic kings, the great descendants of Sakra and Madhava, were annointed there before the Rishis by the gods Sakra and Krishna with the water of Ganga issuing from Vishnu's feet, accompanied with the music of celestial bugles. Vijaya, from before, could range in the etherial region, Madhava's descendants, on account of the virtues inherited from their mother, practised it also.

Having thus installed them all the Divine Vasava said to Jayanta "O heroic victor of armies, it behoves you to protect all these kings. O sinless one, of them one is a perpetuator of my race and the other three are born in the family of Keshava. By my command none amongst creatures will be able to kill them. They will acquire practice of going to the celestial region and Dwaraka protected by the Bhaimas through the etherial way. Give them, as they like, elephants born from those of the quarter, horses born from the race of Ucchaisrava and chariots constructed by the celestial Architect himself. O hero, give Gada and Shamva two sons of the elephant Airavata capable of coursing in the sky named Shatrunjaya and Ripunjaya by which these two Bhaimas may come here by the etherial way for seeing their sons and may return to the city of Dwaravati protected by the Bhaimas".

Having issued this command the divine Purandara returned to the celestial city and the Lord Keshava to Dwaraka. The highly powerful Pradyumna, Gada and Shamva waited there for six months. And after the kingdoms of their sons had been firmly established they returned to Dwaraka. O immortal-like king, those kingdoms still exist by the side of the mount Sumeru and will flourish so long the world subsists. After the termination of the war of clubs and the departure of the Vrishnis to the celestial region Gada, Pradyumna and Shamva repaired to the city of Vajra. O king, after living there for a long time, they, by their respective virtuous deeds and the favour of Janarddana, the Creator of the world, again returned to the celestial region. O king, I have thus described the history of Pradyumna. It showers blessings, fame and long life and destroys the enemies. Dwaipayana has said that the sons and grandsons, of the persons who reads or hears it, become freed from diseases and multiply riches and health. He also attains to great fame.

CHAPTER 99. THE CELESTIAL ARCHITECT BUILDS DWARAKA

Vaishampayana said:—Krishna, seated on Garuda's back, saw the city of Dwaraka, resembling the abode of the celestials, filled with echoes on all sides, the mount Mani, sporting-houses, gardens, forests, turrets and court-yards. After the arrival of Devaki's son Krishna at the city (of Dwaraka), the king of gods sent for the celestial Architect and said:—"O foremost of artizans, if you wish to do what pleases me, do you, for satisfying Krishna, make his beautiful city more exquisite. O foremost of gods, encircling it with hundreds of gardens do you build the city of Dwaraka after that of the celestials. Adorn the city of Dwaravati with all the jems that you will see in the three worlds, for the highly powerful Krishna, rising up for all the works of the gods, always plunges into the dreadful ocean of war". Thereupon repairing to the city of Dwaravati at the words of Indra Vishwakarma adorned it after Amaravati. Beholding the city of Dwaraka adorned by Viswakarma with all celestial materials and having accomplished all his objects the Lord Narayana Hari, the master of Dasharhas and ever riding on a bird, entered there. While he entered the city of Dwaraka embellished by Vishwakarma he saw beautiful trees. He saw that the city was encircled by ditches filled with lotus-stalks resembling the rivers Ganga (Ganges) and Sindhu (Indus), and in which were sporting the swans. As the sky is covered with gold-hued clouds so that city looked beautiful with sunny walls made of gold set on (the roofs of) the houses. Encircled with gardens resembling Nandana and Chaitraratha Dwaraka appeared beautiful like the sky stricken with clouds. On its eastern side shone a beautiful gate made of gold and jems and the picturesque hill Raivataka with its charming table-land, caves and yards. On the south were bushes adorned with creepers of five colours and on the west was one of the colour of a rain-bow. O king, the yellow mountain Venuman, resembling Mandara, was beautifying the north. The forests of Chitrak, Panchavarna, Panchajanya and Sarvartuka were enhancing the beauty of the mount Raivataka. There were also the beautiful forests of Bhargava and Pushpaka huge like the mount Meru, which were covered with creepers extending to the roots of the trees. There were also the forests of Shatavarta and Karavirakarambhi beautified by the trees of Ashoka, Veejaka and Mandara. The huge forests of Chaitra, Nandana, Ramana, Bhavana and Venumat were extending their beauty on all sides. O descendant of Bharata, on the east were the great river Mandakini adorned with Vaidurja and lotus leaves and a charming tank. Requested by Vishwakarma numberless gods and Gandharvas, for pleasing Keshava, had adorned the table-lands there. With fifty mouths, the sacred river Mandakini entered into the city of Dwaraka and gladdened the inhabitants thereof. Looking at the city of Dwaraka of incomparable beauty, encircled by ditches and walls, painted with yellow paints and embellished with sharpened Shataghnis and iron discuses Krishna saw that eight thousand cars, adorned with net-works of bells and flying banners, had made the city look beautiful like that of the celestials. He saw the firmly established city Dwaraka eight yojanas in length and twelve in breadth with double the number of colonies. That city, consisting of eight highways and sixteen crossings, was as if so made by Ushana himself with one road, that even the women, what to speak of the Vrishnis, could easily fight there. Viswakarma had laid out seven high roads for the arrangement of soldiers. Beholding the palaces of the illustrious Dasharhas, in that best of cities, delightful to men, containing golden and jewelled stairs, filled with dreadful echoes and abounding in courtyards Devaki's son was highly pleased. The turrets of those palaces were adorned with flags, leaves and trees. Those palaces were adorned with golden domes resembling the summits of the mount Meru. The tops of the houses, as if covered with golden

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flowers and others of five colours, imitated the beauty of mountains with charming summits and caves. Filled with noise like unto the muttering of clouds and burning like forest-fire those houses, built by Viswakarma, were looking like so many mountains and filled the sky with effulgence like the sun and moon. The city was embellished with forest trees and the noble Dasharhas. The city of Dwaraka, adorned with cloud-like houses and the gods Vasudeva and Indra, looked like the welkin stricken with variegated clouds. The house, built by Vishwakarma for the Divine Vasudeva, was four yojanas in length and the same in breadth. The house of the incomparable and the greatly rich Vasudeva was adorned with palaces and false mountains. The great Vishwakarma built that house under Vasava's orders. Vishwakarma made a highly beautiful golden palace huge like the highest summit of the mount Sumeru for Rukshmini. It was named Kanchana. Satyabhama had a yellow-coloured house adorned with flags effulgent like the clear sun and having stairs set with jewels. It was celebrated by the name of Bhagavan. That well-furnished and best of palaces, which had huge flags all around it, and which used to put on a new appearance every moment, was built for Jamvavati. Vishwakarma built another palace by the name of Meru, which was effulgent like burning fire and gold, and huge like the summit of the mount Kailasha and the ocean. Keshava accomodated the accomplished daughter of the king of Gandhara in that house. For Bhaima was built a house by the name of Padmakula. It was of the hue of a lotus, highly effulgent and had a high and picturesque turret. O foremost of kings, Keshava, the holder of Shranga bow, had for Lakshmana built a house by name, Suryaprabha in which were available all objects of desire. O descendant of Bharata, the green palace, the effulgence of which imitated the lustre of Vaidurya and which was known all over the world by the name of Para, that ornament of palaces where the great Rishis used to resort, was set apart for Vasudeva's queen Mitravinda. That best of palaces, built by Viswakarma like a mountain, which was spoken high of even by the gods and which was celebrated by the name of Ketuman, was intended for Keshava's queen Suvarta. Amongst those palaces, the most beautiful and lustrous, by name Viraja, which the celestial Architect Viswakarma built with his own hands, and which extended over a Yojana and contained jems of every description, was the court of the high-souled Keshava. In that palace of Vasudeva's were placed flags with golden standards and pennons marking the roads. Keshava, the foremost of the Yadu race, had brought there the great mountain Vaijayanta and diverse other celestial jewels. The highly powerful Viswakarma, with the help of the Kinnaras and the great Nagas, had brought and placed there, before the very eyes of the creatures, the well-known summit of the mount Hansakuta near the lake Indra dyumna which was sixty Talas high and extended over half a Yojana. Viswakarma had uprooted and brought for Krishna the golden chariot of Sumeru lying in the path of the sun and the most excellent golden summit with hundreds of lotuses known all over the three worlds. In compliance with Indra's request and in the interest of a great work Twasta had brought that highly beautiful summit containing all sorts of herbs. Keshava himself had carried away the Parijata tree and kept it in Dwaraka. While bringing it Krishna, of wonderful deeds, had to fight with the gods guarding that tree, Rafts made of gold and jems, lotuses and fragrant jewelled lotuses used to float on the water of the lakes and tanks which were dug for Krishna and adorned with trees covered with jewelled flowers and fruits and hundreds of golden lotuses. The huge Shala, Tala and Kadamva trees, with hundreds of branches, beautified the picturesque bank of those lakes. Vishwakarma, for Krishna, the best of the Yadu race, had brought and planted at Dwaraka all the trees that grow on the mountains Sumeru and Himalaya. At all the boundary lines of the gardens were planted trees that yeild fruits in all the seasons and those crested with white, yellow, red, green and pink flowers. The edges and water of the delightful streams and lakes, which were in that best of cities, was on the same level. And the sandal there was like green sugar. In some of the rivers flowers used to float always; their banks were adorned with various trees and creepers and the sand was of the colour of golden sugar. The trees of the city, resorted to by maddened peacocks and coels, used to look highly beautiful. The herds of elephants, cows, buffaloes, boars, deer and birds used to live happily in that city. In this way Vishwakarma had made in that beautiful city high golden palaces with hundreds of turrets, huge mountains, rivers, lakes, forests and gardens.

CHAPTER 100. KRISHNA'S ENTRANCE INTO DWARAKA AND RECEPTION.

Vaishampayana said:—Thus looking at Dwaraka, Krishna, of most excellent eyes, saw his own house consisting of hundreds of palaces. He saw there a million of white jewelled pillars, a gate with jems lustrous like fire and a number of effulgent golden seats placed here and there. For his court a huge palace had been made entirely of gold with crystal pillars. He also saw beautiful and big lakes, with its water full of lotuses and fragrant red lotuses resorted to by maddened peacocks and coels, with golden and jewelled stairs and adorned with various other trees. That house was encircled by Viswakarma with stone walls hundred yards high which were girt with ditches. After the measurement of Indra's palace the celestial Architect had built that house on a plot of land measuring half a yojana on all sides. Seated on Garuda's back she saw that sable-hued palace. He then blew his conch the sound of which made the hairs of his enemies stand erect. At that sound the ocean was greatly agitated and the sky resounded. Indeed it appeared very wonderful. Hearing the sound of Panchajanya conch-shell and seeing Garuda all the members of the Kukura and Andhaka families were freed from sorrow. Beholding Keshava effulgent like the sun, with conch-shell, discus, and club in his hands, seated on Garuda, the citizens attained to an excess of joy. Thereupon they began to beat trumpets, blew bugles and set up leonine shouts. Afterwards beholding the slayer of Madhu the Kukuras, Andhakas and other Dasharhas began to approach him with great delight. Placing Vasudeva before him and accompanied with the sound of conch-shells and trumpets, the king Ugrasena repaired to Vasudeva's palace. Devaki, Rohini and Ahuka's wives began to move about with joy in their own houses. A few moments after, Hari whom serve Indra and other gods, arrived at the appointed house.

Having got down at the entrance of his house, Krishna, the foremost of the Yadu race, showed proper respect to all the Yadus. And himself honoured by Rama, Ahuka, Gada, Pradyumna and others he entered into his residence with the mountain of jewels. Rukshmini's son Pradyumna himself took to the house the Parijata the most favourite of Indra's trees. By the power of the Parijata the heroes saw the beauty of their own persons and attained to great delight. Thus eulogized by the delighted Yadu chiefs Krishna entered into the house constructed by Viswakarma. Having placed that mountain of jems with summits in his inner appartment Achyuta, of incomparable energy, united with the Vrishnis, worshipped the celestial tree Parijata and planted it in its proper place.

Thereupon obtaining the permission of his own kinsmen Keshava, the slayer of heroes, honoured all the maidens he had brought from Naraka's house with raiments, ornaments, maid-servants, riches and objects of enjoyment. Those maidens had already been received honourably by Devaki, Rohini, Revati and Ahuka's wives. By his good luck Satyabhama ruled over all the females, and Bhishmaka's daughter Rukshmini was in charge of the relatives. Krishna allotted to each of those women, separate houses, tanks, and gardens.

CHAPTER 101. KRISHNA INVITES A MEETING OF HIS KINSMEN.

Vaishampayana said:—Thereupon having honoured Garuda like his friend Vasudeva took him to his own house. Having saluted Janarddana that sky-ranging bird, with his permission, rose up into the sky. At that time, having agitated completely the ocean, the abode of Makaras, with the wind caused by the flapping of his wings the bird flew towards the eastern sea. Saying "I will again come at the time of work" Vinata's son departed. Krishna honoured, with jewels acquired by his own prowess, his old father Anakadundubhi, the king Ugrasena, Baladeva, Satyaki Sandipani, the Brahmana Gargya, and other members of the Vrishni, Andhaka and Bhoja races. The ambassadors, adorned with ear-rings and garlands, announced at the crossings and high ways of Dwaraka:—"The enemies of the Brahnanas have been slain: the slayer of Madhu has returned unscathed from the battle-field and the Vrishnis and Andhakas have acquired victory".

Afterwards having saluted Sandipani first Janarddana bowed unto the king Ahuka. Thereupon with Rama, Vasava's younger brother saluted his father, with tears in his eyes, whose heart was filled with joy. Afterwards approaching the Dasharhas and calling every one of them by name Adhokshaja honoured them all. O descendant of Bharata, after showing these civilities all the Yadavas, headed by Upendra, sat on celestial thrones set with jewels of every description. Afterwards, commanded by Krishna, Naraka's servants brought there the riches and the assembly-hall which they had brought before. Thereupon blowing his bugle, Janarddana, the foremost of Yadus, honoured all the Dasharhas.

Thereupon according to Krishna's order the Dasharhas entered into the assembly-hall, charming, having seats and a door made of jewels. As the cave of a mountain is inhabited by lions so that assembly-hall, filled with the leading Yadu chiefs, shone superbly beautiful. Govinda, followed by the Vrishnis and Bhojas, placing Ugrasena before him, sat with Rama on the huge golden seat. Welcoming all the Yadu chiefs who were seated there according to their age the foremost of Purushas said.

CHAPTER 102. NARADA DESCRIBES THE FEAT OF KRISHNA.

Krishna said:—"Ye pious Yadavas, by virtue of your ascetic power and that of mental concentration, and on account of his own sin Bhumi's son Naraka has been slain. Many beautiful maidens have been released from his inner appartment and the summit of the mount Mani has been uprooted and brought here. My servants have also brought this collection of riches. You are now the masters of all these things."

Having said this the Lord stopped. Hearing the words of Vasudeva, the Bhojas, Andhakas and Vrishnis, having their hairs stand erect in joy, worshipped Janarddana. Afterwards those heroic men, with folded hands, said to them: "O large-armed son of Devaki, it is no wonder to thee that thou hast accomplished, for the gods, a highly difficult feat and hast propitiated thy own people with riches and other objects of pleasure acquired by thy own power".

Thereupon the wives of the Dasharhas and Ahuka, filled with joy, repaired to the Hail for seeing Krishna. The seven queens of Vasudeva, headed by Devaki and the beautiful-faced Rohini saw the large-armed Rama and Krishna seated at ease. Having saluted first Rohini Rama and Krishna afterwards saluted Devaki. As Aditi, the mother of gods, looks beautiful in the company of Mitra and Varuna so the goddess shone in the company of her two lotus-eyed-sons.

Thereupon, the illusory daughter of Yashoda, whom the people describe as one and without any parts, with whom, the Purusottam Krishna, the king of gods, was born at the same moment and for whom he slew Kansa with his relatives, appeared before Krishna and Rama, the foremost of men. Up to this time she was being adored in the Vrishni family and was being brought up and maintained like a daughter. She, whom the people of the world know as the irrepressible Yoga maiden, and as one and without any parts, was born for the protection of Keshava. Because she protected Keshava with her goddess-like celestial body the Yadavas used to worship her with great pleasure. As soon as she entered the Hall, Madhava approached her, like unto a man his beloved female friend and held her by the hand. The highly powerful Rama too held her by his right hand, embraced her and smelt her head. The Vrishni women then saw her between her two brothers Rama and Krishna like unto the goddess Sree, with golden lotuses in her hands and seated on a lotus too. They then showered fried paddy and diverse flowers and repaired to their respective quarters.

Afterwards speaking highly of the wonderful deeds of Janarddana and honouring him the Yadavas sat delightedly on their respective thrones. Thus adored by his god-like kinsmen the mighty-armed and highly illustrious Madhava, the enhancer of the joy of the citizens, began to live there happily with them.

After the Yadavas had all taken their seats, the worshipful saint Narada, according to the order of the king of gods, came to Janarddana at the meeting. Then worshipped by the heroic Yadu chiefs and shaking hands with Govinda he sat on a most excellent throne. Seated at ease he said to the Vrishnis:—"O foremost of men, know that I have come here at the mandate of the king of gods. O leading kings, hear now of all the heroic deeds which Krishna, the slayer of Keshi, has performed from his boyhood.

"Having oppressed the Yadavas and put in chains his father Ahuka, the wicked son of Ugrasena, Kansa secured for himself the kingdom. Seeking refuge with his father-in-law Jarasandha, that wicked-minded wretch, the curse of his family, used to hate the other Bhojas, Vrishnis and Andhakas. In order to accomplish a good work for his kinsmen and protect Ugrasena the powerful Vasudeva preserved his own son. You have all heard of the highly wondrous deeds which the slayer of Madhu performed before Shurasena and others while living with the milkmen in the suburb of Mathura. One day while Janarddana was sporting under a cart, the highly powerful, dreadful, grim-visaged She-demon Putana, under the guise of a bird, wished to make him suck her poisoned breast. He however killed her. Beholding however the dreadful, grim-visaged daughter of Bali, Putana slain, the forest-ranging Gopas regarded him as one born again and gave him the name of Adhokhshaja. The Purusottama, in his infancy, performed another wonderful feat. While playing he upset a cart with his feet. He injured some of the boys for which Yashoda tied him to a wooden mortar. He, in that condition, uprooted two Arjuna trees for which he obtained the name of Damodara. The highly powerful and irrepressible Kalya Naga was vanquished by him in the lake of Yamuna while sporting. Adored by the Nagas in their house in the presence of Akrura the Lord assumed a celestial body. Observing the cows assailed by cold and wind, the high-souled and intelligent son of Vasudeva, Krishna, although a child, held up, for saving them, the mount Govardhana for seven nights. The wicked, highly powerful, huge-bodied great Asura Aristha, the destroyer of men, has been killed by Vasudeva. When Sunama came with his army to arrest him he assailed him through wolves. For protecting the cows, the highly powerful, huge-bodied Danava Dhenuka has been slain by Keshava. Ranging in the forest with Rohini's son under the guise of a milkman he created terror in Kansa. While living in Vraja, Purusottaina Shouri killed the powerful horse of the Bhoja king Kansa that had his teeth for it's weapon and was a great help to him. Kansa's courtier the highly powerful

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Danava Pralamva, was killed by Rohini's son with one stroke of his fist. These two highly powerful sons of Vasudeva, resembling celestial youths, were initiated at that time by the Brahmana Gargya. The great saint knew who they really are and so they have been tutored by him from their very birth.

"Thereupon those two highly powerful, foremost of men, like unto two infuriated young lions living on the Himalaya, attaining to youth, pilfered the hearts of milk-women. While those two heroic and effulgent sons of the milk-man Nanda used to move about in the pasture land the other boys, what to speak of equalling them in sport and strength, could not even look at them. Hearing of those two large-armed brothers, of firm shoulders, Bala and Keshava grow up like a Shala tree Kansa was pained and consulted with his ministers. And when he could not arrest them by any means he oppressed Vasudeva with all his kinsmen. Fettered like a felon along with Ugrasena Anakadundubhi began to spend his days in great misery. Having thus kept in prison his father, Kansa, with the help of Jarasandha, Ahbriti and Bhishmaka, governed Shurasena's kingdom.

"After few days had passed in this way, the king Kansa, undertook a great festival in Mathura in honour of the trident-handed deity. In that festival, O king, wrestlers, songsters and clever dancers had assembled there from various countries. In that festival, the highly powerful Kansa had built there a rich arena, by clever and well-trained artizans. Thousands of seats were occupied by citizens and villagers as the sky is crested with luminous bodies. As the performer of pious deeds ascends the celestial chariot so the Bhoja king Kansa ascended the well-decorated platform of the arena. At the entrance of that arena the powerful Kansa had kept a mad elephant ridden by heroes and covered with weapons. Thinking of Rama and Krishna the highly powerful Kansa had no sleep even in the night previous, and hearing now of the arrival of those two foremost of men, like unto the sun and moon he became more careful for protecting himself. Hearing of that most excellent arena those two foremost of men, the heroic Rama and Krishna, the slayers of their enemies, attempted to enter there as a tiger goes to the pasture of cows. And although prevented by the warders they entered there after killing the elephant Kuvalayapida. Having entered that arena the irrepressible Bala and Krishna first powdered Chanura and Andhra and then killed the wicked son of Ugrasena with his younger brother. Who else but Yadu's descendant could accomplish such a feat which even the gods could not do? Keshava has brought for you all these riches which Pralhada, Bali and even Shamvara could not obtain before. He has killed the Daityas Muru and Panchajana. And coming out of his mountainous fastness Nisunda has been slain with all his kinsmen. Having killed Bhumi's son Naraka and brought back the beautiful pair of Aditi's ear-rings Keshava attained to great fame from the celestials in their region. O ye Yadavas, depending upon the strength of Krishna's arms and shorn of pride, fear, sorrow and other impediments do you celebrate various sacrifices. A great work of the gods has been performed by the intelligent Krishna. May you fare-well. I have come here to communicate to you this glad tidings, O ye chiefs, Vasava has said that he would with great care procure what ever you would like to have. He is yours and you are his. Know it for certain, that the foremost of gods, the chastiser of Paka has despatched me here to inform Krishna that the gods have been highly pleased. There lives advancement where reign the goddesses of prosperity and modesty. In the high-souled Vasudeva all the three exist".

CHAPTER 103. THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

Narada said:—Moreover, the nooses made by Mura have been cut, Nisumva and Naraka have been slain and the road to the city of Pragyotish has been freed from all dangers. Even the proud kings of the world have been frightened in battle by this descendant of Shura (Krishna) with the twang of his bow and the sound of his conch-shell Panchajanya. Having vanquished easily the highly powerful Rukshmi well protected by the Decean car-warriors resembling clouds, the foremost of Vrishnis Keshava carried away Rukshmini. Afterwards Hari, the holder of conch-shell, discus and club, brought Bhoja's daughter into his house in a car effulgent like the sun and producing a rattle like unto the muttering of clouds and married her. In the city of Jaruthi he defeated Ahdriti, Kratha and Shishupala and vanquished Dantavakra and Shatadhanwa with all their soldiers. Worked up with anger the beautiful lord of Shoubha killed Shalwa, grasping firmly a bow, the Yavana Indradyumna and Kasherunam. Having scattered thousands of mountains the lotus-eyed Purusottama struck Dyumutsena with his discus. In the city of Iravati on the summit of the mount Mahendra there lived two followers of Ravana Gopati and Talaketu, who could disappear form view within the twinkling of an eye and were effulgent like sun and fire. The foremost of men, Keshava, the holder of Sranga bow, killed them both, within the twinkling of an eye, the Danavas Hansa and Dimvaka have been also slain by Krishna with their followers. Varanashi (Benares) has been burnt down by the high souled Keshava and the king with his followers has been slain. Having killed Maya in battle with knotty arrows Krishna, of wonderful deeds, has released the son of Indrasena. The highly powerful Varuna, with all the acquatic animals, has been defeated in battle by Krishna repairing to Lohitakuta (under water). Having gone to Indra's palace, he, although prevented by the highly powerful celestials, disregarding their king, carried away the Parijata tree. The intelligent Janarddana has slain the kings of Pandya, Poundrya, Kalinga, Matsa and Banga. Having killed hundreds of highly powerful kings he married his beautiful queen Gandhari. But the Lord Madhusudana has crowned the foremost of Bharatas, Arjuna, the holder of Gandiva bow who used to play before Kunti, with success. This foremost of men has defeated, in battle, Drona, Drauni, Karna, Bhishma, Suyodhana and other warriors. For pleasing Vabhru the powerful Hari, the holder of conch-shell, discus and club, carried away by force the daughter of the king of Suveera. When Venudari trampled over the entire earth with his horses, cars and elephants Purusottama defeated him with great care. Acquiring, by his ascetic penances, energy, strength and power in his pristine dwarfish form Madhava stole away from Bali the three worlds. Even when he was attacked in the city of Pragyotish by the Danavas with thunderbolts, clubs and swords Death could not near him. Bali's son, the highly powerful, energetic and rich Bana has been defeated by Krishna with all his followers. The highly powerful Janarddana has killed Peetha, Paithika and Asitoma the courtiers of the long-armed Kansa. The highly illustrious Madhava, the foremost of men, has killed the Daityas Jambha, Airavata and Virupa, assuming the semblance of a man. Having defeated in water the highly powerful Naga king Kalya, the lotus-eyed (Krishna) has despatched him to the sea. Having vanquished Vivaswan's son Yama, Hari, the foremost of men, has restored to life the dead son of Sandipani. O Emperor Janamejaya, in this way, this high-souled one chastises those wicked souls who injure the Brahmanas and the gods. Having slain Bhumi's son Naraka he has brought the pair of ear-rings and given them to the mother of gods for pleasing the holder of thunder-bolt. The highly illustrious Lord Vishnu, the master of all the worlds, is a terror to the Daityas and declares fearlessness to the celestials. Having established virtue amongst the mortals by performing various sacrifices and accomplished the great work of the gods he will return to his own region. Then the highly illustrious Krishna will make the ocean devour the cities Bhogavati, a favourite resort of the Rishis, and Dwaraka. This city of Dwaraka, filled with various jewels and sacrificial grounds, will enter, with its gardens, into the abode (sea) of Varuna. The ocean, conversant with the desire of Krishna, the holder of Shranga bow, will inundate this city of Dwaraka constructed by Vasudeva and resembling the residence of the sun. There is none amongst the gods, Asuras, and men and none will be, except the slayer of Madhu, who will be able to live here.

Having thus instituted many excellent regulations amongst the Dasharhas Vishnu himself will be united with Narayana, Shoma and Surya. He is incomparable, above the reach of thought, can go any where at will and has control over his senses. As a boy plays with a toy so he sports with these creatures. None can measure the large-armed slayer of Madhu; there is nothing similar or otherwise with his universal form. In this way he has been eulogised hundreds and thousands of times. But none has been able to see the end of his works. Beholding with his eyes, rendered more powerful by ascetic penances, the deeds which the lotus-eyed Keshava performed with Sangkarshana's help in his boyhood, the highly intelligent and the great Yogin Vyasa, the witness of all, had already narrated them all.

Vaishampayana said:—Having thus chanted the glories of Govinda at the mandate of the king of gods, the celestial saint Narada, adored by the Yadavas, repaired to the celestial region. Thereupon the lotus-eyed slayer of Madhu, Govinda, distributed those riches and jewels duly amongst the Vrishnis and Andhakas. Having obtained them the high-souled Yadavas too began to perform sacrifices with profuse presents and live in the city of Dwaraka.

CHAPTER 104. KRISHNA'S CHILDREN.

Vaishampayana said:–0 reverend Sir, of the many thousand wives of Krishna you have duly mentioned the names of eight. Do you now give an account of their children.

Vaishampayana said:—Eight queens of Krishna had been recognised as leading ones. They all gave birth to heroic sons. Listen to an account of the names of their children. (Krishna's principal wives were) Rukshmini, Satyabhama, Nagnajiti, Sudatta, Saivya, Lakshmana, Mitravinda, Kalindi, Jamvavati, Pouravi, Subhima, Madri and others. Amongst them, hear of the names of the sons of Rukshmini. Rukshmini first gave birth to a son by name Pradyumna who killed Shamvara. Next she gave birth to the mighty car-warrior Charudeshna, the scion of the Vrishni race, and afterwards to Charuchandra, Charugarbha, Sudangstra, Druma, Sushena, Charugupta, the powerful Charuvinda and the youngest Charuvahu. Besides she gave birth to a daughter by name Charumati. Garudadhwaja (Krishna) begat on Satyabhama, seven sons, namely, Bhanu, Bhimaratha, Kshupa, Rohita, Diptiman, Tamrajaksha, and Jalantaka and four daughters, namely Bhanu, Bhimarika, Tandrapaksha and Jalandhama. Jamvavati gave birth to a son, the ornament of the battle-field, by name Samva, as also to Mitravan, Mitravinda, Mitravahu and Sunitha and a daughter by name Mitravati. Hear now of the children of Nagnajiti. She gave birth to two sons, Bhadrakara and Bhadravinda and a daughter, by name Bhadravati. Saivya gave birth to Sangramajit, Satyajit, Senajit, Shura and Sapatnijit. The princes Vrikashwa, Vrikanirvitti, Vrikadipti and Subhima were Madri's sons. O king, hear now of the children of Lakshmana. Gatravan, Gatragupta and the powerful Gatravinda were born with their youngest sister Gatravati. Kalindi gave birth to a pious son by name Asruta whom Madhusudana gave to Shrutasena. Having given that son away Hrishikesha delightedly said to his wife: "For long he will be the son of you both." Vrihati gave birth to Gada. Saivya gave birth to Angada, Kumada, Sweta and a daughter by the name of Sweta. Sudeva gave birth to five sons by name Avagaha, Sumitra, Suchi, Chitraratha and Chitrasena and a daughter by name Chitravati. Besides Vanastambha, Stambha and Stambhavana were born to him as sons. Of them Vanasthambha begat Mitrasena and Stambhavati. Upasangha begat two sons, Vajrasu and Kshipra. Koushiki, Sutasoma, and Youdhisthiri gave birth to Yudhisthira, the wonderful warrior Kapali and Garuda.

Thus the sons of Madhava numbered one lak and eighty thousand. They were all valiant and expert in fighting. O king, I have thus narrated the progeny of Janarddana.

O foremost of kings, Pradyumna begat on the Vidarbha princess a son by name Aniruddha. He had the emblem of a deer on his flag and no body could obstruct him in battle. Baladeva begat on Revati two sons by name Nishatha and Ulmuka. Those two brothers were beautiful like gods. Shura's son Vasudeva begat on his two wives Sutanu and Narachi two sons by name Poundra and Kapila. Of them Narachi gave birth to Kapila and Sutanu to Paundra. Of those two sons Poundra became the king and Kapila entered into woods. Vasudeva begat on Sudra the highly powerful hero Jara who was a great archer. Vasudeva begat on Kashi a quick-coursing son by name Suparshwa. Aniruddha had two sons, Sanu and Vajra of whom the latter was the eldest. Vajra begat Pratiratha whose son was Sucharu. Amitra, the youngest son of Vrishni, begat Sini whose sons were Satyavak and the great car-warrior Satyaka. The heroic Yuyudhana was Satyaka's son. Yuyudhana's son was Asanga whose son was Tuni. Tuni's son was Yugandhara. With him, O king, the family ends.

CHAPTER 105. AN ACCOUNT OF PRADYUMNA.

Janamejaya said:—You said before that Pradyumna had killed Shamvara. Describe to me now how Pradyumna killed him.

Vaishampayana said:—Kama (Cupid) of firm vows, in order to kill Shamvara, took his birth from Rukshmini, the incarnation of Lakshmi, and Vasudeva as his beautiful son Pradyumna. On the seventh day at dead of night Kalashamvara stole away that infant son of Krishna from the lying-in room. Krishna, who followed the celestial Maya, knew every thing and therefore he did not kill at that time the Danava, invincible in battle. As if urged on by Death the great Asura stole away Krishna's son. And throwing him upon his arms he took him to his own city. His beautiful and accomplished wife Mayavati, as if the very incarnation of Maya, had no offspring so that Danava, as if commissioned by Death, gave over that son of Vasudeva to her like his own. Seeing him she was filled with joy and her hairs stood erect: she looked at him repeatedly with delight. Casting her looks on him in this way she recollected that he was her favourite husband. Remembering it she again thought "He is my lord for whom I am day and night plunged into the lake of anxiety and sorrow and have not been able to enjoy mental felicity any where. He was formerly reduced to ashes by the divine trident handed deity stricken with sorrow for Sati. Now he has been seen by me in another birth. However, being his wife and knowing him as my husband how can I give him milk and address him as my son?"

Thinking thus Mayavati handed over the baby to the nurse and soon reared him up with nourishing tonics. Informed by the nurse and out of ignorance Rukshmini's son knew Mayavati as his mother. Having brought up that lotus-eyed son of the Lord of Kamala Mayavati too, stricken with lust, instructed him in all forms of illusion. When gradually crossing the limit of youth Pradyumna looked highly beautiful, became an expert in the use of all sorts of weapons and in deciphering the movements of women, Mayavati, assuming the semblance of a beautiful woman, sought the company of her beloved consort and tempted him with her gestures. Seeing that sweet-smiling lady attached to him Pradyumna said to her:—"What is this? Why do you, casting off your maternal feelings, behave in this perverse way? Alas, how wicked are women. How fickle is their mind. Possessed by lust you are not regarding me as your son and behaving otherwise. O gentle lady, what is the cause of such a perversity

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of nature? Am I not then your son? Why do you behave in this way? I wish to learn the secret of this from you. The nature of women is fickle like lightning. As the clouds are attached to the summits of a mountain so they are attached to men. O gentle lady, it matters little whether I am your son or not. I wish to learn from your own mouth the object of your movements." Thus addressed that timid damsel, having her heart stricken with lust, said to her lover, Keshava's son in a solitary place. "You are not my son, nor Shamvara is your father. You are a powerful and beautiful descendant of Vrishni; you are the delightful son of Vasudeva and Rukshmini. After your birth on the seventh day you were brought here. When you were a helpless baby in the lying-in chamber you were stolen by my powerful husband. Tresspassing into the house of your father Vasudeva, resembling Vasava himself, Shamvara stole you away. Stricken with sorrow for a son like you your mother is bewailing like a cow estranged from its calf. Because you were brought here in your very infancy your father, having the emblem of Garuda on his flag, and more powerful than even Shakra himself, does not know it. O lord, you are a Vrishni prince and not a son of Shamvara. Besides the Danavas cannot beget a son like yourself. O gentle one, I seek you as my lover, because I have not given birth to you. Seeing your beauty my weak heart is drooping. Besides O Vrishni hero, you should seek in my heart what desire is there. I have thus described to you how you are not a son of myself and Shamvara and how I have grown attached to you." Pradyumna, the son of the holder of discus, had mastered all forms of illusion. So thus addressed by Mayavati and worked up with anger, he, exclaiming his own name, called Shamvara. He said:—"Alas shall I remain here fearing that wicked-souled Danava who has stolen away the infant son of Keshava? How may that sinful wretch become angry? How can I slay him? I should do what excites his anger. With my sharpened spear I will strike down the wonderful standard with a flying pennon having the emblem of a lion which stands like the mount Sumeru on his gate. If he comes to know of the spoliation of his standard Shamvara will surely come out. I will then kill him in battle and return to Dwaraka." Having said this the large-armed Pradyumna stringed his bow, took up arrows and struck down that jewel of a standard belonging to Shamvara. Hearing of the spoliation of his standard by the high-souled Pradyumna, Shamvara, filled with anger, ordered his sons, saying:—"O ye great heroes, do you soon kill Rukshmini's son. I do not wish to see him who has done me this wrong." Hearing the words of Shamvara, his sons, Chitrasena, Atisena, Vishwaksenajit, Shrutasena, Sushena, Somasena, Mana, Senani, Sainyahanta, Senaha, Sainika, Senaskandha, Atisena, Senaka, Janaka, Sukala, Vikala, Shanta, Shantantakara, Vibhu, Kumbhaketu, Sudangstra and Keshi, well-armed and delighted, set out for killing Pradyumna. Taking up discuses, Tomaras, tridents, Pattishas, swords, Paraswadhas, and worked up with anger, they, inviting Pradyumna, went to the battle-field. Thereupon taking up his bow the large-armed Pradyumna speedily ascended his car and drove towards the battle-field. Thereupon there took place a dreadful and hair-stirring encounter between Keshava's son and those of Shamvara. In order to witness that battle, the Gandharvas, Uragas and Charanas with all the gods headed by their king stationed themselves in the sky. Narada, Tumvuru, Haha, Huhu and other songsters, encircled by Apsaras, also stationed themselves there. Then the Gandharva Advutanama, attached to the court of the king of gods, said to Vasudeva, the wielder of thunder-bolt: "The sons of Shamvara are a hundred in number and Krishna's son is alone. How can he, fighting alone with many, acquire victory?" Hearing his words, Vasava, the slayer of Bali, smilingly said:—"Hear of his prowess. In his pristine body he was Kama and consumed by Hara's fiery anger. Afterwards propitiated by his wife the three-eyed deity conferred on her, a boon, saying:—'When Vishnu, assuming the semblance of a man, will live in the city of Dwaraka, he will take his birth as his son and become your husband. This your highly powerful and energetic husband, although celebrated in the three worlds, as Ananga limbless, will take his birth there and kill Shamvara, for the seventh day after Pradyumna's birth, Shamvara, resorting to this illusory powers, will steal him away from Rukshmini's lap. Therefore go to Shamvara's house; and hidden under your illusory body do you become his wife Mayavati and please him. There nourish your baby husband. When he will attain to youth he will kill Shamvara. Afterwards Ananga will go with you to Dwaraka and he will enjoy with you in the same way as I do with Girija.' Having said this the king of gods Hara repaired to the mount Kailasha resorted to by Siddhas and Charanas and resembling Sumeru. Kama's wife too, having saluted Uma's husband, waited at Shamvara's residence for the termination of the appointed time. O Pratihara, the large-armed Pradyumna will surely kill Shamvara. He has been destined as the destroyer of that wicked Danava and his sons".

CHAPTER 106. BATTLE BETWEEN PRADYUMNA AND SHAMVARA'S SONS.

Vaishampayana said:—Thereupon there took place a great hair-stirring encounter between Rukshmini's son and those of Shamvara. Afterwards in anger those great Daityas began to shower simultaneously on Pradyumna arrows, Saktis, Parashwadhas, Tomara's, Kuntas, Bhushundis and maces. Krishna's son too, worked up with anger, struck them in the battle each with five arrows shot off his bow. Thereupon those resolute Asuras, exceedingly wroth, set up a net-work of weapons for killing Pradyumna. Thereat worked up with anger Ananga soon took up his bow. He then killed the ten highly powerful sons of Shamvara. The next moment, filled with anger the powerful son of Keshava soon cut off Chitrasena's head with a Bhalla. Thereupon the remaining sons of Shamvara, anxious to fight, began to run taking up and discharging arrows. And for killing Ananga they all unitedly fought and shot arrows. The highly powerful son of Krishna, on the other hand, cut off their heads, as if in sport. Having thus slain one hundred sons of Shamvara, all good bow men, he stood in the battle field desirous of fighting. Hearing of the death of his hundred sons Shamvara was filled with wrath. He asked his charioteer to get ready his car. Receiving the order of the king the charioteer saluted him touching the ground with his head and brought the car there, and asked the soldiers to get ready soon. It was drawn by a thousand bear and tied with the ropes of snakes. It was coated with tiger-skin, adorned with a net-work of small bells and filled with wolves. It had ten stairs, one after another, was painted with stars and adorned with gold. It had a huge standard, was high and embellished with flags having the figures of lions painted on them. It had wooden fenders around it and iron axles. It was high like the summit of Mandara, was bedecked with beautiful chowries, covered with stars and adorned with golden standards. As if urged on by Death, Shamvara, putting on a golden armour and taking up his bow and arrows, set out for battle accompanied by his soldiers and four ministers. Encircled by his ministers, Durdhara, Ketumali, Shatruhanta and Pramarddana, Shamvara set out, desirous of fighting. When with two hundred cars, ten thousands elephants, eight thousand horses and ten lakhs of infantry Shamvara set out for the battle-field there appeared various omens on all sides. The cranes began to emit hideous yells in the sky filled with vultures and fire-brands, making a sound like that of evening clouds, began to fall down. The jackals yelled striking terror into the huge army. And vultures sat on the tops of the standards desirous of drinking the blood of the Danavas. Headless figures were seen dropping on his car. The birds emitted indistinct notes on Samvara's car. The moon was possessed by Rahu (eclipsed) and encircled by its disc. His left hand and eye danced presaging some calamity and the horses, attached to his car, became of slackened speed. The Kanka birds fell on the head of Shamvara, the sworn enemy of the celestials and Indra began to send down a shower of blood mixed with live coals and cinders. Thousands of fire-brands dropped down on the battle-field and reins slipped off the hands of the charioteer. But Shamvara, filled with anger, paid no attention to those portends and proceeded for slaying Pradyumna. Thereat the earth shook at the sound of bugles, conch-shells, Mridanga, Panava, and Anaka all played upon simultaneously. Overwhelmed with terror caused by that terrible sound, beasts and birds fled away on all sides. Krishna's son, however, bent on slaying his enemy, waited in the battle-field.

Shamvara, determined to fight and encircled by thousands of soldiers, struck Pradyumna with thousands of arrows. He, however, displaying quick-handedness, cut those arrows off before they could reach him. And bending his bow he shot arrows that there was none in the army who was not struck with one. Thus assailed with arrows by Pradyumna Shamvara's men returned to him in fear. Beholding his men take to their heels, Shamvara, beside himself with anger, ordered his ministers. "At my mandate do ye proceed and strike my enemy's son. Do not neglect him but kill him at once. If neglected he will ultimately ruin us like a disease disregarded in the beginning. If you wish to please me kill this sinful wretch of a wicked soul".

Obeying Shamvara's command and filled with anger the ministers drove their cars showering arrows. Seeing them run towards the battle-field the powerful Pradyumna was worked up with anger. Quickly taking up his bow he stood there. The highly powerful Pradyumna, the enhancer of the delight of Rukshmini, in anger, struck Durdhara with twenty-five arrows, Ketumali with sixty three, Satruhanta with seventy and Pramarddana with eighty two. Thereat filled with anger the ministers covered Pradyumna with a downpour of arrows. Indeed it appeared highly wonderful. Each of them shot at him severally one hundred and twenty arrows. Makaradwaja (Pradyumna) cut them all off before they could hurt him. Afterwards, taking up a crescent-shaped arrow he killed with it Durdhara's charioteer before the very eyes of the soldiers and warriors. The very next moment with four beautiful Kanka-feathered arrows he killed his four horses, with one arrow he cut off the umbrella and rein, with another the standard and crest and with sixty other arrows the axles, wheels and poles. Thereupon taking up another powerful Kanka-feathered arrow he shot it at the breast of the short-lived Durdhara. Deprived of his life, beauty, vitality and lustre the Danava fell down from his car like a planet of waning piety.

On the heroic Danava Durdhara being slain the Daitya chief Ketumali ran towards Krishna's son showering arrows. And with an angry and frowning countenance he repeatedly said to Pradyumna "Wait! Wait!" Thereat filled with anger Krishna's son covered him with arrows as a cloud sprinkles a mountain in the rainy season. Sorely wounded by the great bowman Pradyumna, the Danava minister took up his discus and hurled it for killing Pradyumna. Makardhwaja however sprang up and got hold of the discus, equally strong like that of Krishna, before it could fall on him. And with it before all he cut off Ketumali's head. Beholding that highly wondrous feat of Rukshmini's son the king of gods and the celestials were filled with surprise. And the Gandharvas and Apsaras showered flowers on him.

Beholding Ketumali slain Shatruhanta and Pramarddana, surrounded by a huge army, ran towards Pradyumna. They all hurled at Krishna's son clubs, maces, discuses, nooses, Tomaras, arrows, Bhindhipalas, axes and other weapons simultaneously for killing him. However the heroic Kama, displaying light-handedness, sundered them with his arrows into many pieces. In anger he so struck with arrows the thousands of elephants, elephant-drives, cars, charioteers and horses that none was seen there who was not wounded. Grinding their soldiers Pradyumna created a dreadful river there having blood for its water. Pearl necklaces were its many waves, flesh, fat and marrow were the mud, the discuses were the islands, the arrows the whirlpools the cars the beautiful bank, bracelets and ear-rings were tortoises, the flags were the fishes and the elephants were other acquatic animals. The river had the horses for its acquatic animals, the hairs for its mosses, the waist threads for its lotus-stalks, the beautiful faces for its lotuses, the chowries for its swans, the heads for its Timi fishes and the blood for its water. Nobody, especially the weak, could cross that river created by Ananga. If was dreadful, impassable and full of weapons, and it extended the territories of Yama. Having agitated the other bowmen the beautiful son of Rukshmini shot in numerable arrows at Shatruhanta. He too, filled with anger, discharged arrows which fell on Pradyumna's breast. Although wounded with that arrow the powerful son of Keshava did not tremble. He took a mace for killing Shatruhanta who was on the point of death. That burning Sakti, making a sound like that of Indra's thunder-bolt, discharged by Rukshmini's son, fell down piercing the heart of the enemy. With it the heart of the highly powerful Shatruhanta was cut off, his limbs were mutilated and his vital parts and joints were separated. And he fell down vomitting forth blood.

Beholding Satruhanta slain Pramarddana came forward with a mace and said: "O you fond of fighting, what is the use of battling with these ordinary men? O you of wicked intellect, stand here firmly for a moment and fight with me and you will not have to live any longer on this earth. You are born in the race of Vrishnis and your father is our enemy. If we can slay his son today he will also be killed. O you of wicked understanding, with your death the gods will meet with extinction and the Daityas and Danavas, having their enemy slain, will enjoy happiness. Yourself being slain with my weapons I will, with your blood, perform the watering ceremony of the dead sons of Shamvara. Hearing of the death of a young son like yourself Bhishmaka's daughter will bewail piteously. Hearing of your death, your wicked father, the holder of discus, will give up his life today".

Having said this Pramarddana quickly struck Rukshmini's son with his parigha. Wounded thus the highly powerful and energetic son of Rukshmini threw up his car with his hands, struck it down to the ground and crushed it. Leaping down then from his car the Danava stood on the ground as a foot-soldier. And taking up his club he hurled it at Keshava's son. Kama, on the other hand, crushed down Pramarddana with that club.

Beholding Pramarddana slain the Daityas could not stand before Pradyumna and began to fly away like a herd of elephants terrorised by a lion. As the lambs fly on seeing a dog, so the Daitya soldiers, stricken with fear of Pradyumna, lost heart. The ugly-looking Danava soldiers, with hairs dishevelled and their dresses soiled with blood, looked like a woman in menses. As roughly handled by a cruel and lustful person a youthful damsel, cut with Cupid's shafts, cannot stand in that battle and flies away breathing to her house so those Danava soldiers, assailed with arrows and filled with fear, left the battle-field and fled away sighing heavily.

CHAPTER 107. SHAMVARA COMES TO THE BATTLE-FIELD.

Vaishampayana said;—O king, thereupon filled with anger Shamvara said to his charioteer:—"O hero, do you soon take my car to the enemy. With arrows I will kill him who has done me wrong." Hearing the words of his master, the charioteer,

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always doing good to him, drove the car adorned with gold. Beholding the chariot approach him, Pradyumna, having delightful eyes, took up in anger his bow and set to it golden arrows. He then struck Shamvara with it and excited his anger in battle. That arrow cutting to his very vitals, Shamvara, the enemy of gods, was greatly bewildered. And holding the reins of the car he lost consciousness. Regaining his consciousness a few moments after the Danava Shamvara took up his bow in anger and struck Krishna's son with seventy sharpened arrows. Pradyumna, with seven shafts, cut off those arrows into seven parts before they could reach him. And with seventy sharpened winged arrows he struck Shamvara. As a cloud covers a mountain with its showers so he struck Shamvara again with a thousand beautiful winged arrows. Thereupon all the quarters being covered with arrows the sky was so enshrouded by darkness that even the sun was not visible. Seeing it Shamvara dispelled that darkness with his thunderbolt and showered arrows on Pradyumna's car. O king, Pradyumna too, displaying light-handedness, cut off those arrows into many pieces with his knotty shafts. When that great downpour of arrows was stopped by Krishna's son, Shamvara, by his illusory powers, showered trees. Beholding those trees Pradyumna was beside himself with anger and destroyed them all by discharging fiery weapons. When all the trees were reduced to ashes Shamvara made a downpour of stones which Pradyumna removed from the battle-field by means of airy weapons. O king, thereupon, Shamvara, the enemy of gods, took up his bow and created a great illusory display by throwing on Pradyumna's car lions, tigers, bears, monkeys, horses, camels, asses and cloud-like elephants. Kama however, with Gandharva weapons, cut them off into many pieces. Beholding his illusion dispelled by Pradyumna Shamvara, beside himself with anger, displayed another feat. He showered youthful, well-decked elephants with sixty heads each, mad after fighting and ridden by expert drivers. Beholding those illusory creations about to fall on him the great lotus-eyed (Pradyumna) having the emblem of a fish on his flag, desired to create illusory lions. O king, as the sun sends away the night so the illusory lions, created by the intelligent son of Rukshmini, destroyed the illusory elephants. Beholding his illusory elephants killed, Shamvara, the king of Danavas, created Sunmohini Maya. Beholding that Mohini (fascinating) Maya the creation of Maya, discharged by Shamvara, the powerful Pradyumna obstructed it with his Sanjna (consciousness) weapon. Greatly exercised with anger on account of his illusion being destroyed the highly powerful king of Danavas, Shamvara displayed an illusion of lions. Beholding the lions about to fall on him the powerful son of Rukshmini took up Gandharva weapons and created Sharabhas [A fabulous beast supposed to have eight legs and to inhabit particularly the snowy regions.]. As the wind scatters clouds so those Sharabhas, having eight legs, claws and teeth, pursued the lions. Beholding the lions pursued by the illusory eight-legged animals Shamvara began to think of measures for killing them. He thought: "Alas! How stupid I am. Why did I not kill him in his infancy? Now this wicked-minded one has attained to youth and mastered all the weapons. How shall I kill this enemy stationed at the head of the battle? The dreadful illusion of serpents, which the great god Hara, the destroyer of Asuras, instructed me in, is only known to me. Let me now spread that great illusion of serpents. Methinks this powerful and wicked Mayavia will be consumed thereby".

Thinking thus Shamvara displayed that illusion of serpents full of burning venom, which fettered Pradyumna with his car, horses and charioteer. Beholding himself thus bound with illusory serpents and about to be killed Pradyumna thought of the illusion of Garudas that could kill the serpents. As soon as the high-souled Pradyumna thought of it Garudas began to move about and destroy the venomous serpents. When the illusion of serpents was dispelled the gods and Asuras, eulogising him said "Well done! Well done! O mighty-armed son of Rukshmini. On account of the illusion being dispelled by you we have been pleased".

O Janamejaya, when the illusion of serpents was dispelled, Shamvara again thought: "I have a golden club resembling the rod of Death which even the gods and Asuras cannot withstand in the battle-field. Formerly pleased the goddess Uma conferred that on me and said 'O Shamvara, take the golden club. Practising hard austerities I produced from my own body this club which can dispell all forms of illusion and kill all the Asuras. I have with this club despatched to the abode of Yama with all their followers, the powerful sky-ranging and dreadful Danavas Shumbha and Nishumbha. When your life will be in peril, hurl this club at your enemy'. Saying this goddess Parvati disappeared from that place. I will hurl it now aiming at my enemy".

Thereupon informed of his motive the king of gods said to Narada:—"Do you soon approach the car of the large-armed Pradyumna, make him conscious and remind him of his pristine birth. Give that of slayer of Asura this invincible coat of mail and Vaishnava weapons." Thus addressed by Maghavan Narada speedily went away (42—44). And stationed in the sky he said to Pradyumna:—"O prince, know me as the celestial songster Narada. The king of gods has sent me here to make yourself conscious. O giver of honour, remember your pristine birth. O hero, you are Kama. Reduced to ashes by Hara's ire you became limbless. You have been begotten by Keshava on Rukshmini in the Vrishni race, and are known there by the name of Pradyumna. Before the completion of the seventh night Shamvara had stolen you away from the lying-in-room. O large-armed hero, when Shamvara carried you away Keshava disregarded him in the interest of the great work of the gods namely the destruction of Shamvara. Know as your former wife Rati the spouse of Shamvara by name Mayavati. She was living on Shamvara's house for protecting you. In order to create pleasure and forgetfulness in that wicked Danava she sends Rati to him, created, by illusion, of her own person. O Pradyumna, having killed Shamvara in the battle-field with Vaishnava weapons take your own wife Mayavati and go to Dwaraka. O slayer of your enemies, do you take this Vaishanava weapon and highly lustrous coat of mail. The king of gods has sent them for you. Hear another word of mine and carry it out without any fear. Pleased Parvati gave this enemy of gods a club which is always very powerful and can grind all enemies; and none amongst the gods, Danavas and men, can withstand it in battle. In order to counteract this weapon you should remember the goddess. Besides, those, who are anxious to fight, should always bow unto and chant the glories of the great goddess. You should be careful when you fight with your enemy." Having said this Narada returned where Vasava was.

CHAPTER 108. SHAMVARA'S DEATH.

Vaishampayana said:—Thereupon filled with anger Shamvara took up his club. O descendant of Bharata, when Shamvara took up his club there rose twelve suns, the mountains trembled and the earth shook. The water of the ocean flowed upwards, the gods were agitated, the sky was filled with vultures, fire brands fell, dreadful wind blew and Indra sent down showers of blood. Beholding all those evil omens the heroic Pradyumna soon got down from his car. And folding his hands he recollected the beloved consort of Shankara, Parvati, and bending his head began to chant her glories.

Pradyumna said:—"Salutation unto Katyayani, the mother of Kartikeya. Salutation again unto Katyayani the mother of the three worlds. Salutation unto the goddess who hath destroyed our enemies. Salutation unto Gouri the consort of Girisha. Salutation unto the goddess who has killed Sumbha and pierced the heart of Nisumbha. Salutation unto Kalaratri and Kumari. I bow with folded hands unto the goddess who lives in a mountainous forest. I bow unto the great goddess who lives on the mount Vindhya, who destroys the forts, who is Durga, who is fond of battle and who is Jaya and Vijaya. I bow unto the goddess who is unconquerable, who afflicts her enemies, who has a bell in her hand and is adorned with a garland of bells. I bow unto the goddess, who has the figure of a lion on her banner, who holds a trident, who has slain the buffalo-faced demon and rides a lion. I bow with folded hands unto the goddess who is one and without any parts, who is the sacred Gayatri that is recited at a sacrifice and Savitri of the Brahmanas. O goddess, do thou always protect me in battle and crown me with success." Thus eulogised by Kama the goddess was pleased (6-13).

Pleased at heart the goddess said to him:—"O you of large arms, O you the enhancer of Rukshmini's joy, behold me. O son, seeing me does not go fruitless. Pray for a boon therefore." Hearing the words of the goddess his hairs stood erect and his mind was filled, with joy. Saluting the goddess he communicated his object:—"O goddess, while thou hast been propitiated do thou confer on one what I desire. O giver of honour, may I vanquish all my enemies. O goddess, may the club, produced from thy own person which thou hast given to Shamvara, become a garland of lotuses as soon as it touches my body." Hearing it and saying "So be it" the goddess disappeared. And the highly powerful Pradyumna too, with great delight, ascended the car.

Thereupon taking up his club and whirling it the powerful Shamvara threw it on Pradyumna's breast. As soon as it approached him, it became a garland of lotuses around Pradyumna's neck. And he looked like the moon encircled by stars. Beholding the club converted into a garland of lotuses the gods, Gandharvas, Siddhas, and the great Rishis spoke highly of Pradyumna in his presence. Thereupon bending his bow and setting to it the Vaishnava arrow which Narada had brought, Keshava's son said:—"O arrow, if I am the son of Rukshmini begotten by Keshava do thou, on the strength of this truth, kill Shamvara in the battle-field." Saying this the noble-minded Pradyumna, as if to consume the three worlds, drew his bow and shot the arrow at Shamvara. Thereupon that arrow, discharged by that Vrishni chief, piercing Shamvara's breast, entered into the earth. By the energy of that Vaishnava arrow all his flesh, bones, nerves, skull and blood were reduced to ashes.

In this way the huge-bodied, sinful Danava Shamvara being slain the gods and Gandharvas were filled with joy. Urvasi, Menaka, Rambha, Viprachitti, Tilottama, and other Apsaras and the entire animate and inanimate creation danced. Praising Pradyumna the king of gods, with the celestials, pleased, began to shower flowers on him. The king of Daityas being slain in battle by Madana the son of the slayer of Madhu, the gods were freed from the fear of their enemy, and eulogising Pradyumna they set out for the celestial region. As a lover goes to his love so Rukshmini's son, fatigued with fighting, went with hasty steps into the city and met his consort.

CHAPTER 109. PRADYUMNA GOES TO DWARAKA AND HIS PARENTS RECOGNIZE HIM.

Vaishampayana said:—Having celebrated his sacrifice the powerful Mayavin Shamvara was killed in battle on the eighth day of a fortnight. Having slain that foremost of Asuras in the city of Rikshavanta Pradyumna, taking Mayavati with him, set out for his father's city. By his illusory powers the quick-coursing hero rose up into the welkin and reached the charming city of Dwaravati protected by his father's power. That young man, beautiful like Manmatha (Cupid), descended from the sky with Mayavati at the inner appartment of Keshava. When Pradyumna thus came down Keshava's queens were all filled with surprise, joy and fear. Afterwards seeing that young man, resembling Kama himself, with his wife, their faces grew delighted; and they, with their eyes, as if drank his ambrosial beauty. Beholding the bashful countenance of that boy and him filled with shame at every step Krishna's wives were all at their wit's end. Beholding that boy, Rukshmini, the mother of a son, encircled by her hundred co-wives, was striken with sorrow. And shedding tears she said:—"Alas! I saw in a mid-night dream that the slayer of Kansa had given me mango leaves. Keshava took me on his lap and put a garland of pearls resembling the rays of the moon around my neck. A youthful lady, with beautiful curling hairs, clad in a white raiment and with a lotus in her hand, entered into my room. And she sprinkled me with beautiful water. Afterwards that lady touched my head with her hands and gave me a garland of lotuses." Having thus described her dream, Rukshmini, encircled by her female friends, cast her looks again and again on the prince and said:—"Blessed is that woman whose son is such a beautiful, long-lived boy resembling Kama and just ushered into the first stage of youth. O son, what lucky woman has been blessed with a son like yourself black like clouds Why have you come here with your wife? Alas, if the powerful Death had not carried him away my baby Pradyumna would have been of this age by this time. My surmise can never be untrue. Forsooth you are a prince of the Vrishni family; from the marks of your body you look like Janarddana without his discus. Your face and hairs resemble those of Narayana and your thighs, arms and breast resemble those of my father-in-law and Haladhara. Alas, you look like the second celestial body of Narayana. With your person you have adorned the entire Vrishni race. Who are you, O my child?"

In the meantime Krishna all on a sudden entered there hearing from Narada of the destruction of Shamvara. Beholding his eldest son there, along with his daughter-in-law Mayavati resembling Cupid himself, Janarddana was filled with joy and said to the goddess-like Rukshmini: "O goddess, here is your son the great bow-man. He has killed Shamvara, an expert of illusion and has learnt all his illusory arts by which he used to torment the gods. This auspicious and chaste lady is the wife of your son. She was up to this time living in Shamvara's house under the name of Mayavati. Do not distress your mind thinking her as the wife of Shamvara. Know her as Rati, the beloved consort of Kama. Formerly when Manmatha became limbless being consumed by Hara's fiery anger this auspicious lady, up to this time, always kept that Daitya infatuated with her likeness made by her illusory powers. Even in her youth this beautiful lady did not seek Shamvara; creating her own like-ness by her illusory powers she used to send her to Shamvara. O fair lady, this my son's wife, and your daughter-in-law will help Kama and please him, She is our eldest daughter-in-law and deserves our affection. Take her to your room and nourish your lost son who has come back".

Vaishampayana said:—Hearing those words given vent to by Krishna Rukshmini attained to an excess of delight and said:—"Most fortunate am I since my heroic son has come back again. Blessed is my birth and I have achieved my object since my lost son has returned with his beloved wife. Come my son and enter this room with your wife." Thereupon having saluted his mother and Govinda Pradyumna bowed unto Haladhara. Thereupon raising up Pradyumna the foremost of the powerful Keshava, the slayer of enemy's warriors, embraced him and smelt his head. The goddess Rukshmini too, with words suppressed with affection, raised up her daughter-in-law adorned with gold, placed her on her lap and embraced her. Thereupon as Aditi conducts the king of gods with Sachi into her own room so Rukshmini took her son who had returned with his wife to her own room.

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CHAPTER 110. BALADEVA'S MANTRA (PRAYER) FOR PROTECTING PRADYUMNA.

Vaishampayana said:—O foremost of victors, after having slain Shamvara, Pradyumna had arrived at the city of Dwaraka a wonderful evening Mantra was recited. I am describing the evening Mantra which Baladeva recited at that time for protecting Pradyumna. If one recites it in the evening he has his soul purified. It has been recited by Baladeva, Vasudeva, and the pious ascetics and saints:–"May the Lord of the universe Brahma, the preceptor of the gods and Asuras, protect me. May Om, Vashatkar, Savitri and the three regulations protect me. May the four Vedas, Puranas, Itihasas, Khilas, Upakhilas, the auxiliaries of the Vedas and their commentaries protect me. May earth, air, ether, water, light, the senses, mind, intellect, the gunas Sattwa, Raja, Tama, the five vital airs, namely Vyana, Udana, Samana, Prana, and Apana and the seven other airs which which pervade the universe protect me. May the great Rishis, Marichi, Angira, Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu Bhrigu and the divine Vasistha protect me. May the fourteen Munis headed by Kashyapa, and the Lord Narayana with ten quarters and Gunas protect me. May the eleven Rudras, the twelve Adityas, the eight Vasus and the two Ashwinis protect me. May the mothers of the Daityas, Hri, Shree, Lakshmi, Swadha, Medha, Tushthi, Pushthi Smriti, Dhriti, Aditi, Diti, Danu, and Sinhika protect me. May the mountains Himavan, Hemkuta, Nishadha, Sweta, Rishabha, Paripatra, Vindhya, Vaidurya, Sahya, Udaya, Malaya, Meru, Mandara, Dardura, Krouncha, Kailasha, and Mainaka protect me. May the Nagas, Shesha, Vasuki, Vishalaksha, Takshaka, Elapatra, Suktikarna, Kamvala, Aswatara, Hastibhadra, Pitharaka, Karkotaka, Dhananjaya, Puranaka, Karavira, Sumanasya, Dadhimuka, Sringarapinda the Lord Mani known all over three worlds, the Naga kings Dadhikarma and Haridraka all those Nagas and others whose names have not been mentioned—all those who are truthful and upholding the universe, protect me. May the four oceans protect me. May the river Ganga, the foremost of streams, Saraswati, Chandrabhaga, Shatadru, Devika, Shiva, Iravati, Vipasha, Sarayu, Yamuna, Kalmashi, Rathoshma, Vahinda, Hiranyada, Plakshma, Ikshumati, Shravanti, Vrihavratha, and the celebrated Charmanvati and the sacred Vadhusara, and those whose names have not been mentioned flowing in the north sprinkle me with their water. May Venva, Godavari, Kaveri, Kongkanavati, Krishna, Venva, Shuktimati, Tamasa, Pushpavahimi, Tamraparni, Jyotiratha, Utkala, Udum varavati, Vaitarani, the sacred Vidarbha, Narmuda, Vitasta, Bhimarathi, Mahanandi, Ela, Kahini, Gomati and Shoma and all those whose names have not been mentioned flowing in the south sprinkle me with their water. May Kshipra, the sacred Charmanvavati, Mahi, Shuvravati, Sindhu, Vetravati, Bhojanta, Vanamahka, Purvabhadra, Aparabhadra, Urmita, Varadruma, Vetravati, the well-known Chapadangi, Lutha, the sacred and charming Saraswati, Mitraghni, Indumala, Madhumati, Uma, Garunar, Tapi, Vimalodaka, Vimala, Vimaloda, Mattaganga, and Payaswani and all those whose names have not been mentioned here as well as the sacred Bhagirathi flowing in the west sprinkle me with water. May the sacred lakes Prabhasa, Prayaga, Naimisha, Pushkara, Ganga, Kurukshetra, Shrikshetra, Goutamashrama, Ramhrada, Vinashana, Ramatirtha, Gangadwara where Soma rose up, Kapalamochana, the well-known Suvarnadindu, Kanakapingala, Dashaswameda, the Naranarayanshrama, the celebrated Vadari, the well-known Phalgu, Chandravata, Kokamukha, the sacred Gangasagara, Tapoda of the Magadha country, the well-known Gangobheda, and those whose names have not been mentioned where the great Rishis live, sprinkle us with their sacred water. May the shrines of Shukara, Yogamarga, Shwetadwipa, Brahmatirtha, Ramatirtha, Dashashwamedha, the sin-destroying Ganga with her streams, Vaikuntha-like Kedara, Shukarodvedana and Papamochana destroy my sins and purify me. May Dharma, Artha, Kama, fame, Prapti, Shama, Dama, Varuna, Kuvera, Yama, Niyama, Kala, Naya, Sannati, anger, stupefaction, forgiveness, patience, lightning, clouds, herbs, planets, Yakshas, Pishachas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Siddhas, Charanas, night-rangers, sky-rangers, beasts, auspicious planets, Lamvodara, Bali, Pingaksha, Vishwarupa, Indra with airs, Kala, Truti, Lava. Kshana and other divisions of time, stars, planets, seasons, months, days, nights, the sun, moon, sorrow, fear and sentiments, pride, truth, Sidhi, Vridhi, Sruti, Dhriti, Rudrani, Bhadrakali, Bhadra-Yasthi, Varuni, Bhasi, Kalika, Shandili, Kuhu, Sinivali, Bhima, Chitravati, Rati, Katyayani, Sohitya, Ayanamitra, Ganada and other celestial damsels, spoken of, protect me with their friends".

CHAPTER 111. NARADA PUTS QUESTIONS: AND THE MYSTERY IS EXPLAINED.

Vaishampayana said;—In the same month in which Pradyumna was stolen away by Shamvara desirous of killing himself Jamvavati gave birth to Shamva. From his boyhood he was trained by Rama in the use of arms and the other Vrishnis used to respect him considering him little inferior to Rama. From his birth Krishna, shorn of enemies and neighbouring hostile kings, lived in his capital happily as the immortals live in the garden of Nandana. At that time the hostile kings could not enjoy peace in fear of Janarddana; and witnessing the prosperity of the Yadavas even Vasava did not like his own riches.

Thereupon office on a time Duryodhana undertook the celebration of a sacrifice in Hastinapur and all the kings set out for (that city). Hearing of Janarddana with his sons, his prosperity and the city of Dwaraka situate on the bank of the ocean, those kings, collecting information through their emissaries, arrived at Krishna's palace, who was fond of guests and had controlled his senses, for seeing him. The king Duryodhana and others who were under the subjection of Dhritarashtra, the sons of Pandu, Dhristadyumna and others, the kings of Pandya, Chola, Kalinga, Vahlika Dravida and Khasa with eighteen Akshowhinis of soldiers arrived at the city of Yadavas protected by Krishna's arms. After those kings had been accommodated in their respective quarters set apart for them, the lotus-eyed Hrishikesha, with leading Yadavas, went to them. The Yadu king Madhusudana shone in the midst of those kings like the autumnal sun. Thereupon showing them civilities according to their age and place Krishna sat on his golden throne. The kings too occupied seats according to their ranks. As the gods and Asuras shine in Brahma's Durbar-Hall so those kings appeared exquisitely beautiful. Thereupon in the hearing of Keshava, the Yadus and kings discoursed on various themes. In the meantime there blew a hurricane accompanied with the muttering of clouds charged with lighting. A few moments after riving from that unfair weather, Narada appeared there covered entirely with matted locks and with the Vina in his hand. Sakra's friend, the ascetic Narada, effulgent like fire, dropped before the kings like a scintillation. As soon as that foremost of ascetics, Narada touched the ground the unfair weather disappeared. Having entered that ocean-like court of the kings Narada said to the eternal Yadu king who was seated on his throne:—"O thou of large arms, thou alone hast become an object of wonder to the gods. O Purusottama, there is none blessed like thee in the world." Thus addressed the powerful Krishna, smilingly said:—"Yes I am an object of surprise and good luck, especially in the matter of presents." Thus spoken to in the midst of kings the foremost of Munis, Narada said, "O Krishna, I have got the proper reply. I now depart for my wished-for region".

The kings present in that meeting could not make out the mystery of Narada's words. Seeing therefore, Narada, about to start they said to Keshava, the lord of the universe:—"O Madhava, Narada said 'Wonder and blessed' and you too replied saying 'Presents'. O Krishna, we have not been able to decipher these celestial expressions. If we are worthy of listening to the true import we wish to hear it".

Krishna then said to all those leading kings:—"Yes, you are the fit persons to hear it and the twice-born Narada will relate it. O celestial saint, describe to these kings who are anxious to hear the true import of your question and my reply." Thereat Narada, seated on a white golden seat beautifully embellished, began to explain those words.

Narada said:—O ye assembled kings, hear how I have mastered this great question. Once on a time when the sun rose after the termination of the night I was alone walking on the bank of the Ganga. I saw a tortoise of the shape of my Vina, extending over two Krosas. It was huge like a mountain, had four legs, two coatings, was soaked with water, and covered with mosses. Its skin was hard like that of an elephant. Then touching that acquatic animal with my hands I said:—"O tortoise, methinks you have a wonderful body and are fortunate, for you are covered with these two invincible coatings. And not caring for any body you, without any anxiety, range in the water". Hearing it that water-ranging tortoise said to me like a man:—"What wonder is there in me, O Muni? And how can I be blessed? This Ganga, flowing downwards, is blessed in whom range hundreds and thousands of animals like myself. What is more wonderful than she?" Thereat filled with curiosity I approached the river Ganga and said:—"O foremost of rivers, you have many lakes in you. Adorned with many huge-bodied animals, you, protecting the hermitages, are you going to the ocean. Blessed are you therefore and have many wonders in you".

O Janamejaya, thus spoken to Ganga, in her own form, appeared before the foremost of the twice-born, the celestial Gandharva Narada, the favourite of Indra and said "O celestial songster, O foremost of the twice-born, O you fond of quarrels, do not say so; I am nither blessed nor I do contain wonders. I am afraid of the words of a truthful person like yourself. O twice-born one, that ocean is blessed and full of big wonders where hundreds of rivers like myself are flowing." Hearing the words of (Ganga) flowing in three ways I went to the ocean and said:—"O great ocean, O lord of waters, you are the origin of all waters—therefore you are blessed and full of wonders in the world. Specially, the rivers, full of waters, worshipped by the world and purifying them, come to you as your wives." Thus addressed, riving the waters, by the force of the wind, the ocean rose up and said:—"O celestial songster, O foremost of the twice-born, do not say so; I am neither full of wonders, nor I am blessed. Blessed is the earth on whom I live. What is more wonderful than the earth in the universe?"

Hearing the words of the ocean, I, filled with curiosity, went to the bed of the earth and said to Prithivi the energy of the universe:—"O beautiful earth, endued with great patience, thou art blessed and wonderful in the universe for thou art sustaining all the worlds. Thou hast given birth to the churning rod of men and patience. Thou art the work of the sky-ranging gods." Excited at my words and forsaking her natural patience she replied:—"O celestial songster fond of quarrels, do not say so. I am neither blessed nor wonderful. This my patience is dependant on another. O foremost of the twice-born, the mountains, that are upholding me, are indeed great and wonders are seen in them. They are the bridges of the worlds." O kings, hearing those words I went to the mountains and said "O ye mountains, great you are and full of many great wonders. Besides you are the mines of gold and many precious jems, and you are living on earth for ever." The immobile mountains, adorned with forests, replied to my question in consoling accents. "O Brahmana saint, we are not great and there is no wonder in us. The creator Brahma alone is great and wonderful even amongst the celestials".

Thereupon thinking that with the Creator Brahma, this cycle of questions would terminate I went to him. Approaching in order, the four-headed, Self-sprung Deity, the origin of the world I saluted him and said to him, expecting that my words would come to a close:—"Thou art alone great, wonderful and the preceptor of the world. There is no other creature in this world which is equal to thee. From thee has emanated this universe identical with mobile and immobile creations. O king of gods, the gods, Danavas and other creations of the three worlds, and this universe, manifest and unmanifest, have all emanated from thee. Thou art the eternal king of gods. O God, while thou art the best of gods what wonder is there that thou art the origin of all the worlds." Hearing my words the Grand-Father Brahma said:—"O Narada, why do you call me great and wonderful? The Vedas, which are upholding the worlds, are great and wonderful. O Vipra, know me as identical with the truths that lie in Rik, Saman, Yayur and Atharvan. The Vedas are upholding me and I too uphold them". Hearing the words of the Self-sprung Parameshtin, I made up my mind for going to the Vedas. According to the words of the Grand-Father I went near the four Vedas worshipped with mantras and said:—"O ye Vedas, the Grand-Father has said that you are great, wonderful and the source of the Brahmanas. You are superior even to the Self-sprung Deity. There is none in Sruti and Tapas superior to you. Therefore I have come to ask you." Thereupon the Vedas, with their faces towards me, replied:—"The Yajnas are great and wonderful. O Narada, we have been created for Yajnas and are not masters of ourselves. So the Yajnas lord over us." Hearing that the Vedas are superior to the Self-sprung Deity and the Yajnas are superior to the Vedas I approached the Yajnas headed by the household fire and said:—"O ye Yajnas, as spoken by the Grand-Father and the Vedas, great effulgence is seen in you. There is nothing in this world more wonderful than you. You are born from the twice-born and are therefore great. By you, with a portion of the sacrificial offerings the gods are pleased, the great saints with mantras and the Agnis with oblations". After I had finished my say Agnisthoma and other Yajnas, stationed in the sacrificial grounds, replied:—"O Muni, there is no such word as wonder and great in our midst. Vishnu alone is the great wonder—and he is our supreme refuge. The lotus-eyed Vishnu, manifested as men, offers those oblations into fire on which we feed. As the large-armed Vishnu, having eyes like red lotuses, is great with his consort, so great is a Yajna accompanied with presents." Afterwards I came down on earth to ascertain Vishnu's movements and saw Krishna encircled by kings like your worthy selves. I said to Madhava surrounded by you all "Thou art great and wonderful" and he too replied saying "with presents." This has put a stop to my words. Pursuing words in order, beginning with the tortoise I have come here—and they have now been verified in this Purusha with Dakshina. I have thus explained, as questioned by you, the secret of my words. I now go whence I have come.

After the departure of Narada to the celestial region, the kings, stricken with wonder, repaired to their respective territories with their army and conveyances. The heroic Yadu chief, Janarddana too, with the Yadavas, effulgent like fire, entered into his own palace.

CHAPTER 112. ARJUNA DESCRIBES ANOTHER WONDERFUL WORK.

Janamejaya said:—O you of large arms, O foremost of the twice-born, I wish again to listen to an account of the glorious deeds of Krishna, the lord of the world. I have not been satiated with listening to the extensive works of the high-souled, intelligent and ancient Purusha Krishna.

Vaishampayana said:—O king, it is impossible to finish, even in hundred years, the account of the glorious deeds of Govinda. Hear now of the highly wonderful deeds of Keshava

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which Vibhatsu (Arjuna), the holder of Gandiva bow, described excited by Bhisma lying on the bed of arrows. O royal descendant of Kuru, hear what he told his eldest brother Yudhisthira who had vanquished all his enemies, in the presence of the kings.

Arjuna said:—Formerly to see my relations I had gone to the city of Dwaraka and entertained by the Bhojas, Vrishnis and Andhakas I had lived there for some time. At that time the virtuous-souled and large-armed slayer of Madhu undertook the celebration of a sacrifice extending over a day according to Shastric rites. When Krishna sat for the celebration of that sacrifice, one Brahmana, describing his own affairs, sought for protection.

The Brahmana said:—O lord, thou art now in charge of the protection (of subjects); besides a saviour is entitled to the one fourth share of the piety acquired by a good work.

Vasudeva said:—"O foremost of the twice-born, may you farewell. Do not fear (any body). I will protect you from him, even if it be a difficult task, who is the cause of your fear. Tell me who is the spring of your fear." The Brahmana said:—"O thou of large arms, my sons are stolen away as soon as they are born. O sinless Krishna, three of my sons were stolen away as soon as they were born. Thou shouldst now protect the fourth son. O Janarddana, my wife is under the labour pain. Thou shouldst so arrange that my child may not be stolen away".

Arjuna said:—Thereupon Govinda said to me "I am to day celebrating a sacrifice. But a Brahmana should be protected by us in whatever circumstances we may be." Hearing those words of Krishna I said to Govinda:—"Appoint me, I will remove the fear of the Brahmana". Thus addressed Janarddana, smiling a little, said:—"Will you be able to save him?" O kings, I was greatly ashamed hearing those words of Krishna. Seeing me thus ashamed Janarddana again said "Go, if you are capable of protecting him. Except the large-armed Rama and the great car-warrior Pradyumna, let all other members of the Vrishni and Andhaka families follow you." Thereupon encircled by the Vrishni army, I set out with the Brahmana before me.

CHAPTER 113. ARJUNA GOES TO RESCUE THE BRAHMANA AND BECOMES UNSUCCESSFUL.

Arjuna said:—O foremost of the Bharata race, within a moment we reached the boundary of the village and encamped because all our animals were tired. O descendant of Kuru, a few moments after encircled by the huge Vrishni army I entered into the city. At that time all was ablaze and burning vultures and beasts frighted me. Huge and black fire-brands fell down, the sun was shorn of its effulgence and the earth trembled. Beholding those dreadful and hair-stirring evil omens, I, filled with anxiety, ordered my soldiers to get ready. Hearing it the great car warriors of the Vrishni and Andhaka families headed by Yuyudhana got ready their respective cars and I too put on my arms.

After the expiration of the mid-night that Brahmana, stricken with fear, approached us and said "My wife is on the point of giving birth to a child. Do you station yourselves so that I may not be cheated". In a moment, O king, piteous cries were heard in the Brahmana's house exclaiming "Stolen! Stolen!". Afterwards we also heard the cries of the baby in the sky, but could not see the Rakshasa. Afterwards we agitated all the quarters with a downpour of arrows, but the boy was however stolen away. When that boy was stolen away that Brahmana crying addressed to us such harsh words that the Vrishnis lost themselves and I too lost my senses. He particularly said to me:—"You said that you would protect me, but could not do so. Therefore listen to these beneficial words, O wicked minded wretch. You always vaunt with Keshava of incomparable intellect. Had Govinda been here this mischief would not have been created. O stupid man, as a saviour is entitled to the one-fourth share of the virtue, so he, who cannot protect one, is constrained to participate of the sin; you said that you would protect me but you have not been able to do so. In vain is your Gandiva, prowess and fame".

However I did not speak anything to the Brahmana, but went with the princes of the Vrishni and Andhaka families where the highly effulgent Krishna was. Afterwards going to city of Dwaravati I saw Govinda the slayer of Madhu and he too, saw me, filled with shame and sorrow. Beholding me ashamed Madhava consoled me and the Brahmana with sweet words. Thereupon he said to Daruka:—"Get ready my horses, Sugriva, Saivya, Meghapushpa, and Balahaka." Afterwards making the Brahmana ascend the car and sending down Daruka, Shura's descendant Krishna asked me to act as the charioteer. O descendant of Kuru, afterwards, Krishna, the Brahmana and myself set out on that car towards the north.

CHAPTER 114. KRISHNA RESCUES THE BRAHMANA'S SONS.

Arjuna said:—Thereupon crossing the mountains, rivers and forests we saw the ocean the abode of Makara. Thereat the ocean, in his true form, with folded hands and carrying Argya, appeared before Janarddana and said "What am I to do?" Having accepted the adoration from the ocean Janarddana said:—"O Lord of rivers, I wish you to afford passage for my car". Thereupon Samudra, with folded hands, said to Garudadhwaja:—"Be pleased O Lord! do not act thus, or else others will do so. O Janarddana, thou didst formerly place me in this unfathomable expanse. I shall have to follow the way thou wilt institute. If thou dost do so, other kings, elated with the pride of their strength, will cross me by this way. Therefore O Govinda, do whatever thou dost think proper." Vasudeva said: "For my sake and for this Brahmana, follow my words. Save me no one else will be able to assail you". Thereupon, in fear of a curse the ocean again said to Janarddana:—"Let it be so. O Krishna, O slayer of Keshi, I will dry up the path in which your car, adorned with flags, will proceed with its charioteer". Vasudeva said:—"O ocean, I had conferred upon you the boon formerly that you would never be dried up, lest the people might form an idea of the collection of your gems. You are to stop the agitation of your water to that extent only that may admit me with my car. In that case no man will be able to estimate the collection of your jems". Hearing it the ocean said "So be it"; and we proceeded through that lustrous red water as if we were on land. Within a moment we crossed the ocean, Uttarakuru and Gandhamadana. Thereupon Jayanta, Vaijayanta, Neela, Rajata, Mahameru, Kailasha and Indrakuta, these seven mountains, assuming various wonderful forms, appeared before Keshava and saluting Govinda said:—"What are we to do?" Welcoming them all duly Hrishikesha, the slayer of Madhu, said to the mountains who stood before him with bending heads "You are to give me passage." Hearing the words of Krishna and accepting them the mountains gave him the passage and disappeared. O foremost of Bharata's race, beholding this work I was filled with great surprise. However as the sun passes through clouds so our car careered on unobstructed. And that best of cars, crossing the seven insular continents, oceans and seven rivers as well as Lokaloka, entered another region.

While proceeding thus at a certain place I found the horses carrying the car with great difficulty. Touching it with my hands I perceived that the darkness was owing to thick mud. It gradually assumed the form of a mountain. Seeing it, Govinda dispelled that darkness and mud with his discus and the sky and the passage of the car became visible. When the sky became visible and we came beyond the pale of darkness my fear was removed and I thought that I was alive. A few moments after I saw in the sky a bundle of effulgence, of the shape of a man, extending over all the worlds. Then Rishikesha entered into that bundle of effulgence and that best of Brahmanas and myself waited on the car. Within a moment the powerful Krishna returned with the four sons of the Brahmana and gave those three boys who had been stolen before and the new born baby into the hands of the Brahmana. O emperor, regaining his sons the Brahmana was highly pleased and I too was filled with great joy and surprise. O foremost of the Bharatas, afterwards we, with the Brahmana's sons, came out in the same way as we had gone there. O foremost of kings, arriving at Dwaraka within a moment we saw that even the first part of the day was not complete. At that I was again filled with surprise. There upon the highly illustrious Krishna fed that Brahmana with his sons and satisfying him with riches sent him away to his own house.

CHAPTER 115. KRISHNA EXPLAINS THE MYSTERY.

Arjuna said:—O Bharata, afterwards, having fed many hundreds of Rishi-like Brahmanas and taken his meals along with myself and other members of the Vrishni and Bhoja races, Krishna discoursed on various wonderful and divine topics. After the termination of Janarddana's discourse, I, filled with curiosity about what I had seen, approached him and said:—"O lotus-eyed Krishna, how the water of the ocean came to a stand-still? How was that dreadfully dense darkness dispelled with thy discus? How didst thou enter into that bundle of effulgence? O lord, why where the Brahmana boys stolen by that effulgence. How was such a long distance shortened? How could we go and come back within such a short time O Keshava, do thou describe all these things duly to me."

Vasudeva said:—In order to see me that great Purusha stole away the sons of the Brahmana thinking that for him I would go there and not otherwise. O foremost of Bharatas, the great divine effulgence which you saw there is nothing but me full of Brahma effulgence. That is my eternal effulgent energy. That is my eternal great Prakriti, manifest and unmanifest. Entering into her (understanding her nature) the great Yogins attain to final liberation (9-10). Prakriti is the refuge of the Sankhya Yogins and the ascetics. And she is the great Brahmana. She makes divisions in the universe. O Bharata, know her as my creative energy. I am that ocean of stilled water. I stilled her water. I am those seven mountains and the pitch darkness begotten by mud which you saw. I am the cloud-like darkness and its dispeller. I am the author of elements and eternal religion. The moon, the sun, the huge mountains, the rivers, the lakes, the four quarters are my four-fold souls. From me have emanated the four Varnas and four Asramas. Know me as the author of four-fold learning.

Arjuna said:—O lord, O divine master of all creatures, O Purusottama, salutation unto thee. I wish to know thy true self and therefore have I sought thy protection and put this question.

Vasudeva said:—O descendant of Bharata, O son of Pandu, from me have emanated Brahman, Brahmana, Tapas, truth and every other thing small or great. O large-armed Dhananjaya, I am your favourite and you are my favourite. And for this I tell you this or else I would not have done so. O foremost of Bharatas, O son of Pritha, I am Rik, Yayush, Saman and Atharvan. The Rishis, the gods and the Yajnas are my energies. From me have emanated earth, air, ether, water, the five luminous bodies, the moon, the sun, day, night, fortnight, months, seasons, muhurttas, Kala Khana, year, various mantras, the various Shastras, learnings and every other thing. O son of Kunti, creation and destruction also proceed from me. My soul is real and unreal and I am the pure Brahman.

Arjuna said:—At that time Hrishikesh, out of his love for me, said this to me and since then my mind is ever attached to Janarddana. I had heard of Keshava's power and saw this myself. There are more powerful deeds of Janarddana than what I have just described at your request.

Vaishampayana said:—Hearing those words the virtuous king Yudhisthira, the foremost of Kurus, worshipped Purusottama Govinda, in his mind. At that time Yudhisthira, all his brothers and the courtier kings were filled with surprise.

CHAPTER 116. KRISHNA'S FEATS DESCRIBED.

Janamejaya said:—O foremost of the twice-born I wish to hear again truly the incomparable deeds of the intelligent Vasudeva the foremost of the Yadus, O you of great effulgence, I have attained to great delight by hearing of the numberless, wonderful, heavenly and ordinary deeds of Krishna. O sinless Muni, describe them all to me.

Vaishampayana said:—O king I had already described the many wonderful feats of the high-souled Keshava and you too have heard them repeatedly. O you of large arms, O foremost of Bharatas, I have described them many a time no doubt, but it is impossible to finish them. But O great king, while you are anxious to listen to an account of the glorious deeds of Vasudeva of incomparable power I should describe what little I, can. Hear, I shall describe them from the beginning.

While residing at Dwaravati, the intelligent Yadu king Keshava invaded the territories of many highly powerful kings. At that time, a Danava, by name Vichakra, who used to seek loop-holes of the Yadavas, was killed. Going to the city of Pragyotish situate at the bed of the ocean the great Keshava killed the wicked Asura Naraka. Vanquishing Vasava he, by force, carried away his Parijata tree. In the lake Lohita the divine Varuna was vanquished by Keshava. In the Deccan the Karusha king Dantavakra was killed. After he had committed a hundred offences Shishupala was slain. O king, repairing to the city of Shonita Madhava vanquished, in a great battle, the thousand-handed and highly powerful Vana the son of Bali protected by Shankara and left him only alive. All the fires in the mountains were suppressed by that high-souled one and Shalwa and Soubha were defeated and killed by him in battle. Having assailed the ocean Janarddana took from him the conch-shell Paachajanya and Hayagriva and other highly powerful kings have been killed by him. On Jarasandha being slain by him all the kings have been released. Having vanquished all the kings on a single car he carried away the daughter of the Gandhara king. The sons of Pandu, deprived of their kingdom and stricken with sorrow, were protected by him. Having consumed the dreadful forest of Khandava belonging to Sachi's lord he conferred Gandiva, given by fire, on Arjuna. O Janamejaya, when the dreadful conflict took place, this Yadu king Janarddana acted as the ambassador. On behalf of the Pandavas he promised before Kunti, "After the termination of the Bharata war I will return the kingdom to your sons." By him the highly effulgent Nriga was released of his curse and the well known Kala Yavana was killed. By him the highly powerful and irrepressible monkeys Mainda and Dwivida were defeated in battle and Jamvavan was vanquished. Although possessed by death Sandipani's son and your father was restored to life again. O Janamejaya, I had already described to you how the kings met with death in many battles destructive of men.

CHAPTER 117. VANA—THE GREAT ASURA.

Janamejaya said:—O foremost of the twice-born, I have heard many incomparable deeds of that intelligent Yadu king many a time. O foremost of moral men, O you having asceticism for your wealth, I wish now to hear how Vasudeva behaved towards Vana as mentioned by you before. O Brahman, how could that Asura, who was protected by Shankara, obtain the sonship of that god of gods? How could he live in the company of his Guhas? The son of the powerful Bali was the eldest of a hundred brothers and had thousand hands adorned with hundreds of celestial weapons, was encircled by numberless huge-bodied Asuras and was a master of hundreds of illusion. How was Vana, desirous of fighting a duel and inflamed with anger, defeated by Vasudeva in battle And why did Keshava leave him off with life?

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Vaishampayana said:—Hear, O king, with attention how a terrible encounter took place between Vana and Krishna of incomparable energy in the land of men? O king, hear how Bali's son Vana, helped by Rudra and Kumara, and always spoken high of in battle, was defeated by Vasudeva and left off with his life, how the high-souled Shankara used to keep him always by him and conferred on him the sovereignty over Ganus; how the Asura Vana obtained the sonship of that god of gods; how a great battle ensued between him and Vasudeva and how he was left off with his life.

Once on a time seeing the high-souled Kumara (Kartikeya) while sporting the highly powerful Bali's son was filled with surprise. Then thinking, "How may I be Rudra's son?" he desired to carry on hard austerities for worshipping Rudra. Gradually the more that foremost of Asuras rendered himself glorious by practising hard austerities the more pleased was Siva, who is easily satisfied, with Uma. Having attained to an excess of satisfaction with the austerities of Vana, the blue-throated deity himself went there and said to the Asura:—"May you fare well: pray for a boon which you cherish at heart". Thereupon Vana said to Maheswara, the god of gods:—"O three-eyed deity, my prayer is that thou mayst confer on me the son-ship of the goddess". Saying "So be it" Shankara said to the goddess:—"Accept him as your son. He is the younger brother of Kartikeya. Forsooth, his city will be laid out at that place from where formerly Mahasena rose up from the blood produced by fire. That best of cities will be celebrated by the name of Shonita-pura. No body will be able to withstand the beautiful Vana completely protected by me".

Thereupon Vana lived in the city of Shonita and governed his kingdom oppressing the gods. Gradually the thousand-armed one was so much worked up with the pride of his prowess that disregarding the gods he solicited a battle with them. At that time Kumara give him a standard burning like fire and an effulgent peacock to carry him. Afterwards, by the power of Maheshwara, the god of gods, Vana so fought that none amongst the gods, Gandharvas, Yakshas and Rakshasas could keep himself firm at that time. Protected completely by Tryamvaka and elated with pride the Asura, desirous of fighting, again approached Siva. Approaching Rudra and saluting him Bali's son said:—"The gods, Sadhyas and Marutas, whom I repeatedly vanquished with the help of my army and under your protection, have come here and are living happily. O god, vanquished by me, filled with terror and despairing of my defeat the gods are living happily in the celestial city under your protection. So despairing of success in battle I do not wish to live any longer; there is no use of holding all these arms if I cannot fight. Save fighting my mind does not fix upon any thing else. Be thou propitiated and tell me when I shall be able to fight."

Thereupon the Divine Vrishadhwaja similingly said:—"O Danava Vana, hear how you will enter upon a battle. When this your standard, planted in your own city, will be broken, you will enter upon a battle". Thus spoken to Vana, smiling again and again, prostrated himself at Bhava's feet and said:—"By my good luck, my holding these thousand arms has not become fruitless. I will again, by my good fortune, defeat the thousand-eyed deity." Thereupon having his eyes filled with tears of joy, Vana, the aggrandiser of his enemies, prostrated himself on the ground and adored Maheshwara with his five hundred fingers. Maheshwara said:—"Rise up O hero you will soon obtain a fight befitting your family and thousand arms".

Vaishampayana said:—Thus addressed by the high-souled three-eyed deity Vrishadhwaja Vana, with delight, saluted him and rose up speedily. Thereupon dismissed by the blue-throated deity Vana, the victor of hostile cities, entered into the room of standards in his own palace. Seated there he smilingly said to Kumbhanda:—"I will give a pleasant tidings after your heart." Hearing it the minister Kumbhanda smilingly said to Vana, incomparable in battle:—"O king, what pleasant news are you desirous of communicating to me? O foremost of Daityas, my eyes have been expanded with joy and surprise. I wish to learn what boon you have obtained. By the grace of the blue-throated deity as well as that of Skanda what boon have you obtained? Has Trident-handed deity given you the kingdom of the three worlds? Will Indra, in fear of you, enter into nether region? Will Diti's sons be freed from the fear of Vishnu afraid of whose discus they entered into the ocean? Will not Diti's sons have to fear Vishnu stationed in battle with Shranga bow and club in his hands? Will the great Asuras, under the protection of your power, leave the nether region and reside in the celestial city? O king, your father Bali, defeated by Vishu's power, is living in chains. Will he rise up from the water and regain his kingdom. Shall we see again your father Bali, Virochona's son, adorned with celestial garlands and pasted with celestial unguents? O Lord, shall we, vanquishing the gods, bring again to our subjection the worlds pilfered with three steps? Shall we vanquish the god Narayana, the victor of armies, who is preceeded by the grave and cool sound of his conch-shell? From the dancing of your heart and tears of joy it appears that Vrishadhwaja has been propitiated by you. Have you, by the Lord's pleasure and Kartikeya's consent, obtained for us all the dignity of the king of the earth?" Encouraged by the words of Kumbhanda, Vana, the foremost of Asuras and speakers, gave vent to the following powerful words:—"I have not been able to fight for a long time. Therefore stricken with sorrow I said to the divine blue throated deity:—'O lord, I am filled with a great desire for battle. Tell me when I shall enter on a battle conducive to the satisfaction of my mind'. Hearing it Hara, the god of gods, and the slayer of his enemies, smiled for some time and then said to me in sweet words:–'O Vana, in no time you will face a great battle. O Diti's son, when your peacock standard will be broken you will find a great battle awaiting you.' After the divine Vrishadhwaja had said this I saluted him and came to you".

Thus addressed Kumbhanda said to the king of Asuras: "O king, the words given vent to by you appear to be highly charming." While they were thus conversing the huge standard, clapped by Indra's thunderbolt, dropped down with great force. Beholding that most excellent standard thus struck down Asura Vana was filled with joy in anticipation of an approaching battle. At that time struck by Indra's thunder-bolt the earth trembled and a cat, hiding itself under the earth, began to mew. In the city of Shonita, Vasava, the king of gods, began to shower blood around the king's palace. Piercing the sun huge fire-brands fell down on earth. The sun, rising with the planet Kirtika, assailed Rohini. Hundreds and thousands of dreadful streams of blood fell from Chaitya trees and stars continually fell (from the sky). Though that men-destroying hour was not a Parva yet Rahu devoured the sun and huge-fire brands fell. A comet appeared in the south and dreadful winds blew continually. Encircled by three-coloured Parighas, the sun, effulgent like lightning, having white and red corners and black neck, covered the hue of the evening. As if chastising Rohini, the birth star of Vana, the dreadful Angaraka entered as Rahu into Kirtika. The huge Chaitrya tree, having many branches, which the Danava maidens used to worship, fell down on earth. Vana, elated with the pride of his strength, though he saw all these evil portends, could not make out that he would be defeated. But Vana's wise and right-seeing minister Kumbhanda, struck with sorrow, spoke much on all those evil omens. He said:—"These omens presage evil. Forsooth they indicate the destruction of your kingdom; on account of the evil conduct of a king like yourself, we ministers, along with your servants, will meet with destruction. Alas! As the tree, the banner of Sakra, has fallen down, so will proud Vana, always vaunting out of ignorance, will fall. Desirous of conquering the three worlds for the favour of the god of gods, Vana is crying out for battle. But on the other hand his destruction is drawing near."

Thereupon Vana, of great prowess, began to drink delightedly Asava wine in the company of Daitya and Danava damsels. Beholding those portends and filled with anxiety Kumbhanda entered into the king's palace; and thinking of those evil omens, he said:—"The wicked and careless Asura king Vana, elated with the pride of success, is desiring for a battle. He does not see his weakness out of ignorance. The evil omens that are being seen now, may not be true for the present but the fear consequent thereon can never be otherwise. The lotus-eyed Siva and the powerful Kartikeya live here and so these evil omen's may be destroyed. But methinks our sins will never be dissipated. A great destruction, begotten by our pride, is drawing near. Alas, by the oppressions of this king all the Danavas have been touched by sin and this will lead to their destruction. Hara, the lord of three worlds, the master of gods and Danavas and the divine Kartikeya live in our city. Guha is loved by Bhava more than his life. But Vana is still a greater favourite. On account of his excessive pride, Vana, for his own destruction, prayed for a battle to Bhava. And that too he has obtained. But it does not appear that a battle will take place. If however an encounter comes off with Indra and other gods headed by Vishnu it must be regarded as a creation of Bhava. If Bhava and Kumara are willing to help Vana nobody will be able to fight with them. The words of the three-eyed deity never prove untrue. Forsooth a great Daitya-destroying battle will soon take place." Thus thinking the considerate and right-seeing Asura Kumbhanda directed his understanding towards good and said "Those who fight with the virtuous gods meet with destruction as Bali has been suppressed".

CHAPTER 118. BHAVA'S SPORT AND VANA'S DAUGHTER OBTAINS A BOON.

Vaishampayana said:—Once on a time Lord Bhava was sporting on the bank of a charming river. In that picturesque forest where all the seasons flourish the Gandharvas, with hundreds of Apsaras, were sporting on all sides. The river bank was fragrant like sky with the scent of Parijata and Santanaka flowers. Shankara heard the Apsaras sing in accompaniment with the music of flute, Vina, Mridanga and Panava. Like bards and panegyrists the beautiful Apsaras pleased Uma and the beautiful-bodied Hara, the god of gods, and the giver of boons who was clad in a red raiment and adorned with garlands, singing various songs in their honour. At that time assuming the form of the goddess, the leading Apsara, Chitralekha pleased Bhava. The goddess laughed at it. And seeing her please Ishana other Apsaras also laughed. With the permission of the goddess, the highly powerful and divine follower of Bhava, assuming various forms, began to play on all sides. Thereupon assuming the form of Mahadeva marked with signs those frolic-some attendants began to play. And the Apsaras too, assuming the form of the goddess, sported there. Seeing it the goddesss smiled. There arose on all sides sounds of laughter and Bhava attained to an excess of delight. By an accident the beautiful daughter of Vana, by name Usha, saw the three-eyed deity sport with Parvati in the river. Beholding Mahadeva, effulgent like twelve suns, assume various forms and sport with the goddess, for pleasing her, Usha thought in her mind:—"The lucky women thus sport in the company of their husbands." And she spoke out her resolution to her friends. Informed of Usha's desire Parvati said slowly with joy:—"O Usha, as the Lord Shankara, the slayer of his enemies, is sporting with me so you will soon enjoy the company of your husband". Thus spoken to by the goddess Usha, with anxiety-stricken eyes, thought in her mind:—"When shall I sport with my husband?" Thereat the goddess Haimavati, smilingly said:—"O Usha! Hear when you will be united with your husband. The person, whom you will see in a dream in the night of the twelfth day of the month of Vaishaka while sleeping on the terrace of your palace, will be your husband". Thus addressed the Daitya maiden, encircled by her friends, went away, playing happily, from that place. Then clapping their hands her friends began to ridicule Usha whose eyes were expanded with joy. Daughters of Yakshas, Nagas, Daityas and many Kinnaris and Apsaras were Usha's friends. They jokingly said:—"O fair lady, in no time you will have your husband as described by the goddess. You will have a husband, beautiful and of good birth as you have wished. The words of the goddess never prove untrue". Receiving in good grace all those words of her friends Usha began to spend her days in anticipation of the realization of the desire conferred by the goddess. The highly wonderful ladies, who had come there, sported for a few days with Uma happily and then returned to their respective habitations. The goddess too disappeared. Amongst the females, some on horse back, some in conveyances, and some in elephants, entered into the city. And some rose up into the sky.

CHAPTER 119. USHA MEETS HER LOVER WHILE ASLEEP AND EXHORTS HER FRIENDS TO BRING HIM.

Vaishampayana said:—Thereupon on the twelfth day of the light fortnight of the month of Vaishakha fair Usha was sleeping encircled by her companions. At that time a man, as spoken of, ravished that beautiful maiden in a dream who was excited with the words of the goddess, weeping and motionless. The man so ravished her in the night that she got up bathed in blood all on a sudden. Thereupon beholding her friend stricken with fear and thus weeping Chitralekha gave vent to the following highly wonderful and consoling words:—"Do not fear, O Usha: why are you weeping and bewailing thus? Being the grand daughter of the celebrated Bali, why are you assailed with fear? O you of fair eye-brows, you have no fear in the three worlds. Besides your father is the destroyer of all the celestials in battle. Why do you fear then? O fair one, there is no fear in such a room, as this. Rise up, rise up, do not be sorry. Do you not know, that Sachi's Lord the king of gods was several times defeated by your father and could not come to this city. Your father, the son of the highly powerful Asura Bali, is the source of fear to all the gods". Thus addressed by her friend the immaculate daughter of Vana described to her what she had seen in a dream. Usha said:—"Thus contaminated how can a chaste maiden dare keep her life? What shall I say to my father the enemy of the gods and the slayer of his enemies? While I have sullied this powerful family death is preferable to me. There is no happiness in my living. Alas! I have been reduced to such a plight that as if I co-habited, while awake, with a desired-for person. Although I was sleeping in the night, who brought me to this condition as if I was wide awake? When a maiden is reduced to such a condition how can she dare live (in this world)? The woman, who is the foremost of chaste damsels, can long for living but how can a helpless woman, who has sullied her family, desire so?" Thus the lotus-eyed Usha, encircled by her friends and with eyes full of tears, bewailed for some time. The friends, who were there, lost themselves seeing Usha weep like one having none to look after her. And with eyes full of tears they said to her:—"O you of fair eye-brows, if you had done something with a mad motive your mind would have been contaminated. O auspicious lady, while you have been ravished by force in a dream your vow will not come to an end. Besides, O fair lady, no sin is comitted in a dream in the land of mortals. So you have not transgressed any regulation by such a conduct. The saints, well-read in scriptures, hold that the woman who commits sin by mind, words and especially by deeds, is considered as fallen. O timid girl, you have always observed celibacy and even your mind has not been seen to give way, so how can you be regarded sullied? You are a chaste, pure and noble woman. You were reduced to this plight while you were asleep and so your virtue will not suffer by this. She is called an unchaste woman,

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whose sinful mind leads her to sinful actions. But, O lady, you are chaste; you are born in a great family and beautiful. You have always observed celibacy still you have been reduced to such a condition. Alas! it is difficult to tide over destiny." Having said this with tearful eyes to weeping Usha Kumbhanda's daughter again spoke the following precious words:—"O you of large eyes, cast off your grief. O you of a beautiful face, I remember an incident which will prove that you are innocent. Hear I will describe it truly. Remember what the goddess Parvati, before Mahadeva, said to you when you thought of having a husband. At that time with delight the goddess said to you the following words after your own heart. 'When you will sleep in your palace on the twelfth day of the fortnight of the month of Vaishakha, the man, who will co-habit with you weeping, that hero, that slayer of enemies will be your husband'. O you having a moon-like face, what Parvati said can never be untrue. Forgetting the truth you are weeping." Hearing the words of her friend and recollecting the words of the goddess Vana's daughter cast off her sorrow.

Usha said:—"O fair lady, I remember now what the goddess said while sporting with Bhava. What she said exactly happened in my room. If the wife of Bhava, the lord of the world, wishes him to be my husband then arrange how I can know his whereabouts".

After Usha had said this Kumbhanda's daughter, well-read in the study of words, gave vent to the following reasonable words:–"Why are you so overwhelmed, O lady? Nobody knows the glories of his race and his manliness. How can we know that thief, that unseen and unheard of person whom you saw in dream? O you of red eyes, he, all on a sudden, entered into our inner appartment and ravished you by force although you were weeping. That subduer of enemies, who has been able to enter, by force, this celebrated city of ours, is not an ordinary man. The Adityas, Rudras and Vasus of dreadful prowess and even the effulgent Ashwinis cannot enter the city of Shonita. So that slayer of enemies, who has entered Shonitpura and kicked Vana on his head, is indeed a hundred times more powerful than they. O you of fair eyes, of what use are life and objects of enjoyment to that woman who has not got such a heroic husband. When by the favour of the goddess you have obtained such a Cupid-like husband consider yourself as lucky and blessed. Hear, what you shall have to do now. We are to know his name, in what family he has been born and who his father is". After Kumbhanda's daughter had said this Usha, stricken with love, said: "O friend, how will you be able to know all this? People often find themselves overpowered in their own actions. I cannot therefore find out what reply to give. Find out the measure by which I may keep my life." Hearing it, the beautiful daughter of Kumbhanda said again to her weeping friend Usha:—"O friend, O you having spacious eyes, Apsara Chitralekha is an expert in the work of making peace and sowing dissensions. Therefore communicate this to her very soon." Thus addressed Usha was filled with great surprise and delight. And to her friend the Apsara Chitralekha poor Usha, with folded hands, said: "O fair lady, hear, I am communicating to you a most important subject. If you do not bring here my beloved, lotus-eyed husband having the gait of an infuriated elephant I will give up my life." Hearing it Chitralekha, gladdening Usha, slowly said:—"O you of firm vows, he, of whom you speak, is not known to me. I do not know the family, character, colour and accomplishments of that thief, nor the country where he resides. But hear, now, my friend, the words suited to the time, what I will be able to accomplish with my intelligence and how you will acquire your wished-for object. O friend, I will paint the likenesses of those who are prominent by virtue of their beauty and birth amongst the gods, Danavas, Yakshas, Uragas and Rakshasas, as well as of those who are leading and well-known in the land of men. O timid girl, within seven nights I will show you their portraits and you will recognise the portrait of your beloved husband and obtain him". Thus addressed by Chitralekha who was anxious to please her Usha asked her loving friend Chitralekha to do the same. Saying "So be it" beautiful Chitralekha too, by virtue of her imagination and clever hand, painted the likenesses of all leading men within seven nights. Thereupon spreading all the portraits painted by her she said to Usha before all her friends:—"Look here, I have painted the likenesses of all leading persons amongst the gods, Danavas, Kinnaras, Uragas, Yakshas, Rakshasas, Gandharvas, Asuras, Daityas, and of other various Naga families as also of the leading figures amongst mankind. I have painted their likenesses all exactly. Do you now find out that of your husband whom you saw in the dream." Thereupon gradually passing from one to another Usha saw that of Keshava, the Yadu king, amongst the Yadavas. Seeing Aniruddha by him her eyes grew expanded with surprise. She said to Chitralekha:—"This is the thief who, while I was sleeping on the turret of my palace, ravished me in dream, a chaste lady as I am. I can recognize him by his beauty. He is the thief. O beautiful Chitralekha, describe to me at length his name, accomplishments, character and family. We should do what is proper afterwards".

Chitralekha said:—"O you of expansive eyes, this your husband, of dreadful prowess, is the grand-son of the intelligent Krishna, the lord of the three worlds and the son of Pradyumna. There is none in the three worlds equal to him in prowess. He uproots the mountains and crushes them. Blessed and favoured you are, O friend, since Bhavani has selected such a great Yadu prince as your husband".

Usha said:—"O you of large eyes, O you of a beautiful face, you alone are capable of making us a pair. Do find out some refuge for me who am helpless. You are capable of ranging in the sky and assuming various forms. You are also clever in finding out means. Do you soon bring here my love. O friend, O fair one, think of the measure by which you will be able to accomplish this work. The learned speak highly of a friend who helps us in adversity. O you of fair waist, I am stricken with lust. Give me my life. If you do not even to-day bring soon my immortal-like husband I will forsake my life".

Hearing Usha's words Chitralekha said:—"O auspicious and sweet-smiling lady, hear what I say: O timid lady, as Vana's city is protected so the city of Dwaravati is equally invincible. That city is girt with iron walls and the Vrishni princes and inhabitants of Dwaraka protect it. Around that city constructed by the Celestial Architect Viswakarma lies a ditch full of water and at the mandate of the lotus-navelled deity great heroes protect it. There are mountain walls around the city and one is to enter there through a fort way. With seven mountains full of metals seven ditches have been made there. A stranger cannot enter that city. Therefore, save me, your self and specially your father".

Usha said:—"You will undoubtedly be able to enter there through your Yoga power. O friend, what more shall I say? Hear what I speak. If I do not behold the moon-like countenance of Aniruddha, I shall forsooth repair to the temple of Yama. O generous lady, if works like these are undertaken readily they prove a success. If you therefore wish to see me alive proceed soon on your errand. If you regard me as your friend, I seek your help and ask you with love to bring soon my lover. If one cherishes fear against her life her family meets with extinction. The woman, who is striken with love, does not see the defect of her family. Those, which conduce to her pleasure, are the favourite objects of one stricken with love. And they always carefully seek for them. Such is the sanction of the Shastras. You will surely be able to enter into Dwaraka, O you of large eyes. I request you again and again. Bring my love here.".

Chitralekha said:—"I have been propitiated by you with nectarine words. You have, with your sweet words, made arrangements for your own work. I am just going to the city of Dwaraka. Entering that city even to-day I will bring your husband Aniruddha born in the family of Vrishnis."

Giving vent to those truthful words dreadful to the Danavas, Chitralekha, fleet like the mind, disappeared therefrom. In order to please her friend she, in the third Muhurtta, reached Dwaraka governed by Krishna. She saw there Dwaraka, adorned with palaces huge as the summits of the mount Kailasha, like a star stationed in the sky.

CHAPTER 120. CHITRALEKHA UNITES ANIRUDDHA WITH USHA: ANIRUDDHA'S FIGHT WITH VANA'S SOLDIERS.

Vaishampayana said:—Having arrived at the city of Dwaraka and living near the palace of Vasudeva Chitralekha began to think of the measures by which she might know how Aniruddha had been to the city of Vana. While she was thus thinking she saw the ascetic Narada engaged in meditation in the water. Seeing him, Chitralekha, having her eyes expanded with joy, approached him. Having saluted him she stood before him hanging her head down. Having blessed Chitralekha Narada said:—"I wish to know truly why you have come here." Hearing it Chitralekha, with folded hands, said to the celestial saint Narada worshipped of the world. "Listen to it, O Reverend Sir. I have come here as a messenger for taking Aniruddha with me. Hear, O Muni, why I am to take him with me. A great Asura, by name Vana, lives in the city of Shonitapura. He has a most beautiful daughter by name Usha. She has been attached to that best of men, Pradyumna's son, for he has been selected by her as her husband on account of the boon given by the goddess. I have come here to take him with me. Do what leads to my success. O great Muni, after I had taken Aniruddha to Shonitpura communicate the news to Keshava having eyes like red lotuses for truly an encounter shall take place between Krishna and Vana. Highly powerful is the great Asura Vana in battle, so Aniruddha will not be able to defeat him. The large-armed Keshava will vanquish that thousand-armed Asura. O reverend Sir, I have come to you for finding out the means by which the lotus-eyed (Keshava) may come to know of it. How shall I steal away Aniruddha and how may Keshava learn the real truth? O Sir, if you are propitiated with me I shall not have to fear Keshava. When angered the large armed Keshava can consume even the three worlds: do that by which Keshava, stricken with sorrow for his grand-son, may not consume me with a curse. You should, O celestial saint, concert a measure by which Usha may get her husband and I may not have anything to fear." Thus addressed by Chitralekha the divine Narada said to her the following sweet words:—"I offer you protection. Shorn of fear hear what I say. O you of sweet smiles, if any encounter takes place when you steal away Aniruddha to the appartment of maidens remember me. O beautiful lady, I am much fond of seeing battles and I take great pleasure in them. Accept the Tamasa learning which can infatuate all the worlds and which I have mastered by practising hard austerities." After the great saint Narada had said this, Chitralekha, quick-coursing like mind, said "So be it." Thereupon having saluted the high-souled Rishi Narada she set out in the sky searching for Aniruddha's house.

Thereupon going to the centre of Dwaravati she saw the beautiful palace of Kama. Near it she saw Airuddha's palace. It had golden altars and pillars made of gold and sapphires. It was adorned with garlands and jairs full of water. It had beautiful figures of peacocks on the turret and had a rows of celestial buildings set with jems and corals and filled with the music of the Gandharvas. Beholding the huge palace at the centre of Dwaraka where Pradyumna's son lived happily, Chitralekha, all on a sudden, saw Aniruddha there. She saw there Kama's son playing in the midst of highly beautiful women as the moon shines amongst the stars. Hundreds of women were attending on him. Seated like Kuvera on a most excellent beautiful seat Aniruddha was drinking Madhvika wine. There were being sung sweet songs in accompaniment with time. But Aniruddha's mind was not attached thereto. Many accomplished ladies were dancing there but Chitralekha did not see him pleased thereby. At that time his mind was not much after pleasure and he was showing dislike even for drinking. Thereupon thinking "Surely his mind is busy with the dream," Chitralekhha was shorn of anxiety.

Beholding Aniruddha like Indra's standard in the midst of those beautiful women the intelligent Chitralekha thus revolved in her mind "How shall I accomplish this work? How shall we meet with well-being?" Beholding Aniruddha in the midst of the women in his palace, the illustrious Chitralekha, having beautiful eyes, thought:—"By my Tamasik illusion I will overpower all except Aniruddha". Thereupon hiding herself in the sky above the palace, she, in sweet words, said to Kama's son:—"O hero! O descendant of Yadu, is it all well with you? Have you spent well the day and evening? O large-armed son of Rati, hear, I have something to communicate to you. I have come here to inform you something of my friend Usha. O hero, I have been sent to you by Usha whom you saw in a dream and married and who has been cherishing you at her heart. O gentle one, that maiden is again and again weeping, yawning and sighing for seeing you. O hero, she will live if you go there. Forsooth, in your absence she will die. O descendant of Yadu, although thousands of women are reigning in your heart still you should hold her by the hand who cherishes you at heart. Besides while conferring on her a boon the goddess pointed to you as her becoming husband. I have given her your portrait and she has kept it on her bosom. Keeping that portrait on her person she is surviving with the hope of seeing you. O foremost of Yadus, kindly satisfy her desire. O descendant of Yadu, myself and Usha bow to you with bent heads. O hero, hear, I will describe now her birth, family, character, nature, and the history of her father. The daughter of the heroic Asura king Vana, the grand-son of Virochana who lives in the city of Shonita, seeks your hand. Her mind is devoted to you and her life depends on you. Forsooth the goddess has selected her as your becoming husband. O Kama's son, that beautiful maiden is living with the hope of being united with you."

Hearing the words of Chitralekha Aniruddha said:—"O beautiful lady, hear how I saw her in a dream. I am day and night beside myself with thinking of her beauty, weeping and other movements. O Chitralekha, I wish to see my love. Therefore if I am worthy of your favour and if you wish to make friends with me take me there." The Apsara Chitralekha delightedly said "Accomplished is today what my friend wanted."

Vaishampayana said:—Informed of Aniruddha's desire the intelligent Chitralekha said "So be it". Crossing the road frequented by Siddhas and Charanas Chitralekha, all on a sudden, entered into the city of Shonitpura. By virtue of her illusory powers the great Chitralekha, capable of assuming forms at will, invisibly arrived where Usha was, and she then brought and showed to Usha the heroic Aniruddha, beautiful like Kandarpa, clad in a beautiful raiment and adorned with various ornaments. Thereupon beholding him in the palace by her friend Usha was filled with surprise and conducted him to her room. Having her eyes expanded with joy on seeing her lover Usha, with Arghya, worshipped the Yadu prince in her own room. Thereupon welcoming Chitralekha with sweet words, the maiden, in fear, quickly said to her:—"O you clever in work, how will this work be accomplished secretly? Everything will be well if it is finished privately. If it gets wind however our life will be in danger." Hearing it Chitralekha said:—"O friend, hear what I have to say in this matter. The Providence destroys even manliness. By the favour of the goddess every thing will turn out in your favour. Besides if we carefully and secretly finish this work no body will be able to know it." Thus addressed by her friend she was consoled and said "So be it." Afterwards she said to

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Aniruddha—"By my good luck, that lucky person has been seen by me, who acted like a thief in a dream, and seeking whom as a lover, difficult to be found, I was stricken with sorrow. O hero, the heart of women is really tender and therefore I ask you 'Is everything well?'".

Hearing those sensible and sweet words of Usha, Aniruddha, the foremost of Yadus, replied in still sweeter words. Wiping the tears off the eyes of Vana's daughter he smilingly said in words attracting her mind:—"O goddess, O fair one, O you of sweet words, I give you a happy tidings. Everything is well with me every where by your favour. O fair one, I had never seen this place before. Only once in a dream I came to this city of maidens. O timid girl, the words of Rudra's consort can never be untrue, and therefore by your favour I have come to this place. Thinking that the goddess will be pleased and you will be satisfied, I have come here and sought your protection. Be you pleased". Thus addressed by her lover, Usha, adorned with beautiful ornaments, conducted him to a private room and waited there as if stricken with great fear. Thereupon united in nuptials according to Gandharva rites they spent the day like a pair of Chakravakas. United with her husband, Aniruddha, the beautiful Usha, adorned with celestial garlands and unguents, attained to an excess of joy. Although she lived happily with Aniruddha nobody could know it. But a few days after Vana's guards came to know that Usha was living with Aniruddha the foremost of Yadus adorned with celestial garlands and raiments and pasted with celestial unguents. Afterwards they speedily communicated to Vana the conduct of his daughter which they had seen.

Hearing it the heroic son of Bali, Vana, the slayer of his enemies, ordered his servant soldiers to kill Aniruddha. He said:—"Do you all soon proceed and kill that sinful, wicked wretch who has sullied the character of our family. Alas, Usha being ravished our great family has been contaminated. Alas, what is the strength, patience and pride of that stupid person who has entered into my city and palace and has ravished my daughter by force though I did not give her away." Saying this Vana again urged on his soldiers. They issued out, obeying his command and putting on their coats of mail. In great anger those highly dreadful and powerful Danavas, taking up various weapons, came speedily where Aniruddha was in order to kill him.

Hearing the uproar of that approaching army the heroic son of Pradyumna said "What is this?" and rose up all on a sudden. Thereupon he saw that the soldiers, taking up various weapons, stood encircling that big house. Beholding that army, the illustrious daughter of Vana began to weep fearing the death of Aniruddha. Her eves were filled with tears. Then beholding the deer-eyed Usha cry piteously "Oh my husband! Oh my husband!" and tremble. Aniruddha said:—"May your fear disappear. O you of a beautiful waist, you need not fear as long as I am here. O illustrious lady, you have not the least ground for fear. Rather the time of your joy has arrived. If the entire collection of Vana's servants arrives here I am not the least anxious. Witness my power to-day, O timid girl". Hearing the uproar of the soldiers Pradyumna's son rose up all on a sudden and said "What is this?" Thereupon he saw the soldiers encircling with various weapons all sides of that big palace. Saying this and taking up his arms Aniruddha, biting his lips in anger, speedily went where the soldiers were. Thereupon understanding that an encounter would soon take place with the followers of Vana Chitralekha thought of the god-like Rishi Narada. Recollected by Chitralekha that foremost of Munis, within a moment, arrived at the city named Shonita. Stationed in the sky he said to Aniruddha:—"Do not fear, O hero, I have come to this city". Thereupon beholding Narada and saluting him the highly powerful Aniruddha grew delighted and made himself ready for the battle. Thereupon hearing the uproar of the soldiers he, all on a sudden, rose up like an elephant goaded with a pike. Beholding that large-armed hero come down from the palace biting his lips they fled away stricken with fear. Seeing it Pradyumna's son, expert in various forms of war-fare, took up a Parigha, lying at the door of the inner appartment and hurled it at them. Those soldiers, masters of fighting, struck Aniruddha with a downpour of clubs, maces, swords, darts and arrows. Although completely wounded with Narachas and Parighas by those expert Danavas Pradyumna, roaring like an evening cloud, was not over-powered. As the sun ranges in the midst of clouds in the sky, so he, taking up a dreadful Parigha, stood in their midst. Seeing it Narada, carrying a staff and a black antelope skin, delightedly said to Aniruddha "Well-done! Well-done!" Thus assailed with the dreadful Parigha by Pradyumna of incomparable power, the soldiers fled away like clouds dispersed by the wind. Having driven with Parigha the Danavas from the battle-field the highly powerful hero Aniruddha delightedly set up a leonine shout as the clouds mutter in the sky after the termination of the rainy season. Saying to the Danavas, dreadful in battle "Wait, wait"! Pradyumna's son, the slayer of his enemies, began to smile. Thus assailed by that high-souled hero in battle they, flying from the battle-field and stricken with fear, went where Vana was. And even going near Vana, those Danavas, bathed in blood and having their eyes dilated with fear, could not enjoy peace. They began to sigh heavily again and again; they were urged on by Vana saying "No fear! No fear! O ye leading Danavas, casting off fear, do ye fight again." Vana again said to them who had their eyes dilated with fear:— "Throwing off your glory well known in three worlds, why are you bewildered like eunuchs? Who is he, of whom you are so much afraid, you who are born in well known families and who are clever in fighting? You need not help me to today. Avaunt, quit my sight". Censuring them thus with very many harsh words the powerful Vana ordered millions of other soldiers to proceed to the battle-field. He then appointed Rudar's army consisting of many Pramathas with various weapons in vanquishing Aniruddha. Thereupon the entire firmament was covered with Vana's soldiers having burning eyes and resembling clouds surcharged with lightning. Some of them stood on the surface of the earth roaring like elephants and some appeared like clouds of the rainy season. Thereupon when that huge army again assembled there were heard on all sides cries of "Wait! Wait!". The hero Aniruddha ran towards them. It was really a wonder, O king, that he fought then single-handed with many. Engaged in the encounter with the highly powerful Danavas he snatched away their Parighas and Tomaras and killed them with them. Taking up his most excellent Parigha again and again in the battle-field the highly powerful Aniruddha killed the Daityas endued with great power. At that time Kama's son, the slayer of his enemies, taking up his Nistringsha and leathern protector, was seen moving about in twelve ways. Thus when he moved about in the battle-field in a thousand different ways the enemies saw him as the playing Death with thousands of mouth wide open.

Thereupon again assailed by Aniruddha the Asuras, bathed in blood, again fled away from the battle-field and went where Vana was. Crying plaintively those highly powerful Asuras fled away on all sides riding elephants, horses and cars. At that time the Danavas, who had fled from the battle-field, were so much overwhelmed with sorrow and fear that one fell upon the other and they all vomitted blood. While fighting with Aniruddha the Danavas experienced such a fear as they had not even while fighting with the gods in the days of yore. Some vomitted blood and some fell down on earth amongst those Danavas, resembling mountain summits who had clubs, maces and swords in their hands. Leaving behind Vana in the battle-field those vanquished Danavas fled away in fear to the welkin. Beholding his army thus routed to a man Vana was inflamed with ire like unto sacrificial fire when fuels are put to it. Ranging all over the welkin, Narada, pleased with seeing Aniruddha's fight, began to dance exclaiming "Well-done! Well-done!"

In the meantime, powerful Vana, worked up with anger, ascending the car, brought by Kumbhanda, drove with uplifting sword where Aniruddha was. As Sakra shines with his thousand standards so that Asura appeared beautiful there holding by his thousand hands Pattiças, swords, clubs, darts and axes. Having his thousand hands adorned with gloves, finger-protectors and various weapons that best of Danavas shone there in exceeding beauty. Sending up a leonine shout in anger that Asura, having eyes reddened in anger, drew his huge bow and exclaimed "Wait! Wait!" Hearing those words of Vana in the battle-field that unconquerable son of Pradyumna saw his face and smiled. Like unto Hiranyakashipu's car formerly in the battle between gods and Asuras the chariot of the highly powerful Vana was drawn by thousand horses, set with hundreds of small bells, adorned with red standards and flags, coated with bear-skin and was ten furlongs in length. Beholding that Asura about to attack him, Aniruddha, the foremost of Yadus, was highly pleased and filled with anger. Like unto Narahari prepared to kill the prince of Daityas in the days of yore he stood impassionately for battle with his sword and armour on. Vana then saw him approach with sword and leathern-protector. Beholding him thus approach on foot with dagger and leathern protector Vana attained to an excess of joy thinking that he would kill him. That Yadava had a sword in his hand, but no coat of mail. Still thinking Aniruddha invincible the powerful Vana confronted him for battle. He exclaimed in anger "Arrest him! Kill him!" While he thus cried in the battle-field Pradyumna's son looked, in anger, at his face and laughed. At that time stricken with fear Usha began to weep. Aniruddha, consoling her with a smile, stood for the battle.

Thereupon filled with anger, Vana, desirous of killing Aniruddha, discharged in numerable arrows by name Khshudraka. Aniruddha too, desirous of defeating him, cut them off. Thereupon desiring that he would kill Aniruddha in the battle-field Vana aimed at his head many Kshudraka arrows. Aniruddha too baffled them with his leathern-protector and appeared before him like the rising sun. Afterwards Vana, with a thousand quick coursing and sharpened arrows, pierced the invincible son of Pradyumna to the quick. As in the forest a lion over powers an elephant on seeing it before him so the Yadu prince Aniruddha overpowered Vana. There upon thus wounded with those arrows the larged-armed Aniruddha was inflamed with anger for displaying a wonderful feat. Assailed with that downpour of arrows and having his body covered with blood he went before Vana's car. The soldiers then assailed Pradyumna's son with sharpened swords, maces, darts, Pattiças and Tomaras. And although sorely wounded he did not tremble. Then leaping up in anger in that battle-field he, with his dagger, cut off the reins of Vana's car and struck the horses. Seeing it Vana, an expert in fighting, threw him down from there with a shower of arrows, Pattiças and Tomaras. Then desisting from the fight, the Danavas, regarding Aniruddha dead, sent up a leonine shout and jumped up on the car. Thereupon Vana, irate, took up the dreadful and grim-looking Sakti, effulgent like the sun and burning fire-brand and set with bells and discharged it not carrying for Usha's widowhood. Beholding that life-ending Sakti about to fall on him the highly powerful Kama's son, foremost of men, leaped up, took hold of the Sakti and pierced Vana with that. Cutting through his body it entered into the earth. Wounded sorely thereby Vana supported himself on a standard. Thereupon seeing him unconscious Kumbhanda said. "O king of Danavas, why do you disregard this rising enemy? We see this hero has gained his aim and is impassionate. Resorting to your illusory prowess, fight with him or else he will not be slain. Do not disregard such an enemy out of indulgence. Save yourself and us by virtue of your illusory power. If you cannot defeat him by your illusory power forsooth he will kill all the Asuras. Kill him, O hero, before he destroys us all. Killing hundreds of others he will carry away Usha".

Excited at these words of Kumbhanda, the king of Danavas, the foremost of speakers, filled with great anger, gave vent to the following harsh words:—"I will kill him in this battle. I will catch him as Garuda catches a serpent". Saying this the powerful Vana, with his chariot standard and horses resembling the city of Gandharvas, disappeared therefrom showering sharpened arrows and covering him with them. Seeing Vana invisible the unconquerable son of Pradyumna, endued with manliness, cast his looks on the ten quarters. Thereupon resorting to his Tamasik learning and covered with illusory form that highly powerful Danava, filled with anger, began to discharge sharpened arrows. Gradually Pradyumna's son was fettered with serpentine shafts. His body was chained with various serpents. Thus, with all his limbs bound with serpents Pradyumna's son stood inert like the mount Mainaka in the battle. Although motionless like a mountain encircled by serpents of burning fangs he was not stricken with fear. And although completely fettered with serpentine shafts and rendered inactive and motionless, that one, identical with all, did not experience the least pain.

Thereupon supporting himself on a standard Vana, filled with anger, remonstrated with Aniruddha in harsh words and said:—"O Kumbhanda, kill soon this sinful wretch of his family having a vitiated soul who has sullied our character in the world". Thus addressed Kumbhanda said— "O king, I wish to speak a few words. Hear them if you wish. Whose son is this hero endued with the prowess of Indra? Learn first from where he has come and who has brought him here. O king, when he fought in the great battle, I marked him fighting like a celestial prince. He is powerful, endued with energy and a master of weapons. O foremost of Daityas, he does not deserve to be slain. He has espoused your daughter in Gandharva marriage. You can take her from him because you did not give her away. You should kill him after thinking over this. Knowing this, either kill him or adore him. I see a great mistake in killing him and a great virtue in protecting him. He is one of the best of men and every way deserves honour. His body is fettered with serpents and still he does not feel pain. He has a good birth, valour, energy and accomplishments. Behold, O king, this best of men, endued with great prowess. This powerful hero, although chained, does not care for us all. Had he not been fettered by virtue of your illusory power forsooth he would have fought with all the Asuras. He knows all forms of warfare and is more powerful than you. His person is fettered with serpents and covered with blood; still frowning with his forehead stricken with three marks he is as if aiming at us all. Reduced to such a plight and yet dependant on the strength of his own arms he does not care for any thing, O king. Who is this young man? Although gifted with two hands he still stands for an encounter with you having a thousand hands and does not think of your prowess. Who is he endued with such a prowess? Besides, O king, while your daughter is attached to him you will not be able to give her away to another person. On the other hand, the hero has been known as one of great prowess. O foremost of Asuras, if this desirable person is born in the family of a great man he is worthy of receiving adoration from you. I request you, save him." Thus addressed by the high-souled Kumbhadha, Vana, the slayer of his enemies said "So be it." Thereupon handing over Aniruddha to the guards the intelligent and illustrious son of Bali repaired to his own palace. Seeing the highly powerful Aniruddha fettered through illusory power Narada, the foremost of Rishis, set out for the city of Dwaravati. Having arrived at Dwaravati through the etherial way that best of Munis communicated to Keshava, the rider of Garuda, about the imprisonment of Aniruddha. When that foremost of Rishis Narada set out for

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Dwaraka Aniruddha thought: "This cruel Danava will forsooth be slain in battle, for Narada will speak many things truly to Keshava the holder of conch-shell, discus and club." At that time while Usha, having her eyes full of tears on seeing her husband bound with serpents, cried he said to her:—"O timid girl, why do you weep thus? Do not fear, O you having fair eyes; you will soon see the slayer of Madhu arrive here for me. Hearing the sound of his conch shell and of the striking of his arms the Danavas will be destroyed and the Asura women will abort." Thus addressed by Aniruddha the youthful Usha was consoled and began to bewail for her ruthless father.

CHAPTER 121. THE GODDESS CONSOLES ANIRUDDHA.

Vaishampayana said:—While the heroic Aniruddha was imprisoned in the city of Shonita along with Usha by Bali's son king Vana, he, seeking refuge with goddess Koumari for his own safety, sang a hymn in her praise. Having saluted the endless, undecaying, eternal prime deity the Lord Narayana, I chant the glories of Chandi, the worshipful goddess Katyayani, worshipped of all the gods and worlds and adored by the gods, Rishis and Rakshasas, reciting the names sung by Hari.

Aniruddha said:—For my well being I bow unto the sister of Mahendra and Vishnu. Being cleansed and with my mind purified I chant her glories with folded hands I bow unto thee who dost confer honours, do thou release me from my bonds and give me life and health.

Thus adored the great goddess Durga went where Aniruddha was kept in chains. The goddess, fond of her votaries, released Aniruddha who was imprisoned in the City of Vana. She appeared before the irrepressible hero Aniruddha and consoled him. The powerful hero then saluted her. Thereupon the goddess with her fingers cut off the strong noose of serpents and then consoling Aniruddha said:—"O Aniruddha, wait here for a few days more. The holder of discus and the slayer of the Daityas will cut off the thousand arms of Vana, release you from your fetters and take you to his own city".

CHAPTER 122. ANXIETY OF THE YADAVAS FOR ANIRUDDHA.

Vaishampayana said:—When Ariruddha was taken away as captive, his beloved wives and their companions cried there in his absence, like so many ewes. "Alas! even under the protection of the Lord Krishna, we are weeping helplessly stricken with fear and grief. He, under the shade of whose arms, Adityas, Maruts and the gods headed by Indra, are living without any anxiety in the celestial region, has been visited by such a great calamity in this world. Alas! who has stolen away his heroic grandson Aniruddha. Alas, that wicked-minded one, who has excited this unbearable fire of Vasudeva's anger, has indeed no fear in this world. He is standing before the teeth of Death with his mouth wide open. Indeed such an enemy can stand before Vasudeva in battle. Committing such an ill turn by the Yadu king Keshava can even Sachi's lord escape with his life? Alas, our husband has been stolen away today or our lord has forsaken us and made us objects of pity. Oh I on account of the separation of our lord, we have been brought under control by death".

Exclaiming thus those beautiful women continually wept and shed profuse tears. Their eyes, full of tears, imitated the beauty of lotuses immersed in water in the rainy season. Their eyes appeared to have been bathed in blood. The cries of those women in the palace set up a noise like that of thousands of female ospreys crying in the sky.

Hearing that unheard, of lamentation caused by fear the Yadu chiefs all on sudden leaped down from their respective houses. As the lions, when assailed, come out of their caves, so the Yadavas, coming out, said, their voice being choked with affection—"Krishna protects us all completely. Whence is then this fear? Why is such a noise heard in Aniruddha's house? " Thereupon the huge bugle of Krishna's court was brought and sounded; and at that sound all the Yadavas assembled there. They asked one another "What is the matter?" And they answered one another as they had heard. Hearing it the eyes, reddened in anger, of the Yadavas dreadful in battle, were filled with tears; and they sighed there idly. Then beholding even Krishna the foremost of strikers sigh again and again and others sit silently Viprithu said:— "O Krishna, you are the foremost of men; why are you then possessed by anxiety? The Yadavas, living under the protection of your arms, are ranging freely at large. Leaving the charge of success and defeat to you even the powerful Sakra is sleeping happily. See your kinsmen are sunk in unfathomable ocean of grief. O large-armed hero, save them. What is the cause of your anxiety? O Madhava, why do you not speak any thing? You should not indulge in such idle thoughts." Thus addressed Vasudeva, a clever speaker like Vrihaspati himself, sighed again and again for some time and then said:—"O Viprathu, I was anxiously thinking about this. Even thinking I have not been able to settle anything. Therefore I could not give you any reply although you asked me. Hear, O Yadavas, I will describe to you in truth, why I have been filled with anxiety. On account of the captivity of the heroic Aniruddha all the kings of the earth and my friends will consider me incapable. Formerly our king Ahuka was taken captive by Shalwa—but we brought him back after a dreadful fight. Rukshmini's son Pradyumna was stolen away by Shamvara in his infancy. But he, having slain him in battle, has come back. But where has Aniruddha been exiled? O ye foremost of men, I do not recollect I had before experienced such sorrow and mental agony. I will in battle kill him with his own people who has put on my head this foot covered with ashes." After Krishna had said this Satyaki observed:—"O Krishna, despatch spies all over for finding out Aniruddha. Let them search the earth with mountains and forests. Let open and secret emissaries be engaged in this work".

Vaishampayana said:—Hearing the word of Keshava king Ahuka speedily ordered the messengers for finding out Aniruddha. Ordering them "Search out all the countries lying on and under the earth" the high-souled king Ahuka gave them sufficient horses and cars. (He said):—"Do you soon go on horse back and search the mountains Rikshavan and Raivataka covered with trees and creepers. Enter without any hesitation into the gardens and forests there and search every creek and corner. Riding on horses and elephants do you soon find out Aniruddha the enhancer of the joy of the Yadavas".

Thereupon the Commander-in-chief Anadhristhi said to the eternal Krishna of unwearied actions:—"O lord Krishna, from long I have been cherishing a desire of communicating something to thee. Hear, if thou dost like, I will communicate it at present. Asiloma, Puloma, Nisunda, Naraka, Soubha, Shalwa, Mainda, and Dwivida have all been slain by thee. When a highly dreadful encounter took place on account of the gods thou didst kill Hayagriva with all his kinsmen. O Govinda, in every battle thou didst accomplish all these works completely. No one even acted as thy charioteer. O Krishna, while carrying away Parijata thou didst perform a great and arduous feat with Anuvandha, O Madhava; in that battle thou didst alone, by the strength of thy own arms, vanquish Vasava, expert in fighting, seated on his elephant Airavata. On account of that encounter a great hostility has been created between you both. Methinks Maghavan himself has taken away Aniruddha; who else but him can satisfy his enmity on thee?"

After the highly powerful Anadhristhi had said this Krishna, sighing like a serpent, said:—"Do not say so, O sir; the gods are not mean, ungrateful, womanish and stupid. I work hard on behalf of the gods for destroying the Danavas. To please them I have killed the proud Asuras in battle. The gods are my support, my mind is devoted to them, and I am their devoted votary. Therefore knowing me, how can they injure me? You say so out of your own meanness—they are not mean. They are truthful and compassionate unto their votaries. I fear no danger from them. I tell you for certain, this is not the work of Mahendra or any other gods. Aniruddha must have been taken away by some harlot".

Vaishampayana said:—Hearing those words of anxious Krishna of wonderful deeds, Akrura, capable of understanding the true meaning of words, said in sweet words:—"O Lord, Indra's work is identical with ours and ours is the same as that of Sachi's lord. We are for the gods and they should be protected by us. We are born as men for the gods". Thus excited by Akrura's words Krishna, the slayer of Madhu, said in sweet and grave words:—"Pradyumna has not been taken away by any amongst the Devatas, Gandharvas, Yakshasas or Rakshasas. That highly illustrious hero must have been tempted away by some courtezan. The women of the Daityas and Danavas are by nature loose and tempting. Forsooth Pradyumna must have been taken away by them. We need entertain fear from no other quarter".

Vaishampayana said:—After the high-souled Krishna had said this the Yadavas understood as the matter really was and they all highly applauded him. The bards, panegyrists, poets and songsters began to sing delightedly songs of praise in Madhava's house. In the meantime, the messengers, who had been despatched to find out Aniruddha, returned at the gate of the Durbar Hall and slowly and sorrowfully said. "O king, all the gardens mountains, forests, caves, rivers, and tanks, we have searched hundreds of times, but we saw Aniruddha nowhere." O king Janamejaya, other messengers sent by Krishna returned and said:—"We have searched everywhere, but Pradyumna has not been seen. O Yadu chief, order hereafter what we should do about searching for Aniruddha". Hearing those words the Yadavas were all dejected at heart and their eyes were filled with tears. They spoke amongst one another, "What should we do now?" Amongst them many had their eyes filled with tears, some bit their lips, and some frowned and all thought how they could accomplish their object. Thus thinking they gave vent to various words. They were stricken with great anxiety and thought where Aniruddha could have been. The Yadavas, filled with anger, looked upon one another, and with great anxiety spent the night some how thinking where Aniruddha could have been taken away. While they thus conversed the night passed away. At that time, the men, appointed for the purpose, aroused Krishna with the sound of bugles and conch-shells in his palace.

Thereupon in the clear morning when the sun rose the Rishi Narada, alone, smilingly entered the Darbar Hall. Seeing Krishna there along with all the Yadavas he applauded Madhava exclaiming his victory and honoured Ugrasena and others. Though the highly powerful Krishna, invincible in battle, was absent-minded still he rose up and received Narada dedicating to him Madhuparka and cows. Afterwards seated on a white seat covered with a costly cover the celestial saint gave vent to the following pregnant words. Narada said:—"Why are you all, like eunuchs, possessed by anxiety, silent, dispirited and discouraged?" After the high-souled Narada had said this Vasudeva replied:—"O reverend sir, O Brahman, Aniruddha has been stolen away by somebody in the night. We are all anxious for him. Tell us, O Muni of firm vows, if you have heard or seen anything about him. O sinless one, by this you will do me a good work." Thus addressed by the high-souled Keshava he smilingly replied:—"Hear, O Madhusudana, Vana, of incomparable energy has a daughter by name Usha. For her, the Apsara Chitralekha has taken away Kama's son; for this, a great encounter, like that, between the gods and Asuras, has ensued between Vana and Aniruddha. Vanquished in battle, Vana, resorting in fear to his illusory powers, has fettered the highly powerful Aniruddha with serpentine shafts. O Garudadhwaja, Vana ordered for his death, but his minister Kumbhanda has prevented him from doing so. When the prince Aniruddha engaged in a conflict with Vana the latter bound him with serpentine shafts by resorting only to his illusory power. Aniruddha is not still deprived of life; that hero is waiting patiently. Therefore O Krishna, those, who long for victories, should not now try to keep their own lives. Rise up soon and you will acquire success and fame".

Vaishampayana said:—Thus addressed the powerful and energetic Vasudeva made all arrangements for marching. When the large-armed Janarddana was about to start the citizens, from all sides, showered on him sandal powder and fried paddy.

Narada said:—O large-armed Krishna, thou shouldst now think of Garuda, for save him no one will be able to wend that way. Hear, how very difficult passage is that, Janarddana. Shonitpura, where Aniruddha is now residing, is eleven thousand yojanas distant from this place. The highly powerful son of Vinata is fleet like the mind; he will point out Vana within a moment. O Govinda, therefore send for him; he will take you there.

Vaishampayana said:—Hearing the words of Narada Govinda thought of Garuda in his mind: and he too, with folded hands, arrived before Krishna. Having bowed unto the high-souled son of Devaki the great son of Vinata said in sweet words:—"O large-armed and lotus-navelled lord, why hast thou thought of me? I wish to know what thou dost want me to do. O lord, on whose city am I to tread and destroy it. Govinda, by thy favour who does not know my strength? O hero, O thou of large arms, who does not know the force of thy club and the fire of thy discus? What stupid man, out of pride, is desirous of meeting with his own destruction? On whose neck will Baladeva, adorned with a garland of wild flowers, set his lion-faced plough-share? O lord, will whose body, consumed, be mixed with earth to-day? O Madhava, whose mind will be agitated to-day with the blare of thy conch-shell? Who will with his family repair to the city of Yama?"

After the intelligent son of Vinata had said this Vasudeva replied:—"Hear, O foremost of birds. Unconquerable Aniruddha has been, for Usha, captivated by Vana in the city of Shonita. O king of birds, lustful Aniruddha has been fettered with poisonous serpents. I have invited you for releasing him. O you of great power, no body else can wend that way. Do you therefore speedily take me where Aniruddha is. O hero, your daughter-in-law Vaidarbhi, fond of her son, is continually weeping. May that lady, by your favour, be united with her son. O hero, O you of great arms, O slayer of snakes, formerly united with me you stole away ambrosia. You are my carrier and all the Vrishnis are your votaries. Preserve the request of love and devotion to-day. By my good works I swear, there is none amongst the birds who can fly so quickly as you. Killing the warriors with the flapping of your wings you, alone formerly released your mother from slavery. Placing the gods on your back you, with force, range many impassable countries. And by your help they acquire victories. In heaviness you are like the mount Meru and in lightness you are like air. There had been none before powerful like you, there is none at present and there will be none in future. O great, highly effulgent and truthful son of Vinata, now help us for a moment for Aniruddha".

Garuda said:—"O large-armed Krishna, wonderful is thy word. O Keshava, all my victories are owing to thy favour. O slayer of Madhu, I am honoured and blessed with thy praising me thus. O large-armed Krishna, thine glories are chantod and thou hast still sung mine. Thou art the lord of the Vedas, the master of the gods, the giver of all desires, of a surely fruitful look and the giver of boons unto those who seek for

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them. Thou art of four arms and four forms: thou art the ordainer of fourfold fires, of the four Asramas and four Varnas and a great poet. O lord, thou dost hold a bow, a discus and a conch-shell. In thy previous bodies thou wert known as the upholder of the earth; thou dost hold ploughshare, mace and discus, art the son of Devaki, the grinder of Chanura, fond of cows, the slayer of Keshi, the upholder of the mount Govardhana, the great wrestler, their origin and support and fond of them; thou art the great Purusha; thou art fond of Brahmanas, ever engaged in their well being and their supporter. Thou art known as Brahman, as Damodara, as the slayer of Pralamva, Keshi and other Danavas. O lord, thou art the destroyer of Asiloma, Vali and Ravana and the giver of kingdom unto Bibhishana and Sugriva. Thou didst take Vali's kingdom, and all the jewels and art the great jem born at the bed of the ocean. All the rivers emanate from thee in the shape of Meru. Thou art the lord Varuna—the holder of dagger and a great bowman and archer. Thou art known by the name of Dasharha, and Govinda. Thou art a great bowman and fond of bows. Thou art sky, darkness, the churning of the ocean, the heaven of many fruits and the great upholder of the celestial region. O lord, thou art the great cloud, the seed of the three worlds, anger, avarice and desire. Thou art the great bowman, Kama, the great cycle, revolution and dissolution. Thou art Hiranyagarbha, cognizant of forms and endued with them, the slayer of Madhu, the Creator, the great god and art endowed with innumerable qualities. O foremost of Yadus, although thy glories should be chanted, still thou art willing to sing mine. The dreadful creatures, who are seen by thee with thy eyes, are killed by Yama's rod and constrained to go to the hell. O Madhava, the creatures, on whom thou dost cast your favourable and loving looks, enjoy happiness both in this world and in the next. O thou of large arms, I am now at thy disposal." Thereupon showing signs of departure Garuda said to Keshava:—"O highly powerful hero, I wait here, do thou sit on my back" Thereupon embracing Garuda by the neck Madhava said:—"O friend, accept this arghya for slaying the enemy." Afterwards having offered arghya to Suparna, the large-armed Purusothama, the holder of conch-shell, discus and club, sat on his back. Thereupon Krishna, with delight, sat on Garuda's back. He was adorned with most excellent bracelets, had black hairs, was dark-hued and victorious; had four rows of teeth and four arms. He was the master of the four Vedas with their auxilliaries, had the mystic mark of Srivatsa on his breast, lotus-like eyes, stirring hairs, soft skin, equal fingers, equal nails, red fingers, red nails, and red eyes. His voice was sweet and grave and he had large arms extending to knees and a copper-coloured countenance. His gait was like that of a lion and he was effulgent like a thousand suns. Having issued orders for guarding the city of Dwaraka the highly powerful Vasudeva made himself ready for starting. He is the lord and protector of creatures and is identical with them. The Lord Prajapati, with pleasure conferred on him eight-fold spiritual powers. He is eternal and his pure glories are sung by Prajapati, Saddhyas, gods, bards and panegyrits and the great Rishis, masters of the Vedas and their auxilliaries. After Krishna had sat on Garuda's back Halayudha and Pradyumna, the grinder of enemies, sat behind him. At that time the Siddhas, Charanas and the great Rishis said to Keshava in the sky:—"O thou of large arms, do thou vanquish Vana with all his followers. No one will be able to stand before thee in the great battle. Lakshmi, the goddess of prosperity, depends on thy pleasure and sure victory depends on thy strength. Thou wilt defeat in battle thy enemy the Daitya king with all his soldiers." Keshava marched on hearing all those words.

CHAPTER 123. KRISHNA GOES TO SONITPURA AND FIGHTS WITH RUDRA'S FOLLOWERS ON THE WAY.

Vaishampayana said:—At that time with the sound of conch-shells and bugles, the songs of bards and panegyrists by thousands and blessings of men exclaiming victory Janarddana appeared like the moon, sun and Sakra. O king, when Vinata's son flew up into the sky his, beauty, increased by Hari's energy, became immense. Desirous of killing Vana the lotus-eyed Keshava assumed a form having eight arms and resembling a mountain. At that time Janarddana, the holder of Shranga-bow, assumed innumerable heads. In his four right hands he had sword, discus, club and arrows and by his left four hands he held the leathern protector, the Sranga-bow, the thunder-bolt and conch-shell. Seated on Garudha's back, Sanghkarshana, holding a thousand forms and white weapons, irrepressible unto all creatures like the mount Kailasha with its summit, shone like the rising moon. With a view to display his prowess in battle the high-souled Pradyumna assumed a form like that of Sanatkumar. Thereupon shaking innumerable mountains and obstructing the course of the wind with the forcible flapping of his wings the powerful Vinata's son went on. Endued with the speed of the mind he crossed the most sacred route of the Siddhas and Charanas. At that time Rama said to Krishna, incomparable in battle:—"O Krishna, what wonder is this that we have all on a sudden been shorn of our effulgence? We have all a golden hue. What is the cause? Have we come to the side of the mount Sumeru?" The Lord said:—"Methinks, O slayer of thy enemies, Vana's city is near at hand. To protect him, the fire, stationed in his city, is coming out blazing. O holder of plough-share, we have been possessed by the effulgence of the fire of oblation: this has changed our colour." Rama replied:—"If by approaching the city of Vana we have been shorn of the lustre of our body, do what you think proper afterwards". The Lord said:—"O Vinata's son, do what you think proper. After you have found out a means I shall do what I think proper".

Vaishampayana continued:—Hearing those words spoken by Vasudeva the highly powerful Garuda, capable of assuming forms at will, assumed a thousand mouths. Afterwards the highly powerful son of Vinata leaped up and went to the etherial Ganga. Then drinking profuse water, he began to shower it on the fire. The intelligent son of Vinata having concerted this measure the fire was at once extinguished. Then seeing that fire extinguished with the water of the etherial Ganga, Suparna, filled with surprise, said:—"Oh! How powerful is this fire like that at the end of a cycle. It disfigured the colour of even the intelligent Krishna." After extinguishing the fire the king of birds, Garuda, went on making a great sound with the flapping of his powerful wings. Seeing them the fires, the followers of Rudra, thought:—"Who are these three dreadful men of many forms who are riding Garuda? Why have they come here?" Those fires of the mountain thought in this way for some, but could not settle anything. They then began to fight with the three Yadus. A great noise arose when they engaged in fighting.

Hearing their great uproar like that of roaring lions the intelligent Chief of the Fires Angira sent a man to the scene of the action saying "Soon proceed where the battle is raging." Another Asura, fleet like the mind, was quickly despatched by Vana saying "Go and see what is the matter." Saying "So be it" the man at once started and saw the fires fighting with Vasudeva. He saw that the five principal fire-gods, Kalmasha, Kusuma, Dahana, Shoshana and the highly powerful Tapana well known in the offering of Swaha and other minor fire-gods were all fighting with their respective armies. Pithara, Pataga, Swarna, Agadha and Vraja, these five presiding gods of Swadha were also fighting; the two highly effulgent fire-gods, in charge of Jyotisthoma and Vasatkara, were also fighting. Ascending a fiery car the great saint Angira, uplifting his effulgent mace, was shining in that battle-field, in the midst of fire-gods. Then beholding Angira discharge his sharpened arrows, Krishna, filled with anger, smiled again and again and said:—"O ye fire-gods, wait patiently a few moments. The time of your destruction is drawing near. Within a moment, consumed by the energy of my weapons, you shall have to fly away on all sides." Thereupon in that great battle, as if to take Krishna's life Angira ran with a burning Trishula in his hand. Then cutting off his mace with crescent-shaped and sharpened arrows the intelligent Krishna, effulgent like Yama, the destroyer of all creatures, struck Angira on the breast with a death-like-arrow. Thereat Angira fell down bathed in blood and with his body mangled. Seeing it the four fire-gods, the sons of Brahma along with others speedily fled away to Vana's city.

Thereupon seeing Vana's city from a distance Narada said "Behold, O large-armed Krishna, there is the city of Shonita. For protecting Vana and for his well-being Kartikeya and the highly effulgent Rudra with his consort always live there." Hearing the words of Narada, Krishna smilingly said:—"Hear and understand what I say O great Muni. If Rudra himself comes to the battle-field for protecting Vana we will also fight with him to our best." While Krishna and Narada were thus conversing the quick-coursing Garuda at once took them to the city of Vana. Then the lotus-eyed and cloud-like Keshava blew his moon-like conch-shell. Blowing that conch and creating terror in Vana of wonderful deeds the powerful Madhava entered into his city. Seeing them thus enter Vana's soldiers got themselves ready for action sounding bugles and conch shells. Millions of paid soldiers, holding effulgent weapons, marched out to the battle-field. Those innumerable soldiers, of incomparable prowess, united, looked like huge black clouds.

Afterwards the Daityas, Danavas and the leading Pramathas, with various burning weapons, began to fight with the eternal Krishna. When Krishna, Sangkarshana, Pradyumna and Garuda began to fight Yakshas, Rakshasas and Pannagas, irrepressible like burning fire, came from all sides, with their mouths wide open, to the battle-field for drinking blood. Beholding Vana's army the highly powerful Balabhadra said to Krishna, the slayer of hostile armies:—"O large-armed Krishna, do that by which these soldiers may be completely terror-stricken." Thus addressed by the intelligent Balabhadra Purusottama Krishna, the foremost of the masters of weapons, took up fiery weapons dreadful like Death. Grinding the Asuras and birds of prey with those weapons Janarddana speedily went where the soldiers were seen. Standing on the ground in numberless detachments that Asura army, consisting mainly of Pramathas, holding darts, Pattiças, Saktis, Rishthis, Pinakas and Parighas, and having many dreadful beasts of burdens huge like mountains and clouds, appeared like clouds scattered by the wind. And many bow-men increased the beauty of that show. Running hither and thither with maces, darts, swords, clubs and Parighas that innumerable Asura host increased the beauty of the battle-field. Thereupon the beautiful Sangkarshana, seated on Garuda's back, said to Krishna, the slayer of Madhu:—"O large-armed Krishna, O Purusottama, I wish to fight with this Asura host." Hearing it Krishna said: "I too feel the same inclination. I wish to fight in the battle-field with these leading warriors. When I will fight with my face towards the west Suparna will stand before me. Pradyumna will stand on my left side and you will stand on my right. In this dreadful fight we will all protect one another."

CHAPTER 124. KRISHNA'S BATTLE WITH JVARA (FEVER).

Vaishampayana said:—Thus conversing with one another they, holding mace, club and ploughshare respectively huge like mountain summits, rode Garuda the foremost of birds. Thereupon, O Janamejaya, when Rohini's son engaged in the battle his form grew dreadful like Kala, as if desirous of consuming all, at the end of a cycle. Ranging in the battle-field the highly powerful Baladeva, expert in fighting, drew the enemies with his plough-share and grinded them with his mace. The highly powerful Pradyumna, the foremost of men, thwarted the fighting Danavas with his arrows. Blowing his conch-shell Janarddana, the holder of conch-shell, discus and club, resembling a mass of collyrium, fought in many ways. Having struck the Daityas with his wings and mutilated them with his nails and beak the intelligent son of Vinata despatched them to the abode of Yama. Thus assailed with a downpour of arrows and overpowered by those four heroes the dreadful army of the Asuras fled away from the battle-field. Beholding his army thus routed and with a view to protect them Rudra's follower, Jvara, came walking to the battle-field sighing again and again like a maniac. He had three legs, three heads, six arms, nine faces and a consuming weapon and was like Yama himself. He roared like thousands of muttering clouds, sighed and yawned repeatedly, was dozing, had his hairs erect and eyes filthy. Having made his face more terrible with his eyes he, in anger, said to the holder of plough-share:— "Why are you elated with the pride of your strength? Do you not see that I have come to the battle-field? Wait a few moments. While you have come before me in the battle-field you will not return with your life." Saying this, smiling and showing his fist dreadful like the fire of dissolution Jvara ran towards Halayudha. Rohini's son however began to move about so quickly in thousands of circular ways that Jvara could not find an opportunity. Then aiming at his body huge like a mountain Jvara, of incomparable energy, hurled his consuming weapon which fell on his breast. Dropping on the summit of the mount Sumeru from Rama's breast that burning weapon shattered it into pieces. Krishna's elder brother was however being consumed by the remnant that was left on his breast. Sighing and yawning every moment he began to move about recklessly. His eyes were dilated, hairs stood erect and all his senses were bewildered. He began to sigh like a maniac. Thereupon almost losing consciousness Haladhara said to Krishna:—"O Krishna, O large-armed Krishna, O thou the giver of protection, I am being consumed, nay I am being consumed completely. How shall I be saved?" Thus addressed by the highly powerful Bala Krishna, the foremost of strikers, smilingly said:—"No fear." Saying this he embraced Halayudha. He was then saved by loving Krishna from being burnt. Having saved Rama from being consumed the slayer of Madhu, Vasudeva, highly angered, said to Jvara:—"O Jvara, come and fight with me. Show to me the extent of your strength and power in this battle". Thus addressed the highly powerful Jvara, with his right hand, discharged his great burning weapon on Krishna's body. At this the powerful Krishna, the foremost of strikers, experienced a burning sensation for a few moments. Immediately after the fire was put out. Thereupon Jvara, with his serpent-like long arms, struck Krishna on the neck and then dealt a blow on his breast. Thus there took place a great encounter, in the battle-field, between Jvara and the highly energetic Krishna the foremost of men. The sound of the stricking of arms caused by Krishna and Jvara in that highly dreadful battle was like that of a thunder striking a mountain summit. Occasionally was heard "Do not strike in this way: you should do it in this way." In that great battle those two highly powerful ones so fought for a moment, that Lord of the Universe, under the guise of a man, thinking that he would come to an end, grinded the sky-ranging Jvara adorned with golden ornaments with his arms.

CHAPTER 125. KRISHNA'S BOON TO JVARA.

Vaishampayana said:—Considering Jvara, assailed with his arms, dead Krishna, the slayer of enemies, threw him down on the surface of the earth. Released from his arms, Jvara, of incomparable energy, did not leave Krishna's body but entered into it. Possessed by Jvara (fever) of incomparable energy Krishna had his movements slackened and repeatedly

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supported himself by touching the ground. He was possessed by sleep, his steps were slackened and his hairs stood erect. He repeatedly sighed and yawned. Thus possessed by weakness and yawning repeatedly the great Yogin Krishna, the victor of the enemy's cities, regained his natural state after a long time.

Thereupon knowing himself possessed by Jvara Purosottama created another for its destruction. With his energy, the energetic Janarddana, of dreadful power, created a dreadful Jvara, highly terrible unto creatures. Catching hold, by force, of the former Jvara the one, created by Krishna, presented it before him. Having thus driven out that Jvara from his body through one created by him the highly powerful and angry Vasudeva struck him down on the ground and was about to tear him into pieces. Thereat Jvara, bewildered, said "O Janarddana, it behoveth thee to protect me." However while Krishna, of incomparable energy, was about to strike that Jvara on the ground an invisible voice was heard in the sky:—"O Krishna, O large-armed Krishna, the enhancer of the delight of the Yadavas, do not kill this Jvara. O sinless one, he is worthy of being protected by thee". Thus addressed Hari, the lord of the past, future and present and the great preceptor of the world let Jvara off. Thereupon prostrating himself with bent head at Hrishikesha's feet Jvara said:—"O descendant of Yadu, O Govinda, hear what I have to submit unto thee. Hear, O large-armed deity, what I have got in my mind and do thou accomplish it. O lord, I pray from thee for this boon only that I may be the only Jvara in this world and no one else may flourish." The lord said:—"It is proper to confer a boon on one who prays for it. Besides you have sought my protection. May you fare well therefore, O Jvara. You will have what you are praying for. As before you will be the only Jvara. May he, whom I have created, dissolve in me".

Vaishampayana said:—Having said this the highly illustrious Krishna, the foremost of strikers, again spoke to Jvara:—"Hear, how you will range in the world, having spread yourself amongst the entire creation mobile and immobile. If you seek my pleasure divide yourself into three parts. With one do you possess the four-legged animals, with the second the immobile objects and with the third the human beings. And with the fourth portion of your third part you will always live in the midst of the birds. Dividing yourself into four parts namely appearing every day, after two days, three days and four days you are to live amongst mankind. Hear how you are to live amongst other creatures. In trees you will live in the shape of an insect and the disease that withers up the leaves and turns them pale; in the fruits you will live like Aturya disease; in the lotuses like frost, in the earth like a desert, in the water like Neelika (a plant), in the peacocks like the growing of the tuft, in the mountain like mineral and in the cows like Khoraka or a cow-disease; you will live on earth under these numerous forms. With your very view and touch the animals will be shorn of their lives. Only gods and men will be able to withstand you".

Vaishampayana said:—Hearing the words of Krishna Jvara was delighted and with folded hands saluted him and said:—"O Madhava, blessed I am for thy giving me soverignty over all creatures and objects. O Purusottama I wish now to carry out any other order of yours. O large-armed Govinda, order me what I am to do. Formerly I had been created by Hara the slayer of Tripura and of other animals. Now vanquished by thee in battle I have become thy servant. Thou art now my master".

Vaishampayana said:—Hearing the words of Jvara Vasudeva said:—"Hear, what resolution I cherish at heart." Jvara said:—"O holder of discus, I have been favoured and blessed with what good thou hast done for me. Order me, what what pleasure of thine I may carry out." The lord said:—"O Jvara, the man, who having saluted me, will attentively read this account of prowess displayed only by our arms in the great battle, will be freed from fever." Thus addressed by Krishna, the foremost of Yadus, the highly powerful Jvara said:—"So be it." Having thus obtained the boon and promised, Jvara, saluting Krishna, left the battle-field.

CHAPTER 126. THE FIGHT BETWEEN KRISHNA AND SHANKARA.

Vaishampayana said:—Thereupon riding quickly Vinata's son, those three (heroes), stationed in the battle-field like three fire-gods, began to fight there. Seated on Garuda's back those highly powerful three heroes assailed and dispersed the Danava army with a downpour of arrows. Assailed with the strokes of discus, plough-share and arrows the irrepressible and huge Danava army were worked up with anger. As fire increases in a room with dry fuels so the fire, engendered by Krishna's arrows, increased that fire burning like that of dissolution, and consumed thousands of Danavas in the battle-field.

Beholding his soldiers assailed and burnt with various arrows of Krishna, and take to their heels Vana came there and prevented them saying "Born in the race of the Daityas why do ye, overwhelmed with fear and displaying your weakness, fly away from the battle-field? Why do you take to your heels leaving off your respective coats of mail, swords, daggers, darts, leathern protectors and axes? Think of your birth and living with Hara and then decide whether you should fly away. I now stand before you." Although they heard the words given vent to by Vana, the Danavas, beside themselves with fear, paid no heed to them and fled away. Of the soldiers remaining there only the Pramathas stood firm and desired to fight again.

Beholding his soldiers routed, Kumbhanda, Vana's powerful minister and friend, said:—"O ye leading Danavas, behold Shankara, Kartikeya and Vana in the battle-field. Still, possessed by fear, why are you flying away leaving your own armies? Give up hope of your lives and fight." Before they heard those words of Kumbhanda, the Danavas stricken with the fear of the fire of Krishna's discus, fled away on all sides. Thereupon beholding all the soldiers routed by Krishna, Siva, of incomparable prowess, had his eyes reddened with anger. And in order to protect Vana, he stood on his lustrous car and prepared himself for fighting. Kumara too ascended a car burning like car. Powerful Rudra, ascending a car drawn by lions and biting his hips, drove where Hari was. At that time his car, as if devouring the sky, making a great sound and drawn by lions, looked like the full-moon freed from clouds. Filled with various ghosts making diverse sounds that car of the god of gods proceeded towards the battle-field. Of those ghosts some had the faces of lions, some those of tigers, some those of serpents, some those of horses and some those of camels; they too, filled with fear, were trembling. Amongst those highly powerful ghosts, some had the faces of asses, some those of camels, some those of peacocks, Some those of horses, some those of rams, and some those of cats. Some had the faces of sheep, some put on bark, some had tufts of hairs on their heads, some wore matted locks, some had hairs bound up, and some were naked. They all blew conch-shells and bugles when they proceeded to the battle-field. Of them some had beautified faces and were adorned with celestial weapons and flowers. Some were dwarfish and some were grim-visaged. Some put on lion and tiger skins. Some had faces covered with blood, huge-teeth and were fond of flesh. They all stood encircling Shankara the destroyer of great enemies in the battle-field and were waiting there at ease. Beholding that car of the indefatigable Rudra. Krishna, riding Garuda, proceeded to the battle-field. Then beholding Hari proceed on Garuda discharging arrows, Hara, ever standing at the head in a battle, struck him in anger with hundreds, of winged arrows. Assailed with shafts by Hara, the grinder of enemies, Hari too, irate, took up most excellent weapons given by Indra. Thereupon assailed by Krishna and Rudra the earth shook and the elephants trembled raising their heads. The mountains were covered with the water of streams; some had their summits scattered on all sides. In that encounter between Hara and Hari the quarters, sky and earth were as if all ablaze. Fire-brands fell on earth from all sides and dreadful-looking jackals began to emit inauspicious cries. With a great noise Indra began to send down showers of blood and fire-brands covered the rear of Vana's army. The wind blew high, and the luminous bodies and herbs, shorn of lustre, flew about in the sky. At that time the Grandfather, knowing that Rudra, the destroyer of Asuras, had entered upon a battle, came there encircled by the celestials The Apsaras, Gandharvas, Yakshas, Vidyadharas, Siddhas, and Charanas, stationed in the sky, began to witness that encounter. Then Vishnu discharged Indra's weapon at Rudra. Burning it went up to the car where Rudra was. The very next moment hundreds and thousands of arrows dropped before Hara's car. Seeing it and filled with anger Hara discharged the highly dreadful fiery weapon. It appeared indeed highly wonderful. At that time Krishna and the three other heroes were entirely covered with arrows; and scorched with the fire of the weapon they were so much emaciated that they were not visible. Thereat thinking that Krishna had been slain by the fiery weapon the Asuras sent up a leonine shout.

Thereupon patiently bearing those fiery weapons in the battle-field the powerful Vasudava, who was a master of every sort of weapon, took up Varuna weapon. When that Varuna weapon was discharged by the high-souled Vasudeva the fire of the fiery weapon was extinguished. When that weapon was baffled by Vasudeva Bhava discharged four other weapons resembling the fire of dissolution, namely Paishaca, Rakshasa, Roudra and Angirasa. In order to baffle those weapons Vasudeva shot four arrows namely Vayavya, Savitrya, Vasava and Mohana. Having thus counteracted those four weapons with his four arrows Madhava discharged his Vaishnava weapon like unto Antaka (the destroyer) with his mouth wide open. When the Vaishnava weapon was discharged all the Bhutas, Yakshas and Asuras of Vana's host, unconscious and stricken with fear, fled on all sides. Then beholding his army abounding in Pramathas thus routed the great Asura Vana speedily ran towards the battle-field. As the king of gods, the wielder of thunderbolt, proceeds encircled by the celestials, so Vana went surrounded by the highly powerful and mighty car-warriors, the Daityas holding dreadful arms.

Vaishampayana said:—At that time with the recitation of names and mantras the Brahmanas performed benedictory ceremonies on Vana's behalf. Bali's son Vana too, conferring on the Brahmanas, auspicious cows, raiments, fruits, flowers and gold coins, shone like the lord of riches. The huge car of Vana, painted with gold and adorned with a hundred moons and a million of stars and numerous bells, shone there like fire or a thousand suns. Assuming a dreadful form Vana, holding a bow, got upon the car brought by the Danavas for fighting with those foremost of Yadus. Afterwards as at the time of the universal dissolution the ocean, abounding in waves increased by the wind, is agitated so that ocean, of great force abounding in cars of the heroes, went on. O king, at that time the Danavas, holding bows, great car-warriors as they were, shone there like mountains covered with forests; their very sight created terror in all.

CHAPTER 127. THE EARTH GOES TO BRAHMA: MARKANDEYA EXPLAINS HOW BRAHMA, VISHNU, SIVA ARE ONE.

Vaishampayana said:—When the three eyes (of Siva) were burning all the worlds were covered with darkness: and Nandi, Rudra and his car were not visible. Then Rudra, burning in double effulgence on account of his anger and strength, took up his arrow having sharpened darts on four sides with which he had killed Tripura. When the three-eyed deity took up that arrow, set it to his bow and was about to discharge it the high-souled Vasudeva, cognizant of the minds of all, came to know of it. Thereupon the quick-handed and highly powerful Purusottama took up his weapon Jrimbhana (yawning) and made with it Hara yawn. With that arrow the Divine Hara, the conqueror of Asuras and Rakshasas, was stupified together with his bow and arrows and lost consciousness. Having stupified with his weapon his own self in the shape of Rudra together with his bow and arrows the highly powerful Krishna, identical with all, blew his conch-shell. Seeing Shankara stupified and hearing the blare of his conch-shell Panchajanya and the twang of of his bow Shranga all the creatures were filled with fear. In the meantime Rudra's followers arrived at the battle-field and resorting to an illusory fight attacked Pradyumna. The highly powerful and energetic Makaraketana however made them all asleep and with his arrows began to kill the Danavas who had innumerable Pramathas amongst them. While Rudra, of unwearied actions, yawned a flame came out of his mouth and consumed the ten quarters. At that time assailed by those powerful armies the goddess Earth, trembling, approached the great Brahma and said "O thou of large arms, O great god, I have been assailed with great energies. I have been so much loaded with the weight of Rudra and Kesheva that I will again be reduced to one all-extending ocean. O grand-father, do you think of this unbearable burden of mine. Do thou find out some means, by which released of my burden I may uphold the mobile and immobile creations".

Vaishampayana said:—Hearing it the grand-father said to the daughter of Kashyapa:—"Sustain yourself for a moment and you will be released of your burden." Thereupon the Lord Brahma said to Rudra:—"Thou didst find out the means of slaying this great Asura: why dost thou then wish to protect him? O thou of large arms, I do not like that thou shouldst engage in an encounter with Krishna. Dost thou not know that Krishna is thy second body." Hearing the words of Brahma the eternal Lord, having three eyes, concentrated his mind on the Brahman (soul) within him and saw the three worlds consisting of mobile and immobile creations. Beholding himself stupified along with his bow and arrow the great Yogin Bhava, by virtue of his mental concentration, thought of the boon he had conferred and of what he had said at Dwaraka: he therefore made no reply. Seeing him in Krishna and them both in one (Brahman) he was pacified and left the battle-field. Rudra said to Brahma:—"O lord, I will not fight any more. By this encounter of Krishna and Vana the earth will be relieved of her burden". Thereupon with great pleasure Krishna and Rudra retired from the battle-field and embraced one another. When those two great Yogins were united no body could see them. Having brought out the reconciliation between Hara and Hari and himself only seeing them Brahma, the creator of all, said to the Rishis Narada and Markandeya who were by his side and who had questioned that far-sighted deity:—"In a dream in the night I saw Bhava and Keshava in the lake near the mount Mandara. Here I saw Hara in Hari's form and Hari in Hara's. Hara had conch-shell, discus and club in his hands, was clad in a yellow raiment and rode Garuda. Hari had trident and Pattica in his hand, was clad in a tiger-skin and rode a bull. Seeing that highly wonderful scene I am filled with surprise. O Markendeya, do thou describe unto me the truth".

Markendeya said:—Shiva is identical with Vishnu and Vishnu is identical with Shiva. I do not see any difference. They are both auspicious, without beginning, middle or end, eternal and undecaying. Hear I will describe that form identical with Hari and Hara. He is Vishnu who is Rudra; and he is Rudra who is Brahma. Brahma, Vishnu and Rudra are one and of the same form. Three of them are great ascetics,

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Lords of half-females, self-sprung, givers of boons and masters of the universe. As water is mixed with water when it is thrown into it so Vishnu becomes at one with Rudra, when he enters into him. As fire becomes fire when it is mixed with it so Rudra becomes identical with Vishnu when he enters into him. Rudra is identical with fire and Vishnu is identical with the moon. This universe, consisting of mobile and immobile creations, is identical with the protector of what is mobile and immobile in this universe. And Maheswara is their destroyer. The Lord Narayana, identical with past, present and future and Maheswara are the primary causes of Hiranyagarbha and the great principles. They both are the givers of the Vedas. They are the creator and the protector of the universe. They send down rain in the shape of Indra and spread rays in the shape of the sun. They blow in the shape of the wind and create all. Thus O Grand-father, I have described to you the great secret. The man, who daily reads or hears this account, attains to that most excellent region created by the power of Vishnu and Rudra. With Brahma, Hari and Hara are the Creator, Preserver and Destroyer of the universe. I will now chant their glories. Vishnu is adorable unto Rudra, and Rudra is adorable unto Vishnu. They are one, still they range in the world under two forms. Vishnu is not different from Shankara and Shankara is not different from Vishnu. Therefore formerly Rudra and Upendra became one. Salutation unto Rudra and Krishna of one united body. Salutation unto the three-eyed deity, salutation unto the two-eyed deity, salutation unto coppery-eyed (Kumara) and lotus-eyed (Pradyumna). Salutation unto the holder of the earth, of the holder of peacock-feathers and of Keyura. Salutation unto him adorned with a garland of skulls, him adorned with a garland of wild flowers, him the holder of trident and him the holder of discus, unto the standard of gold and Brahma. Salutation unto him clad in skin and salutation unto him clad in a yellow raiment. Salutation unto the Lord of Lakshmi and unto the Lord of Uma. Salutation unto the holder of trident and unto him of mace. Salutation unto him whose body is covered with ashes and unto him who is dark-blue hued. Salutation unto him who lives in the cremation ground and unto him who lives in an Ashrama. Salutation unto the rider of a bull and unto the rider of Garuda. Salutation unto him who has more than one form, unto him who has many forms, unto the Lord of destruction and unto him who lies on the ocean. Salutation unto him who has many forms and unto him who is Bhairava.

CHAPTER 128. KARTIKEYA GOES TO THE BATTLE-FIELD.

Janamejaya said:—After the high-souled Krishna and Rudra had retired from the battle-field, how did the hair-stirring battle of the enemies continue?

Vaishampayana said:—Stationed on the car brought by Kumbhanda, Guha (Kartikeya) drove towards Krishna, Baladeva and Pradyumna and struck them with hundreds of dreadful and sharpened arrows. Bathed in blood those three gods, like unto three fires, fought with Kumara. After those heroes, expert in fighting, had struck Kumara with three weapons given by Wind-God, Fire-God and Indra he, too, with three weapons, counteracted them and struck the Yadavas with three other weapons, namely Shaila, Varuna and Savitri. They however, devoured, by virtue of their illusory powers, all the weapons shot by the great Kumara, the holder of burning bow and shaft. Then the highly powerful Guha, burning in effulgence and biting his lips, took up the dreadful weapon Brahmashira like unto the Destroyer himself. When the highly dreadful weapon Brahmashira, endued with the effulgence of a thousand suns and destructive of the world, was discharged by Kumara the creatures lost their consciousness through its warmth and fled away on all sides and the whole universe bewailed. Seeing it the powerful Keshava, the slayer of Keshi, took up his discus the destroyer and counteractor of all weapons. As in the rainy season the clouds cover the rays of the sun, so that discus, of the high-souled Keshava, clouded, with its lustre, that of Brahmashira weapon.

When that Brahmashira weapon was shorn of its lustre, power and energy, Guha, with his eyes reddened in anger, was worked up like fire to which oblation of clarified butter is offered. He then took up a dreadful burning, golden Sakti of sure aim, destructive of enemies and creating terror in all creatures. He then discharged, in anger, that celestial burning Sakti set with bells, effulgent like a fire-brand and resembling the fire of dissolution. He then set up a powerful shout which struck terror unto his enemies. When that Sakti was discharged by the high-souled Guha, it went up into the sky, yawned and moved about with great force as if desirous of slaying Krishna. Beholding that burning Sakti the gods and their king were greatly depressed and said—"Perhaps Krishna will be consumed." However as soon as that great Sakti appeared before him in that great battle the highly powerful Madhava shouted and as if remonstrating struck it down on the ground. When that great Sakti was struck down there arose from all sides exclamations "Well done! Well done!" And Vasava together with the celestials sent up a leonine shout. When the gods were thus roaring the powerful Vasudeva took up his discus for killing the Daityas.

When Krishna, of incomparable energy, was about to discharge his discus, the beautiful Kottavi, at the mandate of Mahadeva, came there naked for protecting Kumara. The eighth portion of the goddess, Lamva, intervened between them like a beautiful golden Sakti. Seeing the goddess stand before Kumara the large-armed Krishna was baffled and said:—"Oh fie on you? Fly away soon from this place; why do you throw obstacles in the way of certain destruction?"

Vaishampayana said:—Hearing even those words of the mighty-armed Krishna Kottavi did not put on her cloth for protecting Kumara.

The Lord said:—"Take Guha with you and fly away soon from the battle-field. It will be well for us to-day, if you do this. Or else if I refrain from fighting he will fight with me". Thereupon beholding that naked goddess in the battle-field the divine younger brother of Vasava the Lord Hari put away his discus. Hearing those words of the intelligent Madhava, the god of gods, the goddess brought Guha before Hara. Then when the great danger took place and Guha was protected by the goddess, Vana came to that place. When he saw Guha released from Krishna's discus and retire from the battle-field he felt an inclination for fighting himself with Madhava. Thereupon bewildered the ghosts, Yakshas and Vana's soldiers fled away on all sides. Of that broken army only Pramathas remained there. And with them the great Asura soon marched for the battle-field. As the wielder of thunderbolt proceeds in the company of the leading celestials so. Vana went out with highly dreadful, powerful, energetic and great Daitya commanders. Thereupon chanting the destruction of his enemies his priests and other elderly persons, well read in Srutis, performed benedictory ceremonies, on behalf of the high-souled Vana with Mantras, recitation and herbs.

CHAPTER 129. THE BATTLE BETWEEN VANA AND KRISHNA.

Beholding Vana issue out and stand for battle Krishna too rode Garuda and went towards Wana. Beholding the Yadu king Krishna, of incomparable energy, the rider of Garuda, approach and stand in the west Vana was filled with anger and said to Vasudeva:—"Wait! Wait! You will not escape from me to-day alive to Dwaraka and see your friends there. O Madhava, you have been urged on by Death. Therefore vanquished by me in battle, you will, on the eve of your death, see the golden leaves of the trees. O Garudhwaja, being of eight arms how you will be able to fight with me who have a thousand arms? Slain with all your friends by me in the city of Shonita you will remember Dwaraka. You will see to-day my thousand arms, adorned with various weapons and ornaments, multiply into a million".

While Vana was thus roaring his words as if travelled all over like the dreadful waves of an ocean raised by the wind. As if desirous of consuming the world the eyes of that highly powerful Asura, filled with anger, shone like two suns rising in the firmament. Hearing those proud words of Vana Narada so laughed aloud that as if the sky was sundered in twain. Seated on a Yoga seat that ascetic, filled with curiosity, moved about on all sides for seeing the battle.

Krishna said:—"O Vana, why are you roaring thus out of foolishness? The heroes do not vaunt thus. What is the use of vaunting? Come and fight with me in the battle field. O son of Diti, you have given vent to many unconnected words. If by words victory is accomplished in a battle, you would have been no doubt victorious. Come O Vana; either defeat me or vanquished by me lie down on earth for good with your face down." Saying this Krishna struck Vana with arrows cutting him to the quick. Thus mangled in that dreadful encounter by Krishna with arrows cutting to the very vitals Vana, with great care, covered Krishna with burning arrows. With Parighas, Nisthringsas, clubs, Tomaras, Saktis, maces and Pattishas he completely covered Keshava. Proud Vana, having a thousand arms, easily fought in the battle-field with two-armed Keshava. Although having eight-arms Keshava, the holder of conch-shell, discus and club, fought with thousand-armed Vana in that battle. Then beholding Krishna's superior training Bali's son was greatly worked up with anger. He then discharged that celestial great weapon destructive of all enemies which Brahma, by his ascetic powers, had formerly created for Hiranyakashipu. When that weapon was shot off all the quarters were enshrouded with darkness and thousands of dreadful omens were seen on all sides. When all the worlds were covered with darkness every thing was beyond the range of perception. The Danavas applauded Wana, saying "Well done! Well done!" and words of exclamations by the gods as "Alas!" were heard. A dreadful downpour of burning arrows was caused by the power and force of that weapon. When that weapon was discharged by Vana and Keshava was being burnt, wind, storm or clouds did not move. When the divine slayer of Madhu took up Indra's weapon like unto inevitable death in the battle-field all the worlds were shorn of darkness, the fire was extinguished and the Danavas completely lost their hearts. Seeing the Danava weapon counteracted as soon as Indra's weapon was got ready the gods began to laugh and roar like lions.

Beholding his weapon thus counteracted Diti's son Vana was beside himself with rage, said harsh words to Keshava who was on Garuda and covered him with maces and Pattiças. Keshava, the slayer of his enemies, however soon counteracted similingly his uplifted weapon. In that great battle with arrows, like unto thunderbolts, shot off his Sranga bow Keshava sundered Vana's car, with horses and standards, into pieces. The very next moment the highly powerful Keshava separated from Vana's person his highly lustrous crown, coat of mail, bow and shield. And smilingly he struck him on the breast with winged arrows. Cut to the very quick Vana lost his consciousness and swooned away. Seeing Vana thus struck and swoon away Narada, who was sitting on the highest top of the palace, rose up with clapping and said "O great fortune! Great fortune, blessed is my life and birth since I have witnessed today this wonderful prowess of Damodara. O thou of large arms, O thou adored by the gods, do thou accomplish that for which thou hast incarnated thyself. Destroy soon Diti's son Vana." Having thus sung the glories of the Lord Krishna and emblazoned the battle-field with sharpened arrows he moved about in the battle-field.

In that battle their standards, encountering each other, fought; so did the horses of the Devas and Danavas. When Garuda and the peacock fought they struck each other with wings, beaks and talons. Thereupon leaping up in anger the highly powerful son of Vinata speedily caught hold of the peacock's head with his beaks and struck him with his wings and talons. Thus repeatedly drawn by the highly powerful son of Vinata the peacock fell down unconscious as the sun drops down from the sky. When the highly powerful peacock fell down on the ground, Vana, stricken with great anxiety, thought:—"Elated with the pride of my strength I have not regarded the words of my friends. And therefore I have met with discomfiture before the very eyes of the gods and Daityas." Beholding Vana thus depressed and distressed the Lord Rudra grew anxious for protecting him. Mahadeva, then in grave words, said to Nandi, "O sinless Nandi, go speedily where Vana stands in the battle-field and give him this celestial car drawn by lions. I do not wish to fight. Let me stand here amongst the Pramathas. You better go and protect Vana" Saying "So be it", Nandi, the foremost of car-warriors, went to Vana with the car and spoke to him slowly. "O highly powerful Daitya, get upon this car soon; O hero, I will be your charioteer. Do not delay; ascend this car." Ascending that car, constructed by Brahma, of Bhava of incomparable energy the powerful Vana, in anger, brought into requisition the burning Roudra weapon Brahmashira, capable of destroying all other arms. Although the Lotus-sprung (Brahma) had created that weapon for protecting the worlds still they were all agitated when it was ablaze. Seeing it and destroying it with his discus Krishna said to Vana, illustrious in the world and incomparable in battle:—"O Vana, where are your vauntings now? I now stand for battle: fight and display your prowess. Formerly there was a king having a thousand arms by namely Kartavirya. His arms were reduced to two by Rama in battle. Your pride, begotten by the strength of your arms, will share the same fate. I will soon destroy your pride in the battle-field. If you wait here for a moment I will chop off your arms which have created such a haughtiness in you. You will not be suffered to leave me with your life."

Seeing that highly dreadful encounter like unto that between the gods and demons Narada began to dance with glee. Vanquished by the high-souled Pradyumna, the ghosts, leaving the battle-field, went to Shankara. Thereupon Krishna, resembling the muttering of the clouds of the rainy season, soon took up his thousand-bladed discus destructive of the Daityas in the battle-field. In that discus were combined the energies of luminous bodies, thunder, lightnings and of the king of gods. In it were the energies of the three-fold fires, Brahma fire and of the austerities and penances of the Rishis. In it was the energy of chaste women, the strength of the birds and beasts and the energy of the holder of the discus. In it was the strength of the Rakshasas, Yakshas and Gandharvas. In it was the power of all other creatures living in the three worlds. That powerful discus of the Lord, effulgent like the sun, stood before Vana and deprived him of his energy.

Beholding the Lord with uplifted discus in the battle-field and knowing that it, endued with great energy, was incomparable and could not be counteracted Shiva said to Girija:—"O goddess, the discus, which Keshava has taken up, is unconquerable in the three worlds. Thereupon release Vana before Keshava discharges this discus." Hearing the words of the three-eyed deity the goddess said to Lamva:—"O Lamva, go soon and protect Vana." Saying this Himalaya's daughter disappeared from view by her yoga powers; and going only to Krishna she showed her true form. On the other side seeing the Lord stand in the battle-field with uplifted discus Lamva disappeared from view and left off her clothes. In order to protect Vana, the goddess Kottavi, appeared naked before Vasudeva. Seeing her again return and appear before him with Rudra's consent Krishna said:—"O you of red eyes, you

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have again come naked to the battle-field for saving Vana. Forsooth I will kill Vana." Thus addressed by Krishna Lamva said:–"O god, I know the great Purusottama, eternal, undecaying and lotus-navelled Hrishikesha, the creator of the world as the prime cause of the universe. O Keshava, thou shouldst not slay Vana who has no match in the battle-field. Do thou promise Vana protection and let me see my son alive. O Madhava, I conferred on him a boon saying that I would protect him. Thou shouldst not falsify my words."

Thus addressed by the goddess, Krishna, the creator of enemy's cities, in anger said:—"Hear the truth, O lady. I will forsooth cut off to-day his thousand arms, elated with the pride of which Vana is roaring in the battle-field. Your son will live even if Vana has two arms. And resorting to his demonaic pride he will not approach me any more." Thus addressed by Krishna of unwearied actions the goddess said:—"O god of gods, let Vana be so." Thereupon the highly powerful and large-armed Krishna, the foremost of speakers and strikers, welcoming Kartikeya's mother, said to Vana in anger:—"Fie on your manliness, O Vana. Whenever you have been engaging in an encounter with me Kottavi, considering you weak, is coming and standing in the battle-field." Saying this the self-controlled and highly powerful Krishna opened his eyes and discharged his discus aiming it at Vana. With great force Gadadhara, worked up with ire, took up that wonderful discus, effulgent like the sun, at the discharge of which, all the worlds, mobile and immobile, become unconscious and flesh-eating creatures find great pleasure, discharged it and cut off Vana's arms. When discharged by Shridhara, parmeating the universe, that firmament-like discus so moved about in the battle-field that no body could see its true form. Gradually cutting off Vana's thousand arms and making him the owner of only two the Sudarshana discus returned into Krishna's hands.

Vaishampayana said:—When the Daitya-killing discus returned successful into Krishna's hands the huge-bodied great Asura Vana, bathed in streaming blood, who had his thousand arms chopped off, was maddened with the smell of blood and repeatedly roared like a muttering cloud. Hearing his leonine shout Krishna, the slayer of his enemies, was about to hurl his discus again for killing him. Thereat approaching him with Kumara Mahadeva said:—"O Krishna, O thou of large arms, I know thee as the eternal God Purusottama, the destroyer of Madhu and Kaitabha. Thou art the refuge of the world and the universe has emanated from thee. Thou art unconquerable unto the entire world consisting of gods, Asuras and Pannagas. Therefore do thou withdraw thy uplifted, irrepressible, celestial discus terrible unto the enemies. O slayer of Keshi, I have promised Vana protection and therefore do I request thee to desist".

Krishna said:—"O god, salutation unto thee who art adorable unto the gods and Asuras. I withdraw my discus. At thy request Vana will live. O Maheshawara, at thy request I do not accomplish Vana's destruction for which I had come here. Permit me now to return".

Saying this to Mahadeva Krishna went where Aniruddha was waiting bound with arrows. After Krishna's departure Nandi spoke to Vana the following well-meaning words: "O Vana, with these wounds appear before the god of gods." Hearing the words of Nandi, Vana too felt a desire of going away speedily. Beholding Vana divested of his arms the powerful Nandi took him on his car to the rider of a bull (Shiva). He again spoke these well-meaning words to Vana:—"O Vana, the god of gods is propitiated with you. Dance before him and you will meet with your well-being." Urged on by Nandi's words, the bewildered, terror-stricken Danava Vana, desirous of living, began to dance with his body, bathed in blood before Shankara. Beholding Vana, stricken with fear, dance again at Nandi's words, Mahadeva, ever kind unto his votaries, stricken with compassion, said:—"I am pleased with you. The time has come when you may pray for a boon. Therefore pray for one you are cherishing at heart." Vana said:–"O Lord, O God, if thou art desirous of giving me a boon grant me one by which I may become immortal and freed from fever." Mahadeva said:—"O Vana, you are now like the gods. You will not meet with death. Furthermore, I am always kind to you. Pray for another boon." Vana said:—"O Bhava, may those thy votaries, who will dance as I am doing covered with blood and inflicted with wounds, have sons." The Lord said:—"Those of my votaries, who abstaining from food and being patient, truthful and honest will thus dance, will have sons. O my son Vana, may your desire become fruitful. Pray for a third boon. I will grant it." Vana said:—"O Bhava, may my body, inflicted with wounds by the discus, find relief by thy third boon." Rudra said:—"So it will be and your body will be freed from pain. It will be healthy and unscathed as before. I am never unkind to you, specially I have been greatly pleased with you. If you wish you may pray for the fourth boon." Vana said:—"O lord, may I be the first of the families of Pramathas and be renowned forever under the name of Mahakala".

Vaishampayana said:—Saying "So be it", the highly effulgent Lord Shankara again said:—"By being under my protection you will have a celestial form, be of unscathed body and freed from diseases. By living always near me you will have no fear. I give you this fifth boon that you will be well-known by your strength and manliness. O Vana, if you have any other desire in your mind pray for another boon." Vana said:—"O lord, by thy favour my body may not be disfigured. I may not be ugly even if I have two arms." Hara said:—"O great Asura, I have nothing which I can not give away to my votaries. Besides you are my greatest votary. What you have wished will be accomplished." Thereupon Mahadeva again said to Vana who stood by him:—"O Vana, what you have said, will be so." Saying it the Lord, encircled by ghosts, disappeared before all creatures.

CHAPTER 130. KRISHNA FINDS ANIRUDDHA: GIVES THE KINGDOM TO KUMBHANDA AND FIGHTS WITH VARUNA FOR COWS.

Vaishampayana said:—Having thus obtained a number of boons Vana was highly pleased. And having attained to the dignity of Mahakala he went with Rudra. Vasudeva too, on the other hand, repeatedly asked Narada, saying:—"O reverend sir, my mind is overpowered with affection. I wish to know truly where Aniruddha is waiting bound with the noose of serpents. The heroic Aniruddha being taken away stealthily the city of Dwaraka is filled with anxiety. I will therefore soon release him for whom I have come here. O sir, I wish to see even to-day Aniruddha who has his enemies slain. Tell me if you know the place." Thus addressed by Krishna Narada replied: (2-5). "O Madhava, the prince Aniruddha is waiting, bound with serpents, in the female appartment." In the meantime quickly coming there Chitralekha said:—"O lord, this is the female appartment of the high-souled and energetic king of Daityas Vana. Do thou enter here at ease.". Thereupon Baladeva, Krishna, Pradyumna, Narada and Suparna entered into the female appartment for releasing Aniruddha. Seeing Garuda, all the huge serpents, which stuck to Aniruddha's person in the shape of arrows, at once left him. Coming out of his body those serpents dropped on the ground as arrows. Afterwards observed and addressed by Krishna the highly illustrious Aniruddha, delighted and with folded hands, said:—"O god of gods, O Keshava, thou art always victorious over thy enemies: even the performer of hundred sacrifices cannot stand before thee." Thereupon with a delighted mind the noble-minded Aniruddha saluted the highly powerful and illustrious Balabhadra. Afterwards with folded hands he bowed unto the great Garuda. Afterwards the powerful Makaraketana, holding variegated shafts, approached his father Pradyumna and saluted him. Usha too, encircled by her friends, saluted the highly powerful and irrepressible Vashudeva and Suparna of unimpeded course. And with bashfulness she also bowed unto the holder of the flowery bow.

Thereupon as requested by Indra the highly effulgent Narada smiling approached Vasudeva's son the slayer of his enemies. And having showered blessings on him he said:—"O Govinda, by good luck thou hast been united with Pradyumna," Thereupon all the Yadavas with Aniruddha saluted the celestial saint Narada. Having honoured them all in return he said to Krishna:—"O Lord, celebrate a marriage acquired by prowess for Aniruddha. I have a great desire to see exchange of jokes between the parties of bridegroom and bride." Hearing the words of Narada all laughed and Krishna said:—"O revered Sir, it will soon be accomplished." In the meantime Kumbhanda, with all the articles for the wedding, arrived before Krishna and saluted him. Kumbhanva said:—"O Krishna, O thou of large arms, do thou promise me safety. With folded hands I seek refuge with thee.".

Krishna, at Narada's request, had already stopped his going. Now seeing the high-souled Kumbhanda before and promising him protection he said:—"O Kumbhanda, I have been pleased with hearing of your good deeds. You will now become the king of this kingdom. I confer this kingdom on you. Live you for ever under my protection and be happy and self-controlled with all your kinsmen." Having thus conferred the kingdom on the high-souled Kumbhanda Janarddana celebrated the wedding festival of Aniruddha. The Divine Regent of fire was present there in person. After Aniruddha, along with his wife, had bathed himself and been adorned with various ornaments the Apsaras began to cut diverse jokes with him. The Gandharvas sang melodious and auspicious songs and the Apsaras danced thus beautifying that marriage party. Having thus celebrated Aniruddha's nuptials and honoured Rudra, the giver of boons, adored even by the celestials the greatly wise Upendra, the victor of enemy's cities and the slayer of his enemies, desired to go away accompanied by the celestials. Beholding Krishna, the destroyer of his enemies, about to start for Dwaraka Kumbhanda, with folded hands, said:—"Hear, O lotus-eyed slayer of Madhu, I have something to communicate unto thee. O Madhava, Vana has some cows in charge of Varuna. They give nectar-like milk, drinking which a man becomes highly powerful and invincible in battle". After Kumbhanda had said this Hari's mind was filled with joy. And bent on going there he expressed his desire. Thereupon having blessed Keshava the divine Brahma departed for his own region with the inhabitants thereof. Indra and Maruts, desirous of achieving victory, set out for Dwaraka where Krishna resides. Seated by the goddess on a peacock Usha, encircled by her friends, started also for Dwaraka. Thereupon Baladeva, Krishna, the highly powerful Pradyumna and energetic Aniruddha sat on Garuda's back. Uprooting the trees and shaking the earth, Garuda, the foremost of birds, went on. When Garuda proceeded all the quarters were agitated, the sky was filled with dust and the sun was shorn of its rays. Having thus vanquished Vana and ridden on Garuda those foremost of men wended a long distance. Proceeding a long way towards Varuna's region by the etherial way they saw those cows yielding celestial milk. Those cows, of various colours, were grazing in a forest situate on the bank of an ocean. Reading the signs described by Kumbhanda they at once recognized them. Beholding those cows of Vana the eternal Krishna, the prime cause of the universe, well read in the essence of things and the foremost of strikers, felt a desire for possessing them and said to Garuda.

Krishna said:—"O Garuda, those are the precious kine of Vana drinking whose milk a man becomes immortal. Do thou soon go there. Satyabhama has asked me to take those cows drinking whose milk the great Asuras are not possessed by decrepitude and creatures are freed from fever. She has asked me to take these kine if it does not efface virtue and not to be covetous if it stands in the way of my work. O son of Vinata, surely these are the kine of which Satya spoke to me".

Garuda said:—"These are the kine no doubt. I had seen them before in Varuna's abode. O Keshava, seeing me all on a sudden they are entering into Varuna's palace. Therefore thou shouldst do some thing at once for possessing them." Saying this Vinata's son agitated the ocean with the flapping of his wings and entered into Varuna's abode. Thereupon seeing Garuda enter by force into Varuna's residence all his followers were stricken with fear and bewildered. Afterwards when Varuna's irrepressible army, with diverse weapons, appeared before Vasudeva, they had to fight a terrible fight with Garuda the enemy of serpents. Although thousands of Varuna's irrepressible soldiers came to the battle-field they were all routed by the high-souled Keshava. The sixty thousand cars of Varuna with burning weapons, that had come to fight there, all fled away and entered into Varuna's abode. Consumed entirely by Krishna with his arrows they broke down seeing nobody to protect them. That army was completely killed with arrows by powerful and heroic Baladeva, Janarddana, Pradyumna, Aniruddha and Garuda.

Seeing thus his own army routed by Krishna of unwearied actions Varuna was greatly worked up with anger and went where Keshava was. He was seen in the battle-field eulogised by the gods, Rishis, Gandharvas and bands of Apsaras. A beautiful yellow-coloured umbrella, with water streaming from it, was held over his head. The lord of waters, followed by his sons, grand-sons and soldiers, took up his bow in anger, stringed it and invited Hari for battle. Thereupon blowing his conch-shell the lord of waters, in anger, ran towards Hari like Hara and covered him with arrows. Then the highly powerful Janarddana blew his conch-shell Panchajanya and agitated all the quarters with shafts. Although assailed with clean shafts in the battle-field Varuna smilingly fought with Krishna. Seeing it Janarddana got ready in the battle-field the dreadful Vaishnava weapon and said to the intelligent Varuna who stood before him "Wait here for a moment: for killing you this dreadful Vaishnava weapon, destructive of enemies, has been taken up by me." Seeing the Vaishnava weapon upheld the highly powerful Varuna took up his Varuna weapon and sent up a leonine shout. O Victor of armies, when that Varuna weapon was discharged for counteracting Vaishnava weapon from it streamed down profuse water. However with the energy of Vaishnava weapon that water was ablaze. Thus when Varuna weapon was burnt down and Vaishnava weapon grew ablaze again all, filled with fear, fled away on all sides. Seeing it ablaze Varuna said to Krishna:—"O great one, remember the manifest Prakriti which was unmanifest before, O Lord of yoga, thou art always pervaded by Sattwa (goodness) still why are you possessed by the (disorganising) tendency? Cast off Tama (disorganising tendency) O god, throw off your egoism and other weaknesses begotten by the five elements. I am the eldest of thy Vaishnava form. Though I deserve thy respect, being the elder brother, still why dost thou wish to consume me? O foremost of warriors, fire does not display its power towards another fire. Therefore do thou relinquish your anger directed towards me. Thou art the primary cause of the universe and there is none who can lord over thee. Prakriti, capable of manifestating herself, was formerly created by thee. That Prakriti, subject to an end, resorted to thy energy on account of thine, being the origin of the universe. Through Prakriti thou didst create this universe identical with Vishnu, Agni, and Soma; and why dost thou then attack it now? Salutation unto thee who art the origin of elements, self-born, eternal, undecaying and identical with all, manifested and unmanifested. Do thou protect me, O thou of great effulgence, who am worthy of being protected. Thou art the prime cause of the universe. Through thee the creation has multiplied itself. As the boy plays with his toys so thou dost play with thy creations. I am not against Prakriti nor do I

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contaminate it. Thou dost put an end to the changes of Nature when she is subject to them. That, which creates change even in changes, cannot create any change in thee. Thou dost create changes in the impious and wicked. When the world is pervaded by the sinful tendencies, begotten by Nature, namely, the qualities of Raja (self-concentration) and Tama (disorganization) then stupefication possesses her. O lord, thou art the fountain of supreme knowledge, omniscient and the creator: why dost thou stupify me?" Thus addressed by Varuna, Krishna, the omniscient hero, the creator of the world, was filled with joy. Thus spoken to Krishna smilingly said:—"O hero of dreadful prowess, do give me these kine for pacifying me." Thus addressed by Krishna, Varuna, clever in speaking, again said:—"Hear, O slayer of Madhu. O lord, I had made a contract with Vana. How can I break it now? O Keshava, thou canst make every one break his promise. But O Sire, if a person's character is lost he becomes an object of censure unto the pious. O slayer of Madhu, only the pious always deserve respect from all. But the sinful breaker of his promise does not attain to any (blissful) region. Be thou propitiated therefore, O slayer of Madhu and do that by which my virtue may not be lost. O Madhava, it does not behove thee to engage me in a work which will lead to a breach of promise. O thou having eyes like those of a bull, I had formerly promised, that if alive I would never give away these kine. If thou dost wish to possess these kine kill me and take them away. O thou of large arms, O king of the celestials, O slayer of Madhu, I have thus described unto thee my promise. Not a single portion of it is false. Every bit of it is true. O Madhava, if thou hast any pity for me, save me. If, O thou of large arms, dost thou wish to take these kine away, kill me and take them.".

Vaishampayana said:—Thus addressed by Varuna Krishna, the multiplier of the Yadu race thought, that what Varuna had said about the kine could not be gainsaid and was accordingly silenced. Thereupon Keshava, who could understand all, smilingly said to Varuna:—"O Lord Varuna, on account of your contract with Vana you are saved. Specially you have expressed the truth in sweet and charming words. How can I then perform an iniquity by you? O lord of water, you are truthful and therefore for pleasing you I let loose Vana's cows. And you too are released. There is no doubt about it. Depart now." Thereupon sounding bugles Varuna adored Keshava with Arghya. After the Yadu chief Keshava had accepted it from Varuna, the lord of waters, adored Baladeva with a controlled mind. Giving protection unto Varuna, Shouri, the heroic descendant of Shura, with Sachi's lord set out for Dwaraka. The Devas, Maruts, Saddhyas, Siddhas, Charanas, Gandharvas, Apsaras, Kinnaras followed Krishna, the eternal lord of all creatures in the etherial way, (95–102). When Keshava, on acquiring victory and fame, proceeded the Adityas, Vasus, Rudras, the two Ashwinis, Yakshas, Rakshasas, Siddhas, Charanas, and Vidyadharas followed him. Pleased at seeing Vana and Varuna defeated the great and ever quarrelsome Narada, set out for Dwaraka. Thus proceeding Keshava, the holder of discus and club, saw from a distance the city of Dwaraka having many doors and adorned with blue-turreted, beautiful palaces resembling the summits of the mount Kailasha and blew his conch-shell Panchajanya. As the blare of Panchajanya used to indicate Keshava's arrival and departure he, with it, communicated the news of his approach to the citizens of Dwaraka. Hearing the sound of Panchajanya the inhabitants of Dwaraka adorned their respective habitations with profuse flowers, jars full of water and fried paddy. The streets of that prosperous city, abounding in many jems, were cleansed; the Brahmanas and the elderly persons with arghya and exclaiming his many victories adored Madhava. People bowed unto Krishna, highly beautiful and resembling a mass of collyrium who sat on Vinata's son. The Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras in order adored the highly powerful Ananta, the slayer of Keshi. Waiting in a garden of Dwaraka, the lotus-eyed Madhava was eulogised by the Rishis, gods, Gandharvas and Charanas. Seeing those wonders and the large-armed Krishna the great Dasharhas attained to an excess of joy. Beholding the great Purusottama return after defeating Vana, the inhabitants of Dwaraka began to talk on diverse topics. After the great Krishna, the greatest car-warrior amongst the Yadavas, had returned from that long distance whither he had gone through the help of Suparna they conversed amongst themselves. "Blessed and favoured are we since the kind lord of the universe, the long and mighty-armed Krishna is our protector. Riding on Vinata's son the lotus-eyed deity defeated the irrepressible Vana: and now returning to Dwaraka he has gladdened our hearts." While the inhabitants of Dwaraka thus conversed, the gods, the car-warriors, entered into Vasudeva's palace. Then coming down from Garuda's back Vasudeva, Bahadeva, Pradyumna and Aniruddha entered into the palace. Celestial cars of various forms were then seen moving about in the sky. Drawn by swans, bulls, deer, elephants, horses, Sarasas and peacocks, those thousands of cars displayed a great beauty there.

Thereupon in sweet words Krishna addressed Pradyumna and other princes:—"Salute them in due order—those Rudras, Adityas who have come here. Do you all salute the thousand-eyed Naga who has come here with his followers and dreadful Danavas. The seven great Rishis, other saints, and those holders of discuses have all come here for pleasing me—do ye adore them all. The oceans and other quarters have come here for satisfying me. Do you adore them in due order. The great Nagas headed by Vasuki and cows have come here for pleasing me: do you adore them in due order. The Yakshas, Rakshasas, Kinnaras, stars and other luminous bodies have come here for pleasing me: do you adore them in due order." Hearing the words of Vasudeva the princes, in due order, saluted the high-souled gods and stood before them. Beholding the celestials the citizens, filled with surprise, soon collected articles for Puja and said:—"Oh I under the protection of Vasudeva, we have, even here, witnessed this great wonder." Afterwards showering flowers, scents and powdered sandal they adored the gods. Controlling their senses and intellectual faculties the other inhabitants of Dwaraka worshipped the gods with fried paddy, incense and prostration. Thereupon Vasava embraced Ahuka, Vasudeva, Shamva, Satyaki, Nishatha, Ulmukha, the highly powerful Viprithu and the great Akrura and smelt their heads. Afterwards aiming at the slayer of Keshi, worthy of being eulogised, the great Shakra, in the midst of the Yadavas, gave vent to the following most excellent words:—"This foremost of Satwatas and Yadus has displayed his glory and manliness in the battle field whilst releasing Aniruddha. Having vanquished Vana in the battle-field before Mahadeva and Guha he has returned to Dwaraka. His thousands arms were reduced by him into two. Having left him only with two arms Hari has returned to his own city. All the works, for which the high-souled Krishna has been born in the land of men, have been accomplished and we too have been divested of sorrow. Without any anxiety do you drink Madhvika wine. Thus attached to worldly objects you will be able to spend your days happily. Under the protection of this high-souled one, I too, shorn of grief, will live happily with the celestials." Having thus chanted the glories of the great Keshava the destroyer of Danavas and adored of the world, the thousand-eyed Purandara, encircled by the gods, embraced him. Thereupon obtaining his permission, he, along with the gods and Marutas, set out for the celestial region. Having honoured the highly powerful Keshava with blessings of victory the great Rishis, along with Yakshas, Rakshasas and Kinnaras, repaired to their respective quarters.

After the departure of Purandara for the celestial region the highly powerful and great lotus-navelled deity enquired after their well-being. Thereupon there arose on all sides tumult of persons for seeing the moon-like countenance of Keshava. Seeing their devotion the sinless Keshava was highly pleased. Having thus returned to Dwaraka, Krishna, obtaining all objects of desire, riches and prosperity, lived happily with the Yadavas.

CHAPTER 131. ANIRUDDHA'S WEDDING AND RECEPTION.

Vaishampayana said:—Thereupon having his eyes expanded with joy the large-armed Ahuka said to the highly effulgent Krishna:—"O descendant of Yadu, hear what I say. O my child, seeing thee safely return we are all enjoying with the Apsaras. Do thou undertake a great festival for Aniruddha's return and wedding. United with Aniruddha and encircled by her friends the great Usha is living with the greatest possible pleasure. Baidarbhi says that the great daughter of the high-souled Kumbhanda should be enlisted as Usha's companion. Confer now that charming and beautiful daughter of Kumbhanda on Shamva and the remaining maidens should be duly given unto the other princes. Let a great festival take place in thy residence as well as in that of Aniruddha. Hear, the damsels of sweet voice are playing on musical instruments in the inner appartment. Some of them are dancing and others are singing. Some with glee are conversing with one another. And some, adorned with garlands and clad in variegated raiments, are moving about hither and thither. Some, under the influence of wine, are going to others, and some, with eyes expanded in joy, are playing at chess. Usha is encircled by her companions; take her into the palace. The beautiful and noble daughter of Vana, by name Usha, is a worthy daughter-in-law of thy race. Welcome her with all dignity."

After Ahuka had said this females, performing benedictory ceremonies, as laid down in the ritualistic code, conducted the beautiful Usha to Aniruddha's house. Beholding Aniruddha Devaki, Revati and the Bidarbha princess Rukshmini shed tears of joy. Thus when Usha was taken into the room, the beautiful damsels, blowing bugles, began to perform benedictory ceremonies. The beautiful Usha too, under the shelter of the Yadu chiefs, lived in their palace and enjoyed best of happiness. After a few days, the Apsara Chitralekha, who was living there under the guise of a woman, with the permission of Usha and other companions, started for the celestial region. Thus after the departure of her companions Mayavati first invited the beautiful Asura princess Usha and took her to her own residence. Seeing her youthful and beautiful daughter-in law Usha Pradyumna's wife welcomed her with costly jewels and dresses. Thereupon according to the custom of the family all the ladies of the Yadu race duly treated the new daughter in-law Usha.

Vaishampayana said:—O upholder of the Kuru race, I have thus described to you how Vana was vanquished by Vishnu in battle and left alive. Afterwards, encircled by the Yadavas and enjoying the highest prosperity Krishna lived in Dwaraka and governed the whole world. O king, thus incarnating himself on earth Vishnu was celebrated by the name of Vasudeva the foremest of the Yadu race. You had formerly questioned me as to the cause of the powerful Vishnu's taking birth from Devaki in Vasudeva's family in the Vrishni race. These are all the causes thereof. O Janameyaja, you heard all that I had said at length relating to Narada's question and Vasudeva's reply in the episode of the wonderful incident. I have removed your doubts about Krishna's life and conduct in Mathura and have described all his movements. Krishna is the abode of wonders: there is nothing more wonderful than he. There is no wonder which has not been performed by Vishnu. Vishnu is the foremost of the blessed—the origin and bestower of good fortune. Amongst the Aditvas and Daityas there is none more wonderful than Achyuta. He is Adityas, Vasas, Rudras, Maruts, the two Ashwinis, the sky, earth, quarters, water and luminous bodies. Vishnu alone is the creator, preserver and destroyer, truth, Tapas and the grand-father Brahma. Salute him, O descendant of Bharata. This lord of the celestials is the whole universe, is Ananta amongst the Nagas and Shankara amongst the Rudras. This universe, mobile and immobile, has emanated from Narayana. Janarddana has created this whole universe. That Eternal One alone is always adorable unto the gods. Thus have I recounted Keshava's glories and Vana's battle. Listening to them you will acquire incomparable family prestige. Sin will not invade them, who will meditate on Vana's battle and the most excellent deed of Keshava. O Janamejaya, thus after the termination of the sacrifice as questioned by you, I have described all the glorious deeds of Vishnu. O king, the man who can meditate on all these wonderful themes, in his mind, is freed from sins and repairs to the region of Vishnu. He, who will recite this every morning, will meet with no calamity either in this world or in the next. By reciting it the Brahmanas will be versed in the Saman, the Kshatriyas will acquire victories, the Vaishyas will amass riches and the Sudras will fare well. He, who will recite this, will be visited by no misfortune and live a long life.

Souti said:—O foremost of the twice-born, hearing this Harivamsha, Parikshit's son Janamejaya was freed from sins. O Sounaka, I have thus described to you Hari's family at length and in brief. What more do you wish to hear again?

THE HARIVAMSHA BOOK 3 - BHAVISHYA PARVA OR THE BOOK OF FUTURE.

CHAPTER 1. AN ACCOUNT OF JANAMEJAYA'S FAMILY.

Shounaka said:—O son of Lomaharshana, who are the sons of Janamejaya? And by whom the family of Pandavas was founded? I have been stricken with curiosity to hear this history. I wish therefore to learn every detail about it as you have said.

Souti said:—Parikshit's son Janamejaya begat on his wife Kashya two sons, the king Chandrapida and Suryapida who was conversant with the knowledge of emancipation. By performing works befitting the Kshatriyas, the hundred sons of Chandrapida, who were all clever archers, acquired celebrity on earth under the appellation of Janamejayas. Of them the eldest Satyakarana of long arms, the performer of many sacrifices accompanied with profuse gifts, was installed on the throne of Hastinapur. Satyakarna's son the virtuous and powerful Swetakarna had no issue and he therefore entered into woods with his spouse. The beautiful Yadu princess Malini, of fair eye-brows, conceived through the forest-ranging Swetakarna. Just in the beginning of this conception the patriarch Swetakarna entered like his fore-fathers into woods for good. Beholding her husband retire into forest, Malini, who was quick with a child, followed him, and on the way gave birth to a son having eyes like lotus petals. As Draupadi followed her husbands in the days of yore so the chaste and noble Malini followed her consort leaving the new-born baby behind. While that tender baby, divorced from his mother, was crying in the mountain cave, some cranes, stricken with compassion for the great prince, came there. Seeing that crying prince Shravistha's sons the Rishis Paippaladi and Koushika felt compassion and took him up. They then washed with water his two sides which were bruised against the rock and covered with blood. The sides of the prince were dark-blue like those of a goat and were high and well-formed. He therefore passed by the name of Ajaparsha. Thereupon those two foremost of the twice-born (Paippaladi and Koushika) named him Ajaparsha and brought him up in the house of a Rishi named Vemaka. Vemaka's wife brought up Ajaparsha as her son, so he became Vemaka's son and those two Brahmanas became his councillors. Ajaparsha and the sons and grand-sons of Paippaladi and Koushika lived the same life. This Ajaparsha, born in the race of Puru, founded

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the family of the Pandavas. Formerly while transferring his decrepitude Nashusha's son the intelligent Yayati sang this verse: "Earth will forsooth be divested of the sun, moon and planets but she will never be shorn of the Purus."

CHAPTER 2. VYASA'S PRESENCE AT JANAMEJAYA'S SACRIFICE.

Sounaka said:—I have thus recited to you the entire Harivamsha with all its Parvas as recounted by Vyasa's disciple. May this endless history of Hari's family, nectar-like and destructive of all sins, please us. O you endued with patience, because this history is pleasant to ears it has greatly gladdened our hearts. Afterwards, O Sauti, what did the king Janamejaya do on the termination of the Sarpayajna after listening to this most excellent history?

Souti said:—Hear, I will describe to you all what the king Janamejaya did listening to this most excellent history after the termination of the Sarpayajna. When this sacrifice was finished Parikshit's son Janamejaya collected materials for the celebration of a horse-sacrifice. Then inviting the Ritwikas, priests and preceptors he said:—"I am desirous of celebrating a horse-sacrifice. Do ye dedicate these horses".

Thereupon informed of the object of Parikshit's son Janamejaya, of indefatigable energy, the virtuous-souled Krishna Dwaipayana, the foremost of the omniscient, all on sudden came there for witnessing (the sacrifice). Beholding the great Rishi Veda-Vyasa arrive there the king Janamejaya offered him Arghya, a seat and water for washing his feet according to the rules laid down in Sastras. O Shounaka, after they had both taken their seats the courtiers, from all sides, began to discourse on diverse Vedic themes. After they had finished their discourses, king Janamejaya said to the great Muni Veda-Vysa, the grand-father of the Pandavas and his own great grand-father:—"The story of the Mahabharata, having many meanings and abounding in Srutis, is exceedingly pleasant to ears. It was finished as if in a moment. The history, which spreads glories and gives fame like unto milk in a conch-shell, has been beautifully recorded by thee. As a man is not satisfied with ambrosia and bliss of heaven, so I am not with listening to the stories of the Mahabharata. Thou art omniscient, O Brahman and therefore I accost thee whether Rajasuya was not the cause of the destruction of the Kurus. It appears to me that as many unconquerable kings meet with death at the time of revolution so the Rajasuya Yajna was ordained for battle. I have heard that when this Rajasuya was undertaken by Soma it was followed by the war of which Taraka was the root. Afterwards when Varuna undertook this great sacrifice it was followed by the war between gods and Asuras. When the royal saint Harishchandra undertook this sacrifice it was followed by the battle Adivaka in which many Kshatriyas were killed. Last of all when the worshipful Pandavas undertook this most arduous sacrifice it was followed by the great Bharata war. O great sir, why did you not all put a stop to that Rajasuya Yajna the root of the world-destroying war? It is difficult to celebrate this sacrifice well with all its branches. When one of the branches of a sacrifice is neglected it leads to the destruction of people. Thou art the grand-father of our ancestors, their first lord and art cognizant of the past and future. Thyself living as their guide why did those intelligent kings, as if having none to govern them, and deviating from the paths of morality, commit sin?".

Vyasa said:—O king, forsooth urged on by Destiny those kings acted against the established usages and customs. They did not ask me any thing about the future. And, I too did not tell them any thing unasked. Besides I was not capable of counteracting the future result, for none can with stand the work of Destiny. I will describe to you the future subject about which you have questioned me. But Destiny is now very powerful. And even listening to my words you will not be able to carry them out. Either through fear or zeal you will not be able to stand in the ways of a man for it is impossible to overcome predestination. The Sruti lays down that the Kshatriyas should celebrate Ashwamedha, the foremost of sacrifices. On account of the greatness of that sacrifice Vasava will violate your Ashwamedha. O king, even if you are capable of withstanding Vasava either by your manliness or through the will of the Providence you should not celebrate such a sacrifice. However you, Sakra, or the presiding priests will commit no sin thereby for Destiny is all-powerful. Ordained by Destiny Brahma will obstruct the termination of Indra's sacrifice. In the course of time and according to the will of the Providence creation will come to an end with the termination of a cycle and the Brahmanas will sell the fruits of sacrifices. Therefore know this universe mobile and immobile, as being subject to Destiny.

Janamejaya said:—O reverend sir, tell me, what cause will arrive for putting a stop to the horse-sacrifice. Hearing it I will desist.

Vyasa said:—O king, the cause thereof will be the ireful curse of a Brahmana. You may fare well if you try to avoid it. O slayer of enemies, as long as the world will last, the Kshatriyas will not be able to collect materials for your horse-sacrifice.

Janamejaya said:—Aswamedha will be stopped by the power of the fiery curse of a Brahmana, but I will be the instrument thereof. Indeed I am filled with fear and shame. How will a man like myself, the performer of many good deeds, like unto a bird, tied with a noose, flying into the sky, engage in such a cursed work, and exert to live? If I engage in such a work, through me a rite, practised from generation to generation, will be spoiled. Console me, saying that the horse-sacrifice will again be undertaken (by kings).

Vyasa said:—As an energy, counteracted by another, lives in it, so the Aswamedha sacrifice, although stopped, will exist in the gods and Brahmanas. Leading the life of a soldier, some descendants of Kashyapa will again revive this horse-sacrifice in the Kali-Yuga. O king, as the hour of universal dissolution brings into being many evil portends such as white planets so a Brahmana, born in his race, will revive this sacrifice in the cycle of Kali. This sacrifice will bestow proper fruits on men celebrating it and they will range at the gate of the end of the cycle encircled by the Rishis. From that time the senses of men will not renounce the fruits of the pristine good works and will not be attached to them in this world. A highly subtle religion, deviating from the duties of the four orders, and having charity at its root only, the offspring of the time, will flourish. Practising austerities to a small extent men, O Janamejaya, at the end of this cycle will acquire spiritual powers. Thus blessed they will practise pious rites.

CHAPTER 3. AN ACCOUNT OF KALI-YUGA.

Janamejaya said:—I do not know whether the time for Moksha (emancipation) is distant or near. Therefore I wish to know about the cycle of Kali which has followed Dwapara struck with the arrows of virtue and sin. With deeds easily performed we will acquire virtue. Stricken with this desire we have been born in this Kali-yuga.

Shounaka said "O thou conversant with religion the cycle of Kali, a source of trouble to the creatures and the destruction of virtue, is about to set in. Do thou therefore describe it with its characteristics".

Shouti said:—Thus accosted the Divine Vyasa accurately thought of the condition of men in the Kali-yuga and began to describe the future cycle.

Vyasa said:—When Kali will set in the kings, incapable of protecting their subjects, will only guard themselves busily exacting tributes from them. At the end of this cycle the kings will not act like the Kshatriyas, the Brahmanas will carry on their livelihood like the Sudras and the Sudras will behave like the Brahmanas. O Janamejaya, at the end of this cycle the Brahmanas, well read in Srutis and Vedas, will take up arrows and Havi will be divorced from sacrifices and all people will take their meals in the same row. When the last of the cycles Kali will appear men will be artizans, untruthful, fond of wine and meat and know the wives of their friends. In the Kali Yuga the thieves will fare like the kings and the kings will act like thieves and the servants will enjoy unfixed incomes. In the last cycle wealth will be spoken of highly, the character of the pious will be despised and the fallen will not be censured. The widows, divorced from the consciousness of virtue and sin, the ascetics and men of fifteen years of age will procreate offspring through promiscuous intercourse. In that last cycle the villagers will sell food, the Brahmanas will sell the Vedas, and the women will sell their persons. In this cycle all will read the Vedas and celebrate Vajasaneyi sacrifices and the Sudras will (boldly) address all as "O". The Sudras following the tenets of Buddha will abstain from taking meat. And with white teeth, keen observation and shaving their heads and wearing silk raiments they will practise religion. The Mlechchas will live in the province of Kurupanchala and people of that country will live in that of the former. In the end of the cycle men will go downwards. The Brahmanas will sell the fruits of Tapas and sacrifices and the seasons will be perverted. The beasts, with tusks and teeth, will be set to ploughs and carts: men will till with the water of ponds and the clouds will irregularly discharge their contents. The thieves will steal the wealth of one another and wretched men will be rich acquiring very little money. In this last cycle men will be divorced from religious rites, the divisions of the land will abound in deserts, and the cities will be traversed by many roads. In the Kali yuga every body will become a merchant and the sons will divide the ancestral gifts. Impelled by covetuousness and falsehood people will fight with one another and rob their wealth. In the absence of beauty, personal grace and ornaments the women will be only adorned with hairs. In this last cycle, men, divorced from all objects of enjoyment, as garlands, sandal, etc., will find pleasure only in their wives. When the wicked and non-aryans will multiply, when the number of males will decrease, and dis-proportionate to it that of women will increase know this as the real sign of the end of the cycle. Then every body will be a beggar: and no one will give alms. Without distinction people will accept gifts from other Varnas (orders), And afflicted by the king, thieves and fire, people will meet with extinction. In this last cycle people will not get crops, youthful persons will be visited by decrepitude and people will be unhappy for their bad ambition. Blowing high and downwards the wind will shower dust in the rany season and people will feel doubts about the next world. Every one will be wicked by nature, will villify the God and be egoistic: being covetous the Brahmanas will blame others. Adopting the ways of the Vaishyas the Kshatriyas will maintain themselves by cultivation and trade and the Brahmanas will destroy the dignity of religion. In the end of the cycle men will not observe their vows and promise. And what to speak of their satisfying their own debts, they will, for it, even cast off courtesy. Fruitless will be a man's joy and fruitful will be his anger. For milk the sheep will be regarded. In the end of the cycle, men, shorn of the knowledge of scriptures, will naturally behave thus. Disregarding moral laws, men, proud of their own learning, will interpret the Sastras. When the last cycle will set in every one, without the instruction of their elders, will acquire knowledge in all branches and there will be no one who will not be a poet. Deviating from their right duties the Brahmanas will turn out astrologers and the kings will become thieves. In the end of the cycle those men, who will co-habit with bastard women, be deceiptful and drunkards, will be Brahmavadins and celebrate horse sacrifices. Eager for acquiring riches the Brahmanas will officiate as priests for unworthy persons and partake of the forbidden food. Every one will recite "Bho!" and no one will study the Vedas. The women will put on one conch bangle and use an ornament of the shape of a paddy. The stars will not be united with proper planets, the quarters will be contrary—the appearance of an evening and burning will always be seen. The son will engage his father in works and the daughter-in-law will order her mother-in-law. Men will co-habit with beasts and women of different castes. The disciples will wound their preceptors with wordy shafts and men, maddened, will speak many things. Without offering the first four oblations to the gods the Agnihotris will take their meals; and without offering food to their guests, men will eat themselves. Deceiving their sleeping husbands the women will visit other men, and men too, leaving their sleeping wives, will go to other women. When the cycle will run out people will be visited with diseases, mental agony and envy and they will not remedy their own actions.

CHAPTER 4. KALI-YUGA DESCRIBED.

Janamejaya said:—When the whole world will thus be sullied, by whom men will be protected? How will they behave? What will they take and how will they enjoy? What will be their actions and endeavours? How long will they live? And meeting with what end will they attain to Satya-Yuga?.

Vyasa said:—When religion will be shaken and good conduct will be extinct, men, shorn of accomplishments, will be short-lived. With the decrease of the duration of life, there will be decay of strength. It will lead to the perversity of colour which will produce diseases. This will give birth to repentence which will beget the consciousness of the God. And this will produce again virtue. With this end they will attain to the Satya Yuga. Some, observing virtue in words only, will grow indifferent and some, being conscientious, will, with curiosity, enquire into causes. Having their minds freed from doubts, some men, proud of their learning, will find out unity between inference and evidence. Others will disprove the Vedas. The wicked and ignorant men, proud of their learning, will be atheists. They will be proud and divorced from the knowledge of Sastras. They will have reverence for the apparent meaning and be fond of discussions. When at the revolution of the cycle religion will be shaken people will follow the last (Vishnu's) dispensation; and with gifts and truthfulness they will perform many merciful acts. During that period people will eat every sort of things, be of uncontrolled senses, devoid of accomplishments and shameless. Know this as the consummate sign of sinfulness. When the Kshatriyas and other orders, will resort to begging, the eternal means of subsistence unto the Brahmanas, for their livelihood know it as the sign that sin has set in. When this cycle, destructive of knowledge and learning, will be filled with sin, people, leading the life of celibacy, will attain to the consummation of spiritualism within a short time. In the last cycle will take place great wars, great tumults, great showers and fears: know these to be the signs of sinfulness. In the end of the Yuga the Rakshasas will assume the forms of the Brahmanas and the kings, bent upon speaking harsh words, will enjoy the earth. When men, divorced from the study of the Vedas, celebration of sacrifices and morals, proud, avaricious, eating all, performing useless rites, stupid, selfish, covetous, putting on worthless dresses, mean, deviating from the eternal religion, the stealers of other's riches, the ravishers of others' wives, lustful, wicked, deceiptful and brave, will be born with equal character the various ascetics will hide themselves. With words men will worship those persons, devoted to the God, who were born in the Krita age. Men will steal corns, raiments, edibles and even dry cow-dung. The thieves will steal the property of other thieves and murderers will kill other murderers. When thieves will kill the other thieves people will fare well. When the world will be impoverished, oppressed and divorced from evening prayers and when all the orders will live in the same style men, pressed down by the weight of taxes, will retire into woods. The sons

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will engage the father in all works and the daughter-in-law will make the mother-in law work. And when sacrifices will be stopped the disciples will pain the preceptor with wordy shafts. The Rakshasas, the voracious animals, insects, mice and serpents will injure men. O king, in the close of the cycle, peace, prosperity, health, friends and literature of the people will suffer decrease. Being themselves their own masters and thieves, kings, loaded with the miseries of the cycle, will roam in circles in various countries. Travelling in their own countries and growing useless, men, with their friends, will await the appointed time. Assailed with fear and hunger and carrying their sons on their shoulders men will cross the Koushiki and seek shelter in the provinces of Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Kashmira, Mekala and Rishikantagiri. Men will live with the Mlechchas on the sides of the Himalaya, the bank of the ocean of salt water or in the forests. The earth will be shorn and yet not shorn of its inhabitants. Although armed the guards will not do their duties. Men will live on deer, fish, birds, beasts of prey, serpents, insects, vegetables, fruits and roots (30–34). Like Munis men will collect themselves and put on bark, leaves and deer-skin. Although living in mountain caves they will grow anxious for knowing and eating paddy growing in villages or in the forest. They will with care rear up sheep, goats, asses and camels. Living on the bank of rivers for water they will obstruct the currents. And they will sell and buy cooked food amongst themselves. For taking their own shares the sons will fight over the capital. Under the influence of the age people will have children, have none and will be shorn of the good marks of their families. People, in that cycle, will follow a degraded faith preached by a degraded person. The duration of a man's life will be thirty years. And attacked by fever they will grow weak and lose their wealth; their physical organs will be enfeebled by diseases and they will be visited by sorrow consequent upon the decrease of their longevity. They will be busily engaged with visiting and serving the pious and on account of the wane of their conduct they will attain to Satya-Yuga. They will practise pious rites because they will not get objects of desire; and they will shrink from committing oppressions on account of their weakness proceeding from the destruction of their own men.

Thus making gifts, observing truth and cherishing reverence for the safety of their own lives they will satisfy the four-fold duties and meet with well-being. Amongst those men rolling with the senses and their objects, some will acquire the true knowledge and say "Whether virtue or death has sweet fruits." As decline gradually takes place so does advancement. Afterwards when religion will be completely followed by men Krita-yuga will set in. As the moon increases in the light half of the month and decreases in the dark half, so good conduct multiplies in the Krita-Yuga and suffers decrease in the Kali. However the time is one: according to increase and decrease, Satya, Treta, Dwapara and Kali are its four stages. As the moon is enshrouded by darkness in the dark fortnight and becomes full in the light fortnight so virtue increases in the Satya and decreases in the Kali Yuga. As a man does not regard an ancestral lump of gold covered with dust as gold and thinks himself poor, and again considers himself rich when he finds it gold after it is cleansed, so when the great soul is covered with Maya pervaded by the quality of darkness, men call it a creature and when it is divorced from Maya they call it pure intelligence. It is thus said in the Vedas and the learned men also have explained its meaning. By penances having heaven etc., for their object, eternal fruits are begotten: these fruits produce gunas or qualities and thus their actions are accomplished. By these truthful actions even body is not liberated. The fruits of actions follow the country, time and worthy person in various Yugas: and thus difference is seen in them. So the Rishis have said; in various cycles differences in worldly profit, objects of desire, adoration of the deities and duration of life, are created. As according to the nature of the Providence the revolution of cycles takes place, so the rise and decay takes place in the world which cannot stand inactive even for a moment.

CHAPTER 5. INDRA RAVISHES VAPUSTHAMA: VISHWAVASU PACIFIES JANAMEJAYA'S WRATH.

Souti said:—While the foremost of Rishis thus consoled the king Janamejaya, his words, relating to the past and future, were heard by all those who were present in that meeting. Their ears were pleased with (drinking) the juice of that great Rishi's words like unto the nectar-carrying rays of the moon. Hearing the charming history of the Bharata war in which many heroes were killed and which yielded virtue, worldly profit and desire, some, in that assembly, shed tears and some engaged in meditation. That chronicle was described by the Rishi as if it was written on his palm. Having circumambulated all the courtiers present there the divine Rishi Vyasa obtained their permission and departed saying "I will see you all again". Afterwards the leading ascetics followed that foremost of Rishis Vyasa, the best of speakers. After the departure of the divine Vyasa and of the Rishis, the priests and the kings repaired whence they had come.

Casting off anger like unto a serpent throwing off its venom and wrecking revenge on those dreadful Pannagas king Janamejaya went away. With the Homa fire the great Muni Astika saved Takshaka of burning hood and repaired to his own hermitage. King Janamejaya too, encircled by his own people, went to the city of Hastinapur and with joy began to govern his contented subjects. A few days after Janamejaya duly undertook the celebration of a horse sacrifice accompanied with profuse presents.

Having controlled herself according to the rites laid down in the scripture the worshipful lady Vapusthuma Kashya, went to the horse slain at Janamejaya's sacrifice, and sat down near it. Desiring for that perfectly beautiful lady Vasava entered into the body of the slain horse and knew her. Beholding that change Janamejaya said to the sacrificing priest, "This horse has not been slain: kill him at once." Coming to know of that endeavour of Indra's the wise priest communicated it to the royal saint Janamejaya and imprecated a curse on Indra.

Janamejaya said:—"O Shounaka, if there is any fruit accruing to me for my penances, protection of the subjects and sacrifice, I swear by it and tell you some thing; hear; from to-day the Kshatriyas will no more worship the fickle-minded Indra, who has no control over his mind, with horse sacrifices". Then greatly worked up with anger king Janamejaya said to the presiding priests:—"While this sacrifice of mine has been spoiled by Indra, forsooth I know that you have not the least of a Brahmana's energy in you. You should not therefore live in my territory. Do you go elsewhere with your friends." Thus addressed the Brahmanas grew angry with Janamejaya and went away. Thereupon greatly worked up with anger the highly pious king Janamejaya went inside his palace and ordered his queens saying "Drive away the unchaste Vapushthama from my house who has placed on my head her feet covered with dust. She has destroyed my glory and fame and spoiled my honour. I do not wish to see that unchaste wife like a cast off garland. He, who in this world lives with a wife fond of other men, cannot enjoy sweet food and sleep happily in a solitary place. He should not enjoy her like unto spoiled Havi." Saying this, Parikshita's son, irate, was crying aloud. The Gandharva princess Vishwavasu then said to him:

Vishwavasu said:—O king, thou hast celebrated three hundred sacrifices; Vasava therefore cannot forgive you any longer. Vapusthama, this thy properly wedded wife, has no fault. She was formerly the Apsara Rambha and is now born as the daughter of the king of Kashi. Enjoy with this best of beautiful damsels considering her as a great jewel. Do not ever leave her. O foremost of Kurus, thou art like Sachi's lord in riches. Beholding thee ready to celebrate sacrifices, the king of gods, seeking holes, has put in obstacles here. O king, thinking that thou wilt surpass him in fruits of sacrifices, the king of gods has obstructed this Yajna. Desirous of throwing an obstacle Vasava, seeing the horse slain and seeking loop holes, has employed this illusion here. Indra has known her thinking her as Rambha whom thou dost regard as Vapusthama. Worked up with anger in consequence thereof thou hast cursed those priests who have officiated at thy three hundred sacrifices and hast been deprived of the fruits which only Indra is entitled to. And those preceptors too have been driven away by thee. Vasava always stood in fear of thyself and the Brahmanas. By accomplishing this feat through his illusory power he has been freed from both the fears. How can that highly powerful Purandara, who is desirous of achieving victories, ravish the wives of his sons and grand sons which even the ordinary men do not? As intelligence, virtue, control of senses, spiritual prowess and glory exist sufficiently in Indra the rider of lions so do they exist in thee who hast celebrated three hundred sacrifices. Therefore do not blame Indra, the preceptors, Vapusthama and thy own self. It is very difficult to overcome the Destiny. By virtue of his spiritual powers the king of gods entered into the horse and excited thy wrath: but be not worked up with anger. Those, who wish happiness, should always follow the ways of the Providence. It is very difficult to overcome the adverse destiny as it is to cross the current from a contrary direction. Therefore desist from the attempt; and shorn of anxiety do thou enjoy in the company of this jewel of a sinless wife, O king, if ordinary innocent ladies are divorced by men, they curse the latter. One should never divorce a celestial wife if she is innocent. Rays of the sun, flames of fire, the sacrificial altar, oblations and a wife who is not attached by another are never sullied even when they are touched by others. Wives of good character like the goddess of prosperity should be always respected, maintained, protected and adored by the learned.

CHAPTER 6. JANAMEJAYA LIVES HAPPILY: EFFECT OF THE RISHI'S WORDS.

Shouti said:—Thus requested by Vishwavasu Janamejaya, whose mind was filled with useless anxiety, was propitiated with Vapusthama and celebrated a religious rite for the removal of sin. Driving away his mental labour, desiring for fame and pleasing Vapusthama the pious Janamejaya governed his kingdom. He did not abstain from worshipping the Brahmanas, celebrating sacrifices, making gifts and looking after his State and did not scold Vapusthama. Continually meditating with a confident heart on what the Rishis of great penances had said, viz., "It is impossible to overcome the work of Destiny" king Janamejaya cast off his anger.

He, who reads these great words of the great Rishi, becomes most adorable unto men, lives sufficiently long and attains to fruits which it is difficult (for others) to acquire. The man, who reads these words destructive of the sin of the performer of hundred sacrifices, is freed from sins, obtains many desired-for objects and lives happily for a long time. As a tree yields fruits originating from flowers and it springs up again from those fruits, so those words, emanating from the great Rishi, make him prosperous again. By virtue of these words a sonless man obtains powerful sons, a man, losing his position in the world, regains it, one is freed from diseases and fetters, and being endued with accomplishments he performs auspicious works. By hearing these auspicious words of the Rishi the maidens obtain husbands after their hearts and give birth to powerful and accomplished sons capable of grinding their enemies. Hearing these words the Kshatriyas conquer the world, and their enemies and acquire immense wealth, the Vaishyas obtain sufficient properties and the Sudras attain to a better status. Recollecting this episode which has been described to you in the circle of the Brahmanas, you, resorting to patience and calmness, range happily in the world. Thus I have recounted to you the lives and conduct of the great Rishis of wonderful deeds. Tell me what else you wish to hear. I will describe it to you.

CHAPTER 7. THE ATTRIBUTES OF GOD.

Janamejaya said:—"O thou the lord of those conversant with Yoga, do thou describe to me at length the power of the lotus-navelled deity lying asleep in the water of the ocean and how the gods with Rishis were born in the universe. I am not satiated with listening to an account of his glories. How long did that Purrusottama lie there? Being himself the cause of the origin of time why did he sleep at that time? How long after did the divine king of the celestials awake? And after being aroused why did he create this universe? Who were the Patriarchs before, O great Muni? Why did the Eternal Purusha create the worlds? O Muni, formerly when the mobile and immobile creatures, gods, Asuras, serpents, Rakshasas, air, fire, sky and earth were destroyed how did the highly powerful Lord and Preceptor of the celestials, the king of great elements, lie asleep in that all-expanding one ocean in which all the elements were immersed. I have sought refuge with thee, O Brahman, thou shouldst forsooth describe the glories of Narayana. O reverend sir, it behoveth thee to describe unto me the past and future incarnations of the Great Deity that should be adored by persons having reverential faith".

Vaishampayana said:—O sinless scion of the Kuru race, it is indeed worthy of thy family that thou art anxious to listen to the glorious deeds of Narayana. O king, hear as we had learnt from the Brahmanas about the power of the Lotus-navelled Deity who had learnt it from the prime and ancient gods as recorded in the Srutis. O Bharata, through mental concentration Parasara's son, the beautiful preceptor Dwaipayana, powerful like unto Vrihaspati, witnessed the power of the Lotus-navelled Deity and described it. I shall describe it to you as I had heard before. But although I am a Rishi I have not been able to learn it completely. O king, who can try to know the Great Purusha Narayana whom even the creator, the originator of the universe, could not know fully? I have heard truly what is held as a great secret by the creator of the universe, identical with all and the origin of principles and by the great Rishis and gods, O sinless-one. Him alone, persons conversant with spiritual knowledge meditate on. He is the efficient cause of Karma, the prime deity of the celestials and is unseen by all. He is without beginning and end: He is the eternal truth which the great Rishis strive to know: He is Jnana or knowledge of the celestials and is perceived by persons, well read in the Vedas as the Absolute Intelligence. He is the creator of the objects of senses and creates the elements as Hiranyagarbha. He is intellect, mind, Kshetrajna, the principle of greatness, Purusha and the Great Soul. He is identical with time the witness of all and is independent. He is identical with five vital breaths, the cause of their action, is real and undecaying. He is the cause of our actions and the ordainer of what we should do and should not. He should be sought for by us, by every means, should be spoken of and heard of. He is heaven, emancipation, the various changes, the mysterious world and our protector. I will describe this Narayana unto you. O king, all that exists in the three worlds, untruth, cause and action, past and future, mobile, immobile and eternal has emanated from the Lotus-navelled Lord, the Great Purusha.

CHAPTER 8. THE DURATION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF YOGA.

Vaishampayana said:—O Janamejaya, the learned have described the Satya-Yuga as extending over four thousand

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years. And to each period of junction, at the commence ment and termination, has been alloted four hundred years. Virtue had at that time four legs and sin one, and men, observant of their own duties, used to celebrate sacrifices. During that age the Brahmanas used to perform their own duties, the kings used to follow their own duties, the Vaishyas were busy with the work of cultivation and the Sudras with serving (others). Truth, the quality of goodness and religion flourished and people used to receive. instruction from others for following the pious. O Bharata, such was the conduct of all men in the Krita-Yuga whether of the religiously-minded or of persons born in low lives.

The duration of the Treta-Yuga was three thousand years and that of its commencement and termination severally extended over three hundred years. During that period virtue had three legs and sin two. Truth and the quality of goodness continued intact as in the Krita-Yuga. Desiring for the fruits of religious practices mankind was vitiated. And accordingly the religious rites of the four orders suffered deterioration and they grew weak. O king, thus the work of the Treta-Yuga, as ordained by the gods, has been described to you. Listen now to the work of Dwapara. O foremost of Kurus, the duration of Dwapara extended over two thousand years and that of its two periods of conjunction was two hundred years each. During that age wise Brahmanas were born as being selfish, possessed by the quality of Rajas (self-centering tendency), deceiptful, mean-minded and of perverted nature. Virtue had two legs and sin three and therefore the bridges of eternal religion were gradually perverted. True Brahmanahood disappeared, faith in God was shattered, and Vrata, fasts and other religious rites were abandoned. The duration of the Kali-Yuga is one thousand years that of its two periods of conjunction is one hundred each. During this period virtue has one leg and sin has four. Men are born as being lustful and possessed by the quality of Tamas (disorganising tendency). None practises fast, none behaves like a pious man and none speaks the truth. Every man becomes an atheist or Brahma-vadin. Everyone becomes haughty and devoid of the feeling of affection. The Vipras will behave like the Sudras and the Sudras will be endued with the characteristics of the Brahmanas. In the Kali-Yuga people will violate the Ashramas, procreate offspring by promiscuous intercourse and know women whom they should not know. Thus, O Janamejaya, twelve thousand years constitute a Yuga and seventy-one Yugas constitute a Manawantara. At the time of the termination of a cycle no one doubts the three Vedas. The learned consider twelve thousand celestial years as constituting a Yuga. And a thousand of such Yugas forms one day of Brahma's.

O Bharata, after the passing away of this day the great lotus-navelled Deity, the lord of great elements, witnesses the decay of the body of the Brahmanas, Daityas, Danavas, Yakshas, Rakshas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Apsaras, celestial Rishis, Brahma Rishis, Royal Rishis, serpents, mountains, rivers, beasts, birds, deer and other creatures. Then resorting to his world-destroying intelligence he performs dreadful feats for bringing the universe into dissolution. In the form of the sun he takes away the vision of all creatures, in the shape of the wind he takes away their vital breaths, in that of the fire he consumes all the worlds and in that of the cloud he again sends down unfavourable showers.

CHAPTER 9. THE WORK OF DISSOLUTION DESCRIBED.

Vaishampayana said:—Having assumed the form of fire the Yogin Narayana, of seven forms, dries up the oceans with burning flames. By His own energy He destroys all desires in the shape of rivers and oceans and their powers in the form of mountains. He also destroys the two bodies gross and subtle. And fixing all on Brahma, the root of both the bodies He dries up all the qualities in order to create the universe again. He gives unto creatures the felicity that lies in Brahma the efficient cause of the universe. At that time He destroys even all this. Although Hari is powerful like the wind, He, having conquered the whole universe, draws upwards the five vital breaths and the five senses.

Afterwards the five senses of the celestials and other creatures and their objects, such as smell, body etc. resort to the earth (for their existence). The organ of taste, tongue and its object juice go to the water. The organ of vision eye and its object colour go to the luminous bodies. The organ of touch, skin, and its object touch, the vital breath and its work, motion, go to the air. And all these exist in the Hrishikesha who is like a thread. In order to keep the gods, pervaded by subtle faculties, senses and their objects in a balanced state in the universal thread the Omniscient Lord attracts them all through the air. Then the dreadful fire Samvarttaka, the cause of the universe produced by the contact of colour, touch etc, burning up in a hundred flames, consumes the whole world. After that fire has reduced, into ashes, the mountains, trees, groves, creepers, twigs, celestial cars, cities, hermitages, celestial buildings and other habitations, Hari, the preceptor of the world, extinguishes it with the water of action. Then assuming the form of a huge cloud the thousand-eyed, highly powerful Krishna gratifies the earth with pure water.

Thereupon when the earth is greatly pacified with highly auspicious, sacred, sweet and nectar-like water, when the mountains and trees lie under water, when the clouds are surcharged with water, when the earth is converted into one sheet of water and shorn of all creatures, all the great elements are immersed in Hrishikesha, lying in a subtle place shorn of the sun, ether and living creatures. Thus having dried up, consumed, agitated and drunk the entire creation the Eternal Purusha, of unlimited intellect, exists alone resorting to His ancient form. When the great Yogin lies in his Yoga sleep in the all-covering ocean, all the elements, existing eternally, lie unitedly in the pure Brahma. No one can perceive that unmanifest Purusha as manifest when He lies for ayuta thousand years in the one ocean.

Janamejaya said:—What is this all-expanding ocean which thou hast described? Who is this Purusha? What is Yoga? who is a Yogin?.

Vaishampayana said:—No one can understand waiting how long the Lord will convert all into one ocean. At that time the Lord will only gauge all, see all and know all: nothing else will be perceptible. Having permeated the the sky, earth, air and the other elements with His intelligence and kept the lord of celestials, Brahma endued with mental faculties immersed in Himself the Lord, controlling His creative energy, will be asleep in the water.

CHAPTER 10. THE GOD AFTER DISSOLUTION.

Vaishampayana said:—Thus when every thing will be converted into one ocean the highly illustrious Lord Hari, having brought about the dissolution of the universe as the material cause, exists as pure intelligence. The great Narayana, who is above the reach of the quality of Rajas and whom the learned describe as eternal, covered with his own consciousness, lies asleep for three ages in the body of the impassable ocean the fruit of the quality of Rajas and of elements. The Purusha, having a head, feet etc., is attainable by Yoga and sacrifices, but the Great Purusha is different from him. This pure intelligence lies in all. The Lord created from his mouth Brahma and the Saman reciters, and from his arms Hotas and Adhyaru priests. He then created Mitra and Varuna, the reciters of the Vedas, Samprastata and Pratishta. From his belly he created Pratiharta and Pota. From his two thighs he created Adhyapak and Neshta, from his hands created Agnidra and Subramanya and from his arms he created Grava and Unneta. Thus the Lord created these most eminent sixteen sacrificial priests. The Lord is known in the Vedas as the great Soul. Through sacrifices one can attain to Him. The Vedas, Upanishads and the sacrifices are described as the means for attaining to Him. When the Lord exists in the form of his pure intelligence a wonderful affair takes place. It is heard that Markandeya witnessed it.

By virtue of a boon granted by the Lord and His power the great Rishi Markandeya lived for many thousand years. And when he was worn out he lived in the cavity of His belly. There he recited names, performed Homa and practised hard penances. Afterwards issuing out on pilgrimage he visited all the sacred shrines of the world, hermitages, various countries and cities. Thus travelling he gradually came out of the Lord's mouth; but over-powered by the illusory power of the Deity he could not think that he had come out. Thus coming out of His mouth Markandeya saw one ocean, i.e., Brahma in pure intelligence and all covered with the darkness of ignorance. Seeing it, he was possessed by a dreadful fright and was anxious about his own life. But seeing the Pure Intelligence he was pleased and filled with great wonder. Unable to discriminate all particularly and wholesale, he, stricken with terror, thought—"Is this my thought, stupifaction or dream? All these appear to me in a different light and nothing seems as real. The Real is shorn of attachments and the pain of ignorance. It never appears in such a mental desire. What is this region divested of the moon, the sun, the air, mountains and earth?" Thus thinking he saw in that great ocean like into a cloud surcharged with water a mountain-like Purusha lying asleep. That Purusha was as if afflicting the worlds with his sunny effulgence. He was awake as if for his gravity and breathing like a serpent. Then curiously enquiring "Who must be he?" the great Muni Markandeya approached the Lord and gradually entered into the cavity of his belly. Entering there and thinking that he had dreamt a dream he, with firm conviction, began to move about there as before. As formerly Markandeya ranged over the surface of the earth visiting all the shrines so he travelled there. By his Yoga power he saw in the cavity of the Deity's belly a hundred performers of sacrifices accompanied with profuse gifts, and the Brahmanas and other castes of good conduct who were observant of the duties of the four Ashramas and following good ways. Although he travelled there hundreds and thousands of years the intelligent Markandeya could not arrive at the end of the cavity.

Thereupon once on a time Markandeya again came out of (the Lord's) mouth and saw a boy asleep on the branch of a fig-tree. The inside of that forest, girt with one ocean, was covered with dew and was not therefore visible: the earth was shorn of the four sorts of creatures and everything looked dreadful. Seeing it Markandeya was again filled with curiosity, but could not get near that boy who was effulgent like a thousand suns. Afraid of the Lord's illusion he stood by the solitary water and thought "Have I not seen it before?" He then descended into the calm and limitless ocean and worn out with fear and toil he began to enjoy rest there.

Thereupon the Lord Purusottama, who had assumed the form of a swan and attained to boy-hood by His Yoga power, said in a voice gave like the muttering of a cloud. The Lord said:—"O my son, O foremost of heroes and ascetics, O Markandeya, you are a boy. You are greatly worn out with toil. Come near me, you have no fear."

Markandeya said:—"Who, mentioning my name, has destroyed my age of many thousand years and my asceticism and is thus afflicting me? While Brahma, the lord of the universe, designates me as long-lived, it is not proper for any amongst the gods to address me thus. By my ascetic power my head has become immortal. What man, desirous of giving up his ghost, has mentioned my name and felt the desire of of seeing death?"

Vaishampayana said:—When the great Muni Markandeya thus expressed himself in anger the Lord again addressed him who was filled with rage.

The Lord said:—O my son, I am your father and preceptor Hrishikesha, the ancient Purusha who granted you a long lease of life. Why do you not approach me? Formerly your father Hiranyagarbha, practising hard penances, adored me for having a son. Having created you a great Rishi of a dreadful head, of unlimited life and effulgent like fire I, out of my will, conferred you on him. Save my own kinsman no one can see me when I engage in Yoga and sport in the all-extending ocean.

Vaishampayana said:—Thereupon hearing of his name and family the long-lived and great ascetic Markandeya, adored of the world, with a delighted heart and having his eyes expanded with surprise, placed his folded hands on his head, saluted the Lord with a hanging head and said.

Markandeya said:—O sinless one, I want to know truly that thy illusory power by which thou hast assumed the form of a boy and art lying in the one ocean. O lord, what is this form? and by what name art thou known in the world? There is not a single element here. Methinks thou art the great element.

The Lord said:—I am Narayana, Brahma and the cause of the birth of all creatures. I create and destroy all elements. I am Indra, the year amongst the seasons, the cycle of cycles, the revolution of cycles. I am the entire host of creatures and gods. I am Shesha amongst the serpents, and Garuda amongst the birds, I have a thousand heads and a thousand feet. I am Aditya, the sacrificial Purusha, the sacrifice, the fire that carries oblations, the ocean and am known as the eternal. I am that Brahmana Yati amongst the twice-born who have purified their souls by practising austerities in the world, who have controlled my intellectual faculties by practicing it for many births. I have pure wisdom, am the soul of the universe, and the foremost of Yogins. I am the destroyer of all elements and the end of the universe. I am Karma and energy and the propounder of religion for creatures. I have no Karma of my own. I am the soul of the creatures and eternal. I am Prakriti, Purusha, the Prime Deity, eternal and undecaying. I am the duty and penance of the followers of all the orders. I am Hayasira and the presiding Deity of the ocean of milk. I am honesty, truth, great, one and Prajapati. I am known as the Sankya, Yoga, the great station, worthy of being adored with sacrifices and the lord of learning. I am luminary, air, earth, sky, water, ocean, stars and the ten quarters. I am the year, Soma, Indra, the sun, the ocean of milk, the other oceans, the forest fire, and the Samvartaka fire. I drink the watery Havi. I am ancient, great, the future and am known as the origin of all. Every thing that you see, hear and perceive in this world is identical with me. O Markandeya, I had created this universe before. See, I am creating it to-day and will do so in every cycle. Understanding all this, and being eager to acquire my virtue and spiritual powers do you range happily in the cavity of my belly. Along with Brahma and Rishis the celestials are living on my body. Know me therefore as manifest and unmanifest, as identical with Yoga and unconquered. I am the great mystic Mantra of three words Om and the sacred verse Gayatri which is known as conferring three objects of life.

Vaishampayana said:—The great Muni Vyasa has described in the Vedas and Puranas that the Lord, assuming the universal form, made the Rishi Markandeya enter into his belly through his mouth. In order to see personally the great unmanifest Atman and enjoy supreme bliss that foremost of Munis, Markandeya, entered into the cavity of the belly and began to enjoy rest there. Assuming various forms and ranging in the great ocean shorn of the sun and moon the eternal Lord, the Great Atman gradually creates the world and destroys it at the time of dissolution.

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CHAPTER 11. THE CREATION OF A LOTUS AFTER DISSOLUTION.

Vaishampayana said:—Having taken his birth as the Brahmana saint Apava Vashistha and covered his own vessel body the Lord began to practise penances. Afterwards the great Vasishtha, the soul of the universe and of unlimited powers, thought of creating the five great elements and other creatures. When the universe was divested of the sky, became subtle and submerged in water Vasistha, having his intellectual faculties increased by the practice of penances, spent a long time. Living in water and agitating the great ocean he rose up as the subtle ether with the second wave. He then appeared in the ether as sound produced by the air and the great Vasistha began to grow up as the air. When the ocean was agitated by the increasing and powerful wind the waves struck one another. When the water of the ocean was agitated the powerful Lord appeared as the fire of dark ways. The fire dried up the water of the great ocean; from it arose the sky like a hole. From his own energy was produced nectar-like pure water, from it the ether, from it air and from the crushing of waves was produced earth. Seeing it the Lord, the origin of the great elements, was highly pleased. Beholding the elements the Lord of many forms, cognizant of the necessity and order of the creation of the universe, began to think of objects for Brahma. Thus at the end of a Yuga and many Yugas Brahma took his birth. He, who is endued with knowledge, the foremost of the Yogins, who sees the Soul of the universe, who is a Brahmana of controlled senses amongst the twice-born of the world, is Brahma.

The Lord Brahma, conversant with Yoga, engages Brahma, endowed with perfect spiritual powers and worshipped of all, in creating the Vedas and the objects of the universe.

Thereupon, for the purpose of creating creatures the Eternal Hari lay in the great ocean, and sporting in diverse ways, attained to great delight. He then created from his navel a golden lotus with a thousand petals, effulgent like the sun. Originating from the person of the great Achyuta there shone in beauty that lotus, effulgent like the burning flames of fire, fragrant and lustrous like the clear autumnal sun.

CHAPTER 12. A DESCRIPTION OF THE EARTH.

Vaishampayana said:—The Eternal Hari then placed Brahma on that golden lotus endued with all effulgence, qualities and marks of the earth, and extending over many a Yojana. He was the foremost of Yogins, the mind of all creatures and their creator and had his face directed towards all. The great saints, well-read in the Puranas, describe this lotus, as originating from Narayana's person and supporting the earth. The goddess who was the seat of that lotus is earth and the firm roots that grow inside it are the celestial mountains. Himavan, Meru, Neela, Nishadha, Kailasha, Krouncha, Gandhamadana, the sacred Trishira, the charming Mandara, Udaya, Kandara, Vindhya, and Asta, these are the mountains granting all objects of desires, and containing the hermitages of the gods, Siddhas and pious anchorites. The country interspersed by these mountains is called the insular continent Jamvu and here sacrificers celebrate their sacrifices. The streams, containing nectarine water, that come out of the sacrifices, are the goddess Sarit (river) having and hundreds of sacred shrines. The numberless filaments around the lotus are known on earth as the mountains of minerals.

O king, the upper petals of that lotus constitute the impassable and the mountainous tract of the Mlechchas. The lower petals constitute the nether region, the abode of the great Daityas and Uragas; the region underneath it is called Udaka or the mine of great miseries. Persons committing heinous crimes are drowned there. The vast sheet of water that lies at the extremity of this lotus is the ocean (with land) on all sides. Because this great lotus originated in the mirror of Narayana's heart it is called Pushkara. For this, the great sacrificing ancient Rishis, who are acquainted with the origin of this lotus, construct an altar of the shape of a lotus in the sacrificial ground. In this way the Lord created Brahma in the lotus the creator of mountains, rivers, gods, and other objects of the universe. While Brahma was created the Great Self-sprung Lord, of unlimited prowess, lying on the bed of the huge ocean created the eternal lotus identical with the universe.

CHAPTER 13. THE WORLD OF CREATION BEGINS: THE BIRTH OF MADHU AND KAITABHA.

Vaishampayana said:—After the revolution of a thousand Yugas and the commencement of Satya-Yuga the quality of Tamas (disorganizing tendency) prevails. At this time the great Asura Madhu, the impediment of creation, took his birth. Some time after, by the quality of Rajas for helping Madhu the second Asura Kaitabha was produced. These two great Asuras, Madhu and Kaitabha, capable of assuming various forms and pervaded severally by the qualities of Rajas and Tamas, began to agitate the water of the one ocean. They were clad in dark-blue and crimson-coloured raiments, had burning white teeth, were elated with pride and adorned with shining Keyuras and bracelets. They had hideous coppery eyes, spacious breast, long arms and huge heads. Covered with coats of mail those two Asuras appeared like two immobile mountains. The colour of their body was like that of blue clouds, their countenance was effulgent like the sun and the lustre of their arms imitated that of coppery clouds charged with lightning. And they looked exceedingly dreadful, as if with the movement of their hairs and feet the ocean over-flowed and Hari, the slayer of his enemies, who was lying there, trembled. While they sported on that lotus, the mouth of the universe, they saw the eternal Brahma endued with a shining body, the foremost of Yogins. Thereupon beholding Brahma, create, at the command of Narayana, on that lotus, the entire host of creatures, gods, the universe and his mind-born sons the Rishis those two best of Asuras Madhu and Kaitabha, who had their blood-red eyes burning in anger, said to him, being desirous of fighting. "Who art thou wearing a black crown and having four faces? Living on this lotus and shorn of anxiety, thou art, out of foolishness, disregarding us. Come and fight with us. We are great heroes. Thou shalt not be able to stand before us in battle. Who art thou? Whence art thou produced? Who hath sent thee hither? Who is thy creator and protector? And by what name men call thee"?

Brahma said:—"I have sprung from Him who is unknowable in this world and am practicing Yoga. Do you not know this?"

Madhu And Kaitabha said:—"O great Muni, there is no one else superior to us in this world. We have covered this universe with the qualities of Rajas and Tamas. We are also possessed by these two qualities and appear before the ascetics as if suffering from misery and before the pious deceiptful. Know us as above the reach of creatures. We are born in every Yuga and stupify the world. Wealth, objects of desire, sacrifices and all sorts of gifts are under our control. Whatever people desire for happiness, joy, prosperity, advancement and morality they obtain from us".

Brahma said:—"Knowing truly by my mental concentration Him who is the foremost of Yogins, I am living in the quality of Sattwa which I had known before. Engaged in fighting the Lord Himself, who is the eternal Satwa quality of the Yogins, who is the creator of the qualities of Rajas and Tamas, who is the cause of the origin of creatures and from whom all creatures, pervaded by the quality of Sattwa and all other inferior qualities have originated, will vanquish you".

Vaishampayana said:—Thereupon bowing unto the lotus-navelled Hrishikesha who was lying on a bed extending over many Yojanas Madhu and Kaitabha said:— "O Purusottama, we have been able to know that thou art the only cause of the origin of this universe; know that our this conduct was meant for worshipping thee. O lord, we too also wish to see thee as the Eternal Real Isvara, of sure sight as the learned have known thee. O slayer of thy enemies, we wish to receive a boon from thee. O Lord, of sure success is thine view. Salutation unto thee".

The Lord said:—"O foremost of Asuras, tell me speedily what boon do you pray for. Do you wish to live longer than the period I have alloted to you? O highly powerful Madhu and Kaitabha, you have obtained what you have tried for. Both of you are high-souled, powerful and observant of the duties of the Kshatriyas. I therefore confer upon you this boon that you will be slain only by me".

Madhu And Kaitabha said:—"O king of the celestials, may we be slain at a place where no one had met with his death. And may we (afterwards) become thy sons. This is the boon we pray for".

The Lord said:—"In the future cycle you will be born as my sons. I speak you the truth and you need not doubt it".

Vaishampayana said:—Having conferred this boon upon those two foremost of Asuras Madhu and Kaitabha who were capable of protecting the world by their qualities of Rajas and Tamas the Eternal Lord, the upholder of the universe, placed them on his thighs and killed them.

CHAPTER 14. BRAHMA'S CREATION.

Vaishampayana said:—Seated on that lotus the long-armed Brahma, the foremost of those conversant with Brahman, practised hard austerities, raising his hand up. Burning in his own effulgence that powerful Yogin Brahma shone there like the sun of a thousand rays. Afterwards having divided his own body into two, and assumed the forms of the highly powerful illustrious preceptor of Yoga and of the intelligent Kapila, the foremost of Brahmavadins, the propounder of the Sankhya philosophy the Eternal and undecaying Lord Narayana approached Brahma. Having come near Brahma of immeasurable energy the great and highly powerful Yogachharya, worshipped of the great saints, the foremost of Brahmavadins, conversant with the knowledge of great essence and engaged in Kshatriyas-like works and Kapila, the propounder of Sankhya, said to him:—"O Brahman, thou art the master of all creatures, the soul of the universe, of firm senses on account of the multiplicity of creatures, the support of the universe, the preceptor of the world and art (therefore) worshipful unto all." Hearing their words and reciting the three verses, as heard in the Srutis, relating to the knowledge of Brahman Brahma created the three worlds. Residing in Bhurloka, of the three worlds the Lord Brahma created his eternal mind-begotten son, As soon as he was born the mind begotten son stood before Brahma and said to him:—"O Lord, how can I help thee? Do thou command me." Brahma said:—"O you of great mind, do what this Brahmana Kapila and the boon-giving Narayana tell you".

Vaishampayana said:—After Brahma had said this his mind-begotten son again said:—"Who is there superior to my father?" Stricken with this doubt, he again, with folded hands, said:—"I am ready to serve you, order me, what I am to do and I will carry it out." The great teachers of Yoga and Sankhya said:—"Do thou recollect the eighteen forms of the undecaying Brahma and the Eternal Great Brahman."

Hearing those words the mind-begotton son went away to the north and acquired the knowledge of Brahman through Jnana.

Thereupon having created the second Bhuvarloka the high-minded Lord Brahma created again his mind-begotten son. According to Brahma's order the mind-begotten son appeared before the grand-fathers, the preceptors of Yoga and Sankhya and said:—"Do you command me what I am to do." Afterwards going again with those two preceptors to the region of Bhogavati he, waiting by their side, attained to a great region.

After the departure of that mind-begotten son the Lord Brahma created the third Bhurbhuvaloka capable of acquiring emancipation and brought into being his third mind-begotten son. Afterwards commanded by Brahma that mind-begotten son appeared before them and acquainted himself with their religion and movements. These three persons are said to have been the sons of the high-souled Shamvu. Having taken with him these three sons the Lord Narayana and Kapila, the lord of ascetics, went to his own region. After their departure Brahma, ever observant of vows, began again to practise hard austerities. Continually carrying on penances alone and not desisting from them the Lord Brahma created from half of his body a beautiful wife. Intercoursing with that wife capable of creating the world and equal to him in ascetic power, effulgence and self-control Brahma, pervaded by the quality of Tamas, created the patriarchs, the oceans, rivers, the sacred verse Gayatri, the mother of the Vedas and the four Vedas. As the instruments of his own work the grand-father, the creator of the world, created sons, the husbands of the universe and the creation from whom all the worlds emanated.

Having first created his two sons, the great ascetics Vishwesha and Dharma, the support of all the Asramas and giver of boons he next created the Munis Daksha, Marichi, Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Vasishtha, Gotama, Bhrigu, Angira and others. The descendants of the above mentioned Rishis created by Brahma, are known as the great Rishis of the Atharva Veda. Daksha begat Aditi, Diti, Danu, Kala, Atayu, Sinhika, Muni, Pradha, Surasa, Krodha, Vinata and Kadru—these twelve daughters and twenty-seven stars. Marichi's son was Kashyapa who became all powerful through asceticism. Daksha consented to confer those twelve maidens on Kashyapa. O Janamejaya, the great Rishi Daksha conferred Rohini and other virtue-bestowing stars on Soma amongst the Vasus.

O foremost of the descendants of Bharata, the virtuous Brahma conferred on Dharma, the foremost of gods, the five most excellent maidens whom he had created before namely, Lakshmi, Kirti, Sadhya, Vishwa always doing good and Marutvati. In the end, the wife, capable of assuming forms at will, whom Brahma created out of his half-body, took upon herself the form of the cow Surabhi and appeared before him. O Bharata, for creating the cows Brahma, cognizant of the cause of creation and adored of the world, knew her. By this, he begat eleven huge-bodied sons, crimson-hued like the evening cloud, consuming all with their dreadful effulgence and pious. Because they ran crying to the Grand-father as soon as they were born they passed by the name of Rudras. Nirhiti, Sarpa, Aja, Ekapat Mrigavyadha, Pinaki, Dahana, Iswara, Ahivradhana, the unconquerable Kapali and the highly powerful Senani are known as the eleven Rudras (34–41).

Surabhi gave birth to bulls, trees which do not grow by cultivation, beans, sands, lambs, most excellent ambrosia and medicinal herbs. Dharma begat on Surabhi Lakshmi and Kama and Sadhya on Sadhya. Prabhava, Chyavana, Ishana, Surabhi, Aranya (forest) Maruta, Vashwavasu, Suvala, Dhruva, Mahisha, Taneya, Vijnata, Manasa, Matsara and Vibhuti are also known as the sons of Surabhi. Sadhya, worshipped of the world of Sadhyas and following Vasava begat mountains, serpents and bulls. Dharma begat on Sushama in order, Marudeva, Dhruva, Vishwavasu, the lord Soma, Parvatta, Yogendra, Vayu and Nikriti. It is heard that Dharma begat Vishwadevas on Vishwa. The large-armed Sudharma, the highly powerful Shankhapa, Uktha, Vapushman, Vishwavasu, Suparva, the highly illustrious Vishnu, Skumbhu, the Rishi's son Ruru, highly effulgent like the sun, are the offspring of Chakshusa Manu. Vishwa gave birth to Vishwadevas. Dharma begat Maruts on Marutvati namely Agni, Chaksha, Hari, Jyoti, Savitra, Mitra, Amrita,

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the large-armed Sankshepa, Viraja, Shukra, Vish wavasu, Vibhasasu, Ashmanta, Chirarashmi, Nijudhi, Jayona Adbhuti, Charitra, Vahupannaga, Vrihanta and Vrihadbhuta the aggrandiser of others.

O king, Kashyapa begat on Aditi, the tweve most eminent Adityas living in the celestial region namely Indra, Vishnu, Bhaga, Tvashtha, Varuna, Angsha, Arama, Ravi, Pisha, Mitra, the boon-giving Manu and Indra. Aditya begat on Saraswati two superbly beautiful sons namely Rupa and Vala. Diti and Danu gave birth to the Daityas and Danavas. The Danavas begat on Surava the reptiles; and they begat on Kala the Kalakeya Asuras and Rakshasas. O descendant of Bharata, Anayusha produced all the diseases and calamities. Sinhika the mother of planets gave birth to the Gandharvas, the pious Pradha to Apsaras, Krodha to all goblins, Pishachas, Yakshas and Guhyakas and Surabhi to all quadrupeds. Vinata gave birth to Aruna and Garuda and Kadru to all serpents.

O king, when the high-souled Brahma appeared on the lotus the Viswadevas thus multiplied themselves. This old account of the origin of lotus I had heard from Dwaipayana. When he described it from the beginning to the end the great Rishis spoke highly of it. The great man, who with attention always reads this account of the origin of the first lotus, is divested of grief in this world, and enjoys various pleasures here and eternal bliss in heaven.

CHAPTER 15. JANAMEJAVA's QUERY.

Janamejaya said:—O Brahman, I have listened to your description of our great and illustrious family. It is endued with many virtues, consists of various metres, compound words, short but sweet words and is capable of conferring the three-fold objects of life. You have described my ancestors, on account of their dissension with the king Duryodhana, did not employ expedients for destroying the power of Brahmanas, the prowess of the warriors, for vanquishing their rivals and killing the descendants of their family. You have described that the descendants of the kings who were killed in that dreadful war obtained their respective kingdoms and that the king of Kurus had been firmly established for following the behest of the Divine Lord. O foremest of the twice-born, you have described in order the duties of the three castes and the means by which one may attain to the celestial region; out of your compassion for creatures you have in many ways described the duties of the four castes. You have also described that on the wane of Karma in which godliness predominates some go downwards through births and some rise up. You also have divided into many parts the fruits of being humble. Indeed sweet are the words that you have said relating to the fruits of gifts and Karma. O reverend sir, I am not capable of reading this great history of Bharata even within one celestial day. But sir, I am anxious to hear from you in brief an account of Jnana for communing with Brahma.

CHAPTER 16. THE GREAT BRAHMAN DESCRIBED.

Vaishampayana said:—O king, having controlled your five senses listen with whole-minded attention to what I say with a pure mind. Know him as Nishkala Purusha, whom one cannot obtain through Karma, who appears before persons conversant with the knowledge of Brahman, who is not attached to actions, who is related to Brahma, who is the unmanifest cause of the universe, who is eternal, and is with and without form. Egoism, begotten by Atman, proceeds from this Purusha. He has a celestial form, is the lord of the objects of senses, is beyond the reach of thought, eternal, the origin of Yugas, identical with three forms of time, and not being born is equal everywhere. Persons, having the knowledge of Narayana, know him as separate from the unmanifest. He comprehends all, courses everywhere, has his head everywhere, sees all, has his face towards all, hears all and extends over the space. He is the cause of cause and action, exists as manifest and unmanifest and is not seen by any body when he moves about (4–7). Although he is beyond the reach of thought and without any form, yet he, assuming a form and manifesting himself, ranges everywhere as fire in a wood. He is identical with past, present and future. He is Parameshthin, Prajapati and the lord of the worlds. This name of His Has been truly sung. That unmanifest one becomes manifest through Brahma Yoga. Ahankara has been begotten by ignorance proceeding from Narayana. This Purusha with the consciousness of self exists as Brahma. He is the lord of the world mobile and immobile and is called Brahma.

The Lord, whose creation is this universe, who is the origin of all, said "I will create all." When Brahma said this the consciousness of ego was produced from nature and thus the whole world was brought into being. But the true, Omni-present Brahma, devoid of qualities, remained as Brahma. From the five subtle elements, the attributes of the unmanifest Brahma, emanated the Vedas and their various branches. Thereupon commanded by Brahma through whom every thing becomes manifest Brahma took a form from nature and created water. Afterwards amongst creators following the command of Iswara, the seventh Brahma created air as before, held it and passed by the name of Dhatri. Formerly when this universe, produced by air, was submerged under water the Tarjasa celestials raised it up and now the whole universe is manifest. When Iswara felt a desire for creating the earth for placing his creation he converted a portion of water into solid substance and the other remained liquid: and so the people perceived the earth. On account of the water being converted into a solid substance the Purusha Bhu rose up and filling all the quarters with a grave sound said:—"I wish to live above water. On account of the water being turned solid I am being afflicted and worn out. Therefore hold me up." Afterwards Prithivi, Earth, spread everywhere and upholding all creatures desirous of having some room, assumed a form and said "Raise me up." Hearing those sweet words Hari assumed the form of a boar and jumped down into the great ocean. Having performed the most difficult task of raising up the Earth from water he so engaged himself in Samadhi (mental concentration) that nobody could see him. He, who assuming the form of a boar raised up the Earth, is the effulgent Brahma. Some know him as Akasa (ether). Brahma, the creator of all, originated from Him. That Iswara, the origin of all, through his subtle mental Yoga of Jnana, is still upholding the earth in the shape of the serpent and tortoise, for the well being of the world. Riving the interior of the earth and water which produced it the sun, as if smiling, stationed himself on high. From the solar region, full of heat emanated the lunar region full of water. Because the moon emanated from the Eternal knowledge and was gifted with His supreme knowledge he was called Soma (Sa-Brahma and Uma, knowledge of Brahman). From the end of the lunar region emanated air (vital breath). He began to nurse the Vedas explaining the causes of all phenomena. Through his knowledge of Yoga and on account of his nature originating from Brahman he created a celestial and eternal Purusha. His liquid state became water and his solid state earth; his holes became the sky and the luminous portion became the eye. The principle of Mahat, emanating from Brahman as Purusha and begotten by effulgence, agitates the body through air, when united with five elements). Jiva or the human soul exists eternally as Jnana in Buddhi: only Isvara knows it. The fire or self which exist eternally in the body united with the five elements is the sun (i.e. supreme soul). On account of the pristine actions the human soul either advances (in spiritualism) or goes down, either enjoys happiness or suffers misery. Stupified by the senses and therefore ignorant of (the true form of) Brahman one meets with birth or death on account of his Karma (action). As long as a man is not identified with the Supreme Brahman so long he passes through repeated births in this world. When by virtue of Yoga he gets mastery over his senses he becomes at one with Brahman and enjoys true happiness. Yet separating himself from this world (of changes) he becomes identical with Brahman: he is not then led to ruin by anger (and other passions) nor becomes attached to objects of senses. This ominiscient person, who has acquired the highest spiritual powers, enters into the essence of elements. He then knows the birth and death. That man, conversant with the true form of Brahman, acquires the knowledge of the means of emancipation and the past and future actions and attains to a most excellent status. By his manas (mind) he conquers all the intellectual faculties and all other desires that agitate the mind as the wind disturbs the ocean. Through the eye of Jnana (spiritual knowledge) the soul of a man, who conquers all the desires. contaminating his mind, is released from all the fetters of the body. The Yogin, having a subtle body, can, through spiritual science, create or destroy the next world and can create even this world. He, who has his mind, fixed on the Supreme Soul, can release those who, on account of their pristine deeds, have taken birth in a degraded order.. Action leads both to emancipation and enjoyment. But he who has immersed himself in the Brahman has no action leading to worldly enjoyments.

CHAPTER 17. THE CREATION OF RIVERS.

Vaishampayana said:—The mount Mainaka was fixed in that hole which was created on the face of the earth by the increasing sun. It was called Parvata because it filled up the ocean of desire and Achala because it was fixed: by nature, it was however called Meru. On the spacious summit of the mount Sumeru lives that highly prosperous Purusha, begotten by effulgence, and manifest with head, feet, etc. He was created by the Great Soul through Nature. The Brahma energy, that is laid inside the head, assumed the lustrous burning form of Purusha. From his mouth emanated as if burning in his effulgence Brahma with four mouths and with four foremost of the twice-born, the foremost of those conversant with the knowledge of Brahman. From him the great elements again came into being. The earth was upraised from water by Brahma who was stationed in his room (on Meru), therefore though invisible he came within the vision of men. Brahma's region, the summit of Meru, is situated at the junction of heaven and earth. It is a hundred or a thousand Yojanas in height and its extent is four times as much. No man, with his celestial wisdom, can within many thousand years, measure its height, for the dimension of the Meru is only imaginary and cannot be gauged like the extent of a desert or the depth of a lake. Like its height and extent its circumference is also limitless. O king, the extent of the mount Sumeru bounded with four side hills is a hundred Yojanas. And some anchorites, of accomplished asceticism, conversant with the knowledge of Brahman, attribute innumerable other virtues to this mount. With Maruts, gods, Rudras, Vasus, Adityas and Vishwadevas he protects the Regents of the earth. O king, with the Divine Vishnu he protects the earth emanating from the sun (fire) and Varuna (water) in his Brahmana body obtained from Brahma, Vishnu's energy is equal everywhere. With various observances the truthful Brahmanas, proficient in the study of the Vedas, have sung the Brahman. All the three worlds exist in Brahman and Brahman pervades all either as being manifest or unmanifest. The Brahmanas, who have mastered the Vedas consider those actions as conducive to our well-being—the daily obligatory rites sanctioned by the Vedas, breathed out by Isvara and practised by those Brahmanas who are not deceiptful even in words, not to speak of works, through the purification of their mind. Although these rites yeild fruits of good works still they constitute but an iota of Braman. So the Srutis hold. The truthful Brahmanas declare that this universe is but a minutest part of Brahman who is the soul of all. On account of the diversity of their mental faculties the Brahmanas worship one Brahman in sacrifices under various names such as Brahma, Indra, Mitra, Varuna etc. The Vipras name in various way the one great Brahman. The form of the universe is gross and that of the mind is subtle. And thinking that these two forms belong to understanding only the Lord first created the union of male and female (17–20). Having made arrangements for diverse enjoyments the Divine Lord Brahma enjoys them along with the goddess and his followers. Brahma is the foremost of Brahmavadins, who, although they are desirous of following humble pursuits, always wend the way leading to emancipation. (Uma is spiritual science and Parameswara is the eternal Jnana understanding) his body is the stream of water flowing from heaven. Soma is born from this stream; and by it Maheshwara is the lord of goblins. It is called nadi river because having installed naturally Maheswara as the king of ghosts it made a great noise. Supporting herself on the region of Brahma and passing through the mountains that stood in her way she descended on earth by seven ways: and for this she is called Ganga.

O king, in the form of Godavari Ganga divided herself into seven before she joined the ocean and coursed on various sacred shrines having divided herself into a thousand parts in the shape of Janhavi. First gross elements are produced from the great elements and then the actions of the intelligent begin. From his four lotus mouths the Veda was produced which since then became the fountain of spiritual instructions to mankind. The sacred sacrifice was an emanation of his Jnana, understanding, and the four priests were its four legs—and the grand-father Brahma was the lord. The four legs of Dharma by which the world is upheld are (the four Asramas), first Brahmacharya—the condition of a student, and secondly the most sacred condition of a house-holder. The third stage is that of a religious recluse in a forest, and the fourth is that of union with the great Brahman. These four stages of a religious life are regarded as leading to the attainment of heaven. The mental faculties of a man develop through the practice of Yoga and the true understanding of the Vedanta. And the eternal Vedas exist for the practice of Brahmacharya). The Pitris are gratified with observing the conduct of the house-holders and the Rishis, stationed on the summit of the mount Sumeru, are gratified with Yoga.

CHAPTER 18. THE CREATION OF GANDHARVAS ETC.

Vaishampayana said:—Thereupon assuming the form of pure intelligence the Grand-father conceives the aggregate creation through his mental faculties; and through his inner soul withdrawn from all external objects he performs actions leading to the attainment of Brahman. Engaged in mental concentration and on account of his unification with Brahman, he created offspring in his mind. Through his eyes, the omnipotent Brahma created the beautiful Apsaras and from the tip of his nose he created Tumvuru and hundreds and thousands of other Gandharvas clad in variegated raiments and expert in reciting the Vedas, singing, dancing, and playing on musical instruments. Through his Yoga power the omnipotent self-sprung deity created in his mind the immaculate goddess Veda-Vani, the very incarnation of his own beauty. She had beautiful eyes, hairs, eye-brows and a lovely countenance. The goddess of sweet words sat on a charming lotus of a hundred petals. O king, having created from his eyes the beautiful Apsaras, and from the tip of his nose the sweet-voiced Gandharvas, expert in playing on musical instruments Brahma, the soul of elements, propounded the art of singing and produced the Saman for other Brahmans. From his two feet were produced the mobile and immobile creation and men, Kinnaras, Yakshas, Rakshasas, Pichachas, Uragas, elephants, lions, tigers, thousands of other animals, grass and quadrupeds. He created from his hands those who take their food with their hands

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together with their works. Through vital airs the creator, seeking happiness for all creatures, created various functions of breath. And then fixing his mind on the great Atman full of felicity on account of the obstruction of five senses he remained there. From his heart he created the kine and through his arms he created the birds; and then he created acquatic animals in their different forms. From the space between the two eye-brows the lord of Yoga, the divine Grand-father through his Yoga power, created the celestial saint Angira, burning in effulgence, and endued with true knowledge for the suppression of six senses. And from his forehead he created the highly pious, celestial saint Bhrigu. From his head the great Yogin, Brahma created the quarrelsome Narada and Sanat Kumar.

When the Grand-father appointed, the eternal king of the twice-born, the night-ranging Soma as the heir apparent the moon, endued with the power begotton by great penances, along with the stars, filled the sky with various creatures and began to range there. Having acquired spiritual powers through Yoga and mental culture the divine Brahma created the mobile and immobile creatures from his body. Brahma created various regions as that of the sun etc, and appointed various agents for carrying on the work of day and night. What has been said before leads to the attainment of Brahma. Therefore the Brahma Yoga and Sankhya Yoga constitute the proved science of the scientists. This has been also proved by the Charvakas. This leads to unification and diversification. This creates birth and death. This creates and destroys time. This is to be known as the discriminative knowledge.

CHAPTER 19. KSHATRA YUGA DESCRIBED.

Janamejaya said:—O Brahman, I have heard of the first Yuga which is called Brahma because it leads to the attainment of Brahman. O Lord, I wish to hear now some thing about the Kshatrayuga which abounds in regulations, brief and explanatory, which is sung by the Rishis conversant with expedients and which is beautified with sacrifices.

Vaishampayana said:—I will sing the greatness of this Kshatrayuga, which is adored with diverse charities and sacrifices and beautified with many creatures. In this Kalpa the Lord, who knows himself as the four-armed Vishnu, seeing differences and incarnating himself as Daksha begotten by Brahma, procreated many offspring. On account of his being shorn of attachments for the senses and the body he flourished amongst the Brahmanas as having his soul immersed in communion and endued with the knowledge of inner self. All these Brahmanas, who were of the size of a thumb, were capable of passing through the solar region and ranging over all other lokas by virtue of the regulations leading to emancipation and other religious rites. They were always busy with sacrifices and with controlling the senses and mental faculties. In order to gain the pleasure of Iswara they engaged themselves in Vedic rites. They were masters of the three Vedas. They led the life of celibacy and were enlightened with the knowledge of Brahman. These Brahmanas, of good conduct and consummate understanding, met with death after thousands of years. The Brahmanas are pervaded by the quality of Sattwa, the Kshatriyas by that of Rajas, the Vaishyas by that of Raja-Tamas and the Sudras by Tamas. The colour of Brahmanas is white, that of the Kshatriyas is red, that of the Vaishyas is yellow and that of the Sudras is smoky-dark. Thus they have been divided by the thoughtful Vishnu. O king, thus according to qualities and colour, men are divided, in this world, into Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras. Observing highly wonderful and different sorts of duties, men of the same size, although apprized of the means of the works, are divided into four Varnas for partaking of the fruits thereof. The first three castes are entitled to perform the rites laid down in the Vedas. Therefore, O king, on account of your faith in Vishnu, you are entitled to read the Vedas. And therefore the birth of the three Varnas, namely, the Brahmanas, the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas is owing to Lord's grace. Encompassed with works affording enlightenment regarding the true form of Vishnu, the Lord Prachetas Daksha, through his Yoga power and wisdom, undertook the work of creation. Thereupon, for the advancement of arts and serving the three other Varnas the Sudras were produced. They are not entitled to perform the ceremony of initiation and read the Vedas. As before fire is produced from a piece of rod by concussion smoke rises, but it does not serve the practical purpose, so the Sudras, taking birth in this world, have multiplied themselves, but they, not being initiated, cannot perform the various Vedic rites.

Thereupon Daksha begat his other sons who were the supporters of the Vedas, strong, endued with great energy, power and effulgence. Daksha said to them:—"O ye powerful sons, from your mouths I wish to know the strength of your mother, the earth. I am powerful and therefore cannot find out the end of the earth; you should be like me. Afterwards ascertaining the truth I will distribute energy and strength amongst creatures. On account of the vastness of the soil my creatures will multiply themselves." The goddess, earth, the essence of the great creative energy of the Lord, did not show herself unto Daksha's sons who were desirous of seeing her. When in the Krita age the pure souls, of the sons of Prajapati pervaded by the quality of Sattwa, are purified with seeing the Prakriti, Nature, the mother of all creatures, without being urged on by Purusha, creates all engendered by sweat and eggs and decreases and increases all creatures who, by nature, partake of the fruits of works.

CHAPTER 20. THE FRUITS OF YOGA.

Janamejaya said:—O foremost of the twice-born, I wish to learn that of the Treta yuga which I may know correctly the eternal Brahman who is the subject of all sorts of learning.

Vaishampayana said:—Being dispirited the foremost of Purushas Daksha, through his Yoga power, assumed the form of a woman on the summit of the mount Meru. He became a highly charming damsel with well-formed thighs, breast, eye-brows, a lotus-like countenance and dark eyes. With his half body Prachetas Daksha begat on that damsel maidens by the name of Padmas. Thereupon on renouncing the female form through his male form Daksha again assumed the form of a most handsome man. According to the rites of Brahma marriage sanctioned by the Smritis Prachetas gave away those maidens. Of them he conferred ten on Dharma, thirteen on Kashyapa and twenty seven maidens on Soma. O king, after giving away those daughters in marriage Dahsha repaired to the sacred shrine of Prayaga where Brahma lived. And there concentrating his mental and intellectual faculties and practising penances with the deer he travelled over the world. Sustaining himself with grass, roots and fruits he continually practised rigid austerities. The deer found delight in seeing his harmless spirit and the Brahmanas, who had been initiated, who used to perform religious works and whose sins had been dissipated through ascetic observances, were delighted with seeing the fruits of his austerities.

At the time of conflict between Yoga and intellectual faculties, the man, who is incapable of standing physical sufferings, who has controlled his mind and who knows the time, sees the Karma and the spiritual power acquired through Yajna on account of his omniscience. And living with their wives in the company of the deer the anchorites, living on vegetable food and shorn of anxiety, attain to decrepitude. The Brahmanas, who have studied the Vedas, see the great Brahman in the human body and therefore they call it Brahmakshetra or the soil of Brahma. The yatis, divorced from works, who have controlled their anger and passions and who range on earth desirous of wending the eternal way, say this. At the time of Samadhi or mental concentration the entire creation is immersed in Brahman. And they again appear in the world on account of their pristine works. Although all creatures are immersed in Brahman at the time of Samadhi they again appear on earth on account of their pristine actions. Although unmanifest at the time of Samadhi, all creatures become manifest through the tendencies of nature. It is therefore difficult to overcome her. On account of the characteristics of the time the creatures become manifest and unmanifest.

Every object of creation, mobile or immobile, gross or subtle, can acquire Yoga under the influence of time. While this Yoga is possible for inanimate objects even every man should strive to acquire the knowledge of union with God. In the course of time the eternal Kashyapa begat all created beings on Daksha's daughters. O king, the Adityas, the Vasus, the Rudras, Viswadevas, Maruts, the many-headed serpents, Sadhyas, Pannagas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Yakshas, the vultures, Garuda with his wings, the Suvasan Kinnaras, cows and other quadrupeds, men, the entire earth, mobile and immobile, the mountains, elephants, lions, tigers, horses, tusked animals, boars, wolves, deer, elephants with four white tusks, and creatures, capable of assuming forms at will, were created. In this Bharatavarsha the land of eternal religion, Munis again took birth, with same form, beauty, character and power as they possessed in the previous Kalpa. Pious men, who had mastered the Vedas and acquired the knowledge of Atman, created both the external and internal world through their mental faculties. In the region of Swarga situate there all the celestials were settled. Besides all the householders, who acquire spiritual power through ascetic observances, those who acquire it through leading the life of celibacy, those who do it through serving their preceptors, and those who acquire Yoga through Siddhi, will not be constrained to undertake painful works. Those, who controlling their minds and with forgiveness and firmness practise religious rites along with their wives, range in the celestial region.

CHAPTER 21. THE PROCESS OF PRANAYAMA.

Vaishampayana said:—Persons, who have controlled their senses and anger, wearing matted locks and deer-skin, concentrate their mind on the junction-place between nose* and eye-brows for knowing the pure Brahman [* This chapter is purely allegorical. It deals with a process of Yoga called Pranayama i.e. the suppression of vital breath.]. This spot on the fore-head is the essence of bones and is not destroyed even after the destruction of the body. It is encircled by the vital breath Prana. The vital breath goes here through tubes producing wind, cough and phlegm. This is the place where Brahman can be perceived and is freed from all thorns of miseries. Here the three tubes and five vital breaths have been united. So fixing their mind on this place the Yogins strive to realize the presence of the great Brahman. The Brahmanas, who recite the seed of mantras Om and celebrate sacrifices and who are immersed in their soul full of felicity, only keep one fire of vital breath and divide it into five. The Munis, well read in the Vedas, divert this fire into three channels namely (Puraka, Kumbhaka and Rechaka). So dividing this one into three and practising Puraka and other processes they acquire the true knowledge of Atman. One great fire spreads itself through oblations. In the shape of Swadha it produces the successful fruits of Mantras [He, who practises the process of Pranayama namely performing breathing techniques while reciding Mantras or chanting prayers.]. Then was born of himself the Divine Daksha, ever successful and honouring creatures, Brahma, the creator of Brahmanas and the grand-father of all [Daksha-successful in all works undertaken i.e. endowed with lordly powers. It is an attribute of Brahma. Bhuta: always successful.]. He is Dandi [While practising the process of Puraka, he filled himself with vital air through the nostril and was at that time as stiff as a rod and therefore he is called Dandi i.e. rod-like.], Charmi [While practising the physical process of Kumbhaka he was filled like a leather-bag with vital air and so he is called Charmi.], Shari [And while practising Rechaka he became as thin as a reed and therefore he is called Shari.], Khargi [He was sharp as a sword for cutting the tree of worldliness.], Shikhi [He was pleased in the shape of Daksha.], and has a face like a lotus [In this sloka Pushakara means own soul and medha the intellectual faculties. Indra means the man who has seen his own self. The Saman verse is "I am food and food is me." The self-controlled Rishis, who are gifted with spiritual insight, celebrate sacrifices for increasing their powers of mental concentration. Although the Atman always appears in a body still casting off attachments for the body He manifests himself as Iswara.]. He was by nature shorn of sorrow and had controlled anger and other passions. United with Medha Brahma is adored in Pushkara and the Saman verses sung by Indra are recited by the Brahmavadins. Clarified butter, milk, barley, etc., are dedicated to the external sacrifices, but in the spiritual sacrifice all the productions of the mind are sacrificed at the altar of the great soul through mental concentration. Having churned the fuel (of selfishness) consumed with the fire (of the disappearance of deity) and collected from the Shami tree (bodily pleasure) one, conversant with Brahman, brings the Great Soul there. In an inferior sacrifice insignificant articles are thrown into fire—and according to their changes heaven or inferior place is distributed to persons; but such is not the case in a mental sacrifice [Yoga is compared to a sacrifice.]. In the inferior Yajna the fruits are attributed to the fire, but in the Atma-yajna the Brahmavadins* attribute it to spiritual exercises. [* In the ordinary sacrifices of the world people enjoy fruits as they offer various articles.] Vrihaspati acquired the four Vedas in six months when the Brahma Yajna was undertaken at the cost of the Brahma wealth [i.e. A qualified man acquires the consummation of his Yoga practice within six months.]. He instructed the pupils of his own school in this Veda, of the form of Saraswati endued with letters highly charming and set to music. That sacrifice, described by the word Brahmana, as mentioned by Brahma appears like the second Brahma region. The sacrifice, brought out from Brahma's mouth by the word Veda, shorn of any doubt regarding its proof, prospers as if speaking through various articles dedicated for his celebration. (Ordinary) sacrifices are performed with fuel, moon-plants, ladles and other sacrificial vessels, beggars and other persons who pray for money, barley and other articles and vessels full of water. The sacrifices are performed with dedicating riches and gold to the great Brahman, and with cows and calves (to the Brahmanas). The recitation of Saman verses, accompanied with the chanting of the Vedas, and continued with the limb of Karma full of the knowledge of Brahman, is united with the science of worship. Brahma, in the shape of Yajna formed by the fuels imagined in the mind, along with Maruts, offers oblations of fire to those objects which are separately sprung from Brahman and exist by nature in Atman. According to the rites laid down in the Vedas Brahma, the Lord of all creatures, does not celebrate sacrifices in honour of and touch Brahman in the shape of pure intelligence. Having churned the fiery wood produced from Shami tree the omnipotent Brahma propitiates first the gods with Agnisthoma sacrifice. At the time of the celebration of the sacrifice the meeting is adorned with courtiers and the Chamasa and Adhyarju priests recite sweet verses while the performance goes on. O king, with ascetics, effulgent like the sun and moon, who have mastered the Vedas and their auxilliaries that great sacrifice was adorned. With the loud recitation of the Vedas that sacrifice appeared like the second Brahma region. The gods came down on earth. That great sacrifice was honoured in heaven and earth by the god-like, humble and ascetic Brahmanas who were conversant with Vedas and their limbs and with the knowledge of Brahman. That great sacrifice, undertaken by the Brahmanas, burning like the three fires lighted up in the sacrificial ground shone

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like the Brahma region. In that great sacrifice the Brahmavadins recited the Saman verses sung by Indra and the Yajur verses sanctioned by the Sastras. As soon as they were thought of in mind the truthful, self-controlled and ascetic Munis, devoted to Brahman, came there (28–30). Having assumed different forms the ancient Brahma-begotten Vrihaspati, the most worshipful amongst the great theologians, acted in that sacrifice as Hota and Brahma. After the termination of the sacrifice the sacrificer dedicated the fruits of action to Vishnu and took his birth from Aditi whose last conception was brought about through ascetic energy). Being divested of birth, ignorance and its action he, conversant with the knowledge of Brahman, attained to Vishnu's feet divorced from happiness and misery and from which Indra and many other gods have emanated and which can be obtained by undecaying spiritual exercises. The Munis, who are freed from senses and their objects which are the causes of bondage, are identical with Him.

The various objects of senses are produced by passions, which, on account of the pristine actions, completely overpower the mind. So with great care one should subdue these passions. The Munis, although they enjoy various objects of sense, are not brought by them under their control. Self-control is regarded as the greatest characteristic of the learned. The mind, of Brahmavadins who have acquired the true spiritual knowledge through instructions delivered by the word Om, is not possessed by learning. The Brahmanas who always recite the Vedas consider that loka as the best where the pious and the celestials live. O Bharata king, that is the best loka where the gods, nourished with sacrificial offerings, do not meet with extinction and attaining which through his Karma the sacrificer lives happily with his wife shorn of anxiety. The persons, who see differences (of caste, position), cannot use this body firm as rock for the purposes of emancipation [True emancipation cannot be acquired unless a man sees all persons as identical with himself.]. O king, the Brahmanas who are busy with Karma are driven away from heaven after they had enjoyed the fruits of their actions, and live on earth having their faces discoloured and their minds possessed by illusion. The sweet speeched, wise precepter of a calm form, the foremost of those who remove sins, addressed the following instructions of Vedanta to those twice-born ones:—"You consider this body and senses as self and therefore fight with one another. Save emancipation, you will not be able to cut with force this rock of attachment for the body even within hundred celestial years. When through mental concentration you will perceive that you are all the one Atman (self), you will ungrudgingly make friends with all creatures and simultaneously destroy your false notion that this body is the self. The two passions anger and jealousy increase the energy of conquering nature; and the energy, divorced from anger and envy, increases devotion unto Brahman. While by my pure understanding I will abstain from enjoyments, both here and in the next world, while fire, water and food which build up this body huge like a mountain of crystal and their actions words, vital air, and mind will be destroyed, while the holes of wife and others, the mental faculties, the Sastras and the passions will be shattered, I will then order you to cut this mountain of bodily attachment. You will also then be able to cut it." Hearing those sweet words of their preceptor the Brahmanas observed silence.

CHAPTER 22. KURUKSHETRA AND THE DUTY OF THE BRAHMANAS.]

Vaishampayana said:—Although they listened to the instructions of their preceptor in the shape of a mountain those Brahmana house-holders, devoted to asceticism, could not give up bodily attachment. So the worship of fire with oblations daily increased and the worship of Vishnu and preceptors was also introduced. Thus O king, for the purification of the souls of the Brahmanas Karma Kanda was introduced in this world by those Brahmavadins. Near the mount Vindhya on this earth there is a sacred province by the name of Kurukshetra which is even, shorn of thorns and full of woods and twigs by which fire may be lighted. Performing God's work with pure heart the great Brahmana householders lived there and practised ascetic penances. Even the Yatis with great eagerness live there for acquiring piety. The Brahmanas, who have followed the Vanaprastha mode of life, who perform Agnihotra ceremony, who have controlled their anger and passions, who wear bark and deer-skin and who live on unsolicited food, also wish to live there. O king, gradually obtaining it by the will of the Providence, the Brahmanas, with great care observe this mode of life. He, who knows this sacred initiation which was practised by the Brahmavadi Munis of old, attains to eternal virtue. Without thoroughly mastering the Vedas one should not lead the life of a householder, should not observe the most difficult Brahmacharya, should not live the life of a hermit, and should not give up the duties of a householder. Save by mastering the Vedas miseries will never end. To the reciters of the Saman and Yajur Vedas the Riks are their acquirement. The ascetic Brahmanas, who wish to live like householders, can receive instructions of the Vedanta from their preceptors and reap the fruits thereof. A pious king should compell him who does not hear the Vedas or celebrate the Vedic rites to act like a Sudra. On the other hand there is none amongst the Brahmanas who does not respect the Vedas. A student or a householder, every Brahmana controls his mind when he listens to the enunciation of his duties, reads the Vedas and receives the instructions. Therefore no king should disregard a Brahmana. Therefore a Brahmana, who acquires the knowledge of Sastras, who gains the transcendental knowledge, should thus read the Vedas and control his senses.

CHAPTER 23. THE BEGINNING OF FIGHT BETWEEN DEVAS AND DAITYAS.

Vaishampayana said:—The Rishis and Gandharvas, headed by Narada, who were well-read in the Vedas and who were not visited by sins consequent upon the omission of rites, worshipped the Brahmanas with placing the sun and moon before them. And they always worshipped the Grandfather (Brahma) in sacrifices as a son adores his father. Eulogised with sweet words by those Brahmanas who had controlled their five senses, who always did good by all creatures and wished them well the Lord Brahma said:—"By good luck (you have undertaken those sacrifices)".

Thereupon the omnipotent Lord addressed Kashyapa saying:—"You will, with your sons, celebrate sacrifices on earth. The Yakshas and the Asuras will all celebrate sacrifices with profuse gifts." Thereupon desirous of vanquishishing one another the Daityas, elated with the pride of their strength, and the Devas began to quarrel, saying "We will first celebrate sacrifices, we will adore," and were about to fight with one another. The Rishis, whose sins had been washed away by ascetic penances and the Brahmanas who had read the Vedas and their auxiliaries, prevented them all. Although prevented like unto bulls in Gokula they began to fight with one another. Leaving aside sacrifices they began to fight in right earnest. And when the battle set in they felt a desire for conquering their vital breath and met with death in the presence of all creatures. Thereupon controlling their external senses through understanding and non-attachment engendered by true Jnana the Asuras and Suras, like unto birds with wings, controlled their own minds.

Thereupon as a boat sinks down under the pressure of the weight of men so the earth, the ground of sacrifices, was agitated with the flames of worldly objects. Like unto roaring bulls the Yoga postures are broken and the tubes are agitated by the vital breaths. Afterwards Madhu, whose intellectual faculties were agitated and Vishnu, identical with the quality of Sattwa, fought a dreadful battle which almost overturned the cycle and struck terror unto all creatures. Thereupon as the cloud pacifies the forest set on fire so Vishnu controls all the mental energies. He, who recites the name of the Lord, appears in Sattwa-guna after controlling his mind.

CHAPTER 24. THE FIGHT BETWEEN MADHU AND VISHNU.

Vaishampayana said:—That powerful Daitya Madhu of dreadful prowess bound Mahendra on that mountain with a sharpened noose. According to the words of Pralhada and on the wane of true understanding Madhu, desirous of possessing the future dignity of Indra, bound him all on a sudden with invincible iron nooses; and issuing out for battle at the head of his army he invited the fierce Vishnu for fight, as if urged on by death himself (2-4). Having divided themselves into divisions Kashyapa's sons subjected themselves to Madhu's control. And taking up huge clubs they ran out for battle. The Gandharvas and Kinnaras, expert in the art of singing and dancing, sang and danced on all sides. With the sweet music of stringed instruments they pleased the fighting Madhu and made him absent-minded. When the Danavas and Devas came within each other's view Madhu, shouting up, fixed his mind on singing. As fire lives secretly in wood, so Vishnu, with his Yoga eyes, drew Madhu's mind into the objects of senses and disappeared in the mount Mandara. Having their minds pained a little the Rishis, of burning intelligence, placed the Grandfather before them and disappeared within a moment.

Worked up with anger, Madhu, having eyes rolling in intoxication, struck Vishnu on the forehead with his hands. But he did not lose a single step for it. Vishnu too struck with the tip of his finger the Daitya Madhu on the breast. Thereat vomitting blood he dropped down on earth. Awating for the the hour of wrestling Vishnu, of inconcievable prowess, expert in fighting, did not strike the Daitya when he fell down. Thereupon touching the ground with his knee-joints the Daitya Madhu rose up like Indra's flag-staff. And having his mind filled with anger he, as if, consumed all the quarters with his eyes. Afterwards roaring with harsh words and desirous of killing one another they engaged in wrestling. They were both endued with the strength of arms, expert in fighting, great ascetics and truthful. Those two great heroes began to assail each other. It appeared that two mountains, with rocky wings, were fighting with each other. Infuriated with fighting they wrestled with one another on the ground. And as two elephants strike each other with their tusks so they struck each other with their nails.

Thereupon as after the termination of the summer season and in the beginning of the rainy season gold, mixed with other mineral substances, comes out of the mountains so blood gushed out profusely from the wounds. Covered with gushing blood they began to tear the surface of the earth with their feet. Striking each other in many ways those two heroes fought as the two birds, desirous of eating flesh, fight with each other with their wings. Thereupon creatures heard the Siddhas sing the glories of Vishnu identical with truth and all spiritual powers in the sky over Pushkara. With the elements of fire, water and earth this body is formed. And consciousness is then set to that body. United with the body and senses as consciousness the great Brahman is called Jiva. When the subtle cause is destroyed all the primary elements exist in it, and that subtle substance again appears in many forms. The subtle soul, although disassociated from the body, pervades all objects of the three worlds as consciousness and enjoys them. For the suppression of the wicked and protection of the pious. Iswara, identical with Yoga and the protector of Dyuloka, assumes the form of a man, Shesha, tortoise and others and upholds Ananta who holds up the earth and the four Vedas identical with himself. The Lord exists in the Brahmanas as the Vedas, in the Kshatriyas as warfare, as trade in the Vaishyas and as service in the Sudras. Living in the kine the Lord is distributing amongst you milk and sustaining you. Stationed in sacrificial ingredients he is protecting you with fruits, the departed manes with the smoke of Havi and the gods with a portion of Havi. With four elements and seven sorts of food the Lord, along with the departed manes, is protecting the three worlds. The form of those seven kinds of food is the sun and the moon, which becomes manifest and unmanifest through their own energy). Mind, words and vital breaths—these three continually increase the sun; and with the remaining four the moon increases in his own disc. The three classes of Pitris spoil the balls of food offered to them and the remaining four classes accept them. As gold is converted into an ear-drop so thou art hidden in the five senses: thou dost live in egoism and other principles; thou hast emanated from the Eternal and Undecaying Brahman. The fire and air draw energy from thee: because they draw their energies from thee thou art called Aditya. When the end of the cycle sets in, thou dost as if scorch the universe with thy rays and devour it: and therefore thou dost attain to the highest spiritual power. In Amavashya (the night in which the moon is not at all visible) and the full-moon night thou dost range secretly with the Rishis sprung from the sun, moon and the Vasus. Thou dost celebrate sacrifices which yield nourishment, grant heaven and do not bring about the deterioration of virtue. During Amavasya and Purnima thou dost appear in trees, herbs and the earth as the moon. And for being born again thou dost take birth every fortnight.

O lord of elements, whatever exists on the surface of the earth for the nourishment of creatures who have gone away and who will come again is identical with thee. All the daily obligatory rites that are extant on earth are identical with thee. Thou art at one with Yajna, Karma, Mantra, words and atman. There are two ways leading to heaven, the sun and the clear moon. The latter is the way to the region of the departed manes and the former is to that of the celestials. In the shape of creatures and guided by mortal regulations thou dost range in the universe only; destroying the senses in thy own form thou art living invisible to all. Thou art born alone; thou art the ancient universal Purusha: thou art undecaying and incomparable: thou art self-controlled and yet thou dost play. In energy thou art like fire, and thou art ranging assuming the form of air: and thou art always enveloped with five subtle elements. In the work of the control of mind and external senses thou dost exist as Jiva; in the work of emancipation thou art the Pure Intelligence; and in the work of daily destruction thou art in the form of Rudra. Thou dost protect the universe as Vishnu. The various orders and castes are identical with thee: thou art the consciousness of the eye and senses. The self-controlled and sinless Munis, who have attained the Great Brahman through their works, who consider the friend and foe as equal, always serve thee.

Thus eulogised by the various Siddhas and Munis the great Vishnu thought of the form of Hayashira. While the Lord assumed the form identical with the Vedas and the body identical with all the gods Siva remained on his head and Brahma in his heart. The rays of the sun remained on his Kundalas and the moon and the sun on his two eyes. The Vasus remained on his two Janghas and all the Siddhas and gods on his joints. The Vedas remained in his words, the Maruts and Varuna on his knee-joints. Having thus assumed a huge form, highly wonderful even unto the gods the Lord Hari, with his eyes reddened in anger, began to assail the Asura the very personification of stupefaction. Like unto a youthful damsel clad in a white cloth the earth was filled with Madhu's fat and flesh (49–58). Therefore, O king, the earth is called Medini and perhaps for thousands of Asuras she has obtained the appellation of Dharani.

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CHAPTER 25. VISHNU KILLS MADHU.

Vaishampayana said:—Beholding Madhu's overthrow in Pushkara, all the creatures, filled with joy, sang and danced on all sides. As if riving the sky with its golden summits covered with various mineral substances the foremost of mountains Suparshwa shone there. The mountains covered all over with minerals shone there with elevated summits like unto clouds charged with lightning. On account of their summits being covered with sand and powdered coal raised by the wind they appeared like so many huge clouds. The mountains, whose summits were covered with clouds, whose trees were scattered with their wings, from which was produced profuse gold, were as if stationed in the sky. Raised by the wind the winged mountains, having their summits covered with golden minerals, struck terror unto all birds. The golden mountains were covered with crystal, emeralds and sapphires. The huge mountain Himalaya was covered with white minerals. And when his golden summits and wings are lighted up by the rays of the sun they display various sorts of jems. The huge mountain Mandara, filled with crystal and containing two gateways built of Vajra, shone like the celestial region. The mount Kailasha, adorned with various minerals, its high summits like unto so many gate ways, and trees covered with Gandharvas playing on musical instruments, the Kinnarras singing and the celestial maidens, making various gestures, appeared like a sporting mountain.

With Madhu's singing, acting, dancing, playing the mount Kailasa excited desire like unto Cupid. Vishnu, in the shape of the earth, blue mount Vindhya with summits like unto clouds stricken with the rays of the sun, stationed on the mount Meru, sent down showers on earth through clouds. With rising clouds the mountains discharge pure water, various rocks, mineral substances; and through springs they discharge water clear like crystal. After the end of the rainy season trees, like unto clouds charged with lightning, shine being adorned with flowers. The elephants have been adorned with various ornaments of gold. Hanging and blossoming creepers, supported by trees filled with birds, are as if dancing on being shaken by the wind. And during the spring the creepers, shaken by a gust of wind, like unto waves striking against the bank, are pouring blossoms like unto drops of water. The earth has been covered with various huge tres covered with fruits. As if singing songs the trees, fond of honey and birds, are announcing the approach of Cupid. The Divine Vishnu, the destroyer of Madhu, created a river of currents. That stream had many fountains, profuse water and beautiful landing places. The shrines, situate on its bank, were charming and beautiful. It was full of clear water and carried fragrance of flowers. Enlightened by the Vedic words "There is nothing else but thee" she enters into the Yogin's heart. Enlightened by the Vedic words, and assuming the form of Kapil (i.e. the balanced state of the three qualities) in yoga she yeilds milk (i.e. unfolds spiritual science). When all the intellectual faculties are destroyed only Pure consciousness remains; the three universal tendencies (Gunas) resort to the material body only for knowing the subtle element. Thereupon the Yogin, with mental concentration, adores the highly wonderful, eternal and pure Atman. Brahman, in the shape of pure Jnana, crossing over all objects of consciousness like water in a desert, pervades the entire creation. The beautiful, well-formed illusory Maya covers the celestial Atman. When the cover of Avidya is removed one can see Atman. The consciousness of ego is invincible like a mountain. It depends on the three universal tendencies or Gunas. It exists eternally and is served even by the Siddhas.

CHAPTER 26. AN ACCOUNT OF PIRTHU AND THE CHURNING OF THE OCEAN.

Janamejaya said:—O Brahman, when egoism and ignorance thus prevailed all over the world what did the people do?

Vaishampayana said:—In order to took after the work of adminstration Prajapati, along with the Rishis, installed Vena's son Prithu on the throne. When the Treta Yuga set in the people spoke amongst themselves:—"He is our most excellent king born. He will grant us livelihood, protect the Brahmanas and all creatures in satisfaction of duties entrusted to him by the Lord".

In the meantime, exhausted with the practice of various religious regulations the gods were taking rest on the table land of the mount Gandhamadana. Thereupon when the spring set in gods and Danavas, smelling fragrance from all sides, were highly pleased. They thought:—"The fragrance of flowers scattered by the wind is highly charming and delightful therefore the fragrance of every earthly object is most excellent." Smelling that fragrance the Daityas were a little surprised in the beginning. Afterwards being delighted they attained to most excellent felicity (6–8). Excited with that smell they all said in a body: "Such is the power of every flower: we do not know what will be its fruit. Various modes of action are to be ascertained by inference. By the power of this understanding men perform auspicious and inauspicious deeds. With the powerful mount Mandara capable of assuming forms at will we will grind the herbs in water. We will churn the ocean with great force, drink ambrosia and in a body make ourselves ready for destroying Avidya or ignorance. The great force Vishnu, whom we worship, will be our guide (in Yoga); and although living with Ripus (passions) still we will conquer them and enjoy Dyuloka and Bhurloka. With roots, leaves, branches, flowers and fruits* we will carry ambrosia to earth.". [* That is, being united with father, wife, brothers, children etc.] Having spoken thus about the shaking of the mount Mandara the Daityas extracted all the herbs grown on the mount Gandhamadana. And then they ran for uprooting the mount Mandara and agitated the earth. The Danavas, born in the race of Danu, could not uproot the mount Mandara. Their knees bruised they fell down into the hollow of the mountain.

Thereupon having dissipated their sins through ascetic penances and controlled their self through proper understanding they bent their heads down and sought refuge with Ishwara. Informed of their mental desire the omniscient and self-controlled Brahma, who can go every where for the well-being of all the worlds, said in an invisible voice. "Let the Adityas, Vasus, Rudras, Maruts, gods, Yakshas, Gandharvas and Kinnaras be united and uproot the mount Mandara and possess the herbs the very essence of the Himalaya". Hearing those words in the presence of all, the Daityas, endued with the strength of arms, multiplied themselves into many with mind and words near the ocean of salt of water where Pushkara was placed by all the Devas and Danavas. Having converted the mount Mandara into the churning rod and Vasuki into chord they churned the ocean of salt water with the herbs for thousands of years. With the mixture of water and herbs arose ambrosia in the form of milk. Possessed by avarice and anger the Asuras pilfered that ambrosia. Thereafter arose Dhanwantari, wine, Sree, Koustava jewel, the clear moon, the beautiful horse Ucchaishrava and then milk. In order to take it the Devas said to Rahu:—"None, amongst the Daityas and Danavas, has drunk this ambrosia."

Thereupon with discus Hari cut off Rahu's head. Earth himself snatched away from Indra's hand that nectar-like Jnana which even the departed manes and Munis have not enjoyed perpetually. Urged on by the Vedic phrases and accepted the discipleship the Earth stole away that nectar of knowledge.

CHAPTER 27. THE DESTRUCTION OF BALI.

Janamejaya said:—The Daityas were slain by Vishnu's power: but what did they wish for when they grew powerful?

Vaishampayana said:—The highly powerful Danavas, on account of their prowess, prayed for kingdom and the truthful Suras desired to carry on rigid austerities.

Janamejaya said:—Having acquired lordly powers, why did Bali, born in the race of Hiranyakashipu, celebrate in the days of yore, a long-extending sacrifice in the land between the Ganga and Yamuna?

Vaishampayana said:—O great king born in the race of Bharata, the highly powerful Bali, the foremost of Danavas, celebrated a Rajasuya sacrifice with profuse gold in the land situated between Ganga and Yamuna. That was like a great ascetic penance for him. When that great Asura undertook the celebration of the Yajna, many Brahmanas observant of ascetic vows and well read in the Vedas, accomplished Yatins, Valikhilya Munis, and many other twice-born ones, who daily practised many religious rites, came there in a body. In that sacrifice rich presents were made. And the preceptor Shukra, like unto fire amongst the Brahmanas, came there with his son for officiating as a priest on behalf of Bali. Like unto Hiranyakashipu amongst the Daityas Bali said to Saraswati:—"Thou didst tell me that thou wouldst of thy own accord confer a boon on me. Do thou do it now".

In the form of a dwarf Vishnu accepted as alms ground for placing his three feet from that descendant of Hiranyakashipu. Afterwards the Eternal Vishnu invaded the three worlds with his three foot-steps and assumed a celestial form. Deprived of their kingdom and with their soldiers, Prasas, swords Tomaras, rods, flags, standards, cars, coats of mail, cases, axes and other weapons, the Daityas entered into the nether region.

On the other side, filled with joy the gods, along with Vishnu, at once rose up and installed Indra as their king for establishing their sovereignty over all the worlds. Bali gratified them with the offering of ambrosia. Brahma gave that ambrosia to Mahendra. With this work Bali was shorn of his sins and became immortal.

Thereupon first of all the gods blew the conch-shell which sprang from Brahma's hands and the blare of which made the hairs of the enemy stand erect. Hearing the blare of that conch-shell the three worlds were controlled and having obtained Indra as their king they enjoyed great peace. Armed with weapons made of fire and effulgent the three worlds stood before the mount Mandara.

CHAPTER 28. SIVA OBSTRUCTS DAKSHA'S SACRIFICE AND HARI FIGHTS WITH HIM.

Vaishampayana said:—O Bharata, thereupon they all enjoyed peace and a kingdom of prosperity was established. At that time there existing no difference as regards the knowledge of spiritual science between gods and men they all unitedly cultivated the knowledge of Atman. Many however wept on the other hand; the gods accepted the sacrificial offerings offered by men,

Thereupon having instructed Prachetas Daksha for celebrating a horse-sacrifice the divine Vrihaspati came there encircled by the Rishis. Daksha was the maternal grandfather of all. Therefore in that Yajna of Daksha's who was devoid of the knowledge of Self Rudra, together with Nandi, set in obstacles for his own share. Rudra's form, by his own desire, was divided into two. The greatly pious Nandi was born as a man. Through his Yoga power the Eternal Brahman, so well sung in the Vedas, was manifested by Rudra. Encircled by various Ganas, such as Sarupa Arupa, Virupaksha, Ghatodara, Urddhanetra, Mahakaya, Vikata, Vamana, Shikhi, Jati, Trilochana, Shankukarna, Chiradhari, Charmi, those holding nooses, clubs, bells in their hands, those wearing Kundalas and Katakas and those carrying bugles, flutes and Mirdangas, Rudra ran on for obstructing Daksha's sacrifice. The goblins had in their hands conch-shell, Muraja, Tala and Tala. Rudra, the holder of trident and other fierce weapons, worshipful unto the sacrificers, shone like burning flame in that sacrifice. It appeared that the burning fire of dissolution was about to devour the universe. As at the end of a cycle the fire of dissolution devours in no time the whole universe, so Nandi and the holder of Pinaka were about to spoil that most excellent sacrifice. Striking terror unto Munis wearing bark and skin the night-rangers ran forward to up-root the sacrificial stakes. The Pramathas, having coppery eyes, drank up sacrificial offerings with their tongues. Others, with the end of their tongues long like the trunks of elephants, began to devour the animals. Others up-rooted the stakes and struck the beasts. Some threw water into fire and laughed; some, shining with eyes red like Java flowers, stole away the Soma juice. Some, with their hands resembling lotus-stalks, cut off the Darbha grass. Some broke down the sacrificial posts and others threw away the jars. Some felled the golden trees set up for beautifying the ground. Some with arrows broke down the golden vessels. Some destroyed the vessels and some uprooted Arani. Some broke down the altars, some ate the balls of rice and some spoiled the various articles with their nails. Thus continually obstructed day and night that great sacrifice began to roar like a mighty ocean. On the other hand taking up the bow made of Kichaka bamboo, that was formerly given to him by the Self-sprung Brahma, the highly-powerful Mahadeva set arrows to it. Then drawing his bow with his knees he struck the great Yajna. Wounded with arrows that great sacrifice leaped up into the sky: and assuming the form of a deer and crying aloud he approached Brahma. Wounded with arrows the sacrifice found shelter or peace nowhere on earth. Assailed with arrows piercing to his very vitals he sought refuge with Brahma.

In sweet, auspicious, humble, powerful and grave accents Brahma said to the sacrifice in the form of a deer:—"O great deer, you will thus remain stationed in the sky. You have been defeated with an arrow of bent knots and variegated colours. Therefore united with Soma do you live with the eternal Rudra at the head of the planets. Acquiring movements in the sky be you united with stars; be you Dhruva amongst the luminous bodies. And this celestial blood, which is gushing out of your wound, and which is dropping on the sky in consequence of your running, will assume various colours and will be celebrated as the region of Ketu. During the rainy season it will form the sign of showers unto creatures. Seeing it people will meet with happiness or sorrow. On account of its resting on senses it will in the sky pass by the name of Indra's bow. O king, men's eyes will observe it with surprise. It will be wondrous, variegated and will be perfectly planned by the mind. In the sky of heart where Brahman is perceived it will be known only in name. It will not be seen in night. This wonderful phenomenon will be specially seen in the first part of the day. Rising up from the earth it will disappear in the sky. At that time hundreds of Prachetas Dakshas, in fear of Rudra holding his bow, will simultaneously run away". With his Pinaka burning like Brahma's rod at the end of a cycle Nandi stood there along with other Rudras. Holding up with one hand a huge bow and with another his discus the the large-armed Vishnu stood there. Holding his conch-shell and club in his another hand and the sword in his fourth hand Vishnu stood in front of all desirous of fighting with Rudra.

Thereupon taking up his Shranga bow, his conch-shell peerless in the world and arrows Vishnu, with his soldiers, stood at the head of the battle. Then putting on his gloves and armour he shone there like an ocean with the moon. With various celestial weapons the effulgent Adityas and Vasus stood around Narayana. The Maruts and Vishwas took up Rudra's cause. The Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Nagas, Yakshas, Pannagas and the Rishis, who had laid aside the rod of chastisement, wished well of both the sides. Wishing for the well-being of all the worlds they continually recited Lord's names for the universal peace. Rudra, standing at the head of the battle, struck Vishnu on his breast and joints with sharpened arrows. Vishnu, the soul and origin of all, was not

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agitated thereby. Although he was endowed with six senses still his mind was not possessed by anger. Then Vishnu, bending his bow, set arrows to it. And in no time he discharged that arrow, like unto the uplifting Brahma weapon, on Rudra's breast. Even the mount Mandara is shaken by the thunder-bolt: but wounded with that arrow Mahadeva did not tremble.

Thereupon leaping up all on a sudden the Eternal Vishnu got hold of Rudra's throat and for that the deity obtained the appellation of blue-throated.

Vishnu said:—"Thou art without birth and death. Do thou forgive me. Thou art the precepter of all creatures and scriptures. I know thee".

O descendant of Bharata, the Lord is the agent of all actions and the most excellent of all elements on account of their being endless. He is the material and efficient cause of the universe and he has performed the most auspicious works. Then from the sky were heard highly wonderful words emanating from the mouths of the Siddhas. Salutation unto thee, O Eternal Deity. Thereupon raising up his Pinaka, the powerful Nandi, begotten by Rudra, almost beside himself with rage, struck Vishnu on the head. Beholding Nandi the foremost of gods, the omnipresent Lord Hari stupified him smilingly. Burning in his energy Vishnu, the giver of the highest object of life, endued with forgiveness, stood there firm like a mountain. Although powerful like the fire of dissolution still the unconquerable, incomparable, eternal Hari of a quiescent soul, on being propitiated, apportioned a portion of sacrificial offerings for the intelligent Rudra. Vishnu, the foremost of gods, is always virtuous and shorn of desires and by him the sacrifice was again established. O king, in that dreadful encounter between Vishnu and Rudra the Ganas did not leave the parties they respectively espoused. A righteous battle took place at the time of the spoliation of Daksha's sacrifice. And at that time the destruction of sacrifices was introduced in the world. O king, by the grace of Vishnu, the Prajapati Daksha, who was not conversant with the knowledge of self, acquired the knowledge of the Supreme soul as the fruit of his sacrifice.

This lotus incarnation of the Great Vishnu has been recorded by the Rishi Dwaipayana in the Poushkara Purana and has been in order improved by the great Rishis. He, who with attention listens to this Purana, acquires all objects of desire in this world; and shorn of grief he enjoys happiness in the next world. The man of great intellect, who being purified and self-controlled makes the Brahmanas listen to this celestial theme, studies all spiritual subjects and is honoured in the region of gods.

CHAPTER 29. THE BOAR INCARNATION OF VISHNU.

Janamejaya said:—We have heard from the pious sages while reciting the Puranas about the boar incarnation of Vishnu of incomparable energy, but we know nothing about his works, accomplishments and object. Is that Lord identical with sacrifice or Yoga? Is his body made of elements or illusory? Who is the presiding deity Hari, or Hara? How is his prowess and conduct? What did he do in the days of yore? Do thou describe truly before these great Brahmanas this boar incarnation recorded in Srutis.

Vaishampayana said:—O king, I will describe to you the boar incarnation of Krishna of highly wonderful deeds, which has been described at length in religious books by Krishna Dwaipayana. O Janamejaya, being purified and self-controlled hear how Narayana assumed the form of a boar and how Hari, the slayer of his enemies, assuming the boar form adorned with the sacred verses of the Sruti, raised up with his tusks the earth sunk underneath the ocean. This highly sacred Purana is like unto the Vedas, and is adorned with Srutis. It should not therefore be recited to an atheist. He is a spiritual man, who knows the meaning of this complete Purana and of the Sankhya and Yoga systems expounded in it. After the running out of the thousand cycles and the termination of Brahma's day, when all sorts of evil omens appear and all the elements become invisible Vrishakapi, identical with Hari and Hara, takes the form of Hiranyareta, as the fire, air and the sun, consumes the world with his flames and dries up the Vishwadevas, Sadhyas, Rudras, Adityas, the two Ashwinis, all the Patriarchs, the seven Rishis, Yakshas, Rakshasas, Gandharvas, Daityas, Pishachas, Nagas, the various classes of Bhutas, the Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, Sudras, quadrupeds and other lower animals living on earth.

Thereupon in the last part of Brahma's day, when according to the desire of Ishwara, thirty-three celestials, well-read in Itishasas, Upanishads, Vedas and other sciences and engaged in pious works and having their faces discoloured and limbs burnt by his effulgence took Brahma, the origin of the universe, before them and appeared there the great Yogin Narayana in the shape of a swan entered into Hari. As in this world the sun daily rises and sets so the gods appear and disappear in Narayana. I will describe it. A cycle consisting of a thousand years complete is called Nishesha for at that time the world, the instrument of dissolution, does not exist and so all the works of creatures are brought to a close. Having destroyed all the worlds consisting of the gods, Asuras and Pannagas, the Lord only, the preceptor of the world, lives in His own Self. After the end of each cycle the Lord, again and again, creates all creatures. The Lord is unmanifest and Eternal. The whole universe exists in Him. When the world is divested of the rays of the sun and the moon, of smoke, fire, air, sacrifices and religious rites, when the birds become motionless and no animal moves about, when the whole world is enveloped with darkness, and every thing becomes invisible, when all the works come to a close, when the fall of lightning, earth-quake and other portends disappear, when the enemies are destroyed and the universe, identical with Narayana, arrives at a state of equilibrium Hrishikesha, the Great soul, strives to sleep. Wearing matted locks like unto a thousand flames Krishna, clad in a yellow raiment, resembling a cloud in hue and having red eyes, a breast pasted with red sandal and adorned with the mystic mark of Srivatsa, appears there like a cloud charged with lightning. A garland of a thousand lotuses adorns, his neck and his wife, Lakshmi, herself remains attached to his person. Thereupon Vishnu, of incomparable prowess and identical with virtue, the grand-father of all, enters into an undescribable Yoga sleep. Thereupon after the completion of a thousand years he himself awakes as the Lord Purusottama the master of all the celestials. Afterwards the Lord of the world again thinks of creating the universe. With his supreme power he creates the departed manes, gods, Asuras and men. He then thinks of the works of the gods. That lord of speech then creates all the worlds. The Lord is the creator, protector and destroyer: he is the ordainer: he is self-control and regulation. All the gods are identical with Narayana, all works are identical with Narayana, all truth is identical with Narayana and all dignity is identical with Narayana. All Yajnas and Srutis are identical with Narayana. Emancipation is identical with Narayana and He is the refuge of all. Virtue and sacrifices all depend on Narayana. Knowledge and ascetic penances all proceed from Him. There is no god superior to Narayana: nor will there be any. He is the Self-sprung Deity, the lord of the universe; He comes within the ken of knowledge as Brahma and within that of perception as air. He is identical with yajna. He is known by us as both manifest and unmanifest: he is omniscient and the creator of all. He displays what the senses cannot: and the latter cannot perceive what he does not display, The gods, the patriarchs and the seven Rishis have not been able to know the end of Him. Therefore the Sruti says that He is without end. His most supreme form the gods cannot see: they only adore that form of His which He assumes at the time of His incarnation. The gods only see that form of His in which He manifests Himself. The form which He does not show no body can search for. He is the lord of elements, the motion of the vital air and the fire of digestion. He is the distributor of energy, asceticism and ambrosia. He enjoys the fruits of Chaturhotra in four Asramas. He is the ordainer of four Yugas and four oceans. He is the great Yogin. Having destroyed the universe He keeps it in his womb for a thousand years and then unfolds the egg. This omniscient Prajapati creates the gods, Asuras, the Brahmanas, serpents, Apsaras, herbs, the upholders of the universe, Yakshas, Guhyakas, and the Rakshasas.

CHAPTER 30. THE WORK OF CREATION AND UPRAISING OF THE EARTH.

Vaishampayana said:—The Vedic Sruti says that formerly this universe of Brahma existed in the shape of a golden egg. Thereupon for creating the world the omnipotent Lord cut off the egg which had its mouth upwards. The Lord, who was conversant with the knowledge of all divisions, again divided it into eight parts. The etherial hole which was on the surface of the egg was converted into the most excellent Brahma region intended for the virtuous. And the hole underneath was converted into Rasatala. As the material cause of the universe the Lord created that egg with eight sorts of holes; and he then divided senses, in the shape of holes, into gross and subtle elements. And the various parcels of the egg dyed with diverse colours were converted into variegated clouds. The liquid substance, that was in the egg, became gold on earth.

O King, as the world is covered with oceans, at the time of the universal dissolution so the entire universe was covered with the streaming juice of that egg. And the water, that came out of the egg which the Lord created formerly for the construction of the celestial region, became the golden mountains. With that water, all the quarters, sky, the region of Naka and all other interstices were covered. And wherever that water dropped mountains were created. The earth was thick set with mountains and became impassable. Assailed by those mountains extending over many Yojanas the earth was pressed down by their weight. The celestial water, identical with Narayana which flowed down on earth became the golden energy. Assailed by that energy and unable to bear it the earth entered into the region underneath. Seeing the earth enter into the region underneath, the slayer of Madhu, for the well-being of all, devoted his attention to raising her.

The Lord said:—Assailed by the weight of my strength the poor goodess Earth is going to Rasatala like unto a cow thrown helplessly into mud. The Earth said:—"Salutation unto Purusottama who is endued with three foot-steps, of incomparable strength, the great man-lion of four arms, and who bears the mystic mark of Srivatsa on his breast and holds the bow Shranga, discus, sword and club. O lord, thou dost hold Atman, thou dost uphold the universe, the elements and protect the world. Thou dost, by thy energy and strength, hold all and I sustain them afterwards. I cannot sustain what thou dost not uphold. There is no element which is not supported by thee. O Narayana, at every Yuga, thou dost, for the behoof of the world, relieve me of my burden. Assailed by thy energy I am about to enter into Rasatala. I do now seek refuge with thee. Do thou save me. When I am oppressed by the Danavas and the wicked-souled Rakshasas I do seek thy shelter who art eternal and all truth. When my mind is possessed by fear I, hundreds of times, pray to thee in my mind who art broad-shouldered and like unto a bull and seek thy shelter." The Lord said:—"O Earth, do not fear. Be self-controlled and enjoy peace. I do bring you to your proper place which you wish."

Vaishampayana said:—Thereupon the great Lord thought in his mind of his celestial forms and said:—"Assuming what form shall I upraise the earth?" Then ascertaining how he would raise up the earth sunk under water, the Lord, sporting in water, thought of his boar-form. Hari, the upholder of the ground, thus engaged himself in raising up the earth. That Brahma form, indentical with worlds, was above the reach of all. It extended over ten Yojanas, and was a hundred Yojanas in height. It was like a dark-blue cloud in hue—and its voice was like the muttering of clouds. It was strong like a huge mountain and had white burning tusks. It was effulgent like lighting and the rays of the sun. His shoulders were plump and spacious. His gait was like that of a proud tiger. His back was elevated and he was endued with all the marks of a bull. Having thus assumed the form of a huge boar, Hari entered into Rasatala for raising up the earth. The Vedas were the feet of that boar, the sacrificial stakes were its teeth, the sacrifice was its hands, Chiti was its mouth, fire was its tongue, Darbha grass was its hair, Brahman was its head. That Great Yogin was the distributor of days, nights and moments, was identical with the Vedas and their limbs, and adorned with Srutis. Having thus assumed the form of a sacrificial boar the preceptor of the world immediately entered into the region underneath. He held the earth covered with the mass of water. For the behoof of the world the Lord entered into Rasatala and upraised the earth with his tusks sunk down there.

Thereupon reinstating the earth in her proper place the Lord upheld the upholders of the earth and then released her. On account of her being held up by him the earth attained to peace and saluted the Lord Vishnu. Having thus assumed the form of sacrificial boar, the Lord, for the well-being of all, raised up the goddess Earth. Having raised up the earth from Rasatala that foremost of Suras, having eyes, devoted his attention to making various divisions of the world. Having assumed the form of a huge boar, the highly illustrious Achyuta, of unequalled prowess, raised up the earth with one tusk for the well-being of the world.

CHAPTER 31. THE CREATION OF MOUNTAINS AND RIVERS.

Vaishampayana said:—The earth floated over that vast expanse of water like a boat. On account of the heaviness of her body she did not sink down. The Lord then thought of making divisions of the earth. He then thought of the height of mountains, the courses of rivers and their sizes, small or less. Having divided the earth into four continents like unto four petals of a lotus and separated the oceans he created the golden mountain Meru.

Thereupon going to the eastern side he created the (Udaya) rising mountain a hundred yojanas in extent and a thousand yojanas in height. With golden summits the fruits of his own energy and effulgent like the rising sun he completed it with body and base. That one, having lotus eyes, created there golden trees of huge stems covered daily with flowers and fruits. The Great God Vishnu next created the mount Soumanaka which was a hundred yojanas in extent and two hundred in height. He collected there thousands and thousands of jems and variegated altars shining like evening clouds. He then created the mountain of a thousand summits, the abode of hundreds of jems. It was thickly covered with trees and was sixty yojanas in height. There the celestial Architect placed his most excellent seat adored of all creatures. He then created the great mountain Shaishira covered with forest. Its impassable caves were richly adorned. From it he created the celebrated river Vasudhara, originating from dews abounding in birds and adorned with banks. That river, full of sacred sacrifices, covered the entire eastern quarter with pearls and conch-shells, daily yielded ambrosial fruits and flowers, and had profuse shade. It was adorned with many trees grown on its bank.

Thereupon having created divisons of the West, the Lord created the charming mountain of half gold and half silver in

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the south. Holding on one side the effulgence of the sun and on the other that of the moon that best of mountains shone there greatly in beauty. That mountain was as if simultaneously spread over with the rays of the sun and the moon. Thereupon he created in that quarter the huge mountain Bhanumanta. That mountain was covered with celestial trees conferring all wished-for fruits. Then he created the mount Kunjara of the shape of an elephant. It had golden rooms on all sides and was many yojanas in extent. He then created the mount Rishabha of the shape of a bear. It was covered with golden sandal trees and was as if smiling with flowers. He then created the mountain chief Mahendra a hundred yojanas in height. It had golden summits and huge blossoming trees. The Lord created that huge mountain on earth, which, filled with diverse jems, was effulgent like the sun and the moon. He then created the mountain Malaya adorned with many blossoming trees. He then created the mount Mainaka covered with a net of rocks. He placed that huge mountain in the southern quarter. He then created the mount Vindhya endued with a thousand summits and covered with various trees and creepers. He then created the celebrated river Payodhara, full of milk like sweet water, whirlpools and endowed with spacious banks. That river beautified the southern quarter. Having placed in the southern quarter that sacred river of a hundred branches and many holy pilgrimages the Lord repaired to the western quarter. There he created a huge mountain a hundred Yojanas in height. It was adorned with variegated and golden rocks, caves, Shala, Tala and other trees shining like the sun and beautiful altars made of gold. The Lord established sixty thousand mountains in the Western division. There he created a Vaidurya mountain named Baraha in imitation of his own boar form. There were golden and silvery rocks. There he also established the huge Chakravan mountain of a thousand summits resembling his own discus. He also created the silvery mountain Shanka covered with dark-blue trees resembling his conch-shell. On the summit of that mountain he placed the huge tree Parijata produced from gold and jems. The Lord Baraha created in the western division the sacred and celebrated river Ghritadhara of profuse water. Having thus created many divisions of the West he established in the north many golden and beautiful mountains. He then created the golden mountain Shoumya of the effulgence of the sun and extent of the sky. Even when divested of the sun the country was lighted up with its effulgence. As with the heat of the sun the lunar region is lighted up so as if with the effulgence of that mountain the sun shone. It appears, from the subtle signs that the sun is giving its heat. Its thousand summits were filled with various shrines. He then created again the setting (Asta) hill filled with various jems. He then created there the charming and most beautiful mountains Mandara and Gandhamadana covered with flowers. On the summit of the latter he created the wonderful golden river Jamvu. He then created the mounts Trishikhara, Pushkara, Shubhra Pandura, the foremost of mountains Kailasha of the hue of a cloud and the mountain chief Himalaya covered with heavenly minerals. The Lord, assuming the form of a boar, created in the nothern division the heavenly river Madhudhara endued with all virtues and a hundred mouths. All those mountains had wings and could assume forms at will. The Lord Parameshthin made them all many coloured. Having thus made the various divisions of the earth the Lord thought of creating the gods and Asuras. The divine destroyer of the world, having blood-red eyes, created, on all sides, for the behoof of mankind, many beautiful hills and sacred rivers full of water.

CHAPTER 32. THE CREATION OF THE VEDAS.

Vaishampayana said:—Thus desirous of creating the universe the Lord began to think. While he was thus meditating a Purusha came out of his mouth. Arriving before the Lord, the Purusha asked "What shall I do?" The Lord, the master of the universe, smilingly replied:—"Divide yourself into two." Saying this, the Lord disappeared. O Bharata, when the Lord disappeared bodily no relic of his movement was seen there like unto a lamp put out. Then the Hiranyagarbha, who is sung in the Vedas, began to meditate on the words uttered by Him. Formerly the Lord of the universe was the only Patriarch therefore he alone is entitled to sacrificial offerings.

The Patriarch said:—The Great one asked me to divide myself into two, but I have a great doubt regarding the division of Self into two. When the Patriarch was thinking thus the word Om was recited; with its sound the earth, sky, and heaven were filled. When Prajapati's mind was practising Om again from the heart of the god of gods, sprang Vashatkar. Again originated the three great sacred words Om, Bhur, Bhuva, etc., with which the heaven, earth and sky are filled. Afterwards was produced the sacred Gayatri of twenty-four words the originator of metres. Completely recollecting that celestial verse Prajapati created Savitri. The Lord then created the four Vedas, Rik, Saman, Atharvan and Yayush with their accompanying religious rites.

Thereupon from his mind emanated Sana, Sanaka, Sanatana, Barava, Sanandana, and the omnipotent Sanatkumar. With Rudra these six Rishis are the mind-begotten sons of Brahma. In Yoga Tantra the Yatis and the Brahmanas speak highly of these six Rishis, Brahma and Kapila. Afterwards the Self-sprung Deity created his eight mind-begotten sons namely Marichi, Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Bhrigu, Angira and Maru and the Pitris of all creatures, gods, Asuras and Rakshasas. At the end of Nishesha Kalpa, the termination of the thousand Yugas, all these and their offspring disappeared from the world. Again after a thousand years these celestial Yogins, capable of procreating progeny, will again take birth. For a particular work with the end of every cycle the gods change their names and births. From Prajapati's right thumb the divine Daksha was born. His wife was born from Brahma's left thumb. Daksha begat on that wife his celebrated daughters the mothers of the world. O king, with their progeny the whole world is covered. Thinking in his mind about the multiplication of his progeny Daksha conferred his daughters, Aditi, Diti, Kata, Anayu, Sinhika, Muni, Pradha, Krodha, Surabhi, Vinata, Surasa, Danu and Kadru on Kashyapa. Daksha gave his ten daughters namely Arundhati, Vasu, Yami, Lamva, Bhima, Marudvati, Sangkalpa, Muhurtta, Sadhya and Vishwa, on Brahma's son, Manu. Then he conferred his beautiful daughters of blameless limbs, having lotus like eyes and full-moon-like countenances, namely Kirti, Lakshmi, Dhriti, Pushti, Buddhi, Medha, Kriya, Mati, and Lajja, on Dharma. Then was born Atri's son Atreya full of water. He was of a thousand rays, the lord of planets and the dispeller of darkness. Prachetas Daksha conferred on him his most excellent twenty-seven daughters, Nakshatra, Yogini, Rohini, etc. Hear, I will name the progeny of Kashyapa, Manu, Dharma and Shashi. Kashyapa begat on Aditi the gods Aryama, Varuna, Mitra, Pusha, Dhata, Purandara, Twashta, Bhaga, Angsha, Savita and Parjanya. We have also heard that Kashyapa begat on Diti two sons. They were Hiranyakashipu and the powerful Hiranyaksha. They were endued with incomparable prowess and like unto Kashyapa in asceticism. Hiranyakashipu had five sons who were all very powerful. They were Pralhada, Anulava, Sanglahda, Hlada and Anulhada. Pralhada had three highly powerful sons, namely Virochana, Jambha and Kujambha. Virochana's son was Bali whose only son was Vana. His son was Indradamana, the victor of hostile cities. Danu had numerous children who were all celebrated as great Asuras in the world. Of them the first-born Viprachitti became the king. Krodha had many sons and grand-sons who were called Krodhavashas. They were highly dreadful and ruthless. Singhika gave birth to Rahu who assailed the sun and the moon. He devours the moon and destroys the sun. Kata's children were like unto Death, highly dreadful effulgent, like dark blue clouds and had eyes shining like the sun. Kadru had many sons of whom the thousand headed Sesha, Vasuki and Takshaka acquired ascendancy. They were all virtuous, well-read in the Vedas, engaged in doing good unto creatures, givers of boons and capable of assuming forms at will. Vinata's sons were Tarksha, Aristhanemi, the highly powerful Garuda, Aruna and Aruni. Pradha gave birth to the daughters Anavadya, Anuka, Anuna, Arunaprya, Anuga, Subhaga and the eight holy Apsaras worshipped even by the celestial saints. Alamvasha, Misrakeshi, Pundarika, Tilottama, Surupa, Lakshmana, Kshema, Rambha, Mandrama, Asita, Suvahu, Suvritta, Sumukhi, Suprya, Sugandhya, Surasa, Pramathini, Kashya and Sharadvati were celebrated as Manneya Apsaras. Vishwavasu and Bharanya were known as Gandharvas; Menaka, Sahajanya, Parnini, Punjikasthata, Kratusthata, Ghitachi, Vishwachi, Urvashi, Anumlocha, Pramlocha and Manovati, these ten were the celebrated Apsaras. From Prajapati's determination were produced ambrosia, liked by the whole world, the Brahmanas, the cows and the Rudras. They have been all described in the Purana as the offspring of Subrahi. I have thus described the progeny of Kashyapa, I will now describe that of Manu.

O sinless one, I will describe them to you in brief. Vishwa gave birth to Vishadevas and Sadhya to Sadhyas. Marudvati gave birth to Maruts and from Vasu Vasus were born. Bhanu's sons were Bhanus, Muhurtta's were Muhurttajas and Lamva gave birth to Ghosha. Jami gave birth to Nagadithi and Arundhati gave birth to all the objects of the world. Sangkalpa gave birth to Sangkalpa, and Lakshmi gave birth to Dharma's son Kama, the most favourite of the world. Kama begat on his wife Rati two sons Harsha and Yasha. Soma begat on his wife Rohini the great lord Varsha by whom the moon becomes effulgent as soon as he rises. Thus thousands of wives and sons were born. This is the root of the world. The Lord Prajapati distributed powers amongst creatures according to their merit. The Lord then created the ten quarters, the earth, Rishis, oceans, birds, trees, herbs, serpents, rivers, gods, demons, the sky-rangers, sacrifices and mountains.

CHAPTER 33. VARIOUS KINGS ARE APPOINTED BY BRAHMA.

Vaishampayana said:—O Bharata, the Lord appointed Sakra, effulgent like the sun, as the king of the three worlds and of the gods. Jishnu, the wielder of thunder-bolt, clad in a coat of mail, was given birth to by Aditi. That intelligent patron of Srmitis is eulogised by Adhyaryus. As soon as he was born from Aditi the Lord Sakra was covered with Kuça grass and therefore the king of gods passed by the name of Koushika. Having installed the thousand-eyed Purandara as the Lord Paramount Brahma began gradually to distribute other kingdoms. He installed Soma as the king of Yajnas, asceticism, stars, planets, the twice-born and herbs. He appointed Daksha the king of patriarchs, Varuna the lord of waters, the all-destroyer Vaishwanara, the king of the departed manes and Vayu that of smell, bodiless creatures, sound and ether. He conferred on Mahadeva the sovereignty over the goblins, Pishacas, Matris, cows, evil portends, diseases, calamities, profuse rain, other disturbances and the evil spirits. He appointed Vaishravana Kuvera as the king of Yakshas, Rakshasas, Guhyakas, all the jewels and wealth. He appointed Sesha as the king of all animals having teeth, Vasuki as that of Nagas and Takshaka as that of serpents. He appointed the ocean as the lord of rivers, rain and waters and Avurya as the lord of Adityas. He appointed Chitraratha as the king of Gandharvas and Kama that of Apsaras. He appointed the bull, the carrier of Mahadeva, the king of all quadrupeds. The highly effulgent Hiranyakashipu was appointed the king of Daityas and Hiranyaksha as the heir apparent. The highly powerful and first born Viprachitti was appointed the king of Danavas and Asuras. Prajapati appointed Mahakala as the king of Kalakeyas and Vitra that of the sons of Anayusha the wife of Twastha. He appointed the great Asura Rahu, the son of Sinhika as the king of all portends and evil omens.

O Bharata, thereupon he appointed Vatsara (year) the king of seasons, months, cycles, fortnights, days, nights, Tithis, Parvas, Kalas, Kasthas, Muhurttas, the two Ayanas, Yoga Sastra and Mathematics. The highly powerful Garuda was elected the king of all birds, Suparnas capable of seeing from a distance and of the Bhogis. Vasava appointed Aruna, Garuda's younger brother, red like a Java flower, as the king of the Eastern quarter. The highly illustrious Yama, the dispenser of justice and the son of the lord Aditya was appointed by Mahendra as the king of the south. Kashyapa's own begotten son, who was under water and was celebrated afterwards by the name of Amburaja, became the king of the West. And Pulastya's son the highly effulgent Kuvera, like unto Mahendra himself, was appointed the king of the north. Having thus made out the divisions of the kingdom, the Self-sprung Deity, the creator of the universe conferred on them severally the celestial regions. The regions of some were effulgent like the sun, some were like fire, some were like lightning, and some like the moon. All those regions were of diverse colours, capable of coursing at will, many hundred yojanas in extent, easily accessible unto the pious and hard of attainment for the sinful. The regions, which are beautiful to look at and are lustrous like the stars, are those of the pious. Those who celebrate sacrifices with most excellent presents, those who are faithful to their own wives, forgiving, simple and truthful, those Brahmanas who show kindness towards the poor, those who are freed from covetousness, and the quality of Rajas, and the ascetic sages repair to those regions. Having thus engaged his own sons Prajapati, the grand-father of the world, repaired to the Brahma region called Pushkara. Having been entrusted by the Self-sprung Deity with the work of protection and been looked after by Mahendra the celestials lived happily in their respective regions. Having been duly engaged in the work of protection all the gods, headed by Shakra, enjoyed their portions of sacrificial offerings, heaven, fame and joy.

CHAPTER 34. THE MOUNTAINS SET ASURAS FIGHTING WITH THE GODS.

Vaishampayana said:—Once on a time influenced by the Lord's Maya all the winged mountains, the upholders of the Earth, left it. Thereupon coming to the eastern quarter they dropped into the abode of the Asuras governed by Hiranyaksha as the elephants are drowned into a lake. They then asked the Asuras about the sovereignty over the celestial region. (They said) "Although born after you the gods have acquired the sovereignty: you are not kings although you are born first." Hearing those words the Asuras made most excellent preparations. And setting their mind upon possessing the earth they took recourse to their incomparable wily understanding. The Asuras, of dreadful prowess, took up various weapons, such as, discus, thunder-bolt, sword, Bhushundi, bow, noose, Prasa, Sakti, Mushala and club. Some, accoutered in coats of mail, rode upon infuriated elephants. Some great car-warriors drove chariots drawn by horses. Some rode on horses, some, depending on the strength of their own arma, rode on camels, some on bulls, some on buffaloes, some on asses and others proceeded on foot. The soldiers, desirous of fighting, issued out delightedly encircling Hiranyakasha.

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Thereupon, hearing of the preparations made by the Daityas for battle the celestials, headed by Purandara, made also most excellent arrangements. Encircled by their four-fold army they were accoutered in coats of mail and finger-protectors and took up quivers and bows. Stationed in the midst of the army, the celestials, holding fierce weapons, followed Purandara who was seated on the Airavata. Thereupon excited with blare of bugles and sound of trumpets Hiranyaksha encountered the king of gods. He covered Vasava with sharpened axes, Nishtringshas, clubs, Tomaras, Saktis, Mushalas and Pattiças. Thereupon there took place a highly dreadful shower of arrows. With sharpened axes, iron swords, clubs, Kshepanis, stones, Satagnis and other weapons the remaining Daityas struck Vasava and other gods. Beholding Hiramyaksha, having smoky hairs, yellow bears, holding various weapons, having the colour of dark evening clouds, wearing a most excellent crown, dark-blue and yellow raiments, having arms extending up to knees and adorned with Vaidurya made ornaments, stand before the Asura army like unto dreadful Death at the time of the universal dissolution, Vasava and all the celestials were greatly pained.

Beholding Hiranyaksha proceed like the moveable mountain Mahendra the gods, who took up bows and arrows, stood in the battle-field with Purandara before them, filled with anxiety. That Daitya army, lighted up with the lustre of golden armours, stood there like the autumnal sky set with stars. They felled one another; some, desisting from duel fight, broke their own arms. Some had their limbs shattered with clubs and some had their breasts wounded with arrows. Some fell down and some were thrown down whirling. Some broke down cars and some were crushed down by them. And some cars could not move on in the thick of the fight. That battle, like unto an unfair day, covered with Danava-like huge clouds and lightings, in the shape of celestial weapons, shone there with the downpour of arrows caused by both the armies. Worked up with anger the highly effulgent and powerful son of Diti, Hiranyaksha increased himself like unto an ocean on the occasion of a Parva. From Hiranyaksha's mouth, who was worked up with anger, came out burning cinders. With the air filled with fire and smoke the gods were scorched. Like unto an elevated mountain the whole sky was covered with weapons, bows and Parighas. Assailed with Hiranyaksha in battle with various weapons and having their breast and heads wounded with winged arrows the gods could not move in the battle-field. The gods, routed by Hiranyaksha in battle, albeit careful, lost their consciousness. All the gods were thus terrorized by Hiranyaksha. Assailed with weapons by Hiranyaksha the thousand-eyed Shakra, who was seated on the elephant, could not move on in the battle-field for fear. Having vanquished all the celestials and overpowered their king the Danava thought the universe as subjected by himself.

CHAPTER 35. THE LORD COMES OUT AS A BOAR.

Vaishampayana said:—When the gods were assailed and their king became motionless the holder of discus (Vishnu) made up his mind for the destruction of Hiranyaksha the holder of club. Assuming the form of a huge boar, described before, the Lord, the slayer of Asuras, came there. He took up his conch-shell shining like the moon and his discus of a thousand blades resembling the Chakra mountain. The immortals always recite the secret names of this undecaying Purusha, such as Mahadeva Mahabudhi, Mahayogin and Maheshwara. He is the foremost of those conversant with the knowledge of Atman. He is always served by the pious. That ancient Purusha, the creator of the universe, is worshipped in the three worlds. He is the Vaikuntha of the celestials, Ananta of Bhogis, Vishnu of the Yogins, and the presiding god of the sacrificial rites. By his grace the celestials partake of the three-fold sacrificial offerings. Having struck that foremost of Daityas with his discus the Lord blew his most excellent conch-shell. Hearing that dreadful blare of the conch-shell which strikes terror unto the Asuras the Danavas fled away on all sides.

Thereupon the great Asura Hiranyaksha, having crimson coloured eyes, said in anger, "Who is he?" and cast his looks on Narayana, in the shape of a boar, the dispeller of the calamities of the celestials, who stood before him with the discus. Thereupon Hiranyaksha and other Asuras, with various weapons, encountered Narayana. Although assailed by the highly powerful Daityas with various weapons Hari stood unmoved in the battle-field. Afterwards the highly powerful Hiranyaksha discharged a burning Sakti on the breast of the boar-formed Narayana which filled Brahma with surprise. Seeing that Sakti about to fall upon him the highly powerful Boar, setting up a roar, felled it on the ground. Thereupon the Lord, whirling his sunny discus, shot it on the head of the Danava king. Like unto the summit of the mount Meru clapped by a thunder-bolt the Daitya-king fell down dead on earth; on his death, all the Daityas filled with fear, fled away on all sides.

CHAPTER 36. RELEASE OF THE CELESTIALS.

Vaishampayana said:—Having thus routed all the Asuras in battle, Hari released Purandara and all the celestials. Having regained their natural temperament all the gods, placing Purandara before them, approached Narayana.

The Gods said:—"O Lord, by thy favour, we have been released from the mouth of Death. What will Aditi's sons do for thee? We are willing to serve thy feet". Hearing those words of the celestials, the Lord, having lotus eyes, was highly pleased and said to them who had their enemy slain. "Do ye all protect the religions severally alloted to you by me and obey my laws. You have been entitled to sacrificial offerings and therefore observe the laws established by me before." Having said this to the king of gods, he again continued:—"You should behave impartially towards the good and the wicked. O king of gods, you should allow the ascetics to enter always into your region that grants all desirable objects. May those, who propitiate the gods with sacrifices, obtain the fruits thereof. May the pious and religious flourish and the sinful become extinct. May the virtuous people, serving in various stages, conquer heaven. May men, who are truthful, humble, heroic and freed from envy, enjoy the fruits of heaven. Those, who are irreverent, lustful, avaricious, wicked and atheistic, should go to hell. O king of gods, you should observe these words of mine and your enemies will not be able to injure you as long as I am living." Having said this the holder of conch-shell, discus and club disappeared. All the gods were filled with great surprise and having saluted the Boar they repaired to the celestial region.

CHAPTER 37. THE MAN-LION INCARNATION OF VISHNU HIRANYAKASHIPU'S PRAYER TO BRAHMA.

Vaishampayana said:—O king, I have thus described to you the boar incarnation of Vishnu. I will next describe the man-lion incarnation in which form the Lord killed Hiranyakashipu. Formerly in the Krita Yuga the founder of the Daitya race, the king Hiranyakashipu practised great penances. Living under water he observed the vow of silence like an immoveable object for five thousand and five hundred years. Pleased with his self-control, mastery over his senses and regulations Brahma was highly pleased. Afterward in his white sunny car drawn by swans the Lord Brahma himself came there and said to the king of Daityas "O you of firm vows, you are my votary. I am pleased with you for your ascetic penances. May you fare well. Pray for a desirable boon".

Thereupon the Danava-chief Hiranyakashipu, with a delighted heart and folded hands, said:—"O lord, may none, amongst the gods, Asuras, Gandharvas, Yakshas, Uragas, Rakshasas, men and Pisachas, slay me. May not the Rishis, when angered, curse me. May not my destruction be brought about with a weapon, mountain, tree, dry or wet articles. May not my death take place in heaven, nether region, sky or either in day or in night. May he be my death only who, with the stroke of his own palm, will be able to kill me with my followers, servants and kinsmen. I will discharge the functions of the sun, moon, air, fire, water, sky, stars and ten quarters. I will be Kama, Krodha, Varuna, Vasava, Yama, Kuvera and the king of Kimpurushas. May huge weapons appear bodily before me in a battle".

Brahma said:—"O my son, I grant you these wonderful and celestial boons. These boons are rare and not to be obtained by men. Forsooth, by my favour, you will obtain all desirable objects."

Vaishampayana said:—Having said this Brahma went to the Vairaja region through the etherial way. Afterwards hearing of the grant of this boon the gods, Nagas and Gandharvas went to the Grand-father and said:—"O lord, by virtue of this boon the Asura will oppress us. Do thou concert a measure for his destruction." Hearing their words the Lord Brahma said:—"O ye gods, he must obtain the fruits of his penances. After he will have enjoyed them the Lord Vishnu will slay him." Delighted with what the lotus-sprung Deity had said the celestials repaired to their respective quarters.

Vaishampayana said:—Elated with the power of the boon he had obtained the Daitya-chief Hiranyakashipu began to oppress the creatures. That powerful Daitya assailed the ascetic Munis in the hermitages and the trutuful and self-controlled Brahmanas. Having vanquished all the gods in the three worlds he brought them under subjection and lived in heaven. Urged on by Destiny and elated with the pride of boon he made the Daityas entitled to sacrifices and deprived the gods therefrom. Thereupon the Adityas, Sadhyas, Vishwas, Vasus, Rudras, all the saints and the Brahmanas approached the highly powerful and eternal Vishnu adored of the world and sought his shelter. The gods said:—"O Narayana, the gods have sought refuge with thee: do thou save them and slay the Daitya-chief Hiranyakashipu. Thou art our protector, great preceptor and the great god. Thou dost please the party of thy friends and destroy the enemies. Do thou help us for slaying Diti's progeny." Vishnu said: "Cast off your fear, O ye immortals, I promise you safety. You will, in no time, attain to the celestial region as before. I will soon kill that Danava king with his people who is elated with the pride of his boon and is unslayable even by the immortals".

Vaishampayana said:—Having said this and dismissed the celestials the omniscient Lord thought of the destruction of Hiranyakashipu. Having assumed a body, half-lion and half-man, he arrived at Harinyakashipu's court. It was highly charming and a hundred yojanas in length and half as much in breadth. There existed neither decrepitude nor sorrow. It was adorned with various flowers and excellent seats.

CHAPTER 38. THE ASURAS ARE FILLED WITH SURPRISE AT SEEING THE MAN-LION FORM.

Vaishampayana said:—O Bharata, thereupon when Hiranyakashipu and all the Danavas saw that mighty-armed one like unto the wheel of time and fire covered with ashes, the beauty, of that man-lion form covered with matted wells and effulgent like the moon, filled every where of that spacious Hall. Seeing that form resembling a conch-shell, a kunda flower and the moon the Danavas exclaimed "What a wonderful form!" With their celestial vision however Hiranyakashipu and Pralhada could perceive that the Lord, in the shape of a lion, had come there. Pralhada said:—"O large-armed king, the first born amongst the Daityas, we have never seen a man-lion form, nor have we heard of it. How wonderful is this celestial form! My mind says that this dreadful form has appeared for the destruction of the Daityas. The gods, oceans, rivers, Himavan, and other boundary mountains, the moon with the stars, the Adityas, Ashwinis, Varuna, Yama, Indra, Maruts, Rishis, Nagas, Yakshas, Gandharvas, Pishachas and dreadful Rakshasas are all in his body. Brahma and the Lord Siva appear on his forehead. The mobile and immobile creation, all the Daitayas together with ourselves, this assembly hall, the three worlds, all are visible in him as the moon reflected on a mirror".

CHAPTER 39 VISHNU KILLS HIRANYAKASHIPU.

Vaishampayana said:—Hearing the words of Pralhada Hiranyakashipu said to the Daityas:—"Hold this lion assuming a wonderful form. And if you entertain any doubt kill this forest-ranger." Hearing those words and delighted the Danavas surrounded that huge-bodied lion and showed him fear. Thereupon sending up a leonine shout, that man-lion, like unto Death with his mouth wide open, dispersed the assemblage. Worked up with anger Hiranyakashipu discharged various weapons at the lion. But the highly powerful Lord remained unmoved like the mountain Himalaya. And leaping up into the sky the Man-lion tore Hiranyakashipu into pieces with his nails and killed him. After the destruction of the Diti's son the earth, lunar region, solar region, all the quarters, rivers, oceans and mountains again came into view. Thereupon pleased all the gods chanted the glories of the Eternal Purusha with various hymns.

CHAPTER 40. THE BEGINNING OF THE DWARF INCARNATION: BALI BECOMES KING.

Vaishampayana said:—I have thus described to you the man-lion incarnation. I will now describe the dwarf incarnation. Formerly the powerful Vishnu, assuming the form of a dwarf, occupied the kingdom of the three worlds with three footsteps in the sacrifice of the powerful Bali. Having released the earth he conferred it on the king of the celestials.

Kashyapa, the well-dressed son of Marichi, espoused two sisters of Prajapati, Diti and Aditi. The great Kashyapa begat on Aditi the twelve classes of the celestials, Dhata, Aryama, Mitra, Varuna, Angsha, Bhaga, Indra, Vivashwan, Pusha, Parjanya, Twastha and Vishnu. He began on Diti the powerful Hiranyakashipu. The Daitya-chief Hiranyaksha was his younger brother. Hiranyakashipu had five highly powerful sons, namely Pralhada, Hlada, Sangrada, Jambha and Anuhrada. Pralhada's son was Virochana whose son was Bali. Their sons and grand-sons were all very powerful. Thousands of the descendants of these highly powerful daityas are seen all over the land. Having seen Hiranyakashipu slain by the Man-lion the Daityas made Bali their chief for the destruction of the gods. He was heroic, powerful, pious and self-controlled like Hiranyakashipu and therefore was installed as their king by the Daityas. They said: "O Daitya king, it is well known to you that the entire universe consisting of the three worlds, mobile and immobile, was under Hiranyakashipu. O slayer of gods, the celestials, having killed your grand-father, have stolen the three worlds and appointed Indra as their king. Therefore, O lord, try to rescue your ancestral kingdom with our help. May you fare well and regain your ancestral kingdom. Encircled by thousands of Asuras do you vanquish the celestials in their own region. Unlimited is your prowess and strength and by your accomplishments you have excelled even your grand-father".

CHAPTER 41. BALI'S PROSPERITY.

Vaishampayana said:—The gods were (accordingly) defeated by the Daityas and the worlds were occupied by them. Maya and Samvara announced the victory of the highly powerful Bali. At that time the directions were clear, pious

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acts flourished, iniquity was suppressed, and the sun coursed regularly in its path. Pralhada, Shamvara, Maya, and Anuhlada carefully guarded all the quarters. People wended virtuous ways and there was absence of sin and increase of virtue. The Siddhas practised penances. Dharma flourished with four legs and Adharma (sin) with one. The kings properly protected their subjects and all the orders followed their respective duties. Bali was installed in the kingdom of gods unanimously by all the Asuras. When they began to shout in joy the boon-giving goddess of prosperity, with a lotus in her hand, appeared before Bali, and said:—"O foremost of the powerful, O highly effulgent Daitya king Bali, I have been pleased with you for your defeating the gods. May you fare well. Having displayed your prowess you have vanquished the king of gods in battle. Seeing your wonderful power I have come to you. O foremost of Danavas, you are born in the race of Hiranyakashipu and have been appointed the king of Asuras. It is therefore no wonder for you to perform such a feat. You have excelled even that Daitya king who enjoyed the entire three worlds. Besides you are always virtuous and pious. O you of unlimited prowess, you will therefore rule over the three worlds".

Having thus addressed the Daitya king that beautiful boon-giving goddess Lakshmi disappeared.

CHAPTER 42. THE GODS GO TO KASHYAPA FOR FINDING OUT MEANS FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF BALI.

Janamejaya said:—O foremost of the twice-born and Munis, vanquished by the Daityas what did the gods do? And how did they regain their heavenly kingdom?

Vaishampayana said:—Hearing of a celestial voice the beautiful king of gods, along with the celestials, repaired to the most excellent palace of Aditi situate in the east. Having arrived there Purandara related to Aditi every word about the celestial message.

Aditi said:—O my child, yourself and all the immortals cannot slay Virochana's son Bali. Only the thousand-headed Purusha is capable of slaying him and none else. However I will ask your father the truthfnl Kashyapa about the destruction of the great Daitya Bali.

Thereupon the Suras with Aditi approached Kashyapa. There they saw the great ascetic, the first preceptor of the Devas, like unto the sun of mitigated lustre through water, fair and effulgent like a burning flame. Having left aside his staff and thrown an antelope skin on his person he was practising penances. His body was covered with bark and antelope skin. He was burning in Brahma energy like fire incarnate when inflamed with incantations. The lord Maricha, the father of Suras and Asuras, was the foremost of Brahmavadins and effulgent like the sun. He was the creator of all and the most excellent master of the patriarchs. He was born as the third patriarch in the person of his grand-son. As the mind-begotten sons of Brahma speak to him, so those leading and heroic Devas along with Aditi bowed unto Kashyapa and with folded hands communicated to him the celestial message imparted through an invisible agency as also that Bali, the foremost of Daityas, was unconquerable by the immortals. Hearing the words of his sons Kashyapa desired to repair to the region of Brahma. Kashyapa said:—"O sinless one, we will repair to Brahma's abode filled with the sound of the recitation of the Vedas. There you are to communicate truly what you had heard unto Brahma".

Vaishampayana said:—Thereupon the Devas with Aditi followed Kashyapa to Brahma's palace filled with celestial saints. In highly costly and charming conveyances coursing at all the Devas, in a moment, reached Brahma's region. Desirous of beholding the immortal Brahma a mass of asceticism they repaired to his extensive court. Seeing the Hall where sweet Saman verses were being sung they were highly pleased. They heard the Rik mantras chanted by great ascetics of pious rites, well read in the Vedas and their auxilliaries. With the recitation of Vedic verses the Hall resounded. Having arrived there and heard the recitation of the Vedas the Suras considered their own persons purified. With their mental faculties concentrated, resorting to silence and fixing their minds on Brahma, they, filled with surprise, looked at one another.

Placing Kashyapa before them the Suras again in their mind saluted the Omnipotent Preceptor of the world. Again was heard the sweet and grave recitation of the Vedas by the Devas well-read in various Scriptures. Kashyapa's sons saw there leading Brahmanas ever observant of vows and regulations and fond of recitations and Homa. Carrying on the work of creation through celestial Maya, Brahma, the grand-father of the world and the preceptor of Suras and Asuras was seated in that Hall. There Daksha and other Patriarchs, Pracheta, Pulaha, the foremost of the twice-born Marichi, Bhrigu, Atri, Vasishtha, Goutama, and Narada, were worshipping him. Learning, mind, sky, fire, water, earth, sound, touch, form, taste, smell, these objects of sense, the principle of greatness, the four Vedas, religious rites, sacrifices, determination, vital breath and every other thing was present before the Self-sprung Deity. Profit, religious merit, object of desire, envy and joy were before him. Shukra, Vrihaspati, Samvartta, Buddha, Shani, Rahu, all the planets, Maruts, Vishwakarma, the stars, the sun and the moon were adoring Brahma. The sacred verse Savitri, the seven forms of speech, the Srutis, Gathas, Laws, Commentaries, Kshana, Lava, Muhurtta, day, night, month six seasons, year, four yugas, evening, the wheel of time and many others were present before the Self-sprung Deity. With the pious Devas Kashyapa entered into that celestial Hall affording all objects of desire. Beholding the Great Creator the Eternal Brahma, burning in his own beauty, freed from exhaustion and served by the Brahma saints the Devas bowed unto him. Having touched the feet of Parameshin with their crown they were freed from sins and became of quiescent souls. Seeing Kashyapa present there with the Devas the highly effulgent Brahma said.

CHAPTER 43. BRAHMA INSTRUCTS THE DEVAS TO GO TO VISHNU.

Brahma said:—O ye highly powerful gods, I have learnt the object of your arrival here. O leading Suras, your object will be accomplished. That lord of the universe, who will vanquish Bali the foremost of Danavas, is not only the victor of the Daityas but is the conqueror of three worlds and is worshipful unto the gods. That eternal origin of the universe is the ordainer of the worlds. People call him omniscient and Hemagarbha. The great Lord, who will destroy the world and the Asura-chief Bali, is the origin of all and is our first born. That Yogin, that soul of the universe is above the reach of thought. Even the Devas do not know that great one: but that Purusottama knows the gods, ourselves and the whole universe. By His grace we fare well. And establishing communion with Him people practise hard austerities in this world.

O Devas, in the northern division and on the northern bank of the ocean of milk there is a most excellent place called Amrita (nectar): so the wise say. Go there and being self-controlled practise hard austerities. There you will hear most sacred, purified words relating to Brahman grave like the muttering of clouds surcharged with water in the rainy season. That celestial speech is destructive of all sins and was spoken by the god of gods of pure soul. So long as your vow will not terminate you will hear that great universal speech. O gods, you have come to me and I am ready to grant you boons. Tell me what boon you do want.

Thereupon having bowed unto that one identical with Yoga Kashyapa and Aditi touched his feet and accepted the following boon. "May Lord forsooth be born as our son." When they with great reverence said so Brahma said "So be it. Let the Devas pray to Him for becoming their brother and he will agree." Having obtained this boon from him and been successful in their mission the gods repaired to their respective habitations. Saying 'so be it' the Suras, Kashyapa and Aditi touched Brahma's feet and repaired to the nothern quarter. Within a short time they reached the nothern bank of the ocean of milk as ordered by the Divine Brahma. Crossing many oceans, mountains and rivers those leading celestials saw a highly dreadful quarter enshrouded with darkness and divested of the sun and creatures. Reaching that place called Amrita the Suras along with Kashyapa began to practise hard austerities for many years with a view to propitiate the thousand-eyed, intelligent Yogin Narayana endued with all lordly powers. Observing the vows of celibacy and silence and controlling their senses and movements the Suras practised hard austerities there. The divine Kashyapa recited for pleasing the Lord Narayana many Vedic verses of eulogy.

CHAPTER 44. VISHNU PROMISES HELP TO THE GODS.

Vaishampayana said:—Hearing those most excellent eulogistic verses recited by the foremost of the twice-born Kashyapa the Lord Narayana, having a grave but sweet voice, delightedly and distinctly said to the great gods through the muttering of clouds. The words were heard from the sky, but nobody could see the Lord. Iswara said it with great delight.

Vishnu said:—O leading celestials, I am pleased with you. May you fare well. Do you pray for boons and I am ready to grant them.

Kashyapa said:—O immortals, blessed are we all since the Lord has been pleased with us. Thou art our supreme refuge. If O Lord, thou art propitiated and desirous of giving us boons, be thou born as Vasava's younger brother, ever enhancing the joy of thy kinsmen and as the son of myself and Aditi.

Vaishampayana said:—Then Aditi, the mother of Devas, desirous of praying for a boon, said to the Lord:—"I pray to thee for a boon. For the well being of all the gods be thou born as my son".

The Gods said:—O lord, do thou become our brother, master, king and protector. If thou art born as Aditi's son Vasava and other celestials will be able to hear the name of Deva. Do thou therefore be born as Kashyapa's son.

Vaishampayana said:—Thereupon Vishnu said to the Devas and Kashyapa:—"O gods, your enemies will not be able to stand even for a moment before me. Having slain the Asuras and other enemies of the celestials I will make the latter partake of sacrificial offerings. By my creative power I will make the gods partake of Havya and the Pitris of Kavya. Therefore O ye gods, return by the same way by which you came. I will satisfy the desire of Aditi the mother of gods as well as that of the great Kashyapa. Do you repair to your respective abodes. May good betide you and may you attain to your desired-for objects".

Thus addressed by the powerful Vishnu the gods delightedly worshipped the Lord. Having bowed unto the Deity, the great Vishwadevas, Kashyapa, Aditi, Sadhyas, Maruts, and the highly powerful Indra repaired to the great hermitage of Kashyapa in the eastern quarter. And having arrived at that hermitage filled with saints they engaged in the study of the Vedas and awaited Aditi's conception. Aditi, the mother of gods, held in her womb that great one, the soul of the universe of great power for a thousand celestial years. After the completion of the thousandth year she gave birth to the son, the protector of the gods and the destroyer of the Asuras. Living in the womb the Lord withdrew the energies of the three worlds and saved the gods. When that master of gods, the joy of the three worlds, the fear of the Daityas and the enhancer of the delight of the gods was born the celestials were freed from fear.

CHAPTER 45. VISHNU'S BIRTH AS A DWARF.

Vaishampayana said:—When that Deity was born the seven Patriarchs, Marichi and others and the seven saints bowed unto him, Bharadwaja, Kashyapa, Goutama, Vishwamitra, Jamadagni, Vasistha, and the lord Atri, who comes into view when the sun is completely clouded, came there. Marichi, Angira, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and the patriarch Daksha bowed unto him. Aurva, Vashistha's son Stamva, Kashyapa, Kapivan, Akapivan, Dattoli, Chyavana, and Vasistha's seven other sons who passed by the name of Vasishthas, Hiranyagarbha's son, the highly energetic Aurvajata, Gargya, Prithu, Agrya, Janya, Vamana, Devavashu, Yadudhra, Somaja, Parjanya, Hiranyroma, Vedashira, Satyanetra, Nimva, Atimbimva, Chyavana, Sudhatma, Viraja, Atinama and Sahishnu bowed unto him. Apsaras, having shining persons adorned with various ornaments, danced before Narayana. The Gandharvas played on bugles in the sky. Tumvaru, with other Gandharvas, began to sing. Mahasruti, Chitrashira, Urnayu, Anagha, Gomayu, Suryavarcha, Somavarcha, Yugapa, Trinapa, Karshni, Nandi, Chitraratha, Shaslishira, Parjanya, Kali, Narenda, Haha, Huhu, and the highly effulgent Gandharva Hansa began to sing before Keshava. There beautiful Apsaras, of large eyes, endued with all auspicious marks and adorned with various ornaments began to dance. Sumadhya, Charumadhya, Pryamukhya, the beautiful Anuka, Jami, Mishra keshi, Alamvusha, Marichi, Sruhika, Vidyutparna, Tilottama, Atrika, Lakshmana, Rambha, the charming Asita, Suvahu, Supnja, Subhaga, Urvashi, Chitralekha, Sugriva, Sulochana, Pundarikasugandha, Suratha, Pramathini, Nanda, Sarashwati, Menaka, Sahajanya, Parnika, Punjikasthali and thousands of other Apsaras danced there. Dhata, Aryama, Mitra, Varuna, Angsha, Bhaga, Indra, Vivashwan, Pusha, Twastha, Savita and Vishnu, these twelve Adityas, who are known as Kashyapeyas and effulgent like the sun bowed unto the high souled lord of celestials.

O king, Mrigavyadha, Sarpa, the highly powerful Nirhiti, Ajaikapat Ahivridhna, Aparajita, Pinaki, Dahana, Ishwara, Kapila, Sthanu and Bharga, these Rudras were also present there. The two Ashwinis, the eight Vasus, the highly powerful Maruts, Vishwadevas and Sadhyas all stood before him with folded hands. Shesha's younger brother the great Vasuki, Apukunja, Dhritarashtra, Valahaka and other highly powerful, wrathful and effulgent Nagas all stood before him with folded hands. Tarksha, Arishthanemi the highly powerful Garuda, Aruna and Aruni all stood before him with folded hands. The creator of the world himself with all the great patriarchs came there and said. Brahma said:—"He is the Eternal Lord, the powerful Vishnu from whom have emanated all the worlds." Having said this the Lord Brahma, along with other celestial saints, bowed unto the king of gods and returned to the celestial region. When the Lord was born as Kashyapa's son he had eyes blood-red like the clouds of an unfair day and was of the form of a dwarf. On his breast was the mystic mark of Srivatsa. With expanded eyes the Apsaras looked at him. His effulgence was like that of a thousand suns rising simultaneously in the sky. That beautiful Lord was the supporter of Bhur, Bhuva and other lokas, had high shoulders and pure hairs, was the refuge of the pious and offered no shelter unto the iniquitous. The great Yogins regard him as the most excellent Yoga. He has eight sorts of lordly powers. People call him the foremost of Devas. The Vipras long for emancipation through knowing that Eternal Purusha and persons, afraid of the world, are freed from birth and death. All the Ashramas designate him as Tapas. Practising hard austerities and restricting their diet people serve him. As Anata of a thousand hoods and crimson eyes he is worshipped by Sesha and other Nagas in their region. The Vipras,

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desirous of attaining to the celestial region, worship him as Yajna. Although present every where He is one. He is the most excellent poet and the Vedas sing Him as the ordainer of sacrificial offerings. Virtue is His effulgence. The sun and moon are His eyes and the sky is His body. That omnipotent Lord said to the Devas in most excellent words:—"Even knowing it I have attained to this boyhood through my Yoga power. What shall I do, O ye celestials, for you? What boon shall I give? Do you with pleasure pray for what you want." Hearing those words of the high-souled dwarf, Indra and other gods with folded-hands said to Kashyapa's son:—"By virtue of his ascetic penances and of the boon conferred on him by Brahma, the omniscient and highly powerful Daitya king Bali has possessed the entire universe through his prowess and self-control. He is not to be slain by any one of us. Thou art alone capable of vanquishing him. No one else can discomfit him. Therefore do we all seek refuge with thee, O lord, who art the remover of the fear of gods, fond of thy votaries and the giver of boons. O large-armed and great king of the celestials, for the well being of the Rishis and all the worlds and for the satisfaction of Kashyapa and and Aditi let the Pitris partake of Kavya and the celestials partake duly of Havya. Do thou bring back the three worlds for giving them back to the great king of the celestials, Mahendra. That Danava is celebrating a horse-sacrifice, do thou therefore think of an expedient by which thou mayst regain the worlds".

Vaishampayana said:—Thus addressed by the celestials Vishnu, in his dwarf form, said to the Devas, filling them with joy.

Vishnu said:—"Let Angira's son, the highly effulgent Rishi Vrihaspati, who has mastered the Vedas, take me to his sacrifice. Going to his sacrificial ground I will do what I think proper for regaining the three worlds" (54–55).

Thereupon the highly effulgent and intelligent Vrihaspati took the Omnipotent Dwarf to the sacrificial ground of the Daitya king Bali endued with high intellectual powers. That Dwarf assumed the form of a boy, had smoky eyes, wore sacrificial thread well-polished and deer-skin. He had an umbrella and staff in his hands. Though not aged he appeared like an old man. Meditated upon by Brahma and other gods that foremost of Suras, the Lord of the Patriarchs, went to the sacrificial ground of the Daitya king Virochana's son Bali. Although the gate was well-protected by properly armed and accoutered Daityas he all on a sudden entered there. The powerful Dwarf appeared before Bali, the king of Daityas and Danavas, completely encircled by priests well-versed in reciting mantras. Having arrived at the sacrificial ground filled with Brahmana saints the lord described himself as being identical with Yajna. Having described in detail the sacrifice that Eternal Purusha, identical with Yajna and a master of sacrificial rites, vanquished Sukra and other priests with various quotations and they could advance no reply. Before the Rishis and priests the Omnipotent Lord, of wonderful speech, with reasons and arguments laid down in the Vedas, but not visible to any, described himself unto Bali as being identical with sacrifice. Thereupon seeing the elderly Rishis and Upadhyayas (preceptors) silenced by that highly effulgent dwarfish boy Virochana's son Bali regarded it as a wonder. And filled with surprise and bending low his head, he, with folded hands, said:—"Whence have you come? Who are you? Whose son are you? what necessity have you here? I had never seen before such an intelligent, beautiful, good-looking, charming Brahmana boy endued with such spiritual culture and so well read in the Vedas. The Devas, the Rishis, Nagas, Yakshas, Asuras, Rakshasas, Pitris, Siddhas, Gandharvas, none amongst them, has such a son. Whoever you may be, I bow, unto you. Tell me what I can do for you".

Thus addressed by Bali that Dwarf, conversant with expedients, whose nature cannot be conceived by any, smiling a little, said.

CHAPTER 46. BALI PROMISES TO GIVE LANDS TO THE DWARF.

Vishnu said:—"What a wonderful sacrifice is this undertaken by the king of Asuras. There are various sorts of well prepared edibles. O highly powerful Danava king, your sacrifice has excelled that of the Great Creator Brahma, that of Sakra the king of the celestials and that of Yama, and Varuna. This horse-sacrifice, the best of all sacrifices leading to the attainment of heaven, which you have undertaken for destroying your sins, is full of all desirable objects and approved by the Brahmavadins. The Sruti says that Ashwamedha is the best of sacrifices. This great Yajna, which is of the shape of a boar with golden horns, iron hoops and gait fleet like the mind, which has profuse gold and is the origin of the universe, is highly sacred. By performing this sacrifice a man rides the sacrificial horse and gets over his sins. The Vipras, well read in the Vedas, call this sacrificial horse fire. As the order of a householder is the best of all Ashramas, as the Brahmanas are the best of mankind, as you are now the foremost of Asuras, so the horse-sacrifice is the best of all sacrifices."

Vaishampayana said:—Hearing those words of the Dwarf, Bali, the king of Daityas, was highly pleased. Bali said:—"O foremost of the twice-born, who art thou? What dost thou want? What shall I give thee? May good betide thee. Do thou pray for thy wished-for object and thou shalt have it". The Dwarf said:—"O Danava, I do not pray for kingdom, conveyances, jewels or women. If you are pleased, if you have your mind fixed on virtue, I pray from you for ground covering three foot-steps for the construction of the sacrificial house of my preceptor. Grant me this which is the highest object I pray for". Bali said:—"O foremost of orators, O best of Brahmanas, what object of yours will be accomplished with ground covering three foot-steps. Pray for ground measuring hundreds and thousands of feet". Shukra said:—"O you of large arms, O great Asura, do not promise him any gift; you do not know him. He is the Great Lord Hari. Having assumed the form of a dwarf through his Maya he has come here to impose on you for the well-being of the king of gods. The Omnipotent Lord can assume various forms". Thus addressed by Shukra Bali meditated for some time and then determining in his mind: "Where shall I do get a worthier person than he" he was filled with joy. Then holding up a golden grass he stood motionless there. Bali said:—"O foremost of Vipras having lotus eyes, sit down. I stand here with my face towards the east. Accept my gift saying 'give.' What lands will you take? What is the extent of your three feet? I will give it. Take up water, the words of your preceptor will not be falsified". Shukra said:—"O Daitya-king, do not make him any present. Forsooth I have come to know that he is Vishnu. What wonderful devotion! You have been imposed upon." Bali said:—"I have not been deceived, the Lord himself, Vishnu has come to my sacrifice. I shall give unto this god of gods whatever he will ask of me. What worthier person can there be than Vishnu to whom I may make a gift?" Saying this Bali at once took water. The Dwarf said:—"O sinless king of the Danavas, the land, covering my three foot-steps, will be enough for me. What I have said before is true. It can never be otherwise".

Vaishampayana said:—Hearing those words of the highly effulgent Dwarf, Virochana's son Bali, the king of Daityas and the slayer of his enemies, threw an antelope skin on his person. And then saying 'let it be so' he touched a jar full of water. Desirous of destroying the Asura king the Dwarf too extended his hand destructive of Daityas. As the king of Danavas, with his face towards east, was about to give him water Pralhada prevented him. Beholding the un-foreseen form of the Great Hari, who was willing to steal the prosperity of the Asuras, the greatly wise Pralhada said:—"Do not give any thing unto this dwarfish Brahmana. It is he who formerly killed your great grandfather. This greatly wise Vishnu has come to impose on you". Bali said:—"It is indeed a matter of great joy that I will be able to make gifts unto this Deity. I have obtained as an object of my gifts who is the lord of the universe, who shows such a favour and who is superior even to Bramha. O foremost of Asuras, one, who has been initiated for sacrifice, must make gifts." Having thus expressed himself in the midst of the Asuras Virochana's son Bali granted the Lord Narayana land measuring three feet.

Pralhada said:—"O king of Danavas, do not promise to give anything unto this Vipra. I do not consider him a Vipra youth. A Brahmana is not like it. Beholding his form I think forsooth that the Man-lion has returned again." Thus addressed by Pralhada of unlimited energy, Bali, as if remonstrating with him, said.

Bali said:—Misfortune of the person who prays for alms and that of the Asura who drives him away disappointed visit the latter. The man, who having made a promise unto a Brahmana, does not satisfy it that sinful wight goes to hell with his friends and kinsmen. Afraid of suffering from poverty I am making a present of this earth to him; who is there a worthier Brahmana than he? While there is none superior to him, I confer this earth to him. Seeing the twice-born one beg alms from me in the shape of a dwarf I have been highly pleased. I will therefore make him a gift: do not prevent me. Bali again said to that dwarfish Brahmana:—"O you of little understanding, what will you do with land covering three foot steps? I will confer on you the entire earth surrounded by the oceans." The dwarf said:—"O foremost of Danavas, I do not pray for the entire earth. I am satisfied with land covering three foot-steps. This is what I like and pray for".

Vaishampayana said:—Having said "So be it" the Danava-king Bali made the Lord Narayana of unmeasured energy touch land covering three foot-steps. When his hand fell into water the Lord Dwarf considered himself insulted and displayed his universal form. The earth was his feet, the sky was his head, the sun and moon were his eyes, the Pishacas were the fingers of his feet and the Guhyakas were the fingers of his hands. The Vishwadevas were on his thighs, the Saddhyas were on his knees and the Devas and Apsaras emanated from his nails. Lightning formed his vision, the rays of the sun were his hairs, the stars were the holes of the hairs of his body and the Rishis were those hairs. The two Ashwinis were his two feet, and the highly powerful Vayu was his nose. The contrary quarters were his arms and the quarters were his ears. The moon was his delightfulness, virtue was his mind, truth was his speech, the goddess Saraswati was his tongue, the great goddess Aditi was his neck, the effulgent sun was his throat, the gate of heaven was his navel, Mitras and Twastha were his two eye-brows, fire was his mouth, Prajapati was his testes, Brahma was his heart, and Kashyapa was his organ of pro-creation. Vasava was his back and the Maruts were his joints. The Vedas constituted his presence, lustre was his effulgence, Rudra was his breast, the great ocean was his patience, the highly powerful Gandhatvas and serpents were his belly, Lakshmi was his intelligence, Dhriti was his beauty, learning was his waist, and the seat of the soul was his fore-head. All the luminous bodies formed his ascetic penance, and the king of gods Sakra was his energy, on his breast and sides were the gods, sacrifices Ishti rites, the works of the twice-born and beasts. Beholding that universal form of Vishnu the great Asuras were worked up with anger. And like insects going to a fire they approached him.

CHAPTER 47. THE DANAVAS DESCRIBED.

Vaishampayana said:—Hear now of the names, forms, accomplishments and the principal weapons of the Danavas. Viprachitti, Shivi, Shanku, Ayashanku, Ayasshira, Ashwashira, the powerful Hayagriva, Ketuman, Ugra, Syogra, Vyavra, the great Asura Pushkara, Pushkala, Swashwa, Ashwapati, Prahada, Ashwashira, Kumbha, Sanglhada, Gaganaprya, Anuhrada, Harihara, Varaha, Sanhara, Aruja, Vrishaparva, Virupaksha, Munindra, Chandralochana, Nishprabha, Suprahva, Nirudara, Ekavaktra, Mahavaktra Dwivaktra, Sherasa, Sharabha, Kunatha, Kupatha, Kvatha, Mahagarbha, Shankukarna, Mahadhwani, Dirghajish, Arkavadana, Mriduchapa, Mriduprya, Vayu, Garistha, Namachi, Shamvara, Vikshara, Chandrahanta, Krodhahanta, Krodhavardhana, Kalaka, Kalakaksha, Vitra, Krodhavimokshana, Garistha, Havistha, Pralamva, Naraka, Pritha, Indratapana, Vatapi, Ketuman, Asiloma, Vitoma, Vaskala, Pramada, Mada, Shrigalavavana, Keshi, Ekaksha, Rahu, Tuhunda, Samala, Sripa—these and many other Daityas appeared before the Great Vishnu who was about to place his feet. Of them, some took up nooses, some had their mouths wide open, some had the voice of asses, some took up Satghnis, some discus in their hands, some had thunder-bolts, some rods, some mortars, some swords, some Pattiças, some Parashwadhas, some Praças, some clubs, some Parighas, some huge stones and some Pushalas in their hands. Some Danavas had trees in their hands, some had bows, some had clubs, some had Bhushundis, and some shook there with daggers in their hands. Those dreadful and highly powerful Danavas, dressed in various ways, were armed with diverse weapons. Some had their mouths like those of tortoises, some had like those of fowls, some had like those of swans, and some had like those of asses; some were camel-mouthed, some were boar-mouthed and some dreadful Danavas had mouths like Makaras. Some had their faces like hares, some like cats, some like Sukas, some like cows, some like deer, some like Garuda, some like swords and some like peacocks; some were horse-mouthed, some were elephant-mouthed and some had faces like those of various other weapons. They put on skins of elephant and antelope. Their persons were covered with bark. Some amongst them were adorned with gold. The Asuras put on crowns and wore Kundalas; they, clad in various raiments, were adorned with diverse garlands and pastes. Holding their burning weapons those Danavas and Asuras approached Hrishikesha who was about to place his feet. The effulgence of the Lord at that time, who was about to conquer the three worlds, was like that of the sun. Having smashed all the sons of Diti with his palms and feet the omnipotent lord possessed the three worlds with his three foot-steps. Having assumed a huge form he first attacked the earth; when he occupied the earth the sun and moon were in his heart. When he occupied the sky they were in his waist and when he occupied the heaven they were on his knees (13–29). The twice-born thus described the form of Vishnu of incomparable prowess. Having conquered the three worlds and slain the leading Asuras, Hari, adored of the universe, conferred the earth on Indra the king of gods. The powerful Vishnu assigned to Bali the region under the earth called Sutala. Obtaining that region for his residence the foremost of Asuras Bali was pleased. Since then the king of Asuras has been living in Rasatala. Living there the greatly effulgent Bali engaged in great meditation. The intelligent Bali said to Narayana, adored of the universe "O Lord, do thou command me particularly what I should do now." Thereupon Vishnu, the lord of celestials, said to the Daitya king Bali.

Vishnu said:—"O great Asura, I have been pleased with you; I am ready to grant you a boon: pray for it. May good betide you. Do you pray for desired-for objects. Never under any circumstances disobey the words of Sakra, the king of gods. This is my command to you. If you obey it you will meet with your well-being. O Daitya, the water, your offered, was taken by me in the cavity of my palm and therefore you have no fear anywhere from the gods. Along with all the Daityas and your followers, do you live by my favour in that part of the nether region which is called Sutala. Remembering my mandate do not disregard the words of Shakra of incomparable energy. O great Asura, all the gods are

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worshipful unto you. You will attain to all your desirable objects; you will acquire many dresses both in this world and in the next. And by my favour you will always reign supreme over the Daityas. You will enjoy various objects and celebrate sacrifices accompanied with gifts. Whenever you will transgress this my command the highly powerful serpents will bind you with their hoods. You should always bow unto Mahendra and other gods. Indra, the king of gods, is my elder brother; you should therefore obey his command".

Bali said:—"O great God, O holder of conch-shell, discus and club O God of gods, O preceptor of the gods, and Asuras, O king of gods, O foremost of celestials, what position will be mine when I will live in that nether region? How shall I live there? How will my fame be unbroken?".

The Lord said:—"O foremost of Daityas, a Sraddha without a Shrotrya, study without vows, sacrifice without presents, Homa without Ritwikas, gifts without reverence and impure Havi, these six portions will belong to you. The virtue of those who are ill-disposed towards my votaries, the virtue of persons who are engaged in buying and selling, the virtue of Agnihotras, the virtue of those who make charities without reverence and the virtue of those who officiate as priests, will be your share, O king of Daityas, by my favour".

Vaishampayana said:—Hearing the words of the high souled Vishnu, the foremost of Asuras, Bali said "So be it." And carrying out the command of the Deity, he entered into the nether region. In the meantime the Divine Vishnu, adored by the gods, made divisions of the kingdom. He conferred the eastern quarter on the king of gods of incomparable prowess, the southern quarter on the great Yama the king of the departed manes, the western quarter on the high-souled Varuna, and the northern quarter on Kuvera, the king of Yakshas; the region under the earth he gave to the king of Nagas and the region above he conferred on Soma. Having thus parcelled out the three worlds the highly powerful lord of celestials Vishnu, adored of the great saints, repaired to the heavenly region. After the departure of that irrepressible dwarf all the gods, with the performer of hundred sacrifices before them, were filled with joy.

Vaishampayana said:—After Krishna had departed having bound Virochana's son Bali with seven hooded serpents such as Kampana, Ashwatara etc. the celestial saint Narada, of his own accord, came to him who was stricken with pain in consequence thereof. Seeing him thus afflicted and filled with compassion he said to that king of Danavas:—"I will find out means for releasing you. O king of Daityas, with a purified soul meditate on the god of gods Vasudeva who is without beginning or end and who is eternal and undecaying; with your mind devoted to him you will in no time acquire emancipation".

Thereupon his soul purified and mind controlled Virochana's son, with folded hands, learnt from Narada the means of attaining to emancipation. Having learnt that celestial hymn sung by Narada the great Asura Bali began to recite the names of that Great God by whom the Earth was raised up. Salutation unto the Eternal and Great Lord without end. Salutation unto the lotus-navelled Deity Vishnu who lay on water. Assuming a body endued with the energies of seven forms thou dost invade the three worlds. O lord, thou art the death of Kala. Do thou release me. When the sky is divested of the sun and the moon, when sacrifices and ascetic penances are on the wane, do thou think of creating the universe again. Do thou release me by this thy power. Markandeya, the foremost of the twice-born, saw in thee Brahma, Rudra, Indra, Vayu, fire, rivers, serpents and mountains. Do thou release me. In the previous Kalpa Markandeya Muni entered into thy belly and saw the entire universe mobile and immobile. Do thou save me by this thy power. Resorting to thy Yoga power supported by thy learning thou dost alone create the three worlds and again engage in Yoga. Do thou save me by this thy power. Lying in water thou dost enjoy Yoga sleep and again think of the creation. Do thou save me by this thy power. Assuming the form of a sacrificial boar thou didst formerly upraise the earth. Do thou save me by that power of thine. Raising up the earth with thy tusks thou didst ordain three Pindas for the departed manes. Do thou save me by that power of thine. Afraid of Hiranyaksha the celestials fled away. Thou didst however save them. Do thou by that power release me. Having assumed a form with a huge mouth thou didst cut off in battle Hiranyaksha's head with thy discus. Do thou by that power save me. With thy roaring formerly the Daitya Hiranyakshipu was killed with his head and bones smashed. Do thou, by that power of thine, save me. Formerly before the very eyes of Brahma the Vedas were pilfered by the two Daityas. But thou didst regain them however. Do thou save me by that power of thine. Assuming the form of Hayashira thou didst slay the two Danavas, Madhu and Kaitabha and return the Vedas unto Brahma. Do thou save me by that power of thine. The Devas, Danavas, Gandharvas, Yakshas, Siddhas and Uragas cannot see thy end. Do thou save me by this power. Thou didst beget a son by name Apantaralama who explained the Vedas. Do thou save me by this power. O lord, Agnihotra and other Vedic rites, the sacrifices in honour of the Pitris and Havi are all thy mysteries. Do thou save me by that power of thine. The Rishi Dirghatama was born blind on account of the imprecation of his preceptor. By thy favour he regained his eye-sight; by that power of thine do thou save me. Thou didst release thy poor votary elephant possessed by Rahu. Thou art undecaying, eternal, devoted to Brahman and thy votaries. Thou art the chastiser of those who wend evil ways. Do thou save me. I bow unto conch-shell, discus, club, quiver, Shranga bow and Garuda: may they release me from my fetters. Thereupon conch shell, discus, club, quiver, Shranga and Garuda propitiated the Lord and requested him to release Bali from his fetters. Thereupon pleased the Lord ordered the king of birds Garuda, the destroyer of serpents, saying "Release Bali from the fetters." Thereupon flapping his wings Garuda, of incomparable prowess, went to Patala where Bali was bound by the serpents. Informed of the arrival of Garuda, the serpents, releasing the great Asura Bali, fled away to the city of Bhagovati in fear of Vinata's son. Garuda, who used to eat up serpents, said to Bali, who had lost his prosperity and released from the noose by Krishna's favour who was meditating with his head hanging down. Garuda said:—"O you of large arms, O king of Danavas, the powerful Vishnu has ordered you, freed from fetters, to live in Patala with your children and friends. O Danava, do not move away an inch from this place. If you break this contract your head will be sundered into a hundred pieces".

Hearing the words of that king of birds the Danava said:—"I am obeying the orders of that Great One. O king of birds let the Lord make some arrangements for my livelihood so that I may live here happily" Hearing the words of Bali Garuda said:—"The Lord has already made arrangements for your maintenance. You will be entitled to the offerings of those sacrifices that are celebrated without priests and regulations by persons unacquainted with the means of penance. The celestials do not partake of such offerings. Nourished by such sacrificial offerings you will live here happily".

Vaishampayana said:—Kashyapa's son Vishnu, the supporter of the three worlds, sent this message to the large armed king of Danavas. The man, who reverentially recites this hymn destructive of all sins, has his iniquities destroyed. The destroyer of a cow is freed from the sin consequent thereon and the murderer of a Brahmana is also freed from his sins. A man, having no son, gets one. A maiden acquires a husband after her heart. A woman is soon freed from her labour pain and gives birth to a son. Kapila, the founder of Sankhya school and other Rishis, desirous of emancipation, repaired, freed from sins, to the insular continent of Shewta the seat of Moksha, by reciting this hymn. This hymn grants all heavenly objects. For sooth does a man acquire all desirable objects, who, rising up early in the morning and purifying himself, reads it with a controlled mind. This dwarf incarnation of the Lord is recounted by Vipras well read in the Vedas as a glorious deed of Vishnu. The man, who reverentially listens on every Parva to the recitation of this heavenly theme of dwarf incarnation, vanquishes all his enemies, being a powerful king like the highly powerful Vishnu himself. He acquires also unsullied fame and immense riches and objects of enjoyment. As the dwarf is the favourite so he becomes beloved of all. His sons and grand-sons multiply, enjoy freedom from diseases and are endowed with all accomplishments. The Lord Janarddana is pleased with him who reads it: and he obtains all desirable objects. So has Krishna Dwaipayana said.

CHAPTER 48. THE FRUITS OF THE RECITATION OF THE BHARATA.

Janamejaya said:—O Revered Sir, according to what rules the learned hear the Bharata? What are the fruits thereof. What gods should be worshipped when it is complete? What charities should be made after every Parva? What sort of a reciter is desirable? Describe all this to me.

Vaishampayana said:—O king, hear how the Bharata should be listened to and what are the fruits thereof. Hear, O king, I will answer your questions. The gods, living in the celestial region, came down on earth for sporting. Having finished that work they returned to their own region. Hear with attention, I will describe the origin of gods and Rishis on earth. O foremost of Bharatas, Rudras, Saddhyas, Vishwadevas, Adityas, the two Ashwinas, the regents of the quarters, the great saints, Guhyakas, Gandharvas, Nagas, Vidydharas, Sraddhya, Dharma, Brahma, the ascetic Katyayana, the mountains, oceans, rivers, Apsaras, the planets, years, the two courses of the sun, seasons, the mobile and immobile objects, the gods and Asuras are all seen simultaneously described in (this history of) Bharata. By listening to their names and illustrious deeds a man is immediately freed from even dreadful sins. If one duly and in order listens to this history, if one, controlling his senses and purifying his soul, masters this Bharata, he should then make charities to commemorate the occasion. With reverence and according to his might he should make presents unto the Brahmans of various jewels, cows with bi-metallic vessels for milching them, well adorned and accomplished maidens, various conveyances and houses, lands, dresses, gold, horses, beds carried by infuriated elephants, vehicles, and well furnished cars. He should give away unto the twice-born whatever excellent and costly articles he has got in his house. What more he should even give away his own self, his wife and sons. If one makes these gifts reverentially he can master the Bharata. Hear how a man, according to his might, acquires spiritual powers by being pleased, of good spirits, bent upon serving, truthful, simple, self-controlled, and reverential. The one who will recite this Bharata, must be endued with a pure character and conduct, clad in a white raiment, self-controlled, initiated, well versed in all scriptures, respectful and divested of malice. He must be truthful, worthy of respect and discreet (4-20). He should read it with ease, without delay or haste, distinctly and with motion. While reading he should distinctly pronounce words and letters. He should read it with concentration and in good health and spirits. The rule is that having saluted Narayana, the foremost of Beings Nara as also the goddess of learning Saraswati one should recite the Bharata.

O great king of Bharata's race, if one observing regulations and purifying himself hears the Bharata from such a person he reaps the fruits (thereof). After hearing it from the very beginning to the end of Harivamsha one should satisfy the Brahmanas by giving them all they want. The man who once hears it recited, obtains the fruits of Agnistoma sacrifice, and acquires a vehicle filled with nymphs in the celestial region. With great pleasure he repairs to Dyuloka with the celestials. If he hears it twice he obtains the fruits of the Atiratra sacrifice, drives celestial cars filled with all jewels, wears celestial garlands and raiments, enjoys heavenly scents and always lives in the land of gods armed with a heavenly coat of mail. If he hears it thrice he obtains the fruits of Dwadashaha sacrifice. And he lives like a god for a million of years in heaven. If he hears it four times he obtains the fruits of Vajapeya sacrifice. If he hears it five times he obtains the double fruits and repairs to heaven. Seated with celestials on a car effulgent like the sun and burning fire, he enjoys for a million of years in Indra's palace in the celestial region. By hearing it six times he enjoys fruits four times as much and by hearing it seven times he enjoys them three times as much. And riding on a car coursing at will, huge like the summit of mount Kailasha, consisting of seats made of emerald, diamond and sapphire, he ranges every where along with the Apsaras like the second sun. If one hears it eight times he obtains the fruits of a Rajasuya sacrifice, drives in a charming car drawn by horses like unto the rays of the moon and fleet like the mind and sees the faces, more charming than the moon itself, of beautiful damsels. And lying asleep on the lap of celestial damsels he hears the tinkling sound of waist-chains and other ornaments. If one hears it for nine times he obtains the fruits of the king of sacrifices, Vajimedha. Seated on a car filled with Gandharvas and Apsaras and windows made of gold, and adorned with golden pillars and diamond seats, wearing celestial garlands and raiments and pasted with sandal he enjoys in the company of gods in the celestial region. By hearing it ten times and saluting the twice-born one drives in a car filled with Gandharvas, expert in singing and Apsaras, with the sound of a net-work of small bells, adorned with flags and pennons, jewelled seats, diamond gates and surrounded with golden nets. Wearing a sunny, crown adorned with golden ornaments, celestial garlands and unguents he roams at large in the celestial region. He possesses great prosperity by the favour of gods. In this wise he lives for many years in the celestial region. He thus enjoys for twenty-one thousand years the company of the Gandharvas and the king of gods in his region encircled by celestial damsels; he lives like an immortal in various lokas.

Thereupon living gradually in the lunar region, solar region, and that of Shiva he attains to Vishnu's region. O great king, such is the case; one should not discuss about it. My preceptor has said that, one should cherish reverence. Whatever one wishes for in his mind he should give it to the reciter. He should make presents of elephants, horses, cars, conveyances, beasts of burden, golden Kundalas, golden thread, various raiments and scents. He should be like a god and then he will attain to Vishnu's region. O king, afterwards at the time of the recitation of the Bharata one should make presents unto Brahmans at every Parva. I will describe them. O king, O foremost of Bharata's descendants, informed of birth, country, wealth, greatness and virtuous conduct of a Brahmana a Kshatrya should first make him recite benedictory verses and then begin the work. Afterwards at the termination of the Parva he should please the twice-born with presents proportionate to his might. He should first duly give unto the reciter raiments and scents and then entertain him with sweet pudding. At the time of the recitation of the Astika Parva he should first entertain the Brahmanas with sweet meats and then make him presents. While the Sabha Parva is recited he should entertain the Brahmanas with vegetable dishes. Whilst the Aranya Parva is recited he should entertain them with fruits and roots. Whilst the Aranya Parva is recited he should present the Brahmanas with jars full of water and entertain them with sweet and delicious fruits and roots

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grown in the forest and wholesome dishes. Whilst the Virat Parva is recited he should make presents of various raiments. O foremost of Bharatas, at the time of the recitation of the Udyoga Parva he should entertain the Brahmans, adorned with garlands and unguents, with various wholesome and sweet dishes. O king, at the time of the recitation of the Bhishma Parva he should present the Brahmanas with most excellent conveyances and entertain them with well cooked dishes endued with many virtues. Whilst the Drona Parva is recited he should feed the Brahmanas to their fill and present them with bows, arrows and swords. Whilst the Karna Parva is recited he should, with a controlled mind, entertain the Brahmanas with various well cooked dishes. Whilst the Shalya Parva is recited one should offer wine, molasses and various sweet dishes. Whilst the Gada Parva is recited one should offer food of barley and whilst Stri Parva is read out one should please the Brahmanas with presents of jewels. Whilst Aishi Parva is recited one should offer first Ghee and then well-cooked dishes. Whilst the Shanti Parva is recited one should entertain the Brahmanas with vegetable dishes and whilst the Ashramavasi Parva is recited one should entertain the Brahmans with vegetable dishes and whilst the Aswamedha Parva is recited one should entertain the Brahman as with dishes after their own hearts. Whilst the Moushala Parva is recited one should make presents of garlands and unguents. whilst the Mahaprasthana Parva is recited one should make presents of the articles mentioned before. And after the recitation of Harivamsha is over one should feed thousand Brahmanas and present each of them with a cow and a golden coin. H a poor man cannot afford to do it he should do half as much. After the termination of each Parva a wise man should present to the reciter a book and a gold coin. After the termination of the Harivansha Parva he should entertain the Brahmanas with milk and rice.

At the end of every Parva a person, well read in Shastras and honoured by the good, clad in a white rainment and adorned with nice ornaments, should, being self-controlled, finish Sanihitas. And then covering them with a silken cloth he should place them in a holy place and adore them with garlands and scents. He then distribute meat, various articles, drinks, gold, cows and raiments. A self-controlled man should always distribute three tolas of gold. An incapable man should give half or one fourth of it. He should offer to the Bramhanas various articles after his own heart. With reverence he should propitiate the reciter like unto his own preceptor. He should then recite the names of all the gods especially that of Nara-Narayana. Thereupon having adorned the Bramhanas with garlands and scents he should gratify them with various gifts. By doing so a man obtains the fruit of the Atiratra sacrifice at every Parva.

O foremost of Bharatas, a reciter, who can distinctly read letters and words and has a sweet voice, should recite the future section of the Bharata before the twice-born. He should first feast the reciter well adorned and then the twice-born ones. He should then adore the former. If a reciter is pleased one enjoys eternal and most excellent bliss. If the Brahmanas are pleased all the gods are propitiated. O foremost of Bharatas, so the pious should duly and in order gratify the twice-born with gifts, after their own hearts. O foremost of men, I have thus described to you the rules. I have answered all your questions, therefore you should be respectful in this matter. O great king, he who wishes to acquire most excellent bliss, should assiduously listen to the recitation of the Bharata and fulfill conditions at its completion. One should daily listen to Bharata and recite it. He, who has Bharata in his house, acquires victory. The Bharata is highly sacred; various episodes have been described in the Bharata. The gods even read it. Bharata is the most excellent refuge. The Bharata is superior to all Shastras, Through Bharata one can acquire Moksha (emancipation). This is what I tell you. If a man recites the great Bharata, the names of the earth, cow, Saraswati, Brahmana and Keshava he does not meet with ruin. O foremost of Bharatas, in the beginning, middle and end of the Vedas, Ramayana and Mahabharata Hari has been described. Man, wishing to acquire the great station, should listen to the recitation of the glorious deeds of Vishnu and Srutis. This great work is the cannon of religion and is endued with all virtues. He who wishes to acquire lordly powers should hear it. Dwaipayana has said that one, listening to Harivamsha in this unreal world, acquires all wished-for objects. Having finished a complete recitation of Harivamsha one acquires the fruit yielded by thousands of Aswamedha and hundreds of Vajapeya sacrifices. O Vishnu, thou art without birth and decay, thou art the only One worthy of being meditated upon. Thou art gross and subtle and art beyond the reach of perception. Thou art Saguna and Nirguna. Only the Yogins can comprehend thee through their knowledge. Thou art the preceptor of the three worlds and creator. I seek refuge with thee. May all tide over calamities, may all meet with well-being, and may all acquire their wished-for objects for the completion of the recitation of the Bharata.

CHAPTER 49. THE FRUITS OF THE RECITATION OF HARIVAMSHA.

Janamejaya said:—O foremost of Munis, do you describe to me the fruits one can acquire by listening to Harivamsha and what gifts he should make.

Vaishampayana said:—O foremost of Bharatas, if a man listens to Harivamsha Purana, all his sins, committed by body, words and thought, are dissipated like the dew on the rising of the sun. Forsooth does a Vaishnava reap, by listening to Harivamsha, the fruits yielded by the hearing of the eighteen Puranas. Those, who reverentially listen to one half or even one portion of a sloka of Harivamsha, attain to the dignity of Vishnu. In the Kaliyuga living in the insular continent of Jamvu the number of hearers will be limited. Women, who wish to have sons, should listen to Vishnu's glorious deeds. He, who, after hearing it, wishes to acquire fruits, should give, to the reciter according to his might, gold of the weight of three Nishkas. For his own well-being he should present the reciter with a Kapila cow, with a cloth, its calf and golden horns. O foremost of Bharatas, ornaments for the ear and hand yield special fruits. O king, you should give lands unto the Bramhanas. There is no other gift like it and there will be none.

THE END.

THE ARTHASHASTRA
The Political Science of Wealth
Author: Kautilya / Chanakya
Discovered in 1905 by Rudrapatna Shamasastry
Bangalore: Government Press
Translation: R. Shamasastry, 1915
Estimated Range of Dating: 325-283 B.C

(The Arthashastra is an sophisticated treatise on statecraft, economic policy and military strategy. Its title means The "[Political] Science of Wealth" and it is said to have been written by Kautilya, also known by the name Chanakya or Vishnugupta, the prime minister of India's first great emperor, Chandragupta Maurya (c. 340-293 BC). Chanakya served as the chief advisor to both emperors Chandragupta and his son Bindusara.

The ancient Arthashastra has been traditionally attributed to Chanakya (c.355 or 350-283 BC; dating uncertain) by a number of scholars. The Arthashastra identifies its author as Kauṭilya, a gotra or clan name, except for one verse in the Panchatantra that refers to him by the personal name of Vishnugupta. Kauṭilya is presumably the name of the author's gotra (clan). He is generally called Chanakya (taken from his father's name "Chanak") but, in his capacity as author of the Arthaśhāstra, is generally referred to as Kautilya derived from his gotra's name "Kotil"(Kautilya means "of Kotil").

His works were lost near the end of the Gupta Empire in the 6th century AD and not rediscovered until the early 20th century. [Waldauer, C., Zahka, W.J. and Pal, S. 1996. Kauṭilya's Arthashastra: A neglected precursor to classical economics. Indian Economic Review, Vol. 31, No. 1, pp. 101–108.] The Arthashastra was discovered in 1905 by librarian Rudrapatna Shamasastry in an uncatalogued group of ancient palm-leaf manuscripts donated by an unknown pandit to the Oriental Research Institute Mysore.

The Arthashastra could be called The First Constitution of India. The original text was most likely composed in Sanskrit and written with the newly created Brahmi script, an abugida type alphabet developed out of the Aramaic Karoshti script but with some Greek influence as regards to stylistic clarity. Estimated range of dating: Shortly after the conquest of Alexander the Great (327-325 BC), so about 325-280 BC with additional editings up to the 3rd century AD. Actually, the Arthashastra was written down as a reaction of Alexanders conqquests in the northwest of India which were felt as an insult by the Indians. Attacks like that happened before from the Persian Achaemenid Empire (550–330 BC) but they were perhaps not felt so humiliating as the Iranians were liguistically and culturally closely related to the Indians. Chanakya, however, realised that all the little fragmented states of India had to be united - not only in religion but this time politically and militarily. The Arthashastra was the result of this thinking process. Something had to be done soon and therefore Chanakya argued in the Arthashastra for an autocracy managing an efficient and solid economy.

Together, Emperor Chandragupta Maurya and Chanakya built one of the largest empires on the Indian subcontinent. Chandragupta's life and accomplishments are described in ancient Greek, Hindu, Buddhist and Jain texts, but they vary significantly. In Ancient Greek and Latin accounts, Chandragupta is referred as Sandrokottos or Androcottus.

Chandragupta's son Bindusara Maurya (r.c.297–273 BC) consolidated the empire created by his father and with the help of Chanakya's book Arthashastra. The 16th century Tibetan Buddhist author Taranatha (1575–1634) credits his administration with extensive territorial conquests in southern India. The Buddhist texts Samantapasadika and Mahavamsa suggest that Bindusara followed Brahmanism, calling him a "Brahmana bhatto" ("votary of the Brahmanas"). According to the Jain sources, Bindusara's father Chandragupta adopted Jainism before his death. However, they are silent on Bindusara's faith, and there is no evidence to show that Bindusara was a Jain. A 3rd century BC inscription fragment in the ruins of Temple 40 in Sanchi suggests Bindusura may have been connected to its construction and to Buddhism. According to the Mahavamsa, Bindusara reigned for 28 years, while according to the Puranas, he ruled for 25 years. Historical evidence suggests that Bindusara died around 274 or 273 BC.

In a coup d'etat, probably supported by the governors and the military, Emperor Ashoka, son of Bindusara and grandson of Chandragupta, killed his elder half-brother Susima and took the throne. He then largely followed the advice given in Chanakya's book Arthashastra. Ashoka continued the unification process and expanded Chandragupta's empire to reign over an empire stretching from present-day Afghanistan in the west to Bangladesh in the east. It covered the entire Indian subcontinent except for parts of present-day Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala. The empire's capital was Pataliputra (today Patna in Magadha), with provincial capitals at Takshasila (modern Taxila in northern Pakistan) and Ujjain (in the west of modern Madhya Pradesh).

Unexpectedly and quite suddenly, Ashoka promoted the spread of Buddhism in his Indian Empire as well as abroad. And there is a story for it, which he even published: Ashoka waged a destructive war against the state of Kalinga (modern Odisha, eastern India), which he conquered in about 260 BC. According to an interpretation of his Edicts, he converted to Buddhism after witnessing the mass deaths of the Kalinga War, which he had waged to unify India and which reportedly directly resulted in more than 100,000 deaths and 150,000 deportations. It turns out, like the story of Emperor Constantine, who allegedly converted to Christianity over 550 years later, this is only half of the story.

In fact, the true reason is the same as in Constantine's story: Ashoka needed to have a unifying set of ethics throughout his empire. The Hindu Faith could not provide it as the Hindus were split into dozens of major groups and into the 4 main castes or "Varna communities" [Brahmins (priests, scholars and teachers), Kshatriyas (rulers, warriors and administrators), Vaishyas (farmers, food providers, merchants), Shudra (service providers, workers), and as 5th caste the Dalits, the so-called "Untouchables" (street sweepers, latrine cleaners, and foreigners. They all are regarded as unclean). Buddhism with its teachings of equality was much better suited to serve as unifier. The success of Buddhism as religion is indivisibly linked with Ashoka's activities - but also its downfall in India. Ashoka enforced Buddhist doctrine in an exaggerated form, one of the main reasons why the popualarity of a faith can decline. In this case, there are three issues that wiped Buddhism out: (1st) eating meat was strictly forbidden and brought harsh punishment, (2nd) Buddhism's exaggerated peacefulness spread complacency, lethargy, and fatalism among its communities; another similarity with Christianity [that rendered these religions almost defenseless during the conquest of Islam], (3rd) the 4 leading castes did not accept the egalisation of their formerly high status; 50 years after Ashoka's death, Buddhism was wiped out in India, its symbols and temples were destroyed by the Hindus.

He is remembered for sending Buddhist monks [scholars, philosophers] to Greece, Sri Lanka and Central Asia, and for establishing monuments across his vast empire, such as his edict inscriptions in Brahmi, Aramaic, and Greek on stone pillars and rock surfaces, or Buddha's tomb at Piprahwa [found in 1889 by William Claxton Peppe; See "The Questions of Milinda."] near the Buddha's place of birth Lumbini [Nepal]. Today, Ashoka is considered by many to be one of India's greatest emperors. All these activities can be traced back to the Arthashastra.

The Arthashastra is indeed a remarkable outline on almost everything that is involved. It discusses the ethics of economics, monetary and fiscal policies, welfare, international relations, and war strategies in detail as well as the duties and obligations of a king. The scope of the Arthashastra is, however, far wider than statecraft, and it offers an outline of the entire legal and bureaucratic framework for administering a kingdom, with a wealth of descriptive cultural detail on topics such as mineralogy, mining and metals, agriculture, animal husbandry and medicine. The Arthashastra also focuses on issues of welfare (for instance, redistribution of wealth during a famine) and the collective ethics that hold a society together. In the Arthashastra, Kautilya mixes the harsh pragmatism for which he is famed with compassion for the poor, for slaves, and for women. He reveals an imagination and attention to detail that was far ahead of his time. The work contains these 15 books:

Book 1, Concerning Discipline
Book 2,The Duties of Government Superintendents
Book 3, Concerning Law
Book 4, The Removal of Thorns
Book 5, The Conduct of Courtiers

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Book 6, The Source of Sovereign States
Book 7, The End of the Six-Fold Policy
Book 8, Concerning Vices and Calamities
Book 9, The Work of an Invader
Book 10, Relating to War
Book 11, The Conduct of Corporations
Book 12, Concerning a Powerful Enemy
Book 13, Strategic Means to Capture a Fortress
Book 14, Secret Means
Book 15, The Plan of a Treatise

Biographical Material on Chanakya

There is little documented historical information about Chanakya. Most of what is known about him comes from semi-legendary accounts which are a bit hazy. There are at least four distinct accounts of the ancient Chanakya-Chandragupta katha (legend): 1st: the Jain version; 2nd: the Buddhist version; 3rd: the Kashmiri version; and 4th: the Vishakhadatta's version. In all the four versions, Chanakya feels insulted by the Nanda king, and vows to destroy him. After dethroning the Nanda, he installs Chandragupta as the new king.

JAIN VERSION: The Chandragupta-Chanakya legend is mentioned in several commentaries of the Shvetambara canon. The most well-known version of the Jain legend is contained in the Sthaviravali-Charita or Parishishta-Parvan, written by the 12th-century writer Hemachandra. Hemachandra's account is based on the Prakrit kathanaka literature (legends and anecdotes) composed between the late 1st century AD and mid-8th century AD. These legends are contained in the commentaries (churnis and tikas) on canonical texts such as Uttaradhyayana and Avashyaka Niryukti. It might be older and appears to be more consistent than the other versions of the legend.

According to the Jain account, Chanakya was born to two lay Jains (shravaka) named Chanin and Chaneshvari. His birthplace was the Chanaka village in Golla vishaya (region). The identity of "Golla" is not certain, but Hemachandra states that Chanakya was a Dramila, implying that he was a native of South India.

Chanakya was born with a full set of teeth. According to the monks, this was a sign that he would become a king in the future. Chanin did not want his son to become haughty, so he broke Chanakya's teeth. The monks prophesied that the baby would go on to become a power behind the throne. Chanakya grew up to be a learned shravaka, and married a Brahmin woman. Her relatives mocked her for being married to a poor man. This motivated Chanakya to visit Pataliputra, and seek donations from the king Nanda, who was famous for his generosity towards Brahmins. While waiting for the king at the royal court, Chanakya sat on the king's throne. A dasi (servant girl) courteously offered Chanakya the next seat, but Chanakya kept his kamandal (a water jar, cup, or pot, known as Natla [from Greek Antlion], used for ritual washing in Judaism, the Mikve or Mikvah) on it, while remaining seated on the throne. The servant offered him a choice of four more seats, but each time, he kept his various items on the seats, refusing to budge from the throne. Finally, the annoyed servant kicked him off the throne. Enraged, Chanakya vowed to uproot Nanda and his entire establishment, like "a great wind uproots a tree".

Chanakya knew that he was prophesied to become a power behind the throne. So, he started searching for a person worthy of being a king. While wandering, he did a favour for the pregnant daughter of a village chief, on the condition that her child would belong to him. Chandragupta was born to this lady. When Chandragupta grew up, Chanakya came to his village and saw him playing "king" among a group of boys. To test him, Chanakya asked him for a donation. The boy told Chanakya to take the cows nearby, declaring that nobody would disobey his order. This display of power convinced Chanakya that Chandragupta was the one worthy of being a king.

Chanakya took Chandragupta to conquer Pataliputra, the capital of Nanda. He assembled an army using the wealth he had acquired through alchemy (dhatuvada-visaradan). The army suffered a severe defeat, forcing Chanakya and Chandragupta to flee the battlefield. They reached a lake while being pursued by an enemy officer. Chanakya asked Chandragupta to jump into the lake, and disguised himself as a meditating ascetic. When the enemy soldier reached the lake, he asked the 'ascetic' if he had seen Chandragupta. Chanakya pointed at the lake. As the soldier removed his armour to jump into the lake, Chanakya took his sword and killed him. When Chandragupta came out of the water, Chanakya asked him, "What went through your mind, when I disclosed your location to the enemy?" Chandragupta replied that he trusted his master to make the best decision. This convinced Chanakya that Chandragupta would remain under his influence even after becoming the king. On another occasion, Chanakya similarly escaped the enemy by chasing away a washerman, and disguising himself as one. Once, he cut open the belly of a Brahmin who had just eaten food, and took out the food to feed a hungry Chandragupta.

One day, Chanakya and Chandragupta overheard a woman scolding her son. The child had burnt his finger by putting it in the middle of a bowl of hot gruel. The woman told her son that by not starting from the cooler edges, he was being foolish like Chanakya, who attacked the capital before conquering the bordering regions. Chanakya realized his mistake, and made a new plan to defeat Nanda. He formed an alliance with Parvataka, the king of a mountain kingdom called Himavatkuta, offering him half of Nanda's kingdom.

After securing Parvataka's help, Chanakya and Chandragupta started besieging the towns other than Pataliputra. One particular town offered a strong resistance. Chanakya entered this town disguised as a Shaivite mendicant, and declared that the siege would end if the idols of the seven mothers were removed from the town's temple. As soon as the superstitious defenders removed the idols from the temple, Chanakya ordered his army to end the siege. When the defenders started celebrating their victory, Chanakya's army launched a surprise attack and captured the town.

Gradually, Chanakya and Chandragupta subdued all the regions outside the capital. Finally, they captured Pataliputra and Chandragupta became the king. They allowed the king Nanda to go into exile, with all the goods he could take on a cart. As Nanda and his family were leaving the city on a cart, his daughter saw Chandragupta, and fell in love with the new king. She chose him as her husband by svayamvara tradition. As she was getting off the cart, 9 spokes of the cart's wheel broke. Interpreting this as an omen, Chanakya declared that Chandragupta's dynasty would last for 9 generations.

Meanwhile, Parvataka fell in love with one of Nanda's visha kanyas (poison girl). Chanakya approved the marriage, and Parvataka collapsed when he touched the girl during the wedding. Chanakya asked Chandragupta not to call a physician. Thus, Parvataka died and Chandragupta became the sole ruler of Nanda's territories.

Chanakya then started consolidating the power by eliminating Nanda's loyalists, who had been harassing people in various parts of the kingdom. Chanakya learned about a weaver who would burn any part of his house infested with cockroaches. Chanakya assigned the responsibility of crushing the rebels to this weaver. Soon, the kingdom was free of insurgents. Chanakya also burned a village that had refused him food in the past. He filled the royal treasury by inviting rich merchants to his home, getting them drunk and gambling with a loaded dice.

Once, the kingdom suffered a 12-year long famine. Two young Jain monks started eating from the king's plate, after making themselves invisible with a magic ointment. Chanakya sensed their presence by covering the palace floor with a powder, and tracing their footprints. At the next meal, he caught them by filling the dining room with thick smoke, which caused the monks' eyes to water, washing off the ointment. Chanakya complained about the young monks behavior to the head monk Acharya Susthita. The Acharya blamed people for not being charitable towards monks, so Chanakya started giving generous alms to the monks.

Meanwhile, Chandragupta had been patronizing the non-Jain monks. Chanakya decided to prove to him that these men were not worthy of his patronage. He covered the floor of the palace area near the women's rooms with a powder, and left the non-Jain monks there. Their footprints showed that they had sneaked up to the windows of the women's rooms to peep inside. The Jain monks, who were assessed using the same method, stayed away from the women's rooms. After seeing this, Chandragupta appointed the Jain monks as his spiritual counsellors.

Chanakya used to mix small doses of poison in Chandragupta's food to make him immune to poisoning attempts. The king, unaware of this, once shared his food with Queen Durdhara. Chanakya entered the room at the instant she died. He cut open the dead queen's belly and took out the baby. The baby, who had been touched by a drop ("bindu") of the poison, was named Bindusara.

After Chandragupta abdicated the throne to become a Jain monk, Chanakya anointed Bindusara as the new king. Chanakya asked Bindusara to appoint a man named Subandhu as one of his ministers. However, Subandhu wanted to become a higher minister and grew jealous of Chanakya. So, he told Bindusara that Chanakya was responsible for the death of his mother. Bindusara confirmed the allegations with the nurses, who told him that Chanakya had cut open the belly of his mother. And enraged Bindusara started hating Chanakya. As a result, Chanakya, who had grown very old by this time, retired and decided to starve himself to death. Meanwhile, Bindusara came to know about the detailed circumstances of his birth, and implored Chanakya to resume his ministerial duties. After failing to pacify Chanakya, the emperor ordered Subandhu to convince Chanakya to give up his suicide plan. Subandhu, while pretending to appease Chanakya, burned him to death. Subandhu then took possession of Chanakya's home. Chanakya had anticipated this, and before retiring, he had set up a cursed trap for Subandhu. He had left behind a chest with a hundred locks. Subandhu broke the locks, hoping to find precious jewels. He found a sweet-smelling perfume and immediately inhaled it. But then his eyes fell on a birch bark note with a curse written on it. The note declared that anybody who smelled this perfume will have to either become a monk or face death. Subandhu tested the perfume on another man, and then fed him luxurious food (something that the monks abstain from). The man died, and then Subandhu was forced to become a monk to avoid death. According to another Jain text – the Rajavali-Katha – Chanakya accompanied Chandragupta to forest for retirement, once Bindusara became the king.

BUDDHIST VERSION: The legend of Chanakya and Chandragupta is detailed in the Pali-language Buddhist chronicles of Sri Lanka. It is not mentioned in Dipavamsa, the oldest of these chronicles. The earliest Buddhist source to mention the legend is Mahavamsa, which is generally dated between 5th and 6th centuries AD. Vamsatthappakasini (also known as Mahvamsa Tika), a commentary on Mahavamsa, provides some more details about the legend. Its author is unknown, and it is dated variously from 6th century AD to 13th century AD. Some other texts provide additional details about the legend; for example, the Maha-Bodhi-Vamsa and the Atthakatha give the names of the nine Nanda kings said to have preceded Chandragupta.

According to the Buddhist legend, the Nanda kings who preceded Chandragupta were robbers-turned-rulers. Chanakya was a Brahmin from Takkāsila (Takshashila). He was well-versed in three Vedas and politics. He had canine teeth, which were believed to be a mark of royalty. His mother feared that he would neglect her after becoming a king. To pacify her, Chanakya broke his teeth.

Chanakya was said to be ugly, accentuated by his broken teeth and crooked feet. One day, the king Dhana Nanda organised an alms-giving ceremony for Brahmins. Chanakya went to Pupphapura (Pushpapura) to attend this ceremony. Disgusted by his appearance, the king ordered him to be thrown out of the assembly. Chanakya broke his sacred thread in anger, and cursed the king. The king ordered his arrest, but Chanakya escaped in the disguise of an Ajivika. He befriended Dhananada's son Pabbata, and instigated him to seize the throne. With help of a signet ring given by the prince, Chanakya fled the palace through a secret door.

Chanakya escaped to the Vinjha forest. There, he made 800 million gold coins (kahapanas), using a secret technique that allowed him to turn 1 coin into 8 coins. After hiding this money, he started searching for a person worthy of replacing Dhana Nanda. One day, he saw a group of children playing: the young Chandragupta (called Chandagutta in Mahavamsa) played the role of a king, while other boys pretended to be vassals, ministers, or robbers. The "robbers" were brought before Chandragupta, who ordered their limbs to be cut off, but then miraculously re-attached them. Chandragupta had been born in a royal family, but was brought up by a hunter after his father was killed by an usurper, and the devatas caused his mother to abandon him. Astonished by the boy's miraculous powers, Chanakya paid 1000 gold coins to his foster-father, and took Chandragupta away, promising to teach him a trade.

Chanakya had two potential successors to Dhana Nanda: Pabbata and Chandragupta. He gave each of them an amulet to be worn around the neck with a woolen thread. One day, he decided to test them. While Chandragupta was asleep, he asked Pabbata to remove Chandragupta's woolen thread without breaking it and without waking up Chandragupta. Pabbata failed to accomplish this task. Some time later, when Pabbata was sleeping, Chanakya challenged Chandragupta to complete the same task. Chandragupta retrieved the woolen thread by cutting off Pabbata's head. For the next seven years, Chanakya trained Chandragupta for royal duties. When Chandragupta became an adult, Chanakya dug up his hidden treasure of gold coins, and assembled an army.

The army of Chanadragupta and Chanakya invaded Dhana Nanda's kingdom, but disbanded after facing a severe defeat. While wandering in disguise, the two men once listened to the conversation between a woman and her son. The child had eaten the middle of a cake, and thrown away the edges. The woman scolded him, saying that he was eating food like Chandragupta, who attacked the central part of the kingdom instead of conquering the border villages first. Chanakya and Chandragupta realized their mistake. They assembled a new army, and started conquering the border villages. Gradually, they advanced to the kingdom's capital Pataliputra (Pataliputta in Mahavamsa), where they killed the king Dhana Nanda. Chanakya ordered a fisherman to find the place where Dhana Nanda had hidden his treasure. As soon as the fishermen informed Chanakya about its location, Chanakya had him killed. Chanakya anointed Chandragupta as the new king, and tasked a man named Panyiatappa with eliminating rebels and robbers from the kingdom.

Chanakya started mixing small doses of poison in the new king's food to make him immune to poisoning attempts by the enemies. Chandragupta, who was not aware of this, once shared the food with his pregnant queen, who was seven days away from delivery. Chanakya arrived just as the queen ate the poisoned morsel. Realizing that she was going to die,

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Chanakya decided to save the unborn child. He cut off the queen's head and cut open her belly with a sword to take out the foetus. Over the next seven days, he placed the foetus in the belly of a goat freshly killed each day. After seven days, Chandragupta's son was "born". He was named Bindusara, because his body was spotted with drops (bindu) of goat's blood.

The earliest Buddhist legends do not mention Chanakya in their description of the Mauryan dynasty after this point. Dhammapala's commentary on Theragatha, however, mentions a legend about Chanakya and a Brahmin named Subandhu. According to this account, Chanakya was afraid that the wise Subandhu would surpass him at Chandragupta's court. So, he got Chandragupta to imprison Subandhu, whose son Tekicchakani escaped and became a Buddhist monk. The 16th-century Tibetan Buddhist author Taranatha mentions Chanakya as one of Bindusara's "great lords". According to him, Chanakya destroyed the nobles and kings of 16 towns and made Bindusara the master of all the territory between the eastern and the western seas (Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal).

KASHMIRI VERSION: Brihatkatha-Manjari by Kshemendra and Kathasaritsagara by Somadeva are two 11th-century Kashmiri Sanskrit collections of legends. Both are based on a now-lost Prakrit-language Brihatkatha-Sarit-Sagara. It was based on the now-lost Paishachi-language Brihatkatha by Gunadhya. The Chanakya-Chandragupta legend in these collections features another character, named Shakatala.

The Kashmiri version of the legend goes like this: Vararuchi (identified with Katyayana), Indradatta and Vyadi were three disciples of the sage Varsha. Once, on behalf of their guru Varsha, they traveled to Ayodhya to seek a gurudakshina (guru's fee) from king Nanda. As they arrived to meet Nanda, the king died. Using his yogic powers, Indradatta entered Nanda's body, and granted Vararuchi's request for 10 million dinars (gold coins). The royal minister Shakatala realised what was happening, and had Indradatta's body burnt. But before he could take any action against the fake king (Indradatta in Nanda's body, also called Yogananda), the king had him arrested. Shakatala and his 100 sons were imprisoned, and were given food sufficient only for one person. Shakatala's 100 sons starved to death, so that their father could live to take revenge.

Meanwhile, the fake king appointed Vararuchi as his minister. As the king's character kept deteriorating, a disgusted Vararuchi retired to a forest as an ascetic. Shakatala was then restored as the minister, but kept planning his revenge. One day, Shakatala came across Chanakya, a Brahmin who was uprooting all the grass in his path, because one blade of the grass had pricked his foot. Shakatala realised that he could use a man so vengeful to destroy the fake king. He invited Chanakya to the king's assembly, promising him 100,000 gold coins for presiding over a ritual ceremony.

Shakatala hosted Chanakya in his own house, and treated him with great respect. But the day Chanakya arrived at the king's court, Shakatala got another Brahmin named Subandhu to preside over the ceremony. Chanakya felt insulted, but Shakatala blamed the king for this dishonour. Chanakya then untied his topknot (sikha), and vowed not to re-tie it until the king was destroyed. The king ordered his arrest, but he escaped to Shakatala's house. There, using materials supplied by Shakatala, he performed a magic ritual which made the king sick. The king died of fever after 7 days.

Shakatala then executed Hiranyagupta, the son of the fake king. He anointed Chandragupta, the son of the real king Nanda, as the new king (in Kshemendra's version, it is Chanakya who installs Chandragupta as the new king). Shakatala also appointed Chanakya as the royal priest (purohita). Having achieved his revenge, he then retired to the forest as an ascetic.

MUDRARAKSHASA VERSION: Mudrarakshasa ("The signet ring of Rakshasa") is a Sanskrit play by Vishakhadatta. Its date is uncertain, but it mentions the Huna, who invaded northern India during the Gupta period. Therefore, it could not have been composed before the Gupta era. It is dated variously from the late 4th century to the 8th century. The Mudrarakshasa legend contains narratives not found in other versions of the Chanakya-Chandragupta legend. Because of this difference, Trautmann suggests that most of it is fictional or legendary, without any historical basis.

According to the Mudrarakshasa version, the king Nanda once removed Chanakya from the "first seat of the kingdom" (this possibly refers to Chanakya's expulsion from the king's assembly). For this reason, Chanakya vowed not to tie his top knot (shikha) until the complete destruction of Nanda. Chanakya made a plan to dethrone Nanda, and replace him with Chandragupta, his son by a lesser queen. Chanakya engineered Chandragupta's alliance with another powerful king Parvateshvara (or Parvata), and the two rulers agreed to divide Nanda's territory after subjugating him. Their allied army included Bahlika, Kirata, Parasika, Kamboja, Shaka, and Yavana soldiers. The army invaded Pataliputra (Kusumapura) and defeated the Nandas. Parvata is identified with King Porus by some scholars.

Nanda's prime minister Rakshasa escaped Pataliputra, and continued resisting the invaders. He sent a vishakanya (poison girl) to assassinate Chandragupta. Chanakya had this girl assassinate Parvata instead, with the blame going to Rakshasa. However, Parvata's son Malayaketu learned the truth about his father's death, and defected to Rakshasa's camp. Chanakya's spy Bhagurayana accompanied Malayaketu, pretending to be his friend.

Rakshasa continued to plot Chandragupta's death, but all his plans were foiled by Chanakya. For example, once Rakshasa arranged for assassins to be transported to Chandragupta's bedroom via a tunnel. Chanakya became aware of them by noticing a trail of ants carrying the leftovers of their food. He then arranged for the assassins to be burned to death.

Meanwhile, Parvata's brother Vairodhaka became the ruler of his kingdom. Chanakya convinced him that Rakshasa was responsible for killing his brother, and agreed to share half of Nanda's kingdom with him. Secretly, however, Chanakya hatched a plan to get Vairodhaka killed. He knew that the chief architect of Pataliputra was a Rakshasa loyalist. He asked this architect to build a triumphal arch for Chandragupta's procession to the royal palace. He arranged the procession to be held at midnight citing astrological reasons, but actually to ensure poor visibility. He then invited Vairodhaka to lead the procession on Chandragupta's elephant, and accompanied by Chandragupta's bodyguards. As expected, Rakshasa's loyalists arranged for the arch to fall on who they thought was Chandragupta. Vairodhaka was killed, and once again, the assassination was blamed on Rakshasa.

Malayaketu and Rakshasa then formed an alliance with five kings: Chiravarman of Kauluta (Kulu), Meghaksha of Parasika, Narasimha of Malaya, Pushkaraksha of Kashmira, and Sindhusena of Saindhava. This allied army also included soldiers from Chedi, Gandhara, Hunas, Khasa, Magadha, Shaka, and Yavana territories.

In Pataliputra, Chanakya's agent informed him that three Rakshasa loyalists remained in the capital: the Jain monk Jiva-siddhi, the scribe Shakata-dasa and the jewelers' guild chief Chandana-dasa. Of these, Jiva-siddhi was actually a spy of Chanakya, unknown to his other spies. Chandana-dasa sheltered Rakshasa's wife, who once unknowingly dropped her husband's signet-ring (mudra). Chanakya's agent got hold of this signet-ring, and brought it to Chanakya. Using this signet ring, Chanakya sent a letter to Malayaketu warning him that his allies were treacherous. Chanakya also asked some of Chandragupta's princes to fake defection to Malayaketu's camp. In addition, Chanakya ordered Shakata-dasa's murder, but had him 'rescued' by Siddharthaka, a spy pretending to be an agent of Chandana-dasa. Chanakya's spy then took Shakata-dasa to Rakshasa.

When Shakata-dasa and his 'rescuer' Siddharthaka reached Rakshasa, Siddharthaka presented him the signet-ring, claiming to have found it at Chandana-dasa's home. As a reward, Rakshasa gave him some jewels that Malayaketu had gifted him. Sometime after this, another of Chanakya's agents, disguised as a jeweler, sold Parvata's jewels to Rakshasa.

Sometime later, Rakshasa sent his spies disguised as musicians to Chandragupta's court. But Chanakya knew all about Rakshasa's plans thanks to his spies. In front of Rakshasa's spies, Chanakya and Chandragupta feigned an angry argument. Chandragupta pretended to dismiss Chanakya, and declared that Rakshasa would make a better minister. Meanwhile, Malayaketu had a conversation with Chanakya's spy Bhagurayana while approaching Rakshasa's house. Bhagurayana made Malayaketu distrustful of Rakshasa, by saying that Rakshasa hated only Chanakya, and would be willing to serve Nanda's son Chandragupta. Shortly after this, a messenger came to Rakshasa's house, and informed him that Chandragupta had dismissed Chanakya while praising him. This convinced Malayaketu that Rakashasa could not be trusted.

Malayaketu then decided to invade Pataliputra without Rakshasa by his side. He consulted the Jain monk Jiva-siddhi to decide an auspicious time for beginning the march. Jiva-siddhi, a spy of Chanakya, told him that he could start immediately. Jiva-siddhi also convinced him that Rakshasa was responsible for his father's death, but Bhagurayana persuaded him not to harm Rakshasa. Shortly after, Chanakya's spy Siddharthaka pretended to get caught with a fake letter addressed to Chandragupta by Rakshasa. Wearing the jewels given by Rakshasa, he pretended to be an agent of Rakshasa. The letter, sealed with Rakshasa's signet-ring, informed Chandragupta that Rakshasa only wished to replace Chanakya as the prime minister. It also stated that five of Malayaketu's allies were willing to defect to Chandragupta in return for land and wealth. An angry Malayaketu summoned Rakshasa, who arrived wearing Parvata's jewels that Chanakya's agent had sold him. When Malayaketu saw Rakshasa wearing his father's jewels, he was convinced that there was indeed a treacherous plan against him. He executed his five allies in a brutal manner.

The rest of Malayaketu's allies deserted him, disgusted at his treatment of the five slayed allies. Rakshasa managed to escape, tracked by Chanakya's spies. One of Chanakya's spies, disguised as a friend of Chandana-dasa, got in touch with him. He told Rakshasa that Chandana-dasa was about to be executed for refusing to divulge the location of Rakshasa's family. On hearing this, Rakshasa rushed to Pataliputra to surrender and save the life of his loyal friend Chandana-dasa. When he reached Pataliputra, Chanakya, pleased with his loyalty to Chandana-dasa, offered him clemency. Rakshasa pledged allegiance to Chandragupta and agreed to be his prime minister, in return for release of Chandana-dasa and a pardon for Malayaketu. Chanakya then bound his top knot, having achieved his objective, and retired.)

ARTHASHASTRA BOOK 1

Contents: The end of Sciences; association with the aged; restraint of the organs of sense; the creation of ministers; the creation of councillors and priests; ascertaining by temptations purity or impurity in the character of ministers; the institution of spies. Protection of parties for or against one's own cause in one's own state; winning over the factions for or against an enemy's cause in an enemy's state; the business of council meeting; the mission of envoys; protection of princes; the conduct of a prince kept under restraint; treatment of a prince kept under restraint; the duties of a king; duty towards the harem; personal safety.

CHAPTER 1 & 2. THE LIFE OF A KING & THE END OF SCIENCES.

Anvikshaki, the triple Vedas (Trayi), Varta (agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade), and Danda-Niti (science of government) are what are called the four sciences.

The school of Manu (Manava) hold that there are only three sciences: the triple Vedas, Varta and the science of government, inasmuch as the science of Anvikshaki is nothing but a special branch of the Vedas.

The school of Brihaspati say that there are only two sciences: Varta and the science of government, inasmuch as the Triple Vedas are merely an abridgement (Samvarana, pretext?) for a man experienced in affairs temporal (Lokayatravidah).

The school of Usanas declare that there is only one science, and that the science of government; for, they say, it is in that science that all other sciences have their origin and end.

But Kautilya holds that four and only four are the sciences; wherefore it is from these sciences that all that concerns righteousness and wealth is learnt, therefore they are so called.

Anvikshaki comprises the Philosophy of Sankhya, Yoga, and Lokayata.

Righteous and unrighteous acts (Dharmadharmau) are learnt from the triple Vedas; wealth and non-wealth from Varta; the expedient and the inexpedient (Nayanayau), as well as potency and impotency (Balabale) from the science of government.

When seen in the light of these sciences, the science of Anvikshaki is most beneficial to the world, keeps the mind steady and firm in weal and woe alike, and bestows excellence of foresight, speech and action.

Light to all kinds of knowledge, easy means to accomplish all kinds of acts and receptacle of all kinds of virtues, is the Science of Anvikshaki ever held to be.

[Thus ends Chapter 2, "Determination of the place of Anvikshaki" among Sciences in Book 1, "Concerning Discipline" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya.]

CHAPTER 3. THE END OF SCIENCES.

Determination of the place of the Triple Vedas.

The three Vedas, Sama, Rik and Yajus, constitute the triple Vedas. These together with Atharvaveda and the Itihasaveda are (known as) the Vedas.

Siksha (Phonetics), Kalpa (ceremonial injunctions), Vyakarana (grammar), Nirukta (glossarial explanation of obscure Vedic terms), Chandas (Prosody), and Astronomy form the Angas.

As the triple Vedas definitely determine the respective duties of the four castes and of the four orders of religious life, they are the most useful.

The duty of the Brahman is study, teaching, performance of sacrifice, officiating in others' sacrificial performance and the giving and receiving of gifts.

That of a Kshatriya is study, performance of sacrifice, giving gifts, military occupation, and protection of life.

That of a Vaisya is study, performance of sacrifice, giving gifts, agriculture, cattle breeding, and trade.

That of a Sudra is the serving of twice-born (dvijati), agriculture, cattle-breeding, and trade (varta), the profession of artizans and court-bards (karukusilavakarma).

The duty of a householder is earning livelihood by his own profession, marriage among his equals of different ancestral Rishis, intercourse with his wedded wife after her monthly

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ablution, gifts to gods, ancestors, guests, and servants, and the eating of the remainder.

That of a student (Brahmacharin) is learning the Vedas, fire-worship, ablution, living by begging, and devotion to his teacher even at the cost of his own life, or in the absence of his teacher, to the teacher's son, or to an elder classmate.

That of a Vanaprastha (forest-recluse) is observance of chastity, sleeping on the bare ground, keeping twisted locks, wearing deer-skin, fire-worship, ablution, worship of gods, ancestors, and guests, and living upon food stuffs procurable in forests.

That of an ascetic retired from the world (Parivrajaka) is complete control of the organs of sense, abstaining from all kinds of work, disowning money, keeping from society, begging in many places, dwelling in forests, and purity both internal and external.

Harmlessness, truthfulness, purity, freedom from spite, abstinence from cruelty, and forgiveness are duties common to all.

The observance of one's own duty leads one to Svarga and infinite bliss (Anantya). When it is violated, the world will come to an end owing to confusion of castes and duties.

Hence the king shall never allow people to swerve from their duties; for whoever upholds his own duty, ever adhering to the customs of the Aryas, and following the rules of caste and divisions of religious life, will surely. be happy both here and hereafter. For the world, when maintained in accordance with injunctions of the triple Vedas, will surely progress, but never perish.

[Thus ends Chapter 3, "Determination of the place of the Triple Vedas" among Sciences in Book 1, "Concerning Discipline" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya.]

CHAPTER 4. THE END OF SCIENCES.

Varta and Dandaniti.

Agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade constitute Varta. It is most useful in that it brings in grains, cattle, gold, forest produce (kupya), and free labour (vishti). It is by means of the treasury and the army obtained solely through Varta that the king can hold under his control both his and his enemy's party.

That sceptre on which the well-being and progress of the sciences of Anvikshaki, the triple Vedas, and Varta depend is known as Danda (punishment). That which treats of Danda is the law of punishment or science of government (dandaniti).

It is a means to make acquisitions, to keep them secure, to improve them, and to distribute among the deserved the profits of. improvement. It is on this science of government that the course of the progress of the world depends.

"Hence," says my teacher, "whoever is desirous of the progress of the world shall ever hold the sceptre raised (udyatadanda). Never can there be a better instrument than the sceptre to bring people under control."

"No," says Kautilya; for whoever imposes severe punishment becomes repulsive to the people; while he who awards mild punishment becomes contemptible. But whoever imposes punishment as deserved becomes respectable. For punishment (danda) when awarded with due consideration, makes the people devoted to righteousness and to works productive of wealth and enjoyment; while punishment, when ill-awarded under the influence of greed and anger or owing to ignorance, excites fury even among hermits and ascetics dwelling in forests, not to speak of householders.

But when the law of punishment is kept in abeyance, it gives rise to such disorder as is implied in the proverb of fishes (matsyanyayamudbhavayati); for in the absence of a magistrate (dandadharabhave), the strong will swallow the weak; but under his protection, the weak resist the strong.

This people (loka) consisting of four castes and four orders of religious life, when governed by the king with his sceptre, will keep to their respective paths, ever devotedly adhering to their respective duties and occupations.

[Thus ends Chapter 4, "Determination of the Place of Varta and of Dandaniti" among Sciences in Book 1, "Concerning Discipline" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. "The End of Sciences" is completed.]

CHAPTER 5. ASSOCIATION WITH THE AGED.

Hence the (first) three sciences (out of the four) are dependent for their well-being on the science of government. Danda, punishment, which alone can procure safety and security of life is, in its turn, dependent on discipline (vinaya).

Discipline is of two kinds: artificial and natural; for instruction (kriya) can render only a docile being conformable to the rules of discipline, and not an undocile being (adravyam). The study of sciences can tame only those who are possessed of such mental faculties as obedience, hearing, grasping, retentive memory, discrimination, inference, and deliberation, but not others devoid of such faculties.

Sciences shall be studied and their precepts strictly observed under the authority of specialist teachers.

Having undergone the ceremony of tonsure, the student shall learn the alphabet (lipi) and arithmetic. After investiture with sacred thread, he shall study the triple Vedas, the science of Anvikshaki under teachers of acknowledged authority (sishta), the science of Vatra under government superintendents, and the science of Dandaniti under theoretical and practical politicians (vaktriprayoktribhyah).

He (the prince) shall observe celibacy till he becomes sixteen years old. Then he shall observe the ceremony of tonsure (godana) and marry.

In view of maintaining efficient discipline, he shall ever and invariably keep company with aged professors of sciences in whom alone discipline has its firm root.

He shall spend the forenoon in receiving lessons in military arts concerning elephants, horses, chariots, and weapons, and the afternoon in hearing the Itihasa.

Purana, Itivritta (history), Akhyayika (tales), Udaharana (illustrative stories), Dharmasastra, and Arthasastra are (known by the name) Itihasa.

During the rest of the day and night, he shall not only receive new lessons and revise old lessons, but also hear over and again what has not been clearly understood.

For from hearing (sutra) ensues knowledge; from knowledge steady application (yoga) is possible; and from application self-possession (atmavatta) is possible. This is what is meant by efficiency of learning (vidhyasamarthyam).

The king who is well educated and disciplined in sciences, devoted to good Government of his subjects, and bent on doing good to all people will enjoy the earth unopposed.

[Thus ends Chapter 5, "Association with the Aged" in Book 1, "Concerning Discipline" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya.]

CHAPTER 6. RESTRAINT OF THE ORGANS OF SENSE.

The Shaking off of the Aggregate of the Six Enemies.

Restraint of the organs of sense, on which success in study and discipline depends can be enforced by abandoning lust, anger, greed, vanity (mana), haughtiness (mada), and overjoy (harsha).

Absence of discrepancy (avipratipatti) in the perception of sound, touch, colour, flavour, and scent by means of the ear, the skin, the eyes, the tongue, and the nose, is what is meant by the restraint of the organs of sense. Strict observance of the precepts of sciences also means the same; for the sole aim of all the sciences is nothing but restraint of the organs of sense.

Whosoever is of reverse character, whoever has not his organs of sense under his control, will soon perish, though possessed of the whole earth bounded by the four quarters.

For example: Bhoja, known also by the name, Dandakya, making a lascivious attempt on a Brahman maiden, perished along with his kingdom and relations;

So also Karala, the Vaideha. Likewise Janamejaya under the influence of anger against Brahmans, as well as Talajangha against the family of Bhrigus.

Aila in his attempt under the influence of greed to make exactions from Brahmans, as well as Ajabindu, the Sauvira (in a similar attempt);

Ravana unwilling under the influence of vanity to restore a stranger's wife, as well as Duryodhana to part with a portion of his kingdom; Dambhodbhava as well as Arjuna of Haihaya dynasty being so haughty as to despise all people;

Vatapi in his attempt under the influence of overjoy to attack Agastya, as well as the corporation of the Vrishnis in their attempt against Dvaipayana.

Thus these and other several kings, falling a prey to the aggregate of the six enemies and having failed to restrain their organs of sense, perished together with their kingdom and relations. Having driven out the aggregate of the six enemies, as well as Ambarisha of Jamadagnya famous for his restraint of the organs of sense Nabhaga long enjoyed the earth.

[Thus ends Chapter 6, "The Shaking off of the Aggregate of the Six Enemies" in the section of the "Restraint Of the Organs of Sense" in Book 1, "Concerning Discipline" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya.]

CHAPTER 7. RESTRAINT OF THE ORGANS OF SENSE.

The Life of a Saintly King.

Hence by overthrowing the aggregate of the six enemies, he shall restrain the organs of sense; acquire wisdom by keeping company with the aged; see through his spies; establish safety and security by being ever active; maintain his subjects in the observance of their respective duties by exercising authority; keep up his personal discipline by receiving lessons in the sciences; and endear himself to the people by bringing them in contact with wealth and doing good to them.

Thus with his organs of sense under his control, he shall keep away from hurting the women and property of others; avoid not only lustfulness, even in dream, but also falsehood, haughtiness, and evil proclivities; and keep away from unrighteous and uneconomical transactions.

Not violating righteousness and economy, he shall enjoy his desires. He shall never be devoid of happiness. He may enjoy in an equal degree the three pursuits of life, charity, wealth, and desire, which are inter-dependent upon each other. Any one of these three, when enjoyed to an excess, hurts not only the other two, but also itself.

Kautilya holds that wealth and wealth alone is important, inasmuch as charity and desire depend upon wealth for their realisation.

Those teachers and ministers who keep him from falling a prey to dangers, and who, by striking the hours of the day as determined by measuring shadows (chhayanalikapratodena) warn him of his careless proceedings even in secret shall invariably be respected.

Sovereignty (rajatva) is possible only with assistance. A single wheel can never move. Hence he shall employ ministers and hear their opinion.

[Thus ends Chapter 7, "The Life of a Saintly King" in the section of the "Restraint of the Organs of Sense," in Book 1, "Concerning Discipline" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya; "Restraint of the Organs of Sense" is completed.]

CHAPTER 8. CREATION OF MINISTERS.

"The King," says Bharadvaja, "shall employ his classmates as his ministers; for they can be trusted by him inasmuch as he has personal knowledge of their honesty and capacity."

"No," says Visalaksha, "for, as they have been his playmates as well, they would despise him. But he shall employ as ministers those whose secrets, possessed of in common, are well known to him. Possessed of habits and defects in common. with the king, they would never hurt him lest he would betray their secrets."

"Common is this fear," says Parasara, "for under the fear of betrayal of his own secrets, the king may also follow them in their good and bad acts.

"Under the control of as many persons as are made aware by the king of his own secrets, might he place himself in all humility by that disclosure. Hence he shall employ as ministers those who have proved faithful to him under difficulties fatal to life and are of tried devotion."

"No," says Pisuna, "for this is devotion, but not intelligence (buddhigunah). He shall appoint as ministers those who, when employed as financial matters, show as much as, or more than, the fixed revenue, and are thus of tried ability."

"No," says Kaunapadanta, "for such persons are devoid of other ministerial qualifications; he shall, therefore, employ as ministers those whose fathers and grandfathers had been ministers before; such persons, in virtue of their knowledge of past events and of an established relationship with the king, will, though offended, never desert him; for such faithfulness is seen even among dumb animals; cows, for example, stand aside from strange cows and ever keep company with accustomed herds."

"No," says Vatavyadhi, "for such persons, having acquired complete dominion over the king, begin to play themselves as the king. Hence he shall employ as ministers such new persons as are proficient in the science of polity. It is such new persons who will regard the king as the real sceptre-bearer (dandadhara) and dare not offend him."

"No," says the son of Bahudantí (a woman); "for a man possessed of only theoretical knowledge and having no experience of practical politics is likely to commit serious blunders when engaged in actual works. Hence he shall employ as ministers such as are born of high family and possessed of wisdom, purity of purpose, bravery and loyal feelings inasmuch as ministerial appointments shall purely depend on qualifications."

"This," says Kautilya, "is satisfactory in all respects; for a man's ability is inferred from his capacity shown in work. And in accordance in difference in the working capacity,

Having divided the spheres of their powers and having definitely taken into consideration the place and time where and when they have to work, such persons shall be employed not as councillors (mantrinah) but as ministerial officers (amatyah).

[Thus ends Chapter 8, "Creation of Ministers" in Book 1, "Concerning Discipline" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya.]

CHAPTER 9. THE CREATION OF COUNCILLORS AND PRIESTS.

Native, born of high family, influential, well trained in arts, possessed of foresight, wise, of strong memory, bold, eloquent, skillful, intelligent, possessed of enthusiasm, dignity, and endurance, pure in character, affable, firm in loyal devotion, endowed with excellent conduct, strength, health and bravery, free from procrastination and ficklemindedness, affectionate, and free from such qualities as excite hatred and enmity--these are the qualifications of a ministerial officer (amatyasampat).

Such as are possessed of one-half or one-quarter of the above qualifications come under middle and low ranks.

Of these qualifications, native birth and influential position shall be ascertained from reliable persons; educational qualifications (silpa) from professors of equal learning; theoretical and practical knowledge, foresight, retentive memory, and affability shall be tested from successful, application in works; eloquence, skillfulness and flashing intelligence from power shown in narrating stories (kathayogeshu, i.e., in conversation); endurance, enthusiasm, and bravery in troubles; purity of life, friendly disposition,

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and loyal devotion by frequent association; conduct, strength, health, dignity, and freedom from indolence and ficklemindedness shall be ascertained from their intimate friends; and affectionate and philanthrophic nature by personal experience.

The works of a king may be visible, invisible (paroksha) and inferential.

That which he sees is visible; and that which he is taught by another is invisible; and inference of the nature of what is not accomplished from what is accomplished is inferential..

As works do not happen to be simultaneous, are various in form, and pertain to distant and different localities, the king shall, in view of being abreast of time and place, depute his ministers to carry them out. Such is the work of ministers.

Him whose family and character are highly spoken of, who is well educated in the Vedas and the six Angas, is skillful in reading portents providential or accidental, is well versed in the science of government, and who is obedient and who can prevent calamities providential or human by performing such expiatory rites as are prescribed in the Atharvaveda, the king shall employ as high priest. As a student his teacher, a son his father, and a servant his master, the king shall follow him.

That Kshatriya breed which is brought up by Brahmans, is charmed with the counsels of good councillors, and which faithfully follows the precepts of the sastras becomes invincible and attains success though unaided with weapons.

[Thus ends Chapter 9, "Creation of Councillors and Priests" in Book 1 "Concerning Discipline" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya.]

CHAPTER 10. ASCERTAINING BY TEMPTATIONS PURITY OR IMPURITY IN THE CHARACTER OF MINISTERS.

Assisted by his prime minister (mantri) and his high priest, the king shall, by offering temptations, examine the character of ministers (amatya) appointed in government departments of ordinary nature.

The king shall dismiss a priest who, when ordered, refuses to teach the Vedas to an outcaste person or to officiate in a sacrificial performance (apparently) undertaken by an outcaste person (ayajya).

Then the dismissed priest shall, through the medium of spies under the guise of class-mates (satri), instigate each minister one after another, saying on oath "this king is unrighteous; well let us set up in his place another king who is righteous, or who is born of the same family as of this king, or who is kept imprisoned, or a neighbouring king of his family and of self-sufficiency (ekapragraha), or a wild chief (atavika), or an upstart (aupapadika); this attempt is to the liking of all of us; what dost thou think ?"

If any one or all of the ministers refuse to acquiesce in such a measure, he or they shall be considered pure. This is what is called religious allurement.

A commander of the army, dismissed from service for receiving condemnable things (asatpragraha) may, through the agency of spies under the guise of class-mates (satri), incite each minister to murder the king in view of acquiring immense wealth, each minister being asked "this attempt is to the liking of all of us; what dost thou think?"

If they refuse to agree, they are to be considered pure. This is what is termed monetary allurement.

A woman-spy under the guise of an ascetic and highly esteemed in the harem of the king may allure each prime minister (mahamatra) one after another, saying "the queen is enamoured of thee and has made arrangements for thy entrance into her chamber; besides this, there is also the certainty of large acquisitions of wealth."

If they discard the proposal, they are pure. This is what is styled love-allurement.

With the intention of sailing on a commercial vessel (prahavananimittam), a minister may induce all other ministers to follow him. Apprehensive of danger, the king may arrest them all. A spy under the guise of a fraudulent disciple, pretending to have suffered imprisonment may incite each of the ministers thus deprived of wealth and rank, saying, "the king has betaken himself to an unwise course; well, having murdered him, let us put another in his stead. We all like this; what dost thou think?"

If they refuse to agree, they are pure. This is what is termed allurement under fear.

Of these tried ministers, those whose character has been tested under religious allurements shall be employed in civil and criminal courts (dharmasthaniyakantaka sodhaneshu); those whose purity has been tested under monetary allurements shall be employed in the work of a revenue collector and chamberlain; those who have been tried under love-allurements shall be appointed to superintend the pleasure-grounds (vihara) both external and internal; those who have been tested by allurements under fear shall be appointed to immediate service; and those whose character has been tested under all kinds of allurements shall be employed as prime ministers (mantrinah), while those who are proved impure under one or all of these allurements shall be appointed in mines, timber and elephant forests, and manufactories.

Teachers have decided that in accordance with ascertained purity, the king shall employ in corresponding works those ministers whose character has been tested under the three pursuits of life, religion, wealth and love, and under fear.

Never, in the view of Kautilya, shall the king make himself or his queen an object (laksham, butt) of testing the character of his councillors, nor shall he vitiate the pure like water with poison.

Sometimes the prescribed medicine may fail to reach the person of moral disease; the mind of the valiant, though naturally kept steadfast, may not, when once vitiated and repelled under the four kinds of allurements, return to and recover its original form.

Hence having set up an external object as the butt for all the four kinds of allurements, the king shall, through the agency of spies (satri), find out the pure or impure character of his ministers (amatya).

[Thus ends Chapter 10, "Ascertaining by Temptations Purity or Impurity in the Character of Ministers," in Book 1, "Concerning Discipline" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya.]

CHAPTER 11. THE INSTITUTION OF SPIES.

Assisted by the council of his ministers tried under espionage, the king shall proceed to create spies: --Spies under the guise of a fraudulent disciple (kapatika-chhatra), a recluse (udasthita), a householder (grihapaitika), a merchant (vaidehaka), an ascetic practising austerities (tapasa), a class-mate or a colleague (satri), a fire-brand (tikshna), a poisoner (rasada), and a mendicant woman (bhikshuki).

A skillful person capable of guessing the mind of others is a fraudulent disciple. Having encouraged such a spy with honour and money rewards, the minister shall tell him, "sworn to the king and myself, thou shalt inform us of whatever wickedness thou findest in others."

One who is initiated in asceticism and is possessed of foresight and pure character is a recluse. This spy, provided with much money and many disciples, shall carry on agriculture, cattle-rearing, and trade (vartakarma) on the lands allotted to him for the purpose. Out of the produce and profits thus acquired, he shall provide all ascetics with subsistence, clothing and lodging, and send on espionage such among those under his protection as are desirous to earn a livelihood (vrittikama), ordering each of them to detect a particular kind of crime committed in connection with the king's wealth and to report of it when they come to receive their subsistence and wages. All the ascetics (under the recluse) shall severally send their followers on similar errands.

A cultivator, fallen from his profession, but possessed of foresight and pure character is termed a householder spy. This spy shall carry on the cultivation of lands allotted to him for the purpose, and maintain cultivators, etc.--as before.

A trader, fallen from his profession, but possessed of foresight and pure character, is a merchant spy. This spy shall carry on the manufacture of merchandise on lands allotted to him for the purpose, etc.,--as before.

A man with shaved head (munda) or braided hair (jatila) and desirous to earn livelihood is a spy under the guise of an ascetic practising austerities. Such a spy surrounded by a host of disciples with shaved head or braided hair may take his abode in the suburbs of a city, and pretend as a person barely living on a handful of vegetables or meadow grass (yavasamushti) taken once in the interval of a month or two, but he may take in secret his favourite food-stuffs (gudhamishtamaharam).

Merchant spies pretending to be his disciples may worship him as one possessed of preternatural powers. His other disciples may widely proclaim that "this ascetic is an accomplished expert of preternatural powers."

Regarding those persons who, desirous of knowing their future, throng to him, he may, through palmistry, foretell such future events as he can ascertain by the nods and signs of his disciples (angavidyaya sishyasanjnabhischa) concerning the works of high-born people of the country,-- viz., small profits, destruction by fire, fear from robbers, the execution of the seditious, rewards for the good, forecast of foreign affairs (videsa pravrittivijnanam), saying, "this will happen to-day, that to-morrow, and that this king will do." Such assertions of the ascetic his disciples shall corroborate (by adducing facts and figures).

He shall also foretell not only the rewards which persons possessed of foresight, eloquence, and bravery are likely to receive at the hands of the king, but also probable changes in the appointments of ministers.

The king's minister shall direct his affairs in conformity to the forecast made by the ascetic. He shall appease with offer of wealth and honour those who have had some well known cause to be disaffected, and impose punishments in secret on those who are for no reason disaffected or who are plotting against the king.

Honoured by the king with awards of money and titles, these five institutes of espionage (samsthah) shall ascertain the purity of character of the king's servants.

[Thus ends Chapter 11, "The Institution of Spies" in Book 1, "Concerning Discipline" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya.]

CHAPTER 12. INSTITUTION OF SPIES.

Creation of Wandering Spies.

Those orphans (asambandhinah) who are to be necessarily fed by the state and are put to study science, palmistry (angavidya), sorcery (mayagata), the duties of the various orders of religious life, legerdemain (jambhakavidya), and the reading of omens and augury (antara-chakra), are classmate spies or spies learning by social intercourse (samsargavidyasatrinah).

Such brave desperados of the country who, reckless of their own life, confront elephants or tigers in fight mainly for the purpose of earning money are termed fire-brands or fiery spies (tikshna).

Those who have no trace of filial affection left in them and who are very cruel and indolent are poisoners (rasada).

A poor widow of Brahman caste, very clever, and desirous to earn her livelihood is a woman ascetic (parivrajika). Honoured in the king's harem, such a woman shall frequent the residences of the king's prime ministers (mahamatrakulani).

The same rule shall apply to women with shaved head (munda), as well as to those of sudra caste. All these are wandering spies (sancharah).

Of these spies, those who are of good family, loyal, reliable, well-trained in the art of putting on disguises appropriate to countries and trades, and possessed of knowledge of many languages and arts shall be sent by the king to espy in his own country the movements of his ministers, priests, commanders of the army, the heir-apparent, the door-keepers, the officer in charge of the harem, the magistrate (prasastri), the collector-general (samahartri), the chamberlain (sannidhatri), the commissioner (pradeshtri), the city constable (nayaka), the officer in charge of the city (paura), the superintendent of transactions (vyavaharika), the superintendent of manufactories (karmantika), the assembly of councillors (mantriparishad), heads of departments (adhyakshah), the commissary-general (dandapala), and officers in charge of fortifications, boundaries, and wild tracts.

Fiery spies, such as are employed to hold the royal umbrella, vase, fan, and shoes, or to attend at the throne, chariot, and conveyance shall espy the public character (bahyam charam) of these (officers).

Classmate spies shall convey this information (i.e., that gathered by the fiery spies) to the institutes of espionage (samsthasvarpayeyuh).

Poisoners such as a sauce-maker (suda), a cook (aralika), procurer of water for bathing (snapaka) shampooer, the spreader of bed (astaraka), a barber (kalpaka), toilet-maker (prasadaka), a water-servant; servants such as have taken the appearance of a hump-backed person, a dwarf, a pigmy (kirata), the dumb, the deaf, the idiot, the blind; artisans such as actors, dancers, singers, players on musical instruments, buffoons, and a bard; as well as women shall espy the private character of these officers.

A mendicant woman shall convey this information to the institute of espionage.

The immediate officers of the institutes of espionage (samsthanamantevasinah) shall by making use of signs or writing (samjnalipibhih) set their own spies in motion (to ascertain the validity of the information).

Neither the institutes of espionage nor they (the wandering spies) shall know each other.

If a mendicant woman is stopped at the entrance, the line of door-keepers., spies under the guise of father and mother (matapitri vyanjanah), women artisans, court-bards, or prostitutes shall, under the pretext of taking in musical instruments, or through cipher-writing (gudhalekhya), or by means of signs, convey the information to its destined place (charam nirhareyuh.)

(Spies of the institutes of espionage) may suddenly go out under the pretext of long standing disease, or lunacy, or by setting fire (to something) or by administering poison (to some one).

When the information thus received from these three different sources is exactly of the same version, it shall be held reliable. If they (the three sources) frequently differ, the spies concerned shall either be punished in secret or dismissed.

Those spies who are referred to in Book IV, "Removal of Thorns," shall receive their salaries from those kings (para, i.e., foreign) with whom they live as servants; but when they aid both the states in the work of catching hold of robbers, they shall become recipients of salaries from both the states (ubhayavetanah).

Those whose sons and wives are kept (as hostages) shall be made recipients of salaries from two states and considered as under the mission of enemies. Purity of character of such persons shall be ascertained through persons of similar profession.

Thus with regard to kings who are inimical, friendly, intermediate, of low rank, or neutral, and with regard to

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their eighteen government departments (ashtaldasa-tírtha), spies shall be set in motion.

The hump-backed, the dwarf, the eunuch, women of accomplishments, the dumb, and various grades of Mlechcha caste shall be spies inside their houses.

Merchant spies inside forts; saints and ascetics in the suburbs of forts; the cultivator and the recluse in country parts; herdsmen in the boundaries of the country; in forests, forest-dwellers, sramanas, and chiefs of wild tribes, shall be stationed to ascertain the movements of enemies. All these spies shall be very quick in the dispatch of their work.

Spies set up by foreign kings shall also be found out by local spies; spies by spies of like profession. It is the institutes of espionage, secret or avowed, that set spies in motion.

Those chiefs whose inimical design has been found out by spies supporting the king's cause shall, in view of affording opportunity to detect the spies of foreign kings, be made to live on the boundaries of the state.

[Thus ends Chapter 12, "Creation of Wandering Spies" in the section of "The Institution of Spies," in Book 1. "Concerning Discipline" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya.]

CHAPTER 13. PROTECTION OF PARTIES FOR OR AGAINST ONE'S OWN CAUSE IN ONE'S OWN STATE.

Having set up spies over his prime ministers (mahamatra), the king shall proceed to espy both citizens and country people.

Classmate spies (satri) formed as opposing factions shall carry on disputations in places of pilgrimage (tírtha), in assemblies, houses, corporations (puga), and amid congregations of people. One spy may say:-- "This king is said to be endowed with all desirable qualities; he seems to be a stranger to such tendencies as would lead him to oppress citizens and country people by levying heavy fines and taxes."

Against those who seem to commend this opinion, another spy may interrupt the speaker and say:-- "People suffering from anarchy as illustrated by the proverbial tendency of a large fish swallowing a small one (matsyanyayabhibhutah prajah), first elected Manu, the Vaivasvata, to be their king; and allotted one-sixth of the grains grown and one-tenth of merchandise as sovereign dues. Fed by this payment, kings took upon themselves the responsibility of maintaining the safety and security of their subjects (yogakshemavahah), and of being answerable for the sins of their subjects when the principle of levying just punishments and taxes has been violated. Hence hermits, too, provide the king with one- sixth of the grains gleaned by them, thinking that 'it is a tax payable to him who protects us.' It is the king in whom the duties of both Indra (the rewarder) and Yama (the punisher) are blended, and he is a visible dispenser of punishments and rewards (heda-prasada); whoever disregards kings will be visited with divine punishments, too. Hence kings shall never be despised."

Thus treacherous opponents of sovereignty shall be silenced.

Spies shall also know the rumours prevalent in the state. Spies with shaved heads or braided hair shall ascertain whether there prevails content or discontent among those who live upon the grains, cattle, and gold of the king, among those who supply the same (to the king) in weal or woe, those who keep under restraint a disaffected relative of the king or a rebellious district, as well as those who drive away an invading enemy or a wild tribe. The greater the contentment of such persons, the more shall be the honour shown to them; while those who are disaffected shall be ingratiated by rewards or conciliation; or dissension may be sown among them so that they may alienate themselves from each other, from a neighbouring enemy, from a wild tribe, or from a banished or imprisoned prince. Failing this measure, they may be so employed in collecting fines and taxes as to incur the displeasure of the people. Those who are inebriated with feelings of enmity may be put down by punishment in secret or by making them incur the displeasure of the whole country. Or having taken the sons and wives of such treacherous persons under State protection, they may be made to live in mines, lest they may afford shelter to enemies.

Those that are angry, those that are greedy, those that are alarmed, as well as those that despise the king are the instruments of enemies. Spies under the guise of astrologers and tellers of omens and augury shall ascertain the relationship of such persons with each other and with foreign kings.

Honours and rewards shall be conferred upon those that are contented, while those that are disaffected shall be brought round by conciliation, by gifts, or by sowing dissension, or by punishment.

Thus in his own state a wise king shall guard factions among his people, friendly or hostile, powerful or powerless against the intrigue of foreign kings.

[Thus ends Chapter 13, "Protection of Parties for or against One's Own Cause in One's Own State," in Book 1, "Concerning Discipline" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya.]

CHAPTER 14. WINNING OVER FACTIONS FOR OR AGAINST AN ENEMY'S CAUSE IN AN ENEMY'S STATE.

Protection of parties for or against one's own cause in one's own state has been dealt with. Similar measures in connection with parties in a foreign state are to be treated of.

Those who are deluded with false promise of large rewards; those of whom one party, though equally skillful as another party in artistic work or in turning out productive or beneficial works, is slighted by bestowing larger rewards on its rival party; those who are harassed by courtiers (Vallabha-varuddhah); those who are invited to be slighted; those who are harassed by banishment; those who in spite of their large outlay of money have failed in their undertakings; those who are prevented from the exercise of their rights or from taking possession of their inheritance; those who have fallen from their rank and honours in government service; those who are shoved to the corner by their own kinsmen; those whose women are violently assaulted; those who are thrown in jail; those who are punished in secret; those who are warned of their misdeeds; those whose property has been wholly confiscated; those who have long suffered from imprisonment; those whose relatives are banished---all these come under the group of provoked persons.

He who has fallen a victim to misfortune by his own misdeeds; he who is offended (by the king); he whose sinful deeds are brought to light; he who is alarmed at the award of punishment on a man of like guilt; he whose lands have been confiscated; he whose rebellious spirit is put down by coercive measures; he who, as a superintendent of all government departments, has suddenly amassed a large amount of wealth; he who, as a relative of such a rich man aspires to inherit his wealth; he who is disliked by the king; and he who hates the king,--all these come under the group of persons alarmed.

He who is impoverished; he who has lost much wealth; he who is niggardly; he who is addicted to evil propensities; and he who is engaged in dangerous transactions,---all these constitute the group of ambitious persons.

He who is self-sufficient; he who is fond of honours; he who is intolerant of his rival's honour; he who is esteemed low; he who is of a fiery spirit; he who is foolhardy as well as he who is not content with what he has been enjoying,--all these come under the group of haughty persons.

Of these, he who clings to a particular faction shall be so deluded by spies with shaved head or braided hair as to believe that he is intriguing with that party. Partisans under provocation, for example, may be won over by telling that 'just as an elephant in rut and mounted over by a driver under intoxication tramples under its foot whatever it comes across, so this king, dispossessed of the eye of science, blindly attempts to oppress both citizens and country people; it is possible to restrain him by setting up a rival elephant against him; so have forbearance enough (to wait).'

Likewise alarmed persons may be won over by telling that 'just as a hidden snake bites and emits poison over whatever alarms it, so this king apprehensive of danger from thee will ere long emit the poison of his resentment on thee; so thou mayest better go elsewhere.'

Similarly ambitious persons may be won over by telling that 'just as a cow reared by dog-keepers gives milk to dogs, but not to Brahmans, so this king gives milk (rewards) to those who are devoid of valour, foresight, eloquence and bravery, but not to those who are possessed of noble character; so the other king who is possessed of power to discriminate men from men may be courted.'

In like manner haughty persons may be won over by telling that 'just as a reservoir of water belonging to Chandalas is serviceable only to Chandalas, but not to others, so this king of low-birth confers his patronage only on low-born people, but not on Aryas like thee; so the other king who is possessed of power to distinguish between men and men may be courted.'

All these disaffected persons, when acquiescing to the above proposals, may be made under a solumn compact (panakarmana) to form a combination together with the spies to achieve their end.

Likewise friends of a foreign king may also be won over by means of persuation and rewards, while implacable enemies may be brought round by sowing dissensions, by threats, and by pointing out the defects of their master.

[Thus ends Chapter 14, "Winning over Factions for or against an Enemy's Cause in an Enemy's State," in Book 1, "Concerning Discipline" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya.]

CHAPTER 15. THE BUSINESS OF COUNCIL MEETING.

Having gained a firm hold on the affection of both local and foreign parties both in his own and enemy's state, the king shall proceed to think of administrative measures.

All kinds of administrative measures are preceded by deliberations in a well-formed council. The subject matter of a council shall be entirely secret and deliberations in it shall be so carried that even birds cannot see them; for it is said that the secrecy of counsels was divulged by parrots, minas, dogs and other low creatures of mean birth. Hence without providing himself with sufficient safeguard against disclosure, he shall never enter into deliberations in a council.

Whoever discloses counsels shall be torn to pieces. The disclosure of counsels may be detected by observing changes in the attitude and countenance of envoys, ministers, and masters. Change in conduct is change in attitude (ingitamanyathavrittih); and observation of physical appearance is countenance (akritigrahanamakarah).

Maintenance of the secrecy of a council-matter, and keeping guard over officers that have taken part in the deliberation over it (shall be strictly observed) till the time of starting the work so considered approaches.

Carelessness, intoxication, talking in sleep, love and other evil habits of councillors are the causes of the betrayal of counsels.

Whoever is of hidden nature or is disregarded will disclose counsels. Hence steps shall be taken to safeguard counsels against such dangers. Disclosure of counsels is advantageous to persons other than the king and his officers.

"Hence," says Bharadvaja, "the king shall singly deliberate over secret matters; for ministers have their own ministers, and these latter some of their own; this kind of successive line of ministers tends to the disclosure of counsels.

"Hence no outside person shall know anything of the work which the king has in view. Only those who are employed to carry it out shall know it either when it is begun or when accomplished."

"No deliberation," says Visalaksha, "made by a single person will be successful; the nature of the work which a sovereign has to do is to be inferred from the consideration of both the visible and invisible causes. The perception of what is not or cannot be seen, the conclusive decision of whatever is seen, the clearance of doubts as to whatever is susceptible of two opinions, and the inference of the whole when only a part is seen--all this is possible of decision only by ministers. Hence he shall sit at deliberation with persons of wide intellect.

He shall despise none, but hear the opinions of all. A wise man shall make use of even a child's sensible utterance.

"This is," says Parasara "ascertaining the opinions of others, but not keeping counsels. He shall ask his ministers for their opinion, on a work similar to the one he has in view, telling them that "this is the work; it happened thus; what is to be done if it will turn out thus"; and he shall do as they decide. If it is done thus, both the ascertainment of opinions and maintenance of secrecy can be attained."

"Not so," says Pisuna, "for ministers, when called for their opinions regarding a distant undertaking, or an accomplished or an unaccomplished work, either approach the subject with indifference or give their opinions half-heartedly. This is a serious defect. Hence he shall consult such persons as are believed to be capable of giving decisive opinion regarding those works about which he seeks for advice. If he consults thus, he can secure good advice as well as secrecy of counsel."

"Not so," says Kautilya, "for this (kind of seeking for advice) is infinite and endless. He shall consult three or four ministers. Consultation with a single (minister) may not lead to any definite conclusion in cases of complicated issues. A single minister proceeds willfully and without restraint. In deliberating with two ministers, the king may be overpowered by their combined action, or imperiled by their mutual dissension. But with three or four ministers he will not come to any serious grief, but will arrive at satisfactory results. With ministers more than four in number, he will have to come to a decision after a good deal of trouble; nor will secrecy of counsel be maintained without much trouble. In accordance with the requirements of place, time, and nature of the work in view, he may, as he deems it proper, deliberate with one or two ministers or by himself.

Means to carry out works, command of plenty of men and wealth, allotment of time and place, remedies against dangers, and final success are the five constituents of every council-deliberation.

The king may ask his ministers for their opinion either individually or collectively, and ascertain their ability by judging over the reasons they assign for their opinions.

He shall lose no time when the opportunity waited for arrives; nor shall he sit long at consultation with those whose parties he intends to hurt.

The school of Manu say that the assembly of ministers (mantriparishad) shall be made to consist of twelve members.

The school of Brihaspathi say that it shall consist of sixteen members.

The school of Usanas say that it shall consist of twenty members.

But Kautilya holds that it shall consist of as many members as the needs of his dominion require (yathasamarthyam).

Those ministers shall have to consider all that concerns the parties of both the king and his enemy. They shall also set themselves to start the work that is not yet begun, to complete what has been begun, to improve what has been accomplished, and to enforce strict obedience to orders (niyogasampadam).

He shall supervise works in company with his officers that are near (asannaih); and consult by sending writs (patrasampreshanena) those that are (not) near (asanna).

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One thousand sages form Indra's assembly of ministers (mantriparishad). They are his eyes. Hence he is called thousand-eyed though he possesses only two eyes.

In works of emergency, he shall call both his ministers and the assembly of ministers (mantrino mantriparishadam cha), and tell them of the same. He shall do whatever the majority (bhuyishthah) of the members suggest or whatever course of action leading to success (karyasiddhikaram va) they point out. And while doing any work,

None of his enemies (pare) shall know his secret, but he shall know the weak points of his enemy. Like a tortoise he shall draw in his limbs that are stretched out.

Just as balls of meal offered to ancestors by a person not learned in the Vedas are unfit to be eaten by wise men, so whoever is not well versed in sciences shall be unfit to hear of council deliberations.

[Thus ends Chapter 15, "The Business of Council-meeting" in Book 1, "Concerning Discipline" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya.]

CHAPTER 16. THE MISSION OF ENVOYS.

Whoever has succeeded as a councillor is an envoy.

Whoever possesses ministerial qualifications is a charge-d'affaires (nisrishtarthah).

Whoever possesses the same qualifications less by one-quarter is an agent entrusted with a definite mission (parimitarthah).

Whoever possesses the same qualifications less by one-half is a conveyer of royal writs (sasanaharah).

Having made excellent arrangements for carriage, conveyance, servants and subsistence, he (an envoy) shall start on his mission, thinking that "the enemy shall be told thus: the enemy (para) will say, thus; this shall be the reply to him; and thus he shall be imposed upon."

The envoy shall make friendship with the enemy's officers such as those in charge of wild tracts, of boundaries, of cities, and of country parts. He shall also contrast the military stations, sinews of war, and strong-holds of the enemy with those of his own master. He shall ascertain the size and area of forts and of the state, as well as strongholds of precious things and assailable and unassailable points.

Having obtained permission, he shall enter into the capital of the enemy and state the object of the mission as exactly as entrusted to him even at the cost of his own life.

Brightness in the tone, face, and eyes of the enemy; respectful reception of the mission; enquiry about the health of friends; taking part in the narration of virtues; giving a seat close to the throne; respectful treatment of the envoy; remembrance of friends; closing the mission with satisfaction;--all these shall be noted as indicating the good graces of the enemy and the reverse his displeasure.

A displeased enemy maybe told:-- "Messengers are the mouth-pieces of kings, not only of thyself, but of all; hence messengers who, in the face of weapons raised against them, have to express their mission as exactly as they are entrusted with do not, though outcasts, deserve death; where is then reason to put messengers of Brahman caste to death? This is another's speech. This (i.e., delivery of that speech verbatim) is the duty of messengers."

Not puffed up with the respects shown to him, he shall stay there till he is allowed to depart. He shall not care for the mightiness of the enemy; shall strictly avoid women and liquor; shall take bed single; for it is well-known that the intentions of envoys are ascertained while they are asleep or under the influence of liquor.

He shall, through the agency of ascetic and merchant spies or through their disciples or through spies under the disguise of physicians, and heretics, or through recipients of salaries from two states (ubhayavetana), ascertain the nature of the intrigue prevalent among parties favourably disposed to his own master, as well as the conspiracy of hostile factions, and understand the loyalty or disloyalty of the people to the enemy besides any assailable points.

If there is no possibility of carrying on any such conversation (conversation with the people regarding their loyalty), he may try to gather such information by observing the talk of beggars, intoxicated and insane persons or of persons babbling in sleep, or by observing the signs made in places of pilgrimage and temples or by deciphering paintings and secret writings (chitra-gudha-lekhya-samjna-bhih).

Whatever information he thus gathers he shall try to test by intrigues.

He shall not check the estimate which the enemy makes of the elements of sovereignty of his own master; but he shall only say in reply, 'All is known to thee.' Nor shall he disclose the means employed (by his master) to achieve an end in view.

If he has not succeeded in his mission, but is still detained, he shall proceed to infer thus:-- Whether seeing the imminent danger into which my master is likely to fall and desirous of averting his own danger; whether in view of inciting against my master an enemy threatening in the rear or a king whose dominion in the rear is separated by other intervening states; whether in view of causing internal rebellion in my master's state, or of inciting a wild chief (atavika) against my master; whether in view of destroying my master by employing a friend or a king whose dominion stretches out in the rear of my master's state (akranda); whether with the intention of averting the internal trouble in his own state or of preventing a foreign invasion or the inroads of a wild chief; whether in view of causing the approaching time of my master's expedition to lapse; whether with the desire of collecting raw materials and merchandise, or of repairing his fortifications, or of recruiting a strong army capable to fight; whether waiting for the time and opportunity necessary for the complete training of his own army; or whether in view of making a desirable alliance in order to avert the present contempt brought about by his own carelessness, this king detains me thus?

Then he may stay or get out as he deems it desirable; or he may demand a speedy settlement of his mission.

Or having intimated an unfavourable order (sasana) to the enemy, and pretending apprehension of imprisonment or death, he may return even without permission; otherwise he may be punished.

Transmission of missions, maintenance of treaties, issue of ultimatum (pratapa), gaining of friends, intrigue, sowing dissension among friends, fetching secret force; carrying away by stealth relatives and gems, gathering information about the movements of spies, bravery, breaking of treaties of peace, winning over the favour of the envoy and government officers of the enemy,---these are the duties of an envoy (duta).

The king shall employ his own envoys to carry on works of the above description, and guard himself against (the mischief of) foreign envoys by employing counter envoys, spies, and visible and invisible watchmen.

[Thus ends Chapter 16, "The Mission of Envoys" in Book 1, "Concerning Discipline" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya.]

CHAPTER 17. PROTECTION OF PRINCES.

Protection of Princes

Having secured his own personal safety first from his wives and sons, the king can be in a position to maintain the security of his kingdom against immediate enemies as well as foreign kings.

We shall treat of "Protection of Wives" in connection with "Duties toward's the Harem."

Ever since the birth of princes, the king shall take special care of them.

"For," says Bharadvaja, "princes like crabs have a notorious tendency of eating up their begetter. When they are wanting in filial affection, they shall better be punished in secret (upamsudandah)."

"This is," says Visalaksha, "cruelty, destruction of fortune, and extirpation of the seed of the race of Kshattriyas. Hence it is better to keep them under guard in a definite place."

"This," say the school of Parasara, "is akin to the fear from a lurking snake (ahibhayam); for a prince may think that apprehensive of danger, his father has locked him up, and may attempt to put his own father on his lap. Hence it is better to keep a prince under the custody of boundary guards or inside a fort."

"This," says Pisuna, "is akin to the fear (from a wolf in the midst) of a flock of sheep (aurabhrakam bhayam); for after understanding the cause of his rustication, he may avail himself of the opportunity to, make an alliance with the boundary guards (against his father). Hence it is better to throw him inside a fort belonging to a foreign king far away from his own state."

"This," says Kaunapadanta, "is akin to the position of a calf (vatsasthanam); for just as a man milks a cow with the help of its calf, so the foreign king may milk (reduce) the prince's father. Hence it is better to make a prince live with his maternal relations."

"This," says Vatavyadhi "is akin to the position of a flag (dhvajasthanametat): for as in the case of Aditi and Kausika, the prince's maternal relations may, unfurling this flag, go on begging. Hence princes may be suffered to dissipate their lives by sensual excesses (gramyadharma) inasmuch as revelling sons do not dislike their indulgent father."

"This," says Kautilya, "is death in life; for no sooner is a royal family with a prince or princes given to dissipation attacked, than it perishes like a worm-eaten piece of wood. Hence when the queen attains the age favourable for procreation, priests shall offer to Indra and Brihaspati the requisite oblations. When she is big with a child, the king shall observe the instructions of midwifery with regard to gestation and delivery. After delivery, the priests shall perform the prescribed purificatory ceremonials. When the prince attains the necessary age, adepts shall train him under proper discipline."

"Any one of the classmate spies," say (politicians known as) Ambhiyas, "may allure the prince towards hunting, gambling, liquor, and women, and instigate him to attack his own father and snatch the reins of government in his own hands. Another spy shall prevent him from such acts."

"There can be," says Kautilya, "no greater crime or sin than making wicked impressions on an innocent mind; just as a fresh object is stained with whatever it is brought in close association, so a prince with fresh mind is apt to regard as scientific injunctions all that he is told of. Hence he shall be taught only of righteousness and of wealth (artha), but not of unrighteousness and of non-wealth. Classmate spies shall be so courteous towards him as to say "thine are we." When under the temptation of youth, he turns his eye towards women, impure women under the disguise of Aryas shall, at night and in lonely places, terrify him; when fond of liquor, he shall be terrified by making him drink such liquor as is adulterated with narcotics (yógapana); when fond of gambling, he shall be terrified by spies under the disguise of fraudulent persons; when fond of hunting, he shall be terrified by spies under the disguise of highway robbers; and when desirous of attacking his own father, he shall, under the pretence of compliance, be gradually persuaded of the evil consequences of such attempts, by telling: a king is not made by a mere wish; failure of thy attempt will bring about thy own death; success makes thee fall into hell and causes the people to lament (for thy father) and destroy the only clod (ekalóshtavadhascha, i.e., thyself)."

When a king has an only son who is either devoid of worldly pleasures or is a favourite child, the king may keep him under chains. If a king has many sons, he may send some of them to where there is no heir apparent, nor a child either just born or in the embryo.

When a prince is possessed of good and amicable qualities, he may be made the commander-in-chief or installed as heir apparent.

Sons are of three kinds: those of sharp intelligence; those of stagnant intelligence; and those of perverted mind.

Whoever carries into practice whatever he is taught concerning righteousness and wealth is one of sharp intelligence; whoever never carries into practice the good instructions he has imbibed is one of stagnant intelligence; and whoever entangles himself in dangers and hates righteousness and wealth is one of perverted mind.

If a king has an only son (of the last type), attempts shall be made to procreating a son to him; or sons may be begotten on his daughters.

When a king is too old or diseased (to beget sons), he may appoint a maternal relation or a blood relation (kulya) of his or any one of his neighbouring kings possessed of good and amicable qualities to sow the seed in his own field (kshetrebíjam, i.e., to beget a son on his wife.)

But never shall a wicked and an only son be installed on the royal throne.

A royal father who is the only prop for many (people) shall be favourably disposed towards his son. Except in dangers, sovereignty falling to the lot of the eldest (son) is always respected. Sovereignty may (sometimes) be the property of a clan; for the corporation of clans is invincible in its nature and being free from the calamities of anarchy, can have a permanent existence on earth.

[Thus ends Chapter 17, "Protection of Princes" in Book 1, "Concerning Discipline" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya.]

CHAPTER 18. THE CONDUCT OF A PRINCE KEPT UNDER RESTRAINT AND THE TREATMENT OF A RESTRAINED PRINCE.

A Prince, though put to troubles and employed in an unequal task, shall yet faithfully follow his father unless that task costs his life, enrages the people, or causes any other serious calamities. If he is employed in a good or meritorious work, he shall try to win the good graces of the superintendent of that work, carry the work to a profitable end beyond expectation, and present his father with the proportional profit derived from that work as well as with the excessive profit due to his skill. If the king is not still pleased with him and shows undue partiality to another prince and other wives, he may request the king to permit him for a forest-life.

Or if he apprehends imprisonment or death, he may seek refuge under a neighbouring king who is known to be righteous, charitable, truthful, and not given to cunning, but also welcomes and respects guests of good character. Residing therein he may provide himself with men and money, contract marriage-connection with influential personages, and not only make alliance with wild tribes, but win over the parties (in his father's state).

Or moving alone, he may earn his livelihood by working in gold mines or ruby mines or by manufacturing gold and silver ornaments or any other commercial commodities. Having acquired close intimacy with heretics (pashanda), rich widows, or merchants carrying on ocean traffic he may, by making use of poison (madanarasa), rob them of their wealth as well as the wealth of gods unless the latter is enjoyable by Brahmans learned in the Vedas. Or he may adopt such measures as are employed to capture the villages of a foreign king. Or he may proceed (against his father) with the help of the servants of his mother.

Or having disguised himself as a painter, a carpenter, court-bard, a physician, a buffoon, or a heretic, and assisted by spies under similar disguise, he may, when opportunity affords itself, present himself armed with weapons and poison before the king, and address him :--

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"I am the heir-apparent; it does not become thee to enjoy the state alone when it is enjoyable by both of us, or when others justly desire such enjoyment; I ought not to be kept away by awarding an allowance of double the subsistence and salary."

These are the measures that a prince kept under restraint has to take.

Spies or his mother, natural or adoptive, may reconcile an heir-apparent under restraint and bring him to the court.

Or secret emissaries armed with weapons and poison may kill an abandoned prince. If he is not abandoned, he may be caught hold of at night by employing women equal to the occasion, or by making use of liquor, or on the occasion of hunting, and brought back (to the court).

When thus brought back, he shall be conciliated by the king with promise of sovereignty 'after me' (i.e., after the king's death), and kept under guard, in a definite locality. Or if the king has many sons, an unruly prince may be banished.

[Thus ends Chapter 18, "The Conduct of a Prince kept under Restraint and the Treatment of a Restrained Prince," in Book 1, "Concerning Discipline" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya.]

CHAPTER 19. THE DUTIES OF A KING.

If a king is energetic, his subjects will be equally energetic. If he is reckless, they will not only be reckless likewise, but also eat into his works. Besides, a reckless king will easily fall into the hands of his enemies. Hence the king shall ever be wakeful.

He shall divide both the day and the night into eight nalikas (1½ hours), or according to the length of the shadow (cast by a gnomon standing in the sun): the shadow of three purushas (36 angulas or inches), of one purusha (12 inches), of four angulas (4 inches), and absence of shadow denoting midday are the four one-eighth divisions of the forenoon; like divisions (in the reverse order) in the afternoon.

Of these divisions, during the first one-eighth part of the day, he shall post watchmen and attend to the accounts of receipts and expenditure; during the second part, he shall look to the affairs of both citizens and country people; during the third, he shall not only bathe and dine, but also study; during the fourth, he shall not only receive revenue in gold (hiranya), but also attend to the appointments of superintendents; during the fifth, he shall correspond in writs (patrasampreshanena) with the assembly of his ministers, and receive the secret information gathered by his spies; during the sixth, he may engage himself in his favourite amusements or in self-deliberation; during the seventh, he shall superintend elephants, horses, chariots, and infantry, and during the eighth part, he shall consider various plans of military operations with his commander-in-chief.

At the close of the day, he shall observe the evening prayer (sandhya).

During the first one-eighth part of the night, he shall receive secret emissaries; during the second, he shall attend to bathing and supper and study; during the third, he shall enter the bed-chamber amid the sound of trumpets and enjoy sleep during the fourth and fifth parts; having been awakened by the sound of trumpets during the sixth part, he shall recall to his mind the injunctions of sciences as well as the day's duties; during the seventh, he shall sit considering administrative measures and send out spies; and during the eighth division of the night, he shall receive benedictions from sacrificial priests, teachers, and the high priest, and having seen his physician, chief cook and astrologer, and having saluted both a cow with its calf and a bull by circumambulating round them, he shall get into his court.

Or in conformity to his capacity, he may alter the timetable and attend to his duties.

When in the court, he shall never cause his petitioners to wait at the door, for when a king makes himself inaccessible to his people and entrusts his work to his immediate officers, he may be sure to engender confusion in business, and to cause thereby public disaffection, and himself a prey to his enemies.

He shall, therefore, personally attend to the business of gods, of heretics, of Brahmans learned in the Vedas, of cattle, of sacred places, of minors, the aged, the afflicted, and the helpless, and of women;---all this in order (of enumeration) or according to the urgency or pressure of those works.

All urgent calls he shall hear at once, but never put off; for when postponed, they will prove too hard or impossible to accomplish.

Having seated himself in the room where the sacred fire has been kept, he shall attend to the business of physicians and ascetics practising austerities; and that in company with his high priest and teacher and after preliminary salutation (to the petitioners).

Accompanied by persons proficient in the three sciences (trividya) but not alone lest the petitioners be offended, he shall look to the business of those who are practising austerities, as well as of those who are experts in witchcraft and Yóga.

Of a king, the religious vow is his readiness to action; satisfactory discharge of duties is his performance of sacrifice; equal attention to all is the offer of fees and ablution towards consecration.

In the happiness of his subjects lies his happiness; in their welfare his welfare; whatever pleases himself he shall not consider as good, but whatever pleases his subjects he shall consider as good.

Hence the king shall ever be active and discharge his duties; the root of wealth is activity, and of evil its reverse.

In the absence of activity acquisitions present and to come will perish; by activity he can achieve both his desired ends and abundance of wealth.

[Thus ends Chapter 19, "The Duties of a King" in Book 1. "Concerning Discipline" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya.]

CHAPTER 20. DUTY TOWARDS THE HAREM.

On a site naturally best fitted for the purpose, the king shall construct his harem consisting of many compartments, one within the other, enclosed by a parapet and a ditch, and provided with a door.

He shall construct his own residential palace after the model of his treasury-house; or he may have his residential abode in the centre of the delusive chamber (móhanagriha), provided with secret passages made into the walls; or in an underground chamber provided with the figures of goddesses and of altars (chaitya) carved on the wooden door-frame, and connected with many underground passages for exit; or in an upper storey provided with a staircase hidden in a wall, with a passage for exit made in a hollow pillar, the whole building being so constructed with mechanical contrivance as to be caused to fall down when necessary.

Or considering the danger from his own classmates (sahadhyayi), such contrivances as the above, mainly intended as safeguards against danger, may be made on occasions of danger or otherwise as he deems fit.

No other kind of fire can burn that harem which is thrice circumambulated from right to left by a fire of human make (manushenagnina); nor can there be kindled any other fire. Nor can fire destroy that harem the walls of which are made of mud mixed with ashes produced by lightning, and wetted in hail-water (karaka-vari).

Poisonous snakes will not dare to enter into such buildings as are provided with Jívanti (Fæderia Fœtida), sveta (Aconitum Ferox), mushkakapushpa (?), and vandaka (Epidendrum Tesselatum), and as are protected by the branches of pejata (?) and of asvattha (Ficus Religiosa).

Cats, peacocks, mangooses, and the spotted deer eat up snakes.

Parrots, minas (sarika), and Malbar birds (bhringaraja) shriek when they perceive the smell of snake-poison.

The heron (crauncha) swoons in the vicinity of poison; the pheasant (jívanjívaka) feels distress; the youthful cuckoo (mattakókila) dies; the eyes of partridge (chakóra) are reddened.

Thus remedies shall be applied against fire and poison.

On one side in the rear of the harem, there shall be made for the residence of women compartments provided not only with all kinds of medicines useful in midwifery and diseases, but also with well known pot-herbs (prakhyatasamsthavriksha), and a water-reservoir; outside these compartments, the residences of princes and princesses; in front (of the latter building), the toilet-ground (alankara bhumih), the council-ground (mantrabhumib), the court, and the offices of the heir-apparent and of superintendents.

In the intervening places between two compartments, the army of the officer in charge of the harem shall be stationed.

When in the interior of the harem, the king shall see the queen only when her personal purity is vouchsafed by an old maid-servant. He shall not touch any woman (unless he is apprised of her personal purity); for hidden in the queen's chamber, his own brother slew king Bhadrasena; hiding himself under the bed of his mother, the son killed king Karusa; mixing fried rice with poison, as though with honey, his own queen poisoned Kasiraja; with an anklet painted with poison, his own queen killed Vairantya; with a gem of her zone bedaubed with poison, his own queen killed Sauvíra; with a looking glass painted with poison, his own queen killed Jalutha; and with a weapon hidden under her tuft of hair, his own queen slew Viduratha.

Hence the king shall always be careful to avoid such lurking dangers. He shall keep away his wives from the society of ascetics with shaved head or braided hair, of buffoons, and of outside prostitutes (dasi). Nor shall women of high birth have occasion to see his wives except appointed midwives.

Prostitutes (rupajíva) with personal cleanliness effected by fresh bath and with fresh garments and ornaments shall attend the harem.

Eighty men and fifty women under the guise of fathers and mothers, and aged persons, and eunuchs shall not only ascertain purity and impurity in the life of the inmates of the harem, but also so regulate the affairs as to be conducive to the happiness of the king.

Every person in the harem shall live in the place assigned to him, and shall never move to the place assigned to others. No one of the harem shall at any time keep company with any outsider.

The passage of all kinds of commodities from or into the harem shall be restricted and shall, after careful examination, be allowed to reach their destination either inside or outside the harem as indicated by the seal-mark (mudra).

[Thus ends Chapter 20, "Duty towards the Harem" in Book 1, "Concerning Discipline" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya.]

CHAPTER 21. PERSONAL SAFETY.

On getting up from the bed, the king shall be received by troops of women armed with bows. In the second compartment, he shall be received by the Kanchuki (presenter of the king's coat), the Ushnisi (presenter of king's head-dress), aged persons, and other harem attendants.

In the third compartment, he shall be received by crooked and dwarfish persons; in the fourth, by prime ministers, kinsmen, and door-keepers with barbed missiles in their hand.

The king shall employ as his personal attendants those whose fathers and grandfathers had been royal servants, those who bear close relationship to the king, those who are well trained and loyal, and those who have rendered good service.

Neither foreigners, nor those who have earned neither rewards nor honour by rendering good service, nor even natives found engaged in inimical works shall form the bodyguard of the king or the troops of the officers in charge of the harem.

In a well-guarded locality, the head-cook (mahanasika) shall supervise the preparation of varieties of relishing dishes. The king shall partake of such fresh dishes after making an oblation out of them first to the fire and then to birds.

When the flame and the smoke turn blue and crackle, and when birds (that eat the oblation) die, presence of poison (in the dish) shall be inferred. When the vapour arising from cooked rice possesses the colour of the neck of a peacock, and appears chill as if suddenly cooled, when vegetables possess an unnatural colour, and are watery and hardened, and appear to have suddenly turned dry, being possessed of broken layers of blackish foam, and being devoid of smell, touch and taste natural to them; when utensils reflect light either more or less than usual, and are covered with a layer of foam at their edges; when any liquid preparation possesses streaks on its surface; when milk bears a bluish streak in the centre of its surface; when liquor and water possess reddish streaks; when curd is marked with black and dark streaks, and honey with white streaks; when watery things appear parched as if overcooked and look blue and swollen; when dry things have shrinked and changed in their colour; when hard things appear soft, and soft things hard; when minute animalculæ die in the vicinity of the dishes; when carpets and curtains possess blackish circular spots, with their threads and hair fallen off; when metallic vessels set with gems appear tarnished as though by roasting, and have lost their polish, colour, shine, and softness of touch, presence of poison shall be inferred.

As to the person who has administered poison, the marks are parched and dry mouth; hesitation in speaking; heavy perspiration; yawning; too much bodily tremour; frequent tumbling; evasion of speech; carelessness in work; and unwillingness to keep to the place assigned to him.

Hence physicians and experts capable of detecting poison shall ever attend upon the king.

Having taken out from the store-room of medicines that medicine the purity of which has been proved by experiment, and having himself together with the decoctioner and the purveyor (pachaka and póshaka) tasted it, the physician shall hand over the medicine to the king. The same rule shall apply to liquor and other beverages.

Having cleaned their person and hands by fresh bath and put on newly-washed garment, servants in charge of dresses, and toilets shall serve the king with dresses and toilets received under seal from the officer in charge of the harem.

Prostitutes shall do the duty of bath-room servants, shampooers, bedding-room servants, washermen, and flower garland-makers, while presenting to the king water, scents, fragrant powders, dress and garlands, servants along with the above prostitutes shall first touch these things by their eyes, arms and breast.

The same rule shall apply to whatever has been received from an outside person.

Musicians shall entertain the king with those kinds of amusements in which weapons, fire, and poison are not made use of. Musical instruments as well as the ornaments of horses, chariots, and elephants shall invariably be kept inside (the harem).

The king shall mount over chariots or beasts of burden only when they are first mounted over by his hereditary driver or rider.

He shall get into a boat only when it is piloted by a trustworthy sailor and is conjoined to a second boat. He shall never sail on any ship which had once been weatherbeaten; and (while boating on a good ship) his army shall all the while stand on the bank or the shore.

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He shall get into such water as is free from large fishes (matsya) and crocodiles. He shall ramble only in such forests as are freed from snakes and crocodiles (graha).

With a view of acquiring efficiency in the skill of shooting arrows at moving objects, he shall engage himself in sports in such forests as are cleared by hunters and hound-keepers from the fear of high-way-robbers, snakes, and enemies.

Attended by trustworthy bodyguard armed with weapons, he shall give interview to saints and ascetics. Surrounded by his assembly of minsters, he shall receive the envoys of foreign states.

Attired in military dress and having mounted a horse, a chariot, or an elephant, he shall go see his army equipped in military array.

On the occaision of going out of, and coming into (the capital), the king's road shall on both sides be well guarded by staff-bearers and freed from the presence of armed persons, ascetics, and the cripple (vyanga).

He shall go to witness festive trains, fairs (yatra), procession, or sacrificial performances only when they are policed by bands of 'The Ten Communities.' (dasavargikadhishthitani).

Just as he attends to the personal safety of others through the agency of spies, so a wise king shall also take care to secure his person from external dangers.

[Thus ends Chapter 20, "Personal Safety" in Book 1, "Concerning Discipline" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. With this, the Book I, "Concerning Discipline" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya, has ended.]

BOOK 2

"The Duties of Government Superintendents"

CHAPTER 1. FORMATION OF VILLAGES.

Either by inducing foreigners to immigrate (paradesapravahanena) or by causing the thickly-populated centres of his own kingdom to send forth the excessive population (svadesabhishyandavamanena va), the king may construct villages either on new sites or on old ruins (bhutapurvama va).

Villages consisting each of not less than a hundred families and of not more than five-hundred families of agricultural people of sudra caste, with boundaries extending as far as a krósa (2250 yds.) or two, and capable of protecting each other shall be formed. Boundaries shall be denoted by a river, a mountain, forests, bulbous plants (grishti), caves, artificial buildings (setubandha), or by trees such as salmali (silk cotton tree), samí (Acacia Suma), and kshíravriksha (milky trees).

There shall be set up a sthaníya (a fortress of that name) in the centre of eight-hundred villages, a drónamukha in the centre of four-hundred villages, a kharvatika in the centre of two-hundred villages and sangrahana in the midst of a collection of ten villages.

There shall be constructed in the extremities of the kingdom forts manned by boundary-guards (antapala) whose duty shall be to guard the entrances into the kingdom. The interior of the kingdom shall be watched by trap-keepers (vagurika), archers (sabara), hunters (pulinda), chandalas, and wild tribes (aranyachara).

Those who perform sacrifices (ritvik), spiritual guides, priests, and those learned in the Vedas shall be granted Brahmadaya lands yielding sufficient produce and exempted from taxes and fines (adandkarani).

Superintendents, Accountants, Gopas, Sthanikas, Veterinary Surgeons (Aníkastha), physicians, horse-trainers, and messengers shall also be endowed with lands which they shall have no right to alienate by sale or mortgage.

Lands prepared for cultivation shall be given to tax- payers (karada) only for life (ekapurushikani).

Unprepared lands shall not be taken away from those who are preparing them for cultivation.

Lands may be confiscated from those who do not cultivate them; and given to others; or they may be cultivated by village labourers (gramabhritaka) and traders (vaidehaka), lest those owners who do not properly cultivate them might pay less (to the government). If cultivators pay their taxes easily, they may be favourably supplied with grains, cattle, and money.

The king shall bestow on cultivators only such favour and remission (anugrahapariharau) as will tend to swell the treasury, and shall avoid such as will deplete it.

A king with depleted treasury will eat into the very vitality of both citizens and country people. Either on the occasion of opening new settlements or on any other emergent occasions, remission of taxes shall be made.

He shall regard with fatherly kindness those who have passed the period of remission of taxes.

He shall carry on mining operations and manufactures, exploit timber and elephant forests, offer facilities for cattlebreeding and commerce, construct roads for traffic both by land and water, and set up market towns (panyapattana).

He shall also construct reservoirs (setu) filled with water either perennial or drawn from some other source. Or he may provide with sites, roads, timber, and other necessary things those who construct reservoirs of their own accord. Likewise in the construction of places of pilgrimage (punyasthana) and of groves.

Whoever stays away from any kind of cooperative construction (sambhuya setubhandhat) shall send his servants and bullocks to carry on his work, shall have a share in the expenditure, but shall have no claim to the profit.

The king shall exercise his right of ownership (swamyam) with regard to fishing, ferrying and trading in vegetables (haritapanya) in reservoirs or lakes (setushu).

Those who do not heed the claims of their slaves (dasa), hirelings (ahitaka), and relatives shall be taught their duty.

The king shall provide the orphans, (bala), the aged, the infirm, the afflicted, and the helpless with maintenance. He shall also provide subsistence to helpless women when they are carrying and also to the children they give birth to.

Elders among the villagers shall improve the property of bereaved minors till the latter attain their age; so also the property of Gods.

When a capable person other than an apostate (patita) or mother neglects to maintain his or her child, wife, mother, father, minor brothers, sisters, or widowed girls (kanya vidhavascha), he or she shall be punished with a fine of twelve panas.

When, without making provision for the maintenance of his wife and sons, any person embraces ascetism, he shall be punished with the first amercement; likewise any person who converts a woman to ascetism (pravrajayatah).

Whoever has passed the age of copulation may become an ascetic after distributing the properties of his own acquisition (among his sons); otherwise, he will be punished.

No ascetic other than a vanaprastha (forest-hermit), no company other than the one of local birth (sajatadanyassanghah), and no guilds of any kind other than local cooperative guilds (samutthayika-danyassamayanubandhah) shall find entrance into the villages of the kingdom. Nor shall there be in villages buildings (salah) intended for sports and plays. Nor, in view of procuring money, free labour, commodities, grains, and liquids in plenty, shall actors, dancers, singers, drummers, buffoons (vagjivana), and bards (kusílava) make any disturbance to the work of the villagers; for helpless villagers are always dependent and bent upon their fields.

The king shall avoid taking possession of any country which is liable to the inroads of enemies and wild tribes and which is harassed by frequent visitations of famine and pestilence. He shall also keep away from expensive sports.

He shall protect agriculture from the molestation of oppressive fines, free labour, and taxes (dandavishtikarabadhaih); herds of cattle from thieves, tigers, poisonous creatures and cattle-disease.

He shall not only clear roads of traffic from the molestations of courtiers (vallabha), of workmen (karmika), of robbers, and of boundary-guards, but also keep them from being destroyed by herds of cattle.

Thus the king shall not only keep in good repair timber and elephant forests, buildings, and mines created in the past, but also set up new ones.

[Thus ends Chapter 1, "Formation of Villages" in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of twenty-second chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 2. DIVISION OF LAND.

The King shall make provision for pasture grounds on uncultivable tracts.

Brahmans shall be provided with forests for sóma plantation, for religious learning, and for the performance of penance, such forests being rendered safe from the dangers from animate or inanimate objects, and being named after the tribal name (gótra) of the Brahmans resident therein.

A forest as extensive as the above, provided with only one entrance rendered inaccessible by the construction of ditches all round, with plantations of delicious fruit trees, bushes, bowers, and thornless trees, with an expansive lake of water full of harmless animals, and with tigers (vyala), beasts of prey (margayuka), male and female elephants, young elephants, and bisons—all deprived of their claws and teeth—shall be formed for the king's sports.

On the extreme limit of the country or in any other suitable locality, another game-forest with game-beasts; open to all, shall also be made. In view of procuring all kinds of forest-produce described elsewhere, one or several forests shall be specially reserved.

Manufactories to prepare commodities from forest produce shall also be set up.

Wild tracts shall be separated from timber-forests. In the extreme limit of the country, elephant forests, separated from wild tracts, shall be formed.

The superintendent of forests with his retinue of forest guards shall not only maintain the up-keep of the forests, but also acquaint himself with all passages for entrance into, or exit from such of them as are mountainous or boggy or contain rivers or lakes.

Whoever kills an elephant shall be put to death.

Whoever brings in the pair of tusks of an elephant, dead from natural causes, shall receive a reward of four-and-a-half panas.

Guards of elephant forests, assisted by those who rear elephants, those who enchain the legs of elephants, those who guard the boundaries, those who live in forests, as well as by those who nurse elephants, shall, with the help of five or seven female elephants to help in tethering wild ones, trace the whereabouts of herds of elephants by following the course of urine and dungs left by elephants and along forest-tracts covered over with branches of Bhallataki (Semicarpus Anacardium), and by observing the spots where elephants slept or sat before or left dungs, or where they had just destroyed the banks of rivers or lakes. They shall also precisely ascertain whether any mark is due to the movements of elephants in herds, of an elephant roaming single, of a stray elephant, of a leader of herds, of a tusker, of a rogue elephant, of an elephant in rut, of a young elephant, or of an elephant that has escaped from the cage.

Experts in catching elephants shall follow the instructions given to them by the elephant doctor (aníkastha) and catch such elephants as are possessed of auspicious characteristics and good character.

The victory of kings (in battles) depends mainly upon elephants; for elephants, being of large bodily frame, are capable not only to destroy the arrayed army of an enemy, his fortifications, and encampments, but also to undertake works that are dangerous to life.

Elephants bred in countries, such as Kalinga, Anga, Karusa, and the East are the best; those of the Dasarna and western countries are of middle quality; and those of Saurashtra and Panchajana countries are of low quality. The might and energy of all can, however, be improved by suitable training.

[Thus ends Chapter 2, "Division of Land" in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of twenty-third chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 3. CONSTRUCTION OF FORTS

On all the four quarters of the boundaries of the kingdom, defensive fortifications against an enemy in war shall be constructed on grounds best fitted for the purpose: a water-fortification (audaka) such as an island in the midst of a river, or a plain surrounded by low ground; a mountainous fortification (parvata) such as a rocky tract or a cave; a desert (dhanvana) such as a wild tract devoid of water and overgrown with thicket growing in barren soil; or a forest fortification (vanadurga) full of wagtail (khajana), water and thickets.

Of these, water and mountain fortifications are best suited to defend populous centres; and desert and forest fortifications are habitations in wilderness (atavísthanam).

Or with ready preparations for flight the king may have his fortified capital (sthaniya) as the seat of his sovereignty (samudayasthanam) in the centre of his kingdom: in a locality naturally best fitted for the purpose, such as the bank of the confluence of rivers, a deep pool of perennial water, or of a lake or tank, a fort, circular, rectangular, or square in form, surrounded with an artificial canal of water, and connected with both land and water paths (may be constructed).

Round this fort, three ditches with an intermediate space of one danda (6 ft.) from each other, fourteen, twelve and ten dandas respectively in width, with depth less by one quarter or by one-half of their width, square at their bottom and one-third as wide as at their top, with sides built of stones or bricks, filled with perennial flowing water or with water drawn from some other source, and possessing crocodiles and lotus plants shall be constructed.

At a distance of four dandas (24 ft.) from the (innermost) ditch, a rampart six dandas high and twice as much broad shall be erected by heaping mud upwards and by making it square at the bottom, oval at the centre pressed by the trampling of elephants and bulls, and planted with thorny and poisonous plants in bushes. Gaps in the rampart shall be filled up with fresh earth.

Above the rampart, parapets in odd or even numbers and with an intermediate, space of from 12 to 24 hastas from each other shall be built of bricks and raised to a height of twice their breadth.

The passage for chariots shall be made of trunks of palm trees or of broad and thick slabs of stones with spheres like the head of a monkey carved on their surface; but never of wood as fire finds a happy abode in it.

Towers, square throughout and with moveable staircase or ladder equal to its height, shall also be constructed.

In the intermediate space measuring thirty dandas between two towers, there shall be formed a broad street in two compartments covered over with a roof and two-and- half times as long as it is broad.

Between the tower and the broad street there shall be constructed an Indrakósa which is made up of covering pieces of wooden planks affording seats for three archers.

There shall also be made a road for Gods which shall measure two hastas inside (the towers ?), four times as much by the sides, and eight hastas along the parapet.

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Paths (charya, to ascend the parapet ?) as broad as a danda (6 ft.) or two shall also be made.

In an unassailable part (of the rampart), a passage for flight (pradhavitikam), and a door for exit (nishkuradwaram) shall be made.

Outside the rampart, passages for movements shall be closed by forming obstructions such as a knee-breaker (janubhanjani), a trident, mounds of earth, pits, wreaths of thorns, instruments made like the tail of a snake, palm leaf, triangle, and of dog's teeth, rods, ditches filled with thorns and covered with sand, frying pans and water-pools.

Having made on both sides of the rampart a circular hole of a danda-and-a-half in diametre, an entrance gate (to the fort) one-sixth as broad as the width of the street shall be fixed.

A square (chaturasra) is formed by successive addition of one danda up to eight dandas commencing from five, or in the proportion, one-sixth of the length up to one-eighth.

The rise in level (talotsedhah) shall be made by successive addition of one hasta up to 18 hastas commencing from 15 hastas.

In fixing a pillar, six parts are to form its height, on the floor, twice as much (12 parts) to be entered into the ground, and one-fourth for its capital.

Of the first floor, five parts (are to be taken) for the formation of a hall (sala), a well, and a boundary-house; two-tenths of it for the formation of two platforms opposite to each other (pratimanchau); an upper storey twice as high as its width; carvings of images; an upper-most storey, half or three-fourths as broad as the first floor; side walls built of bricks; on the left side, a staircase circumambulating from left to right; on the right, a secret staircase hidden in the wall; a top-support of ornamental arches (toranasirah) projecting as far as two hastas; two door-panels, (each) occupying three-fourths of the space; two and two cross-bars (parigha, to fasten the door); an iron-bolt (indrakila) as long as an aratni (24 angulas); a boundary gate (anidvaram) five hastas in width; four beams to shut the door against elephants; and turrets (hastinakha) (outside the rampart) raised up to the height of the face of a man, removable or irremovable, or made of earth in places devoid of water.

A turret above the gate and starting from the top of the parapet shall be constructed, its front resembling an alligator up to three-fourths of its height.

In the centre of the parapets, there shall be constructed a deep lotus pool; a rectangular building of four compartments, one within the other; an abode of the Goddess Kumiri (Kumarípuram), having its external area one-and-a-half times as broad as that of its innermost room; a circular building with an arch way; and in accordance with available space and materials, there shall also be constructed canals (kulya) to hold weapons and three times as long as broad.

In those canals, there shall be collected stones, spades (kuddala), axes (kuthari), varieties of staffs, cudgel (musrinthi), hammers (mudgara), clubs, discus, machines (yantra), and such weapons as can destroy a hundred persons at once (sataghni), together with spears, tridents, bamboo-sticks with pointed edges made of iron, camel-necks, explosives (agnisamyógas), and whatever else can be devised and formed from available materials.

[Thus ends Chapter 3, "Construction of Forts," in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of twenty-fourth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 4. BUILDINGS WITHIN THE FORT.

Demarcation of the ground inside the fort shall be made first by opening three royal roads from west to east and three from south to north.

The fort shall contain twelve gates, provided with both a land and water-way kept secret.

Chariot-roads, royal roads, and roads leading to drónamukha, sthaníya, country parts, and pasture grounds shall each be four dandas (24 ft.) in width.

Roads leading to sayóníya (?), military stations (vyuha), burial or cremation grounds, and to villages shall be eight dandas in width.

Roads to gardens, groves, and forests shall be four dandas.

Roads leading to elephant forests shall be two dandas.

Roads for chariots shall be five aratnis (7½ ft.). Roads for cattle shall measure four aratnis; and roads for minor quadrupeds and men two aratnis.

Royal buildings shall be constructed on strong grounds.

In the midst of the houses of the people of all the four castes and to the north from the centre of the ground inside the fort, the king's palace, facing either the north or the east shall, as described elsewhere (Chapter XX, Book I), be constructed occupying one-ninth of the whole site inside the fort.

Royal teachers, priests, sacrificial place, water-reservoir and ministers shall occupy sites east by north to the palace.

Royal kitchen, elephant stables, and the store-house shall be situated on sites east by south.

On the eastern side, merchants trading in scents, garlands, grains, and liquids, together with expert artisans and the people of Kshatriya caste shall have their habitations.

The treasury, the accountant's office, and various manufactories (karmanishadyascha) shall be situated on sites south by east.

The store-house of forest produce and the arsenal shall be constructed on sites south by west.

To the south, the superintendents of the city, of commerce, of manufactories, and of the army as well as those who trade in cooked rice, liquor, and flesh, besides prostitutes, musicians, and the people of Vaisya caste shall live.

To the west by south, stables of asses, camels, and working house.

To the west by north, stables of conveyances and chariots.

To the west, artisans manufacturing worsted threads, cotton threads, bamboo-mats, skins, armours, weapons, and gloves as well as the people of Sudra caste shall have their dwellings.

To the north by west, shops and hospitals.

To the north by east, the treasury and the stables of cows and horses.

To the north, the royal tutelary deity of the city, ironsmiths, artisans working on precious stones, as well as Brahmans shall reside.

In the several corners, guilds and corporations of workmen shall reside.

In the centre of the city, the apartments of Gods such as Aparajita, Apratihata, Jayanta, Vaijayanta, Siva, Vaisravana, Asvina (divine physicians), and the honourable liquor-house (Srí-madiragriham), shall be situated.

In the corners, the guardian deities of the ground shall be appropriately set up.

Likewise the principal gates such as Brahma, Aindra, Yamya, and Sainapatya shall be constructed; and at a distance of 100 bows (dhanus = 108 angulas) from the ditch (on the counterscarp side), places of worship and pilgrimage, groves and buildings shall be constructed.

Guardian deities of all quarters shall also be set up in quarters appropriate to them.

Either to the north or the east, burial or cremation grounds shall be situated; but that of the people of the highest caste shall be to the south (of the city).

Violation of this rule shall be punished with the first amercement.

Heretics and Chandalas shall live beyond the burial grounds.

Families of workmen may in any other way be provided with sites befitting with their occupation and field work. Besides working in flower-gardens, fruit-gardens, vegetable-gardens, and paddy-fields allotted to them, they (families) shall collect grains and merchandise in abundance as authorised.

There shall be a water-well for every ten houses.

Oils, grains, sugar, salt, medicinal articles, dry or fresh vegetables, meadow grass, dried flesh, haystock, firewood, metals, skins, charcoal, tendons (snayu), poison, horns, bamboo, fibrous garments, strong timber, weapons, armour, and stones shall also be stored (in the fort) in such quantities as can be enjoyed for years together without feeling any want. Of such collection, old things shall be replaced by new ones when received.

Elephants, cavalry, chariots, and infantry shall each be officered with many chiefs inasmuch as chiefs, when many, are under the fear of betrayal from each other and scarcely liable to the insinuations and intrigues of an enemy.

The same rule shall hold good with the appointment of boundary, guards, and repairers of fortifications.

Never shall bahirikas who are dangerous to the well being of cities and countries be kept in forts. They may either be thrown in country parts or compelled to pay taxes.

[Thus ends Chapter 4, " Buildings within the Fort" in Book 2, "The Duties of the Government Superintendents" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of twenty-fifth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 5. THE DUTIES OF THE CHAMBERLAIN.

The Chamberlain (sannidhata = one who ever attends upon the king) shall see to the construction of the treasury-house, trading-house, the store-house of grains, the store-house of forest produce, the armoury and the jail.

Having dug up a square well not too deep to be moist with water, having paved both the bottom and the sides with slabs of stone, he shall, by using strong timber, construct in that well a cage-like under-ground chamber of three stories high, the top-most being on a level with the surface of the ground, with many compartments of various design, with floor plastered with small stones, with one door, with a movable staircase, and solemnised with the presence of the guardian deity.

Above this chamber, the treasury house closed on both sides, with projecting roofs and extensively opening into the store-house shall be built of bricks.

He may employ outcast men (abhityakta-purusha) to build at the extreme boundary of the kingdom a palacious mansion to hold substantial treasure against dangers and calamities.

The trading-house shall be a quadrangle enclosed by four buildings with one door, with pillars built of burnt bricks, with many compartments, and with a row of pillars on both sides kept apart.

The store-house shall consist of many spacious rooms and enclose within itself the store-house of forest produce separated from it by means of wall and connected with both the underground chamber and the armoury.

The court (dharmasthiya) and the office of the ministers (mahamatríya) shall be built in a separate locality.

Provided with separate accommodation for men and women kept apart and with many compartments well guarded, a jail shall also be constructed.

All these buildings shall be provided with halls (sala) pits (khata—privy [?]), water-well, bath-room, remedies against fire and poison, with cats, mangooses, and with necessary means to worship the guardian gods appropriate to each.

In (front of) the store-house a bowl (kunda) with its mouth as wide as an aratni (24 angulag) shall be set up as rain-gauge (varshamana).

Assisted by experts having necessary qualifications and provided with tools and instruments, the chamberlain shall attend to the business of receiving gems either old or new, as well as raw materials of superior or inferior value.

In cases of deception in gems, both the deceiver and the abettor shall be punished with the highest amercement; in the case of superior commodities, they shall be punished with the middle-most amercement; and in that of commodities of inferior value, they shall be compelled not only to restore the same, but also pay a fine equal to the value of the articles.

He shall receive only such gold coins as have been declared to be pure by the examiner of coins.

Counterfeit coins shall be cut into pieces.

Whoever brings in counterfeit coins shall be punished with the first amercement.

Grains pure and fresh shall be received in full measures; otherwise a fine of twice the value of the grains shall be imposed.

The same rule shall hold good with the receipt of merchandise, raw materials, and weapons.

In all departments, whoever, whether as an officer (yukta), a clerk (upayukta), or a servant (tatpurusha), misappropriates sums from one to four panas or any other valuable things shall be punished with the first, middlemost, and highest amercements and death respectively.

If the officer who is in charge of the treasury causes loss in money, he shall be whipped (ghatah), while his abettors shall receive half the punishment; if the loss is due to ignorance, he shall be censured.

If, with the intention of giving a hint, robbers are frightened (by the guards), (the latter) shall be tortured to death.

Hence assisted by trustworthy persons, the chamberlain shall attend to the business of revenue collection.

He shall have so thorough a knowledge of both external and internal incomes running even for a hundred years that, when questioned, he can point out without hesitation the exact amount of net balance that remains after expenditure has been met with.

[Thus ends Chapter 5, "The Duty of the Chamberlain" in Book 2, "The Duties of the Government Superintendents" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of twenty-sixth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 6. THE BUSINESS OF COLLECTION OF REVENUE BY THE COLLECTOR-GENERAL.

The Collector-General shall attend to (the collection of revenue from) forts (durga), country-parts (rashtra), mines (khani), buildings and gardens (setu), forests (vana), herds of cattle (vraja), and roads of traffic (vanikpatha).

Tolls, fines, weights and measures, the town-clerk (nagaraka), the superintendent of coinage (lakshanadhyakshah), the superintendent of seals and pass-ports, liquor, slaughter of animals, threads, oils,. ghee, sugar (kshara), the state-goldsmith (sauvarnika), the warehouse of merchandise, the prostitute, gambling, building sites (vastuka), the corporation of artisans and handicrafts-men (karusilpiganah), the superintendent of gods, and taxes collected at the gates and from the people (known as) Bahirikas come under the head of forts.

Produce from crown-lands (sita), portion of produce payable to the government (bhaga), religious taxes (bali), taxes paid in money (kara), merchants, the superintendent of rivers, ferries, boats, and ships, towns, pasture grounds, road-cess (vartani), ropes (rajju) and ropes to bind thieves (chórarajju) come under the head of country parts.

Gold, silver, diamonds, gems, pearls, corals, conch-shells, metals (loha), salt, and other minerals extracted from plains and mountain slopes come under the head of mines.

Flower-gardens, fruit-gardens, vegetable-gardens, wet fields, and fields where crops are grown by sowing roots for seeds (mulavapah, i.e., sugar-cane crops, etc.) come under setu.

Game-forests, timber-forests, and elephant-forests are forests.

Cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep, asses, camels, horses, and mules come under the head of herds.

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Land and water ways are the roads of traffic.

All these form the body of income (ayasaríram).

Capital (mula), share (bhaga), premia (vyaji), parigha (?) fixed taxes (klripta), premia on coins (rupika), and fixed fines (atyaya) are the several forms of revenue (ayamukha, i.e., the mouth from which income is to issue).

The chanting of auspicious hymns during the worship of gods and ancestors, and on the occasion of giving gifts, the harem, the kitchen, the establishment of messengers, the store-house, the armoury, the warehouse, the store-house of raw materials, manufactories (karmanta), free labourers (vishti), maintenance of infantry, cavalry, chariots, and elephants, herds of cows, the museum of beasts, deer, birds, and snakes, and storage of firewood and fodder constitute the body of expenditure (vyayasaríram).

The royal year, the month, the paksha, the day, the dawn (vyushta), the third and seventh pakshas of (the seasons such as) the rainy season, the winter season, and the summer short of their days, the rest complete, and a separate intercalary month are (the divisions of time).

He shall also pay attention to the work in hand (karaníya), the work accomplished (siddham), part of a work in hand (sesha), receipts, expenditure, and net balance.

The business of upkeeping the government (samsthanam), the routine work (pracharah), the collection of necessaries of life, the collection and audit of all kinds of revenue,—these constitute the work in hand.

That which has been credited to the treasury; that which has been taken by the king; that which has been spent in connection with the capital city not entered (into the register) or continued from year before last, the royal command dictated or orally intimated to be entered (into the register),—all these constitute the work accomplished.

Preparation of plans for profitable works, balance of fines due, demand for arrears of revenue kept in abeyance, and examination of accounts,—these constitute what is called part of a work in hand which may be of little or no value.

Receipts may be (1st) current, (2nd) last balance, and (3rd) accidental (anyajatah= received from external source).

What is received day after day is termed current (vartamana).

Whatever has been brought forward from year before last, whatever is in the hands of others, and whatever has changed hands is termed last balance (puryushita).

Whatever has been lost and forgotten (by others), fines levied from government servants, marginal revenue (parsva), compensation levied for any damage (parihínikam), presentations to the king, the property of those who have fallen victims to epidemics (damaragatakasvam) leaving no sons, and treasure-troves,---all these constitute accidental receipts.

Investment of capital (vikshepa), the relics of a wrecked undertaking, and the savings from an estimated outlay are the means to check expenditure (vyayapratyayah).

The rise in price of merchandise due to the use of different weights and measures in selling is termed vyaji; the enhancement of price due to bidding among buyers is also another source of profit.

Expenditure is of two kinds—daily expenditure and profitable expenditure.

What is continued every day is daily.

Whatever is earned once in a paksha, a month, or a year is termed profit.

Whatever is spent on these two heads is termed as daily expenditure and profitable expenditure respectively.

That which remains after deducting all the expenditure already incurred and excluding all revenue to be realised is net balance (nívi) which may have been either just realised or brought forward.

Thus a wise collector-general shall conduct the work of revenue-collection, increasing the income and decreasing the expenditure.

[Thus ends Chapter 6, "The Business of Collection of Revenue by the Collector-General" in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the twenty-seventh chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 7. THE BUSINESS OF KEEPING UP ACCOUNTS IN THE OFFICE OF ACCOUNTANTS.

The superintendent of accounts shall have the accountant's office constructed with its door facing either the north or the east, with seats (for clerks) kept apart and with shelves of account-books well arranged.

Therein the number of several departments; the description of the work carried on and of the results realised in several manufactories (Karmanta); the amount of profit, loss, expenditure, delayed earnings, the amount of vyaji (premia in kind or cash) realised,—the status of government agency employed, the amount of wages paid, the number of free labourers engaged (vishti) pertaining to the investment of capital on any work; likewise in the case of gems and commodities of superior or inferior value, the rate of their price, the rate of their barter, the counterweights (pratimana) used in weighing them, their number, their weight, and their cubical measure; the history of customs, professions, and transactions of countries, villages, families, and corporations; the gains in the form of gifts to the king's courtiers, their title to possess and enjoy lands, remission of taxes allowed to them, and payment of provisions and salaries to them; the gains to the wives and sons of the king in gems, lands, prerogatives, and provisions made to remedy evil portents; the treaties with, issues of ultimatum to, and payments of tribute from or to, friendly or inimical kings,— all these shall be regularly entered in prescribed registers.

From these books the superintendent shall furnish the accounts as to the forms of work in hand, of works accomplished, of part of works in hand, of receipts, of expenditure, of net balance, and of tasks to be undertaken in each of the several departments.

To supervise works of high, middling and low description, superintendents with corresponding qualifications shall be employed.

The king will have to suffer in the end if he curtails the fixed amount of expenditure on profitable works.

(When a man engaged by Government for any work absents himself), his sureties who conjointly received (wages?) from the government, or his sons, brothers, wives, daughters or servants living upon his work shall bear the loss caused to the Government.

The work of 354 days and nights is a year. Such a work shall be paid for more or less in proportion to its quantity at the end of the month, Ashadha (about the middle of July). (The work during) the intercalary month shall be (separately) calculated.

A government officer, not caring to know the information gathered by espionage and neglecting to supervise the despatch of work in his own department as regulated, may occasion loss of revenue to the government owing to his ignorance, or owing to his idleness when he is too weak to endure the trouble of activity, or due to inadvertence in perceiving sound and other objects of sense, or by being timid when he is afraid of clamour, unrighteousness, and untoward results, or owing to selfish desire when he is favourably disposed towards those who are desirous to achieve their own selfish ends, or by cruelty due to anger, or by lack of dignity when he is surrounded by a host of learned and needy sycophants, or by making use of false balance, false measures, and false calculation owing to greediness.

The school of Manu hold that a fine equal to the loss of revenue and multiplied by the serial number of the circumstances of the guilt just narrated in order shall be imposed upon him.

The school of Parasara hold that the fine in all the cases shall be eight times the amount lost.

The school of Brihaspathi say that it shall be ten times the amount.

The school of Usanas say that it shall be twenty times the amount.

But Kautilya says that it shall be proportional to the guilt.

Accounts shall be submitted in the month of Ashadha.

When they (the accountants of different districts) present themselves with sealed books, commodities and net revenue, they shall all be kept apart in one place so that they cannot carry on conversation with each other. Having heard from them the totals of receipts, expenditure, and net revenue, the net amount shall be received.

By how much the superintendent of a department augments the net total of its revenue either by increasing any one of the items of its receipts or by decreasing anyone of the items of expenditure, he shall be rewarded eight times that amount. But when it is reversed (i.e., when the net total is decreased), the award shall also be reversed (i.e., he shall be made to pay eight times the decrease).

Those accountants who do not present themselves in time or do not produce their account books along with the net revenue shall be fined ten times the amount due from them.

When a superintendent of accounts (karanika) does not at once proceed to receive and check the accounts when the clerks (karmika) are ready, he shall be punished with the first amercement. In the reverse case (i.e., when the clerks are not ready), the clerks shall be punished with double the first amercement.

All the ministers (mahamaras) shall together narrate the whole of the actual accounts pertaining to each department.

Whoever of these (ministers or clerks ?) is of undivided counsel or keeps himself aloof, or utters falsehood shall be punished with the highest amercement.

When an accountant has not prepared the table of daily accounts (akritahorupaharam), he may be given a month more (for its preparation). After the lapse of one month he shall be fined at the rate of 200 panas for each month (during which he delays the accounts).

If an accountant has to write only a small portion of the accounts pertaining to net revenue, he may be allowed five nights to prepare it.

Then the table of daily accounts submitted by him along with the net revenue shall be checked with reference to the regulated forms of righteous transactions and precedents and by applying such arithmetical processes as addition, subtraction, inference and by espionage. It shall also be verified with reference to (such divisions of time as) days, five nights, pakshas, months, four-months, and the year.

The receipt shall be verified with reference to the place and time pertaining to them, the form of their collection (i.e., capital, share), the amount of the present and past produce, the person who has paid it, the person who caused its payment, the officer who fixed the amount payable, and the officer who received it. The expenditure shall be verified with reference to the cause of the profit from any source in the place and time pertaining to each item, the amount payable, the amount paid, the person who ordered the collection, the person who remitted the same, the person who delivered it, and the person who finally received it.

Likewise the net revenue shall be verified with reference to the place, time, and source pertaining to it, its standard of fineness and quantity, and the persons who are employed to guard the deposits and magazines (of grains, etc.).

When an officer (karanika) does not facilitate or prevents the execution of the king's order, or renders the receipts and expenditure otherwise than prescribed, he shall be punished with the first amercement.

Any clerk who violates or deviates from the prescribed form of writing accounts, enters what is unknown to him, or makes double or treble entries (punaruktam) shall be fined 12 panas.

He who scrapes off the net total shall be doubly punished.

He who eats it up shall be fined eight times.

He who causes loss of revenue shall not only pay a fine equal to five times the amount lost (panchabandha), but also make good the loss. In case of uttering a lie, the punishment levied for theft shall be imposed. (When an entry lost or omitted) is made later or is made to appear as forgotten, but added later on recollection, the punishment shall be double the above.

The king shall forgive an offence when it is trifling, have satisfaction even when the revenue is scanty, and honour with rewards (pragraha) such of his superintendents as are of immense benefit to him.

[Thus ends Chapter 7, "The Business of Keeping up the Accounts in the Officeof Accountants," in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of twenty-eighth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 8. DETECTION OF WHAT IS EMBEZZLED BY GOVERNMENT SERVANTS OUT OF STATE REVENUE.

All undertakings depend upon finance. Hence foremost attention shall be paid to the treasury.

Public prosperity (pracharasamriddhih), rewards for good conduct (charitranugrahah), capture of thieves, dispensing with (the service of too many) government servants, abundance of harvest, prosperity of commerce, absence of troubles and calamities (upasargapramokshah), diminution of remission of taxes, and income in gold (hiranyópayanam) are all conducive to financial prosperity.

Obstruction (pratibandha), loan (prayóga), trading (vyavahara), fabrication of accounts (avastara), causing the loss of revenue (parihapana), self-enjoyment (upabhóga), barter (parivartana), and defalcation (apahara) are the causes that tend to deplete the treasury.

Failure to start an undertaking or to realise its results, or to credit its profits (to the treasury) is known as obstruction. Herein a fine of ten times the amount in question shall be imposed.

Lending the money of the treasury on periodical interest is a loan.

Carrying on trade by making use of government money is trading.

These two acts shall be punished with a fine of twice the profit earned.

Whoever makes as unripe the ripe time or as ripe the unripe time (of revenue collection) is guilty of fabrication. Herein a fine of ten times the amount (panchabandha) shall be imposed.

Whoever lessens a fixed amount of income or enhances the expenditure is guilty of causing the loss of revenue. Herein a fine of four times the loss shall be imposed.

Whoever enjoys himself or causes others to enjoy whatever belongs to the king is guilty of self-enjoyment. Herein death-sentence shall be passed for enjoying gems, middlemost amercement for enjoying valuable articles, and restoration of the articles together with a fine equal to their value shall be the punishment for enjoying articles of inferior value.

The act of exchanging government articles for (similar) articles of others is barter. This offence is explained by self-enjoyment.

Whoever does not take into the treasury the fixed amount of revenue collected, or does not spend what is ordered to be spent, or misrepresents the net revenue collected is guilty of defalcation of government money. Herein a fine of twelve times the amount shall be imposed.

There are about forty ways of embezzlement: what is realised earlier is entered later on; what is realised later is entered earlier; what ought to be realised is not realised; what is hard to realise is shown as realised; what is collected is

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shown as not collected; what has not been collected is shown as collected; what is collected in part is entered as collected in full; what is collected in full is entered as collected in part; what is collected is of one sort, while what is entered is of another sort; what is realised from one source is shown as realised from another; what is payable is not paid; what is not payable is paid; not paid in time; paid untimely; small gifts made large gifts; large gifts made small gifts; what is gifted is of one sort while what is entered is of another; the real donee is one while the person entered (in the register) as donee is another; what has been taken into (the treasury) is removed while what has not been credited to it is shown as credited; raw materials that are not paid for are entered, while those that are paid for are not entered; an aggregate is scattered in pieces; scattered items are converted into an aggregate; commodities of greater value are bartered for those of small value; what is of smaller value is bartered for one of greater value; price of commodities enhanced; price of commodities lowered; number of nights increased; number of nights decreased; the year not in harmony with its months; the month not in harmony with its days; inconsistency in the transactions carried on with personal supervision (samagamavishanah); misrepresentation of the source of income; inconsistency in giving charities; incongruity in representing the work turned out; inconsistency in dealing with fixed items; misrepresentation of test marks or the standard of fineness (of gold and silver); misrepresentation of prices of commodities; making use of false weight and measures; deception in counting articles; and making use of false cubic measures such as bhajan— these are the several ways of embezzlement.

Under the above circumstances, the persons concerned such as the treasurer (nidhayaka), the prescriber (nibandhaka), the receiver (pratigrahaka), the payer (dayaka), the person who caused the payment (dapaka), the ministerial servants of the officer (mantri-vaiyavrityakara) shall each be separately examined. If any one of these tells a lie, he shall receive the same punishment as the chief-officer, (yukta) who committed the offence.

A proclamation in public (prachara) shall be made to the effect "whoever has suffered at the hands of this offender may make their grievances known to the king."

Those who respond to the call shall receive such compensation as is equal to the loss they have sustained.

When there are a number of offences in which a single officer is involved, and when his being guilty of parókta in any one of those charges has been established, he shall be answerable for all those offences. Otherwise (i.e., when it is not established), he shall be tried for each of the charges.

When a government servant has been proved to be guilty of having misappropriated part of a large sum in question, he shall be answerable for the whole.

Any informant (suchaka) who supplies information about embezzlement just under perpetration shall, if he succeeds in proving it, get as reward one-sixth of the amount in question; if he happens to be a government servant (bhritaka), he shall get for the same act one-twelfth of the amount.

If an informant succeeds in proving only a part of a big embezzlement, he shall, nevertheless, get the prescribed share of the part of the embezzled amount proved.

An informant who fails to prove (his assertion) shall be liable to monetary or corporal punishment, and shall never be acquitted.

When the charge is proved, the informant may impute the tale-bearing to someone else or clear himself in any other way from the blame. Any informant who withdraws his assertion prevailed upon by the insinuations of the accused shall be condemned to death.

[Thus ends Chapter 8, "Detection of what is Embezzled by Government Servants out of State Revenue," in Book 2, " The Duties of Government Superintendents" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of twenty-ninth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 9. EXAMINATION OF THE CONDUCT OF GOVERNMENT SERVANTS.

Those who are possessed of ministerial qualifications shall, in accordance with their individual capacity, be appointed as superintendents of government departments. While engaged in work, they shall be daily examined; for men are naturally fickle-minded and like horses at work exhibit constant change in their temper. Hence the agency and tools which they make use of, the place and time of the work they are engaged in, as well as the precise form of the work, the outlay, and the results shall always be ascertained.

Without dissension and without any concert among themselves, they shall carry on their work as ordered.

When in concert, they eat up (the revenue).

When in disunion, they mar the work.

Without bringing to the knowledge of their master (bhartri, the king), they shall undertake nothing except remedial measures against imminent dangers.

A fine of twice the amount of their daily pay and of the expenditure (incurred by them) shall be fixed for any inadvertence on their part.

Whoever of the superintendents makes as much as, or more than, the amount of fixed revenue shall be honoured with promotion and rewards.

(My) teacher holds that that officer who spends too much and brings in little revenue eats it up; while he who proves the revenue (i.e., brings in more than he spends) as well as the officer who brings inasmuch as he spends does not eat up the revenue.

But Kautilya holds that cases of embezzlement or no embezzlement can be ascertained through spies alone.

Whoever lessens the revenue eats the king's wealth. If owing to inadvertence he causes diminution in revenue, he shall be compelled to make good the loss.

Whoever doubles the revenue eats into the vitality of the country. If he brings in double the amount to the king, he shall, if the offence is small, be warned not to repeat the same; but if the offence be grave he should proportionally be punished.

Whoever spends the revenue (without bringing in any profit) eats up the labour of workmen. Such an officer shall be punished in proportion to the value of the work done, the number of days taken, the amount of capital spent, and the amount of daily wages paid.

Hence the chief officer of each department (adhikarana) shall thoroughly scrutinise the real amount of the work done, the receipts realised from, and the expenditure incurred in that departmental work both in detail and in the aggregate.

He shall also check (pratishedhayet) prodigal, spend-thrift and niggardly persons.

Whoever unjustly eats up the property left by his father and grandfather is a prodigal person (mulahara).

Whoever eats all that he earns is a spendthrift (tadatvika).

Whoever hordes money, entailing hardship both on himself and his servants is niggardly.

Whoever of these three kinds of persons has the support of a strong party shall not be disturbed; but he who has no such support shall be caught hold of (paryadatavyah).

Whoever is niggardly in spite of his immense property, hordes, deposits, or sends out—hordes in his own house, deposits with citizens or country people or sends out to foreign countries;—a spy shall find out the advisers, friends, servants, relations, partisans, as well as the income and expenditure of such a niggardly person. Whoever in a foreign country carries out the work of such a niggardly person shall be prevailed upon to give out the secret. When the secret is known, the niggardly person shall be murdered apparently under the orders of (his) avowed enemy.

Hence the superintendents of all the departments shall carry on their respective works in company with accountants, writers, coin-examiners, the treasurers, and military officers (uttaradhyaksha).

Those who attend upon military officers and are noted for their honesty and good conduct shall be spies to watch the conduct of accountants and other clerks.

Each department shall be officered by several temporary heads.

Just as it is impossible not to taste the honey or the poison that finds itself at the tip of the tongue, so it is impossible for a government servant not to eat up, at least, a bit of the king's revenue. Just as fish moving under water cannot possibly be found out either as drinking or not drinking water, so government servants employed in the government work cannot be found out (while) taking money (for themselves).

It is possible to mark the movements of birds flying high up in the sky; but not so is it possible to ascertain the movement of government servants of hidden purpose.

Government servants shall not only be confiscated of their ill-earned hordes, but also be transferred from one work to another, so that they cannot either misappropriate Government money or vomit what they have eaten up.

Those who increase the king's revenue instead of eating it up and are loyally devoted to him shall be made permanent in service.

[Thus ends Chapter 9, "Examination of the Conduct of Government Servants" in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of thirtieth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 10. THE PROCEDURE OF FORMING ROYAL WRITS.

(Teachers) say that (the word) sasana, command, (is applicable only to) royal writs (sasana).

Writs are of great importance to kings inasmuch as treaties and ultimate leading to war depend upon writs.

Hence one who is possessed of ministerial qualifications, acquainted with all kinds of customs, smart in composition, good in legible writing, and sharp in reading shall be appointed as a writer (lekhaka).

Such a writer, having attentively listened to the king's order and having well thought out the matter under consideration, shall reduce the order to writing.

As to a writ addressed to a lord (isvara), it shall contain a polite mention of his country, his possessions, his family and his name, and as to that addressed to a common man (anisvara), it shall make a polite mention of his country and name.

Having paid sufficient attention to the caste, family, social rank, age, learning (sruta), occupation, property, character (sila), blood-relationship (yaunanubandha) of the addressee, as well as to the place and time (of writing), the writer shall form a writ befitting the position of the person addressed.

Arrangement of subject-matter (arthakrama), relevancy (sambandha), completeness, sweetness, dignity, and lucidity are the necessary qualities of a writ.

The act of mentioning facts in the order of their importance is arrangement.

When subsequent facts are not contradictory to facts just or previously mentioned, and so on till the completion of the letter, it is termed relevancy.

Avoidance of redundancy or deficiency in words or letters; impressive description of subject matter by citing reasons, examples, and illustrations; and the use of appropriate and suitably strong words (asrantapada) is completeness.

The description in exquisite style of a good purport with a pleasing effect is sweetness.

The use of words other than colloquial (agramya) is dignity.

The use of well-known words is lucidity.

The alphabetical letters beginning with Akara are sixty-three.

The combination of letters is a word (pada). The word is of four kinds—nouns, verbs, prefixes of verbs, and particles (nipata).

A noun is that which signifies an essence (satva).

A verb is that which has no definite gender and signifies an action.

'Pra' and other words are the prefixes of verbs.

'Cha' and other indeclinable words are particles.

A group of words conveying a complete sense is a sentence (vakya).

Combination of words (varga) consisting of not more than three words and not less than one word shall be so formed as to harmonise with the meaning of immediately following words.

The word, 'iti,' is used to indicate the completion of a writ; and also to indicate an oral message as in the phrase 'vachikamasyeti,' an oral message along with this (writ).

Calumniation (ninda), commendation, inquiry, narration request, refusal, censure, prohibition, command, conciliation, promise of help, threat, and persuasion are the thirteen purposes for which writs are issued.

Calumniation (ninda) consists in speaking ill of one's family, body and acts.

Commendation (prasamsa) consists in praising one's family, person, and acts.

To inquire 'how is this?' is inquiry.

To point out the way as 'thus,' is narration (akhyana).

To entreat as 'give,' is request.

To say that 'I do not give,' is refusal.

To say that 'it is not worthy of thee,' is censure (upalambhah).

To say as 'do not do so,' is prohibition (pratishedha).

To say that 'this should be done,' is command (chódana).

To say 'what I am, thou art that; whichever article is mine is thine also, is conciliation (santvam).

To hold out help in trouble is promise of help (abhyavapattih).

Pointing out the evil consequences that may occur in future is threat (abhibartsanam).

Persuasion is of three kinds: that made for the purpose of money, that made in case of one's failure to fulfill a promise, and that made on occasion of any trouble.

Also writs of information, of command, and of gift; likewise writs of remission, of licence, of guidance, of reply, and of general proclamation are other varieties.

Thus says (the messenger); so says (the king); if there is any truth in this (statement of the messenger), then the thing (agreed to) should at once be surrendered; (the messenger) has informed the king of all the deeds of the enemy. (Parakara);—this is the writ of information which is held to be of various forms.

Wherever and especially regarding Government servants the king's order either for punishment or for rewards is issued, it is called writ of command (ajnalekha).

Where the bestowal of honour for deserving merit is contemplated either as help to alleviate affliction (adhi) or as gift (paridana), there are issued writs of gift (upagrahalekha).

Whatever favour (anugraha) to special castes, cities, villages, or countries of various description is announced in obedience to the king's order, it is called writ of remission (pariharalekha) by those who know it.

Likewise licence or permission (nisrishti) shall be enjoined either in word or deed; accordingly it is styled verbal order or writ of licence.

Various kinds of providential visitations or well ascertained evils of human make are believed to be the cause for issuing writs of guidance (pravrittilekha) to attempt remedies against them.

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When having read a letter and discussed as to the form of reply thereto, a reply in accordance with the king's order is made, it is called a writ of reply (pratilekha).

When the king directs his viceroys (isvara) and other officers to protect and give material help to travellers either on roads or in the interior of the country, it is termed writ of general proclamation (sarvatraga lekha)

Negotiation, bribery, causing dissension, and open attack are forms of stratagem (upaya).

Negotiation is of five kinds:—

Praising the qualities (of an enemy), narrating the mutual relationship, pointing out mutual benefit, showing vast future prospects, and identity of interests.

When the family, person, occupation, conduct, learning, properties, etc. (of an enemy) are commended with due attention to their worth, it is termed praising the qualities (gunasankírthana).

When the fact of having agnates, blood-relations, teachers (maukha), priestly heirarchy (srauva), family, and friends in common is pointed out, it is known as narration of mutual relationship (sambandhópakhyana).

When both parties, the party of a king and that of his enemy are shown to be helpful to each other, it is known as pointing out mutual benefit (parasparópakarasamdarsanam).

Inducement such as 'this being done thus, such result will accrue to both of us,' is showing vast future prospects (Ayatipradarsanam).

To say 'what I am, that thou art; thou mayest utilize in thy works whatever is mine,' is identity of interests (atmópanidhanam).

Offering money is bribery (upapradana).

Causing fears and suspicion as well as threatening is known as sowing dissension.

Killing, harassing, and plundering is attack (danda).

Clumsiness, contradiction, repetition, bad grammar, and misarrangement are the faults of a writ.

Black and ugly leaf, (kalapatrakamacharu) and uneven and uncoloured (viraga) writing cause clumsiness (akanti).

Subsequent portion disagreeing with previous portion of a letter, causes contradiction (vyaghata).

Stating for a second time what has already been said above is repetition.

Wrong use of words in gender, number, time and case is bad grammar (apasabda).

Division of paragraphs (varga) in unsuitable places, omission of necessary division of paragraphs, and violation of any other necessary qualities of a writ constitute misarrangement (samplava).

Having followed all sciences and having fully observed forms of writing in vogue, these rules of writing royal writs have been laid down by Kautilya in the interest of kings.

[Thus ends Chapter 10, "The Procedure of Forming Royal Writs," in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents," of the Arthasastra of Kautilva. End of thirty-first chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 11. EXAMINATION OF GEMS THAT ARE TO BE ENTERED INTO THE TREASURY.

The Superintendent of the treasury shall, in the presence of qualified persons, admit into the treasury whatever he ought to, gems (ratna) and articles of superior or inferior value.

Tamraparnika, that which is produced in the tamraparni; Pandyakavataka, that which is obtained in Pandyakavata; Pasikya, that which is produced in the Pasa; Kauleya, that which is produced in the kula; Chaurneya, that which is produced in the Churna; Mahendra, that which is obtained near the mountain of Mahendra; Kardamika, that which is produced in the Kardama; Srautasiya, that which is produced in the Srótasi; Hradíya, that which is produced in (a deep pool of water known as) Hrada; and Haimavata, that which is obtained in the vicinity of the Himalayas are the several varieties of pearls.

Oyster-shells, conch-shells, and other miscellaneous things are the wombs of pearls.

That which is like masura (ervum hirsutam), that which consists of three joints (triputaka), that which is like a tortoise (kurmaka), that which is semi-circular, that which consists of several coatings, that which is double (yamaka), that which is scratched, that which is of rough surface, that which is possessed of spots (siktakam), that which is like the water-pot used by an ascetic, that which is of dark-brown or blue colour, and that which is badly perforated are inauspicious.

That which is big, circular, without bottom (nistalam), brilliant, white, heavy, soft to the touch, and properly perforated is the best.

Sirshaka, upasirshaka, prakandaka, avaghataka, and taralapratibandha are several varieties of pearl necklaces.

One thousand and eight strings of pearls form the necklace, Indrachchhanda.

Half of the above is Vijayachchhanda.

Sixty-four strings make up Ardhahara.

Fifty-four strings make up Rasmikalapa.

Thirty-two strings make up Guchchha.

Twenty-seven strings make up Nakshatramala.

Twenty-four strings make up Ardhaguchchha.

Twenty strings make up Manavaka.

Half of the above is Ardhamanavaka.

The same necklaces with a gem at the centre are called by the same names with the words 'Manavaka' suffixed to their respective names.

When all the strings making up a necklace are of sirshaka pattern, it is called pure necklace (suddhahara); likewise with strings of other pattern. That which contains a gem in the centre is (also) called Ardhamanavaka.

That which contains three slab-like gems (triphalaka) or five slab-like gems (panchaphalaka) in the centre is termed Phalakahara.

An only string of pearls is called pure Ekavali; the same with a gem in the centre is called Yashti; the same variegated with gold globules is termed Ratnavali.

A string made of pearls and gold globules alternately put is called Apavartaka.

Strings of pearls with a gold wire between two strings is called Sopanaka.

The same with a gem in the centre is called Manisópanaka.

The above will explain the formation of head-strings, bracelets, anklets, waist-bands, and other varieties.

Kauta, that which is obtained in the Kuta; Mauleyaka, that which is found in the Muleya; and Parasamudraka, that which is found beyond the ocean are several varieties of gems.

That which possesses such pleasant colour as that of the red lotus flower, or that of the flower of Parijata (Erithrina Indica), or that of the rising sun is the Saugandhika gem.

That which is of the colour of blue lotus flower, or of sirísha (Acacia Sirisa), or of water, or of fresh bamboo, or of the colour of the feathers of a parrot is the Vaidurya gem Pushyaraga, Gómutraka, and Gómedika are other varieties of the same.

That which is characterised with blue lines, that which is of the colour of the flower of Kalaya (a kind of phraseolus), or which is intensely blue, which possesses the colour of Jambu fruit (rose apple), or which is as blue as the clouds is the Indraníla gem; Nandaka (pleasing gem), Sravanmadhya (that which appears to pour water from its centre), Sítavrishti (that which appears to pour cold shower), and Suryakanta (sunstone) are other forms of gems.

Gems are hexagonal, quadrangular, or circular possessed of dazzling glow, pure, smooth, heavy, brilliant, transparent (antargataprabha) and illuminating; such are the qualities of gems.

Faint colour, sandy layer, spots, holes, bad perforation, and scratches are the defects of gems.

Vimalaka (pure), sasyaka (plant-like), Anjanamulaka (deep-dark), Pittaka (like the bile of a cow) Sulabhaka (easily procurable), Lohitaka (red), Amritamsuka (of white rays), Jyótírasaka (glowing), Maileyaka, Ahichchhatraka , (procured in the country of Ahichchhatra), Kurpa, Putikurpa, and Sugandhikurpa, Kshírapaka, Suktichurnaka (like the powder of an oystershell), Silapravalaka (like coral), Pulaka, Sukrapulaka are varieties of inferior gems.

The rest are metalic beads (kachamani).

Sabharashtraka, that which is found in the country of Sabharashtra; Madhyamarashtraka, that which is found in the Central Province; Kasmaka, that which is found in the country of Kasmaka; Srikatanaka, that which is found in the vicinity of the mountain, Vedótkata; Manimantaka, that which is found near the mountain Maniman or Manimanta; and Indravanaka are diamonds.

Mines, streams, and other miscellaneous places are their sources.

The colour of a diamond may be like that of a cat's eye, that of the flower of Sirísha (Acacia Sirísa), the urine of a cow, the bile of a cow, like alum (sphatika), the flower of Malati, or like that of any of the gems (described above).

That which is big, heavy, hard (praharasaham, tolerant of hitting), regular (samakóna), capable of scratching on the surface of vessels (bhajanalekhi), refractive of light (kubrami), and brilliant is the best.

That which is devoid of angles, uneven (nirasríkam), and bent on one side (parsvapavrittam) is inauspicious.

Alakandaka, and Vaivarnaka are the two varieties of coral which is possessed of ruby-like colour, which is very hard, and which is free from the contamination of other substances inside.

Satana is red and smells like the earth; Gósirshaka is dark red and smells like fish; Harichandana is of the colour of the feathers of a parrot and smells like tamarind or mango fruit; likewise Tarnasa; Grameruka is red or dark red and smells like the urine of a goat; Daivasabheya is red and smells like a lotus flower; likewise Aupaka (Japaka); Jongaka and Taurupa are red or dark red and soft; Maleyaka is reddish white; Kuchandana is as black as Agaru (resin of the aloe) or red or dark red and very rough; Kala-parvataka is of pleasant appearance; Kosakaraparvataka (that which is the product of that mountain which is of the shape of a bud) is black or variegated black; Sítódakíya is black and soft, and smells like a lotus-flower; Nagaparvataka (that which is the product of Naga mountain) is rough and is possessed of the colour of Saivala (Vallisneria); and Sakala is brown.

Light, soft, moist (asyana, not dry), as greasy as ghee, of pleasant smell, adhesive to the skin, of mild smell, retentive of colour and smell, tolerant of heat, absorptive of heat, and comfortable to the skin--these are the characteristics of sandal (chandana).

(As to) Agaru (Agallochum, resin of aloe):—

Jongaka is black or variegated black and is possessed of variegated spots; Dongaka is black; and Parasamudraka is of variegated colour and smells like cascus or like Navamalika (jasminum).

(Agaru is) heavy, soft, greasy, smells far and long, burns slowly, gives out continuous smoke while burning, is of uniform smell, absorbs heat, and is so adhesive to the skin as not to be removable by rubbing;—these are the characteristics of Agaru.

(As to) Tailaparnika:— Asókagramika, the product of Asókagrama, is of the colour of meat and smells like a lotus flower; Jongaka is reddish yellow and smells like a blue lotus flower or like the urine of a cow; Grameruka is greasy and smells like a cow's urine; Sauvarnakudyaka, product of the country of Suvarnakudya, is reddish yellow and smells like Matulunga (the fruit of citron tree or sweet lime); Purnadvipaka, the product of the island, Purnadviipa, smells like a lotus flower or like butter; Bhadrasríya and Paralauhityaka are of the colour of nutmeg; Antarvatya is of the colour of cascus,---the last two smell like Kushtha (Costus Speciosus); Kaleyaka which is a product of Svarna-bhumi, gold-producing land, is yellow and greasy; and Auttaraparvataka (a product of, the north mountain) is reddish yellow.

The above (fragrant substances) are commodities of superior value (Sara).

The smell of the Tailaparnika substances is lasting, no matter whether they are made into a paste or boiled or burnt; also it is neither changed nor affected even when mixed with other substances; and these substances resemble sandal and Agallochum in their qualities.

Kantanavaka, Praiyaka, and Auttara-parvataka are the varieties of skins.

Kantanavaka is of the colour of the neck of the peacock; Praiyaka is variegated with blue, yellow, and white spots; these two are eight angulas (inches) long.

Also Bisí and Mahabisí are the products of Dvadasagrama, twelve villages.

That which is of indistinct colour, hairy, and variegated (with spots) is (called) Bisí.

That which is rough and almost white is Mahabisí (great Bisí); These two are twelve angulas long.

Syamika, Kalika, Kadali, Chandrottara, and Sakula are (other kinds of skins) procured from Aroha (Arohaja).

Syamika is brown and contains variegated spots; Kalika is brown or of the colour of a pigeon; these two are eight angulas long. Kadali is rough and two feet long; when Kadali bears variegated moonlike spots, it is called Chandrottarakadali and is one-third of its length; Sakula is variegated with large round spots similar to those that manifest themselves in a kind of leprosy (kushtha), or is furnished with tendrils and spotted like a deer's skin.

Samura, Chínasi, and Samuli are (skins procured from Bahlava, (Bahlaveya).

Samura is thirty-six angulas long and black; Chínasi is reddish black or blackish white; Samuli is of the colour of wheat.

Satina, Nalatula, and Vrittapuchchha are the skins of aquatic animals (Audra).

Satina is black; Nalatula is of the colour of the fibre of Nala, a kind of grass; and Vrittapuchchha (that which possesses a round tail) is brown.

The above are the varieties of skins.

Of skins, that which is soft, smooth and hairy is the best.

Blankets made of sheep's wool may be white, purely red, or as red as a lotus flower. They may be made of worsted threads by sewing (khachita); or may be woven of woollen threads of various colour (vanachitra); or may be made of different pieces (khandasanghatya); or may be woven of uniform woollen threads (tantuvichchhinna).

Woollen blankets are (of ten kinds):—Kambala, Kauchapaka, Kulamitika, Saumitika, Turagastarana, Varnaka, Talichchhaka, Varavana, Paristoma, and Samantabhadraka.

Of these, that which is slippery (pichchhila) as a wet surface, possessed of fine hair, and soft, is the best.

That (blanket) which is made up of eight pieces and black in colour is called Bhingisi used as rain-proof ; likewise is Apasaraka; both are the products of Nepal.

Samputika, Chaturasrika, Lambara, Katavanaka, Pravaraka, and Sattalika are (blankets made of) the wool of wild animals.

That which is manufactured in the country, Vanga (vangaka) is a white and soft fabric (dukula); that of Pandya manufacture (Paundraka) is black and as soft as the surface of a gem; and that which is the product of the country,

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Suvarnakudya, is as red as the sun, as soft as the surface of the gem, woven while the threads are very wet, and of uniform (chaturasra) or mixed texture (vyamisravana).

Single, half, double, treble and quadruple garments are varieties of the same.

The above will explain other kinds of fabrics such as Kasika, Benarese products, and Kshauma which is manufactured in Pandya (Paundraka).

Magadhika (product of the Magadha country), Paundraka, and Sauvarnakudyaka are fibrous garments.

Nagavriksha (a species of a tree), Likucha (Artocarpus Lakucha), and Vakula (Mimusops Elengi), and Vata (Ficus Indica) are the sources (of their fibres).

That of Nagavriksha is yellow (pita); that of Likucha is of the colour of wheat; that of Vakula is white; and the rest is of the colour of butter.

Of these, that which is produced in the country of Suvarnakudya is the best.

The above will explain the fabrics known as kauseya, silk-cloth, and chinapatta, fabrics of China manufacture.

Of cotton fabrics, those of Madhura, of Aparanta, western parts, of Kalinga, of Kasi, of Vanga, of Vatsa, and of Mahisha are the best.

As to other kinds of gems (which are not treated of here), the superintendent shall ascertain their size, their value, species, form, utility, their treatment, the repair of old ones, any adulteration that is not easily detected, their wear and tear due to lapse of time and place, as well as remedies against those which are inauspicious (himsra).

[Thus ends Chapter 11, "Examination of Gems that are to be entered into the Treasury," in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of thirty-second chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 12. CONDUCTING MINING OPERATIONS AND MANUFACTURE.

Possessed of the knowledge of the science dealing with copper and other minerals (Sulbadhatusastra), experienced in the art of distillation and condensation of mercury (rasapaka) and of testing gems, aided by experts in mineralogy and equipped with mining labourers and necessary instruments, the superintendent of mines shall examine mines which, on account of their containing mineral excrement (kitta), crucibles, charcoal, and ashes, may appear to have been once exploited or which may be newly discovered on plains or mountain-slopes possessing mineral ores, the richness of which can be ascertained by weight, depth of colour, piercing smell, and taste.

Liquids which ooze out from pits, eaves, slopes, or deep excavations of well-known mountains; which have the colour of the fruit of rose-apple (jambu), of mango, and of fanpalm; which are as yellow as ripe turmeric, sulphurate of arsenic (haritala), honey-comb, and vermilion; which are as resplendent as the petals of a lotus, or the feathers of a parrot or a peacock; which are adjacent to (any mass of) water or shrubs of similar colour; and which are greasy (chikkana), transparent (visada), and very heavy are ores of gold (kanchanika). Likewise liquids which, when dropped on water, spread like oil to which dirt and filth adhere, and which amalgamate themselves more than cent per cent (satadupari veddharah) with copper or silver.

Of similar appearance as the above (tatpratirupakam), but of piercing smell and taste is Bitumen.

Those ores which are obtained from plains or slopes of mountains; which are either yellow or as red as copper or reddish yellow; which are disjoined and marked with blue lines; which have the colour of black beans (masha, Phraseolus Radiatus), green beans (mudga, Phraseolus Mungo), and sesamum; which are marked with spots like a drop of curd and resplendent as turmeric, yellow myrobalan, petals of a lotus, acquatic plant, the liver or the spleen; which possess a sandy layer within them and are marked with figures of a circle or a svastika; which contain globular masses (sagulika); and which, when roasted do not split, but emit much foam and smoke are the ores of gold (suvarnadhatavah), and are used to form amalgams with copper or silver (pratívaparthaste stamrarupyavedharah).

Those ores which have the colour of a conch-shell, camphor, alum, butter, a pigeon, turtle-dove, Vimalaka (a kind of precious stone), or the neck of a peacock; which are as resplendent as opal (sasyaka), agate (gomedaka), cane-sugar (guda), and granulated sugar (matsyandika) which has the colour of the flower of kovidara (Bauhinia Variegata), of lotus, of patali (Bignonia Suaveolens), of kalaya (a kind of phraseolus), of kshauma (flax), and of atasi (Dinuin Usitatissimum); which may be in combination with lead or iron (anjana); which smell like raw meat, are disjoined gray or blackish white, and are marked with lines or spots; and which, when roasted, do not split, but emit much foam and smoke are silver ores.

The heavier the ores, the greater will be the quantity of metal in them (satvavriddhih).

The impurities of ores, whether superficial or inseparably combined with them can be got rid of and the metal melted when the ores are (chemically) treated with Tikshna urine (mutra) and alkalies (kshara), and are mixed or smeared over with the mixture of (the powder of) Rajavriksha (Clitoria Ternatea), Vata (Ficus Indica), and Pelu (Carnea Arborea), together with cow's bile and the urine and dung of a buffalo, an ass and an elephant.

(Metals) are rendered soft when they are treated with (the powder of) kandali (mushroom), and vajrakanda, (Antiquorum) together with the ashes of barley, black beans, palasa (Butea Frondosa), and pelu (Carnea Arborea), or with the milk of both the cow and the sheep. Whatever metal is split into a hundred thousand parts is rendered soft when it is thrice soaked in the mixture made up of honey (madhu), madhuka (Bassia Latifolia), sheep's milk, sesamum oil, clarified butter, jaggery, kinva (ferment) and mushroom.

Permanent softness (mridustambhana) is also attained when the metal is treated with the powder of cow's teeth and horn.

Those ores which are obtained from plains or slopes of mountains; and which are heavy, greasy, soft, tawny, green, dark, bluish-yellow (harita), pale-red, or red are ores of copper.

Those ores which have the colour of kakamechaka (Solanum Indica), pigeon, or cow's bile, and which are marked with white lines and smell like raw meat are the ores of lead.

Those ores which are as variegated in colour as saline soil or which have the colour of a burnt lump of earth are the ores of tin.

Those ores which are of orange colour (kurumba), or pale-red (pandurohita), or of the colour of the flower of sinduvara (Vitex Trifolia) are the ores of tíkshna.

Those ores which are of the colour of the leaf of kanda (Artemisia Indica) or of the leaf of birch are the ores of vaikrintaka.

Pure, smooth, efflugent, sounding (when struck), very hard (satatívrah), and of little colour (tanuraga) are precious stones.

The yield of mines may be put to such uses as are in vogue.

Commerce in commodities manufactured from mineral products shall be centralized and punishment for manufacturers, sellers, and purchasers of such commodities outside the prescribed locality shall also be laid down.

A mine-labourer who steals mineral products except precious stones shall be punished with a fine of eight times their value.

Any person who steals mineral products or carries on mining operations without license shall be bound (with chains) and caused to work (as a prisoner).

Mines which yield such minerals as are made use of in preparing vessels (bhanda) as well as those mines which require large outlay to work out may be leased out for a fixed number of the shares of the output or for a fixed rent (bhagena prakrayena va) Such mines as can be worked out without much outlay shall be directly exploited (by Government agency).

The superintendent of metals (lóhadhyakshah) shall carry on the manufacture of copper, lead, tin, vaikrintaka (mercury [?]), arakuta (brass), vritta(?); kamsa (bronze or bell-metal), tala (sulphurate of arsenic), and lodhra (?), and also of commodities (bhanda) from them.

The superintendent of mint (lakshnadhyakshah), shall carry on the manufacture of silver coins (rupyarupa) made up of four parts of copper and one-sixteenth part (masha) of any one of the metals, tikshna, trapu, sisa, and anjana. There shall be a pana, half a pana, a quarter and one-eighth.

Copper coins (tamrarupa) made up of four parts of an alloy (padajívam), shall be a mashaka, half a mashaka, kakani and half a kakani.

The examiner of coins (rupadarsaka) shall regulate currency both as a medium of exchange (vyavaharikim) and as legal tender admissible into the treasury (kosapravesyam): The premia levied on coins paid into the treasury shall be) 8 per cent, known as rupika, 5 per cent known as vyaji, one-eighth pana per cent as parikshika (testing charge), besides (cha) a fine of 25 pana to be imposed on offenders other than the manufacturer, the seller, the purchaser and the examiner.

The superintendent of ocean-mines (khanyadhyakshah) shall attend to the collection of conch-shells, diamonds, precious stones, pearls, corals, and salt (kshara) and also regulate the commerce in the above commodities.

Soon after crystalisation of salt is over, the superintendent of salt shall in time collect both the money-rent (prakraya) and the quantity of the shares of salt due to the government; and by the sale of salt (thus collected as shares) he shall realise not only its value (mulyam), but also the premium of five per cent (vyajím), both in cash (rupa).

Imported salt (agantulavanam) shall pay one-sixth portion (shadbhaga) to the king. The sale of this portion (bhagavibhaga) shall fetch the premia of five per cent (vyaji), of eight per cent (rupika) in cash (rupa). The purchasers shall pay not only the toll (sulka), but also the compensation (vaidharana) equivalent to the loss entailed on the king's commerce. In default of the above payment, he shall be compelled to pay a fine of 600 panas.

Adulteration of salt shall be punished with the highest amercement; likewise persons other than hermits (vanaprastha) manufacturing salt without license.

Men learned in the Vedas, persons engaged in penance, as well as labourers may take with them salt for food; salt and alkalies for purposes other than this shall be subject to the payment of toll.

Thus; besides collecting from mines the ten kinds of revenue, such as (1st) value of the out-put (mulya), (2nd) the share of the out-put (vibhaga), (3rd) the premium of five per cent (vyaji), (4th) the testing charge of coins (parigha), (5th) fine previously announced (atyaya), (6th) toll (sulka), (7th) compensation for loss entailed on the king's commerce (vaidharana), (8th) fines to be determined in proportion to the gravity of crimes (danda), (9th), coinage (rupa), (10th) the premium of eight per cent (rupika), the government shall keep as a state monopoly both mining and commerce (in minerals).

Thus taxes (mukhasangraha) on all commodities intended for sale shall be prescribed once for all.

[Thus ends Chapter 12, "Conducting Mining Operations and Manufacture" in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of thirty-third chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 13. SUPERINTENDENT OF GOLD IN THE GOLDSMITH'S OFFICE.

In order to manufacture gold and silver jewellry, each being kept apart, the superintendent of gold shall have a goldsmiths office (akshasala) consisting of four rooms and one door.

In the centre of the high road a trained, skilful goldsmith of high birth and of reliable character shall be appointed to hold his shop.

Jambunada, that which is the product of the river, Jambu; Satakumbha, that which is extracted from the mountain of Satakumba; Hataka, that which is extracted from the mines known as Hataka; Vainava, that which is the product of the mountain, Venu; and Sringasuktija, that which is extracted from sringasukti (?) are the varieties of gold.

(Gold may be obtained) either pure or amalgamated with mercury or silver or alloyed with other impurities as mine gold (akaródgata).

That which is of the colour of the petals of a lotus, ductile, glossy, incapable of making any continuous sound (anadi), and glittering is the best; that which is reddish yellow (raktapíta) is of middle quality; and that which is red is of low quality.

Impure gold is of whitish colour. It shall be fused with lead of four times the quantity of the impurity. When gold is rendered brittle owing to its contamination with lead, it shall be heated with dry cowdung (sushkapatala). When it splits into pieces owing to hardness, it shall be drenched (after heating) into oil mixed with cowdung (taila-gomaye).

Mine gold which is brittle owing to its contamination with lead shall be heated wound round with cloth (pakapatrani kritva); and hammered on a wooden anvil. Or it may be drenched in the mixture made of mushroom and vajrakhanda (Antiquorum).

Tutthodgata, what which is extracted from the mountain, Tuttha; gaudika, that which is the product of the country known as Gauda; kambuka, that which is extracted from the mountain, Kambu; and chakravalika, that which is extracted from the mountain Chakravala are the varieties of silver.

Silver which is white, glossy, and ductile is the best; and that which is of the reverse quality is bad.

Impure silver shall be heated with lead of one-fourth the quantity of the impurity.

That which becomes full of globules, white, glowing, and of the colour of curd is pure.

When the streak of pure gold (made on touch-stone) is of the colour of turmeric, it is termed suvarna. When from one to sixteen kakanis of gold in a suvarna (of sixteen mashakas) are replaced by from one to sixteen kakanis of copper, so that the copper is inseparably alloyed with the whole mass of the remaining quantity of the gold, the sixteen varieties (carats) of the standard of the purity of gold (shodasavarnakah) will be obtained.

Having first made a streak with suvarna on a touchstone, then (by the side of the streak) a streak with a piece of the gold (to be compared with it) shall be made.

Whenever a uniform streak made on the even surface of a touch-stone can be wiped off or swept away or when the streak is due to the sprinkling of any glittering powder (gairika) by the nail on touch-stone, then an attempt for deception can be inferred.

If, with the edge of the palm dipped in a solution, of vermilion (jatihingulaka) or of sulphate of iron (pushpakasísa) in cow's urine, gold (suvarna) is touched, it becomes white.

A touch-stone with soft and shining splendour is the best. The touch-stone of the Kalinga country with the colour of green beans is also the best. A touch-stone of even or uniform colour is good in sale or purchase (of gold). That which possesses the colour of an elephant, tinged with green colour and capable of reflecting light (pratiragi) is good in selling

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gold. That which is hard, durable, and of uneven colour and not reflecting light, is good for purchasers (krayahitah). That which is grey, greasy, of uniform colour, soft, and glossy is the best.

That (gold) which, when heated, keeps the same colour (tapo bahirantascha samah), is as glittering as tender sprouts, or of the colour of the flower of karandaka (?) is the best.

That which is black or blue (in gold) is the impurity (apraptaka).

We shall deal with the balance and weights under the "Superintendent of Weights and Measures" (Chap. XIX, Book II). In accordance with the instructions given thereunder silver and gold (rupyasuvarnam) may be given in exchange.

No person who is not an employee shall enter the goldsmiths' office. Any person who so enters shall be beheaded (uchchhedyah).

Any workman who enters the office with gold or silver shall have to forfeit the same.

Goldsmiths who are engaged to prepare various kinds of ornaments such as kanchana (pure gold), prishita (hollow ornaments), tvashtri (setting gems in gold) and tapaníya; as well as blowers and sweepers shall enter into or exit from the office after their person and dress are thoroughly examined. All of their instruments together with their unfinished work shall be left where they have been at work. That amount of gold which they have received and the ornamental work which they were doing shall be put in the centre of the office. (Finished articles) shall be examined both morning and evening and be locked up with the seal of both the manufacturer and the superintendent (karayatri, the owner getting the articles prepared).

Kshepana, guna, and kshudra ate three kinds of ornamental work.

Setting jewels (kacha, glass bead) in gold is termed kshepana.

Thread-making or string making is called guna.

Solid work (ghana), hollow work (sushira), and the manufacture of globules furnished with a rounded orifice is what is termed kshudra, low or ordinary work.

For setting jewels in gold, five parts of kanchana (pure gold) and ten parts of gold alloyed with four parts of copper or silver shall be the required quantity (mana). Here the pure gold shall be preserved from the impure gold.

For setting jewels in hollow ornaments (prishitakacha karmanah), three parts of gold to hold the jewel and four parts for the bottom (shall be the required quantity).

For the work of tvashtri, copper and gold shall be mixed in equal quantities.

For silver article either solid or hollow, silver may be mixed with half of the amount of gold; or by making use of the powder or solution of vermilion, gold equal to one-fourth the amount of silver of the ornament may be painted (vasayet) on it.

Pure and glittering gold is tapaníya. This combined with an equal quantity of lead and heated with rock-salt (saindhav'ika) to melting point under dry cowdung becomes the basis of gold alloys of blue, red, white, yellow (harita), parrot and pidgeon colours.

The colouring ingredient of gold is one kakaní of tíkshna which is of the colour of the neck of a peacock, tinged with white, and which is dazzling and full of copper (pitapurnitam).

Pure or impure silver (tara) may be heated four times with asthituttha (copper sulphate mixed with powdered bone), again four times with an equal quantity of lead, again four times with dry copper sulphate (sushkatuttha) again three times in skull (kapala), and lastly twice in cowdung. Thus the silver acted upon seventeen times by tuttha (shodasatutthatikrantam) and lastly heated to white light with rock salt may be made to alloy with suvarna to the extent of from one kakani to two Mashas. Then the suvarna attains white colour and is called sveta-tara.

When three parts of tapaníya (pure gold) are melted with thirty-two parts of sveta-tara, the compound becomes reddish white (svetalohitakam). When three parts of tapaníya are combined with thirty-two parts of copper, the compound becomes yellow (píta, red!). Also when three parts of the colouring ingredient (ragatribhaga, i.e., tíkshna referred to above) are heated with tapaníya, the compound becomes yellowish red (píta). When two parts of sveta-tara and one part of tapaníya are heated, the whole mass becomes as green as mudga (Phraseolus Mungo). When tapaníya is drenched in a solution of half the quantity of black iron (kalayasa), it becomes black.

When tapaníya is twice drenched in (the above) solution mixed with mercury (rasa), it acquires the colour of the feathers of a parrot.

Before these varieties of gold are put to use, their test streak shall be taken on touch-stone. The process of assaying tíkshna and copper shall be well understood. Hence the various counterweights (avaneyimana) used in weighing diamonds, rubies, pearls, corals, and coins, (rupa), as well as the proportional amount of gold and silver necessary for various kinds of ornaments can be well understood.

Uniform in colour, equal in the colour of test streak to the standard gold, devoid of hollow bulbs, ductile (sthira), very smooth, free from alloys, pleasing when worn as an ornament, not dazzling though glittering, sweet in its uniformity of mass, and pleasing the mind and eyes,---these are the qualities of tapaníya, pure gold.

[Thus ends Chapter 13, "The Superintendent of Gold in the Goldsmiths' Office," in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of thirty-fourth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 14. THE DUTIES OF THE STATE GOLDSMITH IN THE HIGH ROAD.

The State Goldsmith shall employ artisans to manufacture gold and silver coins (rupyasuvarna) from the bullion of citizens and country people.

The artisans employed in the office shall do their work as ordered and in time. When under the excuse that time and nature of the work has not been prescribed, they spoil the work, they shall not only forfeit their wages, but also pay a fine of twice the amount of their wages. When they postpone work, they shall forfeit one-fourth the amount of their wages and pay a fine of twice the amount of the forfeited wages.

(The goldsmith of the mint) shall return (to the owners coins or ornaments) of the same weight, and of the same quality (varna) as that of the bullion (nikshepa) which they received (at the mint). With the exception of those (coins) which have been worn out or which have undergone diminution (kshínaparisírna), they shall receive the same coins (back into the mint) even after the lapse of a number of years.

The state goldsmith shall gather from the artisans employed in the mint information concerning pure gold, metallic mass (pudgala), coins (lakshana), and rate of exchange (prayóga).

In getting a suvarna coin (of 16 mashas) manufactured from gold or from silver, one kakani (one-fourth masha) weight of the metal more shall be given to the mint towards the loss in manufacture.

The colouring ingredient (ragaprakshepa) shall be two kakanis of tíkshna (copper sulphate ?) one-sixth of which will be lost during the manufacture.

When the quality (varna) of a coin less than the standard of a masha is lowered, the artisans (concerned) shall be punished with the first amercement. When its weight is less than the standard weight, they shall be punished with the middlemost amercement. Deception in balance or weights shall be punished with the highest amercement. Deception in the exchange of manufactured coins (kritabhandopadhau) shall also be punished with the highest amercement.

Whoever causes (gold or silver articles) to be manufactured in any place other than the mint or without being noticed by the state goldsmith shall be fined 12 panas, while the artisan who does that work shall, if found out, be punished with twice the above fine. If he is not found out, measures such as are described in Book IV shall be taken to detect him. When thus detected, he shall be fined 200 panas or shall have his fingers cut off.

Weighing balance and counterweights shall be purchased from the superintendent in charge of them. Otherwise a fine of 12 panas shall be imposed.

Compact work (ghana), compact and hollow work (ghanasushira), soldering (samyuhya), amalgamation (avalepya), enclosing (samghatya), and gilding (vasitakam) are the various kinds of artisan work (karukasma).

False balances (tulavishama), removal (apasarana), dropping (visravana), folding (petaka), and confounding (pinka) are the several means employed by goldsmiths to deceive the public.

False balance are—that of bending arms (sannamini); that of high helm or pivot (utkarnika); that of broken head (bhinnamastaka); that of hollow neck (upakanthi); that of bad strings (kusikya); that of bad cups or pans (sakatukakshya); that which is crooked or shaking (parivellya); and that which is combined with a magnet (ayaskanta).

When, by what is called Triputaka which consists of two parts of silver and one part of copper, an equal portion of pure alluvial gold is replaced, that deceitful act is termed copper-removal (triputaka-vasaritam); when, by copper, an equal portion of gold is replaced, that act is termed copper-removal (sulbavasaritam); when by vellakaan equal portion of gold is replaced, it is termed vellaka-removal; and when pure alluvial gold is replaced by that gold half of which is mixed with copper, it is termed gold removal (hemavasaritam).

A crucible with a base metallic piece hidden in it; metallic excrement; pincers; a pair of tongs; metallic pieces (jongani); and borax (sauvarchikalavanam),—these are the several things which are made use of by goldsmiths in stealing gold.

When, intentionally causing the crucible (containing the bullion) to burst, a few sandlike particles of the metal are picked up along with other particles of a base metal previously put therein, and the whole is wrought into a mass for the intended coin or ornament), this act is termed dropping (visravana); or when examining the folded or inlaid leaves of an ornament (achitakapatraparikshayam) deception is perpetrated by substituting silver for gold, or when particles of a base metal are substituted for those of gold, it is termed dropping (visravana) likewise.

Folding (petaka) either firm (gadha) or loose (abhyuddharya) is practiced in soldering, in preparing amalgams, and in enclosing (a piece of base metal with two pieces of a superior metal).

When a lead piece (sisarupa--lead coin) is firmly covered over with gold leaf by means of wax (ashtaka), that act is termed gadhapetaka, firm folding; and when the same is loosely folded, it is termed loose folding.

In amalgams, a single or double layer (of a superior metal) is made to cover a piece (of base metal). Copper or silver may also be placed between two leaves (of a superior metal). A copper piece (sulbarupya) may be covered over with gold leaf, the surface and the edges being smoothened; similarly a piece of any base metal may be covered over with double leaf of copper or silver, the surface and the edges being smoothened.

The two forms of folding may be detected by heating, by testing on touch-stone (nikasha) or by observing absence of sound when it is rubbed (nissabdollekhana).

(They) find out loose folding in the acid juice of badaramla (Flacourtia Cataphracta or jujube fruit) or in salt water;—so much for folding (petaka).

In a compact and hollow piece (ghana-sushire rupe), small particles of gold-like mud (suvarnamrinvalukah) or bit of vermilion (hingulakalkah) are so heated as to make them firmly adhere to the piece inside. Even in a compact piece (dridhavastuke rupe), the waxlike mud of Gandhara mixed with the particles of goldlike sand is so heated as to adhere to the piece. These two kinds of impurities are got rid of by hammering the pieces when red hot.

In an ornament or a coin (sapari-bhande va rupe) salt mixed with hard sand (katusarkara) is so heated in flame as to make it firmly adhere to (the ornament or coin). This (salt and sand) can be got rid of by boiling (kvathana).

In some pieces, mica may be firmly fixed inside by wax and covered over with a double leaf (of gold or silver). When such a piece with mica or glass inside is suspended in water (udake) one of its sides dips more than the other; or when pierced by a pin, the pin goes very easily in the layers of mica in the interior (patalantareshu).

Spurious stones and counterfeit gold and silver may be substituted for real ones in compact and hollow pieces (ghanasushira). They are detected by hammering the pieces when red hot---so much for confounding (pinka).

Hence (the state goldsmith) shall have a thorough knowledge of the species, characteristics, colour, weight, and formation (pudgala-lakshana) of diamonds, precious stones (mani), pearls, corals and coins (rupa).

There are four ways of deception perpetrated when examining new pieces or repairing old ones: they are hammering, cutting, scratching and rubbing.

When, under the excuse of detecting the deception known as folding (petaka) in hollow pieces or in threads or in cups (made of gold or silver), the articles in question are hammered, that act is termed hammering.

When a lead piece (covered over with gold or silver leaf) is substituted for a real one and its interior is cut off, it is termed cutting (avachchhedanam).

When compact pieces are scratched by tíkshna (copper sulphate?), that act is termed scratching (ullekhana).

When, by a piece of cloth painted with the powder of sulphuret of arsenic (haritala), red arsenic (manassila), or vermilion or with the powder of kuruvinda (black salt?), gold or silver articles are rubbed, that act is termed rubbing.

By these acts, gold and silver articles (bhandani) undergo diminution; but no other kind of injury is done to them.

In all those pieces which are hammered, cut, scratched, or rubbed the loss can be inferred by comparing them with intact pieces of similar description. In amalgamated pieces (avalepya) which are cut off, the loss can be ascertained by cutting off an equal portion of a similar piece. Those pieces the appearance of which has changed shall be often heated and drenched in water.

(The state goldsmith) shall infer deception (kacham vidyat) when [the artisan preparing articles pays undue attention to] throwing away, counter-weight, fire, anvil (gandika), working instruments (bhandika), the seat (adhikarani), the assaying balance, folds of dress (chellachollakam), his head, his thigh, flies, eagerness to look at his own body, the water-pot, and the firepot.

Regarding silver, bad smell like that of rotten meat, hardness due to any alloy (mala), projection (prastína), and bad colour may be considered as indicating adulteration.

Thus articles (of gold and silver) new or old, or of bad or unusual colour are to be examined and adequate fines as described above shall be imposed.

[Thus ends Chapter 14, "The Duties of the State Goldsmith in the High Road" in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of thirty-fifth chapter from the beginning.]

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CHAPTER 15. THE SUPERINTENDENT OF STOREHOUSE.

The superintendent of storehouse (Koshthagara) shall supervise the accounts of agricultural produce (síta); taxes coming under Rashtra, country-parts; commerce (krayima); barter (parivartna); begging for grains (pramityaka); grains borrowed with promise to repay (apamityaka); manufacture of rice, oils, etc. (simhanika); accidental revenue (anyajata); statements to check expenditure (vyayapratyaya); and recovery of past arrears (upasthanam).

Whatever in the shape of agricultural produce is brought in by the superintendent of agriculture, (of crown-lands) is termed síta.

The taxes that are fixed (pindakara), taxes that are paid in the form of one-sixth of produce (shadbhaga), provision paid (by the people) for the army (senabhakta), taxes that are levied for religious purposes (bali), taxes or subsidies that are paid by vassal kings and others (kara), taxes that are specially collected on the occasion of the birth of a prince (utsanga), taxes that are collected when there is some margin left for such collection (parsva), compensation levied in the shape of grains for any damage done by cattle to crops (parihinaka), presentation made to the king, (aupayanika), and taxes that are levied on lands below tanks, lakes, etc., built by the king (Kaushtheyaka),--all these come under the head 'Rashtra.'

Sale proceeds of grains, grains purchased and the collection of interest in kind or grain debts (prayogapratyadana) are termed commerce.

Profitable exchange of grains for grains is termed barter (parivarthana).

Grains collected by begging is termed pramityaka.

Grains borrowed with promise to repay the same is termed apamityaka.

Pounding (rice, etc.), dividing (pulses, etc.), frying (corns and beans), manufacture of beverages (suktakarma), manufacture of flour by employing those persons who live upon such works, extracting oil by employing shepherds and oil-makers, and manufacture of sugar from the juice of sugar-cane are termed simhanika.

Whatever is lost and forgotten (by others) and the like form accidental revenue (anyajata).

Investment, the relic of a wrecked undertaking, and savings from an estimated outlay are the means to check expenditure (vyayapratyaya).

That amount or quantity of compensation which is claimed for making use of a different balance or for any error in taking a handful is termed vyaji.

Collection of arrears is termed 'upasthana,' 'recovery of past arrears.'

Of grains, oils, sugar, and salt, all that concerns grains will be treated of in connection with the duties of the 'Superintendent of Agriculture.'

Clarified butter, oil, serum of flesh, and pith or sap (of plants, etc.)., are termed oils (sneha).

Decoction (phanita), jaggory, granulated sugar, and sugar-candy are termed kshara.

Saindhava, that which is the product of the country of Sindhu; Samudra, that which is produced from seawater; Bida; Yavakshara, nitre, Sauvarchala, that which is the product of the country of suvarchala; and udbhedaja, that which is extracted from saline soil are termed lavana, salt.

The honey of the bee as well as the juice extracted from grapes are called madhu.

Mixture made by combining any one of the substances, such as the juice of sugar-cane, jaggory, honey, the juice of grapes, the essence of the fruits of jambu (Euginia Jambolana) and of jaka tree—with the essence of meshasringa (a kind of plant) and long pepper, with or without the addition of the essence of chirbhita (a kind of gourd), cucumber, sugar-cane, mango-fruit and the fruit of myrobalam, the mixture being prepared so as to last for a month, or six months, or a year, constitute the group of astringents (sukta-varga).

The fruits of those trees which bear acid fruits, those of karamarda (Carissa Carandas), those of vidalamalka (myrobalam), those of matulanga (citron tree), those of kola (small jujuba), those of badara (Flacourtia Cataphracta), those of sauvira (big jujuba), and those of parushaka (Grewia Asiatica) and the like come under the group of acid fruits.

Curds, acid prepared from grains and the like are acids in liquid form.

Long pepper, black pepper, ginger, cumin seed, kiratatikta (Agathotes Chirayta), white mustard, coriander, choraka (a plant), damanaka (Artemisia Indica), maruvaka (Vangueria Spinosa), sigru (Hyperanthera Moringa), and the like together with their roots (kanda) come under the group of pungent substances (tiktavarga).

Dried fish, bulbous roots (kandamula), fruits and vegetables form the group of edibles (sakavarga).

Of the store, thus, collected, half shall be kept in reserve to ward off the calamities of the people and only the other half shall be used. Old collection shall be replaced by new supply.

The superintendent shall also personally supervise the increase or diminution sustained in grains when they are pounded (kshunna), or frayed (ghrishta), or reduced to flour (pishta), or fried (bhrashta), or dried after soaking in water.

The essential part (sara, i.e., that which is fit for food) of kodrava (Paspalam Scrobiculatum) and of vrihi (rice) is one-half; that of sali (a kind of rice) is (half) less by one-eighth part; that of varaka (Phraseolus Trilobus) is (half) less by one-third part; that of priyangu (panic seed or millet) is one-half ; that of chamasi (barley), of mudga (Phraseolus Mungo) and of masha (Phraseolus Radiatus) is (half) less by one-eighth part; that of saibya (simbi) is one-half; that of masura (Ervum Hirsutum) is (half) less by one-third part (than the raw material or grains from which it is prepared).

Raw flour and kulmasha (boiled and forced rice) will be as much as one and a half of the original quantity of the grains.

Barley gruel as well as its flour baked will be twice the original quantity.

Kodrava (Paspalam Scrobiculatum), varaka (Phraseolus Trilobus), udaraka (Panicum), and priyangu (millet) will increase three times the original quantity when cooked. Vríhi (rice) will increase four times when cooked. Sali (a kind of rice) will increase five times when cooked.

Grains will increase twice the original quantity when moistened; and two and a half times when soaked to sprouting condition.

Grains fried will increase by one-fifth the original quantity; leguminous seeds (kalaya), when fried, will increase twice the original; likewise rice when fried.

Oil extracted from atasi (linseed) will be one-sixth (of the quantity of the seed); that extracted from the seeds, nimba (Azadirachta Indica), kusamra (?), and Kapittha (Feronia Elephantum) will be one-fifth; and that extracted from tila (seasumum), kusumba (a sort of kidney bean), madhuka (Bassia Latifolia), and ingudi (Terminalia Catappa) will be one-fourth.

Five palas of karpasa (cotton) and of kshauma (flax) will yield one pala of threads.

Rice prepared in such a way that five dróna of sali yield ten adhakas of rice will be fit to be the food of young elephants; eleven adhakas from five drónas for elephants of bad temper (vyala); ten adhakas from the same quantity for elephants trained for riding; nine adhakas from the same quantity for elephants used in war; eight adhakas from the same for infantry; eleven adhakas from the same for chiefs of the army; six adhakas from the same for queens and princes and five adhakas from the same quantity for kings.

One prastha of rice, pure and unsplit, one-fourth prastha of supa, and clarified butter or oil equal to one-fourth part of (supa) will suffice to form one meal of an Arya.

One-sixth prastha of supa for a man; and half the above quantity of oil will form one meal for low castes (avara).

The same rations less by one-fourth the above quantities will form one meal for a woman; and half the above rations for children.

For dressing twenty palas of flesh, half a kutumba of oil, one pala of salt, one pala of sugar (kshara), two dharanas of pungent substances (katuka, spices), and half a prastha of curd (will be necessary).

For dressing greater quantities of flesh, the same ingredients can be proportionally increased.

For cooking sakas (dried fish and vegetables), the above substances are to be added one and a half times as much.

For dressing dried fish, the above ingredients are to be added twice as much.

Measures of rations for elephants and horses will be described in connection with the "Duties of Their Respective Superintendents."

For bullocks, one drona of masha (Phraseolus Radiatus) or one drona of barley cooked with other things, as prescribed for horses, is the requisite quantity of food, besides the special and additional provision of one tula of oilcakes (ghanapinyaka) or ten adhakas of bran (kanakuttana-kundaka).

Twice the above quantity for buffaloes and camels.

Half a drona for asses, red spotted deer and deer with white stripes.

One adhaka for an antelope and big red deer.

Half an adhaka or one adhaka of grain together with bran for a goat, a ram and a boar.

One prastha of cooked rice for dogs.

Half a prastha for a hamsa (goose), a krauncha (heron) and a peacock.

From the above, the quantity of rations enough for one meal for other beasts, cattle, birds, and rogue elephants (vyala) may be inferred.

Charcoal and chaff may be given over for iron smelting and lime-kiln (bhittilepya).

Bran and flour (kanika) may be given to slaves, labourers, and cooks. The surplus of the above may be given to those who prepare cooked rice, and rice-cakes.

The weighing balance, weights, measures, mill-stone (rochani), pestle, mortar, wooden contrivances for pounding rice, etc., (kuttakayantra), contrivances for splitting seeds into pieces (rochakayantra), winnowing fans, sieves (chalani) grain-baskets (kandoli), boxes, and brooms are the necessary instruments.

Sweepers; preservers; those who weigh things (dharaka); those who measure grains, etc.; those who supervise the work of measuring grains (mapaka); those who supervise the supply of commodities to the store-house (dapaka); those who supply commodities (dayaka); those who are employed to receive compensation for any real or supposed error in measuring grains, etc. (salakaipratigrahaka); slaves; and labourers;—all these are called vishti.

Grains are heaped up on the floor; jaggory (kshara) is bound round in grass-rope (muta); oils are kept in earthenware or wooden vessels; and salt is heaped up on the surface of the ground.

[Thus ends Chapter 15, "The Superintendent of Storehouse," in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the thirty-sixth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 16. THE SUPERINTENDENT OF COMMERCE.

The Superintendent of Commerce shall ascertain demand or absence of demand for, and rise or fall in the price of, various kinds of merchandise which may be the products either of land or of water and which may have been brought in either by land or by water path. He shall also ascertain the time suitable for their distribution, centralisation, purchase, and sale.

That merchandise which is widely distributed shall be centralised and its price enhanced. When the enhanced rate becomes popular, another rate shall be declared.

That merchandise of the king which is of local manufacture shall be centralised; imported merchandise shall be distributed in several markets for sale. Both kinds of merchandise shall be favourably sold to the people.

He shall avoid such large profits as will harm the people.

There shall be no restriction to the time of sale of those commodities for which there is frequent demand; nor shall they be subject to the evils of centralisation (sankuladosha).

Or pedlars may sell the merchandise of the king at a fixed price in many markets and pay necessary compensation (vaidharana) proportional to the loss entailed upon it (chhedanurupam).

The amount of vyaji due on commodities sold by cubical measure is one-sixteenth of the quantity (shodasabhago manavyaji); that on commodities sold by weighing balance is one-twentieth of the quantity; and that on commodities sold in numbers is one-eleventh of the whole.

The superintendent shall show favour to those who import foreign merchandise: mariners (navika) and merchants who import foreign merchandise shall be favoured with remission of the trade-taxes, so that they may derive some profit (ayatikshamam pariharam dadyat).

Foreigners importing merchandise shall be exempted from being sued for debts unless they are (local) associations and partners (anabhiyogas charthesshva gantunama nyatassabhyo pakari bhyah).

Those who sell the merchandise of the king shall invariably put their sale proceeds in a wooden box kept in a fixed place and provided with a single aperture on the top.

During the eighth part of the day, they shall submit to the superintendent the sale report, saying "this much has been sold and this much remains;" they shall also hand over the weights and measures. Such are the rules applicable to local traffic.

As regards the sale of the king's merchandise in foreign countries:---Having ascertained the value of local produce as compared with that of foreign produce that can be obtained in barter, the superintendent will find out (by calculation) whether there is any margin left for profit after meeting the payments (to the foreign king) such as the toll (sulka), road-cess (vartani), conveyance-cess (ativahika), tax payable at military stations (gulmadeya), ferry-charges (taradeya), subsistence to the merchant and his followers (bhakta), and the portion of merchandise payable to the foreign king (bhaga).

If no profit can be realised by selling the local produce in foreign countries, he has to consider whether any local produce can be profitably bartered for any foreign produce. Then he may send one quarter of his valuable merchandise through safe roads to different markets on land. In view of large profits, he (the deputed merchant) may make friendship with the forest-guards, boundary-guards, and officers in charge of cities and of country-parts (of the foreign king). He shall take care to secure his treasure (sara) and life from danger. If he cannot reach the intended market, he may sell the merchandise (at any market) free from all dues (sarvadeyavisuddham).

Or he may take his merchandise to other countries through rivers (nadípatha).

He shall also gather information as to conveyance-charges (yanabhagaka), subsistence on the way (pathyadana), value of foreign merchandise that can be obtained in barter for local merchandise, occasions of pilgrimages (yatrakala), means that

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can be employed to ward off dangers (of the journey), and the history of commercial towns (panyapattanacharitra).

Having gathered information as to the transaction in commercial towns along the banks of rivers, he shall transport his merchandise to profitable markets and avoid unprofitable ones.

[Thus ends Chapter 16, "The Superintendent of Commerce" in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents" of Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of thirty-seventh chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 17. THE SUPERINTENDENT OF FOREST PRODUCE.

The Superintendent of Forest Produce shall collect timber and other products of forests by employing those who guard productive forests. He shall not only start productive works in forests, but also fix adequate fines and compensations to be levied from those who cause any damage to productive forests except in calamities.

The following are forest products.

Saka (teak), tinisa (Dalbergia Ougeinensis), dhanvana (?), arjuna (Terminalia Arjuna), madhuka (Bassia Latifolia), tilaka (Barleria Cristata), tala (palmyra), simsupa (Dalbergia Sissu), arimeda (Fetid Mimosa), rajadana (Mimosops Kauki), sirisha (Mimosa Sirísha), khadira (Mimosa Catechu), sarala (Pinus Longifolia), talasarja (sal tree or Shorea Robesta), asvakarna (Vatica Robesta), somavalka (a kind of white khadíra), kasamra (?), priyaka (yellow sal tree), dhava (Mimosa Hexandra), etc., are the trees of strong timber (saradaruvarga).

Utaja, Chimiya, Chava, Venu, Vamsa, Satina, Kantaka, and Bhalluka, etc., form the group of bamboo.

Vetra (cane), sokavalli, vasi (Justicia Ganderussa?), syamalata (Ichnocarpus), nagalata (betel), etc., form the group of creepers.

Malati (Jasminum Grandiflorum), durva (panic grass), arka (Calotropis Gigantea), sana (hemp), gavedhuka (Coix Barbata), atasí (Linum Usitatis simum), etc., form the group of fibrous plants (valkavarga).

Munja (Saccharum Munja), balbaja (Eleusine Indica), etc., are plants which yield rope-making material (rajjubhanda).

Tali (Corypha Taliera), tala (palmyra or Borassus Flabelliformis), and bhurja (birch) yield leaves (patram).

Kimsuka (Butea Frondosa), kusumbha (Carthamus Tinctorius), and kumkuma (Crocus Sativus) yield flowers.

Bulbous roots and fruits are the group of medicines.

Kalakuta, Vatsanabha, Halahala, Meshasringa, Musta, (Cyperus Rotundus), kushtha, mahavisha, vellitaka, gaurardra, balaka, markata, haimavata, kalingaka, daradaka, kolasaraka, ushtraka, etc., are poisons.

Likewise snakes and worms kept in pots are the group of poisons.

Skins are those of godha (alligator), seraka (?), dvípi (leopard), simsumara (porpoise), simha (lion), vyaghra (tiger), hasti, (elephant.), mahisha (buffalo), chamara (bos grunniens), gomriga (bos gavaeus), and gavaya (the gayal).

Bones, bile (pittha), snayu (?), teeth, horn, hoofs, and tails of the above animals as well as of other beasts, cattle, birds and snakes (vyala).

Kalayasa (iron), tamra (copper), vritta (?), kamsya (bronze), sísa (lead), trapu (tin), vaikrintaka (mercury?), and arakuata (brass), are metals.

Utensils (bhanda), are those made of cane, bark (vidala), and clay (mrittika).

Charcoal, bran, and ashes are other things.

Menageries of beasts, cattle, and birds.

Collection of firewood and fodder.

The superintendent of forest produce shall carry on either inside or outside (the capital city) the manufacture of all kinds of articles which are necessary for life or for the defence of forts.

[Thus ends Chapter 17, "The Superintendent of Forest Produce" in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of chapter thirty-eighth from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 18. THE SUPERINTENDENT OF THE ARMOURY.

The Superintendent of the Armoury shall employ experienced workmen of tried ability to manufacture in a given time and for fixed wages wheels, weapons, mail armour, and other accessory instruments for use in battles, in the construction or defence of forts, or in destroying the cities or strongholds of enemies.

All these weapons and instruments shall be kept in places suitably prepared for them. They shall not only be frequently dusted and transferred from one place to another, but also be exposed to the sun. Such weapons as are likely to be affected by heat and vapour (ushmopasneha) and to be eaten by worms shall be kept in safe localities. They shall also be examined now and then with reference to the class to which they belong, their forms, their characteristics, their size, their source, their value, and their total quantity.

Sarvatobhadra, jamadagnya, bahumukha, visvasaghati, samghati, yanaka, parjanyaka, ardhabahu, and urdhvabahu are immoveable machines (sthirayantram).

Panchalika, devadanda, sukarika, musala, yashti, hastivaraka, talavrinta, mudgara, gada, spriktala, kuddala, asphatima, audhghatima, sataghni, trisula, and chakra are moveable machines.

Sakti, prasa, kunta, hataka, bhindivala, sula, tomara, varahakarna, kanaya, karpana, trasika, and the like are weapons with edges like a ploughshare (halamukhani).

Bows made of tala (palmyra), of chapa (a kind of bamboo), of daru (a kind of wood), and sringa (bone or horn) are respectively called karmuka, kodanda, druna, and dhanus.

Bow-strings are made of murva (Sansviera Roxburghiana), arka (Catotropis Gigantea), sana (hemp), gavedhu (Coix Barbata), venu (bamboo bark), and snayu (sinew).

Venu, sara, salaka, dandasana, and naracha are different kinds of arrows. The edges of arrows shall be so made of iron, bone or wood as to cut, rend or pierce.

Nistrimsa, mandalagra, and asiyashti are swords. The handles of swords are made of the horn of rhinoceros, buffalo, of the tusk of elephants, of wood, or of the root of bamboo.

Parasu, kuthara, pattasa, khanitra, kuddala, chakra, and kandachchhedana are razor-like weapons.

Yantrapashana, goshpanapashana, mushtipashana, rochaní (mill-stone), and stones are other weapons (ayudhani).

Lohajalika, patta, kavacha, and sutraka are varieties of armour made of iron or of skins with hoofs and horns of porpoise, rhinoceros, bison, elephant or cow.

Likewise sirastrana (cover for the head), kanthatrana (cover for the neck) kurpasa (cover for the trunk), kanchuka (a coat extending as far as the knee joints), varavana (a coat extending as far as the heels), patta, (a coat without cover for the arms), and nagodarika (gloves) are varieties of armour.

Veti, charma, hastikarna, talamula, dharmanika, kavata, kitika, apratihata, and valahakanta are instruments used in self-defence (avaranani).

Ornaments for elephants, chariots, and horses as well as goads and hooks to lead them in battle-fields constitute accessory things (upakaranani).

(Besides the above) such other delusive and destructive contrivances (as are treated of in Book 14) together with any other new inventions of expert workmen (shall also be kept in stock.)

The Superintendent of Armoury shall precisely ascertain the demand and supply of weapons, their application, their wear and tear, as well as their decay and loss.

[Thus ends Chapter 18, "The Superintendent of the Armoury" in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of thirty-ninth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 19. THE SUPERINTENDENT OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

The Superintendent of Weights and Measures shall have the same manufactured. 10 seeds of masha (Phraseolus Radiatus) or 5 ,, gunja (Cabrus Precatorius) = 1 suvarna-masha. 16 mashas = 1 suvarna or karsha. 4 karshas = 1 pala. 88 white mustard seeds = 1 silver-masha. 16 silver mashas or 20 saibya seeds = 1 dharana. 20 grains of rice = 1 dharana of a diamond.

Ardha-masha (half a masha), one masha, two mashas, four mashas, eight mashas, one suvarna, two suvarnas, four suvarnas, eight suvarnas, ten suvarnas, twenty suvarnas, thirty suvarnas, forty suvarnas and one hundred suvarnas are different units of weights.

Similar series of weights shall also be made in dharanas.

Weights (pratimanani) shall be made of iron or of stones available in the countries of Magadha and Mekala; or of such things as will neither contract when wetted, nor expand under the influence of heat.

Beginning with a lever of six angulas in length and of one pala in the weight of its metallic mass, there shall be made ten (different) balances with levers successively increasing by one pala in the weight of their metallic masses, and by eight angulas in their length. A scale-pan shall be attached to each of them on one or both sides.

A balance called samavritta, with its lever 72-angulas long and weighing 53 palas in its metallic mass shall also be made. A scalepan of 5 palas in the weight of its metallic mass being attached to its edge, the horizontal position of the lever (samakarana) when weighing a karsha shall be marked (on that part of the lever where, held by a thread, it stands horizontal). To the left of that mark, symbols such as 1 pala, 12, 15 and 20 palas shall be marked. After that, each place of tens up to 100 shall be marked. In the place of Akshas, the sign of Nandi shall be marked.

Likewise a balance called parimaní of twice as much metallic mass as that of samavritta and of 96 angulas in length shall be made. On its lever, marks such as 20, 50 and 100 above its initial weight of 100 shall be carved. 20 tulas == 1 bhara. 10 dharanas == 1 pala. 100 such palas == 1 ayamaní (measure of royal income).

Public balance (vyavaharika), servants' balance (bhajiní), and harem balance (antahpurabhajiní) successively decrease by five palas (compared with ayamani).

A pala in each of the above successively falls short of the same in ayamani by half a dharana. The metallic mass of the levers of each of the above successively decreases in weight by two ordinary palas and in length by six angulas.

Excepting flesh, metals, salt, and precious stones, an excess of five palas (prayama) of all other commodities (shall be given to the king) when they are weighed in the two first-named balances.

A wooden balance with a lever 8 hands long, with measuring marks and counterpoise weights shall be erected on a pedestal like that of a peacock.

Twenty-five palas of firewood will cook one prastha of rice.

This is the unit (for the calculation) of any greater or less quantity (of firewood).

Thus weighing balance and weights are commented upon.

Then, 200 palas in the grains of masha 1 drona which is an ayamana, a measure of royal income. 187 1/2, 1 public drona. 175, 1 bhajaníya, servants' measure 162 1/2, 1 antahpurabhajaníya, harem measure.

Adhaka, prastha, and kudumba, are each 1/4 of the one previously mentioned. 16 dronas == 1 varí. 20, == 1 kumbha. 10 kumbhas == 1 vaha.

Cubic measures shall be so made of dry and strong wood that when filled with grains, the conically heaped-up portion of the grains standing on the mouth of the measure is equal to 1/4th of the quantity of the grains (so measured); or the measures may also be so made that a quantity equal to the heaped-up portion can be contained within (the measure).

But liquids shall always be measured level to the mouth of the measure.

With regard to wine, flowers, fruits, bran, charcoal and slaked lime, twice the quantity of the heaped-up portion (i.e., 1/4th of the measure) shall be given in excess. 11/4 panas is the price of a drona. 3/4 pana ,, an adhaka. 6 mashas ,, a prastha. 1 masha, a kudumba.

The price of similar liquid-measures is double the above. 20 panas is the price of a set of counter-weights. 6 2/3 panas ,, of a tula (balance).

The Superintendent shall charge 4 mashas for stamping weights or measures. A fine of 27 1/4 panas shall be imposed for using unstamped weights or measures.

Traders shall every day pay one kakaní to the Superintendent towards the charge of stamping the weights and measures.

Those who trade in clarified butter, shall give, (to purchasers) 1/32 part more as taptavyaji (i.e., compensation for decrease in the quantity of ghi owing to its liquid condition). Those who trade in oil shall give 1/64 part more as taptavyaji.

(While selling liquids, traders) shall give 1/50 part more as manasrava (i.e., compensation for diminution in the quantity owing to its overflow or adhesion to the measuring can).

Half, one-fourth, and one-eighth parts of the measure, kumbha, shall also be manufactured. 84 kudumbas of clarified butter are held to be equal to a waraka of the same; 64 kudumbas of clarified butter are held to be equal to make one waraka of oil (taila);and1/4 of a waraka is called ghatika, either of ghi or of oil.

[Thus ends Chapter 19, "Balance, Weights and Measures" in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the fortieth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 20. MEASUREMENT OF SPACE AND TIME.

The Superintendent of lineal measure shall possess the knowledge of measuring space and time. 8 atoms (paramanavah) are equal to 1 particle thrown off by the wheel of a chariot. 8 particles are equal to 1 liksha. 8 likshas are equal to the middle of a yuka (louse) or a yuka of medium size. 8 yukas are equal to 1 yava (barley) of middle size. 8 yavas are equal to

1 angula (3/4 of an English inch) or the middlemost joint of the middle finger of a man of medium size may be taken to be equal to an angula. 4 angulas are equal to 1 dhanurgraha. 8 angulas are equal to 1 dhanurmushti. 12 angulas are equal to 1 vitasti, or 1 chhayapaurusha. 14 angulas are equal to 1 sama, sala, pariraya, or pada. 2 vitastis are equal to 1 aratni or 1 prajapatya hasta 2 vitastis plus 1 dhanurgraha are equal to 1 hasta used in measuring balances and cubic measures, and pasture lands. 2 vitastis plus 1 dhanurmusti 1 kishku or 1 kamsa. 42 angulas are equal to

1 kishku according to sawyers and blacksmiths and used in measuring the grounds for the encampment of the army, for forts and palaces. 54 angulas are equal to 1 hasta used in measuring timber forests. 84 angulas are equal to 1 vyama, used in measuring ropes and the depth of digging, in terms of a man's height. 4 aratnis are equal to 1 danda, 1 dhanus, 1 nalika and 1 paurusha. 108 angulas are equal to

1 garhapatya dhanus (i.e., a measure used by carpenters called grihapati). This measure is used in measuring roads and fort-walls. The same (108 angulas) are equal to 1 paurusha, a

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measure used in building sacrificial altars. 6 kamsas or 192 angulas are equal to 1 danda, used in measuring such lands as are gifted to Brahmans. 10 dandas are equal to

1 rajju. 2 rajjus are equal to 1 paridesa (square measure). 3 rajjus are equal to 1 nivartana (square measure). The same (3 rajjus) plus 2 dandas on one side only are equal to 1 bahu (arm). 1000 dhanus are equal to 1 goruta (sound of a cow). 4 gorutas are equal to 1 yojana.

Thus are the lineal and square measures dealt with.

Then with regard to the measures of time:--- (The divisions of time are) a truti, lava, nimesha, kashtha, kala, nalika, muhurta, forenoon, afternoon, day, night, paksha, month, ritu (season), ayana (solstice); samvatsara (year), and yuga. 2 trutis are equal to 1 lava. 2 lavas are equal to 1 nimesha. 5 nimeshas are equal to 1 kashtha. 30 kashthas are equal to 1 kala. 40 kalas are equal to 1 nalika, or the time during which one adhaka of water passes out of a pot through an aperture of the same diameter as that of a wire of 4 angulas in length and made of 4 mashas of gold. 2 nalikas are equal to 1 muhurta. 15 muhurtas are equal to 1 day or 1 night.

Such a day and night happen in the months of Chaitra and Asvayuja. Then after the period of six months it increases or diminishes by three muhurtas.

When the length of shadow is eight paurushas (96 angulas), it is 1/18th part of the day.

When it is 6 paurushas (72 angulas), it is 1/14th part of the day; when 4 paurushas, 1/8th part; when 2 paurushas, 1/6th part; when 1 paurusha, 1/4th part; when it is 8 angulas, 3/10th part (trayodasabhagah); when 4 angulas, 3/8th part; and when no shadow is cast, it is to be considered midday.

Likewise when the day declines, the same process in reverse order shall be observed.

It is in the month of Ashadha that no shadow is cast in midday. After Ashadha, during the six months from Sravana upwards, the length of shadow successively increases by two angulas and during the next six months from Magha upwards, it successively decreases by two angulas.

Fifteen days and nights together make up one paksha. That paksha during which the moon waxes is white (sukla) and that paksha during which the moon wanes is bahula.

Two pakshas make one month (masa). Thirty days and nights together make one work-a-month (prakarmamasah). The same (30 days and nights) with an additional half a day makes one solar month (saura).

The same (30) less by half a day makes one lunar month (chandramasa).

Twenty-seven (days and nights) make a sidereal month (nakshatramasa).

Once in thirty-two months there comes one malamasa profane month, i.e., an extra month added to lunar year to harmonise it with the solar.

Once in thirty-five months there comes a malamasa for Asvavahas.

Once in forty months there comes a malamasa for hastivahas.

Two months make one ritu (season).

Sravana and proshthapada make the rainy season (varsha).

Asvayuja and Karthika make the autumn (sarad).

Margasirsha and Phausha make the winter (hemanta).

Magha and Phalguna make the dewy season (sisira).

Chaitra and Vaisakha make the spring (vasanta).

Jyeshthamuliya and Ashadha make the summer (grishma).

Seasons from sisira and upwards are the summer-solstice (uttarayana), and (those) from varsha and upwards are the winter solstice (dakshinayana). Two solstices (ayanas) make one year (samvatsara). Five years make one yuga.

The sun carries off (harati) 1/60th of a whole day every day and thus makes one complete day in every two months (ritau). Likewise the moon (falls behind by 1/60th of a whole day every day and falls behind one day in every two months). Thus in the middle of every third year, they (the sun and the moon) make one adhimasa, additional month, first in the summer season and second at the end of five years.

[Thus ends Chapter 20, "Measurement of Space and Time" in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the forty-first chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 21. THE SUPERINTENDENT OF TOLLS.

The Superintendent of Tolls shall erect near the large gate of the city both the toll-house and its flag facing either the north or the south. When merchants with their merchandise arrive at the toll-gate, four or five collectors shall take down who the merchants are, whence they come, what amount of merchandise they have brought and where for the first time the sealmark (abhijnanamudra) has been made (on the merchandise).

Those whose merchandise has not been stamped with sealmark shall pay twice the amount of toll. For counterfeit seal they shall pay eight times the toll. If the sealmark is effaced or torn, (the merchants in question) shall be compelled to stand in ghatikasthana. When one kind of seal is used for another or when one kind of merchandise has been otherwise named (namakrite), the merchants shall pay a fine of 1 1/4 panas for each load (sapadapanikam vahanam dapayet).

The merchandise being placed near the flag of the toll-house, the merchants shall declare its quantity and price, cry out thrice "who will purchase this quantity of merchandise for this amount of price," and hand over the same to those who demand it (for that price). When purchasers happen to bid for it, the enhanced amount of the price together with the toll on the merchandise shall be paid into the king's treasury. When under the fear of having to pay a heavy toll, the quantity or the price of merchandise is lowered, the excess shall be taken by the king or the merchants shall be made to pay eight times the toll. The same punishment shall be imposed when the price of the merchandise packed in bags is lowered by showing an inferior sort as its sample or when valuable merchandise is covered over with a layer of an inferior one.

When under the fear of bidders (enhancing the price), the price of any merchandise is increased beyond its proper value, the king shall receive the enhanced amount or twice the amount of toll on it. The same punishment or eight times the amount of toll shall be imposed on the Superintendent of tolls if he conceals (merchandise).

Hence commodities shall be sold only after they are precisely weighed, measured, or numbered.

With regard to inferior commodities as well as those which are to be let off free of toll, the amount of toll due shall be determined after careful consideration.

Those merchants who pass beyond the flag of the toll-house without paying the toll shall be fined eight times the amount of the toll due from them.

Those who pass by to and from (the city) shall ascertain (whether or not toll has been paid on any merchandise going along the road.)

Commodities intended for marriages, or taken by a bride from her parents' house to her husband's (anvayanam), or intended for presentation, or taken for the purpose of sacrificial performance, confinement of women, worship of gods, ceremony of tonsure, investiture of sacred thread, gift of cows (godana, made before marriage), any religious rite, consecration ceremony (diksha), and other special ceremonials shall be let off free of toll.

Those who utter a lie shall be punished as thieves.

Those who smuggle a part of merchandise on which toll has not been paid with that on which toll has been paid as well as those who, with a view to smuggle with one pass a second portion of merchandise, put it along with the stamped merchandise after breaking open the bag shall forfeit the smuggled quantity and pay as much fine as is equal to the quantity so smuggled.

He who, falsely swearing by cowdung, smuggles merchandise, shall be punished with the highest amercement.

When a person imports such forbidden articles as weapons (sastra), mail armour, metals, chariots, precious stones, grains and cattle, he shall not only be punished as laid down elsewhere, but also be made to forfeit his merchandise. When any of such commodities has been brought in for sale, they shall be sold, free of toll far outside (the fort).

The officer in charge of boundaries (antapala) shall receive a pana-and-a-quarter as roadcess (vartani) on each load of merchandise (panyavahanasya).

He shall levy a pana on a single-hoofed animal, half a pana on each head of cattle, and a quarter on a minor quadruped.

He shall also receive a masha on a head-load of merchandise.

He shall also make good whatever has been lost by merchants (in the part of the country under his charge).

After carefully examining foreign commodities as to their superior or inferior quality and stamping them with his seal, he shall send the same to the superintendent of tolls.

Or he may send to the king a spy in the guise of a trader with information as to the quantity and quality of the merchandise. (Having received this information,) the king shall in turn send it to the superintendent of tolls in view of exhibiting the king's omniscient power. The superintendent shall tell the merchants (in question) that such and such a merchant has brought such and such amount of superior or inferior merchandise, which none can possibly hide, and that that information is due to the omniscient power of the king.

For hiding inferior commodities, eight times the amount of toll shall be imposed; and for hiding or concealing superior commodities, they shall be wholly confiscated.

Whatever causes harm or is useless to the country shall be shut out; and whatever is of immense good as well as seeds not easily available shall be let in free of toll.

[Thus ends Chapter 21, "The Superintendent of Tolls" in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the forty-second chapter from the beginning.)

CHAPTER 22. REGULATION OF TOLL-DUES.

Merchandise, external (bahyam, i.e., arriving from country parts), internal (abhyantaram, i.e., manufactured inside forts), or foreign (atithyani, i.e., imported from foreign countries) shall all be liable to the payment of toll alike when exported (nishkramya) and imported (pravesyam).

Imported commodities shall pay 1/5th of their value as toll.

Of flower, fruit, vegetables (saka), roots (mula), bulbous roots (kanda), pallikya (?), seeds, dried fish, and dried meat, the superintendent shall receive 1/6th as toll.

As regards conch-shells, diamonds, precious stones, pearls, corals, and necklaces, experts acquainted with the time, cost, and finish of the production of such articles shall fix the amount of toll.

Of fibrous garments (kshauma), cotton cloths (dukula), silk (krimitana), mail armour (kankata), sulphuret of arsenic (haritala), red arsenic (manassila), vermilion (hingulaka), metals (lóha), and colouring ingredients (varnadhatu); of sandal, brown sandal (agaru), pungents (katuka), ferments (kinva), dress (avarana), and the like; of wine, ivory, skins, raw materials used in making fibrous or cotton garments, carpets, curtains (pravarana), and products yielded by worms (krimijata); and of wool and other products yielded by goats and sheep, he shall receive 1/10th or 1/15th as toll.

Of cloths (vastra), quadrupeds, bipeds, threads, cotton, scents, medicines, wood, bamboo, fibres (valkala), skins, and clay-pots; of grains, oils, sugar (kshara), salt, liquor (madya) cooked rice and the like, he shall receive 1/20th or 1/25th as toll.

Gate-dues (dvaradeya) shall be 1/5th of toll dues; this tax may be remitted if circumstances necessitate such favour. Commodities shall never be sold where they are grown or manufactured.

When minerals and other commodities are purchased from mines, a fine of 600 panas shall be imposed.

When flower or fruits are purchased from flower or fruit gardens, a fine of 54 panas shall be imposed.

When vegetables, roots, bulbous roots are purchased from vegetable gardens, a fine 51 3/4 panas shall be imposed.

When any kind of grass or grain is purchased from field, a fine of 53 panas shall be imposed.

(Permanent) fines of 1 pana and 1 1/2 panas shall be levied on agricultural produce (sitatyayah).

Hence in accordance with the customs of countries or of communities, the rate of toll shall be fixed on commodities, either old or new; and fines shall be fixed in proportion to the gravity of offences.

[Thus ends Chapter 22, "Regulation of Toll-dues," in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the forty-third chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 23. SUPERINTENDENT OF WEAVING.

The Superintendent of Weaving shall employ qualified persons to manufacture threads (sutra), coats (varma), cloths (vastra), and ropes.

Widows, cripple women, girls, mendicant or ascetic women (pravrajita), women compelled to work in default of paying fines (dandapratikarini), mothers of prostitutes, old women-servants of the king, and prostitutes (devadasi) who have ceased to attend temples on service shall be employed to cut wool, fibre, cotton, panicle (tula), hemp, and flax.

Wages shall be fixed according as the threads spun are fine, coarse (sthula, i.e., big) or of middle quality and in proportion to a greater or less quantity manufactured, and in consideration of the quantity of thread spun, those (who turn out a greater quantity) shall be presented with oil and dried cakes of myrobalan fruits (tailamalakódvartanaih).

They may also be made to work on holidays (tithishu) by payment of special rewards (prativapadanamanaih).

Wages shall be cut short, if making allowance for the quality of raw material, the quantity of the threads spun out is found to fall short.

Weaving may also be done by those artisans who are qualified to turn out a given amount of work in a given time and for a fixed amount of wages.

The superintendent shall closely associate with the workmen.

Those who manufacture fibrous cloths, raiments, silk-cloths, woollen cloths, and cotton fabrics shall be rewarded by presentations such as scents, garlands of flowers, or any other prizes of encouragement.

Various kinds of garments, blankets, and curtains shall be manufactured.

Those who are acquainted with the work shall manufacture mail armour.

Those women who do not stir out of their houses (anishkasinyah), those whose husbands are gone abroad, and those who are cripple or girls may, when obliged to work for subsistence, be provided with work (spinning out threads) in due courtesy through the medium of maid-servants (of the weaving establishment.)

Those women who can present themselves at the weaving house shall at dawn be enabled to exchange their spinnings for wages (bhandavetanavinimayam). Only so much light as is enough to examine the threads shall be kept. If the superintendent looks at the face of such women or talks about any other work, he shall be punished with the first amercement. Delay in paying the wages shall be punished with the middlemost amercement. Likewise when wages are paid for work that is not completed.

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She who, having received wages, does not turn out the work shall have her thumb cut off.

Those who misappropriate, steal, or run away with, (the raw material supplied to them) shall be similarly punished.

Weavers, when guilty, shall be fined out of their wages in proportion to their offences.

The superintendent shall closely associate with those who manufacture ropes and mail armour and shall carry on the manufacture of straps (varatra) and other commodities.

He shall carry on the manufacture of ropes from threads and fibres and of straps from cane and bamboo bark, with which beasts for draught are trained or tethered.

[Thus ends Chapter 23, "The Superintendent of Weaving" in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the forty-fourth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 24. THE SUPERINTENDENT OF AGRICULTURE.

Possessed of the knowledge of the science of agriculture dealing with the plantation of bushes and trees (krishitantragulmavrikshshayurvedajnah), or assisted by those who are trained in such sciences, the superintendent of agriculture shall in time collect the seeds of all kinds of grains, flowers, fruits, vegetables, bulbous roots, roots, pallikya (?), fibre-producing plants, and cotton.

He shall employ slaves, labourers, and prisoners (dandapratikartri) to sow the seeds on crown-lands which have been often and satisfactorily ploughed.

The work of the above men shall not suffer on account of any want in ploughs (karshanayantra) and other necessary instruments or of bullocks. Nor shall there be any delay in procuring to them the assistence of blacksmiths, carpenters, borers (medaka), ropemakers, as well as those who catch snakes, and similar persons.

Any loss due to the above persons shall be punished with a fine equal to the loss.

The quantity of rain that falls in the country of jangala is 16 dronas; half as much more in moist countries (anupanam); as to the countries which are fit for agriculture (desavapanam);--13 1/2 dronas in the country of asmakas; 23 dronas in avantí; and an immense quantity in western countries (aparantanam), the borders of the Himalayas, and the countries where water channels are made use of in agriculture (kulyavapanam).

When one-third of the requisite quantity of rain falls both during the commencement and closing months of the rainy season and two-thirds in the middle, then the rainfall is (considered) very even (sushumarupam).

A forecast of such rainfall can be made by observing the position, motion, and pregnancy (garbhadana) of the Jupiter (Brihaspati), the rise and set and motion of the Venus, and the natural or unnatural aspect of the sun.

From the sun, the sprouting of the seeds can be inferred; from (the position of) the Jupiter, the formation of grains (stambakarita) can be inferred; and from the movements of the Venus, rainfall can be inferred.

Three are the clouds that continuously rain for seven days; eighty are they that pour minute drops; and sixty are they that appear with the sunshine--this is termed rainfall. Where rain, free from wind and unmingled with sunshine, falls so as to render three turns of ploughing possible, there the reaping of good harvest is certain.

Hence, i.e., according as the rainfall is more or less, the superintendent shall sow the seeds which require either more or less water.

Sali (a kind of rice), vríhi (rice), kodrava (Paspalum Scrobiculatum), tila (sesamum), priyangu (panic seeds), daraka (?), and varaka (Phraseolus Trilobus) are to be sown at the commencement (purvavapah) of the rainy season.

Mudga (Phraseolus Mungo), masha (Phraseolus Radiatus), and saibya (?) are to be sown in the middle of the season.

Kusumbha (safflower), masura (Ervum Hirsutum), kuluttha (Dolichos Uniflorus), yava (barley), godhuma (wheat), kalaya (leguminus seeds), atasi (linseed), and sarshapa (mustard) are to be sown last.

Or seeds may be sown according to the changes of the season.

Fields that are left unsown (vapatiriktam, i.e., owing to the inadequacy of hands) may be brought under cultivation by employing those who cultivate for half the share in the produce (ardhasítika); or those who live by their own physical exertion (svavíryopajívinah) may cultivate such fields for 1/4th or 1/5th of the produce grown; or they may pay (to the king) as much as they can without entailing any hardship upon themselves (anavasitam bhagam), with the exception of their own private lands that are difficult to cultivate.

Those who cultivate irrigating by manual labour (hastapravartimam) shall pay 1/5th of the produce as water-rate (udakabhagam); by carrying water on shoulders (skandhapravartimam) 1/4th of the produce; by water-lifts (srotoyantrapravartimam), ⅓rd of the produce; and by raising water from rivers, lakes, tanks, and wells (nadisarastatakakupodghatam),⅓rd or 1/4th of the produce.

The superintendent shall grow wet crops (kedara), winter-crops (haimana), or summer crops (graishmika) according to the supply of workmen and water.

Rice-crops and the like are the best (jyashtha, i.e., to grow); vegetables (shanda) are of intermediate nature; and sugarcane crops (ikshu) are the worst (pratyavarah, i.e., very difficult to grow), for they are subject to various evils and require much care and expenditure to reap.

Lands that are beaten by foam (phenaghatah, i.e., banks of rivers, etc.) are suitable for growing vallíphala (pumpkin, gourd and the like); lands that are frequently overflown by water (parívahanta) for long pepper, grapes (mridvíka), and sugarcane; the vicinity of wells for vegetables and roots; low grounds (hariníparyantah) for green crops; and marginal furrows between any two rows of crops are suitable for the plantation of fragrant plants, medicinal herbs, cascus roots (usínara), híra (?), beraka (?), and pindaluka (lac) and the like.

Such medicinal herbs as grow in marshy grounds are to be grown not only in grounds suitable for them, but also in pots (sthalyam).

The seeds of grains are to be exposed to mist and heat (tusharapayanamushnam cha) for seven nights; the seeds of kosi are treated similarly for three nights; the seeds of sugarcane and the like (kandabíjanam) are plastered at the cut end with the mixture of honey, clarified butter, the fat of hogs, and cowdung; the seeds of bulbous roots (kanda) with honey and clarified butter; cotton seeds (asthibíja) with cow-dung; and water pits at the root of trees are to be burnt and manured with the bones and dung of cows on proper occasions.

The sprouts of seeds, when grown, are to be manured with a fresh haul of minute fishes and irrigated with the milk of snuhi (Euphorbia Antiquorum).

Where there is the smoke caused by burning the essence of cotton seeds and the slough of a snake, there snakes will not stay.

Always while sowing seeds, a handful of seeds bathed in water with a piece of gold shall be sown first and the following mantra recited:--

"Prajapatye Kasyapaya devaya namah. Sada Síta medhyatam devi bijeshu cha dhaneshu cha. Chandavata he."

"Salutation to God Prajapati Kasyapa. Agriculture may always flourish and the Goddess (may reside) in seeds and wealth. Channdavata he."

Provisions shall be supplied to watchmen, slaves and labourers in proportion to the amount of work done by them.

They shall be paid a pana-and-a-quarter per mensem. Artisans shall be provided with wages and provision in proportion to the amount of work done by them.

Those that are learned in the Vedas and those that are engaged in making penance may take from the fields ripe flowers and fruits for the purpose of worshipping their gods, and rice and barley for the purpose of performing agrayana, a sacrificial performance at the commencement of harvest season, also those who live by gleaning grains in fields may gather grains where grains had been accumulated and removed from.

Grains and other crops shall be collected as often as they are harvested. No wise man shall leave anything in the fields, nor even chaff. Crops, when reaped, shall be heaped up in high piles or in the form of turrets. The piles of crops shall not be kept close, nor shall their tops be small or low. The threshing floors of different fields shall be situated close to each other. Workmen in the fields shall always have water but no fire.

[Thus ends Chapter 24, "The Superintendent of Agriculture" in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the forty-fifth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 25. THE SUPERINTENDENT OF LIQUOR.

By employing such men as are acquainted with the manufacture of liquor and ferments (kinva), the Superintendent of Liquor shall carry on liquor-traffic not only in forts and country parts, but also in camps.

In accordance with the requirements of demand and supply (krayavikrayavasena) he may either centralize or decentralize the sale of liquor.

A fine of 600 panas shall be imposed on all offenders other than those who are manufacturers, purchasers, or sellers in liquor-traffic.

Liquor shall not be taken out of villages, nor shall liquor shops be close to each other.

Lest workmen spoil the work in hand, and Aryas violate their decency and virtuous character, and lest firebrands commit indiscreet acts, liquor shall be sold to persons of well known character in such small quantities as one-fourth or half-a-kudumba, one kudumba, half-a-prastha, or one prastha. Those who are well known and of pure character may take liquor out of shop.

Or all may be compelled to drink liquor within the shops and not allowed to stir out at once in view of detecting articles such as sealed deposits, unsealed deposits, commodities given for repair, stolen articles, and the like which the customer's may have acquired by foul means. When they are found to possess gold and other articles not their own, the superintendent shall contrive to cause them to be arrested outside the shop. Likewise those who are too extravagant or spend beyond their income shall be arrested.

No fresh liquor other than bad liquor shall be sold below its price. Bad liquor may be sold elsewhere or given to slaves or workmen in lieu of wages; or it may form the drink of beasts for draught or the subsistence of hogs.

Liquor shops shall contain many rooms provided with beds and seats kept apart. The drinking room shall contain scents, garlands of flowers, water, and other comfortable things suitable to the varying seasons.

Spies stationed in the shops shall ascertain whether the expenditure incurred by customers in the shop is ordinary or extraordinary and also whether there are any strangers. They shall also ascertain the value of the dress, ornaments, and gold of the customers lying there under intoxication.

When customers under intoxication lose any of their things, the merchants of the shop shall not only make good the loss, but also pay an equivalent fine.

Merchants seated in half-closed rooms shall observe the appearance of local and foreign customers who, in real or false guise of Aryas lie down in intoxication along with their beautiful mistresses.

Of various kinds of liquor such as medaka, prasanna, asava, arista, maireya, and madhu:-- Medaka is manufactured with one drona of water, half, an adaka of rice, and three prastha of kinva (ferment).

Twelve adhakas of flour (pishta), five prasthas of kinva (ferment), with the addition of spices (jatisambhara) together with the bark and fruits of putraka (a species of tree) constitute prasanna.

One-hundred palas of kapittha (Feronia Elephantum) 500 palas of phanita (sugar), and one prastha of honey (madhu) form asava.

With an increase of one-quarter of the above ingredients, a superior kind of asava is manufactured; and when the same ingredients are lessened to the extent of one-quarter each, it becomes of an inferior quality.

The preparation of various kinds of arishta for various diseases are to be learnt from physicians.

A sour gruel or decoction of the bark of meshasringi (a kind of poison) mixed with jaggery (guda) and with the powder of long pepper and black pepper or with the powder of triphala (1 Terminalia Chebula, 2 Terminalia Bellerica, and 3 Phyllanthus Emblica) forms Maireya.

To all kinds of liquor mixed with jaggery, the powder of triphala is always added.

The juice of grapes is termed madhu. Its own native place (svadesa) is the commentary on such of its various forms as kapisayana and harahuraka.

One drona of either boiled or unboiled paste of masha (Phraseolus Radiatus), three parts more of rice, and one karsha of morata (Alangium Hexapetalum) and the like form kinva (ferment).

In the manufacture of medaka and prasanna, five karshas of the powder of (each of patha (Clypea Hermandifolio), lodhra (Symplocos Racemosa), tejovati (Piper Chaba), elavaluka (Solanum Melongena) honey, the juice of grapes (madhurasa), priyangu (panic seeds), daruharidra (a species of turmeric) black pepper and long pepper are added as sambhara, requisite spices.

The decoction of madhuka (Bassia Latifolia) mixed with granulated sugar (katasarkara), when added to prasanna, gives it a pleasing colour.

The requisite quantity of spices to be added to asava is one karsha of the powder of each of chocha (bark of cinnamon), chitraka (Plumbago Zeylanica), vilanga, and gajapippalí (Scindapsus Officinalis), and two karshas of the powder of each of kramuka (betel nut), madhuka (Bassia Latifolia), musta (Cyprus Rotundus), and lodhra (Symlocos Racemosa).

The addition of one-tenth of the above ingredients (i.e., chocha, kramuka, etc.), is (termed) bíjabandha.

The same ingredients as are added to prasanna are also added to white liquor (svetasura).

The liquor that is manufactured from mango fruits (sahakarasura) may contain a greater proportion of mango essence (rasottara), or of spices (bíjottara). It is called mahasura when it contains sambhara (spices as described above).

When a handful (antarnakho mushtih, i.e., so much as can be held in the hand, the fingers being so bent that the nails cannot be seen) of the powder of granulated sugar dissolved in the decoction of morata (Alangium Hexapetalum), palasa (Butea Frondosa), dattura (Dattura Fastuosa), karanja (Robinia Mitis), meshasringa (a kind of poison) and the bark of milky trees (kshiravriksha) mixed with one-half of the paste formed by combining the powders of lodhra (Symplocos Racemosa), chitraka (Plumbago Zeylanica), vilanga, patha (clypea Hermandifolia), musta (cyprus Rotundus), kalaya (leguminous seeds), daruharidra (Amonum Xanthorrhizon), indívara (blue lotus), satapushpa (Anethum Sowa), apamarga (Achyranthes Aspera) saptaparna (Echites Scholaris), and nimba (Nimba Melia) is added to (even) a kumbha of liquor payable by the king, it renders it very pleasant. Five palas of

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phanita (sugar) are added to the above in order to increase its flavour.

On special occasions (krityeshu), people (kutumbinah, i.e., families) shall be allowed to manufacture white liquor (svetasura), arishta for use in diseases, and other kinds of liquor.

On the occasions of festivals, fairs (samaja), and pilgrimage, right of manufacture of liquor for four days (chaturahassaurikah) shall be allowed.

The Superintendent shall collect the daily fines (daivasikamatyayam, i.e., license fees) from those who on these occasions are permitted to manufacture liquor.

Women and children shall collect 'sura,' and 'kinva,' 'ferment.'

Those who deal with liquor other than that of the king shall pay five percent as toll.

With regard to sura, medaka, arishta, wine, phalamla (acid drinks prepared from fruits), and amlasidhu (spirit distilled from molasses):-- Having ascertained the day's sale of the above kinds of liquor, the difference of royal and public measures (manavyaji), and the excessive amount of sale proceeds realised thereby, the Superintendent shall fix the amount of compensation (vaidharana) due to the king (from local or foreign merchants for entailing loss on the king's liquor traffic) and shall always adopt the best course.

[Thus ends Chapter 25, "The Superintendent of Liquor" in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the forty-sixth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 26. THE SUPERINTENDENT OF SLAUGHTER-HOUSE.

When a person entraps, kills, or molests deer, bison, birds, and fish which are declared to be under State protection or which live in forests under State-protection (abhayaranya), he shall be punished with the highest amercement.

Householders trespassing in forest preserves shall be punished with the middlemost amercement.

When a person entraps, kills, or molests either fish or birds that do not prey upon other animals, he shall be fined 26 3/4 panas; and when he does the same to deer and other beasts, he shall be fined twice as much.

Of beasts of prey that have been captured, the Superintendent shall take one-sixth; of fish and birds (of similar nature), he shall take one-tenth or more than one-tenth; and of deer and other beasts (mrigapasu), one-tenth or more than one-tenth as toll.

One-sixth of live animals such as birds and beasts shall be let off in forests under State-protection.

Elephants, horses or animals having the form of a man, bull or an ass living in oceans as well as fish in tanks, lakes, channels and rivers; and such game-birds as krauncha (a kind of heron), utkrosaka (osprey), datyuha (a sort of cuckoo), hamsa (flamingo), chakravaka (a brahmany duck), jivanjivaka (a kind of pheasant), bhringaraja (Lanius Malabaricus), chakora (partridge), mattakokila (cuckoo), peacock, parrot, and maina (madanasarika) as well as other auspicious animals, whether birds or beasts, shall be protected from all kinds of molestations.

Those who violate the above rule shall be punished with the first amercement.

(Butchers) shall sell fresh and boneless flesh of beasts (mrigapasu) just killed.

If they sell bony flesh, they shall give an equivalent compensation (pratipakam).

If there is any diminution in weight owing to the use of a false balance, they shall give eight times the diminution.

Cattle such as a calf, a bull, or a milch cow shall not be slaughtered.

He who slaughters or tortures them to death shall be fined 50 panas.

The flesh of animals which have been killed outside the slaughter-house (parisunam), headless, legless and boneless flesh, rotten flesh, and the flesh of animals which have suddenly died shall not be sold. Otherwise a fine of 12 panas shall be imposed.

Cattle, wild beasts, elephants (vyala), and fish living in forests under State protection shall, if they become of vicious nature, be entrapped and killed outside the forest preserve.

[Thus ends Chapter 26, "The Superintendent of Slaughter-house" in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the forty-seventh chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 27. THE SUPERINTENDENT OF PROSTITUTES.

The Superintendent of Prostitutes shall employ (at the king's court) on a salary of 1,000 panas (per annum) a prostitute (ganika), whether born or not born of a prostitute's family, and noted for her beauty, youth, and accomplishments.

A rival prostitute (pratiganika) on half the above salary (kutumbardhena) shall also be appointed.

Whenever such a prostitute goes abroad or dies, her daughter or sister shall act for her and receive her property and salary. Or her mother may substitute another prostitute. In the absence of any of these, the king himself shall take the property.

With a view to add to the splendour of prostitutes holding the royal umbrella, golden pitcher, and fan, and attending upon the king seated on his royal litter, throne, or chariot, prostitutes shall be classified as of first, middle and highest rank according to their beauty and splendid jewellery; likewise their salary shall be fixed by thousands.

She who has lost her beauty shall be appointed as a nurse (matrika).

A prostitute shall pay 24,000 panas as ransom to regain her liberty; and a prostitute's son 12,000 panas.

From the age of eight years, a prostitute shall hold musical performance before the king.

Those prostitutes, female slaves, and old women who are incapable of rendering any service in the form of enjoyment (bhagnabhogah) shall work in the storehouse or kitchen of the king.

A prostitute who, putting herself under the protection of a private person, ceases to attend the king's court shall pay a pana-and-a-quarter per mensem (to the Government).

The superintendent shall determine the earnings, inheritance, income (aya), expenditure, and future earnings (ayati) of every prostitute.

He shall also check their extravagant expenditure.

When a prostitute puts her jewellery in the hands of any person but her mother, she shall be fined 41/4 panas.

If she sells or mortgages her property (svapateyam), she shall be fined 50 1/4 panas.

A prostitute shall be fined 24 panas for defamation; twice as much for causing hurt; and 50 1/4 panas as well as 1 1/2 panas for cutting off the ear (of any person).

When a man has connection with a prostitute against her will or with a prostitute girl (kumari), he shall be punished with the highest amercement. But when he has connection with a willing prostitute, (under age), he shall be punished with the first amercement.

When a man keeps under confinement, or abducts, a prostitute against her will, or disfigures her by causing hurt, he shall be fined 1,000 panas or more rising up to twice the amount of her ransom (nishkraya) according to the circumstances of the crime and the position and the status of the prostitute (sthanaviseshena).

When a man causes hurt to a prostitute appointed at the court (praptadhikaram), he shall be fined thrice the amount of her ransom.

When a man causes hurt to a prostitute's mother, to her young daughter, or to a rupadasi, he shall be punished with the highest amercement.

In all cases of offences, punishment for offences committed for the first time shall be the first amercement; twice as much for offences committed for a second time; thrice as much for the third time; and for offences committed for the fourth time, the king may impose any punishment he likes.

When a prostitute does not yield her person to any one under the orders of the king, she shall receive 1000 lashes with a whip or pay a fine of 5,000 panas.

When having received the requisite amount of fees, a prostitute dislikes to yield her person, she shall be fined twice the amount of the fees.

When, in her own house, a prostitute deprives her paramour of his enjoyment, she shall be fined eight times the amount of the fees unless the paramour happens to be unassociable on account of disease and personal defects.

When a prostitute murders her paramour, she shall be burnt alive or thrown into water.

When a paramour steals the jewellery or money of, or deceives to pay the fees due to, a prostitute, he shall be fined eight times that amount.

Every prostitute shall supply information to the superintendent as to the amount of her daily fees (bhoga), her future income (ayati), and the paramour (under her influence).

The same rules shall apply to an actor, dancer, singer, player on musical instruments, a buffoon (vagjivana), a mimic player (kusilava), rope-dancer (plavaka), a juggler (saubhika), a wandering bard or herald (charana), pimps, and unchaste women.

When persons of the above description come from foreign countries to hold their performances, they shall pay 5 panas as license fee (prekshavetana).

Every prostitute (rupajiva) shall pay every month twice the amount of a day's earning (bhogadvigunam) to the Government.

Those who teach prostitutes, female slaves, and actresses, arts such as singing, playing on musical instruments, reading, dancing, acting, writing, painting, playing on the instruments like vina, pipe, and drum, reading the thoughts of others, manufacture of scents and garlands, shampooing, and the art of attracting and captivating the mind of others shall be endowed with maintenance from the State.

They (the teachers) shall train the sons of prostitutes to be chief actors (rangopajivi) on the stage.

The wives of actors and others of similar profession who have been taught various languages and the use of signals (sanja) shall, along with their relatives, be made use of in detecting the wicked and murdering or deluding foreign spies.

[Thus ends Chapter 27, "The Superintendent of Prostitutes" in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the forty-eighth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 28. THE SUPERINTENDENT OF SHIPS.

The Superintendent of Ships shall examine the accounts relating to navigation not only on oceans and mouths of rivers, but also on lakes natural or artificial, and rivers in the vicinity of sthaniya and other fortified cities.

Villages on seashores or on the banks of rivers and lakes shall pay a fixed amount of tax (kliptam).

Fishermen shall give 1/6th of their haul as fees for fishing license (naukahatakam).

Merchants shall pay the customary toll levied in port-towns.

Passengers arriving on board the king's ship shall pay the requisite amount of sailing fees (yatravetanam).

Those (who make use of the king's boats in) fishing out conch-shells and pearls shall pay the requisite amount of hire (Naukahatakam), or they may make use of their own boats.

The duties of the superintendent of mines will explain those of the superintendent of conch-shells and pearls.

The superintendent of ships shall strictly observe the customs prevalent in commercial towns as well as the orders of the superintendent of towns (pattana, port town).

Whenever a weatherbeaten ship arrives at a port-town, he shall show fatherly kindness to it.

Vessels carrying on merchandise spoiled by water may either be exempted from toll or may have their toll reduced to half and let to sail when the time for setting sail approaches.

Ships that touch at harbours on their way may be requested the payment of toll.

Pirate ships (himsrika), vessels which are bound for the country of an enemy, as well as those which have violated the customs and rules in force in port towns shall be destroyed.

In those large rivers which cannot be forded even during the winter and summer seasons, there shall be launched large boats (mahanavah) provided with a captain (sasaka), a steersman (niyamaka), and servants to hold the sickle and the ropes and to pour out water.

Small boats shall be launched in those small rivers which overflow during the rainy season.

Fording or crossing the rivers (without permission) shall be prohibited lest traitors may cross them (and escape).

When a person fords or crosses a river outside the proper place and in unusual times, he shall be punished with the first amercement.

When a man fords or crosses a river at the usual place and time without permission, he shall be fined 26¾ panas.

Fishermen, carriers of firewood, grass, flowers, and fruits, gardeners, vegetable-dealers, and herdsmen, persons pursuing suspected criminals, messengers following other messengers going in advance, servants engaged to carry things, provisions, and orders to the army, those who use their own ferries, as well as those who supply villages of marshy districts with seeds, necessaries of life, commodities and other accessary things shall be exempted (to cross rivers at any time and place).

Brahmans, ascetics (pravrajita), children, the aged, the afflicted, royal messengers, and pregnant women shall be provided by the superintendent with free passes to cross rivers.

Foreign merchants who have often been visiting the country as well as those who are well known to local merchants shall be allowed to land in port-towns.

Any person who is abducting the wife or daughter of another, one who is carrying off the wealth of another, a suspected person, one who seems to be of perturbed appearance, one who has no baggage, one who attempts to conceal, or evade the cognisance of the valuable load in one's hand, one who has just put on a different garb, one who has removed or renounced one's usual garb, one who has just turned out an ascetic, one who pretends to be suffering from disease, one who seems to be alarmed, one who is stealthily carrying valuable things, or going on a secret mission, or carrying weapons or explosives (agniyoga), one who holds poison in one's hand, and one who has come from a long distance without a pass shall all be arrested.

A minor quadruped as well as a man carrying some load shall pay one masha.

A head-load, a load carried on shoulders (kayabharah), a cow, and a horse shall each pay 2 mashas.

A camel and a buffalo shall each pay 4 mashas.

A small cart (laghuyana) 5 mashas; and a cart (of medium size) drawn by bulls (golingam) shall pay 6 mashas and a big cart (sakata) 7 mashas.

A head-load of merchandise 1/4 masha; this explains other kinds of loads. In big rivers, ferry-fees are double the above. Villages near marshy places shall give (to the ferry-men) the prescribed amount of food-stuff and wages.

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In boundaries, ferry-men shall receive the toll, carriage-cess, and road-cess. They shall also confiscate the property of the person travelling without a pass. The Superintendent of Boats shall make good the loss caused by the loss of the boat due to the heavy load, sailing in improper time or place, want of ferry-men, or lack of repair. Boats should be launched between the months of Ashadha, the first seven days being omitted, and Kartika; the evidence of a ferryman should be given and the daily income should be remitted.

[Thus ends Chapter 28, "The Superintendent of Ships" in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the forty-ninth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 29. THE SUPERINTENDENT OF COWS.

The Superintendent of cows shall supervise (1st) herds maintained for wages (vetanópagrahikam), (2nd) herds surrendered for a fixed amount of dairy produce (karapratikara), (3rd) useless and abandoned herds (bhagnotsrishtakam), (4th) herds maintained for a share in dairy produce (bhaganupravishtam), (5th) classes of herds (vrajaparyagram), (6th) cattle that strayed (nashtam), (7th) cattle that are irrecoverably lost (vinashtam), and (8) the amassed quantity of milk and clarified butter.

(1) When a cowherd, a buffalo-herdsman, a milker, a churner, and a hunter (lubdhaka) fed by wages graze milch cows (dhenu) in hundreds (satam satam)--for if they graze the herds for the profit of milk and ghi, they will starve the calves to death,--that system of rearing the cattle is termed 'herds maintained for wages.'

(2) When a single person rears a hundred heads (rupasatam) made up of equal numbers of each of aged cows, milch cows, pregnant cows, heifers, and calves (vatsatari) and gives (to the owner) 8 varakas of clarified butter per annum, as well as the branded skin (of dead cows if any), that system is called 'herds surrendered for a fixed amount of dairy produce.'

(3) When those who rear a hundred heads made up of equal numbers of each of afflicted cattle, crippled cattle, cattle that cannot be milked by any one but the accustomed person, cattle that are not easily milked, and cattle that kill their own calves give in return (to the owner) a share in dairy produce, it is termed 'useless and abandoned herd.'

(4) When under the fear of cattle-lifting enemies (parachakratavibhayat), cattle are kept under the care of the superintendent, giving him 1/10th of the dairy produce for his protection, it is termed "herds maintained for a share in dairy produce."

(5) When the superintendent classifies cattle as calves, steers, tameable ones, draught oxen, bulls that are to be trained to yoke, bulls kept for crossing cows, cattle that are fit only for the supply of flesh, buffaloes and draught buffaloes; female calves, female steer, heifer, pregnant cows, milch cattle, barren cattle---either cows or buffaloes; calves that are a month or two old as well as those which are still younger; and when, as he ought to, he brands them all inclusive of their calves of one or two months old along with those stray cattle which have remained unclaimed in the herds for a month or two; and when he registers the branded marks, natural marks, colour and the distance from one horn to another of each of the cattle, that system is known as 'class of herds.'

(6) When an animal is carried off by thieves or finds itself into the herds of others or strays unknown, it is called 'lost.'

(7) When an animal is entangled in a quagmire or precipice or dies of disease or of old age, or drowned in water: or when it is killed by the fall of a tree or of river bank, or is beaten to death with a staff or stone, or is struck by lightening (isana), or is devoured by a tiger or bitten by a cobra, or is carried off by a crocodile, or is involved in the midst of a forest fire, it is termed as "irrecoverably lost."

Cowherds shall endeavour to keep them away from such dangers.

Whoever hurts or causes another to hurt, or steals or causes another to steal a cow, should be slain.

When a person substitutes an animal (rupa) bearing the royal brand mark for a private one, he shall be punished with the first amercement.

When a person recovers a local cattle from thieves, he shall receive the promised reward (panitam rupam); and when a man rescues a foreign cattle (from thieves), he shall receive half its value.

Cowherds shall apply remedies to calves or aged cows or cows suffering from diseases.

They shall graze the herds in forests which are severally allotted as pasture grounds for various seasons and from which thieves, tigers and other molesting beasts are driven away by hunters aided by their hounds.

With a view to scare out snakes and tigers and as a definite means of knowing the whereabouts of herds, sounding bells shall be attached to (the neck of) timid cattle.

Cowherds shall allow their cattle to enter into such rivers or lakes as are of equal depth all round, broad, and free from mire and crocodiles, and shall protect them from dangers under such circumstances.

Whenever an animal is caught hold of by a thief, a tiger, a snake, or a crocodile, or when it is too infirm owing to age or disease, they shall make a report of it; otherwise they shall be compelled to make good the loss.

When an animal dies a natural death, they shall surrender the skin with the brand mark, if it is a cow or a buffalo; the skin together with the ear (karnalakshanam) if it is a goat or sheep; the tail with the skin containing the brand mark, if it is an ass or a camel; the skin, if it is a young one; besides the above, (they shall also restore) the fat (vasti), bile, marrow (snayu), teeth, hoofs, horns, and bones.

They (the cowherds) may sell either fresh flesh or dried flesh.

They shall give buttermilk as drink to dogs and hogs, and reserve a little (buttermilk) in a bronze vessel to prepare their own dish: they may also make use of coagulated milk or cheese (kílata) to render their oilcakes relishing (ghanapinyaka-kledartha).

He who sells his cow (from among the herds) shall pay (to the king) 1/4th rupa (value of the cow).

During the rainy, autumnal, and the first part of winter (hemanta) seasons, they shall milk the cattle both the times (morning and evening); and during the latter part of winter and the whole of the spring and summer seasons, they shall milk only once (i.e., only in the morning). The cowherd who milks a cow a second time during these seasons shall have his thumb cut off.

If he allows the time of milking to lapse, he shall forfeit the profit thereof (i.e., the milk).

The same rule shall hold good in case of negligence of the opportune moment for putting a string through the nose of a bull and other animals, and for taming or training them to the yoke.

One drona of a cow's milk will, when churned, yield one prastha of butter; the same quantity of a buffalo's milk will yield 1/7th prastha more; and the same quantity of milk of goats and sheep will produce ½ prastha more.

In all kinds of milk, the exact quantity of butter shall be ascertained by churning; for increase in the supply of milk and butter depends on the nature of the soil and the quantity and quality of fodder and water.

When a person causes a bull attached to a herd to fight with another bull, he shall be punished with the first amercement; when a bull is injured (under such circumstances), he shall be punished with the highest amercement.

Cattle shall be grouped in herds of ten each of similar colour, while they are being grazed.

According to the protective strength of the cowherds the capacity of the cattle to go far and wide to graze, cowherds shall take their cattle either far or near.

Once in six months, sheep and other animals shall be shorn of their wool.

The same rules shall apply to herds of horses, asses, camels, and hogs.

For bulls which are provided with nose-rings, and which equal horses in speed and in carrying loads, half a bhara of meadow grass (yavasa), twice the above quantity of ordinary grass (trina), one tula (100 palas) of oil cakes, 10 adhakas of bran, 5 palas of salt (mukhalavanam), one kudumba of oil for rubbing over the nose (nasya), 1 prastha of drink (pana), one tula of flesh, 1 adhaka of curis, 1 drona of barley or of cooked masha (Phraseolus Radiatus), 1 drona of milk; or half an adhaka of sura (liquor), 1 prastha of oil or ghi (sneha) 10 palas of sugar or jaggery, 1 pala of the fruit of sringibera (ginger) may be substituted for milk (pratipana).

The same commodities less by one quarter each will form the diet for mules, cows, and asses; twice the quantity of the above things for buffaloes and camels.

Draught oxen and cows, supplying milk (payah), shall be provided with subsistence in proportion to the duration of time the oxen are kept at work, and the quantity of milk which the cows supply.

All cattle shall be supplied with abundance of fodder and water.

Thus the manner of rearing herds of cattle has been dealt with.

A herd of 100 heads of asses and mules shall contain 5 male animals; that of goats and sheep ten; and a herd of ten heads of either cows or buffaloes shall contain four male animals.

[Thus ends Chapter 29, "The Superintendent of Cows" in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the fiftieth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 30. THE SUPERINTENDENT OF HORSES.

The Superintendent of Horses shall register the breed, age, colour, marks, group or classes, and the native place of horses, and classify as (1st) those that are kept in sale-house for sale (panyagarikam), (2nd) those that are recently purchased (krayopagatam), (3rd) those that have been captured in wars (ahavalabdham), (4th) those that are of local breed (ajatam), (5th) those that are sent thither for help (sahayyakagatam), (6th) those that are mortgaged (panasthitam), and (7th) those that are temporarily kept in stables (yavatkalikam).

He shall make a report (to the king) of such animals as are inauspicious, crippled, or diseased.

Every horseman shall know how to make an economic use of whatever he has received from the king's treasury and storehouse.

The superintendent shall have a stable constructed as spacious as required by the number of horses to be kept therein twice as broad as the length of a horse, with four doors facing the four quarters, with its central floor suited for the rolling of horses, with projected front provided with wooden seats at the entrance, and containing monkeys, peacocks, red spotted deer (prishata), mangoose, partridges (chakora), parrots, and maina birds (sarika); the room for every horse shall be four times as broad or long as the length of a horse, with its central floor paved with smoothened wooden planks, with separate compartments for fodder (khadanakoshthakam), with passages for the removal of urine and dung, and with a door facing either the north or the east. The distinction of quarters (digvibhaga) may be made as a matter of fact or relatively to the situation of the building.

Steeds, stallions and colts shall be separately kept.

A steed that has just given birth to a colt shall be provided for the first three days with a drink of 1 prastha of clarified butter; afterwards it shall be fed with a prastha of flour (saktu) and made to drink oil mixed with medicine for ten nights; after that time, it shall have cooked grains, meadow grass, and other things suited to the season of the day.

A colt, ten days old, shall be given a kudumba of flour mixed with 1/4th kudumba of clarified butter, and 1 prastha of milk till it becomes six months old; then the above rations shall be increased half as much during each succeeding month, with the addition of 1 prastha of barley till it becomes three years old, then one drona of barley till it grows four years old; at the age of four or five, it attains its full development and becomes serviceable.

The face (mukha) of the best horse measures 32 angulas; its length is 5 times its face; its shank is 20 angulas; and its height is 4 times its shank.

Horses of medium and lower sizes fall short of the above measurement by two and three angulas respectively.

The circumference (parinaha) of the best horse measures 100 angulas, and horses of medium and lower sizes fall short of the above measurement by five parts (panchabhagavaram).

For the best horse (the diet shall be) 2 dronas of any one of the grains, rice (sali, vríhi,) barley, panic seeds (priyangu) soaked or cooked, cooked mudga (Phraseolus Munga) or masha (Phraseolus Radiatus); one prastha of oil, 5 palas of salt, 50 palas of flesh, 1 adhaka of broth (rasa) or 2 adhakas of curd, 5 palas of sugar (kshara), to make their diet relishing, 1 prastha of sura, liquor, or 2 prasthas of milk.

The same quantity of drink shall be specially given to those horses which are tired of long journey or of carrying loads.

One prastha of oil for giving enema (anuvasana), 1 kudumba of oil for rubbing over the nose, 1,000 palas of meadow grass, twice as much of ordinary grass (trina); and hay-stalk or grass shall be spread over an area of 6 aratnis.

The same quantity of rations less by one-quarter for horses of medium and lower size.

A draught horse or stallion of medium size shall be given the same quantity as the best horse; and similar horses of lower size shall receive the same quantity as a horse of medium size.

Steeds and parasamas shall have one quarter less of rations.

Half of the rations given to steeds shall be given to colts.

Thus is the distribution of ration dealt with.

Those who cook the food of horses, grooms, and veterinary surgeons shall have a share in the rations (pratisvadabhajah).

Stallions which are incapacitated owing to old age, disease or hardships of war, and, being therefore rendered unfit for use in war live only to consume food shall in the interests of citizens and country people be allowed to cross steeds.

The breed of Kambhoja, Sindhu, Aratta, and Vanayu countries are the best; those of Bahlíka, Papeya, Sauvira, and Taitala, are of middle quality; and the rest ordinary (avarah).

These three sorts may be trained either for war or for riding according as they are furious (tíkshna), mild (bhadra), or stupid or slow (manda).

The regular training of a horse is its preparation for war (sannahyam karma).

Circular movement (valgana), slow movement (níchairgata), jumping (langhana), gallop (dhorana), and response to signals (naroshtra) are the several forms of riding (aupavahya).

Aupavenuka, vardhmanaka, yamaka, alídhapluta, vrithatta and trivachali are the varieties of circular movement (valgana).

The same kind of movements with the head and ear kept erect are called slow movements.

These are performed in sixteen ways:--- Prakírnaka, prakírnottara, nishanna, parsvanuvritta, urmimarga, sarabhakrídita, sarabhapluta, tritala, bahyanuvritta, panchapani, simhayata, svadhuta, klishta, slaghita, brimhita, pushpabhikírna.

Jumping like a monkey (kapipluta), jumping like a frog (bhekapluta), sudden jump (ekapluta), jumping with one leg

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(ekapadapluta), leaping like a cuckoo (kokila-samchari), dashing with its breast almost touching the ground (urasya), and leaping like a crane (bakasamchari) are the several forms of jumping.

Flying like a vulture (kanka), dashing like a water-duck (varikanaka), running like a peacock (mayura) halt the speed of a peacock (ardhmayura), dashing like a mangoose (nakula), half the speed of a mangoose (ardha-nakula), running like a hog (varaha) and half the speed of a hog (ardha-varaha) are the several forms of gallop.

Movement following a signal is termed naroshtra.

Six, nine, and twelve yojanas (a day) are the distances (to be traversed) by carriage-horses.

Five, eight, and ten yojanas are the distances (to be traversed) by riding horses (prishthavahya).

Trotting according to its strength (vikrama), trotting with good breathing (bhadrasvasa), and pacing with a load on its back are the three kinds of trot.

Trotting according to strength (vikrama), trot combined with circular movement (valgita), ordinary trot (upakantha), middlemost speed (upajava), and ordinary speed are also the several kinds of trot (dhara).

Qualified teachers shall give instructions as to the manufacture of proper ropes with which to tether the horses.

Charioteers shall see to the manufacture of necessary war accoutrements of horses.

Veterinary surgeons shall apply requisite remedies against undue growth or diminution in the body of horses and also change the diet of horses according to changes in seasons.

Those who move the horses (sutragrahaka), those whose business is to tether them in stables, those who supply meadow-grass, those who cook the grains for the horses, those who keep watch in the stables, those who groom them and those who apply remedies against poison shall satisfactorily discharge their specified duties and shall, in default of it, forfeit their daily wages.

Those who take out for the purpose of riding such horses as are kept inside (the stables) either for the purpose of waving lights (nirajana) or for medical treatment shall be fined 12 panas.

When, owing to defects in medicine or carelessness in the treatment, the disease (from which a horse is suffering) becomes intense, a fine of twice the cost of the treatment shall be imposed; and when, owing to defects in medicine, or not administering it, the result becomes quite the reverse, a fine equal to the value of the animal (patramulya) shall be imposed.

The same rule shall apply to the treatment of cows, buffaloes, goats, and sheep.

Horses shall be washed, bedaubed with sandal powder, and garlanded twice a day. On new moon days sacrifice to Bhutas, and on full moon days the chanting of auspicious hymns shall be performed. Not only on the ninth day of the month of Asvayuja, but also both at the commencement and close of journeys (yatra) as well as in the time of disease shall a priest wave lights invoking blessings on the horses.

[Thus ends Chapter 30, "The Superintendent of Horses" in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the fifty-first chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 31. THE SUPERINTENDENT OF ELEPHANTS.

The Superintendent of elephants shall take proper steps to protect elephant-forests and supervise the operations with regard to the standing or lying in stables of elephants, male, female, or young, when they are tired after training, and examine the proportional quantity of rations and grass, the extent of training given to them, their accoutrements and ornaments, as well as the work of elephant-doctors, of trainers of elephants in warlike feats, and of grooms, such as drivers, binders and others.

There shall be constructed an elephant stable twice as broad and twice as high as the length (ayama) of an elephant, with separate apartments for female elephants, with projected entrance (sapragrívam), with posts called kumari, and with its door facing either the east or the north.

The space in front of the smooth posts (to which elephants are tied) shall form a square, one side of which is equal to the length of an elephant and shall be paved with smooth wooden planks and provided with holes for the removal of urine and dung.

The space where an elephant lies down shall be as broad as the length of an elephant and provided with a flat form raised to half the height of an elephant for leaning on.

Elephants serviceable in war or for riding shall be kept inside the fort; and those that are still being tamed or are of bad temper shall be kept outside.

The first and the seventh of the eight divisions of the day are the two bathing times of elephants; the time subsequent to those two periods is for their food; forenoon is the time for their exercise; afternoon is the time for drink; two (out of eight) parts of the night are the time for sleep; one-third of the night is spent in taking wakeful rest.

The summer is the season to capture elephants.

That which is 20 years old shall be captured.

Young elephants (bikka), infatuated elephants (mugdha), elephants without tusks, diseased elephants, elephants which suckle their young ones (dhenuka), and female elephants (hastiní) shall not be captured.

(That which is) seven aratnis in height, nine aratnis in length, ten aratnis in circumference and is (as can be inferred from such measurement), 40 years old, is the best.

That which is 30 years old is of middle class; and that which is 25 years old is of the lowest class.

The diet (for the last two classes) shall be lessened by one-quarter according to the class.

The rations for an elephant (of seven aratnis in height) shall be 1 drona of rice, 1/2 adhaka of oil, 3 prasthas of ghi, 10 palas of salt, 50 palas of flesh, 1 adhaka of broth (rasa) or twice the quantity (i.e., 2 adhakas) of curd; in order to render the dish tasteful, 10 palas of sugar (kshara), 1 adhaka of liquor, or twice the quantity of milk (payah) ; 1 prastha of oil for smearing over the body, 1/8 prastha (of the same) for the head and for keeping a light in the stables; 2 bharas of meadow grass, 2 1/4 bharas of ordinary grass (sashpa), and 2 1/2 bharas of dry grass and any quantity of stalks of various pulses (kadankara).

An elephant in rut (atyarala) and of 8 aratnis in height shall have equal rations with that of 7 aratnis in height.

The rest of 6 or 5 aratnis in height shall be provided with rations proportional to their size.

A young elephant (bikka) captured for the mere purpose of sporting with it shall be fed with milk and meadow grass.

That which is blood-red (samjatalóhita), that which is fleshed, that which has its sides evenly grown (samaliptapaksha), that which has its girths full or equal (samakakshya), that whose flesh is evenly spread, that which is of even surface on its back (samatalpatala) and that which is of uneven surface (jatadrónika) are the several kinds of physical splendour of elephants.

Suitably to the seasons as well as to their physical spendour, elephants of sharp or slow sense (bhadra and mandra) as well as elephants possessed of the characteristics of other beasts shall be trained and taught suitable work.

[Thus ends Chapter 31, "The Superintendent of Elephants" in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the fifty-second chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 32. TRAINING OF ELEPHANTS.

Elephants are classified into four kinds in accordance with the training they are given: that which is tameable (damya), that which is trained for war (sannahya), that which is trained for riding (aupavahya), and rogue elephants (vyala).

Those which are tameable fall under five groups: that which suffers a man to sit on its withers (skandhagata), that which allows itself to be tethered to a post (stambhagata), that which can be taken to water (varigata), that which lies in pits (apapatagata), and that which is attached to its herd (yuthagata).

All these elephants shall be treated with as much care as a young elephant (bikka).

Military training is of seven kinds: Drill (upasthana), turning (samvartana), advancing (samyana), trampling down and killing (vadhavadha), fighting with other elephants (hastiyuddha), assailing forts and cities (nagarayanam), and warfare.

Binding the elephants with girths (kakshyakarma), putting on collars (graiveyakakarma), and making them work in company with their herds (yuthakarma) are the first steps (upa-vichara) of the above training.

Elephants trained for riding fall under seven groups: that which suffers a man to mount over it when in company with another elephant (kunjaropavahya), that which suffers riding when led by a warlike elephant (sannahyopavahya), that which is taught trotting (dhorana), that which is taught various kinds of movements (adhanagatika), that which can be made to move by using a staff (yashtyupavahya), that which can be made to move by using an iron hook (totropavahya), that which can be made to move without whips (suddhopavahya), and that which is of help in hunting.

Autumnal work (saradakarma), mean or rough work (hínakarma), and training to respond to signals are the first steps for the above training.

Rogue elephants can be trained only in one way. The only means to keep them under control is punishment. It has a suspicious aversion to work, is obstinate, of perverse nature, unsteady, willful, or of infatuated temper under the influence of rut.

Rogue elephants whose training proves a failure may be purely roguish (suddha), clever in roguery (suvrata), perverse (vishama), or possessed of all kinds of vice.

The form of fetters and other necessary means to keep them under control shall be ascertained from the doctor of elephants.

Tetherposts (alana), collars, girths, bridles, legchains, frontal fetters are the several kinds of binding instruments.

A hook, a bamboo staff, and machines (yantra) are instruments.

Necklaces such as vaijavantí and kshurapramala, and litter and housings are the ornaments of elephants.

Mail-armour (varma), clubs (totra), arrow-bags, and machines are war-accoutrements.

Elephant doctors, trainers, expert riders, as well as those who groom them, those who prepare their food, those who procure grass for them, those who tether them to posts, those who sweep elephant stables, and those who keep watch in the stables at night, are some of the persons that have to attend to the needs of elephants.

Elephant doctors, watchmen, sweepers, cooks and others shall receive (from the storehouse,) 1 prastha of cooked rice, a handful of oil, land 2 palas of sugar and of salt. Excepting the doctors, others shall also receive 10 palas of flesh.

Elephant doctors shall apply necessary medicines to elephants which, while making a journey, happen to suffer from disease, overwork, rut, or old age.

Accumulation of dirt in stables, failure to supply grass, causing an elephant to lie down on hard and unprepared ground, striking on vital parts of its body, permission to a stranger to ride over it, untimely riding, leading it to water through impassable places, and allowing it to enter into thick forests are offences punishable with fines. Such fines shall be deducted from the rations and wages due to the offenders.

During the period of Chaturmasya (the months of July, August, September and October) and at the time when two seasons meet, waving of lights shall be performed thrice. Also on new-moon and full-moon days, commanders shall perform sacrifices to Bhutas for the safety of elephants.

Leaving as much as is equal to twice the circumference of the tusk near its root, the rest of the tusks shall be cut off once in 2½ years in the case of elephants born in countries irrigated by rivers (nadija), and once in 5 years in the case of mountain elephants.

[Thus ends Chapter 32, "The Training of Elephants" in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the fifty-third chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 33. THE SUPERINTENDENT OF CHARIOTS; THE SUPERINTENDENT OF INFANTRY AND THE DUTY OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

The functions of the Superintendent of horses will explain those of the Superintendent of chariots.

The Superintendent of chariots shall attend to the construction of chariots.

The best chariot shall measure 10 purushas in height (i.e., 120 angulas), and 12 purushas in width. After this model, 7 more chariots with width decreasing by one purusha successively down to a chariot of 6 purushas in width shall be constructed. He shall also construct chariots of gods (devaratha), festal chariots (pushyaratha), battle chariots (sangramika), travelling chariots (pariyanika), chariots used in assailing an enemy's strong-holds (parapurabhiyanika), and training chariots.

He shall also examine the efficiency in the training of troops in shooting arrows, in hurling clubs and cudgels, in wearing mail armour, in equipment, in charioteering, in fighting seated on a chariot, and in controlling chariot horses.

He shall also attend to the accounts of provision and wages paid to those who are either permanently or temporarily employed (to prepare chariots and other things). Also he shall take steps to maintain the employed contented and happy by adequate reward (yogyarakshanushthanam), and ascertain the distance of roads.

The same rules shall apply to the superintendent of infantry.

The latter shall know the exact strength or weakness of hereditary troops (maula), hired troops (bhrita), the corporate body of troops (sreni), as well as that of the army of friendly or unfriendly kings and of wild tribes.

He shall be thoroughly familiar with the nature of fighting in low grounds, of open battle, of fraudulent attack, of fighting under the cover of entrenchment (khanakayuddha), or from heights (akasayuddha), and of fighting during the day and night, besides the drill necessary for such warfare.

He shall also know the fitness or unfitness of troops on emergent occasions.

With an eye to the position which the entire army (chaturangabala) trained in the skillful handling of all kinds of weapons and in leading elephants, horses, and chariots have occupied and to the emergent call for which they ought to be ready, the commander-in-chief shall be so capable as to order either advance or retreat (ayogamayógam cha).

He shall also know what kind of ground is more advantageous to his own army, what time is more favourable, what the strength of the enemy is, how to sow dissension in an enemy's army of united mind, how to collect his own scattered forces, how to scatter the compact body of an enemy's army, how to assail a fortress, and when to make a general advance.

Being ever mindful of the discipline which his army has to maintain not merely in camping and marching, but in the

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thick of battle, he shall designate the regiments (vyuha) by the names of trumpets, boards, banners, or flags.

[Thus ends Chapter 33, "The Superintendent of Chariots, the Superintendent of Infantry, and the Duties of the Commander-in-Chief " in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the fifty-fourth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 34. THE SUPERINTENDENT OF PASSPORTS.

THE Superintendent of Passports shall issue passes at the rate of a masha per pass. Whoever is provided with a pass shall be at liberty to enter into, or go out of, the country. Whoever, being a native of the country enters into or goes out of the country without a pass shall be fined 12 panas. He shall be punished with the first amercement for producing a false pass. A foreigner guilty of the same offence shall be punished with the highest amercement.

The superintendent of pasture lands shall examine passes.

Pasture grounds shall be opened between any two dangerous places.

Valleys shall be cleared from the fear of thieves, elephants, and other beasts.

In barren tracts of the country, there shall be constructed not only tanks, buildings for shelter, and wells, but also flower gardens and fruit gardens.

Hunters with their hounds shall reconnoitre forests. At the approach of thieves or enemies, they shall so hide themselves by ascending trees or mountains as to escape from the thieves, and blow conch-shells or beat drums. As to the movements of enemies or wild tribes, they may send information by flying the pigeons of royal household with passes (mudra) or causing fire and smoke at successive distances.

It shall be his duty to protect timber and elephant forests, to keep roads in good repair, to arrest thieves, to secure the safety of mercantile traffic, to protect cows, and to conduct the transaction of the people.

[Thus ends Chapter 34, "The Superintendent of Passports, and the Superintendent of Pasture Lands," in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the fifty-fifth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 35. THE DUTY OF REVENUE-COLLECTORS; SPIES IN THE GUISE OF HOUSEHOLDERS, MERCHANTS AND ASCETICS.

Having divided the kingdom (janapada) into four districts, and having also subdivided the villages (grama) as of first, middle and lowest rank, he shall bring them under one or another of the following heads:---Villages that are exempted from taxation (pariharaka); those that supply soldiers (ayudhíya); those that pay their taxes in the form of grains, cattle, gold (hiranya), or raw material (kupya); and those that supply free labour (vishti), and dairy produce in lieu of taxes (karapratikara).

It is the duty of Gopa, village accountant, to attend to the accounts of five or ten villages as ordered by the Collector-General.

By setting up boundaries to villages, by numbering plots of grounds as cultivated, uncultivated, plains, wet lands, gardens, vegetable gardens, fences (vata), forests, altars, temples of gods, irrigation works, cremation grounds, feeding houses (sattra), places where water is freely supplied to travellers (prapa), places of pilgrimage, pasture grounds and roads, and thereby fixing the boundaries of various villages, of fields, of forests, and of roads, he shall register gifts, sales, charities, and remission of taxes regarding fields.

Also having numbered the houses as taxpaying or non-taxpaying, he shall not only register the total number of the inhabitants of all the four castes in each village, but also keep an account of the exact number of cultivators, cow-herds, merchants, artizans, labourers, slaves, and biped and quadruped animals, fixing at the same time the amount of gold, free labour, toll, and fines that can be collected from it (each house).

He shall also keep an account of the number of young and old men that reside in each house, their history (charitra), occupation (ajíva), income (aya), and expenditure (vyaya).

Likewise Sthanika, district officer, shall attend to the accounts of one quarter of the kingdom.

In those places which are under the jurisdiction of Gopa and Sthanika, commissioners (prodeshtarah) specially deputed by the Collector-general shall not only inspect the work done and the means employed by the village and district officers, but also collect the special religious tax known as bali (balipragraham kuryuh).

Spies under the disguise of householders (grihapatika, cultivators) who shall be deputed by the collector-general for espionage shall ascertain the validity of the accounts (of the village and district officers) regarding the fields, houses and families of each village---the area and output of produce regarding fields, right of ownership and remission of taxes with regard to houses, and the caste and profession regarding families.

They shall also ascertain the total number of men and beasts (janghagra) as well as the amount of income and expenditure of each family.

They shall also find out the causes of emigration and immigration of persons of migratory habit, the arrival and departure of men and women of condemnable (anarthya) character, as well as the movements of (foreign) spies.

Likewise spies under the guise of merchants shall ascertain the quantity and price of the royal merchandise such as minerals, or products of gardens, forests, and fields or manufactured articles.

As regards foreign merchandise of superior or inferior quality arriving thither by land or by water, they shall ascertain the amount of toll, road-cess, conveyance-cess, military cess, ferry-fare, and one-sixth portion (paid or payable by the merchants), the charges incurred by them for their own subsistence, and for the accommodation of their merchandise in warehouse (panyagara).

Similarly spies under the guise of ascetics shall, as ordered by the Collector-general, gather information as to the proceedings, honest or dishonest, of cultivators, cow-herds, merchants, and heads of Government departments.

In places where altars are situated or where four roads meet, in ancient ruins, in the vicinity of tanks, rivers, bathing places, in places of pilgrimage and hermitage, and in desert tracts, mountains, and thick grown forests, spies under the guise of old and notorious thieves with their student bands shall ascertain the causes of arrival and departure, and halt of thieves, enemies, and persons of undue bravery.

The Collector-general shall thus energetically attend to the affairs of the kingdom. Also his subordinates constituting his various establishments of espionage shall along with their colleagues and followers attend to their duties likewise.

[Thus ends Chapter 35, "The Duty of revenue collectors; spies under the guise of house-holders, merchants, and ascetics," in Book 2, "The Duties of Government Superintendents" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the fifty-sixth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 36. THE DUTY OF A CITY SUPERINTENDENT.

Like the Collector-general, the Officer in charge of the Capital City (Nagaraka) shall look to the affairs of the capital.

A Gopa shall keep the accounts of ten households, twenty households, or forty households. He shall not only know the caste, gotra, the name, and occupation of both men and women in those households, but also ascertain their income and expenditure.

Likewise, the officer known as Sthanika shall attend to the accounts of the four quarters of the capital.

Managers of charitable institutions shall send information (to Gopa or Sthanika) as to any heretics (Pashanda) and travellers arriving to reside therein. They shall allow ascetics and men learned in the Vedas to reside in such places only when those persons are known to be of reliable character.

Artisans and other handicraftsmen may, on their own responsibility, allow others of their own profession to reside where they carry on their own work (i.e., in their own houses).

Similarly merchants may on their own responsibility allow other merchants to reside where they themselves carry on their mercantile work (i.e., their own houses or shops).

They (the merchants) shall make a report of those who sell any merchandise in forbidden place or time, as well as of those who are in possession of any merchandise other than their own.

Vintners, sellers of cooked flesh and cooked rice as well as prostitutes may allow any other person to reside with them only when that person is well-known to them.

They (vintners, etc.) shall make a report of spendthrifts and fool-hardy persons who engage themselves in risky undertakings.

Any physician who undertakes to treat in secret a patient suffering from ulcer or excess of unwholesome food or drink, as well as the master of the house (wherein such treatment is attempted) shall be innocent only when they (the physician and the master of the house) make a report of the same to either Gopa or Sthanika; otherwise both of them shall be equally guilty with the sufferer.

Masters of houses shall make a report of strangers arriving at, or departing from their houses; otherwise they shall be guilty of the offence (theft, etc.) committed during that night. Even during safe nights (i.e., nights when no theft, etc., seems to have been committed), they shall be fined 3 panas (for not making such a report).

Wayfarers going along a high road or by a foot path shall catch hold of any person whom they find to be suffering from a wound or ulcer, or possessed of destructive instruments, or tired of carrying a heavy load, or timidly avoiding the presence of others, or indulging in too much sleep, or fatigued from a long journey, or who appears to be a stranger to the place in localities such as inside or outside the capital, temples of gods, places of pilgrimage, or burial grounds.

(Spies) shall also make a search for suspicious persons in the interior of deserted houses, in the workshops or houses of vintners and sellers of cooked rice and flesh, in gambling houses, and in the abode of heretics.

Kindling of fire shall be prohibited during the two middlemost parts of day-time divided into four equal parts during the summer. A fine of 1/8th of a pana shall be imposed for kindling fire at such a time.

Masters of houses may carry on cooking operations outside their houses.

(If a house-owner is not found to have ready with him) five water-pots (pancha ghatínam), a kumbha, a dróna, a ladder, an axe, a winnowing basket, a hook (such as is used to drive an elephant), pincers, (kachagrahini), and a leather bag (driti), he shall be fined 1/4th of a pana.

They shall also remove thatched roofs. Those who work by fire (blacksmiths) shall all together live in a single locality.

Each houseowner shall ever be present (at night) at the door of his own house.

Vessels filled with water shall be kept in thousands in a row without confusion not only in big streets and at places where four roads meet but also in front of the royal buildings (rajaprigraheshu).

Any house-owner who does not run to give his help in extinguishing the fire of whatever is burning shall be fined 12 panas; and a renter (avakrayi, i.e., one who has occupied a house for rent) not running to extinguish fire shall be fined 6 panas.

Whoever carelessly sets fire (to a house) shall be fined 54 panas; but he who intentionally sets fire (to a house) shall be thrown into fire.

Whoever throws dirt in the street shall be punished with a fine of 1/8th of a pana; whoever causes mire or water to collect in the street shall be fined 1/4th of a pana; whoever commits the above offences in the king's road (rajamarga) shall be punished with double the above fines.

Whoever excretes faeces in places of pilgrimage, reservoirs of water, temples, and royal buildings shall be punished with fines rising from one pana and upwards in the order of the offences; but when such excretions are due to the use of medicine or to disease no punishment shall be imposed.

Whoever throws inside the city the carcass of animals such as a cat, dog, mangoose, and a snake shall be fined 3 panas; of animals such as an ass, a camel, a mule, and cattle shall be fined 6 panas; and human corpse shall be punished with a fine of 50 panas.

When a dead body is taken out of a city through a gate other than the usual or prescribed one or through a path other than the prescribed path, the first amercement shall be imposed; and those who guard the gates (through which the dead body is taken out) shall be fined 200 panas.

When a dead body is interred or cremated beyond the burial or cremation grounds, a fine of 12 panas shall be imposed.

The interval between six nalikas (2 2/5 hours) after the fall of night and six nalikas before the dawn shall be the period when a trumpet shall be sounded prohibiting the movement of the people.

The trumpet having been sounded, whoever moves in the vicinity of royal buildings during the first or the last yama (2 hours; 2x48 minutes: a day in India had 30 hours, each 48 minutes long) of the period shall be punished with a fine of one pana and a quarter; and during the middlemost yamas, with double the above fine; and whoever moves outside (the royal buildings or the fort) shall be punished with four times the above fine.

Whoever is arrested in suspicious places or as the perpetrator of a criminal act shall be examined.

Whoever moves in the vicinity of royal buildings or ascends the defensive fortifications of the capital shall be punished with the middlemost amercement.

Those who go out at night in order to attend to the work of midwifery or medical treatment, or to carry off a dead body to the cremation or burial grounds, or those who go out with a lamp in hand at night, as well as those who go out to visit the officer in charge of the city, or to find out the cause of a trumpet sound (turyapreksha), or to extinguish the outbreak of fire or under the authority of a pass shall not be arrested.

During the nights of free movement (chararatrishu) those who move out under disguise, those who stir out though forbidden (pravarjitah), as well as those who move with clubs and other weapons in hand shall be punished in proportion to the gravity of their guilt.

Those watchmen who stop whomever they ought not to stop, or do not stop whomever they ought to stop shall be punished with twice the amount of fine levied for untimely movement.

When a watchman has carnal connection with a slave woman, he shall be punished with the first amercement; with a free woman middlemost amercement; with a woman arrested for untimely movement, the highest amercement; and a woman of high birth (kulastrí), he shall be put to death.

When the officer in charge of the city (nagaraka) does not make a report (to the king) of whatever nocturnal nuisance of animate or inanimate nature (chetanâchetana) has occurred, or when he shows carelessness (in the discharge of his duty), he shall be punished in proportion to the gravity of his crime.

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He shall make a daily inspection of reservoirs of water, of roads, of the hidden passage for going out of the city, of forts, fortwalls, and other defensive works. He shall also keep in his safe custody of whatever things he comes across as lost, forgotten or left behind by others.

On the days to which the birth star of the king is assigned, as well as on full moon days, such prisoners as are young, old, diseased, or helpless (anatha) shall be let out from the jail (bandhanâgâra); or those who are of charitable disposition or who have made any agreement with the prisoners may liberate them by paying an adequate ransom.

Once in a day or once in five nights, jails may be emptied of prisoners in consideration of the work they have done, or of whipping inflicted upon them, or of an adequate ransom paid by them in gold.

Whenever a new country is conquered, when an heir apparent is installed on the throne, or when a prince is born to the king, prisoners are usually set free.

[Thus ends Chapter 36, "The Duty of a City Superintendent" in Book 2, "The Duties of government Superintendents," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the fifty-seventh chapter from the beginning. With this ends the Second Book "The Duties of Government Superintendents" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya.]

KAUTILYA'S ARTHASHASTRA: BOOK 3

"Concerning Law"

CHAPTER 1. DETERMINATION OF FORMS OF AGREEMENT; DETERMINATION OF LEGAL DISPUTES.

In the cities of Sangrahana, Dronamukha, and Sthaníya, and at places where districts meet, three members acquainted with Sacred Law (dharmasthas) and three ministers of the king (amatyas) shall carry on the administration of Justice.

(Valid and Invalid Transactions.)

They shall hold as void agreements (vyavahara) entered into in seclusion, inside the houses, in the dead of night, in forests, in secret, or with fraud.

The proposer and the accessory shall be punished with the first amercement [A fine ranging from 48 to 96 panas is called first amercement; from 200 to 500 panas, the middlemost; and from 500 to 1,000 panas the highest amercement. See Chap. 17, Book 3]; the witnesses (srotri = voluntary hearers) shall each be punished with half of the above fine; and accepters shall suffer the loss they may have sustained.

But agreements entered into within the hearing of others, as well as those not otherwise condemnable shall be valid.

Those agreements which relate to the division of inheritance, sealed or unsealed deposits, or marriage; or those in which are concerned women who are either afflicted with disease or who do not stir out; as well as those entered into by persons who are not known to be of unsound mind shall be valid though they might be entered into inside houses.

Transactions relating to robbery, duel, marriage, or the execution of the king's order, as well as agreements entered into by persons who usually do their business during the first part of the night shall be valid though they might be done at night.

With regard to those persons who live most part of their life in forests, whether as merchants, cowherds, hermits, hunters, or spies, their agreements though entered into in forests shall be valid.

If fraudulent agreements, only such shall be valid as are entered into by spies.

Agreements entered into by members of any association among themselves shall be valid though entered into in private.

Such agreements (i.e., those entered into in seclusion, etc.) except as detailed above shall be void.

So also agreements entered into by dependent or unauthorised persons, such as a father's mother, a son, a father having a son, an outcast brother, the youngest brother of a family of undivided interests, a wife having her husband or son, a slave, a hired labourer, any person who is too young or too old to carry on business, a convict (abhisasta), a cripple, or an afflicted person, shall not be valid. But it would be otherwise if he were authorised.

Even agreements entered into by an authorised person shall be void if he was at the time (of making the agreements) under provocation, anxiety, or intoxication, or if he was a lunatic or a haunted person.

In all these cases, the proposer, his accessory, and witnesses shall each be punished as specified above.

But such agreements as are entered into in person by any one with others of his own community in suitable place and time are valid provided the circumstances, the nature, the description, and the qualities of the case are credible.

Such agreements with the exception of orders (Adesa=probably a bill of exchange) and hypothecations may be binding though entered into by a third person. Thus the determination of the forms of agreement.

(The Trial.)

The year, the season, the month, the fortnight (paksha), the date, the nature and place of the deed, the amount of the debt as well as the country, the residence, the caste, the gotra, the name and occupation of both the plaintiff and the defendant both of whom must be fit to sue and defend (kritasamarthavasthayoh), having been registered first, the statements of the parties shall be taken down in such order as is required by the case. These statements shall then be thoroughly scrutinised.

(The offence of Parokta.)

Leaving out the question at issue, either of the parties takes resort to another; his previous statement is not consistent with his subsequent one; he insists on the necessity of considering the opinion of a third person, though it is not worthy of any such consideration; having commenced to answer the question at issue, he breaks off at once, even though he is ordered to continue; he introduces questions other than those specified by himself; he withdraws his own statement; he does not accept what his own witnesses have deposed to; and he holds secret conversation with his witnesses where he ought not to do so.

These constitute the offence of Parokta.

(Punishment for Parokta.)

Fine for parokta is five times the amount (paroktadandah panchabandah).

Fine for self assertion (svayamvadi = asserting without evidence) is ten times the amount (dasabandha.)

(Payments for Witnesses.)

Fees for witnesses (purushabhritih) shall cover 1/8th of the amount (astanga). Provision proportional to the amount sued for may also be made for the expenses incurred by witnesses in their journey. The defeated party shall pay these two kinds of costs.

(Countersuits.)

In cases other than duel, robbery, as well as disputes among merchants or trade-guilds, the defendant shall file no countercase against the plaintiff. Nor can there be a countercase for the defendant.

(Adjournments.)

The plaintiff shall ('rejoin') reply soon after the defendant has answered the questions at issue. Else he shall be guilty of parokta, for the plaintiff knows the determining factors of the case. But the defendant does not do so. The defendant may be allowed three or seven nights to prepare his defence. If he is not ready with his defence within that time, he shall be punished with a fine ranging from 3 to 12 panas. If he does not answer even after three fortnights, he shall be fined for parokta, and the plaintiff shall recover out of the defendant's property the amount of the case. But if the plaintiff sues for a mere return of gratitude (pratyupakarana), then no (decree shall be passed).

The same punishment shall be meted out to such of the defendants as fail in their defence.

If the plaintiff fails to prove his case, he shall (also) be guilty of parokta. If he fails to substantiate his case against a dead or diseased defendant, he shall pay a fine and perform the (funeral) ceremonies of the defendant, as determined by the witnesses. If he proves his case, he may be permitted to take possession of the property hypothecated to him.

But if he is not a Brahman, he may, on his failure to prove his case, be caused to perform such ceremonials as drive out demons (rakshoghna rakshitakam.)

• In virtue of his power to uphold the observance of the respective duties of the four castes and of the four divisions of religious life, and in virtue of his power to guard against the violation of the Dharmas, the king is the fountain of justice (dharmapravartaka.)

• Sacred law (Dharma), evidence (Vyavahara), history (Charitra), and edicts of kings (Rajasasana) are the four legs of Law. Of these four in order, the later is superior to the one previously named.

• Dharma is eternal truth holding its sway over the world; Vyavahara, evidence, is in witnesses; Charitra, history, is to be found in the tradition (sangraha), of the people; and the order of kings is what is called sasana.

• As the duty of a king consists in protecting his subjects with justice, its observance leads him to heaven. He who does not protect his people or upsets the social order wields his royal sceptre (danda) in vain.

• It is power and power (danda) alone which, only when exercised by the king with impartiality and in proportion to guilt either over his son or his enemy, maintains both this world and the next.

• The king who administers justice in accordance with sacred law (Dharma), evidence (vyavahara), history (samstha) and edicts of kings (Nyaya) which is the fourth will be able to conquer the whole world bounded by the four quarters (Chaturantam mahím).

• Whenever there is disagreement between history and sacred law or between evidence and sacred law, then the matter shall be settled in accordance with sacred law.

• But whenever sacred law (sastra) is conflict with rational law (Dharmanyaya=kings' law), then reason shall be held authoritative; for there the original text (on which the sacred law has been based) is not available.

• Self-assertion (svayamvada) on the part of either of the parties has often been found faulty. Examination (anuyoga), honesty (arjava), evidence (hetu) and asseveration by oath (sapatha)---these alone can enable a man to win his cause.

• Whenever by means of the deposition of witnesses, the statements of either of the parties are found contradictory, and whenever the cause of either of the parties is found through the king's spies to be false, then the decree shall be passed against that party.

[Thus ends Chapter 1, "Determination of forms of Agreement; Determination of Legal Disputes" in Book 3, "Concerning Law," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the fifty-eighth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 2. CONCERNING MARRIAGE. THE DUTY OF MARRIAGE, THE PROPERTY OF A WOMAN, AND COMPENSATIONS FOR REMARRIAGE.

Marriage precedes the other calls of life (vyavahara.) The giving in marriage of a maiden well-adorned is called Brahma-marriage. The joint-performance of sacred duties (by a man and a woman) is known as prajapatya marriage.

(The giving in marriage of a maiden) for a couple of cows is called Arsha. (The giving in marriage of a maiden) to an officiating priest in a sacrifice is called Daiva. The voluntary union of a maiden with her lover is called Gandharva. Giving a maiden after receiving plenty of wealth (sulka) is termed Asura. The abduction of a maiden is called Rakshasa. The abduction of a maiden while she is asleep and in intoxication is called Paisacha marraige.

Of these, the first four are ancestral customs of old and are valid on their being approved of by the father. The rest are to be sanctioned by both the father and the mother; for it is they that receive the money (sulka) paid by the bridegroom for their daughter. In case of the absence by death of either the father or the mother, the survivor will receive the sulka. If both of them are dead, the maiden herself shall receive it. Any kind of marriage is approvable, provided it pleases all those (that are concerned in it.)

(Property of Women.)

Means of subsistence (vritti) or jewellery (abadhya) constitutes what is called the property of a woman. Means of subsistence valued at above two thousand shall be endowed (on her name). There is no limit to jewellery. It is no guilt for the wife to make use of this property in maintaining her son, her daughter-in-law or herself whenever her absent husband has made no provision for her maintenance. In calamities, disease and famine, in warding off dangers and in charitable acts, the husband, too, may make use of this property. Neither shall there be any complaint against the enjoyment of this property by mutual consent by a couple who have brought forth a twin. Nor shall there be any complaint if this property has been enjoyed for three years by those who are wedded in accordance with the customs of the first four kinds of marriage. But the enjoyment of this property in the cases of Gandharva and Asura marriages shall be liable to be restored together with interest on it. In the case of such marriages as are called Rakshasa and Paisacha, the use of this property shall be dealt with as theft. Thus the duty of marriage is dealt with.

On the death of her husband a woman, desirous to lead a pious life, shall at once receive not only her endowment and jewellery (sthapyabharanam), but also the balance of sulka due to her. If both of these two things are not actually in her possession, though nominally given to her, she shall at once receive both of them together with interest (on their value.) If she is desirous of a second marriage (kutumbakama), she shall be given on the occasion of her remarriage (nivesakale) whatever either her father-in-law or her husband or both had given to her. The time at which women can remarry shall be explained in connection with the subject of long sojourn of husbands.

If a widow marries any man other than of her father-in-law's selection (svasurapratilo- myenanivishta), she shall forfeit whatever had been given to her by her father-in-law and her husband.

The kinsmen (gnatis) of a woman shall return to her whatever property of her own she had placed in their custody. Whoever justly takes a woman under his protection shall equally protect her property. No woman shall succeed in her attempt to establish her title to the property of her husband.

If she lives a pious life, she may enjoy it (dharmakama bhunjíta). No woman with a son or sons shall be at liberty to make free use of her own property (stridhana); for that property of hers her sons shall receive.

If a woman attempts to take possession of her own property under the plea of maintaining her sons, she shall be made to endow it in their name. If a woman has many male children, then she shall conserve her own property in the same condition as she had received from her husband. Even that property which has been given her with full powers of enjoyment and disposal she shall endow in the name of her sons.

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A barren widow who is faithful to the bed of her dead husband may, under the protection of her teacher, enjoy her property as long as she lives: for it is to ward off calamities that women are endowed with property. On her death, her property shall pass into the hands of her kinsmen (dayada). If the husband is alive and the wife is dead, then her sons and daughters shall divide her property among themselves. If there are no sons, her daughters shall have it. In their absence her husband shall take that amount of money (sulka) which he had given her, and her relatives shall retake whatever in the shape of gift or dowry they had presented her. Thus the determination of the property of a woman is dealt with.

(Re-marriage of Males.)

If a woman either brings forth no (live) children, or has no male issue, or is barren, her husband shall wait for eight years, (before marrying another). If she bears only a dead child, he has to wait for ten years. If she brings forth only females, he has to wait for twelve years. Then if he is desirous to have sons, he may marry another. In case of violating this rule, he shall be made to pay her not only sulka, her property (stridhana) and an adequate monetary compensation (adhivedanikamartham), but also a fine of 24 panas to the Government. Having given the necessary amount of sulka and property (stridhana) even to those women who have not received such things on the occasion of their marriage with him, and also having given his wives the proportionate compensation and an adequate subsistence (vritti), he may marry any number of women; for women are created for the sake of sons. If many or all of them are at the same time in menses, he shall lie with that woman among them, whom he married earlier or who has a living son. In case of his concealing the fact of her being in menses or neglecting to lie with any of them after her menses, he shall pay a fine of 96 panas. Of women who either have sons or are pious or barren, or bring forth only a dead child or are beyond the age of menstruation, none shall be associated with against her liking. If a man has no inclination, he may not lie with his wife who is either afflicted with leprosy or is a lunatic. But if a woman is desirous of having sons, she may lie with men suffering from such disease.

• If a husband either is of bad character or is long gone abroad or has become a traitor to his king or is likely to endanger the life of his wife or has fallen from his caste or has lost virility, he may be abandoned by his wife.

[Thus ends Chapter 2, "The Duty of Marriage, the Property of a Woman, and Compensation for Remarriage," in Book 3, "Concerning Law," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the fifty-ninth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 3. THE DUTY OF A WIFE; MAINTENANCE OF A WOMAN; CRUELTY TO WOMEN; ENMITY BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIFE; A WIFE's TRANSGRESSION; HER KINDNESS TO ANOTHER; AND FORBIDDEN TRANSACTIONS.

WOMEN, when twelve years old, attain their majority (praptavyavahara) and men when sixteen years old. If after attaining their majority, they prove disobedient to lawful authority (asusrushayam), women shall be fined 15 panas and men, twice the amount.

(Maintenance of a woman.)

A woman who has a right to claim maintenance for an unlimited period of time shall be given as much food and clothing (grasacchadana) as is necessary for her or more than is necessary in proportion to the income of the maintainer (yatha-purushaparivapam va). If the period (for which such things are to be given to her) is limited, then a certain amount of money fixed in proportion to the income of the maintainer shall be given to her; so also if she has not been given her sulka, property, and compensation (due to her for allowing her husband to remarry). If after parting with her husband, she places herself under the protection of any one belonging to her father-in-law's family (svasrakula), or if she begins to live independently, then her husband shall not be sued for (for her maintenance). Thus the determination of maintenance is dealt with.

(Cruelty to women.)

Women of refractive nature shall be taught manners by using such general expressions as 'Thou, half naked; thou, fully naked; thou, cripple; thou, fatherless; thou, motherless, (nagne vinagne nyange pitrke matrke vinagne ityanirdesena vinayagrahanam). Or three beats either with a bamboo-bark or with a rope or with the palm of the hand may be given on her hips. Violation of the above rules shall be liable to half the punishment levied for defamation and criminal hurt. The same kind of punishment shall be meted out to a woman who, moved with jealousy or hatred, shows cruelty to her husband. Punishments for engaging in sports at the door of, or outside her husband's house shall be as dealt with elsewhere. Thus cruelty to women is dealt with.

(Enmity between husband and wife.)

A woman, who hates her husband, who has passed the period of seven turns of her menses, and who loves another shall immediately return to her husband both the endowment and jewellery she has received from him, and allow him to lie down with another woman. A man, hating his wife, shall allow her to take shelter in the house of a mendicant woman, or of her lawful guardians or of her kinsmen. If a man falsely accuses his wife of adultery with one of her or his kinsmen or with a spy--an accusation which can only be proved by eyewitnesses (drishtilinge)--or falsely accuses her of her intention to deprive him of her company, he shall pay a fine of 12 panas. A woman, hating her husband, can not dissolve her marriage with him against his will. Nor can a man dissolve his marriage with his wife against her will. But from mutual enmity, divorce may be obtained (parasparam dveshanmokshah). If a man, apprehending danger from his wife desires divorce (mokshamichhet), he shall return to her whatever she was given (on the occasion of her marriage). If a woman, under the apprehension of danger from her husband, desires divorce, she shall forfeit her claim to her property; marriages contracted in accordance with the customs of the first four kinds of marriages cannot be dissolved.

(Transgression.)

If a woman engages herself in amorous sports, or drinking in the face of an order to the contrary, she shall be fined 3 panas. She shall pay a fine of 6 panas for going out at day time to sports or to see a woman or spectacles. She shall pay a fine of 12 panas if she goes out to see another man or for sports. For the same offences committed at night, the fines shall be doubled. If a woman abducts another woman while the latter is asleep or under intoxication (suptamatta-pravrajane), or if she drags her husband as far as the door of the house, she shall be fined 12 panas. If a woman leaves her house at night, she shall pay double the above fine. If a man and a woman make signs to each other with a view to sensual enjoyment, or carry on secret conversation (for the same purpose), the woman shall pay a fine of 24 panas, and the man, double the amount. A woman, holding out her hair, the tie of her dress round her loins, her teeth or her nails, shall pay the first amercement, and a man, doing the same, twice the first amercement.

For holding conversation in suspicious places, whips may be substituted for fines. In the centre of the village, an outcaste person (chandala) may whip such women five times on each of the sides of their body. She may get rid of being whipped by paying a pana for each whip (panikam va praharam mokshayet). Thus transgression is dealt with.

(Forbidden transactions.)

With regard to a man and a woman who, though forbidden to carry on any mutual transaction, help each other, the woman shall be fined 12, 24 and 54 panas respectively according as the help consists of (1st) small things, of (2nd) heavy things and (3rd) of gold or gold-coin (hiranyasuvarnayoh); and the man, at double the above rates. With regard to similar transaction between a man and a woman who cannot mix with each other (agamvayoh), half of the above punishment shall be levied. Similar punishment shall be meted out for any forbidden transaction with any men. Thus forbidden transactions are dealt with.

• Treason, transgression and wandering at will shall deprive a woman of her claim not only to (1st) stridhana, some form of subsistence of above 2,000 panas and jewellery, (2nd) and ahita, compensation she may have obtained for allowing her husband to marry another woman, but also (3rd) to sulka, money which her parents may have received from her husband.

[Thus ends Chapter 3, "The Duty of a Wife; Maintenance of a Woman; Enmity between Husband and Wife; a Wife's Transgression; and Forbidden Transactions" in the section "Concerning Marriage," in Book 3, "Concerning Law" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the sixtieth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 4. VAGRANCY, ELOPEMENT AND SHORT AND LONG SOJOURNMENTS.

If under any other excuse than danger, a woman gets out of her husband's house, she shall be fined 6 panas. If she gets out against the order (of her husband) to the contrary, she shall be fined 12 panas. If she goes beyond her neighbouring house (prativesagrihatigatayah), she shall be fined 6 panas. If she allows into her house her neighbour, takes into her house the alms of any mendicant, or the merchandise of any merchant, she shall be fined 12 panas. If she deals as above though expressly forbidden, she shall be punished with the first amercement. If she goes out beyond the surrounding houses (parigrihatigatayam), she shall be fined 24 panas. If under any other excuse than danger, she takes into her house the wife of another man, she shall be fined 100 panas. But she will not be guilty if the entrance is effected without her knowledge or against her orders to the contrary.

My teacher says:--With a view to avoid danger, it is no offence for women to go to any male person who is a kinsman of her husband, or is a rich and prosperous gentleman (sukhavastha), or is the head-man of the village or is one of her guardians (anvadhikula), or who belongs to the family of a mendicant woman, or to any one of her own kinsmen.

But Kautilya questions :--How is it possible for good women (sadhvijana) to know at least this fact that the family of her own kinsmen consisting of a number of males is good? It is no offence for women to go to the houses of kinsmen under the circumstances of death, disease, calamities, and confinement of women. Whoever prevents her going under such circumstances, shall be fined 12 panas. If a woman conceals herself under such circumstances, she shall forfeit her endowment. If her kinsmen conceal her (with a view to exempt her from giving her aid under such circumstances), they shall lose the balance of sulka, money due to them from her husband for giving her in marriage. Thus vagrancy is dealt with.

(Elopement or Criminal Rendezvous.)

If leaving her husband's house, a woman goes to another village, she shall not only pay a fine of 12 panas, but also forfeit her endowment and jewels (sthapyabharanalopascha). If under any other excuse than receiving her subsistence or pilgrimage (bharmadanatirthagamanabhyamanyatra), a woman goes to any other place even in company with an associable man, she shall not only pay a fine of 24 panas, but also lose all kinds of social privileges (sarvadharmalopascha). But the man who allows such a woman to accompany him in his journey shall be punished with the first amercement. If both of them (man, and woman) have similar ideals in life (tulyasreyasoh) and are of sinful life (papiyasoh), each of them shall be punished with the middle-most amercement. If he whom a woman accompanies in her journey is her near relative, he shall not be punished. If a relative allows a woman to accompany him, though he is forbidden, he shall be punished with half the above fine (middlemost amercement). If on a road, or in the middle of a forest, or in any other concealed places a woman falls into the company of any other man, or if, with a view to enjoyment, she accompanies a suspicious or forbidden man, she shall be guilty of elopement (sangrahanam vidyat). It is no offence for women to fall into the company of actors, players, singers, fishermen, hunters, herdsmen, vintners, or persons of any other kind who usually travel with their women. If a man takes a woman with him on his journey, though forbidden to do so, or if a woman accompanies a man though she is forbidden to do so, half of the above fines shall be meted out to them. Thus elopement is dealt with.

(Re-marriage of women.)

Wives who belong to Sudra, Vaisya, Kshatriya or Brahman caste, and who have not given birth to children should wait as long as a year for their husbands who have gone abroad for a short time; but if they are such as have given birth to children, they should wait for their absent husbands for more than a year. If they are provided with maintenance, they should wait for twice the period of time just mentioned. If they are not so provided with, their well-to-do gnatis should maintain them either for four or eight years. Then the gnatis should leave them to marry after taking what had been presented to them on the occasion of their marriages. If the husband is a Brahman, studying abroad, his wife who has no issue should wait for him for ten years; but if she has given birth to children, she should wait for twelve years. If the husband is of Kshatriya caste, his wife should wait for him till her death; but even if she bears children to a savarna husband, (i.e., a second husband belonging to the same gotra as that of the former husband) with a view to avoid the extinction of her race, she shall not be liable to contempt thereof (savarnatascha prajata na pavadam labheta). If the wife of an absent husband lacks maintenance and is deserted by well-to-do gnatis, she may remarry one whom she likes and who is in a position to maintain her and relieve her misery.

A young wife (kumari) who is wedded in accordance with the customs of the first four kinds of marriage (dharmavivahat), and whose husband has gone abroad and is heard of shall wait for him for the period of seven menses (saptatirthanyakanksheta), provided she has not publicly announced his name; but she shall wait for him a year in case of her having announced the name of her absent husband who is heard of. In the case of a husband who is gone abroad but who is not heard of, his wife shall wait for the period of five menses, but if the absent husband is not heard of, his wife shall wait for him for the period of ten menses. In the case of a husband who is gone abroad and is not heard of, his wife shall, if she has received only a part of sulka from him, wait for him for the period of three menses; but if he is heard of, she shall wait for him for the period of seven menses. A young wife who has received the whole amount of sulka shall wait for the period of five menses for her absent husband who is not heard of; but if he is heard of, she shall wait for him for the period of ten menses. Then with the permission of judges (dharmasthairvisrishta), she may marry one whom she likes; for neglect of intercourse with wife after her monthly ablution is, in the opinion of Kautilya, a violation of one's duty (tirthoparodho hi dharmavadha iti Kautilyah).

In the case of husbands who have long gone abroad (dirgrhapravasinah), who have become ascetics, or who have been dead, their wives, having no issue, shall wait for them for the period of seven menses; but if they have given birth to children, they shall wait for a year. Then (each of these women) may marry the brother of her husband. If there are a number of brothers to her lost husband, she shall marry such a one of

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them as is next in age to her former husband, or as is virtuous and is capable of protecting her, or one who is the youngest and unmarried. If there are no brothers to her lost husband, she may marry one who belongs to the same gotra as her husband's or relative. But if there are many such persons as can be selected in marriage, she shall choose one who is a nearer relation of her lost husband.

• If a woman violates the above rule by remarrying one who is not a kinsman (dayada) of her husband, then the woman and the man who remarry each other, those that have given her in remarriage and those who have given their consent to it shall all be liable to the punishment for elopement.

[Thus ends Chapter 4, "Vagrancy; Elopement; and Short and Long Sojournments," in the section "Concerning Marriage" in Book 3, "Concerning Law" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the Section "Concerning Marriage". End of the sixty-first chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 5. DIVISION OF INHERITANCE.

Sons whose fathers and mothers or ancestors are alive cannot be independent (anísvarah). After their time, division of ancestral property among descendants from the same ancestor shall take place, calculating per sterpes (according to fathers).

Self-acquired property of any of the sons with the exception of that kind of property which is earned by means of parental property is not divisible. Sons or grandsons till the fourth generation from the first parent shall also have prescribed shares (amsabhajah) in that property which is acquired by means of their undivided ancestral property; for the line (pindah) as far as the fourth generation is uninterrupted (avichchhinnah). But those whose line or genealogy from the first ancestor is interrupted (vichchhinnapindah, i.e., those who are subsequent to the fourth generation), shall have equal divisions. Those who have been living together shall redivide their property whether they had already divided their ancestral property before or they had received no such property at all. Of sons, he who brings the ancestral property to a prosperous condition shall also have a share of the profit.

If a man has no male issue, his own brothers, or persons who have been living with him, (saha jívino va), shall take possession of his movable property (dravyam); and his daughters, (born of marriages other than the first four), shall have his immovable property (riktham). If one has sons, they shall have the property; if one has (only) daughters born of such marriage as is contracted in accordance with the customs of any of the first four kinds of marriage, they shall have the property; if there are neither sons nor such daughters, the dead man's father, if living, shall have it; if he, too, is not alive, the dead man's brothers and the sons of his brothers shall have it; if there are many fatherless brothers, all of them shall divide it; and each of the many sons of such brothers shall have one share due to his father (piturekamamsam); if the brothers (sodarya) are the sons of many fathers, they shall divide it calculating from their fathers.

Among a dead man's father, brother, and brother's sons, the succeeding ones shall depend on the preceding ones if living (for their shares); likewise the youngest or the eldest claiming his own share.

A father, distributing his property while he is alive, shall make no distinction in dividing it among his sons. Nor shall a father deprive without sufficient reason any of the sons of his share. Father being dead, the elder sons shall show favour to the younger ones, if the latter are not of bad character.

(Time of dividing inheritance.)

Division of inheritance shall be made when all the inheritors have attained their majority. If it is made before, the minors shall have their shares, free of all debts.

These shares of the minors shall be placed in the safe custody of the relatives of their mothers, or of aged gentlemen of the village, till they attain their majority. The same rule shall hold good in the case of those who have gone abroad. Unmarried brothers shall also be paid as much marriage cost as is equal to that incurred in the marriages of married brothers (sannivishtasamamasannivishtebhyonaivesanikam dadyuh). Daughters, too, (unmarried) shall be paid adequate dowry (pradanikam), payable to them on the occasion of their marriages.

Both assets and liabilities shall be equally divided.

My teacher says that poor people (nishkinchanah) shall equally distribute among themselves even the mud-vessels (udapatram).

In the opinion of Kautilya, it is unnecessary to say so (chhalam); for as a rule, division is to be made of all that is in existence, but of nothing that is not in existence. Having declared before witnesses the amount of property common to all (samanya) as well as the property constituting additional shares (amsa) of the brothers (in priority of their birth), division of inheritance shall be carried on. Whatever is badly and unequally divided or is involved in deception, concealment or secret acquisition, shall be redivided.

Property for which no claimant is found (adayadakam) shall go to the king, except the property of a woman, of a dead man for whom no funeral rites have been performed, or of a niggardly man with the exception of that of a Brahman learned in the Vedas. That (the property of the learned) shall be made over to those who are well-versed in the three Vedas.

Persons fallen from caste, persons born of outcaste men, and eunuchs shall have no share; likewise idiots, lunatics, the blind and lepers. If the idiots, etc., have wives with property, their issues who are not equally idiots, etc., shall share inheritance. All these persons excepting those that are fallen from caste (patitavarjah) shall be entitled to only food and clothing.

• If these persons have been married (before they became fallen, etc.) and if their line is likely to become extinct, their relatives may beget sons for them and give proportional shares of inheritance to those sons.

[Thus ends Chapter 5, "Procedure of Portioning Inheritance" in the section of "Division of Inheritance" in Book 3, "Concerning law" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the sixty-second chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 6. SPECIAL SHARES IN INHERITANCE.

Goats shall be the special shares of the eldest of sons, born of the same mother, among, Brahmans; horses among Kshatriyas; cows among Vaisyas; and sheep among Sudras. The blind of the same animals shall be the special shares to the middle-most sons; species of variegated colour of the same animals shall be the special shares to the youngest of sons. In the absence of quadruped, the eldest shall take an additional share of the whole property excepting precious stones; for by this act alone, he will be bound in his duty to his ancestors.

The above method is in accordance with the rules observed among the followers of Usanas.

The father being dead, his carriage and jewellery shall be the special share to the eldest; his bed, seat, and bronze plate in which he used to take his meals (bhuktakamsyam), to the middle-most;. and black grains, iron, domestic utensils, cows and cart to the youngest. The rest of the property, or the above things, too, may be equally divided among themselves. Sisters shall have no claim to inheritance; they shall have the bronze plate and jewellery of their mother after her death. An impotent eldest son shall have only 1/3rd of the special share usually given to the eldest; if the eldest son follows a condemnable occupation or if he has given up the observance of religious duties, he shall have only 1/4 of the special share; if he is unrestrained in his actions he shall have nothing.

The same rule shall hold good with the middlemost and youngest sons; of these two, one who is endowed with manliness (manushopetah), shall have half the special share usually given to the eldest.

With regard to sons of many wives:--

Of sons of two wives of whom only one woman has gone through all the necessary religious ceremonials, or both of whom have not, as maidens, observed necessary religious rites, or one of whom has brought forth twins, it is by birth that primogenitureship is decided.

Shares in inheritance for such sons as Suta, Magadha, Vratya and Rathakara shall depend on the abundance of paternal property; the rest, i.e., sons other than Suta, etc., of inferior birth, shall be dependent on the eldest for their subsistence. Dependent sons shall have equal divisions.

Of sons begotten by a Brahman in the four castes, the son of a Brahman woman shall take four shares; the son of a Kshatriya woman three shares; the son of a Vaisya woman two shares, and the son of a Sudra woman one share.

The same rule shall hold good in the case of Kshatriya and Vaisya fathers begetting sons in three or two castes in order.

An Anantara son of a Brahman, i.e. a son begotten by a Brahman on a woman of next lower caste, shall, if endowed with manly or superior qualities (manushopetah), take an equal share (with other sons of inferior qualities); similarly Anantara sons of Kshatriya or Vaisya fathers shall if endowed with manly or superior qualities, take half or equal shares (with others). An only son to two mothers of different castes shall take possession of the whole property and maintain the relatives of his father. A Palrasava son begotten by a Brahman on a Sudra woman, shall take 1/3rd share; a sapinda, (an agnate) or a kulya (the nearest cognate), of the Brahman shall take the remaining two shares, being thereby obliged to offer funeral libation; in the absence of agnates or cognates, the deceased father's teacher or student shall take the two shares.

• Or on the wife of such a Brahman shall a sagotra, relative bearing the same family name, or a (matribandha) relative of his mother, beget a natural son (kshetraja), and this son may take that wealth.

[Thus ends Chapter 6, "Special Shares of Inheritance" in the section of "Division of inheritance" in Book 3, "Concerning law" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the sixty-third chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 7. DISTINCTION BETWEEN SONS.

My preceptor says that the seed sown in the field of another shall belong to the owner of that field. Others hold that the mother being only the receptacle for the seed (mata bhastra), the child must belong to him from whose seed it is born. Kautilya says that it must belong to both the living parents.

The son begotten by a man on his wife who has gone through all the required ceremonials is called aurasa, natural son; equal to him is the son of an appointed daughter (putrikaputra); the son begotten on a wife by another man, appointed for the purpose, and of the same gotra as that of the husband; or of a different gotra, is called kshetraja; on the death of the begetter, the kshetraja son will be the son to both the fathers, follow the gotras of both, offer funeral libations to both, and take possession of the immovable property (riktha) of both of them; of the same status as the kshetraja is he who is secretly begotten in the house of relatives and is called gudhaja, secretly born; the son cast off by his natural parents is called apaviddha and will belong to that man who performs necessary religious ceremonials to him; the son born of a maiden (before wedlock) is called kanina; the son born of a woman married while carrying is called sahodha; the son of a remarried woman (punarbhatayah.) is called paunarbhava. A natural son can claim relationship both with his father and his father's relatives; but a son born to another man can have relationship only with his adopter. Of the same status as the latter is he who is given in adoption with water by both the father and mother and is called datta. The son who, either of his own accord or following the intention of his relatives, offers himself to be the son of another, is called upagata. He who is appointed as a son is called kritaka; and he who is purchased is called kríta.

On the birth of a natural son, savarna sons shall have 1/3rd of inheritance while savarna sons shall have only food and clothing.

Sons begotten by Brahmans or Kshatriyas on women of next lower caste (anantaraputrah) are called savarnas; but on women of castes lower by two grades are called asavarnas. (Of such asavarna sons), the son begotten by a Brahman on a Vaisya woman is called Ambashtha; on a Sudra woman is called Nishada or Parasava. The son begotten by a Kshatriya on a Sudra woman is known as Ugra; the son begotten by a Vaisya on a Sudra woman is no other than a Sudra. Sons begotten by men of impure life of any of the four castes on women of lower castes next to their own are called Vratyas. The above kinds of sons are called anuloma, sons begotten by men of higher on women of lower castes.

Sons begotten by a Sudra on women of higher castes are Ayogava, Kshatta, and Chandala; by a Vaisya, Magadha, and Vaidehaka; and by a Kshatriya, Suta. But men of the, names, Suta and Magadha, celebrated in the Puranas, are quite different and of greater merit than either Brahmans or Kshatriyas. The above kinds of sons are pratiloma, sons begotten by men of lower on women of higher castes, and originate on account of kings violating all dharmas.

The son begotten by an Ugra on a Nishada woman is called kukkuta and the same is called Pulkasa, if begotten in the inverse order. The son begotten by an Ambhashtha on a Vaidehaka woman is named Vaina; the same in the reverse order is called Kusílava. An Ugra begets on a Kshatta woman as vapaka. These and other sons are of mixed castes (Antaralas).

A Vainya becomes a Rathakara, chariot-maker, by profession. Members of this caste shall marry among themselves. Both in customs and avocations they shall follow their ancestors. They may either become Sudras or embrace any other lower castes excepting Chandalas.

The king who guides his subjects in accordance with the above rules will attain to heaven; otherwise he will fall into the hell.

Offsprings of mixed castes (Antaralas) shall have equal divisions of inheritance.

• Partition of inheritance shall be made in accordance with the customs prevalent in the country, caste, guild (sangha), or the village of the inheritors.

[Thus ends Chapter 7 "Distinction between Sons" in the section of "Division of Inheritance" in Book 3, "Concerning law" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of "Division of Inheritance". End of the sixty-fourth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 8. BUILDINGS.

Disputes concerning Vastu are dependent for settlement on the evidences to be furnished by people living in the neighbourhood.

Houses, fields, gardens, building of any kind (setubandhah), lakes and tanks are each called Vastu.

The fastening of the roof of a house to the transverse beam by means of iron bolts is called setu (karna-kílaya- sabandho' nugriham setuh). In conformity to the stability of the setu, houses shall be constructed. Not encroaching upon what belongs to others, new houses may be constructed.

Foundation (pade bandhah) shall be 2 aratnis by 3 padas. Except in the case of temporary structures for the confinement of women for ten days, all permanent houses shall be provided with a dunghill (avaskara), water course (bhrama), and a well (udapanum). Violation of this rule shall be punished with the first amercement.

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The same rule shall hold good regarding the necessity of constructing closets, pits and water courses on festive occasions.

From each house a water course of sufficient slope and 3 padas or 11 aratnis long shall be so constructed that water shall either flow from it in a continuous line or fall from it (into the drain).

Violation of this rule shall be punished with a fine of 54 panas.

Beginning with a pada or an aratni, an apartment measuring 3 padas by 4 padas shall be made for locating the fire for worship (agnishtham), or a waterbutt, (udanjaram), or a corn-mill (rochanim), or a mortar (kuttinin).

Violation of this rule shall be punished with a fine of 24 panas.

Between any two houses or between the extended portions of any two houses, the intervening space shall be 4 padas, or 3 padas. The roofs of adjoining houses may either be 4 angulas apart, or one of them may cover the other. The front door (anidvaram) shall measure a kishku; there shall be no impediment inside the house for opening one or the other of the folds of the door. The upper story shall be provided with a small but high window. [If a (neighbouring) house is obstructed by it, the window should be closed.] The owners of houses may construct their houses in any other way they collectively like, but they shall avoid whatever is injurious. With a view to ward off the evil consequences of rain, the top of the roof (vanalatyaschordhvam) shall be covered over with a broad mat, not blowable by the wind. Neither shall the roof be such as will easily bend or break. Violation of this rule shall be punished with the first amercement. The same punishment shall be meted out for causing annoyance by constructing doors or windows facing those of others houses except when these houses are separated by the king's road or the high road.

If a pit, steps, water-course, ladder, dung-hill, or, any other parts of a house offer or cause annoyance to outsiders, or in any way obstruct the enjoyment of others (bhoganigrahe cha), or cause water to collect and thereby injure the wall of a neighbouring house, the owner shall be punished with a fine of 12 panas. If the annoyance is due to feces and urine, the fine shall be double the above. The water-course or gutter shall offer free passage for water; otherwise the fine shall be 12 panas.

The same fine (12 panas) shall be meted out not only to a tenant who, though asked to evacuate, resides in the house, but also to the owner who forces out a renter who has paid his rent (from his house), unless the renter is involved in such acts as defamation, theft, robbery, abduction, or enjoyment with a false title. He who voluntarily evacuates a house shall pay the balance of the annual rent.

If any one of a party does not take part in the construction of a building which is intended for the common use of all the members of that party or if any one obstructs another member of a party in making use of any part of such a building, he shall be fined 12 panas. Similarly if any one mars another's enjoyment of such a building, he shall be fined double the above.

• With the exception of private rooms and parlours, (angana) all other open parts of houses as well as apartments where fire is ever kindled for worship or a mortar is situated shall be thrown open for common use.

[Thus ends Chapter 8, "House-building" in the section of "Buildings" in Book 3, "Concerning Law" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the sixty-fifth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 9. SALE OF BUILDINGS, BOUNDARY DISPUTES, DETERMINATION OF BOUNDARIES, AND MISCELLANEOUS HINDRANCES.

Rich persons among kinsmen or neighbours shall in succession go for the purchase of land and other holdings. Neighbours of good family, forty in number and different from the purchasers above mentioned, shall congregate in front of the building for sale and announce it as such. Accurate description of the exact boundaries of fields, gardens, buildings of any kind, lakes or tanks shall be declared before the elders of the village or of the neighbourhood. If, on crying aloud thrice 'Who will purchase this at such and such a price'? no opposition is offered, the purchaser may proceed to purchase the holding in question. If at this time the value of the property is increased by bidding even among persons of the same community, the increased amount together with the toll on the value shall be handed over into the king's treasury. The bidder (vikrayapratikroshta) shall pay the toll. Bidding for a property in the absence of its owner shall be punished with a fine of 24 panas. If the owner does not come forward even on the expiration of seven nights, the bidder may take possession of the property. Sale of building, etc., (vastu) to other than the bidder shall be punished with a fine of 200 panas; if the property is other than buildings, etc., (vastu), the fine for the above offence shall be 24 panas. Thus the sale of buildings is dealt with.

(Boundary disputes.)

In all disputes regarding the boundary between any two villages, neighbours or elders of five or ten villages (panchagrami dasagrami va) shall investigate the case on the evidence to be furnished from natural or artificial boundary marks.

Elders among cultivators and herdsmen, or outsiders who have had the experience of former possession in the place, or one or many persons (not) personally acquainted with the boundary marks under dispute shall first describe the boundary marks, and then, wearing unusual dress (viparitaveshah), shall lead the people (to the place). If the boundary marks just described are not found, a fine of 1,000 panas shall be imposed (on the misleading or guilty person). If, however, they arrive at the exact spot, the party who have either encroached upon the boundary or have destroyed the boundary marks shall be similarly punished.

The king shall beneficially distribute among others those holdings which have no boundary-marks or which have ceased to be enjoyed by any person.

(Disputes about fields.)

Disputes concerning fields shall be decided by the elders of the neighbourbood or of the village. If they are divided in their opinions, decision shall be sought for from a number of pure and respectable people, or, the disputants may equally divide the disputed holding among themselves. If both of these methods fail, the holding (vastu) under dispute shall be taken possession of by the king. The same rule shall hold good in the case of a holding for which no claimant is forthcoming; or it may beneficially be distributed among the people. Occupation of a holding (vastu) by force shall be punished as theft.

If a holding is taken possession of by another on some reasonable grounds, he shall be made to pay to the owner some rent, the amount of which is to be fixed after mature considerations of what is necessary for the subsistence of the cultivator of the holding by him.

Encroachment upon boundaries shall be punished with the first amercement. Destruction of boundaries shall be punished with a fine of 24 panas. The same rules shall hold good in disputes concerning hermitage in forests, pasture lands, high roads, cremation-grounds, temples, sacrificial places, and places of pilgrimage. Thus the determination of boundaries is dealt with.

(Miscellaneous hindrances.)

All kinds of disputes shall depend for their settlement on the evidence to be furnished by neighbours. Of pasture lands, fields (kedara), flower gardens, a threshing-floor (khala), houses, and stables of horses (vahanakoshtha), hindrance to any one coming first in order shall be removed in preference to the one or more coming later in the series. With the exception of people in forests of Brahmans and of Soma-plants, temples, and places of sacrifice and pilgrimage, any person causing, while making use of a by-path to go to tanks, rivers, or fields, damage to the seeds sown in the fields of others, shall pay as much compensation to the sufferers as is equivalent to the damage.

If the owner of any one of the following, viz., wet-fields, parks, or any kinds of buildings, causes damage to the rest owned by others, the fine shall be double the value of the damage.

The water of a lower tank shall not submerge the field irrigated by a higher tank.

The natural flow of water from a higher to a lower tank shall not be stopped unless the lower tank has ceased to be useful for three consecutive years. Violation of this rule shall be punished with the first amercement. The same punishment shall be meted out for emptying a tank of its water (tatakavamanam cha). Buildings of any kind (setubandha), neglected for five consecutive years shall be forfeited, except in calamities.

(Remission of taxes.)

In the case of construction of new works, such as tanks, lakes, etc., taxes (on the lands below such tanks) shall be remitted for five years (panchavarshikah pariharah). For repairing neglected or ruined works of similar nature, taxes shall be remitted for four years. For improving or extending water-works, taxes shall be remitted for three years. In the case of acquiring such newly started works by mortgage or purchase, taxes on the lands below such works shall be remitted for two years. If uncultivated tracts are acquired (for cultivation) by mortgage, purchase or in any other way, remission of taxes shall be for two years. Out of crops grown by irrigation by means of wind power or bullocks (vatapravartimanandinibandhayatana) or below tanks, in fields, parks, flower gardens, or in any other way, so much of the produce as would not entail hardship on the cultivators may be given to the Government. Persons who cultivate the lands below tanks, etc., of others at a stipulated price (prakraya), or for annual rent (avakraya), or for certain number of shares of the crops grown (bhaga) or persons who are permitted to enjoy such lands free of rent of any kind, shall keep the tanks, etc., in good repair; otherwise they shall be punished with a fine of double the loss.

• Persons, letting out the water of tanks, etc., at any other place than their sluice gate (apare), shall pay a fine of 6 panas; and persons who recklessly obstruct the flow of water from the sluice-gate of tanks shall also pay the same fine.

[Thus ends Chapter 9, "Sale of buildings, boundary disputes, determination of boundaries, and miscellaneous hindrances" in the section of "Buildings" in Book 3, "Concerning Law" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the sixty-sixth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 10. DESTRUCTION OF PASTURE-LANDS, FIELDS AND ROADS, AND NON-PERFORMANCE OF AGREEMENTS.

Persons who obstruct, or make any kind of mischief with the flow of water intended for cultivation shall be punished with the first amercement. Construction in the sites belonging to others, of any buildings with a view to attract pilgrims thereto, of abodes of worship (chaitya), or of temples of gods; as also the sale or mortgage, or causing the sale or mortgage, of any long continued charitable building (purvanuvrittam dharmasetum) shall be punished with the middlemost amercement. Those who are witnesses to such transactions shall be punished with the highest amercement excepting in the case of neglected or ruined buildings. In the absence of claimants to dilapidated religious buildings, villagers (gramah), or charitable people (punyasilava) may repair them.

(Blocking the roads.)

Forms of roads and paths have been dealt with in connection with the construction of forts. (First Chapter, Book 2).

Obstruction to roads for inferior beasts or men shall be punished with a fine of 12 panas; to roads for superior beasts 24 panas; to roads for elephants or to those leading to fields, 54 panas; to those leading to any buildings or forests (setuvanapatham), 600 panas; to those for burial grounds or villages, 200 panas; to those for dronamukha, a fortress, 500 panas; and those leading to sthaniya, country parts, or pasture grounds, 1,000 panas. The same fines shall be meted out in case of ploughing the several roads too deep (atikarshane chaisham); and 1/4th of the same fines for ploughing merely on their surface.

If a cultivator or a neighbour makes encroachment upon a field during the time of sowing seeds, he shall be fined 12 panas, unless the encroachment is due to evils, calamities or intolerable occurrences arising otherwise from the field (anyatra doshopanipatavishahyebhyah).

(Settling in villages.)

Taxpayers shall sell or mortgage their fields to taxpayers alone; Brahmans shall sell or mortgage their Brahmadaya or gifted lands only to those who are endowed with such lands; otherwise they shall be punished with the first amercement. The same punishment shall be meted out to a taxpayer who settles in a village not inhabited by taxpayers. If a taxpayer takes the place of another taxpayer, he shall enjoy all the holdings but the house of the latter. Even the house may be given to the new settler. If a person cultivates an inalienable land of another person who does not cultivate it, such a person shall restore the same after five years enjoyment on taking a certain amount of compensation equivalent to the improvement he made on the lands. Persons who are not taxpayers and who sojourn abroad shall retain the right of ownership (bhogam) of their lands.

(The Head-man of the village.)

When the head-man of a village has to travel on account of any business of the whole village, the villagers shall by turns accompany him.

Those who cannot do this shall pay 1 1/2 panas for every yojana. If the headman of a village sends out of the village any person except a thief, or an adulterer, he shall be punished with a fine of 24 panas, and the villagers with the first amercement (for doing the same).

Re-entrance into a village for a person previously sent out of it (nirastasya), is explained by 'settlement of persons in villages' (treated of above).

At a distance of 800 angulas around every village, an enclosure with timber posts shall be constructed.

(Trespassing cattle.)

Pasture lands, plains, and forests may be availed of for grazing cattle.

For camels or buffaloes allowed to stray after grazing in pasture grounds, the fine shall be 1/4th of a pana; for cows, horses, or asses, 1/8th of a pana; for inferior quadrupeds 1/16th of a pana; and for cattle found lying thereon after grazing, fines shall be double the above; for cattle ever found to live in the vicinity of pasture grounds, the fines shall be four times the above.

Bulls, let out in the name of the village deity (gramadevavrishah), cows which have not passed ten days inside the enclosure after calving, or bulls or bullocks kept for crossing cows shall not be punished. If crops are eaten away by animals, the owner or owners of them shall, if proved guilty, be made to pay twice as much as the loss. Persons driving their cattle through a field without intimating the owner shall be fined 12 panas. Any person who allows his cattle to stray shall be fined 24 panas; cowherds doing the same with the cattle under their care shall be fined half the

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above. The same punishment shall be meted out for letting cattle graze in flower gardens. For breaking the fence of fields, the punishment shall be double the above. If cattle are allowed to stray and eat the grains stored in houses, a threshing floor, or a court yard, the owners of the cattle shall pay adequate compensation. If beasts maintained in reserve-forests are found grazing in a field, they shall be brought to the notice of the forest officers and the beasts shall be driven out without being hurt or killed. Stray cattle shall be driven out by the use of ropes or whips. Persons hurting them in any way shall be liable to the punishment for assault or violence. Persons who invite (cattle to graze in the fields of others) or who are caught while committing such offences shall by all means be put down. Thus the destruction of pasture lands, fields, and roads is dealt with.

(Non-performance of agreement.)

The fine levied on a cultivator who arriving at a village for work, does not work shall be taken by the village itself. He shall refund not only double the amount of the wages he received promising to work, but also double the value of food and drink with which he has been provided. If the work is one of sacrificial performance (prahavaneshu), then also he shall pay double the amount of the wages. Any person who does not cooperate in the work of preparation for a public show, shall, together with his family, forfeit his right to enjoy the show (preksha). If a man who has not cooperated in preparing for a public play or spectacle is found hearing or witnessing it under hiding, or if any one refuses to give his aid in a work beneficial to all, he shall be compelled to pay double the value of the aid due from him. The order of any person attempting to do a work beneficial to all shall be obeyed. Disobedience in such a case shall be punished with a fine of 12 panas. If others unitedly beat or hurt such a person so ordering, each of them shall pay double the amount of the fine usually levied for such offence. If among the above offenders one is a Brahman or a person superior to a Brahman, he shall first be punished. If a Brahman does not take part in the combined performance of any sacrifice of his village, he shall not be violated, but may be persuaded to pay a share.

The above rules shall also apply to non-performance of agreements among countries (desa), castes, families, and assemblies.

• Those who, with their united efforts construct on roads buildings of any kind (setubandha) beneficial to the whole country and who not only adorn their villages, but also keep watch on them shall be shown favourable concessions by the king.

[Thus ends Chapter 10 "Destruction of pasture lands, fields, and roads," in the section of "Buildings" in Book 3, "Concerning Law" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya; end of "Buildings"; and of non-performance of agreements.' End of the sixty-seventh chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 11. RECOVERY OF DEBTS.

An interest of a pana and a quarter per month per cent is just. Five panas per month per cent is commercial interest (vyavahariki). Ten panas per month per cent prevails among forests. Twenty panas per month per cent prevails among sea-traders (samudranam). Persons exceeding, or causing to exceed the above rate of interest shall be punished with the first amercement; and hearers of such transactions shall each pay half of the above fine.

The nature of the transactions between creditors and debtors, on which the welfare of the kingdom depends, shall always be scrutinised. Interest in grains in seasons of good harvest shall not exceed more than half when valued in money. Interest on stocks (prakshepa) shall be one-half of the profit and be regularly paid as each year expires. If it is allowed to accumulate owing either to the intention or to the absence abroad (of the receiver or payer), the amount payable shall be equal to twice the share or principal (mulyadvigunah). A person claiming interest when it is not due, or representing as principal the total amount of his original principal and the interest thereon shall pay a fine of four times the amount under dispute (bandhachaturgunah).

A creditor who sues for four times the amount lent by him shall pay a fine of four times the unjust amount.

Of this fine, the creditor shall pay 3/4ths and the debtor 1/4th. Interest on debts due from persons who are engaged in sacrifices taking a long time (dirghasatra), or who are suffering from disease, or who are detained in the houses of their teachers (for learning), or who are either minors or too poor, shall not accumulate.

A creditor refusing to receive the payment of his debt shall pay a fine of 12 panas. If the refusal is due to some (reasonable) cause, then the amount free from interest (for subsequent time) shall be kept in the safe custody of others. Debts neglected for ten years, except in the case of minors, aged persons, diseased persons, persons involved in calamities, or persons who are sojourning abroad or have fled the country and except in the case of disturbances in the kingdom (rajyavibhrama), shall not be received back.

Sons of a deceased debtor shall pay the principal with interest (kusi dam). (In the absence of sons), kinsmen claiming the share of the dead man or sureties, such as joint partners of the debt, (sahagrahinah pratibhuvo va) shall pay the same. No other kind of surety is valid (na pratibhavyamanyat); a minor, as surety, is inefficient (balapratibhavyam asaram = surety of a minor is not strong).

A debt, the payment of which is not limited by time or place or both (asamkhyata-desakalam), shall be paid by the sons, grandsons or any other heirs of the dead debtor. Any debt, the payment of which is not limited by time or place or both and for which life, marriage, or land is pledged, shall be borne by sons or grandsons.

(Regarding many debts against one.)

Excepting the case of a debtor going abroad, no debtor shall simultaneously be sued for more than one debt by one or two creditors. Even in the case of a debtor going abroad, he shall pay his debts in the order in which he borrowed them or shall first pay his debts due to the king or a learned Brahman.

Debts contracted from each other by either a husband or wife, either a son or a father, or by any one among brothers of undivided interests shall be irrecoverable.

Cultivators or government servants shall not be caught hold of for debts while they are engaged in their duties (or at work).

A wife, though she has (not) heard of the debt (pratisravaní), shall not be caught hold of for the debt contracted by her husband, excepting in the case of herdsmen and joint cultivators (gopalakardhasítikebhyah). But a husband may be caught for the debt contracted by his wife. If it is admitted that a man fled the country without providing for the debt contracted by his wife, the highest amercement shall be meted out; if not admitted, witnesses shall be depended upon.

(Witnesses.)

It is obligatory to produce three witnesses who are reliable, honest and respected. At least two witnesses acceptable to the parties are necessary; never one witness in the case of debts.

Wife's brothers, copartners, prisoners (abaddha), creditors, debtors, enemies, maintained persons, or persons once punished by the Government shall not be taken as witnesses. Likewise persons legally unfit to carry on transactions, the king, persons learned in the Vedas, persons depending for their maintenance on villages (gramabhritaka), lepers, persons suffering from bodily erruptions, outcast persons, persons of mean avocation, the blind, the deaf, the dumb, egotistic persons, females, or government servants shall not be taken as witnesses excepting in the case of transactions in one's own community. In dispute concerning assault, theft, or abduction, persons other than wife's brothers, enemies, and co-partners, can be witnesses. In secret dealings, a single woman or a single man who has stealthily heard or seen them can be a witness, with the exception of the king or an ascetic. On the side of prosecution masters against servants, priests or teachers against their disciples, and parents against their sons can be witnesses (nigrahanasakshyam kuryuh); Persons other than these may also be witnesses in criminal cases. If the above persons (masters and servants, etc.) sue each other (parasparabhiyoge), they shall be punished with the highest amercement. Creditors guilty of parokta shall pay a fine of 10 times the amount (dasabandha) but if incapable to pay so much, they shall at least pay five times the amount sued for (panchabandham); thus the section on witnesses is dealt with.

(Taking oaths.)

Witness shall be taken before Brahmans, vessels of water and fire. A Brahman witness shall be told 'Tell the truth'; a Kshatriya or a Vaisya witness shall be told thus:--'If thou utterest falsehood, thou, do not attain the fruit of thy sacrificial and charitable deeds; but having broken the array of thy enemies in war, thou, do go a beggar with a skull in thy hand.'

A Sudra witness thus:--'Whatever thy merits are, in thy former birth or after thy death, shall they go to the king and whatever sins the king may have committed, shall they go to thee, if thou utterest falsehood; fines also shall be levied on thee, for facts as they have been heard or seen will certainly be subsequently revealed.'

If in the course of seven nights, witnesses are found to have unanimously made a false consert among themselves, a fine of 12 panas shall be levied. If they are thus found in the course of three fortnights, they shall pay the amount sued for (abhiyogam dadyuh).

If witnesses differ, judgment may be given in accordance with the statements of a majority of pure and respectable witnesses; or the mean of their statements may be followed; or the amount under dispute may be taken by the king. If witnesses give testimony for a less amount, the plaintiff shall pay a fine proportional to the increased amount; if they attest to a greater amount, the excess shall go to the king. In cases where the plaintiff proves himself stupid, or where bad hearing (on the part of witnesses at the time of the transaction) or bad writing is the cause of difficulty, or where the debtor is dead, the evidence of witnesses alone shall be depended on (sakshipratyayameva syat).

"Only," say the followers of Usanas, "in those cases where witnesses prove themselves to have been stupid or senseless and where the investigation of the place, time or nature of the transaction is of no avail, the three amercements shall be levied."

"False witnesses," say the followers of Manu, "shall be fined ten times the amount which, no matter whether it is true or false, they cause to be lost."

"If," say the followers of Brihaspati, "owing to their having been stupid, they render a case suspicious, they shall be tortured to death."

"No" says Kautilya:--It is the truth that witnesses have to hear (when they are called to attest to any transaction); if they have not minded it, they shall be fined 24 panas; if they have attested to a false case (without scrutinising), they shall be fined half of the above fine.

• Parties shall themselves produce witnesses who are not far removed either by time or place; witnesses who are very far removed either by time or place; witnesses who are very far, or who will not, stir out, shall be made to present themselves by the order of the judges.

[Thus ends Chapter 11, "Recovery of debts" in Book 3, "Concerning Law" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the sixty-eighth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 12. CONCERNING DEPOSITS.

The rules concerning debts shall also apply to deposits. Whenever forts or country parts are destroyed by enemies or wild tribes; whenever villages, merchants, or herds of cattle are subjected to the inroads of invaders; whenever the kingdom itself is destroyed; whenever extensive fires or floods bring about entire destruction of villages, or partly destroy immovable properties, movable properties having been rescued before; whenever the spread of fire or rush of floods is so sudden that even movable properties could not be removed; or whenever a ship laden with commodities is either sunk or plundered (by pirates); deposits lost in any of the above ways shall not be reclaimed. The depositary who has made use of the deposit for his own comfort shall not only pay a compensation (bhogavetanam) to be fixed after considering the circumstances of the place and time but also a fine of 12 panas. Not only shall any loss in the value of the deposit, due to its use, be made good, but a fine of 24 panas also be paid. Deposits damaged or lost in any way shall also be made good. When the depositary is either dead or involved in calamities, the deposit shall not be sued for. If the deposit is either mortgaged or sold or lost, the depositary shall not only restore four times its value, but pay a fine of five times the stipulated value (pancbabandho dandah). If the deposit is exchanged for a similar one (by the depositary), or lost in any other way, its value shall be paid.

(Pledges.)

The same rules shall hold good in the case of pledges whenever they are lost, used up, sold, mortgaged, or misappropriated.

A pledge, if productive, i.e. (a usufructory mortgage), shall never be lost to the debtor (nadhissopakarassídet), nor shall any interest on the debt be charged; but if unproductive (i.e., hypothecation), it may be lost, and interest on the debt shall accumulate. The pledgee who does not re-convey the pledge when the debtor is ready for it shall be fined 12 panas.

In the absence of the creditor or mediator (prayojahasannidhana), the amount of the debt may be kept in the custody of the elders of the village and the debtor may have the pledged property redeemed; or with its value fixed at the time and with no interest chargeable for the future, the pledge may be left where it is. When there is any rise in the value of the pledge or when it is apprehended that it may be depriciated or lost in the near future, the pledgee may, with permission from the judges (dharmasthas), or on the evidence furnished by the officer in charge of pledges (adhipalapratyayo va), sell the pledge either in the presence of the debtor or under the presidency of experts who can see whether such apprehension is justified.

An immovable property, pledged and enjoyable with or without labour (prayasabhogyhah phalabhogyova), shall not be caused to deteriorate in value while yielding interest on the money lent, and profit on the expenses incurred in maintaining it.

The pledgee who enjoys the pledge without permission shall not only pay the net profit he derived from it, but also forfeit the debt. The rules regarding deposits shall hold good in other matters connected with pledges.

(Property entrusted to another for delivery to a third person.)

The same rules shall apply to orders (adesa), and property entrusted for delivery to a third person (anvadhi).

If, through a merchant, a messenger is entrusted with a property for delivery to a third person (anvadhihasta) and such messenger does not reach the destined place, or is robbed of the property by thieves, the merchant shall not be responsible for it; nor shall a kinsman of the messenger who dies on his way be responsible for the property.

For the rest, the rules regarding deposits shall also hold good here.

(Borrowed or hired properties.)

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Properties either borrowed (yachitakam) or hired (avakritakam) shall be returned as intact as they were when received. If owing to distance in time or place, or owing to some inherent defects of the properties or to some unforeseen accidents, properties either borrowed or hired are lost or destroyed, they need not be made good. The rules regarding deposits shall also apply here.

(Retail sale.)

Retail dealers, selling the merchandise of others at prices prevailing at particular localities and times shall hand over to the wholesale dealers as much of the sale proceeds and profit as is realised by them. The rules regarding pledges shall also apply here. If owing to distance in time or place there occurs any fall in the value of the merchandise, the retail dealers shall pay the value and profit at that rate which obtained when they received the merchandise.

Servants selling commodities at prices prescribed by their masters shall realise no profit. They shall only return the actual sale proceeds. If prices fall, they shall pay only as much of the sale proceeds as is realised at the low rate.

But such merchants as belong to trade-guilds (samvyavaharikeshu) or are trustworthy and are not condemned by the king need not restore even the value of that merchandise which is lost or destroyed owing to its inherent defects or to some unforeseen accidents. But of such merchandise as is distanced by time or place, they shall restore as much value and profit as remains after making allowance for the wear and tear of the merchandise.

For the rest the rules regarding deposits shall apply here. It explains retail sale.

(Sealed deposits.)

The rules laid down concerning unsealed deposits (upanidhis) shall apply to sealed deposits also. A man handing over a sealed deposit to other than the real depositor shall be punished. In the case of a depositary's denial of having received a deposit, the antecedent circumstances (purvapadanam) of the deposit and (the character and social position of) the depositor are the only evidences. Artisans (karavah) are naturally of impure character. It is not an approved custom with them to deposit for some reliable reason.

When a depositary denies having received a sealed deposit which was not, however, deposited for any reasonable cause, the depositor may obtain secret permission (from the judges) to produce such witnesses as he might have stationed under a wall (gudhabhitti) while depositing.

In the midst of a forest or in the middle of a voyage an old or afflicted merchant might with confidence put in the custody of a depositary some valuable article with certain secret mark, and go on his way. On his sending this information to his son or brother, the latter may ask for the sealed deposit. If the depositary does not quietly return it, he shall not only forfeit his credit, but be liable to the punishment for theft besides being made to restore the deposit.

A reliable man, bent on leaving this world and becoming an ascetic, may place a certain sealed deposit with some secret mark in the custody of a man, and, returning after a number of years, ask for it. If the depositary dishonestly denies it, he shall not only be made to restore it, but be liable to the punishment for theft.

A childish man with a sealed deposit with some secret mark may, while going through a street at night, feel frightened at his being captured by the police for untimely walking, and, placing the deposit in the custody of a man, go on his way. But subsequently put into the jail, he may ask for it. If the depositary dishonestly denies, he shall not only be made to restore it, but be liable to the punishment for theft.

By recognising the sealed deposit in the custody of a man, any one of the depositor's family may probably ask not only for the deposit, but also for information as to the whereabouts of the depositor. If the custodian denies either, he shall be treated as before.

In all these cases, it is of first importance to inquire how the property under dispute came in one's possession, what are the circumstances connected with the various transactions concerning the property and what is the status of the plantiff in society as to wealth (arthasamarthyam).

The above rules shall also apply to all kinds of transaction between any two persons (mithassamavayah).

• Hence before witnesses and with no secrecy whatever, shall all kinds of agreements be entered into; either with one's own or different people, shall the circumstances of the time and place be minutely considered first.

[Thus ends Chapter 12 "Concerning Deposits" in Book 3, "Concernig Law" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the sixty-ninth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 13. RULES REGARDING SLAVES AND LABOURERS.

The selling or mortgaging by kinsmen of the life of a Sudra who is not a born slave, and has not attained majority, but is an Arya in birth shall be punished with a fine of 12 panas; of a Vaisya, 24 panas; of a Kshatriya, 36 panas; and of a Brahman, 48 panas. If persons other than kinsmen do the same, they shall be liable to the three amercements and capital punishment respectively: purchasers and abettors shall likewise be punished. It is no crime for Mlechchhas to sell or mortgage the life of their own offspring. But never shall an Arya be subjected to slavery.

But if in order to tide over family troubles, to find money for fines or court decrees, or to recover the (confiscated) household implements, the life of an Arya is mortgaged, they (his kinsmen) shall as soon as possible redeem him (from bondage); and more so if he is a youth or an adult capable of giving help.

Any person who has once voluntarily enslaved himself shall, if guilty of an offence (nishpatitah), be a slave for life. Similarly, any person whose life has been twice mortgaged by others shall, if guilty of an offence, be a slave for life. Both of these two sorts of men shall, if they are once found desirous to run away to foreign countries, be slaves for life.

Deceiving a slave of his money or depriving him of the privileges he can exercise as an Arya (Aryabhava), shall be punished with half the fine (levied for enslaving the life of an Arya).

A man who happens to have taken in mortgage the life of a convict, or of a dead or an afflicted man shall be entitled to receive back (from the mortgager) the value he paid for the slave.

Employing a slave to carry the dead or to sweep ordure, urine, or the leavings of food; keeping a slave naked; or hurting or abusing him; or violating (the chastity of) a female slave shall cause the forfeiture of the value paid for him or her. Violation (of the chastity) of nurses, female cooks, or female servants of the class of joint cultivators or of any other description shall at once earn their liberty for them. Violence towards an attendant of high birth shall entitle him to run away. When a master has connection with a nurse or pledged female slave against her will, he shall be punished with the first amercement; a stranger doing the same shall be punished with the middlemost amercement. When a man commits or helps another to commit rape with a girl or a female slave pledged to him, he shall not only forfeit the purchase value, but also pay a certain amount of money (sulka) to her and a fine of twice the amount (of sulka to the Government).

The offspring of a man who has sold off himself as a slave shall be an Arya. A slave shall be entitled to enjoy not only whatever he has earned without prejudice to his master's work, but also the inheritance he has received from his father.

On paying the value (for which one is enslaved), a slave shall regain his Aryahood. The same rule shall apply either to born or pledged slaves.

The ransom necessary for a slave to regain his freedom is equal to what he has been sold for. Any person who has been enslaved for fines or court decrees (dandapranítah) shall earn the amount by work. An Arya, made captive in war shall for his freedom pay a certain amount proportional to the dangerous work done at the time of his capture, or half the amount.

If a slave who is less than eight years old and has no relatives, no matter whether he is born a slave in his master's house, or fell to his master's share of inheritance, or has been purchased or obtained by his master in any other way, is employed in mean avocations against his will or is sold or mortgaged in a foreign land; or if a pregnant female slave is sold or pledged without any provision for her confinement, his or her master shall be punished with the first amercement. The purchaser and abettors shall likewise be punished.

Failure to set a slave at liberty on the receipt of a required amount of ransom shall be punished with a fine of 12 panas; putting a slave under confinement for no reason (samrodhaschakaranat) shall likewise be punished.

The property of a slave shall pass into the hands of his kinsmen; in the absence of any kinsmen, his master shall take it.

When a child is begotten on a female slave by her master, both the child and its mother shall at once be recognised as free. If for the sake of subsistence, the mother has to remain in her bondage, her brother and sister shall be liberated.

Selling or mortgaging the life of a male or a female slave once liberated shall be punished with a fine of 12 panas with the exception of those who enslave themselves. Thus the rules regarding slaves.

(Power of Masters over their hired servants.)

Neighbours shall know the nature of agreement between a master and his servant. The servant shall get the promised wages. As to wages not previously settled the amount shall be fixed in proportion to the work done and the time spent in doing it (karmakalanurupam = at the rate prevailing at the time.) Wages being previously unsettled, a cultivator shall obtain 1/10th of the crops grown, a herdsman 1/10th of the butter clarified, a trader 1/10th of the sale proceeds. Wages previously settled shall be paid and received as agreed upon.

Artisans, musicians, physicians, buffoons, cooks, and other workmen, serving of their own accord, shall obtain as much wages as similar persons employed elsewhere usually get or as much as experts (kusalah) shall fix.

Disputes regarding wages shall be decided on the strength of evidences furnished by witnesses. In the absence of witnesses, the master who has provided his servant with work shall be examined. Failure to pay wages shall be punished with a fine of ten times the amount of wages (dasabandhah), or 6 panas; misappropriation of wages shall be punished with a fine of 12 panas or of five times the amount of the wages (panchabandho va).

Any person who, while he is being carried away by floods, or is caught in a fire, or is in danger from elephants or tigers, is rescued on his promise to offer to his rescuer not only the whole of his property, but also his sons, wife, and himself as slaves, shall pay only as much as will be fixed by experts. This rule shall apply to all cases where help of any kind is rendered to the afflicted.

• A public woman shall surrender her person as agreed upon; but insistence on the observance of any agreement which is ill-considered and improper shall not succeed.

[Thus ends Chapter 13, "Rules regarding slaves" in the section of "Rules regarding slaves" and the "Right of Masters" in the section of "Rules regarding Labourers" in Book 3, "Concerning Law" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the seventieth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 14. RULES REGARDING LABOURERS; AND CO-OPERATIVE UNDERTAKING.

A servant neglecting or unreasonably putting off work for which he has received wages shall be fined 12 panas and be caught-hold of till the work is done. He who is incapable to turn out work, or is engaged to do a mean job, or is suffering from disease, or is involved in calamities shall be shown some concession or allowed to get the work done by a substitute. The loss incurred by his master or employer owing to such delay shall be made good by extra work.

An employer may be at liberty to get the work done by (another) provided there is no such adverse condition that the former shall not employ another servant to execute the work, nor shall the latter go elsewhere for work.

An employer not taking work from his labourer or an employee not doing his employers work shall be fined 12 panas. An employee who has received wages to do a certain work which is however, not brought to termination shall not, of his own accord, go elsewhere for work.

My preceptor holds that not taking work on the part of an employer from his employee when the latter is ready, shall be regarded as work done by the labourer.

But Kautilya objects to it; for wages are to be paid for work done, but not for work that is not done. If an employer, having caused his labourer to do a part of work, will not cause him to do the rest for which the latter may certainly be ready, then also the unfinished portion of the work has to be regarded as finished. But owing to consideration of changes that have occurred in time and place or owing to bad workmanship of the labourer, the employer may not be pleased with what has already been turned out by the labourer. Also the workman may, if unrestrained, do more than agreed upon and thereby cause loss to the employer.

The same rules shall apply to guilds of workmen (sanghabhritah.)

Guilds of workmen shall have a grace of seven nights over and above the period agreed upon for fulfilling their engagement. Beyond that time they shall find substitutes and get the work completed. Without taking permission from their employer, they shall neither leave out anything undone nor carry away anything with them from the place of work. They shall be fined 24 panas for taking away anything and 12 panas for leaving out anything undone. Thus the Rules regarding labourers.

Guilds of workmen (sanghabhritah, workmen employed by Companies) as well as those who carry on any cooperative work (sambhuya samutthatarah) shall divide their earnings (vetanam = wages) either equally or as agreed upon among themselves.

Cultivators or merchants shall, either at the end or in the middle of their cultivation or manufacture, pay to their labourers as much of the latter's share as is proportional to the work done. If the labourers, giving up work in the middle, supply substitutes, they shall be paid their wages in full.

But when commodities are being manufactured, wages shall be paid out according to the amount of work turned out; for such payment does not affect the favourable or unfavourable results on the way (i.e., in the sale of merchandise by peddlars).

A healthy person who deserts his company after work has been begun shall be fined 12 panas; for none shall, of his own accord, leave his company. Any person who is found to have neglected his share of work by stealth shall be shown mercy (abhayam) for the first time and given a proportional quantity of work anew with promise of proportional share of earnings as well. In case of negligence for a second time or of going elsewhere, he shall be thrown out of the Company (pravasanam). If he is guilty of a glaring offence (mahaparadhe), he shall be treated as the condemned.

(Co-operation in sacrificial acts.)

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Priests cooperating in a sacrifice shall divide their earnings either equally or as agreed upon excepting what is especially due to each or any of them. If a priest employed in such sacrifices as Agnishtoma, etc., dies after the ceremony of consecration, (his claimant) shall get 1/5th of the promised or prescribed present (dakshina); after the ceremony consecrating the purchase of Soma, 1/4th of the present; after the ceremony called Madhyamopasad; or Pravargyodvasana, 1/3rd of the present; and after the ceremony called Maya, ½ of the share. If in the sacrifice called Sutya, the same thing happens after the ceremony called Pratassavana, ¾ths, of the share shall be paid; after the ceremony called Madhyandina, the present shall be paid in full; for by that time the payment of presents shall be over. In every sacrifice except the one called Brihaspatisavana, it is usual to pay presents. The same rule shall apply to the presents payable in Aharganas, sacrifices so called.

The surviving priests carrying the balance of the present or any other relatives of a dead priest shall perform the funeral ceremony of the dead for ten days and nights.

If the sacrificer himself (he who has instituted the sacrifice) dies, then the remaining priests shall complete the sacrifice and carry away the presents. If a sacrificer sends out any priest before completing the sacrifice, he shall be punished with the first amercement. If a sacrificer sending out a priest happens to be a person who has not kept the sacrificial fire, or to be a preceptor or one who has already performed sacrifices, then the fines shall be 100, 1000, and 1000 panas respectively.

• As it is certain that sacrificial merits fall in value when performed in company with a drunkard, the husband of a Sudra woman, a murderer of a Brahman, or one who has violated the chastify of the wife of his preceptor, a receiver of condemnable gifts, or is a thief, or one whose performance of sacrificial acts is condemnable, it is no offence to send out such a priest.

[Thus ends Chapter 14, "Rules regarding labourers, and Co-operative undertaking" in the section of "Rules regarding slaves and labourers," in Book 3, "Concerning Law" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the seventy-first chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 15. RESCISSION OF PURCHASE AND SALE.

A merchant refusing to give his merchandise that he has sold shall be punished with a fine of 12 panas, unless the merchandise is naturally bad, or is dangerous, or is intolerable.

That which has inherent defects is termed naturally bad; whatever is liable to be confiscated by the king, or is subject to destruction by thieves, fire, or floods is termed as being dangerous; and whatever is devoid of all good qualities, or is manufactured by the deceased is called intolerable.

Time for rescission of a sale is one night for merchants; 3 nights for cultivators; 5 nights for herdsmen; and with regard to the sale or barter of precious things and articles of mixed qualities (vivrittivikraye), 7 nights.

Merchandise which is likely to perish sooner may, if there is no loss to others, be shown the favour of early disposal by prohibiting the sale elsewhere of similar merchandise which is not likely to perish so soon. Violation of this rule shall be punished with a fine of 24 panas or 1/10th of the value of the merchandise sold against this rule.

A person who attempts to return an article purchased by him shall if the article is other than what is naturally bad, or is dangerous, or is intolerable, be punished with a fine of 12 panas. The same rescission rules that apply to a seller shall apply to the purchaser also.

(Marriage Contracts)

[As regards marriages among the three higher castes, rejection of a bride before the rite of panigrahana, clasping of hands, is valid; likewise among the Sudras, observing religious rites. Even in the case of a couple that has gone through the rite of panigrahana,] rejection of a bride whose guilt of having lain with another man has been afterwards detected is valid. But never so in the case of brides and bridegrooms of pure character and high family. Any person who has given a girl in marriage without announcing her guilt of having lain with another shall not only be punished with a fine of 96 panas, but also be made to return the sulka and stridhana. Any person receiving a girl in marriage without announcing the blemishes of the bridegroom shall not only pay double the above fine, but also forfeit the sulka and stridhana (he paid for the bride).

(Sale of bipeds, etc.)

Sale of bipeds and quadrupeds as strong, healthy, and clean though they are either unclean or actually suffering from leprosy and other diseases, shall be punished with a fine of 12 panas. The time of rescission of sale is three fortnights for quadrupeds and one year for men; for it is possible to know by that time their good or bad condition.

• An assembly convened for the purpose shall, in the matter of rescending sales or gifts, decide in such a way that neither the giver nor the receiver shall be injured thereby.

[Thus ends Chapter 15, "Rescission of purchase and sale" in Book 3, "Concerning Law" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the seventy-second chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 16. RESUMPTION OF GIFTS, SALE WITHOUT OWNERSHIP AND OWNERSHIP.

Rules concerning recovery of debts shall also apply to resumption of gifts. Invalid gifts shall be kept in the safe custody of some persons. Any person who has given as gift not only his whole property, his sons, and his wife, but also his own life shall bring the same for the consideration of rescissors. Gifts or charitable subscriptions to the wicked or for unworthy purposes, monetary help to such persons as are malevolent or cruel, and promise of sexual enjoyment to the unworthy shall be so settled by rescissors that neither the giver nor the receiver shall be injured thereby.

Those who receive any kind of aid from timid persons, threatening them with legal punishment, defamation, or loss of money, shall be liable to the punishment for theft; and the persons who yield such aids shall likewise be punished.

Co-operation in hurting a person, and showing a haughty attitude towards the king shall be punished with the highest amercement. No son, or heir claiming a dead man's property shall, against his own will, pay the value of the bail borne by the dead man (pratibhavyadanda), the balance of any dowry (sulkasesha), or the stakes of gambling; nor shall he fulfill the promise of gifts made by the dead man under the influence of liquor or love. Thus resumption of gifts is dealt with.

(Sale without ownership.)

As regards sale without ownership:--On the detection of a lost property in the possession of another person, the owner shall cause the offender to be arrested through the judges of a court. If time or place does not permit this action, the owner himself shall catch hold of the offender and bring him before the judges. The judge shall put the question; how the offender came by the property. If he narrates how he got it, but cannot produce the person who sold it to him, he shall be left off, and shall forfeit the property. But the seller, if produced, shall not only pay the value of the property, but also be liable to the punishment for theft.

If a person with a stolen property in his possession runs away or hides himself till the property is wholly consumed, he shall not only pay the value, but also be liable to the punishment for theft.

After proving his claim to a lost property (svakaranam kritva), its owner shall be entitled to take possession of it. On his failure to prove his title to it, he shall be fined 5 times the value of the property, (panchabandhadandah), and the property shall be taken by the king.

If the owner takes possession of a lost article without obtaining permission from the court, he shall be punished with the first amercement.

Stolen or lost articles shall, on being detected, be kept in the toll-gate. If no claimant is forthcoming within three fortnights, such articles shall be taken by the king.

He who proved his title to a lost or stolen biped shall pay 5 panas towards ransom (before taking possession of it). Likewise the ransom for a single-hoofed animal shall be 4 panas; for a cow or a buffalo, 2 panas, for minor quadrupeds 1/4th of a pana; and for articles such as precious stones, superior or inferior raw materials, five per cent of their value.

Whatever of the property of his own subjects the king brings back from the forests and countries of enemies, shall be handed over to its owner. Whatever of the property of citizens robbed by thieves the king cannot recover, shall be made good from his own pocket. If the king is unable to recover such things, he shall either allow any self-elected person (svayamgraha) to fetch them, or pay an equivalent ransom to the sufferer. An adventurer may enjoy whatever the king graciously gives him out of the booty he has plundered from an enemy's country, excepting the life of an Arya and the property belonging to gods, Brahmans or ascetics. Thus sale without ownership is dealt with.

(Ownership.)

As to the title of an owner to his property :--The owners who have quitted their country where their property lies shall continue to have their title to it. When the owners other than minors, the aged, those that are afflicted with decease or calamities, those that are sojourning abroad, or those that have deserted their country during national disturbances, neglect for ten years their property which is under the enjoyment of others, they shall forfeit their title to it.

Buildings left for 20 years in the enjoyment of others shall not be reclaimed. But the mere occupation of the buildings of others during the absence of the king by kinsmen, priests, or heretics shall not give them the right of possession. The same shall obtain with regard to open deposits, pledges, treasure trove (nidhi), boundary, or any property belonging to kings or priests (srotriyas).

Ascetics and heretics shall, without disturbing each other, reside in a large area. A new comer shall, however, be provided with the space occupied by an old resident. If not willing to do so, the old occupier shall be sent out.

The property of hermits, (vanaprastha) ascetics (yati), or bachelors learning the Vedas (Brahmachari) shall on their death be taken by their preceptors, disciples, their brethren (dharmabhratri), or class-mates in succession.

Whenever hermits, etc., have to pay any fines, they may, in the name of the king, perform penance, oblation to gods, fireworship, or the ritual called Mahakachchhavardhana for as many nights as the number of panas of their fines. Those heretics (pashandah) who have neither gold nor gold-coin shall similarly observe their fasts except in the case of defamation, theft, assault and abduction of women. Under these circumstances, they shall be compelled to undergo punishment.

• The king shall, under penalty of fines, forbid the wilful or improper proceedings of ascetics: for vice overwhelming righteousness will in the long run destroy the ruler himself.

[Thus ends Chapter 16, "Resumption of gifts, sale without ownership, and ownership" in Book 3, "Concerning Law" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the seventy-third chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 17. ROBBERY.

SUDDEN and direct seizure (of person or property) is termed sahasa; fraudulent or indirect seizure (niranvaye'pavyayanecha) is theft.

The school of Manu hold that the fine for the direct seizure of precious stones and superior or inferior raw materials shall be equal to their value. It is equal to twice the value of the articles according to the followers of Usanas.

But Kautilya holds that it shall be proportional to the gravity of the crime.

In the case of such articles of small value as flowers, fruits, vegetables, roots, turnips, cooked rice, skins, bamboo, and pots (earthenware) the fine shall range from 12 to 24 papas; for articles of great value such as iron (kalayasa), wood, roping materials, and herds of minor quadrupeds, the fine shall range from 24 to 48 panas; and for such articles of still greater value as copper, brass, bronze, glass, ivory and vessels, etc., it shall range from 48 to 96 panas. This fine is termed the first amercement.

For the seizure of such as big quadrupeds, men, fields, houses, gold, gold-coins, fine fabrics, etc., the fine shall range from 200 to 500 panas, which is termed the middle-most amercement.

My preceptor holds that keeping or causing to keep by force either men or women in prison, or releasing them by force from imprisonment, shall be punished with fines ranging from 500 to 1,000 panas. This fine is termed the highest amercement.

He who causes another to commit sahasa after the plans prepared by himself shall be fined twice the value (of the person or property seized). An abettor who employs a hireling to comit sahasa by promising 'I shall pay thee as much gold as thou makest use of,' shall be fined four times the value.

The school of Brihaspati are of opinion that if with the promise 'I will pay thee this amount of gold,' an abettor causes another to commit sahasa, the former shall be compelled to pay the promised amount of gold and a fine. But Kautilya holds that if an abettor extenuates his crime by pleading anger, intoxication or loss of sense (moham), he shall be punished as described above.

• In all kinds of fines below a hundred panas, the king shall take in addition to the fine 8 per cent more as rupa and in fines above hundred, five per cent more; these two kinds of exaction, are just inasmuch as the people are full of sins on the one hand, and kings are naturally misguided on the other.

[Thus ends Chapter 17, "Robbery" in Book 3, "Concerning Law" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the seventy-fourth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 18. DEFAMATION.

Calumny, contemptuous talk, or intimidation constitutes defamation.

Among abusive expressions relating to the body, habits, learning, occupation, or nationalities, that of calling a deformed man by his right name such as 'the blind', 'the lame', etc. shall be punished with a fine of 3 panas; and by false name 6 panas. If the blind, the lame, etc., are insulted with such ironical expressions as 'a man of beautiful eyes', 'a man of beautiful teeth', etc. the fine shall be 12 panas. Likewise when a person is taunted for leprosy, lunacy, impotency and the like. Abusive expressions in general, no matter whether true, false, or reverse with reference to the abused, shall be punished with fines ranging above 12 panas, in the case of persons of equal rank.

If persons abused happen to be of superior rank, the amount of the fines shall be doubled; if of lower rank, it shall be halved. For calumniating the wives of others, the amount of the fines shall be doubled.

If abuse is due to carelessness, intoxication, or loss of sense, etc., the fines shall be halved.

As to the reality of leprosy and lunacy, physicians or neighbours shall be authorities.

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As to the reality of impotency, women, the scum of urine, or the low specific gravity of faeces in water (the sinking of faeces in water) shall furnish the necessary evidence.

(Speaking ill of habits.)

If among Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, Sudras, and outcastes (antavasayins), any one of a lower caste abuses the habits of one of a higher caste, the fines imposed shall increase from 3 panas upwards (commencing from the lowest caste). If any one of a higher caste abuses one of a lower caste, fines imposed shall decrease from 2 panas.

Contemptuous expressions such as 'a bad Brahman' shall also be punished as above.

The same rules shall apply to calumnies regarding learning (sruta), the profession of buffoons (vagjívana), artisans, or musicians, and relating to nationalities such as Prajjunaka, Gandhara, etc.

(Intimidation.)

If a person intimidates another by using such expressions as 'I shall render thee thus', the bravado shall be punished with half as much fine as will be levied on him who actually does so.

If a person, being unable to carry his threat into effect, pleads provocation, intoxication, or loss of sense as his excuse, he shall be fined 12 panas.

If a person capable to do harm and under the influence of enmity intimidates another, he shall be compelled to give life-long security for the well-being of the intimidated.

• Defamation of one's own nation or village shall be punished with the first amercement; that of one's own caste or assembly with the middlemost; and that of gods or temples (chaitya) with the highest amercement.

[Thus ends Chapter 18, "Defamtion" in Book 3, "Concerning Law" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the seventy-fifth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 19. ASSAULT.

Touching, striking, or hurting constitutes assault.

When a person touches with hand, mud, ashes or dust the body of another person below the naval, he shall be punished with a fine of 3 panas; with some but unclean things, with the leg, or spittle, 6 panas; with saliva (Chhardi), urine, faeces, etc. 12 panas. If the same offence is committed above the navel, the fines shall be doubled; and on the head, quadrupled.

If the same offence is committed on persons of superior rank, the fines shall be twice as much: and on persons of lower rank, half of the above fines. If the same offence is committed on the women of others, the fines shall be doubled.

If the offence is due to carelessness, intoxication, or loss of sense, the fines shall be halved.

For catching hold of a man by his legs, clothes, hands or hair, fines ranging above 6 panas shall be imposed. Squeezing, rounding with arms, thrusting, dragging, or sitting over the body of another person shall be punished with the first amercement.

Running away after making a person fall, shall be punished with half of the above fines.

That limb of a Sudra with which he strikes a Brahman shall be cut off.

(Striking.)

For striking compensation is to be paid and half of the fines levied for touching. This rule shall also apply to Chandalas and other profane persons (committing the same offence). Striking with the hand. shall be punished with fines below 3 panas, with the leg twice as much as the above fine; and striking with an instrument so as to cause swellings shall be punished with the first amercement; and striking so as to endanger life shall be punished with the middle-most amercement.

(Hurting.)

Causing a bloodless wound with a stick, mud, a stone, an iron bar, or a rope shall be punished with a fine of 24 panas. Causing the blood to gush out excepting bad or diseased blood shall be punished with double the fine.

Beating a person almost to death, though without causing blood, breaking the hands, legs, or teeth, tearing off the ear or the nose, or breaking open the flesh of a person except in ulcers or boils shall be punished with the first amercement. Causing hurt in the thigh or the neck, wounding the eye, or hurting so as to impede eating, speaking, or any other bodily movements shall not only be punished with the middlemost amercement, but also be made liable to the payment (to the sufferer) of such compensation as is necessary to cure him.

If time or place does not permit the immediate arrest of an offender, he shall be dealt with as described in Book IV, treating of the measures to suppress the wicked.

Each one of a confederacy of persons who have inflicted hurt on another person shall be punished with double the usual fine.

My preceptor holds that quarrels or assaults of a remote date shall not be complained of.

But Kautilya holds that there shall be no acquittal for an offender.

My preceptor thinks that he who is the first to complain of a quarrel wins inasmuch as it is pain that drives one to law.

But Kautilya objects to it; for whether a complaint is lodged first or last, it is the evidence of witnesses that must be depended upon. In the absence of witnesses, the nature of the hurt and other circumstances connected with the quarrel in question shall be evidences. Sentence of punishment shall be passed the very day that a defendant accused of assault fails to answer the charge made against him.

(Robbery in quarrels.)

A person stealing anything under the tumult of a quarrel shall be fined 10 panas. Destruction of articles of small value shall be punished with a fine equal to the value of the articles besides the payment (to the sufferer) of an adequate compensation. Destruction of big things with a compensation equal to the value of the articles and a fine equal to twice the value. In the case of destruction of such things as clothes, gold, gold-coins, and vessels or merchandise, the first amercement together with the value of the articles shall be levied.

Causing damage to a wall of another man's house by knocking shall be fined 3 panas; breaking open or demolishing the same shall be fined 6 panas, besides the restoration of the wall.

Throwing harmful things inside the house of a man shall be fined 12 panas; and throwing such things as endanger the lives of the inmates shall be punished with the first amercement.

For causing pain with sticks, etc., to minor quadrupeds one or two panas shall be levied; and for causing blood to the same, the fine shall be doubled. In the case of large quadrupeds, not only double the above fines, but also an adequate compensation necessary to cure the beasts shall be levied.

For cutting off the tender sprouts of fruit-trees, flower-trees or shady trees in the parks near a city, a fine of 6 panas shall be imposed; for cutting off the minor branches of the same trees, 12 panas; and for cutting off the big branches, 24 panas shall be levied. Cutting off the trunks of the same shall be punished with the first amercement; and felling the same shall be punished with the middle-most amercement.

In the case of plants which bear flowers, fruits, or provide shade, half of the above fines shall be levied.

The same fines shall be levied in the case of trees that have grown in places of pilgrimage, forests of hermits, or cremation or burial grounds.

• For similar offences committed in connection with the trees which mark boundaries, or which are worshipped or observed (chaityeshvalakshiteshucha,) or trees which are grown in the king's forests, double the above fines shall be levied.

[Thus ends Chapter 19, "Assault" in Book 3, "Concerning law" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the seventy-sixth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 20. GAMBLING AND BETTING AND MISCELLANEOUS OFFENCES.

With a view to find out spies or thieves, the Superintendent of gambling shall, under the penalty of a fine of 12 panas if played elsewhere, centralise gambling.

My preceptor is of opinion that in complaints regarding gambling, the winner shall be punished with the first amercement and the vanquished with the middle-most amercement; for though not skillful enough to win as ardently desired by him, the vanquished fellow does not tolerate his defeat.

But Kautilya objects to it: for if the punishment for the vanquished were to be doubled, none would complain to the king. Yet gamblers are naturally false players.

The Superintendents of gambling shall, therefore, be honest and supply dice at the rate of a kakani of hire per pair. Substitution by tricks of hand of dice other than thus supplied shall be punished with a fine of 12 panas. A false player shall not only be punished with the first amercement and fines leviable for theft and deceipt, but also be made to forfeit the stakes he has won.

The Superintendent shall take not only 5 per cent of the stakes won by every winner, and the hire payable for supplying dice and other accessories of diceplay, but also the fee chargeable for supplying water and accommodation, besides the charge for license.

He can at the same time carry on the transactions of sale or mortgage of things. If he does not forbid tricks of hand and other deceitful practices, be shall be punished with twice the amount of the fine (levied from the deceitful gamblers.)

The same rules shall apply to betting and challenging except those in learning and art.

(Miscellaneous offences.)

As regards miscellaneous offences:--

When a person does not return in required place or time the property he has borrowed or hired, or placed in his custody as a deposit, sits under the shade for more than one and a quarter of an hour (ayama) as prescribed, evades under the excuse of being a Brahman the payment due while passing military stations or crossing rivers, and bawls out or invites others to fight against his neighbours, he shall be punished with a fine of 12 panas.

When a person does not hand over the property entrusted to him for delivery to a third person, drags with his hand the wife of his brother, has connection with a public woman kept by another, sells merchandise that is under ill repute, breaks open the sealed door of a house, or causes hurt to any of the forty-house-holders or neighbours, a fine of 48 panas shall be imposed.

When a person misappropriates the revenue he collects as the agent of a household, violates by force the chastity of a widow of independent living, when an outcast (chandala) person touches an Arya woman, when a person does not run to render help to another in danger, or runs without a cause, and when a person entertains, in dinner dedicated to gods or ancestors Buddhists (sakya,) Ajívakas, Sudras and exiled persons, (pravrajita) a fine of 100 panas shall be imposed.

When an unauthorised person examines (an offender) on oath, executes Government work though not a Government servant, renders minor quadrupeds impotent, or causes abortion to a female slave by medicine, he shall be punished with the first amercement.

When between father and son, husband and wife brother and sister, maternal uncle and nephew or teacher and student, one abandons the other while neither of them is an apostate; and when a person abandons in the centre of a village another person whom he brought there for his own help, the first amercement shall be levied.

When a person abandons his companion in the midst of a forest, he shall be punished with the middle-most amercement.

When a person threatens and abandons his companion in the midst of a forest, he shall be punished with the highest amercement.

Whenever persons who have started together on some journey abandon one another as above, half of the above fine shall be levied.

When a person keeps or causes to keep another person in illegal confinement, releases a prisoner from prison, keeps or causes another to keep a minor in confinement, he shall be punished with a fine of 1000 panas.

The rates of fines shall vary in accordance with the rank of persons concerned and the gravity of the crimes.

Such persons as a pilgrim, an ascetic engaged in penance, a diseased person, any one suffering from hunger, thirst, or fatigue from journey, a villager from country parts, any one that has suffered much from punishment and a money-less pauper shall be shown mercy.

Such transactions as pertain to gods, Brahmans, ascetics, women, minors, aged persons, diseased persons and helpless creatures shall, though not be complained of, be settled by the judges themselves; and in such transactions as the above, excuses due to time, place, or possession shall not be pleaded.

Such persons as are noted for their learning, intelligence, bravery, high birth, or magnificent works shall be honoured.

• Judges shall thus settle disputes free from all kinds of circumvention, with mind unchanged in all moods or circumstances, pleasing and affable to all.

[Thus ends Chapter 20, "Gambling, Betting, and Miscellaneous", in Book 3, "Concerning Law" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the seventy-seventh chapter from the beginning. With this, ends the third Book "Concerning Law" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya.]

KAUTILYA'S ARTHASHASTRA: BOOK 4

"The Removal of Thorns"

CHAPTER 1. PROTECTION OF ARTISANS.

Three Commissioners (pradeshtarah) or three ministers shall deal with measures to suppress disturbance to peace (kantakasodhanam kuryuh).

Those who can be expected to relieve misery, who can give instructions to artisans, who can be trusted with deposits, who can plan artistic work after their own design, and who can be relied upon by guilds of artisans, may receive the deposits of the guilds. The guilds (sreni) shall receive their deposits back in time of distress.

Artisans shall, in accordance. with their agreement as to time, place, and form of work, fulfill their engagements. Those who postpone their engagements under the excuse that no agreement as to time, place and form of work has been entered into shall, except in troubles and calamities, not only forfeit 1/4th of their wages, but also be punished with a fine equal to twice the amount of their wages. They shall also make good whatever is thus lost or damaged. Those who carry on their work contrary to orders shall not only forfeit their wages, but also pay a fine equal to twice the amount of their wages.

(Weavers.)

Weavers shall increase the threads (supplied to them for weaving cloths) in the proportion of 10 to 11 (dasaikadasikam). They shall otherwise, not only pay either a fine equal to twice the loss in threads or the value of the whole yarn, but also forfeit their wages. In weaving linen or silk cloths (kshaumakauseyanam), the increase shall be 1 to 1 1/2. In weaving fibrous or woollen garments or blankets (patronakambaladukulanam), the increase shall be 1 to 2.

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In case of loss in length, the value of the loss shall be deducted from the wages and a fine equal to twice the loss shall be imposed. Loss in weight (tulahine) shall be punished with a fine equal to four times the loss. Substitution of other kind of yarn, shall be punished with a fine equal to twice the value of the original.

The same rules shall apply to the weaving of broad cloths (dvipatavanam).

The loss in weight in woollen threads due to threshing or falling of hair is 5 palas.

(Washermen.)

Washermen shall wash clothes either on wooden planks or on stones of smooth surface. Washing elsewhere shall not only be punished with a fine of 6 panas, but also be subject for the payment of a compensation equal to the damage.

Washermen wearing clothes other than such as are stamped with the mark of a cudgel shall be fined three panas. For selling, mortgaging, or letting out for hire the clothes of others, a fine of 12 panas shall be imposed.

In case of substitution of other clothes, they shall not only be punished with a fine equal to twice the value of the clothes, but also be made to restore the true ones.

For keeping for more than a night clothes which are to be made as white as a jasmin flower, or which are to attain the natural colour of their threads on washing on the surface of stones, or which are to be made whiter merely by removing their dirt by washing, proportional fines shall be imposed. For keeping for more than 5 nights such clothes as are to be given thin colouring, for more than six nights such as are to be made blue, for more than 7 nights such as are to be made either as white as flowers or as beautiful and shiny as lac, saffron, or blood and such clothes as require much skill and care in making brilliant, wages shall be forfeited.

Trustworthy persons shall be judges in disputes regarding colour and experts shall determine the necessary wages.

For washing the best garments, the wages shall be one pana; for those of middle quality, half a pana; and for those of inferior quality 1/4th of a pana.

For rough washing on big stones, the wages shall be 1/8th of a pana.

[In the first wash of red-coloured clothes, there is a loss of 1/4th part (of the colour); in the second wash, 1/5th part. This explains subsequent losses. The rules pertaining to washermen are also applicable to weavers.

Goldsmiths who, without giving information (to the government), purchase from unclean hands silver or golden articles without changing the form of the articles shall be fined 12 panas; if they do the same changing the form of the articles (i.e., melting), they shall be fined 24 panas; if they purchase the same from the hands of a thief, they shall be fined 48 panas; if they purchase an article for less than its value after melting it in secret, they shall be liable to the punishment for theft; likewise for deception with manufactured articles. When a goldsmith steals from a suvarna gold equal to the weight of a masha (1/16th of a suvarna), he shall be punished 200 panas; when he steals from a silver dharana silver equal to the value of a masha, he shall be fined 12 panas. This explains the proportional enhancement of punishments. When a goldsmith removes the whole amount of the gold (karsha) from a suvarna by apasarana method or by any other deceiptful combination (yoga), he shall be punished with a fine of 500 panas. In case of contaminating them (gold and silver) in any way, the offence shall be regarded as loss of their intrinsic colour.

One masha shall be the fee for the manufacture of a silver dharana; for the manufacture of a suvarna, 1/8th of the same; or fees may be increased to twice the above according to the skill of the manufacturer. This explains the proportional increase of fees.

Fees for the manufacture of articles from copper, brass, vaikrinataka, and arakuta shall be five percent. In the manufacture of articles from copper (?), 1/10th of the copper will be lost. For the loss of a pala in weight, a fine of twice the loss shall be imposed. This explains the proportional increase of punishments. In the manufacture of articles from lead and tin, 1/20th of the mass will be lost. One kakani shall be the fee for manufacturing an article of a pala in weight of the above. In the manufacture of articles from iron, 1/5th of the mass will be lost; two kakanis shall be the fee for manufacturing an article of a pala in weight from iron. This explains the proportional increase of fees.

When the examiner of coins declares an unacceptable current coin to be worthy of being entered into the treasury or rejects an acceptable current coin, he shall be fined 12 panas. When the examiner of coins misappropriates a masha from a current coin of a pana, the tax, (Vyají) of five percent on the coin having been duly paid, he shall be fined 12 panas. This explains the proportional increase of fines. When a person causes a counterfeit coin to be manufactured, or accepts it, or exchanges it, he shall be fined 1,000 panas; he who enters a counterfeit coin into the treasury shall be put to death.]

(Scavengers.)

Of whatever precious things sweepers come across while sweeping, one-third shall be taken by them and two-thirds by the king. But precious stones shall be wholly surrendered to the king. Seizure of precious stones shall be punished with the highest amercement.

A discoverer of mines, precious stones, or treasure troves shall, on supplying the information to the king, receive 1/6th of it as his share; but if the discoverer happens to be a peon (bhritaka), his share shall be only 1/12th of it.

Treasure troves valued beyond 100,000 shall wholly be taken by the king. But if they are of less value, the discover shall receive 1/6th of it as his share.

Such treasure troves as a man of pure and honest life can prove to be his ancestral property shall wholly be taken by the man himself. Taking possession of a treasure trove without establishing such claim shall be punished with a fine of 500 panas. Taking possession of the same in secret shall be punished with a fine of 1,000 panas.

(Medical Practice).

Physicians undertaking medical treatment without intimating (to the government) the dangerous nature of the disease shall, if the patient dies, be punished with the first amercement. If the death of a patient under treatment is due to carelessness in the treatment, the physician shall be punished with the middle-most amercement. Growth of disease due to negligence or indifference (karmavadha) of a physician shall be regarded as assault or violence.

(Musicians).

Bands of musicians (kusílavah) shall, during the rainy season, stay in a particular place. They shall strictly avoid giving too much indulgence or causing too much loss (atipatam) to any one. Violation of the above rule shall be punished with a fine of 12 panas. They may hold their performances to their liking in accordance with the procedure of their country, caste, family, profession, or copulation.

The same rules shall apply to dancers, dumb-players and other mendicants.

For offences, mendicants shall receive as many lashes with an iron rod as the number of panas imposed on them.

Wages for the works of other kinds of artisans shall be similarly determined.

• Thus traders, artisans, musicians, beggers, buffoons and other idlers who are thieves in effect though not in name shall be restrained from oppression on the country.

[Thus ends Chapter 1, "Protection of artisans" in Book 4, "The Removal of Thorns" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the seventy-eighth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 2. PROTECTION OF MERCHANTS.

The Superintendent of Commerce shall allow the sale or mortgage of any old commodities (purana bhandanam) only when the seller or mortgagor of such articles proves his ownership of the same. With a view to prevent deception, he shall also supervise weights and measures.

Difference of half a pala in such measures as are called parimani and drona is no offence. But difference of a pala in them shall be punished with a fine of 12 panas.

Fines for greater differences shall be proportionally increased.

Difference of a karsha in the balance called tula is no offence. Difference of two karshas shall be punished with a fine of 6 panas. Fines for greater differences shall be proportionally increased.

Difference of half a karsha in the measure called adhaka is no offence; but difference of a karsha shall be punished with a fine of 3 panas.

For greater differences, fines shall be proportionally increased.

Fines for differences in weight in other kinds of balances shall be inferred on the basis of the above rule.

When a merchant purchases by a false balance a greater quantity of a commodity and sells under the same nominal weight a less quantity by the same or another false balance, he shall be punished with double the above fines.

Deception on the part of a seller to the extent of 1/8th part of the articles valued at a pana and sold by number shall be punished with a fine of 96 panas.

The sale or mortgage of articles such as timber, iron, brilliant stones, ropes, skins, earthenware, threads, fibrous garments, and woollen clothes as superior though they are really inferior shall be punished with a fine of 8 times the value of the articles thus sold.

When a trader sells or mortgages inferior as superior commodities, articles of some other locality, as the produce of a particular locality, adulterated things, or deceitful mixtures, or when he dexterously substitutes other articles for those just sold (samutparivartimam), he shall not only be punished with a fine of 54 panas but also be compelled to make good the loss.

By making the fine two panas for the loss of the value of a pana, and 200 panas for that of 100, fines can be determined for any of such false sales.

Those who conspire to lower the quality of the works of artisans, to hinder their income, or to obstruct their sale or purchase shall be fined thousand panas.

Merchants who conspire either to prevent the sale of merchandise or to sell or purchase commodities at higher prices shall be fined 1,000 panas.

Middlemen who cause to a merchant or a purchaser the loss of 1/8th of a pana by substituting with tricks of hand false weights or measures or other kinds of inferior articles shall be punished with a fine of 200 panas.

Fines for, greater losses shall be proportionally increased commencing from 200 panas.

Adulteration of grains, oils, alkalis, salts, scents, and medicinal articles with similar articles of no quality shall be punished with a fine of 12 panas.

It is the duty of the trader to calculate the daily earnings of middlemen and to fix that amount on which they are authorised to live; for whatever income falls between sellers and purchasers (i.e., brokerage) is different from profit.

Hence authorised persons alone shall collect grains and other merchandise. Collection of such things without permission shall be confiscated by the Superintendent of Commerce.

Hence shall merchants be favourably disposed towards the people in selling grains and other commodities.

The Superintendent of Commerce shall fix a profit of five per cent over and above the fixed price of local commodities, and ten per cent on foreign produce. Merchants who enchance the price or realise profit even to the extent of half a pana more than the above in the sale or purchase of commodities shall be punished with a fine of from five panas in case of realising 100 panas up to 200 panas.

Fines for greater enhancement shall be proportionally increased.

In case of failure to sell collected merchandise wholesale at a fixed rate, the rate shall be altered.

In case of obstruction to traffic, the Superintendent shall show necessary concessions.

Whenever there is an excessive supply of merchandise, the Superintendent shall centralise its sale and prohibit the sale of similar merchandise elsewhere before the centralised supply is disposed of.

Favourably disposed towards the people, shall merchants sell this centralised supply for daily wages.

The Superintendent shall, on consideration of the outlay, the quantity manufactured, the amount of toll, the interest on outlay, hire, and other kinds of accessory expenses, fix the price of such merchandise with due regard to its having been manufactured long ago or imported from a distant country (desakalantaritanam panyanam.)

[Thus ends Chapter 2, "Protection of merchants" in Book 4 "The Removal of Thorns" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the seventy-ninth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 3. REMEDIES AGAINST NATIONAL CALAMITIES.

There are eight kinds of providential visitations: They are fire, floods, pestilential diseases, famine, rats, tigers (vyalah), serpents, and demons. From these shall the king protect his kingdom.

(Fire.)

During the summer, villages shall carry on cooking operations outside. Or they shall provide themselves with the ten remedial instruments (dasamuli).

Precautionary measures against fire have been dealt with in connection with the description not only of the duties of superintendents of villages, but also of the king's, harem and retinue.

Not only on ordinary days, but also on full-moon days shall offerings, oblations, and prayers be made to fire.

(Floods.)

Villagers living on the banks of rivers shall, during the rainy reason, remove themselves to upcountries. They shall provide themselves with wooden planks, bamboos, and boats. They shall, by means of bottle-gourds, canoes, trunks of trees, or boats rescue persons that are being carried off by floods. Persons neglecting rescue with the exception of those who have no boats, etc., shall be fined 12 panas. On new and full-moon days shall rivers be worshipped. Experts in sacred magic and mysticism (mayayogavidah), and persons learned in the Vedas, shall perform, incantations against rain.

During drought shall Indra (sachinatha), the Ganges, mountains, and Mahakachchha be worshipped.

(Pestilences.)

Such remedial measures as will be treated of in the 14th book shall be taken against pestilences. Physicians with their medicines, and ascetics and prophets with their auspicious and purificatory ceremonials shall also overcome pestilences. The same remedial measures shall be taken against epidemics (maraka = killer). Besides the above measures, oblations to gods, the ceremonial called, Maha- kachchhavardhana, milking the cows on cremation or burial grounds, burning the trunk of a corpse, and spending nights in devotion to gods shall also be observed.

With regard to cattle diseases (pasuvyadhimarake), not only the ceremony of waving lights in cowsheds (nirajanam)

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shall be half done, but also the worship of family-gods be carried out.

(Famines.)

During famine, the king shall show favour to his people by providing them with seeds and provision (bijabhaktopagraham).

He may either do such works as are usually resorted to in calamities; he may show favour by distributing either his own collection of provisions or the hoarded income of the rich among the people; or seek for help from his friends among kings.

Or the policy of thinning the rich by exacting excessive revenue (karsanam), or causing them to vomit their accumulated wealth (vamanam) may be resorted to.

Or the king with his subjects may emigrate to another kingdom with abundant harvest.

Or he may remove himself with his subjects to seashores or to the banks of rivers or lakes. He may cause his subjects to grow grains, vegetables, roots, and fruits wherever water is available. He may, by hunting and fishing on a large scale, provide the people with wild beasts, birds, elephants, tigers or fish.

(Rats.)

To ward off the danger from rats, cats and mongooses may be let loose. Destruction of rats that have been caught shall be punished with a fine of 12 panas. The same punishment shall be meted out to those who, with the exception of wild tribes, do not hold their dogs in check.

With a view to destroy rats, grains mixed with the milk of the milk-hedge plants (snuhi: Euphorbia Antiquorum), or grains mixed with such ingredients as are treated of in the 14th book may be left on the ground. Asceties and prophets may perform auspicious ceremonials. On new and full-moon days rats may be worshipped.

Similar measures may also be taken against the danger from locusts, birds and insects.

(Snakes.)

[When there is fear from snakes, experts in applying remedies against snake poison shall resort to incantations and medicines; or they may destroy snakes in a body; or those who are learned in the Atharvaveda may perform auspicious rites. On new and full moon days, (snakes) may be worshipped. This explains the measures to be taken against the dangers from water-animals.

(Tigers.)

In order to destroy tigers, either the carcasses of cattle mixed with the juice of madana plant, or the carcasses of calves filled with the juice of madana and kodrava plants may be thrown in suitable places.

Or hunters or keepers of hounds may catch tigers by entrapping them in nets. Or persons under the protection of armour may kill tigers with arms.

Negligence to rescue a person under the clutches of a tiger shall be punished with a fine of 12 panas. Similar sum of money shall be given as a reward to him who kills a tiger.

On new and full moon days mountains may be worshipped.

Similar measures may be taken against the inroad of beasts, birds, or crocodiles.

(Demons.)

Persons acquainted with the rituals of the Atharvaveda, and experts in sacred magic and mysticism shall perform such ceremonials as ward off the danger from demons.

On full-moon days the worship of Chaityas may be performed by placing on a verandah offerings such as an umbrella, the picture of an arm, a flag, and some goat's flesh.

In all kinds of dangers from demons, the incantation 'we offer thee cooked rice" shall be performed.

The king shall always protect the afflicted among his people as a father his sons.

Such ascetics as are experts in magical arts, and being endowed with supernatural powers, can ward off providential visitations, shall, therefore, be honoured by the king and made to live in his kingdom.

[Thus ends Chapter 3, "Remedies against national Calamities" in Book 4, "The Removal of Thorns," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the eightieth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 4. SUPPRESSION OF THE WICKED LIVING BY FOUL MEANS.

MEASURES necessary for the protection of countries have been briefly dealt with in connection with the description of the duties of the Collector-general.

We are now going to treat of in detail such measures as can remove the disturbing elements of peace.

The Collector-general shall employ spies disguised as persons endowed with supernatural power, persons engaged in penance, ascetics, world trotters (chakra-chara), bards, buffoons, mystics (prachchhandaka), astrologers, prophets foretelling the future, persons capable of reading good or bad time, physicians, lunatics, the dumb, the deaf, idiots, the blind, traders, painters, carpenters, musicians, dancers, vintners, and manufacturers of cakes, flesh and cooked rice, and send them abroad into the country for espionage.

The spies shall ascertain the fair or foul dealings of villagers, or of the Superintendents of villages and report the same.

If any person is found to be of foul life (gudhajivi), a spy who is acquainted with similar avocation shall be let loose upon him.

On acquiring friendship with the suspected person who may be either a judge or a commissioner, the spy may request him that the misfortune in which a friend of the spy is involved may be warded off and that a certain amount of money may be accepted. If the judge accedes to the request, he shall be proclaimed as the receiver of bribes and banished. The same rule shall also apply to commissioners.

A spy may tell the congregation of villages (gramakutam) or its superintendent that a wealthy man of wicked character is involved in some trouble and that this opportunity may be availed of to squeeze money from him. If either the one or the other complies with the spy, banishment shall be ordered under the proclamation of 'extortion.'

Under the pretence of having been charged with criminal offence, a spy may, with promise of large sums money, begin to deal with false witnesses. If they agree with him, they shall be proclaimed as false witnesses and banished.

Manufacturers of counterfeit coins shall also be treated similarly.

Whoever is believed to secure for others the love of women by means of magical charms, drugs or ceremonials performed on cremation grounds may be approached by a spy with the request that the wife, daughter, or daughter- in-law of some one, whom the spy pretends to love may be made to return the love and that a certain amount of money may be accepted. If he consents to it, he shall be proclaimed as one engaged in witchcraft (samvadanakaraka) and banished.

Similar steps may be taken against persons engaged in such witchcraft as is hurtful to others.

Whoever is suspected of administering poison (rasa = mercury) to others by reason of his talking of it or selling or purchasing mercury, or using it in preparing medicines, may be approached with the tale that a certain enemy of the spy may be killed and that a certain amount of money may be received as reward. If he does so, he shall be proclaimed as a poisoner (rasada), and banished.

Similar steps may be taken against those who deal with medicines prepared from madana plant.

Whoever is suspected of manufacturing counterfeit coins in that he often purchases various kinds of metals, alkalis, charcoal, bellows, pincers, crucibles, stove, and hammers, has his hands and cloths dirty with ashes and smoke, or possesses such other accessory instruments as are necessary for this illegal manufacture, may be requested by a spy to take the latter as an apprentice, and being gradually betrayed by the spy, such person, on proclamation of his guilt as the manufacturer of false coins, shall be banished.

Similar steps may be taken against those who lower the quality of gold by mixing it with an alloy, or deal with counterfeit gold (suvarna = coin ?)

There are thirteen kinds of criminals who, secretly attempting to live by foul means, destroy the peace of the country. They shall either be banished or made to pay an adequate compensation according as their guilt is light or serious.

[Thus ends Chapter 4, "Suppression of the wicked living by foul means" in Book 4 "The Removal Thorns" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the eighty-first chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 5. DETECTION OF YOUTHS OF CRIMINAL TENDENCY BY ASCETIC SPIES.

On availing themselves of the opening made by ordinary spies sent in advance, special spies pretending to be endowed with supernatural powers may, under the pretence of knowing such incantations as cause rapid speed in running away, or render persons invisible, or cause hard fastened doors to open, induce highway robbers to robbery; and may under the pretence of knowing such incantations as secure the love of women, entice adulterers to take part in criminal actions planned for the purpose of proving their criminal intentions.

On taking these enthusiasts thus induced to a village, where persons under the guise of women and men are previously stationed and which is different from the one intended to be reached, the youths may be told that it is difficult to reach in time the village aimed at and that the power of incantation may be seen then and there alone.

Having opened the doors seemingly with the power of incantation, the youths may be asked to get in. Having, in the midst of wakeful watchmen under concert, rendered the youths invisible with incantation, they may be asked to go into the interior. Having caused the watchmen seemingly sleepy, the youths may, as ordered, move the beds of the watchmen with no hesitation. Persons under the guise of others, wives may, seemingly under the influence of incantation, please the youths.

Soon after the youths have actually experienced the powers of incantation, they may be taught the recitation and other accessory procedure of that art. They may afterwards be asked to test the power of their new learning in plundering such houses as contain articles or money with marks of identification, and simultaneously caught hold of in the very act. They may either be arrested while selling, purchasing, or mortgaging articles with marks of identification, or caught hold of while under intoxication brought about by medicinal drinks (yogasuramatta).

From these youths thus arrested may be gathered information regarding the past life of them and of their accomplices.

Spies under the disguise of old and notorious thieves may similarly associate with robbers and, instituting similar measures, cause the latter to be arrested.

The Collector-general shall exhibit these arrested robbers and announce to the public that their arrest is due to the instructions obtained from the king who has learnt the divine art of catching robbers: 'I shall similarly catch hold of other robbers again and again, and you, people, ought to prevent any one of your own kinsmen from his wicked deeds.'

Whoever is known, through the information of spies, to have been a robber of yoking ropes, whips and other (agricultural) implements may be arrested and told that his arrest is due to the omniscient power of the king. Spies under the disguise of old and notorious robbers, herdsmen, hunters, or keepers of hounds may mix themselves with criminal tribes living in forests, and conspire with them to attack villages or caravanserais which, according to previous plan, contain plenty of counterfeit gold and other articles. During the tumult, they may be killed by armed men concealed for the purpose. Or on their securing plenty of stolen treasure, the robbers may either be made to eat such food as is mixed with the intoxicating juice of madana plant, or caught hold of either while sleeping with fatigue caused by incessant movements or while under intoxication due to the drinking of medicinal beverage on the occasions of religious festivals.

The Collector-general shall exhibit in public these and other arrested criminals and proclaim the omniscient power of the king among the people at large.

[Thus ends Chapter 5, "Detection of youths of criminal tendency by ascetic spies," in Book 4, "The Removal Thorns" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the eighty-second chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 6. SEIZURE OF CRIMINALS ON SUSPICION OR IN THE VERY ACT.

In addition to the measures taken by spies under the guise of prophets, such steps as are suggested by suspicious movements or possession of stolen articles may also be taken.

(Suspicion.)

Persons whose family subsist on slender means of inheritance; who have little or no comfort; who frequently change their residence, caste and the names, not only of themselves, but also of their family (gotra); who conceal their own avocations and calls; who have betaken themselves to such luxurious modes of life as eating flesh and condiments, drinking liquor, wearing scents, garlands, fine dress, and jewels; who have been squandering away their money; who constantly move with profligate women, gamblers, or vintners; who frequently leave their residence; whose commercial transaction, journey, or destination is difficult to understand; who travel alone in such solitary places as forests and mountainous tracts; who hold secret meetings in lonely places near to, or far from, their residence; who hurry on to get their fresh wounds or boils cured; who always hide themselves in the interior of their houses; who are excessively attached to women; who are always inquisitive to gather information as to the women and property of others; who associate themselves with men of condemnable learning and work; who loiter in the dark behind walls or under shades; who purchase rare or suspicious articles in suspicious times or places; who are known for their inimical dealings; whose caste and avocation are very low; who keep false appearances or put on different caste signs; who change their ancestral customs under false excuses; whose notoriety is already marked; who, though in charge of villages, are terribly afraid of appearing before the prime minister and conceal themselves or go elsewhere; who pant in fear while sitting alone; who show undue agitation or palpitation of heart; whose face is pale and dry while the voice is indistinct and stammering; who always move in company with armed men; or who keep threatening appearance; these and other persons may be suspected to be either murderers or robbers or offenders guilty of misappropriation of treasure-trove or deposits or to be any other kind of knaves subsisting by foul means secretly employed.

Thus the seizure of criminals on suspicion is dealt with.

(Seizure of stolen articles.)

AS regards the seizure of criminals in the very act:--

Information regarding such articles as are either lost or stolen shall, if the articles are not found out, be supplied to those who trade in similar articles. Traders who conceal the articles as to the loss of which they have already received information shall be condemned as abettors. If they are found

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not to be aware of the loss, they may be acquitted on restoring the articles.

No person shall, without giving information to the superintendent of commerce, mortgage or purchase for himself any old or second-hand article.

On receiving information regarding the sale or mortgage of old articles, the Superintendent shall ask the owner how he came by it. He may reply: it has been inherited; it has been received from a third person; it is purchased by himself; or it has been made to order; or it is a secret pledge; he may definitely state that the time and place when and where it came into being. Or he may adduce evidence as to the price and commission (kshanamulyam) for which it was purchased. If his statement regarding the antecedent circumstances of the article is found to be true, he shall be let off.

If the article in question is found to be the one lost by another person whose deposition regarding the antecedent circumstances of the article in no way differs from the previous story, the article shall be considered to belong to that person who is found to have long been enjoying it and whose life is very pure. For while even quadrupeds and bipeds are found to bear such common evidences of identification as colour, gait and form, can there be any difficulty in identifying such articles as, in the form of raw materials, jewels, or vessels, are the product of a single source, definite materials, a particular manufacturer for a definite purpose?

The possessor of an article in question may plead that the article is either borrowed or hired, a pledge or a sealed deposit, or one obtained from a particular person for retail sale.

If he proves his allegation by producing the referee, he shall be let off; or the referee may deny having had any concern in the matter.

With regard to the reasons which a person, seized with an article lost by another, assigns as to his having taken the article as a gift from a third person, he shall corroborate them by producing as witnesses not only those who gave and caused to give the article to him, but also those who, being mediators, custodians, bearers, or witnesses, arranged for the transfer of the article.

When a person is found possessed of an article which he alleges to have been thrown out, lost, or forgotten by a third person, he shall prove his innocence by adducing evidence as to the time, place, and circumstances of finding the article. Otherwise he shall restore the article, besides paying a fine equal to its value; or he may be punished as a thief.

Thus the seizure of criminals in the very act is dealt with.

(Circumstancial Evidence.)

As regards the seizure of criminals on the clue of circumstancial evidence:--

In cases of house breaking and theft the circumstances, such as entrance and exit effected through other than doors; breaking the door by means of special contrivances breaking the windows with or without lattice work, or pulling off the roof in houses consisting of upstairs, ascending and descending upstairs; breaking the wall; tunnelling; such contrivances as are necessary to carry off the treasure secretly hoarded, information about which can only be gathered from internal sources; these and other accessory circumstances of wear and tear cognisable in the interior shall tend to indicate the concern of internal hands in the crime, and those of reverse nature, external agencies. The blending of these two kinds of circumstances shall indicate both internal and external agencies.

Regarding crimes suspected to be the work of internal agencies: Any person of miserable appearance, present on the occasion, associated with rogues or thieves, and possessed of such instruments as are necessary for theft; a woman who is born of a poor family, or has placed her affections elsewhere; servants of similar condemnable character; any person addicted to too much sleep or who is suffering from want of sleep; any person who shows signs of fatigue, or whose face is pale and dry with voice stammering and indistinct and who may be watching the movements of others or bewailing too much; any person whose body bears the signs of scaling heights; any person whose body appears to have been scratched or wounded with dress torn off; any one whose legs and hands bear the signs of rubbing and scratching; any one whose hair and nails are either full of dirt or freshly broken; any one who has just bathed and daubed his body with sandal; any one who has smeared his body with oil and has just washed his hands and legs; any one whose foot-prints can be identified with those made near the house during ingress or egress; any one whose broken fragments of garlands, sandal or dress can be identified with those thrown out in or near the house during entrance or exit; any person the smell of whose sweat or drink can be ascertained from the fragments of his dress thrown out in or near the house;-- these and other persons shall be examined.

A citizen or a person of adulterous habits may also be suspected.

• A commissioner (pradeshta) with his retinue of gopas and sthanikas shall take steps to find out external thieves; and the officer in charge of a city (nagaraka) shall, under the circumstances sketched above, try to detect internal thieves inside fortified towns.

[Thus ends Chapter 6, "Seizure of criminals on suspicion or in the very act," in Book 4, "'The Removal of Thorns" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the eighty-third chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 7. EXAMINATION OF SUDDEN DEATH.

In cases of sudden death, the corpse shall be smeared over with oil and examined.

Any person whose corpse is tainted with mucus and urine, with organs inflated with wind, with hands and legs swollen, with eyes open, and with neck marked with ligatures may be regarded as having been killed by suffocation and suppression of breathing.

Any person with contracted arms and thighs may be regarded as having been killed by hanging.

Any dead person with swollen hands, legs and belly, with sunken eyes and inflated navel may be regarded as having been killed by hanging.

Any dead person with stiffened rectum and eyes, with tongue bitten between the teeth, and with belly swollen, may be considered as having been killed by drowning.

Any dead person, wetted with blood and with limb, wounded and broken, may be regarded as having been killed with sticks or ropes.

Any dead person with fractures and broken limbs, may be regarded as having been thrown down.

Any dead person with dark coloured hands, legs, teeth, and nails, with loose skin, hairs fallen, flesh reduced, and with face bedaubed with foam and saliva, may be regarded as having been poisoned.

Any dead person of similar description with marks of a bleeding bite, may be considered as baving been bitten by serpents and other poisonous creatures.

Any dead person, with body spread and dress thrown out after excessive vomitting and purging may be considered as having been killed by the administration of the juice of the madana plant.

Death due to any one of the above causes is, sometimes under the fear of punishment, made to appear as having been brought about by voluntary hanging, by causing marks of ligature round the neck.

In death due to poison, the undigested portion of meat may be examined in milk. Or the same extracted from the belly and thrown on fire may, if it makes 'chitchita' sound and assumes the rainbow colour, be declared as poisoned.

Or when the belly (hridayam) remains unburnt, although the rest of the body is reduced to ashes, the dead man's servants may be examined as to any violent and cruel treatments they may have received at the hands of the dead. Similarly such of the dead man's relatives as a person of miserable life, a woman with affections placed elsewhere or a relative defending some woman that has been deprived of her inheritance by the dead man may also be examined.

The same kind of examination shall be conducted concerning the hanging of the body of an already dead man.

Causes such as past evils or harm done to others by a dead man, shall be inquired into regarding any death due to voluntary hanging.

All kinds of sudden death, centre round one or the other of the following causes:--

Offence to women or kinsmen, claiming inheritance, professional competition, hatred against rivals, commerce, guilds and any one of the legal disputes, is the cause of anger: anger is the cause of death.

When, owing to false resemblance, one's own hirelings, or thieves for money, or the enemies of a third person murder one, the relatives of the deceased shall be inquired as follows:--

Who called the deceased; who was with him; who accompanied him on his journey; and who took him to the scene of death?

Those who happened to be at the locality of murder shall be severally asked as follows:--

By whom the deceased was brought there; whether they (the witnesses) saw any armed person lurking in the place and showing signs of troubled appearance?

Any clue afforded by them shall be followed in further enquiry.

• After examining the personal property such as travelling requisites, dress, jewels, or other things which the deceased had on his body while murdered, such persons as supplied or had something to do with those things shall be examined as to the associates, residence, causes of journey, profession, and other calls of the deceased.

• If a man or woman under the infatuation of love, anger, or other sinful passions commits or causes to commit suicide by means of ropes, arms, or poison, he or she shall be dragged by means of a rope along the public road by the hands of a Chandala.

• For such murderers as the above, neither cremation rites nor any obsequies usually performed by relatives shall be observed.

• Any relative who performs funeral rites to such wretches, shall either himself be deprived of his own funerals or be abandoned by his kith and kin.

• Whoever associates himself with such persons as perform forbidden rites, shall with his other associates, if any, forfeit within a year the privileges of conducting or superintending a sacrifice, of teaching, and of giving or receiving gifts.

[Thus ends Chapter 7, "Examination of sudden death," in Book 4, "The Removal of Thorns" of the Arthasasatra of Kautilya. End of the eighty-fourth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 8. TRIAL AND TORTURE TO ELICIT CONFESSION.

Whether an accused is a stranger or a relative to a complainant, his defence witness shall, in the presence of the complainant, be asked as to the defendant's country, caste, family, name, occupation, property, friends, and residence. The answers obtained shall be compared with the defendant's own statements regarding the same. Then the defendant shall be asked as to not only the nature of the work he did during the day previous to the theft, but also the place where he spent the night till he was caught hold of. If his answers for these questions are attested to by reliable referees or witnesses, he shall be acquitted. Otherwise he shall be subjected torture (anyatha karmapraptah).

Three days after the commission of a crime, no suspected person (sankitakah) shall be arrested inasmuch as there is no room for questions unless there is strong evidence to bring home the charge.

Persons who charge an innocent man with theft, or conceal a thief shall themselves be liable to the punishment for theft.

When a person accused of theft proves in his defence the complainant's enmity or hatred towards himself he shall be acquitted.

Any person who keeps an innocent man in confinement (parivasayatah suddham) shall be punished with the first amercement.

Guilt against a suspected person shall be established by the production of such evidences as the instruments made use of by the accused, his accomplices or abettors, the stolen article, and any middlemen involved in selling or purchasing the stolen article. The validity of the above evidences shall also be tested with reference to both the scene of the theft and the circumstances connected with the possession and distribution of the stolen article.

When there are no such evidences and when the accused is wailing much, he shall be regarded as innocent. For owing to one's accidental presence on the scene of theft, or to one's accidental resemblance to the real thief in respect to his appearance, his dress, his weapons, or possession of articles similar to those stolen, or owing to one's presence near the stolen articles as in the case of Mandavya who under the fear of torture admitted himself to be the thief, one, though innocent, is often seized as a thief. Hence the production of conclusive evidences shall be insisted upon. (tasmatsamaptakaranam niyamayet = hence punishment shall be meted out only when the charge is quite established against the accused?)

Ignoramuses, youngsters, the aged, the afflicted, persons under intoxication, lunatics, persons suffering from hunger, thirst, or fatigue from journey, persons who have just taken more than enough of meal, persons who have confessed of their own accord (atmakasitam), and persons who are very weak,--none of these shall be subjected to torture.

Among the spies such as harlots, suppliers of water and other drinks to travellers, story-tellers, hotel-keepers providing travellers with boarding and lodging, any one who happens to be acquainted with the work similar to that of the suspected may be let off to watch his movements, as described in connection with misappropriation of sealed deposits.

Those whose guilt is believed to be true shall be subjected to torture (aptadosham karma karayet). But not women who are carrying or who have not passed a month after delivery.

Torture of women shall be half of the prescribed standard. Or women with no exception may be subjected to the trial of cross-examination (vakyanuyogo va).

Those of Brahman caste and learned in the Vedas as well as asceties shall only be subjected to espionage.

Those who violate or cause to violate the above rules shall be punished with the first amercement. The same punishment shall be imposed in case of causing death to any one by torture.

There are in vogue four kinds of torture (karma):--

Six punishments (shatdandah), seven kinds of whipping (kasa), two kinds of suspension from above (upari nibandhau), and water-tube (udakanalika cha).

As to persons who have committed grave offences, the form of torture will be nine kinds of blows with a cane:--12 beats on each of the thighs; 28 beats with a stick of the tree (naktamala); 32 beats on each palm of the hands and on each sole of the feet; two on the knuckles, the hands being joined so as to appear like a scorpion; two kinds of suspensions, face downwards (ullambane chale); burning one of the joints of a finger after the accused has been made to drink rice gruel;

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heating his body for a day after be has been made to drink oil; causing him to lie on coarse green grass for a night in winter. These are the 18 kinds of torture.

The instruments of the accused such as ropes, clubs, arrows, spades, knives, etc., shall be paraded on the back of an ass.

Each day a fresh kind of the torture may be employed.

Regarding those criminals who rob in accordance with the threat previously made by them, who have made use of the stolen articles in part, who have been caught hold of in the very act or with the stolen articles, who have attempted to seize the king's treasury, or who have committed culpable crime, may, in accordance with the order of the king, be subjected once or many times to one all of the above kinds of torture.

Whatever may be the nature of the crime, no Brahman offender shall be tortured. The face of a Brahman convict shall be branded so as to leave a mark indicating his crime:--the sign of a dog in theft, that of a headless body in murder; that of the female part (bhaga) in rape with the wife of a teacher, and that of the flag of vintners for drinking liquor.

After having thus branded to a wound and proclaimed his crime in public, the king shall either banish a Brahman offender or send him to the mines for life.

[Thus ends Chapter 8, "Trial and Torture to Elicit Confession" in Book 4, "The Removal of Thorns" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the eighty-fifth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 9. PROTECTION OF ALL KINDS OF GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS.

Commissioners appointed by the Collector-general shall first check (the proceedings of) Superintendents and their subordinates.

Those who seize valuable articles or precious stones from either mines or any great manufactories shall be beheaded. Those who seize ordinary articles or necessaries of life from manufactories of articles of small value shall be punished with the first amercement. Those who seize from manufactories or from the king's granary articles of 1/16 to 1/4 a pana in value shall be fined 12 panas; articles of 1/4 to 1/2 a pana in value, 24 panas; articles 1/2 to 3/4 pana in value, 36 panas; and articles of 3/4 to 1 pana in value, 48 panas.

Those who seize articles of 1 to 2 panas in value shall be punished with the first amercement; articles of 2 to 4 panas in value with the middlemost; and articles of 4 to 8 panas in value with the highest amercement. Those who seize articles of 8 to 10 panas in value shall be condemned to death.

When any one seizes from courtyards, shops, or arsenals commodities such as raw materials, manufactured articles, etc., of half the above value, he shall also be punished as above. When any person seizes articles of 1/4th of the above value from Government treasury, granaries, or offices of Superintendents, he shall be punished with twice the above fines.

It has already been laid down in connection with the king's harem that those who intimidate thieves (with a view to give them a signal to run away) shall be tortured to death.

When any person other than a Government servant steals during the day from fields, yards prepared for threshing out grains, houses, or shops commodities such as raw materials, manufactured articles, or necessaries of life, of 1/16th to 1/4th of a pana in value, he shall be fined 3 panas or paraded through the streets, his body being smeared over with cow-dung, and an earthen ware pan with blazing light tied round his loins (saravamekhalaya). When any person steals articles of 1/4 to ½ of a pana in value, he shall be fined 6 panas, or his head may be shaved, or he may be exiled (mundanam pravrajanam va). When a person steals articles of ½ to 1/3 of a pana in value, he shall be fined 9 panas, or he may be paraded through streets, his body being bedaubed with cowdung or ashes or with an earthenware pan with blazing light tied round his waist. When a person steals articles of 1/3 to 1 pana in value, be shall be fined 12 panas, or his head may be shaved, or he may be banished. When a person steals commodities of 1 to 2 panas in value, he shall be fined 24 panas, or his head may be shaved with a piece of brick, or he may be exiled. When a person steals articles of 2 to 4 panas in value, he shall be punished with a fine of 36 panas; articles of 4 to 5 panas in value, 48 panas; articles of 5 to 10 panas in value, with the first amercement; articles of 10 to 20 panas in value, with a fine of 200 panas; articles of 20 to 30 panas in value, with a fine of 500 panas; articles of 30 to 40 panas in value, with a fine of 1,000 panas; and articles of 40 to 50 panas in value, he shall be condemned to death.

When a person seizes by force, whether during the early part of the day or night, articles of half the above values, he shall be punished with double the above fines.

When any person with weapons in hand seizes by force, whether during the day or night, articles of 1/4th of the above values, he shall be punished with the same fines.

When a master of a household (kutumbadhyaksha,) a superintendent, or an independent officer (mukhyaswami) issues or makes use of unauthorised orders or seals, he shall be punished with the first, middlemost, or highest amercement, or he may be condemned to death, or punished in any other way in proportion to the gravity of his crime.

When a judge threatens, browbeats, sends out, or unjustly silences any one of the disputants in his court, he shall first of all be punished with the first amercement. If he defames or abuses any one of them, the punishment shall be doubled. If he does not ask what ought to be asked, or asks what ought not to be asked, or leaves out what he himself has asked, or teaches, reminds, or provides any one with previous statement, he shall be punished with the middle-most amercement.

When a judge does not inquire into necessary circumstances, inquires into unnecessary circumstances, (desa), makes unnecessary delay in discharging his duty, postpones work with spite, causes parties to leave the court by tiring them with delay, evades or causes to evade statements that lead to the settlement of a case, helps witnesses giving them clues, or resumes cases already settled or disposed of, he shall be punished with the highest amercement. If he repeats the offence, he shall both be punished with double the above fine and dismissed.

When a clerk does not take down what has been deposed by parties, but enters what has not been deposed, evades what has been badly said (duruktam), or renders either diverse or ambiguous in meaning such depositions as are satisfactorily given out, he shall be punished either with the first amercement or in proportion to his guilt.

When a judge or commissioner imposes an unjust fine in gold, he shall be fined either double the amount of the fine, or eight times that amount of imposition which is either more or less than the prescribed limit.

When a judge or commissioner imposes an unjust corporeal punishment, he shall himself be either condemned to the same punishment or made to pay twice the amount of ransom leviable for that kind of injustice.

When a judge falsifies whatever is a true amount or declares as true whatever amount is false, he shall be fined eight times that amount.

When an officer lets out or causes to let out offenders from lock-up (charaka), obstructs or causes to obstruct prisoners in such of their daily avocations as sleeping, sitting, eating, or execreting, he shall be punished with fines ranging from 3 panas and upwards.

When any person lets out or causes to let out debtors from lock-up, he shall not only be punished with the middlemost amercement, but also be compelled to pay the debt the offender has to pay.

When a person lets out or causes to let out prisoners from jails (bandhanagara), he shall be condemned to death and the whole of his property confiscated.

When the superintendeat of jails puts any person in lock-up without declaring the grounds of provocation (samkrudhakamanakhyaya), he shall be fined 24 panas; when he subjects any person to unjust torture, 48 panas; when he transfers a prisoner to another place, or deprives a prisoner of food and water, 96 panas; when be troubles or receives bribes from a prisoner, he shall be punished, with the middlemost amercement; when he beats a prisoner to death, he shall be fined 1,000 panas. When a person commits rape with a captive, slave, or hired woman in lock-up, he shall be punished with the first amercement; when he commits rape with the wife of a thief, or of any other man who is dead in an epidemic (damara), he shall be punished with the middlemost amercement; and when he commits rape with an Arya woman in lock-up, he shall be punished with the highest amercement.

When an offender kept in lock-up commits rape with an Arya woman in the same lock-up, he shall be condemned to death in the very place.

When an officer commits rape with an Arya woman who has been arrested for untimely movement at night (akshanagrihitayam), he shall also be hanged at the very spot; when a similar offence is committed with a woman under slavery, the offender shall be punished with the first amercement.

(An officer) who causes a prisoner to escape from a lock-up without breaking it open, shall be punished with the middlemost amercement. (An officer) who causes a prisoner to escape from a lock-up after breaking it open, shall be condemned to death. When he lets out a prisoner from the jail, he shall be put to death and his property confiscated.

Thus shall the king, with adequate punishments, test first the conduct of Government servants, and then shall, through those officers of approved character, examine the conduct of his people both in towns and villages.

[Thus ends Chapter 9, "Protection of all kinds of Government Departments" in Book 4, "The Removal of Thorns" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the eighty-sixth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 10. FINES IN LIEU OF MUTILATION OF LIMBS.

When Government servants (arthachara) commit for the first time such offences as violation of sacred institutions (tírthaghata), or pickpocketing (granthibheda), they shall have their index finger cut off or shall pay a fine of 54 panas; when for a second time they commit the same, they shall have their (. . . . .) cut off or pay a fine of 100 panas; when for a third time, they shall have their right hand cut off or pay a fine of 400 panas; and when for a fourth time, they shall in any way be put to death.

When a person steals or destroys cocks, mangoose, cats, dogs or pigs, of less than 54 panas in value, he shall have the edge of his nose cut off or pay a fine of 54 panas. If these animals belong to either Chandalas or wild tribes half of the above fine shall be imposed.

When any person steals wild beasts, cattle, birds, elephants, tigers, fish, or any other animals confined in traps, fences, or pits, he shall not only pay a fine equal to the value of the stolen animals, but also restore the animals.

For stealing beasts or raw materials from forests, a fine of 100 panas shall be imposed. For stealing or destroying dolls, beasts, or birds from infirmaries, twice the above fine shall be levied.

When a person steals articles of small value, belonging to artisans, musicians, or ascetics he shall pay a fine of 100 panas; and when he steals big articles or any agricultural implements, he shall pay double the above fine.

When any person enters into a fort without permission, or carries off treasure through a hole or passage in the wall of the fort, he shall either be beheaded or be made to pay a fine of 200 panas.

When a person steals a cart, a boat or minor quadruped, he shall have one of his legs cut off or pay a fine of 300 panas.

When a gambler substitutes false dice to be hired for a kakani or any other accessory things of dice-play, or commits fraud by tricks of hand, he shall have his hand cut off or pay a fine of 400 panas.

When any person abets a thief or an adulterer, he as well as the woman who voluntarily yields herself for adultery shall have their ears and nose cut off or pay each a fine of 500 panas, while the thief or the adulterer shall pay double the above fine.

When any person steals a big animal, abducts a male or female slave, or sells the articles belonging to a dead body (pretabhandam), he shall have both of his legs cut off or pay a fine of 600 panas.

When a man contemptuously rushes against the hands or legs of any person of a higher caste, or of a teacher, or mounts the horse, elephant, coach, etc., of the king, he shall have one of his legs and one of his hands cut off or pay a fine of 700 panas.

When a Sudra calls himself a Brahman, or when any person steals the property of gods, conspires against the king, or destroys both the eyes of another, he shall either have his eyes destroyed by the application of poisonous ointment, or pay a fine of 800 panas.

When a person causes a thief or an adulterer to be let off or adds or omits anything while writing down the king's order, abducts a girl or a slave possessed of gold, carries off any deceitful transaction, or sells rotten flesh, he shall either have his two legs and one hand cut off or pay a fine of 900 panas.

Any person who sells human flesh shall be condemned to death.

When a person steals images of gods or of animals, abducts men, or takes possession of fields, houses, gold, gold-coins, precious stones, or crops of others, he shall either be beheaded or compelled to pay the highest amercement.

• Taking into consideration the (social position of) persons, the nature of the offence, the cause, whether grave or slight (that led to the perpetration of the offence), the antecedent and present circumstances, the time, and the place;

• and without failing to notice equitable distinctions among offenders, whether belonging to royal family or to the common people, shall the commissioner determine the propriety of imposing the first, middlemost, or highest amercements.

[Thus ends Chapter 10, "Fines in lieu of mutilation of limbs" in Book 4, "The Removal of Thorns" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the eighty-seventh chapter from the. beginning.]

CHAPTER 11. DEATH WITH OR WITHOUT TORTURE.

When a man murders another in a quarrel, he shall be tortured to death. When a person wounded in a fight dies within seven nights, he who caused the wound shall be put to instantaneous death (suddhavadhah). If the wounded man dies within a fortnight, the offender shall be punished with the highest amercement. If the wounded man dies within a month, the offender shall be compelled to pay not only a fine of 500 panas, but also an adequate compensation (to the bereaved).

When a man hurts another with a weapon, he shall pay the highest amercement; when he does so under intoxication, his hand shall be cut off; and when he causes instantaneous death, be shall be put to death.

When a person causes abortion in pregnancy by striking, or with medicine, or by annoyance, the highest, middlemost, and first amercements shall be imposed respectively.

Those who cause violent death either to men or women, or those who are in the habit of often going to meet prostitutes (abhisaraka), those who inflict unjust punishment upon

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others, those who spread false or contemptuous rumours, who assault or obstruct travellers on their way, who commit house-breaking, or who steal or cause hurt to royal elephants, horses, or carriages shall be hanged.

Whoever burns or carries away the corpses of the above offenders shall meet with similar punishment or pay the highest amercement.

When a person supplies murderers or thieves with food, dress, any requisites, fire, information, any plan, or assistance in any way, he shall be punished with the highest amercement. When he does so under ignorance, he shall be censured.

Sons or wives of murderers or of thieves shall, if they are found not in concert, be acquitted; but they shall be seized if found to have been in concert.

Any person who aims at the kingdom, who forces entrance into the king's harem, who instigates wild tribes or enemies (against the king), or who creates disaffection in forts, country parts, or in the army shall be burnt alive from head to foot.

If a Brahman does similar acts, he shall be drowned.

Any person who murders his father, mother, son, brother, teacher, or an ascetic, shall be put to death by burning both his head and skin; if he insults any of the above persons, his tongue shall be cut off; if he bites any limb of these persons, be shall be deprived of the corresponding limb.

When a man wantonly murders another, or steals a herd of cattle, he shall be beheaded.

A herd of cattle shall be considered to consist of not more than ten heads.

When a person breaks the dam of a tank full of water, he shall be drowned in the very tank; of a tank without water, he shall be punished with the highest amercement; and of a tank which is in ruins owing to neglect, he shall be punished with the middle-most amercement.

Any man who poisons another and any woman who murders a man shall be drowned.

Any woman who murders her husband, preceptor, or offspring, sets fire to another's property, poisons a man or cuts off any of the bodily joints of another shall be torn off by bulls, no matter whether or not she is big with a child, or has not passed a month after giving birth to a child.

Any person who sets fire to pasture lands, fields, yards prepared for threshing out grains, houses, forests, of timber or of elephants shall be thrown into fire.

Any person who insults the king, betrays the king's council, makes evil attempts (against the king), or disregards the sanctity of the kitchens of Brahmans shall have his tongue cut off.

When a man other than a soldier steals weapons or armour, he shall be shot down by arrows; if he is a soldier, he shall pay the highest amercement.

He who castrates a man shall have his generative organ cut off.

He who hurts the tongue or nose of another shall have his fingers cut off.

• Such painful punishments (klesadanda) as the above have been laid down in the Sastras of great sages; but it has been declared as just to put to simple death those offenders who have not been cruel.

[Thus ends Chapter 11, "Death with or without torture" in Book 4, "The Removal of Thorns" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the eighty-eighth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 12. SEXUAL INTERCOURSE WITH IMMATURE GIRLS.

He who defiles a maiden of equal caste before she has reached her maturity shall have his hand cut off or pay a fine of 400 panas; if the maiden dies in consequence, the offender shall be put to death.

He who defiles a maiden who has attained maturity shall have his middle finger cut off or pay a fine of 200 panas, besides giving an adequate compensation to her father.

No man shall have sexual intercourse with any woman against her will.

He who defiles a willing maiden shall pay a fine of 54 panas, while the maiden herself shall pay a fine of half the amount.

When a man impersonates another man who has already paid the nuptial fee to a woman (parasulkopadhayam), he shall have his hand cut off or pay a fine of 400 panas, besides making good the nuptial fee.

No man who has connection with a maiden that has passed seven menses and has not yet succeeded in marrying her, though she has been betrothed to him, shall either be guilty or pay any compensation to her father; for her father has lost his authority over her in consequence of having deprived her so long of the result of her menses.

It is no offence for a man of equal caste and rank to have connection with a maiden who has been unmarried three years after her first menses. Nor is it an offence for a man, even of different caste, to have connection with a maiden who has spent more than three years after her first menses and has no jewellery on her person; for taking possession of paternal property (under such circumstances) shall be regarded as theft.

Any person who, while pretending to secure a bride to a particular person, ultimately obtains her for a third person shall be fined 200 panas.

No man shall have sexual intercourse with any woman against her will.

If a person substitutes in marriage another maiden for the one he has before shown, he shall, if the substitute is of the same rank, be fined 100 panas, and 200 panas if she is of lower rank. The substituted maiden shall be fined 54 panas, while the offender shall also be compelled to return both the nuptial fee and the amount of expenditure (incurred by the bridegroom).

When a man refuses to live in marriage a particular maiden as agreed upon, he shall pay double the above fine.

When a man substitutes in marriage a maiden of different blood or is found to have bestowed false praises (on her quality), he shall not only pay a fine of 200 panas and return the nuptial fee, but also make good the expenditure.

No man shall have sexual intercourse with any woman against her will.

When a woman being desirous of intercourse, yields herself to a man of the same caste and rank, she shall be fined 12 panas, while any other woman who is an abettor in the case shall be fined twice as much. Any woman who abets a man in having intercourse with a maiden against her will shall not only pay a fine of 100 panas, but also please the maiden providing her with an adequate nuptial fee.

A woman who, of her own accord, yields herself to a man shall be a slave to the king.

For committing intercourse with a woman outside a village, or for spreading false report regarding such things, double the usual fines shall be imposed.

He who carries off a maiden by force shall be fined 200 panas; if the maiden thus carried off has golden ornaments on her person, the highest amercement shall be imposed. If a number of persons abduct a maiden, each of them shall be punished as above.

When a man has connection with a harlot's daughter, he shall not only pay a fine of 54 panas, but also give her mother sixteen times her daily income.

When a man defiles the daughter of his own male or female slave, he shall not only pay a fine of 24 panas, but also provide the maiden with an adequate nuptial fee (sulka) and jewellery (abaddhya).

When a man has connection with a woman who has been held in slavery on account of certain ransom due from her, he shall not only pay a fine of 12 panas, but also provide the woman with dress and maintenance.

Abettors in all the above cases shall each have the same punishment as the principal offender.

A relative, or a servant of an absentee husband may take the latter's wife of loose character under his own protection (samgrihníyat = may marry her). Being under such protection, she shall wait for the return of her husband. If her husband, on his return, entertains no objection, both the protector and the woman shall be acquitted. If he raises any objection, the woman shall have her ears and nose cut off, while her keeper shall be put to death as an adulterer.

When a man falsely accuses another of having committed theft while in reality the latter is guilty of adultery, the complainant shall be fined 500 panas.

He who lets off an adulterer by receiving gold shall pay a fine of eight times the value of the gold (he received).

(Adultery may be proved by circumstances such as) hand to hand fight, abduction, any marks made on the body of the culprits, opinion of experts on consideration of the circumstances, or the statements of women involved in it.

When a man rescues a woman from enemies, forests, or floods, or saves the life of a woman who has been abandoned in forests, forsaken in famine, or thrown out as if dead, he may enjoy her as agreed upon during the rescue.

A woman of high caste, with children and having no desire for sexual enjoyment, may be let off after receiving an adequate amount of ransom.

• Those women who have been rescued from the hands of thieves, from floods, in famine, or in national calamities, or who, having been abandoned, missed, or thrown out as if dead in forests, have been taken home may be enjoyed by the rescuer as agreed upon.

• But no such women as have been cast out under royal edict, or by their own kinsmen; nor such as belong to high caste, or do not like to be rescued, nor even those who have children shall be rescued either for ransom or for their person.

[Thus ends Chapter 12, "Sexual Intercourse with Immature Girls," in Book 4, "The Removal of Thorns" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the eighty-ninth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 13. PUNISHMENT FOR VIOLATING JUSTICE.

He who causes a Brahman to partake of whatever food or drink is prohibited shall be punished with the highest amercement. He who causes a Kshatriya to do the same shall be punished with the middlemost amercement; a Vaisya, with the first amercement; and a Sudra, with a fine of 54 panas.

Those who voluntarily partake of whatever is condemned either as food or drink shall be outcast.

He who forces his entrance into another's house during the day shall be punished with the first amercement; and during the night with the middlemost. Any person who with weapon in hand enters into another's house either during the day or night shall be punished with the highest amercement.

When beggars or peddlers and lunatics or mad persons attempt to enter into a house by force, or when neighbours force their entrance into a house in danger, they shall not be punished provided no such entrance is specially prohibited.

He who mounts the roof of his own house after midnight shall be punished with the first amercement; and of another's house, with the middlemost amercement.

Those who break the fences of villages, gardens, or fields shall also be punished with the middlemost amercement.

Having made the value, etc., of their merchandise known (to the headman of the village), traders shall halt in some part of a village. When any part of their merchandise which has not been truly sent out of the village during the night has been stolen or lost, the headman of the village shall make good the loss.

Whatever of their merchandise is stolen or lost in the intervening places between any two villages shall the superintendent of pasture lands make good. If there are no pasture lands (in such places), the officer called Chorarajjuka shall make good the loss. If the loss of merchandise occurs in such parts of the country as are not provided even with such security (a Chorarajjuka), the people in the boundaries of the place shall contribute to make up the loss. If there are no people in the boundaries, the people of five or ten villages of the neighbourhood shall make up the loss.

Harm due to the construction of unstable houses, carts with no support or with a beam or weapon hung above or with damaged support or with no covering, and harm due to causing a cart to fall in pits, or a tank, or from a dam, shall be treated as assault.

Cutting of trees, stealing the rope with which a tameable animal is tied, employing untamed quadrupeds, throwing sticks, mud, stones, rods, or arrows on chariots or elephants, raising or waiving the arm against chariots or elephants, shall also be treated as assault.

(The charioteer) who cries out (to a passer-by) 'get out' shall not be punished for collision (samghattane).

A man who is hurt to death by an elephant under provocation (caused by himself) shall supply not only a kumbha of liquor (less by a drona), garlands, and scents but also as much cloth as is necessary to wash the tusks; for death caused by an elephant is as meritorious as the sacred bath taken at the end of a horse-sacrifice. Hence this offer (of liquor, etc.), is known as 'washing the legs.'

When an indifferent passer-by is killed by an elephant the driver shall be punished with the highest amercement.

When the owner of a horned or tusked animal does not rescue a man from being destroyed by his animal, he shall be punished with the first amercement. If he heedlessly keeps quite from rescuing though entreated, he shall be punished with twice the first amercement.

When a person causes or allows horned or tusked animals to destroy each other, he shall not only pay a fine equal to the value of the destroyed animal or animals, but also make good the loss (to the sufferer).

When a man rides over an animal which is left off in the name of gods, or over a bull, an ox, or over a female calf, he shall be fined 500 panas. He who drives away the above animals shall be punished with the highest amercement.

When a person carries off such inferior quadrupeds as are productive of wool or milk, or are useful for loading or riding, he shall not only pay a fine equal to their value, but also restore them.

The same punishment shall be imposed in the case of driving away inferior quadrupeds for purposes other than ceremonials performed in honour of gods or ancestors.

When an animal which has its nose-string cut off or which is not well tamed to yoke causes hurt; or when an animal, either coming furiously against a man or receding backwards with the cart to which it is tied, causes hurt or when an animal causes hurt in confusion brought about by the thronging of people and other animals; the owner of the animal shall not be punished;. but for hurt caused to men under circumstances other than the above, fines shall be imposed as laid down before, while the loss of any animal life due to such causes shall be made good. If the driver of a cart or carriage causing hurt is a minor, the master inside the cart or carriage shall be punished. In the absence of the master, any person who is seated inside, or the driver himself if he has attained his majority shall be punished. Carts or carriages occupied by a minor or with no person shall be taken possession of by the king.

Whatever a man attempts to do to others by witch-craft shall be (practically) applied to the doer himself. Witch-craft merely to arouse love in an indifferent wife, in a maiden by her

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lover, or in a wife by her husband is no offence. But when it is injurious to others, the doer shall be punished with the middle most amercement.

When a man performs witch-craft to win the sister of his own father or mother, the wife of a maternal uncle or of a preceptor, his own daughter-in-law, daughter, or sister, he shall have his limb cut off and also put to death, ,while any woman who yields herself to such an offender shall also, receive similar punishment. Any woman who yields herself to a slave, a servant, or a hired labourer shall be similarly punished.

A Kshatriya who commits adultery with an unguarded Brahman woman shall be punished with the highest amercement; a Vaisya doing the same shall be deprived of the whole of his property; and a Sudra shall be burnt alive wound round in mats.

Whoever commits adultery with the queen of the land shall be burnt alive in a vessel (kumbhîlpakah.)

A man who commits adultery with a woman of low caste shall be banished with prescribed mark branded on his fore-head, or shall be degraded to the same caste.

A Sudra or a svapaka who commits adultery with a woman of low caste shall be put to death, while the woman shall have her ears and nose cut off.

Adultery with a nun (pravrajita) shall be punishable with a fine of 24 panas while the nun who submits herself shall also pay a similar fine.

A man who forces his connection with a harlot shall be fined 12 panas.

When many persons perform witch-craft towards a single woman, each of them shall be punished with a fine of 24 panas.

When a man has connection with a woman against the order of nature (a-yonau), he shall be punished with the first amercement.

A man having sexual intercourse with another man shall also pay the first amercement.

• When a senseless man has sexual intercourse with beasts, he shall be fined 12 panas; when he comits the same act with idols (representatives) of goddesses (daivatapratima), he shall be fined twice as much.

• When the king punishes an innocent man, he shall throw into water dedicating to god Varuna a fine equal to thirty times the unjust imposition; and this amount shall afterwards be distributed among the Brahmans.

• By this act, the king will be free from the sin of unjust imposition; for king Varuna is the ruler of sinners among men.

[Thus ends Chapter 13, "Punishment for violating justice" in Book 4, "The Removal of Thorns" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the ninetieth chapter from the beginning. With this ends the fourth Book, "The removal of of thorns" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya.]

KAUTILYA'S ARTHASHASTRA: BOOK 5

"The Conduct of Courtiers"

CHAPTER I. CONCERNING THE AWARDS OF PUNISHMENTS.

Measures necessary to remove the thorns of public peace both in fortified cities and country parts have been dealt with. We shall now proceed to treat of measures to suppress treason against the king and his kingdom.

With regard to those chiefs who, though living by service under the king, are inimically disposed towards him, or have taken the side of his enemy, a spy with secret mission or one in the guise of an ascetic and devoted to the king's cause shall set to work as described before; or a spy trained in the art of sowing the seeds of dissension may set to work, as will be described in connection with the 'Invasion of an enemy's villages.'

The king in the interests of righteousness may inflict punishment in secret on those courtiers or confederacy of chiefs who are dangerous to the safety of the kingdom and who cannot be put down in open daylight.

A spy may instigate the brother of a seditious minister and with necessary inducements, take him to the king for an interview. The king, having conferred upon him the title to possess and enjoy the property of his seditious brother, may cause him to attack his brother; and when he murders his brother with a weapon or with poison, he shall be put to death in the same spot under the plea that he is a parricide.

The same measure will explain the proceedings to be taken against a seditious Pârasava (one who is begotten by a Brahman on Sûdra wife), and a seditious son of a woman-servant.

Or instigated by a spy, the brother of a seditious minister may put forward his claim for inheritance. While the claimant is lying at night at the door of the house of the seditious minister or elsewhere, a fiery spy (tîshna) may murder him and declare "Alas! the claimant for inheritance is thus murdered (by his brother)." Then taking the side of the injured party, the king may punish the other (the seditious minister).

Spies in the presence of a seditious minister may threaten to beat his brother claiming inheritance. Then "while the claimant is lying at the door of, etc." . . . . . as before.

The same proceedings will explain the quarrel fraudulently caused to crop up between any two seditious ministers, in whose family a son or a father has had sexual intercourse with a daughter-in-law, or a brother with the wife of another brother.

A spy may flatter to the vanity of a seditious minister's son, of gentle manners and dignified conduct by telling him "Though thou art the king's son, thou art kept here in fear of enemies." The king may secretly honour this deluded person and tell him that "apprehending danger from the minister, I have put off thy installation, though thou hast attained the age of heir apparent." Then the spy may instigate him to murder the minister. The task being accomplished, he, too, may be put to death in the same spot under the plea that he is a parricide.

A mendicant woman, having captivated the wife of a seditious minister by administering such medicines as excite the feelings of love, may through that wife contrive to poison the minister.

Failing these measures, the king may send a seditious minister with an army of inefficient soldiers and fiery spies to put down a rebellious wild tribe or a village, or to set up a new superintendent of countries or of boundaries in a locality bordering upon a wilderness, or to bring under control a highly-rebellious city, or to fetch a caravan bringing in the tribute due to the king from a neighbouring country. In an affray (that ensues in consequence of the above mission) either by day or at night, the fiery spies, or spies under the guise of robbers (pratirodhaka) may murder the minister and declare that he was killed in the battle.

While marching against an enemy or being engaged in sports, the king may send for his seditious ministers for an interview. While leading the ministers to the king, fiery spies with concealed weapons shall, in the middle enclosure of the king's pavilion, offer themselves to be searched for admittance into the interior, and, when caught, with their weapons by the door-keepers, declare themselves to be the accomplices of the seditious ministers. Having made this affair known to the public, the door-keepers shall put the ministers to death, and in the place of the fiery spies, some others are to be hanged.

While engaged in sports outside the city, the king may honour his seditious ministers with accommodation close to his own. A woman of bad character under the guise of the queen may be caught in the apartment of these ministers and steps may be taken against them as before.

A sauce-maker or a sweetmeat-maker may request of a seditious minister some sauce and sweetmeat by flattering him--"thou alone art worthy of such things." Having mixed those two things and half a cup of water with poison, he may substitute those things in the luncheon (of the king) outside the city. Having made this event known to the public, the king may put them (the minister and the cook) to death under the plea that they are poisoners.

If a seditious minister is addicted to witchcraft, a spy under the guise of an accomplished wizard may make him believe that by manifesting (in witchcraft) any one of the beautiful things,--a pot containing an alligator, or a tortoise or crab--he can attain his desired end. While, with this belief, he is engaged in the act of witchcraft, a spy may murder him either by poisoning him or by striking him with an iron bar, and declare that he brought his own death by his proclivity to witchcraft.

A spy under the guise of a physician may make a seditious minister believe that he is suffering from a fatal or incurable disease and contrive to poison him while prescribing medicine and diet to him.

Spies under the guise of sauce-makers and sweet meat-makers may, when opportunity occurs, contrive to poison him.

Such are the secret measures to get rid of seditious persons.

As to measures to get rid of seditious persons conspiring against both the king and his kingdom:--

When a seditious person is to be got rid of, another seditious person with an army of inefficient soldiers and fiery spies may be sent with the mission: "Go out into this fort or country and raise an army or some revenue; deprive a courtier of his gold; bring by force the daughter of a courtier; build a fort; open a garden; construct a road for traffic; set up a new village; exploit a mine; form forest-preserves for timber or elephants; set up a district or a boundary; and arrest and capture those who prevent your work or do not give you help." Similarly the other party may be instructed to curb the spirit of the above person. When a quarrel arises between the two parties at work, fiery spies under cover may throw their weapons and murder the seditious person; and others are to be arrested and punished for the crime.

When with reference to boundaries, field-produce, and boundaries of houses, or with reference to any damage done to things, instruments, crops, and beasts of burden or on occasions of witnessing spectacles and processions, any dispute, real or caused by fiery spies, arises in seditious towns, villages, or families, fiery spies may hurl weapons and say: "This is what is done to them who quarrel with this man"; and for this offence others may be punished.

When there arises a quarrel among seditious persons, fiery spies may set fire to their fields, harvest-grounds, and houses, hurl weapons on their relatives, friends and beasts of burden, and say that they did so at the instigation of the seditious; and for this offence others may be punished.

Spies may induce seditious persons in forts or in country parts to be each other's guests at a dinner in which poisoners may administer poison; and for this offence others may be punished.

A mendicant woman may delude a seditious chief of a district into the belief that the wife, daughter, or daughter-in-law of another seditious chief of another district loves the former. She may take the jewellery which the deluded chief gives her (for delivery to the wife, daughter, etc.), and, presenting it before the other chief, narrate that this chief in the pride of his youth makes love to the other's wife, daughter, or daughter-in-law. When at night a duel arises between the two chiefs, etc., as before.

The prince or the commander of the army may confer some benefit upon such inimical persons as have been cowed down by a seditious army, and may declare his displeasure against them afterwards. And then some other persons, who are equally cowed down by another seditious army of the king, may be sent against the former along with an army of inefficient soldiers and fiery spies. Thus all the measures to get rid of seditious persons are of the same type.

Whoever among the sons of the seditious persons thus put down shows no perturbance of mind shall receive his father's property. It is only thus that the whole of the country will loyally follow the sons and grandsons of the king, and will be free from all troubles caused by men.

• Possessed of forbearance and apprehending no disturbance either in the present or future, the king may award punishments in secret both upon his own subjects and those who uphold the enemy's cause.

[Thus ends Chapter 1, "Concerning the Awards of Punishments" in Book 5. "The Conduct of Courtiers" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the ninety-first chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 2. REPLENISHMENT OF THE TREASURY.

The king who finds himself in a great financial trouble and needs money, may collect (revenue by demand). In such parts of his country as depend solely upon rain for water and are rich in grain, he may demand of his subjects one-third or one-fourth of their grain according to their capacity. He shall never demand of such of his subjects as live in tracts of middle or low quality; nor of people who are of great help in the construction of fortifications, gardens, buildings, roads for traffic, colonisation of waste lands, exploitation of mines, and formation of forest-preserves for timber and, elephants; nor of people who live on the border of his kingdom or who have not enough subsistence. He shall, on the other hand, supply with grain and cattle those who colonise waste lands. He may purchase for gold one-fourth of what remains, after deducting as much of the grain as is required for seeds and subsistence of his subjects. He shall avoid the property of forest tribes, as well as of Brahmans learned in the Vedas (srotriya). He may purchase this, too, offering favourable price (to the owners). Failing these measures, the servants of the collector-general may prevail upon the peasantry to raise summer crops. Saying that double the amount of fines will be levied from those who are guilty (among peasants), they (the king's employees) shall sow seeds in sowing seasons. When crops are ripe, they may beg a portion of vegetable and other ripe produce except what is gleaned in the form of vegetables and grains. They shall avoid the grains scattered in harvest-fields, so that they may be utilised in making offerings to gods and ancestors on occasions of worship, in feeding cows, or for the subsistence of mendicants and village employees (grâlmabhritaka).

Whoever conceals his own grain shall pay a fine of eight times the amount in each kind; and whoever steals the crops of another person shall pay a fine of fifty times the amount, provided the robber belongs to the same community (svavarga); but if he is a foreigner, he shall be put to death. They (the king's employees) may demand of cultivators one-fourth of their grain, and one-sixth of forest produce (vanya) and of such commodities as cotton, wax, fabrics, barks of trees, hemp, wool, silk, medicines, sandal, flowers, fruits, vegetables, firewood, bamboos, flesh, and dried flesh. They may also take one-half of all ivory and skins of animals, and punish with the first amercement those who trade in any article without obtaining a license from the king. So much for demands on cultivators.

Merchants dealing in gold, silver, diamonds, precious stones, pearls, coral, horses, and elephants shall pay 50 karas. Those that trade in cotton threads, clothes, copper, brass, bronze, sandal, medicines, and liquor shall pay 40 karas. Those that trade in grains, liquids, metals (loha), and deal with carts shall pay 30 karas. Those that carry on their trade in glass (kâcha); and also artisans of fine workmanship shall pay 20 karas. Articles of inferior workmanship, as well as

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those who keep prostitutes, shall pay 10 karas. Those that trade in firewood, bamboos, stones, earthen-pots, cooked rice, and vegetables shall pay 5 karas. Dramatists and prostitutes shall pay half of their wages. The entire property of goldsmiths shall be taken possession of; and no offence of theirs shall be forgiven; for they carry on their fraudulent trade while pretending at the same time to be honest and innocent. So much about demands on merchants.

Persons rearing cocks and pigs shall surrender to the Government half of their stock of animals. Those that rear inferior animals shall give one-sixth. Those that keep cows, buffaloes, mules, asses, and camels shall give one-tenth (of their live-stock). Those who maintain prostitutes (bandhakiposhaka), shall, with the help of women noted for their beauty and youth in the service of the king, collect revenue. So much about demands on herdsmen.

Such demands shall be made only once and never twice. When such demands are not made, the collector general shall seek subscriptions from citizens and country people alike under false pretences of carrying this or that kind of business. Persons taken in concert shall publicly pay handsome donations and with this example, the king may demand of others among his subjects. Spies posing as citizens shall revile those who pay less. Wealthy persons may be requested to give as much of their gold as they can. Those who, of their own accord or with the intention of doing good, offer their wealth to the king shall be honoured with a rank in the court, an umbrella, or a turban or some ornaments in return for their gold.

Spies, under the guise of sorcerers, shall, under the pretence of ensuring safety, carry away the money, not only of the society of heretics and of temples, but also of a dead man and of a man whose house is burnt, provided that it is not enjoyable by Brahmans.

The Superintendent of Religious Institutions may collect in one place the various kinds of property of the gods of fortified cities and country parts and carry away the property (to the king's treasury).

Or having on some night set up a god or an altar, or having opened a sacred place of ascetics or having pointed out an evil omen, the king may collect subsistence under the pretence of holding processions and congregations (to avert calamities).

Or else he shall proclaim the arrival of gods, by pointing out to the people any of the sacred trees in the king's garden which has produced untimely flowers and fruits.

Or by causing a false panic owing to the arrival of an evil spirit on a tree in the city, wherein a man is hidden making all sorts of devilish noises, the king's spies, under the guise of ascetics, may collect money (with a view to propitiate the evil spirit and send it back).

Or spies may call upon spectators to see a serpent with numberless heads in a well connected with a subterranean passage and collect fees from them for the sight. Or they may place in a borehole made in the body of an image of a serpent, or in a hole in the corner of a temple, or in the hollow of an ant-hill, a cobra, which is, by diet, rendered unconscious, and call upon credulous spectators to see it (on payment of a certain amount of fee). As to persons who are not by nature credulous, spies may sprinkle over or give a drink of, such sacred water as is mixed with anasthetic ingredients and attribute their insensibility to the curse of gods. Or by causing an outcast person (âbhityakta) to be bitten by a cobra, spies may collect revenue under the pretext of undertaking remedial measures against ominous phenomena.

Or one of the king's spies in the garb of a merchant, may become a partner of a rich merchant and carry on trade in concert with him. As soon as a considerable amount of money has been gathered as sale-proceeds, deposits and loans, he may cause himself to be robbed of the amount.

This will explain what the examiner of coins and the state-goldsmith may also do.

Or else a spy, in the garb of a rich merchant, or a real rich merchant famous for his vast commerce, may borrow or take on pledge vast quantities of gold, silver, and other commodities, or borrow from corporations bar gold, or coined gold for various kinds of merchandise to be procured from abroad. After having done this he may allow himself to be robbed of it the same night.

Prostitute spies under the garb of chaste women, may cause themselves to be enamoured of persons who are seditious. No sooner are the seditious persons seen within the abode of the female spies than they shall be seized and their property confiscated to the Government. Or whenever a quarrel arises between any two seditious parties of the same family, poisoners, previously engaged for the purpose, may administer poison to one party; and the other party may be accused of the offence and deprived of their. property.

An outcast, under the guise of a high-born man, may claim from a seditious person a large amount of money professed to have been placed in the latter's custody by the claimant, or a large debt outstanding against the seditious person, or a share of parental property. (An outcast) may pretend to be the slave of a seditious person; and he may represent the wife, daughter, or daughter-in-law of the seditious person as a slave-woman or as his own wife; and when the outcast is lying at the door of the seditious person's house at night or is living elsewhere, a fiery spy may murder him and declare:--"The claimant (of his own property or wife) has been thus killed." And for this offence others (i.e., the seditious person and his followers) shall be deprived of their property.

Or a spy, under the garb of an ascetic, may offer inducements to a seditious person to acquire more wealth by taking in aid the art of witchcraft, and say:--"I am proficient in such witchcraft as brings inexhaustible wealth, or entitles a man to get admission into the king's palace, or can win the love of any woman, or can put an end to the life of one's enemy, or can lengthen the duration of one's life, or can give a son to any one, if desired." If the seditious person shows his desire to carry on the process of witchcraft securing wealth, the spy may make rich offerings, consisting of flesh, wine, and scent to the deity near an altar in a burial-ground wherein a dead body of a man or of a child with a little quantity of money has been previously hidden. After the performance of worship is over, the hidden treasure may be dug out and the seditious person, may be told that as the offerings fell short, the treasure is proportionately small; that the richest of offerings should be made to acquire vast amount of treasure, and that he may purchase with the newly-acquired wealth rich offerings. Then he may be caught in the very act of purchasing commodities for offering.

A female spy, under the garb of a bereaved mother, may (in connection with the above case) raise an alarm, crying that her child was murdered (for the purposes of witchcraft).

When a seditious person is engaged in sorcery at night or in a sacrificial performance in a forest, or in sports in a park, fiery spies may murder him and carry away the corpse as that of an outcast.

Or a spy, under the garb of a servant of a seditious person, may mix counterfeit coins with the wages (he has received from his master), and pave the way for his arrest.

Or a spy, under the garb of a goldsmith, may undertake to do some work in the house of a seditious person, and gather in his employer's house such instruments as are necessary to manufacture counterfeit coins.

A spy, under the garb of a physician, may declare a healthy person of seditious character to be unhealthy (and administer poison). Or a spy, attending as a servant upon a seditious person may not only call for an explanation from another fraudulent spy as to how certain articles necessary for the installation of a king and also the letters of an enemy came into the possession of his master, but also volunteer an explanation himself.

Measures such as the above shall be taken only against the seditious and the wicked and never against others.

• Just as fruits are gathered from a garden as often as they become ripe, so revenue shall be collected as often as it becomes ripe. Collection of revenue or of fruits, when unripe, shall never be carried on, lest their source may be injured, causing immense trouble.

[Thus ends Chapter 2, "Replenishment of the Treasury" in Book 5, "The Conduct of Courtiers" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the ninety-second chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 3. CONCERNING SUBSISTENCE TO GOVERNMENT SERVANTS.

In accordance with the requirements of his forts and country parts, the king should fix under one-fourth of the total revenue the charges of maintaining his servants. He should look to the bodily comforts of his servants by providing such emoluments as can infuse in them the spirit of enthusiasm to work. He should not violate the course of righteousness and wealth.

The sacrificial priest (ritvig), the teacher, the minister, the priest (purohita), the commander of the army, the heir-apparent prince, the mother of the king, and the queen shall (each receive) 48,000 (panas per annum). With this amount of subsistence, they will scarcely yield themselves to temptation and hardly be discontented.

The door-keeper, the superintendent of the harem (antarvamsika) the commander (prasastri), the collector-general, and the chamberlain, 24,000. With this amount they become serviceable.

The prince (kumara), the nurse of the prince, the chief constable (nayaka), the officer in charge of the town (paura) the superintendent of law or commerce (vyavaharika), the superintendent of manufactories (karmantika), members of the council of ministers, the superintendents of country parts and of boundaries, 12,000. With this they will be loyal and powerful supporters of the king's cause.

The chiefs of military corporations, the chiefs of elephants, of horses, of chariots and of infantry and commissioners (pradeshtarah), 8,000. With this amount they can have a good following in their own communities.

The Superintendents of infantry, of cavalry, of chariots and of elephants, the guards of timber and elephant forests, 4,000.

The chariot-driver, the physician of the army, the trainer of horses, the carpenter, (vardhaki), and those who rear animals (yoniposhaka), 2,000.

The foreteller, the reader of omens, the astrologer, the reader of Puranas, the story-teller, the bard (magadha), the retinue of the priest, and all superintendents of departments, 1,000.

Trained soldiers, the staff of accountants and writers, 500.

Musicians (kusílava), 250. Of these, the trumpet-blowers (turyakara) shall get twice as much wages as others. Artisans and carpenters, 120.

Servants in charge of quadrupeds and bipeds, workmen doing miscellaneous work, attendants upon the royal person, body-guards, and the procurer of free labourers shall receive a salary of 60 panas.

The honourable play-mate of the king (aryayukta), the elephant-driver, the sorcerer (manavaka), miners of mountains (sailakhanaka), all kinds of attendants, teachers, and learned men shall have honorarium ranging from 500 to 1,000 (panas) according to their merit.

A messenger of middle quality shall receive 10 panas for each yojana he travels; and twice as much when he travels from 10 to 100 yojanas.

Whoever represents the king in the rajasuya and other sacrifices shall get three times as much as is paid to others who are equal to him in learning; and the charioteer of the king (in the sacrifices), 1,000.

Spies such as the fradulent (kapatika), the indifferent (udasthita), the house-holder, the merchant, and the ascetic 1,000.

The village-servant (gramabhritaka), fiery spies, poisoners and mendicant women, 500 (panas).

Servants leading the spies, 250 or in proportion to the work done by them.

Superintendents of a hundred or a thousand coinmunities (varga) shall regulate the subsistence, wages, profits, appointinent, and transference (vikshepa), of the men under them.

There shall be no transference of officers employed to guard the royal buildings, forts, and country parts. The chief officers employed to superintend the above places shall be many and shall permanently hold the same office.

The sons and wives of those who die while on duty shall get subsistence and wages. Infants, aged persons, or deceased persons related to the deceased servants shall also be shown favour. On occasions of funerals, sickness, or child-birth, the king shall give presentations to his servants concerned therein.

When wanting in money, the king may give forest produce, cattle, or fields along with a small amount of money. If he is desirous to colonise waste lands, he shall make payments in money alone; and if he is desirous of regulating the affairs of all villages equally, then he shall give no village to any (of his servants).

Thus the king shall not only maintain his servants, but also increase their subsistence and wages in consideration of their learning and work.

Substituting one adhaka for the salar of 60 panas payment in gold may be commuted for that in kind.

Footmen, horses, chariots, and elephants shall be given necessary training in the art of war at sunrise, on all days but those of conjunction (of planets). on these occasions of training, the king shall ever be present and witness their exercise.

Weapons and armour shall be entered into the armoury only after they are marked with the king's seal.

Persons with weapons shall not be allowed to move anywhere unless they are permitted by a passport.

When weapons are either lost or spoilt, the superintendent shall pay double their value; an account of the weapons that are destroyed shall be kept up.

Boundary-guards shall take away the weapons and armour possessed by caravans unless the latter are provided with a passport to travel with weapons.

When starting on a military tour, the king shall put his army in action. On such occasions, spies, under the garb of merchants, shall supply to military stations all kinds of merchandise for double the quantity of the same to be repaid in future. Thus not only is there afforded an opportunity for the sale of the king's merchandise, but also is there a way opened for a good return for the wages paid.

Thus, when both the receipts and expenditure are properly cared for, the king will never find himself in financial or military difficulties.

Such are the alternatives with regard to subsistence and wages.

• Spies, prostitutes, artisans, singers, and aged military officers shall vigilantly examine the pure or impure conduct of military men.

[Thus ends Chapter 3, "Concerning Subsistence to Government Servants" in Book 5, "The Conduct of Courtiers" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the ninety-third chapter from the beginning.]

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CHAPTER 4. THE CONDUCT OF A COURTIER.

Whoever possesses enough experience of the world and its affairs may, through the influence of an interested friend, seek the favour of a king who is endowed with amiable qualities and is possessed of all the elements of sovereignty. He may court the favour of any king provided he thinks:--Just as I am in need of a patron, so is this king possessed of a taste for good advice and is of amiable character. He may even court the favour of such a king as is poor and destitute of the elements of sovereignty, but never, of such a one as is of a depraved character: whoever, as a king, is destitute of good temper and amiable character cannot, by reason of his habitual hatred of the science of polity and an inborn proclivity to evil ways, maintain his sovereignty, though he is possessed of immense sovereign power.

Having obtained admittance to an amiable king, he shall give the king instructions in sciences. Absence of contradiction from the king will render his position secure. When his opinion is sought about present or future schemes needing much thought and consideration, he may boldly and sensibly, and with no fear of contradiction from the assembly of ministers, pronounce his opinion so as to be in harmony with the principles of righteousness and economy. When required, he may answer questions on points of righteousness and economy (and tell the king):

"Following the rule that there should be no delay in putting down by force even a strong confederacy of wicked people, you should apply force against the wicked, if they have a strong support; do not despise my advice, character and secrets; and by means of gestures, I shall prevent you from inflicting punishments on any one, when you are going to do so either willfully or under provocation."

With such agreements with the king, he (a courtier) may enter on the duty assigned to him. He shall sit by the side of, and close to, the king and far from the seat of another courtier. He shall avoid speaking slyly against the opinion of any member of the assembly; he shall never make incredible or false statements; nor loud laughter with no cause for jest, and loud noise and spittle. He shall also avoid talking to another in secret, mutual conversation with another in the assembly (of ministers), appearing in royal dress in the public, haughtiness, buffoonery, open request for gems and promotions, seeing with one eye, biting the lips, brow-beating, interrupting the king while speaking, enmity with a strong party, association with women, pimps, messengers of foreign kings, enemies, inimical parties, dismissed officers, and wicked people, stubborn adherence to a single purpose, and contact with any confederacy of men.

• Without losing the opportune moments, he should speak of the king's interest; of his own interest when in company with persons friendly to him; and of others interests in a suitable time and place, and in conformity to the principles of righteousness and economy.

• When asked, he should tell the king what is both good and pleasing, but not what is bad, though pleasing; if the king is pleased to listen, he may secretly tell what, though unpleasant, is good.

• He may even keep silence, but. should never describe what is hateful; by abstaining from talking of what the king hates, even undesirable persons have become powerful when, seeing that the king likes only pleasant things without caring for their evil consequences, they have followed his will.

• While laughing in jest, he should avoid loud laughter; he shall avoid evil aspersions against others, nor ascribe evil to others; he shall forgive evil done to himself and have as much forbearance as the earth.

• Self-protection shall be the first and constant thought of a wise man; for the life of a man under the service of a king is aptly compared to life in fire; whereas fire burns a part or the whole of the body, if at all, the king has the power either to destroy or to advance the whole family, consisting of sons and wives, of his servants.

[Thus ends Chapter 4, "The Conduct of a Courtier" in Book 5, "The Conduct of Courtiers" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the ninety-fourth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 5. TIME-SERVING.

When employed as a minister, he (the courtier) shall show the net revenue that remains after all kinds of expenditure are met with. He shall also give the exact particulars--as this is thus--of whatever work is external, internal, secret, open, costly, or negligible. He shall follow the king in his pursuits after hunting, gambling, drinking, and sexual pleasures. Ever attending upon the king, he shall, by flattery, endeavour to arrest his fall into evil habits and save him from the intrigues, plots. and deceptions of enemies. He shall also endeavour to read the mind and appearance of the king.

By way of collecting his wandering thoughts into a resolve, the king exhibits in his appearance and movements his inclination, anger, pleasure, sorrow, determination, fear, and change in the pairs of opposite feelings.

"By cognising wisdom in others, he is pleased; he attends to the speech of others; he gives a seat; allows himself to be seen in private; does not suspect in places of suspicion; takes delight in conversation; spontaneously looks to things without being reminded; tolerates what is said agreeably to reason; orders with smiling face; touches with the hand; does not laugh at what is commendable; commends the qualities of another behind him; remembers (the courtier) while taking luncheon; engages himself in sports accompanied by (the courtier); consults (the courtier) when in trouble; honours the followers of the courtier; reveals the secret; honours the courtier more and more; gives him wealth; and averts his troubles;--these are the signs of the king's satisfaction (with the courtier)."

The reverse of the above indicates his (the king's) displeasure. Still, we shall describe them in plain terms:--

Angry appearance when the courtier is in sight; evading or refusal to hear his speech; no inclination to give him a seat or to see him; change in syllables and accents while talking to him; seeing with one eye; brow-beating; biting the lips; rise of sweat; hard breathing and smiling with no palpable cause; talking to himself; sudden bending or raising of the body; touching the body or the seat of another; molestation to another; contempt of learning, caste, and country (of the courtier); condemnation of a colleague of equal defects; condemnation of a man of opposite defects; condemnation of his opponent; failure to acknowledge his good deeds; enumeration of his bad deeds; attention to whoever enters into the chamber; too much gift; uttering falsehood; change in the conduct and attitude of visitors to the king; nay, the courtier shall also note the change in the life of animals other than men.

Katyayana holds that this (king) showers his favours broad-cast.

Kaninka Bharadvaja says that Krauncha (a bird) has moved from right to left.

Dírgha Charayana says that this (king) is (like) a grass.

Ghotamukha says that (he is like) a wet cloth.

Kinjalka says that (he is like) an elephant pouring over water.

Pisuna is of opinion that one should declare him to be a chariot-horse.

The son of Pisuna says that mortification ensues when his opponent is courted.

When wealth and honour are discontinued, such a king may be abandoned; or by recognising the character of the king as well as his own defects, he may rectify himself ; or he may seek the protection of one of the best friends of the king.

• Living with the king's friend, the courtier has to endeavour to remove, through the medium of his own friends, the defects of his master, and then come back to his original place, no matter whether the king is alive or dead.

[Thus ends Chapter 5 "Time-serving" in Book 5, "The Conduct of Courtiers" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the ninety-fifth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 6. CONSOLIDATION OF THE KINGDOM AND ABSOLUTE SOVEREIGNTY.

The minister shall thus avert the calamities in which the king is involved; long before the apprehended death of the king, he shall, in concert with his friends and followers allow visitors to the king once in a month or two (and avoid their visits on other occasions) under the plea that the king is engaged in performing such rites as are calculated to avert national calamities, or are destructive of enemies, or capable of prolonging life or of procuring a son.

On appropriate occasions, he may show a pseudo-king not only to the people, but also to messengers coming from friends or enemies; and this (false) king shall make the minister his mouth-piece in conversing with them as deserved. And through the medium of the gate-keeper and the officer in charge of the harem, the minister shall (pretend to) receive the orders of the king. Displeasure or mercy to wrong-doers shall be shown only indirectly.

Both the treasury and the army shall be kept under the command of two reliable and confidential persons and in a single locality, either within the fort or at the boundary of the kingdom.

Cognates, princes, and other chiefs of the royal family may be employed in works such as the capture of a chief who, employed as a commander of a fort or the tracts of wilderness, has turned inimical along with a strong band of supporters; or they may be sent on an expedition full of difficulties, or to visit the family of the king's friend.

Whoever, among the neighbouring kings, seems to threaten with an invasion may be invited for some festival, marriage, capture of elephants, purchase of horses, or of merchandise, or for taking possession of some lands ceded to him, and captured; or such an enemy may be kept at bay by an ally till an agreement of not condemnable nature is made with him; or he may be made to incur the displeasure of wild tribes or of his enemies; or whoever among his nearest relatives is kept under guard may be promised a portion of his territory and set against him.

Or with the help of nobles and princes of the king's family, the minister may have the heir-apparent installed and show him to the public.

Or having, as pointed out in the chapter concerning the awards of punishments, removed the thorns of the kingdom, he may conduct the administration.

Or if a chief among the neighbouring kings seems to give trouble, the minister may invite him, saying "come here and I shall make thee king," and then put him to death; or he may be kept at bay by taking such measures as can ward off dangers.

Or having gradually placed the burden of administration on the shoulders of the heir-apparent, the minister may announce the death of the king to the public.

In case of the king's demise in an enemy's land, the minister, having brought about an agreement between the enemy and a friend pretending to be an enemy of the dead king, may withdraw himself; or having installed in the king's fort any one of the neighbouring kings, he may withdraw himself; or having installed the heir-apparent, he may set the army against the enemy; and when attacked by the enemy, he may take, as detailed elsewhere, such measures as can ward off dangers.

"Thus," says Kautilya, "the minister shall invest himself with the powers of sovereignty."

"Not so," says Bharadvaja, "the king lying on his death-bed, the minister may set up the princes and other chiefs of the royal family against one another or against other chiefs. Whoever attacks the kingdom may be put to death under the plea of disturbance and annoyance to the people; or having secretly punished the chief rebels of the royal family and brought them under his control, the minister shall himself take possession of the kingdom, for on account of the kingdom the father hates his sons, and sons their father; why then should the minister who is the sole prop of the kingdom (be an exception to it)? There- fore he shall never discard what has, of its own accord, fallen into his hands; for it is a general talk among the people that a woman making love of her own accord will, when discarded, curse the man.

• "An opportunity will only once offer itself to a man who is waiting for it, and will not come a second time when he may be desirous of accomplishing his work."

"But it is," says Kautilya, "unrighteous to do an act which excites popular fury; nor is it an accepted rule. He shall, therefore, install in the kingdom such a son of the king as is possessed of amiable qualities. In the absence of a prince of good character, he may place before himself a wicked prince, or a princess, or the pregnant queen, and tell the other ministers:--'This is your caste (kshepa); look to the father of this (boy) as well as to your own valour and descent; this (boy) is merely a flag; and yourselves are the lords; pray, how shall I act'?"

As he is saying this, others, taken in confidence before, shall say in reply:--"Who else than the one of your lead is capable of protecting the mass of the people of the four castes of the king" ? Then the other ministers will certainly agree to it. Accordingly he shall install a prince, a princess, or the pregnant queen, and show him or her to all the royal relations as well as to the messengers coming from friends or enemies. He shall provide the ministers and military officers with increased subsistence and salary, promising them that "This (boy) will, after attaining full age, increase your emolument still more." He shall likewise promise the chief officers in charge of the forts and country parts as well as the parties of both the friends and enemies. He shall then take necessary steps to educate and train the prince.

Or he may install a child begotten on the princess by a man of the same caste.

He shall keep as a representative of the prince one who is of the same family, of little valour and of beautiful appearance, lest the mother's mind may be agitated with wild apprehensions. He shall justly protect her. He shall not provide himself with luxurious means of enjoyment. As to the king, he may provide him with new chariots, horses, jewels, dress, women and palaces.

• When the prince comes of age, he may request the prince to relieve him from the intellectual worry. He may abandon the king, if he (the king) is displeased; and follow him if he is pleased.

• If he is disgusted with the ministerial life, he may go to a forest or a long sacrifice, after having informed the queen of the safeguards and persons that are employed to bring up the prince.

• Even if the king is held by the chiefs under their influence, the minister may, through the medium of the king's favourites, teach him the principles of polity with illustrations, taken from the Itihasa and Purana.

• Having taken the garb of an accomplished ascetic, the minister may ingratiate himself with the king; and having brought the king under his influence, he may take coercive measure against the seditious.

[Thus ends Chapter 6 "Consolidation of the Kingdom and Absolute Sovereignty" in Book 5, "The Conduct of Courtiers" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the ninety-sixth chapter from the beginning. With this, ends the fifth Book "The Conduct of Courtiers" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya.]

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KAUTILYA'S ARTHASHASTRA: BOOK 6

"The Source of Sovereign States"

CHAPTER I. THE ELEMENTS OF SOVEREIGNTY.

The king, the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, the army and the friend are the elements of sovereignty.

Of these, the best qualities of the king are:--

Born of a high family, godly, possessed of valour, seeing through the medium of aged persons, virtuous, truthful, not of a contradictory nature, grateful, having large aims, highly enthusiastic, not addicted to procrastination, powerful to control his neighbouring kings, of resolute mind, having an assembly of ministers of no mean quality, and possessed of a taste for discipline;--these are the qualities of an inviting nature.

Inquiry, hearing, perception, retention in memory, reflection, deliberation, inference and steadfast adherence to conclusions are the qualities of the intellect.

Valour, determination of purpose, quickness, and probity are the aspects of enthusiasm.

Possessed of a sharp intellect, strong memory, and keen mind, energetic, powerful, trained in all kinds of arts, free from vice, capable of paying in the same coin by way of awarding punishments or rewards, possessed of dignity, capable of taking remedial measures against dangers, possessed of foresight, ready to avail himself of opportunities when afforded in respect of place, time, and manly efforts, clever enough to discern the causes necessitating the cessation of treaty or war with an enemy, or to lie in wait keeping treaties, obligations and pledges, or to avail himself of his enemy's weak points, making jokes with no loss of dignity or secrecy, never brow-beating and casting haughty and stern looks, free from passion, anger, greed, obstinacy, fickleness, haste and back-biting habits, talking to others with a smiling face, and observing customs as taught by aged persons;--such is the nature of self-possession.

The qualifications of a minister have been described in the beginning, middle, and at the close of the work.

Possessed of capital cities both in the centre and the extremities of the kingdom, productive of subsistence not only to its own people, but also to outsiders on occasions of calamities, repulsive to enemies, powerful enough to put down neighbouring kings, free from miry, rocky, uneven, and desert tracts as well as from conspirators, tigers, wild beasts, and large tracts of wilderness, beautiful to look at, containing fertile lands, mines, timber and elephant forests, and pasture grounds, artistic, containing hidden passages, full of cattle, not depending upon rain for water, possessed of land and waterways, rich in various kinds of commercial articles, capable of bearing the burden of a vast army and heavy taxation, inhabited by agriculturists of good and active character, full of intelligent masters and servants, and with a population noted for its loyalty and good character;--these are the qualities of a good country.

The excellent qualities of forts have already been described.

Justly obtained either by inheritance or by self-acquisition, rich in gold and silver, filled with an abundance of big gems of various colours and of gold coins, and capable to withstand calamities of long duration is the best treasury.

Coming down directly, from father and grandfather (of the king), ever strong, obedient, happy in keeping their sons and wives well contented, not averse to making a long sojourn, ever and everywhere invincible, endowed with the power of endurance, trained in fighting various kinds of battles, skillful in handling various forms of weapons, ready to share in the weal or woe of the king, and consequently not falling foul with him, and purely composed of soldiers of Kshatriya caste, is the best army.

Coming down directly from father and grandfather, long-standing, open to conviction, never falling foul, and capable of making preparations for war quickly and on a large scale, is the best friend.

Not born of a royal family, greedy, possessed of a mean assembly of ministers, with disloyal subjects, ever doing unrighteous acts, of loose character, addicted to mean pleasures, devoid of enthusiasm, trusting to fate, indiscreet in action, powerless, helpless, impotent, and ever injurious, is the worst enemy. Such an enemy is easily uprooted.

• Excepting the enemy, these seven elements, possessed of their excellent characteristics are said to be the limb-like elements of sovereignty.

• A wise king can make even the poor and miserable elements of his sovereignty happy and prosperous; but a wicked king will surely destroy the most prosperous and loyal elements of his kingdom.

• Hence a king of unrighteous character and of vicious habits will, though he is an emperor, fall a prey either to the fury of his own subjects or to that of his enemies.

• But a wise king, trained in politics, will, though he possesses a small territory, conquer the whole earth with the help of the best-fitted elements of his sovereignty, and will never be defeated.

[Thus, ends Chapter I "The Elements of Sovereignty" in Book VI, "The Source of Sovereign States" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the ninety-seventh chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 2. CONCERNING PEACE AND EXERTION.

Acquisition and security (of property) are dependent upon peace and industry.

Efforts to achieve the results of works undertaken is industry (vyayama).

Absence of disturbance to the enjoyment of the results achieved from works is peace.

The application of the six-fold royal policy is the source of peace and industry.

Deterioration, stagnation, and progress are the three aspects of position.

Those causes of human make which affect position are policy and impolicy (naya and apanaya); fortune and misfortune (aya and anaya) are providential causes. Causes, both human and providential, govern the world and its affairs.

What is unforeseen is providential; here, the attainment of that desired end which seemed almost lost is (termed) fortune.

What is anticipated is human; and the attainment of a desired end as anticipated is (due to policy).

What produces unfavourable results is impolicy. This can be foreseen; but misfortune due to providence cannot be known.

The king who, being possessed of good character and best-fitted elements of sovereignty, is the fountain of policy, is termed the conqueror.

The king who is situated anywhere immediately on the circumference of the conqueror's territory is termed the enemy.

The king who is likewise situated close to the enemy, but separated from the conqueror only by the enemy, is termed the friend (of the conqueror).

A neighbouring foe of considerable power is styled an enemy; and when he is involved in calamities or has taken himself to evil ways, he becomes assailable; and when he has little or no help, he becomes destructible; otherwise (i.e., when he is provided with some help), he deserves to be harassed or reduced. Such are the aspects of an enemy.

In front of the conqueror and close to his enemy, there happen to be situated kings such as the conqueror's friend, next to him, the enemy's friend, and next to the last, the conqueror's friend's friend, and next, the enemy's friend's friend.

In the rear of the conqueror, there happen to be situated a rearward enemy (parshnigraha), a rearward friend (akranda), an ally of the rearward enemy (parshnigrahasara), and an ally of the rearward friend (akrandasara).

That foe who is equally of high birth and occupies a territory close to that of the conqueror is a natural enemy; while he who is merely antagonistic and creates enemies to the conqueror is a factitious enemy.

He whose friendship is derived from father and grandfather, and who is situated close to the territory of the immediate enemy of the conqueror is a natural friend; while he whose friendship is courted for self-maintenance is an acquired friend.

The king who occupies a territory close to both the conqueror and his immediate enemy in front and who is capable of helping both the kings, whether united or disunited, or of resisting either of them individually is termed a Madhyama (mediatory) king.

He who is situated beyond the territory of any of the above kings and who is very powerful and capable of helping the enemy, the conqueror, and the Madhyama king together or individually, or of resisting any of them individually, is a neutral king (udasína),--these are the (twelve) primary kings.

The conqueror, his friend, and his friend's friend are the three primary kings constituting a circle of states. As each of these three kings possesses the five elements of sovereignty, such as the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, and the army, a circle of states consists of eighteen elements. Thus, it needs no commentary to understand that the (three) Circles of States having the enemy (of the conqueror), the Madhyama king, or the neutral king at the centre of each of the three circles, are different from that of the conqueror. Thus there are four primary Circles of States, twelve kings, sixty elements of sovereignty, and seventy-two elements of states.

Each of the twelve primary kings shall have their elements of sovereignty, power, and end. Strength is power, and happiness is the end.

Strength is of three kinds: power of deliberation is intellectual strength; the possession of a prosperous treasury and a strong army is the strength of sovereignty; and martial power is physical strength.

The end is also of three kinds: that which is attainable by deliberation is the end of deliberation; that which is attainable by the strength of sovereignty is the end of sovereignty; and that which is to be secured by perseverance is the end of martial power.

The possession of power and happiness in a greater degree makes a king superior to another; in a less degree, inferior; and in an equal degree, equal. Hence a king shall always endeavor to augment his own power and elevate his happiness.

A king who is equal to his enemy in the matter of his sovereign elements shall, in virtue of his own righteous conduct or with the help of those who are hostile or conspiring against his enemy, endeavor to throw his enemy's power into the shade; or if he thinks:--

"That my enemy, possessed as he is of immense power, will yet in the near future, hurt the elements of his own sovereignty, by using contumelious language, by inflicting severe punishments, and by squandering his wealth; that though attaining success for a time yet he will blindly take himself to hunting, gambling, drinking and women; that as his subjects are disaffected, himself powerless and haughty, I can overthrow him; that when attacked, he will take shelter with all his paraphernalia into a fort or elsewhere; that possessed as he is of a strong army, he will yet fall into my hands, as he has neither a friend nor a fort to help him; that a distant king is desirous to put down his own enemy, and also inclined to help me to put down my own assailable enemy when my resources are poor; or that I may be invited as a Madhyama king,"--for these reasons the conqueror may allow his enemy to grow in strength and to attain success for the time being.

• Throwing the circumference of the Circle of States beyond his friend's territory, and making the kings of those states as the spokes of that circle, the conqueror shall make himself as the nave of that circle.

• A reducible or a conquerable enemy will, when placed between a conqueror and the conqueror's friend, appear to be growing in strength.

[Thus ends Chapter 2 "Peace and Exertion " in Book 6, "The Source of Sovereign States" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the ninety-eighth chapter from the beginning. With this ends the seventh Book "The Source of Sovereign States" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya.]

Kautilya's Arthashastra: Book 7

"The End of the Six-Fold Policy"

CHAPTER 1. THE SIX-FOLD POLICY, AND DETERMINATION OF DETERIORATION, STAGNATION AND PROGRESS.

The Circle of States is the source of the six-fold policy.

My teacher says that peace (sandhi), war (vigraha) observance of neutrality (asana), marching (yana), alliance (samsraya), and making peace with one and waging war with another are the six forms of state-policy.

But Vatavyadhi holds that there are only two forms of policy, peace and war, inasmuch as the six forms result from these two primary forms of policy.

While Kautilya holds that as their respective conditions differ, the forms of policy are six.

Of these, agreement with pledges is peace; offensive operation is war; indifference is neutrality; making preparations is marching; seeking the protection of another is alliance; and making peace with one and waging war with another, is termed a double policy (dvaidhíbhava). These are the six forms.

Whoever is inferior to another shall make peace with him; whoever is superior in power shall wage war; whoever thinks "no enemy can hurt me, nor am I strong enough to destroy my enemy," shall observe neutrality; whoever is possessed of necessary means shall march against his enemy; whoever is devoid of necessary strength to defend himself shall seek the protection of another; whoever thinks that help is necessary to work out an end shall make peace with one and wage war with another. Such is the aspect of the six forms of policy.

Of these, a wise king shall observe that form of policy which, in his opinion, enables him to build forts, to construct buildings and commercial roads, to open new plantations and villages, to exploit mines and timber and elephant forests, and at the same time to harass similar works of his enemy.

Whoever thinks himself to be growing in power more rapidly both in quality and quantity (than his enemy), and the reverse of his enemy, may neglect his enemy's progress for the time.

If any two kings hostile to each other find the time of achieving the results of their respective works to be equal, they shall make peace with each other.

No king shall keep that form of policy, which causes him the loss of profit from his own works, but which entails no such loss on the enemy; for it is deterioration.

Whoever thinks that in the course of time his loss will be less than his acquisition as contrasted with that of his enemy, may neglect his temporary deterioration.

If any two kings hostile to each other and deteriorating, expect to acquire equal amount of wealth in equal time, they shall make peace with each other.

That position in which neither progress nor retrogression is seen is stagnation.

Whoever thinks his stagnancy to be of a shorter duration and his prosperity in the long run to be greater than his enemy's may neglect his temporary stagnation.

My teacher says that if any two kings, who are hostile to each other and are in a stationary condition expect to acquire equal amount of wealth and power in equal time, they shall make peace with each other.

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"Of course," says Kautilya, "there is no other alternative."

Or if a king thinks:--

"That keeping the agreement of peace, I can undertake productive works of considerable importance and destroy at the same time those of my enemy; or apart from enjoying the results of my own works, I shall also enjoy those of my enemy in virtue of the agreement of peace; or I can destroy the works of my enemy by employing spies and other secret means; or by holding out such inducements as a happy dwelling, rewards, remission of taxes, little work and large profits and wages, I can empty my enemy's country of its population, with which he has been able to carry his own works; or being allied with a king of considerable power, my enemy will have his own works destroyed; or I can prolong my enemy's hostility with another king whose threats have driven my enemy to seek my protection; or being allied with me, my enemy can harass the country of another king who hates me; or oppressed by another king, the subjects of my enemy will immigrate into my country, and I can, therefore, achieve the results of my own works very easily; or being in a precarious condition due to the destruction of his works, my enemy will not be so powerful as to attack me; or by exploiting my own resources in alliance with any two (friendly) kings, I can augment my resources; or if a Circle of States is formed by my enemy as one of its members, I can divide them and combine with the others; or by threats or favour, I can catch hold of my enemy, and when he desires to be a member of my own Circle of States, I can make him incur the displeasure of the other members. and fall a victim to their own fury,"--if a king thinks thus, then he may increase his resources by keeping peace.

Or if a king thinks:--

"That as my country is full of born soldiers and of corporations of fighting men, and as it possesses such natural defensive positions as mountains, forests, rivers, and forts with only one entrance, it can easily repel the attack of my enemy; or having taken my stand in my impregnable fortress at the border of my country, I can harass the works of my enemy; or owing to internal troubles and loss of energy, my enemy will early suffer from the destruction of his works; or when my enemy is attacked by another king, I can induce his subjects to immigrate into my country," then he may augment his own resources by keeping open hostility with such an enemy.

Or if a king thinks:--

"That neither is my enemy strong enough to destroy my works, nor am I his; or if he comes to fight with me, like a dog with a boar, I can increase his afflictions without incurring any loss in my own works," then he may observe neutrality and augment his own resources.

Or if a king thinks:--

"That by marching my troops it is possible to destroy the works of my enemy; and as for myself, I have made proper arrangements to safeguard my own works," then he may increase his resources by marching.

Or if a king thinks:--

"That I am strong enough neither to harass my enemy's works nor to defend my own against my enemy's attack," then he shall seek protection from a king of superior power and endeavour to pass from the stage of deterioration to that of stagnancy and from the latter to that of progress.

Or if a king thinks:--

"That by making peace with one, I can work out my own resources, and by waging war with another, I can destroy the works of my enemy," then he may adopt that double policy and improve his resources.

• Thus, a king in the circle of sovereign state shall, by adopting the six-fold policy, endeavour to pass from the state of deterioration to that of stagnation and from the latter to that of progress.

[Thus ends Chapter 1, "The Six-fold Policy and Determination of Deterioration, Stagnation and Progress" in Book 7, "The end of the Six-fold Policy" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the ninety-ninth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 2. THE NATURE OF ALLIANCE.

When the advantages derivable from peace and war are of equal character, one should prefer peace; for disadvantages, such as the loss of power and wealth, sojourning, and sin, are ever-attending upon war.

The same holds good in the case of neutrality and war. Of the two (forms of policy), double policy and alliance, double policy (i.e., making peace with one and waging war with another) is preferable; for whoever adopts the double policy enriches himself, being ever attentive to his own works, whereas an allied king has to help his ally at his own expense.

One shall make an alliance with a king who is stronger than one's neighbouring enemy; in the absence of such a king, one should ingratiate oneself with one's neighbouring enemy, either by supplying money or army or by ceding a part of one's territory and by keeping oneself aloof; for there can be no greater evil to kings than alliance with a king of considerable power, unless one is actually attacked by one's enemy.

A powerless king should behave as a conquered king (towards his immediate enemy); but when he finds that the time of his own ascendancy is at hand due to a fatal disease, internal troubles, increase of enemies, or a friend's calamities that are vexing his enemy, then under the pretence of performing some expiatory rites to avert the danger of his enemy, he may get out (of the enemy's court); or if he is in his own territory, he should not go to see his suffering enemy; or if he is near to his enemy, he may murder the enemy when opportunity affords itself.

A king who is situated between two powerful kings shall seek protection from the stronger of the two; or from one of them on whom he can rely; or he may make peace with both of them on equal terms. Then he may begin to set one of them against the other by telling each that the other is a tyrant causing utter ruin to himself, and thus cause dissension between them. When they are divided, he may pat down each separately by secret or covert means. Or, throwing himself under the protection of any two immediate kings of considerable power, he may defend himself against an immediate enemy. Or, having made an alliance with a chief in a stronghold, he may adopt double policy (i.e., make peace with one of the two kings, and wage war with another). Or, be may adapt himself to circumstances depending upon the causes of peace and war in order. Or, he may make friendship with traitors, enemies, and wild chiefs who are conspiring against both the kings. Or, pretending to be a close friend of one of them, he may strike the other at the latter's weak point by employing enemies, and wild tribes. Or, having made friendship with both, he may form a Circle of States. Or, he may make an alliance with the madhyama or the neutral king; and with this help he may put down one of them or both. Or when hurt by both, he may seek protection from a king of righteous character among the madhyama king, the neutral king, and their friends or equals, or from any other king whose subjects are so disposed as to increase his happiness and peace, with whose help he may be able to recover his lost position, with whom his ancestors were in close intimacy, or blood relationship, and in whose kingdom he can find a number of powerful friends.

• Of two powerful kings who are on amicable terms with each other, a king shall make alliance with one of them who likes him and whom he likes; this is the best way of making alliance.

[Thus ends Chapter 2, "The Nature of Alliance" in Book 7, "The end of the Six-fold Policy" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundredth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 3. THE CHARACTER OF EQUAL, INFERIOR AND SUPERIOR KINGS; AND FORMS OF AGREEMENT MADE BY AN INFERIOR KING.

A King desirous of expanding his own power shall make use of the six-fold policy.

Agreements of peace shall be made with equal and superior kings; and an inferior king shall be attacked.

Whoever goes to wage war with a superior king will be reduced to the same condition as that of a foot-soldier opposing an elephant.

Just as the collision of an unbaked mud-vessel with a similar vessel is destructive to both, so war with an equal king brings ruin to both.

Like a stone striking an earthen pot, a superior king attains decisive victory over an inferior king.

If a superior king discards the proposal of an inferior king for peace, the latter should take the attitude of a conquered king, or play the part of an inferior king towards a superior.

When a king of equal power does not like peace, then the same amount of vexation as his opponent has received at his hands should be given to him in return; for it is power that brings about peace between any two kings: no piece of iron that is not made red-hot will combine with another piece of iron.

When an inferior king is all submissive, peace should be made with him; for when provoked by causing him troubles and anger, an inferior king, like a wild fire, will attack his enemy and will also be favoured by (his) Circle of States.

When a king in peace with another finds that greedy, .impoverished, and oppressed as are the subjects of his ally, they do not yet immigrate into his own territory lest they might be called back by their master, then he should, though of inferior power, proclaim war against his ally.

When a king at war with another finds that greedy, impoverished, and oppressed as are the subjects of his enemy, still they do not come to his side in consequence of the troubles of war, then he should, though of superior power, make peace with his enemy or remove the troubles of war as far as possible.

When one of the two kings at war with each other and equally involved in trouble finds his own troubles to be greater than his enemy's, and thinks that by getting rid of his (enemy's) trouble his enemy can successful wage war with him, then he should, though possessing greater resources, sue for peace.

When, either in peace or war, a king finds neither loss to his enemy nor gain to himself, he should, though superior, observe neutrality.

When a king finds the troubles of his enemy irremediable, he should, though of inferior power, march against the enemy.

When a king finds himself threatened by imminent dangers or troubles, he should, though superior, seek the protection of another.

When a king is sure to achieve his desired ends by making peace with one and waging war with another, he should, though superior, adopt the double policy.

Thus it is that the six forms of policy are applied together.

As to their special application:--

• When a powerless king finds himself attacked by a powerful king, leading a Circle of States, he should submissively sue for peace on the condition of offering treasure, army, himself or his territory.

• Agreement made on the condition that with a fixed number of troops or with the flower of his army, a king should present himself (when called for), is peace termed atmamisha, 'offering himself as flesh.'

• Agreement made on the condition that the commander of the army together with the heir-apparent should present himself (when called for), is peace styled purushantarasandhi, 'peace with hostages other than the king himself'; and it is conducive to self-preservation, as it does not require the personal attendance of the king.

• Agreement made on the condition that the king himself or some one else should march with the army to some place, as required, is peace termed adrishtapurusha, 'peace with no specified person to serve'; and it is conducive to the safety of the king and the chiefs of his army.

• In the first two forms of the peace, a woman of rank should be given as an hostage, and in the last, a secret attempt should be made to capture the enemy; these are the forms of peace concluded on the condition of supplying his army.

• When, by offering wealth, the rest of the elements of sovereignty are set free, that peace is termed parikraya, 'price.'

• Similarly, when peace is concluded by offering money capable of being taken on a man's shoulders, it is termed upagraha, 'subsidy'; and it is of various forms; Owing to distance and owing to its having been kept long, the amount of the tribute promised may sometimes fall in arrears.

• Yet as such a burden can tolerably be paid in future, this peace is better than the one with a woman given as an hostage. When the parties making an agreement of peace are amicably united, it is termed suvarnasandhi, 'golden peace.'

• Quite reverse from the former is the peace called kapala, 'half of a pot,' which is concluded on the condition of paying immense quantity of money.

• In the first two, one should send the supply of raw materials, elephants, horses and troops; in the third, money; and in the fourth, one should evade the payment under the plea of loss of results from works; these are the forms of peace concluded on the payment of money.

• When by ceding a part of the territory, the rest of the kingdom with its subjects are kept safe, it is termed adishta, 'ceded,' and is of advantage to one who is desirous of destroying thieves and other wicked persons (infesting the ceded part).

• When with the exception of the capital, the whole of the territory, impoverished by exploitation of its resources is ceded, it is termed uchchhinnasandhi, 'peace cut off from profit,' and is of advantage to one who desires to involve the enemy in troubles.

• When by the stipulation of paying the produce of the land, the kingdom is set free, it is termed avakraya, 'rent.' That which is concluded by the promise of paying more than the land yields is paribhushana, 'ornament.'

• One should prefer the first; but the last two based upon the payment of the produce should be made only when one is obliged to submit to power. These are the forms of peace made by ceding territory.

• These three kinds of peace are to be concluded by an inferior king in submission to the power of a superior king owing to the peculiar condition of his own works, circumstances and time.

[Thus ends Chapter III, "The Character of Equal, Inferior, and Superior Kings; and Forms of Agreement made by an Inferior King" in Book 7, "The end of the Six-fold Policy" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and first chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 4. NEUTRALITY AFTER PROCLAIMING WAR OR AFTER CONCLUDING A TREATY OF PEACE; MARCHING AFTER PROCLAIMING WAR OR AFTER MAKING PEACE; AND THE MARCH OF COMBINED POWERS.

Neutrality or marching after proclaiming war or peace has been explained.

Sthana (keeping quiet), asana (withdrawal from hostility), and upekshana (negligence) are synonymous with the word 'asana,' 'neutrality.' As to the difference between three aspects of neutrality :---Keeping quiet, maintaining a particular kind

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of policy is sthana; withdrawal from hostile actions for the sake of one's own interests is asana; and taking no steps (against an enemy) is upekshana.

When two kings, who, though bent on making conquests, are desirous of peace, are unable to proceed, one against the other, they may keep quiet after proclaiming war or after making peace.

When a king finds it possible to put down by means of his own army, or with the help of a friend, or of wild tribes, another king of equal or superior power, then having set up proper defences against both internal and external enemies, he may keep quiet after proclaiming war.

When a king is convinced that his own subjects are brave, united, prosperous, and able not only to carry on their own works without interference, but also to harass his enemy's works, then he may keep quiet after proclaiming war.

When a king finds that as his enemy's subjects are ill-treated, impoverished and greedy and are ever being oppressed by the inroads of the army, thieves, and wild tribes, they can be made through intrigue to join his side; or that his own agriculture and commerce are flourishing while those of his enemy are waning; or that as the subjects of his enemy are suffering from famine, they will immigrate into his own territory; or that, though his own returns of agriculture and commerce are falling and those of his enemy increasing, his own subjects will never desert him in favour of his enemy; or that by proclaiming war, he can carry off, by force, the grains, cattle and gold of his enemy; or that he can prevent the import of his enemy's merchandise, which was destructive of his own commerce; or that valuable merchandise would come to his own territory, leaving that of his enemy; or that war being proclaimed, his enemy would be unable to put down traitors, enemies, and wild tribes and other rebels, and would be involved in war with them; or that his own friend would in a very short time accumulate wealth without much loss and would not fail to follow him in his march, since no friend would neglect the opportunity of acquiring a fertile land and a prosperous friend like himself,--then in view of inflicting injuries on his enemy and of exhibiting his own power, he may keep quiet after proclaiming war.

But my teacher says that turning against such a king, his enemy may swallow him.

'Not so,' says Kautilya, 'impoverishment of the enemy who is free from troubles is all that is aimed at (when a king keeps quiet after proclaiming war). As soon as such a king acquires sufficient strength, he will undertake to destroy the enemy. To such a king, the enemy's enemy will send help to secure his own personal safety.' Hence, whoever is provided with necessary strength may keep quiet after proclaiming war.

When the policy of keeping quiet after proclaiming war is found productive of unfavourable results, then one shall keep quiet after making peace.

Whoever has grown in strength in consequence of keeping quiet after proclaiming war should proceed to attack his enemy.

When a king finds that his enemy has fallen into troubles; that the troubles of his enemy's subjects can by no means be remedied; that as his enemy's subjects are oppressed, ill-treated, disaffected, impoverished, become effiminate and disunited among themselves, they can be prevailed upon to desert their master; that his enemy's country has fallen a victim to the inroads of such calamities, as fire, floods, pestilence epidemics (maraka), and famine and is therefore losing the flower of its youth and its defensive power,--then he should march after proclaiming war.

When a king is so fortunate as to have a powerful friend in front and a powerful ally (akranda) in the rear, both with brave and loyal subjects, while the reverse is the case with he enemies both in front and in the rear, and when he finds it possible for his friend to hold his frontal enemy in check, and for his rear-ally to keep his rear-enemy (parshnigraha) at bay, then he may march after proclaiming war against his frontal enemy.

When a king finds it possible to achieve the results of victory single-handed in a very short time, then he may march (against his frontal enemy) after proclaiming war against his rear-enemies; otherwise he should march after making peace (with his rear-enemies).

When a king finds himself unable to confront his enemy single-handed and when it is necessary that he should march, then he should make the expedition in combination with kings of inferior, equal, or superior powers.

When the object aimed at is of a definite nature, then the share of spoils should be fixed; but when it is of a manifold or complex nature, then with no fixity in the share of the spoils. When no such combination is possible, he may request a king either to supply him with the army for a fixed share, or to accompany him for an equal share of the spoils.

When profit is certain, then they should march with fixed shares of profit; but when it is uncertain, with no fixity of shares.

• Share of profit proportional to the strength of the army is of the first kind; that which is equal to the effort made is the best; shares may be allotted in proportion to the profit earned or to the capital invested.

[Thus ends Chapter 4, "Neutrality after Proclaiming War or after Concluding a Treaty of Peace; Marching after Proclaiming War or after Making Peace; and the March of Combined Powers," in Book 7, "The end of the Six-fold Policy" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and second chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 5. CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT MARCHING AGAINST AN ASSAILABLE ENEMY AND A STRONG ENEMY; CAUSES LEADING TO THE DWINDLING, GREED, AND DISLOYALTY OF THE ARMY; AND CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT THE COMBINATION OF POWERS.

When two enemies, one an assailable enemy and another a strong enemy, are equally involved in troubles, which of them is to be marched against first?

The strong enemy is to be marched against first; after vanquishing him, the assailable enemy is to be attacked, for, when a strong enemy has been vanquished, an assailable enemy will volunteer of his own accord to help the conqueror; but not so, a strong enemy.

Which is to be marched against---an assailable enemy involved in troubles to a greater degree or a strong enemy troubled to a lesser degree?

My teacher says that as a matter of easy conquest, the assailable enemy under worse troubles should be marched against first.

Not so, says Kautilya: The conqueror should march against the strong enemy under less troubles, for the troubles of the strong enemy, though less, will be augmented when attacked. True, that the worse troubles of the assailable enemy will be still worse when attacked. But when left to himself, the strong enemy under less troubles will endeavour to get rid of his troubles and unite with the assailable enemy or with another enemy in the rear of the conqueror.

When there are two assailable enemies, one of virtuous character and under worse troubles, and another of vicious character, under less troubles, and with disloyal subjects, which of them is to be marched against first?

When the enemy of virtuous character and under worse troubles is attacked, his subjects will help him; whereas, the subjects of the other of vicious character and under less troubles will be indifferent. Disloyal or indifferent subjects will endeavour to destroy even a strong king. Hence the conqueror should march against that enemy whose subjects are disloyal.

Which is to be marched against--an enemy whose subjects are impoverished and greedy or an enemy whose subjects are being oppressed?

My teacher says that the conqueror should march against that enemy whose subjects are impoverished and greedy, for impoverished and greedy subjects suffer themselves to be won over to the other side by intrigue, and are easily excited. But not so the oppressed subjects whose wrath can be pacified by punishing the chief men (of the State).

Not so, says Kautilya: for though impoverished and greedy, they are loyal to their master and are ready to stand for his cause and to defeat any intrigue against him; for it is in loyalty that all other good qualities have their strength. Hence the conqueror should march against the enemy whose subjects are oppressed.

Which enemy is to be marched against--a powerful enemy of wicked character or a powerless enemy of righteous character?

The strong enemy of wicked character should be marched against, for when he is attacked, his subjects will not help him, but rather put him down or go to the side of the conqueror. But when the enemy of virtuous character is attacked, his subjects will help him or die with him.

• By insulting the good and commending the wicked; by causing unnatural and unrighteous slaughter of life;

• by neglecting the observance of proper and righteous customs; by doing unrighteous acts and neglecting righteous ones;

• by doing what ought not to be done and not doing what ought to be done; by not paying what ought to be paid and exacting what ought not to be taken;

• by not punishing the guilty and severely punishing the less guilty; by arresting those who are not to be caught hold of and leaving those who are to be arrested;

• by undertaking risky works and destroying profitable ones; by not protecting the people against thieves and by robbing them of their wealth;

• by giving up manly enterprise and condemning good works; by hurting the leaders of the people and despising the worthy;

• by provoking the aged, by crooked conduct, and by untruthfulness; by not applying remedies against evils and neglecting works in hand;

• and by carelessness and negligence of himself in maintaining the security of person and property of his subjects, the king causes impoverishment, greed, and disaffection to appear among his subjects;

• when a people are impoverished, they become greedy; when they are greedy, they become disaffected; when disaffected, they voluntarily go to the side of the enemy or destroy their own master.

Hence, no king should give room to such causes as would bring about impoverishment, greed or disaffection among his people. If, however, they appear, he should at once take remedial measures against them.

Which (of the three) is the worst--an impoverished people? greedy people? or disaffected people?

An impoverished people are ever apprehensive of oppression and destruction (by over-taxation, etc.), and are therefore desirous of getting rid of their impoverishment, or of waging war or of migrating elsewhere.

A greedy people are ever discontented and they yield themselves to the intrigues of an enemy.

A disaffected people rise against their master along with his enemy.

When the dwindling of the people is due to want of gold and grain, it is a calamity fraught with danger to the whole of the kingdom and can be remedied with difficulty. The dearth of efficient men can be made up by means of gold and grain. Greed (is) partial and is found among a few chief officers, and it can be got rid of or satisfied by allowing them to plunder an enemy's wealth. Disaffection or disloyalty (viraga) can be got rid of by putting down the leaders; for in the absence of a leader or leaders, the people are easily governed (bhogya) and they will not take part in the intrigues of enemies. When a people are too nervous to endure the calamities, they first become dispersed, when their leaders are put down; and when they are kept under restraint, they endure calamities.

Having well considered the causes which bring about peace or war, one should combine with kings of considerable power and righteous character and march against one's enemy.

'A king of considerable power,' means one who is strong enough to put down or capture an enemy in the rear of his friend or to give sufficient help to his friend in his march.

'A king of righteous character,' means one who does what one has promised to do, irrespective of good or bad results.

Having combined with one of superior power, or with two of equal power among such kings, should the conqueror march against his enemy?

It is better to march combined with two kings of equal power; for, if combined with a king of superior power, the ally appears to move, caught hold of, by his superior, whereas in marching with two kings of equal power, the same will be the result, only, when those two kings are experts in the art of intrigue; besides it is easy to separate them; and when one of them is wicked, he can be put down by the other two and made to suffer the consequence of dissension.

Combined with one of equal power or with two of lesser power, should a king march against his enemy?

Better to march with two kings of lesser power; for the conqueror can depute them to carry out any two different works and keep them under his control. When the desired end is achieved, the inferior king will quietly retire after the satisfaction of his superior.

• Till his discharge, the good conduct of an ally of usually bad character should be closely scrutinised either by suddenly coming out at a critical time from a covert position (sattra) to examine his conduct, or by having his wife as a pledge for his good conduct.

• Though actuated with feelings of true friendship, the conqueror has reason to fear his ally, though of equal power, when the latter attains success in his mission; having succeeded in his mission, an ally of equal power is likely to change his attitude even towards the conqueror of superior power.

• An ally of superior power should not be relied upon, for prosperity changes the mind. Even with little or no share in the spoils, an ally of superior power may go back, appearing contented; but some time afterwards, he may not fail to sit on the lap of the conqueror and carry off twice the amount of share due to him.

• Having been satisfied with mere victory, the leading conqueror should discharge his allies, having satisfied them with their shares he may allow himself to be conquered by them instead of attempting to conquer them (in the matter of spoils); it is thus that a king can win the good graces of his Circle of States.

[Thus ends Chapter 5, "Considerations about Marching against an Assailable Enemy and a Strong Enemy; Causes Leading to the Dwindling, Greed, and Disloyalty of the Army; and Considerations about the Combination of Powers" in Book 7, "The end of the Six-fold Policy" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and third chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 6. THE MARCH OF COMBINED POWERS; AGREEMENT OF PEACE WITH OR WITHOUT DEFINITE TERMS; AND PEACE WITH RENEGADES.

The Conqueror should thus over-reach the second element, (the enemy close to his territory):--He should engage his neighbouring enemy to undertake a simultaneous march with

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him and tell the enemy: "Thou, march in that direction, and I shall march in this direction; and the share in the spoils is equal."

If the booty is to be equally divided, it is an agreement of peace; if otherwise, it is overpowering the enemy.

An agreement of peace may be made with promise to carry out a definite work (paripanita) or with no such promise (aparipanita).

When the agreement is to the effect that "Thou, march to that place, and I shall march to this place," it is termed an agreement of peace to carry out a work in definite locality.

When it is agreed upon that "Thou, be engaged so long, I shall be engaged thus long," it is an agreement to attain an object in a fixed time.

When it is agreed upon that "Thou, try to accomplish that work, and I shall try to finish this work," it is an agreement to achieve a definite end.

When the conqueror thinks that "my enemy (now an ally) has to march through an unknown country, which is intersected with mountains, forests, rivers, forts and deserts which is devoid of food-stuffs, people, pastoral grounds, fodder, firewood and water, and which is far away, different from other countries, and not affording suitable grounds for the exercise of his army; and I have to traverse a country of quite the reverse description," then he should make an agreement to carry out a work in a definite locality.

When the conqueror thinks that "my enemy has to work with food stuffs falling short and with no comfort during the rainy, hot or cold season, giving rise to various kinds of diseases and obstructing the free exercise of his army during a shorter or longer period of time than necessary for the accomplishment of the work in hand; and I have to work during a time of quite the reverse nature," then he should make time a factor of the agreement.

When the conqueror thinks that "my enemy has to accomplish a work which, not lasting but trifling in its nature, enrages his subjects, which requires much expenditure of time and money, and which is productive of evil consequences, unrighteous, repugnant to the Madhyama and neutral kings, and destructive of all friendship; whereas, I have to do the reverse," then he should make an agreement to carry out a definite work.

Likewise with space and time, with time and work, with space and work, and with space, time, and work, made as terms of an agreement, it resolves itself into seven forms.

Long before making such an agreement, the conqueror has to fix his own work and then attempt to overreach his enemy.

When, in order to destroy an enemy who has fallen into troubles and who is hasty, indolent, and not foresighted, an agreement of peace with no terms of time, space, or work is made with an enemy merely for mutual peace, and when under cover of such an agreement, the enemy is caught hold of at his weak points and is struck, it is termed peace with no definite terms (aparipanita). With regard to this there is a saying as follows:--

"Having kept a neighbouring enemy engaged with another neighbouring enemy, a wise king should proceed against a third king, and having conquered that enemy of equal power, take possession of his territory."

Peace with no specific end (akritachikírsha), peace with binding terms (kritasleshana), the breaking of peace (kritavidushana), and restoration of peace broken (apasírnakriya) are other forms of peace.

Open battle, treacherous battle, and silent battle (i.e. killing an enemy by employing spies when there is no talk of battle at all), are the three forms of battle.

When, by making use of conciliation and other forms of stratagem and the like, a new agreement of peace is made and the rights of equal, inferior, and superior powers concerned in the agreement are defined according to their respective positions, it is termed an agreement of peace with no specific end (other than self-preservation).

When, by the employment of friends (at the Courts of each other), the agreement of peace made is kept secure and the terms are invariably observed and strictly maintained so that no dissension may creep among the parties, it is termed peace with binding terms.

When, having proved through the agency of traitors and spies the treachery of a king, who has made an agreement of peace, the agreement is broken, it is termed the breaking of peace.

When reconciliation is made with a servant, or a friend, or any other renegade, it is termed the restoration of broken peace.

There are four persons who run away from, and return to, their master : one who had reason to run away and to return; one who had no reason either to run away or to return; one who had reason to run away, but none to return; and one who had no reason to run away, but had reason to come back.

He who runs away owing to his master's fault and returns in consideration of (his master's) good nature, or he who runs away attracted by the good nature of his master's enemy and returns finding fault with the enemy is to be reconciled as he had reason to run away and to return.

Whoever runs away owing to his own fault and returns without minding the good nature either of his old or new master is a fickle-minded person having no explanation to account for his conduct, and he should have no terms of reconciliation.

Whoever runs away owing to his master's fault and returns owing to his own defects, is a renegade who had reason to run away, but none to return: and his case is to be well considered (before he is taken back).

Whoever returns deputed by the enemy; or of his own accord, with the intention of hurting his old master, as is natural to persons of such bad character; or coming to know that his old master is attempting to put down the enemy, his new master, and apprehensive of danger to himself; or looking on the attempt of his new master to destroy his old master as cruelty, these should be examined; and if he is found to be actuated with good motives, he is to be taken back respectfully; otherwise, he should be kept at a distance.

Whoever runs away owing to his own fault and returns owing to his new master's wickedness is a renegade who had no reason to run away, but had reason to come back; such a person is to be examined.

When a king thinks that "This renegade supplies me with full information about my enemy's weakness, and, therefore, he deserves to remain here; his own people with me are in friendship with my friends and at enmity with my enemies and are easily excited at the sight of greedy and cruel persons or of a band of enemies," he may treat such a renegade as deserved.

My teacher says that whoever has failed to achieve profit from his works, lost his strength, or made his learning a commercial article, or is very greedy, inquisitive to see different countries, dead to the feelings of friendship, or has strong enemies, deserves to be abandoned.

But Kautilya says that it is timidity, unprofessional business, and lack of forbearance (to do so). Whoever is injurious to the king's interests should be abandoned, while he who is injurious to the interests of the enemy should be reconciled; and whoever is injurious to the interests of both the king and his enemy should be carefully examined.

When it is necessary to make peace with a king with whom no peace ought to be made, defensive measures should be taken against that point where he can show his power.

• In restoring broken peace, a renegade or a person inclined towards the enemy should be kept at such a distance that till the close of his life, he may be useful to the State.

• Or, he may be set against the enemy or may be employed as a captain of an army to guard wild tracts against enemies, or thrown somewhere on the boundary.

• Or, he may be employed to carry on a secret trade in new or old commodities in foreign countries and may accordingly be accused of conspiracy with the enemy.

• Or, in the interests of future peace, a renegade who must be put to death may at once be destroyed.

• That kind of wicked character which has from the beginning grown upon a man owing to his association with enemies is as ever fraught with danger as constant living in company with a snake;

• and is ever threatening with destruction just as a pigeon living on the seeds of plaksha (holy fig-tree) is to the salmali (silk-cotton) tree.

• When battle is fought in daylight and in some locality, it is termed an open battle; threatening in one direction, assault in another, destruction of an enemy captured while he was careless or in troubles;

• and bribing a portion of the army and destroying another portion, are forms of treacherous fight; and attempt to win over the chief officers of the enemy by intrigue, is the characteristic of silent battle.

[Thus ends Chapter 6, "The March of Combined Powers; Agreement of Peace with or without Definite Terms; and Peace with Renegades," in Book VII, "The end of the Six-fold Policy" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and fourth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 7. PEACE AND WAR BY ADOPTING THE DOUBLE POLICY.

The conqueror may overpower the second member (i.e., the immediate enemy) thus:--

Having combined with a neighbouring king, the conqueror may march against another neighbouring king. Or if he thinks that "(my enemy) will neither capture my rear nor make an alliance with my assailable enemy against whom I am going to march; (for otherwise) I shall have to fight against great odds; (my ally) will not only facilitate the collection of my revenue and supplies and put down the internal enemies who are causing me immense trouble, but also punish wild tribes and their followers entrenched in their strongholds, reduce my assailable enemy to a precarious condition or compel him to accept the proffered peace, and having received as much profit as he desires, he will endeavour to endear my other enemies to me," then the conqueror may proclaim war against one and make peace with another and endeavour to get an army for money or money for the supply of an army from among his neighbouring kings.

When the kings of superior, equal or inferior power make peace with the conqueror and agree to pay a greater, or equal, or less amount of profit in proportion to the army supplied, it is termed even peace; that which is of the reverse character is styled uneven peace; and when the profit is proportionally very high, it is termed deception (atisandhi).

When a king of superior power is involved in troubles, or is come to grief or is afflicted with misfortune, his enemy, though of inferior power, may request of him the help of his army in return for a share in the profit proportional to the strength of the army supplied. If the king to whom peace is offered on such terms is powerful enough to retaliate, he may declare war; and otherwise he may accept the terms.

In view of marching for the purpose of exacting some expected revenue to be utilised in recouping his own strength and resources, an inferior king may request of a superior the help of the latter's army for the purpose of guarding the base and the rear of his territory in return for the payment of a greater share in the profit than the strength of the arm supplied deserves. The king to whom such a proposal is made may accept the proposal, if the proposer is of good intentions; but otherwise he may declare war.

When a king of inferior power or one who is provided with the aid of forts and friends has to make a short march in order to capture an enemy without waging war or to receive some expected profit, he may request a third king of superior power involved under various troubles and misfortunes the help of the latter's army in return for the payment of a share in the profit less than the strength of the army supplied deserves. If the king to whom this proposal is made is powerful enough to retaliate, he may declare war; but otherwise he may accept the proposal.

When a king of superior power and free from all troubles is desirous of causing to his enemy loss of men an money in the latter's ill-considered undertakings, or of sending his own treacherous army abroad, or bringing his enemy under the clutches of an inimical army, or of causing trouble to a reducible and tottering enemy by setting a inferior king against that enemy, or is desirous of having peace for the sake of peace itself and is possessed of good intentions, he may accept a less share in the profit (promise for the army supplied to another) and endeavour to make wealth by combining with an ally if the latter is equally of good intentions; but otherwise he may declare war (against that ally).

A king may deceive or help his equal as follows:--

When a king proposes peace to another king of equal power on the condition of receiving the help of the latter army strong enough to oppose an enemy's army, or to guard the front, centre, and rear of his territory, or to help his friend, or to protect any other wild tracts of his territory in return for the payment of a share in the profit proportionally equal to the strength of the army supplied, the latter may accept the terms if the proposer is of good intentions; but otherwise he may declare war.

When a king of equal power, capable of receiving the help of an army from another quarter requests of another king in troubles due to the diminished strength of the elements of sovereignty, and with many enemies, the help of the latter's army in return for the payment of a share in the profit less than the strength of the army supplied deserves, the latter, if powerful, may declare war or accept the terms otherwise.

When a king who is under troubles, who has his works at the mercy of his neighbouring kings, and who has yet to make an army, requests of another king of equal power the help of the latter's army in return for the payment of a share in the profit greater than the strength of the army supplied deserves, the latter may accept the terms if the proposer is of good intentions: but otherwise war may be declared.

When, with the desire of putting down a king in troubles due to the diminished strength of the elements of sovereignty, or with the desire of destroying his well-begun work of immense and unfailing profit, or with the intention of striking him in his own place or on the occasion of marching, one, though frequently getting immense (subsidy) from an assailable enemy of equal, inferior, or superior power, sends demands to him again and again, then he may comply with the demands of the former if he is desirous of maintaining his own power by destroying with the army of the former an impregnable fortress of an enemy or a friend of that enemy or laying waste the wild tracts of that enemy, or if he is desirous of exposing the army of the ally to wear and tear even in good roads and good seasons, or if he is desirous of strengthening his own army with that of his ally and thereby putting down the ally or winning over the army of the ally.

When a king is desirous of keeping under his power another king of superior or inferior power as an assailable enemy and of destroying the latter after routing out another enemy with the help of the latter, or when he is desirous of getting back whatever he has paid (as subsidy), he may send a proposal of peace to another on the condition of paying more than the cost of the army supplied. If the king to whom this proposal is made is powerful enough to retaliate he may declare war; or if otherwise, he may accept the terms; or he may keep quiet allied with the assailable enemy; or he may supply the

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proposer of peace with his army full of traitors, enemies and wild tribes.

When a king of superior power falls into troubles owing to the weakness of the elements of his sovereignty, and requests of an inferior king the help of the latter's army in return for the payment of a share in the profit proportionally equal to the strength of the army supplied, the latter, if powerful enough to retaliate, may declare war and if otherwise, accept the terms.

A king of superior power may request of an inferior the help of the latter's army in return for the payment of a share in the profit less than the cost of the army supplied; and the latter, if powerful enough to retaliate, may declare war, or accept the terms otherwise.

• The king who is sued for peace and also the king who offers peace should both consider the motive with which the proposal of peace is made, and adopt that course of action which on consideration seems to be productive of good results.

[Thus ends Chapter 7 "Peace and War by Adopting the Double Policy" in Book 7, "The end of the Six-fold Policy" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and fifth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 8. THE ATTITUDE OF AN ASSAILABLE ENEMY; AND FRIENDS THAT DESERVE HELP.

When an assailable enemy who is in danger of being attacked is desirous of taking upon himself the condition which led one king to combine with another against himself, or of splitting them from each other, he may propose peace to one of the kings on the condition of himself paying twice the amount of profit accruing from the combination. The agreement having been made, he may describe to that king the loss of men and money, the hardships of sojourning abroad, the commission of sinful deeds, and the misery and other personal troubles to which that king would have been subjected. When the king is convinced of the truth, the amount promised may be paid; or having made that king to incur enmity with other kings, the agreement itself may be broken off.

When a king is inclined to cause to another, loss of men and money in the ill-considered undertakings of the latter or to frustrate the latter in the attempt of achieving large profits from well-begun undertakings; or when he means to strike another at his (another's) own place or while marching; or when he intends to exact subsidy again in combination with the latter's assailable enemy; or when he is in need of money and does not like to trust to his ally, he may, for the time being, be satisfied with a small amount of profit.

When a king has in view the necessity of helping a friend or of destroying an enemy, or the possibility of acquiring much wealth (in return for the present help) or when he intends to utilize in future the services of the one now obliged by him, he may reject the offer of large profit at the present in preference of a small gain in future.

When a king means to help another from the clutches of traitors or enemies or of a superior king threatening the very existence of the latter, and intends thereby to set an example of rendering similar help to himself in future, he should receive no profit either at the present or in the future.

When a king means to harass the people of an enemy or to break the agreement of peace between a friend and a foe, or when he suspects of another's attack upon himself, and when owing to any of these causes, he wants to break peace with his ally, he may demand from the latter an enhanced amount of profit long before it is due. The latter under these circumstances may demand for a procedure (krama) either at the present or in the future. The same procedure explains the cases treated of before.

The conqueror and his enemy helping their respective friends differ according as their friends are such or are not such as undertake possible, praiseworthy or productive works and as are resolute in their undertakings and are provided with loyal and devoted subjects.

Whoever undertakes tolerable work is a beginner possible work: whoever undertakes an unblemished work is a beginner of praiseworthy work; whoever undertakes work of large profits is a beginner of a productive work; whoever takes no rest before the completion of the work undertaken is a resolute worker; and whoever has loyal and devoted subjects is in a position to command help and to bring to a successful termination any work without losing anything in the form of favour. When such friends are gratified by the enemy or the conqueror, they can be of immense help to him; friends of reverse character should never be helped.

Of the two, the conqueror and his enemy, both of whom may happen to have a friend in the same person, he who helps a true or a truer friend overreaches the other; for, by helping a true friend, he enriches himself, while the other not only incurs loss of men and money and the hardships of sojourning abroad, but also showers benefits on an enemy who hates the benefactor all the more for his gratification.

Whoever of the two, the conqueror and his enemy, who may happen to have a friend in the same Madhyama king, helps a Madhyama king of true or truer friendship overreaches the other; for, by helping a true friend, he enriches himself, while the other incurs loss of men and money and the difficulties of sojourning abroad. When a Madhyama king thus helped is devoid of good qualities, then the enemy overreaches the conqueror: for, such a Madhyama king, spending his energies on useless undertakings and receiving help with no idea of returning it, withdraws himself away.

The same thing holds good with a neutral king under similar circumstances.

In case of helping with a portion of the army one of the two, a Madhyama or a neutral king, whoever happens to help one who is brave, skillful in handling weapons, and possessed of endurance and friendly feelings will himself be deceived while his enemy, helping one of reverse character, will overreach him.

When a king achieves this or that object with the assistance of a friend who is to receive the help of his army in return later on, then he may send out of his various kinds of army--such as hereditary army, hired army, army formed of corporations of people, his friend's army and the army composed of wild tribes--either that kind of army which has the experience of all sorts of grounds and of seasons or the army of enemies or of wild tribes, which is far removed in space and time.

When a king thinks that, "Though successful, my ally may cause my army to move in an enemy's territory or in wild tracts, and during unfavourable seasons and thereby he may render it useless to me," then under the excuse of having to employ his army otherwise, he may help his ally in any other way; but when he is obliged to lend his army, he may send that kind of his army, which is used to the weather of the time of operation, under the condition of employing it till the completion of the work, and of protecting it from dangers. When the ally has finished his work, he should, under some excuse, try to get back his army or he may send to his ally that army which is composed of traitors, enemies, and wild tribes; or having made peace with the ally's assailable enemy, he may deceive the ally.

• When the profit accruing to kings under an agreement, whether they be of equal, inferior, or superior power, is equal to all, that agreement is termed peace (sandhi); when unequal, it is termed defeat (vikrama). Such is the nature of peace and war.

[Thus ends Chapter 8, "The Attitude of an Assailable Enemy; and Friends that Deserve Help," in Book 7, "The end of the Six-fold Policy" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and sixth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 9. AGREEMENT FOR THE ACQUISITION OF A FRIEND OR GOLD.

Of the three gains, the acquisition of a friend, of gold, and of territory, accruing from the march of combined powers, that which is mentioned later is better than the one previously mentioned; for friends and gold can be acquired by means of territory; of the two gains, that of a friend and of gold, each can be a means to acquire the other.

Agreement under the condition, "let us acquire a friend, etc.," is termed even peace; when one acquires a friend and the other makes an enemy, etc., it is termed uneven peace; and when one gains more than the other, it is deception.

In an even peace (i.e., agreement on equal terms) whoever acquires a friend of good character or relieves an old friend from troubles, overreaches the other; for help given in misfortune renders friendship very firm.

Which is better of the two: a friend of long-standing, but unsubmissive nature, or a temporary friend of submissive nature, both being acquired by affording relief from their respective troubles?

My teacher says that a long-standing friend of unsubmissive nature is better inasmuch as such a friend, though not helpful, will not create harm.

Not so, says Kautilya: a temporary friend of submissive nature is better; for such a friend will be a true friend so long as he is helpful; for the real characteristic of friendship lies in giving help.

Which is the better of two submissive friends: a temporary friend of large prospects, or a longstanding friend of limited prospects?

My teacher says that a temporary friend of large prospects is better inasmuch as such a friend can, in virtue of his large prospects, render immense service in a very short time, and can stand undertakings of large outlay.

Not so, says Kautilya: a long-standing friend of limited prospects is better, inasmuch as a temporary friend of large prospects is likely to withdraw his friendship on account of material loss in the shape of help given, or is likely to expect similar kind of help in return; but a long-standing friend of limited prospects can, in virtue of his long-standing nature, render immense service in the long run.

Which is better, a big friend, difficult to be roused, or a small friend, easy to be roused?

My teacher says that a big friend, though difficult to be roused, is of imposing nature, and when he rises up, he can accomplish the work undertaken.

Not so, says Kautilya: a small friend easy to be roused is better, for such a friend will not, in virtue of his ready preparations, be behind the opportune moment of work, and can, in virtue of his weakness in power, be used in any way the conqueror may like; but not so the other of vast territorial power.

Which is better, scattered troops, or an unsubmissive standing army?

My teacher says that scattered troops can be collected in time as they are of submissive nature.

Not so, says Kautilya: an unsubmissive standing army is better as it can be made submissive by conciliation and other strategic means; but it is not so easy to collect in time scattered troops as they are engaged in their individual avocations.

Which is better, a friend of vast population, or a friend of immense gold?

My teacher says that a friend of vast population is better inasmuch as such a friend will be of imposing power and can, when he rises up, accomplish any work undertaken.

Not so, says Kautilya: a friend possessing immense gold is better; for possession of gold is ever desirable; but an army is not always required. Moreover armies and other desired objects can be purchased for gold.

Which is better, a friend possessing gold, or a friend possessing vast territory?

My teacher says that a friend possessing gold can stand any heavy expenditure made with discretion.

Not so, says Kautilya: for it has already been stated that both friends and gold can be acquired by means of territory. Hence a friend of vast territory is far better.

When the friend of the conqueror and his enemy happen to possess equal population, their people may yet differ in possession of qualities such as bravery, power of endurance, amicableness, and qualification for the formation of any kind of army.

When the friends are equally rich in gold, they may yet differ in qualities such as readiness to comply with requests, magnanimous and munificent help, and accessibility at any time and always.

About this topic, the following sayings are current:--

• Long standing, submissive, easy to be roused, coming from fathers and grandfathers, powerful, and never of a contradictory nature, is a good friend; and these are said to be the six qualities of a good friend;

• that friend who maintains friendship with disinterested motives and merely for the sake of friendship and by whom the relationship acquired of old is kept intact, is a long-standing friend;

• that friend whose munificence is enjoyable in various ways is a submissive friend, and is said to be of three forms:--One who is enjoyable only by one, one who is enjoyable by two (the enemy and the conqueror), and one who is enjoyable by all, is the third;

• that friend who, whether as receiving help or as giving help, lives with an oppressive hand over his enemies, and who possesses a number of forts and a vast army of wild tribes is said to be a long-standing friend of unsubmissive nature;

• that friend who, either when attacked or when in trouble, makes friendship for the security of his own existence is temporary and submissive friend;

• that friend who contracts friendship with a single aim in view and who is helpful, immutable, and amicable is a friend never falling foul even in adversity;

• whoever is of an amicable nature is a true friend; whoever sides also with the enemy is a mutable friend and whoever is indifferent to neither (the conqueror and his enemy) is a friend to both;

• that friend who is inimical to the conqueror or who is equally friendly to the conquerors enemy is a harmful friend, whether he is giving help or is capable of helping;

• whoever helps the enemy's friend, protege, or any vulnerable person or a relation of the enemy is a friend common to (both) the enemy (and the conqueror);

• whoever possesses extensive and fertile territory and is contented, strong, but indolent, will be indifferent (towards his ally) when the latter becomes despicable under troubles;

• whoever, owing to his own weakness, follows the ascendancy of both the conqueror and his enemy, not incurring enmity with either, is known as a common friend;

• whoever neglects a friend who is being hurt with or without reason and who seeks help with or without reason despises his own danger.

Which is better, an immediate small gain, or a distant large gain?

My teacher says that an immediate small gain is better, as it is useful to carry out immediate undertakings.

Not so, says Kautilya: a large gain, as continuous as a productive seed, is better; otherwise an immediate small gain.

• Thus, having taken into consideration the good aspects of a permanent gain or of a share in a permanent gain, should a king, desirous of strengthening himself, march combined with others.

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[Thus ends Chapter 9, "Agreement for the Acquisition of a Friend or Gold" in the section of "Agreement for the Acquisition of a Friend, Gold, or Land and Agreement for Undertaking a Work," in Book 7, "The end of the Six-fold Policy" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and seventh chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 10. AGREEMENT OF PEACE FOR THE ACQUISITION OF LAND.

The agreement made under the condition, "Let us acquire land," is an agreement of peace for the acquisition of land.

Of the two kings thus entering into an agreement whoever acquires a rich and fertile land withstanding crops overreaches the other.

The acquisition of rich land being equal, whoever acquires such land by putting down a powerful enemy overreaches the other; for not only does he acquire territory, but also destroys an enemy and thereby augments his own power. True, there is beauty in acquiring land by putting down a weak enemy; but the land acquired will also be poor, and the king in the neighbourhood who has hitherto been a friend, will now become an enemy.

The enemies being equally strong, he who acquires territory after beating a fortified enemy overreaches the other; for the capture of a fort is conducive to the protection of territory and to the destruction of wild tribes.

As to the acquisition of land from a wandering enemy, there is the difference of having a powerful or powerless enemy close to the acquired territory; for the land which is close to a powerless enemy is easily maintained while that bordering upon the territory of a powerful enemy has to be kept at the expense of men and money.

Which is better, the acquisition of a rich land close to a constant enemy, or that of sterile land near to a temporary enemy?

My teacher say that a rich land with a constant enemy is better, inasmuch as it yields much wealth to maintain a strong army, by which the enemy can be put down.

Not so, says Kautilya: for a rich land creates many enemies, and the constant enemy will ever be an enemy, whether or not he is helped (with men and money to conciliate him); but a temporary enemy will be quiet either from fear or favour. That land, on the border of which there are a number of forts giving shelter to bands of thieves, Mlechchhas, and wild tribes is a land with a constant enemy; and that which is of reverse character is one with a temporary enemy.

Which is better, a small piece of land, not far, or an extensive piece of land, very far?

A small piece of land, not far, is better, inasmuch as it can be easily acquired, protected, and defended, whereas the other is of a reverse nature.

Of the above two kinds of land, which is better, that which can be maintained by itself, or that which requires external armed force to maintain?

The former is better, as it can be maintained with the army and money produced by itself, whereas the latter is of a reverse character as a military station.

Which is better, acquisition of land from a stupid or a wise king?

That acquired from a stupid king is better, as it can be easily acquired and secured, and cannot be taken back, whereas that obtained from a wise king, beloved of his subjects, is of a reverse nature.

Of two enemies, of whom one can only be harassed and another is reducible, acquisition of land from the latter is better; for when the latter is attacked, he, having little or no help, begins to run away, taking his army and treasure with him, and he is deserted by his subjects; whereas the former does not do so, as he has the help of his forts and friends..

Of two fortified kings, one who has his forts on a plain is more easily reduced than the other owning a fort in the centre of a river; for a fort in a plain can be easily assailed, destroyed or captured along with the enemy in it, whereas a fort, surrounded by a river requires twice as much effort to capture and supplies the enemy with water and other necessaries of life.

Of two kings, one owning a fort surrounded by a river, and another having mountainous fortifications, seizing the former's land is better, for a fort in the centre of a river can be assailed by a bridge formed of elephants made to stand in a row in the river or by wooden bridges, or by means of boats; and the river will not always be deep and can be emptied of its water, whereas a fort on a mountain is of a self-defensive nature, and not easy to besiege or to ascend; and when one portion of the army defending it is routed out, the other portions can escape unhurt and such a fort is of immense service, as it affords facilities to throw down heaps of stone and trees over the enemy.

Which is easier, seizing land from those who fight on plains, or from those who fight from low grounds?

Seizing the land from the latter is easier, inasmuch as they have to fight in time and space of adverse nature whereas the former can fight anywhere and at any time.

Of the two enemies, one fighting from ditches and another from heights (khanakakasayodhibhyam), seizing land from the former is better; for they can be serviceable inasmuch as they fight from ditches and with weapons in hand, whereas the latter can only fight with weapons in hand.

• Whoever, well-versed in the science of polity, wrests land from such and other enemies will outshine both his allies in combination with him and enemies out of combination.

[Thus ends Chapter 10, "Agreement of Peace for the Acquisition of Land" in the section of "Agreement for the Acquisition of a Friend, Gold, or Land and Agreement for Undertaking a Work," in Book 7, "The End of the Six-fold Policy" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and eighth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 11. INTERMINABLE AGREEMENT.

The agreement made under the condition, "Let us colonize waste land," is termed an interminable agreement.

Whoever of the two parties of the agreement colonises a fertile land, reaping the harvest earlier, overreaches the other.

Which is better for colonisation: a plain or watery land?

A limited tract of land with water is far better than a vast plain, inasmuch as the former is conducive to the growth of crops and fruits throughout the year.

Of plains, that which is conducive to the growth of both early and late crops and which requires less labour and less rain for cultivation is better than the other of reverse character.

Of watery lands, that which is conducive to the growth of grains is better than another productive of crops other than grains.

Of two watery tracts, one of limited area and conducive to the growth of grains, and another, vast and productive of crops other than grains, the latter is better, inasmuch as it affords vast area not only to grow spices and other medicinal crops, but also to construct forts and other defensive works in plenty: for fertility and other qualities of lands are artificial (kritrimah).

Of the two tracts of land, one rich in grains and another in mines, the latter helps the treasury, while the former can fill both the treasury and the store-house; and besides this, the construction of forts and other buildings requires grains. Still, that kind of land containing mines and which yields precious metals to purchase large tracts of land is far better.

My teacher says that of the two forests, one productive of timber, and another of elephants, the former is the source of all kinds of works and is of immense help in forming a store-house, while the latter is of reverse character.

Not so, says Kautilya, for it is possible to plant any of timber-forests in many places, but not an elephant-forest; yet it is on elephants that the destruction of an enemy's army depends.

Of the two, communication by water and by land, the former is not long-standing, while the latter can ever be enjoyed.

Which is better, the land with scattered people or that with a corporation of people?

The former is better inasmuch as it can be kept under control and is not susceptible to the intrigues of enemys while the latter is intolerant of calamities and susceptible, of anger and other passions.

In colonizing a land with four castes, colonization with the lowest caste is better, inasmuch as it is serviceable in various ways, plentiful, and permanent.

Of cultivated and uncultivated tracts, the uncultivated tract may be suitable for various kinds of agricultural operations; and when it is fertile, adapted for pasture grounds, manufacture of merchandise, mercantile transactions of borrowing and lending, and attractive to rich merchants, it is still far better (than a cultivated tract).

Which is better of the two, the tract of land with forts or that which is thickly populated?

The latter is better; for that which is thickly populated is a kingdom in all its senses. What can a depopulated country like a barren cow be productive of?

The king who is desirous of getting back the land sold for colonization to another when the latter has lost his men and money in colonizing it, should first make an agreement with such a purchaser as is weak, base-born, devoid of energy, helpless, of unrighteous character, addicted to evil ways, trusting to fate, and indiscreet in his actions. When the colonization of a land entails much expenditure of men and money, and when a weak and base-born man attempts to colonize it, he will perish along with his people in consequence of his loss of men and money. Though strong, a base-born man will be deserted by his people who do not like him lest they may come to grief under him; though possessing an army, he cannot employ it if he is devoid of energy; and such an army will perish in consequence of the loss incurred by its master; though possessing wealth, a man who hesitates to part with his money and shows favour to none, cannot find help in any quarter; and when it is easy to drive out a man of unrighteous character from the colony in which he has firmly established himself, none can expect that a man of unrighteous character would be capable of colonizing a tract of waste land and keeping it secure; the same fact explains the fate of such a colonizer as is addicted to evil ways; whoever, trusting to fate and putting no reliance on manliness, withdraws himself from energetic work, will perish without undertaking anything or without achieving anything from his undertakings; and whoever is indiscreet in his actions will achieve nothing, and is the worst of the set of the colonizers.

My teacher says that an indiscreet colonizer may sometimes betray the weak points of his employer, the conqueror.

But Kautilya says that, just as he betrays the weak points, so also does he facilitate his destruction by the conqueror.

In the absence of such persons to colonize waste lands, the conqueror may arrange for the colonization of waste land in the same way as we shall treat of later on in connection with the "Capture of an enemy in the rear."

The above is what is termed verbal agreement (abhihitasandhih).

When a king of immense power compels another to sell a portion of the latter's fertile territory of which the former is very fond, then the latter may make an agreement with the former and sell the land. This is what is termed "unconcealed peace" (anibhritasandhih).

When a king of equal power demands land from another as above, then the latter may sell it after considering "whether the land can be recovered by me, or can be kept under my control; whether my enemy can be brought under my power in consequence of his taking possession of the land; and whether I can acquire by the sale of the land friends and wealth, enough to help me in my undertakings."

This explains the case of a king of inferior power, who purchases lands.

• Whoever, well versed in the science of polity, thus acquires friends, wealth, and territory with or without population will overreach other kings in combination with him.

[Thus ends Chapter 11, "Interminable Agreement" in the section of "Agreement for the Acquisition of a Friend, Gold, or Land and Agreement for Undertaking a Work", Book 7, "The End of the Six-fold Policy" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and ninth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 12. AGREEMENT FOR UNDERTAKING A WORK.

When an agreement is made on the condition "Let us have a fort built," it is termed agreement for undertaking a work.

Whoever of the two kings builds an impregnable fortress on a spot naturally best fitted for the purpose with less labour and expenditure overreaches the other.

Of forts such as a fort on a plain, in the centre of a river, and on a mountain, that which is mentioned later is of more advantage than the one previously mentioned; of irrigational works (setu-bandha), that which is of perennial water is better than that which is fed wit water drawn from other sources; and of works containing perennial water, that which can irrigate an extensive area is better.

Of timber forests, whoever plants a forest which produces valuable articles, which expands into wild tracts, and which possesses a river on its border overreaches the other, for a forest containing a river is self-dependent and can afford shelter in calamities.

Of game-forests, whoever plants a forest full of cruel beasts, close to an enemy's forest containing wild animals, causing therefore much harm to the enemy, and extending into an elephant-forest at the country's border, overreaches the other.

My teacher says that of the two countries, one with a large number of effete persons, and another with a small number of brave persons, the latter is better inasmuch as, a few brave persons can destroy a large mass of effete persons whose slaughter brings about the destruction of the entire army of their master.

Not so, says Kautilya, a large number of effete persons is better, inasmuch as they can be employed to do other kinds of works in the camp: to serve the soldiers fighting in battlefields, and to terrify the enemy by its number. It is also possible to infuse spirit and enthusiasm in the timid by means of discipline and training.

Of mines, whoever exploits with less labour and expenditure a mine of valuable output and of easy communication overreaches the other.

Which is better of the two, a small mine of valuable yield, or a big mine productive of commodities of inferior value?

My teacher says that the former is better inasmuch as valuable products, such as diamonds, precious stones, pearls, corals, gold and silver, can swallow vast quantities of inferior commodities.

Not so, says Kautilya, for there is the possibility of purchasing valuable commodities by a mass of accumulated articles of inferior value, collected from a vast and longstanding mine of inferior commodities.

This explains the selection of trade-routes:

My teacher says that of the two trade-routes, one by water and another by land, the former is better, inasmuch as it is less expensive, but productive of large profit.

Not so, says Kautilya, for water route is liable to obstruction, not permanent, a source of imminent dangers,

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and incapable of defence, whereas a land-route is of reverse nature.

Of water-routes, one along the shore and another in mid-ocean, the route along, and close to the shore is better, as it touches at many trading port-towns; likewise river navigation is better, as it is uninterrupted and is of avoidable or endurable dangers.

My teacher says that of land-routes, that which leads to the Himalayas is better than that which leads to the south.

Not so, says Kautilya, for with the exception of blankets, skins, and horses, other articles of merchandise such as, conch-shells, diamonds, precious stones, pearls and gold are available in plenty in the south.

Of routes leading to the south, either that trade-route which traverses a large number of mines which is frequented by people, and which is less expensive or troublesome, or that route by taking which plenty of merchandise of various kinds can be obtained is better.

This explains the selection of trade-routes leading either to the east or to the west.

Of a cart-track and a foot-path, a cart-track is better as it affords facilities for preparations on a large scale.

Routes that can be traversed by asses or camels, irrespective of countries and seasons are also good.

This explains the selection of trade-routes traversed by men alone (amsa-patha, shoulder-path, i.e., a path traversed by men carrying merchandise on their shoulders).

• It is a loss for the conqueror to undertake that kind of work which is productive of benefits to the enemy, while a work of reverse nature is a gain. When the benefits are equal, the conqueror has to consider that his condition is stagnant.

• Likewise it is a loss to undertake a work of less out-put and of a greater outlay, while a work of reverse nature is a gain. If the out-put and outlay of a work are at par, the conqueror has to consider that his condition is stagnant.

• Hence the conqueror should find out such fort-building and other works as, instead of being expensive, are productive of greater profit and power. Such is the nature of agreements for undertaking works.

[Thus ends Chapter 12, "Agreement for Undertaking a Work," in the section of "Agreement for the Acquisition of a Friend, Gold, or Land and Agreement for Undertaking a Work"' in Book 8, "The End of the Six-fold Policy" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and tenth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 13. CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT AN ENEMY IN THE REAR.

When the conqueror and his enemy simultaneously proceeded to capture the rear of their respective enemies who are engaged in an attack against others, he who captures the rear of one who is possessed of vast resources gains more advantages (atisandhatte); for one who is possessed of vast resources has to put down the rear-enemy only after doing away with one's frontal enemy already attacked, but not one who is poor in resources and who has not realised the desired profits.

Resources being equal, he who captures the rear of one who has made vast preparations gains more advantages for one who has made vast preparations has to put down the enemy in the rear only after destroying the frontal enemy, but not one whose preparations are made on a small scale and whose movements are, therefore, obstructed by the Circle of States.

Preparations being equal, he who captures the rear of one who has marched out with all the resources gains more advantages; for one whose base is undefended is easy to be subdued, but not one who has marched out with a part of the army after having made arrangements to defend the rear.

Troops taken being of equal strength, he who captures the rear of one who has gone against a wandering enemy gains more advantages; for one who has marched out against a wandering enemy has to put down the rear-enemy only after obtaining an easy victory over the wandering enemy; but not one who has marched out against an entrenched enemy, for one who has marched out against an entrenched enemy will be repelled in his attack against the enemy's forts and will, after his return, find himself between the rear-enemy, and the frontal enemy who is possessed of strong forts.

This explains the cases of other enemies described before.

Enemies being of equal description, he who attacks the rear of one who has gone against a virtuous king gains more advantages, for one who has gone against a virtuous king will incur the displeasure of even his own people, whereas one who has attacked a wicked king will endear himself to all.

This explains the consequences of capturing the rear of those who have marched against an extravagant king or a king living from hand to mouth, or a niggardly king.

The same reasons hold good in the case of those who have marched against their own friends.

When there are two enemies, one engaged in attacking a friend and another an enemy, he who attacks the rear of the latter gains more advantages: for one who has attacked a friend will, after easily making peace with the friend, proceed against the rear-enemy; for it is easier to make peace with a friend than with an enemy.

When there are two kings, one engaged in destroying a friend, and another an enemy, he who attacks the rear of the former gains more advantages; for one who is engaged in destroying an enemy will have the support of his friends and will thereby put down the rear-enemy, but not the former who is engaged in destroying his own side.

When the conqueror and his enemy in their attack against the rear of an enemy mean to enforce the payment of what is not due to them, he whose enemy has lost considerable profits and has sustained a great loss of men and money gains more advantages; when they mean to enforce the payment of what is due to them, then he whose enemy has lost profits and army, gains more advantages.

When the assailable enemy is capable of retaliation and when the assailant's rear-enemy, capable of augmenting his army and other resources, has entrenched himself on one of the assailant's flanks, then the rear-enemy gains more advantages; for a rear enemy on one of the assailant's flanks will not only become a friend of the assailable enemy, but also attack the base of the assailant, whereas a rear-enemy behind the assailant can only harass the rear.

• Kings, capable of harassing the rear of an enemy and of obstructing his movements are three: the group of kings situated behind the enemy, and the group of kings on his flanks.

• He who is situated between a conqueror and his enemy is called an antardhi (one between two kings); when such a king is possessed of forts, wild tribes, and other kinds of help, he proves an impediment in the way of the strong.

When the conqueror and his enemy are desirous of catching hold of a madhyama king and attack the latter's rear, then he who in his attempt to enforce the promised payment separates the madhyama king from the latter's friend and obtains, thereby, an enemy as a friend, gains more advantages; for an enemy compelled to sue for peace will be of greater help than a friend compelled to maintain the abandoned friendship.

This explains the attempt to catch hold of a neutral king.

Of attacks from the rear and front, that which affords opportunities of carrying on a treacherous fight (mantrayuddha) is preferable.

My teacher says that in an open war, both sides suffer by sustaining a heavy loss of men and money; and that even the king who wins a victory will appear as defeated in consequence of the loss of men and money.

No, says Kautilya, even at considerable loss of men and money, the destruction of an enemy is desirable.

Loss of men and money being equal, he who entirely destroys first his frontal enemy, and next attacks his rear-enemy gains more advantages; when both the conqueror and his enemy are severally engaged in destroying their respective frontal enemies, he who destroys a frontal enemy of deep rooted enmity and of vast resources, gains more advantages.

This explains the destruction of other enemies and wild tribes:

• When an enemy in the rear and in the front, and an assailable enemy to be marched against happen together then the conqueror should adopt the following policy:--

• The rear-enemy will usually lead the conqueror's frontal enemy to attack the conqueror's friend; then having set the akranda (the enemy of the rear-enemy) against the rear-enemy's ally,

• and, having caused war between them, the conqueror should frustrate the rear-enemy's designs; likewise he should provoke hostilities between, the allies of the akranda and of the rear-enemy;

• he should also keep his frontal enemy's friend engaged in war with his own friend; and with the help of his friend's friend, he should avert the attack, threatened by the friend of his enemy's friend;

• he should, with his friend's help, hold his rear-enemy at bay; and with the help of his friend's friend, he should prevent his rear-enemy attacking the akranda (his rear-ally);

• thus the conqueror should, through the aid of his friends, bring the Circle of States under his own sway both in his rear and front;

• he should send messengers and spies to reside in each of the states composing the Circle and having again and again destroyed the strength of his enemies he should keep his counsels concealed, being friendly with his friends;

• the works of him whose counsels are not kept concealed, will, though they may prosper for a time, perish as undoubtedly as a broken raft on the sea.

[Thus ends Chapter 13, "Considerations about an Enemy in the Rear," in Book 7, "The End of the Six-fold Policy" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and eleventh chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 15. RECRUITMENT OF LOST POWER.

When the conqueror is thus attacked by the combined army of his enemies, he may tell their leader: "I shall make peace with you; this is the gold, and I am the friend; your gain is doubled; it is not worthy of you to augment at your own expense the power of your enemies who keep a friendly appearance now; for gaining in power, they will put you down in the long run."

Or he may tell the leader so as to break the combination: "Just as an innocent person like myself is now attacked by the combined army of these kings, so the very same kings in combination will attack you in weal or woe; for power intoxicates the mind; hence break their combination."

The combination being broken, he may set the leader against the weak among his enemies; or offering inducements, he may set the combined power of the weak against the leader; or in whatever way be may find it to be conducive to his own prosperity, in that way he may make the leader incur the displeasure of others, and thus frustrate their attempts; or showing the prospect of a larger profit, he may through intrigue, make peace with their leader. Then the recipients of salaries from two states, exhibiting the acquisition of large profits (to the leader), may satirise the kings, saying, "You are all very well combined."

If some of the kings of the combination are wicked, they may be made to break the treaty; then the recipients of salaries from two states may again tell them so as to break the combination entirely: "This is just what we have already pointed out."

When the enemies are separated, the conqueror may move forward by catching hold of any of the kings (as an ally).

In the absence of a leader, the conqueror may win him over who is the inciter of the combination; or who is of a resolute mind, or who has endeared himself to his people, or who, from greed or fear, joined the combination, or who is afraid of the conqueror, or whose friendship with the conqueror is based upon some consanguinity of royalty, or who is a friend, or who is a wandering enemy,--in the order of enumeration.

Of these, one has to please the inciter by surrendering oneself; by conciliation and salutation; him who is of a resolute mind; by giving a daughter in marriage or by availing oneself of his youth (to beget a son on one's wife?); him who is the beloved of his people, by giving twice the amount of profits; him who is greedy, by helping with men and money; him who is afraid of the combination, by giving a hostage to him who is naturally timid; by entering into a closer union with him whose friendship is based upon some consanguinity of royalty; by doing what is pleasing and beneficial to both or by abandoning hostilities against him who is a friend; and by offering help and abandoning hostilities against him who is a wandering enemy; one has to win over the confidence of any of the above kings by adopting suitable means or by means of conciliation, gifts, dissension, or threats, as will be explained under "Troubles."

He who is in troubles and is apprehensive of an attack from his enemy, should, on the condition of supplying the enemy with army and money, make peace with the enemy on definite terms with reference to place, time, and work; he should also set right any offence he might have given by the violation of a treaty; if he has no supporters, he should find them among his relatives and friends; or he may build an impregnable fortress, for he who is defended by forts and friends will be respected both by his own and his enemy's people.

Whoever is wanting in the power of deliberation should collect wise men around himself, and associate with old men of considerable learning; thus he would attain his desired ends.

He who is devoid of a good treasury and army should direct his attention towards the strengthening of the safety and security of the elements of his sovereignty; for the country is the source of all those works which are conducive to treasury and army; the haven of the king and of his army is a strong fort.

Irrigational works (setubandha) are the source of crops; the results of a good shower of rain are ever attained in the case of crops below irrigational works.

The roads of traffic are a means to overreach an enemy; for it is through the roads of traffic that armies and spies are led (from one country to another); and that weapons, armour, chariots, and draught-animals are purchased; and that entrance and exit (in travelling) are facilitated.

Mines are the source of whatever is useful in battle.

Timber-forests are the source of such materials as are necessary for building forts, conveyances and chariots.

Elephant-forests are the source of elephants.

Pasture-lands are the source of cows, horses, and camels to draw chariots.

In the absence of such sources of his own, he should acquire them from some one among his relatives and friends. If he is destitute of an army, he should, as far as possible, attract to himself the brave men of corporations, of thieves, of wild tribes, of Mlechchhas, and of spies who are capable of inflicting injuries upon enemies.

He should also adopt the policy of a weak king towards powerful king in view of averting danger from enemies or friends.

• Thus with the aid of one's own party, the power of deliberation, the treasury, and the army, one should get rid of the clutches of one's enemies.

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[Thus ends Chapter 14, "Recruitment of Lost Power," in Book 7, "The End of the Six-fold Policy" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and twelfth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 15. MEASURES CONDUCIVE TO PEACE WITH A STRONG AND PROVOKED ENEMY; AND THE ATTITUDE OF A CONQUERED ENEMY.

When a weak king is attacked by a powerful enemy, the former should seek the protection of one who is superior to his enemy and whom his enemy's power of deliberation for intrigue cannot affect. Of kings who are equal in the power of deliberation, difference should be sought in unchangeable prosperity and in association with the aged.

In the absence of a superior king, he should combine with a number of his equals who are equal in power to his enemy and whom his enemy's power of purse, army, and intrigue cannot reach. Of kings who are equally possessed of the power of purse, army, and intrigue, difference should be sought in their capacity for making vast preparations.

In the absence of equals, he should combine with a number of inferior kings who are pure and enthusiastic, who can oppose the enemy, and whom his enemy's power of purse, army, and intrigue cannot react. Of kings who are equally possessed of enthusiasm and capacity for action, a difference should be sought in the opportunity of securing favourable battle fields. Of kings who are equally possessed of favourable battle fields, difference should be sought in their ever being ready for war. Of kings who are equal possessed of favourable battlefields and who are equally ready for war, difference should be sought in their possession of weapons and armour necessary for war.

In the absence of any such help, he should seek shelter inside a fort in which his enemy with a large army can offer no obstruction to the supply of food-stuff, grass, firewood and water, but would sustain a heavy loss of men and money. When there are many forts, difference should be sought in their affording facility for the collection of stores and supplies. Kautilya is of opinion that one should entrench oneself in a fort inhabited by men and provided with stores and supplies. Also for the following reasons, one should shelter oneself in such a fort:--

"I shall oppose him (the enemy) with his rear-enemy's ally or with a madhyama king, or with a neutral king; I shall either capture or devastate his kingdom with the aid of a neighbouring king, a wild tribe, a scion of his family, or an imprisoned prince; by the help of my partisans with him, I shall create troubles in his fort, country or camp; when he is near, I shall murder him with weapons, fire, or poison, or any other secret means at my pleasure; I shall, cause him to sustain a heavy loss of men and money in works undertaken by himself or made to be undertaken at the instance of my spies; I shall easily sow the seeds of dissension among his friends or his army when they have suffered from loss of men and money; I shall catch hold of his camp by cutting off supplies and stores going to it; or by surrendering myself (to him), I shall create some weak points in him and put him down with all my resources; or having curbed his spirit, I shall compel him to make peace with me on my own terms; when I obstruct his movements troubles arise to him from all sides; when he is helpless, I shall slay him with the help of my hereditary army or with his enemy's army; or with wild tribes; I shall maintain the safety and security of my vast country by entrenching myself within my fort; the army of myself and of my friends will be invincible when collected together in this fort; my army which is trained to fight from valleys, pits, or at night, will bring him into difficulties on his way, when he is engaged in an immediate work; owing to loss of men and money, he will make himself powerless when he arrives here at a bad place and in a bad time; owing to the existence of forts and of wild tribes (on the way), he will find this country accessible only at considerable cost of men and money; being unable to find positions favourable for the exercise of the armies of himself and of his friends, suffering from disease, he will arrive here in distress; or having arrived here, he will not return."

In the absence of such circumstances, or when the enemy's army is very strong, one may run away abandoning one's fort.

My teacher says that one may rush against the enemy like a moth against a flame; success in one way or other (i.e., death or victory) is certain for one who is reckless of life.

No, says Kautilya, having observed the conditions conducive to peace between himself and his enemy, he may make peace; in the absence of such conditions, he may, by taking recourse to threats secure peace or a friend; or he may send a messenger to one who is likely to accept peace; or having pleased with wealth and honour the messenger sent by his enemy, he may tell the latter: "This is the king's manufactory; this is the residence of the queen and the princes; myself and this kingdom are at your disposal, as approved of by the queen and the princes."

Having secured his enemy's protection, he should behave himself like a servant to his master by serving the protector's occasional needs. Forts and other defensive works, acquisition of things, celebration of marriages, installation of the heir-apparent, commercial undertakings, capture of elephants, construction of covert places for battle (sattra), marching against an enemy, and holding sports,--all these he should undertake only at the permission of his protector. He should also obtain his protector's permission before making any agreement with people settled in his country or before punishing those who may run away from his country. If the citizens and country people living in his kingdom prove disloyal or inimical to him, he may request of his protector another good country; or he may get rid of wicked people by making use of such secret means as are employed against traitors. He should not accept the offer of a good country even from a friend. Unknown his protector, he may see the protector's minister, high priest, commander of the army or heir-apparent. He should also help his protector as much as he can. On all occasions of worshipping gods and of making prayers, be should cause his people to pray for the long life of his protector; and he should always proclaim his readiness to place himself at the disposal of his protector.

• Serving him who is strong and combined with others and being far away from the society of suspected persons, a conquered king should thus always behave himself towards his protector.

[Thus ends Chapter 15, "Measures Conducive to Peace with a Strong and Provoked Enemy and the Attitude of a Conquered Enemy," in Book 7, "The End of the Six-fold Policy" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and thirteenth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 16. THE ATTITUDE OF A CONQUERED KING.

In view of causing financial trouble to his protector, a powerful vassal king, desirous of making conquests, may, under the permission of his protector, march on countries where the formation of the ground and the climate are favourable for the manœuvre of his army, his enemy having neither forts, nor any other defensive works, and the conqueror himself having no enemies in the rear. Otherwise (in case of enemies in the rear), he should march after making provisions for the defence of his rear.

By means of conciliation and gifts, he should subdue weak kings; and by means of sowing the seeds of dissension and by threats, strong kings. By adopting a particular, or an alternative, or all of the strategic means, he should subdue his immediate and distant enemies.

He should observe the policy of conciliation by promising the protection of villages, of those who live in forests, of flocks of cattle, and of the roads of traffic as well as the restoration of those who have been banished or who have run away or who have done some harm.

Gifts of land, of things, and of girls in marriage and absence of fear,--by declaring these, he should observe the policy of gifts.

By instigating any one of a neighbouring king, a wild chief, a scion of the enemy's family, or an imprisoned prince, he should sow the seeds of dissension.

By capturing the enemy in an open battle, or in a treacherous fight, or through a conspiracy, or in the tumult of seizing the enemy's fort by strategic means, he should punish the enemy.

He may reinstate kings who are spirited and who can strengthen his army; likewise he may reinstate those who are possessed of a good treasury and army and who can therefore help him with money; as well as those who are wise and who can therefore provide him with lands.

Whoever among his friends helps him with gems, precious things, raw materials acquired from commercial towns, villages, and mines, or with conveyances and draught-animals acquired from timber and elephant-forests, and herds of cattle, is a friend affording a variety of enjoyment (chitrabhoga); whoever supplies him with wealth and army is a friend affording vast enjoyment (mahabhoga); whoever supplies him with army, wealth, and lands is a friend affording all enjoyments (sarvabhoga); whoever safeguards him against a side-enemy is a friend affording enjoyments on one side (ekatobhogi); whoever helps also his enemy and his enemy's allies is a friend affording enjoyment to both sides (ubhayatobhogi); and whoever helps him against his enemy, his enemy's ally, his neighbour, and wild tribes is a friend affording enjoyment on all sides (sarvatobogi).

If he happens to have an enemy in the rear, or a wild chief, or an enemy, or a chief enemy capable of being propitiated with the gift of lands, he should provide such an enemy with a useless piece of land,; an enemy possessed of forts with a piece of land not connected with his (conqueror's) own territory; a wild chief with a piece of land yielding no livelihood; a scion of the enemy's family with a piece of land that can be taken back; an enemy's prisoner with a piece of land which is (not?) snatched from the enemy; a corporation of armed men with a piece of land, constantly under troubles from an enemy; the combination of corporations with a piece of land close to the territory of a powerful king; a corporation invincible in war with a piece of land under both the above troubles; a spirited king desirous of war with a piece of land which affords no advantageous positions for the manœuvre of the army; an enemy's partisan with waste lands; a banished prince with a piece of land exhausted of its resources; a king who has renewed the observance of a treaty of peace after breaking it, with a piece of land which can be colonized at considerable cost of men and money; a deserted prince with a piece of land which affords no protection, and his own protector with an uninhabitable piece of land.

(The king who is desirous of making conquests) should continue in following the same policy towards him, who, among the above kings, is most helpful and keeps the same attitude; should by secret means bring him round who is opposed; should favour the helpful with facilities for giving further help, besides bestowing rewards and honour at all costs upon him; should give relief to him who is under troubles; should receive visitors at their own choice and afford satisfaction to them; should avoid using contemptuous, threatening, defamatory, or harsh words towards them; should like a father protect those who are promised security from fear; should punish the guilty after publishing their guilt; and in order to avoid causing suspicion to the protector, the vassal-king should adopt the procedure of inflicting secret punishments upon offenders.

He should never covet the land, things, and sons and wives of the king slain by him; he should reinstate in their own estates the relatives of the kings slain. He should install in the kingdom the heir-apparent of the king who has died while working (with the conqueror); all conquered kings will, if thus treated, loyally follow the sons and grandsons of the conqueror.

Whoever covets the lands, things, sons, and wives of the kings whom he has either slain or bound in chains will cause provocation to the Circle of States and make it rise against himself; also his own ministers employed in his own territory will be provoked and will seek shelter under the circle of states, having an eye upon his life and kingdom.

• Hence conquered kings preserved in their own lands in accordance with the policy of conciliation will be loyal to the conqueror and follow his sons and grandsons.

[Thus ends Chapter 16, "The Attitude of a Conquered King," in Book 7, "The End of the Six-fold Policy," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and fourteenth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 17. MAKING PEACE AND BREAKING IT.

The words sama (quiet), sandhi (agreement of peace), and samadhi (reconcilement), are synonymous. That which is conducive to mutual faith among kings is termed sama, sandhi, or samadhi.

My teacher says that peace, depended upon honesty or oath, is mutable, while peace with a security or an hostage is immutable.

No, says Kautilya, peace, dependent upon honesty or oath is immutable both in this and the next world. It is for this world only that a security or an hostage is required for strengthening the agreement.

Honest kings of old made their agreement of peace with this declaration: "We have joined in peace."

In case of any apprehension of breach of honesty, they made their agreement by swearing by fire, water, plough, the brick of a fort-wall, the shoulder of an elephant, the hips of a horse, the front of a chariot, a weapon, seeds, scents, juice (rasa), wrought gold (suvarna), or bullion gold (hiranya), and by declaring that these things will destroy and desert him who violates the oath.

In order to avoid the contingency of violation of oath, peace made with the security of such persons as ascetics engaged in penance, or nobles is peace with a security. In such a peace, whoever takes as security a person capable of controlling the enemy gains more advantages, while he who acts to the contrary is deceived.

In peace made with children as hostages, and in the case of giving a princess or a prince as an hostage, whoever gives a princess gains advantages; for a princess, when taken as an hostage, causes troubles to the receiver, while a prince is of reverse nature.

With regard to two sons, whoever hands over a highborn, brave and wise son, trained in military art, or an only son is deceived, while he who acts otherwise gains advantages. It is better to give a base-born son as an hostage than a high-born one, inasmuch as the former has neither heirship nor the right to beget heirs; it is better to give a stupid son than a wise one, inasmuch as the former is destitute of the power of deliberation; better to give a timid son than a brave one, inasmuch as the former is destitute of martial spirit; better, a son who is not trained in military art than one who is trained, inasmuch as the former is devoid of the capacity for striking an enemy; and better one of many sons than an only son, since many sons are not wanted.

With regard to a high-born and a wise son, people will continue to be loyal to a high-born son though he is not wise; a wise son, though base-born, is characterized with capacity to consider state matters; but so far as capacity to consider state matters is concerned, a. high-born prince associating

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himself with the aged, has more advantages than a wise but base-born prince.

With regard to a wise and a brave prince, a wise prince, though timid, is characterized with capacity for intellectual works; and a brave prince though not wise, possesses warlike spirit. So far as warlike spirit is concerned, a wise prince overreaches a brave one just as a hunter does an elephant.

With regard to a brave and a trained prince, a brave prince, though untrained, is characterized with capacity for war; and a trained prince, though timid, is capable of hitting objects aright. Notwithstanding the capacity for hitting objects aright, a brave prince excels a trained prince in determination and firm adherence to his policy.

With regard to a king having many sons and another an only son, the former, giving one of his sons as a hostage and being contented with the rest, is able to break the peace but not the latter.

When peace is made by handing over the whole lot of sons, advantage is to be sought in capacity to beget additional sons; capacity to beget additional sons being common, he who can beget able sons will have more advantages than another king (who is not so fortunate); capacity to beget able sons being common, he by whom the birth of a son is early expected will have more advantages than another (who is not so fortunate).

In the case of an only son who is also brave, he who has lost capacity to beget any more sons should surrender himself as an hostage, but not the only son.

Whoever is rising in power may break the agreement of peace. Carpenters, artisans, and other spies, attending upon the prince (kept as an hostage) and doing work under the enemy, may take away the prince at night through an underground tunnel dug for the purpose. Dancers, actors, singers, players on musical instruments, buffoons, court-bards, swimmers, and saubhikas (?), previously set about the enemy, may continue under his service and may indirectly serve the prince. They should have the privilege of entering into, staying in and going out of, the palace at any time without rule. The prince may therefore get out at night disguised as any one of the above spies.

This explains the work of prostitutes and other women spies under the garb of wives; the prince may get out, carrying their pipes, utensils, or vessels.

Or the prince may be removed concealed under things, clothes, commodities, vessels, beds, seats and other articles by cooks, confectioners, servants employed to serve the king while bathing, servants employed for carrying conveyances, for spreading the bed, toilet-making, dressing, and procuring water; or taking something in pitch dark, he may get out, disguised as a servant.

Or he may (pretend to) be in communion with god Varuna in a reservoir (which is seen) through a tunnel or to which he is taken at night; spies under the guise of traders dealing in cooked rice and fruits may (poison those things and) distribute among the sentinels.

Or having served the sentinels with cooked rice and beverage mixed with the juice of madana plant on occasions of making offerings to gods or of performing an ancestral ceremony or some sacrificial rite, the prince may get out; or by bribing the sentinels; or spies disguised as a nagaraka (officer in charge of the city), a court-bard, or a physician may set fire to a building filled with valuable articles; or sentinels or spies disguised as merchants may set fire to the store of commercial articles; or in view of avoiding the fear of pursuit, the prince may, after putting some human body in the house occupied by him, set fire to it and escape by breaking open some house-joints, or a window, or through a tunnel; or having disguised himself as a carrier of glass-beads, pots, and other commodities, he may set out at night; or having entered the residence of ascetics with shaven heads or with twisted hair, he may set out at night, disguised as any one of them; or having disguised himself as one suffering from a peculiar disease or as a forest-man, he may get out; or spies may carry him away as a corpse; or disguised as a widowed wife, be may follow a corpse that is being carried away. Spies disguised as forest-people, should mislead the pursuers of the prince by pointing out another direction, and the prince himself may take a different direction.

Or he may escape, hiding himself in the midst of carts of cart-drivers; if he is closely followed, he may lead the pursuers to an ambuscade (sattra); in the absence of an ambuscade he may leave here and there gold or morsels of poisoned food on both sides of a road and take a different road.

If he is captured, he should try to win over the pursuers by conciliation and other means, or serve them with poisoned food; and having caused another body to be put in a sacrifice performed to please god Varuna or in a fire that has broken out (the prince's father), may accuse the enemy of the murder of his son and attack the enemy.

• Or taking out a concealed sword, and falling upon the sentinels, he may quickly run away together with the spies concealed before.

[Thus ends Chapter 17, "Making Peace and Breaking It," in Book 7, "The End of the Six-fold Policy" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and fifteenth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 18. THE CONDUCT OF A MADHYAMA KING, A NEUTRAL KING, AND OF A CIRCLE OF STATES.

The third and the fifth states from a madhyama king are states friendly to him; while the second, the fourth, and the sixth are unfriendly. If the madhyama king shows favour to both of these states, the conqueror should be friendly with him; if he does not favour them, the conqueror should be friendly with those states.

If the madhyama king is desirous of securing the friendship of the conqueor's would-be friend, then having set his own and his friend's friends against the madhyama, and having separated the madhyama from the latter's friends, the conqueror should preserve his own friend; or the conqueror may incite the Circle of States against the madhyama by telling them; "this madhyama king has grown haughty, and is aiming at our destruction: let us therefore combine and interrupt his march."

If the Circle of States is favourable to his cause, then he may aggrandise himself by putting down the madhyama; if not favourable, then having helped his friend with men and money, he should, by means of conciliation and gifts, win over either the leader or a neigbbouring king among the kings who hate the madhyama, or who have been living with mutual support, or who will follow the one that is won over (by the conqueror), or who do not rise owing to mutual suspicion; thus by winning over a second (king), he should double his own power; by securing a third, he should treble his own power; thus gaining in strength, he should put down the madhyama king.

When place and time are found unsuitable for success in the above attempt, he should, by peace, seek the friendship of one of the enemies of the madhyama king, or cause some traitors to combine against the madhyama; if the madhyama king is desirous of reducing the conqueror's friend, the conqueror should prevent it, and tell the friend: "I shall protect you as long as you are weak," and should accordingly protect him when he is poor in resources; if the madhyama king desires to rout out a friend of the conqueror, the latter should protect him in his difficulties; or having removed him from the fear of the madhyama king, the conqueror should provide him with new lands and keep him under his (the conqueror's) protection, lest he might go elsewhere.

If, among the conqueror's friends who are either reducible or assailable enemies of the madhyama king, some undertake to help the madhyama, then the conqueror should make peace with a third king; and if among the madhyama king's friends who are either reducible or assailable enemies of the conqueror, some are capable of offence and defence and become friendly to the conqueror, then he should make peace with them; thus the conqueror cannot only attain his own ends, but also please the madhyama king.

If the madhyama king is desirous of securing a would-be friend of the conqueror as a friend, then the conqueror may make peace with another king, or prevent the friend from going to the madhyama, telling him: "It is unworthy of you to forsake a friend who is desirous of your friendship," or the conqueror may keep quiet, if the conqueror thinks that the Circle of States would be enraged against the friend for deserting his own party. If the madhyama king is desirous of securing the conqueror's enemy as his friend, then the conqueror should indirectly (i.e., without being known to the madhyama) help the enemy with wealth and army.

If the madhyama king desires to win the neutral king, the conqueror should sow the seeds of dissension between them. Whoever of the madhyama and the neutral kings is esteemed by the Circle of States, his protection should the conqueror seek.

The conduct of the madhyama king explains that of the neutral king. If the neutral king is desirous of combining with the madhyama king, then the conqueror should so attempt as to frustrate the desire of the neutral king to overreach an enemy or to help a friend or to secure the services of the army of another neutral king. Having thus strengthened himself, the conqueror should reduce his enemies and help his friends, though their position is inimical towards him.

Those who may be inimical to the conqueror are a king who is of wicked character and who is therefore always harmful, a rear-enemy in combination with a frontal enemy, a reducible enemy under troubles, and one who is watching the troubles of the conqueror to invade him.

Those who may be friendly with the conqueror are one who marches with him with the same end in view, one who marches with him with a different end in view, one who wants to combine with the conqueror to march (against a common enemy), one who marches under an agreement for peace, one who marches with a set purpose of, his own, one who rises along with others, one who is ready to purchase or to sell either the army or the treasury, and one who adopts the double policy (i.e., making peace with one and waging war with another).

Those neighbouring kings who can be servants to the conqueror are a neighbouring king under the apprehension of an attack from a powerful king, one who is situated between the conqueror and his enemy, the rear-enemy of a powerful king, one who has voluntarily surrendered one-self to the conqueror, one who has surrendered oneself under fear, and one who has been subdued. The same is the case with those kings who are next to the territory of the immediate enemies of the conqueror.

• Of these kings, the conqueror should, as far as possible, help that friend who has the same end in view as the conqueror in his conflict with the enemy, and thus hold the enemy at bay.

• When, after having put down the enemy, and after having grown in power, a friend becomes unsubmissive, the conqueror should cause the friend to incur the displeasure of a neighbour and of the king who is next to the neighbour.

• Or the conqueror may employ a scion of the friend's family or an imprisoned prince to seize his lands; or the conqueror may so act that his friend, desirous of further help, may continue to be obedient.

• The conqueror should never help his friend when the latter is more and more deteriorating; a politician should so keep his friend that the latter neither deteriorates nor grows in power.

• When, with the desire of getting wealth, a wandering friend (i.e., a nomadic king) makes an agreement with the conqueror, the latter should so remove the cause of the friend's flight that he never flies again.

• When a friend is as accessible to the conqueror as to the latter's enemy, the conqueror should first separate that obstinate friend from the enemy, and then destroy him, and afterwards the enemy also.

• When a friend remains neutral, the conqueror should cause him to incur the displeasure of his immediate enemies; and when he is worried in his wars with them, the conqueror should oblige him with help.

• When, owing to his own weakness, a friend seeks protection both from the conqueror and the latter's enemy, the conqueror should help him with the army, so that he never turns his attention elsewhere.

• Or having, removed him from his own lands, the conqueror may keep him in another tract of land, having made some previous arrangements to punish or favour the friend.

• Or the conqueror may harm him when he has grown powerful, or destroy him when he does nut help the conqueror in danger and when he lies on the conqueror's lap in good faith.

• When an enemy furiously rises against his own enemy (i.e., the conqueror's friend) under troubles, the former should be put down by the latter himself with troubles concealed.

• When a friend keeps quiet after rising against an enemy under troubles, that friend will be subdued by the enemy himself after getting rid of his troubles.

• Whoever is acquainted with the science of polity should clearly observe the conditions of progress, deterioration, stagnation, reduction, and destruction, as well as the use of all kinds of strategic means.

• Whoever thus knows the interdependence of the six kinds of policy plays at his pleasure with kings, bound round, as it were, in chains skillfully devised by himself.

[Thus ends Chapter 18, "The Conduct of a Madhyama King, a Neutral King and of a Circle of States," in Book 7, "The End of the Six-fold Policy" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and sixteenth chapter from the beginning. With this ends the seventh Book "The End of the Six-fold Policy" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya.]

KAUTILYA'S ARTHASASTRA: BOOK 8

"Concerning Vices and Calamities"

CHAPTER 1. THE AGGREGATE OF THE CALAMITIES OF THE ELEMENTS OF SOVEREIGNTY.

When calamities happen together, the form of consideration should be whether it is easier to take an offensive or defensive attitude. National calamities, coming from Providence or from man happen from one's misfortune or bad policy. The word vyasana (vices or calamities), means the reverse or absence of virtue, the preponderance of vices, and occasional troubles. That which deprives (vyasyati) a person of his happiness is termed vyasana (vices or calamities).

My teacher says that of the calamities, viz., the king in distress, the minister in distress, the people in distress, distress due to bad fortifications, financial distress, the army in distress, and an ally in distress,--that which is first mentioned is more serious than the one, coming later in the order of enumeration.

No, says Bharadvaja, of the distress of the king and of his minister, ministerial distress is more serious; deliberations in council, the attainment of results as anticipated while deliberating in council, the accomplishment of works, the business of revenue-collection and its expenditure, recruiting the army, the driving out of the enemy and of wild tribes, the

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protection of the kingdom, taking remedial measures against calamities, the protection of the heir-apparent, and the installation of princes constitute the duties of ministers. In the absence of ministers; the above works are ill-done; and like a bird, deprived of its feathers, the king loses his active capacity. In such calamities, the intrigues of the enemy find a ready scope. In ministerial distress, the king's life itself comes into danger, for a minister is the mainstay of the security of the king's life.

No, says Kautilya, it is verily the king who attends to the business of appointing ministers, priests, and other servants, including the superintendents of several departments, the application of remedies against the troubles of his people, and of his kingdom, and the adoption of progressive measures; when his ministers fall into troubles, he employs others; he is ever ready to bestow rewards on the worthy and inflict punishments on the wicked; when the king is well off, by his welfare and prosperity, he pleases the people; of what kind the king's character is, of the same kind will be the character of his people; for their progress or downfall, the people depend upon the king; the king is, as it were, the aggregate of the people.

Visalaksha says that of the troubles of the minister and of the people; the troubles of the people are more serious; finance, army, raw products, free labour, carriage of things, and collection (of necessaries) are all secured from the people. There will be no such things in the absence of people, next to the king and his minister.

No, says Kautilya, all activities proceed from the minister, activities such as the successful accomplishment of the works of the people, security of person and property from internal and external enemies, remedial measures against calamities, colonization and improvement of wild tracts of land, recruiting the army, collection of revenue, and bestowal of favour.

The school of Parasara say that of the distress of the people and distress due to bad fortifications, the latter is a more serious evil; for it is in fortified towns that the treasury and the army are secured; they (fortified towns) are a secure place for the people; they are a stronger power than the citizens or country people; and they are a powerful defensive instrument in times of danger for the king. As to the people, they are common both to the king and his enemy.

No, says Kautilya, for forts, finance, and the army depend upon the people; likewise buildings, trade, agricu1ture, cattle-rearing, bravery, stability, power, and abundance (of things). In countries inhabited by people, there are mountains and islands (as natural forts); in the absence of an expansive country, forts are resorted to. When a country consists purely of cultivators, troubles due to the absence of fortifications (are apparent); while in a country which consists purely of warlike people, troubles that may appear are due to the absence of (an expansive and cultivated) territory.

Pisuna says that of the troubles due to the absence of forts and to want of finance, troubles due to want of finance are more serious; the repair of fortifications and their maintenance depend upon finance; by means of wealth, intrigue to capture an enemy's fort may be carried on; by means of wealth, the people, friends, and enemies can be kept under control; by means of it, outsiders can be encouraged and the establishment of the army and its operations conducted. It is possible to remove the treasure in times of danger, but not the fort.

No, says Kautilya, for it is in the fort that the treasury and the army are safely kept, and it is from the fort that secret war (intrigue), control over one's partisans, the upkeep of the army, the reception of allies and the driving out of enemies and of wild tribes are successfully practised. In the absence of forts, the treasury is to the enemy, for it seems that for those who own forts, there is no destruction.

Kaunapadanta says that of distress due to want of finance or to an inefficient army, that which is due to the want of an efficient army is more serious; for control over one's own friends and enemies, the winning over the army of an enemy, and the business of administration are all dependent upon the army. In the absence of the army, it is certain that the treasury will be lost, whereas lack of finance can be made up by procuring raw products and lands or by seizing an enemy's territory.

The army may go to the enemy, or murder the king himself, and bring about all kinds of troubles. But finance is the chief means of observing virtuous acts and of enjoying desires. Owing to a change in place, time, and policy, either finance or the army may be a superior power; for the army is (sometimes) the means of securing the wealth acquired; but wealth is (always) the means of securing both the treasury and the army. Since all activities are dependent upon finance, financial troubles are more serious.

Vatavyadhi says that of the distress of the army and of an ally, the distress of an ally is more serious--an ally, though he is not fed and is far off, is still serviceable; he drives off not only the rear-enemy and the friends of the rear-enemy, but also the frontal enemy and wild tribes; he also helps his friend with money, army, and lands on occasions of troubles.

No, says Kautilya, the ally of him who has a powerful army keeps the alliance; and even the enemy assumes a friendly attitude; when there is a work that can be equally accomplished either by the army or by an ally, then preference to the army or to the ally should depend on the advantages of securing the appropriate place and time for war and the expected profit. In times of sudden expedition and on occasions of troubles from an enemy, a wild tribe, or local rebels, no friend can be trusted. When calamities happen together, or when an enemy has grown strong, a friend keeps up his friendship as long as money is forthcoming. Thus the determination of the comparative seriousness of the calamities of the various elements of sovereignty.

• When a part of one of the elements of sovereignty is under troubles, the extent, affection, and strength of the serviceable part can be the means of accomplishing a work.

• When any two elements of sovereignty are equally under troubles, they should be distinguished in respect of their progressive or declining tendency, provided that the good condition of the rest of the elements needs no description.

• When the calamities of a single element tend to destroy the rest of the elements, those calamities, whether they be of the fundamental or any other element, are verily serious.

[Thus ends Chapter 1, "The Aggregate of the Calamities of the Elements of Sovereignty," in Book 8, "Concerning Vices and Calamities" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and seventeenth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 2. CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT THE TROUBLES OF THE KING AND OF HIS KINGDOM.

The king and his kingdom are the primary elements of the state.

The troubles of the king may be either internal or external. Internal troubles are more serious than external troubles which are like the danger arising from a lurking snake. Troubles due to a minister are more serious than other kinds of internal troubles. Hence, the king should keep under his own control the powers of finance and the army.

Of divided rule and foreign rule, divided rule or rule of a country by two kings, perishes owing to mutual hatred, partiality and rivalry. Foreign rule which comes into existence by seizing the country from its king still alive, thinks that the country is not its own, impoverishes it, and carries off its wealth, or treats it as a commercial article; and when the country ceases to love it, it retires abandoning the country.

Which is better, a blind king, or a king erring against the science?

My teacher says that a blind king, i.e., a king who is not possessed of an eye in sciences, is indiscriminate in doing works, very obstinate, and is led by others; such a king destroys the kingdom by his own maladministration. But an erring king can be easily brought round when and where his mind goes astray from the procedure laid down in sciences.

No, says Kautilya, a blind king can be made by his supporters to adhere to whatever line of policy he ought to. But an erring king who is bent upon doing what is against the science, brings about destruction to himself and his kingdom by maladministration.

Which is better, a diseased or a new king ?

My teacher says that a diseased king loses his kingdom owing to the intrigue of his ministers, or loses his life on account of the kingdom; but a new king pleases the people by such popular deeds as the observance of his own duties and the act of bestowing favours, remissions (of taxes), gifts, and presents upon others.

No, says Kautilya, a diseased king continues to observe his duties as usual. But a new king begins to act as he pleases under the impression that the country, acquired by his own might, belongs to himself; when pressed by combined kings (for plunder), he tolerates their oppression of the country. Or having no firm control over the elements of the state, he is easily removed. There is this difference among diseased kings: a king who is morally diseased, and a king who is suffering from physical disease; there is also this difference among new kings: a high-born king and a base-born king.

Which is better, a weak but high-born king, or a strong but low-born king?

My teacher says that a people, even if interested in having a weak king, hardly allow room for the intrigues of a weak but high-born person to be their king; but that if they desire power, they will easily yield themselves to the intrigues of a strong but base-born person to be their king.

No, says Kautilya, a people will naturally obey a high-born king though he is weak, for the tendency of a prosperous people is to follow a high-born king. Also they render the intrigues of a strong but base-born person, unavailing, as the saying is, that possession of virtues makes for friendship.

The destruction of crops is worse than the destruction of handfuls (of grains), since it is the labour that is destroyed thereby; absence of rain is worse than too much rain.

• The comparative seriousness or insignificance of any two kinds of troubles affecting the elements of sovereignty, in the order of enumeration of the several kinds of distress, is the cause of adopting offensive or defensive operations.

[Thus ends Chapter 2, "Considerations about the Troubles of the King and of his Kingdom," in Book 8, "Concerning Vices and Calamities," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and eighteenth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 3. THE AGGREGATE OF THE TROUBLE OF MEN.

Ignorance and absence of discipline are the causes of a man's troubles. An untrained man does not perceive the injuries arising from vices. We are going to treat of them (vices):--

Vice's due to anger form a triad; and those due to desire are fourfold. Of these two, anger is worse, for anger proceeds against all. In a majority of cases, kings given to anger are said to have fallen a prey to popular fury. But kings addicted to pleasures have perished in consequence of serious diseases brought about by deterioration and improverishment.

No, says Bharadvaja, anger is the characteristic of a righteous man. It is the foundation of bravery; it puts an end to despicable (persons); and it keeps the people under fear. Anger is always a necessary quality for the prevention of sin. But desire (accompanies) the enjoyment of results, reconciliation, generosity, and the act of endearing oneself to all. Possession of desire is always necessary for him who is inclined to enjoy the fruits of what he has accomplished.

No, says Kautilya, anger brings about enmity with, and troubles from, an enemy, and is always associated with pain. Addiction to pleasure (kama) occasions contempt and loss of wealth, and throws the addicted person into the company of thieves, gamblers, hunters, singers, players on musical instruments, and other undesirable persons. Of these, enmity is more serious than contempt, for a despised person is caught hold of by his own people and by his enemies, whereas a hated person is destroyed. Troubles from an enemy are more serious than loss of wealth, for loss of wealth causes financial troubles, whereas troubles from an enemy are injurious to life. Suffering on account of vices is more serious than keeping company with undesirable persons, for the company of undesirable persons can be got rid of in a moment, whereas suffering from vices causes injury for a long time. Hence, anger is a more serious evil.

Which is worse: abuse of language, or of money, or oppressive punishment?

Visalaksha says that of abuse of language and of money, abuse of language is worse; for when harshly spoken to, a brave man retaliates; and bad language, like a nail piercing the heart, excites anger and gives pain to the senses.

No, says Kautilya, gift of money palliates the fury occasioned by abusive language, whereas abuse of money causes the loss of livelihood itself. Abuse of money means gifts, exaction, loss or abandonment of money.

The School of Parasara say that of abuse of money and oppressive punishment, abuse of money is worse; for good deeds and enjoyments depend upon wealth; the world itself is bound by wealth. Hence, its abuse is a more serious evil.

No, says Kautilya, in preference to a large amount of wealth, no man desires the loss of his own life. Owing to oppressive punishment, one is liable to the same punishment at the hands of one's enemies.

Such is the nature of the triad of evils due to anger.

The fourfold vices due to desire are hunting, gambling, women and drinking.

Pisuna says that of hunting and gambling, hunting is a worse vice; for falling into the hand of robbers, enemies and elephants, getting into wild fire, fear, inability to distinguish between the cardinal points, hunger, thirst and loss of life are evils consequent upon hunting, whereas in gambling, the expert gambler wins a victory like Jayatsena and Duryodhana.

No, says Kautilya, of the two parties, one has to suffer from defeat, as is well known from the history of Nala and Yudhishthira; the same wealth that is won like a piece of flesh in gambling, causes enmity. Lack of recognition of wealth properly acquired, acquisition of ill-gotten wealth, loss of wealth without enjoyment, staying away from answering the calls of nature, and contracting diseases from not taking timely meals, are the evils of gambling, whereas in hunting, exercise, the disappearance of phlegm, bile, fat, and sweat, the acquisition of skill in aiming at stationary and moving bodies, the ascertainment of the appearance of beasts when provoked, and occasional march (are its good characteristics).

Kaunapadanta says that of addiction to gambling and to women, gambling is a more serious evil; for gamblers always play, even at night by lamp light, and even when the mother (of one of the players) is dead; the gambler exhibits anger when spoken to in times of trouble; whereas in the case of addiction to women, it is possible to hold conversation about virtue and wealth, at the time of bathing, dressing and eating. Also it is possible to make, by means of secret punishment, a woman to be so good as to secure the welfare of the king, or to get rid of her, or drive her out, under the plea of disease.

No, says Kautilya, it is possible to divert the attention from gambling, but not so from women. (The evils of the latter are) failure to see (what ought to be seen), violation of duty, the evil of postponing works that are to be immediately done,

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incapacity to deal with politics, and contracting the evil of drinking.

Vatavyadhi says that of addiction to women and to drinking, addiction to women is a more serious evil: there are various kinds of childishness among women, as explained in the chapter on 'The Harem,' whereas in drinking, the enjoyment of sound and other objects of the senses, pleasing other people, honouring the followers, and relaxation from the fatigue of work (are the advantages).

No, says Kautilya, in the case of addiction to women, the consequences are the birth of children, self-protection, change of wives in the harem, and absence of such consequences in the case of unworthy outside women. Both the above consequences follow from drinking. The auspicious effects of drinking are loss of money, lunacy in a sensate man, corpselike appearance while living, nakedness, the loss of the knowledge of the Vedas, loss of life, wealth, and friends, disassociation with the good, suffering from pain, and indulgence in playing on musical instruments and in singing at the expense of wealth.

Of gambling and drinking, gambling causes gain or loss of the stakes to one party or other. Even among dumb animals, it splits them into factions and causes provocation. It is specially due to gambling that assemblies and royal confederacies possessing the characteristics of assemblies are split into factions, and are consequently destroyed. The reception of what is condemned is the worst of all evils since it causes incapacity to deal with politics.

• The reception of what is condemned is (due to) desire; and anger consists in oppressing the good; since both these are productive of many evils, both of them are held to be the worst evils.

• Hence be who is possessed of discretion should associate with the aged, and, after controlling his passions, abandon both anger and desire which are productive of other evils and destructive of the very basis (of life).

[Thus ends Chapter 3, "The Aggregate of the Troubles of Men," in Book 8. "Concerning Vices and Calamities" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and nineteenth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 4. THE GROUP OF MOLESTATIONS, THE GROUP OF OBSTRUCTIONS, AND THE GROUP OF FINANCIAL TROUBLES.

Providential calamities are fire, floods, pestilence, famine, and (the epidemic disease called) maraka.

My teacher says that of fire and floods, destruction due to fire is irremediable; all kinds of troubles, except those due to fire, can be alleviated, and troubles due to floods can be passed over.

No, says Kautilya, fire destroys a village, or part of a village whereas floods carry off hundreds of villages.

My teacher says that of pestilence and famine, pestilence brings all kinds of business to a stop by causing obstruction to work on account of disease and death among men and owing to the flight of servants, whereas famine stops no work, but is productive of gold, cattle and taxes.

No, says Kautilya, pestilence devastates only a part (of the country) and can be remedied, whereas famine causes troubles to the whole (of the country) and occasions dearth of livelihood to all creatures.

This explains the consequences of maraka.

My teacher says that of the loss of chief and vulgar men, the loss of vulgar men causes obstruction to work.

No, says Kautilya, it is possible to recruit vulgar men, since they form the majority of people; for the sake of vulgar men, nobles should not be allowed to perish; one in a thousand may or may not be a noble man; he it is who is possessed of excessive courage and wisdom and is the refuge of vulgar people.

My teacher says that of the troubles arising from one's own or one's enemy's Circle of States, those due to one's own Circle are doubly injurious and are irremediable, whereas an inimical Circle of States can be fought out or kept away by the intervention of an ally or by making peace.

No, says Kautilya, troubles due to one's own Circle can be got rid of by arresting or destroying the leaders among the subjective people; or they may be injurious to a part of the country, whereas troubles due to an enemy's Circle of States cause oppression by inflicting loss and destruction and by burning, devastation, and plunder.

My teacher says that of the quarrels among the people and among kings, quarrel among the people brings about disunion and thereby enables an enemy to invade the country, whereas quarrel among kings is productive of double pay and wages and of remission of taxes to the people.

No, says Kautilya, it is possible to end the quarrel among the people by arresting the leaders, or by removing the cause of quarrel; and people quarrelling among themselves vie with each other and thereby help the country, whereas quarrel among kings causes trouble and destruction to the people and requires double the energy for its settlement.

My teacher says that of a sportive king and a sportive country, a sportive country is always ruinous to the results of work, whereas a sportive king is beneficial to artisans, carpenters, musicians, buffoons and traders.

No, says Kautilya, a sportive country, taking to sports for relaxation from labour, causes only a trifling loss; and after enjoyment, it resumes work, whereas a sportive king causes oppression by showing indulgence to his courtiers, by seizing and begging, and by obstructing work in the manufactories.

My teacher says that of a favourite wife and a prince, the prince causes oppression by showing indulgence to his followers, by seizing and begging, and by obstructing the work in manufactories whereas the favourite wife is addicted to her amorous sports.

No, says Kautilya, it is possible to prevent through the minister and the priest, the oppression caused by the prince, but not the oppression caused by the favourite wife, since she is usually stubborn and keeps company with wicked persons.

My teacher says that of the troubles due to a corporation of people and to a leader (a chief), the corporation of people people cannot be put down since it consists of a number of men and causes oppression by theft and violence, whereas a leader causes troubles by obstruction to, and destruction of, work.

No, says Kautilya, it is very easy to get rid of (the troubles from) a corporation; since it has to rise or fall with the king; or it can be put down by arresting its leader or a part of the corporation itself, whereas a leader backed up with support causes oppression by injuring the life and property of others.

My teacher says that of the chamberlain and the collector of revenue, the chamberlain causes oppression by spoiling works and by inflicting fines, whereas the collector of revenue makes use of the ascertained revenue in the department over which he presides.

No, says Kautilya, the chamberlain takes to himself what is presented by others to be entered into the treasury whereas the collector makes his own revenue first and then the kings'; or he destroys the kings' revenue and proceeds as he pleases to seize the property of others.

My teacher says that of the superintendent of the boundary and a trader, the superintendent of the boundary destroys traffic by allowing thieves and taking taxes more than he ought to, whereas a trader renders the country prosperous by a favourable barter of commercial articles.

No, says Kautilya, the superintendent of the boundary increases commercial traffic by welcoming the arrival of merchandise, whereas traders unite in causing rise and fall in the value of articles, and live by making profits cent per cent in panas or kumbhas (measures of grain).

Which is more desirable, land occupied by a high-born person or land reserved for grazing a flock of cattle?

My teacher says that the land occupied by a high-born person is very productive; and it supplies men to the army; hence it does not deserve to be confiscated lest the owner might cause troubles, whereas the land occupied for grazing a flock of cattle is cultivable and deserves therefore to be freed, for cultivable land is preferred to pasture land.

No, says Kautilya, though immensely useful, the land occupied by a high-born person deserves to be freed, lest he might cause troubles (otherwise), whereas the land held for grazing a flock of cattle is productive of money and beasts, and does not therefore deserve to be confiscated unless cultivation of crops is impeded thereby.

My teacher says that of robbers and wild tribes, robbers are ever bent on carrying off women at night, make assaults on persons, and take away hundreds and thousands of panas, whereas wild tribes, living under a leader and moving in the neighbouring forests can be seen here and there causing destruction only to a part.

No, says Kautilya, robbers carry off the property of the careless and can be put down as they are easily recognized and caught hold of, whereas wild tribes have their own strongholds, being numerous and brave, ready to fight in broad daylight, and seizing and destroying countries like kings.

Of the forests of beasts and of elephants, beasts are numerous and productive of plenty of flesh and skins; they arrest the growth of the grass and are easily controlled, whereas elephants are of the reverse nature and are seen to be destructive of countries even when they are captured and tamed.

Of benefits derived from one's own or a foreign country, benefits derived from one's own country consists of grains, cattle, gold, and raw products and are useful for the maintenance of the people in calamities, whereas benefits derived from a foreign country are of the reverse nature.

Such is the group of molestations.

Obstruction to movements caused by a chief is internal obstruction; and obstruction to movements caused by an enemy or a wild tribe is external obstruction.

Such is the group of obstructions.

Financial troubles due to the two kinds of obstruction and to the molestations described above are stagnation of financial position, loss of wealth due to the allowance of remission of taxes in favour of leaders, scattered revenue, false account of revenue collected, and revenue left in the custody of a neighbouring king or of a wild tribe.

Thus the group of financial troubles.

• In the interests of the prosperity of the country, one should attempt to avoid the cause of troubles, remedy them when they happen, and avert obstructions and financial troubles.

[Thus ends Chapter 4, "The Group of Molestations, the Group of Obstructions, and the Group of Financial Troubles" in Book 8, "Concerning Vices and Calamities," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and twentieth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 5. THE GROUP OF TROUBLES OF THE ARMY, AND THE GROUP OF TROUBLES OF A FRIEND.

The troubles of the army are--That which is disrespected; that which is mortified; that which is not paid for; that which is diseased; that which has freshly arrived; that which has made a long journey; that which is tired; that which has sustained loss; that which has been repelled; that of which the front portion is destroyed; that which is suffering from inclemency of weather; that which has found itself in an unsuitable ground; that which is displeased from disappointment; that which has run away; that of which the men are fond of their wives; that which contains traitors; that of which the prime portion is provoked; that which has dissensions; that which has come from a foreign state; that which has served in many states; that which is specially trained to a particular kind of manœuvre and encampment; that which is trained to a particular movement in a particular place; that which is obstructed; that which is surrounded; that which has its supply of grains cut off; that which has its men and stores cut off; that which is kept in one's own country; that which is under the protection of an ally; that which contains inimical persons; that which is afraid of an enemy in the rear; that which has lost its communication; that which has lost its commander; that which has lost its leader; and that which is blind (i.e., untrained).

Of the disrespected and the mortified among these, that which is disrespected may be taken to fight after being honoured, but not that which is suffering from its own mortification.

Of unpaid and diseased armies, the unpaid may be taken to fight after making full payment but not the diseased, which is unfit for work.

Of freshly arrived and long-travelled armies, that which has freshly arrived may be taken to fight after it has taken its position without mingling with any other new army, but not that which is tired from its long journey.

Of tired and reduced armies, the army that is tired may be taken to fight after it has refreshed itself from bathing, eating, and sleeping, but not the reduced army, i.e., the army, the leaders of which have been killed.

Of armies which have either been repelled or have their front destroyed, that which has been repelled may be taken to fight together with fresh men attached to it, but not the army which has lost many of its brave men in its frontal attack.

Of armies, either suffering from inclemency of weather or driven to an unsuitable ground, that which is suffering from inclemency of weather may be taken to fight after providing it with weapons and dress appropriate for the season, but not the army on an unfavourable ground obstructing its movements.

Of disappointed and renegade armies, that which is disappointed may be taken to fight after satisfying it but not the army which has (once) run away.

Of soldiers who are either fond of their wives or are under an enemy, those who are fond of their wives may be taken to fight after separating them from their wives; but not those who are under an enemy, and are, therefore, like internal enemies.

Of provoked and disunited armies, that, of which a part is provoked, may be taken to fight after pacifying it by conciliation and other strategic means but not the disunited army, the members of which are estranged from each other.

Of armies which have left service either in one state or in many states, that whose resignation of service in a foreign state is not due to instigation or conspiracy may be taken to fight under the leadership of spies and friends, but not the army which has resigned its service in many states and is, therefore, dangerous.

Of armies which are trained either to a particular kind of manœuvre and encampment or to a particular movement in a particular place, that which is taught a special kind of manœuvre and encampment may be taken to fight, but not the army whose way of making encampments and marches is only suited for a particular place.

Of obstructed and surrounded armies, that which is prevented from its movements in one direction may be taken to fight against the obstructor in another direction, but not the army whose movements are obstructed on all sides.

Of troops whose supply of grain is cut off or whose supply of men and stores is cut off, that which has lost its supply of grain may be taken to fight after providing it with grain

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brought from another quarter or after supplying to it moveable and immoveable food-stuffs (animal and vegetable food-stuffs) but not the army to which men and provisions cannot be supplied.

Of armies kept in one's own country or under the protection of an ally, that which is kept in one's own country can possibly be disbanded in time of danger, but not the army under the protection of an ally, as it is far removed in place and time.

Of armies either filled with traitors, or frightened by an enemy in the rear, that which is full of traitors may be taken to fight apart under the leadership of a trusted commander, but not the army which is afraid of an attack from the rear.

Of armies without communication or without leaders, that which has lost its communication with the base of operations may be taken to fight after restoring the communication and placing it under the protection of citizens and country people, but not the army which is without a leader such as the king or any other persons.

Of troops which have lost their leader or which are not trained, those that have lost their leader may be taken to fight under the leadership of a different person but not the troops which are not trained.

• Removal of vices and troubles, recruitment (of new men), keeping away from places of an enemy's ambush, and harmony among the officers of the army, are the means of protecting the army from troubles.

• He (the king) should ever carefully guard his army from the troubles caused by an enemy, and should ever be ready to strike his enemy's army when the latter is under troubles;

• Whatever he may come to know as the source of trouble to his people, he should quickly and carefully apply antidotes against that cause.

• A friend who, by himself, or in combination with others or under the influence of another king, has marched against his own ally, a friend who is abandoned owing to inability to retain his friendship, or owing to greediness or indifference;

• A friend who is bought by another and who has withdrawn himself from fighting;

• A friend who, following the policy of making peace with one and marching against another, has contracted friendship with one, who is going to march either singly or in combination with others against an ally;

• A friend who is not relieved from his troubles owing to fear, contempt, or indifference; a friend who is surrounded in his own place or who has run away owing to fear;

• A friend who is displeased owing to his having to pay much, or owing to his not having received his due or owing to his dissatisfaction even after the receipt of his due;

• A friend who has voluntarily paid much or who is made by another to pay much (to his ally); a friend who is kept under pressure, or who, having broken the bond of friendship, sought friendship with another;

• A friend who is neglected owing to inability to retain his friendship; and a friend who has become an enemy in spite of his ally's entreaties to the contrary;--such friends are hardly acquired; and if acquired at all, they turn away.

• A friend who has realised the responsibilities of friendship, or who is honourable; or whose disappointment is due to want of information, or who, though excited, is unequal (to the task), or who is made to turn back owing to fear from another;

• Or who is frightened at the destruction of another friend, or who is apprehensive of danger from the combination of enemies, or who is made by traitors to give up his friendship,--it is possible to acquire such a friend; and if acquired, he keeps up his friendship.

• Hence one should not give rise to those causes which are destructive of friendship; and when they arise, one should get rid of them by adopting such friendly attitude as can remove those causes.

[Thus ends Chapter 5, "The Group of Troubles of the Army, and the Group of Troubles of a Friend," in Book 8 "Concerning Vices and Calamities," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and twenty-first chapter from the beginning. With this ends the eighth Book "Concerning Vices and Calamities" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya.]

KAUTILYA'S ARTHASHASTRA: BOOK 9

"The Work of an Invader"

CHAPTER 1. THE KNOWLEDGE OF POWER, PLACE, TIME, STRENGTH, AND WEAKNESS; THE TIME OF INVASION.

The conqueror should know the comparative strength and weakness of himself and of his enemy; and having ascertained the power, place, time, the time of marching and of recruiting the army, the consequences, the loss of men and money, and profits and danger, he should march with his full force; otherwise, he should keep quiet.

My teacher says that of enthusiasm and power, enthusiasm is better: a king, himself energetic, brave, strong, free from disease, skilful in wielding weapons, is able with his army as a secondary power to subdue a powerful king; his army, though small, will, when led by him, be, capable of turning out any work. But a king who has no enthusiasm in himself, will perish though possessed of a strong army.

No, says Kautilya, he who is possessed of power overreaches, by the sheer force of his power, another who is merely enthusiastic. Having acquired, captured, or bought another enthusiastic king as well as brave soldiers, he can make his enthusiastic army of horses, elephants, chariots, and others to move anywhere without obstruction. Powerful kings, whether women, young men, lame or blind, conquered the earth by winning over or purchasing the aid of enthusiastic persons.

My teacher says that of power (money and army) and skill in intrigue, power is better; for a king, though possessed of skill for intrigue (mantrasakti) becomes a man of barren mind if he has no power; for the work of intrigue is well defined. He who has no power loses his kingdom as sprouts of seeds in drought vomit their sap.

No, says Kautilya, skill for intrigue is better; he who has the eye of knowledge and is acquainted with the science of polity can with little effort make use of his skill for intrigue and can succeed by means of conciliation and other strategic means and by spies and chemical appliances in over-reaching even those kings who are possessed of enthusiasm and power. Thus of the three acquirements, viz., enthusiasm, power and skill for intrigue, he who posesses more of the quality mentioned later than the one mentioned first in the order of enumeration will be successful in over- reaching others.

Country (space) means the earth; in it the thousand yojanas of the northern portion of the country that stretches between the Himalayas and the ocean form the dominion of no insignificant emperor; in it there are such varieties of land, as forests, villages, waterfalls, level plains, and uneven grounds. In such lands, he should undertake such works as he considers to be conducive to his power and prosperity. That part of the country, in which his army finds a convenient place for its manœuvre and which proves unfavourable to his enemy, is the best; that part of the country which is of the reverse nature, is the worst; and that which partakes of both the characteristics, is a country of middling quality.

Time consists of cold, hot, and rainy periods. The divisions of time are: the night, the day, the fortnight, the month, the season, solstices, the year, and the Yuga (cycle of five years). In these divisions of time he should undertake such works as are conducive to the growth of his power and prosperity. That time which is congenial for the manœuvre of his Army, but which is of the reverse nature for his enemy is the best; that which is of the reverse nature is the worst; and that which possesses both the characteristics is of middling quality.

My teacher says that of strength, place, and time, strength is the best; for a man who is possessed of strength can overcome the difficulties due either to the unevenness of the ground or to the cold, hot, or rainy periods of time. Some say that place is the best for the reason that a dog, seated in a convenient place, can drag a crocodile and that a crocodile in low ground can drag a dog.

Others say that time is the best for the reason that during the day-time the crow kills the owl, and that at night the owl the crow.

No, says Kautilya, of strength, place, and time, each is helpful to the other; whoever is possessed of these three things should, after having placed one-third or one fourth of his army to protect his base of operations against his rear-enemy and wild tribes in his vicinity and after having taken with him as much army and treasure as is sufficient to accomplish his work, march during the month of Margasírsha (December) against his enemy whose collection of food-stuffs is old and insipid and who has not only not gathered fresh food-stuffs, but also not repaired his fortifications, in order to destroy the enemy's rainy crops and autumnal handfuls (mushti). He should march during the month of Chaitra (March), if he means to destroy the enemy's autumnal crops and vernal handfuls. He should march during the month of Jyestha (May-June) against one whose storage of fodder, firewood and water has diminished and who has not repaired his fortifications, if he means to destroy the enemy's vernal crops and handfuls of the rainy season. Or he may march during the dewy season against a country which is of hot climate and in which fodder and water are obtained in little quantities. Or he may march during the summer against a country in which the sun is enshrouded by mist and which is full of deep valleys and thickets of trees and grass, or he may march during the rains against a country which is suitable for the manœuvre of his own army and which is of the reverse nature for his enemy's army. He has to undertake a long march between the months of Margasírsha (December) and Taisha (January), a march of mean length between March and April, and a short march between May and June; and one, afflicted with troubles, should keep quiet.

Marching against an enemy under troubles has been explained in connection with "March after declaring war."

My teacher says that one should almost invariably march against an enemy in troubles.

But Kautilya says: that when one's resources are sufficient one should march, since the troubles of an enemy cannot be properly recognised; or whenever one finds it possible to reduce or destroy an enemy by marching against him, then one may undertake a march.

When the weather is free from heat, one should march with an army mostly composed of elephants. Elephants with profuse sweat in hot weather are attacked by leprosy; and when they have no water for bathing and drinking, they lose their quickness and become obstinate. Hence, against a country containing plenty of water and during the rainy season, one should march with an army mostly composed of elephants. Against a country of the reverse description, i.e., which as little rain and muddy water, one should march with an army mostly composed of asses, camels, and horses.

Against a desert, one should march during the rainy season with all the four constituents of the army (elephants, horses, chariots, and men). One should prepare a programme of short and long distances to be marched in accordance with the nature of the ground to be traversed, viz., even ground, uneven ground, valleys and plains.

When the work to be accomplished is small, march against all kinds of enemies should be of short duration; and when it is great, it should also be of long duration; during the rains, encampment should be made abroad.

[Thus ends Chapter 1, "The Knowledge of Power, Place, Time, Strength and Weakness, the Time of Invasion," in Book 9, "The Work of an Invader," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and twenty-second chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 2. THE TIME OF RECRUITING THE ARMY; THE FORM OF EQUIPMENT; AND THE WORK OF ARRAYING A RIVAL FORCE.

The time of recruiting troops, such as hereditary troops (maula), hired troops, corporation of soldiers (sreni), troops belonging to a friend or to an enemy, and wild tribes.

When he (a king) thinks that his hereditary army is more than he requires for the defence of his own possessions or when he thinks that as his hereditary army consists of more men than he requires, some of them may be disaffected; or when he thinks that his enemy has a strong hereditary army famous for its attachment, and is, therefore, to be fought out with much skill on his part; or when he thinks that though the roads are good and the weather favourable, it is still the hereditary army that can endure wear and tear; or when he thinks that though they are famous for their attachment, hired soldiers and other kinds of troops cannot be relied upon lest they might lend their ears to the intrigues of the enemy to be invaded; or when he thinks that other kinds of force are wanting in strength, then is the time for taking the hereditary army.

When he thinks that the army he has hired is greater than his hereditary army; that his enemy's hereditary army is small and disaffected, while the army his enemy has hired is insignificant and weak; that actual fight is less than treacherous fight; that the place to be traversed and the time required do not entail much loss; that his own army is little given to stupor, is beyond the fear of intrigue, and is reliable; or that little is the enemy's power which he has to put down, then is the time for leading the hired army.

When he thinks that the immense corporation of soldiers he possesses can be trusted both to defend his country and to march against his enemy; that he has to be absent only for a short time; or that his enemy's army consists mostly of soldiers of corporations, and consequently the enemy is desirous of carrying on treacherous fight rather than an actual war, then is the time for the enlistment of corporations of soldiers (sreni).

When he thinks that the strong help he has in his friend can be made use of both in his own country and in his marches; that he has to be absent only for a short time, and actual fight is more than treacherous fight; that having made his friend's army to occupy wild tracts, cities, or plains and to fight with the enemy's ally, he, himself, would lead his own army to fight with the enemy's army; that his work can be accomplished by his friend as well; that his success depends on his friend; that he has a friend near and deserving of obligation; or that he has to utilize the excessive force of his friend, then is the time for the enlistment of a friend's army.

When he thinks that he will have to make his strong enemy to fight against another enemy on account of a city, a plain, or a wild tract of land, and that in that fight he will achieve one or the other of his objects, just like an outcast person in the fight between a dog and a pig; that through the battle, he will have the mischievous power of his enemy's allies or of wild tribes destroyed; that he will have to make his immediate and powerful enemy to march elsewhere and thus get rid of internal rebellion which his enemy might have occasioned; and that the time of battle between enemies or between inferior kings has arrived, then is the time for the exercise of an enemy's forces.

This explains the time for the engagement of wild tribes.

When he thinks that the army of wild tribes is living by the same road (that his enemy has to traverse); that the road is unfavourable for the march of his enemy's army; that his

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enemy's army consists mostly of wild tribes; that just as a wood-apple (bilva) is broken by means of another wood-apple, the small army of his enemy is to be destroyed, then is the time for engaging the army of wild tribes.

That army which is vast and is composed of various kinds of men and is so enthusiastic as to rise even without provision and wages for plunder when told or untold; that which is capable of applying its own remedies against unfavourable rains; that which can be disbanded and which is invincible for enemies; and that, of which all the men are of the same country, same caste, and same training, is (to be considered as) a compact body of vast power.

Such are the periods of time for recruiting the army.

Of these armies, one has to pay the army of wild tribes either with raw produce or with allowance for plunder.

When the time for the march of one's enemy's army has approached, one has to obstruct the enemy or send him far away, or make his movements fruitless, or, by false promise, cause him to delay the march, and then deceive him after the time for his march has passed away. One should ever be vigilant to increase one's own resources and frustrate the attempts of one's enemy to gain in strength.

Of these armies, that which is mentioned first is better than the one subsequently mentioned in the order of enumeration.

Hereditary army is better than hired army inasmuch as the former has its existence dependent on that of its master, and is constantly drilled.

That kind of hired army which is ever near, ready to rise quickly, and obedient, is better than a corporation of soldiers.

That corporation of soldiers which is native, which has the same end in view (as the king), and which is actuated with similar feelings of rivalry, anger, and expectation of success and gain, is better than the army of a friend. Even that corporation of soldiers which is further removed in place and time is, in virtue of its having the same end in view, better than the army of a friend.

The army of an enemy under the leadership of an Arya is better than the army of wild tribes. Both of them (the army of an enemy and of wild tribes) are anxious for plunder. In the absence of plunder and under troubles, they prove as dangerous as a lurking snake.

My teacher says that of the armies composed of Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, or Sudras, that which is mentioned first is, on account of bravery, better to be enlisted than the one subsequently mentioned in the order of enumeration.

No, says Kautilya, the enemy may win over to himself the army of Brahmans by means of prostration. Hence, the army of Kshatriyas trained in the art of wielding weapons is better; or the army of Vaisyas or Sudras having great numerical strength (is better).

Hence one should recruit one's army, reflecting that "such is the army of my enemy; and this is my army to oppose it."

The army which possesses elephants, machines, sakatagarbha (?), Kunta (a wooden rod), prasa (a weapon, 24 inches long, with two handles), Kharvataka (?), bamboo sticks, and iron sticks is the army to oppose an army of elephants.

The same possessed of stones, clubs, armour, hooks, and spears in plenty is the army to oppose an army of chariots.

The same is the army to oppose cavalry.

Men, clad in armour, can oppose elephants.

Horses can oppose men, clad in armour.

Men , clad in armour, chariots, men possessing defensive weapons, and infantry can oppose an army consisting of all the four constituents (elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry).

• Thus considering the strength of the constituents of one's own quadripartite army, one should recruit men to it so as to oppose an enemy's army successfully.

[Thus ends Chapter 2, "The Time of Recruiting the Army, the Form of Equipment, and the Work of Arraying a Rival Force," in Book 9, "The Work of an Invader," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and twenty-third chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 3. CONSIDERATION OF ANNOYANCE IN THE REAR; AND REMEDIES AGAINST INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL TROUBLES.

Of the two things, slight annoyance in the rear, and considerable profit in the front, slight annoyance in the rear is more serious; for traitors, enemies, and wild tribes augment on all sides the slight annoyance which one may have in the rear. The members of one's own state may be provoked about the acquisition of considerable profit in the front.

When one under the protection of another has come to such a condition (i.e., slight annoyance in the rear and considerable profit in the front), then one should endeavour so as to cause to the rear enemy the loss and impoverishment of his servants and friends; and in order to fetch the profit in the front, one should also employ the commander of the army or the heir-apparent to lead the army.

Or the king himself may go in person to receive the profit in the front, if he is able to ward off the annoyance in the rear. If he is apprehensive of internal troubles, he may take with him the suspected leaders. If he is apprehensive of external troubles, he should march after keeping inside his capital as hostages the sons and wives of suspected enemies and after having split into a number of divisions the troops of the officer in charge of waste lands (sunyapala) and having placed those divisions under the command of several chiefs, or he may abandon his march, for it has been already stated that internal troubles are more serious than external troubles.

The provocation of any one of the minister, the priest, the commander-in-chief, and the heir-apparent is what is termed internal trouble. The king should get rid of such an internal enemy either by giving up his own fault or by pointing out the danger arising from an external enemy. When the priest is guilty of the gravest treason, relief should be found either by confining him or by banishing him; when the heir-apparent is so, confinement or death (nigraha), provided that there is another son of good character. From these, the case of the minister and the commander-in-chief is explained.

When a son, or a brother, or any other person of the royal family attempts to seize the kingdom, he should be won over by holding out hopes; when this is not possible, he should be conciliated by allowing him to enjoy what he has already seized, or by making an agreement with him, or by means of intrigue through an enemy, or by securing to him land from an enemy, or any other person of inimical character. Or he may be sent out on a mission with an inimical force to receive the only punishment he deserves; or a conspiracy may be made with a frontier king or wild tribes whose displeasure he has incurred; or the same policy that is employed in securing an imprisoned prince or in seizing an enemy's villages may be resorted to.

The provocation of ministers other than the prime minister is what is called the internal ministerial troubles. Even in this case, necessary strategic means should be employed.

The provocation of the chief of a district (rashramukhya), the officer in charge of the boundary, the chief of wild tribes, and a conquered king is what is termed external trouble. This should be overcome by setting one against the other. Whoever among these has strongly fortified himself should be caught hold of through the agency of a frontier king, or the chief of wild tribes, or a scion of his family, or an imprisoned prince; or he may be captured through the agency of a friend, so that he may not combine with an enemy; or a spy may prevent him from combining with an enemy by saying: "This enemy makes a cat's-paw of you and causes you to fall upon your own lord; When his aim is realised, he makes you to lead an army against enemies or wild tribes, or to sojourn in a troublesome place; or he causes you to reside at a frontier station far from the company of your sons and wife. When you have lost all your strength, he sells you to your own lord; or having made peace with you, he will please your own lord. Hence it is advisable for you to go to the best friend of your lord." When he agrees to the proposal, he is to be honoured; but when he refuses to listen, he is to be told: "I am specially sent to separate you from the enemy." The spy should however appoint some persons to murder him; or he may be killed by some concealed persons; or some persons pretending to be brave soldiers may be made to accompany him and may be told by a spy (to murder him). Thus the end of troubles. One should cause such troubles to one's enemy and ward off those of one's own.

In the case of a person who is capable of causing or alleviating troubles, intrigue should be made use of; and in the case of a person who is of reliable character, able to undertake works, and to favour his ally in his success, and to afford protection against calamities, counter-intrigue (pratijapa) should be made use of (to keep his friendship secure). It should also be considered whether the person is of good disposition or of obstinate temper (satha).

The intrigue carried on by a foreigner of obstinate temper with local persons is of the following form:--"If after killing his own master, he comes to me, then I will secure these two objects, the destruction of my enemy and the acquisition of the enemy's lands; or else my enemy kills him, with the consequence that the partisans of the relations killed, and other persons who are equally guilty and are therefore apprehensive of similar punishment to themselves will perturb my enemy's peace when my enemy has no friends to count; or when my enemy falls to suspect any other person who is equally guilty, I shall be able to cause the death of this or that officer under my enemy's own command."

The intrigue carried on by a local person of obstinate temper with a foreigner is of the following form:--"I shall either plunder the treasury of this king or destroy his army; I shall murder my master by employing this man; if my master consents, I shall cause him to march against an external enemy or a wild tribe; let his Circle of States be brought to confusion, let him incur enmity with them; then it is easy to keep him under my power, and conciliate him; or I myself shall seize the kingdom; or, having bound him in chains, I shall obtain both my master's land and outside land; or having caused the enemy (of my master) to march out, I shall cause the enemy to be murdered in good faith; or I shall seize the enemy's capital when it is empty (of soldiers).

When a person of good disposition makes a conspiracy for the purpose of acquiring what is to be enjoyed by both then an agreement should be made with him. But when a person of obstinate temper so conspires, he should be allowed to have his own way and then deceived. Thus the form of policy to be adopted should be considered.

• Enemies from enemies, subjects from subjects, subjects from enemies, and enemies from subjects should ever be guarded; and both from his subjects and enemies, a learned man should ever guard his own person.

[Thus ends Chapter 3, "Consideration of Annoyance in the Rear, and Remedies Against Internal and External Troubles," in Book 9, "The Work of an Invader," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and twenty-fourth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 4. CONSIDERATION ABOUT LOSS OF MEN, WEALTH, AND PROFIT.

Loss of trained men is what is called kshaya, loss of men.

Diminution of gold and grains is loss of wealth.

When the expected profit overweighs both these; then one should march (against an enemy).

The characteristics of an expected profit are: that which is receivable, that which is to be returned, that which pleases all, that which excites hatred, that which is realised in a short time, that which entails little loss of men to earn, that which entails little loss of wealth to earn, that which is vast, that which is productive, that which is harmless, that which is just, and that which comes first.

When a profit is easily acquired and secured without the necessity of returning it to others, it is termed 'receivable'; that which is of the reverse nature is 'repayable'; whoever goes to receive a repayable profit or is enjoying it gets destruction.

When he, however, thinks that "by taking a repayable profit I shall cause my enemy's treasury, army, and other defensive resources to dwindle; I shall exploit to impoverishment the mines, timber and elephant forests, irrigational works and roads of traffic of my enemy; I shall impoverish his subjects, or cause them to migrate, or conspire against him; when they are reduced to this condition, my enemy inflames their hatred (by punishing them); or I shall set my enemy against another enemy; my enemy will give up his hopes and run away to one who has some blood-relationship with him; or having improved his lands, I shall return them to him, and when he is thus brought to ascendancy, he will be a lasting friend of mine,"--then he may take even a repayable profit. Thus receivable and repayable profits are explained.

That profit which a virtuous king receives from a wicked king pleases both his own and other people; that which is of the reverse nature excites hatred; that profit which is received at the advice of ministers excites hatred, for they think: 'This king has reduced our party and impoverished us." That profit which is received without caring for the opinion of treacherous ministers excites hatred, for they think: "Having made the profit, this king destroys us." But that which is of the reverse nature pleases. Thus pleasing and provoking profits are explained.

That which is acquired by mere marching is what is acquired soon.

That which is to be realised by negotiation (mantrasaddhya) entails little loss of men.

That which requires merely the expenditure of provisions (for servants employed to earn it) entails little loss of wealth.

That which is immediately of considerable value is vast.

That which is the source of wealth is productive.

That which is attained with no troubles is harmless.

That which is acquired best is just.

That which is acquired without any hindrance from allies is profit coming first.

When profits (from two sources) are equal, he should consider the place and time, the strength and means (required to acquire it), affection and disaffection (caused by it), intrigue and absence of intrigue (involving it), its nearness and distance, its present and future effects, its constant worth or worthlessness, and its plentifulness and usefulness; and he should accept only that profit which is possessed of most of the above good characteristics.

Obstructions to profit are: passion, anger, timidity, mercy, bashfulness, living like one who is not an Arya, haughtiness, pity, desire for the other world, strict adherence to virtuous life, deception, neediness, envy, negligence of what is at hand, generosity, want of faith, fear, inability to endure cold, heat, and rain, and faith in the auspiciousness of lunar days and stars.

• Wealth will pass away from that childish man who inquires most after the stars; for wealth is the star for wealth; what will the stars do?

• Capable men will certainly secure wealth at least after a hundred trials; and wealth is bound by wealth just as elephants are bound by counter-elephants.

[Thus ends Chapter 4, "Consideration about Loss of Men, Wealth and Profit,' in Book 9, "The Work of an Invader," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and twenty-fifth chapter from the beginning.]

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CHAPTER 5. EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL DANGERS.

The formation of a treaty and other settlements otherwise than they ought to have been made is impolicy. From it arise dangers.

The various kinds of dangers are: that which is of external origin and of internal abetment; that which is of internal origin and of external abetment; that which is of external origin and of external abetment; and that which is of internal origin and of internal abetment.

Where foreigners carry on an intrigue with local men or local men with foreigners, there the consequence of the intrigue carried on by the combination of local and foreign persons will be very serious. Abettors of an intrigue have a better chance of success than its originators; for when the originators of an intrigue are put down, others will hardly succeed in undertaking any other intrigue. Foreigners can hardly win over local persons by intrigue; nor can local men seduce foreigners. Foreigners will find their vast efforts after all unavailing, and only conducive, to the prosperity of the king (against whom they want to conspire).

When local persons are abetting (with foreigners), the means to be employed to suppress them are conciliation (sama) and gifts (dana).

The act of pleasing a man with a high rank and honour is conciliation; favour and remission of taxes or employment to conduct state-works is what is termed gifts.

When foreigners are abetting, the king should employ the policy of dissension and coercion. Spies under the guise of friends may inform foreigners: "Mind, this man is desirous of deceiving you with the help of his own spies who are disguised as traitors." Spies under the garb of traitors may mix with traitors and separate them from foreigners, or foreigners from local traitors. Fiery spies may make friendship with traitors and kill them with weapons or poison; or having invited the plotting foreigners, they may murder the latter.

Where foreigners carry on an intrigue with foreigners, or local men with local men, there the consequences of the intrigue, unanimously carried on with a set purpose, will be very serious. When guilt is got rid of, there will be no guilty persons; but when a guilty person is got rid of, the guilt will contaminate others. Hence, when foreigners carry on an intrigue, the king should employ the policy of dissension and coercion. Spies under the guise of friends may inform foreign conspirators: "Mind, this your king, with the desire of enriching himself, is naturally provoked against you all." Then fiery spies may mix with the servants and soldiers of the abettor (of foreign conspirators) and kill them with weapons, poison, and other means. Other spies may then expose or betray the abettor.

When local men carry on an intrigue with local men, the king should employ necessary strategic means to put it down. He may employ the policy of conciliation with regard to those who keep the appearance of contentment, or who are naturally discontented or otherwise. Gifts may be given under the pretext of having been satisfied with a favoured man's steadfastness in maintaining the purity of his character, or under the plea of anxious care about his weal or woe. A spy under the garb of a friend may tell the local persons: 'Your king is attempting to find your heart; you should tell him the truth." Or local men may be separated from each other, by telling them: "This man carries such a tale to the king against you." And coercive measures may be employed as described in the Chapter on "Awards of Punishments."

Of these four kinds of danger, internal danger should first be got rid of; for it has been already stated that internal troubles like the fear from a lurking snake are more serious than external troubles.

• One must consider that of these four kinds of danger, that which is mentioned first is less grave than the one subsequently mentioned, whether or not it is caused by powerful persons; otherwise (i.e., when the danger is caused by insignificant persons), simple means may be used to get rid of it.

[Thus ends Chapter 5, "External and Internal Dangers" in Book 9, "The Work of an Invader," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and twenty-sixth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 6. PERSONS ASSOCIATED WITH TRAITORS AND ENEMIES

There are two kinds of innocent persons, those who have disassociated themselves from traitors and those who have kept themselves away from enemies.

In order to separate citizens and country-people from traitors, the king should employ all the strategic means, except coercion. It is very difficult to inflict punishment on an assembly of influential men; and if inflicted at all, it may not produce the desired effect, but may give rise to undesirable consequences. He may, however, take steps against the leaders of the seditious as shown in the chapter on "Awards of Punishments."

In order to separate his people from an enemy, he should employ conciliation and other strategic means to frustrate the attempt of those who are the enemy's principal agents or by whom the enemy's work is to be carried out.

Success in securing the services of capable agents depends upon the king; success of efforts depends upon ministers; and success to be achieved through capable agents is, therefore, dependent both upon the king and his ministers.

When, in spite of the combination of traitors and loyal persons, success is achieved, it is mixed success; when people are thus mixed, success is to be achieved through the agency of loyal persons; for in the absence of a support, nothing that requires a support for its existence can exist. When success is involved in the union of friends and enemies it is termed a success contaminated by an enemy; when success is contaminated by an enemy, it is to be achieved through the agency of a friend; for it is easy to attain success through a friend, but not through an enemy.

When a friend does not come to terms, intrigue should be frequently resorted to. Through the agency of spies, the friend should be won over after separating him from the enemy. Or attempts may be made to win him over who is the last among combined friends; for when he who is the last among combined friends is secured, those who occupy the middle rank will be separated from each other; or attempts may be made to win over a friend who occupies middle rank; for when a friend occupying middle rank among combined kings is secured, friends, occupying the extreme ranks cannot keep the union. (In brief) all those measures which tend to break their combination should be employed.

A virtuous king may be conciliated by praising his birth, family, learning and character, and by pointing out the relationship which his ancestors had (with the proposer of peace), or by describing the benefits and absence of enmity shown to him.

Or a king who is of good intentions, or who has lost his enthusiastic spirits, or whose strategic means are all exhausted and thwarted in a number of wars, or who has lost his men and wealth, or who has suffered from sojourning abroad, or who is desirous of gaining a friend in good faith, or who is apprehensive of danger from another, or who cares more for friendship than anything else, may be won over by conciliation.

Or a king who is greedy or who has lost his men may be won over by giving gifts through the medium of ascetics and chiefs who have been previously kept with him for the purpose.

Gifts are of five kinds: abandonment of what is to be paid; continuance of what is being given; repayment of what is received; payment of one's own wealth; and help for a voluntary raid on the property of others.

When any two kings are apprehensive of enmity and seizure of land from each other, seeds of dissension may be sown between them. The timid of the two may be threatened with destruction and may be told: "Having made peace with you, this king works against you; the friend of this other king is permitted to make an open peace."

When from one's own country or from another's country merchandise or commodities for manufacture in a manufactory are going to an enemy's country, spies may spread the information that those commodities are obtained from one whom the enemy wanted to march against. When commodities are thus gathered in abundance (the owner of the articles) may send a message to the enemy: "These commodities and merchandise are sent by me to you; please declare war against the combined kings or desert them; you will then get the rest of the tribute." Then spies may inform the other kings of the combination; "These articles are given to him by your enemy."

The conqueror may gather some merchandise peculiar to his enemy's country and unknown elsewhere. Spies, under the garb of merchants, may sell that merchandise to other important enemies and tell them that that merchandise was given (to the conqueror) by the enemy (whose country's product it is).

Or having pleased with wealth and honour those who are highly treacherous (among an enemy's people), the conqueror may cause them to live with the enemy, armed with weapons, poison and fire. One of the ministers of the enemy may be killed. His sons and wife may be induced to say that the minister was killed at night (by such and such a person). Then the enemy's minister may ask every one of the family of the murdered minister (as to the cause of the death). If they say in reply as they are told, they may be caused to be set free; if they do not do so, they may be caused to be caught hold of. Whoever has gained the confidence of the king may tell the king (the enemy) that he (the enemy) has to guard his own person from such and such a minister. Then the recipient of salaries from the two states (the conqueror's and the enemy's state) may inform the suspected minister to destroy (the king).

Or such kings as are possessed of enthusiasm and power may be told: "Seize the country of this king, our treaty of peace standing as before." Then spies should inform the particular king of the attempt of these kings and cause the destruction of the commissariat and of the followers of one of these kings. Other spies, pretending to be friends, should inform these kings of the necessity of destroying the particular king.

When an enemy's brave soldier, elephant, or horse dies, or is killed, or carried off by spies, other spies may tell the enemy that the death is due to mutual conflict among his followers. The man who is employed to commit such murders may be asked to repeat his work again on the condition of his receiving the balance due to him. He should receive the amount from the recipient of salaries from two states; when the king's party is thus divided, some may be won over (to the side of the conqueror).

This explains the case of the commander-in-chief, the prince, and the officers of the army (of the enemy).

Likewise seeds of dissension may be sown among combined states. Thus the work of sowing the seeds of dissension.

Spies under concealment may, without the help of a fiery spy, murder by means of weapons, poison or other things a fortified enemy who is of mean character or who is under troubles; any one of hidden spies may do the work when it is found easy; or a fiery spy alone may do the work by means of weapons, poison or fire; for a fiery spy can do what others require all the necessary aids to do.

Thus the four forms of strategic means.

Of these means, that which comes first in the order of enumeration is, as stated in connection with "invaders," easier than the rest. Conciliation is of single quality; gift is two-fold, since conciliation precedes it; dissension is threefold, since conciliation and gift precede it; and conciliatory coercion is fourfold, since conciliation, gift, and dissension precede it.

The same means are employed in the case of local enemies, too; the difference is this: the chief messengers known to the manufactories may be sent to any one of the local enemies in order to employ him for the purpose of making a treaty or for the purpose of destroying another person. When he agrees to the proposal, the messengers should inform (their master) of their success. Then recipients of salaries from two states should inform the people or enemies concerned in the local enemy's work: "This person (the local enemy) is your wicked king." When a person has reason to fear or hate another, spies may augment dissension between them by telling one of them: "This man is making an agreement with your enemy, and will soon deceive you; hence make peace (with the king) soon and attempt to put down this man." Or by bringing about friendship or marriage connection between persons who have not been hitherto connected, spies may separate them from others; or through the aid of a neighbouring king, a wild chief, a scion of an enemy's family, or an imprisoned prince, local enemies may be destroyed outside the kingdom; or through the agency of a caravan or wild tribes, a local enemy may be killed along with his army; or persons, pretending to be the supporters of a local enemy and who are of the same caste, may under favourable opportunities kill him; or spies under concealment may kill local enemies with fire, poison, and weapons.

• When the country is full of local enemies, they may be got rid of by making them drink poisonous (liquids); an obstinate (clever) enemy may be destroyed by spies or by means of (poisoned) flesh given to him in good faith.

[Thus ends Chapter 6, "Persons Associated with Traitors and Enemies," in Book 9, "The Work of an Invader," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and twenty-seventh chapter from the beginning,]

CHAPTER 7. DOUBTS ABOUT WEALTH AND HARM; AND SUCCESS TO BE OBTAINED BY THE EMPLOYMENT OF ALTERNATIVE STRATEGIC MEANS.

Intensity of desire and other passions provoke one's own people; impolicy provokes external enemies. Both these are the characteristics of demoniac life. Anger disturbs the feelings of one's own men. Those causes which are conducive to the prosperity of one's enemy are dangerous wealth, provocative wealth, and wealth of doubtful consequences.

Wealth which, when obtained, increases the enemy's prosperity, or which, though obtained, is repayable to the enemy, or which causes loss of men and money, is dangerous wealth; for example, wealth which is enjoyed in common by neighbouring kings and which is acquired at their expense; or wealth which is asked for by an enemy; or wealth which is seized like one's own property; or wealth which is acquired in the front and which causes future troubles or provokes an enemy in the rear; or wealth which is obtained by destroying a friend or by breaking a treaty and which is therefore detested by the Circle of States--all these are the varieties of dangerous wealth.

Wealth which causes fear from one's own people or from an enemy is provocative wealth.

When, in connection with these two kinds of wealth, there arise doubts, such as: "Is it provocative wealth or not? Harmless wealth or provocative wealth? First provocative and then harmless? Is it profitable to encourage an enemy or a friend? Would the bestowal of wealth and honour on an enemy's army excite hatred or not?"--of these doubts, doubt regarding the acquirement of wealth is preferable to (doubts regarding harm or provocation).

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Wealth productive of wealth; wealth productive of nothing; wealth productive of harm; loss or harm productive of wealth; sustenance of harm for no profit; harm productive of harm--these are the six varieties of harmful wealth.

Destruction of an enemy in the front resulting in the destruction of an enemy in the rear is what is termed "wealth productive of wealth."

Wealth acquired by helping a neutral king with the army is what is called "wealth productive of nothing."

The reduction of the internal strength of an enemy is "wealth productive of harm."

Helping the neighbouring king of an enemy with men and money is "harm productive of wealth."

Withdrawal after encouraging or setting a king of poor resources (against another) is "harm productive of nothing."

Inactivity after causing excitement to a superior king is "harm productive of harm."

Of these, it is better to pursue that which is mentioned first in the order of enumeration than that which is subsequently mentioned. Thus the procedure of setting to work.

When the surrounding circumstances are conducive to wealth, it is known as wealth from all sides.

When the acquirement of wealth from all sides is obstructed by an enemy in the rear, it takes the form of dangerous wealth involved in doubts.

In these two cases, success can be achieved by securing the help of a friend and the enemy of the rear-enemy.

When there is reason to apprehend fear from enemies on all sides, it is a dangerous trouble; when a friend comes forward to avert this fear, that trouble becomes involved in doubt. In these two cases, success can be achieved by securing the support of a nomadic enemy and the enemy of the rear-enemy.

When the prospect of acquiring profit from one or the other side is irremediably obstructed by enemies, it is called "dangerous wealth." In this case as well as in the case of profit from all sides, one should undertake to march for acquiring profitable wealth. When the prospects of getting wealth (from two sides) are equal, one should march to secure that which is important, near, unfailing, and obtainable by easy means.

When there is the apprehension of harm from one quarter as well as from another, it is wealth beset with danger from two sides. In this case as well as in the case of wealth involved in danger from all sides, success is to be desired with the help of friends. In the absence of friends, he should attempt to ward off harm from one side with the help of an ally who can be easily won over; he should ward off harm from two sides with help of an ally of superior power; and he should ward off harm from all sides with all the resources he can command. When it is impossible to do this, he should run away, leaving all that belongs to him; for if he lives, his return to power is certain as in the case of Suyatra and Udayana.

When there is the prospect of wealth from one side and the apprehension of an attack from another, it is termed a situation beset with wealth and harm. In this case, he should march to acquire that wealth which will enable him to ward off the attack; otherwise he should attempt to avert the attack. This explains the situation which is beset with wealth and harm on all sides.

When there is the apprehension of harm from one side and when the prospect of acquiring wealth from another side is involved in doubt, it is termed doubt of harm and wealth from two sides. In this, he should ward off the harm first; when this is done, he should attempt to acquire the doubtful wealth. This explains the doubtful situation of harm and wealth from all sides.

When there is the prospect of wealth from one side and the apprehension of doubtful harm from another, it is a doubtful situation of harm and wealth from two sides. This explains the situation of doubtful harm and wealth from all sides. In this, he should attempt to ward off the doubts of harm against each of the elements of his sovereignty in order; for it is better to leave a friend under circumstances of doubtful harm, than the army; also the army may be left under circumstances of doubtful harm, but not the treasury. When all the elements of his sovereignty cannot be relieved from harm, he should attempt to relieve some of them at least. Among the elements, he should attempt to relieve first those animate elements which are most loyal, and free from firebrands and greedy men; of inanimate elements (he should relieve) that which is most precious and useful. Such elements as are capable of easy relief may be relieved by such means as an agreement of peace, observance of neutrality, and making peace with one and waging war with another. Those which require greater efforts may be relieved by other means.

Of deterioration, stagnation and progress, he should attempt to secure that which is mentioned later in the order of enumeration; or in the reverse order, if he finds that deterioration and other stages are conducive to future prosperity. Thus the determination of situations. This explains the situation of doubtful harm and wealth in the middle or at the close of a march.

Since doubts of wealth and harm are constantly associated with all expeditions, it is better to secure wealth by which it is easy to destroy an enemy in the rear and his allies, to recoup the loss of men and money, to make provisions during the time of sojourning abroad, to make good what is repayable, and to defend the state. Also harm or doubtful prospects of wealth in one's own state are always intolerable.

This explains the situation of doubtful harm in the middle of an expedition. But at the close of an expedition, it is better to acquire wealth either by reducing or destroying a reducible or assailable enemy than to get into a situation of doubtful harm, lest enemies might cause troubles. But, for one who is not the leader of combination of states, it is better to risk the situation of doubtful wealth or harm in the middle or at the close of an expedition, since one is not obliged to continue the expedition.

Wealth, virtue, and enjoyment form the aggregate of the three kinds of wealth. Of these, it is better to secure that which is mentioned first than that which is subsequently mentioned in the order of enumeration.

Harm, sin and grief form the aggregate, of the three kinds of harm. Of these, it is better to provide against that which is mentioned first, than that which is subsequently mentioned.

Wealth or harm, virtue or sin, and enjoyment or grief, are the aggregate of the three kinds of doubts. Of these, it is better to try that which is mentioned first than that which is mentioned later in the order of enumeration, and which it is certain to shake off. Thus the determination of opportunities. Thus ends the discourse on danger.

Regarding success in these dangerous situations and times: in the case of troubles from sons, brothers or relatives, it is better to secure relief by means of conciliation and gifts; in the case of troubles from citizens, country people, or chiefs of the army, it is by means of gifts and sowing the seeds of dissension; in the case of troubles from a neighbouring king or wild tribes, it is by means of sowing the seeds of dissension and coercion. This is following the order of the means. In other kinds of situations, the same means may be employed in the reverse order.

Success against friends and enemies is always achieved by complicated means; for strategic means help each other. In the case of suspected ministers of an enemy, the employment of conciliation does not need the use of the other means; in the case of treacherous ministers it is by means of gifts; in the case of combination of states, it is by means of sowing the seeds of dissension; and in the case of the powerful, it is by means of coercion.

When grave and light dangers are together apprehended, a particular means, or alternative means or all the means may be employed.

By this alone, but not by any other means, is what is meant by a particular means.

By this or that, is what is meant by alternative means.

By this as well as by that, is what is meant by all the means.

Of these, the single means as well as the combination of any three means are four; the combinations of any two means are six; and the combination of all the four is one. Thus there are fifteen kinds of strategic means. Of the same number are the means in the reverse order.

When a king attains success by only one means among these various means, he is called one of single success; when by two, one of double success; when by three, one of treble success; and when by four, one of four-fold success.

As virtue is the basis of wealth and as enjoyment is the end of wealth, success in achieving that kind of wealth which promotes virtue, wealth and enjoyment is termed success in all (sarvarthasiddhi). Thus varieties of success.

Such providential visitations as fire, floods, disease, pestilence (pramara), fever (vidrava), famine, and demoniac troubles are dangerous.

Success in averting these is to be sought by worshipping gods and Brahmans.

• Whether demoniacal troubles are absent, or are too many, or normal, the rites prescribed in the Atharvaveda as well as the rites undertaken by accomplished ascetics are to be performed for success.

[Thus ends Chapter 7, "Doubts about Wealth and Harm; and Success to be Obtained by the Employment of Alternative Strategic Means" in Book 9, "The Work of an Invader," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and twenty-eighth chapter from the beginning. With this, ends the ninth Book "The Work of an Invader" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya.

KAUTILYA'S ARTHASHASTRA: BOOK 10

"Relating to War"

CHAPTER 1. ENCAMPMENT.

On a site declared to be the best according to the science of buildings, the leader (nayaka), the carpenter (vardhaki), and the astrologer (mauhurtika) should measure a circular, rectangular, or square spot for the camp which should, in accordance with the available space, consist of four gates, six roads, and nine divisions.

Provided with ditches, parapets, walls, doors, and watch towers for defence against fear, the quarters of the king, 1,000 bows long and half as broad, should be situated in one of the nine divisions to the north from the centre, while to the west of it his harem, and at its extremity the army of the harem are to be situated. In his front, the place for worshipping gods; to his right the departments of finance and accounts; and to his left the quarters of elephants and horses mounted by the king himself. Outside this and at a distance of 100 bows from each other, there should be fixed four cart-poles (sakatamedhi) pillars and walls. In the first (of these four divisions), the prime minister and the priest (should have their quarters); to its right the store-house and the kitchen: to its left the store of raw products and weapons; in the second division the quarters of the hereditary army and of horses and chariots: outside this, hunters and keepers of dogs with their trumpets and with fire; also spies and sentinels; also, to prevent the attack of enemies, wells, mounds and thorns should be arranged. The eighteen divisions of sentinels employed for the purpose of securing the safety of the king should be changing their watches in turn. In order to ascertain the movements of spies, a time-table of business should also be prepared during the day. Disputes, drinking, social gatherings, and gambling should also be prohibited. The system of passports should also be observed. The officer in charge of the boundary (of the camp) should supervise the conduct of the commander-in-chief and the observance of the instructions given to the army.

• The instructor (prasasta) with his retinue and with carpenters and free labourers should carefully march in front on the road, and should dig wells of water.

[Thus ends Chapter 1, "Encampment," in Book 10, "Relating to War," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and twenty-ninth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 2. MARCH OF THE CAMP; AND PROTECTION OF THE ARMY IN TIMES OF DISTRESS AND ATTACK.

Having prepared a list of the villages and forests situated on the road with reference to their capacity to supply grass, firewood and water, march of the army should be regulated according to the programme of short and long halts. Food-stuffs and provisions should be carried in double the quantity that may be required in any emergency. In the absence of separate means to carry food-stuffs, the army itself should be entrusted with the business of carrying them; or they may be stored in a central place.

In front the leader (nayaka); in the centre the harem and the master (the king); on the sides horses and bodyguards (bahutsara); at the extremity of the (marching) circular-array, elephants and the surplus army; on all sides the army habituated to forest-life; and other troops following the camp, the commissariat, the army of an ally, and his followers should select their own road: for armies who have secured suitable positions will prove superior in fight to those who are in bad positions.

The army of the lowest quality can march a yojana (5 5/44 miles a day); that of the middle quality a yojana and a half and the best army two yojanas. Hence, it is easy to ascertain the rate of march. The commander should march behind and put up his camp in the front.

In case of any obstruction, the army should march in crocodile array in the front, in cart-like array behind, and on the sides in diamond-like array (i.e., in four or five rows, each having its front, rear and sides) and in a compact array on all sides. When the army is marching on a path passable by a single man, it should march in pin-like array. When peace is made with one and war is to be waged with another, steps should be taken to protect the friends who are bringing help against enemies, such as an enemy in the rear, his ally, a madhyama king, or a neutral king. Roads with obstructions should be examined and cleared. Finance, the army, the the strength of the armies of friends, enemies, and wild tribes, the prospect of rains, and the seasons should be thoroughly examined.

When the protective power of fortifications and stores (of the enemies) is on its decay, when it is thought that distress of the hired army or of a friend's army (of the enemy) is impending; when intriguers are not for a quick march; or when the enemy is likely to come to terms (with the invader), slow march should be made; otherwise quick march should be made.

Waters may be crossed by means of elephants, planks spread over pillars erected, bridges, boats, timber and mass of bamboos, as well as by means of dry sour gourds, big baskets covered with skins, rafts, gandika (i), and venika (i).

When the crossing of a river is obstructed by the enemy, the invader may cross it elsewhere together with his elephants and horses, and entangle the enemy in an ambuscade (sattra).

He should protect his army when it has to pass a long desert without water; when it is without grass, firewood and water; when it has to traverse a difficult road; when it is harassed by an enemy's attacks; when it is suffering from hunger and thirst after a journey; when it is ascending or descending a mountainous country full of mire, water-pools, rivers and cataracts; when it finds itself crowded in a narrow and difficult path; when it is halting, starting or eating; when it is

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tired from a long march; when it is sleepy; when it is suffering from a disease, pestilence or famine; when a great portion of its infantry, cavalry and elephants is diseased; when it is not sufficiently strong; or when it is under troubles. He should destroy the enemy's army under such circumstances.

When the enemy's army is marching through a path traversable by a single man, the commander (of the invader's army) should ascertain its strength by estimating the quantity of food-stuffs, grass, bedding, and other requisites, fire pots (agninidhana), flags and weapons. He should also conceal those of his own army.

• Keeping a mountainous or river fortress with all its resources at his back in his own country he should fight or put up his camp.

[Thus ends Chapter 2, "March of the Camp; and Protection of the Army in Times of Distress and Attack" in Book 10, "Relating to War" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and thirtieth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 3. FORMS OF TREACHEROUS FIGHTS; ENCOURAGEMENT TO ONE'S OWN ARMY AND FIGHT BETWEEN ONE'S OWN AND ENEMY'S ARMIES.

He who is possessed of a strong army, who has succeeded in his intrigues, and who has applied remedies against dangers may undertake an open fight, if he has secured a position favourable to himself; otherwise a treacherous fight.

He should strike the enemy when the latter's army is under troubles or is furiously attacked; or he who has secured a favourable position may strike the enemy entangled in an unfavourable position. Or he who possesses control over the elements of his own state may, through the aid of the enemy's traitors, enemies and inimical wild tribes, make a false impression of his own defeat on the mind of the enemy who is entrenched in a favourable position, and having thus dragged the enemy into an unfavourable position, he may strike the latter. When the enemy's army is in a compact body, he should break it by means of his elephants; when the enemy has come down from its favourable position, following the false impression of the invader's defeat, the invader may turn back and strike the enemy's army, broken or unbroken. Having struck the front of the enemy's army, he may strike it again by means of his elephants and horses when it has shown its back and is running away. When frontal attack is unfavourable, he should strike it from behind; when attack on the rear is unfavourable, he should strike it in front; when attack on one side is unfavourable, he should strike it on the other.

Or having caused the enemy to fight with his own army of traitors, enemies and wild tribes, the invader should with his fresh army strike the enemy when tired. Or having through the aid of the army of traitors given to the enemy the impression of defeat, the invader with full confidence in his own strength may allure and strike the over-confident enemy. Or the invader, if he is vigilant, may strike the careless enemy when the latter is deluded with the thought that the invader's merchants, camp and carriers have been destroyed. Or having made his strong force look like a weak force, he may strike the enemy's brave men when falling against him. Or having captured the enemy's cattle or having destroyed the enemy's dogs (svapadavadha?), he may induce the enemy's brave men to come out and may slay them. Or having made the enemy's men sleepless by harassing them at night, he may strike them during the day, when they are weary from want of sleep and are parched by heat, himself being under the shade. Or with his army of elephants enshrouded with cotton and leather dress, he may offer a night-battle to his enemy. Or he may strike the enemy's men during the afternoon when they are tired by making preparations during the forenoon; or he may strike the whole of the enemy's army when it is facing the sun.

A desert, a dangerous spot, marshy places, mountains, valleys, uneven boats, cows, cart-like array of the army, mist, and night are sattras (temptations alluring the enemy against the invader).

The beginning of an attack is the time for treacherous fights.

As to an open or fair fight, a virtuous king should call his army together, and, specifying the place and time of battle, address them thus: "I am a paid servant like yourselves; this country is to be enjoyed (by me) together with you; you have to strike the enemy specified by me."

His minister and priest should encourage the army by saying thus:--

"It is declared in the Vedas that the goal which is reached by sacrificers after performing the final ablutions in sacrifices in which the priests have been duly paid for is the very goal which brave men are destined to attain." About this there are the two verses--

• Beyond those places which Brahmans, desirous of getting into heaven, attain together with their sacrificial instruments by performing a number of sacrifices, or by practising penance are the places which brave men, losing life in good battles, are destined to attain immediately.

• Let not a new vessel filled with water, consecrated and covered over with darbha grass be the acquisition of that man who does not fight in return for the subsistence received by him from his master, and who is therefore destined to go to hell.

Astrologers and other followers of the king should infuse spirit into his army by pointing out the impregnable nature of the array of his army, his power to associate with gods, and his omnisciency; and they should at the same time frighten the enemy. The day before the battle, the king should fast and lie down on his chariot with weapons. He should also make oblations into the fire pronouncing the mantras of the Atharvaveda, and cause prayers to be offered for the good of the victors as well as of those who attain to heaven by dying in the battle-field. He should also submit his person to Brahmans; he should make the central portion of his army consist of such men as are noted for their bravery, skill, high birth, and loyalty and as are not displeased with the rewards and honours bestowed on them. The place that is to be occupied by the king is that portion of the army which is composed of his father, sons, brothers, and other men, skilled in using weapons, and having no flags and head-dress. He should mount an elephant or a chariot, if the army consists mostly of horses; or he may mount that kind of animal, of which the army is mostly composed or which is the most skillfully trained. One who is disguised like the king should attend to the work of arraying the army.

Soothsayers and court bards should describe heaven as the goal for the brave and hell for the timid; and also extol the caste, corporation, family, deeds, and character of his men. The followers of the priest should proclaim the auspicious aspects of the witchcraft performed. Spies, carpenters and astrologers should also declare the success of their own operations and the failure of those of the enemy.

After having pleased the army with rewards and honours, the commander-in-chief should address it and say:--

A hundred thousand (panas) for slaying the king (the enemy); fifty thousand for slaying the commander-in-chief, and the heir-apparent; ten thousand for slaying the chief of the brave; five thousand for destroying an elephant, or a chariot; a thousand for killing a horse, a hundred (panas) for slaying the chief of the infantry; twenty for bringing a head; and twice the pay in addition to whatever is seized. This information should be made known to the leaders of every group of ten (men).

Physicians with surgical instruments (sastra), machines, remedial oils, and cloth in their hands; and women with prepared food and beverage should stand behind, uttering encouraging words to fighting men.

The army should be arrayed on a favourable position, facing other than the south quarter, with its back turned to the sun, and capable to rush as it stands. If the array is made on an unfavourable spot, horses should be run. If the army arrayed on an unfavourable position is confined or is made to run away from it (by the enemy), it will be subjugated either as standing or running away; otherwise it will conquer the enemy when standing or running away. The even, uneven, and complex nature of the ground in the front or on the sides or in the rear should be examined. On an even site, staff-like or circular array should be made; and on an uneven ground, arrays of compact movement or of detached bodies should be made.

Having broken the whole army (of the enemy), (the invader) should seek for peace; if the armies are of equal strength, he should make peace when requested for it; and if the enemy's army is inferior, he should attempt to destroy it, but not that which has secured a favourable position and is reckless of life.

• When a broken army, reckless of life, resumes its attack, its fury becomes irresistible; hence he should not harass a broken army (of the enemy).

[Thus ends Chapter 3, "Forms of Treacherous Fights; Encouragement to One's Own Army, and Fight Between One's Own and Enemy's Armies," in Book 10, "Relating to War," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and thirty-first chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 4. BATTLEFIELDS; THE WORK OF INFANTRY, CAVALRY, CHARIOTS, AND ELEPHANTS.

Favourable positions for infantry, cavalry, chariots, and elephants are desirable both for war and camp.

For men who are trained to fight in desert tracts, forests, valleys, or plains, and for those who are trained to fight from ditches or heights, during the day or night, and for elephants which are bred in countries with rivers, mountains, marshy lands, or lakes, as well as for horses, such battlefields as they would find suitable (are to be secured).

That which is even, splendidly firm, free from mounds and pits made by wheels and foot-prints of beasts, not offering obstructions to the axle, free from trees, plants, creepers and trunks of trees, not wet, and free from pits, ant-hills, sand, and thorns is the ground for chariots.

For elephants, horses and men, even or uneven grounds are good, either for war or for camp.

That which contains small stones, trees and pits that can be jumped over and which is almost free from thorns is the ground for horses.

That which contains big stones, dry or green trees, and ant-hills is the ground for the infantry.

That which is uneven with assailable hills and valleys, which has trees that can be pulled down and plants that can be torn, and which is full of muddy soil free from thorns is the ground for elephants.

That which is free from thorns, not very uneven, but very expansive, is an excellent ground for the infantry.

That which is doubly expansive, free from mud, water and roots of trees, and which is devoid of piercing gravel is an excellent ground for horses.

That which possesses dust, muddy soil, water, grass and weeds, and which is free from thorns (known as dog's teeth) and obstructions from the branches of big trees is an excellent ground for elephants.

That which contains lakes, which is free from mounds and wet lands, and which affords space for turning is an excellent ground for chariots.

Positions suitable for all the constituents of the army have been treated of. This explains the nature of the ground which is fit for the camp or battle of all kinds of the army.

Concentration on occupied positions, in camps and forests; holding the ropes (of beasts and other things) while crossing the rivers or when the wind is blowing hard; destruction or protection of the commissariat and of troops arriving afresh; supervision of the discipline of the army; lengthening the line of the army; protecting the sides of the army; first attack; dispersion (of the enemy's army); trampling it down; defence; seizing; letting it out; causing the army to take a different direction; carrying the treasury and the princes; falling against the rear of the enemy; chasing the timid; pursuit; and concentration--these constitute the work of horses.

Marching in the front; preparing the roads, camping grounds and path for bringing water; protecting the sides; firm standing, fording and entering into water while crossing pools of water and ascending from them; forced entrance into impregnable places; setting or quenching the fire; the subjugation of one of the four constituents of the army; gathering the dispersed army; breaking a compact army; protection against dangers; trampling down (the enemy's army); frightening and driving it; magnificence; seizing; abandoning; destruction of walls, gates and towers; and carrying the treasury--these constitute the work of elephants.

Protection of the army; repelling the attack made by all the four constituents of the enemy's army; seizing and abandoning (positions) during the time of battle; gathering a dispersed army; breaking the compact array of the enemy's army; frightening it; magnificence; and fearful noise--these constitute the work of chariots.

Always carrying the weapons to all places; and fighting--these constitute the work of the infantry.

The examination of camps, roads, bridges, wells and rivers; carrying the machines, weapons, armours, instruments and provisions; carrying away the men that are knocked down, along with their weapons and armours---these constitute the work of free labourers.

• The king who has a small number of horses may combine bulls with horses; likewise when he is deficient in elephants, he may fill up the centre of his army with mules, camels and carts.

[Thus ends Chapter 4, "Battlefields; the Work of Infantry, Cavalry, Chariots and Elephants," in Book 10, "Relating to War," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and thirty-second chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 5. THE DISTINCTIVE ARRAY OF TROOPS IN RFSPECT OF WINGS, FLANKS, AND FRONT; DISTINCTION BETWEEN STRONG AND WEAK TROOPS; AND BATTLE WITH INFANTRY, CAVALRY, CHARIOTS AND ELEPHANTS.

Having fortified a camp at the distance of five hundred bows he should begin to fight. Having detached the flower of the army and kept it on a favourable position not visible (to the enemy), the commander-in-chief and the leader should array the rest of the army. The infantry should be arrayed such that the space between any two men is a sama (14 angulas); cavalry with three samas; chariots with four samas; and elephants with twice or thrice as much space (as between any two chariots). With such an array free to move and having no confusion, one should fight. A bow means five aratnis (5 x 54 = 120 angulas). Archers should be stationed at the distance of five bows (from one line to another); the cavalry at the distance of three bows; and chariots or elephants at the distance of five bows.

The intervening space (anikasandhi) between wings, flanks and front of the army should be five bows. There must be three men to oppose a horse (pratiyoddha); fifteen men or five horses to oppose a chariot or an elephant; and as many (fifteen) servants (padagopa) for a horse, a chariot and an elephant should be maintained.

Three groups (anika) of three chariots each should be stationed in front; the same number on the two flanks and the two wings. Thus, in an array of chariots, the number of chariots amounts to forty-five, two hundred and twenty-five horses, six hundred and seventy-five men, and as many

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servants to attend upon the horses, chariots and elephants--this is called an even array of troops. The number of chariots in this array (of three groups of three chariots each) may be increased by two and two till the increased number amounts to twenty-one. Thus, this array of odd numbers of chariots gives rise to ten odd varieties. Thus the surplus of the army may therefore be distributed in the above manner. Two-thirds of the (surplus) chariots may be added to the flanks and the wings, the rest being put in front. Thus the added surplus of chariots should be one-third less (than the number added to the flanks and wings). This explains the distribution of surplus elephants and horses. As many horses, chariots, and elephants may be added as occasion no confusion in fighting.

Excess of the army is called surplus (avapa); deficiency in infantry is called absence of surplus (pratyavapa); excess of any one of the four constituents of the army is akin to surplus (anvavapa); excess of traitors is far from surplus (atyavapa); in accordance with one's own resources, one should increase one's army from four to eight times the excess of the enemy's army or the deficiency in the enemy's infantry.

The array of elephants is explained by the array of chariots. An array of elephants, chariots, and horses mixed together may also be made: at the extremities of the circle (array), elephants; and on the flanks, horses and principal chariots. The array in which the front is occupied by elephants, the flanks by chariots, and the wings by horses is an array which can break the centre of the enemy's army; the reverse of this can harass the extremities of the enemy's army. An array of elephants may also be made: the front by such elephants as are trained for war; the flanks by such as are trained for riding; and the wings by rogue elephants. In an array of horses, the front by horses with mail armour; and the flanks and wings by horses without armour. In an array of infantry, men dressed in mail armour in front, archers in the rear, and men without armour on the wings; or horses on the wings, elephants on the flanks, and chariots in front; other changes may also be made so as to oppose the enemy's army successfully.

The best army is that which consists of strong infantry and of such elephants and horses as are noted for their breed, birth, strength, youth, vitality, capacity to run even in old age, fury, skill, firmness, magnanimity, obedience, and good habits.

One-third of the best of infantry, cavalry and elephants should be kept in front; two-thirds on both the flanks and wings; the array of the army according to the strength of its constituents is in the direct order; that which is arrayed mixing one-third of strong and weak troops is in the reverse order. Thus, one should know all the varieties of arraying the array.

Having stationed the weak troops at the extremities, one would be liable to the force of the enemy's onslaught. Having stationed the flower of the army in front, one should make the wings equally strong. One-third of the best in the rear, and weak troops in the centre--this array is able to resist the enemy; having made an array, he should strike the enemy with one or two of the divisions on the wings, flanks, and front, and capture the enemy by means of the rest of the troops.

When the enemy's force is weak, with few horses and elephants, and is contaminated with the intrigue of treacherous ministers, the conqueror should strike it with most of his best troops. He should increase the numerical strength of that constituent of the army which is physically weak. He should array his troops on that side on which the enemy is weak or from which danger is apprehended.

Running against; running round; running beyond; running back; disturbing the enemy's halt; gathering the troops; curving, circling, miscellaneous operations; removal of the rear; pursuit of the line from the front, flanks and rear; protection of the broken army; and falling upon the broken army--these are the forms of waging war with horses.

The same varieties with the exception of (what is called) miscellaneous operations; the destruction of the four constituents of the army, either single or combined; the dispersion of the flanks, wings and front trampling down; and attacking the army when it is asleep--these are the varieties of waging war with elephants.

The same varieties with the exception of disturbing the enemy's halt; running against; running back; and fighting from where it stands on its own ground--these are the varieties of waging war with chariots.

Striking in all places and at all times, and striking by surprise are varieties of waging war with infantry.

• In this way, he should make odd or even arrays, keeping the strength of the four constituents of the army equal.

• Having gone to a distance of 200 bows, the king should take his position together with the reserve of his army; and without a reserve, he should never attempt to fight, for it is by the reserved force that dispersed troops are collected together.

[Thus ends Chapter 5, "The Distinctive Array of Troops in Respect of Wings, Flanks and Front; Distinction between Strong and Weak Troops; and Battle with Infantry, Cavalry, Chariots and Elephants," in Book 10, "Relating to War," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and thirty-third chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 6. THE ARRAY OF THE ARMY LIKE A STAFF, A SNAKE, A CIRCLE, OR IN DETACHED ORDER; THE ARRAY OF THE ARMY AGAINST THAT OF AN ENEMY.

Wings and front, capable to turn (against an enemy is what is called) a snake-like array (bhoga); the two wings, the two flanks, the front and the reserve (form an array) according to the school of Brihaspati. The principal forms of the array of the army, such as that like a staff, like a snake, like a circle, and in detached order, are varieties of the above two forms of the array consisting of wings, flanks and front.

Stationing the army so as to stand abreast, is called a staff-like array (danda).

Stationing the army in a line so that one may follow the other, is called a snake-like array (bhoga).

Stationing the army so as to face all the directions, is called a circle-like array (mandala).

Detached arrangement of the army into small bodies so as to enable each to act for itself, is termed an array in detached order (asamhata).

That which is of equal strength on its wings, flanks and front, is a staff-like array.

The same array is called pradara (breaking the enemy's array) when its flanks are made to project in front.

The same is called dridhaka (firm) when its wings and flanks are stretched back.

The same is called asahya (irresistible) when its wings are lengthened.

When, having formed the wings, the front is made to bulge out, it is called an eagle-like array.

The same four varieties are called "a bow," "the centre of a bow," "a hold," and "a strong hold," when they are arranged in a reverse form.

That, of which the wings are arrayed like a bow, is called sanjaya (victory).

The same with projected front is called vijaya (conqueror); that which has its flanks and wings formed like a staff is called sthulakarna (big ear); the same with its front made twice as strong as the conqueror, is called visalavijaya (vast victory); that which has its wings stretched forward is called chamumukha (face of the army); and the same is called ghashasya (face of the fish) when it is arrayed in the reverse form.

The staff-like array in which one (constituent of the army) is made to stand behind the other is called a pin-like array.

When this array consists of two such lines, it is called an aggregate (valaya); and when of four lines, it is called an invincible array--these are the varieties of the staff-like array.

The snake-like array in which the wings, flanks and front are of unequal depth is called sarpasari (serpentine movement), or gomutrika (the course of a cow's urine).

When it consists of two lines in front and has its wings arranged as in the staff-like array, it is called a cart-like array; the reverse of this is called a crocodile-like array; the cart-like array which consists of elephants, horses and chariots is called varipatantaka (?)--these are the varieties of the snake-like array.

The circle-like array in which the distinction of wings, flanks and front is lost is called sarvatomukha (facing all directions), or sarvatobhadra (all auspicious), ashtanika (one of eight divisions), or vijaya (victory)--these are the varieties of the circle-like array.

That, of which the wings, flanks and front are stationed apart is called an array in detached order; when five divisions of the army are arranged in detached order, it is called vajra (diamond), or godha (alligator); when four divisions, it is called udyanaka (park), or kakapadi (crow's foot); when three divisions, it is called ardhachandrika (half-moon), or karkatakasringi (?)--these are the varieties of the array in detached-order.

The array in which chariots form the front, elephants the wings, and horses the rear, is called arishta (auspicious).

The array in which infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants stand one behind the other is called achala (immovable).

The array in which elephants, horses, chariots and infantry stand in order one behind the other is called apratihata (invincible).

Of these, the conqueror should assail the pradara by means of the dridhaka; dridhaka by means of the asahya; syena (eagle-like array) by means of chapa (an array like a bow); a hold by means of a strong-hold; sanjaya by means of vijaya; sthulakarna by means of visalavijaya; varipatantaka by means of sarvatobhadra. He may assail all kinds of arrays by means of the durjaya.

Of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants, he should strike the first-mentioned with that which is subsequently mentioned; and a small constituent of the army with a big one.

For every ten members of each of the constituents of the army, there must be one commander, called padika; ten padikas under a senapati; ten senapatis under a nayaka, (leader).

The constituents of the array of the army should be called after the names of trumpet sounds, flags and ensigns. Achievement of success in arranging the constituents of the army, in gathering the forces, in camping, in marching, in turning back, in making onslaughts, and in the array of equal strength depends upon the place and time of action.

• By the display of the army, by secret contrivances, by fiery spies employed to strike the enemy engaged otherwise, by witch-craft, by proclaiming the conqueror's association with gods, by carts, by the ornaments of elephants;

• By inciting traitors, by herds of cattle, by setting fire to the camp, by destroying the wings and the rear of the enemy's army, by sowing the seeds of dissension through the agency of men under the guise of servants;

• Or by telling the enemy that his fort was burnt, stormed, or that some one of his family, or an enemy or a wild chief rose in rebellion--by these and other means the conqueror should cause excitement to the enemy.

• The arrow shot by an archer may or may not kill a single man; but skilful intrigue devised by wise men can kill even those who are in the womb.

[Thus ends Chapter 6, "The Array of the Army like a Staff, a Snake, a Circle, or in Detached Order; The Array of the Army against that of an Enemy,"in Book 10, "Relating to War," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and thirty-fourth chapter from the beginning. With this ends the tenth Book "Relating to War" of the Arthasastra of Kautilya.]

KAUTILYA'S ARTHASHASTRA: BOOK 11

"The Conduct of Corporations"

CHAPTER 1. CAUSES OF DISSENSION; AND SECRET PUNISHMENT.

The acquisition of the help of corporations is better than the acquisition of an army, a friend, or profits. By means of conciliation and gifts, the conqueror should secure and enjoy the services of such corporations as are invincible to the enemy and are favourably disposed towards himself. But those who are opposed to him, he should put down by sowing the seeds of dissension among them and by secretly punishing them.

The corporations of warriors (kshattriyasreni) of Kambhoja, and Surashtra, and other countries live by agriculture, trade and wielding weapons.

The corporations of Lichchhivika,Vrijika, Mallaka, Mudraka, Kukura, Kuru, Panchala and others live by the title of a Raja.

Spies, gaining access to all these corporations and finding out jealousy, hatred and other causes of quarrel among them, should sow the seeds of a well-planned dissension among them, and tell one of them: "This man decries you." Spies, under the guise of teachers (acharya) should cause childish embroils among those of mutual enmity on occasions of disputations about certain points of science, arts, gambling or sports. Fiery spies may occasion quarrel among the leaders of corporations by praising inferior leaders in taverns and theatres; or pretending to be friends, they may excite ambition in the minds of princes by praising their high birth, though they (the princes) are low-born; they may prevent the superiors from interdining and intermarriage with others; they may persuade the superiors to interdine or to intermarry with inferiors; or they may give publicity to the consideration of priority shown to inferior persons in social intercourse in the face of the established custom of recognising the status of other persons by birth, bravery and social position; or fiery spies may bring about quarrel among them at night by destroying the things, beasts, or persons concerned in some legal disputes. In all these disputes, the conqueror should help the inferior party with men and money and set them against the superior party. When they are divided, he should remove them (from their country); or he may gather them together and cause them to settle in a cultivable part of their own country, under the designation of "five households" and "ten households"; for when living together, they can be trained in the art of wielding weapons. Specified fines should also be prescribed against any treacherous combinations among them. He may install as the heir-apparent a prince born of a high family, but dethroned or imprisoned. Spies, under the guise of astrologers and others, should bring to the notice of the corporations the royal characteristics of the prince, and should induce the virtuous leaders of the corporations to acknowledge their duty to the prince who is the son of such and such a king, and who is the hearer of their complaints. To those who are thus prevailed upon, the conqueror should send men and money for the purpose of winning over other partisans. On occasions of any affray spies under the guise of vintners, should, under the plea of the birth of a son, of marriage or of the death of a man, distribute as toast (naishechanika) hundreds of vessels of liquor adulterated with the juice of madana plant. Near the gates of altars (chaitya), temples, and other places under the watch of sentinels, spies should pretend to declare their agreement (with the enemy of the corporations), their mission, their rewards, and bags of money with the golden seals of the enemy; when the corporations appear before the spies, they may tell the corporations that they (the spies) have sold themselves to the enemy, and challenge the corporations for war. Or having seized the draught animals and golden articles belonging to

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the corporations, they may give the most important of those animals and articles to the chief of the corporations, and tell the corporations, when asked for, that it was given to the chief (for the purpose of causing quarrel among them).

This explains the method of sowing the seeds of dissension in camps and among wild tribes.

Or a spy may tell a self-confident son of the chief of corporations: "You are the son of such and such a king and are kept here under the apprehension of danger from enemies." When he is deluded with this belief, the conqueror may help him with men and money and set him against the corporations. When the object in view is realised, the conqueror may also banish him.

Keepers of harlots or dancers, players, and actors may, after gaining access, excite love in the minds of the chiefs of corporations by exhibiting women endowed with bewitching youth and beauty. By causing the woman to go to another person or by pretending that another person has violently carried her off, they may bring about quarrel among those who love that woman; in the ensuing affray, fiery spies may do their work and declare: "Thus has he been killed in consequence of his love."

A woman who has disappointed her lover and has been forgiven, may approach a chief and say: "This chief is troubling me when my mind is set upon you; when he is alive, I cannot stay here," and thus induce the former to slay the latter.

A woman who has been violently carried off at night may cause the death of her violator in the vicinity of a park or in a pleasure house, by means of fiery spies or with poison administered by herself. Then she may declare: "This beloved person of mine has been killed by such and such a person."

A spy, under the garb of an ascetic, may apply to a lover such medical ointments as are declared to be capable of captivating the beloved woman and as are adulterated with poison; and then he may disappear. Other spies may ascribe the incident to an enemy's action.

Widows or women, employed as spies with secret instructions, may dispute among themselves about the claim for a deposit kept with the king, and attract the chiefs of the corporations (by their beauty when they present themselves before the king).

Harlots, or a dancing woman, or a songstress may make an appointment to meet a lover in some secret house; and when the lover comes to the house with the desire of meeting her there, fiery spies may kill him or carry him off bound (in chains).

A spy may tell the chief of a corporation who is fond of women: "In this village, the family of a poor man is bereaved (of the householder); his wife deserves to be the wife of a king; seize her." Half a month after she has been seized, an ascetic spy may accuse the chief in the midst of the corporation by saying: "This man has illegally kept my chief wife, or sister-in-law, or sister, or daughter." If the corporation punishes the chief, the conqueror may take the side of the corporation and set it against wicked persons. Fiery spies should always cause an ascetic spy to go abroad at night. Spies, selected suitably, should accuse (the chiefs) by saying: "This man is the slayer of a Brahman and also the adulterer of a Brahman woman."

A spy, under the guise of an astrologer, may describe to a chief the destiny of a maiden who is at the point of being married to another, and say: "This man's daughter deserves to be the wife of a king and will bring forth a son, destined to be a king; purchase her with all your wealth, or seize her by force." When it is not possible to secure her, spies should enrage the parties; but when she is secured, quarrel will necessarily ensue.

A mendicant woman may tell a chief who is fond of his wife: "This (another) chief, proud of his youth, has sent me to entice your wife; being afraid of him, I have taken with me his letter and jewellery (for your wife); your wife: is free from sin; secret steps should be taken against him; and I am very anxious (about your success)."

Thus in these and other kinds of brawls which have originated of themselves or which have been brought about by spies, the conqueror should help the inferior party with men and money and set them against the wicked or cause them to migrate (to other parts of the country).

Thus he should live as the only monarch of all the corporations; the corporations also, under the protection of such a single monarch, should guard themselves against all kinds of treachery.

• The chief of corporations should endear himself to all the people by leading a virtuous life, by controlling his passions, and by pursuing that course of action which is liked by all those who are his followers.

[Thus ends Chapter 1, "Causes of Dissension, and Secret Punishment," in Book 11, "The Conduct of Corporations," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and thirty-fifth chapter from the beginning. With this ends the eleventh Book, "The Conduct of Corporations," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya.]

KAUTILYA'S ARTHASHASTRA: BOOK 12

"Concerning a Powerful Enemy"

CHAPTER 1. THE DUTIES OF A MESSENGER.

When a king of poor resources is attacked by a powerful enemy, he should surrender himself together with his sons to the enemy and live like a reed (in the midst of a current of water).

Bharadvaja says that he who surrenders himself to the strong, bows down before Indra (the god of rain).

But Visalaksha says that a weak king should rather fight with all his resources, for bravery destroys all troubles; this (fighting) is the natural duty of a Kshatriya, no matter whether he achieves victory or sustains defeat in battle.

No, says Kautilya, he who bows down to all like a crab on the banks (of a river) lives in despair; whoever goes with his small army to fight perishes like a man attempting to cross the sea without a boat. Hence, a weak king should either seek the protection of a powerful king or maintain himself in an impregnable fort.

Invaders are of three kinds: a just conqueror, a demon-like conqueror, and a greedy conqueror.

Of these, the just conqueror is satisfied with mere obeisance. Hence, a weak king should seek his protection.

Fearing his own enemies, the greedy conqueror is satisfied with what he can safely gain in land or money. Hence, a weak king should satisfy such a conqueror with wealth.

The demon-like conqueror satisfies himself not merely by seizing the land, treasure, sons and wives of the conquered, but by taking the life of the latter. Hence, a weak king should keep such a conqueror at a distance by offering him land and wealth.

When any one of these is on the point of rising against a weak king, the latter should avert the invasion by making a treaty of peace, or by taking recourse to the battle of intrigue (mantrayuddha), or by a treacherous fight in the battle-field. He may seduce the enemy's men either by conciliation or by giving gifts, and should prevent the treacherous proceedings of his own men either by sowing the seeds of dissension among them or by punishing them. Spies, under concealment, may capture the enemy's fort, country, or camp with the aid of weapons, poison, or fire. He may harass the enemy's rear on all sides; and he may devastate the enemy's country through the help of wild tribes. Or he may set up a scion of the enemy's family or an imprisoned prince to seize the enemy's territory. When all this mischief has been perpetrated, a messenger may be sent to the enemy, (to sue for peace); or he may make peace with the enemy without offending the latter. If the enemy still continues the march, the weak king may sue for peace by offering more than one-fourth of his wealth and army, the payment being made after the lapse of a day and night.

If the enemy desires to make peace on condition of the weak king surrendering a portion of this army, he may give the enemy such of his elephants and cavalry as are uncontrollable or as are provided with poison; if the enemy desires to make peace on condition of his surrendering his chief men, he may send over to the enemy such portion of his army as is full of traitors, enemies and wild tribes under the command of a trusted officer, so that both his enemy and his own undesirable army may perish; or he may provide the enemy with an army composed of fiery spies, taking care to satisfy his own disappointed men (before sending them over to the enemy); or he may transfer to the enemy his own faithful and hereditary army that is capable to hurt the enemy on occasions of trouble; if the enemy desires to make peace on condition of his paying certain amount of wealth, he may give the enemy such precious articles as do not find a purchaser or such raw products as are of no use in war; if the enemy desires to make peace on condition of his ceding a part of his land, he should provide the enemy with that kind of land which he can recover, which is always at the mercy of another enemy, which possesses no protective defences, or which can be colonized at considerable cost of men and money; or he may make peace, surrendering his whole state except his capital.

• He should so contrive as to make the enemy accept that which another enemy is likely to carry off by force; and he should take care more of his person than of his wealth, for of what interest is perishing wealth?

[Thus ends Chapter 1, "The Duties of a Messenger, and Request for Peace," in Book 12, "Concerning a Powerful Enemy," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and thirty-sixth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 2. BATTLE OF INTRIGUE.

If the enemy does not keep peace, he should be told :--

"These kings perished by surrendering themselves to the aggregate of the six enemies; it is not worthy of you to follow the lead of these unwise kings; be mindful of virtue and wealth; those who advise you to brave danger, sin and violation of wealth, are enemies under the guise of friends; it is danger to fight with men who are reckless of their own lives; it is sin to cause the loss of life on both sides; it is violation of wealth to abandon the wealth at hand and the friend of no mean character (meaning the addresser himself); that king has many friends whom he will set against you with the same wealth (that is acquired with your help at my expense), and who will fall upon you from all sides; that king has not lost his influence over the Circle of the madhyama and neutral States; but you have lost that power over them who are, therefore, waiting for an opportunity to fall upon you; patiently bear the loss of men and money again; break peace with that friend; then we shall be able to remove him from that stronghold over which he has lost his influence. Hence, it is not worthy of you to lend your ear to those enemies with the face of friends, to expose your real friends to trouble, to help your enemies to attain success, and to involve yourself in dangers costing life and wealth."

If without caring for the advice, the enemy proceeds on his own way, the weak king should create disaffection among the enemy's people by adopting such measures as are explained in the chapters, "The Conduct of Corporations," and "Enticement of the enemy by secret contrivances." He should also make use of fiery spies and poison. Against what is described as deserving protection in the chapter, "Safety of his own person," fiery spies and poisoners should be employed (in the enemy's court). Keepers of harlots should excite love in the minds of the leaders of the enemy's army by exhibiting women endowed with youth and beauty. Fiery spies should bring about quarrels among them when one or two of them have fallen in love. In the affray that ensues they should prevail upon the defeated party to migrate elsewhere or to proceed to help the master (of the spies) in the invasion undertaken by the latter.

Or to those who have fallen in love, spies, under the guise of ascetics, may administer poison under the plea that the medical drugs given to them are capable of securing the object of love.

A spy, under the guise of a merchant, may, under the plea of winning the love of an immediate maid-servant of the beautiful queen (of the enemy), shower wealth upon her and then give her up. A spy in the service of the merchant may give to another spy, employed as a servant of the maid-servant, some medical drug, telling the latter that (in order to regain the love of the merchant), the drug may be applied to the person of the merchant (by the maid-servant). On her attaining success (the maid-servant) may inform the queen that the same drug may be applied to the person of the king (to secure his love), and then change the drug for poison.

A spy, under the guise of an astrologer, may gradually delude the enemy's prime minister with the belief that he is possessed of all the physiognomical characteristics of a king; a mendicant woman may tell the minister's wife that she has the characteristics of a queen and that she will bring forth a prince; or a woman, disguised as the minister's wife, may tell him that, "The king is troubling me; and an ascetic woman has brought to me this letter and jewellery."

Spies, under the guise of cooks, may, under the pretence of the king's (the enemy's) order, take some covetable wealth (to the minister) meant for use in an immediate expedition. A spy under the guise of a merchant may, by some contrivance or other, take possession of that wealth and inform the minister of the readiness of all the preparations (for the expedition). Thus by the employment of one, two, or three of the strategic means, the ministers of each of the combined enemies may be induced to set out on the expedition and thus to be away from the inimical kings.

Spies, under the service of the officer in charge of the enemy's waste lands, may inform the citizens and country people residing in the enemy's fortified towns of the condition of the officer's friendship with the people, and say: "The officer in charge of the waste lands tells the warriors and departmental officers thus:--'The king has hardly escaped from danger and scarcely returns with life. Do not hoard up your wealth and thereby create enemies; if so, you will all be put to death.'" When all the people are collected together, fiery spies may take the citizens out of the town and kill their leaders, saying: "Thus will be treated those who do not hear the officer in charge of the waste lands." On the waste lands under the charge of the officer, the spies may throw down weapons, money and ropes bespattered with blood. Then other spies may spread the news that the officer in charge of the waste lands destroys the people and plunders them. Similarly, spies may cause disagreement between the enemy's collector- general and the people. Addressing the servants of the collector-general in the centre of the village at night, fiery spies may say: "Thus will be treated those who subject the people to unjust oppression." When the fault of the collector-general or of the officer in charge of the waste lands is widely known, the spies may cause the people to slay either of them, and employ in his place one of his family or one who is imprisoned.

• Spreading the false news of the danger of the enemy, they (spies) may set fire to the harem, the gates of the town and the store-house of grains and other things, and slay the sentinels who are kept to guard them.

[Thus ends Chapter 2, "The Duties of a Messenger and Battle of Intrigue," in Book 12, "Concerning a Powerful Enemy," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of "Battle of

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Intrigue." End of the hundred and thirty-seventh chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 3. SLAYING THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AND INCITING A CIRCLE OF STATES.

Spies in the service of the king (the enemy) or of his courtiers may, under the pretence of friendship, say in the presence of other friends that the king is angry with the chiefs of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants. When their men are collected together, fiery spies, having guarded themselves against night watches, may, under the pretence of the king's (the enemy's) order, invite the chiefs to a certain house and slay the chiefs when returning from the house. Other spies in the vicinity may say that it has been the king's (the enemy's) order to slay them. Spies may also tell those who have been banished from the country: "This is just what we foretold; for personal safety, you may go elsewhere."

Spies may also tell those who have not received what they requested of the king (the enemy) that the officer in charge of waste lands has been told by the king: "Such and such a person has begged of me what he should not demand; I refused to grant his request; he is in conspiracy with my enemy. So make attempts to put him down." Then the spies may proceed in their usual way.

Spies may also tell those who have been granted their request by the king (the enemy) that the officer in charge of waste lands has been told by the king: "Such and such persons have demanded their due from me; I have granted them all their requests in order to gain their confidence. But they are conspiring with my enemy. So make attempts to put them down." Then the spies may proceed in their usual way.

Spies may also tell those who do not demand their due from the king that the officer in charge of waste lands has been told: "Such and such persons do not demand their due from me. What else can be the reason than their suspicion about my knowledge of their guilt? So make attempts to put them down." Then the spies may proceed in their usual way.

This explains the treatment of partisans.

A spy employed as the personal servant of the king (the enemy) may inform him that such and such ministers of his are being interviewed by the enemy's servants. When he comes to believe this, some treacherous persons may be represented as the messengers of the enemy, specifying as "this is that."

The chief officers of the army may be induced by offering land and gold to fall against their own men and secede from the enemy (their king). If one of the sons of the commander-in-chief is living near or inside the fort, a spy may tell him: "You are the most worthy son; still you are neglected; why are you indifferent? Seize your position by force; otherwise the heir-apparent will destroy you."

Or some one of the family (of the commander-in-chief or the king), or one who is imprisoned may be bribed in gold and told: "Destroy the internal strength of the enemy, or a portion of his force in the border of his country."

Or having seduced wild tribes with rewards of wealth and honour, they may be incited to devastate the enemy's country. Or the enemy's rear-enemy may be told : "I am, as it were, a bridge to you all; if I am broken like a rafter, this king will drown you all; let us, therefore, combine and thwart the enemy in his march." Accordingly, a message may be sent to individual or combined states to the effect : "After having done with me, this king will do his work of you: beware of it. I am the best man to be relied upon."

• In order to escape from the danger from an immediate enemy, a king should frequently send to a madhyama or a neutral king (whatever would please him); or one may put one's whole property at the enemy's disposal.

[Thus ends Chapter 3, "Slaying the Commander-in-Chief and Inciting a Circle of States," in Book 12, "Concerning a Powerful Enemy," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and thirty-eighth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 4. SPIES WITH WEAPONS, FIRE, AND POISON; AND DESTRUCTION OF SUPPLY, STORES AND GRANARIES.

The conqueror's spies who are residing as traders in the enemy's forts, and those who are living as cultivators in the enemy's villages, as well as those who are living as cowherds or ascetics in the district borders of the enemy's country may send through merchants, information to another neighbouring enemy, or a wild chief, or a scion of the enemy's family, or an imprisoned prince that the enemy's country is to be captured. When their secret emissaries come as invited, they are to be pleased with rewards of wealth and honour and shewn the enemy's weak points; and with the help of the emissaries, the spies should strike the enemy at his weak points.

Or having put a banished prince in the enemy's camp; a spy disguised as a vintner in the service of the enemy, may distribute as a toast hundreds of vessels of liquor mixed with the juice of the madana plant; or, for the first day, he may distribute a mild or intoxicating variety of liquor, and on the following days such liquor as is mixed with poison; or having given pure liquor to the officers of the enemy's army, he may give them poisoned liquor when they are in intoxication.

A spy, employed as a chief officer of the enemy's army, may adopt the same measures as those employed by the vintner.

Spies, disguised as experts in trading in cooked flesh, cooked rice, liquor, and cakes, may vie with each other in proclaiming in public the sale of a fresh supply of their special articles at cheap price and may sell the articles mixed with poison to the attracted customers of the enemy.

Women and children may receive in their poisoned vessels, liquor, milk, curd, ghee, or oil from traders in those articles, and pour those fluids back into the vessels of the traders, saying that at a specified rate the whole may be sold to them. Spies, disguised as merchants, may purchase the above articles, and may so contrive that servants, attending upon the elephants and horses of the enemy, may make use of the same articles in giving rations and grass to those animals. Spies, under the garb of servants, may sell poisoned grass and water. Spies, let off as traders in cattle for a long time, may leave herds of cattle, sheep, or goats in tempting places so as to divert the attention of the enemy from the attack which they (the enemy) intend to make; spies as cowherds may let off such animals as are ferocious among horses, mules, camels, buffaloes and others beasts, having smeared the eyes of those animals with the blood of a musk-rat (chuchundari); spies as hunters may let off cruel beasts from traps; spies as snake charmers may let off highly poisonous snakes; those who keep elephants may let off elephants (near the enemy's camp); those who live by making use of fire may set fire (to the camp, etc.). Secret spies may slay from behind the chiefs of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants, or they may set fire to the chief residences of the enemy. Traitors, enemies and wild tribes, employed for the purpose, may destroy the enemy's rear or obstruct his reinforcement; or spies, concealed in forests, may enter into the border of the enemy's country, and devastate it; or they may destroy the enemy's supply, stores, and other things, when those things are being conveyed on a narrow path passable by a single man.

Or in accordance with a preconcerted plan, they may, on the occasion of a night-battle, go to the enemy's capital, and blowing a large number of trumpets, cry aloud: "We have entered into the capital, and the country has been conquered." After entering into the king's (the enemy's) palace, they may kill the king in the tumult; when the king begins to run from one direction to another, Mlechchhas, wild tribes, or chiefs of the army, lying in ambush (sattra), or concealed near a pillar or a fence, may slay him; or spies, under the guise of hunters, may slay the king when he is directing his attack, or in the tumult of attack following the plan of treacherous fights. Or occupying an advantageous position, they may slay the enemy when he is marching in a narrow path passable by a single man, or on a mountain, or near the trunk of a tree, or under the branches of a banian tree, or in water; or they may cause him to be carried off by the force of a current of water let off by the destruction of a dam across a river, or of a lake or pond; or they may destroy him by means of an explosive fire or poisonous snake when he has entrenched himself in a fort, in a desert, in a forest, or in a valley. He should be destroyed with fire when he is under a thicket; with smoke when he is in a desert; with poison when he is in a comfortable place; with crocodile and other cruel beasts when he is in water; or they may slay him when he is going out of his burning house.

• By means of such measures as are narrated in the chapter, "Enticement of the Enemy by Secret Means" or by any other measures, the enemy should be caught hold of in places to which he is confined or from which he is attempting to escape.

[Thus ends Chapter 4, "Spies with Weapons, Fire and Poison; and Destruction of Supply, Stores and Granaries," in Book 12, "Concerning a Powerful Enemy," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and thirty-ninth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 5. CAPTURE OF THE ENEMY BY MEANS OF SECRET CONTRIVANCES OR BY MEANS OF THE ARMY; AND COMPLETE VICTORY.

Contrivances to kill the enemy may be formed in those places of worship and visit, which the enemy, under the influence of faith, frequents on occasions of worshipping gods, and of pilgrimage.

A wall or a stone, kept by mechanical contrivance, may, by loosening the fastenings, be let to fall on the head of the enemy when he has entered into a temple; stones and weapons may be showered over his head from the topmost storey; or a door-panel may be let to fall; or a huge rod kept over a wall or partly attached to a wall may be made to fall over him; or weapons kept inside the body of an idol may be thrown over his head; or the floor of those places where he usually stands, sits, or walks may be be sprinkled with poison mixed with cow-dung or with pure water; or under the plea of giving him flowers, scented powders, or of causing scented smoke, he may be poisoned; or by removing the fastenings made under a cot or a seat, he may be made to fall into a pit containing pointed spears; or when he is eager to escape from impending imprisonment in his own country, he may be led away to fall into the hands of a wild tribe or an enemy waiting for him not far from his country; or when he is eager to get out of his castle he may be like- wise misled or made to enter an enemy's country which is to be restored (to the conqueror); the enemy's people should also be kept under the protection of sons and brothers (of the conqueror) in some forts on a mountain, or in a forest, or in the midst of a river separated from the enemy's country by wild tracts of lands.

Measures to obstruct the movements of the enemy are explained in the chapter, "The Conduct of a Conquered King."

Grass and firewood should be set on fire as far as a yojana (5 5/44 miles); water should be vitiated and caused to flow away; mounds, wells, pits and thorns (outside the fort wall) should be destroyed; having widened the mouth of the underground tunnel of the enemy's fort, his stores and leaders may be removed; the enemy may also be likewise carried off; when the underground tunnel has been made by the enemy for his own use, the water in the ditch outside the fort may be made to flow into it; in suspicious places along the parapet (of the enemy's fort) and in the house containing a well outside the fort, empty pots or bronze vessels may be placed in order to find out the direction of the wind (blowing from the underground tunnel); when the direction of the tunnel is found out, a counter-tunnel may be formed; or having opened the tunnel, it may be filled with smoke or water.

Having arranged for the defence of the fort by a scion of his family, the enemy may run in an opposite direction where it is possible for him to meet with friends, relatives, or wild tribes, or with his enemy's treacherous friends of vast resources, or where he may separate his enemy from the latter's friends, or where he may capture the enemy's rear, or country, or where he may prevent the transport of supplies to his enemy, or whence he may strike his enemy by throwing down trees at hand, or where he can find means to defend his own country or to gather reinforcements for his hereditary army; or he may go to any other country whence he can obtain peace on his own terms.

His enemy's (the conqueror's) allies may send a mission to him, saying: "This man, your enemy, has fallen into our hands; under the plea of merchandise or some presentation, send gold and a strong force; we shall either hand over to you your enemy bound in chains, or banish him." If he approves of it, the gold and the army he may send may be received (by the conqueror).

Having access to the enemy's castle, the officer in charge of the boundaries (of the enemy's country) may lead a part of his force and slay the enemy in good faith under the plea of destroying a people in some place, he may take the enemy to an inimical army; and having led the enemy to the surrounded place, he may slay the enemy in good faith.

A pretending friend may send information to an outsider: "Grains, oil and jaggery and salt stored in the fort (of the enemy) have been exhausted; a fresh supply of them is expected to reach the fort at such and such a place and time; seize it by force." Then traitors, enemies, or wild tribes, or some other persons, specially appointed for the purpose, may send a supply of poisoned grains, oil, jaggery, and salt to the fort. This explains the seizure of all kinds of supply.

Having made peace with the conqueror, he may give the conqueror part of the gold promised and the rest gradually. Thus he may cause the conqueror's defensive force to be slackened and then strike them down with fire, poison or sword; or he may win the confidence of the conqueror's courtiers deputed to take the tribute.

Or if his resources are exhausted, he may run away abandoning his fort; he may escape through a tunnel or through a hole newly made or by breaking the parapet.

Or having challenged the conqueror at night, he may successfully confront the attack; if he cannot do this, he may run away by a side path; or disguised as a heretic, he may escape with a small retinue; or he may be carried off by spies as a corpse; or disguised as a woman, he may follow a corpse (as it were, of her husband to the cremation ground); or on the occasion of feeding the people in honour of gods or of ancestors or in some festival, he may make use of poisoned rice and water, and having conspired with his enemy's traitors, he may strike the enemy with his concealed army; or when he is surrounded in his fort, he may lie concealed in a hole bored into the body of an idol after eating sacramental food and setting up an altar; or he may lie in a secret hole in a wall, or in a hole made in the body of an idol in an underground chamber; and when he is forgotten, he may get out of his concealment through a tunnel, and, entering into the palace, slay his enemy while sleeping, or loosening the fastenings of a machine (yantra), he may let it fall on his enemy; or when his enemy is lying in a chamber which is besmeared with poisonous and explosive substances or which is made of lac, he may set fire to it. Fiery spies, hidden in an underground chamber, or in a tunnel, or inside a secret wall, may slay the enemy when the latter is carelessly amusing himself in a pleasure park or any other place of recreation; or spies under concealment may poison him; or women under concealment may throw a snake, or poison, or fire or poisonous smoke over his person when he is asleep in confined place; or spies, having access to the enemy's harem, may, when opportunities

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occur, do to the enemy whatever is found possible on the occasion, and then get out unknown. On such occasions, they should make use of the signs indicative of the purpose of their society.

• Having by means of trumpet sounds called together the sentinels at the gate as well as aged men and other spies stationed by others, the enemy may completely carry out the rest of his work.

[Thus ends Chapter 5, "Capture of the Enemy by Means of Secret Contrivances or by Means of the Army; and Complete Victory," in Book 12, "Concerning a Powerful Enemy," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and fortieth chapter from the beginning. With this ends the twelfth Book, "Concerning a Powerful Enemy," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya.]

KAUTILYA'S ARTHASHASTRA: BOOK 13

"Strategic Means to Capture a Fortress"

CHAPTER 1. SOWING THE SEEDS OF DISSENSION.

When the conqueror is desirous of seizing an enemy's village, he should infuse enthusiastic spirit among his own men and frighten his enemy's people by giving publicity to his power of omniscience and close association with gods.

Proclamation of his omniscience is as follows:--rejection of his chief officers when their secret, domestic and other private affairs are known; revealing the names of traitors after receiving information from spies specially employed to find out such men; pointing out the impolitic aspect of any course of action suggested to him; and pretensions to the knowledge of foreign affairs by means of his power to read omens and signs invisible to others when information about foreign affairs is just received through a domestic pigeon which has brought a sealed letter.

Proclamation of his association with gods is as follows:--Holding conversation with, and worshipping, the spies who pretend to be the gods of fire or altar when through a tunnel they come to stand in the midst of fire, altar, or in the interior of a hollow image; holding conversation with, and worshipping, the spies who rise up from water and pretend to be the gods and goddesses of Nagas (snakes); placing under water at night a mass of sea-foam mixed with burning oil, and exhibiting it as the spontaneous outbreak of fire, when it is burning in a line; sitting on a raft in water which is secretly fastened by a rope to a rock; such magical performance in water as is usually done at night by bands of magicians, using the sack of abdomen or womb of water animals to hide the head and the nose, and applying to the nose the oil, prepared from the entrails of red spotted deer and the serum of the flesh of the crab, crocodile, porpoise and otter; holding conversation, as though, with women of Varuna (the god of water), or of Naga (the snake-god) when they are performing magical tricks in water; and sending out volumes of smoke from the mouth on occasions of anger.

Astrologers, sooth-sayers, horologists, story-tellers, (Pauranika), as well as those who read the forebodings of every moment, together with spies and their disciples, inclusive of those who have witnessed the wonderful performances of the conqueror should give wide publicity to the power of the king to associate with gods throughout his territory. Likewise in foreign countries, they should spread the news of gods appearing before the conqueror and of his having received from heaven weapons and treasure. Those who are well versed in horary and astrology and the science of omens should proclaim abroad that the conqueror is a successful expert in explaining the indications of dreams and in understanding the language of beasts and birds. They should not only attribute the contrary to his enemy, but also show to the enemy's people the shower of firebrand (ulka) with the noise of drums (from the sky) on the day of the birth-star of the enemy.

The conqueror's chief messengers, pretending to be friendly towards the enemy, should highly speak of the conqueror's respectful treatment of visitors, of the strength of his army, and of the likelihood of impending destruction of his enemy's men. They should also make it known to the enemy that under their master, both ministers and soldiers are equally safe and happy, and that their master treats his servants with parental care in their weal or woe.

By these and other means, they should win over the enemy's men as pointed out above, and as we are going to treat of them again at length:--

They should characterise the enemy as an ordinary donkey towards skilful persons; as the branch of lakucha (Artocarpus Lacucha) broken to the officers of his army; as a crab on the shore to anxious persons; as a downpour of lightnings to those who are treated with contempt; as a reed, a barren tree, or an iron ball, or as false clouds to those who are disappointed; as the ornaments of an ugly woman to those who are disappointed in spite of their worshipful service; as a tiger's skin, or as a trap of death to his favourites; and as eating a piece of the wood of pílu (Careya-Arborea), or as churning the milk of a she-camel or a she-donkey (for butter) to those who are rendering to him valuable help.

When the people of the enemy are convinced of this, they may be sent to the conqueror to receive wealth and, honour. Those of the enemy who are in need of money and food should be supplied with an abundance of those things. Those who do not like to receive such things may be presented with ornaments for their wives and children.

When the people of the enemy are suffering from famine and the oppression of thieves and wild tribes, the conqueror's spies should sow the seeds of dissension among them, saying: "Let us request the king for favour and go elsewhere if not favoured."

• When they agree to such proposals, they should be supplied with money, grains, and other necessary help: thus, much can be done by sowing the seeds of dissension.

[Thus ends Chapter 1, "Sowing the Seeds of Dissension," in Book 13, "Strategic Means to Capture a Fortress" of the Arthasastra, of Kautilya. End of the hundred and forty-first chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 2. ENTICEMENT OF KINGS BY SECRET CONTRIVANCES.

An ascetic, with shaved head or braided hair and living in the cave of a mountain, may pretend to be four hundred years old, and, followed by a number of disciples with braided hair, halt in the vicinity of the capital city of the enemy. The disciples of the ascetic may make presentations of roots and fruits to the king and his ministers and invite them to pay a visit to the venerable ascetic. On the arrival of the king on the spot, the ascetic may acquaint him with the history of ancient kings and their states, and tell him: "Every time when I complete the course of a hundred years, I enter into the fire and come out of it as a fresh youth (bala). Now, here in your presence, I am going to enter into the fire for the fourth time. It is highly necessary that you may be pleased to honour me with your presence at the time. Please request three boons." When the king agrees to do so, he may be requested to come and remain at the spot with his wives and children for seven nights to witness the sacrificial performance. When he does so, he may be caught hold of.

An ascetic, with shaved head or braided hair, and followed by a number of disciples with shaved heads or braided hair, and pretending to be aware of whatever is contained in the interior of the earth, may put in the interior of an ant-hill either a bamboo stick wound round with a piece of cloth drenched in blood and painted with gold dust, or a hollow golden tube into which a snake can enter and remain. One of the disciples may tell the king: "This ascetic can discover blooming treasure trove." When he asks the ascetic (as to the veracity of the statement), the latter should acknowledge it, and produce a confirmatory evidence (by pulling out the bamboo stick); or having kept some more gold in the interior of the ant-hill, the ascetic may tell the king: "This treasure trove is guarded by a snake and can possibly be taken out by performing necessary sacrifice. When the king agrees to do so, he may be requested to come and remain. . . (as before).

When an ascetic, pretending to be able to find out hidden treasure trove, is seated with his body burning with magical fire at night in a lonely place, his disciples may bring the king to see him and inform the king that the ascetic can find out treasure trove. While engaged in performing some work at the request of the king, the latter may be requested to come and remain at the spot for seven nights . . . (as before).

An accomplished ascetic may beguile a king by his knowledge of the science of magic known as jambhaka, and request him to come and remain . . . (as before).

An accomplished ascetic, pretending to have secured the favour of the powerful guardian deity of the country, may often beguile the king's chief ministers with his wonderful performance and gradually impose upon the king.

Any person, disguised as an ascetic and living under water or in the interior of an idol entered into through a tunnel or an underground chamber, may be said by his disciples to be Varuna, the god of water, or the king of snakes, and shown to the king. While going to accomplish whatever the king may desire, the latter may be requested to come and remain . . . (as before.)

An accomplished ascetic, halting in the vicinity of the capital city, may invite the king to witness the person (of his enemy) when he comes to witness the invocation of his enemy's life in the image to be destroyed, he may be murdered in an unguarded place.

Spies, under the, guise of merchants come to sell horses, may invite the king to examine and purchase any of the animals. While attentively examining the horses, he may be murdered in the tumult or trampled down by horses.

Getting into an altar at night in the vicinity of the capital city of the enemy and blowing through tubes or hollow reeds the fire contained in a few pots, some fiery spies may shout aloud: "We are going to eat the flesh of the king or of his ministers; let the worship of the gods go on." Spies, under the guise of sooth-sayers and horologists may spread the news abroad.

Spies, disguised as Nagas (snake-gods and with their body besmeared with burning oil (tejanataila), may stand in the centre of a sacred pool of water or of a lake at night, and sharpening their iron swords or spikes, may shout aloud as before.

Spies, wearing coats formed of the skins of bears and sending out volumes of smoke from their mouth, may pretend to be demons, and after circumambulating the city thrice from right to left, may shout aloud as before at a place full of the horrid noise of antelopes and jackals; or spies may set fire to an altar or an image of a god covered with a layer of mica besmeared with burning oil at night, and shout aloud as before. Others may spread this news abroad; or they may cause (by some contrivance or other) blood to flow out in floods from revered images of gods. Others may spread this news abroad and challenge any bold or brave man to come out to witness this flow of divine blood. Whoever accepts the challenge may be beaten to death by others with rods, making the people believe that he was killed by demons. Spies and other witnesses may inform the king of this wonder. Then spies, disguised as sooth-sayers and astrologers may prescribe auspicious and expiatory rites to avert the evil consequences which would otherwise overtake the king and his country. When the king agrees to the proposal he may be asked to perform in person special sacrifices and offerings with special mantras every night for seven days. Then (while doing this, he may be slain) as before.

In order to delude other kings, the conqueror may himself undertake the performance of expiatory rites to avert such evil consequences as the above and thus set an example to others.

In view of averting the evil consequences of unnatural occurrences, he (the conqueror) may collect money (from his subjects).

When the enemy is fond of elephants, spies may delude him with the sight of a beautiful elephant reared by the officer in charge of elephant forests. When he desires to capture the elephant, he may be taken to a remote desolate part of the forest, and killed or carried off as a prisoner. This explains the fate of kings addicted to hunting.

When the enemy is fond of wealth or women, he may be beguiled at the sight of rich and beautiful widows brought before him with a plaint for the recovery of a deposit kept by them in the custody of one of their kinsmen; and when he comes to meet with a woman at night as arranged, hidden spies may kill him with weapons or poison.

When the enemy is in the habit of paying frequent visits to ascetics, altars, sacred pillars (stupa), and images of gods, spies hidden in underground chambers or in subterranean passages, or inside the walls, may strike him down.

• Whatever may be the sights or spectacles which the king goes in person to witness; wherever he may engage himself in sports or in swimming in water;

• Wherever he may be careless in uttering such words of rebuke as "Tut" or on the occasions of sacrificial performance or during the accouchement of women or at the time of death or disease (of some person in the palace), or at the time of love, sorrow, or fear;

• Whatever may be the festivities of his own men, which the king goes to attend, wherever he is unguarded or during a cloudy day, or in the tumultuous concourse of people;

• Or in an assembly of Brahmans, or whenever he may go in person to see the outbreak of fire, or when, he is in a lonely place, or when he is putting on dress or ornaments, or garlands of flower, or when he is lying in his bed or sitting on a seat;

• Or when he is eating or drinking, on these and other occasions, spies, together with other persons previously hidden at those places, may strike him down at the sound of trumpets.

• And they may get out as secretly as they came there with the pretence of witnessing the sights; thus it is that kings and other persons are enticed to come out and be captured.

[Thus ends Chapter 2, "Enticement of Kings by Secret Contrivances," in Book 13, "Strategic means to Capture a Fortress," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and forty-second chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 3. THE WORK OF SPIES IN A SIEGE.

The conqueror may dismiss a confidential chief of a corporation. The chief may go over to the enemy as a friend and offer to supply him with recruits and other help collected from the conqueror's territory or followed by a band of spies, the chief may please the enemy by destroying a disloyal village or a regiment or an ally of the conqueror and by sending as a present the elephants, horses, and disaffected persons of the conqueror's army or of the latter's ally; or a confidential chief officer of the conqueror may solicit help from a portion of the territory (of the enemy), or from a corporation of people (sreni) or from wild tribes; and when he has gained their confidence, he may send them down to the conqueror to be routed down on the occasion of a farcical attempt to capture elephants or wild tribes.

This explains the work of ministers and wild chiefs under the mission of the conqueror.

After making peace with the enemy, the conqueror may dismiss his own confidential ministers. They may request the

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enemy to reconcile them to their master. When the enemy sends a messenger for this purpose, the conqueror may rebuke him and say: "Thy master attempts to sow the seeds of dissension between myself and my ministers; so thou should not come here again." Then one of the dismissed ministers may go over to the enemy, taking with him a band of spies, disaffected people, traitors, brave thieves, and wild tribes who make no distinction between a friend and a foe. Having secured the good graces of the enemy, the minister may propose to him the destruction of his officers, such as the boundary-guard, wild chief, and commander of his army, telling him: "These and other persons are in concert with your enemy." Then these persons may be put to death under the unequivocal orders of the enemy.

The conqueror may tell his enemy: "A chief with a powerfu1 army means to offend us, so let us combine and put him down; you may take possession of his treasury or territory." When the enemy agrees to the proposal and comes out honoured by the conqueror, he may be slain in a tumult or in an open battle with the chief (in concert with the conqueror). Or having invited the enemy to be present as a thick friend on the occasion of a pretended gift of territory, or the installation of the heir-apparent, or the performance of some expiatory rites, the conqueror may capture the enemy. Whoever withstands such inducements may be slain by secret means. If the enemy refuses to meet any man in person, then also attempts may be made to kill him by employing his enemy. If the enemy likes to march alone with his army, but not in company with the conqueror, then he may be hemmed in between two forces and destroyed. If, trusting to none, he wants to march alone in order to capture a portion of the territory of an assailable enemy, then he may be slain by employing one of his enemies or any other person provided with all necessary help. When he goes to his subdued enemy for the purpose of collecting an army, his capital may be captured. Or he may be asked to take possession of the territory of another enemy or a friend of the conqueror; and when he goes to seize the territory, the conqueror may ask his (the conqueror's) friend to offend him (the conqueror), and then enable the friend to catch hold of the enemy. These and other contrivances lead to the same end.

When the enemy is desirous of taking possession of the territory of the conqueror's friend, then the conqueror may, under the pretence of compliance, supply the enemy with army. Then having entered into a secret concert with the friend, the conqueror may pretend to be under troubles and allow himself to be attacked by the enemy combined with the neglected friend. Then, hemmed from two sides, the enemy may be killed or captured alive to distribute his territory among the conqueror and his friend.

If the enemy, helped by his friend, shuts himself in an impregnable fort, then his neighbouring enemies may be employed to lay waste his territory. If he attempts to defend his territory by his army, that army may be annihilated. If the enemy and his ally cannot be separated, then each of these may be openly asked to come to an agreement with the conqueror to seize the territory of the other. Then they will, of course, send such of their messengers as are termed friends and recipients of salaries from two states to each other with information: "This king (the conqueror), allied with my army, desires to seize thy territory." Then one of them may, with enragement and suspicion, act as before (i.e., fall upon the conqueror or the friend).

The conqueror may dismiss his chief officers in charge of his forests, country parts, and army, under the pretence of their intrigue with the enemy. Then going over to 'the enemy, they may catch hold of him on occasions of war, siege, or any other troubles; or they may sow the seeds of dissension between the enemy and his party, corroborating the causes of dissension by producing witnesses specially tutored.

Spies, disguised as hunters, may take a stand near the gate of the enemy's fort to sell flesh, and make friendship with the sentinels at the gate. Having informed the enemy of the arrival of thieves on two or three occasions, they may prove themselves to be of reliable character and cause him to split his army into two divisions and to station them in two different parts of his territory. When his villages are being plundered or besieged, they may tell him that thieves are come very near, that the tumult is very great, and that a large army is required. They may take the army supplied, and surrendering it to the commander laying waste the villages, return at night with a part of the commander's army, and cry aloud at the gate of the fort that the thieves are slain, that the army has returned victorious, and that the gate may be opened. When the gate is opened by the watchmen under the enemy's order or by others in confidence, they may strike the enemy with the help of the army.

Painters, carpenters, heretics, actors, merchants, and other disguised spies belonging to the conqueror's army may also reside inside the fort of the enemy. Spies, disguised as agriculturists, may supply them with weapons taken in carts loaded with firewood, grass, grains, and other commodities of commerce, or disguised as images and flags of gods. Then spies, disguised as priests, may announce to the enemy, blowing their conch shells and beating their drums, that a besieging army, eager to destroy all, and armed with weapons, is coming closely behind them. Then in the ensuing tumult, they may surrender the fort-gate and the towers of the fort to the army of the conqueror or disperse the enemy's army and bring about his fall.

Or taking advantage of peace and friendship with the enemy, army and weapons may be collected inside the enemy's fort by spies disguised as merchants, caravans, processions leading a bride, merchants selling horses, peddlers trading in miscellaneous articles, purchasers or sellers of grains, and as ascetics. These and others are the spies aiming on the life of a king.

The same spies, together with those described in "Removal of thorns" may, by employing thieves, destroy the flock of the enemy's cattle or merchandise in the vicinity of wild tracts. They may poison with the juice of the madana plant, the food-stuffs and beverage kept, as previously arranged, in a definite place for the enemy's cowherds, and go out unknown. When the cowherds show signs of intoxication in consequence of their eating the above food-stuffs, spies, disguised as cowherds, merchants, and thieves, may fall upon the enemy's cowherds, and carry off the cattle.

Spies disguised as ascetics with shaved head or braided hair and pretending to be the worshippers of god, Sankarshana, may mix their sacrificial beverage with the juice of the madana plant (and give it to the cowherds), and carry off the cattle.

A spy, under the guise of a vintner, may, on the occasion of procession of gods, funeral rites, festivals, and other congregations of people, go to sell liquor and present the cowherds with some liquor mixed with the juice of the madana plant. Then others may fall upon the intoxicated cowherds (and carry off the cattle).

• Those spies, who enter into the wild tracts of the enemy with the intention of plundering his villages, and who, leaving that work, set themselves to destroy the enemy, are termed spies under the garb of thieves.

[Thus ends Chapter 3, "The Work of Spies in a Siege," in Book 13, "The Strategic Means to Capture a Fortress," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and forty-third chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 4. THE OPERATION OF A SIEGE.

Reduction (of the enemy) must precede a siege. The territory that has been conquered should be kept so peacefully that it might sleep without any fear. When it is in rebellion, it is to be pacified by bestowing rewards and remitting taxes, unless the conqueror means to quit it. Or he may select his battle fields in a remote part of the enemy's territory, far from the populous centres; for, in the opinion of Kautilya, no territory deserves the name of a kingdom or country unless it is full of people. When a people resist the attempt of the conqueror, then he may destroy their stores, crops, and granaries, and trade.

• By the destruction of trade, agricultural produce, and standing crops, by causing the people to run away, and by slaying their leaders in secret, the country will be denuded of its people.

When the conqueror thinks: "My army is provided with abundance of staple corn, raw materials, machines, weapons, dress, labourers, ropes and the like, and has a favourable season to act, whereas my enemy has an unfavourable season and is suffering from disease, famine and loss of stores and defencive force, while his hired troops as well as the army of his friend are in a miserable condition,"--then he may begin the siege.

Having well guarded his camp, transports, supplies and also the roads of communication, and having dug up a ditch and raised a rampart round his camp, he may vitiate the water in the ditches round the enemy's fort, or empty the ditches of their water or fill them with water if empty, and then he may assail the rampart and the parapets by making use of underground tunnels and iron rods. If the ditch (dvaram) is very deep, he may fill it up with soil. If it is defended by a number of men, he may destroy it by means of machines. Horse soldiers may force their passage through the gate into the fort and smite the enemy. Now and then in the midst of tumult, he may offer terms to the enemy by taking recourse to one, two, three, or all of the strategic means.

Having captured the birds such as the vulture, crow, naptri, bhasa, parrot, maina, and pigeon which have their nests in the fort-walls, and having tied to their tails inflammable powders (agniyoga), he may let them fly to the forts. If the camp is situated at a distance from the fort and is provided with an elevated post for archers and their flags, then the enemy's fort may be set on fire. Spies, living as watchmen of the fort, may tie inflammable powder to the tails of mongooses, monkeys, cats and dogs and let them go over the thatched roofs of the houses. A splinter of fire kept in the body of a dried fish may be caused to be carried off by a monkey, or a crow, or any other bird (to the thatched roofs of the houses).

Small balls prepared from the mixture of sarala (Pinus Longifolia), devadaru (deodar), putitrina (stinking grass), guggulu (Bdellium), sriveshtaka (turpentine), the juice of sarja (Vatica Robusta), and laksha (lac) combined with dungs of an ass, camel, sheep, and goat are inflammable (agnidharanah, i.e., such as keep fire.)

The mixture of the powder of priyala (Chironjia Sapida), the charcoal of avalguja (oanyza, serratula, anthelmintica), madhuchchhishta (wax), and the dung of a horse, ass, camel, and cow is an inflammable powder to be hurled against the enemy.

The powder of all the metals (sarvaloha) as red as fire, or the mixture of the powder of kumbhí (gmelia arberea, sísa (lead), trapu (zinc), mixed with the charcoal powder of the flowers of paribhadraka (deodar), palasa (Butea Frondosa), and hair, and with oil, wax, and turpentine, is also an inflammable powder.

A stick of visvasaghati painted with the above mixture and wound round with a bark made of hemp, zinc, and lead, is a fire-arrow (to be hurled against the enemy).

When a fort can be captured by other means, no attempt should be made to set fire to it; for fire cannot be trusted; it not only offends gods, but also destroys the people, grains, cattle, gold, raw materials and the like. Also the acquisition of a fort with its property all destroyed is a source of further loss. Such is the aspect of a siege.

When the conqueror thinks: "I am well provided with all necessary means and with workmen whereas my enemy is diseased with officers proved to be impure under temptations, with unfinished forts and deficient stores, allied with no friends, or with friends inimical at heart," then he should consider it as an opportune moment to take up arms and storm the fort.

When fire, accidental or intentionally kindled, breaks out; when the enemy's people are engaged in a sacrificial performance, or in witnessing spectacles or the troops, or in a quarrel due to the drinking of liquor; or when the enemy's army is too much tired by daily engagements in battles and is reduced in strength in consequence of the slaughter of a number of its men in a number of battles; when the enemy's people wearied from sleeplessness have fallen asleep; or on the occasion of a cloudy day, of floods, or of a thick fog or snow, general assault should be made.

Or having concealed himself in a forest after abandoning the camp, the conqueror may strike the enemy when the latter comes out.

A king pretending to be the enemy's chief friend or ally, may make the friendship closer with the besieged, and send a messenger to say: "This is thy weak point; these are thy internal enemies; that is the weak point of the besieger; and this person (who, deserting the conqueror, is now coming to thee) is thy partisan." When this partisan is returning with another messenger from the enemy, the conqueror should catch hold of him and, having published the partisan's guilt, should banish him, and retire from the siege operations. Then the pretending friend may tell the besieged: "Come out to help me, or let us combine and strike the besieger." Accordingly, when the enemy comes out, he may be hemmed between the two forces (the conqueror's force and the pretending friend's force) and killed or captured alive to distribute his territory (between the conqueror and the friend). His capital city may be razed to the ground; and the flower of his army made to come out and destroyed.

This explains the treatment of a conquered enemy or wild chief.

Either a conquered enemy or the chief of a wild tribe (in conspiracy with the conqueror) may inform the besieged: "With the intention of escaping from a disease, or from the attack in his weak point by his enemy in the rear, or from a rebellion in his army, the conqueror seems to be thinking of going elsewhere, abandoning the siege." When the enemy is made to believe this, the conqueror may set fire to his camp and retire. Then the enemy coming out may be hemmed . . . as before.

Or having collected merchandise mixed with poison, the conqueror may deceive the enemy by sending that merchandise to the latter.

Or a pretending ally of the enemy may send a messenger to the enemy, asking him: "Come out to smite the conqueror already struck by me." When he does so, he may be hemmed . . . as before.

Spies, disguised as friends or relatives and with passports and orders in their hands, may enter the enemy's fort and help to its capture.

Or a pretending ally of the enemy may send information to the besieged: "I am going to strike the besieging camp at such a time and place; then you should also fight along with me." When the enemy does so, or when he comes out of his fort after witnessing the tumult and uproar of the besieging army in danger, he may be slain as before.

Or a friend or a wild chief in friendship with the enemy may be induced and encouraged to seize the land of the enemy when the latter is besieged by the conqueror. When accordingly any one of them attempts to seize the enemy's territory, the enemy's people or the leaders of the enemy's traitors may be employed to murder him (the friend or the wild chief); or the conqueror himself may administer poison to him. Then another pretending friend may inform the enemy

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that the murdered person was a fratricide (as he attempted to seize the territory of his friend in troubles). After strengthening his intimacy with the enemy, the pretending friend may sow the seeds of dissension between the enemy and his officers and have the latter hanged. Causing the peaceful people of the enemy to rebel, he may put them down, unknown to the enemy. Then having taken with him a portion of his army composed of furious wild tribes, he may enter the enemy's fort and allow it to be captured by the conqueror. Or traitors, enemies, wild tribes and other persons who have deserted the enemy, may, under the plea of having been reconciled, honoured and rewarded, go back to the enemy and allow the fort to be captured by the conqueror.

Having captured the fort or having returned to the camp after its capture, he should give quarter to those of the enemy's army who, whether as lying prostrate in the field, or as standing with their back turned to the conqueror, or with their hair dishevelled, with their weapons thrown down or with their body disfigured and shivering under fear, surrender themselves. After the captured fort is cleared of the enemy's partisans and is well guarded by the conqueror's men both within and without, he should make his victorious entry into it.

Having thus seized the territory of the enemy close to his country, the conqueror should direct his attention to that of the madhyama king; this being taken, he should catch hold of that of the neutral king. This is the first way to conquer the world. In the absence of the madhyama and neutral kings, he should, in virtue of his own excellent qualities, win the hearts of his enemy's subjects, and then direct his attention to other remote enemies. This is the second way. In the absence of a Circle of States (to be conquered), he should conquer his friend or his enemy by hemming each between his own force and that of his enemy or that of his friend respectively. This is the third way.

Or he may first put down an almost invincible immediate enemy. Having doubled his power by this victory, he may go against a second enemy; having trebled his power by this victory, he may attack a third. This is the fourth way to conquer the world.

Having conquered the earth with its people of distinct castes and divisions of religious life, he should enjoy it by governing it in accordance with the duties prescribed to kings.

• Intrigue, spies, winning over the enemy's people, siege, and assault are the five means to capture a fort.

[Thus ends Chapter 4, "The Operation of a Siege and Storming a Fort," in Book 13, "Strategic Means to Capture a Fortress," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and forty-fourth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 5. RESTORATION OF PEACE IN A CONQUERED COUNTRY.

The expedition which the conqueror has to undertake may be of two kinds: in wild tracts or in single villages and the like.

The territory which he acquires may be of three kinds: that which is newly acquired, that which is recovered (from an usurper) and that which is inherited.

Having acquired a new territory, he should cover the enemy's vices with his own virtues, and the enemy's virtues by doubling his own virtues, by strict observance of his own duties, by attending to his works, by bestowing rewards, by remitting taxes, by giving gifts, and by bestowing honours. He should follow the friends and leaders of the people. He should give rewards, as promised, to those who deserted the enemy for his cause; he should also offer rewards to them as often as they render help to him; for whoever fails to fullfil his promises becomes untrustworthy both to his own and his enemy's people. Whoever acts against the will of the people will also become unreliable. He should adopt the same mode of life, the same dress, language, and customs as those of the people. He should follow the people in their faith with which they celebrate their national, religious and congregational festivals or amusements. His spies should often bring home to the mind of the leaders of provinces, villages, castes, and corporations the hurt inflicted on the enemies in contrast with the high esteem and favour with which they are treated by the conqueror, who finds his own prosperity in theirs. He should please them by giving gifts, remitting taxes, and providing for their security. He should always hold religious life in high esteem. Learned men, orators, charitable and brave persons should be favoured with gifts of land and money and with remission of taxes. He should release all the prisoners, and afford help to miserable, helpless, and diseased persons. He should prohibit the slaughter of animals for half a month during the period of Chaturmasya (from July to September), for four nights during the full moon, and for a night on the day of the birth-star of the conqueror or of the national star. He should also prohibit the slaughter of females and young ones (yonibalavadham) as well as castration. Having abolished those customs or transactions which he might consider either as injurious to the growth of his revenue and army or as unrighteous, he should establish righteous transactions. He should compel born thieves as well as the Mlechchhas to change their habitations often and reside in many places. Such of his chief officers in charge of the forts, country parts, and the army, and ministers and priests as are found to have been in conspiracy with the enemy should also be compelled to have their habitations in different places on the borders of the enemy's country. Such of his men as are capable to hurt him, but are convinced of their own fall with that of their master, should be pacified by secret remonstrance. Such renegades of his own country as are captured along with the enemy should be made to reside in remote corners. Whoever of the enemy's family is capable to wrest the conquered territory and is taking shelter in a wild tract on the border, often harassing the conqueror, should be provided with a sterile portion of territory or with a fourth part of a fertile tract on the condition of supplying to the conqueror a fixed amount of money and a fixed number of troops, in raising which he may incur the displeasure of the people and may be destroyed by them. Whoever has caused excitement to the people or incurred their displeasure should be removed and placed in a dangerous locality.

Having recovered a lost territory, he should hide those vices of his, owing to which he lost it, and increase those virtues by which he recovered it.

With regard to the inherited territory, he should cover the vices of his father, and display his own virtues.

• He should initiate the observance of all those customs, which, though righteous and practised by others, are not observed in his own country, and give no room for the practice of whatever is unrighteous, though observed by others.

[Thus ends Chapter 5, "Restoration of Peace in a Conquered Country," in Book 13, "Strategic Means to Capture a Fortress," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and forty-fifth chapter from the beginning. With this ends the thirteenth Book "Strategic Means to Capture a Fortress," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya.]

KAUTILYA'S ARTHASHASTRA: BOOK 14

"Secret Means"

CHAPTER 1. MEANS TO INJURE AN ENEMY.

In order to protect the institution of the four castes, such measures as are treated of in secret science shall be applied against the wicked. Through the instrumentality of such men or women of Mlechchha class as can put on disguises, appropriate to different countries, arts, or professions, or as can put on the appearance of a hump-backed, dwarfish, or short-sized person, or of a dumb, deaf, idiot, or blind person, kalakuta and other manifold poisons should be administered in the diet and other physical enjoyments of the wicked. Spies lying in wait or living as inmates (in the same house) may make use of weapons on occasions of royal sports or musical and other entertainments. Spies, under the disguise of night-walkers (ratrichari) or of fire-keepers (agni-jívi) may set fire (to the houses of the wicked).

The powder (prepared from the carcass) of animals such as chitra (?), bheka (frog), kaundinyaka (?), krikana (perdix sylvatika), panchakushtha (?), and satapadi, (centipede); or of animals such as uchchitinga (crab), kambali (?), krikalasa (lizard) with the powder of the bark of satakanda (Phyalis Flexuosa); or of animals such as grihagaulika (a small house-lizard), andhahika (a blind snake), krakanthaka (a kind of partridge), putikita (a stinking insect), and gomarika (?) combined with the juice of bhallataka (Semecarpus Anacardium), and valgaka (?);--the smoke caused by burning the above powders causes instantaneous death.

• Any of the (above) insects may be heated with a black snake and priyangu (panic seed) and reduced to powder. This mixture, when burnt, causes instantaneous death.

The powder prepared from the roots of dhamargava (lufta foetida) and yatudhana (?) mixed with the powder of the flower of bhallataka (Semecarpus Anacardium) causes, when administered, death in the course of half a month. The root of vyaghata (casia fistula) reduced to powder with the flower of bhallataka (Semecarpus A nacardium) mixed with the essence of an insect (kíta) causes, when administered, death in the course of a month.

As much as a kala (16th of a tola) to men; twice as much to mules and horses; and four times as much to elephants and camels.

The smoke caused by burning the powder of satakardama (?), uchchitinga (crab), karavira (nerium odorum), katutumbi (a kind of bitter gourd), and fish together with the chaff of the grains of madana (?) and kodrava (paspalam scrobiculatum), or with the chaff of the seeds of hastikarna (castor oil tree) and palasa (butea frondosa) destroys animal life as far as it is carried off by the wind.

The smoke caused by burning the powder of putikita (a stinking insect), fish, katutumbi (a kind of bitter gourd), the bark of satakardama (?), and indragopa (the insect cochineal), or the powder of putikita, kshudrarala (the resin of the plant, shorea robusta), and hemavidari (?) mixed with the powder of the hoof and horn of a goat causes blindness.

The smoke caused by burning the leaves of putikaranja (guilandina bonducella), yellow arsenic, realgar, the seeds of gunja (abrus precatorius), the chaff of the seeds of red cotton, asphota (a plant, careya arborea), khacha (salt ?), and the dung and urine of a cow causes blindness.

The smoke caused by burning the skin of a snake, the dung of a cow and a horse, and the head of a blind snake causes blindness.

The smoke caused by burning the powder made of the mixture of the dung and urine of pigeons, frogs, flesh-eating animals, elephants, men, and boars, the chaff and powder of barley mixed with kasísa (green sulphate of iron), rice, the seeds of cotton, kutaja (nerium antidysentericum), and kosataki (lufta pentandra), cow's urine, the root of bhandi (hydroeotyle asiatica), the powder of nimba (nimba meria), sigru (hyperanthera morunga), phanirjaka (a kind of tulasi plant), kshíbapíluka (ripe coreya arborea), and bhanga (a common intoxicating drug), the skin of a snake and fish, and the powder of the nails and tusk of an elephant, all mixed with the chaff of madana and kodrava (paspalam scrobiculatum), or with the chaff of the seeds of hastikarna (castor oil tree) and palasa (butea frondosa) causes instantaneous death wherever the smoke is carried off by the wind.

When a man who has kept his eyes secure with the application of ointment and medicinal water burns, on the occasion of the commencement of a battle and the assailing of forts, the roots of kali (tragia involucrata), kushtha (costus), nada (a kind of reed) and satavari (asperagus racemosus), or the powder of (the skin of) a snake, the tail of a peacock, krikana (a kind of partridge), and panchakushtha (?), together with the chaff as previously described or with wet or dry chaff, the smoke caused thereby destroys the eyes of all animals.

The ointment prepared by mixing the excretion of sarika (maina), kapota (pigeon), baka (crane), and balaka (a kind of small crane) with the milk of kakshiva (hyperanthera morunga), píluka (a species of careya arborea) and snuhi (euphorbia) causes blindness and poisons water.

The mixture of yavaka (a kind of barley), the root of sala (achyrantes triandria), the fruit of madana (dattura plant?), the leaves of jatí (nutmeg?), and the urine of a man mixed with the powder of the root of plaksha (fig tree), and vidari (liquorice), as well as the essence of the decoction of musta (a kind of poison), udumbara (glomerous fig tree), and kodrava (paspalam scrobiculatum) or with the decoction of hastikarna (castor oil tree) and palasa (butea frondosa) is termed the juice of madana (madanayoga).

The mixture of the powders of sringi (atis betula), gaumevriksha (?), kantakara (solanum xanthocarpum), and mayurapadi (?), the powder of gunja seeds, languli (jusseina repens), vishamulika (?), and ingudi (heart-pea), and the powder of karavira (oleander), akshipiluka (careya arborea), arka plant, and mrigamarini (?) combined with the decoction of madana and kodrava or with that of hastikarna and palasa is termed madana mixture (madanayoga).

The combination of (the above two) mixtures poisons grass and water when applied to them.

The smoke caused by burning the mixture of the powders of krikana (a kind of partridge), krikalasa (lizard), grihagaulika (a small house-lizard) and andhahika (a blind snake) destroys the eyes and causes madness.

The (smoke caused by burning the) mixture of krikalasa and grihagaulika causes leprosy.

The smoke caused by burning the same mixture together with the entrails of chitrabheka (a kind of frog of variegated colour), and madhu (celtis orientalis?) causes gonorrhœa.

The same mixture, wetted with human blood causes consumption.

The powder of dushívisha (?), madana (dattura plant ?), and kodrava (paspalam scrobiculatum) destroys the tongue.

The mixture of the powder of matrivahaka (?), jaluka (leech), the tail of a peacock, the eyes of a frog, and píluka (careya arborea) causes the disease known as vishuchika.

The mixture of panchakushtha (?), kaundinyaka (?), rajavriksha (cassia fistula), and madhupushpa (bassia latifolia) and madhu (honey?) causes fever.

The mixture prepared from the powder of the knot of the tongue of bhaja (?), and nakula (mongoose) reduced to a paste with the milk of a she-donkey causes both dumbness and deafness.

The proportion of a dose to bring on the desired deformities in men and animals in the course of a fortnight or a month is as laid down before.

Mixtures become very powerful when, in the case of drugs, they are prepared by the process of decoction; and in the case of animals, by the process of making powders; or in all cases by the process of decoction.

Whoever is pierced by the arrow prepared from the grains of salmali (bombax heptaphyllum) and vidari (liquorice) reduced to powder and mixed with the powder of mulavatsanabha (a kind of poison) and smeared over with the blood of chuchundari (musk-rat) bites some ten other persons who in their turn bite others.

The mixture prepared from the flowers of bhallataka (semecarpus anacardium), yatudhana (?), dhamargava (achyranthes aspera), and bana (sal tree) mixed with the

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powder of ela (large cardamom), kakshi (red aluminous earth), guggulu (bdellium), and halahala (a kind of poison) together with the blood of a goat and a man causes biting madness.

When half a dharana of this mixture together with flour and oil-cakes is thrown into water of a reservoir measuring a hundred bows in length, it vitiates the whole mass of water; all the fish swallowing or touching this mixture become poisonous; and whoever drinks or touches this water will be poisoned.

No sooner does a person condemned to death pull out from the earth an alligator or iguana (godha) which, with three or five handfuls of both red and white mustard seeds, is entered into the earth than he dies at its sight.

When, on the days of the stars of krittika or bharaní and following the method of performing fearful rites, an oblation with a black cobra emitting froth at the shock of lightning or caught hold of by means of the sticks of a tree struck by lightning and perfumed is made into the fire, that fire continues to burn unquenchably.

• An oblation of honey shall be made into the fire fetched from the house of a blacksmith; of spirituous liquor into the fire brought from the house of a vintner; of clarified butter into the fire of a sacrificer (?);

• Of a garland into the fire kept by a sacrificer with one wife; of mustard seeds into the fire kept by an adulterous woman; of curds into the fire kept during the birth of a child; of rice-grain into the fire of a sacrificer;

• Of flesh into the fire kept by a chandala; of human flesh into the fire burning in cremation grounds; an oblation of the serum of the flesh of a goat and a man shall be made by means of a sacrificial ladle into the fire which is made of all the above fires;

• Repeating the mantras addressed to the fire, an oblation of the wooden pieces of rajavriksha (cassia fistula) into the same fire. This fire will unquenchably burn deluding the eyes of the enemies.

Salutation to Aditi, salutation to Anumati, salutation to Sarasvati and salutation to the Sun; oblation to Agni, oblation to soma, oblation to the earth, and oblation to the atmosphere.

[Thus ends Chapter 1, "Means to Injure an Enemy," in Book 14, "Secret Means," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and forty-sixth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 2. WONDERFUL AND DELUSIVE CONTRIVANCES.

A Dose of the powder of sirísha (mimosa sirísa), udumbara (glomerous fig-tree), and sami (acacia suma) mixed with clarified butter, renders fasting possible for half a month; the scum prepared from the mixture of the root of kaseruka (a kind of water-creeper), utpala (costus), and sugar-cane mixed with bisa (water-lily), durva (grass), milk, and clarified butter enables a man to fast for a month.

The powder of masha (phraseolus radiatus), yava (barley), kuluttha (horse-gram) and the root of darbha (sacrificial grass) mixed with milk and clarified butter; the milk of valli (a kind of creeper) and clarified butter derived from it and mixed in equal proportions and combined with the paste prepared from the root of sala (shorea robusta) and prisniparni (hedysarum lagopodioides), when drunk with milk; or a dose of milk mixed with clarified butter and spirituous liquor, both prepared from the above substances, enables one to fast for a month.

The oil prepared from mustard seeds previously kept for seven nights in the urine of a white goat will, when used (externally) after keeping the oil inside a large bitter gourd for a month and a half, alter the colour of both biped and quadruped animals.

The oil extracted from white mustard seeds mixed with the barley-corns contained in the dung of a white donkey, which has been living for more than seven nights on a diet of butter, milk and barley, causes alteration in colour.

The oil prepared from mustard seeds which have been previously kept in the urine and fluid dung of any of the two animals, a white goat and a white donkey, causes (when applied) such white colour as that of the fibre of arka plant or the down of a (white) bird.

The mixture of the dung of a white cock and ajagara (boa-constrictor) causes white colour.

The pastry made from white mustard seeds kept for seven nights in the urine of a white goat mixed with butter-milk, the milk of arka plant, salt, and grains (dhanya), causes, when applied for a fortnight, white colour.

The paste, prepared from white mustard seeds which have been previously kept within a large bitter gourd and with clarified butter prepared from the milk of valli (a creeper) for half a month, makes the hair white.

• A bitter gourd, a stinking insect (putikíta), and a white house-lizard; when a paste prepared from these is applied to the hair, the latter becomes as white as a conch-shell.

When any part of the body of a man is rubbed over with the pastry (kalka) prepared from tinduka (glutinosa) and arishta (soap-berry), together with the dung of a cow, the part of the body being also smeared over with the juice of bhallataka (semecarpus anacardium), he will catch leprosy in the course of a month.

(The application of the paste prepared from) gunja seeds kept previously for seven nights in the mouth of a white cobra or in the mouth of a house-lizard brings on leprosy.

External application of the liquid essence of the egg of a parrot and a cuckoo brings on leprosy.

The pastry or decoction prepared from priyala (chironjia sapida or vitis vinifera ?) is a remedy for leprosy.

Whoever eats the mixture of the powders of the roots of kukkuta (marsilia dentata), kosataki (duffa pentandra), and satavari (asparagus racemosus) for a month will become white.

Whoever bathes in the decoction of vata (banyan tree) and rubs his body with the paste prepared from sahachara (yellow barleria) becomes black.

Sulphuret of arsenic and red arsenic mixed with the oil extracted from sakuna (a kind of bird) and kanka (a vulture) causes blackness.

The powder of khadyota (fire-fly) mixed with the oil of mustard seeds emits light at night.

The powder of khadyota (fire-fly) and gandupada (earth-worm) or the powder of ocean animals mixed with the powder of bhringa (malabathrum), kapala (a pot-herb), and khadira (mimosa catechu), and karnikara (pentapetes acerifolia), combined with the oil of sakuna (a bird) and kanka (vulture), is tejanachurna (ignition powder).

When the body of a man is rubbed over with the powder of the charcoal of the bark of paribhadraka (erythrina indica) mixed with the serum of the flesh of manduka (a frog), it can be burnt with fire (without causing hurt).

The body which is painted with the pastry (kalka) prepared from the bark of paribhadraka (erythrina indica) and sesamum seeds burns with fire.

The ball prepared from the powder of the charcoal of the bark of pílu (careya arborea) can be held in hand and burnt with fire.

When the body of a man is smeared over with the serum of the flesh of a frog, it burns with fire (with no hurt).

When the body of a man is smeared over with the above serum as well as with the oil extracted from the fruits of kusa (ficus religiosa), and amra (mango tree), and when the powder prepared from an ocean frog (samdura manduki), phenaka (sea-foam), and sarjarasa (the juice of vatica robusta) is sprinkled over the body, it burns with fire (without being hurt).

When the body of a man is smeared over with sesamum oil mixed with equal quantities of the serum of the flesh of a frog, crab, and other animals, it can burn with fire (without hurt).

The body which is smeared over with the serum of the flesh of a frog burns with fire.

The body of a man, which is rubbed over with the powder of the root of bamboo (venu) and saivala (aquatic plant), and is smeared over with the serum of the flesh of a frog, burns with fire.

Whoever has anointed his legs with the oil extracted from the paste prepared from the roots of paribhadraka (erythrina indica), pratibala (?), vanjula (a kind of ratan or tree), vajra (andropogon muricatum or euphorbia), and kadali (banana), mixed with the serum of the flesh of a frog, can walk over fire (without hurt).

• Oil should be extracted from the paste prepared from the roots of pratibala, vanjula and paribhadraka, all growing near water, the paste being mixed with the serum of the flesh of a frog.

• Having anointed one's legs with this oil, one can walk over a white-hot mass of fire as though on a bed of roses.

When birds such as a hamsa (goose), krauncha (heron), mayura (peacock) and other large swimming birds are let to fly at night with a burning reed attached to their tail it presents the appearance of a fire-brand falling from the sky (ulka).

Ashes caused by lightning quench the fire.

When, in a fireplace, kidney beans (masha) wetted with the menstrual fluid of a woman, as well as the roots of vajra (andropogon muricatum) and kadali (banana), wetted with the serum of the flesh of a frog are kept, no grains can be cooked there.

Cleansing the fire place is its remedy.

By keeping in the mouth a ball-like piece of pilu (careya arberea) or a knot of the root of linseed tree (suvarchala) with fire inserted within the mass of the ball and wound round with threads and cotton (pichu), volumes of smoke and fire can be breathed out.

When the oil extracted from the fruits of kusa (ficus religiosa) and amra (mango) is poured over the fire, it burns even in the storm.

Sea-foam wetted with oil and ignited keeps burning when floating on water.

The fire generated by churning the bone of a monkey by means of a bamboo stick of white and black colour (kalmashavenu) burns in water instead of being quenched.

There will burn no other fire where the fire generated by churning, by means of a bamboo stick of white and black colour, the left side rib-bone of a man killed by a weapon or put to the gallows; or the fire generated by churning the bone of a man or woman by means of the bone of another man is circumambulated thrice from right to left.

• When the paste prepared from the animals such as chuchundari (musk-rat), khanjarita (?) and kharakíta (?), with the urine of a horse is applied to the chains with which the legs of a man are bound, they will be broken to pieces.

The sun-stone (ayaskanta) or any other stone (will break to pieces) when wetted with the serum of the flesh of the animals kulinda (?), dardura (?), and kharakíta (?).

The paste prepared from the powder of the rib-bone of naraka (?), a donkey, kanka (a kind of vulture), and bhasa (a bird), mixed with the juice of water-lily, is applied to the legs of bipeds and quadrupeds (while making a journey).

When a man makes a journey, wearing the shoes made of the skin of a camel, smeared over with the serum of the flesh of an owl and a vulture and covered over with the leaves of the banyan tree, he can walk fifty yojanas without any fatigue.

(When the shoes are smeared over with) the pith, marrow or sperm of the birds, syena, kanka, kaka, gridhra, hamsa, krauncha, and vichiralla, (the traveller wearing them) can walk a hundred yojanas (without any fatigue).

The fat or serum derived from roasting a pregnant camel together with saptaparna (lechites scholaris) or from roasting dead children in cremation grounds, is applied to render a journey of a hundred yojanas easy.

• Terror should be caused to the enemy by exhibiting these and other wonderful and delusive performances; while anger causing terror is common to all, terrification by such wonders is held as a means to consolidate peace.

[Thus ends Chapter 2, "Wonderful and Delusive Contrivances," in Book 14, "Secret Means," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and forty-seventh chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 3. THE APPLICATION OF MEDICINES AND MANTRAS.

Having pulled out both the right and the left eye-balls of a cat, camel, wolf, boar, porcupine, vaguli (?), naptri (?), crow and owl, or of any one, two, or three, or many of such animals as roam at nights, one should reduce them to two kinds of powder. Whoever anoints his own right eye with the powder of the left eye and his left eye with the powder of the right eye-ball can clearly see things even in pitch dark at night.

• One is the eye of a boar; another is that of a khadyota (fire-fly), or a crow, or a mina bird. Having anointed one's own eyes with the above, one can clearly see things at night.

Having fasted for three nights, one should, on the day of the star, Pushya, catch hold of the skull of a man who has been killed with a weapon or put to the gallows. Having filled the skull with soil and barley seeds, one should irrigate them with the milk of goats and sheep. Putting on the garland formed of the sprouts of the above barley crop, one can walk invisible to others.

Having fasted for three nights and having afterwards pulled out on the day of the star of Pushya both the right and the left eyes of a dog, a cat, an owl, and a vaguli (?), one should reduce them to two kinds of powder. Then having anointed one's own eyes with this ointment as usual, one can walk invisible to others.

Having fasted for three nights, one should, on the day of the star of Pushya, prepare a round-headed pin (salaka) from the branch of purushaghati (punnaga tree). Then having filled with ointment (anjana) the skull of any of the animals which roam at nights, and having inserted that skull in the organ of procreation of a dead woman, one should burn it. Having taken it out on the day of the star of Pushya and having anointed one's own eyes with that ointment, one can walk invisible to others.

Wherever one may happen to see the corpse burnt or just being burnt of a Brahman who kept sacrificial fire (while alive), there one should fast for three nights; and having on the day of the star of Pushya formed a sack from the garment of the corpse of a man who has died from natural causes, and having filled the sack with the ashes of the Brahman's corpse, one may put on the sack on one's back, and walk invisible to others.

The slough of a snake filled with the powder of the bones and marrow or fat of the cow sacrificed during the funeral rites of a Brahman, can, when put on the back of cattle, render them invisible.

The slough of prachalaka (a bird?) filled with the ashes of the corpse of a man dead from snake-bite, can render beasts (mriga) invisible.

The slough of a snake (ahi) filled with the powder of the bone of the knee-joint mixed with that of the tail and dung (purísha) of an owl and a vaguli (?), can render birds invisible.

Such are the eight kinds of the contrivances causing invisibility.

• I bow to Bali, son of Virochana; to Sambara acquainted with a hundred kinds of magic; to Bhandírapaka, Naraka, Nikumbha, and Kumbha.

• I bow to Devala and Narada; I bow to Savarnigalava; with the permission of these I cause deep slumber to thee.

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• Just as the snakes, known as ajagara (boa-constrictor) fall into deep slumber, so may the rogues of the army who are very anxious to keep watch over the village;

• With their thousands of dogs (bhandaka) and hundreds of ruddy geese and donkeys, fall into deep slumber; I shall enter this house, and may the dogs be quiet.

• Having bowed to Manu, and having tethered the roguish dogs (sunakaphelaka), and having also bowed to those gods who are in heaven, and to Brahmans among mankind;

• To those who are well versed in their Vedic studies, those who have attained to Kailasa (a mountain of god Siva) by observing penance, and to all prophets, I do cause deep slumber to thee.

The fan (chamari) comes out; may all combinations retire. Oblation to Manu, O Aliti and Paliti.

The application of the above mantra is as follows:--

Having fasted for three nights, one should, on the fourteenth day of the dark half of the month, the day being assigned to the star of Pushya, purchase from a low-caste woman (svapaki) vilikhavalekhana (finger nails?). Having kept them in a basket (kandolika), one should bury them apart in cremation grounds. Having unearthed them on the next fourteenth day, one should reduce them to a paste with kumari (aloe ?) and prepare small pills out of the paste. Wherever one of the pills is thrown, chanting the above mantra, there the whole animal life falls into deep slumber.

Following the same procedure, one should separately bury in cremation grounds three white and three black dart-like hairs (salyaka) of a porcupine. When, having on the next fourteenth day taken them out, one throws them together with the ashes of a burnt corpse, chanting the above mantra, the whole animal life in that place falls into deep slumber.

• I bow to the goddess Suvarnapushpi and to Brahmani, to the god Brahma, and to Kusadhvaja; I bow to all serpents and goddesses; I bow to all ascetics.

• May all Brahmans and Kshattriyas come under my power; may all Vaisyas and, Sudras be at my beck and call,

Oblation to thee, O, Amile, Kimile, Vayujare, Prayoge, Phake, Kavayusve, Vihale, and Dantakatake, oblation to thee.

• May the dogs which are anxiously keeping watch over the village fall into deep and happy slumber; these three white dart-like hairs of the porcupine are the creation of Brahma.

• All prophets (siddha) have fallen into deep slumber. I do cause sleep to the whole village as far as its boundary till the sun rises. Oblation!

The application of the above mantra is as follows:--

When a man, having fasted for seven nights and secured three white dart-like hairs of a porcupine, makes on the fourteenth day of the dark half of the month oblations into the fire with 108 pieces of the sacrificial fire-wood of khadira (mimosa catechu) and other trees together with honey and clarified butter chanting the above mantra, and when, chanting the same mantra, he buries one of the hairs at the entrance of either a village or a house within it, he causes the whole animal life therein to fall into deep slumber.

• I bow to Bali, the son of Vairochana, to S'atamaya, S'ambara, Nikumbha, Naraka, Kumbha, Tantukachchha, the great demon;

• To Armalava, Pramila, Mandoluka, Ghatodbala, to Krishna with his followers, and to the famous woman, Paulomi.

• Chanting the sacred mantras, I do take the pith or the bone of the corpse (savasarika) productive of my desired ends--may S'alaka demons be victorious; salutation to them; oblation!--May the dogs which are anxiously keeping watch over the village fall into deep and happy slumber.

• May all prophets (siddharthah) fall into happy sleep about the object which we are seeking from sunset to sunrise and till the attainment of my desired end. Oblation!

The application of the above mantra is as follows:-- Having fasted for four nights and having on the fourteenth day of the dark half of the month performed animal sacrifice (bali) in cremation grounds, one should, repeating the above mantra, collect the pith of a corpse (savasarika) and keep it in a basket made of leaves (pattrapauttalika). When this basket, being pierced in the centre by a dart-like hair of a porcupine, is buried, chanting the above mantra, the whole animal life therein falls into deep slumber.

• I take refuge with the god of fire and with all the goddesses in the ten quarters; may all obstructions vanish and may all things come under my power. Oblation.

The application of the above mantra is as follows:--

Having fasted for three nights and having on the day of the star of Pushya prepared twenty-one pieces of sugar-candy, one should make oblation into the fire with honey and clarified butter; and having worshipped the pieces of sugar-candy with scents and garlands of flowers, one should bury them. When, having on the next day of the star of Pushya unearthed the pieces of sugar-candy, and chanting the above mantra, one strikes the door-panel of a house with one piece and throws four pieces in the interior, the door will open itself.

Having fasted for four nights, one should on the fourteenth day of the dark half of the month get a figure of a bull prepared from the bone of a man, and worship it, repeating the above mantra. Then a cart drawn by two bulls will be brought before the worshipper who can (mount it and) drive in the sky and tell all that is connected with the sun and other planets of the sky.

O, Chandali Kumbhi, Tumba Katuka, and Sarigha, thou art possessed of the bhaga of a woman, oblation to thee.

When this mantra is repeated, the door will open and the inmates fall into sleep.

Having fasted for three nights, one should on the day of the star of Pushya fill with soil the skull of a man killed with weapons or put to the gallows, and, planting in it valli (vallari ?) plants, should irrigate them with water. Having taken up the grown-up plants on the next day of the star of Pushya (i.e., after 27 days), one should manufacture a rope from them. When this rope is cut into two pieces before a drawn bow or any other shooting machine, the string of those machines will be suddenly cut into two pieces.

When the slough of a water-snake (udakahi) is filled with the breathed-out dirt (uchchhvasamrittika?) of a man or woman (and is held before the face and nose of any person), it causes those organs to swell.

When the sack-like skin of the abdomen of a dog or a boar is filled with the breathed-out dirt (uchchhvasamrittika) of a man or woman and is bound (to the body of a man) with the ligaments of a monkey, it causes the man's body to grow in width and length (anaha),

When the figure of an enemy carved out of rajavriksha (cassia fistula) is besmeared with the bile of a brown cow killed with a weapon on the fourteenth day of the dark half of the month, it causes blindness (to the enemy).

Having fasted for four nights and offered animal sacrifice (bali) on the fourteenth day of the dark half of the month, one should get a few bolt-like pieces prepared from the bone of a man put to the gallows. When one of these pieces is put in the feces or urine (of an enemy), it causes (his) body to grow in size (anaha); and when the same piece is buried under the feet or seat (of an enemy), it causes death by consumption; and when it is buried in the shop, fields, or the house (of an enemy), it causes him loss of livelihood.

The same process of smearing and burying holds good with the bolt-like pieces (kilaka) prepared from vidyuddanda tree.

• When the nail of the little finger (punarnavam avachinam ?) nimba (nimba melia), kama (bdellium), madhu (celtis orientalis), the hair of a monkey, and the bone of a man, all wound round with the garment of a dead man.

• Is buried in the house of, or is trodden down by, a man, that man with his wife, children and wealth will not survive three fortnights.

• When the nail of the little finger, nimba (nimba melia), kama (bdellium), madhu (celtis orientalis), and the bone of a man dead from natural causes are buried under the feet of,

• Or near the house of, a man or in the vicinity of the camp of an army, of a village, or of a city, that man (or the body of men) with wife, children, and wealth will not survive three fortnights.

• When the hair of a sheep and a monkey, of a cat and mongoose, of Brahmans, of low-caste men (svapaka), and of a crow and an owl is collected,

• And is made into a paste with fæces (vishtavakshunna), its application brings on instantaneous death. When a flower garland of a dead body, the ferment derived from burning corpse, the hair of a mangoose,

• And the skin of scorpion, a bee, and a snake are buried under the feet of a man, that man will lose all human appearance so long as they are not removed.

Having fasted for three nights and having on the day of the star of Pushya planted gunja seeds in the skull, filled with soil, of a man killed with weapons or put to the gallows, one should irrigate it with water. On the new or full moon day with the star of Pushya, one should take out the plants when grown, and prepare out of them circular pedestals (mandalika). When vessels containing food and water are placed on these pedestals, the food stuffs will never decrease in quantity.

When a grand procession is being celebrated at night, one should cut off the nipples of the udder of a dead cow and burn them in a torch-light flame. A fresh vessel should be plastered in the interior with the paste prepared from these burnt nipples, mixed with the urine of a bull. When this vessel, taken round the village in circumambulation from right to left, is placed below, the whole quantity of the butter produced by all the cows (of the village) will collect itself in the vessel.

On the fourteenth day of the dark half of the month combined with the star of Pushya, one should thrust into the organ of procreation of a dog or heat an iron seal (katalayasam mudrikam) and take it up when it falls down of itself. When, with this seal in hand, a collection of fruits is called out, it will come of itself (before the magician).

• By the power of mantras, drugs, and other magical performances, one should protect one's own people and hurt those of the enemy.

[Thus ends Chapter 3, "The Application of Medicine and Mantras," in Book 14, "Secret Means," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and forty-eighth chapter from the beginning.]

CHAPTER 4. REMEDIES AGAINST THE INJURIES OF ONE'S OWN ARMY.

With regard to remedies against poisons and poisonous compounds applied by an enemy against one's own army or people:-- When the things that are meant for the king's use, inclusive of the limbs of women, as well as the things of the army are washed in the tepid water prepared from the decoction of sleshmataki (sebesten or cordia myk), kapi (emblica officinalis), madanti (?), danta (ivory), satha (Citron tree), gojigi (gojihva ?--elephantophus scaber), visha (aconitum ferox), patali (bignonia suave olens), bala (lida cardifolia et rombifolia), syonaka (bignonia indica), punarnava (?), sveta (andropogon aciculatum), and tagara (tabernæmontana coronaria), mixed with chandana (sandal) and the blood of salavriki (jackal), it removes the bad effects of poison.

The mixture prepared from the biles of prishata (red-spotted deer), nakula (mongoose), nilakantha (peacock), and godha (alligator), with charcoal powder (mashiraji), combined with the sprouts (agra) of sinduvara (vitex trifolia), tagara (tabernæmontana coronaria, varuna) (teriandium indicum), tandulíyaka (amaranthus polygamus), and sataparva (convolvulus repens) together with pindítaka (vangueria spinosa) removes the effects of the mixture of madana.

Among the decoctions of the roots of srigala (bignonia indica), vinna (?), madana, sinduvara (vitex trifolia), tagara (tabernæmontana coronaria), and valli, (a creeper ?), any one or all mixed with milk removes, when drunk, the effects of the mixture of madana.

The stinking oil extracted from kaidarya (vangueria spinosa) removes madness.

The mixture prepared from priyangu (panic seed) and naktamala (galedupa arborea) removes, when applied through the nose, leprosy.

The mixture prepared from kushtha (costus) and lodhra (symplocus) removes consumption.

The mixture prepared from katuphala (glelina arborea), dravanti (anthericum tuberosum), and vilanga (a kind of seed) removes, when applied through the nose, headache and other diseases of the head.

The application of the mixture prepared from priyangu (panic seed), manjishtha (rubia manjit), tagara (tabernæmontana coronaria), laksharasa (the juice or essence of lac) madhuka (?), haridra (turmeric), and kshaudra (honey) to persons who have fallen senseless by being beaten by a rope, by falling into water, or by eating poison, or by being whipped, or by falling, resuscitates them.

The proportion of a dose is as much as an aksha (?) to men; twice as much to cows and horses; and four times as much to elephants and camels.

A round ball (mani) prepared from the above mixture and containing gold (rukma) in its centre, removes the the effects due to any kind of poison.

A round ball (mani) prepared from the wood of asvattha (holy fig tree) growing wound round with the plants such as jívantí (a medicinal plant), sveta (andropogan aciculatum) the flower of mushkaka (a species of tree), and vanadaka (epidendrum tesseloides), removes the effects due to any kind of poison.

• The sound of trumpets painted with the above mixture destroys poison; whoever looks at a flag or banner besmeared with the above mixture will get rid of poison.

• Having applied these remedies to secure the safety of himself and his army, a king should make use of poisonous smokes and other mixtures to vitiate water against his enemy.

[Thus ends Chapter 4, "Remedies against the Injuries of One's Own Army," in Book 14, "Secret Means," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya. End of the hundred and forty-ninth chapter from the beginning. With this, ends the fourteenth Book "Secret Means," of the Arthasastra of Kautilya.]

KAUTILYA'S ARTHASHASTRA: BOOK 15

"The Plan of a Treatise"

CHAPTER 1. PARAGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS OF THIS TREATISE.

The subsistence of mankind is termed artha, wealth; the earth which contains mankind is also termed artha, wealth; that science which treats of the means of acquiring and maintaining the earth is the Arthasastra, Science of Polity.

It contains thirty-two paragraphical divisions; the book (adhikarana), contents (vidhana), suggestion of similar facts (yoga), the meaning of a word (padartha), the purport of reason (hetvartha), mention of a fact in brief (uddesa), mention of a fact in detail (nirdesa), guidance (upadesa), quotation, (apadesa), application (atidesa) the place of reference (pradesa), simile (upamana), implication (arthapatti), doubt (samsaya), reference to similar procedure (presanga), contrariety (viparyaya), ellipsis (vakyasesha), acceptance (anumata), explanation (vyakhayana), derivation

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(nirvachana), illustration (nidarsana), exception (apavarga), the author's own technical terms (svasanja), prima facie view (purva paksha), rejoinder (uttrapaksha), conclusion (ekanta), reference to a subsequent portion (anagatavekshana), reference to a previous portion (atikrantavekshana), command (niyoga), alternative (vikalpa), compounding together (samuchchaya), and determinable fact (uhya).

That portion of a work in which a subject or topic is treated of is a book, as for example: "This Arthasastra or Science of Polity has been made as a compendium of all those Arthasastras which, as a guidance to kings in acquiring and maintaining the earth, have been written by ancient teachers."

A brief description of the matter contained in a book is its contents, as: "the end of learning; association with the aged; control of the organs of sense; the creation of ministers, and the like."

Pointing out similar facts by the use of such words as 'These and the like,' is suggestion of similar facts; for example: "The world consisting of the four castes and the four religious divisions and the like."

The sense which a word has to convey is its meaning; for example, with regard to the words mulahara: "Whoever squanders the wealth acquired for him by his father and grandfather is a mulahara, prodigal son."

What is meant to prove an assertion is the purport of reason; for example: "For charity and enjoyment of life depend upon wealth."

Saying in one word is mentioning a fact in brief; for example: "It is the control of the organs of sense on which success in learning and discipline depend."

Explanation in detached words is the mentioning of a fact in detail; for example: "Absence of discrepancy in the perception of sound, touch, colour, flavour, and scent by means of the ear, the skin, the eyes, the tongue, and the nose, is what is meant by restraint of the organs of sense."

Such statement as "Thus one should live," is guidance; for example: "Not violating the laws of righteousness and economy, he should live."

Such statement, as 'he says thus,' is a quotation; for example: "The school of Manu say that a king should make his assembly of ministers consist of twelve ministers; the school of Brihaspati say that it should consist of sixteen ministers; the school of Usans say it should contain twenty members; but Kautilya holds that it should contain as many ministers as the need of the kingdom requires."

When a rule dwelt upon in connection with a question is said to apply to another question also, it is termed application; for example: "What is said of a debt not repaid holds good with failure to make good a promised gift."

Establishing a fact by what is to be treated of later on is 'place of reference;' for example: "By making use of such strategic means as conciliation, bribery, dissension, and coercion, as we shall explain in connection with calamities."

Proving an unseen thing or course of circumstances by what has been seen is simile; for example: "Like a father his son, he should protect those of his subjects who have passed the period of the remission of taxes."

What naturally follows from a statement of facts, though not spoken of in plain terms, is implication; for example, "Whoever has full experience of the affairs of this world should, through the medium of the courtiers and other friends, win the favour of a king who is of good character and worthy sovereign. It follows from this that no one should seek the favour of a king through the medium of the king's enemies."

When the statement of a reason is equally applicable to two cases of circumstances, it is termed doubt; for example: "Which of the two should a conqueror march against: one whose subjects are impoverished and greedy, or one whose subjects are oppressed?"

When the nature of procedure to be specified in connection with a thing is said to be equal to what has already been specified in connection with another, it is termed reference to similar procedure; for example: "On the lands allotted to him for the purpose of carrying on agricultural operations, he should do as before."

The inference of a reverse statement from a positive statement is termed contrariety; for example: "The reverse will be the appearance of a king who is not pleased with the messenger."

That portion of a sentence which is omitted, though necessary to convey a complete sense, is ellipsis; for example: "With his feathers plucked off, he will lose his power to move." Here 'like a bird' is omitted.

When the opinion of another person is stated but not refuted, it is acceptance of that opinion; for example: "Wings, front, and reserve, is the form of an array of the army according to the school of Usanas."

Description in detail is explanation; for example: "Especially amongst assemblies and confederacies of kings possessing the characteristics of assemblies, quarrel is due to gambling ; and destruction of persons due to the quarrel. Hence, among evil propensities, gambling is the worst evil, since it renders the king powerless for activity."

Stating the derivative sense of a word, is derivation; for example: "That which throws off (vyasyati) a king from his prosperous career is propensity (vyasana).

The mentioning of a fact to illustrate a statement, is illustration; for example: "In war with a superior, the inferior will be reduced to the same condition as that of a foot-soldier fighting with an elephant."

Removal of an undesired implication from a statement is exception; for example: "A king may allow his enemy's army to be present close to his territory, unless he suspects of the existence of any internal trouble."

Words which are not used by others in the special sense in which they are used by the author are his own technical terms; for example: "He who is close to the conqueror's territory is the first member; next to him comes the second member; and next to the second comes the third."

The citation of another's opinion to be refuted, is prima facie view; for example: "Of the two evils, the distress of the king and that of his minister, the latter is worse."

Settled opinion is rejoinder; for example: "The distress of the king is worse, since everything depends upon him; for the king is the central pivot, as it were."

That which is universal in its application is conclusion or an established fact: for example: "A king should ever be ready for manly effort."

Drawing attention to a later chapter is reference to a subsequent portion; for example: "We shall explain balance and weights in the chapter, 'The Superintendent of Weights and Measures'."

The statement that it has been already spoken of is reference to a previous portion: for example, "The qualifications of a minister have already been described."

'Thus and not otherwise' is command; for example: "Hence he should be taught the laws of righteousness and wealth, but not unrighteousness and non-wealth."

'This or that' is alternative; for example: "or daughters born of approved marriage (dharmavivaha)."

'Both with this and that' is compounding together; for example: "Whoever is begotten by a man on his wife is agnatic both to the father and the father's relatives."

That which is to be determined after consideration is determinable fact; for example: "Experts shall determine the validity or invalidity of gifts so that neither the giver nor the receiver is likely to be hurt thereby."

• Thus this Sastra, conforming to these paragraphic divisions is composed as a guide to acquire and secure this and the other world.

• In the light of this Sastra one cannot only set on foot righteous, economical, and aesthetical acts and maintain them, but also put down unrighteous, uneconomical and displeasing acts.

• This Sastra has been made by him who from intolerance (of misrule) quickly rescued the scriptures and the science of weapons and the earth which had passed to the Nanda king.

[Thus ends the Chapter 1, 'Paragraphic divisions of the Treatise' in the fifteenth Book, 'Plan of Treatise.' This is the one hundred and fiftieth chapter from the first chapter of the entire work. The fifteenth book, 'Plan of Treatise, of the Arthasastra of Kautilya is thus brought to a close.]

• Having seen discrepancies in many ways on the part of the writers of commentaries on the Sastras, Vishnu Gupta himself has made (this) Sutra and commentary.

[End of the manuscript]

THE CHANAKYA NITI

Chanakya Niti-Shastra
Ethical Science of Chanakya
The Political Ethics of Chanakya Pandit
Translation: Miles Davis, 1981
Estimated Range of Dating: 340-283 B.C

(Chanakya, also known as Kautilya, or sometimes as Vishnugupta, attained lasting fame over 2300 years ago for two reasons: (1st) his writings on polity and (2nd) the practical and effective counsel he gave to King Chandragupta Maurya, who conquered most of India under his guidance. Of his writings, Artha-shastra is the best known work, and many editions have come out in English. The Arthashastra is a text on economic development, politics and statecraft in all its facettes. It is meant for being studied by kings and court pandits [a pandit is a scholar or teacher of any field of knowledge in Hinduism, particularly the Vedic scriptures, dharma, philosophy, and law.

Chanakya's Niti-shastra is this great court pandit's second most famous work. Niti is variously translated as "the science of morality", "common sense", "expediencey" or "ethics". Hence Chanakya Niti-shastra contains sagacious wisdom that may be applied in our daily affairs with profit. While the Arthashastra reminds us of Macchiavelli's and General Sunzi's works, the Niti-Shastra has more in common with the Instructions of Shuruppak (2600 BC) of the Teachings of Ptah-Hotep (2550 BC). It is a work of precepts and advice. In other words, Chanakya teaches how to avoid unnecessary conflicts and be happy in mundane life.)

CHANAKYA NITI CHAPTER 1

1. Humbly bowing down before the almighty Lord Sri Vishnu, the Lord of the three worlds, I recite maxims of the science of political ethics (niti) selected from the various satras (scriptures

2. That man who by the study of these maxims from the satras acquires a knowledge of the most celebrated principles of duty, and understands what ought and what ought not to be followed, and what is good and what is bad, is most excellent.

3. Therefore with an eye to the public good, I shall speak that which, when understood, will lead to an understanding of things in their proper perspective.

4. Even a pandit comes to grief by giving instruction to a foolish disciple, by maintaining a wicked wife, and by excessive familiarity with the miserable.

5. A wicked wife, a false friend, a saucy servant and living in a house with a serpent in it are nothing but death.

6. One should save his money against hard times, save his wife at the sacrifice of his riches, but invariably one should save his soul even at the sacrifice of his wife and riches.

7. Save your wealth against future calamity. Do not say, "What fear has a rich man, of calamity?" When riches begin to forsake one even the accumulated stock dwindles away.

8. Do not inhabit a country where you are not respected, cannot earn your livelihood, have no friends, or cannot acquire knowledge.

9. Do not stay for a single day where there are not these five persons: a wealthy man, a brahmin well versed in Vedic lore, a king, a river and a physician

10. Wise men should never go into a country where there are no means of earning one's livelihood, where the people have no dread of anybody, have no sense of shame, no intelligence, or a charitable disposition.

11. Test a servant while in the discharge of his duty, a relative in difficulty, a friend in adversity, and a wife in misfortun.

12. He is a true friend who does not forsake us in time of need, misfortune, famine, or war, in a king's court, or at the crematorium (smasana).

13. He who gives up what is imperishable for that which is perishable, loses that which is imperishable; and doubtlessly loses that which is perishable also.

14. A wise man should marry a virgin of a respectable family even if she is deformed. He should not marry one of a low-class family, through beauty. Marriage in a family of equal status is preferable.

15. Do not put your trust in rivers, men who carry weapons, beasts with claws or horns, women, and members of a royal family

16. Even from poison extract nectar, wash and take back gold if it has fallen in filth, receive the highest knowledge (Krsna consciousness) from a low born person; so also a girl possessing virtuous qualities (stri-ratna) even if she were born in a disreputable family.

17. Women have hunger two-fold, shyness four-fold, daring six-fold, and lust eight-fold as compared to men

CHANAKYA NITI CHAPTER 2

1. Untruthfulness, rashness, guile, stupidity, avarice, uncleanliness and cruelty are a woman's seven natural flaws

2. To have ability for eating when dishes are ready at hand, to be robust and virile in the company of one's religiously wedded wife, and to have a mind for making charity when one is prosperous are the fruits of no ordinary austerities.

3. He whose son is obedient to him, whose wife's conduct is in accordance with his wishes, and who is content with his riches, has his heaven here on earth.

4. They alone are sons who are devoted to their father. He is a father who supports his sons. He is a friend in whom we can confide, and she only is a wife in whose company the husband feels contented and peaceful.

5. Avoid him who talks sweetly before you but tries to ruin you behind your back, for he is like a pitcher of poison with milk on top.

6. Do not put your trust in a bad companion nor even trust an ordinary friend, for if he should get angry with you, he may bring all your secrets to light.

7. Do not reveal what you have thought upon doing, but by wise counsel keep it secret, being determined to carry it into execution.

8. Foolishness is indeed painful, and verily so is youth, but more painful by far than either is being obliged in another person's house.

9. There does not exist a pearl in every mountain, nor a pearl in the head of every elephant; neither are the sadhus to be found everywhere, nor sandal trees in every forest.

[Note: Only elephants in royal palaces are seen decorated with pearls (precious stones) on their heads].

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10. Wise men should always bring up their sons in various moral ways, for children who have knowledge of niti-sastra and are well behaved become a glory to their family.

11. Those parents who do not educate their sons are their enemies; for as is a crane among swans, so are ignorant sons in a public assembly>

12. Many a bad habit is developed through over indulgence, and many a good one by chastisement, therefore beat your son as well as your pupil; never indulge them. ("Spare the rod and spoil the child."

13. Let not a single day pass without your learning a verse, half a verse, or a fourth of it, or even one letter of it; nor without attending to charity, study and other pious activity.

14. Separation from the wife, disgrace from one's own people, an enemy saved in battle, service to a wicked king, poverty, and a mismanaged assembly: these six kinds of evils, if afflicting a person, burn him even without fire

15. Trees on a riverbank, a woman in another man's house, and kings without counsellors go without doubt to swift destruction.

16. A brahmin's strength is in his learning, a king's strength is in his army, a vaishya's strength is in his wealth and a shudra's strength is in his attitude of service

17. The prostitute has to forsake a man who has no money, the subject a king that cannot defend him, the birds a tree that bears no fruit, and the guests a house after they have finished their meals.

18. Brahmins quit their patrons after receiving alms from them, scholars leave their teachers after receiving education from them, and animals desert a forest that has been burnt down.

19. He who befriends a man whose conduct is vicious, whose vision impure, and who is notoriously crooked, is rapidly ruined.

20. Friendship between equals flourishes, service under a king is respectable, it is good to be business-minded in public dealings, and a handsome lady is safe in her own home.

(Continued below)

CHANAKYA NITI CHAPTER 3

1. In this world, whose family is there without blemish? Who is free from sickness and grief? Who is forever happy?

2. A man's descent may be discerned by his conduct, his country by his pronunciation of language, his friendship by his warmth and glow, and his capacity to eat by his body.

3. Give your daughter in marriage to a good family, engage your son in learning, see that your enemy comes to grief, and engage your friends in dharma. (Krsna consciousness).

4. Of a rascal and a serpent, the serpent is the better of the two, for he strikes only at the time he is destined to kill, while the former at every step.

5. Therefore kings gather round themselves men of good families, for they never forsake them either at the beginning, the middle or the end.

6. At the time of the pralaya (universal destruction) the oceans are to exceed their limits and seek to change, but a saintly man never changes.

7. Do not keep company with a fool for as we can see he is a two-legged beast. Like an unseen thorn he pierces the heart with his sharp words.

8. Though men be endowed with beauty and youth and born in noble families, yet without education they are like the palasa flower, which is void of sweet fragrance.

9. The beauty of a cuckoo is in its notes, that of a woman in her unalloyed devotion to her husband, that of an ugly person in his scholarship, and that of an ascetic in his forgiveness.

10. Give up a member to save a family, a family to save a village, a village to save a country, and the country to save yourself.

11. There is no poverty for the industrious. Sin does not attach itself to the person practicing japa (chanting of the holy names of the Lord). Those who are absorbed in maunam (silent contemplation of the Lord) have no quarrel with others. They are fearless who remain always alert.

12.-13. What is too heavy for the strong and what place is too distant for those who put forth effort? What country is foreign to a man of true learning? Who can be inimical to one who speaks pleasingly?

14. As a whole forest becomes fragrant by the existence of a single tree with sweet-smelling blossoms in it, so a family becomes famous by the birth of a virtuous son.

15. As a single withered tree, if set aflame, causes a whole forest to burn, so does a rascal son destroy a whole family.

16. As night looks delightful when the moon shines, so is a family gladdened by even one learned and virtuous son.

17. What is the use of having many sons if they cause grief and vexation? It is better to have only one son from whom the whole family can derive support and peacefulness.

18. Fondle a son until he is five years of age, and use the stick for another ten years, but when he has attained his sixteenth year treat him as a friend.

19. He who runs away from a fearful calamity, a foreign invasion, a terrible famine, and the companionship of wicked men is safe.

20. He who has not acquired one of the following: religious merit (dharma), wealth (artha), satisfaction of desires (kama), or liberation (moksa) is repeatedly born to die

21. Lakshmi, the Goddess of wealth, comes of Her own accord where fools are not respected, grain is well stored up, and the husband and wife do not quarrel.

CHANAKYA NITI CHAPTER 4

1. These five: the life span, the type of work, wealth, learning and the time of one's death are determined while one is in the womb.

2. Offspring, friends and relatives flee from a devotee of the Lord: yet those who follow him bring merit to their families through their devotion.

3. Fish, tortoises, and birds bring up their young by means of sight, attention and touch; so do saintly men afford protection to their associates by the same means.

4. As long as your body is healthy and under control and death is distant, try to save your soul; when death is imminent what can you do?

5. Learning is like a cow of desire. It, like her, yields in all seasons. Like a mother, it feeds you on your journey. Therefore learning is a hidden treasure.

6. A single son endowed with good qualities is far better than a hundred devoid of them. For the moon, though one, dispels the darkness, which the stars, though numerous, cannot.

7. A stillborn son is superior to a foolish son endowed with a long life. The first causes grief for but a moment while the latter like a blazing fire consumes his parents in grief for life.

8. Residing in a small village devoid of proper living facilities, serving a person born of a low family, unwholesome food, a frowning wife, a foolish son, and a widowed daughter burn the body without fire.

9. What good is a cow that neither gives milk nor conceives? Similarly, what is the value of the birth of a son if he becomes neither learned nor a pure devotee of the Lord?

10. When one is consumed by the sorrows of life, three things give him relief: offspring, a wife, and the company of the Lord's devotees.

11. Kings speak for once, men of learning once, and the daughter is given in marriage once. All these things happen once and only once.

12. Religious austerities should be practiced alone, study by two, and singing by three. A journey should be undertaken by four, agriculture by five, and war by many together.

13. She is a true wife who is clean (suci), expert, chaste, pleasing to the husband, and truthful.

14. The house of a childless person is a void, all directions are void to one who has no relatives, the heart of a fool is also void, but to a poverty-stricken man all is void.

15. Scriptural lessons not put into practice are poison; a meal is poison to him who suffers from indigestion; a social gathering is poison to a poverty-stricken person; and a young wife is poison to an aged man.

16. That man who is without religion and mercy should be rejected. A guru without spiritual knowledge should be rejected. The wife with an offensive face should be given up, and so should relatives who are without affection.

17. Constant travel brings old age upon a man; a horse becomes old by being constantly tied up; lack of sexual contact with her husband brings old age upon a woman; and garments become old through being left in the sun.

18. Consider again and again the following: the right time, the right friends, the right place, the right means of income, the right ways of spending, and from whom you derive your power.

19. For the twice born the fire (Agni) is a representative of God. The Supreme Lord resides in the heart of His devotees. Those of average intelligence (alpa-buddhi or kanista-adhikari) see God only in His sri-murti, but those of broad vision see the Supreme Lord everywhere.

CHANAKYA NITI CHAPTER 5

1. Agni is the worshipable person for the twice born; the brahmana for the other castes; the husband for the wife; and the guest who comes for food at the midday meal for all.

2. As gold is tested in four ways by rubbing, cutting, heating and beating -- so a man should be tested by these four things: his renunciation, his conduct, his qualities and his actions.

3. A thing may be dreaded as long as it has not overtaken you, but once it has come upon you, try to get rid of it without hesitation.

4. Though persons be born from the same womb and under the same stars, they do not become alike in disposition as the thousand fruits of the badari tree.

5. He whose hands are clean does not like to hold an office; he who desires nothing cares not for bodily decorations; he who is only partially educated cannot speak agreeably; and he who speaks out plainly cannot be a deceiver.

6. The learned are envied by the foolish; rich men by the poor; chaste women by adulteresses; and beautiful ladies by ugly ones

7. Indolent application ruins study; money is lost when entrusted to others; a farmer who sows his seed sparsely is ruined; and an army is lost for want of a commander.

8. Learning is retained through putting into practice; family prestige is maintained through good behaviour; a respectable person is recognised by his excellent qualities; and anger is seen in the eyes.

9. Religion is preserved by wealth; knowledge by diligent practice; a king by conciliatory words; and a home by a dutiful housewife.

10. Those who blaspheme Vedic wisdom, who ridicule the life style recommended in the satras, and who deride men of peaceful temperament, come to grief unnecessarily.

11. Charity puts and end to poverty; righteous conduct to misery; discretion to ignorance; and scrutiny to fear.

12. There is no disease (so destructive) as lust; no enemy like infatuation; no fire like wrath; and no happiness like spiritual knowledge.

13. A man is born alone and dies alone; and he experiences the good and bad consequences of his karma alone; and he goes alone to hell or the Supreme abode.

14. Heaven is but a straw to him who knows spiritual life (Krsna consciousness); so is life to a valiant man; a woman to him who has subdued his senses; and the universe to him who is without attachment for the world.

15. Learning is a friend on the journey; a wife in the house; medicine in sickness; and religious merit is the only friend after death.

16. Rain which falls upon the sea is useless; so is food for one who is satiated; in vain is a gift for one who is wealthy; and a burning lamp during the daytime is useless.

17. There is no water like rainwater; no strength like one's own; no light like that of the eyes; and no wealth more dear than food grain.

18. The poor wish for wealth; animals for the faculty of speech; men wish for heaven; and godly persons for liberation.

19. The earth is supported by the power of truth; it is the power of truth that makes the sunshine and the winds blow; indeed all things rest upon truth.

20. The Goddess of wealth is unsteady (chanchala), and so is the life breath. The duration of life is uncertain, and the place of habitation is uncertain; but in all this inconsistent world religious merit alone is immovable.

21. Among men the barber is cunning; among birds the crow; among beasts the jackal; and among women, the malin (flower girl).

22. These five are your fathers; he who gave you birth, girdled you with sacred thread, teaches you, provides you with food, and protects you from fearful situations.

23. These five should be considered as mothers; the king's wife, the preceptor's wife, the friend's wife, your wife's mother, and your own mother.

CHANAKYA NITI CHAPTER 6

1. By means of hearing one understands dharma, malignity vanishes, knowledge is acquired, and liberation from material bondage is gained.

2. Among birds the crow is vile; among beasts the dog; the ascetic whose sins is abominable, but he who blasphemes others is the worst chandala.

3. Brass is polished by ashes; copper is cleaned by tamarind; a woman, by her menses; and a river by its flow.

4. The king, the brahmana, and the ascetic yogi who go abroad are respected; but the woman who wanders is utterly ruined.

5. He who has wealth has friends. He who is wealthy has relatives. The rich one alone is called a man, and the affluent alone are respected as pandits

6. As is the desire of Providence, so functions one's intellect; one's activities are also controlled by Providence; and by the will of Providence one is surrounded by helpers.

7. Time perfects all living beings as well as kills them; it alone is awake when all others are asleep. Time is insurmountable.

8. Those born blind cannot see; similarly blind are those in the grip of lust. Proud men have no perception of evil; and those bent on acquiring riches see no sin in their actions.

9. The spirit soul goes through his own course of karma and he himself suffers the good and bad results thereby accrued. By his own actions he entangles himself in samsara, and by his own efforts he extricates himself.

10. The king is obliged to accept the sins of his subjects; the purohit (priest) suffers for those of the king; a husband suffers for those of his wife; and the guru suffers for those of his pupils.

11. A father who is a chronic debtor, an adulterous mother, a beautiful wife, and an unlearned son are enemies (in one's own home).

12. Conciliate a covetous man by means of a gift, an obstinate man with folded hands in salutation, a fool by humouring him, and a learned man by truthful words.

13. It is better to be without a kingdom than to rule over a petty one; better to be without a friend than to befriend a

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rascal; better to be without a disciple than to have a stupid one; and better to be without a wife than to have a bad one.

14. How can people be made happy in a petty kingdom? What peace can we expect from a rascal friend? What happiness can we have at home in the company of a bad wife? How can renown be gained by instructing an unworthy disciple?

15. Learn one thing from a lion; one from a crane; four a cock; five from a crow; six from a dog; and three from an ass.

16. The one excellent thing that can be learned from a lion is that whatever a man intends doing should be done by him with a whole-hearted and strenuous effort.

17. The wise man should restrain his senses like the crane and accomplish his purpose with due knowledge of his place, time and ability.

18. To wake at the proper time; to take a bold stand and fight; to make a fair division (of property) among relations; and to earn one's own bread by personal exertion are the four excellent things to be learned from a cock.

19. Union in privacy (with one's wife); boldness; storing away useful items; watchfulness; and not easily trusting others; these five things are to be learned from a crow.

20. Contentment with little or nothing to eat although one may have a great appetite; to awaken instantly although one may be in a deep slumber; unflinching devotion to the master; and bravery; these six qualities should be learned from the dog.

21. Although an ass is tired, he continues to carry his burden; he is unmindful of cold and heat; and he is always contented; these three things should be learned from the ass.

22. He who shall practice these twenty virtues shall become invincible in all his undertakings.

(Contiued below)

CHANAKYA NITI CHAPTER 7

1. A wise man should not reveal his loss of wealth, the vexation of his mind, the misconduct of his own wife, base words spoken by others, and disgrace that has befallen him.

2. He who gives up shyness in monetary dealings, in acquiring knowledge, in eating and in business, becomes happy.

3. The happiness and peace attained by those satisfied by the nectar of spiritual tranquillity is not attained by greedy persons restlessly moving here and there.

4. One should feel satisfied with the following three things; his own wife, food given by Providence and wealth acquired by honest effort; but one should never feel satisfied with the following three; study, chanting the holy names of the Lord (japa) and charity.

5. Do not pass between two brahmanas, between a brahmana and his sacrificial fire, between a wife and her husband, a master and his servant, and a plough and an ox.

6. Do not let your foot touch fire, the spiritual master or a brahmana; it must never touch a cow, a virgin, an old person or a child.

7. Keep one thousand cubits away from an elephant, a hundred from a horse, ten from a horned beast, but keep away from the wicked by leaving the country.

8. An elephant is controlled by a goad (ankusha), a horse by a slap of the hand, a horned animal with the show of a stick, and a rascal with a sword.

9. Brahmanas find satisfaction in a good meal, peacocks in the peal of thunder, a sadhu in seeing the prosperity of others, and the wicked in the misery of others.

10. Conciliate a strong man by submission, a wicked man by opposition, and the one whose power is equal to yours by politeness or force.>

11. The power of a king lies in his mighty arms; that of a brahmana in his spiritual knowledge; and that of a woman in her beauty youth and sweet words.

12. Do not be very upright in your dealings for you would see by going to the forest that straight trees are cut down while crooked ones are left standing.

13. Swans live wherever there is water, and leave the place where water dries up; let not a man act so -- and comes and goes as he pleases.

14. Accumulated wealth is saved by spending just as incoming fresh water is saved by letting out stagnant water.

15. He who has wealth has friends and relations; he alone survives and is respected as a man.

16. The following four characteristics of the denizens of heaven may be seen in the residents of this earth planet; charity, sweet words, worship of the Supreme Personality of Godhead, and satisfying the needs of brahmanas.

17. The following qualities of the denizens of hell may characterise men on earth; extreme wrath, harsh speech, enmity with one's relations, the company with the base, and service to men of low extraction.

18. By going to the den of a lion pearls from the head of an elephant may be obtained; but by visiting the hole of a jackal nothing but the tail of a calf or a bit of the hide of an ass may be found.

19. The life of an uneducated man is as useless as the tail of a dog, which neither covers its rear end, nor protects it from the bites of insects.

20. Purity of speech, of the mind, of the senses, and a compassionate heart are needed by one who desires to rise to the divine platform.

21. As you seek fragrance in a flower, oil in the sesamum seed, fire in wood, ghee (butter) in milk, and jaggery (guda) in sugarcane; so seek the spirit that is in the body by means of discrimination.

CHANAKYA NITI CHAPTER 8

1. Low class men desire wealth; middle class men both wealth and respect; but the noble, honour only; hence honour is the noble man's true wealth.

2. . . . [text missing] . . . . .

3. The lamp eats up the darkness and therefore it produces blackened lamp; in the same way according to the nature of our diet (sattva, rajas, or tamas) we produce offspring in similar quality.

4. O wise man! Give your wealth only to the worthy and never to others. The water of the sea received by the clouds is always sweet. The rainwater enlivens all living beings of the earth both movable (insects, animals, humans, etc.) and immovable (plants, trees, etc.), and then returns to the ocean where its value is multiplied a million fold.

5. The wise who discern the essence of things have declared that the yavana (meat eater) is equal in baseness to a thousand candalas (the lowest class), and hence a yavana is the basest of men; indeed there is no one more base.

6. After having rubbed oil on the body, after encountering the smoke from a funeral pyre, after sexual intercourse, and after being shaved, one remains a chandala until he bathes.

7. Water is the medicine for indigestion; it is invigorating when the food that is eaten is well digested; it is like nectar when drunk in the middle of a dinner; and it is like poison when taken at the end of a meal.

8. Knowledge is lost without putting it into practice; a man is lost due to ignorance; an army is lost without a commander; and a woman is lost without a husband.

9. A man who encounters the following three is unfortunate; the death of his wife in his old age, the entrusting of money into the hands of relatives, and depending upon others for food.

10. Chanting of the Vedas without making ritualistic sacrifices to the Supreme Lord through the medium of Agni, and sacrifices not followed by bountiful gifts are futile. Perfection can be achieved only through devotion (to the Supreme Lord) for devotion is the basis of all success.

13. There is no austerity equal to a balanced mind, and there is no happiness equal to contentment; there is no disease like covetousness, and no virtue like mercy.

14. Anger is a personification of Yama (the demigod of death); thirst is like the hellish river Vaitarani; knowledge is like a kamadhenu (the cow of plenty); and contentment is like Nandanavana (the garden of Indra).

15. Moral excellence is an ornament for personal beauty; righteous conduct, for high birth; success for learning; and proper spending for wealth.

16. Beauty is spoiled by an immoral nature; noble birth by bad conduct; learning, without being perfected; and wealth by not being properly utilised.

17. Water seeping into the earth is pure; and a devoted wife is pure; the king who is the benefactor of his people is pure; and pure is the brahmana who is contented.

18. Discontented brahmanas, contented kings, shy prostitutes, and immodest housewives are ruined.

19. Of what avail is a high birth if a person is destitute of scholarship? A man who is of low extraction is honoured even by the demigods if he is learned.

20. A learned man is honoured by the people. A learned man commands respect everywhere for his learning. Indeed, learning is honoured everywhere.

21. Those who are endowed with beauty and youth and who are born of noble families are worthless if they have no learning. They are just like the kimshuka blossoms (flowers of the palasa tree) which, though beautiful, have no fragrance.

22. The earth is encumbered with the weight of the flesh-eaters, wine-bibblers, dolts (dull and stupid) and blockheads, who are beasts in the form of men.

23. There is no enemy like a yajna (sacrifice) which consumes the kingdom when not attended by feeding on a large scale; consumes the priest when the chanting is not done properly; and consumes the yajaman (the responsible person) when the gifts are not made.

CHANAKYA NITI CHAPTER 9

1. My dear child, if you desire to be free from the cycle of birth and death, then abandon the objects of sense gratification as poison. Drink instead the nectar of forbearance, upright conduct, mercy, cleanliness and truth.

2. Those base men who speak of the secret faults of others destroy themselves like serpents that stray onto anthills.>

3. Perhaps nobody has advised Lord Brahma, the creator, to impart perfume to gold; fruit to the sugarcane; flowers to the sandalwood tree; wealth to the learned; and long life to the king

4. Nectar (amrita) is the best among medicines; eating good food is the best of all types of material happiness; the eye is the chief among all organs; and the head occupies the chief position among all parts of the body.

5. No messenger can travel about in the sky and no tidings come from there. The voice of its inhabitants is never heard, nor can any contact be established with them. Therefore the brahmana who predicts the eclipse of the sun and moon, which occur in the sky, must be considered as a vidwan (man of great learning).

6. The student, the servant, the traveller, the hungry person, the frightened man, the treasury guard, and the steward: these seven ought to be awakened if they fall asleep.

7. The serpent, the king, the tiger, the stinging wasp, the small child, the dog owned by other people, and the fool: these seven ought not to be awakened from sleep.

8. Of those who have studied the Vedas for material rewards, and those who accept foodstuffs offered by shudras, what potency have they? They are just like serpents without fangs.

9. He who neither rouses fear by his anger, nor confers a favour when he is pleased can neither control nor protect. What can he do?

10. The serpent may, without being poisonous, raise high its hood, but the show of terror is enough to frighten people -- whether he be venomous or not.

11. Wise men spend their mornings in discussing gambling, the afternoon discussing the activities of women, and the night hearing about the activities of theft. (The first item above refers to the gambling of King Yudhisthira, the great devotee of Krsna. The second item refers to the glorious deeds of mother Sita, the consort of Lord Ramachandra. The third item hints at the adorable childhood pastimes of Sri Krsna who stole butter from the elderly cowherd ladies of Gokula. Hence Chanakya Pandita advises wise persons to spend the morning absorbed in Mahabharata, the afternoon studying Ramayana, and the evening devotedly hearing the Srimad-Bhagvatam.)

12. By preparing a garland for a Deity with one's own hand; by grinding sandal paste for the Lord with one's own hand; and by writing sacred texts with one's own hand -- one becomes blessed with opulence equal to that of Indra.

13. . . . [text missing] . . . . .

14. Poverty is set off by fortitude; shabby garments by keeping them clean; bad food by warming it; and ugliness by good behaviour.

CHANAKYA NITI CHAPTER 10

1. One destitute of wealth is not destitute, he is indeed rich (if he is learned); but the man devoid of learning is destitute in every way.

2. We should carefully scrutinise that place upon which we step (having it ascertained to be free from filth and living creatures like insects, etc.); we should drink water, which has been filtered (through a clean cloth); we should speak only those words, which have the sanction of the satras; and do that act which we have carefully considered.

3. He who desires sense gratification must give up all thoughts of acquiring knowledge; and he who seeks knowledge must not hope for sense gratification. How can he who seeks sense gratification acquire knowledge, and he who possesses knowledge enjoy mundane sense pleasure?

4. What is it that escapes the observation of poets? What is that act women are incapable of doing? What will drunken people not prate? What will not a crow eat?

5. Fate makes a beggar a king and a king a beggar. He makes a rich man poor and a poor man rich

6. The beggar is a miser's enemy; the wise counsellor is the fool's enemy; her husband is an adulterous wife's enemy; and the moon is the enemy of the thief.

7. Those who are destitute of learning, penance, knowledge, good disposition, virtue and benevolence are brutes wandering the earth in the form of men. They are burdensome to the earth.

8. Those that are empty-minded cannot be benefited by instruction. Bamboo does not acquire the quality of sandalwood by being associated with the Malaya Mountain.

9. What good can the scriptures do to a man who has no sense of his own? Of what use is as mirror to a blind man?

10. Nothing can reform a bad man, just as the posteriors cannot become a superior part of the body though washed one hundred times.

11. By offending a kinsman, life is lost; by offending others, wealth is lost; by offending the king, everything is lost; and by offending a brahmana (Brahmin) one's whole family is ruined.

12. It is better to live under a tree in a jungle inhabited by tigers and elephants, to maintain oneself in such a place with ripe fruits and spring water, to lie down on grass and to wear the ragged barks of trees than to live amongst one's relations when reduced to poverty.

13. The brahmana (Brahmin) is like a tree; his prayers are the roots, his chanting of the Vedas are the branches, and his religious acts are the leaves. Consequently effort should be made to preserve his roots for if the roots are destroyed there can be no branches or leaves.

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14. My mother is Kamala devi (Lakshmi), my father is Lord Janardana (Vishnu), my kinsmen are the Vishnu-bhaktas (Vaisnavas) and, my homeland is all the three worlds.

15. (Through the night) a great many kinds of birds perch on a tree but in the morning they fly in all the ten directions. Why should we lament for that? (Similarly, we should not grieve when we must inevitably part company from our dear ones)

16. He who possesses intelligence is strong; how can the man that is unintelligent be powerful? The elephant of the forest having lost his senses by intoxication was tricked into a lake by a small rabbit. (This verse refers to a famous story from the niti-sastra called pancatantra compiled by the pandit Vishnusharma 2500 years ago).

17. Why should I be concerned for my maintenance while absorbed in praising the glories of Lord Vishwambhara (Vishnu), the supporter of all? Without the grace of Lord Hari, how could milk flow from a mother's breast for a child's nourishment? Repeatedly thinking only in this way, O Lord of the Yadus, O husband of Lakshmi, all my time is spent in serving Your lotus feet.

. . . . [text of verse 18, 19, 20 is missing] . . . . .

CHANAKYA NITI CHAPTER 11

1. Generosity, pleasing address, courage and propriety of conduct are not acquired, but are inbred qualities.

2. He who forsakes his own community and joins another perishes as the king who embraces an unrighteous path.

3. The elephant has a huge body but is controlled by the ankusha (goad): yet, is the goad as large as the elephant? A lighted candle banishes darkness: is the candle as vast as the darkness. A mountain is broken even by a thunderbolt: is the thunderbolt therefore as big as the mountain? No, he whose power prevails is really mighty; what is there in bulk?

5. He who is engrossed in family life will never acquire knowledge; there can be no mercy in the eater of flesh; the greedy man will not be truthful; and purity will not be found in a woman or a hunter.

6. The wicked man will not attain sanctity even if he is instructed in different ways, and the Nim tree will not become sweet even if it is sprinkled from the top to the roots with milk and ghee.

7. Mental dirt cannot be washed away even by one-hundred baths in the sacred waters, just as a wine pot cannot be purified even by evaporating all the wine by fire.

8. It is not strange if a man reviles a thing of which he has no knowledge, just as a wild hunter's wife throws away the pearl that is found in the head of an elephant, and picks up a gunj (a type of seed which poor tribals wear as ornaments).

9. He who for one year eats his meals silently (inwardly meditating upon the Lord's prasadam); attains to the heavenly planets for a thousand crore of years. (Note: one crore equals ten million)

10. The student (brahmacari) should completely renounce the following eight things -- his lust, anger, greed, desire for sweets, sense of decorating the body, excessive curiosity, excessive sleep, and excessive endeavour for bodily maintenance.

12. He alone is a true brahmana (dvija or "twice-born") who is satisfied with one meal a day, who has the six samskaras (or acts of purification such as garbhadhana, etc.) performed for him, and who cohabits with his wife only once in a month on an auspicious day after her menses.

13. The brahmana who is engrossed in worldly affairs, brings up cows and is engaged in trade is really called a vaishya.

14. The brahmana who deals in lac-die, articles, oil, indigo, silken cloth, honey, clarified butter, liquor, and flesh is called a shudra.

15. The brahmana who thwarts the doings of others, who is hypocritical, selfish, and a deceitful hater, and while speaking mildly cherishes cruelty in his heart, is called a cat.

16. The brahmana who destroys a pond, a well, a tank, a garden and a temple is called a mleccha.

17. The brahmana who steals the property of the Deities and the spiritual preceptor, who cohabits with another's wife, and who maintains himself by eating anything and everything s called a chandala.

18. The meritorious should give away in charity all that they have in excess of their needs. By charity only Karna, Bali and King Vikramaditya survive even today. Just see the plight of the honeybees beating their legs in despair upon the earth. They are saying to themselves, "Alas! We neither enjoyed our stored-up honey nor gave it in charity, and now someone has taken it from us in an instant."

CHANAKYA NITI CHAPTER 12

1. He is a blessed grhasta (householder) in whose house there is a blissful atmosphere, whose sons are talented, whose wife speaks sweetly, whose wealth is enough to satisfy his desires, who finds pleasure in the company of his wife, whose servants are obedient, in whose house hospitality is shown, the auspicious Supreme Lord is worshiped daily, delicious food and drink is partaken, and who finds joy in the company of devotees.

2. One who devotedly gives a little to a brahmana who is in distress is recompensed abundantly. Hence, O Prince, what is given to a good brahmana is got back not in an equal quantity, but in an infinitely higher degree.

3. Those men who are happy in this world, who are generous towards their relatives, kind to strangers, indifferent to the wicked, loving to the good, shrewd in their dealings with the base, frank with the learned, courageous with enemies, humble with elders and stern with the wife.

4. O jackal, leave aside the body of that man at once, whose hands have never given in charity, whose ears have not heard the voice of learning, whose eyes have not beheld a pure devotee of the Lord, whose feet have never traversed to holy places, whose belly is filled with things obtained by crooked practices, and whose head is held high in vanity. Do not eat it, O jackal, otherwise you will become polluted.

5. "Shame upon those who have no devotion to the lotus feet of Sri Krsna, the son of mother Yasoda; who have no attachment for the descriptions of the glories of Srimati Radharani; whose ears are not eager to listen to the stories of the Lord's lila." Such is the exclamation of the mrdanga sound of dhik-tam dhik-tam dhigatam at kirtana.

6. What fault of spring that the bamboo shoot has no leaves? What fault of the sun if the owl cannot see during the daytime? Is it the fault of the clouds if no raindrops fall into the mouth of the chatak bird? Who can erase what Lord Brahma has inscribed upon our foreheads at the time of birth?

7. A wicked man may develop saintly qualities in the company of a devotee, but a devotee does not become impious in the company of a wicked person. The earth is scented by a flower that falls upon it, but the flower does not contact the odour of the earth.

8. One indeed becomes blessed by having darshan of a devotee; for the devotee has the ability to purify immediately, whereas the sacred tirtha gives purity only after prolonged contact.

9. A stranger asked a brahmana, "Tell me, who is great in this city?" The brahmana replied, "The cluster of palmyra trees is great." Then the traveller asked, "Who is the most charitable person?" The brahmana answered, "The washer man who takes the clothes in the morning and gives them back in the evening is the most charitable." He then asked, "Who is the ablest man?" The brahmana answered, "Everyone is expert in robbing others of their wives and wealth." The man then asked the brahmana, "How do you manage to live in such a city?" The brahmana replied, "As a worm survives while even in a filthy place so do I survive here!"

10. The house in which the lotus feet of brahmanas are not washed, in which Vedic mantras are not loudly recited, and in which the holy rites of svaha (sacrificial offerings to the Supreme Lord) and swadha (offerings to the ancestors) are not performed, is like a crematorium.

11. (It is said that a sadhu, when asked about his family, replied thusly): truth is my mother, and my father is spiritual knowledge; righteous conduct is my brother, and mercy is my friend, inner peace is my wife, and forgiveness is my son: these six are my kinsmen.

12. Our bodies are perishable, wealth is not at all permanent and death is always nearby. Therefore we must immediately engage in acts of merit.

13. Arjuna says to Krsna. "Brahmanas find joy in going to feasts, cows find joy in eating their tender grass, wives find joy in the company of their husbands, and know, O Krsna, that in the same way I rejoice in battle.

14. He who regards another's wife as his mother, the wealth that does not belong to him as a lump of mud, and the pleasure and pain of all other living beings as his own -- truly sees things in the right perspective, and he is a true pandit.

15. O Raghava, the love of virtue, pleasing speech, and an ardent desire for performing acts of charity, guileless dealings with friends, humility in the guru's presence, deep tranquillity of mind, pure conduct, discernment of virtues, realised knowledge of the sastras, beauty of form and devotion to God are all found in you." (The great sage Vasistha Muni, the spiritual preceptor of the dynasty of the sun, said this to Lord Ramachandra at the time of His proposed coronation)

16. Kalpataru (the wish fulfilling tree) is but wood; the golden Mount Meru is motionless; the wish-fulfilling gem chintamani is just a stone; the sun is scorching; the moon is prone to wane; the boundless ocean is saline; the demigod of lust lost his body (due to Shiva's wrath); Bali Maharaja, the son of Diti, was born into a clan of demons; and Kamadhenu (the cow of heaven) is a mere beast. O Lord of the Raghu dynasty! I cannot compare you to any one of these (taking their merits into account).

17. Realised learning (vidya) is our friend while travelling, the wife is a friend at home, medicine is the friend of a sick man, and meritorious deeds are the friends at death.

18. Courtesy should be learned from princes, the art of conversation from pandits, lying should be learned from gamblers and deceitful ways should be learned from women.

19. The unthinking spender, the homeless urchin, the quarrel monger, the man who neglects his wife and is heedless in his actions -- all these will soon come to ruination.

20. The wise man should not be anxious about his food; he should be anxious to be engaged only in dharma (Krsna consciousness). The food of each man is created for him at his birth.

21. He who is not shy in the acquisition of wealth, grain and knowledge, and in taking his meals, will be happy

22. As centesimal droppings will fill a pot so also are knowledge, virtue and wealth gradually obtained.

23. The man who remains a fool even in advanced age is really a fool, just as the Indra-Varuna fruit does not become sweet no matter how ripe it might become.

CHANAKYA NITI CHAPTER 13

1. A man may live but for a moment, but that moment should be spent in doing auspicious deeds. It is useless living even for a kalpa (4,320,000 *1000 years) and bringing only distress upon the two worlds (this world and the next).

2. We should not fret for what is past, nor should we be anxious about the future; men of discernment deal only with the present moment.

3. It certainly is nature of the demigods, men of good character, and parents to be easily pleased. Near and distant relatives are pleased when they are hospitably received with bathing, food, and drink; and pandits are pleased with an opportunity for giving spiritual discourse.

4 Even as the unborn babe is in the womb of his mother, these five are fixed as his life destiny: his life span, his activities, his acquisition of wealth and knowledge, and his time of death.

5. Oh, see what a wonder it is! The doings of the great are strange: they treat wealth as light as a straw, yet, when they obtain it, they bend under its weight

6. He who is overly attached to his family members experiences fear and sorrow, for the root of all grief is attachment. Thus one should discard attachment to be happy.

7. He who is prepared for the future and he who deals cleverly with any situation that may arise are both happy; but the fatalistic man who wholly depends on luck is ruined.

8. If the king is virtuous, then the subjects are also virtuous. If the king is sinful, then the subjects also become sinful. If he is mediocre, then the subjects are mediocre. The subjects follow the example of the king. In short, as is the king so are the subjects.

9. I consider him who does not act religiously as dead though living, but he who dies acting religiously unquestionably lives long though he is dead.

10. He who has acquired neither virtue, wealth, satisfaction of desires nor salvation (dharma, artha, kama, moksa), lives an utterly useless life, like the "nipples" hanging from the neck of a goat.

11. The hearts of base men burn before the fire of other's fame, and they slander them being themselves unable to rise to such a high position.

12. Excessive attachment to sense pleasures leads to bondage, and detachment from sense pleasures leads to liberation; therefore it is the mind alone that is responsible for bondage or liberation

13. He who sheds bodily identification by means of knowledge of the indwelling Supreme Self (Paramatma), will always be absorbed in meditative trance (samadhi) wherever his mind leads him.

14. Who realises all the happiness he desires? Everything is in the hands of God. Therefore one should learn contentment.

15. As a calf follows its mother among a thousand cows, so the (good or bad) deeds of a man follow him.

16. He whose actions are disorganised has no happiness either in the midst of men or in a jungle -- in the midst of men his heart burns by social contacts, and his helplessness burns him in the forest.

17. As the man who digs obtains underground water by use of a shovel, so the student attains the knowledge possessed by his preceptor through his service

18. Men reap the fruits of their deeds, and intellects bear the mark of deeds performed in previous lives; even so the wise act after due circumspection.

19. Even the man who has taught the spiritual significance of just one letter ought to be worshiped. He who does not give reverence to such a guru is born as a dog a hundred times, and at last takes birth as a chandala (dog-eater).

20. At the end of the yuga, Mount Meru may be shaken; at the end of the kalpa, the waters of the seven oceans may be disturbed; but a sadhu will never swerve from the spiritual path.

21. There are three gems upon this earth; food, water, and pleasing words -- fools (mudhas) consider pieces of rocks as gems.

CHANAKYA NITI CHAPTER 14

1. Poverty, disease, sorrow, imprisonment and other evils are the fruits borne by the tree of one's own sins.

2. Wealth, a friend, a wife, and a kingdom may be regained; but this body when lost may never be acquired again.

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3. The enemy can be overcome by the union of large numbers, just as grass through its collectiveness wards off erosion caused by heavy rainfall.

4. Oil on water, a secret communicated to a base man, a gift given to a worthy receiver, and scriptural instruction given to an intelligent man spread out by virtue of their nature.

5. If men should always retain the state of mind they experience when hearing religious instruction, when present at a crematorium ground, and when in sickness -- then who could not attain liberation.

6. If a man should feel before, as he feels after, repentance -- then who would not attain perfection?

7. We should not feel pride in our charity, austerity, valour, scriptural knowledge, modesty and morality for the world is full of the rarest gems.

8. He who lives in our mind is near though he may actually be far away; but he who is not in our heart is far though he may really be nearby.

9. We should always speak what would please the man of whom we expect a favour, like the hunter who sings sweetly when he desires to shoot a deer.

10. It is ruinous to be familiar with the king, fire, the religious preceptor, and a woman. To be altogether indifferent to them is to be deprived of the opportunity to benefit ourselves, hence our association with them must be from a safe distance.

11. We should always deal cautiously with fire, water, women, foolish people, serpents, and members of a royal family; for they may, when the occasion presents itself, at once bring about our death.

12. He should be considered to be living who is virtuous and pious, but the life of a man who is destitute of religion and virtues is void of any blessing.

13. If you wish to gain control of the world by the performance of a single deed, then keep the following fifteen, which are prone to wander here and there, from getting the upper hand of you: the five sense objects (objects of sight, sound, smell, taste, and touch); the five sense organs (ears, eyes, nose, tongue and skin) and organs of activity (hands, legs, mouth, genitals and anus).

14. He is a pandit (man of knowledge) who speaks what is suitable to the occasion, who renders loving service according to his ability, and who knows the limits of his anger.

15 One single object (a woman) appears in three different ways: to the man who practices austerity it appears as a corpse, to the sensual it appears as a woman, and to the dogs as a lump of flesh.

16. A wise man should not divulge the formula of a medicine which he has well prepared; an act of charity which he has performed; domestic conflicts; private affairs with his wife; poorly prepared food he may have been offered; or slang he may have heard.

17. The cuckoos remain silent for a long time (for several seasons) until they are able to sing sweetly (in the Spring) so as to give joy to all.

18. We should secure and keep the following: the blessings of meritorious deeds, wealth, grain, the words of the spiritual master, and rare medicines. Otherwise life becomes impossible.

19. Eschew wicked company and associate with saintly persons. Acquire virtue day and night, and always meditate on that which is eternal forgetting that which is temporary.

CHANAKYA NITI CHAPTER 15

1. For one whose heart melts with compassion for all creatures; what is the necessity of knowledge, liberation, matted hair on the head, and smearing the body with ashes?

2. There is no treasure on earth the gift of which will cancel the debt a disciple owes his guru for having taught him even a single letter (that leads to Krsna consciousness).

3. There are two ways to get rid of thorns and wicked persons; using footwear in the first place and in the second shaming them so that they cannot raise their faces again thus keeping them at a distance.

4. He who wears unclean garments, has dirty teeth, is a glutton, speaks unkindly and sleeps after sunrise -- although he may be the greatest personality -- will lose the favour of Lakshmi.

5. He who loses his money is forsaken by his friends, his wife, his servants and his relations; yet when he regains his riches those who have forsaken him come back to him. Hence wealth is certainly the best of relations.

6. Sinfully acquired wealth may remain for ten years; in the eleventh year it disappears with even the original stock.

7. A bad action committed by a great man is not censured (as there is none that can reproach him), and a good action performed by a low-class man comes to be condemned (because none respects him). Just see: the drinking of nectar is excellent, but it became the cause of Rahu's demise; and the drinking of poison is harmful, but when Lord Shiva (who is exalted) drank it, it became an ornament to his neck (nila-kantha).

8. A true meal is that which consists of the remnants left after a brahmana's meal. Love, which is shown to others, is true love, not that which is cherished for one's own self. To abstain from sin is true wisdom. That is an act of charity, which is performed without ostentation.

9. For want of discernment the most precious jewels lie in the dust at the feet of men while bits of glass are worn on their heads. But we should not imagine that the gems have sunk in value, and the bits of glass have risen in importance. When a person of critical judgement shall appear, each will be given its right position.

10. Sastric (scriptural) knowledge is unlimited, and the arts to be learned are many; the time we have is short, and our opportunities to learn are beset with obstacles. Therefore select for learning that which is most important, just as the swan drinks only the milk in water.

11. He is a chandala who eats his dinner without entertaining the stranger who has come to his house quite accidentally, having travelled from a long distance and is wearied.

12. One may know the four Vedas and the Dharma-sastras, yet if he has no realisation of his own spiritual self, he can be said to be like the ladle (spoon) which stirs all kinds of foods but knows not the taste of any.

13. Those blessed souls are certainly elevated who, while crossing the ocean of life, take shelter of a genuine brahmana, who is likened unto a boat. They are unlike passengers aboard an ordinary ship that runs the risk of sinking.

14. The moon, who is the abode of nectar and the presiding deity of all medicines, although immortal like amrta and resplendent in form, loses the brilliance of his rays when he repairs to the abode of the sun (day time). Therefore, will not an ordinary man be made to feel inferior by going to live at the house of another?

15. This humble bee, which always resides among the soft petals of the lotus and drinks abundantly its sweet nectar, is now feasting on the flower of the ordinary kutaja. Being in a strange country where the lotuses do not exist, he is considering the pollen of the kutaja to be nice.

16. (Lord Visnu asked His spouse Lakshmi why She did not care to live in the house of a brahmana.She replied:)" O Lord a rishi named Agastya drank up My father (the ocean) in anger; Brighu Muni kicked You; brahmanas pride themselves on their learning having sought the favour of My competitor Sarasvati; and lastly they pluck each day the lotus which is My abode, and therewith worship Lord Shiva. Therefore, O Lord, I fear to dwell with a brahmana".

17. There are many ways of binding by which one can be dominated and controlled in this world, but the bond of affection is the strongest. For example, take the case of the humble bee, which, although expert at piercing hardened wood, becomes caught in the embrace of its beloved flowers (as the petals close at dusk).

18. Although sandalwood is cut, it does not forsake its natural quality of fragrance; so also the elephant does not give up sportiveness though he should grow old. The sugarcane does not cease to be sweet though squeezed in a mill; so the man of noble extraction does not lose his lofty qualities, no matter how pinched he is by poverty.

CHANAKYA NITI CHAPTER 16

1. . . . [text missing] . . . . .

2. The heart of a woman is not united; it is divided. While she is talking with one man, she looks lustfully at another and thinks fondly of a third in her heart.

3. The fool (mudha) who fancies that a charming young lady loves him, becomes her slave and he dances like a shakuntal bird tied to a string.

4. Who is there who, having become rich, has not become proud? What licentious man has put an end to his calamities? What man in this world has not been overcome by a woman? Who is always loved by the king? Who is there who has not been overcome by the ravages of time? What beggar has attained glory? Who has become happy by contracting the vices of the wicked?

6. A man attains greatness by his merits, not simply by occupying an exalted seat. Can we call a crow an eagle (garuda) simply because he sits on the top of a tall building.

8. The man who is praised by others as great is regarded as worthy though he may be really void of all merit. But the man who sings his own praises lowers himself in the estimation of others though he should be Indra (the possessor of all excellences).

9. If good qualities should characterise a man of discrimination, the brilliance of his qualities will be recognised just as a gem, which is essentially bright, really shines when fixed in an ornament of gold.

10. Even one who by his qualities appears to be all knowing suffers without patronage; the gem, though precious, requires a gold setting.

11. I do not deserve that wealth which is to be attained by enduring much suffering, or by transgressing the rules of virtue, or by flattering an enemy.

13. Those who were not satiated with the enjoyment of wealth, food and women have all passed away; there are others now passing away who have likewise remained unsatiated; and in the future still others will pass away feeling themselves unsatiated.

14. All charities and sacrifices (performed for fruitive gain) bring only temporary results, but gifts made to deserving persons and protection offered to all creatures shall never perish

15. A blade of grass is light, cotton is lighter, and the beggar is infinitely lighter still. Why then does not the wind carry him away? Because it fears that he may ask alms of him.

16. It is better to die than to preserve this life by incurring disgrace. The loss of life causes but a moment's grief, but disgrace brings grief every day of one's life.

17. All the creatures are pleased by loving words; and therefore we should address words that are pleasing to all, for there is no lack of sweet words.

18. There are two nectarine fruits hanging from the tree of this world: one is the hearing of sweet words (such as Krsna-katha) and the other, the society of saintly men.

19. The good habits of charity, learning and austerity practised during many past lives continue to be cultivated in this birth by virtue of the link (yoga) of this present life to the previous ones.

20. One whose knowledge is confined to books and whose wealth is in the possession of others, can use neither his knowledge nor wealth when the need for them arises.

CHANAKYA NITI CHAPTER 17

1. The scholar who has acquired knowledge by studying innumerable books without the blessings of a bonafide spiritual master does not shine in an assembly of truly learned men just as an illegitimate child is not honoured in society.

2. We should repay the favours of others by acts of kindness; so also should we return evil for evil in which there is no sin, for it is necessary to pay a wicked man in his own coin.

3. That thing which is distant, that thing which appears impossible, and that which is far beyond our reach, can be easily attained through tapasya (religious austerity), for nothing can surpass austerity.

4. What vice could be worse than covetousness? What is more sinful than slander? For one who is truthful, what need is there for austerity? For one who has a clean heart, what is the need for pilgrimage? If one has a good disposition, what other virtue is needed? If a man has fame, what is the value of other ornamentation? What need is there for wealth for the man of practical knowledge? And if a man is dishonoured, what could there be worse than death?

5. Though the sea, which is the reservoir of all jewels, is the father of the conch shell, and the Goddess of fortune Lakshmi is conch's sister, still the conch must go from door to door for alms (in the hands of a beggar). It is true, therefore, that one gains nothing without having given in the past.

6. When a man has no strength left in him he becomes a sadhu, one without wealth acts like a brahmacari, a sick man behaves like a devotee of the Lord, and when a woman grows old she becomes devoted to her husband.

8. There is poison in the fang of the serpent, in the mouth of the fly and in the sting of a scorpion; but the wicked man is saturated with it.

9. The woman who fasts and observes religious vows without the permission of her husband shortens his life, and goes to hell.

10. A woman does not become holy by offering charity, by observing hundreds of fasts, or by sipping sacred water, as by sipping the water used to wash her husbands feet.

12. The hand is not so well adorned by ornaments as by charitable offerings; one does not become clean by smearing sandalwood paste upon the body as by taking a bath; one does not become so much satisfied by dinner as by having respect shown to him; and salvation is not attained by self-adornment as by cultivation of spiritual knowledge.

14. The eating of tundi fruit deprives a man of his sense, while the vacha root administered revives his reasoning immediately. A woman at once robs a man of his vigour while milk at once restores it.

15. He who nurtures benevolence for all creatures within his heart overcomes all difficulties and will be the recipient of all types of riches at every step.

16. What is there to be enjoyed in the world of Lord Indra for one whose wife is loving and virtuous, who possesses wealth, who has a well-behaved son endowed with good qualities, and who has grandchildren born of his children?

17. Men have eating, sleeping, fearing and mating in common with the lower animals. That in which men excel the beasts is discretionary knowledge; hence, indiscreet men who are without knowledge should be regarded as beasts.

18. If the bees that seek the liquid oozing from the head of a lust-intoxicated elephant are driven away by the flapping of his ears, then the elephant has lost only the ornament of his head. The bees are quite happy in the lotus filled lake.

19. A king, a prostitute, Lord Yamaraja, fire, a thief, a young boy, and a beggar cannot understand the suffering of others. The eighth of this category is the tax collector.

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20. O lady, why are you gazing downward? Has something of yours fallen on the ground? (She replies) O fool, can you not understand the pearl of my youth has slipped away?

21. O ketki flower! Serpents live in your midst, you bear no edible fruits, your leaves are covered with thorns, you are crooked in growth, you thrive in mud, and you are not easily accessible. Still for your exceptional fragrance you are as dear as kinsmen to others. Hence, a single excellence overcomes a multitude of blemishes.

[End of the manuscript]

THE LAWS OF MANU

Source: Friedrich Max Müller, 50 vols. of
The Sacred Books of the East, vol. 25
Translation: Georg Bühler, 1886
Estimated Range of Dating: 1250 / 300 B.C. -200 A.D.

(The Laws of Manu, in their Sanskrit names also known as Manusmriti, or more precisely as Manava-Dharmashastra, is an ancient legal text that we could describe as the "Torah of the Hindus". It is one of the most important Dharmashastras [basic law texts] of Hinduism. There are several versions in circulation that differ slightly from one another since they never have been "canonised". Over fifty manuscripts of the Laws of Manu are now known. While the very earliest origins of these texts date back to a period of around 1250 BC, modern scholars date the final versions a few centuries later, from around 500 BC to 200 BC.

Most scholars consider the Laws of Manu a composite produced by many authors put together over a long period. The verses might have developed from an original text with several ten-thousand verses. However, the text version in modern use, is likely the work of a single author or a chairman with research assistants. The Laws of Manu reflect "a crystallisation of an accumulated knowledge in ancient India".

The modern version of the Laws of Manu has been subdivided into twelve Adhyayas (chapters), but the original text had no such division. The text covers different topics, and is unique among ancient Indian texts in using "transitional verses" to mark the end of one subject and the start of the next. The text can be broadly divided into four, each of different length. and each further divided into subsections:

1. Creation of the world

2. Source of dharma ["right way of living": duties, rights, conduct, virtues]

3. The dharma ["right way of living"] of the four social classes

4. Law of karma [the cause that has consequences for the individual, e.g. heaven or hell], final liberation and rebirth

The text is composed in metric Shlokas (verses), in the form of a dialogue between an exalted teacher and disciples. The first 58 verses are attributed by the text to Manu, while the remaining more than two thousand verses are attributed to his student Bhrigu. Manu is a Sanskrit name found with various meanings in Hinduism. In early texts, it refers to the "archetypal man", or to the first man (progenitor of humanity). The Sanskrit term 'of Manu' or 'children of Manu' refers to 'human', or "Adam".

Precepts and Commandments

Precepts, rules, and laws are not presented in the fashion of commandments but is a dialogue in which the teacher [called Master or Lord] discusses issues with the student. However, the contents are surprisingly the same as in the Mesopotamia's "Instructions of Shuruppak", as well as in Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Daoism, Confucianism, Buddhism, and Christianity. The document addresses all four "varnas" [the 4 major social classes of the Hindus], which are: Brahmins [priestly class], Kshatriyas [monarch, administration and warrior class], Vaishyas [merchant class], Shudras [artisans and working class].

The structure and contents of the Laws of Manu predominantly targets at the Brahmins (priestly class) and the Kshatriyas [king, administration and warrior class]. The text dedicates 1,034 verses, the largest portion, on laws for and expected virtues of Brahmins, and 971 verses for Kshatriyas. The statement of rules for the Vaishyas [merchant class] and the Shudras [artisans and working class] in the text is relatively brief. The reason for this is simple: the lower classes have been least educated and therefore they are required to follow only the most basic Precepts.

The Laws of Manu lists and recommends virtues in many verses. For example, verse 6:75 recommends non-violence towards everyone and temperance as key virtues, while verse 10:63 preaches that all four social groups must abstain from injuring any creature, abstain from falsehood and abstain from appropriating property of others.

Similarly, in verse 4:204, the Laws of Manu lists the recommended virtues to be, "compassion, forbearance, truthfulness, non-injury, self-control, not desiring, meditation, serenity, sweetness and honesty" as primary, and "purification, sacrifices, ascetic toil, gift giving, vedic recitation, restraining the sexual organs, observances, fasts, silence and bathing" as secondary. A few manuscripts of the text contain a different verse 4:204, and list the recommended virtues to be, "not injuring anyone, speaking the truth, chastity, honesty and not stealing" as central and primary, while "not being angry, obedience to the teacher, purification, eating moderately and vigilance" to desirable and secondary.

In other discovered manuscripts of the Laws of Manu, including the most translated Calcutta Manuscript, the text declares in verse 4:204 that the ethical precepts under Yamas [the Basic Precepts] such as Ahimsa [non-violence] are paramount while Niyamas [Religious Precepts] such as "contemplation of personal god" are minor, and those who do not practice the Basic Precepts but obey the Religious Precepts alone may face to become outcasts.)

LAWS OF MANU CHAPTER 1

1. The great sages approached Manu, who was seated with a collected mind, and, having duly worshipped him, spoke as follows:

2. 'Deign, divine one, to declare to us precisely and in due order the sacred laws of each of the (four chief) castes (varna) and of the intermediate ones.

3. 'For thou, O Lord, alone knowest the purport, (i.e.) the rites, and the knowledge of the soul, (taught) in this whole ordinance of the Self-existent (Svayambhu), which is unknowable and unfathomable.'

4. He, whose power is measureless, being thus asked by the high-minded great sages, duly honoured them, and answered, 'Listen!'

5. This (universe) existed in the shape of Darkness, unperceived, destitute of distinctive marks, unattainable by reasoning, unknowable, wholly immersed, as it were, in deep sleep.

6. Then the divine Self-existent (Svayambhu, himself) indiscernible, (but) making (all) this, the great elements and the rest, discernible, appeared with irresistible (creative) power, dispelling the darkness.

7. He who can be perceived by the internal organ (alone), who is subtile, indiscernible, and eternal, who contains all created beings and is inconceivable, shone forth of his own (will).

8. He, desiring to produce beings of many kinds from his own body, first with a thought created the waters, and placed his seed in them.

9. That (seed) became a golden egg, in brilliancy equal to the sun; in that (egg) he himself was born as Brahman, the progenitor of the whole world.

10. The waters are called narah, (for) the waters are, indeed, the offspring of Nara; as they were his first residence (ayana), he thence is named Narayana.

11. From that (first) cause, which is indiscernible, eternal, and both real and unreal, was produced that male (Purusha), who is famed in this world (under the appellation of) Brahman.

12. The divine one resided in that egg during a whole year, then he himself by his thought (alone) divided it into two halves;

13. And out of those two halves he formed heaven and earth, between them the middle sphere, the eight points of the horizon, and the eternal abode of the waters.

14. From himself (atmanah) he also drew forth the mind, which is both real and unreal, likewise from the mind egoism, which possesses the function of self-consciousness (and is) lordly;

15. Moreover, the great one, the soul, and all (products) affected by the three qualities, and, in their order, the five organs which perceive the objects of sensation.

16. But, joining minute particles even of those six, which possess measureless power, with particles of himself, he created all beings.

17. Because those six (kinds of) minute particles, which form the (creator's) frame, enter (a-sri) these (creatures), therefore the wise call his frame sarira, (the body.)

18. That the great elements enter, together with their functions and the mind, through its minute parts the framer of all beings, the imperishable one.

19. But from minute body (-framing) particles of these seven very powerful Purushas springs this (world), the perishable from the imperishable.

20. Among them each succeeding (element) acquires the quality of the preceding one, and whatever place (in the sequence) each of them occupies, even so many qualities it is declared to possess.

21. But in the beginning he assigned their several names, actions, and conditions to all (created beings), even according to the words of the Veda.

22. He, the Lord, also created the class of the gods, who are endowed with life, and whose nature is action; and the subtile class of the Sadhyas, and the eternal sacrifice.

23. But from fire, wind, and the sun he drew forth the threefold eternal Veda, called Rik, Yagus, and Saman, for the due performance of the sacrifice.

24. Time and the divisions of time, the lunar mansions and the planets, the rivers, the oceans, the mountains, plains, and uneven ground.

25. Austerity, speech, pleasure, desire, and anger, this whole creation he likewise produced, as he desired to call these beings into existence.

26. Moreover, in order to distinguish actions, he separated merit from demerit, and he caused the creatures to be affected by the pairs (of opposites), such as pain and pleasure.

27. But with the minute perishable particles of the five (elements) which have been mentioned, this whole (world) is framed in due order.

28. But to whatever course of action the Lord at first appointed each (kind of beings), that alone it has spontaneously adopted in each succeeding creation.

29. Whatever he assigned to each at the (first) creation, noxiousness or harmlessness, gentleness or ferocity, virtue or sin, truth or falsehood, that clung (afterwards) spontaneously to it.

30. As at the change of the seasons each season of its own accord assumes its distinctive marks, even so corporeal beings (resume in new births) their (appointed) course of action.

31. But for the sake of the prosperity of the worlds he caused the Brahmana, the Kshatriya, the Vaisya, and the Sudra to proceed from his mouth, his arms, his thighs, and his feet.

32. Dividing his own body, the Lord became half male and half female; with that (female) he produced Virag.

33. But know me, O most holy among the twice-born, to be the creator of this whole (world), whom that male, Virag, himself produced, having performed austerities.

34. Then I, desiring to produce created beings, performed very difficult austerities, and (thereby) called into existence ten great sages, lords of created beings,

35. Mariki, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Praketas, Vasishtha, Bhrigu, and Narada.

36. They created seven other Manus possessing great brilliancy, gods and classes of gods and great sages of measureless power,

37. Yakshas (the servants of Kubera, the demons called) Rakshasas and Pisakas, Gandharvas (or musicians of the gods), Apsarases (the dancers of the gods), Asuras, (the snake-deities called) Nagas and Sarpas, (the bird-deities called) Suparnas and the several classes of the manes,

38. Lightnings, thunderbolts and clouds, imperfect (rohita) and perfect rainbows, falling meteors, supernatural noises, comets, and heavenly lights of many kinds,

39 (Horse-faced) Kinnaras, monkeys, fishes, birds of many kinds, cattle, deer, men, and carnivorous beasts with two rows of teeth,

40. Small and large worms and beetles, moths, lice, flies, bugs, all stinging and biting insects and the several kinds of immovable things.

41. Thus was this whole (creation), both the immovable and the movable, produced by those high-minded ones by means of austerities and at my command, (each being) according to (the results of) its actions.

42. But whatever act is stated (to belong) to (each of) those creatures here below, that I will truly declare to you, as well as their order in respect to birth.

43. Cattle, deer, carnivorous beasts with two rows of teeth, Rakshasas, Pisakas, and men are born from the womb.

44. From eggs are born birds, snakes, crocodiles, fishes, tortoises, as well as similar terrestrial and aquatic (animals).

45. From hot moisture spring stinging and biting insects, lice, flies, bugs, and all other (creatures) of that kind which are produced by heat.

46. All plants, propagated by seed or by slips, grow from shoots; annual plants (are those) which, bearing many flowers and fruits, perish after the ripening of their fruit;

47. (Those trees) which bear fruit without flowers are called vanaspati (lords of the forest); but those which bear both flowers and fruit are called vriksha.

48. But the various plants with many stalks, growing from one or several roots, the different kinds of grasses, the climbing plants and the creepers spring all from seed or from slips.

49. These (plants) which are surrounded by multiform Darkness, the result of their acts (in former existences), possess internal consciousness and experience pleasure and pain.

50. The (various) conditions in this always terrible and constantly changing circle of births and deaths to which created beings are subject, are stated to begin with (that of) Brahman, and to end with (that of) these (just mentioned immovable creatures).

51. When he whose power is incomprehensible, had thus produced the universe and men, he disappeared in himself, repeatedly suppressing one period by means of the other.

52. When that divine one wakes, then this world stirs; when he slumbers tranquilly, then the universe sinks to sleep.

53. But when he reposes in calm sleep, the corporeal beings whose nature is action, desist from their actions and mind becomes inert.

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54. When they are absorbed all at once in that great soul, then he who is the soul of all beings sweetly slumbers, free from all care and occupation.

55. When this (soul) has entered darkness, it remains for a long time united with the organs (of sensation), but performs not its functions; it then leaves the corporeal frame.

56. When, being clothed with minute particles (only), it enters into vegetable or animal seed, it then assumes, united (with the fine body), a (new) corporeal frame.

57. Thus he, the imperishable one, by (alternately) waking and slumbering, incessantly revivifies and destroys this whole movable and immovable (creation).

58. But he having composed these Institutes (of the sacred law), himself taught them, according to the rule, to me alone in the beginning; next I (taught them) to Mariki and the other sages.

59. Bhrigu, here, will fully recite to you these Institutes; for that sage learned the whole in its entirety from me.

60. Then that great sage Bhrigu, being thus addressed by Manu, spoke, pleased in his heart, to all the sages, 'Listen!'

61. Six other high-minded, very powerful Manus, who belong to the race of this Manu, the descendant of the Self-existent (Svayambhu), and who have severally produced created beings,

62. (Are) Svarokisha, Auttami, Tamasa, Raivata, Kakshusha, possessing great lustre, and the son of Vivasvat.

63. These seven very glorious Manus, the first among whom is Svayambhuva, produced and protected this whole movable and immovable (creation), each during the period (allotted to him).

64. Eighteen nimeshas (twinklings of the eye, are one kashtha), thirty kashthas one kala, thirty kalas one muhurta, and as many (muhurtas) one day and night.

65. The sun divides days and nights, both human and divine, the night (being intended) for the repose of created beings and the day for exertion.

66. A month is a day and a night of the manes, but the division is according to fortnights. The dark (fortnight) is their day for active exertion, the bright (fortnight) their night for sleep.

67. A year is a day and a night of the gods; their division is (as follows): the half year during which the sun progresses to the north will be the day, that during which it goes southwards the night.

68. But hear now the brief (description of) the duration of a night and a day of Brahman and of the several ages (of the world, yuga) according to their order.

69. They declare that the Krita age (consists of) four thousand years (of the gods); the twilight preceding it consists of as many hundreds, and the twilight following it of the same number.

70. In the other three ages with their twilights preceding and following, the thousands and hundreds are diminished by one (in each).

71. These twelve thousand (years) which thus have been just mentioned as the total of four (human) ages, are called one age of the gods.

72. But know that the sum of one thousand ages of the gods (makes) one day of Brahman, and that his night has the same length.

73. Those (only, who) know that the holy day of Brahman, indeed, ends after (the completion of) one thousand ages (of the gods) and that his night lasts as long, (are really) men acquainted with (the length of) days and nights.

74. At the end of that day and night he who was asleep, awakes and, after awaking, creates mind, which is both real and unreal.

75. Mind, impelled by (Brahman's) desire to create, performs the work of creation by modifying itself, thence ether is produced; they declare that sound is the quality of the latter.

76. But from ether, modifying itself, springs the pure, powerful wind, the vehicle of all perfumes; that is held to possess the quality of touch.

77. Next from wind modifying itself, proceeds the brilliant light, which illuminates and dispels darkness; that is declared to possess the quality of colour;

78. And from light, modifying itself, (is produced) water, possessing the quality of taste, from water earth which has the quality of smell; such is the creation in the beginning.

79. The before-mentioned age of the gods, (or) twelve thousand (of their years), being multiplied by seventy-one, (constitutes what) is here named the period of a Manu (Manvantara).

80. The Manvantaras, the creations and destructions (of the world, are) numberless; sporting, as it were, Brahman repeats this again and again.

81. In the Krita age Dharma is four-footed and entire, and (so is) Truth; nor does any gain accrue to men by unrighteousness.

82. In the other (three ages), by reason of (unjust) gains (agama), Dharma is deprived successively of one foot, and through (the prevalence of) theft, falsehood, and fraud the merit (gained by men) is diminished by one fourth (in each).

83. (Men are) free from disease, accomplish all their aims, and live four hundred years in the Krita age, but in the Treta and (in each of) the succeeding (ages) their life is lessened by one quarter.

84. The life of mortals, mentioned in the Veda, the desired results of sacrificial rites and the (supernatural) power of embodied (spirits) are fruits proportioned among men according to (the character of) the age.

85. One set of duties (is prescribed) for men in the Krita age, different ones in the Treta and in the Dvapara, and (again) another (set) in the Kali, in a proportion as (those) ages decrease in length.

86. In the Krita age the chief (virtue) is declared to be (the performance of) austerities, in the Treta (divine) knowledge, in the Dvapara (the performance of) sacrifices, in the Kali liberality alone.

87. But in order to protect this universe He, the most resplendent one, assigned separate (duties and) occupations to those who sprang from his mouth, arms, thighs, and feet.

88. To Brahmanas he assigned teaching and studying (the Veda), sacrificing for their own benefit and for others, giving and accepting (of alms).

89. The Kshatriya he commanded to protect the people, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifices, to study (the Veda), and to abstain from attaching himself to sensual pleasures;

90. The Vaisya to tend cattle, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifices, to study (the Veda), to trade, to lend money, and to cultivate land.

91. One occupation only the lord prescribed to the Sudra, to serve meekly even these (other) three castes.

92. Man is stated to be purer above the navel (than below); hence the Self-existent (Svayambhu) has declared the purest (part) of him (to be) his mouth.

93. As the Brahmana sprang from (Brahman's) mouth, as he was the first-born, and as he possesses the Veda, he is by right the lord of this whole creation.

94. For the Self-existent (Svayambhu), having performed austerities, produced him first from his own mouth, in order that the offerings might be conveyed to the gods and manes and that this universe might be preserved.

95. What created being can surpass him, through whose mouth the gods continually consume the sacrificial viands and the manes the offerings to the dead?

96. Of created beings the most excellent are said to be those which are animated; of the animated, those which subsist by intelligence; of the intelligent, mankind; and of men, the Brahmanas;

97. Of Brahmanas, those learned (in the Veda); of the learned, those who recognise (the necessity and the manner of performing the prescribed duties); of those who possess this knowledge, those who perform them; of the performers, those who know the Brahman.

98. The very birth of a Brahmana is an eternal incarnation of the sacred law; for he is born to (fulfil) the sacred law, and becomes one with Brahman.

99. A Brahmana, coming into existence, is born as the highest on earth, the lord of all created beings, for the protection of the treasury of the law.

100. Whatever exists in the world is, the property of the Brahmana; on account of the excellence of his origin The Brahmana is, indeed, entitled to all.

101. The Brahmana eats but his own food, wears but his own apparel, bestows but his own in alms; other mortals subsist through the benevolence of the Brahmana.

102. In order to clearly settle his duties those of the other (castes) according to their order, wise Manu sprung from the Self-existent, composed these Institutes (of the sacred Law).

103. A learned Brahmana must carefully study them, and he must duly instruct his pupils in them, but nobody else (shall do it).

104. A Brahmana who studies these Institutes (and) faithfully fulfils the duties (prescribed therein), is never tainted by sins, arising from thoughts, words, or deeds.

105. He sanctifies any company (which he may enter), seven ancestors and seven descendants, and he alone deserves (to possess) this whole earth.

106. (To study) this (work) is the best means of securing welfare, it increases understanding, it procures fame and long life, it (leads to) supreme bliss.

107. In this (work) the sacred law has been fully stated as well as the good and bad qualities of (human) actions and the immemorial rule of conduct, (to be followed) by all the four castes (varna).

108. The rule of conduct is transcendent law, whether it be taught in the revealed texts or in the sacred tradition; hence a twice-born man who possesses regard for himself, should be always careful to (follow) it.

109. A Brahmana who departs from the rule of conduct, does not reap the fruit of the Veda, but he who duly follows it, will obtain the full reward.

110. The sages who saw that the sacred law is thus grounded on the rule of conduct, have taken good conduct to be the most excellent root of all austerity.

111. The creation of the universe, the rule of the sacraments, the ordinances of studentship, and the respectful behaviour (towards Gurus), the most excellent rule of bathing (on return from the teacher's house),

112. (The law of) marriage and the description of the (various) marriage-rites, the regulations for the great sacrifices and the eternal rule of the funeral sacrifices,

113. The description of the modes of (gaining) subsistence and the duties of a Snataka, (the rules regarding) lawful and forbidden food, the purification of men and of things,

114. The laws concerning women, (the law) of hermits, (the manner of gaining) final emancipation and (of) renouncing the world, the whole duty of a king and the manner of deciding lawsuits,

115. The rules for the examination of witnesses, the laws concerning husband and wife, the law of (inheritance and) division, (the law concerning) gambling and the removal of (men nocuous like) thorns,

116. (The law concerning) the behaviour of Vaisyas and Sudras, the origin of the mixed castes, the law for all castes in times of distress and the law of penances,

117. The threefold course of transmigrations, the result of (good or bad) actions, (the manner of attaining) supreme bliss and the examination of the good and bad qualities of actions,

118. The primeval laws of countries, of castes (gati), of families, and the rules concerning heretics and companies (of traders and the like)- (all that) Manu has declared in these Institutes.

119. As Manu, in reply to my questions, formerly promulgated these Institutes, even so learn ye also the (whole work) from me.

LAWS OF MANU CHAPTER 2

1. Learn that sacred law which is followed by men learned (in the Veda) and assented to in their hearts by the virtuous, who are ever exempt from hatred and inordinate affection.

2. To act solely from a desire for rewards is not laudable, yet an exemption from that desire is not (to be found) in this (world): for on (that) desire is grounded the study of the Veda and the performance of the actions, prescribed by the Veda.

3. The desire (for rewards), indeed, has its root in the conception that an act can yield them, and in consequence of (that) conception sacrifices are performed; vows and the laws prescribing restraints are all stated to be kept through the idea that they will bear fruit.

4. Not a single act here (below) appears ever to be done by a man free from desire; for whatever (man) does, it is (the result of) the impulse of desire.

5. He who persists in discharging these (prescribed duties) in the right manner, reaches the deathless state and even in this (life) obtains (the fulfilment of) all the desires that he may have conceived.

6. The whole Veda is the (first) source of the sacred law, next the tradition and the virtuous conduct of those who know the (Veda further), also the customs of holy men, and (finally) self-satisfaction.

7. Whatever law has been ordained for any (person) by Manu, that has been fully declared in the Veda: for that (sage was) omniscient.

8. But a learned man after fully scrutinising all this with the eye of knowledge, should, in accordance with the authority of the revealed texts, be intent on (the performance of) his duties.

9. For that man who obeys the law prescribed in the revealed texts and in the sacred tradition, gains fame in this (world) and after death unsurpassable bliss.

10. But by Sruti (revelation) is meant the Veda, and by Smriti (tradition) the Institutes of the sacred law: those two must not be called into question in any matter, since from those two the sacred law shone forth.

11. Every twice-born man, who, relying on the Institutes of dialectics, treats with contempt those two sources (of the law), must be cast out by the virtuous, as an atheist and a scorner of the Veda.

12. The Veda, the sacred tradition, the customs of virtuous men, and one's own pleasure, they declare to be visibly the fourfold means of defining the sacred law.

13. The knowledge of the sacred law is prescribed for those who are not given to the acquisition of wealth and to the gratification of their desires; to those who seek the knowledge of the sacred law the supreme authority is the revelation (Sruti).

14. But when two sacred texts (Sruti) are conflicting, both are held to be law; for both are pronounced by the wise (to be) valid law.

15. (Thus) the (Agnihotra) sacrifice may be (optionally) performed, at any time after the sun has risen, before he has risen, or when neither sun nor stars are visible; that (is declared) by Vedic texts.

16. Know that he for whom (the performance of) the ceremonies beginning with the rite of impregnation (Garbhadhana) and ending with the funeral rite (Antyeshti) is prescribed, while sacred formulas are being recited, is entitled (to study) these Institutes, but no other man whatsoever.

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17. That land, created by the gods, which lies between the two divine rivers Sarasvati and Drishadvati, the (sages) call Brahmavarta.

18. The custom handed down in regular succession (since time immemorial) among the (four chief) castes (varna) and the mixed (races) of that country, is called the conduct of virtuous men.

19. The plain of the Kurus, the (country of the) Matsyas, Pankalas, and Surasenakas, these (form), indeed, the country of the Brahmarshis (Brahmanical sages, which ranks) immediately after Brahmavarta.

20. From a Brahmana, born in that country, let all men on earth learn their several usages.

21. That (country) which (lies) between the Himavat and the Vindhya (mountains) to the east of Prayaga and to the west of Vinasana (the place where the river Sarasvati disappears) is called Madhyadesa (the central region).

22. But (the tract) between those two mountains (just mentioned), which (extends) as far as the eastern and the western oceans, the wise call Aryavarta (the country of the Aryans).

23. That land where the black antelope naturally roams, one must know to be fit for the performance of sacrifices; (the tract) different from that (is) the country of the Mlekkhas (barbarians).

24. Let twice-born men seek to dwell in those (above-mentioned countries); but a Sudra, distressed for subsistence, may reside anywhere.

25. Thus has the origin of the sacred law been succinctly described to you and the origin of this universe; learn (now) the duties of the castes (varna).

26. With holy rites, prescribed by the Veda, must the ceremony on conception and other sacraments be performed for twice-born men, which sanctify the body and purify (from sin) in this (life) and after death.

27. By burnt oblations during (the mother's) pregnancy, by the Gatakarman (the ceremony after birth), the Kauda (tonsure), and the Maungibandhana (the tying of the sacred girdle of Munga grass) is the taint, derived from both parents, removed from twice-born men.

28. By the study of the Veda, by vows, by burnt oblations, by (the recitation of) sacred texts, by the (acquisition of the) threefold sacred science, by offering (to the gods, Rishis, and manes), by (the procreation of) sons, by the great sacrifices, and by (Srauta) rites this (human) body is made fit for (union with) Brahman.

29. Before the navel-string is cut, the Gatakarman (birth-rite) must be performed for a male (child); and while sacred formulas are being recited, he must be fed with gold, honey, and butter.

30. But let (the father perform or) cause to be performed the Namadheya (the rite of naming the child), on the tenth or twelfth (day after birth), or on a lucky lunar day, in a lucky muhurta, under an auspicious constellation.

31. Let (the first part of) a Brahmana's name (denote something) auspicious, a Kshatriya's be connected with power, and a Vaisya's with wealth, but a Sudra's (express something) contemptible.

32. (The second part of) a Brahmana's (name) shall be (a word) implying happiness, of a Kshatriya's (a word) implying protection, of a Vaisya's (a term) expressive of thriving, and of a Sudra's (an expression) denoting service.

33. The names of women should be easy to pronounce, not imply anything dreadful, possess a plain meaning, be pleasing and auspicious, end in long vowels, and contain a word of benediction.

34. In the fourth month the Nishkramana (the first leaving of the house) of the child should be performed, in the sixth month the Annaprasana (first feeding with rice), and optionally (any other) auspicious ceremony required by (the custom of) the family.

35. According to the teaching of the revealed texts, the Kudakarman (tonsure) must be performed, for the sake of spiritual merit, by all twice-born men in the first or third year.

36. In the eighth year after conception, one should perform the initiation (upanayana) of a Brahmana, in the eleventh after conception (that) of a Kshatriya, but in the twelfth that of a Vaisya.

37. (The initiation) of a Brahmana who desires proficiency in sacred learning should take place in the fifth (year after conception), (that) of a Kshatriya who wishes to become powerful in the sixth, (and that) of a Vaisya who longs for (success in his) business in the eighth.

38. The (time for the) Savitri (initiation) of a Brahmana does not pass until the completion of the sixteenth year (after conception), of a Kshatriya until the completion of the twenty-second, and of a Vaisya until the completion of the twenty-fourth.

39. After those (periods men of) these three (castes) who have not received the sacrament at the proper time, become Vratyas (outcasts), excluded from the Savitri (initiation) and despised by the Aryans.

40. With such men, if they have not been purified according to the rule, let no Brahmana ever, even in times of distress, form a connexion either through the Veda or by marriage.

41. Let students, according to the order (of their castes), wear (as upper dresses) the skins of black antelopes, spotted deer, and he-goats, and (lower garments) made of hemp, flax or wool.

42. The girdle of a Brahmana shall consist of a of a triple cord of Munga grass, smooth and soft; (that) of a Kshatriya, of a bowstring, made of Murva fibres; (that) of a Vaisya, of hempen threads.

43. If Munga grass (and so forth) be not procurable, (the girdles) may be made of Kusa, Asmantaka, and Balbaga (fibres), with a single threefold knot, or with three or five (knots according to the custom of the family).

44. The sacrificial string of a Brahmana shall be made of cotton, (shall be) twisted to the right, (and consist) of three threads, that of a Kshatriya of hempen threads, (and) that of a Vaisya of woollen threads.

45. A Brahmana shall (carry), according to the sacred law, a staff of Bilva or Palasa; a Kshatriya, of Vata or Khadira; (and) a Vaisya, of Pilu or Udumbara.

46. The staff of a Brahmana shall be made of such length as to reach the end of his hair; that of a Kshatriya, to reach his forehead;

(and) that of a Vaisya, to reach (the tip of his) nose.

47. Let all the staves be straight, without a blemish, handsome to look at, not likely to terrify men, with their bark perfect, unhurt by fire.

48. Having taken a staff according to his choice, having worshipped the sun and walked round the fire, turning his right hand towards it, (the student) should beg alms according to the prescribed rule.

49. An initiated Brahmana should beg, beginning (his request with the word) lady (bhavati); a Kshatriya, placing (the word) lady in the middle, but a Vaisya, placing it at the end (of the formula).

50. Let him first beg food of his mother, or of his sister, or of his own maternal aunt, or of (some other) female who will not disgrace him (by a refusal).

51. Having collected as much food as is required (from several persons), and having announced it without guile to his teacher, let him eat, turning his face towards the east, and having purified himself by sipping water.

52. (His meal will procure) long life, if he eats facing the east; fame, if he turns to the south; prosperity, if he turns to the west; truthfulness, if he faces the east.

53. Let a twice-born man always eat his food with concentrated mind, after performing an ablution; and after he has eaten, let him duly cleanse himself with water and sprinkle the cavities (of his head).

54. Let him always worship his food, and eat it without contempt; when he sees it, let him rejoice, show a pleased face, and pray that he may always obtain it.

55. Food, that is always worshipped, gives strength and manly vigour; but eaten irreverently, it destroys them both.

56. Let him not give to any man what he leaves, and beware of eating between (the two meal-times); let him not over-eat himself, nor go anywhere without having purified himself (after his meal).

57. Excessive eating is prejudicial to health, to fame, and to (bliss in) heaven; it prevents (the acquisition of) spiritual merit, and is odious among men; one ought, for these reasons, to avoid it carefully.

58. Let a Brahmana always sip water out of the part of the hand (tirtha) sacred to Brahman, or out of that sacred to Ka (Pragapati), or out of (that) sacred to the gods, never out of that sacred to the manes.

59. They call (the part) at the root of the thumb the tirtha sacred to Brahman, that at the root of the (little) finger (the tirtha) sacred to Ka (Pragapati), (that) at the tips (of the fingers, the tirtha) sacred to the gods, and that below (between the index and the thumb, the tirtha) sacred to the manes.

60. Let him first sip water thrice; next twice wipe his mouth; and, lastly, touch with water the cavities (of the head), (the seat of) the soul and the head.

61. He who knows the sacred law and seeks purity shall always perform the rite of sipping with water neither hot nor frothy, with the (prescribed) tirtha, in a lonely place, and turning to the east or to the north.

62. A Brahmana is purified by water that reaches his heart, a Kshatriya by water reaching his throat, a Vaisya by water taken into his mouth, (and) a Sudra by water touched with the extremity (of his lips).

63. A twice-born man is called upavitin when his right arm is raised (and the sacrificial string or the dress, passed under it, rests on the left shoulder); (when his) left (arm) is raised (and the string, or the dress, passed under it, rests on the right shoulder, he is called) prakinavitin; and nivitin when it hangs down (straight) from the neck.

64. His girdle, the skin (which serves as his upper garment), his staff, his sacrificial thread, (and) his water-pot he must throw into water, when they have been damaged, and take others, reciting sacred formulas.

65. (The ceremony called) Kesanta (clipping the hair) is ordained for a Brahmana in the sixteenth year (from conception); for a Kshatriya, in the twenty-second; and for a Vaisya, two (years) later than that.

66. This whole series (of ceremonies) must be performed for females (also), in order to sanctify the body, at the proper time and in the proper order, but without (the recitation of) sacred texts.

67. The nuptial ceremony is stated to be the Vedic sacrament for women (and to be equal to the initiation), serving the husband (equivalent to) the residence in (the house of the) teacher, and the household duties (the same) as the (daily) worship of the sacred fire.

68. Thus has been described the rule for the initiation of the twice-born, which indicates a (new) birth, and sanctifies; learn (now) to what duties they must afterwards apply themselves.

69. Having performed the (rite of) initiation, the teacher must first instruct the (pupil) in (the rules of) personal purification, of conduct, of the fire-worship, and of the twilight devotions.

70. But (a student) who is about to begin the Study (of the Veda), shall receive instruction, after he has sipped water in accordance with the Institutes (of the sacred law), has made the Brahmangali, (has put on) a clean dress, and has brought his organs under due control.

71. At the beginning and at the end of (a lesson in the) Veda he must always clasp both the feet of his teacher, (and) he must study, joining his hands; that is called the Brahmangali (joining the palms for the sake of the Veda).

72. With crossed hands he must clasp (the feet) of the teacher, and touch the left (foot) with his left (hand), the right (foot) with his right (hand).

73. But to him who is about to begin studying, the teacher always unwearied, must say: Ho, recite! He shall leave off (when the teacher says): Let a stoppage take place!

74. Let him always pronounce the syllable Om at the beginning and at the end of (a lesson in) the Veda; (for) unless the syllable Om precede (the lesson) will slip away (from him), and unless it follow it will fade away.

75. Seated on (blades of Kusa grass) with their points to the east, purified by Pavitras (blades of Kusa grass), and sanctified by three suppressions of the breath (Pranayama), he is worthy (to pronounce) the syllable Om.

76. Pragapati (the lord of creatures) milked out (as it were) from the three Vedas the sounds A, U, and M, and (the Vyahritis) Bhuh, Bhuvah, Svah.

77. Moreover from the three Vedas Pragapati, who dwells in the highest heaven (Parameshthin), milked out (as it were) that Rik-verse, sacred to Savitri (Savitri), which begins with the word tad, one foot from each.

78. A Brahmana, learned in the Veda, who recites during both twilights that syllable and that (verse), preceded by the Vyahritis, gains the (whole) merit which (the recitation of) the Vedas confers.

79. A twice-born man who (daily) repeats those three one thousand times outside (the village), will be freed after a month even from great guilt, as a snake from its slough.

80. The Brahmana, the Kshatriya, and the Vaisya who neglect (the recitation of) that Rik-verse and the timely (performance of the) rites (prescribed for) them, will be blamed among virtuous men.

81. Know that the three imperishable Mahavyahritis, preceded by the syllable Om, and (followed) by the three-footed Savitri are the portal of the Veda and the gate leading (to union with) Brahman.

82. He who daily recites that (verse), untired, during three years, will enter (after death) the highest Brahman, move as free as air, and assume an ethereal form.

83. The monosyllable (Om) is the highest Brahman, (three) suppressions of the breath are the best (form of) austerity, but nothing surpasses the Savitri truthfulness is better than silence.

84. All rites ordained in the Veda, burnt oblations and (other) sacrifices, pass away; but know that the syllable (Om) is imperishable, and (it is) Brahman, (and) the Lord of creatures (Pragapati).

85. An offering, consisting of muttered prayers, is ten times more efficacious than a sacrifice performed according to the rules (of the Veda); a (prayer) which is inaudible (to others) surpasses it a hundred times, and the mental (recitation of sacred texts) a thousand times.

86. The four Pakayagnas and those sacrifices which are enjoined by the rules (of the Veda) are all together not equal in value to a sixteenth part of the sacrifice consisting of muttered prayers.

87. But, undoubtedly, a Brahmana reaches the highest goal by muttering prayers only; (whether) he perform other (rites) or neglect them, he who befriends (all creatures) is declared (to be) a (true) Brahmana.

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88. A wise man should strive to restrain his organs which run wild among alluring sensual objects, like a charioteer his horses.

89. Those eleven organs which former sages have named, I will properly (and) precisely enumerate in due order,

90. (Viz.) the ear, the skin, the eyes, the tongue, and the nose as the fifth, the anus, the organ of generation, hands and feet, and the (organ of) speech, named as the tenth.

91. Five of them, the ear and the rest according to their order, they call organs of sense, and five of them, the anus and the rest, organs of action.

92. Know that the internal organ (manas) is the eleventh, which by its quality belongs to both (sets); when that has been subdued, both those sets of five have been conquered.

93. Through the attachment of his organs (to sensual pleasure) a man doubtlessly will incur guilt; but if he keep them under complete control, he will obtain success (in gaining all his aims).

94. Desire is never extinguished by the enjoyment of desired objects; it only grows stronger like a fire (fed) with clarified butter.

95. If one man should obtain all those (sensual enjoyments) and another should renounce them all, the renunciation of all pleasure is far better than the attainment of them.

96. Those (organs) which are strongly attached to sensual pleasures, cannot so effectually be restrained by abstinence (from enjoyments) as by a constant (pursuit of true) knowledge.

97. Neither (the study of) the Vedas, nor liberality, nor sacrifices, nor any (self-imposed) restraint, nor austerities, ever procure the attainment (of rewards) to a man whose heart is contaminated (by sensuality).

98. That man may be considered to have (really) subdued his organs, who on hearing and touching and seeing, on tasting and smelling (anything) neither rejoices nor repines.

99. But when one among all the organs slips away (from control), thereby (man's) wisdom slips away from him, even as the water (flows) through the one (open) foot of a (water-carrier's) skin.

100. If he keeps all the (ten) organs as well as the mind in subjection, he may gain all his aims, without reducing his body by (the practice) of Yoga.

101. Let him stand during the morning twilight, muttering the Savitri until the sun appears, but (let him recite it), seated, in the evening until the constellations can be seen distinctly.

102. He who stands during the morning twilight muttering (the Savitri), removes the guilt contracted during the (previous) night; but he who (recites it), seated, in the evening, destroys the sin he committed during the day.

103. But he who does not (worship) standing in the morning, nor sitting in the evening, shall be excluded, just like a Sudra, from all the duties and rights of an Aryan.

104. He who (desires to) perform the ceremony (of the) daily (recitation), may even recite the Savitri near water, retiring into the forest, controlling his organs and concentrating his mind.

105. Both when (one studies) the supplementary treatises of the Veda, and when (one recites) the daily portion of the Veda, no regard need be paid to forbidden days, likewise when (one repeats) the sacred texts required for a burnt oblation.

106. There are no forbidden days for the daily recitation, since that is declared to be a Brahmasattra (an everlasting sacrifice offered to Brahman); at that the Veda takes the place of the burnt oblations, and it is meritorious (even), when (natural phenomena, requiring) a cessation of the Veda-study, take the place of the exclamation Vashat.

107. For him who, being pure and controlling his organs, during a year daily recites the Veda according to the rule, that (daily recitation) will ever cause sweet and sour milk, clarified butter and honey to flow.

108. Let an Aryan who has been initiated, (daily) offer fuel in the sacred fire, beg food, sleep on the ground and do what is beneficial to this teacher, until (he performs the ceremony of) Samavartana (on returning home).

109. According to the sacred law the (following) ten (persons, viz.) the teacher's son, one who desires to do service, one who imparts knowledge, one who is intent on fulfilling the law, one who is pure, a person connected by marriage or friendship, one who possesses (mental) ability, one who makes presents of money, one who is honest, and a relative, may be instructed (in the Veda).

110. Unless one be asked, one must not explain (anything) to anybody, nor (must one answer) a person who asks improperly; let a wise man, though he knows (the answer), behave among men as (if he were) an idiot.

111. Of the two persons, him who illegally explains (anything), and him who illegally asks (a question), one (or both) will die or incur (the other's) enmity.

112. Where merit and wealth are not (obtained by teaching) nor (at least) due obedience, in such (soil) sacred knowledge must not be sown, just as good seed (must) not (be thrown) on barren land.

113. Even in times of dire distress a teacher of the Veda should rather die with his knowledge than sow it in barren soil.

114. Sacred Learning approached a Brahmana and said to him: 'I am thy treasure, preserve me, deliver me not to a scorner; so (preserved) I shall become supremely strong.'

115. 'But deliver me, as to the keeper of thy treasure, to a Brahmana whom thou shalt know to be pure, of subdued senses, chaste and attentive.'

116. But he who acquires without permission the Veda from one who recites it, incurs the guilt of stealing the Veda, and shall sink into hell.

117. (A student) shall first reverentially salute that (teacher) from whom he receives (knowledge), referring to worldly affairs, to the Veda, or to the Brahman.

118. A Brahmana who completely governs himself, though he know the Savitri only, is better than he who knows the three Vedas, (but) does not control himself, eats all (sorts of) food, and sells all (sorts of goods).

119. One must not sit down on a couch or seat which a superior occupies; and he who occupies a couch or seat shall rise to meet a (superior), and (afterwards) salute him.

120. For the vital airs of a young man mount upwards to leave his body when an elder approaches; but by rising to meet him and saluting he recovers them.

121. He who habitually salutes and constantly pays reverence to the aged obtains an increase of four (things), (viz.) length of life, knowledge, fame, (and) strength.

122. After the (word of) salutation, a Brahmana who greets an elder must pronounce his name, saying, 'I am N. N.'

123. To those (persons) who, when a name is pronounced, do not understand (the meaning of) the salutation, a wise man should say, 'It is I;' and (he should address) in the same manner all women.

124. In saluting he should pronounce after his name the word bhoh; for the sages have declared that the nature of bhoh is the same as that of (all proper) names.

125. A Brahmana should thus be saluted in return, 'May'st thou be long-lived, O gentle one!' and the vowel 'a' must be added at the end of the name (of the person addressed), the syllable preceding it being drawn out to the length of three moras.

126. A Brahmana who does not know the form of returning a salutation, must not be saluted by a learned man; as a Sudra, even so is he.

127. Let him ask a Brahmana, on meeting him, after (his health, with the word) kusala, a Kshatriya (with the word) anamaya, a Vaisya (with the word) kshema, and a Sudra (with the word) anarogya.

128. He who has been initiated (to perform a Srauta sacrifice) must not be addressed by his name, even though he be a younger man; he who knows the sacred law must use in speaking to such (a man the particle) bhoh and (the pronoun) bhavat (your worship).

129. But to a female who is the wife of another man, and not a blood-relation, he must say, 'Lady' (bhavati) or 'Beloved sister!'

130. To his maternal and paternal uncles, fathers-in-law, officiating priests, (and other) venerable persons, he must say, 'I am N. N.,' and rise (to meet them), even though they be younger (than himself).

131. A maternal aunt, the wife of a maternal uncle, a mother-in-law, and a paternal aunt must be honoured like the wife of one's teacher; they are equal to the wife of one's teacher.

132. (The feet of the) wife of one's brother, if she be of the same caste (varna), must be clasped every day; but (the feet of) wives of (other) paternal and maternal relatives need only be embraced on one's return from a journey.

133. Towards a sister of one's father and of one's mother, and towards one's own elder sister, one must behave as towards one's mother; (but) the mother is more venerable than they.

134. Fellow-citizens are called friends (and equals though one be) ten years (older than the other), men practising (the same) fine art (though one be) five years (older than the other), Srotriyas (though) three years (intervene between their ages), but blood-relations only (if the) difference of age be very small.

135. Know that a Brahmana of ten years and Kshatriya of a hundred years stand to each other in the relation of father and son; but between those two the Brahmana is the father.

136. Wealth, kindred, age, (the due performance of) rites, and, fifthly, sacred learning are titles to respect; but each later-named (cause) is more weighty (than the preceding ones).

137. Whatever man of the three (highest) castes possesses most of those five, both in number and degree, that man is worthy of honour among them; and (so is) also a Sudra who has entered the tenth (decade of his life).

138. Way must be made for a man in a carriage, for one who is above ninety years old, for one diseased, for the carrier of a burden, for a woman, for a Snataka, for the king, and for a bridegroom.

139. Among all those, if they meet (at one time), a Snataka and the king must be (most) honoured; and if the king and a Snataka (meet), the latter receives respect from the king.

140. They call that Brahmana who initiates a pupil and teaches him the Veda together with the Kalpa and the Rahasyas, the teacher (akarya, of the latter).

141. But he who for his livelihood teaches a portion only of the Veda, or also the Angas of the Veda, is called the sub-teacher (upadhyaya).

142. That Brahmana, who performs in accordance with the rules (of the Veda) the rites, the Garbhadhana (conception-rite), and so forth, and gives food (to the child), is called the Guru (the venerable one).

143. He who, being (duly) chosen (for the purpose), performs the Agnyadheya, the Pakayagnas, (and) the (Srauta) sacrifices, such as the Agnishtoma (for another man), is called (his) officiating priest.

144. That (man) who truthfully fills both his ears with the Veda, (the pupil) shall consider as his father and mother; he must never offend him.

145. The teacher (akarya) is ten times more venerable than a sub-teacher (upadhyaya), the father a hundred times more than the teacher, but the mother a thousand times more than the father.

146. Of him who gives natural birth and him who gives (the knowledge of) the Veda, the giver of the Veda is the more venerable father; for the birth for the sake of the Veda (ensures) eternal (rewards) both in this (life) and after death.

147. Let him consider that (he received) a (mere animal) existence, when his parents begat him through mutual affection, and when he was born from the womb (of his mother).

148. But that birth which a teacher acquainted with the whole Veda, in accordance with the law, procures for him through the Savitri, is real, exempt from age and death.

149. (The pupil) must know that that man also who benefits him by (instruction in) the Veda, be it little or much, is called in these (Institutes) his Guru, in consequence of that benefit (conferred by instruction in) the Veda.

150. That Brahmana who is the giver of the birth for the sake of the Veda and the teacher of the prescribed duties becomes by law the father of an aged man, even though he himself be a child.

151. Young Kavi, the son of Angiras, taught his (relatives who were old enough to be) fathers, and, as he excelled them in (sacred) knowledge, he called them 'Little sons.'

152. They, moved with resentment, asked the gods concerning that matter, and the gods, having assembled, answered, 'The child has addressed you properly.'

153. 'For (a man) destitute of (sacred) knowledge is indeed a child, and he who teaches him the Veda is his father; for (the sages) have always said "child" to an ignorant man, and "father" to a teacher of the Veda.'

154. Neither through years, nor through white (hairs), nor through wealth, nor through (powerful) kinsmen (comes greatness). The sages have made this law, 'He who has learnt the Veda together with the Angas (Anukana) is (considered) great by us.'

155. The seniority of Brahmanas is from (sacred) knowledge, that of Kshatriyas from valour, that of Vaisyas from wealth in grain (and other goods), but that of Sudras alone from age.

156. A man is not therefore (considered) venerable because his head is gray; him who, though young, has learned the Veda, the gods consider to be venerable.

157. As an elephant made of wood, as an antelope made of leather, such is an unlearned Brahmana; those three have nothing but the names (of their kind).

158. As a eunuch is unproductive with women, as a cow with a cow is unprolific, and as a gift made to an ignorant man yields no reward, even so is a Brahmana useless, who (does) not (know) the Rikas.

159. Created beings must be instructed in (what concerns) their welfare without giving them pain, and sweet and gentle speech must be used by (a teacher) who desires (to abide by) the sacred law.

160. He, forsooth, whose speech and thoughts are pure and ever perfectly guarded, gains the whole reward which is conferred by the Vedanta.

161. Let him not, even though in pain, (speak words) cutting (others) to the quick; let him not injure others in thought or deed; let him not utter speeches which make (others) afraid of him, since that will prevent him from gaining heaven.

162. A Brahmana should always fear homage as if it were poison; and constantly desire (to suffer) scorn as (he would long for) nectar.

163. For he who is scorned (nevertheless may) sleep with an easy mind, awake with an easy mind, and with an easy mind walk here among men; but the scorner utterly perishes.

164. A twice-born man who has been sanctified by the (employment of) the means, (described above) in due order, shall gradually and cumulatively perform the various austerities prescribed for (those who) study the Veda.

165. An Aryan must study the whole Veda together with the Rahasyas, performing at the same time various kinds of austerities and the vows prescribed by the rules (of the Veda).

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166. Let a Brahmana who desires to perform austerities, constantly repeat the Veda; for the study of the Veda is declared (to be) in this world the highest austerity for a Brahmana.

167. Verily, that twice-born man performs the highest austerity up to the extremities of his nails, who, though wearing a garland, daily recites the Veda in private to the utmost of his ability.

168. A twice-born man who, not having studied the Veda, applies himself to other (and worldly study), soon falls, even while living, to the condition of a Sudra and his descendants (after him).

169. According to the injunction of the revealed texts the first birth of an Aryan is from (his natural) mother, the second (happens) on the tying of the girdle of Munga grass, and the third on the initiation to (the performance of) a (Srauta) sacrifice.

170. Among those (three) the birth which is symbolised by the investiture with the girdle of Munga grass, is his birth for the sake of the Veda; they declare that in that (birth) the Sivitri (verse) is his mother and the teacher his father.

171. They call the teacher (the pupil's) father because he gives the Veda; for nobody can perform a (sacred) rite before the investiture with the girdle of Munga grass.

172. (He who has not been initiated) should not pronounce (any) Vedic text excepting (those required for) the performance of funeral rites, since he is on a level with a Sudra before his birth from the Veda.

173. The (student) who has been initiated must be instructed in the performance of the vows, and gradually learn the Veda, observing the prescribed rules.

174. Whatever dress of skin, sacred thread, girdle, staff, and lower garment are prescribed for a (student at the initiation), the like (must again be used) at the (performance of the) vows.

175. But a student who resides with his teacher must observe the following restrictive rules, duly controlling all his organs, in order to increase his spiritual merit.

176. Every day, having bathed, and being purified, he must offer libations of water to the gods, sages and manes, worship (the images of) the gods, and place fuel on (the sacred fire).

177. Let him abstain from honey, meat, perfumes, garlands, substances (used for) flavouring (food), women, all substances turned acid, and from doing injury to living creatures.

178. From anointing (his body), applying collyrium to his eyes, from the use of shoes and of an umbrella (or parasol), from (sensual) desire, anger, covetousness, dancing, singing, and playing (musical instruments),

179. From gambling, idle disputes, backbiting, and lying, from looking at and touching women, and from hurting others.

180. Let him always sleep alone, let him never waste his manhood; for he who voluntarily wastes his manhood, breaks his vow.

181. A twice-born student, who has involuntarily wasted his manly strength during sleep, must bathe, worship the sun, and afterwards thrice mutter the Rik-verse (which begins), 'Again let my strength return to me.'

182. Let him fetch a pot full of water, flowers, cowdung, earth, and Kusa grass, as much as may be required (by his teacher), and daily go to beg food.

183. A student, being pure, shall daily bring food from the houses of men who are not deficient in (the knowledge of) the Veda and in (performing) sacrifices, and who are famous for (following their lawful) occupations.

184. Let him not beg from the relatives of his teacher, nor from his own or his mother's blood-relations; but if there are no houses belonging to strangers, let him go to one of those named above, taking the last-named first;

185. Or, if there are no (virtuous men of the kind) mentioned above, he may go to each (house in the) village, being pure and remaining silent; but let him avoid Abhisastas (those accused of mortal sin).

186. Having brought sacred fuel from a distance, let him place it anywhere but on the ground, and let him, unwearied, make with it burnt oblations to the sacred fire, both evening and morning.

187. He who, without being sick, neglects during seven (successive) days to go out begging, and to offer fuel in the sacred fire, shall perform the penance of an Avakirnin (one who has broken his vow).

188. He who performs the vow (of studentship) shall constantly subsist on alms, (but) not eat the food of one (person only); the subsistence of a student on begged food is declared to be equal (in merit) to fasting.

189. At his pleasure he may eat, when invited, the food of one man at (a rite) in honour of the gods, observing (however the conditions on his vow, or at a (funeral meal) in honor of the manes, behaving (however) like a hermit.

190. This duty is prescribed by the wise for a Brahmana only; but no such duty is ordained for a Kshatriya and a Vaisya.

191. Both when ordered by his teacher, and without a (special) command, (a student) shall always exert himself in studying (the Veda), and in doing what is serviceable to his teacher.

192. Controlling his body, his speech, his organs (of sense), and his mind, let him stand with joined hands, looking at the face of his teacher.

193. Let him always keep his right arm uncovered, behave decently and keep his body well covered, and when he is addressed (with the words), 'Be seated,' he shall sit down, facing his teacher.

194. In the presence of his teacher let him always eat less, wear a less valuable dress and ornaments (than the former), and let him rise earlier (from his bed), and go to rest later.

195. Let him not answer or converse with (his teacher), reclining on a bed, nor sitting, nor eating, nor standing, nor with an averted face.

196. Let him do (that), standing up, if (his teacher) is seated, advancing towards him when he stands, going to meet him if he advances, and running after him when he runs;

197. Going (round) to face (the teacher), if his face is averted, approaching him if he stands at a distance, but bending towards him if he lies on a bed, and if he stands in a lower place.

198. When his teacher is nigh, let his bed or seat be low; but within sight of his teacher he shall not sit carelessly at ease.

199. Let him not pronounce the mere name of his teacher (without adding an honorific title) behind his back even, and let him not mimic his gait, speech, and deportment.

200. Wherever (people) justly censure or falsely defame his teacher, there he must cover his ears or depart thence to another place.

201. By censuring (his teacher), though justly, he will become (in his next birth) an ass, by falsely defaming him, a dog; he who lives on his teacher's substance, will become a worm, and he who is envious (of his merit), a (larger) insect.

202. He must not serve the (teacher by the intervention of another) while he himself stands aloof, nor when he (himself) is angry, nor when a woman is near; if he is seated in a carriage or on a (raised) seat, he must descend and afterwards salute his (teacher).

203. Let him not sit with his teacher, to the leeward or to the windward (of him); nor let him say anything which his teacher cannot hear.

204. He may sit with his teacher in a carriage drawn by oxen, horses, or camels, on a terrace, on a bed of grass or leaves, on a mat, on a rock, on a wooden bench, or in a boat.

205. If his teacher's teacher is near, let him behave (towards him) as towards his own teacher; but let him, unless he has received permission from his teacher, not salute venerable persons of his own (family).

206. This is likewise (ordained as) his constant behaviour towards (other) instructors in science, towards his relatives (to whom honour is due), towards all who may restrain him from sin, or may give him salutary advice.

207. Towards his betters let him always behave as towards his teacher, likewise towards sons of his teacher, born by wives of equal caste, and towards the teacher's relatives both on the side of the father and of the mother.

208. The son of the teacher who imparts instruction (in his father's stead), whether younger or of equal age, or a student of (the science of) sacrifices (or of other Angas), deserves the same honour as the teacher.

209. (A student) must not shampoo the limbs of his teacher's son, nor assist him in bathing, nor eat the fragments of his food, nor wash his feet.

210. The wives of the teacher, who belong to the same caste, must be treated as respectfully as the teacher; but those who belong to a different caste, must be honoured by rising and salutation.

211. Let him not perform for a wife of his teacher (the offices of) anointing her, assisting her in the bath, shampooing her limbs, or arranging her hair.

212. (A pupil) who is full twenty years old, and knows what is becoming and unbecoming, shall not salute a young wife of his teacher (by clasping) her feet.

213. It is the nature of women to seduce men in this (world); for that reason the wise are never unguarded in (the company of) females.

214. For women are able to lead astray in (this) world not only a fool, but even a learned man, and (to make) him a slave of desire and anger.

215. One should not sit in a lonely place with one's mother, sister, or daughter; for the senses are powerful, and master even a learned man.

216. But at his pleasure a young student may prostrate himself on the ground before the young wife of a teacher, in accordance with the rule, and say, 'I, N. N., (worship thee, O lady).'

217. On returning from a journey he must clasp the feet of his teacher's wife and daily salute her (in the manner just mentioned), remembering the duty of the virtuous.

218. As the man who digs with a spade (into the ground) obtains water, even so an obedient (pupil) obtains the knowledge which lies (hidden) in his teacher.

219. A (student) may either shave his head, or wear his hair in braids, or braid one lock on the crown of his head; the sun must never set or rise while he (lies asleep) in the village.

220. If the sun should rise or set while he is sleeping, be it (that he offended) intentionally or unintentionally, he shall fast during the (next) day, muttering (the Savitri).

221. For he who lies (sleeping), while the sun sets or rises, and does not perform (that) penance, is tainted by great guilt.

222. Purified by sipping water, he shall daily worship during both twilights with a concentrated mind in a pure place, muttering the prescribed text according to the rule.

223. If a woman or a man of low caste perform anything (leading to) happiness, let him diligently practise it, as well as (any other permitted act) in which his heart finds pleasure.

224. (Some declare that) the chief good consists in (the acquisition of) spiritual merit and wealth, (others place it) in (the gratification of) desire and (the acquisition of) wealth, (others) in (the acquisition of) spiritual merit alone, and (others say that the acquisition of) wealth alone is the chief good here (below); but the (correct) decision is that it consists of the aggregate of (those) three.

225. The teacher, the father, the mother, and an elder brother must not be treated with disrespect, especially by a Brahmana, though one be grievously offended (by them).

226. The teacher is the image of Brahman, the father the image of Pragipati (the lord of created beings), the mother the image of the earth, and an (elder) full brother the image of oneself.

227. That trouble (and pain) which the parents undergo on the birth of (their) children, cannot be compensated even in a hundred years.

228. Let him always do what is agreeable to those (two) and always (what may please) his teacher; when those three are pleased, he obtains all (those rewards which) austerities (yield).

229. Obedience towards those three is declared to be the best (form of) austerity; let him not perform other meritorious acts without their permission.

230. For they are declared to be the three worlds, they the three (principal) orders, they the three Vedas, and they the three sacred fires.

231. The father, forsooth, is stated to be the Garhapatya fire, the mother the Dakshinagni, but the teacher the Ahavaniya fire; this triad of fires is most venerable.

232. He who neglects not those three, (even after he has become) a householder, will conquer the three worlds and, radiant in body like a god, he will enjoy bliss in heaven.

233. By honouring his mother he gains this (nether) world, by honouring his father the middle sphere, but by obedience to his teacher the world of Brahman.

234. All duties have been fulfilled by him who honours those three; but to him who honours them not, all rites remain fruitless.

235. As long as those three live, so long let him not (independently) perform any other (meritorious acts); let him always serve them, rejoicing (to do what is) agreeable and beneficial (to them).

236. He shall inform them of everything that with their consent he may perform in thought, word, or deed for the sake of the next world.

237. By (honouring) these three all that ought to be done by man, is accomplished; that is clearly the highest duty, every other (act) is a subordinate duty.

238. He who possesses faith may receive pure learning even from a man of lower caste, the highest law even from the lowest, and an excellent wife even from a base family.

239. Even from poison nectar may be taken, even from a child good advice, even from a foe (a lesson in) good conduct, and even from an impure (substance) gold.

240. Excellent wives, learning, (the knowledge of) the law, (the rules of) purity, good advice, and various arts may be acquired from anybody.

241. It is prescribed that in times of distress (a student) may learn (the Veda) from one who is not a Brahmana; and that he shall walk behind and serve (such a) teacher, as long as the instruction lasts.

242. He who desires incomparable bliss (in heaven) shall not dwell during his whole life in (the house of) a non-Brahmanical teacher, nor with a Brahmana who does not know the whole Veda and the Angas.

243. But if (a student) desires to pass his whole life in the teacher's house, he must diligently serve him, until he is freed from this body.

244. A Brahmana who serves his teacher till the dissolution of his body, reaches forthwith the eternal mansion of Brahman.

245. He who knows the sacred law must not present any gift to his teacher before (the Samavartana); but when, with the permission of his teacher, he is about to take the (final) bath, let him procure (a present) for the venerable man according to his ability,

246. (Viz.) a field, gold, a cow, a horse, a parasol and shoes, a seat, grain, (even) vegetables, (and thus) give pleasure to his teacher.

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247. (A perpetual student) must, if his teacher dies, serve his son (provided he be) endowed with good qualities, or his widow, or his Sapinda, in the same manner as the teacher.

248. Should none of these be alive, he must serve the sacred fire, standing (by day) and sitting (during the night), and thus finish his life.

249. A Brahmana who thus passes his life as a student without breaking his vow, reaches (after death) the highest abode and will not be born again in this world.

LAWS OF MANU CHAPTER 3

1. The vow (of studying) the three Vedas under a teacher must be kept for thirty-six years, or for half that time, or for a quarter, or until the (student) has perfectly learnt them.

2. (A student) who has studied in due order the three Vedas, or two, or even one only, without breaking the (rules of) studentship, shall enter the order of householders.

3. He who is famous for (the strict performance of) his duties and has received his heritage, the Veda, from his father, shall be honoured, sitting on a couch and adorned with a garland, with (the present of) a cow (and the honey-mixture).

4. Having bathed, with the permission of his teacher, and performed according to the rule the Samavartana (the rite on returning home), a twice-born man shall marry a wife of equal caste who is endowed with auspicious (bodily) marks.

5. A damsel who is neither a Sapinda on the mother's side, nor belongs to the same family on the father's side, is recommended to twice-born men for wedlock and conjugal union.

6. In connecting himself with a wife, let him carefully avoid the ten following families, be they ever so great, or rich in kine, horses, sheep, grain, or (other) property,

7. (Viz.) one which neglects the sacred rites, one in which no male children (are born), one in which the Veda is not studied, one (the members of) which have thick hair on the body, those which are subject to hemorrhoids, phthisis, weakness of digestion, epilepsy, or white or black leprosy.

8. Let him not marry a maiden (with) reddish (hair), nor one who has a redundant member, nor one who is sickly, nor one either with no hair (on the body) or too much, nor one who is garrulous or has red (eyes),

9. Nor one named after a constellation, a tree, or a river, nor one bearing the name of a low caste, or of a mountain, nor one named after a bird, a snake, or a slave, nor one whose name inspires terror.

10. Let him wed a female free from bodily defects, who has an agreeable name, the (graceful) gait of a Hamsa or of an elephant, a moderate (quantity of) hair on the body and on the head, small teeth, and soft limbs.

11. But a prudent man should not marry (a maiden) who has no brother, nor one whose father is not known, through fear lest (in the former case she be made) an appointed daughter (and in the latter) lest (he should commit) sin.

12. For the first marriage of twice-born men (wives) of equal caste are recommended; but for those who through desire proceed (to marry again) the following females, (chosen) according to the (direct) order (of the castes), are most approved.

13. It is declared that a Sudra woman alone (can be) the wife of a Sudra, she and one of his own caste (the wives) of a Vaisya, those two and one of his own caste (the wives) of a Kshatriya, those three and one of his own caste (the wives) of a Brahmana.

14. A Sudra woman is not mentioned even in any (ancient) story as the (first) wife of a Brahmana or of a Kshatriya, though they lived in the (greatest) distress.

15. Twice-born men who, in their folly, wed wives of the low (Sudra) caste, soon degrade their families and their children to the state of Sudras.

16. According to Atri and to (Gautama) the son of Utathya, he who weds a Sudra woman becomes an outcast, according to Saunaka on the birth of a son, and according to Bhrigu he who has (male) offspring from a (Sudra female, alone).

17. A Brahmana who takes a Sudra wife to his bed, will (after death) sink into hell; if he begets a child by her, he will lose the rank of a Brahmana.

18. The manes and the gods will not eat the (offerings) of that man who performs the rites in honour of the gods, of the manes, and of guests chiefly with a (Sudra wife's) assistance, and such (a man) will not go to heaven.

19. For him who drinks the moisture of a Sudra's lips, who is tainted by her breath, and who begets a son on her, no expiation is prescribed.

20. Now listen to (the) brief (description of) the following eight marriage-rites used by the four castes (varna) which partly secure benefits and partly produce evil both in this life and after death.

21. (They are) the rite of Brahman (Brahma), that of the gods (Daiva), that of the Rishis (Arsha), that of Pragapati (Pragapatya), that of the Asuras (Asura), that of the Gandharvas (Gandharva), that of the Rhashasas (Rakshasa), and that of the Pisakas (Paisaka).

22. Which is lawful for each caste (varna) and which are the virtues or faults of each (rite), all this I will declare to you, as well as their good and evil results with respect to the offspring.

23. One may know that the first six according to the order (followed above) are lawful for a Brahmana, the four last for a Kshatriya, and the same four, excepting the Rakshasa rite, for a Vaisya and a Sudra.

24. The sages state that the first four are approved (in the case) of a Brahmana, one, the Rakshasa (rite in the case) of a Kshatriya, and the Asura (marriage in that) of a Vaisya and of a Sudra.

25. But in these (Institutes of the sacred law) three of the five (last) are declared to be lawful and two unlawful; the Paisaka and the Asura (rites) must never be used.

26. For Kshatriyas those before-mentioned two rites, the Gandharva and the Rakshasa, whether separate or mixed, are permitted by the sacred tradition.

27. The gift of a daughter, after decking her (with costly garments) and honouring (her by presents of jewels), to a man learned in the Veda and of good conduct, whom (the father) himself invites, is called the Brahma rite.

28. The gift of a daughter who has been decked with ornaments, to a priest who duly officiates at a sacrifice, during the course of its performance, they call the Daiva rite.

29. When (the father) gives away his daughter according to the rule, after receiving from the bridegroom, for (the fulfilment of) the sacred law, a cow and a bull or two pairs, that is named the Arsha rite.

30. The gift of a daughter (by her father) after he has addressed (the couple) with the text, 'May both of you perform together your duties,' and has shown honour (to the bridegroom), is called in the Smriti the Pragapatya rite.

31. When (the bridegroom) receives a maiden, after having given as much wealth as he can afford, to the kinsmen and to the bride herself, according to his own will, that is called the Asura rite.

32. The voluntary union of a maiden and her lover one must know (to be) the Gandharva rite, which springs from desire and has sexual intercourse for its purpose.

33. The forcible abduction of a maiden from her home, while she cries out and weeps, after (her kinsmen) have been slain or wounded and (their houses) broken open, is called the Rakshasa rite.

34. When (a man) by stealth seduces a girl who is sleeping, intoxicated, or disordered in intellect, that is the eighth, the most base and sinful rite of the Pisakas.

35. The gift of daughters among Brahmanas is most approved, (if it is preceded) by (a libation of) water; but in the case of other castes (it may be performed) by (the expression of) mutual consent.

36. Listen now to me, ye Brahmanas, while I fully declare what quality has been ascribed by Manu to each of these marriage-rites.

37. The son of a wife wedded according to the Brahma rite, if he performs meritorious acts, liberates from sin ten ancestors, ten descendants and himself as the twenty-first.

38. The son born of a wife, wedded according to the Daiva rite, likewise (saves) seven ancestors and seven descendants, the son of a wife married by the Arsha rite three (in the ascending and descending lines), and the son of a wife married by the rite of Ka (Pragapati) six (in either line).

39. From the four marriages, (enumerated) successively, which begin with the Brahma rite spring sons, radiant with knowledge of the Veda and honoured by the Sishtas (good men).

40. Endowded with the qualities of beauty and goodness, possessing wealth and fame, obtaining as many enjoyments as they desire and being most righteous, they will live a hundred years.

41. But from the remaining (four) blamable marriages spring sons who are cruel and speakers of untruth, who hate the Veda and the sacred law.

42. In the blameless marriages blameless children are born to men, in blamable (marriages) blamable (offspring); one should therefore avoid the blamable (forms of marriage).

43. The ceremony of joining the hands is prescribed for (marriages with) women of equal caste (varna); know that the following rule (applies) to weddings with females of a different caste (varna).

44. On marrying a man of a higher caste a Kshatriya bride must take hold of an arrow, a Vaisya bride of a goad, and a Sudra female of the hem of the (bridegroom's) garment.

45. Let (the husband) approach his wife in due season, being constantly satisfied with her (alone); he may also, being intent on pleasing her, approach her with a desire for conjugal union (on any day) excepting the Parvans.

46. Sixteen (days and) nights (in each month), including four days which differ from the rest and are censured by the virtuous, (are called) the natural season of women.

47. But among these the first four, the eleventh and the thirteenth are (declared to be) forbidden; the remaining nights are recommended.

48. On the even nights sons are conceived and daughters on the uneven ones; hence a man who desires to have sons should approach his wife in due season on the even (nights).

49. A male child is produced by a greater quantity of male seed, a female child by the prevalence of the female; if (both are) equal, a hermaphrodite or a boy and a girl; if (both are) weak or deficient in quantity, a failure of conception (results).

50. He who avoids women on the six forbidden nights and on eight others, is (equal in chastity to) a student, in whichever order he may live.

51. No father who knows (the law) must take even the smallest gratuity for his daughter; for a man who, through avarice, takes a gratuity, is a seller of his offspring.

52. But those (male) relations who, in their folly, live on the separate property of women, (e.g. appropriate) the beasts of burden, carriages, and clothes of women, commit sin and will sink into hell.

53. Some call the cow and the bull (given) at an Arsha wedding 'a gratuity;' (but) that is wrong, since (the acceptance of) a fee, be it small or great, is a sale (of the daughter).

54. When the relatives do not appropriate (for their use) the gratuity (given), it is not a sale; (in that case) the (gift) is only a token of respect and of kindness towards the maidens.

55. Women must be honoured and adorned by their fathers, brothers, husbands, and brothers-in-law, who desire (their own) welfare.

56. Where women are honoured, there the gods are pleased; but where they are not honoured, no sacred rite yields rewards.

57. Where the female relations live in grief, the family soon wholly perishes; but that family where they are not unhappy ever prospers.

58. The houses on which female relations, not being duly honoured, pronounce a curse, perish completely, as if destroyed by magic.

59. Hence men who seek (their own) welfare, should always honour women on holidays and festivals with (gifts of) ornaments, clothes, and (dainty) food.

60. In that family, where the husband is pleased with his wife and the wife with her husband, happiness will assuredly be lasting.

61. For if the wife is not radiant with beauty, she will not attract her husband; but if she has no attractions for him, no children will be born.

62. If the wife is radiant with beauty, the whole house is bright; but if she is destitute of beauty, all will appear dismal.

63. By low marriages, by omitting (the performance of) sacred rites, by neglecting the study of the Veda, and by irreverence towards Brahmanas, (great) families sink low.

64. By (practising) handicrafts, by pecuniary transactions, by (begetting) children on Sudra females only, by (trading in) cows, horses, and carriages, by (the pursuit of) agriculture and by taking service under a king,

65. By sacrificing for men unworthy to offer sacrifices and by denying (the future rewards for good) works, families, deficient in the (knowledge of the) Veda, quickly perish.

66. But families that are rich in the knowledge of the Veda, though possessing little wealth, are numbered among the great, and acquire great fame.

67. With the sacred fire, kindled at the wedding, a householder shall perform according to the law the domestic ceremonies and the five (great) sacrifices, and (with that) he shall daily cook his food.

68. A householder has five slaughter-houses (as it were, viz.) the hearth, the grinding-stone, the broom, the pestle and mortar, the water-vessel, by using which he is bound (with the fetters of sin).

69. In order to successively expiate (the offences committed by means) of all these (five) the great sages have prescribed for householders the daily (performance of the five) great sacrifices.

70. Teaching (and studying) is the sacrifice (offered) to Brahman, the (offerings of water and food called) Tarpana the sacrifice to the manes, the burnt oblation the sacrifice offered to the gods, the Bali offering that offered to the Bhutas, and the hospitable reception of guests the offering to men.

71. He who neglects not these five great sacrifices, while he is able (to perform them), is not tainted by the sins (committed) in the five places of slaughter, though he constantly lives in the (order of) house (-holders).

72. But he who does not feed these five, the gods, his guests, those whom he is bound to maintain, the manes, and himself, lives not, though he breathes.

73. They call (these) five sacrifices also, Ahuta, Huta, Prahuta, Brahmya-huta, and Prasita.

74. Ahuta (not offered in the fire) is the muttering (of Vedic texts), Huta the burnt oblation (offered to the gods), Prahuta (offered by scattering it on the ground) the Bali offering given to the Bhutas, Brahmya-huta (offered in the digestive fire of Brahmanas), the respectful reception of Brahmana (guests), and Prasita (eaten) the (daily oblation to the manes, called) Tarpana.

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75. Let (every man) in this (second order, at least) daily apply himself to the private recitation of the Veda, and also to the performance of the offering to the gods; for he who is diligent in the performance of sacrifices, supports both the movable and the immovable creation.

76. An oblation duly thrown into the fire, reaches the sun; from the sun comes rain, from rain food, therefrom the living creatures (derive their subsistence).

77. As all living creatures subsist by receiving support from air, even so (the members of) all orders subsist by receiving support from the householder.

78. Because men of the three (other) orders are daily supported by the householder with (gifts of) sacred knowledge and food, therefore (the order of) householders is the most excellent order.

79. (The duties of) this order, which cannot be practised by men with weak organs, must be carefully observed by him who desires imperishable (bliss in) heaven, and constant happiness in this (life).

80. The sages, the manes, the gods, the Bhutas, and guests ask the householders (for offerings and gifts); hence he who knows (the law), must give to them (what is due to each).

81. Let him worship, according to the rule, the sages by the private recitation of the Veda, the gods by burnt oblations, the manes by funeral offerings (Sraddha), men by (gifts of) food, and the Bhutas by the Bali offering.

82. Let him daily perform a funeral sacrifice with food, or with water, or also with milk, roots, and fruits, and (thus) please the manes.

83. Let him feed even one Brahmana in honour of the manes at (the Sraddha), which belongs to the five great sacrifices; but let him not feed on that (occasion) any Brahmana on account of the Vaisvadeva offering.

84. A Brahmana shall offer according to the rule (of his Grihya-sutra a portion) of the cooked food destined for the Vaisvadeva in the sacred domestic fire to the following deities:

85. First to Agni, and (next) to Soma, then to both these gods conjointly, further to all the gods (Visve Devah), and (then) to Dhanvantari,

86. Further to Kuhu (the goddess of the new-moon day), to Anumati (the goddess of the full-moon day), to Pragapati (the lord of creatures), to heaven and earth conjointly, and finally to Agni Svishtakrit (the fire which performs the sacrifice well).

87. After having thus duly offered the sacrificial food, let him throw Bali offerings in all directions of the compass, proceeding (from the east) to the south, to Indra, Yama, Varuna, and Soma, as well as to the servants (of these deities).

88. Saying, '(Adoration) to the Maruts,' he shall scatter (some food) near the door, and (some) in water, saying, '(Adoration to the waters;' he shall throw (some) on the pestle and the mortar, speaking thus, '(Adoration) to the trees.'

89. Near the head (of the bed) he shall make an offering to Sri (fortune), and near the foot (of his bed) to Bhadrakali; in the centre of the house let him place a Bali for Brahman and for Vastoshpati (the lord of the dwelling) conjointly.

90. Let him throw up into the air a Bali for all the gods, and (in the day-time one) for the goblins roaming about by day, (and in the evening one) for the goblins that walk at night.

91. In the upper story let him offer a Bali to Sarvatmabhuti; but let him throw what remains (from these offerings) in a southerly direction for the manes.

92. Let him gently place on the ground (some food) for dogs, outcasts, Kandalas (Svapak), those afflicted with diseases that are punishments of former sins, crows, and insects.

93. That Brahmana who thus daily honours all beings, goes, endowed with a resplendent body, by a straight road to the highest dwelling-place (i.e. Brahman).

94. Having performed this Bali offering, he shall first feed his guest and, according to the rule, give alms to an ascetic (and) to a student.

95. A twice-born householder gains, by giving alms, the same reward for his meritorious act which (a student) obtains for presenting, in accordance with the rule, a cow to his teacher.

96. Let him give, in accordance with the rule, to a Brahmana who knows the true meaning of the Veda, even (a small portion of food as) alms, or a pot full of water, having garnished (the food with seasoning, or the pot with flowers and fruit).

97. The oblations to gods and manes, made by men ignorant (of the law of gifts), are lost, if the givers in their folly present (shares of them) to Brahmanas who are mere ashes.

98. An offering made in the mouth-fire of Brahmanas rich in sacred learning and austerities, saves from misfortune and from great guilt.

99. But let him offer, in accordance with the rule, to a guest who has come (of his own accord) a seat and water, as well as food, garnished (with seasoning), according to his ability.

100. A Brahmana who stays unhonoured (in the house), takes away (with him) all the spiritual merit even of a man who subsists by gleaning ears of corn, or offers oblations in five fires.

101. Grass, room (for resting), water, and fourthly a kind word; these (things) never fail in the houses of good men.

102. But a Brahmana who stays one night only is declared to be a guest (atithi); for because he stays (sthita) not long (anityam), he is called atithi (a guest).

103. One must not consider as a guest a Brahmana who dwells in the same village, nor one who seeks his livelihood by social intercourse, even though he has come to a house where (there is) a wife, and where sacred fires (are kept).

104. Those foolish householders who constantly seek (to live on) the food of others, become, in consequence of that (baseness), after death the cattle of those who give them food.

105. A guest who is sent by the (setting) sun in the evening, must not be driven away by a householder; whether he have come at (supper-) time or at an inopportune moment, he must not stay in the house without entertainment.

106. Let him not eat any (dainty) food which he does not offer to his guest; the hospitable reception of guests procures wealth, fame, long life, and heavenly bliss.

107. Let him offer (to his guests) seats, rooms, beds, attendance on departure and honour (while they stay), to the most distinguished in the best form, to the lower ones in a lower form, to equals in an equal manner.

108. But if another guest comes after the Vaisvadeva offering has been finished, (the householder) must give him food according to his ability, (but) not repeat the Bali offering.

109. A Brahmana shall not name his family and (Vedic) gotra in order to obtain a meal; for he who boasts of them for the sake of a meal, is called by the wise a foul feeder (vantasin).

110. But a Kshatriya (who comes) to the house of a Brahmana is not called a guest (atithi), nor a Vaisya, nor a Sudra, nor a personal friend, nor a relative, nor the teacher.

111. But if a Kshatriya comes to the house of a Brahmana in the manner of a guest, (the house-holder) may feed him according to his desire, after the above-mentioned Brahmanas have eaten.

112. Even a Vaisya and a Sudra who have approached his house in the manner of guests, he may allow to eat with his servants, showing (thereby) his compassionate disposition.

113. Even to others, personal friends and so forth, who have come to his house out of affection, he may give food, garnished (with seasoning) according to his ability, (at the same time) with his wife.

114. Without hesitation he may give food, even before his guests, to the following persons, (viz.) to newly-married women, to infants, to the sick, and to pregnant women.

115. But the foolish man who eats first without having given food to these (persons) does, while he crams, not know that (after death) he himself will be devoured by dogs and vultures.

116. After the Brahmanas, the kinsmen, and the servants have dined, the householder and his wife may afterwards eat what remains.

117. Having honoured the gods, the sages, men, the manes, and the guardian deities of the house, the householder shall eat afterwards what remains.

118. He who prepares food for himself (alone), eats nothing but sin; for it is ordained that the food which remains after (the performance of) the sacrifices shall be the meal of virtuous men.

119. Let him honour with the honey-mixture a king, an officiating priest, a Snataka, the teacher, a son-in-law, a father-in-law, and a maternal uncle, (if they come) again after a full year (has elapsed since their last visit).

120. A king and a Srotriya, who come on the performance of a sacrifice, must be honoured with the honey-mixture, but not if no sacrifice is being performed; that is a settled rule.

121. But the wife shall offer in the evening (a portion) of the dressed food as a Bali-oblation, without (the recitation of) sacred formulas; for that (rite which is called the) Vaisvadeva is prescribed both for the morning and the evening.

122. After performing the Pitriyagna, a Brahmana who keeps a sacred fire shall offer, month by month, on the new-moon day, the funeral sacrifice (Sraddha, called) Pindanvaharyaka.

123. The wise call the monthly funeral offering to the manes Anvaharya (to be offered after the cakes), and that must be carefully performed with the approved (sorts of) flesh (mentioned below).

124. I will fully declare what and how many (Brahmanas) must be fed on that (occasion), who must be avoided, and on what kinds of food (they shall dine).

125. One must feed two (Brahmanas) at the offering to the gods, and three at the offering to the manes, or one only on either occasion; even a very wealthy man shall not be anxious (to entertain) a large company.

126. A large company destroys these five (advantages) the respectful treatment (of the invited, the propriety of) place and time, purity and (the selection of) virtuous Brahmana (guests); he therefore shall not seek (to entertain) a large company.

127. Famed is this rite for the dead, called (the sacrifice sacred to the manes (and performed) on the new-moon day; if a man is diligent in (performing) that, (the reward of) the rite for the dead, which is performed according to Smarta rules, reaches him constantly.

128. Oblations to the gods and manes must be presented by the givers to a Srotriya alone; what is given to such a most worthy Brahmana yields great reward.

129. Let him feed even one learned man at (the sacrifice) to the gods, and one at (the sacrifice) to the manes; (thus) he will gain a rich reward, not (if he entertains) many who are unacquainted with the Veda.

130. Let him make inquiries even regarding the remote (ancestors of) a Brahmana who has studied an entire (recension of the) Veda;

(if descended from a virtuous race) such a man is a worthy recipient of gifts (consisting) of food offered to the gods or to the manes, he is declared (to procure as great rewards as) a guest (atithi).

131. Though a million of men, unaquainted with the Rikas, were to dine at a (funeral sacrifice), yet a single man, learned in the Veda, who is satisfied (with his entertainment), is worth them all as far as the (production of) spiritual merit (is concerned).

132. Food sacred to the manes or to the gods must be given to a man distinguished by sacred knowledge; for hands, smeared with blood, cannot be cleansed with blood.

133. As many mouthfuls as an ignorant man swallows at a sacrifice to the gods or to the manes, so many red-hot spikes, spears, and iron balls must (the giver of the repast) swallow after death.

134. Some Brahmanas are devoted to (the pursuit of) knowledge, and others to (the performance of) austerities; some to austerities and to the recitation of the Veda, and others to (the performance of) sacred rites.

135. Oblations to the manes ought to be carefully presented to those devoted to knowledge, but offerings to the gods, in accordance with the reason (of the sacred law), to (men of) all the four (above-mentioned classes).

136. If there is a father ignorant of the sacred texts whose son has learned one whole recension of the Veda and the Angas, and a son ignorant of the sacred texts whose father knows an entire recension of the Veda and the Angas,

137. Know that he whose father knows the Veda, is the more venerable one (of the two); yet the other one is worthy of honour, because respect is due to the Veda (which he has learned).

138. Let him not entertain a personal friend at a funeral sacrifice; he may gain his affection by (other) valuable gifts; let him feed at a Sraddha a Brahmana whom he considers neither as a foe nor as a friend.

139. He who performs funeral sacrifices and offerings to the gods chiefly for the sake of (gaining) friends, reaps after death no reward for Sraddhas and sacrifices.

140. That meanest among twice-born men who in his folly contracts friendships through a funeral sacrifice, loses heaven, because he performed a Sraddha for the sake of friendship.

141. A gift (of food) by twice-born men, consumed with (friends and relatives), is said to be offered to the Pisakas; it remains in this (world) alone like a blind cow in one stable.

142. As a husbandman reaps no harvest when he has sown the seed in barren soil, even so the giver of sacrificial food gains no reward if he presented it to a man unacquainted with the Rikas.

143. But a present made in accordance with the rules to a learned man, makes the giver and the recipient partakers of rewards both in this (life) and after death.

144. (If no learned Brahmana be at hand), he may rather honour a (virtuous) friend than an enemy, though the latter may be qualified (by learning and so forth); for sacrificial food, eaten by a foe, bears no reward after death.

145. Let him (take) pains (to) feed at a Sraddha an adherent of the Rig-veda who has studied one entire (recension of that) Veda, or a follower of the Yagur-veda who has finished one Sakha, or a singer of Samans who (likewise) has completed (the study of an entire recension).

146. If one of these three dines, duly honoured, at a funeral sacrifice, the ancestors of him (who gives the feast), as far as the seventh person, will be satisfied for a very long time.

147. This is the chief rule (to be followed) in offering sacrifices to the gods and manes; know that the virtuous always observe the following subsidiary rule.

148. One may also entertain (on such occasions) one's maternal grandfather, a maternal uncle, a sister's son, a father-in-law, one's teacher, a daughter's son, a daughter's husband, a cognate kinsman, one's own officiating priest or a man for whom one offers sacrifices.

149. For a rite sacred to the gods, he who knows the law will not make (too close) inquiries regarding an (invited) Brahmana; but when one performs a ceremony in honour of the manes, one must carefully examine (the qualities and parentage of the guest).

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150. Manu has declared that those Brahmanas who are thieves, outcasts, eunuchs, or atheists are unworthy (to partake) of oblations to the gods and manes.

151. Let him not entertain at a Sraddha one who wears his hair in braids (a student), one who has not studied (the Veda), one afflicted with a skin-disease, a gambler, nor those who sacrifice for a multitude (of sacrificers).

152. Physicians, temple-priests, sellers of meat, and those who subsist by shop-keeping must be avoided at sacrifices offered to the gods and to the manes.

153. A paid servant of a village or of a king, man with deformed nails or black teeth, one who opposes his teacher, one who has forsaken the sacred fire, and a usurer;

154. One suffering from consumption, one who subsists by tending cattle, a younger brother who marries or kindles the sacred fire before the elder, one who neglects the five great sacrifices, an enemy of the Brahmana race, an elder brother who marries or kindles the sacred fire after the younger, and one who belongs to a company or corporation,

155. An actor or singer, one who has broken the vow of studentship, one whose (only or first) wife is a Sudra female, the son of a remarried woman, a one-eyed man, and he in whose house a paramour of his wife (resides);

156. He who teaches for a stipulated fee and he who is taught on that condition, he who instructs Sudra pupils and he whose teacher is a Sudra, he who speaks rudely, the son of an adulteress, and the son of a widow,

157. He who forsakes his mother, his father, or a teacher without a (sufficient) reason, he who has contracted an alliance with outcasts either through the Veda or through a marriage,

158. An incendiary, a prisoner, he who eats the food given by the son of an adulteress, a seller of Soma, he who undertakes voyages by sea, a bard, an oil-man, a suborner to perjury,

159. He who wrangles or goes to law with his father, the keeper of a gambling-house, a drunkard, he who is afflicted with a disease (in punishment of former) crimes, he who is accused of a mortal sin, a hypocrite, a seller of substances used for flavouring food,

160. A maker of bows and of arrows, he who lasciviously dallies with a brother's widow, the betrayer of a friend, one who subsists by gambling, he who learns (the Veda) from his son,

161. An epileptic man, who suffers from scrofulous swellings of the glands, one afflicted with white leprosy, an informer, a madman, a blind man, and he who cavils at the Veda must (all) be avoided.

162. A trainer of elephants, oxen, horses, or camels, he who subsists by astrology, a bird-fancier, and he who teaches the use of arms,

163. He who diverts water-courses, and he who delights in obstructing them, an architect, a messenger, and he who plants trees (for money),

164. A breeder of sporting-dogs, a falconer, one who defiles maidens, he who delights in injuring living creatures, he who gains his subsistence from Sudras, and he who offers sacrifices to the Ganas,

165. He who does not follow the rule of conduct, a (man destitute of energy like a) eunuch, one who constantly asks (for favours), he who lives by agriculture, a club-footed man, and he who is censured by virtuous men,

166. A shepherd, a keeper of buffaloes, the husband of a remarried woman, and a carrier of dead bodies, (all these) must be carefully avoided.

167. A Brahmana who knows (the sacred law) should shun at (sacrifices) both (to the gods and to the manes) these lowest of twice-born men, whose conduct is reprehensible, and who are unworthy (to sit) in the company (at a repast).

168. As a fire of dry grass is (unable to consume the offerings and is quickly) extinguished, even so (is it with) an unlearned Brahmana; sacrificial food must not be given to him, since it (would be) offered in ashes.

169. I will fully declare what result the giver obtains after death, if he gives food, destined for the gods or manes, to a man who is unworthy to sit in the company.

170. The Rakshasas, indeed, consume (the food) eaten by Brahmanas who have not fulfilled the vow of studentship, by a Parivettri and so forth, and by other men not admissible into the company.

171. He must be considered as a Parivettri who marries or begins the performance of the Agnihotra before his elder brother, but the latter as a Parivitti.

172. The elder brother who marries after the younger, the younger brother who marries before the elder, the female with whom such a marriage is contracted, he who gives her away, and the sacrificing priest, as the fifth, all fall into hell.

173. He who lasciviously dallies with the widow of a deceased brother, though she be appointed (to bear a child by him) in accordance with the sacred law, must be known to be a Didhishupati.

174. Two (kinds of) sons, a Kunda and a Golaka, are born by wives of other men; (he who is born) while the husband lives, will be a Kunda, and (he who is begotten) after the husband's death, a Golaka.

175. But those two creatures, who are born of wives of other men, cause to the giver the loss (of the rewards), both in this life and after death, for the food sacred to gods or manes which has been given (to them).

176. The foolish giver (of a funeral repast) does not reap the reward for as many worthy guests as a man, inadmissible into company, can look on while they are feeding.

177. A blind man by his presence causes to the giver (of the feast) the loss of the reward for ninety (guests), a one-eyed man for sixty, one who suffers from white leprosy for a hundred, and one punished by a (terrible) disease for a thousand.

178. The giver (of a Sraddha) loses the reward, due for such a non-sacrificial gift, for as many Brahmanas as a (guest) who sacrifices for Sudras may touch (during the meal) with his limbs.

179. And if a Brahmana, though learned in the Veda, accepts through covetousness a gift from such (a man), he will quickly perish, like a vessel of unburnt clay in water.

180 (Food) given to a seller of Soma becomes ordure, (that given) to a physician pus and blood, but (that presented) to a temple-priest is lost, and (that given) to a usurer finds no place (in the world of the gods).

181. What has been given to a Brahmana who lives by trade that is not (useful) in this world and the next, and (a present) to a Brahmana born of a remarried woman (resembles) an oblation thrown into ashes.

182. But the wise declare that the food which (is offered) to other unholy, inadmissible men, enumerated above, (is turned into) adipose secretions, blood, flesh, marrow, and bone.

183. Now hear by what chief of twice-born men a company defiled by (the presence of) unworthy (guests) is purified, and the full (description of) the Brahmanas who sanctify a company.

184. Those men must be considered as the sanctifiers of a company who are most learned in all the Vedas and in all the Angas, and who are the descendants of Srotriyas.

185. A Trinakiketa, one who keeps five sacred fires, a Trisuparna, one who is versed in the six Angas, the son of a woman married according to the Brahma rite, one who sings the Gyeshthasaman,

186. One who knows the meaning of the Veda, and he who expounds it, a student, one who has given a thousand (cows), and a centenarian must be considered as Brahmanas who sanctify a company.

187. On the day before the Sraddha-rite is performed, or on the day when it takes place, let him invite with due respect at least three Brahmanas, such as have been mentioned above.

188. A Brahmana who has been invited to a (rite) in honour of the manes shall always control himself and not recite the Veda, and he who performs the Sraddha (must act in the same manner).

189. For the manes attend the invited Brahmanas, follow them (when they walk) like the wind, and sit near them when they are seated.

190. But a Brahmana who, being duly invited to a rite in honour of the gods or of the manes, in any way breaks (the appointment), becomes guilty (of a crime), and (in his next birth) a hog.

191. But he who, being invited to a Sraddha, dallies with a Sudra woman, takes upon himself all the sins which the giver (of the feast) committed.

192. The manes are primeval deities, free from anger, careful of purity, ever chaste, averse from strife, and endowed with great virtues.

193. Now learn fully from whom all these (manes derive) their origin, and with what ceremonies they ought to be worshipped.

194. The (various) classes of the manes are declared to be the sons of all those sages, Mariki and the rest, who are children of Manu, the son of Hiranyagarbha.

195. The Somasads, the sons of Virag, are stated to be the manes of the Sadhyas, and the Agnishvattas, the children of Mariki, are famous in the world (as the manes) of the gods.

196. The Barhishads, born of Atri, are recorded to be (the manes) of the Daityas, Danavas, Yakshas, Gandharvas, Snake-deities,

Rakshasas, Suparnas, and a Kimnaras,

197. The Somapas those of the Brahmanas, the Havirbhugs those of the Kshatriyas, the Agyapas those of the Vaisyas, but the Sukalins those of the Sudras.

198. The Somapas are the sons of Kavi (Bhrigu), the Havishmats the children of Angiras, the Agyapas the offspring of Pulastya, but the Sukalins (the issue) of Vasishtha.

199. One should know that (other classes), the Agnidagdhas, the Anagnidagdhas, the Kavyas, the Barhishads, the Agnishvattas, and the Saumyas, are (the manes) of the Brahmanas alone.

200. But know also that there exist in this (world) countless sons and grandsons of those chief classes of manes which have been enumerated.

201. From the sages sprang the manes, from the manes the gods and the Danavas, but from the gods the whole world, both the movable and the immovable in due order.

202. Even water offered with faith (to the manes) in vessels made of silver or adorned with silver, produces endless (bliss).

203. For twice-born men the rite in honour of the manes is more important than the rite in honour of the gods; for the offering to the gods which precedes (the Sraddhas), has been declared to be a means of fortifying (the latter).

204. Let him first invite a (Brahmana) in honour of the gods as a protection for the (offering to the manes); for the Rakshasas destroy a funeral sacrifice which is left without such a protection.

205. Let him make (the Sraddha) begin and end with (a rite) in honour of the gods; it shall not begin and end with a (rite) to the manes; for he who makes it begin and end with a (rite) in honour of the manes, soon perishes together with his progeny.

206. Let him smear a pure and secluded place with cowdung, and carefully make it sloping towards the south.

207. The manes are always pleased with offerings made in open, naturally pure places, on the banks of rivers, and in secluded spots.

208. The (sacrificer) shall make the (invited) Brahmanas, who have duly performed their ablutions, sit down on separate, prepared seats, on which blades of Kusa grass have been placed.

209. Having placed those blameless Brahmanas on their seats, he shall honour them with fragrant garlands and perfumes, beginning with (those who are invited in honour of) the gods.

210. Having presented to them water, sesamum grains, and blades of Kusa grass, the Brahmana (sacrificer) shall offer (oblations) in the sacred fire, after having received permission (to do so) from (all) the Brahmana (guests) conjointly.

211. Having first, according to the rule, performed, as a means of protecting (the Sraddha), oblations to Agni, to Soma, and to Yama, let him afterwards satisfy the manes by a gift of sacrificial food.

212. But if no (sacred) fire (is available), he shall place (the offerings) into the hand of a Brahmana; for Brahmanas who know the sacred texts declare, 'What fire is, even such is a Brahmana.'

213. They (also) call those first of twice-born men the ancient deities of the funeral sacrifice, free from anger, easily pleased, employed in making men prosper.

214. After he has performed (the oblations) in the fire, (and) the whole series of ceremonies in such a manner that they end in the south, let him sprinkle water with his right hand on the spot (where the cakes are to be placed).

215. But having made three cakes out of the remainder of that sacrificial food, he must, concentrating his mind and turning towards the south, place them on (Kusa grass) exactly in the same manner in which (he poured out the libations of) water.

216. Having offered those cakes according to the (prescribed) rule, being pure, let him wipe the same hand with (the roots of) those blades of Kusa grass for the sake of the (three ancestors) who partake of the wipings (lepa).

217. Having (next) sipped water, turned round (towards the north), and thrice slowly suppressed his breath, (the sacrificer) who knows the sacred texts shall worship (the guardian deities of) the six seasons and the manes.

218. Let him gently pour out the remainder of the water near the cakes, and, with fixed attention, smell those cakes, in the order in which they were placed (on the ground).

219. But taking successively very small portions from the cakes, he shall make those seated Brahmana eat them, in accordance with the rule, before (their dinner).

220. But if the (sacrificer's) father is living, he must offer (the cakes) to three remoter (ancestors); or he may also feed his father at the funeral sacrifice as (one of the) Brahmana (guests).

221. But he whose father is dead, while his grandfather lives, shall, after pronouncing his father's name, mention (that of) his great-grandfather.

222. Manu has declared that either the grandfather may eat at that Sraddha (as a guest), or (the grandson) having received permission, may perform it, as he desires.

223. Having poured water mixed with sesamum, in which a blade of Kusa grass has been placed, into the hands of the (guests), he shall give (to each) that (above-mentioned) portion of the cake, saying, 'To those, Svadha!'

224. But carrying (the vessel) filled with food with both hands, the (sacrificer) himself shall gently place it before the Brahmanas, meditating on the manes.

225. The malevolent Asuras forcibly snatch away that food which is brought without being held with both hands.

226. Let him, being pure and attentive, carefully place on the ground the seasoning (for the rice), such as broths and pot herbs, sweet and sour milk, and honey,

227. (As well as) various (kinds of) hard food which require mastication, and of soft food, roots, fruits, savoury meat, and fragrant drinks.

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228. All this he shall present (to his guests), being pure and attentive, successively invite them to partake of each (dish), proclaiming its qualities.

229. Let him on no account drop a tear, become angry or utter an untruth, nor let him touch the food with his foot nor violently shake it.

230. A tear sends the (food) to the Pretas, anger to his enemies, a falsehood to the dogs, contact with his foot to the Rakshasas, a shaking to the sinners.

231. Whatever may please the Brahmanas, let him give without grudging it; let him give riddles from the Veda, for that is agreeable to the manes.

232. At a (sacrifice in honour) of the manes, he must let (his guests) hear the Veda, the Institutes of the sacred law, legends, tales, Puranas, and Khilas.

233. Himself being delighted, let him give delight to the Brahmanas, cause them to partake gradually and slowly (of each dish), and repeatedly invite (them to eat) by (offering) the food and (praising) its qualities.

234. Let him eagerly entertain at a funeral sacrifice a daughter's son, though he be a student, and let him place a Nepal blanket on the on the seat (of each guest), scattering sesamum grains on the ground.

235. There are three means of sanctification, (to be used) at a Sraddha, a daughter's son, a Nepal blanket, and sesamum grains; and they recommend three (other things) for it, cleanliness, suppression of anger, and absence of haste.

236. All the food must be very hot, and the (guests) shall eat in silence; (even though) asked by the giver (of the feast), the Brahmanas shall not proclaim the qualities of the sacrificial food.

237. As long as the food remains warm, as long as they eat in silence, as long as the qualities of the food are not proclaimed, so long the manes partake (of it).

238. What (a guest) eats, covering his head, what he eats with his face turned towards the south, what he eats with sandals on (his feet), that the Rakshasas consume.

239. A Kandala, a village pig, a cock, a dog, a menstruating woman, and a eunuch must not look at the Brahmanas while they eat.

240. What (any of) these sees at a burnt-oblation, at a (solemn) gift, at a dinner (given to Brahmanas), or at any rite in honour of the gods and manes, that produces not the intended result.

241. A boar makes (the rite) useless by inhaling the smell (of the offerings), a cock by the air of his wings, a dog by throwing his eye (on them), a low-caste man by touching (them).

242. If a lame man, a one-eyed man, one deficient in a limb, or one with a redundant limb, be even the servant of the performer (of the Sraddha), he must be removed from that place (where the Sraddha is held).

243. To a Brahmana (householder), or to an ascetic who comes for food, he may, with the permission of (his) Brahmana (guests), show honour according to his ability.

244. Let him mix all the kinds of food together, sprinkle them with water and put them, scattering them (on Kusa grass), down on the ground in front of (his guests), when they have finished their meal.

245. The remnant (in the dishes), and the portion scattered on Kusa grass, shall be the share of deceased (children) who received not the sacrament (of cremation) and of those who (unjustly) forsook noble wives.

246. They declare the fragments which have fallen on the ground at a (Sraddha) to the manes, to be the share of honest, dutiful servants.

247. But before the performance of the Sapindikarana, one must feed at the funeral sacrifice in honour of a (recently-) deceased Aryan (one Brahmana) without (making an offering) to the gods, and give one cake only.

248. But after the Sapindikarana of the (deceased father) has been performed according to the sacred law, the sons must offer the cakes with those ceremonies, (described above.)

249. The foolish man who, after having eaten a Sraddha (-dinner), gives the leavings to a Sudra, falls headlong into the Kalasutra hell.

250. If the partaker of a Sraddha (-dinner) enters on the same day the bed of a Sudra female, the manes of his (ancestors) will lie during that month in her ordure.

251. Having addressed the question, 'Have you dined well?' (to his guests), let him give water for sipping to them who are satisfied, and dismiss them, after they have sipped water, (with the words) 'Rest either (here or at home)!'

252. The Brahmana (guests) shall then answer him, 'Let there be Svadha;' for at all rites in honour of the manes the word Svadha is the highest benison.

253. Next let him inform (his guests) who have finished their meal, of the food which remains; with the permission of the Brahmanas let him dispose (of that), as they may direct.

254. At a (Sraddha) in honour of the manes one must use (in asking of the guests if they are satisfied, the word) svaditam; at a Goshthi-sraddha, (the word) susrutam; at a Vriddhi-sraddha, (the word) sampannam; and at (a rite) in honour of the gods, (the word) rukitam.

255. The afternoon, Kusa grass, the due preparation of the dwelling, sesamum grains, liberality, the careful preparation of the food, and (the company of) distinguished Brahmanas are true riches at all funeral sacrifices.

256. Know that Kusa grass, purificatory (texts), the morning, sacrificial viands of all kinds, and those means of purification, mentioned above, are blessings at a sacrifice to the gods.

257. The food eaten by hermits in the forest, milk, Soma-juice, meat which is not prepared (with spices), and salt unprepared by art, are called, on account of their nature, sacrificial food.

258. Having dismissed the (invited) Brahmanas, let him, with a concentrated mind, silent and pure, look towards the south and ask these blessings of the manes:

259. 'May liberal men abound with us! May (our knowledge of) the Vedas and (our) progeny increase! May faith not forsake us! May we have much to give (to the needy)!'

260. Having thus offered (the cakes), let him, after (the prayer), cause a cow, a Brahmana, a goat, or the sacred fire to consume those cakes, or let him throw them into water.

261. Some make the offering of the cakes after (the dinner); some cause (them) to be eaten by birds or throw them into fire or into water.

262. The (sacrificer's) first wife, who is faithful and intent on the worship of the manes, may eat the middle-most cake, (if she be) desirous of bearing a son.

263. (Thus) she will bring forth a son who will be long-lived, famous, intelligent, rich, the father of numerous offspring, endowed with (the quality of) goodness, and righteous.

264. Having washed his hands and sipped water, let him prepare (food) for his paternal relations and, after giving it to them with due respect, let him feed his maternal relatives also.

265. But the remnants shall be left (where they lie) until the Brahmanas have been dismissed; afterwards he shall perform the (daily) domestic Bali-offering; that is a settled (rule of the) sacred law.

266. I will now fully declare what kind of sacrificial food, given to the manes according to the rule, will serve for a long time or for eternity.

267. The ancestors of men are satisfied for one month with sesamum grains, rice, barley, masha beans, water, roots, and fruits, which have been given according to the prescribed rule,

268. Two months with fish, three months with the meat of gazelles, four with mutton, and five indeed with the flesh of birds,

269. Six months with the flesh of kids, seven with that of spotted deer, eight with that of the black antelope, but nine with that of the (deer called) Ruru,

270. Ten months they are satisfied with the meat of boars and buffaloes, but eleven months indeed with that of hares and tortoises,

271. One year with cow-milk and milk-rice; from the flesh of a long-eared white he-goat their satisfaction endures twelve years.

272. The (vegetable called) Kalasaka, (the fish called) Mahasalka, the flesh of a rhinoceros and that of a red goat, and all kinds of food eaten by hermits in the forest serve for an endless time.

273. Whatever (food), mixed with honey, one gives on the thirteenth lunar day in the rainy season under the asterism of Maghah, that also procures endless (satisfaction).

274. 'May such a man (the manes say) be born in our family who will give us milk-rice, with honey and clarified butter, on the thirteenth lunar day (of the month of Bhadrapada) and (in the afternoon) when the shadow of an elephant falls towards the east.'

275. Whatever (a man), full of faith, duly gives according to the prescribed rule, that becomes in the other world a perpetual and imperishable (gratification) for the manes.

276. The days of the dark half of the month, beginning with the tenth, but excepting the fourteenth, are recommended for a funeral sacrifice; (it is) not thus (with) the others.

277. He who performs it on the even (lunar) days and under the even constellations, gains (the fulfilment of) all his wishes; he who honours the manes on odd (lunar days) and under odd (constellations), obtains distinguished offspring.

278. As the second half of the month is preferable to the first half, even so the afternoon is better for (the performance of) a funeral sacrifice than the forenoon.

279. Let him, untired, duly perform the (rites) in honour of the manes in accordance with the prescribed rule, passing the sacred thread over the right shoulder, proceeding from the left to the right (and) holding Kusa grass in his hands, up to the end (of the ceremony).

280. Let him not perform a funeral sacrifice at night, because the (night) is declared to belong to the Rakshasas, nor in the twilight, nor when the sun has just risen.

281. Let him offer here below a funeral sacrifice, according to the rule given above, (at least) thrice a year, in winter, in summer, and in the rainy season, but that which is included among the five great sacrifices, every day.

282. The burnt-oblation, offered at a sacrifice to the manes, must not be made in a common fire; a Brahmana who keeps a sacred fire (shall) not (perform) a funeral sacrifice except on the new-moon day.

283. Even when a Brahmana, after bathing, satisfies the manes with water, he obtains thereby the whole reward for the performance of the (daily) Sraddha.

284. They call (the manes of) fathers Vasus, (those of) grandfathers Rudras, and (those of) great-grandfathers Adityas; thus (speaks) the eternal Veda.

285. Let him daily partake of the vighasa and daily eat amrita (ambrosia); but vighasa is what remains from the meal (of Brahmana guests) and the remainder of a sacrifice (is called) amrita.

286. Thus all the ordinances relating to the five (daily great) sacrifices have been declared to you; hear now the law for the manner of living fit for Brahmanas.

LAWS OF MANU CHAPTER 4

1. Having dwelt with a teacher during the fourth part of (a man's) life, a Brahmana shall live during the second quarter (of his existence) in his house, after he has wedded a wife.

2. A Brahmana must seek a means of subsistence which either causes no, or at least little pain (to others), and live (by that) except in times of distress.

3. For the purpose of gaining bare subsistence, let him accumulate property by (following those) irreproachable occupations (which are prescribed for) his (caste), without (unduly) fatiguing his body.

4. He may subsist by Rita (truth), and Amrita (ambrosia), or by Mrita (death) and by Pramrita (what causes many deaths); or even by (the mode) called Satyanrita (a mixture of truth and falsehood), but never by Svavritti (a dog's mode of life).

5. By Rita shall be understood the gleaning of corn; by Amrita, what is given unasked; by Mrita, food obtained by begging and agriculture is declared to be Pramrita.

6. But trade and (money-lending) are Satyanrita, even by that one may subsist. Service is called Svavritti; therefore one should avoid it.

7. He may either possess enough to fill a granary, or a store filling a grain-jar; or he may collect what suffices for three days, or make no provision for the morrow.

8. Moreover, among these four Brahmana householders, each later-(named) must be considered more distinguished, and through his virtue to have conquered the world more completely.

9. One of these follows six occupations, another subsists by three, one by two, but the fourth lives by the Brahmasattra.

10. He who maintains himself by picking up grains and ears of corn, must be always intent on (the performance of) the Agnihotra, and constantly offer those Ishtis only, which are prescribed for the days of the conjunction and opposition (of the moon), and for the solstices.

11. Let him never, for the sake of subsistence, follow the ways of the world; let him live the pure, straightforward, honest life of a Brahmana.

12. He who desires happiness must strive after a perfectly contented disposition and control himself; for happiness has contentment for its root, the root of unhappiness is the contrary (disposition).

13. A Brahmana, who is a Snataka and subsists by one of the (above-mentioned) modes of life, must discharge the (following) duties which secure heavenly bliss, long life, and fame.

14. Let him, untired, perform daily the rites prescribed for him in the Veda; for he who performs those according to his ability, attains to the highest state.

15. Whether he be rich or even in distress, let him not seek wealth through pursuits to which men cleave, nor by forbidden occupations, nor (let him accept presents) from any (giver whosoever he may be).

16. Let him not, out of desire (for enjoyments), attach himself to any sensual pleasures, and let him carefully obviate an excessive attachment to them, by (reflecting on their worthlessness in) his heart.

17. Let him avoid all (means of acquiring) wealth which impede the study of the Veda; (let him maintain himself) anyhow, but study, because that (devotion to the Veda-study secures) the realisation of his aims.

18. Let him walk here (on earth), bringing his dress, speech, and thoughts to a conformity with his age, his occupation, his wealth, his sacred learning, and his race.

19. Let him daily pore over those Institutes of science which soon give increase of wisdom, those which teach the acquisition of wealth, those which are beneficial (for other worldly concerns), and likewise over the Nigamas which explain the Veda.

20. For the more a man completely studies the Institutes of science, the more he fully understands (them), and his great learning shines brightly.

21. Let him never, if he is able (to perform them), neglect the sacrifices to the sages, to the gods, to the Bhutas, to men, and to the manes.

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22. Some men who know the ordinances for sacrificial rites, always offer these great sacrifices in their organs (of sensation), without any (external) effort.

23. Knowing that the (performance of the) sacrifice in their speech and their breath yields imperishable (rewards), some always offer their breath in their speech, and their speech in their breath.

24. Other Brahmanas, seeing with the eye of knowledge that the performance of those rites has knowledge for its root, always perform them through knowledge alone.

25. A Brahmana shall always offer the Agnihotra at the beginning or at the end of the day and of the night, and the Darsa and Paurnamasa (Ishtis) at the end of each half-month,

26. When the old grain has been consumed the (Agrayana) Ishti with new grain, at the end of the (three) seasons the (Katurmasya-) sacrifices, at the solstices an animal (sacrifice), at the end of the year Soma-offerings.

27. A Brahmana, who keeps sacred fires, shall, if he desires to live long, not eat new grain or meat, without having offered the (Agrayana) Ishti with new grain and an animal-(sacrifice).

28. For his fires, not being worshipped by offerings of new grain and of an animal, seek to devour his vital spirits, (because they are) greedy for new grain and flesh.

29. No guest must stay in his house without being honoured, according to his ability, with a seat, food, a couch, water, or roots and fruits.

30. Let him not honour, even by a greeting, heretics, men who follow forbidden occupations, men who live like cats, rogues, logicians, (arguing against the Veda,) and those who live like herons.

31. Those who have become Snatakas after studying the Veda, or after completing their vows, (and) householders, who are Srotriyas, one must worship by (gifts of food) sacred to gods and manes, but one must avoid those who are different.

32. A householder must give (as much food) as he is able (to spare) to those who do not cook for themselves, and to all beings one must distribute (food) without detriment (to one's own interest).

33. A Snataka who pines with hunger, may beg wealth of a king, of one for whom he sacrifices, and of a pupil, but not of others; that is a settled rule.

34. A Snataka who is able (to procure food) shall never waste himself with hunger, nor shall he wear old or dirty clothes, if he possesses property.

35. Keeping his hair, nails, and beard clipped, subduing his passions by austerities, wearing white garments and (keeping himself) pure, he shall be always engaged in studying the Veda and (such acts as are) conducive to his welfare.

36. He shall carry a staff of bamboo, a pot full of water, a sacred string, a bundle of Kusa grass, and (wear) two bright golden ear-rings.

37. Let him never look at the sun, when he sets or rises, is eclipsed or reflected in water, or stands in the middle of the sky.

38. Let him not step over a rope to which a calf is tied, let him not run when it rains, and let him not look at his own image in water; that is a settled rule.

39. Let him pass by (a mound of) earth, a cow, an idol, a Brahmana, clarified butter, honey, a crossway, and well-known trees, turning his right hand towards them.

40. Let him, though mad with desire, not approach his wife when her courses appear; nor let him sleep with her in the same bed.

41. For the wisdom, the energy, the strength, the sight, and the vitality of a man who approaches a woman covered with menstrual excretions, utterly perish.

42. If he avoids her, while she is in that condition, his wisdom, energy, strength, sight, and vitality will increase.

43. Let him not eat in the company of his wife, nor look at her, while she eats, sneezes, yawns, or sits at her ease.

44. A Brahmana who desires energy must not look at (a woman) who applies collyrium to her eyes, has anointed or uncovered herself or brings forth (a child).

45. Let him not eat, dressed with one garment only; let him not bathe naked; let him not void urine on a road, on ashes, or in a cow-pen,

46. Nor on ploughed land, in water, on an altar of bricks, on a mountain, on the ruins of a temple, nor ever on an ant-hill,

47. Nor in holes inhabited by living creatures, nor while he walks or stands, nor on reaching the bank of a river, nor on the top of a mountain.

48. Let him never void faeces or urine, facing the wind, or a fire, or looking towards a Brahmana, the sun, water, or cows.

49. He may ease himself, having covered (the ground) with sticks, clods, leaves, grass, and the like, restraining his speech, (keeping himself) pure, wrapping up his body, and covering his head.

50. Let him void faeces and urine, in the daytime turning to the north, at night turning towards the south, during the two twilights in the same (position) as by day.

51. In the shade or in darkness a Brahmana may, both by day and at night, do it, assuming any position he pleases; likewise when his life is in danger.

52. The intellect of (a man) who voids urine against a fire, the sun, the moon, in water, against a Brahmana, a cow, or the wind, perishes.

53. Let him not blow a fire with his mouth; let him not look at a naked woman; let him not throw any impure substance into the fire, and let him not warm his feet at it.

54. Let him not place (fire) under (a bed or the like); nor step over it, nor place it (when he sleeps) at the foot-(end of his bed); let him not torment living creatures.

55. Let him not eat, nor travel, nor sleep during the twilight; let him not scratch the ground; let him not take off his garland.

56. Let him not throw urine or faeces into the water, nor saliva, nor (clothes) defiled by impure substances, nor any other (impurity), nor blood, nor poisonous things.

57. Let him not sleep alone in a deserted dwelling; let him not wake (a superior) who is sleeping; let him not converse with a menstruating woman; nor let him go to a sacrifice, if he is not chosen (to be officiating priest).

58. Let him keep his right arm uncovered in a place where a sacred fire is kept, in a cow-pen, in the presence of Brahmanas, during the private recitation of the Veda, and at meals.

59. Let him not interrupt a cow who is suckling (her calf), nor tell anybody of it. A wise man, if he sees a rainbow in the sky, must not point it out to anybody.

60. Let him not dwell in a village where the sacred law is not obeyed, nor (stay) long where diseases are endemic; let him not go alone on a journey, nor reside long on a mountain.

61. Let him not dwell in a country where the rulers are Sudras, nor in one which is surrounded by unrighteous men, nor in one which has become subject to heretics, nor in one swarming with men of the lowest castes.

62. Let him not eat anything from which the oil has been extracted; let him not be a glutton; let him not eat very early (in the morning), nor very late (in the evening), nor (take any food) in the evening, if he has eaten (his fill) in the morning.

63. Let him not exert himself without a purpose; let him not drink water out of his joined palms; let him not eat food (placed) in his lap; let him not show (idle) curiosity.

64. Let him not dance, nor sing, nor play musical instruments, nor slap (his limbs), nor grind his teeth, nor let him make uncouth noises, though he be in a passion.

65. Let him never wash his feet in a vessel of white brass; let him not eat out of a broken (earthen) dish, nor out of one that (to judge) from its appearance (is) defiled.

66. Let him not use shoes, garments, a sacred string, ornaments, a garland, or a water-vessel which have been used by others.

67. Let him not travel with untrained beasts of burden, nor with (animals) that are tormented by hunger or disease, or whose horns, eyes, and hoofs have been injured, or whose tails have been disfigured.

68. Let him always travel with (beasts) which are well broken in, swift, endowed with lucky marks, and perfect in colour and form, without urging them much with the goad.

69. The morning sun, the smoke rising from a (burning) corpse, and a broken seat must be avoided. Let him not clip his nails or hair, and not tear his nails with his teeth.

70. Let him not crush earth or clods, nor tear off grass with his nails; let him not do anything that is useless or will have disagreeable results in the future.

71. A man who crushes clods, tears off grass, or bites his nails, goes soon to perdition, likewise an informer and he who neglects (the rules of) purification.

72. Let him not wrangle; let him not wear a garland over (his hair). To ride on the back of cows (or of oxen) is anyhow a blamable act.

73. Let him not enter a walled village or house except by the gate, and by night let him keep at a long distance from the roots of trees.

74. Let him never play with dice, nor himself take off his shoes; let him not eat, lying on a bed, nor what has been placed in his hand or on a seat.

75. Let him not eat after sunset any (food) containing sesamum grains; let him never sleep naked, nor go anywhere unpurified (after meals).

76. Let him eat while his feet are (yet) wet (from the ablution), but let him not go to bed with wet feet. He who eats while his feet are (still) wet, will attain long life.

77. Let him never enter a place, difficult of access, which is impervious to his eye; let him not look at urine or ordure, nor cross a river (swimming) with his arms.

78. Let him not step on hair, ashes, bones, potsherds, cotton-seed or chaff, if he desires long life.

79. Let him not stay together with outcasts, nor with Kandalas, nor with Pukkasas, nor with fools, nor with overbearing men, nor with low-caste men, nor with Antyavasayins.

80. Let him not give to a Sudra advice, nor the remnants (of his meal), nor food offered to the gods; nor let him explain the sacred law (to such a man), nor impose (upon him) a penance.

81. For he who explains the sacred law (to a Sudra) or dictates to him a penance, will sink together with that (man) into the hell (called) Asamvrita.

82. Let him not scratch his head with both hands joined; let him not touch it while he is impure, nor bathe without (submerging) it.

83. Let him avoid (in anger) to lay hold of (his own or other men's) hair, or to strike (himself or others) on the head. When he has bathed (submerging) his head, he shall not touch any of his limbs with oil.

84. Let him not accept presents from a king who is not descended from the Kshatriya race, nor from butchers, oil-manufacturers, and publicans, nor from those who subsist by the gain of prostitutes.

85. One oil-press is as (bad) as ten slaughter-houses, one tavern as (bad as) ten oil-presses, one brothel as (bad as) ten taverns, one king as (bad as) ten brothels.

86. A king is declared to be equal (in wickedness) to a butcher who keeps a hundred thousand slaughter-houses; to accept presents from him is a terrible (crime).

87. He who accepts presents from an avaricious king who acts contrary to the Institutes (of the sacred law), will go in succession to the following twenty-one hells:

88. Tamisra, Andhatamisra, Maharaurava, Raurava, the Kalasutra hell, Mahanaraka,

89. Samgivana, Mahaviki, Tapana, Sampratapana, Samghata, Sakakola, Kudmala, Putimrittika,

90. Lohasanku, Rigisha, Pathin, the (flaming) river, Salmala, Asipatravana, and Lohakaraka.

91. Learned Brahmanas, who know that, who study the Veda and desire bliss after death, do not accept presents from a king.

92. Let him wake in the muhurta, sacred to Brahman, and think of (the acquisition of) spiritual merit and wealth, of the bodily fatigue arising therefrom, and of the true meaning of the Veda.

93. When he has risen, has relieved the necessities of nature and carefully purified himself, let him stand during the morning twilight, muttering for a long time (the Gayatri), and at the proper time (he must similarly perform) the evening (devotion).

94. By prolonging the twilight devotions, the sages obtained long life, wisdom, honour, fame, and excellence in Vedic knowledge.

95. Having performed the Upakarman according to the prescribed rule on (the full moon of the month) Sravana, or on that of Praushthapada (Bhadrapada), a Brahmana shall diligently study the Vedas during four months and a half.

96. When the Pushya-day (of the month Pausha), or the first day of the bright half of Magha has come, a Brahmana shall perform in the forenoon the Utsargana of the Vedas.

97. Having performed the Utsarga outside (the village), as the Institutes (of the sacred law) prescribe, he shall stop reading during two days and the intervening night, or during that day (of the Utsarga) and (the following) night.

98. Afterwards he shall diligently recite the Vedas during the bright (halves of the months), and duly study all the Angas of the Vedas during the dark fortnights.

99. Let him not recite (the texts) indistinctly, nor in the presence of Sudras; nor let him, if in the latter part of the night he is tired with reciting the Veda, go again to sleep.

100. According to the rule declared above, let him recite the daily (portion of the) Mantras, and a zealous Brahmana, (who is) not in distress, (shall study) the Brahmana and the Mantrasamhita.

101. Let him who studies always avoid (reading) on the following occasions when the Veda-study is forbidden, and (let) him who teaches pupils according to the prescribed rule (do it likewise).

102. Those who know the (rules of) recitation declare that in the rainy season the Veda-study must be stopped on these two (occasions), when the wind is audible at night, and when it whirls up the dust in the day-time.

103. Manu has stated, that when lightning, thunder, and rain (are observed together), or when large fiery meteors fall on all sides, the recitation must be interrupted until the same hour (on the next day, counting from the occurrence of the event).

104. When one perceives these (phenomena) all together (in the twilight), after the sacred fires have been made to blaze (for the performance of the Agnihotra), then one must know the recitation of the Veda to be forbidden, and also when clouds appear out of season.

105. On (the occasion of) a preternatural sound from the sky, (of) an earthquake, and when the lights of heaven are surrounded by a halo, let him know that (the Veda-study must be) stopped until the same hour (on the next day), even if (these phenomena happen) in the (rainy) season.

106. But when lightning and the roar of thunder (are observed) after the sacred fires have been made to blaze, the stoppage shall last as long as the light (of the sun or of the stars is visible); if the remaining (above-named phenomenon, rain, occurs, the reading shall cease), both in the day-time and at night.

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107. For those who wish to acquire exceedingiy great merit, a continual interruption of the Veda-study (is prescribed) in villages and in towns, and (the Veda-study must) always (cease) when any kind of foul smell (is perceptible).

108. In a village where a corpse lies, in the presence of a (man who lives as unrighteously as a) Sudra, while (the sound of) weeping (is heard), and in a crowd of men the (recitation of the Veda must be) stopped.

109. In water, during the middle part of the night, while he voids excrements, or is impure, and after he has partaken of a funeral dinner, a man must not even think in his heart (of the sacred texts).

110. A learned Brahmana shall not recite the Veda during three days, when he has accepted an invitation to a (funeral rite) in honour of one ancestor (ekoddishta), or when the king has become impure through a birth or death in his family (sutaka), or when Rahu by an eclipse makes the moon impure.

111. As long as the smell and the stains of the (food given) in honour of one ancestor remain on the body of a learned Brahmana, so long he must not recite the Veda.

112. While lying on a bed, while his feet are raised (on a bench), while he sits on his hams with a cloth tied round his knees, let him not study, nor when he has eaten meat or food given by a person impure on account of a birth or a death,

113. Nor during a fog, nor while the sound of arrows is audible, nor during both the twilights, nor on the new-moon day, nor on the fourteenth and the eighth (days of each half-month), nor on the full-moon day.

114. The new-moon day destroys the teacher, the fourteenth (day) the pupil, the eighth and the full-moon days (destroy all remembrance of) the Veda; let him therefore avoid (reading on) those (days).

115. A Brahmana shall not recite (the Veda) during a dust-storm, nor while the sky is preternaturally red, nor while jackals howl, nor while the barking of dogs, the braying of donkeys, or the grunting of camels (is heard), nor while (he is seated) in a company.

116. Let him not study near a burial-ground, nor near a village, nor in a cow-pen, nor dressed in a garment which he wore during conjugal intercourse, nor after receiving a present at a funeral sacrifice.

117. Be it an animal or a thing inanimate, whatever be the (gift) at a Sraddha, let him not, having just accepted it, recite the Veda; for the hand of a Brahmana is his mouth.

118. When the village has been beset by robbers, and when an alarm has been raised by fire, let him know that (the Veda-study must be) interrupted until the same hour (on the next day), and on (the occurrence of) all portents.

119. On (the occasion of) the Upakarman and (of) the Vedotsarga an omission (of the Veda-study) for three days has been prescribed, but on the Ashtakas and on the last nights of the seasons for a day and a night.

120. Let him not recite the Veda on horseback, nor on a tree, nor on an elephant, nor in a boat (or ship), nor on a donkey, nor on camel, nor standing on barren ground, nor riding in a carriage,

121. Nor during a verbal altercation, nor during a mutual assault, nor in a camp, nor during a battle, nor when he has just eaten, nor during an indigestion, nor after vomiting, nor with sour eructations,

122. Nor without receiving permission from a guest (who stays in his house), nor while the wind blows vehemently, nor while blood flows from his body, nor when he is wounded by a weapon.

123. Let him never recite the Rig-veda or the Yagur-veda while the Saman (melodies) are heard; (let him stop all Veda-study for a day and a night) after finishing a Veda or after reciting an Aranyaka.

124. The Rig-veda is declared to be sacred to the gods, the Yagur-veda sacred to men, and the Sama-veda sacred to the manes; hence the sound of the latter is impure (as it were).

125. Knowing this, the learned daily repeat first in due order the essence of the three (Vedas) and afterwards the (text of the) Veda.

126. Know that (the Veda-study must be) interrupted for a day and a night, when cattle, a frog, a cat, a dog, a snake, an ichneumon, or a rat pass between (the teacher and his pupil).

127. Let a twice-born man always carefully interrupt the Veda-study on two (occasions, viz.) when the place where he recites is impure, and when he himself is unpurified.

128. A twice-born man who is a Snataka shall remain chaste on the new-moon day, on the eighth (lunar day of each half-month), on the full-moon day, and on the fourteenth, even (if they fall) in the period (proper for conjugal intercourse).

129. Let him not bathe (immediately) after a meal, nor when he is sick, nor in the middle of the night, nor frequently dressed in all his garments, nor in a pool which he does not perfectly know.

130. Let him not intentionally step on the shadow of (images of) the gods, of a Guru, of a king, of a Snataka, of his teacher, of a reddish-brown animal, or of one who has been initiated to the performance of a Srauta sacrifice (Dikshita).

131. At midday and at midnight, after partaking of meat at a funeral dinner, and in the two twilights let him not stay long on a cross-road.

132. Let him not step intentionally on things used for cleansing the body, on water used for a bath, on urine or ordure, on blood, on mucus, and on anything spat out or vomited.

133. Let him not show particular attention to an enemy, to the friend of an enemy, to a wicked man, to a thief, or to the wife of another man.

134. For in this world there is nothing so detrimental to long life as criminal conversation with another man's wife.

135. Let him who desires prosperity, indeed, never despise a Kshatriya, a snake, and a learned Brahmana, be they ever so feeble.

136. Because these three, when treated with disrespect, may utterly destroy him; hence a wise man must never despise them.

137. Let him not despise himself on account of former failures; until death let him seek fortune, nor despair of gaining it.

138. Let him say what is true, let him say what is pleasing, let him utter no disagreeable truth, and let him utter no agreeable falsehood; that is the eternal law.

139. (What is) well, let him call well, or let him say 'well' only; let him not engage in a useless enmity or dispute with anybody.

140. Let him not journey too early in the morning, nor too late in the evening, nor just during the midday (heat), nor with an unknown (companion), nor alone, nor with Sudras.

141. Let him not insult those who have redundant limbs or are deficient in limbs, nor those destitute of knowledge, nor very aged men, nor those who have no beauty or wealth, nor those who are of low birth.

142. A Brahmana who is impure must not touch with his hand a cow, a Brahmana, or fire; nor, being in good health, let him look at the luminaries in the sky, while he is impure.

143. If he has touched these, while impure, let him always sprinkle with his hand water on the organs of sensation, all his limbs, and the navel.

144. Except when sick he must not touch the cavities (of the body) without a reason, and he must avoid (to touch) the hair on the secret (parts).

145. Let him eagerly follow the (customs which are) auspicious and the rule of good conduct, be careful of purity, and control all his organs, let him mutter (prayers) and, untired, daily offer oblations in the fire.

146. No calamity happens to those who eagerly follow auspicious customs and the rule of good conduct, to those who are always careful of purity, and to those who mutter (sacred texts) and offer burnt-oblations.

147. Let him, without tiring, daily mutter the Veda at the proper time; for they declare that to be one's highest duty; (all) other (observances) are called secondary duties.

148. By daily reciting the Veda, by (the observance of the rules of) purification, by (practising) austerities, and by doing no injury to created beings, one (obtains the faculty of) remembering former births.

149. He who, recollecting his former existences, again recites the Veda, gains endless bliss by the continual study of the Veda.

150. Let him always offer on the Parva-days oblations to Savitri and such as avert evil omens, and on the Ashtakas and Anvashtakas let him constantly worship the manes.

151. Far from his dwelling let him remove urine (and ordure), far (let him remove) the water used for washing his feet, and far the remnants of food and the water from his bath.

152. Early in the morning only let him void faeces, decorate (his body), bathe, clean his teeth, apply collyrium to his eyes, and worship the gods.

153. But on the Parva-days let him go to visit the (images of the) gods, and virtuous Brahmanas, and the ruler (of the country), for the sake of protection, as well as his Gurus.

154. Let him reverentially salute venerable men (who visit him), give them his own seat, let him sit near them with joined hands and, when they leave, (accompany them), walking behind them.

155. Let him, untired, follow the conduct of virtuous men, connected with his occupations, which has been fully declared in the revealed texts and in the sacred tradition (Smriti) and is the root of the sacred law.

156. Through virtuous conduct he obtains long life, through virtuous conduct desirable offspring, through virtuous conduct imperishable wealth; virtuous conduct destroys (the effect of) inauspicious marks.

157. For a man of bad conduct is blamed among people, constantly suffers misfortunes, is afflicted with diseases, and short-lived.

158. A man who follows the conduct of the virtuous, has faith and is free from envy, lives a hundred years, though he be entirely destitute of auspicious marks.

159. Let him carefully avoid all undertakings (the success of) which depends on others; but let him eagerly pursue that (the accomplishment of) which depends on himself.

160. Everything that depends on others (gives) pain, everything that depends on oneself (gives) pleasure; know that this is the short definition of pleasure and pain.

161. When the performance of an act gladdens his heart, let him perform it with diligence; but let him avoid the opposite.

162. Let him never offend the teacher who initiated him, nor him who explained the Veda, nor his father and mother, nor (any other) Guru, nor cows, nor Brahmanas, nor any men performing austerities.

163. Let him avoid atheism, cavilling at the Vedas, contempt of the gods, hatred, want of modesty, pride, anger, and harshness.

164. Let him, when angry, not raise a stick against another man, nor strike (anybody) except a son or a pupil; those two he may beat in order to correct them.

165. A twice-born man who has merely threatened a Brahmana with the intention of (doing him) a corporal injury, will wander about for a hundred years in the Tamisra hell.

166. Having intentionally struck him in anger, even with a blade of grass, he will be born during twenty-one existences in the wombs (of such beings where men are born in punishment of their) sins.

167. A man who in his folly caused blood to flow from the body of a Brahmana who does not attack him, will suffer after death exceedingly great pain.

168. As many particles of dust as the blood takes up from the ground, during so many years the spiller of the blood will be devoured by other (animals) in the next world.

169. A wise man should therefore never threaten a Brahmana, nor strike him even with a blade of grass, nor cause his blood to flow.

170. Neither a man who (lives) unrighteously, nor he who (acquires) wealth (by telling) falsehoods, nor he who always delights in doing injury, ever attain happiness in this world.

171. Let him, though suffering in consequence of his righteousness, never turn his heart to unrighteousness; for he will see the speedy overthrow of unrighteous, wicked men.

172. Unrighteousness, practised in this world, does not at once produce its fruit, like a cow; but, advancing slowly, it cuts off the roots of him who committed it.

173. If (the punishment falls) not on (the offender) himself, (it falls) on his sons, if not on the sons, (at least) on his grandsons; but an iniquity (once) committed, never fails to produce fruit to him who wrought it.

174. He prospers for a while through unrighteousness, then he gains great good fortune, next he conquers his enemies, but (at last) he perishes (branch and) root.

175. Let him always delight in truthfulness, (obedience to) the sacred law, conduct worthy of an Aryan, and purity; let him chastise his pupils according to the sacred law; let him keep his speech, his arms, and his belly under control.

176. Let him avoid (the acquisition of) wealth and (the gratification of his) desires, if they are opposed to the sacred law, and even lawful acts which may cause pain in the future or are offensive to men.

177. Let him not be uselessly active with his hands and feet, or with his eyes, nor crooked (in his ways), nor talk idly, nor injure others by deeds or even think of it.

178. Let him walk in that path of holy men which his fathers and his grandfathers followed; while he walks in that, he will not suffer harm.

179. With an officiating or a domestic priest, with a teacher, with a maternal uncle, a guest and a dependant, with infants, aged and sick men, with learned men, with his paternal relatives, connexions by marriage and maternal relatives,

180. With his father and his mother, with female relatives, with a brother, with his son and his wife, with his daughter and with his slaves, let him not have quarrels.

181. If he avoids quarrels with these persons, he will be freed from all sins, and by suppressing (all) such (quarrels) a householder conquers all the following worlds.

182. The teacher is the lord of the world of Brahman, the father has power over the world of the Lord of created beings (Pragapati), a guest rules over the world of Indra, and the priests over the world of the gods.

183. The female relatives (have power) over the world of the Apsarases, the maternal relatives over that of the Visve Devas, the connexions by marriage over that of the waters, the mother and the maternal uncle over the earth.

184. Infants, aged, poor and sick men must be considered as rulers of the middle sphere, the eldest brother as equal to one's father, one's wife and one's son as one's own body,

185. One's slaves as one's shadow, one's daughter as the highest object of tenderness; hence if one is offended by (any one of) these, one must bear it without resentment.

186. Though (by his learning and sanctity) he may be entitled to accept presents, let him not attach himself (too much) to that (habit); for through his accepting (many) presents the divine light in him is soon extinguished.

187. Without a full knowledge of the rules, prescribed by the sacred law for the acceptance of presents, a wise man should not take anything, even though he may pine with hunger.

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188. But an ignorant (man) who accepts gold, land, a horse, a cow, food, a dress, sesamum-grains, (or) clarified butter, is reduced to ashes like (a piece of) wood.

189. Gold and food destroy his longevity, land and a cow his body, a horse his eye (sight), a garment his skin, clarified butter his energy, sesamum-grains his offspring.

190. A Brahmana who neither performs austerities nor studies the Veda, yet delights in accepting gifts, sinks with the (donor into hell), just as (he who attempts to cross over in) a boat made of stone (is submerged) in the water.

191. Hence an ignorant (man) should be afraid of accepting any presents; for by reason of a very small (gift) even a fool sinks (into hell) as a cow into a morass.

192. (A man) who knows the law should not offer even water to a Brahmana who acts like a cat, nor to a Brahmana who acts like a heron, nor to one who is unacquainted with the Veda.

193. For property, though earned in accordance with prescribed rules, which is given to these three (persons), causes in the next world misery both to the giver and to the recipient.

194. As he who (attempts to) cross water in a boat of stone sinks (to the bottom), even so an ignorant donor and an ignorant donee sink low.

195. (A man) who, ever covetous, displays the flag of virtue, (who is) a hypocrite, a deceiver of the people, intent on doing injury, (and) a detractor (from the merits) of all men, one must know to be one who acts like a cat.

196. That Brahmana, who with downcast look, of a cruel disposition, is solely intent on attaining his own ends, dishonest and falsely gentle, is one who acts like a heron.

197. Those Brahmanas who act like herons, and those who display the characteristics of cats, fall in consequence of that wicked mode of acting into (the hell called) Andhatamisra.

198. When he has committed a sin, let him not perform a penance under the pretence (that the act is intended to gain) spiritual merit, (thus) hiding his sin under (the pretext of) a vow and deceiving women and Sudras.

199. Such Brahmanas are reprehended after death and in this (life) by those who expound the Veda, and a vow, performed under a false pretence, goes to the Rakshasas.

200. He who, without being a student, gains his livelihood by (wearing) the dress of a student, takes upon himself the guilt of (all) students and is born again in the womb of an animal.

201. Let him never bathe in tanks belonging to other men; if he bathes (in such a one), he is tainted by a portion of the guilt of him who made the tank.

202. He who uses without permission a carriage, a bed, a seat, a well, a garden or a house belonging to an (other man), takes upon himself one fourth of (the owner's) guilt.

203. Let him always bathe in rivers, in ponds, dug by the gods (themselves), in lakes, and in waterholes or springs.

204. A wise man should constantly discharge the paramount duties (called yama), but not always the minor ones (called niyama); for he who does not discharge the former, while he obeys the latter alone, becomes an outcast.

205. A Brahmana must never eat (a dinner given) at a sacrifice that is offered by one who is not a Srotriya, by one who sacrifices for a multitude of men, by a woman, or by a eunuch.

206. When those persons offer sacrificial viands in the fire, it is unlucky for holy (men) it displeases the gods; let him therefore avoid it.

207. Let him never eat (food given) by intoxicated, angry, or sick (men), nor that in which hair or insects are found, nor what has been touched intentionally with the foot,

208. Nor that at which the slayer of a learned Brahmana has looked, nor that which has been touched by a menstruating woman, nor that which has been pecked at by birds or touched by a dog,

209. Nor food at which a cow has smelt, nor particularly that which has been offered by an invitation to all comers, nor that (given) by a multitude or by harlots, nor that which is declared to be had by a learned (man),

210. Nor the food (given) by a thief, a musician, a carpenter, a usurer, one who has been initiated (for the performance of a Srauta sacrifice), a miser, one bound with fetters,

211. By one accused of a mortal sin (Abhisasta), a hermaphrodite, an unchaste woman, or a hypocrite, nor (any sweet thing) that has turned sour, nor what has been kept a whole night, nor (the food) of a Sudra, nor the leavings (of another man),

212. Nor (the food given) by a physician, a hunter, a cruel man, one who eats the fragments (of another's meal), nor the food of an Ugra, nor that prepared for a woman in childbed, nor that (given at a dinner) where (a guest rises) prematurely (and) sips water, nor that (given by a woman) whose ten days of impurity have not elapsed,

213. Nor (food) given without due respect, nor (that which contains) meat eaten for no sacred purpose, nor (that given) by a female who has no male (relatives), nor the food of an enemy, nor that (given) by the lord of a town, nor that (given) by outcasts, nor that on which anybody has sneezed;

214. Nor the food (given) by an informer, by one who habitually tells falsehoods, or by one who sells (the rewards for) sacrifices, nor the food (given) by an actor, a tailor, or an ungrateful (man),

215. By a blacksmith, a Nishada, a stage-player, a goldsmith, a basket-maker, or a dealer in weapons,

216. By trainers of hunting dogs, publicans, a washerman, a dyer, a pitiless (man), and a man in whose house (lives) a paramour (of his wife),

217. Nor (the food given) by those who knowingly bear with paramours (of their wives), and by those who in all matters are ruled by women, nor food (given by men) whose ten days of impurity on account of a death have not passed, nor that which is unpalatable.

218. The food of a king impairs his vigour, the food of a Sudra his excellence in sacred learning, the food of a goldsmith his longevity, that of a leather-cutter his fame;

219. The food of an artisan destroys his offspring, that of a washerman his (bodily) strength; the food of a multitude and of harlots excludes him from (the higher) worlds.

220. The food of a physician (is as vile as) pus, that of an unchaste woman (equal to) semen, that of a usurer (as vile as) ordure, and that of a dealer in weapons (as bad as) dirt.

221. The food of those other persons who have been successively enumerated as such whose food must not be eaten, the wise declare (to be as impure as) skin, bones, and hair.

222. If he has unwittingly eaten the food of one of those, (he must) fast for three days; if he has eaten it intentionally, or (has swallowed) semen, ordure, or urine, he must perform a Krikkhra penance.

223. A Brahmana who knows (the law) must not eat cooked food (given) by a Sudra who performs no Sraddhas; but, on failure of (other) means of subsistence, he may accept raw (grain), sufficient for one night (and day).

224. The gods, having considered (the respective merits) of a niggardly Srotriya and of a liberal usurer, declared the food of both to be equal (in quality).

225. The Lord of created beings (Pragapati) came and spake to them, 'Do not make that equal, which is unequal. The food of that liberal (usurer) is purified by faith; (that of the) of the) other (man) is defiled by a want of faith.'

226. Let him, without tiring, always offer sacrifices and perform works of charity with faith; for offerings and charitable works made with faith and with lawfully-earned money, (procure) endless rewards.

227. Let him always practise, according to his ability, with a cheerful heart, the duty of liberality, both by sacrifices and by charitable works, if he finds a worthy recipient (for his gifts.)

228. If he is asked, let him always give something, be it ever so little, without grudging; for a worthy recipient will (perhaps) be found who saves him from all (guilt).

229. A giver of water obtains the satisfaction (of his hunger and thirst), a giver of food imperishable happiness, a giver of sesamum desirable offspring, a giver of a lamp a most excellent eyesight.

230. A giver of land obtains land, a giver of gold long life, a giver of a house most excellent mansions, a giver of silver (rupya) exquisite beauty (rupa),

231. A giver of a garment a place in the world of the moon, a giver of a horse (asva) a place in the world of the Asvins, a giver of a draught-ox great good fortune, a giver of a cow the world of the sun;

232. A giver of a carriage or of a bed a wife, a giver of protection supreme dominion, a giver of grain eternal bliss, a giver of the Veda (brahman) union with Brahman;

233. The gift of the Veda surpasses all other gifts, water, food, cows, land, clothes, sesamum, gold, and clarified butter.

234. For whatever purpose (a man) bestows any gift, for that same purpose he receives (in his next birth) with due honour its (reward).

235. Both he who respectfully receives (a gift), and he who respectfully bestows it, go to heaven; in the contrary case (they both fall) into hell.

236. Let him not be proud of his austerities; let him not utter a falsehood after he has offered a sacrifice; let him not speak ill of Brahmanas, though he be tormented (by them); when he has bestowed (a gift), let him not boast of it.

237. By falsehood a sacrifice becomes vain, by self-complacency (the reward for) austerities is lost, longevity by speaking evil of Brahmanas, and (the reward of) a gift by boasting.

238. Giving no pain to any creature, let him slowly accumulate spiritual merit, for the sake (of acquiring) a companion to the next world, just as the white ant (gradually raises its) hill.

239. For in the next world neither father, nor mother, nor wife, nor sons, nor relations stay to be his companions; spiritual merit alone remains (with him).

240. Single is each being born; single it dies; single it enjoys (the reward of its) virtue; single (it suffers the punishment of its) sin.

241. Leaving the dead body on the ground like a log of wood, or a clod of earth, the relatives depart with averted faces; but spiritual merit follows the (soul).

242. Let him therefore always slowly accumulate spiritual merit, in order (that it may be his) companion (after death); for with merit as his companion he will traverse a gloom difficult to traverse.

243. (That companion) speedily conducts the man who is devoted to duty and effaces his sins by austerities, to the next world, radiant and clothed with an ethereal body.

244. Let him, who desires to raise his race, ever form connexions with the most excellent (men), and shun all low ones.

245. A Brahmana who always connects himself with the most excellent (ones), and shuns all inferior ones, (himself) becomes most distinguished; by an opposite conduct he becomes a Sudra.

246. He who is persevering, gentle, (and) patient, shuns the company of men of cruel conduct, and does no injury (to living creatures), gains, if he constantly lives in that manner, by controlling his organs and by liberality, heavenly bliss.

247. He may accept from any (man), fuel, water, roots, fruit, food offered without asking, and honey, likewise a gift (which consists in) a promise of protection.

248. The Lord of created beings (Pragapati) has declared that alms freely offered and brought (by the giver himself) may be accepted even from a sinful man, provided (the gift) had not been (asked for or) promised beforehand.

249. During fifteen years the manes do not eat (the food) of that man who disdains a (freely-offered gift), nor does the fire carry his offerings (to the gods).

250. A couch, a house, Kusa grass, perfumes, water, flowers, jewels, sour milk, grain, fish, sweet milk, meat, and vegetables let him not reject, (if they are voluntarily offered.)

251. He who desires to relieve his Gurus and those whom he is bound to maintain, or wishes to honour the gods and guests, may accept (gifts) from anybody; but he must not satisfy his (own hunger) with such (presents).

252. But if his Gurus are dead, or if he lives separate from them in (another) house, let him, when he seeks a subsistence, accept (presents) from good men alone.

253. His labourer in tillage, a friend of his family, his cow-herd, his slave, and his barber are, among Sudras, those whose food he may eat, likewise (a poor man) who offers himself (to be his slave).

254. As his character is, as the work is which he desires to perform, and as the manner is in which he means to serve, even so (a voluntary slave) must offer himself.

255. He who describes himself to virtuous (men), in a manner contrary to truth, is the most sinful (wretch) in this world; he is a thief who makes away with his own self.

256. All things (have their nature) determined by speech; speech is their root, and from speech they proceed; but he who is dishonest with respect to speech, is dishonest in everything.

257. When he has paid, according to the law, his debts to the great sages, to the manes, and to the gods, let him make over everything to his son and dwell (in his house), not caring for any worldly concerns.

258. Alone let him constantly meditate in solitude on that which is salutary for his soul; for he who meditates in solitude attains supreme bliss.

259. Thus have been declared the means by which a Brahmana householder must always subsist, and the summary of the ordinances for a Snataka, which cause an increase of holiness and are praiseworthy.

260. A Brahmana who, being learned in the lore of the Vedas, conducts himself in this manner and daily destroys his sins, will be exalted in Brahman's world.

LAWS OF MANU CHAPTER 5

1. The sages, having heard the duties of a Snataka thus declared, spoke to great-souled Bhrigu, who sprang from fire:

2. 'How can Death have power over Brahmanas who know the sacred science, the Veda, (and) who fulfil their duties as they have been explained (by thee), O Lord? '

3. Righteous Bhrigu, the son of Manu, (thus) answered the great sages: 'Hear, (in punishment) of what faults Death seeks to shorten the lives of Brahmanas!'

4. 'Through neglect of the Veda-study, through deviation from the rule of conduct, through remissness (in the fulfilment of duties), and through faults (committed by eating forbidden) food, Death becomes eager to shorten the lives of Brahmanas.'

5. Garlic, leeks and onions, mushrooms and (all plants), springing from impure (substances), are unfit to be eaten by twice-born men.

6. One should carefully avoid red exudations from trees and (juices) flowing from incisions, the Selu (fruit), and the thickened milk of a cow (which she gives after calving).

7. Rice boiled with sesamum, wheat mixed with butter, milk and sugar, milk-rice and flour-cakes which are not prepared for a sacrifice, meat which has not been sprinkled with water while sacred texts were recited, food offered to the gods and sacrificial viands,

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8. The milk of a cow (or other female animal) within ten days after her calving, that of camels, of one-hoofed animals, of sheep, of a cow in heat, or of one that has no calf with her,

9. (The milk) of all wild animals excepting buffalo-cows, that of women, and all (substances turned) sour must be avoided.

10. Among (things turned) sour, sour milk, and all (food) prepared of it may be eaten, likewise what is extracted from pure flowers, roots, and fruit.

11. Let him avoid all carnivorous birds and those living in villages, and one-hoofed animals which are not specially permitted (to be eaten), and the Tittibha (Parra Jacana),

12. The sparrow, the Plava, the Hamsa, the Brahmani duck, the village-cock, the Sarasa crane, the Raggudala, the woodpecker, the parrot, and the starling,

13. Those which feed striking with their beaks, web-footed birds, the Koyashti, those which scratch with their toes, those which dive and live on fish, meat from a slaughter-house and dried meat,

14. The Baka and the Balaka crane, the raven, the Khangaritaka, (animals) that eat fish, village-pigs, and all kinds of fishes.

15. He who eats the flesh of any (animal) is called the eater of the flesh of that (particular creature), he who eats fish is an eater of every (kind of) flesh; let him therefore avoid fish.

16. (But the fish called) Pathina and (that called) Rohita may be eaten, if used for offerings to the gods or to the manes; (one may eat) likewise Ragivas, Simhatundas, and Sasalkas on all (occasions).

17. Let him not eat solitary or unknown beasts and birds, though they may fall under (the categories of) eatable (creatures), nor any five-toed (animals).

18. The porcupine, the hedgehog, the iguana, the rhinoceros, the tortoise, and the hare they declare to be eatable; likewise those (domestic animals) that have teeth in one jaw only, excepting camels.

19. A twice-born man who knowingly eats mushrooms, a village-pig, garlic, a village-cock, onions, or leeks, will become an outcast.

20. He who unwittingly partakes of (any of) these six, shall perform a Samtapana (Krikkhra) or the lunar penance (Kandrayana) of ascetics; in case (he who has eaten) any other (kind of forbidden food) he shall fast for one day (and a night).

21. Once a year a Brahmana must perform a Krikkhra penance, in order to atone for unintentionally eating (forbidden food) but for intentionally (eating forbidden food he must perform the penances prescribed) specially.

22. Beasts and birds recommended (for consumption) may be slain by Brahmanas for sacrifices, and in order to feed those whom they are bound to maintain; for Agastya did this of old.

23. For in ancient (times) the sacrificial cakes were (made of the flesh) of eatable beasts and birds at the sacrifices offered by Brahmanas and Kshatriyas.

24. All lawful hard or soft food may be eaten, though stale, (after having been) mixed with fatty (substances), and so may the remains of sacrificial viands.

25. But all preparations of barley and wheat, as well as preparations of milk, may be eaten by twice-born men without being mixed with fatty (substances), though they may have stood for a long time.

26. Thus has the food, allowed and forbidden to twice-born men, been fully described; I will now propound the rules for eating and avoiding meat.

27. One may eat meat when it has been sprinkled with water, while Mantras were recited, when Brahmanas desire (one's doing it), when one is engaged (in the performance of a rite) according to the law, and when one's life is in danger.

28. The Lord of creatures (Pragapati) created this whole (world to be) the sustenance of the vital spirit; both the immovable and the movable (creation is) the food of the vital spirit.

29. What is destitute of motion is the food of those endowed with locomotion; (animals) without fangs (are the food) of those with fangs, those without hands of those who possess hands, and the timid of the bold.

30. The eater who daily even devours those destined to be his food, commits no sin; for the creator himself created both the eaters and those who are to be eaten (for those special purposes).

31. 'The consumption of meat (is befitting) for sacrifices,' that is declared to be a rule made by the gods; but to persist (in using it) on other (occasions) is said to be a proceeding worthy of Rakshasas.

32. He who eats meat, when he honours the gods and manes, commits no sin, whether he has bought it, or himself has killed (the animal), or has received it as a present from others.

33. A twice-born man who knows the law, must not eat meat except in conformity with the law; for if he has eaten it unlawfully, he will, unable to save himself, be eaten after death by his (victims).

34. After death the guilt of one who slays deer for gain is not as (great) as that of him who eats meat for no (sacred) purpose.

35. But a man who, being duly engaged (to officiate or to dine at a sacred rite), refuses to eat meat, becomes after death an animal during twenty-one existences.

36. A Brahmana must never eat (the flesh of animals unhallowed by Mantras; but, obedient to the primeval law, he may eat it, consecrated with Vedic texts.

37. If he has a strong desire (for meat) he may make an animal of clarified butter or one of flour, (and eat that); but let him never seek to destroy an animal without a (lawful) reason.

38. As many hairs as the slain beast has, so often indeed will he who killed it without a (lawful) reason suffer a violent death in future births.

39. Svayambhu (the Self-existent) himself created animals for the sake of sacrifices; sacrifices (have been instituted) for the good of this whole (world); hence the slaughtering (of beasts) for sacrifices is not slaughtering (in the ordinary sense of the word).

40. Herbs, trees, cattle, birds, and (other) animals that have been destroyed for sacrifices, receive (being reborn) higher existences.

41. On offering the honey-mixture (to a guest), at a sacrifice and at the rites in honour of the manes, but on these occasions only, may an animal be slain; that (rule) Manu proclaimed.

42. A twice-born man who, knowing the true meaning of the Veda, slays an animal for these purposes, causes both himself and the animal to enter a most blessed state.

43. A twice-born man of virtuous disposition, whether he dwells in (his own) house, with a teacher, or in the forest, must never, even in times of distress, cause an injury (to any creature) which is not sanctioned by the Veda.

44. Know that the injury to moving creatures and to those destitute of motion, which the Veda has prescribed for certain occasions, is no injury at all; for the sacred law shone forth from the Veda.

45. He who injures innoxious beings from a wish to (give) himself pleasure, never finds happiness, neither living nor dead.

46. He who does not seek to cause the sufferings of bonds and death to living creatures, (but) desires the good of all (beings), obtains endless bliss.

47. He who does not injure any (creature), attains without an effort what he thinks of, what he undertakes, and what he fixes his mind on.

48. Meat can never be obtained without injury to living creatures, and injury to sentient beings is detrimental to (the attainment of) heavenly bliss; let him therefore shun (the use of) meat.

49. Having well considered the (disgusting) origin of flesh and the (cruelty of) fettering and slaying corporeal beings, let him entirely abstain from eating flesh.

50. He who, disregarding the rule (given above), does not eat meat like a Pisaka, becomes dear to men, and will not be tormented by diseases.

51. He who permits (the slaughter of an animal), he who cuts it up, he who kills it, he who buys or sells (meat), he who cooks it, he who serves it up, and he who eats it, (must all be considered as) the slayers (of the animal).

52. There is no greater sinner than that (man) who, though not worshipping the gods or the manes, seeks to increase (the bulk of) his own flesh by the flesh of other (beings).

53. He who during a hundred years annually offers a horse-sacrifice, and he who entirely abstains from meat, obtain the same reward for their meritorious (conduct).

54. By subsisting on pure fruit and roots, and by eating food fit for ascetics (in the forest), one does not gain (so great) a reward as by entirely avoiding (the use of) flesh.

55. 'Me he (mam sah)' will devour in the next (world), whose flesh I eat in this (life); the wise declare this (to be) the real meaning of the word 'flesh' (mamsah).

56. There is no sin in eating meat, in (drinking) spirituous liquor, and in carnal intercourse, for that is the natural way of created beings, but abstention brings great rewards.

57. I will now in due order explain the purification for the dead and the purification of things as they are prescribed for the four castes (varna).

58. When (a child) dies that has teethed, or that before teething has received (the sacrament of) the tonsure (Kudakarana) or (of the initiation), all relatives (become) impure, and on the birth (of a child) the same (rule) is prescribed.

59. It is ordained (that) among Sapindas the impurity on account of a death (shall last) ten days, (or) until the bones have been collected, (or) three days or one day only.

60. But the Sapinda-relationship ceases with the seventh person (in the ascending and descending lines), the Samanodaka-relationship when the (common) origin and the (existence of a common family)-name are no (longer) known.

61. As this impurity on account of a death is prescribed for (all) Sapindas, even so it shall be (held) on a birth by those who desire to be absolutely pure.

62. (Or while) the impurity on account of a death is common to all (Sapindas), that caused by a birth (falls) on the parents alone; (or) it shall fall on the mother alone, and the father shall become pure by bathing;

63. But a man, having spent his strength, is purified merely by bathing; after begetting a child (on a remarried female), he shall retain the impurity during three days.

64. Those who have touched a corpse are purified after one day and night (added to) three periods of three days; those who give libations of water, after three days.

65. A pupil who performs the Pitrimedha for his deceased teacher, becomes also pure after ten days, just like those who carry the corpse out (to the burial-ground).

66. (A woman) is purified on a miscarriage in as many (days and) nights as months (elapsed after conception), and a menstruating female becomes pure by bathing after the menstrual secretion has ceased (to flow).

67. (On the death) of children whose tonsure (Kudakarman) has not been performed, the (Sapindas) are declared to become pure in one (day and) night; (on the death) of those who have received the tonsure (but not the initiation, the law) ordains (that) the purification (takes place) after three days.

68. A child that has died before the completion of its second year, the relatives shall carry out (of the village), decked (with flowers, and bury it) in pure ground, without collecting the bones (afterwards).

69. Such (a child) shall not be burnt with fire, and no libations of water shall be offered to it; leaving it like a (log of) wood in the forest, (the relatives) shall remain impure during three days only.

70. The relatives shall not offer libations to (a child) that has not reached the third year; but if it had teeth, or the ceremony of naming it (Namakarman) had been performed, (the offering of water is) optional.

71. If a fellow-student has died, the Smriti prescribes an impurity of one day; on a birth the purification of the Samanodakas is declared (to take place) after three (days and) nights.

72. (On the death) of females (betrothed but) not married (the bridegroom and his) relatives are purified after three days, and the paternal relatives become pure according to the same rule.

73. Let (mourners) eat food without factitious salt, bathe during three days, abstain from meat, and sleep separate on the ground.

74. The above rule regarding impurity on account of a death has been prescribed (for cases where the kinsmen live) near (the deceased); (Sapinda) kinsmen and (Samanodaka) relatives must know the following rule (to refer to cases where deceased lived) at a distance (from them).

75. He who may hear that (a relative) residing in a distant country has died, before ten (days after his death have elapsed), shall be impure for the remainder of the period of ten (days and) nights only.

76. If the ten days have passed, he shall be impure during three (days and) nights; but if a year has elapsed (since the occurrence of the death), he becomes pure merely by bathing.

77. A man who hears of a (Sapinda) relative's death, or of the birth of a son after the ten days (of impurity have passed), becomes pure by bathing, dressed in his garments.

78. If an infant (that has not teethed), or a (grownup relative who is) not a Sapinda, die in a distant country, one becomes at once pure after bathing in one's clothes.

79. If within the ten days (of impurity) another birth or death happens, a Brahmana shall remain impure only until the (first) period of ten days has expired.

80. They declare that, when the teacher (akarya) has died, the impurity (lasts) three days; if the (teacher's) son or wife (is dead, it lasts) a day and a night; that is a settled (rule).

81. For a Srotriya who resides with (him out of affection), a man shall be impure for three days; for a maternal uncle, a pupil, an officiating priest, or a maternal relative, for one night together with the preceding and following days.

82. If the king in whose realm he resides is dead, (he shall be impure) as long as the light (of the sun or stars shines), but for (an intimate friend) who is not a Srotriya (the impurity lasts) for a whole day, likewise for a Guru who knows the Veda and the Angas.

83. A Brahmana shall be pure after ten days, a Kshatriya after twelve, a Vaisya after fifteen, and a Sudra is purified after a month.

84. Let him not (unnecessarily) lengthen the period of impurity, nor interrupt the rites to be performed with the sacred fires; for he who performs that (Agnihotra) rite will not be impure, though (he be) a (Sapinda) relative.

85. When he has touched a Kandala, a menstruating woman, an outcast, a woman in childbed, a corpse, or one who has touched a (corpse), he becomes pure by bathing.

86. He who has purified himself by sipping water shall, on seeing any impure (thing or person), always mutter the sacred texts, addressed to Surya, and the Pavamani (verses).

87. A Brahmana who has touched a human bone to which fat adheres, becomes pure by bathing; if it be free from fat, by sipping water and by touching (afterwards) a cow or looking at the sun.

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88. He who has undertaken the performance of a vow shall not pour out libations (to the dead) until the vow has been completed; but when he has offered water after its completion, he becomes pure in three days only.

89. Libations of water shall not be offered to those who (neglect the prescribed rites and may be said to) have been born in vain, to those born in consequence of an illegal mixture of the castes, to those who are ascetics (of heretical sects), and to those who have committed suicide,

90. To women who have joined a heretical sect, who through lust live (with many men), who have caused an abortion, have killed their husbands, or drink spirituous liquor.

91. A student does not break his vow by carrying out (to the place of cremation) his own dead teacher (akarya), sub-teacher (upadhyaya), father, mother, or Guru.

92. Let him carry out a dead Sudra by the southern gate of the town, but (the corpses of) twice-born men, as is proper, by the western, northern, or eastern (gates).

93. The taint of impurity does not fall on kings, and those engaged in the performance of a vow, or of a Sattra; for the (first are) seated on the throne of Indra, and the (last two are) ever pure like Brahman.

94. For a king, on the throne of magnanimity, immediate purification is prescribed, and the reason for that is that he is seated (there) for the protection of (his) subjects.

95. (The same rule applies to the kinsmen) of those who have fallen in a riot or a battle, (of those who have been killed) by lightning or by the king, and (of those who perished fighting) for cows and Brahmanas, and to those whom the king wishes (to be pure).

96. A king is an incarnation of the eight guardian deities of the world, the Moon, the Fire, the Sun, the Wind, Indra, the Lords of wealth and water (Kubera and Varuna), and Yama.

97. Because the king is pervaded by those lords of the world, no impurity is ordained for him; for purity and impurity of mortals is caused and removed by (those) lords of the world.

98. By him who is slain in battle with brandished weapons according to the law of the Kshatriyas, a (Srauta) sacrifice is instantly completed, and so is the period of impurity (caused by his death); that is a settled rule.

99. (At the end of the period of impurity) a Brahmana who has performed the necessary rites, becomes pure by touching water, a Kshatriya by touching the animal on which he rides, and his weapons, a Vaisya by touching his goad or the nose-string (of his oxen), a Sudra by touching his staff.

100. Thus the purification (required) on (the death of) Sapindas has been explained to you, O best of twice-born men; hear now the manner in which men are purified on the death of any (relative who is) not a Sapinda.

101. A Brahmana, having carried out a dead Brahmana who is not a Sapinda, as (if he were) a (near) relative, or a near relative of his mother, becomes pure after three days;

102. But if he eats the food of the (Sapindas of the deceased), he is purified in ten days, (but) in one day, if he does not eat their food nor dwells in their house.

103. Having voluntarily followed a corpse, whether (that of) a paternal kinsman or (of) a stranger, he becomes pure by bathing, dressed in his clothes, by touching fire and eating clarified butter.

104. Let him not allow a dead Brahmana to be carried out by a Sudra, while men of the same caste are at hand; for that burnt-offering which is defiled by a Sudra's touch is detrimental to (the deceased's passage to) heaven.

105. The knowledge (of Brahman) austerities, fire, (holy) food, earth, (restraint of) the internal organ, water, smearing (with cowdung), the wind, sacred rites, the sun, and time are the purifiers of corporeal (beings).

106. Among all modes of purification, purity in (the acquisition of) wealth is declared to be the best; for he is pure who gains wealth with clean hands, not he who purifies himself with earth and water.

107. The learned are purified by a forgiving disposition, those who have committed forbidden actions by liberality, secret sinners by muttering (sacred texts), and those who best know the Veda by austerities.

108. By earth and water is purified what ought to be made pure, a river by its current, a woman whose thoughts have been impure by the menstrual secretion, a Brahmana by abandoning the world (samnyasa).

109. The body is cleansed by water, the internal organ is purified by truthfulness, the individual soul by sacred learning and austerities, the intellect by (true) knowledge.

110. Thus the precise rules for the purification of the body have been declared to you; hear now the decision (of the law) regarding the purification of the various (inanimate) things.

111. The wise ordain that all (objects) made of metal, gems, and anything made of stone are to be cleansed with ashes, earth, and water.

112. A golden vessel which shows no stains, becomes pure with water alone, likewise what is produced in water (as shells and coral), what is made of stone, and a silver (vessel) not enchased.

113. From the union of water and fire arose the glittering gold and silver; those two, therefore, are best purified by (the elements) from which they sprang.

114. Copper, iron, brass, pewter, tin, and lead must be cleansed, as may be suitable (for each particular case), by alkaline (substances), acids or water.

115. The purification prescribed for all (sorts of) liquids is by passing two blades of Kusa grass through them, for solid things by sprinkling (them with water), for (objects) made of wood by planing them.

116. At sacrifices the purification of (the Soma cups called) Kamasas and Grahas, and of (other) sacrificial vessels (takes place) by rubbing (them) with the hand, and (afterwards) rinsing (them with water).

117. The Karu and (the spoons called) Sruk and Sruva must be cleaned with hot water, likewise (the wooden sword, called) Sphya, the winnowing-basket (Surpa), the cart (for bringing the grain), the pestle and the mortar.

118. The manner of purifying large quantities of grain and of cloth is to sprinkle them with water; but the purification of small quantities is prescribed (to take place) by washing them.

119. Skins and (objects) made of split cane must be cleaned like clothes; vegetables, roots, and fruit like grain;

120. Silk and woollen stuffs with alkaline earth; blankets with pounded Arishta (fruit); Amsupattas with Bel fruit; linen cloth with (a paste of) yellow mustard.

121. A man who knows (the law) must purify conch-shells, horn, bone and ivory, like linen cloth, or with a mixture of cow's urine and water.

122. Grass, wood, and straw become pure by being sprinkled (with water), a house by sweeping and smearing (it with cowdung or whitewash), an earthen (vessel) by a second burning.

123. An earthen vessel which has been defiled by spirituous liquor, urine, ordure, saliva, pus or blood cannot be purified by another burning.

124. Land is purified by (the following) five (modes, viz.) by sweeping, by smearing (it with cowdung), by sprinkling (it with cows' urine or milk), by scraping, and by cows staying (on it during a day and night).

125. (Food) which has been pecked at by birds, smelt at by cows, touched (with the foot), sneezed on, or defiled by hair or insects, becomes pure by scattering earth (over it).

126. As long as the (foul) smell does not leave an (object) defiled by impure substances, and the stain caused by them (does not disappear), so long must earth and water be applied in cleansing (inanimate) things.

127. The gods declared three things (to be) pure to Brahmanas, that (on which) no (taint is) visible, what has been washed with water, and what has been commended (as pure) by the word (of a Brahmana).

128. Water, sufficient (in quantity) in order to slake the thirst of a cow, possessing the (proper) smell, colour, and taste, and unmixed with impure substances, is pure, if it is collected on (pure) ground.

129. The hand of an artisan is always pure, so is (every vendible commodity) exposed for sale in the market, and food obtained by begging which a student holds (in his hand) is always fit for use; that is a settled rule.

130. The mouth of a woman is always pure, likewise a bird when he causes a fruit to fall; a calf is pure on the flowing of the milk, and a dog when he catches a deer.

131. Manu has declared that the flesh (of an animal) killed by dogs is pure, likewise (that) of a (beast) slain by carnivorous (animals) or by men of low caste (Dasyu), such as Kandalas.

132. All those cavities (of the body) which lie above the navel are pure, (but) those which are below the navel are impure, as well as excretions that fall from the body.

133. Flies, drops of water, a shadow, a cow, a horse, the rays of the sun, dust, earth, the wind, and fire one must know to be pure to the touch.

134. In order to cleanse (the organs) by which urine and faeces are ejected, earth and water must be used, as they may be required, likewise in removing the (remaining ones among) twelve impurities of the body.

135. Oily exudations, semen, blood, (the fatty substance of the) brain, urine, faeces, the mucus of the nose, ear-wax, phlegm, tears, the rheum of the eyes, and sweat are the twelve impurities of human (bodies).

136. He who desires to be pure, must clean the organ by one (application of) earth, the anus by (applying earth) three (times), the (left) hand alone by (applying it) ten (times), and both (hands) by (applying it) seven (times).

137. Such is the purification ordained for householders; (it shall be) double for students, treble for hermits, but quadruple for ascetics.

138. When he has voided urine or faeces, let him, after sipping water, sprinkle the cavities, likewise when he is going to recite the Veda, and always before he takes food.

139. Let him who desires bodily purity first sip water three times, and then twice wipe his mouth; but a woman and a Sudra (shall perform each act) once (only).

140. Sudras who live according to the law, shall each month shave (their heads); their mode of purification (shall be) the same as that of Vaisyas, and their food the fragments of an Aryan's meal.

141. Drops (of water) from the mouth which do not fall on a limb, do not make (a man) impure, nor the hair of the moustache entering the mouth, nor what adheres to the teeth.

142. Drops which trickle on the feet of him who offers water for sipping to others, must be considered as equal to (water collected on the ground; they render him not impure.

143. He who, while carrying anything in any manner, is touched by an impure (person or thing), shall become pure, if he performs an ablution, without putting down that object.

144. He who has vomited or purged shall bathe, and afterwards eat clarified butter; but if (the attack comes on) after he has eaten, let him only sip water; bathing is prescribed for him who has had intercourse with a woman.

145. Though he may be (already) pure, let him sip water after sleeping, sneezing, eating, spitting, telling untruths, and drinking water, likewise when he is going to study the Veda.

146. Thus the rules of personal purification for men of all castes, and those for cleaning (inanimate) things, have been fully declared to you: hear now the duties of women.

147. By a girl, by a young woman, or even by an aged one, nothing must be done independently, even in her own house.

148. In childhood a female must be subject to her father, in youth to her husband, when her lord is dead to her sons; a woman must never be independent.

149. She must not seek to separate herself from her father, husband, or sons; by leaving them she would make both (her own and her husband's) families contemptible.

150. She must always be cheerful, clever in (the management of her) household affairs, careful in cleaning her utensils, and economical in expenditure.

151. Him to whom her father may give her, or her brother with the father's permission, she shall obey as long as he lives, and when he is dead, she must not insult (his memory).

152. For the sake of procuring good fortune to (brides), the recitation of benedictory texts (svastyayana), and the sacrifice to the Lord of creatures (Pragapati) are used at weddings; (but) the betrothal (by the father or guardian) is the cause of (the husband's) dominion (over his wife).

153. The husband who wedded her with sacred texts, always gives happiness to his wife, both in season and out of season, in this world and in the next.

154. Though destitute of virtue, or seeking pleasure (elsewhere), or devoid of good qualities, (yet) a husband must be constantly worshipped as a god by a faithful wife.

155. No sacrifice, no vow, no fast must be performed by women apart (from their husbands); if a wife obeys her husband, she will for that (reason alone) be exalted in heaven.

156. A faithful wife, who desires to dwell (after death) with her husband, must never do anything that might displease him who took her hand, whether he be alive or dead.

157. At her pleasure let her emaciate her body by (living on) pure flowers, roots, and fruit; but she must never even mention the name of another man after her husband has died.

158. Until death let her be patient (of hardships), self-controlled, and chaste, and strive (to fulfil) that most excellent duty which (is prescribed) for wives who have one husband only.

159. Many thousands of Brahmanas who were chaste from their youth, have gone to heaven without continuing their race.

160. A virtuous wife who after the death of her husband constantly remains chaste, reaches heaven, though she have no son, just like those chaste men.

161. But a woman who from a desire to have offspring violates her duty towards her (deceased) husband, brings on herself disgrace in this world, and loses her place with her husband (in heaven).

162. Offspring begotten by another man is here not (considered lawful), nor (does offspring begotten) on another man's wife (belong to the begetter), nor is a second husband anywhere prescribed for virtuous women.

163. She who cohabits with a man of higher caste, forsaking her own husband who belongs to a lower one, will become contemptible in this world, and is called a remarried woman (parapurva).

164. By violating her duty towards her husband, a wife is disgraced in this world, (after death) she enters the womb of a jackal, and is tormented by diseases (the punishment of) her sin.

165. She who, controlling her thoughts, words, and deeds, never slights her lord, resides (after death) with her husband (in heaven), and is called a virtuous (wife).

166. In reward of such conduct, a female who controls her thoughts, speech, and actions, gains in this (life) highest renown, and in the next (world) a place near her husband.

167. A twice-born man, versed in the sacred law, shall burn a wife of equal caste who conducts herself thus and dies before him, with (the sacred fires used for) the Agnihotra, and with the sacrificial implements.

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168. Having thus, at the funeral, given the sacred fires to his wife who dies before him, he may marry again, and again kindle (the fires).

169. (Living) according to the (preceding) rules, he must never neglect the five (great) sacrifices, and, having taken a wife, he must dwell in (his own) house during the second period of his life.

LAWS OF MANU CHAPTER 6

1. A twice-born Snataka, who has thus lived according to the law in the order of householders, may, taking a firm resolution and keeping his organs in subjection, dwell in the forest, duly (observing the rules given below).

2. When a householder sees his (skin) wrinkled, and (his hair) white, and. the sons of his sons, then he may resort to the forest.

3. Abandoning all food raised by cultivation, and all his belongings, he may depart into the forest, either committing his wife to his sons, or accompanied by her.

4. Taking with him the sacred fire and the implements required for domestic (sacrifices), he may go forth from the village into the forest and reside there, duly controlling his senses.

5. Let him offer those five great sacrifices according to the rule, with various kinds of pure food fit for ascetics, or with herbs, roots, and fruit.

6. Let him wear a skin or a tattered garment; let him bathe in the evening or in the morning; and let him always wear (his hair in) braids, the hair on his body, his beard, and his nails (being unclipped).

7. Let him perform the Bali-offering with such food as he eats, and give alms according to his ability; let him honour those who come to his hermitage with alms consisting of water, roots, and fruit.

8. Let him be always industrious in privately reciting the Veda; let him be patient of hardships, friendly (towards all), of collected mind, ever liberal and never a receiver of gifts, and compassionate towards all living creatures.

9. Let him offer, according to the law, the Agnihotra with three sacred fires, never omitting the new-moon and full-moon sacrifices at the proper time.

10. Let him also offer the Nakshatreshti, the Agrayana, and the Katurmasya (sacrifices), as well as the Turayana and likewise the Dakshayana, in due order.

11. With pure grains, fit for ascetics, which grow in spring and in autumn, and which he himself has collected, let him severally prepare the sacrificial cakes (purodasa) and the boiled messes (karu), as the law directs.

12. Having offered those most pure sacrificial viands, consisting of the produce of the forest, he may use the remainder for himself, (mixed with) salt prepared by himself.

13. Let him eat vegetables that grow on dry land or in water, flowers, roots, and fruits, the productions of pure trees, and oils extracted from forest-fruits.

14. Let him avoid honey, flesh, and mushrooms growing on the ground (or elsewhere, the vegetables called) Bhustrina, and Sigruka, and the Sleshmantaka fruit.

15. Let him throw away in the month of Asvina the food of ascetics, which he formerly collected, likewise his worn-out clothes and his vegetables, roots, and fruit.

16. Let him not eat anything (grown on) ploughed (land), though it may have been thrown away by somebody, nor roots and fruit grown in a village, though (he may be) tormented (by hunger).

17. He may eat either what has been cooked with fire, or what has been ripened by time; he either may use a stone for grinding, or his teeth may be his mortar.

18. He may either at once (after his daily meal) cleanse (his vessel for collecting food), or lay up a store sufficient for a month, or gather what suffices for six months or for a year.

19. Having collected food according to his ability, he may either eat at night (only), or in the day-time (only), or at every fourth meal-time, or at every eighth.

20. Or he may live according to the rule of the lunar penance (Kandrayana, daily diminishing the quantity of his food) in the bright (half of the month) and (increasing it) in the dark (half); or he may eat on the last days of each fortnight, once (a day only), boiled barley-gruel.

21. Or he may constantly subsist on flowers, roots, and fruit alone, which have been ripened by time and have fallen spontaneously, following the rule of the (Institutes) of Vikhanas.

22. Let him either roll about on the ground, or stand during the day on tiptoe, (or) let him alternately stand and sit down; going at the Savanas (at sunrise, at midday, and at sunset) to water in the forest (in order to bathe).

23. In summer let him expose himself to the heat of five fires, during the rainy season live under the open sky, and in winter be dressed in wet clothes, (thus) gradually increasing (the rigour of) his austerities.

24. When he bathes at the three Savanas (sunrise, midday, and sunset), let him offer libations of water to the manes and the gods, and practising harsher and harsher austerities, let him dry up his bodily frame.

25. Having reposited the three sacred fires in himself, according to the prescribed rule, let him live without a fire, without a house, wholly silent, subsisting on roots and fruit,

26. Making no effort (to procure) things that give pleasure, chaste, sleeping on the bare ground, not caring for any shelter, dwelling at the roots of trees.

27. From Brahmanas (who live as) ascetics, let him receive alms, (barely sufficient) to support life, or from other householders of the twice-born (castes) who reside in the forest.

28. Or (the hermit) who dwells in the forest may bring (food) from a village, receiving it either in a hollow dish (of leaves), in (his naked) hand, or in a broken earthen dish, and may eat eight mouthfuls.

29. These and other observances must a Brahmana who dwells in the forest diligently practise, and in order to attain complete (union with) the (supreme) Soul, (he must study) the various sacred texts contained in the Upanishads,

30. (As well as those rites and texts) which have been practised and studied by the sages (Rishis), and by Brahmana householders, in order to increase their knowledge (of Brahman), and their austerity, and in order to sanctify their bodies;

31. Or let him walk, fully determined and going straight on, in a north-easterly direction, subsisting on water and air, until his body sinks to rest.

32. A Brahmana, having got rid of his body by one of those modes practised by the great sages, is exalted in the world of Brahman, free from sorrow and fear.

33. But having thus passed the third part of (a man's natural term of) life in the forest, he may live as an ascetic during the fourth part of his existence, after abandoning all attachment to worldly objects.

34. He who after passing from order to order, after offering sacrifices and subduing his senses, becomes, tired with (giving) alms and offerings of food, an ascetic, gains bliss after death.

35. When he has paid the three debts, let him apply his mind to (the attainment of) final liberation; he who seeks it without having paid (his debts) sinks downwards.

36. Having studied the Vedas in accordance with the rule, having begat sons according to the sacred law, and having offered sacrifices according to his ability, he may direct his mind to (the attainment of) final liberation.

37. A twice-born man who seeks final liberation, without having studied the Vedas, without having begotten sons, and without having offered sacrifices, sinks downwards.

38. Having performed the Ishti, sacred to the Lord of creatures (Pragapati), where (he gives) all his property as the sacrificial fee, having reposited the sacred fires in himself, a Brahmana may depart from his house (as an ascetic).

39. Worlds, radiant in brilliancy, become (the portion) of him who recites (the texts regarding) Brahman and departs from his house (as an ascetic), after giving a promise of safety to all created beings.

40. For that twice-born man, by whom not the smallest danger even is caused to created beings, there will be no danger from any (quarter), after he is freed from his body.

41. Departing from his house fully provided with the means of purification (Pavitra), let him wander about absolutely silent, and caring nothing for enjoyments that may be offered (to him).

42. Let him always wander alone, without any companion, in order to attain (final liberation), fully understanding that the solitary (man, who) neither forsakes nor is forsaken, gains his end.

43. He shall neither possess a fire, nor a dwelling, he may go to a village for his food, (he shall be) indifferent to everything, firm of purpose, meditating (and) concentrating his mind on Brahman.

44. A potsherd (instead of an alms-bowl), the roots of trees (for a dwelling), coarse worn-out garments, life in solitude and indifference towards everything, are the marks of one who has attained liberation.

45. Let him not desire to die, let him not desire to live; let him wait for (his appointed) time, as a servant (waits) for the payment of his wages.

46. Let him put down his foot purified by his sight, let him drink water purified by (straining with) a cloth, let him utter speech purified by truth, let him keep his heart pure.

47. Let him patiently bear hard words, let him not insult anybody, and let him not become anybody's enemy for the sake of this (perishable) body.

48. Against an angry man let him not in return show anger, let him bless when he is cursed, and let him not utter speech, devoid of truth, scattered at the seven gates.

49. Delighting in what refers to the Soul, sitting (in the postures prescribed by the Yoga), independent (of external help), entirely abstaining from sensual enjoyments, with himself for his only companion, he shall live in this world, desiring the bliss (of final liberation).

50. Neither by (explaining) prodigies and omens, nor by skill in astrology and palmistry, nor by giving advice and by the exposition (of the Sastras), let him ever seek to obtain alms.

51. Let him not (in order to beg) go near a house filled with hermits, Brahmanas, birds, dogs, or other mendicants.

52. His hair, nails, and beard being clipped, carrying an alms-bowl, a staff, and a water-pot, let him continually wander about, controlling himself and not hurting any creature.

53. His vessels shall not be made of metal, they shall be free from fractures; it is ordained that they shall be cleansed with water, like (the cups, called) Kamasa, at a sacrifice.

54. A gourd, a wooden bowl, an earthen (dish), or one made of split cane, Manu, the son of Svayambhu, has declared (to be) vessels (suitable) for an ascetic.

55. Let him go to beg once (a day), let him not be eager to obtain a large quantity (of alms); for an ascetic who eagerly seeks alms, attaches himself also to sensual enjoyments.

56. When no smoke ascends from (the kitchen), when the pestle lies motionless, when the embers have been extinguished, when the people have finished their meal, when the remnants in the dishes have been removed, let the ascetic always go to beg.

57. Let him not be sorry when he obtains nothing, nor rejoice when he obtains (something), let him (accept) so much only as will sustain life, let him not care about the (quality of his) utensils.

58. Let him disdain all (food) obtained in consequence of humble salutations, (for) even an ascetic who has attained final liberation, is bound (with the fetters of the Samsara) by accepting (food given) in consequence of humble salutations.

59. By eating little, and by standing and sitting in solitude, let him restrain his senses, if they are attracted by sensual objects.

60. By the restraint of his senses, by the destruction of love and hatred, and by the abstention from injuring the creatures, he becomes fit for immortality.

61. Let him reflect on the transmigrations of men, caused by their sinful deeds, on their falling into hell, and on the torments in the world of Yama,

62. On the separation from their dear ones, on their union with hated men, on their being overpowered by age and being tormented with diseases,

63. On the departure of the individual soul from this body and its new birth in (another) womb, and on its wanderings through ten thousand millions of existences,

64. On the infliction of pain on embodied (spirits), which is caused by demerit, and the gain of eternal bliss, which is caused by the attainment of their highest aim, (gained through) spiritual merit.

65. By deep meditation let him recognise the subtile nature of the supreme Soul, and its presence in all organisms, both the highest and the lowest.

66. To whatever order he may be attached, let him, though blemished (by a want of the external marks), fulfil his duty, equal-minded towards all creatures; (for) the external mark (of the order) is not the cause of (the acquisition of) merit.

67. Though the fruit of the Kataka tree (the clearing-nut) makes water clear, yet the (latter) does not become limpid in consequence of the mention of the (fruit's) name.

68. In order to preserve living creatures, let him always by day and by night, even with pain to his body, walk, carefully scanning the ground.

69. In order to expiate (the death) of those creatures which he unintentionally injures by day or by night, an ascetic shall bathe and perform six suppressions of the breath.

70. Three suppressions of the breath even, performed according to the rule, and accompanied with the (recitation of the) Vyahritis and of the syllable Om, one must know to be the highest (form of) austerity for every Brahmana.

71. For as the impurities of metallic ores, melted in the blast (of a furnace), are consumed, even so the taints of the organs are destroyed through the suppression of the breath.

72. Let him destroy the taints through suppressions of the breath, (the production of) sin by fixed attention, all sensual attachments by restraining (his senses and organs), and all qualities that are not lordly by meditation.

73. Let him recognise by the practice of meditation the progress of the individual soul through beings of various kinds, (a progress) hard to understand for unregenerate men.

74. He who possesses the true insight (into the nature of the world), is not fettered by his deeds; but he who is destitute of that insight, is drawn into the circle of births and deaths.

75. By not injuring any creatures, by detaching the senses (from objects of enjoyment), by the rites prescribed in the Veda, and by rigorously practising austerities, (men) gain that state (even) in this (world).

76-77. Let him quit this dwelling, composed of the five elements, where the bones are the beams, which is held together by tendons (instead of cords), where the flesh and the blood are the mortar, which is thatched with the skin, which is foul-smelling, filled with urine and ordure, infested by old age and sorrow, the seat of disease, harassed by pain, gloomy with passion, and perishable.

78. He who leaves this body, (be it by necessity) as a tree (that is torn from) the river-bank, or (freely) like a bird (that)

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quits a tree, is freed from the misery (of this world, dreadful like) a shark.

79. Making over (the merit of his own) good actions to his friends and (the guilt of) his evil deeds to his enemies, he attains the eternal Brahman by the practice of meditation.

80. When by the disposition (of his heart) he becomes indifferent to all objects, he obtains eternal happiness both in this world and after death.

81. He who has in this manner gradually given up all attachments and is freed from all the pairs (of opposites), reposes in Brahman alone.

82. All that has been declared (above) depends on meditation; for he who is not proficient in the knowledge of that which refers to the Soul reaps not the full reward of the performance of rites.

83. Let him constantly recite (those texts of) the Veda which refer to the sacrifice, (those) referring to the deities, and (those) which treat of the Soul and are contained in the concluding portions of the Veda (Vedanta).

84. That is the refuge of the ignorant, and even that (the refuse) of those who know (the meaning of the Veda); that is (the protection) of those who seek (bliss in) heaven and of those who seek endless (beatitude).

85. A twice-born man who becomes an ascetic, after the successive performance of the above-mentioned acts, shakes off sin here below and reaches the highest Brahman.

86. Thus the law (valid) for self-restrained ascetics has been explained to you; now listen to the (particular) duties of those who give up (the rites prescribed by) the Veda.

87. The student, the householder, the hermit, and the ascetic, these (constitute) four separate orders, which all spring from (the order of) householders.

88. But all (or) even (any of) these orders, assumed successively in accordance with the Institutes (of the sacred law), lead the Brahmana who acts by the preceding (rules) to the highest state.

89. And in accordance with the precepts of the Veda and of the Smriti, the housekeeper is declared to be superior to all of them; for he supports the other three.

90. As all rivers, both great and small, find a resting-place in the ocean, even so men of all orders find protection with householders

91. By twice-born men belonging to (any of) these four orders, the tenfold law must be ever carefully obeyed.

92. Contentment, forgiveness, self-control, abstention from unrighteously appropriating anything, (obedience to the rules of) purification, coercion of the organs, wisdom, knowledge (of the supreme Soul), truthfulness, and abstention from anger, (form) the tenfold law.

93. Those Brahmanas who thoroughly study the tenfold law, and after studying obey it, enter the highest state.

94. A twice-born man who, with collected mind, follows the tenfold law and has paid his (three) debts, may, after learning the Vedanta according to the prescribed rule, become an ascetic.

95. Having given up (the performance of) all rites, throwing off the guilt of his (sinful) acts, subduing his organs and having studied the Veda, he may live at his ease under the protection of his son.

96. He who has thus given up (the performance of) all rites, who is solely intent on his own (particular) object, (and) free from desires, destroys his guilt by his renunciation and obtains the highest state.

97. Thus the fourfold holy law of Brahmanas, which after death (yields) imperishable rewards, has been declared to you; now learn the duty of kings.

LAWS OF MANU CHAPTER 7

1. I will declare the duties of kings, (and) show how a king should conduct himself, how he was created, and how (he can obtain) highest success.

2. A Kshatriya, who has received according to the rule the sacrament prescribed by the Veda, must duly protect this whole (world).

3. For, when these creatures, being without a king, through fear dispersed in all directions, the Lord created a king for the protection of this whole (creation),

4. Taking (for that purpose) eternal particles of Indra, of the Wind, of Yama, of the Sun, of Fire, of Varuna, of the Moon, and of the Lord of wealth (Kubera).

5. Because a king has been formed of particles of those lords of the gods, he therefore surpasses all created beings in lustre;

6. And, like the sun, he burns eyes and hearts; nor can anybody on earth even gaze on him.

7. Through his (supernatural) power he is Fire and Wind, he Sun and Moon, he the Lord of justice (Yama), he Kubera, he Varuna, he great Indra.

8. Even an infant king must not be despised, (from an idea) that he is a (mere) mortal; for he is a great deity in human form.

9. Fire burns one man only, if he carelessly approaches it, the fire of a king's (anger) consumes the (whole) family, together with its cattle and its hoard of property.

10. Having fully considered the purpose, (his) power, and the place and the time, he assumes by turns many (different) shapes for the complete attainment of justice.

11. He, in whose favour resides Padma, the goddess of fortune, in whose valour dwells victory, in whose anger abides death, is formed of the lustre of all (gods).

12. The (man), who in his exceeding folly hates him, will doubtlessly perish; for the king quickly makes up his mind to destroy such (a man).

13. Let no (man), therefore, transgress that law which favourites, nor (his orders) which inflict pain on those in disfavour.

14. For the (king's) sake the Lord formerly created his own son, Punishment, the protector of all creatures, (an incarnation of) the law, formed of Brahman's glory.

15. Through fear of him all created beings, both the immovable and the movable, allow themselves to be enjoyed and swerve not from their duties.

16. Having fully considered the time and the place (of the offence), the strength and the knowledge (of the offender), let him justly inflict that (punishment) on men who act unjustly.

17. Punishment is (in reality) the king (and) the male, that the manager of affairs, that the ruler, and that is called the surety for the four orders' obedience to the law.

18. Punishment alone governs all created beings, punishment alone protects them, punishment watches over them while they sleep; the wise declare punishment (to be identical with) the law.

19. If (punishment) is properly inflicted after (due) consideration, it makes all people happy; but inflicted without consideration, it destroys everything.

20. If the king did not, without tiring, inflict punishment on those worthy to be punished, the stronger would roast the weaker, like fish on a spit;

21. The crow would eat the sacrificial cake and the dog would lick the sacrificial viands, and ownership would not remain with any one, the lower ones would (usurp the place of) the higher ones.

22. The whole world is kept in order by punishment, for a guiltless man is hard to find; through fear of punishment the whole world yields the enjoyments (which it owes).

23. The gods, the Danavas, the Gandharvas, the Rakshasas, the bird and snake deities even give the enjoyments (due from them) only, if they are tormented by (the fear of) punishment.

24. All castes (varna) would be corrupted (by intermixture), all barriers would be broken through, and all men would rage (against each other) in consequence of mistakes with respect to punishment.

25. But where Punishment with a black hue and red eyes stalks about, destroying sinners, there the subjects are not disturbed, provided that he who inflicts it discerns well.

26. They declare that king to be a just inflicter of punishment, who is truthful, who acts after due consideration, who is wise, and who knows (the respective value of) virtue, pleasure, and wealth.

27. A king who properly inflicts (punishment), prospers with respect to (those) three (means of happiness); but he who is voluptuous, partial, and deceitful will be destroyed, even through the (unjust) punishment (which he inflicts).

28. Punishment (possesses) a very bright lustre, and is hard to be administered by men with unimproved minds; it strikes down the king who swerves from his duty, together with his relatives.

29. Next it will afflict his castles, his territories, the whole world together with the movable and immovable (creation), likewise the sages and the gods, who (on the failure of offerings) ascend to the sky.

30. (Punishment) cannot be inflicted justly by one who has no assistant, (nor) by a fool, (nor) by a covetous man, (nor) by one whose mind is unimproved, (nor) by one addicted to sensual pleasures.

31. By him who is pure (and) faithful to his promise, who acts according to the Institutes (of the sacred law), who has good assistants and is wise, punishment can be (justly) inflicted.

32. Let him act with justice in his own domain, with rigour chastise his enemies, behave without duplicity towards his friends, and be lenient towards Brahmanas.

33. The fame of a king who behaves thus, even though he subsist by gleaning, is spread in the world, like a drop of oil on water.

34. But the fame of a king who acts in a contrary manner and who does not subdue himself, diminishes in extent among men like a drop of clarified butter in water.

35. The king has been created (to be) the protector of the castes (varna) and orders, who, all according to their rank, discharge their several duties.

36. Whatever must be done by him and by his servants for the protection of his people, that I will fully declare to you in due order.

37. Let the king, after rising early in the morning, worship Brahmanas who are well versed in the threefold sacred science and learned (in polity), and follow their advice.

38. Let him daily worship aged Brahmanas who know the Veda and are pure; for he who always worships aged men, is honoured even by Rakshasas.

39. Let him, though he may already be modest, constantly learn modesty from them; for a king who is modest never perishes.

40. Through a want of modesty many kings have perished, together with their belongings; through modesty even hermits in the forest have gained kingdoms.

41. Through a want of humility Vena perished, likewise king Nahusha, Sudas, the son of Pigavana, Sumukha, and Nemi.

42. But by humility Prithu and Manu gained sovereignty, Kubera the position of the Lord of wealth, and the son of Gadhi the rank of a Brahmana.

43. From those versed in the three Vedas let him learn the threefold (sacred science), the primeval science of government, the science of dialectics, and the knowledge of the (supreme) Soul; from the people (the theory of) the (various) trades and professions.

44. Day and night he must strenuously exert himself to conquer his senses; for he (alone) who has conquered his own senses, can keep his subjects in obedience.

45. Let him carefully shun the ten vices, springing from love of pleasure, and the eight, proceeding from wrath, which (all) end in misery.

46. For a king who is attached to the vices springing from love of pleasure, loses his wealth and his virtue, but (he who is given) to those arising from anger, (loses) even his life.

47. Hunting, gambling, sleeping by day, censoriousness, (excess with) women, drunkenness, (an inordinate love for) dancing, singing, and music, and useless travel are the tenfold set (of vices) springing from love of pleasure.

48. Tale-bearing, violence, treachery, envy, slandering, (unjust) seizure of property, reviling, and assault are the eightfold set (of vices) produced by wrath.

49. That greediness which all wise men declare to be the root even of both these (sets), let him carefully conquer; both sets (of vices) are produced by that.

50. Drinking, dice, women, and hunting, these four (which have been enumerated) in succession, he must know to be the most pernicious in the set that springs from love of pleasure.

51. Doing bodily injury, reviling, and the seizure of property, these three he must know to be the most pernicious in the set produced by wrath.

52. A self-controlled (king) should know that in this set of seven, which prevails everywhere, each earlier-named vice is more abominable (than those named later).

53. (On a comparison) between vice and death, vice is declared to be more pernicious; a vicious man sinks to the nethermost (hell), he who dies, free from vice, ascends to heaven.

54. Let him appoint seven or eight ministers whose ancestors have been royal servants, who are versed in the sciences, heroes skilled in the use of weapons and descended from (noble) families and who have been tried.

55. Even an undertaking easy (in itself) is (sometimes) hard to be accomplished by a single man; how much (harder is it for a king), especially (if he has) no assistant, (to govern) a kingdom which yields great revenues.

56. Let him daily consider with them the ordinary (business, referring to) peace and war, (the four subjects called) sthana, the revenue, the (manner of) protecting (himself and his kingdom), and the sanctification of his gains (by pious gifts).

57. Having (first) ascertained the opinion of each (minister) separately and (then the views) of all together, let him do what is (most) beneficial for him in his affairs.

58. But with the most distinguished among them all, a learned Brahmana, let the king deliberate on the most important affairs which relate to the six measures of royal policy.

59. Let him, full of confidence, always entrust to that (official) all business; having taken his final resolution with him, let him afterwards begin to act.

60. He must also appoint other officials, (men) of integrity, (who are) wise, firm, well able to collect money, and well tried.

61. As many persons as the due performance of his business requires, so many skilful and clever (men), free from sloth, let him appoint.

62. Among them let him employ the brave, the skilful, the high-born, and the honest in (offices for the collection of) revenue, (e.g.) in mines, manufactures, and storehouses, (but) the timid in the interior of his palace.

63. Let him also appoint an ambassador who is versed in all sciences, who understands hints, expressions of the face and gestures, who is honest, skilful, and of (noble) family.

64. (Such) an ambassador is commended to a king (who is) loyal, honest, skilful, possessing a good memory, who knows the (proper) place and time (for action, who is) handsome, fearless, and eloquent.

65. The army depends on the official (placed in charge of it), the due control (of the subjects) on the army, the treasury and the (government of) the realm on the king, peace and its opposite (war) on the ambassador.

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66. For the ambassador alone makes (kings') allies and separates allies; the ambassador transacts that business by which (kings) are disunited or not.

67. With respect to the affairs let the (ambassador) explore the expression of the countenance, the gestures and actions of the (foreign king) through the gestures and actions of his confidential (advisers), and (discover) his designs among his servants.

68. Having learnt exactly (from his ambassador) the designs of the foreign king, let (the king) take such measures that he does not bring evil on himself.

69. Let him settle in a country which is open and has a dry climate, where grain is abundant, which is chiefly (inhabited) by Aryans, not subject to epidemic diseases (or similar troubles), and pleasant, where the vassals are obedient and his own (people easily) find their livelihood.

70. Let him build (there) a town, making for his safety a fortress, protected by a desert, or a fortress built of (stone and) earth, or one protected by water or trees, or one (formed by an encampment of armed) men or a hill-fort.

71. Let him make every effort to secure a hill-fort, for amongst all those (fortresses mentioned) a hill-fort is distinguished by many superior qualities.

72. The first three of those (various kinds of fortresses) are inhabited by wild beasts, animals living in holes and aquatic animals, the last three by monkeys, men, and gods respectively.

73. As enemies do not hurt these (beings, when they are) sheltered by (their) fortresses, even so foes (can) not injure a king who has taken refuge in his fort.

74. One bowman, placed on a rampart, is a match in battle for one hundred (foes), one hundred for ten thousand; hence it is prescribed (in the Sastras that a king will posses) a fortress.

75. Let that (fort) be well supplied with weapons, money, grain and beasts of burden, with Brahmanas, with artisans, with engines, with fodder, and with water.

76. Let him cause to be built for himself, in the centre of it, a spacious palace, (well) protected, habitable in every season, resplendent (with whitewash), supplied with water and trees.

77. Inhabiting that, let him wed a consort of equal caste (varna), who possesses auspicious marks (on her body), and is born in a great family, who is charming and possesses beauty and excellent qualities.

78. Let him appoint a domestic priest (purohita) and choose officiating priests (ritvig); they shall perform his domestic rites and the (sacrifices) for which three fires are required.

79. A king shall offer various (Srauta) sacrifices at which liberal fees (are distributed), and in order to acquire merit, he shall give to Brahmanas enjoyments and wealth.

80. Let him cause the annual revenue in his kingdom to be collected by trusty (officials), let him obey the sacred law in (his transactions with) the people, and behave like a father towards all men.

81. For the various (branches of business) let him appoint intelligent supervisors; they shall inspect all (the acts) of those men who transact his business.

82. Let him honour those Brahmanas who have returned from their teacher's house (after studying the Veda); for that (money which is given) to Brahmanas is declared to be an imperishable treasure for kings.

83. Neither thieves nor foes can take it, nor can it be lost; hence an imperishable store must be deposited by kings with Brahmanas.

84. The offering made through the mouth of a Brahmana, which is neither spilt, nor falls (on the ground), nor ever perishes, is far more excellent than Agnihotras.

85. A gift to one who is not a Brahmana (yields) the ordinary (reward; a gift) to one who calls himself a Brahmana, a double (reward); a gift to a well-read Brahmana, a hundred-thousandfold (reward); (a gift) to one who knows the Veda and the Angas (Vedaparaga, a reward) without end.

86. For according to the particular qualities of the recipient and according to the faith (of the giver) a small or a great reward will be obtained for a gift in the next world.

87. A king who, while he protects his people, is defied by (foes), be they equal in strength, or stronger, or weaker, must not shrink from battle, remembering the duty of Kshatriyas.

88. Not to turn back in battle, to protect the people, to honour the Brahmanas, is the best means for a king to secure happiness.

89. Those kings who, seeking to slay each other in battle, fight with the utmost exertion and do not turn back, go to heaven.

90. When he fights with his foes in battle, let him not strike with weapons concealed (in wood), nor with (such as are) barbed, poisoned, or the points of which are blazing with fire.

91. Let him not strike one who (in flight) has climbed on an eminence, nor a eunuch, nor one who joins the palms of his hands (in supplication), nor one who (flees) with flying hair, nor one who sits down, nor one who says 'I am thine;'

92. Nor one who sleeps, nor one who has lost his coat of mail, nor one who is naked, nor one who is disarmed, nor one who looks on without taking part in the fight, nor one who is fighting with another (foe);

93. Nor one whose weapons are broken, nor one afflicted (with sorrow), nor one who has been grievously wounded, nor one who is in fear, nor one who has turned to flight; (but in all these cases let him) remember the duty (of honourable warriors).

94. But the (Kshatriya) who is slain in battle, while he turns back in fear, takes upon himself all the sin of his master, whatever (it may be);

95. And whatever merit (a man) who is slain in flight may have gained for the next (world), all that his master takes.

96. Chariots and horses, elephants, parasols, money, grain, cattle, women, all sorts of (marketable) goods and valueless metals belong to him who takes them (singly) conquering (the possessor).

97. A text of the Veda (declares) that (the soldiers) shall present a choice portion (of the booty) to the king; what has not been taken singly, must be distributed by the king among all the soldiers.

98. Thus has been declared the blameless, primeval law for warriors; from this law a Kshatriya must not depart, when he strikes his foes in battle.

99. Let him strive to gain what he has not yet gained; what he has gained let him carefully preserve; let him augment what he preserves, and what he has augmented let him bestow on worthy men.

100. Let him know that these are the four means for securing the aims of human (existence); let him, without ever tiring, properly employ them.

101. What he has not (yet) gained, let him seek (to gain) by (his) army; what he has gained, let him protect by careful attention; what he has protected, let him augment by (various modes of) increasing it; and what he has augmented, let him liberally bestow (on worthy men).

102. Let him be ever ready to strike, his prowess constantly displayed, and his secrets constantly concealed, and let him constantly explore the weaknesses of his foe.

103. Of him who is always ready to strike, the whole world stands in awe; let him therefore make all creatures subject to himself even by the employment of force.

104. Let him ever act without guile, and on no account treacherously; carefully guarding himself, let him always fathom the treachery which his foes employ.

105. His enemy must not know his weaknesses, but he must know the weaknesses of his enemy; as the tortoise (hides its limbs), even so let him secure the members (of his government against treachery), let him protect his own weak points.

106. Let him plan his undertakings (patiently meditating) like a heron; like a lion, let him put forth his strength; like a wolf, let him snatch (his prey); like a hare, let him double in retreat.

107. When he is thus engaged in conquest, let him subdue all the opponents whom he may find, by the (four) expedients, conciliation and the rest.

108. If they cannot be stopped by the three first expedients, then let him, overcoming them by force alone, gradually bring them to subjection.

109. Among the four expedients, conciliation and the rest, the learned always recommend conciliation and (the employment of) force for the prosperity of kingdoms.

110. As the weeder plucks up the weeds and preserves the corn, even so let the king protect his kingdom and destroy his opponents.

111. That king who through folly rashly oppresses his kingdom, (will), together with his relatives, ere long be deprived of his life and of his kingdom.

112. As the lives of living creatures are destroyed by tormenting their bodies, even so the lives of kings are destroyed by their oppressing their kingdoms.

113. In governing his kingdom let him always observe the (following) rules; for a king who governs his kingdom well, easily prospers.

114. Let him place a company of soldiers, commanded (by a trusty officer), the midst of two, three, five or hundreds of villages, (to be) a protection of the kingdom.

115. Let him appoint a lord over (each) village, as well as lords of ten villages, lords of twenty, lords of a hundred, and lords of a thousand.

116. The lord of one village himself shall inform the lord of ten villages of the crimes committed in his village, and the ruler of ten (shall make his report) to the ruler of twenty.

117. But the ruler of twenty shall report all such (matters) to the lord of a hundred, and the lord of a hundred shall himself give information to the lord of a thousand.

118. Those (articles) which the villagers ought to furnish daily to the king, such as food, drink, and fuel, the lord of one village shall obtain.

119. The ruler of ten (villages) shall enjoy one kula (as much land as suffices for one family), the ruler of twenty five kulas, the superintendent of a hundred villages (the revenues of) one village, the lord of a thousand (the revenues of) a town.

120. The affairs of these (officials), which are connected with (their) villages and their separate business, another minister of the king shall inspect, (who must be) loyal and never remiss;

121. And in each town let him appoint one superintendent of all affairs, elevated in rank, formidable, (resembling) a planet among the stars.

122. Let that (man) always personally visit by turns all those (other officials); let him properly explore their behaviour in their districts through spies (appointed to) each.

123. For the servants of the king, who are appointed to protect (the people), generally become knaves who seize the property of others; let him protect his subjects against such (men).

124. Let the king confiscate the whole property of those (officials) who, evil-minded, may take money from suitors, and banish them.

125. For women employed in the royal service and for menial servants, let him fix a daily maintenance, in proportion to their position and to their work.

126. One pana must be given (daily) as wages to the lowest, six to the highest, likewise clothing every six months and one drona of grain every month.

127. Having well considered (the rates of) purchase and (of) sale, (the length of) the road, (the expense for) food and condiments, the charges of securing the goods, let the king make the traders pay duty.

128. After (due) consideration the king shall always fix in his realm the duties and taxes in such a manner that both he himself and the man who does the work receive (their due) reward.

129. As the leech, the calf, and the bee take their food little by little, even so must the king draw from his realm moderate annual taxes.

130. A fiftieth part of (the increments on) cattle and gold may be taken by the king, and the eighth, sixth, or twelfth part of the crops.

131. He may also take the sixth part of trees, meat, honey, clarified butter, perfumes, (medical) herbs, substances used for flavouring food, flowers, roots, and fruit;

132. Of leaves, pot-herbs, grass, (objects) made of cane, skins, of earthen vessels, and all (articles) made of stone.

133. Though dying (with want), a king must not levy a tax on Srotriyas, and no Srotriya, residing in his kingdom, must perish from hunger.

134. The kingdom of that king, in whose dominions a Srotriya pines with hunger, will even, ere long, be afflicted by famine.

135. Having ascertained his learning in the Veda and (the purity of) his conduct, the king shall provide for him means of subsistence in accordance with the sacred law, and shall protect him in every way, as a father (protects) the lawful son of his body.

136. Whatever meritorious acts (such a Brahmana) performs under the full protection of the king, thereby the king's length of life, wealth, and kingdom increase.

137. Let the king make the common inhabitants of his realm who live by traffic, pay annually some trifle, which is called a tax.

138. Mechanics and artisans, as well as Sudras who subsist by manual labour, he may cause to work (for himself) one (day) in each month.

139. Let him not cut up his own root (by levying no taxes), nor the root of other (men) by excessive greed; for by cutting up his own root (or theirs), he makes himself or them wretched.

140. Let the king, having carefully considered (each) affair, be both sharp and gentle; for a king who is both sharp and gentle is highly respected.

141. When he is tired with the inspection of the business of men, let him place on that seat (of justice) his chief minister, (who must be) acquainted with the law, wise, self-controlled, and descended from a (noble) family.

142. Having thus arranged all the affairs (of) his (government), he shall zealously and carefully protect his subjects.

143. That (monarch) whose subjects are carried off by robbers (Dasyu) from his kingdom, while they loudly call (for help), and he and his servants are (quietly) looking on, is a dead and not a living (king).

144. The highest duty of a Kshatriya is to protect his subjects, for the king who enjoys the rewards, just mentioned, is bound to (discharge that) duty.

145. Having risen in the last watch of the night, having performed (the rite of) personal purification, having, with a collected mind, offered oblations in the fire, and having worshipped Brahmanas, he shall enter the hall of audience which must possess the marks (considered) auspicious (for a dwelling).

146. Tarrying there, he shall gratify all subjects (who come to see him by a kind reception) and afterwards dismiss them; having dismissed his subjects, he shall take counsel with his ministers.

147. Ascending the back of a hill or a terrace, (and) retiring (there) in a lonely place, or in a solitary forest, let him consult with them unobserved.

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148. That king whose secret plans other people, (though) assembled (for the purpose), do not discover, (will) enjoy the whole earth, though he be poor in treasure.

149. At the time of consultation let him cause to be removed idiots, the dumb, the blind, and the deaf, animals, very aged men, women, barbarians, the sick, and those deficient in limbs.

150. (Such) despicable (persons), likewise animals, and particularly women betray secret council; for that reason he must be careful with respect to them.

151. At midday or at midnight, when his mental and bodily fatigues are over, let him deliberate, either with himself alone or with his (ministers), on virtue, pleasure, and wealth,

152. On (reconciling) the attainment of these (aims) which are opposed to each other, on bestowing his daughters in marriage, and on keeping his sons (from harm),

153. On sending ambassadors, on the completion of undertakings (already begun), on the behaviour of (the women in) his harem, and on the doings of his spies.

154. On the whole eightfold business and the five classes (of spies), on the goodwill or enmity and the conduct of the circle (of neighbours he must) carefully (reflect).

155. On the conduct of the middlemost (prince), on the doings of him who seeks conquest, on the behaviour of the neutral (king), and (on that) of the foe (let him) sedulously (meditate).

156. These (four) constituents (prakriti, form), briefly (speaking), the foundation of the circle (of neighbours); besides, eight others are enumerated (in the Institutes of Polity) and (thus) the (total) is declared to be twelve.

157. The minister, the kingdom, the fortress, the treasury, and the army are five other (constituent elements of the circle); for, these are mentioned in connexion with each (of the first twelve; thus the whole circle consists), briefly (speaking, of) seventy-two (constituent parts).

158. Let (the king) consider as hostile his immediate neighbour and the partisan of (such a) foe, as friendly the immediate neighbour of his foe, and as neutral (the king) beyond those two.

159. Let him overcome all of them by means of the (four) expedients, conciliation and the rest, (employed) either singly or conjointly, (or) by bravery and policy (alone).

160. Let him constantly think of the six measures of royal policy (guna, viz.) alliance, war, marching, halting, dividing the army, and seeking protection.

161. Having carefully considered the business (in hand), let him resort to sitting quiet or marching, alliance or war, dividing his forces or seeking protection (as the case may require).

162. But the king must know that there are two kinds of alliances and of wars, (likewise two) of both marching and sitting quiet, and two (occasions for) seeking protection.)

163. An alliance which yields present and future advantages, one must know to be of two descriptions, (viz.) that when one marches together (with an ally) and the contrary (when the allies act separately).

164. War is declared to be of two kinds, (viz.) that which is undertaken in season or out of season, by oneself and for one's own purposes, and (that waged to avenge) an injury done to a friend.

165. Marching (to attack) is said to be twofold, (viz. that undertaken) by one alone when an urgent matter has suddenly arisen, and (that undertaken) by one allied with a friend.

166. Sitting quiet is stated to be of two kinds, (viz. that incumbent) on one who has gradually been weakened by fate or in consequence of former acts, and (that) in favour of a friend.

167. If the army stops (in one place) and its master (in another) in order to effect some purpose, that is called by those acquainted with the virtues of the measures of royal policy, the twofold division of the forces.

168. Seeking refuge is declared to be of two kinds, (first) for the purpose of attaining an advantage when one is harassed by enemies, (secondly) in order to become known among the virtuous (as the protege of a powerful king).

169. When (the king) knows (that) at some future time his superiority (is) certain, and (that) at the time present (he will suffer) little injury, then let him have recourse to peaceful measures.

170. But when he thinks all his subjects to be exceedingly contented, and (that he) himself (is) most exalted (in power), then let him make war.

171. When he knows his own army to be cheerful in disposition and strong, and (that) of his enemy the reverse, then let him march against his foe.

172. But if he is very weak in chariots and beasts of burden and in troops, then let him carefully sit quiet, gradually conciliating his foes.

173. When the king knows the enemy to be stronger in every respect, then let him divide his army and thus achieve his purpose.

174. But when he is very easily assailable by the forces of the enemy, then let him quickly seek refuge with a righteous, powerful king.

175. That (prince) who will coerce both his (disloyal) subjects and the army of the foe, let him ever serve with every effort like a Guru.

176. When, even in that (condition), he sees (that) evil is caused by (such) protection, let him without hesitation have recourse to war.

177. By all (the four) expedients a politic prince must arrange (matters so) that neither friends, nor neutrals, nor foes are superior to himself.

178. Let him fully consider the future and the immediate results of all undertakings, and the good and bad sides of all past (actions).

179. He who knows the good and the evil (which will result from his acts) in the future, is quick in forming resolutions for the present, and understands the consequences of past (actions), will not be conquered.

180. Let him arrange everything in such a manner that no ally, no neutral or foe may injure him; that is the sum of political wisdom.

181. But if the king undertakes an expedition against a hostile kingdom, then let him gradually advance, in the following manner, against his foe's capital.

182. Let the king undertake his march in the fine month Margasirsha, or towards the months of Phalguna and Kaitra, according to the (condition of his) army.

183. Even at other times, when he has a certain prospect of victory, or when a disaster has befallen his foe, he may advance to attack him.

184. But having duly arranged (all affairs) in his original (kingdom) and what relates to the expedition, having secured a basis (for his operations) and having duly dispatched his spies;

185. Having cleared the three kinds of roads, and (having made) his sixfold army (efficient), let him leisurely proceed in the manner prescribed for warfare against the enemy's capital.

186. Let him be very much on his guard against a friend who secretly serves the enemy and against (deserters) who return (from the enemy's camp); for such (men are) the most dangerous foes.

187. Let him march on his road, arraying (his troops) like a staff (i.e. in an oblong), or like a waggon (i.e. in a wedge), or like a boar (i.e. in a rhombus), or like a Makara (i.e. in two triangles, with the apices joined), or like a pin (i.e. in a long line), or like a Garuda (i.e. in a rhomboid with far-extended wings).

188. From whatever (side) he apprehends danger, in that (direction) let him extend his troops, and let him always himself encamp in an array, shaped like a lotus.

189. Let him allot to the commander-in-chief, to the (subordinate) general, (and to the superior officers) places in all directions, and let him turn his front in that direction whence he fears danger.

190. On all sides let him place troops of soldiers, on whom he can rely, with whom signals have been arranged, who are expert both in sustaining a charge and in charging, fearless and loyal.

191. Let him make a small number of soldiers fight in close order, at his pleasure let him extend a large number in loose ranks; or let him make them fight, arranging (a small number) in the needle-array, (and a large number) in the thunderbolt-array.

192. On even ground let him fight with chariots and horses, in water-bound places with boats and elephants, on (ground) covered with trees and shrubs with bows, on hilly ground with swords, targets, (and other) weapons.

193. (Men born in) Kurukshetra, Matsyas, Pankalas, and those born in Surasena, let him cause to fight in the van of the battle, as well as (others who are) tall and light.

194. After arranging his troops, he should encourage them (by an address) and carefully inspect them; he should also mark the behaviour (of the soldiers) when they engage the enemy.

195. When he has shut up his foe (in a town), let him sit encamped, harass his kingdom, and continually spoil his grass, food, fuel, and water.

196. Likewise let him destroy the tanks, ramparts, and ditches, and let him assail the (foe unawares) and alarm him at night.

197. Let him instigate to rebellion those who are open to such instigations, let him be informed of his (foe's) doings, and, when fate is propitious, let him fight without fear, trying to conquer.

198. He should (however) try to conquer his foes by conciliation, by (well-applied) gifts, and by creating dissension, used either separately or conjointly, never by fighting, (if it can be avoided.)

199. For when two (princes) fight, victory and defeat in the battle are, as experience teaches, uncertain; let him therefore avoid an engagement.

200. (But) if even those three before-mentioned expedients fail, then let him, duly exerting himself, fight in such a manner that he may completely conquer his enemies.

201. When he has gained victory, let him duly worship the gods and honour righteous Brahmanas, let him grant exemptions, and let him cause promises of safety to be proclaimed.

202. But having fully ascertained the wishes of all the (conquered), let him place there a relative of the (vanquished ruler on the throne), and let him impose his conditions.

203. Let him make authoritative the lawful (customs) of the (inhabitants), just as they are stated (to be), and let him honour the (new king) and his chief servants with precious gifts.

204. The seizure of desirable property which causes displeasure, and its distribution which causes pleasure, are both recommendable, (if they are) resorted to at the proper time.

205. All undertakings (in) this (world) depend both on the ordering of fate and on human exertion; but among these two (the ways of) fate are unfathomable; in the case of man's work action is possible.

206. Or (the king, bent on conquest), considering a friend, gold, and land (to be) the triple result (of an expedition), may, using diligent care, make peace with (his foe) and return (to his realm).

207. Having paid due attention to any king in the circle (of neighbouring states) who might attack him in the rear, and to his supporter who opposes the latter, let (the conqueror) secure the fruit of the expedition from (the prince whom he attacks), whether (he may have become) friendly or (remained) hostile.

208. By gaining gold and land a king grows not so much in strength as by obtaining a firm friend, (who), though weak, (may become) powerful in the future.

209. A weak friend (even) is greatly commended, who is righteous (and) grateful, whose people are contented, who is attached and persevering in his undertakings.

210. The wise declare him (to be) a most dangerous foe, who is wise, of noble race, brave, clever, liberal, grateful, and firm.

211. Behaviour worthy of an Aryan, knowledge of men, bravery, a compassionate disposition, and great liberality are the virtues of a neutral (who may be courted).

212. Let the king, without hesitation, quit for his own sake even a country (which is) salubrious, fertile, and causing an increase of cattle.

213. For times of need let him preserve his wealth; at the expense of his wealth let him preserve his wife; let him at all events preserve himself even by (giving up) his wife and his wealth.

214. A wise (king), seeing that all kinds of misfortunes violently assail him at the same time, should try all (the four) expedients, be it together or separately, (in order to save himself.)

215. On the person who employs the expedients, on the business to be accomplished, and on all the expedients collectively, on these three let him ponder and strive to accomplish his ends.

216. Having thus consulted with his ministers on all these (matters), having taken exercise, and having bathed afterwards, the king may enter the harem at midday in order to dine.

217. There he may eat food, (which has been prepared) by faithful, incorruptible (servants) who know the (proper) time (for dining), which has been well examined (and hallowed) by sacred texts that destroy poison.

218. Let him mix all his food with medicines (that are) antidotes against poison, and let him always be careful to wear gems which destroy poison.

219. Well-tried females whose toilet and ornaments have been examined, shall attentively serve him with fans, water, and perfumes.

220. In like manner let him be careful about his carriages, bed, seat, bath, toilet, and all his ornaments.

221. When he has dined, he may divert himself with his wives in the harem; but when he has diverted himself, he must, in due time, again think of the affairs of state.

222. Adorned (with his robes of state), let him again inspect his fighting men, all his chariots and beasts of burden, the weapons and accoutrements.

223. Having performed his twilight-devotions, let him, well armed, hear in an inner apartment the doings of those who make secret reports and of his spies.

224. But going to another secret apartment and dismissing those people, he may enter the harem, surrounded by female (servants), in order to dine again.

225. Having eaten there something for the second time, and having been recreated by the sound of music, let him go to rest and rise at the proper time free from fatigue.

226. A king who is in good health must observe these rules; but, if he is indisposed, he may entrust all this (business) to his servants.

LAWS OF MANU CHAPTER 8

1. A king, desirous of investigating law cases, must enter his court of justice, preserving a dignified demeanour, together with Brahmanas and with experienced councillors.

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2. There, either seated or standing, raising his right arm, without ostentation in his dress and ornaments, let him examine the business of suitors,

3. Daily (deciding) one after another (all cases) which fall under the eighteen titles (of the law) according to principles drawn from local usages. and from the Institutes of the sacred law.

4. Of those (titles) the first is the non-payment of debts, (then follow), (2) deposit and pledge, (3) sale without ownership, (4) concerns among partners, and (5) resumption of gifts,

5. (6) Non-payment of wages, (7) non-performance of agreements, (8) rescission of sale and purchase, (9) disputes between the owner (of cattle) and his servants,

6. (10) Disputes regarding boundaries, (11) assault and (12) defamation, (13) theft, (14) robbery and violence, (15) adultery,

7. (16) Duties of man and wife, (17) partition (of inheritance), (18) gambling and betting; these are in this world the eighteen topics which give rise to lawsuits.

8. Depending on the eternal law, let him decide the suits of men who mostly contend on the titles just mentioned.

9. But if the king does not personally investigate the suits, then let him appoint a learned Brahmana to try them.

10. That (man) shall enter that most excellent court, accompanied by three assessors, and fully consider (all) causes (brought) before the (king), either sitting down or standing.

11. Where three Brahmanas versed in the Vedas and the learned (judge) appointed by the king sit down, they call that the court of (four-faced) Brahman.

12. But where justice, wounded by injustice, approaches and the judges do not extract the dart, there (they also) are wounded (by that dart of injustice).

13. Either the court must not be entered, or the truth must be spoken; a man who either says nothing or speaks falsely, becomes sinful.

14. Where justice is destroyed by injustice, or truth by falsehood, while the judges look on, there they shall also be destroyed.

15. 'Justice, being violated, destroys; justice, being preserved, preserves: therefore justice must not be violated, lest violated justice destroy us.'

16. For divine justice (is said to be) a bull (vrisha); that (man) who violates it (kurute 'lam) the gods consider to be (a man despicable like) a Sudra (vrishala); let him, therefore, beware of violating justice.

17. The only friend who follows men even after death is justice; for everything else is lost at the same time when the body (perishes).

18. One quarter of (the guilt of) an unjust (decision) falls on him who committed (the crime), one quarter on the (false) witness, one quarter on all the judges, one quarter on the king.

19. But where he who is worthy of condemnation is condemned, the king is free from guilt, and the judges are saved (from sin); the guilt falls on the perpetrator (of the crime alone).

20. A Brahmana who subsists only by the name of his caste (gati), or one who merely calls himself a Brahmana (though his origin be uncertain), may, at the king's pleasure, interpret the law to him, but never a Sudra.

21. The kingdom of that monarch, who looks on while a Sudra settles the law, will sink (low), like a cow in a morass.

22. That kingdom where Sudras are very numerous, which is infested by atheists and destitute of twice-born (inhabitants), soon entirely perishes, afflicted by famine and disease.

23. Having occupied the seat of justice, having covered his body, and having worshipped the guardian deities of the world, let him, with a collected mind, begin the trial of causes.

24. Knowing what is expedient or inexpedient, what is pure justice or injustice, let him examine the causes of suitors according to the order of the castes (varna).

25. By external signs let him discover the internal disposition of men, by their voice, their colour, their motions, their aspect, their eyes, and their gestures.

26. The internal (working of the) mind is perceived through the aspect, the motions, the gait, the gestures, the speech, and the changes in the eye and of the face.

27. The king shall protect the inherited (and other) property of a minor, until he has returned (from his teacher's house) or until he has passed his minority.

28. In like manner care must be taken of barren women, of those who have no sons, of those whose family is extinct, of wives and widows faithful to their lords, and of women afflicted with diseases.

29. A righteous king must punish like thieves those relatives who appropriate the property of such females during their lifetime.

30. Property, the owner of which has disappeared, the king shall cause to be kept as a deposit during three years; within the period of three years the owner may claim it, after (that term) the king may take it.

31. He who says, 'This belongs to me,' must be examined according to the rule; if he accurately describes the shape, and the number (of the articles found) and so forth, (he is) the owner, (and) ought (to receive) that property.

32. But if he does not really know the time and the place (where it was) lost, its colour, shape, and size, he is worthy of a fine equal (in value) to the (object claimed).

33. Now the king, remembering the duty of good men, may take one-sixth part of property lost and afterwards found, or one-tenth, or at least one-twelfth.

34. Property lost and afterwards found (by the king's servants) shall remain in the keeping of (special) officials; those whom the king may convict of stealing it, he shall cause to be slain by an elephant.

35. From that man who shall truly say with respect to treasure-trove, 'This belongs to me,' the king may take one-sixth or one-twelfth part.

36. But he who falsely says (so), shall be fined in one-eighth of his property, or, a calculation of (the value of) the treasure having been made, in some smaller portion (of that).

37. When a learned Brahmana has found treasure, deposited in former (times), he may take even the whole (of it); for he is master of everything.

38. When the king finds treasure of old concealed in the ground let him give one half to Brahmanas and place the (other) half in his treasury.

39. The king obtains one half of ancient hoards and metals (found) in the ground, by reason of (his giving) protection, (and) because he is the lord of the soil.

40. Property stolen by thieves must be restored by the king to (men of) all castes (varna); a king who uses such (property) for himself incurs the guilt of a thief.

41. (A king) who knows the sacred law, must inquire into the laws of castes (gati), of districts, of guilds, and of families, and (thus) settle the peculiar law of each.

42. For men who follow their particular occupations and abide by their particular duty, become dear to people, though they may live at a distance.

43. Neither the king nor any servant of his shall themselves cause a lawsuit to be begun, or hush up one that has been brought (before them) by (some) other (man).

44. As a hunter traces the lair of a (wounded) deer by the drops of blood, even so the king shall discover on which side the right lies, by inferences (from the facts).

45. When engaged in judicial proceedings he must pay full attention to the truth, to the object (of the dispute), (and) to himself, next to the witnesses, to the place, to the time, and to the aspect.

46. What may have been practised by the virtuous, by such twice-born men as are devoted to the law, that he shall establish as law, if it be not opposed to the (customs of) countries, families, and castes (gati).

47. When a creditor sues (before the king) for the recovery of money from a debtor, let him make the debtor pay the sum which the creditor proves (to be due).

48. By whatever means a creditor may be able to obtain possession of his property, even by those means may he force the debtor and make him pay.

49. By moral suasion, by suit of law, by artful management, or by the customary proceeding, a creditor may recover property lent; and fifthly, by force.

50. A creditor who himself recovers his property from his debtor, must not be blamed by the king for retaking what is his own.

51. But him who denies a debt which is proved by good evidence, he shall order to pay that debt to the creditor and a small fine according to his circumstances.

52. On the denial (of a debt) by a debtor who has been required in court to pay it, the complainant must call (a witness) who was present (when the loan was made), or adduce other evidence.

53. (The plaintiff) who calls a witness not present at the transaction, who retracts his statements, or does not perceive that his statements (are) confused or contradictory;

54. Or who having stated what he means to prove afterwards varies (his case), or who being questioned on a fact duly stated by himself does not abide by it;

55. Or who converses with the witnesses in a place improper for such conversation; or who declines to answer a question, properly put, or leaves (the court);

56. Or who, being ordered to speak, does not answer, or does not prove what he has alleged; or who does not know what is the first (point), and what the second, fails in his suit.

57. Him also who says 'I have witnesses,' and, being ordered to produce them, produces them not, the judge must on these (same) grounds declare to be non-suited.

58. If a plaintiff does not speak, he may be punished corporally or fined according to the law; if (a defendant) does not plead within three fortnights, he has lost his cause.

59. In the double of that sum which (a defendant) falsely denies or on which (the plaintiff) falsely declares, shall those two (men) offending against justice be fined by the king.

60. (A defendant) who, being brought (into court) by the creditor, (and) being questioned, denies (the debt), shall be convicted (of his falsehood) by at least three witnesses (who must depose) in the presence of the Brahmana (appointed by) the king.

61. I will fully declare what kind of men may be made witnesses in suits by creditors, and in what manner those (witnesses) must give true (evidence).

62. Householders, men with male issue, and indigenous (inhabitants of the country, be they) Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, or Sudras, are competent, when called by a suitor, to give evidence, not any persons whatever (their condition may be) except in cases of urgency.

63. Trustworthy men of all the (four) castes (varna) may be made witnesses in lawsuits, (men) who know (their) whole duty, and are free from covetousness; but let him reject those (of an) opposite (character).

64. Those must not be made (witnesses) who have an interest in the suit, nor familiar (friends), companions, and enemies (of the parties), nor (men) formerly convicted (of perjury), nor (persons) suffering under (severe) illness, nor (those) tainted (by mortal sin).

65. The king cannot be made a witness, nor mechanics and actors, nor a: Srotriya, nor a student of the Veda, nor (an ascetic) who has given up (all) connexion (with the world),

66. Nor one wholly dependent, nor one of bad fame, nor a Dasyu, nor one who follows forbidden occupations, nor an aged (man), nor an infant, nor one (man alone), nor a man of the lowest castes, nor one deficient in organs of sense,

67. Nor one extremely grieved, nor one intoxicated, nor a madman, nor one tormented by hunger or thirst, nor one oppressed by fatigue, nor one tormented by desire, nor a wrathful man, nor a thief.

68. Women should give evidence for women, and for twice-born men twice-born men (of the) same (kind), virtuous Sudras for Sudras, and men of the lowest castes for the lowest.

69. But any person whatsoever, who has personal knowledge (of an act committed) in the interior apartments (of a house), or in a forest, or of (a crime causing) loss of life, may give evidence between the parties.

70. On failure (of qualified witnesses, evidence) may given (in such cases) by a woman, by an infant, by an aged man, by a pupil, by a relative, by a slave, or by a hired servant.

71. But the (judge) should consider the evidence of infants, aged and diseased men, who (are apt to) speak untruly, as untrustworthy, likewise that of men with disordered minds.

72. In all cases of violence, of theft and adultery, of defamation and assault, he must not examine the (competence of) witnesses (too strictly).

73. On a conflict of the witnesses the king shall accept (as true) the evidence of the) majority; if (the conflicting parties are) equal in number, (that of) those distinguished by good qualities; on a difference between (equally) distinguished (witnesses, that of) the best among the twice-born.

74. Evidence in accordance with what has actually been seen or heard, is admissible; a witness who speaks truth in those (cases), neither loses spiritual merit nor wealth.

75. A witness who deposes in an assembly of honourable men (Arya) anything else but what he has seen or heard, falls after death headlong into hell and loses heaven.

76. When a man (originally) not appointed to be a witness sees or hears anything and is (afterwards) examined regarding it, he must declare it (exactly) as he saw or heard it.

77. One man who is free from covetousness may be (accepted as) witness; but not even many pure women, because the understanding of females is apt to waver, nor even many other men, who are tainted with sin.

78. What witnesses declare quite naturally, that must be received on trials; (depositions) differing from that, which they make improperly, are worthless for (the purposes of) justice.

79. The witnesses being assembled in the court in the presence of the plaintiff and of the defendant, let the judge examine them, kindly exhorting them in the following manner:

80. 'What ye know to have been mutually transacted in this matter between the two men before us, declare all that in accordance with the truth; for ye are witnesses in this (cause).

81. 'A witness who speaks the truth in his evidence, gains (after death) the most excellent regions (of bliss) and here (below) unsurpassable fame; such testimony is revered by Brahman (himself).

82. 'He who gives false evidence is firmly bound by Varuna's fetters, helpless during one hundred existences; let (men therefore) give true evidence.

83. 'By truthfulness a witness is purified, through truthfulness his merit grows, truth must, therefore, be spoken by witnesses of all castes (varna).

84. 'The Soul itself is the witness of the Soul, and the Soul is the refuge of the Soul; despise not thy own Soul, the supreme witness of men.

85. 'The wicked, indeed, say in their hearts, "Nobody sees us;" but the gods distinctly see them and the male within their own breasts.

86. 'The sky, the earth, the waters, (the male in) the heart, the moon, the sun, the fire, Yama and the wind, the night, the two twilights, and justice know the conduct of all corporeal beings.'

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87. The (judge), being purified, shall ask in the forenoon the twice-born (witnesses) who (also have been) purified, (and stand) facing the north or the east, to give true evidence in the presence of (images of) the gods and of Brahmanas.

88. Let him examine a Brahmana (beginning with) 'Speak,' a Kshatriya (beginning with) 'Speak the truth,' a Vaisya (admonishing him) by (mentioning) his kine, grain, and gold, a Sudra (threatening him) with (the guilt of) every crime that causes loss of caste;

89. (Saying), 'Whatever places (of torment) are assigned (by the sages) to the slayer of a Brahmana, to the murderer of women and children, to him who betrays a friend, and to an ungrateful man, those shall be thy (portion), if thou speakest falsely.

90. '(The reward) of all meritorious deeds which thou, good man, hast done since thy birth, shall become the share of the dogs, if in thy speech thou departest from the truth.

91. 'If thou thinkest, O friend of virtue, with respect to thyself, "I am alone," (know that) that sage who witnesses all virtuous acts and all crimes, ever resides in thy heart.

92. 'If thou art not at variance with that divine Yama, the son of Vivasvat, who dwells in thy heart, thou needest neither visit the Ganges nor the (land of the) Kurus.

93. 'Naked and shorn, tormented with hunger and thirst, and deprived of sight, shall the man who gives false evidence, go with a potsherd to beg food at the door of his enemy.

94. 'Headlong, in utter darkness shall the sinful man tumble into hell, who being interrogated in a judicial inquiry answers one question falsely.

95. 'That man who in a court (of justice) gives an untrue account of a transaction (or asserts a fact) of which he was not an eye-witness, resembles a blind man who swallows fish with the bones.

96. 'The gods are acquainted with no better man in this world than him, of whom his conscious Soul has no distrust, when he gives evidence.

97. 'Learn now, O friend, from an enumeration in due order, how many relatives he destroys who gives false evidence in several particular cases.

98. 'He kills five by false Testimony regarding (small) cattle, he kills ten by false testimony regarding kine, he kills a hundred by false evidence concerning horses, and a thousand by false evidence concerning men.

99. 'By speaking falsely in a cause regarding gold, he kills the born and the unborn; by false evidence concerning land, he kills everything; beware, therefore, of false evidence concerning land.

100. 'They declare (false evidence) concerning water, concerning the carnal enjoyment of women, and concerning all gems, produced in water, or consisting of stones (to be) equally (wicked) as a lie concerning land.

101. 'Marking well all the evils (which are produced) by perjury, declare thou openly everything as (thou hast) heard or seen (it).'

102. Brahmanas who tend cattle, who trade, who are mechanics, actors (or singers), menial servants or usurers, the (judge) shall treat like Sudras.

103. In (some) cases a man who, though knowing (the facts to be) different, gives such (false evidence) from a pious motive, does not lose heaven; such (evidence) they call the speech of the gods.

104. Whenever the death of a Sudra, of a Vaisya, of a Kshatriya, or of a Brahmana would be (caused) by a declaration of the truth, a falsehood may be spoken; for such (falsehood) is preferable to the truth.

105. Such (witnesses) must offer to Sarasvati oblations of boiled rice (karu) which are sacred to the goddess of speech, (thus) performing the best penance in order to expiate the guilt of that falsehood.

106. Or such (a witness) may offer according to the rule, clarified butter in the fire, reciting the Kushmanda texts, or the Rik, sacred to Varuna, 'Untie, O Varuna, the uppermost fetter,' or the three verses addressed to the Waters.

107. A man who, without being ill, does not give evidence in (cases of) loans and the like within three fortnights (after the summons), shall become responsible for the whole debt and (pay) a tenth part of the whole (as a fine to the king).

108. The witness to whom, within seven days after he has given evidence, happens (a misfortune through) sickness, a fire, or the death of a relative, shall be made to pay the debt and a fine.

109. If two (parties) dispute about matters for which no witnesses are available, and the (judge) is unable to really ascertain the truth, he may cause it to be discovered even by an oath.

110. Both by the great sages and the gods oaths have been taken for the purpose of (deciding doubtful) matters; and Vasishtha even swore an oath before king (Sudas), the son of Pigavana.

111. Let no wise man swear an oath falsely, even in a trifling matter; for he who swears an oath falsely is lost in this (world) and after death.

112. No crime, causing loss of caste, is committed by swearing (falsely) to women, the objects of one's desire, at marriages, for the sake of fodder for a cow, or of fuel, and in (order to show) favour to a Brahmana.

113. Let the (judge) cause a Brahmana to swear by his veracity, a Kshatriya by his chariot or the animal he rides on and by his weapons, a Vaisya by his kine, grain, and gold, and a Sudra by (imprecating on his own head the guilt) of all grievous offences (pataka).

114. Or the (judge) may cause the (party) to carry fire or to dive under water, or severally to touch the heads of his wives and children.

115. He whom the blazing fire burns not, whom the water forces not to come (quickly) up, who meets with no speedy misfortune, must be held innocent on (the strength of) his oath.

116. For formerly when Vatsa was accused by his younger brother, the fire, the spy of the world, burned not even a hair (of his) by reason of his veracity.

117. Whenever false evidence has been given in any suit, let the (judge) reverse the judgement, and whatever has been done must be (considered as) undone.

118. Evidence (given) from covetousness, distraction, terror, friendship, lust, wrath, ignorance, and childishness is declared (to be) invalid.

119. I will propound in (due) order the particular punishments for him who gives false evidence from any one of these motives.

120. (He who commits perjury) through covetousness shall be fined one thousand (panas), (he who does it) through distraction, in the lowest amercement; (if a man does it) through fear, two middling amercements shall be paid as a fine, (if he does it) through friendship, four times the amount of the lowest (amercement).

121. (He who does it) through lust, (shall pay) ten times the lowest amercement, but (he who does it) through wrath, three times the next (or second amercement); (he who does it) through ignorance, two full hundreds, but (he who does it) through childishness, one hundred (panas).

122. They declare that the wise have prescribed these fines for perjury, in order to prevent a failure of justice, and in order to restrain injustice.

123. But a just king shall fine and banish (men of) the three (lower) castes (varna) who have given false evidence, but a Brahmana he shall (only) banish.

124. Manu, the son of the Self-existent (Svayambhu), has named ten places on which punishment may be (made to fall) in the cases of the three (lower) castes (varna); but a Brahmana shall depart unhurt (from the country).

125. (These are) the organ, the belly, the tongue, the two hands, and fifthly the two feet, the eye, the nose, the two ears, likewise the (whole) body.

126. Let the (king), having fully ascertained the motive, the time and place (of the offence), and having considered the ability (of the criminal to suffer) and the (nature of the) crime, cause punishment to fall on those who deserve it.

127. Unjust punishment destroys reputation among men, and fame (after death), and causes even in the next world the loss of heaven; let him, therefore, beware of (inflicting) it.

128. A king who punishes those who do not deserve it, and punishes not those who deserve it, brings great infamy on himself and (after death) sinks into hell.

129. Let him punish first by (gentle) admonition, afterwards by (harsh) reproof, thirdly by a fine, after that by corporal chastisement.

130. But when he cannot restrain such (offenders) even by corporal punishment, then let him apply to them even all the four (modes cojointly).

131. Those technical names of (certain quantities of) copper, silver, and gold, which are generally used on earth for the purpose of business transactions among men, I will fully declare.

132. The very small mote which is seen when the sun shines through a lattice, they declare (to be) the least of (all) quantities and (to be called) a trasarenu (a floating particle of dust).

133. Know (that) eight trasarenus (are equal) in bulk (to) a liksha (the egg of a louse), three of those to one grain of black mustard (ragasarshapa), and three of the latter to a white mustard-seed.

134. Six grains of white mustard are one middle-sized barley-corn, and three barley-corns one krishnala (raktika, or gunga-berry); five krishnalas are one masha (bean), and sixteen of those one suvarna.

135. Four suvarnas are one pala, and ten palas one dharana; two krishnalas (of silver), weighed together, must be considered one mashaka of silver.

136. Sixteen of those make a silver dharana, or purana; but know (that) a karsha of copper is a karshapana, or pana.

137. Know (that) ten dharanas of silver make one satamana; four suvarnas must be considered (equal) in weight to a nishka.

138. Two hundred and fifty panas are declared (to be) the first (or lowest) amercement, five (hundred) are considered as the mean (or middlemost), but one thousand as the highest.

139. A debt being admitted as due, (the defendant) shall pay five in the hundred (as a fine), if it be denied (and proved) twice as much; that is the teaching of Manu.

140. A money-lender may stipulate as an increase of his capital, for the interest, allowed by Vasishtha, and take monthly the eightieth part of a hundred.

141. Or, remembering the duty of good men, he may take two in the hundred (by the month), for he who takes two in the hundred becomes not a sinner for gain.

142. Just two in the hundred, three, four, and five (and not more), he may take as monthly interest according to the order of the castes (varna).

143. But if a beneficial pledge (i.e. one from which profit accrues, has been given), he shall receive no interest on the loan; nor can he, after keeping (such) a pledge for a very long time, give or sell it.

144. A pledge (to be kept only) must not be used by force, (the creditor), so using it, shall give up his (whole) interest, or, (if it has been spoilt by use) he shall satisfy the (owner) by (paying its) original price; else he commits a theft of the pledge.

145. Neither a pledge nor a deposit can be lost by lapse of time; they are both recoverable, though they have remained long (with the bailee).

146. Things used with friendly assent, a cow, a camel, a riding-horse, and (a beast) made over for breaking in, are never lost (to the owner).

147. (But in general) whatever (chattel) an owner sees enjoyed by others during ten years, while, though present, he says nothing, that (chattel) he shall not recover.

148. If (the owner is) neither an idiot nor a minor and if (his chattel) is enjoyed (by another) before his eyes, it is lost to him by law; the adverse possessor shall retain that property.

149. A pledge, a boundary, the property of infants, an (open) deposit, a sealed deposit, women, the property of the king and the wealth of a Srotriya are not lost in consequence of (adverse) enjoyment.

150. The fool who uses a pledge without the permission of the owner, shall remit half of his interest, as a compensation for (such) use.

151. In money transactions interest paid at one time (not by instalments) shall never exceed the double (of the principal); on grain, fruit, wool or hair, (and) beasts of burden it must not be more than five times (the original amount).

152. Stipulated interest beyond the legal rate, being against (the law), cannot be recovered; they call that a usurious way (of lending); (the lender) is (in no case) entitled to (more than) five in the hundred.

153. Let him not take interest beyond the year, nor such as is unapproved, nor compound interest, periodical interest, stipulated interest, and corporal interest.

154. He who, unable to pay a debt (at the fixed time), wishes to make a new contract, may renew the agreement, after paying the interest which is due.

155. If he cannot pay the money (due as interest), he may insert it in the renewed (agreement); he must pay as much interest as may be due.

156. He who has made a contract to carry goods by a wheeled carriage for money and has agreed to a certain place or time, shall not reap that reward, if he does not keep to the place and the time (stipulated).

157. Whatever rate men fix, who are expert in sea-voyages and able to calculate (the profit) according to the place, the time, and the objects (carried), that (has legal force) in such cases with respect to the payment (to be made).

158. The man who becomes a surety in this (world) for the appearance of a (debtor), and produces him not, shall pay the debt out of his own property.

159. But money due by a surety, or idly promised, or lost at play, or due for spirituous liquor, or what remains unpaid of a fine and a tax or duty, the son (of the party owing it) shall not be obliged to pay.

160. This just mentioned rule shall apply to the case of a surety for appearance (only); if a surety for payment should die, the (judge) may compel even his heirs to discharge the debt.

161. On what account then is it that after the death of a surety other than for payment, whose affairs are fully known, the creditor may (in some cases) afterwards demand the debt (of the heirs)?

162. If the surety had received money (from him for whom he stood bail) and had money enough (to pay), then (the heir of him) who received it, shall pay (the debt) out of his property; that is the settled rule.

163. A contract made by a person intoxicated, or insane, or grievously disordered (by disease and so forth), or wholly dependent, by an infant or very aged man, or by an unauthorised (party) is invalid.

164. That agreement which has been made contrary to the law or to the settled usage (of the virtuous), can have no legal force, though it be established (by proofs).

165. A fraudulent mortgage or sale, a fraudulent gift or acceptance, and (any transaction) where he detects fraud, the (judge) shall declare null and void.

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166. If the debtor be dead and (the money borrowed) was expended for the family, it must be paid by the relatives out of their own estate even if they are divided.

167. Should even a person wholly dependent make a contract for the behoof of the family, the master (of the house), whether (living) in his own country or abroad, shall not rescind it.

168. What is given by force, what is enjoyed by force, also what has been caused to be written by force, and all other transactions done by force, Manu has declared void.

169. Three suffer for the sake of others, witnesses, a surety, and judges; but four enrich themselves (through others), a Brahmana, a money-lender, a merchant, and a king.

170. No king, however indigent, shall take anything that ought not to be taken, nor shall he, however wealthy, decline taking that which he ought to take, be it ever so small.

171. In consequence of his taking what ought not to be taken, or of his refusing what ought to be received, a king will be accused of weakness and perish in this (world) and after death.

172. By taking his due, by preventing the confusion of the castes (varna), and by protecting the weak, the power of the king grows, and he prospers in this (world) and after death.

173. Let the prince, therefore, like Yama, not heeding his own likings and dislikings, behave exactly like Yama, suppressing his anger and controlling himself.

174. But that evil-minded king who in his folly decides causes unjustly, his enemies soon subjugate.

175. If, subduing love and hatred, he decides the causes according to the law, (the hearts of) his subjects turn towards him as the rivers (run) towards the ocean.

176. (The debtor) who complains to the king that his creditor recovers (the debt) independently (of the court), shall be compelled by the king to pay (as a fine) one quarter (of the sum) and to his (creditor) the money (due).

177. Even by (personal) labour shall the debtor make good (what he owes) to his creditor, if he be of the same caste or of a lower one; but a (debtor) of a higher caste shall pay it gradually (when he earns something).

178. According to these rules let the king equitably decide between men, who dispute with each other the matters, which are proved by witnesses and (other) evidence.

179. A sensible man should make a deposit (only) with a person of (good) family, of good conduct, well acquainted with the law, veracious, having many relatives, wealthy, and honourable (arya).

180. In whatever manner a person shall deposit anything in the hands of another, in the same manner ought the same thing to be received back (by the owner); as the delivery (was, so must be) the re-delivery.

181. He who restores not his deposit to the depositor at his request, may be tried by the judge in the depositor's absence.

182. On failure of witnesses let the (judge) actually deposit gold with that (defendant) under some pretext or other through spies of suitable age and appearance (and afterwards demand it back).

183. If the (defendant) restores it in the manner and shape in which it was bailed, there is nothing (of that description) in his hands, for which others accuse him.

184. But if he restores not that gold, as be ought, to those (spies), then he shall be compelled by force to restore both (deposits); that is a settled rule of law.

185. An open or a sealed deposit must never be returned to a near relative (of the depositor during the latter's lifetime); for if (the recipient) dies (without delivering them), they are lost, but if he does not die, they are not lost.

186. But (a depositary) who of his own accord returns them to a near relative of a deceased (depositor), must not be harassed (about them) by the king or by the depositor's relatives.

187. And (in doubtful cases) he should try to obtain that object by friendly means, without (having recourse to) artifice, or having inquired into (depositary's) conduct, he should settle (the matter) with gentle means.

188. Such is the rule for obtaining back all those open deposits; in the case of a sealed deposit (the depositary) shall incur no (censure), unless he has taken out something.

189. (A deposit) which has been stolen by thieves or washed away by water or burned by fire, (the bailee) shall not make it good, unless he took part of it (for himself).

190. Him who appropriates a deposit and him (who asks for it) without having made it, (the judge) shall try by all (sorts of) means, and by the oaths prescribed in the Veda.

191. He who does not return a deposit and he who demands what he never bailed shall both be punished like thieves, or be compelled to pay a fine equal (to the value of the object retained or claimed).

192. The king should compel him who does not restore an open deposit, and in like manner him who retains a sealed deposit, to pay a fine equal (to its value).

193. That man who by false pretences may possess himself of another's property, shall be publicly punished by various (modes of) corporal (or capital) chastisement, together with his accomplices.

194. If a deposit of a particular description or quantity is bailed by anybody in the presence of a number (of witnesses), it must be known to be of that particular (description and quantity; the depositary) who makes a false statement (regarding it) is liable to a fine.

195. But if anything is delivered or received privately, it must be privately returned; as the bailment (was, so should be) the re-delivery.

196. Thus let the king decide (causes) concerning a deposit and a friendly loan (for use) without showing (undue) rigour to the depositary.

197. If anybody sells the property of another man, without being the owner and without the assent of the owner, the (judge) shall not admit him who is a thief, though he may not consider himself as a thief, as a witness (in any case).

198. If the (offender) is a kinsman (of the owner), he shall be fined six hundred panas; if he is not a kinsman, nor has any excuse, he shall be guilty of theft.

199. A gift or sale, made by anybody else but the owner, must be considered as null and void, according to the rule in judicial proceedings.

200. Where possession is evident, but no title is perceived, there the title (shall be) a proof (of ownership), not possession; such is the settled rule.

201. He who obtains a chattel in the market before a number (of witnesses), acquires that chattel with a clear legal title by purchase.

202. If the original (seller) be not producible, (the buyer) being exculpated by a public sale, must be dismissed by the king without punishment, but (the former owner) who lost the chattel shall receive it (back from the buyer).

203. One commodity mixed with another must not be sold (as pure), nor a bad one (as good), nor less (than the proper quantity or weight), nor anything that is not at hand or that is concealed.

204. If, after one damsel has been shown, another be given to the bridegroom, he may marry them both for the same price; that Manu ordained.

205. He who gives (a damsel in marriage), having first openly declared her blemishes, whether she be insane, or afflicted with leprosy, or have lost her virginity, is not liable to punishment.

206. If an officiating priest, chosen to perform a sacrifice, abandons his work, a share only (of the fee) in proportion to the work (done) shall be given to him by those who work with him.

207. But he who abandons his work after the sacrificial fees have been given, shall obtain his full share and cause to be performed (what remains) by another (priest).

208. But if (specific) fees are ordained for the several parts of a rite, shall he (who performs the part) receive them, or shall they all share them?

209. The Adhvaryu priest shall take the chariot, and the Brahman at the kindling of the fires (Agnyadhana) a horse, the Hotri priest shall also take a horse, and the Udgatri the cart, (used) when (the Soma) is purchased.

210. The (four) chief priests among all (the sixteen), who are entitled to one half, shall receive a moiety (of the fee), the next (four) one half of that, the set entitled to a third share, one third, and those entitled to a fourth a quarter.

211. By the application of these principles the allotment of shares must be made among those men who here (below) perform their work conjointly.

212. Should money be given (or promised) for a pious purpose by one man to another who asks for it, the gift shall be void, if the (money is) afterwards not (used) in the manner (stated).

213. But if the (recipient) through pride or greed tries to enforce (the fulfilment of the promise), he shall be compelled by the king to pay one suvarna as an expiation for his theft.

214. Thus the lawful subtraction of a gift has been fully explained; I will next propound (the law for) the non-payment of wages.

215. A hired (servant or workman) who, without being ill, out of pride fails to perform his work according to the agreement, shall be fined eight krishnalas and no wages shall be paid to him.

216. But (if he is really) ill, (and) after recovery performs (his work) according to the original agreement, he shall receive his wages even after (the lapse of) a very long time.

217. But if he, whether sick or well, does not (perform or) cause to be performed (by others) his work according to his agreement, the wages for that work shall not be given to him, even (if it be only) slightly incomplete.

218. Thus the law for the non-payment of wages has been completely stated; I will next explain the law concerning men who break an agreement.

219. If a man belonging to a corporation inhabiting a village or a district, after swearing to an agreement, breaks it through avarice, (the king) shall banish him from his realm,

220. And having imprisoned such a breaker of an agreement, he shall compel him to pay six nishkas, (each of) four suvarnas, and one satamana of silver.

221. A righteous king shall apply this law of fines in villages and castes (gati) to those who break an agreement.

222. If anybody in this (world), after buying or selling anything, repent (of his bargain), he may return or take (back) that chattel within ten days.

223. But after (the lapse of) ten days he may neither give nor cause it to be given (back); both he who takes it (back) and he who gives it (back, except by consent) shall be fined by the king six hundred (panas).

224. But the king himself shall impose a fine of ninety-six panas on him who gives a blemished damsel (to a suitor) without informing (him of the blemish).

225. But that man who, out of malice, says of a maiden, 'She is not a maiden,' shall be fined one hundred (panas), if he cannot prove her blemish.

226. The nuptial texts are applied solely to virgins, (and) nowhere among men to females who have lost their virginity, for such (females) are excluded from religious ceremonies.

227. The nuptial texts are a certain proof (that a maiden has been made a lawful) wife; but the learned should know that they (and the marriage ceremony are complete with the seventh step (of the bride around the sacred fire).

228. If anybody in this (world) repent of any completed transaction, (the king) shall keep him on the road of rectitude in accordance with the rules given above.

229. I will fully declare in accordance with the true law (the rules concerning) the disputes, (arising) from the transgressions of owners of cattle and of herdsmen.

230. During the day the responsibility for the safety (of the cattle rests) on the herdsman, during the night on the owner, (provided they are) in his house; (if it be) otherwise, the herdsman will be responsible (for them also during the night).

231. A hired herdsman who is paid with milk, may milk with the consent of the owner the best (cow) out of ten; such shall be his hire if no (other) wages (are paid).

232. The herdsman alone shall make good (the loss of a beast) strayed, destroyed by worms, killed by dogs or (by falling) into a pit, if he did not duly exert himself (to prevent it).

233. But for (an animal) stolen by thieves, though he raised an alarm, the herdsman shall not pay, provided he gives notice to his master at the proper place and time.

234. If cattle die, let him carry to his master their ears, skin, tails, bladders, tendons, and the yellow concrete bile, and let him point out their particular. marks.

235. But if goats or sheep are surrounded by wolves and the herdsman does not hasten (to their assistance), lie shall be responsible for any (animal) which a wolf may attack and kill.

236. But if they, kept in (proper) order, graze together in the forest, and a wolf, suddenly jumping on one of them, kills it, the herdsman shall bear in that case no responsibility.

237. On all sides of a village a space, one hundred dhanus or three samya-throws (in breadth), shall be reserved (for pasture), and thrice (that space) round a town.

238. If the cattle do damage to unfenced crops on that (common), the king shall in that case not punish the herdsmen.

239. (The owner of the field) shall make there a hedge over which a camel cannot look, and stop every gap through which a dog or a boar can thrust his head.

240. (If cattle do mischief) in an enclosed field near a highway or near a village, the herdsman shall be fined one hundred (panas);

(but cattle), unattended by a herdsman, (the watchman in the field) shall drive away.

241. (For damage) in other fields (each head of) cattle shall (pay a fine of one (pana) and a quarter, and in all (cases the value of) the crop (destroyed) shall be made good to the owner of the field; that is the settled rule.

242. But Manu has declared that no fine shall be paid for (damage done by) a cow within ten days after her calving, by bulls and by cattle sacred to the gods, whether they are attended by a herdsman or not.

243. If (the crops are destroyed by) the husbandman's (own) fault, the fine shall amount to ten times as much as (the king's) share; but the fine (shall be) only half that amount if (the fault lay) with the servants and the farmer had no knowledge of it.

244. To these rules a righteous king shall keep in (all cases of) transgressions by masters, their cattle, and herdsmen.

245. If a dispute has arisen between two villages concerning a boundary, the king shall settle the limits in the month of Gyaishtha, when the landmarks are most distinctly visible.

246. Let him mark the boundaries (by) trees, (e.g.) Nyagrodhas, Asvatthas, Kimsukas, cotton-trees, Salas, Palmyra palms, and trees with milky juice,

247. By clustering shrubs, bamboos of different kinds, Samis, creepers and raised mounds, reeds, thickets of Kubgaka; thus the boundary will not be forgotten.

248. Tanks, wells, cisterns, and fountains should be built where boundaries meet, as well as temples,

249. And as he will see that through men's ignorance of the boundaries trespasses constantly occur in the world, let him cause to be made other hidden marks for boundaries,

250. Stones, bones, cow's hair, chaff, ashes, potsherds, dry cowdung, bricks, cinders, pebbles, and sand,

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251. And whatever other things of a similar kind the earth does not corrode even after a long time, those he should cause to be buried where one boundary joins (the other).

252. By these signs, by long continued possession, and by constantly flowing streams of water the king shall ascertain the boundary (of the land) of two disputing parties.

253. If there be a doubt even on inspection of the marks, the settlement of a dispute regarding boundaries shall depend on witnesses.

254. The witnesses, (giving evidence) regarding a boundary, shall be examined concerning the landmarks in the presence of the crowd of the villagers and also of the two litigants.

255. As they, being questioned, unanimously decide, even so he shall record the boundary (in writing), together with their names.

256. Let them, putting earth on their heads, wearing chaplets (of red flowers) and red dresses, being sworn each by (the rewards for) his meritorious deeds, settle (the boundary) in accordance with the truth.

257. If they determine (the boundary) in the manner stated, they are guiltless (being) veracious witnesses; but if they determine it unjustly, they shall be compelled to pay a fine of two hundred (panas).

258. On failure of witnesses (from the two villages, men of) the four neighbouring villages, who are pure, shall make (as witnesses) a decision concerning the boundary in the presence of the king.

259. On failure of neighbours (who are) original inhabitants (of the country and can be) witnesses with respect to the boundary, (the king) may hear the evidence even of the following inhabitants of the forest.

260. (Viz.) hunters, fowlers, herdsmen, fishermen, root-diggers, snake-catchers, gleaners, and other foresters.

261. As they, being examined, declare the marks for the meeting of the boundaries (to be), even so the king shall justly cause them to be fixed between the two villages.

262. The decision concerning the boundary-marks of fields, wells, tanks, of gardens and houses depends upon (the evidence of) the neighbours.

263. Should the neighbours give false evidence, when men dispute about a boundary-mark, the king shall make each of them pay the middlemost amercement as a fine.

264. He who by intimidation possesses himself of a house, a tank, a garden, or a field, shall be fined five hundred (panas); (if he trespassed) through ignorance, the fine (shall be) two hundred (panas).

265. If the boundary cannot be ascertained (by any evidence), let a righteous king with (the intention of) benefiting them (all), himself assign (his) land (to each); that is the settled rule.

266. Thus the law for deciding boundary (disputes) has been fully declared, I will next propound the (manner of) deciding (cases of) defamation.

267. A Kshatriya, having defamed a Brahmana, shall be fined one hundred (panas); a Vaisya one hundred and fifty or two hundred; a Sudra shall suffer corporal punishment.

268. A Brahmana shall be fined fifty (panas) for defaming a Kshatriya; in (the case of) a Vaisya the fine shall be twenty-five (panas); in (the case of) a Sudra twelve.

269. For offences of twice-born men against those of equal caste (varna, the fine shall be) also twelve (panas); for speeches which ought not to be uttered, that (and every fine shall be) double.

270. A once-born man (a Sudra), who insults a twice-born man with gross invective, shall have his tongue cut out; for he is of low origin.

271. If he mentions the names and castes (gati) of the (twice-born) with contumely, an iron nail, ten fingers long, shall be thrust red-hot into his mouth.

272. If he arrogantly teaches Brahmanas their duty, the king shall cause hot oil to be poured into his mouth and into his ears.

273. He who through arrogance makes false statements regarding the learning (of a caste-fellow), his country, his caste (gati), or the rites by which his body was sanctified, shall be compelled to pay a fine of two hundred (panas).

274. He who even in accordance with the true facts (contemptuously) calls another man one-eyed, lame, or the like (names), shall be fined at least one karshapana.

275. He who defames his mother, his father, his wife, his brother, his son, or his teacher, and he who gives not the way to his preceptor, shall be compelled to pay one hundred (panas).

276. (For mutual abuse) by a Brahmana and a Kshatriya a fine must be imposed by a discerning (king), on the Brahmana the lowest amercement, but on the Kshatriya the middlemost.

277. A Vaisya and a Sudra must be punished exactly in the same manner according to their respective castes, but the tongue (of the Sudra) shall not be cut out; that is the decision.

278. Thus the rules for punishments (applicable to cases) of defamation have been truly declared; I will next propound the decision (of cases) of assault.

279. With whatever limb a man of a low caste does hurt to (a man of the three) highest (castes), even that limb shall be cut off; that is the teaching of Manu.

280. He who raises his hand or a stick, shall have his hand cut off; he who in anger kicks with his foot, shall have his foot cut off.

281. A low-caste man who tries to place himself on the same seat with a man of a high caste, shall be branded on his hip and be banished, or (the king) shall cause his buttock to be gashed.

282. If out of arrogance he spits (on a superior), the king shall cause both his lips to be cut off; if he urines (on him), the penis; if he breaks wind (against him), the anus.

283. If he lays hold of the hair (of a superior), let the (king) unhesitatingly cut off his hands, likewise (if he takes him) by the feet, the beard, the neck, or the scrotum.

284. He who breaks the skin (of an equal) or fetches blood (from him) shall be fined one hundred (panas), he who cuts a muscle six nishkas, he who breaks a bone shall be banished.

285. According to the usefulness of the several (kinds of) trees a fine must be inflicted for injuring them; that is the settled rule.

286. If a blow is struck against men or animals in order to (give them) pain, (the judge) shall inflict a fine in proportion to the amount of pain (caused).

287. If a limb is injured, a wound (is caused), or blood (flows, the assailant) shall be made to pay (to the sufferer) the expenses of the cure, or the whole (both the usual amercement and the expenses of the cure as a) fine (to the king).

288. He who damages the goods of another, be it intentionally or unintentionally, shall give satisfaction to the (owner) and pay to the king a fine equal to the (damage).

289. In the case of (damage done to) leather, or to utensils of leather, of wood, or of clay, the fine (shall be) five times their value; likewise in the case of (damage to) flowers, roots, and fruit.

290. They declare with respect to a carriage, its driver and its owner, (that there are) ten cases in which no punishment (for damage done) can be inflicted; in other cases a fine is prescribed.

291. When the nose-string is snapped, when the yoke is broken, when the carriage turns sideways or back, when the axle or a wheel is broken,

292. When the leather-thongs, the rope around the neck or the bridle are broken, and when (the driver) has loudly called out, 'Make way,' Manu has declared (that in all these cases) no punishment (shall be inflicted).

293. But if the cart turns off (the road) through the driver's want of skill, the owner shall be fined, if damage (is done), two hundred (panas).

294. If the driver is skilful (but negligent), he alone shall be fined; if the driver is unskilful, the occupants of the carriage (also) shall be each fined one hundred (panas).

295. But if he is stopped on his way by cattle or by (another) carriage, and he causes the death of any living being, a fine shall without doubt be imposed.

296. If a man is killed, his guilt will be at once the same as (that of) a thief; for large animals such as cows, elephants, camels or horses, half of that.

297. For injuring small cattle the fine (shall be) two hundred (panas); the fine for beautiful wild quadrupeds and birds shall amount to fifty (panas).

298. For donkeys, sheep, and goats the fine shall be five mashas; but the punishment for killing a dog or a pig shall be one masha.

299. A wife, a son, a slave, a pupil, and a (younger) brother of the full blood, who have committed faults, may be beaten with a rope or a split bamboo,

300. But on the back part of the body (only), never on a noble part; he who strikes them otherwise will incur the same guilt as a thief.

301. Thus the whole law of assault (and hurt) has been declared completely; I will now explain the rules for the decision (in cases) of theft.

302. Let the king exert himself to the utmost to punish thieves; for, if he punishes thieves, his fame grows and his kingdom prospers.

303. That king, indeed, is ever worthy of honour who ensures the safety (of his subjects); for the sacrificial session (sattra, which he, as it were, performs thereby) ever grows in length, the safety (of his subjects representing) the sacrificial fee.

304. A king who (duly) protects (his subjects) receives from each and all the sixth part of their spiritual merit; if he does not protect them, the sixth part of their demerit also (will fall on him).

305. Whatever (merit a man gains by) reading the Veda, by sacrificing, by charitable gifts, (or by) worshipping (Gurus and gods), the king obtains a sixth part of that in consequence of his duly protecting (his kingdom).

306. A king who protects the created beings in accordance with the sacred law and smites those worthy of corporal punishment, daily offers (as it were) sacrifices at which hundred thousands (are given as) fees.

307. A king who does not afford protection, (yet) takes his share in kind, his taxes, tolls and duties, daily presents and fines, will (after death) soon sink into hell.

308. They declare that a king who affords no protection, (yet) receives the sixth part of the produce, takes upon himself all the foulness of his whole people.

309. Know that a king who heeds not the rules (of the law), who is an atheist, and rapacious, who does not protect (his subjects, but) devours them, will sink low (after death).

310. Let him carefully restrain the wicked by three methods,- by imprisonment by putting them in fetters, and by various (kinds of) corporal punishments.

311. For by punishing the wicked and by favouring the virtuous, kings are constantly sanctified, just as twice-born men by sacrifices.

312. A king who desires his own welfare must always forgive litigants, infants, aged and sick men, who inveigh against him.

313. He who, being abused by men in pain, pardons (them), will in reward of that (act) be exalted in heaven; but he who, (proud) of his kingly state, forgives them not, will for that (reason) sink into hell.

314. A thief shall, running, approach the king, with flying hair, confessing that theft (and saying), 'Thus have I done, punish me;'

315. (And he must) carry on his shoulder a pestle, or a club of Khadira wood, or a spear sharp at both ends, or an iron staff.

316. Whether he be punished or pardoned, the thief is freed from the (guilt of) theft; but the king, if he punishes not, takes upon himself the guilt of the thief.

317. The killer of a learned Brahmana throws his guilt on him who eats his food, an adulterous wife on her (negligent) husband, a (sinning) pupil or sacrificer on (their negligent) teacher (or priest), a thief on the king (who pardons him).

318. But men who have committed crimes and have been punished by the king, go to heaven, being pure like those who performed meritorious deeds.

319. He who steals the rope or the water-pot from a well, or damages a hut where water is distributed, shall pay one masha as a fine and restore the (article abstracted or damaged) in its (proper place).

320. On him who steals more than ten kumbhas of grain corporal punishment (shall be inflicted); in other cases he shall be fined eleven times as much, and shall pay to the (owner the value of his) property.

321. So shall corporal punishment be inflicted for stealing more than a hundred (palas) of articles sold by the weight, (i.e.) of gold, silver, and so forth, and of most excellent clothes.

322. For (stealing) more than fifty (palas) it is enacted that the hands (of the offender) shall be cut off; but in other cases, let him inflict a fine of eleven times the value.

323. For stealing men of noble family and especially women and the most precious gems, (the offender) deserves corporal (or capital) punishment.

324. For stealing large animals, weapons, or medicines, let the king fix a punishment, after considering the time and the purpose (for which they were destined).

325. For (stealing) cows belonging to Brahmanas, piercing (the nostrils of) a barren cow, and for stealing (other) cattle (belonging to Brahmanas, the offender) shall forthwith lose half his feet.

326. (For stealing) thread, cotton, drugs causing fermentation, cowdung, molasses, sour milk, sweet milk, butter-milk, water, or grass,

327. Vessels made of bamboo or other cane, salt of various kinds, earthen (vessels), earth and ashes,

328. Fish, birds, oil, clarified butter, meat, honey, and other things that come from beasts,

329. Or other things of a similar kind, spirituous liquor, boiled rice, and every kind of cooked food, the fine (shall be) twice the value (of the stolen article).

330. For flowers, green corn, shrubs, creepers, trees, and other unhusked (grain) the fine (shall be) five krishnalas.

331. For husked grain, vegetables, roots, and fruit the fine (shall be) one hundred (panas) if there is no connexion (between the owner and the thief), fifty (panas) if such a connexion exists.

332. An offence (of this description), which is committed in the presence (of the owner) and with violence, will be robbery; if (it is committed) in his absence, it will be theft; likewise if (the possession of) anything is denied after it has been taken.

333. On that man who may steal (any of) the above-mentioned articles, when they are prepared for (use), let the king inflict the first (or lowest) amercement; likewise on him who may steal (a sacred) fire out of the room (in which it is kept).

334. With whatever limb a thief in any way commits (an offence) against men, even of that (the king) shall deprive him in order to prevent (a repetition of the crime).

335. Neither a father, nor a teacher, nor a friend, nor a mother, nor a wife, nor a son, nor a domestic priest must be

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left unpunished by a king, if they do not keep within their duty.

336. Where another common man would be fined one karshapana, the king shall be fined one thousand; that is the settled rule.

337. In (a case of) theft the guilt of a Sudra shall be eightfold, that of a Vaisya sixteenfold, that of a Kshatriya two-and-thirtyfold,

338. That of a Brahmana sixty-fourfold, or quite a hundredfold, or (even) twice four-and-sixtyfold; (each of them) knowing the nature of the offence.

339. (The taking of) roots and of fruit from trees, of wood for a (sacrificial) fire, and of grass for feeding cows, Manu has declared (to be) no theft.

340. A Brahmana, seeking to obtain property from a man who took what was not given to him, either by sacrificing for him or by teaching him, is even like a thief.

341. A twice-born man, who is travelling and whose provisions are exhausted, shall not be fined, if he takes two stalks of sugar-cane or two (esculent) roots from the field of another man.

342. He who ties up unbound or sets free tied up (cattle of other men), he who takes a slave, a horse, or a carriage will have incurred the guilt of a thief.

343. A king who punishes thieves according to these rules, will gain fame in this world and after death unsurpassable bliss.

344. A king who desires to gain the throne of Indra and imperishable eternal fame, shall not, even for a moment, neglect (to punish) the man who commits violence.

345. He who commits violence must be considered as the worst offender, (more wicked) than a defamer, than a thief, and than he who injures (another) with a staff.

346. But that king who pardons the perpetrator of violence quickly perishes and incurs hatred.

347. Neither for friendship's sake, nor for the sake of great lucre, must a king let go perpetrators of violence, who cause terror to all creatures.

348. Twice-born men may take up arms when (they are) hindered (in the fulfilment of their duties, when destruction (threatens) the twice-born castes (varna) in (evil) times,

349. In their own defence, in a strife for the fees of officiating priests, and in order to protect women and Brahmanas; he who (under such circumstances) kills in the cause of right, commits no sin.

350. One may slay without hesitation an assassin who approaches (with murderous intent), whether (he be one's) teacher, a child or an aged man, or a Brahmana deeply versed in the Vedas.

351. By killing an assassin the slayer incurs no guilt, whether (he does it) publicly or secretly; in that case fury recoils upon fury.

352. Men who commit adultery with the wives of others, the king shall cause to be marked by punishments which cause terror, and afterwards banish.

353. For by (adultery) is caused a mixture of the castes (varna) among men; thence (follows) sin, which cuts up even the roots and causes the destruction of everything.

354. A man formerly accused of (such) offences, who secretly converses with another man's wife, shall pay the first (or lowest) amercement.

355. But a man, not before accused, who (thus) speaks with (a woman) for some (reasonable) cause, shall not incur any guilt, since in him there is no transgression.

356. He who addresses the wife of another man at a Tirtha, outside the village, in a forest, or at the confluence of rivers, suffer (the punishment for) adulterous acts (samgrahana).

357. Offering presents (to a woman), romping (with her), touching her ornaments and dress, sitting with her on a bed, all (these acts) are considered adulterous acts (samgrahana).

358. If one touches a woman in a place (which ought) not (to be touched) or allows (oneself to be touched in such a spot), all (such acts done) with mutual consent are declared (to be) adulterous (samgrahana).

359. A man who is not a Brahmana ought to suffer death for adultery (samgrahana); for the wives of all the four castes even must always be carefully guarded.

360. Mendicants, bards, men who have performed the initiatory ceremony of a Vedic sacrifice, and artisans are not prohibited from speaking to married women.

361. Let no man converse with the wives of others after he has been forbidden (to do so); but he who converses (with them), in spite of a prohibition, shall be fined one suvarna.

362. This rule does not apply to the wives of actors and singers, nor (of) those who live on (the intrigues of) their own (wives); for such men send their wives (to others) or, concealing themselves, allow them to hold criminal intercourse.

363. Yet he who secretly converses with such women, or with female slaves kept by one (master), and with female ascetics, shall be compelled to pay a small fine.

364. He who violates an unwilling maiden shall instantly suffer corporal punishment; but a man who enjoys a willing maiden shall not suffer corporal punishment, if (his caste be) the same (as hers).

365. From a maiden who makes advances to a (man of) high (caste), he shall not take any fine; but her, who courts a (man of) low (caste), let him force to live confined in her house.

366. A (man of) low (caste) who makes love to a maiden (of) the highest (caste) shall suffer corporal punishment; he who addresses a maiden (on) equal (caste) shall pay the nuptial fee, if her father desires it.

367. But if any man through insolence forcibly contaminates a maiden, two of his fingers shall be instantly cut off, and he shall pay a fine of six hundred (panas).

368. A man (of) equal (caste) who defiles a willing maiden shall not suffer the amputation of his fingers, but shall pay a fine of two hundred (panas) in order to deter him from a repetition (of the offence).

369. A damsel who pollutes (another) damsel must be fined two hundred (panas), pay the double of her (nuptial) fee, and receive ten (lashes with a) rod.

370. But a woman who pollutes a damsel shall instantly have (her head) shaved or two fingers cut off, and be made to ride (through the town) on a donkey.

371. If a wife, proud of the greatness of her relatives or (her own) excellence, violates the duty which she owes to her lord, the king shall cause her to be devoured by dogs in a place frequented by many.

372. Let him cause the male offender to be burnt on a red-hot iron bed; they shall put logs under it, (until) the sinner is burned (to death).

373. On a man (once) convicted, who is (again) accused within a year, a double fine (must be inflicted); even thus (must the fine be doubled) for (repeated) intercourse with a Vratya and a Kandali.

374. A Sudra who has intercourse with a woman of a twice-born caste (varna), guarded or unguarded, (shall be punished in the following manner): if she was unguarded, he loses the part (offending) and all his property; if she was guarded, everything (even his life).

375. (For intercourse with a guarded Brahmana a Vaisya shall forfeit all his property after imprisonment for a year; a Kshatriya shall be fined one thousand (panas) and be shaved with the urine (of an ass).

376. If a Vaisya or a Kshatriya has connexion with an unguarded Brahmana, let him fine the Vaisya five hundred (panas) and the Kshatriya one thousand.

377. But even these two, if they offend with a Brahmani (not only) guarded (but the wife of an eminent man), shall be punished like a Sudra or be burnt in a fire of dry grass.

378. A Brahmana who carnally knows a guarded Brahmani against her will, shall be fined one thousand (panas); but he shall be made to pay five hundred, if he had connexion with a willing one.

379. Tonsure (of the head) is ordained for a Brahmana (instead of) capital punishment; but (men of) other castes shall suffer capital punishment.

380. Let him never slay a Brahmana, though he have committed all (possible) crimes; let him banish such an (offender), leaving all his property (to him) and (his body) unhurt.

381. No greater crime is known on earth than slaying a Brahmana; a king, therefore, must not even conceive in his mind the thought of killing a Brahmana.

382. If a Vaisya approaches a guarded female of the Kshatriya caste, or a Kshatriya a (guarded) Vaisya woman, they both deserve the same punishment as in the case of an unguarded Brahmana female.

383. A Brahmana shall be compelled to pay a fine of one thousand (panas) if he has intercourse with guarded (females of) those two (castes); for (offending with) a (guarded) Sudra female a fine of one thousand (panas shall be inflicted) on a Kshatriya or a Vaisya.

384. For (intercourse with) an unguarded Kshatriya a fine of five hundred (panas shall fall) on a Vaisya; but (for the same offence) a Kshatriya shall be shaved with the urine (of a donkey) or (pay) the same fine.

385. A Brahmana who approaches unguarded females (of the) Kshatriya or Vaisya (castes), or a Sudra female, shall be fined five hundred (panas); but (for intercourse with) a female (of the) lowest (castes), one thousand.

386. That king in whose town lives no thief, no adulterer, no defamer, no man guilty of violence, and no committer of assaults, attains the world of Sakra (Indra).

387. The suppression of those five in his dominions secures to a king paramount sovereignty among his peers and fame in the world.

388. A sacrificer who forsakes an officiating priest, and an officiating priest who forsakes a sacrificer, (each being) able to perform his work and not contaminated (by grievous crimes), must each be fined one hundred (panas).

389. Neither a mother, nor a father, nor a wife, nor a son shall be cast off; he who casts them off, unless guilty of a crime causing loss of caste, shall be fined six hundred (panas).

390. If twice-born men dispute among each other concerning the duty of the orders, a king who desires his own welfare should not (hastily) decide (what is) the law.

391. Having shown them due honor, he should, with (the assistance of) Brahmanas, first soothe them by gentle (speech) and afterwards teach them their duty.

392. A Brahmana who does not invite his next neighbour and his neighbour next but one, (though) both (he) worthy (of the honour), to a festival at which twenty Brahmanas are entertained, is liable to a fine of one masha.

393. A Srotriya who does not entertain a virtuous Srotriya at auspicious festive rites, shall be made to pay him twice (the value of) the meal and a masha of gold (as a fine to the king).

394. A blind man, an idiot, (a cripple) who moves with the help of a board, a man full seventy years old, and he who confers benefits on Srotriyas, shall not be compelled by any (king) to pay a tax.

395. Let the king always treat kindly a Srotriya, a sick or distressed man, an infant and an aged or indigent man, a man of high birth, and an honourable man (Arya).

396. A washerman shall wash (the clothes of his employers) gently on a smooth board of Salmaliwood he shall not return the clothes (of one person) for those (of another), nor allow anybody (but the owner) to wear them.

397. A weaver (who has received) ten palas (of thread), shall return (cloth weighing) one pala more; he who acts differently shall be compelled to pay a fine of twelve (panas).

398. Let the king take one-twentieth of that (amount) which men, well acquainted with the settlement of tolls and duties (and) skilful in (estimating the value of) all kinds of merchandise, may fix as the value for each saleable commodity.

399. Let the king confiscate the whole property of (a trader) who out of greed exports goods of which the king has a monopoly or (the export of which is) forbidden.

400. He who avoids a custom-house (or a toll), he who buys or sells at an improper time, or he who makes a false statement in enumerating (his goods), shall be fined eight times (the amount of duty) which he tried to evade.

401. Let (the king) fix (the rates for) the purchase and sale of all marketable goods, having (duly) considered whence they come, whither they go, how long they have been kept, the (probable) profit and the (probable) outlay.

402. Once in five nights, or at the close of each fortnight, let the king publicly settle the prices for the (merchants).

403. All weights and measures must be duly marked, and once in six months let him re-examine them.

404. At a ferry an (empty) cart shall be made to pay one pana, a man's (load) half a pana, an animal and a woman one quarter of a (pana), an unloaded man one-half of a quarter.

405. Carts (laden) with vessels full (of merchandise) shall be made to pay toll at a ferry according to the value (of the goods), empty vessels and men without luggage some trifle.

406. For a long passage the boat-hire must be proportioned to the places and times; know that this (rule refers) to (passages along) the banks of rivers; at sea there is no settled (freight).

407. But a woman who has been pregnant two months or more, an ascetic, a hermit in the forest, and Brahmanas who are students of the Veda, shall not be made to pay toll at a ferry.

408. Whatever may be damaged in a boat by the fault of the boatmen, that shall be made good by the boatmen collectively, (each paying) his share.

409. This decision in suits (brought) by passengers (holds good only) in case the boatmen are culpably negligent on the water; in the case of (an accident) caused by (the will of) the gods, no fine can be (inflicted on them).

410. (The king) should order a Vaisya to trade, to lend money, to cultivate the land, or to tend cattle, and a Sudra to serve the twice-born castes

411. (Some wealthy) Brahmana shall compassionately support both a Kshatriya and a Vaisya, if they are distressed for a livelihood, employing them on work (which is suitable for) their (castes).

412. But a Brahmana who, because he is powerful, out of greed makes initiated (men of the) twice-born (castes) against their will do the work of slaves, shall be fined by the king six hundred (panas).

413. But a Sudra, whether bought or unbought, he may compel to do servile work; for he was created by the Self-existent (Svayambhu) to be the slave of a Brahmana.

414. A Sudra, though emancipated by his master, is not released from servitude; since that is innate in him, who can set him free from it?

415. There are slaves of seven kinds, (viz.) he who is made a captive under a standard, he who serves for his daily food, he who is born in the house, he who is bought and he who is given, he who is inherited from ancestors, and he who is enslaved by way of punishment.

416. A wife, a son, and a slave, these three are declared to have no property; the wealth which they earn is (acquired) for him to whom they belong.

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417. A Brahmana may confidently seize the goods of (his) Sudra (slave); for, as that (slave) can have no property, his master may take his possessions.

418. (The king) should carefully compel Vaisyas and Sudra to perform the work (prescribed) for them; for if these two (castes) swerved from their duties, they would throw this (whole) world into confusion.

419. Let him daily look after the completion of his undertakings, his beasts of burden, and carriages, (the collection of) his revenues and the disbursements, his mines and his treasury.

420. A king who thus brings to a conclusion. all the legal business enumerated above, and removes all sin, reaches the highest state (of bliss).

LAWS OF MANU CHAPTER 9

1. I will now propound the eternal laws for a husband and his wife who keep to the path of duty, whether they be united or separated.

2. Day and night woman must be kept in dependence by the males (of) their (families), and, if they attach themselves to sensual enjoyments, they must be kept under one's control.

3. Her father protects (her) in childhood, her husband protects (her) in youth, and her sons protect (her) in old age; a woman is never fit for independence.

4. Reprehensible is the father who gives not (his daughter in marriage) at the proper time; reprehensible is the husband who approaches not (his wife in due season), and reprehensible is the son who does not protect his mother after her husband has died.

5. Women must particularly be guarded against evil inclinations, however trifling (they may appear); for, if they are not guarded, they will bring sorrow on two families.

6. Considering that the highest duty of all castes, even weak husbands (must) strive to guard their wives.

7. He who carefully guards his wife, preserves (the purity of) his offspring, virtuous conduct, his family, himself, and his (means of acquiring) merit.

8. The husband, after conception by his wife, becomes an embryo and is born again of her; for that is the wifehood of a wife (gaya), that he is born (gayate) again by her.

9. As the male is to whom a wife cleaves, even so is the son whom she brings forth; let him therefore carefully guard his wife, in order to keep his offspring pure.

10. No man can completely guard women by force; but they can be guarded by the employment of the (following) expedients:

11. Let the (husband) employ his (wife) in the collection and expenditure of his wealth, in keeping (everything) clean, in (the fulfilment of) religious duties, in the preparation of his food, and in looking after the household utensils.

12. Women, confined in the house under trustworthy and obedient servants, are not (well) guarded; but those who of their own accord keep guard over themselves, are well guarded.

13. Drinking (spirituous liquor), associating with wicked people, separation from the husband, rambling abroad, sleeping (at unseasonable hours), and dwelling in other men's houses, are the six causes of the ruin of women.

14. Women do not care for beauty, nor is their attention fixed on age; (thinking), '(It is enough that) he is a man,' they give themselves to the handsome and to the ugly.

15. Through their passion for men, through their mutable temper, through their natural heartlessness, they become disloyal towards their husbands, however carefully they may be guarded in this (world).

16. Knowing their disposition, which the Lord of creatures laid in them at the creation, to be such, (every) man should most strenuously exert himself to guard them.

17. (When creating them) Manu allotted to women (a love of their) bed, (of their) seat and (of) ornament, impure desires, wrath, dishonesty, malice, and bad conduct.

18. For women no (sacramental) rite (is performed) with sacred texts, thus the law is settled; women (who are) destitute of strength and destitute of (the knowledge of) Vedic texts, (are as impure as) falsehood (itself), that is a fixed rule.

19. And to this effect many sacred texts are sung also in the Vedas, in order to (make) fully known the true disposition (of women); hear (now those texts which refer to) the expiation of their (sins).

20. 'If my mother, going astray and unfaithful, conceived illicit desires, may my father keep that seed from me,' that is the scriptural text.

21. If a woman thinks in her heart of anything that would pain her husband, the (above-mentioned text) is declared (to be a means for) completely removing such infidelity.

22. Whatever be the qualities of the man with whom a woman is united according to the law, such qualities even she assumes, like a river (united) with the ocean.

23. Akshamala, a woman of the lowest birth, being united to Vasishtha and Sarangi, (being united) to Mandapala, became worthy of honour.

24. These and other females of low birth have attained eminence in this world by the respective good qualities of their husbands.

25. Thus has been declared the ever pure popular usage (which regulates the relations) between husband and wife; hear (next) the laws concerning children which are the cause of happiness in this world and after death.

26. Between wives (striyah) who (are destined) to bear children, who secure many blessings, who are worthy of worship and irradiate (their) dwellings, and between the goddesses of fortune (sriyah, who reside) in the houses (of men), there is no difference whatsoever.

27. The production of children, the nurture of those born, and the daily life of men, (of these matters) woman is visibly the cause.

28. Offspring, (the due performance on religious rites, faithful service, highest conjugal happiness and heavenly bliss for the ancestors and oneself, depend on one's wife alone.

29. She who, controlling her thoughts, speech, and acts, violates not her duty towards her lord, dwells with him (after death) in heaven, and in this world is called by the virtuous a faithful (wife, sadhvi)

30. But for disloyalty to her husband a wife is censured among men, and (in her next life) she is born in the womb of a jackal and tormented by diseases, the punishment of her sin.

31. Listen (now) to the following holy discussion, salutary to all men, which the virtuous (of the present day) and the ancient great sages have held concerning male offspring.

32. They (all) say that the male issue (of a woman) belongs to the lord, but with respect to the (meaning of the term) lord the revealed texts differ; some call the begetter (of the child the lord), others declare (that it is) the owner of the soil.

33. By the sacred tradition the woman is declared to be the soil, the man is declared to be the seed; the production of all corporeal beings (takes place) through the union of the soil with the seed.

34. In some cases the seed is more distinguished, and in some the womb of the female; but when both are equal, the offspring is most highly esteemed.

35. On comparing the seed and the receptacle (of the seed), the seed is declared to be more important; for the offspring of all created beings is marked by the characteristics of the seed.

36. Whatever (kind on seed is sown in a field, prepared in due season, (a plant) of that same kind, marked with the peculiar qualities of the seed, springs up in it.

37. This earth, indeed, is called the primeval womb of created beings; but the seed develops not in its development any properties of the womb.

38. In this world seeds of different kinds, sown at the proper time in the land, even in one field, come forth (each) according to its kind.

39. The rice (called) vrihi and (that called) sali, mudga-beans, sesamum, masha-beans, barley, leeks, and sugar-cane, (all) spring up according to their seed.

40. That one (plant) should be sown and another be produced cannot happen; whatever seed is sown, (a plant of) that kind even comes forth.

41. Never therefore must a prudent well-trained man, who knows the Veda and its Angas and desires long life, cohabit with another's wife.

42. With respect to this (matter), those acquainted with the past recite some stanzas, sung by Vayu (the Wind, to show) that seed must not be sown by (any) man on that which belongs to another.

43. As the arrow, shot by (a hunter) who afterwards hits a wounded (deer) in the wound (made by another), is shot in vain, even so the seed, sown on what belongs to another, is quickly lost (to the sower).

44. (Sages) who know the past call this earth (prithivi) even the wife of Prithu; they declare a field to belong to him who cleared away the timber, and a deer to him who (first) wounded it.

45. He only is a perfect man who consists (of three persons united), his wife, himself, and his offspring; thus (says the Veda), and (learned) Brahmanas propound this (maxim) likewise, 'The husband is declared to be one with the wife.'

46. Neither by sale nor by repudiation is a wife released from her husband; such we know the law to be, which the Lord of creatures (Pragapati) made of old.

47. Once is the partition (of the inheritance) made, (once is) a maiden given in marriage, (and) once does (a man) say,' I will give;' each of those three (acts is done) once only.

48. As with cows, mares, female camels, slave-girls, buffalo-cows, she-goats, and ewes, it is not the begetter (or his owner) who obtains the offspring, even thus (it is) with the wives of others.

49. Those who, having no property in a field, but possessing seed-corn, sow it in another's soil, do indeed not receive the grain of the crop which may spring up.

50. If (one man's) bull were to beget a hundred calves on another man's cows, they would belong to the owner of the cows; in vain would the bull have spent his strength.

51. Thus men who have no marital property in women, but sow their seed in the soil of others, benefit the owner of the woman; but the giver of the seed reaps no advantage.

52. If no agreement with respect to the crop has been made between the owner of the field and the owner of the seed, the benefit clearly belongs to the owner of the field; the receptacle is more important than the seed.

53. But if by a special contract (a field) is made over (to another) for sowing, then the owner of the seed and the owner of the soil are both considered in this world as sharers of the (crop).

54. If seed be carried by water or wind into somebody's field and germinates (there), the (plant sprung from that) seed belongs even to the owner of the field, the owner of the seed does not receive the crop.

55. Know that such is the law concerning the offspring of cows, mares, slave-girls, female camels, she-goats, and ewes, as well as of females of birds and buffalo-cows.

56. Thus the comparative importance of the seed and of the womb has been declared to you; I will next propound the law (applicable) to women in times of misfortune.

57. The wife of an elder brother is for his younger (brother) the wife of a Guru; but the wife of the younger is declared (to be) the daughter-in-law of the elder.

58. An elder (brother) who approaches the wife of the younger, and a younger (brother who approaches) the wife of the elder, except in times of misfortune, both become outcasts, even though (they were duly) authorised.

59. On failure of issue (by her husband) a woman who has been authorised, may obtain, (in the) proper (manner prescribed), the desired offspring by (cohabitation with) a brother-in-law or (with some other) Sapinda (of the husband).

60. He (who is) appointed to (cohabit with) the widow shall (approach her) at night anointed with clarified butter and silent, (and) beget one son, by no means a second.

61. Some (sages), versed in the law, considering the purpose of the appointment not to have been attained by those two (on the birth of the first), think that a second (son) may be lawfully procreated on (such) women.

62. But when the purpose of the appointment to (cohabit with) the widow bas been attained in accordance with the law, those two shall behave towards each other like a father and a daughter-in-law.

63. If those two (being thus) appointed deviate from the rule and act from carnal desire, they will both become outcasts, (as men) who defile the bed of a daughter-in-law or of a Guru.

64. By twice-born men a widow must not be appointed to (cohabit with) any other (than her husband); for they who appoint (her) to another (man), will violate the eternal law.

65. In the sacred texts which refer to marriage the appointment (of widows) is nowhere mentioned, nor is the re-marriage of widows prescribed in the rules concerning marriage.

66. This practice which is reprehended by the learned of the twice-born castes as fit for cattle is said (to have occurred) even among men, while Vena ruled.

67. That chief of royal sages who formerly possessed the whole world, caused a confusion of the castes (varna), his intellect being destroyed by lust.

68. Since that (time) the virtuous censure that (man) who in his folly appoints a woman, whose husband died, to (bear) children (to another man).

69. If the (future) husband of a maiden dies after troth verbally plighted, her brother-in-law shall wed her according to the following rule.

70. Having, according to the rule, espoused her (who must be) clad in white garments and be intent on purity, he shall approach her once in each proper season until issue (be had).

71. Let no prudent man, after giving his daughter to one (man), give her again to another; for he who gives (his daughter) whom he had before given, incurs (the guilt of) speaking falsely regarding a human being.

72. Though (a man) may have accepted a damsel in due form, he may abandon (her if she be) blemished, diseased, or deflowered, and (if she have been) given with fraud.

73. If anybody gives away a maiden possessing blemishes without declaring them, (the bridegroom) may annul that (contract) with the evil-minded giver.

74. A man who has business (abroad) may depart after securing a maintenance for his wife; for a wife, even though virtuous, may be corrupted if she be distressed by want of subsistence.

75. If (the husband) went on a journey after providing (for her), the wife shall subject herself to restraints in her daily life; but if he departed without providing (for her), she may subsist by blameless manual work.

76. If the husband went abroad for some sacred duty, (she) must wait for him eight years, if (he went) to (acquire) learning or fame six (years), if (he went) for pleasure three years.

77. For one year let a husband bear with a wife who hates him; but after (the lapse of) a year let him deprive her of her property and cease to cohabit with her.

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78. She who shows disrespect to (a husband) who is addicted to (some evil) passion, is a drunkard, or diseased, shall be deserted for three months (and be) deprived of her ornaments and furniture.

79. But she who shows aversion towards a mad or outcast (husband), a eunuch, one destitute of manly strength, or one afflicted with such diseases as punish crimes, shall neither be cast off nor be deprived of her property.

80. She who drinks spirituous liquor, is of bad conduct, rebellious, diseased, mischievous, or wasteful, may at any time be superseded (by another wife).

81. A barren wife may be superseded in the eighth year, she whose children (all) die in the tenth, she who bears only daughters in the eleventh, but she who is quarrelsome without delay.

82. But a sick wife who is kind (to her husband) and virtuous in her conduct, may be superseded (only) with her own consent and must never be disgraced.

83. A wife who, being superseded, in anger departs from (her husband's) house, must either be instantly confined or cast off in the presence of the family.

84. But she who, though having been forbidden, drinks spirituous liquor even at festivals, or goes to public spectacles or assemblies, shall be fined six krishnalas.

85. If twice-born men wed women of their own and of other (lower castes), the seniority, honour, and habitation of those (wives) must be (settled) according to the order of the castes (varna).

86. Among all (twice-born men) the wife of equal caste alone, not a wife of a different caste by any means, shall personally attend her husband and assist him in his daily sacred rites.

87. But he who foolishly causes that (duty) to be performed by another, while his wife of equal caste is alive, is declared by the ancients (to be) as (despicable) as a Kandala (sprung from the) Brahmana (caste).

88. To a distinguished, handsome suitor (of) equal (caste) should (a father) give his daughter in accordance with the prescribed rule, though she have not attained (the proper age).

89. (But) the maiden, though marriageable, should rather stop in (the father's) house until death, than that he should ever give her to a man destitute of good qualities.

90. Three years let a damsel wait, though she be marriageable; but after that time let her choose for herself a bridegroom (of) equal (caste and rank).

91. If, being not given in marriage, she herself seeks a husband, she incurs no guilt, nor (does) he whom she weds.

92. A maiden who choses for herself, shall not take with her any ornaments, given by her father or her mother, or her brothers; if she carries them away, it will be theft.

93. But he who takes (to wife) a marriageable damsel, shall not pay any nuptial fee to her father; for the (latter) will lose his dominion over her in consequence of his preventing (the legitimate result of the appearance of) her enemies.

94. A man, aged thirty years, shall marry a maiden of twelve who pleases him, or a man of twenty-four a girl eight years of age; if (the performance of) his duties would (otherwise) be impeded, (he must marry) sooner.

95. The husband receives his wife from the gods, (he does not wed her) according to his own will; doing what is agreeable to the gods, he must always support her (while she is) faithful.

96. To be mothers were women created, and to be fathers men; religious rites, therefore, are ordained in the Veda to be performed (by the husband) together with the wife.

97. If, after the nuptial fee has been paid for a maiden, the giver of the fee dies, she shall be given in marriage to his brother, in case she consents.

98. Even a Sudra ought not to take a nuptial fee, when he gives away his daughter; for he who takes a fee sell his daughter, covering (the transaction by another name).

99. Neither ancients nor moderns who were good men have done such (a deed) that, after promising (a daughter) to one man, they have her to another;

100. Nor, indeed, have we heard, even in former creations, of such (a thing as) the covert sale of a daughter for a fixed price, called a nuptial fee.

101. 'Let mutual fidelity continue until death,' this may be considered as the summary of the highest law for husband and wife.

102. Let man and woman, united in marriage, constantly exert themselves, that (they may not be) disunited (and) may not violate their mutual fidelity.

103. Thus has been declared to you the law for a husband and his wife, which is intimately connected with conjugal happiness, and the manner of raising offspring in times of calamity; learn (now the law concerning) the division of the inheritance.

104. After the death of the father and of the mother, the brothers, being assembled, may divide among themselves in equal shares the paternal (and the maternal) estate; for, they have no power (over it) while the parents live.

105. (Or) the eldest alone may take the whole paternal estate, the others shall live under him just as (they lived) under their father.

106. Immediately on the birth of his first-born a man is (called) the father of a son and is freed from the debt to the manes; that (son), therefore, is worthy (to receive) the whole estate.

107. That son alone on whom he throws his debt and through whom he obtains immortality, is begotten for (the fulfilment of) the law; all the rest they consider the offspring of desire.

108. As a father (supports) his sons, so let the eldest support his younger brothers, and let them also in accordance with the law behave towards their eldest brother as sons (behave towards their father).

109. The eldest (son) makes the family prosperous or, on the contrary, brings it to ruin; the eldest (is considered) among men most worthy of honour, the eldest is not treated with disrespect by the virtuous.

110. If the eldest brother behaves as an eldest brother (ought to do), he (must be treated) like a mother and like a father; but if he behaves in a manner unworthy of an eldest brother, he should yet be honoured like a kinsman.

111. Either let them thus live together, or apart, if (each) desires (to gain) spiritual merit; for (by their living) separate (their) merit increases, hence separation is meritorious.

112. The additional share (deducted) for the eldest shall be one-twentieth (of the estate) and the best of all chattels, for the middlemost half of that, but for the youngest one-fourth.

113. Both the eldest and the youngest shall take (their shares) according to (the rule just) stated (each of) those who are between the eldest and the youngest, shall have the share (prescribed for the) middlemost.

114. Among the goods of every kind the eldest shall take the best (article), and (even a single chattel) which is particularly good, as well as the best of ten (animals).

115. But among (brothers) equally skilled in their occupations, there is no additional share, (consisting of the best animal) among ten; some trifle only shall be given to the eldest as a token of respect.

116. If additional shares are thus deducted, one must allot equal shares (out of the residue to each); but if no deduction is made, the allotment of the shares among them shall be (made) in the following manner.

117. Let the eldest son take one share in excess, the (brother) born next after him one (share) and a half, the younger ones one share each; thus the law is settled.

118. But to the maiden (sisters) the brothers shall severally give (portions) out of their shares, each out of his share one-fourth part; those who refuse to give (it), will become outcasts.

119. Let him never divide (the value of) a single goat or sheep, or a (single beast) with uncloven hoofs; it is prescribed (that) a single goat or sheep (remaining after an equal division, belongs) to the eldest alone.

120. If a younger brother begets a son on the wife of the elder, the division must then be made equally; this the law is settled.

121. The representative (the son begotten on the wife) is not invested with the right of the principal (the eldest brother to an additional share); the principal (became) a father on the procreation (of a son by his younger brother); hence one should give a share to the (son begotten on the wife of the elder brother) according to the rule (stated above).

122. If there be a doubt, how the division shall be made, in case the younger son is born of the elder wife and the elder son of the younger wife,

123. (Then the son) born of the first wife shall take as his additional share one (most excellent) bull; the next best bulls (shall belong) to those (who are) inferior on account of their mothers.

124. But the eldest (son, being) born of the eldest wife, shall receive fifteen cows and a bull, the other sons may then take shares according to (the seniority of) their mothers; that is a settled rule.

125. Between sons born of wives equal (in caste) (and) without (any other) distinction no seniority in right of the mother exists; seniority is declared (to be) according to birth.

126. And with respect to the Subrahmanya (texts) also it is recorded that the invocation (of Indra shall be made) by the first-born, of twins likewise, (conceived at one time) in the wombs (of their mothers) the seniority is declared (to depend) on (actual) birth.

127. He who has no son may make his daughter in the following manner an appointed daughter (putrika, saying to her husband), 'The (male) child, born of her, shall perform my funeral rites.'

128. According to this rule Daksha, himself, lord of created beings, formerly made (all his female offspring) appointed daughters in order to multiply his race.

129. He gave ten to Dharma, thirteen to Kasyapa, twenty-seven to King Soma, honouring (them) with an affectionate heart.

130. A son is even (as) oneself, (such) a daughter is equal to a son; how can another (heir) take the estate, while such (an appointed daughter who is even) oneself, lives?

131. But whatever may be the separate property of the mother, that is the share of the unmarried daughter alone; and the son of an (appointed) daughter shall take the whole estate of (his maternal grandfather) who leaves no son.

132. The son of an (appointed) daughter, indeed, shall (also) take the estate of his (own) father, who leaves no (other) son; he shall (then) present two funeral cakes to his own father and to his maternal grandfather.

133. Between a son's son and the son of an (appointed) daughter there is no difference, neither with respect to worldly matters nor to sacred duties; for their father and mother both sprang from the body of the same (man).

134. But if, after a daughter has been appointed, a son be born (to her father), the division (of the inheritance) must in that (case) be equal; for there is no right of primogeniture for a woman.

135. But if an appointed daughter by accident dies without (leaving) a son, the husband of the appointed daughter may, without hesitation, take that estate.

136. Through that son whom (a daughter), either not appointed or appointed, may bear to (a husband) of equal (caste), his maternal grandfather (has) a son's son; he shall present the funeral cake and take the estate.

137. Through a son he conquers the worlds, through a son's son he obtains immortality, but through his son's grandson he gains the world of the sun.

138. Because a son delivers (trayate) his father from the hell called Put, he was therefore called put-tra (a deliverer from Put) by the Self-existent (Svayambhu) himself.

139. Between a son's son and the son of a daughter there exists in this world no difference; for even the son of a daughter saves him (who has no sons) in the next world, like the son's son.

140. Let the son of an appointed daughter first present a funeral cake to his mother, the second to her father, the funeral to his father's father.

141. Of the man who has an adopted (Datrima) son possessing all good qualities, that same (son) shall take the inheritance, though brought from another family.

142. An adopted son shall never take the family (name) and the estate of his natural father; the funeral cake follows the family (name) and the estate, the funeral offerings of him who gives (his son in adoption) cease (as far as that son is concerned).

143. The son of a wife, not appointed (to have issue by another), and he whom (an appointed female, already) the mother of a son, bears to her brother-in-law, are both unworthy of a share, (one being) the son of an adulterer and (the other) produced through (mere) lust.

144. Even the male (child) of a female (duly) appointed, not begotten according to the rule (given above), is unworthy of the paternal estate; for he was procreated by an outcast.

145. A son (legally) begotten on such an appointed female shall inherit like a legitimate son of the body; for that seed and the produce belong, according to the law, to the owner of the soil.

146. He who takes care of his deceased brother's estate and of his widow, shall, after raising up a son for his brother, give that property even to that (son).

147. If a woman (duly) appointed bears a son to her brother-in-law or to another (Sapinda), that (son, if he is) begotten through desire, they declare (to be) incapable of inheriting and to be produced in vain.

148. The rules (given above) must be understood (to apply) to a distribution among sons of women of the same (caste); hear (now the law) concerning those begotten by one man on many wives of different (castes).

149. If there be four wives of a Brahmana in the direct order of the castes, the rule for the division (of the estate) among the sons born of them is as follows:

150. The (slave) who tills (the field), the bull kept for impregnating cows, the vehicle, the ornaments, and the house shall be given as an additional portion to the Brahmana (son), and one most excellent share.

151. Let the son of the Brahmana (wife) take three shares of the (remainder of the) estate, the son of the Kshatriya two, the son of the Vaisya a share and a half, and the son of the Sudra may take one share.

152. Or let him who knows the law make ten shares of the whole estate, and justly distribute them according to the following rule:

153. The Brahmana (son) shall take four shares, son of the Kshatriya (wife) three, the son of the Vaisya shall have two parts, the son of the Sudra may take one share.

154. Whether (a Brahmana) have sons or have no sons (by wives of the twice-born castes), the (heir) must, according to the law, give to the son of a Sudra (wife) no more than a tenth (part of his estate).

155. The son of a Brahmana, a Kshatriya, and a Vaisya by a Sudra (wife) receives no share of the inheritance; whatever his father may give to him, that shall be his property.

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156. All the sons of twice-born men, born of wives of the same caste, shall equally divide the estate, after the others have given to the eldest an additional share.

157. For a Sudra is ordained a wife of his own caste only (and) no other; those born of her shall have equal shares, even if there be a hundred sons.

158. Among the twelve sons of men whom Manu, sprung from the Self-existent (Svayambhu), enumerates, six are kinsmen and heirs, and six not heirs, (but) kinsmen.

159. The legitimate son of the body, the son begotten on a wife, the son adopted, the son made, the son secretly born, and the son cast off, (are) the six heirs and kinsmen.

160. The son of an unmarried damsel, the son received with the wife, the son bought, the son begotten on a re-married woman, the son self-given, and the son of a Sudra female, (are) the six (who are) not heirs, (but) kinsmen.

161. Whatever result a man obtains who (tries to) cross a (sheet of) water in an unsafe boat, even that result obtains he who (tries to) pass the gloom (of the next world) with (the help of) bad (substitutes for a real) son.

162. If the two heirs of one man be a legitimate son of his body and a son begotten on his wife, each (of the two sons), to the exclusion of the other, shall take the estate of his (natural) father.

163. The legitimate son of the body alone (shall be) the owner of the paternal estate; but, in order to avoid harshness, let him allow a maintenance to the rest.

164. But when the legitimate son of the body divides the paternal estate, he shall give one-sixth or one-fifth part of his father's property to the son begotten on the wife.

165. The legitimate son and the son of the wife (thus) share the father's estate; but the other tell become members of the family, and inherit according to their order (each later named on failure of those named earlier).

166. Him whom a man begets on his own wedded wife, let him know to be a legitimate son of the body (Aurasa), the first in rank.

167. He who was begotten according to the peculiar law (of the Niyoga) on the appointed wife of a dead man, of a eunuch, or of one diseased, is called a son begotten on a wife (Kshetraga).

168. That (boy) equal (by caste) whom his mother or his father affectionately give, (confirming the gift) with (a libation of) water, in times of distress (to a man) as his son, must be considered as an adopted son (Datrima).

169. But he is considered a son made (Kritrima) whom (a man) makes his son, (he being) equal (by caste), acquainted with (the distinctions between) right and wrong, (and) endowed with filial virtues.

170. If (a child) be born in a man's house and his father be not known, he is a son born secretly in the house (Gudhotpanna), and shall belong to him of whose wife he was born.

171. He whom (a man) receives as his son, (after he has been) deserted by his parents or by either of them, is called a son cast off (Apaviddha).

172. A son whom a damsel secretly bears in the house of her father, one shall name the son of an unmarried damsel (Kanina, and declare) such offspring of an unmarried girl (to belong) to him who weds her (afterwards).

173. If one marries, either knowingly or unknowingly, a pregnant (bride), the child in her womb belongs to him who weds her, and is called (a son) received with the bride (Sahodha).

174. If a man buys a (boy), whether equal or unequal (in good qualities), from his father and mother for the sake of having a son, that (child) is called a (son) bought (Kritaka).

175. If a woman abandoned by her husband, or a widow, of her own accord contracts a second marriage and bears (a son), he is called the son of a re-married woman (Paunarbhava).

176. If she be (still) a virgin, or one who returned (to her first husband) after leaving him, she is worthy to again perform with her second (or first deserted) husband the (nuptial) ceremony.

177. He who, having lost his parents or being abandoned (by them) without (just) cause, gives himself to a (man), is called a son self-given (Svayamdatta).

178. The son whom a Brahmana begets through lust on a Sudra female is, (though) alive (parayan), a corpse (sava), and hence called a Parasava (a living corpse).

179. A son who is (begotten) by a Sudra on a female slave, or on the female slave of his slave, may, if permitted (by his father), take a share (of the inheritance); thus the law is settled.

180. These eleven, the son begotten on the wife and the rest as enumerated (above), the wise call substitutes for a son, (taken) in order (to prevent) a failure of the (funeral) ceremonies.

181. Those sons, who have been mentioned in connection with (the legitimate son of the body), being begotten by strangers, belong (in reality) to him from whose seed they sprang, but not to the other (man who took them).

182. If among brothers, sprung from one (father), one have a son, Manu has declared them all to have male offspring through that son.

183. If among all the wives of one husband one have a son, Manu declares them all (to be) mothers of male children through that son.

184. On failure of each better (son), each next inferior (one) is worthy of the inheritance; but if there be many (of) equal (rank), they shall all share the estate.

185. Not brothers, nor fathers, (but) sons take the paternal estate; but the father shall take the inheritance of (a son) who leaves no male issue, and his brothers.

186. To three (ancestors) water must be offered, to three the funeral cake is given, the fourth (descendant is) the giver of these (oblations), the fifth has no connection (with them).

187. Always to that (relative within three degrees) who is nearest to the (deceased) Sapinda the estate shall belong; afterwards a Sakulya shall be (the heir, then) the spiritual teacher or the pupil.

188. But on failure of all (heirs) Brahmanas (shall) share the estate, (who are) versed the in the three Vedas, pure and self-controlled; thus the law is not violated.

189. The property of a Brahmana must never be taken by the king, that is a settled rule; but (the property of men) of other castes the king may take on failure of all (heirs).

190. (If the widow) of (a man) who died without leaving issue, raises up to him a son by a member of the family (Sagotra), she shall deliver to that (son) the whole property which belonged to the (deceased).

191. But if two (sons), begotten by two (different men), contend for the property (in the hands) of their mother, each shall take, to the exclusion of the other, what belonged to his father.

192. But when the mother has died, all the uterine brothers and the uterine sisters shall equally divide the mother's estate.

193. Even to the daughters of those (daughters) something should be given, as is seemly, out of the estate of their maternal grandmother, on the score of affection.

194. What (was given) before the (nuptial) fire, what (was given) on the bridal procession, what was given in token of love, and what was received from her brother, mother, or father, that is called the sixfold property of a woman.

195. (Such property), as well as a gift subsequent and what was given (to her) by her affectionate husband, shall go to her offspring, (even) if she dies in the lifetime of her husband.

196. It is ordained that the property (of a woman married) according to the Brahma, the Daiva, the Arsha, the Gandharva, or the Pragapatya rite (shall belong) to her husband alone, if she dies without issue.

197. But it is prescribed that the property which may have been given to a (wife) on an Asura marriage or (one of the) other (blamable marriages, shall go) to her mother and to her father, if she dies without issue.

198. Whatever property may have been given by her father to a wife (who has co-wives of different castes), that the daughter (of the) Brahmani (wife) shall take, or that (daughter's) issue.

199. Women should never make a hoard from (the property of) their families which is common to many, nor from their own (husbands' particular) property without permission.

200. The ornaments which may have been worn by women during their husbands' lifetime, his heirs shall not divide; those who divide them become outcasts.

201. Eunuchs and outcasts, (persons) born blind or deaf, the insane, idiots and the dumb, as well as those deficient in any organ (of action or sensation), receive no share.

202. But it is just that (a man) who knows (the law) should give even to all of them food and raiment without stint, according to his ability; he who gives it not will become all outcast.

203. If the eunuch and the rest should somehow or other desire to (take) wives, the offspring of such among them as have children is worthy of a share.

204. Whatever property the eldest (son) acquires (by his own exertion) after the father's death, a share of that (shall belong) to his younger (brothers), provided they have made a due progress in learning.

205. But if all of them, being unlearned, acquire property by their labour, the division of that shall be equal, (as it is) not property acquired by the father; that is a settled rule.

206. Property (acquired) by learning belongs solely to him to whom (it was given), likewise the gift of a friend, a present received on marriage or with the honey-mixture.

207. But if one of the brothers, being able (to maintain himself) by his own occupation, does not desire (a share of the family) property, he may be made separate (by the others) receiving a trifle out of his share to live upon.

208. What one (brother) may acquire by his labour without using the patrimony, that acquisition, (made solely) by his own effort, he shall not share unless by his own will (with his brothers).

209. But if a father recovers lost ancestral property, he shall not divide it, unless by his own will, with his sons, (for it is) self-acquired (property).

210. If brothers, (once) divided and living (again) together (as coparceners), make a second partition, the division shall in that case be equal; in such a case there is no right of primogeniture.

211. If the eldest or the youngest (brother) is deprived of his share, or if either of them dies, his share is not lost (to his immediate heirs).

212. His uterine brothers, having assembled together, shall equally divide it, and those brothers who were reunited (with him) and the uterine sisters.

213. An eldest brother who through avarice may defraud the younger ones, shall no (longer hold the position of) the eldest, shall not receive an (eldest son's additional) share, and shall be punished by the king.

214. All brothers who habitually commit forbidden acts, are unworthy of (a share of) the property, and the eldest shall not make (anything his) separate property without giving (an equivalent) to his younger brothers.

215. If undivided brethren, (living with their father,) together make an exertion (for gain), the father shall on no account give to them unequal shares (on a division of the estate).

216. But a son, born after partition, shall alone take the property of his father, or if any (of the other sons) be reunited with the (father), he shall share with them.

217. A mother shall obtain the inheritance of a son (who dies) without leaving issue, and, if the mother be dead, the paternal grandmother shall take the estate.

218. And if, after all the debts and assets have been duly distributed according to the rule, any (property) be afterwards discovered, one must divide it equally.

219. A dress, a vehicle, ornaments, cooked food, water, and female (slaves), property destined for pious uses or sacrifices, and a pasture-ground, they declare to be indivisible.

220. The division (of the property) and the rules for allotting (shares) to the (several) sons, those begotten on a wife and the rest, in (due) order, have been thus declared to you; hear (now) the laws concerning gambling.

221. Gambling and betting let the king exclude from his realm; those two vices cause the destruction of the kingdoms of princes.

222. Gambling and betting amount to open theft; the king shall always exert himself in suppressing both (of them).

223. When inanimate (things) are used (for staking money on them), that is called among men gambling (dyuta), when animate beings are used (for the same purpose), one must know that to be betting (samahvaya).

224. Let the king corporally punish all those (persons) who either gamble and bet or afford (an opportunity for it), likewise Sudras who assume the distinctive marks of twice-born (men).

225. Gamblers, dancers and singers, cruel men, men belonging to an heretical sect, those following forbidden occupations, and sellers of spirituous liquor, let him instantly banish from his town.

226. If such (persons who are) secret thieves, dwell in the realm of a king, they constantly harass his good subjects by their forbidden practices.

227. In a former Kalpa this (vice of) gambling has been seen to cause great enmity; a wise man, therefore, should not practise it even for amusement.

228. On every man who addicts himself to that (vice) either secretly or openly, the king may inflict punishment according to his discretion.

229. But a Kshatriya, a Vaisya, and a Sudra who are unable to pay a fine, shall discharge the debt by labour; a Brahmana shall pay it by installments.

230. On women, infants, men of disordered mind, the poor and the sick, the king shall inflict punishment with a whip, a cane, or a rope and the like.

231. But those appointed (to administer public) affairs, who, baked by the fire of wealth, mar the business of suitors, the king shall deprive of their property.

232. Forgers of royal edicts, those who corrupt his ministers, those who slay women, infants, or Brahmanas, and those who serve his enemies, the king shall put to death.

233. Whenever any (legal transaction) has been completed or (a punishment) been inflicted according to the law, he shall sanction it and not annul it.

234. Whatever matter his ministers or the judge may settle improperly, that the king himself shall (re-) settle and fine (them) one thousand (panas).

235. The slayer of a Brahmana, (A twice-born man) who drinks (the spirituous liquor called) Sura, he who steals (the gold of a Brahmana), and he who violates a Guru's bed, must each and all be considered as men who committed mortal sins (mahapataka).

236. On those four even, if they do not perform a penance, let him inflict corporal punishment and fines in accordance with the law.

237. For violating a Guru's bed, (the mark of) a female part shall be (impressed on the forehead with a hot iron); for drinking (the spirituous liquor called) Sura, the sign of a

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tavern; for stealing (the gold of a Brahmana), a dog's foot; for murdering a Brahmana, a headless corpse.

238. Excluded from all fellowship at meals, excluded from all sacrifices, excluded from instruction and from matrimonial alliances, abject and excluded from all religious duties, let them wander over (this) earth.

239. Such (persons) who have been branded with (indelible) marks must be cast off by their paternal and maternal relations, and receive neither compassion nor a salutation; that is the teaching of Manu.

240. But (men of) all castes who perform the prescribed penances, must not be branded on the forehead by the king, but shall be made to pay the highest amercement.

241. For (such) offences the middlemost amercement shall be inflicted on a Brahmana, or he may be banished from the realm, keeping his money and his chattels.

242. But (men of) other (castes), who have unintentionally committed such crimes, ought to be deprived of their whole property; if (they committed them) intentionally, they shall be banished.

243. A virtuous king must not take for himself the property of a man guilty of mortal sin; but if he takes it out of greed, he is tainted by that guilt (of the offender).

244. Having thrown such a fine into the water, let him offer it to Varuna, or let him bestow it on a learned and virtuous Brahmana.

245. Varuna is the lord of punishment, for he holds the sceptre even over kings; a Brahmana who has learnt the whole Veda is the lord of the whole world.

246. In that (country), where the king avoids taking the property of (mortal) sinners, men are born in (due) time (and are) long-lived,

247. And the crops of the husbandmen spring up, each as it was sown, and the children die not, and no misshaped (offspring) is born.

248. But the king shall inflict on a base-born (Sudra), who intentionally gives pain to Brahmanas, various (kinds of) corporal punishment which cause terror.

249. When a king punishes an innocent (man), his guilt is considered as great as when he sets free a guilty man; but (he acquires) merit when he punishes (justly).

250. Thus the (manner of) deciding suits (falling) under the eighteen titles, between two litigant parties, has been declared at length.

251. A king who thus duly fulfils his duties in accordance with justice, may seek to gain countries which he has not yet gained, and shall duly protect them when he has gained them.

252. Having duly settled his country, and having built forts in accordance with the Institutes, he shall use his utmost exertions to remove (those men who are nocuous like) thorns.

253. By protecting those who live as (becomes) Aryans and by removing the thorns, kings, solely intent on guarding their subjects, reach heaven.

254. The realm of that king who takes his share in kind, though he does not punish thieves, (will be) disturbed and he (will) lose heaven.

255. But if his kingdom be secure, protected by the strength of his arm, it will constantly flourish like a (well)- watered tree.

256. Let the king who sees (everything) through his spies, discover the two sorts of thieves who deprive others of their property, both those who (show themselves) openly and those who (lie) concealed.

257. Among them, the open rogues (are those) who subsist by (cheating in the sale of) various marketable commodities, but the concealed rogues are burglars, robbers in forests, and so forth.

258. Those who take bribes, cheats and rogues, gamblers, those who live by teaching (the performance of) auspicious ceremonies, sanctimonious hypocrites, and fortune-tellers,

259. Officials of high rank and physicians who act improperly, men living by showing their proficiency in arts, and clever harlots,

260. These and the like who show themselves openly, as well as others who walk in disguise (such as) non-Aryans who wear the marks of Aryans, he should know to be thorns (in the side of his people).

261. Having detected them by means of trustworthy persons, who, disguising themselves, (pretend) to follow the same occupations and by means of spies, wearing various disguises, he must cause them to be instigated (to commit offences), and bring them into his power.

262. Then having caused the crimes, which they committed by their several actions, to be proclaimed in accordance with the facts, the king shall duly punish them according to their strength and their crimes.

263. For the wickedness of evil-minded thieves, who secretly prowl over this earth, cannot be restrained except by punishment.

264. Assembly-houses, houses where water is distributed or cakes are sold, brothels, taverns and victualler's shops, cross-roads, well-known trees, festive assemblies, and play-houses and concert-rooms,

265. Old gardens, forests, the shops of artisans, empty dwellings, natural and artificial groves,

266. These and the like places the king shall cause to be guarded by companies of soldiers, both stationary and patrolling, and by spies, in order to keep away thieves.

267. By the means of clever reformed thieves, who associate with such (rogues), follow them and know their various machinations, he must detect and destroy them.

268. Under the pretext of (offering them) various dainties, of introducing them to Brahmanas, and on the pretence of (showing them) feats of strength, the (spies) must make them meet (the officers of justice).

269. Those among them who do not come, and those who suspect the old (thieves employed by the king), the king shall attack by force and slay together with their friends, blood relations, and connexions.

270. A just king shall not cause a thief to be put to death, (unless taken) with the stolen goods (in his possession); him who (is taken) with the stolen goods and the implements (of burglary), he may, without hesitation, cause to be slain.

271. All those also who in villages give food to thieves or grant them room for (concealing their implements), he shall cause to be put to death.

272. Those who are appointed to guard provinces and his vassals who have been ordered (to help), he shall speedily punish like thieves, (if they remain) inactive in attacks (by robbers).

273. Moreover if (a man), who subsists by (the fulfilment of) the law, departs from the established rule of the law, the (king) shall severely punish him by a fine, (because he) violated his duty.

274. Those who do not give assistance according to their ability when a village is being plundered, a dyke is being destroyed, or a highway robbery committed, shall be banished with their goods and chattels.

275. On those who rob the king's treasury and those who persevere in opposing (his commands), he shall inflict various kinds of capital punishment, likewise on those who conspire with his enemies.

276. But the king shall cut off the hands of those robbers who, breaking into houses, commit thefts at night, and cause them to be impaled on a pointed stake.

277. On the first conviction, let him cause two fingers of a cut-purse to be amputated; on the second, one hand and one foot; on the third, he shall suffer death.

278. Those who give (to thieves) fire, food, arms, or shelter, and receivers of stolen goods, the ruler shall punish like thieves.

279. Him who breaks (the dam of) a tank he shall slay (by drowning him) in water or by (some other) (mode of) capital punishment; or the offender may repair the (damage), but shall be made to pay the highest amercement.

280. Those who break into a (royal) storehouse, an armoury, or a temple, and those who steal elephants, horses, or chariots, he shall slay without hesitation.

281. But he who shall take away the water of a tank, made in ancient times, or shall cut off the supply of water, must be made to pay the first (or lowest) amercement.

282. But he who, except in a case of extreme necessity, drops filth on the king's high-road, shall pay two karshapanas and immediately remove (that) filth.

283. But a person in urgent necessity, an aged man, a pregnant woman, or a child, shall be reprimanded and clean the (place); that is a settled rule.

284. All physicians who treat (their patients) wrongly (shall pay) a fine; in the case of animals, the first (or lowest); in the case of human beings, the middlemost (amercement).

285. He who destroys a bridge, the flag (of a temple or royal palace), a pole, or images, shall repair the whole (damage) and pay five hundred (panas).

286. For adulterating unadulterated commodities, and for breaking gems or for improperly boring (them), the fine is the first (or lowest) amercement.

287. But that man who behaves dishonestly to honest (customers) or cheats in his prices, shall be fined in the first or in the middlemost amercement.

288. Let him place all prisons near a high-road, where the suffering and disfigured offenders can be seen.

289. Him who destroys the wall (of a town), or fills up the ditch (round a town), or breaks a (town)- gate, he shall instantly banish.

290. For all incantations intended to destroy life, for magic rites with roots (practised by persons) not related (to him against whom they are directed), and for various kinds of sorcery, a fine of two hundred (panas) shall be inflicted.

291. He who sells (for seed-corn that which is) not seed-corn, he who takes up seed (already sown), and he who destroys a boundary (-mark), shall be punished by mutilation.

292. But the king shall cause a goldsmith who behaves dishonestly, the most nocuous of all the thorns, to be cut to pieces with razors.

293. For the theft of agricultural implements, of arms and of medicines, let the king award punishment, taking into account the time (of the offence) and the use (of the object).

294. The king and his minister, his capital, his realm, his treasury, his army, and his ally are the seven constituent parts (of a kingdom); (hence) a kingdom is said to have seven limbs (anga).

295. But let him know (that) among these seven constituent parts of a kingdom (which have been enumerated) in due order, each earlier (named) is more important and (its destruction) the greater calamity.

296. Yet in a kingdom containing seven constituent parts, which is upheld like the triple staff (of an ascetic), there is no (single part) more important (than the others), by reason of the importance of the qualities of each for the others.

297. For each part is particularly qualified for (the accomplishment of) certain objects, (and thus) each is declared to be the most important for that particular purpose which is effected by its means.

298. By spies, by a (pretended) display of energy, and by carrying out (various) undertakings, let the king constantly ascertain his own and his enemy's strength;

299. Moreover, all calamities and vices; afterwards, when he has fully considered their relative importance, let him begin his operations.

300. (Though he be) ever so much tired (by repeated failures), let him begin his operations again and again; for fortune greatly favours the man who (strenuously) exerts himself in his undertakings.

301. The various ways in which a king behaves (resemble) the Krita, Treta, Dvapara, and Kali ages; hence the king is identified with the ages (of the world).

302. Sleeping he represents the Kali (or iron age), waking the Dvapara (or brazen) age, ready to act the Treta (or silver age), but moving (actively) the Krita (or golden) age.

303. Let the king emulate the energetic action of Indra, of the Sun, of the Wind, of Yama, of Varuna, of the Moon, of the Fire, and of the Earth.

304. As Indra sends copious rain during the four months of the rainy season, even so let the king, taking upon himself the office of Indra, shower benefits on his kingdom.

305. As the Sun during eight months (imperceptibly) draws up the water with his rays, even so let him gradually draw his taxes from his kingdom; for that is the office in which he resembles the Sun.

306. As the Wind moves (everywhere), entering (in the shape of the vital air) all created beings, even so let him penetrate (everywhere) through his spies; that is the office in which he resembles the Wind.

307. As Yama at the appointed time subjects to his rule both friends and foes, even so all subjects must be controlled by the king; that is the office in which he resembles Yama.

308. As (a sinner) is seen bound with ropes by Varuna, even so let him punish the wicked; that is his office in which he resembles Varuna.

309. He is a king, taking upon himself the office of the Moon, whose (appearance) his subjects (greet with as great joy) as men feel on seeing the full moon.

310. (If) he is ardent in wrath against criminals and endowed with brilliant energy, and destroys wicked vassals, then his character is said (to resemble) that of Fire.

311. As the Earth supports all created beings equally, thus (a king) who supports all his subjects, (takes upon himself) the office of the Earth.

312. Employing these and other means, the king shall, ever untired, restrain thieves both in his own dominions and in (those of) others.

313. Let him not, though fallen into the deepest distress, provoke Brahmanas to anger; for they, when angered, could instantly destroy him together with his army and his vehicles.

314. Who could escape destruction, when he provokes to anger those (men), by whom the fire was made to consume all things, by whom the (water of the) ocean was made undrinkable, and by whom the moon was made to wane and to increase again?

315. Who could prosper, while he injures those (men) who provoked to anger, could create other worlds and other guardians of the world, and deprive the gods of their divine station?

316. What man, desirous of life, would injure them to whose support the (three) worlds and the gods ever owe their existence, and whose wealth is the Veda?

317. A Brahmana, be he ignorant or learned, is a great divinity, just as the fire, whether carried forth (for the performance of a burnt-oblation) or not carried forth, is a great divinity.

318. The brilliant fire is not contaminated even in burial-places, and, when presented with oblations (of butter) at sacrifices, it again increases mightily.

319. Thus, though Brahmanas employ themselves in all (sorts of) mean occupations, they must be honoured in every way; for (each of) them is a very great deity.

320. When the Kshatriyas become in any way overbearing towards the Brahmanas, the Brahmanas themselves shall duly restrain them; for the Kshatriyas sprang from the Brahmanas.

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321. Fire sprang from water, Kshatriyas from Brahmanas, iron from stone; the all-penetrating force of those (three) has no effect on that whence they were produced.

322. Kshatriyas prosper not without Brahmanas, Brahmanas prosper not without Kshatriyas; Brahmanas and Kshatriyas, being closely united, prosper in this (world) and in the next.

323. But (a king who feels his end drawing nigh) shall bestow all his wealth, accumulated from fines, on Brahmanas, make over his kingdom to his son, and then seek death in battle.

324. Thus conducting himself (and) ever intent on (discharging) his royal duties, a king shall order all his servants (to work) for the good of his people.

325. Thus the eternal law concerning the duties of a king has been fully declared; know that the following rules apply in (due) order to the duties of Vaisyas and Sudras.

326. After a Vaisya has received the sacraments and has taken a wife, he shall be always attentive to the business whereby he may subsist and to (that of) tending cattle.

327. For when the Lord of creatures (Pragapati) created cattle, he made them over to the Vaisya; to the Brahmana, and to the king he entrusted all created beings.

328. A Vaisya must never (conceive this) wish, I will not keep cattle; and if a Vaisya is willing (to keep them), they must never be kept by (men of) other (castes).

329. (A Vaisya) must know the respective value of gems, of pearls, of coral, of metals, of (cloth) made of thread, of perfumes, and of condiments.

330. He must be acquainted with the (manner of) sowing of seeds, and of the good and bad qualities of fields, and he must perfectly know all measures and weights.

331. Moreover, the excellence and defects of commodities, the advantages and disadvantages of (different) countries, the (probable) profit and loss on merchandise, and the means of properly rearing cattle.

332. He must be acquainted with the (proper), wages of servants, with the various languages of men, with the manner of keeping goods, and (the rules of) purchase and sale.

333. Let him exert himself to the utmost in order to increase his property in a righteous manner, and let him zealously give food to all created beings.

334. But to serve Brahmanas (who are) learned in the Vedas, householders, and famous (for virtue) is the highest duty of a Sudra, which leads to beatitude.

335. (A Sudra who is) pure, the servant of his betters, gentle in his speech, and free from pride, and always seeks a refuge with Brahmanas, attains (in his next life) a higher caste.

336. The excellent law for the conduct of the (four) castes (varna), (when they are) not in distress, has been thus promulgated; now hear in order their (several duties) in times of distress.

LAWS OF MANU CHAPTER 10

1. Let the three twice-born castes (varna), discharging their (prescribed) duties, study (the Veda); but among them the Brahmana (alone) shall teach it, not the other two; that is an established rule.

2. The Brahmana must know the means of subsistence (prescribed) by law for all, instruct the others, and himself live according to (the law)

3. On account of his pre-eminence, on account of the superiority of his origin, on account of his observance of (particular) restrictive rules, and on account of his particular sanctification the Brahmana is the lord of (all) castes (varna).

4. Brahmana, the Kshatriya, and the Vaisya castes (varna) are the twice-born ones, but the fourth, the Sudra, has one birth only; there is no fifth (caste).

5. In all castes (varna) those (children) only which are begotten in the direct order on wedded wives, equal (in caste and married as) virgins, are to be considered as belonging to the same caste (as their fathers)

6. Sons, begotten by twice-born man on wives of the next lower castes, they declare to be similar (to their fathers, but) blamed on account of the fault (inherent) in their mothers.

7. Such is the eternal law concerning (children) born of wives one degree lower (than their husbands); know (that) the following rule (is applicable) to those born of women two or three degrees lower.

8. From a Brahmana a with the daughter of a Vaisya is born (a son) called an Ambashtha, with the daughter of a sudra a Nishada, who is also called Parasava.

9. From a Kshatriya and the daughter of a Sudra springs a being, called Ugra, resembling both a Kshatriya and a Sudra, ferocious in his manners, and delighting in cruelty.

10. Children of a Brahmana by (women of) the three (lower) castes, of a Kshatriya by (wives of) the two (lower) castes, and of a Vaisya by (a wife of) the one caste (below him) are all six called base-born (apasada).

11. From a Kshatriya by the daughter of a Brahmana is born (a son called) according to his caste (gati) a Suta; from a Vaisya by females of the royal and the Brahmana (castes) spring a Magadha and a Vaideha.

12. From a Sudra are born an Ayogava, a Kshattri, and a Kandala, the lowest of men, by Vaisya, Kshatriya, and Brahmana) females, (sons who owe their origin to) a confusion of the castes.

13. As an Ambashtha and an Ugra, (begotten) in the direct order on (women) one degree lower (than their husbands) are declared (to be), even so are a Kshattri and a Vaidehaka, though they were born in the inverse order of the castes (from mothers one degree higher than the fathers).

14. Those sons of the twice-born, begotten on wives of the next lower castes, who have been enumerated in due order, they call by the name Anantaras (belonging to the next lower caste), on account of the blemish (inherent) in their mothers.

15. A Brahmana begets on the daughter of an Ugra an Avrita, on the daughter of an Ambashtha an Abhira, but on a female of the Ayogava (caste) a Dhigvana.

16. From a Sudra spring in the inverse order (by females of the higher castes) three base-born (sons, apasada), an Ayogava, a Kshattri, and a Kandala, the lowest of men;

17. From a Vaisya are born in the inverse order of the castes a Magadha and a Vaideha, but from a Kshatriya a Suta only; these are three other base-born ones (apasada).

18. The son of a Nishada by a Sudra female becomes a Pukkasa by caste (gati), but the son of a Sudra by a Nishada female is declared to be a Kukkutaka.

19. Moreover, the son of by Kshattri by an Ugra female is called a Svapaka; but one begotten by a Vaidehaka on an Ambashtha female is named a Vena.

20. Those (sons) whom the twice-born beget on wives of equal caste, but who, not fulfilling their sacred duties, are excluded from the Savitri, one must designate by the appellation Vratyas.

21. But from a Vratya (of the) Brahmana (caste) spring the wicked Bhriggakantaka, the Avantya, the Vatadhana, the Pushpadha, and the Saikha.

22. From a Vratya (of the) Kshatriya (caste), the Ghalla, the Malla, the Likkhivi, the Nata, the Karana, the Khasa, and the Dravida.

23. From a Vratya (of the) Vaisya (caste) are born a Sudhanvan, an Akarya, a Karusha, a Viganman, a Maitra, and a Satvata.

24. By adultery (committed by persons) of (different) castes, by marriages with women who ought not to be married, and by the neglect of the duties and occupations (prescribed) to each, are produced (sons who owe their origin) to a confusion the castes.

25. I will (now) fully enumerate those (sons) of mixed origin, who are born of Anulomas and of Pratilomas, and (thus) are mutually connected.

26. The Suta, the Vaidehaka, the Kandala, that lowest of mortals, the Magadha, he of the Kshattri caste (gati), and the Ayogava,

27. These six (Pratilomas) beget similar races (varna) on women of their own (caste), they (also) produce (the like) with females of their mother's caste (gati), and with females (of) higher ones.

28. As a (Brahmana) begets on (females of) two out of the three (twice-born castes a son similar to) himself, (but inferior) on account of the lower degree (of the mother), and (one equal to himself) on a female of his own race, even so is the order in the case of the excluded (races, vahya).

29. Those (six mentioned above) also beget, the one on the females of the other, a great many (kinds of) despicable (sons), even more sinful than their (fathers), and excluded (from the Aryan community, vahya).

30. Just as a Sudra begets on a Brahmana female a being excluded (from the Aryan community), even so (a person himself) excluded pro creates with (females of) the four castes (varna, sons) more (worthy of being) excluded (than he himself).

31. But men excluded (by the Aryans, vahya), who approach females of higher rank, beget races (varna) still more worthy to be excluded, low men (hina) still lower races, even fifteen (in number).

32. A Dasyu begets on an Ayogava (woman) a Sairandhra, who is skilled in adorning and attending (his master), who, (though) not a slave, lives like a slave, (or) subsists by snaring (animals).

33. A Vaideha produces (with the same) a sweet-voiced Maitreyaka, who, ringing a bell at the appearance of dawn, continually. praises (great) men.

34. A Nishada begets (on the same) a Margava (or) Dasa, who subsists by working as a boatman, (and) whom the inhabitants of Aryavarta call a Kaivarta.

35. Those three base-born ones are severally begot on Ayogava women, who wear the clothes of the dead, are wicked, and eat reprehensible food.

36. From a Nishada springs (by a woman of the Vaideha caste) a Karavara, who works in leather; and from a Vaidehaka (by women of the Karavara and Nishada castes), an Andhra and a Meda, who dwell outside the village.

37. From a Kandala by a Vaideha woman is born a Pandusopaka, who deals in cane; from a Nishada (by the same) an Ahindika.

38. But from a Kandala by a Pukkasa woman is born the sinful Sopaka, who lives by the occupations of his sire, and is ever despised by good men.

39. A Nishada woman bears to a Kandala a son (called) Antyavasayin, employed in burial-grounds, and despised even by those excluded (from the Aryan community).

40. These races, (which originate) in a confusion (of the castes and) have been described according to their fathers and mothers, may be known by their occupations, whether they conceal or openly show themselves.

41. Six sons, begotten (by Aryans) on women of equal and the next lower castes (Anantara), have the duties of twice-born men; but all those born in consequence of a violation (of the law) are, as regards their duties, equal to Sudras.

42. By the power of austerities and of the seed (from which they sprang), these (races) obtain here among men more exalted or lower rank in successive births.

43. But in consequence of the omission of the sacred rites, and of their not consulting Brahmanas, the following tribes of Kshatriyas have gradually sunk in this world to the condition of Sudras;

44. (Viz.) the Paundrakas, the Kodas, the Dravidas, the Kambogas, the Yavanas, the Sakas, the Paradas, the Pahlavas, the Kinas, the Kiratas, and the Daradas.

45. All those tribes in this world, which are excluded from (the community of) those born from the mouth, the arms, the thighs, and the feet (of Brahman), are called Dasyus, whether they speak the language of the Mlekkhas (barbarians) or that of the Aryans.

46. Those who have been mentioned as the base-born (offspring, apasada) of Aryans, or as produced in consequence of a violation (of the law, apadhvamsaga), shall subsist by occupations reprehended by the twice-born.

47. To Sutas (belongs) the management of horses and of chariots; to Ambashthas, the art of healing; to Vaidehakas, the service of women; to Magadhas, trade;

48. Killing fish to Nishadas; carpenters' work to the Ayogava; to Medas, Andhras, Kunkus, and Madgus, the slaughter of wild animals;

49. To Kshattris, Ugras, and Pukkasas, catching and killing (animals) living in holes; to Dhigvanas, working in leather; to Venas, playing drums.

50. Near well-known trees and burial-grounds, on mountains and in groves, let these (tribes) dwell, known (by certain marks), and subsisting by their peculiar occupations.

51. But the dwellings of Kandalas and Svapakas shall be outside the village, they must be made Apapatras, and their wealth (shall be) dogs and donkeys.

52. Their dress (shall be) the garments of the dead, (they shall eat) their food from broken dishes, black iron (shall be) their ornaments, and they must always wander from place to place.

53. A man who fulfils a religious duty, shall not seek intercourse with them; their transactions (shall be) among themselves, and their marriages with their equals.

54. Their food shall be given to them by others (than an Aryan giver) in a broken dish; at night they shall not walk about in villages and in towns.

55. By day they may go about for the purpose of their work, distinguished by marks at the king's command, and they shall carry out the corpses (of persons) who have no relatives; that is a settled rule.

56. By the king's order they shall always execute the criminals, in accordance with the law, and they shall take for themselves the clothes, the beds, and the ornaments of (such) criminals.

57. A man of impure origin, who belongs not to any caste, (varna, but whose character is) not known, who, (though) not an Aryan, has the appearance of an Aryan, one may discover by his acts.

58. Behaviour unworthy of an Aryan, harshness, cruelty, and habitual neglect of the prescribed duties betray in this world a man of impure origin.

59. A base-born man either resembles in character his father, or his mother, or both; he can never conceal his real nature.

60. Even if a man, born in a great family, sprang from criminal intercourse, he will certainly possess the faults of his (father), be they small or great.

61. But that kingdom in which such bastards, sullying (the purity of) the castes, are born, perishes quickly together with its inhabitants.

62. Dying, without the expectation of a reward, for the sake of Brahmanas and of cows, or in the defence of women and children, secures beatitude to those excluded (from the Aryan community, vahya.)

63. Abstention from injuring (creatures), veracity, abstention from unlawfully appropriating (the goods of others), purity, and control of the organs, Manu has declared to be the summary of the law for the four castes.

64. If (a female of the caste), sprung from a Brahmana and a Sudra female, bear (children) to one of the highest caste, the inferior (tribe) attains the highest caste within the seventh generation.

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65. (Thus) a Sudra attains the rank of a Brahmana, and (in a similar manner) a Brahmana sinks to the level of a Sudra; but know that it is the same with the offspring of a Kshatriya or of a Vaisya.

66. If (a doubt) should arise, with whom the preeminence (is, whether) with him whom an Aryan by chance begot on a non-Aryan female, or (with the son) of a Brahmana woman by a non-Aryan,

67. The decision is as follows: 'He who was begotten by an Aryan on a non-Aryan female, may become (like to) an Aryan by his virtues; he whom an Aryan (mother) bore to a non-Aryan father (is and remains) unlike to an Aryan.'

68. The law prescribes that neither of the two shall receive the sacraments, the first (being excluded) on account of the lowness of his origin, the second (because the union of his parents was) against the order of the castes.

69. As good seed, springing up in good soil, turns out perfectly well, even so the son of an Aryan by an Aryan woman is worthy of all the sacraments.

70. Some sages declare the seed to be more important, and others the field; again others (assert that) the seed and the field (are equally important); but the legal decision on this point is as follows:

71. Seed, sown on barren ground, perishes in it; a (fertile) field also, in which no (good) seed (is sown), will remain barren.

72. As through the power of the seed (sons) born of animals became sages who are honoured and praised, hence the seed is declared to be more important.

73. Having considered (the case of) a non-Aryan who acts like an Aryan, and (that of) an Aryan who acts like a non-Aryan, the creator declared, 'Those two are neither equal nor unequal.'

74. Brahmanas who are intent on the means (of gaining union with) Brahman and firm in (discharging) their duties, shall live by duly performing the following six acts, (which are enumerated) in their (proper) order.

75. Teaching, studying, sacrificing for himself, sacrificing for others, making gifts and receiving them are the six acts (prescribed) for a Brahmana.

76. But among the six acts (ordained) for him three are his means of subsistence, (viz.) sacrificing for others, teaching, and accepting gifts from pure men.

77. (Passing) from the Brahmana to the Kshatriya, three acts (incumbent on the former) are forbidden, (viz.) teaching, sacrificing for others, and, thirdly, the acceptance of gifts.

78. The same are likewise forbidden to a Vaisya, that is a settled rule; for Manu, the lord of creatures (Pragapati), has not prescribed them for (men of) those two (castes).

79. To carry arms for striking and for throwing (is prescribed) for Kshatriyas as a means of subsistence; to trade, (to rear) cattle, and agriculture for Vaisyas; but their duties are liberality, the study of the Veda, and the performance of sacrifices.

80. Among the several occupations the most commendable are, teaching the Veda for a Brahmana, protecting (the people) for a Kshatriya, and trade for a Vaisya.

81. But a Brahmana, unable to subsist by his peculiar occupations just mentioned, may live according to the law applicable to Kshatriyas; for the latter is next to him in rank.

82. If it be asked, 'How shall it be, if he cannot maintain himself by either (of these occupations?" the answer is), he may adopt a Vaisya's mode of life, employing himself in agriculture and rearing cattle.

83. But a Brahmana, or a Kshatriya, living by a Vaisya's mode of subsistence, shall carefully avoid (the pursuit of) agriculture, (which causes) injury to many beings and depends on others.

84. (Some) declare that agriculture is something excellent, (but) that means of subsistence is blamed by the virtuous; (for) the wooden (implement) with iron point injuries the earth and (the beings) living in the earth.

85. But he who, through a want of means of subsistence, gives up the strictness with respect to his duties, may sell, in order to increase his wealth, the commodities sold by Vaisyas, making (however) the (following) exceptions.

86. He must avoid (selling) condiments of all sorts, cooked food and sesamum, stones, salt, cattle, and human (beings),

87. All dyed cloth, as well as cloth made of hemp, or flax, or wool, even though they be not dyed, fruit, roots, and (medical) herbs

88. Water, weapons, poison, meat, Soma, and perfumes of all kinds, fresh milk, honey, sour milk, clarified butter, oil, wax, sugar, Kusa-grass;

89. All beasts of the forest, animals with fangs or tusks, birds, spirituous liquor, indigo, lac, and all one-hoofed beasts.

90. But he who subsists by agriculture, may at pleasure sell unmixed sesamum grains for sacred purposes, provided he himself has grown them and has not kept them long.

91. If he applies sesamum to any other purpose but food, anointing, and charitable gifts, he will be born (again) as a worm and, together with his ancestors, be plunged into the ordure of dogs.

92. By (selling) flesh, salt, and lac a Brahmana at once becomes an outcast; by selling milk he becomes (equal to) a Sudra in three days.

93. But by willingly selling in this world other (forbidden) commodities, a Brahmana assumes after seven nights the character of a Vaisya.

94. Condiments may be bartered for condiments, but by no means salt for (other) condiments; cooked food (may be exchanged) for (other kinds of) cooked food, and sesamum seeds for grain in equal quantities.

95. A Kshatriya who has fallen into distress, may subsist by all these (means); but he must never arrogantly adopt the mode of life (prescribed for his) betters.

96. A man of low caste who through covetousness lives by the occupations of a higher one, the king shall deprive of his property and banish.

97. It is better (to discharge) one's own (appointed) duty incompletely than to perform completely that of another; for he who lives according to the law of another (caste) is instantly excluded from his own.

98. A Vaisya who is unable to subsist by his own duties, may even maintain himself by a Sudra's mode of life, avoiding (however) acts forbidden (to him), and he should give it up, when he is able (to do so).

99. But a Sudra, being unable to find service with the twice-born and threatened with the loss of his sons and wife (through hunger), may maintain himself by handicrafts.

100. (Let him follow) those mechanical occupations and those various practical arts by following which the twice-born are (best) served.

101. A Brahmana who is distressed through a want of means of subsistence and pines (with hunger), (but) unwilling to adopt a Vaisya's mode of life and resolved to follow his own (prescribed) path, may act in the following manner.

102. A Brahmana who has fallen into distress may accept (gifts) from anybody; for according to the law it is not possible (to assert) that anything pure can be sullied.

103. By teaching, by sacrificing for, and by accepting gifts from despicable (men) Brahmanas (in distress) commit not sin; for they (are as pure) as fire and water.

104. He who, when in danger of losing his life, accepts food from any person whatsoever, is no more tainted by sin than the sky by mud.

105. Agigarta, who suffered hunger, approached in order to slay (his own) son, and was not tainted by sin, since he (only) sought a remedy against famishing.

106. Vamadeva, who well knew right and wrong, did not sully himself when, tormented (by hunger), he desired to eat the flesh of a dog in order to save his life.

107. Bharadvaga, a performer of great austerities, accepted many cows from the carpenter Bribu, when he was starving together with his sons in a lonely forest.

108. Visvamitra, who well knew what is right or wrong, approached, when he was tormented by hunger, (to eat) the haunch of a dog, receiving it the hands of a Kandala.

109. On (comparing) the acceptance (of gifts from low men), sacrificing (for them), and teaching (them), the acceptance of gifts is the meanest (of those acts) and (most) reprehensible for a Brahmana (on account of its results) in the next life.

110. (For) assisting in sacrifices and teaching are (two acts) always performed for men who have received the sacraments; but the acceptance of gifts takes place even in (case the giver is) a Sudra of the lowest class.

111. The guilt incurred by offering sacrifices for teaching (unworthy men) is removed by muttering (sacred texts) and by burnt offerings, but that incurred by accepting gifts (from them) by throwing (the gifts) away and by austerities.

112. A Brahmana who is unable to maintain himself, should (rather) glean ears or grains from (the field of) any (man); gleaning ears is better than accepting gifts, picking up single grains is declared to be still more laudable.

113. If Brahmanas, who are Snatakas, are pining with hunger, or in want of (utensils made of) common metals, or of other property, they may ask the king for them; if he is not disposed to be liberal, he must be left.

114. (The acceptance on an untilled field is less blamable than (that of) a tilled one; (with respect to) cows, goats, sheep, gold, grain, and cooked food, (the acceptance of) each earlier-named (article is less blamable than of the following ones).

115. There are seven lawful modes of acquiring property, (viz.) inheritance, finding or friendly donation, purchase, conquest, lending at interest, the performance of work, and the acceptance of gifts from virtuous men.

116. Learning, mechanical arts, work for wages, service, rearing cattle, traffic, agriculture, contentment (with little), alms, and receiving interest on money, are the ten modes of subsistence (permitted to all men in times of distress).

117. Neither a Brahmana, nor a Kshatriya must lend (money at) interest; but at his pleasure (either of them) may, in times of distress when he requires money) for sacred purposes, lend to a very sinful man at a small interest.

118. A Kshatriya (king) who, in times of distress, takes even the fourth part (of the crops), is free from guilt, if he protects his subjects to the best of his ability.

119. His peculiar duty is conquest, and he must not turn back in danger; having protected the Vaisyas by his weapons, he may cause the legal tax to be collected;

120. (Viz.) from Vaisyas one-eighth as the tax on grain, one-twentieth (on the profits on gold and cattle), which amount at least to one Karshapana; Sudras, artisans, and mechanics (shall) benefit (the king) by (doing) work (for him).

121. If a Sudra, (unable to subsist by serving Brahmanas,) seeks a livelihood, he may serve Kshatriyas, or he may also seek to maintain himself by attending on a wealthy Vaisya.

122. But let a (Sudra) serve Brahmanas, either for the sake of heaven, or with a view to both (this life and the next); for he who is called the servant of a Brahmana thereby gains all his ends.

123. The service of Brahmanas alone is declared (to be) an excellent occupation for a Sudra; for whatever else besides this he may perform will bear him no fruit.

124. They must allot to him out of their own family (-property) a suitable maintenance, after considering his ability, his industry, and the number of those whom he is bound to support.

125. The remnants of their food must be given to him, as well as their old clothes, the refuse of their grain, and their old household furniture.

126. A Sudra cannot commit an offence, causing loss of caste (pataka), and he is not worthy to receive the sacraments; he has no right to (fulfil) the sacred law (of the Aryans, yet) there is no prohibition against (his fulfilling certain portions of) the law.

127. (Sudras) who are desirous to gain merit, and know (their) duty, commit no sin, but gain praise, if they imitate the practice of virtuous men without reciting sacred texts.

128. The more a (Sudra), keeping himself free from envy, imitates the behaviour of the virtuous, the more he gains, without being censured, (exaltation in) this world and the next.

129. No collection of wealth must be made by a Sudra, even though he be able (to do it); for a Sudra who has acquired wealth, gives pain to Brahmanas.

130. The duties of the four castes (varna) in times of distress have thus been declared, and if they perform them well, they will reach the most blessed state.

131. Thus all the legal rules for the four castes have been proclaimed; I next will promulgate the auspicious rules for penances.

LAWS OF MANU CHAPTER 11

1. Him who wishes (to marry for the sake of having) offspring, him who wishes to perform a sacrifice, a traveller, him who has given away all his property, him who begs for the sake of his teacher, his father, or his mother, a student of the Veda, and a sick man,

2. These nine Brahmanas one should consider as Snatakas, begging in order to fulfil the sacred law; to such poor men gifts must be given in proportion to their learning.

3. To these most excellent among the twice-born, food and presents (of money) must be given; it is declared that food must be given to others outside the sacrificial enclosure.

4. But a king shall bestow, as is proper, jewels of all sorts, and presents for the sake of sacrifices on Brahmanas learned in the Vedas.

5. If a man who has a wife weds a second wife, having begged money (to defray the marriage expenses, he obtains) no advantage but sensual enjoyment; but the issue (of his second marriage belongs) to the giver of the money.

6. One should give, according to one's ability, wealth to Brahmanas learned in the Veda and living alone; (thus) one obtains after death heavenly bliss.

7. He who may possess (a supply of) food sufficient to maintain those dependant on him during three years or more than that, is worthy to drink the Soma-juice.

8. But a twice-born man, who, though possessing less than that amount of property, nevertheless drinks the Soma-juice, does not derive any benefit from that (act), though he may have formerly drunk the Soma-juice.

9. (If) an opulent man (is) liberal towards strangers, while his family lives in distress, that counterfeit virtue will first make him taste the sweets (of fame, but afterwards) make him swallow the poison (of punishment in hell).

10. If (a man) does anything for the sake of his happiness in another world, to the detriment of those whom he is bound to maintain, that produces evil results for him, both while he lives and when he is dead.

11. If a sacrifice, (offered) by (any twice-born) sacrificer, (and) especially by a Brahmana, must remain incomplete through (the want of) one requisite, while a righteous king rules,

12. That article (required) for the completion of the sacrifice, may be taken (forcibly) from the house of any Vaisya, who possesses a large number of cattle, (but) neither performs the (minor) sacrifices nor drinks the Soma-juice;

13. (Or) the (sacrificer) may take at his pleasure two or three (articles required for a sacrifice) from the house of a Sudra; for a Sudra has no business with sacrifices.

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14. If (a man) possessing one hundred cows, kindles not the sacred fire, or one possessing a thousand cows, drinks not the Soma-juice, a (sacrificer) may unhesitatingly take (what he requires) from the houses of those two, even (though they be Brahmanas or Kshatriyas);

15. (Or) he may take (it by force or fraud) from one who always takes and never gives, and who refuses to give it; thus the fame (of the taker) will spread and his merit increase.

16. Likewise he who has not eaten at (the time of) six meals, may take at (the time of) the seventh meal (food) from a man who neglects his sacred duties, without (however) making a provision for the morrow,

17. Either from the threshing-floor, or from a field, or out of the house, or wherever he finds it; but if (the owner) asks him, he must confess to him that (deed and its cause).

18. (On such occasions) a Kshatriya must never take the property of a (virtuous Brahmana; but he who is starving may appropriate the possessions of a Dasyu, or of one who neglects his sacred duties.

19. He who takes property from the wicked and bestows it on the virtuous, transforms himself into a boat, and carries both (over the sea of misfortune).

20. The property of those who zealously offer sacrifices, the wise call the property of the gods; but the wealth of those who perform no sacrifices is called the property of the Asuras.

21. On him (who, for the reasons stated, appropriates another's possessions), a righteous king shall not inflict punishment; for (in that case) a Brahmana pines with hunger through the Kshatriya's want of care.

22. Having ascertained the number of those dependent on such a man, and having fully considered his learning and his conduct, the king shall allow him, out of his own property, a maintenance whereon he may live according to the law;

23. And after allotting to him a maintenance, the king must protect him in every way; for he obtains from such (a man) whom he protects, the part of his spiritual merit.

24. A Brahmana shall never beg from a Sudra property for a sacrifice; for a sacrificer, having begged (it from such a man), after death is born (again) as a Kandala.

25. A Brahmana who, having begged any property for a sacrifice, does not use the whole (for that purpose), becomes for a hundred years a (vulture of the kind called) Bhasa, or a crow.

26. That sinful man, who, through covetousness, seizes the property of the gods, or the property of Brahmanas, feeds in another world on the leavings of vultures.

27. In case the prescribed animal and Soma-sacrifices cannot be performed, let him always offer at the change of the year a Vaisvanari Ishti as a penance (for the omission).

28. But a twice-born, who, without being in distress, performs his duties according to the law for times of distress, obtains no reward for them in the next world; that is the opinion (of the sages).

29. By the Visve-devas, by the Sadhyas, and by the great sages (of the) Brahmana (caste), who were afraid of perishing in times of distress, a substitute was made for the (principal) rule.

30. That evil-minded man, who, being able (to fulfil) the original law, lives according to the secondary rule, reaps no reward for that after death.

31. A Brahmana who knows the law need not bring any (offence) to the notice of the king; by his own power alone be can punish those men who injure him.

32. His own power is greater than the power of the king; the Brahmana therefore, may punish his foes by his own power alone.

33. Let him use without hesitation the sacred texts, revealed by Atharvan and by Angiras; speech, indeed, is the weapon of the Brahmana, with that he may slay his enemies.

34. A Kshatriya shall pass through misfortunes which have befallen him by the strength of his arms, a Vaisya and a Sudra by their wealth, the chief of the twice-born by muttered prayers and burnt-oblations.

35. The Brahmana is declared (to be) the creator (of the world), the punisher, the teacher, (and hence) a benefactor (of all created beings); to him let no man say anything unpropitious, nor use any harsh words.

36. Neither a girl, nor a (married) young woman, nor a man of little learning, nor a fool, nor a man in great suffering, nor one uninitiated, shall offer an Agnihotra.

37. For such (persons) offering a burnt-oblation sink into hell, as well as he to whom that (Agnihotra) belongs; hence the person who sacrifices (for another) must be skilled in (the performance of) Vaitana (rites), and know the whole Veda.

38. A Brahmana who, though wealthy, does not give, as fee for the performance of an Agnyadheya, a horse sacred to Pragapati, becomes (equal to one) who has not kindled the sacred fires.

39. Let him who has faith and controls his senses perform other meritorious acts, but let him on no account offer sacrifices at which he gives smaller fees (than those prescribed).

40. The organs (of sense and action), honour, (bliss in) heaven, longevity, fame, offspring, and cattle are destroyed by a sacrifice at which (too) small sacrificial fees are given; hence a man of small means should not offer a (Srauta) sacrifice.

41. A Brahmana who, being an Agnihotrin, voluntarily neglects the sacred fires, shall perform a lunar penance during one month; for that (offence) is equal to the slaughter of a son.

42. Those who, obtaining wealth from Sudras, (and using that) offer an Agnihotra, are priests officiating for Sudras, (and hence) censured among those who recite the Veda.

43. Treading with his foot on the heads of those fools who worship a fire (kindled at the expense) of a Sudra, the giver (of the wealth) shall always pass over his miseries (in the next world).

44. A man who omits a prescribed act, or performs a blamable act, or cleaves to sensual enjoyments, must perform a penance.

45. (All) sages prescribe a penance for a sin unintentionally committed; some declare, on the evidence of the revealed texts, (that it may be performed) even for an intentional (offence).

46. A sin unintentionally committed is expiated by the recitation of Vedic texts, but that which (men) in their folly commit intentionally, by various (special) penances.

47. A twice-born man, having become liable to perform a penance, be it by (the decree of) fate or by (an act) committed in a former life, must not, before the penance has been performed, have intercourse with virtuous men.

48. Some wicked men suffer a change of their (natural) appearance in consequence of crimes committed in this life, and some in consequence of those committed in a former (existence).

49. He who steals the gold (of a Brahmana) has diseased nails; a drinker of (the spirituous liquor called) Sura, black teeth; the slayer of a Brahmana, consumption; the violator of a Guru's bed, a diseased skin;

50. An informer, a foul-smelling nose; a calumniator, a stinking breath; a stealer of grain, deficiency in limbs; he who adulterates (grain), redundant limbs;

51. A stealer of (cooked) food, dyspepsia; a stealer of the words (of the Veda), dumbness a stealer of clothes, white leprosy; a horse-stealer, lameness.

52. The stealer of a lamp will become blind; he who extinguishes it will become one-eyed; injury (to sentient beings) is punished by general sickliness; an adulterer (will have) swellings (in his limbs).

53. Thus in consequence of a remnant of (the guilt of former) crimes, are born idiots, dumb, blind, deaf, and deformed men, who are (all) despised by the virtuous.

54. Penances, therefore, must always be performed for the sake of purification, because those whose sins have not been expiated, are born (again) with disgraceful marks.

55. Killing a Brahmana, drinking (the spirituous liquor called) Sura, stealing (the gold of a Brahmana), adultery with a Guru's wife, and associating with such (offenders), they declare (to be) mortal sins (mahapataka).

56. Falsely attributing to oneself high birth, giving information to the king (regarding a crime), and falsely accusing one's teacher, (are offences) equal to slaying a Brahmana.

57. Forgetting the Veda, reviling the Vedas, giving false evidence, slaying a friend, eating forbidden food, or (swallowing substances) unfit for food, are six (offences) equal to drinking Sura.

58. Stealing a deposit, or men, a horse, and silver, land, diamonds and (other) gems, is declared to be equal to stealing the gold (of a Brahmana).

59. Carnal intercourse with sisters by the same mother, with (unmarried) maidens, with females of the lowest castes, with the wives of a friend, or of a son, they declare to be equal to the violation of a Guru's bed.

60. Slaying kine, sacrificing for those who are unworthy to sacrifice, adultery, selling oneself, casting off one's teacher, mother, father, or son, giving up the (daily) study of the Veda, and neglecting the (sacred domestic) fire,

61. Allowing one's younger brother to marry first, marrying before one's elder brother, giving a daughter to, or sacrificing for, (either brother),

62. Defiling a damsel, usury, breaking a vow, selling a tank, a garden, one's wife, or child,

63. Living as a Vratya, casting off a relative, teaching (the Veda) for wages, learning (the Veda) from a paid teacher, and selling goods which one ought not to sell,

64. Superintending mines (or factories) of any sort, executing great mechanical works, injuring (living) plants, subsisting on (the earnings of) one's wife, sorcery (by means of sacrifices), and working (magic by means of) roots, (and so forth),

65. Cutting down green trees for firewood, doing acts for one's own advantage only, eating prohibited food,

66. Neglecting to kindle the sacred fires, theft, non-payment of (the three) debts, studying bad books, and practising (the arts of) dancing and singing,

67. Stealing grain, base metals, or cattle, intercourse with women who drink spirituous liquor, slaying women, Sudras, Vaisyas, or Kshatriyas, and atheism, (are all) minor offences, causing loss of caste (Upapataka).

68. Giving pain to a Brahmana (by a blow), smelling at things which ought not to be smelt at, or at spirituous liquor, cheating, and an unnatural offence with a man, are declared to cause the loss of caste (Gatibhramsa)

69. Killing a donkey, a horse, a camel, a deer, an elephant, a goat, a sheep, a fish, a snake, or a buffalo, must be known to degrade (the offender) to a mixed caste (Samkarikarana).

70. Accepting presents from blamed men, trading, serving Sudras, and speaking a falsehood, make (the offender) unworthy to receive gifts (Apatra).

71. Killing insects, small or large, or birds, eating anything kept close to spirituous liquors, stealing fruit, firewood, or flowers, (are offences) which make impure (Malavaha).

72. Learn (now) completely those penances, by means of which all the several offences mentioned (can) be expiated.

73. For his purification the slayer of a Brahmana shall make a hut in the forest and dwell (in it) during twelve years, subsisting on alms and making the skull of a dead man his flag.

74. Or let him, of his own free will, become (in a battle) the target of archers who know (his purpose); or he may thrice throw himself headlong into a blazing fire;

75. Or he may offer a horse-sacrifice, a Svargit, a Gosava, an Abhigit, a Visvagit, a Trivrit, or an Agnishtut;

76. Or, in order to remove (the guilt of) slaying a Brahmana, he may walk one hundred yoganas, reciting one of the Vedas, eating little, and controlling his organs;

77. Or he may present to a Brahmana, learned in the Vedas, whole property, as much wealth as suffices for the maintenance (of the recipient), or a house together with the furniture;

78. Or, subsisting on sacrificial food, he may walk against the stream along (the whole course of the river) Sarasvati; or, restricting his food (very much), he may mutter thrice the Samhita of a Veda.

79. Having shaved off (all his hair), he may dwell at the extremity of the village, or in a cow-pen, or in a hermitage, or at the root of a tree, taking pleasure in doing good to cows and Brahmanas.

80. He who unhesitatingly abandons life for the sake of Brahmanas or of cows, is freed from (the guilt of) the murder of a Brahmana, and (so is he) who saves (the life of) a cow, or of a Brahmana.

81. If either he fights at least three times (against robbers in defence of) a Brahmana's (property), or reconquers the whole property of a Brahmana, or if he loses his life for such a cause, he is freed (from his guilt).

82. He who thus (remains) always firm in his vow, chaste, and of concentrated mind, removes after the lapse of twelve years (the guilt of) slaying a Brahmana.

83. Or he who, after confessing his crime in an assembly of the gods of the earth (Brahmanas), and the gods of men (Kshatriyas), bathes (with the priests) at the close of a horse-sacrifice, is (also) freed (from guilt).

84. The Brahmana is declared (to be) the root of the sacred law and the Kshatriya its top; hence he who has confessed his sin before an assembly of such men, becomes pure.

85. By his origin alone a Brahmana is a deity even for the gods, and (his teaching is) authoritative for men, because the Veda is the foundation for that.

86. (If) only three of them who are learned in the Veda proclaim the expiation for offences, that shall purify the (sinners); for the words of learned men are a means of purification.

87. A Brahmana who, with a concentrated mind, follows any of the (above-mentioned) rules, removes the sin committed by slaying a Brahmana through his self-control.

88. For destroying the embryo (of a Brahmana, the sex of which was) unknown, for slaying a Kshatriya or a Vaisya who are (engaged in or) have offered a (Vedic) sacrifice, or a (Brahmana) woman who has bathed after temporary uncleanness (Atreyi), he must perform the same penance,

89. Likewise for giving false evidence (in an important cause), for passionately abusing the teacher, for stealing a deposit, and for killing (his) wife or his friend:

90. This expiation has been prescribed for unintentionally killing a Brahmana; but for intentionally slaying a Brahmana no atonement is ordained.

91. A twice-born man who has (intentionally) drunk, through delusion of mind, (the spirituous liquor called) Sura shall drink that liquor boiling-hot; when his body has been completely scalded by that, he is freed from his guilt;

92. Or he may drink cow's urine, water, milk, clarified butter or (liquid) cowdung boiling-hot, until he dies;

93. Or, in order to remove (the guilt of) drinking Sura, he may eat during a year once (a day) at night grains (of rice) or oilcake, wearing clothes made of cowhair and his own hair in braids and carrying (a wine cup as) a flag.

94. Sura, indeed, is the dirty refuse (mala) of grain, sin also is called dirt (mala); hence a Brahmana, a Kshatriya, and a Vaisya shall not drink Sura.

95. Sura one must know to be of three kinds, that distilled from molasses (gaudi), that distilled from ground rice, and that distilled from Madhuka-flowers (madhvi); as the one

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(named above) even so are all (three sorts) forbidden to the chief of the twice-born.

96. Sura, (all other) intoxicating drinks and decoctions and flesh are the food of the Yakshas, Rakshasas, and Pisakas; a Brahmana who eats (the remnants of) the offerings consecrated to the gods, must not partake of such (substances).

97. A Brahmana, stupefied by drunkenness, might fall on something impure, or (improperly) pronounce Vedic (texts), or commit some other act which ought not to be committed.

98. When the Brahman (the Veda) which dwells in his body is (even) once (only) deluged with spirituous liquor, his Brahmanhood forsakes him and he becomes a Sudra.

99. The various expiations for drinking (the spirituous liquors called) Sura have thus been explained; I will next proclaim the atonement for stealing the gold (of a Brahmana).

100. A Brahmana who has stolen the gold (of a Brahmana) shall go to the king and, confessing his deed, say, 'Lord, punish me!'

101. Taking (from him) the club (which he must carry), the king himself shall strike him once, by his death the thief becomes pure; or a Brahmana (may purify himself) by austerities.

102. He who desires to remove by austerities the guilt of stealing the gold (of a Brahmana), shall perform the penance (prescribed) for the slayer of a Brahmana, (living) in a forest and dressed in (garments) made of bark.

103. By these penances a twice-born man may remove the guilt incurred by a theft (of gold); but he may atone for connexion with a Guru's wife by the following penances.

104. He who has violated his Guru's bed, shall, after confessing his crime, extend himself on a heated iron bed, or embrace the red-hot image (of a woman); by dying he becomes pure;

105. Or, having himself cut off his organ and his testicles and having taken them in his joined hands, he may walk straight towards the region of Nirriti (the south-west), until he falls down (dead);

106. Or, carrying the foot of a bedstead, dressed in (garments of) bark and allowing his beard to grow, he may, with a concentrated mind, perform during a whole year the Krikkhra (or hard, penance), revealed by Pragapati, in a lonely forest;

107. Or, controlling his organs, he may during three months continuously perform the lunar penance, (subsisting) on sacrificial food or barley-gruel, in order to remove (the guilt of) violating a Guru's bed.

108. By means of these penances men who have committed mortal sins (Mahapataka) may remove their guilt, but those who committed minor offences, causing loss of caste, (Upapataka, can do it) by the various following penances.

109. He who has committed a minor offence by slaying a cow (or bull) shall drink during (the first) month (a decoction of) barley-grains; having shaved all his hair, and covering himself with the hide (of the slain cow), he must live in a cow-house.

110. During the two (following) months he shall eat a small (quantity of food) without any factitious salt at every fourth meal-time, and shall bathe in the urine of cows, keeping his organs under control.

111. During the day he shall follow the cows and, standing upright, inhale the dust (raised by their hoofs); at night, after serving and worshipping them, he shall remain in the (posture, called) virasana.

112. Controlling himself and free from anger, he must stand when they stand, follow them when they walk, and seat himself when they lie down.

113. (When a cow is) sick, or is threatened by danger from thieves, tigers, and the like, or falls, or sticks in a morass, he must relieve her by all possible means:

114. In heat, in rain, or in cold, or when the wind blows violently, he must not seek to shelter himself, without (first) sheltering the cows according to his ability.

115. Let him not say (a word), if a cow eats (anything) in his own or another's house or field or on the threshing-floor, or if a calf drinks (milk).

116. The slayer of a cow who serves cows in this manner, removes after three months the guilt which he incurred by killing a cow.

117. But after he has fully performed the penance, he must give to (Brahmanas) learned in the Veda ten cows and a bull, (or) if he does not possess (so much property) he must offer to them all he has.

118. Twice-born men who have committed (other) minor offences (Upapataka), except a student who has broken his vow (Avakirnin), may perform, in order to purify themselves, the same penance or also a lunar penance.

119. But a student who has broken his vow shall offer at night on a crossway to Nirriti a one-eyed ass, according to the rule of the Pakayagnas.

120. Having offered according to the rule oblations in the fire, he shall finally offer (four) oblations of clarified butter to Vata, to Indra, to the teacher (of the gods, Brihaspati) and to Agni, reciting the Rik verse 'May the Maruts grant me,' &c.

121. Those who know the Veda declare that a voluntary effusion of semen by a twice-born (youth) who fulfils the vow (of studentship constitutes) a breach of that vow.

122. The divine light which the Veda imparts to the student, enters, if he breaks his vow, the Maruts, Puruhuta (Indra), the teacher (of the gods, Brihaspati) and Pavaka (Fire).

123. When this sin has been committed, he shall go begging to seven houses, dressed in the hide of the (sacrificed) ass, proclaiming his deed.

124. Subsisting on a single (daily meal that consists) of the alms obtained there and bathing at (the time of) the three savanas (morning, noon, and evening), he becomes pure after (the lapse of) one year.

125. For committing with intent any of the deeds which cause loss of caste (Gatibhramsakara), (the offender) shall perform a Samtapana Krikkhra; (for doing it) unintentionally, (the Krikkhra) revealed by Pragapati.

126. As atonement for deeds which degrade to a mixed caste (Samkara), and for those which make a man unworthy to receive gifts (Apatra), (he shall perform) the lunar (penance) during a month; for (acts) which render impure (Malinikaraniya) he shall scald himself during three days with (hot) barley-gruel.

127. One fourth (of the penance) for the murder of a Brahmana is prescribed (as expiation) for (intentionally) killing a Kshatriya, one-eighth for killing a Vaisya; know that it is one-sixteenth for killing a virtuous Sudra.

128. But if a Brahmana unintentionally kills a Kshatriya, he shall give, in order to purify himself, one thousand cows and a bull;

129. Or he may perform the penance prescribed for the murderer of a Brahmana during three years, controlling himself, wearing his hair in braids, staying far away from the village, and dwelling at the root of a tree.

130. A Brahmana who has slain a virtuous Vaisya, shall perform the same penance during one year, or he may give one hundred cows and one (bull).

131. He who has slain a Sudra, shall perform that whole penance during six months, or he may also give ten white cows and one bull to a Brahmana.

132. Having killed a cat, an ichneumon, a blue jay, a frog, a dog, an iguana, an owl, or a crow, he shall perform the penance for the murder of a Sudra;

133. Or he may drink milk during three days, or walk one hundred yoganas, or bathe in a river, or mutter the hymn addressed to the Waters.

134. For killing a snake, a Brahmana shall give a spade of black iron, for a eunuch a load of straw and a masha of lead;

135. For a boar a pot of clarified butter, for a partridge a drona of sesamum-grains, for a parrot a calf two years old, for a crane (a calf) three years old.

136. If he has killed a Hamsa, a Balaka, a heron, a peacock, a monkey, a falcon, or a Bhasa, he shall give a cow to a Brahmana.

137. For killing a horse, he shall give a garment, for (killing) an elephant, five black bulls, for (killing) a goat, or a sheep, a draught-ox, for killing a donkey, (a calf) one year old;

138. But for killing carnivorous wild beasts, he shall give a milch-cow, for (killing) wild beasts that are not carnivorous, a heifer, for killing a camel, one krishnala.

139. For killing adulterous women of the four castes, he must give, in order to purify himself, respectively a leathern bag, a bow, a goat, or a sheep.

140. A twice-born man, who is unable to atone by gifts for the slaughter of a serpent and the other (creatures mentioned), shall perform for each of them, a Krikkhra (penance) in order to remove his guilt.

141. But for destroying one thousand (small) animals that have bones, or a whole cart-load of boneless (animals), he shall perform the penance (prescribed) for the murder of a Sudra.

142. But for killing (small) animals which have bones, he should give some trifle to a Brahmana; if he injures boneless (animals), he becomes pure by a suppressing his breath (pranayama).

143. For cutting fruit-trees, shrubs, creepers, lianas, or flowering plants, one hundred Rikas must be muttered.

144. (For destroying) any kind of creature, bred in food, in condiments, in fruit, or in flowers, the expiation is to eat clarified butter.

145. If a man destroys for no good purpose plants produced by cultivation, or such as spontaneously spring up in the forest, he shall attend a cow during one day, subsisting on milk alone.

146. The guilt incurred intentionally or unintentionally by injuring (created beings) can be removed by means of these penances; hear (now, how) all (sins) committed by partaking of forbidden food (or drink, can be expiated).

147. He who drinks unintentionally (the spirituous liquor, called) Varuni, becomes pure by being initiated (again); (even for drinking it) intentionally (a penance) destructive to life must not be imposed; that is a settled rule.

148. He who has drunk water which has stood in a vessel used for keeping (the spirituous liquor, called) Sura, or other intoxicating drinks, shall drink during five (days and) nights (nothing but) milk in which the Sankhapushpi (plant) has been boiled.

149. He who has touched spirituous liquor, has given it away, or received it in accordance with the rule, or has drunk water left by a Sudra, shall drink during three days water in which Kusa-grass has been boiled.

150. But when a Brahmana who has partaken of Soma-juice, has smelt the odour exhaled by a drinker of Sura, he becomes pure by thrice suppressing his breath in water, and eating clarified butter.

151. (Men of) the three twice-born castes who have unintentionally swallowed ordure or urine, or anything that has touched Sura, must be initiated again.

152. The tonsure, (wearing) the sacred girdle, (carrying) a staff, going to beg, and the vows (incumbent on a student), are omitted on the second initiation of twice-born men.

153. But he who has eaten the food of men, whose food must not be eaten, or the leavings of women and Sudras, or forbidden flesh, shall drink barley (-gruel) during seven (days and) nights.

154. A twice-born man who has drunk (fluids that have turned) sour, or astringent decoctions, becomes, though (these substances may) not (be specially) forbidden, impure until they have been digested.

155. A twice-born man, who has swallowed the urine or ordure of a village pig, of a donkey, of a camel, of a jackal, of a monkey, or of a crow, shall perform a lunar penance.

156. He who has eaten dried meat, mushrooms growing on the ground, or (meat, the nature of) which is unknown, (or) such as had been kept in a slaughter-house, shall perform the same penance.

157. The atonement for partaking of (the meat of) carnivorous animals, of pigs, of camels, of cocks, of crows, of donkeys, and of human flesh, is a Tapta Krikkhra (penance).

158. If a twice-born man, who has not returned (home from his teacher's house), eats food, given at a monthly (Sraddha,) he shall fast during three days and pass one day (standing) in water.

159. But a student who on any occasion eats honey or meat, shall perform an ordinary Krikkhra (penance), and afterwards complete his vow (of studentship).

160. He who eats what is left by a cat, by a crow, by a mouse (or rat), by a dog, or by an ichneumon, or (food) into which a hair or an insect has fallen, shall drink (a decoction of) the Brahmasuvarkala (plant).

161. He who desires to be pure, must not eat forbidden food, and must vomit up such as he has eaten unintentionally, or quickly atone for it by (various) means of purification.

162. The various rules respecting penances for eating forbidden food have been thus declared; hear now the law of those penances which remove the guilt of theft.

163. The chief of the twice-born, having voluntarily stolen (valuable) property, grain, or cooked food, from the house of a caste-fellow, is purified by performing Krikkhra (penances) during a whole year.

164. The lunar penance has been declared to be the expiation for stealing men and women, and (for wrongfully appropriating) a field, a house, or the water of wells and cisterns.

165. He who has stolen objects of small value from the house of another man, shall, after restoring the (stolen article), perform a Samtapana Krikkhra for his purification.

166. (To swallow) the five products of the cow (pankagavya) is the atonement for stealing eatables of various kinds, a vehicle, a bed, a seat, flowers, roots, or fruit.

167. Fasting during three (days and) nights shall be (the penance for stealing) grass, wood, trees, dry food, molasses, clothes, leather, and meat.

168. To subsist during twelve days on (uncooked) grains (is the penance for stealing) gems, pearls, coral, copper, silver, iron, brass, or stone.

169. (For stealing) cotton, silk, wool, an animal with cloven hoofs, or one with uncloven hoofs, a bird, perfumes, medicinal herbs, or a rope (the penance is to subsist) during three days (on) milk.

170. By means of these penances, a twice-born man may remove the guilt of theft; but the guilt of approaching women who ought not to be approached (agamya), he may expiate by (the following) penances.

171. He who has had sexual intercourse with sisters by the same mother, with the wives of a friend, or of a son, with unmarried maidens, and with females of the lowest castes, shall perform the penance, prescribed for the violation of a Guru's bed.

172. He who has approached the daughter of his father's sister, (who is almost equal to) a sister, (the daughter) of his mother's sister, or of his mother's full brother, shall perform a lunar penance.

173. A wise man should not take as his wife any of these three; they must not be wedded because they are (Sapinda-) relatives, he who marries (one of them), sinks low.

174. A man who has committed a bestial crime, or an unnatural crime with a female, or has had intercourse in water,

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or with a menstruating woman, shall perform a Samtapana Krikkhra.

175. A twice-born man who commits an unnatural offence with a male, or has intercourse with a female in a cart drawn by oxen, in water, or in the day-time, shall bathe, dressed in his clothes.

176. A Brahmana who unintentionally approaches a woman of the Kandala or of (any other) very low caste, who eats (the food of such persons) and accepts (presents from them) becomes an outcast; but (if he does it) intentionally, he becomes their equal.

177. An exceedingly corrupt wife let her husband confine to one apartment, and compel her to perform the penance which is prescribed for males in cases of adultery.

178. If, being solicited by a man (of) equal (caste), she (afterwards) is again unfaithful, then a Krikkhra and a lunar penance are prescribed as the means of purifying her.

179. The sin which a twice-born man commits by dallying one night with a Vrishali, he removes in three years, by subsisting on alms and daily muttering (sacred texts).

180. The atonement (to be performed) by sinners (of) four (kinds) even, has been thus declared; hear now the penances for those who have intercourse with outcasts.

181. He who associates with an outcast, himself becomes an outcast after a year, not by sacrificing for him, teaching him, or forming a matrimonial alliance with him, but by using the same carriage or seat, or by eating with him.

182. He who associates with any one of those outcasts, must perform, in order to atone for (such) intercourse, the penance prescribed for that (sinner).

183. The Sapindas and Samanodakas of an outcast must offer (a libation of) water (to him, as if he were dead), outside (the village), on an inauspicious day, in the evening and in the presence of the relatives, officiating priests, and teachers.

184. A female slave shall upset with her foot a pot filled with water, as if it were for a dead person; (his Sapindas) as well as the Samanodakas shall be impure for a day and a night;

185. But thenceforward it shall be forbidden to converse with him, to sit with him, to give him a share of the inheritance, and to hold with him such intercourse as is usual among men;

186. And (if he be the eldest) his right of primogeniture shall be withheld and the additional share, due to the eldest son; and his stead a younger brother, excelling in virtue, shall obtain the share of the eldest.

187. But when he has performed his penance, they shall bathe with him in a holy pool and throw down a new pot, filled with water.

188. But he shall throw that pot into water, enter his house and perform, as before, all the duties incumbent on a relative.

189. Let him follow the same rule in the case of female outcasts; but clothes, food, and drink shall be given to them, and they shall live close to the (family-) house.

190. Let him not transact any business with unpurified sinners; but let him in no way reproach those who have made atonement.

191. Let him not dwell together with the murderers of children, with those who have returned evil for good, and with the slayers of suppliants for protection or of women, though they may have been purified according to the sacred law.

192. Those twice-born men who may not have been taught the Savitri (at the time) prescribed by the rule, he shall cause to perform three Krikkhra (penances) and afterwards initiate them in accordance with the law.

193. Let him prescribe the same (expiation) when twice-born men, who follow forbidden occupations or have neglected (to learn) the Veda, desire to perform a penance.

194. If Brahmanas acquire property by a reprehensible action, they become pure by relinquishing it, muttering prayers, and (performing) austerities.

195. By muttering with a concentrated mind the Savitri three thousand times, (dwelling) for a month in a cow-house, (and) subsisting on milk, (a man) is freed from (the guilt of) accepting presents from a wicked man.

196. But when he returns from the cow-house, emaciated with his fast, and reverently salutes, (the Brahmanas) shall ask him, 'Friend, dost thou desire to become our equal?'

197. If he answers to the Brahmanas, 'Forsooth, (I will not offend again), 'he shall scatter (some) grass for the cows; if the cows hallow that place (by eating the grass) the (Brahmana) shall re-admit him (into their community).

198. He who has sacrificed for Vratyas, or has performed the obsequies of strangers, or a magic sacrifice (intended to destroy life) or an Ahina sacrifice, removes (his guilt) by three Krikkhra (penances).

199. A twice-born man who has cast off a suppliant for protection, or has (improperly) divulged the Veda, atones for his offence, if he subsists during a year on barley.

200. He who has been bitten by a dog, a jackal, or a donkey, by a tame carnivorous animal, by a man, a horse, a camel, or a (village-) pig, becomes pure by suppressing his breath (Pranayama).

201. To eat during a month at each sixth mealtime (only), to recite the Samhita (of a Veda), and (to perform) daily the Sakala oblations, are the means of purifying those excluded from society at repasts (Apanktya).

202. A Brahmana who voluntarily rode in a carriage drawn by camels or by asses, and he who bathed naked, become pure by suppressing his breath (Pranayama).

203. He who has relieved the necessities of nature, being greatly pressed, either without (using) water or in water, becomes pure by bathing outside (the village) in his clothes and by touching a cow.

204. Fasting is the penance for omitting the daily rites prescribed by the Veda and for neglecting the special duties of a Snataka.

205. He who has said 'Hum' to a Brahmana, or has addressed one of his betters with 'Thou,' shall bathe, fast during the remaining part of the day, and appease (the person offended) by a reverential salutation.

206. He who has struck (a Brahmana) even with a blade of grass, tied him by the neck with a cloth, or conquered him in an altercation, shall appease him by a prostration.

207. But he who, intending to hurt a Brahmana, has threatened (him with a stick and the like) shall remain in hell during a hundred years; he who (actually) struck him, during one thousand years.

208. As many particles of dust as the blood of a Brahmana causes to coagulate, for so many thousand years shall the shedder of that (blood) remain in hell.

209. For threatening a Brahmana, (the offender) shall perform a Krikkhra, for striking him an Atikrikkhra, for shedding his blood a Krikkhra and an Atikrikkhra.

210. For the expiation of offences for which no atonement has been prescribed, let him fix a penance after considering (the offender's) strength and the (nature of the) offence.

211. I will (now) describe to you those means, adopted by the gods, the sages, and the manes, through which a man may remove his sins.

212. A twice-born man who performs (the Krikkhra penance), revealed by Pragapati, shall eat during three days in the morning (only), during (the next) three days in the evening (only), during the (following) three days (food given) unasked, and shall fast during another period of three days.

213. (Subsisting on) the urine of cows, cowdung, milk, sour milk, clarified butter, and a decoction of Kusa-grass, and fasting during one (day and) night, (that is) called a Samtapana Krikkhra.

214. A twice-born man who performs an Atikrikkhra (penance), must take his food during three periods of three days in the manner described above, (but) one mouthful only at each meal, and fast during the last three days.

215. A Brahmana who performs a Taptakrikkhra (penance) must drink hot water, hot milk, hot clarified butter and (inhale) hot air, each during three days, and bathe once with a concentrated mind.

216. A fast for twelve days by a man who controls himself and commits no mistakes, is called a Paraka Krikkhra, which removes all guilt.

217. If one diminishes (one's food daily by) one mouthful during the dark (half of the month) and increases (it in the same manner) during the bright half, and bathes (daily) at the time of three libations (morning, noon, and evening), that is called a lunar penance (Kandrayana).

218. Let him follow throughout the same rule at the (Kandrayana, called) yavamadhyama (shaped like a barley-corn), (but) let him (in that case) begin the lunar penance, (with a) controlled (mind), on the first day of the bright half (of the month).

219. He who performs the lunar penance of ascetics, shall eat (during a month) daily at midday eight mouthfuls, controlling himself and consuming sacrificial food (only).

220. If a Brahmana, with concentrated mind, eats (during a month daily) four mouthfuls in a morning and four after sunset, (that is) called the lunar penance of children.

221. He who, concentrating his mind, eats during a month in any way thrice eighty mouthfuls of sacrificial food, dwells (after death) in the world of the moon.

222. The Rudras, likewise the Adityas, the Vasus and the Maruts, together with the great sages, practised this (rite) in order to remove all evil.

223. Burnt oblations, accompanied by (the recitation of) the Mahavyahritis, must daily be made (by the penitent) himself, and he must abstain from injuring (sentient creatures), speak the truth, and keep himself free from anger and from dishonesty.

224. Let him bathe three times each day and thrice each night, dressed in his clothes; let him on no account talk to women, Sudras, and outcasts.

225. Let him pass the time standing (during the day) and sitting (during the night), or if he is unable (to do that) let him lie on the (bare) ground; let him be chaste and observe the vows (of a student) and worship his Gurus, the gods, and Brahmanas.

226. Let him constantly mutter the Savitri and (other) purificatory texts according to his ability; (let him) carefully (act thus) on (the occasion of) all (other) vows (performed) by way of penance.

227. By these expiations twice-born men must be purified whose sins are known, but let him purify those whose sins are not known by (the recitation of) sacred texts and by (the performance of) burnt oblations.

228. By confession, by repentance, by austerity, and by reciting (the Veda) a sinner is freed from guilt, and in case no other course is possible, by liberality.

229. In proportion as a man who has done wrong, himself confesses it, even so far he is freed from guilt, as a snake from its slough.

230. In proportion as his heart loathes his evil deed, even so far is his body freed from that guilt.

231. He who has committed a sin and has repented, is freed from that sin, but he is purified only by (the resolution of) ceasing (to sin and thinking) 'I will do so no more.'

232. Having thus considered in his mind what results will arise from his deeds after death, let him always be good in thoughts, speech, and actions.

233. He who, having either unintentionally or intentionally committed a reprehensible deed, desires to be freed from (the guilt on it, must not commit it a second time.

234. If his mind be uneasy with respect to any act, let him repeat the austerities (prescribed as a penance) for it until they fully satisfy (his conscience).

235. All the bliss of gods and men is declared by the sages to whom the Veda was revealed, to have austerity for its root, austerity for its middle, and austerity for its end.

236. (The pursuit of sacred) knowledge is the austerity of a Brahmana, protecting (the people) is the austerity of a Kshatriya, (the pursuit of) his daily business is the austerity of a Vaisya, and service the austerity of a Sudra.

237. The sages who control themselves and subsist on fruit, roots, and air, survey the three worlds together with their moving and immovable (creatures) through their austerities alone.

238. Medicines, good health, learning, and the various divine stations are attained by austerities alone; for austerity is the means of gaining them.

239. Whatever is hard to be traversed, whatever is hard to be attained, whatever is hard to be reached, whatever is hard to be performed, all (this) may be accomplished by austerities; for austerity (possesses a power) which it is difficult to surpass.

240. Both those who have committed mortal sin (Mahapataka) and all other offenders are severally freed from their guilt by means of well-performed austerities.

241. Insects, snakes, moths, bees, birds and beings, bereft of motion, reach heaven by the power of austerities.

242. Whatever sin men commit by thoughts, words, or deeds, that they speedily burn away by penance, if they keep penance as their only riches.

243. The gods accept the offerings of that Brahmana alone who has purified himself by austerities, and grant to him all he desires.

244. The lord, Pragapati, created these Institutes (of the sacred law) by his austerities alone; the sages likewise obtained (the revelation of) the Vedas through their austerities.

245. The gods, discerning that the holy origin of this whole (world) is from austerity, have thus proclaimed the incomparable power of austerity.

246. The daily study of the Veda, the performance of the great sacrifices according to one's ability, (and) patience (in suffering) quickly destroy all guilt, even that caused by mortal sins.

247. As a fire in one moment consumes with its bright flame the fuel that has been placed on it, even so he who knows the Veda destroys all guilt by the fire of knowledge.

248. The penances for sins (made public) have been thus declared according to the law; learn next the penances for secret (sins).

249. Sixteen suppressions of the breath (Pranayama) accompanied by (the recitation of) the Vyahritis and of the syllable Om, purify, if they are repeated daily, after a month even the murderer of a learned Brahmana.

250. Even a drinker of (the spirituous liquor called) Sura becomes pure, if he mutters the hymn (seen) by Kutsa, 'Removing by thy splendour our guilt, O Agni,' &c., (that seen) by Vasishtha, 'With their hymns the Vasishthas woke the Dawn,' &c., the Mahitra (hymn) and (the verses called) Suddhavatis.

251. Even he who has stolen gold, instantly becomes free from guilt, if he once mutters (the hymn beginning with the words) 'The middlemost brother of this beautiful, ancient Hotri-priest' and the Sivasamkalpa.

252. The violator of a Guru's bed is freed (from sin), if he repeatedly recites the Havishpantiya (hymn), (that beginning) 'Neither anxiety nor misfortune,' (and that beginning) 'Thus, verily, thus,' and mutters the hymn addressed to Purusha.

253. He who desires to expiate sins great or small, must mutter during a year the Rit-verse 'May we remove thy anger, O Varuna,' &c., or 'Whatever offence here, O Varuna,' &c.

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254. That man who, having accepted presents which ought not to be accepted, or having eaten forbidden food, mutters the Taratsamandiya (Rikas), becomes pure after three days.

255. But he who has committed many sins, becomes pure, if he recites during a month the (four verses) addressed to Soma and Rudra, and the three verses (beginning) 'Aryaman, Varuna, and Mitra,' while he bathes in a river.

256. A grievous offender shall mutter the seven verses (beginning with) 'Indra,' for half a year; but he who has committed any blamable act in water, shall subsist during a month on food obtained by begging.

257. A twice-born man removes even very great guilt by offering clarified butter with the sacred texts belonging to the Sakala-homas, or by muttering the Rik, (beginning) 'Adoration.'

258. He who is stained by mortal sin, becomes pure, if, with a concentrated mind, he attends cows for a year, reciting the Pavamani (hymns) and subsisting on alms.

259. Or if, pure (in mind and in body), he thrice repeats the Samhita of the Veda in a forest, sanctified by three Paraka (penances), he is freed from all crimes causing loss of caste (pataka).

260. But if (a man) fasts during three days, bathing thrice a day, and muttering (in the water the hymn seen by) Aghamarshana, he is (likewise) freed from all sins causing loss of caste.

261. As the horse-sacrifice, the king of sacrifices, removes all sin, even so the Aghamarshana hymn effaces all guilt.

262. A Brahmana who retains in his memory the Rig-veda is not stained by guilt, though he may have destroyed these three worlds, though he may eat the food of anybody.

263. He who, with a concentrated mind, thrice recites the Riksamhita, or (that of the) Yagur-veda; or (that of the) Sama-veda together with the secret (texts, the Upanishads), is completely freed from all sins.

264. As a clod of earth, falling into a great lake, is quickly dissolved, even so every sinful act is engulfed in the threefold Veda.

265. The Rikas, the Yagus (-formulas) which differ (from the former), the manifold Saman (-songs), must be known (to form) the triple Veda; he who knows them, (is called) learned in the Veda.

266. The initial triliteral Brahman on which the threefold (sacred science) is based, is another triple Veda which must be kept secret; he who knows that, (is called) learned in the Veda.

LAWS OF MANU CHAPTER 12

1. 'O sinless One, the whole sacred law, (applicable) to the four castes, has been declared by thee; communicate to us (now), according to the truth, the ultimate retribution for (their) deeds.'

2. To the great sages (who addressed him thus) righteous Bhrigu, sprung from Manu, answered, 'Hear the decision concerning this whole connexion with actions.'

3. Action, which springs from the mind, from speech, and from the body, produces either good or evil results; by action are caused the (various) conditions of men, the highest, the middling, and the lowest.

4. Know that the mind is the instigator here below, even to that (action) which is connected with the body, (and) which is of three kinds, has three locations, and falls under ten heads.

5. Coveting the property of others, thinking in one's heart of what is undesirable, and adherence to false (doctrines), are the three kinds of (sinful) mental action.

6. Abusing (others, speaking) untruth, detracting from the merits of all men, and talking idly, shall be the four kinds of (evil) verbal action.

7. Taking what has not been given, injuring (creatures) without the sanction of the law, and holding criminal intercourse with another man's wife, are declared to be the three kinds of (wicked) bodily action.

8. (A man) obtains (the result of) a good or evil mental (act) in his mind, (that of) a verbal (act) in his speech, (that of) a bodily (act) in his body.

9. In consequence of (many) sinful acts committed with his body, a man becomes (in the next birth) something inanimate, in consequence (of sins) committed by speech, a bird, or a beast, and in consequence of mental (sins he is re-born in) a low caste.

10. That man is called a (true) tridandin in whose mind these three, the control over his speech (vagdanda), the control over his thoughts (manodanda), and the control over his body (kayadanda), are firmly fixed.

11. That man who keeps this threefold control (over himself) with respect to all created beings and wholly subdues desire and wrath, thereby assuredly gains complete success.

12. Him who impels this (corporeal) Self to action, they call the Kshetragna (the knower of the field); but him who does the acts, the wise name the Bhutatman (the Self consisting of the elements).

13. Another internal Self that is generated with all embodied (Kshetragnas) is called Giva, through which (the Kshetragna) becomes sensible of all pleasure and pain in (successive) births.

14. These two, the Great One and the Kshetragna, who are closely united with the elements, pervade him who resides in the multiform created beings.

15. From his body innumerable forms go forth, which constantly impel the multiform creatures to action.

16. Another strong body, formed of particles (of the) five (elements and) destined to suffer the torments (in hell), is produced after death (in the case) of wicked men.

17. When (the evil-doers) by means of that body have suffered there the torments imposed by Yama, (its constituent parts) are united, each according to its class, with those very elements (from which they were taken).

18. He, having suffered for his faults, which are produced by attachment to sensual objects, and which result in misery, approaches, free from stains, those two mighty ones.

19. Those two together examine without tiring the merit and the guilt of that (individual soul), united with which it obtains bliss or misery both in this world and the next.

20. If (the soul) chiefly practises virtue and vice to a small degree, it obtains bliss in heaven, clothed with those very elements.

21. But if it chiefly cleaves to vice and to virtue in a small degree, it suffers, deserted by the elements, the torments inflicted by Yama.

22. The individual soul, having endured those torments of Yama, again enters, free from taint, those very five elements, each in due proportion.

23. Let (man), having recognised even by means of his intellect these transitions of the individual soul (which depend) on merit and demerit, always fix his heart on (the acquisition of) merit.

24. Know Goodness (sattva), Activity (ragas), and Darkness (tamas) to be the three qualities of the Self, with which the Great One always completely pervades all existences.

25. When one of these qualities wholly predominates in a body, then it makes the embodied (soul) eminently distinguished for that quality.

26. Goodness is declared (to have the form of) knowledge, Darkness (of) ignorance, Activity (of) love and hatred; such is the nature of these (three) which is (all-) pervading and clings to everything created.

27. When (man) experiences in his soul a (feeling) full of bliss, a deep calm, as it were, and a pure light, then let him know (that it is) among those three (the quality called) Goodness.

28. What is mixed with pain and does not give satisfaction to the soul one may know (to be the quality of) Activity, which is difficult to conquer, and which ever draws embodied (souls towards sensual objects).

29. What is coupled with delusion, what has the character of an undiscernible mass, what cannot be fathomed by reasoning, what cannot be fully known, one must consider (as the quality of) Darkness.

30. I will, moreover, fully describe the results which arise from these three qualities, the excellent ones, the middling ones, and the lowest.

31. The study of the Vedas, austerity, (the pursuit of) knowledge, purity, control over the organs, the performance of meritorious acts and meditation on the Soul, (are) the marks of the quality of Goodness.

32. Delighting in undertakings, want of firmness, commission of sinful acts, and continual indulgence in sensual pleasures, (are) the marks of the quality of Activity.

33. Covetousness, sleepiness, pusillanimity, cruelty, atheism, leading an evil life, a habit of soliciting favours, and inattentiveness, are the marks of the quality of Darkness.

34. Know, moreover, the following to be a brief description of the three qualities, each in its order, as they appear in the three (times, the present, past, and future).

35. When a (man), having done, doing, or being about to do any act, feels ashamed, the learned may know that all (such acts bear) the mark of the quality of Darkness.

36. But, when (a man) desires (to gain) by an act much fame in this world and feels no sorrow on failing, know that it (bears the mark of the quality of) Activity.

37. But that (bears) the mark of the quality of Goodness which with his whole (heart) he desires to know, which he is not ashamed to perform, and at which his soul rejoices.

38. The craving after sensual pleasures is declared to be the mark of Darkness, (the pursuit of) wealth (the mark) of Activity, (the desire to gain) spiritual merit the mark of Goodness; each later) named quality is) better than the preceding one.

39. I will briefly declare in due order what transmigrations in this whole (world a man) obtains through each of these qualities.

40. Those endowed with Goodness reach the state of gods, those endowed with Activity the state of men, and those endowed with Darkness ever sink to the condition of beasts; that is the threefold course of transmigrations.

41. But know this threefold course of transmigrations that depends on the (three) qualities (to be again) threefold, low, middling, and high, according to the particular nature of the acts and of the knowledge (of each man).

42. Immovable (beings), insects, both small and great, fishes, snakes, and tortoises, cattle and wild animals, are the lowest conditions to which (the quality of) Darkness leads.

43. Elephants, horses, Sudras, and despicable barbarians, lions, tigers, and boars (are) the middling states, caused by (the quality of) Darkness.

44. Karanas, Suparnas and hypocrites, Rakshasas and Pisakas (belong to) the highest (rank of) conditions among those produced by Darkness.

45. Ghallas, Mallas, Natas, men who subsist by despicable occupations and those addicted to gambling and drinking (form) the lowest (order of) conditions caused by Activity.

46. Kings and Kshatriyas, the domestic priests of kings, and those who delight in the warfare of disputations (constitute) the middling (rank of the) states caused by Activity.

47. The Gandharvas, the Guhyakas, and the servants of the gods, likewise the Apsarases, (belong all to) the highest (rank of) conditions produced by Activity.

48. Hermits, ascetics, Brahmanas, the crowds of the Vaimanika deities, the lunar mansions, and the Daityas (form) the first (and lowest rank of the) existences caused by Goodness.

49. Sacrificers, the sages, the gods, the Vedas, the heavenly lights, the years, the manes, and the Sadhyas (constitute) the second order of existences, caused by Goodness.

50. The sages declare Brahma, the creators of the universe, the law, the Great One, and the Undiscernible One (to constitute) the highest order of beings produced by Goodness.

51. Thus (the result) of the threefold action, the whole system of transmigrations which (consists) of three classes, (each) with three subdivisions, and which includes all created beings, has been fully pointed out.

52. In consequence of attachment to (the objects of) the senses, and in consequence of the non-performance of their duties, fools, the lowest of men, reach the vilest births.

53. What wombs this individual soul enters in this world and in consequence of what actions, learn the particulars of that at large and in due order.

54. Those who committed mortal sins (mahapataka), having passed during large numbers of years through dreadful hells, obtain, after the expiration of (that term of punishment), the following births.

55. The slayer of a Brahmana enters the womb of a dog, a pig, an ass, a camel, a cow, a goat, a sheep, a deer, a bird, a Kandala, and a Pukkasa.

56. A Brahmana who drinks (the spirituous liquor called) Sura shall enter (the bodies) of small and large insects, of moths, of birds, feeding on ordure, and of destructive beasts.

57. A Brahmana who steals (the gold of a Brahmana shall pass) a thousand times (through the bodies) of spiders, snakes and lizards, of aquatic animals and of destructive Pisakas.

58. The violator of a Guru's bed (enters) a hundred times (the forms) of grasses, shrubs, and creepers, likewise of carnivorous (animals) and of (beasts) with fangs and of those doing cruel deeds.

59. Men who delight in doing hurt (become) carnivorous (animals); those who eat forbidden food, worms; thieves, creatures consuming their own kind; those who have intercourse with women of the lowest castes, Pretas.

60. He who has associated with outcasts, he who has approached the wives of other men, and he who has stolen the property of a Brahmana become Brahmarakshasas.

61. A man who out of greed has stolen gems, pearls or coral, or any of the many other kinds of precious things, is born among the goldsmiths.

62. For stealing grain (a man) becomes a rat, for stealing yellow metal a Hamsa, for stealing water a Plava, for stealing honey a stinging insect, for stealing milk a crow, for stealing condiments a dog, for stealing clarified butter an ichneumon;

63. For stealing meat a vulture, for stealing fat a cormorant, for stealing oil a winged animal (of the kind called) Tailapaka, for stealing salt a cricket, for stealing sour milk a bird (of the kind called) Balaka.

64. For stealing silk a partridge, for stealing linen a frog, for stealing cotton-cloth a crane, for stealing a cow an iguana, for stealing molasses a flying-fox;

65. For stealing fine perfumes a musk-rat, for stealing vegetables consisting of leaves a peacock, for stealing cooked food of various kinds a porcupine, for stealing uncooked food a hedgehog.

66. For stealing fire he becomes a heron, for stealing household-utensils a mason-wasp, for stealing dyed clothes a francolin-partridge;

67. For stealing a deer or an elephant a wolf, for stealing a horse a tiger, for stealing fruit and roots a monkey, for stealing a woman a bear, for stealing water a black-white cuckoo, for stealing vehicles a camel, for stealing cattle a he-goat.

68. That man who has forcibly taken away any kind of property belonging to another, or who has eaten sacrificial food (of) which (no portion) had been offered, inevitably becomes an animal.

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69. Women, also, who in like manner have committed a theft, shall incur guilt; they will become the females of those same creatures (which have been enumerated above).

70. But (men of the four) castes who have relinquished without the pressure of necessity their proper occupations, will become the servants of Dasyus, after migrating into despicable bodies.

71. A Brahmana who has fallen off from his duty (becomes) an Ulkamukha Preta, who feeds on what has been vomited; and a Kshatriya, a Kataputana (Preta), who eats impure substances and corpses.

72. A Vaisya who has fallen off from his duty becomes a Maitrakshagyotika Preta, who feeds on pus; and a Sudra, a Kailasaka (Preta, who feeds on moths).

73. In proportion as sensual men indulge in sensual pleasures, in that same proportion their taste for them grows.

74. By repeating their sinful acts those men of small understanding suffer pain here (below) in various births;

75. (The torture of) being tossed about in dreadful hells, Tamisra and the rest, (that of) the Forest with sword-leaved trees and the like, and (that of) being bound and mangled;

76. And various torments, the (pain of) being devoured by ravens and owls, the heat of scorching sand, and the (torture of) being boiled in jars, which is hard to bear;

77. And births in the wombs (of) despicable (beings) which cause constant misery, and afflictions from cold and heat and terrors of various kinds,

78. The (pain of) repeatedly lying in various wombs and agonizing births, imprisonment in fetters hard to bear, and the misery of being enslaved by others,

79. And separations from their relatives and dear ones, and the (pain of) dwelling together with the wicked, (labour in) gaining wealth and its loss, (trouble in) making friends and (the appearance of) enemies,

80. Old age against which there is no remedy, the pangs of diseases, afflictions of many various kinds, and (finally) unconquerable death.

81. But with whatever disposition of mind (a man) forms any act, he reaps its result in a (future) body endowed with the same quality.

82. All the results, proceeding from actions, have been thus pointed out; learn (next) those acts which secure supreme bliss to a Brahmana.

83. Studying the Veda, (practising) austerities, (the acquisition of true) knowledge, the subjugation of the organs, abstention from doing injury, and serving the Guru are the best means for attaining supreme bliss.

84. (If you ask) whether among all these virtuous actions, (performed) here below, (there be) one which has been declared more efficacious (than the rest) for securing supreme happiness to man,

85. (The answer is that) the knowledge of the Soul is stated to be the most excellent among all of them; for that is the first of all sciences, because immortality is gained through that.

86. Among those six (kinds of) actions (enumerated) above, the performance of) the acts taught in the Veda must ever be held to be most efficacious for ensuring happiness in this world and the next.

87. For in the performance of the acts prescribed by the Veda all those (others) are fully comprised, (each) in its turn in the several rules for the rites.

88. The acts prescribed by the Veda are of two kinds, such as procure an increase of happiness and cause a continuation (of mundane existence, pravritta), and such as ensure supreme bliss and cause a cessation (of mundane existence, nivritta).

89. Acts which secure (the fulfilment of) wishes in this world or in the next are called pravritta (such as cause a continuation of mundane existence); but acts performed without any desire (for a reward), preceded by (the acquisition) of (true) knowledge, are declared to be nivritta (such as cause the cessation of mundane existence).

90. He who sedulously performs acts leading to future births (pravritta) becomes equal to the gods; but he who is intent on the performance of those causing the cessation (of existence, nivritta) indeed, passes beyond (the reach of) the five elements.

91. He who sacrifices to the Self (alone), equally recognising the Self in all created beings and all created beings in the Self, becomes (independent like) an autocrat and self-luminous.

92. After giving up even the above-mentioned sacrificial rites, a Brahmana should exert himself in (acquiring) the knowledge of the Soul, in extinguishing his passions, and in studying the Veda.

93. For that secures the attainment of the object of existence, especially in the case of a Brahmana, because by attaining that, not otherwise, a twice-born man has gained all his ends.

94. The Veda is the eternal eye of the manes, gods, and men; the Veda-ordinance (is) both beyond the sphere of (human) power, and beyond the sphere of (human) comprehension; that is a certain fact.

95. All those traditions (smriti) and those despicable systems of philosophy, which are not based on the Veda, produce no reward after death; for they are declared to be founded on Darkness.

96. All those (doctrines), differing from the (Veda), which spring up and (soon) perish, are worthless and false, because they are of modern date.

97. The four castes, the three worlds, the four orders, the past, the present, and the future are all severally known by means of the Veda.

98. Sound, touch, colour, taste, and fifthly smell are known through the Veda alone, (their) production (is) through the (Vedic rites, which in this respect are) secondary acts.

99. The eternal lore of the Veda upholds all created beings; hence I hold that to be supreme, which is the means of (securing happiness to) these creatures.

100. Command of armies, royal authority, the office of a judge, and sovereignty over the whole world he (only) deserves who knows the Veda-science.

101. As a fire that has gained strength consumes even trees full of sap, even so he who knows the Veda burns out the taint of his soul which arises from (evil) acts.

102. In whatever order (a man) who knows the true meaning of the Veda-science may dwell, he becomes even while abiding in this world, fit for the union with Brahman.

103. (Even forgetful) students of the (sacred) books are more distinguished than the ignorant, those who remember them surpass the (forgetful) students, those who possess a knowledge (of the meaning) are more distinguished than those who (only) remember (the words), men who follow (the teaching of the texts) surpass those who (merely) know (their meaning).

104. Austerity and sacred learning are the best means by which a Brahmana secures supreme bliss; by austerities he destroys guilt, by sacred learning he obtains the cessation of (births and) deaths.

105. The three (kinds of evidence), perception, inference, and the (sacred) Institutes which comprise the tradition (of) many (schools), must be fully understood by him who desires perfect correctness with respect to the sacred law.

106. He alone, and no other man, knows the sacred law, who explores the (utterances) of the sages and the body of the laws, by (modes of) reasoning, not repugnant to the Veda-lore.

107. Thus the acts which secure supreme bliss have been exactly and fully described; (now) the secret portion of these Institutes, proclaimed by Manu, will be taught.

108. If it be asked how it should be with respect to (points of) the law which have not been (specially) mentioned, (the answer is), 'that which Brahmanas (who are) Sishtas propound, shall doubtlessly have legal (force).'

109. Those Brahmanas must be considered as Sishtas who, in accordance with the sacred law, have studied the Veda together with its appendages, and are able to adduce proofs perceptible by the senses from the revealed texts.

110. Whatever an assembly, consisting either of at least ten, or of at least three persons who follow their prescribed occupations, declares to be law, the legal (force of) that one must not dispute.

111. Three persons who each know one of the three principal Vedas, a logician, a Mimamsaka, one who knows the Nirukta, one who recites (the Institutes of) the sacred law, and three men belonging to the first three orders shall constitute a (legal) assembly, consisting of at least ten members.

112. One who knows the Rig-veda, one who knows the Yagur-veda, and one who knows the Sama-veda, shall be known (to form) an assembly consisting of at least three members (and competent) to decide doubtful points of law.

113. Even that which one Brahmana versed in the Veda declares to be law, must be considered (to have) supreme legal (force, but) not that which is proclaimed by myriads of ignorant men.

114. Even if thousands of Brahmanas, who have not fulfilled their sacred duties, are unacquainted with the Veda, and subsist only by the name of their caste, meet, they cannot (form) an assembly (for settling the sacred law).

115. The sin of him whom dunces, incarnations of Darkness, and unacquainted with the law, instruct (in his duty), falls, increased a hundredfold, on those who propound it.

116. All that which is most efficacious for securing supreme bliss has been thus declared to you; a Brahmana who does not fall off from that obtains the most excellent state.

117. Thus did that worshipful deity disclose to me, through a desire of benefiting mankind, this whole most excellent secret of the sacred law.

118. Let (every Brahmana), concentrating his mind, fully recognise in the Self all things, both the real and the unreal, for he who recognises the universe in the Self, does not give his heart to unrighteousness.

119. The Self alone is the multitude of the gods, the universe rests on the Self; for the Self produces the connexion of these embodied (spirits) with actions.

120. Let him meditate on the ether as identical with the cavities (of the body), on the wind as identical with the organs of motions and of touch, on the most excellent light as the same with his digestive organs and his sight, on water as the same with the (corporeal) fluids, on the earth as the same with the solid parts (of his body);

121. On the moon as one with the internal organ, on the quarters of the horizon as one with his sense of hearing, on Vishnu as one with his (power of) motion, on Hara as the same with his strength, on Agni (Fire) as identical with his speech, on Mitra as identical with his excretions, and on Pragapati as one with his organ of generation.

122. Let him know the supreme Male (Purusha, to be) the sovereign ruler of them all, smaller even than small, bright like gold, and perceptible by the intellect (only when) in (a state of) sleep (-like abstraction).

123. Some call him Agni (Fire), others Manu, the Lord of creatures, others Indra, others the vital air, and again others eternal Brahman.

124. He pervades all created beings in the five forms, and constantly makes them, by means of birth, growth and decay, revolve like the wheels (of a chariot).

125. He who thus recognises the Self through the Self in all created beings, becomes equal (-minded) towards all, and enters the highest state, Brahman.

126. A twice-born man who recites these Institutes, revealed by Manu, will be always virtuous in conduct, and will reach whatever condition he desires.

THE YOGA SUTRAS OF PATANJALI

"The Book of the Spiritual Man"
Translation: Charles Johnston, 1912
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd century B.C.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

(The Yoga Sutras of Patanjali are 196 Indian sutras [aphorisms]. An aphorism (from Greek: aphorismos, meaning: "delimitation", "distinction", "definition") can be a terse saying, expressing a general truth or principle, or it can be an astute observation. Patanjali was a notable scholar of the Samkhya school of Hindu philosophy in India and he probably lived in the 2nd century BC. He compiled the Yoga Sutras, a text on Yoga theory and practice, that has much older origins. The Yoga Sutras is one of the most important text collections in the Hindu tradition and the foundation of classical Yoga. But that is not all. The most surprising thing is that we find in the Yoga Sutras (Book 2, Chapter 30) the very same Commandments, which are precisely those of the latter half of the Biblical Ten Commandments (Exodus 20:1-17 and Deuteronomy 5:4-21), together with obedience to the Master. The Yoga Sutras of Patanjali was the most translated ancient Indian text in the medieval era, having been translated into about forty Indian languages and two non-Indian languages: Old Javanese and Arabic. The text fell into relative obscurity for nearly 700 years from the 12th to 19th century, and made a comeback in late 19th century due to the efforts of Swami Vivekananda, the Theosophical Society and others. In the 20th century the western practitioners of yoga elevated the Yoga Sutras to a status it never knew previously. Hindu orthodox tradition holds the Yoga Sutras of Patanjali to be the foundational text of classical Yoga philosophy and today it is translated in all major languages of the world.

Charles Johnston (1867–1931) was an Irish writer, journalist, theosophist and Sanskrit scholar. His introdoctions and the sophisticated interpretation of each sentence - here in round brackets (. . .) - made the extreme minimalistic structure of the Yoga Sutras understandable for the first time. The four so-called "books" are so small that they are actually chapters.)

INTRODUCTION TO BOOK 1

The Yoga Sutras of Patanjali are in themselves exceedingly brief, less than ten pages of large type in the original. Yet they contain the essence of practical wisdom, set forth in admirable order and detail. The theme, if the present interpreter be right, is the great regeneration, the birth of the spiritual from the psychical man: the same theme which Paul so wisely and eloquently set forth in writing to his disciples in Corinth, the theme of all mystics in all lands.

We think of ourselves as living a purely physical life, in these material bodies of ours. In reality, we have gone far indeed from pure physical life; for ages, our life has been psychical, we have been centred and immersed in the psychic nature. Some of the schools of India say that the psychic nature is, as it were, a looking-glass, wherein are mirrored the things seen by the physical eyes, and heard by the physical ears. But this is a magic mirror; the images remain, and take a certain life of their own. Thus within the psychic realm of our life there grows up an imaged world wherein we dwell; a world of the images of things seen and heard, and therefore a world of memories; a world also of hopes and desires, of fears and regrets. Mental life grows up among these images, built on a measuring and comparing, on the massing of images together into general ideas; on the abstraction of new notions and images from these; till a new world is built up within, full

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of desires and hates, ambition, envy, longing, speculation, curiosity, self-will, self-interest.

The teaching of the East is, that all these are true powers overlaid by false desires; that though in manifestation psychical, they are in essence spiritual; that the psychical man is the veil and prophecy of the spiritual man.

The purpose of life, therefore, is the realizing of that prophecy; the unveiling of the immortal man; the birth of the spiritual from the psychical, whereby we enter our divine inheritance and come to inhabit Eternity. This is, indeed, salvation, the purpose of all true religion, in all times.

Patanjali has in mind the spiritual man, to be born from the psychical. His purpose is, to set in order the practical means for the unveiling and regeneration, and to indicate the fruit, the glory and the power, of that new birth.

Through the Sutras of the first book, Patanjali is concerned with the first great problem, the emergence of the spiritual man from the veils and meshes of the psychic nature, the moods and vestures of the mental and emotional man. Later will come the consideration of the nature and powers of the spiritual man, once he stands clear of the psychic veils and trammels, and a view of the realms in which these new spiritual powers are to be revealed.

At this point may come a word of explanation. I have been asked why I use the word Sutras, for these rules of Patanjali's system, when the word Aphorism has been connected with them in our minds for a generation. The reason is this: the name Aphorism suggests, to me at least, a pithy sentence of very general application; a piece of proverbial wisdom that may be quoted in a good many sets of circumstance, and which will almost bear on its face the evidence of its truth. But with a Sutra the case is different. It comes from the same root as the word "sew," and means, indeed, a thread, suggesting, therefore, a close knit, consecutive chain of argument. Not only has each Sutra a definite place in the system, but further, taken out of this place, it will be almost meaningless, and will by no means be self-evident. So I have thought best to adhere to the original word. The Sutras of Patanjali are as closely knit together, as dependent on each other, as the propositions of Euclid, and can no more be taken out of their proper setting.

In the second part of the first book, the problem of the emergence of the spiritual man is further dealt with. We are led to the consideration of the barriers to his emergence, of the overcoming of the barriers, and of certain steps and stages in the ascent from the ordinary consciousness of practical life, to the finer, deeper, radiant consciousness of the spiritual man.

YOGA SUTRAS BOOK 1

1 OM: Here follows Instruction in Union. *(Union, here as always in the Scriptures of India, means union of the individual soul with the Oversoul; of the personal consciousness with the Divine Consciousness, whereby the mortal becomes immortal, and enters the Eternal. Therefore, salvation is, first, freedom from sin and the sorrow which comes from sin, and then a divine and eternal well-being, wherein the soul partakes of the being, the wisdom and glory of God.)*

2 Union, spiritual consciousness, is gained through control of the versatile psychic nature. *(The goal is the full consciousness of the spiritual man, illumined by the Divine Light. Nothing except the obdurate resistance of the psychic nature keeps us back from the goal. The psychical powers are spiritual powers run wild, perverted, drawn from their proper channel. Therefore our first task is, to regain control of this perverted nature, to chasten, purify and restore the misplaced powers.)*

3 Then the Seer comes to consciousness in his proper nature. *(Egotism is but the perversion of spiritual being. Ambition is the inversion of spiritual power. Passion is the distortion of love. The mortal is the limitation of the immortal. When these false images give place to true, then the spiritual man stands forth luminous, as the sun, when the clouds disperse.)*

4 Heretofore the Seer has been enmeshed in the activities of the psychic nature. *(The power and life which are the heritage of the spiritual man have been caught and enmeshed in psychical activities. Instead of pure being in the Divine, there has been fretful, combative, egotism, its hand against every man. Instead of the light of pure vision, there have been restless senses nave been re and imaginings. Instead of spiritual joy, the undivided joy of pure being, there has been self-indulgence of body and mind. These are all real forces, but distorted from their true nature and goal. They must be extricated, like gems from the matrix, like the pith from the reed, steadily, without destructive violence. Spiritual powers are to be drawn forth from the psychic meshes.)*

5 The psychic activities are five; they are either subject or not subject to the five hindrances (Book II, 3). *(The psychic nature is built up through the image-making power, the power which lies behind and dwells in mind-pictures. These pictures do not remain quiescent in the mind; they are kinetic, restless, stimulating to new acts. Thus the mind-image of an indulgence suggests and invites to a new indulgence; the picture of past joy is framed in regrets or hopes. And there is the ceaseless play of the desire to know, to penetrate to the essence of things, to classify. This, too, busies itself ceaselessly with the mind-images. So that we may classify the activities of the psychic nature.)*

6 These activities are: Sound intellection, unsound intellection, predication, sleep, memory. *(We have here a list of mental and emotional powers; of powers that picture and observe, and of powers that picture and feel. But the power to know and feel is spiritual and immortal. What is needed is, not to destroy it, but to raise it from the psychical to the spiritual realm.)*

7 The elements of sound intellection are: direct observation, inductive reason, and trustworthy testimony. *(Each of these is a spiritual power, thinly veiled. Direct observation is the outermost form of the Soul's pure vision. Inductive reason rests on the great principles of continuity and correspondence; and these, on the supreme truth that all life is of the One. Trustworthy testimony, the sharing of one soul in the wisdom of another, rests on the ultimate oneness of all souls.)*

8 Unsound intellection is false understanding, not resting on a perception of the true nature of things. *(When the object is not truly perceived, when the observation is inaccurate and faulty, thought or reasoning based on that mistaken perception is of necessity false and unsound.)*

9 Predication is carried on through words or thoughts not resting on an object perceived. *(The purpose of this Sutra is, to distinguish between the mental process of predication, and observation, induction or testimony. Predication is the attribution of a quality or action to a subject, by adding to it a predicate. In the sentence, "the man is wise," "the man" is the subject; "is wise" is the predicate. This may be simply an interplay of thoughts, without the presence of the object thought of; or the things thought of may be imaginary or unreal; while observation, induction and testimony always go back to an object.)*

10 Sleep is the psychic condition which rests on mind states, all material things being absent. *(In waking life, we have two currents of perception; an outer current of physical things seen and heard and perceived; an inner current of mind-images and thoughts. The outer current ceases in sleep; the inner current continues, and watching the mind-images float before the field of consciousness, we "dream." Even when there are no dreams, there is still a certain consciousness in sleep, so that, on waking, one says, "I have slept well," or "I have slept badly.")*

11 Memory is holding to mind-images of things perceived, without modifying them. *(Here, as before, the mental power is explained in terms of mind-images, which are the material of which the psychic world is built, Therefore the sages teach that the world of our perception, which is indeed a world of mind-images, is but the wraith or shadow of the real and everlasting world. In this sense, memory is but the psychical inversion of the spiritual, ever-present vision. That which is ever before the spiritual eye of the Seer needs not to be remembered.)*

12 The control of these psychic activities comes through the right use of the will, and through ceasing from self-indulgence. *(If these psychical powers and energies, even such evil things as passion and hate and fear, are but spiritual powers fallen and perverted, how are we to bring about their release and restoration? Two means are presented to us: the awakening of the spiritual will, and the purification of mind and thought.)*

13 The right use of the will is the steady, effort to stand in spiritual being. *(We have thought of ourselves, perhaps, as creatures moving upon this earth, rather helpless, at the mercy of storm and hunger and our enemies. We are to think of ourselves as immortals, dwelling in the Light, encompassed and sustained by spiritual powers. The steady effort to hold this thought will awaken dormant and unrealised powers, which will unveil to us the nearness of the Eternal.)*

14 This becomes a firm resting-place, when followed long, persistently, with earnestness. *(We must seek spiritual life in conformity with the laws of spiritual life, with earnestness, humility, gentle charity, which is an acknowledgment of the One Soul within us all. Only through obedience to that shared Life, through perpetual remembrance of our oneness with all Divine Being, our nothingness apart from Divine Being, can we enter our inheritance.)*

15 Ceasing from self-indulgence is conscious mastery over the thirst for sensuous pleasure here or hereafter. *(Rightly understood, the desire for sensation is the desire of being, the distortion of the soul's eternal life. The lust of sensual stimulus and excitation rests on the longing to feel one's life keenly, to gain the sense of being really alive. This sense of true life comes only with the coming of the soul, and the soul comes only in silence, after self-indulgence has been courageously and loyally stilled, through reverence before the coming soul.)*

16 The consummation of this is freedom from thirst for any mode of psychical activity, through the establishment of the spiritual man. *(In order to gain a true understanding of this teaching, study must be supplemented by devoted practice, faith by works. The reading of the words will not avail. There must be a real effort to stand as the Soul, a real ceasing from self-indulgence. With this awakening of the spiritual will, and purification, will come at once the growth of the spiritual man and our awakening consciousness as the spiritual man; and this, attained in even a small degree, will help us notably in our contest. To him that hath, shall be given.)*

17 Meditation with an object follows these stages: first, exterior examining, then interior judicial action, then joy, then realisation of individual being. *(In the practice of meditation, a beginning may be made by fixing the attention upon some external object, such as a sacred image or picture, or a part of a book of devotion. In the second stage, one passes from the outer object to an inner pondering upon its lessons. The third stage is the inspiration, the heightening of the spiritual will, which results from this pondering. The fourth stage is the realisation of one's spiritual being, as enkindled by this meditation.)*

18 After the exercise of the will has stilled the psychic activities, meditation rests only on the fruit of former meditations. *(In virtue of continued practice and effort, the need of an external object on which to rest the meditation is outgrown. An interior state of spiritual consciousness is reached, which is called "the cloud of things knowable" -- Book IV, 29).*

19 Subjective consciousness arising from a natural cause is possessed by those who have laid aside their bodies and been absorbed into subjective nature. *(Those who have died, entered the paradise between births, are in a condition resembling meditation without an external object. But in the fullness of time, the seeds of desire in them will spring up, and they will be born again into this world.)*

20 For the others, there is spiritual consciousness, led up to by faith, valour right mindfulness, one-pointedness, perception. *(It is well to keep in mind these steps on the path to illumination: faith, valour, right mindfulness, one-pointedness, perception. Not one can be dispensed with; all must be won. First faith; and then from faith, valour; from valour, right mindfulness; from right mindfulness, a one-pointed aspiration toward the soul; from this, perception; and finally, full vision as the soul.)*

21 Spiritual consciousness is nearest to those of keen, intense will. *(The image used is the swift impetus of the torrent; the kingdom must be taken by force. Firm will comes only through effort; effort is inspired by faith. The great secret is this: it is not enough to have intuitions; we must act on them; we must live them.)*

22 The will may be weak, or of middle strength, or intense. *(Therefore there is a spiritual consciousness higher than this. For those of weak will, there is this counsel: to be faithful in obedience, to live the life, and thus to strengthen the will to more perfect obedience. The will is not ours, but God's, and we come into it only through obedience. As we enter into the spirit of God, we are permitted to share the power of God. Higher than the three stages of the way is the goal, the end of the way.)*

23 Or spiritual consciousness may be gained by ardent service of the Master. *(If we think of our lives as tasks laid on us by the Master of Life, if we look on all duties as parts of that Master's work, entrusted to us, and forming our life-work; then, if we obey, promptly, loyally, sincerely, we shall enter by degrees into the Master's life and share the Master's power. Thus we shall be initiated into the spiritual will.)*

24 The Master is the spiritual man, who is free from hindrances, bondage to works, and the fruition and seed of works. *(The Soul of the Master, the Lord, is of the same nature as the soul in us; but we still bear the burden of many evils, we are in bondage through our former works, we are under the dominance of sorrow. The Soul of the Master is free from sin and servitude and sorrow.)*

25 In the Master is the perfect seed of Omniscience. *(The Soul of the Master is in essence one with the Oversoul, and therefore partaker of the Oversoul's all-wisdom and all-power. All spiritual attainment rests on this, and is possible because the soul and the Oversoul are One.)*

26 He is the Teacher of all who have gone before, since he is not limited by Time. *(From the beginning, the Oversoul has been the Teacher of all souls, which, by their entrance into the Oversoul, by realizing their oneness with the Oversoul, have inherited the kingdom of the Light. For the Oversoul is before Time, and Time, father of all else, is one of His children.)*

27 His word is OM. *(OM: the symbol of the Three in One, the three worlds in the Soul; the three times, past, present, future, in Eternity; the three Divine Powers, Creation, Preservation, Transformation, in the one Being; the three essences, immortality, omniscience, joy, in the one Spirit. This is the Word, the Symbol, of the Master and Lord, the perfected Spiritual Man.)*

28 Let there be soundless repetition of OM and meditation thereon. *(This has many meanings, in ascending degrees. There is, first, the potency of the word itself, as of all words. Then there is the manifold significance of the symbol, as suggested above. Lastly, there is the spiritual realisation of the high essences thus symbolised. Thus we rise step by step to the Eternal.)*

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29 Thence come the awakening of interior consciousness, and the removal of barriers. *(Here again faith must be supplemented by works, the life must be led as well as studied, before the full meaning can be understood. The awakening of spiritual consciousness can only be understood in measure as it is entered. It can only be entered where the conditions are present: purity of heart, and strong aspiration, and the resolute conquest of each sin. This, however, may easily be understood: that the recognition of the three worlds as resting in the Soul leads us to realize ourselves and all life as of the Soul; that, as we dwell, not in past, present or future, but in the Eternal, we become more at one with the Eternal; that, as we view all organisation, preservation, mutation as the work of the Divine One, we shall come more into harmony with the One, and thus remove the barrier' in our path toward the Light. In the second part of the first book, the problem of the emergence of the spiritual man is further dealt with. We are led to the consideration of the barriers to his emergence, of the overcoming of the barriers, and of certain steps and stages in the ascent from the ordinary consciousness of practical life, to the finer, deeper, radiant consciousness of the spiritual man.)*

30 The barriers to interior consciousness, which drive the psychic nature this way and that, are these: sickness, inertia, doubt, lightmindedness, laziness, intemperance, false notions, inability to reach a stage of meditation, or to hold it when reached. *(We must remember that we are considering the spiritual man as enwrapped and enmeshed by the psychic nature, the emotional and mental powers; and as unable to come to clear consciousness, unable to stand and see clearly, because of the psychic veils of the personality. Nine of these are enumerated, and they go pretty thoroughly into the brute toughness of the psychic nature. Sickness is included rather for its effect on the emotions and mind, since bodily infirmity, such as blindness or deafness, is no insuperable barrier to spiritual life, and may sometimes be a help, as cutting off distractions. It will be well for us to ponder over each of these nine activities, thinking of each as a psychic state, a barrier to the interior consciousness of the spiritual man.)*

31 Grieving, despondency, bodily restlessness, the drawing in and sending forth of the life-breath also contribute to drive the psychic nature to and fro. *(The first two moods are easily understood. We can well see bow a sodden psychic condition, flagrantly opposed to the pure and positive joy of spiritual life, would be a barrier. The next, bodily restlessness, is in a special way the fault of our day and generation. When it is conquered, mental restlessness will be half conquered, too. The next two terms, concerning the life breath, offer some difficulty. The surface meaning is harsh and irregular breathing; the deeper meaning is a life of harsh and irregular impulses.)*

32 Steady application to a principle is the way to put a stop to these. *(The will, which, in its pristine state, was full of vigour, has been steadily corrupted by self-indulgence, the seeking of moods and sensations for sensation's sake. Hence come all the morbid and sickly moods of the mind. The remedy is a return to the pristine state of the will, by vigorous, positive effort; or, as we are here told, by steady application to a principle. The principle to which we should thus steadily apply ourselves should be one arising from the reality of spiritual life; valorous work for the soul, in others as in ourselves.)*

33 By sympathy with the happy, compassion for the sorrowful, delight in the holy, disregard of the unholy, the psychic nature moves to gracious peace. *(When we are wrapped up in ourselves, shrouded with the cloak of our egotism, absorbed in our pains and bitter thoughts, we are not willing to disturb or strain our own sickly mood by giving kindly sympathy to the happy, thus doubling their joy, or by showing compassion for the sad, thus halving their sorrow. We refuse to find delight in holy things, and let the mind brood in sad pessimism on unholy things. All these evil psychic moods must be conquered by strong effort of will. This rending of the veils will reveal to us something of the grace and peace which are of the interior consciousness of the spiritual man.)*

34 Or peace may be reached by the even sending forth and control of the life-breath. *(Here again we may look for a double meaning: first, that even and quiet breathing which is a part of the victory over bodily restlessness; then the even and quiet tenor of life, without harsh or dissonant impulses, which brings stillness to the heart.)*

35 Faithful, persistent application to any object, if completely attained, will bind the mind to steadiness. *(We are still considering how to overcome the wavering and perturbation of the psychic nature, which make it quite unfit to transmit the inward consciousness and stillness. We are once more told to use the will, and to train it by steady and persistent work: by "sitting close" to our work, in the phrase of the original.)*

36 As also will a joyful, radiant spirit. *(There is no such illusion as gloomy pessimism, and it has been truly said that a man's cheerfulness is the measure of his faith. Gloom, despondency, the pale cast of thought, are very amenable to the will. Sturdy and courageous effort will bring a clear and valorous mind. But it must always be remembered that this is not for solace to the personal man, but is rather an offering to the ideal of spiritual life, a contribution to the universal and universally shared treasure in heaven.)*

37 Or the purging of self-indulgence from the psychic nature. *(We must recognize that the fall of man is a reality, exemplified in our own persons. We have quite other sins than the animals, and far more deleterious; and they have all come through self-indulgence, with which our psychic natures are soaked through and through. As we climbed down hill for our pleasure, so must we climb up again for our purification and restoration to our former high estate. The process is painful, perhaps, yet indispensable.)*

38 Or a pondering on the perceptions gained in dreams and dreamless sleep. *(For the Eastern sages, dreams are, it is true, made up of images of waking life, reflections of what the eyes have seen and the ears heard. But dreams are something more, for the images are in a sense real, objective on their own plane; and the knowledge that there is another world, even a dream-world, lightens the tyranny of material life. Much of poetry and art is such a solace from dreamland. But there is more in dream, for it may image what is above, as well as what is below; not only the children of men, but also the children by the shore of the immortal sea that brought us hither, may throw their images on this magic mirror: so, too, of the secrets of dreamless sleep with its pure vision, in even greater degree.)*

39 Or meditative brooding on what is dearest to the heart. *(Here is a thought which our own day is beginning to grasp: that love is a form of knowledge; that we truly know any thing or any person, by becoming one therewith, in love. Thus love has a wisdom that the mind cannot claim, and by this hearty love, this becoming one with what is beyond our personal borders, we may take a long step toward freedom. Two directions for this may be suggested: the pure love of the artist for his work, and the earnest, compassionate search into the hearts of others.)*

40 Thus he masters all, from the atom to the Infinite. *(Newton was asked how he made his discoveries. By intending my mind on them, he replied. This steady pressure, this becoming one with what we seek to understand, whether it be atom or soul, is the one means to know. When we become a thing, we really know it, not otherwise. Therefore live the life, to know the doctrine; do the will of the Father, if you would know the Father.)*

41 When the perturbations of the psychic nature have all been stilled, then the consciousness, like a pure crystal, takes the colour of what it rests on, whether that be the perceiver, perceiving, or the thing perceived. *(This is a fuller expression of the last Sutra, and is so lucid that comment can hardly add to it. Everything is either perceiver, perceiving, or the thing perceived; or, as we might say, consciousness, force, or matter. The sage tells us that the one key will unlock the secrets of all three, the secrets of consciousness, force and matter alike. The thought is, that the cordial sympathy of a gentle heart, intuitively understanding the hearts of others, is really a manifestation of the same power as that penetrating perception whereby one divines the secrets of planetary motions or atomic structure.)*

42 When the consciousness, poised in perceiving, blends together the name, the object dwelt on and the idea, this is perception with exterior consideration. *(In the first stage of the consideration of an external object, the perceiving mind comes to it, preoccupied by the name and idea conventionally associated with that object. For example, in coming to the study of a book, we think of the author, his period, the school to which he belongs. The second stage, set forth in the next Sutra, goes directly to the spiritual meaning of the book, setting its traditional trappings aside and finding its application to our own experience and problems. The commentator takes a very simple illustration: a cow, where one considers, in the first stage, the name of the cow, the animal itself and the idea of a cow in the mind. In the second stage, one pushes these trappings aside and, entering into the inmost being of the cow, shares its consciousness, as do some of the artists who paint cows. They get at the very life of what they study and paint.)*

43 When the object dwells in the mind, clear of memory-pictures, uncoloured by the mind, as a pure luminous idea, this is perception without exterior or consideration. *(We are still considering external, visible objects. Such perception as is here described is of the nature of that penetrating vision whereby Newton, intending his mind on things, made his discoveries, or that whereby a really great portrait painter pierces to the soul of him whom he paints, and makes that soul live on canvas. These stages of perception are described in this way, to lead the mind up to an understanding of the piercing soul-vision of the spiritual man, the immortal.)*

44 The same two steps, when referring to things of finer substance, are said to be with, or without, judicial action of the mind. *(We now come to mental or psychical objects: to images in the mind. It is precisely by comparing, arranging and superposing these mind-images that we get our general notions or concepts. This process of analysis and synthesis, whereby we select certain qualities in a group of mind-images, and then range together those of like quality, is the judicial action of the mind spoken of. But when we exercise swift divination upon the mind images, as does a poet or a man of genius, then we use a power higher than the judicial, and one nearer to the keen vision of the spiritual man.)*

45 Subtle substance rises in ascending degrees, to that pure nature which has no distinguishing mark. *(As we ascend from outer material things which are permeated by separateness, and whose chief characteristic is to be separate, just as so many pebbles are separate from each other; as we ascend, first, to mind-images, which overlap and coalesce in both space and time, and then to ideas and principles, we finally come to purer essences, drawing ever nearer and nearer to unity. Or we may illustrate this principle thus. Our bodily, external selves are quite distinct and separate, in form, name, place, substance; our mental selves, of finer substance, meet and part, meet and part again, in perpetual concussion and interchange; our spiritual selves attain true consciousness through unity, where the partition wall between us and the Highest, between us and others, is broken down and we are all made perfect in the One. The highest riches are possessed by all pure souls, only when united. Thus we rise from separation to true individuality in unity.)*

46 The above are the degrees of limited and conditioned spiritual consciousness, still containing the seed of separateness. *(In the four stages of perception above described, the spiritual vision is still working through the mental and psychical, the inner genius is still expressed through the outer, personal man. The spiritual man has yet to come completely to consciousness as himself, in his own realm, the psychical veils laid aside.)*

47 When pure perception without judicial action of the mind is reached, there follows the gracious peace of the inner self. *(We have instanced certain types of this pure perception: the poet's divination, whereby he sees the spirit within the symbol, likeness in things unlike, and beauty in all things; the pure insight of the true philosopher, whose vision rests not on the appearances of life, but on its realities; or the saint's firm perception of spiritual life and being. All these are far advanced on the way; they have drawn near to the secret dwelling of peace.)*

48 In that peace, perception is unfailingly true. *(The poet, the wise philosopher and the saint not only reach a wide and luminous consciousness, but they gain certain knowledge of substantial reality. When we know, we know that we know. For we have come to the stage where we know things by being them, and nothing can be more true than being. We rest on the rock, and know it to be rock, rooted in the very heart of the world.)*

49 The object of this perception is other than what is learned from the sacred books, or by sound inference, since this perception is particular. *(The distinction is a luminous and inspiring one. The Scriptures teach general truths, concerning universal spiritual life and broad laws, and inference from their teaching is not less general. But the spiritual perception of the awakened Seer brings particular truth concerning his own particular life and needs, whether these be for himself or others. He receives defined, precise knowledge, exactly applying to what he has at heart.)*

50 The impress on the consciousness springing from this perception supersedes all previous impressions. *(Each state or field of the mind, each field of knowledge, so to speak, which is reached by mental and emotional energies, is a psychical state, just as the mind picture of a stage with the actors on it, is a psychical state or field. When the pure vision, as of the poet, the philosopher, the saint, fills the whole field, all lesser views and visions are crowded out. This high consciousness displaces all lesser consciousness. Yet, in a certain sense, that which is viewed as part, even by the vision of a sage, has still an element of illusion, a thin psychical veil, however pure and luminous that veil may be. It is the last and highest psychic state.)*

51 When this impression ceases, then, since all impressions have ceased, there arises pure spiritual consciousness, with no seed of separateness left. *(The last psychic veil is drawn aside, and the spiritual man stands with unveiled vision, pure serene.)*

INTRODUCTION TO BOOK 2

The first book of Patanjali's Yoga Sutras is called the Book of Spiritual Consciousness. The second book, which we now begin, is the Book of the Means of Soul Growth. And we must remember that soul growth here means the growth of the realisation of the spiritual man, or, to put the matter more briefly, the growth of the spiritual man, and the disentangling of the spiritual man from the wrappings, the veils, the disguises laid upon him by the mind and the psychical nature, wherein he is enmeshed, like a bird caught in a net.

The question arises: By what means may the spiritual man be freed from these psychical meshes and disguises, so that he may stand forth above death, in his radiant eternalness and divine power? And the second book sets itself to answer this very question, and to detail the means in a way entirely

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practical and very lucid, so that he who runs may read, and he who reads may understand and practise.

The second part of the second book is concerned with practical spiritual training, that is, with the earlier practical training of the spiritual man.

The most striking thing in it is the emphasis laid on the Commandments, which are precisely those of the latter part of the Decalogue, together with obedience to the Master. Our day and generation is far too prone to fancy that there can be mystical life and growth on some other foundation, on the foundation, for example, of intellectual curiosity or psychical selfishness. In reality, on this latter foundation the life of the spiritual man can never be built; nor, indeed, anything but a psychic counterfeit, a dangerous delusion.

Therefore Patanjali, like every great spiritual teacher, meets the question: What must I do to be saved? with the age-old answer: Keep the Commandments. Only after the disciple can say, These have I kept, can there be the further and finer teaching of the spiritual Rules.

It is, therefore, vital for us to realise that the Yoga system, like every true system of spiritual teaching, rests on this broad and firm foundation of honesty, truth, cleanness, obedience. Without these, there is no salvation; and he who practices these, even though ignorant of spiritual things, is laying up treasure against the time to come.

YOGA SUTRAS BOOK 2

1 The practices which make for union with the Soul are: fervent aspiration, spiritual reading, and complete obedience to the Master. *(The word which I have rendered "fervent aspiration" means primarily "fire"; and, in the Eastern teaching, it means the fire which gives life and light, and at the same time the fire which purifies. We have, therefore, as our first practice, as the first of the means of spiritual growth, that fiery quality of the will which enkindles and illumines, and, at the same time, the steady practice of purification, the burning away of all known impurities. Spiritual reading is so universally accepted and understood, that it needs no comment. The very study of Patanjali's Sutras is an exercise in spiritual reading, and a very effective one. And so with all other books of the Soul. Obedience to the Master means, that we shall make the will of the Master our will, and shall confirm in all wave to the will of the Divine, setting aside the wills of self, which are but psychic distortions of the one Divine Will. The constant effort to obey in all the ways we know and understand, will reveal new ways and new tasks, the evidence of new growth of the Soul. Nothing will do more for the spiritual man in us than this, for there is no such regenerating power as the awakening spiritual will.)*

2 Their aim is, to bring soul-vision, and to wear away hindrances. *(The aim of fervour, spiritual reading and obedience to the Master, is, to bring soulvision, and to wear away hindrances. Or, to use the phrase we have already adopted, the aim of these practices is, to help the spiritual man to open his eyes; to help him also to throw aside the veils and disguises, the enmeshing psychic nets which surround him, tying his hands, as it were, and bandaging his eyes. And this, as all teachers testify, is a long and arduous task, a steady up-hill fight, demanding fine courage and persistent toil. Fervour, the fire of the spiritual will, is, as we said, two-fold: it illumines, and so helps the spiritual man to see; and it also burns up the nets and meshes which ensnare the spiritual man. So with the other means, spiritual reading and obedience. Each, in its action, is two-fold, wearing away the psychical, and upbuilding the spiritual man.)*

3 These are the hindrances: the darkness of unwisdom, self-assertion, lust hate, attachment. *(Let us try to translate this into terms of the psychical and spiritual man. The darkness of unwisdom is, primarily, the self-absorption of the psychical man, his complete preoccupation with his own hopes and fears, plans and purposes, sensations and desires; so that he fails to see, or refuses to see, that there is a spiritual man; and so doggedly resists all efforts of the spiritual man to cast off his psychic tyrant and set himself free. This is the real darkness; and all those who deny the immortality of the soul, or deny the soul's existence, and so lay out their lives wholly for the psychical, mortal man and his ambitions, are under this power of darkness. Born of this darkness, this psychic self-absorption, is the dogged conviction that the psychic, personal man has separate, exclusive interests, which he can follow for himself alone; and this conviction, when put into practice in our life, leads to contest with other personalities, and so to hate. This hate, again, makes against the spiritual man, since it hinders the revelation of the high harmony between the spiritual man and his other selves, a harmony to be revealed only through the practice of love, that perfect love which casts out fear. In like manner, lust is the psychic man's craving for the stimulus of sensation, the din of which smothers the voice of the spiritual man, as, in Shakespeare's phrase, the cackling geese would drown the song of the nightingale. And this craving for stimulus is the fruit of weakness, coming from the failure to find strength in the primal life of the spiritual man. Attachment is but another name for psychic self-absorption; for we are absorbed, not in outward things, but rather in their images within our minds; our inner eyes are fixed on them; our inner desires brood over them; and em we blind ourselves to the presence of the prisoner' the enmeshed and fettered spiritual man.)*

4 The darkness of unwisdom is the field of the others. These hindrances may be dormant, or worn thin, or suspended, or expanded. *(Here we have really two Sutras in one. The first has been explained already: in the darkness of unwisdom grow the parasites, hate, lust, attachment. They are all outgrowths of the self-absorption of the psychical self. Next, we are told that these barriers may be either dormant, or suspended, or expanded, or worn thin. Faults which are dormant will be brought out through the pressure of life, or through the pressure of strong aspiration. Thus expanded, they must be fought and conquered, or, as Patanjali quaintly says, they must be worn thin,-as a veil might, or the links of manacles.)*

5 The darkness of ignorance is: holding that which is unenduring, impure, full of pain, not the Soul, to be eternal, pure, full of joy, the Soul. *(This we have really considered already. The psychic man is unenduring, impure, full of pain, not the Soul, not the real Self. The spiritual man is enduring, pure, full of joy, the real Self. The darkness of unwisdom is, therefore, the self-absorption of the psychical, personal man, to the exclusion of the spiritual man. It is the belief, carried into action, that the personal man is the real man, the man for whom we should toil, for whom we should build, for whom we should live. This is that psychical man of whom it is said: he that soweth to the flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption.)*

6 Self-assertion comes from thinking of the Seer and the instrument of vision as forming one self. *(This is the fundamental idea of the Sankhya philosophy, of which the Yoga is avowedly the practical side. To translate this into our terms, we may say that the Seer is the spiritual man; the instrument of vision is the psychical man, through which the spiritual man gains experience of the outer world. But we turn the servant into the master. We attribute to the psychical man, the personal self, a reality which really belongs to the spiritual man alone; and so, thinking of the quality of the spiritual man as belonging to the psychical, we merge the spiritual man in the psychical; or, as the text says, we think of the two as forming one self.)*

7 Lust is the resting in the sense of enjoyment. *(This has been explained again and again. Sensation, as, for example, the sense of taste, is meant to be the guide to action; in this case, the choice of wholesome food, and the avoidance of poisonous and hurtful things. But if we rest in the sense of taste, as a pleasure in itself; rest, that is, in the psychical side of taste, we fall into gluttony, and live to eat, instead of eating to live. So with the other great organic power, the power of reproduction. This lust comes into being, through resting in the sensation, and looking for pleasure from that.)*

8 Hate is the resting in the sense of pain. *(Pain comes, for the most part, from the strife of personalities, the jarring discords between psychic selves, each of which deems itself supreme. A dwelling on this pain breeds hate, which tears the warring selves yet further asunder, and puts new enmity between them, thus hindering the harmony of the Real, the reconciliation through the Soul.)*

9 Attachment is the desire toward life, even in the wise, carried forward by its own energy. *(The life here desired is the psychic life, the intensely vibrating life of the psychical self. This prevails even in those who have attained much wisdom, so long as it falls short of the wisdom of complete renunciation, complete obedience to each least behest of the spiritual man, and of the Master who guards and aids the spiritual man. The desire of sensation, the desire of psychic life, reproduces itself, carried on by its own energy and momentum; and hence comes the circle of death and rebirth, death and rebirth, instead of the liberation of the spiritual man.)*

10 These hindrances, when they have become subtle, are to be removed by a countercurrent. *(The darkness of unwisdom is to be removed by the light of wisdom, pursued through fervour, spiritual reading of holy teachings and of life itself, and by obedience to the Master. Lust is to be removed by pure aspiration of spiritual life, which, bringing true strength and stability, takes away the void of weakness which we try to fill by the stimulus of sensations. Hate is to be overcome by love. The fear that arises through the sense of separate, warring selves is to be stilled by the realisation of the One Self, the one soul in all. This realisation is the perfect love that casts out fear. The hindrances are said to have become subtle when, by initial efforts, they have been located and recognised in the psychic nature.)*

11 Their active turnings are to be removed by meditation. *(Here is, in truth, the whole secret of Yoga, the science of the soul. The active turnings, the strident vibrations, of selfishness, lust and hate are to be stilled by meditation, by letting heart and mind dwell in spiritual life, by lifting up the heart to the strong, silent life above, which rests in the stillness of eternal love, and needs no harsh vibration to convince it of true being.)*

12 The burden of bondage to sorrow has its root in these hindrances. It will be felt in this life, or in a life not yet manifested. *(The burden of bondage to sorrow has its root in the darkness of unwisdom, in selfishness, in lust, in hate, in attachment to sensation. All these are, in the last analysis, absorption in the psychical self; and this means sorrow, because it means the sense of separateness, and this means jarring discord and inevitable death. But the psychical self will breed a new psychical self, in a new birth, and so new sorrows in a life not yet manifest.)*

13 From this root there grow and ripen the fruits of birth, of the life-span, of all that is tasted in life. *(Fully to comment on this, would be to write a treatise on Karma and its practical working in detail, whereby the place and time of the next birth, its content and duration, are determined; and to do this the present commentator is in no wise fitted. But this much is clearly understood: that, through a kind of spiritual gravitation, the incarnating self is drawn to a home and life-circle which will give it scope and discipline; and its need of discipline is clearly conditioned by its character, its standing, its accomplishment.)*

14 These bear fruits of rejoicing, or of affliction, as they are sprung from holy or unholy works. *(Since holiness is obedience to divine law, to the law of divine harmony, and obedience to harmony strengthens that harmony in the soul, which is the one true joy, therefore joy comes of holiness: comes, indeed, in no other way. And as unholiness is disobedience, and therefore discord, therefore unholiness makes for pain; and this two-fold law is true, whether the cause take effect in this, or in a yet unmanifested birth.)*

15 To him who possesses discernment, all personal life is misery, because it ever waxes and wanes, is ever afflicted with restlessness, makes ever new dynamic impresses in the mind; and because all its activities war with each other. *(The whole life of the psychic self is misery, because it ever waxes and wanes; because birth brings inevitable death; because there is no expectation without its shadow, fear. The life of the psychic self is misery, because it is afflicted with restlessness; so that he who has much, finds not satisfaction, but rather the whetted hunger for more. The fire is not quenched by pouring oil on it; so desire is not quenched by the satisfaction of desire. Again, the life of the psychic self is misery, because it makes ever new dynamic impresses in the mind; because a desire satisfied is but the seed from which springs the desire to find like satisfaction again. The appetite comes in eating, as the proverb says, and grows by what it feeds on. And the psychic self, torn with conflicting desires, is ever the house divided against itself, which must surely fall.)*

16 This pain is to be warded off, before it has come. *(In other words, we cannot cure the pains of life by laying on them any balm. We must cut the root, absorption in the psychical self. So it is said, there is no cure for the misery of longing, but to fix the heart upon the eternal.)*

17 The cause of what is to be warded off, is the absorption of the Seer in things seen. *(Here again we have the fundamental idea of the Sankhya, which is the intellectual counterpart of the Yoga system. The cause of what is to be warded off, the root of misery, is the absorption of consciousness in the psychical man and the things which beguile the psychical man. The cure is liberation.)*

18 Things seen have as their property manifestation, action, inertia. They form the basis of the elements and the sense-powers. They make for experience and for liberation. *(Here is a whole philosophy of life. Things seen, the total of the phenomena, possess as their property, manifestation, action, inertia: the qualities of force and matter in combination. These, in their grosser form, make the material world; in their finer, more subjective form, they make the psychical world, the world of sense-impressions and mind-images. And through this totality of the phenomenal, the soul gains experience, and is prepared for liberation. In other words, the whole outer world exists for the purposes of the soul, and finds in this its true reason for being.)*

19 The grades or layers of the Three Potencies are the defined, the undefined, that with distinctive mark, that without distinctive mark. *(Or, as we might say, there are two strata of the physical, and two strata of the psychical realms. In each, there is the side of form, and the side of force. The form side of the physical is here called the defined. The force side of the physical is the undefined, that which has no boundaries. So in the psychical; there is the form side; that with distinctive marks, such as the characteristic features of mind-images; and there is the force side, without distinctive marks, such as the forces of desire or fear, which may flow now to this mind-image, now to that.)*

20 The Seer is pure vision. Though pure, he looks out through the vesture of the mind. *(The Seer, as always, is the spiritual man whose deepest consciousness is pure vision, the pure life of the eternal. But the spiritual man, as yet unseeing in his proper person, looks out on the world through the eyes of the psychical man, by whom he is enfolded and enmeshed. The task is, to set this prisoner free, to clear the dust of ages from this buried temple.)*

21 The very essence of things seen is, that they exist for the Seer. *(The things of outer life, not only material things, but the psychic man also, exist in very deed for the purposes of the Seer, the Soul, the spiritual man Disaster comes, when the*

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psychical man sets up, so to speak, on his own account, trying to live for himself alone, and taking material things to solace his loneliness.)

22 Though fallen away from him who has reached the goal, things seen have not alto fallen away, since they still exist for others. *(When one of us conquers hate, hate does not thereby cease out of the world, since others still hate and suffer hatred. So with other delusions, which hold us in bondage to material things, and through which we look at all material things. When the coloured veil of illusion is gone, the world which we saw through it is also gone, for now we see life as it is, in the white radiance of eternity. But for others the coloured veil remains, and therefore the world thus coloured by it remains for them, and will remain till they, too, conquer delusion.)*

23 The association of the Seer with things seen is the cause of the realizing of the nature of things seen, and also of the realizing of the nature of the Seer. *(Life is educative. All life's infinite variety is for discipline, for the development of the soul. So passing through many lives, the Soul learns the secrets of the world, the august laws that are written in the form of the snow-crystal or the majestic order of the stars. Yet all these laws are but reflections, but projections outward, of the laws of the soul; therefore in learning these, the soul learns to know itself. All life is but the mirror wherein the Soul learns to know its own face.)*

24 The cause of this association is the darkness of unwisdom. *(The darkness of unwisdom is the absorption of consciousness in the personal life, and in the things seen by the personal life. This is the fall, through which comes experience, the learning of the lessons of life. When they are learned, the day of redemption is at hand.)*

25 The bringing of this association to an end, by bringing the darkness of unwisdom to an end, is the great liberation; this is the Seer's attainment of his own pure being. *(When the spiritual man has, through the psychical, learned all life's lessons, the time has come for him to put off the veil and disguise of the psychical and to stand revealed a King, in the house of the Father. So shall he enter into his kingdom, and go no more out.)*

26 A discerning which is carried on without wavering is the means of liberation. *(Here we come close to the pure Vedanta, with its discernment between the eternal and the temporal. St. Paul, following after Philo and Plato, lays down the same fundamental principle: the things seen are temporal, the things unseen are eternal. Patanjali means something more than an intellectual assent, though this too is vital. He has in view a constant discriminating in act as well as thought; of the two ways which present themselves for every deed or choice, always to choose the higher way, that which makes for the things eternal: honesty rather than roguery, courage and not cowardice, the things of another rather than one's own, sacrifice and not indulgence. This true discernment, carried out constantly, makes for liberation.)*

27 His illuminations is sevenfold, rising In successive stages. *(Patanjali's text does not tell us what the seven stages of this illumination are. The commentator thus describes them: First, the danger to be escaped is recognised; it need not be recognised a second time. Second, the causes of the danger to be escaped are worn away; they need not be worn away a second time. Third, the way of escape is clearly perceived, by the contemplation which checks psychic perturbation. Fourth, the means of escape, clear discernment, has been developed. This is the fourfold release belonging to insight. The final release from the psychic is three-fold: As fifth of the seven degrees, the dominance of its thinking is ended; as sixth, its potencies, like rocks from a precipice, fall of themselves; once dissolved, they do not grow again. Then, as seventh, freed from these potencies, the spiritual man stands forth in his own nature as purity and light. Happy is the spiritual man who beholds this seven-fold illumination in its ascending stages.)*

28 From steadfastly following after the means of Yoga, until impurity is worn away, there comes the illumination of thought up to full discernment. *(Here, we enter on the more detailed practical teaching of Patanjali, with its sound and luminous good sense. And when we come to detail the means of Yoga, we may well be astonished at their simplicity. There is little in them that is mysterious. They are very familiar. The essence of the matter lies in carrying them out.)*

29 The eight means of Yoga are: the Commandments, the Rules, right Poise, right Control of the life-force, Withdrawal, Attention, Meditation, Contemplation. *(These eight means are to be followed in their order, in the sense which will immediately be made clear. We can get a ready understanding of the first two by comparing them with the Commandments which must be obeyed by all good citizens, and the Rules which are laid on the members of religious orders. Until one has fulfilled the first, it is futile to concern oneself with the second. And so with all the means of Yoga. They must be taken in their order.)*

30 The Commandments, or Precepts, are these: non-injury, truthfulness, abstaining from stealing, from impurity, from covetousness. *(In other words: Abstain from violence, from falsehoods, from stealing, from inappropriate sexual engagements, and from acceptance of gifts or craving for other people's property. These five precepts are almost exactly the same as the Buddhist as well as the Daoist Commandments: not to kill, not to steal, not to be guilty of incontinence, not to drink intoxicants, to speak the truth. Almost identical is St. Paul's list: Thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not covet. And in the same spirit is the answer made to the young map having great possessions, who asked, What shall I do to be saved? and received the reply: Keep the Commandments. This broad, general training, which forms and develops human character, must be accomplished to a very considerable degree, before there can be much hope of success in the further stages of spiritual life. First the psychical, and then the spiritual. First the man, then the angel. On this broad, humane and wise foundation does the system of Patanjali rest.)*

31 The Commandments, not limited to any race, place, time or occasion, universal, are the great obligation. *(The Commandments form the broad general training of humanity. Each one of them rests on a universal, spiritual law. Each one of them expresses an attribute or aspect of the Self, the Eternal; when we violate one of the Commandments, we set ourselves against the law and being of the Eternal, thereby bringing ourselves to inevitable con fusion. So the first steps in spiritual life must be taken by bringing ourselves into voluntary obedience to these spiritual laws and thus making ourselves partakers of the spiritual powers, the being of the Eternal Like the law of gravity, the need of air to breathe, these great laws know no exceptions They are in force in all lands, throughout al times, for all mankind.)*

32 The Rules are these: purity, serenity fervent aspiration, spiritual reading, and per feet obedience to the Master. *(Here we have a finer law, one which humanity as a whole is less ready for, less fit to obey. Yet we can see that these Rules are the same in essence as the Commandments, but on a higher, more spiritual plane. The Commandments may be obeyed in outer acts and abstinences; the Rules demand obedience of the heart and spirit, a far more awakened and more positive consciousness. The Rules are the spiritual counterpart of the Commandments, and they have finer degrees, for more advanced spiritual growth.)*

33 When transgressions hinder, the weight of the imagination should be thrown' on the opposite side. *(Let us take a simple case, that of a thief, a habitual criminal, who has drifted into stealing in childhood, before the moral consciousness has awakened. We may imprison such a thief, and deprive him of all possibility of further theft, or of using the divine gift of will. Or we may recognize his disadvantages, and help him gradually to build up possessions which express his will, and draw forth his self-respect. If we imagine that, after he has built well, and his possessions have become dear to him, he himself is robbed, then we can see how he would come vividly to realize the essence of theft and of honesty, and would cleave to honest dealings with firm conviction. In some such way does the great Law teach us. Our sorrows and losses teach us the pain of the sorrow and loss we inflict on others, and so we cease to inflict them. Now as to the more direct application. To conquer a sin, let heart and mind rest, not on the sin, but on the contrary virtue. Let the sin be forced out by positive growth in the true direction, not by direct opposition. Turn away from the sin and go forward courageously, constructively, creatively, in well-doing. In this way the whole nature will gradually be drawn up to the higher level, on which the sin does not even exist. The conquest of a sin is a matter of growth and evolution, rather than of opposition.)*

34 Transgressions are injury, falsehood, theft, incontinence, envy; whether committed, or caused, or assented to, through greed, wrath, or infatuation; whether faint, or middling, or excessive; bearing endless, fruit of ignorance and pain. Therefore must the weight be cast on the other side. *(Here are the causes of sin: greed, wrath, infatuation, with their effects, ignorance and pain. The causes are to be cured by better wisdom, by a truer understanding of the Self, of Life. For greed cannot endure before the realisation that the whole world belongs to the Self, which Self we are; nor can we hold wrath against one who is one with the Self, and therefore with ourselves; nor can infatuation, which is the seeking for the happiness of the All in some limited part of it, survive the knowledge that we are heirs of the All. Therefore let thought and imagination, mind and heart, throw their weight on the other side; the side, not of the world, but of the Self.)*

35 Where non-injury is perfected, all enmity ceases in the presence of him who possesses it. *(We come now to the spiritual powers which result from keeping the Commandments; from the obedience to spiritual law which is the keeping of the Commandments. Where the heart is full of kindness which seeks no injury to another, either in act or thought or wish, this full love creates an atmosphere of harmony, whose benign power touches with healing all who come within its influence. Peace in the heart radiates peace to other hearts, even more surely than contention breeds contention.)*

36 When he is perfected in truth, all acts and their fruits depend on him. *(The commentator thus explains: If he who has attained should say to a man, Become righteous! the man becomes righteous. If he should say, Gain heaven! the man gains heaven. His word is not in vain. Exactly the same doctrine was taught by the Master who said to his disciples: Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose soever sins ye remit they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.)*

37 Where cessation from theft is perfected, all treasures present themselves to him who possesses it. *(Here is a sentence which may warn us that, beside the outer and apparent meaning, there is in many of these sentences a second and finer significance. The obvious meaning is, that he who has wholly ceased from theft, in act, thought and wish, finds buried treasures in his path, treasures of jewels and gold and pearls. The deeper truth is, that he who in every least thing is wholly honest with the spirit of Life, finds Life supporting him in all things, and gains admittance to the treasure house of Life, the spiritual universe.)*

38 For him who is perfect in continence, the reward is valour and virility. *(The creative power, strong and full of vigour, is no longer dissipated, but turned to spiritual uses. It upholds and endows the spiritual man, conferring on him the creative will, the power to engender spiritual children instead of bodily progeny. An epoch of life, that of man the animal, has come to an end; a new epoch, that of the spiritual man, is opened. The old creative power is superseded and transcended; a new creative power, that of the spiritual man, takes its place, carrying with it the power to work creatively in others for righteousness and eternal life. One of the commentaries says that he who has attained is able to transfer to the minds of his disciples what he knows concerning divine union, and the means of gaining it. This is one of the powers of purity.)*

39 Where there is firm conquest of covetousness, he who has conquered it awakes to the how and why of life. *(So it is said that, before we can understand the laws of Karma, we must free ourselves from Karma. The conquest of covetousness brings this rich fruit, because the root of covetousness is the desire of the individual soul, the will toward manifested life. And where the desire of the individual soul is overcome by the superb, still life of the universal Soul welling up in the heart within, the great secret is discerned, the secret that the individual soul is not an isolated reality, but the ray, the manifest instrument of the Life, which turns it this way and that until the great work is accomplished, the age-long lesson learned. Thus is the how and why of life disclosed by ceasing from covetousness. The Commentator says that this includes a knowledge of one's former births.)*

40 Through purity a withdrawal from one's own bodily life, a ceasing from infatuation with the bodily life of others. *(As the spiritual light grows in the heart within, as the taste for pure Life grows stronger, the consciousness opens toward the great, secret places within, where all life is one, where all lives are one. Thereafter, this outer, manifested, fugitive life, whether of ourselves or of others, loses something of its charm and glamour, and we seek rather the deep infinitudes. Instead of the outer form and surroundings of our lives, we long for their inner and everlasting essence. We desire not so much outer converse and closeness to our friends, but rather that quiet communion with them in the inner chamber of the soul, where spirit speaks to spirit, and spirit answers; where alienation and separation never enter; where sickness and sorrow and death cannot come.)*

41 To the pure of heart come also a quiet spirit, one-pointed thought, the victory over sensuality, and fitness to behold the Soul. *(Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God, who is the supreme Soul; the ultimate Self of all beings. In the deepest sense, purity means fitness for this vision, and also a heart cleansed from all disquiet, from all wandering and unbridled thought, from the torment of sensuous imaginings; and when the spirit is thus cleansed and pure, it becomes at one in essence with its source, the great Spirit, the primal Life. One consciousness now thrills through both, for the psychic partition wall is broken down. Then shall the pure in heart see God, because they become God.)*

42 From acceptance, the disciple gains happiness supreme. *(One of the wise has said: accept conditions, accept others, accept yourself. This is the true acceptance, for all these things are what they are through the will of the higher Self, except their deficiencies, which come through thwarting the will of the higher Self, and can be conquered only through compliance with that will. By the true acceptance, the disciple comes into oneness of spirit with the overruling Soul; and, since the own nature of the Soul is being, happiness, bliss, he comes thereby into happiness supreme.)*

43 The perfection of the powers of the bodily vesture comes through the wearing away of impurities, and through fervent aspiration. *(This is true of the physical powers, and of those which dwell in the higher vestures. There must be, first, purity; as the blood must be pure, before one can attain to physical health. But absence of impurity is not in itself enough, else would many nerveless ascetics of the cloisters rank as high saints. There is needed, further, a positive fire of the will; a keen vital vigour for the physical powers, and something finer, purer, stronger, but of kindred essence, for the higher powers.*

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The fire of genius is something more than a phrase, for there can be no genius without the celestial fire of the awakened spiritual will.)

44 Through spiritual reading, the disciple gains communion with the divine Power on which his heart is set. *(Spiritual reading meant, for ancient India, something more than it does with us. It meant, first, the recital of sacred texts, which, in their very sounds, had mystical potencies; and it meant a recital of texts which were divinely emanated, and held in themselves the living, potent essence of the divine. For us, spiritual reading means a communing with the recorded teachings of the Masters of wisdom, whereby we read ourselves into the Master's mind, just as through his music one can enter into the mind and soul of the master musician. It has been well said that all true art is contagion of feeling; so that through the true reading of true books we do indeed read ourselves into the spirit of the Masters, share in the atmosphere of their wisdom and power, and come at last into their very presence.)*

45 Soul-vision is perfected through perfect obedience to the Master. *(The sorrow and darkness of life come of the erring personal will which sets itself against the will of the Soul, the one great Life. The error of the personal will is inevitable, since each will must be free to choose, to try and fail, and so to find the path. And sorrow and darkness are inevitable, until the path be found, and the personal will made once more one with the greater Will, wherein it finds rest and power, without losing freedom. In His will is our peace. And with that peace comes light. Soul-vision is perfected through obedience.)*

46 Right poise must be firm and without strain. *(Here we approach a section of the teaching which has manifestly a two-fold meaning. The first is physical, and concerns the bodily position of the student, and the regulation of breathing. These things have their direct influence upon soul-life, the life of the spiritual man, since it is always and everywhere true that our study demands a sound mind in a sound body. The present sentence declares that, for work and for meditation, the position of the body must be steady and without strain, in order that the finer currents of life may run their course. It applies further to the poise of the soul, that fine balance and stability which nothing can shake, where the consciousness rests on the firm foundation of spiritual being. This is indeed the house set upon a rock, which the winds and waves beat upon in vain.)*

47 Right poise is to be gained by steady and temperate effort, and by setting the heart upon the everlasting. *(Here again, there is the two-fold meaning, for physical poise is to be gained by steady effort of the muscles, by gradual and wise training, linked with a right understanding of, and relation with, the universal force of gravity. Uprightness of body demands that both these conditions shall be fulfilled. In like manner the firm and upright poise of the spiritual man is to be gained by steady and continued effort, always guided by wisdom, and by setting the heart on the Eternal, filling the soul with the atmosphere of the spiritual world. Neither is effective without the other. Aspiration without effort brings weakness; effort without aspiration brings a false strength, not resting on enduring things. The two together make for the right poise which sets the spiritual man firmly and steadfastly on his feet.)*

48 The fruit of right poise is the strength to resist the shocks of infatuation or sorrow. *(In the simpler physical sense, which is also coveted by the wording of the original, this sentence means that wise effort establishes such bodily poise that the accidents of life cannot disturb it, as the captain remains steady, though disaster overtake his ship. But the deeper sense is far more important. The spiritual man, too, must learn to withstand all shocks, to remain steadfast through the perturbations of external things and the storms and whirlwinds of the psychical world. This is the power which is gained by wise, continuous effort, and by filling the spirit with the atmosphere of the Eternal.)*

49 When this is gained, there follows the right guidance of the life-currents, the control of the incoming and outgoing breath. *(It is well understood to-day that most of our maladies come from impure conditions of the blood. It is coming to be understood that right breathing, right oxygenation, will do very much to keep the blood clean and pure. Therefore a right knowledge of breathing is a part of the science of life. But the deeper meaning is, that the spiritual man, when he has gained poise through right effort and aspiration, can stand firm, and guide the currents of his life, both the incoming current of events, and the outgoing current of his acts. Exactly the same symbolism is used in the saying: Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man; but that which cometh out of the mouth, this defileth a man…. Those things which proceed out of the mouth come forth from the heart … out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders, uncleanness, thefts, false witness, blasphemies. Therefore the first step in purification is to keep the Commandments.)*

50 The life-current is either outward, or inward, or balanced; it is regulated according to place, time, number; it is prolonged and subtle. *(The technical, physical side of this has its value. In the breath, there should be right inbreathing, followed by the period of pause, when the air comes into contact with the blood, and this again followed by right outbreathing, even, steady, silent. Further, the lungs should be evenly filled; many maladies may arise from the neglect and consequent weakening of some region of the lungs. And the number of breaths is so important, so closely related to health, that every nurse's chart records it. But the deeper meaning is concerned with the currents of life; with that which goeth into and cometh out of the heart.)*

51 The fourth degree transcends external and internal objects. *(The inner meaning seems to be that, in addition to the three degrees of control already described, control, that is, over the incoming current of life, over the outgoing current, and over the condition of pause or quiesence, there is a fourth degree of control, which holds in complete mastery both the outer passage of events and the inner currents of thoughts and emotions; a condition of perfect poise and stability in the midst of the flux of things outward and inward.)*

52 Thereby is worn away the veil which covers up the light. *(The veil is the psychic nature, the web of emotions, desires, argumentative trains of thought, which cover up and obscure the truth by absorbing the entire attention and keeping the consciousness in the psychic realm. When hopes and fears are reckoned at their true worth, in comparison with lasting possessions of the Soul; when the outer reflections of things have ceased to distract us from inner realities; when argumentative-thought no longer entangles us, but yields its place to flashing intuition, the certainty which springs from within; then is the veil worn away, the consciousness is drawn from the psychical to the spiritual, from the temporal to the Eternal. Then is the light unveiled.)*

53 Thence comes the mind's power to hold itself in the light. *(It has been well said, that what we most need is the faculty of spiritual attention; and in the same direction of thought it has been eloquently declared that prayer does not consist in our catching God's attention, but rather in our allowing God to hold our attention. The vital matter is, that we need to disentangle our consciousness from the noisy and perturbed thraldom of the psychical, and to come to consciousness as the spiritual man. This we must do, first, by purification, through the Commandments and the Rules; and, second, through the faculty of spiritual attention, by steadily heeding endless fine intimations of the spiritual power within us, and by intending our consciousness thereto; thus by degrees transferring the centre of consciousness from the psychical to the spiritual. It is a question, first, of love, and then of attention.)*

54 The right Withdrawal is the disengaging of the powers from entanglement in outer things, as the psychic nature has been withdrawn and stilled. *(To understand this, let us reverse the process, and think of the one consciousness, centred in the Soul, gradually expanding and taking on the form of the different perceptive powers; the one will, at the same time, differentiating itself into the varied powers of action. Now let us imagine this to be reversed, so that the spiritual force, which has gone into the differentiated powers, is once more gathered together into the inner power of intuition and spiritual will, taking on that unity which is the hall-mark of spiritual things, as diversity is the seal of material things. It is all a matter of love for the quality of spiritual consciousness, as against psychical consciousness, of love and attention. For where the heart is, there will the treasure be also; where the consciousness is, there will the vesture with its powers be developed.)*

55 *Thereupon follows perfect mastery over the powers. (When the spiritual condition which we have described is reached, with its purity, poise, and illuminated vision, the spiritual man is coming into his inheritance, and gaining complete mastery of his powers. Indeed, much of the struggle to keep the Commandments and the Rules has been paving the way for this mastery; through this very struggle and sacrifice the mastery has become possible; just as, to use St. Paul's simile, the athlete gains the mastery in the contest and the race through the sacrifice of his long and arduous training. Thus he gains the crown.)*

INTRODUCTION TO BOOK 3

The third book of the Sutras is the Book of Spiritual Powers. In considering these spiritual powers, two things must be understood and kept in memory. The first of these is this: These spiritual powers can only be gained when the development described in the first and second books has been measurably attained; when the Commandments have been kept, the Rules faithfully followed, and the experiences which are described have been passed through. For only after this is the spiritual man so far grown, so far disentangled from the psychical bandages and veils which have confined and blinded him, that he can use his proper powers and faculties. For this is the secret of all spiritual powers: they are in no sense an abnormal or supernatural overgrowth upon the material man, but are rather the powers and faculties inherent in the spiritual man, entirely natural to him, and coming naturally into activity, as the spiritual man is disentangled and liberated from psychical bondage, through keeping the Commandments and Rules already set forth.

As the personal man is the limitation and inversion of the spiritual man, all his faculties and powers are inversions of the powers of the spiritual man. In a single phrase, his self seeking is the inversion of the Self-seeking which is the very being of the spiritual man: the ceaseless search after the divine and august Self of all beings. This inversion is corrected by keeping the Commandments and Rules, and gradually, as the inversion is overcome, the spiritual man is extricated, and comes into possession and free exercise of his powers. The spiritual powers, therefore, are the powers of the grown and liberated spiritual man. They can only be developed and used as the spiritual man grows and attains liberation through obedience. This is the first thing to be kept in mind, in all that is said of spiritual powers in the third and fourth books of the Sutras. The second thing to be understood and kept in mind is this:

Just as our modern sages have discerned and taught that all matter is ultimately one and eternal, definitely related throughout the whole wide universe; just as they have discerned and taught that all force is one and eternal, so coordinated throughout the whole universe that whatever affects any atom measurably affects the whole boundless realm of matter and force, to the most distant star or nebula on the dim confines of space; so the ancient sages had discerned and taught that all consciousness is one, immortal, indivisible, infinite; so finely correlated and continuous that whatever is perceived by any consciousness is, whether actually or potentially, within the reach of all consciousness, and therefore within the reach of any consciousness. This has been well expressed by saying that all souls are fundamentally one with the Oversoul; that the Son of God, and all Sons of God, are fundamentally one with the Father. When the consciousness is cleared of psychic bonds and veils, when the spiritual man is able to stand, to see, then this superb law comes into effect: whatever is within the knowledge of any consciousness, and this includes the whole infinite universe, is within his reach, and may, if he wills, be made a part of his consciousness. This he may attain through his fundamental unity with the Oversoul, by raising himself toward the consciousness above him, and drawing on its resources. The Son, if he would work miracles, whether of perception or of action, must come often into the presence of the Father. This is the birthright of the spiritual man; through it he comes into possession of his splendid and immortal powers. Let it be clearly kept in mind that what is here to be related of the spiritual man, and his exalted powers, must in no wise be detached from what has gone before. The being, the very inception, of the spiritual man depends on the purification and moral attainment already detailed, and can in no wise dispense with these or curtail them.

Let no one imagine that the true life, the true powers of the spiritual man, can be attained by any way except the hard way of sacrifice, of trial, of renunciation, of selfless self-conquest and genuine devotion to the weal of all others. Only thus can the golden gates be reached and entered. Only thus can we attain to that pure world wherein the spiritual man lives, and moves, and has his being. Nothing impure, nothing unholy can ever cross that threshold, least of all impure motives or self seeking desires. These must be burnt away before an entrance to that world can be gained.

But where there is light, there is shadow; and the lofty light of the soul casts upon the clouds of the mid-world the shadow of the spiritual man and of his powers; the bastard vesture and the bastard powers of psychism are easily attained; yet, even when attained, they are a delusion, the very essence of unreality.

Therefore ponder well the earlier rules, and lay a firm foundation of courage, sacrifice, selflessness, holiness.

YOGA SUTRAS BOOK 3

1 The binding of the perceiving consciousness to a certain region is attention (dharana). *(Emerson quotes Sir Isaac Newton as saying that he made his great discoveries by intending his mind on them. That is what is meant here. I read the page of a book while inking of something else. At the end of he page, I have no idea of what it is about, and read it again, still thinking of something else, with the same result. Then I wake up, so to speak, make an effort of attention, fix my thought on what I am reading, and easily take in its meaning. The act of will, the effort of attention, the intending of the mind on each word and line of the page, just as the eyes are focussed on each word and line, is the power here contemplated. It is the power to focus the consciousness on a given spot, and hold it there Attention is the first and indispensable step in all knowledge. Attention to spiritual things is the first step to spiritual knowledge.)*

2 A prolonged holding of the perceiving consciousness in that region is meditation (dhyana). *(This will apply equally to outer and inner things. I may for a moment fix my attention on some visible object, in a single penetrating glance, or I may hold the attention fixedly on it until it reveals far more of its nature than a single glance could perceive. The first is the*

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focussing of the searchlight of consciousness upon the object. The other is the holding of the white beam of light steadily and persistently on the object, until it yields up the secret of its details. So for things within; one may fix the inner glance for a moment on spiritual things, or one may hold the consciousness steadily upon them, until what was in the dark slowly comes forth into the light, and yields up its immortal secret. But this is possible only for the spiritual man, after the Commandments and the Rules have been kept; for until this is done, the thronging storms of psychical thoughts dissipate and distract the attention, so that it will not remain fixed on spiritual things. The cares of this world, the deceitfulness of riches, choke the word of the spiritual message.)

3 When the perceiving consciousness in this meditative is wholly given to illuminating the essential meaning of the object contemplated, and is freed from the sense of separateness and personality, this is contemplation (samadhi). *(Let us review the steps so far taken. First, the beam of perceiving consciousness is focussed on a certain region or subject, through the effort of attention. Then this attending consciousness is held on its object. Third, there is the ardent will to know its meaning, to illumine it with comprehending thought. Fourth, all personal bias—all desire merely to indorse a previous opinion and so prove oneself right, and all desire for personal profit or gratification must be quite put away. There must be a purely disinterested love of truth for its own sake. Thus is the perceiving consciousness made void, as it were, of all personality or sense of separateness. The personal limitation stands aside and lets the All-consciousness come to bear upon the problem. The Oversoul bends its ray upon the object, and illumines it with pure light.)*

4 When these three, Attention, Meditation Contemplation, are exercised at once, this is perfectly concentrated Meditation (sanyama). *(When the personal limitation of the perceiving consciousness stands aside, and allows the All-conscious to come to bear upon the problem, then arises that real knowledge which is called a flash of genius; that real knowledge which makes discoveries, and without which no discovery can be made, however painstaking the effort. For genius is the vision of the spiritual man, and that vision is a question of growth rather than present effort; though right effort, rightly continued, will in time infallibly lead to growth and vision. Through the power thus to set aside personal limitation, to push aside petty concerns and cares, and steady the whole nature and will in an ardent love of truth and desire to know it; through the power thus to make way for the All-consciousness, all great men make their discoveries. Newton, watching the apple fall to the earth, was able to look beyond, to see the subtle waves of force pulsating through apples and worlds and suns and galaxies, and thus to perceive universal gravitation. The Oversoul, looking through his eyes, recognised the universal force, one of its own children. Darwin, watching the forms and motions of plants and animals, let the same august consciousness come to bear on them, and saw infinite growth perfected through ceaseless struggle. He perceived the superb process of evolution, the Oversoul once more recognizing its own. Fraunhofer, noting the dark lines in the band of sunlight in his spectroscope, divined their identity with the bright lines in the spectra of incandescent iron, sodium and the rest, and so saw the oneness of substance in the worlds and suns, the unity of the materials of the universe. Once again the Oversoul, looking with his eyes, recognised its own. So it is with all true knowledge. But the mind must transcend its limitations, its idiosyncrasies; there must be purity, for to the pure in heart is the promise, that they shall see God.)*

5 By mastering this perfectly concentrated Meditation, there comes the illumination of perception. *(The meaning of this is illustrated by what has been said before. When the spiritual man is able to throw aside the trammels of emotional and mental limitation, and to open his eyes, he sees clearly, he attains to illuminated perception. A poet once said that Occultism is the conscious cultivation of genius; and it is certain that the awakened spiritual man attains to the perceptions of genius. Genius is the vision, the power, of the spiritual man, whether its possessor recognizes this or not. All true knowledge is of the spiritual man. The greatest in all ages have recognised this and put their testimony on record. The great in wisdom who have not consciously recognised it, have ever been full of the spirit of reverence, of selfless devotion to truth, of humility, as was Darwin; and reverence and humility are the unconscious recognition of the nearness of the Spirit, that Divinity which broods over us, a Master o'er a slave.)*

6 This power is distributed in ascending degrees. *(It is to be attained step by step. It is a question, not of miracle, but of evolution, of growth. Newton had to master the multiplication table, then the four rules of arithmetic, then the rudiments of algebra, before he came to the binomial theorem. At each point, there was attention, concentration, insight; until these were attained, no progress to the next point was possible. So with Darwin. He had to learn the form and use of leaf and flower, of bone and muscle; the characteristics of genera and species; the distribution of plants and animals, before he had in mind that nexus of knowledge on which the light of his great idea was at last able to shine. So is it with all knowledge. So is it with spiritual knowledge. Take the matter this way: The first subject for the exercise of my spiritual insight is my day, with its circumstances, its hindrances, its opportunities, its duties. I do what I can to solve it, to fulfil its duties, to learn its lessons. I try to live my day with aspiration and faith. That is the first step. By doing this, I gather a harvest for the evening, I gain a deeper insight into life, in virtue of which I begin the next day with a certain advantage, a certain spiritual advance and attainment. So with all successive days. In faith and aspiration, we pass from day to day, in growing knowledge and power, with never more than one day to solve at a time, until all life becomes radiant and transparent.)*

7 This threefold power, of Attention, Meditation, Contemplation, is more interior than the means of growth previously described. *(Very naturally so; because the means of growth previously described were concerned with the extrication of the spiritual man from psychic bondages and veils; while this threefold power is to be exercised by the spiritual man thus extricated and standing on his feet, viewing life with open eyes.)*

8 But this triad is still exterior to the soul vision which is unconditioned, free from the seed of mental analyses. *(The reason is this: The threefold power we have been considering, the triad of Attention, Contemplation, Meditation is, so far as we have yet considered it, the focussing of the beam of perceiving consciousness upon some form of manifesting being, with a view of understanding it completely. There is a higher stage, where the beam of consciousness is turned back upon itself, and the individual consciousness enters into, and knows, the All consciousness. This is a being, a being in immortality, rather than a knowing; it is free from mental analysis or mental forms. It is not an activity of the higher mind, even the mind of the spiritual man. It is an activity of the soul. Had Newton risen to this higher stage, he would have known, not the laws of motion, but that high Being, from whose Life comes eternal motion. Had Darwin risen to this, he would have seen the Soul, whose graduated thought and being all evolution expresses. There are, therefore, these two perceptions: that of living things, and that of the Life; that of the Soul's works, and that of the Soul itself.)*

9 One of the ascending degrees is the development of Control. First there is the overcoming of the mind-impress of excitation. Then comes the manifestation of the mind-impress of Control. Then the perceiving consciousness follows after the moment of Control. *(This is the development of Control. The meaning seems to be this: Some object enters the field of observation, and at first violently excites the mind, stirring up curiosity, fear, wonder; then the consciousness returns upon itself, as it were, and takes the perception firmly in hand, steadying itself, and viewing the matter calmly from above. This steadying effort of the will upon the perceiving consciousness is Control, and immediately upon it follows perception, understanding, insight. Take a trite example. Supposing one is walking in an Indian forest. A charging elephant suddenly appears. The man is excited by astonishment, and, perhaps, terror. But he exercises an effort of will, perceives the situation in its true bearings, and recognizes that a certain thing must be done; in this case, probably, that he must get out of the way as quickly as possible. Or a comet, unheralded, appears in the sky like a flaming sword. The beholder is at first astonished, perhaps terror-stricken; but he takes himself in hand, controls his thoughts, views the apparition calmly, and finally calculates its orbit and its relation to meteor showers. These are extreme illustrations; but with all knowledge the order of perception is the same: first, the excitation of the mind by the new object impressed on it; then the control of the mind from within; upon which follows the perception of the nature of the object. Where the eyes of the spiritual man are open, this will be a true and penetrating spiritual perception. In some such way do our living experiences come to us; first, with a shock of pain; then the Soul steadies itself and controls the pain; then the spirit perceives the lesson of the event, and its bearing upon the progressive revelation of life.)*

10 Through frequent repetition of this process, the mind becomes habituated to it, and there arises an equable flow of perceiving consciousness. *(Control of the mind by the Soul, like control of the muscles by the mind, comes by practice, and constant voluntary repetition. As an example of control of the muscles by the mind, take the ceaseless practice by which a musician gains mastery over his instrument, or a fencer gains skill with a rapier. Innumerable small efforts of attention will make a result which seems well-nigh miraculous; which, for the novice, is really miraculous. Then consider that far more wonderful instrument, the perceiving mind, played on by that fine musician, the Soul. Here again, innumerable small efforts of attention will accumulate into mastery, and a mastery worth winning. For a concrete example, take the gradual conquest of each day, the effort to live that day for the Soul. To him that is faithful unto death, the Master gives the crown of life.)*

11 The gradual conquest of the mind's tendency to flit from one object to another, and the power of one-pointedness, make the development of Contemplation. *(As an illustration of the mind's tendency to flit from one object to another, take a small boy, learning arithmetic. He begins: two ones are two; three ones are three-and then he thinks of three coins in his pocket, which will purchase so much candy, in the store down the street, next to the toy-shop, where are base-balls, marbles and so on,—and then he comes back with a jerk, to four ones are four. So with us also. We are seeking the meaning of our task, but the mind takes advantage of a moment of slackened attention, and flits off from one frivolous detail to another, till we suddenly come back to consciousness after traversing leagues of space. We must learn to conquer this, and to go back within ourselves into the beam of perceiving consciousness itself, which is a beam of the Oversoul. This is the true onepointedness, the bringing of our consciousness to a focus in the Soul.)*

12 When, following this, the controlled manifold tendency and the aroused one-pointedness are equally balanced parts of the perceiving consciousness, his the development of one-pointedness. *(This would seem to mean that the insight which is called one-pointedness has two sides, equally balanced. There is, first, the manifold aspect of any object, the sum of all its characteristics and properties. This is to be held firmly in the mind. Then there is the perception of the object as a unity, as a whole, the perception of its essence. First, the details must be clearly perceived; then the essence must be comprehended. When the two processes are equally balanced, the true onepointedness is attained. Everything has these two sides, the side of difference and the side of unity; there is the individual and there is the genus; the pole of matter and diversity, and the pole of oneness and spirit. To see the object truly, we must see both.)*

13 Through this, the inherent character, distinctive marks and conditions of being and powers, according to their development, are made clear. *(By the power defined in the preceding sutra, the inherent character, distinctive marks and conditions of beings and powers are made clear. For through this power, as defined, we get a twofold view of each object, seeing at once all its individual characteristics and its essential character, species and genus; we see it in relation to itself, and in relation to the Eternal. Thus we see a rose as that particular flower, with its colour and scent, its peculiar fold of each petal; but we also see in it the species, the family to which it belongs, with its relation to all plants, to all life, to Life itself. So in any day, we see events and circumstances; we also see in it the lesson set for the soul by the Eternal.)*

14 Every object has its characteristics which are already quiescent, those which are active, and those which are not yet definable. *(Every object has characteristics belonging to its past, its present and its future. In a fir tree, for example, there are the stumps or scars of dead branches, which once represented its foremost growth; there are the branches with their needles spread out to the air; there are the buds at the end of each branch and twig, which carry the still closely packed needles which are the promise of the future. In like manner, the chrysalis has, as its past, the caterpillar; as its future, the butterfly. The man has, in his past, the animal; in his future, the angel. Both are visible even now in his face. So with all things, for all things change and grow.)*

15 Difference in stage is the cause of difference in development. *(This but amplifies what has just been said. The first stage is the sapling, the caterpillar, the animal. The second stage is the growing tree, the chrysalis, the man. The third is the splendid pine, the butterfly, the angel. Difference of stage is the cause of difference of development. So it is among men, and among the races of men.)*

16 Through perfectly concentrated Meditation on the three stages of development comes a knowledge of past and future. *(We have taken our illustrations from natural science, because, since every true discovery in natural science is a divination of a law in nature, attained through a flash of genius, such discoveries really represent acts of spiritual perception, acts of perception by the spiritual man, even though they are generally not so recognised. So we may once more use the same illustration. Perfectly concentrated Meditation, perfect insight into the chrysalis, reveals the caterpillar that it has been, the butterfly that it is destined to be. He who knows the seed, knows the seed-pod or ear it has come from, and the plant that is to come from it. So in like manner he who really knows today, and the heart of to-day, knows its parent yesterday and its child tomorrow. Past, present and future are all in the Eternal. He who dwells in the Eternal knows all three.)*

17 The sound and the object and the thought called up by a word are confounded because they are all blurred together in the mind. By perfectly concentrated Meditation on the distinction between them, there comes an understanding of the sounds uttered by all beings. *(It must be remembered that we are speaking of perception by the spiritual man. Sound, like every force, is the expression of a power of the Eternal. Infinite shades of this power are expressed in the infinitely varied tones of sound. He who, having entry to the*

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consciousness of the Eternal knows the essence of this power, can divine the meanings of all sounds, from the voice of the insect to the music of the spheres. In like manner, he who has attained to spiritual vision can perceive the mind-images in the thoughts of others, with the shade of feeling which goes with them, thus reading their thoughts as easily as he hears their words. Every one has the germ of this power, since difference of tone will give widely differing meanings to the same words, meanings which are intuitively perceived by everyone.)

18 When the mind-impressions become visible, there comes an understanding of previous births. *(This is simple enough if we grasp the truth of rebirth. The fine harvest of past experiences is drawn into the spiritual nature, forming, indeed, the basis of its development. When the consciousness has been raised to a point above these fine subjective impressions, and can look down upon them from above, this will in itself be a remembering of past births.)*

19 By perfectly concentrated Meditation on mind-images is gained the understanding of the thoughts of others. *(Here, for those who can profit by it, is the secret of thought-reading. Take the simplest case of intentional thought transference. It is the testimony of those who have done this, that the perceiving mind must be stilled, before the mind-image projected by the other mind can be seen. With it comes a sense of the feeling and temper of the other mind and so on, in higher degrees.)*

20 But since that on which the thought in the mind of another rests is not objective to the thought-reader's consciousness, he perceives the thought only, and not also that on which the thought rests. *(The meaning appears to be simple: One may be able to perceive the thoughts of some one at a distance; one cannot, by that means alone, also perceive the external surroundings of that person, which arouse these thoughts.)*

21 By perfectly concentrated Meditation on the form of the body, by arresting the body's perceptibility, and by inhibiting the eye's power of sight, there comes the power to make the body invisible. *(There are many instances of the exercise of this power, by mesmerists, hypnotists and the like; and we may simply call it an instance of the power of suggestion. Shankara tells us that by this power the popular magicians of the East perform their wonders, working on the mind-images of others, while remaining invisible themselves. It is all a question of being able to see and control the mind-images.)*

22 The works which fill out the life-span may be either immediately or gradually operative. By perfectly concentrated Meditation on these comes a knowledge of the time of the end, as also through signs. *(A garment which is wet, says the commentator, may be hung up to dry, and so dry rapidly, or it may be rolled in a ball and dry slowly; so a fire may blaze or smoulder. Thus it is with Karma, the works that fill out the life-span. By an insight into the mental forms and forces which make up Karma, there comes a knowledge of the rapidity or slowness of their development, and of the time when the debt will be paid.)*

23 By perfectly concentrated Meditation on sympathy, compassion and kindness, is gained the power of interior union with others. *(Unity is the reality; separateness the illusion. The nearer we come to reality, the nearer we come to unity of heart. Sympathy, compassion, kindness are modes of this unity of heart, whereby we rejoice with those who rejoice, and weep with those who weep. These things are learned by desiring to learn them.)*

24 By perfectly concentrated Meditation on power, even such power as that of the elephant may be gained. *(This is a pretty image. Elephants possess not only force, but poise and fineness of control. They can lift a straw, a child, a tree with perfectly judged control and effort. So the simile is a good one. By detachment, by withdrawing into the soul's reservoir of power, we can gain all these, force and fineness and poise; the ability to handle with equal mastery things small and great, concrete and abstract alike.)*

25 By bending upon them the awakened inner light, there comes a knowledge of things subtle, or concealed, or obscure. *(As was said at the outset, each consciousness is related to all consciousness; and, through it, has a potential consciousness of all things; whether subtle or concealed or obscure. An understanding of this great truth will come with practice. As one of the wise has said, we have no conception of the power of Meditation.)*

26 By perfectly concentrated Meditation on the sun comes a knowledge of the worlds. *(This has several meanings: First, by a knowledge of the constitution of the sun, astronomers can understand the kindred nature of the stars. And it is said that there is a finer astronomy, where the spiritual man is the astronomer. But the sun also means the Soul, and through knowledge of the Soul comes a knowledge of the realms of life.)*

27 By perfectly concentrated Meditation on the moon comes a knowledge of the lunar mansions. *(Here again are different meanings. The moon is, first, the companion planet, which, each day, passes backward through one mansion of the stars. By watching the moon, the boundaries of the mansion are learned, with their succession in the great time-dial of the sky. But the moon also symbolizes the analytic mind, with its divided realms; and these, too, may be understood through perfectly concentrated Meditation.)*

28 By perfectly concentrated Meditation on the fixed pole-star comes a knowledge of the motions of the stars. *(Addressing Duty, stern daughter of the Voice of God, Wordsworth finely said: "Thou cost preserve the stars from wrong, And the most ancient heavens through thee are fresh and strong—thus suggesting a profound relation between the moral powers and the powers that rule the worlds. So in this Sutra the fixed polestar is the eternal spirit about which all things move, as well as the star toward which points the axis of the earth. Deep mysteries attend both, and the veil of mystery is only to be raised by Meditation, by open-eyed vision of the awakened spiritual man".)*

29 Perfectly concentrated Meditation on the centre of force in the lower trunk brings an understanding of the order of the bodily powers. *(We are coming to a vitally important part of the teaching of Yoga: namely, the spiritual man's attainment of full self-consciousness, the awakening of the spiritual man as a self-conscious individual, behind and above the natural man. In this awakening, and in the process of gestation which precedes it, there is a close relation with the powers of the natural man, which are, in a certain sense, the projection, outward and downward, of the powers of the spiritual man. This is notably true of that creative power of the spiritual man which, when embodied in the natural man, becomes the power of generation. Not only is this power the cause of the continuance of the bodily race of mankind, but further, in the individual, it is the key to the dominance of the personal life. Rising, as it were, through the life-channels of the body, it flushes the personality with physical force, and maintains and colours the illusion that the physical life is the dominant and all-important expression of life. In due time, when the spiritual man has begun to take form, the creative force will be drawn off, and become operative in building the body of the spiritual man, just as it has been operative in the building of physical bodies, through generation in the natural world. Perfectly concentrated Meditation on the nature of this force means, first, that rising of the consciousness into the spiritual world, already described, which gives the one sure foothold for Meditation; and then, from that spiritual point of vantage, not only an insight into the creative force, in its spiritual and physical aspects, but also a gradually attained control of this wonderful force, which will mean its direction to the body of the spiritual man, and its gradual withdrawal from the body of the natural man, until the over-pressure, so general and such a fruitful source of misery in our day, is abated, and purity takes the place of passion. This over pressure, which is the cause of so many evils and so much of human shame, is an abnormal, not a natural, condition. It is primarily due to spiritual blindness, to blindness regarding the spiritual man, and ignorance even of his existence; for by this blind ignorance are closed the channels through which, were they open, the creative force could flow into the body of the spiritual man, there building up an immortal vesture. There is no cure for blindness, with its consequent over-pressure and attendant misery and shame, but spiritual vision, spiritual aspiration, sacrifice, the new birth from above. There is no other way to lighten the burden, to lift the misery and shame from human life. Therefore, let us follow after sacrifice and aspiration, let us seek the light. In this way only shall we gain that insight into the order of the bodily powers, and that mastery of them, which this Sutra implies.)*

30 By perfectly concentrated Meditation on the centre of force in the well of the throat, there comes the cessation of hunger and thirst. *(We are continuing the study of the bodily powers and centres of force in their relation to the powers and forces of the spiritual man. We have already considered the dominant power of physical life, the creative power which secures the continuance of physical life; and, further, the manner in which, through aspiration and sacrifice, it is gradually raised and set to the work of upbuilding the body of the spiritual man. We come now to the dominant psychic force, the power which manifests itself in speech, and in virtue of which the voice may carry so much of the personal magnetism, endowing the orator with a tongue of fire, magical in its power to arouse and rule the emotions of his hearers. This emotional power, this distinctively psychical force, is the cause of "hunger and thirst," the psychical hunger and thirst for sensations, which is the source of our two-sided life of emotionalism, with its hopes and fears, its expectations and memories, its desires and hates. The source of this psychical power, or, perhaps we should say, its centre of activity in the physical body is said to be in the cavity of the throat. Thus, in the Taittiriya Upanishad it is written: "There is this shining ether in the inner being. Therein is the spiritual man, formed through thought, immortal, golden. Inward, in the palate, the organ that hangs down like a nipple,-this is the womb of Indra. And there, where the dividing of the hair turns, extending upward to the crown of the head." Indra is the name given to the creative power of which we have spoken, and which, we are told, resides in "the organ which hangs down like a nipple, inward, in the palate".)*

31 By perfectly concentrated Meditation on the centre of force in the channel called the "tortoise-formed," comes steadfastness. *(We are concerned now with the centre of nervous or psychical force below the cavity of the throat, in the chest, in which is felt the sensation of fear; the centre, the disturbance of which sets the heart beating miserably with dread, or which produces that sense of terror through which the heart is said to stand still. When the truth concerning fear is thoroughly mastered, through spiritual insight into the immortal, fearless life, then this force is perfectly controlled; there is no more fear, just as, through the control of the psychic power which works through the nerve-centre in the throat, there comes a cessation of "hunger and thirst." Thereafter, these forces, or their spiritual prototypes, are turned to the building of the spiritual man. Always, it must be remembered, the victory is first a spiritual one; only later does it bring control of the bodily powers.)*

32 Through perfectly concentrated Meditation on the light in the head comes the vision of the Masters who have attained. *(The tradition is, that there is a certain centre of force in the head, perhaps the "pineal gland," which some of our Western philosophers have supposed to be the dwelling of the soul, a centre which is, as it were, the door way between the natural and the spiritual man. It is the seat of that better and wiser consciousness behind the outward looking consciousness in the forward part of the head; that better and wiser consciousness of "the back of the mind," which views spiritual things, and seeks to impress the spiritual view on the outward looking consciousness in the forward part of the head. It is the spiritual man seeking to guide the natural man, seeking to bring the natural man to concern himself with the things of his immortality. This is suggested in the words of the Upanishad already quoted: "There, where the dividing of the hair turns, extending upward to the crown of the head"; all of which may sound very fantastical, until one comes to understand it. It is said that when this power is fully awakened, it brings a vision of the great Companions of the spiritual man, those who have already attained, crossing over to the further shore of the sea of death and rebirth. Perhaps it is to this divine sight that the Master alluded, who is reported to have said: "I counsel you to buy of me eye-salve, that you may see." It is of this same vision of the great Companions, the children of light, that a seer wrote: "Though inland far we be, Our souls have sight of that immortal sea Which brought us hither, Can in a moment travel thither, And see the Children sport upon the shore And hear the mighty waters rolling evermore".)*

33 Or through the divining power of tuition he knows all things. *(This is really the supplement, the spiritual side, of the Sutra just translated. Step by step, as the better consciousness, the spiritual view, gains force in the back of the mind, so, in the same measure, the spiritual man is gaining the power to see: learning to open the spiritual eyes. When the eyes are fully opened, the spiritual man beholds the great Companions standing about him; he has begun to "know all things." This divining power of intuition is the power which lies above and behind the so-called rational mind; the rational mind formulates a question and lays it before the intuition, which gives a real answer, often immediately distorted by the rational mind, yet always embodying a kernel of truth. It is by this process, through which the rational mind brings questions to the intuition for solution, that the truths of science are reached, the flashes of discovery and genius. But this higher power need not work in subordination to the so-called rational mind, it may act directly, as full illumination, "the vision and the faculty divine".)*

34 By perfectly concentrated Meditation on the heart, the interior being, comes the knowledge of consciousness. *(The heart here seems to mean, as it so often does in the Upanishads, the interior, spiritual nature, the consciousness of the spiritual man, which is related to the heart, and to the wisdom of the heart. By steadily seeking after, and finding, the consciousness of the spiritual man, by coming to consciousness as the spiritual man, a perfect knowledge of consciousness will be attained. For the consciousness of the spiritual man has this divine quality: while being and remaining a truly individual consciousness, it at the same time flows over, as it were, and blends with the Divine Consciousness above and about it, the consciousness of the great Companions; and by showing itself to be one with the Divine Consciousness, it reveals the nature of all consciousness, the secret that all consciousness is One and Divine.)*

35 The personal self seeks to feast on life, through a failure to perceive the distinction between the personal self and the spiritual man. All personal experience really exists for the sake of another: namely, the spiritual man. *(By perfectly concentrated Meditation on experience for the sake of the Self, comes a knowledge of the spiritual man. (The divine ray of the Higher Self, which is eternal, impersonal and abstract, descends into life, and forms a personality, which, through the stress and storm of life, is hammered into a definite and concrete self-conscious individuality. The problem is, to blend*

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these two powers, taking the eternal and spiritual being of the first, and blending with it, transferring into it, the self-conscious individuality of the second; and thus bringing to life a third being, the spiritual man, who is heir to the immortality of his father, the Higher Self, and yet has the self-conscious, concrete individuality of his other parent, the personal self. This is the true immaculate conception, the new birth from above, "conceived of the Holy Spirit." Of this new birth it is said: "that which is born of the Spirit is spirit: ye must be born again." Rightly understood, therefore, the whole life of the personal man is for another, not for himself. He exists only to render his very life and all his experience for the building up of the spiritual man. Only through failure to see this, does he seek enjoyment for himself, seek to secure the feasts of life for himself; not understanding that he must live for the other, live sacrificially, offering both feasts and his very being on the altar; giving himself as a contribution for the building of the spiritual man. When he does understand this, and lives for the Higher Self, setting his heart and thought on the Higher Self, then his sacrifice bears divine fruit, the spiritual man is built up, consciousness awakes in him, and he comes fully into being as a divine and immortal individuality.)

36 Thereupon are born the divine power of intuition, and the hearing, the touch, the vision, the taste and the power of smell of the spiritual man. *(When, in virtue of the perpetual sacrifice of the personal man, daily and hourly giving his life for his divine brother the spiritual man, and through the radiance ever pouring down from the Higher Self, eternal in the Heavens, the spiritual man comes to birth,-there awake in him those powers whose physical counterparts we know in the personal man. The spiritual man begins to see, to hear, to touch, to taste. And, besides the senses of the spiritual man, there awakes his mind, that divine counterpart of the mind of the physical man, the power of direct and immediate knowledge, the power of spiritual intuition, of divination. This power, as we have seen, owes its virtue to the unity, the continuity, of consciousness, whereby whatever is known to any consciousness, is knowable by any other consciousness. Thus the consciousness of the spiritual man, who lives above our narrow barriers of separateness, is in intimate touch with the consciousness of the great Companions, and can draw on that vast reservoir for all real needs. Thus arises within the spiritual man that certain knowledge which is called intuition, divination, illumination.)*

37 These powers stand in contradistinction to the highest spiritual vision. In manifestation they are called magical powers. *(The divine man is destined to supersede the spiritual man, as the spiritual man supersedes the natural man. Then the disciple becomes a Master. The opened powers of tile spiritual man, spiritual vision, hearing, and touch, stand, therefore, in contradistinction to the higher divine power above them, and must in no wise be regarded as the end of the way, for the path has no end, but rises ever to higher and higher glories; the soul's growth and splendour have no limit. So that, if the spiritual powers we have been considering are regarded as in any sense final, they are a hindrance, a barrier to the far higher powers of the divine man. But viewed from below, from the standpoint of normal physical experience, they are powers truly magical; as the powers natural to a four-dimensional being will appear magical to a three-dimensional being.)*

38 Through the weakening of the causes of bondage, and by learning the method of sassing, the consciousness is transferred to the other body. *(In due time, after the spiritual man has been formed and grown stable through the forces and virtues already enumerated, and after the senses of the spiritual man have awaked, there comes the transfer of the dominant consciousness, the sense of individuality, from the physical to the spiritual man. Thereafter the physical man is felt to be a secondary, a subordinate, an instrument through whom the spiritual man works; and the spiritual man is felt to be the real individuality. This is, in a sense, the attainment to full salvation and immortal life; yet it is not the final goal or resting place, but only the beginning of the greater way. The means for this transfer are described as the weakening of the causes of bondage, and an understanding of the method of passing from the one consciousness to the other. The first may also be described as detach meet, and comes from the conquest of the delusion that the personal self is the real man. When that delusion abates and is held in check, the finer consciousness of the spiritual man begins to shine in the background of the mind. The transfer of the sense of individuality to this finer consciousness, and thus to the spiritual man, then becomes a matter of recollection, of attention; primarily, a matter of taking a deeper interest in the life and doings of the spiritual man, than in the pleasures or occupations of the personality. Therefore it is said: "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust cloth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal: but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust cloth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal: for where your treasure is, there will your heart be also".)*

39 Through mastery of the upward-life comes freedom from the dangers of water, morass, and thorny places, and the power of ascension is gained. *(Here is one of the sentences, so characteristic of this author, and, indeed, of the Eastern spirit, in which there is an obvious exterior meaning, and, within this, a clear interior meaning, not quite so obvious, but far more vital. The surface meaning is, that by mastery of a certain power, called here the upward-life, and akin to levitation, there comes the ability to walk on water, or to pass over thorny places without wounding the feet. But there is a deeper meaning. When we speak of the disciple's path as a path of thorns, we use a symbol; and the same symbol is used here. The upward-life means something more than the power, often manifested in abnormal psychical experiences, of levitating the physical body, or near-by physical objects. It means the strong power of aspiration, of upward will, which first builds, and then awakes the spiritual man, and finally transfers the conscious individuality to him; for it is he who passes safely over the waters of death and rebirth, and is not pierced by the thorns in the path. Therefore it is said that he who would tread the path of power must look for a home in the air, and afterwards in the ether. Of the upward-life, this is written in the Katha Upanishad: "A hundred and one are the heart's channels; of these one passes to the crown. Going up this, he comes to the immortal." This is the power of ascension spoken of in the Sutra.)*

40 By mastery of the binding-life comes radiance. *(In the Upanishads, it is said that this binding-life unites the upward-life to the downward-life, and these lives have their analogies in the "vital breaths" in the body. The thought in the text seems to be, that, when the personality is brought thoroughly under control of the spiritual man, through the life-currents which bind them together, the personality is endowed with a new force, a strong personal magnetism, one might call it, such as is often an appanage of genius. But the text seems to mean more than this and to have in view the "vesture of the colour of the sun" attributed by the Upanishads to the spiritual man; that vesture which a disciple has thus described: "The Lord shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body"; perhaps "body of radiance" would better translate the Greek. In both these passages, the teaching seems to be, that the body of the full-grown spiritual man is radiant or luminous,-for those at least, who have anointed their eyes wit! eye-salve, so that they see.)*

41 From perfectly concentrated Meditation on the correlation of hearing and the ether, comes the power of spiritual hearing. *(Physical sound, we are told, is carried by the air, or by water, iron, or some medium on the same plane of substance. But then is a finer hearing, whose medium of transmission would seem to be the ether; perhaps no that ether which carries light, heat and magnetic waves, but, it may be, the far finer ether through which the power of gravity works. For, while light or heat or magnetic waves, travelling from the sun to the earth, take eight minutes for the journey, it is mathematically certain that the pull of gravitation does not take as much as eight seconds, or even the eighth of a second. The pull of gravitation travels, it would seem "as quick as thought"; so it may well be that, in thought transference or telepathy, the thoughts travel by the same way, carried by the same "thought-swift" medium. The transfer of a word by telepathy is the simplest and earliest form of the "divine hearing" of the spiritual man; as that power grows, and as, through perfectly concentrated Meditation, the spiritual man comes into more complete mastery of it, he grows able to hear and clearly distinguish the speech of the great Companions, who counsel and comfort him on his way. They may speak to him either in wordless thoughts, or in perfectly definite words and sentences.)*

42 By perfectly concentrated Meditation em the correlation of the body with the ether, and by thinking of it as light as thistle-down, will come the power to traverse the ether. *(It has been said that he who would tread the path of power must look for a home in the air, and afterwards in the ether. This would seem to mean, besides the constant injunction to detachment, that he must be prepared to inhabit first a psychic, and then an etheric body; the former being the body of dreams; the latter, the body of the spiritual man, when he wakes up on the other side of dreamland. The gradual accustoming of the consciousness to its new etheric vesture, its gradual acclimatisation, so to speak, in the etheric body of the spiritual man, is what our text seems to contemplate.)*

43 When that condition of consciousness is reached, which is far-reaching and not confined to the body, which is outside the body and not conditioned by it, then the veil which conceals the light is worn away. *(Perhaps the best comment on this is afforded by the words of Paul: "I knew a man in Christ above fourteen years ago, (whether in the body, I cannot tell; or whether out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth;) such a one caught up to the third heaven. And I knew such a man, (whether in the body, or out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth;) how that he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable [or, unspoken] words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter." The condition is, briefly, that of the awakened spiritual man, who sees and hears beyond the veil.)*

44 Mastery of the elements comes from perfectly concentrated Meditation on their five forms: the gross, the elemental, the subtle, the inherent, the purposive. *(These five forms are analogous to those recognised by modern physics: solid, liquid, gaseous, radiant and ionic. When the piercing vision of the awakened spiritual man is directed to the forms of matter, from within, as it were, from behind the scenes, then perfect mastery over the "beggarly elements" is attained. This is, perhaps, equivalent to the injunction: "Inquire of the earth, the air, and the water, of the secrets they hold for you. The development of your inner senses will enable you to do this".)*

45 Thereupon will come the manifestation of the atomic and other powers, which are the endowment of the body, together with its unassailable force. *(The body in question is, of course, the etheric body of the spiritual man. He is said to possess eight powers: the atomic, the power of assimilating himself with the nature of the atom, which will, perhaps, involve the power to disintegrate material forms; the power of levitation; the power of limitless extension; the power of boundless reach, so that, as the commentator says, "he can touch the moon with the tip of his finger"; the power to accomplish his will; the power of gravitation, the correlative of levitation; the power of command; the power of creative will. These are the endowments of the spiritual man. Further, the spiritual body is unassailable. Fire burns it not, water wets it not, the sword cleaves it not, dry winds parch it not. And, it is said, the spiritual man can impart something of this quality and temper to his bodily vesture.)*

46 Shapeliness, beauty, force, the temper of the diamond: these are the endowments of that body. *(The spiritual man is shapely, beautiful strong, firm as the diamond. Therefore it is written: "These things saith the Son of God, who hath his eyes like unto a flame of fire, and his feet are like fine brass: He that overcometh and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of iron; and I will give him the morning star".)*

47 Mastery over the powers of perception and action comes through perfectly concentrated Meditation on their fivefold forms; namely, their power to grasp their distinctive nature, the element of self-consciousness in them, their inherence, and their purposiveness. *(Take, for example, sight. This possesses, first, the power to grasp, apprehend, perceive; second, it has its distinctive form of perception; that is, visual perception; third, it always carries with its operations self-consciousness, the thought: "I perceive"; fourth sight has the power of extension through the whole field of vision, even to the utmost star; fifth, it is used for the purposes of the Seer. So with the other senses. Perfectly concentrated Meditation on each sense, a viewing it from behind and within, as is possible for the spiritual man, brings a mastery of the scope and true character of each sense, and of the world on which they report collectively.)*

48 Thence comes the power swift as thought, independent of instruments, and the mastery over matter. *(We are further enumerating the endowments of the spiritual man. Among these is the power to traverse space with the swiftness of thought, so that whatever place the spiritual man thinks of, to that he goes, in that place he already is. Thought has now become his means of locomotion. He is, therefore, independent of instruments, and can bring his force to bear directly, wherever he wills.)*

49 When the spiritual man is perfectly disentangled from the psychic body, he attains to mastery over all things and to a knowledge of all. *(The spiritual man is enmeshed in the web of the emotions; desire, fear, ambition, passion; and impeded by the mental forms of separateness and materialism. When these meshes are sundered, these obstacles completely overcome, then the spiritual man stands forth in his own wide world, strong, mighty, wise. He uses divine powers, with a divine scope and energy, working together with divine Companions. To such a one it is said: "Thou art now a disciple, able to stand, able to hear, able to see, able to speak, thou hast conquered desire and attained to self-knowledge, thou hast seen thy soul in its bloom and recognised it, and heard the voice of the silence".)*

50 By absence of all self-indulgence at this point, when the seeds of bondage to sorrow are destroyed, pure spiritual being is attained. *(The seeking of indulgence for the personal self, whether through passion or ambition, sows the seed of future sorrow. For this self indulgence of the personality is a double sin against the real; a sin against the cleanness of life, and a sin against the universal being, which permits no exclusive particular good, since, in the real, all spiritual possessions are held in common. This twofold sin brings its reacting punishment, its confining bondage to sorrow. But ceasing from self-indulgence brings purity, liberation, spiritual life.)*

51 There should be complete overcoming of allurement or pride in the invitations of the different realms of life, lest attachment to things evil arise once more. *(The commentator tells us that disciples, seekers for union, are of four degrees: first, those who are entering the path; second, those who are*

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in the realm of allurements; third, those who have won the victory over matter and the senses; fourth, those who stand firm in pure spiritual life. To the second, especially, the caution in the text is addressed. More modern teachers would express the same truth by a warning against the delusions and fascinations of the psychic realm, which open around the disciple, as he breaks through into the unseen worlds. These are the dangers of the anteroom. Safety lies in passing on swiftly into the inner chamber. "Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out".)

52 From perfectly concentrated Meditation on the divisions of time and their succession comes that wisdom which is born of discernment. *(The Upanishads say of the liberated that "he has passed beyond the triad of time"; he no longer sees life as projected into past, present and future, since these are forms of the mind; but beholds all things spread out in the quiet light of the Eternal. This would seem to be the same thought, and to point to that clear-eyed spiritual perception which is above time; that wisdom born of the unveiling of Time's delusion. Then shall the disciple live neither in the present nor the future, but in the Eternal.)*

53 Hence comes discernment between things which are of like nature, not distinguished by difference of kind, character or position. *(Here, as also in the preceding Sutra, we are close to the doctrine that distinctions of order, time and space are creations of the mind; the threefold prism through which the real object appears to us distorted and refracted. When the prism is withdrawn, the object returns to its primal unity, no longer distinguishable by the mind, yet clearly knowable by that high power of spiritual discernment, of illumination, which is above the mind.)*

54 The wisdom which is born of discernment is starlike; it discerns all things, and all conditions of things, it discerns without succession: simultaneously. *(That wisdom, that intuitive, divining power is starlike, says the commentator, because it shines with its own light, because it rises on high, and illumines all things. Nought is hid from it, whether things past, things present, or things to come; for it is beyond the threefold form of time, so that all things are spread before it together, in the single light of the divine. This power has been beautifully described by Columba: "Some there are, though very few, to whom Divine grace has granted this: that they can clearly and most distinctly see, at one and the same moment, as though under one ray of the sun, even the entire circuit of the whole world with its surroundings of ocean and sky, the inmost part of their mind being marvellously enlarged".)*

55 When the vesture and the spiritual man are alike pure, then perfect spiritual life is attained. *(The vesture, says the commentator, must first be washed pure of all stains of passion and darkness, and the seeds of future sorrow must be burned up utterly. Then, both the vesture and the wearer of the vesture being alike pure, the spiritual man enters into perfect spiritual life.)*

INTRODUCTION TO BOOK 4

The third book of the Sutras has fairly completed the history of the birth and growth of the spiritual man, and the enumeration of his powers; at least so far as concerns that first epoch in his immortal life, which immediately succeeds, and supersedes, the life of the natural man.

In the fourth book, we are to consider what one might call the mechanism of salvation, the ideally simple working of cosmic law which brings the spiritual man to birth, growth, and fulness of power, and prepares him for the splendid, toilsome further stages of his great journey home.

The Sutras are here brief to obscurity; only a few words, for example, are given to the great triune mystery and illusion of Time; a phrase or two indicates the sweep of some universal law. Yet it is hoped that, by keeping our eyes fixed on the spiritual man, remembering that he is the hero of the story, and that all that is written concerns him and his adventures, we may be able to find our way through this thicket of tangled words, and keep in our hands the clue to the mystery.

The last part of the last book needs little introduction. In a sense, it is the most important part of the whole treatise, since it unmasks the nature of the personality, that psychical "mind," which is the wakeful enemy of all who seek to tread the path. Even now, we can hear it whispering the doubt whether that can be a good path, which thus sets "mind" at defiance.

If this, then, be the most vital and fundamental part of the teaching, should it not stand at the very beginning? It may seem so at first; but had it stood there, we should not have comprehended it. For he who would know the doctrine must lead the life, doing the will of his Father which is in Heaven.

YOGA SUTRAS BOOK 4

1 Psychic and spiritual powers may be inborn, or they may be gained by the use of drugs, or by incantations, or by fervour, or by Meditation. *(Spiritual powers have been enumerated and described in the preceding sections. They are the normal powers of the spiritual man, the antetype, the divine edition, of the powers of the natural man. Through these powers, the spiritual man stands, sees, hears, speaks, in the spiritual world, as the physical man stands, sees, hears, speaks in the natural world. (There is a counterfeit presentment of the spiritual man, in the world of dreams, a shadow lord of shadows, who has his own dreamy powers of vision, of hearing, of movement; he has left the natural without reaching the spiritual. He has set forth from the shore, but has not gained the further verge of the river. He is borne along by the stream, with no foothold on either shore. Leaving the actual, he has fallen short of the real, caught in the limbo of vanities and delusions. The cause of this aberrant phantasm is always the worship of a false, vain self, the lord of dreams, within one's own breast. This is the psychic man, lord of delusive and bewildering psychic powers. Spiritual powers, like intellectual or artistic gifts, may be inborn: the fruit, that is, of seeds planted and reared with toil in a former birth. So also the powers of the psychic man may be inborn, a delusive harvest from seeds of delusion. Psychical powers may be gained by drugs, as poverty, shame, debasement may be gained by the self-same drugs. In their action, they are baneful, cutting the man off from consciousness of the restraining power of his divine nature, so that his forces break forth exuberant, like the laughter of drunkards, and he sees and hears things delusive. While sinking, he believes that he has risen; growing weaker, he thinks himself full of strength; beholding illusions, he takes them to be true. Such are the powers gained by drugs; they are wholly psychic, since the real powers, the spiritual, can never be so gained. Incantations are affirmations of half-truths concerning spirit and matter, what is and what is not, which work upon the mind and slowly build up a wraith of powers and a delusive well-being. These, too, are of the psychic realm of dreams. Lastly, there are the true powers of the spiritual man, built up and realised in Meditation, through reverent obedience to spiritual law, to the pure conditions of being, in the divine realm.)*

2 The transfer of powers from one venture to another comes through the flow of the natural creative forces. *(Here, if we can perceive it, is the whole secret of spiritual birth, growth and life Spiritual being, like all being, is but an expression of the Self, of the inherent power and being of Atma. Inherent in the Self are consciousness and will, which have, as their lordly heritage, the wide sweep of the universe throughout eternity, for the Self is one with the Eternal. And the consciousness of the Self may make itself manifest as seeing, hearing, tasting, feeling, or whatsoever perceptive powers there may be, just as the white sunlight may divide into many-coloured rays. So may the will of the Self manifest itself in the uttering of words, or in handling, or in moving, and whatever powers of action there are throughout the seven worlds. Where the Self is, there will its powers be. It is but a question of the vesture through which these powers shall shine forth. And wherever the consciousness and desire of the ever-creative Self are fixed, there will a vesture be built up; where the heart is, there will the treasure be also. Since through ages the desire of the Self has been toward the natural world, wherein the Self sought to mirror himself that he might know himself, therefore a vesture of natural elements came into being, through which blossomed forth the Self's powers of perceiving and of will: the power to see, to hear, to speak, to walk, to handle; and when the Self, thus come to self-consciousness, and, with it, to a knowledge of his imprisonment, shall set his desire on the divine and real world, and raise his consciousness thereto, the spiritual vesture shall be built up for him there, with its expression of his inherent powers. Nor will migration thither be difficult for the Self, since the divine is no strange or foreign land for him, but the house of his home, where he dwells from everlasting.)*

3 The apparent, immediate cause is not the true cause of the creative nature-powers; but, like the husbandman in his field, it takes obstacles away. *(The husbandman tills his field, breaking up the clods of earth into fine mould, penetrable to air and rain; he sows his seed, carefully covering it, for fear of birds and the wind; he waters the seed-laden earth, turning the little rills from the irrigation tank now this way and that, removing obstacles from the channels, until the even How of water vitalizes the whole field. And so the plants germinate and grow, first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear. But it is not the husbandman who makes them grow. It is, first, the miraculous plasmic power in the grain of seed, which brings forth after its kind; then the alchemy of sunlight which, in presence of the green colouring matter of the leaves, gathers hydrogen from the water and carbon from the gases in the air, and mingles them in the hydro-carbons of plant growth; and, finally, the wholly occult vital powers of the plant itself, stored up through ages, and flowing down from the primal sources of life. The husbandman but removes the obstacles. He plants and waters, but God gives the increase. So with the finer husbandman of diviner fields. He tills and sows, but the growth of the spiritual man comes through the surge and flow of divine, creative forces and powers. Here, again, God gives the increase. The divine Self puts forth, for the manifestation of its powers, a new and finer vesture, the body of the spiritual man.)*

4 Vestures of consciousness are built up in conformity with the Boston of the feeling of selfhood. *(The Self, says a great Teacher, in turn attaches itself to three vestures: first, to the physical body, then to the finer body, and thirdly to the causal body. Finally it stands forth radiant, luminous, joyous, as the Self. When the Self attributes itself to the physical body, there arise the states of bodily consciousness, built up about the physical self. When the Self, breaking through this first illusion, begins to see and feel itself in the finer body, to find selfhood there, then the states of consciousness of the finer body come into being; or, to speak exactly, the finer body and its states of consciousness arise and grow together. But the Self must not dwell permanently there. It must learn to find itself in the causal body, to build up the wide and luminous fields of consciousness that belong to that. Nor must it dwell forever there, for there remains the fourth state, the divine, with its own splendour and everlastingness. It is all a question of the states of consciousness; all a question of raising the sense of selfhood, until it dwells forever in the Eternal.)*

5 In the different fields of manifestation, the Consciousness, though one, is the elective cause of many states of consciousness. *(Here is the splendid teaching of oneness that lies at the heart of the Eastern wisdom. Consciousness is ultimately One, everywhere and forever. The Eternal, the Father, is the One Self of All Beings. And so, in each individual who is but a facet of that Self, Consciousness is One. Whether it breaks through as the dull fire of physical life, or the murky flame of the psychic and passional, or the radiance of the spiritual man, or the full glory of the Divine, it is ever the Light, naught but the Light. The one Consciousness is the effective cause of all states of consciousness, on every plane.)*

6 Among states of consciousness, that which is born of Contemplation is free from the seed of future sorrow. *(Where the consciousness breaks forth in the physical body, and the full play of bodily life begins, its progression carries with it inevitable limitations. Birth involves death. Meetings have their partings. Hunger alternates with satiety. Age follows on the heels of youth. So do the states of consciousness run along the circle of birth and death. With the psychic, the alternation between prize and penalty is swifter. Hope has its shadow of fear, or it is no hope. Exclusive love is tortured by jealousy. Pleasure passes through deadness into pain. Pain's surcease brings pleasure back again. So here, too, the states of consciousness run their circle. In all psychic states there is egotism, which, indeed, is the very essence of the psychic; and where there is egotism there is ever the seed of future sorrow. Desire carries bondage in its womb. But where the pure spiritual consciousness begins, free from self and stain, the ancient law of retaliation ceases; the penalty of sorrow lapses and is no more imposed. The soul now passes, no longer from sorrow to sorrow, but from glory to glory. Its growth and splendour have no limit. The good passes to better, best.)*

7 The works of followers after Union make neither for bright pleasure nor for dark pain The works of others make for pleasure or pain, or a mingling of these. *(The man of desire wins from his works the reward of pleasure, or incurs the penalty of pain; or, as so often happens in life, his guerdon, like the passionate mood of the lover, is part pleasure and part pain. Works done with self-seeking bear within them the seeds of future sorrow; conversely, according to the proverb, present pain is future gain. But, for him who has gone beyond desire, whose desire is set on the Eternal, neither pain to be avoided nor pleasure to be gained inspires his work. He fears no hell and desires no heaven. His one desire is, to know the will of the Father and finish His work. He comes directly in line with the divine Will, and works cleanly and immediately, without longing or fear. His heart dwells in the Eternal; all his desires are set on the Eternal.)*

8 From the force inherent in works comes the manifestation of those dynamic mind images which are conformable to the ripening out of each of these works. *(We are now to consider the general mechanism of Karma, in order that we may pass on to the consideration of him who is free from Karma. Karma, indeed, is the concern of the personal man, of his bondage or freedom. It is the succession of the forces which built up the personal man, reproducing themselves in one personality after another. Now let us take an imaginary case, to see how these forces may work out. Let us think of a man, with murderous intent in his heart, striking with a dagger at his enemy. He makes a red wound in his victim's breast; at the same instant he paints, in his own mind, a picture of that wound: a picture dynamic with all the fierce will-power he has put into his murderous blow. In other words he has made a deep wound in his own psychic body; and, when he comes to be born again, that body will become his outermost vesture, upon which, with its wound still there, bodily tissue will be built up. So the man will be born maimed, or with the predisposition to some mortal injury; he is unguarded at that point, and any trifling accidental blow will pierce the broken Joints of his psychic armour. Thus do the dynamic mind-images manifest themselves, coming to the surface, so that works done in the past may ripen and come to fruition.)*

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9 Works separated by different nature, or place, or time, are brought together by the correspondence between memory and dynamic impression. *(Just as, in the ripening out of mind-images into bodily conditions, the effect is brought about by the ray of creative force sent down by the Self, somewhat as the light of the magic lantern projects the details of a picture on the screen, revealing the hidden, and making secret things palpable and visible, so does this divine ray exercise a selective power on the dynamic mind-images, bringing together into one day of life the seeds gathered from many days. The memory constantly exemplifies this power; a passage of poetry will call up in the mind like passages of many poets, read at different times. So a prayer may call up many prayers. In like manner, the same over-ruling selective power, which is a ray of the Higher Self, gathers together from different births and times and places those mind-images which are conformable, and may be grouped in the frame of a single life or a single event. Through this grouping, visible bodily conditions or outward circumstances are brought about, and by these the soul is taught and trained. Just as the dynamic mind-images of desire ripen out in bodily conditions and circumstances, so the far more dynamic powers of aspiration, wherein the soul reaches toward the Eternal, have their fruition in a finer world, building the vesture of the spiritual man.)*

10 The series of dynamic mind-images is beginningless, because Desire is everlasting. *(The whole series of dynamic mind-images, which make up the entire history of the personal man, is a part of the mechanism which the Self employs, to mirror itself in a reflection, to embody its powers in an outward form, to the end of self-expression, selfrealisation, self-knowledge. Therefore the initial impulse behind these dynamic mind-images comes from the Self and is the descending ray of the Self; so that it cannot be said that there is any first member of the series of images, from which the rest arose. The impulse is beginningless, since it comes from the Self, which is from everlasting. Desire is not to cease; it is to turn to the Eternal, and so become aspiration.)*

11 Since the dynamic mind-images are held together by impulses of desire, by the wish for personal reward, by the substratum of mental habit, by the support of outer things desired; therefore, when these cease, the self reproduction of dynamic mind-images ceases. *(We are still concerned with the personal life in its bodily vesture, and with the process whereby the forces which have upheld it are gradually transferred to the life of the spiritual man, and build up for him his finer vesture in a finer world. How is the current to be changed? How is the flow of self-reproductive mind-images, which have built the conditions of life after life in this world of bondage, to be checked, that the time of imprisonment may come to an end, the day of liberation dawn? The answer is given in the Sutra just translated. The driving-force is withdrawn and directed to the upbuilding of the spiritual body. When the building impulses and forces are withdrawn, the tendency to manifest a new psychical body, a new body of bondage, ceases with them.)*

12 The difference between that which is past and that which is not yet come, according to their natures, depends on the difference of phase of their properties. *(Here we come to a high and difficult matter, which has always been held to be of great moment in the Eastern wisdom: the thought that the division of time into past, present and future is, in great measure, an illusion; that past, present, future all dwell together in the eternal Now. The discernment of this truth has been held to be so necessarily a part of wisdom, that one of the names of the Enlightened is: "he who has passed beyond the three times: past, present, future." So the Western Master said: "Before Abraham was, I am"; and again, "I am with you always, unto the end of the world"; using the eternal present for past and future alike. With the same purpose, the Master speaks of himself as "the alpha and the omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last." And a Master of our own days writes: "I feel even irritated at having to use these three clumsy words—past, present, and future. Miserable concepts of the objective phases of the subjective whole, they are about as ill adapted for the purpose, as an axe for fine carving." In the eternal Now, both past and future are consummated. Bjorklund, the Swedish philosopher, has well stated the same truth: "Neither past nor future can exist to God; He lives undividedly, without limitations, and needs not, as man, to plot out his existence in a series of moments. Eternity then is not identical with unending time; it is a different form of existence, related to time as the perfect to the imperfect … Man as an entity for himself must have the natural limitations for the part. Conceived by God, man is eternal in the divine sense, but conceived, by himself, man's eternal life is clothed in the limitations we call time. The eternal is a constant present without beginning or end, without past or future".)*

13 These properties, whether manifest or latent, are of the nature of the Three Potencies. *(The Three Potencies are the three manifested modifications of the one primal material, which stands opposite to perceiving consciousness. These Three Potencies are called Substance, Force, Darkness; or viewed rather for their moral colouring, Goodness, Passion, Inertness. Every material manifestation is a projection of substance into the empty space of darkness. Every mental state is either good, or passional, or inert. So, whether subjective or objective, latent or manifest, all things that present themselves to the perceiving consciousness are compounded of these three. This is a fundamental doctrine of the Sankhya system.)*

14 The external manifestation of an object takes place when the transformations ore in the same phase. *(We should be inclined to express the same law by saying, for example, that a sound is audible, when it consists of vibrations within the compass of the auditory nerve; that an object is visible, when either directly or by reflection, it sends forth luminiferous vibrations within the compass of the retina and the optic nerve. Vibrations below or above that compass make no impression at all, and the object remains invisible; as, for example, a kettle of boiling water in a dark room, though the kettle is sending forth heat vibrations closely akin to light. So, when the vibrations of the object and those of the perceptive power are in the same phase, the external manifestation of the object takes place. There seems to be a further suggestion that the appearance of an object in the "present," or its remaining hid in the "past," or "future," is likewise a question of phase, and, just as the range of vibrations perceived might be increased by the development of finer senses, so the perception of things past, and things to come, may be easy from a higher point of view.)*

15 The paths of material things and of states of consciousness are distinct, as is manifest from the fact that the same object may produce different impressions in different minds. *(Having shown that our bodily condition and circumstances depend on Karma, while Karma depends on perception and will, the sage recognizes the fact that from this may be drawn the false deduction that material things are in no wise different from states of mind. The same thought has occurred, and still occurs, to all philosophers; and, by various reasonings, they all come to the same wise conclusion; that the material world is not made by the mood of any human mind, but is rather the manifestation of the totality of invisible Being, whether we call this Mahat, with the ancients, or Ether, with the moderns.)*

16 Nor do material objects depend upon a single mind, for how could they remain objective to others, if that mind ceased to think of them? *(This is but a further development of the thought of the preceding Sutra, carrying on the thought that, while the universe is spiritual, yet its material expression is ordered, consistent, ruled by law, not subject to the whims or affirmations of a single mind. Unwelcome material things may be escaped by spiritual growth, by rising to a realm above them, and not by denying their existence on their own plane. So that our system is neither materialistic, nor idealistic in the extreme sense, but rather intuitional and spiritual, holding that matter is the manifestation of spirit as a whole, a reflection or externalisation of spirit, and, like spirit, everywhere obedient to law. The path of liberation is not through denial of matter but through denial of the wills of self, through obedience, and that aspiration which builds the vesture of the spiritual man.)*

17 An object is perceived, or not perceived, according as the mind is, or is not, tinged with the colour of the object. *(The simplest manifestation of this is the matter of attention. Our minds apprehend what they wish to apprehend; all else passes unnoticed, or, on the other hand, we perceive what we resent, as, for example, the noise of a passing train; while others, used to the sound, do not notice it at all. But the deeper meaning is, that out of the vast totality of objects ever present in the universe, the mind perceives only those which conform to the hue of its Karma. The rest remain unseen, even though close at hand. This spiritual law has been well expressed by Emerson: "Through solidest eternal things the man finds his road as if they did not subsist, and does not once suspect their being. As soon as he needs a new object, suddenly he beholds it, and no longer attempts to pass through it, but takes another way. When he has exhausted for the time the nourishment to be drawn from any one person or thing, that object is withdrawn from his observation, and though still in his immediate neighbourhood, he does not suspect its presence. Nothing is dead. Men feign themselves dead, and endure mock funerals and mournful obituaries, and there they stand looking out of the window, sound and well, in some new and strange disguise. Jesus is not dead, he is very well alive: nor John, nor Paul, nor Muhammad, nor Aristotle; at times we believe we have seen them all, and could easily tell the names under which they go".)*

18 The movements of the psychic nature are perpetually objects of perception, since the Spiritual Man, who is the lord of them, remains unchanging. *(Here is teaching of the utmost import, both for understanding and for practice. To the psychic nature belong all the ebb and flow of emotion, all hoping and fearing, desire and hate: the things that make the multitude of men and women deem themselves happy or miserable. To it also belong the measuring and comparing, the doubt and questioning, which, for the same multitude, make up mental life. So that there results the emotion-soaked personality, with its dark and narrow view of life: the shivering, terror driven personality that is life itself for all but all of mankind. Yet the personality is not the true man, not the living soul at all, but only a spectacle which the true man observes. Let us under stand this, therefore, and draw ourselves up inwardly to the height of the Spiritual Man, who, standing in the quiet light of the Eternal, looks down serene upon this turmoil of the outer life. One first masters the personality, the "mind," by thus looking down on it from above, from within; by steadily watching its ebb and flow, as objective, outward, and therefore not the real Self. This standing back is the first step, detachment. The second, to maintain the vantage-ground thus gained, is recollection.)*

19 The Mind is not self-luminous, since it can be seen as an object. *(This is a further step toward overthrowing the tyranny of the "mind": the psychic nature of emotion and mental measuring. This psychic self, the personality, claims to be absolute, asserting that life is for it and through it; it seeks to impose on the whole being of man its narrow, materialistic, faithless view of life and the universe; it would clip the wings of the soaring Soul. But the Soul dethrones the tyrant, by perceiving and steadily affirming that the psychic self is no true self at all, not self-luminous, but only an object of observation, watched by the serene eyes of the Spiritual Man.)*

20 Nor could the Mind at the same time know itself and things external to it. *(The truth is that the "mind" knows neither external things nor itself. Its measuring and analyzing, its hoping and fearing, hating and desiring, never give it a true measure of life, nor any sense of real values. Ceaselessly active, it never really attains to knowledge; or, if we admit its knowledge, it ever falls short of wisdom, which comes only through intuition, the vision of the Spiritual Man. Life cannot be known by the "mind," its secrets cannot be learned through the "mind." The proof is, the ceaseless strife and contradiction of opinion among those who trust in the mind. Much less can the "mind" know itself, the more so, because it is pervaded by the illusion that it truly knows, truly is. True knowledge of the "mind" comes, first, when the Spiritual Man, arising, stands detached, regarding the "mind" from above, with quiet eyes, and seeing it for the tangled web of psychic forces that it truly is. But the truth is divined long before it is clearly seen, and then begins the long battle of the "mind," against the Real, the "mind" fighting doggedly, craftily, for its supremacy.)*

21 If the Mind be thought of as seen by another more inward Mind, then there would be an endless series of perceiving Minds, and a confusion of memories. *(One of the expedients by which the "mind" seeks to deny and thwart the Soul, when it feels that it is beginning to be circumvented and seen through, is to assert that this seeing is the work of a part of itself, one part observing the other, and thus leaving no need nor place for the Spiritual Man. To this strategy the argument is opposed by our philosopher, that this would be no true solution, but only a postponement of the solution. For we should have to find yet another part of the mind to view the first observing part, and then another to observe this, and so on, endlessly. The true solution is, that the Spiritual Man looks down upon the psychic nature, and observes it; when he views the psychic pictures gallery, this is "memory," which would be a hopeless, inextricable confusion, if we thought of one part of the "mind," with its memories, viewing another part, with memories of its own. The solution of the mystery lies not in the "mind" but beyond it, in the luminous life of the risen Lord, the Spiritual Man.)*

22 When the psychical nature takes on the form of the spiritual intelligence, by reflecting it, then the Self becomes conscious of its own spiritual intelligence. *(We are considering a stage of spiritual life at which the psychical nature has been cleansed and purified. Formerly, it reflected in its plastic substance the images of the earthy; purified now, it reflects the image of the heavenly, giving the spiritual intelligence a visible form. The Self, beholding that visible form, in which its spiritual intelligence has, as it were, taken palpable shape, thereby reaches self-recognition, self-comprehension. The Self sees itself in this mirror, and thus becomes not only conscious, but self-conscious. This is, from one point of view, the purpose of the whole evolutionary process.)*

23 The psychic nature, taking on the colour of the Seer and of things seen, leads to the perception of all objects. *(In the unregenerate man, the psychic nature is saturated with images of material things, of things seen, or heard, or tasted, or felt; and this web of dynamic images forms the ordinary material and driving power of life. The sensation of sweet things tasted clamours to be renewed, and drives the man into effort to obtain its renewal; so he adds image to image, each dynamic and importunate, piling up sin's intolerable burden. Then comes regeneration, and the washing away of sin, through the fiery, creative power of the Soul, which burns out the stains of the psychic vesture, purifying it as gold is refined in the furnace. The suffering of regeneration springs from this indispensable purifying. Then the psychic vesture begins to take on the colour of the Soul, no longer stained, but suffused with golden light; and the man red generate gleams with the radiance of eternity. Thus the Spiritual Man puts on fair*

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raiment; for of this cleansing it is said: Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow; though they be as crimson, they shall be as wool.)

24 The psychic nature, which has been printed with mind-images of innumerable material things, exists now for the Spiritual Man, building for him. *(The "mind," once the tyrant, is now the slave, recognised as outward, separate, not Self, a well-trained instrument of the Spiritual Man. For it is not ordained for the Spiritual Man that, finding his high realm, he shall enter altogether there, and pass out of the vision of mankind. It is true that he dwells in heaven, but he also dwells on earth. He has angels and archangels, the hosts of the just made perfect, for his familiar friends, but he has at the same time found a new kinship with the prone children of men, who stumble and sin in the dark. Finding sinlessness, he finds also that the world's sin and shame are his, not to share, but to atone; finding kinship with angels, he likewise finds his part in the toil of angels, the toil for the redemption of the world. For this work, he, who now stands in the heavenly realm, needs his instrument on earth; and this instrument he finds, ready to his hand, and fitted and perfected by the very struggles he has waged against it, in the personality, the "mind," of the personal man. This once tyrant is now his servant and perfect ambassador, bearing witness, before men, of heavenly things and even in this present world doing the will and working the works of the Father.)*

25 For him who discerns between the Mind and the Spiritual Man, there comes perfect fruition of the longing after the real being of the Self. *(How many times in the long struggle have the Soul's aspirations seemed but a hopeless, impossible dream, a madman's counsel of perfection. Yet every finest, most impossible aspiration shall be realised, and ten times more than realised, once the long, arduous fight against the "mind," and the mind's worldview is won. And then it will be seen that unfaith and despair were but weapons of the "mind," to daunt the Soul, and put off the day when the neck of the "mind" shall be put under the foot of the Soul. Have you aspired, well-nigh hopeless, after immortality? You shall be paid by entering the immortality of God. Have you aspired, in misery and pain, after consoling, healing love? You shall be made a dispenser of the divine love of God Himself to weary souls. Have you sought ardently, in your day of feebleness, after power? You shall wield power immortal, infinite, with God working the works of God. Have you, in lonely darkness, longed for companionship and consolation? You shall have angels and archangels for your friends, and all the immortal hosts of the Dawn. These are the fruits of victory. Therefore overcome. These are the prizes of regeneration. Therefore die to self, that you may rise again to God.)*

26 Thereafter, the whole personal being bends toward illumination, toward Eternal Life. *(This is part of the secret of the Soul, that salvation means, not merely that a soul shall be cleansed and raised to heaven, but that the whole realm of the natural powers shall be redeemed, building up, even in this present world, the kingly figure of the Spiritual Man. The traditions of the ages are full of his footsteps; majestic, uncomprehended shadows, myths, demi-gods, fill the memories of all the nobler peoples. But the time cometh, when he shall be known, no longer demi-god, nor myth, nor shadow, but the ever-present Redeemer, working amid men for the life and cleansing of all souls.)*

27 In the internals of the batik, other thoughts will arise, through the impressions of the dynamic mind-images. *(The battle is long and arduous. Let there be no mistake as to that. Go not forth to this battle without counting the cost. Ages have gone to the strengthening of the foe. Ages of conflict must be spent, ere the foe, wholly conquered, becomes the servant, the Soul's minister to mankind. And from these long past ages, in hours when the contest flags, will come new foes, mind-born children springing up to fight for mind, reinforcements coming from forgotten years, forgotten lives. For once this conflict is begun, it can be ended only by sweeping victory, and unconditional, unreserved surrender of the vanquished.)*

28 These are to be overcome as it was taught that hindrances should be overcome. *(These new enemies and fears are to be overcome by ceaselessly renewing the fight, by a steadfast, dogged persistence, whether in victory or defeat, which shall put the stubbornness of the rocks to shame. For the Soul is older than all things, and invincible; it is of the very nature of the Soul to be unconquerable. Therefore fight on, undaunted; knowing that the spiritual will, once awakened, shall, through the effort of the contest, come to its full strength; that ground gained can be held permanently; that great as is the dead-weight of the adversary, it is yet measurable, while the Warrior who fights for you, for whom you fight, is, in might, immeasurable, invincible, everlasting.)*

29 He who, after he has attained, is wholly free from self, reaches the essence of all that can be known, gathered together like a cloud. This is the true spiritual consciousness. *(It has been said that, at the beginning of the way, we must kill out ambition, the great curse, the giant weed which grows as strongly in the heart of the devoted disciple as in the man of desire. The remedy is sacrifice of self, obedience, humility; that purity of heart which gives the vision of God. Thereafter, he who has attained is wrapt about with the essence of all that can be known, as with a cloud; he has that perfect illumination which is the true spiritual consciousness. Through obedience to the will of God, he comes into oneness of being with God; he is initiated into God's view of the universe, seeing all life as God sees it.)*

30 Thereon comes surcease from sorrow and the burden of toil. *(Such a one, it is said, is free from the bond of Karma, from the burden of toil, from that debt to works which comes from works done in self-love and desire. Free from self-will, he is free from sorrow, too, for sorrow comes from the fight of self-will against the divine will, through the correcting stress of the divine will, which seeks to counteract the evil wrought by disobedience. When the conflict with the divine will ceases, then sorrow ceases, and he who has grown into obedience, thereby enters into joy.)*

31 When all veils are rent, all stains washed away, his knowledge becomes infinite; little remains for him to know. *(The first veil is the delusion that thy soul is in some permanent way separate from the great Soul, the divine Eternal. When that veil is rent, thou shalt discern thy oneness with everlasting Life. The second veil is the delusion of enduring separateness from thy other selves, whereas in truth the soul that is in them is one with the soul that is in thee. The world's sin and shame are thy sin and shame: its joy also. These veils rent, thou shalt enter into knowledge of divine things and human things. Little will remain unknown to thee.)*

32 Thereafter comes the completion of the series of transformations of the three nature potencies, since their purpose is attained. *(It is a part of the beauty and wisdom of the great Indian teachings, the Vedanta and the Yoga alike, to hold that all life exists for the purposes of Soul, for the making of the spiritual man. They teach that all nature is an orderly process of evolution, leading up to this, designed for this end, existing only for this: to bring forth and perfect the Spiritual Man. He is the crown of evolution: at his coming, the goal of all development is attained.)*

33 The series of transformations is divided into moments. When the series is completed, time gives place to duration. *(There are two kinds of eternity, says the commentary: the eternity of immortal life, which belongs to the Spirit, and the eternity of change, which inheres in Nature, in all that is not Spirit. While we are content to live in and for Nature, in the Circle of Necessity, Sansara, we doom ourselves to perpetual change. That which is born must die, and that which dies must be reborn. It is change evermore, a ceaseless series of transformations. But the Spiritual Man enters a new order; for him, there is no longer eternal change, but eternal Being. He has entered into the joy of his Lord. This spiritual birth, which makes him heir of the Everlasting, sets a term to change; it is the culmination, the crowning transformation, of the whole realm of change.)*

34 Pure spiritual life is, therefore, the inverse resolution of the potencies of Nature, which have emptied themselves of their value for the Spiritual man; or it is the return of the power of pure Consciousness to its essential form. *(Here we have a splendid generalisation, in which our wise philosopher finally reconciles the naturalists and the idealists, expressing the crown and end of his teaching, first in the terms of the naturalist, and then in the terms of the idealist. The birth and growth of the Spiritual Man, and his entry into his immortal heritage, may be regarded, says our philosopher, either as the culmination of the whole process of natural evolution and involution, where "that which flowed from out the boundless deep, turns again home"; or it may be looked at, as the Vedantins look at it, as the restoration of pure spiritual Consciousness to its pristine and essential form. There is no discrepancy or conflict between these two views, which are but two accounts of the same thing. Therefore those who study the wise philosopher, be they naturalist or idealist, have no excuse to linger over dialectic subtleties or disputes. These things are lifted from their path, lest they should be tempted to delay over them, and they are left facing the path itself, stretching upward and onward from their feet to the everlasting hills, radiant with infinite Light.)*

The End

THE BHAGAVATA PURANA
or The Shrimad Bhagavatam
"The Story of the Fortunate One"
Translation: Anand Aadhar Prabhu
(René P.B.A. Meijer), 2009-2012
Third revised version 2012
Estimated Range of Dating: 8th to 10 century A.D.

(The Bhagavata Purana, discusses a wide range of topics including Cosmology, Genealogy, Geography, Mythology, legend, Music, Dance, Yoga and Culture. As it begins, the forces of evil have won a war between the benevolent devas (deities) and evil asuras (demons) and now rule the universe. Truth re-emerges as Krishna, (called "Hari" and "Vasudeva (another name for Krishna)" in the text) – first makes peace with the demons, understands them and then creatively defeats them, bringing back hope, justice, freedom and happiness – a cyclic theme that appears in many legends.

The Bhagavata Purana is a revered text in Vaishnavism, a Hindu tradition that reveres Vishnu. The text presents a form of religion (dharma) that competes with that of the Vedas, wherein bhakti ultimately leads to self-knowledge, liberation (moksha) and bliss. However the Bhagavata Purana asserts that the inner nature and outer form of Krishna is identical to the Vedas and that this is what rescues the world from the forces of evil. An oft-quoted verse is used by some Krishna sects to assert that the text itself is Krishna in literary form.

The date of composition is probably between the eighth and the tenth century AD, but may be as early as the 6th century AD. Manuscripts survive in numerous inconsistent versions revised through the 18th century creating various recensions both in the same languages and across different Indian languages. The text consists of twelve books (skandhas) totalling 332 chapters (adhyayas) and between 16,000 and 18,000 verses depending on the recension. The tenth book, with about 4,000 verses, has been the most popular and widely studied. It was the first Purana to be translated into a European language as a French translation of a Tamil version appeared in 1788 and introduced many Europeans to Hinduism and 18th-century Hindu culture during the colonial era.

This book tells the story of the Lord and His incarnations since the earliest records of Vedic history, the history of the original culture of knowledge of India. It is verily the Krishna 'bible' [in Sanskrit called a samhitâ] of the Hindu universe. The Bhagavad Gîtâ relates to this book like the sermon on the mountain by Lord Jesus relates to the full Bible. It has about 18.000 verses contained in 335 chapters and consists of 12 subdivisons of books that are called BOOKs. These books together tell the complete history of the Vedic culture and cover the essence of the classical collections of stories called the Purânas. This specific collection of Vedic stories is considered the most important one of all the great eigtheen classical Purânas of India.

Translator of this version has consulted the translations of C.L Goswami. M.A., Sâstrî (from the Gîtâ Press, Gorakhpur), the paramparâ [disciplic succession] version of S'rîla Vishvanâtha Cakravarti Thhâkura and the later version of this book by S'rîla A.C. Bhaktivedânta Swami Prabhupâda. In most cases the word for word translations and grammatical directions of S'rîla A.C. Bhaktivedânta Swami Prabhupâda/ISKCON, Vishvanâtha Cakravarti Thhâkura and C.L. Goswami. M.A., Sâstrî have been followed and were double checked with the help of the Monier-Williams Sanskrit Dictionary. In footnotes and between square brackets [ ] sometimes a little comment and extra info is given to accommodate the reader when the original text is drawing from a more experienced approach.

BOOK 1: Creation
BOOK 2: The Cosmic Manifestation
BOOK 3: The Status Quo
BOOK 4: The Creation of the Fourth Order, the Lord's Protection
BOOK 5: The Creative Impetus
BOOK 6: Prescribed Duties for Mankind
BOOK 7: The Science of God
BOOK 8: Withdrawal of the Cosmic Creations
BOOK 9: Liberation
BOOK 10: Summum Bonum
BOOK 11: Krishna's Final Instructions
BOOK 12: The Age of Deterioration)

BOOK 1: CREATION

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 1:
Questions by the Sages

Let there be the salutation of the original appearance of Him, Vasudeva, the Fortunate One, from whom, being present here and in the beyond, for the purpose of recollection and full independence, the Vedic knowledge was imparted in the heart of the first created being [Lord Brahma]. About Him the enlightened [as surely also the ordinary] souls are, like with a mirage of water to the [fire of the] sun, in a state of illusion wherein, through the action and reaction of the modes of material nature, there is the [apparent] certainty of the factual. I meditate upon Him who is always self-sufficient and the transcendental [supreme and absolute] truth free from illusion.

In this book deceitful religiosity [of ulterior motives] is rejected. One finds in it the highest that can be comprehended by selfless, truth-loving people. Herein that is offered what factually implies the well-being that uproots the threefold miseries [as caused by oneself, others and by nature]. What would be the need of other stories when one finds in this book the beautiful story of the Fortunate One that was compiled by the great sage [Vyasadeva] which, with the help of the pious ones who are diligently of service, forthwith establishes the

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Controller in the heart. It is the ripened fruit from the desire tree of the Vedic literatures that flowing from the lips of Shukadeva manifested as sweet nectar perfect in every way. Oh you expert and thoughtful ones delighting in devotion, ever relish the home of the Shrimad Bhagavatam!

In the forest of Naimisharanya, a spot favored by Vishnu, sages headed by the sage Shaunaka performed a thousand-year sacrifice for the Lord of heaven and the devotees on earth. One morning, burning the sacrificial fire, the sages asked with due respect Shrila Suta Gosvami, who was offered a seat of honour, the following: "You, free from all vice as you are and familiar with the stories and historical records, are said to be well versed in the religious scriptures that you explained as well. As the eldest of the scholars of the Vedas you know Vyasadeva, the Lord among them - and Suta, you know also the other ones well versed in physical and metaphysical knowledge. Pure and simple natured, you because of their grace are well-informed concerning all the matters in question; spiritual masters [after all] will confide to a submissive disciple all the secrets they know. Being blessed therefore with a long life, please tell us in simple terms from your heart of goodness what you could ascertain to be the absolute and ultimate good that all people deserve. In general, oh honourable one, the people in this age of Kali are lazy, misguided, unlucky and above all disturbed. There are many scriptures with as many prescribed duties that each separately demand attention. Therefore, oh sage, tell us for the good of all living beings what, to the best of your knowledge, would be the essence that satisfies the soul. You are blessed Suta because you know the purpose for which the Supreme One, the protector of the devotees, appeared in the womb of Devaki as the son of Vasudeva. Please Suta you should, according to the tradition, tell us who are aching for it about His incarnation for the good and upliftment of all living beings. Entangled in the complications of birth and death we will find liberation even if we are not fully aware engaged in respecting the name of the Lord who is feared by fear itself. Oh Suta, those who have taken shelter of the lotus feet of the great sages who are absorbed in devotion immediately find purification by simply associating with them, whereas such purification with the water of the Ganges is only achieved when one cultivates it. Is there anyone eager for liberation who would not rather want to hear about the Lord's worshipable, virtuous deeds and glories as the sanctifier for the Age of Quarrel [Kali]? He is hailed by the great souls for His transcendental glories. Please tell us, eager believers, about the pastimes of His descent in time. Describe for that reason to us, oh sagacious one, the auspicious adventures and pastimes of the multiple incarnations of the Supreme Controller's personal energies. We who know to appreciate the taste are never tired of continually praying and hearing about the adventures of the One Glorified that delight us time and again. In the guise of a human being He with Balarama [His elder brother] was of a superhuman performance. Knowing of the onset of the Age of Kali, we for a longer period have assembled to sacrifice here at this place reserved for the devotees and take time to listen to the stories about the Lord. We by providence have met your goodness who can help us, as a captain on a ship, through this insurmountable age of Kali that constitutes such a threat to one's good qualities. Please tell us to whom we should turn to take shelter now the Lord of Yoga, Shri Krishna, who is the Absolute Truth and the protector of the religion, has left for His abode."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 2:
Divinity and Divine Service

Delighted with the correct questions of the sages there, the son of Romaharshana [Suta] began with his reply after thanking them for their words. Suta said: "He [Shukadeva] who went away to live with the renounced order without the prescribed ceremony of reform of the sacred thread, made Vyasadeva, being afraid of the separation exclaim: 'Oh my son!', and all the trees and all living beings responded sympathizing in the heart of the sage. Let me offer my obeisances to him [the son of Vyasa] who, as the only transcendental torchlight in desiring to overcome the darkness of material existence of materialistic men, assimilated the cream of the Vedas and out of his causeless mercy, as the master of the sages, conveyed this very confidential supplement to the Vedas, this Purana. After first offering one's obeisances to Nara-Narayana, the [Lord as the] super most human being, the goddess of learning [Sarasvati] and Vyasadeva, let then everything [contained in this book] be announced that is needed for conquering [maya, the power of illusion].

Oh sages, your questions for me about Krishna are of relevance for the welfare of the world because they satisfy the true self. That duty no doubt is for mankind the highest, of which there is the causeless, uninterrupted devotional service unto Krishna as the One in the Beyond [Vishnu] that leads to the full satisfaction of the soul. The practice of connecting oneself in devotion unto Vasudeva, the Personality of Godhead, very soon leads to the detachment and spiritual knowledge that relies on its own power. What people do according to their societal positions, is useless labour leading nowhere, if it does not lead to the message of Vishvaksena [Krishna as the highest authority]. One's occupational activities are certainly meant for ultimate liberation and not for the end of material gain, neither is, according to the sages, the material progress of the dutiful ones in devotional service meant for the attainment of sense-gratification. One should not long so much for sense-gratification, profit and livelihood, one's activities are there for no other purpose than inquiring after the Absolute Truth. The learned souls say that the reality of nondual knowledge is known as Brahman, Paramatma and Bhagavan [the impersonal, localised and personal aspect]. Sages [and devotees] well equipped with knowledge and detachment who are full of belief, will perceive within their heart and soul [that reality] according to their understanding of what they heard [or read about] in their devotion. This is how the human being, oh best of the twice-born souls, by pleasing the Lord achieves the highest perfection with his own dutifulness according to the divisions of status and vocation [varnashrama]. One should therefore with a one-pointed mind constantly hear about, glorify, remember and worship the Supreme Lord, the protector of the devotees. Who would not attend to this message of intelligently remembering the Lord that offers one the sword for cutting through the bonds of materially motivated labour [karma]? One who attentively listens in rendering service to pure devotees dear scholars, will be purified from all vice and develop taste for the message of Vasudeva. Those who developed this hearing of Krishna's words will find virtue listening and singing and will certainly in their hearts see their desire to enjoy purified by the benefactor of the truthful souls. By regularly being of service to the bhagavata [the pure devotee] and the Bhagavatam, as good as all that is inauspicious will be destroyed and thus serving the Supreme Lord with transcendental prayers, irrevocably loving service will come about. Not being affected by the effects of passion and ignorance such as lust, greed and all of that, one's consciousness will be fixed in goodness and at that moment find happiness. In touch with the devotional service of the Lord thus being cleared, the mind, liberated because of the association, then becomes effective in the knowledge of wisdom regarding the Fortunate One. Seeing the [true] self that way as being the master, the knot in the heart is cut to pieces, all doubts end and the chain of materially motivated actions [karma] is terminated. Therefore all transcendentalists have always delighted in the service of Krishna - it enlivens the soul. The ultimate benefit of the Transcendental Personality, who is associated with the qualities of material nature of goodness, passion and ignorance and with the maintainer Vishnu, the creator Brahma and the destroyer Shiva, the human being of course finds in the form of goodness [Vishnu]. The way we have the firewood of sacrifices stemming from the earth producing smoke once being set afire, so we also have passion stemming from ignorance leading to the goodness from which the essential nature is realised.

Whoever follows the sages who in the past thus rendered service to the transcendental Lord above the three modes of nature, deserves the same benefit. It is the reason why those who desire liberation reject the less attractive forms of the demigods and without any envy worship the many forms of the all-blissful Shri Vishnu [Narayana]. Those who are ignorant and of passion, desire glory, power and progeny and are of worship for forefathers and other beings of cosmic control in the same category of their preference. But Vasudeva is the object of Vedic knowledge, the purpose of the sacrifices and the path of yoga, Vasudeva is the controller of all material activity, the highest knowledge, the strictest austerity, the best quality, the supreme dharma and the ultimate goal of life. From the beginning of the manifestation He, by His internal potency, has been the cause and effect of all forms and the transcendental Absolute of the modes of nature. Although He, manifesting by the modes, having entered them, appears to be affected by the modes, He is the full manifestation of all wisdom. He, as the Supersoul, pervades all living beings as the source of creation like fire does in wood and shines forth as different living entities, at the same time being the Absolute Person. That Supersoul created the subtle senses influenced by the modes of nature by entering the living beings in His own creation, causing them to enjoy those modes. Thus He maintains all of them in the mode of goodness, being incarnated Himself in the performance of His pastimes as the master of all the worlds of the divine, human and animalistic beings."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 3:
Krishna is the Source of All Incarnations

Suta said: "In the beginning the Supreme Lord assumed, for the creation of the worlds, the form of the Original Person[: the integrity of the material realm] composed of the sixteen elements [of the ten knowing and working senses, the mind and the five elements] and the cosmic intelligence and such. Resting in His meditative slumber in that water, out of the lotus that spread from the lake of His navel, Brahma was manifested, the master of the progenitors in the universe. One supposes the different worlds [as expansions] to be part of the form of the Fortunate One that constitutes the excellence of the purest existence. In a perfect [spiritual] vision His form is seen as having numerous legs, thighs, arms and faces, with wonderful heads, ears, eyes and noses, all glowing with countless garlands, earrings and dresses. This source of the multifarious incarnations is the imperishable seed from which the plenary portions originate as also the portions thereof, such as the gods, the human beings and the animals."

"The first position the godhead [Narayana] created was that 0f the sons of Brahma [the Kumaras] who performed the most difficult discipline of continuous celibacy. The Supreme Enjoyer secondly assumed the form of a boar for the welfare of the earth that had sunken to the lowest regions and lifted her up [from the ocean]. Thirdly He accepted His presence among the seers [in the form of Narada Muni] for the sake of evolving the Vedic knowledge concerning the performance of devotional service free from material motives. Fourth born as the twin sons of [Murti] the wife of king Dharma He in the form of Nara-Narayana subjected Himself to severe penances to attain control over the senses. Fifth He, carrying the name of Kapila, gave an exposition to the brahmin Asuri on the nature of metaphysics and the elements of creation, because in the course of time that knowledge had been lost. Sixth as the son of Atri [named Dattatreya] being born from Anasuya who prayed for Him, He lectured to Alarka, Prahlada and others about transcendence. Seventh being born from Akuti as Yajna, the son of Prajapati Ruci, He together with His son Yama and other demigods, ruled during the period of Svayambhuva Manu [and became the Indra]. Eighth, from the wife of King Nabhi, Merudevi, the Almighty Lord took birth as King Rishabha and showed the path of perfection respected by people of all stages of life. His ninth incarnation He accepted in response to the prayers of the sages, whereupon He [as Prithu] ruled the earth for the sake of collecting ['milking'] her produces, which made her most attractive. Assuming the form of a fish [Matsya], He after the period of Cakshusha Manu protected Vaivasvata Manu, keeping him in a boat afloat the waters when the world was deeply inundated. Eleventh the mighty Lord in the form of a tortoise [Kurma] sustained the Mandaracala Hill of the theists and atheists that served as a pivot in the ocean. Twelfth He appeared as Dhanvantari [Lord of medicine] and thirteenth He appeared before the atheists as an alluring beautiful woman and gave nectar to the demigods. In His fourteenth incarnation He, half as a lion, appeared as Nrisimha, who with His nails on His lap tore apart the king of the atheists like a carpenter splitting cane. Fifteenth He assumed the form of Vamana [the dwarf brahmana] who went to the arena of sacrifice of Maharaja Bali to beg for only three steps of land, concealing His wish to regain the three worlds. In His sixteenth incarnation He [as Bhrigupati or Parashurama] saw that the ruling class was hostile towards the brahmins and acted twenty-one times against them. Seeing that the common people were less intelligent He, seventeenth, incarnated as Vyasadeva taking birth from Satyavati with Paras'ara Muni as His father, for the purpose of dividing the desire tree of the Veda into several branches. Next He performed in a superhuman way having assumed the form of a divine human being [Rama], by controlling the Indian Ocean and such, so that He could act for the sake of the godly souls. Nineteenth as also twentieth Bhagavan took birth in the Vrishni family as Balarama and Krishna and thus removed the burden from the world. Thereafter at the beginning of the Age of Kali He shall appear in Gaya [Bihar] as the son of [mother] Anjana with the name Buddha for the purpose of deluding the ones envious of the theists [*]. Next, at the conjunction of two yugas [this one and the next], when there is hardly a ruler to be found who is not a plunderer, the Lord of the Creation carrying the name of Kalki will take birth as the son of Vishnu Yasha."

"Dear brahmins, the incarnations of the Lord who appeared from the ocean of goodness are as innumerable as the thousands of streams we have from inexhaustible sources of water. All the powerful sages, the godly souls, the Manus and their progeny as also the Prajapatis [the founding fathers] are aspects of the Lord. They are all part of - or plenary portions of - Krishna, the Supreme Lord [Bhagavan] in person who offers protection during all ages and in all worlds against disturbances because of the enemies of the king of heaven [Indra]. Anyone who in the morning and the evening carefully recites these mysterious births of the Lord, will find relief from all miseries of life. All these forms of the Lord that by the qualities of the material energy were created with the ingredients of the cosmic intelligence and other elements, originated from His Self-awareness that is without a form. They are there for the less intelligent observer to be perceived the way one sees clouds in the sky or dust in the air. This unmanifested Self in the beyond that cannot be seen or heard and has no form that is affected by the modes of nature, constitutes the reality of the subtle self [of the individual soul] who takes birth repeatedly. As soon as one by self-knowledge arrives at the rejection of all these gross and subtle forms that

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impose themselves on the soul because of ignorance, one arrives at the realisation of the Absolute Truth. With the illusory energy subsided one is endowed with the full knowledge of enlightenment so that one thus being mindful will be situated in one's own glory. This is how the scholars arrived at the description of the birth and activities of the actually unborn and non-engaged Lord of the Heart; it is the hidden meaning of the Vedas. Residing within every living being He is the omnipotent master and witness of the six qualities [the six objects of the senses and the mind] and opulences [bhaga], whose play is spotless, who is independent and not affected by creation, destruction and maintenance. Because of His expert manipulations His activities, names and forms cannot be understood by the speculations and speeches of those with a poor fund of knowledge, just like fools cannot understand an actor's performance. Only he who renders unconditional, uninterrupted, favorable service to His fragrant lotus feet may know the transcendental glories of the all-powerful Creator with the wheel of the chariot in His hand. When one in this world succeeds in thus being cognisant with the Personality of Godhead who embraces all His universes as their Lord and who inspires for the complete of the spirit of ecstasy, one will never again have to experience there the dreadful repetition [of births]."

"This book called the Bhagavatam about the activities of the One Hailed in the Verses [the Fortunate One, the Supreme Personality of Godhead Krishna and His devotees] that as a supplement to the Vedas [a Purana] was compiled by the seer of God [Vyasadeva], is there for the ultimate good of bringing success, happiness and perfection to all people. This story, that as the cream from all the Vedic literatures and histories was extracted by Shrila Vyasadeva, he delivered to his son who is the most respectable one among the self-realised souls. He [Shuka] in his turn told it to emperor Parikchit who, surrounded by the greatest sages, sat down at the Ganges to fast until his death. Now that Krishna has left for His abode and with Him also proper conduct and spiritual insight have vanished, this Purana bright as the sun has appeared at the horizon for the sake of everyone who in the Age of Quarrel [Kali-yuga] has lost his vision. Oh brahmins, when the story was recited there by that powerful great sage, I, being perfectly attentive by his mercy, also managed to understand it, so that I will now relate it to you also, exactly as I learned it free from deviations by my own mind."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 4:

The Appearance of Shri Narada

The elderly and learned Shaunaka, the head of the long-standing ceremony the sages were gathered for, congratulated Suta Gosvami and said the following to him: "Oh most fortunate one of those who are respected to speak, please tell us about the message of the Bhagavatam the way it was discussed by Shukadeva Gosvami. When, where, on what ground and wherefrom inspired could this literature be compiled by sage Vyasadeva? His son, who, being equipoised and unwavering, always had his mind fixed on the One, was a great devotee and an awakened soul, but unexposed he appeared to be ignorant. Naked bathing beauties covered their bodies out of shyness when they once saw sage Vyasa in clothes following his son, whereas they astonishingly, by him being asked about his son, replied that [they did not feel ashamed before him because] he looked at them purely without any sexual discrimination. How was he [Shuka], appearing like a retarded dumb madman as he wandered through the Kuru-jangala provinces, recognised by the inhabitants of Hastinapura [now: Delhi] the moment he reached the city? How could the discussion covering this Vedic truth [about Krishna], oh dear soul, take place between the saint and the descendant of Pandu, the wise king? He, as a pilgrim sanctifying the places he visits, stayed at the door of the householders only for the time it takes to milk a cow. Please tell us about Parikchit, the son of Abhimanyu, who is said to be a first-class devotee whose birth and activities are all wonderful. For what reason did the emperor, who was an honour to the name of Pandu, neglect the opulences of his kingdom and sat down at the Ganges to do penance until his death? Oh why did he, at whose feet all enemies surrendered their wealth for their own sake, in the prime of his life give up his so difficult to relinquish life of royal riches? Men devoted to the One Hailed in the Verses, live for the welfare, the affluence and prosperity of all living beings and not for any selfish purpose; for what reason relinquished he, freed from all attachment, his mortal body that was the shelter for others? Explain to us clearly all that we asked you about this subject, for we consider you fully acquainted with all the meanings of the words in the scriptures, except for those of the Vedic hymns."

Suta Gosvami said: "When Dvapara-yuga had entered its third [last] phase and the age expired, the sage [Vyasa], a partial expansion of the Lord, was begotten by Paras'ara in the womb of the daughter of Vasu [Satyavati]. One morning when the sun globe rose above the horizon he, after being cleansed by the water of his morning duties, sat down at the bank of the river Sarasvati to focus his mind. The rishi knowing the past and the future, saw that gradually irregularities were developing in the dharma of his time. It was something that can be observed more often in the different eras on earth as a consequence of unseen, irresistible forces. The sage with his infallible eye of knowledge noticed that the common man was unlucky and short-lived and that, with the dullness and impatience of faithless people lacking in goodness, the natural capacity - the talent - of all types of men as also of other creatures was declining. Therefore the muni with his transcendental vision contemplated on what would benefit the welfare of all vocations and stages in life. According to the insight that there were four sacrificial fires for purifying the work effort of the people, he divided the one original Veda into four divisions for the sake of the continuation of the sacrificial activities. Rig, Yajuh, Sama and Atharva were the names of the four separate Vedas while the Itihasas [the single histories] and the Puranas [the collections of histories] were called the fifth Veda. The Rig Veda thereupon was propagated by the rishi Paila, the Sama Veda by the learned Jaimini, while Vais'ampayana was the only one versed enough to qualify for the defense of the Yajur Veda. Angira - also called Sumantu Muni - in his formidable devotion took care of the Atharva Veda while the Itihasas and the Puranas were defended by my father Romaharshana. All these scholars in their turn distributed the knowledge entrusted to them to their disciples who did the same with their following who also did that with their pupils, and thus the different branches of followers of the Vedas came about. In order to assure that the Veda would be assimilated as much by the less intellectual people, the great sage Vyasa, the Lord in these matters, took care to edit it for the ignorant ones. For the sake of the women, the working class and the friends of the twice-born for whom, [in case] of a lesser intelligence, this knowledge is not accessible, the sage was as merciful to write down the story of the Mahabharata so that they also could succeed in the performance of their duties.

Dear brahmins, thus always being engaged in working for the welfare of all living beings, he in his heart nevertheless at that time by no means could be satisfied. In seclusion being purified, residing at the bank of the Sarasvati, he thought about it and, knowing the dharma, therefore from the dissatisfaction of his heart said to himself: "Strictly adhering to my vows, I sincerely was of proper worship and also respected the spiritual masters in my performance of the sacrifices according to the traditional Vedic instructions. Even for women, the working class and others I, by compiling the Mahabharata, have properly explained what according to the disciplic succession should be stated about the path of religion. Despite, so it seems, having been complete in relation to the glory of the Absolute Truth in my discussion of the Supreme Soul as being situated in the body, and even having discussed my own self, I feel something is missing. I might not have given sufficient directions about the devotional service so dear to the perfect souls and the Infallible One.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 5:

Narada's Instructions on Shrimad Bhagavatam for Vyasadeva

Suta said: "Then comfortably seated next to him, the rishi of God of great renown who has a vina in his hands, with a faint smile addressed the learned wise. He said: 'Oh greatly fortunate son of Paras'ara, is it so that you find the satisfaction of your soul by identifying yourself with your body and mind? You have done your full enquiries and being well versed, you have prepared the great and wonderful Mahabharata to which you have added your extensive explanations. Despite your investigations and the knowledge you acquired about the Absolute and Eternal, you, dear master, lament not having done enough for the purpose of the soul.'

Vyasa said: 'All you have said is certainly true, my heart is still not satisfied with it. What is the root I have missed, I ask you who originated from the self-born one [Brahma] as a man of unlimited knowledge. As a devotee of the Oldest Person, the Lord of the material and spiritual world, who from His mind only, elevated above the qualities of material nature, creates and destroys the universe, you have all-inclusive, confidential knowledge. Just as the sun you travel the three worlds and thereby penetrate everyone's heart as the self-realised witness, like being the all-pervading ether. Can you please search out what the deficiency is in my, with discipline and vow being absorbed in the Absolute concerning matters of cause and effect, spirit and matter?'

Shri Narada said: 'You hardly praised the glories of the Fortunate One who is spotless and who, I gather, is not really pleased by that lesser vision. Although you, great sage, repeatedly have written for the sake of the four virtues of religion [dharma, artha, kama, moksha or righteousness, economy, sense gratification and liberation], you have not been doing so for the sake of Vasudeva. Hardly using the flowery language that describes the glories of the Lord who sanctifies the universe, is something the saintly souls think of as an engagement for crows, not as something desirable appreciated by swans [those perfect in transcendence]. That creation of words revolutionizing the sins of the people in which, although imperfectly composed, each verse depicts the names and glories of the unlimited Lord, is heard, sung and accepted by those who are purified and honest. Despite self-realisation free from material motives, transcendental knowledge of sufficient purity does not look good without any love for the Infallible One. What good will it bring to work time and again troublesome for a result when one fails to serve the Lord with it? That is inauspicious and leads nowhere! You therefore as a highly fortunate, spotless and famous, perfect seer dedicated to the truth and fixed in vows, should, from your transcendental position, for the sake of liberation from universal bondage think about and describe Him whose actions are supernatural.

Whatever perspective one describes separate from [Him], misses its purpose and will only lead to names and forms that agitate the mind, like a boat that is taken by the wind from its place. Instructions for the sake of religion are disliked, they are most unreasonable in relation to the natural inclinations. By what you instructed about the dharma one became fixed on other matters, not giving thought to that what you like to prevent. They who, having retired from material happiness, behave wisely with Him, deserve [though] to understand the unlimited transcendental, all-powerful Lord. Therefore please, your goodness, show to those who, being caught in the clutches of the natural qualities are estranged from the true self, the activities of the Almighty One.

Someone who has forsaken his occupational duties in order to serve the Lord's lotus feet may fall down in that position because of a lack of experience. But what inauspiciousness would happen to someone who as a non-devotee is engaged in his occupational service and obtains nothing of his [real] interest? The philosophically inclined should for that reason endeavor only for this [spiritual fulfillment] that is not so much found by searching from high to low, for material fulfillment - countered by miseries - is in the course of the time that operates so subtly, found anyhow as a result of one's actions. Sooner or later inevitably failing someway, the devotee has a different experience than others: once he in his material life acquired the taste he, remembering the feet of the Lord of Liberation that he embraced, will never want to give it up. From the goodness of your self you know that all of this cosmos is the Lord Himself, even though He differs from it. He constitutes the beginning, the existence and the end of creation; I am only summarizing it for you. Please give a true-to-life description of the pastimes of Him who is the Greatest Mercy. From the perfect vision of your own soul, you are capable of searching out the Transcendent Personality of the Supersoul from whom you are a plenary portion and for whom you - of an unborn nature - have taken birth, for the sake of the well-being of the entire world. The acknowledged scholars all agree that the unmistakable purpose of everyone's austerities, study, sacrifice, spiritual education, advancement of intelligence and charity is found in following the descriptions of the transcendental qualities of the Lord Praised in the Verses.

Oh sage, in the previous millennium I took birth from a maidservant of certain adherents of the Veda. I, only a boy, was engaged in the service of these yoga practitioners when I lived together with them during the months of the rainy season. Despite their impartiality towards believers, these followers of wisdom were merciful unto me, an obedient, well-mannered, self-controlled and silent boy without much interest in games and sport. When the twice-born souls once allowed me to enjoy the remnants of their food, I thereby was liberated from all my sins and manifested itself in my purified consciousness the attraction to that dharma. Thereafter I heard every day the life of Krishna being described. Because of their support and respect for me, dear Vyasa, I managed to pay close attention and step by step develop my taste. Oh great sage, as I acquired the taste, my mind found continuity with the Lord and acquired the insight that the complete of the gross and subtle bewilderment that is mine, finds its order, its regulation, in the transcendentality of the Absolute. Thus for the time of two seasons, autumn and the rainy season, constantly hearing nothing but the glories that were chanted by the sages, my devotional service sprouted because of those great souls, while the [influence of the] qualities of passion and ignorance receded. As an obedient boy free from sins I, because of those believers being attached to Him, strictly following thus managed to subjugate [my senses]. When these devotees so full of care for the distressed souls left, they were as merciful to instruct me in this most confidential knowledge directly propounded by the Lord Himself. Thus I could easily grasp what the influence is of the deluding material energy of the Supreme Personality of Godhead, Vasudeva, the supreme creator, and how one can reach His refuge.

Oh learned one, it is said that to dedicate one's actions to the Personality of Godhead, the Supreme Lord, is the remedy for the threefold misery [the kles'as] of life. Oh good soul, is it not so that the cure for whatever diseases the living being may have is found in the medical treatment of that what caused the disease? The same way all actions of man that are directed at a

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material[-istic] existence, will put an end to those same actions when one manages to dedicate them to the Transcendence. Whatever one does in this world to please the Lord, including the spiritual knowledge associated with it, is considered bhakti yoga [the yoga of devotion]. When one continuously performs one's duties according to the instructions of the Fortunate One, one praises His qualities and constantly remembers the names of Shri Krishna. 'All glories to You, oh Supreme Lord, to You Vasudeva upon whom we meditate, and our obeisances unto [Your plenary portions] Pradyumna, Aniruddha and Sankarshana.' That person is of a perfect vision who thus with the sound form of this mantra worships the Lord Without a Material Form, [Vishnu] the Original Person of Sacrifice. Oh brahmin, knowing this I, being engaged in this manner with His words, was endowed with spiritual knowledge, with His opulence and with an intimate personal love for Kes'ava. You then also, with your vast Vedic knowledge, describe the Almighty One in whom the sages always found satisfaction with their desire to know. Do this to mitigate the suffering of the masses of common people for whom there is no other relief.' "

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 6:
The Conversation Between Narada and Vyasadeva

Suta said: "After thus hearing from the great sage among the gods about his birth and exploits, sage Vyasadeva, the son of Satyavati, asked him another question. Vyasa said: 'What did you do after the mendicants had departed who instructed you in wisdom before your present life began? Oh son of Brahma, what were the conditions you spent your life in after this initiation and how have you, after in the course of time having abandoned your body, achieved this body? How could you, oh great sage, remember all of this from a previous period in any detail, is it not so that time in the long run puts an end to all of this?'

Shri Narada said: 'The great sages in my previous life gave me the transcendental knowledge I have at present and after they had departed I did the following. I was the only son of my mother who was a simple woman who worked as a maidservant. She had no one else, so that I as her offspring, was completely determined by the emotional bond I had with her. Although she wanted to take care of me properly, she could not do so because she, like everybody, was as dependent as a puppet on a string. Being only five years old, I attended the school of the brahmins and lived, depending on her, without having a clue about time, place and direction. When she once went out at night to milk a cow, she was bitten in the leg by a snake on the path and thus my poor mother fell victim of the supreme time. I took it as a benediction of the Lord who always wishes the best for His devotees, and with that in mind I headed for the north. There I found many flourishing big and small towns and villages with farms, mineral and agricultural fields in valleys with flower and vegetable gardens and forests. I saw hills and mountains full of gold, silver and copper and elephants pulling branches from the trees nearby delightful lakes and ponds full of the lotus flowers aspired by the denizens of heaven - and my heart was pleased with the birds and the number of bees hovering about. All alone, I passed through impenetrable thickets of bamboo, reed, sharp grass and weeds, and reached deep and dangerous forests that were the playground of snakes, owls and jackals. Physically and mentally exhausted, I, hungry and thirsty, took a bath and drank from the water of a lake from a river so that I found relief from my fatigue. In that uninhabited forest I sought my refuge under a banyan tree and emptied my mind, by focussing upon the Supersoul present within myself, as I had learned from the liberated souls. Thus meditating on the lotus feet of the Supreme Personality, all of my thinking, feeling and willing transformed into transcendental love. In my eagerness tears rolled down my cheeks as I slowly saw the Lord appearing in my heart. Fully overwhelmed by an excess of love and transfixed in feelings of happiness all over my body, I oh sage, being absorbed in an ocean of ecstasy, did not see Him or myself any longer. No longer seeing the form of the Lord who removes all disparity from the mind, I all of a sudden perturbed got up like someone having lost something desirable. Desirous to experience that again, I focussed all of my mind on the heart but saw Him not reappear despite my patient waiting and thus frustrated got very distraught. Trying and trying in that lonely place, I heard from the beyond pleasing words of gravity being spoken to me that mitigated my grief. 'Listen, for as long as you live you will not get to see Me here, because for someone not completely united it is, with all impurities, difficult to acquire My vision. That form was only shown once to awaken your desire, oh virtuous one, for with the devotee's growing desire for Me, all lust will be driven from the heart. By just a few days having been of service to the Absolute you have attained a steady intelligence unto Me. In your [thus] forsaking this imperfect material world you [from now on will] head for - and are part of - My associates. The intelligence focussed on Me will not fail, whether the living being evolves or fades away, by My mercy there will be remembrance.'

Thus having spoken, that astounding and wonderful sound of the Unseen Lord in the sky stopped. Grateful for His grace, I then bowed my head in obeisance to Him, so great and glorious. Free from perplexity exercising the holy name of the Unlimited One and constantly remembering His mysterious and beneficial activities, I traveled the earth liberated from desire with a happy mind and awaited my time without any pride and envy. Free from being attached thus being absorbed in Krishna oh Vyasadeva, in due course of time death came for me as natural as lightning being accompanied by a flash. Having been awarded with a transcendental body befitting an associate of the Lord, I upon seeing that my acquired karma had ended, quitted the body that is composed of the five material elements. At the end of the worldly period [kalpa] having laid Himself down in the waters of devastation, the Lord took me, with the creator and all, in with His breath. A thousand ages later, when the creator was expired again, I reappeared together with rishis like Marici. Faithful to the vow [of yoga] traveling both within the three worlds and in the beyond, I, because of the mercy of Maha-Vishnu, am free to roam, wherever and whenever I want. I move around, constantly singing the message of the Lord, while I vibrate this transcendentally charged vina the Godhead has given me. Singing thus soon, as if called for, the sight appears within my mind, of the Lord of the lotus feet whose actions one gladly hears about. I arrived at the insight that for those who are full of worries in their continuous desire for the objects of the senses, there is a boat to cross over the ocean of material nescience: the repeated singing of the glories of the Lord. Time and again with the discipline of yoga in self-restraint curbing lust and desire, will certainly not be as satisfying for the soul as the devotional service to the Personality of Godhead. Upon your request, I described to you who are free from sin, everything about the mysteries of my birth and activities, so as to serve the satisfaction of both your soul and mine.' "

Suta said: "After thus having addressed the powerful sage, Narada Muni took leave of the son of Satyavati and, vibrating his enchanting vina, left for wherever he wanted. All glory and success to the sage of the gods who takes pleasure in singing the glories of Him with the Sharnga [His bow] in His hands, and thus, with the help of his instrument, enlivens the distressed universe."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 7:
The Son of Drona Punished

Shri Shaunaka said: "After the departure of Narada Muni, what did the great lordship Vyasadeva do, having heard from the great sage what he wanted to know?"

Suta replied: "On the western bank of the Sarasvati where sages meditate, there is at Shamyaprasa an ashrama for the promotion of transcendental activities. There Vyasadeva sat down, in his hermitage surrounded by berry trees, to focus his mind after he had performed his water sacrifice. With his mind connected in the devotion of yoga, he saw, free from material concerns perfectly being fixed, the complete of both the Original Person [the Purusha] and the external energy that depends on Him. The living entities bewildered because of the conditioning of their bodies by the qualities of nature take, despite their transcendental position, things not wanted for granted and undergo the reactions thereof. For the common man, who does not know that in the yoga of devotion unto Him in the Beyond all that is unwanted finds its end, the sage [in this book] compiled the different stories relating to the Absolute Truth. Simply listening to this literature about the Supreme Personality of Krishna, will give rise to one's personal devotion that takes away lamentation, illusion and fear. After having arranged that collection of stories about the Supreme Lord, the sage taught it to his son Shuka, engaged on the path of self-realisation."

Shaunaka asked: "Why would he, always on the path of self-realisation being contented within and indifferent [about other matters], engage in such a vast study?"

Suta said: "Such are His wonderful qualities that even sages, freed from all bondage and taking pleasure in the soul, are of pure devotional service unto Vishnu, Urukrama [the Lord of the Great Steps]. The powerful son of Vyasa is beloved by the devotees because he, in having taken up the regular study of this great narration, was always absorbed in the transcendental quality of the Supreme Lord. I shall now tell you the story about the birth, activities and deliverance of King Parikchit, the sage among the kings, as also the story about how the sons of Pandu came to renounce the world. These stories lead to the stories about Krishna.

When on the battlefield of Kurukshetra the warriors of the Pandavas and the Kauravas had found their heroic fate and the son of King Dhritarashthra [Duryodhana] was lamenting his broken thigh bones due to being beaten by the club of Bhima, the son of Dronacarya [Ashvatthama] thought that he could please his master Duryodhana by delivering the heads of the sleeping sons of Draupadi as a trophy. But the master disapproved his heinous act. The mother of the children [of the Pandavas], cried aggrieved bitter tears when she heard about the massacre. Arjuna [who headed the Pandavas], tried to pacify her and said: 'I can only wipe the tears from your eyes, my dearest, when the head of that degraded brahmin aggressor is severed by the arrows of my bow Gandiva. I will present it to you so that you can place your foot on it, taking a bath after the cremation of your sons.' Satisfying her with this choice of words Arjuna, with the Infallible One as his driver and friend, fully armed and equipped ascended his chariot to pursue Ashvatthama, the son of his martial teacher. When he from a distance saw him in hot pursuit, the child murderer fearing for his life fled with his chariot in great speed, just like Brahma [and also Surya] did when he fled from Shiva [*]. Finding himself unprotected the moment his horses got tired, [Ashvatthama] the brahmin son for his defense resorted to the ultimate weapon [the Brahmastra]. With his life in danger, he touched water and concentrated to recite the mantras, even though he did not know how to stop the process. Arjuna saw a life threatening, fiercely glaring light spreading in all directions, whereupon he turned to the Lord [who drove his chariot] and said: 'Krishna, oh Krishna, You are the Almighty One who takes away the fears of the devotees, You alone are the path of liberation for those who suffer in their material existence. You are the transcendental, original enjoyer and direct controller of the material energy. You are the one who, from within the bliss and knowledge of Your Self, by means of Your internal potency, puts an end to the material illusion. From that position You, in the heart of the conditioned souls, exercise the blessing of Your influence that is characterised by [the regulation of] dharma and the other civil virtues. Thus You incarnate in order to take away the burden from the earth and to satisfy Your friends and pure devotees as the constant object of their meditation. Oh Lord of All Lords, I do not know where this highly dangerous, dazzling light spreading in all directions comes from.'

The Supreme Lord said: 'Know that this is caused by the son of Drona who, faced with his pending death, launched the Brahmastra without knowing how to retract it. Nothing else can counter this weapon but another one; you will have to fight the immense glare of this weapon with your martial art, by engaging the power of your own weapon.' "

Suta said: "After hearing what the Supreme Lord said, the killer of the other warrior, Arjuna, sipped water himself while circumambulating the Lord, and launched his Brahmastra. The combined glare of the two colliding weapons thereupon covered heaven, earth and the space in between, with an expanding ball of fire as bright as the sun. When the inhabitants of the three worlds saw how the heat of the two weapons scorched them severely, it reminded them of the fire of annihilation at the end of time [samvartaka]. Realizing the disturbance it all created for the common people and their worlds, Arjuna then retracted, to the wish of Vasudeva, both the weapons. Arjuna thereupon, angered with eyes red as copper, arrested the dangerous son of Gautami, binding him skillfully with ropes like he was an animal. After he with force had bound the enemy and was about to take him to the military camp, the Supreme Lord, who saw it with His lotus eyes, said to the angered Arjuna: 'Never let this relative of the scholars go, punish him immediately, for he has killed innocent boys in their sleep. Someone who knows the principles of religion does not kill an enemy who is careless, intoxicated, insane, asleep, of tender age, a woman, foolish, a surrendered soul, afraid or who has lost his chariot. But someone who shameless and cruel thinks he can maintain himself at the cost of others' lives, deserves it to be stopped in his tracks for his own good, to prevent the person from landing in hell because of that fault. Also I personally heard you make the promise to the daughter of the King of Pancala: 'I will bring you the head of the one you consider the murderer of your sons.' He, not being more than the burned ashes of his family, an offending sinner who is responsible for the assassination of your sons and is someone who displeased his own master, must therefore be sentenced.' "

Suta said: "Although Arjuna, by Krishna being put to a test concerning the matter of his duty, was encouraged to do so, he did not aspire to kill the son of his teacher, despite the fact that he was the heinous murderer of his sons. After they thereupon had reached his camp, his dear friend and charioteer Govinda entrusted the assassin to his dear wife who was lamenting over her murdered sons. Upon seeing the criminal, who, silent from his heinous act, tied up in ropes was brought in, Draupadi, from the beauty of her nature, out of compassion showed the son of the teacher the necessary respect [one owes a brahmin]. She in her piety, could not bear the sight of him brought in ropes and said: 'Release him, for he as a brahmin is a teacher of us. It is by his [Drona's] mercy that you yourself have received the confidential knowledge of archery and of the release and control of all kinds of weapons. The lordship of Drona for certain still exists in the form of his son, because his other half Kripi [his wife], with a son present, did not follow her husband into death [by means of sati]. Therefore, oh most fortunate one in knowing the dharma, by the goodness that is in you, cause no grief to this ever respectable and honourable family. Do not make his mother, Drona's devoted wife, cry the way I do, in my constantly shedding tears in distress over a lost child. If the noble

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administration is of no restraint in relating to the brahminical order and enrages them, that rule will burn up in no time and land in grief together with its family members.' "

Suta said: "Dear brahmins, the king [of the Pandavas, Yudhishthhira] supported the statements of the queen, for they were in accord with the dharma, just and merciful, glorious without duplicity and partiality. And so did Nakula and Sahadeva [the younger brothers of the king] and also Satyaki, Arjuna, the Supreme Lord the son of Devaki, including the ladies and others. Thereupon Bhima said indignantly: 'It is well known that he who without a good reason, neither for himself nor for his master, has killed sleeping children, deserves death.'

The four-armed one [Krishna] had heard the words spoken by Bhima and Draupadi and looking at the face of His friend [Arjuna] then said with a faint smile: 'One should not kill the relative of a brahmin, even though one kills an aggressor - as far as I am concerned both is prescribed to be carried out when we want to follow the rules. You have to keep to the truth of the promise you made when you pacified your wife and must also act to the satisfaction of Bhima and of Me.' "

Suta said: 'At once understanding what the Lord meant, he separated with his sword the crown jewel from the head of the brahmin along with his hair. He [Ashvatthama] who, next to the loss of his bodily luster because of the infanticide also had lost strength by the loss of his jewel, was next released from the ropes and driven out of the camp. Cutting off the hair, confiscating the wealth and banishment are the forms of punishment reserved for brahmin relatives, not any other method of physical approach. The sons of Pandu together with Draupadi, then, overtaken by grief, performed the necessary duties in respect of the deceased family members."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 8:

Parikchit Saved and Prayers by Queen Kunti

Suta said: "They [the Pandavas] together with Draupadi and the women put in front, went to the Ganges with the wish to perform the water duties for their relatives. After each had done his offering of water and sufficiently had mourned, they again took a bath in the water of the Ganges that is purified by the dust of the lotus feet of the Lord. Overwhelmed by grief the king of the Kurus [Yudhishthhira] sat there together with his younger brothers, Dhritarashthra and Ghandari, Kunti, Draupadi and the Lord Himself. Krishna together with the munis pacified the shocked and affected family who had lost their friends and members, by showing how each is subjected to the Time that cannot be avoided. Because they cunningly had stolen the kingdom from Yudhishthhira [the eldest of the Pandavas] who had no enemies, the unscrupulous ones [Duryodhana and his brothers] had been killed who had shortened their lifespan with the insult of touching the hair of the queen [Draupadi]. By the proper performance of three excellent horse sacrifices his [Yudhishthhira's] fame spread in all directions like the fame of Indra who had performed that sacrifice a hundred times.

Worshiped by both the brahmins and by Vyasadeva and other sages, the Lord together with Uddhava [His friend and nephew] and Satyaki [his charioteer], [upon His departure] in response to their respects, invited the sons of Pandu. Just as He wanted to leave for Dvaraka, He, seated on His chariot, saw Uttara [the mother expecting Parikchit] hurrying towards Him agitated by fear. She said: 'Protect me, protect me, oh Greatest of the Yogis, oh Worshiped of the Ones Worshiped and Lord of the Universe. Apart from You I see no one without fear in this world of death and duality. Oh all-powerful Lord, a fiery iron arrow is coming towards me. Let it burn me, oh Protector, but save my embryo!' "

Suta said: "Considering her words the Supreme Lord, who is the caretaker of the devotees, understood that this was the result of a Brahmastra weapon of the son of Drona, who wanted to end the existence of all Pandava descendants. Oh chief of the munis [Shaunaka], seeing the glaring Brahmastra heading towards them, the Pandavas each took up their own five weapons. Seeing that they, with no other means available, were in great danger, the Almighty One took up His Sudars'ana disc for the protection of His devotees. From within the soul of all living beings, the Supreme Lord of Yoga, by means of His personal energy, shielded the embryo of Uttara in order to protect the progeny of the Kuru dynasty. Oh Shaunaka, even though the Brahmastra weapon cannot be stopped by counteractions, it was neutralised, being opposed by the strength of Vishnu. But do not regard all of this, with everything mysterious and infallible that we know of Him, as something special. The unseen godhead is of creation, maintenance and annihilation by means of the divine power of His material potency.

Being saved from the radiation of the weapon, the chaste Kunti together with Draupadi and her sons addressed Krishna who was about to leave. Kunti said: 'My obeisances unto You, the Purusha, the invisible Original Controller of the Cosmos in the beyond, who exists both within and without all living beings. Covered by the deluding [material] curtain, You, irreproachably transcendent, cannot be discerned by the foolish, just like an actor dressed up as a player. But how can we women observe You, the object for the performance of bhakti of the advanced transcendentalists and philosophers who can discriminate between spirit and matter? I therefore offer my respectful obeisances to You, Krishna, the Protector of the cows and the senses, the son of Vasudeva and Devaki, the child of Nanda and the cowherd men of Vrindavana. My respects for You, with a lotus-like depression in Your abdomen, always decorated with lotus flowers and with a glance as cool as a lotus flower, whose footprints show the mark of lotus flowers. You, the master of the senses, have released Devaki [mother of Krishna] who was distressed because of being imprisoned for a long time by the envious [uncle] Kamsa and have also, as the guardian of me and my children, oh Mighty One, protected us against a series of dangers. In the past saving us from poison, a great fire, man-eaters, a vicious assembly, sufferings from exile in the forest and against weapons in battles with great warriors, You have now fully protected us against the weapon of the son of Drona. I wish there were more of those calamities, oh Master of the Universe, so that we could meet You again and again, for meeting You means that one no longer is confronted with a material existence. Those increasingly under the influence of ambitions for a good birth, opulences, fame and beauty, will never ever deserve Your name on their lips, the name of You who can easily be approached by someone destitute. All honour to You, the wealth of the ones living in poverty, You who stand for the freedom from the influence of the material qualities, You as the One satisfied within and most peaceful; I bow for You, the master of liberation and emancipation. I consider You the personification of Eternal Time, the Lord without a beginning or an end, the All-pervasive One who distributes His mercy everywhere, equally, among the beings who live in mutual dissent. Oh Lord, no one understands Your pastimes that appear to be as conflictual as the exploits of the common man. People think You are partial, but You favor or dislike no one. Oh Soul of the Universe, even though You as the Soul are unborn and not active, You do take birth and engage in action, time and again in imitation of the animals, the human beings, the sages and the aquatics. When the gopi [Yashoda, the cowherd foster mother of Krishna] took up a rope to bind You because You were naughty, You were afraid and cried the make-up off Your eyes, even though You are feared by fear in person. Such things bewilder me. Some say that You, being born from the unborn like sandalwood appearing in the Malaya Hills, appeared in the family of dear King Yadu for the sake of the glory of the pious kings. Others say that You took birth from the unborn, from Vasudeva and Devaki who prayed for You, in order to put an end to those who are jealous of the God-conscious souls. Still others say that You, upon the prayers of Lord Brahma, have appeared like a boat on the sea, to take away the heavy burden of worldly grief. And yet others say that You appeared for the souls who suffer from desire and nescience in the materially motivated world, so that they may engage in hearing, remembering and worshiping [You]. Those people who take pleasure in continuously hearing, chanting and remembering Your activities, certainly very soon will see Your lotus feet, that put an end to the current of rebirths. Oh Lord, with all that You did for us, You, departing now, leave us behind with the kings with whom we are engaged in enmity, we, Your intimate friends who depending on nothing but Your lotus feet owe their life to Your mercy. Who are we, what is our fame and name, as Yadus together with the Pandavas, without You? With You absent we will be like the senses of a body abandoned by its controller. Oh Gadadhara ['wielder of the club'], the land of our kingdom will no longer appear as beautiful as it does now, being dazzled by the marks of Your footprints. All these cities and towns, flourished, because of Your glances, more and more with their wealth of herbs, vegetables, forests, hills, rivers and seas. Therefore, oh Lord and Soul of the Universe, oh Personality of the Universal Form, please sever this tie of the deep affection I have for my kinsmen, the Pandavas and the Vrishnis. Make my attention for You, oh Lord of Madhu, pure and constant, may I be led by the direct attraction unto You, the way the Ganges is always flowing down to the sea. Oh Krishna, friend of Arjuna and chief of the Vrishnis, annihilator of the rebellious dynasties on this earth, with Your unrelenting bravery You relieve the cows, the brahmins and the demigods in distress, oh Lord of Yoga incarnate, Universal Preceptor and Proprietor of All Wealth, I offer You my respectful obeisances.' "

Suta said: "After with this choice of words of queen Kunti having been worshiped in His universal glories, the Lord gave a mild smile that was as captivating as His mystic power. Thus accepting that, He entered the palace of Hastinapura and informed the other ladies [about His departure]. But upon leaving for His own residence, He was lovingly stopped by [Yudhishthhira] the king. The scholars, the sages headed by Vyasa and Krishna Himself - nota bene the one of superhuman accomplishment - , could not convince the king, who was distressed, nor could he find any solace in the classical stories. King Yudhishthhira, the son of Dharma, thinking of the friends that were killed, was carried away by the delusion of his emotions based upon a material conception of the self, oh sages, and said: 'Oh, just look at me who, from the ignorance in his heart, got immersed in sin when he, with this body, which is meant to serve others, killed so many formations of warriors. I who have killed so many boys, twice-born souls, well-wishers, friends, elders, brothers and teachers, surely never ever, not even for a million years, shall be freed from hell. It is not a sin for a king to kill when he fights his enemies for the just cause of protecting his people, but those words, instituted to satisfy the administration, do not apply to me. All the enmity that accumulated among the women of the friends I have killed, I cannot expect to be undone by engaging myself for the sake of their material welfare. Just like one cannot filter mud with the help of mud or clear wine stains by using wine, one neither can counteract the killing of a single life with the performance of sacrifices.' "

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 9:

The Passing Away of Bhishmadeva in the Presence of Krishna

Suta said: "Yudhishthhira, in fear because he had killed, in order to understand all duties, thereafter went to the battlefield where the dying Bhishmadeva was lying down. Drawn by the best horses decorated with golden ornaments, all the brothers followed him hither, accompanied by Vyasa, Dhaumya [the priest of the Pandavas] and other rishis. Also the Supreme Lord came along with Arjuna on the chariot, oh sages among the scholars. Thus the King appeared very aristocratic, like Kuvera [the treasurer of the demigods] together with his companions. Seeing Bhishma lying on the ground like a demigod fallen from heaven, he together with his Pandava brothers and the One Carrying the Disc [Krishna], bowed down before him. All the sages among the brahmins, the God-conscious souls and the royalty were there, just to see the leader of the descendants of King Bharata [the common ancestor]. - Parvata Muni, Narada, Dhaumya, Vyasadeva, Brihadas'va, Bharadvaja and Parashurama were present there with their disciples and also Vasishthha, Indrapramada, Trita, Gritsamada, Asita, Kakshivan, Gautama, Atri, Kaus'ika and Sudars'ana had come. Oh brahmins, also many other sages like Shukadeva, the instrument of God, and other pure souls like Kasyapa and Angirasa arrived there accompanied by their disciples.

Bhishmadeva, the best among the Vasus, knowing well how to adapt the dharma according to time and circumstances, welcomed all the great and powerful souls who had assembled there. Knowing His glories he honoured Krishna, the Lord of the Universe situated in the heart who manifests His form through His internal potency. Overtaken by feelings of love about the gathering he, with tears in his eyes in ecstasy, congratulated the sons of Pandu sitting silently at his side. He said: 'Oh how painful and unjust it has been for you good souls, sons of righteousness, to have had such a life of suffering you never really deserved under the protection of the brahmins, the religion and the Infallible One. After the death of the great general Pandu, when you, the children of Kunti, his wife, were still tender of age, she had to suffer a great deal on your account, and that continued even after you boys had grown up. All the unpleasant that transpired, I think, is the inescapable effect of Time; you, just like the rest of the world with its ruling demigods, fall under that control the way clouds are carried by the wind. Why else would there be such misfortune with Yudhishthhira, the son of the ruler of religion, being present, as also Bhima with his mighty club, Arjuna carrying his Gandiva and our well-wisher Krishna? No one may fathom His plan, oh King, it bewilders even the great philosophers who are engaged in exhaustive inquiries. Therefore, I assure you, [Yudhishthhira,] oh best soul of Bharata, that this was only due to His providence, His desire. Oh ruler, just take care of the helpless subjects, 0h master. He [Krishna] who inconceivably moves among the Vrishni family, is no one else but the Supreme Lord, the original, primordial, supreme enjoyer Narayana who bewilders the world with His energies. Oh King, Lord Shiva, Narada the divine sage and the great Lord Kapila have direct knowledge of His most confidential glories [but do not know his intentions]. He is the very same person you consider your maternal cousin, dearest friend, ardent well-wisher, counselor, messenger, benefactor and charioteer. He who is present in everyone's heart, who is equal to all and who, being from the Absolute, never falsely identifies Himself, makes, in His consciousness, never at any time a difference, free as He is from any bias. Yet, despite His impartiality with the devotees, see, oh King, how Krishna at the end of my life, cared to be visibly present at my side. Those yoga adepts who with Him in mind devoutly meditate on His holy name and with their mouth sing His glories, will, upon abandoning the material conception of life [their body], be freed from their desire for materially motivated actions. May He, the path of my meditations, the four-handed God of the Gods, the Supreme Lord, with His cheerful smile, His eyes red like the morning sun and His decorated lotus face, await me when I leave this material body.' "

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Suta said: "Yudhishthhira, who heard this from him who was lying on a bed of arrows, asked him, with the rishis listening, about the different religious duties. Bhishma described to him the various stages of life and the vocations as determined by a person's character, as also the way one should systematically deal with both the symptoms of attachment and detachment. He gave an outline of the duties of charity, rulership and liberation, including a more detailed description, and also discussed the duties of women and those of devotional service. Knowing the truth he, oh sages, described the [civil virtues of regulating the] religion, economy, desires and liberation, thereby giving examples of known histories. The time Bhishma described the duties, the sun ran over the northern hemisphere, which is precisely the period preferred by mystics for leaving this world. Bhishmadeva, the protector of thousands of sciences and arts, then fell silent. With a mind freed from all bondage he thereupon fixed his eyes, wide open, on Krishna, the Fourhanded Original Person, who was standing before him clad in yellow. Simply looking at Him, the Annihilator of the Inauspicious, his meditation purified and his pain from the arrows disappeared instantly. And as he was praying before the material tabernacle, all the activities of his senses ceased when he departed for the Controller of All Living Beings. Shri Bhishmadeva said: 'Freed from desires, my mind is now ready for the Supreme Lord, the Leader of the Devotees, the Great Self-contented One who in the realisation of His transcendental joy at times [as an avatara] takes pleasure in accepting this material world that changes constantly. He is the most desirable person of the higher, lower and middle worlds. Bluish like a tamala tree, He wears His dress that shines like the golden rays of the sun. He has a body decorated with sandalwood pulp and a face like a lotus. May my love, free from material motives, repose in the friend of Arjuna. Let the mind be directed towards Shri Krishna who, with His scattered hair that on the battlefield turned ashen from the dust of the hoofs, with His face decorated with perspiration and His skin pierced by my sharp arrows, took pleasure in wearing His protective armor. After hearing the command of His friend, He drove the chariot between the opposing forces, where positioned He diminished the lifespan of the enemy by simply looking at them. Let there be my love for that friend of Arjuna. Seeing the faces of the troops standing at a distance, He with His transcendental knowledge eradicated the ignorance of him who, because of a polluted intelligence, was reluctant to kill his kinsmen. Let there be the transcendence of my attraction to His feet.

Giving up His own promise not to fight and fulfilling my vow to make Him do so, He got down from His chariot, took up its wheel and - while dropping His outer garment - paced towards me like a lion about to kill an elephant. Wounded by the sharp arrows of the aggressor that I was and with His armor broken He, smeared with blood, in an angry mood moved towards me in order to kill me. May the Supreme Lord who awards salvation become my destination. Let me in my dying hour, be of love for the Personality of Godhead who, controlling the horses with a whip in His right hand and the reins in His left, so elegant to behold, by all means protected the chariot of Arjuna. It was by looking at Him that those who died at this place realised their original form [of service]. Watching the attractive movements of His supremely spirited, fascinating acts and sweet loving smiles, the gopis of Vrajadhama [the village of Krishna's youth] imitating Him madly in ecstasy, experienced His nature. When King Yudhishthhira performed the [Rajasuya] royal sacrifice where the great sages and kings were assembled, He received the respectful worship of all the members of the elite. I present there recognised Him at the time [and still remember Him now] als the [Supreme] Soul, as the object of worship. Having experienced the absorption of being freed from the misconceptions of duality, I know [ever since] that He, now present before me, is the One Unborn in the heart of the conditioned soul. It is He who, situated as the Supersoul in the heart of all beings created by Him, is looked upon differently from every angle, just like the one sun.' "

Suta said: "With his mind, speech, sight and actions thus being fixed on Krishna alone, he fell silent and stopped breathing after having merged in the living being of the Supersoul. Understanding that Bhishmadeva had merged into the Absolute and Unlimited Supreme, everyone fell silent like birds at the end of the day. Thereafter from everywhere drums sounded being beaten by gods and men, accompanied by heartfelt praise from the pious royal order and showers of flowers falling from the sky. Oh descendant of Bhrigu [Shaunaka], after having performed the funeral rites for the dead body, Yudhishthhira was afflicted for a moment. The sages who were satisfied and happy about the [revelation of the] confidential secret of Krishna's glories, then turned back to their hermitages with Him installed in their hearts. Yudhishthhira went together with Krishna to Hastinapura and consoled his uncle [Dhritarashthra] and ascetic aunt Ghandhari. With the approval of his uncle and consent of Vasudeva he thereafter ruled the kingdom, conform the dharma and greatness of his father [Pandu] and forefathers."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 10:
The Departure of Krishna for Dvaraka

Shaunaka Muni asked: "What did Yudhishthhira, the greatest protector of the dharma, together with his younger brothers do, after having killed the aggressors who wanted to usurp the legal inheritance; how did he engage [ruling] in restricting the joys of life?"

Suta said: "After the exhausting bamboo fire of the Kuru dynasty, the Lord, the maintainer of the creation, was pleased to see how the seedling of Yudhishthhira's kingdom had been restored. Yudhishthhira, who had heard what Bhishma and the Infallible One had said, was, being enlightened by perfect knowledge, freed from his bewilderment and then ruled, followed by his brothers and protected by the invincible Lord, over the earth and the seas like he was the king of heaven [Indra]. All the rain that was needed showered, the earth yielded everything desired and the cows out of sheer joy moistened the pastures with their filled udders. The rivers, oceans and hills assured him in every season of all necessary vegetables, greenery and medicinal herbs. Never was, because of themselves, because of nature or because of others, any living being troubled by anxieties, diseases or extreme temperatures, as is always the case with a king who has no enemies.

In order to appease His family and please His sister [Subhadra, who was married to Arjuna], the Lord stayed for a few months in the city of Hastinapura. After with due permission having announced His departure, He, having embraced the king and having bowing down to him, ascended His chariot. Thereupon He on his turn was respected and embraced by the others. -1 His sister [Subhadra], [the wife of the Pandavas] Draupadi, [their mother] Kunti, [Parikchit's mother] Uttara and also [the blind grandfather] Dhritarashthra and [his wife] Gandhari, [their son] Yuyutsu, [the Kuru priest] Kripacarya, [the twin brothers] Nakula and Sahadeva together with Bhima, and [the Pandava priest] Dhaumya, the [other] ladies from the palace and [Vyasa's mother] Satyavati, had great difficulty with the departure of the One with the bow Sharnga in His hands, and almost fainted. An intelligent person, in good company being liberated from materialistic association, will never think of forsaking the glorification of His fame, even when he but once heard that pleasant sound. How could the Pandavas who fixed their minds on Him, then tolerate it to be separated from Him, having seen Him face to face and touching, sleeping, sitting and eating together with Him? All of them, looking at Him with wide open eyes, melted for Him and moved restlessly, being bound by pure affection. The ladies of the family who came from the palace, had difficulty checking their tears from overflowing, as they were afraid that because of it inauspicious things might happen to the son of Devaki. At that time mridangas [drums used in devotional service], conch shells, horns, strings, flutes and more drums, kettledrums, bells and other rhythm instruments were sounded. To have a good view the ladies of the Kuru dynasty climbed on the roof of the palace, from where they showered flowers upon Krishna with love and shy smiles. For the Most Beloved of the Beloved, the conqueror of sleep [Arjuna] took up an embroidered sunshade decorated with pearls and lace that had a handle inlaid with jewels. Sitting on scattered flowers the master of Madhu, commanding them on the road, was fanned by His cousin brother Uddhava and His driver Satyaki holding resplendent fans.

From all sides the truthful respects and sayings of the brahmins could be heard that to the occasion were neither befitting or unbefitting, considering the fact that the Absolute Truth was present there in a form subjected to the modes of nature. The ladies of the capital of the king of the Kurus, were with their hearts absorbed in together talking about Him hailed in the scriptures, in such a manner that it sounded more attractive than the hymns of the Vedas themselves: 'We will definitely remember Him as the Personality of Godhead, as the Original Person who, materially not manifested, existed in His own Self before the creation of the modes of nature. He is the Lord, the Soul of the Universe, in whom the living beings merge with their energies suspended like going asleep at night. He who puts the revealed scriptures into practice wishes thereby, in manifesting His personal potency when He [in the form of an avatara] engages the illusion of material nature, to assign to His - in fact unnamable - individual nature, time and again names and forms. He here happens to be the same refuge as the one of the great devotees who managed to get their senses and life under control and who, by the grace of their devotion, could witness the development of a pure mind. It is by their devotion only, that they deserve a purified existence. Oh friends, it is He who for His excellent pastimes, that are confidentially described in the Vedas as also are discussed by the intimate devotees, is respected as the one and only Supreme Controller and Supersoul of the complete creation, He who by the manifestation of His pastimes, creates, maintains and destroys without ever becoming attached to it. Whenever there are rulers who ignorantly like animals wage against the divine principles, He at that moment manifests, for certain out of goodness, His supreme power and positive truth, mercy and wonderful activities in various forms for the sake of maintaining [the dharma] in different periods and ages. Oh, how most praiseworthy is the dynasty of King Yadu, how most deserving the land of Mathura, for He who has appeared and roamed here is the supreme leader of all living beings as also the husband of the goddess of fortune. How wonderful Dvaraka is [the island where Krishna resides], the place that, adding to the virtue and fame of the earth, defeats the glory of the heavenly worlds, the place the inhabitants of which are used to constantly see the soul of the living being [Krishna] who bestows His grace with the benediction of His smiling glance. In order to relish His lips again and again, the wives He married no doubt, by vow, bath, fire sacrifice and such, must have been of perfect worship for the Lord, oh friends. Often the damsels of Vraja fainted with that in their minds! Of the lady of Dvaraka [Rukmini, Krishna's first wife], who with great valor was taken away by Him from the open selection of the bridegroom as the price that had to be paid by the harassing powerful kings headed by Shishupala, and of the other ladies that similarly were brought home after the killing of Bhaumasura and thousands of his men, there are children like Pradyumna, Samba and Amba. All these so very fine women who alas were bereft of their individuality, purity and virtue, were touched to be drawn into the heart of their lotus-eyed husband who never left them alone in their homes.'

With the ladies of the capital expressing themselves this way, He granted them the grace of His glance. The Lord then greeted them with a smile and departed. Yudhishthhira, the man without enemies, in his affectionate concern about adversaries, engaged four divisions of soldiers [on horseback, elephant, chariot and foot] for the protection of the enemy of Madhu. After thus having accompanied Him over a great distance, Shauri [Krishna as the grandson of Shura] politely and full of affection persuaded the determined Pandavas to return. They were overtaken by the thought of their future separation. Thereafter He together with His dear companions proceeded towards Dvaraka. 4-3 Traveling through Kurujangala [the province of Delhi], Pancala [part of Punjab], Shurasena, Brahmavarta [Uttar Pradesh its north] and the districts along the Yamuna river, He passed Kurukshetra where the battle was fought and traversed the province of Matsya, Sarasvatan [another part of Punjab] and so on. Then crossing the land of deserts [Rajasthan], the land where there is hardly any water [Madhya Pradesh] and after passing through the provinces of Sauvira [Saurastra] and Abhira [part of Gujarat], He, oh Shaunaka, finally in the western direction reached the province of Dvaraka, with His horses slightly overtaken by fatigue from the long journey. In several places it happened that the Lord was welcomed and served in different ways upon His arrival in the evening after the sun had passed the eastern sky to disappear where the ocean is."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 11:
Shri Krishna's Entrance Into Dvaraka

Suta said: "Reaching the border of the prosperous region of Anarta [the territory of Dvaraka, His capital], He sounded His conch shell [the Pancajanya], which, evidently, ended the dejection of the inhabitants. Despite being reddened by the lips of the Great Adventurer, the brilliant white of the round form of the conch shell as it was loudly sounded in His hands, looked like a swan ducking at the stems of lotus flowers. Having heard the sound, that frightens the fear of material existence itself, all the citizens rapidly proceeded in the direction of the presence of their protector they had awaited so long. - They thereupon offered their presentations of welcome to the fully satisfied Self-contented One who by dint of His potency was their unrelenting provider. It was like offering a lamp to the sun. With cheerful, affectionate faces they ecstatically gave gladdened speeches before the Father, like friends and wards do for their guardian.

They said: 'We have always bowed down to Your lotus feet, oh Lord, like one does in the worship of Brahma and his sons and the king of heaven. You after all are for the ones who desire the supreme welfare in this life, the Master of Transcendence upon whom the inevitable time has no grip. For the sake of our welfare be the Creator of our world and also be our mother, well-wisher, husband, father, Lord and spiritual master. Following in the footsteps of You as our worshipable deity and supreme lordship, we have succeeded in our lives. Oh how lucky we are to see again Your all-auspicious form and enjoy the protection of Your good Self, for the sight of Your affectionate, loving, smiling face is even by the demigods rarely seen. Whenever, oh lotus-eyed One, You leave from here to meet Your friends and relatives among the Kurus [in Hastinapura] and the people of Mathura, oh Infallible One, each moment seems to take a million years and our eyes are as useless as they would be without the sun. How can we, with You being elsewhere, live without the satisfaction of Your glance that vanquishes the miseries of the world; how can we live without seeing Your beautiful smiling and decorated, attractive face?'

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With the sound in His ears of these words of the citizens, the caretaker of the devotees, He who teaches humaneness to humanity by the distribution of His glances, entered the city of Dvaraka. The way the city of Bhogavati was protected by the Nagas, Dvaraka was protected by the strength of the descendants of Vrishni [Krishna's family], Bhoja, Madhu, Das'arha, Arha, Kukura, Andhaka etc. [together called the Yadus], who were all as good as Krishna Himself. During all seasons there was the wealth of orchards and flower gardens that with their trees, plants and the hermitages also found there, formed beautiful parks around ponds filled with lotuses increasing the beauty of the city. The gateway of the city as also the different roads, were for the occasion painted with foremost signs and decorated with arches and flags casting their shadows in the sunshine. The avenues, streets, the marketplace and public meeting places were thoroughly cleansed, sprinkled with scented water and strewn with fruits, flowers and unbroken seeds. At the door of each residential house there was a display of curd, unbroken fruits, sugar cane, decorations, pots of water and articles for worship like incense and lamps. Hearing that their dearest friend was coming home, His magnanimous father Vasudeva, Akrura, Ugrasena, the superhumanly powerful Balarama, Pradyumna, Carudeshna and Samba, the son of Jambavati, all extremely happy were alerted from their resting, sitting and dining. Headed by elephants, carrying auspicious articles and with the sound of conch shells and the glorifying chanting of hymns, they, together with the brahmins excited in cheerful expectancy, hurried towards Him on their chariots. Hundreds of courtesans with dazzling earrings that enhanced the beauty of their cheeks, followed in their vehicles most anxious to meet Him. There were entertainers, dancers, singers, historians, genealogists and learned speakers who sang and glorified all the superhuman activities of the Lord. The Supreme Lord approached each of the friends and citizens who came to receive and welcome Him, the way it should with due honour and respect. He, the Almighty One, with the encouragement of His glancing smile, bowed His head, greeted them with words, embraced them and shook hands with them, down to the lowest as desired awarding His benedictions. Then, accompanied by the elderly relatives and the brahmins and their wives, He entered the city where He was welcomed also with blessings and praises from other admirers.

While Krishna passed through the public roads of Dvaraka, the ladies of standing climbed on the roofs of their houses, dear scholars, to feast their eyes on the sight of Him. Even though it was their habit to look at Him this way, the inhabitants of Dvaraka could never get enough of the compelling sight of the reservoir of all beauty who was the embodiment of the Infallible One. In His chest the Goddess of Fortune resides, from the cup of His face the eyes are drinking, by His arms the ruling demigods abide, and His lotus feet are the shelter for the singing and talking devotees. Being served with a white parasol, fans and a road covered by a shower of flowers, the Lord with His yellow garments and His flower garlands, resembled a cloud surrounded by the sun, the moon, lightening and a rainbow combined.

After next entering His parental home, He was embraced by His seven mothers [His own mother, the wife of the priest, of the guru and of the king, the cow, the nurse and mother earth] who were gladly headed by Devaki to whom He bowed His head in obeisance. When they thereupon all had put Him on their laps, their breasts got wet of their affection and delight as also because of the water of the tears that overwhelmed them. Thereafter He entered His personal unsurpassable quarters that, inhabited by His wives who numbered over sixteen thousand, offered all that one could wish for. From a distance seeing their husband now returned home, the ladies, utterly happy within their minds, with a coyly looking face immediately rose up from their seats and meditations. With Him before their eyes, the shy ones [first] sent Him their divine love [their 'sons' or Cupid] by embracing Him in their hearts in an insuperable ecstasy but, oh leader of the Bhrigus, they nevertheless choked up with tears that inadvertently fell like water from their eyes. Although He was always present at their side, even when they were alone, His feet every time appeared completely new to them - after all, who could let go of the feet of the Eternal One that are never abandoned by the Goddess of Fortune? He, without being part of it Himself, created the enmity between the rulers who from the day they were born had become a burden to the earth with their military control over their surroundings. He brought relief by killing them just like the wind does with bamboos by creating fire by means of friction. The Supreme Lord, from His causeless mercy, appeared out of His own among all those who are part of this human world, to enjoy a life, with the worthiest of women, as if it concerned an ordinary worldly affair. Even though they were spotless and exciting with their charming smiles, the way they with their grave expression looking from the corners of their eyes even perplexed Cupid to give up his bow, they, as maddening, first-class women, were never able to perturb His senses with their magic. Ordinary people who see how He, in spite of His detachment, is actively engaged, consider in their ignorance Him for that reason a human being full of attachment, as someone who is just as affected as they are. Such is the divinity of the Personality of Godhead that He, despite being in touch with material nature, is never affected by its qualities; and the same is true for the intelligence of the ones always situated in the eternal truth of the Lord who is their refuge. The women in their simplicity and weakness took it for granted that He would be some kind of follower who is dominated and isolated by his wife. They were as unaware of the glories of their husband, as one is by imagining oneself to be the supreme controller."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 12:
The Birth of Emperor Parikchit

Shaunaka said: "The [embryo in the] womb of Uttara, that was tormented by the enormous heat of the invincible weapon released by Ashvatthama, was by the Lord again awarded a life. How did the birth take place of him [Emperor Parikchit] who was so highly intelligent and what where the activities of this great soul? How exactly did his demise take place and what destination did he achieve? If you think you can tell us this that we, so very faithful, all want to hear, please speak to us then about the transcendental knowledge that was delivered by Shuka."

Suta said: "King Yudhishthhira brought wealth, the way his father did, by pleasing his subjects in continuous service of Krishna's feet without any ulterior motive for material gain or sensual pleasure. The fame of his wealth, sacrifices, what he stood for, his queens, his brothers and his sovereignty over the planet earth where we are living, even spread to the heavenly worlds. But, just as only food may satisfy a hungry man and nothing else, he, in his hunger as someone aware of the Redeemer, Mukunda, oh brahmins, was not moved by all those earthly desirables that are aspired by even the God-fearing souls.

At the time Parikchit the great fighter, as a child in his mother's womb, was suffering from the heat of the Brahmastra weapon, oh son of Bhrigu, he could observe the Purusha [the original person] in a shining appearance. In the blaze he saw at the size of not more than a thumb the transcendental, infallible Lord beautiful with a dark skin, a golden helmet and lightening clothes. With the riches of His four arms, earrings of the purest gold, bloodshot eyes and a club in His hands, He was moving about, constantly whirling the club around like it was a torch. As He was vanquishing the radiation of the Brahmastra like the sun evaporating dew drops, He was observed by the child who wondered who He was. He saw how the all-pervading Supersoul, the Supreme Lord and protector of righteousness, took away the glare. Next the Lord who stretches in all directions all of a sudden disappeared from his sight. Thereupon, when the good signs of a favorable position of the stars gradually evolved, he who would prove himself to be of a prowess equal to that of Pandu, took birth as the heir apparent of Pandu. King Yudhishthhira being fully satisfied had priests like Dhaumya and Kripa perform the birth ritual with the recitation of auspicious hymns. Knowing where, when and how, he in charity rewarded to the occasion of that birth the brahmins with good food and gifts of gold, cows, land, housing, elephants and horses. The brahmins happily addressed the king, the chief of the Purus, communicating that they felt most obliged to the line of the descendants of [their ancestor King] Puru. They said: 'This son has been given to you by the all-pervasive and all-powerful Lord to show you His mercy in countering his destruction by the irresistible, supernatural weapon. Therefore he shall be known all over the world as Vishnu-rata, 'Given by Vishnu'. He will no doubt be a most fortunate, supreme devotee endowed with all good qualities.'

The good king said: 'Oh best of the truthful, will he follow in the footsteps of all the great souls of this family of saintly kings? Will he be just as meritorious and glorious in his achievements?'

The brahmins answered: 'Oh son of Pritha [Kunti], he will be the maintainer of all living entities, exactly like King Ikshvaku, the son of Manu, and he will be faithful to his promises and be of respect for the brahmins, just like Rama, the son of Das'aratha. He will be as charitable as King Shibi of Us'inara and protect the ones of surrender, and will, just like Bharata, the son of Dushyanta who performed many sacrifices, spread the name and fame of his family. Among the archers he will be as good as the two Arjunas [his grandfather and the king of Haihaya, he will be as irresistible as fire and as unsurpassable as the ocean. As powerful as a lion and as worthy for taking shelter as the Himalayas, he will be as forbearing as the earth and as tolerant as his parents. With a spirit as good as that of the original father Brahma, he will be as generous and equanimous as Lord Shiva and be the refuge of all living beings as good as the Supreme Lord who is the refuge of the goddess of fortune. Following in the footsteps of Krishna he will be the majesty of all divine virtues, he will have the greatness of King Rantideva and be as pious as Yayati. Being as patient as Bali Maharaja this child will be as devoted as Prahlada was unto Krishna, he will perform many As'vamedha [horse] sacrifices and be faithful to the elderly and experienced souls. He will father a line of saintly kings, will chastise the upstarts and, as a source of righteousness in the world, crush the quarrelsome. After being informed about his personal death, as caused by a snakebird that was sent by the son of a brahmin, he will free himself from his attachments and take to the shelter of the Lord. From the son of sage Vyasa having inquired about the proper self-knowledge, oh King, he will abandon his material life on the bank of the river Ganges and attain the state of fearlessness.'

The brahmins learned in matters of astrology and birth ceremonies, thus having informed the king, were generously rewarded and then all returned to their homes. He, oh master [Shaunaka], acquired fame in this world as Parikchit, the examiner, because he, constantly keeping Him in mind whom he had seen before his birth, would examine all men. Just like the waxing moon day by day soon becomes full, the royal prince under the care of his protective parents day by day grew to become soon the one he would be.

King Yudhishthhira, desiring to perform a horse sacrifice to be freed from the burden of having fought his kinsmen, thought about acquiring funds because all he received stemmed from collecting taxes and fines. In respect of his mindful wishes, his brothers on the advise of the Infallible One went north to collect sufficient riches. With the result of those collected riches Yudhishthhira, the anxious, pious king, managed to conduct three horse sacrifices, by means of which he worshiped Lord Hari perfectly. The Supreme Lord being invited by the king, had the brahmins perform the sacrifices for him and then stayed a few months longer to satisfy the desires of His friends. Then, dear brahmins, He, with the permission of the king, Draupadi and His relatives, went back to Dvaraka, accompanied by Arjuna and other members of the Yadu dynasty.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 13:
Dhritarashthra Quits Home

Suta said: "Vidura [*] traveling to the different places of pilgrimage, had received knowledge about the destination of the self from the great sage Maitreya. By that knowledge sufficiently being acquainted with everything to be known, he returned to the city of Hastinapura. After all the questions Vidura had asked Maitreya in his presence, an undivided devotion unto Govinda had grown in him so that he refrained from further questioning. - Seeing him arrive in Hastinapura, oh brahmins, Yudhishthhira and his younger brothers, Dhritarashthra, Satyaki and Sanjaya, Kripacarya, Kunti, Gandhari, Draupadi, Subhadra, Uttara, Kripi, other wives of the family members of the Pandavas and other ladies with their sons, all welcomed him. Like awakened from death they approached him in great delight to receive him with all respect with embraces and obeisances. In their love for him they emotionally shed tears because of the experienced anxiety and grief about the separation. King Yudhishthhira offered him a seat and arranged a reception.

After he had eaten, had rested and was seated comfortably, the king humbly bowed down to address him in front of everybody. Yudhishthhira said: 'Do you remember how we, brought up under the wings of your care, together with our mother were delivered from various calamities like poisoning and arson? By which means did you maintain your livelihood as you traveled the surface of the earth and in which holy places of pilgrimage have you been of service here on this planet? Devotees like your goodness are converted into holy places themselves, oh powerful one, and within your heart the One who Carries the Club, you turn all places into places of pilgrimage. Dear uncle, can you tell us what you saw or heard about our friends and well-wishers? Are the descendants of Yadu, so rapt in their service unto Krishna, all happy where they are living?'

Thus being questioned by the king he, discussing one subject after the other, properly described all he had experienced, but he did not mention the destruction of the dynasty. Because he did not want to upset them he was as graceful not to speak about this in fact so unpalatable and unbearable aspect of mankind's behavior. The sage, who was treated like a god, thereupon resided for a few days with them so that he could mean something to his eldest brother and everybody would be happy. Because of a curse of Manduka Muni [who under Yama's responsibility was treated unjustly], Vidura [who was an incarnation of Yama] for the time of a hundred years had to play the part of a Shudra [a working class man]. During that time it was Aryama who [in his place] administered punishment as was suitable for the sinful ones.

Yudhishthhira had seen that there was a grandson in the dynasty fit for ruling the kingdom he had retrieved, and enjoyed together with his politically gifted brothers a life of great wealth. But the insurmountable and imperceptible Time surpasses inimitably those who are inattentive and engrossed in the mind of attachment to family affairs. Vidura, well aware of this, said to Dhritarashthra: 'Oh King, [dear brother], please withdraw yourself without delay, just see how fear is ruling your life. In this material world, oh master, there is no help from anyone or anything to escape this fear, because that fear concerns the Supreme Lord who approaches

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us all in the form of eternal Time. Inevitably overtaken by the pull of time a person must, just like that, give up this life, as dear as it is to everyone, not to mention the wealth and such he has acquired. With your father, brother, well-wishers and sons all dead, with your life expended and your body decrepit, you live in another man's home. You have been blind since you were born, your hearing is not so good anymore, your memory fails and recently your teeth loosened, your liver gives you trouble and you are loudly coughing up mucus. Alas, how powerful the living being's attachment to life is! It is that strong that it makes you, just like a household dog, eat the remnants of the food left over by Bhima [your Pandava nephew]. How can you subsist on the grace of those whom you tried to burn and poison and whose wife you have insulted while usurping their kingdom? Whether you like it or not, you will, however much you value your life, have to face the fact that this miserly body will dwindle and deteriorate like an old garment. Someone is courageous and wise when he, no longer being able to use his body properly, unconcerned and free from all obligations leaves for an unknown destination. Anyone who, by his own understanding or having learned it from others, arrives at consciousness in resignation of the world and leaves his home with the Lord installed in his heart, is certainly a first-class human being. Therefore, please leave for the north without letting your relatives know, for hereafter soon the time will arrive that diminishes many of the qualities of men [Kali-yuga].' Having heard this the old king of the Ajamidha family, in respect of the wisdom of his younger brother Vidura, determined broke with the strong family ties and left in the direction that was set for the path of liberation. As he left, the chaste and worthy daughter of King Subala [Gandhari] followed her husband to the Himalayas - the place that is the delight of those who took up the staff of renunciation like they were fighters accepting a justified beating.

Returning to the palace, he who considered no one his enemy [Yudhishthhira] wanted to pay his respects to the elderly after he had worshiped the demigods with oblations, and offered obeisances and gifts of grains, land, cows and gold to the brahmins, but he could not find his two uncles or aunt Gandhari. Anxiously, he turned to Sanjaya the son of Gavalgana [the assistant who gave the blind Dhritarashthra the account of the battle], and said to him: 'Where is our old, blind uncle? Where is my well-wisher Vidura and mother Gandhari who was grieving over losing her offspring? Has the old king, having lost his sons, distressed with a mind full of doubt about my ingratitude and offenses, drowned himself together with his wife in the Ganges? After the downfall of my father King Pandu they were the well-wishers who protected all of us still being small children. Where have my uncles gone from here?' "

Suta said: "Sanjaya, who, being worried out of love for his master, could not find him, was upset about the separation and could, being too aggrieved, not speak a word in reply. Thinking about the feet of his master he with his hands wiped the tears from his face. He restrained himself and replied King Yudhishthhira. Sanjaya said: 'I do not know what your uncles or Gandhari had in mind, oh descendant of the Kuru dynasty -, oh great King, these great souls have fooled me.' That very moment the supreme personality Narada arrived there with his musical instrument. Yudhishthhira and his younger brothers got up from their seats to welcome him properly by offering him their obeisances. The king thereupon said: 'Oh supreme one, I do not know in which direction my uncles and ascetic aunt, who is most aggrieved about the loss of her sons, have left. Like a captain on a ship in the great ocean, you are the Lord to guide us to the other side.'

Thus being addressed the divine personality Narada, the greatest among the sages, said: 'Oh King, never lament, for whatever reason, for the universe is controlled by the Supreme Lord. All living beings and their leaders perform their ceremonies in order to be protected. He is the one who brings everybody together and also disperses them again. The way a cow is tied by a rope through the nose, one the same way is tied by the hymns and precepts of the Veda to follow the demands of the Supreme One. The way in this world playthings at will are brought together and separated again, it also happens to the people who subjected to the game of the Lord are brought together and separated again. Whether one considers persons eternal [souls] or temporal [bodies] or else as both [embodied souls] or as neither of both [because of the Absolute Truth which is transcendental to all attributes], they never under any circumstance should constitute a reason for lamentation. One is only that way because one got emotionally involved or has lost one's mind. Therefore, oh King, give up the anxiety you feel from lacking in self knowledge. Do not longer think how these helpless poor creatures would be able to survive without you. How is this body, which is made out of the five elements [fire, water, air, earth and ether] and is controlled by time, by materially motivated action and by the modes of nature [kala, karma and the gunas], capable of protecting others when it is just as well bitten by that snake? One living being is the livelihood of another; those who have no hands [the animals] are at the mercy of the ones who do have hands [the human beings], living beings without limbs [like grasses] are at the mercy of the four-legged ones [like the cows]. The weaker ones are at the mercy of the stronger ones. Look therefore only for Him, this Supreme Personality, who by the power of illusion appears as a diversity. He, oh King, is the One Soul of the self-realisation of all souls, who manifests Himself both inside of them and outside of them. He, the Father of all creation, the Supreme Lord, has now, oh great King, descended in this world in the form of [death, the all-devouring] Time, in order to eliminate everyone inimical to the enlightened souls. The Lord on their behalf did what had to be done and is now awaiting the rest. You Pandavas the same way must wait and see, for as long as He is present in this world.

Dhritarashthra, his brother Vidura and his wife Gandhari have departed for the southern side of the Himalayas where the sages have their refuge. The place is known as Saptasrota ['seven sources'] because the river of heaven [the Svardhuni, the Ganges] sprouts there and, to the satisfaction of the seven different sages, divides herself into the seven currents we know as her branches. By bathing regularly there, sacrificing in the fire according to the regulative principles and fasting on drinking water only, Dhritarashthra has completely subdued his mind and senses and is thus freed from begging for food [in his family dependence]. With the help of sitting postures, breath control and turning one's mind inward away from the six senses, one can, absorbed in the Lord, conquer the contaminations of passion, goodness and ignorance. By allowing his self to merge with the wisdom and the wisdom to merge with the pure witnessing, he has united himself with the Absolute [brahman], the foundation of pure existence, the same way the air within a pot merges with the space outside of it. When he, no longer hindered in renouncing all his duties, sits down concentrated without moving a limb, his senses and mind because of his breaking with the effects of the operating modes of nature, will no longer be fed and come to a full stop. I expect that he will quit his body five days from now, oh King, and it will turn into ashes. While she outside observes the body of her husband [mystically] catching fire along with his cottage, his chaste wife in full awareness will follow him in the blaze. Vidura, witnessing that wonderful incident, oh son of the Kuru dynasty, will, with mixed feelings of delight and grief, then leave that place for the sake of visiting holy places.' After Narada thus had addressed the king he, together with his stringed instrument, rose up into heaven. Yudhishthhira, taking his instructions to heart, thereupon gave up all his lamentation."

*: Vidura is a younger brother of Dhritarashthra. He was born as a Shudra, a labourer, because of being conceived by Vyasa from a maidservant of the mother of Pandu.

**: Aryama was a son of Aditi and Kasyapa officiating for Yamaraja the Lord of punishment. Vidura is considered the Shudra incarnation of Yamaraja.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 14:
The Disappearance of Krishna

Suta said: "Arjuna went to the city of Dvaraka to see his friends and Krishna, the One Glorified in the Vedic Hymns, in order to know what His further plans were. After a few months had passed and Arjuna had not returned from there, Yudhishthhira observed various fearful signs. The time had taken an inauspicious turn: he observed seasonal irregularities and saw that human beings sinfully turned to anger, greed and falsehood in heartening their civil means of livelihood. There was cheating in ordinary transactions, dishonesty mixed itself in the regard of well-wishers, fathers, mothers and brothers and also between man and wife there was quarrel. The people gradually were acquiring godless habits like wantonness and such. The king facing these serious matters and bad omens, spoke with his younger brother about it.

Yudhishthhira said [to Bhima]: 'Arjuna went to Dvaraka to see his friends and to learn about Krishna's plans. It is now seven months ago that your younger brother left, oh Bhimasena, and I do not know exactly why he does not return. Might it be so that, as Narada told us, the Supreme Personality has decided it is time to leave this physical manifestation of Himself? We owe our wealth, kingdom and wives to Him. By His grace the existence of the dynasty and the life of our subjects has become possible and because of His mercy we could defeat our enemies and [live for a better] world. Just look, oh man with the strength of a tiger, at the position of the planets, how things are faring on earth and what is happening to the body and the mind. All these dreadful signs deluding our intelligence indicate a great danger in the near future. Again and again my thighs, eyes, arms and the left side of my body are quivering and I have heart palpitations due to fear. This is all indicative of undesirable happenings. See, oh Bhima, how the jackal frantically cries at sunrise and how the dog barks at me without any fear. Oh tiger among man, the cows leave me [left] aside and the other animals are turning around me while my horses seem to weep. The pigeon [appears like] a messenger of death and the shrieks of the owls and their rivals the crows make my heart tremble as if they wish the void of the cosmos. Oh Bhima, see how smoke circles in the sky and how the earth is throbbing along with the hills and mountains with loud thunderbolts out of the blue of a cloudless sky. The wind blows sharply creating darkness with the dust and rain pours like blood from the clouds as an omnipresent disaster. The sun is shining less - see how the stars in the sky seem to clash into one another and how the living beings are confounded and agitated as if they are crying. Rivers and their tributaries, the lakes and the mind are all perturbed while fire does not ignite with the help of butter. What is this extraordinary time? What is going to happen? The calves do not suck the teats and the cows do not want to be milked, looking afraid as if they are weeping, while the bulls do not take pleasure in the pasture ground. The deities seem to be crying and perspiring as if they want to leave the temple and also the cities, villages, towns, gardens, mines and hermitages have lost their beauty being bereft of all happiness. What sort of calamities will befall us? I think that all these great upsurges manifest out of the need for the marks of the lotus feet of the Supreme Personality - the earth bereft of the extraordinary signs of the Supreme Person misses that fortune.'

Oh brahmin, while the king [Yudhishthhira] thus was thinking to himself observing the bad omens, Arjuna returned from the kingdom of the Yadus. Bowing down at the feet of the king, his dejection was unprecedented with the tears that fell from the lotus eyes of his downward looking face. Seeing Arjuna pale with a heart full of anxiety, the king, who remembered what Narada had said, questioned him in the midst of the friends. Yudhishthhira said: 'Are our Yadu relatives of Madhu, Bhoja, Das'arha, Arha, Satvata and Andhaka all happy passing their days in Dvaraka? Is also my respectable [maternal] grandfather Shurasena in good health passing his last days and are my [maternal] uncle Vasudeva and his younger brothers all well? Are my aunts - his wives - all the seven sisters headed by Devaki herself, all happy with their sons and daughters-in-law? Is King Ugrasena, whose son was so wicked [Kamsa] still alive? Are his younger brother, Hridika and his son Kritavarma and Akrura, Jayanta, Gada, Sarana as also Shatrujit and the rest all happy? Is also Balarama, the Supreme Personality, the protector of the devotees, doing well? Are the great warrior Pradyumna [a son of Krishna] and all others of the Vrishni family happy? And is the in every respect powerful, plenary expansion of Krishna Aniruddha [a grandson of Krishna] faring well? And how are Sushena, Carudeshna and Samba, the son of Jambavati, doing, as also the other eminent sons of Krishna and their sons like Rishabha? Are likewise the constant companions of Krishna such as Shrutadeva, Uddhava and others, as also Sunanda, Nanda and the other leaders and liberated souls of excellence doing well? And are all those who are bound in friendship under the protection of Balarama and Krishna, also thinking of our well-being? Is the Supreme Lord, who is the pleasure of the cows and the senses and always cares for the devotees and the brahmins, enjoying His assembly hall surrounded by His friends in the city [Dvaraka]? In order to protect and elevate all the worlds, the Original, Supreme Enjoyer resides together with Ananta [Balarama] in the company of the ocean of members of the Yadu dynasty. In His city the members of the Yadu family enjoy the deserved protection of His arms and relish the same transcendental pleasure as the residents of heaven. By giving priority to managing the comforts at His feet, the sixteen thousand wives headed by Sathyabhama made the Lord subdue the denizens of heaven, so that they could enjoy matters [like the Parijata tree] that are normally the privilege of the wives of [Indra,] the controller of the thunderbolt. The Yadus, enjoying the protection of His arms, always fearlessly enter the Sudharma assembly hall which, procured by force [from Indra], was worthy of the best of gods.

My dear brother, are you all healthy? You appear to have lost your luster. Is it because of missing the respect in being neglected, my brother, for having been away too long? Has someone addressed you unfriendly with harsh words, or could you not be charitable to someone asking or keep a promise? Oh you who are approached for the protection of the brahmins, the children, the cows, the elderly, the diseased and the women, were you unable to offer shelter to any of them approaching you and deserving your care? Have you contacted a questionable woman, have you treated an acceptable woman improperly maybe or has your good self been defeated on the road by a superior power or by equals? Have you disregarded old men or boys who deserved to dine together with you or have you done something abominable that is hard to forgive? Or is it so that you in your relation to the one most dear, my brother Arjuna, your heart's friend [Krishna], you feel a void missing Him all the time? I can think of no other reason why you should suffer such a mental distress.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 15:
The Pandavas Retire

Suta said: "Arjuna, the friend of Krishna, who was emaciated because of his separation from Krishna, thus was subjected to the various forms of doubt and speculation of his

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elder brother the king. Because of his grief his mouth and lotus heart had dried up and his bodily luster had vanished. Preoccupied with thoughts about the Lord he was incapable of replying properly. The more he wiped the tears from his eyes and with great difficulty checked the force of his sadness not seeing Him anymore, the more he eagerly thought about Him in his affection and the more distressed he became. Remembering Him as a well-wisher, benefactor, friend and charioteer, Arjuna, overwhelmed and heavily breathing, addressed his eldest brother the king. He said: 'Oh great King, Lord Hari in the form of my friend, has left me. Now I am bereft of the amazing power that even astonished the gods. I lost Him from whom being separated but for a moment all universes would appear unfavorable and void of all life, like they are all dead. By the strength of His mercy I could vanquish the power of all the lusty princes during the selection of the bridegroom at King Drupada's palace where I gained Draupadi's hand by piercing the fish-target with my bow. With Him at my side I was able to defeat Indra and his godly associates and could thus enable the god of fire to set ablaze his forest. With His support we could realise our wonderfully built assembly house that was designed by Maya [out of gratitude for saving him from that fire in the forest named Khandava] where all the princes assembled to your honour bringing presents collected from all directions. Under His influence our younger brother [Bhima], who has the strength of a thousand elephants, managed to kill him [Jarasandha] whose feet were worshiped by the heads of many kings he wanted to sacrifice. It was He who saved the kings who by Jarasandha had been brought [to his capital] to be sacrificed to the lord of the ghosts [Mahabhairava, Shiva]. They all paid you tribute afterwards. He [leading to the great war] took the life of the husbands of the wives [of the Kurus] whose hair was condemned to be loosened [*] because the cluster of your wife's [Draupadi's] hair had been loosened, that was beautifully dressed and blessed for the great ceremony. Being caught by the miscreants [the Kurus headed by Duhs'asana] she in tears fell down at the Feet. He protected us when we ran into trouble, being endangered in the forest by the intrigue of our enemies associated with Durvasa Muni. The moment the sage arrived there to eat with his ten thousand disciples, He by simply accepting the remnants of the food before they did, satisfied the three worlds as also the munis. He did that at the time they were bathing, by giving them the thought that they had been fed already. Under His influence I once could astonish the Lord with the Trident [Shiva] and his wife, the daughter of the Himalaya, because of which he and other gods awarded me their weapons. That is how I, in this body, managed to obtain a half-elevated seat in the House of Indra. As a guest of that heaven I could with both my arms, with the help of my bow Gandiva, offer protection to Indra and all the gods, by killing the demon Nivatakavaca. I after all,, oh descendant of King Ajamidha, was empowered by Him, the Supreme Personality whom I at present am bereft of. Because of His friendship alone I, seated on the chariot, could cross the insurmountable ocean of the military strength of the Kauravas. Thanks to His friendship only, I could return with the enormous wealth of the enemy, the brilliance of all the jewels I by force took from their heads. It was He who by the power of His glance put an end to my mental agitation concerning the duration of life of all the fighters who with the wealth of their chariots were positioned on the battlefield, oh great King. With the immensity of great royal personalities like Bhishma, Karna, Drona and Shalya, He was the one driving me forward from their ranks. Under His protection the very powerful invincible weapons wielded by Drona, Bhishma, Karna, Bhuris'rava, King Sus'arma, Shalya, King Jayadratha, Bahlika [a brother of Bhishma] etc., could not touch me, just like it was when Prahlada [the famous devotee of Nrisimhadeva, the lion-incarnation] was compromised by the demons. Thinking wrongly about my Lord as being my chariot driver, about Him whose feet are served by the intelligent souls for the sake of salvation, the hostile charioteers by His mercy did not take notice and did not attack me when I alighted for my thirsty horses. Oh King, remembering how He with a smiling face made jokes, was frank with me and addressed me with 'son of Pritha', 'Arjuna My friend' and 'son of the Kuru dynasty' and such, my soul is overwhelmed by these heartfelt words of Madhava [Krishna]. When we were sleeping, sitting, walking and dining together and truthfully confronted each other and so on, I took Him erroneously for a friend equal to me. Despite regarding Him lower in my misconduct, He tolerated me, glorious in His greatness, the way a friend accepts a friend or a father accepts his child. Oh Emperor, without the Supreme Personality, my dear most friend and well-wisher, my heart and soul are vacant. Recently I, just like a weak woman, was defeated by infidel cowherds while I was protecting Krishna's wives. Having the same bow, arrows, chariot and horses, I am the same Arjuna and chariot fighter to whom all the kings offered their respects. But with Him absent, all of this in a single moment has become as useless as butter offered to ashes, as money obtained by magic or as seeds sown on barren land.

Oh King, in reply to your question about our friends and relatives in Dvaraka I can tell you that they lost their minds being cursed by the brahmins. Being drunk with rice wine, they killed one another with sticks, not even recognizing each other in that intoxicated state. Only four or five of them remained. In general it is the program of the Supreme Personality, our Lord, that sometimes the living beings kill one another and at other times protect each other. Like in the ocean where the bigger creatures eat the smaller ones and the stronger devour the weaker, oh King, the Omnipotent One in one stroke removed the burden of all the Yadus from the earth by having the stronger Yadu in a fight kill the weaker one and the bigger Yadu kill the smaller one. Bearing in mind the words spoken by Govinda, I remember how attractive they are, and how they, imbued with importance and appropriate to time and circumstance, put an end to the pain in the heart.' "

Suta said: "Thus thinking of the lotus feet of the Lord and what He had instructed in the intimacy of their deep friendship, Arjuna, with his mind freed from all material concerns, found his calm. Constantly remembering the feet of Vasudeva, Arjuna's devotion increased rapidly so that the endless ruminations ended. He again thought of the spiritual instructions the Supreme Lord gave in the midst of the battlefield. By thinking of His time and actions he dispelled the darkness of his ignorance and became the master of his senses. Free from lamentation, by his spiritual capacity managing to cut with the doubts that were raised by the duality of being identified with the material world, he, due to the transcendence of being without a material form, was freed from the entanglement of birth and death. Yudhishthhira, listening to the deliberations about the end of the Yadu dynasty and the disappearance of the Supreme Lord to His abode, undisturbed within made up his mind [to leave] in favor of the way to heaven. Also Queen Kunti, who had overheard what Arjuna told about the end of the Yadus and the disappearance of the Lord, found, absorbed in the soul, release from her material existence in pure devotion unto the Lord who was now [fully] situated beyond the senses. By taking away from the world the burden constituted by the body [of the Yadu dynasty], the Unborn Lord equal in His control rejected both the thorn [of the opposing military forces] that was removed and the thorn [of his own family] He used for its removal. Just like with His Matsya incarnation and other incarnations, like a magician giving up one body in order to accept another, He relinquished the body by which He relieved the burden of the world. When Mukunda [the Lord of Liberation], the Fortunate One so worthwhile to hear about, left this earth, from that day on Kali[-yuga] manifested itself in full, the age so inauspicious to all who in ignorance are not in control of their minds [who have not awakened].

When Yudhishthhira grasped what was going on in his capital, state and home as also in the self, observing how everything became worse in a vicious circle of avarice, falsehood, dishonesty, irreligion, violence and so on, he understood that it was time to leave and dressed himself accordingly. His grandson [Parikchit], who was properly trained and in every respect was as qualified as he was, was by the emperor for the occasion enthroned in the capital of Hastinapura as the master of all land bordered by the seas. At Mathura he made Vajra [the son of Aniruddha] king of Shurasena, after which he had a prajapatya sacrifice performed in order to find the fire for attaining his goal in himself. Renouncing his belt, ornaments and all of that, he became uninterested, being detached in having broken with the endless bondage. He withdrew his speech into his mind, his mind and his other senses into his breath, his breath he withdrew in death and in full resignation then united that with the body composed of the five elements. Having offered those five elements to the three qualities of nature, he united them in one combination and that he offered in the thoughtful self. Next he fixed that sum total in the soul and that soul in the inexhaustible Absolute Self, Brahman. Accepting torn clothes and refusing solid food, he stopped with talking. He untied his hair and not listening to anyone anymore as if he had become deaf, he thus began to look like a dumb madman and an irresponsible urchin. He headed for the north, just like all others following the path of his mindful forefathers, constantly in his heart thinking about the Supreme One in the Beyond, without turning back from wherever he went.

Like their friend seeing that the age of Kali and its irreligion had overtaken the citizens on earth, all his brothers took the decision to follow him and left home. They had performed everything worthy of a saint and kept themselves, with the ultimate goal of the Supreme Soul in mind, steadfast to the lotus feet of the Lord of Vaikunthha. That is the destination of those who, purified by meditation, in their devotion found liberation in fixing their mind on the transcendental feet of the One Narayana. With their material contaminations washed away, they attained, in the same bodies they were born with, the abode so difficult to attain for materialists who are absorbed in material concerns. Vidura also returned to his abode [Yama's realm]. With his consciousness absorbed in Krishna, he accompanied by his forefathers quitted his physical self at Prabhasa. And so did Draupadi who realised that her husbands did not care about her anymore. She focussed her mind on Vasudeva, the Supreme Personality of Godhead, and reached Him thus. Anyone who with devotion hears about this departure for the ultimate goal of the sons of Pandu who are so dear to the Supreme Lord, will find nothing but good fortune and purity, will gain in perfection and attain the devotional service of the Lord."

*: Hindu widows keep their hair loosened as a sign of lifelong mourning in respect of their deceased husbands.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 16:
How Parikchit Received the Age of Kali

Suta said: "Oh scholars, Parikchit, the great devotee, thereafter, being instructed by the best brahmins, ruled over the earth with all the qualities that the astrologers, who predicted the future at the time of his birth, thought he would have. He married with Iravati, the daughter of King Uttara, and begot four sons in her of whom Janamejaya was the first. At the Ganges he performed three horse sacrifices wherein the demigods showed themselves. Kripacarya, whom he had selected as his spiritual master, was therefore awarded appropriately. Once on a military campaign he, the valiant hero, by dint of his prowess managed to overpower the master of Kali-yuga who had disguised himself as a king but who, lower than a Shudra [a labourer], was hurting the legs of a cow and a bull."

Shaunaka inquired: "Why did he during his campaign subdue the master of Kali who dressed up as a king like a low Shudra was striking the legs of a cow? Please oh fortunate one, describe that to us, if that would relate to the topics of Krishna. What is the use of other subjects that being illusory do not relate to His lotus feet the nectar of which is licked by the truth-loving souls? That would be a waste of one's life! Oh Suta, those among the mortal human beings who are sure to meet death here but who desire righteousness [truth and eternal life], call for the great lord of death [Yamaraja] to perform the preparatory rites. The great sages invite him because no one will die as long as he, the great lord who causes the end of life, is present here. Ah! May everyone in the world drink from the nectar of the narrations about the divine pastimes of the Supreme Lord. Those after all, who are lazy, have a dull mind and are short-lived, pass their days and nights with aimless activities and sleeping."

Suta said: "When Parikchit, residing in the Kuru capital, learned that the signs of Kali-yuga had entered the domain of his jurisdiction, he considered the news not very palatable and took up his bow and arrows to meet the conflict with military means. Well decorated under the protection of the lion in his flag and with black horses pulling his chariot, he left the capital accompanied by charioteers, cavalry, elephants and infantry troops to assure himself of a victory. Bhadras'va, Ketumala, Bharata, the northern countries of Kuru and Kimpurusha behind the Himalayas were the lands on earth he conquered, maintaining his authority by exacting tribute. 3-1 Everywhere he went he continuously heard what great souls his forefathers were and found also indications of the glorious acts of Lord Krishna among the people he met. He heard about his own deliverance from the powerful rays of the weapon of Ashvatthama and about the love and devotion for Lord Kes'ava [Krishna as the killer of the demon Kes'i, the mad horse] among the descendants of Vrishni and Partha. Extremely pleased therewith he gratefully, with eyes wide open of joy, rewarded the people magnanimously with clothes, necklaces and other riches. He [Krishna] who is [a manifestation] of Lord Vishnu and Himself was obeyed by everyone, by serving as a chariot driver, presiding in assemblies and acting as a servant, by being a friend and a messenger and keeping watch at night, acted with prayers and obeisances to the liking of the God-fearing sons of Pandu. This filled the king with devotion for His lotus feet.

Thus day after day absorbed in thoughts about the good qualities of his forefathers, not far away from where he was, a most peculiar incident took place. Let me tell you about it. Dharma [the personality of religion, a bull] who wandered around on [but] one leg [firmly], met a cow [mother earth] with tears in her eyes, like she was a mother who has lost her child. He questioned her. Dharma said: 'Madam, are you in good health? Looking so sad with a gloomy face, oh mother, you seem to be afflicted by a disease or to be preoccupied with some relative far away. Do you lament my three weakened legs with me standing [firmly] on one leg only, or is it because you are exploited by meat eaters? Is it because the leading demigods are deprived of their sacrificial share or because the living beings increasingly suffer from scarcity, famine and drought? Are you grieving about the unhappy women and children on earth who [because of failing marriages] have to miss the protection of their husbands and fathers or are you sorry about the way one in the families of the learned souls acts against the goddess of learning [by not being directed at the Person anymore]? Or do you lament the fact that most of them act non-brahminical in service of the ruling class [or even serve in business]? Is it because the descendants of the noble class under the influence of Kali-yuga appear to have

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lost their minds and left and right have messed up the affairs of the state? Or is it because of the habits developed in society to take one's food and drink and how one dresses, bathes and has intercourse? Or could it be, oh mother, because of your heavy burden now Hari, the Lord who diminished your burden has disappeared from sight, with you thinking of everything He did and the salvation He entails? Please inform me, oh reservoir of all riches, about the reason of your sadness that reduced you to such a weak state. Or has, oh mother, powerful Time that even subdues the most powerful soul, stolen away your good fortune extolled by the demigods?'

Mother Earth replied: 'Oh Dharma, I will do my best to answer all the questions you asked me, for you are with your four legs [the vidhi] present in all the worlds to bring happiness. 6-3 Truthfulness, cleanliness, compassion, self-control, magnanimity, contentment, straightforwardness, concentration, sense control, responsibility, equality, tolerance, equanimity and loyalty. And certainly also knowledge, detachment, leadership, chivalry, influence, power, dutifulness, independence, dexterity, beauty, serenity and kindheartedness, as also ingenuity, gentility, mannerliness, determination, knowledgeability, propriety, pleasantness, joyfulness, immovability, faithfulness, fame and dignity - all these and many others are the most important everlasting qualities of the Supreme Lord, the never ever diminishing higher nature desired by those wishing for His greatness. I am thanks to Him, the reservoir of all qualities and the home of the goddess of fortune, myself such an abode, but I lament now that in His absence, Kali, the source of all sins, is seen all over the world. I am lamenting both for me and for you, for the best of the enlightened souls, the gods and the ancestors in heaven, the sages and the devotees, as also for all people in their status orientations in society. 2-3 Lakshmi [the Goddess of Fortune] whose grace was sought by Brahma and others who for many days executed penances for her in surrender to the Lord, has without hesitation forsaken her abode in the forest of lotus flowers out of attachment to serve His all-auspicious feet. With my body decorated with the impressions of the footprints with [the marks of] the lotus flower, thunderbolt, flag and driving rod of the Supreme Lord, the proprietor of all opulence, I superseded beautifully the three worlds. But, after my places [my worlds] had obtained His splendor, He in the end has abandoned me who was so happy with it. He who relieved me of the burden of the hundreds of military divisions of atheist kings, incarnated [just as well] for you in an attractive form in the Yadu family, because you, lacking in inner strength, had difficulty to keep standing. Who, I ask you, can tolerate it to be separated from the Supreme Original Person who with His loving glances, smiles and hearty appeals defeated the strong attachment of His sweet and proud women and made my hair [my grasses] stand on end out of pleasure for being imprinted by His feet?'

While the [cow of mother] earth and [the bull of] dharma were thus conversing, Parikchit, who was renown for being the saint among the kings, arrived at the Sarasvati river that was flowing to the east."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 17:
Punishment and Reward of Kali

Suta said: "There [at the Sarasvati river] the king observed how a lowly, wicked fellow, dressed like a prince, with a club was beating a cow and a bull who had no one to protect them. The bull, that was as white as a lotus, being beaten by the Shudra, trembled out of fear and urinated standing on one leg only. The cow also, on itself a religious example but now rendered poor and distressed because the Shudra beat her legs, was without a calf and had tears in her eyes while she in her weakness hankered for some grass to eat. Parikchit, well equipped with bow and arrows, asked from his with gold embossed chariot with a thundering voice: 'Who do you think you are to kill here violently the helpless ones under my protection! As an actor dressed up like a God-conscious man, you appear to be powerful but you behave like someone who never saw the light of civilisation [of being twice-born]. Do you think that, now Lord Krishna and the carrier of the bow the Gandiva [Arjuna] have disappeared from sight, you can secretly beat an innocent cow? Being a culprit you thus deserve it to be killed!'

'And you', [he said turning to the bull,] 'are you just a bull that, as white as a lotus, moves on one leg, having lost three legs, or are you some demigod making us sad in the form of a bull? Except for you there has till now never been a living being on earth that under the protection [of the arms] of any of the kings of the Kuru dynasty, had such grievance shedding tears. Oh son of Surabhi [the celestial cow], let me tell you, in my kingdom there will be no lamentation. Therefore do not fear the wicked fellow. And dear mother cow, do not cry, as long as I am alive as the ruler and subduer of the envious ones, you will thrive! 0-1 Oh chaste one, he in whose state all kinds of living beings are terrified because of miscreants, will because of his inattentiveness lose his fame, longevity, fortune and good birth. It is the supreme duty of the rulers to subdue for the purpose of putting an end to the misery of the ones suffering. Therefore I shall kill this most wretched man who is so violent with other living beings. Who has cut your three legs, oh four-legged son of Surabhi? What happened to you has never happened before in this royal state of kings who live in obedience to Krishna. Oh bull, I wish you all the best, you are honest and without offenses, tell me who has mutilated you and tarnished the reputation of the sons of Pritha. Those who make the sinless suffer will have to fear me wherever they go, for I will curb the actions of the miscreants and restore the welfare of the virtuous souls. The upstart of evil acts towards innocent living beings I shall forthwith defeat, whether he is a demigod from heaven with armor and decorations or not. It is the holy duty of the head of state always to protect the ones who faithfully perform their duty and, according to the scriptures, chastise those who in this world for other reasons than misfortune strayed from the path.'

The personality of religion said: 'That what you said to become free from the fear for distress is befitting for someone of the Pandava dynasty, the descendants of Pandu to whose qualities attracted Krishna, the Supreme Lord, performed the duty of being a servant and such. Oh greatest among the human beings, being bewildered as a consequence of all the differences of [philosophical and political] opinion, we cannot tell which person [or whatever] would be the cause of our [human] suffering. Some [philosophers], in defiance of all duality, declare that one suffers because of oneself, others speak of fate as the cause, some say that it is all due to karma, while many other authorities say that material nature is responsible. Some also conclude that it is a question that defies explanation and comprehension. Who of them would be right in this matter, oh sage among the kings, is left to your own power of judgement.' "

Suta said: "Parikchit, who attentively had followed what the personality of religion had to say, oh best among the brahmins, replied mindfully. The king said: 'Oh knower of the duties, oh dharma in the form of a bull, you say this because the status of a wrong doer will also become the position of the one who points out the wrong done [like the guru who takes up the karma of his follower]. In other words, the Lord's ways within the material world can neither be put in words nor be conceived by living beings. Penance, cleanliness, compassion and truthfulness [tapas, Shauca, daya, satya] are your legs that thus established the age of truth [Satya-yuga], but because of irreligiosity three of them have broken in conceit, [clinging to] intercourse and intoxication. At present, oh personality of religion, you are hobbling along on the one leg of truthfulness, while quarrel personified [Kali], who flourishes on deceit, irreligiously tries to destroy that leg too. Because of the actions of the Supreme Lord mother earth has been relieved of the great burden that she, this cow, carried. His all-auspicious footprints brought happiness everywhere. Lamenting with tears in her eyes the unfortunate and chaste one [mother earth] being deserted by Him, is now enjoyed by lower-class people who, devoid of the culture of learning, pose as rulers in my place.'

After he thus had pacified the personalities of religion and mother earth, the great warrior took up his sharp sword to kill Kali, the root cause of irreligion. Realizing that the king wanted to kill him, Kali, stressed by the fear, abandoned his royal attire and in full surrender bowed his head down at the feet. The hero who was kind to the poor, a refuge for the people and worthy of being glorified, out of compassion with a smile refrained from killing the one fallen at his feet and addressed him. The king said: 'Because you surrendered yourself with folded hands to the maintainer of Arjuna's glory, you have nothing to fear. But that does not mean that you, as a friend of irreligion, just like that can stay in my kingdom. With you physically present as a god of man, the irreligion of greed, falsehood, robbery, incivility, sin, misfortune, cheating, quarrel, vanity and such, will be abound in the masses. For that reason, oh friend of irreligion, you do not deserve to remain in Brahmavarta, this holy land, where the experts of religion and truth duly and expertly are of worship with sacrifices for the Lord of Sacrifices. In such sacrificial ceremonies the Supreme Personality of God, the Lord, is worshiped as the Soul of all worshipable deities. In that form He spreads welfare, for He is the Supersoul efficacious for all desires, who is present both inside and outside, just like the air is for all that moves and does not move.' "

Suta said: "That way being ordered by king Parikchit, the personality of Kali trembled as he saw him ready with a raised sword and speaking like Yamaraja, the Lord of Death. Kali said: 'Wherever I may live under your order, oh Emperor, I will always have to face the reign of your bow and arrows. Therefore please, oh best of the protectors of the religion, allot me a place where I may count on a permanent stay under your rule.' "

Suta said: "Thus being petitioned, he gave Kali permission to dwell in places where the four sinful activities of gambling, drinking, prostitution and animal slaughter [dyutam, panam, striyah, suna] were practiced. Next to that the master, upon his insistent begging, allotted him a place where there is gold, for the passion for gold that brings falsity, intoxication, lust and enmity, constitutes the fifth sin. Kali, directed by the son of Uttara, thus occupied the five places given to him where irreligion is encouraged. For that reason a person desiring his well-being should never resort to any of these places, especially not the one who follows the path of liberation and belongs to the royalty, the servants of the state and the teachers. By encouraging activities that restored the bull's three lost legs of austerity, cleanliness and compassion, the earth was perfectly improved [by Parikchit]. 3-4 He at present is [still] sitting on the earthly throne entrusted by the king, the grandfather [Yudhishthhira] when he wished to withdraw into the forest. From that rule this sage among the kings and chief of the Kuru dynasty is now known in Hastinapura as the most fortunate and famous emperor. Because of the belief of this king, because of the rule over the earth of the son of Abhimanyu, you all could initiate a sacrifice like this."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 18:
Maharaja Parikchit Cursed by a Brahmin Boy

Suta said: "He [Parikchit] who in the womb of his mother was scorched by the weapon of the son of Drona, did not die thanks to the mercy of the Supreme Lord, Krishna whose actions are wonderful. Cursed by an angry brahmin to expire because of a snake-bird, he was not overwhelmed by the great fear [of death] because he had surrendered his heart to the Supreme Lord. After having understood the actual position of the Invincible One, he left behind the ones surrounding him and, as a disciple of the son of Vyasa [Shukadeva Gosvami], gave up his material body at the bank of the Ganges. They who remember the feet of the Supreme One Glorified in the Verses and know to appreciate and live with His nectarine stories, will at the time of their death not be confounded. The personality of Kali, even though present everywhere, cannot flourish as long as the mighty ruler, the son of Abhimanyu, is the one emperor. The moment the Supreme Lord left this earth, Kali, he who promotes irreligion, appeared in this world. The emperor never was of any enmity towards Kali. Like a bee going for the nectar he enjoyed the essence that auspicious things soon lead to perfection while acting differently that is never the case. Kali, who in the eyes of the weaker ones appears to be a great power, is to the self-controlled soul a cause of apprehension, and thus [Parikchit], as a tiger among men, was the one to take care among the careless. Upon your request I have related almost all the stories that in relation to Vasudeva can be told about the pious Parikchit. Those persons who desire their welfare should take notice of each and every story about the Supreme Lord's wonders, transcendental qualities and uncommon deeds I spoke about."

The sages said: "Oh Suta, may you live a long, happy and particularly eternally famous life, for you, speaking so nicely about Krishna, grant us mortals the nectar of eternity. With the performance of this sacrifice, the outcome of which is uncertain, we are black of the smoke, but with the pleasing of Govinda's feet by your good self, we have the nectar of a lotus flower. The attainment of higher worlds or liberation from matter, not even mentioning the attainment of worldly benedictions by those who inevitably head for their death, is nothing compared to finding but for a moment one's perfect balance in enjoying the company of a devotee of the Lord. Once having acquired the taste, someone will never get enough of relishing the nectar of the stories about the greatest and only refuge among the living beings, He whose transcendental qualities could never be estimated by even the greatest masters of mystic union like Lord Brahma and Lord Shiva. Be so kind, oh learned one, to describe to us who are eager to hear about it, His impartial transcendental activities. For He, Lord Hari, the one and only shelter for the greatest of the great, is for your good self the leading supreme personality. As a first-class devotee of great intelligence, Parikchit evidently attained the lotus feet of Him who has Garuda in His banner, after having received from the son of Vyasa the knowledge about that what one calls the path of liberation. Please tell us therefore the supreme and purifying narrations of the so wonderful devotion in yoga. Describe, the way they were explained to Parikchit, the activities of the Unlimited One dear to the pure devotees."

Suta said: "Just see how we, although of a mixed birth, by serving those advanced in knowledge [like Shuka], clearly have been promoted to a higher birth. Being connected in conversation with the great [devotees] will soon purify one from suffering a lack in quality because of one's birth. And what to say of those who sing the holy name under the protection of exclusively the great devotees who belong to Him, He who is called Ananta because of the fact that He is unlimited in His potency and unmeasurably great in His qualities? To give a description of Him, the One unlimited in His attributes and equal to none, it suffices to say, that the Goddess of Fortune, while rejecting others who asked for it, wished to serve in the dust of His feet, while He Himself never asked for it. Who else would be worth the position of carrying the name of Supreme Lord besides Mukunda [Lord Krishna as the one granting liberation] from whose toenails the water emanated [of the Ganges] that was collected by Brahmaji and purifies Lord Shiva and the entire universe? Those in control of themselves who are firmly attached to Him,

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are capable of instantly leaving aside the attachments of the gross body and the subtle mind and go away to take shelter of the highest stage of perfection [sannyasa], the stage of life characterised by nonviolence and renunciation. Because you [sages], who are as strong as the sun, asked me, I can give you an account of the knowledge I have acquired. It is in this matter as with the birds who fly as far as they can; I can enlighten you on Vishnu as far as my realisation permits.

One day, when Parikchit was hunting stags with bow and arrows, he got very fatigued, hungry and thirsty. Looking for a reservoir of water he entered the hermitage of the famous rishi Shamika where he saw the sage silently sitting down with his eyes closed. Having restrained his sense organs and breath, he, with his mind and intelligence inactive and in quality equal to the Supreme Absolute, being unaffected had achieved transcendence above the three states of consciousness [wakefulness, dreaming and dreamless sleep]. He was covered by his long, compressed hair as also by the skin of a stag. The king, with a dry palate finding him in that state, asked for water. Not being properly received with a place to sit, water and nice words, he felt disrespected and therefore got angry. Oh brahmins, plagued by hunger and thirst being inconsiderate himself, his anger and hostility against the brahmin was unprecedented. Having lost his respect, he with the tip of his bow picked up a lifeless snake and placed it angrily over the shoulder of the sage as he left to return to his palace. [There he wondered] whether or not this meditative state of withdrawal from the senses with closed eyes was a false, pretended trance, maintained [by the sage] because he was just a lower ruler.

When the sage's son [named Shringi], who was a very powerful personality, heard of the grief the king had caused his father while he was playing with some children, he said this: 'Just see how irreligious these rulers are! Enriching themselves like crows they, the servants, like dogs keeping watch at the door, behave badly unto their master! The sons of the ruling class are to guard the brahminical order like watchdogs. On what grounds would he, who is supposed to stay at the door, deserve it to enter the house of the master and eat from the same pot? Since Krishna our protector, who is the Supreme Lord and ruler of those upstarts, has departed, I shall today punish them myself, just witness my power!' Thus with eyes red-hot of anger speaking to his playmates, the son of the rishi touched the water of the Kaus'ika river and released the following thunderbolt of words: 'Verily, seven days from now the wretched soul of the dynasty who offended my father will, because of breaking with the etiquette, be bitten by a snake-bird.' When the boy thereafter returned to the hermitage, he saw the snake over his father's shoulder and cried loudly over that sorry plight.

Oh Shaunaka, when the rishi heard his son lamenting, he, who was born in the family of Angira, slowly opened his eyes and saw the dead snake on his shoulder. Throwing it aside, he asked: 'My dear son, what are you crying about? Has someone wronged you?' Thus being requested, the boy told him everything. After hearing about the curse pronounced against the king, who as the best among man did not deserve that, he did not compliment his son, but lamented instead: 'Alas! What a great sin you have committed yourself today in awarding such a heavy punishment for an offense as insignificant as this! In fact no one may ever place a sovereign ruler, a god among man who is known to be transcendental, on an equal footing with common men - your command of intelligence is immature... completely protected by his unsurpassable prowess his subjects enjoy all prosperity. Oh my boy, the Lord, who carries the wheel of the chariot, is represented by this monarch. Once he is abolished, this world will be full of thieves who immediately will vanquish the unprotected souls like they are lambs. Because of negating the monarch, from this day on, the reaction upon this sin will overtake us causing great social disruption. The wealth everywhere will be seised by thieves and among the people there will be murder and molestation as also abuse of money, women and animals. The righteous civilisation, of humanity united in proper conduct [of progress] in the vocations and stages of life according to the Vedic injunctions, will at that time systematically be vanquished. As a consequence the economy, then only serving sense-gratification, will result in an unwanted population on the level of dogs and monkeys. The protector of the religion, the king, is a highly celebrated emperor, a direct, first class devotee of the Lord, a saint of nobility and a great performer of horse sacrifices. When he, hungry and thirsty, is stricken with fatigue, he never deserves it to be cursed by us like this.'

The sage thereupon addressed the Supreme, All-pervading Lord, to beg His pardon for the great sin, committed by the child immature of intelligence, against a sinless, worthy and subordinate soul. [He prayed:] 'Whether they are defamed, cheated, cursed, disturbed, neglected or even when one of them is killed, the forbearing devotees of the Lord for certain never will avenge themselves for any of this.' The sage thus regretted the sin of his son and certainly did not think that the insult by the king was a sin. Generally the saints in this world prove themselves not distressed or happy when they by others are involved in worldly dualities, for they are situated in the transcendence of the soul."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 19:
The Appearance of Shukadeva Gosvami

Suta said: "The king felt that what he had done was something abominable and thought most depressed: 'Alas, it was uncivilised and evil what I did to the faultless, grave and powerful brahmin. Because of the contempt of what I did against that godly person, I undoubtedly very soon will meet with a very troublesome calamity. I certainly hope that that will happen so that I will be relieved of my sins and never do anything like that again. May I, on this very day, burn with my kingdom, strength and wealth of riches in the fire ignited by the brahmin community, so that the inauspiciousness of sinful thinking against the Lord, the twice-born souls and the cows, may never happen to me again.' Thus pondering, the message reached him of the curse of death pronounced by the sage's son. That curse in the form of the fire of a snake bird, he accepted as auspicious because that impending happening would be the consequence of his indifference about worldly affairs. He decided to forsake this world as also the next, for he already had concluded that both worlds were inferior compared to a life of service at the feet of Krishna he considered the greatest achievement. So he sat down at the bank of the transcendental river [the Ganges] in order to fast. That river, always flowing mixed with tulasi leaves [a plant used in worship], consists of the auspicious water carrying the dust from the feet of Lord Krishna that sanctifies both the worlds [inside and outside] and even the Lord of Destruction [Lord Shiva]. Which person destined to die would not turn to that river? In a spirit not deviating from the vows of the sages he would free himself from all kinds of material attachments. With that decision he, the worthy descendant of the Pandavas, sitting down at the river which flows from the feet of Vishnu, surrendered himself to the mercy of Mukunda till he died.

All the great minds and thinkers who together with their pupils are capable of purifying the entire world, then came to gather there on the plea of making a pilgrimage. It is because of their personal presence that the holy places enjoy their status of sanctity. -1 Atri, Cyavana, Sharadvan, Arishthanemi, Bhrigu, Vasishthha, Paras'ara, Vis'vamitra, Angira, Parashurama, Uthathya, Indrapramada, Idhmavahu, Medhatithi, Devala, Arshthisena, Bharadvaja, Gautama, Pippalada, Maitreya, Aurva, Kavasha, Kumbhayoni, Dvaipayana and the great personality Narada arrived. Also many other divine personalities, saintly brahmins, the best saintly advisors of the most prominent nobles and many other sages like Aruna appeared to the occasion. All the heads of the dynasties of sages assembling there were respectfully welcomed by the emperor bowing his head. After they all sat comfortably he, again having offered them his obeisances, thereupon humbly spoke about his decision to fast, with folded hands standing before them as someone whose mind is detached from worldly affairs. The king said: 'We are truly grateful to be the most fortunate of all the kings trained to receive the favors granted by the greatest of souls, for at the feet of the brahmins the royal orders are but refuse to be kept at a distance because of their reprehensible actions. Because of my sins, the Controller of the transcendental and mundane worlds in the form of that brahmin's curse, very soon will be the cause of my detachment from them, I who, always thinking of family matters, was affected by fear. Therefore, oh brahmins, just accept me as someone who with the Lord in his heart has taken shelter of the Ganges, the divine mother. Let the snakebird, or whatever magical thing the twice-born soul called for, bite me forthwith. And you, please continue with the stories about Vishnu. And, again, let it be so that wherever that I, in relation to the Supreme, Unlimited Lord and the association He attracts in the material world, may take birth, I will find friendly relations everywhere with obeisances unto the twice-born souls.'

And thus it came to pass that the king, having arrived at that resolve, fully self-controlled seated himself on kus'a grass laid to the east, while facing the north from the southern bank of the wife of the sea [the Ganges]. The charge of his administration he had handed over to his son. To that occasion the gods, who from the sky had seen that the king would fast until his end, all in praise scattered the earth with flowers, continually beating celestial drums in pleasure. All the great sages who had assembled there praised him for the wisdom he had thus shown. In approval they, from the power of their goodness for the living beings, a quality of heart equal to the character of Him praised in the scriptures, thereupon said: 'It is not astonishing at all that you, oh saintly king, oh chief of all of us who strictly follow Krishna, being seated on the throne that is decorated with the helmets of kings, as immediate like this gave up your life in your desire to achieve association with the Fortunate One. We will all stay at this place for as long as it takes this foremost devotee to give up his body and return to the world of the Supreme One, where he will be completely free from worldly concerns and lamentation.'

After having heard the assembled sages speak thus impartially, sweet to hear, grave and perfectly true, Parikchit complimented them all with their appropriate show of respect and said, desirous to hear about the activities of Vishnu: 'You from all directions have assembled here as embodiments of the Vedic knowledge maintained above the three worlds, with no other intention in this world or a world hereafter but to act for the good of others according to your innate nature. Therefore I beg you, trustworthy Vedic men of learning, to tell me which of all the different duties for each person and especially for those who are about to die, you consider to be the proper one [for me].'

At that moment the powerful son of Vyasa, Shukadeva Gosvami appeared. Dressed like a mendicant he, satisfied in self-realisation, freely traveled around the earth surrounded by children and without distinguishing marks of identity or any concern about material comforts. Sixteen years of age, he had a body with delicate legs, hands, thighs, arms, shoulders and forehead. His eyes were beautifully wide in a face with a high nose, similar ears, nice eyebrows and a neck as shapely as a conch shell. With a fleshy collarbone, a broad chest and a deep navel he had nice folds in his abdomen. Stark naked with curly, scattered hair and long arms he had the hue of the best among the gods [of Krishna; a dark complexion]. Even though he covered his nakedness the sages, who had a keen eye for physiognomy, recognised the symptoms of the blackish skin, the eternal beauty of his tender age and the attraction for the fair sex with his beautiful smiles. And so they all stood up from their seats. To welcome the new guest, he who is always protected by Vishnu [Parikchit] bowed before him to offer his obeisances, whereupon his less educated following of boys and women immediately withdrew as he took his exalted seat in regard of the respect shown. Surrounded there by the greatest of the great saints among the brahmins, the kings and the godly souls, Shukadeva shone, as the greatest lord, as resplendent as the moon surrounded by the planets, heavenly bodies and stars. Calm, intelligent and self-assured sitting down, the sage was approached by the great devotee, the king, who properly bowing down with folded hands asked him questions in a polite and friendly manner.

Parikchit said: 'Oh brahmin, what a blessing it is for us, kshatriya friends, by the mercy of you being our guest to have been been chosen today as a servant of the devotee, by the visit of your good self to be allowed to find our way. Thinking of your person, immediately all the places we inhabit are purified, not even mentioning what it means to see you, touch you, wash your feet and offer you a seat! By your presence, oh great mystic, a person's gravest sins are immediately vanquished, like what happens to nonbelievers in the presence of Vishnu. Finally Krishna, the Supreme Lord so dear to the sons of Pandu, is satisfied with me and has, from His affection for His cousins, [by your visit] accepted me, their descendant, as one of theirs. How else could it be possible that you, out of your own, especially for someone in his last hours before death, have appeared here to meet us, while you normally, all-perfect as you are, move unseen among the common people? Therefore I beg you as the supreme spiritual master of all ascetics, what for a person in this life would be the path of perfection, and especially what that would mean for someone about to die. Please explain what a person should attend to and meditate on, oh master, what he should do, what he should think of and should serve, as also what would be against the principle. This I ask you because, oh supreme devotee, one at the homes of the householders rarely sees you staying longer than the exact time of milking a cow.' "

Suta said: "Thus pleasantly being addressed and questioned by the king, the supreme son of Vyasadeva, so well versed in the knowledge of one's actual duty, began his reply."

BOOK 2:
The Cosmic Manifestation

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 1:
The First Step in God Realisation

My obeisances unto the Supreme Lord Vasudeva. Shri Shuka said: 'This inquiry of yours for the good of all people is the best thing you can do, because this subject of study, oh King, carries the approval of the transcendentalists and constitutes the supreme of all that is worth the attention. Oh Emperor, there are countless subject matters to hear about in human society that are of interest to those who, attached to their household life, are materially engrossed and are blind to the reality of the soul. They spend their lives, oh King, with sleeping and making love during the night and with making money and taking care of their family during the day. Overly attached to the fallible allies of the body, the children, the wife and everything thereto, they, despite their experience, do not see the finality of these matters. For that reason, oh descendant of Bharata, He must be discussed, glorified and remembered who as the Supersoul, the Supreme Personality, the controller and vanquishing Lord, frees those who are of desire from their anxieties. All this analyzing in the knowledge of yoga of one's particular nature and how a person after being born should attain the full awareness of the

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Supreme, in the end only concerns the remembrance of Narayana [Krishna as the Supreme Personality]. In general it are the sages who, free from the material modes having mastered the prescriptions and restrictions, oh King, take pleasure in especially describing the glories of the Lord.

This story called the Bhagavatam contains the essence of the Vedas and was by me, at the end of this Dvapara-yuga [the age of honouring monarchs], studied under the guidance of my father Dvaipayana Vyasa. Despite being fully accomplished in transcendence the enlightened verses about the [Lord's] pastimes drew my attention, oh saintly King, and thus I studied them. I will recite it to you, because you, oh goodness, are a most sincere devotee. They who respectfully dedicate their full attention to it very soon will realise an unflinching faith in Mukunda [Krishna as the Lord granting liberation]. For both those who crave free from piously exercising respect and for yoga practitioners who are free from fear and doubts, oh King, the, according to the tradition, repeating of the name of the Lord constitutes the approved method. What is the use of spending one's years as an ignoramus in this world without having [this] experience? The hour one deliberately spends in service of the higher cause is the better one. The saintly king known as Khathvanga cast aside everything when he knew that he had but a moment to live longer in this world and thus experienced the full security of the Lord. Oh member of the Kuru family, therefore also your life's duration that is limited to seven days, should inspire you to perform everything that traditionally belongs to the rituals for a next life. Facing the end of one's life one should be free from the fear of death by cutting, with the help of the weapon of non-attachment, with one's desires and everything material associated with them. In pious self control leaving one's home behind, one should head for a sacred place and properly cleansed in solitude sit down in a position in accordance with the regulations. The mind should then be turned to the three sacred transcendental letters [A-U-M]. Regulating one's breath one thus should get the mind under control so that the primary cause of the absolute Spirit [Brahman] is not forgotten. With the intelligence as the driver, the [horses of the] senses with the help of the mind should be led away from their objects. The mind that is motivated for results should for that purpose consciously be fixed on the auspicious cause [of the Lord]. Not allowing to be distracted by the outside world, one thereafter consecutively focusses one's mind on the different parts of His body. One should thereto not think of anything else but the refuge [constituted by the feet] of the Supreme Lord Vishnu who thus pacifies the mind. Because of the passion and inertia of nature the mind is always agitated and bewildered, but one will get that under control in the concentration of the ones pacified, in the focus that puts an end to all impurity. They who fixed in the habit of such a systematic remembrance seek unification and hold on to this devotion will soon be of success under the shelter of the yoga that approves this.'

The king, attentive to what was said, asked: 'Oh brahmin, what is in summary the idea of the way by which a person may directly put an end to the impurities of his mind?'

Shri Shuka said: 'When one sits down in control, has subdued one's breath and has conquered one's attachment as also one's senses, one should focus one's attention on the gross matter of the outer appearance of the Supreme Lord [the virath-rupa]. His personal body is this gross material world in which we experience all that belongs to the past, the present and the future of this universe in existence. This outer shell of the universe that we know as a body consisting of seven coverings [see kos'as], constitutes the notion of the object of the Universal Form of the Purusha [the Original Person] who is the Supreme Lord. The lower worlds are by the ones who studied it recognised as the soles of His feet [called Patala] of which His heels and toes are called Rasatala, His ankles Mahatala while the shanks of the gigantic person are called the Talatala worlds. The two knees of the Universal Form are called Sutala, the thighs Vitala and Atala and the hips are named Mahitala, oh King. Outer space is accepted as the depression of His navel. The higher, illumined worlds are His chest, with above it the neck called Mahar. His mouth is called Jana while Tapas is the name of the worlds of the forehead with Satyaloka [the world of Truth] as the uppermost of the [middle] worlds of the Original Personality who has a thousand heads. The gods headed by Indra are His arms, the four directions are His ears and sound is His sense of hearing. The nostrils of the Supreme One are the As'vini-Kumaras [a type of demigods] while fragrance is His sense of smell and His mouth the blazing fire. The sphere of outer space constitutes the pits of His eyes, while the eyeball of the sun makes up His seeing. The eyelids of Vishnu are the day and night, the movements of His eyebrows are the supreme entity [Brahma and the other demigods], His palate is the director of water [Varuna] and His tongue is the nectarine juice. They say that the Vedic hymns are the thought process of the Unlimited One, that His jaws make up Yamaraja [the Lord of death], His teeth are His affection and that His smile is the most alluring, unsurpassable material energy [maya]. Material creation is only the casting of His glance. Modesty is His upper lip, His chin stands for the hankering, religion is His breast and the path of irreligion is His back. Brahma is His genitals, His testicles are the Mitra-varunas [the friends], His waist the oceans and the stack of His bones are the mountains. His veins are the rivers and the plants and trees are the hairs on the body of the Universal Form, oh King. The air is His omnipotent breathing, the passing of the ages, Time, is His movement and the constant operation of the modes of material nature is His activity. Let me tell you that the hairs on the head of the Supreme One are the clouds, oh best of the Kurus, and that the intelligence of the Almighty One is the prime cause of the material creation, so one says. His mind, the reservoir of all changes, is known as the moon. The great principle constitutes His consciousness, so one says, while Lord Shiva is the cause within [His ego, His self]. The horse, mule, camel and elephant are His nails, and all other game and quadrupeds are represented in the region of His belt. The singing of the birds is His artistic sense and Manu, the father of man, forms the contents of His thought with humanity as His residence. The angelic and celestial beings [the Gandharvas, Vidyadharas and Caranas] constitute His musical rhythm while the remembrance of terrorizing soldiers represents His prowess. With the intellectuals [brahmins] for the face and the rulers [kshatriyas] for the arms of the Universal Form, the traders [vais'yas] are the thighs and the labourers [shudras, the dark or 'krishna'-class] occupy His feet. Through the various names of the demigods He gains in stature with the provision of feasible goods [that appease Him] by means of the performance of sacrifices.

I explained all these locations in the Form of the Supreme Lord to you so that anyone who concentrates his mind on this virath-rupa Universal Form can attain his goal by intelligence. Beyond Him after all, there is nothing else to be found in the gross of matter. He who as the Supersoul in so many ways can be seen present in all kinds of forms, just like a dreamer can see himself [in different situations], is the one and only Supreme Truth and ocean of bliss. One must direct oneself to Him alone and nothing else if one does not want to see oneself degraded by attachments.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 2:
The Lord in the Heart

Shri Shuka said: 'By contemplating the Supreme Self [of the Universal Form] from which one generated [like Lord Brahma did] one, by thus finding satisfaction [with the Original Person], regains the remembrance that was lost. With one's vision thus cleared the intelligence then operates as before so that one can get one's life in order. One's [spiritual] adherence to the sounds of the [impersonal] Absolute Truth makes the intelligence, because of the many terms [associated with it], ponder over incoherent ideas because of which one, without ever finding joy, wanders around in illusory realities - and the different desires belonging to them -, as if one is dreaming. With the practical insight that he otherwise would be engaged in [useless] troublesome work, an intelligent attentive person fixed in his attention to achieve perfection [in meditation], must therefore only minimally, not more than necessary, abide by imaginary [non-spiritual] purposes. What is the need for endeavoring for a bed when you can lie on the ground; why would you strive for a pillow when you have your arms; why should you endeavor for utensils if you can eat with your hands and why would you worry about clothing when the trees are there [with their bark]? Are there no rags lying in the street, is there no giving in charity; do the trees not offer their alms maintaining others; have the rivers dried up; are the caves closed; has the Almighty Lord given up on protecting the surrendered soul? Why would a learned man then have to speak to the liking of those who are led by wealth? When one thus with the matter of Him, the most cherished, eternal, One Supersoul fully present in one's heart, is detached from the world, one must be of worship for Him, the Fortunate One, the permanent gain by which for certain the cause of one's material bondage is put to an end. Who else but the materialists would, with neglecting the transcendental thoughts, take to the non-permanent of material denominations because of which they, who constitute the general mass of the people that is controlled by the misery of the reactions of its fruitive labour, see themselves as fallen into the river of suffering?

Others see in the meditation upon Him within their own body the Personality of Godhead residing in the region of the heart measuring eight inches, having four arms, carrying the lotus, the wheel of the chariot, the conch shell and the club. With His mouth expressing happiness, His eyes wide open like a lotus, His clothes yellowish like a Kadamba flower, bedecked with jewels and with golden ornaments studded with precious stones, He wears a glowing headdress with earrings. His feet are positioned on the whorl of the lotus hearts of the great mystics. On His chest He wears the beautifully engraved Kaustubha jewel and around His neck He has a fresh flower garland spreading its beauty. With a decorative wrap around His waist, valuable finger rings, ringing leglets, bangles, oiled spotless bluish, curly hair and His beautiful, smiling face He looks very pleasing. His magnanimous pastimes and the glowing glances of His expression are indicative of the extensive benedictions of this particular transcendental form of the Lord one should focus upon as long as the mind can be fixed on it for the purpose of one's meditation. One should meditate upon the limbs one by one, starting from the feet up, until one sees His smiling face, and thus gradually taking control over the mind one departs in one's meditation for higher and higher spheres and purifies that way the intelligence. As long as the materialist has not developed devotional service to this form of the Lord who is the seer of the mundane and transcendental worlds, he must, when he is finished with his prescribed duties, with proper attention remember the Universal Form of the Original Person.

Whenever one desires to give up one's body, oh King, one should as a sage, without being disturbed, comfortably seated and with one's thinking unperturbed by matters of time and place, in control of the life air restrain the senses with the help of the mind. Regulating the mind by the power of one's pure intelligence in relation to the original witness within [the 'knower of the field'], one should merge with this self. That self should be confined to the fully satisfied Supersoul and thus putting an end to all activities, one will attain full bliss. Therein one will not find the supremacy of time that for sure controls the godly who direct the worldly creatures with their demigods, nor will one find there mundane goodness, passion or ignorance or any material change or causality of nature at large. Knowing what and what not relates to the divine of the transcendental position, they who wish to avoid what is godless, completely give up the perplexities [of arguing to time and place], and place thereto in purely at Him directed good-will every moment His worshipable lotus feet in their heart. The sage familiar with the science of properly regulating the force [of the senses] in service of the purpose of life, should retire in the following way: he must block his arse ['air-hole'] with his heel and direct the life air upward through the six primary places [navel, plexus, heart, throat, eyebrows and top of the skull] and thus overcome the state of material inertia. The meditator should, with the strength of his vision of wisdom, gradually direct the life breath from the navel to the plexus [the 'heart'] and from there to the chest from where he should bring it slowly into his throat and thus extinguish his material desires. The seer who is of detachment should, in order to attain the Supreme, by blocking the seven outlets [the ears, the eyes, the nostrils and the mouth], from between the eyebrows enter the domain of the head to remain there for a while ('half an hour') for the sake of the ever fresh eternality.

If one, however, fosters a desire, oh King, to lord over what one calls the realm of enjoyment of the gods in the sky, or wishes to rule the world of the gunas [the modes of nature] using the eight mystic powers [the eight siddhis or perfections], one inevitably has to count with the mind and the senses associated therewith. One says that the great transcendentalists in the realm of the subtle body, because of their knowledge, austerity, yoga and absorption are able to move freely within and without the three worlds, while those who do their work based upon material motives never attain such progress.

In the control of the divinity of fire [Vais'vanara, or with regular sacrifice and meditation] one attains by following the path of [the sushumna, the channel of balancing] the breath, the illuminating pure Spirit of the Absolute, whereupon being freed from impurities going upwards one [in respect of the cyclic order of the luminaries] reaches the [galactic cakra order of the] Lord, oh King, called Shishumara [meaning: dolphin, to the form of the Milky Way, galactic time]. Passing beyond that navel of the universe, the pivot, the centre of spin of the Maintainer [Vishnu], only the individual living being who got purified by the realisation of his smallness [the yogi], reaches the place worshiped by those who know the Absolute Spirit. The self-realised souls enjoy their stay there for the time of a kalpa [a day of Brahma]. Thereupon he who from the bed of Vishnu [Ananta] sees how the universe is burning to ashes because of the fire from His mouth, will leave that place for the supreme abode that lasts for two parardhas [the two halves of the life of Brahma] and is the home of the purified souls of elevation. There one will never find bereavement or old age, death, pain or anxieties, save that one sometimes has feelings of compassion when one sees the ignorant who are subjected to the hard to overcome misery of the repetition of birth and death.

After surpassing the forms of water and fire and thus having reached that pure self free from fear, one thus having attained the effulgent atmosphere, in due course of time by the self its air reaches the ethereal self, the true greatness of one's soul. By scents having the smell, by the palate having the taste, by the eye having visions, by physical contact being in touch and finally by sound vibrations experiencing the quality of the ether, the yogi by dint of the activity of the senses also attains [the more subtle sphere]. After he thus at the mental level in relation to the gross and subtle has reached a neutral point of I-awareness, he in the mode of goodness surpasses that realisation of himself that is subject to change [the ego] and progresses, by stopping the operation of the natural

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modes, towards the reality of perfect wisdom. By that purification towards the self of the Supersoul, the person attains the peace, satisfaction and natural delight of being freed from all impurities. He who attains this destination of devotion certainly will never again get attracted to this material world, my dearest [Parikchit].

The [two direct and indirect] paths I described to you, oh protector of man, is as your Majesty requested in proper accord with the Vedas. It is also in full agreement with the eternal truth as formerly explained by Lord Vasudeva to Lord Brahma who had satisfied Him in worship. For those who in this life wander around in the material universe, there is for sure no way of attaining more auspicious than the [direct] path by which one arrives at the devotional service [bhakti-yoga] of the Supreme Personality Lord Vasudeva. The great personality [Vyasadeva] studied the Vedas three times in total and scrutinously, with scholarly attention examining them he ascertained that someone is optimally focussed when he is attracted to the soul. The Supreme Personality can be perceived in all living beings as the actual nature of that soul, as the Lord who by the intelligence of the seer is recognised by inference from different signs and effects. Therefore every human soul, oh King, must wherever he is and whenever he exists, hear about, glorify and remember the Lord as the Supreme Personality of the human being. They who fill their ears with the narrations about the Supreme Lord most dear to the devotees and drink from that nectar, will find their, by material pleasure contaminated, state of mind purified and return to the presence of His lotus feet.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 3:

Pure Devotional Service - the Change in Heart

Shri Shukadeva said: 'For the intelligent among men, I have given you all the answers in response to the inquiring of your good self about the human being on the threshold of death. They who desire the luster of the Absolute worship the master of the Vedas [Brihaspati], Indra, the king of heaven is there for the ones desiring the strength of the senses [sex] and the Prajapatis [the strong progenitors] are there for those who desire offspring. The goddess [Durga] is there for those who desire the beauty of the material world, the fire god is there for the ones desiring power, for wealth there are the Vasus [a type of demigod] and the incarnations of Rudra [Lord Shiva] are there for those who wish strength and heroism. For a good harvest the mother of the demigods Aditi is worshiped, desiring heaven one worships her sons, for those desiring royal riches there are the Vis'vadeva demigods and to be of commercial success there are the Sadhya gods. The As'vinis [two demigod brothers] are there for the ones desiring longevity, for a strong body mother earth is worshiped and those who want to maintain their position and be renown respect the goddesses of the earth and the heavens. Aspiring beauty there are the heavenly Gandharvas, those who want a good wife seek the girls of the heavenly society [the Apsaras and Urvas'is] and anyone who wants to dominate others is bound to the worship of Brahma, the head of the universe. Yajna, the Lord of Sacrifice is worshiped for tangible fame and for a good bank balance Varuna, the treasurer, is sought. But those who desire to learn, worship Shiva himself while for a good marriage his chaste wife Uma is honoured.

For spiritual progress the supreme truth [Lord Vishnu and His devotees] is worshiped, for offspring and their care one seeks the ancestral [the residents of Pitriloka], pious persons are sought by those who seek protection, while the demigods in general are there for standing strong in life. The godly Manus [the fathers of mankind] are there for those desiring a kingdom, but the demons are sought for defeating enemies. The ones desiring sense gratification are bound to the moon [Candra], while those who are free from desire worship the Supreme Personality in the beyond. Whether one is free from desire, is full of it or else desires liberation, someone of a serious consideration with all his heart in devotional service [bhakti-yoga] will honour the Original Supreme Personality. All these types of worshipers for sure develop, in their worship of the highest benediction in this life, unflinching, spontaneous attraction to the Supreme Lord through association with His pure devotees. The knowledge leading to the limit of the complete withdrawal from the whirlpool of the material modes, results in the satisfaction of the soul. In the transcendence of being detached from these modes, that satisfaction carries the blessings of the path of bhakti-yoga. Being absorbed in the narrations about the Lord, who would then not act upon this attraction?"

Shaunaka said: "What is it that the king, the ruler of Bharata, after hearing all of this, wanted to know more from the son of Vyasadeva, the learned sage? Oh learned Suta, explain those topics to us who are eager to hear about it, for in an assembly of devotees those talks are welcome that lead to the narrations about the Lord. He, the king, that grandson of the Pandavas, was no doubt a great devotee, a great fighter who playing with his toys as a child enacted the activities of Krishna. And that must have also been true for the son of Vyasadeva who, in the presence of all those devotees there, in his attachment to the Supreme Lord Vasudeva glorified by so many, proved to have all the great qualities. Except for the one who spends his time on the topics about the One hailed in the scriptures, the rising and setting sun only decreases the lives of the people. Are the trees not growing also, are the blacksmith's bellows not also producing air and are the beasts all around us not also eating and procreating? [Must we then not also answer to our true nature?] A person whose ear never reached the holy name of the One who delivers us from all evil is not better than a dog, a hog, an ass or a camel. The ears of a man who never heard of Vishnu, the One of the great step forward, are like those of snakes and also the tongues of those who never sang the songs of worth aloud are as useless as those of frogs. Even carrying a heavy silk turban, the upper part of the body is just a burden, when that body never bows down to Mukunda [Krishna granting liberation]; just like hands that, not engaged in the worship of the Lord, are like those of a dead body, however decorated they are with glittering golden bangles. Like the eyes on the plumes of a peacock are the eyes of those men who do not see the forms of Vishnu and like the roots of trees are their feet when they never visit the holy places of the Lord. Those mortals who never personally received the dust of the feet of the pure devotees are dead while being alive and a descendant of Manu [a man] is like a dead corpse breathing when he has never experienced the wealth of the aroma of the tulsi leaves of Lord Vishnu's lotus feet. Certainly that heart is steel-framed that, despite being absorbed in chanting the name of the Lord, is not moved therewith by emotions of having tears in one's eyes and hairs standing on end. Oh Suta Gosvami, you express yourself so faithfully. Therefore, please, tell us about the transcendental knowledge that the leading great devotee Shukadeva Gosvami so expertly spoke about in response to the excellent questions of the King."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 4:

The Process of Creation

Suta said: "Just having realised what Shukadeva Gosvami thus said about the verification of the reality of the soul, the chaste son of Uttara [Parikchit] concentrated upon Lord Krishna. He [thus meditating for a moment innerly] gave up his deep-rooted and constant possessiveness in relation to his body, his wife, his son, his treasury and all his relatives and friends in his undisputed kingdom. - The great soul in full faith inquired for the purpose of this exactly the way you are asking me, oh great sages. Being informed of his death he renounced his fruitive activity according the three principles [of self-realisation: renouncing religious acts, economic development and sense gratification] and everything thereto and thus firmly fixed he achieved the attraction for the love of the Supreme Lord Vasudeva. The king said: 'What you said is perfectly right, oh learned one; being without contaminations you have the knowledge of it all and make the darkness of ignorance gradually disappear when you are speaking about the topics concerning the Lord. Furthermore, I would like to learn how the Supreme Lord by His personal energies creates this phenomenal world of the universe that is so inconceivable for even the great masters of meditation. And please, also tell me about the way the powerful one maintains His energies and winds them up again, how He as the all-powerful Supreme Personality arrives at His expansions, involves them and being involved Himself presents them and causes them to act. Even the highly learned in spite of their endeavors for His sake, fall short, dear brahmin, in explaining the wonderful, inconceivable acts of the Supreme Lord. Even though He acts through His different incarnations He is the One and Supreme, whether He acts by the modes, is there simultaneously in the material energy or is manifesting in many forms consecutively. Please clear up these questions asked by me, since you, being as good as the Supreme Lord, are of the oral tradition with the Vedic literatures and also of full realisation in transcendence.' "

Suta said: "Upon thus being requested by the king to describe the transcendental attributes of Lord Hrishikes'a [Krishna as the master of the senses] Shuka, in order to reply properly, proceeded methodically.

Shri Shuka said: 'My obeisances to the Supreme Personality of Godhead, who for the maintenance and also the winding up of the complete whole of the material creation, by His pastimes assumed the power of the three modes while residing within as the One whose ways are inconceivable. Again my obeisances to Him who frees the truthful ones from the distressing controversies of those who follow untruth, unto Him who is the form of pure goodness, granting all that is sought by those who are situated in the status of the highest stage of spiritual perfection [the paramahamsas]. Let me offer my obeisances unto the great associate of the Yadu dynasty who, keeping far from mundane wrangling, vanquishes the non-devotees. I bow down to Him who is of the same greatness of enjoying the opulences as in enjoying the sky in His own abode. For Him of whom the glorification, remembrance, audience, prayers, hearing and worship forthwith cleanses away the effects of the sins of everyone, unto Him of whom one speaks as being the all-auspicious one, I bring my due obeisances again and again. The bright ones who by simply dedicating themselves to His lotus feet completely give up all attachments to a present or future existence, realise without difficulty the progress of the heart and the soul towards a spiritual existence; unto that renown all-auspicious One my obeisances again and again. The great sages, the great performers of charity, the ones most distinguished, the great thinkers, the great mantra chanters [reciters/singers] and the strict followers will never attain to tangible results when they are not dedicated to Him. I offer my obeisances again and again to Him about whom to hear is so very auspicious. The people of old Bharata, Europe, southern India, Greece, Pulkas'a [a province], Abhira [part of old Sind], Shumbha [another province], Turkey, Mongolia and more who are also addicted to sin, at once get purified when they take to the shelter of the Lord's devotees. Him, the powerful Lord Vishnu I offer my respectful obeisances. He is the soul and Lord of the self-realised ones, the personification of the Vedas, the religious literatures and austerity. May the Supreme Lord, He who is held in awe by those who in their transcendence are free from all pretension - the Unborn One [Lord Brahma], Lord Shiva and others - always be graceful with me. May He, the Supreme Lord and master of all the devotees, who is the owner of all opulence, the director of all sacrifices, the leader of all living entities, the master of the intelligent ones, the ruler of all worlds, the supreme head of the planet earth and the destination and first among the [Yadu] kings of the Satvatas, the Andhakas and the Vrishnis, be merciful with me. It is said that thinking of His lotus feet and at each moment being absorbed in it, when one follows the authorities, purifies and results in the actual knowledge of the ultimate reality of the soul and also that it makes the scholars describe Him to their liking. Oh Mukunda, my Supreme Lord, may Your grace always be with me. May He who strengthened the first one of creation [Lord Brahma] with remembrance in his heart about Himself and his origin and who [thus] from the beginning inspired the Goddess of Learning who appeared to have been created from Brahma's mouth - may He, the Teacher of Teachers, be pleased with me. He who lies down within the material creation and empowers all these bodies made of the material elements while He as the Purusha [the original person] causes all to be subjected to the modes of nature with her sixteen divisions [of consciousness, the elements of earth, water, fire, air, ether, the five organs of action and the senses]; may that Supreme Lord give strength to my statements. My obeisances unto him, the great expansion of Vasudeva [viz. Vyasadeva] who is the compiler of the Vedic literatures from whose lotus mouth his adherents drank the nectar of this knowledge. The first created being [Brahma], my dear king, imparted, on the request of Narada, from the inside the Vedic knowledge exactly as it was spoken by the Lord in the heart.' "

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 5:

The Cause of all Causes

Narada said [to the Creator]: 'My obeisances to you, oh god of the demigods, for you are the one firstborn from whom all living beings generated. Please explain which knowledge specifically leads to the truth of the soul. What is the form, the basis and the source of this created world? Oh master, how is it conserved, by what is it controlled and please, what is it factually? All this is known by your good self, since you know all that has become, will become and is becoming. Master, you hold this universe in the grip of your scientific knowledge, like one holds a walnut. What is the source of your wisdom, who protects you and who is above you? In what capacity do you, with the help of the potency of the soul, on your own create the lives of all beings with the elements of matter? Like a spider creating its web, you without any help manifest from your own soul power all these lives by whom you are never controlled. Oh almighty one, in this world I do not know a single entity having a name, a form and qualities, that is superior, inferior or equal, of a temporary nature or lasting forever, which owes its existence to any other source [than you]. We are weary of the fact that you with your perfect discipline underwent severe penances. We thus had the chance to doubt whether your good self would be the ultimate truth [and thus thought of an entity higher than you]. Oh all-knowing ruler over all, please explain to me all that I have asked you, so that I will be of an understanding in accordance with your instructions.'

The Creator replied: 'Oh gentle one so dear to me, you, so very kind, are perfectly right in expressing your doubts, for [by that submission in penance] I was led to consider the heroism and power of the Supreme Lord. My son, you are not mistaken in what you just said in your description of me, because without knowing the Supreme beyond me, it will certainly be so that it [seems to be that that greatness] all belongs to me. All of the world that I created was created from the effulgence [the brahmajyoti] of His existence, just like it is with the fire, the sun, the moon, the planets and the stars [that radiate from His effulgence]. I bring Him my obeisances, the Supreme Lord Vasudeva upon whom I meditate, by dint of whose invincible potencies one calls me the teacher [guru] of the world. People unashamed about

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keeping a prominent position with the bewildering material energy, in their deluded state make a wrong use of words in speaking of 'I' and 'mine'. By that use of words I am poorly understood. The basic ingredients of matter in their interaction with Eternal Time and the natural disposition of the living being, are certainly part of Vasudeva, oh brahmin, but the truth is that each of these agents separately has no value. The cause and purpose of the Vedas is Narayana [Krishna as the four-armed original Personality of God and primordial Lord of man], the demigods are the helping hands of Narayana, the worlds exist for the sake of Narayana and all sacrifices are there to please Narayana. Concentration of mind is just there to know Narayana, austerity is only there to achieve Narayana, the culture of transcendence is just there to become aware of Narayana and progress on the path of salvation is there only to enter the kingdom of Narayana. Inspired by His vision and what was created by Him, the seer, the controller, the stability and Supersoul of all who also created me, I create as well.

Of the goodness, passion and ignorance [the gunas], that were assumed by the external energy, there are the three qualities of transcendence of the Almighty [Lord of Time]: maintenance, creation and destruction. The eternal transcendental person, under the influence of the basic qualities of material nature, is subjected to conditions of cause and effect. This results in the manifestation of the symptoms of knowledge [from goodness], activities [from passion] and goods [from ignorance]. He, the witness of the individual soul who is ruled by the symptoms of the three modes, the Supreme Lord in the Beyond, the controller of everyone as also of myself, cannot be properly recognised in His progress, oh brahmin. The Lord of Control by the potency of His material energy thus, from the independent will of His divine self, arrived at many appearances, taking upon Himself their karma, [being subjected to] time and their particular natures. Because of the superintendence of the Original Person the creation of the mahat-tattva [the 'greater reality'] took place, from eternal time there was the transformation of the modes and from the modification of the original nature the different activities found their existence. Because of the transformation of the greater reality though, [in the beginning] passion and goodness dominated, but then [countering in reaction] matter, material knowledge and material activities found their vital existence. That modification of the material part of the self, the ego, manifested itself as said, according to the three characteristics of goodness, passion and ignorance. Thus, prabhu, there was the division of the powers of a guiding intelligence, knowledge of creation and material evolution.

Of the material elements [first] the [proto-material invisible] ether evolved from the darkness that underwent transformation. With the quality of sound as its subtle form it is like the seer relative to the seen [of all other matter]. By transformation of the ether the air found its existence which is characterised by the quality of touch. Along with it sound also appeared as a characteristic that was remembered from the ether. Air thus acquired also a life of diversity with energy and force. Air on its turn again transformed under the influence of time and generated from its nature the element of fire in response to what preceded. With its form there was likewise touch and sound [as the hereditary burden or the karma of the previous elements]. Fire transformed [or condensed from oxygen and hydrogen] into water. Thus the element of taste came about which consequently was accompanied by touch, sound and form. But because of the variegatedness of that transformation of water next the smell of the juice followed that assumed form [as the earth element] together with the qualities of touch and sound. From the mode of goodness the [cosmic] mind and the ten gods generated who act in goodness: the controller of the directions, the air [Vayu], the sun [Surya], the waters [Varuna], longevity [the As'vini-Kumaras], fire [Agni], of heaven [Indra], the transcendence [Vishnu in the form of Upendra], the friendship [Mitra] and the guardian of creation [Brahma]. From the transformation of the passion of ego the tenfold of the senses of action and perception generated - the mouth, the hands, the feet, the genitals, and the anus, plus sight, hearing, touch, taste and smell - as also the intelligence and the life force. As long as all these categories of the elements, the senses, the mind and the modes of nature remained separate, the body [of man and mankind] could not be formed, oh best one of knowledge [Narada]. When they [these elements] were assembled by the [compelling] force of the Supreme Lord and found their application, this [personal and universal existence] with both its true and illusory, its spiritual and material realities [sat/asat] came into being.

The universe after countless millennia having been submerged in the [causal] waters, was by the personal soul [the Lord] who animates the inanimate awakened to its own time of living. He Himself as the original person [the Purusha] appeared from within the universal egg to divide Himself in thousands of divisions of legs, arms, eyes, mouths and heads. The great philosophers conceive of all the worlds of the universe as the limbs of a body [the virath-rupa] which has seven systems below the waist and seven systems in the upper portion. The brahmins represent the mouth of the Original Person, the ruling class constitutes His arms, the traders form the thighs of the Supreme Lord and the labourer class manifested from His feet. The earthly [lower] worlds [Bhurlokas] belong to His legs so one says, the ethereal worlds [Bhuvarlokas] belong to His belly, the heavenly worlds from the heart [Svarlokas] are situated in His chest while the highest worlds of the saints and sages [Maharlokas] are of the Great Soul. Above the chest up to the neck one finds the world of the godly ones [the sons of Brahma, Janaloka] and higher up in the neck one finds the world of renunciation [Tapoloka, of the ascetics]. The world of truth [Satyaloka of the self-realised, the enlightened ones] is found in the head. [These worlds are all temporal] but the spiritual world [Brahmaloka, the world of the one Soul, the Supreme Lord] is eternal. With on His waist the first of the lower worlds, further down the second on the hips, the third down to the knees, the fourth on the shanks, the fifth on His ankles, the sixth on His feet and the seventh on the soles of His feet, the body of the Lord [the virath-rupa or universal form] is filled with all the [fourteen types of] worlds. One imagines the worlds alternatively [simply divided in three] with the earthly, lower worlds situated on the legs, the ethereal, middle worlds in the region of the navel and the heavenly, higher worlds found from the chest upwards.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 6:
The Hymn of the Original Person Confirmed

The Creator said: 'The mouth [of the Original Person] as constituted by fire is the origin of the voice. The seven ingredients [of His body: skin, flesh, sinew, marrow, bone, blood and fat] are the field where the Vedic hymns are generated and the tongue [of the Lord] is the place that offers all foodstuffs and delicacies sacrificed for the forefathers and the gods. From the transcendental path of His nose there is the life breath and the air with the As'vini demigods [who grant a long life] in combination with all the medicinal herbs. His power of smell offers the pleasure of fragrant substances. The eyes [of the gigantic body] offer the perception of all kinds of forms that are illumined and glitter before the eyeball of the sun, and the ears offer the hearing of both the sounds from all directions and the [spiritual] sounds of all the holy places resounding in the ether. His outer appearance [the surface of the Universal Form] constitutes the foundation of all things and favorable opportunities and is also the field where one harvests, while His skin of moving airs forms the touch being the place for all kinds of sacrifices. His bodily hair is the vegetation of the kingdoms with the help of which in particular the sacrifices are performed. The clouds with their electricity, the stones and the iron ore make thereto for the hair on His head [as I have said], His facial hair and His nails. His arms, the governing men of God, are predominantly engaged in providing what is needed and the protection of the general mass. In the Lord's lotus feet that offer shelter the progress is recognised of the lower, middle and heavenly worlds, because they, in providing all that is needed, liberate from fear and contain all the benedictions. Water, semen and the generative capacity of rain refer to the genitals of the Creator, the Lord, or to the spot where happiness originates that is brought about by the [need of] begetting offspring [or cultural products]. Oh Narada, the rectum of the Universal Form is the source of Yama, the controlling deity of everything running to its end, and of Mitra. It is remembered as the place of envy, misfortune, death and hell. Frustration, immorality and ignorance are found at His backside, while the rivers and streams [as said] make for His veins and the mountains for the stack of His bones. The unseen mover [Time] of the seas and oceans of the living beings that evolve but also find [physical] destruction in His belly [during Brahma's night], is by the intelligent ones known as the [beating] heart that is located in the subtle body.

The defender of dharma, me, you, my sons [the Kumaras] and Lord Shiva, all depend on the life and soul of the Supreme Being [who constitutes the safe harbour] of truth and wisdom. Me, you, Lord Shiva, and the great sages before you, the godly ones, the demoniac ones, the human beings and the excellent ones [the Nagas], the birds, the beasts, the reptiles and all the heavenly beings and also the plants and many other living entities found on land, in water and in the sky, together with the asteroids, stars, comets, planets and moons and lightening and thunder; all that was, that is and will be created, this entire universe together is [pervaded] and covered by the Original Person in a form [one's heart] measuring not more than nine inches. The same way the sun spreads its rays over everything existing outside and illumines and gives strength [inside with prana], the expansion of the Universal Form, the Supreme Person also vitalises from both the inside and the outside. He is the controller of immortality and fearlessness, transcendental to death and the material pleasure of anyone and therefore, oh brahmin, the glories of the Original Personality are considered immeasurable.

You should know that the material realm of all the living entities is but a portion of the energies of the Person of happiness beyond the material coverings where there is no death or fear. While those who are attached to family life and who do not strictly follow the vow of celibacy have their place within the three material worlds, the threefold of that portion in the beyond constitutes the place where they reside who will never be reborn. But the Omnipresent Lord is the destination for both the paths of material action and devotion, He is the shelter and Original Person for the two ways of ignorance and knowledge. He, from whom all the planets and the gigantic Universal Form originated complete with the elements, the senses and the material qualities of the universe, elevated above all these worlds, [indeed] compares to the sun that oversees everything it heats with its rays.

When I took birth from the lotus flower sprouting from the navel of the Great Person, I had next to the personal limbs of the Original Person nothing to perform sacrifices with. What is needed for the performance of sacrifices, are matters such as flowers and leaves, burning material [such as straw], an altar and also a framework of time [a calendar e.g.] for following the qualities of nature [like spring]. One needs utensils, grains, fuel [clarified butter], sweetener ['honey'], capital ['gold'] a fire place ['earth'], water, the scriptures ['Rig, Yajur and Sama Veda'] and [at least] four [officiating] persons, oh pious one. It also involves the invocation of holy names and mantras, rewards, vows and a particular scripture for the purpose and process of the godhead in question. By my use of the limbs of the Supreme Person I managed to arrange these ingredients and gradually with compensations and presentations attain my goal in worship of the demigods. Well-equipped engaging with all the ingredients I thus, with the limbs of the Original Person and enjoyer of all sacrifices, the Supreme Personality, was of worship for the Supreme Lord [Vishnu]. According to that example your [God-]brothers, the nine masters of the living creatures [schools; demigods next to Brahma; compare 5: 30], with proper ritual performed the sacrifice for the satisfaction of both the manifest and non-manifest personalities. In following those [schools or demigods] also the Manus, the fathers of mankind, in due course of time were of worship to please Him, and so did the other great sages, forefathers, scholars, opponents [Daityas] and mankind at large.

With the entire cosmos situated in Him, Narayana, the Personality of Godhead, He who is self-sufficient in His transcendence, for the sake of creation, maintenance and destruction has accepted the material illusion in the form of different most powerful manifestations. According to His will, I create, under His order Shiva destroys and He in the form of the Original Person maintains the entire universe as the controller of the three energies.

As for all of this I thus explained to you on your request, my dear, remember that nothing you may think of as a matter of a temporary or eternal nature, exists outside of the Supreme Lord. Because I with great zeal caught hold of the Lord, oh Narada, my words were never in vain, nor was my mind aimless or fruitless, nor did my senses ever wander off in temporality. I am an expert in Vedic lore, successful in austerity, a worshipable master among the forefathers, of attainment in my yoga and perfect in self-realisation, yet I could not fully understand the One I originated from. I am [therefore] devoted to the all-auspicious feet of the Lord of the surrendered souls, that stop the repetition of births and deaths and grant the vision of happiness. Just as the sky cannot see its own limit, not even He can estimate the potency of His own personal energies. Therefore, how can others know? Since neither I, nor you, oh sons, nor the Destroyer know His real position, one cannot expect that the other God-conscious souls would do any better. With one's intelligence bewildered by the illusory energy of this creation our ability to see is limited.

He whose incarnations and activities we glorify, He who by persons like us cannot be fully known, is the Supreme Lord whom we offer our respectful obeisances. He, the Primordial Original Personality millennium after millennium creates within Himself, by Himself, His Self [the universe] maintains Himself [for some time] and absorbs [Himself again]. Without a material tinge, pure and perfect in knowledge and all-pervading in His fullness, He is situated in truth as the absolute without a beginning and an end, free from the qualities of nature, eternal and without an equal. Oh wise one, the great thinkers can only understand this with a pacified self and their senses at rest, otherwise it will certainly be beyond their scope and be distorted by time-bound arguments. The first avatara of the Lord is the Original Person: [Mahavishnu or Karanodakas'ayi Vishnu. He is the foundation of] space time [kala svabhavah, the original nature of time], cause, effect, the elements, the modes, as also the ego, the senses and the mind. These together constitute the diversity of the gigantic universal independent body [also called Garbhodakas'ayi Vishnu] of all that moves and does not move of the Almighty Supreme.

I myself [Brahma], the Destroyer and the Maintainer; all the fathers of the living beings like Daksha [and Manu], you yourself and the other sons [the Kumaras]; the leaders of the higher worlds, the space travelers, the earth and the lower worlds; the leaders of the denizens of heaven [of the

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Ghandarva, Vidyadhara and Carana worlds] as also the leaders of the demons [the Yakshas, Rakshasas and Uragas] and the underworld; the first among the sages, the forefathers, the atheists, the specially gifted ones, the uncivilised ones and the dead; the evil spirits, the Jinn and the Kushmandas [other evil spirits], including all the great aquatics, beasts and birds - in other words each and everyone in the world who is of power to a special degree or of a specific mental or perceptual dexterity or exceptional strength, forgiveness, beauty, modesty, opulence, intelligence or breeding, exists as if he himself would offer the [ultimate] form of [representing] His transcendental reality, but in fact they are only a part of it. Oh Narada, now relish the devotion for the pastimes of the most important incarnations of the Original Supreme Personality. That devotion will evaporate the foul matter that accumulated in your ears. I will relate these stories, that are all a pleasure to hear, one after the other the way they are present in my heart.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 7:

Brief Description of the Past and Coming Avataras

The Creator said: 'When the Lord as the Unlimited One within the universe for His pastimes assumed the form of the sum total of all sacrifices [as the boar avatara Varaha], He was determined to lift the earth out of the great [Garbhodaka] ocean. In the ocean the first demon [called Hiranyaksha, the 'demon of the gold'] appeared who by Him was defeated with His tusk, like a thunderbolt piercing a pack of clouds.

From Akuti ['good intention'] the wife of the Prajapati Ruci, Suyajna ['appropriate sacrifice'] was born who with his wife Dakshina ['the reward'] gave birth to the godly headed by Suyama ['proper regulation']. With them He greatly diminished the distress in the three worlds and for that reason the father of mankind Svayambhuva Manu renamed Him Hari [the Lord].

Next He took birth in the house of the twice-born Kardama ['the shadow of the Creator'] from the womb of Devahuti ['the invocation of the Gods'] together with nine sisters. As Lord Kapila ['the analytic one'] He spoke to His mother about spiritual realisation because of which she in that life was freed from the material modes that cover the soul and achieved liberation.

Satisfied about the surrender of the sage Atri who prayed for offspring, the Supreme Lord said to him: 'I will give Myself to you!' and for that reason He received the name of Datta [Dattatreya, 'the given one']. The dust of His lotus feet purified the body of mysticism and brought the wealth of the spiritual and material worlds of Yadu [the founder of the dynasty], Haihaya [a descendant] and others.

Because I formerly lived austere in penance for the sake of the creation of the different worlds, the Lord appeared as the four Sanas ['of old', the four celibate sons of Brahma called Sanat-kumara, Sanaka, Sanandana and Sanatana]. In the epoch before, the spiritual truth was devastated in the inundation of the world, but with them a clear vision of the soul became available to all sages.

From Murti ['the idol'], the wife of Dharma ['righteousness'] and the daughter of Daksha ['the able one', a Prajapati], He took birth in the form of Nara-Narayana ['man, the progress of man']. The Supreme Lord thus [descending] never allowed, by the strength of [the beauties originating from] His personal penances, that His vows would break because of the celestial beauties that came to Him from Cupid [the god of love]. Lust can be defeated by great stalwarts [like Lord Shiva] with a strict look of resentment, but they cannot overcome their own tolerance. With [the two of] Him present within, lust is too afraid to enter though. How can with Him in one's mind lust ever demand attention?

Incited by the sharp words of a co-wife who uttered them even in the presence of the king [Uttanapada, 'the polar star'], his son Dhruva ['the immovable'], only a boy at the time, took to severe penances in a great forest. The Lord [in this context called Pris'nigarbha, the variegated being] pleased with his prayers confirmed the goal of his realisation [Dhruva-loka, the pivot of the stars] for which the great sages and denizens of heaven have prayed ever since, in being directed up and downward.

When the twice-born ones cursed King Vena ['the anxious one'] who strayed from the path of religion, it burned him like a thunderbolt with him going to hell with all his great deeds and opulence. The Lord being prayed for delivered him coming to earth as his son [named Prithu, 'the great one, worldwide'] and achieved that way also that the earth could be exploited to yield all kinds of crops.

As the son of King Nabhi ['the pivot'] He was born as Rishabha ['the best one'] from Sudevi. Equipoised in the matter of yoga, He, though appearing foolish, performed at the highest level of achievement of the sages. At that level one in acceptance of the spiritual essence - of one's true independence - has subdued the activities of the senses and is perfectly liberated from material influences.

The Supreme Lord, the soul of all the gods, the Personality of Sacrifice who is worshiped in all sacrifices, appeared in a sacrifice of mine with a horselike head and a golden hue [and is thus called Hayagriva]. From His breathing through His nostrils the sounds of the Vedic hymns can be heard.

He who became the Manu [called Satyavrata, 'the truth-abiding one'] at the end of the epoch saw Lord Matsya ['the fish'] who as the stay of the earth offered shelter to all living beings [in the form of a boat during the deluge]. The Vedas that because of the great fear for the waters came forth from my mouth then were taken up by Him who sported there.

When in the ocean of milk [or knowledge] the leaders of the immortals and their opponents where churning the mountain [called Mandara, the 'big one'] for gaining the nectar, the primeval Lord half asleep as a tortoise [called Kurma] supported him, so that it scratched and itched on His back.

As Nrisimha ['the lion'] He appeared as the one who took away the fear of the God-conscious ones with the movements of His eyebrows and the terrifying teeth of His mouth, while He on His lap without delay with His nails pierced the fallen king of the demons [Hiranyakas'ipu] who had challenged Him with a club in his hands.

The leader of the elephants [Gajendra] who within the river was seised by his leg by an exceptionally strong crocodile, holding a lotus in great distress addressed [Him] as follows: 'You are the Original Personality and Lord of the Universe. From You being as famous as a place of pilgrimage all good ensues by just hearing Your name, the name so worthy to be sung.' The Lord who heard him in his distress, as the Unlimited Powerful One seated on the king of the birds [Garuda], cut the beak of the crocodile in two with His cakra weapon and in His causeless mercy freed him by pulling him up by his trunk.

Despite His transcendence, He [as Lord Vamana] surpassed the qualities of the sons of Aditi by covering all the worlds in this universe. For that reason He was called the Lord of Sacrifice. Begging He had pretended that He needed only three steps of land but seised that way all the lands [of Bali Maharaja] without ever offending the authorities under whose wings one may never lose one's property. Oh Narada, by virtue of the strength of the water that washed from the feet of the Lord, he [Bali Maharaja], who kept it on his head and who had the supremacy over the kingdom of the godly souls, never, not even when it went at the cost of himself, tried for anything else but to keep his promise because he had decided to be dedicated to the Lord.

The Supreme Lord satisfied about the goodness you developed through your transcendental love, oh Narada, very nicely [in the form of the transcendental swan, the Hamsavatara] explained to you in all detail the light of the knowledge of yoga and the science of relating to the soul that all, who have surrendered to Vasudeva, so perfectly know to appreciate.

Undeterred in all circumstances ruling the ten directions by the strength of His cakra order [His disc weapon, or order of time], He subdues the three systems [see loka] incarnating in the different ages of Manu [manvantaras] as a Manu or founding father, a descendant of the Manu dynasty. Thus ruling over the miscreants and their kings, He establishes His fame up to the highest world of truth [Satyaloka].

As fame personified the Supreme Lord carrying the name of Dhanvantari descended in this universe in order to direct the knowledge that is necessary to obtain a long life. This He accomplished by obtaining a share of the nectar of the [Kurma churning] sacrifice that swiftly cures the diseases of all living beings.

For the purpose of diminishing the increasing dominance of the ruling class the great soul [Lord Parashurama], the Ultimate Spiritual Truth in person, removed all the thorns from the world who strayed from the path and opted for a hellish life. He awfully powerful for that purpose wielded His transcendental hatchet twenty-one times.

Because of His causeless all-embracing mercy unto us, the Lord of All Potencies descended [as Lord Rama] in the dynasty of Ikshvaku [the dynasty of the solar order]. Together with His wife [Sita] and brother [Lakshmana] He upon the command of His father [Das'aratha] took to the forest under the opposition of the ten-headed one [the demoniac ruler Ravana] who caused great distress. The moment He in His anger about His aggrieved intimate friend [the kidnapped Sita], from a distance meditated the city of the enemy [on the island of Lanka] with red-hot eyes like Hara did in his desire to burn down [the heavenly kingdom with his fiery looks], the Indian ocean, seeing her aquatics [sharks, sea snakes and such thus] burnt, out of fear then quickly gave way. When the trunk of the elephant carrying Indra broke on the chest of Ravana, light radiated in all directions. Ravana overtaken by joy proudly paraded between the armies, but in no time the laughter and life breath of the one who had kidnapped Sita was put to an end by the twanging bow [of Rama].

When the entire world was miserable because of the burden of soldiers of the disbelievers, He [Krishna] together with His plenary expansion [Balarama], His beauty and His black hair, He whose glorious path of activities is so hard to recognise for the people in general, appeared for the sake of the decimation of the atheists. Who else but Him could, as a child, kill a living being that assumed the form of a giant demoness [Putana] or being only three months old with His leg turn over a cart as also uproot two high rising Arjuna trees? At Vrindavana [where Krishna grew up] He with His merciful glance brought back to life the cowherd boys and their animals who drank from the poisoned water [of the Yamuna]. In order to purify [the water] from the excess of the highly potent poison He in the river took pleasure in severely punishing the snake that was lurking there with its venomous tongue. He with His superhuman deeds that very night together with Balarama saved all the inhabitants of Vraja [the cowherd village] who free from worries were asleep, from being burned by the fire ablaze in the dry forest. He thus proved to them who were sure to see the last of their days, His unfathomable prowess by simply having them close their eyes [and thus delivered them the same way He later on would free the gopas from another forest fire]. Whatever rope His [foster] mother [Yashoda] tried to bind her son with, time and again proved to be too short. And that what she saw when He opened His mouth to the doubting cowherd woman [who looked for dirt He would have eaten] were all the worlds, which was something that convinced her another way. Nanda Maharaja His [foster] father whom He also saved - from the fear for Varuna [the demigod of the waters] - and the cowherd men who were held captive in the caves by the son of Maya [a demon] as also the ones [living in Vrindavana] who because of their hard labour worked during the day and slept during the night, He all awarded the highest world of the spiritual sky [Brahmaloka or Vaikunthha]. When the cowherd men were stopped [by Krishna] in their sacrifices for the king of heaven, Indra caused a heavy downpour of rain. He [Krishna], only seven years of age, wishing to protect the animals, in His causeless mercy playfully with only one hand for seven days in a row then held up Govardhana hill like [an umbrella], without getting tired. When He in His nightly pastimes in the forest desired to dance in the silver light of the moon with sweet songs and melodious music He awakened the amorous desires of the wives of Vrajabhumi [the region of Vrindavana] and decapitated also their kidnapper [S'ankhacuda] who was after the riches of Kuvera [the heavenly treasurer]. 4-3 All [demons] like Pralamba, Dhenuka, Baka, Kes'i, Arishtha, Canura and Mushthika [wrestling for Kamsa], Kuvalayapida [the elephant], Kamsa [the demoniac uncle]; many foreign kings [like those of Persia], the ape Dvivida, Paundraka and others, as well as kings like Shalva, Narakasura, Balvala, Dantavakra, Saptoksha, Shambara, Viduratha and Rukmi and all powerful and well equipped warriors like Kamboja, Matsya, Kuru [the sons of Dhritarashthra], Srinjaya and Kekaya, would thanks to Him disappear from the scene and attain His heavenly abode or else would disappear because of the actions of one of the other names belonging to Him, like Baladeva [Krishna's brother], Arjuna or Bhima.

Born from Satyavati He [as Vyasadeva] will in due course of time understand the difficulties of the less intelligent and short-lived people with the all too complex and specialised Vedic literatures. According to the circumstances of the age He then will divide the entire collection of the desire tree of the Vedas into different branches.

For those who became well informed on the path of education but envious with the divine, roam the worlds and the ether with inventions of Maya [or with modern technology], He will dress up most attractively and [as the Buddha and His representatives] by extensive discourses bewilder their minds with the use of many terms deviating from the tradition.

When even among the civilised gentlemen there is no mention of the Lord and when the twice-born souls [the higher classes] and the government consist of hypocritical, wicked men who themselves never under any circumstance take to His hymns, paraphernalia, altars and words, then, at the end of the Age of Dissent the Supreme Lord [Kalki], the highest ruler, will appear.

In the beginning there is penance with me and the nine founding fathers, the sages of creation. In the middle there is the religious sacrificing [the maintenance with Vishnu], the Manus, the demigods and the kings in their worlds. And in the end there is the godlessness and the angry atheists and such with Shiva. They are all powerful [guna] representatives of the deluding energy of the One of Supreme Power. Who can fully describe the prowess of Lord Vishnu? Not even the scientist who counts the atoms. In one great movement He [as Trivikrama] managed to move all greatly by effortlessly covering the universe with His leg up to the topmost world beyond the operating modes [Satyaloka]. Neither I, nor all the sages who prior to you were born are capable of determining the reach of the Almighty Supreme Person. What then would one expect from others who were born after us? Not even Ananta Shesha [the 'snake bed' of Vishnu], the first incarnation of the primordial divinity who with thousands of faces to the present day is singing His qualities, can achieve His limit. The Lord extends His grace only to those souls who surrendered themselves in every respect. Only they who did that without duplicity can cross the insurmountable ocean of His deluding material energy, only they who consciously say no to the 'I' and 'mine' of that [their bodies] what is meant to

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serve as food for dogs and jackals. 3-4 Oh Narada, know that we both belong to the bewildering game of illusion of the Supreme One, as do also the great Lord Shiva, Prahlada Maharaja from the atheist family, Shatarupa, the wife of Manu and Svayambhuva Manu himself with his children, Pracinabarhi, Ribhu, Anga [the father of Vena], as also Dhruva, Ikshvaku, Aila, Mucukunda, Janaka, Gadhi, Raghu, Ambarisha, Sagara, Gaya, Nahusha, and others like Mandhata, Alarka, Shatadhanu, Anu, Rantideva, Bhishma, Bali, Amurttaraya, Dilipa, Saubhari, Utanka, Shibi, Devala, Pippalada, Sarasvata, Uddhava, Paras'ara, Bhurishena and champions like Vibhishana, Hanuman, Shukadeva Gosvami, Arjuna, Arshthishena, Vidura and Shrutadeva. Provided they follow the instructions of the admirable devotees, also those persons who belong to the women, the labourers, the barbarians and the outcasts, can surpass the illusion of the divine energy and arrive at knowledge, despite living sinful lives. When even they who are ruled by animal habits can be of success that way, how much more would that not be true for those who heard about Him and keep Him in mind? The Absolute of the Spirit [Brahman] is known as unlimited happiness free from grief. It is the ultimate position of the Supreme Personality, the Fortunate One, in front of whom illusion flees away in shame. That pure uncontaminated state free from distinctions is beyond the words belonging to the material motive of fruitive actions, it constitutes the original principle of the Supersoul, is the cause of all causes and effect and [the foundation for] the, ever free from fear, peaceful awakening to the Complete Whole. In that state of full independence there is no need for the control and striving for perfection in restraint as practiced by the mystics, just as Indra [the provider of rain] does not have to dig a well. The Supreme Lord is the one master of all fortune because He brings the success of [spiritual realisation to] all the good work that the living entity performed according to its natural disposition and material position. After the body is given up [at the end of one's life] it dissolves in its constituent elements, but, like the ether that is never vanquished, the unborn spirit soul of the person is never lost either.

My dear, I thus explained in brief to you the Supreme Lord who created the universe. Whatever that may exist in the phenomenal [material] or noumenal [spiritual] realm, cannot have any other cause than Hari, the Lord. This story about the Fortunate One called the Shrimad Bhagavatam, was handed down to me by Him, the Supreme Lord. It constitutes the summary of His diverse potencies. And now please, from your good self, expound yourself on this. Describe thus with determination, for the cause of enlightening mankind, this science of devotion [bhakti] for the Supreme Personality, the supporter of everything and every soul. With the description of the Lord's external affairs the living being, who is of regular attention and devoted appreciation for it, will never be deluded by the illusory energy of the material world.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 8:
Questions by King Parikchit

The king asked: 'How did Narada, the seer of the divine being instructed by Lord Brahma, oh brahmin, explain the modes and their transcendence and to whom did he explain it? This I wish to understand, oh best one: what is the reality of those who know the truth of the Lord who is so full of wonderful potencies and whose narrations are so beneficial for all the worlds? Please continue speaking, oh you of great fortune, so that I, with my mind focussed on the Soul of the Complete, Shri Krishna, freed from material attachment may relinquish my conditioned body. Those who with faith regularly listen to this spiritual matter and also seriously persist in the endeavor, will after not too long a time see the Supreme Lord appear in their hearts. When one thus through one's ears receives the sounds [of the Bhagavatam], the lotus flower of one's loving relationship with Krishna will wash away all impurities, the same way the autumnal rain cleanses the water of the pools. A person whose heart was cleansed will, being liberated from all miseries in life, never give up the shelter of Krishna's feet, just like a traveler never will give up his home.

Can you from your self-knowledge, tell me whether the living being itself not being material, oh brahmin, takes up a material body accidentally or whether it does so because of some reason? How can the Original Person whose position in this world is defined by this lotus flower [this gigantic universe] that grew from His abdomen, likewise be known in the situation of the [much smaller] measurement of His different embodiments? He from the lotus flower, [Brahma] who was not born from matter but from His navel, he who gave life to all the ones born with a material body, how could he see His Form by His mercy? How can the Original Person, He who maintains, creates and annihilates the material worlds, remain untouched by His own external energy while He as the Lord of all energies rests in the heart of everyone? Formerly I heard you discuss the different [planets or] worlds with their governors as the different parts of the body of the Original Person. So what [can you tell us] about those governors who by their different places are the different parts of Him?

And what about a day of Brahma [a kalpa] and the periods between them [vikalpas]? What can you say about the time we refer to with the words past, future and present? And how about the lifespan allotted to embodied beings? Oh purest of the twice-born souls, when did time begin and what can you say about the indication of time as being short or long as like passing with a certain activity? And what is the effect of the karma that the living beings as a consequence of their desires accumulate because of [identifying with] the basic qualities of nature? Please describe to us how the earth, the lower regions, the four quarters of heaven, the sky, the planets and the stars, the hills, the rivers, the seas and the islands and their inhabitants have appeared. What is the extent and measure of [the] outer space [universe] and the inner space, and what are their divisions? And what is the character and action of the great souls and, please, describe the vocations and age groups of society. What are the different ages, how long do they take and what is their nature? And which incarnation of the Lord performs what kind of wonderful activities in each and every age?

What is the dharma of human society at large and what are the specific duties of the different trades and the saintly ruling class? And what are the obligations towards people in distress? How many elements are there in creation, what are their characteristics and how do they react? What are the rules and regulations for the devotional service to the Original Person and for relating to the inner self in the culture of yoga? What are the special abilities the yoga master acquires and where do they lead to? How do the yogis detach from the astral body and what is the nature of the spiritual knowledge found in the Vedas, their subsidiary literatures [the Upaveda], the law books and the Vedic stories and historical accounts? How do the living beings find their existence, how do they find stability and how do they find their end? What are the procedures for performing rituals, pious works and deeds of self-interest and what are the regulations for the three goals of life [the economic, religious and sensual interests]? How can all souls as a consequence of their actions be created again [after they died], how do heretics come about, what does it mean for souls to be bound or liberated and what does it mean to realise one's original position of service [svarupa]? How does the Supreme Lord as an independent soul enjoy His pastimes by His own potency and how can He forsake these actions when He as the Almighty One remains a witness to His external energy?

About all of this and more that I did not ask you, oh fortunate one, I have been wondering from the beginning. Please explain in accordance with the truth, oh great sage, that what you want to tell me, having fallen at your feet. Where others only follow the custom of a previously formulated philosophy, you are an authority in this matter like the self-born Brahma. I never tire, oh brahmin, of drinking, in the hunger of my fasting, from the flow of the nectar ocean of your words about the infallible Lord.' "

Suta Gosvami said: "He [Shukadeva] thus in that assembly with questions like these being asked by the king about topics concerning the highest truth, was, as the instrument of the Creator, very pleased with this servant of Vishnu. He told him that this purana called the Bhagavatam was transmitted by the Supreme Lord to Lord Brahma at the beginning of the first day [or kalpa] of creation. He promised to try to give a full description, from the beginning to the end, of everything that the king, the best of the Pandu dynasty, had asked and would ask more."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 9:
Answering by Citing the Lord's Version

Shri Shuka said: "The material self of the illusory energy without, oh King, the transcendental self of pure consciousness, cannot carry any meaning, just like a dream has no meaning without its dreamer. Wishing to enjoy in different ways the many forms offered by the external energy of maya there is because of [the operation of] her qualities or modes the notion of 'I' and 'mine'. The very moment he [the witness, the soul], in his glory of transcending the time of the material energy, enjoys it to be free from illusion, he in that fulness will forsake these two [of 'I' and 'mine'].

When the Supreme Lord showed His form to the Creator who was veracious in his faithfulness to the vows, He pointed out that the goal of all purification is to develop love for the knowledge of self-realisation [atma-tattva, filognosy, the soul principle]. [And so] he, the first godly person in the universe, the supreme spiritual teacher, began from his own divine position [on the lotus of creation] to reflect on the source [of that lotus]. But considering therewith how he would start his creation, he could not figure out what the directions and the ways were of how it all materially should be put together.

When he once was immersed in thinking this way, he heard two syllables being spoken that were the sixteenth [ta] and the twenty-first [pa] of the spars'a alphabet. Joined together [as tapas, penance], these syllables became known as the value of the renounced order, oh King. When he heard that being spoken, he looked in all directions to detect the speaker, but there was none to be found. From the position where he sat he then thought it best to do penance as was instructed. Endowed with a spotless vision, he controlled his life breath, mind and senses of perception and action for a thousand godly years* and thus proceeding in the past enlightened all the worlds by being of all who do penance the one of the severest practice.

The Supreme Lord being pleased about his penance, then manifested His abode for him. That realm is praised by all self-realised souls free from illusion and fear because it is free from the five miseries of a material life [ignorance, selfhood, attachment, hatred and death-fear]. A higher place one cannot attain. There the Lord is worshiped by both the enlightened and the unenlightened devotees and there the mode of goodness prevails over the other two of passion and ignorance, without ever being mixed with them. Nor is there the influence of time or the external energy, not to speak of [the influence of] all the other matters [like attachment, greed etc.]. As blue as the sky and glowing with lotus like eyes, very attractive and youthful with yellow garments, all inhabitants there are endowed with the four arms [of Vishnu] and the luster and effulgence of pearls and fine ornaments. Some radiate like coral or diamonds, with heads with earrings and garlands blooming like a celestial lotus. That place which radiates with rows of brilliant high rising, excellent buildings [specially designed] for the great devotees and is populated by celestial, flashing beauties with heavenly complexions, is as attractive as a sky decorated with clouds and lightning. The goddess [Shri] performs there, enraptured together with her personal, singing associates, with the diverse paraphernalia devotional service at the lotus feet of the Lord, surrounded by black bees who busily hum along in the attraction of the [everlasting] spring season. There he [Brahma] saw the Lord of the entire community of devotees, the Lord of the goddess, of the Universe and the sacrifice, the Almighty One who is being served in transcendental love by foremost associates like Sunanda, Nanda, Prabala and Arhana. The servants affectionately facing Him are intoxicated by the very pleasing sight of His smile, His reddish eyes, His face with His helmet and earrings, His four hands, His yellow dress, His marked chest and the Goddess of Fortune at His side. Seated on His highly valuable throne He as the Supreme Lord fully enjoys His abode where He is surrounded by the opulence of His four energies [the principles of matter, original person, intellect and ego], His sixteen energies [the five elements, perceptive and working senses, and mind] His fivefold energies [the sense objects of form, taste, sound, smell and touch], His six energies [of the opulences of knowledge, intelligence, beauty, penance, fame and riches] and the other personal powers He sometimes demonstrates [the eight siddhis or mystic perfections].

The Creator of the Universe, who was overwhelmed by the sight of that audience, with his heart full of ecstasy and his body full of divine love bowed down with tears in his eyes before the lotus feet of the Lord that constitute the path followed by the great liberated souls. Seeing him present before Him, the Lord deemed the worthy, great scholar suitable for creating - in line with His own control - the lives of all living beings. Mildly smiling He very pleased shook hands with His partner in divine love and addressed the beloved one with enlightening words. The Supreme Lord said: 'As opposed to the penance of the ones who are falsely unified [the 'kutha yogis'], I am most pleased with the prolonged penance, the penance by which the Vedic knowledge has accumulated in you, who desired to create. Ask Me, the giver of all benediction, whatever favor you wish, oh Brahma, for the ultimate success of everyone's penances is to see Me finally. You obtained this enviable perception of My abode because you submissively listened when you in seclusion were of the highest penance. It was Me who told you [to do penance] when you were perplexed in your duty. That penance is My very heart and Soul; that is what I am for the one who is engaged in it, oh sinless one. I create by that penance, I maintain the cosmos by that penance and withdraw it again by that penance. My power is found in severe penance.'

Brahma said: 'Oh Supreme Lord of all living beings, You are the director seated in the heart who by Your superior intelligence, not to stop by anyone, knows about all endeavors. Nevertheless I ask You, oh Lord, to please fulfill my desire to know how You, despite being formless, can exist in the beyond on the one hand while You descend in Your form as we may know it on the other hand. And how do You - from Yourself and by means of Yourself - by uniting Your own material energy, manage to exact Your different potencies in the matter of evolving, maintaining and annihilating? Oh Madhava [master of all energies], please make me understand how You, just like a spider [weaving its web], with determination infallibly play Your game of investing Your energies in all of that. I pray that, in learning from You as my teacher of example, by Your mercy acting as Your instrument, I, despite creating the lives of the living beings, that way never may be caught in material attachments. Oh Lord, like a friend behaves with a friend, You [with Your handshake] have accepted me for creating the different lives of the living entities. Oh Unborn One, I hope that I, because of

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all who in serving You [through me] undisturbed saw the light of the world, will never be caught in pride and arrogance.'

The Supreme Lord said: 'The knowledge acquired about Me is very confidential and is realised in combination with devotional service and the necessary paraphernalia the way I tell you. May there be from My mercy with you this factual realisation of My eternal form in a transcendental sense and of My form and activities with the basic qualities of nature. It was I who existed before the creation when there was nothing else, when there was nothing of the cause and effect of the Supreme. And it is also Me who of all that was created remains in the end, that is what I am. That what appears to be valuable, is not so if it does not relate to Me - know that illusory energy of Mine to be a mere reflection of darkness. Just like the elements of the universe are there in a very minute size as also in a gigantically big format, it is also with Me [most small] being present in them and [gigantically] existing apart from them. The student of the Real Self must investigate the true nature of things, both directly [by association] and indirectly [by comparison], irrespective of what it is, when it is or of its circumstance. When you keep your mind fixed on this conclusion about the Supreme, you will never under any circumstance be bewildered, not during your life [your kalpa], nor when you have reached your end [your vikalpa].' "

Shri Shuka said: "After thus fully having explained everything, the Unborn One disappeared, He, Lord Hari the way He by the leader of the living entities [Brahma] was seen in His transcendental form of the Supreme Self. After He had disappeared from view Brahmaji, who had folded his hands before the Lord who is the object of all the senses [of the devotees], resumed the work of creating this universe populated with all the living beings, exactly as he did before. The father of all living beings and religious life, desired, to the interest of his virtue, to dedicate himself with vow and respect to the matter of the welfare of the living beings. Narada, the dearest of his heirs, was always very obedient to him in his willingness to be of service with his good behavior, meekness and sense control. Oh King, the great sage and first-class devotee pleased his father [Lord Brahma] very much with his desire to know [more] about Vishnu, the Lord of all energies. The same way you are questioning me now, Narada Muni questioned him when he saw that it was to the satisfaction of the great grandfather of the entire universe. This story of the Fortunate One, the Bhagavata Purana, that with its ten characteristics was explained by the Supreme Lord, was thereupon explained by the creator of the universe to his son [Narada]. On the bank of the Sarasvati Narada [in his turn] instructed this Supreme Spirituality to the great sage, the meditative Vyasadeva who is of an unlimited potency, oh King. All the things you asked me concerning the Universal Form of the Original Person and other matters, I shall now explain to you in great detail."

*: One godly, divine year, a year of the gods or a celestial year equals 360 earthly years.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 10:

The Bhagavatam is the Answer to All Questions

Shri Shuka said: 'In this [book, the Shrimad Bhagavatam] the following [ten] subjects are discussed: primary creation [sarga], how the interactions of life and the lifeless came about [visarga], the planetary order [sthana], the maintenance of belief [poshana], the impetus for action [utaya], the administrative eras [manvantaras], stories about the Lord's appearances [is'a-anukatha], renouncing a material life [nirodha], liberation in devotional service [mukti] and the shelter [the refuge of Krishna, as'raya]. Great souls, sages, reasoning from Vedic texts and their purport, state that the purpose of the first nine characteristics of this book is to offer a clear notion of the tenth subject. The [sixteen elements of the five] gross elements, the [five] sense objects and the senses themselves including the mind, constitute the manifestation that is called the creation of the creator [sarga] and that what resulted from their interaction with the three modes of nature [the gunas] is what is called the secondary creation [visarga]. The stability of the worlds [sthana] is the victory of the Lord of Vaikunthha and His mercy is the maintenance of belief [poshana]. The reign of the Manus [during the manvantaras] settles the perfection of the dutifulness that constitutes the impetus for action with the karmic propensities [utaya]. The different stories about the Lord [is'a-anukatha] describe the activities of the avataras of the Personality of Godhead and the persons who are His followers. Returning to God [nirodha] pertains to the resigning of souls to the Original Person and His energies, while liberation [mukti] is concerned with forsaking other ways [of living] with finding stability in one's original nature of service. He who is both the source from which the creation manifests and the one to whom everything returns, is for that reason called the refuge, the resting place [the as'raya] of the Supreme Spirit, of God or the Supersoul.

Hear from me now about the way the one Lord divided His personal potency in three aspects: nature in the form of controlling deities [adhidaivika], individual souls as the ones who are controlled [adhyatmika] and their material bodies [adhibhautika]. Since one of these three cannot be conceived without the other two, it must be concluded that the one knowing all of them must be Him, the Original Soul who constitutes the support of His own union. When that Supreme Person [expanding in space-time] separated the universes, He, having appeared from Himself, looking for a place to rest, [thereby] created the causal waters of the purest transcendence. Residing in these waters of His own creation for a thousand celestial years He became known by the name of Narayana ['to follow the path of Nara'] because these waters [nara] emanated from the Supreme Person [from Nara]. The material elements, karma, time and the conditioned living entities all exist by His mercy and cease to exist on [His] neglect. Where the Godhead lied in His mystical slumber He was all alone. Thus wishing to multiply Himself He by means of His maya divided His golden seminal principle in three. Let me now dilate about the threefold in which the Lord divided His potency in that of His nature, adhidaiva, the individual soul, adhyatma and the conditioned living beings, adhibhuta.

From the ether within the body of the Original Person moving His limbs, the vital power, the structural power and the physical power generated, after which the life breath [the prana] found its existence as the principle ruling each and all. Like the followers of a king, all active entities follow the life force of prana and when the life force is no longer active all the activity of the entities ceases. The life force that was generated [from the ether] made the Almighty One hungry and thirsty and to quench that thirst and satisfy that hunger, first of all the mouth was opened. From the mouth the palate was generated whereupon the tongue manifested and the various tastes to be relished by it. With the need to speak with the mouth from the Supreme One the capacity to vibrate sounds originated, but in the water that for a very long time remained suspended. Desiring to smell odors the nose with its sense of smell developed together with the nostrils to rapidly inhale the air that carries the smell. Being by Himself in the darkness He desired to observe Himself and the rest of creation. For the sake of His vision the sun then separated that gave the eyes the power of sight. Also the ears manifested when the Supreme being desired to hear the sound vibrations from all directions and from that desire to understand the seers found their existence. From His desire to experience the hardness, softness, lightness, weight, heat and cold of all matter, the sense of touch was distributed over the skin along with its bodily hair, the plants and trees. That sense of touch of the skin rose from the objects that were perceived within and without.

From His desire for different types of work the two hands manifested, but to give strength to the manipulation that depends on them [viz. on the gods who are His hands], Indra, the king of the gods, found his existence as the manifestation of both. Desiring movement the legs manifested, that are ruled by the Lord of Sacrifice [Vishnu] Himself. It is He who motivates the different human beings according to the duties of their labour perspective [karma]. Desiring to taste the nectar of sexual enjoyment the genitals of the male and female organ appeared and the lustfulness found its existence that is the shelter cherished by the both of them [controlled by the Prajapati]. Desiring to evacuate used substances the opening of the anus evolved with the excrements, including the control over the two called Mitra, the controller of the excretion. With the wish to move from one body to another body, the navel manifested itself, the place of staying closely united both after arresting one's breath and after death [with a new body in the womb]. In want of food and drink the abdomen with the intestines and arteries originated as also [in the greater body of mother earth] the rivers and seas that are their source of sustenance and metabolism. With the repeated contemplation on His own energy the heart [as the seat of thought] manifested after which the mind, Candra the controller [the moon] as also determination and desire found their existence. The seven elements of the nails, skin, flesh, blood, fat, marrow and bone are predominantly of earth, water and fire whereas the life breath is a product of ether, water and air [see also kos'a].

The senses of the material ego are attached to the modes of matter. The modes influence the mind and all the feelings belonging to it because of which for the individual the intelligence and the realised knowledge assume their form. The Supreme Lord's gross form, as I explained to you, is among all of this that what is known by the eight elements [of earth, water, fire, air, ether, mind, intelligence and false ego] of the planets and everything else, that together constitute an unlimitedly expanded, external covering. The Supreme that is finer than the finest, that is the featureless unmanifested reality, thus is without a beginning, an intermediate stage or an end, is eternal and is transcendental to the mind with its words. No scholar aware of these two [material and transcendental] forms of the Supreme Lord as I described to you, will therefore ever take the external manifestation for granted. He who transcendentally in fact does nothing [who is of akarma], manifests Himself [also] with names, words and what is denoted by those words as the Supreme Lord in visible forms of the Absolute Truth by which He engages in His pastimes. 7-4 Oh King, know that all the happiness and distress and their mixture is there as a result of actions in the past [of karma]. This is the experience of all the members of the family of Brahma, the Manus, the godly ones, the wise, the inhabitants of Pitriloka [the forefathers] and Siddhaloka [the perfected ones]; the Caranas [the venerable ones], Gandharvas [the singers of heaven], Vidyadharas [the scientists], Asuras [the unenlightened ones or the demons], Yakshas [treasure-keepers or evil spirits], Kinnaras [of superpowers] and angels; the snake-like, the monkey-shaped Kimpurushas, the human beings, the inhabitants of Matriloka [of the place of the mother], the demons and Pis'acas [yellow flesh-eating demons]. This includes the ghosts, spirits, lunatics and evil spirits, devils taking possession of people and the birds, the forest-dwelling and domestic animals, the reptiles, the ones of the mountains, the moving and immobile living entities, the living entities born from embryos, from eggs, from heat [micro-organisms] and from seeds, and all others, whether they are of the water, of land or the sky.

Depending the modes of goodness, passion and slowness there are as such the three [life conditions] of the godly ones, the human beings and the ones who have to suffer. There are also positions, oh King, that result from a mix of each of these three with the rest of them. Depending the relationship of one such quality with the other two a certain particular nature develops. After having created the universes, evidently the Supreme Lord, the maintainer of the universe, for the purpose of maintaining the dharma [and redeeming the living beings] assumes the forms of gods, human beings and lower creatures [in line with His three potencies]. In the form of Rudra [Shiva, the destroyer] He, just like the wind dispersing the clouds in the sky, will completely annihilate anything He created in the fire of the end of time. The Supreme Lord is by the great transcendentalists described with these features, but enlightened souls deserve not just these qualities and witness His glory in the beyond [nirguna]. Never is in the matter of creation and so on the Supreme in the beyond described as the engineering agency, for that notion [of having a Supreme position] is there to counterbalance that what is manifested by the material energy. This [primary engineering process or evolution] of Brahma, was discussed to illustrate the rule of one day of the creator [a kalpa consisting of 1000 mahayugas of 4.32 million human years each, in a 100 year life of Brahma called a mahakalpa] while its varieties, its transformations [the vikalpas or periods of change] concern the secondary creation of organic life forms. I will tell you more about the characteristics and measures of time that constitute a day of Brahma later, but let me first inform you about this period [also called the Padma Kalpa or Varaha Kalpa].' "

Shaunaka said: "Oh Suta, you in your goodness spoke about Vidura, who as one of the best devotees, went to the places of pilgrimage on this earth and left behind the relatives who are so difficult to give up. Oh gentle one, please tell us here about the conversation Vidura had with Maitreya [a famous rishi] who is so full of transcendental knowledge. What did he ask his grace and what truths did he get in return for an answer? And why exactly gave Vidura up his activities and associates and why did he return home thereafter?"

Suta replied: "This is what King Parikchit also asked. I shall tell you what the great sage said about it when he answered the king's question. Please listen."

BOOK 3: THE STATUS QUO

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 1:

Questions by Vidura

Shuka said: 'This is what Vidura formerly asked His Grace Maitreya Rishi after he had entered the forest upon renouncing his prosperous home: 'What to say about the house [of the Pandavas] I am identified with? Shri Krishna, the Supreme Lord and master of all, was accepted as the minister of its people and had given up entering the house of Duryodhana.'

The king said: 'Please tell us master, where and when Vidura met His Grace Maitreya Rishi to discuss this? Certainly the questions Vidura asked the holy man cannot have been unimportant, they must have been full of the highest purpose as is approved by the seekers of truth.'

Suta said: "He, the great sage Shukadeva thus being questioned by King Parikchit, fully satisfied replied, speaking from his great expertise: 'Please listen to this.'

Shri Shukadeva said: 'During the time King Dhritarashthra was raising his dishonest sons, he, who never walked the straight path and had lost his sight, was the guardian of the sons of his younger brother [the deceased Pandu, see family tree]. He made them enter the laquer house that he next set on fire [see Mahabharata I 139-148]. When in the assembly the wife of the saintly Kurus [Draupadi] was insulted by his son [Duhs'asana] who grabbed her by her hair, the king did not forbid this, although his daughter-in-law shed tears that washed away the kumkuma on her breasts [see Mahabharata II

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58-73]. After he who had no enemies [Yudhishthhira] by unfair means was defeated in a game of gambling and as an honest man went into the forest, he, upon his return, was never allotted the share that was promised by him who was overcome by illusion [Dhritarashthra]. Also Lord Krishna, when He on the plea of Arjuna for their sake appeared in the assembly as the teacher of the world, was, with His words as good as nectar, by the king not taken seriously among all the men whose last bit of piety was dwindling.

When Vidura by his elder brother [Dhritarashthra], was called to the palace for consultation and entered there, he with his instructions gave such an excellent advice that all men of state still speak about it: 'Return now the legitimate share to the one who has no enemy [Yudhishthhira] and who was so patient with your unbearable offenses. You should be afraid of him and his younger brothers, of whom we know Bhima to be as angry and wrathful as a snake. The sons of Pritha are now adopted by the Supreme Lord of Liberation who at present, being supported by the brahmins and the godly souls, resides with His family, the honourable Yadu dynasty, that together with Him as their Lord has defeated an unlimited amount of kings. He [Duryodhana], this bad guy you consider your son, stepped forward in your household as an enemy of the Original Person. You who in supporting him thus have turned yourself against Krishna are therefore bereft of all goodness - to that inauspiciousness you must, for the sake of the family, put an end as soon as possible.'

After he had said this Duryodhana addressed Vidura on the spot. Swollen with anger and with trembling lips, he insulted the respectable one of good qualities in the company of Karna, his younger brothers and Shakuni [a maternal uncle] saying: 'Who asked him to be here, this bastard son of a maid-servant who grew up living on the cost of those he betrays as an enemy spy? Throw him immediately out of the palace to be left with his breath only!' Vidura in his turn immediately put his bow at the door and left the palace of his brother, being hurt in the core of his heart by the violence aimed at him. But despite these arrows so painful to the ear, he was unperturbed for he thought that a great opportunity had been offered.

After having left the Kauravas he departed from Hastinapura and piously sought the salvation of pilgrimages. With the thousands of idols [he saw thus] all that he wanted was the highest degree of purity. He traveled to holy places of devotion where the air, the hills and the orchards, waters, rivers and lakes are clear and the temples are decorated with the appearances of the One Unlimited. Visiting these sites he proceeded alone through the holy lands. Traversing the earth independently in the spirit of sacrifice, he was sanctified by the ground he slept upon. One could not recognise him, who without his familiar clothes was dressed like a mendicant and performed according to the vows to please the Lord. Thus traveling through India, he arrived at the holy land of Prabhasa, that at the time was under the reign of King Yudhishthhira who by the mercy of the Invincible Lord ruled the world under one military force and flag [see 1.13]. There he heard how all his kinsmen had perished [at Kurukshetra] in a violent passion, the way a bamboo forest burns down because of igniting by its own friction. Thereupon he, grieving, went westward heading for the river Sarasvati. On the bank of the river he visited the holy places called Trita, Ushana, Manu, Prithu, Agni, Asita, Vayu, Sudasa, Go, Guha and Shraddhadeva and duly was of worship there. Also other places had been established there by the twice-born godly souls and the devotees of the various forms of Lord Vishnu. He as the leading personality marked each and every part of the temples, the very sight of which made one think of Lord Krishna. From there passing through the wealthy kingdoms of Surat, Sauvira and Kurujangala [west of India], he, after some time reaching the Yamuna river, happened to meet Uddhava, the Supreme Lord's greatest devotee.

He embraced the sober and gentle constant companion of Vasudeva who was a former student of Brihaspati, the master of all rituals, and with great love and affection he questioned him about the family of the Supreme Lord. 'Are the original personalities of Godhead [Krishna and Balarama] doing well in the house of Shurasena [the father of Queen Kunti, aunt Pritha], they who, on the request of the Creator who was born from the lotus, descended in the world for the elevation and well-being of everyone? And, Uddhava, is our greatest Kuru and brother-in-law, Vasudeva [the father of Lord Krishna] happy? He is truly like a father to his sisters and, to the pleasure of his wives, munificent in providing everything they desire. Please Uddhava, tell me how the military commander-in-chief of the Yadus, Pradyumna, is doing. He in his previous life was the god of love and is now the great hero who as the prince of the Supreme Lord was born from Rukmini after she had pleased the brahmins. And is Ugrasena happy, the king of the Satvatas, Vrishnis, Das'arhas and Bhojas? He had to give up the hope of the throne after being put aside [by uncle Kamsa] but Krishna restored his position. Oh grave one, is the son of the Lord, Samba, faring well? He, so much alike Him, is the foremost and best behaved one among the warriors. Born from Jambavati [another wife of Krishna] who is so rich in her vows, he in his previous life was the godly Karttikeya who took birth from the wife of Shiva. And how is Yuyudhana [Satyaki] faring, he who learned from Arjuna and fulfilled his purpose as someone understanding the intricacies of the military art and, on top of that, in his service directly attained the destination of the Transcendence that even for the greatest renouncers is so difficult to achieve? And the scholarly impeccable son of Shvaphalka, Akrura, how is he? He is the one who in his surrender to the Lord on the path marked with the prints of Krishna's lotus feet lost his composure and, with symptoms of transcendental ecstasy, rolled about in the dust. Is everything all right with the daughter of King Devaka-Bhoja? The same way the purpose of sacrifice originated from the Vedas and the mother of the demigods [Aditi] gave birth to the godhead, she [Devaki] gave birth to Lord Vishnu. And is also Aniruddha, the Personality of Godhead all happy? He, as the fulfiller of the desires of the devotees, is traditionally considered to be the birth channel for the Rig-Veda, to be the creator of the mind and to be the transcendental fourth plenary expansion of the Reality Principle [of Vishnu-tattva]. And others like Hridika, Carudeshna, Gada and the son of Satyabhama, who with an absolute faith follow His divinity [Krishna] as the essence of their self, oh humble one, are also they all doing fine?

Does Yudhishthhira, ruling with the principles of humanity, maintain the religious connectedness under the protection of the arms of Arjuna and the Infallible One? It was he who with the opulence of his royal entourage and the service of Arjuna, raised the envy of Duryodhana. And did the unconquerable Bhima, who is like a cobra, vent his long-cherished fury upon the sinners? The way he with the wonderful play of his club operated on the battlefield, he could not be opposed. Is Arjuna doing well, he, the famous one among the chariot fighters who with his bow the Gandiva vanquished so many enemies? He once satisfied Lord Shiva covering him with arrows when Siva presented himself unrecognizable as a hunter. And are the twin sons of Pritha [Nakula and Sahadeva] free from worries? They were by their brothers protected as eyelids covering eyes when they reclaimed their property in the fight with the enemy, just like Garuda [the carrier of Vishnu] did [with the nectar] from the mouth of Indra. Oh dear one, is Pritha still alive? She dedicated her life to the care for the fatherless children when she had to live without King Pandu, he who, alone as a commanding warrior, could master the four directions with a second bow only.

Oh gentle one, I pity him [Dhritarashthra] who fell down by turning against his brother [Pandu] after his death. By driving me, his well-wisher, out of my own house he has adopted the same line of action as his sons. Therefore I travel by the grace of His [Krisna's] feet incognito through this world of the Lord that is so bewildering for others to be engaged in. I never missed to see His feet being doubtless in this matter. He as the Supreme Lord willing to relieve the distress of the surrendered souls, waited, despite the offenses of the Kurus, to [directly] kill these kings who strayed from the path because of the three kinds of false pride [about wealth, education and followers] and who constantly agitated mother earth with the movements of their troops. The birth and activities of the Unborn One, of Him who has no obligations in the world, is there to put an end to the upstarts and attract the people towards Him. Who else transcendental to the modes of nature would assume a body and take upon himself all kinds of karma? Oh my friend, sing the glories and discuss the topics of the Lord worshiped in all sacred places who, from His unborn position, took birth in the family of the Yadus for the sake of all the rulers of the universe who surrendered to Him and [the devotional culture of] His self-control.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 2:
Remembrance of Lord Krishna

Shuka said: 'The great devotee [Uddhava] questioned by Vidura about what could be said regarding the Dearest One, reflected upon the Lord but could not reply immediately because he was overwhelmed by emotion. He was someone who in his childhood being five years old, called by his mother for breakfast, did not like to have it because he was absorbed in playing the servant [of Lord Krishna]. How would such a servitude of Uddhava have slackened in the course of time? So when he was simply asked to speak about Him, everything of the Lord's lotus feet popped up in his mind. For a moment he fell completely silent because of the nectar of the Lord's feet. Strong as he was and well matured in the union of devotion, he became fully absorbed in the happiness of that excellence. Every part of his body showed the signs of transcendental ecstasy and when tears filled his eyes because of missing Him so much, Vidura could see that he had reached the object of his greatest love. Slowly Uddhava returned from the world of the Lord to the human world and wiping his tears away he spoke affectionately to Vidura about all these recollections.'

Uddhava said: 'What can I say about our wellbeing now the sun of Krishna has set and the house of my family has been swallowed by the great serpent of the past? How unfortunate this world is and especially the Yadu dynasty who, living together with the Lord, did not recognise Him any more than the fish recognise the moon? His own folk, the Satvatas, were audacious people with a good judgement of character who could relax with Him being the head of the family and thought of Him as the one behind everything. The intelligence of the souls who are innerly of full surrender to the Lord will never go astray because of the words used by others contaminated by the influence of the bewildering external reality of the Divine Person [or the gods]. He who showed His form to everyone in the world, managed to put an end to it by removing Himself from the eyes of those people who lived without penance and were unsatisfied to see Him. The form He showed in the mortal world was perfectly suited for His pastimes that demonstrated the power of His inner magic [His yoga-maya]. It led to the discovery of His wonders, His supreme opulence and the ultimate ornament of all ornaments: His feet.

All the [inhabitants of the] three worlds who during King Yudhishthhira's Rajasuya-[royal] sacrifice witnessed His all-attractive form, were perplexed and thought that the craftmanship of Brahma's universal creation had been surpassed with Him being present in the mortal world. Because of His smiles, playful nature and glances the women of Vraja became more and more attached to Him and followed Him with their eyes, so that they completely distracted sat down with their mind in the clouds, without attending to their household duties. The Unborn One who yet took birth, the infinitely merciful Lord and ruler over the spiritual and material realm, appeared for the sake of the devotees as the Fortunate One, the Lord of the Opulences, as Bhagavan who accompanied by all His associates is as fire to all the others who, [like Kamsa] living to their own material standards, constitute a plague.

It distresses me to see how He, being unborn, so amazingly took His birth [in the prison] where Vasudeva lived, how He in Vraja at home with Vasudeva, lived like He was afraid of the enemy [uncle Kamsa] and how He, the unlimitedly powerful one, fled from Mathura city [the capital where Krishna resided after defeating Kamsa]. My heart hurts when I think of what He said in worship of the feet of His parents: 'Oh mother, oh father, in great fear of Kamsa we failed in our service, please be pleased with us!' How can one forget Him once one has the dust of His lotus feet in the nose, He who by the mere raising of His eyebrows dealt the death blow to the burden of the earth? Did your goodness not witness with your own eyes how during Yudhishthhira's royal sacrificial ceremony the king of Cedi [S'ishupala] despite his being jealous of Krishna, attained the perfection, the fulfillment most desired by all the yogis who by dint of their yoga manage to tolerate it to be separated from Him? And certainly also others in human society have achieved His heavenly abode: they who as warriors saw Krishna's very pleasing lotus-like face and eyes on the battlefield that was purified by Arjuna's arrows. He is no one else but the unique, grand Lord of the threefold reality by whose independence supreme fortune is achieved and at whose feet countless [kings full of] desires bow their helmets, being of worship with all the paraphernalia under the direction of the eternal keepers of societal order. For that reason we as servitors in His service are in pain, oh Vidura, when we see how He before King Ugrasena expectantly sitting on his throne, submitted Himself with the words: 'Oh my Lord, please see it this way.'

To the shelter of whom else should I take? Oh, who else would assure a greater mercy than He who, despite the faithlessness of that she-devil [Putana] who in envy poisoned her breast for nourishing Him to death, granted her the position of a mother? I think that they who as opponents are waging against the Lord of the Threefoldness are factually great devotees because they in their preoccupation of fighting Him, could see Him coming forward on His carrier [Garuda] with His cakra weapon. Born from the womb of Devaki in the prison of the king of Bhoja [Kamsa], the Supreme Lord being prayed for [by the Creator] appeared to bring welfare on earth. Thereafter He was brought up in the cow pastures by His [foster] father Nanda, where He out of fear for Kamsa, together with Baladeva [Balarama] resided [secretly] for eleven years the way one covers a flame. Surrounded by cowherd boys herding calves the Almighty One roamed on the banks of the Yamuna through gardens that vibrated with the chirping of the heavenly birds in their many trees. The alluring display of the pastimes of His youth could only be appreciated by the inhabitants of Vraja, the land of Vrindavana, where He, looking like a lion cub, just like other kids cried and laughed and was struck with wonder. Tending the treasure of beautiful cows He as the source of happiness enlivened the cowherd boys by playing His flute. The great wizards engaged by the king of Bhoja to assume any form they liked, were upon their approach in the course of His pastimes killed by Him who acted just like a child playing with dolls. [To help the inhabitants of Vrindavana] being perplexed by the great trouble of drinking poison [from the snake Kaliya in the water of the Yamuna], He subdued the chief of the reptiles. After coming out of the water He caused the cows to drink it, proving it natural again. Desiring the proper use of the

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wealth of Nanda, the king of the cowherds' opulence, He with the assistance of the brahmins helped them to perform worship for the sake of the cows and the land [instead of Indra]. Indra angry upon being insulted, highly perturbed created a heavy downpour of rain above Vraja. [The cowherds then were] protected by the merciful Lord with His pastime of [lifting] the hill [Govardhana, that served as an] umbrella, oh sober Vidura. One autumn He, during a night brightened by moonlight, enjoyed it to please the women by devoting Himself to singing songs, delighting in their midst as the face of the night's beauty in person.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 3:
The Lord's Pastimes Outside of Vrindavana

Uddhava said: 'When the Lord thereafter came to the city of Mathura, He, who wished the wellbeing of His parents [freeing them from imprisonment], together with Baladeva dragged the leader of public hostility [Kamsa] down from the throne and killed him by pulling him to the ground with force. He mastered every detail of the Vedas and their subsidiary sciences after hearing them only once from His teacher Sandipani whom He rewarded the benediction of bringing back his deceased son from the inner region of the departed souls, from death [Yamaloka]. Invited by the daughter of King Bhishmaka [Rukmini] Lord Krishna stole her away as His share, exactly like Garuda did [with the nectar of the gods], and thus gave all those [princes] the go-by who according to the custom were a candidate to marry her and for that purpose had come expecting a likewise fortune. In an open competition for the selection of the bridegroom for Princess Nagnajiti He subdued seven wild bulls and won her hand, but the fools who in their disappointment nevertheless wanted her, He killed and wounded without getting hurt Himself, well equipped as He was with all weapons. Only because of the fact that He, just like an ordinary living being, tried to please His dear wife who wanted Him to bring the Parijata flower shrub [from heaven], Indra the King of Heaven, henpecked of course by his own wives, blind of anger with all his strength waged against Him.

When mother Earth saw how Narakasura [Bhauma], her son who in the battle [against Krishna] physically dominated the sky [with missiles], was killed by His Sudars'ana Cakra [the disc weapon], she prayed to Him to return to Narakasura's son that what had remained [of the kingdom]. Doing so He entered Narakasura's fortress. Upon seeing the Lord, the Friend of the Distressed, all the princesses there who were kidnapped by the demon immediately stood prepared joyfully to accept Him, with eager glances shyly closing Him in their hearts, [as their husband]. Although they resided in different apartments, He, in proper regulation, through His internal potency accepted the hands of all women simultaneously with an equal number of suitable forms. Desiring to expand Himself, He with each and every one of them begot ten children who all were like Him in every respect.

When Kalayavana, the king of Magadha [Jarasandha], King Shalva and others with their soldiers had surrounded Mathura, He killed them by exhibiting His divine power in the form of the prowess of His men. Of Shambara, Dvivida, Bana, Mura, Balvala and others like Dantavakra and more of them, He killed some, while others He caused to be killed [by Balarama e.g.].

Thereafter in the battle of Kurukshetra of both the parties of the nephews the kings were killed who with the force of their attacks shook the earth. He was not happy to witness how because of the ill advice of Karna, Duhs'asana and Saubala, Duryodhana with all his power had lost his fortune and lifespan and now, along with his followers, lay down [on the battlefield] with broken limbs. 'What is this?', the Lord said when with the help of Bhishma and Drona [on the one hand] and Arjuna and Bhima [on the other hand] the enormous burden of the earth of eighteen akshauhinis [an army consisting of ten anikinis, or 21.870 elephants, 21.870 chariots, 65.610 horses, and 109.350 foot soldiers] had been removed. 'There is still the unbearable burden of the great strength of My descendants, the Yadu dynasty. Upon My disappearance, they will vanish themselves when, intoxicated from drinking [honey-liquor], a quarrel will take place among them that will turn their eyes red as copper. This is the only way for them to disappear.' With this in mind the Supreme Lord installed Yudhishthhira on the throne, thereby gladdening His friends in showing the path of the saints.

The descendant of Puru [Parikchit] by the hero Abhimanyu begotten in the womb of Uttara, surely would have been burned by the weapon of the son of Drona if the Supreme Lord had not averted it by protecting him again and again. The Almighty One induced the son of Dharma [Yudhishthhira] also to perform three horse sacrifices and in that endeavor being assisted by his brothers, he protected and enjoyed the earth as a constant follower of Krishna.

The Supreme Lord and Supersoul of the Universe customarily following the path of the Vedic principles, enjoyed the lusts of life in the city of Dvaraka without getting attached. He accomplished this by keeping to the analytical system of yoga [Sankhya]. Gentle and with His sweet glances and words that compared to nectar, He, with His flawless character, resided there in His transcendental body, the residence of the goddess of fortune. He, specifically pleasing the Yadus, enjoyed this earth and certainly also the other worlds, while He, at leisure during the night, was of friendship with the women in conjugal love. Thus He for many, many years enjoyed a household life of [sensual] uniting that constituted the basis of His detachment. The living being is controlled by fate and so too his sensual enjoyment is controlled thus, but which person of service unto the Lord of Yoga would put faith therein?

In the city of Dvaraka the princely descendants of Yadu and Bhoja some day had been playing a prank on the sages and thus had angered them. They thereupon cursed them, knowing what was desired by the Supreme Lord. A few months later the descendants of Vrishni, Bhoja and others like the sons of Andhaka, bewildered by Krishna, with great pleasure on their chariots went to the place of pilgrimage called Prabhasa. There they took a bath and with that same water proved their respects to their forefathers, the gods and the great sages. Then they gave cows to the brahmins in royal charity. For their livelihood they also provided them with gold, gold coins, bedding, clothing, seat covers, blankets, horses, chariots, elephants, girls and land. After supplying the brahmins with highly delicious food that was first offered to the Supreme Lord, the valiant representatives offered, for the sake of a good life, their obeisances to the cows and the brahmins by touching the ground with their heads.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 4:
Vidura Approaches Maitreya

Uddhava said: 'After, with the permission of the brahmins, partaking of the offerings they [the Yadus] drank liquor that spoilt their minds so that they hurt each other to the core with harsh words. At sunset their minds were out of balance to such a degree that they, because of the faults made in that intoxicated state, had to face how their destruction took place the way a bamboo forest burns down [because of its own friction]. The Supreme Lord, who from His internal potency foresaw the end, went to the river the Sarasvati where He, after sipping water, sat down under a tree. The Lord dispels the distress of the souls who surrender to Him and thus He who desired the destruction of His family told me: 'You have to go to Badarikashrama.' But because I could not tolerate it to be separated from the lotus feet of the Master, I followed Him, even though I knew what He wanted, oh subduer of the enemy [Vidura]. Then I saw my Patron and Master, He who does not need to take shelter, lost in thoughts, alone sitting down at the riverbank, taking shelter of the goddess.

Beautiful with His blackish colour, of pure goodness and peaceful with His reddish eyes, He could be recognised as having four arms and yellow silken garments [Vishnu]. Resting against a young banyan tree with His right foot on His thigh, He who had left His household comforts looked majestic.

At that time [Maitreya,] a great devotee and follower of Krishna Dvaipayana Vyasa [Vyasadeva], a well-wisher and friend traveling the three worlds, of his own accord [also] arrived at that place. Attached to Him the sage bent over in a pleasing attitude and listened with rapt attention, while the Lord of Liberation with kind glances and smiles allowed me to rest and then addressed me. The Supreme Lord said: 'I know from within what you in the past desired when the wealthy souls who built this world were performing their sacrifices. I grant you that what for others is so difficult to achieve, oh fortunate one: the association with Me you desire as the ultimate goal of life. This life is of all your incarnations, oh honest soul, the fulfillment, for you have achieved My mercy now you have seen Me in this secluded position quitting the worlds of man. This is what you see when one is unflinching in one's devotion [:Vaikunthha, freedom from foolishness]. Long ago, in the beginning of creation, I told Brahma on the lotus that came out of My navel about the sublime knowledge of My transcendental glories: I explained that what the theists call the Bhagavatam.'

With His favor of thus addressing me, I saw how because of my emotion my hairs stood on end in being the constant object of the mercy of the Supreme Personality. With my eyes hazy because of wiping my tears, I with folded hands said faltering: 'Oh my Lord, for those who live in respect of Your feet that are so difficult to obtain, it is in this world all a matter of the four goals of life [dharma, artha, kama and moksha; religiosity, economic development, sense gratification and liberation], but I myself do not care about them that much, oh Great One, I am rather concerned with serving Your lotus feet. Even though You have no desires You engage in all kinds of activities, even though You are unborn You still take birth, being the controller of eternal Time You nevertheless take shelter of the fortress out of fear for Your enemies and despite enjoying within Yourself, You lead a household life in the association of women; this bewilders the intelligence of the scholars in this world. You are never divided and ever fresh, yet You, in Your eternal intelligence, oh Master, call upon me for consultation, as if You would be bewildered. But that is never the case. That boggles my mind, oh Lord. If You deem me fit to receive it, then please shed light on Your mystery my Lord. Tell me - so that I may overcome worldly misery - in detail about the complete of the supreme knowledge about Your Self, the way You told it the fortunate Brahmaji.'

Thus being prayed to by me from the core of my heart, He, the lotus-eyed Supreme Lord of the beyond, instructed me on His transcendental position. After this way having learnt the knowledge of self-realisation from the worshipable Master and having understood that path, I, upon having circumambulated Him in respect of His lotus feet, reached this place with sadness in my heart because of the separation. My best one [Vidura], without the pleasure of seeing Him I am in pain. Therefore I will, as He instructed, go to Badarikashrama [in the Himalayas] to enjoy His association. In that place the Supreme Lord incarnated in the form of the sages Nara and Narayana, and for a long time was of severe penance for the welfare of all living beings.'

Shri Shuka said: 'When he from Uddhava heard the unbearable [news] of the annihilation of his friends and relatives, the learned Vidura pacified his rising bereavement by means of transcendental knowledge. As the great devotee of the Lord and best among the Kauravas was leaving, Vidura in confidence submitted the following to this leading personality of the devotional service unto Krishna. Vidura said: 'The Lord of Yoga enlightened you on the mystery of the transcendental knowledge of the personal soul. Be so good to explain it to me now, so that we may honour Vishnu and His servants who wander around in the interest of others.' Uddhava then said: 'Turn to the worshipable sage, the son of Kusharu [Maitreya] who stays nearby. He was directly instructed by the Supreme Lord when He left the mortal world.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Because of the overwhelming emotion with which he on the bank of the Sarasvati river with Vidura discussed the nectar of the qualities of the Lord of the Universe, the night passed in a moment. Thereafter the son of Aupagava went away.'

The king [Parikchit] asked: 'How was it possible that after the destruction that happened to the Vrishni and Bhoja dynasty, the great leader in command among them, the prominent Uddhava, was the only one to remain after the Lord had completed His pastimes as the Master over the three worlds?'

Shri Shuka said: 'After He by the power of Time had called for the end of His numerous family by means of the curse of the brahmins, He considered to give up His outer appearance and thought to Himself: 'When I have left this world, the knowledge of Myself and My shelter will be in the right hands with Uddhava. He is at present the most important devotee. Uddhava is not in the least inferior to Me because he is never affected by the material modes. Thus he rightfully may remain as the master in this world to disseminate the knowledge about Me.'

After thus having been instructed by the spiritual master of the three worlds, the source of all Vedic knowledge, he [Uddhava] reached the place of pilgrimage Badarikashrama, where he found absorption in his devotion unto the Lord. Vidura had heard from Uddhava how Krishna, the Supersoul, extraordinarily had assumed a form for His pastimes and most gloriously had engaged with it. His entering a physical body is for both the persevering great sages and for common people a thing most difficult to understand. And for people with an animal attitude it is a completely mind-boggling affair. With the notion that Krishna, the Fortunate One, also had thought of him as a devotee when He left this earth, oh best among the Kurus, Vidura was overwhelmed by love and burst into tears.

Oh best of the Bharatas, after Vidura thus had passed a few days on the bank of the Yamuna [see 3:1.24], he reached the holy waters of the Ganges where he met sage Maitreya [the son of Mitra, his mother].'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 5:
Vidura Talks with Maitreya

Shri Shuka said: 'At the source of the celestial river [the Ganges] Vidura, the best among the Kurus who had come closer to the Infallible One, approached Maitreya Muni sitting there whose knowledge was fathomless. With a perfect respect he, satisfied about his transcendental qualities, politely asked him questions. Vidura said: 'Everyone in this world engages in fruitive activities, but because of those activities one never finds satisfaction or becomes happy, on the contrary, one rather becomes unhappy that way. Please, oh great one, kindly enlighten us on what would be the right course in this matter. The great souls who are of sacrifice wander around for the sake of the Lord of the three worlds. They do this out of compassion for the common man who has turned his face away from Krishna and who, under the influence of the material world, is always unhappy in his lack of dharma. Therefore, oh greatest among the saints, please instruct me on the path favorable for perfectly serving the Supreme Lord who, residing in the heart of the living beings, bestows upon the unalloyed devotee the knowledge of the

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basic principles, the truth by which he learns the classical wisdom [the Vedic knowledge]. What does the self-sufficient Supreme Lord and ruler of the three worlds all do when He, despite being desireless, accepts it to be incarnated in different forms to regulate the maintenance of the created universe? How can He who withdraws in the ether to lie down and do nothing at the basis of the universe as the One Lord of Unification, as the one and only, original master, then again have an active existence by entering it in the form of many different appearances [avataras]? Why is it that, in spite of time and again hearing about the auspicious, nectarean characteristics of the Lord, our minds never seem to have enough of the pastimes that He, for the welfare of the twice-born souls, the cows and the devotees, performs in the transcendental activities of His different incarnations? What are the different principles on the basis of which the Lord of all Lords evolved the different rulers and their higher and lower worlds wherein, as is known, all classes of beings are differently occupied? And please describe to us, oh chief among the brahmins, how the creator of the universe Narayana, the self-sufficient Lord, the path of man, has arranged for all the different forms, engagements and dispersed cultures of the incarnated souls.

Oh fortunate one, from the mouth of Vyasadeva I repeatedly heard about the higher and lower [status] of these occupations, but without the nectar of the talks about Krishna I am little satisfied about these matters and the happiness derived from them. Who can get enough of the stories about Him whose feet constitute the places of pilgrimage, about Him who in society is worshiped by the great devotees? When these stories enter someone's ears they, because of the love they bestow, cut the ties of affection a person has with his family! Your friend sage Krishna Dvaipayana Vyasa has described the transcendental qualities of the Supreme Lord in the Mahabharata. That book is only there to draw the attention of people, through their attraction for worldly topics, to the stories of the Lord. The weight of that belief gradually brings about indifference for other matters. He who constantly remembers the Lord's feet has achieved the bliss that without delay vanquishes all miseries. I pity all those pitiable poor souls who, out of touch with the divinity of Time, in their ignorant sinfulness have turned themselves away from the stories about the Lord and waste their lives with useless philosophical exercises, imaginary purposes and a diversity of rituals. Oh Maitreya, friend of the distressed, you who bestow the happiness, please describe therefore, for the promotion of our well-being, of all topics the essence: the talks about the Lord that, alike the nectar of flowers, constitute the praise of all holy places. Please tell me everything about the transcendental, superhuman activities accomplished by the Lord in His, with all potencies equipped, embodiments for the sake of a perfect grip on the maintenance and creation of His universe.'

Shri Shuka said: 'The great sage, His lordship Maitreya, thus as requested greatly honoured Vidura by giving an exposition [on these matters] for the ultimate welfare of all. Shri Maitreya said: 'My blessings, oh good one, oh you whose mind is constantly fixed upon the Lord beyond the senses. Your questioning me for the sake of all, is proof of the goodness of your mercy to broadcast the glories of the soul in this world. Dear Vidura, I am not surprised that you, who accepted the Supreme Personality our Lord, without any deviation of thought have asked me these questions, for you were born from the semen of Vyasa. Because of a curse of the powerful sage Mandavya Muni you have taken birth from the maidservant of the brother [Vicitravirya] and the son of Satyavati [Vyasadeva], as the incarnation of Yamaraja, the controller of death [see family tree]. Your goodness is recognised as one of the eternal associates of the Supreme Lord. Upon His return to His abode He ordered me to instruct you in spiritual knowledge. Therefore I will now for you systematically describe the pastimes of the Supreme Lord for the sake of the creation, maintenance and dissolution of the universe that so enormously has unfolded because of His wonderful internal potency [yoga-maya].

Prior to the creation of the universe the Supreme Lord, the Self and master of the living beings, existed as one without a second. It was His wish [then] that the [individual] soul, with a vision of its own and different characteristics, was merged in Himself. Being nothing of that all He, the seer, could not discern anything objective at the time. As the single controller present, He with His inner potency manifested but with His expansions and His material potency not manifested, felt as if He did not exist. That what He as the perfect seer sees is energy characterised by cause and effect. Oh fortunate one, this energy with which the Almighty has built this world is called maya [illusory, bewildering]. With the effect of Eternal Time [kala] upon the three modes of this illusory energy, the Supreme being in the beyond generated the virility [the valor, the manliness, the power] by means of the person [or the Purusha] as a plenary expansion of Himself. From the unmanifested then by the interaction of time came about the Mahat-tattva [the complete of the Supreme, the cosmic intelligence]. This self of discernment seated in the physical self, dispells the ignornance and makes the universe clearly visible. That [cosmic intelligence] thus being a part of [or subjected to] guna, kala and [jiv-]atma [the material qualities, time and the individual self], transformed itself, within the range of sight of the Personality of Godhead, into the individuality of all the different life forms of this universe with their desire to [pro-]create [to continue their identification and karma].

The Mahat-tattva transforming into the material reality of ego consciousness, manifests itself in terms of cause, effect and doer. Thus we have three kinds of ego that constitute a reflection in the mind of the personal self, the material elements and sentience: [respectively] brilliance [sattva], ignorance [tamas] and variability [rajas]. With the principle of the doer - the variability of the ego [vaikarika] - a transformation of the mind is brought about that, in its emotionality [passion] and [in association with] all the gods [ruling by this principle], constitutes the basis of the material knowledge concerning the phenomenal world. And in the brilliance [the light] with one's senses [taijasani], the spiritual knowledge [goodness] dominates with the karma. In ignorance [tamas] one arrives at the realisation of the subtle sense objects [of imagined sounds and images] to which the ether [their medium] constitutes the characteristic of the Supersoul. Material energy is a partial [local] mixture of time [the time of expanding and contracting]. The Supreme Lord glancing this over from the ether, thus being contacted, created the transformation of that touch in the form of air [gasses]. The air, also transformed by the extremely powerful ether, gave [in contraction] rise to the form of the light [of the fire of the sun and the stars] and [the bio-electricity] of sense perception by which the world is perceived. With the interaction of air and light [fire] there was, with the glance of the Lord [of the ether] mixing time with the external energy, a transformation that created water in combination with its taste. With the partly [local] uniting of the material energy with eternal time, the by the light produced water, that was thus created as a consequence of the transformation of the Supreme Spirit [of God] glancing over the earth, led to the creation of the quality of smell.

Oh gentle one, from the ether onwards, all the material elements and the great number of their superior and inferior qualities, one after the other are known because of their association with the Original Supreme One. The gods ruling over all these material elements are all part and parcel of Lord Vishnu. Embodied in the time-bound energy as partial aspects they fail in their personal duties and express their honest feelings for the Lord. The gods said: 'We offer our obeisances at Your lotus feet, oh Lord. In distress we surrendered to them because they are the protecting umbrella that offers all the great sages shelter who vigorously fully broke with all the great miseries of material life. Oh Father, because of the fact that in this material world, oh Lord, the individual souls are always afflicted by the three miseries [as caused by oneself, by others and by nature], they are never happy, but attaining Your True Self, oh Supreme Personality, they reach the shelter of the shade of Your lotus feet granting all knowledge. At every step taking to the shelter of the place of pilgrimage of Your feet, the great sages, who on the wings of the Vedic hymns with a clear mind search for Your lotus like face, find their shelter at the best of all rivers [the Ganges] that liberates from the reactions to sin. The meditation that with belief, simply hearing and devotion cleanses the heart with the strength of the knowledge of detachment, will motivate those who thus found peace, to head for the sanctuary of Your lotus feet. Let us all seek the shelter of the lotus feet of You who assumed the forms of the avataras for the sake of the creation, maintenance and dissolution of the universe. Oh Lord, they constitute the refuge that awards the courage of the devotees with remembrance. Because the people get entangled and are thus of the material body with a mentality of 'I' and 'mine', they are immersed in an undesirable eagerness. As a consequence they see themselves far removed from You, even though You are present in their bodies. Let us therefore worship Your lotus feet, oh Lord. Under the influence of the material world, Your feet cannot be seen by those who, by their [attachment to] sense perception, became alienated from the internal vision, oh Supreme One. But, oh Greatness, for those who do have the [inner] vision there are [the views of] the pastimes of Your divine activities. Oh Lord, they who are seriously committed, simply by drinking the nectar of the talks, attain the full maturity of devotional service. They attain the true meaning of renunciation, the intelligence by which one quickly achieves the spiritual sphere where foolishness and indolence came to an end [Vaikunthha]. Also for others of transcendental realisation in yoga - the method by which one conquers the very powerful material world - You are the one, pacifying Original Person to embark on. But that is a thing hard to accomplish for them, while such is not the case for those of service unto You. Oh Original Lord, for that reason we are all much obliged. Since we, for the sake of the creation of the world, one after the other received a life and we thereby in the past were separated by what we did according to the three modes of nature, we were caught in the network of our own pleasures and failed to answer Your love. Oh Unborn One, direct us in making our offerings at the right time. Thus we can share our meals and can also all other living beings have their sustenance, so that we, with our offerings of food, undisturbed may enjoy our meal. You are of us, the gods and the other beings evolved, the one unique immutable primal person. Oh Lord, although You are unborn, You are the cause of the gunas and the karma with the material energy, as seed sown in the womb for begetting all species. Oh Supreme Soul, tell us what we, who were all created from and for the totality of the cosmos, should do for You. And in particular grant us the vision of Your personal plan. Please grant us the ability, oh Lord, to work and act according to Your special mercy for us [in the form of the status-orientations and their transcendence].'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 6:
Manifestation of the Universal Form

The wise [Maitreya] said: 'Thus the Lord was faced with the fact that the progress of what was created in the universe was suspended because of a lack of coherence between His potencies [see 3.5: 48]. At that time He with His supremely powerful potency that is known as Kali, the goddess of the power to destroy, simultaneously entered all the twenty-three elements [the five elements and their qualities, the five organs of action and the senses and the three forms of individual consciousness: mind, intelligence and ego. That later on entering of the Supreme Lord in the form of the force of matter, Kali, engaged all the living beings separately in labour by awakening them from their unconscious state to their karma. When the twenty-three principal ingredients thus by the will of God were roused to [coherent] action, their combination led to the manifestation of His plenary expansion of the Original Person [in the appearance of the Universal Form]. The moment He thus with His plenary expansion [of the material power] entered there, all the elements of creation, that thus found each other therein, transformed into the worlds of an organic and anorganic existence. He, the Original Person, this [Garbhodakas'ayi] Vishnu called Hiranmaya, for a thousand celestial years [one such year is a 360 years to man] resided together with all that belonged to His goodness, within the egg-shaped universe supported by the [causal] waters.

With the content of that egg, the complete of the gigantic person being put to work by His divine Self filled with His [female] power, He thus divided Himself into one [consciousness], three [identifications of the self, and ten [activities, senses of action and perception]. This unlimited expanse is the self of the living entities, the first incarnation and plenary portion of the Supersoul, whereupon the aggregate of all of them flourishes. The threefold of the gigantic form pertains to the three aspects of adhyatmika [the self with its senses and mind], adhidaivika [nature and all her gods] and adhibhautika [the others and what more appears to the senses], the tenfold relates to the [organs of the] life force [or prana: hands, feet, anus, the genitals, eyes, nose, ears, tongue, skin and mouth; and the oneness refers to the heart. The Lord beyond the senses recalling the prayer of the deities of the universe, by His own radiance [thus] illumined the gigantic form for the sake of their understanding. Now listen to my description of the many different positions of the demigods that then manifested from His consideration.

A mouth manifested and when that happened it was the god of fire who among the directors of the material world assumed his position along with his power, the organ of speech with which one utters words. A palate appeared. It was the abode of Varuna [the god presiding over the waters] who in [the body of] the Lord among the directors of the material world assumed his position along with his power: the organ of the tongue with which one tastes. Next the nostrils appeared where the two As'vini Kumaras have their position with the sense of smell with which one perceives odors. Eyes appeared in the gigantic body that offered a position to Tvashtha, the director of light and the power of sight by which forms can be seen. Then the skin of the gigantic form manifested, a position taken by Anila, the director of the air, with the power of breath which enables the experience of touch. With the manifestation of the ears of the gigantic form that position was occupied by the deities of the directions [the Digdevatas] with the power of hearing by which sounds are perceived. Thereafter the [hair of the] skin of the gigantic body manifested for the divinity of the [herbs and plants with] the power to feel by means of the hairs with which itching feelings are experienced. When the genitals of the gigantic form appeared, the first one [Brahma, the Prajapati] took his position with the function of semen with which the pleasure [of sex] is experienced. An anus formed in the original embodiment offering a position taken by the god Mitra with the function of evacuation with which one defecates. With the manifestation of the hands of the Universal Form the king of heaven Indra took his position with the ability to handle matters with which one makes one's living. The legs of the Universal Form that manifested were occupied by Vishnu, the godhead of the power of locomotion by which one reaches

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one's destination. When the intelligence of the Universal Form manifested, the ruling godhead Brahma, the Lord of the spoken word, found his position with the power of insight with which one arrives at understanding. Next the heart of the Universal Being manifested in which Candra, the god of the moon took his position with the function of mental activity because of which one is lost in thoughts. What next came about in the Universal Form was the I-awareness in which the identification with the body [the 'false ego'] took its position [under the rule of Lord Rudra] with the function of karma by which one engages in concrete activities. What followed was the manifestation of the spiritual essence of goodness in the gigantic body. Therein the complete[ness, of the mahat-tattva] found its place with the power of consciousness by means of which one cultivates wisdom.

From the head of the Universal Form the heavenly worlds manifested, the earthly places originated from His legs and the sky rose from His abdomen. In those areas the enlightened souls and other living beings are found who evolved as a result of the operation of the three basic qualities of nature. By the infinite mode of goodness [of sattva] the gods found their place in the heavens whereas all the human beings, who on earth live by the nature of their passion [rajas], are subordinate to them. Those belonging to the third kind [the ghosts and spirits] are, as the associates of Rudra, because of their nature [of tamas] found in the region of the ether - the navel of the Lord - situated in between the other two.

Spiritual wisdom generated from the mouth of the Universal Form, oh chief of the Kuru dynasty. Those who are inclined to this wisdom became the leading order [the chief varna] of society. They, the brahmins, are the recognised teachers and spiritual spokesmen [the gurus]. The power to protect the citizens manifested from the arms [of the gigantic body]. They who exercise that power [the kshatriyas or rulers] are the followers [of the brahmins] and deliver, as representatives of the Supreme Personality, the other classes from the vice of disturbing societal elements. For the production and distribution of the means of livelihood, the mercantile community [the vais'yas], whose occupation it is to take charge of provisioning all man, generated from the thighs of the Almighty. From the legs of the Supreme Lord the service manifested that is of prime importance to the fulfillment of all sacred duties. It is traditionally the profession of the labourer [the Shudra] by which the Lord is satisfied [*]. In order to purify their soul, all the classes in society worship by means of their occupational duties, under the lead of their spiritual teachers, with faith and devotion the Lord from whom they generated along with their duties.

Who can estimate, oh Vidura, the totality of this form of the divine operating Self of the Supreme Lord that manifested by the strength of the deluding material oneness [of His internal potency, yogamaya]? Oh brother, nevertheless I will give a description, as far as my intelligence permits and my knowledge allows, of what I heard about the glories of the Lord by which one is purified, for not speaking openly [about Him] we wander off in untruth. One says that the One Beyond Compare is attained by the discussions about the Supreme Personality that were piously handed down through history for the glorification of His activities. Also the ear is served best by the nectar of the transcendental message as prepared [also in writing] by the learned. My dear son, could the original poet [Brahma] know all the glories of the Supreme Soul after his intelligence had matured in meditation for a thousand celestial years? Therefore, when even those skilled in creating illusions do not know because they - as also the one self-satisfied [Creator] personally - are under the spell of the bewildering potencies of the Supreme Lord, then what may one expect from others? Him out of our reach who is intangible for our ego, mind and words as also for the respective gods, we offer our obeisances.'

*: Shastri Gosvami in this context remarks that the labourer, the Shudra, occupies an important place among the classes in society. Of the four purusharthas, the civil virtues, the brahmin stands for moksha, or liberation. The kshatriya is there for the regulation of sense gratification, kama, and the vais'ya is there for the purpose of distributing the welfare, artha. But the labourer in fact makes possible the practice of religiosity, the service to God, of all the other occupational duties. He who simply serves, is just as important for the dharma.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 7:
Further Inquiries by Vidura

Shri Shuka said: 'Thus speaking with Maitreya Muni, the learned son of Dvaipayana Vyasa, Vidura, respectfully expressed a request. Vidura said: 'Oh brahmin, the Supreme Lord is the unchangeable one of the complete whole. How can despite Him being outside of the modes of nature His pastimes take place of acting with the basic qualities of material nature? Boys who want to play with other boys are enthused in the matter of playing, but in what respect is that different with someone who is self-satisfied and at all times detached? This universe with its three basic qualities, the gunas, was by the Supreme Lord brought about by means of His internal potency. And by that potency He also maintains the complete of it and annihilates it again. How can He, the Pure Self whose consciousness is never obscured by time or circumstance, by His own actions, by others or by what has manifested [as nature], [be situated in the normal position of a living entity and] be caught in the material energy? How can the one Supreme Lord who is present in every field of action [in all kshetras of the lives] of all living beings, run into any karmically settled misfortune or obstruction? Oh learned one, because of the ignorance I suffer from, my mind gives me trouble. Therefore, oh mighty soul, please drive away the great impurity of my mind.'

Shri Shuka said: 'The sage this way urged on by Vidura's anxiety to find out about the reality, acted surprised and then without hesitation gave a God-conscious reply. Maitreya said: 'It is contradictory to say that the Fortunate One is subject to material illusion on the one hand and that He is free from imperfections and bondage on the other hand. A person loses his way because of such a contradiction about the soul, it is like seeing from the outside oneself with having one's head cut off. The way by the quality of water the moon reflected in it is trembling, the quality of the physical self offers an illusory image to the inner witness differing from it. When you, by the mercy of Vasudeva, engage in detachment and in relation to the Fortunate One unite your consciousness in devotion [in bhakti-yoga], in this earthly existence that [illusion] will gradually diminish. With the senses thus satisfied in the transcendental true self of the seer, all misery completely dissolves in the Lord, like one enjoyed sound sleep. When one can put an end to all kinds of misery by simply hearing about [meditating upon] the qualities and such of Murari [Krishna as the enemy of Mura], what then may one expect from the, according to one's nature, serving in the dust of His lotus feet?'

Vidura said: 'Oh powerful sage, now that you have cut down my doubts with the weapon of your words, oh greatest of all, my mind concerning the two [of the independent Lord and the living being] has arrived at a perfect union. Dear learned soul, you are perfectly right in stating that [reasoning from] the bewildering energy of the Lord is not the path for the soul to follow; it proves itself as meaningless when one engages without the basis of the Supreme Source apart from which one misses the point. In this world both the ignorant fool and the one whose intelligence has attained the transcendental position enjoy happiness, whereas persons situated in between these two positions have to suffer. Being certain of the fact that one abiding by outer appearances misses the essence, misses the soul, I with being of service at your feet can give up [the mistaken notion that the Supreme One would be subject to illusion]. In serving the immutable Personality of Godhead who is the enemy of the demon Madhu, one develops by one's pleasure with the lotus feet [step by step] in different relationships [or rasas] the intensity [of one's rapture] that vanquishes distress. Those who are of little austerity are rarely found on the path of service towards Vaikunthha [the ultimate spiritual goal] where the Lord is continually glorified by the gods as the controller of all living beings.

After the creation in the beginning of the cosmic intelligence and the other elements, in a gradual process of differentiation [evolution] the universal form along with the functions of the senses manifested therefrom in which later on the Almighty One entered [for His incarnations]. He who is called the original person has thousands of limbs, legs and hands and accommodates all the worlds of the universe with all the life that has its existence on them. You explained how there are three kinds of life [according to the basic qualities] in which one has ten kinds of life force with the [five] senses and their [fivefold] interest. Please describe now to me what the specific powers of the societal divisions are. In these [divisions], with the sons, grandsons and family members of the different generations, that prowess has spread itself in the different forms of existence. Who are the original progenitors [the Prajapatis] evolved by their original leader [Brahma]? What are the generations of these fathers of mankind and which generations followed them? Which Manus ruled over the different manvantaras [cultural periods]? Which worlds are there above and below the earthly worlds, oh son of Mitra? Please describe what their positions and sizes are as also the measures and proportions of the earthly worlds. Tell me what the generations and subdivisions are of the infrahuman, human and superhuman living beings the way they are born from eggs, wombs, from moisture [micro-organisms] and from earth [the plants]. Kindly describe the incarnations according to the modes of nature for the sake of the creation, maintenance and destruction of the universe [Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva] as also the magnanimous activities of the Personality of Godhead living with the Goddess of Fortune, of Him [Shrinivasa] who constitutes the ultimate shelter.

What are the divisions of societal status [varna] and spiritual order [ashrama] and what are their features, how do they behave and what is their character? What are the birth and activities of the sages and what are the divisions of the Veda? What, oh master, are all the ceremonies of sacrificing and what are the different ways of the yoga perfections, of the analytical study of knowledge and of relating to the Personality of God with regulative principles? What are the ways followed by the faithless and what are their shortcomings? What is the situation of those who stem from mixed marriages and what is the destiny of life of the many types of individual souls according to the modes they follow and the kinds of labour they perform? How can the different interests of religiosity, economic development, sense-gratification and salvation, the different means of livelihood, the codes of law, the scriptural injunctions and the different regulative principles be balanced? Oh brahmin, how are the periodical offerings [of Shraddha] regulated to honour the deceased and to respect what the forefathers have created and how are the times settled in respect of the positions of the luminaries like the planets and the stars? What may one expect from charity, penance and the endeavoring for reservoirs of water and how are the duties described for someone away from home and for a man in danger? Please describe to me oh sinless one, how He, the Supreme Person, the Father of Religion and Controller of All, can be satisfied completely and who of us could do that? Oh best among the brahmins, the spiritual masters, who are so kind to the needy, tell their devoted disciples and sons even what they did not ask for. Oh supreme master, how many dissolutions [or end times] are there for the elements of nature? Who are they who are saved then and who are they who [being of praise] may serve Him? And who may merge with Him when He goes asleep? And what is the nature and identity of the individual person and of the Supreme, what is the leading motive of the Vedic wisdom and what moves the guru and his disciples? Spotless devotees speak of this source of knowledge in the world. How would someone of his own accord have knowledge of devotional service and detachment?

All these questions I have asked in my desire to know about the pastimes of the Lord. Please answer them as a friend to me [and everyone else] who in his ignorance with the external energy has lost his vision. Oh spotless sage, the assurance of an existence free from fear one obtains from someone like you, cannot in any way be compared with the liberation offered by all the Vedas, sacrifices, penances and charity.'

Shri Shuka said: 'He [Maitreya], the chief among the sages so well versed in the stories [Puranas], was most delighted to hear these questions posed by the chief of the Kurus and thus being urged to the topics about the Supreme Lord, he with a smile gave Vidura his reply.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 8:
Manifestation of Brahma from Garbhodakas'ayi Vishnu

Shri Maitreya said: 'The descendants of King Puru deserve the respect of the sages because their kings are chiefly devoted to the Supreme Personality; and with you who are also born in this chain of devotional activity in respect of the Invincible One, there is step by step [with every question you ask] constantly new light shed on this subject matter. Let me therefore now discuss this Bhagavatam, this Vedic supplement that originally by the Supreme Lord in person was spoken to the seers for the mitigation of the great distress of the human beings who experience so little happiness.

The son of Brahma [Sanat-kumara] as the leader of the great sages [the four boy-saints, the Kumaras], questioned just like you Lord Sankarshana about the truth concerning the Original Personality [the first plenary portion and companion of the Lord] who always clear in His knowledge resides at the basis of the universe. He in that position with Him whom one in great esteem calls Vasudeva had turned His vision inwards, but to encourage the highly learned sages He slightly opened His lotuslike eyes. With the hairs on their heads wet from the water of the Ganges they touched the shelter of His lotus feet that is worshiped by the daughters of the serpent-king, with great devotion and with various paraphernalia, in the desire for a good husband. Known with His pastimes they, with words and with great affection in rhythmic accord, repeatedly glorified the activities while from the thousands of raised hoods [of Ananta, the serpent king] the glowing effulgence emanated of the valuable stones upon their thousands of helmets. Oh Vidura one says that He then discussed the purport of the Bhagavatam with Sanat-kumara who had taken the [yoga] vow of renunciation and, as was requested, passed it on to Sankhyayana who had also taken the vow. When the great sage Sankhyayana as the chief of the transcendentalists reciting this Bhagavatam [thereafter] expounded on it, both the spiritual master Paras'ara whom I followed and Brihaspati were present. Urged on by sage Pulastya, he [Paras'ara] kindheartedly told me this finest one of the Puranas that I in my turn will relate to you, my dear son, for you are an ever faithfull follower.

At the time the three worlds were submerged in the waters, He [Garbhodakas'ayi Vishnu] was lying down there alone, inactively with almost closed eyes, upon the snake bed Ananta desiring nothing more than the satisfaction of His internal potency. The way the power of fire is hidden in wood, He resided there in His place in the water, keeping all living beings in their subtlety within His transcendental body from

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where He gives life in the form of Time [kala]. For the duration of thousand times four yugas [4.32 billion years] He with His internal potency lay dormant for the sake of the further development - by means of His force called kala [time] - of the worlds of the living beings who depend on fruitive activities. That role gave His body a bluish look [the blue of the refuge of the vivifying water]. In accordance with the purpose of His internal attention for the subtle subject matter of creation, there was in due course of time, because of the material activity of the basic qualities of nature, the agitation [of the subtle elements, the entities] that then most subtly broke forth from His abdomen [from the ether]. With the Time that roused the karma to activity, soon from the original self [of Vishnu] with that [agitation] a lotus bud appeared that, just like a sun, illumined the vast waters with its effulgence.

That lotus flower of factually the universe was entered by Vishnu as the reservoir of all qualities from which He in the beginning generated the personality of Vedic wisdom, the controller of the universe [Brahma] who, so one says, was born from himself. [Brahma] in that water situated on the whorl of the lotus could not discern the world and spying all around in the four directions he [thus] received his four heads. [Brahma] seated upon and sheltered by the lotus flower that, because of the stormy sky at the end of the yuga, had appeared from the restless waters, could in his bewilderment not fathom the mystery of creation, nor understand that he was the first demigod. 'Who am I, seated on top of this lotus? Wherefrom has it originated? There must be something in the water below. Being present here implies the existence of that from which it sprouted!' This way contemplating the stem of the lotus, he by following that channel in the water towards the navel [of Vishnu], despite his entering there and extensively thinking about its origin, could not understand the foundation. Groping in the dark, oh Vidura, with his contemplating this way it thus came to pass that the enormity of the three-dimensional reality of time [tri-kalika] was generated that, as a weapon [a cakra], inspires fear in the embodied unborn soul by limiting his span of life to a hundred years.

When he failed to achieve the object of his desire, the godhead gave up the endeavor and seated himself upon the lotus again to control with confidence, step by step, his breath, withdraw his mind and unify his consciousness in meditation. [Thus] practicing yoga for the duration of his life, the unborn one in due course of time developed the understanding and saw how in his heart, out of its own, that manifested what he could not see before. On the bed of the completely white gigantic Shesha-naga [snake] lotusflower the Original Person was lying all alone under the umbrella of the serpent hood that was bedecked with head jewels by the glow of which the darkness in the water of devastation was dissipated. The view of His hands, legs, jewels, flower garland and dress, derided the panorama of the green coral of the evening splendor of the sun over the great, golden mountain summits with their waterfalls and herbs, flowers and trees. The totality of the three worlds in all its variety was, with the length and width of the measurement of His transcendental presence, covered by the beauty of the divine radiance of the ornaments that dressed His body.

According to the desire of the human being who, in worship of the lotus feet that reward each desire, follows the path of devotional service, He in His causeless mercy, with the moonlike radiance of His toe- and fingernails, showed the most beautiful [flowerlike] division. With His smiling face adorned with the beauty of His earrings, with the view of the light reflected by His lips and with the reaction of His pleasing nose and eyebrows, He dispelled the distress of the world. Dear Vidura, His waist was well decorated with a belt and with cloth with the saffron colour of kadamba flowers, there was a priceless necklace and on His chest there was the attractive Shrivatsa mark [a few white hairs]. The way trees in the world have their separate existence and with their thousands of branches spread their high value [of flowers and fruits] as if they are ornamented with precious jewels, so too the Lord, the ruler of Ananta, [Garbhodakas'ayi Vishnu] is ornamented with the hoods above His shoulders. The Supreme Lord, just like a mountain, is the abode for all living beings mobile and immobile. As the friend of Anantadeva He, like a mountain, is submerged in the water and with His thousands of golden helmets [and jewels] and with His Kaustubha jewel He manifests Himself like a mountain range of gold in the ocean. With around His neck the flower garland of His personal glories in the form of the sweet, beautiful sounds of Vedic wisdom, the Lord of the sun, the moon, the air and fire was most difficult to approach for all the three worlds [so did Brahma discover] because He was surrounded by His personal weapons [like His cakra]. Thus it happened that the godhead of the universe, the creator of destiny, could behold His navel, the lake, the lotus flower, the waters of destruction, the air with its winds and the sky, but could not glance beyond the created reality of the cosmic manifestation. With the reach of that vision he, as the seed of all worldly activities, thus was invigorated by the mode of passion. Therefore He, in consideration of the living beings eagerly procreating, prayed to Him for the allowance to create, on the transcendental path of the steadfast soul, in service of the Worshipable One.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 9:
Brahma's Prayers for Creative Energy

Brahma said: 'Today, after a long time [of penance], I have come to know You and can say that it is really a shame when the embodied soul has no knowledge of Your ways as the Supreme Lord. There is no one beyond You, my Lord, and anything that appears to be so can never be the absolute, for You are [the transcendence of] the greater reality to the modes of the material energy that lost its equilibrium. That [greater] form is always free from the darkness of matter because You, in the beginning, for the sake of the devotees manifested Your inner potency, the potency that is the source of the hundreds of avataras and from which I also found my existence upon the lotus flower sprouting from Your navel. Oh my Lord, beyond this [source] I see no other [body] superior to Your eternal form full of bliss that is free from change and deterioration of potency. You are the one and only Creator of the cosmic manifestation and the nonmaterial Supreme Soul itself. I who take pride in my identification with the body and senses am surrendered to You. That form - or however You make Your presence - is all-auspicious for the entire universe and beneficial to our meditation. You, Supreme Lord who have manifested Yourself to us devotees, I offer my obeisances. For You I perform that what is neglected by persons who, in their appetite for material matters, head straight for hell. But those who hold on to the flavor and smell of Your lotus feet that is carried by the sounds of the Veda reaching their ears, accepted Your transcendental course by their devotional service. For those who are Your devotees there is never the separation from You [being installed] on the lotus of their hearts, oh Lord. Till then there will be fear because of the wealth, the body and the relatives, and also the lamentation and desire as well as the avarice and contempt will be great. As long as the people of the world do not take to the shelter of the security of Your lotus feet, one will be full of anxieties in one's undertaking according to the perishable notion of possessing things. How unfortunate are they who are bereft of the memory of Your topics! With their senses not directed at You, they are tied down by inauspicious matters and find, acting to their desires, happiness for only a brief moment. They are poor fellows whose minds are constantly ruled by greed and activities full of stress. Their always being troubled by [false] hunger, thirst and their three humors [mucus, bile and gasses], by winter and summer, wind and rain and by many other disturbances as also by a strong sex drive and inescapable anger, I consider all together as spiritually most unbearable, oh Man of the Great Strides. It aggrieves me a lot. As long as a person, under the influence of Your material illusion, oh Fortunate One, is a servant of his senses and is faced with an existence of being separated in a body, such a soul, oh Lord, will not be able to overcome the cycle of repeated births in the material world. Even though working for outer results carries no factual meaning [to the soul], it will result in endless miseries. During the day their senses are engaged in stressful labour and at night they suffer insomnia because of all their ruminations that constantly disturb their intelligence and break their sleep. The divine order frustrates their plans. They and even those sages, oh Lord, who turned against Your topics, will have to keep wandering around in this world. United in devotion being directed at You for a hundred percent and with You residing on the lotus of their hearts, the devotees who are on the path of listening, oh my Lord, see how You, in the here and now, in Your causeless mercy exactly manifest that transcendental form they had in mind of You glorified by so many. You are never that much pleased by pompous arrangements with a lot of paraphernalia of high-class servants who are of worship with hearts full of all kinds of desires. For You, the variously perceived Unique and Only Well-wisher, the Supersoul within the living entities, are there to show all living entities Your causeless mercy; You cannot be achieved by those who settle for what is man-made and temporal [asat]. The dharma [the correct, infallible course of action] therefore consists of those different result minded activities, forms of charity, difficult penances and transcendental forms of service, that by the people are performed for just the worship of You, for simply pleasing You, the Fortunate One. The duty thus being performed will never be in vain.

Let me offer my obeisances to You, the Supreme One who always, by the glories of His transcendental form, distinguishes Yourself in enjoying the pastimes of Your cosmic creation, maintenance and destruction. Unto You, the Transcendence whom one realises by intelligently dealing with the illusory diversity, I offer my obeisances. I take refuge in the Unborn One whose names, representing His incarnations, transcendental qualities and activities, open the way for reaching His eternal bliss. When they are invoked the moment one leaves this life, they immediately automatically remove the accumulated sins of many, many lives. He, the Almighty Personality, who for reasons of maintenance, creation and dissolution penetrates [this world] with three trunks - the one of me, Shiva and Himself - grew, rooting in the soul, as the one and only [coherence] to the many branches [of religion]. Him, the Personality of Godhead, this tree of the planetary systems, I offer my obeisances. As long as the people of the world are engaged in unwanted activities and in the activities of their self-interest despise the by You as beneficial pronounced devotional activities, the struggle for existence of these people will be very tough and with [the defiance of] Your Vigilant Rule [of Time] lead straight to a shambles. Let there be my obeisances unto You. Existing in a place that lasts for two parardhas [2 x 50 years, with one day and night being two times 4.32 billion earthly years: 311.04 trillion years], even I, being respected in all the worlds and for many years having undergone severe penances for my self-realisation, desire to obtain You whom I offer my respectful obeisances my Lord, oh Supreme Personality and enjoyer of all sacrifices. Desiring to fulfill Your obligations You manifest Your transcendental pastimes, by the grace of Your will projecting Yourself in the different life forms of the animals, the human beings and the gods. In spite of appearing in Your divine form, You thereby are never under the influence of the material energy. I offer my obeisances to that Lord of the Opulences, the Supreme Personality. And also the ignorance [avidya] that is known in five ways does not affect You. On the contrary, You, amidst the violent series of waves in the waters lying on the snake bed in touch [with Ananta Shesha], keep the peace and slumber, carrying in Your abdomen all the living entities and worlds for the sake of their maintenance. That is how You show the [intelligent] human being Your happiness. I offer You my obeisances by the power of whom I have manifested from the lotus house sprouting from Your navel, in order to assist by Your grace You, the worshipable one, in the creation of the three worlds. I worship You who have the universe in Your abdomen and whose eyes after the end of Your yogic slumber are blossoming like lotuses.

May He, the Lord of all universes, the one friend and philosopher, the Supersoul who as the Supreme Lord of the six opulences [beauty, intelligence, penance, power, fame and wealth] brings happiness by the mode of goodness, grant me the power of introspection so that I will be able to create, as before, this universe as a surrendered soul dear to Him. Unto this benefactor of the surrendered soul, who, with the Goddess of Fortune [Lakshmi], from His internal potency enjoys whatever He may enact in accepting His incarnations of goodness, I pray that I, being gifted with His omnipotency, may be of service and create and that I also, despite the material affection of my heart, will be able to stop with it. I, who for the manifestation of the variegation of His unlimited power was born from the lake of the Supreme Person's navel as the energy of the total universe, pray that I may not suffer the misfortune of losing sight of the sound vibrations of the Vedic truth. May the Supreme Lord who, in His ultimate love and smiles, is of an endless mercy, open His lotus eyes. Let the cosmic creation thus flourish and find His glory as He with His sweet words, as the oldest and Original Person, takes away our dejection.'

Maitreya said: 'After he had observed the source of His appearance and with penance, full of knowledge and a focussed mind, to the best of his ability had given thought to the words of his prayer, he fell silent as if he was tired. When Madhusudana [Krishna as the killer of Madhu] saw the sincerity of Brahma and how depressed he was about the devastating waters of the age and at a loss about the different positions of the worlds, He in deep thoughtful words addressed him in order to remove his anxiety.'

The Supreme Lord said: 'Gifted as you are with the depth of all Vedic wisdom, do not despair about the endeavor of creation. That what you ask from Me, has already been settled by Me. To be sure of My support you must, as before, be of penance and prayer [meditate the mantras]. By these qualities you will see all the worlds laid open within your heart, oh brahmin. When you connected in devotion are fully absorbed in the universe, you will see that I am spread throughout, oh Brahma, and that you, including all the worlds and life forms, are part of Me. You will see Me situated within the universe and in all living entities like fire present in wood and that very instant you will undoubtedly be able to leave the weakness behind. As soon as you have approached Me and, with your senses no longer under the control of the modes of nature, are free from the gross and subtle self, you will see your pure essence [svarupa] and enjoy the kingdom of heaven. With your desire to expand the varieties of service and increase the population innumerably, your soul will never be saddened therein because My mercy is unbounded. Since you are the original seer, the vicious mode of passion will never encroach upon you and your mind, despite your generation of progeny, will always be fixed upon Me. Even though I for the conditioned soul am difficult to know, I today am known by you because you understand Me as not being a product of matter, the senses, the modes or the bewilderment of the self. I manifested Myself to you from within when you, in your contemplating the source of the lotus, by its stem in the water

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tried to discover Me. The prayers you performed for Me, oh Brahma, the stories about Me enumerating My glories and your penance in steady faith, are all [to be considered as] My causeless mercy. May all benediction rest upon you who in your desire prayed for the victory of all the worlds by describing so nicely My qualities and transcendental position. I am most pleased with you. Anyone who regularly prays these verses as stated, will by his worship very soon see all his desires fulfilled, for I am the Lord of all benediction. Satisfying Me by good works, penances, sacrifices, charities and absorption in yoga, the human being will find his ultimate success, so is the opinion of those who know the Absolute Truth. Because I am the Supersoul, the director of all other souls and the dearest of everything dear, one should dedicate all one's attachment to Me. The love after all one has for one's body and other matters is there on account of Me. And now generate with the control of your knowledge of the Veda and with your body, who both directly owe their existence to the [Super]soul, as is customary the lives of all wo are closely associated with Me.'

Maitreya said: 'After thus having instructed the creator of the universe, the primeval, original Lord in His personal Narayana form disappeared from sight.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 10:

Divisions of the Creation

Vidura said: 'How many living beings were by the almighty grandfather of all creatures on this planet created from his body and mind, after the disappearance of the Supreme Personality? Dear man of power, be so kind to eradicate all my doubts and describe from the beginning to the end everything I asked you, oh best among the souls of vast knowledge.' "

Suta said [see BOOK 1]: "Oh son of Bhrigu [Shaunaka], the great sage, the son of Kushara [Maitreya] thus being stimulated by Vidura, felt pleased and answered the questions speaking from his heart.

Maitreya said: 'Brahma thus for the sake of the soul engaged himself in penance for a hundred celestial years the way the Unborn One, the Supreme Lord told him to. He who was born on the lotus, then saw how the lotus upon which he was situated and the water surrounding it trembled because of the wind that was propelled by the power of eternal Time. With his transcendental knowledge and self-awareness having increased by his penance, he had matured in practical knowledge, and with that power he took in the wind along with the water. When he saw how widespread the lotus was upon which he was situated, he thought to himself: 'I shall with this [lotus in these time stirred waters] bring back to life all the worlds that in the past have merged in me.' By the Supreme Lord being encouraged to engage in action, he then entered the whirl of the lotus and divided the complete of it in three main divisions that he further divided into fourteen subsections. These different circumstances of life together constitute the consequence of the [more or less] selfless dutiful actions [the dharma] of the individual souls in relation to the Supreme Personality.'

Vidura said: 'Discussing the variety of different forms of the Lord, the wonderful actor, you spoke about eternal time as one of His names. Oh brahmin, can you please describe to us how time factually makes its appearance, oh master, what are its characteristics?'

Maitreya said: 'It [Eternal Time] is the source of the different [organic and anorganic] interactions of the modes of nature, it is undivided and unlimited and it is the instrument of the Original Person to create, by His pastimes, the material life of the soul. It is by means of time [kala], the hidden, impersonal feature, that the Lord separated from the Supreme Absolute [God or brahma] the material phenomenon that was established as the bewildering material potency of Vishnu. The way it [Eternal Time] is there in the present, it was there in the beginning and will also be there hereafter.

The conditioning [or creation] is divided in nine kinds. Next to the formation according to the basic qualities [viz. the gunas or the modes of goodness, passion and ignorance], there is the formation according to the material qualities of time [movement, knowledge and inertia] and the three forms of creation that find their end [of plants, animals and human beings]. The first creation is the one of [the goodness of the] cosmic intelligence [the mahat-tattva] of the Supreme Lord wherein the interaction of the natural qualities takes place. The second creation consists of the [passion of] the identified self, the false ego, on the basis of which there is knowledge of the material elements that thus find their engagement. The third type of material formation is the one of the [ignorance of the] elements that give rise to sense perception. The fourth creation consists of [the material movement of] that what basically leads to the knowledge acquiring and operating [functions of the senses]. The fifth kind of creation consists of the interaction with the mode of goodness that, together with the mind derived therefrom, results in the deities [who rule the senses]. Sixth there is the creation of darkness [from the slowness of matter] that turns masters into fools. These are the six [primary] material creations. Now hear from me about the three secondary creations [of plant, animal and man produced] with the pastime of the almighty incarnation of passion [Brahma] who has the intelligence of the Lord.

The seventh main division of creation concerns the six kinds of beings who do not move around: trees bearing fruit without flowers, plants and bushes that exist until the fruit has ripened, the creepers, the pipe-plants, creepers without support and fruit trees that blossom. These beings who seek their sustenance upwards, are practically unconscious with only an inner feeling and are of many varieties. The eighth creation concerns the species of lower animals. There are twenty-eight different kinds of them and they are considered to have no knowledge of their destiny, to be of an extreme ignorance, to discriminate by smell and have a poorly functioning conscience. Oh purest one, the cow, the goat, the buffalo, the antelope, the hog, the gavaya [a type of oxen], the deer, the sheep and the camel all have split hooves. The ass, the horse, the mule, the gaura, the Sharabha bison and the wild cow have only one toe. Oh Vidura, just let me tell you now about the animals with five nails. They are the dog, the jackal, the fox, the tiger, the cat, the rabbit, the sajaru porcupine, the lion, the monkey, the elephant, the tortoise, the iguana ['four legged snake'], the alligator and others. The heron, the vulture, the crane, the hawk, the bhasa [another kind of vulture], the bhalluka, the peacock, the swan, the sarasa [indian crane], the cakravaka, the crow, the owl and so on are the birds. But there is yet a ninth kind that [also] fills its belly, oh Vidura. It consists of one form of appearance: the human beings. In them the mode of passion is very prominent. They are very busy with [diminishing] their misery, but always consider themselves happy.

These three secondary creations, including the creation of the demigods [as an extra category], my dear one, are, contrary to the other ones that I described, [as for their modes and qualities] subjected to modifications [to mutation or evolution], even though the Kumaras [the sons of Brahma, the brahmins, the sages] are of both natures [they adapt physically, but they do not change in quality]. The creation of the demigods is of eight types: the self-realised souls, the forefathers, the atheists, the celestial beings, angels and the saints, the protectors and the giants, the celestial singers, the spirits of guidance in what is good and bad and the denizens of heaven and the superhuman beings and such. All the ten types of creation I described to you, oh Vidura, are created by Brahma, the creator of the universe. Next I shall explain the different descendants of the Manus and how the Creator, being moved by the mode of passion, in the different ages creates and does so with an unfailing determination in respect of the Supreme Lord who, by dint of His own energy, as Himself appeared from Himself.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 11:

Division of Time Expanding from the Atom

Maitreya said: 'One should know that the ultimate presence of that what shows itself in the manifold as being indivisible, consists of an infinitesimal particle [paramanu] the combination of which [into material forms] creates illusion in man. The supreme oneness of that particle being present within material bodies, keeps its original form till the end of time, it is of a continual, unrivaled uniformity. Time, my best one, besides being known as the supreme, non-manifest Almighty Lord who controls all physical action, can therefore also be measured by the motion of the minutest and largest forms of combinations of particles. The time of that infinitesimal particle is the time it takes to occupy [or vibrate in] a certain atomic space. The greatest of time is the time taken by the existence of the complete of all atoms.

Two infinitesimal particles constitute an atom [an anu] and three atoms make a trasarenu of which one is reminded by a beam of sunlight falling through a lattice window in which one sees something [a dust-particle] going up in the sky. The time taken by the combination of three trasarenus is called a truthi [calculated as 1/16.875 of a second] of which one hundred are called a vedha. Three of them are called a single lava. The duration of three lavas equals one nimesha [± 0.53 second] and the time of three of them is called a kshana [± 1.6 seconds], five of those make a kashthha [± 8 seconds] and a laghu consists of fifteen of them [± 2 minutes]. A number of fifteen of those laghus is called a nadika [or danda, ± 30 minutes] and two of them make a muhurta [about an hour], while six to seven of them form one yama [a quarter of a light day or night] depending the human calculation [the season, the latitude]. The measuring pot (water-clock) has the weight of six palas [14 ounces] and has a four masha [17 karats] golden probe four fingers long covering a hole through which it fills with water till 'prastha' [solid, till it sinks]. Four yamas form the duration of both the day and the night of the human being and fifteen days [of eight yamas each] make one pakshah [fortnight] which measured is known as being either black or white [depending on whether there is a full moon or new moon in it]. The aggregate of such a 'day' and 'night' is called an ancestral [traditional or solar] month with two of them forming a season. There are six of them [respectively 'cold' or hemanta, 'dew' or Shis'ira, 'spring' or vasanta, 'warm' or grishma, 'rainy' or varshas and 'autumn' or Sharad, counting from December 22] corresponding to the movement of the sun going through the southern and northern sky. This movement of the sun is said to form one day of the demigods and is called a vatsara [a tropical year] of twelve months. The duration of life of the human being is estimated to be of a great number [a hundred] of those years [see also the 'full calendar of order'].

The infinitesimal particles and their combinations, the planets, the heavenly bodies [like the moon] and the stars, all rotate in the universe, to complete their orbit in a year of the Almighty [cyclic order, the command] of eternal time. We speak about an orbit of the sun, about an orbit of the other planets, the orbit of the stars [in our galaxy around Sagittarius A in the sky], the orbit of the moon, oh Vidura, and the orbit of the earth as being a single [but differently named] year [respectively a celestial year, a planetary year, a galactic year, a lunation and a tropical year]. With attention for all His five different types of years, one should be of respect for the One [Lord of Time] who, differing from all that was created, moves under the name of Eternal Time and who with His energy in different ways invigorates the seeds of creation while during the day dissipating the darkness of the living entities. By thus performing sacrifices one develops quality in one's material existence.'

Vidura said: 'You pointed out the ultimate measure of time of the life periods of the ancestors, the gods and the human beings. Can you now, oh great sage, give a description of the time periods of the lives of the elevated souls that cover more than a millennium? Oh mighty master, you know the movements of the Supreme Lord in the form of eternal time, for you, in the control of your yogic command, have the eyes of a self-realised soul to oversee the entire universe.'

Maitreya said: 'The four yugas [ages or millennia] called Satya, Treta, Dvapara and Kali together take approximately 12.000 years [or one mahayuga] of the demigods [comprising 360 vatsaras each]. The subsequent yugas starting with Satya-yuga are each respectively four, three, two and one times 1.200 demigod years long. Experts say that the transitional periods at the beginning and end of each yuga cover several hundreds of demigod years. They are millennia [like the millennium we live in now] wherein all kinds of religious activities take place. The dutifulness of mankind concerning the four principles of religion [of satya, daya, tapas, Shauca; truth, compassion, penance and purity] was during Satya-yuga properly maintained, but in the other yugas the principles gradually declined one by one [first penance, then compassion, then purity]. Next to the one thousand [maha-]yugas that, oh dear one, together constitute one day of Brahma [of 4.32 billion years] of the three worlds [the heavenly, svarga; earthly, martya and lower, patala ones], there is also a night just as long wherein the Creator of the universe goes asleep. Following the end of the night when another day of Lord Brahma begins, the creation of the three worlds, that in its totality covers the lives of fourteen Manus, starts all over. Each Manu thus enjoys a time of living of a little more than seventy-one [maha-]yugas.

After the end of each Manu, the next one appears together with his descendants, the seven sages, the God-conscious souls and the king of the demigods [Indra] as also all those who follow them. This is Lord Brahma's day to day creation wherein the lower animals, the human beings, the forefathers and the gods wander around, appearing in the three worlds because of their karma. With the change of each Manu, the Supreme Lord manifests His goodness in His different incarnations, as the Manu Himself and as others, and thus unfolding His divine potencies He maintains this universe. At the end of the day [of Brahma] the Almighty Time arrests its manifestation, whereupon, with the complete whole fallen in darkness, all living entities remain merged in silence. Just as it happens during an ordinary night, all three worlds that disappeared from sight, therewith are bereft of the light of the sun and the moon. When the three worlds are set ablaze by the potency of the fire emanating from the mouth of Lord Sankarshana, sage Bhrigu and the other inhabitants who are agitated by the heat, move from the world of the saints [Maharloka, the fourth world] to the world of the godly people [Janaloka, the next world of celibate saints]. Immediately after the beginning of the devastation of the three worlds all the seas overflow with violent winds and hurricanes that blow the waves high. The Lord, who in His mystical slumber with closed eyes lies down on the bed of Ananta within the water, is glorified by the inhabitants of the worlds of the God-conscious souls.

By the symptoms of days and nights of the advancement of time, his [Brahma's] life and also our lives are limited to a duration of a hundred years, even though in his case it takes a hundred of his years [with his life consisting of two parardhas or 2 times 155.5 trillion human years. The first half of his lifetime called one parardha has passed and now in this age we have begun with the second half. The superior first half started with a grand kalpa called the Brahma-kalpa in which Lord Brahma manifested whom one knows as the [source of the] Vedic sounds. Thereafter, at the end of that enormous

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span of time, the period called the Padma-kalpa came into being in which the lotus of the universe sprouted from the reservoir of water of the Lord's navel. The present kalpa [at the beginning] of the second half, oh descendant of Bharata, is celebrated as the one of Varaha in which the Lord appeared in the form of a boar. The time measured by the two halves of Brahma's life takes but a second for the beginningless, unchanging and unlimited Soul of the universe. This eternal time, beginning from the atom up to the final duration of two parardhas, is never capable of controlling the Supreme Lord, it is the controller of those souls who are identified with their body. As a combination of the basic elements and their transformations this manifest universe has expanded to a diameter of half a billion [yojanas - a dynamic cosmic measure]. [The space occupied by the infinitesimal particles of the primal ether, pradhana] expanded to the tenfold [of the dimensions of the therefrom condensating basic elements and their transformations] that, appearing like atoms, entered to cluster into many other egg shaped abodes [or galaxies]. That cause of all causes [containing all the universes] is said to be the imperishable Absolute Truth, the supreme abode of the direct, personal manifestation of the Supreme Soul: Lord Vishnu.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 12:
Creation of the Kumaras and Others

Maitreya said: 'Thus far I have described to you, oh Vidura, the glories of the Supersoul under the name of kala, time, now try to understand from me how the repository of the Vedas [Brahma] created the things as they are.

He first created the [five] forms of ignorant engagement: the idea that one would die [andha-tamisra], followed by indignation [tamisra], the craving of infatuation [maha-moha], the delusional of errors [like identifying oneself with the body etc., moha] and the darkness of lacking in self-awareness [tamas]. Seeing what a troublesome creation it was he [Brahma] could not really appreciate what he had done, whereupon he, after being purified by meditating upon the Supreme Lord, found the mind for another creation. The great self-born soul then created Sanaka, Sananda, Sanatana and Sanat-kumara [the four Kumaras] who are lifelong celibates ['they whose seed goes upwards'] free from all profit-minded action. He from within told his sons: 'Oh my sons, do procreate', but they did not want to, because they, in their devotion for the Personality of Godhead, were vowed to the principles of liberation. Disrespected by his sons refusing to follow the order, he did his best to check the difficult to curb anger that rose in him. In spite of the original father's meditative control, out of his anger, straight from between his eyebrows, a child was born that had a colour composed of red [for passion] and blue [for ignorance]. The child cried loudly to the father of all the gods: 'Oh powerful one, oh ruler of destiny, assign me my names and tell me what my places are, oh teacher of the universe.'

He, as the all-powerful one born from the lotus, thus being asked, complied with the request and gently pacified the child with the words: 'Do not cry, I shall do what you want. Because you, oh chief of the demigods, as a boy were so anxiously crying loudly, the people will address you with the name Rudra. The heart, the senses, the life air, the ether, the air, fire and water, earth and the sun, the moon as also austerity are the places reserved for you. Your [other] names are: Manyu, Manu, Mahinasa, Mahan, Shiva, Ritadhvaja, Ugrareta, Bhava, Kala, Vamadeva and Dhritavrata. Dhi, Dhriti, Rasala, Uma, Niyut, Sarpi, Ila, Ambika, Iravati, Svadha and Diksha, oh Rudra, are your [eleven] wives [the Rudranis]. Please, accept these different names, places and wives and generate progeny with them on a large scale, for you are the master of the living beings.' Thus being instructed by his spiritual master, the mighty lord of the mixture of blue and red brought forth generations of the same strength, features and nature as his. But when he saw the activities of the sons generated by Rudra and how their endless numbers together devoured the entire universe, the father of the living beings got afraid. 'Oh best of the demigods, [he said,] enough of you creating this kind of living beings. They scorch, with the fiery flames of their eyes, every direction and me as well. Be of [voluntary] penance, that will do you good and bring happiness to all living entities. Only by doing penance you will as before be able to bring about the universe. Only by penitence a person knows the supreme light and can fully respect the Supreme Lord beyond the senses who resides in the heart of everyone.'

Maitreya said: 'Thus being instructed by the self-born one, he [Rudra] circumambulated the master of the Vedas saying 'So be it'. Next he entered the forest to do penance. Determined to create he [Brahma] who by the Supreme Lord had been empowered, then begot ten sons in order to populate the world: Marici, Atri, Angira, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Bhrigu, Vasishthha, Daksha and Narada as number ten. Narada sprouted from his lap, Daksha from the thumb, from his life-air Vasishthha saw the light, while Bhrigu came forth from his touch and sage Kratu from his hand. Pulaha generated from the navel, Pulastya from his ears, the great sage Angira from the mouth, from the eyes sage Atri came forth and sage Marici appeared from the mind. From the right side of the breast, where Narayana resides, religion manifested while irreligion, because of which the world fears the horrors of death, appeared from his back. From the heart lust manifested, from the eyebrows anger, from between his lips greed, from the mouth the urge to speak originated while from his penis the oceans appeared and from the anus, the source of all vice, the lowest activities. From his shadow Kardama Muni, the husband of Devahuti, manifested. This is how the complete of this living universe of the creator evolved from both the master's body and mind.

Oh Vidura, we have heard that the daughter Vak who was born from his body distracted the mind of Brahma and made him desirous of her even though she was not sexually inclined. When the sons, the sages headed by Marici, saw that his mind was seised by immorality, they with due respect submitted the following: 'That what you are doing now with your daughter without controlling your sexual desire you, nor anyone else, has done before, nor will anybody do such a thing ever in the future, oh master. Oh master of the universe, for certain such an attitude does not befit you, the most powerful soul, whose good behavior and character constitutes an example followed by all the world striving for prosperity. Let us offer our obeisances to the Supreme Lord who, from within the soul, by the power of His own effulgence brought about this manifestation. May His sense of duty protect us all.' Seeing all his sons who thus addressed him standing before him, the father of all fathers of mankind most ashamed quitted his body. That body was seised by the directions as a terrible fog known for its darkness. When the creator one day wondered how he should create the three worlds as before, the Vedic literature manifested itself from his four mouths. Thus the four functions of [sacrificial] action [the offer, the performer, the fire and the offering] and the supplements of the Veda with their logical conclusions became manifest as also the four principles of religion [truth, purity, austerity and compassion] and the spiritual departments [ashramas] and vocational divisions [varnas].'

Vidura said: 'Please, oh wealth of renunciation, can you tell by what mouth which Veda was produced by the god who is the controller of the creators of the universe?'

Maitreya said: 'The four Vedas called Rig, Yajur, Sama and Atharva appeared, beginning with the front [east, south, west and north], each from one of the mouths and in the same order followed the scriptural discussions [the Shastra for the Hota priest], the rituals [the Ijya for the Adhvaryu priest], the recitation material [the Stutistoma for the Udgata priest] and the transcendental service of atonement [the Prayas'citta for the Brahma ritvik]. The same way beginning from the front mouth in the eastern direction the Vedic sciences of medicine [Ayurveda], archery [Dhanurveda], music [Ghandarvaveda] and architecture [Sthapatyaveda] were created [who together are called the Upavedas]. The Itihasas - the separate histories - and the collections of classical stories, the Puranas, who together are known as the fifth Veda, manifested from all the mouths of him looking in every direction. From his eastern mouth as also from each of the other ones he sent out a pair of sacrifices: sodas'i, uktha [from the east], purishi, agnishthoma [from the south], aptoryama, atiratra [from the west] and vajapeya and gosava [from the north]. Education [vidya, also called purity - Shauca - through acquiring knowledge], charity [dana], penance [tapas] and truth [satya] are the four legs of religion that in the same order came about together with the orders of life [students, married people, withdrawn people and the renunciates] and the vocations [the labourers, the traders, the rulers and the intellectuals]. Next the vows appeared [for regulating the brahmacari, the celibate student] of Savitra [three days of celibacy after the ceremony of the holy thread], Prajapatya [celibacy for one year], Brahma [celibacy during the study of the Veda] and Brihat [lifelong celibacy] as also the vows [for regulating household life] of Varta [vocations sanctioned by the scriptures], Sancaya [officiating at ceremonies], Shalina [to subsist on everything that is acquired without asking] and Shiluncha [to subsist on the remnants left behind in the fields and the market place]. [Also the directions for] the [vanaprashtas or the] retired ones [thus manifested:] the vaikhanasas [subsisting on produce from the wild], the valakhilyas [they who give up their stock upon receiving new food grains], the audumbaras [who subsist on the food they find on their way] and the phenapas [those subsisting on fruits that fell from the trees, as also the directions for] the renounced order [of the sannyasis] consisting of the kuthicakas [recluses living in a fixed place], bahudakas [or bahvodhas, they who prefer knowledge before activities], hamsas [those fully on the path of transcendental knowledge] and the nishkriyas or paramahamsas [those who attained spiritual wisdom and refrain from action]. In the same order [the four branches of knowledge] appeared: anvikshiki [spiritual knowledge of liberation], trayi [knowledge of rituals], varta [technical knowledge] and dandaniti [political science]. Also the four vyahritis [of the first line and three words of the Gayatri mantra] thus appeared together with the Pranava [the mantra Aum] flowing from his heart. From the hair of his body ushnik [a meter of poetry] was generated, from the skin of the mighty one gayatri [the three-foot] originated, trishthup [another meter] came from his flesh, anushthup appeared from the veins and from the bones of the father of the living beings jagati was generated [two other meters]. From the marrow of his bones pankti manifested itself while brihati generated from the life breath [two types of verses]. His individual soul manifested as the spars'a letters [the hard consonants] of the Sanskrit alphabet [ka to ma] while his body expressed itself in the Sanskrit vowels [a, a, i, i, u, u, ri, ri, l, e, ai, o, au]. His senses are called the sibilants [s'a, sha sa and ha], his strength became the semi-vowels [ya, la, ra and va] and from the inner joy of the lord of the living beings the seven musical notes manifested [*]. Existing as the transcendental sound of the Original Self, the Supersoul, he [Brahma] is both manifest [as Vedic utterances] and non-manifest [as the inner sound of omkara]. Appearing as the Absolute [of the complete whole, of brahman] he expanded himself being invested with multifarious energies.

After having accepted another body he [again] put his mind to the matter of creation. Oh son of the Kurus, knowing that, in spite of the great power of the sages, the population was not increasing, he again devoted his heart to the matter. He thought: 'Alas, how is it possible that with me being this busy all the time the population is not increasing! There must be some kind of divine ordinance working against me in this.' While he thus observed and contemplated his situation, a division of a twofold form manifested itself of which one says that it is his body [the human body created after his image - kaya - 'that what belongs to Ka or Brahma']. With his form thus being divided with them, he thereupon engaged in a sexual relationship. The man became the independent ruler, the father of mankind [the Manu] called Svayambhuva and the woman became known as Shatarupa. She was the queen to the great soul that he was. Because of the sex life according to the regulative principles from that time on the generations increased. Oh best of all, in due course of time he begot in Shatarupa five children: Priyavrata, Uttanapada and three daughters, o son of Bharata, Akuti, Devahuti and Prasuti. The one named Akuti he handed over to sage Ruci, the middle one [Devahuti] he gave to sage Kardama and Prasuti was given to Daksha. Because of them the whole world became populated.'

*: The seven Vedic notes are: sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha and ni [resp. c, d, e, f, g, a, bes] also called shadja, rishabha, gandhara, madhyama, pancama, dhaivata, and nishada.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 13:
The Appearance of Lord Varaha

Shri Shuka said: 'After listening to Maitreya Muni's most sacred words, oh King, the best of the Kurus inquired further about the talks concerning Vasudeva he loved so much. Vidura said: 'Oh great sage, what did Svayambhuva Manu, the king of all kings and dear son of Brahma, do after he obtained his loving wife? Be so good to tell me about the activities of this saintly, original king, oh best of all. I would very much like to hear about that king who took to the shelter of Vishvaksena [the omnipotent Lord Vishnu]. Persons of fortitude and great effort in listening to that what by pure devotees is elabourately explained, will by dint of the statements of those who installed the lotus feet of the Lord of Liberation in their hearts, find the transcendental quality of a faithful mind.' Shri Shuka said: 'After Vidura, so very modest, thus had spoken, he, who received the lotus feet of the One with the thousand heads on his lap, was complimented and addressed by the sage, whose hairs stood on end in ecstasy as he tried to formulate his stories about the Supreme Lord.

Maitreya said: 'After Svayambhuva Manu had appeared along with his wife, he, the father of mankind, with folded hands and obeisances addressed the reservoir of Vedic wisdom [Brahma]: 'You are the one progenitor of all living entities, the father and source of their subsistence, but we, who all were born from you, wonder how we can be of service to you. Give us, with all respect, oh venerable one, directions for that purpose. What are the duties within our reach to be performed for you? What should one do for His good name [His fame] all around this world and what is to be done in order to progress to the next world?'

Brahma said: 'I am very pleased with you, my son, let there be all my blessings for the both of you, oh lord of the world, for you without any reservation in your heart have surrendered yourself to me, asking for my lead. This is the exact way for offspring, oh lord of the world, to honour the spiritual master. Those who have a sane mind and are beyond envy, should, to the full of their ability and most respectfully, accept this instruction. You therefore, in that role, please take care to beget children in her with the same qualities you have, so that they, once being born, may rule over the world on the basis of the religious principles [the vidhi], making sacrifices and worshiping the Original Personality. Consider protecting the living entities the best way to serve me, oh ruler of man. Hrishikes'a, the Supreme Lord of the Senses, will be pleased when you are the guardian of their lives. The

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work of those who never managed to satisfy the Supreme Lord Janardana ['the Lord of all living beings'], the object of all sacrifice, is certainly in vain, for they did not respect their very self as being the Supreme Soul.'

Manu said: 'I will abide by what your powerful self has ordered, oh killer of all sin, please tell me what my place is in this world and the place of those born from me. Oh god of this planet, the earth, the dwelling place of all beings is immersed in the great waters [of the Garbhodhaka ocean of the created universe]. Can you please lift her up?'

Maitreya said: 'The personality of transcendence [Brahma] who also saw that the earth was immersed in the waters thought: 'How shall I lift her up?' and spent a long time meditating as follows: 'While I was engaged in her creation, the earth was inundated by a flood and got deeply immersed. What would be the right course of action for us now being engaged in this matter of creation? May the Lord from whose heart I was born guide me in this!' While he was thinking thus, all of a sudden from his nostril,, oh sinless one, a minute boar [Varaha] appeared not larger than the top of a thumb. When he saw that happen, at once the form expanded in the sky, miraculously transforming into the size of a gigantic elephant, oh son of Bharata. Seeing the form of that boarlike appearance, he with Manu, the brahmins headed by Marici and the Kumaras began to word the matter in different ways: 'Who is this extraordinary being that pretends to be a boar? And how wondrous for Him to appear from my nose! One moment He has just the size of the tip of a thumb and in no time He is as big as a megalith! Would this be the Supreme Lord of sacrifice Vishnu? I am baffled!' While Brahma thus was deliberating with his sons, the Supreme Lord of Sacrifice, the Original Person, produced a wild roar like He wanted to attack. With the unprecedented voice that echoed in all directions the Lord created great joy in Brahma and the best of the brahmins. The inhabitants of Tapoloka, Satyaloka and Janaloka hearing the sound of the loud roar of the all-merciful Lord who in the form of a boar ended all personal distress, then all began to extoll Him with the holy mantras of the three Vedas.

Knowing Himself very well as the form resulting from the spreading of the Vedic sound that originated from the knowledge of the authorities of the Truth, He roared once more in response to the transcendental glorifications of the wise and intelligent souls and playful as an elephant entered the water on their behalf. Slashing His tail in the sky and quivering with the sharp and hard hairs of His skin, He scattered the clouds with His hooves and radiated with His glittering white tusks as the glory of the Supreme Lord and Maintainer of the world. Sniffing out the earth, He who had assumed the transcendental body of a boar, searched everywhere showing His frightening tusks, but in spite of it all the brahmins free from fear engaged in prayer the moment they saw Him glancing them over as He entered the water. The enormous mountain of His body drove by the force of the dive the ocean apart in two high waves because of which the ocean, like gifted with two arms, in distress loudly prayed: 'Oh Master of all Sacrifices, please protect me!' He, as the Master of all Sacrifices penetrating with His arrow-sharp hooves the water, reaching the limits of the unlimited ocean, then found her. He saw her, the wealth of the living beings, lying there as she was before and lifted her up personally. Rising to the surface He, with His tusks raising the submerged earth, appeared in His full splendor. But then He, glowing with a fierce anger, had to hold His cakra [His disc-weapon or wheel] against the demon [Hiranyaksha - 'the golden-eyed one'] who rushed towards Him with a club. Being irresistible, He thereupon skillfully killed the opposing enemy, the way an elephant disposes of a lion. In the process His cheeks and tongue got smeared with blood like he was a large elephant having digged in the [reddish] earth. Even as He bluish as a tamala tree, like a playing elephant, upheld the earth on His curved tusks, oh Vidura, they who were led by Brahma could recognise Him as the Supreme Lord. Thereupon they with folded hands offered Him prayers from the Vedic hymns.

The sages said: 'All glory and victory to You, oh Unconquerable One, You who are understood by the performance of sacrifices. All our obeisances are for You who shake Your body consisting of the three Vedas and in whose pores of the hairs in Your skin this [Vedic truth] is hidden. Our respects for You who had the calling to assume the form of a boar! Oh Lord, the miscreants have difficulty perceiving this form of Yours that can be worshiped by performing sacrifices: with the Gayatri and other mantras one honours Your skin; with the kus'a grass [on which one sits when one meditates] one honours the hairs on Your body; with the clarified butter [one uses in sacrifices] one honours Your eyes, and with the four functions of sacrifice one respects Your four legs. Your tongue is the offering plate and Your nostrils are another plate, oh Lord. In Your belly we recognise the plate to eat from and the holes of Your ears also constitute such a plate. Your mouth is the [Brahma] plate for the spiritual aspect of performing sacrifices and Your throat is the plate for soma [a ritual drink], but that which is chewed by Your teeth, oh Supreme Lord, is what You consume by the sacrificial fire [agni-hotra]. Your repeated incarnations are the introductory offerings of oblations in the fire [called the dikshaniya ishthi]. The three [upasada ishthis or] consecrations constitute Your neck and Your tusks are together the [prayaniya ishthi] course and the [udayaniya ishthi] end of the consecration. Your tongue constitutes the [pravargya] invocations [to the three upasadas]. Your head is respected with both the fires without sacrifices [satya] and the fires with sacrifices [avasatya] and Your life breath is constituted by the combination of all sacrifices. Your semen is the soma sacrifice, Your stability is respected with the rituals in the morning, at noon and in the evening, oh Lord, the different layers of Your body are the seven types of sacrifice and the joints of Your body are the different sacrifices [called the satranis] one performs in twelve days. You, , oh Lord, who are bound by sacrifices only, are the object of all the soma and asoma sacrifices. We offer You our obeisances who, as the Supreme Lord for all the ingredients and types of sacrifice, can be worshiped by universal prayers. When one with renunciation and devotion conquers the mind, one can arrive at the realisation of You as the essence of all sacrifices. You as the spiritual master of such knowledge, we again and again offer our obeisances. Oh Supreme Lord, supporting the earth and its mountains so beautifully situated on the tips of Your protruding teeth, oh Lifter of the Earth, You came out of the water like a lordly elephant that with its tusk captured a lotus flower together with its leaves. This form of Yours of the Veda personified that as a boar sustains the planet earth on its tusks, shines with the splendor of great mountain peaks that look even more beautiful because of the clouds surrounding them. You as a father lift up this mother earth as Your wife, where the moving and the nonmoving living beings reside. Let us offer our obeisances to You and to her in whom You invested Your potency, just as an expert sacrificer sets fire to arani wood. Who else but You, oh master, could deliver the earth from its position in the water? For You such deeds are not that wondrous, for the wonder of the miraculous universe that You created by Your potencies, surpasses all others. When You, as the Vedas personified, were shaking Your body, we as the inhabitants of Janaloka, Tapoloka and Satyaloka were sprinkled by the drops of water that remained in the hairs of Your shoulders and were thus completely purified, oh Supreme Lord. He who wants to know the limit of Your countless activities is out of his mind. The entire universe controlled by the material qualities is bewildered by the oneness of Your inner potency [of yogamaya]. Please, oh Lord of the Opulences, grant us Your mercy!'

Maitreya said: 'Thus being praised by the great sages and transcendentalists Lord Boar, the Maintainer, placed the earth on the water He touched with His hooves. After the Almighty Personality of Godhead, Vishvaksena, the Master of All Living Entities, thus sportily had lifted the earth above water, the Lord returned to His abode. With the one who in a devotional attitude listens to or recounts to others this auspicious and worthwhile story about Him who puts an end to the material motive, the Lord who is present in the heart [of everyone] will immediately be pleased. What would be difficult to achieve for the one who enjoys the boundless mercy of His contentment? Anything removed from that mercy appears insignificant. Those devotees who wish nothing but His mercy He, personally residing in the heart, elevates to the supreme transcendence of His abode. Indeed, can one be called a human being when one, familiar with the essence of the ancient stories, resists the opportunity to drink in through one's ears the nectar of the talks about the Lord that puts an end to the pain of a material existence?'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 14:
The Impregnation of Diti in the Evening

Shri Shuka said: 'After hearing from sage Maitreya the description of the story about the Supreme Personality who for the sake of lifting up the world appeared as a boar, Vidura, as a vowed devotee, requested him with folded hands for more, since he did not feel completely satisfied. Vidura said: 'Oh best of the sages, I heard you say that the first among the demons, Hiranyaksha, was slain by the Lord, the object of all sacrifices. For what reason did He in His pastime of lifting the planet earth up on His tusks, oh brahmin, have a fight with the king of the demons? Please tell this faithful person, this devotee, in detail about His appearance, oh great sage, for with my so very curious mind I am not yet satisfied.'

Maitreya said: 'Dear devotee, oh great hero, that what you ask me about the topics concerning the Supreme Personality, constitutes for those who are destined to die the source of liberation from birth and death. The son of king Uttanapada [Dhruva] was as a child enlightened by Narada about these subjects, and placed when he [at his death] left to ascend for the abode of the Lord, his foot upon the head of Mrityu [the god of death, as a footboard to enter the vimana of Nanda and Sunanda, see 4.12: 30]. Concerning this matter [of the appearance of Lord Varaha] I heard from Brahma, the god of gods, a long time ago the following story he told because of questions asked by the demigods.

Oh Vidura, one evening Diti, the daughter of Daksha, in distress because of sexual desire begged her husband Kasyapa, the son of Marici, to father a child. After worshiping the Original Personality of All Sacrifices with oblations to His tongue which is the sacrificial fire, he sat fully absorbed in the temple room while the sun was setting.

Diti said: 'Oh learned soul, Cupid has with eyes for you aimed all his arrows at me and thus, like a mad elephant attacking a banana tree, distresses my poor self. Be good to me, it hurts me to see the children and well-being of your co-wives. Please grant me this favor and make yourself [therewith] also happy in every respect. The fame of those husbands who love their wive dearly will spread in the world, for society will thrive from the children of a good husband like yourself. Long ago our father, the most opulent Daksha, affectionately asked each of his daughters: 'Whom would you like for your husband, my child?' He who wished his children the very best, handed, in respect of their wishes, all thirteen of them over to you; and they are now all faithful to you. Therefore be so kind to fulfill my desire, oh lotus-eyed one, the pleas of those who in distress approach a person of stature, oh great soul, surely would not be in vain, would they?'

Oh hero, the son of Marici then replied with pacifying words, for she, poor and talkative, was highly agitated because of the lust that took hold of her. 'I will answer your plea and do what you want, my tormented sweetheart! Who would not grant the wishes of the one who warrants the realisation of his three perfections [the three aims of life of dharma, artha and kama: of regulating the religion, the economy and sense gratification]? Living with a companion a person completing all stages of life, is able to cross over, together with all vocations, the dangerous ocean of material existence the way one crosses over an ocean with seaworthy vessels. With someone who is the other half of one's body all desires can be steered in the right direction, oh respectable soul, and with entrusting responsibilities to that other person one can lead a [relatively] carefree life. The senses are, for orders of life other than the householders, difficult to conquer enemies. We taking shelter in that order can conquer them easily, like a fort commander can with invading plunderers. We will never be able to do for you what you did for us, oh queen of the house. Not in all our life, nor in the next one. Neither will anyone else who appreciates your qualities. With that being said, let me forthwith take care of this sexual interest of yours to beget a child. But first wait a few seconds for me to be beyond reproach. This time is the least favorable moment for that, it is the awkward time at which the ghosts and their master are one's constant companion. At this time of the day, oh chaste woman, at dusk, [Shiva] the Lord and well-wisher of the ghosts surrounding him, goes about as their king on the back of the bull [Nandi]. With the beauty of the spotless radiating body of the demigod smeared with the dust and smoke that blew from the cremation of the dead, and with his matted hair covered by ashes, your [sister's, viz. Sati's] husband looks [upon all] with his triple vision [of sun, moon and fire]. He regards no one in this world as his relative nor anyone as unconnected. He considers nobody greater nor does he despise anyone. Faithfully we duly honour his feet and assure us of the remnants of the sacrificed food he sent back. Even though considering his irreproachable character, as followed by the sages in their desire to put an end to the nescience of the masses, there is no one who is as great, he nevertheless, for the attainment of the devotees, personally performs like an antagonist [walking naked and smeared with ashes]. The unfortunate ones who, with what they do, laugh at him without being aware of his purpose that one should concern oneself with one's own soul, cherish with luxuries as clothing, garlands and ointments their body as if it would be their true self, the body that ultimately serves as food for the dogs. Brahma as also the other gods hold on to the ritual code of conduct of him, who stands for the principle of the material energy of maya. Oh, the unruly actions of this great character are nothing but a diversion [in which he takes the karma upon him]!'

Maitreya said: 'In spite of with this being informed by her husband, she, with her senses pressured by Cupid, grabbed the great brahmin sage by his clothes like she was a shameless public woman. Understanding his wife's obstinacy about the forbidden act, he bowed to his fate and slept with her. Thereafter he took a bath and, with prayer [with the Gayatri] controlling his breath and voice, meditated on the light of eternity with the help of the pure spirit of the Absolute. Oh son of Bharata, Diti, ashamed of the faulty act approached the learned sage with her face turned downwards and spoke to him. Diti said: 'Let this pregnancy of mine, oh brahmin, oh noblest of all, not be ended by Rudra [Shiva], the master of the living beings against whom I have committed an offense. My obeisances to Rudra, the ferocious, great demigod who fulfills all desires, the all-auspicious and forgiving one who immediately angrily chastises. May he, that great and merciful supreme personality, my brother-in-law married to Sati ['the chaste one', the sister of Diti], be pleased with us, he who is a god to all women for whom even the lowest have sympathy.'

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Maitreya said: 'This father of mankind thereupon addressed his wife who trembled [out of fear] because of having avoided the rules and regulations of the evening and who wished the welfare of her children in the world. Kasyapa said: 'Because of your polluted mind, because of your defiling the holiness of the moment and also because you were too negligent about my directions, you were insufficiently attentive towards the gods as well. Oh unlucky one, from your condemned womb two mischievous sons will take birth and they, oh passionate one, will cause constant lamentation among the rulers of the three worlds. They will kill poor and innocent living entities, torment women and enrage the great souls. When that happens the Supreme Personality and Lord of the Universe who desires the welfare of the common people, will descend in person and kill them both in great anger as if He were the mountain smasher with the thunderbolt himself [Indra].'

Diti said: 'It is a great honour to be killed on the spot by the discus in the hand of the Fortunate One. I am [only] praying that my sons may never find their end as a consequence of the rage of the brahmins, oh my husband. A person by a brahmin being chastised with a curse and someone who creates fear among other living beings, do not carry the approval of those living in hell, nor of any of the other life forms an offender might take birth among.'

Kasyapa said: 'Because you immediately proved to be sorry with a proper confession, have a great adoration for the Supreme Personality, for Lord Shiva and respect me as well, one of the [four] sons [Prahlada] born from your son [Hiranyakas'ipu] will carry the approval of the devotees. His transcendental glory will be recognised as being equal to the glory of the Supreme Lord. The way gold of an inferior quality is rectified, saintly persons who seek purification in striving for freedom from animosity and such, will follow in the footsteps of this disposition and character. He, the Supreme Personality by whose grace the universe finds its happiness, will, as the witnessing self [being of special care for that character in His devotees], be very pleased with someone of such a rock-solid belief. He will certainly be the topmost devotee, the greatest soul with the greatest influence, well matured by his devotional service [*]. With a heart filled with ecstatic love, he will no doubt reach Vaikunthha [the ultimate reality, paradise, heaven] when he leaves this material world. He will be a virtuous and qualified reservoir of all good qualities, he will rejoice in the happiness of others and be distressed when others are unhappy. He will have no enemies and put an end to all lamentation in the world, the way one has a pleasant moon after a hot summer sun. Your grandson will, within himself and outside himself, behold the spotless form [of the Lord] with the lotus eyes who assumes any form His devotee desires and who, with a face decorated with brilliant earrings, is the eminence of the beautiful Goddess of Fortune.'

Maitreya said: 'Hearing that her grandson would be a great devotee, Diti was delighted and found peace of mind knowing that Krishna would kill her two sons.'

*: Well matured means matured in three stages: sthayi-bhava, to have a certain emotional relationship with God; anubhava, to experience certain emotions in that relationship, and mahabhava or the stage in which one experiences ecstatic feelings of love for God.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 15:

Description of the Kingdom of God

Maitreya said: 'Diti was afraid that she by the power of [the seed of] the great Prajapati for the time of a century would destroy the power of others and distress the God-fearing people. The world was deprived of light because of this [threat] and thus the local authorities who saw their power diminished consulted with the creator of the universe [Lord Brahma] about the darkness that expanded in all directions. The demigods said: 'You, oh mighty one, must be knowing about this darkness we are so very afraid of. Your supreme divinity is not affected by time and thus nothing is hidden for you. Oh god of gods, sustainer of the universe, you as the crown jewel of all the guardians of the spiritual and material worlds know about the intentions of all living beings. We offer you whose strength is found in wisdom our obeisances. Having obtained this body composed of external energy and in acceptance of your distinguished mode [of passion], we pay you our respects, oh unseen source. Those who are steadfast in their devotion meditate upon you, the origin of all beings, the absolute consisting of the true and untrue and the self in which all worlds are connected. For souls who are mature in the practice of yoga and have attained your mercy in controlling their senses and mind by means of their breath, there is no defeat in any way. Him whose directions are the lead for all living entities the way a rope is the lead for a bull, him under whose authority offerings are presented, that most important personality, you, we offer our obeisances. Because of this darkness we cannot get around to our prescribed duties. We ask you to act to our good fortune, oh great Lord, please grant us, surrendered souls, the magnanimous mercy of your glance. Oh god, this semen of Kasyapa deposited in the womb of Diti, causes complete darkness in all directions like a fire loaded with too much firewood.'

Maitreya said: 'Oh mighty-armed one, he, the self-born one who in the prayers was addressed as the Supreme Lord, with a smile satisfied the demigods and gave a reply in sweet words. Brahma said: 'They who before you were born from my mind and are headed by Sanaka [Sanatana, Sanandana en Sanat-kumara], traveled free from expectations the distances between the people of the spiritual and material worlds. Free from all material contamination they one day entered Vaikunthha, the eternal abode of Vishnu, the Supreme Lord, the realm for which one prays in all the worlds. All the persons living there have the same form as the Lord of Vaikunthha and live free from any desire because of their devotional service of continuously worshiping the Supreme Personality. The Lord of all Fortune, the original person who is understood through the scriptures, dwells there as the personification of the religious principles in order to accept in His goodness our purity to the greater happiness of us who belong to Him. In that realm where everything is spiritual and personal, there are forests that for the sake of happiness yield to all desires with [desire] trees full of splendid flowers and fruits throughout all the seasons. Living in palaces with their wives, the devotees free from all inauspicious qualities are always singing there about the Supreme Lord, while being critical about the by the wind wafted mind-blowing fragrance of the madhavi flowers that full of nectar are blossoming in the water. When the king of the bumblebees loudly sings the glories of the Lord, the tumult of the pigeons, cuckoos, cranes, cakravakas and gallinules, swans, parrots, partridges and peacocks stops for a while. The fragrant mandara, kunda, kurabaka, utpala, campaka, arna, punnaga, nagakes'ara, bakula, lily and parijata, all agree that the tulsi plant [the basil plant the Lord adorns Himself with and] which in the form of a garland is appreciated [by Him] for her smell, best of them all honours the good spirit of renunciation there. By simply being of obeisance to the Lord's feet, the devotees earned the palaces standing everywhere, made of lapis lazuli with emeralds and gold, whose [female] inhabitants have large hips and beautiful smiling faces. But with their friendly laughing and joking, they, spiritually absorbed in Krishna, never give rise to any lust. In that house of the Lord [sometimes], reflected in the crystal clear walls inlaid with gold, the Goddess of Fortune is seen who is free from all faults. She then assumes a beautiful form with tinkling [bangles at her] feet and playing with a lotus flower. That grace of her is something for which the other ladies manifest themselves with the greatest zeal as true scrubwomen. Surrounded by maidservants they in their gardens on coral banks to ponds with pellucid, nectarean water, offer tulsi leaves to the Supreme Lord. Seeing the beauty of the locks of the goddess reflected in the water, they thereby imagine the Lord kissing her face. How unfortunate are they who never attain this Vaikunthha creation of the Vanquisher of All Sin, but rather hear about other subject matters phrased in bad words that kill one's intelligence. Alas, such persons far removed from the values of life are devoid of all shelter and cast into the deepest darkness. They who realised the human way of life, who acquired knowledge about the Absolute and are of the proper code of conduct [dharma] the way we [Lord Brahma and the demigods] wish it, but do not succeed in propitiating the Supreme Lord, are alas bewildered by His omnipresent illusory energy. [But] following in the footsteps of [me,] the chief of the demigods, they will go to Vaikunthha, the realm situated above mine, they who, attracted to each other in discussions about the Lord's desirable, supreme qualities and glories, feel ecstasy, have tears in their eyes and shiver with their bodies, and thus keep Yamaraja [the Lord of death] at a distance.'

[Brahma continued:] 'When the sages [headed by Sanaka] by dint of their spiritual potency reached Vaikunthha, they experienced a transcendental ecstasy they never had experienced before. It was the place, radiating with the palaces of the most deserving and learned devotees, where the teacher of the universe rules who is the object of worship in all the worlds. After passing there through six gates without taking much interest, they at the seventh gate ran into two demigods of the same age who carried valuable maces, bracelets, earrings, helmets and beautiful garments. Placed around their necks there was, between their four blue arms, a garland of forest flowers with intoxicated bees around them. But looking about with their arched eyebrows, restless breathing and reddish eyes, they seemed somewhat agitated. Seeing them both standing at the gate, the sons of Brahma passed, as they did before, the golden and diamond doors without taking any notice. They, after all, were the great sages who of their own accord moved everywhere without being checked or doubted. When they saw them, four naked boys of age who had realised the truth of the self but who looked as if they were not older than five years, the two gatekeepers in disregard of the glory and the etiquette, in an attitude offensive to the Lord wrongfully blocked their way with their staffs. The moment they were faced with the slight hindrance of the two doorkeepers who, for all the inhabitants of Vaikunthha to see, refused them despite by far being the fittest of the Lord, their eyes, in their eagerness to see their most beloved one, suddenly turned red out of anger ['the younger brother of lust'].

The sages said: 'Who are the two of you, to have attained here the service of the Supreme Lord by dint of your actions in the past? Which devotee who in Him is without anxiety and enmity, can be engaged as false as you? Who in the world is of such a deceptive mentality like yours that betrays the confidence? No one here is strange to the Supreme Personality who contains all in His abdomen. The living entity has its place in the Supersoul the way the small portion of air in one's lungs is part of the air outside. As a sober person seeing the two of you being dressed up like inhabitants of Vaikunthha, like awakened people who discriminate between body and soul, one wonders how such a fear about Him can exist? Therefore, in order to secure the grace of the Lord of Vaikunthha, according to our opinion the appropriate measure for you antipathetic minds who consider matters in opposition, is that you both depart from here to the material world where one finds this threefold sin that is the enemy of the living being [lust, anger and greed].'

The two [doorkeepers] who understood that a terrible brahmin curse had been pronounced by them, a curse that cannot be countered by any weapon, at once stricken with fear for the devotees of the Lord fell down to grasp their feet in great anxiety. 'Let it be so that you have punished us for our sins. A lack of respect for great sages like you cannot go unpunished. But we pray that we, with a bit of your infinite compassion for our repentance, not in a state of illusion will lose the memory of the Supreme Lord when we have to descend to the material world.'

That very moment the Supreme Lord, from whose navel the lotus sprouted, learned about the offense against the righteous sages. To their delight He came to the place being accompanied by His Goddess of Fortune, walking on the very same lotus feet that are sought by the hermits and the wise. Seeing Him coming forward with all His associates and paraphernalia, the sages, now seeing the one whom they always had been looking for, fell into ecstasy over the sight of the camaras [fans of yak-tail] that like beautiful swans waved a cool breeze that moved the pearls of His white umbrella, making them look like drops of water to a reflected moon. Blessing all with His auspicious face as the desirable shelter, He affectionately looked upon them and touched them expanding in their hearts. With His blackish skin and His broad chest decorated by the Goddess of Fortune, He spread the good fortune as the culmination of the spiritual worlds and the abode of the soul. Covered by yellow cloth He had a brightly shining girdle around His hips and humming bees about His garland of forest flowers. On His wrists He had lovely bracelets and while one of His hands rested on the shoulder of the son of Vinata [Garuda], He waved a lotus flower with another one. Shining brighter than lightening, the decoration of His alligator shaped earrings completed the countenance of His cheeks and straight nose. He wore a gem-studded crown, carried a charming most precious necklace between His stout arms and the Kaustubha jewel adorned His neck. With His beautiful decoration meditated upon by His fully attentive devotees, He outshone the smiles of the Goddess of Beauty. The sages could not get enough of the sight of the very beautiful figure so worshipable for me and for Shiva as also for all of you, and that made them joyously bow down their heads. When the breeze, carrying the fragrance of tulsi leaves from the toes of the lotus feet of the lotus-eyed Lord, entered their nostrils, they experienced an inner transformation, even though they in body and mind were devoted to [the impersonal realisation of] Brahman. Thereafter looking up they saw His face that resembled the inside of a blue lotus and also saw His even more beautiful jasmine flower lips smiling. Thus having achieved their life's aim they again looked down at the ruby red nails of His lotus feet and then meditated upon their shelter. For those people who seek liberation in this world by the paths of yoga, He is the object of meditation approved by many. With the display of His human form pleasing the eyes He, eternally present, is praised as endowed with the perfection of the eight achievements, a perfection that cannot be achieved by others [the so-called eight perfections or siddhis are: anima: smallness, mahima: greatness, garima: weight, laghima: lightness, prapti: free access, prakamyam: doing at wish, vas'itva: control over the elements and is'itvam: lordship over all].

The Kumaras said: 'Even though You are seated in the heart, You are not manifest to those who are far removed from the soul. Today, oh Unlimited One, we see You face to face, You who through our ears reached our inner being when we heard our father [Brahma] describe the mysteries of Your appearance. You, oh Supreme Lord, who with Your personality consisting of pure goodness brings delight to all [who are like us], we now know as the ultimate reality of the soul. This reality one may, according to the understanding of the sages who are not interested in a material life, grasp by Your grace in steadfast devotional service with a heart free

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from attachments. They [who follow this practice] do not even care about Your imperishable beatitude [kaivalya, enlightenment] or about any other minor form of happiness with which they may fear the frowning of Your eyebrows. They, oh Supreme One, take shelter of Your lotus feet and the narrations about Your pure glories so worthy to be sung by the very expert knowers of Your rasas [the emotional mellows one may have with You]. From the falsity of the lives we desired we may be of low births and have minds busy like bees, but if we are engaged in the devotional service at Your lotus feet and fill our ears with Your transcendental qualities, our words used become as beautiful as the tulsi leaves of Your mercy. We obtained so much satisfaction from seeing this eternal form You manifested, oh Lord of great renown. Let us therefore offer our obeisances to You, the Supreme Personality of Godhead, the Lord who is recognised by spiritual persons like us and not by those who are not spiritual.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 16:

The Two Doorkeepers of Vaikunthha, Cursed by the Sages

Brahma said: 'After having congratulated the four sages of yogic conscience for their words of praise, the Almighty One from the abode of Vaikunthha spoke. The Supreme Lord said: 'These two attendants of Mine named Jaya and Vijaya have, by their contempt of Me, committed a great offense against you. The punishment that you, devoted ones, awarded them, I approve, oh great sages, because they turned against you in enmity. I seek your forgiveness now because that offense against you, oh brahmins, who are the highest ones of God, is all Mine. I consider Myself the one who offended you since they who disrespected you are My attendants. When a servant does something wrong, one generally blames the one in whose name the offense was committed. It harms the reputation of that person as much as leprosy harms the skin. The nectar of the uncontaminated glories [of My name and fame] that reach one's ears, purifies the entire universe instantly, including the lowest of the low. I am that person of the freedom from laxity and foolishness, of Vaikunthha, and for you having attained the glory of that superior place of pilgrimage, I would even cut off My own arm if that place would work against you. Of those who serve in the dust of My sacred lotus feet, the sins are all wiped out instantly and therefrom I acquired such a disposition that, in spite of not being attached to her, the Goddess of Fortune never leaves Me, while others have to observe sacred vows to obtain the slightest favor from her. On the other hand I do not relish as much the oblations in the fire by the sacrificer who offers the ghee, that is abundantly mixed with the food, into that mouth of Mine, as I enjoy the bits of food that satisfy the mouths of the brahmins of engagement who dedicated the results of their actions to Me. If I with the power of My infinite and unhindered internal potency and with the Ganges water that washed from my feet, with which Lord Shiva instantly sanctifies the three worlds, manage to carry on My crown the holy dust of the brahmin's feet, then who would not [be capable of the same]? They who because their faculty of judgement is impaired by sin, consider the best of the twice-born souls, the cows and the defenseless creatures that are all part of My body, as being different from Me, will be torn apart by the furious, vulturelike messengers of the master of punishment like they were angry snakes [Yamaraja]. But I am controlled by the brahmins who [may] express themselves with criticism. Therefore those are in Me who, like being their sons, intelligently with gladdened hearts and with the nectar of their smiling lotus like faces, manage to recognise them with appreciative and loving words. Let it therefore be so that the exile does not take too long. Oblivious to the intention of their master these two servants were in offense with you. As a result they have to face the immediate consequences thereof, so that they will soon retrieve the favor of residing in My presence.'

Lord Brahma said: 'Even though they now had heard His loving, divine speech that was like a series of mantras, their souls, being bitten by the snake of anger, were not satisfied. With their ears wide open hearing the excellent and carefully chosen words of momentous import, they had difficulty understanding them and, pondering deeply over their profundity, could not fathom the Lord's intention. The great conclusion the Supreme Lord had revealed from His internal potency, made the four brahmins with folded hands speak in extreme delight with their hairs standing on end. The sages said: 'Oh Fortunate One, we do not understand what You are saying,, oh Lord, because You, despite being the ruler, spoke of [us] being merciful with You! You are the supreme director of the spiritual world and the highest authority of the brahmins. You, oh master of the learned souls, are the God of the gods, the Fortunate One who is the Soul, the worshipable deity. You, in all Your different appearances, constitute the protection of the eternal calling [sanatana dharma], You are the supreme objective of the religious principles; in our opinion You are the one unchanging reality. Because the transcendentalists, who break with all material desires, by dint of Your mercy effortlessly conquer birth and death, it can never be so that You would depend on the mercy of others. The Grace of Fortune [the goddess Lakshmi], of whom others, in their wish for material benefit, occasionally accept on their heads the dust of her feet, waits upon You, anxious to secure a place equal to that of the king of the bumblebees that are after the aroma of the wreath of fresh tulsi leaves that is offered by the devotees. How can You, who as the reservoir of all opulences are not that anxious about her impeccable devotional services, You, who for the pure devotees are the object of the greatest devotion, be sanctified by the dust on the path of the brahmins or find fortune by the Shrivatsa mark [the few white hairs on Your chest]? You, oh Fortunate One, are threefold [tapas, Shauca, daya] present in all the three [previous] yugas for the protection of the animate and inanimate beings of this universe. May Your transcendental form consisting of pure goodness, for the sake of the gods and the brahmins, ban all ignorance and passion and thus bring us all the best. If You as the protector of the brahmins - the highest class - do not consider them worthy of Your protection, if You do not consider them the best who deserve all respect and should be addressed in friendly terms, then oh God, Your auspicious path will be lost, the path because of which the common people would accept the authority of their excellence. And that is not what You want. You, who as the reservoir of all goodness wishes to do good to the people in general, destroyed the opposition by Your potencies. Oh Lord, You are the one of the threefold of nature and the maintainer of the universe and therefore Your potency remains undiminished [by the role You are playing now]. That submissive attitude is but [a game to] Your pleasure. Whatever punishment, oh Lord, You think these two or those who are of a better life [we] deserve, we wholeheartedly will accept. Take whatever measure You consider proper; we understand that we have cursed the sinless ones.'

The Supreme Lord said: 'These two will soon elsewhere take birth from a godless womb. With their focus of mind intensified by anger, they will remain firmly united with Me and before long return to My presence. Know that your curse was ordained by Me alone, oh learned ones.'

Brahma said: 'The sages had now to their delight seen the beautiful to behold, self-illuminated realm of Vaikunthha, the abode of the irresistible Lord. They circumambulated the Supreme Lord, offered their respects and returned elated, full of praise in having learned about the glory of the Vaishnavas [the attendants of Lord Vishnu]. The Supreme Lord then said to His two servants: 'Leave this place, let there be no fear, but live in solidarity. Even though I am capable of nullifying a brahmin's curse, I do not wish to do so, on the contrary, it has even My approval. This departure has been foreseen by Lakshmi who was angry with you when you once prevented her from entering the gate while I was resting. As My enemy being unified in consciousness, you will find liberation from the consequence of not respecting the brahmins and after only a short while return to Me.'

Thus having addressed the two doorkeepers, the Supreme Lord returned to His abode decorated with rows of palaces and full of the wealth [of the servitude] of the goddess Lakshmi. But that did not apply to the two excellent demigods who, because of the curse of the brahmins, inevitably had to miss the beauty and luster of Vaikunthha and fell into gloom. Upon the fall of the two from the abode of the Lord of Vaikunthha, a great cry of disappointment rose from the excellent palaces of the devotees. These two prominent associates of the Lord have now acquired access to the womb of Diti by the very powerful seed of Kasyapa. Because the Supreme Lord wanted this to happen, you are all now being faced with the prowess of these two unenlightened siblings and unsettled as a consequence. With Him as the cause of the maintenance, creation and destruction of the universe, the bewildering yogamaya potency of the Most Ancient One is difficult to fathom, even for the masters of yoga. But He is our Lord of Fortune and Master of the modes and will put things right. What [else] would be the purpose of our deliberation on this subject?'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 17:

Victory of Hiranyaksha over All the Directions of the Universe

Maitreya said: 'When the denizens of heaven heard the explanation of Brahma about the cause [of the darkness], they were freed from their fear and thereupon all returned to their heavenly places. Virtuous Diti, apprehensive about the lifelong trouble her husband spoke about in relation to her children, gave birth to twin sons. When they were born, many most frightening, inauspicious signs could be observed in heaven, on earth and in the sky. The mountains and the earth shook with earthquakes and there seemed to be fire coming from all directions with meteors falling, thunderbolts, comets and inauspicious constellations. Sharp winds blew that constantly howled and armies of cyclones with dust-clouds for their ensigns uprooted the greatest trees. Amassing clouds obscured the luminaries with lightning loudly in the sky; everything was enveloped in darkness and nothing could be seen. Stricken with sorrow, the ocean full of agitated creatures wailed with high waves, the drinking places and rivers were disturbed and the lotuses withered. All the time misty halos appeared around the sun and moon who had eclipses, claps of thunder were heard and rattling sounds of chariots resounded from the mountain caves. Inside the villages fearful she-jackals vomited fire from their mouths and there were cries of owls and an ominous howling of jackals. The dogs raised their heads uttering various cries, sometimes as if they sang and then again like they were wailing. The asses, oh Vidura, loudly braying ran madly hither and thither in groups, striking the earth hard with their hooves. Frightened by the asses the birds flew shrieking from their nests and the cattle passed dung and urine in the cowsheds and the woods. The cows in their fear yielded blood [in stead of milk] and clouds rained pus, the idols shed tears and trees fell down without a blast of wind. The most auspicious planets and the other luminaries stood in conjunction, had retrograde courses or took conflicting positions. Seeing more of these great portents and not knowing their underlying truth, all people, except for the sons of Brahma, were afraid and thought that the world would end. The two godforsaken, earliest Daityas in history, grew up quickly, manifesting uncommon bodies that were as hard as steel and of the size of mountains. With their brilliant bracelets around their arms and the beauty of the decorated belts around their waists that outshone the sun, the earth shook at every step of their feet, to which the crests of their crowns touched the sky as they blocked the view in all directions.

Prajapati Kasyapa gave the two their names: the one of the twin who was first begotten from his flesh and blood [but was born later] he called Hiranyakas'ipu ['the one feeding on gold'] and the one who appeared first from Diti in the world [but was begotten later] he called Hiranyaksha ['the one with an eye for gold']. Hiranyakas'ipu, who because of a blessing of Lord Brahma was puffed up without any fear that he would be killed by anyone, managed to seize control over the three worlds and their protectors. Hiranyaksha, his beloved younger brother always willing to do him a favor, with a club in his hands ready to fight, was traversing the higher spheres in search of violent opposition. He had a temper difficult to control, tinkling anklets of gold and the adornment of a very large garland over his shoulders upon which rested his huge mace. Proud as he was of the physical and mental strength conferred by the boon, he feared no one because no one could check him, and therefore the godly souls afraid of him hid themselves like being snakes frightened of Garuda. Upon discovering that Indra and the demigods facing his might had vanished and could not be found, the chief of the Daityas got excited and roared loudly. Giving up his search the mighty being, wrathful like an elephant, desiring to sport dove deep into the ocean while producing a terrible sound.

As he entered the ocean, the aquatics, the defenders of Varuna, were beset with fear that he would get hold of them and fled, daunted by his splendor, hurried away as far as they could. For many years he roamed the ocean, with great force time and again striking the mighty, wind-tossed waves with his mace. Thus he reached Vibhavari, oh Vidura, the capital of Varuna. There having reached the region of the creatures of force [the demons], he, to make fun, with a smile like someone lowborn bowed before Varuna, the Lord and guardian of the aquatics, and said: 'Oh great Lord, give me battle! You are the guardian of this place, a renown ruler. By your power, that reduced the pride of the conceited heroes and with which you conquered all Daityas and Danavas in the world [viz. the sons of Diti and Daksha's daughter Danu, considered as demons], you once managed to perform a great royal [rajasuya] sacrifice, oh master.'

Thus profoundly being ridiculed by an enemy whose vanity knew no bounds, the respectable lord of the waters got angry, but controlling himself with reason he replied: 'Oh my best one, we have left the path of warfare. I can think of no one else but the Most Ancient Person [Lord Vishnu], who in battle with you would be sufficiently skilled in the tactics of war to your satisfaction, oh king of the world. Approach Him who is even praised by heroes like you. Reaching Him, oh great hero, you will quickly be freed from your pride and lie down on the battlefield amid the dogs. It is for exterminating the evil that you are and to show the virtuous souls His grace, that He wishes to assume His forms.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 18:

The Battle Between Lord Boar and the Demon Hiranyaksha

Maitreya continued: 'Having heard the proud words of the Lord of the seas, the vainglorious demon took little heed of them. From Narada having learned about the whereabouts of the Lord, oh dear Vidura, he hurriedly betook himself to the depths of the ocean. There he saw how the Victorious One bearing the earth high on the tips of His tusks, was putting him in His shadow with His radiant, reddish eyes. He laughed and said: 'Oh, a beast of the wilderness!' He told the Lord: 'Come and fight, oh fool, leave the earth to us inhabitants of the lower worlds. The creator of the universe entrusted this earth to us. Me seeing You here having assumed the form of a boar, oh lowest of the gods, will not be conducive to Your wellbeing! Have our enemies called for You in order to kill us,

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You who by remaining invisible deceptively kills those who are attached to the world? The power of Your bewildering internal potency is of no importance. I will erase the grief of my relatives by killing You, oh rascal! When I have killed You by smashing Your skull with the mace in my hand, all the sages and God-conscious people who where presenting their offerings to You, will be released and automatically cease to exist without You as their foundation.'

The moment He, being hurt by the assailing abuse of words of the enemy, saw that the earth He carried on the tips of His tusks was frightened, He bore the pain and came out of the water like a male elephant who in the company of his wives is attacked by a crocodile. With Him appearing from the water he, with his golden hair and frightening teeth, chased Him like a crocodile would chase an elephant. He roared like thunder: 'Is there anything a condemned poor devil [like You running away from me] would be ashamed of?' With the enemy looking on He [Lord Boar] placed the earth within His sight on the water and invested her with the power of His own strength [to stay afloat]. [For that] He was praised by the creator of the universe and honoured with flowers by the demigods. Hiranyaksha, following Him closely behind with his wealth of golden ornaments, his huge mace and his beautiful golden armor, constantly pierced the core of His heart with terribly angry abuses. But He laughed about it and addressed him. The Supreme Lord said: 'We [boars] are indeed creatures of the jungle, engaged in killing dogs like you, mischievous one. Heroes [like Us] who are free from the bondage of death take no notice of the loose talk of someone [like you] who is bound. We stole away the inhabitants of the lower worlds and are not ashamed of it. Despite being chased by your mace, we this way or another have to stay right here. Where can one go having challenged such a mighty adversary? As the leader of the army commanders you have to take steps to defeat Us forthwith, without further consideration. Killing Us you wipe the tears away of your kith and kin. Is it not so that he who does not fulfill the words of his promise deserves no place in an assembly?'

Maitreya said: 'The attacker, thus being insulted and ridiculed by the Supreme One of Devotion got seriously agitated and became as furious as a challenged cobra. Angrily hissing and stirred in all his senses for his wrath, the demon attacked with great speed and threw his mace at the Lord. The Lord however stepped aside to evade the blow of the mace thrown by the enemy, just like an accomplished yogi eluding death. After picking up his mace again, he brandished it about repeatedly and bit his lip in the rage of his anger to rush towards the Lord for the second time. The Lord then struck the enemy on His right brow with His mace. But the demon, as an expert with the mace, warded off the blow with his own. And so Hiranyaksha and the Lord, both eager for the victory, were furiously striking each other with their huge maces. The two combatants with their bodies injured by the pointed maces, smelled the oozing blood, which even more drove them to perform diverse maneuvers in their effort to win. It looked like an encounter between two bulls fighting about a cow.

Oh descendant of Kuru, Brahma, the self-born one, desired to witness the fight that was fought for the sake of the world, and came, being accompanied by the sages, for the Daitya Hiranyaksha and the Supersoul of all sacrifices who had engaged His potency to appear in the form of a boar. Upon seeing the power the Daitya Hiranyaksha had acquired and how he, unafraid, had arrived at an unavoidable opposition, the respectable Brahma, the leader of thousands of sages, addressed the original Lord Narayana in His boar form. 2-2 Brahma said: 'This one, oh God of heaven, is to the gods, the brahmins, the cows, the normal living beings and the innocent souls who obtained Your feet, an evil-doer, a source of fear doing wrong by the power of a boon obtained from me. Wandering about as a pain to everyone, he as a demon has searched all the universe missing a proper adversary. Play no innocent game with him, oh god of heaven. Once aroused he is a snake full of tricks, arrogant, self-righteous and most wicked. Please my Lord, oh Infallible One, engage Your internal potency and forthwith kill the sinner so that he will not have the chance to further increase the formidable power he acquired. This encroaching dark of night destroys the world, oh Soul of Souls, please bring victory to the God-conscious souls. This auspicious moment called abhijit [the eight muhurta, about midday] has almost passed now. For the welfare of us, Your friends, quickly dispose of this formidable foe. The death of this one, who fortunately arrived here of his own accord, was ordained by You. Show him Your power in the duel, kill him and restore the peace of the worlds.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 19:

The Killing of the Demon Hiranyaksha

Maitreya said: 'Hearing Brahma's sincere, nectarine words made the Lord heartily laugh as He accepted them with a glance laden with love. Then, jumping up, the Lord being born from Brahma's nostril with His mace struck the demoniac enemy, fearlessly moving before Him, sideways on the chin. But that blow was stopped by Hiranyaksha's mace in such a way that the Lord's mace miraculously slipped from His hands, falling down whirling with an astonishing glow. Even though Hiranyaksha thus was offered an excellent opportunity, he did not attack out of respect for the combat code that one does not attack someone who has no weapon. This excited the Lord. As His mace fell, a cry of fear rose [among the bystanders] but the confrontation with Hiranyaksha's righteousness made the All-powerful Lord think of His Sudars'ana-cakra. Playing with the vile son of Diti, this greatest of His associates, He rotated His discus and met with various expressions of disbelief from those who unaware [of all His powers] crowded the sky and said: 'We wish You all the best, please kill him.'

The Daitya upon seeing Him whose eyes were like the petals of lotus flowers, standing armed with His disc before him, prepared and looking at Him, was in his senses overpowered by indignation and hissing like a serpent he bit his lips in great resentment. With his fearful huge teeth and staring eyes burning like fire he then attacked Him with his club saying: 'And thus You are slain!', and hurled it at the Lord. Even though that mace had the force of a tempest, oh seeker of truth, it was by the Supreme Lord of sacrifices who had assumed the form of a boar, before the eyes of His enemy playfully knocked down with His left leg.

He thereupon said: 'Pick it up and try again, if you are so eager to win'. The thus challenged Hiranyaksha then roared loudly and stroke again. The Lord seeing the mace flying towards Him, stood firm and caught it as easily as Garuda would seize a serpent. As his bravery was thus frustrated, the great demon, with his pride shattered, humiliated refused to take back the mace the Lord offered Him. He instead took up a trident and flaming like fire ravenously went against the Varaha appearance of the Lord of Sacrifice, like someone who with evil intentions goes against a brahmin. The shiny trident that was hurled by the mightiest among the Daityas with all his strength, in his flight shone all the brighter but was like Garuda's wing being clipped off by Indra [when Garuda once snatched a pot of nectar], cut to pieces by the sharp rim of the cakra. When he saw his trident cut to pieces by the disc of the Lord, he infuriated came roaring forward and stroke the broad and Shrivatsa-marked chest of the Lord, the abode of the goddess, hard with his fist. Thereafter the demon disappeared from sight. Thus struck by him, oh Vidura, the Supreme Lord, in His first incarnation as a boar, was not in the least shaken. He was not more affected than an elephant hit with a bunch of flowers. The people however now saw the Lord of the internal potency being sieged with an array of tricks and they fearfully thought that the end of the world was at hand. Fierce winds were blowing and in all directions darkness spread because of the dust, while stones came down as if an entire army was engaged. The luminaries in the sky disappeared behind masses of clouds from which it thundered and lightened with a constant downpour of pus, hair, blood, stool, urine and bones. Oh sinless one, from the mountains all kinds of weapons were discharged and naked demonesses with their hair hanging loose were seen who were armed with tridents. Many savage devils and demons on foot, horseback, on chariots and elephants appeared, who shouted cruel words of murder. Following this display of magical power by the demon the beloved enjoyer of the three sacrifices [of hearing, goods and breath desiring an end to it all cast the weapon of His most excellent presence [the Sudars'ana-cakra].

That very moment all of a sudden a shudder ran through the heart of Diti [the mother of the demon] whereupon, with her remembering the words of her husband [Kasyapa], blood flowed from her breasts. With his magic forces being dispelled [by the launched cakra] the demon reappeared before the Supreme Lord and full of rage embraced Him in order to crush Him, but he found the Lord outside of his grip. Hiranyaksha struck Lord Adhokshaja ['He beyond the control of the senses'] with his fist as hard as a thunderbolt, but was hit by Him just below his ear, just like the Lord of the Maruts [Indra] did with the demon Vritra. Even though the Invincible Lord slapped him in a casual manner, the demon's body wheeled around with his eyes bulged out of their sockets whereupon he, with his arms and legs lifeless and his hair scattered, fell down like a gigantic tree uprooted by the wind.

The self-born one [Brahma] and others who saw him lying on the ground with his glow still unfaded and his teeth through his lip, said, approaching in admiration: 'Oh who indeed, could meet his final destination like this? He upon whom the yogis, absorbed in the union of their consciousness, in seclusion meditate in seeking liberation from the unreal, material body, struck with one of His legs him, the son, the crest jewel of the Daityas who left behind his body gazing at His countenance. Both the personal assistants of the Lord have been cursed to be born again in godless families for a couple of lives. Thereafter they will return to their positions.'

The demigods said: 'All obeisances to You, oh Enjoyer of all Sacrifices who for the sake of maintaining [this world] assumed a form of pure goodness. To our good fortune You have slain this one who was wreaking havoc in all the worlds. With devotion to Your feet we are now at ease.'

Shri Maitreya said: 'After thus having killed the so very powerful Hiranyaksha, the Lord, the source of the boar incarnation, was praised by the one seated on the lotus and the other gods, whereupon He returned to His abode where His glory is celebrated continuously. To you, dear friend, I explained as it was told to me, how the Supreme Lord, by descending in a material form, put an end to the activities of the so very powerful Hiranyaksha who in a great fight was killed like a plaything.' "

Suta said: "After Vidura, the great devotee, thus from the son of Kusharu [Maitreya] had heard about the story of the Fortunate One, he achieved the highest bliss, oh brahmin [Shaunaka]. Considering the joy one derives from hearing stories about virtuous souls of name and fame, what a joy would one not derive from listening to a story about Him with the Shrivatsa mark on His chest? When the king of the elephants [Gajendra] was attacked by an alligator, he meditated on the lotus feet while his wives were crying and was thus quickly delivered from the danger. Who would not take shelter of Him who is so easy to worship for men who are honest and sincere; which grateful soul would not render service to the One who is impossible to worship for those who are not virtuous and straight? He who hears, chants and takes pleasure in this wonderful pastime of the Supreme One, who as a boar raised the earth out of the ocean and killed Hiranyaksha, will immediately be freed [from the consequences of his sins], even if he killed a brahmin, oh twice-born soul. This narrative is most edifying, is very sacred, brings wealth, fame, longevity and will provide all that one needs. Whoever listens to it will therefrom on the battlefield find his life force and senses strengthened and at the end of his life obtain the shelter of Lord Narayana, dear Shaunaka."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 20:

The Beings Created by Brahma

Shaunaka said: "After the position of the earth was restored [by Lord Varaha], oh son of Romaharshana [Suta], what did Svayambhuva Manu do to show those to be born the path? Vidura, the great, unalloyed devotee and intimate friend of Lord Krishna, abandoned his elder brother [Dhritarashthra] because he and his hundred sons went against Krishna. Born from the body of Vyasa and in no way inferior to him in greatness, he with all his heart took shelter of Lord Krishna and followed those devoted to Him. What was it that this hero of purity when he visited the holy places asked Maitreya, the foremost knower of spiritual life whom he had met at Kus'avarta [Hardwar] where he resided? When the two engaged in their conversation oh Suta, that resulted in the spotless narrations that like the waters of the Ganges vanquish all sins when one takes shelter of the Lord's lotus feet. All good fortune to you! Tell us the stories about His selfless actions that are so worthy to be sung. What devotee appreciative of the devotional mellows [rasas] one has with Him would have enough of drinking in the nectar of the Lord's pastimes?"

Thus being questioned by the sages assembled in the Naimisharanya forest, Suta who had dedicated his mind to the Lord then said to them: "Just listen to this."

Suta said: "Vidura, having heard how the Lord had assumed the body of a boar, He by His own potency had uplifted the earth from the bottom of the ocean and as a good sport indifferently had killed Hiranyaksha, was overjoyed and addressed the sage. Vidura said: 'Oh holy sage, knower of that which is beyond our scope, please tell me what Brahma has started after bringing forth the Prajapatis who created mankind. How did the learned ones headed by Marici observe the brahminical order of Svayambhuva Manu and how have they developed this world? Have they operated being married, did they remain independent or have they all worked together bringing about all of this?'

Maitreya said: 'By Maha-Vishnu, by the eternally active power of the hard to grasp divine ordinance, the equilibrium of the three modes of nature got disturbed, so that the complete of the Fortunate One His material elements was produced. From the greatness of the cosmic intelligence [the mahat-tattva], as ordained by the divine, beginning from the [spatial force field of the] ether the birth of the basic reality of the material elements [the ego as known] in groups of five took place [the five elements, five senses, five sense objects and five sense organs] with the threefold of nature in which the element of passion [or quality of movement] predominates. Those elements, which on themselves could not bring about the coherence of the material universe, produced, having combined with the union of the divine, a globe that shone like gold. It was lying in the waters of the causal ocean as an egg in an unconscious state for in fact quite a bit longer than a thousand [celestial] years before the Lord [as Garbhodakas'ayi Vishnu] entered it. From the Lord's navel the lotus of a thousand and more suns sprouted with a dazzling splendor [the galaxy]. It is the abode of all conditioned souls where the self-born one [Lord Brahma, the Creator] found his existence as the first living entity. When the Lord who sleeps in the causal waters entered Brahma's heart, he created the universe as he did before.

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First of all he from his shadow created the five types of ignorance called tamisra [forgetfulness], andha-tamisra [the illusion of death], tama [not knowing oneself], moha [the illusion of being matter] and maha-moha [mad after matter, craving. Dissatisfied Brahma threw off this body of ignorance which was then seised by Yakshas [evil spirits] and Rakshasas [wild men, demons] to serve as the darkness that is the source of hunger and thirst. Controlled by that hunger and thirst they ran after him in order to eat him and cried in their affliction: 'Do not spare him!' That disturbed the godhead and he told them: 'Do not eat me, but preserve me, for you Rakshasas and Yakshas are my sons!'

The demigods who shine with the glory of the fear of God and were created first, took hold of the effulgent form of the daytime which as the vehicle of God was left behind. The god, from his backside, next gave birth to the godless who fond of sex approached the Creator in lust for copulation. At first the worshipable Lord had to laugh about being followed by the shameless ones of darkness, but he then terrified and annoyed, hurried to get away. He turned to Him who bestows all boons and whose feet are sought, the Lord who dispels distress and who, in order to show His mercy to His devotees, manifests Himself in a suitable form: 'Protect me oh Supersoul, following Your order I created those sinful living beings who approach me for having sex, oh Master. Only You are capable of relieving the people who are afflicted by material miseries, only You can stop those who do not take shelter of Your feet.'

He who unerringly knows the mind of each soul, seeing the distress of Lord Brahma told him: 'Cast off your impure body' and thus commanded he cast it off. That body [in the form of a woman] was intoxicating with tinkling ankle bells, adorable feet, overwhelming eyes and a gold-ornamented shining girdle around the hips covered by fine cloth. The breasts were tightly pressed together and raised high, the nose was well formed, the teeth beautiful, the smile lovely and the look defiant. She hid herself out of shyness. Oh Vidura, all the godless ones fancying the braids of her dark hair were captivated by the woman: 'Oh what a beauty, what a grace; oh what a budding youth! That she walks with us who are so desirous of her, as if she's free from passion!' Indulging in all kinds of speculation about the evening twilight that had assumed the form of a young woman, the wicked-minded ones fond of her, full of respect asked her: 'Who are you? Whom do you belong to, oh pretty one? Why have you come here, oh passionate lady? You are tantalizing us, unfortunate ones, with the priceless commodity of your beauty! Whoever you may be, oh beautiful girl, by the fortune of seeing you play with a ball, we onlookers have lost our head. Moving your lotus feet about, oh beautiful woman, you bounce that ball with the palm of your hand. The weight of your full grown breasts must be tiresome for that waist of yours. You look as if you're tired, please loosen the tie of your hair!'

The godless this way with their minds clouded took the twilight of the evening for the wanton form of an alluring woman and seised her. With a smile of deep significance the worshipful Lord then by the self-awareness of His own sweetness created the hosts of celestial musicians and dancing girls [the Gandharvas and Apsaras]. The attractive form that factually was the shining moonlight He gave up and the Gandharvas headed by Vis'vavasu gladly took possession of it. When Lord Brahma, after he from sloth had created the ghosts and evil spirits, saw them naked and with disorderly hair, he closed his eyes. They took possession of the body was thrown off that by the master of creation and which is known as yawning. With it one sees the living beings drooling in their sleep, which is an unclean state that [with the ghosts and evil spirits belonging to it] constitutes the bewilderment of which one speaks as insanity. Recognizing himself as being full of energy the worshipful Brahma, the master of all beings, from his invisible form created the hosts of Sadhyas and Pitas [the invisible demigods and departed souls]. They, the Pitas, accepted that body, the source of their existence, and it is through that body that those well versed in the rituals offer their oblations [called Shraddha] to these Sadhyas and Pitas. The Siddhas [the ones of special powers] and also the Vidyadharas [the knowledgeable spirits] were created by his faculty of remaining hidden from vision. He gave them that wonderful form of himself known as Antardhana [of being present but remaining unseen]. From admiring himself seeing his reflection in the water the master in his self-awareness created the Kinnaras [the ones of power] and Kimpurushas [the monkey-like]. They took possession of the form of the shadow he left behind, for the reason of which they every daybreak [during the brahma-muhurta, one and a half hours before sunrise] gather with their spouses to glorify his exploits in song. Once fully stretching his body as he lay down, he to his great concern saw that the creation lacked in progress. Thereupon he out of his anger gave up that body also. Oh Vidura, from the hairs falling from that body the beings without limbs were created. From their crawling bodies the snakes evolved from whom one with the vicious cobras sees the hood on their neck.

When he [once] felt as if he had accomplished his life's purpose, from his mind finally sprouted the Manus [the original fathers of mankind] for promoting the welfare of the world. He gave them the form of his own impassioned, personal body, seeing which those who were created earlier welcomed the Prajapati [the founding father] with the following eulogy: 'O Creator of the Universe, you created everything so very well: all the ritualistic customs you have settled so firmly for us to share in the sacrificial oblations! By being of penance, through worship and by connectedness in yogic discipline being immersed in the finest absorption, you the first seer, the controller of the senses, have evolved the sages, your beloved sons. Each of them you, the unborn one, have given a part of your own body that carries deep meditation, yogic union, supernatural ability, penance, knowledge and renunciation.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 21:

The Conversation Between Manu and Kardama

Vidura said: 'Oh supreme one, be so good to describe the most esteemed dynasty of Svayambhuva Manu, the sexual intercourse of which led to all the progeny. Priyavrata and Uttanapada, the two sons of Svayambhuva Manu, ruled according to the principles of religion the world consisting of the seven continents. The daughter of that Manu named Devahuti, oh brahmin, was the wife of the father of mankind you spoke of as Kardama Muni, oh sinless one. Can you tell me, eager as I am, the story about how the many offspring of Kardama Muni, who was in fact a great mystic yogi endowed with the eight perfections, sprouted from her? And how did the worshipful Ruci, oh brahmin, and Daksha, the son of Brahma, generate their offspring after securing the two other daughters of Svayambhuva Manu as their wives?'

Maitreya said: 'Lord Brahma told the supreme muni Kardama to beget children after he for ten thousand years had practiced penance on the bank of the river Sarasvati. Absorbed in that connectedness Kardama in his yoga was of devotional service unto Him, the Lord who bestows all mercy upon the surrendered souls. The Supreme lotus-eyed Lord being pleased then showed him in Satya-yuga through the process of hearing oh Vidura, the absolute truth of His transcendental form. He saw that that body of His was as effulgent and pure as the sun with a garland of white water lilies and lotuses and an abundance of slick blackish-blue locks of hair, a lotus-like face and dressed in spotless clothes. Adorned with a crown and wearing earrings He, captivating the heart with His smiling glances, held a conch, a disc and a mace and played with a white lily. He saw Him in the air standing with His lotus feet on the shoulders of Garuda with the famous Kaustubha jewel on His chest hanging down from His neck. Having achieved his desire he whose heart had always been filled with love jubilantly fell down with his head to the ground and with folded hands pleased [Him] with prayers.

The sage said: 'Oh worshipable Lord, now we have attained the complete success of having You, the Reservoir of All Goodness, before our eyes; a sight that is aspired [even] by yogis who attained the perfection of yoga after gradually elevating through many births. Oh Lord, You even fulfill the desires of those who, because of Your deluding energy, have lost their intelligence and worship Your lotus feet - that are the boat for crossing over the ocean of mundane existence - for the purpose of obtaining the trivial pleasures of life that one also finds in hell. Desiring to marry a girl of a likewise disposition who in one's marriage is as a cow of plenty, I also with doubtful intentions approached You, the root and source of everything and desire tree that fulfills all wishes. Oh original father of all, the conditioned souls in the grip of desire are all bound by the rope of the words of You as the Lord of the living beings. I, following their example also offer my oblations to You, oh light of eternal time. But those who gave up on the pursuance of their animalistic, earthly interests as also the people belonging to them, and by discussing Your qualities with each other took shelter under the umbrella of Your lotus feet, with the help of that intoxicating nectar put an end to their being a servant of their physical bodies. The wheel of the universe which with a tremendous speed spins around the axle of the imperishable [nature] of You [Brahman] with three naves [sun, moon and stars], [twelve to] thirteen spokes [as lunar months], three hundred and sixty joints [as days in a demigod year], six rims [as seasons], and innumerable leaves [moments], cuts short the life-span of the universe but not the lives of the devotees. You oh Supreme Lord as the One Self without a second, are desirous to bring about in Yourself and control by Your deluding yogamaya potency, the universes that You by dint of Your own potency create, maintain and again wind up like a spider does. This material world with its gross and subtle elements that You manifest for us, was not just meant by You for providing sensual pleasures. Let that world be there also for our ultimate good [the beatitude] whenever we through Your causeless mercy may perceive the Fortunate One splendid with the tulsi [of the devotion for You]. In order to realise the detachment from enjoying the fruits, You by Your energies brought about the material worlds. I continuously offer My obeisances to the worshipable lotus feet that shower benedictions on the insignificant ones.'

The sage [Maitreya] said: 'Thus having been praised sincerely Lord Vishnu replied Kardama Muni with words sweet as nectar, while He, radiating affection standing on the shoulders of Garuda, smilingly looked on from below His expressive eyebrows. The Supreme Lord said: 'Knowing your state of mind, I have already arranged that for which you exercised yourself with Me as the one and only to be worshiped. The exclusive worship of Me the way it exists of people like you who have fixed their attention fully on Me, is never without meaning and purpose, oh leader of the people. The son of the father of man, the emperor Svayambhuva Manu, whose righteous actions are well known, lives in Brahmavarta [the world as part of Brahma's lotus] where he rules over the seven oceans and the earth. He, the saintly king, oh learned one, will along with his queen come to this place the day after tomorrow, wishing to meet you as an expert in religious matters. He has a grown-up daughter with black eyes and a character full of good qualities and is searching for a husband. He will give you her hand in marriage, oh master, for you are a suitable candidate. She is the one your heart longed for all these years, she is your princess, oh brahmin and will soon serve you to your desire. She, from the seed sown in her by you, will give birth to nine daughters, and from those daughters the sages will beget all of their children. When you've carried out My command properly and are completely purified unto Me in forsaking the fruits of action, you will finally attain Me. And when you have shown compassion and have given assurance to all souls, you will be self-realised and perceive yourself and the universe as being in Me, as also Me being in you. By your semen I will [appear] as My own plenary portion, oh great sage and instruct your wife Devahuti in the doctrine of the ultimate reality.'

Maitreya said: 'Thus having spoken to him, the Supreme Lord who could be directly perceived by the senses departed from lake Bindu-sarovar through which the river Sarasvati flows. While He before his eyes left by the path of perfection [to the spiritual world] that is praised by all liberated souls, the sage heard the hymns that form the Sama Veda being vibrated by the wings of the Lord's carrier [Garuda]. Then, after His departure, Kardama, the greatly powerful sage, stayed on the bank of lake Bindu, waiting for the things to come.

Svayambhuva Manu mounted together with his wife a gold-plated chariot, placed his daughter on it and traveled all over the earth. Oh great archer, as the Lord had foretold, he reached the hermitage of the sage on the very day he completed his vows of austerity. That holy auspicious water of the Sarasvati river flooding the lake was the nectar that had been frequented by hosts of great sages. It was verily a lake of tears, the way it was called after the teardrops that fell down from the Lord's eyes when He was overwhelmed by His extreme compassion for this surrendered soul. The place was holy with clusters of trees and creepers with the pleasant cries of good-natured animals and birds. Adorned by the beauty of groves of trees it was rich with fruits and flowers throughout all the seasons. It teemed with the life of flocks of birds, intoxicated bees madly buzzing around, peacocks proudly dancing and merry cuckoos calling each other. The lake was adorned by kadamba, campaka, ashoka, karanja and bakula flowers and asana, kunda, mandara, kuthaja trees and young mango trees and the pleasant sounds could be heard of karandava ducks, plavas, swans, ospreys, waterfowls, cranes, cakravaka and cakora birds. There were also masses of deer, boars, porcupines, gavayas [wild cows], elephants, baboons, lions, monkeys, mongooses and musk deer.

When the first monarch with his daughter entered that eminent place, he saw the sage sitting in his hermitage, offering oblations in the sacred fire. His body shone brilliantly because of his prolonged, terrible penance of yoga and was not very emaciated, for the Lord had cast His affectionate, sidelong glance upon him and made him listen to His moonlike, nectarean words. He was tall with eyes as the petals of a lotus, had matted locks of hair and ragged clothes. Approaching him he appeared to be soiled like an unpolished gem. The monarch having approached the cottage bowed before him, whereupon the sage received him with honour and gave him a welcome befitting a king. After having accepted the respect offered, he then remained seated silently and was delighted to hear what the sage, thinking of what the Lord had told him, then in a pleasant tone of voice said:

'I am sure, oh divine personality, that you tour around in order to protect the virtuous ones and put an end to the life of the wicked ones, since you are the person representing the Lord's protective potency. According to the necessity you assume the different forms of the sun, the moon, the fire [Agni], the Lord of heaven [Indra], the wind [Vayu], the one chastising [Yama], the religion [Dharma] and of the waters [Varuna]. I offer Lord Vishnu who is You my obeisances. If you would not have mounted the chariot of victory bedecked with its mass of jewels and have twanged your bow so frighteningly, threatening all the culprits with your presence, if your leading a huge army of trampling foot soldiers would

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not have shaken the earth roaming the globe like the brilliant sun, then surely all moral codes and obligations of the vocations [varna] and age groups [ashrama] as arranged by the Lord, oh King, alas would have been broken by rogues. When you would rest, unrighteousness would flourish with a lack of control over men who are simply after the money. This world would then be seised by the miscreants and come to naught. Nevertheless I ask you, oh heroic one, what the reason is of your visit, for that is what we without reservation will carry out with heart and soul.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 22:
The Marriage of Kardama Muni and Devahuti

Maitreya said: 'After the sage this way had described the greatness of all the virtues and activities of emperor Manu, he fell silent. The emperor feeling somewhat embarrassed then addressed him. Manu said: 'You [brahmins] were in your connectedness in penance, knowledge, yoga and aversion from sense gratification, by the Creator created from His mouth for the purpose of defending Him in the form of praises [Vedic hymns]. And the Father with the Thousand Feet [the Lord of the Universal Form] created us from His thousand arms in order to protect them. Therefore, with us, the kshatriyas, the rulers being His arms, the brahmins are called His heart. Because the godhead, He, the Imperishable One, who is both cause and effect, defends them both, do the brahmins and the kshatriyas protect each other as also the [interest of the] soul. By just seeing how you, oh supreme one, personally so full of love explained what the duty of a king is to his subjects, all my doubts have resolved. To my good fortune, oh powerful one, I could meet you who cannot be seen easily by those not acting in accord with the soul. I am so happy that my head could touch the dust of your feet that bring all the blessing. I am lucky to have been granted the great favor of being instructed by you. How lucky I am to have listened with pricked up ears to your pure words! Oh sage, your honour, oh divine mercy, now be pleased yourself to listen to the prayer of this humble person whose mind is full of worries out of love for his daughter. This daughter of mine, the sister of Priyavrata and Uttanapada, is seeking a husband suitable for her age, character and good qualities. The moment she heard from Narada Muni about your noble character, learning, appearance, youth and virtues, she fixed her mind upon you. Therefore, please accept her, oh best of the twice-born souls, I offered her to you being convinced that she in every way is fit for taking charge of your household duties. To deny a thing of one's desire that in fact came by itself is not commendable, not even for someone who is free from attachment to sensual pleasures, let alone someone addicted. He who rejects what is offered [generously] but begs from a miser, loses his honour and will see his reputation and renown ruined. Oh wise man, I heard that you intended to marry and hence have not taken the vow of perpetual celibacy. Then please accept my offer [*].'

The rishi replied: 'Yes I would like to marry and your daughter has not promised herself to anyone. Based upon this a marriage of us according to the rules will be proper. Let that desire of your daughter, which is recognised by scriptural authority, be fulfilled, oh King. Who would not adore your daughter? Her bodily luster alone outshines the beauty of her ornaments! Was it not Vis'vavasu [a Gandharva, a heavenly being] who, when he on the roof of the palace saw her with tinkling ankle bells and restless eyes playing with a ball, infatuated fell down from his elevated position ['his heavenly vehicle'] with a mind in disarray? What man of wisdom would not welcome her, that gem of womanhood who came of her own accord [to seek my hand] as the beloved daughter of Manu and sister of Uttanapada, a woman who cannot be seen when one is not engaged at the feet of the goddess of fortune? This is therefore my condition: I will accept the chaste girl for as long as it takes her to be with child from the semen of my body. Thereafter I consider to take up the duties of service as respected by the best ones of perfection [the paramahamsas], they who are nonviolent, about whom the Lord spoke to me. The highest authority for me is the Supreme Unlimited One, the Lord of the fathers of mankind [the Prajapatis] from whom this wonderful creation emanated, He in whom it will dissolve and the one by whom it presently exists.'

Maitreya said: 'This, oh great warrior, was all he said, whereupon he became silent with his thoughts focussed on Vishnu's lotus navel. With a beautiful smile on his face, he then captured the mind of Devahuti. After Manu had confirmed the decision taken by the queen mother [S'atarupa] and also had probed his daughter's mind about him, he was most pleased to give her away who was endowed with as many good qualities and thus was a good match for him [Kardama]. Shatarupa, the empress, lovingly gave in dowry valuable presents to the bride and bridegroom like ornaments, clothes and household articles. The emperor relieved of the responsibility of giving his daughter to a suitable man then embraced her with an agitated mind full of anxiety. Unable to part from her he shed tears, drenching his daughter's hair over and over with the water from his eyes and cried: 'Oh dear mother, my dearest daughter!'

6-2 After asking and receiving permission to leave him, the best of sages, the emperor with his wife mounted his chariot and headed, along with his retinue, for his capital, on the road enjoying the tranquil scenery of the hermitages of the sages on both the charming banks of the river the Sarasvati. Elated to know who was arriving, the subjects of Brahmavarta went to meet him with songs, praise and instrumental music. The city, rich with all kinds of wealth, was named Barhishmati after the hairs of the shaking body of Lord Boar that had fallen down and turned into the evergreen kus'a and kas'a grass [grasses used for sitting places and mats] with which the sages in worship of Lord Vishnu defeated the disturbers of their sacrifices. Having spread that kus'a and kas'a grass, the greatly fortunate Manu had created a seat in worship of the Lord of Sacrifice [Vishnu] by whom he had achieved his position on earth. After arriving in the city of Barhishmati where he thus far had lived, the mighty one entered his palace that eradicated the threefold miseries [of one's own body and mind, as caused by others and because of nature]. Together with his wife and subjects he, not disturbed by others, enjoyed the pleasures of life and was praised for his reputation of piety, for he was in his heart very drawn to listening with his wives each morning to the celestial musicians and talks about the Lord. Despite being absorbed in the bewildering power of his wealth, Svayambhuva Manu was alike a saint. As a supreme devotee of the Lord he could not be led astray by his material enjoyments. He did not waste his time. Till the end of his life he spent his days with listening to, contemplating, recording and discussing the topics of Lord Vishnu. Being connected by the topics of Vasudeva he, thus transcending the three destinations [according to the modes, made his era last for the time of seventy-one mahayugas. How can the miseries pertaining to one's body and mind, to the powers of nature and to other men and living beings, oh Vidura, ever trouble someone who has taken shelter of the Lord? On the request of the sages he [Manu], who always cared about the welfare of all living beings, spoke about the different duties of the status orientations in society [the varnas and ashramas, the vocations and age groups]. This is what I could tell you about the wonderful character of Manu, the first emperor, who deserves all praise. Now, please listen to the success of his daughter [Devahuti].'

*: Naishthhika-brahmacaris vow for lifelong celibacy, upakurvana-brahmacaris do so up to a certain age.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 23:
Devahuti's Lamentation

Maitreya said: 'After the departure of the parents the chaste woman who understood the desires of her husband constantly served her spouse with a love as great as that of Parvati for Shiva, her Lord. Intimately, with a pure soul, with great respect and sense control she was of service with love and sweet words, oh Vidura. Forsaking lust, pride, envy, greed, sinful actions and vanity, she always pleased her powerful husband diligently with good sense. - She, the daughter of Manu fully devoted to him who no doubt was the foremost sage among the divine rishis, expected greater blessings from him than from providence. But he saw that she had grown weak and emaciated because of the protracted religious observance. Overcome with compassion he with a of love stammering voice spoke to her. Kardama said: 'At present I am pleased with you, oh respectful daughter of Manu, because of your most excellent, supreme service and devotion. But you do not properly take care of that body so extremely dear to this embodiment; you deplete it in my service. The blessings of the Lord I have achieved in my religious life of fully being engaged in austerity, meditation and a mind fixed on knowledge, can just as well be obtained by you in your devotional service to me. I now grant you the transcendental vision to be able to see this grace, that is free from fear and lamentation. What material achievements compare to this grace of the Lord of Fortune? Those enjoyments find their end in a single movement of an eyebrow of the Lord of the Great Strides. Thanks to your conscientious service you can now enjoy the success of the supernatural gifts that are so difficult to obtain for people proud of their lineage.' After he this way had spoken, the woman, who heard him excel in the special knowledge of yoga, found satisfaction and then, with a voice choked with humility and love, spoke to him with a shining, smiling face and a slightly bashful glance.

Devahuti said: 'Oh best of the brahmins, oh mighty husband, I know you are a master in the infallible mystical powers of yoga. Let then now your promise be fulfilled that, once we have united in the body, we may enjoy the greater glory of having progeny, which for a chaste woman is of such a great value. Do for this sake, that what according to the scriptures needs to be done and by which this, because of an unfulfilled passion and by emotions struck, emaciated, poor body may be rendered fit for you. And please, oh Lord, also think of a suitable mansion.'

Maitreya said: 'Seeking the pleasure of his dearest, Kardama exercised his yogic power and produced instantly a high rising palace that fulfilled her wish, oh Vidura. It answered all desires and was wonderfully bedecked with all sorts of jewels, constituted a collection of all kinds of luxury and had pillars carved out of precious stone. It was equipped with a heaven of paraphernalia and brought happiness throughout all seasons, was decorated with festoons and flags and wreaths of various colours and fabrics, charming sweet flowers humming with bees, fine cloth of linen and silk and was embellished with various tapestries. In stories one over the other there were separate arrangements of beds, comfortable couches and fanned seats. Here and there various artistic engravings were displayed with the extraordinary beauty of a floor with emeralds furnished with coral daises. The doorways had thresholds of coral and doors beautifully bedecked with diamonds. Its domes of sapphire were crowned with golden pinnacles. On the diamond walls there were the choicest rubies that seemed to give them eyes and it was furnished with various canopies and highly valuable gates of gold. The many artfully crafted swans and groups of pigeons here and there made the real ones who thought to see their own kind repeatedly fly over and vibrate their sounds. The pleasure grounds, resting chambers, bedrooms, inner and outer yards designed for comfort astonished the sage himself.

Kardama, who could understand the heart of everyone, saw that Devahuti was not very happy to see such a mansion and then addressed her personally. 'Oh fearful one, before you go up this heavenly palace, please bathe in the sacred lake created by Lord Vishnu [Bindu-sarovara] that fulfills all desires of man.' She, the lotus-eyed one with her matted hair and dirty clothes, then complied with the words of her husband. With her body and her breasts grubby and covered by dirt she entered the lake containing the sacred waters of the Sarasvati river. In the lake she saw a house with a thousand girls as fragrant as lotuses in the prime of youth. Seeing her, all of a sudden the damsels rose and said with folded hands: 'We are your maidservants, please tell us what we can do for you.' After bathing her with the most costly oils, the respectful girls gave the virtuous wife spotless fine new clothes. They also gave her most valuable ornaments, all kinds of excellent food of the best quality and sweet intoxicating beverages. She then looked at the mirror image of her body that, freed from all dirt and clad in clean robes, by the utterly respectful maidservants was adorned with a garland and decorated with auspicious marks. Washed from head to toe she was decorated with a golden necklace with locket and bangles and with tinkling ankle bells made of gold. About her hips she wore a girdle made of gold decorated with numerous jewels. She was also adorned with a precious pearl necklace and auspicious substances [like saffron, kunkuma - which is perfumed red powder for the breasts -, mustard seed oil and sandelwood pulp]. With her beautiful teeth, charming eyebrows, lovely moist eyes that defeated the beauty of lotus buds and her bluish curly hair, she shone all over. While thinking about her dear husband, the foremost among the sages, she [suddenly] found herself, together with her maidservants, at the place where he, the founding father, the Prajapati, was situated. With that sudden return to her husband, being surrounded by her thousand maidens, she was in awe about his yogic power.

Seeing her washed clean, shining forth in her original beauty beyond compare, girdled and with charming breasts, attended by a thousand celestial girls and excellently dressed, the sage, taken aback by the sight, helped her ascend that elevated place, oh destroyer of the enemy. Even though [he appeared to be] attached to his dearest who was attended by the girls of heaven, he did not lose his glory. Together with her in the palace his person shone as charmingly as the moon in the sky surrounded by the stars causing rows of lilies to open in the night. In that palace, in that heavenly vehicle [vimana], he reached the pleasure grounds of the gods of heaven and the valleys of Indra, the king of the mountains, that are so beautiful with the falling waters of the Ganges and the cool breezes that arouse the passion. He who, like treasurer Kuvera, was surrounded by his damsels, thus for a long time enjoyed his life while the souls of perfection, the Siddhas, vibrated the auspicious sounds of their praises. Loved by his wife he enjoyed the gardens of Vais'rambhaka, Surasana, Nandana, Pushpabhadraka, Caitrarathya and lake Manasa-sarovara. With that splendrous and grand palace answering to every desire, he moved through the worlds, just like the air that reaches everywhere, and surpassed therewith the palaces, the heavenly vehicles, of the greatest gods. What would be difficult to achieve for those men who are determined, for those who have taken refuge of the lotus feet of the Supreme Personality that vanquish all danger?

After having shown his wife the entire sphere of the earth with all its arrangements and its many wonders, the great yogi did not yet return to his hermitage. In order to please his wife, the daughter of Manu, who was eager to have intercourse, he divided himself in nine forms and enjoyed the many years with her like in a moment. In the palace lying on an excellent bed conducive to their love, she in the company of her most handsome husband lost her notion of time. For the enjoying couple immersed in their love games, thus, by the power of yoga, a hundred autumns passed in a trice. Powerful

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Kardama as a knower of the soul knew everyone's desire. He as her other half made love to her and deposited his semen in her with the body that he had divided in nine. Soon thereafter Devahuti gave birth to [nine] baby girls who all in every limb were as charming as a fragrant red lotus. Seeing that her husband was about to leave home, she gave a beautiful smile but was innerly upset with a heart in distress. Suppressing her tears, scratching the floor with the radiant, gemlike nails of her foot she, with her head bent down, slowly expressed herself in charming words.

Devahuti said: 'All that you have promised, my Lord, has been fulfilled, but you should grant the surrendered soul that I am freedom from fear also. My dear brahmin, it is left to your daughters to find a suitable husband. But who is there to comfort me when you have left for the forest? Disregarding the knowledge of the Supreme Soul, so much idle time has passed with us indulging in pleasing our senses, my master. Attached to the gratification of our senses my love for you went without recognizing your transcendental existence. May that love nevertheless protect me against all fear. Association with those engaged in sense gratification is the cause of the cycle of birth and death, while that kind of ignorant acting in association with a saintly person leads to liberation. When one's work here is not performed for the sake of a higher, more righteous life, when one's righteous life does not lead to detachment and when one's detachment does not lead to devotional service at the place where the Lotus Feet are worshipped, one is a zombie, someone dead being alive. It suffers no doubt that I was [the one who was] completely deceived by the outer material potency of the Lord, for despite having achieved you, the one granting liberation, I did not seek liberation from material bondage.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 24:
The Renunciation of Kardama Muni

Maitreya said: 'The merciful sage who thus from his renunciation spoke to the praiseworthy daughter of Manu, replied what he remembered of what was said by Lord Vishnu. The sage said: 'Do not blame yourself like this princess! Oh irreproachable lady, the infallible Supreme Lord will very soon appear in your womb. Be blessed for committing yourself to the sacred vows of sense control, religious observance, austerities and giving money in charity by which you worship the Supreme Controller with great faith. He, the Lord of Pure Goodness, by you being worshiped, will spread my fame. As your son He will cut the knot in your heart by teaching the knowledge of Brahman [the Absolute Truth].'

Maitreya said: 'Devahuti in her great respect for the lead of this father of mankind, had full faith in him and thus worshiped the most worshipable one, the Original Personality of God who is situated in everyone's heart. After many, many years the Supreme Lord, the killer of Madhu, entered the semen of Kardama and appeared the way fire does in firewood. At that time musical instruments resounded from the rainclouds in the sky, the Gandharvas sang for Him and the Apsaras were dancing in joyful ecstasy. The gods moving through the sky showered beautiful flowers and all directions, all the waters and everyone's mind became happy. The self-born one [Brahma] then together with Marici and the other sages came to that place of Kardama where the Sarasvati river flows. Oh killer of the enemy [Vidura], the independent unborn one [Brahma] knew that the Supreme Lord, the highest authority of Brahman, out of pure goodness had appeared as a plenary portion to teach the philosophy of analytical yoga [Sankhya yoga]. After with a pure heart having worshiped [the personality of] Vishnu, the unborn one glad in all his senses about His intention to engage in action, said the following to Kardama and Devahuti.

Brahma said: 'Kardama, fully accepting my instructions, oh son, you have honoured me and succeeded in worshiping me without duplicity. This is the exact way for sons to render service to their father. With due respect saying 'Yes sir', the son should obey the commands of his spiritual teacher [or father]. These thin-waisted chaste daughters of yours, dear son, with their offspring will in different ways contribute to this creation. Please give therefore today your daughters away to the foremost sages according to the temperament and taste of the girls, and thus spread your fame in the world. I know that the original enjoyer, the bestower of all that is desired by the living entities, descended by dint of His internal potency and has assumed the body of Kapila Muni, oh sage. By spiritual knowledge and the science of the yogic uniting of consciousness He who is known by His golden hair, His lotus eyes and lotus-marked feet, will uproot the foundation of profit-minded labour [karma]. Know, oh Devahuti, that the killer of the demon Kaithabha has entered your womb. He will travel over the world, cutting the knot of ignorance and doubt. This personality will be the leader of the souls of perfection, His Vedic analysis will carry the approval of the teachers of example [the acaryas] and He will, to your greater fame, be celebrated in the world as Kapila.'

Maitreya said: 'Having assured the couple this way Hamsa [another name for Brahma as flying the transcendental swan], the creator of the universe, together with the Kumaras [his sons] and Narada [his spokesman] returned to his supreme position over the three worlds. After the departure of Brahma, oh Vidura, Kardama according to the instruction handed his daughters over to the sages who thereupon assumed the responsibility of generating the world population. Kala he handed over to Marici, Anasuya he gave to Atri, Shraddha he gave to Angira and Havirbhu was given to Pulastya. Gati he gave to Pulaha and the virtuous Kriya he found suitable for Kratu. He gave Khyati to Bhrigu and Arundhati was given away to sage Vasishthha. Atharva he gave to Shanti because of whom the sacrifices are performed. This is how the foremost brahmins married their wives. They were all maintained by Kardama. After thus having married, oh Vidura, the sages took leave of Kardama to return to their hermitages, filled with joy about what they had obtained.

Kardama knowing that He had descended who appears in all the three yugas [Vishnu, only seen as a covered 'channa' - avatara in the last, fourth yuga] as the supreme intelligence of the wise, then approached Him in seclusion. He offered his obeisances and spoke to Him as follows: 'Oh, finally after such a long time the gods are of mercy for those who have to suffer in being entangled in their own misdeeds in this world. After many births having matured, yogis perfect by their absorption in yoga, in their secluded places endeavor to see Your feet. He as the support of His devotees, that very same Supreme Lordship, has today appeared in our home, not considering the fact that we, as an ordinary householder, had neglected Him. To be true to Your words You, the Fortunate One, to the greater honour and glory of the devotees have descended in my house with the wish to disseminate the spiritual knowledge about You. While You Yourself are without a material form, You please those who follow Your path, oh Lord, with each of the truly apt forms that You assume. The seat of Your feet is always worth the worshipful respect of all men of learning who desire to understand the Absolute Truth. I surrender myself to You who are full of riches, renunciation, fame, knowledge, strength and beauty [the so-called six opulences of the Lord]. I surrender myself to You Lord Kapila, who are the supreme, transcendental personality, the origin of the world, the full awareness of time and the three basic qualities of nature, the Maintainer of All the Worlds and the sovereign power who by His own potency absorbs the manifestations after their dissolution. Today I ask You the following, oh father of all created beings. Since You relieved me of my debts and fulfilled my desires, I ask You to accept me as someone on the path of an itinerant mendicant, so that I may wander about free from lamentation with You in my heart.

The Supreme Lord said: 'That what I have to say from the scriptures or from My own mind, in fact constitutes the [spiritual] authority for the people. I, as promised, took My birth with you for the sake of that authority, oh sage. This birth of Mine in the world is there to explain, to those who seek liberation from the troubles of a material existence, the truths [of the Sankhya yoga system] so highly celebrated in self-realisation. Please know that, because it is so difficult to comprehend and has been lost in the course of time, this body was assumed by Me to reintroduce this path. Now go, as you wish, to operate, with My approval, in accord with the renounced order. In order to conquer insurmountable death, please engage in My devotional service for the sake of eternal life. With your mind always fixed on Me, the supreme, self-effulgent soul present in the heart of every living being, you will be able to see Me within yourself and achieve freedom from fear and lamentation. For my mother also to conquer the fear, I as well will give her this knowledge that leads to a spiritual life and puts an end to all reactions to one's activities.'

Maitreya said: 'The progenitor of human society after thus being addressed by Kapila, circumambulated Him most pleased and then left for the forest. Taking shelter of the soul only, the sage accepted the vow of silence and traveled, unaccompanied, over the earth without having a dwelling place or making fire. He fixed his mind upon the Parabrahman [the spirit of the Absolute, the essence of the Supreme Lord] beyond cause and effect, free from the modes of nature, manifesting as the modes and only perceived by devotion. By not identifying with the body and taking no interest in the material affair and the duality, he saw, with an equal vision having turned inward, himself perfectly composed with a sober and undisturbed mind like an ocean with its waves pacified. On the basis of his transcendental devotional service to Vasudeva, the Personality of Godhead, the omniscient Supersoul within everyone, he, being established within, was liberated from material bondage. He saw the Supreme Personality of God as the soul situated in all living beings and also that all living beings have their existence in the Supreme soul. Free from all like and dislike he, with a mind equal to everyone, liberated in the connectedness of his devotional service to the Supreme Lord, attained the ultimate goal of the devotee.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 25:
The Glories of Devotional Service

Shri Shaunaka said: "Even though being unborn, the Supreme Lord personally, from His own potency, took birth as Lord Kapila, the analyst of the ultimate truth, in order to disseminate transcendental knowledge for the human race. Despite repeatedly hearing about Him, the foremost among the yogis and the godhead of the Vedas the greater of whom cannot be found among men, I am essentially not satisfied. Please describe to me faithfully all the praiseworthy actions of the independent Supreme Lord, who is so full of the delight of the soul."

Suta said: "Because he as a friend of Vyasadeva was pleased with being asked about the transcendental knowledge, the venerable sage Maitreya then spoke as follows to Vidura. Maitreya said: 'After the father had left for the forest, Lord Kapila stayed behind at lake Bindu-sarovara in order to please His mother. When He, her son, who could show her the path to the ultimate reality, [some day] comfortably sat before her, Devahuti remembered the words of Brahma and addressed Him.

Devahuti said: 'Oh my Lord, I am very disgusted with the prevalence of untruth of my agitated senses because of which I fell into the darkness of ignorance. After so many births I, by Your mercy, have now attained You who are my transcendental eye to overcome this so difficult to defeat darkness of not knowing. He who is the origin, the Supreme Lord of all beings and the Master of the Universe has, with You, alike the sun, risen to the eye that was blinded by the darkness of ignorance. You engaged me in this misconception of 'I' and 'mine' [of false ego], so now be pleased, my Lord, to dispel the delusion. With the desire to know about Your material and personal aspect [prakriti and purusha], I offer You my obeisances who are the greatest of all the sages of the true nature. I have taken to the shelter of Your feet because You are the person deserving it. You are for those who depend on You the ax that cuts the tree of an existence ruled by matter.'

Maitreya said: 'Thus hearing about His mother's innocent and common human wish to be successful on the path of liberation, He with a mind of approval, slightly smiling with His beautiful face, expounded on the way of the transcendentalists. The Supreme Lord said: 'I am of the opinion that the ultimate benefit for mankind consists of the discipline of yoga of relating to the soul by which complete detachment from whatever pleasure and distress can be attained. Oh pious mother, I will now explain to you what I formerly explained to the sages eager to hear about the perfection of the yoga system in every respect. The [state of] consciousness of the living being is held responsible for the bondage and liberation of the soul. In attraction to the three basic qualities or modes of nature one is materially conditioned, but when one attaches to the soul of the universe [the Original Person], one is of liberation. From the impurities of lust and greed and such, that result from the misconception of 'I' and 'mine', one is freed when the mind is pure in being equipoised, without distress and pleasure. It is in that state that the person, who is pure and transcendental to material nature, does not consider himself as being different but, self-effulgent, sees himself as [simultaneously] complete and small. With a mind full of spiritual knowledge, renunciation and connectedness in devotion, one is indifferent about one's material existence, that is then less of influence. There is no yogic path as auspicious for the perfection of the spirit as the performance of devotional service for the Supreme Lord, the complete of the Soul. Any man of knowledge knows that strong attachment constitutes the entanglement of the soul, but that for devotees that same attachment opens the door to liberation. Being tolerant, compassionate, friendly to all living beings and inimical to no one, being peaceful and abiding by the scriptures, the sadhu [the man of virtue, of holiness, a seer] is adorned with sublime qualities. They who are persistent in performing devotional service unto Me, refrain staunch for My sake from acting in desire and give up on family ties and friendships. Delighted to listen to the stories about Me they fix their minds upon Me and chant [My names], without causing distress with their various penances. Oh virtuous mother, try to develop a bond with these devotees who are free from all attachments, for they are the ones who compensate for the harmful effects of being materially entangled. Through association with saintly souls, the stories cultivated in discussing My heroism become a joy to the ear and heart. When one is of that choice then, firmly being convinced on the path of liberation experiencing the attraction, soon devotion will follow. Someone who in devotional service got detached from sensual pleasures, will, on the path of yoga uniting his consciousness, constantly thinking about everything that I arranged, in this world [that is 'seen'] and the next [world that is 'heard about'] be engaged in the endeavor of controlling his mind the proper way. By not being the servant of the basic qualities of nature, by developing spiritual knowledge on the basis of renunciation, by fixing oneself on Me in yoga and by serving Me with

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devotion, a person in this very life reaches Me, the True Self within all souls.'

Devahuti said: 'What is the proper concept of devotion unto You that is fit for me and from which I immediately may find liberation at Your feet? Oh embodiment of truth, You explained that yoga is the way to focus on the Supreme Personality. But what form of yoga do You refer to exactly, what does it entail and what all needs to be done in order to comprehend the ultimate reality? Please explain this to me, so that I, with my limited understanding, oh my Lord, by Your grace, as a woman may easily understand what is so hard to fathom.'

Maitreya said: 'Kapila understanding what His mother wanted, being born from her body sympathised with her and thus described the truths handed down in disciplic succession of what one calls analytical yoga, a form of yoga that in fact concerns an extension, a further development in devotional service. The Fortunate One said: 'It is better to be of service to the Lord than [egocentric] to strive for fame and perfection. It is the natural inclination of the undivided mind to serve according to the scriptures that what is purely good and true, and of the senses in their detection of sense objects to be of service as gods. This [devotional] service quickly dissolves the subtle internal dealings of one's material motivation [the 'subtle body'], the way food is quickly consumed by the fire of digestion. Pure devotees who, engaged in the service at My lotus feet, endeavor to attain Me, never ever desire to be one with Me. They assemble to glorify My personal activities in association. Oh mother, they see My smiling face and eyes that are as beautiful as the morning sun and together speak in favorable terms about the benevolence of My transcendental forms. With their minds and senses captivated by those forms, who are so charming in all their limbs, exalted pastimes, smiling glances and words, their devotion secures them a place in My subtle heaven, even though they do not long for that [liberation]. Because they do not desire My opulence or the eightfold mastery over the material illusion [the siddhis], nor follow a desire for the splendor of My Supreme Divinity, those devotees in this life enjoy the blissful state of My transcendence. Oh mother, My devotees will never, not by time nor by a weapon of destruction, lose Me [and My opulence], who was chosen by them as their dearest self, son, friend, preceptor, benefactor and deity. Thus wandering through both this world and the world of the more subtle experiences, they, who in relation to My embodiment in this world have given up on [the desire for] wealth, cattle, houses and everything else, unflinching in their devotion worship Me, the all-pervading Lord of liberation, for I take them to the other side of birth and death. No other person or anything else but Me, the Supreme Lord and original ruler over matter and the person, the Soul of all souls, can put an end to the terrible fear [of birth and death]. Out of fear of Me the wind blows and the sun shines, out of fear of Me Indra showers rain and fire burns and out of fear of Me death is all around. Absorbed in spiritual knowledge and renunciation, yogis free from fear, for the ultimate benefit in bhakti yoga take shelter of My feet. The only way for people to find in this world the ultimate perfection of life is to steadily focus their mind in an intensive practice of devotional service to Me.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 26:
Fundamental Principles of Material Nature

The Supreme Lord said: 'I shall now describe to you the different categories of reality, knowing which anyone can be released from the [yoke of the] modes of material nature. I shall explain that to you about which one speaks as the spiritual knowledge [the jnana] that cuts the knots [of egoism] in the heart and constitutes the ultimate purpose of one's self-realisation. The Supreme Soul, the Original Person elevated above matter, is beginningless and free from the basic qualities of nature. He constitutes the inner self-effulgent refuge of the entire creation He maintains. That very person, the greatest of the great, accepted out of His own free will for His pastime the divine, subtle material energy characterised by the three modes. By these modes nature created the variegated forms of the living entities. The living beings seeing them, were, from the first day on in this world, illusioned by them because these forms constitute the covering of their spiritual knowledge. Because the living entity identifies himself with the operation of material nature, he attributes the activities performed by those basic qualities to himself. Thus being bound to a conditioned life, the naturally joyful, independent witness who does not do anything, became dependent. Knowers of truth state that the body and the senses one is engaged with are subject to the operation of the basic qualities of material nature and that the spirit soul, above all matter, is responsible for the experience of happiness and distress therewith.'

Devahuti said: 'Kindly explain to me the characteristics of the energies and the Original Person [prakriti and purusha] who together constitute the cause of the manifest and unmanifest reality this creation consists of.'

The Supreme Lord said: 'The undifferentiated, eternal reality that differentiated in the form of material nature [prakriti] as a combination of the three modes, this cause belonging to the effect [of this material manifestation], is called the primary nature [the primal ether or pradhana]. That primary nature is known as the basis from which the five gross and five subtle elements, the ten senses of perception and action and the four internal sense departments [of mind, ego, consciousness and intelligence] evolved who together add up to a number of twenty-four [see also elements]. The five gross elements are to be exact: earth, water, fire, air and ether. Of the subtle elements there are, to My notion, as many. They are the smell and so on [taste, colour, touch and sound]. The ten senses are the organs of [perception of] hearing, touching, seeing, tasting and smelling, with the [organs of action known as the] mouth, the hands, the legs, the genitals and the organs of excretion as the tenth. Mind, intelligence, ego and consciousness are the four aspects of the internal, subtle sense one distinguishes when one pays attention to the different characteristics of the [brain] functions. Thus, with the classification I provided, the material qualities of the Absolute Truth of Brahman are summed up [called saguna brahman]. One speaks thereto of time as the twenty-fifth element.

Some say that the time factor constitutes the power of the Original Person that is feared by the doer, the individual soul, who is deluded by the false ego of being in touch with material nature. The [expanding, accelerating] movement of material nature without the interaction of her modes and their specific qualities, oh daughter of Manu, is the [space]time [the fourth dimension] from which we in our world know Him, the Supreme Lord. He, the Lord of All Entities, abides, as a consequence of His potencies, within in the form of the original person [purusha] and without in the form of time [the twenty-fifth element]. She [material nature] whose equilibrium of the modes was agitated by the grace, the divine ordinance, of the Supreme Person who impregnated her womb with His semen, His internal potency, delivers the sum total of the cosmic intelligence [the mahat-tattva] of Brahma's effulgent golden reality [known as hiranmaya]. The universe that within itself contains this unchangeable root cause of the cosmic manifestation, swallowed by its own effulgence the dense darkness of the Self in its primordial slumber. The mode of goodness, which is the clear and sober position of understanding the Supreme Lord, is known by the name of Vasudeva; it is the consciousness that constitutes the nature of the intellect. The characteristic traits of one's [reason in this state of Krishna or natural time] consciousness thus are similar to those of the natural state of pure water: clarity, invariability and serenity.

From the cosmic intelligence [of the mahat-tattva] that undergoes the changes caused by the Supreme Lord's energies, the in five divided elements, the material ego [or I-awareness] and the therefrom generated mind in combination with the different senses of action and perception originated. Moved by that active potency of the Lord the ego manifested itself in the three forms of goodness, passion and ignorance. Consisting of the mind, the elements and the senses, they together are called the person of the Supreme Personality of Ananta with His thousands of heads [Vishnu's snake-bed] who is known by the name of Sankarshana [and also as the Supreme Lord's first plenary expansion]. The false ego, the materially identified self, can thus [according to the three gunas] be characterised as being the one acting, the instrument that is handled [the body] as also the effect of the actions [or that what was realised]. One may in that context also speak of the ego as being serene, active or dull. With the transformation [of the ego in three forms] from its emotions [in goodness] the principle of mind evolved that with its thoughts and reflections gives rise to desires. The name of that principle is Aniruddha, He who [as the personal expansion of the mind of Vasudeva] is known as the supreme ruler of the senses. He is bluish like a lotus in autumn and is only gradually realised by the yogis. From the brilliance of the light of the transformation the principle of intelligence arose [the primal expansion of the Lord named Pradyumna], oh virtuous lady, in order to assist in sensually ascertaining the objects that can be perceived. Doubt, misapprehension, correct apprehension, memory and sleep are the terms used for the different characteristics of the functions of intelligence.

From the forceful action [the passion] of the ego we have the senses to arrive at actions and the senses to acquire knowledge. The senses of action belong to the vital energy [prana] and the senses of perception depend on the intelligence. Impelled by the potency of the Supreme Lord, from the ignorance of the ego in transformation the subtle element of sound manifested. From the ether thereupon the sense of hearing rose to receive the sounds. Persons of learning define sound as that which is indicative of an object, as that which betrays the presence of a speaker [who remembered no longer might be present] and as the subtle element of the sky [the ether]. As for its action and characteristics the ether is described as the element internally and externally giving room to the living beings and as the field of activities of the vital air [prana], the senses and the mind. From the ether evolved, from the subtlety of sound, the subtle element of touch under the transforming impulse of time. Thus the air is found as also the sense organ for it and the active perception with that sense of touch. Softness and hardness as also cold and heat are in the sensual experience of the air the main characteristics of the element of touch. The main characteristics of the operating air are moving, mixing, bringing together and transporting particles [of dust] and waves of sound and the stimulation of all the senses. From the element of air and the subtle element of touch, the form [one has] evolved according to fate. With fire the sense of sight arose therein by which colour and form can be perceived.

Oh virtuous mother, the characteristics of the form element are the dimension, the quality and the individuality of an object. For fire this is the effulgence. The functions of fire consist of illumining, digesting, heating, evaporating, to give rise to hunger and thirst and to serve with food and drink. From the form element that by divine ordinance transforms under the influence of fire, the element of taste manifested from which, with the water, the tongue appeared that perceives the taste. Even though taste is one, it is in contact with all the different substances divided into the sensations of the astringent, sweet, bitter, pungent [salt] and sour. The typicality of water is to be moistening, coagulating, quenching, life-sustaining, refreshing, softening, cooling and to be available in abundance. From the transformations of the taste element because of the water, manifested itself, as ordained, the sense of smell for perceiving the aromas of the earth. The oneness of odor is, depending the proportions of the substances, divided in the separate realisations of odors being mixed, offensive, fragrant, mild, strong, acidic and so on. The characteristic function of the earth is to be modeled into forms of the Supreme Brahman, like houses, storage pots etc., that constitute the place for the existence of everything separated in space. The sense function that has the distinctive character of the sky [sound] as its object is called the auditory sense and the sense that has the different qualities of the air [touch] as its object of perception is known as the tactile sense. The sense concerning the object as distinguished in the specific quality of fire [viz. form] is called the sense of sight, the function in relation to the specific quality of water is known as the sense of taste and the function for the specific quality of the earth is called the sense of smell.

From the nature of the effect of something the characteristics of the cause can be derived. Hence on the basis of the earth element alone [the element created last] the specific characteristics of all the [preceding] elements can be distinguished. When [in the beginning of creation] the seven primary elements [the five material elements, ego and cosmic intelligence - the mahat-tattva] were not yet mixed, [the Lord,] the origin of creation endowed with kala, karma and guna [time, workload and the modes] entered the universe. These seven elements were thereupon by Him [in the form of time] roused into activity and united in an egg-shape form of an unconscious state. From that egg the celebrated Cosmic Being [or the original 'gigantic' person, the virath purusha] manifested. This egg is called vis'esha ['the differentiated reality']. It is the outer form of Lord Hari, the Supreme Personality that extends as the planetary systems that consist of successive layers of water and the other elements, each ten times thicker than the previous one. On the outside they are enveloped by pradhana, the unevolved state of matter [the primal ether]. From the golden [sunshine of the] universal egg arose, from within the waters that He pervaded and was lying in, the greatness of God [Mahadeva] divided in many cells [kham, ethereal apertures in control of the light]. The first to appear from Him was a mouth with next the organ of speech. Thereafter the divinity of fire [Vahni, the godhead ruling the fire of digestion] appeared that was followed by the nostrils and the olfactory sense to the life breath [prana] in them. From the olfactory sense the wind god [Vayu] appeared, then from the sense of sight of the two eyes the divinity of the sun [Surya] manifested and from the auditory sense of the two ears [next] the deities ruling the directions appeared. Then the skin appeared of the universal form with its hair growth and such, whereupon the curative herbs appeared followed by the sexual organs. From them there was semen and the manifestation of the divinity of the waters. Also an anus appeared and from that anus there was the capacity to evacuate. Then [the god of] death appeared who causes fear throughout the world. Also two hands manifested together with the power they have and thereafter Lord Indra [the sovereignty] appeared. With next the manifestation of the two feet, the onward movement manifested itself with also the appearance of their Lord [Lord Vishnu]. 9-6 The veins of the universal form manifested themselves together with the blood produced with them. Therewith the rivers appeared as also a stomach by which hunger and thirst are felt. After they had appeared, the ocean and the heart of the universal form manifested. Then from the heart the mind appeared. From the mind the moon [Candra] became manifest. Then the intelligence appeared and therefrom the Lord of speech [Brahma] appeared. Next there was the false ego of identifying oneself with matter together with the appearance of Rudra

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[Shiva]. From the reason thus found there was the godhead ruling consciousness [Vasudeva].

All these deities thus manifesting themselves could not at all awaken the Original Person. Therefore they, one after the other, returned to the source from which they originated so as to wake Him up. The god of the fire of digestion went back to the mouth, but failed to awaken Him. The god of the wind returned to the olfactory sense of the nostrils but could not wake Him up. The sun god entered His two eyes with the power of sight but could not make the Great Person rise, nor could the gods of the directions wake up His Great Form. The deities of the skin with its growth and blessing of herbs could not make Him get up, nor could the deity of the waters rouse the Great Person with the procreation performed by the organs of reproduction. The god of death could, by the organ of evacuation, the anus, not stir Him into action and even the two hands of Lord Indra with their capacity to manipulate could not awaken the Grand Form. Vishnu, with the power of progress entering His two feet, was not capable of stirring the Greatness of the Complete into action and the divine flow of the river, returning to His vessels with the blood and power of circulation, neither could move the Gigantic Form. The ocean entering His abdomen with hunger and thirst, could not make the Great Person rise and the moon god entering His heart with the mind also failed to awaken the Grand Form. Also Brahma entered His heart with the intelligence, but could not make the Great One stand up. And Lord Shiva by sending the ego to His heart could neither awaken the complete of the Purusha. But, the very moment the godhead ruling consciousness [Vasudeva] with reason entered the heart as the knower of the field, the Cosmic Being rose from the causal waters. It is like with a man asleep, whose vital air, working and knowing senses, mind and understanding, cannot wake him up on their own without Him being present. Someone who practices yoga therefore should conscientiously, with the help of spiritual knowledge, detachment and devotion, consider the notion of Him, the Supersoul, as being present within.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 27:
Liberation from Falsehood

The Supreme Lord [as Kapila] said: 'Even though the living entity abides in a material body, he is not affected by the basic qualities of matter when he does not claim proprietorship and thus is not subject to change, just like the sun that is not affected by being reflected in water. But when this very living entity is absorbed in false ego and thus is possessed by the modes of material nature, the individual soul is bewildered and thinks: 'I am the doer'. Because of the faulty actions resulting from dealing with material nature in such a way, he thus, in discontent, helplessly undergoes the repeated occurrence of birth and death in births from different wombs [or species] depending the good or bad life he led or a combination of these. Like having landed in a nightmare wherein the things happening do not really exist, there is for the living entity, who [only] contemplates what occurs to his senses, no end to his materially conditioned existence [of illusion]. Therefore the mind of attachment to material pleasure must consequently, free from attachment, gradually be brought under control on the path of bhakti yoga. Beginning with yama [meaning the great vow of yoga of nonviolence, truth, non-stealing, celibacy and non-possessiveness in the discipline of detachment], one should practice the different forms of yoga and develop, endowed with faith, unalloyed devotion unto Me by listening to My stories. Therein one must be without enmity and regard all living beings as equal, not entertain intimate relations and be celibate *, be free from chatter and offer the results of one's labour. One should be satisfied with whatever comes of its own, eat little and live thoughtfully in a secluded place and be peaceful, kind, compassionate and self-realised. In relating to others and to one's body one should not follow the physical concept of life but rather, from the spiritual perspective attend to the factual truth of [both] the material and the personal aspect. One should transcend the stages of consciousness [of waking, dreaming and deep sleep] and stay away from other conceptions of life. Thus, with a purified intellect, the true self, the soul of one's realisation within, should be seen as clear as the sun before one's eyes [outside]. One should arrive at the realisation of the transcendental support of the material cause [the Supreme Soul] that is manifest as a reflection within the untrue, that is there as an eye for the illusory nature of matter that penetrates everything as one without a second. It is like with the sun that can be seen as a reflection on water or on a wall, but factually is situated in the sky. The truth of the seer is thus revealed as a reflection of the Absolute in the threefold nature of the materially identified ego that consists of body, senses and mind. Someone who in this material world falsely unites with the material elements, the objects of enjoyment, the material senses, the mind, intelligence and so on, is situated in sleep, but once he is awakened [in the devotion of yoga] he is freed from false ego. Even though not being lost, still someone [who spiritually awakened, at first] unjustly considers himself lost because he, just like someone upset because of losing his fortune, as the silent witness realises the demise of his false ego. Coming to understand this, such a person, knowing the situation that he accepted under the reign of the false ego, realises [the mercy of] the original position of his true self, his original individuality [svarupa].'

Devahuti said: 'Dear brahmin, is it not so that material nature never releases the soul because the two are eternally attracted to each other, oh Best One? Just as aroma and earth have no separate existence and taste does not exist apart from water, intelligence cannot exist independent of consciousness. Then how can a soul be free from material nature? Is the soul, being a passive observer, not forced to act because of the basic qualities of matter? The great fear, one may avoid by contemplating the fundamental principles, will not cease because every time its cause appears again.'

The Supreme Lord said: '[One will realise the freedom,] when one, with a pure mind serious unto Me and faithfully listening to My stories in devotional service, manages to perform one's duties without desiring the fruits thereof. By means of spiritual knowledge, with the vision of the Absolute Truth, in yoga strongly connected in penance, detached and firmly fixed, someone becomes absorbed in the soul. Bound to its material nature a living entity is day after day consumed, like firewood by fire, disappearing gradually. [But] with the damage experienced in his dependency understanding the wrong of the desire to always enjoy, he, with his [thus] forsaking sensual pleasures, [firmly] stands in his own glory. The many inauspicious matters a person may dream of in his sleep, will not in the least daunt him when he has awakened. Someone, who has fixed his mind upon Me, the knower of the Absolute Truth always contented within, thus has nothing to fear from material nature. When someone wise thus for many years and many births is engaged in self-realisation, he will develop a distaste for [enjoying] whatever, up to the heaven of the creator [brahmaloka]. 8-2 Someone devoted to Me who under My protection for the sake of awakening his intelligence, by My unlimited mercy goes for the ultimate goal of his existence that is called kaivalya [enlightenment, emancipation, beatitude], will in this life soon attain a steady self-awareness and be free from doubt. The yogi who departed for that heavenly abode will, after leaving behind both the subtle and the gross body, never return. When the attention of the perfected yogi is not drawn towards yogic powers to control the material illusion, my dear mother, then, having no other purpose in his life, his progress towards Me will be unbounded, because the power of death is lost therein.'

*: Intimacy refers to intimacy with non-devotees and that celibacy does not exclude a modest sex life: Celibacy does not necessitate that one be absolutely free from sex life; satisfaction with one's wife is permitted also under the vow of celibacy.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 28:
Kapila's Instructions on the Execution of Devotional Service

The Supreme Lord said: 'Oh royal daughter, I will now describe the characteristics of the yoga system, the object of which is [to restrain] the mind by following the regulative principles so that one filled with joy may tread the path of the Absolute Truth. One must perform one's duties to the best of one's ability and avoid everything contrary to this. One should be satisfied with whatever is achieved by the grace of the Lord and worship the feet of a self-realised soul [a spiritual master]. One should desist from civil [materialistic] practices and take pleasure in duties leading to liberation. One must also eat little and pure [vegetarian food], always live in seclusion and be a servant of peace. Nonviolent, truthful, free from unrighteous acquisition and not possessing more than one needs, one should, in celibacy, austerity and cleanliness studying the Vedas, exercise respect for the appearance of the Original Personality. Observing silence and acquiring steadiness in control of yoga postures and one's breath, one should gradually withdraw from the objects of the senses and direct one's mind to the heart. One finds oneself absorbed [or in samadhi] when one either fixes one's mind and prana on one of the [six] cakras [or energy nodes *] or when one focusses one's mind on the pastimes of [the Lord of] Vaikunthha. With these and other methods of yoga attentively engaging one's intelligence and controlling one's breathing, the mind, which is contaminated by material enjoyment, mus be gradually subdued. In control of the yoga asanas one should do this by preparing a seat in a sanctified spot and sit there straight up in a comfortable posture. For the mind to become steady and free from distractions, one should clear the passage of the life breath or prana by inhaling, holding one's breath and exhaling again - or the other way around. The mind of the yogi who is of such a self-control is soon free from disturbances, just like gold that, put in fire and fanned with air, is quickly freed from contaminations. By means of breath control [pranayama] one eradicates contaminations, by turning inward [pratyahara] material association recedes, by focussing the mind [dharana] sin is overcome and by meditation [dhyana] one rises above the power of the modes of nature.

When one's thinking is purified and controlled by the practice of yoga, one should, while looking at the tip of one's nose, meditate on the goal of the Supreme Lord [kashthha, His form and measure of time, e.g. represented by a mechanical clock or water clock fixed on the sun's summit with the division of time according to the Bhagavatam]. With His club, conch and discus in His hands, with ruddy eyes resembling the interior of a lotus and a dark complexion like the petals of a blue lotus, He has a cheerful lotus like countenance. Clad in silken garments as yellow as the filaments of a lotus, He has the mark of Shrivatsa [a few white hairs] on His chest and wears the brilliant Kaustubha jewel around His neck. There is a garland of forest flowers humming with intoxicated bees, a priceless necklace and also bracelets, a crown, armlets, anklets and a girdle of the finest quality around His waist. He who has His seat in the lotus of the heart is most charming to behold, a feast to the eyes with a serenity that gladdens the mind and the heart. He is always very beautiful to see, worshipable to all people of all places, as youthful as a boy and eager to bestow His blessings upon those who serve Him. His fame adding to the repute of the devotees is worth singing. One should meditate on the godhead and all His limbs until one's mind stops wandering. One should visualise the beneficial acts of the beautiful pastimes of Him standing, moving, sitting and lying down or dwelling in the heart. He who contemplates Him should, when he with his mind fixed on the one form distinguishes all His limbs, in his concentration attend to each and every part of the Lord separately. One should meditate on the lotus feet of the Lord that are adorned with the marks of the thunderbolt, the goad, the banner and the lotus, as also on the prominence of the brilliant red nails with the splendor of the crescent moon that dispel the thick darkness of the heart. One should meditate on the Lord's lotus feet for a long time, for the holy water of the Ganges, that washed down from His feet, blessed Lord Shiva who bore it on his head. They became a thunderbolt that was hurled at the mountain of sin present in the mind of the meditator.

One should meditate in one's heart on the Goddess of Fortune, Lakshmi, the lotus-eyed mother of the entire universe created by Brahma. She, who with her caring fingers massages the lower legs of the Almighty Lord transcendental to material existence, is worshiped by all God-conscious souls. Then follow His two beautiful legs on the shoulders of Garuda that, extending down with the luster of the [whitish blue] linseed flower, are the storehouse of all energy, with around His hips the girdle over the exquisite yellow cloth. Next one meditates on the expanse of His navel, that is the foundation of all the worlds situated in His abdomen. From that navel the lotus, the residence of the self-born one [Lord Brahma], sprang up containing all the planetary systems. One should meditate on the two most delicate nipples of the Lord that are like emeralds in the whitish light of the pearls from His necklace. The chest of the Lord of Wisdom, which is the abode of Maha-Lakshmi, bestows on the minds and eyes of persons all the transcendental pleasure. One should next direct one's mind to meditate on the neck of the One adored throughout the universe that enhances the beauty of the Kaustubha jewel. One should also meditate on His arms, from which the controllers of the universe originated and of which the ornaments were polished by the revolving of Mount Mandara, as well as on the dazzling luster of the Sudarshana discus [with its thousand spokes] and the swanlike conch in the lotus hand of the Lord. One should remember the Supreme Lord's mace that is named Kaumodaki and is very dear to Him, smeared as it is with the bloodstains of the soldiers of the enemy. And also attention should be paid to the garland humming with the sound of the bees around it and the necklace of pearls about His neck that represents the principle of the pure living entity. One should meditate on the lotus like countenance of the Supreme Lord who assumed His different forms in this world out of compassion for the devotees and on His glittering alligator-shaped earrings that oscillating, crystal clear illumine His prominent nose and His cheeks. Then one should attentively meditate in one's mind's eye the elegance of His face adorned with an abundance of curly hair and His lotus eyes and dancing eyebrows that put to shame a lotus surrounded by bees and a pair of swimming fish. He who has a heart full of devotion for long should meditate on the frequent, compassionate glances of His eyes, for these glances, which are accompanied by the abundance of His graceful, loving smiles, soothe the three fearful agonies [as caused by oneself, by others and by material nature]. The most benevolent smile of the Lord, which dries up the ocean of tears of all persons who in their grief bowed before Him, must be meditated as also His arched eyebrows, for they were for all sages by His internal creative potency manifested to bewilder the god of sexuality. Easy to meditate is the generous laughter of His lips revealing the splendor of His small teeth that are like a row of jasmine buds. With devotion steeped in love for Him fixing one's mind - and not wishing to see anyone

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else - one should meditate on Him, Lord Vishnu who resides in the core of one's heart.

Because of the pure love one thus through devotion has developed towards Hari, the Supreme Lord, one's heart melts and therefrom one constantly experiences that one's hairs stand on end out of extreme joy and that there is a flow of tears out of intense love. In that state the mind like [a fish] on a hook gradually gives up. The moment the mind is situated in the liberated position, it immediately turns indifferent and dies away with one's detachment from the sense objects. The person of such a mind at that time, just like a flame, is no longer separated [from the 'big fire' of the Supersoul] and experiences oneness in freedom from the interaction of the operating modes of nature. When he is situated in his ultimate glory because of the cessation of the mind that responds to material impulses, he on top of that, in his position of transcendence above happiness and distress, sees that indeed the cause of pleasure and pain is found in the ignorance of falsely identifying oneself in ego. In that ego he attributed to himself [viz. the control, that] what now is realised by the form and measure of time [the kashthha] of the Supersoul [the localised aspect of the Lord]. As for the body the perfected soul has, because he achieved his predestined real identity [svarupa], no notion of not continuing physically, or that he would remain or again take birth. Just as it is with someone who blinded by intoxication fails to realise whether he has any clothes on or not. Thus one is faced with the activities one undertook with one's body that by divine ordinance will continue for as long as it takes. One is then because of one's yoga situated in self-absorption, the state of consciousness in which he, who awakened to his constitutional position, no longer gives priority to [or worships] the body with its sensuality and 'by-products' that was born like in a dream. The way a mortal man is understood as being different from his son and wealth, irrespective his natural inclination for them, so too a person in his original nature differs from his body, senses, mind and such [irrespective his identification with them]. It is like with a fire that differs from its flames, sparks and smoke, although they by nature, being produced by itself, are intimately associated with it. The elements, the senses, the mind and the primary nature of the individual soul, the same way differs from the seer, who is the Supreme Lord who is known as the spiritual complete [Brahman]. The way one with an equal mind sees all creatures as being part of the same natural order, one should also see the soul as being present in all manifestations and all manifestations in the soul. Just like the one fire manifests itself in different types of wood, so too the one spiritual soul, in its position in material nature, knows different births under different natural conditions. When one thus has conquered one's own, difficult to comprehend [bewildering], divine material energy, that is both cause and effect, one is situated in the position of self-realisation [in one's svarupa].'

*: The energy nodes in one's body or one's six cakras for meditation are in the Monier Williams dictionary one above the other summed up as: 1 the muladhara cakra in the region of the pubis, 2 the svadhishthhana cakra in the umbilical region, 3 the manipura cakra in the pit of the stomach, 4 the anahata cakra at the root of the nose, 5 the vishuddha cakra at the hollow between the frontal sinuses and 6 the ajnakhya cakra on the top of one's skull. The various faculties and divinities are supposed to be present in these hollows or circles. Other texts speak of seven or even eight cakras divided slightly differently over the lower, plexus, heart and throat region.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 29:

Explanation of Devotional Service by Lord Kapila

Devahuti said: 'Dear master, You described the specific characteristics of the material and personal nature of the complete reality, the way they in the analytical philosophy of [Sankhya] yoga are discussed as being the primary ones. Please elabourate now at length on the path of bhakti yoga that one calls the ultimate purpose. Dear Lord, please describe to me and for the people in general, the different stages of life and forms of material existence, for someone may by the knowledge of them become completely detached. And what about the nature of Eternal Time, [the drive of nature,] the form of the Supreme Lord, of You as the ruler over all the other rulers, under the influence of whom the common people act piously? You have appeared as the sun of the yoga system for the sake of the living beings attached to material actions whose intelligence is blinded by false ego and who, fatigued of having no one to turn to, for a long time slumber in darkness.'

Maitreya said: 'Appreciating the words of His mother, oh best of the Kurus, the great and gentle sage, contented and being moved by compassion, said the following. The Supreme Lord said: 'Devotion in the discipline of yoga so diverse in its appearance, knows many paths, oh noble lady, ways proving how people follow their own course in line with their natural qualities. What one does out of love for Me in a spirit of violence, pride and envy or out of anger with a fractional view, is considered as acting in the mode of ignorance. He who worships Me with idols in a sectarian way and aims at material things, fame and opulence, is in the mode of passion. Someone entertaining an alternative view is in goodness when he worships Me with offering the results of his actions or when he for the sake of transcendence desires to be free from karma [profit-minded labour]. In case of an uninterrupted flow of thoughts in the direction of Me who is present in everyone's heart - just like the water of the Ganges that continuously flows towards the ocean - and when one wishes to hear about My qualities only without losing oneself in ulterior motives, one may speak of an exhibition of pure devotional service, of bhakti unto the Supreme Person. Without being of My service, pure devotees will not accept it - not even when being offered these - to live on the same planet, to have the same opulence, to be a personal associate, to have the same bodily features or to be joined in oneness [the so-called five forms of liberation of salokya, sarshthi, samipya, sarupya and ekatva or sayujya]. When one by means of this bhakti yoga - which one calls the highest platform - succeeds in dealing with the three modes of nature the way I explained it, one attains My transcendental nature. When one performs one's duties without attachment to the results one is stronger [in one's yoga] and when one without unnecessary violence [without eating meat e.g.] is regular in the performance of one's yoga exercises one will find happiness. Being in touch [with the ritual of] seeing, offering respect, doing mantras and being of a positive approach with My benevolence and abode, and thinking of Me as being present in all living beings, one is of detachment by the mode of goodness. By means of sense control and proper regulation [yama and niyama, the does and don'ts of yoga *], being of the greatest respect for the great souls, being compassionate with the poor and by being friendly in association with like-minded souls; by hearing about spiritual matters, chanting My holy names, being straightforward, by association with civilised people and not entertaining false ego, the consciousness of a person who with these qualities is dutiful towards Me is completely purified. No doubt he by simply hearing about My excellence will directly reach Me. The way the sense of smell catches the aroma that is carried from its source by means of the air, similarly consciousness by means of yoga catches the Supreme Soul who is free from change.

A mortal human of worship for the deity but with no respect for Me who, in the form of the Supersoul, is always situated in every living being, is nothing but a hanger-on. Someone who in worship of the deity has no regard for Me as the Supreme Ruler and Supersoul present in all beings, is in his ignorance only offering oblations into the ashes. He who offers Me his respects but is envious when others are present, lives in his campaigning against others with his opposing view in enmity and will never find peace of mind. Oh sinless one, I am certainly not pleased when they who manage to worship Me in My deity form with all paraphernalia, are not of respect for other living beings. One has to worship the idol of Me, the Lord, and such, for as long as one is of profit minded labour [is building up karma] and not of the realisation that I reside in one's own heart and in the heart of others. In the form of death I shall create fear in those who discriminate with regard to the body of themselves and that of others [who discriminate according to race and sex]. One should therefore, with charity, respect and in friendship regarding everyone as an equal, propitiate Me, the One True Self abiding in all.

Living entities are better developed than inanimate objects, better than entities with life symptoms, oh blessed one, are entities with a developed consciousness and better than those are they who developed sense perception. Among them, those who developed taste are better than those who [only] developed a sense of touch and better than they are those who developed a sense of smell. Even better are those creatures who developed the faculty to hear. Better than those are the ones distinguishing differences of form and those who have teeth in both their jaws are better than these. Those who have many legs are superior to them. Of them the four-legged creatures are the ones better developed while the two-legged ones [the human beings] are even better. Among human beings a society with four classes is the better one and of those classes the brahmins are developed the best. Among the brahmins the better one is he who knows the Vedas and of those the one who knows its purpose is even better [viz. to know the absolute of the truth in three phases: brahman, paramatma and bhagavan]. The one who puts an end to all doubts is better than he who knows what the purpose of the Vedas is and the brahmin among them who performs his duty is better than him. He who is free from worldly attachment is still better and the one who performs his righteous duty not for himself alone is the best developed of them all. Therefore I know of no greater being than a person who with a dedicated mind has offered all of his actions, wealth and life without any reservation to Me and with persistence is of service without any other interest. Such a one who regards the Supreme Lord, the Controller of the individual soul, as having entered all the living beings by His expansion in the form of the Supersoul [the Paramatma], is therefore mindfully of respect for his fellow creatures. Oh daughter of Manu, someone can attain the Original Person by following either of these two paths of bhakti and mystic yoga separately that I have described. This [original] form of the Supreme Lord of Brahman [the Supreme Spirit] and Paramatma [the personalised local aspect] is the transcendental, ethereal personality of the primal reality [pradhana], the most important person, all of whose activities are spiritual.

[Natural] time, known as the divine cause of the different manifestations of the living entities, constitutes the reason why all living beings who consider themselves as existing in separation, from the greatest on, live in fear. He who from within enters all the living entities, constitutes the support of everyone and annihilates [them again] by means of other living beings, is named Vishnu, the enjoyer of all sacrifices who is that time factor, the master of all masters. There is no one specially favored by Him, nobody is his friend or enemy. He cares for those who are attentive and of those who are inattentive He is the destroyer. 0-4 He for whom the wind out of fear blows and this sun is shining, for whom out of fear Indra sends his rains and the heavenly bodies are shining; He because of whom out of fear the trees, creepers and herbs each in their own time bear flowers and produce their fruits; He afraid of whom the rivers flow and the oceans do not overflow, because of whom fire burns and the earth with her mountains does not submerge; He because of whom the sky provides air to those who breathe and under the control of whom the universe expands its body of the complete reality [mahat-tattva] with its seven layers [**], He for whom out of fear the gods of creation and more, in charge of the basic qualities of nature, within this world carry out their functions according to the yugas [see 3.11], He of whom afraid all the animate and inanimate beings find their control; that infinite, final operator of beginningless Time is the unchangeable Creator who creates people out of people and by means of death puts an end to the rule of death.'

*: Next to yama, the vow of yoga about what one should not do as mentioned in 3.27: 6, the regulating discipline of what one should do in niyama consists of: inner and outer purity or cleanliness, contentment, penance, study of the sacred texts and engaging in activities for the person of God. See also Patanjali's Yoga-sutra's II: 32.

**: The seven kos'as - five ones extended with sometimes two extra - or also seven dvipas with their levels of consciousness in the field of the physical, vital, psychological, intellectual, blissful, self-aware and the true self.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 30:

Lord Kapila Describes the Adverse Consequences of Fruitive Activities

Kapila said: 'Just like a mass of clouds has no knowledge of the powerful wind, a person has no knowledge of this time factor, even though he is being conditioned by it. Whatever the goods one with difficulty acquired for one's happiness, they are destroyed by the Supreme Lord [in the form of Time], and for this reason the person laments. In his ignorance he foolishly thinks that the temporality of having a home, land and wealth for the sake of his body, would be something permanent. The living being finding its satisfaction in this worldly existence, will irrespective the birth that was acquired, be in consonance with it. Even being physically situated in hell a person, who in fact is deluded by the divine illusory potency of matter, does not wish to give up his hellish pleasures. With his body, spouse, children, home, animals, wealth and friendships deeply rooted in his heart, he considers himself a great success. Burning with anxiety about maintaining all the members of his dear family, he is always uncomfortable and with a bad mind acting like a fool. With his heart and senses charmed by the woman he privately sees and by the display of the sweet words of his children, he is in the grip of the falsehood of the outer illusion [of considering non-permanent matters eternal]. Engaged in the supposed duties of his family life - which cause him all kinds of trouble -, he is busy countering these miseries attentively while thinking that that will make him happy as a householder. Only enjoying little of it, he maintains his family by means of the wealth that here and there with violence [and victims] was secured, but following that course he [ultimately] goes under himself. When he, despite his repeated efforts, fails in his occupational engagement, he will, ruled by greed, [enviously] desire the wealth enjoyed by others and thus get into trouble. No longer capable of maintaining his family the unfortunate wretch, bereft of wealth and beauty, then with a bewildered intelligence full of grief sighs over everything he tried in vain.

Thus finding himself incapable of supporting his wife and so on, he is not respected as he was before, the way an old ox is not respected by its farmer. Despite being nourished by those he once maintained himself, no aversion [against a family life] rises in him while he, getting deformed of old age, at home awaits his death. Remaining there he, like a pet dog, eats what indifferently is placed before him, falls sick with indigestion and eats and does only little. Because of the inner pressure his eyes bulge out and with his windpipe congested with mucus he coughs and has difficulty breathing, only saying hugha ugha'. Lying down surrounded by his lamenting friends and relatives he, with the noose of time

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around his neck, cannot respond to the things said to him. He, who was engrossed in maintaining his family and had no control over his senses, thus passes away in great pain, with his relatives in tears. Witnessing the arrival of the servants of death with their terrible eyes full of wrath, he, because of the fear in his heart, passes stool and urine. Like the king's soldiers they immobilize his body by binding him in ropes for his punishment, whereupon they drag him like a criminal forcefully by the neck over a long distance. Innerly broken by their threatening presence he, overtaken, trembles on the road and is bitten by dogs in the distress of remembering his sins. Afflicted by hunger, thirst and the radiation of scorching forest fires and winds on hot and sandy roads, he feels how he painfully is beaten on his back with a whip, while he, unable to move, can find no refuge or water. Now and then he falls, gets tired and loses consciousness, and then again he reawakens on the road of his misery where he quickly is led before the eternal ruler of death [Yamaraja]. He sees his entire life passing by in a few moments [he passes 'ninety-nine thousand yojanas'] and then receives the punishment he deserves. With his limbs covered by firewood he is cremated or sometimes he sees himself eating his own flesh or that other creatures do that. Vividly he then witnesses how dogs pull out his entrails at his last resting place where serpents, scorpions, gnats and so on pester him to his abhorrence. One by one his limbs are separated from his body by big and small animals who tear him apart, throw him from heights or drag him under water or into caves. Because of the [unregulated sexual] association one has, one must, whether one is a man or a woman, undergo the reaction in hellish states of anger, self-destruction and bewilderment [tamisra, andha-tamisra and raurava and such.

Because hellish reactions are also observed in this world, oh mother, one speaks here of both heaven and hell. He who thus [in greed, attachment and infidelity] maintained his family or lived for his stomach only, will upon leaving this world in his afterlife have to face the consequences for himself and his family. After quitting his vehicle of time he will enter the darkness all alone and pay the price for the harm that he out of self-interest did to others in his envy of their fortune. By divine arrangement a man who sustained his family has to undergo the hellish reaction of his foul play and suffer like someone who lost all his wealth. When a person in his eagerness to care for his family is simply godless in his actions, he heads for the darkest region of self-destruction [andha-tamisra]. After he, beginning from the lowest position [of an animal existence] prior to a human birth, in due order has undergone all the reactions and so on, he, thus being purged, may again return to this life.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 31:
Lord Kapila's Instructions on the Wanderings
of the Living Entities

The Supreme Lord said: 'Because of its karma the living entity, guided by the Lord, enters through the particle of semen of a man the womb of a woman in order to dwell there for obtaining a body. On the first night the sperm and ovum mix, at the fifth night there is a bubble and in about ten days it is thereafter like a plum, lump of flesh or an egg. Within a month a head appears and within two months limbs like arms and feet form. The nails, [the beginnings of] hair, bones, skin, reproductive organs and the apertures appear within three months. In about four months the seven ingredients separate [body-fluids and other elements], in five months feelings like hunger and thirst occur and in six months the fetus starts to move to the right in the amnion [males to the right, females to the left so one says]. From the nutrition and fluid obtained from the mother the body of the fetus grows as it stays in that impossible hollow where[about] stool and urine form a breeding ground for germs. All the time aching for food, it is, being so tender, affected by infestations ['worms'] and thus has to suffer all over its body a great deal while residing there, moment after moment lapsing into unconsciousness. Because of the excessive bitterness, heat, pungency, saltiness, dryness, the sourness etc. of the food taken by the mother, it is affected in every limb and thus feels pain. Enclosed by the amnion in that place surrounded by the intestines it lies with a bent neck and back arched with its head in its belly. Like a bird in a cage that has no freedom of movement, it still remembers - when it is lucky - what has happened in all its past hundreds of births. Remembering such a long history, it will sigh, for what peace of mind can it achieve then? From the seventh month on it is endowed with consciousness, but at the same time it is pushed down by the pressure of the womb where it cannot stay, just like the worm stemming from the same belly.

The fearful living entity bound to its seven constituents [nails, skin, fat, flesh, blood, bone, marrow], then, with folded hands and faltering words prays, appealing to the Lord who placed him in that womb. The human soul says: 'May He protect me who protects the entire universe and who, with assuming His different forms, walks the earth with His lotus feet. Let me take shelter of this refuge that will take my fears away, of Him who decided that I deserved this untrue condition. I, the pure soul covered by the grossness of matter which consists of the elements, the senses and the mind, have fallen into this delusional state [maya] because of my being bound to activities. Let me offer my obeisances so that I may hold on to the completely pure Changeless One of unlimited knowledge who resides in the heart of the repentant one. Separated as I am by the covering of this material body that was formed from the five elements and relies on senses, material preferences [gunas], interests and identification, I offer my obeisances to You, the Supreme Person transcendental to material nature and its living entities, to You, whose glories are not obscured by such a material body. By the deluding quality of Your outer appearance this body, that by the modes of nature and its karma is bound to wander on the path of repeated birth and death, has to suffer considerably with a repeatedly spoilt memory. May this soul arrive at the realisation of his true nature, how else would one find Your divine mercy? What else but Your divinity, that as a partial aspect [the Paramatma] dwells in both the animate and the inanimate, would give us the knowledge of the threefold of Time, of past, present and future? In order to be freed from the threefold misery [as caused by oneself, nature and others] we, as individual souls engaged on the path of fruitive activities, have to surrender to that divinity. Endowed with a body within the abdomen of another body, having fallen into a pool of blood, stool and urine and strongly scorched by gastric fire, this [individual soul with its] body, desiring to leave that place, is counting its months for when it, miserable as it is, will be released, oh Lord. You granted me, [not even] ten months old, oh Lord, [the light of] Your incomparable, supreme mercy. What else can I do but to pray in return with folded hands out of gratitude for that incomparable and unique grace of You who are the refuge of the fallen souls? This living being can, from its bondage to the seven layers of matter, only understand what is agreeable and disagreeable. But by You endowed with another body of self-control within myself, I am really able to recognise inside of me You, the original person constituting the inner guidance, who resides both within my heart and outside of me. Oh Almighty One, even though I, who has to live with all the miseries outside of this abdomen, rather not depart from here to land in that pitfall, I, [just as everyone else] who enters this world, at once will be captured by Your maya and be entangled in the false identification [of the ego] that is fundamental to the eternal cycle of birth and death. Therefore I will, well-disposed to the soul no longer being agitated, again deliver myself quickly from that darkness, by placing the feet of Lord Vishnu in my heart and thus save me from this fate of having to enter so many wombs.'

Kapila said: 'Thus desiring from within the womb, the [almost] ten months old living entity extols the Lord at the time of being pushed downwards by the pressure of labour to take birth. Because of that pressure the child, with its head turned downwards, suddenly, with great difficulty and bereft of all memory, comes out breathless. Like a worm falling down to earth it, smeared with blood, moves its limbs and cries loudly now it has lost the wisdom in reaching the opposite [material] position. Being maintained by its folks who do not understand what it wants, it has fallen into circumstances it did not desire and cannot refuse. Lying down in fouled linen [dirty diapers etc.] the child is pestered by germs [suffering rashes on its body] it cannot scratch away from its limbs, for it is not able to sit, stand or move around. Flies, mosquitos, bugs and other creatures bite the baby's tender skin. Just like vermin, it is pestered by other vermin. Deprived of wisdom it then cries. This way undergoing infancy in distress and even in its childhood, out of ignorance, not achieving what it wants, it gets angry and sad. With a developing physical consciousness, the by lusts motivated person in his anger then develops enmity towards other lusty persons and thus loses sight of the interest of his soul. The embodied soul, who out of ignorance holds on to non-permanent matters, that way constantly reasons from the reality of his physical existence composed of the five elements and thus foolishly thinks in terms of 'I' and 'mine'. Engaged in actions in service of his body he, because of his bondage to the dark motives of fruitive labour, is haunted by trouble [consisting of the so-called kles'as] and time and again arrives at yet another birth in the material world. When he, returning on the materialistic path, again [only] is interested in human association for the sake of the pleasure of his genitals and his stomach, the living entity ends up in darkness as before. Because of thus being associated he loses his sense of truth, purity, compassion and gravity, his spiritual intelligence, prosperity, modesty and his good name, as also his mercy, the control over his mind and senses and his fortune. One should not seek association with coarse and immoral fools bereft of self-realisation who, like pitiable dogs, dance to the piping of the ladies. Nothing in the world makes a man as infatuated and dependent as to associate with a man attached to women or with a company of men fond of women. The father of man [Brahma], bewildered at the sight of his own daughter, as a stag shamelessly ran after her when he saw her in the form of a deer. Except for sage Narayana, among all the living entities born from Brahma there is not a single man whose intelligence is not distracted by maya in the form of a woman.

Behold the strength of My maya in the shape of a woman, that even makes the conquerors of the world follow her closely by the mere movement of an eyebrow. He who aspires to reach the culmination of yoga, should never become attached to [young, attractive] women. One says that, to someone who arrived at self-realisation in My service, that is the gateway to hell. The woman, a creation of the Lord, is as an overgrown well [one falls into when one is inattentive], she represents the slowly encroaching maya, the illusory power of the material world, that one must consider the death of one's self. When he, as the bestower of wealth, progeny and a house, out of attachment to his wife, himself has obtained the female state, she will consider My maya, that assumed the form of a man, as her husband. She [for finding liberation] should consider that maya in the form of her husband, children and house, as the death song of a hunter, brought about by the command of the Lord. Because the person constantly enjoys to engage in profit-minded labour, the individual soul, by the body thus acquired, wanders from one world to the other. That is how a soul acquires a body, composed of the material elements, the senses and the mind, that befits his nature. When that body finds its end it is called death but when it manifests one speaks of birth. 5-4 When one cannot perceive the fixed position of an object, that implies that one's sense perception has died, and when one considers one's body as being oneself it implies that one has taken birth [in a material sense]. He who perceives cannot at the same time regard both the object and the perceiving witness himself, just as the eyes cannot see all the different parts of a single object in one view. One should not be horrified about death, not be afraid of poverty, nor be concerned about any material gain; when one understands the true nature of the living being, one should steadfast and free from attachment move around on this planet. When one relegates one's body to this world composed of maya, one should, endowed with the right vision, on the basis of reason move around there in detachment, being connected in the science of the [three forms of] yoga.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 32:
The Entanglement in Fruitive Activities

Kapila said: 'Well then, the person living at home doing the duties of a householder, enjoys again and again [the benefit] of sense gratification, economic gain and religious activities. Moreover, he, in his faithful worship of the gods and the forefathers with sacrificial ceremonies [called pravritti-dharma], infatuated by lust has turned his face away from emancipating in devotional service to the Supreme Lord [for the sake of what one calls nivritti-dharma]. Overcome by a mind of belief being vowed to those forefathers and demigods, the person, who by drinking soma [a beverage drunk by the sacrificing brahmins] thus was of respect for the lunar order [of his sacrifices], will turn back [to this world] after having deceased. When Lord Hari lies Himself down on the snake bed of Ananta Shesha, these worlds of the attached householders find their dissolution. Those intelligent souls [though] who, in the performance of their personal duties, did not take advantage for the sake of sense gratification and material benefits, but rather free from material attachment gave up their fruitive activities, will find the perfection of peace because their consciousness was purified. When they all the time [in nivritti-dharma] righteously are engaged for the sake of the detachment of forsaking egoism and claims of property, they, with the performance of their personal duties, are completely purified by the goodness of such a mentality. By following the path of enlightenment they approach the Original Person, the cause of the manifestation and dissolution of the world, who is reflected in each his face as the Controller of the spiritual and material worlds. Until the end of a period as long as two parardhas, in which the life of Brahma himself finds its conclusion [see 3.11], they dwell in the transcendental world immersed in thoughts about the Supreme One. After having experienced for the time of two parardhas the natural self [of creation] consisting of the three modes, the Lord of the Beyond [Brahma], desiring to dissolve the material covering composed of earth, water, fire, ether, mind, senses, objects, ego and so on, enters the unmanifested primal state. Those yogis who went all the way to become detached by controlling their breath and mind and thus entered Lord Brahma who cannot be attained with false self conceptions, next together with him go to the Original Person, the embodiment of bliss who is the oldest, primary reality of the spirit. Dear mother, therefore by means of devotional service take to the shelter of Him, the Lord you now heard about, who resides in the lotus heart of each. [But remember that] even Brahma, the Creator of the mobile and immobile manifestations who is the source of Vedic wisdom, as also the sages and the masters of yoga, the Kumaras and the other perfected souls and original thinkers of yoga who attained the original Person of the Absolute Truth, the first among all the souls, by dint of their detached, egoless actions, despite their independent vision and all their spiritual qualities, again take birth to assume their positions when this

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manifestation of the Lord is recreated through the operation of time and the three modes. And that is also true for all others who enjoyed the divine opulence that resulted from their pious deeds, they also return when the interaction of the modes again takes place.

They whose minds in this world are addicted to fruitive activities, engage with conviction in their prescribed duties in attachment to the result of their labour and do that time and again. Fully engaged in their households they worship their forefathers while they, being driven by passion, have minds that - aspiring for gratification - are full of anxieties with their senses out of control. [Trai-vargika] persons dedicated to the three civil virtues [of economy, sense gratification and religious service] are not interested in the pastimes of Lord Hari, the killer of the demon Madhu, whose exceptional prowess is so worthy of being described. Having given up on the nectar of the stories about the Infallible One, they, struck by fate, rather listen to materialistic stories, and in that respect they are just like stool eating hogs.

When the sun goes through the south, they, after their cremation, go to their forefathers, to again take birth in their families for the performance of fruitive activities to the [bitter] end. By divine arrangement they directly fall down from their elevated position to return to this planet, when they have exhausted the merit of their pious deeds, oh virtuous one.

Worship therefore with all your heart the Supreme Lord, your refuge, by the worshipable feet of whom your devotional service is associated with the good qualities. Engaging in devotional service unto Vasudeva the Supreme Personality of Godhead, will very soon result in the detachment and spiritual knowledge that lead to self-realisation. When the mind of the devotee in every circumstance is equipoised relative to the activity of the senses, he makes no distinction between like and dislike as a consequence. He is then, because of the detached mindfulness of his soul, in freedom from sympathy and antipathy, of an equal vision and sees himself elevated to the transcendental position. Even though the Supreme Personality constitutes the unique completeness of transcendental knowledge, He in philosophical research and other processes of understanding is differently perceived as the Spirit of the Absolute [Brahman], the Supersoul [Paramatma] and the Lord personally present [Bhagavan]. The only purpose for a yogi to realise in this world is to achieve, by the practice of yoga, complete detachment from everything. For someone averse to the knowledge of spirituality, the pure spirit of the absolute, Brahman, that is free from the [interacting] modes, appears as a relativity of forms that can be perceived through the senses and is misconceived as being endowed with sounds and so on. [But] just as from the mahat-tattva with the three modes and the five elements, the material body of the living entity was formed with its individual consciousness, eleven senses [the five senses of action and perception, including the mind] and false ego, also the universe was formed out of the cosmic egg of all universes [and may thus be concluded that no essential difference exists between the local covering of the individual soul and the gigantic universal covering of the Supersoul; or briefly stated, that the universe must be seen as a person]. With faith and devotion ever being steadfast in yoga, he understands this whose mind is fixed in the detachment of disassociating oneself from material involvement.

Thus, My respectful mother, I have described this spiritual knowledge that reveals the perspective of the Pure Spirit by which both the material and personal reality [prakriti and purusha] is understood. Rather than by each of them alone, by means of both jnana-yoga [the yoga of spiritual knowledge] and the freedom from the modes of being directed towards Me that is called bhakti, the purpose is achieved that is denoted by the word Bhagavan. One and the same object having many qualities is differently perceived by the senses, similarly the one and only Lord of All Fortune is seen differently depending the different paths described in the scriptures. 4-3 By material actions, sacrificial ceremonies, charity, austerities, study of the scriptures, philosophical research, subduing the mind and senses, as also by renunciation and forsaking profit-minded labour, practicing the different types of yoga, performing devotional service and fulfilling one's individual duties - in case of both an active life and a contemplative life [pravritti and nivritti dharma] -, one will, with consequent detachment and knowledge of the science of self-realisation, perceive the Supreme Lord in His true nature: as being present in both the material world and in transcendence [saguna and nirguna]. I explained to you the four divisions of identity [svarupa] in devotional service [three according to the modes and one for their transcendence*], as also the imperceptible action of time [the conditioning] that drives the living entities. For the living entity, My dear mother, there are many ways of engaging materially in ignorance [about one's original identity]. They are all the result of working for a material outcome [karma], and he who gets entangled in it has therefore lost his way.

This what I said is not meant for instructing the evil-minded and the ones of bad conduct, nor to be told to obstinate and offensive people or to anyone who only in name does his duty. One must not tell this to greedy persons and neither to someone attached to hearth and home, nor to those who are not devoted to Me or detest My devotees. It is meant for the faithful souls, for devotees, respectful people, for those not spiteful towards anyone, those who are friendly and eager to render their services conscientiously. Tell this to those who with a peaceful mind developed detachment for what is outside of them, to those who are not envious, who are clean and to whom I am the dearest of the dear. Oh mother, he who but once with faith heard about this or repeats this for himself in being fixed on Me [doing japa], will certainly attain My heaven.'

*: The four identities with the modes and their transcendence are known as the game of order the human being plays in his identifications of according to the four classes [varna], four statuses [ashrama], the three modes [guna] and the eight levels of transcendence [ashthanga] functioning with a certain degree of experience.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 33:
The Renunciation of Devahuti

Maitreya said: 'After the dear wife of Kardama, the mother named Devahuti, thus had listened to the words of Lord Kapila, she, being freed from the veil of ignorance, offered Him her obeisances and recited prayers to the author concerned with the fundamental [Sankhya-yoga] truths that constitute the foundation of liberation. Devahuti said: 'One says that the Unborn One [Brahma] who originated from the lotus flower [sprouting] from Your abdomen, meditated on Your body lying in the water that is the source of the stream of the modes of nature and the seed pervading everything manifest of the material elements, the senses, the sense-objects and the mind. As that single person of the universe who through the interaction of the modes divided the creation and all of that, You stand firm on the basis of Your heroism. You thereto with distinguishing Yourself as the infallible non-doer make the difference as the Lord of all living beings whose thousands of energies are inconceivable. How can it be that You as that same person took birth from my abdomen, oh my Lord, You who with Your unimaginable powers carry the universe in Your belly, You who, at the end of the millennium all alone lying Yourself down on the leaf of a banyan tree, lick Your toe as a baby? You have assumed this body to counter sinful activities, oh my Lord, and provide instructions for devotional service. Just as with incarnations of You like the boar incarnation and others, You, with this one, are there in order to reveal the path of self-realisation. With You even someone of the lowest birth is, by hearing the chanting of Your name, offering obeisances to You or even by simply remembering You, at any moment immediately enabled to perform the Vedic rituals. And then they have not even seen You face to face,, oh Fortunate One! Oh how blessed and hence worshipable is he who has Your holy name on his tongue, even when he is but cooking dog meat. For Your sake the souls of spiritual education [the Aryans] who studied the Vedas and accepted Your holy name, perform austerities, execute fire sacrifices and take a bath in the sacred rivers. I offer You my obeisances, You the Highest Spirit, the Supreme Personality, Lord Vishnu carrying the name of Kapila, He who is the source of the Vedas, to whom I turned inwards to listen, whom I perceived in my mind, meditated on and by whose potency the influence of the modes vanished.'

Maitreya said: 'The Supreme Lord carrying the name of Kapila, thus being praised, full of love for His mother replied with words of gravity. Lord Kapila said: 'By following this easy to execute path I instructed to you, My dear mother, you very soon will attain the supreme goal. You may rest assured that with this instruction of Mine that is followed by the transcendentalists, you will reach Me free from fear, while [the cycle of birth and] death is what is attained by those not conversant with this.'

Maitreya said: 'After this instruction the venerable Supreme Lord of the path of self-realisation, Kapila, the teacher of the Absolute Truth, took permission from His mother and left. The way her son had told her in His yoga instruction, she in that abode [Kardama's palace], which with its wealth of flowers was the jewel of the Sarasvati river, fixed her attention to be connected in the science of uniting consciousness. Regularly taking a bath, her curly matted hair turned gray and her body, clad in old garments, became thin because of the severe austerities. Kardama Muni, the progenitor of mankind, had by the austerity of his yoga developed his unequaled home with all its paraphernalia, that was even envied by the denizens of heaven. The ivory beds white as the foam of milk had gold filigree covers and the chairs and benches were made of gold and had cushions soft to the touch. The walls were of pure marble inlaid with valuable emeralds and lamps shone with the same jewels the women decorated themselves with. The garden of the house was beautiful with its flowers and fruits, many trees with pairs of singing birds and the humming of intoxicated bees. When she entered the pond fragrant with lotuses, the heavenly associates sang to her about the great care of Kardama.

[But] leaving that most desirable garden that was even envied by the wives of Indra, she had a sorry look on her face because she was afflicted by her being separated from her son. With her husband having left for the forest and her son separated from her she, despite the truth she knew, became as sad as a caring cow that lost her calf. While thinking of Him, her divine son Lord Kapiladeva, she very soon, oh dear Vidura, became detached from her fine home. According to the instruction of her son meditating on the form of the Supreme Lord as the object of her spiritual absorption, she kept in mind the complete and the parts of His smiling face. Impelled by her knowledge of the Absolute Truth performing her duties the proper way, she was continuously engaged in devotional service and very strong in renunciation. Spiritually purified by the Great Soul whose face is seen everywhere, she then in her self-realisation saw the symptoms of the modes of nature disappear. With her mind situated in Brahman, in the Supreme Lord as also in the Supersoul residing in all living beings, the distress of the unfortunate condition of her soul disappeared and she attained transcendental bliss. Elevated to the eternal state of full absorption she, being freed from the modes, no longer was reminded of her material body, just as one forgets one's dream after waking up. Her body was maintained by others [by her heavenly maidens] but, because she suffered no fear, she did not lose any [more] weight; covered by impurities she shone like a fire covered by smoke. With her body subdued in the austerity of yoga she, under the divine protection of being absorbed in thoughts about Vasudeva, no longer was aware of her hair hanging loose or that her clothes were in disarray. Thus following the path as instructed by Kapila, she soon, in the spirit of the Absolute Truth of the supreme soul, achieved the cessation of her material existence and the [abode of the] Supreme Lord.

That most sacred place where she attained perfection, oh brave soul, was known in the three worlds under the name of Siddhapada ['the refuge of perfection']. The material elements of her mortal body that was relinquished by the practice of yoga, became a river that is the foremost of all rivers, oh gentle one. For conferring that fulfillment that river is sought by all who desire perfection. After Lord Kapila, the great yogi and Supreme Lord, had taken leave of His mother and left the hermitage of His father, He headed in the northeastern direction. The ocean honoured Him by offering Him a residence where He is extolled by the Siddhas, Canaras, Gandharvas, munis and Apsaras *. There being worshiped by the teachers of example who practice the Sankhya yoga system, He remains permanently in samadhi to ensure the deliverance of [all the souls in] the three worlds. Dear sinless one, this what I, upon your request, told you about Kapila and His conversation with Devahuti, purifies [the one who listens to it]. Whoever listens to or expounds on these confidential teachings of Kapila Muni about the union of the soul and thus has fixed his mind on the Fortunate One who carries the banner of Garuda, will attain the lotus feet of the Supreme Lord.'

*: Known and still worshiped today as Ganga-sagara-tirtha, the place where the Ganges joins the ocean.

BOOK 4: THE CREATION OF THE FOURTH ORDER, THE LORD'S PROTECTION

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 1:
Genealogical Table of the Daughters of Manu

Shri Maitreya said: 'Svayambhuva Manu begot in his wife Shatarupa [two sons, as] also three daughters named Akuti, Devahuti and Prasuti, as you know [see 3.12: 56]. Despite the fact that Akuti had brothers * she was handed over to the great sage Ruci on the condition that the king would get the resultant son. This was settled with the support of religious rites and the consent of his wife. Ruci, the most powerful great sage who was entrusted with the procreation, begot, in his supreme concentration, a pair of children with her who were of the greatest spiritual and brahminical strength. The male child of the two, Yajna ['the One of Sacrifice'], was a direct personification of Vishnu while the other female child Dakshina was His inseparable plenary portion, the Goddess of Fortune [Lakshmi]. The very powerful son the daughter gave birth to was taken to the home of the most happy Svayambhuva Manu, while Dakshina was kept by Ruci. The Lord and master of all sacrifice married her who always longed for Him. She most happy to have Him for her husband who Himself was also most pleased with her, thereupon gave birth to twelve sons. The twelve were: Tosha, Pratosha, Santosha, Bhadra, Santi, Idaspati, Idhma, Kavi, Vibhu, Svahna, Sudeva and Rocana. In the period of Svayambhuva Manu they were known as the Tushita demigods. Marici headed the sages then and Yajna was the king of the demigods [Indra]. The two sons of Manu, Priyavrata and Uttanapada, were in that period the greatest of all kings and their sons, grandsons, great-grandsons and their offspring followed in his footsteps during that period of Manu. Dear Vidura, about Svayambhuva handing over his daughter to Kardama,

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you have heard me speak extensively. The great personality Svayambhuva gave Prasuti to Daksha, the son of Brahma, whose offspring spread enormously over the three worlds. I told you already about the nine daughters of Kardama who became the wives of the nine great sages. Now hear from me my description of the generations stemming from them. The daughter of Kardama, the wife of Marici also named Kala, gave birth to Kasyapa and to Purnima whose children spread all over the world. Purnima got sons named Viraja, Vis'vaga, oh conqueror, and a daughter named Devakulya who became the water that washed from the Lord's lotus feet and later constituted the heavenly river the Ganges. The wife of Atri Muni, named Anasuya, gave birth to three very famous sons: Dattatreya, Durvasa and Soma [the moon god], who are [partial] incarnations of respectively the Supersoul [Vishnu], Lord Shiva and Lord Brahma.'

Vidura said: 'Oh spiritual master, tell me how in the house of Atri the chief demigods responsible for maintenance, creation and destruction, could appear with a desire to do something.'

Maitreya said: 'Being inspired by Lord Brahma to procreate, Atri, the chief of the scholars of spiritual knowledge, together with his wife went to the great mountain named Riksha to stay there for austerities. In the forest there were many ashoka and palas'a trees and flowers, with everywhere the sound of the flowing waters of the river the Nirvindhya. Controlling the mind by regulating his breath the sage remained there for a hundred years subsisting on air while standing on the one leg of non-duality. He thought: 'By taking shelter of Him I surrendered myself to Him, may He who is the master of the universe give me a son like Himself.' Issuing from the head of the sage there was a fire being fueled by his breath control, that, while practicing his austerities, was noticed by the three principal gods of the three worlds. [Together with] the Apsaras, the munis, the Gandharvas, the Siddhas, the Vidyadharas and Nagas [they] came to the hermitage of him who thus gained renown. When he saw all these demigods and great personalities appear at the same moment, the mind of the sage, who had awakened on his one leg, lightened up. Recognizing the symbols of their personal paraphernalia [drum, kus'a grass and discus] as also the bull, the swan and the bird Garuda they sat upon, he with folded hands fell down prostrating before them to offer his obeisances. Dazzled by the glaring effulgence of their smiling faces and their merciful satisfied glances, the sage closed his eyes. Absorbed by that vision he ecstatically expressed his prayers before those who are most appreciated in all the worlds. Atri said: 'Let me bow before You, oh Lord Brahma, Lord Shiva and Lord Vishnu, oh You who, as You always do in the different millennia, have accepted Your bodies according to the division of the modes of nature, for the sake of the creation, destruction and maintenance of the universe. Whom of You did I actually call for? Be as merciful to please explain to me, so full of serious doubt, how it can be that You, despite being far elevated above the minds of the embodied souls, all have appeared here, with me having fixed my mind on the One Great Lord of all Fortune for the sake of begetting a child?'

Maitreya said: 'Oh mighty one, after thus having heard the words of the great sage, all the three chief demigods smiled at him and replied with gentle voices. The gods said: It shall be done as you decided, and not otherwise. To you who never lost your resolve, dear brahmin, we are all the one and same [person] you were meditating on. Therefore our plenary expansions - the sons to be born to you - will be very famous in the world, dear sage, and spread your glory to your great fortune.'

The chief demigods, who perfectly being worshiped thus had offered the desired benediction, then, with the couple looking on, returned to their places. Soma appeared as a partial expansion of Lord Brahma, Dattatreya as a very powerful yogi of Lord Vishnu, and Durvasa as a partial expansion of Shankara [Shiva]. Hear now about the generations that appeared from Angira. Shraddha, the wife of Angira, gave birth to the four daughters Sinivali, Kuhu, Raka and Anumati. Next to them he begot two sons who were very famous in the millennium of Svarocisha Manu [the second Manu after Svayambhuva]: they were the mighty Utathya and Brihaspati, the foremost knower of the Absolute Truth. Pulastya begot in his wife Havirbhu, Agastya, who in his next birth would be Dahragni ['of the digestive fire'], and Vis'rava, who was great in austerity. The demigod Kuvera, the king of the Yakshas [his supernatural attendants], appeared from Vis'rava. He was born from Idavida while the sons Ravana, Kumbhakarna and Vibhishana were born from another wife [named Kes'ini]. Gati, the wife of Pulaha, oh devoted one, gave birth to three chaste sons [Karmas'reshthha, Variyan and Sahishnu] who knew all about karma and were very respectable and tolerant. Kriya, the wife of sage Kratu, gave birth to sixty thousand sages who lived in accord with the Valakhilya [some Rig Veda verses about retired life]. They most brilliantly excelled in the brahminical perspective. From Urja [also called Arundhati], Citraketu was begotten by the sage Vasishthha, oh great soul. He appeared as the first of seven sons who were all great and pure sages of Brahman, the Absolute Truth. They were Citraketu, Suroci, Viraja, Mitra, Ulbana, Vasubhridyana and Dyuman. Born from another wife of his, there were also Shakti and other sons. Also Citti [also known as Santi], the wife of Atharva, gave fully dedicated to the Dadhyanca vow [the vow of meditation] birth to a son who was called As'vas'ira. Now hear about the generation begotten by Bhrigu. Bhrigu, most fortunately, begot in his wife Khyati, the sons Dhata and Vidhata and a daughter named Shri, who was very devoted to the Lord. To these two sons were given in marriage Ayati and Niyati, two daughters of sage Meru, from whom appeared Mrikanda as also Prana. Markandeya Muni was born from the seed of Mrikanda and from Prana the great sage Vedas'ira appeared whose greatly powerful son named Kavi Bhargava was also known as Ushana [or Shukracarya]. Oh Vidura, I have spoken to you about how, from the offspring of sage Kardama, all the great sages with their descendants populated the three worlds with the grandsons born to them. With faith hearing about this is the best way to drive away immediately all sins.

Prasuti, a daughter of Manu, married the son of Brahma called Daksha. With her Daksha begot sixteen lotus eyed daughters. Thirteen were given in marriage to Dharma and one was given to Agni. One daughter he gave to the combined forefathers and one he gave to Lord Shiva, the deliverer of the sinners. Shraddha, Maitri, Daya, Santi, Tushthi, Pushthi, Kriya, Unnati, Buddhi, Medha, Titiksha, Hri and Murti are the names of the daughters of Daksha who were given to Dharma. Shraddha gave birth to Shubha, Maitri got Prasada, Daya got Abhaya, Santi got Sukha, Tushthi got Muda, Pushthi got Smaya, Kriya got Yoga, Unnati got Darpa, Buddhi got Artha, Medha got Smriti, Titiksha got Kshema and Hri got Pras'raya. Murti, a reservoir of all good qualities, gave birth to the two sages Nara and Narayana. The appearance of the both of Them gladdened the universe and filled everyone's mind with peace. In all directions the rivers, mountains and the atmosphere became pleasant. The demigods, Brahma and the others, all full of respect offered prayers. From the heavens musical instruments sounded, flowers were showered from the sky, the sages satisfied chanted Vedic hymns, the Gandharvas and Kinnaras began to sing, the heavenly damsels danced and thus all signs of good fortune were seen. The gods said: 'Our obeisances unto the Supreme Original Personality who by His external energy created the variety of everything existing that resides in Him the way masses of clouds are found in the sky, in Him who today has appeared in the house of Dharma in the form of these sages. May He, whom we know on the basis of the Vedas and who - in order to put an end to the misfortune of the created world - from the mode of goodness brought about the lives of us, the demigods, bestow upon us His merciful glance that supersedes the spotless lotus known as the home of the Goddess of Fortune.'

Oh Vidura, after thus having been praised by the assembled demigods who found the mercy of His glance, the Supreme Lord left for Gandhamadana Hill. These two [Nara-Narayana] partial [ams'a] incarnations of the Supreme Lord Hari have now, for mitigating the burden of the world, appeared here in the form of the two of Krishna [Krishna and Arjuna] who are the most eminent souls of the Kuru and Yadu dynasty. Svaha [the daughter of Daksha and] the wife of the fire god Agni, produced three sons: Pavaka, Pavamana and Shuci who feed on the oblations of the sacrifice. They in their turn produced forty-five fire gods, so that, taken together, there are forty-nine of them, including the fathers and the grandfather. They constitute the names of the [49] fires in which the knowers of Brahman offer their oblations [ishthis] for Agni during Vedic ceremonies. The forefathers are the Agnishvattas, Barhishadas, Saumyas and Ajyapas; they are approached [with libations of water in combination] with or without fire and Svadha, Daksha's daughter is their wife. They gave her two daughters, Vayuna and Dharini, who both were expert in the knowledge and the [transcendental] wisdom of the impersonal path of Brahman. The wife of Bhava [a name of Shiva] named Sati, served the demigod faithfully, but could not give birth to a child with her qualities and character. That was because her father [Daksa] in anger had behaved unfavorably towards the faultless one [Shiva], so that she had to give up her body in the connectedness of yoga before she attained maturity. '

*: Normally when a woman has brothers she is not given away in marriage on these conditions. The grandson is adopted for the sake of securing the inheritance in the male line. This is called putrika-dharma: to get a son by means of a religious ritual. Shrila Vis'vanatha Cakravarti Thhakura offers in this connection the explanation that Manu knew that the Supreme Personality would appear as the son of Akuti. So He would become his son.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 2:
Daksha Curses Lord Shiva

Vidura said: 'Why exhibited Daksha enmity towards Lord Shiva, the best among all gentle souls, while he neglected his daughter Sati whom he cared so much about? How could he hate him who is the spiritual master of the entire world and who, being satisfied within with a peaceful personality and free from enmity, is the greatest demigod of the universe? Sati gave up the life that is so difficult to give up. So please tell me the reason why, oh brahmin, the father-in-law and son-in-law quarreled?'

Maitreya said: 'Once in the past at a sacrifice held by the ruler of creation [the Prajapati], all the immortal ones of creation, the great sages along with the philosophers, the demigods and the gods of the sacrificial fire together with all their followers had assembled. When he [Daksha] arrived at that great assembly, the sages could see him as someone who, free from the darkness of ignorance, shone like the sun. The members of the assembly along with those taking care of the fire, impressed by his luster, all stood up from their seats, with the exception of Lord Brahma and Lord Shiva. Daksha, the great lord, who was properly welcomed by the leaders of the assembly, made his obeisances towards the one unborn [Brahma], the master of the world, and sat down upon his order. Before he took his seat though, he felt insulted by Lord Shiva who showed no sign of respect. He lost his temper and with an angry look in his eyes said the following. 'Listen to me, oh wise among the brahmins, oh godly souls and fire gods, as I speak to you about the manners of the gentle-minded, and this I do not out of ignorance or jealousy. He [Shiva] lacking in manners, has shamelessly spoilt the fame of the rulers of the universe and polluted the path of proper conduct. Acting like an honest man, he [as a son of mine] has accepted to be of a lower position by taking the hand of my daughter in the presence of fire and brahmins. Accepting the hand of her who has eyes like that of a deer cub and himself having the eyes of a monkey, he has not, as it should, honoured me with a word of welcome and by standing up from his seat. Contrary to what I want I gave my daughter to someone with no respect for the rules and regulations, to someone who impure and proud has broken with the code of conduct, as if I gave the message of the Vedas to a Shudra! In the company of ghosts and demons he wanders around at the burial places where corpses are burned and laughs and cries there like a madman, with scattered hair smearing himself with the ashes of the funeral pyre. He has a garland of skulls and is ornamented with dead man's bones; he is only in name Shiva or auspicious. He is in fact inauspicious, crazy and dear to the crazy, he is their leader and Lord engrossed in the mode of ignorance! To him, the Lord of the Ghosts void of all cleanliness with a heart full of awkward matters, I alas, upon the request of the supreme teacher [Brahma], have given away Sati.'

Maitreya said: 'Thus having abused Shiva who remained without hostility, Daksha next rinsed his hands and mouth with water and began to curse him angrily: 'The portion of the sacrifice to God that the demigods along with Indra, Upendra [the younger brother of Indra] and others are entitled to, is there not for the lowest of the demigods.' Even though the members of the assembly urged him not to, Daksha, having cursed Shiva, left the place and went home, oh Vidura, for he had gotten very angry. Understanding that Lord Shiva had been cursed, one of his principal associates Nandis'vara, turned red. Blind with anger he harshly condemned Daksha and the brahmins who had allowed the cursing to take place.

'May he who in the physical presence of him, the non-envious Lord Shiva, bears envy and thus is stupefied by a dual vision, lose all his grip on reality. He who is attracted to a householder's life of pretentious religiosity and in a desire for material happiness performs fruitive activities, will see his intelligence concerning the Vedic word fail. He who, with the intelligence of taking the body for one's self, has forgotten the knowledge of Vishnu and as an animal is attached to his sex life, let that excessive Daksha, soon get the head of a goat! May those who follow Daksha in his insults and dulled in the ignorance of their fruitive activities have lost their intelligence and knowledge, time and again end up here in the ocean of material suffering. May those who are so envious with Lord Shiva and whose minds became slow because of the enchanting flowery words of the Vedas that are so pervaded with the scent of honey, for ever be stupefied. Let those brahmins who have taken to education, austerity and vows for the purpose of acquiring money and satisfying their physical senses, as beggars wander from door to door, eating whatever!'

When Bhrigu heard the words of this curse against the class of the twice-born, he in response pronounced an insurmountable curse following the brahminical way of chastising: 'May anyone who takes a vow to please Lord Shiva and follows such principles, become an atheist straying away from the scriptural injunctions. May those who took initiation to worship Shiva and abandoning cleanliness, foolishly have their hairs long, wear bones and are covered by ashes, find their destiny in intoxication. Because you [Nandis'vara], blaspheme the Vedas and the brahmins who support the established rules of society, you have sought your refuge in atheism. In the Vedas, which in the past have always been rigidly followed for being the auspicious, eternal path for all people, one finds the evidence of Janardana [the Lord

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as the well-wisher of all]. Blaspheming that supreme and pure spirit constituting the eternal path of the truthful souls, you are doomed to end up in atheism wherein the Lord of matter and death [Shiva as Bhutapati] is your deity!'

Maitreya said: 'After one thus had spoken about Shiva with the curse of Bhrigu, the Supreme One, somewhat downcast, left the place together with his followers. And so did the fathers of mankind for a thousand years settle for the sacrifice, oh great master, in which the chief of all gods is Hari, the Supreme Personality. After purifying their hearts by taking a ceremonial, concluding bath at the place where the Ganges meets the Yamuna, they all left from there to return to their own places.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 3:
The Talk Between Lord Shiva and Sati

Maitreya said: 'Thus the heartily enmity that existed between the son-in-law and father-in-law, continued for a very long time. When Daksha by Brahma was appointed the chief of all the progenitors of mankind, the supreme teacher, he became very arrogant. Neglecting Shiva and his followers he, after first performing a Vajapeya sacrifice ['the drink of strength or battle'], began the best of all sacrifices called the Brihaspati-sava sacrifice [the initiatory sacrifice to the honour of the chief offerer of prayers and sacrifice]. To that occasion all the God-conscious and learned souls of wisdom, the ancestors and the demigods including the nicely decorated wives who accompanied their husbands, came together. - Sati, the daughter of Daksha and wife of Shiva, heard the denizens of heaven talk in the sky about the great festival to be performed by her father. When she thereupon near her residence from all sides saw the beautiful wives of the godly souls with glittering eyes, in nice dresses with golden earrings and ornaments around their necks, move about in their heavenly vehicles to go there together with their husbands, she highly anxious addressed her husband, the Lord and master of the Bhutas [those in favor of matter and the dead]. Sati said: 'Your father-in-law, Daksha, has initiated a great sacrifice where all the God-conscious souls are going and where we surely thus also may go to, my dearest, if you like. I am sure that my sisters together with their husbands will also be going there, eager to see their relatives. I would like to attend that gathering together with you and all the ornaments given to me. Do you consent? I will meet my sisters there with their husbands as also my sweet aunts and my mother. I have been waiting for a long time to see them including the sacrificial flags raised by the great sages, oh merciful one. This manifestation of His external energy, that was created as an interaction of the three modes, appears so wonderful to you, oh unborn one. But I am just your poor woman, not conversant with the truth, who would like to see her place of birth, oh Bhava [Shiva as the Lord of existence]. Oh never-born blue-throated one, all the other women, ornamented and with their husbands and friends, are flocking in large numbers going there, standing beautifully out against the sky with their white swans that carry them high. How can I as a daughter be emotionally unaffected, oh best of the demigods, as I hear about the festival taking place in the house of my father? Even not being invited one can go to the house of a friend, one's husband, one's father or one's spiritual master, is it not? Be therefore so kind to me, oh immortal one, and fulfill my desire, oh you honourable compassionate Lord with your unlimited vision. See me as the [full] other half of your body, please be so gracious to consent to my request.'

The sage said: 'The deliverer from mount Kailasa [Lord Shiva] thus being addressed by his sweetheart, amiable to his relatives as he was, replied with a smile, as he remembered the heart-piercing, malicious words spoken by Daksha in the presence of the masters of creation. The great Lord said: 'What you said my dear beauty, is perfectly true; one may, even uninvited, visit friends, provided they are not finding fault with you or, more important, when they are free from anger in being proud of their material achievements. Those who are arrogant, are blinded in their pride over the six qualities of pious education, austerity, wealth, beauty, youth and heritage. Not of respect for the glories of the great souls they, to the contrary, get entangled in untruth and lose their sense of reality. One should not go to the house of relatives and friends who, in their suppositions, do not see things as they are and thus offer their guests a cold reception by regarding them with raised eyebrows and anger in their eyes. One is not hurt as much by the arrows of an enemy as one is aggrieved in the core of one's heart by the deceitful, harsh words of relatives, for such grief makes the one hurt suffer day and night. It is clear that you with your pretty face and good behavior are the darling of the daughters of the Prajapati [Daksha], yet, you will, because of being connected to me, meet with pain because your father does not honour me. Someone upset with a burning heart is not directly capable of rising to merely the standard of the exemplary pious behavior of those whose minds are always turned to the Original Person, just as demons envious of the Lord cannot act piously. My dear young wife, to stand up and welcome one another with obeisances is a virtue of the wise who, with intelligence unto the Supreme, do so for the sake of the Original Person residing within the body and not for the person identified with the body. The pure consciousness known as Vasudeva ['God's goodness'] is revealed there [within the heart] because the person in that position is in goodness and is not covered [by darkness]. The Supreme Lord as such I always respect by the name of Vasudeva [the 'God of the Soul'] because He is the transcendence. We should therefore not go and see your father Daksha and his Vis'vasrik followers present at the sacrifice. Even though he gave you your body, oh Sati, [remember that] he with cruel words enviously has insulted me who was innocent. When you decide to go there ignoring my words, matters will not turn out good for you. The moment that you, being so most respectable, are insulted by your relative, that insult will be equal to dying on the spot.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 4:
Sati Quits her Body

Shri Maitreya said: 'After saying this much about the [possible] end of his wife's physical existence, Lord Shiva fell silent. Since she from Shiva understood that she had the choice between being anxious to see her relatives and being afraid to meet her relatives, she was in doubt whether she should go or not. Denied in her desire to see her relatives she felt very sorry and shed tears in her affliction. Trembling she angrily looked at her Bhava, the unequaled one, as if she wanted to burn him. Breathing heavily she walked away from him, the saintly one so dear to her to whom she out of love had given half of her body. Being upset because of the grief and anger in her heart she, with her intelligence clouded by her female nature, left for the house of her father. Rapidly leaving on her own accord, Sati was quickly followed by the thousands of associates and Yakshas of the three eyed one [Lord Shiva] who were headed by Maniman and Mada. Not afraid [to leave Shiva behind] they had put the bull Nandi in front. Having placed her on the decorated bull they took along her pet bird, ball, mirror, lotus flower, white umbrella, mosquito net, garlands and other stuff, being accompanied by the music of drums, conch shells and flutes. She [thus] entered the sacrificial arena where, with the help of sacrificial animals, pots, clay, wood, iron, gold, grass and skins to sit upon and in the presence of the great sages and authorities, the sacrifice was performed all around graced by the sounds of Vedic hymns. But when she arrived there she was, out of fear for the performer of the sacrifice [Daksha], not respected by anyone with a welcome, except of course for her own sisters and mother who embraced her with reverence, gladdened faces and throats choked by tears of affection. But Sati, not being welcomed by her father, did not respond to the reverence shown with the greetings of her sisters, mother and aunts who with due respect properly informed her and offered her gifts and a seat. Realizing that her father with no oblations for Shiva, out of contempt for the godhead, had not invited the mighty one for the assembly of the sacrifice, Sati got very angry with a furious look as if she wanted to burn the fourteen worlds with her eyes. The goddess [next] for everyone present to hear began to condemn with words filled with anger the opponents of Shiva who were so proud of their troublesome sacrifices, meanwhile ordering his Bhutas to hold back, who stood prepared to attack. The goddess said: 'No one in this world is his [Shiva's] rival, his enemy or [particularly] dear to him. Who else but you [oh father] would be envious of him, he, the most beloved being in the universe, who is free from all enmity? Unlike you, oh twice-born one, he does not find fault in the qualities of those who seek the truth. He rather promotes any little good he finds in others. And now you are finding fault with him, the greatest of all persons! It is not very surprising, this constant deriding of glorious persons by those who take the transient body for the true self. It is an ugly evil to be envious with great personalities, examples by the dust of whose feet one - to one's fortune - sees one's fire tempered. Persons who only once from their heart pronounce the two syllables of his name, see their sinful activities immediately defeated. That Shiva, whose order is never neglected and who is of an impeccable renown, you now strangely envy. Engaged at his lotus feet the higher personalities exercise their bee-like minds aspiring the nectar of transcendental bliss, while he for the common man is the one sought for fulfilling all desires. That you, of all people, now have to be against him, the friend of all living entities in all the three worlds! Do you really think that others than you, like Brahma and his brahmins, are not familiar with the inauspicious call of him who is associated with the demons and who, with his scattered, matted hair, is garlanded with skulls and is smeared with the ashes of the crematorium? Yet they take on their heads the flowers that fell from the feet of him who is called Shiva or auspicious! When one is confronted with people who irresponsibly blaspheme the controller of the religion, one should block one's ears and walk away, if nothing else can be done. But if one can do something, one should by force cut out the tongue of the vilifying blasphemer and next give up one's life. That is the way to deal with such matters! Therefore I shall no longer bear this body I received from you who blasphemed Shiva ['with the dark neck']. To purify oneself from mistakenly having eaten poisonous food it is best to vomit, so one says. Elevated transcendentalists who enjoy their lives do not always follow the rules and regulations of the Vedas, the ways of the gods differ from those of man. Therefore a man should not criticize another man [like Shiva] by the standard of his own unique sense of duty. In truth the Vedas distinguish between activities performed in attachment and activities performed in detachment [pravritti and nivritti dharma]. On the basis of these two characteristics of dharma one therefore has two choices. To be of both at the same time is contradictory and thus it can happen that none of these activities satisfies a transcendentalist. Oh father, the ways we follow are not your ways, they are not recommended by those who, satisfied by the food of the sacrifice, follow the ritual path and thus get their fill. They constitute the path of the fully renounced souls who follow the non-manifest form of sacrificing. With your offenses against Shiva and denial of this body that was produced from your body, I say: enough is enough! I am ashamed to have taken this contemptible birth. What a shame it is to be related by birth to a bad person, to someone who is an offender of great personalities. Because of the family tie I have with you it makes me very sad when my great Lord Shiva calls me 'daughter of Daksha'. All my joy and smiles vanish immediately when he does so. Therefore I will give up this bag of bones that was produced from your body.'

Maitreya said: 'Oh annihilator of the enemy, speaking thus to Daksha in the arena of sacrifice, she sat down in silence on the ground with her face to the north. After touching water she, dressed in saffron garments, then closed her eyes to find absorption in the process of yoga. Balancing the inward and outward going breath she, the blameless one, in the control of her yogic posture with intelligence directed her life air upward. She raised it gradually up from the navel cakra to the heart, from the heart to the windpipe and from the throat to the place between her eyebrows. In her desire to give it up because of her anger towards Daksha, she who time and again full of respect sat on the lap of the most worshipful one of all saints, thus by the exercise of her own will focussed on the air and fire within her body. When she meditating right there within her mind saw nothing but the nectarean lotus feet of her husband, the supreme spiritual teacher of the universe, and was freed from all impurities, soon the body of Sati was ablaze because of the fire that originated from her absorption.

From the side of those who witnessed it a loudly, in the sky and on the earth reverberating, wondrous tumult originated: 'Ohhh..., alas Sati, the beloved goddess of the most respectable demigod, has given up her life in anger about Daksha. Oh, just see the great soullessness of him, the Prajapati from whom all the generations sprang. Because of his disrespect she voluntarily gave up her body, she, his own daughter Sati worthy of our repeated respect. He so hard-hearted and unworthy of the brahminical status, will gain extensive ill fame in the world because he in his offenses, as an enemy of Lord Shiva, could not prevent his own daughter from preparing herself for death!' While the people thus were talking among themselves after having witnessed the wondrous death of Sati, the attendants of Shiva stood up with their weapons lifted in order to kill Daksha. But as soon as he saw them approaching Bhrigu quickly offered oblations in the southern fire and recited hymns from the Yajur Veda to ward off the destroyers of a sacrifice. From the oblations being offered by Bhrigu, the demigods named the Ribhus, who by dint of the moon [Soma] and by penance had achieved great strength, manifested by the thousands. All the ghosts and Guhyakas [guardians of Shiva] were attacked by them with pieces of firewood from the fire. Thus [being haunted] by the glow of sheer brahminical power, they fled in all directions.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 5:
Frustration of the Sacrifice of Daksha

Maitreya said: 'When Lord Shiva heard from Narada about the death of Sati because of the impudence shown by the Prajapati and that the soldiers of his associates had been driven away by the Ribhus produced from Daksha's sacrificial fire, his anger knew no bounds. Angrily clenching his lips with his teeth he snatched from a cluster of hair on his head one hair that blazed terribly like an electric fire. Briskly standing up Rudra laughed with a deep sound and dashed the hair to the ground. Thereupon a great black man appeared with a sky-high body that had a thousand arms upholding several kinds of weapons. He radiated as bright as three suns combined, had fearful teeth, a garland of skulls around his neck and hair on his head that looked like a burning fire. When he [Virabhadra] asked the great Lord with folded hands: 'What can I do for you, oh Lord of the Ghosts?', the Lord told him: 'You as the chief of my associates, oh Rudra, oh expert in combat born from my body, go and put an end to Daksha and his sacrifice!'

Thus being ordered he, as the anger of the anger of the god of the gods, circumambulated the mighty Shiva. Invested with the irresistible power of the mightiest one he considered himself to be all-powerful, my dear Vidura, and thus capable

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of coping with any force. With bangles on his ankles that made a loud sound and carrying a frightening trident that could even kill death, he with a loud roar hurried away, being followed by Shiva's soldiers roaring [along] with a tumultuous noise. At that moment the priests, Daksha the leader of the yajna and all the persons assembled, saw the darkness of a dust storm emerging from the north, whereupon the brahmins and their wives began to speculate about where this dust came from: "The winds do not blow, it cannot be plunderers since old King Barhi is still alive to punish them and the cows are not herded either; so where is this dust coming from? Does it mean that the world is about to end?'

The women of Daksha headed by Prasuti said most afraid: 'This now is the danger resulting from the sin of Daksha who, as Sati's lord and creator, has insulted his completely innocent daughter in the presence of her sisters. Or would it be he who, at the time of dissolution, dances with his weapons raised like flags in his hands and with the bunch of his hair scattered, while he pierces the rulers with his pointed trident and sends his loud laughter in all directions like a clap of thunder? How can there be happiness when one, being of Brahma, angers him, raises the fury of him who with an unbearable effulgence full of anger now darkens the luminaries with the terrible sight of his fearful teeth and the movement of his eyebrows?'

While the people of Daksha [assembled at the sacrifice] all were talking like this they, looking around nervously, could observe everywhere and repeatedly the countless fearful omens in the sky and on the earth [as a result of the anger] of the great Lordship. Soon, oh Vidura, the arena of the sacrifice was surrounded by the followers of Rudra who with al kinds of raised weapons were running all around with their short, blackish and yellowish, shark-like bodies and faces.

Some pulled down the pillars of the pandal while others invaded the quarters of the women, the sacrificial arena, the residence of the priests and the place where one was cooking. Some shattered the pots used for the sacrifice, some extinguished the fires burning for the sacrifice, some tore down the boundary lines demarcating the arena and some urinated there. Others blocked the sages their way and some threatened the women and arrested the godly souls who sat nearby and fled. Maniman got hold of Bhrigu Muni, Virabhadra ['the great one'] caught Prajapati Daksha, Candes'a captured Pusha and Nandis'vara seised the demigod Bhaga. Suffering a hail of stones, all the priests, godly souls and other members of the sacrifice who saw all of this happening, utterly agonised spread in all directions. Shiva's mighty appearance [Virabhadra], in the midst of the assembly, tore off the mustache of Bhrigu Muni who had held the sacrificial ladle for doing oblations, for he with his [proud] mustache had dared to laugh at Shiva. Bhaga's eyes were by the great warlord, who in great fury had thrust him to the ground, plucked out in the presence of the Vis'vasriks, because he with the movement of his eyebrows had encouraged the cursing of Lord Shiva. Like Baladeva did with the king of Kalinga [during the gambling match at the marriage ceremony of Aniruddha], he [Virabhadra] knocked out the teeth of Pusha who had shown his teeth as he smiled during the cursing of Shiva. But when he, with his foot on Daksha's chest with a sharp blade, tried to sever his head from his body, the three eyed giant could not get it done. Nor with weapons, nor with the help of mantras being able to even scratch his skin, Virabhadra was struck with wonder and had to think deeply. Then he spotted the device used for killing the sacrificial animals and managed therewith to sever the head from the body of Daksha, the lord ruling the sacrifice, who now was an animal of sacrifice himself.

All the Bhutas, Pretas and Pis'acas of Shiva joyfully cheered the very moment they saw him doing that, while the followers of Daksha suffered the opposite. Out of his great anger with Daksha, Virabhadra threw the head as an oblation in the southern sacrificial fire and set ablaze all the arrangements for the sacrifice of the godly souls. Then they departed for their master's abode ['where the Guhyakas reside' or Kailasa].'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 6:
Brahma Satisfies Lord Shiva

Maitreya said: 'After all the demigods by the soldiers of Rudra were defeated with tridents, spears, swords, bludgeons and hammers, they, wounded all over their bodies, together with all the priests and other members of the assembly in great fear offered Lord Brahma their obeisances and reported the events to him in detail. Knowing beforehand of the certainty of these events, the Lord born from the lotus flower [Brahma] and Narayana, the Supersoul of the entire universe [Vishnu], had not attended Daksha's sacrifice. Hearing what had happened Lord Brahma said: 'A great personality has been offended and that is, given the wish to live in peace, generally not conducive for well-being. Despite having committed these offenses in denying Lord Shiva his share of the offerings, you will all quickly find his mercy when you, without any mental reservations, satisfy him by taking shelter of his lotus feet. Do not think you can continue with the sacrifice without forthwith begging for the pardon of the god of all worlds and their controllers you have angered; being deprived of his wife, his heart was most upset by the unkind words [spoken to him]. Neither I, nor Indra, nor all of you and others who have a material body, nor even the sages who know the real extent of his strength and power, have an inkling of what it means to dare a thing like that with him who relies on the soul only.'

After thus having instructed the godly souls Lord Brahma went away with in his wake the forefathers and the leaders of the people whom he took from his own place to the abode of Lord Shiva, Kailasa, the best of all mountains that is so dear to the master. The place, enjoyed by Kinnaras, Gandharvas, and Apsaras [the residents and singers of heaven and their wives] is populated by the perfected ones [or Siddhas] who differ from other people [or are gifted] by birth, by austerity, by their use of herbs or by practicing mantras in yoga. The mountain range, home to a diversity of deer, is replete with all kinds of precious stones and minerals and is grown by trees, creepers and a diversity of other plants. The mountain peaks with their crystal clear waterfalls have various caves pleasing to the wives of the mystics who sport there with their husbands. Resounding with the cries of peacocks and the humming of bees mad about the nectar, there is the continuous song of cuckoos and chirping of other birds. By the elephants moving around the mountain itself seems to be moving, by the sounds of the waterfalls the mountain itself seems to resound and by the trees that yield to all desires the mountain seems to be stretching its arms calling for the birds. 4-1 The mountain is further beautified by mandara, parijata, sarala (pine) and tamala trees, Shala and tala, kovidara, asana and arjuna trees, cutas (mango), kadambas, dhuli-kadambas and nagas, punnagas and campakas and one also sees there trees like pathalas, ashokas, bakulas, kundas and kurabakas. It is also adorned with golden coloured lotuses, the cinnamon tree and the malati, kubja, mallika and madhavi. With kata, jackfruit, julara and banyan trees, plakshas, nyagrodhas and trees producing asafoetida, there are also betelnut trees, pugas, rajapugas and jambus [black berries and greenery alike]. Offering a variety of trees like kharjuras, amratakas, amras and such and others like priyalas, madhukas and ingudas, it is further enriched with venu-kicakaih and kicaka [different sorts of bamboo]. Kumuda, utpala, kahlara and Shatapatra lotuses cover the lakes of the forests that, filled with the sweet whispers of flocks of birds, harbour deer, monkeys, boars, cats, bears, Shalyakas, forest cows and asses, tigers, smaller deer and buffaloes and such. It is enjoyed by different types of deer like the karnantras, ekapadas, as'vasyas, vrikas and kasturis and has groups of banana trees near the sandy banks of the beautiful hillside lakes filled with lotuses. The devoted souls saw the waters of lake Alakananda still carrying the flavor of Sati who bathed there and they were struck with wonder about that mountain of the Lord of Ghosts. There at Alaka [huncommonly beautiful'] they saw the region with the forest named Saugandhika ['full of fragrance'], that carried that name because of the species of lotus flowers one finds there. The two rivers the Nanda and Alakananda flowing close to the abode of the master, were supremely sanctified because of the dust of the lotus feet. Dear ruler, in these two rivers the celestial damsels descended from their dwellings to play there after making love to their husbands and splatter each other with the water. The two streams having turned yellow because of the kunkum powder [that washed from their breasts] make the elephants and their females who take a bath there drink from the water, despite not being thirsty. The heavenly homes enjoyed by the wives of the virtuous souls were bedecked with countless valuable jewels, pearls and gold, that made them look like clouds in the sky brightened by flashes of lightening.

Passing through the Saugandhika forest that was so attractive with its variety of trees yielding to all desires with its flowers, fruits and leaves, they reached the abode of the Lord of the Yakshas. There they saw the beauty of many birds with red necks whose sounds mixed with the humming of bees as also lakes filled with lotus flowers attractive to groups of swans. The breeze of the sandalwood trees made the wild elephants flock together and continuously stimulated the minds of the wives of the virtuous souls. The staircases leading to the bathing places full of lotuses that were used by the ones faithful to the divine personality [the Kimpurushas], were made of vaidurya stone. Having seen them they nearby spotted a banyan tree. At a height of thousands of feet it spread out its branches over a quarter of the foot of the mountain, casting a fine cooling shadow. It had no birds nesting in it. Underneath the tree the godly souls saw Lord Shiva, the shelter of many a great sage desiring liberation, who, in having given up his wrath, sat there as grave as eternal time. Saintly liberated souls like the Kumaras headed by Sanandana and Kuvera, the master of the Guhyakas and Rakshasas, sat there worshipful around the solemn and serene Lord. They saw him there as the master of the senses, the knowledge of austerity and the path of yoga; as the friend of the entire world who with his complete love is a blessing to each. One could recognise him as the one desired by the ascetics: with ashes, a staff, matted hair, seated on an antelope skin, the reddish hue of his body and the crescent moon on his head. With a mattress of darbha straw below him he, before an audience of all sages, conversed with Narada about eternality and the Absolute Truth. He had placed his left foot over his right thigh and, with his right hand resting on his knee, holding his prayer beads, he gesticulated in argument. Thus leaning with his knee fixed and absorbed in the trance of spiritual bliss he, as the first thinker among the wise, received there the respects of the other sages and rulers of the different worlds who had folded their hands. But when Lord Shiva saw that the self born one, Lord Brahma, had arrived accompanied by the best of the enlightened and unenlightened, he whose feet were worshiped stood up and bowed his head just like Vishnu did when He as Vamanadeva welcomed Kasyapa. And so did the other perfected souls and great rishis who from all sides followed the example of their Lord and offered their obeisances. After that tribute to Lord Shiva, Lord Brahma addressed him with a smile.

Brahma said: 'I know you as the controller of the entire manifestation of the cosmic creation, as the potency of both the seed [of the father] and the womb [of the mother] and as the one auspicious and supreme who is immaterial and free from change. The way a spider manages its web, oh Fortunate One, you create, maintain and destroy this universe with the embodiment of your auspicious energy. In order to protect the benefits of dharma and artha [religion and economy] you empowered Daksha to realise [the system of] sacrifices and settle the respect for that what binds the people [the varnashrama system] and to which the brahmins are vowed with the highest regard. Oh auspicious one, the deeds of him who strives to do good lead to the higher worlds, the heavens and the transcendental realm, while someone of inauspicious deeds awaits a ghastly hell. How can it be that for some these results turn out exactly opposite [with the good ones suffering and the bad ones prospering]? Among devotees, who in full surrender at your feet perfectly recognise you as present in all kinds of living beings and who - from the Supreme position - make no difference between living beings, one practically never finds the anger that one does find among animalistic types of people. Those who gave up on the heart, who look for results and make a difference between people, cannot tolerate it when others are faring well and thus are always angry with others and hurtful with harsh words. They do not need to be killed by you because they are killed by providence already. When materialists at some places [allotted to Kali], being bewildered by the insurmountable, illusory energy of the Great Blue One [the Lord as Pushkaranabha] see matters [of right and wrong] differently, saintly persons out of their compassion will never use their prowess [against them] but be merciful instead, for everything is arranged by fate. Oh Lordship, since the intelligence of you, the seer and knower of all, is never affected by that great potency of the material energy of the Supreme Person [or maya], you in this case should strive to have mercy with those who are bewildered at heart because of that same illusory energy that attracts them to karmic activities. Lord Shiva, you who would partake in the result of Daksha's now unfinished sacrifice, did what you had to do in putting an end to the sacrificial ceremony of his bad priests and destroying everything. Because they did not grant you, who bestow the results, your share of the sacrifice, you have the right to take what is yours. Let the performer Daksha get his life back, let Bhagadeva get his eyes back, let Bhrigu grow his mustache back and let Pusa have his row of teeth as before. Let the God-conscious souls whose limbs were broken and the priests who suffered from the weapons and stones, this very moment by your grace, oh angered one, recover from their injuries. Oh Rudra, let the portion of whatever is left of this sacrifice be yours, my dear Lord, so that the sacrificial ceremony today can be completed, oh destroyer of the yajna.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 7:
The Sacrifice Performed by Daksha

Maitreya said: 'Lord Shiva, thus being pacified by Lord Brahma, fully being satisfied spoke with a smile, oh mighty-armed one. Mahadeva said: 'I do not take offense at those whom I regard as children, I do not want to talk about or think about it, oh Lord of the created beings, I corrected the ones who were deluded by the external energy of God. Let there for the Prajapati whose head was burned to ashes be the head of a goat and let Bhaga look at his share of the sacrifice through the eyes of Mitra. Pusha who led the sacrifice will have to eat chickpea dough or food chewed for him, but the godly souls who did grant me a share of the sacrifice will fully recover. The two arms of the As'vins [the twin protectors of medicine] and the hands of Pusha are there for the priests and the others who have to miss their limbs and let Bhrigu have the beard of the goat.'

Maitreya said: 'All who at that moment heard what the best of the benedictors said, were fully satisfied, oh dear one. They said: 'Well spoken, well spoken!' Thereupon Lord Shiva was invited by the godly souls and the sages headed by Bhrigu and together they, with the Liberal One [Shiva] and the Lord of the Veda [Brahma], for the second time headed for the sacrifice they wanted to perform for God. After having performed all that Lord Bhava had told them to do, they

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joined the head of the animal of sacrifice with the body of Daksha. Proceeding thus under the supervision of Rudra, King Daksha immediately regained consciousness like awakening from sleep and saw the compassionate Lord standing before him. The very moment the Prajapati saw the Lord who rides the bull, his by hatred polluted heart became as clean as a lake [filled by the rains] in autumn. Even though he wanted to pray to Bhava, he with his eyes full of tears could not do so because of the great surge of feelings upon remembering the death of his daughter. After he with great effort managed to pacify his mind that was overwhelmed by love, the Prajapati having come to his senses prayed to the Lord with praise and straightforward feelings. Daksha said: 'What a great favor you have done me by punishing me. Despite the fact that you defeated me, you, nor Vishnu, oh Fortunate One, ever deny an unqualified brahmin [like me], so why would he who keeps to his vows [and performs sacrifices, suffer want]? Oh great one, the brahmins were first created from the mouth of Brahma in order to disseminate the teachings of self-realisation, vows and austerity. Therefore you with a stick in your hand protect them every time they are in danger, just like someone who protects his herd. You who, by me unaware of your reality, were insulted in the assembly with the arrows of [my] unkind words, do not really take heed of that. Seeing me sliding down to hell because I defamed the most respectable one, you saved me out of compassion. I wish you to be pleased about what you did out of your own mercy, your Lordship.'

Maitreya said: 'Daksha thus being forgiven by Lord Shiva, with the permission of Lord Brahma resumed the performance of the sacrifice together with the priests, the ones of learning and the others. In order to be purified from having been in touch with Virabhadra and his men and to perform the sacrifice meant for Vishnu, the best among the brahmins settled for the oblation called purodas'a offered in three vessels. Oh Vidura, the moment the leader of the Yajna [Daksha] thus sanctified in meditation offered the clarified butter with the hymns of the Yajur Veda, Lord Hari appeared, the Supreme Personality. The effulgence of all souls present there was at that time overshadowed by the brightness [spreading] in all the ten directions of Him who was carried by the enormous wings of Garuda [or Stotra]. With a dark complexion, garments yellow as gold, a helmet dazzling like the sun, curling hair bluish like black bees, a face decorated with earrings, with a conch shell, a lotus flower, a disc and arrows, a bow, a club, a sword and shield in His hands and with His many golden ornaments, He looked like a blossoming tree. Garlanded with forest flowers He had His consort [Lakshmi] on His chest [in the form of His Shrivatsa mark] and only a small glimpse of His magnanimous smiling glance was enough to please the entire world. At His side yak-tail fans looking like swans were being waved and above Him one saw a beautiful, moonlike white royal canopy. Seeing Him arriving, all the demigods and the others led by Brahma, Indra and the three-eyed Shiva, immediately stood up from their seats and offered their obeisances. Overshadowed by the luster of His glaring effulgence they all fell silent and full of awe touched their heads while bowing down to pray to Adhokshaja, the Supreme Personality of Godhead. Even though His glory is beyond the comprehension of even Brahma and such, they now by His grace could see His transcendental form and offer their prayers according to their different capacities. Daksha seeking shelter was accepted with his honourable oblations of sacrifice for the master of all sacrifices, the supreme preceptor of all progenitors of mankind who is attended by Nanda and Sunanda [the most important servants of Narayana in Vaikunthha]. With great pleasure, with a subdued mind and with folded hands he then offered Him his prayers. Daksha said: 'You Lordship now fully present here have returned from the purity of Your heavenly abode in a perfect transcendence above all mental speculation. You are the one without a second, the fearless controller of all matter, who seemingly impure are engaged with her [with Maya] as the overseer and self-sufficient One.'

The priests said: 'All of us, not conversant with the truth of You who are free from the influence of the material world, we who are of an intelligence that because of Shiva's curse is of a too great attachment to fruitive activities, oh Supreme Lord, now know about Your name [Yajna] that stands for the arrangement of religious sacrificing operating with the three departments [of the three Vedas] for the sake of which we are engaged in the worship of demigods [like the divinity of the sun and the moon].'

The members of the assembly said: 'On the path of repeated birth and death we have no place to take shelter. We are greatly troubled by being bound to this formidable fort of the king of death [Yama] that is infested by ugly snakes and in which the mirage of the material happiness of having a home and a body constitutes a heavy burden. When we have to live by the double ditch of distress and so-called happiness, the fear for wild animals, the forest fire of lamentation over the interest of the ignorant souls and are afflicted with all sorts of desire, we, with You who gives shelter, enjoy the protection of Your lotus feet.'

Rudra said: 'Oh supreme benefactor, when I, desiring fulfillment in the material world, have fixed my mind on Your precious lotus feet that are cherished and worshiped by the liberated sages, I, with a compassion like Yours, attach no value to it when ignorant people speak against me.'

Bhrigu said: 'From Lord Brahma down to every other embodied being, all who, under the influence of the insurmountable material energy, are bereft of the knowledge of their original self, are submerged in the darkness of illusion. They, not seeing You as situated in the self, cannot understand Your situation as the absolute of reality. Oh Lord, You, as the friend of the surrendered soul, be kind to us.'

Brahma said: 'When one tries to see Your person, this original form of Yours cannot be perceived with the help of the different [sensual] virtues of respect for acquiring knowledge, for You, who constitute the basis of the knowledge and objectivity of the material qualities, must be regarded as differing from that what is made of material energy.'

Indra said: 'This transcendental form, oh Infallible One, which is there for the welfare of the universe, constitutes a cause of pleasure to the mind and eye. You [after all], possessing the eight weapons held up by Your arms, chastise those who are hostile towards Your devotees.'

The wives of the attendants of the sacrifice said: 'This worshiping in sacrifice as arranged by Brahma was devastated by Lord Shiva. May today the beauty of Your lotus-like glance, oh Lord of sacrifice, sanctify the sacrifice that by the anger against Daksha became as still as the dead bodies of the sacrificial animals.'

The sages said: 'How wonderful, oh Supreme Lord, are Your activities to which You, in the exercise of Your potencies, are never attached. Nor is Your Lordship attached to the mercy of Your obedient servant, the Goddess of Fortune Lakshmi, for the grace of whom one is of worship.'

The perfected souls said: 'The elephant of the mind that, being scorched by the forest fire of [sensual] afflictions, is thirsty, having plunged in the river of the pure nectar of Your pastimes no longer remembers that misery and never wishes to come out, just like someone who merged with the Absolute.'

The wife of Daksha said: 'Be pleased my Lord with my respects for Your auspicious appearance, oh abode of the Goddess. With Lakshmi as Your wife You protect us. Our arena knows no beauty without Your arms, oh Lord, just like a headless person does not look very good with only a trunk.'

The local rulers said: 'We doubt whether we can see You with our material senses. You, revealing Your eternal form, we regard as the inner witness by whose grace the entire illusory world can be seen, oh possessor of all, for You appear with the five elements as the sixth one.'

The masters of yoga said: 'They who deem no one as dear as You and see themselves as existing in You and not as separate from You, the Supersoul of all beings, oh master, are very dear to You. And how much more do You, oh loving parent, not value absolutely the faith of those souls, oh Lord, who devoted therewith are of worship? We offer our obeisances to Him who by His personal appearance by means of His material potency determined the fate of each living entity depending his specific inclinations. Him we honour who appeared differently with the many material qualities for the sake of the creation, maintenance and annihilation of the material world and who in His absolute state turned away from the interaction of the basic qualities of matter.'

The Vedas in person declared: 'Our respects unto You transcendental to the modes of nature who constitute the shelter of the quality of goodness and are the source of the austerity and penance in all religions. I nor anyone else really knows You or Your situation.'

Agni, the fire god said: 'By Your effulgence I am as luminous as the greatest fire and may accept in sacrifice the five kinds of offerings mixed with butter. I offer my obeisances to Yajna, the protector of the sacrifices, worshiped by means of the five kinds of hymns of the Veda.'

The demigods said: 'Formerly at the time of the devastation of the era [kalpa] when You as the Original Personality rested in the water and lay down on the snake bed Ananta Shesha, You withdrew into Your abdomen that what You had created and was estranged from You. You upon whom the liberated souls in their hearts meditate in philosophical speculations, we now see present here before our two eyes moving on the path of the protection of us Your servants.'

The denizens of heaven said: 'Marici and the great sages under the direction of Brahma as also Indra and the divinity led by Shiva, are to be considered parts and parcels of Your body, oh Godhead. May we unto the Supreme Almighty One for whom this whole creation is just a plaything, oh Lord, always be of respect and offer You our obeisances.'

The Vidyadharas [basing themselves on knowledge] said: 'After with Your external potency having obtained the human body and with dwelling in the body, thinking in terms of 'I 'and 'mine', having misidentified himself with it, the ignorant person who takes the body for himself and is distracted by material possessions, also follows the wrong roads of seeking happiness in sense objects. But relishing the nectar of Your topics he can be delivered, even when he drifted far away from that position.'

The brahmins said: 'You are the sacrifice, the offering of the clarified butter, the fire in person; You are the mantras, the fuel, the kus'a grass [to sit on] and the pots; You are the members of the assembly, the priests, the leader of the Yajna and his wife, the demigods and the sacred fire ceremony, the offering to the forefathers, the soma plant, the clarified butter itself and the sacrificial animal. In the past it was You who as the great boar incarnation [see BOOK 3.13] from within the waters lifted the world up on Your tusks as easy as an elephant picks up a lotus. Your sound vibration was by great sages like Sanaka arranged as an offering of prayers in the form of a sacrifice, oh knowledge of the Vedas in person. You as that same person we ask to be pleased with us who, failing in performing the sacrifices, are awaiting Your audience. When one sings Your holy names, oh Lord of Sacrifice, one manages to overcome obstacles. Unto You our respectful obeisances.'

Maitreya said: 'Oh blessed one, with Hrishikes'a [Vishnu as the Lord of the senses], the protector of sacrifices, thus being glorified, Daksha, having learned, arranged to resume the sacrifice that was devastated by Virabhadra. Oh sinless one, Lord Vishnu, the Supersoul of all beings and enjoyer of all sacrifices having received His share, was satisfied and then addressed Daksha. The Supreme Lord [Vishnu] said: 'I, Brahma and also Lord Shiva, do not differ [essentially] in being the supreme cause and Supersoul, the witness and the self-sufficient one of the material manifestation. I, having entered my own external energy that is composed of the modes of nature, oh twice-born soul, [thus] create, maintain and annihilate the cosmic manifestation and have a name appropriate to My activities. Someone not conversant with this thinks that Brahma, Shiva and the living beings exist in separation and departs [impersonally in disregard of Me] from the notion of the one Supreme Self, the Supreme Brahman that is without a second. The way a person never supposes that his head, hands and other parts of his body would have a separate existence, My devotee neither supposes that the living beings would exist separately. He who does not consider the three [of Us] - who constitute the one nature of the Supersoul of all living beings - as separate [entities], oh brahmin, achieves peace.'

Maitreya said: 'The foremost of all progenitors [Daksha] thus being addressed by the Supreme Lord Hari, after worshiping Him with due ceremony next worshiped the demigods [Brahma and Shiva] individually. After with a concentrated mind having granted Lord Shiva his share of the sacrifice and after he also together with the priests, in order to round it off, had paid respect to the God-conscious souls and the others assembled there, he took the concluding [avabhritha] bath. When he thus on the basis of his own belief had achieved the perfection of religious dutifulness, those three servants of God, who thus had inspired with intelligence, left for their heavenly abodes. Sati, Daksha's daughter, was, after formerly having given up her body, (re)born from the wife of Mena [or Menaka] who lives in the Himalayas, so I have heard. Because she felt no attraction for an other man, Ambika [Durga or Sati] as Shiva's beloved one, made sure to accept him again as her husband. For her he was the one goal, the original masculinity of the person that lies dormant in the external, feminine energy [of matter]. This story about Shambhu [Lord Shiva as the Lord of all living beings] who destroyed Daksha's sacrifice, I heard from a great devotee and disciple of Brihaspati: Uddhava. The person who, after repeatedly having heard about these pure activities of the Lord, with faith and devotion also recounts them, will find fame and longevity and will, being freed from material contamination, find the destruction of his sins, oh descendant of Kuru.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 8:
Dhruva Leaves Home for the Forest

Maitreya said: 'None of those headed by Sanaka [the Kumaras] nor the other sons of Brahma: Narada, Ribhu, Hamsa, Aruni and Yati, lived a householder's life [being married]; they were celibates [urdhva retasah, who send their seed upwards]. Oh slayer of enemies, Mrisha, the wife [and sister] of [another son of Brahma called Irreligion or] Adharma produced the two [children] Dambha [Bluffing] and Maya [Cheating], but they were taken by [a demon ruling the south-west called] Nirriti who had no children. From those two Lobha [Greed] and Nikrita [Cunning] were born,, oh great soul. And from the both of them there were Krodha [Anger] and Himsa [Malice]. From these two [irreligiously being bound in incest] Kali and the sister called Durukti [Harsh Speech] were born. Oh best of the truthful, bound to Durukti Kali produced Bhaya [Fearfulness] and Mrityu [Death] and of those two combined Yatana [Excessive Pain] and Niraya [Hell] took birth. I thus explained to you in short the cause of the devastation [of landing in hell because of irreligion]. Anyone who hears this description three times, oh pure one, will lead a pious life and see the contamination of his mind being washed away.

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I shall now describe the dynasty famous for its virtuous activities, oh best of the Kurus, that evolved from the Manu called Svayambhuva, who was a part of a plenary portion of the Personality of Godhead [viz. Brahma]. Uttanapada and Priyavrata, the two sons of Queen Satarupa and her husband were there, as parts of [Brahma's plenary expansion] of the Supreme Lord Vasudeva, for the protection and maintenance of the world. Of the two wives of Uttanapada, Suniti ['the one of good conduct'] and Suruci ['the one delighting'], Suruci was more dear to the husband than the other one who had a son called Dhruva ['the immovable one']. When the king one day was patting the son of Suruci named Uttama ['the one of excel'] whom he had placed on his lap, he turned away Dhruva who also tried to get on his lap. Queen Suruci who was very proud [of the king's attentions] enviously spoke to Dhruva, the child of the co-wife that tried to get on his lap, in such a way that the king could hear it. 'My dear child, you do not deserve to seat yourself where the king sits because, even though you were born as a son of the king, you were not born from my womb. Oh child, you do not understand that, because you are not my own but were born from the womb of another woman, the thing you desire is out of your reach. You can seat yourself on the throne of the king if you want, but only if you, by means of penance, have satisfied the Original Person of God and thus by His mercy have secured a place for yourself in my womb [to be born again].'

Maitreya said: 'Pierced by the harsh words of his stepmother, he out of anger began to breathe as heavily as a snake struck by a stick and with his father silently looking on, he began to weep and ran away to his mother. Having heard from the others what had happened Suniti lifted her panting son whose lips were trembling on her lap, feeling very sorry over what was said by the co-wife. Losing her self-control she cried with a fire of grief that burned like dry leaves and upon remembering the things said by the other wife she spoke through the haze of tears that fell from her lotus like face. Not knowing how to curb the danger the lady breathed heavily and said to her son: 'Do not think evil of others, my dear son, for someone will have to suffer himself from the pain he wishes others. The truth of what mother Suruci has told you about having taken birth from the womb of me as the unfortunate one, and that you grew up on the milk from my breast, is that the king feels ashamed. He regrets it to have accepted me for his wife. What your stepmother told you is not false. If you want to sit on the throne just like Uttama, then just engage yourself, without being envious, my dear son, in worshiping the lotus feet of Adhokshaja, the Lord of Transcendence. The unborn One [your great-grandfather Brahma] no doubt acquired his supreme position in the universe and his qualifications to create, from worshiping the One whom we know by His lotus feet and who can be approached by those who in self-regulation have subdued the mind. Likewise Manu, your worshipable grandfather, achieved liberation and the heavenly and earthly happiness that is so difficult to achieve by other means, because he, in worship executing sacrifices, was of an unflinching devotion and of great charity. Take shelter of Him, the Kindhearted Caretaker, dear boy, for people who desire liberation follow the path of His lotus feet. Worship the Supreme Personality by fixing your mind upon His image, by thinking of nothing else and by being faithful to your original sense of duty with Him. Looking for someone else, there is no one but the Lord with the lotus eyes who can mitigate your sorrow. Even the Goddess of Fortune who is worshiped by others, my dear boy, is always looking for Him with a lotus flower in her hand.'

Maitreya said: 'Thus having heard the purposeful words of the mother he, mindfully keeping himself under control, left his father's house. Narada who came to hear about it and understood his intentions, was surprised and, with the hand that could expel all sin touching his head, he exclaimed: 'Oh that might of the rulers! Unable to tolerate any infringement on their prestige, he here being only a child, took to heart the unpalatable words of his stepmother.' Narada then said: 'Why is it that you, a child normally fond of sports and games, presently feel insulted for not being respected? Even though you do not see it differently [but from your honour], what else but being illusioned would the reason be that people are dissatisfied in this world wherein one, because of one's karma, is separated from each other? Be therefore satisfied [in turning away from illusion], my dear one. Whatever it is that fate has in stall for a person, is by someone intelligent recognised as a path leading to the Supreme. But the yoga your mother told you to do for elevating yourself to His mercy, is in my opinion hard to perform for a person like you. Even to sages for many births on the path of detachment, it may happen that they never come to understand what they are looking for in the absorption of their strict yoga practice. Therefore give up your insistence, it takes you nowhere. Save it for the future, you will find ample opportunity then. Any embodied soul having peace with whatever happiness or distress provided by destiny, can reach beyond the darkness. With something [or someone] better one should be pleased, with something [or someone] of a lesser quality one should be compassionate and with something [or someone] equal one should be friendly. Thus fostering no desires one is never affected by tribulations.'

Dhruva said: 'This balance of mind you talk about, oh Lordship, is [a quality] of people merciful with those who, with their happiness and distress, have lost track of the soul, but for persons like us it is very difficult to see it the way you said it. Because I was born a ruler I am not that tolerant. Pierced by the harsh words of mother Suruci I cannot be as merciful [as you]. Please tell me an honest way to pursue my desire for a superior position in the three worlds, oh brahmin. How can I reach a position not even attained by others like my father, grandfather and forefathers? You as a worthy descendant of Lord Brahma playing the vina, just like the sun travel around the world for the sake of its welfare.'

Maitreya said: 'Narada was very pleased to hear what Dhruva said, whereupon he compassionately replied to give the boy good advice. Narada told him: 'The path mentioned by your mother of fully absorbing yourself in rendering service to the Supreme Lord Vasudeva, constitutes the highest perfection in life. For the one who seeks the supreme benefit of the self by what is known as dharma, artha, kama and moksha [the civil virtues of religious righteousness, economic activity, regulation of sense gratification and finding liberation], the worship of the Lord's lotus feet constitutes the only motive. For that purpose, my dear boy, go with my blessing to the bank of the Yamuna and be purified by the sacredness of the Madhuvana forest where the Lord is always present. When you have taken a bath in that river, [also called] the Kalindi [according to the name of the mountain where the Yamuna springs from] - which correctly performed three times a day is a most auspicious thing to do - you should sit down on a sitting place you have prepared. By means of the three types of breath control [of pranayama: controlling the ingoing, the outgoing and balanced breath] you must, step by step giving up the impurities of your mind and controlling your life breath and senses, meditate on the Supreme Spiritual Master with an undisturbed mind. Always willing to be of mercy, He with His pleasing mouth and typical look, His straight nose, arched eyebrows and intelligent forehead, is the beauty of the demigods. Youthful, attractive in all His limbs and with lips and eyes as reddish as a rising sun, He is the shelter of the surrendered souls, the strength of man and an ocean of mercy. Marked with the Shrivatsa [a few white hairs on His chest] and of a deeply bluish [gray] colour, He is the original Personality garlanded with flowers, showing the conch shell, the disc, the club and lotus flower in His four hands. The garments of yellow silk He wears, are complemented by a helmet, pearl earrings, a necklace, bracelets and the Kausthuba jewel. Pleasing both the eye and the mind, He has small bells of gold around His waist and His ankles and is of a superior calm, peace and serenity. Standing on the whorl of the lotus of their hearts, He occupies the minds of those who worship His lotus feet by the light of His glittering nails. This way you regularly must envision the smiling of the Lord who is so affectionate with the devotees, and thus fully attentive let your mind meditate on the greatest of all benedictors. When you thus meditate on the very auspicious form of the Supreme Lord, your mind, being transcendentally enriched, very soon will be freed from all material contamination and never wander off.

Please hear from me the most confidential mantra, oh prince, whereupon meditating a person in seven days can see what is moving in the ether [planets, heavenly beings, thoughts]. 'Om namo bhagavate vasudevaya' [my respects for the Supreme Lord Vasudeva]. With this mantra [called the dvadas'akshara mantra] a wise person, conversant with the divisions of time and place [des'a-kala-vibhagavit], should exercise respect for the physical appearance of the Lord, as should with the different paraphernalia. You should be of worship with the help of pure water, garlands of forest flowers, roots, different fruits and vegetables, fresh grass, buds, bark and by offering tulsi leaves that are very dear to the Lord, your master. You can [being alone in the forest] begin with procuring and worshiping a deity made of physical elements like earth and water [clay], and therewith, as a sage, be of full self-control in peace checking your speech and eat frugally whatever the forest offers. Meditate therewith on the inconceivable activities that by the Supreme Lord of Wisdom were performed in the form of an avatara to exercise His supreme will and potencies. In service of the Supreme Lord you should respect Him in your heart with the mantras that embody Him. Do that the prescribed way with the devotional service of the teachers of the past. When the Supreme Lord thus, by your engagement of being of service with your body, mind and words, is worshiped according to the regulative principles of bhakti, He will strengthen the devotion of you as a sincerely and seriously engaged devotee. He will award you with that what you, as a conditioned soul, desire for your spiritual life and everything that belongs to it [for the fulfillment of the so-called purusharthas]. Free from attachment to sensual matters making serious work of uniting in devotion unto Him, one must always filled with love, directly be of worship for the sake of [one's own] liberation [and the liberation of others].'

Thus being addressed by Narada, the son of the king circumambulated him offering his obeisances and went to the Madhuvana forest that, imprinted by the lotus feet of the Lord, was the right place to be. After Dhruva had entered the forest for penance, the sage thought it wise to pay the king a visit in his palace. Respectfully being welcomed he, seated there comfortably, spoke to him. Narada said: 'Dear King, your face looks withered, what are you thinking so deeply about? Have you lost your way with the gratification of your senses, the religion or the economy?'

The king replied: 'Oh brahmin, my son, my sweet boy who is only five years old and actually is a great personality and devotee, I have, being too attached to my wife and too hard-hearted, banished from here together with his mother. I worry whether the helpless boy whose face is like a lotus, without being protected by anyone in the forest, oh brahmin, is starving or being tired having laid down, has been devoured by wolves. Alas, how cruel I was being conquered by a woman. Just imagine how utterly hard-hearted I was denying him all affection when he out of love tried to climb on my lap.'

Narada said: 'Do not, I say, do not be aggrieved about your son. He is well protected by the Lord, oh master of men. As yet you have no idea of his glory that will spread all over the world. The boy is a master. After performing what is impossible for even the greatest personalities around, he, in favor of your reputation, will come straight back to you, dear King.'

Maitreya Muni said: 'The king, having heard what Narada told him, began to think about his son and neglected his opulent kingdom. [Dhruva] meanwhile, after taking a bath and fasting that night, worshiped the Original Personality with perfect attention, the way Narada had advised it. The first month worshiping the Lord he after every third night, to the bare necessity of preserving his body, only ate fruits and berries in the morning. The next month the boy continued with his respect for the Almighty Lord by eating every sixth day his food consisting of dried grasses and leaves. He, fully being absorbed in his respect for the Lord of Wisdom, Uttamas'loka, passed the third month with drinking water only every ninth day. Likewise continuing the fourth month, he, by controlling his breath while meditating in worship of the Lord, only ate air every twelfth day. By the fifth month in full control of his breath, the son of the king, meditating upon the Creator, motionless stood on one leg like a column. With his mind fully controlled concentrating, he meditated with no other thought than the form of the Supreme Lord, of Him, the resting place for the senses and their objects in his heart. When he kept his mind focussed on the foundation, the cosmic intelligence of the reality, the Lord and Master of the primal ether [pradhana] and the person, the Supreme Spirit, the three worlds began to tremble. While standing on his one leg, the child of the king with the one half [of his body] pressed down the earth with his big toe bent, like the king of the elephants does when he like a boat balances left and right with every step. Because he in the full of his meditation on the complete of the universal form, had stopped his breathing and had closed all the gates of his body, he thus, by confining the life air, suffocated all the worlds. For that reason soon the great souls from all places sought their refuge with the Lord.

The godly souls said: 'We cannot understand this, oh Supreme Lord, the flow of the universal breath is obstructed! Therefore, oh reservoir of goodness so kind to the needy, we all approach You for shelter in order to be saved from this calamity.'

The Supreme Lord replied: 'Fear not, this choking of your life air happens on account of the son of King Uttanapada who is fully absorbed in thoughts of Me. I will ask the boy so strong in his determination of penance to stop with this. Please return to your homes.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 9:
Dhruva Returns Home from the Forest

Maitreya said: 'Thus being freed from all fear, they [the demigods] offered the Lord of the wide strides [Urukrama, Vishnu] their obeisances, whereupon they returned to their three worlds. The Lord with the thousand faces [Sahasras'irsha, the original Vishnu] then on the back of Garuda went to the Madhuvana forest with the wish to see His servant [Dhruva]. Dhruva, ripened and strong by his meditation in yoga, saw Him brilliant as lightening manifested on the lotus of his heart. All of a sudden he noticed that He had disappeared, but looking around he saw Him standing right before him in the same form. With Him present before him he, confounded, fell to the ground prostrating like a rod to offer Him his obeisances. As he looked at Him, it was as if the boy was drinking Him with his eyes, like he was kissing Him with his mouth and embracing Him with his arms. Seeing that he wanted to glorify Him but did not know how, the Lord, who is the prayer in accord with the scripture in the heart of each, understanding the boy, mercifully touched his forehead with His conch shell. Thus being inspired with the ability to say just what he wanted, he, slowly offering his prayers in the love of his devotion, could understand what the

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supreme of the soul was all about and that he would be the Dhruva of renown and fame whose world could not be denied.

Dhruva said: 'Let me offer my obeisances to You, the Supreme Lord and Original Person, who as the One within, from Your internal potency commanding the universal energy, entering my words and breath, has brought to life my passive senses as also my arms, legs, hands and skin. You are the One, Supreme Lord who, after by His own potency creating this vast outer world called maya - that unlimited completeness of reality with its modes - next as the Original Personality has entered here to appear differently in the time-bound qualities the way fire does in fire wood. Like a man awakening from sleep, the one of surrender to You [Brahma] could see this entire universe by dint of the knowledge You gave, oh my Lord. How can anyone conversant with Your actions forget Your lotus feet that are the shelter of all who desire liberation, oh friend of the distressed? It suffers no doubt that You, the cause of liberation from birth and death, are like a desire tree to those who, under the influence of the outer world, miss the proper concept of life and worship You with ulterior motives in their desire for the gratification of the senses of this bag of bones, a gratification that is even available to persons in hell. The bliss of Your magnificence, that for embodied souls may happen when they meditate on Your lotus feet or when they hear the stories of Your devotees, is never found with the impersonal supreme [Brahman], nor does it compare to what is experienced in occupying [personally] elevated positions from which one is doomed to fall down, being destroyed by the sword of time. Let it be so that I, mad about drinking the nectar of the stories about Your qualities, may enjoy the intimate association of those who are constantly engaged in Your devotional service, oh Unlimited One, of those great devotees by whose purified hearts one can easily cross the terrible and vast ocean of dangers constituting material existence. They, my dear Lord, never think of the material body held so very dear in the relationship with sons, friends, home, wealth and wife. They, oh Lord with the Lotus Navel, have achieved the association with those who in their hearts always carry the fragrance of Your lotus feet. I know that the diverse animals, trees, birds, reptiles, gods, demons and men, who on the basis of Your cosmic intelligence then are visible and then again are not manifested, move around in Your gross material form, oh Unborn One, but I had no idea of this transcendental form, oh Supreme One. Now all my arguments have come to an end. At the end of each epoch the Supreme Person withdraws all of this universe into His belly, lying down in self-reflection in the company of Ananta Shesha for His bed. From the ocean of His navel the golden abode sprouts, with Brahma on the whorl of the lotus. Him, that Supreme Lordship, I offer my obeisances. You are the eternally liberated, pure Supreme Soul full of knowledge, the changeless, authentic Original Person, the Supreme Lord and ruler of the three modes, the continuing intelligence throughout all actions of the intellect, the transcendental vision and witness, the maintainer, enjoyer and the one whose position differs from all the others. You, in whose nature the different opposing energies of knowledge and ignorance are always found, You who are that continuing Brahman, You, the cause of the material manifestation, the original and unlimited One always blissful, I offer my respects. Compared with other benedictions Your lotus feet are the true benediction, oh my Lord, and thus You as such are the personification of the goal of life of each person, oh beloved Fortunate One. You, eager to bestow Your mercy, maintain the ones poor of heart like me, the way a cow keeps a calf.'

Maitreya said: 'After thus truly being worshiped by means of the fine intelligence of his good intentions only, the Supreme Lord, who is always there in favor of His devotees, spoke to him, after first having congratulated him. The Supreme Lord said: 'I know about the determination within your heart, oh son of the king. Since you swear by piety, I shall grant you all fortune, even though it is a wish difficult to fulfill. Never before, My good boy, there was anyone who managed to settle for such a brightly glowing place known as the planet of Dhruva, around which all the other planets and constellations of stars are circling like a group of bulls does running stationary around a central pole [for crushing grain]. It is the planet around which, keeping it to their right, along with the stars, all great sages of the forest move circumambulating like Dharma, Agni, Kasyapa and Shukra, whose lives stretch beyond a millennium. The moment your father leaves for the forest, you will be awarded the entire world. Under the pious protection of your rule it will for thirty-six thousand years uninterrupted be in full control of your faculties. When your brother Uttama, who will be killed during a hunt, is sought in the forest by his most afflicted mother, she will run into a forest fire. After performing great sacrifices for Me, the heart of all sacrifice, and having distributed great charities, you will, upon having enjoyed the blessings of this world, at the end of your life be able to remember Me. Thereafter you will head for My abode that is worshiped on all planets and is situated above those of the rishis. Having attained that place, you will never return.'

Maitreya said: 'After thus having assured the boy of His personal protection [and residence], He, the honoured and worshiped Supreme Lord who carries Garuda in His flag, before the eyes of Dhruva returned to His heavenly abode. Even though Dhruva had achieved the feet of Lord Vishnu as a result of his service, he was not very pleased with the satisfaction he derived from his determination and then returned home.'

Vidura said: 'With the very focussed worship of His lotus feet he in one lifetime had obtained the rarely achieved supreme position of the Lord. How can it be that he, having reached that far and being that wise, nevertheless innerly felt dissatisfied?'

Maitreya replied: 'He was by his stepmother's harsh words pierced in his heart. Remembering it all he did not desire to be liberated by the Lord of salvation and thus suffered grief. Dhruva said to himself: 'That what the four Kumaras, those infallible celibates, in their absorption never could achieve in one birth, I achieved within six months, but achieving the shelter of His lotus feet I fell down because I set my mind on other things. Just see how foolish and unfortunate I am in my bodily interest. I approached the lotus feet of Him who can cut all bonds, but prayed for that what is perishable. My intelligence was contaminated by the inability of the demigods to endure a return to an earthly existence. For that reason I, feeling wretched, failed to accept the truth of Narada's instructions. Just like dreaming while asleep, I sought my refuge in the Lord's illusory energy and was full of self-pity. Caught in duality I, under the influence of the outer world, lamented that my brother was my enemy, even though he belonged to the temporary world. This what I prayed for, is as useless as giving medicine to someone deceased. After satisfying the Soul of the Universe with penances - which is something very difficult to achieve - I, being unlucky, prayed with the Lord, with whom one cuts with the world, for material satisfaction. Him who was willing to offer me His full independence, I alas out of foolishness asked for material prosperity. It is like a poor man who asks a great and charitable emperor impressed by his virtue, for a few broken grains of husked rice.'

Maitreya continued: 'My dear Vidura, persons like you who delight to be of service in the dust of the lotus feet of the Lord of Liberation, do not act out of self-interest. With that what they automatically attain by it, they consider themselves very rich. When he heard that his son had returned, as if he had risen from death, king Uttanapada could not believe why a sinner like him would befall such a good fortune. With his faith in the words of devarishi Narada [confirmed], he was overwhelmed by the tidings the messenger brought. Most satisfied he offered him a highly valuable pearl necklace. Very eager to see his son, he in great haste mounted a gold ornamented chariot drawn by the finest horses and thereupon, being accompanied by the sound of conch shells, kettledrums, flutes and the chanting of hymns, left the city together with the brahmins, the elderly and his officers, ministers and friends. Both his queens Sunici and Suruci got, decorated with gold, together with Uttama on a palanquin and joined the procession. Meeting his son in a small forest nearby, the king hurried down from his chariot and was, as he approached him, immediately overwhelmed by love. Heavily breathing because of his great anxiety, he for a long time with both his arms embraced him whose bondage of endless material contamination was destroyed by the Lord's lotus feet. Over and over thereupon smelling his head, he, who now saw his greatest desire fulfilled, bathed his son with the cool water from his eyes. After having respected his father's feet and by him being blessed and honoured with questions, he, the best of all noble souls, bowed his head to his two mothers. Suruci, picking up the innocent boy who had fallen at her feet, embraced him and spoke, choked with tears, to him the words: 'May you live long.' Unto anyone with whose qualities and friendship the Supreme Personality, Lord Hari, is pleased, all living beings offer their respect, [as naturally] as water that out of its own flows to the lowest position. Uttama and Dhruva, both overwhelmed with affection, embraced one another over and over with their hairs standing on end and let their tears run freely. Suniti, his mother, embracing her son more dear to her than her life air, satisfied to touch his body, forgot all her grief. There and then, oh heroic soul, he was wetted auspiciously by the incessant tears from the eyes of the mother of this hero and the milk that began to flow from her breasts. The people around her offered the queen praise: 'The fortune of your son will vanquish all your pains, now that he, after being lost for such a long time, has returned in order to protect the face of the earth. You must have worshiped Him, the Supreme Lord who can deliver you from the greatest danger and upon whom meditating the wise conquer death which is so very difficult to overcome.'

Dhruva, thus praised by the people around him, was by the king together with his brother placed on the back of a she-elephant. Therewith being pleased and glorified, he returned to his capital. Here and there brilliant shark-teeth shaped arched gateways were set up as also young betel nut trees and columns of banana trees carrying bunches of flowers and fruits. At each gate there was a decoration of hanging mango leaves, cloth, flower garlands and strings of pearls, together with pots filled with water and burning lamps. The city gates with the surrounding walls, the houses and palace domes glittered on all sides, beautifully being decorated with valuable golden ornaments. The crossroads, streets and the market-place were thoroughly cleansed, sprinkled with sandalwood water and provided with auspicious presentations of fried rice, barley, flowers and fruits. 8-5 Seeing Dhruva on the road, the women of the houses uttered affectionate blessings and showered him here and there with white mustard seeds, barley, curd, water, fresh grass, flowers and fruits. With their very pleasant songs ringing in his ears he thus entered his father's palace. In that fine mansion, bedecked with mosaics of precious stone, he, who under the constant care of his father was elevated to the highest status, lived like a god. The palace was furnished with seats and furniture embellished with gold, very valuable ivory beds and bedding white as milk foam. The walls, made of marble, had precious gems in them and also the lamps that shone with jewels were held by female figurines made of precious stones as well. Also the gardens were very beautiful with various heavenly trees, pairs of singing birds and the humming of mad bumblebees. Emerald staircases led to ponds full of lilies and blue lotuses, swans and ducks, flocks of geese and cranes that dwelt nearby.

When the saintly king Uttanapada heard about and witnessed the most remarkable influence of his son, he felt extremely happy about that great miracle. The moment he saw that Dhruva had come of age and also carried the approval of his ministers and was loved by his subjects, he made him the lord and master of the world. He, this king of Vishnu, then considered himself also old enough and went, for the sake of the salvation of his soul, detached into the forest.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 10:
Dhruva Maharaja's Fight with the Yakshas

Maitreya said: 'Dhruva ['the immovable one'] married Bhrami [meaning 'turning around'] the daughter of Prajapati Shishumara ['the dolphin', 'the galaxy'] and named her sons Kalpa ['epoch'] and Vatsara ['tropical year']. With another wife called Ila ['the comfort'], a daughter of Vayu [the demigod of the air], the powerful ruler begot a son called Utkala ['the one who carries the load'] and a jewel of a girl. Uttama ['the one of excel'] however, Dhruva's brother who did not marry, was during a hunt in the Himalaya range killed by a very powerful Yaksha [an evil spirit]. He was [soon] followed by his mother [Suruci]. When Dhruva heard about the death of his brother, he filled with lamentation angrily swore revenge and got on his victorious chariot to leave for the city of the Yakshas.

Heading in the northern direction the king saw in a valley of the Himalayas that was inhabited by followers of Lord Shiva, a city full of ghostly people. Oh ruler, the mighty-armed one blew his conch shell that resounded fearfully in all directions in the sky so that the wives of the Yakshas became most afraid. Out of resentment against the sound of the conch shell, thereupon the very powerful soldiers of Kuvera appeared and attacked him with all kinds of weapons. He, the hero and powerful bowman with all of them attacking, could fight many adversaries simultaneously and killed them one after another, shooting three arrows at a time. Being convinced that they, because of these arrows aimed at their heads, all without fail surely would be defeated, they lauded his action. But incapable of accepting to be trampled under his feet like serpents, they tried to retaliate by shooting twice as much arrows at the same time. Eager to counter both his actions and his charioteer, they, 130.000 men strong, most angrily showered thereupon all kinds of feathered arrows, bludgeons, swords, tridents, pointed lances, spears and fire weapons. The master of war vanished completely from sight behind that constant shower of weapons, just like a mountain covered by a downpour.

In the sky a tumult of disappointment resounded from the Siddhas who, witnessing the fight, assumed that this grandson of Manu had been killed because he, like the sun, had set in the ocean of Yakshas. The Yakshas exclaimed that the victory was theirs, but then his chariot reappeared from the fighting lot like the sun emerges from the mist. His twanging divine bow created lamentation among his enemies as he scattered the different weapons with his arrows, just like the wind scatters an array of clouds. The sharp arrows released from his bow pierced the shields and entered the bodies of the demons, just like thunderbolts hitting the mountains. 8-1 The battlefield that bewilders the minds of heroes, began to glimmer from the by the arrows severed heads complete with garlands and turbans beautiful with earrings and helmets, and the cut off thighs and arms that with beautiful bracelets and armlets shone like golden palm trees. The remaining soldiers, the most of whom had wounded limbs because of the arrows of the greatest of all warriors, fled in all directions like elephants defeated by a lion.

When he saw that none of the enemy soldiers were left standing, the best of all men wanted to see their city, but he did not enter it for one cannot be sure of the plans of a

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mystical enemy. While he who had the finest chariot, apprehensive about a counterattack of his enemies, was talking to his charioteer, a loud sound like that of the ocean was heard that could be recognised as the wind of a dust storm rising from all directions. In a moment the sky was covered by a mass of dense clouds that everywhere glittered with lightening accompanied by thunder that threatened on all sides. Oh faultless one, there was an inundation of blood, mucus, pus, stool, urine, marrow and trunks of bodies falling from the sky in front of him. Then from the sky a downpour from everywhere could be observed of a mountain of clubs, bludgeons, swords and maces, together with a hail of big stones. Serpents breathing like thunder vomited fire with angry eyes and groups of mad elephants, lions and tigers were encroaching. As if the last of days had arrived the sea flooded the earth in all directions with fierce rolling waves, producing a tremendous sound.

These kinds of phenomena are created by heinous demons who with demonic illusions try to frighten the less intelligent soul. The great sages cognizant of the highly dangerous mystic power that by the demons was directed against Dhruva, then assembled to support him and help him out. They said: 'Oh son of Uttanapada, may the Supreme Lord carrying the bow called Sharnga, be the Godhead that kills all the enemies of the surrendered souls in order to remove their distress. For it is the chanting and hearing of His holy name that forthwith helps men fully to overcome insurmountable death, oh Dhruva.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 11:
Svayambhuva Manu Advises Dhruva Maharaja to Stop Fighting

Maitreya said: 'After having heard the words of the sages Dhruva touched water and fixed on his bow an arrow made by Narayana. Joining this weapon of Narayana to his bow, quickly the illusions created by the Yakshas were vanquished, oh Vidura, just like anger and pain are dispelled by the rise of spiritual knowledge. With the weapon that was given to him fixed on his bow, golden arrows with feathers like the wings of swans sprang forward that pierced the enemy soldiers with the tumultuous sound of peacocks entering a forest. Because of those sharp pointed arrows from everywhere on the battlefield, the Yakshas got terribly excited so that they full of anger with uplifted weapons rushed towards him, just like serpents with raised hoods do when they wage against Garuda. With his arrows he cut through the arms, legs, necks and bellies of all the Yakshas who came forward in battle. He sent them all to the abode above the sun where all those who send their seed upwards [the celibates] are going. When he saw those Yakshas being killed in great numbers by the man with the wonderful chariot while they factually had not committed any offense, the grandfather, the Manu, in his mercy approached the son of Uttanapada together with the great sages in order to instruct him. Manu said: 'Enough my son, stop the killing of these good guys who never wronged you. With this escalation of anger you are treading the path of ignorance and sin. My dear, this undertaking to kill the Yakshas who have not sinned, is not befitting a member of our family and is forbidden by the sages. Surely my best, you are aggrieved at the death of the brother you care about, but now the offense of one Yaksha has led to the killing of his many associates. This killing of living beings is certainly never the way of those who honestly follow the path of the Lord of the Senses. Taking the body for the self one is like the animals. With your meditation on the Supersoul within all living beings, you have reached the abode of Lord Hari who is so difficult to propitiate. You thus being of worship attained the supreme position of Vishnu. How can someone like you who, enjoying the esteem of the devotees of the Lord, always are remembered by them, how can you who, as an example to others, are vowed to the saintly cause, engage in such an abomination?

When one is of tolerance, friendship, mercy and equanimity towards all living beings, the Soul of All, the Supreme Lord will be very pleased. Pleasing the Supreme Lord a person, being liberated from the modes of material nature and freed from the worries of his individual existence, will achieve unlimited spiritual bliss [brahma nirvana]. Man and woman evolved [by the impelling force of Time] from the five elements of matter and by their sexual behavior even more men and women came about in this world. With the illusory energy of the Supreme Self thus, oh King, the creation, maintenance and annihilation takes place as a consequence of the interaction of the basic qualities of nature. The way iron is moved [by a magnet] this world of cause and effect must be considered as being moved by the remote cause [of] the original and most exalted Person who is free from the basic qualities of nature. Under the influence of the, no doubt hard to fathom, potency of the Almighty One in the form of the force of Time, the interaction [or disturbance of the equilibrium] of the modes of nature resulted in this diversity of energies. The Supreme Personality exerts His influence upon this diversity, even though He is not the one acting, and in this diversity He leads to death, even though He is not the one who kills. He to whom there is no end puts in the form of Time everything to an end, He who knows no beginning constitutes the beginning of everything, He who is inexhaustible gives life to one living being by means of another one and He as death puts an end to everything that kills. As death entering everyone's life no one is His ally or enemy. All the combinations of the elements [organic and inorganic] helplessly follow His movement like dust particles moved by the wind. Free from a short or long lifespan like with beings that are born, the Almighty One is ever situated in His transcendental position and awards to the covetous ones the results of their actions. Some, oh king, explain this karma [the work load of fruitive activities] as arising from one's particular nature or as brought about by others, oh protector of men. Some say it is due to time, others refer to fate, while still others ascribe it to the desire of the living entity. Who, my dear man, can ever understand the intentions of Him who is our origin, He of transcendence who from the non-manifest reality [pradhana] gives rise to the different energies and natural forces?

The same way, my son, all these followers of Kuvera [the divine treasurer] are not the murderers of your brother. Only God is the cause of the birth and death of a living being, my dear. He creates the universe and also maintains and annihilates it. Moreover He does not get entangled by the activities of the modes of nature, for He [being free from false ego] does not identify Himself with a material body. This Supersoul, the controller and maintainer of all beings, brings forth, fosters and devours, making use of the force of His external energy. For Him, my dearest, He the Supreme One of death and immortality who in every respect is the ultimate goal of surrender for all the world, all the devotees and important personalities of creation bring their offerings, being controlled by Him the way bulls are controlled by a rope through their nose. Only five years old you left your mother, aggrieved at heart by the words of your stepmother and went to the forest to worship the Lord with austerities. Thus you attained the highest position in the three worlds. Keeping Him in mind, my best one, turn yourself free from anger to the one infallible spiritual self [the Brahman] situated in the beyond and try, looking at the soul, to discover the uncontaminated state from which all that is divided is understood as falsehood [a mere covering]. When you thereupon render transcendental service to the Soul Inside of the Supreme Lord who, endowed with all potencies, is the unlimited reservoir of all pleasure, you will very soon untie the knot of illusion of 'I' and 'mine' and thus be firmly fixed.

Just control your anger - the foremost enemy of goodness - and all good fortune will be yours. By constantly keeping to this lesson, my dear King, this [directive] will work like a medicinal treatment for a disease. An intelligent person who wishes his soul to be free from fear, must never be led by anger, for everyone is fearful of the person ruled by it. By angrily killing the Yakshas you thought to be the killers of your brother, you have slighted Shiva's brother, Kuvera. Go and pacify him immediately, my son. Offer him respectfully with gentle words your obeisances, before the wrath of the[se] great souls will defeat our family.'

Manu Svayambhuva, after thus giving instruction to his grandson, received from him his obeisances and departed together with the sages for his abode.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 12:
Dhruva Maharaja Goes Back to Godhead

Maitreya said: 'Having learned that Dhruva's anger had lingered and that he had refrained from killing, Kuvera, the master of the treasury who is worshiped by the Caranas, Kinnaras [singers and indwellers of heaven] and Yakshas, appeared there and spoke to Dhruva who stood with folded hands before him. The master of the treasury said: 'Oh son of the ruler, I am very glad with you, oh sinless one, because you under the instruction of your grandfather gave up the enmity that is so difficult to avoid. Factually, you did not kill the Yakshas, nor did the Yakshas kill your brother; it is the Time that is the master of annihilation and generation of all living beings. One's intelligence is of ignorance with the misconceptions of 'I' and 'you'. To a person following the bodily concept life appears to be just like in a dream; it [the physical approach] constitutes the cause of bondage and misfortune. I wish you all good fortune, oh Dhruva, keeping that in mind, live for the worship of the Supreme Lord Beyond the Senses of all living beings and think of Him in the form of the one Supersoul residing within all that lives. Be of devotion unto Him whose lotus feet deserve it to be worshiped, for they deliver you from a material existence and cut through the knot of being materially entangled. Even though He in His potency of ruling the modes is connected to them, He by His inconceivable nature is aloof from them. Oh King, please ask without hesitation from me whatever you deem desirable, oh son of Uttanapada. We heard, dear man, about your endurance at the lotus feet of Him from whose navel the lotus sprouted, and that you thus deserve the benediction.'

Maitreya said: 'He, who by the treasure king of all kings [the ruler of the Yakshas] was offered a benediction, asked, as a first class intelligent and thoughtful devotee of the Lord, for the continuous remembrance by which one without difficulty crosses over the unsurpassable ocean of nescience. Kuvera, the son of Idavida, who was very pleased with Dhruva's mentality, granted him that remembrance and next disappeared from sight. Dhruva then also returned to his capital. He thereafter worshiped, by means of sacrificial ceremonies and great charities, with all that he had, he could accomplish and the divine support that he could find, the Ruler of all Sacrifices, the objective [of one's life] who awards all results. Uninterruptedly rendering service unto the one infallible Soul above all, he saw all living beings as present in Him alone and Him Almighty as the one and only present within all living beings. Thus endowed with godly qualities he, who as a kind protector of the principles of dharma had respect for the brahmins and the poor, was considered the father of the people. During the thirty-six thousand years of his rule over the planet Earth he by enjoyment exhausted his merits and by austerity diminished his misfortune. Thus free from agitating his senses the great soul [life after life] for many, many years favorably executed the three kinds of civil duties [the regulation of religion, economy and sense gratification], after which he handed the royal throne over to his son. He realised that this universe, consisting of His external energy, was a phantasmagoria to the soul, something that, just like a dream, is a result of ignorance. He considered everything created comprising his body, his wives, children, friends, his influence, riches, the pleasure grounds, the facilities for his women and the complete of the beauty of the earth with its oceans, as something bound to time and for that reason he left for Badarikashrama [the Himalayan forest]. There he purified his body by bathing in pure water and, fixed in yogic postures, controlled the breathing process by withdrawing the mind from his physical senses. Concentrating on the exact form of the Lord he constantly kept in mind, he thus meditating became fully absorbed. Constantly engaged in his devotion for Lord Hari, the Supreme Personality of Godhead, he was of an everlasting bliss and was time and again overcome by a stream of tears that made his heart melt and made all the hairs of his body stand on end. He no longer remembered that he had a body and was thus liberated from [also the subtlety of] being materially bound [mukta-linga].

Dhruva saw a very beautiful heavenly vehicle [a vimana] descending from the sky that illumined him and the ten directions as if the full moon itself had appeared. Therein he discerned two beautiful demigods with four arms, a blackish skin, being quite young and with eyes as pink as a lotus flower. They held clubs and were attractively dressed and decorated with helmets, bracelets, necklaces and earrings. Understanding them to be two servants of the Renown One, he stood up, but being puzzled he did not know anymore how to receive them with proper respect and thus he respectfully joined his hands offering his obeisances by chanting the names of the chief of these associates, the Enemy of Madhu. He whose heart was always absorbed in thoughts of the feet of Lord Krishna, very humbly folded his hands and bowed his head, while Nanda and Sunanda, the two chief servants of the One with the Lotus navel, smilingly approached and addressed him. Nanda and Sunanda said: 'Oh best of kings! All good fortune to you. Listen attentively to our words. You are the one who, being five years old, greatly satisfied the Lord by doing penance. We, as the associates of the creator of this entire universe, of the Godhead who carries the bow named Sharnga, have approached you to take you with us to the abode of the Lord. You have achieved the world of Vishnu, so difficult to achieve that not even the greatest souls of enlightenment can reach there. Come and see the supreme abode around which to the right the moon, the sun, the other planets and the stars are circumambulating. This has never been achieved by your forefathers nor by others, oh dear man, come and live there in that supreme abode of Lord Vishnu who is so worshipable for the inhabitants of the universe. Oh immortal soul, you deserve it to board this unique heavenly vehicle that was sent to you by the One Praised in the Verses, the head of all living beings.'

Sage Maitreya said: 'Having heard the words that like honey poured from the chief associates of the Lord, he who was so dear to Him, took a purifying bath and performed his daily duties. Thereupon he greeted the sages and accepted their blessings. After with prayers having circumambulated that excellent heavenly vehicle and also having paid the two associates his obeisances, he, whose form shone with a golden effulgence, was ready to get on board. The son of Uttanapada thereupon saw death personified approaching him. He put his foot on his head and thus ascended the wonder that was as big as a house. At that moment kettledrums, mridangas [drums of worship] and small drums and such resounded, while the chief heavenly singers sang and flowers showered like rain. When he was about to ascend to the heavenly abode, Dhruva remembered his mother Suniti and thought: 'How can I go to the difficult to attain world above all worlds and leave my poor mother behind?' Understanding Dhruva's worries, the two superior beings of enlightenment pointed out to him that she in her divinity had preceded him on the path. On his way

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being covered by flowers that here and there by the demigods full of praise were showered upon him from their heavenly vehicles, he passed one after the other all the heavenly spheres [or planets]. In his vimana rising above the three worlds and even going beyond the great sages, Dhruva, who had attained eternal life, then reached the abode of Lord Vishnu. Radiating by its effulgence that place illumines from within all the three worlds everywhere and also makes them radiate. It can only be reached by those who constantly engage in welfare activities and not by those who are not merciful with other living beings. Peaceful, equipoised, pure and pleasing to all living beings do they, who are befriended with His devotees, easily reach the abode of the Infallible One. Dhruva, the son of Uttanapada who, fully devoted to Krishna, found his purity, thus became the crown-jewel of the three worlds. The sphere of the luminaries [the galaxy], being connected with great force and speed, unceasingly encircles that place, oh Kaurava [Vidura's family name], like being a herd of bulls moving around a central pole.

Having observed Dhruva's glories, the wise and great lord Narada played his stringed instrument in the sacrificial arena of the Pracetas, chanting [the following] verses. Narada sang: 'Due to his austerity this son of Suniti, who served her husband so devotedly, could attain that position. Not even those whom one calls the followers of the Vedas are, despite their awareness of the means, certain of such an attainment, not to mention the chances of regular human beings. He who at the age of five years, aggrieved about the harsh words of the wife of his father, in pursuance of my instruction, deeply pained in his heart went to the forest, won over the Supreme Master, winning with the qualities of His devotees. After pleasing the Lord of Vaikunthha he, only five or six years old, in the shortest possible time attained His protection. Any other person cannot even expect to attain, after many, many of such years [of renunciation] on earth, the exalted position that Dhruva, this kshatriya son, attained.'

Maitreya said: 'I have told you everything you asked me here about the great and famous character of Dhruva, who is so very much appreciated by many [a devotee]. [To hear] this bestows wealth and repute, increases one's lifespan and is so greatly sacred and auspicious that one can even attain Dhruva's heaven with it, pleasing as it is to the mind and glorious in counteracting all kinds of sin. Repeatedly listening to it with faith one will develop devotional activities dear to the Infallible One and therefrom there is bound to be the full defeat of all hindrances. For the one who hears it there are the qualities of his good conduct and such; the story constitutes [a source of] strength for souls seeking strength and is [a breeding ground for] the honour of those who are thoughtful. Carefully sing, in the company of twice-born souls, in the morning and the evening, the glories of the sacred renown and great character of Dhruva. At the time of a full moon or a new moon, on the day after Ekadas'i [twelfth day of a lunar month], when the Shravana star appears, at the end of a tithi [a lunar day], on a day called Vyatipata, at the end of the month or on a holiday [relative to the sun] you should recount the story to a receptive audience without desiring remuneration and take shelter of the lotus feet of Him who is the Refuge of the Seeker. You will find your mind then pacified by the soul and thus become perfect. He who imparts this knowledge to souls unaware of the original reality, walks the path of truth and immortality and will be blessed by the gods for being a kind protector of the seekers. Oh best among the Kurus, thus was my description of the activities, the fame and the great purity of Dhruva who, as a child forsaking his toys and his mother, left home and found the shelter of Lord Vishnu.' "

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 13:
Description of the Descendants of Dhruva Maharaja

Suta said [to the rishis at Naimisharanya]: "Hearing Maitreya's description of Dhruva's ascent to the abode of Vaikunthha, Vidura's love for the Supreme Lord in the beyond grew and again he began to question Maitreya Muni.

Vidura asked: 'Who were they, you called the Pracetas? Which family were they known by, whose sons were they, oh best among the sworn, and where performed they their sacrifice? I think that Narada is the greatest of all the devotees; he saw God before his eyes and described the procedure of rendering devotional service to the Lord [in kriya-yoga or the pancaratrika-method]. When these men were performing their sacrificial duties in worship of the Supreme Lord, the Enjoyer of All Sacrifices was by Narada described with devotion. Oh brahmin, be so kind to tell me, so very eager to hear, in full all the stories about the Lord that were narrated there by the devarishi.'

Maitreya said: hutkala, the son of Dhruva, after his father departed for the forest, did not desire the throne of the emperor, his father, with all the lands and opulence belonging to it. From the day he was born he was a most satisfied, unattached soul, who equipoised saw the Supersoul as spread everywhere in the world and all the world as resting in the Supersoul. - Because of his single-minded resolve about the spirit of the Absolute, his being separated from heaven had ended in the oneness of the Self. A consequent yoga practice had increased his bliss that as fire burned away the karmic impurities of his mind. Thus realizing his constitutional position all his thoughts were devoted to the Soul of all Souls. Out on the road he to the less intelligent appeared to be like a fool, blind, deaf, dumb and mad, but actually his intelligence was more like a fire with its flames tempered. Thinking that Utkala had no intelligence and was mad, the elders of the family and the ministers of state appointed Vatsara, the younger son of Bhrami, ruler of the world. Svarvithi, King Vatsara's dearest wife, gave birth to six sons: Pushparna, Tigmaketu, Isha, Urja, Vasu and Jaya. Pushparna had two wives, Dosha and Prabha. Of Prabha there were the sons Pratar, Madhyandinam and Sayam. Pradosha, Nis'itha and Vyushtha were the three sons of Dosha. Vyushtha begot in his wife Pushkarini a son named Sarvateja [the all powerful one]. His wife, called Akuti, gave birth to a son named Cakshusha who was the [sixth] Manu. His queen Nadvala bore him [twelve] pure sons: Puru, Kutsa, Trita, Dyumna, Satyavan, Rita, Vrata, Agnishthoma, Atiratra, Pradyumna, Shibi and Ulmuka. Ulmuka begot six very good sons in Pushkarini [who had the same name as her predecessor]: Anga, Sumana, Khyati, Kratu, Angira and Gaya. The wife of Anga, Sunitha, gave birth to Vena who was very crooked. Disappointed about his bad character the wise king Anga left the city [to live in the forest]. He [Vena] was cursed by the sages whose angry words struck him like thunder. After that had happened he died. Being without a king all the inhabitants of the world were pestered by thieves and rogues. They then churned his right arm [his 'hand'], upon which a partial incarnation [ams'a-avatara] of Narayana descended called Prithu, who became the original Lord of the Earth.

Vidura said: 'With King Anga being such a reservoir of good qualities and a saintly person, a lover of brahminical culture and a great soul, how could his son be so bad that he became indifferent and left? Why did the sages conversant with the religious principles who saw Vena's faults, desire to pronounce the brahmin's curse against him, while it was the king who carried the rod of punishment? The king is never to be insulted by the citizens, however sinful he may be, because he by his personal influence maintains the power of all the local officials. Please describe to me, your faithful devotee, oh brahmin, all there is to say about the activities of the son of Sunitha, for you are well conversant with [the things of] heaven and earth.'

Maitreya replied: 'King Anga once executed a great as'vamedha sacrifice, but to that great offering all the godly souls never attended, despite the fact that they were invited by the officiating brahmins. Puzzled about it they then told the instigator of the sacrifice: 'The godly souls do not accept the oblations in the fire of the priests. Oh King, there is nothing impure about the offerings that you with great care collected, nor is there anything wrong with the proper execution of the mantras by the qualified brahmins. In this we cannot find the least insult or neglect in respect of the godly souls, because of which the God-conscious who were to witness the sacrifice, would not accept their share.'

Maitreya said: 'King Anga, the performer of the sacrifice, was very depressed after hearing what the twice-born souls said. He then, with their permission, addressed the priests to be informed by them: 'Being invited the ones of God are not going to [attend the sacrificial ceremony and] accept their share of the offerings. My dear priests, please tell me what offense I have committed.'

The leading priests said: 'Oh god of man, in this life you have not committed even the slightest sin, but in your previous life there was an impurity because of which you in this life are without a son. We, who wish you all good fortune, therefore say to you: execute the sacrifice to get good offspring, oh King, when you worship the Lord, the enjoyer of the sacrifice, with the desire to get a son, He will grant you one. All the men of God will thereupon accept their share of the sacrifice, because then, for the purpose of [getting] a son, evidently the Supreme Personality has been invited. The Lord being worshiped will award the person whatever he desires; people will reap the fruits of their actions according to the way they were of respect for Him.'

For the king to get a son the scholars, thus having decided, offered rice cake in the fire of the Lord of the Flames [Vishnu]. As a result a person appeared in white garments with a golden garland and a golden pot wherein he carried rice boiled in milk. The king, firmly rooted in the noble mind, took with the permission of the scholars the in milk boiled rice in his joined palms and, after smelling with great delight, offered it to his wife. The childless queen ate from the food that would give her a child and indeed was impregnated by the husband. In due time she then gave birth to a son. That boy appeared partly following in the footsteps of his death-oriented, maternal, irreligious grandfather. He therefore became an offender of the holy duty. He used to take up his bow as a hunter and go into the forest to kill innocent deer. Thus all the people cried: 'There he is, the cruel Vena!' While playing in the playground with boys of his age he very cruelly violently killed them mercilessly as if he slaughtered animals. Seeing how cruel his son was, the king, by different means of punishment, could not get a grip on him and thus became most aggrieved. He thought: 'They who are without a son living at home must have worshiped the Lord [in a previous life]. They do not have to suffer the unbearable sorrow because of such a bad son. Because of his sinful reputation and unrighteousness there will be great discord among the people and endless anxiety. Who would want such a so-called son? He inevitably binds the soul to illusion; what intelligent person would value a son who brings misery to one's family life? I think it is better to have a bad son than a good one. Because of a hellish household a mortal can detach himself from his home as a source of misery.'

Thus grown indifferent the king, unable to sleep, got up in the middle of the night to forsake his home that was so opulent because of the blessings of the great souls. Not noticed by anyone he left Vena's mother who was fast asleep. As soon as was understood that the king, no longer taking care, had left, all the citizens, priests and ministers, friends and the rest of the people searched the earth in great bereavement, like they were inexperienced yogis looking [outside] for the original person hidden [within the heart]. Not finding a trace of the father of the nation, oh Kaurava, the citizens returned disappointed to their city and informed, after offering their respects, with tears in their eyes the assembled sages about the absence of the king.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 14:
The Story of King Vena

Maitreya said: 'The sages headed by Bhrigu who always aspired the welfare of all the people, understood that the citizens with King Anga being absent were doomed to live on the level of animals. The men of wisdom called for the mother of Vena Sunitha and then enthroned him [Vena] as the master over the world, even though the ministers did not agree. Hearing that King Vena had ascended the throne the thieves, knowing that he was a most severe punisher, hid themselves immediately like they were rats afraid of a snake. King Vena having ascended the royal seat was very proud of the eight kind of opulences and considered himself to be the greatest. Impudently he began to insult the great personalities. Thus blinded by power he, as proud as an uncontrolled elephant, mounted a chariot and traveled around, creating fear in heaven and on earth. Not permitting the brahmins the performance of any sacrifice, that charities were given or that any butter was offered in the fire, he thus beating his kettledrums everywhere put an end to all religious rituals. When the sages, who always had performed the sacrifices, saw what the great rogue Vena did, they considered it a threat to the common people and out of compassion talked about it. 'Like a log burning from both sides, the common people alas from both the sides of the king and the thieves and rogues are in great danger. Because we were afraid to be without a king Vena has been crowned although he was not qualified and now there is also the threat of danger from his side. How can the living beings be happy now? Vena, born from the womb of Sunitha, has grown into a mischievous character, just like a snake that maintained with milk even attacks the one who feeds it. With him appointed king there is no doubt that he desires to harm the citizens, but in order not to suffer the consequences of his sins we nevertheless should try to pacify him. Despite knowing Vena's unrighteousness we have made him king. With him not responsive to our pacifying words, he, for his evildoing, will be condemned by the public and will have to burn, just as he will have to burn by our own fierce opposition.' Thus having decided the sages approached Vena, while concealing their anger. They pacified him with kind words and then spoke with him.

The sages said: 'Oh best of the royals! Please try to understand what we are about to tell you, oh King. It will increase your lifespan, strength and good repute, oh best one. Persons who, in their words, mind, body and intelligence are free from attachment and acted according to the religious principles, will be granted the worlds that are free from misery; they will find liberation and lasting happiness. May that not be lost by you, oh hero of the people, the king who misses that what is the root cause of prosperity, will lose his sway. Oh King, the royal rule that protects the people against mischievous officials, thieves and rogues may for that reason collect taxes and enjoy this world as also the next. It is in those kingdoms in the cities of which the Supreme Lord, the enjoyer of all sacrifices, is worshiped, that the people following the varnashrama system [of vocations and age groups] will act according to their nature. The Fortunate One, the original cause of the cosmic manifestation, will be pleased with that king, oh noble one, who in his position of power is of the Soul that keeps the entire universe together. With Him, the Controller of the Controllers, being satisfied, one can achieve the impossible and therefore the people are everywhere, with their preferred lead [their gods, kings and idols], by all means with the greatest pleasure, all performing sacrifices for Him. It is He who with all the deities that are worshiped is the recipient. He is the sum total of the Vedas,

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the owner of all means of worship and the goal of all austerity. Therefore, oh King, you should, to your greater honour and self-interest, direct your countrymen to perform worship by means of the different kinds of sacrifices. When the brahmins in the kingdom are of devotional service, all the enlightened souls who are part of the Lord, are properly respected and will, most satisfied, grant the desired result. Oh hero, you should not fail to respect them.'

Vena replied: 'Oh how childish you all are in taking irreligious principles for religious ones. In fact you forsake the father who feeds you being unfaithful with another love. They who out of ignorance failing in respect do not realise that the Lord is there in the form of the king, cannot find happiness in this world nor after they died! What now is the name of that enjoyer of sacrifice unto whom you direct your great devotion? Just like a bad woman with her paramour you fail in your affection for [your king,] the husband! The creator, the maintainer, the destroyer, the king of heaven, the god of the wind and the god of death; the god of the sun, the god of the rains, the god of the treasury and the god of the moon; the god of the earth, the god of the fire and the god of the waters; all these and also other powers capable of blessing and cursing abide in the body of the king, the king comprises all the gods. For that reason, oh learned souls, you should worship me in your rituals and not be envious. Use those means for my sake, there is no one else to worship as the prime enjoyer of what is offered.'

Maitreya said: 'With all respects offered not acceding to the request of the sages, he whose intelligence was perverted and who most sinfully had strayed from the path, thus was bereft of all good fortune. All the brahmins as a consequence felt insulted by him who considered himself so very learned. Frustrated in their polite request, oh Vidura, they became very angry with him: 'Put him to death, to death, this king, this sinner, this dreadful character who very soon will turn the whole world into a heap of ash if we let him live. This man full of impiety, does not deserve the exalted throne as a god of man. He shamelessly insults Lord Vishnu, the master of all sacrifices! Who else but that miserable Vena would be such a blasphemer of Him by whose mercy all opulence is received?' Thus decided to put him to death they showed their anger and by the sound of their reproach [saying 'Hum'] ended the life of Vena, [the king] who was destroyed by blaspheming the Infallible One. After the sages had returned to their hermitages, lamenting Sunitha preserved the body of her son by means of chanting mantras.

Once, when the sages were bathing in the waters of the Sarasvati and offered oblations in the fire, they sat down on the bank of the river and began to discuss the question of truth. They then told each other that they had noticed that disturbances were developing that created fear among the people; would the citizens without a ruler not suffer the misfortune of having a world full of thieves and rogues? And indeed, while the wise were considering this, wherever one looked dust clouds could be seen in the sky that were caused by the running of plundering criminals. 9-4 They then realised their fault: the disturbance of the common people whose riches were plundered, was due to the death of their protector. With the state full of thieves and murderers in chaos being bereft of a king, they, despite their knowledge, were not able to subdue the rogues. An equipoised and peaceful brahmin with a disregard for afflicted souls, loses his strength of mind, just like a broken pot loses its water. The family line of the saintly king Anga should not be broken, for the semen of the kings of this family was so productive that they enjoyed the shelter of Kes'ava ['He with the beautiful curls']. The wise men thus decided to churn the thighs of the dead king with great force. Thereupon a person named Bahuka [the dwarf] was born. He was as black as a crow, very short in every way with very short legs and arms, had big jaws, a flat nose, reddish eyes and copper red hair. Having appeared he meekly bowed before the sages inquiring: 'What can I do for you?' 'Please sit down', they replied and thus, oh best one, he became thereafter known as Nishada. His descendants were thereupon called the Naishadas. They inhabited the hills and forests because they, being born from Vena, were feared because of all his sins.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 15:
King Prithu's Appearance and Coronation

Maitreya said: 'Thus the brahmins again churned the arms of the king who had no son and from that action a child couple took birth. About that child couple being born the sages conversant with the Vedas said that they were very happy, knowing that it concerned an ['aves'a'-]expansion of the Supreme Lord. The sages said: 'This man is an expansion of the Supreme Lord Vishnu who maintains the world and this woman is Lakshmi, the Goddess of Fortune who is an inseparable, integral part of the Original Person. This male will be the first among the kings and will spread his reputation under the name of Prithu ['the one of the earth'], becoming widely renown as the Great King. This female will, as a goddess of all good qualities, enhance the beauty of her ornaments with the magnificence of her teeth; she will be named Arci and will attract Prithu with her great beauty. He, as a partial, direct representative of the Lord, is born with the desire to protect the entire world and she took birth as the inseparable goddess who is very attracted to him.'

Maitreya said: 'The brahmins praised him, the singers of heaven chanted, the perfected ones showered flowers and the girls of heaven were dancing. Filling the air with vibrating conches, bugles, drums and kettledrums and such, all the godly souls, the sages and the elderly of all sections of society gathered there. Brahma, the master of the universe, accompanied by the godly arriving there together with all the leaders of the enlightened world, saw on the right hand of that son of Vena, the mark of Vishnu carrying the club. His two feet also showed the [marks of the] lotus flower and thus he was certain that he dealt with a partial appearance of the Lord who with His invincible disc [as a mark in His hand] as a plenary portion represents the Supreme Interest. The brahmins attached to the rituals arranged for his coronation and thus the people for his sake from everywhere collected the different means for performing the ceremony. The rivers, the seas, the mountains, the serpents, the cows, the birds and the animals, the sky, the earth and all living beings contributed with different kinds of gifts. He was thus crowned the Maharaja. Exquisitely dressed and fully ornamented he, together with his nicely jeweled wife Arci, appeared like a fire beyond compare. The keeper of wealth Kuvera, donated a royal throne made of gold, oh hero, and Varuna gave him an umbrella as brilliant as the moon from which constantly a mist of water droplets showered. Vayu in his turn gave him two camaras [whisks] made of hair, Dharma gave a garland that added to his name and fame, Indra gave a very valuable helmet while Yama gave him a scepter to rule the world. Brahma armed him with spiritual knowledge, his wife Bharati, the Goddess of Learning [Sarasvati], gave a transcendental necklace, the Supreme Personality [Hari, Vishnu] gave him a Sudars'ana disc and His wife Lakshmi gave him imperishable opulence. Lord Shiva came with a sword decorated with ten moons and Durga gave a likewise shield showing a hundred moons. The moon god gave horses of the finest breed and the demigod Vis'vakarma presented a very beautiful chariot. Agni gave a bow made of horn, Surya gave arrows as brilliant as sunlight, Bhumi [the Goddess of the Earth] gave slippers that empowered him with mystic union and the gods of the heavenly planets gave him flowers day after day. The art of drama, singing the finest songs, playing musical instruments as also the ability to make things appear and disappear, were given to him by those moving through the ether. The great sages blessed him with infallibility and the god of the ocean produced a conch shell for him. The seas, the mountains and the rivers provided him passage for his chariot and professed bards and officials of prayer presented themselves praising him in verses. Seeing them engaged in their offerings, the greatly powerful son of Vena spoke as follows, smiling with a voice as grave as the thunder of clouds.

King Prithu said: 'Oh dear bards, men of prayer and men of praise, the words of your address are misplaced. The way I am now present in this world I do not stand out with these qualities. Why should I be praised as the refuge when these words do not apply to me? Your words for my sake should not go in vain. Offer those prayers therefore some future time, when the qualities you mentioned are actually manifest in me, oh gentle reciters. The proper way is to discuss the qualities of the Supreme Lord glorified in the scriptures. Being civilised one should not offer prayers to a lowly human being. Someone who causes followers to praise him for talents that he as a lord and master could have but in reality lacks, deceives himself in being a fool unaware of the fact that the people are insulting him. The ones in power certainly do not like it to be praised. Despite being very famous, they are modest: [they very well know] that they, magnanimous as they are in their heroic deeds, are just as well reprehensible. Oh you people led by practices of praise, when we at present are not of any fame in the world or of any praiseworthy action, then how can I engage you in songs of praise for me like you were children?'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 16:
King Prithu Extolled

Maitreya said: 'The professional reciters, pleased with hearing the king speak these nectarine words, praised him therefore according to the instructions of the sages: 'We are at a loss to describe in full the glories of you who as the foremost godhead has descended out of your own mercy. Despite the fact that you appeared from the body of Vena, your glories bewilder the minds of the leading speakers. Nevertheless we will, in accord with what the wise have told us to do, try to put the name of King Prithu, [of you who are] famed for being a partial incarnation of Lord Vishnu, in the sweetest words. Encouraged in our attention for the liberality and praiseworthiness of your activities, we shall do our best to sing your praises. This king, being the protector of the regulative principles of human nature is also the chastiser of all who act against them; as the best defender of the faith he will incite the entire world to follow dutifully. He is the one and only who carries all the forms of all local deities within himself. Based upon that justice each and everyone high and low in due course will receive his proper share and prosper therefrom. All the riches this king exacts will by him in due time be equally distributed over all living beings, just like the all-powerful sun god distributes his rays. He as the king will take up the duty of mother earth to be always kind to the aggrieved and tolerant towards the people who trample her face. As easy as Indra answers with rain when there is a shortage of water and the living entities have to suffer, that divine man of God, this embodiment of the Lord, will protect the citizens. The whole world will thrive on the glances and bright smiles of his beautiful and affectionate moonlike face. The policies of this king are unseen, his actions are confidential and secret, his accomplishments are hidden and there is no limit to his treasury. His soul, as the only reservoir of all good qualities, will be covered just as it is with [the position of] Varuna, the king of the seas. Born from Vena like fire from firewood, he is difficult to approach and unbearable [for his enemies]. When one approaches him he stays at a distance. No one can defeat him. He as the neutral witness oversees the activities inside and outside of all living beings, just [as inseparable] as the life breath is of all the embodied beings. He will never punish someone not deserving punishment, not even when it concerns the son of his enemy, nevertheless he following the path of righteousness will punish his own son if he deserves it. Like the sun god shining his light everywhere, the circle of influence of Prithu will unimpeded remain the most powerful one up to Manasa mountain [the arctic region]. The entire world will be pleased by his personal activities and will therefore call him 'the King Happy to the Mind of the Citizens'. Firm in his determination and always truthful, he in favor of the brahminical and of service to the elderly, is the one of respect and the caring parent for the poor with whom all living beings seek their shelter. He is as respectful towards other women as he is towards his mother, unto his own wife he is like the other half of his body, unto the citizens he is like an affectionate father and he is a servant unto those who preach the word of God. All embodied beings are as dear to him as his own self, he increases the pleasure of his friends and he intimately associates with those who are free from attachment. This king is the hand chastising the wicked. He who is unmistakably the unchanging Supreme Lord over the three worlds, descended as a partial [s'aktyaves'a] expansion of the Supersoul. He regards [the false security of confiding in] the variegation of matter as meaningless, for such a notion is born from nescience. From the earliest light of day over the hills on, he uniquely heroic will protect the globe as the king of the world, the master of all gods of men. From his victorious chariot upholding the bow, he will reach everywhere from the south [to the north] like the sun does passing [every year] from the south [to the north]. For certain all kings of all places will offer him presentations. With the locally worshiped deities the wives of these kings will consider him the Original King who wields the weapon of his disc in defense of his [His] reputation. He will milk the earth whom one knows in the form of a cow, as an extraordinary king and progenitor [the Prajapati] he will provide facilities for the populace and for a pastime he will simply by the pointed end of his bow level the mountains by breaking them apart in preparing the earth [for agriculture], just like Indra, the king of heaven did [hitting the mountains with his thunderbolt]. When he vibrating his bow of horn, like a lion keeping his tail high, personally travels the earth, he, invincible in battle, will drive all warmongers everywhere into retreat. The moment this king will have performed a hundred as'vamedha [horse] sacrifices at the source of the Sarasvati river, his horse during the last of the hundred sacrifices there will be stolen away by Lord Indra. He will meet the worshipable Sanat-kumara alone in the garden of his palace and will, with his devotion being of worship, achieve the uncontaminated, transcendental knowledge by which the Spirit of the Absolute Truth is enjoyed. He will hear about the widespread reputation of his chivalry as Prithu, the king of supreme power, being put in so many words in the form of songs and narrations. Conquering [his opponents] everywhere with no one checking him he will, by his own prowess, uproot the miseries of the citizens. He will be glorified as the greatest soul by the leaders of the godly and the godless and become the lord of the world.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 17:
Prithu Maharaja Gets Angry with the Earth

Maitreya said: 'After the son of King Vena thus had been glorified for his qualities and actions as a manifestation of the Supreme Lord, he pleased those who had spoken with gifts and honoured them with praises. The leaders of the brahmins and the other castes, the servants, the ministers, the priests, the citizens, all his subjects, the different communities and his admirers he all properly respected.'

Vidura said: 'Why did Mother Earth who has so many forms, assume the form of a cow? And with King Prithu milking her, who was there as the calf and what was the milking pot? How leveled he her [the goddess] who by nature

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is sloped and for what reason stole the godhead (Indra) the sacrificial horse? Oh brahmin, what state was attained by the saintly king after he from the mighty Sanat-kumara*, who is so well versed in Vedic lore, had received the practical knowledge? - Please, your goodness, narrate to this so very attentive devotee everything else about the Supreme Personality of Krishna whom we know as Adhokshaja [the One beyond the senses] and who as the son of Vena milked the earth in the form of that cow. It undoubtedly is a pleasure to listen to the stories about him who from the piety of his previous incarnation arrived at such powerful and glorious activities.'

Suta said: "Maitreya, very pleased with Vidura being so inspired by the narrations about Vasudeva, thereupon praised him and replied. Maitreya said: 'When King Prithu was enthroned by the brahmins, my best, and declared to be the protector of the people, the citizens suffered a shortage of food. They then, with their bodies emaciated because of the hunger, approached him, the protector of the surface of the earth, in order to inform him.

'Oh King, suffering a hunger that burns like a fire in the hollow of a tree, we today have come to you to take shelter with you. For you are the appointed person and master to be consulted who must give the orders. Please, your Majesty, try therefore to provide us, who suffer from hunger, with food, oh master over all rulers of men. If you do not act as the protector of the people and the leader of the food supply, we will perish!'

Maitreya said: 'Prithu hearing the citizens lament their pitiable condition, for a long time contemplated, oh best of the Kurus, and discovered the cause. With intelligence having arrived at that conclusion he took up his bow and aimed an arrow at the earth, like he was the angry Lord of the three Cities [Lord Shiva who once pierced three fortresses with one arrow]. When the earth saw that he had taken up his bow and arrows, she trembling turned into a cow and fled away, as afraid as a deer chased by a hunter. With his eyes turned red out of anger chasing the cow, the son of Vena then laid an arrow on his bow wherever she fled. Seeing the king coming after her with his weapons raised, the goddess ran randomly in all the four directions, fleeing hither and thither wherever heaven meets earth. Just like man unable to escape from death, she nowhere in the world could escape from the hand of the son of Vena and finally turned back, most scared and very saddened at heart.

She said: 'Since you are now the great one of fortune, oh knower of the dharma, oh shelter of the afflicted souls, please save me. Your Majesty after all, is there for the protection of the living beings. Why do you want to kill someone who is poor and sinless? How can you, whom one considers a knower of the religious principles, wish to kill a woman like me? If no one should ever strike a woman, not even when she is sinful, then what to speak of a personality like you, oh King, a human being so merciful and affectionate to the poor? If you break me, this very strong boat carrying all the world, how can you hold yourself and your people afloat then?'

King Prithu replied: 'Oh dear source of wealth, if you do not obey my rules, I will have to kill you because you, while accepting your share of the offerings, do not provide us the produce. You eat the greenest grass daily but we are never certain of the milk provided by your udder. Is it not demanded to administer punishment to a cow that is thus indubitably in offense? Not very intelligent disobeying me you do not yield the seeds for the plants, herbs and grains for us, that originally were formed by the Creator but now are hidden by you inside of you. To put an end to the misery of all the distressed who suffer from hunger, I will now cut your flesh to pieces with my arrows. Whether it concerns a man, a woman or an eunuch, kings who kill those who with no compassion for other living beings, as the lowest of all, care only for themselves, do not really kill. You, so foolish and conceited, prove yourself to be a cow of illusion. I will thus with my arrows cut you to pieces as small as grains, for I, by the power of my yoga, will personally uphold all these citizens.'

Being that angry he had assumed the form of death personified. The surrendered planet earth who had to tremble all over, then with folded hands spoke. The earth said: 'My respects for the Transcendence, the Original Person who with the material energy expanded into a variety of forms. Unto that source of qualities I offer my obeisances, unto that original form of Him who, with all of His love and actions, as a doer, Himself is never affected because He is not bewildered by the waves of the ocean of matter. He who created me as an abode for all living beings, as a combination of the different modes and elements, He standing before me now who, in His own right, wishes to kill me with His weapons ready, to what other shelter should I resort but to Him? You as the One who in the beginning by His inconceivable potency created all these moving and nonmoving entities and offered them the protection of His shelter, You who by that same maya now proves to be this king, wishing to offer protection as someone strictly following the principles, how can you desire to kill me? Because of His unconquerable potency the plan of the Supreme Master is never clear to human beings who always fall short. He indeed who by His inconceivable powers and lordship caused the Creator and his creation, is the One within the many. I offer Him my obeisances who is the cause of the creation, dissolution and maintenance of this world, unto Him who by dint of His powers is the cause of the physical elements, the senses and the controlling demigods, the intelligence and the identification with matter, unto Him who manifests and restricts these energies and is the transcendental Original Personality and Cause of all Causes. It was You who factually created this world consisting of the elements, the senses, the mind and the heart, oh Powerful One, oh Unborn One. It was You who as the original boar [Varaha] maintaining me, lifted me from the lower regions out of the water. Having put me on top of the water with the living entities standing upon me as in a boat, You, who indeed want to offer protection, as a hero have become the keeper of the earth. And now You want to kill me with sharp arrows because of [missing] my milk! The ways and activities of Your divine incarnations can surely never be fully understood by living beings like me or by common people whose minds as a consequence of Your energy are bewildered by the modes. My obeisances for all that You are, You who bring renown to the heroes themselves.' *: Today there are four main disciplic successions in India: the Kumara-, Brahma-, Lakshmi- and Shiva-sampradayas. This present translation has originated from the Brahma-sampradaya.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 18:
Prithu Maharaja Milks the Earth

Maitreya said: 'After mother earth thus had offered King Prithu prayers, his lips were still trembling of anger. She, in fear, then managed to come to her senses and spoke again: 'Please pacify your anger, oh King, understand that what I said, I have said as someone who as an intelligent person, just like a bumblebee, gathers the essence from everywhere. By the great sages who realised the truth, methods were found and applied for the common people to have a better life in both this world and the next. For anyone who fully follows the principles, that are traditionally taught to the inexperienced who live by their faith, it is very easy to enjoy life. He who in neglect [of the traditions] not properly versed engages on his own initiative, will, in pursuing his goals, see himself fail time and again. Oh King, I see that all the plants that in the past were created by Lord Brahma and are cherished by me, are now in the hands of irresponsible people with no respect for the spiritual practice. [With me] not being taken care of and neglected by local rulers like your goodness, I have for this world, that has fallen into thievery, hidden all the herbs and seeds that are needed for the offerings. Because of being hidden within me for such a long time, those plants, fruits and seeds have deteriorated and therefore your Majesty should take them out the way it is prescribed. -1 Oh hero, arrange for a calf for me. And if you also arrange for a milking pot and a milkman, I will, from my affection for it, fulfill all your desires in the form of milk for each of you. I will also, oh mighty-armed one, oh protector of the living beings, if you want, provide for the food you desired to feed yourself. You will also have to engage in leveling me, the earth, oh King, so that the water that fell from the sky by the mercy of the godhead, after the rainy season has not flown away, oh mighty one.'

Thinking of the pleasing and good words of the earth, the king engaged with a calf so that the representative of mankind thus milking obtained all the crops. Everywhere else other men of intelligence also acquired the wealth by likewise caring [for a calf] and thus milking from Prithu's planet earth, whatever they wanted. Oh good one, the sages milking the goddess with their senses [as the milking pot], produced, by dint of sage Brihaspati as the calf, milk in the pure form of the Vedic hymns. Producing from Indra, the king of heaven, as the calf, the godly milked into a golden pot the nectar of the milk of mental power and the strength of the body and the senses. The sons of Diti, the enemies of God, produced with Prahlada as the calf, with the most important [devotee] among the godless, the milk of fermented and distilled beverages in an iron pot. The singers and denizens of heaven produced with him who was named Vis'vavasu as the calf, into a vessel in the form of a lotus, the milk of sweet music and beauty. The most fortunate demigods responsible for the funeral rites, with great faith produced, with Aryama, from the realm of the ancestors the milk of the offerings of food into an unbaked earthen pot. The perfected souls and the scholars and such [the Vidyadharas], appointing Kapila as the calf, produced with the ether [as the milking pot] the knowledge of proceeding at will with yogic mystic powers [siddhis]. Others endowed with magical and mystical powers [the Kimpurushas] produced with Maya [a demon] as the calf and with concentration [or dharana as the milking pot], the milk of the wondrous ability of making the body invisible. The descendants of Kuvera, the demons, the ghosts and the witches [respectively the Yakshas, Rakshasas, Bhutas and Pis'acas], who are all habituated to eating meat, with Lord Shiva's incarnation Rudra [Bhutanatha] as the calf, milked out a beverage made of blood in a pot of skulls. So also the snakes with and without hoods, the scorpions and the constrictor snakes, produced with Takshaka as the calf, their chief, the milk of poison in the pot of the snake pit. 3-2 The four-legged creatures produced, with the bull carrier of Lord Shiva [Nandi] as the calf, from the green grasses their milk in the pot of the wilderness. The other sharp toothed animals, the predators, with the lion as their calf milked out the flesh of other beings and the birds, with Garuda as their calf, produced in the pot of their own body the milk of the moving [insects and worms] and nonmoving living beings [the plants and grasses]. With the banyan tree as their calf the different trees produced milk in the form of their juices while the hills and mountains, with the Himalayas as the calf, produced the various minerals of their peaks. With the leaders as the calves and with each his own specific milking pot, from the planet Earth ruled by King Prithu the milk was produced of everything needed.

Oh chief of the Kurus, milking the earth with the different calfs, pots and milkers, thus by Prithu and the others following his example, the milk was obtained of all the different forms of food needed by the living entities. King Prithu, being very pleased with all desirables produced as milk, full of affection thereafter treated the planet earth as if she was his own daughter. The emperor, the mighty son of Vena, with the power of his bow had broken up all the hilltops of the entire earth and thus had leveled [cultivated] her almost completely. 0-3 And so the Supreme Lord, present on this earth as the son of Vena, was as a father to the citizens in employing them and in preparing at different locations for numbers of suitable dwellings according to the need: villages, cities, settlements and forts of different kinds as also habitations for the milkmen, pens for livestock, camps, mines, agricultural towns and mountain hamlets. Before Prithu there was on this earth certainly never this kind of planning of towns and villages; one used to live everywhere unrestricted as one liked.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 19:
King Prithu's One Hundred Horse Sacrifices

The sage Maitreya said: 'Thereafter he, the king, in the land of Manu known as Brahmavarta, where the Sarasvati flows to the east, then initiated the performance of a hundred horse sacrifices. Faced with this most powerful excel in fruitive action King Indra, who himself had performed a hundred sacrifices, could not tolerate the great ceremonies of sacrifice of King Prithu. It was there that directly the enjoyer of all sacrifice, the Supreme Lord Vishnu, the transcendental controller who is the proprietor, the teacher of all the world and everyone's soul, would show Himself. Together with Brahma and Shiva and all the local rulers with their followers, He is praised by the inhabitants and singers of heaven and the wise. The perfected souls and those rooted in learning, the descendants of Diti, the fruitive workers and the guardians of wealth attended there headed by Nanda and Sunanda, the most respectful associates of the Lord. All the great devotees who always serve Him with diligence assembled there: the masters of yoga led by Sanaka [the Kumaras], Kapila, Narada and Dattatreya. Dear son of Bharata, because of that meeting the land fulfilled, alike the cow that produces all the milk, all wishes by yielding as desired every matter needed by the sacrificer. The rivers carried all the water needed, there was milk, curd and the food of other dairy products and the trees with their big bodies bore fruits and dripped with honey. The people of all places along with their governors brought forward presentations of the four kinds of foodstuff [what is chewed, licked, sucked and drunk] and heaps of jewels from the hills and oceans. Thus King Prithu, abiding by the Lord beyond the Senses, was the most opulent person, but the great Lord Indra, being envious, formed a hindrance. Full of envy he unseen stole the sacrificial animal when the son of Vena was performing the last horse sacrifice meant to please the Lord of All Sacrifices. Indra, impersonating as a liberated soul and thus most confusingly presenting irreligion as religion, was spotted by sage Atri and then hurried away into the sky. The son of King Prithu, a great hero, was by sage Atri encouraged to kill him. He most angry shouted: 'Wait, just wait!' But when he saw that he was wearing the dress that is considered religious, had knotted hair and a body smeared all over with ashes, he could not release an arrow at him. My best one, the son of Prithu, having refrained from killing, was by sage Atri admonished to do it nevertheless since the great Indra had sunken as low as to impede the performance of a yajna. Thus being ordered the son of Prithu, who was as angry as the king of the vultures was with Ravana, began to chase Indra who hastily moved away at a distance. With him in pursuit, Indra vanished, abandoning both the horse and his false dress. The great hero then brought the animal of his father back to the sacrificial arena.

Oh master [Vidura], seeing the reality of his wonderful action the great sages honoured him accordingly with the name Vijitas'va ['he who won the horse']. But not being seen under the cover of a dense darkness he had created, the mighty King Indra again took the horse away from the sacrificial

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block where it was chained in golden shackles. When Atri pointed out that he hurried away in the open, the hero this time seeing him holding a staff with a skull at the top, [again] could not kill him. By Atri admonished to go after him, he in anger had fixed an arrow, but the independent Indra, who gave up the horse and the apparel [for the second time], kept himself out of reach. The hero then took the horse and went back to the sacrificial arena of his father. Ever since those with a poor fund of knowledge adopt that false show of the lord of heaven. Those forms that Indra assumed with the desire to steal the horse are all sign and symbol of sinful activities. For this the word deficient is used [with khanda or deficient one speaks of pakhanda or pashanda, the false preacher or heretic]. With Indra, who in his desire to stop the sacrifice stole away the horse from the son of Vena and thus adopted and abandoned the religious garb, the common man, foolishly enough, got attracted to this falsehood of faith in red robes, going naked etc., because it is generally done with great cunning and a good command of speech. The incarnation of the Lord, King Prithu celebrated as the all-powerful one, understood this and, very angry with Indra, took an arrow and lifted his bow.

The priests who saw that Prithu thus prepared to kill the king of heaven, could not tolerate the mental leap of his terrifying display of power and objected: 'Oh great soul, as it is said in the scriptures, it is not proper to kill others in matters like these. Indra, your enemy who in fact already lost his power as the destroyer of your interest, we will summon with mantras never used before and forthwith by force sacrifice him in the fire, oh King.'

After thus having advised the leader of the ceremony, oh Vidura, the priests grim-faced with the sacrificial ladle in their hands stood prepared to perform the sacrifice, but when they were about to begin Lord Brahma asked them to stop: 'Indra should not be killed by you, for he whose end you wish is also the offering himself, he is an integral part of the Supreme Lord. And so too the ones of God you wish to please by the sacrificing are all part of Indra! And then, oh twice-born souls, beware of this great violation of dharma committed by Indra in his desire to impede these proceedings of the king. Let it be so that from the side of the widely renown King Prithu there are the ninety-nine sacrifices he performed. There is no use [oh King] for more correctly performed sacrifices, for you know the path of liberation very well. You surely should not act in anger against Lord Indra, it suffers no doubt that it will be to the good fortune of the both of you to stand together for the multiformity of the Lord celebrated in the scriptures. Oh great King, please listen to what I tell you with the greatest esteem: do not - as you did - get into the mind of anger because of a twist of fate, because from the king who is of such a consideration, one will enter the darkest regions. Let this sacrificing end, it was by what Indra has created that among the souls of God so many principles of religion were violated and bad habits rooted. Just see how Indra, as the one who broke your sacrifice by stealing the horse, introduced this deception that is so alluring to the common man that he is carried away by it. Your Majesty, you incarnated according to time and circumstance in this world in order to deliver us, because the system of religion by the misdeeds of King Vena had almost vanished. And now you are there as a part and parcel of the body of Vishnu, oh son of Vena. Therefore, in consideration of the welfare of the world, oh protector of the people, respond to the determination of the progenitors of this earth [to respect you as an expansion of the Supreme One] and foil the illusion that was created by Indra in the form of the moralizing without servitude [the pseudo religion, the hypocrisy] that is the mother of the dangerous path of heresy.'

Maitreya continued: 'Thus being advised by the teacher of all, Prithu, the king and master, acted according to what was told and concluded, moved by sympathy, to peace with Indra. After having done so he took a customary bath and received for his glorious actions the blessings of the God-conscious whom he had pleased with the performance of his sacrifices. All the men of learning, whose blessings are effective, were most contented with the great respect and rewards they received from the original king, oh royal soul. They offered their blessings [and said]: 'Oh mighty-armed one, we, the forefathers, gods, sages and also the common people, have all assembled because you invited us and now we feel very honoured by your gifts and expressions of respect.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 20:

Lord Vishnu's Appearance in the Sacrificial Arena of Prithu Maharaja

Maitreya said: 'The Supreme Personality, the Lord of Vaikunthha, satisfied by the sacrifices unto Him, the Lord of All Sacrifices, appeared together with the mighty Indra and spoke as the enjoyer of the sacrifice to King Prithu. The Supreme Lord said: 'This person [King Indra] who disturbed the hundredth horse sacrifice you performed, begs your pardon, you ought to forgive him. Considerate souls willing to act in favor of others in this world, oh god of man, belong to the best human beings. They [acting from the soul] will never be malicious toward other living beings. The soul after all is not this vehicle of time, the body. If people like you, who persistently are of service to the elders [the tradition, the wise], become bewildered by the external energy of God, the only thing that is achieved is weariness. Therefore he who is well acquainted and knows that one owes this body to one's ignorance, desires and karma, will never become the slave of it. In other words, which person having life experience would in his detachment call himself the proprietor of the wealth, house and children that result from such a bodily concept? The one pure self that is enlightened and free from material characteristics, constitutes the reservoir of all good qualities that, transcendental to the body and the mind and pervading all, is the undivided witness unrelated to the material world. Anyone who thus knows about the soul that exists within this body is, despite being situated within material nature, as a person never affected by the basic qualities of nature. Such a one is situated in Me. He who free from ulterior motives, always doing his duty, worships Me with faith and devotion will, oh King, discover that his mind step by step finds the highest satisfaction. Free from the modes, the basic qualities, of nature and with an equal vision, he who, innerly free from contaminations, is of peace, will achieve the equipoise of My spirit of emancipation. Any person who knows this changeless soul as simply being the indifferent superintendent of the physical elements, the knowing and working senses and the mind, will find all fortune. They who are bound to Me in friendship and enlightenment will never become disturbed by the happiness or distress they see associated with the different basic qualities and the constant change of the material body consisting of the physical elements, the active senses, its intentions and the mind. Equipoised in happiness and distress, equal to all who are more elevated, lower or situated in between and with the senses and mind controlled, be as such the protector of all citizens, oh hero, together with the others [the officials] arranged by Me. Ruling the populace in goodness it is certain for a king in his next life to be the collector of one sixth of the results of the pious activities [of his subjects]. Being of a different approach, solely collecting taxes, he will have to do without this sixth and be faced with the sins of the citizens he failed to protect. Thus being the protector of the earth as someone whose chief interest it is to be unattached in respect of the principles as approved and handed down by the foremost twice-born souls, you soon will see yourself be loved by the citizens and at home be visited by the perfected souls in person. Because you captivated Me by your excellent qualities*, please request any benediction from Me you desire, oh chief of the humans. I certainly cannot easily be obtained by mere sacrifices, austerities or doing yoga. I am present in the one who is evenminded.'

Maitreya said: 'The conqueror of the world thus being led by the Supreme Master of All, the Personality of Vishnu, bowed his head to the instructions of the Lord. King Indra, ashamed of his own actions then lovingly touched the feet of him [Prithu] who of course with an embrace gave up his anger. The Supreme Lord, the Supersoul, next received worship with all the paraphernalia from Prithu whose devotion, having taken to the lotus feet, gradually increased. Even though he was ready to leave him, the Lord with the lotus eyes, the well-wisher of the devotees, being detained by his kindness, could not depart. He, the first among the kings could, with his eyes full of tears standing before the Lord with folded hands, not look at Him nor utter a word. His voice was choked up and within his heart embracing Him he remained in that position. Looking at Him with insatiable eyes, he thereupon wiping the tears from his face addressed the Original Personality of Godhead who, with His hand resting upon the high shoulder of Garuda, the enemy of the snakes, barely touched the ground with His lotus feet.

Prithu said: 'Oh Almighty One, how can a learned man ask from You, who are the master of all blessings, for benedictions that are also available to all those embodied living beings who are bewildered by the modes of nature, even when they are in hell? Nor do I ask, oh Supreme One, for Your enlightenment [to be one with You]. I do not desire even that, oh Master, because I then have to do without the nectar delivered by the mouths of the devotees at Your lotus feet. Just give me a million ears to [relish that] what rises from the core of their hearts [the stories about You]. Let that be my benediction. That soothing breeze of the nectarean [saffron] particles of Your lotus feet, oh Lord praised in the scriptures as delivered by the mouths of the great ones, restores of those who strayed from the path of devotional service the remembrance of the forgotten truth and makes other benedictions unnecessary. When someone somehow or other, even only once, in association with those who are advanced listens to the all-auspicious glorification of You, oh honoured one, how can someone appreciative of Your characteristics, unless he is an animal, then ever cease with that what the Goddess of Fortune in her desire to hear about You has accepted as Your quality? Therefore I shall engage in the service of You, the all-inclusive Supreme, Original Personality [Purushottama] and reservoir of all transcendental qualities. Let there with me, who as anxious as the goddess with the lotus in her hand, competes in relation to the one Master, be no quarrel between her and me in the single-mindedness of acting in respect of Your feet. The mother of the universe, oh Ruler of the Cosmic Reality, [being jealous] might ruin my desire to be of her action. But what difference would she make with You who, always favorably inclined to the poor, as a consequence of Your benevolence consider even the most insignificant service very great? Saintly persons therefore rather worship You who dispel the misconceptions produced by the modes of nature. Oh Supreme Lord, I cannot think of any other purpose [in the life] of devotees than the remembrance of Your lotus feet. I consider that what You said [to me] with the words 'make your choice', as a bewildering favor relating to the material world. How [is that supposed to work] when ordinary people [like me], who are not tied to what You say in the Vedic literature, time and again feel attracted to engage in karmic actions? Oh Lord, the people are divided about Your illusory energy because of which they, missing the real knowledge, desire everything but the true matters of the soul. Please bestow that what You deem desirable, just like a father would do for the welfare of his child.'

Maitreya said: 'Thus being worshiped by the original king He, the seer of the entire universe, said to him: 'My dear King, let there be your devotion for Me. By the good fortune of intelligently having acted unto Me like this, you will certainly overcome My illusory energy that is so difficult to give up. Do therefore without neglect what I ordered you to do, oh protector of the citizens, anyone who acts according to My injunctions, will achieve all good fortune, wherever he is.'

Maitreya said: 'This way showing His appreciation for the words of the wise king, the son of Vena, the Infallible One, after properly having blessed him and being worshiped by him, decided to leave. 5-3 After they [by the king] with an intelligence dedicated to the Lord, with folded hands, sweet words and riches were properly respected in a spirit of devotional service, all the followers of the Lord of Vaikunthha departed: the godly souls, the sages, the forefathers, the artisans, the perfected ones, the heavenly singers, the snakelike beings, the superhuman beings, the nymphs, the earthly humans, the birds and all the other living entities [compare 3.10: 28-29]. Having captivated the minds of the saintly king and all his priests, the protector of the living creation, the infallible Supreme Lord, also returned to His abode. The king who had offered his obeisances to the Supreme Soul, [thus] received the revelation of the Unmanifested One, the God of Gods. He then returned to his home.'

*: The twenty-six qualities of a devotee: kind to everyone, does not quarrel with anyone, fixed in the Absolute Truth, equal to everyone, faultless, charitable, mild, clean, simple, benevolent, peaceful, completely attached to Krishna, has no material hankering, meek, steady, self-controlled, does not eat more than required, sane, respectful, humble, grave, compassionate, friendly, poetic, expert, silent.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 21:

Instructions by Prithu Maharaja

Maitreya said [about King Prithu returning to his capital]: 'The city at the golden gates and everywhere around was decorated with pearls, flower garlands and cloth and there was also highly fragrant incense. The streets, the parks and the lanes, that were sprinkled with water scented with sandalwood and aguru [a fragrant herb], were decorated with unbroken rice, flowers, fruits in their peel, precious stones, parched grains and lamps. With everything being cleansed and festooned with leaves of various trees like fresh mango leaves and the flowers and fruits hanging down from pillars of banana trees and betel nut trees, it all looked very nice. The citizens and many a beautiful radiating virgin decorated with tinkling earrings, came to welcome him equipped with lamps and countless articles of worship. Even though the king when he entered the palace was honoured with the sounds of kettledrums, conch shells and the Vedic chants of the priests, he took no pride in it. With the great glory of thus being revered and pleased everywhere by the nobles and the commoners, he in his turn wished them all the best. He had been so from the beginning: magnanimous in all his actions and doing great works regularly. He had become the greatest of the great and thus ruling with the achievement of a repute that had spread all over the world, he [finally] was elevated to the Supreme lotus feet.' "

Suta said: "Oh greatest of the devotees, oh leader of the sages [Shaunaka], after Maitreya thus befittingly had expounded on the high reputation of that ideal king so qualified because of his countless qualities, Vidura proved his great respect and addressed him. Vidura said: 'When he [Prithu] was enthroned by the great souls of learning, he realised the full respect of the enlightened community and was by that grace of Vishnu able to expand to the strength of a rule of law by which he managed to break open [and exploit] the earth. Who would not enjoy to hear about his glories, about his intelligence and his chivalry, to the example of which even to this day so many kings and their local rulers

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proceed in procuring what they desire for their livelihood? Please tell me [more] about those good deeds.'

Maitreya proceeded: 'Living in the land between the two rivers the Ganges and the Yamuna, he who was destined to enjoy the fortune of his pious deeds, exhausted his merits. Except for the brahmin culture and the souls in succession devoted to the Infallible One [the Vaishnavas], there was for everyone on the seven continents the irrevocable order of him as the one ruler holding the scepter. And so he one day took a vow to initiate a great sacrifice to the occasion of which the authorities of God assembled: the brahmin sages, the wise kings and all the great devotees. To that occasion he offered his obeisances to all the respectable souls who deserved it according to their respective positions, standing in their midst like the moon between the stars. He was a tall man, well built with strong arms and a lotus-like fair complexion, eyes as bright as a sunrise, a straight nose and a beautiful face with a grave expression, high shoulders and teeth brilliant at the smile. He had a broad chest, a firm waist with beautiful folds in his abdomen like the leaf of a banana tree, a coiled navel, thighs of a golden hue and an arched instep. With fine, curly, slick black hair on his head and a neck like a conch he was dressed in a very valuable dhoti with over his upper body a wrapper worn like a sacred thread. With all the beauty of his physical appearance he was the one appointed to give up his garments according to the regulations. Nicely covered by a black deerskin and with a ring of kus'a grass around his finger, he then performed as was required. With starry eyes as moist as the dew, he glanced over all the souls around him and then, for the purpose of pleasing the assembly, began to speak in terms of the following elevating discourse. What he brought to mind for them was of a great importance and beauty and was flowery, crystal clear and free from doubt spoken to the benefit of all.

The king addressing the ones present said: 'Listen carefully, oh great souls present here, how I as an inquisitive man feel obliged to present to you, dear nobles, my conclusions concerning the principles of dharma. I, carrying the scepter as the king of all citizens, am engaged in this world as the protector and employer of each person the way he is born in the context of his own [Vedically] established, separate social order. By executing of Him, the Seer of all destiny, that what the experts in Vedic knowledge speak about, I expect to fulfill all the objectives as desired everywhere by everyone. Anyone who as a king exacts taxes from the citizens without reminding them of their respective [varnashrama] duties of age and vocation, will according to the impiety of his citizens, also have to relinquish the enjoyment of his own fortune. Therefore, my dear citizens, it suffers no doubt that whatever you, without grumbling, out of your own real interest [according to the varnashrama system] do with Him beyond the senses in mind, constitutes a great service unto me. When you serve His interest, you are of service to me, your protector. All of you present here as people faithful to the forefathers, the gods, the sages and the sinless, please take this at heart: in the hereafter the results of one's actions are equally shared by the performer of the deeds, by their director and by their supporter. Oh respectable souls, there must be someone like Him who sometimes [in the scriptures] is called the Lord of Sacrifice. Why else would one in this material world and in the hereafter see embodiments of [great] power and beauty? Manu, Uttanapada [Dhruva's father], Dhruva and no doubt the great king Priyavrata and my grandfather Anga, these great and saintly personalities as also others of the Unborn Soul like Prahlada and Bali Maharaja, are proof of the existence of Him Holding the Club. Except for descendants like my father who, abominably acting like death personified, had lost his way on the path of religion, one as good as always ascribes the elevation to higher worlds and class to the [in dharmic action] being liberated from the material motive for the sake of the One Supreme Soul. Persons of penance destroy, because of their inclination to serve the lotus feet, immediately the dirt that accumulated in their minds in countless births. Just like the [Ganges] water that emanating from His toes vanquishes all dirt, they, day after day, see their purity increasing. By particularly time and again gathering strength in seeking, in a systematic scientific way, refuge at His lotus feet, the person disgusted with the endless ruminations will purify himself and not again surrender to a materially motivated life full of hindrances. All you citizens, in order to be satisfied, be sure of being devoted at His lotus feet according to your personal sense of duty. Be in your thoughts, your words and in a physical sense, of the particular qualities of your own type of work and answer with an open mind, in the full of your conviction, to all that is wanted, as far as your talents allow. He who is present in this world with His various qualities and transcendence is worshiped with different kinds of sacrifices. In these sacrifices, performed with physical means and the practicing of mantras, His forms and names, as a condensation of His nature, then serve the purpose of the science of being free from contaminations. Just like fire manifests differently depending the shape and quality of the firewood, the Almighty One also manifests this body [of forms and names] by activities and in a consciousness that are the result of a certain combination of the non-manifest primary nature, the time, the mental disposition and the dutifulness. Oh all of you, by incessantly with firm determination on this earth by means of your occupational duties worshipping the Supreme Lord, the enjoyer of the sacrifice and the spiritual teacher, you share your grace with me. Those who are of great opulence [the rulers] should never exercise power over the blessed souls devoted to the Unconquerable One [Vishnu], nor over those who practice tolerance, are of penance and are [spiritually] educated, for they personally constitute the ruling class of the twice-born souls [the brahmins] in society. The Original Personality, the oldest and eternal Lord and godhead of the brahminical culture, acquired the opulence of His eternal fame of being the great elevated leader who purifies the entire universe, by exercising respect for their lotus feet. By serving them one satisfies the unlimited, independent Lord dwelling in every one's heart. Therefore are those who humbly follow in His footsteps, in every respect constantly of service to the brahmin class. A person automatically without delay achieves the greatest peace and the satisfaction of his soul when he regularly relates to them by means of delivering service, for who would be a better mouth and hand for the ghee that is offered? Ananta, the Lord of the Snake bed, is never as pleased to eat from sacrifices in the fire, which [on itself] is bereft of consciousness, as He is by those sacrifices that, with faith and the worship of names in the midst of devotees, are offered in the mouths of the knowers of the Absolute. Everything that with faith, austerity, auspicious actions, silence, an absorbed mind and sense control is propagated by the constant, pure and original brahminical culture, is there for the sake of showing the true meaning and purpose of the Vedic vision, in which this world is reflected as clear as in a mirror. Oh people of culture, I will carry the dust of the lotus feet of all of them on my helmet until the end of my life. Everyone who always engages this way will soon vanquish his sins and be blessed with all qualities. He whose wealth consists of good conduct and gratitude, he who seeks refuge with the learned and acquired all the good qualities, will achieve all the fortune of God. May the Maintainer of the three worlds as also His devotees be pleased with the brahmin class, with the cows and with me.'

Maitreya said: 'The king speaking thus was congratulated by all the virtuous souls present: the elderly, the godly and the twice-born who satisfied and happy minded exclaimed 'sadhu, sadhu!' ['well done, well spoken!' They said:] 'The Vedic teaching, which says that someone becomes victorious in all the worlds through his son, has become true now that he [Prithu] in a grand manner has delivered his most sinful father Vena from the darkness [in which he landed] after being cursed by the brahmins. Also Hiranyakas'ipu who, because of repeatedly blaspheming the Supreme Lord, entered the darkest regions, was delivered by the actions of his son Prahlada. Best of all warriors, dear father of the earth whose devotion unto the Infallible One, the one Maintainer of all the worlds, is so exemplary, may you life forever. Today, oh Supreme One of Purity, we are because of you under the rule of the Lord of Liberation Mukunda, of Him, Vishnu who, appearing in the stories of the scriptures, is glorified as the worshipable Lord of the brahmins. It is nothing special, oh lord, to rule over citizens for one's income. What is of greatness, is the nature of your affection and mercy for all living beings. We, who as a consequence of our deeds in the past lost their goal in life and determined by fate are wandering around, today because of you have learned to know the other side of the darkness of material existence. Our obeisances to you whom we honour as a personality moved by the quality of goodness, as someone who by dint of his personal prowess inspires the brahminical culture and maintains [the honour of] the ruling class.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 22:

Prithu Maharaja's Meeting with the Four Kumaras

Maitreya said: 'As the citizens were thus praying to the high and mighty King Prithu, four sages arrived there as bright as the sun. The king and his associates could recognise the masters of yogic perfection that descended from the ethereal realm by the glaring effulgence of their all-embracing sinlessness [: they were the four Kumaras]. Seeing the so very desired life of peaceful conduct before them, King Prithu with his followers jumped to their feet as if they were souls whose senses are ruled by the modes of nature. After they accepting that [reverence] had taken their seats he, humble with the high civilisation of their full glory, bowed before them and was of worship the way it is prescribed with all that belongs to it. The water of washing their feet he sprinkled on the tuft of his hair and thus he behaved like men of respect are supposed to behave. Seated on the golden throne the brothers who were older than Shiva were like fire on the altar and pleased with them, the king respectfully and with restraint addressed them. Prithu said: 'To what do I owe the grace of your audience, of you who are fortune in person? It is an encounter that even for the greatest yogis is difficult to achieve. He with whom the ones of learning [the brahmins and the Vaishnavas] are pleased, can achieve whatever that is difficult to achieve in this world or the hereafter, including the all-auspicious Lord Shiva and Lord Vishnu who accompany them. Although you are traveling all the worlds, the people cannot see you, just as the ones causal to the creation cannot see the All-knowing witness residing within everyone. Despite being not that rich, those householders [may enjoy] the glory of most respectable saints [like you], who with their home can offer water, a place to sit, servants, land and the master of the house himself. But a tree with venomous serpents are no doubt those houses that, abundant with all wealth, are not [blessed] with the water that washed from the feet of the great saints. I welcome you, oh best of the twice-born, you who move around like children and controlled by vows with a great faith are motivated for liberation. Oh masters, can persons who, having fallen into this material existence, are stricken with the illness of living to the command of their senses, all by themselves find any good fortune? There is no need to ask you about your well-being for you supreme souls have no mind concerned with matters of good or bad fortune. I therefore am certain that you for us who suffer the pains of a material existence, are the friend to ask how one soon in this world may find salvation. Manifesting as the supreme goal in life of the transcendentalists the Supreme Lord, the Unborn One in the form of the perfected ones moves about on this earth in order to show His devotees His mercy.'

Maitreya said: 'Hearing that very substantial, appropriate, concise and sweet conclusion of Prithu, the Kumara satisfied with a smile replied as follows. Sanat-kumara said: 'What a good question for you to ask my dear King, oh you who desires the good of all living beings. Learned as you are, you nevertheless pose this question. [This speaks for you] as someone whose intelligence roots in the mind of the saintly ones. An association of devotees in which there is discussion, questioning and answering is appreciated by both the parties [of the saintly ones and their pious followers], and real happiness for all will expand from it. Oh King, you are evidently attached to the organised appreciation for the qualities of the Lord His lotus feet. Difficult as it is, that will free the indwelling soul, given a steady practice, from the dirt of the emotions of lust. In the scriptures is defended that only the absence of attachment to other matters than the soul in combination with an intense attachment for that True Self which is transcendental to the modes of nature, constitutes the perfect conviction for the salvation of man. That [is realised] when one as a dutiful devotee with faith and devotion, by means of discussion and inquiry is spiritually united in one's determination and with respect for the Lord of Yoga regularly attends and listens to the stories of the God-fearing ones. Reluctant to associate with the rich and the ones who are after sense gratification and not after the acquiring of goods as approved by them, one gets rid of the bad taste of the happiness that goes without drinking the nectar of the qualities of the Self of the Supreme Personality. With nonviolence [as a vegetarian], following in the footsteps of the teachers of example, by remembering the Lord of Liberation, by testifying of His activities, by the nectar of following according to the yoga principles without a material motive [yama] and by practicing in line with the precepts [of niyama] one thus being without offenses, will be living a simple life with tolerance for the worldly dualities. With in one's ear constantly the discussions in relation to the transcendental qualities of the Lord it may be so that one, increasing in one's devotion and consciousness, is of an uncontaminated existence in the material world that is opposed to spiritual understanding, for when one has realised that kind of listening, it is easy to be attached to the Spirit of Transcendence. When the person in respect of the teacher of example is fixed in attachment to the Spiritual Supreme, the impotence of the heart [as characterised by the five kles'as or hindrances: ignorance, egoism, attachment, dislike and death-fear] that is situated within the covering of the individual soul that consists of the five elements, will be burned by the force of detachment and spiritual knowledge like fuel being burned by fire. With that immolation of the inner weakness being freed from all the [associated] material qualities, there is no difference as there was in the past between the inner action with the Supersoul and the outer action of the self. For such a one that difference has ended just like a dream ends when one wakes up. The person sees of himself both the objects of his senses and his transcendence [as the witness]. In that position he knows desires and designations, but without the two [not being innerly divided] that is not the case. The only reason that one sees differences between oneself and something [or someone] else is that there are different causes [for each position] everywhere, just like one has with a reflection that is different in water and another medium [like a mirror]. Because the mind is agitated by the senses that are drawn towards the sense-objects, [the pure] consciousness [of one's intelligence] is easily lost, just like a lake that is overgrown with plants. Scholars of the soul state that in the destructive choking of one's remembrance the constant mindfulness of one's consciousness is destroyed and that the soul bereft of real knowledge thus degrades. In this world there is nothing as

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bad as the obstruction of that self-interest, in which other matters seem to be so much more interesting than the realisation of one's own self that one hinders. When one constantly thinks for the sake of riches and sensual pleasures all the [four] virtues of human society are destroyed [the purusharthas]. Therefrom bereft of knowledge and devotional service, one lapses into the inertia of matter. They who want to cross over that ocean quickly, should never cling to the slowness of matter, for that is the great stumbling block for the virtues of religiousness, economic development, regulation of pleasures and salvation [dharma, artha, kama, moksha]. In this respect liberation is likely to be there as the most important one, because engaged in the interest of the other three paths one regularly finds oneself caught in the finality of things and in fear. For all those notions of a higher or lower form of life there will never be any peace, for they depending upon the interaction of the material modes are by the ordinance of the Lord [in the form of Time] all destroyed. Oh best of kings, be therefore just as I am persuaded of Him the Supreme Lord who from within the heart everywhere manifests by dominating as the Master of the Field radiating into every hair follicle and who for all the moving or nonmoving living beings covered by a body endowed with senses and a life-breath, is there for the consideration of self-realisation. Surrender yourself unto Him the root cause manifesting as the truth within the untruth. By this deliberate consideration one is freed from the illusions of an intelligence that wonders whether one deals with a rope or a snake. Thus one is situated in the eternal liberation of the uncontaminated, pure truth of the original nature transcendental to all the impurities of one's karmic [fruitive] activities. Be unto Him, Vasudeva, of devotion like the devotees who find Him, whose lotus toes bring them joy, worthy to take shelter of. By devotional service the hard knot of karmic desire is uprooted, but that is never so with people missing that respect, however hard they try to stop the waves of sense enjoyment. In this material ocean the hardship of the non-devotees is great with the sharks of the six senses. They cannot cross the ocean without much difficulties and therefore you should make the lotus feet of the Supreme Personality of Godhead your boat for passing that unconquerable expanse.'

Maitreya said: 'The king thus by the son of Brahma, the Kumara who was so well versed in spiritual knowledge, in full being informed about the ins and outs of spiritual advancement, praised him and then spoke. The king said: 'In order to confirm what the Lord has promised, He who from His causeless mercy is so compassionate with the ones in distress, you have all oh brahmins, oh powerful ones, arrived here. With you also doing what could be expected from the most compassionate representatives of the Lord, is all that I have to offer, the remnants of the offerings to the saints! What should I give from my side? My life, wife and children, oh brahmins, my home with everything belonging to it, my kingdom, power, land and treasury, I thus all offer to you. The post as the commander in chief and ruler over the kingdom, the scepter of authority and the complete dominion over the planet are no doubt only reserved for those who know the purport of the Vedas. The kshatriyas [the rulers] and the other departments of society all eat by the mercy of the brahmins who enjoy their own clothing, their own food and their own donations in charity. You from your kind of spiritual understanding of progressing with the Fortunate One, have in your compassion explained to us the Vedic evidence as discussed. May you ever be pleased with your own actions of mercy! Who could ever repay you with anything but offering water to you with cupped hands?'

Maitreya said: 'After the masters of self-realisation had been worshiped by the original king they praised his character and, before the eyes of all the people, rose to the sky. The son of Vena, the first among the great personalities, who according to the teachings fixed in the self had arrived at self-realisation, considered himself as someone who had achieved what he desired. In his actions for the sake of the Absolute Truth engaging as good as possible according to the time, the circumstances and his capacity, he did whatever he could as far as his means would allow. Fully dedicated to the Supreme Spirit he free from attachments being of renunciation always thought of the superintendant of all actions, the Supersoul transcendental to material nature. Even though he lived at home he never felt attracted to all the opulence of his mighty kingdom nor did he indulge in sensual pleasures, as much as the sun [never responds to what is lit]. Thus always practicing yoga he by his self-realisation begot five sons in his wife Arci who were the way he wanted them. Their names were Vijitas'va, Dhumrakes'a, Haryaksha, Dravina and Vrika. With them Prithu [by his authority] alone succeeded in incorporating all the qualities of all local deities. In his personal surrender to the Infallible One he, for the protection of the created universe, pleased the citizens during his time with the qualities of his kind-hearted words and actions. The king thus was known as the King of the Moon, while he on the other hand was like the Sun god in his distributing, exacting and ruling over the wealth of the world. In his exercise of power he was as unconquerable as fire, he was as insuperable as the King of Heaven, as tolerant as the earth itself and alike heaven in fulfilling all desires of human society. He used to please as bountiful as the rain that pours as much as one likes, he was as unfathomable as the sea and occupied his position alike the King of the Hills [mount Meru]. He was like the King of Righteousness [Yamaraja] in his education, he was alike the Himalayas in his opulence [because of the minerals and jewels], he was like Kuvera in keeping the wealth and alike Varuna [the ruler of the waters] in his secrecy. He was as all-pervading as the air [the wind] and of a likewise physical strength, courage and power, and he was as unforbidding as the most powerful demigod Rudra [the Lord of the Ghosts, Shiva]. He was as beautiful as Cupid, as thoughtful as the Lion, the King of the Animals, in his affection he was alike Svayambhuva Manu and in matters of controlling the people he resembled the Unborn Lord, Brahma. He understood spiritual matters alike Brihaspati, in his personal self-control he was alike the Supreme Personality, in his devotion to the cows, the spiritual master and the brahmins he was as the Vaishnavas, the followers of Vishnu, in his shyness he was the most gentle one and in matters of philanthropy he was [as caring] as he was for himself. All over the three worlds the general public loudly declared - and surely all the lovers of truth and the women from everywhere came to hear about it - that his name and fame was as great as of Ramacandra [the Vishnu-avatara].'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 23:
Prithu Maharaja Returns Back Home

- Maitreya said: 'King Prithu, who fully conversant with everything concerning the soul, as the protector of the people endlessly had promoted all that he had created, saw one day that he physically was getting old. Fully in accord with the instructions of the Supreme Ruler he in this world, following the dharma of devotees, had provided for the maintenance of all the moving and nonmoving living beings. He left the earth to his sons and with pity towards his aggrieved citizens he, alone with his wife, went into the forest for his austerity. As perfect as he formerly had been in his understanding while conquering the earth, he in that [retreat] perfectly understood that he, according to the rules and regulations of a retired life, had to engage seriously in the practice of severe austerities. At first he so now and then ate bulbs, roots, fruits and dry leaves, then he drank only water for several fortnights and finally he only breathed the air. Like the great sages the hero tolerated during the summer the five fires [of the sun above and four fires in the four directions], in autumn the torrents of rain, in winter to be up to his neck submerged in water while he [all year long] slept on the bare earth. Simply longing for Krishna he tolerated it to be without words, sensuality, the discharge of semen and freedom of his life breath, and was thus of all possible practices of the best austerity. Unrelenting keeping to the Perfection [of Krishna] he thus gradually got rid of all the dirt and desires of his workload, his karma, while he by means of breath control fully stopping his mind and senses broke with all that bound him. [And so he,] the best of all human beings, worshiped the Supreme Personality of Godhead with the very yoga the fortunate Sanat-kumara spoke about concerning the ultimate goal of relating to the soul. With him as a devotee endeavoring with faith on the path of devotional service unto the Fortunate One, the Lord, who is [the origin of] the Spirit of the Absolute, became his exclusive object of worship. He, who was perfectly alert in the constant remembrance of a purely transcendental mind, found by these devotional activities unto the Supreme Lord the perfection of wisdom. Thus not attached to whatever one could call one's own, he became free from doubt and the material conception of life that covers the soul. Free from desire and firmly convinced of the ultimate goal of the soul, he had given up on all other notions of life and transcendental knowledge, [for he realised that] as long as a practitioner of the yoga system in his renunciation is not attracted to the stories about the elder brother of Gada, Krishna [Gada was another son of Vasudeva younger than Krishna] he would not be free from illusion. He, the best of the heroes, fixing his mind on the Supersoul, in due course of time thus thoroughly being spiritually purified, gave up his vehicle of time. By blocking his anus with his ankle he pushed up his life air gradually from the navel to the heart and from there upwards to the throat to fix himself between the eyebrows. This way gradually establishing his life breath in his head he, being freed from all material desires, merged his life breath with the complete of [the cosmic] breath, his body with the complete of the earth and his innerly fire with the fire of the complete [of the universe]. After merging the different apertures of his body [of his senses] with the sky and his fluids with the waters, he merged the earth with water, water with fire, fire with air and air with sky and thus united everything divided with its proper source. He united the mind with the senses and the sense organs with their objects and then merged the sense objects with the five elements they had originated from. Next he returned the material ego to the mahat-tattva, the totality of the material energy. On his path towards Him, the reservoir of all qualities, he placed his individuality and the lives belonging to it in the Reservoir of All Potencies. He, the living entity and enjoyer, as the master of the senses thus returned home, back to his constitutional position, by dint of his insight in the spiritual knowledge of self-realisation and renunciation.

The queen named Arci, his wife, followed him on foot into the forest, even though she, with her delicate body, had not deserved it to contact the earth with her feet that way. Even though her body would turn lean she, most determined as she was in her vow to serve her husband, saw no difficulty in living in conditions like those of the great saints and was glad to join him, happy to be in touch. Seeing that the body of her husband, who was of such a mercy for the world and for her, showed no signs of life, the virtuous woman, after weeping a while, cremated him on top of a hill. Having performed the funeral rites for her so very liberal husband, she took a bath in the river and offered oblations of water in worship of the thirty million demigods in heaven. Three times circumambulating the fire she then, thinking of her husband's feet, entered the fire herself.

The gracious gods and their wives who observed her following her husband into death, offered by the thousands prayers for the chaste wife of the great warrior King Prithu. On top of Mandara Hill they, showering flowers and to that occasion vibrating their musical instruments, spoke among themselves as follows. The wives said: 'Oh how glorious this wife is who, just as the Goddess unto the Lord of Sacrifice [Vishnu], with heart and soul was of worship for her husband, the king of all the kings of the world. Just see how she follows her chaste husband, the son of Vena, in his ascension and how she, who is named Arci, thus surpasses us by her difficult to conceive actions. Among all those who but for a short moment live here in this human world, there is, for the ones who on the path of liberation do their best for the Kingdom of God, nothing too difficult to achieve. He who, having achieved the human form of life, on the path of liberation gets involved in the great difficulties of all that one does for one's sense gratification in this world, is, in going against his own true self, no doubt cheated [by illusions].'

Maitreya said: 'While the woman [Arci] thus by the wives of the denizens of heaven was glorified, she reached the place for which her husband had left. The position that the son of Vena under the protection of the Infallible One had attained was the topmost one of the self-realised. I have thus described to you the character of Prithu, the first among the lords who was so high and mighty, as being the very best because of the greatness of his deeds. Anyone who with faith and great attention reads and explains or hears about that very great and pious person of King Prithu, will attain the same position as reached by him. The brahmin who reads it will attain spiritual splendor, a noble will become the king of the world, the trader will become the master of his trade and the labourer will attain the best unto Him. When someone with great respect three times over listens to this that person, whether he is a man or a woman, when he is childless will have the best of children and when he is penniless will become the richest. Without recognition he will become famous and illiterate he will become learned. This story so auspicious will drive away all bad luck of man. They who desire wealth, a good repute, an increased life span, a better world [heaven], the defeat of the influence of the Age of Quarrel and those who are after the higher cause of the perfection of the four [civil virtues] of religiosity, economy, sensual pleasure and liberation, have to listen with great respect to this narration. Listening to this the king, who on his chariot campaigns for his victory, will receive taxes from other kings like King Prithu did. In performing unalloyed devotional service unto the Supreme Lord, one should, free from all other association, hear about, make others listen to and continue to read about the good deeds of the son of Vena. Oh son of Vicitravirya [Vidura], I explained to you how one should achieve one's destination and awaken to the greatness of His Cosmic Intelligence, by thus being involved in relation to this extraordinary text. He who, liberated in the association concerning the Supreme Lord, with great reverence repeatedly listens to this narration about Prithu and also spreads it, will in full realise the attachment to His feet that constitute the boat for [crossing] the ocean of nescience.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 24:
The Song Sung by Lord Shiva

Maitreya said: 'The son of Prithu, who because of his great actions became known as Vijitas'va [see 4.19: 18], became emperor and gave his younger brothers, he cared a lot about, the rule over the different directions of the world. The master offered Haryaksha the eastern part, the south he offered to Dhumrakes'a, the western side was for the brother with the name Vrika and the northern direction he gave to Dravina. He who from [what he did in relation to] Indra [also] was honoured with the name Antardhana ['invisibly present'], begot in his wife Shikhandini three children who carried the approval of everyone. They were named Pavaka, Pavamana and Shuci. They in the past had been the gods of fire but now, because of a curse of sage Vasishthha, had taken birth again in

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order to regain that status by the progress of yoga. Antardhana who did not kill Indra despite the fact that he knew that he had stolen the horse [of his father], begot in his wife named Nabhasvati a son called Havirdhana ['the offering won']. The taxes, punishments and fines and such, that make up the livelihood of kings, he considered something very severe and therefore he abolished them in favor of sacrifices that in the past had been given up. Despite being committed to the duty of ending the distress [of others], he as a realised soul always keeping to his ecstasy, by the worship of the Original Person easily attained His abode, the Supreme of the Soul. Havirdhani the wife of Havirdhana, oh Vidura, gave birth to six sons named Barhishat, Gaya, Shukla, Krishna, Satya and Jitavrata. He who by Havirdhana was named Barhishat was so fortunate in his ritualistic actions and yoga realisation, that he was considered the Prajapati [the founding father], oh best of the Kurus. With this practice continually pleasing the gods with sacrifices, he all over the world kept the kus'a grass [of the ceremonial sitting places] facing the east. On the advise of the god of gods [Brahma] he married the daughter of the ocean named Shatadruti. The moment the fire god Agni saw her, youthful and charming in all her limbs, circumambulating [his fire] during the marriage ceremony, he felt himself as attracted as he [formerly] was to Shuki. The scholars, the ones of desire, the souls of heaven, the sages and the perfected souls, the ones of the earth and those of the snakes, were all captivated by the tinkling alone of the new bride's ankle bells that could be heard everywhere. From [Pracina]Barhi [or Barhishat] ten sons appeared in the womb of Shatadruti who, all deeply vowed to the dharma, together were called the Pracetas [from pracina: being turned eastward]. By their father ordered to beget children, they fled from home and settled, for their austerity, for a ten thousand years near a large lake in order to worship the Master of All Penance [Shri Hari] with their tapas. Following that path they encountered Lord Shiva who, very pleased with the great command of their meditation, mantra practice and worship, spoke to them.'

Vidura asked: 'Oh brahmin, please clarify what happened when the Pracetas met Lord Shiva on their path, as also what the Lordship who was so pleased with them has said. Oh best among the scholars, in this world being caught in a physical body it rarely happens that one finds association with Lord Shiva. Even sages who, with him as their object of desire, fully detached are engaged in meditation [fail in this]. Although he is satisfied within himself, the great Lord Shiva, when he manifests in this world for the fulfillment of her wishes, engages with the terror of the forces controlling her [like those of Kali, Durga or Virabhadra].'

Maitreya said: 'The sons of father Pracinabarhi all [in full surrender] accepting the words of their father piously on their heads had, serious in their hearts about doing penances, left in the western direction. They reached a very large expanse of water as vast as the nearby ocean with water that, as clear as the mind of a great soul, constituted a pleasure to its inhabitants. In that water a multitude of red and blue, kahlara and indivara [during the day and the evening blossoming] lotuses was found and swans, cranes, ducks [cakravakas] and other birds [like karandavas] vibrated their sounds there. Mad bumblebees joyfully hummed there loudly with their little hairy bodies. It was a festival of creepers, trees and lotuses the pollen of which by the wind was spread in all directions. All the princes were amazed about the beautiful heavenly music accompanied by drums and kettle drums that could be heard there continually.

That very moment they witnessed how the chief of the demigods [Lord Shiva], came out of the water accompanied by an association of great souls who glorified him. Seeing his golden hue, his bodily features, his blue throat, three eyes and merciful beautiful face, they all aroused, filled with admiration, offered their obeisances. He who dispels all dangers, the Great Lord and caretaker of the religion, then talked to them, pleased as he was with their observance of the principles in the past, their gentle behavior and their good manners. Rudra said: 'Oh all of you sons of King Pracinabarhi, knowing your actions and desires, I wish you all the best and in order to prove you my mercy, I therefore grant you my audience. Any living being, any individual soul so one says, who surrenders directly to Vasudeva, the Supreme Lord and transcendental controller of the three modes, is very dear to me. When someone for the time of a hundred lives is fixed on his duty, he acquires the position of Brahma [Brahmaloka] and when he also does not fail to [serve] the Supreme Lord, he thereafter will attain me [Shivaloka]. Devotees of Lord Vishnu at the end of time attain a position [Vaikunthhaloka] like the one of me and the other demigods. You devotees are for that reason as dear to me as the Supreme Lord Himself, just as apart from Him there is no one else as dear to the devotees as I am. In particular this what I am going to tell you now, is what you always should attend to and repeat for yourselves, for it is very pure, auspicious, transcendental and beneficial.'

Maitreya said: 'With a heart full of compassion Lord Shiva, the greatest devotee of Narayana, spoke the following words to the princes who with folded hands stood before him. Shri Rudra said [in worship of Vasudeva]: 'All glories unto You, the best of all self-realised souls who brings happiness for the welfare of all. Let there be my obeisances unto You, for You are the all-perfect and worshipable soul of all, the Supersoul. All my respects unto You Vasudeva, from whose navel the lotus sprouted. You are the source of the senses and the sense objects and the immutable self-illumined state that is of an eternal peace. I offer my obeisances also to [You in the form of] Sankarshana [the Lord of ego and integration] who as the origin of the subtle non-manifest matter is the unsurpassable master of disintegration [at the end of time], and to the master of all development, the soul in the beyond Pradyumna [the master of intelligence]. All glories to You, I offer my respects again unto You as Aniruddha [Lord of the mind, of whom the sun god is an expansion, see also 3.1: 34], the master and director of the senses. My obeisances unto the Supreme One of perfect purity and completeness who stands apart from this material creation*. Unto You as the heavenly abode, the path of liberation, the gateway of the eternal and the purest of the pure, my obeisances. All my respects I offer unto You, the golden semen, who are the continuity of the Vedic sacrifices [catur-hotra]. Be praised, oh You who invigorate the ancestors and the gods, oh master of the three Vedas and the sacrifices. You are the leading deity of the moon who pleases everyone. All my respects unto You, the Supersoul pervading all living beings. The strength and power of all that exists, the body and Transcendental Self of the diversity of the material world [the virath rupa] and the maintainer of the three worlds, I offer my obeisances. All glories to You who, as the ether, reveal the meaning, You, the within and without of the self, the supreme effulgence. My obeisances unto You as the beyond of death and the purpose of all pious activities. Unto the inclining as also disinclining god of the forefathers, unto You as the final outcome of all fruitive action and as death itself, You, the cause of all sorts of misery resulting from irreligion, I offer my respects. Because You are the topmost bestower of benedictions, the mastermind [of all mantras], the causal self, I offer You my respects. All glory to You as the greatest of all religiosity, unto You, Krishna, who are the perfection of intelligence. You are the oldest of the old, the Original Personality and master of yogic analysis [sankya-yoga]. The reservoir of the three energies [of the doer, the sense-activities and the resultant workload, the reason of the material identification of the soul [the egotism] named Rudra and the embodiment of knowledge, intention and the voice of all powers, I offer my obeisances. Please show us who desire Your presence, the form that to the satisfaction of all the senses of the devotees is worshiped by them as the dear most. As glistening as the rain from the dense clouds during the rainy season, You are the summit of all beauty. Beautiful are the features of Your four-handed form, of the greatest is Your pleasant face, Your eyes are as beautiful as the petals in the whorl of a lotus flower, beautiful are Your eyebrows, straight nose, shining teeth, high forehead and the full decoration of Your face and equally beautiful perfect ears. 7-4 The beauty of Your merciful smile and sidelong glances, Your curly hair and clothing in the saffron colour of the lotus, is supported by the glittering earrings and shiny helmet, the bangles, necklace, ankle bells, belt, conch shell, disc, club, and lotus flower, garland and the best of pearls, that make You look still more beautiful. The shoulders under Your coils of hair that are like those of a lion and Your neck, fortunate of bearing the jewel glittering on Your chest [named Kaustubha], give You a never decreasing beauty that exceeds [the beauty of the streaks of gold on] every norm [or touchstone]. Your inhaling and exhaling stirs beautifully the folds in Your belly that looks like a banana leaf, and the whirling depression of Your navel is alike the spiraling of the galaxy. The dark colour of the skin below Your waist is extra attractive with the beauty of Your dress and golden belt as also with, lower situated, the great symmetrical beauty of Your lotus feet, calves and thighs. By the so very pleasing lotus feet, that are like the petals of a lotus flower in autumn, by the effulgence of Your nails, You drive away all the trouble agitating us. Show us the path of Your lotus feet [also understood as the first two BOOKs of this Bhagavatam] that reduce the fear of material existence, oh teacher, oh spiritual master of all who suffer the darkness. They who, performing their [occupational] duties, wish to purify themselves and live without fear, must meditate on this form [of Yours] in a devotional practice of yoga [bhakti-yoga]. Your grace is easily obtained by the devotees, but for all other embodied souls You are difficult to reach, even for those belonging to the king of heaven Indra or for the self-realised souls whose ultimate goal it is to attain oneness [with You]. What else would one desire but Your lotus feet, once one by pure devotional service has been of the worship that even for the most virtuous is difficult to attain! The invincible time, by which You in Your prowess and majesty with simply raising Your eyebrows vanquish the entire universe, constitutes no threat to a soul of complete surrender. Even but for a moment enjoying the association of a company of devotees cannot compare with heaven or with merging, not to mention worldly blessings. Let there for us who, in order to wash away the ruminations of sin, dip in and step out of the Ganges, be the mercy and virtue of this association. For this association with the glorification of Your feet defeats all misfortune and blesses the normal living beings with the fullest goodness. He whose heart was purified by the blessing derived from entering that [association of] bhakti-yoga, will be very happy to find therein the wisdom of Your way and will never end up bewildered in the dark pit of worldly influences. You are the Absolute Spirit [brahma], the transcendental light spread [everywhere] like the ether, in whom this universe of the cosmic manifestation has appeared. You are the one who by His energy has created, maintains and again annihilates this variegated manifestation. That eternal, unchanging intelligence of an increasing complexity is, so I understand, likely to give trouble to the individual soul in relation to You as the essential [independent] self, oh Supreme Lord. Experts in the field of the Vedas and their corollaries are those transcendentalists who, for their perfection, with faith and conviction duly, by a wide range of organised actions, glorify You who are identified by that what is created, by the senses and by the heart. You are the One Original Person from whose dormant energy the diversity of the totality of the material energy has originated that is ruled by [the natural modes of] passion, goodness and ignorance. It is a diversity we know as the ego, the sky, the air, the fire, the water and the earth, the virtuous souls, the sages and all the living beings. That what You created from Your own potency, You afterwards enter in the form of the four kinds of bodies [as born from embryos, eggs, perspiration and seeds]. By these bodies, Your own parts and parcels, You know the person as an enjoyer of the senses, like a bee that relishes the sweet honey. One may guess about [the authority and order of] Your reality [of Time]. [All] we see is how You, just like the wind scattering the clouds, with Your so very great force [of Time] in the long run destroy all the planetary systems and how all living beings equally find their end because of external causes. The madmen [of this world] most greedily delighting in material enjoyment therefrom loudly exclaim what all should be done, but all of a sudden You, vigilantly as the Destroyer, seize them just like a mouse is seised by the restless tongue of a hungry snake. Which educated person who knows that one, by not respecting You, only sees the [useless] decay of one's body, would reject Your lotus feet, the feet that by our spiritual teacher [Brahma] and the fourteen Manus [after him, see BOOK 2: 3: 9, 6: 30, 10: 4] were worshiped without hesitation or further arguing? You therefore are for us, men of wisdom, the Supreme Brahman, the Soul of the soul, the Supersoul, the destination were there is no fear at all for the Destroyer Rudra who is feared by the entire universe.'

'If you pray like this and [faithfully] perform your duty, there will be happiness for all of you, oh purified sons of the king who have turned your minds to the Supreme Lord. Be of worship and always sing for and meditate full of praise on Him, who as the Supreme Soul is situated in both your hearts and the hearts of all other living beings. All of you, time and again read this [Yogades'a] instruction of yoga and close it in your heart. Take to the vow of the sages of always with intelligence being [silently] absorbed within and practice this with the greatest respect. This was first taught by the great Lord [Brahma], the master of the creators of the universe, of the great sages headed by Bhrigu who, as his sons in charge of the world, were eager to create. We who as the controllers of the people were enjoined by him to procreate were by this [instruction] freed from all ignorance and thus could bring about the different kinds of people. The person who thus regularly repeats this to himself with great attention, will being absorbed in this without delay achieve the auspiciousness of being devoted to Vasudeva [Krishna as the Lord of Consciousness]. Spiritual knowledge is, of all benedictions in this world, the supreme transcendental benefit of happiness for every person, because one with the boat of higher knowledge crosses over the insurmountable ocean of danger. Anyone who devotedly attached and with faith regularly studies this song of mine, this prayer offered to Him, the Supreme Personality, will be able to please the Lord who is so difficult to praise. The person who is fixed on the song as sung by me can, by dint of Him, the dear most of all benedictions, by the Lord of the Beyond who is pleased by it, attain whatever he desires. The devotee who, rising early in the morning, with faith and devotion folding his hands, is absorbed in this prayer and thus personally listens and makes others listen to it, will be liberated from all karmic bondage. Oh sons of the king ['the god of man'], by the intelligence of perfectly attentive praying and chanting this song I sang of the Supreme Person who is the Supersoul within every one, you will ultimately achieve the results you desired, for that practice equals the greatest austerities.'

*: Lord Krishna, by His quadruple expansion of Vasudeva, Sankarshana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, is the Lord of psychic action -- namely thinking, feeling, willing and acting.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 25:
About the Character of King Puranjana

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Maitreya said: 'After thus having given instruction, the Destroyer, worshiped by the sons of Barhishat, vanished from there right before the eyes of the princes. While they at that water for an endless number of years executed austerities, all the Pracetas recited the prayer as sung by Lord Shiva. Oh Vidura, meanwhile a compassionate Narada, as a knower of the spiritual truth, instructed King Pracinabarhi who had a mind full of attachment to fruitive activities: 'Oh King, [he said] what spiritual welfare do you expect from fruitive activities? That way being engaged you will not see the misery disappear nor will the ultimate good of happiness be attained.'

The king replied: 'I do not know, oh great transcendental soul, my intelligence is occupied by my desire for the fruits. Please enlighten me about the pure, spiritual knowledge that will relieve me of my workload. Someone who considers the superficial duties of a family life with sons, a wife and wealth, the ultimate goal of life, does not achieve transcendence. Such a person foolishly wanders around on all paths of material existence.'

Narada said: 'Oh my dearest ruler of the citizens, oh King, may I remind you of all the thousands of animals that mercilessly were killed by you in the sacrifices? Remembering the harm you did to them, they are all waiting for you, boiling with anger, to pierce you with horns of iron after your death. As for this, I will relate to you the very old story about the character of [a king named] Puranjana ['he who is after the city that is the body']. Understand what I am going to tell you now. Once there was a king of great renown named Puranjana, oh Ruler. He had a friend called Avijnata ['the unknown one'] of whom nobody knew what he did. Looking for a residence he traveled all over the planet to assert his influence, but when he could not find a place to his liking, he became depressed. Wishing a residence that fulfilled his desires, he deemed none of the places that he saw good enough. One day, at the southern side of the Himalayas, he spotted on its ridges a city with nine gates that offered him all facilities. Packed with houses and surrounded by walls, it had towers, gates, parks, canals, windows and domes made of gold, silver and iron. The floors of the palaces were bedecked with sapphires, crystal, diamonds, pearls, emeralds and rubies, that gave the city a luster as radiating as the celestial town Bhogavati. There were assembly houses, squares and streets with gambling houses, shops and places to repose, that were decorated with flags, festoons and hanging gardens. In the outskirts of that town one saw the nicest trees and creepers and there was a lake vibrating with the sounds of chirping birds and colonies of humming bees. The treasure trove of trees on the bank of the lotus-filled lake received, from the waterfall of a mountain stream, a springtime mist of water droplets on its branches. The different groups of forest animals were as tame as the wisest sages and all the cooing of its cuckoos made any passenger feel welcome. There he happened to see a very beautiful woman coming towards him surrounded by ten servants who each led a hundred others. Young as she was with a desirable, well-shaped figure, she, looking for a husband, was on all sides guarded by a five-hooded snake. With an attractive nose and beautiful teeth the young woman had a nice forehead and beautiful, harmoniously to her face, arranged ears with dazzling earrings. She wore a yellow garment and had a beautiful waist and dark complexion, a golden belt and at her feet ankle bells tinkling as she walked, like a denizen of heaven. Pacing as graceful as an elephant she with the end of her sari, timidly tried to cover the equally round and full youthful breasts. Moved by her sexual attraction, the arrows of her looks, the exciting influence of her eyebrows and the great beauty of her coy smiles, the hero addressed her very gently.

'Who are you with those beautiful lotus petal eyes? Who do you belong to, where do you come from and what are you doing here near this city, oh chaste lady? Please be so kind to tell me what your plans are, oh timid girl. Who are all these followers, your eleven guards and all these women? Oh you with your beautiful eyes, what kind of snake is that preparing your way? In your shyness you are as the wife of Shiva [Uma] or rather Sarasvati [of Brahma] or even better... the Goddess of Fortune [Lakshmi belonging to Vishnu]! Where is the lotus flower that must have fallen from the palm of your hand in your search for your husband, oh you as alone as a sage in the forest walking on feet from which one may expect anything one might wish for? And when you are none of these [goddesses], oh fortunate one - for your feet are touching the ground - then you, as someone who is so much alike the transcendental goddess of the Enjoyer of the Sacrifices, deserve it to walk, to the greater beauty of this city, alongside this great hero, I who am of the greatest glory in this world! With your shy looks, sympathetic smiles and bewildering eyebrows, you have upset me. Because of you I am pained by the almighty Cupid. Therefore have mercy with me, my dearest beauty. Oh woman with the lovely smile, your face with such nice eyebrows and warm eyes, surrounded by the locks of your bluish hair hanging loose, you have, in your shyness, not even lifted up to grant me the vision of your look and the sweet words of your speech.'

Narada said: 'Oh hero, the woman, attracted by the impatient begging of Puranjana, smiled and addressed the staunch soul: 'I am not sure about who has put me on this planet, oh best among the men, nor from whose lineage the others were born or what their names are. All I know is that we souls are all present here today. I do not know, oh hero, who created this city where all souls have their residence. These different men and women at my side are my male and female friends, oh respectable man, and when I am asleep, the snake stays awake to protect this city. Fortunately you came to this place, may you find all happiness! I and my friends, oh killer of the enemy, will provide for all the sense enjoyment you desire. Just be as good to stay in this city with the nine gates, oh mighty soul, to enjoy for a hundred years the matters of life that I have arranged for you here. Who else but you would I have to enjoy with? Being ignorant about the knowledge of passion [that you have], I do not know what I am heading for, like the animals, that do not see what lies ahead. With religious rituals, economic development and regulated pleasures one can enjoy a life here beyond the ken of the transcendentalists, a life of having offspring, the nectar of sacrifices, a good repute and [access to higher] worlds without lamentation and disease. All the forefathers, the gods, man in general, all living beings and each person for himself, will defend that a householder's life like this constitutes the [safe and] blessed refuge [for people] in the material world. Who indeed, my great hero, would not accept such a lovable, magnanimous, beautiful and famous husband like you? Which woman's mind in this world would not be drawn to your able body with its strong arms, oh mighty man, oh you who only travels around to dissipate, with your utmost effort and alluring smiles, the distress of a poor woman like me?'

Narada continued: 'Oh King, thus at that place having agreed upon the terms of their engagement, they as husband and wife entered the city to enjoy their life there for a hundred years. When it was too hot he, surrounded by women, entered the river to sport with them there, and the singers there and elsewhere sang nice songs about it. The city had seven gates above the ground and two below, that were constructed for the ruler in charge to reach different places. Five of the gates faced the east, one was at the south, one at the north and two gates where found at the western side. I will describe their names to you, oh King. At one place at the eastern side two gates were built named Khadyota ['glowworm'] and Avirmukhi ['torchlight']. The king used them to go to the city of Vibhrajita ['to see clearly'] with his friend Dyuman ['of the sun']. At another location in the east there were built the gates called Nalini and Nalini ['mystical names for the nostrils'] and they were used when he, with his friend named Avadhuta ['the one who got rid'], went to a place called Saurabha ['aroma']. The fifth gate on the eastern side called Mukhya ['of the mouth'] was used by the king of the city, accompanied by Rasajna ['the taster'] and Vipana ['the organ of speech'], to go to two places called Bahudana ['many a gift'] and Apana ['the market']. Going through the southern city gate named Pitrihu ['invoking the ancestors'], oh King, Puranjana together with his friend Shrutadhara ['having a good memory'] visited the southern country side named Dakshina-pancala ['the southern territories']. The city gate called Devahu ['directed at the divine'] in the north was used by Puranjana to visit together with Shrutadhara the northern countryside Uttara-pancala ['the northern fivefold']. The gate on the western side called Asuri ['the one void of light'] was used by Puranjana to go together with Durmada ['the one mad about'] to the city of pleasure called Gramaka ['a small place']. The western gate called Nirriti ['the bottom, dissolution'] was used by Puranjana to go to the place called Vais'asa ['distress, slaughter'] accompanied by his friend Lubdhaka ['the covetous one']. The king, belonging to those endowed with sight, went through [the subterranean gates named] Nirvak ['speechlessness'] and Pes'askrit ['the hand'] to engage in activities together with two blind citizens. When he went to his private quarters, he did so accompanied by Vishucina ['going apart'] and then, in a state of illusion, to his satisfaction and happiness enjoyed the love of his wife and children. Thus strongly attached to act in lust and foolishness for the sake of a certain result, he was cheated in being controlled by whatever his queen wanted him to do. When she drank liquor, he drank and got drunk. When she ate he ate, chewing with her whatever she was chewing. When his wife sang he used to sing and when she at times had to cry, he cried too. When she had to laugh he also laughed, when she talked chitchat, he prattled after her. Wherever she went for a walk, he followed in her footsteps, when she stood still, he stood still and when she laid herself down on her bed, he had the habit to lie down following her example. He also had the habit of sitting down when she sat and at times listened to what she was listening to. When she saw something he looked for the same and when she smelled something, he usually smelled it too. When she touched, he touched and when she was complaining he followed her in being equally wretched. He enjoyed it when she was enjoying and when she was satisfied, he was the same after her. Thus captivated by the queen in every way being tricked [by maya] he, without a will of his own following her, was foolishly as weak as a pet animal.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 26:

King Puranjana Goes Hunting and Finds his Morose Wife

- Narada said: 'One day he [King Puranjana] went to the forest called Panca-prastha ['the five destinations'] carrying his bow, golden armor and inexhaustible quiver. He traveled on the two wheels and one axle of a swift chariot with golden ornaments that, being drawn by five horses, had one sitting place, seven armor plates, three flags, five supports and two posts for his harnesses. He carried five weapons and two special arrows. Together with his eleven commanders and his one chariot driver who held one set of reins, he knew five objectives and five different ways of approach. Having taken up his bow and arrows he, being inspired by the evil thought of hunting, was very proud of leaving his wife behind, for that was something almost impossible for him. With a lack of enlightenment in his heart, he had taken to the horrible practice of mercilessly, with sharp arrows, killing the animals in the forests. According to the Vedic instructions, a king may in his greed [for flesh], kill in the forest as many animals fit for sacrifices in holy places as are needed and not more than that. Oh King, any man of learning who does his work according to the Vedic instructions, will, because of that spiritual knowledge, never be affected by such activities. Otherwise [not regulated] he will get entangled by his karmic actions in a notion of false prestige and thus, having fallen under the influence of the natural modes, bereft of intelligence go downhill.

Because of the destruction of the animal bodies that were pierced by the arrows, which had different kinds of feathers, there was great sadness, it was a distress unbearable for compassionate souls. He got very tired from killing game like rabbits, buffaloes, bison, black deer, porcupines and various other kinds. When he was done he arrived thirsty and exhausted back home to take a bath, have a proper meal and rest to find his peace back. After he [some day] as should had perfumed and smeared his body with sandalwood pulp, he, nicely garlanded and beautifully ornamented, wanted to pay attention to his queen. Satisfied, joyous and very proud also, he had his mind on Cupid and did not aim at a higher consciousness with his wife who maintained him with her royal household. Dear King, a little worried he asked the maids of the household: 'Oh my beauties, is everything in order with you and your mistress? All the matters at home at the moment appear to be not as attractive as before. To have no mother or wife at home devotedly welcoming her husband is like having a chariot without wheels. What man of learning would sit on such a poor thing? So, where is she now, that intelligent woman who delivers me from drowning in an ocean of worries and inspires me at every step?'

The women answered: 'Oh King, go and see how your beloved one lies on the bare floor, oh killer of the enemies. We have no idea why she has taken to this kind of behavior!'

Narada said: 'When he saw his queen lying lost on the ground, Puranjana, racking his brains over the scene, was most bewildered. Pacifying her with sweet words and a heart full of regrets, he could not notice any anger as a sign of love from the side of his sweetheart. Gradually first touching her feet and then embracing her on his lap, the hero, experienced in flattery, began to appease her. Puranjana said: 'When a master by way of instruction does not rebuke a servant in offense depending on him, my fair lady, that servant is not done justice. The reprimand of the master constitutes the greatest favor for the servants. One is a fool, oh slender maiden, not to realise that to be angry is the duty of a friend! That face of yours that, with its beautiful teeth and eyebrows, fills me with attachment and now so gloomy is hanging down, you, together with your sweet voice, like a bee should lift up to me shining, smiling and glancing from under its bluish hair beautiful to your straight nose. Please, my loving darling, I am all yours. Unless he belongs to the school of enlightened souls on this earth, I will scold him who wronged you, oh wife of this hero. When he is not a servant of Vishnu ['the enemy of Mura'], he will not live without fear and anxiety in the three worlds or anywhere else! Your face was never without its decorations, nor have I ever seen you that dirty, morose, upset and without your luster and affection. I never saw your nice breasts wet with tears or your lips not red of kunkum. My most intimate friend, be kind to this man who sick of passion did the wrong thing in going hunting of his own accord. What woman who with her great beauty controls the lusty desires of her husband, would not dutifully embrace him being lost in impatience and pierced by the arrows of Cupid?'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 27:

Candavega Attacks the City of King Puranjana; the Character of Kalakanya

Narada said: 'Puranjana's wife by means of these love games completely bringing her husband under her control, oh great King, thus enjoyed all the satisfaction she gave him. Oh ruler, the king was most satisfied to welcome the queen who with her attractive face approached him nicely bathed and fully

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decorated. Intimately making fun, she embraced him as he held her in his arms. Thus being captivated by the woman he lost his keenness and was not quite aware of how, day and night, the insurmountable time was passing. Lying down on the precious bedstead of the queen, having his wife's arms for his pillow, the hero, despite his advanced consciousness, became increasingly illusioned. He, overwhelmed by ignorance considering that love to be his life's purpose, thus failed to realise what self-realisation and the Supreme actually meant. Oh best of kings, this way lustily enjoying with an impure heart, his newly won life passed in half a moment. Puranjana, dear King, spending half his life that way, begot in his wife eleven sons and a hundred [grandsons]. He also had over ten daughters and a hundred [granddaughters], and all those daughters of Puranjana, oh founding father, were just as famous as their parents because of their good conduct, magnanimity and [other] qualities. He, the king of Pancala, married, for expanding his line, his sons with the best of wives and his daughters to equally qualified husbands. Also the hundreds of sons of the [grand]sons all produced hundreds and hundreds of other descendants because of which Puranjana's family increased immensely in the land of Pancala. Because of his deep rooted attachment to material enjoyment he became fully subservient to his descendants who heavily plundered his home and treasury. He, so full of desires, just like you conducted sacrifices out of respect for the forefathers, the gods and the great souls in society. But those sacrifices were all equally ghastly inspired by the killing of poor animals. Thus wantonly involved with a heart enslaved by kith and kin, one day the time [of old age] arrived that is not very loved by those who are fond of women.

Oh King, there is a king belonging to the heavenly kingdom [Gandharvaloka] who is called Candavega ['the impetuously streaming time']. He is at the head of three hundred and sixty very powerful other Gandharvas [the days in a year]. There are also an equal amount of black and white heavenly women of Candavega [the light and dark periods of the month]. They all surrounded the city to plunder the amenities for sensual pleasure. When all the followers of Candavega began to plunder the city of Puranjana, they met with the big serpent present there for its defense [its five hoods stand for the five kinds of life air: prana, apana, vyana, udana and samana]. Single-handedly he for a hundred years, as the guardian of Puranjana's city, valiantly fought the seven hundred and twenty Gandharvas. Becoming weak all alone fighting so many warriors, his intimate friend[, the ruler] of the city state along with all his friends and relatives, got very anxious and sad. He who within the city [of the five senses] Pancala enjoyed the sweetest love and together with his associates collected the necessary means for it, as a hen-pecked husband could not understand though what kind of fear he actually dealt with [the fear of death].

[All of this happened during the time that] the daughter of the Almighty Time [called Kalakanya] traveled the three worlds desiring someone for a husband, oh King Pracinabarhi, but there was never anyone who accepted her proposal. Unhappy about it she was known in the world as Durbhaga ['ill-fated'], but being accepted by the wise king Puru [a faithful son of Jayati, an ancestor who by Shukracarya had been cursed with premature old age], she was pleased and granted him a boon [viz. to inherit the kingdom]. Once, when I, having descended to earth from Brahmaloka, traveled around, she, illusioned by lust, proposed to me, knowing I was a vowed celibate. After I turned her down she, having become very angry with me, in a state of illusion cursed me saying: 'Having turned down my request, you sage, you will never be able to stay in one place.' Upon that frustration of her plans, she on my instigation approached the ruler of the Yavanas [the untouchables also called mlecchas or meat-eaters] named Bhaya ['fear'], to accept him as her husband. She said to him: 'Oh great hero, you, as the best of the untouchables, I accept as the husband of my desire. No one will ever see the plans foiled that he made with you. The following two kinds of people are of lamentation: the ignorant not following the path of charity and the foolish who never wish to accept what according to custom and the scriptures is brought about by God's grace. Therefore accept me, oh gentleman, I want to be of service. Have mercy with me, for every man it is a matter of principle to be of compassion for people in distress.'

When the king of the Yavanas heard the daughter of Time express herself in these words, he, wishing to serve the Lord, was willing to do his duty in the private sphere and addressed her with a smile: 'You are not welcome for considerate souls because you, by the inauspiciousness you stand for, are not acceptable to them. I thought about this and have arrived at the conclusion that you should have a husband. Please, oh you who move about imperceptibly, enjoy this world that is built upon karma, upon fruitive action. With the help of my soldiers you will, unhindered, be able to guide the people to their death. I give you my brother Prajvara ['the fever of Vishnu'] and thus you become my sister. With the two of you and with my fearsome soldiers, I will roam about unseen in this world.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 28:
Puranjana Becomes a Woman in his Next Life

Narada said: 'Oh King Pracinabarhi, all the forces of Bhaya, the representatives of death [who are alike the troubles of old age], roamed this earth together with Prajvara and Kalakanya. But when they one day full of wrath laid siege to the city of Puranjana, which was so full of sensual pleasure, oh King, they discovered it was protected by the old serpent. The daughter of Kala then also participated in the violence to take hold of Puranjana's city. Overwhelmed by her someone immediately realises how insignificant he is. With her attack the Yavanas from all sides entered the gates and created severe trouble all over the city. Puranjana, who as an all too eager householder was overly attached to his family, was thereupon in the troubled city plagued by all kinds of distress. Embraced by the Daughter of Time he lost his beauty and because he in being addicted to sensual pleasures was a miser lacking in intelligence, he was by the Gandharvas and Yavanas [the meat-eaters] by force bereft of his opulence. He saw his town fall apart in opposing fractions, that his sons and grandsons, servants and ministers were disrespectful and that his wife was indifferent. With Pancala being infested with insurmountable enemies, he grew very anxious, but because he himself was seised by Kalakanya, he could not take any counteraction. In his emotional preference for his sons and wife he had lost the real purpose of life and, because of Kalakanya, everything the poor man had lusted for in his life had become stale. Against his will the king had to abandon his town that was overrun by the Gandharvas and Yavanas and was smashed by the Daughter of Time. For the sole purpose of pleasing his elder brother Bhaya [called 'the fear'], Prajvara [being 'the fever'], present at the spot, set fire to the city. When the city with all the citizens, servants and followers was ablaze, Puranjana, the head of the big family, along with his wife and descendants had to suffer the heat.

With the city being attacked by the Yavanas and seised by Kalakanya as also with the problems caused by Prajvara, the guardian of the city [the snake] got very aggrieved. He could not protect the city [against the fire] and had great difficulty trying to get out of there. It was as if he had to escape from a hollow tree thrown in the flames. With his physical strength defeated by the Gandharvas and the hostile Yavanas, oh King, he, being frustrated, had to cry aloud. What fate would now befall the daughters, sons, grandsons, daughters- and sons-in-law and associates, what would become of the kingdom and the palace with all its wealth and goods?

At his separation the householder turned his attention to the 'I' and 'mine' of his home and it thus happened that he, with a mind full of obnoxious thoughts, felt sorry for his wife. 'When I have left for another life, how must this woman exist being bereft of a husband and lamenting with all the children of the family around her? I never ate when she did not eat, I never missed a bath when she would bathe. She was always devoted to me and fearfully kept silent when I was angry, however afraid she was when I reprimanded her. She gave me good counsel when I was foolish and she was saddened and became thin when I was away. Will she be able to hold on to the path of her household duties, being the mother of such great heroes? How will my poor sons and daughters, who have no one else to depend on, live when I have disappeared from this world? They will be like a broken boat in the ocean!'

While he thus with an inadequate intelligence was lamenting pointlessly, the king of the Yavanas called Fear approached to arrest him. Puranjana was by the Yavanas restrained like an animal and taken to their abode, being followed by his deeply aggrieved attendants who were lost in tears. As soon as the serpent, that had to give up the city, was arrested and following him had left, the city fell apart and turned into dust. Forcibly dragged along by the mighty Yavana, Puranjana, covered by the darkness of his ignorance, could not remember his friend and well-wisher [the Supersoul within] who had been there from the beginning. All the animals of sacrifice that he most unkind had killed with axes and had cut to pieces, most angrily remembered that sinful activity of him. For an endless number of years he in the beyond was absorbed in darkness and, bereft of all intelligence, practically endless had to experience the misery of an impure life of being focussed on women. Because he [till the very end] had kept her in mind, he after his death became a well situated woman [a daughter] in the house of the most powerful king Vidarbha. As the daughter of Vidarbha she [he] was given in marriage as a prize of valor to Malayadhvaja ['as firm as the Malaya hill'] who as the best of the learned [a Pandya ruler] in his fights had defeated many princes and was the conqueror of their cities. He begot a daughter in her with dark eyes as also seven younger mighty sons* who became the kings of the seven provinces of the south of India [Dravida]. From each of them, oh King, millions and millions of descendants were born who ruled the world for the time of a manvantara and longer. Agastya [the sage; 'he who was born from a pot'] married the first daughter, who was vowed to the Lord, and from her was born a son called Dridhacyuta ['the infallible fortress'] who in his turn had the great sage Idhmavaha ['he who carries the wood'] for his son.

Having divided the entire world among his sons, the pious king called Malayadhvaja went to Kulacala in a desire to worship Lord Krishna. Giving up her home, children and material happiness, the daughter of Vidarbha with her enchanting eyes followed her lord of wisdom like the moonshine accompanying the moon. There he cleansed himself daily both inside and outside with the holy waters of the rivers named the Candravasa, the Tamraparni and the Vathodaka. Subsisting on bulbs, seeds, roots and fruits, flowers, leaves, grasses and water, his body undergoing the austerity gradually grew thin. Equipoised he thus conquered the dualities of cold and heat, wind and rain, hunger and thirst, the pleasant and the unpleasant and happiness and distress. With vows [yama] and by regulation [niyama] fixing himself in his spiritual [yoga] realisation, he subdued his senses, life and consciousness and thus, by means of the science of his austerities, all his impurities were burned [in the fire of his devotion]. Sitting immovable like [a stump] in one place for a hundred demigod years, he, steady in relation to Vasudeva, the Supreme Lord, knew nothing besides that attraction. Like in a dream he, by the all-pervasive Supersoul, could distinguish himself in perfect awareness: as the self-aware witness feeling certain in his [divine] indifference ['the glad hero']. Under the direct prompting of the Supreme Lord, of the spiritual master Hari [the so-called caitya guru or the guru from within], oh King, he found the pure light of the spiritual knowledge that enlightens all perspectives [see also the six darshanas]. He who thus saw himself in the transcendental Absolute and the Absolute Self within himself, with this before his mind's eye, gave up his considerations and withdrew himself [from life].

Vaidarbhi, the daughter of Vidarbha, who served her husband Malayadhvaja with love and devotion, accepted her husband as her godhead, as the supreme knower of the principles, and gave up on her sense enjoyment. In old rags, lean because of her vows and with her hair matted, she radiated, next to her husband, as peaceful as the flame of a fire. With him sitting there fixed in his meditation posture, the woman continued to serve him as she was used to, until she, after he had passed away, no longer could detect any sign of life from her beloved husband. Serving him no longer feeling the warmth of his feet, she became as anxious at heart as a doe separated from her partner. Lamenting the misery of her fate to be without a friend, she broken-hearted began to cry loudly in the forest, wetting her breasts with her tears. 'Get up, please, get up!, oh wise King. This world that, surrounded by the ocean, is so very afraid of rogues and false rulers, you ought to protect!' Sobbing like this, the innocent faithful woman in that lonely place fell at the feet of her husband with tears running down her cheeks. She built a funeral pyre of wood for her husband's body and placed him on top of it. After igniting it, she, lamenting, focussed her mind to die [saha-marana] together with him.

Someone she knew there, a friend of hers, a brahmin, a very learned scholar, pacified her so full of tears very nicely with mitigating words, speaking to her about her master. The brahmin said: 'Who are you? To whom do you belong and who is this man lying there over whom you are lamenting? Do you not recognise Me as the friend whom you in the past have consulted? Oh friend, do you remember how you, not familiar with the Supersoul, gave Me up as your friend? Desiring security you then got attached to material pleasures. You and I, oh great soul, are two swans, two friends who for thousands of years in succession walked the same path of the spirit [of devotion] and then got separated from their safe haven [that Manasa lake of the pure spirit]. You who as that swan had left me, oh friend, thereupon traveled the earth and acquired a materialistic mentality. You then saw a city that was the love of some woman. [In that abode you had] five gardens, nine gates, one protector, three store rooms, six [mercantile] families, five market places and five material elements with one woman running the place. The gardens are the five objects of the senses, the gates My friend are the nine apertures of the senses, the three store rooms stand for fire, water and food and the families are the five senses. The five market places represent the power of action [the five working senses] and the five elements are the fundamental elements of the material world. Man is an eternal controller of the forces, but having entered that city he is out of touch with the [original] intelligence. In that situation you, under the influence of the outer splendor, in her company enjoying it, then had to live without the remembrance of the inexhaustible source [of your spiritual existence]. And thus you attained a state that was full of troubles and misery, My best one. In fact you are not Vidarbha's daughter, nor is this hero of yours [Malayadhvaja] your well-wishing husband. Neither were you the husband of Puranjani by whom you were captured in the body with its nine gates. In reality it is so that you, by this deluding energy that I created, considered yourself either a man, a woman or a nonsexual being, and forgot about the two of us as [being united in the pure spirit of the] swans. You and I are not different [in quality]. Look at yourself, you

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are just like Me, My friend. The imaginary distinction between the two of us is by the advanced scholars not even in the smallest degree ever acknowledged. The two of us do not differ more from each other than the body, that one sees of oneself in a mirror or in the eyes of someone else, differs from one's own. An individual soul who thus like a swan lives together in the heart is, being instructed by the other swan, situated in self-realisation, because he then regained the memory that was lost in the being separated from Him [in a material life].'

'Oh Pracinabarhi, I have imparted this spiritual instruction in figures of speech, because the Supreme Personality our Lord, the Cause of All Causes, loves to be mysterious.'

*: These seven sons would stand for the initial seven processes of vidhi marga devotional service of hearing, chanting, remembering, offering worship, offering prayers, rendering transcendental loving service and serving the lotus feet of the Lord. Later on were added the raga marga processes of the balance-friendship and surrendering of everything.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 29:

The Conversation of Narada and King Pracinabarhi

King Pracinabarhi said: 'Oh great sage, we could not fully understand your words. The wise may grasp what they really mean, but we who are fascinated by fruitive activities cannot.'

Narada said: 'The person of Puranjana ['he who enjoys the city that is the body'] should be seen as the creator of his own situation of dwelling in a one [a ghost], two, three [as with having a stick] or four legged body, or a body with many legs or no legs at all. He whom I described as unknown [Avijnata] is the friend and Lord of the person, because He by His names, activities and qualities is never [fully] understood by the living entities [compare Adhokshaja]. When the living entity wants to fully enjoy the basic qualities of material nature, he considers it a good thing to have [a human form with] nine gates, two legs and two hands. The young woman [pramada or Puranjani] then should be known as the intelligence that is responsible for the 'I' and 'mine' of taking to the shelter of the body, by which this living being, sentient to the modes of material nature, suffers and enjoys. Her male friends represent the senses that lead to knowledge and action, the girlfriends stand for the engagements of the senses, while the serpent refers to the life air in its five forms [of the upgoing (udana), downgoing (apana), expanding (vyana), balanced (samana) air and the breath held high (pranavayu)]. The mind one should recognise as the very powerful [eleventh] leader of the two groups of the senses and the kingdom of Pancala stands for the five realms [or objects] of the senses in the midst of which the city with the nine apertures is found. The two eyes, two nostrils, two ears, the genitals and rectum are likewise the two by two gates with the mouth [as the ninth] that one passes when one accompanied by the senses goes outside. The two eyes, the nostrils and the mouth are thus understood as the five gates in front [the east], with the right ear as the gate to the south and the left ear as the gate to the north, while downward in the west the two gates are found one calls the rectum and the genital. The ones named Khadyota and Avirmukhi that were created at one place are the eyes by which the master with his sense of sight can perceive the form called Vibhrajita ['the clearly seen']. The gates named Nalini and Nalini represent the two nostrils and the place called Saurabha represents the fragrance. The [companion called] Avadhuta is the sense of smell. Mukhya stands for the mouth with [for his friends] the faculty of speech named Vipana and the sense of taste is named Rasajna. Apana concerns the [domain of the] tongue and Bahudana the [realm of the] variety of eatables, with [the gates of] the right ear having the name Pitrihu and the left ear being called Devahu. Together with the companion of hearing called Shrutadhara following the path to [the southern and northern realms of] Pancala by the processes of sense enjoyment and detachment as described in the scriptures, one reaches [respectively] Pitriloka and Devaloka. Next to the gate of the rectum called Nirriti there is on the lower side the sexual member called Asuri, that is the gate for the sexuality of the common man [who in the area of Gramaka is] attracted to the procreative act called [the friend] Durmada. Vais'asa is [the realm of] hell and [the friend] called Lubdhaka is the organ of defecation. The blind ones you next heard about from me, are the legs and hands with which the people engage in their work. The private quarters are the heart and [the servant named] Vishucina is the mind, the material nature of which is said to result in illusion, satisfaction and jubilation. As soon as the mind is agitated and activates in association with the natural modes, the individual soul, who is [actually] the observer, is carried away by those activities [just like Puranjana falling for his queen].

The physical body is the chariot that, with the senses for its horses, in fact does not move ahead in the course of one's years. The two wheels constitute the activities of profit minded labour and piety, the flags are the three modes of nature and the five supports stand for the five types of air. The rein is the mind, the chariot driver is the intelligence, the sitting place is the heart, the duality is formed by the posts for the harnesses, the five weapons are the sense objects and the seven armor plates are the physical elements [of nails, skin, fat, flesh, blood, bone and marrow]. The [ten] commanders of the five objectives and ways of approach constitute [together with the eleventh commander of the mind] the false aspiration of the externality, the military might of the eleven processes of the senses [the mind and the five senses of action and of perception] by which one in envy is engaged for the sake of sensual pleasure. The year called Candavega stands for the [passage of] time to which the three hundred and sixty men and women from heaven are to be understood as being the days and nights that by their moving around reduce the lifespan that one has on this earth. The daughter of Time who was welcomed by no one and as the sister-in-law was accepted by the king of the Yavanas in favor of death and destruction, stands for jara, old age. His followers, the Yavana soldiers represent the disturbances of the mind and body who, at times when the living beings are in distress, very quickly rise to power with Prajvara in the form of two kinds of fever [hot and cold, physical and mental conflict]. The one residing in the body that is moved by the material world, is thus for a hundred years subjected to different sorts of tribulations created by nature, by other living beings and by himself. [Therein] abiding by the fragmentary nature of sense enjoyment, he meditates the 'I' and 'mine' of himself as being the doer and thus, despite his transcendental nature, wrongly attributes to the soul the characteristics of the life force, the senses and the mind. When the person forgets the Supreme Soul, the Almighty Lord who is the highest teacher, he surrenders to the modes of matter to find therein his happiness. Manifesting himself by those basic qualities he then takes to lives belonging to his karma. He therein is then helplessly controlled by the performance of fruitive activities that are of a white [a-karma or service in goodness], a black [vi-karma or ill deeds in ignorance] or a red nature [regular karma or work passionate after the profit]. Ruled by the light of goodness one reaches better worlds, but sometimes one with passion for one's work ends up in misery and then again, indulging in sloth or darkness, lands in lamentation. Sometimes one is a man, sometimes a woman and then one is neither of both. Then one has lost one's mind and then again one is a human being, a beast or a god. One is born according to the karma one has with the modes of nature. Like a pitiable dog that, overcome by hunger, wanders from one house to another in order to be rewarded or else be punished, the living entity, pursuing different types of higher and lower desires, wanders high or low, or follows a middle course and thus, according to his destiny, reaches that what is pleasurable or not that pleasurable ['heaven' or 'hell']. Even though the living being, confronted with the different forms of misery as caused by nature, others or himself, takes his countermeasures, it is not possible for him to stop the misery. All that he in fact does is what a man carrying a heavy burden on his head does when he shifts his burden to his shoulder. In fact he, oh sinless one, in a state of illusion thinks that he can counter a dream with a dream. Counteracting one [karmic] activity with another one does not arrive at a definitive solution, only in counteracting the both of them that is the case. Just as there is no end to the subtle manifestation of the reflection, wherein the mind wanders like in a dream, there is neither an end to one's wandering around in material existence, in spite of the sense objects not constituting a fixed reality. In order to put an end to the succession of unwanted things [repeated births] in a material life, it is therefore for the soul of essential importance to be of unalloyed devotional service unto the spiritual teacher. He represents the being engaged in bhakti yoga in relation to the Supreme Personality of Godhead Vasudeva, by which the result is found of full knowledge and complete detachment. That, oh best of kings, will soon come about when one always faithfully listens to and remembers the stories about the Infallible One.

From wherever one finds the great devotees, broad-minded pure souls whose consciousness is focussed on the regular reciting of and hearing about the qualities of the Supreme Lord, oh King, flow from the mouths of the great [examples, the teachers] the countless streams of nectar about the exploits of the killer of Madhu. They who eagerly drink in that nectar can never get enough of it. Hunger, thirst, fear, lamentation or illusion never get hold of those who know to listen. But the conditioned individual soul who is always troubled by what nature offers [in the sense of pains, fears, worries etc.], does not feel attracted to the nectarean ocean of stories about the Lord. Brahma, the father of the founding fathers, Lord Shiva, Manu and the rulers of mankind headed by Daksha, the strong celibates led by Sanaka, Marici, Atri, Angira, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Bhrigu, Vasishthha and I myself finally, are all well versed, authoritative brahmin speakers. Even though we have insight because of our meditation, education and austerities, we cannot fathom the Seer Himself, the Controller in the beyond. Being engaged in listening to the unlimited spiritual knowledge and with mantras singing the glories of the enormously extended partial powers [the demigods], does not make one a knower of the Supreme [see footnote 1]. When He who showers His grace, the Supreme Lord, by a soul is realised, such a one will give up both his worldly views and his attachment to Vedic rituals.

Oh my dear Pracinabarhi, therefore never ignorantly take the glamour of fruitive actions for the purpose of life. However nicely that [acquiring] might ring in your ears, the real interest is not served by it. Less intelligent souls speak of the [four] Vedas to the interest of rituals and ceremonies, but such people do not know [the real purport of the Vedas], they have no idea where the world of Lord Janardana is to be found [of Vishnu, Krishna as the conqueror of wealth]. You who [with your sons, the Pracetas] completely covered the face of the earth with the kus'a grass pointing eastward, take great pride in all the killing [of the sacrificial animals] and consider yourself very important. But you do not know what work must be performed, what labour would satisfy the Supreme Personality of Godhead, by what knowledge, what education, there is the awareness of Him. The Supreme Lord Himself is the Supersoul of all who accepted a material body; He is the controller of material nature. His feet form the shelter by which all men in this world find their fortune. He indeed is the one loved most, the Subtle One from whom there is not the slightest fear. He alone is in full knowledge. Only the person who has learned this, is the spiritual master not different from the Lord.'

Narada said: 'I have thus far answered your questions, oh man of wisdom. Now listen to the established opinion about a confidential subject I am going to confide to you. [Think of] a deer safely with its doe grazing grass in a field of flowers. Undisturbed doing his business he has in his ears the charming song of bumblebees, but he is not quite aware that in front of him there are tigers eager to kill and that behind him there is a hunter looking for a chance to pierce him with arrows. The flowers work just like a woman who with her sweet scent of flowers suggests the safety of a household existence as being the result of an innocent desire for sensual pleasures such as plucking flowers. Thus one fulfills one's desires [like the deer] in always being absorbed in thoughts of sex with the wife and pleasures to the tongue. The sound of the different bumblebees, that is so very attractive to the ears, compares to the most attractive talks of the wife in the first place and also to those of the children that occupy one's mind completely. The tigers in front of him are together alike all the moments of the days and nights that, in enjoying one's household, unnoticed take away one's life span. And from behind there is the hunter taking care not to be seen while crouching upon him like the superintendent of death by whose arrow one's heart is pierced in this world. You should see yourself in this as the one whose heart is pierced, oh King. Place yourself in the consciousness of the grazing deer and give up the fixation upon what you cherish in your heart. Give up that notion and those stories of a household life, so abominably filled with sexual concerns, and go, gradually getting detached, exclusively for the shelter of all liberated souls.'

The king said: 'Oh brahmin, having heard this powerful tale and considered it, I must say that the honourable gentlemen [my teachers], did not know this, for if they did, then why did they not explain it to me? But my doubts about them, oh brahmin, you have cleared as you spoke. Even the greatest sages free from [such] sensual activities, may lack in awareness. Someone who forsakes his body in order to enjoy another body in a next life, has to face the consequences of the karma he built up in this life. One thus knows the statement of the Vedic experts that says: of everything that one in this life does, one does not directly see the consequences.'

Narada said: 'From the karma a person engages in, the consequences are to be faced in a next life, because [having died, being in one's unembodied state] nothing changes in that what belongs to him: his proof of character [the subtle body or linga] and his mind about it stay the same. The way a person, lying in bed and breathing, letting go [of the gross body in a dream] in his mind has to experience the actions he [in the waking state] was engaged in, the same way he will fare in a similar or another [animal] body [or another world he is reincarnated in after his death]. Whatever all this 'mine' of the mind might entail in acceptance of an 'I', is by the living being taken along as the workload he acquired and by that karma he again enters a material existence. The way one derives a state of mind from one's sensual experiences and from what one does [in response to them], one is likewise mentally characterised by propensities that are the result of physical actions one engaged in in a previous life. Sometimes arbitrary forms pop up before one's mind's eye and that may happen without ever having heard, seen or experienced those images before. Oh King, please accept from me when I tell you that to a living being, confronted with a proof of life that this way rises in the body, not a single thing can manifest itself in the mind which has not been tried, experienced or understood before. The mind of a man is indicative of the forms he has accepted in the past and will accept - I wish you all the best - in a future birth, as also whether he will not take birth again. That what someone has done in another time or at another place can [thus] be derived from the images one sometimes has in the mind of things one in this life has not seen or heard about before. Everything that is perceived through the senses,

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may in different ways of sequential ordering [or types of logic or individual perspectives] pop up in - and vanish again from - the heart; every human being is endowed with a mind [filled with past impressions]. With the Fortunate One constantly at one's side, abiding by a spirit of pure goodness [free from passion and ignorance], the world around oneself [the so-called 'here and now' that with all those impressions can be] like with the dark appearance of the [new] moon [also called Rahu with an eclipse], thus being connected will manifest itself [crystal clear]. A person is separated from this consciousness, that is thus free from 'I' and 'mine', for as long as the eternal indweller [in the form of the subtle body of life signs, impressions or propensities, the linga] forms a distinct structure of material qualities consisting of intelligence, mind, senses and sense objects. In deep sleep, when one faints or in great shock, one's breath is arrested while the knowledge and thought of having an 'I' stops, and that also happens when one has a high fever or when one dies. Just like one with a new moon cannot see the moon itself, the linga, the self of typical life signs [the subtle body or the ego], cannot be observed of a young person in the womb and during [early] childhood because of the immaturity of the eleven [of the senses and the mind]. Just as unwanted things in a dream have to run their own course [until one awakens], also for a soul contemplating sense enjoyment, the wandering around in the material world will not cease, in spite of the sense objects not constituting a fixed reality. The individual soul [the jiva] is understood as a combination of the life force with the, in sixteen expanded and by the three modes of nature ruled, typical self of life signs, the linga [expanded to the five objects of the senses, the five working and knowing senses and the mind]. With this [linga] the person acquires material bodies and gives them up again, and thus being materially covered, finds enjoyment, lamentation, fear, misery and happiness. Just like a caterpillar does not disappear when it has to forsake its body [to become a butterfly], a human being does not vanish, for as long as he identifies himself with the material body he had, when he dies after the termination of his material activities. Because the mind [transported by the linga] is the ruler of man, it is the cause of the [continued] material existence of all the embodiments created. When one thinking of results always [to the point of death] continues with one's actions for the sake of sense enjoyment, one is by the illusion of those actions karmically bound to a[n other] physical body. In order to counteract that, therefore with all your heart and soul engage in the devotional service unto the Lord and consider therewith the cosmic manifestation as being controlled by Him from whom there is maintenance, creation and annihilation.'

Maitreya said: 'After Narada, the most powerful, pure and leading devotee, had explained to him the position of the two swans [of the individual soul and the Supreme Soul who is the Lord], he took leave and departed for the abode of the perfected souls [Siddhaloka]. Upon leaving orders for his sons to protect the common people, Pracinabarhi, the wise king, then left for practicing austerities in the spiritual resort of Kapila [at Ganga-sagara, where the Ganges flows into the bay of Bengal. There, with a one-pointed mind living soberly at the lotus feet of Govinda, he, continuously worshiping Him, by his devotion managed to free himself from his attachments and attain sameness with the One Reality. Oh sinless one, anyone who listens to or recounts this authoritative, spiritual discourse as narrated by Narada, will be delivered from the physical concept of life [from his linga]. Received from the mouth of the chief of the great sages, this story, being uttered, will purify anyone's heart, for it sanctifies this world with the fame of the Lord of Liberation, Mukunda. He who chants it will return to the spiritual world and, freed from all bondage, as a liberated soul, no longer wander around in this material world. This wonderful spiritual mystery [this allegory] you have now heard from me, about a person [Puranjana] who took shelter of his wife, puts an end to all doubts about [the matter of having a] life after death.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 30:
The Activities of the Pracetas

Vidura said: 'The sons of Pracinabarhi you before spoke about, oh brahmin, all successfully satisfied the Lord with the song of Lord Shiva. What did they achieve that way? Oh disciple of Brihaspati, what was it that the Pracetas arrived at after meeting the god of mountain Kailasa [Shiva] who is so dear to the Lord of Emancipation and Beatitude? They must have attained the transcendental position, but what kind of life did they by chance therewith obtain in this life or a next one?'

Maitreya said: 'The Pracetas who at the lake carried out the orders of their father, satisfied with their austerity, Him, the Indweller [the Supreme Lord], by chanting mantras. After the ten thousand years of their severe austerity the Original Person of the Eternal Reality then appeared before them, who satisfied and pacified them with His beauty. Sitting on the back of His carrier bird [Garuda] looking like a cloud on the summit of Mount Meru, He, wearing yellow garments and the jewel around His neck, dissipated all darkness around. Shining with golden ornaments He radiated with His helmet on His head, His dazzling face and His eight weapons, while He assiduously was served by an entourage of sages and demigods, and Garuda like a superhuman being [a Kinnara] sang His glories. With a flower garland hanging between His eight stout arms that challenged the beauty of the Goddess of Fortune, the Original Personality of Godhead, glancing mercifully, addressed the surrendered sons of Pracinabarhi with a voice resounding like thunder. The Supreme Lord said: 'I am very pleased about your mutual friendship, about your occupation as friends in the same sense of duty, oh sons of the king. You therefore, to your good fortune, may ask Me for a boon. Anyone who each day, every evening remembers you, will be a soulmate to his brothers and a friend with all living beings. They who in the morning and the evening praise Me attentively with the song of Shiva, I shall reward with the fulfillment of all their wishes and a bright intellect. Your shining glory will be known the world all over because you so gladly accepted your father's order. There will be a famous son [of yours] who, in his qualities in no way inferior to Lord Brahma, will populate the three worlds with his progeny. The lotus-eyed daughter sage Kandu had from [the girl of heaven named] Pramloca, was left to the care of the [divinity of the] trees, oh sons of Pracinabarhi. When she, distressed with hunger, cried, Soma, the King of the Moon, by means of his index finger poured the nectar compassionately into her mouth. Faithfull to the command of your father who follows Me, beget children and marry forthwith that beautiful daughter with so many qualities. May this well-behaved, slender-waisted girl with a character and sense of duty similar to yours, be a wife fully dedicated to all of you. By My mercy, for millions of heavenly years [one year on earth is one day in heaven] your power will exist without interruption and you will enjoy all the pleasures of heaven and earth. Be therefore steadfast unto Me by devotional service; with your mind free from the contamination of the modes, you will, free from attachment to a material existence, attain My abode. Even for persons who have entered a household life, such a family life is not considered a cause of bondage - not when you spend every minute of your time on [engaging in] good works and [listening to and recounting] the stories about Me. Having attained this ever fresh Knower who is present in the heart as the Supreme Spirit of God, as the one about whom the knowers of the Absolute Truth are speaking, one does not cheer or lament, nor will one be bewildered.'

Maitreya said: 'When they heard Him, the Lord, the remover of all obstacles, thus speak about the supreme purpose of life, the Pracetas in His presence were liberated from the contamination of ignorance and passion, whereupon they, with faltering voices and folded hands, offered prayers to the greatest of all friends. The Pracetas said: 'Again and again we offer the destroyer of all distress our obeisances who established His name as the magnanimous One of the qualities always ahead of the fastest mind and tongue; all glories to Him whose course cannot be perceived by means of the senses. Unto the Most Peaceful and Pure One we offer our respects. With one's mind fixed on that what is His, the dual world appears meaningless. Our obeisances unto Him who, according to the modes of matter, assumed His forms for the maintenance, creation and annihilation of the universe. We bow before You, the perfect virtue of goodness, before You, oh Lord Hari, whose intelligence liberates. You are the all-pervading Lord of consciousness Vasudeva, Krishna, the reason for existence of all devotees. Our respects for You, the One with the lotus navel, the One with the lotus garland, the One of the lotus feet and the One with the lotus eyes. We offer our obeisances unto Him, the Supreme Witness, whose garment, with the saffron colour of a lotus heart, is spotless; our obeisances unto the shelter of all living beings. The form You revealed to us who suffer the material condition, oh Lord, puts an end to an unlimited amount of troubles; what other mercy would one need? You who in Your compassion by Your expansions [and teachers] are visible to the humble devotees, are by one's devotional service - with [the necessary respect of] time - always remembered as such [- by Your beautiful embodiment and not so much by thousands of mantras -], oh destroyer of all inauspiciousness. By that form all desires of the living beings are quieted, however deep they may have fallen in their labouring - why would You, hidden in our hearts, not know our desires? The blessing we are looking for is that You are satisfied with us, oh Father of the Universe, oh Supreme Lord and spiritual master with whom one on the path of liberation reaches the ultimate goal. Nevertheless we pray for a favor from You, oh Lord of transcendence above everything else. There is no limit to Your greatness and thus You are celebrated as Ananta [the Unlimited One]. A bee completely happy in achieving the Parijata tree [the honey dripping celestial wish-fulfilling tree or kalpa-vriksha] does not resort to another tree, so why would we, having approached Your lotus feet, having the root of everything directly before our eyes, ask for anything else? As long as we are contaminated by Your illusory energy [maya], we have to wander around in this world according to our workload [our karma]. Grant us [therefore], so long as that is the case, the association of Your loving devotees, whatever life [or world] we have found. To enjoy but for a moment the company of those who are attached to the Supreme Lord, bears no comparison with the attainment of heaven, nor with the love of not being born again, not even mentioning the [so-called] benedictions reserved for mortal beings. In that company the pure stories are discussed because of which all material hankering is appeased and among the members there is no question of any envy or fear. There, where Lord Narayana, the ultimate goal of the renunciates, is worshiped, the Supreme Lord is personally present by dint of the repeated conversations about the truth of those who managed to break free from their attachments. How can meeting those devotees, who on foot travel to the holy places to bring purity there, not be a pleasure to those who live in fear? We who for a moment personally enjoyed the presence of Lord Shiva, Your dearest friend, oh Lord, today achieved [therewith] the destination that You are, You, the expert physician to cure us by Your company from death, the most difficult to cure disease of material existence. 9-4 We studied the scriptures, pleased the teachers, the brahmins and the elderly, we were good to the spiritually advanced souls [the civilised ones, the aryans] and have, free from any envy, honoured our friends, brothers and all living beings. We were of severe penance, oh Lord, and resided near the water for a long time abstaining from food. We did all of that only for the benediction of seeing You satisfied, the most exalted Personality of God. Manu, Brahma, the mighty Lord Shiva as also others, purified their existence by austerity and knowledge, but never saw the full extent of Your glories. Nevertheless they offered their prayers to You, like us, who do the same to the best of our ability. We offer You our obeisances, the Supreme transcendental Person equal towards everyone and always pure, the Supreme omnipresent Lord of eternal goodness.'

Maitreya said: 'Thus having been praised by the Pracetas the Lord, the protector of the surrendered souls, said pleased: 'So be it [may your prayers be fulfilled]', and left for His heavenly abode. But they did not wish His departure, for they had not seen enough of Him whose prowess is never defeated. The Pracetas thereupon moved away from the water of the lake, but when they saw that the world had been covered by trees that had grown very tall, as if they wanted to obstruct the way to heaven, they became angry. Like with the fire of devastation at the end of time, they in their fury, oh King [Vidura as a ruler over the senses], with the help of the wind ['their breath'] thereupon started a fire in order to remove the trees from the earth. Seeing that they had turned [almost] all the trees into ashes, the Great Father [Brahma] came to pacify the sons of Barhishman with reason. The remaining trees who were very afraid, then, on the advise of Brahma, delivered their daughter to the Pracetas. By the order of Brahma they all married her, named Marisha, from whom the son of the Instigator [the son of Brahma] again took his birth because he had disrespected the Great One [Shiva]. He was no one but Daksha, the one who, inspired by God during the previous manvantara [period of Manu*] called Cakshusha [the present one being called Vaivasvata*], had put as much people on earth as desired and was destroyed in the course of time. 0-5 He, who just after his birth with the brilliance of his luster outshone the brilliance of everyone else, was, for being a great expert in performing fruitive activities [sacrifices], called Daksha ['the expert']. Being appointed by the first living being, by Brahma, to generate and sustain all the people on earth, he also made sure to engage all the other founding fathers in the process.'

*: The Manus existing in one day of Lord Brahma are the following: Svayambhuva, Svarocisha, Uttama, Tamasa, Raivata, Cakshusha, Vaivasvata, Savarni, Daksha-savarni, Brahma-savarni, 1 Dharma-savarni, Rudra-savarni, Deva-savarni and Indra-savarni.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 31:
Narada Instructs the Pracetas

Maitreya said: '[The Pracetas] thereafter [after the marriage with Marisha] arrived at a ripened vision. Remembering what the Lord in the Beyond had said [about the value of detachment] they soon handed the care for their wife over to their son [Daksha] and left home. Heading in the western direction for the seashore where sage Jajali resided, they arrived, as his pupils being joined in the spirit of the Absolute, at the perfection of insight in the soul [residing within everyone]. Mastering the sitting postures they all achieved the full control over their breath, mind, words and vision. Keeping their bodies straight with their minds freed from impurities they, pacified in being engaged in the transcendental spirit, then saw Narada appear who [traditionally] is worshiped by both the enlightened and unenlightened souls. When he appeared they all got up, offered their obeisances to welcome him and addressed him, after they with the necessary respect had offered him a comfortable seat. The Pracetas said: 'Be welcome, oh sage among the enlightened souls! What a fortune to have your audience today; your arrival here is like the sun moving in the

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sky, oh great brahmin, it dispels all fear. Being overly attached to family matters, we almost forgot, oh master, what was instructed by Lord Shiva and by the Lord in the Beyond [Vishnu]. But seeing you now before our eyes, kindly shed light for us on the transcendental knowledge of the Absolute Truth, by which we can easily cross the formidable ocean of nescience.'

Maitreya said: 'Thus petitioned by the Pracetas, the kings received an answer from the great Narada who, with his mind always being absorbed in thoughts about the Lord Praised in the Verses, was of the greatest wisdom. Narada said: 'The Supreme Personality is the Controller of that birth, that life, that fruitive labour, that mind and those words of the people, by which the Soul of All Worlds is served. Whether one acts according to what is human, what the Vedas say or whether one lives as long as a demigod, what is the use of the three births in this world of being born from semen, by initiation and by the labour of sacrifice [of Shaukra-savitra-yajnikaih, without this service]? What is the use of Vedic education, austerities or eloquence, mental speculation, a sharp intellect, physical strength or sense control? What would be the use of the practice of yoga, of analytic study, of accepting the renounced order, of reading the scriptures or of all the other auspicious activities, when there is never the [true] satisfaction of the Supreme Self of the Lord? It suffers no doubt that the Supreme Self in fact is the goal of all auspicious activities and that the Lord is the beloved Supersoul who delivers the original identity [the self-realisation] of all living beings. The way one with watering the root of a tree satisfies the trunk, branches, and twigs and one likewise by offering food sustains the life of the [entire] sensory apparatus, so too each and everyone [the fellow human beings, the demigods] is honoured when one is of worship for the Infallible One. Just as the sun gradually will evaporate the water that rained down and all the moving and non-moving living beings will return to earth ['to dust'], it will unmistakably likewise happen to the emanated material nature [that finally will be withdrawn] in the Lord. Just as one sees sunshine from the sun, the powers of the senses prove themselves during one's sleep and spiritual knowledge manifests itself after differences of opinion - in the confusion about material activities - are overcome, this creation we inhabit belongs to the transcendental Soul of the Universe from which it once appeared. Just as there is the consecutive existence and non-existence of the clouds and the likewise changes of darkness and illumination in the sky, oh leaders of the earth, there is also the continuous change of the consecutive appearance and disappearance of the energies of passion, ignorance and goodness [the gunas] in the Supreme Absolute [of Brahman]. All of you united in His quality, be therefore engaged in the devotional service of directly the Supreme Lord who is the actual cause [pradhana] of Time, who is the original Person and the One Supreme Soul of the unlimited number of individual souls*, He who, by His spiritual power, is aloof from all emanations of the self. When one is of mercy for all living beings, when one some or another way abides by peace and when one has all of one's senses under control, then Janardana, He who agitates all man, will soon be satisfied. Called into the heart of His devotees who, with all their desires vanquished and a soul free from impurities, constantly grow in their devotion, the Imperishable One [Vishnu] in His receptivity for the truthful soul, will not retreat anymore than space [will retreat from the reality of matter and time]. He never accepts what persons with an impure heart have to offer, while those who, with faith in the soul and with feelings for the Lord, are of sacrifice without striving for possessions, are dear to Him. Those [impure souls] who take pride in education, a good birth, riches and fruitive labour [often] are offensive towards the devotees who are free from material motives [beyond necessity]. He, perfectly satisfied within, never worries about the goddess of fortune who follows Him, about the demigods aspiring her favor or about the rulers of man. For how can a grateful person forsake Him who always sides with the servants on His path?'

Maitreya said: 'Oh King [Vidura], the sage, the son of Brahma, after thus informing the Pracetas about the topics concerning the Lord, then returned to his spiritual abode [Brahmaloka]. From the mouth of Narada having heard about the glorification of the Lord who removes the sins from the world, they then meditated on the feet of Hari and also attained His abode. In response to what you asked me, oh Vidura, I described the glories of the Lord. This is all I had to tell you about the conversation between Narada and the Pracetas.'

Shri Shukadeva said: 'Oh best of kings [Parikchit], after this faithful description of the dynasty of the son of Svayambhuva Manu, Uttanapada, now also hear from me about the dynasty of Priyavrata [the other son of Svayambhuva]. He, as someone who from Narada learned about the knowledge of the soul, after again and again having enjoyed [his righteous rule], divided the earth among his sons and achieved the transcendental position. When all of this was described by Maitreya and Vidura thus heard about the transcendental message of the stories about the Invincible One, his ecstasy intensified so much that it brought tears to his eyes. Being overwhelmed with the Lord in his heart, he placed the feet of the sage on his head.

Vidura said: 'By what you so mercifully have shown me today about how one can put an end to one's darkness, oh great yogi, they who are free from material motives, can attain the Lord.'

Shuka said: 'Thus having offered his obeisances, Vidura, who wished to see his family, asked permission to depart for the city of Hastinapura, whereupon he left, with his mind in peace. Oh King, anyone who hears this story about kings who gave their life and soul to the Lord, will achieve the good fortune of a long life, wealth, material opulence and a good reputation, as also the ultimate goal of life.'

*: Time, the ingredient and the Creator combined, are called tritayatmaka, the three causes by which everything in this material world is created.

**: There are four orders of creation: heaven, earth, the living beings and their societal order.

BOOK 5: THE CREATIVE IMPETUS

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 1:
The Activities of Maharaja Priyavrata

The King [Parikchit] said: 'Why, oh sage, was Priyavrata, the great devotee content with the soul, so happy to stay at home, the place that is the root cause of bondage in karma and contempt [for the renounced order]? Surely such a thing as indulgence in family affairs, oh wisest of the twice-born, cannot be desirable for that kind of people free from attachments? It suffers no doubt that the consciousness of great souls finds its satisfaction in the shade of the feet of the Lord praised in the verses, and not so much in the mind of attachment to kith and kin. This is my great doubt, oh brahmin: how can [as with Priyavrata] on account of the forces of one's wife, home, children and so on, perfection and an unfailing determination unto Krishna come about?'

Shri Shuka said: 'You are perfectly right in what you said about the hearts of liberated persons and devotees that are absorbed in the nectarean honey of the talks at the lotus-like feet of their beloved Lord praised in the scriptures. Despite the setbacks they sometimes encounter, they practically never give up their most exalted position. It is a well-known fact, oh King, that prince Priyavrata indeed was a supreme devotee who, in his service at Narada's feet, very quickly became aware of the complete truth concerning the spiritual purpose that he constantly discussed in dedicated enthusiasm. Even though his father asked him to rule over the surface of the earth because he incorporated so many of the best qualities, he could not be happy with it. He did not want to be distracted in his great liking for, with all of his senses and actions, in yoga being absorbed in the Supreme Lord of the Soul of the Universe, but for no reason he could refuse to accept that post because, when he in any other way would forgo the untrue, that certainly would lead to [cultural] decay. And so it happened that the first among the demigods Lord Brahma, surrounded by all his personal associates and the Vedas, descended from his abode. It is he who is always thinking of the welfare of the complete of this universal creation consisting of the three modes. He knows its ultimate purpose, the Supreme Soul, from which he originated himself. Alike the moon in the sky among the stars, he on his way here and there by the leaders of the demigods was worshiped from their heavenly carriers. And the same was done by groups of perfected ones, inhabitants of heaven, refined ones, singers and sages [respectively the Siddhas, the Gandharvas, the Caranas, the Sadhyas and the Munis] when he thus as the radiating centre reached the vicinity of the Gandhamadana mountains [where Priyavrata was meditating]. Recognizing the swan-carrier of his almighty father Lord Hiranyagarbha [Brahma] the devarishi [Narada], Priyavrata and his father [Svayambhuva Manu] present there immediately rose to their feet with their hands folded in order to be respectfully of worship with all the paraphernalia. Oh son of Bharata, the Lord, the original person of the universe, who thus out of gratitude for the glory of his descent, according to the customs, was confronted with the articles of worship and the praise of his qualities in lofty language, then addressed Priyavrata, while he looked at him with a compassionate smile.

The great Lord said: 'My son, pay attention to the truth I am telling you. You should not be jealous of the Godhead who is beyond our ken. We, Lord Shiva, your father and this great Rishi [Narada] all carry out His order and cannot deviate. No living entity that accepted a material body can escape from what was decided by Him; not by austerity nor by education, not by yoga nor by one's strength or intelligence, nor can one ever defy His will by one's opulence, by the virtue of one's duty, with the help of someone else or by any personal endeavor. Oh my dear, under the direction of the One Unseen, all living entities accept it to be connected to a material body for performing actions according to their karma and are thus always bound to birth and death, sadness and illusion, fear, happiness and distress. My son, in our inevitable bondage to guna and karma we, just like the four-legged [bull] that with a rope through its nose is bound to the two-legged [driver], are tied to the long rope of Vedic instruction and to all [who within the varnashrama system are] engaged in contributing to please the Lord. Like blind men being led by someone who can see, my best one, we [being submitted to His Vedic rope] inevitably have to face the distress and happiness associated with the qualities and the work, depending the situation of the body that our Protector gave us. Even a liberated person must for a lifetime maintain his body that he obtained as a consequence of the past, enjoying it free from erroneous conceptions. But as far as another material body is concerned [a repeated birth], he sees matters like someone who awakened from sleep; he will never follow the lead of its material qualities. Someone not paying attention to this [someone not willing to control his senses] has, even when he resides in the forest, to fear because of the six co-wives [of the five senses and the mind]. But [on the other hand] what harm can a householder's existence do to a self-satisfied, learned man who has conquered his senses? Having entered a household existence, anyone who wants to conquer those six adversaries must first try to master them from within that stronghold. For only when the unregulated desires of those firm enemies have lost their strength one, thus having ripened with experience, can move about freely. When you have conquered these six opponents and are freed from attachments by these special orders of the Original Person, you, sheltered in this fortress by the safe haven of the lotus feet of Him with the lotus-like navel, can enjoy all pleasures in the world and thus find your way.'

Shri Shuka said: 'The great devotee of [Brahma,] the mighty Lord who is the spiritual master of the three worlds, thus being fully instructed, as a humble soul bowed his head in acceptance of his order and said: 'Yes I will' and respectfully carried out what he said. With Priyavrata and Narada in peace taking notice, the great Lord was also duly respected by Manu. Thereupon he left to return to his abode, the place above all places which is indescribable and unfathomable. Manu who, as well supported by Lord Brahma, executed his plan and with the permission of Narada handed the responsibility for the maintenance and protection of all the worlds in the universe over to his son, was [therewith] personally relieved from his desires in the so very dangerous, poisonous ocean of the material world. [Priyavrata, Manu's son who as] the emperor of the universe, according to the order of the Lord, thus was fully engaged in material affairs, was by constantly meditating on the two lotus feet of the Supreme Lord, the Original Person whose transcendental influence destroys all bondage, completely purified with all the dirt washed from his heart and ruled the material world with the only wish to honour the great souls. He thereupon married Barhishmati, the daughter of Vis'vakarma, one of the founding fathers, and begot in her, next to a daughter who as the youngest of his children carried the name Urjasvati, ten sons who in their character, qualities, activities, beauty and prowess were of a greatness equal to his own. His sons he all gave the names of Agni, the god of fire: Agnidhra, Idhmajihva, Yajnabahu, Mahavira, Hiranyareta, Ghritaprishthha, Savana, Medhatithi, Vitihotra and Kavi. Three of them, Kavi, Mahavira and Savana were celibate souls who motivated from within, from the beginning of their childhood lived for the transcendental knowledge, on the basis of which they, well conversant with the highest spiritual perfection, took to the renounced order [the paramahamsa-ashrama]. These transcendental sages lived, by the peace of the qualities of that celebrated order (*), for the protection of the association of all living beings who, in fear and anxiety about their material existence, have the lotus feet of the Supreme Lord Vasudeva, as their only shelter. In their constant remembrance they [the brothers], free from contaminations being purified by virtue of the highest form of yoga - the yoga of devotion - observed in their hearts the Supreme Lord of all living beings. They saw Him directly as situated within themselves and realised that they were equal to Him in their quality, that they [in that sense] did not differ from the Lord of the Supersoul. In another wife he begot three more sons named Uttama, Tamasa and Raivata, who all became rulers of the Manu period [of 71 mahayugas long]. After his sons were trained in the renounced order he [Priyavrata] thus became the master of the universe where he, endowed with powerful arms of command, together with them pulled the bowstring loudly to defeat all who opposed the dharma. Without interruption for 110 million years there was the rule of the great soul who with the daily increasing amiability, femininity, shyness, laughs, glances and exchanges of love [in his repeated births] with his wife Barhishmati enjoyed a life of pleasure. But confounded and defeated by it he lost his discernment. Not appreciating that the sun god, as long as he circumambulated mount Meru, lit up one side of the earth and left the other half in the dark, he who in his worship of the Fortunate One was of a supernatural power then said: 'I will make the night as brilliant as the day', and to enforce that he followed the orbit of the sun in a chariot, exactly seven times and with the same speed, like he was a second sun. With the rims of the wheels of

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his chariot creating trenches, were by him thus operating the seven oceans brought about that divided the earth [Bhu-mandala] into the seven dvipas [the continents or 'islands']. Known as Jambu, Plaksha, Shalmali, Kus'a, Kraunca, Shaka and Pushkara each of them is produced all around outside and twice as big as the one preceding it. The seven oceans - [figuratively like a kind of body fluids] consisting of salt water, sugarcane juice, liquor, clarified butter, milk, fluid yogurt and sweet water - are of the same size as the islands that they, as the trenches [of his wheels], one after the other consecutively fully enclose. For each of the dvipas separately the husband of Barhishmati, beginning with Jambudvipa, installed as their ruler one of his faithful sons named Agnidhra, Idhmajihva, Yajnabahu, Hiranyareta, Ghritaprishthha, Medhatithi and Vitihotra.

He further gave the daughter named Urjasvati in marriage to the great sage Ushana [Shukracarya who is also called Kavi or Kavya]. She gave birth to a daughter named Devayani. For the devotees of the Lord of the Great Steps [Urukrama] who, by resorting to the dust of His feet, are able to conquer the six qualities [of material life: hunger, thirst, lamentation, illusion, old age and death **], such a[n achievement of] personal power is not that surprising at all, for even a fifth-class person [an outcaste] will immediately forsake his material attachment when he only once utters the name of the Lord. He [Priyavrata], thus unparalleled in strength and influence, one day understood that he, despite his surrender to the feet of the devarishi [Narada], had fallen down because of his concern with the basic qualities of matter in which he found no satisfaction. In a spirit of renunciation he then said to himself: 'Oh what a wrong I have done, for I was completely absorbed in the nescience of a life of sense gratification! The dark well of material pleasure made me guilty of a lot of distress and look like a dancing monkey, insignificant and of no importance in the hands of my wife. Doomed and damned I am indeed!' Thus he criticised himself. With his self-realisation achieved by the mercy of the Supreme Personality of Godhead in the beyond, with handing over the earth to his faithfully following sons, with dividing the inheritance, with forsaking his queen whom he had enjoyed so much, with giving up the dead corpus of his great opulence and with his heart in perfect surrender having taken to renunciation, he was certain to be back on the path of the great saint Narada and the stories about the Lord. The following verses apply to him: 'What was done by Priyavrata no one could have done except for the Supreme Lord.' 'He dissipated the darkness and created the seven seas by the impressions of the rims of the wheels of his chariot.' 'It was he who, in order to stop the fighting of the nations on the different continents, created the situation of the boundaries in this world in the form of rivers, mountain ranges and forests and such [compare 4.14: 45-46].' 'He, as the most beloved follower of the Original Person, considered all opulence of the lower worlds, the heavens and the earth, as also that what is acquired by fruitive action and by yoga [the siddhis], to be nothing but hell.'***

*: There are four stages in accepting the renounced order: Kuthicaka: one stays outside one's village in a cottage, and one's necessities, especially one's food, are supplied from home. Bahudaka: one no longer accepts anything from home: instead, one, madhukari, with the "profession of the bumblebees", collects one's necessities, especially one's food, from many places. Parivrajakacarya: one travels all over the world to preach the glories of Lord Vasudeva collecting one's necessities, especially one's food, from many places, and Paramahamsa: he finishes his preaching work and sits down in one place, strictly for the sake of advancing in spiritual life.

**: According to Sastri Goswami and Shrila Vishvanatha Cakravarti Thhakura these 'six qualities' can also be understood as the five senses and the mind.

***: There seems to be a gross contradiction between the description of the universe found in the Bhagavatam and the modern scientific, materialistic, view of the universe. For this reason many insufficiently trained Vaishnava bhaktas became disappointed studying the book. It is important to understand in this context that in the different books different styles of logic, types of intelligence, or views are exercised.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 2:

The Activities of Maharaja Agnidhra

Shri Shuka said: 'When his father chose the path of liberation and Agnidhra, as ordered, took his place, he, strictly following the dharma, protected the citizens, the inhabitants of Jambudvipa, like they were his children. One day he desired a woman from the realm of the godly and engaged in austerities at the foot of the mountains where their playground is found. After he, in compliance with the rules of his forefathers, had gathered all the necessities for the service, he, fully attentive executing penances, was of worship for the master, the highest power of creation in the universe [Lord Brahma]. Understanding [what he wanted] the almighty Lord, the first person of the universe, sent down from his abode the celestial girl, the Apsara Purvacitti. She there wandered around in the woods near that place of meditation, that most beautiful was dense with various trees with masses of high reaching, golden creepers attached to the branches. The clear waters of the lake filled with lotuses resounded with the vibrations of the pleasant sounds of communicating pairs of land birds and on their turn responding water birds like ducks and swans. The prince then, in the ecstasy of his yoga, heard the pleasant sounds of her ankle bells, that tinkled with every step she made with her so very attractive way of moving around playfully. Looking up with his half open lotus bud shaped eyes, he spotted her. By her playful movements, shy glances, humility, sweet voice and by her limbs beautiful to behold and contemplate she, nearby just like a honeybee smelling the beautiful flowers, paved for both normal men and men of heaven the way for the flower bearing god of love. The goddess was stunning, making herself heard by the sweet nectar pouring out of her smiling and talking mouth, the sight of the hasty, stylish, little movements of her feet to [escape] the intoxicated bees surrounding her, the movements of her jug-like breasts, the weight of her hips, the braids of her hair and the belt around her waist. The mere sight of the goddess brought him fully under the control of the almighty Cupid and thus he seised the opportunity to address her.

'Who are you and what do you intend do on this hill, oh choice of the munis? Are you some illusory appearance of the Supreme Lord, our God in the beyond? Dear friend, do you carry your two bows without strings [your eyebrows] for your own protection or are you hunting the heedless animals in this forest? These two arrows [these eyes] of you, oh fortunate lady, that have feathers like lotus petals, have no shaft and are peaceful and very lovely. Who do you want to pierce with their sharp heads, loitering around in this forest? May your prowess be of service for the welfare of all of us who dull-witted fail to understand this! All these followers around you [the bees], oh worshipable lady, are enjoying the resort of the tresses of your hair and all the flowers falling down from them, while they incessantly sing unto the Lord the prayers of the Sama Veda and the Upanishad, like being sages of respect for the different types of Vedic literature. From the resounding vibration alone of your ankle bells, I can very distinctly hear the tittiri birds, oh brahmin [girl], without seeing their form. Seeing your beautiful round hips with the lovely colour of kadamba flowers and around them a belt red as burning cinders, I wonder where your [ascetic] bark dress would be. What is it, oh twice-born one, that fills the two horns, oh heavenly appearance of beauty, that you carry to your slim waist? What do they contain that is so attractive to my eyes? And what is that fragrant red powder on the two of them with which you, oh fortunate one, are perfuming my spiritual resort? Please show me where you live, oh dearest friend. Where was a person with such wonderful limbs like you born? For a person like me the many wonders of your lovely words and inviting gestures that are as sweet as nectar to the mouth, are something very arousing. And what kind of food you have in your mouth? I can smell the pure ingredients of what you are chewing, my sweetest. You have to be an expansion of Lord Vishnu, with your two wide open eyes and brilliant restless shark-shaped earrings in your ears, the rows of your beautiful teeth and your face that resembles a lake amidst the swarm of the bees around you. My eyes are restless being distracted by the ball you strike with your lotus palm in all directions. Do you not care about the curls of your hair hanging loose? Is that lower garment of you not giving you trouble being taken up by the wind, like a man does who is interested in a woman? Oh beauty, oh treasure of the sages, by what austerity did you manage to unsettle this way [with this body] so unfailingly the penance of all retired souls? You should practice the austerity with me, oh friend. Maybe you are meant for me because the creator of the created [Brahma] is pleased with me. I will not give up on you, oh sweetheart given to me by the god of spiritual rebirth. I have fixed my mind and eyes on you; I will not leave you and will keep you close to me, oh beauty with the marvelous breasts. You may lead me wherever you want, I am your follower, and your fine friends may follow.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Very expert in winning over women, he thus as intelligent as the gods with his flattery managed to gain the favor of the heavenly girl. She who also was attracted to the intelligence, manners, beauty, youth, opulence and magnanimity of him, that master among the heroes, then enjoyed all earthly and heavenly pleasures, for an endless, countless number of years spending her time in attachment to him as the king of Jambudvipa. Agnidhra, the best of all kings, begot in her nine sons named Nabhi, Kimpurusha, Harivarsha, Ilavrita, Ramyaka, Hiranmaya, Kuru, Bhadras'va and Ketumala. After she year after year had given birth to her sons, Purvacitti left home in order to return to the unborn godhead [Brahma]. The sons of Agnidhra, who because of their mother's care had strong, well-built bodies, were by their father allotted the divisions of the kingdom of Jambudvipa to be ruled by them that he gave their names [probably the Eurasian continent]. King Agnidhra, not satisfied in his sensual desires, thought every day more and more about her, and [thus], as it is described in the scriptures [in e.g. B.G. 8: 6], reached the place in heaven where she resided, the place [Pitriloka] where the forefathers live in delight. After the departure of their father the nine brothers married the nine daughters of Meru who carried the names Merudevi, Pratirupa, Ugradamshthri, Lata, Ramya, Shyama, Nari, Bhadra and Devaviti.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 3:

Rishabhadeva's Appearance in the Womb of Merudevi, the Wife of King Nabhi

Shri Shuka said: 'Nabhi, the son of Agnidhra, desiring to have sons with Merudevi who had not given birth to any children yet, offered together with her with great attention prayers in worship of the Supreme Lord Vishnu, the enjoyer of all sacrifices. While he with great faith and devotion and a pure mind was of worship, the Supreme Lord out of His love to fulfill the desires of His devotees, manifested Himself in His most beautiful, unconquerable form pleasing to the mind and eyes. He saw Him with all of His captivating, beautiful limbs, even though that [normally] cannot be achieved merely by the means for performing the pravargya ceremony he was engaged in: the place and time, hymns, priests, gifts to the priests and the regulative principles. When He manifested Himself very brightly in His four-handed form as the topmost of all living beings, in a yellow silk garment and with the beauty of the Shrivatsa mark on His chest, His conch shell, lotus flower, disc, flower garland, the Kaustubha jewel and His club that characterize Him, He, radiating brilliantly with His helmet, earrings, bracelets, girdle, necklace, armlets, ankle bells etc. that ornamented His body, made king Nabhi, the priests and the others feel like poor people who had obtained a great treasure. Thereupon they, with great regard and all paraphernalia of worship, reverentially bent their heads. - The priests said: 'Please, oh Most Exalted One, accept the repeated offerings of respect of our worship. By that worship we, Your servants, are able to act, provided we follow the instructions of the exalted souls. Anyone not in control of his mind because of completely being absorbed by the fickleness of natural phenomena [the gunas], can acquire knowledge of the names, forms and qualities that belong to the position in this world of You, the Supreme Lord above and beyond the influence of the material world! But, by most auspiciously expressing in words the excellence of Your transcendental qualities that wipe out all the sinful actions of mankind, we can only partly know You. You are most pleased, oh Supreme Lord, by Your servants who in great ecstasy do their prayers with faltering voices and perform their worship with water, fresh twigs of green, tulasi leaves and sprouts of grass. We do not see of what use it otherwise would be for Your sake to be encumbered with performing sacrifices and all the articles of worship. You as the direct, self-sufficient embodiment of the civil virtues [the purusharthas] are of an endless and unlimited constant increase, oh Lord, but our desire for this blessing of You, can only be there for the purpose of obtaining Your grace. Even though You personally wish to open up, with Your causeless and inexhaustible mercy and glory, the path of liberation [called apavarga], and for that purpose have come here and are present for any ordinary man to see, we fail in our worship unto You. For we, oh Lord of Lords, are but fools unaware of Your ultimate welfare. This before the eyes of Your devotees appearing of You here in this sacrifice of King Nabhi, oh Best of the Benefactors, really constitutes the greatest blessing, oh most worshipable one. To those sages of whom strengthened by detachment countless impurities were removed by the fire of knowledge, to those sages satisfied within who attained Your qualities by incessantly reiterating Your stories and discussing Your many attributes, You [being present in person] are the highest blessing to achieve. When we happen to stumble and fall down, suffer hunger, are bored, find ourselves in an awkward position and such or when we have a fever or lie on our deathbed and thus are not capable of remembering You, then let it be so that Your names, activities and qualities are discussed that have the potency to drive away all our sins. Moreover this pious king [Nabhi] nevertheless aspires to be blessed by You with offspring, a son whom he hopes to be exactly like You: a supreme controller of the benedictions of heaven and the path leading there. With the notion of children as the ultimate goal of life asking this in worship of You, he thus behaves like a poor man who asks a wealthy person willing to donate for a bit of grain! Who, failing to respect the feet of the great souls, is in this world of Yours not defeated by the unconquerable illusory energy [of maya] because of which one cannot find one's path? Whose intelligence would not be bewildered by all the sensual pleasure that works like poison? Whose nature is not checked by that stream [that chain of consequences]? Please excuse us in Your [divine indifference of] sameness with each and all, for having invited You again in this arena of sacrifice as the performer of many wonders, please tolerate us ignorant souls who, less intelligent being of disrespect for the divinity of You as the God of Gods, are aspiring a material outcome.'

Shri Shuka said: 'After the Supreme Lord, the leader of the sages, with this speech had been worshiped by the preservers of the realm [the priests of Nabhi] bowed down at His feet, He kindly addressed them. The Supreme Lord said: 'Alas, pleased

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as I am by you, oh sages whose words are all true, the benediction you were asking for that there may be a son of Nabhi alike Me, is a thing most difficult to achieve. Being One without a second there cannot exist anyone else equal to Me. But the words of you brahmins cannot prove to be false [either], for the class of the brahmins represents My mouth. Because there is no one to be found equal to Me, I shall, by personally expanding into a plenary portion of Myself, descend in [Merudevi,] the wife of Agnidhra's son.'

Shri Shuka said: 'After He thus, with her being present, had spoken to the husband of Merudevi, the Supreme Lord disappeared. Oh grace of Vishnu [Parikchit], in order to please King Nabhi the Supreme Lord, who in this sacrificial arena was propitiated by the best of the sages, then appeared in his wife Merudevi. He manifested in His original avatara form of pure goodness with the desire to show the sages of renunciation - who barely clothe themselves, lead an ascetic life and are of a continuous celibacy - the way to practice the dharma [the righteousness, the religion, the true nature].'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 4:
The Characteristics of Rishabhadeva

Shri Shuka said: 'Because He [the son of king Nabhi] from the beginning of His appearance distinguished Himself every day more and more with the authority of all the characteristics of the Supreme Lord, like being equal minded to all, being of perfect peace and renunciation and having all influence and powers, the ministers, citizens, the brahmins and the demigods longed greatly for the day that He would rule the earth. Because of the in grand verses [by the poets] glorified exalted state of His auspicious appearance, His prowess, strength, beauty, fame, influence and heroism, His father gave Him the name Rishabha, the Best One. King Indra, jealous of His greatness, allowed no rain in Bharata-varsha, but the Supreme Lord Rishabhadeva who knew [why that happened], being the Master of yoga smiled about it and then, from His internal [yogamaya] potency, made the waters rain down on the place where He resided that was called Ajanabha. King Nabhi who as he wanted had gotten the most beautiful son he could wish for, was in a state of illusion about Him, the Supreme Lordship and oldest, Original Person, who in his eyes behaved like a normal human being. Accepting Him as such he, overwhelmed by an excess of great jubilation, in ecstasy with a faltering voice said things like: 'my dear son, my darling' and thus raising Him achieved a state of transcendental happiness. Knowing how popular Rishabha was in His service to the citizens and the state, King Nabhi, who wanted to protect the people strictly to the principle, put his son on the throne. Entrusting Him to the brahmins he then, together with Merudevi in Badarikashrama completely absorbed in yoga, with great satisfaction skillfully performed austerities in worship of Nara-Narayana, [a plenary expansion of] the Supreme Lord Vasudeva. This way he in the course of time attained His glorious abode [Vaikunthha].

Oh son of Pandu [Parikchit, see family tree], two verses are recited about him: 'Which person can follow the example of the pious king Nabhi who by the purity of his actions got the Lord as his son?' and: 'Is there besides Nabhi a better devotee of the brahmins? Being satisfied and honoured by him the scholars by dint of their prowess were able to show him the Lord of all sacrifices in the sacrificial arena.'

The Supreme Lord Rishabha, after accepting His kingdom as His field of work, set an example by living with His spiritual teachers and giving them donations upon finishing His studies. Being ordered to take up the duties of a householder He married with Jayanti who had been offered to Him by Indra. He then taught by example how to perform both types of activities as mentioned in the scriptures [of defending the religion and fighting injustice]. He begot a hundred sons [in her and in co-wives or through his sons with daughters-in-law] who were exactly like Him. The eldest son Bharata was a great yoga practitioner. He had the best qualities and it was because of him that the people call this land Bharata-varsha. Of the ninety-nine other sons who were born after Bharata, the eldest ones were called Kus'avarta, Ilavarta, Brahmavarta, Malaya, Ketu, Bhadrasena, Indrasprik, Vidarbha and Kikatha. Among the rest of them Kavi, Havi, Antariksha, Prabuddha, Pippalayana, Avirhotra, Drumila, Camasa and Karabhajana were nine highly advanced devotees in defense of the truth of this Bhagavatam. About their fine characters evincing the glories of the Lord, I will give you later on [in BOOK 11] a colourful account when I discuss the conversation between Vasudeva and Narada that gives the mind the highest satisfaction. The eighty-one younger sons of Jayanti were, faithful to what their father said, well cultured with a fine command of the scriptural truth and were most skilled in performing sacrifices. Very pure in their actions, they became great brahmins.

The Supreme Lord named Rishabha was truly a completely independent Lordship full of pure transcendental bliss, a person always transcendental to the ever repeating miseries of material life [birth, old age disease and death]. Equipoised and unperturbed, He, friendly and merciful, educated [by His example] the ignorant because of whose neglect in performing the dharma in the course of time only contrary karmic actions are found. He also regulated for the common people the religion and economy so that a good reputation, offspring, happiness in household life and eternal life was within their reach. Whatever is done by leading personalities is followed by the common people. Despite knowing everything about the confidential Vedic instructions constituting the essence of all civil duties, He still [as a kshatriya] followed the path laid out by the brahmins and ruled the people with sense control and tolerance and such. Being of worship [unto Vishnu] He, also in respect of the different gods and purposes and, in line with the instructions, providing in abundance for everything that was needed, performed according to time and circumstance a hundred times over all kinds of ceremonial sacrifices with priests of the proper age and faith. Being protected by the Supreme Lord Rishabha no one on this planet, not even the most common man, fostered a desire for but even the smallest thing whatever, whenever, for himself or from anyone else, just as one would not desire a castle in the air. All one cared about was an innerly ever increasing, great love for the one carrying the burden. When He, the Supreme Lord, once toured around and reached the holy land of Brahmavarta [between the rivers the Sarasvati and Drishadvati to the north west of Hastinapura], he before an audience of citizens in a meeting of prominent brahmins, said the following to his attentive and well-behaved sons. He lectured them despite the fact that they excelled in self-control and devotion.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 5:
Lord Rishabhadeva's Teachings to His Sons

Lord Rishabha said: 'My dear sons, this body you carry along within this material world, does not deserve it to suffer under the difficulties of a sense gratification like that of dogs and hogs [that eat disgusting things]. It is more worth the trouble to undergo the divine austerity from which the heart finds its purification and from which one achieves lasting spiritual happiness. To be of service to the great souls, so one says, constitutes the way of liberation and to seek the association of those who are attached to women forms a gateway to darkness. Truly advanced are they who [in their spirituality] have an equal regard for all, are peaceful, take no offense, wish everyone the best and know how to behave. They who are eager to live in a loving relationship with Me*, are not attached to people who are motivated only for the physical aspect of life consisting of a home, spouse, children, wealth, friends and making money; they engage in worldly matters only according to necessity. The madly being engaged in unwanted activities for the sake of this material satisfaction I consider as not befitting the soul, the conscientious self, that thus arrived at this temporary body despite the misery associated with it. As long as one does not want to know about the reality of the soul, there will be misery because of ignorance. As long as one is of fruitful activities, there will be the mind ruled by karma that will bind one to this material body. As long as unto Me, Vasudeva, there is no love, a soul, that way being ruled by ignorance, will have a mind led by fruitful activities and will thus not be free from the [miseries of the] body it is identified with. When one, even properly educated, does not see how useless the endeavor of gratifying the senses [in an unregulated manner] is, one will, not thinking properly about one's self-interest, very soon be crazy about it and as a fool find nothing but material miseries in a homely existence ruled by sexual intercourse. Because of the sexual attraction between man and woman their hearts are tied together and therefrom they call for a home, a territory, children, wealth and relatives. This now is the illusion of the living being known as 'I' and 'mine'. The moment the tight mental knot in the heart is slackened of such a person bound by the consequences of his karma, the conditioned soul turns away from this [false conception of] hus' and then, forsaking that cause [of egoism], being liberated returns to the transcendental world. 0-1 With the help of one's intelligence one can give up the false identification with the material world, the cause of material bondage. That is achieved by following a spiritually advanced person, a guru, as also by devotional service unto Me, by not desiring, by exercising tolerance with the dual world and by inquiries; by realizing the truth of the miseries of the living beings everywhere, by practicing austerities and penances and by giving up on sensual pleasures; by working for Me, listening to stories about Me as also by always keeping company with devoted souls; by singing about My qualities, by freedom from enmity, by being equal to all, by subduing one's emotions, oh sons; by trying to forsake the identification with one's home and body, by studying yoga literatures; by living alone, by entirely controlling the breath, the senses and the mind; by developing faith, by continually observing celibacy, by constant vigilance, by restraint of speech; by thinking of Me, seeing Me everywhere, by developing knowledge and through wisdom in being illumined by the practice of yoga; and by being endowed with determination, enthusiasm and goodness. When one by means of this yoga practice completely being liberated from desiring results, as I told you, has untied the knot of the bondage in one's heart that was caused by ignorance, one [finally also] must desist from this method of detachment [this yoga] itself. The king or guru who, desiring My abode, thinks that reaching Me is the goal of life, should, in this manner relating to his sons or disciples, be of instruction and tell them not to engage in fruitful actions. He should not be angry with them when they, because of lacking in spiritual knowledge, wish to be so engaged. What can one achieve [spiritually] when one engages someone else in karmic activities? Such a king or guru factually would cause these souls whose vision is clouded [by material motives] to fall down in the pit [of falsehood]. People who, obsessed in their desire for material goods, have lost sight of their real welfare, live with their efforts for the sake of temporary happiness in enmity with each other and run, foolish as they are, without having a clue, into all kinds of trouble. Which man of learning and mercy, well versed in spiritual knowledge, would, facing someone with such a bad intelligence, engage him further in that ignorance? That would be like leading a blind man on the wrong path. Someone not capable of delivering those depending on him from the repetition of [birth and] death, must not evolve into a father, a mother, a spouse, a spiritual teacher or a worshipable godhead. I who am inconceivable in this [transcendental] embodiment have a heart of pure goodness filled with dharma [devotional service]. Because I left adharma [the non-devotional] far behind Me, those faithful to Me truthfully call Me the Best One or Rishabha. You are all born from My heart. Therefore try, with an intelligence free from impurities, to maintain your reverence for Me and be of service to your brother Bharata, who rules over the people.

Among the manifested forms of existence the living ones are superior to the ones without life and among them the ones who move around are far superior to the plants. Of those the ones who developed intelligence are better and the best ones among them are the human beings. The spiritual beings [the meditators of Shiva] are the better ones among the humans and the singers of heaven [the Gandharvas] are superior to them again. Next one finds the perfected souls [the Siddhas] above whom the superhuman beings [the Kinnaras] are situated. The unenlightened souls [the Asuras who can master the ones aforementioned] are dominated by the gods lead by Indra and above them the sons of Brahma like Daksha are situated. Lord Shiva is the best of them and above him we find Lord Brahma from whom he originated. He in his turn is a devotee of Mine, I [Vishnu] the god of the gods of [spiritual] rebirth [the brahmins]. No other entity compares to the brahmins. To my knowledge, oh scholars, there is no one superior to them. With them I eat with more satisfaction from the food that by the people with faith and love in proper ceremony was offered [to the mouth of Me and those belonging to Me], than from the food that [without them] was offered in [the mouth of] the fire. It are the brahmins who maintain My eternal and shining body [in the form of the Vedas] in this world. In them one finds the qualities of supreme goodness [sattva] and purification [pavitra], control over the mind [s'ama], control over the senses [dama], truthfulness [satya], mercy [anugraha], penance [tapasya], tolerance [titiksha] and understanding derived from experience [anubhava]. They, who perform their devotional service without claiming worldly possessions, desire nothing but Me, the One of unlimited prowess who, higher than the highest, is capable of redemption and bestowing all the heavenly happiness. Why would they need anyone else? My dear sons, with your vision [thus] clear, be at all times of respect for all living beings moving and not moving, for I reside in all of them. That is how you respect Me. Engage all of your mind, your words and the perception of all your active and receptive senses directly in My worship, for without it a person will not be able to free himself from the great illusion that binds him to death.'

Shri Shuka said: 'After for the sake of mankind personally thus having instructed His sons, in spite of their high spiritual standard of living, the great personality, the well-wisher and Supreme Lord of all who was celebrated as the Best One or Rishabha, placed Bharata, the eldest of His hundred sons, a topmost devotee and follower of the divine order, on the throne to rule the planet. The instruction for His sons describes the dharma of those who free from material desires no longer engage for the profit and as great sages, as the best of the human beings [paramahamsas], are characterised by devotional service, spiritual insight and detachment. While Rishabha [first] remained home, He [to set an example for His teachings] like a madman with His hair disheveled, accepted only His body [as His property]. Then, clad in nothing but the air [naked thus], He, with the Vedic fire that He kept burning within, left Brahmavarta to wander around. As someone unconcerned about the world [an avadhuta], He appeared to be idle, blind, deaf and dumb, like a ghost or madman, for even when He was addressed by the people He, having taken a vow of silence, refrained from speaking. Passing through cities, villages, mines, lands, gardens and communities situated in valleys, through military encampments, cowsheds, farms, resting places for pilgrims, hills, forests, hermitages

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and so on, He was here and there surrounded by bad people, like they were flies, and was, just like an elephant appearing from the forest, beaten away and threatened, urinated and spit upon, pelted with stones, stool and dirt, farted at and abused. But He did not care about it because He, from His understanding how the body relates to the soul, knew that this dwelling place of the body that one calls real, is just an illusory covering. In negation of the 'I' and 'mine', He rather remained situated in His personal glory as He wandered the earth unperturbed and alone. With His most delicate hands, feet, chest, long arms, shoulders, neck and face etc., with the lovely nature of His well proportioned limbs, His natural smile, beautiful lotus petal like graceful mouth, the marvel of His reddish widespread eyes and the great beauty of His forehead, ears, neckline, nose and expressive lip - because of which His face was like a festival to all household women in whose hearts He everywhere would have aroused Cupid - He, with His great abundance of curly brown hair, which was matted, dirty and neglected, made his body appear as of someone haunted by a ghost. When He, the Supreme Lord, noticed that the people directly opposed this yoga practice, He, as a countermeasure, resorted to the abominable behavior of lying down as a python, smearing His body with the food He chewed and the drink He drank, while rolling Himself in the stool and urine that He passed. The wind perfumed by the fragrance of His stool made the countryside smell pleasantly for ten yojanas around. With His actions of moving, standing, sitting and lying down with the cows, the crows and the deer, He, exactly like the cows, crows and deer do, ate, drank and passed urine. Thus practicing the various ways of mystical yoga Rishabha, the Supreme Lord, the Master of Enlightenment, incessantly enjoyed the Supreme in great bliss. He experienced the symptoms of loving emotions unto Vasudeva, the Supreme Personality of Godhead, who is situated in the heart of all living beings, and achieved by His fundamental indifference the complete perfection in the Supreme Self. But, oh King Parikchit, the fullness of the mystical powers of yoga He thus accidentally achieved - like traveling through the air, moving with lightening speed, the ability to stay unseen, the ability to enter the bodies of others, the power to see without difficulty things from afar and other perfections [the siddhis] -, He could never fully accept in His heart.'

*: The five main loving relationships or rasas by which with the Lord all higher human emotions are experienced, are the neutral relationship (santa), the servant-master relation (dasya), the relation of friendship (sakhya), the parent-child relation (vatsalya) and the amorous relation (sringara).

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 6:
Lord Rishabhadeva's Activities

The king said: 'Oh Supreme One, self-satisfied souls of whom the seed of fruitive action has been burned by the spiritual knowledge acquired by the practice of yoga, automatically achieve mystical powers; how can those siddhis become a hindrance?'

The sage said: 'You are quite right [in saying that yoga leads to certain powers], but in this world one, just like a cunning hunter, does not directly put faith in the [special talents of the] mind that [just like game] always runs off. Therefore they say that one should never make friends with the restless mind. Even the greatest souls [like Lord Shiva and sage Saubhari] got disturbed putting faith in it after for a long time having practiced austerities. Just as a husband with an adulterous wife must guard against competitors, also a yoga practitioner must guard against putting faith in the mind that always offers opportunity to lust and the enemies [of greed and anger] belonging to it. Which man of wisdom would confide in the [undirected] mind that is the breeding ground for the lust, anger, pride, greed, lamentation, illusion and fear that together constitute the bondage to one's karma? Even though He [Rishabha] was the head of all kings and rulers of this universe, He, in terms of this logic, acted in the dress, with the language and the character of an avadhuta, as if He was dumb. He concealed His supreme lordship in order to be able to teach the yogis, by the example of His own personal vehicle of time, how to forsake in yoga. As if He was a normal mortal being trying to forsake his physical body He, according to the supreme command of the Soul, not being hindered by the illusory nature of matter, always kept to Himself the inner vision of the love transcendental to all vice and thus put an end to His material existence. With Him, the Supreme Lord Rishabhadeva, free from identification with His material form, we thus witnessed the apparent physical presence, the engagement of His body in this illusory world. He all alone traveled the lands of South India: Konka, Venka and Kuthaka in the province of Karnatha, and reached a forest nearby Kuthakacala. There He, with a handful of stones in His mouth, wandered around naked with scattered hair, like He was a madman. In a fierce forest fire blazing all around - that was caused by the friction of bamboo stalks tossed about by the force of the wind - His body in that forest then burned to ashes.

Hearing about His pastimes of being free from all ritual and custom, the king of Konka, Venka and Kuthaka who carried the name Arhat [the Jain, the venerable one] took to an imitation of them. Bewildered by an increase of irreligious life that forebode the arrival of the Kali-yuga Age of Quarrel, he gave up the safe path of religion that wards off all fear and adopted a non-conformistic, wrong, heretical view by introducing most foolishly a concoction of his own. The lowest of mankind in this age of Kali who, lacking in character, cleanliness and dutifulness in respect of the rules and regulations, are bewildered by the illusory energy of God, will, because of this in neglect of the divine, self-willed and with wrong principles, follow strange rules, like not bathing, not cleaning the mouth, being dirty and plucking out the hair. With their consciousness spoiled by an abundance of modern time adharma [or forsaking of duties] they will fall into blaspheming the Vedas, the brahmins, rituals such as sacrifices and the Supreme Personality and the devotees. They who, encouraged by blind predecessors, with a deviating practice have built their own little world [or cult], will, themselves being blinded, land in darkness. This avatara of the Lord was there for the purpose of instructing the people, who are overwhelmed by passion, in the matter of emancipation, the path to attain eternal happiness [or final beatitude, kaivalya]. In line with these teachings the people sing the following verses about Him: 'Oh, of all the lands on the continents of this world with its seven seas, this land [of Bharata-varsha, India] is the most meritorious, for their people sing about the all-auspicious activities of Murari in His many incarnations [Krishna as the enemy of the foolish one, Mura].' 'Oh, what should one say about the pure and renown dynasty of King Priyavrata wherein the Original Person, the Supreme Personality, descended as an incarnation? He, the Unparalleled One, performed the religious duty that puts an end to profit-minded labour.' 'Is there any other yogi of perseverance and determination who, desiring the perfections that for being insubstantial were rejected by Rishabha, can follow but even in his mind the example of this unborn Godhead?'

I have thus expounded on the pure activities of the Lord named Rishabha, who is the supreme master of all Vedic knowledge, for the common man, the God-conscious souls, the brahmins and the cows. He who with a growing faith and devotion attentively listens to, speaks to others about or personally attends to this refuge of His great and supreme auspiciousness, that puts an end to all the sins of every living being, will unto Him, the Supreme Lord Vasudeva, be favorably disposed with an unflinching devotion in both the positions of listening and speaking. Incessantly bathing themselves in that devotion in order to be free from suffering the various troublesome conditions of material existence, those who developed spiritual wisdom enjoy the highest bliss. But despite having achieved that liberation they do not strive for that supreme goal of all human beings. Having entered a relationship with the Supreme Personality they, after all, attained all their goals. Dear King [Parikchit], He undoubtedly was the maintainer and teacher, the worshipable deity, friend and master of your Yadu line and sometimes He even acted as a servant. Thus, my best one, He indeed was Mukunda, the Supreme Lord of Liberation [mukti] of those engaged in devotion. But to [confidentially] engage someone in His devotional service [like He did with Arjuna on the battlefield] He does not that easily. All glories to Him, the Supreme Lord Rishabhadeva, He who, constantly aware of His true identity, complete within Himself and without desires, was as graceful to expand, for the true welfare of man, His activities on the material plane and, for the human being whose intelligence slept a long time, gave instruction about the true self free from fear.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 7:
The Activities of King Bharata

Shri Shuka said: 'When Bharata ['to be maintained'], who was a most exalted devotee, according to the order of his father decided to rule the earth, he, assuming that supreme command, married the daughter of Vis'varupa, Pancajani. The way identifying oneself with matter [false ego] leads to the five sense objects [of sound, taste etc.], Bharata likewise arrived at the five sons he begot in her and who were just like him: Sumati, Rashthrabhrita, Sudars'ana, Avarana and Dhumraketu. From the beginning of the rule of Bharata this part of the world, that was called Ajanabha [referring to king Nabhi], is celebrated as Bharata-varsha [the land of Bharata, now India]. He, who was a great scholar, was a ruler as great as his father and grandfather. Governing with a caring heart, he kept both himself and his citizens engaged in the classical vocational duties. Next to that he worshiped the Supreme Lord with great and small sacrifices, with and without animals. Full of faith agni-hotra, dars'a, purnamasa, caturmasya, pashu and soma-rasa yajnas were performed, in part or fully, that, as was prescribed, practically always were conducted by four priests (*). When the expert priests with all supplementary rites were engaged in performing the various sacrifices, he, who was constantly thinking of Vasudeva, the Supreme Lord, and who in the spirit of the hymns was freed from lust and anger, recognised that all the different demigods, the recipients of the results, the ingredients of the offering and he himself, the sacrificer, were all part of the body of the One Original Person. He [Vasudeva] was the one enjoyer who, irrespective the results of the sacrificial ceremony in question that was performed for the purpose of dharma, was their controller, their doer and their origin; He was the one responsible for the complete of all the gods. He [Bharata] in the perfection of his service was thus of the purest goodness unto the Supersoul within the heart of the ethereal body, unto the impersonal spirit of Brahman and unto Bhagavan, the Supreme Lord, Vasudeva, the Supreme Personality whose form is recognised by the Shrivatsa mark on the chest, the Kaustubha gem, the flower garland, the disc, the conch shell, the club and other symbols. Once He as an indelible image has appeared in the heart of the devotee, He, who on the highest level is known by His radiating personal form, has the power to increase one's devotion day after day. Thus for a countless number of millennia [by this exemplary practice] having ascertained the wealth he had received from his forefathers, he, at the right moment for abandoning his earthly duties, properly divided his kingdom personally among his sons and then left that ancestral abode behind to go to the meditation resort of Pulaha in Hardwar. It is at that place where even today the Supreme Lord Hari, being moved by His paternal affection, shows Himself to the devotees residing there in the form they prefer. That meditation resort is on all sides sanctified by the water of the main river, the Cakra-nadi [the Gandaki]. In that river one finds the [round] stones with the concentric circles on top and below [the black oval pebbles that serve as objects of worship, the so-called Shalagrama-s'ilas]. There, alone in the fields of Pulaha's meditation resort, he, with offerings of roots, bulbs and fruits combined with water, twigs, tulasi leaves and all kinds of flowers, worshiped the Supreme Lord and was thus, being delivered from all material desires, purified in a steady increase of transcendental tranquility that brought him satisfaction. By that constant practice of serving the Original Personality of the Supreme Lord, the laxity of his heart disappeared with the weight of the incessantly increasing attachment to Him. By the force of his transcendental bliss the hairs on his body stood on end with tears blurring his vision that sprang into his eyes because of his intense longing. Thus meditating on the pink lotus feet of the Lord, there was from his bhakti-yoga an increase, spreading everywhere, of the highest and deepest spiritual ecstasy in his heart, in which he was immersed as in a lake, and because of which he, despite his intelligence, no longer was capable to keep the performance of the worship of the Lord in mind. Dressed in a deerskin he, with the mass of his beautiful brown, curly, matted hair being wet because of bathing three times a day, was thus, in his vow to serve the Supreme Lord, of worship for the Original Personality in the form of His golden appearance as the sun globe (**). Therewith he at sunrise payed homage to [Him as] the Sun God by reciting the following Vedic hymn: 'Beyond passion [in goodness] minding this created universe, there is the self-effulgence that illumines, the grace of the Lord fulfilling with sacred knowledge. Time and again entering [this world with Your radiating sun globe or as a Vishnu avatara] You supervise the living being hankering after material pleasure. All my respects for Him residing among us who moves all!'

*: Such sacrifices are now impossible to conduct in this age due to the scarcity of expert brahmins or ritvijah who are able to take the responsibility. In the absence of these, the sankirtana-yajna singing of the holy names is recommended.

**: The deity of the sun is by the common Hindu nowadays worshiped by means of the Gayatri mantra, one of the most important mantras of purification and liberation kindred to the one expressed in this chapter by Bharata Maharaj: om bhur bhuvah svah, tat savitur varenyam, bhargo devasya dhimahi, dhyo yonah prachodayat -, a prayer meaning:

The original form of the body,
the life force and the supreme abode;
that source of life most excellent,
that divine luster we meditate -
may this light illumine our intellect.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 8:
The Rebirth of Bharata Maharaja

Shri Shuka said: 'One day having taken a bath in the great Gandaki, he [Bharata], after performing his daily duties, sat for a few minutes on the bank of the river to chant the transcendental syllable [AUM]. Oh King, he then saw a single doe that, being thirsty, had come to the river. As it eagerly drank from the water, suddenly nearby the loud roar of a lion sounded that terrifies all living beings. When the doe heard that loud sound, it, fearfully looking about, out of fear for the lion immediately, without having quenched her thirst, leaped over the river. Because of the force of the leap it made in great fear, the doe, being pregnant, lost its baby that slipped from its womb and fell into the water. Being exhausted from the miscarriage that was caused by the jumping and the fear, the

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black doe, being separated from its flock, fell some place into a cave and died. Seeing that the deer calf, being separated from its mother, helplessly floated away in the stream, the wise king Bharata, considering it orphaned, compassionately as a friend took it to his ashrama. Adopting it as his child, feeding it every day, protecting it, raising it and petting it, he became greatly attached to this deer calf. Very soon he, having given up his routines, his self-restraint and his worship of the Original Person, thus lost his entire practice of detachment. 'Alas! [he thought to himself], by the Controller turning the wheel of time this creature was deprived of its family, friends and relatives. Finding me for its shelter, it has only me as its father, mother, brother and member of the herd. Surely having no one else it puts great faith in me as the support to rely upon and thus fully depends on me for its learning, sustenance, love and protection. I have got to admit that it is wrong to neglect someone who has taken shelter and must accordingly act without regrets. Undoubtedly all honourable and pious souls will, however detached they are, put aside even their most important self-interests, in order to observe those principles as friends of the poor.'

Sitting, lying down, walking, bathing, eating and such with the young animal, his heart thus having grown attached became captivated by affection. When he went into the forest to collect flowers, firewood, kus'a grass, leaves, fruits, roots and water, he, apprehensive about wolves, dogs and other animals of prey, always took the deer with him. On his way he, with a mind and heart full of love, carried it on his shoulder now and then, and kept, fond as he was of the young, it fondling on his lap or on his chest when he slept and derived great pleasure from it. During worship the emperor sometimes got up despite not being finished, just to look after the deer calf and then felt happy bestowing all his blessings saying: 'Oh my dear calf, I wish you all the best.' Sometimes, not seeing the calf anywhere, he was so anxious that he got upset like a piteous, miserly man who has lost his riches. He then found himself in a state wherein he could not think of anything else anymore. Thus he ran into the greatest illusion entertaining thoughts like: 'Oh, alas! My dear child, that orphan of a deer, must be very distressed. It willl turn up again and put faith in me as being a perfectly gentle member of its own kind. It will forget about me being such an ill-behaved cheater, such a bad-minded barbarian. Shall I see that creature protected by the gods again walk around and nibble grass, unafraid in the garden of my ashrama? Or would the poor thing be devoured by one of the many packs of wolves or dogs, or else by a lone wandering tiger? Alas, the Supreme Lord of the entire universe, the Lord of the three Vedas who is there for the prosperity of all, is [in the form of the sun] already setting; and still this baby that the mother entrusted to me has not returned! Will that princely deer of mine really return and please me, who gave up his different pious exercises? It was so cute to behold. Pleasing it in a way befitting its kind drove away all unhappiness! Playing with me when I with closed eyes feigned to meditate, it would nervously out of love, trembling and timidly approach to touch my body with the tips of its horns that are as soft as water drops. When I grumbled at it for polluting the things placed on the kus'a grass for worship, it immediately in great fear stopped its play to sit down in complete restraint of its senses, just like the son of a saint would do. Oh, what practice of penance performed by the most austere souls on this planet, can bring the earth the wealth of the sweet, small, beautiful and most auspicious soft imprints of the hooves of this most unhappy creature in pain of being lost! To me they point the way to achieve the wealth of the body of her lands that, on all sides adorned by them, are turned into places of sacrifice to the gods and the brahmins so desirous on the path to heaven! Could it be that the moon [god] so very powerful and kind to the unhappy, out of compassion for the young that lost its mother because of her fear for the great beast of prey, is now protecting this deer child that strayed from my protective ashrama? Or would the moon god out of love by means of his rays, which so peaceful and cool stream from his face like nectarean water, comfort my heart, that red lotus flower to which the little deer submitted itself as my son and that now, in the fire of separation, burns with the flames of a forest fire?'

With a heart saddened by a mind derived from what he had undertaken in the past, he was thus carried away by the impossible desire of having a son that looked like a deer. Consequently he failed in his yoga exercises, his penances and devotional service to the Supreme Lord. How could he, attached as he was to the body of a different species, to the body of a deer calf, fulfill his life's purpose now with such a hindrance? How could that be while he previously had abandoned his so difficult to forsake sons whom he had fathered with a loving heart? King Bharata, who, absorbed in maintaining, pleasing, protecting and fondling a baby deer, because of that hindrance was obstructed in the execution of his yoga, thus neglected [the interest of] his soul. Meanwhile with most rapid strides inevitably his time approached, like a snake entering the hole of a mouse. The moment he left this world he found at his side the deer, lamenting like his son, that had occupied his mind. With his body dying in the presence of the deer, he thereafter himself obtained the body of a deer [see also B.G. 8: 6]. [But] when he after his death obtained another body, his memory of his previous existence was not destroyed. In that birth constantly remembering, as a consequence of his past devotional activities, what the cause was of having obtained the body of a deer, he remorsefully said: 'Oh what a misery! I have fallen from the way of life of the self-realised, despite having given up my sons and home and living solitary in a sacred forest as someone who, perfectly in accord with the soul, takes shelter of the Supersoul of all beings. Despite constantly listening to and thinking about Him, the Supreme Lord Vasudeva and spending all my hours on being absorbed in chanting, worshiping and remembering. In due course of time a mind fixed in such a practice turns into a mind fully established in the eternal reality, but having fallen deeply in my affection for a young deer, I by contrast am a great fool again!'

Thus in silence turning away from the world [he as] the deer gave up his deer mother and turned back from the Kalanjara mountain where he was born, to the place where he before had worshiped the Supreme Lord, the ashrama of Pulastya and Pulaha in the village called Shalagrama that is so dear to the great saints living there in complete detachment. In that place eating fallen leaves and herbs, he awaited his time in the eternal company of the Supersoul. Vigilantly guarding against bad association, he existed with the only motivation to put an end to the cause of his deer body. That body he ultimately gave up, bathing in the water of the holy place.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 9:
The Supreme Character of Jada Bharata

- Shri Shuka said: 'After having given up his life of being embodied as a deer, Bharata, the most exalted devotee and most honoured of all saintly kings, in his last incarnation acquired the brahmin status. He was the male half of a twin brother and sister, so one says, who were born from the second wife of a high-minded brahmin in the line of saint Angira. This brahmin, being endowed with all the qualities, was of a perfect control over the mind and the senses, of penance, Vedic study and recitation, of renunciation, satisfaction, tolerance, kindness, knowledge, of no envy and of spiritual happiness in the wisdom of the soul. With his first wife he had nine sons all equal to him in education, character, behavior, beauty and magnanimity. Also in that birth he remembered his previous lives by the special mercy of the Lord. As a consequence he was greatly apprehensive not to fall down again in associating with his own kind. Always afraid of being obstructed on the path of devotional service he kept his mind focussed upon his soul. For that purpose he always thought of the two lotus feet of the Supreme Lord and listened to and remembered the descriptions of His qualities that vanquish the bondage to fruitful labour. But to the local people he posed as someone with a mad, dull and blind character [because of which he was called Jada]. His brahmin father, who affectionately felt obliged to his son, thought that he, as a father to his son, should teach him that the regulative principles should be observed, even though Jada had no interest in it. Thus he practiced until the end of his student life, again as someone of the sacred thread, the duties of cleanliness of the purification process as prescribed by the Shastras. But he also in the presence of his father acted as if he could not understand a thing of what was instructed. During the onset of the rainy season the father wished to teach him the Vedic mantras including the Gayatri preceded by Omkara, but despite his thorough instruction, he during the four months of the summer did not succeed in teaching him their full mastery. Supposing that his son, despite not feeling for it, had to be fully instructed by him in all the cleanliness, Vedic literature, vows, principles, sacrifice and service to the guru that belongs to the celibate state [the brahmacarya-ashrama], the brahmin, who considered his son his life breath, in reality acted out of household attachment. Therefore he died, when he was seised by death not as forgetful [as he was], as a man full of frustration about the unfit obstinacy of his son. His youngest wife from whose womb the twins were born, thereupon entrusted them to the first wife and then followed her husband to where he resided in his afterlife [Patiloka].

Jada Bharata's stepbrothers, who had fixed their minds on the ritual culture of the three Vedas, had no understanding for the true knowledge of the Self. After the death of the father they gave up the endeavor to teach anything to their half brother whom they, unaware of his faculties, considered a dullard. When he by these materialistic and [in fact] two-legged animals was addressed as being mad, dull, deaf and dumb, he used to reply in likewise terms. He did the things he by force was summoned to do. He used to eat whatever small or large quantity of palatable or tasteless food he obtained, by begging, by wages or what came of its own accord. He never lived to please his senses as he had forever stopped to live for the material cause. All by himself he had accomplished the transcendental blissful vision of someone in knowledge of the true Self who, with the dual causes of happiness and distress, summer and winter, wind and rain, did not identify with the body. Firm of limbs he, as strong as a bull, never covered himself. He did not bathe, was dirty from lying on the ground and never massaged his body. His loins were covered by a dirty cloth and he wore a sacred thread darkened of dirt. In his spiritual splendor he was like a hidden gem. He wandered around disrespected by ignorant folk who called him, a brahmin of birth, just a brahmin's friend ['brahma-bandu']. Because he only looked for work in order to obtain in exchange food from others, even his stepbrothers engaged him in agricultural work in the fields - a job to which he had no idea of what should be leveled or left uneven or where he had to pile things up. Usually only eating broken rice, oil cakes, chaff, worm-eaten grains or burned rice that stuck to the pot, it was nevertheless all nectar to him.

Then, at a certain moment, some dacoit leader appeared on the scene who desired a son and was looking for an animalistic person whom he could offer to the goddess Bhadra Kali. The animal type he looked for, had escaped and his followers on their way to find him could, in the dead of night, not catch that animalistic man. As arranged by providence they stumbled upon the brahmin son from the line of Angira who from an elevated position was guarding the fields against deer, wild pigs and other creatures. Discovering that he had the right character, they next, with shining faces understanding that he could serve for their master's work, elated took him to the temple of the goddess, tightly bound in ropes. In order to prepare him as the man-animal for the sacrifice, the followers of the dacoit then, according to their own customs, bathed him, gave him new clothes, covered his body with ornaments, smeared him with sandalwood pulp and garlanded him. Vibrating songs, prayers, drums and bugles, they seated him before the goddess Kali, fully dressed up and properly fed, with incense, lamps, strings of flowers, parched grains, twigs and sprouts, fruits and other articles of worship. The priest of that dacoit leader, ready to offer a flow of blood from the animalistic man to the deity of Bhadra Kali, next took a fearful razor sharp sword and consecrated it with the appropriate mantras. These contemptible types who, being of a passionate and ignorant nature, in their materialistic bewilderment were driven by minds full of imagination and thus, acting to their own notions, followed a wrong course, were in offense with the heroic association of the Supreme Lord, the brahmins. Proceeding with a lust for violence against others they acted most cruelly directly against an expansion of the Lord Himself, someone of a brahmin birth, a son of spiritual wisdom who had no enemies and who was a well-wisher to all. But at the very last moment the goddess Bhadra Kali, who saw what was about to happen in defiance of the law and against the will of the Lord, broke out of her statue with a burning physical appearance that was of an excessively bright, unbearable, spiritual effulgence. Full of indignation she totally lost herself in the force of her anger with raised eyebrows, crooked teeth, bloodshot eyes, a frightening laugh and an agitated fearful face, as if she wanted to destroy the entire universe. Released [from the idol] because of her great fury she, coming forth from the altar, severed with the same blade as they wanted to use [for the sacrifice], the heads from the bodies of all the sinful offenders and then, together with her associates, drank from the blood that oozed from the necks as a very hot intoxicating beverage. Overwhelmed by all that intoxicating drinking she with her associates next loudly sang and danced, making fun throwing the heads at each other like they were balls.

When one, relating to great souls, has crossed the line, as in this case, one will always, because of that wrong action, oneself have to undergo the result of that offense. Oh, Vishnudatta ['protected by Vishnu'; Parikchit], to those who are not perplexed, this is not such a great miracle. They who without animosity are of goodness to all, are by the Supreme Lord of the invincible Time who carries the best of all weapons [the Sudars'ana disc], personally fully liberated from the very strong and tight knot in the heart [that is the consequence] of a false physical concept of life. Even when threatened by decapitation [or by other attacks on their lives], those liberated souls and devotees, who full of surrender are protected at His lotus feet, are never upset by these kinds of emotional conditions, they have nothing to fear.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 10:
Jada Bharata meets Maharaja Rahugana

Shri Shuka said: 'So it came to pass that Rahugana ['he who outshines the sun'], the ruler of Sindhu and Sauvira, while traveling on the bank of the river Ikshumati, needed another palanquin carrier. He then sent the leader of his carriers to look for a suitable candidate. His search led by chance to the excellent brahmin [Jada Bharata] who, being a stout young man, with firm limbs and the strength of an ass, was chosen by him supposing that he was capable of carrying the load. Being forced to it the great soul carried the palanquin, but he was not fit for the job. Engaged this way the blessed brahmin constantly looked three feet ahead [not to step on ants]. Thus being all the time out of pace with the others the palanquin was shaking. Rahugana noticing this then said to the men who carried him: 'Oh carriers, please walk in pace! Why is this palanquin carried so uneven?'

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Hearing their master speak that reproachfully, they told him apprehensively that it was due to the fourth carrier: 'Oh, it is not so, oh god of man, that we, who always obey your orders, have fallen in neglect! We certainly do the best we can, but it is this new man who recently has been contracted to work with us, because of whom we can not do our work as carriers. He is rather slow!'

Although he, from the intimations, was certain that the problem had risen because of a fault of one of them, king Rahugana, hearing the fearful words of the servants, gave, in spite of his political experience, out of his kshatriya nature slightly in to the violence of anger. Unto him, whose spiritual effulgence because of his innate intelligence could not be clearly distinguished, he with a mind full of passion said: 'Alas, what a trouble it is, my brother! All alone on such a long journey you certainly must have gotten very tired. And these colleagues of you are not of much help either. Nor is your cooperative, firm body very strong. You must be troubled by old age my friend!'

Thus he sarcastically criticised him severely. But there was no protest of a false belief of 'I' and 'mine' from him, who in silence kept carrying the palanquin. As someone on the spiritual platform, he happened to be of such a particular disposition concerning the physical matters of having a, from ignorance resulting, finite vehicle of time, a physical body that consists of a mixture of the natural modes, the workload and material intentions. Thereupon again being shaken because of the uneven carrying of his palanquin, Rahugana got very angry and said: 'Fool! What crap is this! You, living corpse, ignore my reproaches completely. You just forget about them! Are you out of your mind? Just like Yamaraja with the common people, I shall teach you a lesson so that you will know your position here!'

Despite that load of nonsense from the side of him who rebuking, angrily out of passion and ignorance, thought that he could rule as a god of man, as a learned scholar and a by countless devotees honoured votary of the Lord, the self-realised brahmin smiled faintly, free from pride, with the poise of a master of yoga, a friend of all living beings, and then addressed the not so wise ruler as follows. The brahmin said: 'What you so clearly stated, oh great hero, does not contravene [what I factually am]. That would have been the case if I would [really] be this body, that carrier of the load. If to acquire a well-fed, strong body would be the way, I can tell you that that is no subject of importance to the person of self-realisation present within the body. To be strong and stout or skinny and weak, to be in physical or mental pain or to be hungry, thirsty, afraid, quarrelsome, desirous, old aged, sleepy or sensually motivated, to be angry or false, to be bewildered or to be of lamentation, are matters belonging to this body, to the one born, but they are not the reality of what I [originally] am. To be a living soul bound to death [to be a 'living corpse'] is something settled by nature, oh King, [it just as well applies to you, for] everything has a beginning and an end. But, oh respected one, when one has an eye for what is unchangeable within the things that transform - to which one [as you defend] sees servants and masters - one speaks of doing the right thing in yoga. Discriminating to the person [as you do in acting as the master] betrays a narrow vision and I do not see what other use it, besides the convention, would have. Who is [of this arranged order] the master and who is the one to be controlled? Nevertheless, oh King [with you as my 'master'] what can I do for you? From my state of self-realisation, oh King, you gathered that I was a disheveled, mad ignoramus. [If that would be true], what use would it then have to be punished by you? How can one teach a crazy, stupid person something? It is like grinding flour!'

Shri Shuka said: 'The great sage, consequently responding to all the words that had been used, then calm and peaceful rested his case. As for the cause of matters strange to the soul, he accepted that things happened as a consequence of what he had done in the past, and so he, in order to put his karma to an end, continued to carry the king's palanquin as he did before. Oh best of the Pandu dynasty, also he, the ruler of Sindhu and Sauvira, fully believed in discussions concerning the subject of the Absolute Truth. Thus well informed hearing what the brahmin said about that what eradicates the falsehood in the heart and is approved by all yoga practices and literature, he hastily came down [from his vehicle] and threw himself head-on flat on the ground at the lotus feet to be excused for his offense. That way giving up his false claim that he should be respected as the king, he said: 'Who are you among the twice-born souls, moving so secretly around in this world? I see you wear a sacred thread. Of which forsaker of the world are you [the disciple]? From where and for what purpose have you come here? Are you, as a soul of pure goodness, here for our benefit or maybe not? I do not fear Indra's thunderbolt or Shiva's trident nor to be punished by Yamaraja, neither do I fear the heat of the sun's rays, the moon, the wind or the weapons of the heavenly treasurer [Kuvera]. My greatest fear is to offend the brahmin class. Could you, who as someone fully detached, like a dullard, conceals the power of wisdom, who as someone completely indifferent wanders around, therefore please speak to us? For no one of us, oh saint, is able to fathom to any degree the meaningful yogic words you uttered. I am asking you, as a direct representative of the Lord of spiritual knowledge, of the master of yoga and best preceptor of the saintly scholars in the science of self-realisation, what, being engaged in this world, would be the most secure shelter. Are you in your goodness maybe Him in person who, without revealing your true identity, travels the surface of the earth to study the motives of the people here? How can someone bound to family affairs missing the needed intelligence, have a clear view of the final destination of the masters of yoga? One can see that when one physically is engaged in a certain way, one will become tired. I suppose that is also true in your case in your movements as a carrier. That is a generally accepted fact, as certain as the fact that on the basis of an absence of water, it cannot be so that one can come bringing it and such. Because of the heat under a cooking pot, the milk put in it gets hot and because of the hot milk the hard kernel of the rice in it is cooked. The same way there is for the person - who [like a grain of rice] has to comply with the [heat of the] material world - the [inescapable] bondage to the sensual experience of one's material existence. The governor, who as a human ruler over the citizens wishes his subjects all the best, should be a servant and must[, so to say,] not grind the flour that is already ground [by pointlessly imposing his will upon his subjects. In stead of imposing himself by punishment] he, in fulfilling his occupational duties, rather should be of worship for the Infallible One in whose service being engaged one is released from all kinds of sin. Be therefore, from the truthfulness and goodness of your repentant self, as good to show me, to this maddened and proud god of man, kindly your causeless mercy as a friend of all people in distress. For then I may find relief from the sin of being in contempt of such a great personality as you. You as a friend of the Friend of All, are in your equanimity, as someone far removed from the bodily concept of life, not shaken at all. But even when someone is as powerful as Lord Siva [Sulapani], he will certainly soon be destroyed, just like me with my practice of pride in relation to the greatest souls.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 11:
Jada Bharata Instructs King Rahugana

The brahmin [Jada Bharata] said: 'Lacking in experience you use the words of experienced souls. That does not make you a leader of those who know! Matters of conduct like these are by intelligent souls never discussed without a favorable view on the Absolute Truth. Oh King, among those who, in combination with the Vedas [veda-vadi], take great interest in the extensive knowledge of the rituals of a material household, one thus as good as never finds the actual spiritual science [tattva-vada] of the sages who clear and pure, are free from material motives. The most exalted vision of the real purpose of the Veda is not directly theirs, even though they are sufficiently versed in the words. Only later one realises from one's own experience that one has to abandon the happiness of a worldly life that compares to a dream. As long as one's mind, because of the [compelling] power of the senses of action and perception, is ruled by the natural basic qualities of passion, goodness and ignorance, actions - auspicious or otherwise - are automatically the result, just like it is with an independently roaming elephant. Being driven by the forces of the natural modes, that mind is endowed with many desires [vasanas], attached to material happiness and transformed [by emotions]. As the chief of the sixteen elements that typify a material existence [the material, the active and the perceptual elements plus the mind], the wandering mind accepts different forms of life with different names. Thus [leading to different births] it manifests itself in different physical appearances of a higher or lower quality. As a result of the bewildering potency of the matter that envelops the original living being, the mind creates for itself the vicious circle [the false order and self-justification] of material actions and reactions [karma]. Therefrom in the course of time the happiness, the unhappiness and the other very severe result is obtained that differs from these two [viz. intemperance]. As long as that mind exists, the outer characteristics always manifest themselves that attest to [the quality] of the knower of the field [the individual soul]. For that reason scholars speak of the mind as the cause of the, in higher or lower conditions of life, [respectively] being entangled in or being free from the gunas, the basic qualities of material nature. Bound to the gunas the living entity is conditioned, but free from the modes there is the ultimate benefit [of beatitude]. Just like the wick of a lamp burning produces smoke or else, being properly positioned, enjoys the clarified butter [and burns brightly], the mind bound by the modes takes shelter of different material activities or else is [brightly functioning] in its true position [of being directed at the soul].

Associated with the five senses of action, the five senses of knowing and the pride, there are eleven engagements of the mind. Oh hero, with those eleven forms of mental concern one speaks of the fields, realms or spheres of life of the different forms of engagement, sorts of sense objects and diverse places [one's private place, public places, one's workplace and one's preferred association or club]. The elements of smell, form, touch, taste and hearing [the knowing senses]; evacuation, sexual intercourse, movement, speech and manual control [the senses of action] and the eleventh of accepting the notion of 'mine' [identification], thus result in the 'I' [or ego-awareness] of this body, that by some is said to be the twelfth element. [Agitated] by the different materials, by nature itself, by culture, by the karma and by time, these eleven elements of the mind are modified into the many hundreds, thousands and millions [of considerations of one's material awareness]. These engagements of the mind do not follow from one another nor from themselves, but [are caused by] the knower of the field. All these different activities of the mind of the living being - that are sometimes manifest [when one is awake] and then again are not manifest [during sleep] - are, for an impure soul who is bound to material activities [to karma], raised by the bewildering influence of the material world [maya, in particular the body the soul identifies with]. But being purified the knower of the field is aware of this. The knower of the field is [originally] the all-pervading, omnipresent, authentic person, the Oldest One who is seen and heard of as existing by His own light. He is never born, He is the transcendental Narayana, the Supreme Lord Vasudeva. He is the one who, just like the air present within the body, by His own potency, exists in the soul as the controller of the moving and unmoving living entities. He is the Supersoul of expansion who has entered [and initiated the creation] and thus is of control as the Fortunate One in the beyond. He is the shelter and knower of everyone in every field. He is the vital force [the Mover of Time] that appeared in this material world.

As long as the embodied soul, oh King, is not free from this influence of the material world by, in freedom from attachments, developing wisdom and conquering the six enemies [the five senses and the mind, but also the so-called shath-urmi: hunger, thirst, decay, death, grief and illusion], he will have to wander around here until he knows the spiritual truth. So long as one has this mind that, as the symptom of the fixation of the soul [in the linga], for the living entity is the breeding ground for all the worldly miseries of lamentation, illusion, disease, attachment, greed and enmity, one has to face the 'I' and 'mine' [of egoism] that is the consequence. This mind, that formidable enemy which grows by neglect [of one's spiritual duty], is very, very powerful. He who, free from illusion, wields [against it] the weapon of worshiping the lotus feet of the spiritual teacher and the Lord, conquers the falsehood [of the physical interest] that has covered the soul.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 12:
The Conversation Between Maharaja Rahugana and Jada Bharata

Rahugana said: 'My respectful obeisances unto you who emanated from the embodiment of the Original Cause [Rishabhadeva], unto you who in his self-realisation despises all strife and quarrel, unto you who as a forsaker of the world in the form of a brahmin friend has concealed his realisation of the eternal truth. You are like the medicine for a by fever distressed patient, you are like the cool water for someone scorched by the sun and for someone like me, whose vision in this gross body has been poisoned by the serpent of pride, you are the miracle potion of the gods. Now, please explain to me, burning with curiosity, again [in simple words], so that I may clearly understand, your concise speech concerning the yoga of self-realisation. Personal matters not clear to me I will submit to you later. You said, oh Master of Yoga, that what clearly can be distinguished as a result of one's actions [the 'fatigue'] is based on someone's behavior and not fit for an inquiry into the ultimate reality. With that explanation your goodness has bewildered my mind.'

The brahmin said: 'Moving around on the earth in [a body] that is made of earth, you, oh King also endowed with such an earthly body, recognise an earthly person in me. Why would your grace, with these [carrier's] feet and above them these ankles, calves, knees, thighs, waist, neck, shoulders and upon those shoulders the wooden palanquin upon which a soul sits who is thus known as the King of Sauvira, have to impose your will in this haughty manner with 'I, the King of Sindhu' and thus have to be a captive of false pride? The way you control these poor, helpless people by mercilessly restraining them with violence and [on top of that even] boast 'I am your protector', you with your impudence cut a sorry figure in the society of the old and wise! Because we as moving or unmoving life forms consist of earth, we are also familiar with the everlasting appearance and disappearance [of our earthly forms]. We only differ in name from each other when we speak of factual behavior. Let us consider how things really are to be inferred. By the words we thus use for worldly matters [for e.g. racial and national distinctions] is that what exists not truthfully described. What one in one's mind imagines of the particular characteristics, the aggregation and the dissolution again in the constituent atomic particles [of returning to 'dust'] of matter, covers but an unconscious, less intelligent notion of existence. Please understand that being meager, fat,

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tiny or big, existing as an individual entity, inanimate matter or whatever other natural phenomenon of disposition, all concerns impermanence in the name of a certain place, time and activity; a temporary state [inherent] to the operation of nature's duality. The spiritual knowing perfectly pure that constitutes the ultimate goal, is the Oneness without an inside or an outside, the Absolute Truth of the Spirit [Brahman], the inner peace [of the meditator] that in a higher [personal] sense is known as Bhagavan, the Supreme Lord [of all opulence], who by the scholars is called Vasudeva [the Soul of God within, Vishnu, or Lord Krishna as the son of Vasudeva].

Dear King Rahugana, this cannot be realised by [just] doing penance, by deity worship or by putting an end to one's material activities, nor by one's household life, by celibacy and study or by self-restraint in relation to water, fire or the sun [alone]. This is not revealed unless one smears the dust of the lotus feet of the great examples all over one's body! There where the qualities of Him praised in the scriptures are discussed, worldly concerns find their end. When one day after day seriously listens to those whose purpose it is to find liberation [in devotional service], one's meditation will durably be turned to Vasudeva. In a previous birth I was known as a king named Bharata who found liberation through personal insight and association in worship of the Supreme Lord. Thus always engaged, I [nevertheless] became a deer [in my next life] because I, intimately associated with one, had neglected my duties. Despite being a deer, oh great hero, the memory of my activities of worship unto Krishna [the Lord as the One known by His dark skin] did not leave me. For that reason I, out of fear moving about unseen, [now] keep myself far from associating with ordinary folk. Therefore, when a human being with the help of the sword of knowledge has cut with worldly association, he even in this world can break away completely from the bewildered state. By both listening to and talking about the stories of the activities of the Lord, the lost consciousness is regained and the ultimate goal of the way [back to Godhead] is attained.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 13:

Further Talks between Maharaja Rahugana and Jada Bharata

The brahmin said: 'With a karmic [profit-minded] vision being divided [acting alternately] in passion, goodness and ignorance, the conditioned soul, having trodden the difficult path of a material life, wanders around in the forest [of illusion], which he entered with the purpose of gaining a higher position and wealth, and cannot find [lasting] happiness [that way]. He who, following the wrong lead, chases dreams, oh god of men, is in that place plundered by the six brigands [of the senses and the mind]. Entering his heart just like foxes they seize the maddened social climber, the way tigers seize lambs. In the bowers, full of creepers, grasses and thickets, where he sometimes [in a daydream] imagines to have landed among the Gandharvas and then again in no time gets possessed [by an evil spirit], he is cruelly disturbed by biting mosquitos [nasty consequences]. On that worldly path moving hither and thither to call some place, water and wealth his own, oh King, he has lost his direction and is sometimes blinded because of the smoky dust raised by a whirlwind. Disturbed by the noises of invisible crickets in his ear, upset in his mind and heart by the vibrations of owls, and suffering from hunger taking shelter of fruitless trees, he at times runs after the waters of a mirage. One time going for rivers that ran dry [earning nothing] and asking food [or financial support] from others who themselves ran out of stock, he some other time despairs about the forest fire of his material existence and the wealth that was seised by the rogues [other profit-minded people]. Sometimes finding himself taxed by his ruling superiors [the 'demigods'], he experiences grief in his heart and loses his mind getting bewildered in his complaints, and then again he, for a moment, is filled with joy having entered a heavenly kingdom [on earth] as if he would have found true happiness. Sometimes, wandering around, his feet are hurt by thorns and small stones when he wants to climb the hills [of social convention], which depresses him at every step, and sometimes he, as a family man, is dispirited with a hungry stomach [his ambitions], and gets angry with his own family members. At times left to his own devices in the forest the conditioned soul is swallowed by the python [of indolence] and does not understand a thing. Attacked by poisonous snakes and bitten [disadvantaged by egoists], he then sometimes, fallen into an unseen well [in adversity], then lies his head down blinded in utter darkness. Then again searching for some honey [for sense gratification] he is disappointed by the disquieted beehive in question [by institutes of social control]; or else, at the very moment he with great difficulty tries to have his way, his object of desire next is harshly stolen away by a [sexual] rival. Sometimes, also not able to fight the cold, the heat, the wind or the rains, he feels helpless and miserable; and then again, with others trying to do a little business, he lands - as is commonly known - in the mutual enmity of cheating for the profit. Now and then in that forest being destitute, he has to do without bedding, a place to sit, a house and family comforts and then begs from others. Not getting what he needs, he desires the possessions of others and resorts to disgraceful actions. When he tries to progress materially by getting married [getting settled], a greatly troublesome life results in which enmity grows as a consequence of the financial entanglement with others. On the path of material existence he is then completely ruined by misfortune and a lack of funds [financial crises]. Thus wandering about for their own interest, all living beings are put up with the duty to leave the ones who died behind and take along the ones they gave a life. Oh hero, even until now, no one here following this material path, has ever reached the ultimate goal of [devotional service and beatitude in] yoga.

They who cleverly managed to conquer the elephants [the greatest heroes] of the directions, are in this world caught by the concept of 'mine' and [ultimately] all have to lay down their lives in battle with the enmity they created. They do not reach the reality of the staff of renunciation [the voluntary penance, sannyasa] that, free from enmity, does lead to the perfection. Clinging to the shelter of the arms of one's spouse, who is like a creeper, one sometimes sings a strange [adulterous] song in one's desire to hear the song of another bird of shelter. And when one happens to be scared enough by the Lord of the Cakra [by the compelling order of Time], one makes friends with the cranes, the herons and the vultures [cheaters and leeches]. Cheated by them one next contacts the swans [brahmins, intellectuals], but dissatisfied with their practices one approaches the monkeys [debauchees, preachers of sense gratification] in the association of whom one, most satisfied in one's sensuality, stares one another in the face unaware of one's impending death. Enjoying in one's [bourgeois] tree, being attached to wife and children and poor of heart, one cannot let go, being bound to the consequences of one's actions. Beset by fear for the elephant of death clasping the creeper, one sometimes lands in a cave in the mountains where one gets trapped [an incurable disease]. Somehow or other escaping from this danger, oh killer of the enemies, one again takes up the same life of that path of enjoyment, which is followed by the soul conditioned under the influence of maya, wherein one until one's death fails to understand a thing. Oh King Rahugana, you surely also walk this path [through the forest] of material existence, but once you have given up your political power and are acting friendly towards all living beings, you will feel no longer drawn towards the untrue and take up the, by means of service to the Lord, sharpened sword of knowledge to pass over to the supreme reality in the beyond!'

The king said: 'Oh, a human birth is the best of all births! What use has it to be of a higher birth [among the gods]? There is nothing superior about it when one in a new life cannot enjoy abundantly the association with truly great souls [like you], whose hearts are purified by the glory of Hrishikes'a [the Lord and master of the senses]. To be completely freed from all contamination by the dust of your lotus feet of love and devotion unto Adhokshaja [the Lord in the Beyond], is not that surprising at all. Being associated with you for just a moment, the root of ignorance of my false reasoning was completely vanquished. My obeisances unto all the great personalities, whether they appear as boys, as young men or as elderly celibates. Let there because of these self-realised souls of transcendence, who walk this earth in different guises of forsaking, be happiness for all the dynasties!'

Shri Shuka said: 'Because of the quality of his great kindness and supreme spiritual realisation, oh son of Uttara [Parikchit], that son of brahmin wisdom, despite being insulted, thus could be of instruction for the ruler of Sindhu about the reality of the soul. He whose lotus feet by Rahugana so full of pity were worshiped and who had a heart in which, like in a full ocean, all the waves of [sensory input of] the senses were completely silenced, [thereafter in freedom] continued to roam this earth. Oh King, the king of Sauvira who from [being instructed by] an elevated person had arrived at the full understanding of the reality of the supreme soul, thus managed to completely give up on the physical conception of the self that he in his ignorance had entertained, and [from then on] faithfully followed the path of disciplic succession originating from the Lord.'

The king [Parikchit] said: 'That what you, oh greatest of devotion, described here in figures of speech so knowledgeable about the individual soul's path in material existence, is set in words comprehensible to those who developed their minds, not so much directly to common people of a lesser experience. Can you, for the sake of a full understanding of this subject matter which is so hard to grasp, therefore please tell us in different words what it exactly means?'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 14:

The Material World as the Great Forest of Enjoyment

The wise [Shukadeva] said: 'Those who take the body for the real self, being different with the mode of goodness and such, consider matters from the wrong perspective. Basing themselves on the six gateways of their senses and their mind, they alternatively operating favorably, unfavorably or with a mixed approach, have to deal with a never ending process of transmigration through different series of physical frames they time and again have to forsake and pick up again. In relation to Vishnu, the Transcendental Personality who is the Lord, the bound soul who acting under the control of maya, the illusory of matter, moves on the difficult path of the hard to cross forest of material existence, is engaged like a merchant who wants to make money with things desired by the people. He who engages his body for the sake of the profit experiences the material world in which he landed as a cemetery [a dead-end street for his self-realisation] where he encounters a lot of resistance for as long as he does not succeed to progress in following the example of the bumblebees, the ones devoted to the lotus feet of the Lord and His representatives, who put an end to the trouble of reaching His jewel [His glory]. In that forest he is guaranteed faced with the six senses and the mind whom one, because of their activities may call one's plunderers. From the wanton soul, who as someone lacking in self-control is walking the wrong path, they steal away every little bit of hard-won wealth so perfectly suited for performing sacrifices. The acquired wealth, that one at home for the purpose of gratifying one's senses cherishes in one's determination to see, touch, hear, taste and smell, leads, so say the sages, only to a better life in the hereafter when one directly uses it for the religious [varnashrama] practice according to the principles, a practice that is characterised by the worship of the Supreme Personality. In this respect the members of his family, beginning with those whom he calls his wife and children, are tigers and jackals in their actions; they seize, despite his resistance against it, the wealth he miserly does not want to share, just like a lamb that before the eyes of the herdsman [by predators] by force is seised from the midst of the herd. Just as in a field, that is plowed every year, the seeds of the bushes, grasses and creepers that did not burn are preserved and sprout again together with the plants sown, as it happens in any other garden, so too in the field of action of one's family life, the karmic [fruitive] activities do not disappear. For that reason this world is called the storehouse of desires. Being lost in that life, on this material path of existence sometimes wandering in the spheres of wealth - his life-breath so to say, he [the follower of falsehood] is disturbed by low-class characters, who are like gadflies and mosquitos, as also by thieves [who are like] rats, locusts and birds of prey. Ignorant in his fruitive motives because of a lusty mind, he looks with a wrong vision at this human world where one never reaches one's goal: he sees castles in the air. He who sometimes is engaged in chasing a fata morgana in his eagerness to drink, eat and have sex and such, is there [in that human world] consequently a reprobate, someone who is a slave of his senses. Sometimes looking for gold, he, being obsessed by that particular type of yellowish rubbish, which is also an unlimited source of wickedness, is just like someone who [in the dark] aching for fire chases a fathom light. A person thus, in this material forest, at times is fully engaged in running hither and thither for the sake of the various items of a dwelling place, water and wealth, deemed necessary for one's subsistence. Sometimes, in the dark of night driven by a momentary whirlwind of passion, he copulates like mad, in a total neglect of the rules. Blinded by the strength of that passion he, notwithstanding the divinities [of the sun and the moon, of regularity and order], then loses all notion being overcome by a mind full of lust. Occasionally, he for a moment awakens to the meaninglessness of the bodily concept of his self that destroys his remembrance and because of which he runs after matters like after the water of a mirage. Exactly like it is with the typical penetrating, repeated sounds of owls and crickets, there is sometimes the agitation caused, directly or indirectly, by enemies and state officials, who by their punitive actions trouble his ear and heart. When the conditioned soul has exhausted [the merit of] his good deeds in his previous life and at that time [in need of financial support] approaches the rich with their dead souls, he himself is then just as dead within, because they are like the karaskara, kakatunda and more of such [fruitless] trees. They are just like fouled wells never capable of making one happy. Occasionally associating with insincere people of a limited understanding, it is as if he's diving in a shallow river [so that he breaks his neck]; seeking the company of atheists will make him very unhappy in both respects [spiritual and physical]. When he fails in [acquiring] the wealth of others, he next gives trouble to his father and son, even about the most insignificant that his father or son possesses. Burned by the flames of grief he, getting most disappointed, sometimes experiences his life at home as a forest fire that brings no good but only more and more sadness. Sometimes, the wealth he holds dear is plundered by a carnivorous government that grew corrupt over time, so that he, bereft of all his good life, remains like a corpse with the life air expired. Then again thinking that his father, grandfather and others, who deceased a long time ago, are there again for real [as an incarnation], he experiences the type of happiness one feels in dreams. At other times he, as a householder with a mind in hot pursuit of material matters, wants to climb the mountain of precepts for [religious

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sacrifices for the sake of] fruitive activities and next he then [being frustrated about all the demands] laments like having entered a field full of thorns and sharp stones. Occasionally [fasting religiously but] unable to bear the fire of hunger and thirst, he runs out of patience and gets angry with his family members. Repeatedly being devoured by the python of sleep he, in the grip of ignorance finding himself in deep darkness, is like a corpse that, left behind in the forest, just lies there not knowing a thing any more. So now and then with his teeth of honour broken by [the envy of] his serpent-like enemies, he suffers insomnia and then falls into the blind well of illusion with a consciousness gradually deteriorating because of a [by debilitating rumination] disturbed heart. And then it happens that, searching for the sweet [honey] drops of desire of another man's woman or riches, he appropriates them so that he is severely chastised by the government or the relatives involved and thus ends up in an incomparably hellish life. This now is the reason why the Vedic authority states that the fruitful activity [the karma] of a living entity constitutes the cause of both this life and a next one in the ocean of matter. If he manages to stay away from the chastising, a trader such ['Devadatta'] takes his money away and another friend of Vishnu so ['Vishnumitra'] in his turn takes it from him again, and so the riches [as a part of the Lord's opulence] then move from one hand to the other. It also happens that one, because of natural causes like heat and cold, other living beings and the operation of one's own body and mind [resp. adhidaivika, adhibhautika, adhyatmika kles'as], is unable to counter the conditions of life, so that one remains being troubled by severe anxieties and depressions. Sometimes, trading with one another, about whatever little bit of money or farthing that was appropriated with cheating, however insignificant, there rises enmity because of the dishonesty.

On the path of material existence one encounters these forms of misfortune that are associated with happiness and unhappiness, attachment, hate, fear, false prestige, illusion, madness, lamentation, bewilderment, greed, envy, enmity, insult, hunger, thirst, tribulations, disease, birth, old age, death, and so on. Under the influence of the illusory energy maya, one is sometimes, being firmly embraced by the creepers of the arms of a female companion, deeply embarrassed by finding oneself at a loss, void of all intelligence and wisdom. In one's desire to please her and offer her a suitable place to live, one's heart gets engrossed in the concern with one's consciousness being seised by the talks and nice looks offered by the sons and daughters under the loving care of one's wife. Having lost the command over oneself one is then thrown into the endless darkness of a life ruled by ignorance.

Thus it may happen that, because of the cakra of the Controller, the Supreme Lord Vishnu's disc of Time, the influence of which stretches from the first expansion of atoms to the duration of the complete life of Brahma, one has to suffer the symptoms of its rotating. With that rotation in the course of time, swiftly before one's eyes [in terms of eternity], in a moment, all lives of the living entities are spent, from Brahma to the simplest blade of grass. Directly of Him, the Controller whose personal weapon is the disc of Time, one is afraid at heart. As a consequence not caring about the Supreme Lord, the Original Person of Sacrifice, one then accepts as worshipable what lacks foundation, with self-invented gods who, operating like buzzards, vultures, herons and crows, are denied by the scriptures of one's civilisation. When one as a conditioned soul by the atheists, who themselves are cheated, is cheated even more, one takes to the school of the brahmins. But with them [because of their demands] not finding satisfaction in the good character of engaging with the sacred thread according to principle and scripture, nor in the trusted culture of the dutiful worship of the Supreme Lord and Original Person of Sacrifice, one then turns to the association of karmis [karma motivated people or Shudras], who are not purified by behaving according to the Vedic injunctions. With them, in a materialistic sex life maintaining the family, one finds oneself in the company of those who think they descended from monkeys [instead of spiritual masters]. In that condition uninhibited, unrestricted enjoying [like the monkeys] with a serious lack of knowledge and insight, one forgets how short life is when one, staring into each other's faces and such, hankers only for gratification and material results. Sometimes, just like a monkey with its tree, eager to improve one's home, one spends time caring about and having fun with one's wife and children. Being confined to this course one abides, out of fear for the elephant of death, by a darkness as deep as that of a mountain cave. In relation to the objects of one's senses one is sometimes, [as said] in one's inability to counteract the insurmountable miseries of the heat and cold of nature, other living beings and one's own existence, caught in sadness because of [the enmity that rose about] whatever little bit of wealth one in mutual transactions happened to acquire by cheating. Now and then running out of money and bereft of the pleasure of accommodations for sleeping, sitting and eating, one has to endure the derision and such of the people that rose as a consequence of what one, having no success, has decided in one's desire to realise matters a dishonest way. Even though one, because of financially determined relations, more and more relates in enmity, one nevertheless engages in marriages that, based on this desire [to advance materially], consequently end in divorces. On this path through the ocean of matter one is plagued by the different miseries of a material existence, to which anyone himself - or anybody else for that matter - now and then thinks that he has won and then again thinks that he has lost. Thereto one experiences in giving up [deceased] relatives and welcoming newborn babies in ones bondage at times a lot of sorrow, illusion and fear to which one loudly cries while one at other times is so happy that one starts to sing. Up to the present day save for the saintly souls no one of this entire world of self-interested human beings has ever returned to the one [place of God] where this material course started and of which the defenders of the peace declare that it is also the end station. They [these materially motivated human beings] do not follow the instructions of yoga, nor do they attain this [supreme abode] that is easily attained by the wise who, naturally living and abiding by peace, are in control of their mind and senses. Even when one is the saintliest of kings, victorious in all fields and expert in performing all the sacrifices, one is but an earthly human being who has to lay down his life, has to give up the fight, has to meet his demise because of the self-created enmity with others and has to stop thinking about things in terms of 'mine'. Taking shelter of the creeper of karma [believing in fruitful actions] one somehow or other [living virtuously] may be freed from the misfortune of a hellish position [of being entangled in the material world], but whatever the higher world one is thus promoted to, one yet again, that way treading the worldly path, enters the [conflictuous] field of human self-interest.

There is not a single king able to follow, even in his mind, the path that we celebrated here as the way of the great soul Jada Bharata, the son of the great saintly king Rishabhadeva, any more than a fly can follow Garuda, the carrier of Vishnu. It was he who gave up the difficult to forsake wealth of a family, friends and well-wishers and the royal realm. Fond of Uttamas'loka, the Lord praised in the verses, he, only in his prime years, renounced all that occupied his heart, like it was stool. To those whose minds are attracted by the loving service unto the killer of Madhu [Krishna] being performed by the greatest souls, everything that is so difficult to give up, the world, the children, relatives, riches and a wife, all that is desirable of the goddess of fortune, the glances of mercy of the best demigods and even freedom from rebirth (liberation), is of no significance; and that befitted him as a king. 'The Enjoyer of all sacrifices, the Propounder of the Religion, He who teaches by the regulative principles [the vidhi], the yoga in person, the teacher of analysis [sankhya], the Controller of the Creation, Narayana, the shelter of all living beings, unto Lord Hari, I offer my obeisances!', was what he prayed aloud with a smile, even when he resided in the body of a deer. He who listens to or describes to others this, by the great devotees highly appreciated, all auspicious narration about the wise king Bharata, so pure in his qualities and actions, will live long, be fortunate, be well thought of, reach the higher worlds or attain beatitude [final liberation]. Glorifying the character of the devotee and the Lord will bring someone all blessings possible, leaving nothing left to desire from others.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 15:
The Glories of the Descendants of King Priyavrata

Shri Shuka said: 'The son of Bharata named Sumati who followed the path of Rishabha, will in this age of Kali, by some heretics lacking in civilisation be considered a godhead, according to a self-made, unsubstantial idea not found in the Vedas. From the womb of Sumati's wife Vriddhasena a son was born named Devatajit. Thereafter from Asuri a son of Devatajit was born who was called Devadyumna. From the womb of Devadyumna's wife Dhenumati the son Parameshthhi appeared from whose wife Suvarcala the son Pratiha appeared. He [Pratiha] who personally propounded the science of self-realisation, was a purified soul of perfect understanding who always remembered the Original Personality. From Pratiha's wife Suvarcala three sons were born named Pratiharta, Prastota and Udgata, who were all expert in the Vedic rituals. Pratiharta's wife Stuti gave birth to the two sons Aja and Bhuma. From Bhuma's wife Rishikulya Udgitha was born, from him Prastava was born from the womb of Devakulya, and Prastava begot in his wife Niyutsa the son Vibhu. From Vibhu's wife Rati, further Prithushena was born who in Akuti begot a son called Nakta. From Nakta there was a son born from the womb of Druti: Gaya. He, being a most exalted wise king famous for his piety, was by his qualities recognised as a direct expansion of the Supreme Soul, Lord Vishnu, who took his birth for the purpose of protecting the entire world. He, moved by pure goodness, became the leading personality [the mahapurusha] in society. In the performance of his duties he protected his subjects by maintaining them [poshana], he made them happy in all respects [prinana], treated them as his children [upalalana] and sometimes chastised them as a king [anus'asana]. He in every respect performed all the prescribed religious ceremonies for the Supreme Lord, the great Personality and source of all living beings who is the Supreme Brahman [in person]. By his surrender, the many of his spiritual qualities and by his service of the lotus feet of the self-realised souls, he managed to be of devotional service unto the Supreme Lord, for he, who in the purest consciousness continuously was absorbed in the soul, had personally realised the cessation of all identification with his material self. Despite his awareness of his exalted spiritual position he, remaining without any false pride [demonstrations of power], ruled the entire world strictly according to the Vedic principles.

Oh son of Pandu, they who are versed in the truth of the Purana sing for the eulogy of Gaya the following poetic verses: 'Who else would be capable of doing what King Gaya did? Who else but an integral part of the Lord can be so widely respected for his Vedic knowledge, for the performance of so many sacrifices, as a defender of righteousness with every kind of opulence, as the dean of the assembly of the truthful souls and as a servant of the devotees? All chaste and devoted daughters of Daksha, whose blessings always come true, with great satisfaction sprinkled him with sanctified water [at his coronation]. And with mother earth, who is like a cow that spontaneously drips milk, he selflessly fulfilled all desires of the people on this planet. [With all the rites] being of respect for every part of the Vedas, yielded him all that one could wish for, even though he was free from desires, and all the kings, satisfied about the opposition he offered on the battlefield, paid tribute to him, just as the brahmins did with one sixth of the benedictions of a next life when he respected them righteously. King Indra got intoxicated drinking too much of the soma of the sacrifices [of Gaya] in favor of the Supreme Lord, the soul of all sacrifices, the result of which He [Vishnu] personally accepted because of the purity of his devotion and steadiness in devotional service. When one satisfies the Lord in the sacrificial arena one directly propitiates all the gods beginning with Lord Brahma, including the complete of human society, the lower creatures and the plants and grasses. Despite being satisfaction personified, the Lord derived great satisfaction from Gaya!'

From his wife Gayanti three sons Citraratha, Sugati and Avarodhana were born. From Citraratha's wife Urna Samrath was born and from him Marici was born from Utkala. Marici's wife Bindumati gave birth to a child named Bindu [or Binduman] and from Bindu's wife Saragha there was a child carrying the name Madhu. Thereafter a son came called Viravrata who took birth from Madhu's wife Sumana. From Viravrata's wife Bhoja two sons were born named Manthu and Pramanthu and from Manthu's wife Satya, Bhauvana was born. From his wife Dushana a son was born named Tvashtha and from Tvashtha's wife Virocana there was a son named Viraja. From Viraja's wife Vishuci a hundred sons [and grandsons] and one daughter were born with Shatajit as the first one.

About Viraja there is the following verse: 'King Viraja, who fathered a hundred sons, is by his reputation as great a jewel, to this dynasty stemming from Priyavrata [see 5.1], as Lord Vishnu is among the demigods.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 16:
How the Lord can be Comprehended as a Matter of Fact

The king [Parikchit] said: 'You spoke about the sphere of the earth [Bhu-mandala] saying that it stretches as far as the heat of the sun reaches and as far as the moon and myriad of stars can be seen. Because of Priyavrata's circumambulating in his chariot by the seven ditches [of the wheels] the oceans were created that separated the seven different dvipas. This you all clearly described, oh great one. Concerning this subject of study I would like to know everything about the sizes and characteristics in question. With before our eyes the material qualities of the Supreme Lord who - despite the fact that He Himself is free from the modes - assumed the gross form [of the universe], the mind is ready to focus on His more subtle form as the light of the soul [that stands for] the supreme spiritual entity. Oh dear teacher, can you please tell us how He, whom one knows as the Great Lord Vasudeva, can be comprehended as something demonstrable [tat]?'

The rishi said: 'Oh great King, there are endless transformations of the material qualities [the gunas] of the Supreme Lord. Even though not even a person living as long as Brahma is capable of putting it into words or fully understand this, I nevertheless shall try to explain in terms of names, forms and proportions that what from the unmanifest has manifested [as Bhuloka, our terrestrial world]. The width of this area all around the earth [our material 'island'], this space inside the whorl of the lotus flower [of the galaxy unfolding in the night] which is as round as a lotus leaf, measures a terrible number of yojanas [or light years as we say these days*]. Therein nine subdivisions are found [one central area and eight peripheral 'areas separated by mountains'; so-called varshas] of nine times thousand yojanas neatly separated by eight boundaries of rock ['mountain-ranges', 'spiral arms' or giri]. Among these there is one area in the centre named Ilavrita that is entirely golden and is known as the most renown of all mountains, Mount Meru. This area

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stretches up as far as it is wide and it is of this lotus-like [unfolded] universe the pericarp that, by earthly standards, measures a thirty two thousand yojanas at its base. It stretches sixteen thousand yojanas upwards to its top as also below [according to modern astronomy our galaxy is about seven thousand light years thick].

North and further north of Ilavrita [projected on the globe of the earth] there are, one after the other stretching out, the three ranges of Nila, Shveta and Shringavan, that each by one tenth are flatter in their marking the varshas of Ramyaka, Hiranmaya and Kuru. Stretching out for two thousand yojanas, they reach to the Ksharoda ocean in the east and west [the 'salty one']. The same way there are to the south of Ilavrita the Nishadha, Hemakutha and Himalaya ranges that stretch out with a body of thousands of yojanas to the east dividing a same number of varshas that are called Hari, Kimpurusha and Bharata. And likewise to the west of Ilavrita as also to the east are situated the two demarcations of the western Malyavan and eastern Gandhamadana ranges that for two thousand yojanas stretch out to the mountains the Nila and the Nishadha. They constitute the borders of the varshas called Ketumala and Bhadras'va. The mountains named Mandara, Merumandara, Supars'va and Kumuda at four sides form a belt around Mount Meru that massively spreads out for countless yojanas. On these four mountains standing like flagstaffs one finds, spread over as much as a thousand yojanas, four kinds of the very best trees: the mango, the rose apple, the kadamba and the banyan. With their branches they cover hundreds of yojanas. There are four lakes of the purest water, milk, honey and sugarcane juice, drinking from which the demigods [the Apsaras, Gandharvas, Caranas, Kinnaras etc.] have a natural command of the powers of yoga, oh best of the Bharata dynasty. There are also four gardens called Nandana, Caitraratha, Vaibhrajaka and Sarvatobhadra. The enchanted and enchanting wives of the powerful demigods, whose glories together with those of their partners are sung by the lesser gods, are there engaged in their pastimes. On the slopes of the Mandara, at eleven-hundred yojanas from the top, from the mango tree named Devacuta, the fruits fall down that sweet as nectar are as big as mountain peaks. From the broken mangoes the reddish juice streams in large quantities that is very sweet and fragrant, being mixed with other aromas. It flows down from the top of Mandara mountain in the east of Ilavrita-varsha in a river called the Arunoda. The wind in contact with the limbs of Bhavani [the wife of Shiva], her maid servants and the chaste wives of the Yakshas [Shiva's followers] using this water, fragrant therefrom, can be smelled for ten yojanas around. Similarly the juice of the elephant sised rose apple fruits, which with their tiny seeds are broken to pieces because of falling to the ground at ten-thousand yojanas from the top of Merumandara, flows down in a river named the Jambu-nadi through the entire southern region of Ilavrita. The mud of both the banks that is completely saturated with that juice, delivers, having dried under the influence of the air and the sun, continually [a kind of gold named] Jambu-nada. It is used by the denizens of heaven and provides the ever youthful wives of the demigods with all kinds of ornaments in the form of belts, diadems, bangles and so on. But from the big kadamba standing on the slope of the mountain Supars'va five streams of honey flow from its hollows tens of feet wide [five vyamas of about five to six feet each] that from the top of that mountain flow down and penetrate the entire western region of Ilavrita with their fragrance. These flows sweetly perfume, through the breath issuing from the mouths of those who drank from them, the air over a distance of hundred yojanas. So too from the top of Kumuda mountain, on which the banyan tree grows that with its thick stems is called Shatavals'a ['a hundred trunks'], big rivers flow in the northern direction of Ilavrita. They bring happiness in fulfilling all desires by carrying in their wake an abundance of milk, yogurt, honey, clarified butter, molasses, food grains and so on, as also a certain wealth of clothing, bedding, sitting places, ornaments and more of such goods. The citizens enjoying these benefits, never ever suffer wrinkles, gray hair, fatigue, bad smelling perspiration, old age, disease, premature death, cold or heat, a waning luster or whatever variety of troubles and miseries. For their entire life they enjoy nothing but an unlimited happiness.

Like the filaments of the whorl of a lotus, all around the base of Mount Meru twenty or more mountains are arranged carrying names such as the Kuranga, Kurara, Kusumbha, Vaikanka, Trikutha, Shis'ira, Patanga, Rucaka, Nishadha, Sinivasa, Kapila, Shankha, Vaidurya, Jarudhi, Hamsa, Rishabha, Naga, Kalanjara and the Narada. Mount Meru, with its golden brilliance like fire, is surrounded by eight mountains of which the two in the east are called Jathhara and Devakutha, the two in the west Pavana and Pariyatra, the two in the south Kailasa and Karavira and the two in the north Tris'ringa and Makara. Each of them stretching out for two thousand yojanas, together cover eighteen thousand square yojanas. On top of Mount Meru one finds in the middle the dwelling place, the city of the most powerful, self-born one [Lord Brahma], stretching to all sides for many thousands of yojanas, about which the sages say that it is entirely golden [our galaxy does so for twenty-six-thousand light years to its pericarp and forty to sixty thousand light years in diameter]. Around that centre in each direction the eight cities of the rulers over the planetary systems are found that, being four times as small, are of a likewise form (**).'

*: The yojana is a Vedic measure for a great distance which originally stood for the length in kilometers that is covered before one has to unyoke one's horse. Practically that amounts to a distance of 3 to 9 miles or ±5 to 14.5 km. But used in a context of cosmic distances it sometimes amounts to a distance of a light year.

**: The place of Brahma is called Manovati, and those of his assistants such as Indra and Agni are known as Amaravati, Tejovati, Samyamani, Krishnangana, Shraddhavati, Gandhavati, Mahodaya and Yas'ovati.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 17:
The Descent of the River Ganges

Shri Shuka said: 'At the time the incarnation of Lord Vishnu, who is directly the enjoyer of all sacrifices, took His second step [as Lord Vamana], He with the nail of the big toe of His left foot pierced the upper covering of the universe. The flow of water that from the outside entered the hole, having turned pink from washing away the red powder of His lotus feet, vanquishes the sins of all the world getting in touch with it. It fell, after a very long time ['a thousand millennia'], from the sky down on top of the highest planetary world [Dhruvaloka], that one calls the refuge of Vishnu. Emanating directly from the Supreme Lord's feet it is described as completely pure and has for that reason been given that name [the Ganges as the Vishnupadi]. There, in that place, our most exalted, firmly determined devotee, the famous son [Dhruva] of Uttanapada, bathes in the water of the lotus feet of the family deity. With his heart deeply immersed in an intense eagerness, his spontaneous devotional service to the Lord constantly increases and tears are showing in his two flowerlike, slightly opened eyes as a symptom of the ecstasy in his body. Even today he with great reverence accepts upon his head the emanated water that is free from impurities. After him [the waters reach] the seven sages [Marici, Vasishthha, Atri and so on]. They, well known with this blessing, even at the present moment carry it on their matted hair with great honour. They consider it the ultimate perfection of all austerities to be of such a great and continuous devotional service in bhakti-yoga unto the Supreme All-pervading Lord Vasudeva. While other people seek and find a different form of [nirvis'esha-vadi or impersonal] liberation, they reach their goal by neglecting all other means of attaining perfection [as by economic development, the regulation of sense gratification, or by religion]. When the water, in its fall in the realm of the gods, has inundated the sphere of the moon that is so congested by the thousands and millions of their different vimanas [divine palaces, different points of view or heavenly vehicles], it next falls down upon the abode of Brahma. There it divides into four branches carrying the names of Sita, Alakananda, Cakshu and Bhadra, that flow away in the four directions towards the great reservoir, the ocean. The Sita originating from the city of Brahma, flows downwards from the tops of the Kesaracala and of other great mountains. Fallen on the top of the Gandhamadana mountain within the province of Bhadras'va going in the western direction it enters into the salty ocean. The same way coming down from the top of the mountain Malyavan, the water of the [branch of the Ganges called the] Cakshu next flows uninterrupted in the direction of Ketumala to enter the ocean in the west. The Bhadra, coming down from Mount Meru, flows from one mountain peak to the other [the Kumuda and the Nila] and falls down from Mount Shringavan to go in the northern direction through the entire area of Kuru and finally enters the ocean in the north. Similarly the Alakananda [branch of the Ganges], flowing down at the southern side of Brahmapuri [Mount Meru], passes many mountain tops to reach, more fiercely, with a greater force Hemakutha and Himakutha to cut [thereafter] through Bharata-varsha in the direction of the ocean in the south. For someone on his way to bathe in the water it is, with every step he makes, less difficult to obtain the result of great sacrifices like the As'vamedha and the Rajasuya. The many hundreds of other rivers and streams that run through each of the many tracts of land, all should be considered daughters of Mount Meru.

Of all these [nine] varshas the land known as Bharata-varsha [India] constitutes the field [kshetra] of karma [of shaping one's destiny by actions]. The remaining other eight varshas are the heavenly places here on earth where, so the scholars say, those who were promoted to heaven, may spend the remaining merit of their virtuous deeds. For thousands of years they in these lands all enjoy their lives just like gods, with bodies like thunderbolts that are as strong as a thousand elephants. Youthful and excited about a great deal of sexual pleasure and other sensual delights in diverse relationships, they at the end of their term of [liberal] mating then conceive a single child. They know times of harmonious living there like one had during Treta-yuga [the period that mankind lived in piety]. In each of those lands the godlike leaders because of their virtuous conduct never run short of respect and offerings. During all seasons they have lots of flowers as also fruits because of which the branches of the trees heavily bend down. The gardens to their many divine refuges are full of beautiful trees and creepers. There are many lakes of crystal clear water in the valleys of the mountain ranges that demarcate their lands. In those lakes one finds all kinds of fragrant fresh lilies with humming bumblebees, eager great swans, ducks, cranes and other aquatic birds. They enjoy all kinds of water sports there and lustily court the attractive godlike women who, smiling with their playful glances, entertain themselves freely with great joy, an eager look and an enchanted mind. The Supreme Lord Narayana, the great personality, certainly proves His mercy to His devotees in all these nine varshas by personally promoting the reality of the soul [through his four appearances as Vasudeva, Sankarshana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha]. Up to the present day He thus stays near his devotees to accept their service (*).

In Ilavrita-varsha the Supreme Lord Shiva is the only man. Any man other than him who wants to enter that most excellent realm, will find out what leads to the curse of Bhavani [His wife] and make him turn into a woman. I will dilate on that subject later on [see 9.1]. In the company of Bhavani there are ten billion women who always serve the in four expanded Supreme Lord. The fourth expansion of the Supreme Personality, known as Sankarshana, constitutes the source of His form in the mode of ignorance. Lord Shiva, in trance meditating on Him, calls Him into his heart by reciting the following in worship. The powerful Lordship says: 'My obeisances unto You, oh Supreme Lord, oh greatest Original Personality and reservoir of all transcendental qualities, oh You whom I revere as the one unlimited and unseen within this world. Oh worshipable one whose feet ward off all danger, You, to whom we owe all the different opulences, are the very best, the ultimate shelter invaluable to the devotees to whose satisfaction You manifest Yourself in different forms. I sing Your glory because You put an end to the repetition of birth and death, oh You, Supreme Controller and source of this creation. Who of us not in control of the force of his anger, would, aspiring to conquer his senses with the command of Your glance, not be of worship unto You? Your vision is never, not even to the slightest degree, clouded by the restless mind that one has because of the qualities of the deluding material world. To a person with an impure vision You with Your bloodshot eyes appear as someone who under the influence of maya is inebriated because of drinking too much honey sweet liquor. But [such a person is as impure as e.g.] the wives of that serpent demon [Kaliya] who could not worship You anymore because of their bashfulness about being sensually aroused from touching Your feet. By You, so say all the sages, the world is maintained, created and annihilated, while You Yourself are free from these three [basic qualities]. To You as the Unlimited One, the universes situated on the hundreds and thousands of Your hoods, weigh not more than a mustard seed. From You the first embodiment of the gunas originated: the most powerful one who was never born [Lord Brahma], the reservoir of all wisdom and cosmic intelligence of the total energy of the universe. From him I [Rudra] appeared in this world who, endowed with the three basic qualities, from my material [ahankara ego] potency give shape to the demigods, the [five] material elements and the senses. Being controlled by You, we - the great personalities, I, the demigods, the five elements and the total energy - are bound to You like birds on a string and all together form this material world by Your grace. A person bewildered by the qualities of creation does not know how to escape from being caught in the deluding energy that ties him on every occasion to karmic activities. That Supreme Personality, You in whom everything has its beginning and its end, I offer my respectful obeisances.'

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mind that one has because of the qualities of the deluding material world. To a person with an impure vision You with Your bloodshot eyes appear as someone who under the influence of maya is inebriated because of drinking too much honey sweet liquor. But [such a person is as impure as e.g.] the wives of that serpent demon [Kaliya] who could not worship You anymore because of their bashfulness about being sensually aroused from touching Your feet. By You, so say all the sages, the world is maintained, created and annihilated, while You Yourself are free from these three [modes]. To You as the Unlimited One, the universes situated on the hundreds and thousands of Your hoods, weigh not more than a mustard seed. From You originated the first embodiment of the gunas, the most powerful one who was never born [Lord Brahma], the reservoir of all wisdom and cosmic intelligence of the total energy of the universe. From him I [Rudra] appeared in this world who, endowed with the three modes, from my material [ahankara ego] potency shape the demigods, the [five] material elements and the senses. Being controlled by You, we - the great personalities, I, the demigods, the five elements and the total energy - are bound to You like birds on a string and all together form this material world by Your grace. A person bewildered by the qualities of creation does not know how to escape from being caught in the deluding energy that ties him on every occasion to karmic activities. That Supreme Personality, You in whom everything has its beginning and its end, I offer my respectful obeisances.'

*: In some of the satvata-tantras, one finds a description of the nine varshas in terms of the predominating Godhead worshiped in each of them: Vasudeva, Sankarshana, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Narayana, Nrisimha, Hayagriva, Mahavaraha, and Brahma.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 18:

Prayers to the Different Avataras

Shri Shuka said: 'The son of Dharmaraja known as Bhadras'rava, along with the leading nobles and all the inhabitants of Bhadras'va-varsha, directly worships the same way [as Lord Shiva does] the Supreme Lord Vasudeva in His dear most form as the director of the religion: His incarnation as Hayagriva [or Hayas'irsha]. Approaching Him they, absorbed in transcendence, chant the following. The ruler Bhadras'rava and his subjects say: 'Our obeisances unto the Supreme Lord whom we worship for being the source of all religious principles and the One who purifies us from all material contamination. Alas! How wondrous the ways of the Lord are. Sure to be faced with death someone nevertheless does not see this and thinks of material happiness. When he does the wrong things he tries to enjoy and when he cremates his father or his sons he wishes to live for ever! The great sages traditionally insist that the universe is transitory and the philosophers and the scholars who see and know their real self also state that. Still they are overcome by illusion, oh Unborn One. We offer You, the One Unborn, our obeisances whose actions are most wonderful. The Vedic literatures defend You as being distant from the activities of the creation, maintenance and annihilation of the entire universe. That You are not touched by them nevertheless does not amaze us, for in You, the original cause of all causes, we find the essence [the primal substance] set apart in every respect. At the end of the Yuga the four Vedas were stolen by the personification of ignorance [the demon Madhu] and [retrieving them] from the lowest worlds they were by You, assuming the form of half a horse, half a man [Hayagriva], returned to the supreme poet [Brahma] upon his request. Him, You whose resolve never fails, we offer our obeisances.'

Moreover, in Hari-varsha, there is the Supreme Personality of the Lord in a human form [as Nrisimhadeva]. The reason why He assumed that form most satisfying to the great personality of all good qualities Prahlada, I shall explain to you later [see BOOK 7]. That topmost devotee, because of whose exalted character and qualities all the Daityas in his family were delivered, is, together with the people of that varsha, of an uninterrupted, unflinching devotional service and they worship Him chanting this: 'Oh Supreme Lord Nrisimha, I bow for You, my obeisances to the power of all power that You are. Please manifest Yourself fully, oh You whose nails and teeth are like thunderbolts. Please take away the desire to enjoy the untrue, be so good to drive away, oh Lord, the ignorance in the material world. May, with my oblations, there be freedom from all fear. I beg You, oh Lord, source of my prayer, to appear before my mind's eye. Let there be good fortune for the entire universe, may all mischief turn into virtue, let all living beings find consciousness in a reciprocating mindfulness and may the mind be calm. Give us the experience of You as the Lord in the beyond, let our intelligence be absorbed in this without another motive. Let there no longer be the attachment to one's house, wife, children, a bank balance, friends and relatives, but rather the association with persons who cherish the Lord, with people satisfied with the bare necessities of life who - contrary to those who cherish the senses - quickly succeed in self-realisation. The unborn one who entered the core of the heart through the ears, with the force of a constant power vanquishes the impurities of the body and the mind of those who managed to associate regularly and be in touch with the holy places [temples, holy rivers, places of pilgrimage etc.]. Who indeed would not be of service to Mukunda, the Lord of Liberation, and [discuss] His glorious actions? In those who, free from ulterior motives, are of service to the Fortunate One, all the demigods manifest themselves and all good qualities are found. But where are the good qualities of a person who is not devoted to the Lord and who with a busy mind constantly runs after the temporary matters of the outside world? As desirable as water is to aquatics, the Supreme Lord is desirable as the true self, as the (Super)soul of all embodied beings. If one gives up on a personality as great as He is, one will get attached to a household life that for a couple having aged then constitutes the [entire] greatness [that was accomplished]. Household life is the root cause of fear and depression, passion, attachment, disappointment, anger, the desire for prestige and the cycle of repeated birth and death. One should give it up [to be attached this way] and [instead] be of worship for the feet of Lord Nrisimhadev who is the refuge of fearlessness.'

The Supreme Lord resides in Ketumala in the form of Kamadeva [or also Pradyumna], according to His wish to satisfy the Goddess of Fortune as also the sons [the days] and the daughters [the nights] of the founding father [Samvatsara, the deity of the year], who rule the land and of whom there are as many as there are days and nights in a human lifetime. The fetuses of these daughters, whose minds are upset by the radiation of the mighty weapon [the cakra] of the Supreme Personality, are ruined and after one year expelled dead [from the womb] as miscarriages. So very beautiful in His movements and manifested pastimes, He with His mild smiles, playful glances, slightly raised attractive eyebrows and charming lotuslike face is a pleasure to the Goddess of Fortune and all the senses. To that highest form of the Supreme Lord so affectionate to all, the Goddess of Splendor [Lakshmidevi], in the absorption of yoga recites the following in her all year through - during the nights with the daughters of the Prajapati, and during the days with the protectors [husbands, sons] - being of worship for Him: 'Oh Lord, hram hrim hrum [a mystical mantra of propitiation], in respect of all Your qualities and properties I offer You, the Supreme Lord of the senses, my obeisances. You are the Soul of all and master of action, knowing, function and relation; You as the enjoyer of all rituals, the supplier of the food, He who awards eternal life, the All-pervading One of Power, the strength of the body and the senses, the Supreme Husband fulfilling all desires, I offer my respects - may there always be Your good fortune! Women ask in this world for [You as] another, self-sufficient husband by propitiating You, the Lord of the senses, by means of sacred vows, because the dependent husbands are not capable to protect the sweet children, wealth and life of these women. That man would be a husband who is fearless and self-sufficient and fully capable of offering protection. You are that person [depending on no one else] for otherwise people would fear each other [in their dependence]. There is no attainment held higher in this world than the attainment of You. A woman who, with that notion of You in mind, eagerly worships Your lotus feet, is by You, despite all the desires she is addicted to, rewarded for just that wish, but when she, wishing to worship You, does so for another purpose, oh Supreme Lord, she, having broken [with the original purpose], will feel pain. In order to obtain me [the Goddess of Fortune], the unborn one [Brahma], the mighty master [Isha or Shiva], the other gods as also the unenlightened souls undergo severe penances, but because I have You always in my heart, no one contemplating the senses will obtain me, unless Your feet are his final aim, oh Unconquerable One. I pray that You, oh Infallible one, also place on my head the worshipable lotus hand You placed on the heads of the devotees. You carry my mark on Your chest, oh worshipable one, but that is misleading [that does not guarantee Your mercy]. Who can ever fathom by reason and argument the motives of You, the Supreme Lord?'

In Ramyaka, where [Vaivasvata] Manu rules, in the past [at the end of the Cakshusha-manvantara] the Supreme Personality appeared in the most loved form of Matsya, the fish incarnation. Even today Manu is in his devotional service of worship with the following prayer: 'I offer my obeisances to Him, the Supreme Lord, who is pure goodness, the origin of life, the source of vitality, the origin of all mental power and bodily strength, having appeared in the form of the great fish. Not seen by the leaders of the different worlds You, oh Supreme Controller, move about within and without, being known by the great [Vedic] sounds [the mantras] by which man, addressed by his different [varnashrama] names [for status and occupation], is brought under Your control like being a wooden doll. The leaders of the world suffer in politics from the fever of envy. They, separately or combined, endeavoring apart from You, also try to offer protection, but they are not capable of realizing that, whatever two-legged, four-legged, crawling or non-moving creatures it might concern in this world. Oh Lordship, when this earth, the storehouse of all kinds of medicinal herbs, was in the stormy waves of the waters of devastation at the end of the Yuga, You with all Your power were very quickly there for [the rescue of] her and me, oh Unborn One. I offer You, the ultimate source of life of the entire universe, therefore my respectful obeisances.'

Residing in Hiranmaya the Supreme Lord manifests with the body of a tortoise [Kurma]. Aryama, the leader of the forefathers, together with the people of that realm worships that dearmost embodiment of Him, singing the following hymn. 'My Lord, our respects for You, the Supreme Lord in the form of a tortoise. You are the embodiment of all good qualities, again and again we offer You our obeisances whose position cannot be discerned, You the greatest one, reaching everywhere, who are the shelter of all. This form of You of the visible cosmic complete, which You manifested by Your creative potency and is known by so many appearances, is beyond any measure and we therefore cannot perceive it as it is - unto You, whose actual form cannot be expressed in words, our respects. What is born from a womb, born from humidity, born from an egg, born from the earth; what moves or does not move around, a god, a sage or forefather; what exists as the material elements, the senses, the higher worlds, the sky, the earthly worlds, the hills and mountains, the rivers, the oceans, the islands, the stars and the planets, thus are all different notions of one and the same [form of You]. From You, with Your countless different names, forms and features, the scholars derive their notion of numerical proportions, enumerations and compositions, the truth of which they verify by observation. Unto Him who thus discloses Himself in analysis, You, I offer my obeisances [see also Kapila].'

In the northern territory called Kuru there is the Supreme Lord, the Original Person of Sacrifice also, namely in His boar form [Varaha]. There He is over and over worshiped by the Goddess and this planet earth, together with the inhabitants of [Uttara-]Kuru who are unrelenting in their devotional service unto Him. In this worship the following Upanishad verses are repeated: 'We offer the Supreme Lord our obeisances who is understood by means of the different mantras for the sacrifices, the rituals and all the great ceremonies that are part of His body. That great personality, the purifier of our karma who manifested Himself in all the three [previous] ages we offer our respects. To the great scholars full of wisdom material nature with her basic qualities constitutes Your form. Just like with fire that manifests itself in wood when one spins a stick, they, who in their spiritual investigations seek the cause, find You, the Soul manifesting Himself whom we offer our respects, but who remains hidden when one endeavors for material results. Those whose intelligence stabilised, because of carefully considering all the different limbs of the yoga system, are thus completely freed from the maya of Your external form, the illusion that is raised by the objects of the senses, the demigods [of the sun, the moon, the fire etc] who rule the senses, the body, the Time that rules [the Ruler], the doer [the ego] and the modes of nature, whom one all perceives as matters of fact. Our repeated obeisances unto that Sublime Soul. You who entertain no desires in maintaining, annihilating and creating the universe, You who in glancing over guna and maya - [and thus makes the universe move] like iron being moved by a magnet - want to [take care of the souls] but do not desire [Your manifestation], You who are there as the witness to the actions and reactions, we offer our obeisances. Before Him who in the original form of a boar, playful like an elephant, after killing the most formidable daitya opponent in the fight, emerged from the water of the Garbhodaka ocean keeping our earth on top of His tusks [Hiranyaksha] - before that Almighty Lord, we bow down.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 19:

The Prayers of Hanuman and Narada and the Glories of Bharata-varsha

Shri Shuka said: 'In the land of Kimpurusha the supreme and greatest devotee Hanuman, together with the people living there, is always engaged in the service at the feet and the worship of the Supreme Lord Ramacandra, the Original Personality who, as the elder brother of Lakshmana, is so pleasing to Sita. Together with Arshthishena [the leader of Kimpurusha] attentively listening to the most auspicious stories about his master and Lordship, sung by a company of Gandharvas, he [Hanuman] himself prays this: 'Oh my Lord, my obeisances unto You, the Sweet Lord discussed in the scriptures. All my respects for You who possess all the good qualities one also finds in the advanced devotees. My reverence for You as the One who is in control of His senses and is always remembered and worshiped by the people of all places. My salutations unto You as the touchstone of quality for any seeker of truth. I bow down before You, the great personality and godhead of the brahmins, the King of all Kings. Let me worship Him, the absolutely pure, supreme truth, the one measure for understanding the world who, by His spiritual potency, vanquishes the influence of the modes of nature. He is the inner peace of wisdom one attains when one, beyond name and form, is free from ego. Incarnated as a human being He was not only there as the Almighty One to kill the demon

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[Ravana], but also as the One instructing the mortals of this material world. What other reason would there have been for all the misery of Sita's being separated from Him, the Supreme Lord, but to [offer opportunity to] serve the One satisfied within, the original spiritual soul? In truth He, the Supreme Soul and best friend of the self-realised souls, is never attached to whatever within the three worlds. He is the Supreme Lord Vasudeva who in fact never suffered from being separated from His wife Sita, nor ever could be disturbed by [what happened to] Lakshmana [His brother and eternal associate]. It is not one's birth, one's fortune, one's eloquence, one's wit or one's physique that creates the satisfaction of the greatest One, for the brother of Lakshmana even accepted as His friends us, the forest dwellers who miss all these qualities. Therefore, whether one is enlightened or not, a beast or a human being, anyone who is of the soul should worship Rama, the foremost one who is so easy to please, the Lord who appeared as a human being and thus led the inhabitants of Kosala [Ayodhya, northern India] back to heaven.'

The Supreme Lord, also present in the land of Bharata, is till the end of the millennium [*] known there as Nara-Narayana. He whose glories are inconceivable shows His causeless mercy there to those who aspire self-realisation and practice austerities that are conducive to the religion, the spiritual knowledge, the detachment, the yogic mastery, the control over the senses and the freedom from false ego. The practice of analytic yoga, on how one should understand the Personality of God as formulated by the Lord [Kapila], was instructed to Savarni Manu by the fortunate Narada, who together with the followers of the system of status orientations [the varnashrama system] living in the land of Bharata [India] with great ecstatic love serves the Lord with the eulogy: 'My respectful obeisances unto You, oh Lord, oh master of the senses and freedom from attachment in person. My respects unto You, who are the only asset of a person living in [voluntary] poverty. You, Nara-Narayana, are the most exalted one of all the wise, the supreme spiritual master of all the paramahamsas [the swanlike realised masters] and the original person of the self-realised souls; again and again I thus offer You my reverential homage.' And he sings thereto: 'You are the doer overseeing this cosmic creation, the One who is not attached to being the master, nor do You, although You appear as a human being, suffer from hunger, thirst and fatigue. Nor is the vision of You, who are the seer of everything, ever polluted by the basic material qualities. I offer You, the unattached and pure, unfathomable witness, my respects. Having forsaken one's identification with the body, one must, at the end of one's time [of living], with a devotional attitude concentrate one's mind on You who are transcendental to the material qualities. This forsaking constitutes the perfection of the practice of yoga as explained by the almighty Lord Brahma. A person driven by desire thinks in fear about the present and future of his children, wife and wealth, but anyone who knows about the hopelessness of this deficient vehicle of time, considers such endeavors only a waste of time because the body is lost in the end. Therefore, our master, oh Lord in the beyond, I pray that we by dint of the [bhakti] yoga unto You, very soon may forsake this fixed notion of 'I' and 'mine' about the banality of this vehicle of time, this illusory reality of Yours which is so difficult to overcome, so that we may realise our original nature.'

In this land of Bharata there are also many mountains and rivers. There are mountains like the Malaya, Mangala-prastha, Mainaka, Trikutha, Rishabha, Kuthaka, Kollaka, Sahya, Devagiri, Rishyamuka, Shri-s'aila, Venkatha, Mahendra, Varidhara, Vindhya, Shuktiman, Rikshagiri, Pariyatra, Drona, Citrakutha, Govardhana, Raivataka, Kakubha, Nila, Gokamukha, Indrakila and Kamagiri, as also hundreds and thousands of other peaks with innumerable big and small rivers streaming down their slopes. The residents of Bharata find purification of mind by touching [and bathing in] all these waters, or just by mentioning their name. The big rivers are the Candravasa, Tamraparni, Avathoda, Kritamala, Vaihayasi, Kaveri, Veni, Payasvini, Sharkaravarta, Tungabhadra, Krishnavenya, Bhimarathi, Godavari, Nirvindhya, Payoshni, Tapi, Reva, Surasa, Narmada, Carmanvati, Sindhu [the present Indus], the two main rivers the Andha and the Sona, the Mahanadi, Vedasmriti, Rishikulya, Trisama, Kaus'iki, Mandakini, Yamuna, Sarasvati, Drishadvati, Gomati, Sarayu, Rodhasvati, Saptavati, Sushoma, Shatadru, Candrabhaga, Marudvridha, Vitasta, Asikni and the Vis'va. In this tract of land the people, who took birth there out of goodness, passion ['redness'] or ignorance, lead a divine, human or hellish life according to the karma they acquired. Thus there are, as a consequence of what one did in the past, for each soul many goals demarcated in the sense of different [varnashrama] societal destinations [or status orientation groups], that each may lead to the path of liberation. By performing devotional service for the Fortunate One, the soul of all living beings - who is free from all attachment, cannot be expressed in words and who depends on no one -, by serving the Supersoul Vasudeva free from ulterior motives and in bhakti-yoga doing that what belongs to all these different destinations, one can thus associating with the people [with devotees] of the Supreme Personality of Godhead, cut with the cause of the bond of ignorance.

This is what the demigods chant: 'Oh, what kind of pious deeds have these people performed or what blessing has the Lord Himself pronounced being pleased with them, that they obtained a birth in the land of Bharata-varsha, a birth favorable for serving Lord Mukunda that is our aspiration? What is the use of being engaged in difficult rituals, austerities, vows, charitable deeds or achieving the heavenly kingdom when one, due to an excessive sensuality, has lost the remembrance of the lotus feet of Lord Narayana? Of greater value than achieving a position in life that lasts endlessly and leads to repeated births, is to be born in the land of Bharata for a life of only hundred years. That is so because they who, as a mortal for such a short time being engaged, know to fix their mind attentively [on His feet] in full detachment, [thus actually know to value life itself and then] achieve the Lord's abode where there is no fear [Vaikunthha]. Those places - even those inhabited by the gods - where there is not the sweet stream of talks about Vaikunthha, nor the devotees are found who, always engaged in His service, take to His shelter, nor the performance takes place of those sacrifices for the Lord that are true festivals, are places not to be frequented. Those souls who, having achieved a human birth, have all the knowledge, are capable of engaging in action and have all means at their disposition, but despite these attainments do not endeavor for the elevation of not taking birth again, will fall back into bondage, just like birds [that having escaped from man do not take care]. By their faith they [the inhabitants of India] are divided in their performance of the rituals. [But] with the oblations offered to the ruling deity and the reciting of mantras according to the proper method, the One God who is addressed with different names, He, the bestower of all benedictions in person, complete in Himself, accepts that most happily. Even though He certainly grants what man prays for, He does not bestow benedictions one has to ask for time and again. He out of His own, unasked, grants to those devoted to Him, the lotus flower of His feet that put an end to all desires. If there, after our happy stay in heaven, remains any merit from our perfect sacrifices, our conscientious formulations and our good deeds, then bless us with a birth in Ajanabhavarsha [the earth under the rule of Bharata], the land where we may remember Him, the Lord expanding the happiness of His devotees.'

Shri Shuka continued: 'To the continent known as Jambudvipa [the Eurasian continent], oh King, there are also, as some learned sages describe it, eight smaller dvipas [subsections or provinces] that were formed by the digging all around in the earth of the sons of Maharaja Sagara [the Indian part or Bharata-varsha] when they tried to retrieve their lost horse of sacrifice. They carry the following names: Svarnaprastha, Candrashukla, Avartana, Ramanaka, Mandara-harina, Pancajanya, Simhala and Lanka. I have thus explained to you the divisions of the lands of Jambudvipa, oh best of the descendants of Bharata, the way they were explained to me.'

*: Millennium refers here not to a period of thousand years, but to a period of thousand mahayugas of 4320 millions of years each, a period also called a kalpa representing the duration of one day of Brahma's life that itself lasts a hunderd years.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 20:

The Structure of the Different Dvipas and the Prayers by their Different People

Shri Shuka said: 'Let me now describe the dimensions, characteristics and form of the divisions of Plaksha and the other dvipas that are called varshas [or lands]. The way Mount Meru is surrounded by the dvipa of Jambu, that dvipa on its turn is [as seen from the inside] surrounded by a salty ocean that is just as wide. That ocean is surrounded, like a moat by a park, by the dvipa of Plaksha that stretches out twice as much. It was named after the plaksha tree that is as tall as a jambu but twice as wide. At the root of that tree, which rises magnificently splendorous, there is a fire that counts seven flames. The master of that dvipa is the son of Priyavrata named Idhmajihva. When he retired for the yoga of self-realisation he divided the dvipa into seven varshas that he named after his seven sons. - Shiva, Yavasa, Subhadra, Shanta, Kshema, Amrita and Abhaya, are thus the varshas. They have seven rivers and mountains. The seven mountain ranges marking the varshas are known as Manikutha, Vajrakutha, Indrasena, Jyotishman, Suparna, Hiranyashthhiva and Meghamala. The main rivers are the Aruna, Nrimna, Angirasi, Savitri, Suptabhata, Ritambhara and Satyambhara. Touching their water washes away the passion and darkness of the four types of men whom one there [according to their vocations] calls the Hamsas, Patangas, Urdhvayanas and Satyangas [the swanlike ones, the rulers, the ambitious ones and the faithful ones: the varnas]. For a thousand years they live there like gods with the most beautiful bodies, having children and performing Vedic rituals at the gate to heaven. They worship the Supreme Lord, the Supersoul in the form of the sun god the way it is prescribed in the holy scriptures praying: 'Let us take to the shelter of Surya, the god of the sun who is a manifestation of Lord Vishnu, the authentic Soul of the Absolute Truth, of righteousness, of Brahman and of eternal life and death.'

In Plaksha and the other four dvipas the people are without exception born with the perfections of a long life, good sense, bodily and mental fortitude, physical power, intelligence and bravery. Surrounded by an ocean of sugarcane juice equally wide, there is beyond Plaksha dvipa another dvipa called Shalmala that is twice as big and surrounded by an ocean of liquor [or wine; sura*]. That dvipa received its name from a Shalmali tree as big as the plaksha tree and in that tree, so one says, Garuda, the carrier bird of Vedic prayers unto Lord Vishnu, has his residence. The son of Priyavrata called Yajnabahu is the master of that dvipa. He divided it into seven varshas according to the seven names of his sons: Surocana, Saumanasya, Ramanaka, Deva-varsha, Paribhadra, Apyayana and Avijnata. The seven mountains there are known by the names of Svarasa, Shatas'ringa, Vamadeva, Kunda, Mukunda, Pushpa-varsha and the Sahasra-s'ruti. The seven rivers are the Anumati, Sinivali, Sarasvati, Kuhu, Rajani, Nanda and Raka. The people living in those varshas are known as the Shrutadharas, Viryadharas, Vasundharas and Ishandharas [those who listen, are heroic, are wealthy and are obedient, another expression of the varnas]. Fully conversant with the Vedic knowledge they worship the Supreme Lord in the form of Soma-atma ['the true self of the sacrificial beverage' or the moon god]: 'With his effulgence he divides the time in the light and dark period of the month [shukla and krishna]. May he, that divinity of the moon and the grain to be distributed to the forefathers and the demigods, may that king of all people, remain favorably disposed unto us.'

Next there is outside of that ocean the dvipa called Kus'a that, like the dvipa mentioned before, is twice as big and surrounded by an ocean of ghee that is equally wide. The kus'a grass created by God gave that dvipa its name because all directions are illumined by the effulgence of the young sprouting grass that glows like another kind of fire. The son of Maharaja Priyavrata called Hiranyareta, oh King, divided as the master of that island, when he retired for his penance, his dvipa among his seven sons with the names of Vasu, Vasudana, Dridharuci, Nabhigupta, Stutyavrata, Vivikta and Vamadeva. The seven mountain ranges of these varshas are called the Cakra, Catuhs'ringa, Kapila, Citrakutha, Devanika, Urdhvaroma and Dravina mountains and the rivers are the Ramakulya, Madhukulya, Mitravinda, Srutavinda, Devagarbha, Ghritacyuta and Mantramala. At those waters the inhabitants of Kus'advipa who are named the Kus'alas, Kovidas, Abhiyuktas and Kulakas [or the grass sitters, the experienced ones, the competitors and the artisans], skilled in the rituals, worship the Supreme Lord in the form of the fire god called Jataveda ['he who awards the wages']: 'Of all the demigods of the Supreme Brahman who constitute the limbs of the Original Person, you, oh god of the fire, are the one who personally carries the offerings of ghee and grains [to the Lord]. [Please accept] therefore our sacrifice for the Supreme Personality of Godhead.'

Just as Kus'advipa is surrounded by an ocean of ghee, Krauncadvipa outside of it and being twice as big, is surrounded by an ocean of milk [or plant juice] of the same size. The king of the mountains named Kraunca situated there gave that dvipa its name. Even though Guha [the son of Shiva, Karttikeya] destroyed the vegetation there with his weapons, it [the mountain] stands unafraid because it constantly bathes in the ocean of milk and enjoys the protection of the mighty Varuna [the demigod of the seas]. Ghritaprishthha, the son of Maharaja Priyavrata, the ruler of that dvipa, gave its seven sections, its varshas, the names of his sons whom he, all just as powerful as he was, appointed as their rulers. He thereafter resorted to the lotus feet of the Supreme Lord Hari, the Soul of all souls whose glories are so auspicious. Ama, Madhuruha, Meghaprishthha, Sudhama, Bhrajishthha, Lohitarna and Vanaspati were the sons of Ghritaprishthha and the seven mountain ranges were celebrated as the Shukla and Vardhamana, Bhojana, Upabarhina, Nanda, Nandana and Sarvatobhadra mountains. The seven rivers were the Abhaya, Amritaugha, Aryaka, Tirthavati, Rupavati, Pavitravati and the Shukla. Sanctified by bathing in the pellucid waters of all those rivers the inhabitants of those varshas, who are called the Purushas, the Rishabas, the Dravinas and the Devakas [or the authentic, the superior, the wealthy and the sporting ones], worship with folded hands filled with water [the Lord in the form of Varuna] the deity of water: 'Oh water, oh might of the Original Personality, you sanctify the earth, its life, its paradise. May our touching this water, which because of its nature destroys the spirit of evil, purify our bodies.'

Beyond the ocean of milk the dvipa of Shaka is situated measuring a 3.2 million yojanas wide. It is surrounded by an ocean of whey of the same width and owes its name to a most fragrant fig tree that can be smelled all over the dvipa. Another son of Priyavrata named Medhatithi is the ruler there. He also divided his dvipa in seven varshas with the

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names of his seven sons Purojava, Manojava, Pavamana, Dhumranika, Citrarepha, Bahurupa and Vis'vadhara, whom he appointed there as their rulers. He thereafter entered the forest for penance with his mind absorbed in the infinity of the Supreme Lord. The seven mountains forming the borders of the varshas are the Is'ana, Urus'ringa, Balabhadra, Shatakesara, Sahasra-srota, Devapala and Mahanasa mountains and the seven rivers there are the Anagha, Ayurda, Ubhayasprishthi, Aparajita, Pancapadi, Sahasra-s'ruti and the Nijadhriti. The people of those varshas, the Ritavratas, the Satyavratas, the Danavratas and the Anuvratas [the varnas of the God-fearing souls, those vowed to the truth, the providers, and the followers] cleanse themselves of their passion and ignorance with the practice of regulating their breath that is ruled by the demigod Vayu. Absorbed in transcendence, they worship him as the representative of the Supreme Personality with: 'You, entering all living beings, are the one Supersoul within, the direct controller who maintains by the functions of the inner airs. Please direct us, for you control the entire cosmos.'

Also beyond this ocean of whey there is another dvipa named Pushkara that is twice as big as the previous one and is surrounded by an ocean of sweet water of the same size. There a very big lotus flower is found with 100 million flower petals of pure gold that are like the flames of a blazing fire. This lotus is considered the sitting place of the all-powerful Lord of the Lotus [Brahma]. That dvipa has one mountain [range] named Manasottara that separates the varshas on the inner and the outer side. Measuring a 10.000 yojanas high and wide, it harbours in its four directions the cities of the four demigods ruling there [Indra, Yama, Varuna and Soma]. The chariot of the sun god Surya, circumambulating mount Meru on its highest point, moves around in an orbit that, calculated in terms of the days and nights of the demigods [**], consists of one complete year. The ruler of that dvipa, also a son of Priyavrata with the name Vitihotra, named the two varshas there after his two sons Ramanaka and Dhataki and appointed them as their rulers when he, just as his other brothers did, restricted himself to virtuous activities to satisfy the Supreme Lord. The people of those lands worship, for the fulfillment of their desires, with ritualistic activities the Supreme Lord in the form of Lord Brahma and pray the following: 'Someone firmly convinced of the One Supreme must, in the form of [favorable] actions [rituals, good deeds], be of worship for the appearance of Him [as Lord Brahma] who, free from duplicity and peacefully, discloses the supreme Brahman. That almighty Lord we offer our obeisances.'

Beyond that realm there is [outside of the ocean of sweet water] all around a formation named Lokaloka that is described as the boundary between the world of light and the world without light. The realm [called Loka-varsha within that border] is as wide as the area between mount Meru and the Manasottara range, [and changes outside into] another domain made of gold [called Aloka-varsha, the dark region] that is as smooth as a mirror. Anything dropped there can impossibly be retrieved and therefore the place is avoided by all living entities. The formation Lokaloka [that is the outer shell of the universe] is situated in between the lands that one speaks of as being inhabited and not inhabited. For the rays of all the luminaries on this side - from the sun up to those of Dhruva's goal of liberation [the centre of the universe] -, it is not possible to reach beyond that outer limit of the three worlds, that was created all around by the Lord. The scholars who investigated the positions, characteristics and situations of all the worlds [the planets and stars], calculated that the area between the centre and the outer Lokaloka limit of the universe covers as much as half a billion yojanas, one quarter [of the diameter] of the celestial globe.

By the source of the self who is the spiritual teacher of the entire universe [Brahma] the four gaja-patis ['the best of all elephants'] Rishabha, Pushkaracuda, Vamana and Aparajit are established in the four directions on top of that [formation], in order to take care of the stability of the different planets in the universe. He [Lord Vishnu] is of all His locally ruling, personal divinities [His 'elephants'] and all the types of heroes who are expansions of His potency, the Supreme Lord, the foremost and greatest personality, the great master of all powers, the Soul of all souls and the True Self of the purest goodness characterised by religion, spiritual knowledge, detachment, all opulence and the eight great perfections. Decorated by the different weapons held up by His stout arms and surrounded by expansions like Vishvaksena and other representatives and eminent associates, He, for the benefit of all worlds, manifests His form on all sides of that greatest of all mountains. For the duration of a kalpa the Supreme Lord assumes that appearance just to maintain the life in the different worlds that He evolved on the basis of His outer potency. About the area beyond the [uninhabitable, dark] realm [of Aloka-varsha], which stretches outside of Lokaloka as far as the width of the area inside, one says that it is the destination for those who free from all contamination walk the path of the Lord of Yoga.

In the centre of the universe the suns are found situated between heaven and earth. That sunny globe in the middle consists of a quarter of a billion stars. Because of having entered the lifeless form of this globe at its time of creation, he [Brahma] is known as Martanda ['the god of the suns']. The designation known as Hiranyagarbha ['the gold inside'] came about because he received his body from that [golden splendor]. Because of the sun [of the sun god Surya] we are able to divide the directions, the ether, the planets above and the worlds below, as also all the heavenly abodes, the abodes for liberation and the hellish places such as Atala. The sun god is the controller of all sorts of living beings, he is the life, soul and vision of the gods, the lower animals, the human beings, the plants, the trees and everything crawling and creeping.'

*: According to some modern interpretation these seas refer to the bodily fluids, with the dvipas as sections in the virath-rupa universal body of the Lord: Lavana or salt sea (urine), cane juice sea (perspiration), Sura or sea of wine (senses), Sarpi or sea of ghee (semen), Dadhi or buttermilk sea [yoghurt, whey] (mucus), the sea of milk (saliva), and the sea of pure water (tears).

**: A day and a night of the demigods consists of a so-called Uttarayana course of the sun through the north and a Dakshinayana course through the south, one solar year thus. A year of the god consists of 360 of such days.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 21:
The Reality of the Sun God Surya

Shri Shuka said: 'This is what I could tell you about the size and characteristics of the general outline of the celestial sphere. The experts in this matter are with this outline of instruction about the extent of the sky, which they describe as outer space, consisting of two divisions (above and below, that are) adjoined like the two halves of a grain of wheat. In the middle the most powerful master of all the governing heavenly bodies is situated, the burning sun. With its fire it heats the three worlds and with its rays it lights them. That sun globe, passing through the north, through the south or crossing the equator, is known differently depending its slowness, swiftness or equality of movement. In its rising and setting or staying up in different positions, it is making long, short or equally long days, while it, as ordained, moves through the different signs of the [astrological] zodiac beginning with the sign of Makara [Capricorn]. When the sun enters Mesha and Tula [Aries and Libra, or at the equinoxes], the days and nights are of an equal length. When it moves through the next five signs headed by Vrishabha [Taurus] the days [first] increase, while the nights shorten [for Taurus and Gemini], and then decrease by half an hour every month [depending on the latitude]. When it passes the five months beginning with Vris'cika [Scorpio] the lengthening and shortening of the days and nights works opposite. Until the sun moves towards the south [before the summer solstice] the days grow longer and until it moves towards the north [before the winter solstice] the nights get longer. Thus encircling with an orbit before the Manasottara mountains [thereabout] of ninety-five million one hundred thousand yojanas long, so the scholars teach us, one, on the east of Meru, finds Devadhani, the city of King Indra, south of it the city named Samyamani of Yamaraja, in the west the city named Nimlocani of Varuna and in the north the city of the moon named Vibhavari. At all the four sides of Meru [as the energetic pivot] thus creating sunrise, sunset, noontime and midnight, it brings about the particular times of the living beings to be active or to cease their activity [*]. - The souls living in those places are by the sun, in the position of the middle of the day, always heated. It moves, turning left around the mountain [Meru], from the point where it rises to the diametrically opposite point where it sets. When one locally no longer sees the sun in the sky because it has set, it causes the people to sleep, while diametrically opposite to that place the people are sure to have seen the sun rising that because of its heat makes them sweat. When the sun in fifteen ghathikas [six hours] moves from the residence of Indra to that of Yamaraja, it covers a distance of 23.775.000 yojanas [a quarter of the circumference]. Next it proceeds to the abode of Varuna, then to the realm of the moon, after which it returns to the place of Indra. Along with it also the other planets and stars headed by the moon are seen rising and setting in the celestial sky. Thus the vehicle of the sun god, which represents the three Vedic principles [of uniting by karma, jnana and bhakti yoga], moves through the four realms covering 3.400.800 yojanas in a muhurta [modern science: 39.163 million km/hr].

This vehicle has only one wheel with twelve spokes [the months], six segments [the seasons] and three pieces to its hub [four month periods], that in its entirety is known as a solar year [a samvatsara]. Its axle is fixed on the top of Meru with Manasottara at the other end. The wheel of the chariot of the sun being fixed there rotates to the mountain range of Manasottara like a wheel of an oil press machine. Fixed to the base of that axle there is a second one that, like with the axle of an oil press machine, measures a quarter of its length. Its upper portion is fixed to Dhruvaloka [the centre of the stars].

The inside of the vehicle measures 3.6 million yojanas long and a quarter of that distance wide, it is pulled by seven horses named after the Vedic meters [Gayatri, Brihati, Ushnik, Jagati, Trishthup, Anushthup and Pankti] that, in order to carry the god of the sun, by Arunadeva are harnessed to a yoke as wide as the vehicle [the actual diameter of the sun itself is 1.392 million kilometers]. Even though Aruna, fulfilling his duties as the charioteer, sits in front of the sun god, he looks backward [not to be disrespectful]. There, in front of the sun god, the sixty thousand thumb-sised sages named the Valikhilyas are engaged in offering their prayers, that they express with eloquence. So too fourteen others, viz. the sages, the Gandharvas, Apsaras, Nagas, Yakshas, Rakshasas and the demigods, worship with a variety of names and different ceremonies, in seven groups of two with for every month different representatives, the Supreme Lord in the form of the sun god Surya, he who is the life of the universe and who carries different names [**]. The sun god thus traverses the 95.1 million yojanas of the circumference of the earthly sphere with a speed of two thousand and a half yojana in about a kshana [± 1.6 sec; see also verse 12].'

*: According to modern measurements the earth encircles the sun at an average distance of 92.960.000 miles or 149.591.000 km. The circumference of its orbit is about 940 million km. Considering that, this calculation of the apparent geocentric path of the sun to an earthly Manasottara range would result in a yojana of about 9.8 km in this context. With Meru as the energetic pivot is meant that everything in the galaxy spins around the centre where the heap of stars is found of Brahma's golden globe. Thus the pole star, whereabout the stars in the night sky seem to turn, is also identified with that point and called Meru, while the actual pivot of the stars around us - and thus also our sun - astronomically is found elsewhere, viz. in Sagittarius A.

**: The Vishnu Purana states: 'Worshiping the most powerful demigod Surya, the Gandharvas sing in front of him, the Apsaras dance before the chariot, the Nis'acaras follow the chariot, the Pannagas decorate the chariot, the Yakshas guard the chariot, and the saints called the Valikhilyas surround the sun god and offer prayers. The seven groups of fourteen associates arrange the proper times for regular snow, heat and rain throughout the universe [see further 12.11: 32].'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 22:
The movement of the Planets and their Considered Effects

The king said: 'Your lordship described how the most powerful god of the sun moves around Mount Meru and Dhruvaloka leaving them to his right side, ànd that he, with the different signs of the zodiac right in front of him, leaves them to his left. What should we think about that?'

To that he [Shuka] clearly stated: 'Just as what one sees with the movements of small ants spinning around on a potter's wheel, that because of their changing positions experience a different orientation, such a difference can also be observed with the movement [of the sun and the planets] in relation to Meru and Dhruvaloka [the central heap of stars and the galaxy centre]. With the stars moving around [that centre], the two are located at their right side, but because of the individual movements of the planets led by the sun upon that rotating wheel of time, the sun and planets that are observed in different mansions and constellations are evidently of another progress.

He [that solar lead of time], this supremely powerful Original Person who is Narayana Himself, the Supersoul of the three Vedic principles who is there for the benefit and karmic purification of all the worlds, is the cause sought by all saintly and Vedic knowing. He divides the year, as He thinks fit, in its twelve parts and arranges the six seasons beginning with spring with their different qualities. The people here, who in respect of the threefold of Vedic knowledge follow the higher or more earthly standards of the status orientations [of varna and ashrama], attain without difficulty the ultimate benefit of life when they worship Him full of faith with ritual activities and grow in the science of uniting their consciousness [in yoga]. He now, the Soul of all the worlds, who [in the form of the sun] has entered the wheel of time in a position between heaven and earth, passes through the twelve divisions of the year consisting of the months that are named after the signs of the zodiac. The scholars teach that they [according to the moon] are divided in bright and dark halves or [fifteen day] fortnights and that, following their instruction, the six portions of its orbit, called ritu or season, calculated to the stars, each cover two and a quarter constellations [thus one speaks of twelve or more constellations]. They also say that the period of time the sun moves through [the visible] half of outer space is called an ayana. The time that the passage of the sun takes moving through both the spheres above and below, speeding slow, fast or moderate, is in the descriptions of the scholars, discussed as a samvatsara [a solar year], a parivatsara [one twelfth of a revolution of Jupiter], an idavatsara [a day of the gods consisting of 360 solar days] an anuvatsara [a lunar year comprising twelve lunations] and a vatsara [a year to the ecliptic in terms of the 27 lunar mansions or nakshatras].

By the sunlit moon that is situated a hundred thousand yojanas [astronomy: ± 385.000 km] above [the earth] and is

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moving much faster [than the sun], in the course of a month [two 'fifteen day periods'] a distance is covered that takes the sun a whole year, is in two and a quarter day a distance described that takes the sun a month and is in one day a part of the sky traversed that by the sun is covered in fourteen days. The moon, changing its phases, waxes to the [full] part of the moon that is of the demigods and wanes to the [dark] part of the moon that is of the forefathers. In [about] thirty muhurtas [a full day] every time passing one of the lunar mansions [or nakshatras], it with its waxing and waning constitutes the division of the days [of the gods] and the nights [of the forefathers] of all the different living entities. Thus it is considered the jiva or essence of their life. This moon with all its sixteen parts [shodas'akala] is by the scholars described as the Supreme Person, the predominating deity of the mind, the power source of all food, who represents all delight in life. He is considered the refreshing, all-pervading life breath [prana] of all the demigods, ancestors, human beings and all other living entities like the mammals, the birds, the reptiles and the plants.

[More than] two hundred thousand yojanas behind [the moon], there are [spinning] with Meru to the right, to the many stars that by the Supreme Controller were attached to the wheel of time, the twenty-eight lunar mansions including Abhijit.

At a distance of two hundred thousand yojanas there about [about the star centre or the sun; astronomy: at a distance of 107 million km] there is Ushana [Venus], the planet that can be seen going in front of, going behind and rotating along with the sun just as fast, slow or with a moderate speed. It is of all the planets the one considered to exert as good as always a favorable influence in the form of rainfall; it by its movements neutralises the influence of planets that obstruct rainfall.

Another two hundred thousand yojanas behind Venus [astronomy: 57.9 million km from the sun], so is explained, Budha [Mercury] is situated, the son of the moon. It is as good as always working auspiciously, but during the time it is not moving along with the sun, there is almost always an increase of fearful conditions like draughts, a closed sky and stormy conditions.

At two hundred thousand yojanas outside of our orbit one also finds Angaraka [Mars, astronomy: at about 228 million km from the sun]. If it does not make a [retrogade] curve, it passes by three fortnights each, one after another the twelve signs of the zodiac. It is as good as always an unfavorable planet causing trouble.

Two hundred thousand yojanas outside of Mars [astronomy: 778.3 million km from the sun] one finds the most powerful planet of Brihaspati [Jupiter] that, if it does not run a curve, takes a year [a parivatsara] to move through a single constellation. It almost always turns out to work in favor of the family of the brahmins.

Two hundred thousand yojanas behind it is situated Shanais'cara [Saturn, astronomy: 1.43 billion km from the sun], that takes a period of thirty months to travel through a single sign of the zodiac. Being that slow it takes an equal number of years [30 anuvatsaras] to cover all of them. It means almost always a lot of trouble to all.

At 1.1 million yojanas beyond that planet are situated the [seven] great sages [represented by the seven stars of the Great Bear, Ursa Major] who always consider the good fortune of the inhabitants of all the worlds. They clockwise circumambulate the transcendental abode of the Supreme Lord Vishnu [the centre of the stars].'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 23:

Description of the Stars of Shishumara, our Coiling Galaxy

Shri Shuka then said: '1.3 Million yojanas above them [the stars of the sages] one finds that supreme abode of Lord Vishnu where the great devotee Dhruva, the son of Uttanapada, resides whose glory of obedient devotion I described already [see 4.9]. It is the source of life of all living entities from now until the end of the kalpa, about which Agni, the fire god, Indra the king of heaven, the founding father who is the Prajapati, Kasyapa as also Dharmaraja, in unison full of respect move clockwise. For all the restless luminaries, the planets, the stars and the rest, that place constitutes the incandescent radiating pivot that is established by the Lord. The inconceivable, all-powerful force of Time is considered the cause of their revolving. The luminaries keep their positions, just like three bulls that for threshing rice are yoked to a central pole. Moving in their orbits they have a fixed position relative to the inner and outer rims of the wheel of time, the same way the planets keep their positions around the sun. Holding on to Dhruvaloka till the end of creation, they revolve in the sky as if they are driven by the wind, just like heavy clouds and big birds do, that controlled by the air, move their bodies around according to their respective positions. Thus the luminaries behave consequently, by the combined effort of material nature and the Original Person, the way they always have and never collide with the earth.

Some imagine this great army of luminaries to be a Shishumara [a dolphin] and describe it, concentrated in yoga, as [that what can be seen of] the Supreme Lord Vasudeva [see also a picture of the celestial sky as factually seen in a telescope]. With its tail pointing at the end of the row of fixed stars in the sky [dhruva] and with its head bent downwards, it has its body coiled. The [planets of] Prajapati, Agni, Indra and Dharma are found on the tail with [those of the demigods] Dhata and Vidhata at its base. The seven sages are situated on its hip. With its body coiling to the right there are, as its separate body parts, at its northern side the constellations of the fourteen stars [from Abhijit to Punarvasu] that mark the northern course [of the sun] and to the south there are the same number of them [from Pushya to Uttarashadha] marking the southern course. Together the both sides appear like the coiled body of a dolphin. On its back one sees the stars called Ajavithi [*] and on the belly one sees the 'celestial Ganges' [the series of stars along the full body of the Shishumara we know as our Milky Way]. Punarvasu and Pushya constitute the loins right and left. Ardra and As'lesha also to the right and left, are his flippers. Abhijit and Uttarashadha are the left and right nostril with following next in due order Shravana and Purvashadha for its eyes left and right. Dhanishthha and Mula are the right and left ear and the eight stars such as Magha marking the southern course, are to be seen as the left ribs while the same number of stars like Mrigas'irsha that mark the northern course, are there as the ribs positioned at the other side to the right. Shatabhisha and Jyeshthha should be seen as the position of the right and left shoulder. On its upper chin there is Agasti [Agastya] and on its lower one there is Yamaraja. As its mouth there is Mars, as its genitals there is Saturn, Jupiter is found at the back of the neck and the sun is found at the chest. In its heart Lord Narayana is found while the moon serves as its mind. As the navel there is Venus, the two sides of the breast is where the As'vins reside, Mercury is there as the in- and outward going breath, Rahu is the neck and the comets are found all over its body with the numerous stars as its pores [**].

This [form of Shishumara] certainly is the form of the Supreme Lord, of Lord Vishnu who consists of all the demigods. With that form before one's eyes one should each morning, noon and evening in all modesty meditate on the following words: 'Our obeisances unto this resting place of all the luminous worlds, unto the master of the demigods, the Supreme Personality in the form of Time upon whom we meditate' [namo jyotih-lokaya kalayanaya animisham pataye maha-purushaya abhidhimahiti]. Those who in respect of that leader of the demigods consisting of all the planets and stars, that destroyer of sin, practice the mantra as mentioned above by three times a day offering their respects this way or by three times a day meditating as such [in silence], will by that respect [for our sweet Lord in the form of] time very soon find all their sins annihilated.'

N.B: See also the pages on galactic time further explaining on this subject.

*: Ajavithi refers to the stars of the heavenly course of the sun, the moon and the planets through Mula, Purvashadha and Uttarashadha.

**: The planets of course change their positions to the background of the stars. As such the fixed position in the body of Shishumara as mentioned refers to the dynamic nature of the dolphin, the galaxy, itself.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 24:

The Nether Worlds

Shri Shuka said: 'Some people defend that countless yojanas ['ten thousand'] below the sun [the demon] Rahu is found who rotates in the sky just like the stars. Oh King, I shall expound later on the birth and activities of this lowest of the ignorant souls, [Rahu] the son of Simhika, who personally, by the grace of the Supreme Lord, achieved this status of immortality in occupying the position of a leading planet, while he never qualified for the position. They declare that the sun has a width of ten thousand yojanas, that the moon is twenty thousand yojanas wide, that Rahu is thirteen thousand yojanas large and that it occasionally, with inimical intentions overruling the influence of the sun god and the moon god, obstructs the distribution of the rays of the moon and the sun. The Supreme Lord who is there for the protection of both [these divinities] operates by the supreme presence of the wheel of Time [the Sudars'ana Cakra]. This disc is deemed the most dear, most devoted and favorite weapon that by its power and unbearable heat makes Rahu flee, with a mind full of fear and a bewildered heart, far away from that position wherein he resides for almost an hour and that by the people is called an eclipse.

At an equal distance beneath it there are the residential places of the perfected souls, the venerable souls of the Veda and the souls founded in knowledge [the Siddhas, Caranas and Vidyadharas]. Below of them there are the places of sense gratification of the mad, the possessed, the demoniac and more of such beings [the Yakshas, Rakshasas and Pis'acas], that stretch out as far as the wind blows the clouds one sees in the sky. Beneath the atmosphere that is a hundred yojanas thick and reaches as high as swans, vultures, eagles and other birds of size can fly, there is this earth [according to modern measurements the normal, increasingly thinner atmosphere reaches up to a 100 km above the earth].

Formerly I discussed the planet earth and the division of its different realms. Below the earth are situated seven other planets of the same width and length named Atala, Vitala, Sutala, Talatala, Mahatala, Rasatala and Patala [the nether worlds], that one behind the other are positioned [up to the edge of the universe] with intervals of ten thousand yojanas. In these worldly places ambitious for heaven, there is a greater lust experience and enrapture about wealth than in the higher worlds. Equipped with all thinkable luxuries the houses and gardens offer to the demons, ghosts and snakes living there, a better opportunity for sense gratification. Always overjoyed in the attachment to their wives, children, family, friends and followers, the masters of the households, who live in an illusory heaven, are even better capable of an unimpeded fulfillment of their desires than the godly souls who are of self control. Maya [the architect of the Daityas] my dear King, has there, with faithless trickery and a plethora of rich ornamentation, built cities surrounded by walls with gates full of excellently constructed, wonderful houses, offices, halls, schools and public facilities. The leaders and landowners of those artificial worlds shining brightly with their decorations, occupy the best houses there that are crowded by snakelike, godless couples and pigeons, parrots and mynas [eastern starlings]. The gardens and parks that are most appealing to the mind and senses, pleasure with their masses of flowers and fruits hanging from the branches of the trees that, embraced by creepers, nicely bend low being pulled by gravity. The sensual enjoyment is invoked by a magnificence surpassing the beauty of the residential places of the godly: the variety of birds that in pairs frequent the ponds filled with sparkling clear water restless with jumping fish, the lotus flowers in those waters, the lilies, the kuvalaya and kahlara flowers, the blue and red lotuses, giant lotuses with thousands of petals and the uninterrupted joyous sound of all kinds of sweetly vibrating birds that built their nests in the forests. There one assuredly is of no concern about divisions of time relative to the changes of day and night [as observed with sundials and lunar phases]. All darkness there is driven away by the best of gems situated on the hoods of the great serpents living there. Nor are the residents, who eat, drink and bathe there with miraculous [curative] herbs, juices and elixirs, concerned with diseases, mental troubles, attaining old age, having wrinkles, gray hair, etc., or with the miseries of losing strength with a fading luster, bad smelling perspiration, fatigue or a lack of energy. No other cause of death than the almighty wheel of Time in the form of His disc weapon, is capable of influencing them in any way. It is practically always out of fear for the Lord's cakra order [the compelling natural order of time] that the wives of the godless souls lose their fetuses in miscarriages.

Now then, in the world of Atala, Bala the godless son of Maya resides who propagated ninety-six types of trickery, some of which even today are used by expert cheaters. From his yawning mouth the svairini [class exclusive], kamini [class indifferent] and pums'cali [promiscuous] types of women sprouted who, desirous with glances, smiles, talks, embraces and the juice of an intoxicating herb called hathaka [cannabis indica], for their sexual pleasure warm up any man who entered the nether worlds. One says that a man under the influence of this herb full of pride and conceit thinks of himself as 'I am the ruler' and 'I am as strong as a thousand elephants'.

One world lower, in Vitala, Lord Shiva, surrounded by his ghostly associates, resides as Hathakes'vara, the master of gold, in sexual union with his wife Bhavani in order to increase the population of Brahma's creation. From the fluids of their union the great river named the Hathaki flows, drinking of which the fire god, by the wind being brightly inflamed with great strength, hissing spits out the gold called Hathaka of use for the ornaments worn by the men and women populating the homes of the great Asuras.

Beneath that world on Sutala one finds the greatly celebrated, most pious and spiritually advanced son of Virocana, Bali Maharaja. To please king Indra, the Supreme Lord, taking birth from Aditi, assumed the body of a vamana, a dwarf. It was by the causeless mercy of the Supreme Lord who wrested away from him the three worlds, that even today he in his devotional service remains fearless unto Him, the most venerable Supreme Personality. He was blessed with the good fortune of regaining an opulence not even known to the gods of Indra's heaven. This was certainly not the immediate result of donating with faith, great respect and an attentive mind, his lands. Approaching the topmost one, the Supreme Lord who is the most worthy recipient and best place of pilgrimage, who is the life, heart and Supersoul of the countless living beings, Lord Vasudeva, offered him a direct access to the liberation that resulted in the opulence of that nether imitation of heaven. The person who helplessly, starved, fallen down or stumbling, utters His name but once, will be completely freed from the bond of fruitive labour, the karma that in all other cases constitutes an inevitable stumbling block for anyone who tries to find liberation. He,

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the Supreme Soul, the Paramatma within, thus gives Himself to, is of love for, all devotees of self-realisation. It is therefore not because of the material opulence, which certainly extends from Him, that the Supreme Personality especially again showed His favor to such a person [like Bali]. He was as graceful because of [countering] the forms of maya, the material bewilderment that steals away the remembrance of the Soul. To the occasion of what was done by the, difficult by other means to perceive, Supreme Lord - namely His seizing the three worlds by means of the trick of begging [three steps of land] so that Bali was left with nothing but his body, was being bound with the ropes of Varuna and was detained in a mountain cave - Bali then said: 'How regrettable it is indeed that this very learned Indra of heaven is not that wise in his self-interest, for, having chosen Brihaspati for his prime minister and one preceptor, he ignored that sage when he begged me personally, by means of the Lord in the form of Upendra [Lord Vamana], for my blessings [in the form of three steps of land]. With neglect for the certainty of the actual blessings of serving the ever lasting reality of Him, he desired for himself the three worlds, the value of which is lost in a manvantara [an age of Manu]! When his father was killed by the Supreme Lord [Nrisimhadev], our grandfather [Prahlada] asked for nothing but the permission to serve Him and not for the inheritance offered to him of the position of his father who feared no one [the kingdom of Hiranyakas'ipu]. What materially contaminated person like us, can, deprived of the Supreme Lord's mercy, hope to follow the path of that great believer?' [Shuka said:] Later on, in the story about Bali [in BOOK eight], I shall explain how the Supreme Lord as the master of the three worlds, as Narayana in person, with an always graceful heart towards His devotees, stands [as a guard] at the gate with the club in His hand, He who, with the big toe of His foot, kicked the ten headed demon [known as Ravana] a hundred million yojanas away when he wanted to conquer the world.

Below Sutala in the world of Talatala the danava [demon] king rules named Maya. His cities were burned by the almighty Tripurari [Shiva], the lord of the three cities, who desired the welfare of the three worlds. But he, Maya, the master and teacher of all sorcery, regained his kingdom by his grace. Being protected by Mahadeva [the great god who is Shiva] he thinks he has nothing to fear from the Sudars'ana Cakra [the presence of the Lord in the form of Time] that [in all worlds] is worshiped [with clocks and calendars].

Beneath that world there is the world of Mahatala that belongs to the descendants of Kadru who have a reputation as a bunch of ever angry, many hooded, cruel snake types, as there are the notorious Kuhaka, Takshaka, Kalya and Sushena. Addicted to sensual pleasures, they are constantly afraid of the king of all birds [Garuda], the carrier of the Original Personality, who sometimes infuriates them when they are sporting together with their wives, children, friends and relatives.

Situated below that world again there is Rasatala, the world of the Daityas and Danavas [the evil minded sons of Diti and Danu] named the Panis [who are divided in] the Nivata-kavacas, the Kaleyas and the Hiranya-puravasis. They are the very cruel and greatly powerful natural enemies of the demigods and are, despite their strength and pride, inevitably defeated by the might of [the disc weapon of] the Supreme Lord Hari so full of mercy for all the worlds. Living like the snakes, they are afraid of the [threatening] Vedic mantras uttered by [the female dog] Saramaya that once was sent there by the King of Heaven Indra.

Below that world there is Patala, the world of the master snakes. Led by Vasuki there are Shankha, Kulika, Mahas'ankha, Shveta, Dhananjaya, Dhritarashthra, Shankhacuda, Kambala, As'vatara, Devadatta and so on. Most addicted to material happiness they all live with the shortest temper. They have five, seven, ten, a hundred or a thousand hoods, with on their crests fixed the most valuable gems the effulgence of which disperses the vast darkness of the caves of Patala.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 25:

The Glories of Lord Ananta

Shri Shuka said: 'At a distance of thirty-eight thousand yojanas beneath the base of Patala [*] He is situated who, as a part of the Supreme Lord, relates to the darkness and is called Ananta [the eternal one]. Scholarly Vaishnavas describe Him as Sankarshana, the ruler of the ego or I that is characterised by self-awareness [pride, identification], because He unites - 'draws together' - the seer and the seen, the subject and the object [see also 3.26: 25 and 4.24: 35]. The celestial sky around the earth, this universe, sustained on only one of the thousands of hoods of the Supreme Lord in the form of Anantadeva, is seen as a [tiny] white mustard seed [like a single galaxy among many, many others in deep space]. Because of His desire to destroy in the course of time this world, a Rudra [an incarnation of Lord Shiva] named Sankarshana ['He born from Sankarshana'] arises from between His angrily contracted, beautiful eyebrows, who manifests in the form of eleven three-eyed expansions holding up pointed tridents. With the effulgence of the glittering earrings that decorate their cheeks, the leaders of the snakelike ones, who together with the best devotees in unalloyed devotion offer Him their prayers, see in the round surfaces of the brilliant pink gemlike toenails of His lotus feet their faces beautifully reflected. It is a sight which enraptures their minds. The marriageable princesses of the serpent kings hoping for His blessings, smear with an ointment of saffron, aloe and sandalwood paste the gleaming roundings of His auspicious, beautiful, spotless, fair arms resembling columns of silver. With their hearts in the contact beating faster with the ecstasy of Cupid they with attractive delicate, beautiful smiles bashfully look at His in love delighted, rolling, reddish eyes and kindly glancing lotus like face. He, Ananta, is the Supreme Lord, the reservoir of all transcendental qualities and the original Godhead who in restraint of the force of His intolerance and wrath [belonging to his mission of destruction] resides [in His abode] for the welfare of all [the living beings of] all worlds. Being constantly meditated upon by scores of enlightened and unenlightened souls, the semi-divine snakelike ones, the ones of perfection, the heavenly singers, the ones founded in knowledge and the wise, He in rapture under the influence rolls His eyes to and fro. With the nectar of a fine choice of words and sweet song His associates, the leaders of the different groups of demigods, please Him whose luster never fades, He who is ever fresh with the fragrance of the tulsi flowers that with their honey madden the bees about His thus even more beautiful Vaijayanti flower garland. Clad in blue with only a single earring and the beauty of His auspicious hands placed on the handle of His plow He, wearing a golden belt and as invincible as the elephant of the first one among the gods Indra, is engaged in His transcendental pastimes as the Supreme Lord in person. They who seek liberation and through the tradition [the parampara] hear about the glories of this one Lord, will very soon cut with the age-old knot of maya consisting of passion, goodness and ignorance which as a consequence of the propensity for karmic actions was tied firmly in the core of their hearts.

The greatly powerful son of Brahma, Narada accompanied by [his instrument or the Gandharva] Tumburu, describes Him in the brahmin assembly with a selection of verses: 'How can one with certainty understand the path of Him who is one of Soul and diverse in His manifestation, of Him of a unlimited form that has no beginning, of Him by whose glance the modes of material nature - headed by goodness - were enabled to function as the primary causes of creation, maintenance and destruction? Out of His mercy for us He, completely transcendental to this manifestation, exhibited His existence in different forms, He who, reclaiming the minds of His devotees, in His pastimes shines as the most liberal and powerful master of all beings of acceptance without material impurities. Any person in distress who accidentally heard about Him or any fallen soul who just to participate repeated or chanted His name, will instantly see the endless sinfulness of human association vanquished. Of whom else but Lord Ananta Shesha should any seeker of salvation take shelter? Whoever, however many tongues he would have, can enumerate the Supreme Lord His potencies? For His groundless powers are immeasurable. This universe with its mountains, trees, oceans and beings is nothing but an atom fixed on one hood of Ananta, He who has thousands of hoods. Such is the majesty of the Supreme Lord Ananta: relying on His own power He at the basis of the entire universe constitutes the greatness of all qualities and glory who, with the earth engaged in pastimes for the sake of her maintenance, keeps her from the fall.'

The way it has been instructed to me I have thus described the truth of the destinations which - depending the karma - can be reached by and were created in respect of the wishes of those who desire material pleasures. As you requested oh King, I have shown you what the different types of higher and lower destinations are that inevitably result from the inclinations and sense of duty of the people. What should I tell you more?'

*: The mentioning of distance in relation to the transcendental reality of Ananta suggests a physical correlate in the universe that compares to the darkness of intergalactic space which, as an organic existence of eternity, purity and divinity or void of self, envelops all the galaxies in the cosmos, giving each his own 'snake' foundation in the darkness of an awareness of 'I'. The actual shortest distance between the centre of our stellar system and the outer space of darkness below it is about 3500 lightyears.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 26:

The Hellish Worlds or the Karmic Rebound

The king said: 'Oh great saint, how came this variegation of life in the different worlds about?'

The sage said: 'Because of the different convictions with which the acting person relates to the three modes of nature, there is the variegation of all the destinations that more or less can be attained by everyone. Because of the godlessness of what we know as forbidden actions there will, depending the particular conviction of the one who was engaged that way, be a different consequence in the form of a karmic rebound. Let me now in detail explain what kinds of thousands of hellish conditions there are since time immemorial, typical for those souls of lusty desire who out of their ignorance in so many ways wished their advantage.'

The king said: 'What one calls hell out here my lord, is that a particular place on earth, is it found outside of the worlds we know or somewhere in between them?'

The rishi said: 'Hell is found within the three worlds, towards the south below the earth and a little above the causal waters [below Patalaloka], in the region where the forefathers who desire the blessings for their families, headed by Agnishvatta live fully absorbed in the truth. The son of the sun god [Yamaraja] has his kingdom there together with his followers. The deceased brought there by his people are according to the gravity of their karmic faults subjected to punishments that are executed with care not to be in offense with the Supreme Lord. Some [scholars] mention a number of twenty-one hells, oh King and some count twenty-eight. Their names, forms and characteristics I will one after the other relate to you. The [28] names of the hells or different places of requital are: Tamisra, Andhatamisra, Raurava, Maharaurava, Kumbhipaka, Kalasutra, Asipatravana, Sukaramukha, Andhakupa, Krimibhojana, Sandams'a, Taptasurmi, Vajrakanthaka-s'almali, Vaitarani, Puyoda, Pranarodha, Vis'asana, Lalabhaksha, Sarameyadana, Avici, Ayahpana, and also Ksharakardama, Rakshogana-bhojana, Shulaprota, Dandashuka, Avatha-nirodhana, Paryavartana and Sucimukha.

Someone who takes away the money, the wife or children of someone else is sure to be bound with the fetters of time by the most terrible men of Yamaraja and by force to be thrown into the hell of Tamisra ['the darkness']. Having landed in that darkest of all conditions being deprived of food and water, beaten with sticks and scolded, he sometimes, in his desperation, loses his consciousness because of the severe punishments received. The same way he who by cheating enjoys the wife, possessions etc. of someone else, is by force thrown into the hell that is called Andhatamisra ['blind darkness'] because the embodied soul as a consequence of the constant agony there, next to his mind also loses his sight and thus becomes as blind as a tree cut by the roots. He who in his life on earth, taking his body for his self and property, harmed other living beings while day after day labouring to support only his own family, will, upon leaving this world, because of that sin end up in Raurava. With Yamaraja presenting the consequences for this offense, the living beings that were hurt by him in this life will in his afterlife turn into savage creatures [called rurus] who then hurt him to the same extent. Because of these wild beasts that are more vicious than snakes the scholars speak of Raurava ['the hell of the monsters']. Similarly there is Maharaurava [the 'great monster'] wherein someone is killed and eaten by the ruru beasts named kravyada when he [himself] solely for the maintenance of his body [kills and eats what he kills]. But a person who in this life was very cruel towards [land and sea] animals or birds and cooked them alive, is condemned by even the most cruel-hearted man eaters. After his death the servants of Yamaraja will throw him in Kumbhipaka ['the hell of the cooking pot'] to be cooked in boiling oil himself. And everyone who in this life kills a brahmin, [will be forced] into a hell named Kalasutra ['the long course of time'] which has a surface of copper with a circumference of ten thousand yojanas that is heated by the sun from above and by a fire from below. With his body internally plagued by hunger and thirst and externally being scorched, he at times lies down and then rolls about, then he jumps to his feet again and next runs hither and thither - and that for the duration of as many thousands of years as there are hairs on the body of an animal. He who in this life unnecessarily deviated from his path of self-realisation and yielded to hypocrisy [or heresy] is forced into a hell known as Asipatravana ['the razor-sharp forest'] where he is beaten with a whip so that he, fleeing away left and right, cuts his body on the two-edged razor sharp palm leaves. He in denial of his own nature [or neglect of his civil duty] will thus have to face the result of following the wrong track and with a lot of pain, stumbling at every step, then stupefied think: 'Oh, what have I done to myself?' But that head of state or state official who in this life punishes someone innocent or inflicted corporeal punishment on a brahmin will in his next life land in the hell of Sukaramukha ['hog's mouth']. There the different parts of his body will be crushed by the strong assistants [of Yamaraja] as if it concerned sugarcane. Just like someone who innocently was arrested to be punished, he will then, pitiably crying out loud, be overwhelmed by desperation and faint. Some creatures are by the Creator designed to live as parasites unaware of the harm they do to others, but he who in his will to survive himself causes pain very well knowing what he is doing to other creatures of God, lands in his afterlife in Andhakupa ['the overgrown well']. With the harm he did to the beings in question, he will experience that evil himself. Just like the creatures with an

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inferior body - the game, the birds, snakes, mosquitos, lice, worms, flies and whatever - he in his turn everywhere in the darkness will be persecuted, hurt and disturbed by them and then wander around without being able to find a place to rest. He who in his life eats whatever he obtained by the grace of God but does not share it with others and thus neglects the five forms of sacrifice [to the gods, the wise, the ancestors, the needy and the animals], is just like a crow. Such a person will in his afterlife fall in the most abominable hell of Krimibhojana ['to feed on worms'] where, having landed in a hundred thousand yojanas wide lake full of worms, he as a worm himself may feed on and in his turn be eaten by the other worms, for as many years as that lake measures in yojanas. Such is the pain that he causes himself who - without atoning for his sins - eats food that he did not share and sacrifice. When one for no apparent reason in this life is of theft or violence, stealing gold, gems and so on from a brahmin or from others, oh King, one will in his afterlife by the men of Yamaraja be forced to hold red-hot iron balls with the fingers he used for stealing. [Because of which that hell is called Sandams'a, 'mitts hell']. Any person, man or woman, who in this life approaches a partner unsuitable for sexual intercourse, will in his afterlife be beaten by whips and forced to embrace a very hot iron image in the form of a man when one is a woman or in the form of a woman when one is a man [: Taptasurmi, the hell of 'the red hot iron statue']. Anyone who in this life indiscriminately has sexual intercourse [with both man and animals e.g.], will in his afterlife land in the hell of Vajrakanthaka-s'almali ['the thunderbolt-thorn cotton tree'] where being hung [on the thorns] he will be pulled down. They who in this life belonging to the royalty or the government despite their high birth transgressed the boundaries of dharma, will after their death land in Vaitarani ['the river of impetuous passion']. Having broken with the code of conduct for the ruling class they suffer in the moat around that hell being eaten by ferocious animals in the stream here and there. Unable to relinquish the body and carried by the vitality of their sin, they are then reminded of their bad deeds as they are pained in the river of stool, urine, pus, blood, hair, nails, bones, marrow, flesh and fat. Those men who in this life as husbands of lower class women lost their cleanliness, good behavior and regulated life, and shamelessly behaved themselves like animals, will, when they have died, land in an ocean full of pus, excrement, urine, mucus and saliva, and only be able to subsist on all of that which is so extremely revolting [: the Puyoda hell of 'fetid waters']. The leaders belonging to the higher classes - including the brahmins - who in this life keeping dogs or asses take pleasure in hunting with them will killing animals other than prescribed, after their death themselves become the target of Yamaraja's men who will pierce them with arrows [: the hell of Pranarodha, 'smothering the breath']. People who in this life being so very proud of their wealth and position for their prestige in sacrificing kill animals, will in the next world fall into the hell of Vis'asana ['the sleeplessness'], where the helpers of Yamaraja making them suffer will cut them to pieces. But he who in this life as someone of a higher class, bewildered by his lusts causes his wife of the same caste to drink his semen, will because of that sin in his next life be thrown into a river of semen and be forced to drink it himself [this is the hell of Lalabhaksha, 'to have semen for food']. Or those kings and their soldiers who in this world as thieves, arsonists and poisoners ransack villages and plunder caravans, will after they died be devoured by the voracious seven hundred twenty dogs with mighty teeth of the Yamadutas [: the hell of Sarameyadana 'the dogs' meal']. He also who in this life speaks a lie or bears false witness in exchanging goods, with giving gifts in charity or with other matters, will after his death head first free fall be thrown from the top of a hundred yojanas high mountain in the hell of Avicimat ['having no water']. There the arid land consisting of stones waves like a sea where he, with his body broken everywhere, does not die, but instead is dragged to the top to be thrown down again. When a brahmin or his wife, or anyone who took a vow [not to], in a state of illusion drinks liquor, or when someone of learning, a ruler or a trader drinks soma-rasa [a sacred intoxicating beverage], they will all, being brought to hell, with the foot on their chest have red-hot molten iron poured into their mouths [: the hell of Ayahpana, 'drinking iron'].

Next to that one must consider anyone a dead man alive who in this life falsely proud and with little respect proved himself degraded before a more honourable person of a higher birth, austerity, knowledge, good behavior and faithfulness to the principles. He after dying will head first be thrown in the hell of Ksharakardama ['the 'pool of acrid mud'] to suffer there the severest agony. Men who in this life sacrificed other people in worship [of Kali] and women who ate men, those kind of murderers will be slain like animals in the abode of Yamaraja by groups of punishing Rakshasas who, just like those man-eaters did themselves, will cut them with swords to pieces, drink their blood and dance and sing thereto in delight [: the hell called Rakshogana-bhojana, 'to be the food of the devil']. But persons who in this world lured innocent creatures, seeking shelter in the forest or the village, by making them feel safe, but instead caused them pain by playing games with them, piercing their bodies or putting them on a leash, those people after their death can count on it that their own bodies will be fixed likewise and that they, starved and thirsty and such, will be tortured from all sides by sharp beaked birds like herons and vultures so that they may remember the sins they committed [the hell of Shulaprota, 'pierced by the pike']. Also those men who like snakes with an angry nature in this life caused pain to others without any necessity, will after their death fall down in a hell called Dandashuka ['the cudgel in return'] where, oh King, five- and seven-hooded serpents raise before them in order to eat them just like mice. Or people who in this life confine living beings either in a blind well, in granaries or in caves, will likewise in their next life be forced to enter the same places, to be locked up there with poisonous fumes, fire and smoke [: the hell called Avatha-nirodhana, 'to be thrown in the dark']. Someone who in this life as a householder every time he received guests or visitors gave them a sinful look of anger as if he wanted to burn them with his eyes, for sure will land in the hell meant for those with a sinful vision, where his eyes will be plucked out by the powerful beaks of herons, vultures and crows [the hell of Paryavartana, 'the eyes plucked']. Also those egoists who with a look of disapproval regard all with suspicion, whose heart and face dry up by the thought of expenditure and loss, and who like evil spirits protecting their wealth are never happy, will after their death because of their sinful deeds to protect those riches and increase their incomes, fall down in a hell called Sucimukha ['the pin first'], where the commanders of Yamaraja like expert weavers with thread and needle will stitch the limbs of the bodies of those money grabbing ghosts and sinners.

For all those who act against the dharma as I mentioned and also for those I did not mention, there are, according to the degree of sinfulness, all these sorts of hells to fall into. There are many hundreds and thousands of them in the realm of Yamaraja oh King. Similarly there are elsewhere in this world [or in this universe] new lives to enter for the ones of principle and piety who reached the end of their virtue or vice [compare B.G. 4: 9 and 3.30: 29]. In the beginning I described to you the path of liberation [in BOOKs two and three]. There I showed you how the Supreme Lord Narayana in the stories of the Purana could be as much as the universe that is like an egg divided in fourteen parts. I described His gross form consisting of His energy and qualities, as being directly the Gigantic Person [the virath-rupa]. He who with veneration hears, reads or explains that song of the Supreme Personality of the Supersoul will, however difficult it is to understand, because of his faith and devotion find his intelligence purified and arrive at comprehension. Hearing about the gross as well as the subtle form of the Supreme Lord, the devotee should lead the mind which is captivated by the gross form, step by step in contemplation to the subtle, spiritual form. Of this planet earth I have described to you the different realms and regions, the rivers, the mountains, the sky, the oceans and the direction and positions of the lower worlds, the hellish worlds and the higher worlds above them, oh King. How wonderful is this gross body of the Supreme Controller wherein the aggregate of all living beings has its place!'

Thus the fifth BOOK of the Shrimad Bhagavatam ends named: The Creative Impetus.

BOOK 6: PRESCRIBED DUTIES FOR MANKIND

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 1:
Dharma and Adharma: the Life of Ajamila

Shri Parikchit said: 'Oh great devotee, in the beginning [in the second BOOK] you described how, following the path of finding liberation by renunciation [nivritti marga], one with the spirit of the Absolute ['with Brahma'] in the process of yoga gradually puts an end to the cycle of rebirth. With one's attention focussed on the three modes of nature , oh sage, one time and again is caught in the clutches of the material world where there is a constant renewal of forms. The hells belonging to the different sorts of impiety were by you described [in the fifth BOOK] as also the period of the first Manu, the son of Brahma, Svayambhuva [in the fourth BOOK]. - You described the character and the dynasties of Priyavrata and Uttanapada as also the different realms [dvipas], regions [varshas], oceans, mountains, rivers, gardens and trees of the earthly sphere and the characteristics and measurements of the luminaries and the lower worlds created by the Almighty Lord. Please explain to me now oh man of great fortune, what a human being must do in this world in order not to undergo all these sorts of terrible conditions of heavily suffering in hell.'

Shri Shuka said: 'When someone in this life does not take the necessary countermeasures, when one is not of proper atonement after having engaged wrongly in the mind, in one's expressions and with one's body [one's 'hands' or with one's marriage], such a person after having died, undoubtedly will end up in [one of] the different types of hell of terrible suffering I formerly described. Therefore, before one has died and before one's body is too old and decrepit, one should in this world as soon as possible endeavor to atone for one's sins with a proper estimate of their gravity, just like an experienced physician determines the cause in order to treat a disease.'

The king said: 'What is the value of atonement when one can not control oneself, despite hearing and seeing about it and knowing how harmful to oneself [and others] it is to act badly? Sometimes ceasing with the sin, sometimes engaging in it again, I consider the process of atonement quite useless. It is like with an elephant covering itself with dust after coming out of the water.'

The son of Vyasa said: 'By countering one [fruitive] deed with another [with compensating] there is indeed no end to that action when there is a lack of [self-]knowledge. Sins are only atoned for after [self-]searching, after investigation [also: discussions, confessions or psychotherapy; vimars'ana]. Those who eat the right food will not be plagued by all kinds of diseases, similarly he who manages to discipline himself, oh King, more and more qualifies for well-being and happiness. 3-1 By means of voluntary penance and chastity, by equal-mindedness and sense control, by sacrificing [charity] and truthfulness, by inner and outer cleanliness, refraining from violence and abuse and by selfrestraint [by means of mantra meditation e.g.] they who endowed with faith and knowledge of dharma are calm and steady in their actions, words and intelligence, put an end to all kinds of sin, however great and abominable, just the way a fire consumes a bamboo forest. Some who rely on nothing but unalloyed devotion [*] unto Vasudeva, manage to destroy all their badness completely, just like the sun dissipates fog. A man full of sin, oh King is certainly not as much purified by penance and such as the devotee is who surrendered his life to Krishna in dedicated service unto the person [the representative] of God [in particular the acarya]. In this world the most appropriate path is the safe path that free from fear is followed by the well-behaved and auspicious devotees who are of full surrender to Narayana. All the atonement well performed by someone who is not devoted to Narayana will not purify, oh King, the same way as the water of all rivers can not purify a liquor jar. Once the mind is of full surrender to the two lotus feet of Lord Krishna one is of the right atonement; one will, attached to His qualities, then never encounter in this world or even in one's dreams Yamaraja and his servants carrying the noose [compare B.G. 18: 66]. Concerning this the example is given of a very old story of a discussion between the servants of Vishnu and Yamaraja. Please let me tell you about it.

Once in the city of Kanyakubja there was a brahmin named Ajamila who as the husband of a maidservant got corrupted in association with her services and hence no longer endeavored for the truth. Having resorted to reprehensible activities as robbery, fraud and theft, he maintained his family in a most sinful way and gave others a lot of trouble. With the care for her sons thus managing his existence oh King, the great lapse of time passed of eighty-eight years of his life. He as an old man, had ten sons and the youngest of them, a small child held very dear by the father and mother, was addressed by the name of Narayana. The little one was very near to his heart. The old man enjoyed it very much to see its prattling and playing. As he ate, drank and chewed he, controlled by his affection, also fed the child and gave it something to drink, but foolish as he was he did not notice that his life drew to a close. When the time of his death had arrived he, who had lived as an ignoramus, thus had a mind fixed on the little son who carried the name of Narayana. 8-2 He saw how three characters approached him with fearful features, twisted faces and their hairs standing on end, who with the noose in their hands were ready to take him away. Terrified and with tears in his eyes he thus loudly called for his nearby playing child named Narayana. As soon as Vishnu's servants heard the name of the Lord their master from the mouth of the dying man oh King, they came immediately. At the moment the messengers of death were pulling away Ajamila from the heart of the maidservant's husband, the Vishnudutas forbade it with resounding voices. The messengers of Yama thus being thwarted replied: 'Who do you all think you are to oppose the authority of the King of Dharma? Whose servants are you, where are you from and why have you come here? Why do you stop us in this? Do you belong to the demigods, the lesser gods or to the perfected ones? 4-3 You all, with your lotus like eyes, yellow garments, helmets, glittering earrings and lotus flower garlands; you all, looking so young and beautiful with your four arms, bow, quiver of arrows and the decoration of a sword, club, conch, disc and lotus flower, in all directions dissipate the darkness with the effulgence of the light emanating from you. For what reason do you deny us, the servants of the Maintainer of Dharma?'

Shuka said: 'Thus being addressed by the Yamadutas they who followed the word of Vasudeva replied with a smile, saying the following with voices resounding like rumbling clouds. The Vishnudutas said: 'If you indeed are all the servants of the King of Dharma, then just tell us what the

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principles of dharma as also what the characteristics of adharma are. In what way [and to whom] should punishment be administered, what would be the condition qualifying for it and are all or only some human beings who do evil and oppress punishable?'

The Yamadutas said: 'Dharma is what is prescribed in the Vedas, adharma is the opposite. The Vedas are Narayana Himself, the self-born one [from whom they originated], so we've heard. All that manifested with its specific qualities, names, activities and forms has by Him, from His position in heaven, been created through the operation of the material modes of passion, goodness and slowness. All [the divinity of] the sun, the fire, the sky, the air, the gods, the moon, the evening, the day and the night, the directions, the water and the land bears witness to [or structures] the personal dharma [the very nature] of the embodied living entity [see also B.G. 8: 4]. Adharma [in the sense of going against nature] with all these [witnessing divinities] is recognised as the mental condition qualifying for the retribution that is acknowledged as valid for the karma of the offenders deserving punishment. They who under the influence of the natural modes are engaged in actions motivated for results, can be of good, pious deeds as well as of deeds directly opposite to that, oh pure souls, but no embodied soul can exist without engaging in action. The extent to which someone in this life is of certain righteous or bad deeds, assures him in his next life of the enjoyment or suffering that is their result [compare B.G. 14: 18]. The way one in this life among the living beings, oh best of the demigods, experiences the different effects of the natural modes in the form of their three attributes [viz. knowledge, movement and inertia], one may having landed elsewhere [in a next life] expect to have a similar experience. Just as the present time carries the characteristics of what was and what will become, someone's present birth likewise is indicative of the dharma and adharma of what one did and will be doing. The godhead [of Yamaraja] is a great Lord as good as Brahma; he in his abode sees before his mind's eye the form one previously had and then concludes to the future one will have. Just like someone who with what he projects in his sleep has lost the awareness of what precedes or follows that dream, one is equally unaware of a life before or after this [present] birth. With the five working senses, the five senses of perception and their five objects engaged in pursuing his goals, he with his mind as the sixteenth element is of awareness, but he himself as the one [soul] constitutes the seventeenth element in enjoying the threefold nature of reality [see also B.G. 3: 42-43]. With that sixteen part subtle body [the linga] as a result of the three forces of our greater nature, the living entity is subjected to a [difficult to overcome] repeated series of births [transmigration or samsriti] in which it experiences jubilation, lamentation, fear and misery. The embodied soul who lacks in awareness for not being in control of his senses and mind, against his will is led to actions for the sake of his own material interests; thus bewildered he like a silkworm weaves himself in[to the cocoon of] his own karma. No one can exist but for a moment without doing something. One is by the three modes automatically forced to perform the fruitive activities belonging to one's nature. On the basis of the imperceptible, unknown cause of that so very powerful personal nature, from womb and seed the gross and subtle body finds its existence to the likeness of the mother and the father [see also B.G. 8: 6]. Because of this association with material nature the position of a living entity has turned into an awkward one of forgetfulness, but if one but for a short while manages to enjoy the association of the Lord, that problem is overcome.

This man [Ajamila] well versed in the Vedas, of a good character and good conduct was [initially] a reservoir of good qualities. He conscientiously mild, controlled and truthful kept to his vows and knew his mantras. He was neat and clean, of the greatest esteem in service of the guru, the fire god, his guests and members of the household and was free from false pride, friendly to all, faultless, non-envious and of the finest choice of words. 8-6 Some day this brahmin following the orders of his father, went into the forest to collect there fruits, flowers, samit and kus'a [types of grass]. On his way back he saw some Shudra being very lusty together with a promiscuous maidservant who drunken because of maireya nectar [a drink made from the soma flower] intoxicated rolled her eyes to and fro. Under the influence her dress had slackened and he, unashamed having fallen from proper conduct, stood close to her singing and laughing having a good time with her. When Ajamila saw her with the with turmeric decorated arm of the lusty Shudra around her, he thus all of a sudden with a heart full of lust fell victim to bewilderment. From within trying to regain control, he reminded himself of what was taught, but agitated as he was by Cupid he failed to restrain his mind. Provoked by the sight he, who in his bewilderment stood senseless, resembled a planet in eclipse. With his attention focussed on her he [that very moment] gave up his dharma completely. Her, so he had decided, he would please as far as the money he had from his father allowed it and thus he to make her happy catered to every desire she thought pleasurable. His youthful wife, the brahmin daughter of a respectable family he had married, he in his sin abandoned directly after his mind was caught by the looks of the unchaste woman. He whatever way possible in his weakness acquired properly or else improperly the money he needed to take care of the family consisting of her and her many children. Because this man acted so irresponsibly and broke with all the rules of the Shastra, he is condemned. Far too long he sinfully passed his time impure with filthy practices. Because he did not atone for his perpetual sinning, we will take him to the presence of the Lord of Punishment where being punished he will find purification.'

*: In this regard comments Shrila Jiva Gosvami that bhakti may be divided into two divisions: santata, devotional service that continues incessantly with faith and love, and kadacitki, devotional service that does not continue incessantly but is sometimes awakened. Incessantly flowing devotional service (santata) may also be divided into two categories: service performed with slight attachment and spontaneous devotional service. Intermittent devotional service (kadacitki) may be divided into three categories: ragabhasamayi, devotional service in which one is almost attached ragabhasa-shunya-svarupa-bhuta, devotional service in which there is no spontaneous love but one likes the constitutional position of serving, and abhasa-rupa, a slight glimpse of devotional service.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 2:

Ajamila Delivered by the Vishnudutas: the Motivation for the Holy Name

The son of Vyasadeva said: 'Oh King, after the servants of the Supreme Lord had heard what the Yamadutas said, they replied as experts in the doctrine. The Vishnudutas said: 'Alas, how painful it is to see how irreligion affects the community of the knowers of dharma, to see how from those being allotted the task, sinless people unnecessarily have to undergo punishment. To whom must the citizens turn for shelter if there is iniquity among those who as their protectors, endowed with all good qualities and equal to all, [want to] defend the law? Whatever the better man does is copied by the rest of the population, whatever he does is by the general public accepted as the standard to follow [see also B.G. 3: 21]. - The common people not exactly knowing what would be dharma or adharma, lie their head in his lap to sleep in peace. How can a respectable person who kindly disposed towards everyone enjoys the trust of the living beings, cause pain to the ignorant mass that as a [herd of] animal[s] surrendered to him in good faith and friendship? This person here has already atoned for the sins of millions of births because he, being helpless, chanted the holy name of the Lord, which is the way to attain [His] fortune. When he said 'Oh Narayana, please come', he, thus pronouncing the four syllables [na-ra-ya-na], realised the complete atonement for all the mischief he as a sinner was guilty of. -1 Irrespective the gravity of the sin one might have committed as a thief, an alcoholic, as someone who betrays a friend, as a killer of a brahmin, as someone who lusted for his guru's wife or as a murderer of a woman, a king, cows or one's father, or as any other type of sinner, one will have the attention of Lord Vishnu because of one's concern with His name. He [Vishnu] considers the chanting of the holy name the perfection of atonement [*]. A sinner is not as much purified by the atonement in keeping to vows that brahminically are prescribed as he is by uttering the syllables of the name of the Lord. For that repetition brings to mind the qualities of Uttamas'loka [the Lord Glorified in the Scriptures, compare 6.1: 16]. Because the heart, despite one's penance, is not completely purified [when one does not chant His name], the mind will tire itself again on the path of temporary matters. Therefore they who are seriously interested in putting an end to their karma [see B.G. 4: 16], purify their existence by repeating the glories of the Lord [compare 1.2: 17]. Therefore do not try to take this man with you. Because he on his deathbed pronounced the name of the Supreme Lord he has already put behind him all his sins [see also B.G. 7: 27 and 8: 5]. Know that, whether one does it for other purposes, for fun, as entertainment or just casually, resounding the name [of the Lord] of Vaikunthha carries an unlimited capacity to neutralise sin. A person who has fallen, slipped, broken his bones, has been bitten, is plagued by a disease or struck, no [longer] deserves a hellish life when he thus involuntarily speaks [the name] of the Lord [see also B.G. 8: 6]. Great sages well versed in the matter prescribe heavy and light penance for [respectively] heavy and light sins. But all the sinfulness that according to them is vanquished by austerity, charity and vows and such, does not dissolve the effects of adharma in the heart [one's material desires or conditioning], for that is attained [only] in service of feet of the Lord. Consciously or involuntarily chanting the name of Uttamas'loka burns to ashes the sins of a person, just like fire does with dry grass. A mantra uttered, just like a powerful medicine taken, manifests its potency even when it somehow or other is used the proper way by an ignorant person.'

Shri Shuka said: 'They [the Vishnudutas] perfectly making sure what dharma is in terms of devotional service, oh King, thus released him from the noose of Yamaraja and rescued him from the clutches of death. Oh subduer of the enemies, the Yamadutas thus replied went to the abode of Yamaraja to inform him faithfully in detail about everything that had happened. The brahmin released from the noose, now free from fear regained his original nature and pleased to see them offered his respects bowing his head before the servants of Vishnu. But the servants of the Supreme Personality understanding, oh sinless one, that he wanted to say something, suddenly disappeared before his eyes. 4-2 Ajamila who because of the talks of Vishnu's and Yamaraja's servants about Lord Hari had learned more about what being pure of dharma in relation to the Lord [the Bhagavatam] meant, how that is described in the three Vedas and how someone conditioned by the modes of nature in devotion unto the Supreme Lord immediately finds purification by listening to the glorification of His name, greatly regretted all the evil deeds he remembered: 'Alas, because I lost the control over myself making babies with this low class woman, I destroyed all my brahminical qualities and ended up in utter misery. Honest men will condemn him who has abandoned his chaste young wife to associate with an unchaste maid given to drinking. Doomed I am having fallen in sin and defamed my family! My helpless old father and mother with no other relative to look after them, were distressed when I, ungrateful as someone with no class, alas gave up on them. It may be clear that I who as such an extremely pitiless person all too lusty broke with the dharma, should land in hell to undergo there the pains of retribution. Have I been dreaming or did I witness a miracle here? Where have all those gone to now, who were dragging me away with the noose in their hands? And where have those perfect four personalities of extreme beauty gone to who released me when I being captured in ropes was carried away to hell? Because having seen these exalted devotees auspicious things were bound to occur, I despite my ill fortune found myself back again! How else would a man impurely engaged with a lower class woman, on his deathbed be capable of having his tongue speak the holy name of the Lord of Vaikunthha? Where am I as a cheater, sinner personified and a shameless destroyer of his own culture with this all-auspicious name of Lord Narayana? I who was engaged in that way am decided to gain control over my senses, mind and breath, so that my soul not again because of ignorance will be drawn into the darkness. 6-3 Abandoning this being bound in karmic actions out of ignorance and lust, I as a self-realised, most kind, merciful and peaceful friend of all living entities, will free my soul from the encasement of being caught in maya in the form of a woman, a woman who played with me, fallen as I was, like with a pet animal. Thus giving up on the 'I' and 'mine' of the body and matters related to it, I will, without the falsehood, in meditation on the purpose devote my mind to the Supreme Lord with the help of the purification of singing His name and such.'

He, being freed from all bondage by only for a moment associating with the saintly devotees, thus relinquished the idea of a material life and went to the place where the Ganges enters the plains [Hardvar as 'the doorway to Hari']. Residing there in an abode for disciplining the spirit [an ashram or temple] he, engaging in yoga exercises, turned inwards away from his senses and fixed his mind on the true self. Fully absorbed in that self he detached himself from the [direction of] the modes [the time], and devoted himself to the Absolute in the form of the Lord who is pure consciousness. As soon as his mind and intelligence found their anchor, he saw before him the very same [four divine] personalities he formerly had seen, whereupon the brahmin reverentially bowed his head. He at that holy place at the Ganges seeing them, immediately gave up his vehicle of time, his body, to assume the original spiritual form [svarupa] that befits an associate of the Lord. The man of knowledge together with the servants of the Lord then boarded a celestial chariot [vimana] made of gold and went to heaven where the husband of the Goddess of Fortune [Vishnu] resides. He who had forsaken all dharma, who had married a low class maid, had fallen into abominable activities, had broken with all his vows and had landed in a hellish life, thus immediately found liberation the moment he relied on the name of the Supreme Lord. Therefore, in order not to get attached again to fruitive activities with a mind contaminated by passion and ignorance, there is for persons desiring to escape from material bondage no better means to cut with the karmic consequence than the repeated singing of the name of Him who is the refuge of all holy places. 7-4 Any person who with faith hears about or with great devotion recounts this confidential history which frees one from all sins, will not judged by the servants of Yamaraja be led to hell, but will be welcomed in the spiritual world of Vishnu, whatever inauspicious thing [he did in his material life]. If Ajamila at the time of his death by using the name of the Lord went to heaven, even though he meant his son, then what wouldn't that mean for the one who with love and faith holds on to the name?'

*: It is this verse that acaryas like Shrila Vis'vanatha Cakravarti Thhakura of the disciplic succession quote to give scriptural support to the argument that chanting the holy

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name will immediately cleanse oneself of all sins: it is how one calls for the Lord His protection. It is His dharma to do so and He will even incarnate for it if necessary as he explains in the Gita : . Also as Lord Caitanya He came down for this reason being prayed for by Shri Advaita, and thus He reinstated the necessity of this Bhagavatam and chanting the holy name for the religious reform of the people of our modern time.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 3:

Yamaraja Instructs His Messengers

The king said: 'What was the reply of the god, the King of Dharma, after he had heard what his servants had to say about his order being obstructed when they were defeated by the servants of the Slayer of Mura [Krishna] who rules all people of the world? Oh rishi, this thwarting of the order of a god like Yamaraja was a thing unheard of. I am convinced that no one but you, oh sage, can remove the doubts of the people concerning this.'

Shri Shuka said: 'The servants of death oh King, whose plans had been frustrated by the men of the Supreme Lord, informed their master Yamaraja, the ruler of the city of Samyamani [as follows]. The Yamadutas said: 'How many controllers are there factually in this material world, oh master, who are responsible for the consequences of [the people] performing the three kinds of activities [karma, akarma and vikarma or profit, non-profit and criminal, see B.G. 4: 17]? Given the many authorities in this world to chastise the sinner or not, for whom would there be [the bitterness of] death [being brought before you] and for whom [the nectar of] immortality [of Vaikunthha]? Considering the diversity of rulers for the many karmis [karmic persons] in this world, shouldn't there be a central administrative rule like one has with the different heads of state departments? In that sense you would be the one supreme master and ruler over all beings including the other controllers; you would be the master of punishment to tell right from wrong in human society. But in this world none of that can be found now your order, the punishment you ordained, has been contested by four of the most magnificent and perfect beings. They forcibly cut the ropes and released this sinner who by us according to your order was taken to the places of requital. About them who so quickly arrived and said 'Do not fear' when the word 'Narayana' was uttered, we would like to hear from you, please.'

The son of Vyasadeva said: 'He, Lord Yamaraja the controller of all living entities, thus being questioned replied his servants, pleased as he was to be reminded of the lotus feet of the Lord. Yamaraja said: 'Superior to me there is another one, another Lord, who is as the warp and woof of cloth to all the mobile and immobile living beings. In Him the entire cosmos is found and of Him there are the partial manifestations of the maintenance [Vishnu], creation [Brahma] and destruction [Shiva] of this universe. The entire creation is controlled by Him like a bull is by a rope through his nose. Just like one ties oxen to a rope He ties the people with different basic denominations and duties [of varna and ashrama] to His word [the Vedic knowledge], according to which they scrupulously carry their offerings to Him. 4-1 I myself, the Lord of death, Indra the king of heaven, Nirriti of chaos, Varuna of water, Candra of the moon, Agni of fire, Shiva of destruction, Pavana of the air, Brahma of creation, Surya of the sun, Vis'vasu of beauty [see 4.18: 17], the eight Vasus of goodness, the Sadhyas of cultivation, the Maruts of the wind, the Rudras of anger, the Siddhas of perfection and the other ones creating order in the universe, as also immortal rulers like Brihaspati and sages like Bhrigu, have despite being ruled by goodness and being free from [the lower qualities of] passion and ignorance, under the influence of His maya no knowledge of His motives. And how much more wouldn't that be true for others besides them? He, the Supersoul present in the heart of all living beings, can factually not be seen or known through the senses, the mind, the breath or by means of ideation and words just like the different parts of the body cannot see the eyes watching over them [compare B.G. 7: 26]. The attractive servants of the independent, transcendental Lord ruling everything, the Master of Maya, the Great Soul, generally move around in this world with His physical qualities and nature. The ones of Vishnu who are worshiped by the enlightened, have forms rarely seen that are most wonderful to behold. They protect the mortals devoted to the Lord from enemies and from my men, so that they are protected from practically every side. The great rishis, the gods, the best ones of perfection and also the demons, the humans including the ones founded in knowledge [the Vidhyadharas] and the celestial singers [the Caranas] and such, have no knowledge of the [full of] dharma that is established by the Supreme Lord in person. 0-2 Lord Brahma, Narada, Lord Shiva, the four Kumaras, Kapila, Manu, Prahlada, Janaka, Bhishma, Bali, the son of Vyasa [Shuka] and I myself [Yamaraja]; we, these twelve [mahajanas], have knowledge of the bhagavata-dharma [of surrender to the Supreme Lord] my dear servants, that is most confidential, transcendental and hard to grasp. He who understands it achieves eternal life [compare 3.32: 2 and B.G. 18: 66]. We all recognise that for the people living in this material world the yoga of devotion unto the Supreme Lord beginning with the singing of the holy name, constitutes the supreme dharma. Just consider how by pronouncing the holy name of the Lord my dear sons, even Ajamila was delivered from the noose of death. Even this sinner Ajamila attained liberation when he, at the moment of his death, innocently with 'Narayana' called for his son. Thus is this much of the congregational singing of the qualities of His names and deeds already enough to remove the sins of man. Understand that this [truth, this lead] of the mahajanas is practically always missed by those whose minds were bewildered by maya, the illusory energy of the goddess, by those whose intelligence to a great extend was dulled by the burden of being preoccupied with fruitive activities and the sweetness of the flowery language accompanying the sacrificial performances as prescribed [in the three Vedas, see also B.G. 2: 42-43]. With this in mind the sharp-witted ones with all their heart take to the yoga of loving the Supreme and Unlimited Lord. Such persons do therefore not deserve my punishment. And if there would be any fall down with them, that also will be destroyed by the high praise they voice. They, the devotees who with an equal vision are of surrender to the Supreme Lord and whose sacred histories are proclaimed by the demigods and perfected ones, you should never approach, for they are fully protected by the mace of the Lord. It is not given to us to punish them, just as it is not given to time itself [to tell right from wrong]. Communities of transcendental swanlike souls who free from material attachment are of self-realisation, continuously relish the honey of the lotus feet. [But] they who enjoy a household life in desires of attachment are on the path that leads to hell. Bring those before me who in their falsehood turned against Mukunda, the Lord of Liberation [compare 2.1: 4]. They who run from the truth and fail in their duties unto Lord Vishnu, whose tongues never express the names and qualities of the Supreme Lord, who do not carry Him in their heart or remember His lotus feet and not even once bowed their heads to Krishna [in a temple e.g., see B.G. 4: 4-6], bring them all before me. I pray that He, the Supreme Lord, the original and oldest person Lord Narayana, will excuse me for the impudence of my servants. We, me and my men, acted in ignorance and therefore we with folded hands beg the most venerable, all-pervading Personality of Godhead for forgiveness.'

[Shri Shuka said:] 'Therefore, oh descendant of Kuru, understand that the glorification of Lord Vishnu [in particular singing His name in congregation; sankirtana] is the ultimate form of atonement, the best one can do in the world to deal with one's sins, however great they are. The hearts of those who always listen to and sing about the heroism of the Lord that wipes away all sin, are by their devotional service, their bhakti, very easily purified, while such a thing is not as easily brought about when one is bent upon religious customs and such. He who holds on to the honey of Krishna's lotus feet will not fall in sin again because he renounced the desire to enjoy the illusory quality of nature [maya] which brings distress. Anyone else however, who enchanted by lust tries to do something to cleanse the passion out of his soul, will surely find the passion reappear.

The servants of Yamaraja by the words of their master being reminded of the greatness of the Lord, thus all stood perplexed. From then on oh King, they feared on sight the person, the devotee, who is fearless because of taking shelter of the Infallible One. When the most powerful sage, the son of Kumbha [Agastya Muni] resided in the Malaya mountains and worshiped the Lord, he told me this most confidential history.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 4:

The Hamsa-guhya Prayers Offered to the Lord by Prajapati Daksha

- The king said: 'You briefly explained to me the generation of the gods, the demons and the human beings, the serpents, the beasts and the birds during the rule of Svayambhuva Manu [see BOOK 3]. But I'd like to hear from you a more detailed account of this matter my lord, as also an account of the potency of the transcendental Supreme Lord by which that what followed [as a secondary creation] found its existence.'

Shri Suta said: "Oh best of the sages [assembled at Naimisharanya see BOOK 1.1], the son of Vyasa, the great yogi thus hearing about the king his request, praised him and gave an answer. Shri Shuka said: 'When the Pracetas, the ten sons of King Pracinabarhi returned from [their prolonged meditation] near the ocean, they saw that the entire planet was overgrown by trees [see 4.24, 4.30, 4.31]. Aggravated because of their austerities they got angry about the trees [and the agriculture that was neglected in their absence] and kindled with the air from their mouths a fire to burn down the forests. Seeing how all the trees were burned by the blazing fire, oh son of Kuru, the king of the forest, the great [moon god] Soma, spoke as follows in order to pacify their anger.

'Do not burn the poor trees to ashes oh fortunate souls! Since you are known as the protectors of the living beings it is your duty to strive for their growth. Don't you forget that the Supreme Personality, the Lord, the original, unchanging father and almighty protector, created all the trees, plants and herbs to serve as food. The ones that do not move about serve [with their fruits and flowers] as food for the winged ones and those without limbs [like the grasses] serve as food for the ones with legs without hands or paws. The four-legged in their turn are there for the animals with claws and the bipeds [to serve with respectively their flesh and milk]. Your father and the God of Gods, oh sinless ones, ordered you to generate population. How then [for the love of God,] can you burn the trees to ashes? Like your father, grandfather and great-grandfather did, just follow the path of the saints and subdue the anger that has risen in you! [Be like] parents who are friends to their children, [like] eyelids that protect the eyes, [like] a husband who protects his wife, [like] a householder who cares for those who depend on charity and [like] sages who are the well-wishers of the ignorant. The Supersoul residing within the bodies of all living entities is the Lord and Controller of all. Try to see them as His residence [His temple] and may He thus be pleased with you. Anyone who by inquiry into the nature of the self manages to subdue the powerful anger that suddenly can awake [like thunder] from [a clear] sky, transcends the modes of nature. Enough of burning the poor trees, let there be with you the well-being of the remaining trees and please, accept as your wife the daughter [called Marisha, a girl born from the Apsara Pramloca] who was raised by them.'

Oh King, after thus addressing the sons who had come back, King Soma gave them the Apsara girl who had very beautiful hips. They married with her according to the dharma. They begot in her Daksha, the son of the Pracetas, by whose procreative activity the three worlds thereafter were filled with offspring. Please listen attentively to my story how Daksha, who was so fond of his daughters, by means of his semen and certainly also his mind, generated all that life. In his mind the prajapati first projected the lives of those godly and godless living beings, including all the beings resorting under them that fly, roam the earth or swim. But realizing that this creation of beings did not increase in number, Daksha went to the foot of the Vindhya mountains where he performed the most difficult austerities. There at the most suitable place to put an end to all sin, the holy place called Aghamarshana, he satisfied the Lord by austere and regularly performing rituals. I shall now explain to you how he with the Hamsa-guhya ['the secret of the swan'] prayers satisfied the Lord, how he pleased Him as the Supreme Personality of Godhead beyond the senses. Daksha said: 'My obeisances unto Him from whom we learn the proper way to transcend the modes and the material energy to which all living beings are bound, unto Him, the self-born Controller beyond measure and calculation who in His abode cannot be perceived by a materially directed intelligence. My reverential respect for the friend with whom one lives in this body and of whose friendship a person has no knowledge, just as the sense objects have no knowledge of the sense organ that perceives them. The living being has knowledge of this body with its types of breath, its internal and external senses, its elements and sense objects that [material as they are] do not now themselves, each other or anything outside of them. But the living being knowing about the modes of nature and all these qualities [on its turn] has n0 knowledge of Him who knows each and all. I praise Him, this unlimited Lord. When the mind has come to a stop [in the absorption of yoga] and thus all names and projections of a material vision and remembrance have ceased, one will perceive Him in His unique spiritual completeness. Him, that swanlike [*] personality who is realised in the purest state, I offer my respects. 7-2 The same way as they who are experts in sacrificing extract the fire dormant in firewood with singing the fifteen hymns [the Samidheni mantras], the devotees discover Him who with His spiritual powers hides in their hearts that are covered by the three modes of nature and the nine aspects of matter [of material nature and her sixteen elements - prakriti, the individual soul - the purusha, the cosmic intelligence - the mahat-tattva, the false ego - ahankara, and the five sense objects - the tanmatras, see e.g. 3.26: 11]. He who is realised by the bliss, by the negation [of the material world] of freeing oneself from the complete of the illusory diversity, He of all names, He the gigantic form of the universe, may He, that inconceivable reservoir of all qualities be merciful unto me. Whatever one expresses in words, ascertains by contemplation, perceives with the senses or has in mind, everything that exists as an expression of the three modes, cannot be His essential nature. One knows Him in truth [only] as the cause of the creation and destruction of that what is characterised by the modes. [Everything is situated] in Him, [everything originated] from Him and [everything is moved] by Him. [Everything belongs] to Him and [everything is there] for Him. Whether He acts or incites to act, He is the Supreme Cause of our material and spiritual existence known to all. He is Brahman, the Cause of All Causes, the incomparable One beyond whom no other cause

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can be found. My obeisances unto that unlimited, all-pervading Lord of all transcendental attributes about whose many energies the speakers of the different philosophies, in dispute and agreement concerning causes, in their creativity are continuously off the track of the true self, the Supersoul. The subject matter discussed by the philosophies of sankhya [analysis, numbers] and yoga [unification, devotion] is concerned with a different, opposing nature. But when they speak about what would be [the absolute has form: sakara] and would not be [the absolute is formless, nirakara], they deal with one and the same beneficent, transcendental cause [compare 5.26: 39]. In order to bestow His mercy upon the devotees at His lotus feet He, the eternal, Supreme Personality who is not bound to any name or form, manifests with the forms and holy names He takes birth with and engages in action. May He, the One of Transcendence, be merciful with me. He who by the lower grade paths of worship manifests from within the core of the heart according to the desires of each living being, gains in colour and odor, just like the wind blowing over the earth [and thus assumes the forms of the demigods, see B.G. 7: 20-23]. May He, my Lord, fulfill my wish [to be allowed in His service].'

Shri Shuka said: 'Thus being praised with the prayers offered, the Supreme Lord, the caretaker of the devotees, appeared there in Aghamarshana, oh best of the Kurus. With His feet on Garuda's shoulders He with His long and mighty eight arms, held up the disc, the conch shell, the sword, the shield, the arrow, the bow, the rope and the club. His intense blackish blue form was clad in yellow garments, His face and glance were very cheerful and His body was adorned with a flower garland reaching to His feet. Decorated with the shining Kaustubha jewel, the Shrivatsa mark, a large full circle helmet, glittering shark earrings, a belt, finger rings, bracelets around His wrists and upper arms and with His ankle bells, His appearance captivated the three worlds. The Lord, the brilliance in person of the three worlds, was surrounded by eternal associates like Narada, Nanda and the leaders of the demigods and was glorified with hymns by the perfected ones and the inhabitants and singers of heaven. Seeing that greatly wonderful form he was at first frightened, but then with the hairs of his body standing on end the prajapati [joyously] threw himself flat on the ground to prove his respects. Because of the great happiness that filled his senses like rivers flooded by mountain streams, he was unable to utter a word. Seeing a great devotee like him, desirous of more life in the world, prostrated before Him, Janardana, He who appeases all and knows each his heart, spoke as follows. The Supreme Lord said: 'Oh son of the Pracetas, you so greatly fortunate perfected by your austerities in great faith your good self and attained, with Me as your object of desire, the highest state of love. I am very pleased with you, oh ruler of man, because of your penance [that is of fundamental importance] to the flourishing of the living beings in this world. It is My wish that they abound. Brahma, Shiva, the founding fathers, the Manus and the ruling gods [like the divinities of the sun and the moon], are all expansions of My energy and the cause of the welfare of all living beings. Religious penance is My heart, oh brahmin, Vedic knowledge is My body, the spiritual activities are the form I assume, the rituals conducted by the book are My limbs and the God-fearing ones [promoting the unseen good fortune of devotional activities] are My mind, soul and life breath. In the beginning, before the creation, I was the only one existing, nothing else could be found besides Me. The external world had not manifested, only perception was there, like it is with being immersed in sleep. When from My unlimited potency, the infinity of the qualities in the form of the universe with its gunas originated, the first living being found therein his existence: Lord Brahma, the one unborn. 9-5 The moment he, the Lord of all the demigods, invested with My potency tried to bring about the creation, he thought himself incapable of doing so. I then inspired the god to perform the severest austerity. Thus from him in the beginning the nine great personalities [the sages] of creation found their existence from whom all of you have originated [see 3.24: 21 and also 3.8]. Oh Prajapati My dear son, please accept the daughter of Prajapati Pancajana named Asikni as your wife. Married to her you will sexually united as man and woman according to the rules of the religion again [see 4.2] bring forth all the progeny [you desired. See also B.G. 7: 11]. All your descendants will under your rule because of My illusory energy engage in sexual intercourse and also make offerings to Me.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Thus having spoken the Supreme Lord, the creator of all the universe, vanished before his eyes as if He, the Supreme Personality, had been a dream image.'

*: He is called a swan because He can separate the true from the untrue, just like a swan can sift milk from water.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 5:
Narada Muni Cursed by Prajapati Daksha

Shri Shuka said: 'Impelled by Lord Vishnu's external potency [maya] he [Daksha] begot in his wife named Pancajani [Asikni] a countless number of most powerful sons who were named the Haryas'vas. Alike in character and dharmic conduct all the sons of Daksha, oh King, submitting to the order of their father to increase the population, went in the western direction. At the place where the Sindhu [the present Indus] flows into the ocean there is a most important sacred lake called Narayana-saras, which is frequented by sages and perfected ones. - Even though to be in touch with that water was enough to completely purify them from their impure thoughts, their minds were strongly attracted to the practices of the elevated souls [there] and [so they] executed with conviction the severest penances. When they were ready to meet the purpose of increasing the population as their father had ordered, they were visited by the devarshi [Narada]. - He spoke to them as follows: 'Oh Haryas'vas, even though you are the princes to rule, you alas lack in experience. How can you, if none of you has insight in the temporality, the finality of the worldly affair, beget offspring in service of the truth? Think of it as with a man whose kingdom consists of a hole in the ground from which there is no escape. At his side there is a woman presenting her body in many different ways who reduces her husband to a sexual slave. There's a river flowing in both directions with a marvelous house built from twenty-five materials where a swan tells nice stories while something razor sharp is spinning fast. How can you not knowing about this, you ignorant about the creation, follow the orders that your in every way so experienced father thought befitting for you?'

Shri Shuka said: 'After the Haryas'vas had heard those enigmatic words of the devarshi, they pondered over them with the full of their intelligence so that their power of discrimination awakened. The earth[ly affair, the body,] was the field of action, the eternal cause engrossing the individual soul that constitutes the basis of his bondage. What would the use of time-bound labour be when one does not see the finality of it all? Not understanding that there indeed is one controller, one Supreme Lord present who cannot be seen, who is not created [or born] and who, independent as His own shelter in the beyond, is the fourth dimension [of Time], what can one expect from one's temporary fruitive activities? If a man indeed in ignorance has left for the lower regions [the hole] from which he does not return, just as he does not return from the spiritual abode in the beyond, of what use are then his temporary karmic activities in this world [compare B.G. 9: 4 and 8: 15]? With the different things the living being tries with his intelligence, being possessed by passion and so on, he is like a free woman presenting herself in different ways. What's the use of working for results when one does not know the [transcendental] end to these changes of form in this world? When one thus is subjected to the material way, one loses one's status as an independent authority and thus the intelligence moves exactly like a sexually addicted person bereft of insight. What in this world is then the use of all that love for being bound in karma? The illusory of matter gives rise to creation and dissolution, which is a river [thus streaming in two directions] that for the foolish person flows [too] fast at its banks [to escape from it]. What's the use of working for a temporary advantage, without having knowledge of these matters? When one in this existence does not know about the twenty-five ways [the twenty-five elements, see 3.26: 11-15] to look at the reality of the Original Person, that wondrous mirror to the individual personality, what benefit is found in it to exhaust oneself for the falsehood of material gain? If one does not know to discriminate [like the swan] concerning the refuge to accept, when one concerning the Lord has given up on His literatures [the Shastras] that inform about the ways of bondage and liberation, of what use is it then to wrestle in attachment for temporary matters? The so very sharp, revolving wheel of Time governs all the world according to its own rule and measure; of what use is it to endeavor in desire for results in this world when one does not know about this [this order of time]? How can one, entangled in the modes of nature [see B.G. 18: 19-29], undertake anything [like begetting children], if one does not understand the instructions of the scriptures of the Father that tell one how to put an end to the material way of life?'

Thus being convinced, oh King, the Haryas'vas were of the same opinion. Circumambulating him [Narada] they left to tread the path of no return [see also B.G. 8: 16]. The muni traveled all the worlds keeping the Lord of the Senses in mind with spiritual sounds and thus he, innerly not being divided, engaged his consciousness at the lotus feet [see the bhajan Narada Muni]. Daksha hearing from Narada about the loss of the sons who were the best of the best in their conduct, then full of lamentation had to suffer. It hurt him deeply to see what had become of his fine sons. Pacified by the instigator [Lord Brahma] he again begot in Pancajani a thousand sons who were named the Savalas'vas. They in their turn by their father being ordered to populate the universe, took vows and went to the perfected ones at lake Narayana-saras, the place for which their elder brothers previously had left. Bathing regularly there, doing japa and reciting mantras for the sake of the Supreme Reality, they performed great austerities which indeed purified them from all the dirt within. 7-2 For months drinking water and eating air only, they used this mantra to worship the Master of all Mantras: 'Our obeisances unto Lord Narayana, the Great Soul residing eternally in the purest of goodness, the great swanlike personality upon whom we meditate [om namo narayanaya purushaya mahatmane vishuddha-sattva-dhishnyaya maha-hamsaya dhimahi'].' Oh King, in their meditations to populate the universe they were also approached by sage Narada, who like before expressed himself in meaningful words: 'Oh sons of Daksha, please listen attentively to my instruction. All of you, follow the path of your brothers you care so much about. A brother faithful to the path of an elder brother who knows the dharma [see 6.1], is a piously associated person who may enjoy with the Maruts [the wind gods of brotherhood].'

Saying this much Narada with his all-auspicious vision departed from there, and so it came to pass that they followed the path of the brothers who preceded them, oh worthy friend. Properly having turned inwards thus taking to the transcendental path, they, just like the nights that leave in the western direction, even to this day have not returned. That very time the Prajapati observed many inauspicious signs and heard how, like before, his sons because of Narada had come to naught. Overpowered by grief about his children, he almost fainted. He got very angry with Narada and when he met him he addressed him in fury with trembling lips. Shri Daksha said: 'You false preacher dressed up like a saint! What a disgrace you've brought upon us. Poor boys lacking in experience you've shown the path of beggars! With them not at all free from the three debts [to the saints, the gods and the father by celibacy, ceremony and progeny], you have in disregard of their duties, ruined their path of good fortune on earth and in the hereafter you sinner! Thus you've heartlessly spoiled the minds of those boys. While traveling as an associate of the Lord, you've shamelessly defamed Him! You should know that the best ones of the Lord are ever anxious to bless the fallen souls. But not you, you've really broken the bond of friendship and sown dissension among people living in harmony [compare B.G. 18: 68-69]. With your false doctrine of only being directed at the Absolute Truth you think renunciation is attained by cutting the bonds of affection, but this is not how renunciation works with people. Not experiencing the hardship that follows the pleasures of life someone will not arrive at knowledge. One naturally refrains in the end and not because of being brainwashed by others. Those with a wife and children who are honest accept the load of the Vedic duties; the unbearable wrong you did to us I [for once] can forgive. But you breaking the line of descendants may, because of the wrong you did to us for the second time, oh fool, nowhere wandering around in the world find a place to stay, a fixed residence.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Narada Muni, as appropriate for an accomplished saint [see also 3.25: 21-27 and B.G. 12: 13-20] tolerating it all, said only: hunderstood, so be it', even though he himself was the man in control.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 6:
The Progeny of the Daughters of Daksha

Shri Shuka said: 'The son of the Pracetas thereafter [after he had cursed Narada], pacified by Lord Brahma, begot at his kind request [to procreate again] in his wife Asikni sixty daughters who were all very fond of their father. Ten of them he gave to king Dharma [Yamaraja], Kasyapa he gave thirteen, twenty-seven were given to the moon god and Bhuta, Angira and Kris'as'va he gave each two. The four remaining he also gave to Kasyapa. Please hear from me all the different names of these women who with their many children and descendants populated the three worlds and from whom you and I are stemming.

The wives of Yamaraja were Bhanu, Lamba, Kakud, Yami, Vis'va, Sadhya, Marutvati, Vasu, Muhurta and Sankalpa. Now hear about their sons. From Bhanu was born Deva-rishabha and from him was born Indrasena, oh King. Vidyota ['lightning'] appeared from Lamba and from him there was thunder [his children]. From Kakud Sankatha appeared and from him there was the son named Kikatha who fathered many protectors of earthly strongholds. Yami gave birth to Svarga from whose loins Nandi was born. The [ten] Vis'vadevas were born from Vis'va, but it is said that from them there was no progeny. The Sadhyas who were born from Sadhya, had one son: Arthasiddhi. Marutvan and Jayanta took birth from Marutvati. Jayanta was an expansion of Vasudeva and is also known as Upendra. From Muhurta ['forty-eight minutes'] the Mauhurtikas were born, a group of [thirty] gods who took birth to present the living beings the result of their personal time-bound actions. 0-1 From Sankalpa Sankalpa [the deity presiding over one's conviction] was born and from him Kama [the god of love] appeared. Vasu gave birth to the eight Vasus. Now listen to their names: Drona, Prana, Dhruva, Arka, Agni, Dosha, Vastu and Vibhavasu. From Drona's wife Abhimati sons appeared like Harsha, Shoka, Bhaya and more. Urjasvati the wife of Prana gave birth to Saha, Ayus and Purojava. From Dhruva's wife Dharani the various [gods ruling over the] cities and towns were born. From the wife of Arka, Vasana there were the sons

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named Tarsha and so on and from Dhara the wife of the Vasu Agni there were the sons known as Dravinaka and so on. Krittika, another wife of Agni, gave birth to Skanda [Karttikeya] whose sons were headed by Vis'akha and from Dosha's wife Sharvari the son Shishumara was born. He was an expansion of the Lord of Time [see 5.23]. From Vastu's wife Angirasi the son Vis'vakarma [the great architect] was born who became the husband of Akriti. From them was born the Manu named Cakshusha whose sons were the Vis'vadevas and Sadhyas [see verse 7]. Usha the wife of Vibhavasu gave birth to Vyushtha, Rocisha and Atapa. Atapa then fathered Pancayama ['the span of the day'] who awakens the living beings to engage in material activities. 7-1 Sarupa, the wife of Bhuta, gave birth to the millions of Rudras headed by Raivata, Aja, Bhava, Bhima, Vama, Ugra, Vrishakapi, Ajaikapat, Ahirbradhna, Bahurupa and Mahan. Their associates, the ghastly ghosts and Vinayakas [a type of demons, hobgoblins] originated from his other wife. Prajapati Angira's wife Svadha accepted the Pitas for her sons and [his other wife] Sati accepted Atharvangirasa as her son who was the [fourth] Veda [the Atharva Veda] in person. The wife of Kris'as'va, Arcis gave birth to Dhumaketu who in Dhishana begot the sons Vedas'ira, Devala, Vayuna and Manu. 1-2 Kasyapa [or Tarkshya] had four wives: Vinata [Suparna], Kadru, Patangi and Yamini. From Patangi the birds originated, from Yamini the locusts came and Vinata brought Garuda into existence - the one who is regarded the carrier of Yajna [Vishnu] - and Anuru [Aruna] the chariot driver of Surya, the god of the sun. From Kadru there were the different kinds of serpents. The wives of the moon god [Soma] were the [goddesses ruling the twenty-seven] lunar mansions named Krittika and so, but oh son of Bharata, because Daksha had cursed him [for preferring Rohini], he was pestered by a degenerative disease [consumption] and had no children with any of them. 4-2 Again pacifying him Soma in respect of the division of time managed to stop the decay [reducing it to the dark fortnight]. Now please take notice of all the names of the wives of Kasyapa, the mothers from whom all the living beings of this entire universe were born: Aditi, Diti, Danu, Kashttha, Arishtha, Surasa, Ila, Muni, Krodhavas'a, Tamra, Surabhi, Sarama and Timi. From Timi the aquatics appeared and the animals of prey were the children of Sarama. From Surabhi the buffalo found its existence as also the cows and other animals with cloven hooves, oh King. From Tamra the eagles, the vultures and so on came into being and from Muni there were the different angels. The reptiles such as the dandashuka snakes originated from Krodhavas'a, from Ila all the creepers and trees came and all the evil ones [like the demons and cannibals] were there from Surasa. 9-3 From Arishtha there were only Gandharvas and from Kashttha there were the animals whose hooves are not split. From Danu there were sixty-one sons born; the ones important are: Dvimurdha, Shambara, Arishtha, Hayagriva, Vibhavasu, Ayomukha, Shankus'ira, Svarbhanu, Kapila, Aruna, Puloma and Vrishaparva as also Ekacakra, Anutapana, Dhumrakes'a, Virupaksha, Vipracitti and Durjaya. Suprabha, the daughter of Svarbhanu married Namuci, but Sharmishttha born from Vrishaparva went to Yayati the powerful son of Nahusha. 3-3 There were four very beautiful daughters of Vais'vanara: Upadanavi, Hayas'ira, Puloma and Kalaka. Hiranyaksha married Upadanavi and Kratu married Hayas'ira, oh King, but when on the plea of Lord Brahma the two daughters Puloma and Kalaka of Vais'vanara married to the, oh so mighty prajapati Kasyapa, the Pauloma and Kalakeya demons were born from them who were very keen on fighting. When the sixty thousand of them [headed by Nivatakavaca] were a disturbance to the sacrifices in the heavenly places, your grandfather [Arjuna] single-handedly killed them just to please Indra, oh King. From Vipracitti's wife Simhika one hundred and one sons were born who all obtained a planet of their own: Rahu was the eldest and the hundred others were [called] the Ketus. 8-3 Now hear from me the chronological order of the dynasty that originated from Aditi, wherein Narayana, the One Almighty Lord, manifested as a plenary expansion of Himself [called Vamana]. Vivasvan, Aryama, Pusha and Tvashtha followed by Savita, Bhaga, Dhata, Vidhata, Varuna, Mitra, Shatru and Urukrama [were her twelve sons month by month consecutively presiding over the sun. Urukrama is the dwarf-incarnation Vamana]. The most fortunate Samjna, gave as the wife of Vivasvan birth to the Manu called Shraddhadeva as also to the twin the demigod Yamaraja and his sister Yami [the river Yamuna]. She appeared on earth in the form of a mare and gave birth to the As'vini-kumaras. Chaya [another wife of the sun god] got from him the sons Shanais'cara [Saturn] and Savarni Manu as also a daughter named Tapati who selected Samvarana for her husband. Aryama's wife Matrika gave birth to many scholarly sons. It was from their [talents] that Lord Brahma created humanity [as we know it]. Pusha remained childless living on dough only. He had broken his teeth because he had shown them when he had to laugh about the anger of Daksha [when he insulted Lord Shiva, see 4.5: 21, 4.7: 4]. From the marriage between Tvashtha and the girl called Racana who was a Daitya daughter, the two sons Sannives'a and the very powerful Vis'varupa were born. He [Vis'varupa] was by the God-conscious ones, despite being the son of a daughter of their enemies, accepted as their priest, after they were abandoned by their spiritual master Brihaspati because they had disrespected him.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 7:
Indra Offends His Spiritual Master, Brihaspati

The king [Parikchit] said: 'Please oh great one, can you describe for what reason the God-conscious ones were rejected by their acarya [the teacher of example Brihaspati]? What was the offense the disciples committed unto the spiritual master?'

- The son of Vyasadeva said: 'King Indra, enjoying the wealth of the three worlds, due to pride had strayed from the path of truth. Surrounded, oh King, by the Maruts [of the luster] the Vasus [of excellence], the Rudras [of anger], the Adityas [of what's untrue], the Rihbus [of invention, see also 4.4: 33], the Vis'vadevas [of royal riches], the Sadhyas [of refinement], the As'vini-kumaras [of helpfulness] and the Kumaras [of celibacy] and being served by the Siddhas [of perfection], the Caranas [of the theater], the Gandharvas [of song], the Munis [of wisdom], the Brahmavadis [of learning], the Vidyadharas [of science], Apsaras [of heaven] and Kinnaras [of superpower], the Patagas [of the birds] and the Uragas [of the snakes], King Indra was served and glorified with sweet songs, oh son of Bharata [compare 2.3: 2-7]. In his assembly hall he [one day] was sitting on his throne enjoying the royal opulence of a white parasol as beautiful as the moon disc and other regalia and amenities such as yak-tails for fanning him. Shining with his wife Shaci who shared the throne with him, he thought he was the one supreme. But when his exalted teacher of example, the spiritual master of all the godly ones, appeared in the assembly, he was not welcomed by him. He did not stand up from his throne to offer him a seat or greet the great priest of the godly ones, the best one of the sages who was equally respected by the enlightened and the unenlightened souls. Even though Indra saw him enter, he failed to pay him any respect.

Brihaspati the learned sage and master, thereupon left immediately to return home in silence, well-known as he was with the alienation of being puffed up in wealth. Indra instantly realised that he had disrespected his guru and criticised himself publicly: 'Alas, how disrespectful it was what I have done. I must be out of my mind. Now I have mad about my wealth, mistreated the preceptor in the midst of this assembly! What man of knowledge would be in favor of opulence! Despite being the king above all, I, the leader of the demigods, now with this wealth have been carried away by a demoniac mentality. He who says that to sit on the royal throne means that one shouldn't stand up for someone else, has no idea of the higher [meaning] of dharma [compare 4.2]. They who lead the way on the false path will land in darkness themselves and anyone who puts faith in their words, will go down also, sinking like a boat made of stone. Therefore let me propitiate the spiritual leader, the immaculate brahmin [Brihaspati] whose knowledge is unfathomable and touch without duplicity his lotus feet with my head.'

While Indra the mightiest god of all thus was ruminating, Brihaspati, in order not to be seen [by the king], disappeared from his house by the power of his elevated state. Vigorously searching all around not finding a trace of his guru, the mighty Indra could, helped by his associates and contemplating his wisdom, not find any peace of mind. When the mass of unenlightened souls who kept to the precepts of Shukracarya heard about it, they took, not that intelligent, up their weapons and declared war against the godly ones. With their trunks, arms and legs being pierced by the sharp arrows that were shot, the godly ones together with Indra took refuge with Lord Brahma and bowed their heads before him. Seeing them weighed down by their worries the godhead Brahma, the supreme unborn one, out of his causeless, infinite mercy spoke to them in order to comfort them. Lord Brahma said: 'Alas, what an unpleasant surprise, oh supreme enlightened souls. Because you [being too proud] with your opulence failed in your hospitality, you have committed a serious offense against a faithful servant of the Absolute Truth, a brahmin of full control. Because of your negligence with the wealth you enjoy, the others, your enemies, however weak they were [being defeated by you in the past], managed to defeat you [now] oh enlightened ones. Indra Maghavan, , oh Honour of Wealth, just see how your enemies who formerly were so weak because of neglecting their preceptor, have regained their power now they with great devotion are of respect for their sage the son of Bhrigu [Shukracarya]. As such they can even obtain my heavenly abode! Undivided in their resolve to follow the instructions of the disciples of Bhrigu [viz. Shukracarya] they are unconcerned about [the opposition of] heaven dwellers [up to Lord Brahma]. They who put first the brahmins, the cows and the Protector of the Cows [Govinda, Vishnu], will find nothing inauspicious on their way, whether they are human or divine. Therefore devote yourselves forthwith to Vis'varupa, the son of Tvashtha. He is a self-possessed, incorruptible man of austerity and penance. Given your understanding for his workload [of supporting the Daityas] he that way being honoured will take care of your interests.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Thus being advised by Lord Brahma, oh King, they relieved of their pain, went to the rishi, the son of Tvashtha. They embraced him and told him the following. The godly said: 'We, arriving as guests at your abode, wish you all good fortune and would like to express the desire, oh dear son, to have, concerning the present situation of us the elder ones of your [spiritual] family, some things straightened out. The highest duty of sons is to serve their parents as good as they can despite having sons of their own oh brahmin, and what to say about celibate sons? 9-3 The teacher of example [the acarya] personifies the Vedic knowledge, the father stands for the Original Father [Brahma], the brother is the representative of the king of the demigods [Indra] and the mother is the direct embodiment of the earth. The sister personifies the mercy, the guest is there as the true self of dharma, the one invited is there as the representative of the god of the sacrificial fire [Agni] and all living beings are there to the example of the Supreme one of the Soul [Vishnu]. Therefore, by the power of the austerity that is in you dear son, take away the grief of us, your troubled elders, who were defeated by our enemies. We recognise you as the one who can do this. We have chosen you as our preceptor concerning the Supreme Brahman, as our brahmin and spiritual master, so that based upon your prowess we can defeat our rivals with ease. It is by no means forbidden to offer for one's self-interest one's obeisances at the feet of someone younger like you. It is important to be of praise, oh brahmin, to be advanced in age does not really count in such matters [*].'

The honourable rishi [Shuka] said: 'Thus on the request of the different enlightened souls accepting the priesthood as the great example of austerity, Vis'varupa, pleased with their honest words addressed them. Vis'varupa said: 'Even though it is condemned by those faithful to religious principles as being detrimental to one's brahminical power, I oh lords, oh controllers of all, as someone whose self-worth it is to be a disciple so one says, cannot decline this request. Persons withdrawing from the world may count on the wealth of grains left behind in the field or the marketplace [s'ilonchana, to live 'on the dole']. That is how the sadhus, acting piously in this world, succeed. But how reproachable it is for me oh rulers of the worlds, to be of the duty of the priesthood, a duty designed for the bewildered ones to exult! Nevertheless I cannot turn down the request of you altogether, you as persons as good as the guru. Because the desire for my own life and welfare is of little value, I will concede.'

The son of Vyasa said: 'Vis'varupa, the master of penance, thus promising them to be their priest, performed as requested his duty with the greatest attention. Even though the riches of the enemies of the God-conscious ones were protected by the science of Shukracarya, the mighty sage managed by means of a prayer unto Lord Vishnu [called Narayana-kavaca] to collect the wealth and hand it over to the great Indra [compare B.G. 9: 31]. The liberal minded Vis'varupa spoke that hymn to Mahendra ['the great Indra']. It protected the god with the thousand eyes and defeated the military power of the Asuras [the demons] that had become a great threat.'

*: Shri Caitanya Mahaprabhu, the propagator of this Bhagavatam, approved of this when He expressed this opinion before Ramananda Raya (Cc. Madhya 8.12: kiba vipra, kiba nyasi, Shudra kene naya yei krishna-tattva-vetta, sei 'guru' haya: 'It does not matter whether one is a brahmana, Shudra, grihastha or sannyasi. These are all material designations. A spiritually advanced person has nothing to do with such designations. Therefore, if one is advanced in the science of Krishna consciousness, regardless of his position in human society, he may become a spiritual master.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 8:
The Armor of Mantras that Protected Indra

- The king said: 'What was the protection of the thousand eyed king [Indra] when he, sporting with the armed forces of the enemy and their carriers, conquered the three worlds and enjoyed the opulence oh sage? Please explain to me in what way the armor of Lord Narayana's mercy was protecting him when he defeated in battle those who tried to kill him.'

The son of Vyasadeva said: 'Now listen attentively to what the son of Tvashtha, chosen as the priest, upon request told the great Indra as being the defense that is called Narayana[-kavaca]. - Shri Vis'varupa said: 'One puts on armor in case one is overcome by fear. [For His purpose arming oneself] one should first wash one's hands and feet and then after saying the required mantra [doing acamana, three times over] sip water. Sitting down, facing the north one next should ritually purify oneself [in pavrita 'touching kus'a'] by preparing oneself mentally in silence. Thus in dedication to the lordship of Narayana being innerly cleansed one should adopt the defense in which one, beginning with saying 'om', offers one's obeisances to Narayana by designating two mantras to one's body [by nyasa], that is to say the [eight syllables of the] mantra 'om namo narayanaya' to each of the [eight] parts of the body, touching therewith [consecutively] one's lower legs, knees, thighs, abdomen, heart, chest, mouth and [top of the]

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head, or even repeat this in reverse order [beginning with ya, which is called respectively utpatti-nyasa and samhara-nyasa *]. Next one should assign the [twelve] syllables of the mantra beginning with om and ending with ya [om namo bhagavate vasudevaya] to the [twelve parts of the] fingers starting with the [tip of the] index finger and ending with the four joints of the two thumbs. -1 [Then chanting the mantra 'om vishnave namah', All glories to Lord Vishnu] the heart should be assigned 'om', 'vi' next comes to the top of the head, 'sha' comes between the eyebrows, 'na' on the Shikha [the tuft of hair on the back of the head with Vaishnava monks], 've' comes between the eyes, the syllable 'na' should be assigned to all the joints of the body and 'mah' should be thought of as a weapon in the form of a mantra, so that one becomes an intelligent [representative of it]. By [finally] saying the mantra beginning with a visarga [an aspirated 'ha'] and ending with 'phath' ['mah astraya phath' or: 'thus I call for my weapon'], one should be fixed on the respect for Lord Vishnu in every possible way. One should recite the following prayer representing the Supreme Self to meditate upon that [in the form of Bhagavan] is endowed with the six opulences of learning [or knowledge], power and austerity [as also wealth, beauty and fame]:

'I pray that the Lord of the eight qualities [see also 3.15: 45] whose feet rest upon the back of Garuda and who holds the conch shell, disc, shield, sword, club, arrows, bow and ropes in his eight hands, will protect me on all sides. May Matsya [the fish incarnation of Lord Vishnu] protect me against the aquatic predators in the water who represent the noose of Varuna. May He as the dwarf incarnation Vamana who took the three steps [as Trivikrama, Lord Vishnu as the conqueror of the three worlds] protect me on land and may He as Vis'varupa [Him in the form of the universe] protect me in the sky [the ether]. May the Supreme Master Lord Nrisimhadeva whose fearful laughter resounding in all directions meant the fall of the enemy of the leader of the demons [Hiranyakas'ipu] and the miscarriage of his babies, protect me in [my toiling in] the wilderness and on the front in battle. May we in the streets be protected [against thugs] by Him whom one respects with the rituals, Lord Varaha who raised the planet earth on His tusks. May there for us on the mountain tops be the protection of Lord [Parashu-]Rama and may we in foreign countries be protected by [Lord Ramacandra] the elder brother of Bharata and His brother Lakshmana. May Lord Narayana protect me against religious fanaticism and keep me from acting in madness, may Nara keep me from being arrogant, may Dattatreya the master of [the powers of] yoga keep me from straying from the path of yoga and may Kapila, the Lord of [all good] qualities, keep me from attachment to the fruits of labour. May Sanat-kumara [the perfect celibate] protect me against Cupid [lust], may Hayagriva [the horse incarnation] keep me from the path of disrespecting the divinity, may the best of all sages the devarshi Narada keep me from offenses during the service and may the Lord in the form of Kurma [the tortoise incarnation] keep me out of the everlasting hell. May Bhagavan Dhanvantari [the physician avatara] protect me against things harmful to one's health, may Rishabhadeva, the one fully in control of the mind and the self [see 5.4: 6], keep me from duality and fear, may Yajna [Vishnu as the Lord of sacrifice] keep me from infamy and an awkward social position and may Lord Balarama in the form of Ananta Shesha [the Lord of the ego, see 5.25] keep me away from the angry serpents. May Bhagavan Dvaipayana [Vyasadeva] keep me from ignorance and may Lord Buddha protect me against the hosts of heretics and madness [as a consequence of negligence]. May Kalki, the Lord who in this darkest age of quarrel incarnates as the greatest one in defense of the dharma [also as the channa- or covert avatara], protect me against the impurities of the time we are living in [viz. intoxication, promiscuity, gambling and meat-eating; see also 1.17: 24]. May Kes'ava protect me with His club during the hours after sunrise, may Govinda holding His flute protect me early in the morning, may Narayana the Lord of all potencies, protect me late in the morning and may Lord Vishnu the ruler with the disc in His hand, protect me during the hours at noon [see also 5.21: 10]. May Lord Madhusudana with the fearful bow Sharnga protect me early in the afternoon. May Madhava, the Lord of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, protect me in the late afternoon and may Lord Hrishikes'a protect me during the hours at dusk. May Lord Padmanabha [the Lord from whose navel the universe sprang] be the one protector during the entire evening early and late. May the Lord with the Shrivatsa mark protect me during the hours after midnight, may Janardana the Lord with the sword in His hand protect me late at night and may Lord Damodara protect me during the hours before dawn [during which there is the brahmamuhurta **]. May the Controller of the Universe, the Supreme Lord in the form of time protect me [as the kala-murti, also the clock]. Please let the sharp rimmed [Sudars'ana] disc [His order of time, the cyclic of natural time] that wielded by the Lord destructively moves in all directions alike the fire at the end of time, burn to ashes the enemy forces, the same way a blazing fire with its friend the wind would burn dry grass in an instant. May You [Kaumodaki], oh mace so dear to the Invincible Lord, whose impact sparks with fire like thunderbolts, pound to pieces, smash, destroy and pulverize my enemies the imps [Kushmandas], the magicians [Vainayakas], the evil spirits [Yakshas], the demons [Rakshasas], the ghosts [Bhutas] and the maddeners [Grahas]. Oh conch shell [oh Pancajanya], may you with your frightening sound make the hearts tremble of the enemy torturers [Pramathas], evil spirits [Pretas], she-devils [Matas], madmen [Pis'acas] and heretics [Vipra-grahas] with their evil looks. You, oh sharpest of all swords [oh Nandaka], may you in the hands of the Lord cut to pieces, chop up the enemy soldiers. Oh shield marked with a hundred shining moons, blind the eyes of the evil-minded ones so full of anger and pluck out their sinful eyeballs. 7-2 May by the glory of Your name, form and attributes all the bad [influence of the] planets, falling stars, sinners, snakes, scorpions, predators and other living beings and fear arousing poisoners of our minds and bodies who obstruct our well-being, be completely destroyed. May the majesty of Garuda whom one praises in hymns, he who embodies the Vedic verses, may that master protect us with [his name and] all the names of Vishvaksena [the Lord whose powers are found throughout the universe] against an endless suffering. May His holy names, forms, strategies ['carriers'] and weapons, protect our intelligence, mind and life air from being caught in fear.

We pray that whatever that is disturbing us [and our devotion] will find its end as a logical consequence of the fact that it is You, the Lord [of time] alone who decides what the ultimate reality would be of that what is and that what is not [like happiness and grief coming and going, see B.G. 2: 14]. 2-3 Those bent upon an absence of differences think of the oneness of the Soul [within the material diversity]. Following that course, He is truly understood as the [One transcendental] omniscient Supreme Lord [who defeats the illusion] by means of His expanding spiritual energy in the form of His decorations, weapons, characteristics and the opulence of His many potencies and different names. May He, the all-pervading One, with all His forms protect us always and everywhere. May the Supreme Lord in every nook and corner, in all directions, above and below, on all sides, from within and from without, in the form of Nrisimhadeva annihilate all worldly fears with His mighty roar [or song, see the Nrisimha Pranama]. May He with His effulgence overshadow all other influences.'

[Shri Vis'varupa continued:] 'Oh King Indra, when you the way I described it under the protection of this [mystic] armor relate to Lord Narayana, you will conquer very easily the leaders of the demoniac hordes. Whoever keeps this [prayer] in mind will, whatever he came to see, found at his feet or stumbled upon, immediately be freed from all fright and fear. He who employs this mystic prayer has nothing to fear, not from the government, not from rogues, not from maddeners and such nor from any disease at any time. This prayer was in the past used by a man called Kaus'ika, a brahmin who fixed in yoga gave up his body in the desert. His remains were spotted by Citraratha, the king of the Ghandarvas from above in his heavenly chariot, when he one day, surrounded by many a beautiful woman, had moved in the direction where the twice-born one had died. All of a sudden he with his heavenly vehicle, his vimana, inescapably tumbled out of the sky. Amazed about it he consulted with the Valikhilyas [the sages of the sun god] who advised him to collect the bones, throw them in the eastward flowing Sarasvati and then return home after taking a bath in that river.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Anyone who at the opportune moment hears about [this prayer] and carefully concentrates on it, will acquire the respect of all living beings and be delivered from all fear. Indra who had performed a hundred sacrifices [see 4:9: 1], by means of this prayer that he received from Vis'varupa conquered in battle the Asuras and enjoyed the opulence of the three worlds [see also B.G. 4: 34].'

*: This is an actual practice of Vaishnava monks living in the temple. Each morning they apply tilaka, holy clay, on different bodyparts addressing Lord Narayana with different mantras, thus allaying the fear and warding off the danger of facing the material world with all its opponents to the teaching. The formal acamana mantra before sipping water goes as follows: 'om apavitrah pavitro va sarvavastham gato 'pi va // yah smaret pundarikaksham sa bahyabhyantarah Sucih // Shri-vishnu Shri-vishnu Shri-vishnu'.

**: Generally, each day and each night Vedically is divided into six parts consisting of five ghathikas of 24 minutes each. To each portion of the day of two hours there is another name of the Lord or activity for God to be respected according to these verses. The periods concern the regular hours (to the position of the sun, considered from the equator) directly after sunrise 6-8 (before breafast), early in the morning 8-10, late in the morning 10-12, at noon 12-2 (lunchtime), early in the afternoon 2-4, late in the afternoon 4-6 and the hours at dusk (after dinner) 6-8, early in the evening 8-10, late in the evening 10-12, early at night 12-2, late at night 2-4 and before dawn 4-6 (with the brahmamuhurta, the meditation hour between the fourth and second ghathika before sunrise).

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 9:

Appearance of the Demon Vritrasura

Shri Shuka said: 'Vis'varupa [see previous chapter], oh son of Bharata, had three heads. One for drinking soma [performing sacrifices], one for drinking wine [spiritual matters] and one for eating food [the material purpose] so I have heard. He, oh ruler, offered the gods who were there as his fathers, their proper share by publicly chanting the mantras aloud with sacrifices in the fire. Even though he with his sacrifices offered the gods their share he, led by the affection of his mother [Racana], behind their back [also] made offerings to the Asuras. The king of the gods [Indra] seeing how he by that offense to the divinity betrayed the dharma, afraid [that the demons would gain strength] angrily quickly cut off Vis'varupa's heads. The head he used for drinking soma became a kapinjala [a francolin partridge], the head for drinking the wine turned into a kalavinka [a sparrow] and the one used for taking food turned into a tittiri [a common partridge]. However powerful he was, because of the reaction of killing a brahmin Indra with folded hands for the time of a year had to face the consequences. In order to be purified from the sin towards other living beings he then divided the burden over the four departments of the earth, the waters, the trees and the women. With the benediction [by Indra] of having her hollows filled with water, the earth took one fourth of the burden of killing a brahmin by accepting the deserts as the visible sign [of the sin] on her surface. With the blessing that their branches and twigs would grow back when trimmed, the trees acceped a quarter of the burden of killing the brahmin through the sap flowing from them as the visible consequence. The [youthful] women being blessed with a constant sexual appetite accepted as their quarter of the burden of sin the monthly period as the visible reaction. Water blessed with the ability to increase the volume of the material it soaks, accepted one fourth of the sin with the reaction of visible bubbling and foaming because of which one has to throw it away. After having lost his son, Tvashtha [see 5.15: 14-15] performed a sacrifice for creating an enemy for Indra with the words: 'Oh enemy of Indra, increase in size so that you without delay can kill your opponent.'

Thereupon from the anvaharya fire [the fire to the south] a most frightening character appeared who looked like the destroyer of all the worlds at the end of the yuga. 3-1 Day after day expanding to a distance of an arrow's reach, he resembled a burned mountain or clouds amassing in the evening with the sun shining from behind. Next to his hair, beard and mustache that were as red as molten copper, he had eyes blazing like the sun at noon. Dancing and shouting loudly he kicked up the dirt as he moved around with the firmament held high on his blazing trident. With his mouth deep as a cave swallowing the three worlds, he drank the sky and licked up the stars. Over and over yawning with his massive, fierce teeth, the people who saw him fearfully fled in all the ten directions. He, that most fearful personification of sin, was in truth the form the son of Tvashtha had assumed. Now, by [dint of the power of] his previous austerity, he covered all the worlds and was thus called Vritra ['the encloser']. All the defenders of wisdom together attacked him with their soldiers to strike him with each his own divine weapon, but Vritra swallowed the different weapons all at once. Faced with that fact they were all struck with wonder and gathered disheartened, having lost their courage, to turn inwards to pray to the Original Person.

The gods said: 'We with Lord Brahma first and [all the inhabitants of] the three worlds that are composed of air, fire, ether, water and earth, all trembling with fear pay tribute to the destroyer [death]. But since he himself is afraid of Him [the eternal Original Personality], we should acknowledge the Lord as our refuge. One is a fool when one wants to cross an ocean holding on to a dog's tail, one is a fool when one wants to approach anyone else but Him, He who is never astonished, is always satisfied by His own achievements, is equipoised and of perfect peace. Just like Manu [here: king Satyavrata] who for surviving the flood bound his boat, our world, to the sturdy horn of Matsya, the Lord in the form of a fish, we who seek our refuge, are sure to be delivered [by Him] from our abysmal fear for the son of Tvashtha. Formerly the Independent One [Svayambhu or Lord Brahma], alone on the lotus, was very afraid and by His grace narrowly escaped from a fall in the so very high waves of the waters of the flood blown up by the roaring wind [see 3.8]. May that deliverance be there for us also. He, the one controller who by His transcendental potency created us and by whose mercy we also may create a world of matter, can, although He stands in front of us as the actor, not in His form be recognised by us, who consider themselves separate controllers. 6-2 When we are heavily tormented by our opponents, He who exists eternally comes to our rescue age after age with His material potency in different avatara forms among the sages, the human beings and the animals, in order to protect each and everyone near and dear to Him. He, the Godhead and True Self of us all and of every other living being, is the transcendental, original cause, the primary principle of nature [pradhana], the Supreme Enjoyer whose energy is

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known in de form of the universe, from which He Himself stands apart. He is the refuge we can all surrender to. He, that Great Soul, will bless us, His devotees, with all good fortune.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Because of that prayer of the enlightened souls, oh King, He with them turning inward, became visible with His conch shell, disc and club. 9-3 He was surrounded by sixteen servants with eyes blooming like lotuses in autumn, that looked just like Him except for the Kaustubha jewel and the Shrivatsa mark. Seeing Him oh King, they all threw themselves at His feet, overwhelmed with happiness because of seeing Him directly. Thereafter they slowly stood up and offered their prayers. The godly ones said: 'You, oh Lord awarding the results of sacrifice, we offer our obeisances. You using the cakra [the disc, the cyclic order of time] as a weapon are the one to set the limits. All our respect for You who are known by so many transcendental names. They who appeared after You in creation, after You the controller of the three destinations [of going to hell, to heaven or the purgatory], cannot understand Your supreme abode [Vaikunthha]. Oh Lord, let there be our obeisances unto You oh Bhagavan Narayana, oh Vasudeva, oh Original Person, oh Highest Personality, oh Supreme Giver of Insight, oh Most Auspicious One, oh Transcendental Benediction, oh Greatness of Mercy, oh Changeless Support of the Universe, Only Proprietor of all Worlds, Ruler over All and Husband of Lakshmi Devi. The best of the ones completely detached [the sannyasis] wandering all around the world, fully purified by their transcendental absorption in devotional yoga [bhakti] push, by [the strength of] their dutiful respect of being paramahamsas ['swans of the Supreme'], open the door of this illusory existence that gives access to a consciousness in the spiritual world that is free from contaminations. Thus personally experiencing the continuity of Your Lordship [of devotion, Lord Caitanya] one finds happiness. It is rather difficult to understand how You in pastimes relating to the unification of consciousness without taking shelter of anyone or anything, without having a physical body, without awaiting our cooperation, without being transformed Yourself by the modes of nature, in transcendence above the modes can be of creation, annihilation and maintenance. Therefore we do not really know whether Your Lordship is there like an ordinary human being bound to actions in the material world, who under the influence of the modes thus depends on time, space, activities and nature, and thereby is forced to accept the good and bad results of his own actions, or whether You are there as a completely self-satisfied [atmarama] and self-controlled person who never fails in his spiritual potency and is always a neutral witness. Those two positions certainly do not form a contradiction in You, the Fortunate One. For what would be impossible to You whose attributes are unlimited, You who are the Supreme Lord of unfathomable glories? You are by the present-day thinkers doubted with opinions and arguments laid down in scriptures containing judgements based upon halfhearted investigations and fallacious logic. But You are out of the range of the agitated minds of the obstinate theorists resorting to controversies. You withdrawn from all of them are hidden from view behind Your bewildering yoga potency, the incomparable and inscrutable potency [by which you make and break]. You after all, are not divided in two natures. The same way one perceiving a piece of rope does not or does see a snake, one concludes [really] being intelligent to following [the person of You and the acarya] or not. You, under closer scrutiny, are the essence of authenticity, the controller of all and everything spiritual and material. You are there as the cause of all causes of the entire universe who with all qualities is present within all, up to the minutest atom. You are [with the temporality] of all manifestations the only one who remains. For that reason those exalted devotees who relating to You but once tasted a drop of the nectar of Your glories and with the continuous flow of bliss within their minds forgot about the vague and limited reflection of the sights and sounds of material happiness, have faith in You alone as the Supreme Personality, the only and dearest friend of all living entities. How can those devotees whose minds are of a complete and continuous absorption, oh Killer of Madhu, or who as said, are hands-on experts in having accepted You as the dear most lover and friend, then ever give it up to serve Your lotus feet that in this life never again allow a return to the material ocean? Oh loving Soul and shelter, oh power and opulence, oh maintainer and seer and most attractive beauty of the three worlds, because of Your expansions in the material energy we are sure that with Your manifestations in different forms as the Lord of the enlightened ones [Vamana], the human beings [Ramacandra and Krishna], the animals [Varaha], a mixture of them [Nrisimhadeva] and of the aquatics [Matsya and Kurma], all the sons of Diti and Danu and such for their conspiring are awarded the proper punishment depending the offense, oh Supreme Chastiser. May You, if You deem it necessary, likewise kill this [terrible] son of Tvashtha. With our full surrender totally relying on You, oh Father of Fathers, oh Lord Hari, our hearts are chained in love by the meditation on Your two feet that are like two blue lotuses. By the manifestation of Your own form, by Your compassionate smile which is pure, pacifying and pleasing, with the drops of nectar of the very sweet words that emanate from Your mouth, the worries melt away of the ones You have accepted as Your own. You, oh Purest One we consider the one eligible to take away our deep pain. Therefore, oh Supreme Lord, what would we, as sparks of the original fire [the 'golden seed'], now all have to tell You who personally are amused to be engaged in creation, destruction and maintenance with Your divine energy, You who as the Supersoul and spirit of the absolute Brahman resides in the hearts of all the different living beings and externally are present according to time, place and the physical constitution, You whom one realises as the cause of that what constitutes the [existence and consciousness of the] living being, You, as the witness of all that is going on, as the witnessing itself and the embodiment of the eternal memory of the entire universe [the akas'a record]? Because You are our Supreme Lord and Master of Transcendence, please arrange for us a position in the shadow of the thousand-petaled lotus flowers that are Your feet, so that we may be relieved of the pain resulting from the dangers and desires of this conditioned existence that made us approach You. Please oh Controller, put an end now to this son of Tvashtha who is devouring the three worlds and has exhausted, oh Krishna, oh bliss of eternal existence [*, see B.G. 4: 4-6], all our strength, arrows and other means of defense. Unto You the swanlike Lord who has His abode in the kernel of the heart where You supervise the actions of the individual soul, unto that manifestation of Krishna whose reputation as a redeemer is so bright, unto Him without a beginning who is solely understood by the pure devotee, unto the path in this world of the friend and refuge that He is, unto the ultimate goal of that elder brother to perform sacrifices for, we offer our obeisances.'

Shri Shuka said: 'After by the servants of the three worlds this way with due respect having been worshiped oh King, the Lord, pleased to hear their praises, replied. The Supreme Lord said: 'I'm very happy with you, oh best of the demigods. By your knowledgeable prayers unto Me man can remember Me and be of devotion unto Me as the Original Self of the opulences. When I am satisfied one can achieve whatever that is difficult to attain. Still, oh best of the intelligent ones, he who knows the truth, having fixed his attention exclusively on Me, does not desire for anything else but Me. A miserable person [kripana] looking for the material quality of things has no knowledge of the ultimate end of the soul and he who awards the desire for them is not a whit better. Someone who personally knows of the supreme goal of life will not tell an ignorant person to build up karma, just like an experienced physician wouldn't give a patient the wrong food, not even when he'd ask for it. Oh patron of sacrifice [Maghavan; Indra], good fortune to all of you, go and without delay ask Dadhyanca [Dadhici], the most exalted of all saints, for his body which is strong because of his education, vows and austerity. Dadhyanca is someone who has assimilated the spiritual knowledge of purity that is called 'the head of the horse' [As'vas'ira]. He delivered that knowledge to the As'vins who then opened up to immortality [they became jivan-mukhas, liberated souls even in this life **]. Dadhyanca, the son of Atharva, delivered his invincible armor [of mantras] controlled by Me to Tvashtha who gave it to Vis'varupa. He in his turn delivered this [Narayana-kavaca protection in prayers] to you. [Dadhyanca] the knower of dharma will for your sake provide the As'vins with his limbs upon their request. With them Vis'vakarma will create the most powerful of all weapons [de thunderbolt] by means of which, because it is invested with My power, the head of Vritrasura can be severed. When he is killed you will all regain your wealth, power, arrows and other means of defense. All good fortune will be yours, because you, My devotees, will not be hurt.'

*: The anachronistic use of the name of Krishna in this context is etymologically explained as the combination of the syllables krish and na, implying respectively 'absolute existence' and 'beatitude' as the characteristics of the Supreme Reality.

**: In this context the acaryas tell the following story: 'The great saint Dadhici had perfect knowledge of how to perform fruitive activities, and he had advanced spiritual knowledge as well. Knowing this, the As'vini-kumaras once approached him and begged him to instruct them in spiritual science (brahma-vidya). Dadhici Muni replied, "I am now engaged in arranging sacrifices for fruitive activities. Come back some time later." When the As'vini-kumaras left, Indra, the king of heaven, approached Dadhici and said, "My dear muni, the As'vini-kumaras are only physicians. Please do not instruct them in spiritual science. If you impart the spiritual science to them despite my warning, I shall punish you by cutting off your head." After warning Dadhici in this way, Indra returned to heaven. The As'vini-kumaras, who understood Indra's desires, returned and begged Dadhici for brahma-vidya. When the great saint Dadhici informed them of Indra's threat, the As'vini-kumaras replied, "Let us first cut off your head and replace it with the head of a horse. You can instruct brahma-vidya through the horse's head, and when Indra returns and cuts off that head, we shall reward you and restore your original head." Since Dadhici had promised to impart brahma-vidya to the As'vini-kumaras, he agreed to their proposal. Therefore, because Dadhici imparted brahma-vidya through the mouth of a horse, this brahma-vidya is also known as As'vas'ira.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 10:

The Battle Between the Demigods and Vritrasura

The son of Vyasa said: 'The Supreme Lord Hari, the Original Cause of the cosmic manifestation, after thus having instructed Indra then disappeared from before the eyes of the devoted. When the son of Atharva [Dadhici], the saint, as was told was beseeched by the godly, the great personality, slightly amused, with a smile said the following oh son of Bharata. 'Oh souls of God, don't you know that all embodied beings when they die have to suffer an unbearable, intense pain that takes away their consciousness? All souls struggle to remain alive and the body they desired in this world is very dear to them. Who would be willing to give away his body, even to Lord Vishnu if He asked for it?'

The gods said: 'What would there be too difficult oh brahmin, for persons as great as your holiness, whose virtues are sung by all and who are of mercy towards all? People running after their self-interest do not know what trouble they cause to other people. If they would know they wouldn't make their demands. But if one [knows about the misery of others and] is capable of giving, one won't say no but comply.'

The honourable saint said: 'Just to hear from you what would be the dharma [in this matter], I was opposing you. I will give up this dear body for you [though]. I sooner or later have to give it up anyway. Anyone who with the impermanence of the body oh Lords, not full of mercy for each and all endeavors for honourability and religious principles, is a person pitiable even to the immobile creatures [like the tolerant trees, see also the Shri Shri Shadgosvami-ashthaka]! By the meritorious ones of renown this much is recognised as the imperishable dharma: dharmic is the soul who laments over the distress of other living beings and feels happy upon their happiness. Away with the misery, away with the difficulty! Because a physical body can perish any moment and be eaten by the jackals it wouldn't help [to hold on to it], it is not there for myself - a mortal is there with his body [in order to give his life] for that what is his own [for what he stands for] and for the ones he knows [his relatives and friends, see also S.B. 10.22: 35].'

The son of Vyasa said: 'Thus decided on the right course of action Dadhici, the son of Atharva, gave up his body in sacrifice for the Supreme, the supreme Brahman, the Supreme Personality [compare 1.13: 55]. He as a seer of the truth with his senses, life air, mind and intelligence under control, absorbed in trance being situated in the Supreme, was liberated from his bondage and left the world no longer taking notice of his material body [see also B.G. 8: 5]. 3-1 King Indra thereafter took up the thunderbolt that was created by Vis'vakarma, empowered by the great sage [Dadhici] and suffused with the spiritual strength of the Supreme Lord. Together riding out with all the other gods while the munis offered prayers, he gloriously sat on the back of Gajendra [his elephant] to the apparent pleasure of all the three worlds. Vritrasura surrounded by the asura chiefs and commanders was with great force attacked as the enemy, oh King, just like it happened when Rudra angrily attacked Antaka [Yamaraja]. What followed was a great and most ferocious battle between the sura, the divine, and the asura, the demoniac hordes, which took place at the bank of the [celestial] Narmada river at the onset of the first millennium [the Vaivasvata-manvantara] of Treta-yuga. 7-1 Oh King, when the demons headed by Vritrasura were confronted with the resplendent opulence of Indra the Heavenly King with the thunderbolt and the Rudras, Vasus, Adityas, As'vins, Pitas, Vahnis, Maruts, Ribhus, Sadhyas and Vis'vadevas, they could not bear the sight. 9-2 Namuci, Shambara, Anarva, Dvimurdha, Rishabha, Asura, Hayagriva, Shankus'ira, Vipracitti, Ayomukha, Puloma, Vrishaparva, Praheti, Heti and Utkala and the hundreds and thousands of other Daityas, Danavas, Yakshas, Rakshasas and others headed by Sumali and Mali who were all dressed up with golden ornaments, drove back the front of Indra's army that even for death itself was difficult to approach. Fearlessly the Asuras furiously roaring like lions thereupon pained their opponents with clubs, iron studded bludgeons, arrows, barbed missiles, mallets and lances. The chiefs of the divine forces were from all sides covered by a shower of arrows, spears, axes, swords, Shataghnis and bhushundis [different types of spiked weapons]. Like stars in the sky covered by clouds, they could not be discerned any longer, completely covered as they were by the downpour of projectiles that from all sides in waves fell upon them. But the showers of arrows and other weapons did not reach the armies of the enlightened ones because the demigods quickly cut them midair into thousands of pieces. Thereupon running out of arrows and weapons they showered a rain of mountain peaks, trees and stones upon them that, as before, were fragmented by the sura forces. When the troops led by Vritrasura saw that their enemy fared quite well under

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the load of weapons and mantras and that none of them was harmed by the trees, the stones and the different mountain peaks either, they became very afraid of Indra's soldiers. All the daitya endeavors of time and again waging against the demigods who enjoyed the favor of Krishna were in vain, just as the rough words are of little men when they abuse the great ones. They who were not of devotion unto the Lord, upon seeing their endeavors fruitless, left defeated in their pride as fighters the battlefield and gave up the fight that had just begun. They whose power had been nullified abandoned the commander [Vritrasura] who had inspired them.

Vritra seeing how the demons that followed him fled away and how his army was broken and scared away, spoke as a broad-minded hero with a big grin as follows. Befitting time and circumstances the hero of heroes expressed himself in words that were even attractive to the greatest minds: 'Oh Vipracitti, Namuci and Puloma! Oh Maya, Anarva and Shambara! Please listen to me. All who are born inevitably have to face death, wherever they might exist in the universe. There is no way to counter that in this world which offers someone the opportunity to reach a better world and be glorious. Considering this indeed to be the case, who wouldn't accept a suitable way to die? There are two approved ways to die with honour in this world, and both are very rare. One is to be allowed to leave the body when one engaged in yoga controlling the mind and senses concentrates on Brahman [Paramatma and Bhagavan], and the other is to take the lead on the battlefield and never turn one's back.'

*: 10.22: 35 It is the duty of every living being to perform welfare activities for the benefit of others with his life, wealth, intelligence and words.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 11:

The Transcendental Qualities of Vritrasura

Shri Shuka said: 'Afraid and disturbed as they were intent on fleeing, oh King, they [the commanders of Vritrasura] did not take heed of the words of their master who thus was stressing the dharma. - When the best of the Asuras saw that the asura army, as if there was no one to protect them, was scattered and chased by the demigods now that the moment offered them the opportunity, the enemy of Indra was in great pain. Not able to tolerate this, he angry with great force stepped in their way to rebuke them with the following words: 'Of what interest are these shitty mummy's boys to you? There is certainly no glory to be found in attacking from behind and killing someone who flees in fear. Someone who thus thinks to be a hero, will not attain a better world. If you believe in your battle, if you have patience in your hearts and if you're free from desiring worldly happiness, oh insignificant souls, then just keep standing in front of me for a moment.'

Thus with his extremely powerful, physical presence roaring full of anger he threatened the demigods, his enemies and scared everyone out of his wits. Because of that outburst of Vritra factually all the God-conscious ones fell unconscious to the ground as if they were struck by lightning. The entire sura army that in fear had closed its eyes was trampled asunder. Arrogantly, like a mad elephant running through a forest of hollow bamboos, he holding his trident high, that violently stepped around on the field that the earth shook beneath his feet. Seeing him in such a rage the carrier of the thunderbolt [Indra] indignantly ran towards his enemy and threw the mightiest of clubs at him. But the demon caught the difficult to withstand weapon in its flight very easily with his left hand. That incensed Vritrasura even more. Roaring loudly he then with his club struck Indra's elephant that was so famous for its strength on the head. This feat commanded the respect of all the soldiers on the battlefield, oh ruler of man. Airavata, struck by the club in Vritra's hand shook like a mountain hit by a thunderbolt and was, in great pain and spitting blood with a broken jaw, together with Indra thrown back a fourteen yards.

The great soul [though] refrained from using the club again [when he saw how] Indra, innerly shaken about what had happened to his carrier that did not die, by the touch of his nectarean hand relieved the animal from all pains and injuries so that he stood up before him. When he thus saw Indra who armed with a thunderbolt wanted to fight his enemy, oh King Parikchit, he again remembered that Indra in the past had killed his brother. Mad in his grief about that great and cruel sin, he sarcastically laughing addressed him. Shri Vritra said: 'What a fortune to encounter your lordship as my enemy, you the slayer of a brahmin who was your guru and my brother. How lucky I am today to be soon relieved from my debt to my brother by piercing my trident straight through your heart of stone, oh you total falsehood in person! You desiring heaven, mercilessly severed with your sword the three heads from the trunk of our innocent elder brother like he was an animal. He was a fully qualified and selfrealised brahmin. He was your spiritual teacher entrusted with the task of leading the sacrifices! You bereft of all shame, mercy, beauty and glory are by your actions condemnable even to creatures below the human level [like the Rakshasas]. You will have to die in great pain after my trident has pierced your body which as a corpse will not be burned but be eaten by the vultures.

You who proved yourself so cruel, I will together with all the others who thoughtlessly following you attacked me with raised swords, with their severed heads on my pointy trident sacrifice to [Bhairava] the leader of the evil ghosts and his hordes. But in case you, oh heroic lordship of mine, with your thunderbolt in this battle manage to cut off my head and destroy my army, I having falling prey to the scavengers, will on the other hand be relieved of all debts and achieve the dust of the feet of the great sages. Oh master of the godly, why don't you hurl your thunderbolt at me, your enemy standing in front of you? Do not doubt its infallibility, the bolt may succeed unlike the club that is just as useless as a request for money with a miser. This thunderbolt of yours, oh Indra, that is empowered by the prowess of Vishnu and the penance of Dadhici, for certain without fail will kill your enemy. Whatever that is established by Lord Vishnu will bring the Lord's victory and all His opulences and qualities. By the force of your thunderbolt the rope of my material attachment will be cut. And when I give up this world then I, with my mind fixed on the lotus feet of Lord Sankarshana, will exactly as He has said [see 5.25: 8] reach the destination of the munis. Persons advanced in spiritual life He recognises as His own. He will not bestow upon them the opulences found in the divine, earthly and hellish spheres because they lead to envy, anxiety, agitation, pride, quarrel, distress and belligerence. Oh Indra the endeavors of a person to attain the three goals of life [settled religion, economy and sense satisfaction] are obstructed by our Lord. This is to be recognised as the special mercy of the Fortunate One [leading to stability, happiness and consciousness] which is easy to reach for unalloyed devotees but so very difficult to attain by others [who always get entangled in the consequences of their actions]. [And therefore I pray:] 'Oh my Lord, shall I be reborn as a servant of Your servant whose only shelter is to be at Your lotus feet? May my mind remember the transcendental qualities of You, oh Lord of my life, may my words be of praise and my body be engaged in working for You! I do not desire a place in heaven or the topmost position [of Brahma], not the rule over the world nor to dictate the lower worlds. I do not desire the perfections [the siddhis] of yoga nor to be freed from rebirth, oh source of all opportunity, all I want is not to be separated from You! Like small birds who unable to fly are looking for their mother, like a calf distressed with hunger looking for the udder, like a lover morose about the beloved who left, my mind the same way longs to see You, oh lotus-eyed One. May there for me who because of his karma wanders around in this world of birth and death, be the friendship with Your people [Your devotees], oh Lord praised in the scriptures and not so much with those people whose minds by Your external manifestation are attached to their bodies, children, wife and home.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 12:

Vritrasura's Glorious Death

The honourable rishi said: 'He [Vritrasura] who thus eager to give up his body, oh ruler of man, considered dying in battle better than a victory in thought, took up his trident and attacked Indra, the king of the demigods, the way Kaithabha attacked the Supreme Personality when the world was inundated. Like the fire at the end of the yuga the King of the Demons with great force hurled the sharp pointed trident twirling at the great Indra while he in great anger loudly roared: 'Dead you are thou sinner!'

Even though the sight of the rotating trident flying towards him like a star falling from the sky was difficult to bear, it did not scare Indra. He with his thunderbolt cut it, together with the arm of Vritra that resembled the body of the serpent king, in a hundred pieces. With one arm missing he angrily took up his mace of iron against the thunderbolt and approaching Indra and his elephant with it struck him on the jaw so that the thunderbolt slipped from the hand of the generous one. That grand and wonderful accomplishment of Vritra was praised by the gods and the demons, the heavenly singers and the association of the perfected ones, but seeing that Indra was in danger, they sincerely lamented 'Alas, oh alas!' With Indra his enemy in front of him not taking up his thunderbolt being embarrassed that it had slipped from his hands, Vritrasura said: 'Oh lord take up your thunderbolt and kill your enemy, this is no time for regrets. Except for the One of creation, annihilation and maintenance, the Lord who knows everything, the Original and Eternal Person, those who desiring to fight sometimes gather with their arms are not always assured of a victory. Like birds caught in a net, all worlds and their rulers sigh powerlessly under the time factor that is the cause out here. People not aware of that [time factor, Him, the Lord of Time, the] strength of our senses, mind, body, life force, death ànd immortality, consider their indifferent body the cause. o) Oh sir [dear Indra], please understand that all things thus, oh generous one, just like a wooden doll [a 'woman made of wood'] or a cuddly animal [of 'straw and leaves'], depend on Is'a [the Power, the Lord and master of Time constituting their life and coherence]. Without His mercy the person [the purusha], the material energy [prakriti], the manifest reality [mahat-tattva], the self [or false ego, atma or ahankara], the elements [bhutas], the senses [of action and perception the indryas] and what belongs to them [the mind - manas, intelligence - buddhi and consciousness - cit] are not capable of bringing about anything or do whatever [like maintenance and destruction]. Not knowing [the Lord, the time factor] one considers oneself - despite being fully dependent - to be the one in control, but it is He who creates beings by other living beings and it is He who devours them through others. The blessings of longevity, opulence, fame and power arise when the time is ripe [His time], just as the opposite is found without having chosen for it. Therefore one should be equal about fame and infamy, victory and defeat, misery and happiness and dying and living [see also B.G. 6: 7 & 12: 17]. [The modes of] goodness, passion and ignorance are found in material nature, they are not the qualities of the spiritual soul. He who knows the soul as the one in the position of the witness will be free from bondage [compare B.G. 18: 54]. Look at me, defeated in battle with my weapon and arm cut off, oh enemy, I'm still trying the best I can to take your life. In the game of this battle our lives are the stakes, the arrows are the dice, our carriers are the game board and it is not known who will win and who will lose.'

Shri Shuka said: 'King Indra hearing the straightforward, reverent words of Vritra, took up the thunderbolt and addressed him with a smile without further wondering [about what he had said]. Indra said: 'Oh Danava, with this kind of consciousness you've attained perfection. You're a devotee perfectly focussed on the Supersoul who is the greatest friend and the Ruler of the Universe [see B.G. 6: 20-23]. You managed to surmount the maya of Lord Vishnu which deludes the common man. In your giving up the asura mentality, you've obtained the position of an exalted devotee [see 2.4: 18]. It is truly a great miracle to see how you as someone driven by passion, now being in Vasudeva, the Supreme Lord of pure goodness, have a strong consciousness! [see also Vritra's prayer 6.11: 25]. Being devoted to the Supreme Lord Hari, the bestower of beatitude, you're swimming in an ocean of nectar. What's the use of small ditches of water [for someone like you]?'

Shri Shuka said: 'Thus having discussed the ins and outs of dharma, oh King, the great commanders Indra and Vritra who were well matched, fought [again]. Whirling dangerously with his iron club Vritra, [who saw a chance] to subdue his enemy, with his left hand hurled it at Indra, oh best of kings. But the demigod cut with the Shataparvana [the 'hundred hooked'] thunderbolt simultaneously the club and the hand to pieces that was as strong as an elephant's trunk. Being struck by [Indra] the carrier of the bolt he, profusely bleeding with the wings of his arms cut off by the root [from his trunk], fell from the sky like a mountain. 7-2 Because of his great life force and uncommon prowess the demon [was able to] put his lower jaw on the ground and his upper jaw in the sky so that his mouth became a huge opening. With his tongue and teeth he, resembling a fearful snake, seemed to devour, as if he were time itself, the three worlds with his preposterous body. Pounding and shaking the earth he then moved his feet as if they were the Himalayas, whereupon he having reached Indra like a python swallowed him together with his thunderbolt and elephant. Seeing him swallowed by Vritra all the demigods together with the founding fathers and the great sages in great grief lamented: 'Alas, what a misery!'

Even though he was swallowed by the king of the demons he did not die in his belly, because he arriving there was protected by the Supreme Personality as also by his own power of yoga to master the illusion [see S.B. 6.8]. The slayer of Bala, the mighty one, got out by piercing the abdomen with his thunderbolt and then with great force cut off the head of the enemy that was as big as a mountain peak. But when the thunderbolt, in order to sever the head, in its entirety quickly revolved around the neck to cut it through, it took as many days as it takes the luminaries to move over both sides of the equator to reach the time that it fell. At that very moment in the sky the sound could be heard of the kettledrums of the denizens of heaven and the perfected ones. Together with the saintly ones who had gathered they celebrated the prowess of the victor [Indra] by joyously praising him with various mantras and a shower of flowers. From Vritrasura's body the light of his soul rose up, oh subduer of the enemies, that before the eyes of all the gods achieved the supreme abode.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 13:

King Indra Afflicted by Sinful Reaction

Shri Shuka said: 'With Vritra killed the leaders and everyone else in the three worlds oh charitable one, were immediately freed from their worries and depressions, except for the mighty Indra [S'akra] himself. Without taking leave from Indra thereupon the demigods following Indra, Brahma, Shiva and the other God-conscious people, the saints, the forefathers, the rest of the living beings and the demons, all returned to their places.'

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The king asked: 'Oh my Lord, oh sage, I'd like to know why Indra was not respected by the others. Why was he so gloomy while all his demigods were so very happy?'

Shri Shuka said: 'All the godly ones and the sages were terrified by Vritrasura's display of power, but Indra had declined their request to put an end to him because he was afraid to kill a brahmin. Indra had said: 'The burden of the sin of killing Vis'varupa was as a favor to me carried by the women, the earth, the trees and the water [see 6.9: 6-10], but how will I be purified from killing Vritra?'

Shuka continued: 'When the sages heard that, they said the following to the great Indra: 'We wish you all good fortune, don't be afraid, we will perform an as'vamedha, a horse sacrifice for you. The as'vamedha sacrifice of worshiping the Original Person, the Supersoul, the Controller who is Narayana our Lord, liberates one even from the sin of destroying the world! - Someone who killed a brahmin, his father, a cow, his mother or his spiritual master, such a sinner and even an outcast dog-eater may find purification by singing His holy name. If an as'vamedha sacrifice, the topmost of all sacrifices, by us conducted with faith keeps you from being contaminated by the killing of all creatures of Brahma including the brahmins, what then do you expect from killing a harassing demon?'

Shri Shuka said: 'Indra thus being encouraged by the learned killed his enemy Vritrasura when he approached him. He, Vrishakapi, the mythical king of the gods, was then tormented by the reaction following that act of killing a brahmin. Even though he had done others a favor with his deed, Indra because of that reaction suffered [the deepest] misery in which he found no happiness. Missing his qualities he felt but shame and guilt. 2-1 It pursued him in the form of an old, outcast woman trembling all over her body whose clothes were covered by blood because she suffered from consumption. She with her disheveled, gray hair yelled at him 'Wait, wait', and spread thereby with her breath a bad fishy smell that polluted the entire road. The thousand eyed Indra, sought his refuge in heaven and in all directions of the sky after which he hurried in the northeastern direction to enter there, oh King, the Manasa-sarovara lake. Hidden from view he, bereft of all the sustenance [normally supplied] by the servant of the sacrificial fire, lived there for a thousand years in the subtle network of the fibers of a lotus stem. And all that time he in his heart pondered over the question how he could find liberation from [the sin of] having killed a brahmin. For the time of his absence the heavens were ruled by Nahusha who, equipped with education, austerity, yoga and strength, turned mad because his intelligence got bewildered by the power and excessive opulence. Chasing Indra's wife [S'acidevi] he fell victim to the fate of a snake [after being cursed by sage Agastya for having kicked him]. He whose offense through the divinity of Rudra was nullified because he meditated on the Maintainer of Truth [Vishnu], was after having recovered from [the karmic rebound] invited back through the brahmins. Now that he enjoyed the protection of the wife of Vishnu, the goddess of fortune, the sin had lost its grip on him. In order to please the Supreme Lord Hari, the brahminical sages [upon his return], then properly, according to the rules, stepped forward to consecrate him for the sake of an as'vamedha sacrifice, oh son of Bharata. 9-2 Only when that as'vamedha sacrifice was performed by the expert brahmins and the great Indra thus was of worship for the Original Person, the Supersoul and Maintainer of all divinity, the matter could be considered done. Only then, despite the seriousness of having killed the son of Tvashtha, definitively that sin could [formally] be considered as being reduced to nothing, like fog before the sun oh King. After the as'vamedha sacrifice as prescribed was performed by the priests headed by Marici and Indra had worshiped the Lord of Sacrifice, the Supreme Personality, he, being purified from sin, retrieved his greatness.

This great history describing the glorification of the Lord of the Holy Places, the growth in devotion and the victory and liberation of Indra the King of Heaven, frees one from innumerable sins. This narration should therefore always be read and continuously be heard by those who cherish the intelligence and be reiterated on the occasion of great festivals. It sharpens one's senses, brings wealth and fame and releases from all misconduct; it brings victory over one's enemies and good fortune and longevity to all.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 14:
King Citraketu's Lamentation

Shri Parikchit said: 'How could Vritrasura with a nature of passion and ignorance and being that sinful minded oh brahmin, have such a strong determination in Narayana, the Supreme Person? With [even] the gods whose minds are of pure goodness and the saints who have unblemished souls, only rarely is observed that they develop devotion for the lotus feet of Mukunda, the Lord of Liberation. In this material world there are as many living entities as there are atoms, some of them are human or related to the human form and among them only a few act to do good. Oh best of the twice-born, one always sees that among those who believe in liberation only a few desire liberation and that among the thousands of them only a few are really liberated, are really perfect. And among the millions and trillions [of living beings] you in the midst of those who found liberation and perfection oh great sage, will very rarely find someone who considers Narayana the Supreme One and has a mind that is completely peaceful [compare B.G. 7: 3 & 7: 26]. How, [with the truth of this,] could Vritra then, being so sinful and the cause of such suffering all over the world, in the full of his fire of giving battle have an intelligence that was fixed on Krishna? I am in great doubt about this and would very much like to hear, oh master, how he managed to please the Thousand-eyed One in battle with his bravery and strength.' "

Shri Suta said: "After the powerful son of Vyasa had listened to the inquiry of the devout Parikchit he expressed his compliments and explained it to him. Shri Shuka said: 'Please listen carefully, oh King, to the story about this as heard from the mouths of Vyasa, Narada Muni and Devala Rishi. Once there was a king, an emperor over all the earth who lived in Shurasena and was named Citraketu ['the light of excellence']. During his rule the earth delivered everything one could wish for oh King. He had thousands and thousands of wives, but from none of them the king got a single child, even though they were very well capable of giving birth. With all his beauty, magnanimity, youth, good birth, education, opulence, welfare and all other good qualities he was endowed with, he was full of anxiety in his role of being the spouse to that many wives bearing no children. Neither his great opulence nor all his queens with their beautiful eyes, nor all the lands he ruled as the Emperor could make him happy. One day however Angira, the very powerful sage who traveled around in his countries, unexpectedly arrived at the palace. In order to pay his respects according to the customs, he stood up from his throne and offered him worship. After thus having proven his hospitality he offered him a comfortable seat and sat down next to him in proper self-restraint. Then oh Maharaja the great rishi himself bowed down complimenting him who in all humility sat beside him on the ground and addressed him speaking as follows.

Angira said: 'Is everything all right with your health and the material order of the state, the order of the king [in the form of priests, ministers, territories, subjects, fortresses, the treasury, the police and the army] that is so much alike the seven material layers protecting the living being [consisting of the totality, the ego and the five objects of the senses; mahat-tattva, ahankara and tanmatras]? The king submitting himself to [the needs and demands] of these elements of his rule can achieve welfare and prosperity oh god of man, and so will each and all who depending on him offer their wealth and services. Is it so that your wives, citizens, secretaries, servants, merchants as also your ministers, intimates, governors, landholders and offspring, all comply with your rule? When the mind [of the king] is controlled all the subjects will comply and then everyone, including the governors, no longer being negligent, will make his contribution. From the anxiety of your pale face I can tell that something is bothering you, that you for some or another reason are not quite happy mentally.'

He [Citraketu] who desired offspring and this way was questioned by the muni despite his greater learning oh King, bowed deeply before the sage in great humility and replied as follows. King Citraketu said: 'Oh great one, what of the external and internal affairs of the embodied souls would not be understood by yogis who by dint of their austerity, spiritual knowledge and meditative absorption are freed from all sins? Nevertheless, even though you know everything, you ask me what's on my mind oh brahmin. Let me now with your permission dilate on what you asked me. Having a great empire even desirable to the demigods, all the wealth and the upkeep does not give me any pleasure because I have no son. To me it is all like trying to satisfy one's hunger and thirst with everything else but food and drink. Save therefore me and my forefathers from getting lost in the darkness, oh great wise. Make it so that we get a son and thus may defeat that [threat] which is so difficult to overcome.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Thus being beseeched, the most powerful and merciful son of Brahma made him cook a preparation of sweet rice for Tvashtha [the demigod father of Vis'varupa, see 6.8], which he then offered in worship of him. The sage then offered the remnants of the sacrifice to the first and most perfect queen of all the king's queens who was called Kritadyuti, oh best of the Bharatas. Thereafter he said to the king: 'Oh King, there will be one son who will be the cause of jubilation as also lamentation for you', whereupon the son of Brahma left. After having eaten the food of the offering Kritadyuti proved to be impregnated by Citraketu, the way the goddess Krittika received a son [named Skanda] from Agni. Her fetus gradually developed little by little from the semen of the king of Shurasena, just like the moon does during the bright fortnight of the month. And thus in due course of time a son was born who created the greatest delight among the inhabitants of Shurasena when they heard about it. The king, very happy with his newly born son, bathed and decorated himself with ornaments and then arranged for the brahmins to perform the birth ceremony with many benedictory words. He donated to the brahmins gold, silver, garments, ornaments as also villages, horses, elephants and sixty crores of cows. In order to increase the opulence, the reputation and longevity of his newly born son, he with great attention like a raincloud showered all one could wish for. Just like a poor man who has an increasing affection for the riches he gained with great difficulty, the pious king, as a father, day after day felt more love for the son he with so much difficulty had received. Also the mother developed ignorantly an excessive affection for the son and that led, with all the co-wives of Kritadyuti, to a feverish desire to have sons as well. As good as he all day cared about the son, king Citraketu was also extraordinarily attracted to the wife who gave him the son and not so much to the other wives. Because of having no sons and being unhappy for being neglected by the king, they then lamented, condemning themselves out of envy. A woman who has no son is at home by her husband and the co-wives who do have sons, disrespected and burdened with the load of sin. She is then despised like a maid-servant. What would a maid-servant have to lament when she finds her honour in faithfully serving her husband? But if she is there like a maid-servant to the maid-servants, she is most unfortunate. The queens, who burned [in lamentation and envy] because their king enjoyed the wealth of a son from their rival Kritadyuti, having fallen out of grace thus developed a very strong hatred. Out of their minds because of their enmity the women unable to accept the king['s conduct], became extremely hard-hearted and administered poison to the boy. Kritadyuti walking around the house was not aware of the sin committed by the co-wives and thought, looking upon her son, that he was fast asleep. When the boy had lain down a long time she, as a sensible woman, therefore gave the nurse the order: 'Please, oh friend, bring me my son.' Looking after him the nurse saw him lying down with his eyes turned upwards and his life force, mind and senses gone. She then falling to the ground cried: 'I'm doomed!' As soon as the queen heard that she with an agitated voice in loud words of regret was striking her breast with both her hands, she also hurried in and saw, upon approaching her son, that her child unexpectedly had deceased. Overcome by grief she fell unconscious to the ground with her hair and dress in disarray. Next, oh ruler of man, all the inhabitants of the palace and all the people, men and women who had heard the loud crying nearby, came and all lamented greatly being equally aggrieved, just as did pretentiously the ones who had committed the crime. 0-5 Hearing that his son had died for reasons unknown, the king could not see properly anymore. Followed by his entourage of ministers and brahmins he on his way constantly fell and slipped. Because of his affection his lamentation grew [like fire] so that he fell unconscious down at the feet of the dead boy. Heavily breathing with his hair and dress disheveled, he [coming to] was not capable of uttering a single word anymore because of his choked up voice and the tears he cried. The queen, seeing her husband crying heavily in his grief over the deceased child, the only son of the family, cried along in every possible way and thus added to the anguish of all the people, including the officers and ministers, who had gathered there. The flowers in her scattered hair slipped down while her two with kumkum powdered breasts got wet from the teardrops that, mixed with her make-up, fell from her eyes. She lamented about her son with a sound that reminded one of the sweet cries of a kurari bird.

'Alas, oh Creator of my fate, how much You fail in Your wisdom! With the father alive while his offspring is dead You prove to be someone who acts against His own creation. Such a contradiction makes You an opponent. If there in this world is no regular order to the death and birth of the ones embodied, then let it be so that things happen as a result of one's karma. [But with] this [taking away of my son] You personally are cutting away the bond of love that You created for the growth of Your creation! And you my dear son, shouldn't give up on me. I am so miserable without you as my protector. Look what grief you gave your father. With you we can easily overcome the darkness that is so difficult to defeat without a son. Please don't abandon us any longer, do not go away with the merciless Lord of Death. Get up my sweet son, all the children, all your playmates are calling for you to come and play with them, oh prince of mine. You've slept so long and must be really hungry by now. Please take my breast to drink and drive away the grief of your relatives. How unfortunate not to see the charming smiles any longer of you who were born from my flesh. Have you, now that you've closed the eyes of your lotus face, really left for the other world, the place of no return? Have you been taken away by the cruel Lord of Death? No longer I can hear your sweet prattle.... .'

Shri Shuka said: 'Citraketu, with the woman bewailing her dead son this way in several lamentations, was very much aggrieved and cried loudly. With the king and his wife thus lamenting, all their subjects cried equally aloud and thus all the men and women of the kingdom were out of their wits of sadness. Sage Angira, who knew that they because of the

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misery that fell upon them had lost their senses and were helpless, then visited them together with Narada Muni.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 15:
The Sages Narada and Angira Instruct King Citraketu

Shri Shuka said: 'They [the sages Narada and Angira] in order to give instruction in spiritual terms, spoke to the king who like a dead man fallen at the side of the corpse was so very much aggrieved. 'Oh best of kings, the person you are lamenting about, who is that actually oh lord, who has he been in his previous birth, who is he now and who will he be hereafter? Just like grains of sand wash ashore and drift apart by the force of the waves, the embodied souls are united and separated by time [compare B.G. 2: 13]. Just as from seeds sometimes grains grow and sometimes not grow, the living entities, impelled by the material potency of the Supreme Lord, sometimes produce other living beings and sometimes not. We, you and also the other creatures moving and not moving about here at the moment, oh King, were not together before this birth, nor will we be together after we died, despite our sharing the same present. The Ruler of All, as indifferent as a [playing] boy, creates, maintains and destroys living beings through other living beings; they who were created by Him do not exist independent of Him [compare B.G. 3: 27]. By the body of the embodied soul a body is created from another body, just as indeed from one seed another seed is generated. The [this way temporally] embodied [individual soul] is eternal, just as the constituent elements of matter are [see B.G. 8: 17-22]. To consider this body separate from its indweller is, just like separating the individual from the group, the product of an age-long form of ignorance, such a separation is just like the separation of souls - of the essence - an imaginary one.'

Shri Shuka said: 'King Citraketu, consoled by what the twice-born ones thus told him, wiped his shriveled face with his hand and spoke. The honourable king said: 'The two of you who arrived here in the dress of renunciates, are accomplished in spiritual knowledge and the greatest of the greatest. You as brahmins dear to the Lord [as Vaishnavas] dressed up like madmen wander the surface of the earth as you like in order to enlighten those who, like me, are of a worldly intelligence. 2-1 Sanat-kumara, Narada, Ribhu, Angira, Devala, Asita, Apantaratama [an early name of Vyasadeva], Markandeya and Gautama; Vasishthha, Bhagavan Parashurama, Kapila, Shukadeva, Durvasa, Yajnavalkya and Jatukarna as also Aruni, Romas'a, Cyavana, Dattatreya, Asuri, Patanjali, the sage Dhaumya head of the Vedas and the wise Pancas'ikha, Hiranyanabha, Kaus'alya, Shrutadeva and Ritadhvaja; all these and other masters of perfection are the wandering spiritual educators. Therefore, let me be enlightened by your torchlight of spiritual knowledge oh masters, for I am but a foolish village dog bereft of vision in the darkness.' [*]

Shri Angira said: 'I am [the same] Angira who granted you the son you wanted oh King and this son of Brahma here is the great sage Narada in person. 8-1 This because of your grief about your son being merged in a difficult to overcome darkness does not befit you. You are supposed to remember the Supreme Personality. The two of us have arrived here visibly before your eyes in order to support you, oh King. You, as someone anchored in Brahman and devoted to the Lord, we have to tell that you don't deserve it to come down like this. The first time I came to your home, I could have given you the spiritual knowledge of transcendence, but, since you were absorbed in other matters, I could only give you a son. 1-2 And now you undergo the tribulation of someone with children, a nice wife, a home, riches and various assets and luxuries. The objects of the senses of concern to you, like a kingdom, opulence, land and royalty, power and a treasury with servants, ministers and allies, all belong to the temporality. All of this, oh Ruler of Shurasena, constitutes a lamentable illusion giving rise to fears and distress; these are figments concocted by the mind, preoccupations in the form of castles in the air. That what you're so concerned about is without any substance, that what you meditate upon are fabrications born from profit-minded actions. All these sorts of karmic engagements originate from the mind. This body of the living entity consists of material elements and senses of action and perception. These are declared to be the cause of the various sufferings and pains of the living entity [see also B.G 15: 7-11]. Therefore be careful with the things of the mind and consider your real position, give up your belief in the duality as being something permanent; take to the peaceful condition.'

Shri Narada said: 'Listen good and accept from me this mantra containing the secret of Vedic philosophy [see 8.16: 18-25] which, if you concentrate on it for seven nights, will give you the vision of the all-pervading Lord Sankarshana ['the One with the plough'; see 5.25]. All others [all the other men of God], giving up on this illusion of duality and finding shelter at His lotus feet, oh King, in the past immediately attained His unequaled and unsurpassed glories. Likewise you will soon obtain the Transcendence.'

*: Before lecturing Vaishnavas pray the following prayer in which they describe the role of the guru:
'om ajnana-timirandhasya
jnananjana-s'alakaya
cakshur unmilitam yena
tasmai Shri-gurave namah'
"I was born in the darkest ignorance, and my spiritual master opened my eyes with the torch of knowledge. I offer my respectful obeisances unto him."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 16:
King Citraketu Meets the Supreme Lord

The son of Vyasa said: 'The devarishi oh King, then brought the deceased son of the king [who was called Harshashoka, or 'jubilation and lamentation'] before the mind's eye of the lamenting relatives and addressed him. Shri Narada said: 'Oh living soul, all good fortune to you, behold your mother, father, friends and relatives who, lamenting over you, are greatly distressed. To complete your life you may reenter your body and in the midst of your kin enjoy all pleasures of life in accepting the award of your father's royal throne.'

The individual soul said: 'In which of all those births wherein I because of my karma have been wandering among the gods, the animals and the human beings, were these people here my father and mother? In the course of time eventually all people become each other's friends, family members, enemies, neutrals, well-wishers, indifferent or envious ones [compare B.G. 3: 27]. Just as means of exchange like gold pass from one person to the other, the same way the individual soul passes through different species of life by different fathers [see also B.G. 2: 22]. One always sees that the ties one has in human society with matters [like money or the other sex] are temporary; as long as one relates to it one claims ownership. So too the eternal, individual soul identifies himself in a certain birth with his body for as long as he is situated in it, even though he actually has no specific material identity. This living entity is [factually] eternal, imperishable and most subtle, it constitutes the self-effulgence of all the different embodiments, the master who manifests himself as this material world by means of the gunas [see also 4.29: 29]. It is not of like and dislike or of mine and thine. It is the one witness to the different sorts of intelligence and performers of good and bad deeds [see also B.G. 9: 29]. The [original] soul is not of the happiness and harm resulting from fruitive actions; perfectly neutral residing in the heart he is the Lord overseeing cause and effect [B.G. 2: 47].'

The son of Vyasa continued: 'Thus having spoken the living soul went away. His relatives, astonished [about what he had said], then cut the bond of their affection for him and gave up their lamentation. The difficult to forsake affection that leads to lamentation, illusion, fear and distress, was by the family of the son given up when they with the performance of the proper rites removed the body. Oh King Parikchit, those who had killed the child were, bereft of their bodily luster, very ashamed of having murdered the boy. Remembering what the brahmin [Angira] had stated, they performed according to the directions of the priests at the river the Yamuna the atonement for having killed the baby. Citraketu, spiritually awakened by the words of the two brahmin souls, thus emerged liberated from the dark well of his familial attachment the way an elephant emerges from a mud pool. After taking a bath in the Yamuna as was prescribed and piously performing oblations of water while controlling his mind and senses with gravity, he offered the two sons of Brahma his obeisances.

Bhagavan Narada who was very pleased with him being such a surrendered devotee in control of himself, next, as he had promised, disclosed the following knowledge [of the Lord in the form of a prayer]. 8-1 'Oh my Lord, my obeisances unto You, the Supreme Lord Vasudeva. Let me meditate upon Pradyumna [the Lord of intelligence], Aniruddha [the Lord of the mind] and Sankarshana [the Lord of the ego, see also 4.24: 35-37]. All my respects for the full manifestation of wisdom, the embodiment of supreme bliss who is the Self of delight and peace whose vision is turned away from the dual world. The waves of the material ocean calm down by the realisation of Your personal bliss. My reverences unto the Supreme Controller of the Senses; my respects for You whose expansions are unlimited. May He, the One without a second who, being completely spiritual, cannot be expressed in words, be caught in a form or be comprehended by the mind, may He who is transcendental to cause and effect, protect us. The way all pottery is created from earth, consisting of earth and returning to earth, everything is born from Him, existing by Him and vanishing in Him. Him, the Supreme Brahman [the Absolute Truth] I offer my obeisances. I bow before Him who, having expanded outside and inside as vast as the sky, by the mind, the intelligence, the senses and the life airs cannot be touched or known. The body, the senses, the life air, the mind and intelligence are all parts that are penetrated [by the supporting, connecting and ruling principle of Brahman]; they, just like iron that [cannot be forged if it] is not heated, without that support cannot engage in activities and acquire the status of a[n independent] seer. My obeisances unto You my Lord, oh Supreme Personality, most perfect Supersoul and master of all mystic powers whose feet are embraced and caressed by the multitude of lotus bud hands of the topmost devotees. All my respects for You who are situated in the highest position.'

Shri Shuka said: 'After Narada had imparted the knowledge to this fully surrendered devotee, he together with Angira left for the abode of Brahma, oh King. Citraketu then chanted with great concentration and only drinking water, for one week the prayer that was communicated by Narada. Strictly keeping to the instructions he, by carefully practicing these prayers, after these seven days and nights achieved the mastery of the Vidyadharas ['the ones founded in knowledge'], oh ruler of man. By dint of that spiritual exercise for his mind he, having found the enlightened course, thus in a few days only reached the shelter of the lotus feet of the God of all gods, Lord Shesha [Anantadeva or Sankarshana, see 5.25]. He saw Him, his Master and Controller, with His smiling lotus face, reddish eyes and skin as fair as a white lotus. Clad in blue silk and with a glittering helmet, armlets, a belt and bangles, He was situated in the midst of His most perfect devotees. The sight of Him destroyed all his sins so that he, contented and pure at heart, could approach Him like a full-blown bhakta. Moved from within by love he with tears in his eyes and his hairs standing on end, offered the Original Personality of God his obeisances. He at the lotus feet of the Lord of the Verses, wetted that resting place with his tear drops over and over and was, because his voice was choked by his love, for a long time unable to utter a single letter of the alphabet and offer prayers. By intelligently controlling his mind and the senses that are led by the external world, this king recovered his speech and then addressed the personification of devotional service and the scriptures, the teacher of all.

Citraketu said: 'Oh Unconquerable One, You are conquered by those who are of self-control. You give Yourself in utter compassion to those devotees, who as surrendered souls were conquered by You and always sing Your glories with minds free from desire. Supposing their separate existence the creators of this universe who are [only] a part of a part of You, in vain compete with each other for Your dominion that consists of the creation, maintenance and dissolution of this cosmic manifestation, oh Supreme Lord. Without Yourself having a beginning, an in between or an end, You from the smallest material unit to the complete of the universal manifestation have Your existence in the beginning, in the end and in between; that which is constant in the beginning and in the end is there also in the middle of the existence of all. This egg shaped universe consisting of the seven layers of the earth element and the rest, each of which measures the tenfold of the preceding one [see 3.26: 52], is but insignificant compared to the millions of such universes that exist in the cosmos. Therefore You are [called] unlimited. Eager to enjoy like animals, man worships only parts of You [the demigods] but not the Supreme of You, oh Controller. The benedictions they bring are finished when their end is reached, just as it is with politicians [B.G. 7: 20-23, S.B. 2.3: 10]. A mind ruled by lust [the lesser god] does, just like fried seed, not lead to growth and healing in You, oh Supreme One. But in the full knowledge of Your Supreme Self a person is not affected by the network of the modes and the duality of their material qualities [compare B.G. 4: 9]. They who on the path of liberation are of worship were conquered by You, oh Unconquerable One, when You [as their teacher] spoke about the process of devotional service. They are the faultless ones who do not crave for material happiness, they are the great sages satisfied from within [see also 1.2: 6]. Engaged a different way [in demigod worship] one lacks in consciousness and arrives in human society thus at the 'I' and 'mine' and the 'me' and 'you' [of the false ego]. In approaches other than Yours one is as a result of the deviating vision impure in one's conduct, time bound and full of adharma [compare B.G. 18: 66]. In what sense is it beneficial for oneself, for others, or for whatever purpose to be turned against oneself [one's own body] or against others in one's religiosity? Such a practice of human self-betrayal raises Your anger, torments one's fellow man and contravenes the dharma [see B.G. 16: 17, 17: 19 and S.B. 1.2: 8]. Your view defining the process of devotional service is free from inconsistencies. They who following that course are equal towards all living beings whether they move or not move, is certainly a civilised person [an Aryan]. This absence of internal conflict in You oh my Lord, puts an end to the sins of anyone who sees You [Your devotees and Your book] before his eyes. Only but once hearing Your name forthwith delivers even the lowest among man from the misery of material existence. Seeing You now here before us oh Supreme Lord, has removed the contaminations from our mind. Why would it be different from what the great rishi of enlightenment [Narada], Your devotee has said? Oh Unlimited one, You as the Supersoul of all the world, know everything that each living entity does out here. What we know compares to the light of fireflies relative to the sun of You as our teacher of transcendence. All obeisances unto You, oh Lordship of the persistence, the ending and creation of the

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universe. The position of You as the transcendental swan, the ascetic of the highest order, is beyond the ken of those who unify in a false notion, a material notion of independence. The senses gathering knowledge perceive in pursuance of Your perception and they who endeavor to rule the universe do so to the example of Your endeavoring. Let there be my obeisances unto You, the Supreme Lord with the thousands of hoods, by whom the gigantic universe You carry on a single hood, appears [as insignificant as] a mustard seed.'

Shri Shukadeva said: 'Oh best of the Kurus, the Supreme Lord Ananta Deva very pleased about thus being worshiped by Citraketu the king of the Vidyadharas, then replied. The Supreme Lord said: 'From directly seeing Me and from the worship with the prayer that Narada and Angira have disclosed to you, you now have attained perfection, oh King. I as the Supersoul of all, as the cause of the manifestation, have expanded in different forms and exist in both the eternal forms of the spiritual sound vibrations and the Supreme Brahman [compare B.G. 7: 4-5]. The living entity expanded into the world and the world expanded within the living entity. These two [the world and the living entity] are pervaded by Me as also made by Me [compare B.G. 9: 4]. 3-5 A person sleeping sees in his dream the entire world within himself, but upon awaking he finds himself lying down somewhere. Likewise one must consider the different states of consciousness and conditions of life of the living entities as manifestations of the illusory potency of the Self, knowing which one should always remember their Supreme Creator and Witness [see bhajan Radha Krishna Bol]. Know Me as that [all-pervading] Soul, as the Supreme Spirit free from the modes of matter by whom the sleeping [bewildered] person at that time is able to recognise what belongs to the dream and what to his happiness. When the person remembers [himself, his spirit soul, his jiva, as the one] joining both the states of consciousness of being asleep and being awake, he may reach beyond that spiritual knowledge and arrive at the Supreme Brahman [the knowing principle] that is transcendental. The living entity having forgotten about this spiritual nature of My position, leads because of that a materially conditioned life in separation from the Supersoul, because of which it wanders from one body to the next, from one death to another. Achieving in this world a human birth offers one the chance to arrive at self-realisation with the [support of this] spiritual knowledge and wisdom, but they who fail to pick up that knowledge will never find peace and happiness. Thinking of the trouble of toiling in this world and then achieving the opposite of what was intended - and then remembering how one is freed from fear by ridding oneself of one's desire for material things, one should, thus knowing better, desist from that [karmic] desire. Husband and wife [being materially motivated] perform activities for the sake of their happiness and to be free from misery, but these actions have no effect because they do not put an end to the [material] happiness and distress [that follow one another, see also B.G. 2: 14, 4: 20, 9: 31]. 1-6 Those who consider themselves very smart but realise this way the opposite of what they wanted, find it extremely difficult to understand [too 'subtle' or hard to grasp] what it means to be of progress with the soul and [as a soul] to exist apart from the three states [of unconsciousness, sleep and waking]. Someone who personally experienced it or has understood it from listening to others, should, now he by dint of his own power of judgement in spiritual knowledge and wisdom has freed himself from materialism, with the resulting full satisfaction, become My devotee [*]. The realisation of the insight of this qualitative notion of the oneness of the [individual] soul and the transcendence [of the Lord], constitutes - all things considered - the ultimate goal of life for capable and intelligent human beings who unite in [bhakti-]yoga. If you with faith, not concluding differently, accept these words of Mine, oh King, you will soon find your perfection in the full [awareness] of spiritual knowledge and its wisdom [its practical application].'

Shri Shuka said: 'After the Supreme Lord, the Teacher of the Universe, thus had assured Citraketu, He, Lord Hari, the Soul of All, disappeared from sight.'

*: The verse says that one, with the full satisfaction that is found in the realisation one's independence as a soul, should become His devotee. This is the natural consequence of the connectedness of the jiva with the Supersoul, the continuity of Him as the Original Person of all divine qualities. In denial of this necessity to acknowledge His integrity, the load of the responsibility associated with it will be too big to carry alone, so that one will lose this full satisfaction again. One then falls back into the false pride and division of the ego resulting from such a denial. In other words, without the Lord as your lightening rod, you will be struck by lightening.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 17:

Mother Parvati Curses Citraketu

Shri Shuka said: 'After making his obeisances in the direction in which Lord Ananta had disappeared, Citraketu, the King of the Vidyadharas began traveling, moving about in the atmosphere. - On his way not diminished in his power and sense control he visited hundreds of thousands of people in thousands of places and was by the sages, the perfected ones and the monks praised for being a great yogi. Pleased to stay in the valleys around Kulacalendra [Mount Sumeru] where one exercises for the different forms of perfection, he took great delight in persuading the wives of the Vidyadharas to praise the Supreme Personality, Lord Hari. - One day roaming in the brightly shining, heavenly vehicle that he had received from Lord Vishnu, he saw Lord Shiva in the midst of all the saintly personalities. Surrounded by the perfected ones and the singers of heaven, he had his arm around the goddess who sat on his lap. Citraketu laughed loudly about it and then spoke in the presence of the mother words she could clearly hear. Citraketu said: 'This spiritual master of all the world, who is the direct representative of dharma for all embodied souls, sits here as head of an assembly while embracing his wife! With his hair matted, intensely repentant, following the Vedic principles and presiding a gathering, he is hugging a woman sitting there unashamed like an ordinary materially motivated person. Normally even conditioned souls embrace their women in private ... and this one master of vow and austerity enjoys his woman in an assembly!'

Shri Shuka said: 'When the great Lord of fathomless intelligence heard that, oh King, he only smiled and remained silent, and so did everyone in the assembly following his example. With him unaware of the might [of Shiva] thus speaking against all etiquette, the devi angrily addressed the impudent one who thought he was so well restrained. Shri Parvati said: 'And now would this one here all of a sudden be the Supreme Controller, the one to chastise and the master of restraint for persons like us as the ones criminal and shameless? It must be so that the one born on the lotus has no notion of dharma. Nor do Brahma's sons, Bhrigu or Narada, the four Kumaras, Lord Kapila or Manu himself have a clue, otherwise they would have stopped our Shiva from breaking the rules! This one here is the lowest of all kshatriyas. He who by him positioning himself above the gods so impudently was chastised, is the one who is the teacher of all the world, the auspicious one of auspiciousness in person upon whose lotus feet one meditates. Therefore this man deserves it to be punished. This impudent, haughty fellow does not deserve it to approach the shelter of the lotus feet of Vaikunthha that are worshiped by all the saints [compare: Shri Shri Shikshashthaka]. Therefore, oh greatest of all sinners, leave this place to be born among the demons, oh fool, so that this world again belongs to the great ones and you, my son, no longer will commit any offense.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Thus being cursed Citraketu came down from his heavenly chariot to propitiate Parvati by bowing his head deeply before her, oh son of Bharata. Citraketu said: 'Folding my hands before you oh mother, I accept your curse. That which the gods impose upon a mortal is entirely determined by his deeds in the past. Deluded in his ignorance the living entity is caught wandering around in the vicious circle, the cycle of rebirth of this material life wherein he constantly is subject to happiness and distress. The individual soul, nor anyone else, can be really the one who calls for the happiness and sorrow [the illusion and disillusion]. A person lacking in awareness nevertheless considers himself or someone else the cause in this matter. What would in this stream, this constantly changing flow of the modes of matter, actually be a curse or a favor, what would [the meaning of] a promotion to heaven or a fall down in hell be, or [the eternal value of] happiness and distress? He, the One Supreme Lord, by His potencies creates the conditioned existence of all living beings as also the life of liberation [in devotional service]. He is the One responsible for the happiness and distress on the one hand and the position in which one [with Him] is elevated above time on the other hand. He considers no one His favorite or enemy, a kinsman or friend, an insider or outsider. He is equal to all, omnipresent and unaffected by the world. In His happiness being free from attachments, one finds no anger in Him. Still there is, in a repetition of being born and dying again, for the ones embodied the [karmic] answer of an existence settled for happiness and grief, gain and loss, bondage and liberation which generated from the energy of the Lord [as a secondary creation]. Therefore I do not ask for your mercy to be released from your curse, oh angry one. All I want is that you accept my excuses for everything I've said that in your eyes, oh chaste one, was unbecoming.'

Shri Shuka said: 'After thus having propitiated these elevated personalities, oh persistent conqueror of the enemies, Citraketu left in his heavenly vehicle while the two were watching and smiling at him. With Narada, the Daityas, the Siddhas and his personal associates all listening, the great Lord then spoke to his wife the following words. Shri Rudra said: 'Have you seen, my beauty, how magnanimous the servants of the servants are, the great souls who have forsaken their sense gratification in relating to the Supreme Personality whose actions are so wonderful? None of the pure devotees of Narayana are ever afraid. To be in heaven, on the path of liberation or to have a place in hell makes no difference to them [in their service]. With the game played by the Lord those who are embodied are, because they identify themselves with their bodies, bound to the dualities of happiness and distress, dying and being born and being cursed or favored. The way one may take a flower garland for something else or speaks of qualities or faults in a [dream] image of oneself, also the appraisals of a person that are based upon a lack of insight are deceptive. People who lead to or propagate bhakti, or love in devotional service for the Supreme Lord Vasudeva, possess the strength of spiritual knowledge and detachment and take no interest in any other shelter [see also 1.2: 7]. Not I nor Lord Brahma, neither the As'vini-kumaras nor Narada, the sons of Brahma, the saints or all the great demigods, know the true nature of Him of whom we, who like to think of ourselves as independent rulers, all are but parts of a partial aspect. No one in particular is loved or disliked by Him, He calls no one His own nor does He exclude anyone. The Lord as the Soul of the soul of all living beings is the one dearest to all. 4-3 This greatly fortunate King Citraketu is His obedient servant loved by everyone. He, peaceful and equal to all, is the love of the Infallible One just as I am. Don't be surprised to find the devotees of the Supreme Personality among the people to be the great souls who bring peace and equality.'

Shri Shuka said: After thus having heard what the great Lord Shiva had to tell her, the goddess Parvati was freed from her doubt and perplexity and found back her peace of mind, oh King. He, who as a great devotee was fully capable of pronouncing a counter-curse against the goddess, [nevertheless] in resignation accepted his condemnation and that characterised him as a true saint. [Because of this curse he thereafter despite] of all his knowledge and wisdom found his place in the department of the demoniac species of life. [After being reborn as Vis'varupa and being killed by Indra,] he then being summoned by Tvashtha's dakshinagni sacrifice, thus became known as Vritrasura [*, see 6.9 and compare with 1.5: 19]. This [my dear Parikchit] was all I had to tell you concerning your question about Vritrasura, he of an exalted intelligence who appeared in the world as a demon. Hearing this sacred history about the great soul Citraketu which reflects the greatness of the devotees of Vishnu, one is freed from bondage. Anyone who, remembering the Lord, rises early in the morning to control with faith his voice by reciting this story, will reach the supreme destination.'

*: Tvashtha is a name derived from the roots tashtha and tvaksh, which means paired, fashioned, formed in mind, produced or to create or produce. There are different Tvashtha's mentioned in the Bhagavatam. One is a name of Vis'vakarma, the architect demigod as mentioned in 4.15: 17. In 3.6: 15 the name is used for the sun, the director of light as the part of the Universal form of the Lord ruling eyesight. One is mentioned in verse 5.15: 14-15. This one fathered a son called Viraja. The Tvashtha mentioned in the context of this story wherein he fathered Vis'varupa who turned into the demon Vritrasura, is possibly the same god [of the sun] as the one who is mentioned among the deva's ruling the months, in his case, the month of Isha [September-October] as is mentioned in 12.11: 43.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 18:

Diti Vows to Kill King Indra

Shri Shuka said: 'From Pris'ni then, the wife of Savita [the fifth of the twelve sons of Aditi], there were [the three daughters] Savitri, Vyahriti and Trayi and [from them the sons] Agnihotra, Pashu, Soma, Caturmasya and the five Mahayajnas [were born]. Siddhi the wife of Bhaga [the sixth son of the twelve sons of Aditi], my dear King, bore [the sons] Mahima, Vibhu and Prabhu and a very beautiful and virtuous daughter named As'i. - From the wives of Dhata [the seventh son of Aditi] named Kuhu, Sinivali, Raka and Anumati [respectively the sons] Sayam, Dars'a, Pratah and Purnamasa were born. The firegods called the Purishyas were by the next son [of Aditi: Vidhata] begotten in Kriya and Carshani [the wife of] of Varuna [the ninth son of Aditi] was the mother from whom Bhrigu took his birth again. Valmiki, the great yogi, was [by the semen of Varuna] born from an ant-hill [hence his name]. And Mitra [the tenth son] and Varuna together fathered the two sages Agastya and Vasishthha. From being in the presence of Urvas'i semen was discharged [by Mitra and Varuna] in an earthen pot [and from that semen the sages were born as their two sons]. Mitra begot in Revati [the three sons] Utsarga, Arishtha and Pippala. Lord Indra [the eleventh son] begot in Paulomi [or Shacidevi] so we heard, three sons my best, called Jayanta, Rishabha and Midhusha. Lord Urukrama [or Vamana, the twelfth son] by His inner potency appeared in the form of a dwarf. From His wife Kirti the son Brihats'loka was born and he fathered many other sons with Saubhaga as the first one. The activities, qualities and power of this great soul and how He factually descended from Aditi as the son of Kasyapa, I will describe later on.

I will tell you now how from the seed of Kasyapa the [demoniac] sons of Diti were born [see 3.14] and the [later members of the family, the] great and glorious devotee Prahlada and Bali Maharaja [who was defeated by Vamana]. The two sons of Diti who by the Daityas and Danavas were celebrated, are named Hiranyakas'ipu and Hiranyaksha. We have talked about them [see 3.14]. 2-1 The wife of

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Hiranyakas'ipu named Kayadhu, was a daughter born from Jambha and a descendant of Danu. She gave birth to four sons with Samhlada as the first, after whom Anuhlada, Hlada and Prahlada were born as also a sister called Simhika. She got from Vipracit the son Rahu. His [Rahu's] head was severed by the Lord's disc when he drank from the nectar [of the demigods]. Samhlada's wife Kriti gave birth to [the son] Pancajana. Dhamani, the wife of Hlada, gave birth to [the sons] Vatapi and Ilvala. When Agastya once visited Ilvala he cooked and served his brother Vatapi [in the form of a ram]. From Anuhlada's wife Surya there were [born the two sons] Bashkala and Mahisha. Virocana was the son of Prahlada and from his wife the son Bali was born. He begot in As'ana a hundred sons and Bana was the eldest one. I'll describe his praiseworthy character later. Bana was a worshiper of Lord Shiva and was by him promoted to the level of his chief associates. For that reason the great Lord is the protector of his capital until the present day. The forty-nine Maruts, also sons of Diti, had no sons themselves and were by Indra all elevated to the position of demigods.'

The king said: 'Why, oh guru, did they give up the atheistic mentality they were born with? Why were they by Indra turned into demigods? Was it because of their saintly activities? Oh brahmin, these sages together with me here, are all eager to hear about this from you, oh great one. Please explain it therefore to us.' "

Shri Suta said: "Hearing those respectful, brief and meaningful words of the servant of Vishnu, the omniscient son of Vyasa praised him and calmly and focussed gave a reply, oh Shaunaka. Shri Shuka said: 'Diti, whose sons were killed by Lord Vishnu in support of Indra, burned with anger and thought, clouded by grief: 'I will only rest and be happy when an end has been put to the life of [Indra,] this pleasure seeking, hard-hearted, cruel and sinful murderer of the brothers! Would someone be of true knowledge when he designated a king, with his body which is doomed to end with the worms, as stool or as ashes, nevertheless hurts others in the pursuit of his own happiness? Does not such a one await the punishment of hell? He, thinking that this [material covering] lasts for ever, is out of his mind. Can I count on a son who can fight this madness of Indra?' 7-2 Filled with that intention, she consequently was constantly of service unto her husband [Kasyapa] with all kinds of pleasing activities full of love and humility, self-restraint and great devotion, oh King. Knowing him very well, she with charming sweet words, smiles and sidelong glances managed to bring him under her control. Although a highly expert, learned scholar he was thus enchanted by the woman. Being under her control he therefore acceded to her wishes; a thing [for a man] not at all that surprising in relating to a woman. Seeing the living beings unattached in the beginning of creation, God the Father [Brahma] created the woman as the other half of his body and by her the mind of men is carried away. Thus being served by the woman, oh my best one, the mighty Kasyapa was very pleased and approvingly addressed Diti with a smile.

Kasyapa said: 'Ask for any benediction you want, oh my beauty, for I, oh irreproachable lady, am very pleased with you. What would there for a woman with desires in this world [and a next one] be difficult to obtain when her husband is well pleased? 3-3 The husband is considered the worshipable deity of the woman. Vasudeva who, situated in the heart of all as the husband of the Goddess of Fortune, is worshiped as the Supreme Lord by men through the forms and names of the different divinities, is there also for women in the form of the husband [see also B.G. 9: 23]. Women who with respect for the will of their husbands desire a happy life, oh slender-waisted lady, therefore worship with devotion their spouse as [a representative of] the Lord who is the Supersoul. I, worshiped by you with such devotion my love, will as that kind of person fulfill this desire that cannot be realised by deceitful [unchaste] wives.'

Diti said: 'If you are for me the one to give benedictions, oh brahmin, I in that case, with my two sons dead, ask you for an immortal son capable of killing Indra, because he is the one responsible for the death of the two.'

After hearing her words the brahmin aggrieved lamented [within himself]: 'Alas what great impiety has befallen me today [with the notion of having to arrange for the death of Indra]! Regrettably I have grown too attached to sensual pleasure in the form of the woman present before me. Ruled by maya I will with my mind corrupted surely land in hell. What would be wrong with it when the women in this world follow their nature? But damned I am if I, not knowing anymore what's good for me, [addicted to her] have no control over my senses. Who knows their ways? Her face is like a blossoming lotus flower in autumn and her words are pleasing to the ear, but the heart of a woman is [as sharp] as a razor blade. A woman lets no one directly into her heart, they want [to rule] their own bodies and mind and are prepared to kill or get killed even their own father, son and brother for that purpose. I have to keep my promise, I have to be true to what I said, but killing Indra cannot be the proper course of action. I know something better.'

The powerful Muni thinking thus oh descendant of Kuru, got slightly angry. He condemned himself for it and then spoke. Shri Kasyapa said: 'Your son will, as a friend of the godless ones, get even with Indra oh gentle one, provided you for that purpose for the time of a year strictly keep to a vow.'

Diti said: 'I accept such a vow my dear brahmin. Please tell me what I have to do and what is forbidden, as also what must be done not to break the vow.'

Shri Kasyapa said: 'Harm no living being, do not curse or speak a lie, do not cut your nails and hair nor touch impure things. Do not enter water for a bath, do not get angry nor speak with wicked people. Do not wear dirty clothes or ever wear a flower garland that has been worn. Do not eat leftovers nor food containing flesh that was offered to Kali. You must not eat food brought by a Shudra or food treated by a woman in her menses and do not drink water by cupping your hands. Do not go out in the evening, nor after having eaten, without having washed yourself or with your hair loose, without ornaments, without being grave or without being covered. Do not lie down without having washed your feet, without being purified, with your feet wet and with your head northward or westward, nor go to bed naked, together with others or during sunrise or sunset. In clean clothes, always being washed and adorned with all auspicious things [like turmeric and sandelwood paste] you should worship the cows, the brahmins, the Goddess of Fortune and the Infallible One before breakfast. With presentations of garlands, sandelwood pulp and ornaments you should worship women who have a [living] husband and a son and you must worship your own husband with offering prayers. You should also meditate upon his presence in your womb [in the form of a child during a pregnancy or his vital energy]. Free from violations keeping to this vow of pumsavana ['of the forest person'] for a year there will be a son for you to kill Indra.'

Assenting to it Diti thus joyously received the semen from Kasyapa, oh King, and lived strictly to the vow. Oh dear King of respect for all, Indra understanding what his mother's sister had in mind, then wisely approached Diti to serve her during the time she stayed in an ashrama. Every day he brought her flowers, fruits, roots and wood from the forest for the sacrificial fire as also leaves, kus'a grass, sprouts, earth and water when she needed it. Oh ruler of man, serving her as deceitful as a hunter pretending to be a deer, Indra tried to find a fault in her dutiful observance of the vow. But he could not discover a single failure in her practice and thus, oh master of the world, he in his desire wondered anxiously: 'How can I find my well-being in this world?' Once though she, weakened because of the vow, after she had eaten, did not touch water and wash her feet, and went confused about the rules, to sleep at dusk. Upon noticing her mistake Indra, as a master of yoga, by the power of his mystical ability entered the womb of Diti who unconscious lay asleep. With his thunderbolt he cut the embryo, that had a golden appearance, in seven pieces and cut each crying piece into seven more, telling them not to cry. They all in pain with folded hands said to him: 'Oh ruler, why do you want to kill us? Oh Indra, we are your brothers, the Maruts!'

To this group of faithful souls, the Maruts, he then said: 'You should not be afraid of this my brothers.'

By the mercy of Shrinivasa [Vishnu as the refuge of Lakshmi] Diti's embryo being cut in many pieces by the thunderbolt, did not die, just as you [my dear Parikchit] did not from the weapon of Ashvatthama [see 1.8]. 6-6 When a person worships the Original Person he immediately gets a grip on his life [as for time and measure]. And so it happened with Diti who for almost a year had worshiped the Lord [see 5.18: 12]. In order to compensate for the faults made by the mother the Lord changed the forty-nine parts that Indra had created, the Maruts, into [the fifty] demigods [together with Indra] who became soma-drinkers [priests]. Waking up Diti saw the children along with Indra shining as bright as fire. It was a view the goddess being purified [after her penance] was very pleased about. She thereupon said to Indra: 'Desiring a son who would be the fear and end of the [twelve] Adityas [see 6.6: 38-39], I executed this vow that is so difficult to fulfill. I only prayed for one son but now there are forty-nine of them. How could that happen? If you know this my dear son, speak to me and do not tell me lies.'

Indra said: 'Oh mother, having understood what your vow was, I approached you and found a fault. In my self-interest having lost sight of the dharma, I thereupon cut the embryo to pieces. The embryo was divided in seven parts by me and they became seven babies. And even though I cut each of them also in seven parts, none of them died. Witnessing that great miracle I next decided that it had to be some side-effect of your worship of the Supreme Personality. Those who take interest in the worship of the Supreme Lord without fostering desires and are even indifferent about [the liberation of attaining] the transcendental position, one may consider experts in enlightened self-interest [compare 2.3: 10 and B.G. 9: 22]. Would an intelligent person still covet any form of material satisfaction that one even finds in hell, when he has been of the worship by which He, the Lord of the Universe and the most intimate Godhead, has given Himself to him [see also the Shri Shri Shikshashthaka]? Oh best of women, please excuse me for being such a fool with this evil deed of mine. Oh mother, by your good fortune the child that I have killed within you, came to live again.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Taking permission of her being satisfied about his good manners, Indra offered his respects and left with the Maruts for the heavenly worlds. Thus I have told you all that you asked me about concerning the auspicious birth of the Maruts, what should I tell you further?'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 19:
Performing the Pumsavana Ritualistic Ceremony

The king said: 'Oh brahmin, I would like to hear about the pumsavana vow you mentioned and by which Lord Vishnu is pleased.'

- Shri Shuka said: 'A woman with the permission of her husband should start with this vow that fulfills all desires on the first day of the bright fortnight of Agrahayana [November-December]. According to the instructions of the brahmins having bathed, brushed her teeth, put on ornaments and garments, she must hear about the birth of the Maruts. Then, before taking breakfast, she has to worship the Supreme Lord and the goddess of fortune as follows: 'Let there be my obeisances unto You, oh Independent Lord and fulfillment of all desire. My respects for the husband of Lakshmi Devi, the Master of all Perfection. Since You are the Lord endowed with mercy, opulence, prowess, glory and strength, You are the One Supreme Master of all divine qualities. Oh Shri Lakshmi, you being espoused to Lord Vishnu, are His energy and have all the qualities of the Supreme Personality. I beg you to be pleased with me, oh Goddess of Fortune, oh Mother of the World. May there be my reverential homage unto you. My obeisances unto the Supreme Lord and Personality of all Power, the husband of that Greatness of Wealth with His associates; Him I offer my presentations'.

With the invocation of Lord Vishnu by means of this mantra she must every day then offer attentively presentations of gifts, lamps, incense, flowers, scents, ornaments, garments, a sacred thread, bathing water and water for the hands, feet and mouth. Next the remnants of the sacrifice should be offered in the fire with twelve oblations saying svaha [hail!] with the mantra: 'Oh my Lord all my respects for You as the One Supreme, Greatest Person who is the husband of the glory of all wealth, the goddess of fortune [om namo bhagavate maha-purushaya mahavibhuti-pataye svaha].'

Lord Vishnu and the goddess are the bestowers of all benedictions and together constitute the source of all blessings. If one desires all opulences one should daily be devoted with this worship. In one's devotion stretched out straight on the ground ['dandavat'] one should in a humble state of mind offer one's obeisances uttering this mantra ten times and then pronounce the following prayer: 'You two are the proprietors of the universe, the Supreme Cause. The external energy of the material world is hard to fathom, it is the deluding power that is difficult to overcome. You as the Supreme Personality, the Lord of All Sacrifices, are her direct Master. She is the [original form of the] performance of this worship, while You are the enjoyer of the fruits. This devi is the reservoir of all the qualities while You manifest and enjoy these qualities. The goddess of fortune is the body, the senses and the mind while You are the Supersoul of all the embodied beings. Lakshmi is the name and form while You are the support and certainty. May my great ambitions be fulfilled, oh Uttamas'loka, oh Lord Praised in the Verses, for the two of You are the supreme rulers, the bestowers of benedictions of the three worlds.'

This is the way one should pray to Lakshmi and Shrinivasa, her abode and the bestower of benedictions. After this offering one must put away the articles of worship and ritually wash one's hands and mouth. With devotion and a humble mind, one then should offer prayers, smell the remnants of the sacrifice and again worship Lord Vishnu. Accepting her husband with supreme devotion as the great Lord, the wife should prove her pious love for him with these offerings, while the husband himself also should perform all the menial and elevated activities of the wife. When the wife is unable, the husband should execute this attentively, because when one of them does so, both wife and husband [will benefit]. 9-2 One should not deviate for any reason from the [prescribed] practice of this vow to Lord Vishnu. One should daily, in a regulated manner grant the brahmins and the women, together with their husbands and children, that what remains of the offerings to the Godhead consisting of garlands, sandalwood, food and ornaments. When one in respect of the regulative principles has placed the offerings before Him and has put the Godhead to rest, one should share the remnants of the food that was sacrificed with others and eat it. One will thus find one's soul purified and all one's desires fulfilled. With this regulated puja the wife must after the time of twelve months, or a year, then fast on the last day [the full moon] of Karttika [October-November]. The next morning touching water and as before worshiping Lord Krishna, the husband must, according to the injunctions [as stated in the Grihya-sutras], offer with twelve oblations in the fire sweet rice that

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with ghee was boiled in milk. After having pleased the brahmins by devotedly expressing his obeisances bowing down, he, having accepted their blessings on his head, then with their permission should eat. With friends and relatives controlling the voice, he should first of all properly receive the teacher of example, the acarya, and then give the wife the remnant of the offering. That will ensure good progeny and fortune. Performing this vow according to the instructions a man in this life will achieve that what he wanted from the Almighty Lord. A woman performing this may then achieve all fortune, opulence, progeny, a long living husband, a good reputation and a home. 6-2 When she is not married she can [with this vrata] get a husband with all good qualities. Being without a husband or son she may reach the state of perfection, the supreme destination. With a deceased child she may have a child that stays alive and [thus] prosper. Being unfortunate she will find fortune and being unattractive she will have a beautiful body. A diseased man will [with this vow] be freed from his disease and regain his full ability. When one following this course performs successfully the forefathers and the gods will be enormously pleased. Lord Vishnu, the Enjoyer of all Sacrifices [and His goddess] will upon the completion of this ceremony bestow all that one desires. Oh King, I thus extensively explained to you how Diti took the vow and gave birth to the pious Maruts.'

Thus the sixth BOOK of the Shrimad Bhagavatam ends named: Prescribed Duties For Mankind.

BOOK 7: THE SCIENCE OF GOD

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 1:

The Supreme Lord Is Equal unto Everyone

The king said: 'How could the Supreme Lord being loved as a friend equally disposed towards all living beings oh brahmin, in support of Indra kill the demons as if He would be partial [see also B.G. 9: 29]? Being of the highest bliss and free from the material modes there is for Him absolutely no personal need to side with the enlightened community or fear and fight the demons. Oh glorious one, can you please remove the great doubt that thus has risen in us concerning the qualities of Narayana?'

- The honourable rishi said: 'What an excellent question to ask, oh great King! Because of the wonderful activities of the Lord, that are sung by the leading souls of piety, the sages headed by Narada, we see more and more the glories and devotion of His devotees. I will discuss with you all the topics relating to the Lord, but let me first offer my obeisances to Krishna's greatest sage [Vyasadeva]. Even though He is free from the modes, unborn and unmanifest, the Supreme Lord transcendental to the material world enters the material qualities of His illusory energy [in the form of the guna avataras Brahma, Shiva and Vishnu] and accepts obligations and responsibilities [compare B.G. 9: 11]. The qualities of sattva, rajas and tamas belong to material nature and not to the spirit soul, oh King. For the spiritual self there is no question of their combined prominence or decay, the on and off [of the fickleness one has with material things]. According to the time of their prevalence one with the mode of sattva [goodness] finds the devas and the rishis [the gods and sages], with the mode of rajas [passion] one encounters Asuras [the unenlightened ones] and with the mode of tamas [inertia] one is faced with Yakshas and Rakshasas [ghosts and demons, see also B.G. 14: 11-13]. The way one knows fire as residing in other elements [like wood], the sages, the expert knowers, perceive the Supersoul as present within themselves and this [divine self] is not visible when one looks at all appearances in the outer world [see B.G. 10: 10]. When He desires to create material bodies for the living entities, the Supreme One manifests them on the basis of His creative potency in the mode of passion. Desiring to engage in different bodies He is of the nature of goodness and when the Lord is about to put an end to it all He in accordance with that quality [of destruction] engages the mode of ignorance [see B.G. 9: 10]. Oh ruler of man, the true cause that is the male principle, the original unmanifest foundation of matter [pradhana], is the [primal, expanding] movement of time [as the fourth dimension] which forms the shelter of the Lord [to meditate upon, see also B.G. 11: 32]. Oh King, also being this [authentic notion of] Time, the Supreme Lord of name and fame increases in the mode of goodness the numbers of enlightened souls and is consequently, as the friend of the demigods, inimical to and destructive with the unenlightened ones [the materialists] who are ruled by passion and ignorance. Concerning this [destruction/protection plan] in the past upon the request of King Yudhishthhira, the man without enemies, the following story was lovingly told by the great sage of enlightenment [Narada] at the grand sacrifice. 4-1 The king, the son of Pandu, after having seen how at the great offering called Rajasuya the King of Cedi [S'ishupala] so wondrously had merged into the Supreme Personality of Vasudeva, had as the ruler wonder-stricken at the sacrifice, before all the sages listening, asked Narada who sat there the following question. Yudhishthhira had said: 'Oh how wonderful and for sure difficult to achieve for even the transcendentalists is the attainment of Shishupala behaving so impudently towards Vasudeva, the Supreme Absolute Truth. We all would like to know how this can be, oh sage; from insulting the Lord Vena was sent to hell by the brahmins. That sinful son of Damaghosha fostered from his earliest prattle to his last days anger towards Govinda, just as did the evil-minded Dantavakra [his brother]. No white leprosy [vitiligo] appeared on their tongues nor did they land in the darkness of hell because of their repeated offenses against Lord Vishnu, the Supreme Personality of Brahman [compare B.G. 10: 12]. How could they for everyone to see, so easily find absorption [sayujya-mukti] in the Supreme Lord whose supreme position is so hard to attain? My intelligence concerning this matter is as fickle as a candle flickering in the wind. Please, oh man of all fortune, tell us more about the particular cause of this great wonder.'

The son of Vyasa said: 'After hearing the words of the king asking questions in the midst of the assembly, Narada, the greatest among the sages, felt satisfied and addressed him about the topics. Shri Narada said: 'This body subject to insults, praise, honour and dishonour is the product of a lack of discrimination between the primal state of material nature [pradhana] and the supreme [position of the transcendental witness], oh King [see also B.G. 2: 14, 12: 18-19]. Oh earthly ruler, because of this the living beings in this world suffer from the misconception of 'I' and 'mine', just as from the reproach and punishment associated with it. Living with this false conception one thinks that the destruction of bodies is the same as the destruction of living beings. The misconception [including reproaching Him and the fear for punishment] is there not because of Him [but because of being without Him] who is the beatitude of detachment and emancipation in person. How could there from His side, the side of the Soul of all, the Supreme One and Highest Control be any question of violence [mentally and physically]? Therefore, whether one is of a constant enmity, of devotion, of fear, of affection or of lusty desires, one should stay connected and not care about anything else. The absorption [though] attained by someone in enmity might not be the same as the absorption attained by someone in devotional service, that is my definite opinion. 8-2 A larva checked by a bee in a comb may be filled with anxiety and resentment, but because of that bee attain the same form. Just the same one may [like Shishupala and Dantavakra] with Krishna, who as the Supreme Lord assumed a human form, [even] be freed from one's sins by constantly thinking of Him in enmity. Moved by lust, hatred, fear, affection and devotion many who united their mind in the Lord consequently gave up on sin and thus attained their destination. Oh King, the gopis realised this by their lusty desires, Kamsa by his fear, Shishupala and other kings by their hatred, Krishna's family members by their kinship, You [Pandavas] by your affection for Him and we through our bhakti. Not to be someone like Vena, who could not adopt any of these five forms of respect in regard of the Original Person, one must fix one's mind on Krishna in one of these ways. Shishupala and Dantavakra, the sons of your maternal aunt oh Pandava, were [incarnations of] the two exalted attendants of Vishnu [Jaya and Vijaya, see 3.15-16] who because of a curse of the brahmins [the Kumaras] fell from grace.'

Shri Yudhishthhira said: 'Who pronounced that curse and what kind of curse was that? It is difficult to believe that such a thing might happen to a servant of the Lord. How can it be that those exclusively devoted to Him have to take another birth [see B.G. 4: 9 and 8: 16]? Those who reside in Vaikunthha are not concerned with a material body, material senses or a material life. Please describe how they could be bound to a physical body.'

Shri Narada said: 'One day it happened that the sons of Brahma, Sanandana and the others [the Kumaras], traveling around the three worlds arrived at the place where Vishnu resides. When they [Jaya and Vijaya] saw them approaching who, despite being born before the ancients of the universe [see 1.3: 6], looked like boys of five or six years old, the two guards thought they were naked children and denied them access. And so they full of anger cursed them: 'Oh, you two unworthy souls, residing at the feet of the Slayer of Madhu it is most sinful not to be free from passion and ignorance and therefore, oh fools, you will soon hereafter be born from the womb of an unenlightened mother [see 3.17].' Thus being cursed to fall down from their abode the merciful sages also said to them: 'May it be so that after three births you turn back to your abode.'

The two were thereafter born as the sons of Diti and by the Daityas and Danavas honoured as Hiranyakas'ipu, the older brother and Hiranyaksha, the younger one. Hiranyakas'ipu was killed by the Lord appearing in the form of a lion [Lord Nrisimhadeva] and Hiranyaksha was killed by Him when He in the form of a boar had appeared to uplift the world [Lord Varaha, see 3.18-19]. Hiranyakas'ipu desirous to kill his son Prahlada, the beloved devotee of Kes'ava, tried different ways of torture to cause his death. But since his son protected by the power of the Supreme Lord [was focussed on] Him, the Soul in all living beings who is peaceful and equal towards all, he with all the might he displayed could not kill him. Next the two demons with the names of Ravana and Kumbhakarna took their birth from Kes'ini as the sons of Vis'rava and caused a lot of trouble to all the people. In order to relieve the two of the curse, thereupon Ramacandra manifested Himself and killed them. You will hear about the exploits of Rama [see 9: 10 & 11] from the mouth of Markandeya, my best. In their third birth the two were born in this world as kshatriya sons [as Shishupala and Dantavakra] to your aunt. They are now freed from the curse by Krishna who destroyed their sins with His cakra. The gate keepers of Vishnu by meditating in a bond of intense hatred managed to get near to Hari again and found absorption in the essence of the infallible Lord.'

Shri Yudhishthhira said: 'How could there [with Hiranyakas'ipu] be such a hatred for that great soul, his own son? Please tell me, oh supreme sage, how Prahlada managed to develop such an attachment to Acyuta [the Infallible Lord].'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 2:

Hiranyakas'ipu, the King of the Demons, on Bereavement

Shri Narada said: 'When the brother [Hiranyaksha] as said was killed by the Lord in the form of a boar [see 3.18-19], Hiranyakas'ipu got very sad and angry oh King. Enraged biting his lips because of this, he with his eyes fuming of anger stared into the grey sky and then spoke. He with his terrible teeth and fierce look ghastly to behold, raised his trident in an assembly of Danavas and said with a grimace the following: - 'Oh Danavas and Daityas, Dvimurdha ['the two-headed one'], Tryaksha ['the three-eyed one'] Shambara and Shatabahu ['the hundred-armed one']; oh Hayagriva ['the horsehead'], Namuci, Paka, Ilvala and Vipracitti! Puloma, Shakuna and all others, listen to what I have to tell you and may you thereafter all quickly act to it without delay. My so very dear brother and well-wisher was, while those insignificant enemies, the theists who are of worship, conspired behind his back, killed by Hari who was supposed to treat us all equally. - He [not being equal] has forsaken His love for us and is now, abominably in maya behaving like a wild beast. Like a child He unsteadily changes from this to that form according to the desire of His worshiping devotees. With my trident I will cut His neck and make Him swim in blood so that I can find my peace in satisfying him [Hiranyaksha,] who was so fond of drinking it. When He, [Vishnu] that most deceitful enemy of all is finished, the same will happen to those guys of God whose life belongs to Vishnu, just like it is with the drying up of the branches and leaves of a tree that is cut by its roots. All of you meanwhile go to that world so neatly kept in order by the priests and politicians and see to the destruction of all those repenting and sacrificing bookworms who are of vow and charity. Lord Vishnu roots in their sacrificial activities. He is that person full of religious principles who exhaustingly being worshiped by the twice-born ones is the man of dharma, the one who is the shelter of these gods and sages, forefathers and all the rest. Wherever the twice-born ones keep their cows, study their Vedas and are busy with their varnashrama ado, set all those towns afire and cut down all their trees.'

Proving him their respects they took the instructions of their master on their heads and terrorised, as experts in destruction, all the people. The cities and villages, pasturing grounds, orchards and gardens, fields, forests, hermitages and mines, farms, mountain places, cowherd camps and also the capitals, they all burned down. Some of them set the dwellings ablaze with firebrands and others demolished with picks the bridges, surrounding walls and the city gates while another group took axes to destroy the source of livelihood by cutting down the fruit trees. When the people thus time and again were disturbed by the followers of the king of the Daityas, the God-fearing ones gave up their heavenly positions and wandered all over the earth not to be visible to the demons. Hiranyakas'ipu, very distressed about the loss of his brother, performed the obsequies and pacified his nephews. 8-1 Shakuni, Shambara, Dhrishthi, Bhutasantapana, Vrika, Kalanabha, Mahanabha, Haris'mas'ru and Utkaca as also their mother Rushabhanu and Diti, his own mother, he as a well adapted person addressed in sweet words saying this, oh ruler of man.

Hiranyakas'ipu said: 'Oh mother, oh mother; oh sister in law and nephews, you should not lament about our hero who facing the enemy chose for the glory of a hero's death. Just like travelers who amassing at a road house thereafter resume their course, oh sweet mother, the ways of living beings, who by providence in this world were brought together in one place [in a family, a country or religion], part again according to each his karma. The eternal inexhaustible soul, free from the tinge of matter, is capable of going anywhere. Knowing all and being transcendental that soul takes up the self of a body that under the influence of the material world demonstrates various qualities [see B.G. 13: 22]. Just as being reflected in water the trees may appear to be moving, one can also with moving one's head [one's 'eyes'] have the illusion that the world is moving around. So too the unchangeable living

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being is confused by the mind he has with the qualities of matter, oh mother of mine, which leads to it that he despite his formlessness starts to believe in a physical form. 5-2 This soul confounded about his formless existence, falls in love with the body and thus knows loved ones and enemies, allies and strangers in his karma with the material affair. Departing from being born and dying he laments in different ways and has all kinds of worries, is uncertain about what the scriptures say and forgetful about proper discrimination. In this context one often recites an ancient story about Yamaraja in discussion with the friends of someone who died. Listen closely. Once in Us'inara there was a famous king known as Suyajna who was killed by his enemies in a war. His kinsmen sat around him. 9-3 With his jeweled armor scattered here and there and his ornaments and garlands fallen down, he was lying there in his blood pierced by an arrow through his heart. With his hair loose and his eyes obscured, he had his lips bitten in anger, his lotus face covered by dust and his arms and weapons cut off lying on the battlefield. When the queens ascertained that the master of Us'inara thus was treated by providence, they had their eyes full of tears and pounded their breast constantly with their hands while they fallen down at his feet repeatedly cried 'oh husband!' Wailing loudly about their beloved husband they moistened the lotus feet with their tears that were red because of the kunkum of their breasts. With their ornaments and hair loosened they for everyone heart-rending lamented, sobbing pitiably:

'Alas by merciless providence, oh Lord of us, you, oh beloved one, have been taken beyond the range of our sight. You used to provide the livelihood of the state and the inhabitants of Us'inara, but now that you have departed you are the cause of an increasing lamentation. You were such a grateful husband for us, oh King, how can we all following you live without you? You who are our best friend, please tell us whereto those who served your lotus feet, have to follow you, now you left us.' The queens thus lamenting had taken the dead husband on their lap, not wishing that the corpse would be cremated. Meanwhile the sun was setting in the west. Hearing the kith and kin of the ruler crying that loudly, Yamaraja personally appeared in the form of a boy and spoke to them.

Shri Yamaraja said: 'Alas how can you people older than me who saw the law of nature ruling every day of your lives, be of this bewilderment? Don you not understand that you yourselves will return to the same nature where this man returned to? Yet you meaninglessly weep [compare B.G. 2: 28]! Oh we are most fortunate because we, presently abandoned by our father and mother, weak as we are have not been eaten by the wolves! So why worry knowing that He who protected us in the womb will also protect us later on? Oh poor women, the Supreme Controller by the exercise of His will creates all of this without ever changing Himself and it is He who next to that also maintains and destroys. One says that all that moves and does not move belongs to the game of the Lord who is always fully entitled to maintain something or someone or put an end to it all. Something lost in the street can, protected by destiny, be preserved, while something kept at home, can be fated to be lost. Despite being unprotected one under His protection may remain alive whether one is at home or in the forest, but this one here being struck down, well protected as he was, did not survive. Any embodied soul has his own type of birth according to his karma and also disappears in due course of time because of [this finite] karma. But all of this does not apply to the soul despite the fact that he, being situated within this material world, in various forms is bound to her different modes. He is completely different [see also B.G. 2: 20]. This body of the person that with fire, water and earth out of ignorance was born, undergoes changes and is vanquished again, is just as separate from him as the material of a house is separate from its indweller. The fire in wood can be observed separately, just as the air within the body and the [time-effect of the] all pervading ether that does not mix with anything. The same way the living entity can be separately considered as transcendental to its material encasement of involvement with the modes. [The body of] this man [called] Suyajna is there right in front of you and you, oh foolish people, now cry for him. But he who heard and spoke with that body in this world, you have never seen! The great ruler of the body, the life air, is despite residing within this body not the listener, nor the speaker. It is the soul and he differs from the life air that is locked up in the body with all its sense organs. That what expands and manifests, this might, this powerful soul, obtains and forsakes high and low-class bodies that are characterised by the five elements, the senses and a mind. In that engagement he [this power of the self in the form of the so-called linga, the subtle body] differs from the form he assumes by dint of his moral quality [see also 4.29]. One is bound to karma for as long as one is covered by the subtle body [consisting of mind, intelligence and false ego]. From that karmic bondage there is the reversal [from being controlled by the spirit soul to being controlled by the body] and the misery which follows that illusory unification [B.G. 8: 6]. Just like everything produced by the senses with what one sees in a daydream is false and offers no firm ground, it is equally useless to cling to the dream of [the happiness and distress derived from] the material qualities of nature. They who understand that, for that reason do not complain about that what is permanent and that what is transient in this world. Or else they could, as you'll understand, not tackle the habits of those who do make their complaints [see also B.G. 2: 11]. Some hunter who was assigned the task to decimate the number of birds in the forest, spread a net and luring the birds here and there with food then caught them. When he saw a pair of kulinga birds foraging in the forest, the hunter quickly managed to lure the female bird of the two. Oh queens, the male seeing how the female bird in the grip of time was caught in the ropes of the net, very upset did not know what to do next so that the poor thing emotionally started to wail about its mate: 'Alas what a cruel fate for my wife who was so kind to me! What can I do for the poor one crying for me, her poor lordship? Let the Lord also take my life. What is the use of the life of the single half of my body? What kind of miserable existence is it to suffer that pain for a lifetime! How unfortunate are my babies waiting for their mother in their nest. How can I without the mother maintain the young that cannot fly yet?' While the bird thus with wet eyes most sad at a distance lamented over the loss of his beloved, the bird-catcher as a messenger of time managed to sneak up on him and take his life by piercing him with an arrow.

And so it is with you, oh ignorant ladies. You do not see the finality of your existence! Lamenting over your husband will not bring him back, not even in a hundred years.'

Shri Hiranyakas'ipu said: 'The boy thus having spoken, astounded the hearts of all the relatives. They understood that everything material was just a temporary, false appearance [see also B.G. 2: 18]. After Yamaraja in this form had given instruction he disappeared. Thereupon the relatives of King Suyajna performed the duties for the funeral. Therefore do not lament about yourself or anyone else. In this material world one only lacking in knowledge is obsessed with the meaning of this 'mine' and thine' of one's self-interest and the interest of others. For who is that actually, that soul of you and of the others?'

Shri Narada said: 'Diti and her daughter-in-law [Rushabhanu,] hearing the speech of the king of the Daityas promptly gave up their grief over their son and husband and submitted their minds to the true knowledge of life.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 3:
Hiranyakas'ipu's Plan to Become Immortal

Shri Narada said: 'Hiranyakas'ipu, oh King, desired to become unconquerable, free from old age and immortal, the one and only king with no rivals or opponents. In a valley near Mandara Hill he performed a most difficult austerity in which he staring into the sky raised his arms upwards and with the big toes of his feet stood on the ground. Emanating from the hair on his head there was a light as bright as a supernova that by its beams made all the gods doing penance turn back to their home bases. The fire that generated by his severe penance together with smoke spread sidewards, upwards and downwards, heated all the worlds. The rivers and oceans were in turmoil, the islands, the mountains and the earth shook and the stars with their planets fell, while all the ten directions were ablaze. Scorched by it the demigods gave up their residences and went to Lord Brahma's place to tell their leader: 'Oh Master of the Universe, because of the penance of the daitya king we are all afflicted and no longer capable of keeping our positions in heaven. Please, could you mind to do something and put an end to this, oh Lord of the whole world, before everyone who offers you worship, oh chief of all is lost. Just consider what he [Hiranyakas'ipu] has in mind performing that most difficult penance. You of course know everything about it - but nevertheless we would like to submit it to you. -1 [This is what he thinks:] 'Lord Brahma, who by his austerity absorbed in yoga created the moving and unmoving living beings [see 3.8], has his throne in all the worlds high and low. I, by dint of an even more severe penance [than his] being absorbed in yoga, will from the eternality of time and the soul, achieve the same for myself. By my strength I will turn this world upside down and tackle everything that must change in a different way than before. What is the use of all other practices? At the end of a day of creation all the worlds of Vishnu will be vanquished by time anyway!' We discovered that he in his severe penance is of this resolve. Can you please according to your own judgement take the necessary measures oh master of the three worlds? It belongs to your position as the supreme master in the universe to improve the welfare, happiness, opulence and victory of the twice-born ones and the cows.'

Thus being informed by the godly ones, the most powerful person, he who was born on the lotus, oh King, accompanied by Bhrigu, Daksha and others went to the place of penance of the daitya lord. 5-1 Covered by an anthill, grass and bamboo and with his fat, skin, flesh and blood eaten away by the ants, he could not be spotted any longer, but he who rides the swan smiled with wonder when he saw how he, like a sun covered by clouds, heated all the worlds by his penance. Shri Brahma said: 'Please appear, show yourself, oh son of Kasyapa! All good fortune to you who are so perfectly of penance. I, the granter of boons have arrived. Let your wish be my blessing for you. I have personally witnessed the great power you are carrying and how wonderful it is that someone whose body is eaten away by worms and ants can manage to keep his life air confined to his bones. Nothing like it was performed by the sages before you, nor will anyone else do so hereafter. Who can sustain his life-air for a hundred celestial years [36.000 years] without taking a drop of water? Oh son of Diti, by your resolve to be of this penance that even for the greatest saints is very hard to perform, you have conquered me. Therefore I will grant all your wishes oh best of the Asuras. When someone who is destined to die meets an immortal person like me, that will certainly not be fruitless.'

Shri Narada said: 'Having said this, the original godhead and first living being of the universe sprinkled divine, all-potent effective water from his kamandalu [waterpot] over the body that was eaten by the ants. From his anthill with its bamboos he thereby was fully restored to the full capacity of his mind, senses and strength. Like fire springing from fire wood, he arose with a fully endowed young body as strong as a thunderbolt that had a luster of molten gold. When he saw the god right in front of him in the sky upon his swan carrier he, very pleased by that encounter, with his head bending over offered his obeisances [compare B.G. 9: 23-24 and 2.3: 10]. Rising to his feet before his own eyes seeing the Almighty One he, overwhelmed by jubilation, with tears in his eyes and his hair standing on end, with folded hands and a faltering voice, humbly began to pray. 6-2 Shri Hiranyakas'ipu said: 'At the end of a day of creation when he [Lord Brahma] under the influence of time is covered by the dense darkness of ignorance, this cosmic creation manifests [again] by the light of the rays emanating from his body. This world endowed with the three modes of rajas, sattva and tamas [passion, goodness and ignorance], is by him created, maintained and annihilated. That transcendental and supreme Lord I offer my respectful obeisances. The original living being, the seed of creation, knowledge and wisdom, him, the deity of the life force, the senses, the mind and the intelligence who by his passion realised this manifestation, I offer my reverential homage. You, operating through the life force, constitute the factual control of the moving and immobile creatures. You are the origin of all activities and the mastermind and source of insight of all living beings. You are the great Lord of the knowing and acting senses, the controller of the material elements, their qualities and the mind thereabout [compare B.G. 7: 7]. By means of your body in the form of the three Vedas you promote the seven kinds of rituals [beginning from the agnishthoma-yajna] of the four kinds of priests [known as hota, adhvaryu, brahma and udgata] and the knowledge required. You are the one soul without a beginning and an end of all living entities, the supreme inspirator and the True Self within. You not affected by anything are [the personification of] the ever vigilant Time that by each of its segments reduces the duration of life of all beings. You are of this material world the essential cause of life, the Great Self and Supreme Controller who was never born. Nothing exists separate from you, whether it is higher evolved or just lower, moves around or does not move. [Vedic] knowledge in all its divisions makes up the diversity of your body. You are the one golden principle of life [called hiranya-garbha] who transcendental to the three modes are greater than the greatest. Oh Almighty One, invisibly situated in your supreme abode you as the one soul and oldest person manifested the externality of this cosmic manifestation by which you enjoy the senses, life air, mind and qualities [you endowed us with]. I offer my obeisances to you, that Supreme Lord who endowed with spiritual ànd material potency expanded to the unlimited, unimaginable form of this totality.

If you are willing to grant the boon that I desire, oh my Lord, oh best of all benefactors, then make it so that I will not die because of any of the living beings created by you. Neither at home nor outside, neither during the day nor at night, neither from any known weapon nor by any other thing, neither on the ground or in the sky nor by any human being or animal I may die. 7-3 Neither lifeless things nor living entities, neither demigod or demon nor the great serpents may kill me. I must have no rivals, have the supremacy in battle and the rule over all embodied souls including the deities of all planets. My glory must equal yours and never may the powers I acquired by yogic penance be defeated.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 4:
Hiranyakas'ipu Terrorizes the Universe

Shri Narada said: 'Thus being solicited Lord Brahma who sees everywhere, pleased about Hiranyakas'ipu's austerities then granted him the benedictions that are so hard to obtain. Lord Brahma said: 'My son, even though these boons you asked for are difficult to obtain for men, I will grant them to you my best.'

Thereupon the mighty Lord whose grace is faultless departed, he who was worshiped by the most exalted Asura as the Almighty One praised by all rulers of mankind. The

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Daitya who thus had obtained his desired boon and acquired a body with a golden luster, constantly thinking about the brother killed by the Lord, maintained a feeling of hatred towards Him. - He, the greatest Asura, conquering all the three worlds in all directions, brought the masters of all places under his control: god, demon and man; the kings, the musicians of heaven and the birds [the Garudas]; the serpents, the perfected ones and the bards; the scientists, the seers and the leading manes; the fathers of mankind, the treasure keepers and the wild men; the goblins, the evil spirits and the ghosts. He as the conqueror of the world usurped the power of rule of all authorities everywhere. He, in the paradise of the gods situated with the riches of all opulence, thus lived in the highest world. Living in the palace of the king of heaven as created by Vis'vakarma the great asura architect, he, in control of all the wealth of the entire universe, from that abode of Lakshmi dominated the three worlds. -1 The steps there were made of coral, the floors of emerald, the walls of crystal and the rows of pillars were made of vaidurya [cat's eye] stone. One also found there the most wonderful canopies and seats bedecked with rubies and bedding with pearls on its borders that was as white as the foam of milk. In the quarters adorned with jewels and gems celestial ladies with nice teeth showed their beautiful faces, left and right making sweet sounds with their tinkling ankle bells. In that royal residence ruling most severely with the greatest might and mind, the dictator controlling everyone, enjoyed it to be worshiped by the tormented, God-fearing entourage at his feet. He, oh best one, the embodiment of all austerity, yoga, strength and good sense, who by anyone but the three principal deities, with all glory was honoured with presentations from the hands of all important men, was engaged this way while being intoxicated by strong scented wines that made his eyes roll red as copper. With all his power occupying the seat of Indra, he was glorified by Vis'vavasu, Tumburu [the greatest Gandharvas] and by me oh son of Pandu. Again and again all the singers and girls of heaven, the perfected ones, the saints and those who base themselves on knowledge offered their prayers to him. Thus with gifts in abundance being worshiped by all classes and age groups, he in the exercise of his power reserved every share of the oblations for himself alone. Mother earth as the cow of plenty yielded under his rule on all her seven continents spontaneously crops in a great abundance, while all the wonders of the universe could be observed in the sky. The seas and oceans of salt and sweet water, wine, ghee, cane juice, yogurt and milk, and also their wives the rivers, carried all kinds of precious stones in their waves. The valleys between the mountains and hills were his pleasure grounds that offered all the wealth of plant and tree throughout all the seasons. He alone stood for all the different qualities of all the ruling gods of nature. Despite having conquered all directions as the one and only ruler with the right to exhaustingly enjoy all thinkable pleasures, he was not at peace with it, for he had lost the control over his senses. Being cursed by the brahmins [the Kumaras] he was intoxicated by great pride over the opulence he had acquired, so that a long period passed of living in offense with the scriptures [see also B.G. 16: 23-24].

Because of his painful rebukes there was no safe place for all the disturbed worlds and their leaders and thus they approached the Infallible One to seek shelter with Him [compare B.G. 5: 29]. 2-2 They prayed thereto: 'We offer our obeisances in the direction where the Supersoul of Hari, the Supreme Lord is found and from where the peaceful and pure souls of the renounced order never return.' With their minds under control being wakeful and feeding on air only, they in their worship of the Master of the Senses thus steadied and purified their intelligence.

Then, a loud voice without a form resounded like thunder in all directions, that drove away the fear of the saintly ones: 'Do not fear, oh best souls of learning, I wish you all the best. From having my vision the living beings may attain all good fortune. The nefarious activities of this great demon are known to Me and I shall put an end to them. Just wait and see. When one is hostile towards the gods, the Vedas, the cows, the brahmins, the saints, the regulative principles and towards Me, one will soon perish. As soon as he [Hiranyakas'ipu] is of violence against his peace-loving son, that great soul Prahlada who has no enemies, I shall kill him, irrespective the blessings he received [from Lord Brahma, see also 3.25: 21].'

Shri Narada said: 'Thus being addressed by the spiritual master of all living beings, the godly ones offered Him their obeisances and turned back to their places. They being relieved of all their anxieties considered the demon as good as dead. The daitya king fathered four most qualified sons of whom the one named Prahlada was the best one endowed with all the qualities of a great devotee.

He, as a good brahmin being of full control over the senses and the mind, was firmly established in the Absolute Truth and was, alike the Supersoul, the beloved, best friend of all living beings. He sat down at the feet of the great ones like a servant, like a father he took care of the poor, he was like a brother to his equals and always kind to the spiritual masters whom he esteemed as the Supreme Controller Himself. He was of education, purpose, beauty, nobility and completely free from arrogance and impudence [compare B.G. 12: 13-19 and B.G. 18: 42]. Even though he was born from an Asura he was not of a demoniac nature. In the midst of danger he was of an unperturbed consciousness and he had no desire whatsoever to talk about or be concerned with temporary matters. Material qualities he considered insubstantial and by controlling his senses, life air, body and mind he quieted his lusts. His qualities are, like the ones of the Supreme Lord our Controller, unabated to this very day defended by the scholars, oh King. In gatherings of saintly people the enemies [of the demons] discuss these characteristics using him as an example. When even the wise and learned ones do this, oh King, then why should you not do so or anyone else? One runs out of words when one tries to enumerate the countless qualities of him who owes his greatness to his natural attraction for Vasudeva, the Supreme Personality of Godhead. As a small boy he, in his full absorption in the attraction of Krishna, refrained from playing and seemed to be absentminded, having no understanding for worldly matters. As he sat and walked, ate and lay down, drank and talked he, embraced by Govinda, was impervious to all of it. Sometimes worrying about [not being in] Vaikunthha he cried, sometimes he laughed about a twist of mind and sometimes he chanted aloud in great jubilation thinking of Him. Sometimes he, being overwhelmed, loudly exclaimed [His name], sometimes he danced without shame and sometimes he, lost in thoughts about Him and projecting himself into His position, imitated Him. Then again he with his hair standing on end and with tears in his half-closed eyes, fell completely silent, rapt with joy in being caught in the loving association of His transcendental bliss. He by his constant service at the lotus feet that are glorified in the hymns, attained the highest ecstasy by the evolution of his association of indifference about the material world. Continually he from the spiritual soul that way brought peace to all those who lacked in spirit and association. Unto him, that exalted and most fortunate, broad-minded devotee who was his own son, oh King, Hiranyakas'ipu committed the greatest sin.'

Shri Yudhishthhira said: 'Oh devarishi, we would like to know from you the following: why did the father make his own pure and exalted son suffer? Sons going against the will of their fathers are lovingly reprimanded. But for teaching them a lesson they cannot be punished like an enemy, is it not? Please oh brahmin, what to say about this father who so mean to the point of death hated his own obedient son? Please drive away the doubts we have, for he was a great devotee of the sort who honours his father as his guru, oh master.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 5:

Prahlada Maharaja, the Saintly Son of Hiranyakas'ipu

Shri Narada said: 'The powerful sage Shukracarya ['the teacher of purity'], who by the Asuras was chosen to serve as their priest, had two sons named Shanda and Amarka who lived near the residence of the daitya king. The king sent the boy Prahlada, who was skilled in reasoning, to them in order to be instructed in different subjects of knowledge, together with other asura children. Hearing and repeating what the teachers all said there he considered it a bad way of thinking because it was based upon the notion of foes and allies. One day the asura ruler placed his son on his lap, oh son of Pandu, and asked: 'Now tell me my son, what do you think yourself would be the best?'

Shri Prahlada ['the joy of understanding'] said: 'Fine, oh King of the Asuras, I think that every embodied soul always has a mind full of worries because he thus is imprisoned in the material world. When one wants to get rid of that covering of the soul, that worldly concern which is nothing but a blind well, one better heads for the forest and seeks refuge with the Lord.'

Shri Narada said: 'When the Daitya heard how his son in full possession of his faculties with these words sided with the enemy, he laughed about the intelligence of the small boy and assumed he was misinformed: 'This boy will be better off in school where his mind is free from the influence of brahmins in favor of Vishnu who [possibly] dress up differently.'

Taken back to school, the daitya priests called for Prahlada and questioned him, while comforting him with a soft voice and pleasant words. 'Dear child, Prahlada, we wish you all the best, tell us the truth and do not lie. What has given you this wrong way of thinking we do not find with the other children? Tell us, did this opposing vision originate from evildoers or was it something of yourself? We, your teachers are eager to hear about this, oh best one of the family.'

Shri Prahlada said: 'This reasoning about others in terms of foes and allies is something that belongs to people adhering to a material conception of life. Such people, reasoning from what they can see, are bewildered about the external affair that is created by Him, the Supreme Lord whom I prove my respect [see also B.G. 5: 18]. When a person is devoted to Him, the animal notion of this time bound way of discriminating between the 'I' of someone else and the 'I' of himself is destroyed. For those whose intelligence and service was spoiled by this notion of friends and foes, it is most difficult to be of devotional service to Him, the Supersoul. Even others who are spiritual and follow the Vedic path, are confounded about how to serve Him who has transformed my intelligence. Oh brahmins, just like iron all by itself moves in the direction of a magnet, my consciousness spontaneously separated itself from [that of the other boys] because of the cakra in His hand [the natural order of Time, see e.g. 5.14: 29].'

Shri Narada said: 'After saying all this to the brahmins the great mind fell silent and was harshly chastised by the servants of the king who, considering it obnoxious, were very angry: 'Oh get me a stick for him, this cinder of the dynasty who with his corrupted intelligence is discrediting us. This calls for the solution of the fourth diplomatic option of the danda [the rod, after sama, pacification; dana, legally settled charity; and bheda, dividing posts]. In the sandalwood forest of the Daityas this boy was born as a thorn tree that serves as a handle to the ax of Vishnu for cutting us by the roots!'

Thus in different ways threatening him with punishments and such, they taught Prahlada what the scriptures said about the [first] three goals of life [the purusarthas of dharma, artha and kama]. After his teachers were convinced that he knew all there was to be known about the four principles of diplomacy he, being bathed and nicely decorated by his mother, was taken to the daitya ruler. The boy fallen at his feet was encouraged with blessings by the Asura who derived great joy from closing him for a long time in his two arms. Putting him on his lap he smelled his head and wetted him with the water of his tears. Then he with a smile on his face said the following, oh Yudhishthhira.

Hiranyakas'ipu said. 'Now tell me Prahlada, my son, what you, well taught as you are, oh love of my life, consider the best of all that you all this time have learned from your teachers.'

Shri Prahlada said: 'To listen, to sing, to remember Vishnu, to attend to the feet, to offer worship and prayers, to become a servant, to be a friend and to surrender one's heart and soul. These are the nine characteristics of the devotional service to Vishnu delivered by the devotee. This is the way one should relate to the Supreme Personality. That I consider the best that one can learn.'

When Hiranyakas'ipu heard his son say this he, with lips trembling of anger, told the son of the guru [who was Prahlada's teacher] the following: 'You fake brahmin! You fool! What is this? Are you siding with the enemy now, so mischievously teaching this nonsense without properly taking care of my boy? This just demonstrates how many cheaters there are in this world falsely dressing up as friends. But in due course of time one can see how sin manifests itself, just like a disease does with people with a wrong lifestyle.'

The son of the guru said: 'This what your son says is not what we taught him, nor has anyone else taught him that oh enemy of Indra. This is his natural inclination, oh King. Do not be angry with us, do not put the blame on us.'

Shri Narada said: 'After thus being answered by the teacher the Asura addressed his son for the second time: 'If you have not heard it from the mouth of your teacher, you wretch, then from where came this bad notion?'

Shri Prahlada said: 'Persons swearing by a worldly existence develop a life that leads to hell, because they fail in their sense control and repeatedly chew the chewed. They are never inclined toward Krishna [see B.G. 4: 4-5] because of what others tell them, out of their own understanding or by a combination of the two [see also B.G. 2: 44]. They who think to gain by the external world have in their difficult ambitions really no sense of life's purpose, Lord Vishnu. Even though they follow a lead they, just like blind men led by the blind obeying the dictates of material nature, are bound to the ropes of her strong power [of maya]. To vanquish the unwanted, - which is the purpose of all the great ones [the gurus and devotees] - is out of the reach of these people for as long as their consciousness is not in touch with the Feet of Renown, for as long as they do not accept the consecration by the rule [or dust] of the feet of those living [voluntarily] in poverty who are free from this bondage.'

Thus having spoken the son stopped. Hiranyakas'ipu blind with anger out of his mind, threw him from his lap on the floor. Overpowered by indignation he furiously with bloodshot eyes said: 'Men, oh sons of Nirriti [a demon], put an end to his life immediately, lead this boy away to be killed! This one here is the murderer of my brother, for he, this lowest one giving up his own well-wishers, is as a servant at the feet of Vishnu, of worship for Him who has killed his own uncle! And to Vishnu he is no good either with his five years of age and his faithless forsaking of the difficult to deny love of his parents. A child even being born from others constitutes a blessing as beneficial as a medicinal herb, but a son born from oneself who is of evil intentions should be cut off like a diseased limb. Because of being deleterious to the well-being of the body its removal can still make a happy life possible. By all means he must be killed who eating, lying down and sitting with us posed as a friend, but is as good an enemy to us as uncontrolled senses are to a sage.'

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9-4 The sons of Nirriti obeying the command of their leader then with their frightening teeth and faces, their red hairs, mustaches and the sharp tridents in their hands fearfully roared: 'Yeah, let us cut him to pieces!' and with their lances attacked the tender parts of Prahlada who sat there silently. But the same way as laudable actions have no effect when they are performed the wrong way, their attack had no effect upon him whose mind was absorbed in the Supreme Absolute of the Fortunate One, the Soul of Each who cannot be perceived by the senses. Oh Yudhishthhira, the daitya ruler alarmed upon seeing how the attempts failed, devised with determination a variety of ways to kill him. 3-4 He tried to crush him with an elephant, attack him with huge snakes, cast spells of doom, throw him from heights, to conjure tricks, imprison him, administer poison and subject him to starvation, cold, wind, fire and water and pile rocks upon him, but by none of these means the demon succeeded in putting his son, the sinless one, to death. With his prolonged efforts having no success he got very nervous.

[He thought:] 'With all these unholy expressions and diverse methods devised to kill him, with all these treacheries and abominations he found relief by his own strength! Despite being a child he is in control of matters and afraid of nothing. So close to me he, just like a mistreated dog, will always keep his tail curved, he will never forget my misconduct. His unlimited faith, his [apparent] immortality and his lack of fear for any of these hostilities, will definitely sooner or later be the cause of my death.'

Thus ruminating with his face downward he lost a great deal of his splendor. Shanda and Amarka, the two sons of Ushana [Shukracarya], then spoke to him in private. 'All the leaders of the three worlds who are dominated by you alone, tremble when you lift your eyebrows. You have nothing to fear from him, oh master. We do not understand why you should worry about the qualities and faults of this or that child. Just keep him bound by the ropes of Varuna until our guru Shukra returns, so that he does not flee out of fear. Assisted by people with more experience [like us] he will develop the intelligence when he gets older.'

This way being advised he took heed of what the sons of the spiritual master had told him and so it happened that Prahlada was instructed in the duties of the members of a royal household. Fulfilling religious duties, managing the economy and the regulation of desires was repeatedly in full explained to Prahlada who was humble and submissive, oh King [compare B.G. 14: 20 & 26]. [But again] what the teachers related to him about the three paths, this education he received from these people taking pleasure in the duality [of friends and foes], he did not consider good instruction at all [compare 6.3: 20-25]. When the teachers were busy with their own household duties the boys of his age there took the opportunity to take him aside. He then smilingly addressed them, in pleasing words telling them with great intelligence and learning how merciful it is to live a better life with God. 6-5 Oh great king, all the boys giving up their playthings out of respect for his words, then sat around him with their minds no longer corrupted by the instructions and actions of those [teachers] who took pleasure in the duality. To them who were freed the moment they fixed their hearts and eyes on him, he spoke compassionately as a real friend and a great example of an Asura in devotion.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 6:
Prahlada Instructs His Asura Schoolmates

Shri Prahlada said: 'Someone intelligent should in this rarely obtained human birth from early childhood on practice the dharma of devotional service unto the Lord [as described in 7.5: 23-24]; this life, even though temporary, is ruled by that purpose. Because He is the most kindhearted and beloved living being, the Master of the Soul, to approach the feet of Vishnu constitutes the path for the person to follow in this world [see also 3.25: 38 and B.G. 5: 29]. By divine ordinance sensual happiness, oh Daityas, is available everywhere to all embodied beings, just like the unhappiness one runs into without having asked for it. There is no need to endeavor for that [material happiness], one would only waste one's life because nothing is gained that way. [You see,] the lotus feet of Mukunda [the Lord of Liberation] constitute the ultimate goal of life [that brings lasting happiness]. A mindful person having a material life in a human body should therefore, for as long as he is still healthy and strong and not decrepit, go for the real benefit [of Mukunda]. Of the hundred years that he has for his life a person in service of his senses spends half his time uselessly by being drowned in darkness ignorantly passing the night with sleeping. In one's childhood one is naive and in one's teens one plays and thus twenty years pass and it takes another twenty years in which one, having aged, cannot engage because of being physically incapacitated. And the rest of your life you spend as a fool because you, in the grip of family matters, are bewildered by formidable lusts that can never be satisfied. What man can free himself when he attached to his household, being bound by the ropes of love misses the control over his senses [see 1.2: 6-7]? How can someone who thinks that making money is more important than living [in devotion and gratitude], forsake that acquiring for which a merchant, thief and public servant risks his dear life? 1-1 How can one give it up to associate privately with one's loving, pleasing and attractive wife? How can one refrain from one's love for the sons and daughters one enshrined in one's heart, from one's brothers and sisters and the care for one's needy parents? How can one be indifferent about household matters as nice furniture, a good income, pets and rows of servants and maids? By giving priority to the interest of the tongue and the genitals one fosters all kinds of desires that can never be fulfilled and thus one is engaged like a silkworm [that spins itself in its own cocoon]. How can such a massive illusion be forsaken? Constantly plagued by the threefold misery of life [as caused by nature, by others and himself, see 2.10: 8] he does not regret the pleasure he derives from his family, but being materially infatuated, the maintenance of his family shortens his life-span without him ever understanding what the real purpose of life would be. That purpose he lost. With a mind set on wealth he learned that it is wrong to cheat for the sake of money. Nevertheless he after having died, is tied to this material world [by Yamaraja sentenced to take another birth]. Without mastering his senses he with his insatiable lusts as a family man was guilty of theft after all [see also B.G. 16: 11-12]. Despite knowing this oh sons of Danu, someone taking care of his family does not find time for his self-realisation [and the realisation of the Supreme Self] as a consequence of which he, being estranged, gropes in the dark with a 'mine' and 'thine' conception of life like that of animals. 7-1 Nobody will ever, wherever or whenever, with a poor fund of knowledge excel in liberating himself. Because one, as a sexual plaything hankering after the gratification of one's lusts by that attachment founds complete families [put up with the same problem of darkness] you, my Daitya friends, in this respect have to keep yourselves far removed from seeking refuge with the demon of being addicted to sensual pleasures. One instead should approach Lord Narayana, the original godhead, who through the association of liberated souls chalks out the path of the liberation that you seek. It is not hard to satisfy the Infallible One, oh Asura sons, because He has established Himself everywhere in this world as the perfection of the self of all living beings [compare B.G. 14: 3-4]. 0-2 He is the One present within all beings high and low, beginning with the simplest plant life up to Lord Brahma. Within the single elements and all their transformations as also within the totality of the material energy, within the balanced state of the modes of nature as also within their perturbation, He is the one and only transcendental original source that is the Supreme Lord, the Controller who is free from decay Himself. Considering the original position of His inner presence and His outward personal manifestations, He is both the pervaded that can be described and the undifferentiated, all-pervading Supreme Transcendence that defies description. He is the changeless and undivided One [Consciousness] in the form of bliss and understanding; He is the Supreme Controller about whose unlimited opulence one is mistaken because He is hidden from view by the illusory energy that is ruled by the modes of material nature. Be therefore merciful towards all living entities. When you with a friendly attitude give up the Asura mentality [of friends opposing enemies] you will satisfy the Lord beyond the Senses [see also B.G. 12: 13-20]. With Him, the Eternal and Original One, being satisfied nothing is out of one's reach. Why would those who are thus of service in this world that is ruled by the modes, have to work for a sense of duty [regulating the lusts, the economy and the religion] that follows automatically [from this devotion]? Would we, having risen above the modes, be of desire when we are singing about His feet? The prescribed threefold of dharma, kama and artha, the knowledge of the soul, of the three Vedas, of the logic, of law and order and of the different professional identities, I all consider to be the [surface] truth of the lesson to be learned, but it is one's full surrender to the Supreme Friend that leads to the [deeper realisation of one's personal relationship with the] transcendental person [the svarupa, compare 1.2: 8]. This knowledge free from material contamination is most difficult to attain. It was explained to Narada by Lord Narayana, the friend of all men, for the sake of all souls who are exclusively of surrender to Him, the Supreme Lord. That understanding is possible for those who do not care [anymore] for material possessions and bathed their bodies in the dust of the lotus feet. I received this spiritual knowledge concerning the bhagavata dharma [of devotional service unto the Lord in nine aspects, see 7.5: 23-24] together with its practical application from Narada who does not care about a material life and only has eyes for the Lord.'

The Daitya sons said: 'Prahlada, you and we have no other teachers but the two sons of Shukracarya, they are the schoolmasters for us children. But you remaining in the palace could have such a difficult to acquire association with a great soul like Narada. Please dispel the doubts we have about this dear friend, so that we can believe you.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 7:
What Prahlada Learned in the Womb

Narada Muni said [to Yudhishthhira, see 7.1: 13]: 'Thus being requested by the Daitya sons he, the Asura who was a great devotee of the Lord, with a smile addressed them, remembering what I had told him. Shri Prahlada said: 'When our father left for Mandaracala to perform austerities, the godly ones made a great war effort in opposing the Danavas. The ones headed by Indra said: 'Luckily the sinner paining everyone, has now, like a serpent being eaten by the ants, been consumed by his own sins [so that we can defeat the Daityas. See 7.3: 15-16].' - When the Asura leaders heard how they by their great display of violence one after the other were killed, they fearfully fled in all directions. And none of them all in his great haste and desire to stay alive took any heed of his wife, children or wealth, home, relatives, animals or the articles of his household. In the rush of their victory the Suras then plundered the king's palace, during which Indra captured the queen, my mother.

The devarishi who happened to arrive there on the spot saw how she, being led away on the road, trembling with fear screamed like a kurari [an osprey]. He said: 'Oh King of the Suras, you should not lead this woman away, she is innocent, release her right away, oh greatest one of fortune, she is the chaste wife of someone else!'

Indra said: 'She carries the seed of this impossible Sura enemy in her womb, let her remain in our custody until she delivers. With that objective being realised I will release her.'

Narada said: 'This child is evidently sinless. He is [in fact] a very great saintly devotee, a powerful servant of the Eternal One. You will not cause his death.'

Thus addressing him, Indra released her out of respect for the words of the devarishi and out of respect for someone [like me] dear to the Eternal Personality. He devoutly circumambulated her and then returned to his heaven. The rishi thereafter took my mother to his ashrama reassuring her with the words: 'Stay here my child, until your husband arrives.' She, like he had said, thus lived with the devarishi with nothing to fear from any side for as long as the penance of the Daitya leader was not completed. For the welfare of the child that she expected the faithful woman in that place where she wanted to deliver, with great dedication rendered service unto Narada. The rishi mercifully instructed her and [through her] specifically me in both the principles of dharma of relating to the Lord and the pure spiritual knowledge [concerning the difference between soul and matter, compare 1.2: 7]. Because she is a woman and because it happened such a long time ago she has forgotten all this knowledge, but I, blessed by the sage, have not, the memory of it has not left me even to this day [see also B.G. 9: 32]. If you confide in my words that knowledge is also within your reach. Provided a firm faith the intelligence of the very best is there just as well for [even] women and small children as it is there for me [see also B.G. 18: 55]. One observes all the six conditions of the body beginning with birth, just like they are seen with the fruits of the Lord in the form of a tree [that come about, exist materially, grow, transform, dwindle and perish], but these changes do not apply to the soul [see also B.G. 2: 20]. 9-2 The soul is eternal, does not dwindle, is pure, is an individual, is the knower of the field and the original foundation, the unchanging, self-illumined, actual cause that pervades all, independently and immutably. By [contemplating] these twelve transcendental symptoms of the soul a conscious person is impelled to give up the false conception of 'I' and 'mine' originating from the illusion that is attached to everything that belongs to having a body [see also 6.4: 24]. Gold being locked up in stones is by the gold-diggers in different ways won in the gold mines and easily extracted by the experts. The experts concerning the difference between spirit and matter can the same way from within the fields constituted by organic bodies [see also B.G. 13: 1-4] with the help of spiritual processes extract the brahmin essence that is the goal. The teachers of example speak of eight types of material energy [B.G. 7: 4], three modes of nature and sixteen modifications [the senses of action and perception, the elements and the mind, see also 1.3: 1]. The individual living entity, the person, is the one element connecting all the others. The body that moves about or stands still combines all these [24] elements and is thus characterised by this duality [of spirit and matter]. Thus equipped one for the sake of [the authenticity of the] person has to say 'not this, not that' [neti neti]. That is the way to turn away from everything that is not the soul. Sober and thoughtful persons are of a mind that is purified on the basis of discriminating that connectedness within and independence from the material world that is ruled by creation, maintenance and destruction. The Original Person of Transcendence is He who oversees the movements of the intelligence in the waking state, the dream state, and deep sleep. One should ascertain the original position of the soul by [neti neti] turning away from the division [of the mind] that is produced by the different actions of the intelligence in touch with the three modes of material nature, just as one can notice the [presence of] air by its different odors. This constitutes the entrance [to the transcendental position]

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within this ocean of matter in which one is caught in the operating modes of material nature, the same way one is caught in a dream.

Therefore from the bottom of your heart you must burn the weeds of all karma of being conditioned by the modes of nature, in the yoga realizing the cessation of the stream of consciousness. Of the thousands of processes this method as offered by the bhagavata [the Lord, the pure devotee and the book] offers the process of yoga that once being followed quickly will bring about the love for the Lord, the Supreme Personality of Godhead [see also B.G. 18: 66, and the footnote]. 0-3 Properly wait upon a guru with faith and devotion, offer all that you acquired, be of association with the saintly and devoted ones and be of worship for the Lord. Have faith in the discourses about the Lord, sing about His qualities and activities, meditate on the feet and exercise respect in worship of the deities. Understanding that Hari, the Supreme Lord is situated in all living beings, one should be of the highest regard for all creatures and their needs. When one thus manages to subdue the six symptoms [of sensual weakness: lust, anger, greed, illusion, madness and jealousy] devotional service is rendered to the Lord, to Vasudeva, the Supreme Personality with whom one finds love. Hearing about the uncommon activities and great power of His exploits and His qualities as demonstrated by the pastimes of His different appearances, there will be horripilation, tears, a faltering voice and loud chanting, shouting and dancing because of the great jubilation associated with it. Like being haunted by a ghost there are sometimes laughs, exclamations, meditative moods, exercises of respect towards other living beings, prolonged heavy breathing and utterances like: 'Oh Lord, Master of the World, Narayana!' That way being absorbed in thoughts about the True Self one is free from shame. When one is immersed in thoughts of love about Him one is freed from all obstacles on one's path and harmonised in one's body and mind. This happens because the so very powerful seed of desire is burned by the exercise of bhakti. That is how one achieves Adhokshaja, the Lord Beyond the Senses [**]. When one constantly keeps in touch with Adhokshaja, the contaminated mind of an embodied being in this world is halted and the cycle of this material existence is ended. Those who are advanced know everything about that spiritual heaven of happiness. Be therefore, from the core of your heart, of devotional service to the Lord of Hearts residing in your heart [see also B.G. 18: 54].

And why would the worship of the Lord as the space [for others] in one's heart, be a problem, oh Asura sons? With Him always present there as the Soul to one's soul and the friend of all possible living beings, why would it be necessary to endeavor for ordinary sensual pleasures [compare 7.6: 19 and B.G. 9: 26]? Wealth, women, one's animals, children and all of that; houses, land, elephants, a treasury, luxury and all the money and that sense gratification is by the one whose lifespan is but short and inevitably has to die, lost in a second. What pleasure can one derive from such a temporary thing? Similarly the [higher] worlds that are achieved by great sacrifice are all perishable. However comfortable they might be, they are not flawless and therefore He whom one never heard or saw making a mistake, the Supreme Lord, is the one to be worshiped for one's self-realisation with the bhakti we talked about [see also B.G. 8: 16]. Because of the material knowledge in support of the many activities in which one is engaged in this world, one may consider oneself highly advanced, but time and again man achieves the inescapable result of the opposite [of having degraded for the sake of a material purpose]. The determination of the karmi [the achievement-oriented person] to be happy and to be free from misery out here, is an ambition that always leads to unhappiness because that desire obscures the [interest of the lasting] happiness that is the result of a more laconic attitude [concerning material outcomes]. For the purpose of obtaining the desired objects that he wants in his ambitions, the living being in this material world needs to be embodied. This perishable body embraces the soul, but serving other purposes [than lasting happiness] it is directed elsewhere. What can one say? One is ultimately separated from that upon which one based one's self-esteem: one's children, wife, home, wealth and all of that, the realm, the treasury, the elephant, the ministers and servants and the relatives. Of what value to the soul is all of this? These trivial matters concerning the perishable body, appear to be necessary, but they are useless for attaining the nectar ocean of eternal happiness.

Just ask yourselves oh Asura sons, of what interest it would be for someone to be embodied in this world and from the time of his conception in all stages of life suffer the consequences of his karma. Someone embodied engages in result-motivated actions with the body he acquired as a consequence of what he did in the past and because he performs these actions in ignorance he obtains yet another body. Therefore worship selflessly the Supreme Personality of Godhead, the Lord, the Soul of the soul who is free from desire and upon whom depends [the fulfillment of the desire to regulate] one's sensual pleasure, religion and income. The Lord and Master of all living beings is the beloved, original source of life who with the [five] elements of nature created all these individual souls as manifestations of His cosmic intelligence. Whether one is a god, a demon, a man, a ghost or a singer of heaven, all who render service to Mukunda's feet will find the fulfillment that we have found! 1-5 Being a perfect brahmin, a fine godly person or a saint, oh Asura descendants, will not suffice for pleasing Mukunda, nor will good conduct or vast learning. Neither will charity, austerity, worship, cleanliness nor vows suffice. The Lord is satisfied by unalloyed devotional service, the rest is pretentious display [see also B.G. 9: 30 and 1.2: 8]. Oh Danava sons, recognise Him, the Soul and Master of all living beings, everywhere in each and all as your self interest and then be of devotional service unto Him the Lord, the Supreme Personality of Godhead. Oh Daityas, the ghosts and demons, the women and the labourers, the cowherds, the birds, the animals and the sinners without any doubt all can arrive at and be part of the qualities of the Infallible One, of Acyuta [see also B.G. 4: 9]. The supreme self-interest of a person in this world is to see Govinda everywhere and to be of unalloyed devotional service unto Him [see also bhajan 1 and 2].'

*: To this there is also a significant verse in the Shvetas'vatara Upanishad 6.23:

yasya deve para bhaktir
yatha deve tatha gurau
tasyaite kathita hy arthah
prakas'ante mahatmanah

hunto those great souls who have implicit faith in both the Lord and the spiritual master, all the imports of Vedic knowledge are automatically revealed.'

**: Shrila Madhvacarya writes as follows:

tad-bhava-bhavah tad yatha svarupam bhaktih
kecid bhakta vinrityanti gayanti ca yathepsitam
kecit tushnim japanty eva kecit Shobhaya-karinah

'The ecstatic condition of devotional service was completely exhibited by Shri Caitanya Mahaprabhu, who sometimes danced, sometimes cried, sometimes sang, sometimes remained silent, and sometimes chanted the holy name of the Lord. That is perfect spiritual existence.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 8:
Lord Nrisimhadeva Slays the King of the Demons

Narada Muni said [to Yudhishthhira]: 'Having heard his explanations all the attending Daitya sons thereupon accepted his words because of their profundity and rejected what their teachers had taught them. When the two sons of the guru [Shukracarya's sons Shanda and Amarka] realised how the intelligence [of the boys] had gotten fixed on this one subject matter, they fearfully contacted the king to submit to him what was going on. - All over his body trembling with anger and with a mind determined to kill his son he rebuked Prahlada. With the harshest words he furiously with an angry face and crooked, wicked eyes approached him who did not deserve such a treatment at all. He [from his side] gentle and restrained, with his hands folded just stood there before his father who was hissing like a vicious snake trampled upon.

Hiranyakas'ipu said: 'Oh you impudent fool, you intriguer of the family, you outcaste, you obstinate one going against my rule, I will today send you to the abode of Yamaraja! When I am angry all inhabitants of the three worlds and their leaders tremble for me. By what power do you so fearlessly overstep my rule, you rascal?' [compare B.G. 9: 31].

Prahlada said: 'He is not only my strength but also yours, oh King and the strength of all other exalted and lower living beings. All who move around and do not move around, beginning with Lord Brahma, fall under His control. He, the supreme controller, the time factor, is Urukrama, the Lord of the Wide Steps [Vamana] who is that one strength of one's mind and life, the steadiness of one's physical power and senses. He, the True Self, is the Supreme Master of the three modes who by His different natural forces creates, maintains and withdraws again the entire universe. Please give up the Asura way. Be of an equal mind with the soul and create no enemies. Destroy only the enemy that is an uncontrolled mind. That approach constitutes the best method to worship the unlimited Lord. In the past there were plunderers who not in control with the six enemies [the mind and the five senses] stole away everything. Others saw themselves as conquerors of the ten directions. But where are with a saint who managed to defeat his senses and is of an equal regard for all living beings, those enemies to be found who are a product of one's own imagination?'

Shri Hiranyakas'ipu said: 'You apparently, with your unlimited pretenses, seek your own demise. You prove that people about to die talk gibberish, you pityful idiot. You unlucky soul, you talk of someone other than me who would be the controller of the universe, but where is He to be found? If He is omnipresent, then why do I not see Him in this pillar right in front of me [see also B.G. 7: 25]? Let that Lord you wished yourself as your protector protect you, now that I am going to sever your head from your trunk, now that I am going to put an end to someone talking such nonsense like you.'

Thus with a stream of abuses enraged chastising his son, that great devotee, Hiranyakas'ipu, rising from his throne and taking up his sword, with his fist struck hard against a column. At that very time from within the column a most fearful sound could be heard as if the covering of the universe cracked open. That sound dear King, reached as far as the place of the godly ones of Lord Brahma and made them believe that the destruction of their abodes was at hand. He who in his display of power wanted to kill his son, also heard the tumultuous sound one had never heard before and stood together with the assembly present amazed about the fact that one could not determine its origin. Thus all these men of power were caught in fear. To be true to the words that were spoken in defense of His omnipresence, of His pervading each and everything, one could see a most wonderful form of Him taking shape in a pillar in the middle of the assembly hall. It was neither an animal nor a man. The king, studying the phenomenon from all sides, saw how a living being emerged from the middle of the pillar. But not being able to ascertain whether it was an animal or a human being he said amazed: 'What kind of form is this? It is half man and half lion!'

As he was contemplating the miracle that took place in front of him, the extraordinary, most frightening form of Nrisimhadeva appeared. He had eyes glowing like molten gold and deadly teeth in a face extending into manes. Looking around with a dreadful frown He waved His tongue like a razor sharp sword. His ears stood motionless straight up and His nostrils and mouth were opened wide like mountain caves. His huge body was short and fat with a broad neck and a broad chest over a small waist. His body was covered with whitish hairs resembling the rays of the moon and hundreds of arms stretched in all directions were equipped with hard to challenge fatal nails who served as weapons next to His other personal weapons. Faced with that excellence the Daityas and Danavas fled away. 'I guess this is what the Lord so full of mystical potency is trying to do in order to get me killed, but what's the use?' so Hiranyakas'ipu murmured to himself and taking up his mace the Daitya threw himself forward like an elephant to attack the loudly roaring Lord Nrisimha. As invisible as an insect that has fallen into a fire, the Asura disappeared into the effulgence of Nrisimha. That was something not that astonishing at all that moment considering the fact that He with the effulgence of His goodness formerly had swallowed the darkness [of the entire creation]. The greatest of the demons reaching Lord Nrisimha thereupon furiously with great force exercising his prowess struck Him with his club, but the Lord, the Wielder of the Club, seised him just like the son of Tarkshya [Garuda] would capture a great snake. Oh son of Bharata, when He in order to play a game allowed the Asura to slip from His hands exactly the way Garuda sometimes deals with a snake, the godly ones of the different worlds who were driven from their positions, from behind the clouds considered that to be a bad turn of events. The demon thinking that He had let him go out of fear for his masculine display, after regaining his strength took up his sword and shield and with great force attacked Nrisimhadeva for the second time. When he with his moon spotted shield and sword fast as a hawk was maneuvering up and down so as not to offer any opportunity, the Lord made a very shrill, loud sound of laughter that was so frightening that he, with his eyes [shortly] closed [for it], was captured by the Greatest of all Speed. In protest he wrestling with his limbs tried to escape, but the Lord placed him whose skin could not even be cut by Indra's thunderbolt, at the entrance of the palace on His lap like he was a snake or mouse and pierced him with His nails as easy as Garuda pierces a poisonous viper. He with His most fearful eyes full of anger was difficult to behold. With His mouth wide open licking the edges with His tongue and with His mane and face smeared red with traces of blood, He wore the intestines like a garland around His neck and looked like a lion that just has killed an elephant. The heart He with His pointed nails had ripped out completely and thrown aside and the thousands of followers who with their raised weapons attended to their leader He all killed using His nails and the other weapons in His countless hands. Shaking His manes He scattered the clouds and with His glaring glance He outshone the luminaries. The waters and oceans struck by His breathing swirled in perturbation and afraid of His roar the elephants guarding the quarters [of the universe] cried. With Him tossing His hair the celestial chariots crowding in the sky slipped from their places, the earth shook under the heavy weight of His feet, His intolerable force moved the mountains and hills and His effulgence outshone everything else in all directions of the sky.

Thereafter sitting in the assembly hall on the highest seat of man with a most fearsome, terrible countenance, there was no one to challenge Him nor anyone to worship Him. But upon hearing how he, the Daitya who was the headache of the three worlds, in the battle had been killed by the Lord, there were exclamations of joy, blossoming faces and endless showers of flowers from the wives of the demigods. At that time there was an overcast formed by all the celestial chariots of the demigods desirous to attend. Drums and kettle drums were

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sounded and the greatest singers and angels of heaven sang and danced. 7-3 All the godly ones, Brahma, Indra and Shiva, the sages, the ancestors, the perfected ones, the scientific experts and the great serpents [great egos] assembled there. The founding fathers, the leaders of mankind, the residents of heaven and the best of the angels arrived there too, as did the venerable ones, the keepers of the wealth and the monkey-like oh my best one. Also the goblins came, the ones of superpower and they who were Vishnu's personal associates like Sunanda and Kumuda. With their hands folded before their heads to offer their obeisance each of them approached Him who had appeared as half a man, half a lion and now sat there on the throne displaying His effulgence.

Shri Brahma said: 'I bow down before You, oh Inscrutable One of unlimited powers. You with all Your might and prowess and the purity of Your actions stand for the creation, maintenance and destruction of the universe. While You in Your divine game [lila] perform by the modes, You never change Yourself.'

Lord Shiva said: 'The end of the yuga is the time suitable for You to kill in anger this insignificant demon; just protect his son, this bhakta of surrender next to You, oh caretaker of the devotees.'

Shri Indra said: 'Our share of the sacrifices was secured by Your Lordship protecting us, oh Supreme One. We have no words to describe how afflicted our lotus-like hearts were by the Daitya, our hearts that are really Your residence. Alas oh Lord, how insignificant is our world in the grip of Time, but for the sake of the devoted ones in Your service You have shed Your light so that they may find liberation from their bondage. What else but considering the visible world as unimportant would constitute their way, oh Nrisimhadeva?'

The sages [the Rishis] said: 'You are the shining example who taught us our austerity. By this power of Yours this world, oh Original Personality of Godhead, is created, [maintained] and reabsorbed. That penance was stolen by this unwise soul but is now, oh Shelter of the Needy, restored by the protection of Your embodiment.'

The ancestors [the Pitris] said: 'The demon who engaging with force enjoyed our Shraddha sacrifices that were offered by our sons and grandsons, he who even at the holy bathing places drank from our offerings of sesame water, by piercing the intestines of his belly with the nails of Your hand these offerings have reached their proper destination. He, the maintainer of the universal principles of religion who appeared as a man-lion, Him we offer our obeisances.

The ones of perfection [the Siddhas] said: 'This most uncivilised and dishonest person who stole away the joy of our perfection in yoga and with the power of his mysticism and penance was so proud of his wealth, has been torn apart by Your nails. We bow down before You oh Nrisimha.'

The scientific experts [the Vidyadharas] said: 'Our forms of knowledge that each are attained by a different way of concentrating, were pushed aside by this fool puffed up about his strength and prowess. He who in battle killed him like he was an animal, to Him who appeared as Nrisimha, we surrendered souls are ever obliged.'

The snake people [the Nagas] said: 'By piercing the chest of that greatest of all sinners who seised our jewels and beautiful women, You have done our wives a great favor. Let us offer You our obeisances.'

The original fathers [the Manus] said: 'We, the Manus are Your authorities but were disrespected by this son of Diti who broke with the moral ties for the establishment oh Lord. With You having killed this villain, oh Master, please tell us what we, Your eternal servants, can do for You.'

The founding fathers [the Prajapatis] said: 'We, the creators of the generations owe our lives to You, oh Supreme Controller and not to him who denied the living beings that we have put on this world a life. And now, by assuming the form of an incarnation of Your pure goodness, You for the well-being of the world have split open the chest of him who lies slain.'

The musicians of heaven [the Gandharvas] said: 'We, oh Lord are Your dancers and singers, Your performers, who were brought under the control of the power and strength of the one here who You reduced to this condition. Can anyone on the path of evil find happiness?'

The venerable souls [the Caranas] said: 'Oh Lord, Your lotus feet liberate from the need to start a new life. We duly seek shelter there because You have put an end to this Asura, this snake in the heart of all virtuous people.'

The keepers of the wealth [the Yakshas] said: 'We, serving You to Your pleasure belong to Your best followers. This son of Diti forced us to carry his palanquin but caused the sorrow [the poverty] of each and everyone. Thus we acknowledge You oh Lord Nrisimha, for You are the one who put him to death, oh twenty-fifth principle [that is the Time, see 3.26: 10-15].'

The monkey-like beings [the Kimpurushas] said: 'We are questionable humans, Kimpurushas but You are the Supreme Personality of Godhead, the Lord. And this bad person has been slain by You after having been condemned by the saintly ones [see also B.G. 4: 7-8].'

The king's bards [the Vaitalikas] said: 'We in great gatherings and arenas of sacrifice singing the glories of Your spotless reputation have achieved the greatest position of respect. This crooked character who subdued us oh Supreme Lord, has to our great fortune been killed by You, like he was a disease.'

The lower gods [the Kinnaras, those with a human head and an animal body, singers of heaven] said: 'Oh Lord, we the Kinnaras are Your faithful servants. Because of that son of Diti we had to perform in forced labour, but the sinner was by You destroyed, oh Nrisimhadeva, oh Master. Please be there as our happiness and welfare.'

The associates of Lord Vishnu said: 'Today we have seen You in a wondrous human-like form. You are our shelter and the happiness of all the worlds. This servant of the state, oh Lord, was cursed by the scholars [see 7.1: 36] and has therefore been killed. We consider that to be Your special grace.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 9:

Prahlada Propitiates Lord Nrisimhadeva with Prayers

Narada Muni said [to Yudhishthhira]: 'None of the Suras led by Brahma and Shiva, could step forward because He, boiling with anger, was most difficult to approach. The Goddess of Fortune personally by the demigods being urged to do so could, after seeing Him so huge and wonderful as no one had ever seen or heard before, not move in His direction because she was very afraid. Then Lord Brahma prompted Prahlada who stood close by: 'My dear son, can you please approach the Lord and propitiate Him? He is very angry because of what your father did.'

'Surely' he said and even though he was only a small boy oh King, the great devotee slowly, step by step, approached Him and prostrated himself with folded hands offering prayers. The godhead was by him, such a little boy fallen at His lotus feet, greatly moved and filled with mercy He raised His lotus hand, placed it on his head and dispelled the fear for the snake of time from all minds [present there]. Because of that touch he was cleansed from all evil. And immediately in this association with the Supersoul, with His lotus feet, his heart melted being captured in bliss. With Him in his heart tears welled in his eyes and symptoms of ecstasy manifested all over his body. One-pointed of mind being greatly concentrated and with an out of love faltering voice, he in the full surrender of his heart and mind began to offer prayers to the Lord.

Shri Prahlada said: 'All the Suras headed by Brahma, all the saints and others perfect in the mode of goodness, being one-pointed in their determination were despite their qualities as yet not able to please You with their streams of words. How can it be that He, this Lord, would be pleased with my words? I was born an Asura. I think that riches, a good birth, a nice body, penance, Vedic knowledge, prowess, energy, influence, strength, diligence, intelligence and mystical power will not satisfy at all. The spirit is pleased by bhakti, just like the Supreme Lord was pleased by Gajendra [the elephant]. A scholar who endowed with these twelve characteristics [see also*] does not care about the lotus feet of Him from whose navel the lotus sprouted, I consider not as blessed as a man of low birth who dedicates his mind, words, wealth, life and everything he does to Him. For he purifies his family, community or even his entire race that way, unlike someone who is too much of the mind. Whatever the respect an ignorant person pays to the innerly always satisfied Supreme Lord, is by Him gracefully accepted not so much for His own benefit, as for the benefit of the devoted person in question, just as the reflection in a mirror is there for the glory of one's own face. I will therefore free from that notion of being unfit in full surrender to the Lord, to the best of my ability and insight, focus on His glory, however low-born I am. When one in ignorance has entered this world, the best way to find purification is to describe and sing His glory [see also B.G. 18: 55]. All the ones who follow Your instructions like Brahma and the other demigods, are naturally always situated in goodness, but we [the Asuras] oh Lord are not like that and are always filled with fear. And so one says that the incarnations of Your lordship in this material world are there to promote the happiness of the soul and the honour and glory of Your protection and prosperity. Therefore please give up Your anger about the Asura You have killed today. Even the saints are happy when a scorpion or snake is killed. The truth is that all the worlds are happy about what happened and that all their inhabitants wish to remember Your form as the one that drove away their fear. I myself am not afraid, oh Invincible One, of Your fearsome mouth, tongue, flashing eyes and frowning face, Your strong ferocious teeth or garland of intestines and bloody manes, Your pointed ears, Your roar that even scares the elephants or the nails that pierced the enemy. But I do fear, oh Merciful Father of Care, that intolerable, ugly repetition of birth and death, to be thrown into the miserable condition of having to live among predator-minded people and to be bound to the actions and reactions of karma oh Insurmountable One. When do You pleased with me, call me to the base of Your feet that constitute the refuge in this ocean of matter? Because of taking birth one is in one's pleasurable or not that pleasurable existence of being united with the world separated [from You] and burned by the fire of lamentation, irrespective the body one resides in. Moreover one suffers just as well by the remedies against this misery of taking the body for the real self. I, oh Greatest Being, am wandering around in this existence. Please tell me how to be of service in Your yoga. I will that way, from constantly hearing the narrations handed down in succession about Your pastimes as the well-wisher and Supreme Godhead, oh Lord Nrisimha, easily cross over [this ocean of matter] and be free from being contaminated by the modes of nature. In association with the liberated souls I will find liberation from all the misery with Your two feet as my home. All the things that You [personally] do not care about but which are cherished by those who are locked up in a physical body, only have the appearance of a remedy: the parentage that is the shelter for a little child, oh Nrisimha, the medicine for a patient, the boat for a person drowning in the ocean or the measures taken for a person suffering from a certain material condition, oh Almighty One, [all constitute but a temporary solution]. Whatever situation it may concern, whatever seems to be the reason, whatever time it might be, by whatever agent and relating to whatever agent, caused by whatever agent or for the sake of whatever agent, whatever the way of something or of whatever nature something might be, is certainly all but another form of the Supreme Reality. Stated differently: in nature one finds because of all kinds of changes a specific form of separateness, but whatever form it may concern, it is always a manifestation of Your Lordship's energy. The illusory of matter creates a mind that constitutes the source of difficult to control fruitive actions [or karma]. These actions are conditioned by the Time that agitates the modes of nature and is respected [in a certain way] by the person. Thus being defeated by the alluring but deluding material energy one is tied to the sixteen spokes [of the senses of action and perception, the elements and the mind] of the wheel of rebirth, oh Unborn One. Whoever can get out of this by anything else but Your way [see also B.G. 9: 25]? You are that one element of Time to the tender mercy of which the soul eternally is left being defeated by the modes of Your rule. I here present as a form of material energy who in all his forsaking and appearing is subjected to Your cyclic control, am powerless, oh Lord and Master. I am crushed under the wheel with the sixteen spokes. Please help me, this soul of surrender, to get out of this, oh Almighty One. Oh Almighty One, I have seen how people in general desire the longevity, opulence and glory of the pious leaders of heaven. But our father wishing this all [for himself] was simply by the provoked laughter of Your expansion [as Nrisimha] in the blink of an eye pulled down by You and completely vanquished. Therefore I do not covet to live as long as Lord Brahma or be rich and mighty. I know where all this foolish blessing of the senses of the embodied being leads to. I have no desire to be closed down by You who are so powerful as the Master of Time. Please take me to the side of Your servants. How can one in this body that is a host to so many diseases be blessed with things that sound good but are like a mirage in the desert? Despite knowing this very well the people try to put out the fire of desire with difficult to obtain little drops of honey [temporary happiness], but they do not get out of it. What is my position now? How can I surpass the fact of being born from a family far removed from the enlightened state into the darkness of a body that is moved by passion? The lotus hand of Your causeless mercy that You offered me on my head as a token of grace, would not even be available to Lord Brahma, to Lord Shiva or the Goddess of Fortune! From the side of Your Lordship as the friend of the entire world there can be no question of discriminating between higher and lower born living beings. Nevertheless there is of You, depending the service, like with a desire tree, the benediction reserved for the ones who serve You, whether they are of a higher level or not [see also 2.3: 10 and B.G. 4: 33, 9: 25]. The common man who in his material existence runs after the objects of his desire fell into a blind well full of snakes. I, who by bad association just like such a person fell into that condition, was by the Sura sage [Narada], oh Supreme Lord, taken into confidence and led to the truth of the soul. How could I ever give up on the service of Your pure devotee? Oh Unlimited One, by saving my life and killing my father I consider the words spoken by Your servant the rishi as true. For You have proven Yourself when my father with evil intentions took up his sword and said: 'Let that controller other than me save you now that I am going to sever your head.'

'This universe all around us constitutes the Oneness of You alone. You exist separately of this universe that has a beginning, a middle and an end that You created by means of the three modes of nature. Those primal qualities give shape to Your external potency. Everything making up that diversity owes its regulation to You who entered it Yourself [See also B.G. 9: 4]. Oh Lord You are there as the entire universe or else as the One separate from it; You are the cause and the effect. The distinction between the material energy of Your creation and You as being another Self is a mistaken

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notion. The substance of something is equal to the substance of the form in which it appears; that what constitutes You is equal to that what the manifstation of the creation that is maintained and annihilated consists of, just like it is with the tree and its seed and the earth and her seasons. With You retracting this universe within Yourself, You experience, within the ocean being immersed in Yourself, the spiritual state of bliss while You seem to be doing nothing. But with You in the uniting of Your consciousness having closed Your eyes You also have imbibed the sleep. Without keeping material sleep and the modes of nature You are then engaged in the union of the highest state of consciousness [turiya, or the fourth state]. Having awakened from Your slumber on the bed of Ananta in the causal ocean, the great lotus of all the worlds appeared from Your navel like a banana tree does from its seed. That cosmic body of Yours, this universe agitated by the Time factor, is Your way [in the form of the modes and their divinities] of dealing with the material affair [with prakriti]. He of the knowledge [Brahma] who generated from that lotus could not discern anyone else, since Your Lordship, as the seed, had expanded into himself. He then dove into the water for a hundred demigod years, not understanding that a seed once having fructified, oh my Lord, can no longer be perceived [see 3.8]. He being born from nothing but himself, was greatly astonished to find himself upon that lotus. After a long time by severe austerities being purified he then found You, oh Controller, who very subtly, like an aroma in the earth, are spread throughout all of the sentient being that is so obsessed with all kinds of desires. Lord Brahma thus achieved transcendental bliss, for he saw in one combined view the Supreme Personality being endowed with all kinds of ornaments, weapons and signs, who with thousands of faces, feet, heads, hands, thighs, noses, ears and eyes demonstrated His full potency. Accepting the head of a horse in an incarnation, You killed two very powerful demons named Madhu and Kaitabha who represented the modes of passion and ignorance. Next You delivered the Shruti [the four Vedas] to Lord Brahma because of which one honours Your most appreciated form [called Hayagriva] as an embodiment of pure goodness [see also 5.18: 18 and B.G. 4: 7]. This way according to the yuga in question appearing in different incarnations as a human being, a saint, a god or an aquatic, You protect all the worlds. Sometimes in defense of the dharma You kill the troublemakers of this world, oh Supreme Personality, but because You in Kali-yuga operate under cover [channa] You, being spoken of as one and the same person, are called Triyuga [for being recognizable in the three other yugas, see also 11.5: 32]. The mind that is not tuned to Your transcendental topics, is because of the sins it sympathizes with in its far being removed from the Lord of Vaikunthha, polluted, dishonest and hard to control. Filled with desires and lusts it is because of the therewith associated urges of highs and lows, fears and distress. Tell me how I, with such a mind being poor and fallen, must understand Your supreme purpose? The tongue pulls me in this direction, oh Infallible One and the genitals not being satisfied pull me that way. Likewise the skin, the belly and the ear are going for this and the nose is running after that, while the eyes are looking for yet another thing. Thus the eager, busy senses all together bring one down like a householder is brought down by his co-wives. This way because of one's karma having fallen into the Vaitarani river [at the door of death], one alas, one after the other birth and death, eating all kinds of foodstuff, suffers from an ever increasing fear in seeing how the living being, caught in his own body and entangled in the association with other bodies, is of enmity and friendship. Oh You who from the other side of that river wants to show us Your kindness, we in this world at present are nothing but a bunch of fools. Oh Master of All, we friendly people are always eager to be of service in this matter. Oh Supreme Lord, what would be the difficulty for Your great compassion to deliver us materialistic fools from the cause of time and again having to set up, keep going and come to naught [with our karmic endeavors], oh Friend of the Ones in Need? Oh Supreme One, because my mind is absorbed in the singing and proclaiming of Your sweet ocean of glories, I am free from worries about the hard to cross Vaitarani [that is this world]. I am more concerned about those fools who missing the liberation in carrying the load of their sensual interest are making plans in favor of illusory forms of happiness and dutifulness [see also 6.17: 28]. Oh Godhead, saints ambitious for their own salvation generally in silence wander in remote places, not being very much interested in a life for the sake of others. But I do not, like they do, want to leave aside my fellow man in misery. I do not desire liberation for myself alone. I cannot accept it to see other people wander around oblivious of this shelter You offer. Everything associated with household sexual happiness, is as trivial as rubbing ones hands to find relief from an itch. The miserable person is by this kind of itch-relief sex not freed from all his discomfort and uneasiness and thus serves all kinds of unhappiness. Only when one recognises that kind of imaginary happiness and manages to tolerate the itching [i.e. 'goes not beyond necessity', see also B.G. 7: 11 & 14] one can develop intelligence, stability and energy [dhira, see also Y.S. II: 38 & 40]. Silence, vows, Vedic knowledge, austerity, study, dutifulness, explaining the scripture, living alone, prayer and absorption, belong to the path of liberation, but these matters [these ten activities of emancipation] are often part of a method of making a living that is practiced by people who have not conquered their senses at all, oh my Lord. Thus one in this context may wonder whether one deals with hypocrisy or not[: are we not dealing with false pretenses? See also 6.1: 16]. The forms of Your [spiritual] cause and [material] effect as explained in the Vedas are like the seed and its sprout. But You being without a specific form are also not any of these two forms. Those who are connected in Your yoga [the bhakti-yoga devotees] can clearly see both these aspects before their eyes like wood and the fire in wood and this cannot in any other way be achieved. You are the air, the fire, the earth, the sky and the water, the sense objects, the life force, the senses, the mind, the consciousness and all assisting divinity belonging to it. You are all of that, the unique of the natural reality of the modes as also the One beyond it all. Oh my Lord, whatever that is manifested or is expressed in the mind and by words, it is no one else but You. Neither all the modes of nature, nor their predominating deities, neither the complete of the cosmic intelligence, the false ego, the gross and subtle elements, the senses and their objects, nor those who are so mindful in association with all the godly ones and the mortals who all have a beginning and an end..., oh Lord glorified by all the saints, none of them is truly capable of covering all that is Yours and therefore do all intelligent people at this point rest their case [and engage in Your devotional service. See also B.G. 2: 52].'

'I therefore offer You, oh Best of the Worshipable Ones, my obeisances and engage with prayers in Your worship, work for You, remember You, cherish Your lotus feet and always listen to the talks about You. How can a person without honouring You in all these six ways ever be of bhakti for You who are the goal of the best ones of transcendence [compare 7.5: 23-24, see for further prayers to Lord Nrisimha 5.18: 7-14]?'

Shri Narada said: 'I thus far have described the transcendental qualities of the bhakta in his bhakti. The Lord transcendental to the modes who was pleased and in control of His anger, next addressed him who had surrendered himself at His feet. The Supreme Lord said: 'Prahlada My sweet boy, I wish you all good fortune. I am pleased with you, oh best of the Asuras. Just ask Me for any blessing you desire, for I am for each and everyone the fulfillment of all desires. Live a long life! He who does not please Me has difficulty seeing Me! But when someone has seen Me he deserves it not to lament his situation any longer. For that reason, oh fortunate one, do stable, intelligent and energetic devotees who know to behave themselves and wish the best [for each and all], desire to please Me, the Master of All Benedictions, in every respect.'

Shri Narada said: 'Even though the best of the Asuras thus was allured by worldly benedictions, he did not want any of all that one longs for, he went exclusively for the Supreme Lord [see also: Shri Shri Shikshashthaka verse four].'

*: The qualifications of the brahmin are in the Sanat-sujata described as follows:

jnanam ca satyam ca damah Shrutam ca
hy amatsaryam hris titikshanasuya
yajnas ca danam ca dhritih Shamas' ca
maha-vrata dvadas'a brahmanasya

'Spiritual knowledge, truthfulness, loyalty to the scripture, non-enviousness, forbearance, of sacrifice, of charity, equal minded, and living to the great vow [of yama that next to the truthfull mentioned entails the four of celibacy, nonviolence, nonpossesiveness and non-stealing] are the twelve qualities of the brahmin.' See also 5.5: 24 and B.G. 18: 42.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 10:

About Prahlada, the Best Among the Exalted Devotees and the Fall of Tripura

Narada Muni said: 'Prahlada, even though he was but a small boy, considered every blessing that came with his bhakti yoga an impediment on the path and this he with a smile told the Lord of the Senses.

Shri Prahlada said: 'Please do not allure me. Because of my Asura birth I have a propensity for lusting over all those material blessings. It was out of fear for such material association that I, desiring liberation, for the sake of complete detachment have taken to Your shelter. Oh Lord You send Your devoted servant into this world of desire in order to put his character to a test, for this lust being the root cause of one's wandering around here, is found in the heart of everyone, oh Master. It does not work differently with You oh guru of the universe so kind to everyone, for is someone who desires any material benefits, not more a merchant than a servitor [see also B.G. 17: 20]? Someone who for himself expects material benefits from his spiritual master is not really a servant nor is the master really of service who - for his own prestige - wants to bestow material benefits upon his servant [see also 10.88: 8-10]. There is, as far as I am concerned in my full devotion for You, no question whatsoever of any desire nor do You as a real master foster any further motive for our sake like a king might have with his subject. And if You want to fulfill one of my desires, then I pray for Your benediction, oh Lord of All Blessings, that no desire for any form of material happiness will grow in my heart [see also Shri Shri Shikshashthaka verse four]. From the day of one's birth one's senses, mind, life air and body, one's religion, patience, intelligence, shyness, opulence, strength, memory and truthfulness are likely to be banished by them. Only when one gives up all the desires that one in one's human association finds in one's mind, one is fit for an opulence equal to Yours, oh Lotus-eyed Lord. Oh Master of all Opulences, oh Original Personality, oh Lord in the form of Nrisimha, oh Supreme One, oh Absolute Truth, oh Great Soul and Soul of all souls, let me offer You my respectful obeisances.'

The Supreme Lord said: 'Those persons who like you are exclusively devoted to Me do not desire any benedictions from Me in this world or in the next. Nevertheless you may until the end of Manu's reign enjoy all the opulences of the Daitya rule out here [see also 2.3: 10]. Devote yourself to My pleasing stories, be absorbed in Me who resides in your heart as the One present within all living beings, worship in [yoga] uniting your consciousness the Lord who is the enjoyer of all sacrifices and give up your fruitive activities. By relishing [your retirement in] exhausting your merit, by means of pious actions forsaking your impiety, by forsaking the body with the rapid progress of time and after spreading your reputation throughout even the worlds of the gods, you will, freed from all attachment, turn back to Me. Anyone who chants these prayers you offered to Me, any human being who remembers both Me and you, will in due course of time become free from the bondage of his karma.'

Shri Prahlada said: 'I pray for the following benediction of You, oh Lord of Benedictions, oh Supreme Controller. My father, not knowing Your strength and supremacy, had because of a heart polluted by anger a false notion of You, oh master and guru of all worlds. He considered You the murderer of his brother and condemned You. Thus he was towards me, Your devotee, of the greatest sin. May my father be purified from that greatest and most difficult to overcome sin, even though he was immediately purified when You cast Your glance upon him, oh Father full of mercy for the materialists.'

The Supreme Lord said: 'With the purification of your father, twenty-one of your forefathers in total have been purified oh sinless one. Because you, oh saintly boy, took your birth from him in this dynasty, you are indeed the purifier of the dynasty. Wherever and whenever there are My devotees who full of peace and equipoise, with the best qualities are equally graceful towards all, everyone will be purified, even when it concerns the worst of societies. They will never, in whatever way, act violently towards all the higher or lower living beings oh King of the Daityas, because they, in their love for Me, have forsaken all material aspirations. Persons in this world following in your footsteps become My pure devotees. You are of My devotees truly the best example [see also 6.3: 20-21]. My child, you should now perform the funeral rites for your father who in every respect was purified by the touch of My body and therefore will be promoted to the worlds of the good people. Assume the throne of your father My dearest, fix your mind upon Me and do your duty for My supreme cause the way it is prescribed in the Vedic tradition.'

Shri Narada said: 'Prahlada performed, as was ordered by the Supreme Lord, all the rituals associated with his father's death oh King [Yudhishthhira] and was crowned by the brahmins. Brahma who had witnessed what had happened, with a face radiating because the Lord was pleased, offered with transcendental words the purest prayers to Lord Nrisimha, addressing Him in the presence of all the other gods. Shri Brahma said: 'Oh God of gods, oh proprietor of the entire universe, oh love of all creation, oh first among the living beings, because of Your resolve [to protect the devotees] the most sinful Asura, who was of so much trouble to everyone, has been killed. I granted him the rare benediction that he would not be killed by any creature created by me and that he would not die because of any austerity, mystical or physical power. Thus being very proud he transgressed all injunctions. Because of Your decision his son, who despite his young age was a great saint and exalted devotee, has been released from the clutches of death and enjoys now, as You wanted, Your shelter. For all those who, faced with an enemy, meditate upon this physical presence of You, the Supersoul, oh omnipresent, almighty Lord, You are the protector against all kinds of fear, including even the fear of death.'

The Supreme Lord replied: 'Do not bestow blessings on demons, as you have done, oh you who were born from the lotus. To bless people of a cruel and pitiless nature is like giving milk to snakes.'

Shri Narada said: 'This oh King, is what the Supreme Lord said and after Hari had been worshiped by the teacher of all teachers, He who cannot be seen by all living beings disappeared from the spot. Prahlada thereupon bowed his head and offered with prayers his obeisances to Lord Brahma,

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Lord Shiva, the founding fathers and the [other] demigods who each are part of the Supreme Lord. Next Lord Brahma together with Shukracarya and other sages, appointed him ruler over all the Daityas and Danavas. Oh King, after Brahma and the others were properly honoured, all the godly ones congratulated him, wished him all the best and then returned to their respective abodes. The two associates [the gatekeepers] of Vishnu who were born as the sons of Diti and operated as His enemies, were thus killed by Him, the Lord residing in the core of the heart [see 7.1: 36-39]. Being cursed by the brahmins the two were reborn as the demons Kumbhakarna and ten-head Ravana and again both killed [by Him] thanks to the special powers of Lord Ramacandra. Slain lying on the battlefield with their hearts pierced by Rama's arrows, they with their minds fixed on Him gave up their bodies, just as they did in their previous birth. The two again appearing in this world with their births as Shishupala and Dantavakra were the same way bound to the Lord in enmity and merged with Him [for the last time] in your presence. All the kings inimical to Shri Krishna were, upon their death, freed from the burden of the sins of their previous life upon reaching His Self, just like larvae that obtain a body identical to the one of the drone that guarded them. Just as one by devotional service returns to the Supreme Personality, kings like Shishupala returned home and attained the same supreme nature of the Lord by contemplating Him [in their enmity, see also B.G. 4: 9]. All of this I described to you in reply to your inquiry on how, even hating, the son of Damaghosha [S'ishupala] and others could attain the same community of essence [see 7.1: 34-35]. In this narration about the Supersoul and the Godhead of all brahmins, Krishna I spoke about His incarnations in which He e.g. put an end to the Daityas. 3-4 It describes the character of the devotion, spiritual knowledge and renunciation of that most exalted devotee Prahlada. Try to understand each of these stories and thus discover what belongs to the Lord, the Master of maintenance, creation and destruction, what His qualities and activities are, the wisdom handed down [in disciplic succession] and how He, by the time factor, stands for the finality of all the higher and lower living beings and their cultures, however great they might be. With the help of this narration, in which the transcendence is perfectly and fully described, one can get to know the Fortunate One and what the bhagavata dharma [see 7.6: 28], the way of the devotees, entails. Anyone who after hearing this pious narration describing the Supreme Power of Vishnu, repeats it or sings about it with faith, will be liberated from being entangled in fruitive actions. He who with great attention reads and listens to this story about the activities of the best of all the truthful ones, this Daitya son and how the Original Personality playing the part of the lion king killed the king of the demons who was as strong as an elephant, will attain the spiritual world where one has nothing to fear. Oh you [Pandavas] in your human world, are extremely fortunate, for the Supreme One of the Absolute Truth, He who is always sought by the great saints who purify all the worlds, resides in your house in a human form. He is the Brahman of the Absolute Truth all the great ones are searching for. He, who is factually your nephew [the son of your maternal uncle], He your most dear well-wisher, is the oneness of transcendental happiness and the source of all life. He who is there also as your guru of instruction in the principle, is the One who can be worshiped as the completeness of the [body, the universe and the] soul. Lord Shiva, Lord Brahma and others could not even by meditation directly see Him or describe Him in His real form. May He, this great master of all devotees, be pleased with the silence we observe, with our devotion, our calm and our worship. Oh King, this very same Supreme Lord a long time ago restored the reputation of the demigod Lord Shiva that was ruined by a demon called Maya Danava who, because of great technical cunning, enjoyed an unparalleled power.'

The king [Yudhishthhira] said: 'Please can you tell us for what reason and by what actions Lord Shiva, he who controls the entire universe, was surpassed by Maya Danava and how he with the help of Krishna restored his reputation?'

Narada said: 'After all the Asuras by the God-conscious ones with the support of the Lord were defeated in battle, they took shelter of the greatest and best of them all, Maya Danava. 4-5 The demon constructed three big and mighty cities made of gold, silver and iron. Possessing the uncommon ability to move [floating] around in formation they were difficult to discern. Thus hidden from view the Asuras, remembering their former enmity with the three worlds and their controllers, oh ruler of man, started to wreak havoc in the world. Thereupon the rulers of all the worlds approached Lord Shiva, fell at his feet in surrender and said: 'Please save us, your followers, oh Godhead, for we have been devastated by the tripura [three-city] people.' To show them his favor the All-powerful Lord said to the Suras: 'Do not fear' and fixed an arrow on his bow to launch his weapon on the cities. After being released his arrows shone with a beam of light as bright as the sun, so that the cities no longer could be seen. Under their attack the inhabitants of the cities fell lifeless to the ground. The great yogi Maya Danava then dipped them one after the other in a well of [life giving] nectar [called mrita-sanjivayitari]. Touched by the divine nectar, they rose from death as strong as thunderbolts splitting the sky with flashes of light. Seeing how disappointed and unhappy [Shiva] the Emblem of the Lord was at the time, the Almighty Lord Vishnu considered what measures should be taken. Lord Vishnu then personally assumed the form of a cow while Lord Brahma assumed the form of a calf and together they entered in broad daylight Tripura to drink all the nectar of the well. Even though the Asuras took notice of them they could, in their bewilderment, not stop them. The great yogi Maya aware of what happened, thought it was a thing of divine ordinance and so he addressed the ones guarding the well who had been quite content with their illusion [of victory] but were now greatly dismayed. 'Neither demigods, demons, human beings, nor anybody else can reverse what for oneself, for others or for everyone in this world is ordained by fate.' 5-6 He [Lord Vishnu] thereafter equiped Lord Shiva with all that was necessary like a chariot and charioteer, a flag, horses and elephants, a bow with shield and arrows and such; all matters that derived their strength from His personal dharma, spiritual knowledge, detachment, opulence, penance, culture, actions and so on. Shiva seated on his chariot then fixed an arrow on his bow. Oh ruler of man, with the arrows joined on his bow Lord Shiva thus being the Master and Controller, at noon set the so difficult to pierce three cities afire. All the gods and saints, the ancestors, the perfected ones and the great personalities, then from their celestial chariots in the sky and with the assistance of countless kettledrums loudly vibrated 'Jaya, Jaya', while they showered a wealth of flowers on his head and together with the beauties of heaven danced and sang in great ecstasy. Oh King, after the mighty Lord Shiva who had burned Tripura to ashes thus was glorified by Lord Brahma and the others, he returned to his abode. What more can I tell you about the Lord, the teacher of the universe, who with His transcendental potency appears in the world of the human beings where He in the form of a normal human being performs heroic acts that are discussed by the saints and sages in narrations that purify all the worlds?'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 11:

The Perfect Society: About the Four Social Classes and the Woman

Shri Shuka said: 'After having listened to the story about him, [Prahlada] the most important of all great devotees, him the master of the Daityas who was so faithful to the Lord who covers the world in a single step [Urukrama], he who is discussed in the assemblies of the saints, Yudhishthhira greatly pleased again asked the son of Brahma [Narada] questions. Shri Yudhishthhira said: 'Oh great Lord, I would like to hear about the sanatana dharma activities [the eternal, common duties] of our human society that belong to the order of the status orientations [varnashrama] by which the common people find a better life. You, oh fortunate one, are directly the son of our original father, the supreme person within this universe [Lord Brahma]. One considers you, oh brahmin to be the best of all his sons because of your austerity, yoga and meditation. Among the ones devoted to Narayana you are the sage conversant with the most confidential and supreme aspect of dharma; there is no devotee as merciful, exalted and peaceful as you are.'

Shri Narada said: 'I offer my obeisances to the Supreme Lord, the Unborn One who defends the dharma throughout the universe. I will expound on sanatana dharma the way I heard about it from the mouth of Narayana. He who, begotten by Dharma Maharaja in the womb of Daksha's daughter [Murti], descended [as Narayana] along with a part of Himself [Nara], executes [even today] for the benefit of all people austerities in Badarikashrama [the Himalayan resort for meditation]. Oh King, the mind, the body and the soul find their full satisfaction in Bhagavan, the Supreme Lord who is the essence of all Vedic knowledge, the root of all dharma and the remembrance of the ones versed in that [what is called the science of devotional service]. -1 Truthfulness, compassion, austerity and cleanliness [with the vidhi]; tolerance, discrimination, composure and continence, nonviolence, celibacy, generosity and study of the scriptures, sincerity, contentment and to serve the holy ones [in yama and niyama]; gradually cutting with that what is unnecessary and to be of gravity in avoidance of empty talk, self-search, to share food and drink with all beings and to consider everyone first of all a part of God, oh Pandava; to listen and to sing and also to remember Him who is the shelter of all the great ones, to attend, to worship and to propitiate, to be a servant, to be a friend and to be of surrender [in bhagavata dharma]; to possess all the thirty characteristics as described constitutes the supreme of dharma that pleases Him the Soul of All, oh King [compare B.G. 12: 13-20]. They who because of their prolonged reconsideration [or formally by means of undergoing the so-called sixteen samskara's] are led by [the spiritual] instructions [of the unborn Lord Brahma and his teachers], are called twice-born souls [dvijas] who pure by their birth and activities [on the basis of their education in normally the three higher classes of society and by their initiation of having received the sacred thread] are of worship, are versed in the scriptures and give charity. They are expected to behave according to the status of their [age-bound] spiritual departments [or ashramas *]. For the brahmins there are the six [duties] of studying the scriptures and so on [to teach, to worship, to lead sacrifices, and to give and receive charity] and for the rest [the other occupations] there are the same six minus the duty to accept charity. The means of livelihood for the rulers [the kshatriyas] who maintain the people, consists of levying taxes and such [like customs duties and fines] from those who do not belong to the ones who are motivated from within [the brahmins]. The vais'yas [the merchants] are to be engaged in their occupational activities [of farming and trading] and should always follow what the brahmins teach, while the Shudras [the labourers] for their livelihood have to accept the three types of twice-born souls as their masters to serve [see also B.G. 18: 41-44]. There are [next to teaching, leading sacrifices and accepting charity] four different types of livelihood for the learned brahmin: to subsist on what is achieved without asking for it [s'alina], on what one obtains by begging [yayavara], on what one finds left behind in the fields [s'ila] and on that what is not wanted by others in shops and markets [unchana]. The latter means of these are better than the former. Without a good reason, the lower classes must not [desire to] subsist the way the higher classes do, but in times of emergency anyone, except for the ruling class, may take to the means of livelihood of any other class. 8-2 Rita [honest or courageous] is what one calls subsisting on what remained in the fields etc., amrita [sustainable or nectar] is called subsisting on what was obtained without asking, one speaks of mrita [finality of engagement] when one asks for what one needs, while it is called pramrita [or cultivation] when one subsists on tilling one's own field. It is called satyanrita [simultaneously true and untrue] when one trades, but when brahmins and kshatriyas versed in the Veda, in subordinate positions have to serve the lower classes, one speaks of Shva-vritti [or doggery], an engagement that must be given up, for the brahmins and rulers embody all the gods. With rita or amrita one can live and one can even live with pramrita and satyanrita, but one can never reconcile with a life like that of a dog [see also B.G. 4: 13]. The brahmin is known for his control of the mind and senses, his penance, cleanliness, satisfaction, forgiveness, straightforwardness, spiritual knowledge and compassion, the perfection of his service to the Lord, the True Self, and his truthfulness. A kshatriya makes his mark by his fighting skills, by his bravery and by his resolution, strength, charity, restraint, forgiveness, faithfulness to the brahminical command, his kindness and his love of truth. A vais'ya is characterised by his devotional service unto the God-conscious ones, the guru and the Infallible One, for his practicing the three virtues [of dharma, artha and kama], his piety and his constant effort and expertise. The Shudra is known for his obedience, cleanliness, service to the master who maintains him, his single-mindedness, willingness to make sacrifices without further prayers, truthfulness, his protection of cows and brahmins and the fact that he does not steal [see also B.G. 18: 41-44].

A woman in divine respect of her husband will always following him in his vows, be of service to her husband, be eager to please him and be well-disposed towards his friends and relatives [see also B.G. 1: 40]. 6-2 By means of cleaning, mopping and decorating running her household and personally dressing up nicely in always clean garments, a woman should chastely and modestly answer to the small and great desires of her husband and be in control of her senses and her speech, be truthful, pleasing and loving and regularly prove her respect for her husband. With contentment, freedom from greed, skill, conversancy with dharma, pleasure, speaking the truth, attentiveness, purity and affection, she should honour her husband for as long as he is not fallen [in being guilty of murder, theft, addiction, adultery or complicity in crime]. When a woman meditates upon her husband as being the Supreme Personality she is of the same service as the Goddess of Fortune; in her devotion thinking of Hari she enjoys with her husband His spiritual abode [of Vaikunthha] just like Lakshmi. The livelihood of those who were born from mixed marriages [of different classes, pratilomaja with a lower man and anulomaja with a higher man] and who are considered lower [antyaja] or have been marginalised [antevasayi], should not consist of stealing and [other forms of] sinning, but should correspond to the respective family traditions.

Oh King, when the occupational duty [the dharma] is in accordance with someone's societal position, that is in every age [yuga] by the seers of Vedic knowledge recognised as generally being auspicious for both one's present life and the life hereafter [see also B.G. 3: 25]. When one for one's livelihood abides by the activities belonging to one's professional engagement one can, in gradually putting an end to the karma that resulted from one's own nature, attain the [nirguna] state transcendental to the [operating] modes of nature [see also B.G. 3: 35]. 3-3 [But...] a field over and over cultivated may, being exhausted, fall barren having become

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unsuitable for further harvesting so that seeds sown are lost. The same way a mind full of lusty desires enjoying over and over the objects of desire may [at some point be unable to enjoy any further and thus] become detached oh King. Just think of small drops of ghee that may be lost in a [sacrificial] fire, [but all poured at once may extinguish it]. [And so,] if one happens to see a person behave according to the symptoms as described above that belong to another class than his own, that person consequently has to be respected accordingly [in other words, when for example someone behaves like a brahmin he must be treated like a brahmin].'

*: This concerns the ashramas or civil status groups related to one's age of being a celibate student - a brahmacarya, a married person - a grihasta, a middle-aged withdrawn person - a vanaprashta or someone of the renounced order - a sannyasi, usually a senior.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 12:
The Four Ashramas and How to Leave the Body

Shri Narada said: 'A celibate student [brahmacari] living at the residence of the guru, should for the sake of his teacher behave like a submissive servant and stand firm in his friendship with his master. Both in the evening and in the morning he should worship the guru, the fire, the sun and the Best One of Enlightenment [Lord Vishnu], being absorbed in silently murmuring his prayer [the Gayatri] during those junctions of the day. When called by the spiritual master, he should orderly, to begin with and at the end, offer his obeisances with his head at the lotus feet and study the mantras. With a straw rope around his waist, garments of deerskin and matted hair, he should gather kus'a grass [for sitting] and carry a rod, a water pot and a sacred thread as is prescribed. In the morning and the evening he should go out to collect alms and offer all that he collected to the guru. He should eat when it is permitted or otherwise fast at times. He should behave politely, eat according to necessity, be industrious, be faithful [and believe in the words of the guru], have his senses under control and only relate to the other sex and to men controlled by women as far as is needed [compare 3.3: 5]. Anyone who is not a householder [a grihastha] and does respect the great vow [of celibacy, yama; see Pat. II: 30], must refrain from addressing women because of the agitating senses that even carry away the mind of a renunciate. Brushing the hair, massaging, bathing, rubbing the body with oil and such is something that a young student should never accept from the wife of the guru when she is young [see also 1.11: 29]. The other sex is like fire to the pot of butter that a man is; when he lives alone he should only associate with women - even with his own daughter - as far as it does good [is properly settled, is useful]. As long as one cannot remain with oneself nor is convinced that one can do something about this [in niyama, with a good settlement], this [being dominated by illusions of love and hate] will not cease so that one will not lead a better life [see also B.G. 5: 18]. The above [in verse 6] described directions of the guru for the householder apply equally to the renunciate soul, be it that the householder can have sexual intercourse for a certain period of time [see also B.G. 7: 11]. Those who have taken the vow of celibacy must give it up to make up their eyes, massage the head and the body, crave after the female image, to eat meat, indulge in intoxicating beverages, wear flower garlands, make use of scents or scented ointments and to decorate themselves with jewelry. 3-1 This way residing under the care of a guru, they who started a new life [as a dvija] attain by their studies, as far as their talent would allow, a proper understanding of the Vedas, their Shastric supplements and adherent upanishad philosophies. They reward the guru according to his wishes and then with his permission leave him to enter either a household life [as a grihastha] or enter the forest [as a vanaprastha or to occupy a withdrawn position in society] or else renounce all and/or stay there [to become a sannyasi like him]. Adhokshaja resides in the fire, in the guru, in oneself and in every other living entity. He, the One beyond it All, one should consider as both having entered the living beings with everything that belongs to Him as also [existing there beforehand] as not having entered them [pravistah/apravistah compare B.G. 9: 4]. When one lives this way [in devotion] as a celibate student, a withdrawn person, as someone renouncing the world or as a householder, one becomes conversant with the wisdom [of sanatana dharma] and attains the transcendental reality of the Absolute Truth.

Let me now explain to you the rules and regulations for leading a retired life [for being a vanaprastha] as approved by the seers, in respect of which a saintly person without difficulty will be promoted to the world of the sages [Maharloka], oh King. He should not eat grains from cultivated fields nor that what is not ripe from non-cultivated fields. He must also not eat grains or ripe and raw produce that was cooked. It is prescribed that the vanaprastha should eat what has ripened naturally by the sun. From the naturally grown grains and fruits the forest provides he should prepare cakes that can be offered and obtaining new produce the old stock should be given up. He should only take shelter of a thatched cottage or a cave for keeping a [sacrificial] fire. Just for himself he has to endure the snow, the wind, the fire, the rain and the sunshine. He should also be unconcerned about the hair on his head, the hair on his body, his nails, his facial hair, his dirt and the locks of his matted hair. He should keep a water pot and a deerskin, a rod and tree bark [to cover himself] and utensils for the fire. He should remain in the forest for twelve years, eight years, four years or else for two years or one year only as a saintly, thoughtful man who does not lose his mind because of [having to endure too much] hardship. When he because of disease or old age cannot perform his duties any longer for advancing in knowledge and spiritual life, he must refrain from taking food. Placing the fire element within himself he should give up the false self of being identified with the body and as good as possible fully merge with the complete of the elements he is composed of. [To lead his functions back] to their causes he merges the apertures of his body with the sky, his different vital airs with the air, his body heat with the fire, his blood, mucus and urine with water and the remainder [of his hard tissues] he merges with the earth [compare with 1.15: 41-42 and 3.6: 12]. 6-2 Speech and its organ belong to the god of fire, the hands and their dexterity belong to Indra, the legs and their power to move belong to Vishnu and the genitals with their sexual desire belong to the Prajapati. The rectum and its bowel activity is of Mrityu [Death] and the aural sense associated with the sounds should be assigned to the [deities of the] directions. Touch and its organ belong to the wind god [Vayu]. Eyesight along with its forms, oh King, one should assign to the sun and the tongue and its rule belong to water while smell and its odors should be consigned to the earth. 9-3 The mind and its desires belong to Candra, the intelligence and its subject matter belong to the Supreme One of Education [Brahma], the false ego of the 'I' and 'mine' actions and its karma belong to Rudra [Shiva], the consciousness and its concept of existence belong to the Knower of the Field [the soul, see B.G. 13: 1-4] and the modes and their modifications belong to the Beyond. The [identification with the element of] earth [must be led back] to the water, the water to the lights of the luminaries, the brightness to the air, the air to the sky, the sky to the material conception of life, the false ego to that what constitutes the material energy: the complete of the cosmic reality [the mahat-tattva], and that reality dissolves into the primary state of nature [the unmanifested energy of pradhana, see 3.26: 10] which also has its source: the imperishable [Supersoul]. Thus understanding that the imperishable soul, that consists of nothing but the consciousness that remains [after this merging], is of the same quality as the Supersoul, one['s individual, isolated existence] ceases like firewood that has been consumed by fire.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 13:
The Behavior of a Saintly Person

Shri Narada said: 'Someone capable of what I described before, should wander around from place to place without any form of material attachment and ultimately with nothing but his body not stay in any village longer than a single night [see also the story of King Rishabha 5.5: 28]. If the renunciate [sannyasi] wears clothing at all, it should be nothing but some covering for his private parts. Except in case of distress, he should not take to matters he has given up; he normally carries nothing but the marks of his renunciation: his rod [danda] and such. With Narayana as his refuge living on alms only he, satisfied within, all alone and not depending on anyone or anything, moves around in perfect peace as a well-wisher to all living beings. He should see this universe of cause and effect as existing within the everlasting Self in the beyond and see the Supreme Absolute itself as pervading the world of cause and effect everywhere [compare B.G. 9: 4]. The soul moves from waking to sleeping to intermediate dreaming [see also 6.16: 53-54]. Because of that someone [like him] in regard of the Soul considers the states of being bound, of being conditioned and being liberated as in fact nothing but illusory. He should not rejoice in the death of the body that is certain, nor in the life of the body that is uncertain, instead he should observe the supreme [command] of Time that rules the manifestation and disappearance of all living beings. He should not be fixed on time bound literatures, nor depend on a career. Accusations and pedantry should be given up, nor should he side with group bound conjecture, opinion and speculation [politics]. He should not seek followers, nor should he engage in diverse literary exercises or read such writings. He should not subsist on lecturing nor set up an enterprise [for building temples e.g.]. A peaceful and equal minded renunciate does not always have to adopt the symbols of his spiritual position [the danda etc. of his ashrama *], he as a great soul may just as well abandon them. Even though he externally may not directly be recognised as a renunciate, his purpose is clear. Such a saintly person may feel the need to present himself in society like an excited boy or, e.g. once having been a great orator, now present himself as a man of little eloquence.

As an example of such a hidden identity one [often] recites a very old story about a conversation between Prahlada and a saintly man who lived like a python. 2-1 Prahlada, the favorite of the Supreme Lord, once met such a saint when he with a few royal associates was traveling around the world in an effort to understand the motives of the people. At the bank of the Kaveri river on a slope of the mountain Sahya, he witnessed the purity and profundity of the spiritual radiance of the man who was lying on the ground with his entire body covered with dirt and dust. From what he did, how he looked, from what he said as also by his age, occupation and other marks of identity the people could not decide whether or not that man was someone they knew. After paying his respects and honouring him by, according to the rules, touching his lotus feet with his head, the great Asura devotee of the Lord, eager to know him, asked the following question. 6-1 'I see you are maintaining quite a fat body like you are someone lusting after the money. People who always worry about an income are surely of sense gratification. Wealthy people, they who enjoy this world and think of nothing else, therefore become [easily] as fat as this body of yours. It is clear that you lying down doing nothing oh man of the spirit, can have no money for enjoying your senses. How can, without you enjoying your senses, your body be this fat, oh learned one? Excuse me for asking you, but can you please tell us that? Despite your being so learned, skilled and intelligent and your talent to speak nicely and your inner balance, you lie down observing how the people are engaged in productive labour!'

Shri Narada said: 'The great saint thus being questioned by the Daitya king smiled at him and was, captivated by the beauty and love of his words, willing to reply. The brahmin said: 'Oh best of the Asuras, you who are appreciated by all civilised men, know from your transcendental vision all about the matters people during their lifetime are inclined to and turn away from. With Narayana deva our Lord always in one's heart, someone by his devotion alone will shake off all ignorance, the way darkness is dispelled by the sun. Nevertheless I will try to answer all your questions according to what I've heard [from the sages and their scriptures] oh King, for you are worthy to be addressed by someone who desires the purification of his heart. Under the influence of worldly interests, I have been catering to my lusty appetites. I have, because of these material desires, been impelled to actions that were unfulfilling and was thus tied to different types of birth. I unexpectedly acquired this [human] position again, after because of my karma having wandered from the heavenly gate of liberation to lower species of life [see also B.G. 8: 16 and **]. But seeing how one in that position acting for the sake of the pleasure of men and women and the avoidance of misery, achieves opposite results, I have now ceased with that kind of engagements. Now that I in my contemplation of these matters have witnessed the extend to which the spirit of intimate human contact assumes the form of sensual pleasure [or, the degree to which the demands of this world are associated with sense gratification], I have entered this silence. Happiness is the natural state of the living entity and therefore I have definitively put an end to all of this. Someone situated in this world is by the false attraction of that material place entangled in dreadful material affairs that are strange to him. Because of that estrangement he forgets about the interest of his heart and soul. The same way as a thirsty human being who fails to notice water that is overgrown by grass then ignorantly looks for it elsewhere, also someone looking for money [and other material benefits] runs after a mirage [of happiness]. Soomeone who with his body and everything belonging to it, is subjected to the superior control [of the material world], searches for the happiness of the soul by trying to diminish his misery. But he, helpless without the Supreme Lord, is time and again disappointed in his plans and actions. [And if he once happens to succeed,] of what use is the incidental success of fighting adverse consequences to a mortal person who is not free from the threefold miseries as created by himself, by others and by nature? Where do such successes lead to? What is their value? I see the miseries of the greedy rich and wealthy; as a victim of their senses they in their fear have sleepless nights in which they see danger coming from all sides. He who lives for the money is always afraid of the government, of thieves, of enemies, relatives, animals and birds, of beggars, of Time and of himself. Someone of intelligence has to give up that what is the original cause leading to all the lamentation, illusion, fear, anger, attachment, poverty, toiling and so on of the human being: the desire for power and wealth [***].

The working bees and the big snakes in this world are in this matter our first-class gurus: from what they teach we find the satisfaction [of being happy as one is] and the renunciation [of not seeking things elsewhere]. Someone comes to take the money that was as difficult to acquire as the honey and eventually kills the owner in the process; thus I learned from the honeybee to detach from all desires. Being disinclined the soul is happy with that what was obtained without endeavoring. Finding nothing, I just lie down for many days and exist like a python. Sometimes I eat little, sometimes I eat a lot of food that sometimes is fresh and sometimes is stale or this time is palatable and that time is tasteless. Sometimes food is brought to me with respect and sometimes it is offered

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in disrespect. Thus I eat during the night or else during the day whenever it is available. With a happy mind I am clothed in what destiny offers me, be it linen, silk or cotton, deerskin, a loincloth, bark or whatever material. Sometimes I lie down on the earth, on grass, on leaves, on stone or on a pile of ash and sometimes, when someone wishes me to, I lie down in a palace on a first-class bed with pillows [see also B.G. 18: 61]. Sometimes I bathe nicely, smear my body with sandalwood paste, properly dress, wear garlands and various ornaments and sit on a chariot, an elephant or the back of a horse. And sometimes I wander around completely naked as if haunted by a ghost oh mighty one. I do not curse the people but do not praise the people either who have different natures. I pray for the ultimate benefit of all that is found in the Oneness of the Greater Soul. The sense of discrimination should be offered as an oblation in the fire of consciousness, consciousness should be offered in the fire of the mind and the mind that is the root of all confusion must be offered in the fire of the false self. That variable ego should, following this principle, be offered in the complete of the material energy. A mindful person who sees the truth should for the sake of his self-realisation offer the complete of his material energy as an oblation. When he because of that offering has lost his interest [in the world], he thus has understood his essence and retires. This story about myself I now submit to you like this in utter confidence. But it might be so that you from your good self, as a man of transcendence with the Supreme Lord, find it contrary to the customary scriptural explanation.'

Shri Narada said: 'Thus having heard from the holy man about the dharma of the paramahamsas [see also 6.3: 20-21], the Asura lord most pleased, after duly honouring him took leave and returned home.'

*: The four stages of sannyas are: kuthicaka, bahudaka, parivrajakacarya and paramahamsa [see further footnote 5.1].

**: Swami Prabhupada comments: "Material life is called pavarga because here we are subject to five different states of suffering, represented by the letters pa, pha, ba, bha and ma. Pa means paris'rama, very hard labour. Pha means phena, or foam from the mouth. For example, sometimes we see a horse foaming at the mouth with heavy labour. Ba means byarthata, disappointment. In spite of so much hard labour, at the end we find disappointment. Bha means bhaya, or fear. In material life, one is always in the blazing fire of fear, since no one knows what will happen next. Finally, ma means mrityu, or death. When one attempts to nullify these five different statuses of life--pa, pha, ba, bha and ma--one achieves apavarga, or liberation from the punishment of material existence."

***: Shrila Rupa Gosvami writes in his 'Nectar of Instruction' (:

atyaharah prayasas' ca
prajalpo niyamagrahah
jana-sangas' ca laulyam ca
shadbhir bhaktir vinas'yati

"One's devotional service is spoiled when he becomes too entangled in the following six activities: eating more than necessary or collecting more funds than required; over-endeavoring for mundane things that are very difficult to obtain; talking unnecessarily about mundane subject matters; practicing the scriptural rules and regulations only for the sake of following them and not for the sake of spiritual advancement, or rejecting the rules and regulations of the scriptures and working independently or whimsically; associating with worldly-minded persons who are not interested in Krishna consciousness; and being greedy for mundane achievements."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 14:

The Supreme of the Householder's Life

Shri Yudhishthhira said: 'Can you please explain to me how householders [grihasthas] like me not conversant with the goal of life, also easily may achieve this position of liberation in accord with the scriptures, oh devarishi.'

Narada Muni said: 'Oh King someone who maintains a household should honour the great devotees [or sages] by properly engaging in activities in service of the visible form of Vasudeva [the avatara]. - When one according to time [on 'sundays'], in the company of others completely being relieved of material [karmic] activities, hears the nectar of the narrations about the Lord His avataras, one will by such good company being separated from the physical association with one's wife and children, gradually be freed from one's desires [and pride] like awakening from a dream [see also 5.5: 1 and B.G. 18: 54]. As long as he is dedicated to earning his living, he should, being knowledgeable about the physical affair of his family life, therein [thus on 'sundays' being devoted] not be attached, even though he appears to be so. That is the way for him to be a human being in human society. Without being selfish he should [try to] have peace with, sympathize with, or even be pleased with whatever his relatives, parents, children, brothers, friends and others might say or wish. [To meet this demand] the intelligent person must utilize everything that is created by the Infallible One and was obtained without effort: all the things that are divine [like fruits], all that is obtained from the earth [like minerals] and all that is won by chance [donations, cast-offs]. The stomach one may fill as much as is needed and not more, because claiming more than one is entitled to makes one a thief deserving punishment. Deer, camels, asses, monkeys, mice, snakes, birds and flies one should consider as one's children. How little difference is there between these animals and children? On the threefold path [of dharma, artha and kama] not being too zealous [not engaging in ugra-karma] a person, notwithstanding his concerns about his household, should obtain only as much as the grace of God would provide according to time and circumstance [see also 4.8: 54]. Up to the dog, the fallen soul and the outcast, one should divide what is necessary according to the need. Even one's wife so close to one's heart, should be shared so that she can be there [as a mother] for all the people [e.g. for one's guests]. One may give up the claim of owning her, a notion for which one was prepared to kill oneself or others or abandon one's parents or spiritual master. Thus one may conquer Him who cannot be conquered [but by sacrifice]. What is [the value of] the attachment to this insignificant vehicle of time that is doomed to be eaten by the insects, to turn into stool or into ashes? What is the value of being attracted to the body of one's wife, compared to [the value of one's attraction for] the soul that is as all-pervading as the ether? That what the Lord provides, that what one acquires through one's sacrifices, one should consider the means of one's livelihood. They who are wise ultimately give up all their claims of proprietorship for the sake of the soul. It is [not about acquiring possessions, it is] about achieving the position of the great ones. With the means that someone naturally acquired with his dutiful engagements, he must next to the daily sacrifices for the gods, the sages, for mankind, all other living beings, the forefathers and for himself, separately be of worship for the Original Person present in everyone's heart. The moment one [as a householder] has everything under control including oneself, one should, with sacrifices in the fire according to the regulations as laid down in the scriptures, be of worship with all the means available for pleasing the Lord [see B.G. 4: 24-29]. Oh King, the Supreme Lord, the enjoyer of all sacrifices is not worshiped by the offerings of ghee in the mouth of the fire as much as he is by offerings to the mouths of the scholars [see also 3.16: 8]. Be therefore according to your ability of worship for the knower of the field [the Lord, see B.G. 13: 3], by offering all that is desired first of all to the brahminical demigods, and then to all the ordinary human beings and the other living entities.

During [for instance] the dark fortnight of the month As'vina [October-November] the twice-born ones with sufficient wealth should offer oblations to the forefathers and also make offerings to their relatives during the month Bhadra [August-September] if they can afford it. 0-2 One is also advised to perform one's ceremonies at the solstices when the sun moves to the south and north or when it enters Aries or Capricorn [during the equinoxes], in the yoga [12.3 degrees of arc] named Vyatipata, on the days covering three lunar days [tithis] and on days of solar and lunar eclipses and on the twelfth lunar day and when the moon passes the constellation [nakshatra] of Shravana. Also suitable for the Shraddha-ceremony is the day of Akshaya-tritiya, the ninth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Kartika, the four ashthakas [the 'eight days'] in the winter season and cool season, the seventh lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month of Magha, the day of a conjunction of Magha-nakshatra and the waxing moon, on the days when the moon is completely full or not completely full when they coincide with the nakshatras from which the names of certain months are derived, on every twelfth lunar day in conjunction with any of the nakshatras named Anuradha, Shravana, Uttara-phalguni, Uttarashadha or Uttara-bhadrapada, on the eleventh lunar day that is in conjunction with either Uttara-phalguni, Uttarashadha or Uttara-bhadrapada and on days in conjunction with one's own birth star [janma-nakshatra] or the Shravana-nakshatra. It is by these auspicious times [of being regular to natural occurrences] that the fate of human beings is improved. For the human being during all seasons to have auspiciousness, success and longevity, one therefore on those days must perform all kinds of ceremonies [*]. At all these natural times taking a holy bath, doing japa [the Vedic rosary], performing fire sacrifices and keeping to vows, constitutes with whatever that is given in respect of the Supreme Lord, the twice-born ones managing the deities, the forefathers, the godly ones, the human beings in general and all other living beings, a permanent benefit. Oh King, the purification rituals that serve the interest of [having days with] the wife, the children and oneself as also the interest of having funerals, memorial days and days for doing fruitive labour must be performed at the [natural] times [relative to sun and moon] meant for them.

Let me now describe the places suitable for religious practices. The place most conducive to the sacred purpose is one where a follower of truth is available [the hermitage of a saint, a Vaishnava, a guru], a place [a temple] where an image [a representative form] is available of the Supreme Lord of all the moving and nonmoving entities in this universe or a place [a school, an ashrama] where an association of brahmins is found endowed with education, penance and mercy. Every place where the form of the Supreme Lord is worshiped is an all-auspicious refuge, [especially] in combination with a river like the Ganges or one of the other famous rivers that are mentioned in the Puranas. 0-3 Lakes as Pushkara and celebrated places that harbour the saints like Kurukshetra, Gaya, Prayaga [Allahabad] and Pulaha-ashrama; Naimisharanya [near Lucknow], Phalgunam, Setubhanda [towards Lanka], Prabhasa, Dvaraka, Benares, Mathura, Pampa, Bindu-sarovara, Badarikashrama, Nanda, the places of Sita Devi and Lord Rama like Citrakutha and, oh King, all hillsides such as Mahendra and Malaya, all belong to the holiest places. These places and all the places where the Lord and His deities are worshiped [thus also places outside of India] should by someone who desires the auspiciousness time and again be visited because the religious activities performed there are a thousand times more effective.

Oh controller of the earth, the Supreme Lord, in whom all that moves and not moves rests, is the only person in the world worthy to receive the honour. This is the conclusion of all scholars expert in determining to whom one should make one's offering [see also 4.31: 14]. The sons of Brahma as also others faithful to the truth [at Yudhishthhira's Rajasuya sacrifice], oh King, decided that from the most venerable, saintly personalities of God, the Infallible One [Krishna] was to be selected as the best one, as the first one among them to be worshiped. The countless souls populating the entire universe are like a giant tree and because He is the root of that tree the worship of the Infallible One will satisfy all living entities [viz. the entire tree is satisfied by watering the root]. He, as the Original Person [the Purusha] lies down among the ones created, in the form of their life principle [jiva]. Man, the saints, the gods and the other living beings whom He gave a place to live in the form of a body, are His residential places [see also B.G. 18: 61]. Oh King, the Lord is present in them in different degrees so that a person is eligible for being honoured as far as the [quality of the] soul [in the sense of understanding and penance and such] is manifest [compare B.G. 15: 15]. When the scholars saw how since Treta-yuga there was mutual disrespect in human society, oh King, they introduced deities of the Lord in order to exercise respect [see also 12.3: 52]. Since then one worships with great faith and all requirements the deity of the Lord, even though that reverence shown in contempt of the person yields no results [only loving the person will, see also 3.29: 25 and B.G. 18: 68 & 69]. Oh best of kings, know that the brahmin is the most worthy person of all people to receive the grace, for he embodies with his austerity, education and satisfaction the Vedic knowledge of Hari, the Supreme Personality. The brahmins are [in the eyes] of Him, Lord Krishna who is the life and soul of the universe, oh King, the most important and worshipable persons, for they sanctify by the dust [the grace] of their feet all the three worlds.'

*: see the full calendar of order for setting days to natural events.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 15:

Narada's Instructions on Vegetarian Sharing, Irreligion, Healing, Yoga and Advaita

Shri Narada said: 'Some of the twice-born souls are devoted to fruitive labour, some are engaged in austerities, oh ruler of man, some excel in Vedic study while others exercise rhetoric, some also unify [their consciousness] in spiritual knowledge [in bhakti- and jnana-yoga]. A person desiring liberation should donate the result of his sacrifices to someone devoted to spiritual knowledge [usually a brahmin or a jnani]. If it happens that such a person cannot be found, one should donate to others according to their merit. Offering to the demigods one should feed two of them and offering to the forefathers three of them should be fed, or else in any case at least one should be nourished. One must not involve a great number of them, despite having the means for it. In case one entrusts the sacrificing in faith [the Shraddha ceremony] to a greater number of them and their [accompanying] relatives, things will not work out perfectly as for the most suitable time and place, the paraphernalia, the person to receive the honour and the method applied. When the sacred food, that was obtained by offering it at the proper time and place with love and devotion to the deity of the Lord, is given to the person who deserves the honour, such a practice will be a source of everlasting welfare [see also B.G. 3: 10]. In offering [sanctified] food to the godly ones, the saints, the forefathers, the living beings in general, oneself and one's family members, one should consider them all as being part of the Original Personality of God. Someone who knows the dharmic principles should never offer meat [fish or eggs] during the ceremonies of belief, nor should he in his normal life be a meat eater. One derives the greatest satisfaction from the [vegetarian] food of the sages and not so much from food [obtained] by [needless] violence against animals. For persons desiring true righteousness there is no religion higher than this: to forsake in one's mind, words and actions all violence against other living beings.

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Persons who by fixing themselves on the true self [in samyama] are free from material desires, know very well the purpose of the sacrifices. Enlightened by spiritual knowledge these transcendentalists know that some sacrifices, [animal sacrifices] have karmic consequences. Living beings seeing a sacrificer, become afraid when a creature is to be sacrificed. They think: 'This ignorant, unfriendly person most certainly will very soon kill us!' He who knows what dharma means [see also B.G. 18: 66] is therefore supposed to perform, day after day, with satisfaction, his regular and occasional duties with the food that is given by God, the [vegetarian] food of the sages. A knower of dharma speaks of five branches of adharma that as kinds of unrighteousness must be given up: vidharma, paradharma, upadharma, abhasa and chala-dharma. Vidharma should be [understood as] that what constitutes an objection or a detriment to dharma [to righteousness, naturalness or religiousness, the original purpose of one's duty]. Paradharma is the encouragement to engage in duties strange to one's own, upadharma is the way of a pretender of dutifulness, a hypocrite and chala refers to feigning the duty with word jugglery. Abhasa is that what persons self-willed, obstinately do in defiance of their spiritual department [their ashrama, their civil status]. Why would acting in line with the regulations for one's natural duty not bring peace? In religious matters one should not endeavor for the purpose of one's livelihood [that is to say: expect no income from religious activities, see B.G. 2: 47 and 18: 9], nor should one being poor strive for possessions. The desirelessness of someone free from such endeavoring is like that of the python [see 7.13: 11] that lives effortlessly. Where would he, who driven by lust and greed runs from pillar to post for the sake of riches, find the happiness typical of the contented person who not endeavoring for his maintenance is happy from within? For an ever contented mind every path followed is equally auspicious, just like it is with a person who with shoes on his feet has nothing to fear from pebbles and thorns. Oh King, why would an innerly contented person not live happily on just a little bit of water when he because of the ado with his genitals and tongue becomes a man who is not better than a household dog? An educated but discontented man will because of his restlessness see how the strength of his senses, his education, austerity, fame and spiritual insight will gradually dwindle and vanish. With someone who is hungry and thirsty desires find their end [upon eating], one is relieved of anger once it is expressed in a certain way but a person will not get over his greed when he delights in conquering all the directions of the globe [see also B.G. 16: 21]. Oh King, many scholars with a lot of knowledge, many counselors and many political leaders, landed in hell simply because of lacking in [spiritual] contentment.

Lusts are defeated by determination, anger is overcome by forsaking the object of one's desire, for greed to disappear one must consider the fact that possessions make one possessed and fear is overcome by contemplating the principles [the reality, the truth]. Deliberation [on spiritual matters] is the cure for lamentation and illusion, false pride is cured by service to a great soul, silence defeats the obstacles on the path of yoga and violence [evil, hostility] is overcome by giving up sense gratification [see also B.G. 4: 10]. With compassion, [pity and concern] for others one can alleviate distress as caused by other living entities or by nature and by systematic meditation in yoga one can end one's own [karmic] suffering. Sleep one can conquer by practicing goodness. By serving the spiritual master with devotion one can easily in the mode of goodness conquer all these [symptoms] of being attached in passion, in ignorance and in goodness also. The guru who is the light on the path must be considered the Supreme Lord in person and he who considers him and what he heard from him as mortal and time-bound is like an elephant that has bathed [and thereafter takes a dust bath]. He [the teacher] who is the Supreme Lord in person, the ruler over the original cause of matter [pradhana, the primal ether] who is the original person as also the Lord of Yoga whose feet are sought by the masters of yoga, is by the common man taken for a normal human being [see also B.G. 9: 11]! One has wasted one's time when all the prescribed activities and observances, designed for the definite subjugation of the six departments [of the five senses and the mind], have not led to the ultimate goal: the connectedness in yoga [of the individual consciousness with Him].

Just as occupational duties performed with the interest of acquiring an income do not serve the interest of yoga, do also traditional public works of piety that are performed by a materialistic person, not contribute [to the necessary unification of consciousness. Compare B.G. 2: 42-44]. He who wants to conquer his mind must alone and in a solitary place, without the dependence of an attached company [like a family] as a renounced person live on charity and eat little. In a clean, leveled place, oh King, he must arrange for a seat and steadily, comfortably and equanimously sit down, keep his body straight and thus practice the Pranava [see 1.2: 11 and B.G. 8: 11-14 and 6: 11-12]. 2-3 He should arrest the incoming and outgoing air by stopping his exhalation and inhalation and that very moment give up all desires that occupy his mind. While staring at the tip of his nose he must turn the mind, that wanders here and there, away from whatever. A learned yogi should from the core of his heart step by step put an end to the mind that was defeated by lust. Persevering like this the practitioner, [with his mind] like a fire that extinguishes without fuel, will soon succeed in attaining the pure state [nirvana]. Not being drawn away by the various desires the mind becomes calm and peaceful in all its movements. [One will then be] of a consciousness that is touched by the happiness of the transcendental platform, a position from which one factually can never separate oneself.

When someone first leaves behind his home to wander around and then again returns to live from the field of the threefold practice of materially oriented [economic, religious and sense-oriented] activities, such a shameless mendicant may be compared to someone who eats his own vomit [a vantas'i]. They who first consider their body as something separate from the soul, as something mortal meant for stool, worms and ashes, and then again glorify that body and identify themselves with it, are useless fools. 8-3 For householders to forsake their duties, for celibates to give up on vows, for withdrawn persons to submit themselves as a servant of the common man and for renunciates to hanker after the senses, is for all the ashramas a most abominable form of behavior in which one cheats the spiritual order. One should be indifferent about those who are thus bewildered by the external energy of the Lord, they are pitiful. Once one has understood what the soul [and the Supersoul] entails, once one from the beyond has cleansed one's consciousness with spiritual knowledge, what is there left to hanker for, why would one still be a slave of the body that one maintains? One says that the body is the chariot, that the senses are the horses, that the mind - the master of the senses - is there as the reins, that the sense objects constitute the paths followed, that intelligence [reason] is the charioteer and that consciousness [goodness, character] is the great bond created by the Lord. The spokes of the wheel [see also 7.9: 21] are the ten airs in the body [called prana, apana, samana, vyana, udana, naga, kurma, krikala, devadatta and dhananjaya], the inside and outside of the wheels are religion and irreligion, the one being driven is the individual self that is falsely identified, the Pranava is the bow and the individual soul is the arrow, but final beatitude is the target. 3-4 Attachment and aversion, greed and lamentation, illusion, fear, madness, false prestige, insult, fault-finding and deception, violence and jealousy, unrest, bewilderment, hunger and sleep are one's enemies; these and others are the consequence of passion and ignorance but sometimes they sprout from [being attached to] the mode of goodness. As long as one has this human form, that as a chariot with all its subordinate parts depends on one's control, one must, being of service at the lotus feet of the most venerable ones, hold on to the, by the strength of the Infallible One, sharpened sword of knowledge until the enemy is defeated. When one thus found satisfaction in one's transcendental bliss, this body can be given up. Not doing so being inattentive and motivated for what is untrue, the senses that act as the horses will lead the charioteer on the road of desire. There the driver falls into the hands of rogues, the sense objects [who rule with vishaya, eating, sleeping and mating] because of whom he, together with the horses and the rest, will land in the dark, blind well of material existence and suffer the great fear of death. To be inclined towards or to cease from material engagement [pravritti and nivritti], are the two types of activities mentioned in the Vedas [4.4: 20]. Being materially inclined one keeps returning [to a worldly existence], but ceasing one enjoys the nectar of eternity.

Systematically being of violence [with the sacrificing of animals] with all kinds of fire sacrifices that require so many things, are actions filled with desire and cause anxiety. To be directed towards dars'a, purnamasa, caturmasya, pashuh, soma and other ritualistic ceremonies is called pravritti. Even so the fire sacrifices and the distribution of the offerings [huta, prahuta] as also the for the sake of the public constructing of temples, resting houses and gardens and the digging of wells and distribution of food and water, are to be recognised as forms of pravritti engagement. 0-5 The fine substances [of the sacrifice] result in the smoke [that is associated with] the divinity of the night, the dark half of the month, the sun going through the south and the new moon [compare B.G. 8: 25]. By this divinity [one finds] the food grains that are the seeds of the vegetation on the earth's surface oh ruler of the earth. Thus called into existence by the father [of Time] they [by feeding us through the sacrifices] lead to one after the other birth, to the again and again, regular assuming of a physical form to be present in this world [see also B.G. 9: 21]. [But] a twice-born soul [a brahmin] who from his conception till his funeral is purified by means of different rites, offers by the light of spiritual knowledge his engagement in sacrifices into the [fire of his] sensual apparatus [and is thus of nivritti actions]. Merging the senses with the mind - that is infected by words that move in waves of material predilection - he restricts the words to the collection of their constituent elements, the letters. Those elements are then restricted to the AUM of the Pranava, which is restricted to a point [the bindu, a point between the eyes], this he withdraws in his sound reflection [the nadi] which he sacrifices into his life air [prana] that he merges with the complete of the Lord [in brahman]. [In nivritti progressing with] the fire, the sun, the day, the end of the day, the bright half of the month, the full moon, the passage of the sun through the north and the Independent Ruler [Brahma], he who is of discernment and who moves from the gross realm to the subtle destination, arrives in regular order at the transcendental state of intelligence, the soul [turya, the original state of consciousness]. Repeatedly being born again in following what one calls the path of God [this nivritti process], he who endeavors for self-realisation and desires the peace of the soul, will not return once he has found his position in the true self [see also B.G. 8: 16]. He who on this in the Vedas recommended path of the ancestors and the gods, keeps his eyes focussed on the scriptures, is versed and will not get bewildered, despite being a material person.

Being present inside and outside and always there for all living beings from the beginning till the end, this Lord transcendental to the gross of matter, is personally found in this world as the knowledge and the known, as the expression and the expressed and as the darkness and the light. Despite being rejected as a real form, a mere reflection [of a form in the mirror] is nevertheless accepted as being real. The same way one accepts the [substance of the] purpose [of life as real] even though that is difficult to prove from speculations on one's sensual input. One is neither the reflected image of the objects of sense perception that consist of the earth element and such, nor is one a combination or transformation of these elements. Even though one has no existence separate from them, to consider oneself [and the soul] a part of them is also a false notion [see also B.G. 18: 16]. The body consisting of the five elements can not exist without the sense-objects belonging to it. The untrue is found in the fixed form of a body which, just like that what belongs to it, in the end turns out to be a temporary appearance. It compares to the same confusion - and likewise breaking away from the regulative principles - as one has in a dream: as long as one in one's sleep is separated by that dream from the substance of the waking state, one is led astray by that part [of existence]. A wise soul rejects from his self-realisation and his chosen unity of thought content, actions and matter in this world, the three forms [of ignorance associated with it as being three forms] of sleep [compare 1.18: 26 and B.G. 6: 16]. One speaks of oneness of thought content [called bhavadvaita] when one thinks of cause and effect [as being part of one and the same reality], similar to the warp and woof of a piece of cloth. Considering them separately is then recognised as constituting the unreal [see also B.G. 18: 16]. One speaks of oneness in actions [called kriyadvaita] when one in all the activities of one's mind, words and body directly is devoted to the transcendence of the absolute spirit [Brahman], oh Yudhishthhira [compare B.G. 9.27]. One speaks of oneness in a material sense [dravyadvaita] when the ultimate goal and desired situation of oneself, one's wife and children, other people or whatever living beings is one and the same [this is also called the 'golden rule']. Oh king, a person should perform his duties according to his [varnashrama] position in society, engaging with the means, the place and the time that are not [scripturally] forbidden and he should not follow any other course unless there is an emergency [see also 7.11: 17 en B.G. 3: 35]. Any human being who with respect for these and other principles described in the Vedic literatures is of devotional service in following the example and thereto abides by his occupational duties, can even staying at home reach His heavenly kingdom, oh King [see also B.G. 9: 32]. It is the way all of you [Pandavas], oh lord of kings, escaped from all that insurmountable danger. By serving the feet of your Master [Krishna] you managed to perform the rituals successfully and defeated the strongest elephants [the burden of unrighteous kings].

I myself a long, long time ago, in a former mahakalpa [in another epoch of Brahma], existed as a denizen of heaven named Upabarhana and was most respected among the Gandharvas. I had a beautiful body and was most attractive, smelled nicely, was decorated and captivating to the eye. Always attracted to the women I was in the excitement of my desires a debauchee [though]. Once there was a gathering of the gods and to the occasion of glorifying the Lord in song and dance, all the Ghandarvas and Apsaras were invited by the rulers of the universe [the Prajapatis]. I also, as an expert in singing [the glories of the divine life], went there surrounded by women. But learning about my attitude the divine rulers of the universe cursed me with great force for my dalliance: 'May you acting contrary to good manners, as from now become a Shudra bereft of the beauty!' Thereupon having taken birth from a maidservant, I nevertheless obtained a life as a son of Brahma because I that time could render service to spiritual propounders [Vaishnavas, see also 1.5: 23-31]. I have explained to you the dharma by which an attached householder can conquer sin and quickly attain the position of the renounced order. You [Pandavas] are so very lucky that in this world all the saints come to visit your place

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because in your home, most confidentially, the Supreme Brahman in person can be found in the form of a normal human being [Krishna, see also 7.10: 48]. He is the One Brahman sought by the great ones in order to realise their liberation and bliss of heaven. He, your renown cousin [Lord Krishna] is the beloved well-wisher, the most worshipable person, the heart and soul and the [original] guru of instruction on the regulative principles of all of you [the vidhi; see also 7.10: 48 and 49]. His form, beyond the purview of Lord Shiva, Lord Brahma and the others [see also B.G. 7: 26], can factually be understood by meditation, by silence, by bhakti and by putting an end to all material association. May the One Lord, this same personality, this guru of instruction and object of devotion of the devotees, be pleased with us.'

Shri Shuka said: '[King Yudhishthhira] the best of the Bharata dynasty, in utter glee because of hearing the descriptions of the devarishi, was caught in the ecstasy of love and worshiped both him and Lord Krishna. After the reverence he had received from Lord Krishna and from Yudhishthhira - who as the son of Pritha [see family tree] was utterly amazed about the fact that Krishna was the Parabrahman, the Supreme of the Spirit - the muni bade them farewell and left. Thus I gave a description of the different dynasties of the daughters of Daksha, in which all the worlds and their moving and non-moving living beings consisting of gods, demons, human beings and so on, came about.'

Thus the seventh BOOK of the Shrimad Bhagavatam ends named: The Science of God.

BOOK 8: WITHDRAWAL OF THE COSMIC CREATIONS

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 1:

The Manus, Administrators of the Universe

The honourable king said: 'Oh guru, thus far I extensively heard about the dynasty of Svayambhuva Manu wherein the great rulers of the universe have contributed to the creation. Can you please also describe the other Manus to us [see also 3.11: 23-28]? Oh brahmin, the scholars speak about the appearances and activities of the Supreme, Glorified Lord during the manvantaras [the periods of the Manus *, see also 2.1: 36, 2.3: 9, 2.7: 2, 2.10: 4]. Can you please also describe these to us, your eager listeners? As for the past, the present and the future oh brahmin, what are for each particular era the activities that the Supreme Lord, the creator of this universe, was engaged in, is now engaged in and will be engaged in?'

The great rishi said: 'This day of Brahma [kalpa] six Manus have passed: Svayambhuva and five others. I already described the period of the first one [Svayambhuva] including the divine personalities who appeared during that time [see 2.7: 43-45, 3.12: 54, 4.1 and 4.8: 6]. From Akuti and Devahuti, two daughters of [Svayambhuva] Manu, sons were born [Yajna and Kapila] known as [incarnations of] the Supreme Lord for [respectively] instructing dharma and jnana [spiritual knowledge]. Kapila I have fully described to you [see BOOK 3b], let me now tell you everything that Yajna[murti or Yajnapati] did, oh best of the Kurus. The master of the world [Svayambhuva Manu], the husband of Shatarupa, after totally renouncing his kingdom went with his wife into the forest for doing his tapas [see 3.22: 31]. At the river Sunanda he performed for a hundred years the severest austerities, in which he on one leg touching the earth [see also 4.8: 78-79] murmured the following, oh scion of Bharata.

Lord Manu said: 'He by whom this entire universe is set in motion, is not moved by the universe himself. He who is always awake while one is asleep in this body, He the One knowing, is not known by the living entity itself [see also B.G. 18: 55]. One may enjoy that what is allotted by Him, the Supersoul who is present everywhere with everything and everyone in the universe, but one should not covet the wealth of others. He whose eye sees all and who is not seen by the living entity, He the original source of all beings who knows no diminution, is the godhead and companion [see 6.4: 24] everyone should worship. There is no beginning, no end, nor a middle to Him, He favors no one, nor is He of enmity towards anyone. He is not [just] the inside nor [just] the outside of the cosmic creation. All these [aspects] of Him and the universe originating from Him together constitute the Complete Reality [Om purnam, see also the Shri Is'opanishad and 2.1: 24]. That assemblage of the universe known by many names [like purusha and virath rupa] is the Supreme Master, the Ultimate Truth of His person, the unborn self-effulgent one who is the oldest. By means of His external energy He gives rise to birth, death and maintenance while He remains aloof, inactive and untouched by dint of His spiritual potency [compare 1.7: 23]. For the purpose of being freed from karma [fruitive labour] all sages therefore to begin with request [people] to engage in [nonprofit, charitable, voluntary] activities [in karma-yoga]. A person thus engaged almost always will become indifferent [about performing work with an ulterior motive, see also 1.5: 12, 1.2: 13 and B.G. 3: 9, 6: 3, 3: 6]. Because He in His completeness is fully satisfied from within, the Supreme Lord, the Master [of yoga], never gets entangled in the matters He is engaged in and that is why people who follow Him never get discouraged. I surrender myself to Him who free from selfhood acts for our benefit, to Him who is complete in His knowledge, He who has no desire to enjoy, is fulfilled and is not led by others. I offer my obeisances to that master of all principles and duties who is there to instruct all of mankind and map out His path.'

Shri Shuka said: 'When the Asuras saw how he [Svayambhuva Manu] concentrated his mind with the philosophical mantras, the evil spirits chased him in order to devour him. But Yajna [Vishnu], the Supreme Personality, the Lord in the heart of everyone, saw what the Asuras had in mind and killed them. Thereafter He ruled the heavenly worlds surrounded by the gods [named] the Yamas [the ones sworn, His sons].

Svarocisha, the son of Agni became the second Manu. From his loins the sons headed by Dyumat, Sushena and Rocishmat were born. In that period [of Manu] Rocana [the son of Yajna] became the king of heaven [the Indra], Tushita and others faithful to the Absolute Truth were the gods, while Urja, Stambha and others were the seven sages. From the saint Vedas'ira impregnating his wife Tushita, the Lord was born who is known as Vibhu. From Him remaining a celibate brahmacari, eighty-eight thousand saintly persons fixed in that vow took initiation and instruction.

The third Manu was named Uttama, he was a son of Priyavrata [see 5.1] and from him the sons called Pavana, Shrinjaya, Yajnahotra and others were born. The seven sages [during his reign] were the sons of Vasishthha headed by Pramada. The Satyas, Vedas'rutas and Bhadras were the gods and Satyajit was the Indra. [In this manvantara] the Supreme Lord, the Personality of Godhead celebrated as Satyasena was born from the womb of Sunrita and the demigod Dharma. He appeared together with the Satyavratas. He together with his friend Satyajit [as the Indra] killed all the Yakshas and Rakshasas, the sworn liars and evil spirits, who with their misconduct constantly harassed the living beings.

The fourth Manu was the brother of Uttama known by the name of Tamasa. He fathered ten sons headed by Prithu, Khyati, Nara and Ketu. The Satyakas, the Haris and the Viras were the gods, Tris'ikha was the king of heaven and the seven sages during the reign of Tamasa were headed by Jyotirdhama. The [other] gods were called the Vaidhritis. They were the sons of Vidhriti, oh King, who by their own strength managed to protect the Vedas that over time had been lost. In that period the Supreme Lord appeared who was begotten by Harimedha in the womb of Harini. He was called Hari. Gajendra the king of the elephants, was freed by Him from the mouth of a crocodile.'

The honourable king [Parikchit] said: 'Oh son of Vyasa, we would like to hear from you how the king of the elephants who was harassed by a crocodile, was delivered by the Lord? Whenever and wherever there are the narrations in which Hari, the Supreme Personality, Uttamas'loka [the Lord Praised in the Verses] is glorified, great piety, fortune, auspiciousness and virtue are found.' "

Shri Suta said: "By the words of Parikchit who awaited his impending death thus being encouraged to speak dear brahmins, the son of Vyasa after complimenting him spoke with great pleasure to the sages who had assembled there with the desire to listen."

*: There are fourteen Manus during a day of Brahma, and the age of each Manu lasts for seventy-one yugas (see picture). Thus there are thousands of Manus during the life of Brahma. The six mentioned here are: Svayambhuva, Svarocisha, Uttama, Tamasa, Raivata and Cakshusha. A manvantara is a period to the measure of one cycle of the sun around the centre of our galaxy [see the Galactic Order].

**: Often quoted in this context is the dictum: 'nityo nityanam cetanas cetananam'. Both the Lord and the living entities are eternal and sentient.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 2:

The Crisis of the Elephant Gajendra

Shri Shuka said: 'Oh King, there was a very big mountain countless miles high, known as Trikutha ['three peaks']. It was surrounded by an ocean of milk [or plant-juice see 5.20: 18]. - With its three peaks full of silver, iron and gold in its circumference being as wide as it was long, it as an island, lush with trees, creepers and shrubs and the sounds of waterfalls, stood radiant against the sky in every direction, with even more peaks on all sides containing precious stone and minerals. At its foot being washed dark green by the waves of the sea all around, the earth was green with emerald stones. The perfected ones, the venerable ones, the heavenly singers, the ones of knowledge and the great ones of the world of snakes, the ones of a superhuman nature and the dancing girls, in the valleys there enjoyed it to be engaged in pastimes. The glens resounded with the sounds of the singers which made the stout lions enviously roar for a mate. The dales harboured great numbers of all thinkable jungle animals and the gardens that were tended by the enlightened souls living there were beautifully decorated with all types of trees and chirping birds. In the rivers and lakes filled with crystal clear water, the damsels of the godly ones were bathing who [entering the water] from the with gems glittering sand beaches, enriched the air and the water with the fragrance of their bodies. -1 In one valley there was a garden of the great soul, the mighty personality of Varuna, that was named Ritumat. it was a sporting place of the Sura ladies that everywhere to honour the divinity was most beautifully tended with flowers and fruits and mandara and parijata, pathala, ashoka and campaka trees. There were fruits like cutas, piyalas, panasas, mangoes, amratakas, kramukas and pomegranates as also coconut and date trees. One found there madhukas, palm trees, tamalas, asanas, arjunas, arishthas, udumbaras, plakshas, banyans, kimshukas and sandelwood trees as also picumarda flowers, kovidara fruits, sarala- and sura-daru trees, grapes, sugar cane, bananas, jambu, badari, aksha, abhaya and amalaki fruits. 4-1 In that garden there was a very large lake full of shining golden lotuses surrounded by bilva, kapittha, jambira, bhallataka and other trees. Next to the great beauty of the kumuda, kahlara, utpala and Shatapatra flowers, the intoxicated bees were humming around accompanied by the most melodious songs of the birds. It was crowded with swans and karandavas, cakravakas, flocks of water chickens, koyashthis and datyuhas who all made their noises. The water, surrounded by kadamba, vetasa, nala, nipa and vanjulaka flowers, agitated by the movements of the fish and tortoises, stirred the lotuses so that the pollen falling from them covered the surface. The trees growing on the banks like kundas, kurubakas, ashokas, Shirishas, kuthajas, ingudas, kubjakas, svarna-yuthis, nagas, punnagas, jatis, mallikas, Shatapatras, madhavi-latas, jalakas and others, adorned the place [bearing fruits and flowers] abundantly in all seasons.

The leader of the elephants who in the company of his wives lived in the forest one day wandered around on that mountain and [searching for water] broke through many thickets full of thorns, creepers and all kinds of trees and plants. Just his smell was enough to make all the lions and other beasts of prey, the other elephants, the rhinoceroses, big snakes and the white and black camari deer flee in fear. By his mercy the foxes, boars, buffaloes, bears, porcupines, gopucchas and other deer, wolves, monkeys and small animals like rabbits and such, could freely roam without fear. 3-2 Dripping from his temples and agitated [in musth] he, surrounded by intoxicated, drinking bees and followed by the other he and she elephants and the young in their midst, made the earth all around the mountain tremble. From a distance smelling the water with the pollen of the lotus flowers carried by the breeze he, with his thirsty company and his vision clouded under the influence, hurried for the bank of that lake. Entering its pellucid, cool water he with his trunk drank his fill from the nectarean lotus pollen mixture, took a good bath and was thus relieved of all fatigue. Drawing the water with his trunk and spraying it over him he inspired his wives and children also to take a bath and drink. Thus being engaged he, like a concerned householder being overly attached to his family, took under the control of the deluding material world, no heed of any possible danger. He then met with the fate that his foot oh King, right there was caught by a mighty and angry crocodile. The elephant thereupon with all his strength strenuously tried to free himself from his dangerous position. When the wives saw that their leader was suddenly attacked and captured, they in shock started to lament. But the other elephants trying to free him from behind, were equally helpless. While the elephant and the crocodile this way were fighting, pulling one another in and out of the water, a thousand years passed in which they both stayed alive. That, oh King, was a thing the immortals considered most wonderful. Gajendra, the elephant king, in the period thereafter more and more lost his strength because of his fatigue of having fought so long against being pulled into the water. The crocodile by contrast was at home in the water and became more frantic, strong and powerful over the years.

When Gajendra saw that his life was in danger and he, as decided by providence, could not manage to free himself from this helpless condition, he thought for a long time and reached the following conclusion: 'Neither are all these relatives able to deliver me from my distress, nor can I as an elephant expect to be freed by my wives from this fate of being captured tightly by the crocodile [of passion]. I, just like anybody else, therefore have to take shelter of Him who is the transcendence and the refuge of the most exalted souls [compare 7.9: 18]. He, the Lord, protects anyone who is of surrender. He protects those who are afraid of death against the so very strong serpent of time that chases someone endlessly with its terrifying force [see B.G. 11: 32]. I surrender to Him who is the refuge and for whom even death flees away.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 3:

Gajendra's Prayers of Surrender

The son of Vyasa [Shuka] said: 'With that decision he [Gajendra] led by his intelligence focussed his mind on his heart by reciting a supreme prayer he had practiced in a previous birth [see also B.G. 6: 43-44]. Shri Gajendra said:

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'My obeisances unto the Original One, the Supreme Godhead who moves this materially controlled existence to consciousness, let me meditate upon Him, that personality who is the root cause, the Supreme Controller. The universe rests in Him, exists because of Him and originates from Him, I surrender to Him, that independent Godhead who is our cause and who is transcendental to us. He who from His own energy expanded this cosmic manifestation that sometimes is manifest and sometimes has vanished, in both cases oversees all and everything as the witness. I beg that root Soul, the Supreme Transcendence of the beyond, to protect me! When in due course of time everything in this world has come to naught, when all the worlds and all their maintainers and directors and everything that was active, has ended, there is a dense and deep darkness, above and beyond which He, the Almighty One is radiating. When a dancer dances it is difficult to understand the different appearances he makes. The same way the gods, the sages and the common creatures cannot understand His movements nor express them in words. May He who is so hard to grasp give me protection. The Lord of those who long to see His all-auspicious lotus feet, of those who are free from all attachment, of the great sages who faultless in the forest, highly elevated above the material world practice their vows in accordance with the different spiritual positions in life [the ashramas], the Lord of those who are equal and friendly towards all, He is my destination. - He who is without birth has no karma, no name or a form, nor does He have qualities or faults. He who is the destruction and the creation of this cosmic manifestation, nevertheless by His own potency occasionally engages in [personal] activities [as an avatara]. I offer Him my respects, the transcendental Lord, the Controller, the Supreme Brahman of unlimited potency who without a form has assumed forms and performed so many wonderful activities. I offer Him my obeisances who is the enlightenment of the soul, the witness present within all, the Supreme Self, Him who defies description, the mind and even consciousness. For Him who by the ones inspired free from karmic reactions can be reached through the mode of goodness, for the master of emancipation and salvation and bestower of happiness, there is my respectful reverence. I offer my obeisances to the Lord of Peace, the Lord of Equilibrium who free from the modes assumes the form of the modes in a dangerous or animal appearance [like with Nrisimha en Varaha]. I dedicate my prayers to the Lord of the diversity of spiritual knowledge. My respects for the knower of the field [see B.G. 13: 1-5], for You the superintendent of all, the witness and the Original Person who are the primal source. You, the origin of the material creation I offer my obeisances. You are the one whom I respect because You oversee the motives of the senses. You are the source of all forms of belief concerning the apparent reality that one takes for real because it is a reflection of You. With respect for that reflection my reverence for You. I offer You, the causeless supreme cause of all, my obeisances. You who are the miraculous root cause of all, the science of the sacred tradition and the great ocean, I honour, You the granter of liberation and the shelter of the transcendentalist. I honour Him who is the fire of consciousness hidden in the wood of the modes of nature, Him whose [creative] spirit spurs into action when nature loses its equilibrium, Him who personally reveals Himself to those who gave up on the formal approach because of their spiritual understanding. I offer my obeisances to Him, the immaculacy of infinite mercy, who releases a surrendered animal like me from being entangled. You, the Supreme Unlimited Lord, He who is celebrated as the direct witness within, You who are ever attentive by a single part of Your self [the Paramatma, see also B.G. 10: 42], I offer my respects. You are difficult to attain for everyone who is [overly] attached to his mind and body, to his offspring and relatives, to his home, wealth and support. But for those liberated souls who [absorbed in the soul] are not disturbed by the modes of nature, You are present in the core of the heart [see B.G. 6: 47]. I offer You upon whom one always meditates, You the reservoir of all spiritual knowledge, You the Supreme Lord and Controller, my respects. They who desire dharma, artha, kama and moksha [the regulation of their civil virtue] worship Him and thus succeed in attaining their desired objective, not to mention other benedictions; He even endows one with an immortal [spiritual] body. May His unlimited mercy bring me salvation [see also 2.3: 10 en 7.9: 27]. 0-2 They who are fully surrendered to the Supreme Lord are, by reciting and hearing about His all-auspicious, wondrous activities, immersed in an ocean of transcendental bliss. With no other but Him as their purpose in life, they do not desire any [other] benediction. He, the eternal and Absolute Spirit of transcendence, the Supreme Master of all great personalities, the unseen Soul above and beyond all who in yoga can be reached [by devotional service] is, because of His subtle and elusive nature, out of reach of the senses. Him the unlimited, all-inclusive origin I worship. 2-2 The different moving and nonmoving entities, the Vedic knowledge, the gods, Brahma and the one's belonging to him as also His less important expansions, were created by the Lord with all their names and forms. Just like sparks that emanate from and merge with the fire and rays of light that emanate from en dissolve in the sun, there are similarly time and again the manifestations from the modes of nature of creations and creatures of intelligence and mind, senses and [of the gross and subtle aspect] of the body, that as parts and parcels repeatedly originate from and merge again with the Lord. He, [that fire,] is neither a demigod nor a demon, neither a human being nor an animal, He is neither feminine nor masculine, neither neuter nor another kind of creature. He is not the fruitive action nor the mode of nature, neither the manifest nor the non-manifest; He is the conclusion of the exclusion [of this or that, of neti neti, see also 7.7: 23]. All hail to Him, the One Unlimited!

I do not want to live like this in the world. What is the use of this captivation from within and from without in being born as an elephant? I do not want the misery and destruction because of the time factor. I want to be liberated from that covering of my spiritual existence [see also 1.2: 3, 6.15: 16]! I bow down before the transcendental shelter, the unborn Absolute Spirit who created the universe, who is the universe and who is beyond the universe, who is the knower of the universe and the soul of the universe. The devotees and ascetics who with yoga subdued their karma see Him, the Lord of Yoga clearly in their hearts. I offer Him my obeisances. My respects again and again for You, the force of whose threefold energy is formidable, You the intelligence of the completeness, the Lord of all qualities who shelters the surrendered souls and whose [deluding] potency [of maya] is difficult to overcome [see B.G. 16: 21], You who are unattainable for those on the path of bad sense control. I seek my refuge with Him, the Supreme Lord whose glories are unfathomable, whose Self is not known by the common man and by whose forces and intelligence I have been defeated.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Since he with this description was not directed at any particular personal appearance, Gajendra was not approached by any of the diverse appearances of Brahma's independent demigods. Instead of that choice of Gods the Lord in person appeared because He stands for the complete of them [compare B.G. 7: 20-23 and 9: 23; 4.31: 14]. Hearing his prayer the Lord of all worlds who understood his plight then came as fast as He could, together with the denizens of heaven who offered their prayers. Carried by Garuda and equipped with His disc and other weapons he soon arrived where Gajendra was situated. As soon as he, who in the water so violently was captured and was suffering, saw the Lord who on the back of Garuda raised His disc in the sky, he lifted his trunk holding a lotus flower and uttered with difficulty: 'Oh Narayana, Teacher of Completeness, oh Supreme Lord, You I offer my obeisances.' Seeing him that pained the Unborn One so full of mercy alighted immediately and saved, before the eyes of all the godly ones present, him with His disc by severing the mouth from the crocodile its trunk and pulled Gajendra out of the water.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 4:

Gajendra Returns to the Spiritual World

Shri Shuka said: 'Thereafter [when Gajendra was freed] the gods, the rishis and the heavenly singers headed by Brahma and Shiva, showered flowers to praise that accomplishment of the Lord. The sky vibrated because of the kettledrums, the Gandharvas sang and danced and the saints, the venerable ones and the perfected ones offered prayers to the Supreme Personality of Godhead. - That very moment the crocodile assumed the most wonderful form of Huhu, the best of the Gandharvas who, now that he was freed from a curse pronounced by sage Devala, with his head bowed down began offering his obeisances to the Supreme Eternal Master Hailed in the Verses and then chanted the glories of His transcendental pastimes and qualities. Enjoying the Lord His grace he circumambulated Him while offering his respects, whereupon he being freed from all sin before the eyes of everyone returned to his abode.

Gajendra was because of the touch of the Supreme Lord instantly freed from the ignorance of his state of bondage and acquired the form of the Lord with four arms and yellow garments [sarupya-mukti, see also 3.29: 13]. In his former life he had been born as the best of Dravida-des'a, the king of Pandya. Known as Indradyumna he swore by Vishnu as his ultimate resort. [In that life] he, when the time to do penance had arrived, with the greatest care had taken the vow of silence and performed with matted locks his austerities in Kulacala [the Malaya hills] where he had his ashrama. One day worshiping the Infallible Lord, he was immersed in his love for the Supreme Controller. The renown Agastya surrounded by his disciples then on his own initiative arrived there and saw him sitting silently alone in meditation without offering him a respectful welcome. The rishi got very angry about it. He then cursed him by saying: 'This degraded soul so unfriendly and indifferent of mind despises [me as] a brahmin. May he enter the darkness as a dull-minded elephant.'

Shri Shuka said: 'After thus condemning him, the so very powerful Agastya departed together with his associates, oh King, leaving Indradyumna thinking that the curse despite his royal position was his fate. When he got born as an elephant the remembrance of his identity was destroyed, but because he worshiped the Lord by offering prayers, he nevertheless in that elephant's body managed to remember [his past devotion]. After the Lord of the Lotus navel thus had delivered the king of the elephants and He for His wonderful deeds was praised by the Gandharvas, the perfected ones and the sages, he [after first having given a declaration] returned to His heavenly abode sitting on the back of Garuda in the company of him who was awarded the position of being His associate.

What I have described to you oh great King, concerning the belief in Lord Krishna that delivered King Gajendra, promotes those who hear about it to the heavenly spheres and increases their reputation. It takes away the darkness of the immorality of Kali-yuga [see 1.17: 24-25] and drives away the result of sleepiness, oh best of the Kurus. To put first of all an end to the [bad] consequences of sleepiness, twice-born souls who are motivated for this blessing rise early in the morning, purify themselves and faithfully chant this story.

This is what the All-pervading Great Lord, pleased in the presence of everyone said to Gajendra oh best of the Kuru dynasty. 7-2 The Supreme Lord said: 'Those will be delivered from all their worries who, when they get up at the end of the night, by carefully concentrating their minds remember My forms - the forms of Me and you, the forms of the lake, this hill, these caves and gardens, those of the cane and the bamboos, the groups of trees, these peaks and the abodes of Me as also those of Lord Brahma and Lord Shiva; this ocean of milk, this white island with its brilliant luster so dear to Me, My Shrivatsa mark, Kaustubha jewel, [Vaijayanti] garland, Kaumodaki club, Sudars'ana disc and Pancajanya conch; Garuda, Ananta Shesha, My subtle plenary portion the Goddess of Fortune, all who depend on Me, Lord Brahma, Narada rishi, Shiva and Prahlada; My Matsya incarnation, Kurma, Varaha, the other avataras and the countless number of all My auspicious deeds; the deities of the sun, the moon and the fire, the Omkara mantra, the Absolute Truth and that what is not manifest [of the universe]; the cows, the brahmins, the eternal dharma, the daughters of Daksha, the dutiful wives of the moon god and Kasyapa, as also the Ganges, the Sarasvati, the Nanda and the Yamuna, Airavata [Indra's elephant], Dhruva, the seven so very pious sages and the human beings. My best one, they who offer Me prayers this way when they rise at the end of the night, I will grant the greater destination when they expire their last breath.'

Shri Shuka said: 'After having declared this, Hrishikes'a, to the pleasure of the host of demigods blew on His conch, the best one of the sea, and climbed on the back of Garuda.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 5:

The Fifth and Sixth Manu and the Prayers of Brahma with the Suras

Shri Shuka said: 'Oh King, I have described to you this [story] which drives away all impurity about the action of the Lord delivering the pious Gajendra. Now hear about the time of Raivata Manu. The fifth Manu known as Raivata was the brother of Tamasa and his sons were Bali, Vindhya and others with Arjuna as the eldest one. Vibhu ruled the heavens [as the Indra] oh King, the Bhutarayas and others were the gods and Hiranyaroma, Vedas'ira, Urdhvabahu and others were the twice-born ones [the seven sages]. From Shubhra and his wife Vikunthha, Vaikunthha appeared, the Supreme Lord in person, together with the God-conscious followers of the Truth named the Vaikunthhas as His expansions. Just to please the Goddess of Fortune, He upon her request and to the appreciation of all, built a world free from carelessness, [another] Vaikunthha. If someone would try to enumerate His exploits, qualities and transcendental glories such a person would count as many transcendental qualities of Vishnu as there are particles of dust.

The sixth Manu was Cakshusha, the son of Cakshu and his sons were Puru, Purusha, Sudyumna and others after them. Mantradruma was the heavenly king during that period, the gods were the Apyas and so on and Havishman, Viraka and others were the sages, oh King. From Vairaja and his wife Devasambhuti there was in that period a son named Ajita who was a partial incarnation [an ams'a-avatara] of the Lord, the Master of the Universe. When the ocean [of milk] was churned, He, as Kurma residing in the water in the form of a tortoise, with the left and right movements of Mandara Mountain [on His back], produced the nectar for the Suras.'

Shri Parikchit said: 'Oh brahmin for what purpose was the ocean of milk churned with the mountain, why did He reside in the water as a tortoise and what came along with the nectar that the godly ones thus obtained? Please be so kind to describe all these so very wonderful activities of the Supreme Lord. My heart for so long suffering the misery [of a material existence] is not yet fully satisfied with you describing the glories of the Master of the Devotees.' "

Shri Suta Gosvami said: "The great son of Vyasadeva thus being requested, oh dear twice-born souls, complimented him and began to describe the heroism of the Lord. 5-1 Shri Shuka said: 'When the godly ones were besieged by the Asuras who fought them with their sharp edged weapons, the majority of

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them had fallen [on the battlefield] so that they could not rise to their feet again. Because sage Durvasa had cursed Indra and his three worlds [*], oh King, they [who had survived] were all poverty-stricken and could not perform the rituals and ceremonies any longer. 7-1 The Suras, the great Indra, Varuna and the other demigods who saw what took place, engaged in a discussion but could by themselves not reach a satisfactory conclusion. They then went to the assembly of Lord Brahma on top of mount Meru, offered him their obeisances and informed him about it all. 9-2 When the almighty Lord Brahma, saw how Indra, Vayu and the rest were bereft of their significance and power of expression and how the three worlds were plunged in ill fortune while the Asuras were flourishing, he focussed his attention by calling to mind the Original Person in the beyond and bright-faced addressed the godly ones: 'I, Lord Shiva, you all, as also all the demons, the human beings, the animals, the trees, the plants, the insects and the germs all generated from Him, from His partial incarnation [from me] and from all the ones who are a part of me [the sages and such]. Let us all seek our refuge in the Inexhaustible One. As for Him no one should be killed or be protected, no one should be neglected or be followed. Nevertheless He, at times [as an avatara] siding with passion, goodness or ignorance, accepts it to be of creation, maintenance and annihilation [see also B.G. 9: 29 and 4: 8]. It is now time to establish, for the welfare of all living beings, His rule of maintenance in the mode of goodness. Let us thus take to the shelter of the Teacher of the Universe. May He so full of affection for His people - us the Suras - bring the good fortune we crave for [see B.G. 14 and 18].'

Shri Shuka said: 'The Lord of the Veda thus talking to the Suras, oh subduer of the enemies, went together with the gods directly to the abode of [Vishnu] the Invincible One beyond the world of darkness. There, unto Him whose form cannot be seen but about whom all of the Veda speaks, the master of the gods uttered the divine prayer the vibrations of which then settled the rule over the senses. Shri Brahma said: 'The Unchanging One, the Truth Unlimited, the Original Cause in everyone's heart, the Undiminishing, Inconceivable, Evanescent, Intangible and Indescribable One, the Unsurpassed and Greatest Godhead most desirable, we gods all do offer our obeisances [compare 6.3: 20-21 and B.G. 15: 15 and 9: 4]. I seek my refuge in the Supreme Spirit of the life force, mind and intelligence of all living beings, the One ever vigilant to everything objective, the senses and the knowledge, the One immaculate, impartial shelter and light of all the ones in darkness, in Him the infallible Lord of the ether of all the three Yugas [in the fourth He is there as His own devotee]. Let us offer our obeisances to the truth of Him, whom one considers the axle of Lord Brahma's lightning fast revolving, sacred wheel of Time with its fifteen spokes [the knowing and working senses and the five airs], three naves [the modes] and eight segments [the five elements, mind, false ego and intelligence] that feed one's thought process [compare 3.21: 18, 7.9: 21, 5.21: 13 and B.G. 18: 61]. He admits to one cause [that of goodness] and is transcendental to the material darkness. He who is not manifested, cannot be located, is unlimited and beyond all measure, is carried by Garuda [the Vedic verses] on his back and is by the unperturbed and sober person worshiped with the vehicle of yoga [see also 4.3: 23]. No one can defeat His illusory energy of maya. People in general being bewildered by that energy do not understand the real purpose of life. We offer Him our respects who is in control of the self and its material qualities [maya], Him ruling all living beings who is the transcendental controller equal unto all. You, being present inside and outside and kindly disposed towards us [the gods] who rely on a body created from goodness, cannot [even] be understood by the saints and sages for being this most subtle destination. And how could the demons and atheists who follow a different lead understand [this purpose]? This earth that He created together with the four types of living beings He gave life to [as born from wombs, eggs, moist and seed, see also 2.10: 37-40], constitutes His lotus feet. May He, the Absolute Truth, the independent Supreme Personality, be merciful unto us. The three worlds including all their local rulers flourish on the water that, as His semen, is so powerful in generating all life. May He, the one of the greatest might, be pleased with us. They [the scholars] say that Soma, the moon, is His mind, the strength of the denizens of heaven, of the food grains and of the duration of life. May He, the Supreme Lord who makes the trees and all other living entities grow, may that source of all opulence be happy with us [see also 2.10: 30 and 6.6: 24-26]. The fire that consumes all the elements [of the food] within the stomach and in the depths of the ocean, provides engaged in ritualistic ceremonies as His mouth all wealth and Vedic knowledge. May that All-Powerful Lord be pleased with us [see also B.G. 3: 10]. He whose eye became the deity of the sun who leads the God-conscious ones on their threefold Vedic path, who is the gate for the realisation of the nectar of eternity, the Absolute Truth and one's liberation and also constitutes the cause of one's death, may that All-Powerful Lord be contented with us [see also 2.1: 30, B.G. 7: 8, 10: 21 and 11: 19]. By following His life force, His breath in all moving and not moving living entities, by following that prana, that vital air, as the basic principle like subjects who follow an emperor, one finds all the strength and vitality. May He, the All-powerful Lord be satisfied with us. His ears constitute the different directions, from His heart the [nine] apertures of the body were generated and the navel of the Original Person constitutes the refuge of the ether for the life breath, the senses, the mind and the breathing process of the body. May the Almighty Lord have mercy with us [2.1: 27 and 29]. His strength constitutes the great Indra, His contentment constitutes His servants in all the three worlds, from His anger there is the Master on the Mountain [Lord Shiva] and from His sober mind Virinca originated [Lord Brahma]. From the apertures of His body de mantras sprouted while from His genitals the saints and founding fathers found their existence. May we carry the approval of the Powerful Lord. His chest produced the Goddess of Fortune, His shadow constitutes the ancestors, religion became possible from His front and irreligion could find its existence from His back. The higher worlds are there from the top of His head and from His sense enjoyment the dancing girls of heaven are found. May He, the greatest One of all prowess, be pleased with us. The ones of learning [the brahmins], the Vedic literatures and His confidential knowledge are there from His mouth, the administrators [kshatriyas] with their power are there from His arms, from His thighs there are the traders [the vais'yas, see also 2.1: 37] including their know-how and from His feet there are the workers [shudras] unconcerned about the Veda. May He so Supremely Powerful be satisfied with us all [see also 12.11: 6-8]. Greed is there from His lower lip and affection from His upper lip, from His nose there is the bodily luster and from His touch animalistic love manifested. From His brows there is the Lord of Death [Yamaraja] but from His eyelashes there is eternal Time. May He, the One of all Prowess, be favorably disposed towards us. The material elements, their weaver [kala, time], fruitive labour [karma], the modes of nature [the gunas] and the individual differences brought about by His creative potency [yoga-maya], constitute a difficult to fathom completeness from which the great sages turn away [in their aversion against the delusional quality of the material world]. May He, the Controller of All and Everything, be contented with us. Let there be our respectful obeisances unto Him the Soul of all souls who, free from endeavoring in not depending on a profit motive, is of peace, unto Him who just like the ether does not attach to matters of the external energy that, ruled by the natural modes, incites the senses. Can You please show us Your original form so that we see You clearly before us? We who surrendered ourselves to You would like to see Your smiling lotus face. Oh Almighty One, You in different incarnations time after time personally appearing in different forms according to Your desire, engage in uncommon activities because of which You are the Supreme Lord to us [B.G. 4: 7]. For embodied souls who want to enjoy there are many obstacles and little results, so that one's actions lead to nothing. But that is not true for those who are devoted to You. Not even the slightest activity properly performed [for Your sake] is in vain, because being dedicated to the Controller [who is the Time] You are realised as the Original Soul friendly and beneficial to all persons. The way one by watering the root of a tree also waters the trunk and the branches, it is also with the worship of Vishnu, the Soul of everyone [see also 4.31: 14]. I offer you my obeisances, oh Lord of Eternity, oh worker of the wonders of a higher existence, oh Controller of the Modes who are now established in goodness.'

*: The story goes: 'While Durvasa Muni was passing on the road, he saw Indra on the back of his elephant and was pleased to offer Indra a garland from his own neck. Indra, however, being too puffed up, took the garland and placed it without respect for Durvasa Muni on the trunk of his carrier elephant. The elephant, being an animal, could not understand the value of the garland, and thus the elephant threw the garland between its legs and crushed it. Seeing this insulting behavior Durvasa Muni immediately cursed Indra to be poverty-stricken, bereft of all material opulence. Thus the demigods, afflicted on the one hand by the fighting demons and on the other hand by the curse of Durvasa Muni, lost all the material opulences in the three worlds.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 6:
The Suras and Asuras Declare a Truce

Shri Shuka said: 'Oh King, the Supreme Lord Hari, the Controller, thus being glorified by the godly ones then appeared before them with an effulgence of a thousand rising suns. For that reason the vision of the demigods was blocked that very moment. They could not see each other any longer, nor see anything in any direction, neither in the sky nor on the land, not to mention the Almighty One Himself. - The moment the Supreme Lord Virinca [Brahma] and Lord Shiva discerned His immaculate appearance that was as beautiful as a dark gem, when they saw [the white of] His eyes as pink as a lotus heart, His yellow silken dress that shone like molten gold, the great beauty and grace of all His limbs, the cheeks of His enchanting face, His smile, His beautiful eyebrows and the attractive arrangement of His jeweled helmet, the decoration of all His ornaments, the light from His earrings, His belt and bangles, His necklace and ankle bells, the Kaustubha gem on His chest that moved with Shri Lakshmi, His flower garlands and His cakra discus and other weapons pleasing Him in their personal forms, all the immortals together with the Supreme Personality of Destruction [Shiva] prostrated before Him. The master of all the gods [Brahma], then worshiped Him [as follows].

Shri Brahma said: 'The One who never took His birth but always makes His appearance, the One free from the modes of nature, that ocean of bliss beyond all existence, He smaller than an atom whose form can never be conceived, You the Supreme Authority, we time and again offer our obeisances [see also B.G. 4: 6]. This form of You, oh Best of all Persons, is worshipable and auspicious to all who in their yoga practice are striving in accordance with the Vedic directions of the Tantras [specific Vedic treatises]. Oh Supreme Director, we can see us together with the three worlds in You, in Your form of the universe. This framework of the soul has its beginning in You, its middle in You and its end in You. You as the beginning, the middle and the end of the universe are like the earth that is the ruling element of an earthen pot. This universe entirely depending on You, that You by means of Your deluding material energy have created, this universe that generated from You and of which You are the shelter, You have entered. Developed minds connected to You and who are versed in the scriptures see from a spiritual perspective that while [physically speaking] a transformation of the three modes takes place You nevertheless are not determined by those modes. People who by their practice of yoga are intelligent with the modes of nature, will, so confirm the scholars, attain You the way one obtains fire from wood, the nectar of milk from cows, food grains and water from the earth and a livelihood from endeavoring. Now that we today see You appear before us in the full of Your glory as the Master with the Lotus Navel for whom we longed such a long time, we have attained our goal to see the supreme of happiness, like being elephants who, in distress because of a forest fire, reach the water of the Ganges. About what could we inform You who are the witness of all and everything? Please, oh great Soul present within and without, can You for us, the rulers of the entire universe, do that for which we have sought Your lotus feet? I, he from the mountain [Shiva], the enlightened souls and those led by founding fathers like Daksha, are like sparks in relation to the fire that You are. How can we independently from You arrive at understanding oh my Lord? Kindly bestow upon us the good fortune of the mantras for the demigods and the brahmins.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Thus being worshiped by the godly ones led by Virinca [Brahma], He understanding their hearts, replied with a voice rumbling like the clouds the ones who with folded hands were holding their breath. Even though the Lord independently could perform the duties of all the God-conscious ones together, He as their Lord and Master wanted to enjoy the pastime of churning the ocean and [therefore] spoke [as follows] to them. The Supreme Lord said: 'Listen, oh Brahma and Shiva, oh gods, to what I am going to tell you. All of you listen attentively, for that will assure you Suras of the ultimate happiness. Just settle temporarily for the blessings You will receive from making a truce with the Daityas and Danavas who presently have the time on their side. Oh gods, if it is important to one's duties one should even make terms with one's enemies, like a snake would do with a mouse, depending the position he is in [*]. Forthwith endeavor for producing the nectar drinking which any living entity in mortal danger can become immortal. 2-3 Cast all kinds of creepers, grasses, vegetables and herbs into the ocean of milk and attentively engage with My help, oh gods, in churning using Vasuki [the snake] for the rope and the mountain Mandara for the churning rod. It will engage your Daitya opponents, but you will reap the fruit of that activity [the nectar]. Do not get angry about it, because to engage in peace is the best way to attain all one's goals. Accept therefore everything that the Asuras demand, oh Suras. Do not fear the kalakutha ['false time'] poison that will appear from the ocean of milk, and take care not to be led by greed, lust or anger with the result of the churning.'

Shri Shuka said: 'After the Almighty Lord thus had advised the demigods, the Supreme Personality, the Controller moving at His pleasure, disappeared from sight, oh King. Upon having offered Him, the Supreme Lord their obeisances, the Great Father and Lord Bhava [Shiva] returned to their abodes. The Suras then approached King Bali. The honourable ruler of the Daityas [King Bali] saw that, even though his captains stood prepared, their [divine] enemies had no plans to fight against them and thus he held them back. He knew when it was time to fight and when it was time for negotiations. They together approached the son of Virocana [Bali] who sat before them, he who, well protected by the Asura commanders, as the conqueror of all the worlds was blessed with great opulence. The great Indra pleased him with friendly words to the best of his ability and submitted

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with great intelligence to him all that they had learned from the Supreme Personality. That was [politically spoken] all very acceptable to both the Daitya ruler and the other Asura chiefs Shambara, Arishthanemi and the rest of the inhabitants of Tripura. Next having decided to be friendly with each other, they, Deva and Asura, embarked on the supreme enterprise of churning for the nectar, oh chastiser of the enemies. For that purpose they with great force and loud cries uprooted Mandara Mountain, embraced it firmly and brought it to the ocean. Carrying the load over a great distance Indra and the son of Virocana being fatigued could not support the load any longer and dropped it on the road. The gigantic golden mountain falling down right there crushed with its great weight many of the enlightened and unenlightened souls. Then the Supreme Lord seated on the back of Garuda appeared before them who had broken their arms and legs as also their hearts. Simply glancing over the immortals and mortals who were crushed by the falling mountain brought them back to life unscathed and free from grief. With the greatest ease He placed with one hand the mountain on Garuda, also mounted and went to the ocean, surrounded by the Suras and Asuras. Unloading the mountain from his shoulder Garuda, the greatest of all birds, went to the waterside with it and put it down. Thereupon he was sent away by the Lord [so that he would not eat Vasuki].'

*: The idea here is that of a mouse with a snake caught in a basket, wherein the mouse makes a hole for both to escape after which the snake eats the mouse.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 7:

Lord Shiva Drinks the Poison Churned with the Mountain Mandara

Shri Shuka said: 'The Suras invited the king of the snakes Vasuki, promised him a share of the result and wound him around the mountain to serve as a churning rope. Thereupon they commenced in great delight to churn the ocean in order to produce the nectar, oh best of the Kurus. Lord Hari was the first to take him by the head and then the demigods followed. The Daitya leaders did not like the initiative of the Supreme Personality and said: 'We are not going to take the snake by its tail, that is its inferior part, [that is] not [in accord] with what we heard during the studies of our education and the fame of our birth and activities.' Seeing how consequently the Daityas let it pass, the Supreme Personality smiled. He gave up the front portion and grasped together with the demigods the rear end. Thus having settled on the positions to hold the snake, the sons of Kasyapa [the godly and the demoniac ones] with great zeal churned to get the nectar from the ocean of milk. As they were churning the ocean with the mountain it had no support so that it, despite the fact that it was held by the strong men, because of its weight sank down in the water, oh son of Pandu. Confronted with the fact that their manliness was defeated by the stronger will of providence, their faces, heavily disappointed, darkened. The infallible Lord, He whose ways and powers are inscrutable, saw the hindrance as arranged by providence and then expanded Himself into the wondrous body of a giant tortoise [Kurma]. He entered the water with it and lifted up the mountain [see also Das'avatara-stotra verse 2]. When the Suras and Asuras saw it rising they decided to churn again with the mountain Mandara that like a continent extended a hundred thousand yojanas wide on His back. The rotating of the mountain that was moved by the strong arms of the Sura and Asura leaders my best one, was by the primal tortoise who carried it on His back, considered an infinitely pleasant scratching. Thereafter, to encourage them and increase their strength and energy, Lord Vishnu entered the Asuras in the form of passion, the godly ones in the form of goodness and the king of the serpents [Vasuki] in the form of ignorance. Like another mountain holding on to the king of all mountains with one hand, He exhibited thousands of hands while from the sky Lord Brahma, Lord Shiva and King Indra, the head of the gods, offered prayers to Him who was showered with flowers. With the Lord, the Supreme One, present on top and below the mountain as also within themselves [as the three primal qualities] and within the snake, the ocean that including its alligators with great strength was churned vehemently with the great mountain, got seriously agitated. The serpent king spitted, hissing violently in all directions, fire and smoke from his thousands of heads. For that reason the Asuras headed by Pauloma, Kaleya, Bali and Ilvala, being troubled by the heat of his radiation, all began to look like sarala trees scorched in a forest fire. Also the luster of the gods was affected by his fiery breath that smoked their dresses, fine garlands, armament and faces. Ordained by the Supreme Lord it then profusely began to rain while breezes were blowing clouds of vapor originating from the waves of the ocean. When the ocean by the best of the godly ones and the Asuras was duly churned but no nectar appeared, the Invincible One Himself began to churn. He as dark as a cloud, in yellow silks, with lightning earrings on His ears, with the gleaming hair on His head disheveled, with His garland, reddish eyes and victorious arms securing the universe, grabbed the snake to churn with the churning rod for which the mountain was used and assumed for that purpose a size as big as a mountain Himself. From the churning of the ocean that agitated all kinds of fish, sharks, snakes, tortoises, whales, water elephants, crocodiles and timingilas [whale-eating whales], there was first of all a very strong poison called Halahala [or Kalakutha, see 8.6: 25]. The terribly strong, unbearable poison, that unstoppably spread itself in all directions upwards and downwards, scared all the people so that they, missing the protection of their Lord and Master, oh my best, sought the shelter of Lord Shiva. When they saw him who for the welfare of the three worlds together with his wife sits on his mountain [Kailasa], he, the best of the demigods served by saints who in austerity walk the path of liberation, they offered him their obeisances.

The lords of the created beings [the Prajapatis] said: 'Oh Lord of Lords, oh Mahadeva, oh soul of each, oh love of all, deliver us, who took shelter at your lotus feet, from this poison burning the three worlds. You are the one lord and master over bondage and liberation in the entire universe. You whom we worship are the spiritual master able to carry the burden of the surrendered followers. Oh mighty one, oh greatness, by your material potency, do you operating with the three modes of nature, in acceptance of the creation, maintenance and destruction of this material world, manifest yourself as Brahma, Vishnu or Shiva. You are the Supreme Brahman, the secret of the cause and effect of all the life forms of creation. You are with all the potencies that you manifest the Controller and Supersoul of the universe. You are the source of the [spiritual, Vedic] sound, the origin of the universe, the soul, the life breath, the senses and the elements. You are the modes of nature and the natural disposition, the eternal time, the sacrifice and the dharma of truth [satya] and truthfulness [rita]. It is unto you that one utters the original syllable consisting of the three letters [A-U-M]. Oh soul of all the godly ones, fire constitutes your mouth; oh Lord of all the worlds the surface of the globe is known as your lotus feet; oh self of the gods, time constitutes your movement, the directions are your ears and the controller of the waters [Varuna] is your taste. With the ether for your navel, the air for your breath, the sun globe for your eyes, the water for your semen, the moon for your mind and the higher worlds, oh Lord, for your head, your self constitutes the shelter of all living beings high and low [compare 8.5: 33-43]. The oceans are your belly, the mountains are your bones, all the plants, creepers and herbs are your hairs, the [seven types of] mantras [see 5.21: 15] are your seven layers [koshas] and all the religions , oh you three Vedas [Rig, Yajur and Sama] in person, constitute the core of your heart [see also 2.1: 32]. The five secret texts of [the Vedic] philosophy [called Tatpurusha, Aghora, Sadyojata, Vamadeva and Is'ana] constitute your faces with the collection of the thirty-eight important mantras [derived from them *] that describe the reality of the Supersoul, of you oh Lord, who in your position of enlightenment are celebrated as Shiva. The waves of irreligion [lust, anger, greed and illusion] are nothing but your shadow, the shadow on the basis of which there are so many secondary creations. Your three eyes stand for the goodness, the passion and the darkness and simply glancing over [the creation with them] brought about the analytic scriptures of the Supersoul, oh Lord full of verses, oh god of the Vedic literatures and their supplements. None of the directors of the world, oh Ruler on the Mountain, neither Brahma, nor Vishnu, nor the king of the Suras [Indra], can fathom your transcendental effulgence, the impersonal spirit [of Brahman] equal to everyone wherein the modes of passion, ignorance and goodness are not found. In this world that has originated from you and at the time of her destruction is burned to ashes by you with the sparks of the fire emanating from your eyes, you have out of your mercy for the living beings annihilated Tripura [7.10: 53] as also put an end to the sacrifices out of desire [see e.g. 4.5], the poison of [false] time [in this story] and many other forms of misery. But these matters are not part of your praises, since you ban this world from your mind. People not knowing your help and kindness shamelessly criticize you for being a savage person whom one always finds at the burial place [smeared with ashes] and for moving with your consort Uma despite your highly advanced austerity and the fact that your lotus feet are remembered by the [mystical] gurus of contentment with the soul. Because you are transcendentally situated above the moving and the not moving living beings, you are difficult to understand. And when it is not possible for even Brahma and the ones belonging to him to properly understand your real nature, oh great one, how much more would that not be true for us, we who, living their lives in line with what was created after the creation [that is of Brahma], still do our best to offer you our prayers? We see the supreme of the form that you manifested to bless the world, but not the supreme of your transcendence, oh great Lord whose ways are inscrutable.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Seeing their pernicious predicament he, Mahadeva, the friend of all living beings out of his compassion for the great distress spoke to his beloved Sati. Lord Shiva said: 'Dear Bhavani, just see how pitiable this situation is of all the living beings that are threatened by the poison resulting from churning the ocean. Feeling responsible for all their lives, I must do something for their safety; is it my duty as the master to protect against distress. Devotees at the cost of their own lives protect other living beings who, time bound and bewildered by the external energy, are of enmity with one another. The Soul of All, the Lord, is pleased when one takes pity on others, oh gentle one. When the Supreme Personality of the Lord is pleased also I and all other moving and not moving entities are happy. May there be the well-being of all creatures, with me drinking this poison.'

Shri Shuka said: 'After Lord Shiva, the well-wisher of the universe thus had addressed Bhavani she gave her permission, very well knowing his capabilities, whereupon he proceeded to drink the poison. Mahadeva out of compassion for the welfare of all living beings consequently took the widespread Halahala poison in his hand and drank it. That poison from the water exhibited its potency to him by turning his neck dark-blue, a feature considered an ornament by the virtuous ones, the saints and the sages. Good and honest people practically always take to heart the sufferings of their fellow men. This is considered the highest form of worshiping the Original Person, He who stands for the completeness of the soul [see also 1.5: 17-19, B.G. 18: 68-69 and 4: 7-8]. Hearing about that act of Shiva, the god of gods, the graceful one, he was highly praised by the daughter of Daksha [Sati see also 4.3 & 4], by Brahma, by the Lord of Vaikunthha and by all the people. Scorpions, cobras and other poisonous animals and plants are the beings who took care of the little bit that was scattered here and there as he drank from his palm.'

*: The thirty-six mantras called pancopanishadas taves'a are: tat purushaya vidmahe Shantyai, maha-devaya dhimahi vidyayai, tan no rudrah pratishthhayai, pracodayat dhrityai, aghorebhyas tama, atha ghorebhyo moha, aghorebhyo raksha, aghoratarebhyo nidra, sarvebhyah sarva-vyadhyai, sarva-sarvebhyo mrityave, namas te 'stu kshudha, rudra-rupebhyas trishna, vamadevaya raja, jyeshthhaya svaha, Shreshthhaya ratyai, rudraya kalyanyai, kalaya kama, kala-vikaranaya sandhinyai, bala-vikaranaya kriya, balaya vriddhyai, balacchaya, pramathanaya dhatryai, sarva-bhuta-damanaya bhramanyai, manah-s'oshinyai, unmanaya jvara, sadyojatam prapadyami siddhyai, sadyojataya vai namah riddhyai, bhave dityai, abhave lakshmyai, natibhave medha, bhajasva mam kantyai, bhava svadha, udbhavaya prabha, is'anah sarva-vidyanam Shas'inyai, is'varah sarva-bhutanam abhaya-da, Brahmadhipatir brahmanodhipatir brahman brahmeshtha-da, Shivo me astu maricyai, sadaShivah jvalinyai.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 8:

More Appears from the Churning: Mother Lakshmi and Dhanvantari

Shri Shuka said: 'When the poison had been drunk by him who rides the bull [Lord Shiva], the immortals and Danavas gladly resumed the churning of the ocean quickly whereupon the cow of plenty appeared [the surabhi, the source of the ghee]. The sages conversant with the injunctions for the yajnas took care of her, oh King, for she was useful for the divine sacrifices because of her clarified butter.

Next a horse as white as the moon manifested named Uccaihs'rava that Maharaja Bali liked to have, while Indra desisted from claiming it on the advise of the Lord [see B.G. 10: 27 and compare 4.19: 23].

Thereafter the king of resistance, the elephant Airavata appeared who with his four tusks defied the glories of the white mountain [Kailasa, the abode] of the First Devotee [Lord Shiva, see 6.11: 11 and again B.G. 10: 27]. Airavana was the first of eight elephants manifesting for each direction of the sky and also a group of eight she-elephants was generated that was headed by one named Abhramu, oh King.

Then a valuable lotus-hued gem known as the Kaustubha jewel was generated from the wide expanse of milk. Lord Hari who desired to possess it decorates His chest with it. Thereupon the parijata tree was generated that adorns the heavenly places and, just as you who likes to fulfill each his wishes, fulfills every wish on this planet by providing whatever that is wanted oh King.

Next the Apsaras were generated, the extremely beautiful and attractive inhabitants of heaven who, exquisitely dressed and decorated with gold, smoothly moving around divert each his heart.

After that had happened the Goddess of Splendor [Rama or Lakshmi] manifested in person. With her lightening luster she as [bright as] Saudamani [mountain] illumined along with the Lord all the directions [to deal with that splendor see the 'peace formula' of B.G. 5: 29]. Each Sura, Asura and human being desired her, for the magnificent beauty of her features, youth, complexion and glories had caught their minds. The great Indra brought a glorious, wonderful seat for her and the most sacred rivers and reservoirs assumed a personal form by filling golden water pots with pure water. The land offered all the herbs needed for installing the deity. The cows contributed with their five pure products [milk, yogurt, ghee, dung and urine] and springtime delivered fresh flowers and

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fruits. The sages performed the bathing ceremony as prescribed, the Gandharvas sang the all-auspicious mantras and their wives danced and sang along. The clouds vibrated two-sided drums, kettledrums, murajas and anakas [two other types of drums] and that created, combined with the sounds of bugles, conch shells, flutes and vinas, a great tumult. And while the twice-born ones, the brahmins, were singing hymns the elephants next poured jugs full of sacred water over the chaste goddess so beautiful with the lotus in her hand [see also a classic picture of Lakshmi]. The ocean presented yellow silks for her to dress from top to toe and Varuna offered a large garland swarming with bumblebees intoxicated by its sweetness. From Prajapati Vis'vakarma there was a choice of ornaments, Sarasvati [the goddess of learning] supplied a necklace, Lord Brahma provided a lotus flower and the Nagas [the excellent ones] gave earrings. Thereupon being worshiped in an all-auspicious ceremony she, radiating a natural beauty with the decoration of the earrings to her cheeks and a coy smile on her face, went around [the sacrificial arena] with the lotus garland in her hand and the bees about it. With her two symmetrical breasts, her thin waist in harmony and smeared with sandalwood pulp and kunkuma, she, moving here and there with the sweet tinkling of her ankle bells, appeared exactly like a golden creeper. In that position looking for the eternal qualities she could not find a single soul among the indwellers of heaven, the perfected ones, the unenlightened ones, the keepers of the wealth, the venerable ones and the rest of all the demigods, who was complete in every respect.

[She contemplated:] 'Certain of one's austerity one has not conquered anger, to have spiritual knowledge does not mean that one is not contaminated by one's association with others and a great personality might not have conquered material desires. How can a person controlled by something or someone else like this, be his own master [a master of his senses]? Someone might be of dharma but is he friendly towards other living beings? Someone can be of renunciation but he might miss the cause of liberation. A person may have power over people, but he is still not released from the great force of material nature [from the power of time]. Someone may be free from the influence of the modes of nature but never be a second one [another Lord of Control and Yoga, see also 1.2: 8]. Someone may live a long time but still not know how to behave and be happy, someone may master the art of living but still not know how to get old. And when someone knows the both of them, such a person still might be unlucky in another respect. Nor is of someone excelling in all walks of life said that he wishes Me [in my position of devotion for Vishnu]!'

With these considerations in mind the Goddess of Wealth and Splendor turned to Him Mukunda, the reservoir of Transcendence who was so desirable and qualified in every way as the husband of her choice - even though He had no desire for it. He, after all, did not depend on others and had the extraordinary, supreme qualities perfect in every respect. After placing on His shoulders a ravishing, fresh garland of lotuses vibrating with humming, maddened bumblebees, she remained, with a shy smile and glittering eyes, at His side with His bosom as her true resort. He, the father of the three departments of the universe, made His bosom the residence of the mother, the goddess, the supreme [representative of all] opulence. She installed there mercifully overseeing the three worlds increases the fortune of His servants and leaders. The servants of the gods and their women [the dancers and singers of heaven], all became engaged in singing and dancing accompanied by the loud sound of musical instruments like conch shells, bugles and drums. Brahma, Shiva and all the directors of the world headed by Angira honoured the Supreme Personality by showering flowers and chanting mantras that described His true nature. With the merciful glance of the Goddess resting upon the godly ones, the fathers of mankind and their generations, they were all blessed with good conduct and good qualities and thus achieved the ultimate satisfaction.

But when the Daityas and Danavas oh King, were neglected by Lakshmi they, being depressed in their aching greed, got disheartened and lost all sense of shame. Thereupon Varuni, the goddess of the drunkards appeared, a young lotus-eyed girl who, with the permission of the Lord, was accepted by the Asuras.

With the sons of Kasyapa thereupon [again] zealously churning the ocean for the nectar, there [finally] appeared a most wonderful man, oh great King. He was tall, youthful, had stout and strong arms, a neck like a conch, a dark skin, reddish eyes, a garland and was adorned with all kinds of ornaments. Being clad in yellow, with a broad chest, with well polished, jeweled earrings, with gleaming curly locks of hair and decorated with bangles he, as strong as a lion, came forward with a jar that was filled to the rim with nectar. He was a partial appearance of a part of Lord Vishnu Himself known by the name of Dhanvantari who, seeing to medical science, was one of the demigods entitled to a share in the offerings. All the Asuras who saw him with the container full of nectar, greedy after the contents, immediately snatched the pot away. When the pot of nectar was carried away by the Asuras, the demigods were desolate and turned to the Lord for their protection. When He saw their sadness the Supreme Lord who always acts according to the desires of His servants said: 'Do not grieve, I will personally see to it that the nectar will be there for all of you.' Oh master of man, there was a quarrel among them [the Asuras] about the nectar in which they with a thirsting heart said: 'Me first, me first, not you, not you!' 9-4 Others roared: 'The gods were of a likewise effort in the duty of sacrifice and deserve an equal share. This is a matter of traditional duties [sanatana dharma]!' The Daityas violently trying to appropriate the jug thus being envious and weak constantly denied each other the right oh King. 1-4 After this had passed Lord Vishnu, the Supreme Controller who has a solution for any problem, assumed the form of a supremely beautiful, wonderful woman who mystified them all. Pleasing to behold she was as dark as a newly grown lotus. She was of the greatest beauty and harmony in all her limbs, she had a straight nose, fine cheeks and ornamented ears. She had fresh, firm, young but weighty breasts to her thin waist and a blissful expression on her face. She looked a bit anxious because of the humming bumblebees around her. With the mass of her beautiful, waving hair and the mallika flower garland about her attractive neck, with the beauty of her arms that were ornamented with the finest jewelry and bangles, with the fair sari spread over her breast that was an island of beauty and with the belt that covered her waist, she moved about gracefully with her ankle bells. Coyly casting her glances while moving with her eyebrows, she gave rise to a constant lusty desire in the core of the hearts of the Daitya leaders.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 9:

The Lord Appears as a Beautiful Woman to Distribute the Nectar

Shri Shuka said: 'When the Asuras were snatching the nectar away from each other, they, tossing it to and fro, thus behaving like thieves grew very inimical. Then they saw [the Lord in the form of] a woman [called Mohini-murti] coming their way. 'What a figure, what a grace and youthfulness!' so they said hasting to get Her attention while their hearts were aching to sleep with Her. 'Who are You with Your lotus petal eyes? Where do You come from and why did You come here? To whom do You belong,, oh You who with Your beautiful thighs upset our minds, please tell us! Neither we, nor any immortal one, demon, perfected soul, creature of heaven, venerable one or any ruler of the universe has ever laid hands on You and known You, not to mention any normal human being. Oh may providence be praised for sending You with Your beautiful eyebrows! Is Your mercy not there to bring that what pleases the senses and mind of all who are of flesh and blood? Oh smashing lady, are You maybe there as our fortune to settle the mounting differences between us family members who are increasingly inimical with each other over this one issue [of the nectar], oh You slim beauty? Can You please see to it that [the nectar] justly, without any partiality, is divided among us, the able and competent brothers who are the descendants of Kasyapa?'

Looking at them with a smile and enchanting glances, the illusion of feminine beauty that was an incarnation of the Lord, thus being requested spoke the following words to the Daityas. The Supreme Lord said: 'How can it be that all of you descendants of Kasyapa, put faith in associating with a woman who runs after men as I do, for to be enamored with women is something one never finds with men of wisdom! Oh enemies of the Suras, the wise agree that jackals and unchaste women who are fickle in their relationships, [always] look for a new, fresh mate.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Thus joking with them all the Asuras laughing felt comforted by Her and with a serious expression on their face handed over the jar of nectar. When the Lord took hold of the amrit container He with an alluring, teasi ng smile spoke the words: 'If you promise to accept Me whether I act honestly or not, I will divide this nectar.' Having heard what She said the chiefs of the Asuras without giving it further thought, assented to it and said: 'So be it!' 4-1 They observed a fast, bathed, offered oblations of ghee into the fire, were of charity for the cows, the brahmins and many others, performed ceremonies according to the brahminical precepts, dressed up to their taste in new clothes, put on jewelry and next together sat down on seats of kus'a grass laid down in the eastern direction. 6-1 When the Suras and Daityas, all with their faces [also] turned eastward, dressed up with garlands sat down with lamps in an arena full of incense smoke, She entered there holding the container, oh ruler of man. With Her youthful, restless eyes, the sounds of Her tinkling ankle bells and Her jug-like breasts striding slowly, She wore a beautiful sari around Her wide hips and elephant trunk-like thighs. Looking at Her, the Lord Supreme who with golden earrings, charming ears, nose, cheeks and face posed as a girlfriend of the Goddess, they were all enchanted by the way she with a smile glanced at them while Her sari was slightly waving over Her breasts. Considering it a miscalculation to give the nectar to the demons who are as cruel as snakes, the Infallible One did not divide it. Arranging a different line for every group separately, the Master of the Universe let each of them orderly occupy a position at his own side. Carrying the container the Lord deceived the Daityas with sweet words and made the ones sitting at a distance [opposite of them - the Suras] drink from the nectar that would free them from old age, death and disability. The Asuras considering it an abomination to fight with a woman, out of their feelings for Her according to their promise kept themselves in check, oh King and remained silent. Out of fear to break the bond of friendship with Her they, moved by the greatest respect, all felt obliged and said not the slightest thing that would displease Her. He who darkens the luminaries [Rahu] dressed himself up like one of the demigods and sat among them to drink from the nectar but he was, by sun and moon [the divinity of the ego and feeling he eclipses], quickly detected. The moment Rahu drank from the nectar his head was cut off by the razor sharp cakra of the Lord. The decapitated body that was not touched by the nectar, fell dead to the ground. But the head thus attained immortality and was by Lord Brahma recognised as a planet. It is that very Rahu that at times [e.g. during the changes of the moon] inimically represses the [light of the] sun and the moon [see also 5.24: 1-3, 6.6: 37 and 6.18: 12-14].

When the godly ones were almost done drinking from the nectar, the Supreme Lord Hari, the well-wisher of all the worlds, revealed His original form [once more] in the presence of all the Asuras and their leaders. Although the Suras and Asuras were thus unified in respect of the same place, time, objective, cause, activities and ambition, they did not achieve the same result. The God-minded ones easily achieved the nectar with it because the benediction of the saffron dust of the lotus feet was theirs, but that was not the case with the Daityas [compare B.G. 4: 11]. Whatever that is done for the sake of one's own life and welfare, are human activities, ideas and words in relation to one's body and family that are all transient [asat, huntrue']. They together constitute one's separateness. But the same truly becomes something factual and permanent when it is not done in separation [when it is not without devotion unto Him], for then they result in what one calls the 'watering of the root', those actions that are beneficial to everyone [see 8.5: 49 and B.G. 3: 10].'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 10:

The Battle Between the Demigods and the Demons

Shri Shuka said: 'Because they had turned away from Vasudeva [and rather saw Mohini-murti], the Danavas and Daityas oh Ruler, thus with their combined efforts of churning failed to achieve the nectar. After the amrit had been generated, oh King and had served as a drink for the Suras who belonged to Him, the Lord of all living beings who is carried by Garuda went away. Seeing how their rivals enjoyed a good life, the sons of Diti could not accept it and therefore raised their weapons to march against the demigods. The godly ones who under the shelter of Narayana's feet had found new strength from drinking the nectar, thereupon took up their weapons to defend themselves. There was a very fierce battle between those who were named the gods and the demons, oh King, with a tumult that made one's hair stand on end. That battle in which they angry minded fought against each other wielding their swords, arrows and the rest of their weaponry, was an encounter that tried them all sorely. Because of the conch shells, trumpets, drums, bugles and kettledrums and [the sounds of] all the elephants, horses, foot soldiers and chariot fighters there rose a tumultuous noise. On the battlefield the enemies fought with each other on an equal basis: charioteer against charioteer, infantry against infantry, cavalry against cavalry and elephantry against elephantry. Some rode elephants, some sat on camels and some others fought sitting on asses. Some also used white-faced and red-faced monkeys, tigers and lions. 0-1 Both the parties of fighters faced each other using all kinds of differently shaped water animals, land animals and sea animals. There were vultures, eagles, ducks, hawks and bhasa birds, killer whales, monkeys, buffalos, rhinoceroses, cows, bulls, wild cows and red cows, jackals and rats, lizards, rabbits, human beings and goats while others entered the fight making use of black deer, swans and boars [as their 'vehicle', totemic animal or fighting spirit]. 3-1 With the nicely decorated flags and canopies oh King, with the spotless white parasols with precious handles full of jewels and pearls, with the normal fans and peacock feather fans, with their upper and lower garments flapping in the wind, with the effulgence of their ornaments and shields and with their shining spotless weapons abundantly glittering in the sunshine, the two bannered parties of the demigod and Danava heroes with their garlands all together looked like two oceans of aquatics, oh descendant of Pandu. 6-1 Bali the son of Virocana, the captain of the demons, drove for the sake of the battle a vehicle made by Maya that was called Vaihayasa ['flying through the air']. It moved wherever he wanted to. Fully equipped with all the necessary weapons it was inexplicable, indescribable and most wondrous. Sometimes it was invisible and sometimes it could be seen. Protected by nicely decorated umbrellas and camaras he,

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seated on that first-class heavenly chariot and surrounded by all the commanders, was situated in a position as brilliant as that of a rising moon. 9-2 The different vehicles of the Asura commanders of the troops surrounded him on all sides: those of Namuci, Shambara, Bana, Vipracitti; Ayomukha, Dvimurdha, Kalanabha and Praheti; the ones of Heti, Ilvala, Shakuni, Bhutasantapa, Vajradamshthra and Virocana; of Hayagriva, Shankus'ira, Kapila, Meghadundubhi, Taraka, Cakradrik, Shumbha, Nishumbha, Jambha and Utkala, as also those of Arishtha, Arishthanemi, Maya, Tripuradhipa and the sons of Puloma, the Kaleyas, the Nivatakavacas and all the others who did not get a share of the nectar. Only having carried the burden [and not receiving the reward] they, who had conquered hosts of enemies, now with all their prowess ready to fight against the immortals roared as lions and blew their conch shells with the greatest tumult. When [Lord Indra], Balabhit ['afraid of the strength'], saw his ferocious rivals he got very angry.

Indra mounted on Airavata his carrier elephant that was dripping must, looked as beautiful as the sun shining over Udayagiri's cascades. Around him all the gods with banners and weapons had taken positions with their different carriers: all the leaders of the higher worlds and the demigods of the air, of fire and of water. Having come forward the combatants face to face chided each other as painful to the heart as they could. Then they drew near to engage one to one in battle. Bali fought with Indra, Taraka with Karttikeya, Varuna with Heti and Mitra, oh King, fought with Praheti. Yamaraja fought with Kalanabha, Vis'vakarma with Maya, Tvashtha with Shambara and Savitra fought with Virocana. 0-3 Aparajita fought with Namuci, the two As'vini-kumaras with Vrishaparva, the demigod Surya with the hundred sons of Bali who were led by Bana, Soma [the moon-god] fought with Rahu, Anila [god of the air] with Puloma and the extremely powerful goddess Bhadra Kali [Durga] fought with Shumbha and Nishumbha. 2-3 Vrishakapi [Shiva] fought with Jambha and Vibhavasu, the fire god, with Mahishasura. Ivala together with his brother Vatapi fought with the sons of Brahma, oh suppressor of the enemies. Durmarsha fought with Kamadeva [Cupid], Utkala with the Matrika goddesses, Brihaspati with Shukracarya and Shani [Saturn] fought with Narakasura. The Maruts fought with Nivatakavaca, the Vasus with the Kalakeyas, the Vis'vedevas with the Paulomas and the Rudras fought with the Krodhavas'as.

The Suras and Asuras this way one by one engaged in fighting each other on the battlefield. Desiring the victory they slashed one another earnestly, waging with great strength with their sharp arrows, scimitars and lances. They cut off each other's heads making use of fire weapons [bhushundhis], discs, clubs, spears, tridents, spikes, fire brands, barbed missiles, axes, swords, lances, iron bludgeons, mallets and slings. The elephants, horses and chariots, foot soldiers and all the types of riders with their carriers were slashed to pieces. Arms, thighs, necks and legs were severed and flags, bows, armor and ornaments were shredded. Because of their violent trampling and rambling the dust of the field rose high in the sky up to the sun in every direction after which the particles rained down again with the blood that splattered in every direction. And so the field there was strewn with severed heads complete with helmets and earrings, angry eyes and bitten lips and legs and ornamented arms resembling elephant trunks, that, being severed, lay scattered still holding the weapons. With the eyes of their own heads fallen there the soldiers could still see the trunks and raised arms with weapons coming after them on the battlefield.

Bali attacked the great Indra with ten arrows, Airavata, his carrier with three arrows, his four guardians [soldiers on horseback] with four arrows and the driver of the elephant with one arrow. Indra skilled as he was, in a quick response immediately cut the arrows rushing towards him to pieces with a different type of very sharp arrows [bhallas] and smiled about the fact that the enemy did not reach him. Observing what a martial expert he was he, enraged, took the Shakti weapon up but that torch of blazing fire was, still in his hand, shattered by Indra. But whether he next tried the lance, the barbed missile, the javelin or the sword, they were all cut to pieces by the mighty one. Oh master of men, the Asura then produced a demoniac illusion because of which he vanished and a huge mountain appeared above the heads of the Sura warriors. In order to minimize the enemy forces, big trees ablaze in a forest fire rained down from it as also sharp pointed stones. Big snakes, scorpions and other poisonous creatures came down as also lions, tigers, boars and great elephants that crushed everything. Many hundreds of stark naked carnivorous demonesses and demons oh Ruler, each holding a trident, yelled 'Pierce them, cut them to pieces!' and such. Next big, deeply rumbling clouds harassed by the wind were seen in the sky that with claps of thunder released embers. The Daitya created a huge terrifying conflagration resembling Samvartaka [the fire at the end of time] that was carried by the blasting wind to burn the demigod warriors. Thereafter, for everyone to see, a sea appeared agitated all over with waves blown up by the wind into a formidable whirlpool. The Sura warriors thus lost their courage, daunted as they were by the creation of the illusory atmosphere as was presented in the fight by the invisible Daityas, those experts in illusion. Not knowing anymore how to respond to that, oh King, the followers of Indra meditated upon the Supreme Lord, the Creator of the Universe who right there appeared before them.

He with the yellow dress and the lotus petal eyes whose feet rest upon the shoulders of Garuda, then became visible with His eight arms and weapons, the Goddess of Fortune and His invaluable Kaustubha gem, His helmet and His earrings, all brilliantly exhibited. The moment He appeared, the illusory manifestations of the false works of the Asura were immediately curbed by the superior power of the greatest personality of all. Just as it happens with dreams when one wakes up, all dangers are vanquished when the remembrance of the Lord has arrived. When the demon Kalanemi who was carried by 'the enemy of the elephants' [the lion] saw Him on the battlefield who was carried by Garuda, he threw a whirling trident at Him. Directed at Garuda's head it was seised with ease by the Lord of the Three Worlds, whereupon the enemy together with his carrier with the same weapon was killed by Him. The very powerful Mali and Sumali fell in the battle when their heads were severed by His cakra. Thereafter the enemy Malyavan lost his head by the disc of the Original Personality when he, with a pointed club and roaring like a lion, attacked the king of the birds [Garuda].'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 11:

The Danavas Annihilated and Revived

Shri Shuka said: 'When thereafter by the grace of the Supreme Personality the Suras had regained their spirits, Indra, Vayu and the others without hesitation resumed the fight against the troops who formerly had driven them back in the battle. When the so very mighty Indra angry with the son of Virocana [Bali] took up his thunderbolt, all his people cried: 'Alas, alas!' He who sober and well equipped moved about on the battlefield was by him who carries the thunderbolt opposed and rebuked as follows: 'You cheater, you fool, with your magic you try to be of control and win with illusions, you try to conquer us who have mastered the illusion, as if we were children whose possessions you can take by diverting their attention! Those who desire to advance and be free by deceptive means, such enemies of the gods, I bring down, such fools I deny the positions they have taken. I am the one who today will put an end to you and your jugglery by severing your head with my hundred-jagged thunderbolt. You wicked soul with your buddies... just step forward!'

Bali retorted: 'All present here on this battlefield are subjected to the rule of time and successively acquire with what they do a reputation, achieve a victory, suffer defeat and find their death. Because the entire world is moved by time, an enlightened soul who sees this will not rejoice or complain. In that sense you all have pretty much lost your way [compare B.G. 2: 11]! We who manage to control ourselves in that respect, reject these embarrassing words of yours that the saintly feel sorry for.'

Shri Shuka said: 'After as a valiant hero thus having chided the mighty Indra, Bali the subduer of the greatest, attacked him again with iron arrows on his bow that he drew up to his ear in the process. The god who thus was derided by his silver-tongued enemy, did, just like an elephant that is beaten with a rod, not care about the lesson he taught him. When the master of destruction [Indra] used the infallible bolt against him [Bali] he, being struck, crashed with his heavenly vehicle to the ground like a mountain with its wings being clipped. Seeing that his mate had fallen his most intimate friend and well-wisher Jambha stepped forward in solidarity with his hurt companion. He, a man of superpower riding the lion, took position with his club and hit Indra and his elephant with great force on the shoulder. Struck by the great blow the elephant sank stunned down to its knees and hit the earth unconscious. When Indra's driver Matali thereupon brought his chariot that was drawn by a thousand horses, he mounted the vehicle and left his elephant behind. In appreciation of the chariot driver's service [Jambhasura,] the best of the Danavas smiled and struck him [the driver] in the fight with his fire blazing trident. Matali bracing himself, managed to tolerate the excruciating pain, but Indra most infuriated decapitated Jambha with his thunderbolt. When Jambhasura's kin heard from Narada rishi that he had been slain, Namuci, Bala and Paka hurried over there as fast as they could. With gross insults cursing Indra to hurt him in the heart, they besieged him with arrows that rained down like a torrent of rain over a mountain. The thousand horses of the king of heaven were assailed by as many arrows that were all quickly launched at once. With the two hundred arrows that next to that by Paka all at once were aimed and released against Matali and the chariot with all its upkeep, thus a most remarkable feat could be witnessed in the battle. Namuci contributed with fifteen gold-feathered all-powerful arrows that cutting through the air made a noise over the field like a thundercloud full of rain. The Asuras covered Indra and his chariot driver from all sides with a dense shower of arrows that covered the sun just like clouds during the rainy season do [see also 4.10: 13]. Like traders shipwrecked in the middle of the ocean, the entire assembly of demigods and their retinue who could not discern him any longer, bereft of their leader began to wail under the pressure and intimidation of the superiority of the enemy. Thereupon did Indra, he who overpowers the mighty ones, to their delight manage to free himself from the hull of arrows together with his horses, chariot, flag and driver, radiating in all the directions of the sky and the earth with an effulgence resembling the sun at the end of the night.

When the godhead saw how his army in the battle was oppressed by the enemy, he fuming of anger took up his thunderbolt to kill his opponents. Before the eyes of their family members, he then, in order to create fear in them, oh King, with the bolt severed the heads of the trunks of Bala and Paka. Namuci witnessing the two being slaughtered, grieved over them and enraged made a great attempt to kill Indra, oh lord of men. With an iron spear hung with bells and decorated with gold in his hand he strode in fury against Indra roaring like a lion: 'And now you're dead' and struck. The lord [of the gods, Indra] who saw it descending from the sky with great speed, smashed it to pieces [in its flight], oh King, while the demon himself from a fuming Indra received the thunderbolt on his shoulder in order to cut off his head. But the powerful bolt, the same weapon that in the past by the king of the gods so successfully was used to pierce Vritrasura [6.12: 25], could not even scratch his skin. That defiance of Namuci's neck was an extraordinarily wondrous thing. With the bolt thus rendered ineffective Indra became very afraid of the enemy and wondered: 'What is this? By what superior force could this to the eyes of everyone so miraculous thing happen? With this same bolt I formerly cut off the wings of mountains that by those wings killed people when they with their great weight descended on earth. Vritrasura who was so powerful with the austerities of Tvashtha [see 6.9: 11] was killed by it, just as many other powerful characters impervious to all other weapons. And now that bolt, strong as a Brahmastra, is repelled after being released against a less important demon. Rendered as useless as a rod, I can wield it no longer.'

Indra who this way was lamenting, out of the blue was addressed by a voice that said: 'With this Danava it is thus arranged that he can not be annihilated by anything dry or wet. He would not die by something moist or dry because of a benediction I granted him and therefore, oh Indra, you must think of some other means to deal with your enemy.'

After having heard that ominous voice Lord Indra meditated most attentively and arrived thereupon at the insight that foam had to be the means that was neither dry nor wet. Thus he forced through Namuci's throat the weapon that was wet nor dry, upon which all the sages most pleased covered the almighty one with flower garlands. The two leading singers of heaven Vis'vavasu and Paravasu sang hymns, the godly ones sounded kettledrums and the heavenly dancers danced in bliss. Vayu, Agni, Varuna and others nevertheless vigorously started to eliminate the other belligerent Asuras, as if they were lions killing deer. Devarishi Narada Muni was by Lord Brahma sent to the demigods, oh King, to forbid the ones in power the total annihilation of the Danavas he saw taking place. Shri Narada said: hunder the protection of the arms and the fortune [the goddess] of Narayana you all procured the nectar. Since you all thus flourished you now must stop with this fighting!'

Shuka said: 'Controlling their aggravation and anger they accepted the words of the sage and returned, being hailed by their followers, all to their heavenly abodes. They who had survived the battle picked up the lifeless body of Bali [as also the rest of the ones who had fallen] and all went, with Narada's permission, to the mountain called Asta. At that place the ones who had still their limbs and their head were by Shukracarya [4.1: 45, 6.7: 18, 7.5: 1, 7.10: 33] resuscitated by means of his knowledge of the Samjivani prayer, his science of reanimation. Also Bali was brought back by the touch of Ushana, but despite the fact that he was defeated, he with his experience in worldly affairs did not lament [it to regain] his memory and senses.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 12:

Lord Shiva Prays to See Mohini Murti, Gets Bewildered and Restores

- The son of Vyasa said: 'When the one riding the bull [Shiva] heard how Lord Hari had assumed the form of a woman [8.9] in order to enchant the Danavas and had caused the Suras to drink the nectar, he mounted his bull and went together with his goddess [Uma] and surrounded by his ghosts to the abode of Madhusudana [Vishnu] to see Him. The Supreme Personality welcomed him cordially with all due respect and when Lord Bhava and Uma were comfortably seated, Shiva offered Lord Hari his obeisances and with a smile spoke the following words.

Shri Mahadeva [Shiva] said: 'Oh God of Gods, oh All-pervading Lord and Master of the Universe who are the universe, for all forms of existence You are the true self, the soul and therefore You are the Supreme Controller. Of what

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exists in the beginning, in the middle and the end of this creation, of the 'I' and of the rest [of the world of 'mine'] outside of it, You my Lord, are the Inexhaustible Truth of Brahman, the Absolute Spirit free from these differences. Those who are wise and free from personal objectives desire the supreme welfare, worship Your lotus feet and forsake their attachments in both respects [concerning this life and a life hereafter]. You as the cosmic complete of eternal life beyond the [influence of the] modes, as the One free from grief perpetually residing in bliss, are changeless and exist apart from all in existence while You are everything that exists. You as the cause of the rise and maintenance of this universe, are the Self and Master of all self control, the Independent One upon whom all others depend [see also B.G. 9: 15]. You the One present as a temporal as also an eternal manifestation, are Yourself without that duality because You in this world do not differ as for substance, just as gold does not differ from the gold in the different forms it may have. Out of ignorance people have different notions about You, differences that are created by the modes whereas You do not depend on those physical inessentials [see also B.G. 7: 4-5]. Some think of You as the Supreme Spirit, some consider You to be dharma, some say that you are the Original Person, the Supreme Controller beyond cause and effect while others think of You as the Transcendence endowed with nine potencies [see 7.5: 23-24]. Still others think of You as the independent and imperishable Supreme Personality. Neither me nor the man endlessly living in the beyond [Brahma], nor the sages headed by Marici really know the one [You] who has created this universe, even though we [know that we] generated from goodness. And what to say about the Daityas and the other mortal beings oh Lord whose hearts constantly being bewildered by maya are moved by the lower [motives of passion and ignorance, see B.G. 2: 45]. As the air that enters us as also is present in the sky, You are involved and free at the same time, and do, from Your presence as the all-pervading one, know everything about the creation, maintenance and resolution of this world in its entirety, about the living beings and their endeavors and about everything that moves and not moves. I have seen all kinds of avataras of You in various pastimes displaying Your qualities. I, Shiva, would like to see the incarnation of You in which You assume the body of a woman. We have come here very eager to see with our own eyes the form of the incarnation that captivated the Daityas and fed the Suras with the nectar.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Vishnu, the Supreme Lord thus being asked by the one holding the trident in his hand, smiled and gave Giris'a ['the man of the mountain'] a reply of deep significance. The Supreme Lord said: 'In the interest of the Suras I deemed it necessary to bewilder the Daityas who had taken away the vessel filled with nectar and assumed thereto the form of a beautiful woman. I shall now oh best of the enlightened ones, show you who long to see it, this object of adoration that is so very much appreciated by those who are led by lust.'

Shri Shuka continued: 'Having said this Lord Vishnu immediately disappeared from the sight of His company, leaving Shiva and Uma with their eyes spying everywhere. Thereupon they saw on a beautiful spot in the forest a delightful woman who, wearing a shining sari with a belt around Her hips, in the midst of pink leafed trees and all sorts of flowers was engaged in playing with a ball. With her bouncing the ball Her beautiful breasts and Her garlands vibrated along that because of their weight waved to Her fragile waist with every step She made here and there with Her feet as red as coral. Her eyes anxiously followed the ball that was restlessly moving in all directions, She had glittering earrings on Her ears and gleaming bluish hair that decorated the cheeks of Her radiating face. Striking the ball with Her right hand Her hair slackened while She with Her left hand charmingly tried to keep Her loosening sari together. The spiritual potency [of the Lord] thus captivated everyone in the universe [compare B.G. 7: 14]. Seeing Her thus playing with the ball and sending a hardly noticeable bashful smile, the god was bedazzled by the glances of the ravishing beauty. Under Her spell not being able to keep his eyes off Her, he could no longer think of himself nor of the nearby Uma or his associates [compare 5.5: 8]. When the ball once jumped far away from Her hand in Her pursuit, directly before the eagerly following eyes of Shiva, the fine dress and belt blew away that covered the woman. Thus seeing the complete of Her well-formed glory so pleasing to the eye, Shiva thought that She thereupon giving him a look, indeed would fancy him. Because of Her actions and smiles he, bereft of good sense, was perturbed and shamelessly went after Her, despite the fact that Bhavani witnessed what happened. The completely naked woman saw him coming and most embarrassed with a smile ran here and there to hide behind the trees. Lord Shiva, Bhava, distracted by his senses, fell victim to lust like he was a male elephant running after a she-elephant. Speeding after Her he caught Her by the braid of Her hair and pulled Her close against Her will to embrace Her. 9-3 She, the she-elephant, with Her hair scattered being captured by him, the bull that was the Lord's devotee, squirming like a snake managed to free Herself oh King. Having escaped from the tight grip of the Lord of the demigods She ran quickly away, with Her heavy hips so expressively exhibiting the illusory potency of the Lord. Like being haunted by the devil Rudra engaged in the pursuit of Him whose acts so wondrously were taking place in front of him. Chasing Her like a mad bull going for a female, the semen was discharged of him who never spills his semen in vain. Each and every place where his semen fell on the earth oh great ruler, those places became mines for silver and gold. At the shores of the rivers and lakes, in the mountains and in the forests, in the gardens and wherever the sages were living, Lord Shiva was present. With his semen discharged he oh best of kings, understood that he personally had been fooled by the illusory potency of the Lord and therefore he refrained from chasing the illusion any longer. Thus convinced of his own greatness and the greatness of the Soul of the Universe who is of an unlimited potency, he did not consider what had happened that surprising. Seeing that he was not perturbed or ashamed about it, Madhusudana very pleased with that assumed His male form again and spoke.

The Supreme Lord said: 'I wish you all good fortune, oh best of the demigods. With Me appearing as a woman, you were spontaneously enchanted by My external potency, yet you remain firmly fixed in your self. Once being drawn by the senses, which person other than you can surmount My maya? Those who are unable to control their senses have great difficulty to overcome the material reactions that overwhelm them. The moment one [living] with the time and all its different elements, is joined with Me in the form of Eternal Time [or the pure Time Spirit], that illusory energy of the modes of nature [the goddess Durga in sum*] will no longer be able to bewilder you.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Thus complimented by the Supreme Personality of Godhead with the Shrivatsa-mark on His chest, oh King, Shiva circumambulating Him took leave of Him and together with his associates turned back to His abode. Oh descendant of Bharata, the mighty Lord Bhava then in jubilation addressed his wife Bhavani who by the sages is accepted as an integral part of the illusory potency of the Lord: 'Oh, did you see how I myself, against my will, despite being the best of all His portions, got bewildered by Her, the illusory energy of the Unborn Supreme Person of the Demigods? Do I have to speak of others then who totally depend on the material illusion? When I ceased with a yoga practice that took a thousand years, I was approached by you to inquire after Him [upon whom I was meditating]. He indeed is the One who is now personally present here as the Original Personality beyond the grasp of the Vedas and the grip of time.'

Shri Shuka concluded: 'I thus spoke to you my best one, about the prowess of Sharnga-dhanva [Vishnu with His bow] who [as Kurma] held the great mountain on His back for churning the ocean. He who takes time to recite or to listen to this [story], will never be disappointed in his endeavor because the description of the qualities of Uttamas'loka, the One Praised in the Scriptures, puts an end to the misery of one's material existence. For the One who is not understood by the godless ones, for the feet that are known by the devotees of surrender, for Him who only allowed the immortals to drink from the nectar that was produced from the ocean, for Him who appearing in the disguise of a young girl captivated the enemies of the gods, for Him who fulfills the desires of the devotees, I bow myself down [compare B.G. 9: 29-34].'

*: Svami Prabhupada quotes:

'srishthi-sthiti-pralaya-sadhana-s'aktir eka
chayeva yasya bhuvanani bibharti durga' [Bs. 5.44]

The entire cosmos is created by Durga in cooperation with Lord Vishnu in the form of kala, time. This is de version of the Vedas. (Aitareya Upanishad 1.1.1-.

Chapter 13: Description of Future Manus

Shri Shuka said: 'Now hear from me about the children of the son of Vivasvan, the present Manu who is known in the world as Shraddhadeva. He is the seventh one [we are now in the twenty-eighth yuga of him who is also known as Vaivasvata Manu]. - The ten sons of Manu are known as Ikshvaku, Nabhaga, Dhrishtha, Sharyati, Narishyanta, Nabhaga [or Nriga] and Dishtha as the seventh one. Then oh chastiser of the enemy, there are Tarusha [or Karushaka], Prishadhra and Manu's tenth son who is known as Vasuman [or Kavi, see also 9.1: 11-12]. Oh King, the Adityas, the Vasus, the Rudras, the Vis'vedevas, the Maruts, the As'vins and the Ribhus are the demigods [during this period] and Purandara is their Indra. Kas'yapa, Atri, Vasishthha, Vis'vamitra, Gautama, Jamadagni and Bharadvaja are known as the seven sages. The appearance of the Supreme Lord Vishnu that took place during this period was the one of Lord Vamana. He was the youngest Aditya born from mother Aditi and father Kasyapa Muni. I briefly described the seven periods of the Manus, let me also tell you about the future Manus endowed with the powers of Vishnu [see 8.1 & 8.5].

Samjna and Chaya, the two wives of Vivasvan who were the daughters of Vis'vakarma oh King, I both described to you previously [see 6.6: 40-41]. Some mention a third wife of Vivasvan: Vadava. Of the three of them there were of Samjna three children born - a daughter Yami and the sons Yama and Shraddhadeva. Now hear about the children of Chaya. There was Savarni [a son], the daughter Tapati who later became the wife of king Samvarana and Shanais'cara [Saturn] who was the third one. The two As'vins were the sons born from Vadava. When the eighth period arrives Savarni will become the Manu. The sons of Savarni oh ruler of man, are Nirmoka, Virajaska and others. The Sutapas, the Virajas and the Amritaprabhas will belong to the demigods and Bali, the son of Virocana, will become the Indra. Having donated the entire universe to Vishnu who begged him for three steps of land, he [Bali] will achieve the post of Indra. He will thereafter renouncing achieve the perfection of life. He, Bali, bound by the Supreme Lord, was as a token of His appreciation again favored with the kingdom of Sutala where situated he today still occupies a position more opulent than the one of Indra in heaven. 5-1 Galava, Diptiman, Parashurama, Ashvatthama, Kripacarya, Rishyas'ringa and our father Vyasadeva, the incarnation of the Lord [as a philosopher] will, because of their yoga practice, be the seven sages during the eighth manvantara. They at present are engaged in their respective hermitages oh King. Sarvabhauma, the Lord and Master [over the world] will, fathered by Devaguhya, be born from Sarasvati and take away by force the lands of Purandara [Indra] and give them to Bali.

Daksha-savarni, the ninth Manu, born as the son of Varuna, will have Bhutaketu, Diptaketu and others as his sons, oh King. The Paras, the Maricigarbhas and others will be the demigods, the king of heaven will be known as Adbhuta and the seven sages of that period will be headed by Dyutiman. Rishabhadeva, a partial incarnation of the Supreme Lord, will, with Ayushman as His father, take birth from the womb of Ambudhara. Adbhuta will because of Him enjoy all opulence of the three worlds.

The tenth Manu will be Brahma-savarni, son of Upas'loka. His sons will be Bhurishena and others and the twice-born ones will be headed by Havishman. Havishman, Sukrita, Satya, Jaya, Murti [and others] are the [seven] sages during that period, the Suvasanas, the Viruddhas and others will be the demigods and Shambhu will be the controller of the Suras [the Indra]. One of the Supreme Lord's plenary portions, Vishvaksena, will take birth from the womb of Vishuci in the home of Vis'vasrashtha and will make friends with Shambhu.

Dharma-savarni will be the eleventh Manu to appear in the future. This self-realised soul will have Satyadharma and others as his ten sons. The Vihangamas, Kamagamas and Nirvanarucis are the demigods then and Vaidhrita will be their Indra. The seven sages are Aruna and others. A partial incarnation of the Lord known as Dharmasetu will be born from the womb of Vaidhrita as the son of Aryaka and will rule the three worlds.

Rudra-savarni, oh King, will appear as the twelfth Manu and Devavan, Upadeva and Devas'reshthha and others will be his sons. Ritadhama will be the Indra for that period, the demigods will be headed by the Haritas and Tapomurti, Tapasvi, Agnidhraka and others will be the sages. The mighty Svadhama, a partial incarnation of the Lord who Satyasaha will beget by Sunrita, will rule that period of Manu.

The self-realised soul Deva-savarni will be the thirteenth Manu and Citrasena, Vicitra and others will be his sons. The Sukarmas and Sutramas will become the demigods, Divaspati will be the Indra and Nirmoka and Tattvadars'a and others will be the sages then. Yoges'vara, a partial incarnation of the Lord, will appear from the womb of Brihati as the son of Devahotra and will endeavor for the sake of Divaspati [the Indra].

Indra-savarni will be the fourteenth Manu and from his semen Uru, Gambhira, Budha and others will be born. The Pavitras and Cakshushas will be the demigods, Shuci will be the king of heaven and Agni, Bahu, Shuci, Shuddha, Magadha and others will be the ascetics. For that period, oh great king, the Lord will appear in the womb of Vitana as Brihadbhanu, the son of Satrayana, in order to promote all spiritual activities.

Oh King, the estimated time of the past, the present and the future of these fourteen Manus I have described to you, covers a thousand mahayugas or one kalpa [one day of Brahma, see also picture].'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 14:

The System of Universal Management

The king said: 'Oh great sage, can you please describe to me the activities in which all these Manus and the others are engaged during each manvantara and who prescribes them?'

The rishi said: 'Oh King, the Manus and all their sons, the sages, the Indras and the godly ones no doubt all resort under the rule of the Original Person. The Lord of Sacrifice Yajna and the other incarnations of the Supreme Personality I already discussed, oh King, constitute the lead followed by the Manus and others in charge of the universal affairs. In

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disregard of the penance as [exemplified] by the sages, in the course of a mahayuga the Vedic instruction is lost that promotes the sanatana dharma [the customary Vedic duties according to status and vocation, see also 3.12: 41]. With that in mind the Manus are engaged for as long as they are present in this world, in directly establishing this fourfold dharma as instructed by the Lord, oh ruler of man [see also B.G. 4: 1]. Till the end of the era the rulers of the universe [the heirs of Manu] execute that order just as the demigods and the other divisions of enjoyers of the results of the sacrifices do this [see also B.G. 4: 2]. Indra maintains all the places of the three worlds by providing all the rain that the world needs and [thus] enjoys the excellent opulence of the three worlds that is given by the Supreme Lord. In every yuga the Lord assumes the forms of liberated persons [the perfected ones or the Siddhas] to explain the transcendental knowledge, He assumes the forms of great saints [rishis] to explain what karma entails [performing rituals] and He assumes the forms of great lords of yoga in order to teach the science of unifying in consciousness. In the form of the founding fathers [the Prajapatis] He creates offspring, to annihilate the miscreants He assumes the form of kings and in the form of time He is there to put an end to everything that grew different following the modes of nature. People who under the influence of maya are bewildered by the illusion of His names and forms and [approach Him with] different views [dars'anas] are looking for Him but cannot find Him [compare B.G. 18: 66]. With all these changes [of the Manus in so-called vikalpas] that I described as taking place in one day of Brahma [one kalpa] I [thus] reported about the fourteen manvantaras the scholars speak about.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 15:

Bali Maharaja Conquers the Heavenly Places

- The king said: 'Why did the Lord, the Controller of all living beings, like a poor man beg Bali for three steps of land and why did He fetter him notwithstanding his donation? We very much would like to understand all this begging of the Controller who is so complete in Himself and the arrest of Bali in spite of his innocence.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Bali being defeated by Indra and deprived of his opulence and his life [see 8.11], was resuscitated by the followers of Bhrigu [Shukracarya and his pupils]. He [then] as a great soul and disciple proved his respect for them by offering in full surrender everything he had. The brahmin followers of Bhrigu who enjoyed a great authority, very pleased with him who wanted to conquer the heavenly places [of Indra] engaged him in a sacrifice called Vis'vajit. For that purpose they first according to the regulations subjected him to a great purification ritual [abhisheka]. From the blazing fire that was worshiped with oblations of ghee, a brilliant chariot appeared drawn by horses with the same colour as those of Indra [yellow]. It was covered with gold and silk and was adorned with a banner marked with a lion. There was a special gilded bow, two quivers with an inexhaustible supply of arrows and a celestial armor. His grandfather [Prahlada] donated a garland of never fading flowers and Shukracarya gave him a conch shell. After he on the advice of the brahmins had performed the ritual and thus by their grace had obtained the fighting gear, he circumambulated the scholars, offered his obeisances and with due respect bade Prahlada Maharaja farewell. - Next having ascended the divine chariot that was donated by Shukracarya, the great charioteer, decorated with his garland, covered by his armor and equipped with his bow, took up a sword and quiver of arrows. With his golden bangles on his arms and the rings in his ears that glittered with their sapphires, he from his elevated position on the chariot shone like the fire of worship on an altar. 0-1 Surrounded by his men and the other Daitya leaders equal to him in opulence, strength and beauty, they seemed to drink in the sky and burn the directions with their looks. Having gathered the greatest Asura warriors they went to the supremely wealthy capital of Indra, making the earth tremble under their feet.

That place was most agreeable with orchards and gardens - like the beautiful Nandana garden - full of pairs of chirping birds, madly humming bees and eternal trees with branches overladen with leaves, flowers and fruits. They were crowded with groups of swans, cranes, cakravaka birds, ducks, lotus flowers and beautiful, sporting women protected by the godly ones. The ever worshipable river goddess surrounded the city with trenches filled with celestial Ganges water outside of the parapeted ramparts in the colour of fire. The gates that gave access to the city made of marble, the doors [of the houses] covered by golden plates and the many, carefully laid out public roads, were all constructed by Vis'vakarma. It was replete with assembly houses, courtyards, roads, and countless opulent palaces. The crossroads were constructed with natural stone and had sitting places adorned with pillars and coral. In that city one found the most beautiful, ever young women glittering like the flames of a fire, who cool, warm, round breasted and well decorated, always wore impeccably clean clothes. The breezes blowing in the streets carried the fragrance of the fresh aromatic flowers that had slipped down from the hair of the demigod women. The divine sweethearts passed on the streets through the white fragrant smoke of the aguru incense that was burned behind the windows with golden filigree. There were canopies strewn with pearls and gold, a variety of flags that adorned the domes of the palaces and peacocks, pigeons and bees that vibrated their sounds. The women in their heavenly buildings sang thereto in chorus about their happiness. The city with all its brilliance so beautiful and pleasing with all the singing of the Gandharvas, the solo instruments, the dancing and the sounds of flutes, vinas, drums, conch shells and kettledrums all perfectly in tune, defeated the splendor of beauty personified. No godless people roamed the streets there, no one was envious or of violence against other creatures, no one cheated and no one was of false prestige, lust or greed. All who moved around there were completely free from all of that. And it was that city of God that from the outside on all sides was attacked by him, the commander of the troops provided by Shukracarya, who loudly resounding his conch shell created fear among all the ladies protected by Indra.

Indra facing the situation understood Bali's fervent zeal and addressed with the following words the spiritual master [Brihaspati] in the company of the godly ones: 'Oh my lord, who gave Bali, our enemy from the past, the great fervor and prowess I am afraid we are unable to withstand? There is no one to be found who can counter this [opposition of Bali]. It is as if he, having risen like the fire at the end of time, with his mouth wants to drink in and lick up the whole world and with his vision wants to set ablaze all directions. Please tell us, what is the cause of the formidable prowess of our enemy and from where does he derive his energy, strength, grip and zeal?'

Brihaspati said: 'Oh Indra, I know how your enemy could rise against you. He derives his power from being a disciple of the mighty brahmins who are the followers of Bhrigu. Being that powerful this strong man cannot be defeated by someone like you or by anyone belonging to you. Except for the Supreme Controller, the Lord, no one will be able to vanquish him now that he is endowed with a superior spiritual strength. To oppose him is just as useless as to oppose the lord of death. You must therefore all give up your place in the heavenly kingdom, leave and go elsewhere to await the time your enemy has to face his reverse. He who now is so utterly mighty, arising by the brahminical power invested in him, will by insulting the same power find his demise together with all his friends and helpers.'

Thus being advised by their spiritual master on what they had to do, they who were the gods who could assume any form they liked, gave up their heavenly kingdom and departed. When the gods thus had left, Bali, the son of Virocana, took hold of the city where the residents of heaven had their stay and brought the three worlds under his control. Because he was their disciple the followers of Bhrigu, who were very pleased with the conqueror of the universe, told him to devote himself to a hundred [as'vamedha] horse sacrifices. From performing those sacrifices his fame spread in all directions of the three worlds so that he shone with a glory equal to that of the moon. From winning the favor of the twice-born ones he, in enjoying an opulence and prosperity like that of the demigods, deemed himself most happy with all that he had conceived and done so greatly.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 16:

Aditi Initiated into the Payo-vrata Ceremony, the Best of All Sacrifices

Shri Shuka said: 'As soon as her sons thus had yielded to the Daityas, their mother Aditi began to lament helplessly over the loss of the heavenly kingdom. When one day the mighty sage Kasyapa [her husband] after a long time came out of his samadhi [yogic trance], he went to her quarters that he found sad and joyless. After he respectfully was welcomed by Aditi and had accepted a sitting place, he addressed her thoughtful of her depression as follows, oh best of the Kurus. 'Has something unfortunate happened in relation to the brahmins, oh gentle one or do you have difficulty with the dharma in the world of today or with the people around you who are subjected to the whims of death? Or, my dearest princess, has something gone awry with the religion, the finances or the fulfillment of your desires in this household life which even joins those who fail to do yoga? Or were there perhaps unexpected guests in your home, overly attached family members whom you could not offer a proper welcome and then walked out on you? A home that not even welcomes uninvited guests by offering them a glass of water is, abandoned by them, nothing more than a jackal's den. Or have you during the time of my absence, oh finest one, out of a sad mind forgotten about your oblations of ghee in the fire, my sweet wife? When an attached householder is of worship, when he performs puja, he will achieve the fulfillment of all his desires and attain heaven, for it are the brahmins and the fire that are the mouth of Vishnu, of Him who is the heart and soul of all God-conscious people [compare B.G. 9: 26]. Are your sons all faring well oh broadminded lady? I can tell that you are worrying about something.'

Shri Aditi said: 'Oh brahmin, all is well with the twice-born ones, the cows, the dharma and the people around me. Your household is the best place for caring about the three goals of life [kama, artha, dharma] my dear husband. The fire, the guests, the servants and the beggars were all treated as should. By constantly thinking of you, oh brahmin master, nothing was missed. Oh my lord, what desire of mine would not be fulfilled with in my heart your good self as the founding father and the reminder of dharma? Even though the Supreme Controller takes care of the devotees [especially] oh my lord, you in your goodness, from the Asura on, are equal-minded towards each who originating from either your body or your mind, is gifted with one of the three qualities of goodness, passion or slowness oh son of Marici [compare B.G. 4: 11 and 9: 29]. Therefore, oh controller, consider the welfare of me, your servitor. We are now, oh gentle one, because of our enemies bereft of our opulence and residence. Please protect us oh master! Exiled by the very same powerful enemies that took away all of our opulence, beauty, reputation and homes, I have drowned in an ocean of trouble. Oh saintly man, best of our well-wishers, be so kind to consider our good fortune so that my offspring may regain all that we have lost.'

Shri Shuka said: 'This way being beseeched by Aditi he said with a smile to her: 'Oh how powerful is this maya of Vishnu because of which the entire world is caught in emotional bondage. What is this material body made of the elements? It is not the soul. And what is this soul transcendental to the material world? Who are they, the husband and the children [to whom one is tied] because of one's bewilderment [see B.G. 2: 13, 5.5: 1, 7.5: 31]? Exercise respect for Vasudeva, the spiritual master of the entire world, the Original Person Janardana, He who, residing in the core of everyone's heart, defeats all enemies. He, the Lord merciful to the poor will fulfill your desires. I think that nothing compares to the devotional service unto the Supreme Lord, it never fails [see also 2.3: 10].'

Shri Aditi said: 'Oh brahmin what are the rules I have to follow to please the Lord of the Universe so that what I would like by His grace actually will be fulfilled [see also B.G. 7: 16]? Oh husband, oh best of the twice-born ones, teach me the vidhi, the regulative principles [or method] for making sacrifices for the Lord [see 1.17: 24 and 3.11: 21], so that the Godhead will soon be pleased with me, now lamenting with all my sons.'

Shri Kasyapa said: 'I will explain to you the code of conduct that satisfies Kes'ava and about which the almighty one born on the lotus [Brahma] spoke when I, desiring to beget offspring, asked him this question [see B.G. 4: 2]. During the bright half of the month Phalguna [February/March] one should for twelve days [till Dvadas'i] respect the vow to drink only milk [payo-vrata] and filled with supreme devotion, be of worship unto the Lotus eyed One [see also 7.5: 23-24]. When the moon is dark one should smear oneself with the dirt dug up by a boar - if available - and enter a stream of water chanting this mantra: 'Oh divine mother [earth], you were lifted from the bottom of the ocean on the tusk of Lord Varaha who was looking for a footing [see 3.13: 30]. Can you please wash away all my sins [and their reactions]? I offer you my obeisances.' After having finished the daily observances, the Divinity should be worshiped in one's shrine with full attention for the deities [see also 7.14: 39-40], the altar, the sun, the water, the fire and the guru [see also 7.14: 39-40]: 'I offer my respectful obeisances unto You, oh Supreme Lord, oh Original Personality and Best One of All residing in the heart of all living beings, oh Vasudeva, omnipresent witness. My reverence unto You, the Unseen One, the Transcendental Person of the Primal Reality, the knower of the twenty-four elements [see glossary] and the original cause of the analytic order of yoga. My respects unto You, the Enjoyer of the three types of rituals [of karma, jnana and upasana or bhakti, or fruitive work, spiritual knowledge and devotional service] with Your two heads [of prayaniya and udayaniya, the beginning and the end of the sacrifices], three legs [savana-traya, the three daily soma libations to solar time], four protruding horns [the Vedas to the bull of dharma] and seven hands [the chandas, ways of pleasing, mantras like the Gayatri, see also 5.21: 15], my obeisances unto the embodiment of all knowledge. I honour You appearing as Shiva or Rudra, You as the reservoir of all potencies and all insight. My obeisances unto the Supreme Master of all living beings. My reverence for You as Hiranyagarbha [Brahma], the source of all life and the Supersoul of the Universe, I bow for You, the cause of the unification of consciousness in yoga. My esteem for You, the Original Godhead and Overseer of all. I offer You my respects who as Nara-Narayana Rishi assumed the form of a human being, that Lord I offer my obeisances. You, as blackish as a marakata gem [a kind of emerald], You the Controller of Lakshmi and the Killer of Kes'i, You clad in yellow, I again and again offer my respects. You are to all entities the Bestower of all Benedictions, the Most Worshipable One and the Best of all Blessings and for that reason wise people worship the dust of Your feet as the source of all happiness. He for whose sake all the gods and the Goddess of Fortune

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desirous of the fragrance of His lotus feet are engaged in devotional service, may He, the Supreme Lord, be pleased with me.'

By chanting these mantras, one should with faith and devotion be engaged in calling for the Master of the Senses Hrishikes'a and honour Him in every respect with the help of the necessities of worship. This way honouring Him with incense, flowers, etc., one should bathe the Almighty One with milk and dress Him and give Him a sacred thread and ornaments. After touching [or offering] the water for washing the lotus feet one should [again], with fragrance and smoke and such, be of worship with the twelve-syllable mantra ['om namo bhagavate vasudevaya' see also 6.8: 3 and 4.8: 53]. After offering rice cooked in milk with ghee and molasses to the deity - if available - , one should offer oblations in the fire chanting the same mantra. Thus having worshiped the deity with also offering betel nuts with spices, the food of the sacrifice [prasada] should by the offerer himself be offered to the devotee of the Lord to eat, with water for washing his hands and mouth. After repeating the mantra one-hundred-and-eight times [doing japa], one should offer various prayers unto the Greatest One, next circumambulate Him and then pay one's respect by prostrating oneself joyously. When one in acceptance has taken the remnants of the sacrifice to one's [fore-]head and then has deposited them in a sacred place, minimally two men of learning and merit [brahmins] should be fed with sweet rice. 4-4 Properly having honoured them one next with their permission with friends and relatives may eat the remnants of the prasada. From the first day on one of course at night should observe celibacy for the duration of the payo-vrata in which one early in the morning, as is described after having bathed, closely following the vidhi bathes [the murti] with milk. With drinking [milk] only following this vow one should with faith and devotion continue with the worship of Vishnu, as stated offering oblations in the fire, as also be faithful to the obligation of feeding the brahmins. One should proceed this way with the 'vow of drinking only' day after day, for the full twelve days worshiping the Lord with fire sacrifices before the deity and pleasing the twice-born ones [and one's kin] with food. Beginning with the day of pratipat ['running to meet'] until the thirteenth day of the bright half of the month, one should observe celibacy, sleep on the floor and bathe three times a day. Depending on Vasudeva as the supreme resort, one should refrain from great and small sensual pleasures, from discussing trivial subjects and from violence towards all living beings.

Next on the thirteenth day proceeding in accordance with the regulations as laid down in the scriptures, the Almighty One [Vishnu] should be bathed with five substances [milk, yogurt, ghee, sugar and honey]. 1-5 By being of good recitation with the many hymns [or sukta] for Lord Vishnu who resides in the hearts of all, the miserly mentality [of not spending] must be given up with the milk and the grains that were offered in grand worship. With great attention and with the offerings of the food that was carefully prepared to please His person, one thus should worship the Original Personality. Try to understand that when one worships the Lord [vishnu-aradhana], the spiritual master [the acarya] who is so well versed in the spiritual knowledge and also the priests, should be satisfied with clothes, ornaments and many cows. Oh pious lady, the brahmins and all people assembled there should as much as possible receive the prasada of the food of goodness [B.G. 17: 8] that so meticulously was prepared with milk and ghee. The guru and the priests should be financially compensated and the food should by all means even be distributed to the simpleminded ones and the poor, for also they should be rewarded for gathering for the ceremony. After also having fed all the poor, the blind, the averse and so on, one should with that kind of understanding having pleased Lord Vishnu, together with one's friends and relatives eat from the prasada oneself. With dancing, beating drums and songs, reciting mantras, offering prayers and reading the stories [aloud], one should from the first day till the last worship the Supreme Lord.

This instruction that I have now described to you in great detail concerning the supreme process called payo-vrata for honouring the Original Person, was related by my grandfather [Brahma]. Oh greatly fortunate one, now worship with self-discipline in a pure state of mind the Inexhaustible Lord Kes'ava by properly following this process. Of all religious ceremonies this one is called sarva-yajna ['the one covering all sacrifices']. When one oh good lady, also being of charity pleases the Lord this way, this sacrifice is understood to be the very essence of all austerities [*]. Of all possible regulations the one as mentioned is indeed the most direct and best way to control the senses effectively, for Adhokshaja, the One beyond the Senses, is pleased with the austerity, the vows and the sacrifice [see also: 1.2: 8]. The Supreme Lord being satisfied by you faithfully observing this vow according to the rules, will therefore soon bestow upon you all benedictions.'

*: Lord Vishnu is in the West worshiped in every temple of the Caitanya-vaishnavas [the Hare Krishnas] according to a schedule of twenty-four hours of engagement in performing kirtana, chanting the Hare Krishna mahamantra, offering palatable food to Lord Vishnu and distributing this food to Vaishnavas and others.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 17:
The Supreme Lord Agrees to Become Aditi's Son

Shri Shuka said: 'Aditi, thus being advised by her husband Kasyapa, oh King, faithful to his words unrelentingly executed this vow for twelve days. - With undivided attention and fortitude being conscientious unto the Controller, the Supreme Personality, in full control of the senses that are as strong as horses, with the mind as the charioteer of intelligence and with the intelligence one-pointed unto the Supreme Lord [see also B.G. 3: 42], the Soul of the Complete, she thus fully concentrated on Vasudeva performed [the ceremony] according to the payo-vrata vow of fasting. My best one, the Supreme Lord, the Original Person, then appeared before her, dressed in yellow and with His four arms, carrying the conch, the cakra, the club [and the lotus flower]. When she saw Him she got up immediately and offered, with an enraptured mind, with the greatest respect her obeisances prostrating herself before Him. Rising to her feet and prepared to worship with her hands folded, she because of her blissful enrapture could not proceed. Overwhelmed with her hair standing on end and the entire frame of her body trembling because of the utter pleasure of enjoying His vision [darshan], she remained silent with the tears that filled her eyes. With a voice that constantly faltered because of the love she felt oh best of the Kurus, it was as if Aditi Devi, as she was staring at the Lord, through her eyes was drinking the Husband of Rama [see 8.8: 8], the Enjoyer of all Sacrifices and the Master of the Universe. Shri Aditi said: 'Oh Lord of the Sacrifices, Personality of all Offers, oh Infallible One to whose feet we are pilgriming, You are known as the ultimate shelter, as the One about whom to hear and sing is so auspicious. You are the original One who has appeared to diminish the dangers of the material existence of the souls of surrender. Oh Controller, oh Supreme Lord, be so good and grant us the [divine] happiness, You are the refuge of the downtrodden. I offer You my obeisances who are the all-pervading Soul of the universe, the fully independent One, the Greatest One who by the power of the modes accepts the full responsibility for the creation, maintenance and annihilation of the universe. My respects for You, the Lord who from His original position eternally promotes the knowledge of the complete whole by which the darkness of the self is dispersed completely. With You being satisfied, oh Complete and Unlimited One, all things become possible: a life as long as that of Brahma, a certain body, a lover, unlimited material opulences in the higher, the lower and the intermediate worlds, all the [eight] yogic qualities, the three goals of kama, artha and dharma [the purusharthas] and exclusive spiritual knowledge, not to mention benedictions like the defeat of human competitors and such!'

Shri Shuka said: 'Thus hailed by Aditi, oh King, the Supreme Lord with the lotus eyes, the knower of the field [B.G. 13: 1-4] of all living entities, gave the following reply, oh son of Bharata. The Supreme Lord said: 'Oh mother of gods, I have understanding for your long standing desire in relation to your homeless sons who were vanquished by their rivals. What you desire is to defeat in battle those mad Asura leaders who are so proud of their strength, regain the victory of your opulence and reunite with your sons in devotional service. You would like to see the tears of the grieving wives of the enemies when they find them killed in battle by your sons under the lead of Indra. The restoration of the full glory, reputation and opulence of your offspring, the joy of their lives and a place for them in heaven is what you want to see. At present all those Asura masters of war are as good as invincible, oh Devi [goddess]. It is My opinion that no form of using force will bring you the happiness, for they are all protected by the brahmins who enjoy My favor. Nevertheless I must think of something to help you out, for I am very pleased with the vow you have observed. Someone who worships Me never deserves it that his belief and devotion would lead to another result. Because you in faithful austerity with the son of Marici [Kasyapa Muni] for the sake of your sons have worshiped Me with the payo-vrata vow and to the best of your ability have prayed as should, I will become your son with a plenary portion of Myself and thus protect your other sons. Oh sweet woman, thinking of Me as also being present within the form of your husband, lie with him, the spotless Prajapati [see also B.G. 9: 29]. Do not disclose this to outsiders, not to anyone, not even when asked, oh lady. It will all be successful if that what is confidential with the gods is carefully concealed [see B.G. 18: 67-68].'

Shri Shuka said: 'The Supreme Lord this way having addressed her disappeared from the spot. Aditi, with the very rare accomplishment of having achieved that the Lord would be born from her, considered herself a success and went full of devotion straight to her husband. Kasyapa in the trance of his yoga with his infallible vision could understand that the Lord had entered him with a part of Himself. Like the wind kindling fire in firewood, oh King, Kasyapa then managed with his mind in trance to deposit in Aditi the semen that he in his penance had restrained for so long [see also B.G. 7: 11]. Hiranyagarbha [Lord Brahma] understanding that the Supreme Lord was now situated in the womb of Aditi, offered prayers in the form of His mystical names. Lord Brahma prayed: 'All glories unto Him, the Supreme Lord of the Glorious Deeds. I offer You, the Lord of the Transcendentalists my obeisances. You the Controller of the Modes of Nature I worship again and again. My allegiance to You who, previously born from Pris'ni [a previous life of Aditi, compare 6.18: 1, the sons of Aditi], are always found in the Vedas, You who are full of knowledge, You From Whose Navel the Three Worlds Rose You are transcendental to and You as the All-pervading One present within the hearts of all living beings. You as the original cause, the dissolution and the maintenance of the universe, are the reservoir of endless potencies that one calls the Original Person. You are the Lordship, the Controller who is the Time that holds the entire universe in its grip, the way waves drag someone along who fell into them. You indeed are of all living beings, whether they move about or not, the one who gave them that life. From You all the founding fathers originated, You are the Supreme Shelter of all who live the higher life, oh Godhead. For all the godly ones who fell down, You are the lifeboat that saves them from drowning.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 18:
Lord Vamanadeva, the Dwarf Incarnation

Shri Shuka said: 'The Eternal Being, He with the conch, the club, the lotus and the disc in His four hands, the yellow dress and the lotus petal eyes, He whose heroic acts are praised by Brahma, consequently manifested Himself from Aditi. He with a pure, blackish complexion, the luster of two earrings in the form of sharks and a dazzling lotus face, was the Supreme Personality marked by the Shrivatsa mark on His chest and wearing bracelets and armlets, a shining helmet, a belt, a sacred thread and charming ankle bells. With a swarm of sweetness seeking humming bees around Him and carrying an extraordinarily beautiful flower garland and the Kaustubha gem around His neck, the Lord vanquished the darkness of Kasyapa's house with His effulgence. At that moment everywhere one was filled with happiness, all living beings in the waters, in the mountains, in the higher worlds, in outer space and on earth. There was the full quality of each season and all the cows, the tongues of the fire and the twice-born ones were at their best. When the Lord took His birth it was a most auspicious moment: all the planets and stars, the sun and moon stood in a favorable position. It happened on Dvadas'i [the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of Bhadra] at noon [Abhijit] when the moon was in the house of Shravana. Oh King, this exact moment of the appearance of the Lord at Dvadas'i with the sun over the meridian, is the day the scholars call Vijaya. The loud sounds of the different conches, drums, kettledrums, panavas, anakas [other drums] and other instruments that were vibrated, became a great tumult. The heavenly dancing girls danced blissfully, the leading celestial singers sang and the sages, the demigods, the fathers of mankind, the ancestors and the fire gods all pleased the Lord with prayers. -1 The perfected ones, the ones of knowledge, the apelike ones [the warriors of Rama], the ones of superpower, the venerable ones, the treasure keepers, the benevolent ones, the reciters [the 'brothers of Garuda'], the greatest experts [the 'snakes'] and all the followers of the demigods, glorifying, dancing and praising covered the residence of Aditi with flow [compare 6.7: 2-8 and 5.5: 21-22]. When Aditi saw Him, the Supreme Personality of Godhead who had been conceived in happiness and had taken birth from her womb, she was struck with wonder about the fact that He from His own spiritual potency had assumed a body. Also Kasyapa greatly amazed about it exclaimed: 'All glory! [jaya!]'

The Lord's body complete with ornaments and weapons cannot be seen materially but for the divine purpose it was manifested by Him acting like an actor in a theater and could be seen in the form of a dwarf boy [Vamana]. Seeing Him as a brahmacari dwarf made the great rishis very happy and thus they performed, with the founding father Kasyapa as their lead, all the ceremonies [like the jata-karma birthday ceremony]. At His sacred thread ceremony the sun god chanted the Gayatri mantra [see note** at 5.7], Brihaspati gave the sacred thread and Kasyapa offered Him a belt [of straw, signifying the twice-born status]. Mother earth offered Him a deerskin, the moon god ruling the forest gave Him a staff, Aditi gave Him underwear to cover His body and from the ruler of heaven [Indra] the master of the universe He received a parasol. The Knower Inside [Brahma] gave a waterpot, the seven sages donated kus'a grass and the goddess Sarasvati gave the Imperishable Soul a string of rudraksha beads, oh King. Thus having received His sacred thread, the Ruler of the Yakshas [Kuvera, the treasurer of heaven] delivered a pot for begging alms and Uma, the chaste mother of the universe, the wife of Shiva, personally provided the alms. He as a brahmacari thus being welcomed by everyone, outshone with his brahmin effulgence as the best of them the

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entire assembly that enjoyed the grace of all the great brahmin sages. After kindling a fire as should, He like the best of the brahmins strew [the kus'a grass] around it and fed the fire of worship with wood.

As soon as He heard about the glory of Bali as someone who under the guidance of Bhrigu brahmins performs horse sacrifices, He headed for the location where they took place and with each step that He as the Complete and Fully Endowed Essence made on His way, He therewith imprinted the earth with His footsteps. At the northern bank of the Narmada river in the field of Bhrigukaccha where all the priests of Bhrigu were performing their rituals for the sake of the ultimate ceremony [the horse sacrifice], they saw Him in their presence [radiating] like the risen sun. The priests as also Bali, the instigator of the yajna and all who had assembled there, were overshadowed by Lord Vamana's splendor, oh King and wondered whether they saw the sun rising, the god of fire or Sanat-kumara who wanted to attend their ceremony. While the Bhrigus thus with their disciples were disputing in various ways, the Supreme Lord Vamana with in His hands His umbrella, rod and kamandalu filled with water, entered the arena of the As'vamedha sacrifice. 4-2 The moment Vamana, the learned, seemingly human child that was the Lord, with His munja belt of straw and the sacred thread around His waist, His deerskin upper garment and His matted locks of hair, arrived there and was seen by the priests of Bhrigu with their disciples, they all stood up from their engagement in the fire sacrifice and appropriately welcomed the One who with His brilliance outshone them all. The instigator of the sacrifice, delighted to see Him so beautiful in each of His lustrous limbs, offered Him a seat. The Beauty of the Liberated Souls was thereupon with words of welcome worshiped by Bali Maharaja who honoured Him by washing His feet. The water washing from His feet washes away the sins of all people. Bali knew the dharma and placed on his head the all-auspicious water that also the god of gods, Lord Shiva who is marked with the emblem of the moon, in his supreme devotion had accepted on His head.'

Shri Bali said: 'We welcome You. My obeisances unto You, oh brahmin. What can we do for You? Oh noble soul, in my opinion You are the austerity of the brahmin seers in person. The arrival of Your lordship today at our residence, satisfies all our forefathers, it purifies the entire family and completes the sacrifice we are performing now! Today, oh brahmin son, my fires of sacrifice are properly served according to the injunctions. Oh, by the water that washed from Your lotus feet all my sins are destroyed and by Your small feet the earth is purified. Whatever it is that You desire oh brahmacari, You may take from me, be it a cow, gold, a furnished residence, palatable food and drink or else a brahmin's daughter, prospering villages, horses, elephants or chariots, oh best of the worshipable ones. As far as I am concerned You may have whatever You wish.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 19:
Lord Vamanadeva Begs Charity from Bali Maharaja

Shri Shuka said: 'When He thus heard the very pleasing and faithful, dharmic words of the son of Virocana, the Supreme Lord praised him satisfied with the following words. The Supreme Lord said: 'Oh Lord of Man, what you have said is very true, befits the dynasty, is in accord with the dharma and adds to your repute. It proves the authority of the Bhrigu brahmins and is of the peace of your grandfather [Prahlada], your oldest ancestor in the afterlife. No one in this dynasty has been as poor-minded as to break his promises unto the brahmins and not be charitable. Because of the impeccable reputation of Prahlada who is like a clear moon in the sky oh ruler, in your dynasty no kings are found who, in holy places or on the battlefield, were as low-minded not to respond to the requests of petitioners. In this dynasty Hiranyaksha was born who, alone wandering around on this earth to conquer its directions with his club, could not find a hero equal to him. After Vishnu [as a boar] had delivered the world and with great difficulty had defeated him, He considered himself only victorious when He constantly thought of Hiranyaksha's heroism [see 3.17-19]! When his brother Hiranyakas'ipu heard that he had been killed, he very angry went to the abode of the Lord to put an end to the One who had finished his brother [see 7.3]. Seeing him with the trident in his hand coming towards Him like death personified the Chief of the Mystics, the Knower of Time, Lord Vishnu, thought the following. 'Wherever I go this one - like the death of each - will also go. I will enter his heart therefore, he only looks outside of himself.' Thus decided oh King of the Asuras, He, invisible in His subtle body, entered the body of the persecuting enemy through the breath in his nostril. Hiranyakas'ipu searching His abode found it empty. Enraged because he in spite of his power could not see Vishnu in any direction of the surface of the earth, in outer space, in the sky, in the caves and in the oceans, he screamed loudly. When he could not find Him anywhere he said: 'I have searched the entire universe for Him who killed my brother. He must have left for the place no one returns from, He must have died.' Ego inspired enmity - an anger which has its basis in ignorance - does not persist until death when it concerns physical-minded people. [But with Hiranyakas'pu it did]. Your father [Virocana], the son of Prahlada, surrendered upon the request of the demigods his life to them despite the fact that he knew that they had dressed up as brahmins because of his affinity with the twice-born ones. You also executed yourself the dharma that was established by the householders, the brahmins, your forefathers, the great heroes and other highly elevated and famous souls. Someone like your Majesty I ask for a little bit of land. Oh King of the Daityas, from him who can be so generous in his charity I ask three footsteps to the measure of My reach. There is nothing else I desire from you, oh munificent King, oh master of the universe. May the one of learning not suffer any want and receive by donations as much as he needs.'

Shri Bali said: 'Alas, oh brahmin scion, Your words may be welcome to the scholars and the elderly ones, but as a boy not bent on taxing for his self-interest You are not quite aware of what it all takes. It is for him who with sweet words propitiates me, the one and only master of all the world, not very intelligent to ask for three steps of land when I can give an entire continent! No one who once has approached me deserves it to beg again and therefore, oh small brahmacari, take from me as You desire whatever would suit Your needs.'

The Supreme Lord said: 'All sense objects capable of pleasing someone within these three worlds, together cannot satisfy the person who has no control over his senses, oh King [see also 5.5: 4]. He who is not satisfied with three steps of land will not be content with a complete continent of nine lands either, for then he will desire to take possession of all the seven continents. We heard that kings like Prithu and Gaya who managed to rule all the seven continents, did not reach the end of their ambitions or their desire for wealth. One should be satisfied with that what one accidentally happens to acquire. There is no happiness for a dissatisfied person who has no control over himself, not even when he possesses the three worlds [see also 7.6: 3-5, 5.5: 1 and B.G. 6: 20-23]. When someone is dissatisfied with his money and sensual pleasures, there is no end to his materially determined existence [of repeatedly dying and starting all over again]. He, however, who is satisfied with that what was acquired by fate, applies for liberation. The spiritual power and glory of a brahmin increases when he is satisfied with what he obtained by providence, but decreases with his dissatisfaction like a fire that is extinguished with water. I therefore ask you who are so munificent as a benefactor, for three steps of land, for My purpose is met perfectly with acquiring nothing more than what is needed.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Thus being addressed Bali said with a smile to Lord Vamana: 'Now take from me what You want' and in order to give Him the land, he took up his water pot [so as to confirm his promise ritually with its water]. Shukracarya, a great expert in these matters, guessed what Vishnu's plan was and addressed the Asura lord, his disciple, who was about to deliver the land to Lord Vishnu.'

Shri Shukracarya said: 'This person oh son of Virocana, is the immortal Supreme Lord Vishnu Himself. He took His birth from Kasyapa and Aditi to serve the interest of the godly ones. I think that what you promised is at odds with your intentions. You do not realise what you have agreed upon, it is not good for it entails great adversity for the Daityas! He, impersonating as a human child, is the Lord who teaches you a lesson. He will snatch away all material beauty and riches, power and repute and give it to your enemy [lord Indra, see also 7.10]. With these three steps He will seize all the worlds by expanding to the universal form. How can you keep your position after as a fool having given everything away to Vishnu! One after the other He with the first step will take the earth and with the second step occupy outer space. In the ether expanding to His greatest size, where should He make his third step? You will be in hell forever I think, for that is what happens to people who do not keep their promises. Your Majesty cannot live up to the expectations you have created. The wise do not favor any charity that endangers one's livelihood, for it is because of one's capacity to maintain oneself that sacrifice, charity, austerity and fruitive activity are possible in this world. In order to be happy in this world as also in the next, one should divide one's earnings in five: one part is for the religion, one is for one's respectability, one for one's property, one for one's pleasure and one for the family. Now listen to what, in this regard [concerning your promise] is stated in many Vedic verses, oh best of the Asuras. That what is true is preceded by the word om [AUM, 'yes', 'so be it'] and things said that were not preceded by that word are called untrue [false or deceptive, see also B.G 17: 24, 9: 17 and 8: 13]. Understand the Vedic truth about the flowers and the fruits: one may pick the fruits from the body of a tree but if the tree is not alive then that root of the body is not the truth so that it is impossible to pick [compare B.G. 8: 6]. When a tree falls down it will, being uprooted, quickly dry out. Likewise the bodily reality also will soon end and dry out [when its maintenance has been uprooted *], that suffers no doubt. The use of the syllable om entails that one separates oneself from [one's wealth], that one is freed from it, yes, that someone with everything that he says with om, will be losing it. When one thus expressing oneself donates in charity to beggars, one will see one's wealth diminished so that because of that om exercise there will not be enough for one's own sense gratification and self-realisation. Choose therefore now fully for yourself. It is a falsehood but it is not completely untrue to say this [in favor of your own position], for speaking a complete lie would make you infamous, would make you a living corpse. A lie that heals is better than a truth that wounds when one wants to charm a woman, wants to tell a joke, wants to marry, wants to make a living, in times of danger, when one must protect the cows and the brahminical culture or when one has to defend against violence.'

*: The temporal body is there for eternal things. Shrila Rupa Gosvami says: "One who rejects things without knowledge of their relationship to Krishna is incomplete in his renunciation." (Bhakti-rasamrita-sindhu 1.2.6

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 20:
Lord Vamanadeva Covers all Worlds

Shri Shuka said: 'Bali, the master of the house, thus being advised by the family priest fell silent for a moment oh King, and addressed after due consideration his guru. Shri Bali said: 'What your grace told me is true: the economic interest, the sensual pleasure, the reputation and the livelihood may never be a hindrance for a householder to engage in dharmic actions. How can someone like me, an heir of Prahlada, out of greed for possessions as an ordinary cheater refuse to give a brahmin what he has promised him [*]? There is nothing more irreligious than untruthfulness. Just as mother earth has told us: 'I can bear everything, but not a person who lies to others.' I do not fear hellish conditions, nor poverty, nor an ocean of distress, nor a fall from my position, nor death as much as I fear to cheat a man of God. Of what use are the riches and such that one has to give up when one leaves this world behind? Are they not meant for pleasing the man of God then [the sage, the priest, the brahmin etc.]? In defense of the well-being of all people, saints like Dadhici, Shibi and other great servants of God have given up on matters most difficult to forsake, up to the point of their very lives. Then what objection would there be against donating the land? Time takes away all the possessions of persons like the Daitya kings who, willing to sacrifice their lives, enjoyed this world, oh brahmin, but the reputation they achieved in this world time does not take away. Oh learned sage, it is easy to find people who not afraid to fight are willing to give up their lives on the battlefield, but people willing to give with devotion away what they accumulated to a visitor of holy places when he arrives, are not that easily found [compare B.G. 17: 20]. It is the glory of the munificent ones, they who are famous for their mercy, to become poor by satisfying the needs of the poor, not even mentioning what it means to them to satisfy knowers of the spiritual purpose like your good self. I will give therefore this celibate one whatever He wants. All of you fully aware of the Vedic way of offering, are with the different attributes of the greatest respect in worshiping the Enjoyer of the Sacrifice. Whether He is Vishnu who came in order to bless me or else came to bring me down, I will give Him, oh sage, whatever land He desires. I will not even retaliate when He fearfully posing as a brahmin boy, deceives me as an enemy and arrests me despite my innocence. If this person here is really the one glorified in the scriptures, He will never give up His reputation, whether He takes all the land after having killed me or rests in peace being killed by me.

Shri Shuka said: '[Bali,] the highly elevated and divinely inspired character thus being fixed on truthfulness then was cursed by his guru for being such a disrespectful and obstinate disciple [see B.G. 10: 10]: 'You who so stubbornly consider yourself learned going against my instructions, have in your impudence towards me proven yourself as a shameless ignoramus. Someone like you will soon lose all his opulence!' [Even] being cursed this way by his guru he, as a great personality did not abandon his truthfulness and donated after first offering water and duly having worshiped Vamanadeva [the land he had promised]. Vindhyavali, Bali's wife, that moment came forward being decorated with a pearl necklace and brought a golden pot filled with water to wash the Lord's feet. He, the worshiper of the most beautiful pair of feet, personally washed them and took in great jubilation the water on his head that purifies the entire universe. That moment a shower of flowers was released by all the inhabitants of the higher worlds: the demigods, the singers of heaven, the scholars, the ones specially gifted and the venerable ones. They all most pleased hailed the rectitude of what the Asura king had done [compare 5.18: 12]. The residents of heaven, the apelike ones and the ones of superpower sounded thousands of drums and horns again and again and declared: 'What by Him, this great personality, has been achieved was a most difficult thing, for he delivered the three worlds to his opponent [Vishnu]!'

Then the dwarf form of the Unlimited Lord began to expand most wondrously to the entire expanse of the threefold of matter: He stretched Himself out in every direction over all

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the land, the sky, the planetary systems, outer space and the seas and oceans where the birds and the beasts, the humans, the gods and the saints were living. Bali together with all the priests, the teachers of example and the seekers of truth could within this body of Him as the Almighty One, of Him as the source of the qualities, see the entire threefold universe complete with its elements and the living beings with their senses, sense objects, mind, intelligence and false ego. The lower world he saw under the soles of His feet, upon the feet he saw the surface of the land, the mountains he saw in the calves of the virath-purusha, the aerial beings in the knees of the gigantic form and in His thighs he saw the different types of demigods. He recognised the evening twilight in His garment, he saw the founding fathers in His private parts, he saw himself together with his spokesmen in His hips, His navel was the complete of the sky, at His waist there were the seven seas and in the upper part of Urukrama [the 'far-stepping' Lord] he saw the stellar signs. 5-2 In His heart my best one, he saw the dharma, in the chest of Murari he saw pleasing words and truthfulness and in His mind he saw the moon. In His bosom he found the goddess who always carries a lotus in her hands and in His neck there was the complete of all the Vedic sound vibrations. In His arms he recognised all the gods led by Indra, in His ears all the directions were found, the luminaries formed the top of His head, the clouds were His hair, the whispers of the wind were in His nostrils, His eyes were the sun and in His mouth he saw the [sacrificial] fire. In His speech he heard the hymns of praise, he saw the god of the waters in His tongue, His eyebrows were the warnings and regulations, His eyelids were the night and the day, he saw anger on the Supreme Person His forehead and greed was situated in His lips. Lust was His touch, oh King, water was His semen, His back was irreligion, His marvels were found in the sacrificial ceremonies, in His shadows he saw death, the illusory energy was present in His smiles and in the hairs on His body he recognised the herbs and plants. With the rivers for His veins, the stones for His nails and with Lord Brahma, the demigods and the sages for His intelligence, Bali saw all the moving and stationary living entities in the senses of His body [see also 2.1, 2.6, 3.12: 37-47 and B.G. 11].

When the Asuras observed this entirety of all the worlds and souls they were perturbed, oh King. Being faced with the Sudars'ana disc with its unbearable heat and the bow Sharnga resounding like thunder, the loud sound of His conch shell the Pancajanya and the great force of Vishnu's club the Kaumodaki, His sword the Vidyadhara, the shield with the hundred moons and also His supreme quiver of arrows named Akshayasayaka, drove them to desperation. 2-3 His associates led by Sunanda and the other leaders and local divinities offered prayers to Him standing there with His brilliant helmet, bracelets and fish-shaped earrings, His Shrivatsa-mark, the best of all jewels [the Kaustubha], His belt, yellow dress and His flower garland with bees about it. Oh King, manifesting Himself thus the Supreme Lord Urukrama covered with one footstep the entire surface of Bali's world, covered the sky with His body and covered the directions with His arms. Making the second step He covered all the heavenly places and for the third step not a single spot of land remained, for Lord Urukrama with His stepping now had reached farther than the farthest place beyond Maharloka, Janaloka and Tapoloka [see also 5.17: 1].'

*: Prabhupada: 'There are two kinds of highly elevated devotees, called sadhana-siddha and kripa-siddha. Sadhana-siddha refers to one who has become a devotee by regular execution of the regulative principles mentioned in the Shastras, as ordered and directed by the spiritual master. If one regularly executes such devotional service, he will certainly attain perfection in due course of time. But there are other devotees, who may not have undergone all the required details of devotional service but who, by the special mercy of guru and Krishna - the spiritual master and the Supreme Personality of Godhead - have immediately attained the perfection of pure devotional service.' Bali Maharaja became such a kripa-siddha-bhakta devotee.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 21:
Bali Maharaja Arrested by the Lord

Shri Shuka said: 'He who appeared on the lotus [Brahma] observed from the place of truth [from Satyaloka] how the light of his abode had been covered and had faded because of the effulgence of the Lord's toenails and thus, oh god of man, he approached Him together with vowed brahmacaris like the sages headed by Marici and with Sanandana and the other Kumaras. - They fully expert in the Vedas and their supplements, the regulations and the abstinence, being well versed in logic, history, didactics, the classical stories, the Vedic corollaries and such, thereupon offered their obeisances at Lord Vishnu's lotus feet together with others of whom the fire of spiritual knowledge was ignited by the airs of yoga and persons who being free from fruitive activities by simply meditating on the self-born one had attained his abode. Lord Brahma, the most celebrated Vedic authority, he who as a person had appeared on the lotus that had sprouted from His navel, then pleased Him by devoutly paying homage, worshiping Him with oblations of water [see also 3.8]. The water from Lord Brahma's kamandalu, purified from washing the feet of Lord Urukrama, oh king of the humans, became the [celestial] Svardhuni [the Ganges]. Its water flowing down from outer space purifies the three worlds the same way the fame of the Supreme Lord purifies. Lord Brahma and the others, they who were the predominating deities of the different worlds, were of the greatest respect for their master and collected with all their followers the necessities for worshiping the All-powerful Soul who had returned to His original size. - With water for the feet and for the guests, flower garlands, all sorts of pulp to smear, fragrant incense and lamps, fried rice, whole grains, fruits, roots and sprouts, they offered their respects exclaiming 'Jaya, jaya' to the glory of His actions, thereby dancing, singing and playing instruments as vibrating conch shells and beating kettledrums. Jambavan, the king of the bears, blissfully sounded the bugle in every direction and proclaimed a great festival for [celebrating] His victory. The Asuras were very angry when they saw that all the land of their master who had been so determined to be of sacrifice, was lost on the simple plea of three steps of land: 'Is this brahmin friend not actually Vishnu Himself, the greatest of all cheaters, who assuming the form of a brahmin willfully tries to deceive us in the interest of the gods? He, the enemy, in the form of a boy begging for a donation stole everything away from our master who for the sacrifice gave up his exercise of power. Favorable to the brahmins and always sworn to the truth, he personally now being initiated for performing a yajna, cannot speak a lie. In the service of our master it is therefore our duty to kill Him!' Thus the Asura followers of Bali took up their different weapons. Oh King, having taken up their tridents and lances they with their angry minds all together rushed forward against the will of Bali. But the associates of Vishnu who saw the Daitya soldiers coming, oh ruler, smiled, took up their weapons and threw them back. 6-1 Nanda and Sunanda came forward as also Jaya, Vijaya, Prabala, Bala, Kumuda, Kumudaksha, Vishvaksena, Patattrirath [Garuda], Jayanta, Shrutadeva, Pushpadanta and Satvata. They all together as strong as a thousand elephants killed the Asura soldiers.

The moment Bali saw that his men were killed by the followers of the Original Personality, he remembered the curse of Shukracarya [8.20: 15] and commanded his angry men to retreat: 'Oh Vipracitti, Rahu and Nemi please listen, do not fight, stop with this. Now is not the time to settle this. The Master of All Living Beings, that Person of Control who decides about happiness and distress, can by human effort not be superseded oh Daityas. Formerly time worked in our favor and brought us the victory over the gods, but today time, which indeed is the Greatest Power [the Supreme Authority] in our existence, works against us. No man is able to surpass the time factor by any power, counsel, cleverness, fortifications, spells, herbs, diplomacy or by whatever other means or likewise schemes. In the past you managed to defeat many followers of Vishnu, but today they who had the luck to increase their wealth are roaring that they defeated us in battle [see B.G. 18: 13-15]. We will defeat them when fate works in our favor and therefore we now must await the time of our luck.'

Shri Shuka said: 'After the Daitya and Danava leaders had heard what their master said they left grudgingly for the lower regions, oh King, to which they were driven by the associates of Vishnu. Thereafter, on the day when for the sacrifice the soma is extracted [soma-pana], Bali was arrested by the son of Tarkshya [Garuda] to the desire of the Master of the King of the Birds [Lord Vishnu] and bound with the ropes of Varuna. Because of the apprehension of the Asura leader by Vishnu, the mightiest One around, from every direction in the upper and lower worlds a great roar of disappointment rose. Bereft of his luster he, the one so magnanimous and celebrated, oh King, remained determined as ever. Unto him thus being bound with Varuna's ropes the Supreme Lord Vamana said: 'You have given Me three steps of land oh Asura. With two I occupied the complete surface of the earth and now you owe me a third one. As far as the sun, the moon and the stars can shed their light and as far as the clouds are pouring rain, you own all the land. In one step with My body occupying the sky in all directions I have covered the entire sphere of the earth [Bhurloka] and with the second step I before your eyes occupied the higher worlds you own. Unable to provide what you have promised, hell is your destination. Because also your guru is of this opinion, therefore go to that place where there is no happiness [see also 6.17: 28]. Anyone who disappoints a petitioner by failing to give what he has promised, falls down deeply. Far removed from a higher life, his desires will lead nowhere. You, proud of your possessions, have deceived Me with your promise. Having used such a false prospect you will therefore have to reside in hell for a couple of years.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 22:
Bali Maharaja Surrenders His Life

Shri Shuka said: 'Thus having run into trouble with the Supreme Lord oh King, Bali the Asura king, was despite his awkward position an unperturbed soul who replied positively with the following words. Shri Bali said: 'If, oh Lord Praised in the Verses, Your Goodness thinks that what I have promised proved to be false oh Greatest of the Gods, then let me, in order to be just in this matter and not to have turned to cheating, offer You my head to put the third step of Your lotus feet. I am not as afraid of residing in hell or of being bound in fetters, of facing hard to endure distress or of a lack of funds, as I am of the punishment of the dishonour I now have to endure by You [compare B.G. 2: 34 and 6.17: 28]. I consider it the most exalted thing to be punished by the worshipable Lord, for that is something one's mother, father, brother or friends cannot offer [see 10.14: 8]. You are of us Asuras the unseen supreme guru who gave us the vision many of us were deprived of in our blind arrogance. - Many of the ones who apart from the wisdom fixed their intelligence upon You in a constant enmity, achieved the state of perfection, a position which, as is known, equals that of the yogis. Despite being punished by Your Lordship who are so full of wonders, I am therefore not ashamed - nor do I suffer that much - from thus being bound with Varuna's ropes. My grandfather [Prahlada] who is appreciated by Your devotees, is famed all around for being a saint, as someone having You, the Supreme One, [as his shelter] when he had to suffer all the nasty matters that were plotted by his father who was set against You [see 7.5]. Of what use is this body that leaves you in the end? What is the service of all those profiteers who passing as relatives snatch away the inheritance? What is the need of a wife who only drags one more into the material world? And what is for a person certain of death the use of wasting his life with domestic attachments [see also 5.5: 8 and B.G. 18: 66]? My grandfather the great devotee who so deep in his wisdom was afraid of worldly association, was free from fear in his surrender to the immovable refuge of Your lotus feet, oh my Lord, oh Best of the Best Ones, even though You have put an end to his own kind. I, who by providence was arrested and with force was bereft of all my wealth, [to my luck] have now also been brought under the shelter of You, the enemy of our family. The fact that wealth is a temporary thing and that life may end any moment is something a narrow-minded person does not think about [see 7.5: 30].'

Shri Shuka said: 'When Bali thus discussed his position, Prahlada, the favorite of the Lord [see 7.9], manifested himself right there, oh best of the Kurus, like being the moon that rises in the sky. Indrasena [Bali], saw his grandfather, the best of the auspicious ones, present there in all his glory: with eyes as wide as lotus petals, beautifully built, dressed in saffron and with a body as dark as collyrium and with long arms. Bound with the ropes of Varuna he could not as before offer the respect he owed him and thus he offered his obeisances timidly bending his face downwards with eyes full of tears. The moment the great devotee saw the Supreme Master, the Lord sitting there being worshiped by followers like Sunanda, he approached Him with his head bent low and then moved to tears in his jubilation paid his respects by falling flat to the ground. Shri Prahlada said: 'Your Lordship who granted Bali this so very great position of Indra, today has taken it all back and that is something I consider most beautiful. By denying him his opulence You have done him a great favor, because that was what stood in the way of his self-realisation. Who can properly recognise the purpose of his soul when even an educated, self-controlled person is bewildered by his opulence? I offer You Narayana, the Lord of the Universe, the omnipresent silent witness, my respectful obeisances.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Oh King, then the mighty Hiranyagarbha [Brahma] proceeded to speak to Madhusudana [the Lord] in such a way that Prahlada who stood there with folded hands could hear it. But [that very moment] Bali's chaste wife who saw that her husband was arrested oh King, offered heavily distraught because of her fear with folded hands her obeisances to Upendra [Lord Vamana] and addressed Him with her face turned downwards. Shri Vindhyavali said: 'You have created this threefold universe for the sake of Your pastimes. You are its proprietor, but now foolish people and others oh Controller, ignorantly imposing themselves, question the doer. What do these shameless people have to offer You, the Supreme Creator, Master and Annihilator [compare B.G. 16: 13-15 and 18: 61]?'

Lord Brahma said: 'Oh Goodness of all Living Beings, oh Controller of Each, oh God of Gods, oh All-pervading One, please release this man now who has lost everything. Someone like him does not deserve it to be punished. He gave to You all the lands and all the worlds. With a firm resolve everything he has achieved in his piety has been offered to You with an intelligence free from hesitation; all that he possessed, even his body. At Your feet he honestly offered water, grasses and flower buds. How can such a worshiper despite his most exalted offerings, despite his worship, after generously offering You the three worlds, deserve the pain given to him? He not being duplicitous deserves the highest destination [B.G. 9: 26]!'

The Supreme Lord said: 'Oh Brahma, it is My mercy to take away the riches from him who is led by it, for someone under

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the influence of material opulence takes pride in it and looks down on the entire world! When the living entity, dependent because of its karma, from birth to birth moves through different species of life, it longs to attain the human life form [see also B.G. 13: 22]. It is [also] to be regarded My grace when a person because of his [human] birth, activities, age, physique, education, achievement, wealth and other opulences then not has hardened in this pride. Matters as a high birth and such that are the cause of arrogance and bewilderment, [for a normal person] together constitute impediments for [attaining] full beatitude, but no, My devotee is not disturbed by them [see also 4.8-12]. Bali, this best and most famous devotee among the Danavas and Daityas, already surpassed the insurmountable deluding material energy. Despite losing his wealth he was not taken aback. 9-3 Having lost all his riches, having fallen from his superior position, being reviled and arrested by his enemies, being deserted by his family and relatives, having suffered all kinds of uncommon hardship, being rebuked and cursed by his guru, he, fixed in his vow, did not forsake his truthfulness, the dharma that I so deceitfully for the sake of the gift spoke about. True to his word this man never gave it up. Through Me he has achieved a position that even for the immortal ones is most difficult to obtain; during the time of Savarni Manu [see 8.13: 10-11] he will become the Indra enjoying My full protection. Till then he may go and live in Sutala [see 5.24: 18], the place created by [the heavenly architect] Vis'vakarma, where it because of My supervision has been made impossible for the inhabitants to suffer psychically or physically any weariness, exhaustion or defeat. Oh Indrasena, oh Maharaja, please go now, oh ruler. May there in Sutala, the place so desirable for even the denizens of heaven, for you surrounded by your people, be all auspiciousness. None of the controllers of the worlds will be able to overrule your command there, not to speak of the common man, for I with my cakra will personally take care of all the Daityas who defy your rule. I will protect you, your associates and your property. In every respect I will always stand by your side, oh great hero. You will be able to see Me there! In that place the foolishness from being associated with the Asura mentality of the Daityas and Danavas, will disappear immediately by observing My excellence.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 23:

The Demigods Regain the Heavenly Places

Shri Shuka said: 'After [Bali] the great and exalted soul who carried the approval of all the saints, thus was addressed by the Original, Oldest Person, he spoke full of devotion with folded hands, with tears in his eyes and a faltering voice. Shri Bali said: 'Oh just the attempt to offer my obeisances suffices for a result like that of surrendered devotees. What You out of Your causeless mercy have granted a fallen Asura like me, nobody among the demigods and the leaders of the world has achieved before.'

Shri Shuka said: 'After having said this to the Lord, Bali offered Him and also Lord Brahma and Lord Shiva his obeisances. Thereupon he released and satisfied entered Sutala together with his associates. By fulfilling Aditi's desire and by giving back to king Indra his supremacy over the heavenly worlds, the Lord thus exercised His authority over the entire universe [see 8.16: 11-17]. Prahlada who had heard how his descendant, his grandson Bali, had achieved His mercy and was released from his fetters, then full of devotion addressed [the Supreme Personality] as follows. Shri Prahlada said: 'With this benediction, which could not be achieved by Lord Brahma, by the Goddess of Fortune or by Lord Shiva - not even mentioning others -, You for us Asuras have become the Protector Against All Misery, the One whose feet are worshiped by the most respected personalities of the universe! Oh Shelter of All, Lord Brahma and others enjoy Your grace by tasting the honey of serving Your lotus feet. How could we, people of a bad conduct and a bad birth, achieve the position that is granted when one follows the path of Your merciful glance? Oh how wonderful all the activities of Your unlimited spiritual potency are! In Your pastimes, oh Lord who created all the worlds, oh Soul of all souls expert in every field, You are equal towards everyone. Not to discriminate characterizes Your love, a love in which You for Your devotees are like a desire tree [since You are unto the people what they are unto You, see B.G. 9: 29].'

The Supreme Lord said: 'My son Prahlada, I wish you all the best, please go to the place Sutala and bring with a spirit of joy happiness to your grandson, relatives and friends! Situated there you will always have the vision of Me holding the club [the conch, the lotus and the discus]. The great delight of seeing Me in that form will cut the bonds of karma.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Prahlada accepted, with his clear mind consenting, with folded hands the order of the Supreme Lord, oh King. After he, the Master of all the leading Asuras, next had circumambulated the Original Person and offered his obeisances, he together with Bali with His permission entered the lower world Sutala. Lord Narayana then said to Shukracarya who in the assembly of transcendentalists sat close to Him in a group of priests [brahma, hota, udgata and adhvaryu]: 'Oh brahmin, please describe the karmic imperfections of your disciple Bali who performs the sacrifices, for these karmic faults [see 8.20: 15] will be neutralised under the supervision of the brahmins.'

Shri Shukra said: 'What would be wrong with him who in all respects was of worship for You who are the Master of all fruitive action, You the Controller and Enjoyer of all sacrifices [see also 4.31: 14, 1.2: 13 and B.G. 5: 25]? As for the time and place, the person, the paraphernalia, [the practice of] the mantras and following the principles, faults can be made, but these are all nullified by regularly chanting Your glories in congregation [*]. Still I have to do what You have told me oh Supreme One, for it is the most auspicious and supreme thing for each person to fold his hands in obedience to Your command.'

Shri Shuka said: hUshana [Shukracarya, see 4.1: 45] the mightiest [sage] thus offering his obeisances to the authority of the Lord, set himself together with the best brahmins the task of compensating for the imperfect sacrifice that Bali made for the Lord. Oh King, the Lord who as Vamana this way from Bali had begged the land, delivered the places of the gods that had been seised by the others to His godbrother the great Indra. 0-2 For the pleasure of Kasyapa and Aditi [the parents of Vamana] and for the well-being of all living beings and worlds, the master of the founding fathers Lord Brahma, together with the gods, the saints, the forefathers, the Manus, Daksha, Bhrigu, Angira, all the great leaders, Lord Shiva and his son [Karttikeya], made Lord Vamana the supreme leader of all the authorities in the world. 2-2 When they made Upendra the master for all purposes, [the protector] of the Veda, the master of all gods, of all religion, of all fame, of all opulence, of all auspiciousness and of all vows, regarding Him the greatest expert in elevating to a higher life, that oh ruler of man, made all living beings extremely happy. Indra together with the leaders of the world thereafter, with the permission of Lord Brahma, then kept Lord Vamana in front on the divine path of accomplishing the kingdom of heaven. Under the protection of Vamanadeva Indra regained his rule over the three worlds and the pleasure of being blessed by its supreme wealth and had nothing more to fear [from the Asuras]. 6-2 Oh King, Lord Brahma, Lord Shiva and his son, the sages headed by Bhrigu, the munis, the forefathers and all the living beings, the perfected ones and the space travelers [the vimana people] and such, glorified all the supremely wonderful, praiseworthy deeds of Lord Vishnu, also praised Aditi and then left for each their own world.

Oh pleasure of the dynasty, to hear about all these activities of Lord Urukrama [the Lord 'of the great steps'] I have described to you, wipes away all consequences of sin. The great saint [Vasishthha Muni] stated in his mantras that no mortal human being subject to death or destined to be reborn can measure the glories of Lord Urukrama, just as no one is capable of counting the number of atoms of the earth [see also B.G. 10: 42 and **]. Anyone who hears about and keeps listening to the stories about this God of gods, Lord Hari, all of whose works performed in His incarnations are equally wonderful, will attain the supreme destination. When one engages in this [telling and listening] during the performance of whatever ritual, whether one is engaged for the gods, the ancestors or one's fellow man [at a marriage ceremony for instance], that ceremony will with these [descriptions] be well-performed.'

*: Often quoted in this context is what Shri Caitanya Mahaprabhu has recommended:

harer nama harer nama
harer namaiva kevalam
kalau nasty eva nasty eva
nasty eva gatir anyatha

"In this age of quarrel and hypocrisy the only means of deliverance is chanting the holy name of the Lord. There is no other way. There is no other way. There is no other way." (Brihan-naradiya Purana 38.12

Also often quoted is here a part of verse 11.5: 32: 'In the age of Kali, intelligent persons perform congregational chanting to worship the incarnation of Godhead who constantly sings the names of Krishna.'

**: Vasishthha Muni has given a mantra about Lord Vishnu: 'na te vishnor jayamano na jato mahimnah param anantam apa': 'No one can estimate the extent of the uncommonly glorious activities of Lord Vishnu'.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 24:

Matsya, the Lord's Fish Incarnation

The honourable king said: 'Oh powerful one, I would like to hear the story about that first incarnation of the Lord whose deeds are so wonderful, in which He poses as a fish [or Matsya, see also 2.7: 12, 5.18: 24-28 and 6.9: 23]. - For what purpose did the Controller accept the form of a fish? It is a form that is certainly not the most favorable one in the world. To operate in that slow mode must be as hard as the life of someone tormented by the laws of karma! Oh mighty sage, please tell us as good as you can everything about the activities of Lord Uttamas'loka ['the One glorified'], for to hear about Him makes the entire world happy [B.G. 4: 7].'

Shri Suta Gosvami said: "The mighty son of Vyasadeva thus upon the request of Vishnurata ['Vishnu-sent'] told him everything there was to know about the deeds of Lord Vishnu in the form of a fish. Shri Shuka said: 'For the sake of the cows, the brahmins, the enlightened souls, the devotees as also the Vedic literatures, the Supreme Controller assumes in His incarnations [all kinds of] forms for the purpose of protecting the dharma. Even though the Lord assumes forms among higher or lower living beings, He [Himself], just like moving air, is therewith not of a higher or lower nature, for being intent upon the modes He is transcendental to the modes. During the previous day of Brahma [the previous kalpa] there was at its end an inundation because of which all the existing worlds were submerged in the ocean, oh King. At the moment Brahma felt sleepy and wanted to lie down to rest, the Vedic knowledge most powerfully emanated from his mouth. Hayagriva who happened to be nearby then took it away [see 2.7: 11 and 5.18: 6]. Understanding Hayagriva's Danava course of action the Supreme Lord Hari, the Controller, [thereupon] assumed the form of a fish. o) When that happened there was some saintly king called Satyavrata, a great personality and devotee of Lord Narayana, who in his penances had developed the austerity of subsisting on water only. During this day of Brahma he as a son of the sungod became known as Shraddhadeva. Lord Hari entrusted him with the position of Manu [see 6.6: 40 and 8.13: 1]. When he one day was sitting at the Kritamala river, performing oblations of water, in his palm full of water some kind of a small fish manifested itself. Satyavrata, the master of Dravidades'a, oh son of Bharata, threw the little fish together with the handful of water into the river. It appealed to the most compassionate king and said: 'The river water is very scaring, oh protector of the poor, why do you throw Me, so small, before the voracious aquatics, oh King?'

Most pleased to show it his personal favor he, not knowing that he held the form of Matsya, decided to offer the fish protection. The great leader hearing its pitiable words mercifully put it in a jug full of water and took it home. But in a single night it expanded in the water of that pot so that it, not feeling comfortably anymore, said to the great leader: 'I do not like it here, this water pot is a difficult place for Me, please consider a more spacious refuge where I can live with pleasure.'

He then took it out and placed it in a bucket full of water, but thrown in there it grew within a second to the length of three cubits [2.10 meters]. [It said:] 'This bucket is unsuitable for Me to live happily, please give Me, who sought your shelter, a much bigger place!'

The king removed it from there and threw it in a lake that was immediately filled by its body when He instantly grew into a gigantic fish. 'This water you have put Me in does not accommodate Me, oh King, I'm a large aquatic, you better put Me in an expanse of water that suits Me more permanently.'

Thus requested he brought Matsya to bigger and bigger reservoirs until he finally threw the giant into the ocean. Thrown there it said to the king: 'In this place there are dangerous, powerful aquatics that will eat Me, oh hero, please do not put Me in here!'

Thus perplexed by the fish that addressed him in agreeable terms he said: 'Who are You who in this fish form is bewildering us? I've never seen or heard of such a powerful aquatic like You are. Your Lordship has expanded to hundreds of miles in a single day! You must be the Supreme Personality of Godhead Himself, the imperishable Lord Narayana who has assumed the form of a marine animal to show all living beings Your mercy. I offer You, the Most Excellent Personality of Maintenance, Creation and Destruction my obeisances. Oh Almighty One, unto surrendered devotees like us You are the Supreme Lord and the Highest Destination. Everything You do in Your incarnations is the cause of the welfare of all living beings. I'd like to know for what purpose Your Lordship has assumed this form. As opposed to [the worship of] others who are differently embodied [the demigods], one never worships Your lotus feet in vain, oh Lotus petal-eyed One. For You are the friend, the dearest and original Soul of everyone, You who now have manifested that so very wonderful body for us Your devotees.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Having spoken thus that master of man, Satyavrata, was addressed by the Master of the Universe, the Lord who, as the one love of the devotees desiring to benefit them, at the end of the yuga for the sake of enjoying His pastimes had assumed the form of a fish in the water of the great flood. The Supreme Lord said: 'On the seventh day from today, oh subduer of the enemies, this threefold creation of earth, ether and heaven will be flooded by the all-devouring ocean. When the three worlds are submerged in the waters of annihilation, a very big boat will appear that I have sent to you. 4-3 Collect all higher and lower kinds of herbs and seeds before you get on that huge boat together with the seven sages and all kinds of living beings. Then travel undaunted the ocean of the flood with no other illumination but the light of the rishis. When that boat is being tossed

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about by the very powerful wind, you can attach it with the great serpent [Vasuki] to My horn, for I will be near you. I will drag you and the sages on the boat, with Me over the waters throughout the night of Brahma, oh My best one. With My support, upon your inquiries, in your heart the full knowledge will be revealed of My glory that is known as the Supreme Brahman [see also B.G. 5: 16, 10: 11].'

After thus having instructed the king the Lord disappeared from there. The king then awaited the time about which the Master of the Senses had spoken. The saintly king spread kus'a grass with its tips pointed to the east and then facing northwards sat down to meditate upon the feet of the Lord who had assumed the form of a fish. Then there were huge clouds in the sky incessantly showering rain. The ocean swell and began to flood on all sides so that the earth was inundated. Meditating on what the Lord had said he saw a boat coming near. He got up, took the herbs and creepers and got on board together with the leading brahmins. The sages were very pleased and said to him: 'Oh King meditate upon Kes'ava ['the Lord with the black curls'], for He will save us from this impending danger and set things right.'

After the king had meditated, the Lord appeared in the great ocean as a golden fish measuring a million yojanas that had a single horn. Glad that he, like the Lord had told him before, could fasten the boat to the horn using the serpent for a rope, he praised the Killer of Madhu. The king said: 'Since time immemorial ignorance about the knowledge of the soul has been the root cause of the material bondage that is accompanied by so much suffering and hardship. By the grace of the process of devotional service [and Your devotee] You can be attained, oh Lord who are the supreme spiritual master [see 7.5: 23-24]. He who is born accepts in his desire to be happy unwisely different bodies as a result of his karma [see 4.29 and B.G. 4: 5, 6: 45 and 16: 20], but his profit minded plans bring him only grief. That karmic matter is cleared up by rendering service to Him, our guru in the core of the heart, by whom the hard knot of the impure mind is cut. Just like a piece of ore in touch with fire gets purified, a person by that service can get rid of all the impurity as a consequence of his ignorance so that he can revive his original identity [his mode of service or varna]. May He who is Inexhaustible in this respect be our Supreme Controller, the Guru of the Gurus. Neither the demigods, nor the gurus, nor other people individually or else group wise are able to offer but one ten-thousandth of Your grace. I therefore surrender to Him, the Lord, to You who are the shelter. The way the blind are led by the blind, ignorant people accept an unenlightened person as their guru. We desirous to know our destination, have accepted Your Lordship whose knowledge is like the [rising] sun, as our spiritual master, as the seer of all that can be seen. An ordinary person following the directions of an ordinary man is of surrender to impermanent matters as the goal of life and [thus] of an ignorance that cannot be overcome, but by Your eternal, pure knowledge a person very soon achieves his original position [of service]. You are the dearmost well-wisher, the controller, the original soul and spiritual master of all worlds. You are the spiritual knowledge, the fulfillment of all desires and the One situated in the heart who cannot be known by people who in the grip of lust have a foggy intelligence. May by my surrender to You, the Greatest of All who is worshiped by the gods, the Supreme Controller for understanding the real purpose of life, by my surrender to the light of Your meaningful words of instruction, the knots fixed in the heart be cut through, oh Supreme Lord. Please tell me about Your refuge [see also B.G. 4: 34].'

Shri Shuka said: 'The Supreme Lord, the Original Person who had assumed the form of a fish, thus being addressed explained the Absolute Truth to the king while they were moving through the great ocean. Through the analytical [sankhya, matter versus spirit] perspective of [bhakti-]yoga, practically applied in a collection of divine old stories, the holy king Satyavrata thus got acquainted with the mysteries of self-realisation in all its forms. Sitting in the boat with the sages, he free from doubt listened to the knowledge of self-realisation [atma-tattva] and the eternal absolute spirit [brahma] as explained by the Supreme Lord. When the last inundation had ended the Lord after [thus] having put an end to the darkness that was caused by Hayagriva, handed over all the Vedic records to Brahma when he woke up. King Satyavrata enlightened in the spiritual knowledge and its practical wisdom, by the mercy of Lord Vishnu became in this period the Manu called Vaivasvata.

When someone hears this great story describing Satyavrata the saintly king and the Matsya incarnation with the one horn, he will be delivered from all reactions to sin. Anyone who daily glorifies the personal appearance of the Lord will have success in all his endeavors and will return home, back to Godhead. I offer my obeisances to Him, the Cause of All Causes, He who posing as a great fish explained to Satyavrata the Vedic knowledge and put an end to the darkness of the Daitya, He who returned the Vedic records that were stolen from the mouths of Lord Brahma who lay deep asleep in the waters of the flood.'

Thus the eighth BOOK of the Shrimad Bhagavatam ends named: Withdrawal of the Cosmic Creations.

BOOK 9: LIBERATION

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 1:
King Sudyumna Becomes a Woman

The king said: 'I have listened to your descriptions of all the periods of the Manus and the wonderful actions performed by the Lord of Unlimited Potency during those periods. - He who was known by the name of Satyavrata, the saintly king and ruler of Dravidades'a, received spiritual knowledge at the end of the previous day of Brahma, by rendering service to the Original Person [the Purusha]. I heard from you how he, as a son of Vivasvan [the sun god], thus became the Manu. You have spoken about his many sons: the kings headed by Ikshvaku [8.13: 1]. Oh brahmin, please describe to us always eager to listen to your stories, the dynasties of those kings and what characterised them oh greatly fortunate one. Please tell us about all those pious and celebrated souls who were there before us, who will be there after us and who live at present with us.'

Shri Suta said: "After Parikchit thus in the assembly of all the brahmin followers had requested this, the powerful Shuka, the one most learned in the dharma, gave a reply. Shri Shuka said: 'Oh subduer of the enemies, I will now tell you the most important about the dynasty of Manu, because not even a hundred years would be enough to do this extensively. When the Supersoul, who is the Original Transcendental Person of all higher and lower forms of life, found Himself at the end of the kalpa, outside of Him nothing of this universe or anything else existed. From His navel a golden lotus generated upon which, oh King, the selfborn one with his four heads appeared [Lord Brahma, see also 3.8]. Marici appeared from Brahma's mind and Kasyapa was there from him. He in his turn begot in Aditi, the daughter of Daksha, a son: Visvasvan [see also 6.6: 38-39]. 1-1 Vivasvan begot in Samjna, Manu Shraddhadeva who with his wife Shraddha from his sense control fathered ten sons whom he gave the names Ikshvaku, Nriga, Sharyati, Dishtha, Dhrishtha, Karushaka, Narishyanta, Prishadhra, Nabhaga and the mighty Kavi. He, the Manu, at first had no sons, but the great personality, the powerful Vasishthha, performed a sacrifice for the demigods Mitra and Varuna that would bring him sons. But Shraddha, Manu's wife who as prescribed observed a payo vrata [vow of drinking only, see 8.16], approached with obeisances the performing priest during the sacrifice and begged him for a daughter. The ritvik in charge [the adhvaryu] told the priest performing the oblations [the hota] to engage with this in mind, whereupon the brahmin took the ghee and recited the mantra vashath [hunto the Living Being'].

With that transgression of the performing priest a daughter was born named Ila ['the libation']. When Manu saw her he most dissatisfied said to his guru: 'Oh my lord, what is this? As a result of the actions of you transcendentalists, there is alas this painful deviation. This rebellion against the Absolute Truth never should have happened! How could you, versed in Vedic knowledge, connected and austere of whom all impurities were burned away, deviate from your decision? Since when are the demigods of false promises?'

Having heard what he said, the most powerful one, their great-grandfather Vasishthha who had understanding for the mistake the performing priest had made, spoke to [Manu] the son of the sun god. 'This unexpected result was the consequence of the wrong action of your priest. I will employ however my power to give you a nice son!'

With that decision, oh King, the renown powerful master Vasishthha offered prayers to the Original Person with the wish that Ila turned into a man. Pleased by him the Supreme Controller Hari granted the desired benediction so that Ila became a nice man who was called Sudyumna. 3-2 One day Sudyumna was on a hunting trip in the forest, oh King and was accompanied by a couple of associates. While riding a horse from Sindhuprades'a he went north in pursuit of the game. For the occasion the hero was equiped with a beautiful bow with remarkable arrows and an armor. At the foot of mount Meru he happened to enter the Sukumara forest where the mighty Lord Shiva is enjoying with his wife Uma. Having entered there oh ruler of man, Sudyumna, the pre-eminent hero, saw himself changed into a woman and his horse into a mare [see also 5.17: 15]. All his companions were also changed into the opposite sex and seeing each other like this they got very depressed.'

The honourable king [Parikchit] said: 'How can that realm have this quality? How came this about, oh mighty one? This is what we very much would like to hear you deliberate on.'

Shri Shuka answered: 'Saints fixed in their vows dispelling the darkness in every direction, once came there to see the Lord of the Mountain, Shiva. Ambika [Durga] who sat naked on her husband's lap was most ashamed when she saw them. Quickly she got up and covered her breasts. The saints seeing the two enjoying sexual intercourse desisted from proceeding further and departed immediately for the ashrama of Nara-Narayana. Because of this the mighty Lord wishing to please his sweetheart said: 'Anyone who enters this place will turn into a woman on the spot!' Ever since males in particular do not enter that forest whereabout she [Sudyumna] in the company of her associates [now] wandered about from stretch to stretch. When she as a most exciting woman, thus surrounded by other women was loitering near his ashrama, the powerful Budha [the son of the moon and deity of Mercury] wished to enjoy her. She also longed to have him, the beautiful son of king Soma, for her husband and thus she from him gave birth to a son named Pururava. I've heard that Sudyumna who thus as a king born from Manu had achieved the female status, [then] remembered Vasishthha, the preceptor of the family. The merciful sage seeing him in that condition was very aggrieved. He desired the return of his maleness and began to pray to Lord Shankara [Shiva]. 8-3 Shiva being pleased with him, oh servant of the state, in order to keep his promise [to Uma] and to show the sage his love, said: 'This disciple of your line will one month be a female and the next month be a male. Sudyumna may with this arrangement [then] rule the world as he likes.' With this settlement he by the mercy of the acarya acquired the desired maleness and ruled over the entire world, even though the citizens were not quite happy with it. From Sudyumna three sons were born listening to the names of Utkala, Gaya and Vimala, oh King. They became kings over the southern realm and were very religious. Thereafter, when the time was ripe, the master of the kingdom who was so mighty, handed the world over to his son Pururava and left for the forest.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 2:
The Dynasties of Six of the Sons of Manu

Shri Shuka said: 'After Sudyumna, thus had disappeared, Vaivasvata Manu, his father desiring a(nother) son, executed austerities at the Yamuna for a hundred years. After for the purpose of offspring having worshiped the Godhead, Lord Hari, Manu begot ten sons who were like him and of whom the eldest was named Ikshvaku [see also 8.13: 2-3]. Prishadhra was among the sons of Manu by his guru ordered to herd cows. For that purpose he had taken the vow of virasana ['to stand prepared with a sword'] to protect them at night [see also 4.6: 38]. One night when it was raining, a tiger entered the land of the cowshed. Out of fear all the cows lying down, got up and spread all around the field. - When the strong animal seised one of the cows it began to cry out of distress and fear. Prishadhra hearing the screaming took his sword and hastily followed the sound but because the clouds covered the stars that night, he mistook the cow for the tiger and by mistake cut off its head. The tiger also being hit by the sword had its ear cut off and most afraid fled leaving a blood trail. Prishadhra thinking that he had killed the tiger, to his dismay discovered the next morning that he being a hero, with his sword had killed the cow. The family preceptor [Vasishthha] cursed him for the unintended sinful deed saying: 'Having acted like a Shudra, you cannot belong to the kshatriyas. Because of that unholy deed it is your karma to become a Shudra.' The hero thus being cursed by his guru accepted the words with folded hands and took the vow of celibacy as wanted by the sages. 1-1 Exclusively devoted to Vasudeva, the Supreme Lord and Soul of all, the Transcendence and Purity in person, he was equal and kindhearted towards all living beings. Freed from attachments, peaceful within and self-controlled, he was, free from possessions, of a vision in which he could accept whatever that was available for his physical needs, the way it for the benefit of the soul was arranged by His grace. Always with his mind focussed on the Supreme Self within and thus fully absorbed being satisfied in spiritual realisation, he traveled all over the earth appearing to others as if he were deaf, dumb and blind. After thus being engaged he entered the forest and as a saint achieved the ultimate transcendental goal the moment he out there ran into a forest fire which he allowed to consume himself [see also B.G. 4: 9].

Another son, Kavi [or Vasuman], the youngest one, had no attachments to material pleasures. After giving up his father's kingdom along with his friends, he, still a young man, entered the forest and reached the transcendental world by always keeping the effulgent Supreme Person in his heart.

From the son of Manu Karusha [or Tarusha] there was a dynasty of kshatriyas called the Karushas who as kings of the northern realm were highly religious protectors of the brahminical culture.

From Dhrishtha [or Shrishtha] a caste of kshatriyas originated who in the world having achieved the position of brahmins, were named the Dharshthas. From Nriga there was the succession of first Sumati, Bhutajyoti and thereafter Vasu. From Vasu's son Pratika there was one named Oghavan ['the uninterrupted tradition'] who fathered another son named Oghavan who had a daughter who also carried that name: Oghavati. She married with Sudars'ana.

From Narishyanta there was Citrasena, Riksha was his son and he begot Midhvan. Midhvan's son was Purna and Indrasena was Purna's son. Because of Indrasena there was Vitihotra, from him there was Satyas'rava, Urus'rava was his son and Devadatta was his son. Devadatta's son became the

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most powerful Agnives'ya who was Agni in person. He was a maharishi, a great saint, also known as Kanina and Jatukarnya. From Agnives'ya a dynasty of brahmins came forth known as the Agnives'yayanas. Oh King, I have thus described the descendants of Narishyanta, let me now tell you about Dishtha's dynasty.

Dishtha's son was Nabhaga [not to confuse with his uncles Nabhaga or the Nabhaga who was also called Nriga]. He in contrast answered to the vocation of the vais'yas [a merchant, see 7.11: 23]. His son was Bhalandana and from him there was Vatsapriti. His son was named Pramshu and Pramati was his son. Khanitra is known as Pramati's successor. He in his turn was succeeded by Cakshusha and his son was Vivims'ati. Vivims'ati's son was Rambha and his son Khaninetra was most religious. From him there was the scion Karandhama oh great King. Avikshit was his son and his son Marutta became emperor. The great mystic Samvarta, the son of Angira, engaged him in performing a yajna. The like of Marutta's sacrifice has never been observed since, because all that he used was made of gold and everything that he had was of the greatest beauty. Indra was delighted to drink the soma-rasa, the brahmins were generously compensated, the demigods [the Maruts] offered foodstuffs and all the gods of the universe were part of the assembly. Dama was Marutta's son and from him there was a son with the power to expand the kingdom: Rajyavardhana. From his son Sudhriti a son was born named Nara. Nara's son was called Kevala and he fathered Dhundhuman. Vegavan was there because of him and Vegavan's son Budha had Trinabindu for his son who was a great king. Alambusha accepted him as her husband. She was an adorable goddess, a girl from heaven and a reservoir of all good qualities who gave birth to a couple of sons and a daughter named Ilavila. Vis'rava, was a saint and master of yoga. He received transcendental knowledge from his father and begot Kuvera in Ilavila: he who brings wealth. Vis'ala, Shunyabandhu en Dhumraketu were the sons of Trinabindu. Vis'ala built a city named Vais'ali and founded a dynasty. Hemacandra was his son who fathered one called Dhumraksha. From his son Samyama there were [two sons called] Kris'as'va and Devaja. 5-3 From Kris'as'va there was a son named Somadatta. By worshiping the best one of all, the Lord of all Praises, the Original Person [Vishnu] in an as'vamedha sacrifice, he achieved the supreme destination where all the masters of yoga have their refuge. A son of Somadatta named Sumati thereupon begot a son called Janamejaya. All these kings of Vais'ali sustained the reputation of King Trinabindu.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 3:

The Marriage of Sukanya and Cyavana Muni

Shri Shuka said: 'The son of Manu king Sharyati was a highly developed brahmin who for that reason gave instructions on the functions to be performed on the second day in the arena of sacrifice of the descendants of Angira. He had a lotus-eyed daughter called Sukanya with whom he went to the forest to visit the ashrama of the sage Cyavana. While she in the company of her friends was collecting fruits and flowers from the trees, she saw in an anthill some kind of two shining lights [compare 7.3: 15-16]. As the young girl, ignorantly trying, poked in the light objects with a thorn, there oozed blood from them. The guards being startled stood nailed to the ground so that the king, who saw what had happened, had to address his surprised men. 'Alas, we have done something wrong in approaching the enlightened sage. We have, with this action of one of us, evidently violated his ashrama!'

Sukanya said afraid to her father: 'It was me who, unaware of what I was doing, with a thorn have pierced two shiny things.'

When king Sharyati heard his daughter say this, he was of the greatest concern to appease the sage who happened to reside quietly in the anthill. Understanding what was needed to set things right he, in order to leave, with the greatest trouble handed over his daughter to the muni and then returned home with his permission. Sukanya after having Cyavana for her husband, had understanding for him who remained very grumpy with her. She tried to please him by complying with him attentively. When some time had passed this way the two As'vins ['the healers of heaven'] reached the ashrama. Offering them his respects the sage said: 'Please give me youthfulness, oh masters! I know you cannot drink any soma, but I will offer you a pot full of soma-rasa when you give me the strength and beauty that is so desirable to young women.'

'So be it' the two great healers said confirming the scholar. 'Just dive into this lake. That will make you perfect.'

The aged man with his gray hair, loose skin and frail body the veins of which one could see, after thus being addressed was by the As'vins helped into the lake. When the three of them reappeared from the lake they were of the greatest beauty a woman could wish for: with lotus garlands, earrings, similar features and nice clothes. After the young beauty saw them, the chaste woman could not tell who of them was her husband for they were all equally beautiful, radiating like the sun and thus she resorted to the As'vins. Pleased with the strength of her faith they pointed out her husband and thereupon, taking leave of the sage, returned to the heavenly worlds in their celestial chariot. King Sharyati wishing to perform a yajna left for Cyavana's ashrama and thereupon saw a man at his daughter's side who radiated like the sun. But the king after she had paid her respect, gave his daughter not his blessings because he was not pleased at all with her: 'What do you think you are doing? Are you now cheating on your husband, the great sage honoured by all the people? Have you, because he's decrepit of age, oh unfaithful one, not deeming him very attractive, given up on him and taken this man, this street beggar, for a lover? Are you out of your mind? In keeping this lover you, as a daughter from the most respectable family, are a disgrace to the entire dynasty. You are shamelessly throwing your father and also your husband into the deepest darkness.'

She laughed and said with a smile to her father who was thus rebuking her: 'Oh father this one here is your son-in-law, the son of Bhrigu!'

She described to her father the entire story how his age had changed and he had acquired his beauty, whereupon he utterly pleased and surprised embraced his daughter. Cyavana Muni with his spiritual power enabled the great man to perform the soma sacrifice and delivered the As'vins the pot full of the soma-rasa they could not drink themselves. Indra full of indignation angrily took up his thunderbolt to kill him immediately, but the man of Bhrigu paralyzed the arm of Indra that held the thunderbolt. With the permission of all [the demigods] there was ever since a full cup of soma-rasa for the As'vins, who as physicians before this had happened were excluded from a share in the soma-yajna.

Uttanabarhi, Anarta and Bhurishena were the three sons begotten by Sharyati. Anarta thereupon fathered Revata. After in the ocean [on an island near the cost] having built a town called Kus'asthali [Dvaraka], he lived materially happy ruling regions like Anarta and others oh subduer of the enemies. A hundred fine sons were born because of him. Kakudmi was the eldest of them. Kakudmi took his daughter Revati to Brahma's abode beyond the modes, to ask the Almighty One for a husband for the girl. Because the original teacher of the universe was engaged in enjoying the music of the Gandharvas he had no time for him at all, but as soon as it was over Kakudmi, after offering his obeisances, could submit his desire to him. The all-powerful Lord had to laugh about what he heard and said to him: 'Alas, oh King, whosoever you had in mind [as a suitable husband for your daughter] has disappeared a long time ago! We do not hear anymore about them nor about their sons, grandsons, descendants or dynasties because [while you were waiting here] a period of three times nine maha-yugas has passed! Go therefore to Lord Baladeva. He constitutes a most powerful aspect of the God of Gods [Lord Vishnu]. Give Him, the Excellence of Man, your excellent daughter, oh King. The Supreme Lord, the Eternal Well-wisher who diminishes the burden of the world, the virtue of hearing and singing in person, has now descended together with this partial aspect of Him [see also 5.25].' The king, after paying the Unborn One his respects, returned with these directions to his residence that was abandoned by [the offspring of] his brothers. Afraid of ghosts they had spread in all directions. After handing his perfectly shaped daughter over to the most powerful one, Lord Baladeva, the king went to Badarikashrama, the place of Nara-Narayana, to perform austerities there.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 4:

Ambarisha Maharaja Offended by Durvasa Muni

Shri Shuka said: 'Nabhaga, the learned youngest son of Nabhaga [see 9.1: 11-12, not the uncle also called Nriga nor the Nabhaga of Dishtha, see 9.2: 23] returning from a celibate life received [as his share of the kingdom, the care for] his father because his elder brothers [already] had divided the property [among themselves].

'Oh, my brothers' [he said] 'What is the share you have reserved for me?'

'We allot you our father as your share.' [they answered].

[He then said to his father:] 'Oh father, my elder brothers have not given me my share!'

[The father thereupon replied:] 'My son, do not take heed of that! The so highly intelligent descendants of Angira [see 6.6: 19] are today performing a sacrifice, but on every sixth day they do this, oh learned one, they will fall in illusion with their fruitive actions. - You better recite for those great souls two Vedic hymns relating to the God of the Universe [Vais'vadeva, the Supreme Lord] so that they, after resuming their own course, will hand the wealth over to you that they received from their sacrifice. Therefore go and see them.'

Doing what his father had told him they gave him the proceeds of the yajna before they returned to their heavenly places. As he was collecting his riches, some person with a black countenance who had arrived from the north said to him: 'All these riches remaining from the sacrifice belong to me!'

[He replied:] 'They are all mine, the sages have handed them over to me!'

[The black man said:] 'Let us concerning this matter head for the son of Manu, your father and ask him', and thus he inquired with his father as was proposed.

[Father Nabhaga said:] 'Everything that remains from the sacrifice is by the sages considered a share for Lord Shiva, so they have once decided [during the sacrifice of Daksha]. He is the demigod who deserves it all.'

Nabhaga offered him [Shiva] his obeisances and said: 'As my father said: everything from the sacrificial arena belongs to you, oh Lord [see 3.12: 6-14]. Oh saintly one, let me bow my head for you, I beg your pardon.'

[Lord Shiva said:] 'All that your father said is true and also is what you are saying the truth. Let me, the knower of the mantras, grant you the spiritual knowledge that is transcendental and eternal. Please take all the riches. I give you all that has been offered to me', and having spoken thus Rudra, the great lord and guardian of the dharma vanished. Anyone who in the morning and in the evening with great attention remembers this becomes a scholar: he will become a knower of the mantras and the supreme destination and thus be a self-realised soul. From Nabhaga the most exalted and highly celebrated devotee Ambarisha was born. A curse of a brahmin against him failed: it could never touch him.'

The king said: 'Oh lordship, I would like to hear about him, that king who was so intelligent that the most insurmountable power of a brahmin's measure could not affect him.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Ambarisha, the man of great fortune, after achieving an unlimited opulence on this earth consisting of the seven continents, meant that all that is so rarely obtained by many a ruler is as the riches one imagines in a dream: coming to one's senses it is all gone. It is the reason because of which a man falls in ignorance. Unto Vasudeva, the Supreme Personality, unto the devotees as also unto the saints he had achieved the reverence and devotion in the transcendence of which one takes this entire universe for something as insignificant as a piece of stone. 8-2 He was sure to fix his mind upon the lotus feet of Krishna, to use his words to describe the qualities of [the Lord of] Vaikunthha, to use his hands for matters as cleaning the Lord's temple and to engage his ears in listening to the transcendental talks about the Infallible One. He used his eyes to look at the deities, the temples and buildings of Mukunda, he used his body to be in touch with the bodies of the devotees, he used his nose to smell the fragrance of the tulsi leaves on the lotus flower formed by His feet and used his tongue to relish the food that is offered to Him. By using his legs to walk to the Lord's holy places, by using his head to bow down to the feet of Hrishikes'a and by engaging his senses more in being a servant of Him than a servant of his lusty desires, he was alike the ones who seek their refuge in being attached to the Lord Glorified in the Scriptures [like Prahlada e.g.]. Thus in his prescribed duties always being of sacrifice unto the Transcendence, the Original Enjoyer of the Sacrifice, the Supreme Lord Beyond the Senses, he exercised all the different forms of devotional service and ruled, under the guidance of His faithful scholars, this planet earth [see also 5.18: 12 and B.G. 5: 29]. With horse sacrifices executed by brahmins like Vasishthha, Asita and Gautama, he worshiped, in all places where the Sarasvati river flowed through the desert countries, the Lord of Sacrifice, the Supreme Controller, with great opulence and all the prescribed paraphernalia and remuneration. During the sacrificial ceremonies before the deities, the finely dressed members of the assembly, the priests and the other functionaries could be recognised as the ever vigilant demigods. A heavenly existence as cherished by the demigods, was not a thing desired by his citizens who were accustomed to hearing and chanting the glories of Uttamas'loka, the Lord hailed in the Verses. Persons accustomed to having Mukunda in their hearts rarely desire the perfections of the great ones because such aspirations go at the cost of the happiness of being in one's constitutional position of rendering service [see siddhis]. 6-2 He, the king who in bhakti-yoga being engaged in austerities, in his constitutional activities unto the Lord satisfied all sorts of desires, thus step by step gave it up to fix his mind upon temporal matters as having a home, a wife, children, friends and relatives, a good elephant, a nice chariot and fine horses and durable goods like having jewels, ornaments, a nice outfit and such and a never empty treasury. Pleased with his unalloyed devotional service the Lord gave him His cakra [disc weapon] that protects the devotees but is so fearful to the ones opposing Him [see also 7.9: 43 and B.G. 9: 31]. Aspiring to worship Krishna together with his equally qualified queen, the king observed the vow of dvadas'i [fasting on certain lunar days] for a whole year. At the end of that vow he in the month Kartika [Oct. - Nov.] for three nights observed a complete fast [with one meal during the day] whereupon he, after taking a bath in the Yamuna, worshiped Lord Krishna in Madhuvana [a part of the Vrindavana area].

He with all paraphernalia for doing puja, according to the rules bathed the deity and dressed it with nice clothing and

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ornaments, fragrant flower garlands and other means of service in his [mahabhisheka] worship of the greatly fortunate Lord Kes'ava and the brahmins that he performed with a mind filled with divine love and devotion. 3-3 After having donated to the brahmin sages, the scholars who had arrived at his place, sixty crores of nicely decorated, young and beautiful cows equiped with gold covered horns and silver plated hooves, full udders and with calves at their side, he firstly sumptuously fed them with the most heavenly, delicious food. When he to the full of their satisfaction and with their permission next ended his own fasting and was about to observe the concluding ceremony, they all of a sudden were confronted with an unexpected visit from the mighty sage Durvasa. Despite having appeared there uninvited, the king showed his respect by standing up and offering him a seat. Thereupon he asked him, with all regards having fallen at his feet, whether he would like to eat something. He gladly accepted that request and went, in order to perform the necessary rituals, to the Yamuna to dip into the auspicious water and meditate on the Supreme Brahman. That, with half a muhurta [24 minutes] left before the end of the dvadas'i fast that was observed, made the king together with the brahmins wonder what would be the appropriate notion of dharma for the precarious situation he had ran into: 9-4 'Both failing to respect the brahmin sage and not to break with the fast of dvadas'i at the right time is an offense. What now is the best thing to do? What would be irreligious and what not? So let me touch water only so that I correctly may conclude the vow, because, oh scholars, the act of drinking water is considered to be indeed both eating and not eating.'

The great king thus drank water and awaited, with his mind turned to the Infallible One, the return of the brahmin mystic, oh best of the Kurus. After Durvasa had finished the rituals at the bank of the Yamuna and returned, he was well received by the king, but he discovered by his insight what had taken place. Trembling with anger he with a tightened face frowning and also hungry, addressed the perpetrator who stood there with folded hands. 'Alas, this one here, this 'love of the people', has in his madness about his opulence, for everyone to see, violated the dharma! Not being a devotee of Vishnu at all, he thinks that he is the Lord Himself! I, unexpectedly arriving here, was invited by this man to be his guest, but now he has taken food without sharing it with me. I'll show you directly what the consequence is!'

Speaking thus he, red with anger, pulled a bunch of hair out of his head and created a demon for him resembling the fire at the end of time. As the demon came towards him with a trident blazing with fire in his hand and a footstep that made the earth tremble, the king, seeing him clearly, did not move an inch from the spot [compare 6.17: 28]. As it was arranged by the Original Person of the Supersoul for the protection of His devotees, the cakra [that Ambarisha had received, see verse 28] burned like a fire that angry serpent of a created demon to ashes [see also B.G. 18: 66]. Seeing that his attempt had failed and that the disc was coming after him, Durvasa started to run in great fear wherever he could go in order to save his life. When the muni saw the disc, that chariot wheel of the Lord, closely behind his back, he like a snake pursued by the flames of a highly blazing forest fire, quickly ran to mount Meru to enter a cave there. But in whatever direction Durvasa fled - of the sky, the earth's surface, in caves, in seas or to all the worlds up to heaven -, he saw the unbearable Sudars'ana cakra ['His immediate fearful presence']. Without the shelter of a protector he was everywhere with a constant fear in his heart, looking for someone who could offer him protection. At last he approached Lord Brahma [and prayed]: 'Oh my Lord, oh Selfborn One, save me from the invincible fire that was released at me.'

Lord Brahma said: 'At the end of my lifetime [a dvi-parardha, see 3.11: 33] when His pastimes have ended, the Lord of the End Time [Vishnu], the Self of Time, with a single movement of His eyebrows will destroy this universe including my heavenly abode. I, Lord Shiva, Daksha, Bhrigu and the other sages, as also the rulers of man, the rulers of the living beings and the rulers of the demigods, all carry out His orders and together bow, for the salvation of all living beings, our heads in surrender to the principle regulating our lives.'

Durvasa who, scorched by Vishnu's cakra, was turned down by Lord Brahma, went for his shelter to him who always resides on Kailasa [Lord Shiva]. Shri Shankara [Shiva] said: 'My dear one, we have no power over the Supreme One, the Transcendence in Person with whom I, the other living beings and even Lord Brahma wander around within the countless universes that together with us at times arise and are destroyed again. 7-5 I, Sanat and the other Kumaras, Narada, the great Unborn Lord, Kapila, Vyasadeva, Devala [the great sage], Yamaraja, Asuri [the saint], Marici and other masters of perfect knowledge headed by him, have learned to know the limits of all there is to know, but none of us can fully comprehend His illusory energy [of maya] and that what is covered by it. The weapon of the Controller of the Universe [the cakra] is even for us difficult to handle and you should therefore seek your refuge with the Lord who will certainly bestow upon you His happiness and fortune.'

Durvasa thereafter went disappointed to the abode of the Supreme Lord known as Vaikunthha where He as Shrinivasa, the Master of the Abode, lives together with the goddess of fortune. Scorched by the fire of the invincible weapon he fell down at His lotus feet trembling all over and said: 'Oh Infallible and Unlimited One, oh Desire of the Saintly Ones, oh Master, offer me, this great offender, protection, oh Well-wisher of the Entire Universe! Not knowing about Your inconceivable prowess I have committed a great offense at the feet of someone dear to Your Lordship. Please be so kind to do whatever is needed to counteract an offense like this oh Vidhata, Lord of Regulation, by the pronunciation of whose name a person can even be delivered from hell.'

The Supreme Lord said: 'Precisely, oh brahmin, I am not self-willed, I am fully committed to My bhaktas. My heart is controlled by devotees free from material desires. Even a devotee of My devotee is dear to Me. I, their ultimate destination, take without My saintly devotees no interest in the blissful essence or the elevation of My opulences [see om purnam]. How could I give up on those who taking shelter with Me gave up their wife, house, children, relatives, their lives, wealth and promotion to a superior position? The way a chaste woman is of service to a gentle husband, I act as a servant to pure and equal minded pious souls [see also 7.9: 43] who in their hearts firmly being attached to Me engage in devotional service. Devoted to Me they do not hanker for the completeness [the purnam] of the four types of liberation they automatically achieve by simply being of service. Why would they care about other matters that are all lost over time? Pure devotees are always in My heart and I am always in their hearts. They know nothing outside of Me and I do not have the least interest outside of them [see also B.G. 9: 29]. Let Me now tell you how you can protect yourself in this matter. Oh scholar, listen attentively to what I have to tell you. With this action of yours you have violated yourself. Waste no time any longer and go forthwith to him [Ambarisha] because of whom all this took place. As you can see, the power applied against a devotee turns against the one doing so. Penance and knowledge bring the learned ones the greatest welfare, but practiced by an obstinate person they result in the opposite. Oh brahmin, I wish you all the happiness of the world, go therefore to the king, the son of Nabhaga, to satisfy that great personality. Then there will be peace.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 5:

Durvasa Saved: the Cakra-prayers of Ambarisha

Shri Shuka said: 'Durvasa ['the difficulty of residing'] who being harassed by the cakra thus was instructed by the Lord, approached Ambarisha and clasped sorrowfully his lotus feet. Seeing him thus engaged in touching his feet Ambarisha felt ashamed and therefore offered, most embarrassed as he was in his mercy, prayers to the [disc] weapon of the Lord [see also 6.8: 23]. Ambarisha said: 'You are the fire, the supreme power of the sun and the moon. You are the master of all the luminaries, the waters, the earth, the sky, the air and the senses and their objects. Oh direct presence and auspicious vision [or Sudars'ana], you with your thousands of spokes I offer my obeisances, oh love of the Infallible One. You are the defeat of all weapons, please be favorable unto this brahmin, oh ruler of the world. You are the dharma, the original nature and the religion, you are the reality and the truth, you are the sacrifice and the enjoyer of the sacrifice who maintains the worlds. You are the soul of all and the prowess of the Transcendental Supreme Personality. All my respects for you, the auspicious centre of spin, the measure for the complete of nature who are like a fire of destruction to the unenlightened ones who lack in pious conduct. You, the keeper of the three worlds with a wonderful effulgence, are of a supreme goodness and act as fast as the mind I try to voice. By your strength which carries all religiousness, the darkness is dissipated and all directions are illumined. Your glories are unsurpassable for the great personalities, oh master of speech, your manifestation comprises all things manifest and unmanifest, superior and lower. When you are sent to the fighters of the Daityas and Danavas by the Transcendental Personality, oh indefatigable one, you, staying on the battlefield, never tire to sever their arms and bellies, necks, thighs and legs. You, oh protector of the universe, are engaged by the all-powerful Wielder of the Mace [Lord Vishnu] to defeat the wicked ones. Please be so good and have mercy with this scholar and therewith also have mercy with us and our dynasty! If there is charity, if the worship of the deity and the duties are properly performed and if our dynasty is blessed by the scholars, may this brahmin then be free from having to burn [with you]? When the one Supreme Lord, the reservoir of all qualities is satisfied about us, may then from His love as the true self of all living beings, this twice-born soul be spared from the fire?'

Shri Shuka said: 'When the disc weapon of the Lord named Sudars'ana thus was being prayed to by the king, it because of his petitioning stopped to haress the scholar from all sides. Durvasa, being freed from the heat of the fire of the weapon, most contented then praised the king, that ruler of the earth, with the best wishes. Durvasa said: 'What a greatness I may witness today of the servants of the Eternal One. Despite the wrong I perpetrated, you, oh King, have prayed for my welfare! What indeed would be too difficult or impossible to forsake, for those saintly, great souls, who managed to achieve the leader Hari, the Supreme Lord of the Devotees? By simply hearing the holy name of Him whose lotus feet are the holy places [the temples etc.], a person becomes purified. What else would there remain for devotees to engage in? Oh King, by what you did in response to my offenses you, by being so very kind, have favored me very much and thus saved my life!'

The King had been fasting when Durvasa returned and, wishing to please him, approached his feet and fed him sumptuously. After having eaten from the different foodstuffs that, catering to every taste, were offered with the greatest care, he thus fully being satisfied said to the king: 'Please join and eat with me' and thus proved his respect. [He continued:] 'I'm very happy with your mercy. Seeing you, a pure devotee with his intelligence fixed upon the Lord and touching your feet, talking to you and enjoying your hospitality, I am much obliged. The purity of the things you've done will for ever be sung by the women of heaven; the world will never tire to sing the glory of your supreme virtue!'

Shri Shuka continued: 'Durvasa thus glorifying the king took, being satisfied in all respects, permission to leave that place. Ascending to heaven he reached the abode of Brahma where ulterior motives have no place. With the great muni not returning a whole year passed in which the king wishing to see him again, had restricted himself to drinking water only. Upon Durvasa's return Ambarisha offered him the best food that was available and would befit a brahmin. Upon seeing how the sage had been released from the sin, he understood that he also owed his strength to his devotion to the Supreme One [see also B.G. 6: 47]. Thus being blessed with all good qualities the king was of devotion to the Supersoul, the Supreme Spirit and to Vasudeva with the many duties he observed, actions from which [one realises that] the higher you climb the deeper you fall [compare 6.17: 28].'

Shri Shuka said: 'Ambarisha, as the wisest one, divided his kingdom among his equally qualified sons, entered the forest to fix his mind upon the True Self of Vasudeva and thus vanquished the waves [the gunas] of the ocean of matter. Either by praising and reading this pious story or by regularly meditating on it one becomes a devotee of the Supreme Personality of Godhead. By the mercy of Lord Vishnu everyone who hears about the character of this great soul Ambarisha will find liberation through his devotion.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 6:

The Downfall of Saubhari Muni

Shri Shuka said: 'The three sons of Ambarisha [see previous chapters] were Virupa, Ketuman and Shambhu. From Virupa there was Prishadas'va and from him there was a son called Rathitara. Rathitara had no sons and therefore [sage] Angira was requested to beget children with his [Rathitara's] wife. That led to the birth of ['kshetra jata'-] sons with brahminical qualities. Being born from his wife these sons belonged to his family. They were remembered as the dynasty of Angira and were among the sons of Rathitara most prominent because they, being born under that circumstance, were considered double-born [brahmins of mixed caste]. When Manu once sneezed the son Ikshvaku was born from his nose [see also 8.13]. Vikukshi, Nimi and Dandaka were the most prominent among the hundred sons whom he begot. Twenty-five of them became kings in Aryavarta in the east [in the Himalaya and Vindhya mountains], oh King, as also [did twenty-five of them] in the west [of that region]. Three of them ruled in the middle region, while the rest of the sons ruled over other places. He, king Ikshvaku, once during ashthaka-s'raddha [offerings to the forefathers made in January, February and March] ordered his son: 'Oh Vikukshi, bring me pure flesh [as acquired by hunting]. Go for it right now without delay.'

Thus he went to the forest to kill animals suitable for the oblations, but when he was fatigued and hungry the hero forgetfully [about the fact that the flesh was meant for the sacrifices] ate a rabbit [*]. He offered what had remained to his father who in his turn asked their guru [Vasishthha] to purify it. He replied: 'All this is polluted and unfit for use.'

Thus being informed by the spiritual master the ruler understood what his son had done. Out of anger that he had violated the vidhi he consequently sent him out of the country. The king had a conversation with the scholar. In accordance with what he told him he thereupon, living as a yogi, gave up his vehicle of time [his body] and thus achieved the supreme position. After the withdrawal of his father, Vikukshi returned to rule over this planet earth. He worshiped the Lord with different yajnas and became celebrated as Sas'ada ['the rabbit-eater']. Puranjaya ['the conqueror of the residence'] was his son. He was also known as Indravaha ['carried by Indra'] and Kakutstha ['sitting on the hump of a bull']. Hear now about what he has done to receive these names. There had been a devastating war, a fight between the gods and the demons, in which his supreme assistance as a hero was accepted by the godly ones who had been defeated by the Daityas. By the order of the God of Gods Lord Vishnu,

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the Supersoul and Master of the Entire Creation, Indra in the form of a great bull became engaged in his [Puranjaya's] service as his carrier. 5-1 He well-equipped with a first-class bow taking up the sharpest arrows, was praised [by the demigods], mounted it and sat on the hump prepared to fight. Favored by the power of Vishnu, the Original Person and Supersoul, he surrounded by the servants of heaven, then laid siege to the Daitya residence on the western side. A battle took place between him and the demons that was so aggressive that it made one's hair stand on end. All the Daityas who approached him in the fight he sent to Yamaraja with his arrows. Confronted with his shower of arrows that was as fierce as the fire at the end of time, the Daityas who were slaughtered and dispersed fled away to return to their places. Conquering over them he, the saintly king, turned all their wealth and wives over to the carrier of the thunderbolt [Indra]. That gave him his names.

From Puranjaya there was a son called Anena, his son was Prithu and the son that he begot was Vis'vagandhi who in his turn had a son called Candra whose son was called Yuvanas'va. Shravasta was his son and he built a town called Shravasti. By Shravasta next Brihadas'va was begotten and from him there was Kuvalayas'va. He was of a great power. Together with the twenty-one thousand sons that surrounded him, he for the satisfaction of sage Utanka killed a demon named Dhundhu. 3-2 He was thus known as Dhundhumara ['the killer of Dhundhu']. All but three of his sons had been burned by the fire from the mouth of Dhundhu. The only ones that remained alive were Dridhas'va, Kapilas'va and Bhadras'va, oh son of Bharata. Dridhas'va's son was Haryas'va and the renown Nikumbha was his son. Nikumbha's son was Bahulas'va and his son was Kris'as'va. Senajit succeeded him and from him Yuvanas'va was born. Yuvanas'va had no sons and retired [together with his wives] to the forest. Living together with his hundred wives he was depressed so that the sages, very merciful with him, with the greatest care began a [fertility] ceremony known as Indra-yajna. One night he being very thirsty entered the sacrificial arena. Seeing all the brahmins fast asleep, he drank from the sanctified water himself [instead of keeping it for his women]. After they [in the morning] all woke up and next found the water pot empty, oh prabhu, they inquired who was responsible for drinking the water that was meant for giving birth to a child. Understanding that it by providence was drank by the king, they all prayed to the Supreme Lord saying: 'Alas, the power of God is what rules!' And so, lo and behold, after due course of time, the lower abdomen of king Yuvanas'va opened itself at the right side from which a son was born [with all the qualities characterizing] a good king. Who now would supply the child with milk? It was crying that much thirsting for it that king Indra said: 'Do not cry my child, just drink from me' and thereupon gave it his index-finger to suck. It was the mercy of the divine scholars that the father did not die because of the baby he gave birth to. Yuvanas'va later on achieved the perfection of life by doing tapas in that same place. 3-3 Dear King, Indra gave the child the name Trasaddasyu ['the fear of the rogues']. Crooks like Ravana and such, were afraid of him. Yuvanas'va's son Mandhata by the power of the Infallible One thus could rule the surface of the earth with its seven continents as the one and only master. 5-3 He also in full awareness of the [Super]soul worshiped Yajna, the Lord of Sacrifices, the God and Supersoul of everyone elevated above the sensual plane. This happened in sacrificial ceremonies that were attended by all the godly people whom he rewarded with large donations. The ingredients, the mantras and the regulative principles, the worship and the worshiper as also the priests in their dharma of proceeding according to the time and place, all together contributed to assure that the interest of the true self was done justice. For all the places mentioned that stretch from where the sun rises above the horizon to everywhere it sets, one speaks about the field of action of Yuvanas'va's son, Mandhata.

The ruler [Mandhata] begot in the daughter Bindumati of a king called Shas'abindu [the sons] Purukutsa, Ambarisha and Mucukunda who was a great yogi. Their fifty sisters accepted sage Saubhari as their husband. 9-4 He [Saubhari] performing an uncommon austerity in being submerged in the depth of the Yamuna river, saw in his penance how a big fish was enjoying sexual matters. Thus being sexually awakened the scholar begged the king [Mandhata] for a single daughter. The king said: 'You may marry a daughter of mine oh brahmin, if that is what she chooses.'

He thought to himself: 'Women do not like me, I'm too old, I'm not attractive to them. I am wrinkled, have gray hair and a head tremor. I'll be rejected! Let me make it so that my body is desirable to the women of heaven, not to mention the daughters of the worldly kings!' Thus was the resolve of the mystic. The sage being announced by an envoy was admitted into the quarters of the princesses that were opulent in every respect. There he was accepted by all the fifty princesses as their single husband. A great quarrel rose among them when they, being attracted to him, gave up their friendship by saying things like: 'This man is the right person for me, not for you.' 5-4 He, as a result of his austerity knowing many a mantra, enjoyed with his wives an unlimited opulence with everything that one could wish for: all kinds of finely furnished houses and quarters, parks, the clearest water in ponds amidst fragrant gardens, costly bedding and furniture, clothing and ornaments. There were bathing places, palatable dishes, there was sandalwood paste and a dress up with garlands and decorations of all men and women who in constant glee were accompanied by the song of birds, bumblebees and professional singers. The ruler over the seven continents [Mandhata] was struck with wonder when he saw Saubhari's family life because of which he no longer could pride himself on being the emperor of the world blessed with all opulence. Saubhari though, who was always engaged in the happiness and diversity of the material affairs of his household, could not find satisfaction in his enjoyment, just like a fire cannot that is fueled with fat. One day sitting down and wondering how his straying away from the true self could have taken place, the expert in many mantras saw that it had been caused by a couple of copulating fish: 'Alas, see how I, who was such a great ascetic, fell down. I, so observant and strict to the vow, was distracted from the spiritual life that I practiced for so long. Just because of the thing aquatics do under water! He who seeks liberation must give it up to associate with those who are loose in their sexual morals. He should in every respect avoid it to give free reign to his external senses. He should live alone in a secluded place and fix his mind on the lotus feet of the Unlimited Lord. And if he seeks [intimate] association, he should associate with like-minded souls of detachment. As a renunciate I was all alone under water associating with fish (!) and acquired fifty wives, not mentioning the five thousand [grand]children I begot. I see no end to all my duties here and in the hereafter that are occupying my mind, for I, under the influence of the modes of matter being motivated for my own interest, lost my intelligence in the material enjoyment.'

Thus [regretfully] living at home he in due course of time became detached and situated in the renounced order of life. He went to the forest and was followed by all his wives, for he was their object of worship. In his penance there being of the severest austerity conducive to self-realisation, he, conversant now with the fires of the personal self, engaged himself with the Supreme Self. Oh Maharaja, the wives who saw their husband progressing spiritually, managed under that influence to follow him, just like the flames do with a fire that extinguishes [compare B.G. 9: 32].'

*: To this there is a quote from the Brahma-vaivarta Purana so said Shri Caitanya Mahaprabhu:

as'vamedham gavalambham
sannyasam pala-paitrikam
devarena sutotpattim
kalau panca vivarjayet

"In this age of Kali, five acts are forbidden: the offering of a horse in sacrifice, the offering of a cow in sacrifice, the acceptance of the order of sannyasa, the offering of oblations of flesh to the forefathers, and a man's begetting children in his brother's wife."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 7:
The Descendants of King Mandhata

Shri Shuka said: 'The most prominent son of Mandhata named Ambarisha [after the Ambarisha of Nabhaga, see 9.4: 13], was accepted by his grandfather Yuvanas'va as his son and he had a son called Yauvanas'va who in his turn had a son named Harita. These [three descendants, Ambarisha, Yauvanas'va and Harita,] became the most prominent members of the Mandhata dynasty. Purukutsa [another son of Mandhata] was taken to the lower regions by his wife Narmada upon the order of the king of the serpents [Vasuki]. She had been given to him in marriage by her serpent brothers. He, empowered by Lord Vishnu, killed the Gandharvas there who deserved it to be punished [because of their enmity]. From the serpents he [therefore] received the benediction that they who remember this incident are protected against snakes.

The son of Purukutsa named Trasaddasyu [named after the other one 9.6: 32-34] was the father of Anaranya. His son carried the name Haryas'va [after 9.6: 23-24]. From him there was Praruna and Praruna's son was Tribandhana. - From Tribandhana there was a son named Satyavrata [after the Manu, see 8.24: 10], who, being cursed by his father [for kidnapping a brahmin daughter at her marriage], had acquired the status of an outcaste [candala] and thus was called Tris'anku ['afraid of the heavens']. By the prowess of Kaus'ika [sage Vis'vamitra] he went to heaven [still present in his body] where he, having fallen down because of the demigods, [half way during his fall] by the sage's supreme power acquired a fixed position. In that position he today still can be seen hanging down with his head from the sky [in the form of a constellation]. Tris'anku's son was Haris'candra because of whom there existed a great quarrel between Vis'vamitra and Vasishthha in which the two for many years were [like two] birds [*]. He was very morose because he had no successor. On the advise of Narada he took shelter of Varuna whom he asked: 'Oh lord, may there be a son from my loins?'

Oh Maharaja, then he said: 'And if he turns out to be a hero, I will sacrifice him to you, if you desire'. Varuna accepted that offer and a son was born who was named Rohita ['to the blood'].

Varuna thus said to him: 'A son has been born. Will you offer him as a sacrifice to me?' Haris'candra then replied: 'An animal is sacrificed when ten days have passed [since its birth]. Then it is considered fit for being sacrificed.'

Ten days later he returned and said: 'Be now of sacrifice then!' Haris'candra said: 'When the teeth of an animal have appeared, it will be fit for being sacrificed.'

When the teeth had grown Varuna said: 'Sacrifice now!', whereupon Haris'candra replied: 'When he loses his [milk] teeth, then he will be fit.'

'The teeth of the animal have fallen out.' Varuna said, 'be of sacrifice now!' The reply was: 'Only when the teeth of the 'sacrificial animal' have grown back it is pure!'

After they had grown back Varuna said: 'You offer now!' Haris'candra then said: 'When he can defend himself as a warrior with a shield, oh King, then this 'sacrificial animal' will be pure.'

With his mind thus controlled by the affection for his son, he cheated the god with words about the time [that it would take] and made him wait. Rohita aware of what his father intended to do, trying to save his life, took his bow and arrows and left for the forest. When he heard that his father because of Varuna was plagued with dropsy and had grown a large belly, Rohita wanted to return to the capital, but Indra denied him to go there. Indra ordered him to travel around the world to visit holy places and sites of pilgrimage. Thereupon he lived in the forest for one year. Again and again for a second, a third, a fourth and a fifth year Indra in the form of an old brahmin appeared before him and told him the same. The sixth year that Rohita wandered in the forest, he went to the capital where he bought Ajigarta's second son Shunahs'epha to serve as the 'animal of sacrifice'. He offered him to his father while bringing his obeisances. After the [worldly life of the] man in the yajna [**] was sacrificed to Varuna and the other demigods, Haris'candra was freed from the dropsy and became famous as one of the great persons of history. Vis'vamitra was during the sacrifice offering the oblations [the Hota], the self-realised Jamadagni led the recitations of the [Yajur Veda] mantras [as the Adhvaryu], Vasishthha was the leading brahmin [the Brahma] and Ayasya recited the [Sama Veda] hymns [as the udgata]. Indra was very pleased and gave him a golden chariot. I will give an account of the glories of Shunahs'epha when I describe the sons of Vis'vamitra.

It pleased Vis'vamitra very much to see truthfulness, solidity and forbearance in the ruler [Haris'candra] and his wife and therefore he gave them the imperishable knowledge. 5-2 [The ruler] subdued his ignorance through a specific process of meditation in which he gave up his material ambition. He merged his mind with the earth, the earth with the water, the water with the fire, the fire with the air and the air with the sky. Next he merged the sky with the cause of manifestation and this false ego [this ahankara] he merged with the totality of matter. Finally he merged that completeness [of the mahat-tattva] with the spiritual knowledge in all its branches. Thus completely freed from being bound materially he, through loving self-realisation and liberating transcendental bliss, remained with the Imperceptible and Inconceivable One.'

*: Prabhupada comments: 'Vis'vamitra and Vasishthha were always inimical. Formerly, Vis'vamitra was a kshatriya, and by undergoing severe austerities he wanted to become a brahmana, but Vasishthha would not agree to accept him. In this way there was always disagreement between the two. Later, however, Vasishthha accepted him because of Vis'vamitra's quality of forgiveness. Once Haris'candra performed a yajna to which Vis'vamitra was the priest, but Vis'vamitra, being angry with Haris'candra, took away all his possessions, claiming them as a contribution of dakshina. Vasishthha however, did not like this, and therefore a fight arose between Vasishthha and Vis'vamitra. The fighting became so severe that each of them cursed the other. One of them said, "May you become a bird," and the other said, "May you become a duck." Thus both of them became birds and continued fighting for many years because of Haris'candra.'

**: Sacrificing a human being has to be considered here as something nonviolent since the vidhi preaches compassion and non-violence with all living creatures (daya or ahimsa). The Bhagavatam certainly condemns the sacrifice of human lives by the story of Jada Bharata [see 5.9: 17]. The context here suggests, and from the later verse about this 9.16: 31-32 it appears to be so, that because Haris'candra had been the cause of a fight between the sages Vis'vamitra and Vasishthha, the sacrifice of a human being meant that some man had to give up his worldly existence to serve the sages in their reconcilliation. The heir to the throne, the most likely candidate for the job, could not give up his worldly responsibility and thus another man was chartered to take that duty upon him.

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BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 8:

The Sons of Sagara Meet Lord Kapiladeva

Shri Shuka said: 'Harita was the son of King Rohita [see previous chapter] and his son Campa built a city called Campapuri. After him there was Sudeva who also had a son called Vijaya. Bharuka was the son of Vijaya, he had one called Vrika and Vrika had Bahuka of whom all the land he owned was taken by his enemies so that the king had to enter the forest with his wife. When he died of old age his queen wanted to die with him but sage Aurva, understanding that she was pregnant with a son in her womb, forbade it. The co-wives who knew this gave her poison with her food, but with that poison Sagara ['with poison'] was born who became an emperor of great repute. His sons were responsible for [leading the Ganges to the] ocean [that was therefore called Sagara]. - He did not kill the antisocial elements [Talajanghas, or tree-people], nor the ones opposing [the Yavanas, also: invaders like the Muslims and the Europeans], the godless ones [the Shakas], the ruffians [Haihayas] and the barbarians [Barbaras]. He instead, following the orders of the guru, allowed them to appear in odd dresses, shaved clean and wearing mustaches. Some [he accepted as appearing] with loose hair, being half shaven, without any underwear or not being clad at all. Following the words of Aurva he, being of yoga with the Supersoul, worshiped the Lord, the Original Self and Controller of all Vedic knowledge and all enlightened souls, with horse sacrifices. One day he discovered that the horse that was used for the sacrifice had been stolen by Purandara [Indra, see also 4.19: 17]. The proud sons born from Sumati [a wife of Sagara] then, to the instruction of their father, all together searched throughout the entire country for the horse. -1 In the northeastern direction they saw the horse near the ashrama of Kapila. They said: 'Now we know where that horse thief lives with his eyes closed. Kill him, kill him that sinner!' The sixty thousand men of Sagara thus raised their weapons and approached him. That very moment the muni opened his eyes. With their minds stolen [by Indra] and in offense with such a great personality [as Kapila, see also 3.25-33], their bodies self-ignited instantly and turned to ashes. It is not the viewpoint of the sages to say that the sons of the emperor burned to ashes on the spot because of the anger of the muni, for how could in the self of him [Him] who always resides in goodness and by whose grace the entire universe is purified, the mode of ignorance manifest itself so that anger could rise? How can earthly dust pollute the ether? How can with him who so thoroughly explained the world in analytical terms [see 3.25-33] and who is present in this world as a boat for the seeker to cross over the ocean of nescience that is so hard to overcome in one's mortal existence, there be a sense of distinction between friend and foe with such a learned person elevated in transcendence [for such a one is always jubilant: prasannatma]?

He who was born from Kes'ini [another wife of Sagara] was called Asamanjasa. This prince fathered a son known as Amshuman who always served his grandfather to the best of his ability. 5-1 In a former life Asamanjasa had been a yogi, so he could remember, who had fallen from the path of yoga because of bad association. In this life [not tolerating any association] he therefore personally proved himself in a most disturbing way. Once sporting with his relatives he acting most offensively had thrown all the boys into the river the Sarayu. He thus caused his family a lot of grief. Because of these deeds he was banned by his father who gave up his affection for him. By the power of his yoga he then showed the boys [to their parents] and went away. Oh King, all the inhabitants of Ayodhya were astounded to see their sons having returned again. The king was therefore truly sorry [that his son was gone].

The king ordered Amshuman [Asamanjasa's son] to search for the horse [that was stolen by Indra]. He went after it and followed the path his uncles purportedly had taken. Thus he found the horse near a pile of ashes. When the great yogi saw the Transcendental Lord, [the Vishnu avatara] known as Kapila, sitting there he, prostrating himself, offered attentively prayers with folded hands.

Amshuman said: 'No one among us, living beings, is able to envision You as the Transcendental Person. Up to the present day not even Lord Brahma is able to fathom You. And by whatever meditation or guesswork would others be able to do so, we creatures of the material world who, mistaking the body for the [real] self, are groping in the dark [see also B.G. 7: 27]? The consciousness of those people who under the influence of the three modes [the gunas, see also B.G. 14: 5] revere the body, is obscured by the deluding material energy. They see, also when they sleep, nothing but those modes. Those who only have eyes for the external world cannot know You who reside within the body. How can I, this fool of matter, keep You in mind who are full of spiritual knowledge, You who are heeded by Sanandana and other sages free from the contaminating and bewildering illusion of the material diversity that is caused by the gunas [see B.G. 14: 26 & 2: 45]? Oh Peaceful One, I offer You, the Original Person, my obeisances, You who, free from a specific name and form, are transcendental to both the manifest and non-manifest material energies but, in order to distribute the transcendental knowledge, have assumed a material body that is characterised by fruitive actions in relation to the modes of nature. Those whose minds are bewildered by lust, greed, envy and illusion wander around in this world and take their hearth and home, these products of Your material energy, for real. Oh Supreme Lord, by simply seeing You this hard and tight knot of our illusion today has been broken, this bewildered state because of which one in one's sensuality,, oh Soul of all living beings, is ruled by lust and selfishness.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Oh master of man, the great sage and Supreme Lord Kapila this way having been glorified, with a mind filled with mercy told Amshuman the following. The Supreme Lord said: 'Take this horse, My son, it is the sacrificial animal of your grandfather, but for your forefathers who burned to ashes, there is no other way to be saved but by Ganges water.' After having circumambulated Him and having bowed down to His satisfaction, he brought the horse back to Sagara whereupon with that animal the ceremony was completed. After delivering his kingdom to Amshuman he [Sagara] being freed from his material bonds, attained the supreme destination by following the path delineated by Aurva.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 9:

The Dynasty of Amshuman

Shri Shuka said: 'Amshuman for a long time doing penance with a desire to bring down the Ganges, was unsuccessful and died in due course of time. His son Dilipa did just like his father not succeed and was also defeated by time. Thereafter Dilipa's son Bhagiratha performed severe austerities. The goddess [mother Ganga] appeared to him and said: 'I am very pleased with you and will answer your prayers.' With that being said seeing his purpose served [that the Ganges would wash away the ashes, see 9.8: 28] the king bowed down.

[Mother Ganga proceeded:] 'Who can sustain the force of my waves when I descend upon this earth? Oh master of men, not being sustained I will split her open and land in Rasatala [the lower worlds]! There is another reason I cannot move towards the earth. Please consider this, oh King: when I have to wash away the sins of the people who purify themselves with my water, to whom should I turn with those sins?'

Shri Bhagiratha said: 'The saintly forsakers of the world who are peaceful and expert in the regulative principles and purify all the world, will take away the sinfulness you thus accumulate because they, as they bathe in your water, carry within themselves the Vanquisher of all Sins, the Lord [see also 1.13: 10 and 6.1: 15]. The god of destruction, Rudra, will sustain your force, for he is of all the embodied beings the Self in which [or with which], like with the threads of a piece of cloth, the entire length and width of the universe is interwoven [*].'

After this was said, the ruler propitiated the godhead with his penances. This did not take very long. Very soon oh King, Lord Shiva became satisfied with him [with Bhagiratha **]. 'So be it', Lord Shiva said who is always auspicious to all. Having been addressed by the king he then with great attention took upon him the burden of the Ganges water that is pure because of Vishnu's feet [see also 5.17]. He Bhagiratha, the saintly king, brought her who could purify the entire universe to the place where the bodies of his forefathers were reduced to ashes. Leading the way in a chariot moving at the speed of the wind, he was followed by her. She thus blessed all the countries [they passed through] until she flowed over the burned sons of Sagara. Even though the sons of Sagara were condemned for having offended a brahmin, they by her water just touching their remains went to heaven. If Sagara's sons whose bodies burned to ashes went to heaven after they came in touch with [the Ganges], then what would her effect be upon those who determined in vows with faith and devotion worship that goddess? That what was described here is not such a great miracle because the water of the Ganges which originates from the feet of Anantadeva [the 'Eternal Godhead'] puts an end to a worldly existence. Saintly people who by their faith have minds that follow the path of goodness [Vishnu], find purification despite the difficulty to escape from the three modes of nature. They attain the divine Self immediately.

From the loins of Bhagiratha a son was born named Shruta, from him there was Nabha - different from the one I mentioned before [see 5.3] - and from Nabha Sindhudvipa was born from whom thereafter Ayutayu was born. His son Rituparna was a friend of Nala. He received from Nala knowledge about the art of training horses in exchange for gambling secrets. Rituparna had a son called Sarvakama. From him there was Sudasa whose son [Saudasa] ascended the throne as the husband of Damayanti. He was also known, so one says, as Mitrasaha and Kalmashapada. Because of his [bad] karma he had no children. One day he was cursed by Vasishthha to become a man-eater [a Rakshasa].'

The king said: 'Please tell me, if it is not a secret, for what reason the spiritual master cursed this great soul Saudasa. That is what I would like to know.'

Shri Shuka said: 'In the past Saudasa one day wandered around and killed a Rakshasa, but he let his brother go. This brother wanted to avenge him. With evil intentions posing as the king's cook he presented his spiritual master [Vasishthha], who came to dinner, the flesh of a human being that he had cooked. The mighty master checking his food, immediately found it unfit for consumption and most angrily cursed the king with: 'Because of this you will become a man-eater!' 3-2 When the sage discovered that the Rakshasa was to blame, he for twelve years performed penance [for having unjustly cursed the king]. Saudasa had taken a palmful of water in order to curse his guru, but his wife Madayanti prevented it. He then spilled the water that was potent with the [s'apa] mantra over his legs whereupon the king saw that all directions, the sky and the surface of the earth were teeming with living beings. After he had developed the propensities of a Rakshasa he obtained a black spot on his leg [because of which he was known as Kalmashapada]. Living in the forest he [once] saw a brahmin couple having sexual intercourse. 6-2 Because he was hungry he seised the brahmin whereupon his wife said: 'You must be very unhappy, poor and hungry indeed, but a Rakshasa you are not! You are actually a great warrior from the Ikshvaku dynasty, the husband of Madayanti. Oh hero, it does not become you to act against the dharma. Please release my husband, this twice-born soul whose desire to get a son has not yet been fulfilled. Oh King, this human body is there to serve the completeness of the Supreme Being. Thus seen, the killing of him, oh hero, would equal the destruction of all that virtue! This man is a brahmana well versed in the Veda who austere, of good behavior and endowed with all good qualities wants to worship the Absolute Truth, the Supreme Personality who because of His attributes is known as the true Self in the heart of all living beings. How can he, this brahmin and best of all sages, deserve it to be killed by you with your knowledge of the dharma, by you who are the best of all saintly kings, oh master of the state? It is like a father killing his son! He is a saint free from sin, a speaker of the Absolute Truth. How can you who are appreciated in the highest circles have the heart to kill him? That is tantamount to killing an unborn child or a cow. I am mortified, I cannot live without him for a second. If you want to eat him, then eat me instead.'

While she was pleading and lamenting this pitiably as a woman missing her protector, he, Saudasa, condemned by the curse, devoured him like a tiger does its prey. The moment the wife of the brahmana, the chaste woman, saw that the man who was about to impregnate her was eaten by the Rakshasa, she cried loudly from the depth of her heart and pronounced angrily a curse against the king. 'Because you have devoured the husband of a woman aching for intercourse, you, oh sinner, will suffer the curse of also finding death when you try to impregnate a woman, you traitor of civilisation!'

After this way cursing Mitrasaha ['indulgent toward friends' or Saudasa] she, being devoted to be with her husband, found her destination by stepping into the fire that burned the bones of her husband. When Saudasa twelve years later was released [from the curse of Vasishthha] and tried to make love to his wife, he was checked by the queen who reminded him of the curse of the brahmani. Thus he henceforward had to forget about being physically happy with his wife and, as ordained by fate, therefore remained childless. Vasishthha then got the permission to beget a child in Madayanti, his wife. She not delivering carried the child for seven years in her womb. [With Vasishthha] striking her abdomen with a stone, a son was born who for that reason was called As'maka ['by a stone']. From As'maka Balika was born. This child was protected [against Lord Parashurama] by a human shield consisting of women and was named thereafter [Narikavaca]. When there were no rulers anymore [because Lord Parashurama had killed them all] he became known as Mulaka ['the root of'], the progenitor of the kshatriyas. From Balika there was a son named Das'aratha, his son was Aidavidi and from him there was king Vis'vasaha who fathered Khathvanga who became emperor. 2-4 On the request of the demigods he most fiercely killed the Daityas in battle after which he, coming home and knowing that he had only a second to live longer, fixed his mind by praying: 'Neither the earth, my kingdom nor my dearest wife, neither my sons and daughters nor my opulence or life are as worshipable to me as the members of the brahmin community who enjoy the respect of my family [***]. Not even as a child I was attracted or enjoying that what goes against the dharma, nor did I at any time consider anything [or anybody] else as more substantial than the Lord Hailed in the Scriptures, Uttamas'loka. The demigods granted me the boon that I could have whatever I wanted, but that claim over the three worlds I could not accept. All that I desire in this world is to be fully absorbed in the Supreme Lord [compare B.G. 9: 34]. The godly ones are with their senses and minds distracted [by the modes] and do not know the Dearmost Eternal One of the Soul who always resides in their hearts. What then is to be expected of others [see B.G. 18: 55]? Let me therefore surrender myself to Him the One Soul who created the universe, and in loving service give up my attachment to matters brought about by the so

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very powerful material modes, matters that are like Ghandarva towns [or castles in the air].'

Thus determined by an intelligence firmly in the grip of Narayana, he gave up all his ignorant, on different matters founded, love and thus got situated in his original position of loving service [his so-called svarupa]. That what is known as the Supreme Brahman that defies all description, is not something impersonal or empty as one might think. It is the Supreme Lord Vasudeva about whom the devotees are singing [see also 1.2: 11].'

*: Shrila Prabhupada quotes: Lord Shiva is described in the Brahma-samhita .4:

kshiram yatha dadhi vikara-vis'esha-yogat
sanjayate na hi tatah prithag asti hetoh
yah Shambhutam api tatha samupaiti karyad
govindam adi-purusham tam aham bhajami

"Milk changes into yogurt when mixed with a yogurt culture, but actually yogurt is constitutionally nothing but milk. Similarly, Govinda, the Supreme Personality of Godhead, assumes the form of Lord Shiva for the special purpose of material transactions. I offer my obeisances at Lord Govinda's lotus feet."

**: Lord Shiva is also called Ashutosha: quickly pleased.

***: The Vaishnava daily expresses his respects for the brahminical culture in his offerings, by worshiping the Lord with this prayer:

namo brahmanya-devaya
go brahmana-hitaya ca
jagad-dhitaya krishnaya
govindaya namo namah

"I offer my respectful obeisances to the Supreme Absolute Truth, Krishna, who is the well-wisher of the cows and the brahmanas as well as the living entities in general. I offer my repeated obeisances to Govinda, who is the pleasure reservoir for all the senses."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 10:
The Pastimes of Lord Ramacandra

Shri Shuka said: 'From Khathvanga there was Dirghabahu, from him the renown and dexterous Raghu was born, from whose son Aja the great king Das'aratha was born. Upon the prayers of the God-conscious ones the Absolute Truth took birth from his loins in four forms: the Supreme Lord in person along with three of His expansions. They appearing as four sons were known as Rama, Lakshmana, Bharata and Shatrughna. Oh King, you heard again and again the descriptions by many seers and knowers of the truth of His transcendental exploits as the husband of Sita [*, compare B.G. 4: 34]. - Obedient to His father He left the kingdom behind and wandered together with His beloved [Sita] from forest to forest on His two lotus feet that were as tender as the palm of a hand. This He did in the company of Hanuman and Lakshmana who took away the pain of His path. He was separated from His sweetheart Sita [by Ravana] because He had disfigured Shurpanakha [the sister of Ravana]. Over the ocean, that was afraid of His eyebrows He raised in anger, a bridge was built [to Lanka, the residence of Ravana], after which He, the king of Ayodhya, like a forest fire destroyed the envious ones. May the mercy be upon us of Him who in sage Vis'vamitra's arena of sacrifice, in the presence of Lakshmana, killed the great chiefs of the Rakshasas, the wanderers of the dark that were headed by Marica.

- It was He who, among all the heroes in the world who were gathered in the hall where Sita would select her husband, took up the mighty bow of Shiva that had to be carried by three hundred men. Fastening the string, oh King, and bending it, He broke the bow in two the way a baby elephant breaks a stick of sugarcane. By that victory he won the divine girl named Sita who with her qualities, behavior, age and limbs was a perfect match for Him, she the Goddess of Fortune who had acquired a position on His chest. On His way home with her, He met and defeated, the deep-rooted pride of Bhrigupati [Parashurama] who three times [seven, thus twenty one times] had rid the earth of the seed of the [burden of unrighteous] rulers [see 9.16]. Bowing His head to the command of His father, who in his attachment had made a promise to his wife that He had to abandon the kingdom, residence, opulence, relatives and friends, He with his wife left to live in the forest like a liberated soul [**]. Living there He, as He wandered around, met with great difficulties. He maimed the body of the Rakshasa's sister [Ravana] because she had a [by lust] spoiled mind and then, with His invincible bow and arrows in His hands, had to kill the fourteen-thousand of her many friends headed by Khara, Tris'ira and Dushana.

Oh king, when the ten-headed Ravana heard the stories about Sita, it stirred his heart and made him lust to see her. [The demon] Marica then lured Rama away from their stay in the form of a golden deer that was killed by Him with a sharp arrow just as Shiva killed Daksha [with an ax, see 4.5: 22]. While He and His brother were in the forest, the unprotected daughter of the king of Videha [or Janaka] was kidnapped by the most wicked Rakshasa, like he was a tiger. Rama then wandering around like a man who, attracted to women, is in distress over being separated from his wife, thus gave an example [in this Shringara rasa] of where attachment all leads to. After having performed the funeral rites for him who had died for His sake [the eagle Jathayu], He killed Kabandha [a headless monster] and became friends with the leaders of the monkey hordes so that He, informed by them about Sita, could deliver her. He whose feet are worshiped by Brahma and Shiva, but appeared as a normal man, next killed Vali [a wicked brother of Hanuman]. Then He, accompanied by the monkey soldiers, proceeded to the shore of the ocean. The [god of the] ocean silent with fear because of His angry glance - from which all the crocodiles and sharks were agitated - carried, in assuming a personal form, on his head all that was needed to worship Him and said, upon reaching the lotus feet, the following: 'We, the dull-minded, are truly not capable, oh Supreme One, to know You as the one Original Person and Supreme Master of all Universes who resides in the core of the heart. For the God-conscious ones are the result of Your goodness, the controllers of the people have resulted from Your passion, while the rulers of the material elements sprang from Your mode of ignorance. But You oh Lord, are the Master over all these modes. You may cross [my waters] as You like! Just conquer that son of Vis'rava called Ravana who is like urine to the three worlds and thus regain Your wife, oh hero. Build a bridge here and Your fame will spread. In the future the great kings and heroes from all directions will glorify You for it.'

After the Master of the Raghu dynasty with all sorts of mountain peaks complete with trees and plants, that were transported by hand by the mighty monkeys, had constructed a bridge in the ocean [***], He, helped by the directions of Vibhishana [a virtuous brother of Ravana], together with the soldiers led by Sugriva, Nila and Hanuman set foot on [the island of] Lanka that just before had been set afire [by Hanuman's tail]. There the houses of pleasure, granaries, treasuries, palace doors and city gates, assembly houses, turrets and [even the] pigeon houses were taken by force and dismantled by the Vanara [monkey] leaders who, just like an elephant herd, turned the squares and crossroads with all their flags and golden water pots on the rooftops, into one swirling river. When the master of the Rakshasas saw that, he summoned Nikumbha, Kumbha, Dhumraksha, Durmukha, Surantaka, Narantaka and others to fight, and also called for his son Indrajit, his followers Prahasta, Atikaya, Vikampana and finally for Kumbhakarna [his mighty brother, see 4.1: 37, 7.1: 44 and 7.10: 36]. All the Rakshasa soldiers with their hard to defeat swords, lances, bows, barbed missiles and spears, firebrands, javelins and scimitars [a curved sword], lined up in front of Him who was surrounded by Sugriva, Lakshmana, Hanuman, Gandhamada, Nila, Angada, Riksha, Panasa and others.

The commanders of the soldiers of the Ruler of the Raghu dynasty [Rama], together hurried forward to fight the enemy followers of Ravana moving on foot and seated on elephants, chariots and horses who, condemned by the anger of mother Sita, were out of luck in the battle. With trees, mountain peaks, clubs and arrows they were all killed by the [monkey] warriors led by Angada and others. The Rakshasa leader seeing that his forces were defeated, thereupon fuming with anger drove his vehicle towards the brilliantly radiating Rama who, seated on the shining chariot of Indra that Matali [the driver] had brought, struck him with the sharpest arrows. Rama said to him: 'You scum of the earth, since you oh criminal, like a dog have kidnapped My helpless wife, I, as Time itself, as someone not failing in His heroism, will personally punish you today for that shameless act, you abominable evildoer [see also B.G. 16: 6-18]!'

Thus rebuking him He released the arrow He had fixed on His bow and that arrow pierced his heart like a thunderbolt. Vomiting blood from his ten mouths he fell down from his heavenly vehicle. His men then roared: 'Alas, what has happened to us?', just like pious people do when they fall down [see also B.G. 9: 21]. Thereafter the many thousands of wives of the demons, headed by Mandodari [Ravana's wife], came out of Lanka and lamented upon approaching [their dead husbands]. Embracing their beloved ones and their friends who were all killed by Lakshmana's arrows, they did beat their breasts and cried pitiably, which [for the victors] was something pleasant to hear: 'Oh alas, now he has been killed who has protected us all! Oh Ravana, cause of our cries, to whom must the state of Lanka bereft of your good self turn for shelter, now it is defeated by the enemy? Oh greatest patron, under the spell of lusty desires you, not knowing the influence of mother Sita, have arrived at a situation like this. Because of what you did oh glory of the dynasty, we and the state of Lanka are now without a protector, your body is there as fodder for the vultures and your soul is destined for hell [compare B.G. 16: 19].'

Shri Shuka said: 'Vibhishana with the approval of the King of Kosala [Rama] performed for the family the funeral rites that for a deceased one have to be observed in order to save him from hell. The Supreme Lord thereupon found His sweetheart [Sita] back in an ashoka forest sitting in a small cottage at the foot of a Shims'apa [ashoka] tree. Sick from being separated from Him she was emaciated. Rama seeing the poor plight of His sweetheart was filled with compassion. When she saw her beloved, her lotus-like mouth was overwhelmed with a great joy. The Supreme Lord put Vibhishana in charge of the rule over Lanka's Rakshasas for the duration of a kalpa. He placed Sita on His vehicle and then ascended Himself together with Hanuman and the brothers [Lakshmana and Sugriva the commander] to return to His home town [Ayodhya] and conclude the period of the vow [that He would stay away for fourteen years]. To celebrate His uncommon activities He on His way was showered with a choice of fragrant flowers offered by the higher class and was joyfully praised by the seer of the Absolute Truth [Brahma] and the ones belonging to him. Lord Ramacandra, the One of Great Compassion, was very sorry to hear that His brother Bharata was lying down on a kus'a mat, had matted locks, ate barley cooked in cow's urine and had covered Himself with tree bark. 5-3 Bharata hearing about His arrival took the two sandals on His head [that Rama had left behind on the throne to represent Him] and came, accompanied by all citizens, the ministers and the priests, to welcome His eldest brother. Departing from His camp Nandigrama He was accompanied by songs, the sounds of musical instruments, the constant recitation of mantras performed by brahmins, by gold embroidered flags on golden chariots that were pulled by the most beautiful, with gold caparisoned horses and by soldiers in gold covered armor. Approaching in procession with nicely dressed courtesans and servants as also with soldiers on foot and everything else that would befit a royal reception, like the wealth of all kinds of jewelry, He fell down at the lotus feet with an ecstatic love that softened the core of His [ascetic] heart and filled His eyes with tears. 9-4 Placing the two slippers before His brother, He stood with folded hands and tears in His eyes. Then He was embraced by Rama who, bathing Him with the water from His eyes, held Him in His arms for a long time. Rama, Lakshmana and Sita together offered the scholars and the others worthy of worship personally their obeisances and also received these in return from all the citizens. Seeing their Lord returning after so many years the citizens of Kosala waved with their upper garments, offered Him garlands and began to dance in great jubilation. 2-4 The sandals were carried by Bharata, the whisk and luxurious fan were carried by Vibhishana and Sugriva, a white parasol was carried by the son of the wind god [Hanuman] and the bow and two quivers were carried by Shatrughna. Sita held the waterpot with water from the holy places, Angada held the sword made of gold and the King of the Rikshas [Jambavan, the leader of the bears who also participated in the war] held the shield, oh King. Sitting on Kuvera's heavenly chariot [the 'Pushpaka' captured from Ravana] He, the Supreme Lord devotedly being worshiped by the women and the reciters, oh King, appeared as brilliant as the moon risen among the planets.

After properly being welcomed by His brother He was festively received in the city of Ayodhya. Upon entering the royal palace He paid mother Kaikeyi, His other stepmothers and His own mother [Kaus'alya] His respects. The spiritual teachers, friends of their age and the youngsters were all of worship and their welcome was returned befittingly by Rama, the princess of the Videhas [Sita] and Lakshmana. The mothers reviving like bodies awakening from sleep, while keeping their sons on their lap, wetted them with a continuous flow of tears in letting go of their grief [over having been separated for so long]. According to the vidhi the matted locks were shaven off by the family priest [Vashishthha] and the elders of the family, after which, with the water of the four oceans and other paraphernalia, a bathing ceremony was performed like it was done for King Indra [see 6: 13]. Thus having been fully bathed, nicely dressed, decorated and garlanded, He shone brightly with His brothers and His wife. Pleased with the surrender [of His brother] He accepted the throne offered to Him, as also the citizens who, serving according to their nature with their status orientations [varnashrama identity, see B.G. 4: 13], all deserved His protection for that quality. Rama was therein just like a father and was by them therefore also accepted as their father.

Although this all happened in Treta-yuga, the period became like Satya-Yuga because of Rama's presence as the ruling king who with His full respect of dharma made all living beings happy [see also 12.3: 15]. The forests, the rivers, the hills and the mountains, the lands, the islands, the oceans and the seas offered all the living beings all they could wish for, oh best of the Bharatas. During the period that Rama, the Lord in the Beyond, was king, there was no suffering [due to oneself, others and nature], no disease, old age, bereavement, distress, lamentation, fear and exhaustion or dying against one's will. Having sworn that He would not take another woman [for reasons of principle He separated from Sita, see next chapter] He, as a saintly king pure in His character and dharma, by His personal dutifulness was an example, [in particular] for the householders. Sita in loving service of her husband was, because of her good character, always humble and submissive. Being chaste and afraid [to

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make mistakes], she bashfully with understanding for her husband's position captivated His mind.'

*: This and the next chapter are a summary of Valmiki's Ramayana, the original scripture describing the st0ry of Rama.

**: Prabhupada explains: 'Maharaja Das'aratha had three wives. One of them, Kaikeyi, served him very pleasingly, and he therefore wanted to give her a benediction. Kaikeyi, however, said that she would ask for the benediction when it was necessary. At the time of the coronation of Prince Ramacandra, Kaikeyi requested her husband to enthrone her son Bharata and send Ramacandra to the forest. Maharaja Das'aratha, being bound by his promise, ordered Ramacandra to go to the forest, according to the dictation of his beloved.'

***: This bridge is today still present in the form of a narrow passage of land close to the surface of the ocean between Lanka and India. It is called the Adam's Bridge and consists of a chain of shoals, c.18 miles 0 km) long [see picture and article].

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 11:
Lord Ramacandra Rules the World

Shri Shuka said: 'The Supreme Lord Ramacandra, the heart and soul of all the demigods, accepted an acarya and performed sacrifices with the greatest opulence. Thus He [factually] was worshiping Himself by Himself [see also 4.31: 14]. The hota priest [the one offering oblations] He gave the entire east, the Brahma priest [supervising the proceedings] received the southern side from His Lordship, the adhvaryu priest [who chants the Yajur mantras preparing the sacrifice] got the entire west and the northern side went to the udgata priest [singing the Sama Veda hymns]. Departing from the notion that the brahmins who are free from material desires deserve the complete of the earth, He gave the teacher of example, the acarya, the rest of whatever land there was in between the regions. What this way remained for Himself were His personal ornaments and garments, while for the queen, the daughter of the king of Videha, only her nose ring remained. But when the brahmins saw how much He cared for them as their Lord, their hearts melted, so that they, most pleased with Him, honoured Him with prayers. They returned everything they had received from Him and said: 'What did You not give us, oh Supreme Lord, oh Master of the universe? With You entering the core of our hearts You dissipate, with Your effulgence, the darkness of our ignorance. Our obeisances unto You Ramacandra, oh Lord of the transcendentalists, oh best of all persons of fame whose lotus feet are worshiped by those who are free from violence, oh You whose intelligence is never clouded by anxiety.'

Curious about the public opinion Rama one night walked unnoticed in disguise and heard someone speak who was referring to His wife [Sita]. 'I cannot maintain you any longer because you are an impure, unchaste woman going to another man's house. And I will not, like someone henpecked, accept you again as Rama did with Sita!' Apprehensive of folk who say anything that comes to mind, who do not know where to stop and have a poor fund of knowledge, she [Sita] was abandoned by her husband. Thereupon she went to the hermitage of Pracetasa [Valmiki Muni]. She being pregnant [when she left Rama], delivered there after some time a twin, two boys who from the sage who performed the birth rituals received the names Kus'a and Lava ['from the grass' and 'what is cut off']. Also Lakshmana had two sons: Angada and Citraketu [named after 6.14-17]. Bharata, oh great ruler, had two sons who were named Taksha and Pushkala. 3-1 Subahu and Shrutasena were fathered by Shatrughna. Bharata who brought all directions under His control in His conquest had to kill millions of Gandharvas [or obstinate rebels] and offered all their riches to the king [Rama]. The Rakshasa listening to the name of Lavana, a son of Madhu, was killed by Shatrughna in the great forest of Madhuvana where He established the great town known as Mathura. Sita, who being sent away by her husband kept meditating on Rama's feet, entrusted her sons to the sage and entered the earth. When Rama, the Supreme Lord, heard about this He, remembering her qualities in the different circumstances, could not check His grief, however much He tried to ban it in meditation. Such an attraction between husband and wife constitutes a universal source of anxiety. When this is even true for the great controllers, then what about the common man who is fixed upon a household existence? After she went to heaven the Lord observed strict celibacy and performed a ceremony, an Agnihotra [fire] sacrifice, that was continued for thirteen thousand years without interruption. Rama [concluding His earthly stay] placed His lotus feet that were pierced by the thorns of the Dandakaranya forest [the forest of His exile] in the hearts of those who remembered Him and then entered the [beyond of the] Light of the Soul [of the atma-jyoti, His heavenly abode Vaikunthha].

The Lord of the Raghu dynasty [Rama] who assumed a [spiritual] body for the purpose of His pastimes, had, with no one being greater or equal to Him, [personally] no need for all this honour of the prayers of the godly ones, the killing of the Rakshasas, building a bridge over the ocean and His bow and arrows, nor was He in need of the monkeys to assist Him in defeating the enemy [compare B.G. 3: 20-26]. Let me surrender myself to Him, that Master of the Raghu dynasty whose spotless fame to the present day is celebrated in royal assemblies and by the sages in all directions as good as the cloth that covers the elephant of victory, to Him whose lotus feet, which vanquish all sin, are worshiped by the helmets of earthly kings and the gods of heaven. He to whom the people of Kosala were looking up and who they wanted to touch, was by them all, whether they ate and slept with Him or respected Him as a servant, followed to the place for which He left and where all [bhakti-]yoga practitioners go [see also B.G. 4: 9]. Anyone who hears about the activities of Lord Rama and is filled with compassion towards others, oh King, will be liberated from the clutches of karma.'

The king asked: 'How did He, the Supreme Lord, Rama, relate to His brothers who were His personal expansions and how did they and also His people, His subjects, behave towards Him, their Controller?'

The son of Vyasadeva said: 'After accepting the throne He, the Lord of the universe, ordered His younger brothers to conquer the world [*] while He Himself gave audience to His people looking after the capital with other assistants. The streets were sprinkled with perfumed water and the musth of the elephants. It was the highest and greatest delight to see Him, their Master and Ruler, personally present. The palaces, the palace gates, the assembly houses, the platforms and the temples and such, were adorned with golden water pots and flags. [When He appeared] one turned it into a festival with reception gates, tapestries, garlands, betel nut, flowers and fruits, banana trees, colourful flags and mirrors. Wherever He passed the locals carrying their articles of worship approached Him to receive His blessings and said: 'Oh my Lord, please maintain this land that You have recovered like You did before [in the form of Lord Varaha].' The men and women in the city thereafter, desirous to see their king, the Lord with the lotus eyes, returning after such a long time, left their homes to get on the rooftops of the greater mansions, satisfy their hungry eyes and shower Him with flowers. 1-3 He thereafter entered His family home that by His ancestors had been turned into an unfathomable treasury filled with the most costly goods. The doorposts were of coral, the pillars lining up on the polished marakata [emerald] floors were of vaidurya stone and there were dazzling marble walls. All sorts of flowers and flags could be seen as also draperies, pearls and the most valuable effulgent gems. With all the desirable beauty that increased everyone's joy and with the many bunches of flowers, fragrant incense and lamps, the men and women there whose physical beauty competed with their jewelry, appeared like demigods. The Supreme Lord Rama [lit.: 'joy'], the most excellent one delighting in devotion, to His full satisfaction personally enjoyed [His life] there with His dearest wife Sita. He with the people meditating on His lotus feet, for many years enjoyed all the pleasures of life on their proper time without running into trouble with the dharma.'

*: Shri Caitanya Mahaprabhu said to this Rama mission of conquering of the world: 'prithivite ache yata nagaradi grama sarvatra pracara haibe mora nama'; A pure devotee, therefore, must execute the order of the Lord and must not gratify his senses by remaining stagnant in one place, falsely proud, thinking that because he does not leave Vrindavana but chants in a solitary place he has become a great devotee. He also said: 'yare dekha, tare kaha 'krishna'-upades'a'; every devotee, therefore, should spread Krishna consciousness by preaching, asking whomever he meets to accept the order of the Supreme Personality of Godhead [Cc. Madhya 7.128].

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 12:
The Dynasty of Kus'a, the Son of Lord Ramacandra

Shri Shuka said: 'From Kus'a [the son of Lord Rama] there was Atithi, and from him there was Nishadha. Nishadha's son was Nabha, Pundarika was fathered by him and Kshemadhanva became his son. Devanika was the son of Kshemadhanva, his son was Aniha who had a son called Pariyatra. Pariyatra's son was Balasthala who had a son called Vajranabha. Vajranabha was born from the effulgence of the sun god. - From Sagana [the son of Vajranabha] there was a son called Vidhriti from whose loins the son Hiranyanabha was born who became a teacher of yoga in the line of Jaimini. Yajnavalkya of Kos'ala as a disciple studied under his lead the spiritual practice [adhyatma yoga, see 6.15: 12-15]: the most elevated yoga of becoming a seer who can cut through the material knots in the heart. From Pushpa, the son of Hiranyanabha, Dhruvasandhi was born from whom there was Sudars'ana. Agnivarna was born from him, his son was named Shighra and Maru was his son. This person still exists in Kalapa-grama ['bundle of communities'] as a perfected soul of yoga [a siddha]. He remaining there, at the end of Kali-yuga will beget a [second] son in order to revive the lost dynasty of the sun god. The son that he had was Prasus'ruta who fathered Sandhi from whose loins there was a son called Amarshana. From Amarshana's son Mahasvan the person of Vis'vabahu took birth. From him there was Prasenajit from whom next Takshaka would take birth. From Takshaka there was Brihadbala, who was killed by your father in a fight.

All these kings of the Ikshvaku dynasty are dead and gone. Now listen to the kings to be born in the future. After Brihadbala there will be a son named Brihadrana. Brihadrana's son will be Urukriya, from him Vatsavriddha will take birth, Prativyoma will be his son and he will beget Bhanu, whose son Divaka will be a great military commander. Sahadeva, who will be born from him, will beget a great hero: Brihadas'va who will get the son Bhanuman. The son of Bhanuman will be Pratikas'va who will father the son Supratika. Marudeva will be born thereafter and his son will be called Sunakshatra. Next there will be Pushkara and his son Antariksha will have a son called Sutapa whose son will be Amitrajit. Brihadraja will father the son Barhi. Kritanjaya, who will be born from him, will have a son called Rananjaya and from him Sanjaya will take birth. From him Shakya will be born whose son will be the memorable Shuddhoda. He will be the father of Langala from whom Prasenajit will be born who in his turn will father Kshudraka. Ranaka will take birth from him, Suratha will be the next son, and the one of him named Sumitra will end the line of all these kings in the Brihadbala dynasty. With Sumitra as the last king to appear of all these descendants of Ikshvaku in the future, the dynasty will end in Kali-yuga.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 13:
The Story of Nimi and the Dynasty of his Son Mithila

Shri Shuka said: 'Nimi [see 9.6: 4], the son of Ikshvaku, planned a sacrifice and appointed Vasishthha to be the priest. But he said: 'I am already engaged by Lord Indra, oh Maharaja. When I have finished that sacrifice I will return. Wait till then'. Nimi remained silent and Vasishthha performed the sacrifice for Indra. When the guru did not return for a long time Nimi thought: 'Life is but short' and inaugurated the sacrifice with another self-realised soul as the officiating priest.

Having finished the ceremonies the guru upon his return discovered that his instructions were ignored and so he pronounced a curse: 'May the embodiment of Nimi who thinks he is such a great pundit, fall down!'

Nimi in his turn cursed the guru who had lost his way with: 'And may your embodiment, that with your greed is so poorly aware of the dharma, fall down too!'

Nimi, fully conversant with the spiritual knowledge as he was, thus had to give up his body. Vasishthha, the great-grandfather [died also but] took with [the seed of] Mitra and Varuna [again] birth from Urvas'i [the heavenly courtesan, see also 6.18: 5-6]. Preserving Nimi's body in fragrant substances, the great sages in conclusion of the Satra sacrifice [a longstanding Soma sacrifice, see sattra] addressed the gathering of demigods as follows: 'If you are content with us, then please, if you can, make the body of the king come alive!' After they had responded in confirmation Nimi said: 'Do not bind me to a physical frame! Afraid to be falsely united, sages do not wish to be in touch that way. [Being] absorbed in thoughts about the Lord, they are [to their opinion sufficiently] of devotional service at the lotus feet [see bhajan]. I do not wish to assume a material body that inevitably dies again, for such a body is everywhere - like it is with fish living in the water - the cause of distress, lamentation and fear [see also 1.13: 47 and B.G. 9: 3].'

The demigods said: 'Live as you like without a material body and be, with your presence in a spiritual body, in the eyes of the normally embodied human being then manifested or not manifested to your desire.'

Afraid that for the common man this would result in a state of chaos, the great seers churned the deceased body of Nimi and thus a son was born [compare: 4.14: 43 and 4.15: 1]. Because of his uncommon birth he was called Janaka, because he was born from Videha [from Nimi who was without a body] he became known as Vaideha ['free from a body'], because he was born from the churning he was called Mithila and because of this the city he founded was called Mithila. From him there was a son named Udavasu, from him Nandivardhana was born, he had a son named Suketu and Devarata was his son, oh great ruler. Devarata begot Brihadratha, Mahavirya was his son and he fathered Sudhriti who had a son named Dhrishthaketu. He got Haryas'va as his son who was succeeded by Maru. Maru's son was Pratipaka and Kritaratha was born from him. Devamidha was his son who had one called Vis'ruta who fathered Mahadhriti. Kritirata followed and from him there was the son Maharoma whose son Svarnaroma begot a son called Hrasvaroma. Shiradhvaja [also called Janaka] was born from him. He for the performance of sacrifices plowed the earth with the front part of his plow [or Shira] and thus the daughter Sitadevi was born [the wife of Rama, Sita means 'furrow']. That was why he was known as Shiradhvaja. Kus'adhvaja was Shiradhvaja's son and his son was king Dharmadhvaja who had two sons named Kritadhvaja and Mitadhvaja. 0-2 Kritadhvaja had a son named Kes'idhvaja and Mitadhvaja's son was Khandikya, oh King. Kritadhvaja's son was an expert in the science of

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transcendence and Khandikya was an expert in Vedic rituals. Khandikya fled because he feared Kes'idhvaja. From Bhanuman, Kes'idhvaja's son, there was the son Shatadyumna. Shuci was his son and from him the son Sanadvaja was born. Urjaketu, his son, fathered Aja who got a son called Purujit. He also had a son, Arishthanemi. From his son Shrutayu there was Supars'vaka who fathered Citraratha whose son Kshemadhi became the king of Mithila. His son named Samaratha had one named Satyaratha. He fathered Upaguru who begot Upagupta. Upagupta was a partial expansion of Agni [the god of fire]. His son Vasvananta had a son called Yuyudha. He had a son called Subhashana and his son was Shruta. He begot Jaya and Jaya fathered Vijaya. Vijaya's son was Rita. His son was Shunaka, then Vitahavya was born who had a son called Dhriti. Dhriti begot the son Bahulas'va and from him there was Kriti who had a son called Mahavas'i. Oh King, these kings are the descendants of Mithila who by the grace of the Lord of Yoga were all true knowers of the soul. They all found liberation from the worldly duality, even though they stayed at home.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 14:
King Pururava Enchanted by Urvas'i

Shri Shuka said: 'Hear now then, oh King [after the stories about the dynasty of the sun god] about the moon dynasty, for to listen to the sanctifying descriptions of the dynasty of kings headed by Aila [Pururava], is a glorious thing. Dhatu [the 'original element' or Lord Brahma] appeared on the lotus that was produced from the navel of Vishnu, He with the thousands of heads. Dhatu had a son called Atri who had the same qualities as his father. From Atri's tears of jubilation a son called Soma was born who was an embodiment of the nectar of immortality [see also 4.1: 15]. He was by Brahma appointed as the supreme authority over the scholars, the medicinal herbs and the luminaries [see also B.G. 10: 21 and 6.6: 23]. After he had conquered the three worlds, he performed a rajasuya sacrifice and kidnapped in his arrogance with force Tara, the wife of Brihaspati. Despite a repeated request of the spiritual master of the godly ones, he in his conceit did not release her, as a consequence of which a conflict arose between the Suras and the Danavas. Because of Shukra's ['semen', the spiritual master of the Asuras] enmity towards Brihaspati he together with the Asuras chose the side of the moon god. Shiva though took together with the host of ghosts following him out of affection for the side of [Brihaspati,] the son of the spiritual teacher [Angira, one of the seven sages]. The great Indra followed by all the different demigods, joined the spiritual master [Brihaspati]. The fight that ensued - just because of Tara [Brihaspati's wife] - brought great destruction over the Suras and Asuras. When the creator of the universe Lord Brahma, was fully informed about this by Angira, he severely chastised Soma and delivered Tara unto her husband. He discovered that she was pregnant.

[Brihaspati said to her:] 'You foolish woman, deliver now! Deliver immediately from that womb that was my domain. Despite having been impregnated by another man I shall not burn you, unfaithful as you are, to ashes because you were a woman in want of a child.'

Tara, deeply ashamed, delivered a child that had a golden effulgence. That made Brihaspati and Soma both desire the child. 'It is mine, not yours!' so they exclaimed fighting over the child. The sages and the gods asked Tara questions, but she in her embarrassment could not say a thing.

The child got angry and said to its mother: 'Why all this shame? Why are you not saying anything? Tell me immediately, oh unchaste lady, what you have done wrong!'

Lord Brahma took her separate, put her at ease and asked her about the details, upon which she admitted hesitantly: 'This child belongs to Soma'. Soma then immediately took charge of it. Oh King, when the child because of its profound intelligence received from Lord Brahma the name Budha, the god of the moon was in great jubilation that he had gotten such a son. 5-1 As I said before [in 9.1], from his [Budha's] loins Pururava was born from the womb of Ila. When Urvas'i [see also 9.13: 6] in Indra's court heard Narada speak about Pururava's beauty, qualities, magnanimity, behavior, wealth and power, the devi was struck by the arrows of Cupid and approached him. 7-1 Because of the curse of Mitra and Varuna the woman had descended to the human world. Seeing there that the best of all men was as beautiful as Cupid, she approached him self-controlled. As soon as he, the king, saw the divine woman, he with goose bumps addressed her enthused with sweet words and bright eyes. The honourable king said: 'Be welcome oh supreme beauty, please be seated, what can I do for you? Keep me company and share my bed for many, many years!'

Urvas'i said: 'What woman would not be attracted by the sight and thought of you, oh beautiful man, and desist from enjoying your chest in intimate love [see also 7.9: 45]? These two lambs, oh King, have fallen and need your protection, oh honourable host. In the company of a superior husband so one says, a woman may enjoy in love. Oh hero of mine, that what is prepared with ghee shall be my food and I do not want to see you naked at any other time than during intercourse.'

'That is settled then', so promised the great soul.

'Just look at your beauty and poise! No one on earth is as attractive as you are. Who can withstand a goddess like you who personally has descended among the human beings?'

He, the best among the human beings, enjoyed in the most exquisite places and pleasure gardens like Caitraratha, with her whatever there was to enjoy to his desire [see also 5.16: 13-14]. Making love with the goddess he enjoyed it for many nights and days to be with her and smell the stimulating lotus saffron fragrance of her face.

Indra not seeing Urvas'i [around] told the singers of heaven: 'Without Urvas'i my abode is not as beautiful'. Thus they in the dead of night assembled in the dark to steal away the two lambs that Urvas'i as a wife had entrusted to the king. When she heard the two [that she treated like her] sons, cry as they were led away, she said: 'My life is stolen away by this bad husband who considers himself a hero but is not a real man! Confiding in him who during the day appears to be a man but at night fearfully keeps himself silent as a woman, thieves have stolen away my two sons.'

Pierced by the arrows of her words he, like an elephant fired up, angrily in the dark took up a sword and went after them, without putting his clothes on. After they [the Gandharvas], gave up the lambs, they lit up the place with a light as bright as lightening. Urvas'i thus could see her husband returning naked with the two lambs in his hands... [and thus she left him]. Pururava not seeing his wife in bed any longer, got very sad. Being too much attached to her he got distraught and lamenting began to roam the earth [looking for her]. He spotted Urvas'i in Kurukshetra [a place of pilgrimage, see also B.G. 1: 1] at the Sarasvati together with five companions. Happy and smiling all over Pururava addressed her with sweet words: 'Ah my wife, do not leave, stay, oh cruel one! You should not have given up on me because I failed to make you happy thus far. Let us talk a little. This good body of mine, led far, far away from home by you, will drop dead on the spot, oh devi and the foxes and vultures will eat it, if it is not worthy of your grace!'

Urvas'i said: 'You are a man, do not adhere to death! Do not let these foxes of the senses eat you up. You cannot always count on the friendship of women. They can be like wolves in matters of the heart. Beware of them, women are merciless [when men forsake their duty, see B.G. 1: 40]. They are cunning, hard to handle, do whatever pleases them and put you as a faithful husband and brother down for the smallest reason, so one says. They establish false hopes in the ones unsuspecting, run away from their well-wishers, always desire for newer and newer things, are easily allured and are real captains of independence [if they have to]. At the end of every year your good self may count on one night only in order to make love with me my husband, so that you, one after the other, will have children in this world my dear [see also 6.18: 38-42].'

Seeing that Urvas'i was pregnant he returned to his palace. At the end of the year he then at that very spot [at Kurukshetra] saw Urvas'i again, who had become the mother of a hero. Obtaining her association he, delighting in her company, in great jubilation reunited with her. After the night had passed Urvas'i said to the poor-hearted fellow who was afflicted by the thought of being separated from her: 'Go and take shelter of the singers of heaven, the Gandharvas. When you satisfy them with prayers they will bring me to you.' His [agnisthali] fire pot oh King, then gave him the idea that Urvas'i was really walking with him through the forest. When he returned from the forest and had given up the fire pot, he at home began to meditate the entire night. During that time Treta-yuga was about to begin and before his mind's eye the three [trikanda principles of the Vedas] were revealed [of upasana: sacrifice, song and prayer; karma: fruitive labour and jnana: spiritual knowledge]. 4-4 Going to where he had left his fire pot he discovered that at that spot an As'vattha had sprouted from the inside of a Shami tree. He used the wood to make two sticks [for creating fire] whereupon he, the master of the kingdom, with mantras [*], in his desire to be with Urvas'i, meditated on her as the lower stick, himself as the upper one and that what was between them as the child he had begotten. From the friction a fire was born that, as the son of the king together with the three letter combination A, U and M [the Pranava], in its three forms stood for the complete of the Vedic practice [of being born from one's physical father, from one's spiritual master and from one's own practice of offering - which is represented by the three sacrificial fires called Ahavaniya, Garhapatya and Dakashinagni]. He who wanted to be with Urvas'i thus worshiped the Controller of the Sacrifices, the Supreme Personality of Godhead beyond the senses who is the Lord, the Reservoir of all Demigods [see also B.G. 3: 10]. Formerly [during Satya-yuga] all verbal [Vedic, atharva] expressions were covered with one mantra only, knowing the Pranava of omkara, Narayana was the only god, there was only one fire and there was only one varna [the class called hamsa **]. This is how with Pururava at the onset of Treta-yuga, the [before mentioned] threefold Vedic order [of being born by karma, upasana and jnana] came about , oh ruler of man. By simply generating the sacrificial fire as his son, the king achieved the heavenly abode of the Gandharvas.'

*: In this context are mentioned the mantra's: 's'ami-garbhad agnim mantha' 'from within the Shami the fire is churned' and hurvas'yam urasi pururavah': 'by Urvas'i the best of Pururava.'

**: In Satya-yuga, Lord Narayana was worshiped by meditation (krite yad dhyayato vishnum): everyone meditated and achieved success contemplating Lord Vishnu, Narayana. In the next yuga, Treta-yuga, the performance of yajna began (tretayam yajato mukhaih). In Dvapara-yuga the Lord is worshiped as a king, while in Kali-yuga the Lord is there as his own devotee [a covered or channa-avatara] to lead in devotion.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 15:
Parashurama, the Lord's Warrior Incarnation

The son of Vyasadeva said: 'From Urvas'i's womb six sons were born who were begotten by Pururava, oh ruler of man: Ayu, Shrutayu, Satyayu, Raya, Vijaya and Jaya. - Shrutayu had a son named Vasuman, Satyayu also had one called Shrutanjaya, from Raya there was a son called Eka and from Jaya there was a son called Amita. Bhima was the son of Vijaya after whom Kancana was born as his son. From Hotraka, Kancana's son, there was the son Jahnu who drank the water of the Ganges in one sip. Puru was begotten by Jahnu [see 1.12: 15 & 3.8: 1] and from him next Balaka and his son Ajaka appeared. Kus'a followed from whose loins the four sons Kus'ambu, Tanaya, Vasu and KUshanabha were born who were succeeded by Gadhi, the son of Kus'ambu. - From Gadhi there was the daughter Satyavati who by the brahmin Ricika was asked to be his wife, but not considering him fit king Gadhi said to that son of Bhrigu: 'Please deliver me as a dowry for this daughter of the Kus'a dynasty that we belong to, one thousand horses as brilliant as the light of the moon with each one black ear.' With that being said the sage understood what he had in mind. He went to the abode of Varuna from where he brought and delivered the horses. Then he married the beautiful daughter. He as a seer was by his wife and his mother-in-law who each wanted a son, requested to cook a preparation which he with mantras offered to them [to his wife with a brahmana mantra and to his mother-in-law with a kshatriya mantra]. Then the muni went away for a bath. Meanwhile, Satyavati was by her mother asked to give the oblation that was meant for her, because she thought it was the better one of the two. She handed it over to her while she herself ate her mother's oblation.

Learning about this the sage said to his wife: 'You did something very wrong! Now your son will be a fierce, punitive personality while your brother will be a scholar in spiritual science!'

Satyavati beseeched him that it would not be so and thus the son of Bhrigu said: 'Then the son of your son will be that way!' Thereafter Jamadagni was born.

She [Satyavati] later became the great and sacred Kaus'iki [a river] that purifies the entire world. Jamadagni married Renuka, the daughter of Renu. She with the seer of Bhrigu gave birth to many sons of whom Vasuman was the eldest. The renown Parashurama [also known as Rama] was the youngest son. He [Parashurama] who twenty-one times acted as the annihilator of the Haihaya dynasty and thus freed the earth from all her kshatriyas, is called an [ams'a] incarnation of Vasudeva. The earth's burden of the arrogant governing class that, covered by passion and ignorance, lacked in respect for the brahminical rule, was removed by him. He killed them despite the fact that they had committed no great offense [see also 1.11: 34].'

The honourable king said: 'What was, of those degraded nobles out of control, the offense committed unto the Supreme Lord because of which time and again the dynasty was annihilated?

The son of Vyasa said: 'The king of the Haihayas, Kartaviryarjuna, the best of the kshatriyas, had developed a thousand arms in upholding the worship of Dattatreya who is a plenary portion of Narayana. He who was the fear of his enemies could not be defeated, was sharp-witted, most attractive, influential, powerful, renown and physically very strong. Because of his yogic control he had acquired qualities like the perfections of the anima-siddhi and such and he tirelessly traveled all over the world like a whirlwind. When he one day surrounded by beautiful women enjoyed the water of the Reva [the Narmada], he, overly proud of being decorated with the garland of victory, with his arms stopped the flow of the river. The conceited hero called Ten-head [Ravana] could not bear that influence because the water that moved upstream from his actions had inundated his camp. Ravana who insulted him [the king] in the presence of the women was without much difficulty arrested by him, held in custody in [their capital] Mahishmati and then released again as if it concerned a monkey.

Once during a hunt alone in the forest wandering aimlessly, he [Kartaviryarjuna] entered the ashrama of Jamadagni muni.

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The sage on the basis of his austerity could, because of his cow of plenty [kamadhenu], offer to that god of man together with his soldiers, ministers and the rest of his retinue, everything that was needed. When the king saw what this wealth that exceeded his personal opulence all meant, he could not appreciate it really. He and his Haihayas then developed the desire to possess that cow of sacrifice. In his conceit he encouraged his men to take away the sage's cow of plenty and bring her together with her calf to Mahishmati while it was crying because of the violence. After the king was gone Parashurama, upon returning to the ashrama [of his father], heard about that nefarious act and got as angry as a snake that is trampled upon. Unable to tolerate what had happened he took up a ghastly chopper, a quiver, a bow and a shield and went after them like a lion attacking an elephant. As the king entered the capital he saw the best of the Bhrigus coming after him in fury carrying a bow, arrows and a chopper as his weapons. His skin was covered by a black deerskin, he had matted locks and radiated like sunshine. He sent seventeen akshauhinis [*] with elephants, chariots, horses and infantry, with swords, arrows, lances, slings and weapons of fire, but Parashurama, the Lord and Master, most fiercely killed them all by himself. He as the greatest expert in handling the chopper, killed as fast as the wind and as speedy as the mind the enemy troops from whom here and there the arms, legs and shoulders fell to the ground together with the drivers of the elephants and the horses that had been slain. Seeing his soldiers fallen by the axe and the arrows of Rama lying scattered with their shields, flags, bows and dead bodies in the mud and the blood on the field, Haihaya [Kartaviryarjuna] rushed over there in fury. Kartaviryarjuna then fixed with five hundred of his arms simultaneously as many arrows on as many bows in order to kill Rama, but he as the best fighter of all the ones armed, cut them all to pieces with his arrows using one bow only. The king attacked again with trees and rocks that he had uprooted with his hands, but, as he was rushing forwards on the battlefield, all his arms were by Parashurama's razor-sharp axe with great force cut off like they were the hoods of snakes. 5-3 After his arms had been cut off, the mountain peak that was his head was severed. As soon as their father was killed his ten thousand sons fled away in fear. Fetching the sacrificial cow and calf that had suffered badly, the Killer of All False Heroism returned to his father's hermitage and handed them over to him. Rama described to his father and brothers everything that he had done. After hearing that Jamadagni spoke as follows:

'Rama, oh Rama, mighty hero, you have committed a sin by unnecessarily killing that god of man who embodies all the demigods. We are brahmins my dear one, people who because of their forgiveness have achieved a position of respect. It is by this quality that the god who is the spiritual master of the universe [Lord Brahma] has achieved his position as the supreme authority. By forgiveness the splendor, happiness and success of the religious practice shines as brilliant as the sun. The Supreme Lord Hari, our Controller, becomes quickly pleased with those who are forgiving. To kill a king who is famous as an emperor is worse than killing a brahmin. Therefore wash away that sin my best one, by respecting the holy places in the consciousness of the Infallible One.'

*: The Mahabharata describes an akshauhini in the Adi parva, chapter two: "One chariot, one elephant, five infantry soldiers and three horses are called a patti by those who are learned in the science. The wise also know that a senamukha is three times what a patti is. Three senamukhas are known as one gulma, three gulmas are called a gana, and three ganas are called a vahini. Three vahinis have been referred to by the learned as a pritana, three pritanas equal one camu, and three camus equal one anikini. The wise refer to ten anikinis as one akshauhini. The chariots of an akshauhini have been calculated at 21.870 by those who know the science of such calculations, oh best of the twice-born, and the number of elephants is the same. The number of infantry soldiers is 109.350, and the number of horses is 65.610. This is called an akshauhini."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 16:
How Lord Parashurama Came to Destroy the Ruling Class Twenty-one Times

Shri Shuka said: 'Oh son of the Kuru dynasty, Parashurama thus by his father being advised said: 'So be it!', whereupon he for a year traveled to all the holy places. Then he returned to the ashrama. When Renuka [his mother] one day went to the bank of the Ganges, she saw the king of the Gandharvas [see also 9.14: 31]. He was garlanded with lotus flowers and sported with the girls of heaven, the Apsaras. She observed his affairs as she went to the river to fetch some water. Slightly drawn to Citraratha, she forgot the time of the fire sacrifice. Realizing that she had neglected the time, she upon returning was afraid to be cursed by the sage and stood with folded hands before him, having put the waterpot in front of him. The sage understood she had deviated from the rule and became angry with his wife. He said: 'Remove her my sons, she's full of sin', but the sons did not carry out his order. Rama who through his meditation and austerity was fully aware of the prowess of the sage [and confided perfectly in his authority], in response to the encouragement of his father immediately terminated his mother and all his brothers. When Jamadagni thus being pleased asked him what benediction he would like, he said: 'Give those whom we have lost their life back without them remembering their punishment!' Soon they all rose happily and alive like they had awakened from deep sleep, since Rama had executed the punishing of his kin in the full awareness of the power of his father's austerity.

The sons of Kartaviryarjuna [9.15: 17] oh King, [meanwhile] could not have peace with the remembrance of their father being defeated by the superior power of Parashurama. When Rama one day with his brothers was away from the ashrama in the forest, they, seeking revenge, took the opportunity to approach their residence. Finding the muni sitting at the fireplace fully absorbed in contemplating the Supreme One Praised in the Verses, they, determined to do evil, killed him. Being most cruel towards the poor and unprotected mother of Rama who begged for the life of her husband, they, those 'kshatriya' brothers, violently cut his head off and took it away. Renuka, the chaste wife down in tears grieving, stroke her body with her hands and cried loudly: 'Oh Rama, oh Rama, my dear son!' Hearing the sound of that most sad cry 'Oh Rama', they [Rama and his brothers despite being] far away, hastened back to the ashrama where they saw that their father had been murdered. Bewildered by the schock, they all lamented and angrily, depressed, sad and indignified cried: 'Oh father, oh saint, you who are such an example of dharma have now departed for heaven and left us behind!' Thus bewailing their father, Parashurama entrusted the body to his brothers and personally took up the ax, determined to put an end to the kshatriyas. Rama went to Mahishmati, [the capital] that was doomed because a brahmin had been killed. There he in the middle of the town made a great pile of the heads he severed from their bodies. 8-1 Their blood formed a terrible river that brought fear to all the rulers who defied the brahminical culture. Because the kshatriyas, the royal class, had killed his father, he acted to their detriment and twenty-one times over wiped them off the earth. He as a master of war thus at Samanta-pancaka created nine lakes filled with blood instead of water [see also B.G. 4: 7].

Joining his father's head with his body he kept him on kus'a grass and worshiped with sacrifices the Godhead, the True Self and inspiration of all the demigods. 1-2 The hota priest he gave the eastern direction, the Brahma priest he gave the southern direction, the adhvaryu he gave the western side and the udgata received the north [compare 9.11: 2]. The others and Kasyapa Muni he assigned the different corners and the middle Aryavarta portion [*] he gave to the upadrashtha priest who supervises the mantras. The assisting sadasya priests received whatever remained. When he thereafter took a bath, he, on the bank of the major stream that was the Sarasvati, was cleansed of all impurities [remaining from killing the kshatriyas] and radiated like a cloudless sun [see also B.G. 3: 9]. Because of Parashurama's worship, Jamadagni regained his body with all the symptoms of consciousness and became the seventh seer in the constellation of the seven sages [see 8.13: 5, linked to the saptarshi-mandala stars around the polestar]. Parashurama, the son of Jamadagni who is also the Supreme Lord with the lotus petal eyes, will be a propounder of Vedic knowledge in the next period of Manu, oh King [as one of the seven sages, see 8.13: 15-16]. He who in peace with the intelligence has given up the clout, still today can be found in the hills of Mahendra and is worshiped and revered for his character and activities by all the perfected ones, the singers of heaven and the venerable ones. This is how the Soul of the Universe, the Supreme Lord Hari, the Controller who appeared as an incarnation in the Bhrigu dynasty and killed the rulers of man many times, relieved the earth of its great burden.

From Gadhi's loins [see 9.15: 4-5] a most powerful personality [Vis'vamitra] was born. He as perfect as a fire, gave up the kshatriya position and achieved the quality of a brahmin by performing austerities [see 7.11: 35 and footnote at 9.7: 7]. Vis'vamitra also had sons: one hundred-and-one of them oh ruler. Because the middle one carried the name Madhucchanda they as a group were called the Madhucchandas. He accepted Shunahs'epha, the son of Ajigarta, who with the name of Devarata ['saved by the demigods'] appeared in the Bhrigu-dynasty, as his own son. He ordered his other sons to accept him as the eldest one. He was the one who was sold as the 'man-animal' for the yajna of king Haris'candra. After offering prayers to the demigods headed by Lord Brahma he was released from being bound like an animal [see 9.7: 20]. Stemming from the line of Bhrigu he was advanced in spirituality and was therefore protected by the godly ones involved in the sacrifice for the gods. Shunas'epha was for that reason in the dynasty of Gadhi also celebrated as Devarata. The [fifty] eldest Madhucchandas could not very well accept the fact [that he would be the eldest brother] and were all cursed by the muni who got angry. He said: 'May all of you bad sons become mlecchas [**]!' It was Madhucchanda who together with the rest of the fifty sons then said: 'We will conform to whatever would please you in this matter, oh father!' They accepted him [Devarata], a seer of mantras, as the eldest and said to him: 'We will all follow you.' Vis'vamitra told the sons: 'You sons will all have sons because you favored my honour as a father of [worthy] sons. He [Devarata] is a son of mine, just like you are, oh Kus'ikas [***], please obey him.' And there were many other sons: Ashthaka, Harita, Jaya, Kratuman and more. Thus it is clear what the branches of the dynasty of Kaus'ika are according to the different positions that were obtained by the sons of Vis'vamitra [the ones obedient, the ones disobedient and the ones adopted].'

*: The tract of land in India between the Himalaya Mountains and the Vindhya Hills is called Aryavarta.

**: Mlecchas are people opposed to the Vedas, non-Aryans that are also known as the meat-eaters that Lord Kalki will slay at the end of Kali-yuga.

***: 'One of Kaus'ika' is another name for Vis'vamitra and his sons, see also 6.8: 38.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 17:
The Dynasties of the Sons of Pururava

- The son of Vyasa said: 'From one son of Pururava named Ayu [see 9.15: 1], there were the powerful sons Nahusha, Kshatravriddha, Raji, Rabha and Anena. Oh royal ruler, hear now about the dynasty of Kshatravriddha. From Kshatravriddha's son Suhotra there were three sons: Kas'ya, Kus'a and Gritsamada. From Gritsamada there was Shunaka and from him Shaunaka appeared, a muni who excelled in the sacred [Rig Veda] verses. Kas'i the son of Kas'ya begot Rashthra who in his turn fathered Dirghatama. From Dirghatama there was Dhanvantari who was an incarnation of Vasudeva, the Enjoyer of Sacrifices. He was the founder of Ayurvedic medicine. When one remembers him all disease can be overcome [see also 8.8]. From his son Ketuman a son took birth named Bhimaratha and from him there was Divodasa whose son Dyuman was also known as Pratardana. He was also known by the names Shatrujit, Vatsa, Ritadhvaja and Kuvalayas'va. From him there were Alarka and other sons. Oh King, no one but Alarka ruled the earth for sixty-six thousand years like a young man. From Alarka's loins Santati was born, from him Sunitha was born, his son was Niketana and Niketana's son was Dharmaketu who fathered Satyaketu. Dhrishthaketu thereafter begot Sukumara who ruled the entire planet. Vitihotra was his son and Bharga who was born from him fathered a son named Bhargabhumi oh ruler of man.

I have thus described all descendants born in the dynasty of Kas'i who belong to the line of Kshatravriddha. From [Kshatravriddha's brother] Rabha a son was born called Rabhasa. From him Gambhira appeared and Akriya was his son. The descendant who took birth from him was called Brahmavit. Now hear about the descendants of Anena. There was a son called Shuddha from whom Shuci was born who had a son called Citrakrit who was also known as Dharmasarathi. From him Shantaraja was born who performed all kinds of Vedic rituals. He was a self-realised soul [and the line ended with him]. From Raji there were five-hundred sons who were most powerful. Raji who on the request of the godly ones killed the demons, returned the heavenly kingdom back to Indra, the king of heaven. But Indra, afraid of the enmity of Prahlada and others, gave it back [to the demons] and clasped Raji's feet in surrender. When their father passed away the great Indra requested Raji's sons to return the heavenly kingdom. They did not do that and gave him a share of the offerings. The spiritual master [Brihaspati] offered oblations in the fire so that Indra could kill all of Raji's sons who had fallen from the path of righteousness. None of them remained alive. From Kus'a, Kshatravriddha's grandson, Prati was born. His son called Sanjaya had a son named Jaya who fathered the son Krita from whose loins next king Haryabala was born. From Sahadeva, who was his son, Hina was born. His son Jayasena fathered Sankriti. Sankriti also had a son named Jaya who was a dutiful kshatriya and a mighty warrior. These were all the kings in the [Ayu] dynasty of Kshatravriddha, now hear from me about the descendants of Nahusha.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 18:
King Yayati Regains his Youth

Shri Shuka said: 'Just like an embodied soul having six senses [with the mind as the sixth] there were from king Nahusha [another son of Pururava's son Ayu] six sons: Yati, Yayati, Samyati, Ayati, Viyati and Kriti. The eldest son Yati did not accept the kingdom offered by his father, for he knew what that entails. A person who enters such a position cannot seriously engage in self-realisation. When his father by the brahmins was forced to abdicate for having offended Indra's wife Shaci and he hence had degraded to the level of a python [a 'goat-swallower'], Yayati became the king. He allowed his four younger brothers to rule the different directions. Yayati thus ruling the world married with the daughters [Devayani] of Shukracarya and [S'armishthha of] Vrishaparva.'

The king said: 'The mighty seer Shukracarya was a brahmin while Yayati belonged to the kshatriya class. How could there,

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against the customs, be a [pratiloma] marriage of a brahmin [daughter] with a kshatriya?' [anuloma, the other way around, was more common].

- Shri Shuka said: 'One day Vrishaparva's daughter named Sharmishthha, an innocent girl with a passionate character, was together with the daughter of the guru Devayani and with thousands of friends. They walked in the palace garden full of blossoming trees that had sand banks with lotus flowers buzzing with the sweet sounds of bumblebees. When the lotus-eyed girls arrived at the side of the lake situated there, they gave up their dresses on the bank and began sporting in the water by splashing one another. They [suddenly] saw Lord Shiva passing by seated on his bull together with the goddess [Parvati]. The young girls quickly got out of the water and full of shame covered themselves with their garments. Without noticing it Sharmishthha put on the clothes of the guru's daughter as if they were her own, whereupon Devayani irritated said this: 'Now look how she like a maid-servant acts without any manners. She just like a dog going for the ghee for a sacrifice has put on the garment that was meant for me! 2-1 Of us descendants of Bhrigu better than the rest by whose austerity this entire world was created, of us who are the face of the Personality of Transcendence and by whose piety the light of the right path is known, of us unto whom the masters of the world, the enlightened ones of control and even the Supreme Lord, the Purifying Supersoul and Husband of the Goddess, are offering prayers, she, whose demoniac father is a disciple of our father, has put on what was meant to be worn by us. It is as if an unchaste Shudra tries to master the Vedas!'

Sharmishthha thus rebuked breathed heavily like a trampled serpent and said very angrily biting her lip to the guru's daughter: 'What a nonsense, you beggar! You do not know your place. Is not it you who waits outside our house [for food] like the crows do?'

With these unkind words rebuking her Sharmishthha angrily took the garments away from the virtuous daughter of the spiritual teacher and pushed her into a well. As she went home Yayati, who wandered around for a hunt, happened to arrive at the spot and, thursting for water, discovered her in the well. Because she sat there completely naked, the king gave her his upper garment and most kindly put his hand into hers to pull her out. 0-2 The daughter of Ushana [or Shukracarya, see also B.G. 10: 37] with words full of love and kindness said to the hero: 'Oh King, with you taking my hand, oh conqueror of the cities of the enemy, you have accepted my hand! May it not be touched by anyone else but by you because the relationship between you and me that we have now, was arranged by providence, oh hero and not by man! Having landed in this well I learned about your goodness. [Please know that] no qualified brahmin can become my husband, oh strong-armed one, because Kaca, the son of Brihaspati whom I have cursed in the past, pronounced a curse against it [*].'

Yayati did not like what had been arranged by providence, but thinking for himself however he, attracted to her, agreed to her proposal. After the king had left she, having returned home, in tears wisely told everything to her father, recounting all that Sharmishthha had done and what had happened thereafter. The mighty thinker was most unhappy about it. He condemned the priesthood, praised the activity of collecting grains [uncha-vritti, see 7.11: 16 and 7.12: 17-19] and left his residence together with his daughter. King Vrishaparva understanding that his spiritual master acted in resistance, propitiated him by prostrating on the road with his head at his feet. The mighty son of Bhrigu, who could not be angry for longer than a minute, then said to his disciple: 'I cannot ignore her, please fulfill her desire, oh King!'

With his consent to settle matters [as demanded] Devayani expressed her desire: 'To whomever my father gives me away in marriage, she [S'armishthha] must accompany me as my follower.'

Sharmishthha together with her friends by the father being given to Devayani understood the danger [of the acarya leaving] and also what the benefit was of his respectability, and therefore served her with the thousands of other women as a servant. When he gave his daughter [Devayani] to [Yayati] the descendant of Nahusha, Shukracarya said to him: 'Oh King, never ever allow Sharmishthha into your bed!'

Sharmishthha [however] who [later on] saw that Ushana's daughter had nice children, asked him at an opportune moment in a secluded place, whether he as the husband of her girlfriend would not like her as a faithful wife. Remembering what Shukra had said when he gave his advice for a situation like this, he who by the princess was requested to have children with her, then decided from his sense of duty and respect for the principles of religion, to give in to her [compare B.G. 7: 11]. Devayani gave birth to Yadu and Turvasu. Sharmishthha, the daughter of Vrishaparva, had Druhyu, Anu and Puru. When Devayani was informed that Sharmishthha was pregnant of her protector she boiling with anger proudly returned to her father's house. Following his sweetheart, his great desire, he tried to appease her with meaningful words and massaging her feet, but it was in vain. Shukra said angrily to him: 'You womanizing, deceitful man. May you oh fool, be afflicted by the disfigurement of the human body because of age.'

Shri Yayati said: 'As yet my lust with your daughter has not been satisfied, oh brahmin!'

[Shukra replied:] 'For as long as you are lusty you may exchange your old age for the youth of someone willing to consent to that.'

He thus got the opportunity to change places with his eldest son. He asked him: 'Oh Yadu, beloved son, please give me your youth in exchange for this old age! I am not yet satisfied in my sensual needs, my dear son. When you take upon yourself the burden of old age that your grandfather [Shukra] wished me, I can enjoy life a few years more [see also 7.5: 30].'

Shri Yadu said: 'I am not happy to accept your old age while you remain youthful. A person [like me] will never become free from material desires without [having had] the experience of bodily happiness [see also 7.12: 9-11 and B.G. 4: 13]!'

The father requested Turvasu, Druhyu and Anu oh son of Bharata, but they refused to accept because they, not conversant with the true nature [of the soul], took their temporality for something permanent. He asked Puru who was younger but better qualified. He said to him: 'You my dear son, would not turn me down like your older brothers did, would you?'

Shri Puru said: 'Who, oh King, oh best one among the people, gets in this world the chance to repay his father for the body that he gave? It is by his mercy that one may enjoy a higher life. He who acts in respect of his father's wishes is the best one, he who acts on his command is but mediocre and low-class is he who acts irreverently but he who defies his father's words is like his stool.'

Puru was thus pleased to accept the burden of old age of his father while his father was pleased with the satisfaction of his youthful desires that he asked for, oh ruler of man. He [Yayati] as the master of the seven continents ruled like a father over his subjects and enjoyed to his heart's content the material happiness without any frustration of his senses. Devayani on top of that provided her beloved husband as his sweetheart in private twenty-four hours a day divine bliss with all of her body, mind and words and everything that belongs to it. With different rituals worshiping Hari, the Personality of Sacrifice, the Godhead and Reservoir of all Divinity and Object of all Vedic knowledge, Yayati was of an abundant charity. Then the complete of the in Himself created world appears - just like a mass of clouds in the sky - as a diversity of [life] forms and then again it is of no manifestation, like it concerned a creation of the mind as in a dream [see also B.G. 7: 24-25]. Placing only Him in his heart, Lord Vasudeva, the One Narayana who exists within each but is visible to no one, he free from desire worshiped the Supreme Master. Thus for a thousand years with his mind and his five senses being engaged in a notion of worldly happiness he, the master of the entire world, because of his devious senses nevertheless could not find satisfaction.'

*: Swami Prabhupada explains: 'Kaca, the son of the learned celestial priest Brihaspati, had been a student of Shukracarya, from whom he had learned the art of reviving a man who has died untimely. This art, called mrita-sanjivani, was especially used during wartime. When there was a war, soldiers would certainly die untimely, but if a soldier's body was intact, he could be brought to life again by this art of mrita-sanjivani. This art was known to Shukracarya and many others, and Kaca, the son of Brihaspati, became Shukracarya's student to learn it. Devayani desired to have Kaca as her husband, but Kaca, out of regard for Shukracarya, looked upon the guru's daughter as a respectable superior and therefore refused to marry her. Devayani angrily cursed Kaca by saying that although he had learned the art of mrita-sanjivani from her father, it would be useless. When cursed in this way, Kaca retaliated by cursing Devayani never to have a husband who was a brahmana.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 19:

King Yayati Achieves Liberation: the Goats of Lust

Shri Shuka said: 'He [Yayati] who being moved by lust thus was ruled by women, for the sake of his well-being acted against it with intelligence. In resignation he narrated the following story to his wife [Devayani].

'Oh daughter of Shukra, please listen to this tale about someone behaving like me in this world, someone sticking to his class and because of whom the sober ones of the forest [they who retired] are repentant. There was a goat in the forest searching for some food for his cherished self. He happened to meet a she-goat that as a consequence of her own actions had fallen into a well. Motivated for lust the he-goat thought of a way to free her. With the tip of his horns he then engaged in digging into the earth around the well. - She thus got out of the well. The he-goat thought she had nice hips and she from her side fancied him as a sexual partner too, just as all the other she-goats did that were looking on. Stout, with a nice beard being a first class seed donor and master lover, that he-goat, the number one goat of them all, forgot himself completely like someone haunted. As the only male enjoying the great number of them, he was always overwhelmed by his lusts [compare 6.5: 6-20]. When the she-goat he had freed from the well saw him, her beloved, engaged in delighting with another one, she could not tolerate that. She considered him a lusty, cruel-hearted pretender, a friend to the occasion who is only interested in sensual matters. Aggrieved she gave him up to return to her former master. Controlled by her the he-goat in pain followed her miserably and tried to pacify her on the road with utterances that goats are used to practice, but he could not satisfy her. Some brahmin who was the master of the she-goat angrily cut off the he-goat's dangling testicles. Later on though the expert yogi reattached them out of self-interest.

Oh dearest wife, the he-goat with his testicles restored, for many, many years enjoyed the she-goat he had saved from the well, but up to the present day his lusty desires are not satisfied. I am a poor miser just like that. In the company of you with your beautiful eyebrows I am tied in love and I could as yet, bewildered as I am by your outer appearance, [therefore] not be of self-realisation [compare 3.30: 6-12, 4.25: 56, 4.28: 17, 5.4: 18, 7.14 and 8.16: 9]. The mind of someone who is a victim of lust cannot find satisfaction in all the food grains, barley, gold, animals and women of this world. The lust of the lusty will never ever be pacified by enjoyment, it will just like a fire that again and again is fed with butter only increase. When someone does not want to teach anybody a lesson, nor goes at the detriment of any living being, for such a person who is of an equal vision towards all, all directions will appear equally happy [see also B.G. 2: 56, 2: 71, & 4: 10]. The desire that is so difficult to forsake for ignorant people, that root cause of all tribulation that is not so quickly overcome, should be given up by the one who seeks happiness. One should not [even] be seated indiscriminately with one's mother, with one's sister or one's daughter, because the senses in combination are so very strong that they even will agitate the most learned one. Even though I for a thousand years without interruption enjoyed the gratification of my senses, that desire still develops constantly. I will therefore give up on these desires and fix my mind upon the Absolute Truth. Free from duality and without falsely identifying myself, I [thus] will wander with the [freedom of the] animals in nature. When one perceives [one's desires] and listens [to them] one should know them to be of a temporary nature. One should not give it any further thought or strive for it. He who is mindful of the fact that they lead to the prolongation of a worldly existence and to forgetfulness about the real self, is a self-realised soul [see also B.G. 2: 13].'

'After the son of Nahusha had said this to his wife, he being freed from desires accepted his old age and gave Puru his youth back [see 9.18: 45]. He made [of his other, faithful sons] Druhyu king over the southeastern direction, Yadu over the southern side, Turvasu over the western part and Anu over the north. The entire planet's riches and wealth he placed under the control of Puru as the most admirable one of all the citizens. He crowned him emperor over his elder brothers and thus having arranged his affairs he left for the forest. All those years he with the six of his ways of engagement [his senses and mind] without interruption had enjoyed life. That he all gave up in a single moment [see also 2.4: 18], just like a bird that leaves its nest when its wings have grown. Doing this he was instantly freed from all his attachments and was, now that he derived from his original self, free from [the influence of] the three modes [see also 1.2: 17]. Pure in his transcendence he achieved the Absolute Truth of Vasudeva that was his destination as a confident associate of the Supreme Lord. When Devayani heard the story [about the he-goat and his she-goats] that for a laugh was presented in the exchange of love between husband and wife, she saw that it referred to [her] self-realisation. 7-2 She understood that living with friends and relatives who are all subjected to the control of the rigid laws of nature [Time], is alike associating with travelers at a water place that [according to one's karma] was created by the Lord's illusory potency. The daughter of Shukracarya gave up all her attachments in this dreamlike world, fixed her mind fully on Lord Krishna and shook off the worries [of both the gross and the subtle nature; the linga] of her self. I offer You my obeisances, oh Supreme Lord Vasudeva, Creator of All who reside in all beings and abodes. My respects for You who in perfect peace are the Greatest of All!'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 20:

The Dynasty of Puru up to Bharata

The son of Vyasadeva said: 'I shall now describe the dynasty of Puru in which you were born, oh son of Bharata. From the saintly kings of that dynasty many brahmin dynasties originated. From Puru the son Janamejaya appeared, Pracinvan was his son and from him there was Pravira from whom next Manusyu appeared. He in his turn fathered Carupada. The son appearing from him was Sudyu who had a son named Bahugava. From Bahugava Samyati was born who had a son named Ahamyati. His son was called Raudras'va. - Just like the ten senses [of action and perception] originated

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from the primal force of the universal self, from an Apsara girl known as Ghritaci ten sons were born: Riteyu, Kaksheyu, Sthandileyu, Kriteyuka, Jaleyu, Sannateyu, Dharmeyu, Satyeyu, Vrateyu and Vaneyu who was the youngest. From Riteyu a son named Rantinava appeared and his three sons, oh ruler of man, were Sumati, Dhruva and Apratiratha. Kanva was Apratiratha's son. From him there was Medhatithi from whom there were Praskanna and others who were all twice-born souls [brahmins]. From Sumati there was Rebhi and his son was called Dushmanta.

- Dushmanta one day went hunting and arrived at the ashrama of Kanva. There he saw a woman sitting who radiated with a beauty like that of the goddess of fortune. Seeing her he immediately felt himself strongly drawn towards this manifestation of divine feminine beauty. In the company of some of his soldiers he then addressed that finest one of all ladies. Exhilarated by her presence he was relieved of the fatigue of his hunting excursion. Driven by lusty feelings, he smilingly asked with pleasing words: 'Who are you, oh lotus petal-eyed lady? Who do you belong to, oh beauty of my heart and what are your intentions, all by yourself being here in the forest? You appear to be of royal blood. You can count on it that I as a descendant of Puru oh raving beauty, never outside of the dharma think of enjoying whatever!'

Shri Shakuntala said: 'I was born from Vis'vamitra and was by Menaka [my mother] left behind in this forest. Kanva the mighty saint, knows everything about it! Oh my hero, what can I do for you? Please come and sit next to me, oh lotus eyed one, accept my humble service. Please eat from the nivara ['of a virgin'] rice that I have to offer and stay here if you want to.'

Shri Dushmanta answered: 'This, oh beautiful eyebrows, befits your position of being born in the family of Vis'vamitra. It is indeed so that the daughters of a royal family personally choose a suitable husband.'

The king well aware of what would befit the time and place, said yes and then married according to the rules of dharma with Shakuntala in the gandharva way [of mutual consent]. Unerring in his virility the saintly king deposited his semen in the queen and turned back to his residence in the morning. In due course of time she then gave birth to a son. Kanva Muni executed in the forest the prescribed ceremonies for the child. The boy later on became known for having captured with great force a lion and having played with it. [His mother Shakuntala,] the best of women, took him who as a partial expansion of the Lord was of an insurmountable strength, with her to her husband [Dushmanta]. When the king did not accept them as his wife and son, while they had done nothing wrong, for everyone to hear there was a loud sound from the sky. An incorporeal voice declared: 'The mother is like a bellows to the son of the father who begot him. He therefore belongs to the father. Just take care of your son, oh Dushmanta and do not offend Shakuntala! Oh King, the son saves him who discharged the semen from the punishment of Yamaraja [death]. Shakuntala who said that you are the one who fathered the child has spoken the truth.'

After his father had passed away, the son became an emperor of great fame and glory who was celebrated as a partial representation of the Lord on earth. He carried the mark of the cakra on his right hand and the mark of the lotus whorl on the soles of his feet. Because he was of worship with a grand ritualistic ceremony he received the position as the lord and master over the entire world. He used fifty-five horses for performing sacrifices from the mouth of the Ganges up to its source. For that purpose he appointed the son of Mamata as the priest. In the same way he proceeded at the bank of the Yamuna where he bound [the as'vamedha plate of honour to] seventy-eight horses of sacrifice. He who was called Bharata, the son of Dushmanta, established his fire of sacrifice in the best possible way, gave away a fortune in charity and divided a badva [13.084] cows among the brahmins present. The son of Dushmanta who astonished all the kings by bringing together for these yajnas three-thousand three-hundred horses, [thus] surpassed the opulence of the demigods and gained [the favor of] the spiritual master [the Lord]. During the sacrifice at Mashnara he in charity donated fourteen lakhs of fine black elephants with the whitest tusks, that were covered with golden ornaments. Just as one cannot seize the heavenly worlds by the strength of one's arms, it is impossible for any ruler in the past or the future to parallel the exalted activities of Bharata. When he conquered the directions he killed all the barbarian rulers who opposed the brahminical culture like the Kiratas [Africans], the Hunan [the Huns], the Yavanas [the Greek] the Paundras [the wild men of south Bihar and Bengal], the Kankas [the Scandinavians?], the Khas'as [the Mongolians] and the Shakas [the Tartars]. In the past, when the Asuras had conquered the demigods and they returned to the lower worlds [Rasatala], all the wives and daughters of the godly ones had been transported to the nether worlds, but he brought all of them and their associates back to their original places. Sending his troops and circulating his instructions in all directions, for twenty-seven thousand years heaven and earth provided whatever his subjects desired. He the emperor, the ruler over all rulers and places, who was impeccable with the achievements of his power, the realm and the order of state, [in the end considered] all of his life false and thus he ceased to enjoy them. He, oh master of man, had three wives, daughters of Vidarbha who were most pleasing and suitable. But afraid that they would be rejected by him because their sons were not as perfect as their father, they killed them. Thus being frustrated in generating offspring he performed a marut-stoma sacrifice to beget sons. The Maruts thereupon presented him Bharadvaja.

Brihaspati [the scholar and priest of the demigods who was his father, in the past] felt attracted to his brother's pregnant wife and wanted to make love to her, but when the son in the womb forbade him to engage that way he cursed him and discharged his semen anyway. For Mamata [the mother], who out of fear to be abandoned by her husband [Utathya] wanted to get rid of the child, was at its name-giving ceremony the following verse pronounced by the God-conscious ones: 'Oh foolish woman, take care of this child that has two fathers.' [She thereupon said:] 'Oh Brihaspati, maintain it yourself although it has another father!' With both the parents having turned away from the child by saying these words, the child was consequently called Bharadvaja ['a burden for both']. Even though she by the God-conscious ones was encouraged to maintain the child, the mother still rejected it, for she thought that in the light of what had happened, it had no purpose in life. It was maintained by the Maruts who gave it [to Bharata] when the dynasty was unfulfilled.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 21:
The Dynasty of Bharata: the Story of Rantideva

The son of Vyasadeva said: 'From Manyu, the son of Vitatha [the name Bharadvaja carried because he was given to Bharata], there were the sons Brihatkshatra, Jaya, Mahavirya, Nara and Garga. Nara had a son called Sankriti. From Sankriti there were Guru and Rantideva, oh scion of Pandu. The glories of Rantideva are sung in this world and the next. - Subsisting on that what fate provided he [Rantideva] took pleasure in distributing to others whatever grain of food he had. Being very poor he with all his family members lived most soberly and had to suffer a lot. One morning when forty-eight days had passed and he even was deprived of drinking water, he happened to receive water and different foodstuffs prepared with ghee and milk. While the family was shaky because of the thirst and hunger they suffered, that very moment a brahmin guest arrived who also liked to eat. Rantideva conceived of the Lord as residing in each and everyone [see B.G. 5: 18] and thus he with great respect and faith gave him his share of the food. After the brahmin had eaten he departed. When he had divided the food for the family and was just about to eat, someone else arrived, a Shudra, whom he, thinking of the Lord, gave the food that was reserved for him, the king. After the Shudra had left yet another guest arrived who was surrounded by dogs. He said: 'Oh King, please provide me and my hungry dogs with food!'

He, the one in power, honoured them with his obeisances and with great respect gave all the food that was left over to the dogs and their master. Of the food only the drinking water remained and that too had to satisfy some outcaste who, arriving there when the king was about to drink, asked him: 'I am just lowborn, but please give me some water!'

Hearing the pitiable words of the exhausted man he, being deeply moved, compassionately spoke the following nectarean words: 'I do not desire to attain the greatness of the eight perfections of the Supreme Lord [siddhis] or the cessation of repeated births. I accept all hardship in my staying among all the embodied living beings so that they are freed from their unhappiness. Handing over my water to save this poor soul struggling for his life, I am freed from all the hunger, thirst, fatigue and shaking of my body, as also from all the poverty, distress, lamentation, depression and bewilderment!' Thus expressing himself that sober, kindhearted ruler gave the drinking water to the outcaste, even though he himself was on the verge of death because of his thirst. Then the controllers of the three worlds, the gods who grant those who desire the fruits all results, manifested themselves before him in their true identities because they [in their previous appearances in the form of the brahmin, the man with the dogs, the Shudra and the outcaste] all had been creations of the illusory energy of Vishnu. Being true to them as someone without material aspirations for any benefit or possessions [see B.G. 7: 20], he offered them his obeisances while he concentrated his mind upon Vasudeva, the Supreme Lord as the ultimate goal. Because he who had nothing in mind but being of service focussed his consciousness on the Supreme Controller, oh King, the illusory energy of the [three] material qualities meant nothing more to him than a dream [see also B.G. 7: 14 and 9: 34]. All the ones associated with his lead, all the followers of Rantideva, became first-class [bhakti] yogis fully devoted to Lord Narayana [see also B.G. 6: 47].

From Garga [see verse 1] there was Shini and his son was Gargya from whom despite his kshatriya birth an entire line of brahmins originated. From Mahavirya there was Duritakshaya whose sons were named Trayyaruni, Kavi and Pushkararuni. They all acquired in this line the position of brahmins. Brihatkshatra's son Hasti founded the city of Hastinapura [now Delhi]. Ajamidha, Dvimidha and Purumidha became the sons of Hasti. Ajamidha's descendants were headed by Priyamedha. They were all brahmins. From Ajamidha there was Brihadishu, his son was Brihaddhanu, Brihatkaya succeeded him and he fathered a son called Jayadratha. His son was Vis'ada from whom Syenajit was born. Ruciras'va, Dridhahanu, Kas'ya and Vatsa were the sons of Syenajit. Ruciras'va's son was Para and from him Prithusena and Nipa were born. Nipa generated hundred sons. He had Brahmadatta with his wife Kritvi, who was the daughter of Shuka [not the one speaking this Bhagavatam]. That son was a yogi who with his wife Sarasvati produced a son called Vishvaksena. By him [Vishvaksena] was according to the instruction of the rishi Jaigishavya a description of yoga [a so-called tantra] compiled. He begot a son called Udaksena who became the father of Bhallatha. These descendants were called the Brihadishus. Yavinara the son of Dvimidha had a son called Kritiman. He fathered a memorable son called Satyadhriti whose son Dridhanemi was the father of Supars'va. 8-2 Supars'va had Sumati whose son Sannatiman had one called Kriti. He received from Lord Brahma the mystic power and taught six samhitas of Pracyasama verses [from the Sama Veda]. From him Nipa could take his birth who brought Udgrayudha into the world. Udgrayudha's son was called Kshemya and from him next Suvira appeared. Suvira then had the son Ripunjaya. His son was named Bahuratha. Purumidha [the younger brother of Dvimidha] was without a son. Ajamidha had with his wife Nalini the son Nila who in his turn begot Shanti. 1-3 Shanti's son Sus'anti had the son Puruja. Arka was his son and from him Bharmyas'va was born. He had five sons: Mudgala, the eldest one, Yavinara, Brihadvis'va, Kampilla and Sanjaya. He told them: 'My sons, since you all have the competence, please take care of the five states.' They thus received the name the Pancalas [after the five states]. From Mudgala there was a line consisting of brahmins that was known as Maudgalya. Mudgala, Bharmyas'va's son was the father of a non-identical twin, one male and one female. The boy was called Divodasa and the girl was named Ahalya. Shatananda was born from her marriage with Gautama [these are names that are also mentioned in the Ramayana]. From him there was a son called Satyadhriti, who was an expert in archery. Sharadvan, who was his son, gave life to a male and female child. Simply by seeing Urvasi his semen had fallen on a clump of Shara grass. The children were a great blessing. During a hunt wandering around king Shantanu saw the twin. Out of compassion he then took them home. The boy he called Kripa and the girl Kripi. She later became Dronacarya's wife.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 22:
The Descendants of Ajamidha: the Pandavas and Kauravas

Shri Shuka said: 'Mitrayu was born from Divodasa and his sons, oh protector of man, were Cyavana, Sudasa, Sahadeva and Somaka. Somaka next was the father of Jantu. From him there were a hundred sons and Prishata was the youngest of them. Prishata begot Drupada who was opulent in every way. Draupadi [the wife of the Pandavas] was fathered by Drupada. His sons were headed by Dhrishthadyumna who begot Dhrishthaketu. All these descendants of Bharmyas'va are known as the Pancalas.

- Riksha was another son begotten by Ajamidha. He fathered Samvarana who with his wife Tapati, the daughter of the sun god, gave birth to Kuru [see family-tree], the king of Kurukshetra. Parikshi, Sudhanu, Jahnu and Nishadha were the sons of Kuru. Sudhanu fathered Suhotra and he begot [another] Cyavana. Kriti was born from his loins. Upariacara Vasu was born because of Kriti. His sons who were headed by Brihadratha were Kus'amba, Matsya, Pratyagra, Cedipa and others. They all ruled the state of Cedi. Brihadratha gave life to Kus'agra who begot Rishabha. He in his turn fathered Satyahita who had a son called Pushpavan whose son was Jahu. Brihadratha begot with a second wife he had a son in two halves who, because the mother rejected them, by Jara [the daughter of Time, see also 4.27: 19] playfully were united while she said: 'Come alive, come alive'. Thus a son called Jarasandha ['Jara's hermaphrodite'] was born [who later became a vital enemy of Lord Krishna]. He [Jarasandha] gave life to Sahadeva whose son Somapi fathered Shrutas'rava. Parikshi [another son of Kuru] had no children while Jahnu begot a son named Suratha. From him there was Viduratha who brought Sarvabauma into the world. He had Jayasena and his son Radhika gave life to Ayutayu. Ayutayu became the father of Akrodhana who had a son named Devatithi. He brought Riksha into the world who had a son called Dilipa and because of him the son Pratipa appeared. 2-1 From him the sons Devapi, Shantanu and Bahlika appeared. It was Devapi the eldest one, who rejected his father's realm and left for the forest so that Shantanu became the king. He in a previous life had been the celebrated Mahabhisha. Whomever was touched by him with his hands attained youth, however old that person would be. 4-1 Because one primarily by the

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touch of his hands was purified, he was known as Shantanu. When Indra, the king of heaven, for twelve years had not showered any rain in his kingdom, his brahmins told him: 'You are at fault for preceding your older brother [Devapi] in enjoying the kingdom [and are thus a so-called parivetta]. For the full development of your homestead and kingdom, immediately return the realm to him.'

Thus being advised by the brahmins he asked Devapi to take charge of the kingdom, but from what he replied became clear that he had given up on the Vedas. That had happened because the brahmins in the past, on the instigation of Shantanu's minister, had prompted him with words that went against the Vedic instructions. When that was said [and Shantanu finally accepted the realm] the demigod showered the rains. Devapi thereupon sought his refuge in the village of Kalapa where he took up the practice of yoga [in which he is still engaged today]. 8-1 After the Soma dynasty in Kali Yuga has disappeared, it will [by him] at the beginning of the next one, Satya Yuga, be reestablished. Bahlika [S'antanu's brother] begot Somadatta and from him there were Bhuri, Bhuris'rava and Shala. Shantanu begot in his wife Ganga the self-realised great devotee and scholar Bhishma [see also 1.9], who is the best defender of the dharma. By him, the foremost of all warriors, even Parashurama - to his own satisfaction - was defeated in a fight [*]. From the womb of [Satyavati] the daughter of Dasa [a fisherman **] Shantanu brought about the son Citrangada. 1-2 Citrangada was killed by a Gandharva carrying the same name. Vicitravirya was a younger brother of Citrangada. The sage Paras'ara gave with his mother [Satyavati, previous to her marriage to Shantanu] life to a direct expansion of the Lord, a great muni who protected the Vedas: Krishna Dvaipayana Vyasadeva [also called Badarayana], from whom I [Shukadeva] was born. With him I studied this [Bhagavatam] thoroughly. He, the [partial] incarnation of the Lord, rejected his pupils Paila and others. But me, his son who was far removed from sense gratification, he taught this supreme literature of confidential knowledge. Vicitravirya later on married the two daughters of Kas'iraja called Ambika and Ambalika who by force were brought from the arena of selection. But because he was too attached in his heart to the both of them he died of an infection with tuberculosis. With no offspring from the half-brother, Vyasadeva was instructed by [in devarena sutotpatti, see footnote 9.6] his mother [Satyavati] to father sons: Dhritarashthra, Pandu [with respectively Ambika and Ambalika] and also a son named Vidura [whom he begot with Vicitravirya's maidservant, see also 1: 13]. From Gandhari the wife of Dhritarashthra a hundred sons were born, oh protector of man. Duryodhana was the eldest. There was also a daughter called Duhs'ala.

Pandu had to restrain his sexual life because of a curse, and therefore the great [Pandava] heroes, the three sons [Bhima, Arjuna] headed by Yudhishthhira were begotten with [his wife] Kunti by Dharma [the god of piety], Anila [the god of the wind] and Indra [not mentioning Karna who was brought forth by the sun god]. Nakula and Sahadeva were begotten by the two As'vins [Nasatya and Dasra] in the womb of Madri. From these five brothers [with Draupadi] five sons were born: your uncles. Yudhishthhira had the son Prativindhya, Bhima had Shrutasena, from Arjuna came Shrutakirti and from Nakula Shatanika appeared. 0-3 Sahadeva, oh King, had Shrutakarma. Yudhishthhira furthermore had the son Devaka with Pauravi and Bhima had Ghathotkaca with Hidimba and Sarvagata with Kali. Sahadeva fathered the son Suhotra with Vijaya, the daughter of the Himalayan king [Parvati]. Nakula had with Karenumati a son named Naramitra and Arjuna begot the son Iravan together with Ulupi [a Naga daughter] and the son Babhruvahana with the princess of Manipura. Even though he was Arjuna's son Abhruvahana was adopted by the father-in-law [because of a condition he set for the marriage].

Your father Abhimanyu was born from Subhadra [Krishna's sister wed to Arjuna]. He was a great hero who defeated all Atirathas ['those who can oppose a thousand charioteers']. You have taken birth from Uttara because of him. With the annihilation of the Kuru dynasty Ashvatthama also tried to put you to death with the heat of the Brahmastra weapon, but by the mercy of Lord Krishna you were saved from ending that way [see 1.8]. Your sons my best one, with Janamejaya first and then Shrutasena, Bhimasena and Ugrasena, are all greatly powerful. When Janamejaya learns that you have died because of Takshaka, he in great anger will offer all snakes during a fire sacrifice. After having conquered each and every part of the world he will appoint Tura, the son of Kalasha, for his priest and be of sacrifice in as'vamedha offerings for which he will be celebrated as Turuga-medhashath ['performer of many horse-sacrifices']. Shatanika, his son, will under Yajnavalkya thoroughly study the three Vedas as also the way to put the spiritual knowledge into practice [with ceremonies]. He will realise the military art [from Kripacarya] and with Shaunaka he will arrive at the realisation of the transcendental truth. His son Sahasranika will have one carrying the name As'vamedhaja who will beget Asimakrishna who will have a son called Nemicakra. With Hastinapura flooded by the river [the Ganges], he [Nemicakra] from sheer necessity will live at Kaus'ambi, whereafter from his son called Citraratha there will be the son Shuciratha. From him there will also be a son, Vrishthiman, because of whom next Sushena will take his birth, an emperor. His son Sunitha will have one called Nricakshu and he will father Sukhinala. Pariplava will be his son and from Sunaya succeeding him Medhavi will appear. Nripanjaya will be his son and he will beget Durva from whose loins Timi will take birth. From Timi the son Brihadratha will appear from whose son Sudasa the son Shatanika will be given life. Shatanika will have a son called Durdamana and his son will be Mahinara. 4-4 Dandapani fathered by him, will give life to Nimi because of whom Kshemaka will take birth. With Kshemaka closing the row as the monarch this dynasty will end, this source of brahmins and kshatriyas that is respected by the seers and the godly ones in Kali Yuga. In the future there will be next the kings of Magadha. Let me tell you about them.

Sahadeva [the son of Jarasandha] will beget the son Marjari. Shrutas'rava will be his son, Yutayu will be his successor and his son Niramitra will father Sunakshatra. Sunakshatra will be the father of Brihatsena and his son Karmajit will have the son Sutanjaya from whose loins Vipra will be born who will give life to a son called Shuci. Kshema who is born thereafter will have the son Suvrata from whom Dharmasutra will appear. His son Sama will beget Dyumatsena who is succeeded by Sumati from whose loins Subala will take birth. From Sunitha [Subala's son] Satyajit will be brought into the world and from his son Vis'vajit there will be a son called Ripunjaya. The line of Brihadratha in which all these kings are born will last a thousand years.'

(Picture: family tree from Kuru up to the Pandavas)

*: The fight between Parashurama and Bhishmadeva concerns three daughters of Kas'iraja - Ambika, Ambalika and Amba - who were forcibly abducted by Bhishmadeva on behalf of his brother Vicitravirya. Amba thought that Bhishmadeva would marry her and became attached to him, but Bhishmadeva refused to marry her for he had taken the vow of brahmacarya. Amba therefore approached Bhishmadeva's military spiritual master, Parashurama, who instructed Bhishma to marry her. Bhishmadeva refused and therefore Parashurama fought with him to force him to accept the marriage. But Parashurama was defeated and he was pleased with Bhishma.

**: Satyavati was actually the daughter of Uparicara Vasu from the womb of a fisherwoman known as Matsyagarbha. Later on Satyavati was raised by a fisherman.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 23:

The Dynasties of the Sons of Yayati: the Appearance of Lord Krishna

Shri Shuka said: 'From Anu [the fourth son of Yayati, see 9.17, 9.18 & 9.19] there were the three sons Sabhanara, Cakshu and Pareshnu. From Sabhanara thereafter Kalanara was born and from him followed a son called Srinjaya. From Janamejaya [succeeding him] there was a son Mahas'ala who fathered Mahamana. Us'inara and Titikshu were the two sons of Mahamana. - Shibi, Vara, Krimi and Daksha were the four sons fathered by Us'inara. Vrishadarbha, Sudhira, Madra and the self-realised Kekaya were the four sons who took birth from the loins of Shibi. Titikshu had one called Rushadratha from whom Homa was born who begot Sutapa. Bali was Sutapa's son. Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Suhma, Pundra and Odra were known as the sons who were born from the seed of Dirghatama impregnating the wife of the great conqueror Bali. It were their names that were given to the six states they created in the east [of India]. Anga gave life to Khalapana and from him thereafter Diviratha appeared. -1 From his son Dharmaratha, Citraratha was born who was celebrated as Romapada. Romapada had no children and thus his friend Das'aratha offered him Shanta, his own daughter [for adoption]. She then married with Rishyas'ringa [a hermit who lived in the forest, see also 8.13: 15-16]. Because the god [Indra] did not shower any rains Rishyas'ringa with the help of dancing and singing courtesans was drawn with music and bewildered with embraces and worship. On behalf of king Das'aratha who had no sons, he [Rishyas'ringa] held a marutvan [son giving] sacrifice so that he would get children [as well as the rain, see B.G. 3: 14]. He who was without sons thus got offspring [four sons]. Romapada got the son Caturanga who gave life to Prithulaksha. Brihadratha, Brihatkarma and Brihadbhanu were his sons. From the eldest one [Brihadratha] Brihanmana appeared from whom there was a son named Jayadratha. His son Vijaya was born from the womb of Sambhuti. He next had the son Dhriti and from him Dhritavrata took his birth. Dhritavrata fathered Satkarma who gave life to the son Adhiratha. One day enjoying at the bank of the Ganges Adhiratha found a baby in a basket. It was abandoned by Kunti because it was born before she was married. Being sonless he adopted it as his son [Karna]. Oh master of the universe, Vrishasena was Karna's son. From Druhyu [Yayati's third son] there was a son called Babhru who next begot Setu. Arabdha who was fathered by him, had the son Gandhara who begot Dharma. He in his turn had the son Dhrita and from Dhrita there was the son Durmada who gave life to the son Praceta who had a hundred sons. Those kings [called the Pracetas] accepted the jurisdiction over the north, the uncivilised areas of Mlecchades'a [of the barbarians]. Turvasu [Yayati's second son] had the son Vahni and he fathered Bharga who begot the son Bhanuman. His son Tribhanu, also had one. He was the magnanimous Karandhama. His son was called Maruta. He had no sons and adopted a Paurava [Dushmanta, see also 9.20: 7] as his son. 8-1 Dushmanta turned back to his clan [the Purus] because he aspired the throne.

From Yayati's first son Yadu there was a dynasty, oh best of the humans, that I will now describe to you. Oh ruler of man, to hear about the Yadu dynasty is something highly pious that vanquishes all sin[-ful reactions] in human society. Anyone simply hearing this is freed from all [the consequences of his] sin. 0-2 The Supreme Lord [Krishna], the Supersoul, descended in this dynasty looking just like a human being [see also 1.2: 11]. Yadu fathered four sons who carried the names Sahasrajit, Kroshtha, Nala and Ripu. Shatajit, the one first born, begot the sons Mahahaya, Renuhaya and Haihaya. Dharma was the son of Haihaya and his son Netra was the father of Kunti [not Kunti]. Sohanji was the son of Kunti and he begot Mahishman who had the son Bhadrasenaka. Durmada and Dhanaka were the sons begotten by Bhadrasena and Dhanaka gave life to the sons Kritavirya, Kritagni, Kritavarma and Kritauja. From Kritavirya there was Arjuna [Kartaviryarjuna] who became emperor over the seven continents. From Lord Dattatreya, an [ams'a-] incarnation of the Supreme Personality, he obtained all the great qualities [the eight siddhis] of yoga [see also 9.15, 10.73 & 12.3]. No one on earth could equal Kartavirya's qualities of sacrifice, charity, austerity, mystic potency, education, strength and mercy. [Under his rule] for eighty-five thousand years the six forms of pleasure [as derived from the senses and the mind] were enjoyed with an undiminished strength, continuous opulence and unfailing memory. In the fight [against Parashurama] only five of his thousands of sons remained alive: Jayadhvaja, Shurasena, Vrishabha, Madhu and Urjita. Jayadhvaja begot the son Talajangha who next gave life to a hundred sons. They formed a clan of kshatriyas known as the Talajanghas who were destroyed by the great power [that Maharaja Sagara] received from sage Aurva [see 9.8: 3-7]. Talajangha's eldest son Vitihotra, fathered the son Madhu who [also] had a hundred sons. From the well-known eldest one called Vrishni there was the dynasty [carrying that name].

Oh King, the Yadava, Madhava and Vrishni dynasties [of Lord Krishna's ancestors] received their names from their leading personalities. Yadu's son Kroshtha begot a son called Vrijinavan. His son was Svahita who next gave life to the son Vishadgu who became the father of Citraratha. Citraratha gave life to Shas'abindu, a great yogi who became a highly fortunate personality who, undefeated as an emperor, enjoyed all the fourteen kinds of great riches [*]. Shas'abindu had ten thousand wives and in them the greatly famous one begot ten thousand lakhs [**] of sons [and grandsons]. From them we but know six as the foremost. Prithus'rava [one of them] had a son with the name Dharma. Ushana, his son, performed a hundred as'vamedha sacrifices. Ushana's son Rucaka had five sons named Purujit, Rukma, Rukmeshu, Prithu and Jyamagha. Please hear now about them. 5-3 Jyamagha was issueless but he nevertheless was afraid to accept another wife because of his wife Shaibya. He [one day] took a sensual girl from the camp of an enemy clan home whereupon Shaibya, who saw the girl sitting on her seat on the chariot, very angrily said to her husband: 'Who is this you have allowed to sit upon my seat on the chariot, you cheater?'

'She's your daughter-in-law' he then told her. Thereupon she with a smile said to her husband:

'I am sterile and have no co-wife, how can she then be my daughter-in-law?'

'My Queen', [he replied,] 'This girl will be very suitable for the son you will give birth to!'

With the demigods and ancestors consenting to that [after being propitiated by Jyamagha], Shaibya got pregnant and in due course of time gave birth to a son. That son was the auspicious, well-known Vidharba who later married with the virtuous girl that was accepted as the daughter-in-law.'

*: In the Markandeya Purana the fourteen kinds of great jewels of an emperor are described as follows: an elephant, a horse, a chariot, a wife, arrows, a reservoir of wealth, a garland, valuable costumes, trees, a spear, a noose, jewels, an umbrella, and regulative principles.

**: One lakh is one hundred thousand.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 24:

The Yadu and Vrishni Dynasties, Pritha and the Glory of Lord Krishna

Shri Shuka said: 'Vidarbha [the son of the Yadu Jyamagha] begot in her [the girl brought by his father, see 9.23: 35-38] the two sons Kus'a and Kratha and a third one called Romapada [also, see 9.23: 7-10] who was the favorite of the Vidarbha dynasty. Romapada's son was Babhru, he gave life

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to Kriti who begot Us'ika who had the son Cedi [see also 9.22: 6] from whom Damaghosha [the father of Shishupala] and other protectors of man were born. - From Kratha, there was a son born called Kunti who begot Vrishni from whom next Nirvriti took his birth. From his loins the one named Das'arha was born. He fathered a son called Vyoma who begot Jimuta. Jimuta had the son Vikriti who had a son called Bhimaratha and his son Navaratha had the son Das'aratha. [Das'aratha's son] Shakuni fathered Karambhi who begot a son called Devarata. His son was Devakshatra and from him there was Madhu who had the son Kuruvas'a who gave life to Anu. - From Puruhotra, the son of Anu, there was Ayu. Ayu fathered the son Satvata and he had seven sons called Bhajamana, Bhaji, Divya, Vrishni, Devavridha, Andhaka and Mahabhoja, oh worthy friend. From Bhajamana there were with one wife the sons Nimloci, Kinkana and Dhrishthi and with another wife there were also three sons: Shatajit, Sahasrajit and Ayutajit, oh master. From Devavridha there was the son Babhru and about the two of them two verses are recited by the elder generation. 'We heard from others and also saw with our own eyes the following: 0-1 Babhru was the best among the human beings and Devavridha equalled the demigods.' and 'Because of Babhru and Devavridha all the fourteen thousand sixty-five persons [who appeared after them] have achieved immortality.' In the dynasty of Mahabhoja who was a most pious soul, there were the rulers called the Bhoja kings.

From Vrishni [the son of Satvata] the sons Sumitra and Yudhajit appeared oh subduer of the enemies. Shini and Anamitra then took birth [from Yudhajit] and from Anamitra the son Nighna appeared. Nighna fathered the sons Satrajit and Prasena. Anamitra had another son who was also called Shini and Satyaka was his son. Yuyudhana was fathered by Satyaka. His son was Jaya and from him there was Kuni whose son was Yugandhara. Another son of Anamitra was Vrishni. Shvaphalka and Citraratha were the sons of Vrishni. Akrura was by Shvaphalka begotten in Gandini. He was the eldest of twelve other most celebrated sons: 6-1 Asanga, Sarameya, Mridura, Mriduvit, Giri, Dharmavriddha, Sukarma, Kshetropeksha, Arimardana; Shatrughna, Gandhamada and Pratibahu. Next to these twelve sons there was also a daughter called Sucara. From Akrura there were two sons named Devavan and Upadeva. Citraratha had many sons beginning with Prithu and Viduratha, who are known as the sons of Vrishni.

Kukura, Bhajamana, Shuci and Kambalabarhisha [were the sons of Andhaka, see 6-8]. Kukura had a son called Vahni from whom Viloma was born. His son Kapotaroma had the son Anu who had a friend called Tumburu [a famous Gandharva, a musician]. From Andhaka [Anu's son] there was Dundubhi who gave life to Avidyota who fathered a son called Punarvasu. 1-2 From him there were Ahuka and Ahuki, a son and a daughter. From Ahuka there were the sons Devaka and Ugrasena. Devaka had four sons: Devavan, Upadeva, Sudeva and Devavardhana. There were also seven daughters, oh protector of man: Shantideva, Upadeva, Shrideva, Devarakshita, Sahadeva, Devaki and Dhritadeva who was the eldest. Vasudeva [Krishna's father] married them. Kamsa, Sunama, Nyagrodha, Kanka, Shanku, Suhu, Rashthrapala, Dhrishthi and Tushthiman were the sons of Ugrasena. Ugrasena's daughters Kamsa, Kamsavati, Kanka, Shurabhu and Rashthrapalika became the wives of the younger brothers of Vasudeva.

Viduratha [the son of Citraratha] begot Shura who had a son called Bhajamana from whose loins Shini was born. Shini fathered the son called Bhoja and his son is also known as Hridika. His sons were called Devamidha, Shatadhanu and Kritavarma. From Devamidha there was [another son called] Shura who had a wife named Marisha. 8-3 With her he begot ten perfect sons: Vasudeva, Devabhaga, Devas'rava, Anaka, Srinjaya, Shyamaka, Kanka, Shamika, Vatsaka and Vrika. When Vasudeva took his birth he was welcomed by the godly ones with the sounds of kettledrums. He is also called Anakadundubhi ['kettle drum beaten'] because he provided the Lord's [Lord Krishna, Vasudeva] place of birth. Shura's daughters Pritha [the mother of Arjuna who was Krishna's nephew and friend] Shrutadeva, Shrutakirti, Shrutas'rava and Rajadhidevi were Vasudeva's five sisters. Father Shura gave Pritha to a childless friend called Kunti. [Therefore she is also known as Kunti].

She received from Durvasa, whom she had pleased, the knowledge to call for any demigod. Just to examine that potency she, the pious one, summoned the sun god. When she saw the godhead appearing before her, she was very surprised and said: 'Forgive me oh godhead, please return, I only engaged this way to check out what it would do!'

[The sun god answered:] 'In order not to be fruitless in your encounter with a godhead, I shall give you a son in your womb and arrange it so, oh my beauty, that you will not be defiled.'

With this promise the sun god made her pregnant and returned to his heavenly abode. Directly thereafter a child was born that looked like a second sun god. Afraid of what the people might think she greatly sorry gave up that child [Karna: 'into the ear'] by letting it go in the water of the river [in a basket, see also 9.23: 13]. Pandu, your pious and chivalrous great-grandfather, was the one who [later on] married her.

From the marriage of Shrutadeva [Kunti's sister] with Vriddhas'arma, the king of Karusha, the son Dantavakra was born. Dantavakra was the [incarnation of the] one who became a son of Diti [called Hiranyaksha], after having been cursed by the sages [by the Kumaras, see Jaya and Vijaya]. Dhrishthaketu, the king of Kekaya, married [Kunti's sister] Shrutakirti with whom he had five sons of whom Santardana was the eldest. Rajadhidevi married Jayasena and gave birth to two sons [named Vinda and Anuvinda]. Shrutas'rava married Damaghosha, the king of Cedi. Shishupala was her son. His birth I already described to you [7.1: 46; 7.10: 38]. Devabhaga [one of Vasudeva's brothers] had with the wife Kamsa [the sons] Citraketu and Brihadbala. Devas'rava fathered with Kamsavati the sons Suvira and Ishuman. Kanka together with his wife Kanka gave life to the sons Baka, Satyajit and Purujit. Srinjaya had together with Rashthrapalika sons of whom Vrisha and Durmarshana were the eldest. Shyamaka gave together with Shurabhumi life to the sons Harikes'a and Hiranyaksha. Vatsaka fathered Vrika and other sons together with his wife Mis'rakes'i, a girl of heaven. Vrika with his wife Durvakshi had sons that were headed by Taksha, Pushkara and Shala. Shamika together with Sudamani gave life to sons who were headed by Sumitra and Arjunapala. Anaka together with his wife Karnika brought two sons into the world who were called Ritadhama and Jaya.

The wives of Anakadundubhi [Vasudeva, see also 21-23] were first of all Devaki and then Pauravi, Rohini, Bhadra, Madira, Rocana and Ila. The sons who were begotten by Vasudeva in Rohini were Krita, the eldest son and Bala, Gada, Sarana, Durmada, Vipula, Dhruva and others. 7-4 Bhuta the eldest son, Subhadra, Bhadrabahu, Durmada and Bhadra belonged to the twelve sons Pauravi gave birth to. Nanda, Upananda, Kritaka, Shura and others were the sons of Madira, while Kaus'alya [Bhadra] gave birth to only one son named Kes'i. Vasudeva begot in Rocana the sons Hasta, Hemangada and others. In Ila he begot the sons with Uruvalka as the eldest one who were the leading personalities of the Yadu dynasty. Anakadundubhi begot in Dhritadeva one son: Viprishthha, while Pras'ama, Prasita and others were the sons he had with Shantideva, oh King. With Upadeva there were ten sons headed by Rajanya, Kalpa and Varsha. Vasu, Hamsa and Suvams'a and others were the six sons [Vasudeva had] with Shrideva. With his wife Devarakshita he also gave life to nine sons of whom Gada was the first one. With Sahadeva Vasudeva fathered eight sons. 3-5 These sons headed by Shruta and Pravara [or Pauvara], were of the same dharma as the Vasus [they were their incarnations]. Vasudeva begot in Devaki eight highly qualified sons: Kirtiman, Sushena, Bhadrasena, Riju, Sammardana, Bhadra and [Bhagavan] Sankarshana, the serpent controller [the ruler of the ego, see 3.26: 25]. The eighth one to appear from them was the Lord in person [Lord Krishna]. Subhadra [His sister], as you know, is your so greatly fortunate grandmother, oh King.

Whenever and wherever there is a decline in dharma and an increase of sinful activities, then, at that time, the Supreme Lord, the Supreme Master Hari, will manifest Himself [see B.G. 4: 7]. The Lord's compassion with the fallen souls is the only reason for Him to take birth and engage in action, oh great leader. He is the Original Master in the Beyond, the Witness who is the Supreme Self [see also B.G. 8: 4]. He mercifully endeavors to put an end to the deluding influence of material existence, to the maya of the [repeated] birth, maintenance and death of the living entities, so that they can attain their true self [so that they can return home, back to Godhead, see B.G. 15: 7 and 13: 20-24]. He strives to remove all the great military forces from this world by making the demoniac rulers who call themselves kings march against each other [see also 1.11: 35, 3.3 and 7.9: 43]. The activities that the Supreme Lord, the killer of Madhu, performed together with Sankarshana [Balarama], are beyond the comprehension of even the minds of the greatest controllers of enlightenment [Brahma and Shiva]. He displayed His pious activities just to show the devotees His mercy and dispel the darkness of the misery and lamentation of those who are born in this age of Kali. He whose ears are only once gladdened by the truth of hearing with folded hands about His glories - that are the best of all the holy places -, is liberated from his strong desire for karmic activities. 3-6 He who always endeavored with the assistance of the praiseworthy Kurus, Srinjayas, Pandavas, Bhojas, Vrishnis, Andhakas, Madhus, Shurasenas and Das'arhas, pleased human society with His affectionate smiles, His instructions, His magnanimous, heroic pastimes and His personal form that is so attractive in every respect. All men and women [of Vrindavana] who could never get enough of the sight of His face and forehead that are so brilliantly decorated with the shark-shaped earrings in His beautiful ears, they who imbibed His smiles of enjoyment that are a never ending festival to the eye, all got angry with their own eyes when they but blinked [see also B.G. 7: 3]! After taking birth He left His father's house and brought prosperity to Vraja [and Vrindavana]. He killed many demons there, He accepted thousands of fine women as His wives and fathered hundreds of sons. He, the Supreme Personality, was of worship with many sacrificial ceremonies and expanded with that respect for the Vedic rituals His glory among the people [the householders, see also B.G. 4: 8]. On the battlefield [of Kurukshetra] He put an end to the great burden on this earth of Kuru personalities by arranging a quarrel among them. Under His supervision all the profit-minded rulers were destroyed to the occasion of which He declared [to Arjuna] what in life would be the victory of conquering [of being devoted, see Gita]. Finally, after giving transcendental instructions to Uddhava [see 3.2, 3.4: 29, eleventh BOOK], He returned to His heavenly abode.'

(Picture: family tree from Pururava up to Krishna)

Thus the ninth BOOK of the Shrimad Bhagavatam ends named: Liberation.

BOOK 10: SUMMUM BONUM

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 1:

The Advent of Lord Krishna: Introduction

The honourable king said: 'Your Lordship extensively described both the dynasties of the kings of the sun god and the moon god as also the most wonderful deeds of their members [*]. Please describe to us the heroic acts of Lord Vishnu who [together with His plenary expansion Sankarshana in the form of Baladeva] appeared as an incarnation in [two] different parts in the line of the most dharmic and virtuous Yadus whom you also described to us oh best of the munis. Be so kind to tell us all about the actions of the Supreme Lord, the Soul of the Universe, the Cause of the Manifestation, after He descended in the Yadu dynasty. [By the disciplic succession or the parampara] listening to the pleasing vibrations of the glorification of the Lord Praised in the Verses, constitutes the proper medicine for the mind to be released from the material disease of its desires. Unless he is a killer of animals, a person by listening to and voicing such descriptions can become free [from the falsehood. See also B.G. 2: 44]. - My grandfathers [the Pandavas] in the past, when they on the battlefield were fighting with imperishable warriors like Devavrata [Bhishma] and other great commanders who were like timingilas [shark-eaters], crossed in the boat that He is as easily the so very difficult to overcome ocean of Kaurava soldiers as one steps over a calf's hoof print. This body of mine, the only seed left of the Kurus and Pandavas, was scorched by Ashvatthama's weapon when I resided in the womb of my mother, but was by Him holding the cakra in His hand protected because she sought His protection [1.8: 11 and 1.12: 7]. Oh man of learning, please describe the glories of the Lord who by His own potency appeared as a normal human being, of the Giver of Death and Eternal Life so one says, He who is manifesting in physical forms bound to Time, of Him the Original Person who is present both inside and outside of all the embodied beings. We know from you about Balarama, who is Sankarshana, that He is the son of Rohini. How could He without assuming another body be connected with the womb of Devaki? Why did Mukunda, the Supreme Lord move from the house of His father to [the house of Nanda in] Vraja and where did He, the Master of the devotees, live with His relatives? What did He do when He lived in Vraja and when He resided in the city of Mathura? Why did He, the killer of Kes'i, kill His uncle Kamsa, His mother's brother? Was that not something contrary to the scriptures? For how many years did He who assumed a human body, live with the Vrishnis and how long did He live in the city of the Yadus [Dvaraka]? How many wives did the Master have? Oh sage, you know everything. You are the one to tell us about Lord Krishna's activities. Please describe this all in detail to me so full of faith and surrender, and everything there is more to say. Now that I drink the nectar of the talks about the Lord that emanate from your lotus mouth, it is not even difficult to bear the hunger [of my fasting] or my forsaking of water.'

Suta [see 1.1] said: "Oh son of Bhrigu [Shaunaka], after the mighty son of Vyasa, the purest of all devotees, had heard his pious questions, the devotee of Vishnu paid his respects and began to describe the topics of Krishna that put an end to the darkness of Kali-yuga [compare 1.7: 2-8]. Shri Shuka said: 'Oh best of the wise kings, because of your lasting attraction for the stories about Vasudeva [Krishna as the son of Vasudeva], your intelligence has developed a firm determination. The way the world is purified by the [Ganges] water that flows from His toes [5.17: 1], the three persons of the speaker, the inquirer and the one attending are purified by questions concerning the stories about Vasudeva. When mother earth was overcome by an unbearable burden of countless numbers of conceited Daitya military forces [9.24: 67] and their so-called nobles, she [one day] went to Lord Brahma to take shelter. Assuming the form of a cow she

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greatly distressed weeping piteously appeared before the Almighty One [see also 1.16: 18] and submitted her complaints. Lord Brahma with understanding for her predicament thereupon together with her, the godly ones and the Three-Eyed One [Lord Shiva] approached the shore of the milk ocean [wherein Vishnu resides, see also 8.7: 41]. Reaching there they fully attentive with the help of the [Purusha-sukta] hymns worshiped the Original Person, the Supreme Personality, the God of Gods and Master of the Universe who takes care of all.

The lord of the Veda [Brahma] heard in his trance a vibration of words in the sky [see also 1.1: 1]. He said to the servants of the three worlds, the demigods: 'Hear further from me about the order of the Original Person, oh immortal souls. Execute these instructions immediately, do not delay. Before we came here the Personality of Godhead knew already about the distress of mother earth. He will expand Himself in the family of the Yadus by means of your good selves taking birth as His parts. Thus you should live on earth for as long as He, the Lord of Lords, needs to diminish the burden of the planet through His own potency of Time. The Supreme Lord, the original transcendental person, will personally appear in the house of Vasudeva and also wants all the wives of the demigods to take birth to please Him. Before Lord Vasudeva appears first the part of Hari known as the fully independent Ananta with the thousands of hoods [Sankarshana, see also 5.25] will appear [as Baladeva] with the desire to please [Him]. By the Master being ordered to appear and to manage His affairs [the grace of Vishnu known as the female incarnation of His potency called] Vishnu-maya will also appear together with all her different potencies, she who is as good as the Supreme Lord Himself and who captivates all the worlds [see also B.G. 9: 12 & 13].'

Shri Shuka said: 'After thus having pacified mother earth with sweet words and having informed the immortals, the supreme master of the founding fathers returned to his supreme abode. In the past Shurasena the king of the Yadus [see 9.23: 27] lived in the city of Mathura from where he ruled the different districts Mathura and Shurasena. Mathura, the city intimately connected to the Supreme Lord Hari, from that time on was the capital for all the kings of Yadu [see also the bhajan Savarana Shri Gaura Mahima]. It was in that place that one day the divine character of Vasudeva, after having married Devaki, together with his bride mounted a chariot to return home. Kamsa, the son of Ugrasena held, in order to please his sister for the occasion, the reins of the horses in the midst of thousands of golden chariots. 1-3 When she left home king Devaka, who was fond of his daughter, had given a dowry of four hundred elephants with golden garlands, ten thousand horses together with eighteen hundred chariots and a hundred young and attractive maidservants complete with jewelry. My dearest King, when they departed conch shells, bugles, drums and kettledrums vibrated in concert to wish the bride and bridegroom all the best. Being on their way, a voice from beyond addressed Kamsa who held the reins: 'The eighth child of this girl you are carrying with you, oh fool, will put an end to your life!'

Thus being addressed he, who mischievous and sinful in the past had degraded the Bhoja family, took up a sword against his sister and grabbed her by her hair with the intention to kill her. In order to pacify him who was ready to commit such a heinous and shameless crime, Vasudeva, that greatly fortunate soul addressed him. Shri Vasudeva said: 'A man of so many praiseworthy qualities, such a brilliant star among the heroic Bhojas like you, how can you kill your own sister, a woman, especially at the time of her marriage [see also 1.7: 53-54]? Death is included with the body that was born. Whether one dies today or in a hundred years, ultimately every living being is sure to die [see also B.G. 2: 27-28]. When the body has to return to the five elements the indweller automatically according to his own karma receives a new body upon abandoning the old one. The way a person as he walks changes from one foot to the other and the way a caterpillar on a plant [moves from one leaf to another], a living being likewise has to experience the consequences of his karma [see also B.G. 2: 22 and 2: 13]. Just as one in a dream, being endowed with the qualities of a material body, is subjected to that what the mind is thinking and one's consciousness is fully absorbed by that what one hears and sees, one is the same way forgetful in one's present body [about the body and karma acquired in a previous life, see also 4.29: 60-79 and 5.26]. The mind, impelled by fate and deliberation moves from one position to the next so that the embodied soul, after the demise of its physical frame, obtains a birth and arrives at a [new] body in accordance with the material quality [and the evolution] he was experiencing [B.G. 13: 22, 14: 14-15 and 6: 34-35]. The way the reflection of the luminaries, as one may observe them in water or other liquids that are moved by the wind, offers distortions in different shapes, the person, the living entity, likewise in the situation that was created by his own imaginative power in association with the gunas [the world with its changing qualities], gets bewildered depending his attachments [to different bodies or distortions of his form. See also 5.5: 4 and B.G. 9: 12-13, 12: 5]. Therefore everyone to the interest of his own welfare [and good rebirth] should not harm anybody, for the evil-doer has to live in fear for others himself [the 'golden rule']. This innocent woman, your younger sister, completely depends on you like she was your own daughter - do not kill her. She means good to you and she deserves your care and compassion!'

Shri Shuka said: 'He without pity, could by these attempts of good advise not be stopped or pacified oh son of Kuru, for he followed the course of the man-eaters [the Rakshasas]. Seeing his determination Vasudeva thought deeply about how he, with this immediate threat of death, could hold him back and thus he came up with the following alternative. [He thought:] 'An intelligent person should, as long as he is in control of his mental and physical faculties, ward off death, but when someone is faced with the inevitability of death, this rule does not apply. 9-5 If I promise to deliver my sons to this man of doom, I might set my innocent Devaki free. Perhaps I don't get any sons or maybe he will die beforehand. That might happen or the contrary. Who knows what fate has in store for us? That is difficult to say. Even though the threat remains hereafter, I, at least for the moment, may avert her death. When a piece of wood for some reason escapes from a fire, that is decided by providence and nothing else. Even so one cannot determine why a living being assumes or abandons a [particular] body.' After contemplating this way to the best of his ability, the God-fearing man paid the sinner his obeisances and submitted the proposal to him with the greatest attention. With a big lotus-like smile on his face but with anxiety and sorrow in his heart he then spoke to the cruel hearted, shameless man. Shri Vasudeva said: 'You have, according to what the voice from heaven vibrated, nothing to fear from Devaki indeed. Her sons gave rise to your anxiety and I'll deliver them therefore all to you.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Kamsa understanding the essence of what he said was for the time being stopped from killing his sister. With him more at ease, Vasudeva then was happy to come home [unharmed]. Thereafter in due course of time Devaki, the mother of all divinity [see 4.31: 14 and B.G. 10: 2], year after year gave birth to indeed [as said in 9.24: 53-55] eight sons and a daughter. Most afraid to break his promise Anakadundubhi [or Vasudeva, see 9.24: 28-31] with great pain handed his first born baby, Kirtiman, over to Kamsa. What would be too painful for a saint, on what would a sage depend, what would be forbidden to a bad person and what would for someone holding on to the soul be too hard to forsake? Oh King, when Kamsa saw that Vasudeva was equanimous, truthful and certain of himself, he satisfied about that with a grin on his face said: 'You can take this child back, my fear does not concern him, my death was predicted from the eighth pregnancy you have with your wife.'

'Very well' Anakadundubhi said, took his son back and left without attaching too much value to the words of that untruthful character lacking in self-control. 2-6 Oh scion of Bharata, beginning with Nanda [Krishna's foster father] all the inhabitants of Vraja, all the cowherds and their wives as also all the Vrishnis beginning with Vasudeva and Devaki and the Yadu women, in truth were gods from heaven indeed. And also the relatives, friends and well-wishers following Kamsa were of that nature [see also verse 22 and B.G. 6: 41-42]. This was all communicated to Kamsa by the all-powerful Narada [**] who paid him a visit in order to tell him that all the Daityas who burdened the earth were going to be killed [see verse 17 and also 9.24: 56]. 5-6 After the rishi had left Kamsa thought that all the Yadus were divine and that therefore any child born from Devaki could be Vishnu. He thus in fear of his own death arrested Vasudeva and Devaki, confined them at home in shackles and killed one after the other each of their newborn sons not knowing whether it would be the 'Never-born' Lord or not [***]. Kings like him who on this earth are driven by animalistic pleasures and greed, usually put to death mothers, fathers, brothers, friends or anyone else. He had understood [from Narada] that he in a previous life as the great Asura Kalanemi personally had been killed by Vishnu [see 8.10: 56]. Therefore he, born again in this world, became an enemy of the Yadu dynasty [that carried the blessings of Vishnu]. He, the almighty ruler subdued [and imprisoned] his own father Ugrasena, the king of the Yadus, Bhojas and Andhakas, so that he could enjoy the states of Shurasena all by himself.'

*: To recall what was described in the previous chapters: Lord Rama appeared in the surya-vams'a of Iksvaku or sun dynasty and Lord Krishna appeared in the candra-vams'a or moon dynasty.

**: An additional verse in this chapter of Shrimad Bhagavatam is accepted by the Madhvacarya-sampradaya, represented by Vijayadhvaja Tirtha. The verse is as follows:

atha kamsam upagamya
narado brahma-nandanah
ekantam upasangamya
vakyam etad uvaca ha

Word-for-word:

atha: in this way; kamsam: unto Kamsa; upagamya: after going; naradah: the great sage Narada; brahma-nandanah: who is the son of Brahma; ekantam upasangamya: after going to a very solitary place; vakyam: the following instruction; etat: this; uvaca: said; ha: in the past.

Translation:

"Thereafter, Narada, the mental son of Lord Brahma, approached Kamsa and, in a very solitary place, informed him of the following news."

***: Svami Prabhupada comments: 'Formerly an Asura named Kalanemi had six sons, named Hamsa, Suvikrama, Kratha, Damana, Ripurmardana and Krodhahanta. They were known as the Shad-garbhas, or six Garbhas, and they were all equally powerful and expert in military affairs. These Shad-garbhas gave up the association of Hiranyakas'ipu, their grandfather, and underwent great austerities to satisfy Lord Brahma, who, upon being satisfied, agreed to give them whatever benediction they might desire. When asked by Lord Brahma to state what they wanted, the Shad-garbhas replied: "Dear Lord Brahma, if you want to give us a benediction, give us the blessing that we will not be killed by any demigod, Maha-roga, Yaksha, Gandharva-pati, Siddha, Carana or human being, nor by great sages who are perfect in their penances and austerities." Brahma understood their purpose and fulfilled their desire. But when Hiranyakas'ipu came to know of these events, he was very angry at his grandsons. "You have given up my association and have gone to worship Lord Brahma" he said, "and therefore I no longer have any affection for you. You have tried to save yourselves from the hands of the demigods, but I curse you in this way: Your father will take birth as Kamsa and kill all of you because you will take birth as sons of Devaki." Because of this curse, the grandsons of Hiranyakas'ipu had to take birth from the womb of Devaki and be killed by Kamsa, although he was previously their father. This description is mentioned in the Hari-vams'a, Vishnu-parva, Second Chapter. According to the comments of the Vaishnava-toshani, the son of Devaki known as Kirtiman was the third incarnation. In his first incarnation he was known as Smara and was the son of Marici, and later he became the son of Kalanemi. This is mentioned in the histories.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 2:

Prayers by the Demigods for Lord Krishna in the Womb

- Shri Shuka said: hunder the protection of the mighty king of Maghada, Jarasandha [see 9.22: 8], there was with the assistance of characters like Pralamba, Baka, Canura, Trinavarta, Aghasura, Mushthika, Arishtha, Dvivida, Putana, Kes'i, Dhenuka and Asura kings like Bana, Bhaumasura and more of those, a systematic persecution of the kings of Yadu. Being harassed they sought shelter in the countries of the Kurus, the Pancalas, the Kekayas, the Shalvas, the Vidharbas, the Nishadhas, the Videhas and the Kos'alas. - Some of their relatives though followed the policy of the son of Ugrasena [Kamsa]. When Kamsa had killed six of the children born from Devaki, the seventh one, a plenary expansion of Vishnu who was celebrated with the name Ananta, therefore as an embryo in the womb of Devaki gave rise to both pleasure and sorrow. When the Supreme Lord who is also the Supersoul of each living being [see also B.G. 10: 11], learned about the fear for Kamsa of the Yadus who had accepted Him as their refuge, He instructed His spiritual potency [Yoga-maya] as follows: 'Oh Devi so good for all living beings, please go to Vraja, that beautiful place with her cowherds and cows, where Rohini and the other wives of Vasudeva in seclusion, out of fear for Kamsa, are living in the cowherd community [the gokula] of Nanda. In the womb of Devaki there is the embryo known as [Ananta-]S'esha who is a plenary expansion of Me. Take care of a smooth transition from her womb to the womb of Rohini [*]. At that time I with all My different parts [with My full potency] will become Devaki's son oh all-auspicious one. Meanwhile you will appear as the daughter of Yashoda, the wife of Nanda. The people [the Shaktas as opposed to the Vaishnavas] will worship you with incense in different forms of sacrifice as being the best Goddess for all desires, for you with bestowing your blessings fulfill every wish. 1-1 Depending on the place on earth [**] you will be celebrated with different names like Durga, Bhadrakali, Vijaya, Vaishnavi, Kumuda, Candika, Krishna, Madhavi, Kanyaka [or Kanya-kumari], Maya, Narayani, Is'ani, Sharada and Ambika [***]. Because He changes wombs [from Devaki to the womb of Rohini] the people of the world will address Him with the name Sankarshana, because He brings pleasure to the people [of Gokula] He will be called Rama and because of His great physical strength He will be named Balabhadra.'

Thus being instructed by the Supreme Lord she accepted His words with the mantra 'Om'. After next circumambulating Him she went away to execute exactly what was told [compare B.G. 16: 24]. When Devaki's embryo owing to the slumber of yoga [raised by Yoga-maya, see B.G. 2: 69] was transferred to Rohini, everyone lamented: 'Alas, the baby is lost' [thinking it was a miscarriage]. The Supreme Lord, the Soul of All who always puts an end to the fear of His devotees, then with His full potency entered the mind of Vasudeva [see also 3.2: 15]. Carrying [within] the effulgent shelter of the Original Personality, Vasudeva shone like the

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sun and thus for everyone became difficult to behold or approach. He, the Blessing of the Complete Universe who is Infallible in All His Parts, was thereafter by the son of Shurasena [Vasudeva] in full transferred from mind to mind to his devi [Devaki] so that she, preserving the Supreme Soul and Cause of all Causes, bloomed of happiness like the eastern sky. Devaki with in her womb the Sustainer of All the Universes, could, being confined in the Bhoja house like the flames of a covered fire or like the knowledge of a man unable to express himself, not freely radiate her light [****]. But Kamsa saw how she, radiating with the beauty of having the Invincible One within her womb, cleared the entire atmosphere with her brilliant smiles. He said to himself: 'The one who now has entered the womb of Devaki must be the Lord who is going to kill me. She never before looked like this! What should I do now, not to neglect my self interest? I assume that the Example of Virtue will not give up His ways. The killing of a woman, my sister, especially when she is pregnant, will for ever tarnish my fame and opulence and will shorten my life span. That person is dead being alive who lives his life with much cruelty. When the body is finished everyone will condemn him. He with his physical concept of life [see also 7.5: 30 and 5.5: 5 and B.G. 16: 18-21] certainly will enter the deepest darkness [Andhatama, see also 3.20: 18 and 5.26: 9].'

Thus contemplating the ghastly idea of killing [the mother] he refrained from it and kept himself under control. Persisting in enmity he awaited the moment that the Lord would take birth. Whether he sat or lay down, wherever he was, he ate, he walked or went, he [filled with hatred] thought about Hrishikes'a, the Lord of the Senses. He meant the entire world to him. But Lord Brahma and Lord Shiva assembled there together with the sages, Narada and other divine personalities and their followers in order to please Him, the Strongest Man of All, with prayers: 'You are the truth of the vow [see 9.24: 56 and B.G. 9: 22], the truth of the Supreme and the truth of the threefoldness [of e.g. the past, present and future]. You are the source of all truth who pervades all truths, You are the truth of everything that is held true, the original truth of each truth that meets the eye and the truth of all that pertains to the Supreme Soul of You whom we offer our full surrender. The original tree [of this universe, our body], in which one finds two birds [the soul and the Supersoul], is one in its dependence [on matter], is two in its fruits [of happiness and grief], is three in its roots [the three modes], is four in its tastes [the purusharthas, the civil virtues], is five in its knowing [by the senses], is six in its conditions [of lamentation, illusion, old age, death, hunger and thirst], is seven in its layers ['the bark' or the koshas, the different bodies], is eight in its branches [the elements, mind, intelligence and ego], is nine in its apertures and is ten in its foliage [or the ten airs, see 7.15: 42]. You as the One and All are the Original Source of this visible universe [this tree]. You are the mercy [the conservation] when we are thrown in despair [meet destruction]. Those whose intelligence is covered by Your maya and miss the vision of the devotees and scholars, cannot see You behind the diversity. For the sake of every living being, moving or not moving, You watch over the soul and beatitude in assuming all sorts of forms consisting of pure goodness that bring transcendental happiness to the virtuous ones and time and again put an end to those who are wicked. Fully engaged in a constant meditation upon You as the abode of the complete consciousness, oh Lotus-eyed Lord, by that one-pointedness as practiced by the greatest one gets on board of the boat of Your lotus feet that reduces the great ocean of nescience to [the size of] a calf's hoof print [compare 10.1: 5-7]. Once they personally have crossed the so difficult to pass ocean of darkness oh Light of the World, they [the experienced devotees] who because of Your mercy for the truth loving ones are full of goodwill [to help], leave behind the boat [the method] of Your lotus feet in this world [see also B.G. 6: 44]. All others who neglect Your feet, oh Lotus-eyed One, are caught in an illusion of being liberated and have bereft of You an impure intelligence. Even though they are successful in severe practices [of penance and such] they from their elevated position fall down again back into the material world [see also B.G. 8: 15-16 and 5.6: 11]. They who follow You in devotion, oh Madhava, unlike the non-devotees do not fall away from the path. Because they are fully attached to You they are protected by You and move without fear over the heads of those who march against them,, oh Master [see also 1.5: 17 and B.G. 18: 78]. For the purpose of maintaining [Your rule] Your Lordship existing beyond the modes, assumes a form for the benefit and welfare of all embodied souls, so that human society in accordance with the Veda, by [bhakti-]yoga and penance being absorbed in Your worship, may be of sacrifice [see also B.G. 3: 9 & 18: 3]. How could we have arrived at Your wisdom that drives away the ignorance, if the purity of existence, oh Source of the World, would not be this constancy of You [being present]? The ignorance is completely vanquished when that quality of Yours is awakened by Your Lordship manifesting Yourself and for that there is no alternative. Oh Lord on the path of the words and assumptions of those who look after the mind only [the impersonal intellect] Your name, form, qualities and actions cannot be ascertained. You are only realised when one [actually] puts Your name and form into practice [with ceremony and song; see also 1.3: 37-38, 4.18: 5, 7.15: 58 and B.G. 6: 24 & 18: 55]. Constantly hearing, reciting, remembering and contemplating Your auspicious names [see 7.5: 23-24] and forms, he who is of an undivided attention in service at Your lotus feet no longer is capable of losing himself in the material world [see also 6.17: 28-31]. In having this planet earth as the place of Your feet, oh Lord, it is our fortune to see the Asura burden removed by You. Due to the causeless mercy of Your manifestation as the Controller of All, we may enjoy the fortune of witnessing both in heaven and on earth the marks of Your transcendentally decorated lotus feet [the conch, the lotus, the club and the disc]. For You who directs our lives there exists [actually] no such thing as being born [or dying]. However, it suffers no doubt that the cause of one's being born cannot exist without the pleasure [of Your liberating pastimes]. You after all are with the being born, maintaining and dying of us normal souls - which is arranged by the external energy - our safe haven against all fear. In the form of a fish, a horse, a tortoise, a lion, a boar, a swan [or self-realised sage], a king and as a man of learning among the God-fearing ones [like Lord Vamana] Your Lordship has appeared as avataras. Now please save us and the three worlds, oh Controller, diminish the earth's burden, oh best of the Yadus, we dedicate all our prayers to You [see also 1.3]. [and towards Devaki they prayed:] To our fortune, oh mother, the Supreme Personality with all His energies can now be seen in your womb. The Supreme Lord is full of mercy for everyone. Fear therefore never the master of the Bhojas [Kamsa] who wishes to be killed by Him, the protector of the Yadu dynasty who will become Your son.'

Shri Shuka said: 'After thus having offered their prayers unto the Original Personality whose form is Transcendental, all the demigods lead by Brahma and Shiva returned to their abodes.'

*: Svami Prabhupada comments: 'Symbolically, mother Devaki's constant fear of Kamsa was purifying her. A pure devotee should always fear material association, and in this way all the Asuras of material association will be killed, as the Shad-garbhasuras were killed by Kamsa. It is said that from the mind, Marici appears. In other words, Marici is an incarnation of the mind. Marici has six sons: Kama, Krodha, Lobha, Moha, Mada and Matsarya (lust, anger, greed, illusion, madness and envy). The Supreme Personality of Godhead appears in pure devotional service. This is confirmed in the Vedas: bhaktir evainam dars'ayati. Only bhakti can bring one in contact with the Supreme Personality of Godhead. The Supreme Personality of Godhead appeared from the womb of Devaki, and therefore Devaki symbolically represents bhakti, and Kamsa symbolically represents material fear. When a pure devotee always fears material association, his real position of bhakti is manifested, and he naturally becomes uninterested in material enjoyment. When the six sons of Marici are killed by such fear and one is freed from material contamination, within the womb of bhakti the Supreme Personality of Godhead appears. Thus the seventh pregnancy of Devaki signifies the appearance of the Supreme Personality of Godhead. After the six sons Kama, Krodha, Lobha, Moha, Mada and Matsarya are killed, the Shesha incarnation creates a suitable situation for the appearance of the Supreme Personality of Godhead. In other words, when one awakens his natural Krishna consciousness, Lord Krishna appears. This is the explanation given by Shrila Vis'vanatha Cakravarti Thhakura.'

**: The names by which Mayadevi is known in different places have been listed by Vallabhacarya as follows. In Varanasi she is known as Durga, in Avanti she is known as Bhadrakali, in Orissa she is known as Vijaya, and in Kulahapura she is known as Vaishnavi or MahaLakshmi (the representatives of MahaLakshmi and Ambika are present in Bombay). In the country known as Kamarupa she is known as Candika, in Northern India as Sharada, and in Cape Comorin as Kanyaka. Thus she is distributed according to various names in various places.

***: Shrila Vijayadhvaja Tirthapada, in his Pada-ratnavali-tika, has explained the meanings of the different representations. Maya is known as Durga because she is approached with great difficulty, as Bhadra because she is auspicious, and as Kali because she is deep blue. Because she is the most powerful energy, she is known as Vijaya; because she is one of the different energies of Vishnu, she is known as Vaishnavi; and because she enjoys in this material world and gives facilities for material enjoyment, she is known as Kumuda. Because she is very severe to her enemies, the Asuras, she is known as Candika, and because she gives all sorts of material facilities, she is called Krishna. In this way the material energy is differently named and situated in different places on the surface of the globe.

****: Shri Caitanya Mahaprabhu said:

yare dekha, tare kaha 'krishna'-upades'a
amara ajnaya guru hana tara' ei des'a

"Instruct everyone to follow the orders of Lord Shri Krishna as they are given in Bhagavad Gita and Shrimad Bhagavatam. In this way become a spiritual master and try to liberate everyone in this land." (Cc. Madhya 7.12

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 3:
The Birth of Lord Krishna

- Shri Shuka said: 'Then there was the supremely auspicious hour that, with the constellation of Rohini rising, was endowed with all qualities. All the stars and planets stood in a favorable position. There was peace all around, all the stars twinkled in the sky and the cities, towns, pasturing grounds and mines were at their best. With the rivers crystal clear and the lakes beautiful with lotuses, with the flocks of birds and the swarms of bees sweetly singing their praise in the blooming forests, the breezes fragrant and free from dust blew with a gentle touch while the fires of the brahmins burned steadily and undisturbed. The minds of the virtuous ones who were oppressed by the Asura [Kamsa and his men], cleared up when in that situation the kettledrums resounded together to celebrate the birth of the Unborn One. The Kinnaras and Gandharvas [de excellent ones and the singers of heaven] sang, the Siddhas and Caranas [the perfected ones and the demigods] offered prayers and the Vidyadhara women [the wives of the scientists] danced in great jubilation together with the Apsaras [the dancing girls of heaven]. - The sages and the demigods joyously showered the finest flowers and the clouds rumbled silently like the ocean waves when at the darkest hour of the night Janardana, the World's Well-wisher, appeared from the divine form of Devaki. Lord Vishnu, the One residing in the heart of everyone manifested Himself in full, like the full moon rising in the east. -1 That wonderful child with His lotus-like eyes and His four arms that held different weapons [and other attributes like] a conch, a club and so on, was decorated with the Shrivatsa mark, with the shining Kaustubha jewel around His neck, with yellow garments and with a beautiful hue like that of rain clouds. Vasudeva saw Him beautifully decorated sparkling with a with vaidurya (tiger's eye) studded helmet, with rings in His ears, with luxuriant scattered locks of hair, with an exquisite belt around His waist and with armlets and bracelets on His arms. Anakadundubhi was amazed to see the beautiful appearance of the Lord as his son. Overwhelmed by great jubilation he lost himself in dreams of holding a festival to the occasion of the descent of Krishna, a festivity where he would donate ten thousand cows to the brahmins.

Oh son of Bharata, understanding that the child definitely was the Original Personality, he lost all his fears. Having arrived at that conclusion he enraptured by His majesty fell down with folded hands to offer prayers to the child that illumined His birth place in every direction. Vasudeva said: 'You my Lordship, are the Original Person Himself transcendental to material nature, You are the absolute understanding and blissfulness [sat-cit-ananda] in its true form, the intelligence that watches over each. You for sure we know as He who, after in the beginning by His personal energy having created this world consisting of the three modes [see B.G. 7: 4-6], next seems to have entered [as avataras] but in reality You did not [see also 7.12: 15 and B.G. 9: 11]. 5-1 It is like the notion of the material elements [earth, water, air, fire and ether] that have not changed at all, even though they are caught in many combinations of different separated energies [or molecules] that together form the complete of the universe. After in their association having appeared it seems that the primal elements have entered creation later on, but that entering of this world never took place since they existed there before. The same way, oh my Lord, reasoning from true intelligence and such attributes You, despite being in touch with the objects of the senses and the modes of nature, are not determined by those material qualities at all. You after all [being the complete], are not covered by them. Because You are the root of everyone and everything there is no such thing as a within and a without to You, the Supersoul of all existence [see also 7.12: 15 and B.G. 9: 4-6]. Anyone who in the position of being recognizable as a material body continues to act as if he would have an existence for himself separate from the original self or soul, is a fool. He is a person who in his false identification will be rejected as stupid for lacking in proper analysis and missing the full consideration of 'that' [or tat. See also B.G. 18: 16, B.G. 7: 4-5 and *]. Oh Almighty Lord, the birth, the maintaining and the ending of this all is there, so conclude the scholars, because of You who are free from inclinations, free from changes and free from the modes. This is not contradictory because You, who are both the Lord and the Supreme Brahman, constitute the solid foundation for the modes of nature [see B.G. 9: 10]. You thus [as that basis, as that transcendence] assume, in order to maintain the three worlds with Your energy, a white form from the Soul [in goodness and knowledge], the colour red belonging to the passion of creation [the movement] as also the form of darkness [of ignorance] for the purpose of the ultimate destruction. You now here present, oh Mighty One, have appeared in my home as the Completeness of Control with the wish to protect this planet and punish all the

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demoniac men and their armies, who unenlightened by the millions all over the world pose as kings and statesmen [see also B.G. 4: 8]. But he who is so godless [Kamsa] and who, after hearing about Your taking birth in our home, has killed all the brothers who were born before You, oh Lord of the God-fearing souls, will be informed by his lieutenants about Your appearance and undoubtedly immediately take up his arms.'

Shuka said: 'After having seen that their son was endowed with all the characteristics of the Supreme Personality, Devaki, who had been afraid of Kamsa but now was most [happily] surprised [about the arrival of Krishna], offered Him prayers. Shri Devaki said: 'Being the 'tat' form [or the substance of our oneness in diversity], You are sometimes called the imperceptible one, the original one or Brahman, the light, the freedom above the modes, the changeless one and pure existence [the measure of goodness and perfection]. You are the undivided one free from material motives who is directly Lord Vishnu, the light of the Supersoul [compare B.G. 14: 27]. When after millions and millions of years the cosmos runs at its end and the primary elements merge with their primal forms and everything that manifested by the force of Time turns into the unmanifest, You, oh Lord with the Many Names, are the only one to remain. This so powerful Time factor by which, from the smallest measure of time up to the measure of a year, this entire creation works, is said to be Your action, the movement of You, the secure abode, the Supreme Controller whom I offer my surrender. The mortals afraid of the serpent of death flee in all directions but cannot shake off the fear. Only when they are happy having obtained Your lotus feet they sleep undisturbed whith death running away from them. Oh Lordship can You, in Your form as the One dispelling the fears of Your servants, protect us against the terrible son of Ugrasena we fear so much? And please can You, as this Original Personality we attend to in meditation, make it so that You are not directly visible to those who consider You a physical form [compare B.G. 11: 8]? Oh Madhusudana, off balance because of Kamsa I am plagued by fear with Your appearance. May Your taking birth from my womb escape the attention of that great sinner. Please oh All-pervading One, withdraw this supernatural four-armed form that is equipped with the attributes of the conch, lotus, disc and club. The entire creation with everything that belongs to it is by You, oh Lord, the transcendental Original Personality, easily sheltered and kept within Your body at the time of devastation. But to see You now having entered my body is something unimaginable in the human world, oh Godhead!'

The Supreme Lord replied: 'In a previous age you became known as Pris'ni, oh chaste lady, and he [Vasudeva] at the time was a Prajapati called Sutapa, an impeccable person. When Lord Brahma told you both to create offspring, you were thereafter of severe austerities to keep your senses under control. 4-3 Enduring the rain, the wind, the blistering sun and the severe cold and heat of the seasonal changes, you by practicing restraint freed your mind from contaminations. Eating fallen leaves and air only you became pure and peaceful, performed My worship in serenity and prayed for a boon from Me. While you, with your mind fixed on Me, thus in severe penance practiced the most difficult austerities, twelve thousand celestial years passed. 7-3 By this determination of heart and constant, faithful service and penance oh sinless ones, I, proclaimed to be the most favorable bestower of boons, very satisfied with the both of you then appeared in this form. Eager to fulfill your desires I told you to think about a boon for yourselves whereupon you asked for a son just like Me. You, who as a man and wife without a son and dissatisfied in your sensual concerns were so strongly attracted to My divine energy, never asked Me for being liberated from this world [see also 4.9: 30-35]. After you received the benediction and I had left, you enjoyed sexual intercourse whereupon the two of you achieved the desired result of having a son like Me. Because I did not find anyone else in this world with your noble character and qualities, I became your son and am thus known as Pris'nigarbha [see also 11.5: 26]. Through Kasyapa and Aditi I again appeared from the two of you with the name Upendra and was also called Vamana because I was a dwarf [see 8.17-22]. True to my word for the third time appearing in this manner in a form like this, I again took My birth from the two of you, oh chaste lady. I showed you this [four-handed] form to remind you of My previous appearances. The spiritual understanding of My identity would otherwise not arise [in you] with the transient form. When you treat Me with love and affection the two of you, in your constant awareness of Me as being both your son and the Absolute Truth, will thus attain My transcendental abode.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Thus having spoken the Personality of Godhead, the Supreme Lord, was silent and directly from His inner potency assumed the form of an ordinary human child before the eyes of His parents. When thereafter the son of Shurasena as instructed by the Supreme Lord carefully wanted to carry his son away from the place of delivery, precisely at that time Yogamaya [see 10.2: 6-12], the one [of transcendence who factually is] never born, took her birth from the wife of Nanda. 8-4 By her influence the guards and the rest of the people being fast asleep had lost consciousness of all their senses. As soon as Vasudeva carrying Krishna approached, all the heavy doors and gates sealed with bolts and chains opened wide out of their own, like darkness dissipated by the sun. The slightly rumbling clouds showered rain but Shesha Naga followed them and stopped the rains with His spread out hoods. The surface of the deep waters of Yamaraja's younger sister, the Yamuna, was foaming because of Indra's constant showers. The waters whirled agitated, but the waves of the forceful, fierce stream gave way just like the ocean did before the Husband of Sita [Lord Rama, see 9.10: 13-15]. The son of Shurasena reached the cow-village of Nanda and found all the cowherds there fast asleep. While they slept he put his son on Yashoda's bed, took up her daughter and then returned home. There he placed the little girl on Devaki's bed and put the shackles back on his feet so that he remained bound as before. Yashoda, Nanda's wife, delivering her child had no idea what it precisely looked like because being overwhelmed by sleep from the hard labour, she lay unconscious.'

*: Svami Prabhupada comments: 'If we regard this world as false, we fall into the category of Asuras, who say that this world is unreal, with no foundation and no God in control (asatyam apratishthham te jagad ahur anis'varam). As described in the Sixteenth Chapter of Bhagavad Gita, this is the conclusion of demons.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 4:

The Atrocities of King Kamsa

Shri Shuka said: 'With all the outer and inner doors of the building closed as before, the guards of the prison woke up when they heard the newborn child cry. They hurried to report it to the king of Bhoja who fearfully awaited the time that Devaki would deliver. He quickly got out of bed and said: 'The Time has arrived' and went perturbed, with his hair on his head disheveled, immediately to the place of birth.

The chaste Devaki miserably and full of pity said to Kamsa, her brother: 'All good fortune to you, this girl will be your daughter-in-law. You should not kill a woman. Following the voice from above you have killed many children brilliant as fire my brother. Please allow me this one daughter. I am still your poor younger and childless sister, is it not? Oh master, dear brother, hold back, you owe me this last child.'

Shri Shuka said: 'In tears clasping her baby she pleaded most piteously, but he most cruelly with a growl tore it away from her hands. Having abandoned all his familial affection he took the newborn child of his sister by the legs and wanted to smash the daughter against the stone floor. But it slipped midair out of his hands and appeared that very instant in the sky as Devi [Durga] the younger sister of Vishnu with her eight mighty arms complete with weapons [see also 8.12: 40]. 0-1 Adorned with sandalwood pulp, flower garlands, valuable jewels and being nicely dressed she held a bow, a lance, arrows, a shield, a sword, a conch, a lotus and a disc. With different presentations being worshipped by the Siddhas [the perfected ones], the Caranas [the venerable ones], the Gandharvas [the singers of heaven], the Apsaras [the dancing girls], the Kinnaras [the ones specially talented] and the Uragas [the 'divine snakes'] she said the following: 'What's the use of killing me oh fool! He, your former enemy [see 1.68] who will kill you, has already been born [and is now] somewhere else. Stop the unnecessary killing of poor little babies.'

After the Goddess of the immense power of maya thus had spoken to him, she [disappeared and] became known in different places on earth under diverse names [such as Annapurna, Durga, Kali and Bhadra, see 10.2: 10 & 11]. When Kamsa heard the words she spoke he was struck with wonder and forthwith released Devaki and Vasudeva saying humbly: 'My dear sister and brother-in-law, I, because of my sins behaving like a cannibal eating his own kids, have alas killed your many sons. I am really such a one who mercilessly cruel denies his relatives and friends their life. What kind of world is someone who engages like a brahmin-killer, heading for here or in the hereafter? Not just human beings, but also heaven can speak a lie. Just because I believed the prophecy I most sinfully killed all my sister's children! Oh blessed souls, do not lament over your sons, for all who are born are bowed down by their own deeds [in a previous life, see footnote 3 ch. 1]. Living beings have to abide by their fate and cannot always live in the same place. Everything on earth and is produced from earth [like pots] appears and disappears again. This physical body similarly undergoes change, but the soul, just like the earth element itself, does not [compare 10.3: 15-17]. When one without knowledge of this difference [between body and soul] does not properly identify with the self and one thus falsely being united with the body is of separation [in one's heart and society], one cannot break through the repetition of one's conditioned life [viz. one can only unite in consciousness]. Because everyone unwillingly has to face the consequences of his own actions, you, my dear sister, should not lament over your sons who found their death because of me. As long as one does not know oneself [as a soul] and one with a mistaken notion thinks of oneself as someone who kills or gets killed [thus as being a body], one is an ignoramus running into the pains of material distress [see also B.G. 3: 9 & 18: 17 and nitya-mukta]. Please forgive me my atrocities, you are both saintly, humble and loving souls!' Saying this he clasped the feet of his sister and brother-in-law with tears rolling down his cheeks.

Trusting in the words of Durga he released Vasudeva and Devaki from their shackles and thus proved his heart for the family. Because he showed remorse Devaki was relieved of her anger with her brother and Vasudeva also gave up his anger. He said to him with a smile: 'What you said about embodied souls in the grip of ignorance is correct, oh man of great fortune, one thus makes a difference between one's own interest and that of others. When people consider everything as existing separately, they go at each other's cost and are filled with lamentation, lust, fear, hate, greed, illusion and madness. Discriminating like that one does not see one's continuity [the 'thread', the soul, one's connectedness].'

Shri Shuka said: 'Kamsa thus free from impurities being answered by the appeased Devaki and Vasudeva, took leave and entered his palace. After the night had passed Kamsa called for his ministers and informed them about everything that the 'Slumber of Yoga', Durga [or Yoga-maya], had said. Upon hearing what their master had to say the Daitya opponents of the demigods, who resented them and were not that skilled, replied [see also B.G. 9: 12]: 'Well in that case, oh King of Bhoja, let us right now kill all the children about ten days old or younger in every town, village and pasturing ground. What can the demigods do in their fear to fight? They are always so nervous to hear the sound of your bowstring! Facing your many devoted arrows hitting them from all sides they fled away from the fighting to save their lives. Some of those inhabitants of heaven, with their hair and clothing in disarray and bereft of their weapons, folded miserably their hands before you and said: 'You have made us so afraid!' And you killed none of them when they were scared to death, had lost their chariots, did not know how to use their weapons anymore, wanted other things than fighting or when their bows were broken and they could not respond any longer. What to say about the position taken by the so very powerful gods? Away from the fighting they can boast! And what of Lord Hari? He is hiding in the heart! Should we fear Lord Shiva then? He is living in the forest! And Indra then? He is not much of a hero either! And Brahma? He always meditates! Still we think that the demigods because of their enmity should not be overlooked. Engage us, your faithful followers, therefore to uproot them! Just like a disease of the body that once neglected in its acute stage by men cannot be treated anymore and senses that being disregarded [later on cannot be controlled], similarly a great enemy that became too strong cannot be removed. Lord Vishnu is the foundation of the demigods. He lies at the bottom of the traditional religious duties and the brahminical order with its cows, its scholars, its penances and the sacrifices that need to be paid [see also 7.5: 31]. We therefore by all means, oh King, will endeavor to put an end to the brahmins and their brahminical talk, those repenters so busy with their sacrifices and cows that deliver the ghee! The scholars, the cows and the Vedas; the austerity, the truthfulness and the sense control; the equanimity, the faith, the mercy, the tolerance as also the ceremonies, are all part of Hari. He is the leader of all the Suras and the enemy of the Asuras. He is in all hearts. At His feet all the demigods, including their controller [Shiva] and the four-faced one [Brahma], are found. Really, the only way to prevent Him is to persecute all His sages, devotees and saints.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Thus rather ignorantly deliberating with his evil counselors, Kamsa, who as a demon was ruled by the Lord of Death, thought that the best thing he could do was to persecute the brahmins [and their followers]. After he gave the Danavas, those adherents of violence and destruction who could assume any form, permission to fight all the repenters in the world, the demons spread in all directions. Kamsa then returned to his quarters. Filled with a passion of the deepest darkness they bewildered, with the shadow of death hanging over them, engaged in the persecution of the virtuous souls. The benedictions of a long life, beauty, fame, religion, talents and a place in heaven of a person trespassing against great personalities, are all destroyed.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 5:

Krishna's Birth Ceremony and the Meeting of Nanda Maharaja and Vasudeva

- Shri Shuka said: 'Nanda was a man of great devotion. Overjoyed that a son had been born, he invited the scholars conversant with the Veda, cleansed himself with a bath and dressed himself up. In order to celebrate the birth [with a jatakarma ceremony*] as was prescribed he took care that the mantras were chanted and also arranged for the worship of the forefathers and demigods. To the brahmins he donated countless fully decorated milk cows and seven mountains of sesame seed, masses of jewels and gold-embroidered cloth. Material things are purified by time, by washing and bathing,

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by rituals, by penance, by worship, by charity and by contentment, but the soul is purified by self-realisation. The scholars, the storytellers, the reciters and the singers uttered words that purified everyone and everything, while the bheris and dundubhis [drums] sounded constantly. All of Vraja was swept, the doorsteps, the courtyards and the interiors were sprinkled with water and a variety of festoons and flags decorated gates that were made with garlands, pieces of cloth and mango leaves. The cows, bulls and calves were smeared with turmeric oil and decorated with a variety of mineral colours, peacock feathers, cloth, golden ornaments and flowers. Oh King, the cowherds [the gopas] gathering there carried all kinds of gifts and were dressed in the most precious garments with costly ornaments, coats and turbans. The cowherd wives [the gopis] were also glad to hear that mother Yashoda had given birth to a boy and personally gave their best by appearing in festive dresses with eye make-up and wearing jewelry and such. With their lotus like faces most beautifully decorated with saffron and fresh kunkuma, they with offerings in their hands hurried hither with swaying bosoms and hips. The gopis wore brilliantly polished jeweled earrings, strings of golden coins around their necks and colourfully embroidered clothes. It was a feast to the eye to see them with their swinging bangles, earrings, breasts and garlands thus being dressed going to Nanda's house while a shower of flowers fell from their hair. They all for a long time pronounced blessings for the newborn one like 'pahi' ['be protected'] and sprinkled the Unborn Lord with turmeric oil while saying prayers. With Krishna, the Unlimited Controller of the Entire Universe, arriving in Nanda's cow community, many different musical instruments vibrated in a great festival. The gopas rejoicing threw curds, milk and buttermilk at each other and smeared with butter. 5-1 In order to offer his child the best prospects and to satisfy Lord Vishnu, Nanda, that noble soul, warm-heartedly honoured the gopas, the storytellers, the reciters, the singers and all those who found their livelihood by their education, with whatever they could wish for and could use as for clothes, ornaments and cows [see also 7.14: 17]. The greatly fortunate Rohini [the mother of Baladeva, see 10.2: 7] was congratulated by Nanda and Yashoda and she also, beautifully dressed and adorned with a garland and a necklace, moved around busily [being engaged in receiving guests]. Oh King, from that time on the cow lands of Nanda became opulent with all riches, for they, now being the residence of the Lord, were by His transcendental qualities transformed into a place for the pastimes of Rama [the Goddess of Fortune, see 8.8: 8].

Nanda thereafter entrusted the protection of Gokula [the cow village] to his cowherd men and went to Mathura to pay Kamsa the yearly taxes over his profit, oh best of the Kuru dynasty. Vasudeva who heard that his [younger step-]brother Nanda [**] had arrived [in the city] - as it turned out to pay his tribute to the king - thereupon went to his camp. When Nanda all of a sudden saw him before his eyes, he very pleased rose to his feet as if his body had found a new life. Overwhelmed by love and affection he embraced his dear friend. Welcoming him with all regards, he assigned him a seat and informed about his health. Vasudeva, attached as he was, then asked about his two sons, saying the following, oh ruler over the world. 'Dear brother Nanda, advanced in age and having no son, you were desperately longing for one. What a great fortune now to have gotten a son! What a great fortune also to see you here today, it is like a rebirth. Despite being around in this world of birth and death, it is so very hard to meet again your loved ones! Like things that afloat in a river are carried away by the force of the waves, we, intimately living together, do not stay [together] in one place because our karmic ways are diverging. Is everything alright with your cow business? Is there enough water, grass, plants and such in the great forest where you are living now with your friends? Oh brother, does my son who with His mother lives in your house, consider you His father and is He a sweet boy under your loving care? A person's three goals of life as described in the Vedic literatures [the regulation of one's lusts, income and rituals], find their consequence and belief when one is together. But that is not so when that togetherness has become difficult, then they lose their meaning.'

Shri Nanda said: 'Kamsa killed, alas, the many sons you had with Devaki and also the one remaining child, the youngest, a daughter went to heaven. Fate determines the end of all things, providence is elevated above every living being and the unseen is the ultimate truth of all souls. He who knows this will never get bewildered.'

Shri Vasudeva said: 'Now that you have paid the king his yearly taxes and we have met, the both of us should not spend more days in this place. Something might have happened in Gokula!' Shri Shuka said: 'After that advise of Vasudeva Nanda and the gopas excused themselves, yoked their oxen to their bullock carts and then left for Gokula.'

*: The jatakarma birth ceremony, which can take place when the umbilical cord, connecting the child and the placenta, is cut, entails the touching of the tongue of the newborn trice with ghee preceded by introductory prayers. The birth ceremony for Krishna is also called Nandotsava. The day of yearly celebrating His birth is called Janmashthami [the eight day of the month of Bhadra or Shravana (August-September)].

**: The parampara elucidates: 'Vasudeva and Nanda Maharaja were so intimately connected that they lived like brothers. Furthermore, it is learned from the notes of Shripada Madhvacarya that Vasudeva and Nanda Maharaja were stepbrothers. Vasudeva's father, Shurasena, married a vais'ya girl, and from her Nanda Maharaja was born. Later, Nanda Maharaja himself married a vais'ya girl, Yashoda. Therefore his family is celebrated as a vais'ya family, and Krishna, identifying Himself as their son, took charge of vais'ya activities (krishi-go-rakshya-vanijyam, B.G. 18: 4'.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 6:

The Killing of the Demon Putana

Shri Shuka said: 'Nanda on his way [home] thought that the words of the son of Shura [Vasudeva] were not said unjustly and therefore he, apprehensive of difficulties ahead, took shelter of the Lord. Kamsa [see 10.4: 43] had sent a ghastly murderess who roamed the cities, towns and villages to kill babies. Wherever one is used to listen and all of that [in bhakti] and one performs one's duty, there, because of the Protector of the Devotees, cannot be any question of murderous ogres and bad elements. She who was called Putana and could move through the air, one day flew to the village of Nanda. There she converted herself by her mystic power into a beautiful woman and, moving about at will, penetrated wherever she wanted. - With her hair arranged with mallika [jasmine] flowers, with her very big breasts and hips that outweighed her slim waist, with her nice clothes and the earrings she wore, with the brilliance and great attraction of her face that was surrounded by her black hair and with the appealing glances she threw at everyone, she as a beauty attracted the attention of everyone in Gokula. In the eyes of the gopis she, so ravishing with a lotus in her hand, seemed to be the goddess of beauty who had arrived to see her Husband. The baby murderess unchecked in the house of Nanda looked for children and saw there the Child that Puts an End to All Untruth lying in bed. Its unlimited power was covered, just like a fire that lies hidden under ashes. Understanding that she was bent on killing babies He, the Unlimited Soul of All That Lives and Not Lives, closed His eyes when she unaware, like someone who takes a sleeping snake for a rope, placed Him, her own death, on her lap. With an evil mind acting most pleasantly she was like a sharp sword in a nice scabbard. The mothers [Yashoda and Rohini] though who saw her in the room were so impressed by the conspicuous, beautiful woman that they stood rooted to the spot. The terrible woman placed Him on her lap and on the spot pushed her breast into His mouth. The breast was smeared with a strong poison, but the Supreme Lord in response squeezed her painfully hard with both His hands and vehemently sucked both the poison and the life out of her. She completely being exhausted from the core of her being cried 'stop, stop, enough!' and severely perspiring opened her eyes wide and violently struggled, beating over and over with her arms and legs. The very deep and powerful sound she produced made the earth with its mountains and outer space with all its stars above and the worlds below tremble in all directions. People who felt the vibrations feared to be hit by lightening and fell flat to the ground. Thus squirming being tormented at her breasts, she, with her mouth wide open and all of her arms, legs and hair spread out, gave up her life. Thereupon she expanded to her original demoniac form and collapsed on the pasturing grounds, oh King, just as when Vritrasura was killed by Indra's bolt [see 6.12]. As her body fell down it smashed all trees twelve miles around, oh King, for it was wonderfully gigantic.

The gopas and gopis, who in their hearts, ears and heads were already shocked by the loud yelling, were terrified to see that massive body. The mouth had fearful teeth as high as a plow, the nostrils were as big as mountain caves, the breasts were like huge boulders, the scattered hair looked like copper, the deep eye sockets were like overgrown wells, the thighs were like river banks, the limbs resembled dams and the abdomen looked like a dried up lake. And on top of it the child was fearlessly playing. It was quickly picked up by the approaching gopis who all were greatly excited. Together with Yashoda and Rohini they waved a cow's tail around the child in order to assure it of full protection against all dangers. The child was thoroughly washed with cow's urine and further covered with dust thrown up by cows. Next for the protection of the child the Holy Name was applied with cow dung in twelve places [*]. The gopis took a sip of water [acamana] and after placing the letters of the [following **] mantra on their bodies and two hands, they proceeded with the child: 2-2 'May Aja protect Your legs, may Maniman protect Your knees, may Yajna protect Your thighs, may Acyuta protect You above the waist, may Hayagriva protect Your abdomen, may Kes'ava protect Your heart, may Is'a protect Your chest, may Surya protect Your neck, may Vishnu protect Your arms, may Urukrama protect Your mouth and may Is'vara protect Your head. May Cakri protect You from the front, may the Supreme Personality of Gadadhari, the carrier of the club, protect You from the back and may the killer of Madhu and Ajana, the carrier of the bow and the sword protect Your two sides. May Lord Urugaya, the carrier of the conch shell, protect You from all corners, may Upendra protect You from above, may [the One riding] Garuda protect You on the ground and may the Supreme Person of Haladhara protect You on all sides. May Your senses be protected by Hrishikes'a and Your life air by Narayana, may the Master of Shvetadvipa protect Your memory and may Your mind be guarded by Yoges'vara. 5-2 May Pris'nigarbha protect Your intelligence, may Your soul be protected by Bhagavan, may Govinda protect You when You play and may Madhava protect You in Your sleep. May the Lord of Vaikunthha protect You when You walk, may the Husband of the Goddess of Fortune protect You when You sit down and may Lord Yajnabhuk, the fear of all evil planets, protect You when You enjoy life. 7-2 The demoniac women, devils and haters of children that are like bad stars, the evil spirits, hobgoblins, ghosts and spooks, the ogres, monsters and witches like Kothara, Revati, Jyeshthha, Matrika and Putana who drive people mad, are the ones who bewilder the memory and hinder one's body, life air and vitality. May those nightmarish beings who cause so much trouble for both old and young people, all be vanquished, may they all be scared away by the chanting of Lord Vishnu's names.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Bound by their maternal affection the elderly gopis thus took all measures to ward off evil. His mother thereupon nursed Him and put her son in bed. The gopas headed by Nanda in the meantime had returned from Mathura and when they saw Putana's body in Vraja they were all struck with great wonder [and said]: 'Oh friends, Anakadundubhi appears to have grown into a great master of yoga. Otherwise, how could he have predicted the kind of situation we see now?' The inhabitants of Vraja cut the mass of the body into pieces with the help of axes. Then it was thrown away in a distant place, covered with wood and burned to ashes. When they cremated the body, the smoke produced turned out to be as serenely fragrant as aguru incense. Being sucked by Krishna that body had been instantly freed from all contaminations [see also 1.2: 17]. 5-3 If Putana, that child murderess and she-devil hankering for blood, despite her lust to destroy, could attain the supreme destination after offering her breast to the Lord, then what to say of those with faith and devotion who, just like His affectionate mothers, offered the one most dear, Krishna, the Supreme Personality, what [He needed]? 7-3 The Supreme Lord embraced her breast and trod her body with His lotus feet, that the devotees always have in their hearts and are held in devotion by the ones praised everywhere [like Brahma and Shiva]. When she, by assuming the position of a mother, went to heaven even though she was a murderess, then what would that mean for the motherly cows that by Krishna were sucked for enjoying the milk? 9-4 Oh King, for all women from whose love for the child the milk was flowing that He, the Supreme Lord, the bestower of Oneness, Giver of Liberation and son of Devaki, drank to His satisfaction, for all the ones who constantly made Krishna their maternal concern [the gopis], it can never be so that they return to the material ocean where one lusts in ignorance [see also B.G. 4: 9].

Smelling the fragrance of the smoke that emanated, all the inhabitants of Vrajabhumi wondered: 'Where does it come from?' Thus talking to each other they reached the cow village. Getting there they were greatly surprised to hear what the gopas all had to say about the havoc Putana had created, how she had died and everything that was done for the sake of the baby. The gentle-minded Nanda took his son on his lap as if He had returned from death, smelled His head and achieved the highest peace, oh best of the Kurus. Any mortal who with faith and devotion listens to this wonderful Krishna childhood pastime about the salvation of Putana, will grow fond of Govinda ['the Protector of the Cows'].'

*: Waving a cow's tail around a child is an occult rite in which the tail of a cow is regarded the seat of Lakshmi, the Goddess of Fortune. This is also true for the urine, dust, the milk and dung of the cows that with their products are held sacred. The urine has antiseptic qualities, the dung serves as fuel and the milk brings all health and wealth.

**: With the mantra [anga-nyasa and kara-nyasa] one asigns the first letter or seed-letter of the names of the Lord mentioned in the next verse, followed by anusvara and the word namah.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 7:

Krishna Kicks the Cart, Defeats Trinavarta and Shows Yashoda the Universe

- The honourable king said: 'The different pastimes of the avataras of the Supreme Lord that offer us the image of the Lord, our Controller, are most pleasing to our ears and inspiring to our minds, oh master. Whoever hears about them will find his existence very soon purified from the propensity for dissatisfaction and, as a person who is devoted to the Lord, also find friendship with His people [Vaishnavas]. If you like,

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please speak to us about everything pertaining to Him. Tell us more about the wonderful pastimes of Krishna who, imitating the human way, in the form of a child assumed His position on this earth.' [*]

Shri Shuka said: 'At the time the moon stood in the constellation of Rohini [after three months] He could turn Himself on His back in His crib. To celebrate this the mothers organised a celebration with a washing ritual. They gathered with music and song and while mother Yashoda performed the bathing ceremony hymns were chanted by the brahmins. After Nanda's wife and the other members of the household had finished the bathing, the brahmins, who performed their auspicious mantras, were respectfully honoured with food, garments, garlands and cows. Seeing that the child had become sleepy, it was laid aside for the time being. While busily engaged for the utthana [or 'turning upward'] ceremony she, providing the guests from all over Vraja to their liking, did not hear any of the cries of her child who, wailing to be fed, angrily kicked around its legs. The cart underneath He was put was hit by His delicate feet that were as tender as a new leaf. It turned over so that all the bowls, plates and the sweetness they contained fell to the ground, the wheels and axle got dislocated and the pole was broken [**]. All the men and women of Vraja who being invited by Yashoda and Nanda had assembled for the utthana ceremony witnessed that wondrous event and wondered how the cart out of its own could have been damaged so badly. The children told the dumbfounded gopas and gopis that it suffered no doubt that, as soon as the child started to cry, it with one leg had dashed it apart. They, unaware of the inconceivable power of that small baby, could not believe it. The gopas thought that all that they had heard was but child prattle. Mother Yashoda, picked up her crying son and offered Him her breast. Thinking it had been an unfavorable planet, she called for the brahmins to perform a ceremony with Vedic hymns. After a couple of strong gopas had reassembled the cart and had placed the pots and everything back on it, the priests with curds, rice, kus'a grass and water performed the rituals for the fire sacrifice. 3-1 The blessings of those who endowed with the perfect truth are free from discontent, untruth, false pride, envy, violence and self-conceit, never go in vain [see also B.G. 18: 42]. With this in mind Nanda took care of the child by asking those fine brahmins to sing auspicious hymns and purify it according to the Sama, Rig and Yajur Veda with the help of water mixed with herbs. When the child had been bathed he, the leading cowherd, held a fire sacrifice and devoutly served the souls of rebirth a most excellent meal. To assure his son of all of the best, he - to the blessing they also gave him - donated in charity the best quality milk cows that were nicely decorated with flowers and golden chains. The scholars being joined with whatever they pronounce, bring one, as experts in the mantras, all the blessings because the valid words they use never at any time will be fruitless.

One day [with Him about a year old] when Yashoda fondled Him as He sat on her lap, she could no longer bear the child's weight because He became as heavy as a mountain peak. Astonished about the pressing weight the gopi put the child on the floor. Next she turned to Narayana and engaged herself in her worldly duties. The child sitting there was swept away [though] by a demon named Trinavarta, a servant sent by Kamsa who had assumed the form of a whirlwind. Producing a tremendous noise it massively roaring covered all of Gokula with dust that penetrated every nook and corner so that everything was hidden from sight. For an hour or so all of the cow land was plunged in darkness by the heavy dust. Yashoda could not find her son on the spot where she had put Him down. The people could not see themselves or each other anymore because of the sands blown up and were disturbed and confused. The woman helpless because of the dust clouds of the strong whirlwind saw nothing and thus she in fear about her son lamented pitifully and fell to the ground like a cow that has lost her calf. After the fierce dust storm of the whirlwind had ceased and she could not find Nanda's son, the other gopis with their faces full of tears all in sympathy wailed along with her crying. After Trinavarta had assumed the form of the whirlwind and thus had swept away Krishna, he, reaching the top of the atmosphere, could not get higher with Him getting heavier and mightier and so he lost his strength. Taking Him who strangled his neck for an incredibly heavy rock that exceeded his power he could not get rid of this wonderful child. Grasped by the throat he was powerless. His eyes popped out while he choked and lifeless together with the child fell down to the ground in Vraja. The gathered sobbing gopis all together saw him fallen out of the sky upon a slab of stone with all his limbs broken, like Tripura pierced by the arrows of Shiva [see 7.10]. They were totally surprised to find Krishna in good health sitting on the chest of the man-eater who had transported Him through the sky. All the gopis and gopas rejoiced most happily that He was saved from the mouth of death and that they had gotten Him back. [They said:] 'How greatly wonderful this baby that, being seised by the ogre, left us but has returned unscathed! Now that this nasty and violent demon has been killed because of his sins, the innocent, even-minded people are relieved of their fears. Of what austerity have we been, what was our worship for the One in the Beyond and what was the pious work, the public service, the charity, or any other benevolent activity for our fellow man that we performed, as a result of which the child, that was practically lost, is present here again to the fortune and pleasure of all His folk?' Having witnessed all these different wonderful events in the great forest, the herdsman Nanda over and over stood amazed how true the words of Vasudeva had been [see also verse 10.6: 32].

One day the mother pulled the little boy on her lap to nurse Him from her breast, from which because of her great affection the milk was oozing. 5-3 Oh King, when He was done and mother Yashoda, patting softly to help Him, looked the satisfied and smiling child in the face, she had, when He yawned, the following vision: she saw the sky, the planets and the earth, the luminaries in all directions, the sun and the moon. She saw fire, the air and the seas with the continents, the mountains, their daughters the rivers, the forests and all creatures moving and not moving [see also B.G. 11]. Thus all of a sudden seeing the entire universe, oh King, she in great amazement stifled with deer-like eyes and started to tremble all over.'

*: At the beginning of this chapter, two extra verses sometimes appear:

evam bahuni karmani
gopanam Sham sa-yoshitam
nandasya gehe vavridhe
kurvan vishnu-janardanah

"In this way, to chastise and kill the demons, the child Krishna demonstrated many activities in the house of Nanda Maharaja, and the inhabitants of Vraja enjoyed these incidents."

evam sa vavridhe vishnur
nanda-gehe janardanah
kurvann anis'am anandam
gopalanam sa-yoshitam

"To increase the transcendental pleasure of the gopas and the gopis, Krishna, the killer of all demons, was thus raised by His father and mother, Nanda and Yashoda."

Shripada Vijayadhvaja Tirtha also adds another verse after the third verse in this chapter:

vistareneha karunyat
sarva-papa-pranas'anam
vaktum arhasi dharma-jna
dayalus tvam iti prabho

"Parikchit Maharaja then requested Shukadeva Gosvami to continue speaking such narrations about the pastimes of Krishna, so that the King could enjoy from them transcendental bliss."

**: Svami Prabhupada comments: 'Krishna had been placed underneath a household handcart, but this handcart was actually another form of the Shakathasura, a demon who had come there to kill the child. Now, on the plea of demanding to suck His mother's breast, Krishna took this opportunity to kill the demon. Thus He kicked Shakathasura just to expose him. Although Krishna's mother was engaged in receiving guests, Lord Krishna wanted to draw her attention by killing the Shakathasura, and therefore He kicked that cart-shaped demon.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 8:

The Name Ceremony, His Pranks and Again the Universe Within His Mouth

Shri Shuka said: 'Garga the family priest of the Yadus, a man of great penance, oh King, on the request of Vasudeva went to Nanda's cow community. Nanda very pleased to see him stood up to welcome him with folded hands. Knowing him to be someone elevated above the senses [adhokshaja], he out of respect prostrated to offer his obeisances. With the greatest hospitality and the sweetest words he offered the sage a seat and said, after thus having pleased him: 'Oh brahmin complete in your self-realisation, what can I do for you? When great souls [like you] move towards simple-minded householders, one must never think that such a thing would happen for any other reason than their best interest. You are the author of a book concerning the transcendental knowledge of the movement of the luminaries, [an astrology book] from which any one directly may learn about the reason and consequences of his fate. You are the best of all the knowers of Brahman, a brahmin who by his birth [*] is a spiritual master for all society. With you having arrived at my home, please, perform the sacred ceremony [the samskara] for these two boys [Krishna and Balarama].'

Shri Garga said: 'Everyone knows that I am the teacher of example of the Yadus. In this world I always perform the purification rite for every son [of that family]. If I perform this ceremony for you, your sons would be considered the sons of Devaki. - Kamsa, that great sinner, knows about your friendship with Vasudeva. He also knows that the eighth child of Devaki cannot be a girl, while he took notice of Devaki having a daughter [Durga 10.4: 12]. He thus might consider to kill these children and therefore it is not wise for us to do this.'

Shri Nanda said: 'Then please perform, without him or even my own relatives knowing about it, right here in this remote place, in the cow shed, the purificatory rites for a second birth by reciting the benedictory words.'

Shri Shuka said: 'The man of learning thus urgently requested in secret seclusion performed the name-giving ceremony for the two boys for which he had come. Shri Garga said: 'He, this son of Rohini, will with His transcendental qualities be the pleasure of all his folk. Therefore He will be called Rama. Because of His extraordinary strength He will also be known as Bala and because of not existing separately from the Yadus [see also 10.2: 8] He will further be known as Sankarshana [the unifier]. And this one [the son of Yashoda] has according to the yuga accepted forms with a white, a red or a yellow colour. Now He is Krishna [of a dark complexion, see **]. This child previously was born somewhere else as the son of Vasudeva and therefore the ones who know this will speak about this child of yours as the glorious Vasudeva. There are many names and forms according to the qualities and activities of His appearances. These are known to me, but the common people do not know them. Being a Nanda-Gokula cowherd this child will always act to what is most beneficial to all of you. With His support you will easily overcome all dangers [*3]. Oh King of Vraja, in the past, when there was a faulty regime, He has protected pious souls who were disturbed by rogues so that they, with those bad elements defeated, could flourish [see also 1.3: 28]. Just like the ones faithful to Vishnu have nothing to fear from the Asuras, those who are as fortunate to associate with this child in love and affection, will not be overcome by enemies. Therefore, oh Nanda, take the greatest care raising this child. As for His qualities, opulences, name and fame this son of yours is as good as Narayana!'

Shri Shuka said: 'After Garga thus fully had informed them about the Supreme Soul [the way He had manifested in the form of the two boys] and had left for his place, Nanda, being blessed with all good fortune, considered himself most happy. Shortly thereafter Rama and Kes'ava [Krishna] were crawling around in Gokula on their hands and knees enjoying their childhood. Crawling like snakes through the mud of the cow place while dragging their feet behind them, they produced a sweet sound with their ankle bells, but when they, charmed by those sounds, enthusiastically followed [the ankle bells of] other people, they became afraid and quickly returned to their mothers. When their mothers closed their, by the mud charmingly coloured, bodies in their arms, they allowed them to drink from the milk which, because of the great love for each of their sons, flowed from their breasts. And when they, while they were sucking, looked into their mouths they were delighted with the greatest ecstasy to discover that their teeth were growing. From within their houses watching the children play outside in Vraja, they laughed and forgot their household being amused to see how the two boys caught the ends of the calves' tails and were dragged around by them. When the mothers during their household duties could not find a way to check Them being engaged in Their tireless play with the cows, with fire, with sharp-toothed animal beaks [of dogs and monkeys], with swords, water, birds and thorns, they were unsettled. Rama and Krishna very soon without the help of their knees oh King, with ease began to walk around on their legs alone in Gokula. The Supreme Lord together with Balarama playing with the other kids in Vraja then awakened a heavenly bliss in the ladies of Vraja. The gopis who with their eyes on Krishna were eager just to hear time and again about His childish pranks, assembled in the presence of His mother and said: 'Once He untimely released the calves and smiled about the anger that gave rise to. Some or another way He stole the palatable curd, milk and butter from the pots, ate from it and also gave each monkey a share. When they refuse to eat [having enough], He breaks the pot and when He cannot find any [food to feed the monkeys], He gets angry at the people of the house and goes around pinching the babies. [With the pots] hung out of reach He devises a way by piling up things or turning over a mortar and then finds His way to the contents by making a hole in the hanging pot. Awaiting the time that the gopis are busy with their household affairs, He with the necessary light from the radiating jewels on His body manages to find His way in a dark room! He is so naughty that He sometimes freely urinates in a clean spot in our houses and that cunning, resourceful thief now sits there like a nice boy!' The gopis present there discussed all these matters, but when they saw Him sitting in front of them, looking afraid with His beautiful face, the gopis were happy to see Him. They with their complaints against Him truly could not be angry with Him and having a good time had to smile only. One day, when He was a little older, Balarama and the other kids of the neighbourhood came to tell His mother: 'Krishna has eaten dirt!'

Yashoda, anxious about His well-being, chided Krishna, took Him by the hand and looked worried into His mouth to inspect Him. She said: 'Why, You unruly boy, did You

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secretly eat dirt? What are Your older brother and all Your playmates saying?'

'Not true at all mommy, I did not eat any dirt. If you think it is true, then look right here into My mouth!'

'Is that so? Then open wide!' she told Him and He, the Supreme Personality, the Lord whose opulences are unlimited, in His pastime of acting like a human child opened His mouth. 7-3 Within His mouth she [for the second time, see 10.7: 35-37] saw the entire universe with all beings moving and not moving, the sky in all directions, the mountains, the continents, the oceans, the surface of the earth, the blowing wind, the fire, the moon and the stars. She saw the planetary systems, the waters, the light, the firmament with all of outer space and all [divinities] bound to change, the senses, the mind and the three modes. Seeing that diversity along with the time of living of each soul, the natural instincts, the karma, all that is desired, the different subtle bodies as also Vraja and herself within in the wide open mouth of her son's body, she was struck with disbelief: 'Is this all a dream, a divine phantasmagoria or maybe a delusion of my own intelligence, or would that what I so see differently be some yogic phenomenon natural to my child? Let me therefore surrender at the feet of Him beyond my range of vision whom I may not understand, who escapes my consciousness, mind, action and words and under whose control I live and may return [home, back to Godhead]. With the notion of myself as being the wife of this spouse having that son, as being the queen of Vraja owning all the wealth with authority over all the gopas and gopis with their cows and calves, I have it all wrong since only He is my purpose in life [see 5.5: 8, 7.9: 19 and B.G. 5: 29].' After mother Yashoda thus had received this understanding of His reality, He, the master of illusion, the mighty Vishnu, manifested for her again the magic of the affection for her son. With the memory [of the vision] instantly faded, the gopi placed her son on her lap with a heart filled with the same intense affection for her son as before. The Lord is glorified in all His greatness with the help of the three [Vedas], with philosophical exercises [the Upanishads], with yogic analysis [sankhya-yoga] and with other devoted literatures, but she simply thought about Him as being her son.'

The honourable king said: 'Oh brahmin, what were the pious activities [see B.G. 7: 16] performed by Nanda and Yashoda from whose breast the Lord drank His milk? How did they achieve the highest perfection of such a blessing? Not even His own father and mother could enjoy the magnanimous activities of the young Krishna who eradicates the impurities of the world, actions that even today are glorified by the transcendentalists!'

Shri Shuka said: 'Drona, the best of the demigods [the Vasus], determined to carry out the orders of Lord Brahma, together with his wife Dhara said the following to him: 'May we being born on this earth be devoted to the Supreme Godhead, the Master of the Entire Universe, the Lord who is the ultimate goal under whose care one can easily avoid a miserable life.' 'So be it' was the answer [given by Brahma]. Drona thereupon took his birth in Vraja and became the Great One [the Bhagavan to Bhagavan], the highly distinguished and celebrated Nanda and she, Dhara, appeared as Yashoda [compare 10.3: 32-45 and see *4]. Oh son of Bharata, for that reason there was from both the parents and all the gopas and gopis, the constant [love of the] devotional service unto Him who had appeared as their son, the Lord our well-wisher. To substantiate the words of Brahma Krishna then together with the almighty [Bala-]Rama resided in Vraja to perform His pastimes [His 'lila'] to the delight of all.'

*: The Sanskrit says here 'by birth', but the parampara stresses the second birth or initiation. Svami Prabhupada comments: 'No one is born a brahmana; everyone is born a Shudra. But by the guidance of a brahmana and by samskara, one can become dvija, twice-born, and then gradually become a brahmana. Brahmanism is not a system meant to create a monopoly for a particular class of men. Everyone should be educated so as to become a brahmana. At least there must be an opportunity to allow everyone to attain the destination of life.' Next to this second birth there is also the third birth one has from one's sacrificial activities: independence is achieved with the internalisation of the guru (see also 4.31: 10, 7.11: 3.

**: The word 'krishna' means more than just 'dark'. Svami Prabhupada comments: 'If we analyze the nirukti, or semantic derivation, of the word "Krishna," we find that na signifies that He stops the repetition of birth and death, and krish means sattartha, or "existence." (Krishna is the whole of existence.) Also, krish means "attraction," and na means ananda, or "bliss." 'His colours are discussed later on in BOOK eleven under: 11.5: 21, 24, 27 en 34.

*3: One of the mantras the Vaishnavas use to offer their food to Krishna is:

namo brahmanya-devaya
go-brahmana-hitaya ca
jagad-dhitaya krishnaya
govindaya namo namah

'My obeisances unto the godhead of the brahmins always concerned about the cows, the brahmins and the entire universe; unto Krishna, Govinda, my respects.'

*4: Concerning this difference between the privilege of being the actual parents Vasudeva and Devaki and being His foster parents Nanda and Yashoda, Prabhupada explains that there are two types of siddhas, the perfected ones or liberated souls: nitya siddhas and sadhana siddhas: those who are eternally liberated like Nanda and Yashoda who are eternally Krishna's associates or expansions of Krishna's personal body, and those ordinary human beings who acquire a special position by enduring sadhana, the spiritual practice of executing pious activities and following the regulative principles of devotional service.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 9:
Mother Yashoda Binds Lord Krishna

- Shri Shuka said: 'One day, when the maidservants were otherwise engaged, mother Yashoda, Nanda's queen, was churning and making her curd. During the time she was churning the butter she sang songs about everything she could remember her son had done. Being dressed in linen that was held by a belt around her shaking hips, her breasts, which at the nipples were wet because of her affection for her son, moved as she was churning and with that movement the bangles on her wrists and her earrings moved along in harmony. The perspiration because of the labour of pulling the churning rope meanwhile ran down her face and fell down together with the jasmine flowers from her hair. The Lord desirous to drink milk approached her as she was churning and getting affectionate with His mother, He stopped the churning rod by taking hold of it. She sweetly allowed Him on her lap to drink from her overflowing, loving breasts and watched with a smile how happy He was. When she saw how a pan of milk was boiling over she had to put Him aside quickly and leave, but He was not yet satisfied. Having gotten angry He, biting His full red lips and with false tears, with a stone broke the pot in which the butter was churned and, hidden from sight in an adjacent room, He began to eat from everything that was churned. The gopi rescued the boiling hot milk from the stove and returned to her workplace where she discovered that the churning pot was broken. Not seeing her child she with a smile concluded that it had been His work. Standing on top of a mortar He had turned over, He, anxiously looking around, from a hanging [storage] pot to His pleasure handed a share of the milk goodies out to a monkey. From behind watching these activities, she very slowly approached her son. Seeing her approaching with a stick in her hand He quickly climbed down and fled away, like He was afraid, with the gopi after Him - He who could not even be reached by the greatest yogis of penance who try to get access in their meditation [see also B.G. 18: 55]. Even though the quickly chasing mother with the flowers falling from her hair and with her heavy breasts to her thin waist, had to slow down, she nevertheless finally managed to capture Him. Seeing the little scoundrel remorsefully crying and rubbing the collyrium of His eyes all over His face with His hands, she caught Him with His fearful eyes by the hand with a threatening pose. With a good heart for her son understanding His fear she threw away the stick though and decided to bind Him with a rope. But she did not know what kind of power she was dealing with.

He to whom there is neither an inside nor an outside, neither a beginning nor an end, is both the beginning and the end, both the inside and the outside of the universe. He constitutes the complete of the universe. And He, the One Unmanifest, the One Unseen present in the form of a mortal being, was by the gopi taken for her son and bound to a mortar like one does with a normal child. When the rope she used to bind her naughty child fell short with a length of an inch, the gopi tied another rope to it. When even that one fell short she tried another one that, joining and joining, would not suffice either to bind Him staying short with [again] an inch. Yashoda proceeded with all the ropes in the household and thus failing she, being struck with wonder, had to laugh together with all the gopis taking part in the fun. Seeing His mother sweating and getting tired and all the flowers falling down from her loosened hair, Krishna was so gracious to allow her to bind Him. My best one, the Lord factually thus exhibited how He, Krishna, despite being the controller of the entire universe with all its demigods, is controlled by the servant [who is ruled] by His wishes [His devotees. Compare 7.3: 14-21]. Neither Lord Brahma, Lord Shiva, nor the Goddess of Fortune albeit residing at His side, received from the Giver of Final Liberation the mercy the gopi obtained. They who adhere to the physical concept of life [the karmis] as also the jnanis [the book people, the transcendentalists] and they who go for the soul only [the escapists, the impersonalists] cannot win as easily the Supreme Lord, the Son of the Gopi, as those can who are convinced of bhakti [of devotional service] in this world [see also B.G. 11: 54 and 18: 16].

While His mother was very busily engaged in her household, the Lord observed two arjuna trees outside who had been demigods [Guhyakas]. They once were the sons of the bestower of riches [Kuvera]. They were known then as the very prosperous Nalakuvara and Manigriva, but because of their conceit they had been cursed by Narada to become trees.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 10:
The Deliverance of the Sons of Kuvera

The king said: 'Oh powerful one, can you please describe the abominable act because of which the devarishi got angry and the two [sons of Kuvera] were cursed?'

- Shri Shuka said: 'Very proud of being elevated to the association of Rudra the ones born from the Keeper of Wealth, [one day] walked around in a beautiful park at the Mandakini river [upper-Ganges] near Kailasa [Shiva's mountain]. In that garden full of flowers they most bewildered, with their eyes rolling because of being intoxicated from drinking varuni, were together with women who sang songs to them. Because they wanted to enjoy themselves they in the company of the young girls entered the Ganges full of lotus beds, like two male elephants with their she-elephants. It so happened that Narada, the almighty devarishi, got to see them, oh son of Kuru, and from the demigods' maddened eyes could understand what state they were in. Seeing him their adherents [the girls] were ashamed and, afraid of being cursed, quickly covered their naked bodies with their garments. But the two guardians of Kuvera's treasures [the Shiva guhyakas], who were also naked did not. Seeing the two being drunk and blind with their prestige and wealth, he in order to teach the two sons of the light a lesson, pronounced a curse against them saying the following. Narada said: 'For the one who in the mode of passion enjoys the things of the world there is nothing as perplexing to the intelligence as the arrogance of wealth, a good birth, [a nice body, learning, riches] etc., in which one feels attracted to women, wine and gambling. In that position killing animals, merciless people out of control with themselves think that this body, which is doomed to perish, would not age and would not die [see also 7.15: 7, B.G. 9: 26]. The body, however deemed to be divine, after death serves the worms and turns into stool and ashes. Does someone with such a selfish attitude towards other living beings know what hell he is heading for [see also 5.26: 17]? Does this body belong to the one providing the food, to oneself, to one's father, to one's mother, or does it belong to one's father-in-law, to a state authority, to a buyer, to the fire or even to the scavengers? The question is: who would thus that knower actually be [that proprietor] of the body that manifested from the unmanifested nature and vanishes again? Who else but a fool would take the body for the real self and kill [other] living beings [see also 4.11: 10]? For fools blinded by pride about their wealth, poverty is the best ointment for their eyes. A poor man is better capable of seeing others as equal to himself [*]. Someone who is pricked by a pin does not wish anybody with a likewise body to experience such a pain, but not so a person who was never pricked by a pin. A poor man is free from all conceit associated with the falsehood of the self. The great difficulty [of poverty] that one by providence may encounter in this world, is for him the best austerity. Always being hungry the senses of the slim body of a poor person eager for food [**], become less and less dominant and also the violence [that is the counterpart of the lust to eat] ceases. [As opposed to the rich] the poor can [easily] associate with the saints [who keep to the vow of poverty and are] equal minded towards all. The [mental] cause of their suffering as also their [physical] hankering is reduced by meeting such honest people so that purification is quickly achieved as a consequence [see also 10.8: 4]. Why would one avoid the equanimous renouncers of the world [the sadhus] who want to serve Mukunda and desire the association of materialists who proud of their wealth seek their refuge in that what is untrue [see also B.G. 7: 15]. I will therefore take away this ignorant conceit of these womanizing drunkards who because of the sweet liquor varuni, arrogant and blinded with the opulence have lost control of themselves. 0-2 Since these two sons of Kuvera being absorbed in darkness, in their pride indifferent towards others did not care to dress their bodies, they deserve it to become immobile [as two trees]. This in order to prevent that they repeat this. It is furthermore my mercy that their self-remembrance may continue and also my special favor that they, after a hundred years of the gods [a year is a day], may obtain the personal association of Vasudeva. With their bhakti revived they then may resume their celestial lives.'

Shri Shuka said: 'The devarishi thus having spoken went away to Narayana-ashrama [his abode], leaving Nalakuvara and Manigriva behind to become a pair of arjuna [***] trees. To be true to the words of the seer, His topmost devotee, the Lord [who was bound to the mortar] very slowly [now] moved to the spot where the two arjuna trees were standing. [He thought:] 'The devarishi is most dear to Me. Even though these two were born from the loins of Kuvera [a rich man], I will perform according to the words stated by the great soul.' Thus having decided Krishna moved in between the arjunas and that way got the big mortar stuck across. The boy dragging the wooden mortar that was tied to His belly behind Him, with great force pulled over the two trees. They shook

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heavily because of His supreme power and came down with trunk, branches, leaves and roots up making a tremendous noise [*4]. On the spot from the two trees two persons appeared, resplendently beautiful, like fire rising up and illuminating all directions. They offered Krishna head down with folded hands their obeisances. Being freed from passion and ignorance they said the following to the Lord of the Entire World: 'Krishna, oh Krishna, oh Supreme Master of Yoga! You are the root cause and the Original Person in the beyond of this world, of this creation of gross and subtle matter that by the brahmins is known as Your form. 0-3 You are the One for all living beings, You are the master of the life force, of the body, of the soul and the senses. You are the Time, the Supreme Lord Vishnu, the Imperishable Controller. You as the Greatest One who are both the cosmic creation and the subtle reality, You consisting of passion, goodness and slowness, are the Original Personality, Overseer and the Knower of the restless mind in all fields of action. Who, being locked up in a body with a mind that is agitated by the modes of nature, is capable of knowing You? Who now is worthy of You who are not confined to a body, You who existed before the creation and who, now being covered by the modes of nature, is present here before us? Therefore we offer You, Vasudeva, the Supreme Personality, the Origin of Creation, You whose light is covered by the might of Your natural modes, You the Brahman [both inside and outside], our respectful obeisances. 4-3 You who are not material but are known by the different embodiments of the avataras, thus demonstrates an incomparable, unlimited might in activities that cannot be performed by normally embodied persons. You, that same Goodness and Master of all blessings, have now appeared for the liberation and elevation of everyone, with all Your potencies and expansions! Our respects for You, oh Highest Virtue, oh Supreme Auspiciousness! For You, oh Vasudeva, oh Peaceful One and Master of the Yadus, our reverence. Oh Unlimited One, do we, the servants who could meet You, oh Supreme Lord because of the mercy of Your follower, the sage [Narada], have Your permission now [to leave]? May our words always concern Your pastimes, may our ears hear the talks about You, may our limbs be working for You and may our minds always remember Your lotus feet. May our heads bow to You, the All-pervading One, and may our sight be engaged in seeing the truthful ones [the saints, the Vaishnavas especially] who are Your partial embodiments.'

Shri Shuka said: 'This way being glorified by the two Guhyakas, the Supreme Lord, the Master of Gokula who with ropes was bound to the mortar, smiled and spoke to them. The Supreme Lord said: 'Everything of this incident with the most kind Narada that happened in the past is known to Me. What a great favor he did in cursing you to fall down for being blind in your madness about the wealth. Just as the eyes of a person who faces the sun [are freed from darkness] one is simply freed from all bondage by the presence of devotees who are equal towards all, by associating with persons dedicated to Me. Now that you, oh reeds [*5] of Kuvera, are saturated with love towards Me, please return home with Me as the Supreme Destination, I who constitute the Supreme of your desire and from whom one never returns [to a worldly existence. See also B.G. 5: 17].'

Shri Shuka said: 'Thus being addressed by Him, the two circumambulated Him who was bound to the mortar. They offered their repeated obeisances, took leave and then left in the northern direction [where Kailasa is found].'

*: Prabhupada comments to this: 'There is an instructive story called punar mushiko bhava, "Again Become a Mouse". A mouse was very much harassed by a cat, and therefore the mouse approached a saintly person to request to become a cat. When the mouse became a cat, he was harassed by a dog, and then when he became a dog, he was harassed by a tiger. But when he became a tiger, he stared at the saintly person, and when that saintly person asked him, "What do you want?" the tiger said, "I want to eat you". Then the saintly person cursed him, saying, "May you again become a mouse".'

**: Systematic hunger or regular fasting is in fact a standard procedure for devotees who regularly fast for a day like with ekadas'i: each eleventh day after the new and full moon the Vaishnava fasts from cereal and beans and then chants. Modern medicine confirms that a regular fast, or systematic hunger prolongs one's life. See also 8.16: payo vrata, fasting from solid food as the best of all sacrifices.

***: Arjuna trees are still found in many forests. The bark is used by cardiologists to prepare medicine against heart trouble.

*4: It is because of this damodara-lila that Lord Krishna as a toddler is sometimes called Damodara: tied to the belly [see also the bhajan Damodarashthaka].

*5: 'reeds' is an expression referring to the hollowness of being surrendered.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 11:

A New Residence, the Fruit Vendor and Vatsasura and Bakasura Defeated

Shri Shuka said: 'The cowherd men led by Nanda heard the tumult of the falling trees and, afraid that it had been the thunder, went to the spot, oh best of the Kurus. Discovering that the two arjunas had fallen to the ground they, flabbergasted, had no idea what the cause of this apparent crash would be. Who could have done this? The child, dragging the wooden mortar that He was bound to by the rope? How could this wondrous thing have happened? They were perplexed. The other children said: 'He has done it, with the mortar getting across. He dragged it in between the trees! And there were also two personalities. We saw it with our own eyes!' They could not believe what they said. 'That is not possible! How could such a small child have uprooted the trees?' But some of them had doubts [and deemed it very well possible]. When Nanda saw that his son with a rope being tied to a big mortar was dragging around with it, he had to smile and released Him.

The Supreme Lord encouraged by the gopis, sometimes danced or sang for them, as if He was a simple, ordinary child they could control like a wooden doll. Sometimes He on request carried a wooden seat, a measuring jug or a pair of shoes, to which He made fun with His relatives by striking His arms [as if He would be a strong adult]. By acting like a child to the pleasure of everyone, the Supreme Lord in Vraja showed the world to what extent He submits to His devotees.

Krishna [one day] heard a fruit vendor calling: 'Oh people, come and get your fruits!' And so the Infallible One, the Bestower of all Fruits who wanted some fruits, quickly grabbed some paddy and came to buy fruit. What He had to offer had slipped from the palms of His hands [on the way], but the fruit lady filled them [nevertheless] with fruits. Thereupon the entire basket of fruits filled with gold and jewels!

After the incident with the arjunas Rohini Devi once called for Krishna and Rama who were absorbed in their playing with the other children at the riverside. When the boys immersed in their games upon being called did not show up, Rohini sent mother Yashoda to take care of the sons. As she was calling for her son Krishna and for the other boys whom He so late still was playing with, because of her love the milk flowed from her breasts. 'Krishna, oh Krishna my lotus-eyed one, oh darling, stop playing and drink some milk. You must be tired and hungry my son! Oh Rama, please come right now together with Your younger brother, oh love of the family. You enjoyed Your breakfast this morning and You now must be needing some more! Oh scion of Das'arha ['worthy of service', the Yadus], the king of Vraja wants to eat and is waiting for You. Come here, be nice and let the other boys go home. You are covered with dirt my son, come and take a bath. Today is the day of Your birth star, be clean and then we'll give cows to the brahmins! Just see how the boys of Your age, being washed by their mothers, are all dressed up. You too with a bath, having eaten and being decorated should enjoy now.' Mother Yashoda thus in her intense love considering the Highest of them All to be her son, oh ruler of man, took Krishna and Rama by the hand and brought them home to get them presentable.'

Shri Shuka said: 'The elderly gopas who witnessed the great disturbances in the Big Forest came together with Nanda to discuss what was happening in Vraja. Upananda [Nanda's elder brother], the oldest and wisest one with the greatest experience, said in that meeting what, according to the time and circumstances, to the interest of Rama and Krishna would be the best thing to do: 'We who wish the best for our Gokula, should leave this place all together. Great disturbances are occurring here with the evil intent to kill the boys. The reason for this is that, somehow or other with the grace of the Lord, He, this boy, was delivered from the hands of the Rakshasi [Putana] who came here to kill the children and because of the fact that the falling handcart almost hit Him. And then the Lord of the Suras had to save Him from the demon in the form of a whirlwind who transported Him into the sky and so dangerously collapsed on the rocky ground. Being protected by the infallible One the child and the other children also escaped from dying because of the two [falling] trees He got stuck in between. As long as that devil [behind these attacks] is harassing us, we cannot stay in this cow place. To the interest of the boys we all together have to move to another place, before it is too late. There is a[nother] forest named Vrindavana [the 'clustered forest' *] with lots of fresh greenery and serene rock formations that with its variety of plants and wealth of grasses is a very suitable place for gopa, gopi and cow [go]. Let us therefore immediately go there today and not waste any time. We get all carts ready and be on our way with the cows, our wealth, in front - if you all agree.'

Hearing that, the gopas said unanimously: 'That is the right way, the correct approach', and began to assemble the cows and load their belongings. 1-3 Putting the elders, the children and women on the bullock carts and next their belongings, the gopas with the greatest care took their bows and arrows and departed together with the priests, oh King, thereby keeping the cows in front and loudly vibrating their horns and bugles all around. The gopis, nicely dressed with their gold around their necks and their bodies decorated with fresh kunkum, sang during the ride on the carts with great pleasure about Krishna's pastimes. Yashoda and Rohini, beautifully together with Krishna and Balarama being seated on one cart, were very happy to hear the stories being sung. Reaching Vrindavana, a place most agreeable throughout all seasons, they settled for a cow compound by placing their carts in a semi-circle like the form of the moon. Oh ruler of man, when Rama and Madhava saw Vrindavana with Govardhana hill and the banks of the Yamuna, they were very happy. The two boys with Their children's games and broken language thus delighted the inhabitants of the cow community [the new Vraja]. In due course of time They were old enough to take care of the calves. Sporting in different ways with all kinds of games, They together with the other cowherd boys, tended the calves close to the lands of Vraja. 9-4 Sometimes blowing their flutes, sometimes hurling with a sling [for the fruits], sometimes moving their feet for the tinkling [of their ankle bells], sometimes playing cow and bull while bellowing loudly imitating the animals that fought with each other and sometimes imitating the sounds of other animals, They wandered around just like two normal children.

One day on the bank of the Yamuna tending their calves with their playmates, a demon [Vatsasura] appeared on the scene with the intent to kill Krishna and Balarama. Assuming the form of a calf he had mixed with the other calves. But the Lord spotted him and, gesturing to Baladeva, pointed him out while He inconspicuously slowly moved in his direction. Acyuta caught him by the hind legs and his tail, whirled him heavily around and next threw him lifeless on top of a kapittha tree [**]. There the body of the demon assumed a giant size whereupon he together with the tree, fell to the ground. The boys who all had witnessed this incident, were greatly amazed and praised Him, exclaiming: 'Well done, very good!', and the gods being pleased showered flowers. This couple, the Sole Protectors of All the Worlds who had turned into protectors of calves, that morning finished their breakfast and next wandered around tending the young animals.

With each of them being responsible for his own group of calves, they one day wishing to quench their thirst arrived at a reservoir where they drenched the animals and thereupon themselves also drank from the water. There the boys saw a gigantic body looking like a mountain peak broken off by a thunderbolt and fallen down, that frightened them. It belonged to a big demon called Bakasura, who had assumed the body of a gigantic heron [a baka ***]. All of a sudden most powerfully rising up he with his sharp beak swallowed Krishna. Seeing Krishna being devoured by the heron all the boys headed by Rama were flabbergasted and stood completely overwhelmed and stared, nailed to the ground. He, the son of a cowherd, the Master of the Lord of the Universe [Brahma], started deep in its throat to burn like fire and was instantly angrily released without a scratch. The heron thereupon immediately tried to kill Him again with its sharp beak. With Bakasura attacking again, He with His arms caught the beak of that friend of Kamsa, after which He, as the Master of the Truthful Ones and to the pleasure of the denizens of heaven, before the eyes of the boys, tore it apart as easily as one splits a blade of grass. At that moment the gods of all places accompanied by drums, conches and prayers, showered jasmine and other flowers from Indra's paradise [Nandana-kanana] and congratulated the enemy of Bakasura. Seeing this, the cowherd sons were struck with wonder. The way the senses return to life [when one regains consciousness], the boys headed by Balarama returned to life when He was released from the beak of the heron. Freed from the danger they embraced Him, assembled their calves and returned to Vraja. There they loudly declared [that Krishna had defeated another demon]. The gopas and the gopis were astounded when they heard all the stories. Eagerly staring at them as if they had returned from death, they filled with admiration most delighted could not turn their eyes away from the boys. [They said to themselves:] What a miracle that this boy, having faced so many life threats, is still around, while all those who gave rise to fear themselves had to experience the hatefulness they gave in to. Even though they had approached with the intent to kill this boy, none of the evil planners who appeared so grotesque in their malice, managed to succeed. Besieging Him they all died like flies in the fire. That is how it is: the words of the knowers of Brahman never ever prove false. That what by the supreme master [Garga] was predicted has happened exactly so [see 10.8: 8-9]!' This way Nanda's gopas delighted in the pleasure to talk about the stories about Krishna and Balarama without ever running into the pains of the world [see also 1.7: 6]. The two boys thus passed their childhood in the cow-community with different children's games like playing hide and seek, building dams and jumping around like they were monkeys.'

*: Vrindavana is situated between Nandes'vara and Mahavana.

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**: The kapittha is sometimes called kshatbelphala. The pulp of this fruit is very palatable. It is sour-sweet and liked by each and everyone.

***: The heron is regarded a bird of great cunning, deceit and deliberation and so it stands for the hypocrite, the cheat, the rogue.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 12:
The Killing of the Demon Aghasura

Shri Shuka said: 'One day the Lord decided to have a picnic in the forest. Rising early He blew His horn nicely to wake up His comrades and the calves. Then they departed from Vraja driving their groups of calves in front of them. It offered a most attractive sight to see them all happy and beautifully together as they walked out in His company with their prods, horns, flutes and the many calves each of them had. All together they numbered over a thousand. With Krishna's personal calves added to them they could not be counted anymore. Immersed in their children's games, the boys had a good time in different places [in the forest].

Even though they were already adorned with gems, shells, gold and pearls, they also used fruits, green leaves, bunches of beautiful flowers, peacock feathers and coloured minerals to decorate themselves. They snatched away each other's belongings and threw them at a distance when it was discovered. Others threw them further away, but then again they were returned with a laugh. When Krishna walked away to admire the beauty of the forest, they enjoyed it to say 'me first, me first' while they touched Him. -1 Some blew their flutes, some vibrated their horns, some hummed along with the bumblebees and others imitated the cuckoos. Some ran after the shadows of the birds, some walked elegantly with the swans or sat with the ducks just as silent or danced with the peacocks. They searched for young monkeys and hopped along with them between the trees as they were skipping from tree to tree. They jumped together with the frogs, getting wet in the water, they laughed at their shadows and mocked their own echoes. This way they enjoyed the merit of their previous lives in friendship with Him who is the Supreme Divinity for those who are entangled in maya, He who is the spiritual happiness for those transcendentalists who accept it to be of service [as a consequence thereof. See * and 1.1: 2, 1.7: 6 and 2.1: 6]. Yogis skilled in self-control do not even after many lives of doing penance achieve the dust of His lotus feet. How fortunate then are the inhabitants of Vraja for whom He became the object of their vision by personally being present?

And then the one named Agha ['the evil one'] appeared on the scene, a great demon who could not tolerate the sight of their happy pastimes. His life's end was awaited by all the immortal souls, in spite of the nectar they drank. When Aghasura, who was sent by Kamsa and who was the younger brother of Baki [Putana] and Bakasura, saw the boys who were led by Krishna, he thought: 'This must be the killer of the two who together with me took birth from the same mother. Let me therefore now for their sake, kill Him and His boys! When these boys have become the sesame and water for the funeral rites of my brother and sister, when the strength of the life of the inhabitants of Vraja [their children] has disappeared, when these living beings whom they consider the very embodiment of their love and breath have left them, they all will be as good as dead.' Thus having decided he assumed the wondrous form of a very, very large python that extended for miles. Therewith he occupied, as high as a mountain and with a mouth spread wide open like a mountain cave, that moment most wickedly the road in order to swallow the picnickers. Keeping his mouth wide open, his lower lip rested on the earth and his upper lip touched the sky. His teeth were like mountain peaks, the inside was pitch dark, his tongue resembled a broad road, his breath was like a warm wind and his fiery look was like a fire. Seeing him in that position they all considered it Vrindavana at its best. It was for them a known game [to act] as if they were looking at the form of a python's mouth: 'Look dear friends! A dead python there before us, ready to swallow us all with its snake mouth spread open, is it not? It is obvious, really, that cloud up there is the upper lip and below, that big sand bank with that reddish glow, is his lower lip... On the left and right, those caves, look just like the corners of the mouth and those peaks there, are exactly like the animal's teeth. The length and breadth of the broad path, is like the tongue and the darkness, in between the mountains, looks like the inside of its mouth. Just notice how that hot wind blowing from a forest fire is like its breath, and the bad smell of the flesh of the burned corpses, stinks like the flesh within its belly. Would this animal be here to devour all who dare to enter? With that being so, he will, just like the heron, be immediately vanquished by Krishna!' so they said, looking at the gleaming face of Him, Baka's enemy, while they loudly laughing and clapping their hands entered its mouth.

Krishna heard them talking this and that way besides the truth. They did not realise what they were dealing with. He knew that the Rakshasa was very real and was deceiving them and so He arrived at the conclusion that He, the Supreme Lord, the Complete Whole of All Living Beings who is situated in the heart, should stop His comrades. Meanwhile, all the boys and their calves had entered the belly of the demon, but they were not devoured. The Rakshasa who was thinking of his dead relatives, waited for Baka's enemy to enter. Krishna, who for each and everyone is the source of fearlessness, was amazed to witness that and compassionately felt sorry about this twist of fate. They who had no one but Him now helplessly had moved away from His control to burn as straws in the fire of the belly of Aghasura, death personified. What to do now? This rogue should not exist, nor should the innocent and faithful ones find their end. How could He achieve both ends at the same time? Gathering His thoughts the Lord, the Unlimited Seer, knew what to do and entered the mouth. That very moment all the gods exclaimed from behind the clouds in fear 'Alas, alas!' and Kamsa and the other bloodthirsty friends of Aghasura rejoiced. When He heard that, Krishna, the Supreme Lord who is never vanquished, immediately expanded Himself [see siddhi] within the throat of the demon who tried to crush the boys and the calves in his belly. With that action the airways were blocked and the eyes of the squirming and wrestling giant popped out. The life air was arrested within the internally completely obstructed body and then broke out through the top of the skull. After all life air had left the body and Krishna saw that the boys and calves lay dead, He, Mukunda, the Supreme Lord, brought them back to life whereupon He reappeared from the mouth in their company. From the body a most wonderful bright light issued that all by itself illumined the ten directions. It remained in the sky waiting until the Supreme Personality appeared and then, before the eyes of the demigods, it entered His body [sayujya-mukti]. Everyone most pleased thereupon performed his specific service of worship [see also 1.2: 13]: flowers were showered, the singers of heaven sang, the heavenly girls danced, the demigods played their specific instruments and the brahmins offered prayers. The Unborn One [Lord Brahma] who nearby in his abode heard the wondrous sounds of those for everyone so very auspicious prayers, sweet sounds, songs and different celebrations, came immediately and stood amazed to see the glory of the Supreme Master.

Oh King, after the skin of the python had dried, it became a place of interest for the inhabitants of Vrindavana that for a long, long time afterwards was used as a cave. This incident - of the snake's death and deliverance and the liberation of Him and His associates - that took place when the Lord was five years old [kaumara], was by the boys in Vraja disclosed one year later [pauganda] as if it had happened that very day. However unthinkable it might be for an impure soul, it is not that astonishing that even Aghasura was liberated from all contamination and [with the light of his soul] could merge with the Supersoul. All he had to do was to associate but for a moment with the Supreme Creator of a higher and lower existence, when He assumed the form of a human child. This destination He even grants those who [like Aghasura] but once got innerly connected to His form because of a certain state of mind in relation to His divinity [thus even being connected in hatred]. What then would that mean for those in whom He is ever present as the remover of illusion, as the One who always grants each and every soul the realisation of transcendental happiness?' "

Shri Suta [see 1: 12-15] said: "He [Parikchit] who was protected by the God of the Yadus [Yadavadeva or Krishna] and who this way, oh twice-born one, heard about the so very wonderful activities of his savior [see 1.8], thus being fixed in his consciousness asked the son of Vyasa for more about these meritorious deeds. The honourable king said: 'Oh brahmin how could what happened in the past, be described as having happened in the present? How can that be possible? How could what the Lord did at the age of five years by the boys be described as having occurred at His sixth? Oh great yogi, I am burning with curiosity. Please, explain this incident to me, oh guru, I am certain that it was caused by nothing but the deluding potency of the Lord [yoga-maya]. In this world oh teacher, we as a mundane ruler are most blessed with the opportunity to always drink from the nectar of your sacred talks about Krishna.' "

Shri Suta said: "When the man of penance this way was questioned by him, he had completely lost contact with his senses the very moment that he was reminded of the Infinite One. After with difficulty slowly having regained his external vision, he answered the Lord's most outstanding, finest adherent."

*: Shrila Prabhupada comments: 'The secret of success is unknown to people in general, and therefore Shrila Vyasadeva, being compassionate toward the poor souls in this material world, especially in this age of Kali, has given us the Shrimad Bhagavatam. Shrimad Bhagavatam puranam amalam yad vaishnavanam priyam (S.B. 12.13: 1. For Vaishnavas who are somewhat advanced, or who are fully aware of the glories and potencies of the Lord, Shrimad Bhagavatam is a beloved Vedic literature. After all, we have to change this body (tatha dehantara-praptih). If we do not care about Bhagavad Gita and Shrimad Bhagavatam, we do not know what the next body will be. But if one adheres to these two books - Bhagavad Gita and Shrimad Bhagavatam - one is sure to obtain the association of Krishna in the next life (tyaktva deham punar janma naiti mam eti so 'rjuna [B.G. 4: 9]). Therefore, distribution of Shrimad Bhagavatam all over the world is a great welfare activity for theologians, philosophers, transcendentalists and yogis (yoginam api sarvesham [B.G. 6: 47]), as well as for people in general'.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 13:
Lord Brahma Steals the Boys and Calves

Shri Shuka said: 'Asking such very good questions you are a most fortunate soul oh best of the devotees, because you with your wish to hear the stories about the Lord again and again, lend them new charm. This is what sets apart the truthful ones who accepted the essence of life: that what is their life's purpose, the aim of their understanding and what comes first to their mind, appears to be new every time they properly discuss matters in relation to the Infallible One, despite the repetition, just like every woman seems to be new to a womanizer. Please listen carefully, oh King, I will relate it to you... even though it is a confidential subject. For gurus describe even hidden matters to a loving disciple.

After He had saved the boys and calves from the mouth of that deadly Agha, the Supreme Lord brought them to the river bank and spoke the following words: 'Oh, how beautiful this river bank is My dear friends! It offers all opportunity to play, with its soft and clean sands, the aroma of the blooming lotuses that attract the bumblebees and the sounds of the chirping birds everywhere in the many trees! Let us eat here. It is late now and we are weak from hunger. After the calves drank from the water, they at ease can eat from the nearby grasses.' They consented, let the calves drink from the water and took them to the tender grasses. Then they opened their lunch bags and happily enjoyed their meal together with the Supreme Lord. In a wide circle happily facing inward, the boys of Vraja grouped in rows around Krishna. Thus sitting down in the forest they looked as beautiful as the petals and leaves that make up the whorl of a lotus flower. Some of them used flower petals as a plate while others used bunches of leaves, twigs, fruits, [the material of] their packets, the bark of trees or a slab of rock. All of them allowed the others a taste of their own favorite food and thus they with the Lord had a good time taking their lunch while laughing and making others laugh. With His flute tucked away in His belt and with the horn and the prod at His left side, He took the yogurt rice and pieces of fruit between His fingers. Keeping Himself in the middle of the circle of His comrades He made them laugh telling His jokes. The denizens of heaven thus witnessed how the Enjoyer of all Sacrifices was enjoying His childhood pastimes. Oh scion of Bharata, while the Infallible One this way in harmony was eating together with the cowherds, the calves looking for grass had wandered deep into the forest. Noticing that, Krishna, the Terror of Fear, said to the worried boys: 'Oh friends, stay where you are, I will bring the calves back to this spot!' Krishna, the Supreme Lord, after saying this, went away with a bit of food in His hand to look everywhere in the mountains, the caves, the bushes and the bowers for the calves of His friends.

He who was born from the lotus and who resides in the beyond [Lord Brahma], was very charmed by the way the Lord had enchanted the boys. Just to see more of it he led the boys and their calves away to hide them elsewhere, oh man of the Kuru bond. This authority from heaven who before had witnessed the deliverance of Aghasura, had become very astonished about the Almighty Personality [see footnote*]. When Krishna nowhere could find the calves nor the cowherd boys after He had returned to the river bank, He searched the entire forest for the both of them. Neither finding the calves nor their caretakers anywhere in the forest, Krishna, well aware of everything going on in the universe, understood immediately that this was the work of Vidhi [Lord Brahma]. In order to please the mothers of the boys and also him [Brahma], Krishna, the Controller managing the entire universe, thereupon expanded Himself to both the forms [of cowherd boy and calf]. With a perfect likeness of the cowherd boys and their tender calves, having the same size of legs and hands and the same bugles, flutes, sticks and bags and such; with the same ornaments and dresses in all respects, with exactly their character, habits, features, attributes and traits and playing the same games and such, Krishna, the Unborn One, manifested Himself in expansions of Vishnu with the same voices and bodies they had. Personally thus in different ways enjoying the company that He offered Himself in the form of the calves and the cowherd boys, He, the Soul of All, thereupon entered Vraja. He brought Himself in the form of the different calves to the different cowsheds and next entered the different houses with the different persons He had become oh King. As soon as their mothers heard the sound of their flutes, they immediately abandoned what they were doing and lifted them as feathers up in their arms. They hugged them and allowed them, being wet from their love, to drink from their nectarean breast milk. In that spirit feeding their sons [they were thus of respect for] the Supreme Divinity [the Supreme Lord]. Every time Madhava thereupon in the

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evening came home oh ruler of man, having finished what He had to do, they happily took care of Him with their actions of massaging, bathing, smearing and decorating Him, chanting mantras for His protection, marking Him with tilaka and sumptuously feeding [all the boys He was]. Thereafter the cows, that had arrived in their sheds, immediately loudly mooing called for their calves. These followed them, were time and again licked by them and fed with the milk that flowed from their udders. From cow and gopi there was in this matter the motherly affection as there was before, be it that since this love now was derived from the Lord [in the form of the calves and boys], it was free from the bewilderment of 'this is my child' [free from 'I' and 'mine']. Now that the children of the inhabitants of Vraja, unlike before, were all like Krishna for the time of a year, the creeper of affection for them [and Him] gradually, day by day, increased without a limit. Thus for the period of a year tending Himself in the form of the calves by means of Himself in the form of the cowherd boys, He, the Supersoul, wished to play His game [His lila] in the community and the forest.

One day, five or six days before a whole year had passed, the Unborn Lord, together with Balarama taking care of the calves, entered the forest. In the vicinity of Vraja looking for grass for their calves, they at a distance were spotted by the mother cows that were pasturing on top of Govardhana hill. As soon as they saw them they, urged by their love, forgot about the herd. Despite the difficult path, they broke away from their caretakers and loudly mooing galloped fast [downhill] with their necks raised to their humps, their heads and tails upwards and dripping milk from their udders. The cows united with their calves at the foot of the hill and, despite having calved again, fed them with their flow of milk and anxiously licked their limbs as if they wanted to swallow them. The gopas being frustrated in their efforts to keep them from the difficult and dangerous path, felt greatly ashamed for having gotten angry with them, for when they got there, they found their sons together with the cows and calves. Their minds were steeped in a mood of utter, transcendental love and with that great attraction their anger melted away like snow before the sun. Lifting their boys up in their arms to embrace them, they smelled their heads and experienced the highest pleasure. Thereafter the elderly gopas, overjoyed with the embraces, could only with difficulty tear themselves loose from them and had tears in their eyes upon the memory. When Balarama saw the abundance of love and the constant attachment of all the inhabitants of Vraja, however long ago their children and the calves had left behind their mother's breast, He could not understand the reason for this and wondered: 'What kind of miracle is happening here? The divine love [prema] of Me and everyone here in Vraja for the children and for Vasudeva, the Soul of the Complete Whole, has never been so big! Who would be behind all this? What has caused it? Is it a divine being, is it a woman or a she-devil? In any case it must be the special grace [Maya-devi] of My Sustainer. Who else could bewilder Me like this?' Pondering thus He through His mind's eye saw that all the calves along with their companions were [manifestations of] the Lord of Vaikunthha. [Balarama said to Krishna:] 'These boys are no [incarnated] masters of enlightenment, nor are these calves great sages. You oh Supreme Controller, only You are the One who manifests Himself in all the diversity of existence. How can You be everything that exists at the same time? Tell Me, what exactly is Your word to this?' By saying these words Baladeva then with His Lordship arrived at an understanding of the situation [**].

The selfborn one [Brahma] returning after such a long time, saw that, even though it was but a moment later to his own notion [see kalpa], one year later the Lord was playing together with His expansions like He did before. [He said to himself:] 'Because the many boys in Gokula together with their calves, fast asleep are situated on the bed of my deluding power, it cannot be so that they today would have risen again. I therefore wonder where these boys here came from. They are different from the ones bewildered by my power of illusion. Yet the same number of them is for an entire year playing together with Vishnu!' For a long time thus contemplating what the difference between the two would be, he, the selfborn one, by no means could determine who of them were the real ones and who not. And thus even he, the unseen one, was factually bewildered by his own mystic power, he who wanted to mystify Vishnu, the One who Himself being eleveated above all misconception, mystifies the entire universe. As meaningless as the obscurity of a fog is during the night and the light of a glowworm is during the day, a person of a lesser mystic potency will realise nothing but his own destruction when he tries to use this power against a great personality. And even as the selfborn one was looking on, he saw the herders of the calves appearing with the complexion of a rain cloud and in clothes of yellow silk. 7-4 They had four arms and held a conch, a disc, a club and a lotus in Their hands. They wore helmets, earrings, necklaces and garlands of forest flowers. They were marked with the Shrivatsa, carried the [Kaustubha] jewel about Their conch-striped necks and had bracelets around Their wrists. They had ornaments at Their feet and bangles on Their ankles. With Their belts around Their waists and Their rings around Their fingers They were most beautiful to behold. From head to toe all Their limbs were covered by strings of fresh, soft tulsi [basil] that had been offered by those [devotees] who are of great merit [see also 10.12: 7-11]. With Their smiles as bright as moonlight and the clear glances of Their reddish eyes, They, being just like [the natural modes of white] goodness and [reddish] passion, were the creators and protectors of the desires of Their devotees [compare 10.3: 20]. The Praiseworthy Primal Being [of Vishnu thus] was by all beings moving and not moving, from the first being [of Brahma] down to the smallest clump of grass, worshiped in different ways, with [for instance] dance and song. The glory of the perfections [siddhis, being like the smallest etc.], the mystic potencies headed by Aja [***] and the twenty-four elements of creation headed by the complete of them [the mahat-tattva] were standing around Them [in a personal appearance]. They were worshiped by the time factor [kala], the individual nature [svabhava], the reform by purification [samskara], desire [kama], fruitive action [karma], the modes [guna] and other powers the glory of whose appearances was defeated by His greatness [see also B.G. 13: 22]. They were embodiments of the complete, one essence full of knowledge, bliss, truth and eternity. In Their glory They were of a greatness beyond the reach of even the seers of philosophy [see also 1.2: 12 and *4]. The selfborn Brahma thus saw Them all instantly as expansions of the Supreme Absolute Truth [para-brahman] by whose effulgence this entire creation, moving or not moving, is manifested. By Their radiance being caught in bliss and shaken in all his eleven senses, the selfborn one thereupon fell silent, just like the doll of a child [is nullified] by the presence of a locally worshiped deity.

The One Never Born [Krishna] understood that the lord of Ira [Brahma's consort Sarasvati] thus was mystified. Because by [the presence of] Him who is known by the Vedas [as the Supreme Brahman] everything else is nullified, because that self-manifested [multiple] blissfulness above the material energy superseded Brahma's glory and he therefore could not fathom what he was dealing with, the Lord all at once tore away the veil of His yogamaya [see also 7.7: 23]. Then, with his external consciousness revived, he like a dead man with difficulty stood up and opened his eyes to behold this [universe] including himself. That moment looking in all directions he saw Vrindavana situated in front of him with its many trees, a place sustaining and pleasing its inhabitants during all seasons. Man and beast who are inimical by nature, live together like friends in that residence of the Invincible One from which all anger, thirst and all of that has fled away. There the one residing in the beyond [Brahma], saw Him, the Absolute Truth Without a Second, the Supreme Unlimited One of Unfathomable Knowledge who had assumed the role of a child in a cowherd family. He saw Him the way He was before: all alone and searching everywhere for His calves and boys with a morsel of food in His hand [*5]. When he saw that, he quickly came down from his carrier [the swan] and fell with his body flat to the ground like a golden rod. With the tips of his four crowns he therewith touched His feet and bowing down performed a bathing ceremony with the pure water of his tears of joy. Over and over thinking about what he previously had seen, he rose and fell for a long time again and again at the feet of Krishna, the greatness present there. Gradually getting up again he, looking up at Mukunda, wiped his eyes and with his head bent over, a trembling body and a faltering voice extolled Him humbly with folded hands and a concentrated mind.'

*: Shrila Prabhupada comments: 'Anyone materially born is subject to bewilderment. This pastime is therefore called brahma-vimohana-lila, the pastime of bewildering Brahma. Mohitam nabhijanati mam ebhyah param avyayam (B.G. 7: 1. Materially born persons cannot fully understand Krishna. Even the demigods cannot understand Him (muhyanti yat surayah). Tene Brahma hrida ya adi-kavaye (S.B. 1.1: . Everyone, from Brahma down to the small insect, must take lessons from Krishna.'

**: Shrila Prabhupada comments: 'We should be careful to note that although the supreme source is one, the emanations from this source should be separately regarded as inferior and superior [meaning unconscious and conscious - ed.]. The difference between the Mayavada and Vaishnava philosophies is that the Vaishnava philosophy recognises this fact. Shri Caitanya Mahaprabhu's philosophy, therefore, is called acintya-bhedabheda - simultaneous oneness and difference.' [see also the dual position taken by Krishna in the Bhagavad Gita 7: 3-6].

***: Ajah means unborn but Aja, the she-goat, is a nickname of His deluding power by Maya-devi or Durga. According to Prabhupada [the parampara] namely the word aja means maya, or mystic power: everything mysterious is in full existence in Vishnu. Aja Taulvali is, according the Cologne lexicon, the name of a Muni who lived on the milk of a she-goat [an aja]. The term aja [the he-goat] itself refers to the leader of the flock, the driver, mover, instigator, and is used for indicating Indra, Rudra, one of the Maruts, Agni, the sun, Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva.

*4: Shrila Prabhupada comments: 'Yet although Krishna cannot be seen through the Upanishads, in some places it is said that Krishna can in fact be known in this way. Aupanishadam purusham: "He is known by the Upanishads." This means that when one is purified by Vedic knowledge, one is then allowed to enter into devotional understanding (mad-bhaktim labhate param [B.G. 18: 54]).'

*5: Shrila Prabhupada comments: 'A similar incident occurred when Brahma went to see Krishna in Dvaraka. When Krishna's doorman informed Lord Krishna that Lord Brahma had arrived, Krishna responded, "Which Brahma? Ask him which Brahma." The doorman relayed this question, and Brahma was astonished. "Is there another Brahma besides me?" he thought. When the doorman informed Lord Krishna, "It is four-headed Brahma," Lord Krishna said, "Oh, four-headed. Call others. Show him".'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 14:
Brahma's Prayers to Lord Krishna

Shri Brahma said: 'My praise for You, oh Son of the Cowherd King, oh worshipable Lord whose beauty is characterised by a resplendent face, soft feet, a body as dark as a raincloud, clothes as bright as lightening, gunja [seed] ornaments [on Your ears], peacock feathers, a garland of forest flowers, a morsel of food [see 10.13: 14], a rod, a bugle and a flute. Oh Godhead so full of mercy for me, even with this body of Yours before me, that to the desire of Your devotees has manifested but at the other hand is not a material product at all, I, Brahma, with my inward mind cannot directly fathom Your greatness, not to mention the happiness You experience within Yourself. Even though You are Invincible in the three worlds, You surrender to the will of those persons who, in maintaining their material positions, regularly exercise their body, words and mind and [are prepared to] listen to the stories about You the way they are described by the devotees - by those truthful souls who, living simply, offer their obeisances and no longer try to be of any intellectual achievement [apart from You]. The so highly beneficial path of bhakti oh Almighty Lord, is rejected by those who struggle exclusively for the achievement of knowledge ['enlightenment']. Their efforts though mean nothing but trouble to them, just as empty husks are nothing but a hindrance to the ones threshing. A long time ago, oh Almighty One, there was in this world many a yoga adept who, dedicating all his actions to You, acquired insight by doing his duty. It is indeed so that by performing devotional service someone with the presentation [the chanting and reading] of Your stories easily can achieve Your Supreme Destination, oh Infallible One [see also 7.5: 23-24]! Nevertheless, oh Completeness of Existence, only he is able to understand the potency of You as being without material qualities [nirguna], who is of a pure engagement with a mind and senses that are free from agitations. A person is truly free from attachments to this or that form only when he follows Your love without another instruction for himself, and not otherwise. Great scientists in the long run might succeed in counting all the particles present in the universe of the earth, the sky, the snow and the light of the stars. But who would be able to count all the qualities of You, the Self of All Qualities [gunatma], who descended for the benefit of all living beings [compare 8.5: 6]? Someone who earnestly hopes for Your compassion, endures the consequences of his own actions and offers You his obeisances with his heart, words and body, will lead a life directed at the position of liberation, because he then will be the heir of Your service [see also 1.5: 17, 1.19: 32, 2.1: 12, 3.33: 6, 4.20: 11, 4.29: 38 etc.]. Just see, oh Lord, how I, just to test Your potency, by expanding my illusory power, have behaved myself in an uncivilised manner towards even You, the Deluder of All Deluders, the Unlimited, Original Supersoul. What is my will compared to Yours? But a spark relative to a fire! Therefore oh Infallible One, I offer You my excuses, I, born from passion, who as the unborn one thought himself to be independent from You. My eyes were blinded by the darkness of ignorance. Does someone like me, who accepts You as his master, not deserve Your mercy? What am I with my material nature, with those seven vitasi [± 63 inches] of this body, with this totality of matter, false ego, ether, air, fire, water and earth that surrounds me like a pot? What am I compared to the unlimited universes that like atomic dust move away from the openings and pores of Your body, Your greatness [see also 1.3: 3 and 3: 11]? Oh Lord from the Beyond, does the mother count it as an offense when a child kicks its legs within the womb? What, being labeled with designations as 'existent' or 'nonexistent', would there actually be outside of Your abdomen? Have I, the 'selfborn' Brahma [aja *5] not originated from You? Are the words untrue that state that when the three worlds ended and You Narayana laid down in the waters of devastation, I have appeared on the lotus of the stem that grew from Your abdomen [see 3: 8]? Are You not Narayana the Soul of all living beings? You are the Teacher Within the Heart, the Witness of All Worlds, the Nara-ayana: the lead of man and

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the source from which the waters originated. That is what You truly are and not so much your deluding material energy [maya]. If that real transcendental body of Yours that shelters the entire universe is situated upon the water, why then did I not see it oh Supreme Lord [when I was looking for You]? And why did You, when I could not see you clearly in the heart, on the other hand then suddenly become visible again [see 3.8: 22]? In this incarnation, oh Dispeller of Maya, You [by opening Your mouth] have demonstrated to Your mother the illusory nature of this externally visible manifested universe that is also in its entirety present inside of You [see 10.7: 35-36 & 10.8: 37-39]. The way all of this including Yourself is visible within You, it is also fully present outside. This is only possible because of Your inconceivable potency! Did You not just today show me how this all, except for Yourself, is based upon Your bewildering potency? First You were there all alone and then You became all of Vraja's boys and calves. Next You even became a same number of four-handed forms who were served by all [the powers] including me and then You became an equal number of universes [10.13: 53]. Then You again became the One Infinite Absolute Truth without a second... For those who unaware of Your position understand You the material way, You, by expanding Your maya, appear as Me for the matters of creation, as Yourself for the purpose of maintenance and as the Three-eyed One [Lord Shiva] in the end. You, who are [factually] unborn, oh Lord, take Your birth among the enlightened souls and the seers, as well as among the human beings, the animals and the aquatics , oh Master and Creator, to subdue the false pride of the non-devotees and to be of mercy for the devotees [see also B.G. 4: 8]. Who, oh Greatest Supreme Lord, oh Supersoul and Master of Yoga, knows where and how, to what degree or when in the three worlds Your pastimes occur, You expand the play of Your spiritual energy [yoga-maya]? For that reason this complete whole, which is untrue [asat, temporary] in its form, is just like a dream wherein one's awareness is covered by all kinds of distress. While one inside of You finds Your unlimited forms of consciousness, eternity and happiness [sat, permanent, see also B.G. 2: 16 and **], that what seems to be true [outside] on the other hand originated from the material energy. You are the One Soul, the Original Personality, the Oldest One, the Truth, the Light from Within without a beginning and an end, the eternally unchangeable, unimpeded happiness free from impurities, the Complete Whole Without a Second that is everlasting and defies all description. They who from the sunlike spiritual master received the perfect vision of the confidential philosophy, can see You, the very Soul, the Supersoul of all souls, being described as such. They are the ones who easily cross over the ocean of an untrue worldly existence. For those who do not understand You as being the Supreme Soul, for that reason alone a totally material life unfolds that disappears again with spiritual knowledge, just as with a rope [in illusion the image of] a snake may appear and disappear again. Designations of being bound to matter or being liberated, rise from ignorance. When one realises that the two have no separate existence, one is situated in the true knowledge and unhindered consciousness [as-it-is, free from maya] of the supreme transcendental self. [They at that time lose their meaning,] just as day and night are matters doubtful to the sun itself. Oh, how ignorant the foolishness is of persons who think of You, the Original Soul, as being something else and about the Self as something to be looked for [as someone present] in the outside world [see B.G. 18: 16]! The realised devotees [the sages], who reject everything that is not 'that' [see neti neti 7.7: 23], look for You within themselves, oh Unlimited One. How can such a person of discrimination, appreciate the true nature of the 'rope' he sees before him without rejecting the [therewith associated] illusion of seeing a 'snake' [see also 10.6: 8, and B.G. 18: 37]? It is therefore so my Lord, that someone who is blessed with but a trace of Your lotus feet, can understand the truth of the glory of Your Supreme Personality, while that is not possible for someone else, however long he might speculate. May it therefore be so, oh Lord, that in this birth, a next one or even another type of birth, there will be that greatest fortune in which I, by becoming one of Your devotees, am fully of service at the lotus buds of Your feet? How fortunate are the cows and the gopis of Vraja from whom You, to Your full satisfaction in the form of the calves and boys, have been drinking the nectarine breast milk. Oh Almighty Lord, that satisfaction of You could as yet by no Vedic sacrifice be equaled! What a happiness, oh what a fortune it is for Nanda, the gopas and the other inhabitants of Vraja, to have You as their friend, You the Complete, Absolute and Eternal Truth of Transcendental Happiness. However great the good fortune and glory of these people might be oh Infallible One, we, the eleven [presiding deities of the senses ***], Lord Shiva and the other leading demigods, are very happy to drink, again and again, from the cups of the senses of these devotees, the nectarean beverage of Your sweet lotus feet. Whatever birth I would take here in this forest [even as this or that animal or plant], would bring me the greatest happiness, just because I then would bathe in the dust of the feet of any of them [out here] whose life is completely devoted to the Supreme Lord Mukunda, the dust of whose feet even today is sought in the Vedic mantras [the Shrutis]. What but Yourself, the source of all benedictions, oh Godhead, would You grant as a reward to these members of the cowherd community? All of their homes, wealth, friends, dear ones, bodies, children, life-air and minds are dedicated to You. When our mind thinks of anything else it falls in illusion. For did You not even arrange it indubitably so that Putana - who dressed up as a devotee - and also her family members [Baka and Agha] could reach You, oh divine personality? As long as the people are not Yours, oh Krishna, their attachments and such are all thieves, their home is a prison and their infatuation is as a pair of shackles to their feet. Despite being completely transcendental You on this earth imitate [and deride] the material ways oh Master, just to increase the amount of happiness of the people of surrender. Let the people [who claim to know] of Your unlimited potency think what they like - why all these words? That is not my way oh Master. Your magnificence is not within the range of my mind, body and words [see B.G. 2: 42-44]! Permit me to leave, oh Krishna. You know everything, You see all, You alone are the master of all universes, I put this universe at Your disposal. Shri Krishna, oh bestower of pleasure of the lotus of the Vrishni dynasty. You are the cause of the development of the seas of this earth, of the demigods, the brahmins and the animals. When there are unsound doctrines You dispel the darkness. You are the opponent of the ogres on earth. For as long as the sun shines, till the end of time, I, oh worshipable Supreme Lord, will offer You my obeisances.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Thus having extolled the Wealth of the World, the creator of the universe, after circumambulating Him three times and bowing down to His feet, returned to his abode. The Supreme Lord granted the one who had originated from Him permission to leave and then brought the calves back to the riverbank where they had been. There, just as it was before, all His friends were present. Although one year had passed and they, without the Lord of their lives, had been covered by Krishna's maya, it was to the conception of the boys but half a moment ago, oh King. What do persons whose minds are under the spell of maya not forget out here? Because of illusion the entire world is perpetually bewildered and forgetful about itself [its soul, its identity]. The friends said to Krishna: 'You have returned quickly, we did not even eat a single bite more, please come here and take Your meal as should.' Smiling at them, the Lord of the Senses thereupon took His meal with the cowherd boys whom He, when they returned from the forest to Vraja, showed the skin of the python Aghasura [see 10.12]. He whose body was decorated with a peacock feather, with flowers and colours from the forest, loudly played the bamboo flute. He called for the calves while the horns sounded and the boys sang about His purifying glories. Thus with His comrades entering the pasture grounds [near Vrindavana] He was a pleasure to the eyes of the gopis. In Vraja the boys sang: 'Today we have been saved by the son of Yashoda and Nanda who killed a great serpent!'

The king said: 'Please, oh brahmin, explain how there could be such an unprecedented amount of love for the child of someone else that Krishna was, a love that even exceeded the love [the gopas and gopis had] for their own offspring?'

Shri Shuka said: 'One's own self is most dear to every living being, oh ruler of man. All the love for others, children, wealth and so on is based upon that. Oh best of kings, the love of embodied beings for their own individual self is therefore not equal to the love they have for that what belongs to them like sons, wealth, homes and so forth. Persons who speak of the body as being their self [see also ahankara], oh best of kings, therefore [also] hold their body as most dear and certainly do not attach an equal value to that what [or the other person] they are associated with [see also B.G. 2: 71]. If one considers the body as something that one possesses [though], it consequently will not be as dear as the soul [the true self]. After all, when it grows old the desire to stay alive remains equally strong. [The self of] one's own soul is therefore most dear to all embodied beings. It constitutes in fact the purpose of existence of all the moving and not moving living entities in the universe. In this you should know Krishna as the Soul of all souls [or the Supersoul]. It is He [that Self] who by His own art appearing as a human being, is present on this planet for the benefit of the entire universe. They who in this world know Krishna as He really is, understand that the moving and not moving living entities [including inorganic matter] are two different manifestations of the Supreme Lord. He is the Complete Whole, the essence outside of which nothing exists out here [compare B.G. 7: 26]. He is even the cause of the transformation [of the unmanifested matter of pradhana] that establishes the manifestation of everything in material nature. Is there anything that can exist apart from Krishna, the Supreme Lord? His lotus feet, that are like a boat, the feet that for the entire universe [even for the greatest gods] constitute the refuge of virtue and merit of Him who is so famous as the enemy of Mura [the demon], constitute for those who seek shelter with them the Supreme Abode. In this place [named Vaikunthha] none of the material miseries are found. With each step taken with them the ocean of material existence is [not more than the water in] a calf's hoof-print [compare 10.1: 5-7 and 10.2: 30].

Everything you have been asking for concerning that what the Lord did at His fifth year and was declared at His sixth, I have now described to you. The person who hears or sings about these pastimes of Lord Murari annihilating Agha, how He with His friends was taking lunch in an open spot in the forest and about the other-worldly [multiple Vishnu] form that He assumed with the selfborn one who so elabourately offers his prayers, will achieve all the [spiritual] ends he desired.' *4

*: Based upon this verse Shrila Prabhupada in the Caitanya-Caritamrita, Adi-lila, chapter two, text 30 states that Krishna is considered the real source of all other expansions of the Vishnu forms and other demigods originating from them: 'Lord Krishna is Narayana, the father of Brahma, because Lord Krishna's plenary expansion Garbhodakas'ayi Vishnu, after placing Himself on the Garbha Ocean, created Brahma from His own body. Maha-Vishnu in the Causal Ocean and Kshirodakas'ayi Vishnu, the Supersoul in everyone's heart, are also transcendental expansions of the Supreme Truth."

**: In his commentary on the Vedanta-sutra, Shrila Madhvacarya quotes the following statement from the Vedic Shruti-mantras: 'satyam hy evedam vis'vam asrijata'. "This universe, created by the Lord, is real."

***: The 'eleven' pertains to the demigods ruling over the senses of action and perception plus the mind: the Digdevatas rule audition, the Vayus rule the tactile sense, Surya rules sight, Varuna rules taste, the As'vini-kumaras rule the olfactory sense, Agni rules speech, Indra rules the hands, Upendra rules the feet, Mitra rules the defecation, Prajapati rules the organ of generation and Candra rules the mind. Shiva is the god presiding over ahankara, false ego.

*4: There is a last verse to this chapter identical to the last one of chapter eleven: verse 10.11: 59.

The two boys thus passed their childhood in the cow-community with different children's games like playing hide and seek, building dams and jumping around like they were monkeys.'

[translated by the pupils of Prabhupada as]: In this way the boys spent their childhood in the land of Vrindavana playing hide-and-go-seek, building play bridges, jumping about like monkeys and engaging in many other such games.

This verse present in the original Sanskrit probably does not belong here. It must have accidentally been transferred from chapter 11 in the process of manual copying through the ages.

*5: Brahma is in this chapter just like Krishna called the unborn one or aja; not to get confused it is here translated with 'selfborn', svayam-bhu, another name for Brahma as the one directly born from Narayana, while Krishna, contrary to what it seems in His descending in a material form, factually is the never born primeval source [see also footnote *** to the previous chapter].

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 15:

The Killing of Dhenuka, the Ass Demon and Poison in the River

Shri Shuka said: 'When They [Rama and Krishna] in Vraja attained the age of boyhood [six to ten years old], the two who rendered Vrindavana most pleasurable with Their footprints, were old enough to be cowherds. Together with Their friends they thereupon were commissioned to tend the cows [*]. Madhava ['the Sweet Lord'], eager to play, surrounded by the gopas who were chanting His fame, sounding His flute and keeping the animals together with Balarama in front of Him, entered the forest that had many flowers and a lot of nourishment for the cows. The most enchanting forest was filled with the sounds of bees, animals and birds. There was a lake with water as clear as the minds of the great [sages] and it had a fragrance originating from hundred-petalled lotuses that was carried by the wind. When the Supreme Lord saw this He decided to play there. The moment the Original Personality saw the beauty everywhere of the stately trees that with the tips of their branches touched His feet with their heavy load of fruits, flowers and reddish buds, He joyfully, almost laughing, spoke to His elder brother. The Supreme Lord said: 'Oh Best of the Gods, these trees at Your lotus feet that are worshiped by the demigods, with their heads bowing down are presenting offerings of flowers and fruits to put an end to the ignorance because of which they were born in their form. Oh Original Personality, these bees following You, as the most intimate great sages among Your devotees, do - despite Your hiding in the forest - not abandon You as their personal deity oh Sinless One while singing their worship of You, the place of pilgrimage for all the worlds! These peacocks, oh Worshipable One, are dancing with joy. These doe are pleasing You with their glances as if they were the gopis and the cuckoos do Vedic prayers. They as residents of the forest being blessed with such a saintly nature, are all as fortunate as to see You who now arrives at their

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place. Blessed is now this earth, her grasses and bushes that receive the touch of Your feet. Blessed are the trees and creepers struck by Your fingernails. The rivers, mountains, birds and animals are blessed with the mercy of Your glances and blessed are the gopis in Your arms that are constantly craved by the Goddess of Fortune.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Lord Krishna this way being satisfied by all of Vrindavana's beauty, took delight in pasturing together with His companions the animals on the river banks at the foot of the mountain [Govardhana]. 0-1 Sometimes, when His companions together with Balarama on their way sang about His glories, He sang along with the humming bees that were blind under His influence. He sometimes imitated the chattering broken speech of the parrots and then cuckooed with the charming cuckooing of the cuckoos. Sometimes He cooed along with the swans and sometimes He danced hilariously in front of a peacock. With a voice [rumbling] like the clouds He sometimes affectionately called the animals that wandered off by their names and spoke endearingly with the cows and their protectors. He cried out in imitation of the cakora birds, the curlews, the ruddy geese, the skylarks and the peacocks and then again acted with the smaller creatures as if He [also] was afraid of the tigers and lions. Sometimes when His elder brother being tired of playing used the lap of a gopa for a pillow, He would personally relieve Him by massaging His feet and performing other services. When the cowherd boys so now and then danced, sang, moved about and wrestled, They stood hand in hand laughing and praised them. At times when He was tired of the wrestling He sought His refuge at the foot of a tree to lie on a bed of twigs and leaves and use the lap of a gopa for a pillow. Some of them, who were all great souls, massaged His feet while others, free from all sin, fanned Him nicely with fans. Others befitting the occasion oh great King, would sing [songs] reflecting the spirit of the Great Soul while their hearts slowly melted of love. He in His activities pretending to be a cowherd, concealed His personal opulence with the help of His mystic potency. He whose tender feet are served by the Goddess of Fortune, enjoyed like a villager with the villagers, even though He with His heroic deeds had proven Himself to be the Master and Controller.

The gopa Shridama, a friend of Rama and Kes'ava, together with others like Subala and Stokakrishna [one day] lovingly said the following: 'Rama, oh Rama, oh Mighty-armed One, oh Krishna, Destroyer of the Wicked Ones, not far away from here there is a very great forest full of palm trees [called Talavana]. Many fruits there have fallen from the trees, but they are checked by Dhenuka, the evil one. Oh Rama, oh Krishna, he is a very powerful demon who has assumed the form of an ass and he is surrounded by other companions that are as strong as he is. He has killed human beings, everyone is afraid to go there, oh Killer of the Enemies. All kinds of animals and flocks of birds have abandoned it. There are fragrant fruits that we have never tasted. The aroma they spread is noticed everywhere. Please oh Krishna give them to us whose hearts are craving because of the fragrance. The desire is so strong oh Rama, let us go there if You consider it a good idea.'

Having heard these words from Their friends, the two masters laughed and went, wishing to please Their comrades, surrounded by the gopas [compare 3.28: 31-33] to the Talavana forest. Balarama having arrived there, employed His great strength and shook with His two arms the trees to all sides like a mad elephant so that the fruits fell down. When he heard the fruits falling the donkey demon ran hither with a heavy gallop that made the earth and the trees tremble. Meeting Him the powerful demon struck Balarama's chest quickly with his two hind legs and then ran about producing an ugly ass bray. The furious, screaming beast approached Him again and angrily hurled with his back turned forward, his two legs at Balarama, oh King. [But] He seised him by the hooves, whirled him around with one hand and threw him, [being dashed against a palmyra] with his life spun out of him, in the top of a palm tree. The big palm tree shook heavily with its large crown because of that blow and next broke down along with another one that started to shake next to it. That tree on its turn took down another one and so it went further. Balarama with His game of donkey corpse throwing made all the palm trees [of the forest] shake and hit each other as if they were blown about by a hurricane. This feat of war of the Fortunate One is not that surprising at all, for He is the Unlimited, One Controller of the Universe in whom the length and width of the world[s] is [woven] like the threads of [the warp and woof] of a piece of cloth. Then, enraged about the death of their friend, all the asses that were Dhenuka's intimates attacked Krishna and Rama. But attacking Krishna and Rama, oh King, one after the other was easily seised by the hind legs and dashed against the stately palm trees. The earth being covered with heaps of fruits, palm treetops and lifeless daitya bodies, offered a view as radiating as the sky decorated with clouds. When the demigods and other transcendentalists heard about that immense triumph of the Two, they showered a rain of flowers, played music and offered prayers. With Dhenuka being killed the fruits of the palm trees could be eaten by the people who were no longer afraid and the animals could graze in the forest.

Krishna the Lord with the lotus petal eyes about whom it is so auspicious to hear and chant, returned with His elder brother to Vraja, glorified by the gopas who followed Them. All the gopis with eyes hungry to see Him came to meet Him who still had the dust in His hair that was thrown up by the cows, He with His peacock feather, forest flowers, charming eyes and beautiful smile who played His flute and whose glories were sung by the gopas. Entering the cowherd village He heartily welcomed the ladies of Vraja who in their veneration being bashful, humble and laughing, like bees searching for honey, with sidelong glances were drinking in the face of Mukunda, He who constituted their liberation. And therewith they gave up the grief they had suffered during the day because they had been separated from Him. Mother Yashoda and Rohini most lovingly catered to the desires of their two sons by presenting Them at the right time the finest offerings. The weariness of the road vanished with a bath and a massage and such, after which They were dressed with a charming cloth around Their waist and were decorated with divine garlands and fragrances. With the delicious preparations offered to Them They ate Their fill and thus being pampered by Their mothers They fell happily asleep in Their fine beds in Vraja.

Oh King, Krishna, the Supreme Lord who thus operated in Vrindavana, went one day, without Balarama and in the company of His friends, to the Kalindi [the Yamuna, see also **]. The cows who together with the gopas suffered from the glaring summer sun, tormented by thirst drank from the water of the river, but it was polluted, it was spoiled by poison. 9-5 Because they got in touch with that poisoned water they lost their consciousness and all fell lifeless down at the waterside, oh best of the Kurus. Lord Krishna, the Master of all Masters of Yoga who saw them in that state, thereupon brought them back to life by casting His glance - which is as a shower of nectar - on them who had accepted Him as their master. Regaining their senses [their 'memory'], they got up at the waterside and all stood most surprised looking at each other. They came to the conclusion that they, after having drunk the poison and had fallen dead, oh King, by the grace of Govinda's merciful glance had risen again.'

*: It is stated in the Karttika-mahatmya section of the Padma Purana:

shuklashthami karttike tu
smrita gopashthami budhaih
tad-dinad vasudevo 'bhud
gopah purvam tu vatsapah

"The eighth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month of Karttika is known by authorities as Gopashthami. From that day, Lord Vasudeva served as a cowherd, whereas previously He had tended the calves."

**: The Kalinda is the name of the mountain from which the river Yamuna rises.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 16:
Krishna Chastises the Serpent Kaliya

Shri Shuka said: 'The Black Lord [Krishna], the Almighty One, seeing the black waters contaminated by the black snake, wanted to purge the river of the serpent living there.'

The king said: 'How did the Supreme Lord subdue the serpent in that dangerous water and how could it reside there for so many ages, oh learned one? Please explain. Oh brahmin, who can get enough of sharing the nectar of the magnanimous pastimes of Him, the Supreme Unlimited Lord who as a cowherd boy acted to His own bidding?'

Shri Shuka said: 'In the Kalindi there was a certain pool where Kaliya [as the serpent was called] resided and its water boiled because of the fire of his poison. Birds flying over it would fall [dead] into its waters. All plant and animal life on the shore died because it came into contact with the poisonous vapor that by the wind was carried from the waves. Krishna had descended to subdue the wicked ones. Seeing how severely the river was contaminated by the terribly effective, powerful poison, He climbed in a Kadamba tree, slapped His arms, tightened His belt and jumped into the poisoned water. The water of the serpent's lake in turmoil from the poison that the snake was vomiting, started because of the force of the fall of the Essential Person to overflow on all sides so that its fearsome waves washed over the shore for a hundred bow lengths. What an immeasurable strength that was! My best one, when the snake heard the sound that Krishna produced while He, playing like a big elephant, with His mighty arms was engaged in whirling the waters around, he rushed forward, unable to tolerate the violation of his territory. And while He, so attractive in His yellow garments and as delicate as a glowing white cloud, with the Shrivatsa, His smiling beautiful face and with His feet which resembled the inside of a lotus, thus fearlessly was playing, He was angrily bitten in the chest by him and enveloped in his coils. Seeing Him in the grip of the snake's coils being immobilised, His dear friends, the tenders of the animals, were greatly disturbed. With their intelligence bewildered, in pain and full of remorse and fear, they fell to the ground, for they had dedicated everything, themselves, their relations, their wealth, their wives and objects of desire to Krishna. The cows, the bulls and the she-calves with their eyes fixed on Krishna, cried out loudly in great distress while they fearfully lamented in shock.

Thereupon most fearsome, ominous disturbances arose in Vraja. Three kinds of signs, to be observed in the sky, upon the earth and in the living beings, heralded imminent danger. 3-1 The cowherds headed by Nanda who saw these signs were beset with fear. They knew that Krishna herding the cows had left without Balarama. Not knowing His prowess, they were overwhelmed by pain, grief and fear. Because of those bad omens they thought that something bad had happened and could only think of Him who was their very life breath. The children, the elderly ones and the ladies my best one, all felt as wretched as a cow missing her calf and anxiously set out to look for Krishna. Balarama the Sweet Supreme Lord seeing them that distressed, gently smiled and did not speak a word, knowing well the power of His younger brother. Searching for their dear most Krishna they followed the trail marked by the footprints of the Lord. They led to the bank of the Yamuna. Quickly they followed the marks of the lotus, the barleycorn, the elephant goad, the thunderbolt and the flag of the Master of their community my best one, that they here and there, dispersed between other footprints saw on the cow path. When they at a distance saw Krishna motionless within the lake enveloped by the coils of the snake body and the cowherd boys lying unconscious in the flooded water with all the animals crying around them, they in their distress were delivered to the greatest despair. Now that their sweetheart was seised by the serpent, the gopis who in their hearts were so attached to Him, the Supreme, Unlimited Personality, while remembering His loving smiles, glances and words were tormented by the greatest agony. Being deprived of their darling, they experienced the three worlds as being completely empty [see also Shikshashthaka verse seven]. Holding back Krishna's mother, they with their eyes fixed upon her son, equally pained shed a flow of tears. Standing there like corpses they stared at Krishna's face and one by one recounted the stories about the Darling of Vraja. Nanda and his men seeing Krishna, their life and soul, were by the All-powerful Lord Balarama who knew well the might of Krishna, withheld to enter the lake. When He, the only one they had, for some time was caught in that position and saw how His cowherd folk on His behalf was standing there in utter despair together with the women and children, He put an end to His imitation of the mortal way [the illusion of His mortality] and rose up from the coils of the serpent. By expanding His body the serpent was forced to let Him go because of the pain. Kaliya thereupon furiously raised his hoods high, breathed heavily through his nostrils that were like two vessels of boiling poison and stared the Lord in the face with eyes like firebrands. Kaliya, moving his double-pointed tongue to and fro between his two lips and with his terrible look full of poisonous fire eagerly spying for an opportunity to strike, was by Him playfully approached from all sides by moving around him like He was the king of the birds [Garuda]. Thus turning around him He exhausted him and forced him to bend down his highly raised shoulders. Krishna thereupon climbed on top of the broad heads and then, as the Original One, the First Spiritual Master of All the Arts, started to dance. His lotus feet in touch [with the snake] therewith turned red from [the light of] the many jewels on the heads. That very moment His servants arrived together with their wives: the heavenly singers and perfected souls, the sages and the venerable ones. Taking notice of Him being engaged in His dancing, they all were greatly pleased [and expressed their joy] with playing two-sided clay drums, smaller drums and large drums, and with songs, flowers and other forms of praise. Whichever of Kaliya's one hundred-and-one heads would not bow down my best one, were immediately trampled down by Krishna. The Lord who with His kicking feet punishes the evil ones, made the serpent that still moved but the life of which ran at its end, spit horrible [poisonous] blood from its mouth and nostrils while it experienced the greatest anguish. Poison oozed from his eyes and whichever vomiting head that he breathing heavily in his anger would rise, Krishna, while dancing, with His foot forced down into submission. Every time that happened He with flowers was worshiped for being the Original Person. Profusely vomiting blood, with his numerous hoods broken and with his body defeated by His amazing dancing oh ruler of man, Kaliya remembered the oldest person, Lord Narayana, the spiritual master of all moving and nonmoving entities. Within his mind he turned to Him for shelter. Seeing that the serpent got tired of the heavy weight of the heels of Lord Krishna in whose abdomen the entire universe is found and that his umbrella-like hoods were shattered by His trampling, his wives in distress approached the Original Lord with their clothing, ornaments and locks of hair in disarray. Innerly totally upset approaching for shelter, they laid their bodies and children on the ground before Him, the Lord and Refuge of All Creatures. They bowed down, saintly joined their hands and solicited the liberation of their sinful husband.

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The wives of the serpent said: 'The punishment for this person who acted against the rules is deserved. With an equal vision towards sons and foes, You descended in this world to subdue the wicked ones and punish for the sake of a positive result. This punishment of the falsehood administered by You is actually a form of mercy because by dispelling the contamination, as You did with his appearance as a serpent, You even being angry are of grace in accepting the ones embodied. Of what kind of properly performed penance has he been in his former lives, with which he, free from pride and thinking of others, religiously or otherwise being of compassion with everybody, has satisfied You, the Good Self of all living beings? We don't know what [of his actions] led to this result, oh Lord. To be qualified to touch the dust of Your lotus feet is something for which the Goddess of Fortune, the best of all women, has performed austerities, has given up all desires by keeping to her vow for a long time. They who attained the dust of Your lotus feet neither desire heaven nor rulership over all, neither want to be the topmost creator nor the master of the world and neither wish the perfections of yoga nor freedom from rebirth [see also Shikshashthaka verse 4]. Even though he, the king of the serpents being born in the mode of ignorance, oh Lord, was under the sway of anger, he has achieved that what is so difficult for others to achieve. For those who filled with desires are covered by a physical body and wander through the cycles of material existence [through different lives], all opulence will manifest itself before their eyes because of that [dust]. We offer You, the Supreme Lord, the Original Person and the Greater Soul, You, the Shelter of All that Exists, the Supreme Primordial Cause and the Supreme One in the Beyond, our obeisances. For You, the Ocean of Spiritual Knowledge and Wisdom, for You, the Absolute Truth of an unlimited potency, for You who are free from the modes and free from all changes of form, for You, the Prime Mover, there is our reverence. We pray for You as the Time, for You as the Certainty with the Time and for You as the Witness of all Time measures. Our prayers are there for You in the Form of the Universe, for You as the One Supervising it All, for You as the Creator and for You who are the Final Cause of the Universe. 2-4 Our obeisances for You who are the Soul and refuge for the intelligence, the spirit, the life breath and the senses, for You who constitutes the subtle basis for the perception and the material elements, for You from whom [turned away] one falsely identifies with the three modes so that one's self-awareness is covered. We pray to You, the Unlimited One, the Transcendental One who are the centre to the multitude, You who are the omniscient one and He who accepts the different doctrines [philosophies or dars'anas] and constitutes the power of the expression of ideas and words. Again and again we prove our respects for the foundation of all authoritative proof, for the author of the revealed scriptures and for the source of the Vedic texts that both restrict [nivritti] and incite [pravritti]. We bow before Lord Krishna and Lord Rama [Sankarshana], the sons of Vasudeva, as also before Pradyumna and Aniruddha [Krishna's son and grandson, see 4.24: 35-36]. Our obeisances to the Master of the Satvatas [the devotees of Krishna, Satvata]. Our salutations are there for Him who manifests the various qualities, He who disguises Himself by the modes but also because of the functioning of the modes can be acknowledged, He, who by His devotees is known as the [independent] witness of the modes. Oh Controller of the Senses, let there be our reverence for You who are so inscrutable in Your unmanifest state and so perfect in the state of all Your manifest forms, for You who acts so silently with the silent ones. We worship Him, the Knower of the Higher and Lower Destinations, the Regulator of All Things, You who stands apart from the universe and [yet] are the universe itself, You who are the Overseer of That and the Root Cause of this all. You are the Almighty Lord of the Creation, Maintenance and Destruction of this universe who, beginningless and without acting with the modes, with the potency of Time endeavors [to promote the balance] in relation to the modes. While impeccably playing Your game, You by Your glance awaken the distinctive dormant characteristics of each of these [modes]. The ones of peace, the restless ones and those born in slowness are Your material embodiments [of the modes] in the three worlds. Wishing to maintain the dharma You [therewith being embodied Yourself] are present in this world in order to protect the saintly and the peace-loving ones dear to You. The master for once should tolerate the offense that was committed by his own subject. You, oh Peace Personified, should forgive it this foolish one [our husband] who failed to understand You. Oh Supreme Lord have mercy, the serpent is breathing his last. Since we women are pitied by the saints, our husband should be granted his life. Please tell us, Your maidservants, what we should do. By the faithful execution of Your command one will surely be released from all fear.'

Shri Shuka said: 'He, the Supreme Lord, thus extensively praised by the wives of the stupefied snake, thereupon released him whose heads were defeated by His trampling feet. Slowly he with difficulty regained his senses and vital force. Breathing normally again and miserable, Kaliya spoke submissively to Krishna. Kaliya said: 'We [snakes] so vicious and ignorant by birth, are of a constant anger. For normal living beings it is difficult to give up the propensities by which they hold on to that what is untrue [their physicality], oh Lord! Oh Creator, oh Lord of the Time and the Seasons, You are the one who generated this universe filled with the appearances of the natural modes endowed with different personal propensities in varieties of talents and physical capabilities, wombs and seeds, with different mentalities and forms. And we present here in this world, oh Supreme Lord, are because of the serpent species bound to anger. How can we in our bewilderment of our own accord get rid of Your insuperable Maya? Let there be from Your good self as the cause in this matter, as the Knower of this All, as the Master of this Universe, for us be the arrangement You think fit, whether it concerns Your mercy or Your punishment.'

Shri Shuka said: 'The Supreme Lord, in the role of a human being thus hearing the words then said: 'You, oh serpent, must not stay here any longer. Go directly to the ocean with your folk, your children and women. May the wealth of the river be enjoyed by the human beings and the cows. Any mortal being who remembers this command of Mine to you and recites it at the beginning and the end of the day, will not become afraid of you. He who at the place of this pastime of Mine bathes and gratifies the gods and others with the water, will, when he remembers Me, is of worship and fasts, be freed from all sins. Afraid of Garuda you abandoned the island Ramanaka and took shelter of this pool, but now that you are marked by My feet he will not devour you.'

The honourable sage said: 'Freed by Krishna, the Supreme Personality whose actions are so wonderful, oh King, the serpent together with his wives worshiped Him with pleasure and reverence. 5-6 Worshiping and satisfying the Lord of the Universe with the finest clothing, strings of flowers and most valuable jewels as also with ornaments, heavenly scents, ointments and with a wreath of lotuses, he was by Him who carries Garuda in His flag permitted to leave, contented as He was by the circumambulating and reverence accomplished by him and his wives, children and friends. Immediately after his departure to the island in the ocean, the nectarean water of the Yamuna became free from poison by the grace of the Supreme Lord who for His pastimes had assumed a human form.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 17:
The History of Kaliya and Krishna Swallows a Forest Fire

The king said: 'Why did Kaliya give up Ramanaka, the abode of the serpents, and what caused the enmity of Garuda especially towards him?'

- Shri Shuka said: 'The snake people of sacrifice here [in Nagalaya] were in the past urged to pay tribute to the serpents every month at the base of a tree, oh mighty-armed one. In order to secure their protection the serpents every new moon each presented their portion to Garuda, the great power over them. Kaliya, the son of Kadru conceited under the influence of his venom and strength, in defiance of Garuda ate those offerings himself. Hearing about it oh King, that mighty and beloved devotee of the Supreme Lord with great speed rushed forward to kill Kaliya. Garuda swiftly attacking fell upon him who, armed with poison and full size raised with his many hoods, looked most fearsome with his tongues and terrible eyes. The snake then bit him with the help of his weapons, the fangs. The carrier of Madhusudana, the son of Tarkshya [see 6.6: 21-22] with his formidable prowess full of anger swiftly moving warded off Kaliya, the son of Kadru and struck him with his left wing that glowed like gold. Beaten by Garuda's wing Kaliya utterly distraught entered a lake of the Kalindi where it was difficult for Garuda to go.

Saubhari Muni [mediating under water] once had denied Garuda the right to desire any of its water creatures, his normal sustenance [see 9.6], but because he was hungry he resisted him and took one. Seeing the fish who lived there in a state of misery, most unhappy because the king of the fish had been killed [by Garuda], Saubhari, in order to set things right, out of compassion for the sake of their welfare said: 'I swear, if Garuda enters this lake to eat the fish, he will immediately lose his life!' Kaliya was the only one who knew this, no other serpent, and therefore hiding in fear of Garuda he dwelled there, the very place from where he was expelled by Krishna.

The moment the cowherds saw Lord Krishna rising up from the lake, divinely clad, with a garland and scented, covered by many fine jewels and decorated with gold, all their senses sprung back to life. Filled with joy they embraced Him affectionately. When Yashoda, Rohini and Nanda, the gopis and the gopas, oh son of Kuru, rejoined with Krishna they regained all their functions and that even happened with the dried up trees. Rama and Acyuta, the Infallible One, embraced each other laughing, well aware of Their potency. Out of love Balarama raised Him on His lap and admired Him from all sides. Thus They together with the cows, the bulls and she-calves experienced the highest pleasure. The learned and respectable personalities along with their wives all came to Nanda and said: 'Your son having been seised by Kaliya has now by divine ordinance been freed. For the sake of Krishna's safety please make donations to the brahmins', and Nanda, happy minded oh King, gave them cows and gold. The chaste Yashoda who had lost and retrieved her son, the One of Great Fortune, raised Him on her lap, hugged Him and allowed her tears to flow freely.

That night oh best of the kings, the cows and the people of Vraja, weakened as they were because of thirst, hunger and fatigue, remained there at the shore of the Kalindi. Then, because of the summer heat, in the middle of the night from all sides a forest fire arose that closed in the sleeping Vrajasis and began to scorch them. The people of Vraja thereupon woke up. In distress because they would burn they turned to Krishna for shelter, He the Master, who by the power of His spiritual potency had appeared like a human being [compare 10.8: 16]. 'Krishna, Krishna, oh Greatest of Fortune! Oh Rama of Unlimited Power, this most terrible fire is about to devour us who belong to You! Please protect us, Your people, Your friends, against this insurmountable [deadly] fire of Time . Oh Master, we at Your benevolent, blessed feet that drive away all fear, are incapable [to escape from here]!' The Lord of the Universe, the Unlimited One who possesses endless potencies, this way seeing the desperation of His people, thereupon swallowed that terrible fire.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 18:
Lord Balarama Slays the Demon Pralamba

Shri Shuka said: 'Surrounded by His happy-natured folk singing His glories Krishna thereafter [after the forest fire] entered Vraja that was so beautiful with its herds of cows. While the two [Lords Balarama and Krishna] thus were sporting in Vraja in the disguise of a cowherd, the summer season approached that is not so pleasant for the living beings. Nonetheless because of the special qualities of Vrindavana this place, were the Supreme Lord Kes'ava together with Rama personally was staying, manifested characteristics similar to those of spring. The constant noise of the waterfalls drowned out the sound of the crickets there while the groups of trees embellishing the area were moistened by their spray. From the waves of the lakes and the currents of the rivers cool breezes transported the pollen of the kahlara, kanja and utpala lotuses. Because of them there was for the people living in the forest not the tormenting heat of the sun or the forest fires that belong to the summer season, but instead an abundance of grass. The water of the very deep rivers drenched the shores, which caused muddy banks on all sides. The fierce sun radiating its venomous rays there could not drive away the moist from the earth and the greenery. In the forest that was beautifully filled with flowers, all sorts of animals made their noises, birds were singing, peacocks [cried], bees [hummed] and cuckoos and cranes were cooing. While sounding His flute Krishna, the Supreme Lord intent on playing there, entered the forest area in the company of Balarama, the gopas and the cows. Being decorated with fresh leaves, peacock feathers, bunches of small flowers, garlands and colourful minerals, the gopas headed by Krishna and Rama were singing, dancing and romping about. While Krishna danced, some of them sang, some played on flutes, cymbals and horns while others offered praise. The demigods disguised as cowherd folk oh King, worshiped [see 10.1: 22] Krishna and Rama in their form of cow protectors, just like professional dancers do when they encourage another dancer. Whirling in circles, jumping distances, throwing with things, slapping their arms and pulling with ropes they played and sometimes they held, when they wrestled, each other by the locks of their hair. When so now and then the others danced They were the ones who played the instruments, who sang and who were of praise, oh King by saying: 'How good, how good this is!' At times they played with bilva fruits and then again with kumbha fruits or with palmfuls of amalaka fruits [myrobalan]. They played tag [aspris'ya] or blind man's buff [netra-bandha] and such games and sometimes they mimicked the animals and birds. Then they jumped like frogs, told all kinds of jokes and then again they were playing on the swings or acted like kings. The two this way being engaged in common human play, roamed the forests, mountains, rivers and valleys, bowers, lakes and surrounding groves.

[One day,] while Rama and Krishna together with the gopas were herding the animals in that forest the demon Pralamba arrived there in the form of a gopa who wanted to kidnap Them. Since He who stemmed from the house of Das'arha was the omniscient Supreme Lord, He saw what he was up to. Thinking of killing him, He accepted to be friends with him. Krishna, the knower of all games thereupon called together the gopas and said: 'Oh gopas, let us play and divide us in two equal teams.' For that purpose the gopas appointed Rama and Janardana as their leaders so that some belonged to Krishna's group while others joined the group of Rama. They engaged in several games of 'carrier and carried' [harinakridanam] that were defined by the rule that the winners would climb on the back of the defeated ones who then had to carry them. While carrying and being carried they tended the cows. Led by Krishna, they went to a banyan tree named Bhandiraka [*]. After Rama's party consisting of

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Shridama, Vrishabha and others had won the contest, each of them was carried by Krishna and the members of His party, oh King. Because Krishna, the Supreme Lord, was defeated He carried Shridama, Bhadrasena carried Vrishabha and Pralamba [the Asura] carried the son of Rohini [Balarama]. Considering Krishna invincible that foremost demon in great haste set off to carry [his passenger Rama] beyond the finish line where one should dismount. Holding Him high the demon lost his momentum though because Rama became as heavy as the king of the earth and the planets [mount Meru]. As a consequence he resumed his original body that was covered by golden ornaments. He shone like a cloud flashing with lightening that carried the moon. Seeing that body moving fast through the sky with blazing eyes, frowned eyebrows, rows of terrible teeth, wild hair, with armlets, with a crown and with earrings, the Carrier of the Plow being amazed about the effulgence, was a bit put off. Balarama being carried away from His company like He was being kidnapped, regained His wits and fearlessly hit His enemy angrily hard with His fist on the head. That happened as vehemently as the king of the gods hitting a mountain with his thunderbolt. The head of the demon being struck split immediately in two so that he unconscious and lifeless, spitting blood from his mouth, fell to the ground with a loud noise that sounded like a mountain being hit by Indra's weapon. When the gopas saw how Pralamba was killed by the force of Balarama's display of power, they were most astonished and exclaimed: 'Very good, well done!' ['sadhu, sadhu'] Pronouncing benedictions they praised Him for His deserving action. With their hearts overwhelmed by love they closed Him in their arms as if He had returned from death. After the sinful Pralamba had been killed, the demigods, utterly satisfied, heaped flower garlands upon Him and offered prayers exclaiming: 'Bravo, excellent!' '

*: Shrila Sanatana Gosvami quotes the following verses from Shri Harivams'a (Vishnu-parva 11.18 - 2, which describe the banyan tree:

dadars'a vipulodagra-
s'akhinam Shakhinam varam
sthitam dharanyam meghabham
nibidam dala-sancayaih
gaganardhocchritakaram
parvatabhoga-dharinam
nila-citranga-varnais' ca
sevitam bahubhih khagaih
phalaih pravalais' ca ghanaih
sendracapa-ghanopamam
bhavanakara-vithapam
lata-pushpa-sumanditam
vis'ala-mulavanatam
pavanambhoda-dharinam
adhipatyam ivanyesham
tasya des'asya Shakhinam
kurvanam Shubha-karmanam
niravarsham anatapam
nyagrodham parvatagrabham
bhandiram nama namatah

"They saw that best of all trees that had many long branches. With its dense covering of leaves it resembled a cloud sitting on the earth. Indeed, its form was so large that it appeared like a mountain covering half the sky. Many birds with charming blue wings frequented that great tree whose dense fruits and leaves made it seem like a cloud accompanied by a rainbow or like a house decorated with creepers and flowers. It spread its broad roots downward and carried upon itself the sanctified clouds. That banyan tree was like the lordly master of all other trees in that vicinity, as it performed the all-auspicious functions of warding off the rain and the heat of the sun. Such was the appearance of that nyagrodha tree known as Bhandira, which appeared just like the peak of a great mountain."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 19:
Krishna Swallows Again a Forest Fire

Shri Shuka said: 'With the gopas being absorbed in their games, their cows wandered far off. Grazing on their own they hungry for grass entered the thickets. The goats, cows and buffalo going from one part of the forest to the other entered a cane forest where they, thirsty because of the heat, complained loudly. The gopas led by Krishna and Rama not seeing the animals, regretted it not to have kept an eye on the cows and started searching for their trail. Anxious about the loss of their livelihood they all followed the hoofprints of the cows on the path that was marked by the blades of grass that were broken by the hooves and the teeth of the cows. Their cows and the other animals who had lost their way, they found back in the Munja forest, tired crying because of thirst. Thereupon they all turned back. When they heard the sound of their names being shouted by the Supreme Lord with a voice as loud as the rumbling clouds, they answered most joyfully.

All of a sudden, from all sides a huge and terrible conflagration appeared that with its tongues of fire threatened all moving and non-moving beings in the forest with a gruesome storm of sparks that was driven by their charioteer, the wind. From all sides being caught by the forest fire the gopas and the cows looked about in fear. Just like anyone else who troubled by the fear of death seeks the Supreme Personality, they thereupon in their distress addressed Krishna and His Strength, Balarama. 'Krishna, oh Krishna, oh Greatest Hero! Oh Rama of a never failing power, please save us surrendered souls from being scorched by the forest fire. We, Your friends, oh Krishna, with You, the perfect knower of all dharma, as our Lord we are devoted to, for sure can never deserve it to suffer destruction!'

Shri Shuka said: 'The Supreme Lord Hari, thus hearing the pitiable words of His friends, said: 'Do not be afraid, just close your eyes.' 'All right', they said and having closed their eyes the Supreme Lord, the Controller of Yoga, delivered them from the danger by swallowing the terrible fire. When they thereupon opened their eyes again, they stood amazed. Together with the cows they had been saved ànd transported to Bhandira [the banyan tree, see 10.18: 22, ten miles away, so they say]. Having witnessed their deliverance from the burning forest by dint of the yogic power of Krishna's internal control over the deluding material energy, they considered Him an immortal divine being. Together with Rama and the cows returning late that afternoon to the cowherd village, Krishna on the road sounded His flute while He was praised by the gopas. The young cowherd girls were exited to the greatest degree of bliss to see Govinda present again. For them it seemed to take a hundred ages to be without Him but for a moment.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 20:
The Rainy Season and Autumn in Vrindavana*

Shri Shuka said: 'The cowherd boys described to the ladies [of Gokula] the amazing actions of the two who had delivered them from the forest fire and had killed Pralamba. The elder gopas and gopis were surprised to hear about this and considered Krishna and Rama messengers of God who had come to Vraja.

Then with flashes of lightening at the horizon and rumbling skies, the rains began to fall that bring life to all living beings. The sky being covered with dense, dark clouds accompanied by lightening and thunder was, with its diffuse light, like the spirit soul that manifests along with its material qualities. For eight months in a row the sun with its rays drank the wealth of the earth that consists of water and now the time had arrived for its release. Massive clouds full of lightening and agitated by the fierce winds released their grace, just as persons of mercy give their life in this world. The earth that dried up because of the heat, being sprinkled by the divine water, was fully replenished just like the sensually motivated body of a repentant person restores after obtaining the fruits of that practice. Because of the darkness the glowworm in the evening twilight could shine its light, but that was not true for the luminaries, just like in Kali-yuga because of the sins the heresies are shining and certainly not the Vedas. The frogs at first sitting silently, hearing the sounds of the rain clouds thereupon emitted their sounds, just like the followers of Brahma do [their recitations] after completing their [silent] morning duties [see niyama]. After first having been insignificant streams, the rivers that had dried up strayed from their courses, just like it happens with the body size, the property and the means of a person who is controlled by his senses. Emerald green from the newly grown grass, reddish from the indragopa insects and affording the mushrooms shelter, the earth manifested herself like a person who [suddenly] became rich. The fields rich with grains brought joy to the farmers, but made others, the wealthy ones who were too proud for that type of work, feel sorry not to live by that grace of God. The creatures of the land and water, all reborn from the water they honoured, took on attractive forms, just like people do when they honour the Lord. Where the rivers whirling met the ocean, waves were created that were blown up by the wind, just like the mind of a by desire driven, beginning yogi is agitated who is still bound to material passions. The mountains besieged by clouds filled with rain stood undaunted under their attack, just like the minds of the ones dedicated to the Lord in the Beyond do when they face trouble. The roads no longer used faded away being overgrown by grass, just like written texts do that, not being studied by the brahmins, wither away under the influence of time. The lightening in the clouds that are the friends of all the world, fickle in its friendship, could not keep its position, just like a lusty woman cannot [even] stay with men of merit. When the [rain-]bow of the great Indra unstrung but clearly defined appeared in the sky, it was as if the Supreme Personality Free from the Modes had appeared within the manifest nature that is ruled by the modes. The moon did not shine because its light was covered by the clouds that radiated thereof, the same way the false ego of the living being shines because of its luster. Because of the arrival of the clouds the peacocks cried joyously in celebration, the same way people who are troubled in their household existence are glad when the devotees of Acyuta arrive. The trees that drank the water through their feet, manifested various physical features [like blossoms, leaves and sprouts], just like [the flourishing that happens] when one, after being emaciated and fatigued because of austerities, [finally] may delight in the object of one's desire. The cranes kept staying at the muddy banks of the lakes my best one, just like the citizens do who with vain hope restlessly engage themselves in their homes. When Indra showers his rains the irrigation dikes break because of the floodwater, just as the paths of the Vedas are broken up by the false theories of the heretics in Kali-yuga. The clouds driven by the winds released their nectarean water over all living beings, just like kings, encouraged by the brahmins, from time to time give their donations in charity.

The Lord and Balarama surrounded by the cows and boys thus for their enjoyment entered that most resplendent forest with its ripe dates and jambu fruits. The cows moved slowly because of their big and heavy udders, but being called by the Lord they came quickly with their udders wet out of affection. He saw the joyful girls who lived in the forest, He saw its trees dripping sweet sap and the waterfalls of the mountain that resounded from the nearby caves. Sometimes when it rained the Supreme Lord entered a hollow tree or a cave to play and eat roots and fruits. The yogurt-rice brought from home He in the company of Sankarshana ate together with the boys, sharing the meal on a stone near the water.

The bulls sat ruminating on a patch of grass, satisfied with their eyes closed, together with the calves and the cows that were tired because of the weight of their udders. It always pleased the Supreme Lord to see the riches of the rainy season that were promoted by His internal potency. That made Him offer His respects.

With Rama and Kes'ava residing this way in Vraja, the fall season manifested itself in full with a cloudless sky, the clearest water and a gentle wind. In autumn the lotuses regenerated and the bodies of water regained their original state [of purity], just as the minds of the fallen are restored by the practice of devotional service. Autumn put an end to the clouds in the sky, cleared the turbid water, dried the muddy condition of the earth and stopped the increase of animals, the way devotion for Lord Krishna puts an end to the troubles of all the spiritual departments [the status groups or ashramas]. The clouds that had given all they had, shone with an effulgence as pure as the effulgence of the sages who, having forsaken desires, freed from sins found peace. At one moment the mountains released their pure water while at another moment they did not, just as the nectar of spiritual knowledge only at times is bestowed by the jnanis [the spiritual philosophers]. The ones moving in shallow waters [the fish] could not appreciate that the water became less and less [after the rains], just like foolish people in a family setting do not appreciate the every day further diminishing of their life span. Moving in shallow water they because of the autumn sun experienced hardship, just as a destitute man occupied by his family life feels miserable when he has no control over his senses. Gradually the land had to give up its mud and the plants had to give up their unripe condition [of bearing no fruits], just like the sober ones have to give up the egotism and possessiveness of being focussed on the non-spiritual nature of the material body and what belongs to it. With the arrival of fall the waters became motionless and the ocean became quiet, just as a fully renounced sage desists from actions and [further] acquiring knowledge [see also avadhuta and 7.13]. The farmers contained the water of the rice fields with strong irrigation banks, the same way yogis stop the stream of consciousness that through the senses reaches outside. The moon removed the suffering of all living beings that was generated by the rays of the autumn sun, just like wisdom removes the suffering based on self-conceit with the body and the way Mukunda [returning home] puts an end to the misery of the ladies of Vraja. The cloudless sky of fall shone brilliantly clear full of stars, just like a mind moved by goodness radiates in the direct experience of the purport of the Vedas. The moon and the stars shone unlimited forth in the sphere of the sky, just like the master of the Yadus, Krishna, did when He walked the earth surrounded by the circle of the Vrishnis [see family-tree]. By embracing the wind that was not too cold and not too hot blowing from the flower-filled forest, the people could forget their hardship, but not so the gopis whose hearts were stolen by Krishna. The cows, the doe, the she-birds and the women were receptive in autumn, just like deeds in service of the Supreme Lord are followed by their respective mates, the good results. Oh King, the lotuses, except for the night-blooming kumut lotus, bloomed abundantly at sunrise, just as the populace, except for the thieves, blossoms with a [righteous] king whom they do not fear. During all the harvest rituals, other mundane celebrations and great festivals in the towns and villages, the fertile earth rich with grains and especially with the two [of Krishna and Balarama], shone beautifully as an expansion of the Supreme Lord. The kings, the merchants, the renunciates and the initiated householders who were checked by the rains, now could venture to achieve their goals, just like those who attain the perfection of life find their ultimate form [svarupa or form of service] when the time has come.'

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BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 21:

The Gopis Glorify the Song of Krishna's Flute

Shri Shuka said: 'Acyuta thus entered with the cows and gopas the place that was cooled by the breezes sweet because of the fragrance of the lotus filled lakes with their pellucid, autumnal waters. The Sweet Lord who between the groups of trees filled with the sounds of maddened bees and flocks of birds was tending the animals in the company of Balarama and the cowherd boys, passed lakes, rivers and hills while playing His flute. When the ladies of Vraja heard the song of the flute that brought to mind the flourishing [of all existence], each of them revealed to her intimate companions her appreciation for Krishna not being visible before their eyes. But once they started that description they, remembering Krishna's deeds and getting excited in rapt attention, could no longer continue, oh ruler of man. [Before their mind's eye] His glories were sung by the group of cowherds and the holes of His flute were filled by the nectar of His lips as He entered the forest of Vrindavana that was so enchanting because of His footprints. [They pictured Him] with a peacock feather on His head, a body like that of the best dancers, a blue karnikara lotus behind His ears, golden, yellow coloured garments and the vaijayanti garland around His neck [the garland 'of victory' with flowers of five different colours]. Oh King, when the women of Vraja heard the sound of the flute that captivates the minds of all living beings, they in their praise all embraced [Him in their mind].

The gopis said: 'Oh friends, we who have eyes know no greater achievement than this: to imbibe the loving glances radiating from the faces of the two sons of the king of Vraja while They play on Their flutes and with Their companions drive the cows from one forest to another. With the mango sprouts, peacock feathers, garlands of flower buds, lotuses and lilies next to Their colourful garments and Their occasional singing, the two of Them magnificently shine forth in the midst of the cowherd boys, just like two expert dancers on a stage. Oh gopis, how meritorious must the deeds have been of this [bamboo] flute of Krishna to be entitled to enjoy all alone the taste that is left behind by the nectar of His lips that [actually] belongs to the gopis? His forefathers, the bamboo trees, are shedding tears of happiness and also the river [where they grew] is full of shivers of joy. Vrindavana having received the treasure of the lotus feet of the son of Devaki oh friends, adds to the glories of the earth. The sound of Govinda's flute makes the peacocks dance madly and stuns all the other creatures looking down from the hillsides. How fortunate are the doe who, however ignorant they were born, in hearing the sound of the flute of the so very nicely dressed son of Nanda, with their affectionate glances performed worship in the company of their black husbands. It is for the women a festival to listen to the clear song of Krishna's flute and observe His beauty and personality. Of the wives of the gods of heaven flying around in their heavenly vehicles slip, agitated and bewildered as they are by the thought of Him, the flowers tied in their hair and slacken their belts. The cows raise their ears high to catch with those cups the nectar of the sounds emitted by Krishna holding the flute to His mouth. The calves, with mouths full of the milk that exuded from the udders, stand silently with in their eyes and hearts Govinda who moves them and fills their eyes with tears. Dear sisters, the birds in the forest rising to the branches of the trees beautiful with creepers and twigs, sit there like great sages in their eagerness to see Krishna. With their eyes closed they listen to the sweet vibrations produced by His flute that silences other voices. Hearing that song of Krishna the rivers, with their currents broken in whirlpools because of their minds steeped in love, seize and firmly hold the two feet of Murari, while carrying offerings of lotus flowers in the embrace of their wavy arms. While the Lord was herding Vraja's animals together with Rama and the gopas, a cloud seeing Him continually loudly playing His flute in the heat of the sun, out of love expanded itself high above its friend to create with its body a parasol carrying a great number of [cool droplets that descended like] flowers. The aboriginal women of Vraja, the Pulindas, are tormented to see the grass being marked by the red, transcendental kunkuma powder stemming from the lotus feet of this Cupid. But smearing on their breasts and faces that powder that once decorated the breasts of the girlfriends of the widely celebrated Lord, they are fully satisfied and forget that pain. And oh, this [Govardhana] hill my friends, is the Lord His best servant because it, from being touched by the lotus feet of Krishna and Rama, jubilantly proves its respect with offerings of drinking water, tender grass and edible roots for the cows, the calves and the cowherds. The two of Them, who can be recognised by the ropes [*] They have for binding the rear legs of the cows, accompanied in all freedom together with the cowherd boys the cows to every place in the forest. With the vibrations of the sweet tones of Their flutes, oh friends, They therewith wondrously stunned the living entities that can move while They moved the otherwise immobile trees to ecstasy.'

The gopis picturing for each other the pastimes of the Supreme Lord the way He wandered around in Vrindavana, thus being engaged became fully absorbed in Him.'

*: Shrila Vis'vanatha Cakravarti Thhakura explains that the ropes of Krishna and Balarama are made of yellow cloth and have clusters of pearls at both ends. Sometimes They wear these ropes around Their turbans, and the ropes thus become wonderful decorations.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 22:

Krishna Steals the Garments of the Unmarried Gopis

Shri Shuka said: 'During the first month of the winter season [hemanta: Nov./Jan.] the unmarried girls of Nanda's Vraja subsisting on unspiced khichri [a mix of rice and lentils] observed a vow of worshiping the goddess Katyayani. - Rising at dawn they took a bath in the water of the Yamuna and made from clay a deity of the goddess. Opulently as well as simple oh ruler of men, they were of worship with sandalwood pulp, fragrant garlands, gifts [of food, clothes etc.], incense and lamps as also with presentations of fresh leaves, fruits and bethel nuts. The young girls performed worship repeating a mantra with the words: 'Oh Katyayani, our obeisances unto you, oh great power, greatest yogini, oh supreme control, please make the son of Nanda the gopa my husband!' [*] The girls thus for an entire month executed their vow to be of proper worship before Bhadrakali with: 'May He, Nanda's son become my husband.' Every day at dawn they called each other's names, held their hands and loudly singing their respect for Krishna went to the Kalindi to bathe there. One day arriving at the river singing about Krishna, they left their clothes on the shore as usual and enjoyed sporting in the water.

Krishna, the Supreme Lord, who as the Master of all yoga masters approved this, surrounded by His companions went to that spot to make their actions a success. He stole their clothes away and quickly climbed in a Kadamba tree. Laughing together with the boys He made fun by saying: 'Come here oh girls if you like, and take each your own garment. I am serious, it is not a joke, since you must be tired because of the vow. All these boys know that I have never stated something untrue. Therefore oh slender girls, come [out of the water] one by one or all together to cover yourselves.'

With that prank of Him He saw how the gopis, steeped in love for Him, looked at each other and had to laugh, but being embarrassed they did not come out of the water. Govinda thus having spoken, had with His joking caught the minds of those who, up to their necks shivering in the cold water, said to Him: 'Oh You, do not be unfair, we beg You, behave like the beloved son of the gopa Nanda we know, as the one renown throughout Vraja, oh dearest one. Please give us our garments, we are cold! Oh Shyamasundara ['beautiful dark one'] we, Your maidservants will do whatever You say, please give us our clothes back, oh Knower of the Dharma, or else we will tell the king about it!'

The Supreme Lord said: 'If you are My servants, must you then not do what I told you and with your innocent smiles come out of the water to pick out your garments? I will not give them if you do not do so, and with the king being angry, what can he do about it?' Thereupon all the girls, pained by the cold, came shivering out of the water, covering their pubic area with their hands. The Supreme Lord seeing them defeated, put satisfied about the purity of their love their garments over His shoulder and said with a loving smile: 'Because you during the observance of a vow were bathing naked in the water, you have offended Varuna and the other gods. To atone for that sin you must pay your obeisances with your palms joined together over your heads and then take your garments back.'

With this being pointed out by the Infallible Lord, the Vraja girls considered their skinny-dipping a fall from their vow. Intent on successfully completing that vow, they therefore offered their obeisances to the Purifier of All Sins, He who was the directly visible result of their actions as also countless other [pious] activities. The Supreme Lord, the son of Devaki satisfied to see them bowing down, thereupon mercifully gave them back the garments. Despite seriously having been cheated, not being acknowledged in their shame, being laughed at and made to act like puppets on a string with their clothes being stolen, they felt no enmity towards Him, for they were happy to associate with their beloved one. Having put on their garments they, smitten by the association with their beloved, with their minds being captivated, were completely incapable of moving and full of shyness glanced at Him. The Supreme Lord understood from them that they were determined to live up to their vow and that they wanted to touch His feet. Damodara said to the girls: 'Oh pious ones, I understand your motivation to worship Me. That pleases Me and so it must come true. The desire of those whose consciousness is fully absorbed in Me does not lead to material lust, just as roasted and cooked grains as a rule are not capable of causing new growth [see also e.g. 1.6: 35, 3.15: 20, 7.7: 51-52]. Dear girls, go now to Vraja. Having achieved the supreme state of fulfillment, you one of these nights will enjoy with Me together. That was what you had in mind with the vow to be pure in your worship of the Goddess.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Thus being instructed by the Supreme Lord, the young girls, with their desire fulfilled meditating upon His lotus feet, could only with great difficulty [bring themselves to] return to the cowherd village. The son of Devaki some time later surrounded by the gopas went at a distance from Vrindavana to herd the cows together with His brother. Seeing how the trees in the fiercely hot sun of the season with their shade served Him as parasols, He said to the boys: 1-3 'Oh Stoka Krishna and Amshu, Shridama, Subala and Arjuna, Vis'ala, Vrishabha and Ojasvi, Devaprastha and Varuthapa, just look at these fortunate trees protecting us against rain, wind, heat and snow. Their life is exclusively there for the benefit of others! Oh how superior the birth is of these trees that offer support to all living entities, like great souls do. No one in need of them will ever go away disappointed. With their leaves, flowers and fruits, shade and roots, bark and wood, their fragrance, sap, ashes, pulp and shoots they offer everything you desire. To perform with one's life, wealth, intelligence and words always for the sake of the welfare of all embodied beings, to be in this world of such a kind of birth, is the perfection of life for every living being [see also the Vaishnava Pranama].'

Thus speaking among the trees bowing down with their abundance of leaves, clusters of fruit, flowers and twigs, He arrived at the Yamuna. There the gopas drenched the cows in the crystal clear, fresh and cool, wholesome water, oh ruler, and also themselves drank their fill of the sweet tasting water. In a grove along the Yamuna where they allowed the animals to roam freely, oh ruler of the people, they [the gopas] plagued by hunger approached Rama and Krishna and said the following.'

*: The distinction between the internal of yoga-maya and the external, or illusory, potency of the Lord of maha-maya is described in the Narada-pancaratra, in the conversation between Shruti and Vidya:

janaty ekapara kantam
saiva durga tad-atmika
ya para parama Shaktir
maha-vishnu-svarupini
yasya vijnana-matrena
paranam paramatmanah
mahurtad deva-devasya
praptir bhavati nanyatha
ekeyam prema-sarvasva
svabhava gokules'vari
anaya su-labho jneya
adi-devo 'khiles'varah
asya avarika-s'aktir
maha-mayakhiles'vari
yaya mugdam jagat sarvam
sarve dehabhimaninah

"The Lord's inferior potency, known as Durga, is dedicated to His loving service. Being the Lord's potency, this inferior energy is nondifferent from Him. There is another, superior potency, whose form is on the same spiritual level as that of God Himself. Simply by scientifically understanding this supreme potency, one can immediately achieve the Supreme Soul of all souls, who is the Lord of all lords. There is no other process to achieve Him. That supreme potency of the Lord is known as Gokules'vari, the goddess of Gokula. Her nature is to be completely absorbed in love of God, and through Her one can easily obtain the primeval God, the Lord of all that be. This internal potency of the Lord has a covering potency, known as Maha-maya, who rules the material world. In fact she bewilders the entire universe, and thus everyone within the universe falsely identifies himself with the material body." See also 8.12: 40 for Durga.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 23:

The Brahmin Wives Blessed

The gopas said: 'Rama, oh Rama, oh mighty-armed one, oh Krishna, destroyer of the wicked ones, we are troubled by hunger, please do something against it.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Krishna wanted to please some brahmin wives devoted to Him. Thus being informed by the gopas, the Supreme Lord, the son of Devaki said the following: 'Please go to the sacrificial arena of the brahmins who, striving for a place in heaven, in accord with the Vedic injunctions at the moment are performing a sacrifice named Angirasa. Going there dear gopas, ask them for some food and tell them that you have been sent by Bhagavan [Balarama] My elder brother and Me.'

With this order of the Supreme Lord going there, they asked as was told. Petitioning with folded hands, they before the brahmins fell down to the ground like sticks: 'Oh earthly gods, we wish you all the best. Please listen. Know that we cowherd boys, were sent by Rama and have arrived here with a mission from Krishna. Rama and Acyuta graze Their cows not far from here and being hungry they want to ask you if you could supply Them with some food oh twice-born ones. So, if you have faith, then please donate, oh finest knowers of the religion. From the beginning of a sacrifice until the end of

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sacrificing the animal, oh lovers of the truth, it is, except for when it is a [Sautramani] sacrifice to Indra [*], not even for an initiate an offense to enjoy [or hand out] food.'

Thus hearing about the Supreme Lord's request they nevertheless took no heed. In the trivial pursuit of their ritualistic engagement they, being elder, most childishly thought to know it better. 0-1 Even though the place and time, the items used, the hymns, the rituals, the priests and the fire, the officiating God-conscious ones, the performer of the sacrifice, that what was sacrificed and the dharmic result are all part of the directly visible reality of His Absolute Truth, of Him, the Supreme Lord Beyond the Senses, they with their borrowed intelligence considered Him arrogantly just an ordinary person. The gopas discouraged with them not even giving them a yes or no, oh chastiser of the enemies, thereupon turned back to inform Krishna and Rama about it. Hearing that, the Supreme Lord, the Controller of the Universe, laughed and again addressed the cowherd boys in order to show them the ways of the world: 'Communicate to the wives that I together with Sankarshana have arrived. They will give you all the food needed, for they, with their intelligence residing in Me, are full of affection for Me.'

Next going to the house of the wives they saw them sitting there nicely ornamented. The gopas bowed with reverence before the chaste women of the twice-born ones and said humbly: 'Our obeisances oh wives of the brahmins, please listen to what we have to say: not far from here we are roaming with Krishna who has sent us here. Tending the cows with the gopas and with Rama He came a long way. He with His companions is hungry and should be given some food.'

When they heard that Krishna was nearby whom they, with their minds enchanted by His stories, always had wanted to see, they got very excited. Like rivers flowing towards the ocean the four types of food [to be chewed, sucked, licked and drunk] in the form of all kinds of dishes were brought together and in vessels transported to the One they all loved. 0-2 Even though their husbands, brothers, sons and other relatives tried to stop them, they who for such a long time had heard about Him and longed for Him, headed for the Supreme Lord Praised in the Scriptures. The ladies found Him wandering with the gopas and His elder brother in a grove near the Yamuna full of blooming ashokas. With His dark complexion, golden coloured garment and garland of forest flowers, with His peacock feather, coloured minerals and sprigs of buds, He was dressed like a dancer on a stage. His hand rested on a friend's shoulder and with the other hand He twirled a lotus. His lotus face was smiling, His hair fell over His cheeks and He had lilies behind His ears. Over and over having heard about the glories of their most beloved [Krishna], the gem to their ears in whom their minds were submerged, they embraced Him, now brought within their view, for a long time [within their hearts] and gave up the inner distress, oh sovereign of the people, that had resulted from their identifying with their bodies. With understanding for the state of these women who out of their desire for Him had abandoned all material desires, He who knows each his point of view, with a smile upon His face addressed them. 'You are most welcome, oh finest graceful ladies, please sit down. What can I do for you? How becoming of you to come here to see Me! People of discrimination who are well aware of what is good for them, keep themselves directly focussed on Me, their dear most Self. They are then constantly of devotional service, a service that is as it should be when delivered without any ulterior motive. What other object [or who else] would be more attractive than this Self connected to which one's life force, intelligence, mind, relatives, body, wife, children, wealth etc. became so very dear? Go therefore to the sacrificial arena so that your brahmin husbands, as householders together with you, can complete their sacrifices.'

The wives answered: 'Do not speak so harshly with us, oh Almighty One, please be true to Your [scriptural] promise that someone who has attained the basis of Your lotus feet and turned away from all his relations, may carry upon his hair the tulsi garland that was dismissed by Your feet. Our husbands, fathers, sons and brothers, other relatives and friends will not take us back! And how would other people respond then? Would You please therefore grant that us, whose bodies have fallen at Your feet and for who there is no other destination oh Chastiser of the Enemies?'

The Supreme Lord said: 'Your husbands will not be angry out of jealousy nor will your fathers, brothers, sons or other people. Even the demigods will, on My word, regard you favorably. Physical association does not make the people in the world more happy or loving. When you [in stead thereof] then fix your minds upon Me, you will very quickly be with Me. Hearing, attending [to the deity or the gathering of devotees], meditating and singing about Me, you are of love for Me, not so much with being physically close to Me. Therefore return to your homes.'

Shri Shuka said: 'After this was said to the wives of the brahmins they went back to the place of the sacrifice. Having arrived there their husbands were not spiteful and together with them completed the ceremony. One of them was held back with force by her husband. Hearing from the others about the Supreme Lord, she embraced Him in her heart and gave up the material body that is the source of karmic bondage. The Supreme Lord, who is also known as Govinda, with those four types of food [that were brought by the women] fed the gopas, after which He, the Almighty One, also took a share. He thus in His pastimes delighted to imitate with His transcendental appearance the human ways and please the cows, the gopas and the gopis with His beauty, words and actions. The brahmins afterwards came to their senses and felt great remorse about having been so offensive in their conceit with the humble request of the Lords of the Universe who appeared like human beings. Seeing the high flight of the devotion of their wives for Krishna as the Supreme Personality, a devotion they completely lacked, they condemned themselves lamenting: 'To hell with our threefold births [biological, brahminical and ritual], our vows, our extensive spiritual knowledge, our lineage and our expertise in the rituals, when we are inimical towards the Lord Beyond the Senses. The Supreme Lord's maya, the illusory potency that even deludes the greatest yogis, has been the cause that we, the twice-born ones, the spiritual teachers of society, were bewildered about our true interest. Just see that unlimited devotion of the women for Krishna, the spiritual teacher of the universe, a devotion that even has broken the bonds of death [of their attachment] to family life. 3-4 They never underwent purification rites of rebirth, they did not stay with the guru, did not practice austerities, nor were they of philosophical inquiry into the true nature of the self or of any special cleanliness or pious actions. Nevertheless they, contrary to us so full of all that purification, are firm in their devotional service for Krishna, the Lord Praised in the Verses and the Master of all Masters of Yoga. Oh, how much has He through the words of His cowherd boys not reminded us of the ultimate destination of all transcendentalists, has He helped us who in our bewilderment about our household interests indeed were inattentive! Why else would He, the Master of Liberation and of all other benedictions who is satisfied in every respect, be of this disguise [in the form of a gopa] with us, the ones resorting under His control? The Goddess of Fortune refrains from all others and constantly worships only Him in the hope of touching His feet and putting an end to the faults [of pride and fickleness e.g.] in her own being. His request [for food] really perplexes everyone. 8-4 He constitutes the place and time, the items used, the hymns, the rituals, the priests and the fire, the officiating God-conscious ones, the performer of the sacrifice, the performance and its dharmic result [see verse 10-11]. He, the Supreme Lord Vishnu, the Master of all Yoga Masters, has directly visible taken birth among the Yadus, but despite having heard about this we foolishly failed to understand that. The Supreme Lord Krishna who is of an unlimited intelligence and because of whose illusory power we with bewildered minds are wandering along the paths of fruitive action, we offer our obeisances. He, our Original Lord and Supreme Personality of Godhead whose influence cannot be fathomed by our minds that are bewildered because of His maya, should forgive us our offense.'

Thus thinking about their offense of having disregarded Krishna, they wished to meet Him, but afraid of [drawing the attention of] Kamsa, they decided not to go to Vraja.'

*: It is said that every one consecrated by the Sautramani sacrifice for Lord Indra enters among the gods and is born sarva-tanuh, that is, with his entire body.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 24:

Krishna Defies Indra in Favor of the Brahmins, the Cows and Govardhana Hill

Shri Shuka said: 'The Supreme Lord staying there [in Vraja] in the company of Baladeva, saw how the gopas were busily engaged in arranging a sacrifice for Lord Indra. Even though the Supreme Lord, the Omniscient Soul of Everyone, knew everything about it [see B.G. 9: 23], He bowed down humbly and inquired with the elderly ones who were headed by Nanda [His stepfather]: 'Tell Me dear father, what is all this goings-on of you about? Where does it lead to, for whom is it done and what are the means by which this sacrifice is accomplished? Please tell Me about it. I have this great desire to hear about it, oh father. Surely it cannot be so that the activities of saintly men who are equal towards everyone in this world, indifferent about mine and thine, and neutral towards friends and foes, are something to be secretive about, is it? A stranger one may avoid like he is an enemy, but a friend one should treat like oneself so they say. When common people do something in the world they sometimes engage with knowledge and sometimes they engage without. Engaging with expertise one achieves an optimal result and with ignorant actions that is not the case. With that being said I ask you whether this combined effort of yours is something that is prescribed [in the scriptures] or just a custom. That you should explain clearly to Me.'

Shri Nanda said: 'Indra is the great lord of the rain and the clouds are his personal representatives. They provide the rain for all living beings. Rain is the gratifying life force, just like milk. Because of the liquid discharged by this lord and master of the clouds my dear son, we and also other people worship him with fire sacrifices and various paraphernalia. With the remnants of those sacrifices people sustain their lives in three different ways [religiously, economically and sensually]. He is the superhuman being who brings the fruits to those who with their human actions are motivated for a certain yield [like farmers]. Anyone who rejects this dharma [of sacrificing to Indra] that was handed down by tradition, is a person who because of lust, enmity, fear and greed cannot find happiness in life [see B.G. 10: 36].'

Shri Shuka said: 'After having heard Nanda's words and also what the other residents of Vraja had to say, Lord Kes'ava spoke to His father in a way that made Lord Indra very angry. The Supreme Lord said: 'It is because of karma that a living entity takes birth and it is by [the force of] his karma alone that he meets his demise. Happiness or unhappiness, security and fear are all the result of one's karma. If there would be some controller giving shape to the fruit of the activities performed by others, then that ruler still depends on someone who engages in action. He can after all not be the master of someone who does nothing! Living beings have to face the consequences of their own actions, what have they to do with Indra who is incapable of altering that what is ordained by anyone's personal nature? A person is controlled by his nature - he follows his nature. This entire world with its gods, demons and common men exists on the basis of everyone's personal nature. Living beings as a consequence of their actions obtain and forsake higher and lower evolved bodies. Karma alone is their enemy, friend and impartial judge, their Lord and their teacher [see also B.G. 8: 15 & 16, 4.29: 26-27 and 7.7: 46-47]. One should therefore, keeping to one's duties, exercise respect for the karma of one's own nature [see varnashrama]. One lives rightly by that karma, it is no doubt someone's worshipable deity. The way an unfaithful woman with her lover does not gain any real benefit from resorting to another living being, it is also not to someone's advantage to prefer a thing [or deity] different from the one that is one's livelihood. The brahmanas maintain their life [by teaching and explaining] the Vedas, the kshatriyas by protecting the land, the vaishyas by trading and the Shudras by serving the twice-born ones [the former three, see also 7.11: 21-24]. The fourfold occupational duty of the vaishya consists of farming, trading, cow protection and banking as the fourth. Among these the constant care for the cows is the duty we are engaged in. [The natural qualities of] goodness, passion and ignorance are the cause of the maintenance, creation and destruction [in the world. See guna]. From the mode of passion this universe is generated and from its mutual [sexual] action we find the [biological] diversity of this world. The clouds impelled by that passion pour down their water everywhere and by that water they factually maintain the population. So what would Indra then do? The cities, the cultivated lands and the villages are not the places where we are at home. We are the forest people dear father, we always live in the forests and the hills. Let us therefore begin with a sacrifice for the cows, the brahmins and the hill [Govardhana] and use for this worship the paraphernalia of Indra's sacrifice [see also footnote 10.8*3]! Let us cook all sorts of preparations and soups, beginning with sweet rice, porridge, buns and cakes and let us use all kinds of dairy products. Let there be properly prayed before the fires by brahmins versed in the Vedas whom you should feed with well prepared dishes and reward with cows and other gifts. To act appropriately in respect of everyone, also should be thought of others: fallen souls like dogs and outcasts. After next having given grass to the cows the offerings should be presented to the mountain. After having eaten our fill, we in our best clothes, being smeared with sandalwood pulp and nicely adorned, should circumambulate the cows, the brahmins, the fires and the hill [always kept to the right]. This is my view, oh father, may it be done if you please. This will not only be dear to the brahmins, the cows and the hill, but also to Me.'

Shri Shuka said: 'When Nanda and the elders heard these words being spoken by the Supreme Lord, by the Time in person in order to break the pride of Indra, they accepted them as excellent. 2-3 And so they executed everything Madhusudana had spoken about: they arranged for the auspicious recitations, they all together respectfully paid tribute to the hill and the brahmins with the paraphernalia mentioned, they offered grass to the cows, the bulls and the calves and next they circumambulated the hill with the animals in front of them. The cowherd women nicely ornamented and riding wagons that were yoked with oxen, sang the glories of Shri Krishna while the twice-born ones chanted their benedictions. To instill faith in the gopas, Krishna thereupon assumed another form. Saying 'I am the hill' He devoured the abundance of offerings with the immensity of His body [see vapu and footnote *]. Together with the people of Vraja He by means of Himself offered His obeisances to Himself: 'Oh, just see, how this hill, by assuming its form, has bestowed His mercy upon us!'

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*: Shrila Prabhupada writes to this (Krishnabook ch. 2: "The identity of Krishna and Govardhana Hill is still honoured, and great devotees take rocks from Govardhana Hill and worship them exactly as they worship the Deity of Krishna in the temples. Devotees therefore collect small rocks or pebbles from Govardhana Hill and worship them at home, because this worship is as good as Deity worship."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 25:
Lord Krishna Lifts Govardhana Hill*

Shri Shuka said: 'Indra who realised that the worship of his person had been rejected, oh King, thereupon got angry with the gopas headed by Nanda who had accepted Krishna as their Lord. In order to put an end to it all, clouds were sent forth by Indra that carried the name Samvartaka. Deeming himself the supreme controller he enraged spoke the words: 'Just see how enormously bewildered about their wealth these forest dwelling cowherds are. Having taken shelter of a mortal being like Krishna, they have committed an offense against the gods! They abandoned the spiritual knowledge and try to cross over the ocean of material existence by performing ritual sacrifices that profit oriented are inadequate to pass as boats [for that ocean]. By taking shelter of Krishna, this prattling, arrogant child, ignorantly thinking Himself to be the wisest, the gopas have acted to my displeasure. Bring [oh clouds] destruction to their animals and put an end to their arrogance, because they, proud and foolish because of Krishna and their wealth, are full of conceit. I also will, riding my elephant Airavata, come along to Vraja. Accompanied by the wind gods I will, moving hither with great power, wipe out Nanda's cowherd community [see e.g. also 6.11 & 12].'

Shri Shuka said: 'The clouds thus on the command of Indra being released from their positions, with all their power tormented Nanda's cowherd village with a massive downpour of rain. Propelled by the wind gods they, illumined by lightening bolts and roaring with thunder, showered down hailstones. With the rain incessantly pouring down from the clouds in curtains, the higher and lower parts of the earth submerged by the flood of water, could no longer be discerned. The gopas and gopis plagued by the abundance of rain and excessive wind, went shivering from the cold together with their cattle to Govinda for shelter. Covering their heads and protecting their children with their bodies they, tormented by the rains, quivering approached the basis of the lotus feet of the Supreme Personality of Godhead: Krishna, oh Krishna, oh Greatest Fortune. You are Your own master, oh Lord, please protect the cow community against the godhead [Indra] who is angry with us, oh Protector of the Devotees! [see also 10.8: 16]'

The Supreme Lord Hari seeing them witless under the attack of the hail, the rain and the extreme winds, considered the anger of Indra responsible for this: [He thought:] 'Because I rejected Indra's sacrifice he, bent on destruction, is flooding us now with these unusual out-of-season fierce rains and great winds full of hailstones. To counteract that properly I shall by the power of My yoga arrange for the defeat of the pride with the wealth and the ignorance of those who are as foolish to falsely consider themselves Lord and Master over the world. When I eradicate the impurity of the conceitedness of those who consider themselves the controller, it is certainly not meant for countering enlightened beings who are endowed with goodness, I do that for their pacification [see also B.G. 14: 14]. The cowherd community that has taken shelter of Me as their master is My family. Therefore I will protect them with My mystic power. This is the vow I have taken [see also B.G. 9: 22].'

Having said this [to Himself this incarnation of] Vishnu took with one hand [His left one] Govardhana hill and held it up as easily as a child holding a mushroom. The Supreme Lord then said to the gopas: 'Oh mother, oh father, oh residents of Vraja, please enter if you want, together with your cows, the free space below this hill. You should not be afraid that, because of the wind and the rain, the mountain would fall from My hand. You have feared enough and in order to deliver you therefrom I have provided [this solution] for you.'

With their minds thus being pacified by Krishna, they entered the space underneath the mountain where they found ample room for their cows, wagons and everyone belonging to them. Putting aside pain, hunger and thirst and all considerations of personal comfort, He before the eyes of the residents of Vraja held up the mountain for seven days without moving from His place. When Indra saw the result of Krishna's mystic power He most surprised, bereft of his pride and broken in his determination, called back his clouds. With the sky free from clouds and the sun visible again now that the fierce wind and rain had ended, the Lifter of Govardhana Hill said to the cowherds: 'Please go together with your property, women and children away from here. Give up your fear dear gopas, the wind and rain have ceased and the water in the rivers is low again.'

The gopas each took their own cows and left, with their belongings loaded on the wagons and the women, children and old people slowly following. And while all the living beings were looking on, the Supreme Almighty Lord with ease put down the hill back where it stood before. The residents of Vraja overwhelmed by the pure love they felt for Him came forward with embraces and so on, each reflecting their personal relationship. The gopis joyfully with great affection showered their fine blessings and respected Him with presentations of yogurt, whole grains and water. Yashoda, Rohini, Nanda and Balarama, the Greatest of the Strongest Ones, embraced Krishna and full of affection eagerly offered Him all their blessings. In heaven all the demigods - the perfected ones, the saints, the heavenly singers and the venerable souls - sang the Lord's praises and showered satisfied a rain of flowers, oh earthly ruler. They sounded conch shells and played kettledrums in their abode while the leading Gandharvas headed by Tumburu sang, oh ruler of men. Oh King, Krishna together with Balarama surrounded by the loving animal tenders, thereupon left for the place where they were grazing their animals. The gopis also went away singing about the glories of His heroic deeds, happy as they were with Him who had touched their hearts.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 26:
Nanda Recapitulates the Words of Garga Before the Puzzled Gopas

Shri Shuka said: 'The gopas witnessing this kind of activities of Krishna [lifting the hill], had no idea how He could have done this and most astonished approached Nanda saying to him: 'How could the boy, considering His extraordinary activities, deserve a birth among simple countryfolk, that for Himself is contemptible? How can a boy of seven years old, playfully with one hand hold up the best of all hills, just like a mighty elephant holds up a lotus flower? As a young child with hardly His eyes open, He sucked [the poisoned milk] from the breast of the greatly powerful Putana, in the process also sucking away her life air, just like the force of time sucks away the youth from a body [see 10.6]. When He, a few months old lying beneath a cart was crying, He with His legs [kicking] upwards turned over the cart that was struck by the tip of His foot [see 10.7]. At the age of one sitting outside He was transported into the sky by the demon Trinavarta. He seised him by his neck, made him suffer and killed him [see 10.7]. One day His mother tied Him to a large mortar because He had stolen butter. He [crawling with the mortar] on His hands moved between the two arjuna trees and caused their crash [see 10.10]. He together with Balarama and the boys grazing the calves in the forest, with His two arms tore apart the beak of the enemy Baka who wanted to kill Him [see 10.11]. Vatsa, [another demon] desirous to kill Him, in the form of a calf hid among the other calves. Krishna killed him and sportively [throwing the corpse in a tree] made kapittha fruits fall down with him [see 10.11]. Together with Balarama killing the jackass demon [Dhenuka] and his jackass companions, He secured the safety of the Talavana forest that was full of ripe fruits [see 10.15]. After arranging that the terrible Pralamba would be killed by the most powerful Balarama, He released Vraja's gopas and their animals from a forest fire [see 10.18 & 19]. Subduing the most venomous chief of the snakes [Kaliya] by climbing on top of him, He managed to defeat his pride and with force send him away from the lake of the Yamuna, the water of which thus was freed from its poison [10. 16 & 17]. Dear Nanda, how can it be that all of us inhabitants of Vraja cannot give up our feelings of love for your son, who on His part is just as natural towards us? The fact that He as a boy of seven years old has lifted the big hill, has with us, oh master of Vraja, raised questions about your son.'

Nanda said: 'Please listen to my words dear gopas. Let go of your doubt concerning the boy. This is what Garga in the past has told me referring to this child [see also 10.8: 12-19 for the same verses]: 'And this one [the son of Yashoda] has according to the yuga accepted forms with a white, a red or a yellow colour. Now He is Krishna [of a dark complexion, see **]. This child previously was born somewhere else as the son of Vasudeva and therefore the ones who know this will speak about this child of yours as the glorious Vasudeva. There are many names and forms according to the qualities and activities of His appearances. These are known to me, but the common people do not know them. Being a Nanda-Gokula cowherd this child will always act to what is most beneficial to all of you. With His support you will easily overcome all dangers [*3] Oh King of Vraja, in the past, when there was a faulty regime, He has protected pious souls who were disturbed by rogues so that they, with those bad elements defeated, could flourish [see also 1.3: 28]. Just like the ones faithful to Vishnu have nothing to fear from the Asuras, those who are as fortunate to associate with this child in love and affection, will not be overcome by enemies. Therefore, oh Nanda, take the greatest care raising this child. As for His qualities, opulences, name and fame this son of yours is as good as Narayana!' After Garga had pointed this out to me, he went home. [Ever since] I consider Krishna, who frees us from all obstacles, an expansion of Narayana.'

Having heard Nanda's words about what Garga had said, the residents of Vraja, enlivened by him and with their perplexity gone, worshiped Lord Krishna. The demigod [Indra] who caused the rain, made in his anger about the loss of his sacrifice, the cowherds, animals and women suffer by engaging lightning bolts, hail and winds. Krishna considering Himself their only shelter smiled out of compassion and in order to protect the cowherd community picked up the hill with one hand the way a small child picks up a mushroom. May He, the Lord of the Cows, the destroyer of the conceit of the great king of the sky, be satisfied with us!'

*: These colours will later in the eleventh BOOK in verses 11.5: 21, 24, 27 and 34 of the Bhagavatam be explained [see also another site about it].

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 27:
Lord Indra and Mother Surabhi Offer Prayers

Shri Shuka said: 'After He had upheld the hill Govardhana to protect Vraja against the rains, from the world of the cows mother Surabhi [the celestial cow] came to Krishna. And so did Lord Indra. Indra ashamed of having been offensive approached Him in a secluded place [*] and touched His feet with his helmet that shone like the sun. Having heard about and having witnessed the power of Lord Krishna, whose immeasurable potency had put an end to his arrogance of being the lord of the three worlds, he with folded hands spoke as follows.

Indra said: 'Your majesty, oh You abode of pure goodness, being of peace and the illumination of penance, You destroyed the passion and ignorance that was born from illusion. This continuous stream of the material qualities to which one is bound in one's attachment, is not present in You. How, oh Lord, can in You [as I supposed, see 10.25: 3] the causes be hidden of being entangled - the greed and such matters - that symptomize an ignorant person? Are You not the Supreme Lord who in defense of the dharma exercises Your authority to chastise the wicked ones? You are the father and the guru of the entire universe, the Original Lord and the insurmountable Time who, when You by Your own decision assume Your transcendental forms, strives to be the authority to eradicate the self-conceit of the ones who think they are the Lord of the Universe. Ignorant souls like me who think they are the master of the universe do, the moment they see You fearless at the time [of confrontation], quickly abandon their arrogance. This happens when they, no longer being conceited because of Your lesson for the wicked ones, in full have taken to the path of gentlemen. Therefore please forgive me, oh Master who has assumed this form. Unaware of Your influence I because of my rulership bathed in arrogance. Being offensive my intelligence got bewildered. Please let my consciousness never again be that foul my Lord. Your descent into this world, oh Lord of the Beyond, happened for the sake of the existence of those who serve Your lotus feet oh Godhead, and for the non-existence of warlords who - with the many disturbances they create - constitute a great burden. I offer You my obeisances, the Supreme Lord and Original Personality, the great Soul Shri Krishna, the son of Vasudeva. My respects for the Master of the Servants of the Absolute Truth. My obeisances for Him who assumes physical forms in response to the desires of His devotees, for Him whose form is pure spiritual knowledge, who is the seed of all and everything and the indwelling Soul of all living beings. Oh Lord when the sacrifice was frustrated I was fiercely arrogant and angry and wanted to destroy the cowherd community by means of rain and wind oh Supreme Lord. You, oh Controller, showing Your mercy have shattered my rigidity and rendered my attempts fruitless. I came to You, the True Self and spiritual master, to seek Your shelter.'

Shri Shuka said: 'With Krishna this way being glorified by the munificent Indra, the Supreme Lord smiled and spoke, as grave as the clouds, the following words to him. The Supreme Lord said: 'I have engaged in the arrest of your sacrifice to show you My mercy and to ensure that you, as the king of heaven who was so greatly intoxicated by the opulence, would remember Me forever. He, who blinded by the intoxication of power and opulence, does not see Me standing with the rod in My hand, I, in the wish to promote him, will prepare a fall from his affluent position [see also B.G. 9: 22]. Oh Indra, you may go now, I wish you all good fortune. Executing My order you may, free from false pride, remain engaged in your responsibilities.'

Then mother Surabhi spoke to Krishna. Peaceful of mind offering her respects she together with her cows begged for the attention of the Supreme Lord who had appeared as a cowherd boy. Mother Surabhi said: 'Krishna, oh Krishna, oh Greatest Mystic! Oh Soul and Origin of the Universe, with You as the director of the world, we have found our master, oh Infallible One. You are our Supreme Godhead. Oh Lord of the Universe, can You, for the welfare of the cows, the brahmins and those who are godly and saintly, please be there as our Indra? For You to be our Indra, we shall perform a bathing ceremony to the directions of Lord Brahma, oh Soul of the Universe who descended to relieve the burden of the earth.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Lord Krishna was after this request by Surabhi bathed with her own milk. On the order of the

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mothers of the demigods [the daughters of Aditi] He was thereupon by Indra bathed with the heavenly Ganges water carried in Airavata's trunk. He, the descendent of Das'arha, thus in the company of the enlightened souls and the seers received the name Govinda ['he who finds the cows']. Tumburu, Narada and the others, the singers of heaven, the scholars, the perfected ones and the venerable ones came to that place and sang the glories of the Lord that eradicate the impurity of the world. The wives of the demigods danced together filled with joy. He as the emblem of all the gods was praised and covered with wonderful showers of flowers. Everyone in the three worlds experienced a supreme satisfaction and the cows saturated the earth with their milk. The rivers flooded with all kinds of liquids, the trees provided honey, the plants developed fully without being cultivated and the mountains produced jewels. Oh [Parikchit,] beloved one of the Kuru dynasty, when Lord Krishna had been bathed all living beings, even the ones that are vicious by nature [predators, false people], became free from enmity. After Govinda, the master of the cows and the cowherd community, thus had been bathed by him, Indra took leave and returned to heaven surrounded by the gods and the others.'

*: The specific "solitary place" where Indra approached Shri Krishna is mentioned by the sage Shri Vais'ampayana in the Hari-vams'a (Vishnu-parva 19.: sa dadars'opavishtham vai govardhana-s'ila-tale. "He saw Him [Krishna] sitting at the base of Govardhana Hill".

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 28:

Krishna Rescues Nanda Maharaja from the Abode of Varuna

The son of Vyasa said: 'After having fasted the eleventh day [of a lunar fortnight, ekadas'i] and having worshiped the Maintainer of All [Janardana], Nanda entered the water of the Yamuna for a bath on the twelfth day. An obscure servant of Varuna seised him and led him to his master for he had neglected that it was an unfavorable time to enter the water at night. Oh King, the gopas not seeing him cried loudly: 'Oh Krishna, oh Rama!', upon which the Supreme Lord who makes His people fearless, found out that His [step]father had been arrested by Varuna. He went to Varuna's place. As soon as he saw that the Lord of the Senses had arrived, the presiding godhead of that region [of the waters], elabourately honoured Him, being greatly pleased to have Him present.

Shri Varuna said: 'Today I may experience the true wealth of the success of my physical existence, oh Lord, for it is so that those who earned the privilege to serve Your lotus feet, have achieved the transcendence of their material life. I offer You my obeisances, oh Supreme Personality of Godhead, You who are the Absolute Truth and the Supreme Soul free from the influence of the deluding material energy of maya that makes up the material universe. That ignorant servant of mine was a fool who did not know his duty [*] when he brought this man who is Your father to me. I beg Your pardon Your goodness. Towards me, oh Krishna, Govinda, oh You who sees everything, please be of mercy. This person who is Your father decidedly should be with You who care so much about Your parents.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Krishna, the Supreme Lord and Controller of all Controllers, thus being satisfied, took His father with Him and went back to His relatives whom He brought great joy. Nanda who never before had met with the great opulence of the lord of the realm [of the waters] or had witnessed the obeisances they [Varuna and his followers] offered Krishna, spoke most amazed to his friends and relatives. They, the gopas, with Him as their Controller eagerly listening oh King, thought: 'Maybe the Supreme Master is going to bestow upon us His subtle all-pervading spirit, His destination!'

He, the Supreme Lord who sees and understands everything of His devotees, concerning the fulfillment of their desire full of compassion thought: 'The people in this world who ignorantly are engaged in desirous activities, wander between higher and lower purposes without being aware of their actual destination.'

With this consideration the Supreme Lord Hari in His great compassion showed the gopas His abode beyond the darkness of matter: the true, unlimited, spiritual knowing that is the light of the eternal absolute the way it is seen by the sages when they in trance are removed from the material qualities. They were by Krishna brought to the lake of the One Spirit [brahma-hrada] and submerged in it. Lifted out again they saw the abode of the Absolute Truth the way Akrura has seen it [3.1: 32, 10.38 & 10.40]. Nanda and the others were overwhelmed by supreme bliss with that vision and were most surprised to see Krishna Himself present there extensively being praised with Vedic hymns.'

*: Prabhupada's pupils comment to the precise execution of ekadas'i fasting matters and auspicious times of bathing: 'Of course, Varuna's servant should have been aware of these technical details, which are meant for strict followers of the Vedic rituals.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 29:

The Rasa Play: Krishna Meets and Escapes the Gopis at Night

The son of Vyasa said: 'Even though Krishna was the Supreme Lord, He, resorting to His inner potency [see yoga-maya], decided to enjoy those nights in autumn when He saw the jasmine flowers blossoming. The king of the stars [the moon] at the time painted with his action the face of the east red, thus giving comfort to all who longed for him, just like a lover approaching his beloved ends her grief when he after a long time shows up again. Krishna saw how the kumuda lotuses opened to the full disc of the moon that glowed as red as the fresh kunkuma on the face of the goddess of fortune. He saw how the forest was reddened by the gentle rays of that light and sweetly played His flute that enchanted the minds of the [gopis with their] beautiful eyes. That song being heard by the women of Vraja awakened Cupid in their hearts so that each of them, unknown to the others, with her mind seised by Krishna and with earrings swinging in the haste, went to the place where He, her boyfriend, was situated. Some left behind the cows while they were milking them, some abandoned in their eagerness the milk they had on the stove, while others went away without taking the cake out of the oven. - Some put aside the children they were feeding milk and dressed up without thinking of the service they would render to their husbands. Some left during their meals, some while they were oiling themselves, were smearing their bodies or were making up their eyes. Others went to Krishna with their clothes and ornaments in disarray. They were checked by their husbands, fathers, brothers and other relatives but, enchanted by Govinda they, with their hearts stolen, did not turn around [to their duties]. Some gopis who did not manage to get away, stayed at home and closed their eyes to meditate on being [transcendentally] connected in love with Him [see footnote* and 10.1: 62-63]. 0-1 The intolerable, intense agony of being separated from their Beloved One drove away all bad-mindedness. At the same time their material virtue was also reduced to zero because of the joy they obtained from meditating upon Acyuta's embrace. Despite the fact that He was the Supreme Soul they thought of Him as their paramour. Getting His direct association though their karmic bonds were counteracted so that they immediately gave up their physical interest that is ruled by the natural modes.'

Shri Parikchit said: 'They only knew Krishna as their beloved one and not as the Absolute Truth, oh sage. How could there for them being so mindful of the material affair, be an end to the mighty current of the gunas?'

Shri Shuka said: 'I spoke to you about this before [in 3.2: 19 and in 7.1: 16-33]. When the king of Cedi [S'ishupala] could attain perfection even by hating the Lord of the Senses, what then would that mean for those who are dear to the Lord in the Beyond? The personal appearance of the Supreme, Imperishable and Inscrutable Lord who, free from the modes, is the controller of the modes, is there to lead humanity to the perfection of life, oh King. They who towards Him are constantly of lust, anger, fear, affection, unity or friendship will surely achieve absorption in Him. You should not be surprised about this [fact] concerning the Unborn Supreme Personality, the master of all masters of yoga, Krishna, by whose grace this world finds liberation. When the Supreme Lord saw the girls of Vraja coming to Him, He, the best of all speakers, did not use any charming words that would confuse them. The Supreme Lord said: 'All of you, be welcome , oh fortunate ladies. What can I do to please you? Please tell Me whether Vraja is all right and for what reason you came here. This night is full of fearsome looking creatures, so please return to Vraja oh slender girls. You women should not hang around here. Your mothers, fathers, sons, brothers and husbands undoubtedly are looking for you and unable to find you. Do not make your families afraid. 1-2 You have seen Raka [the goddess of the full moon day] resplendent with her moonlight. You have seen the forest full of flowers that is even more pleasurable by the breeze that coming from the Yamuna plays through the leaves of the trees. Go therefore, without delay, back to the cowherd village. You must serve your husbands, oh chaste ladies, the calves and the children are crying for you to give them milk. Or else, if you have come with your hearts overtaken by your love for Me, that is indeed laudable of you since all living beings have affection for Me. For women it indeed is the highest dharma to be diligently of service to her husband, to be simple and honest towards the relatives and to take good care of her family. Unless he fell down [from his belief or being unfaithful] a husband, even being bad-tempered, unfortunate, old, decrepit, sickly and poor, must not be rejected by women who want to go to heaven [see also 9.14: 37 and B.G. 1: 40]. For a well-educated woman to go astray dishonourably in adultery, is in all cases a contemptible weakness that creates fear and harms the reputation. By listening, being in My presence [with the deity and the devotees], by meditation and by narrating [proclaiming and publishing], one is of love for Me, not so much with physical proximity. Therefore, please return to your homes [see also 10.23: 33].'

Shri Shuka said: 'The gopis thus hearing the not so pleasant words of Govinda, being dejected because they were disappointed in their strong desires, felt an anxiety that was hard to overcome. Saddened letting their faces hang down and their bimba-red lips dry up, they sighed while scratching the ground with their feet. With their tears spoiling their make-up and washing away the kunkum on their breasts, they silently carried the burden of their great distress. Their Beloved One, not so loving at all, had addressed them contrarily, while they for His sake had desisted from all their material desires. They wiped their tears and stopped their crying and then, with their voices choked up in the attachment, in agony said something back to Him. The beautiful gopis said: 'You, oh Mighty One, oh Goodness should not speak so harshly. Please reciprocate with our devotion at Your feet for which we have denounced everything else, do not play so hard-to-get rejecting us. Be just like the Godhead, the Original Personality who reciprocates with those who desire liberation. Oh dearest one, You as the Knower of the Dharma thus spoke of the duty of women that would consist of her faithfulness to her husband, children and relatives. So be it, but is it not so that You, oh Lord, You the Godhead, the most appreciated one who as the Soul for all embodied beings is the closest relative, are the real object of this instruction? The experts are constantly of service to You, who always endear them as their very own Self. So, what do our husbands, children and relatives mean to us who give us trouble? Have mercy with us oh Supreme Controller, do not cut down the by us for so long entertained hopes for You oh Lotus-eyed One! You easily stole our minds that were absorbed in our households, as also our hands that were engaged in household duties. Our feet will not move one step away from Your feet. How can we go back to Vraja, what should we do instead? Please oh Dearest One, pour the flood of the nectar of Your smiling glances and melodious songs that [by the flute] escape from Your lips, over the fire in our hearts. Otherwise we will place our bodies in the fire that burns of separation and by meditation on Your feet attain Your abode oh Friend. Oh You with Your lotus eyes, for the goddess of fortune it is a festival whenever she resides at the base of Your feet, the feet that now are held dear by [us] the people dwelling in the forest. Touching them we, being filled by Your joy, from that moment on will never be able to stand in the direct presence of any other man! The goddess of fortune, who together with Tulasi-devi has achieved a position on Your chest, is served by servants and the other gods try to acquire her look of approval. But the same way as even she desires the dust of Your lotus feet, we also have sought the shelter of the dust of Your feet. Therefore be of mercy with us oh Vanquisher of all Distress. Renouncing our homes we have approached Your feet in the hope to worship You. Please allow us to serve You oh gem of all people, oh You with Your beautiful smiles and glances for which our hearts have burned with an intense desire. Seeing Your face encircled by Your hair, the beauty of Your earrings at Your cheeks, the nectar of Your smiling lips, the glances that make one fearless, Your two mighty arms and with seeing Your chest, the only source of pleasure for the goddess, we are delivered as Your servants. Which woman within the three worlds, oh dearest, would, completely being bewildered by the melody lines of the songs You draw from Your flute, not deviate in her civil conduct after seeing this grace of the three worlds, this beautiful form because of which [even] the cows, the birds, the trees and the deer experience a shiver of joy? You clearly have taken birth as the Godhead, the remover of the fear and distress of the people of Vraja, as no one else but the Original Personality who protects all the gods and worlds. Therefore, oh Friend of the Distressed, kindly place Your lotus like hand on the burning breasts and heads of Your maidservants.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Having heard the gopis' despondent words, the Lord of all the Lords of Yoga full of mercy smiled, He who had been satisfied despite His ever being satisfied within. Being together with all of them He was as splendid as the - like the spotted deer - blemished moon surrounded by the stars. He as the Infallible Lord who is so magnanimous in His glances and proofs of affection, made their faces blossom with His broad smiles that beamed His jasmine-like teeth. Being sung and singing Himself as the commander of hundreds of women, He wore the five-coloured [Vaijayanti] garland with which He increased the beauty of the forest where He moved about. 5-4 Together with the gopis He arrived at the riverbank that, served by the waves, was cool with its [wet] sand and was pleasant with the fragrance of the lotuses that was carried by the wind. Together with the Vraja beauties awakening Cupid, He took pleasure in throwing His arms around them in embraces. That way touching their hair, belts, thighs and breasts with His hands, He, challenging striking them with His fingernails, glanced at them and played and laughed with them. This way receiving from Krishna, the Supreme Personality of Godhead, the special attention of the Greater Soul, they, getting proud, considered themselves the best of all women on earth. Observing that they due to their fortune were caught in an intoxicated state of self-conceit,

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Lord Kes'ava, as a form of grace, disappeared from the spot in order to abate it.'

*: The different types of gopis suggested here are also mentioned in the Padma Purana:

gopyas tu Shrutayo jneya
rishi-ja gopa-kanyakah
deva-kanyas' ca rajendra
na manushyah kathancana

'It is understood that some of the gopis are personified Vedic literatures (s'ruti-cari), while others are reborn sages (rishi-cari), daughters of cowherds (gopa-kanyas), or demigod maidens (deva-kanyas). But by no means, my dear King, are any of them ordinary humans.' There is also mention of sadhana-siddhas and nitya-siddhas: those perfect of spiritual discipline and those born that way.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 30:

The Gopis Search for Krishna Who Disappeared with Radha

Shri Shuka said: 'When the Supreme Lord thus suddenly had disappeared, the young ladies of Vraja were as sorry not to see Him as she-elephants who miss their bull. The women who in their hearts were overwhelmed by the movements, affectionate smiles, playful glances, charming talks and other graceful gestures of the husband of Rama, absorbed in Him thereupon enacted each of those wonderful activities. The dear ones lost themselves in imitating the movements, smiles, beholding, talking and so on of their Beloved One, who factually thus was expressing Himself through their bodies. Under the influence of Krishna's ways they confided to each other: 'He is completely in me!' Together they sang loudly about Him and searched like mad everywhere in the forest, asking the trees for the Original Personality who, like the ether, is both present inside and outside: 'Oh as'vattha [holy fig tree], oh plaksha [waved-leaf fig tree], oh nyagrodha [banyan], have you seen the son of Nanda who has disappeared after He with His loving smiles and glances stole our hearts? Oh kurabaka [red amaranth], ashoka, naga, punnaga and campaka, have you seen passing the younger brother of Balarama who with His smile vanquishes the pride of every girl who is too haughty? Oh sweet tulasi have you who loves Govinda's feet so very much, seen our dearest Acyuta who carries you with swarms of bees around His neck? Oh malati, jati, yuthika and mallika jasmine, have you seen Madhava pass by who with His touch gives you pleasure? Oh cuta [mango creeper], priyala, panasa and asana [jackfruit trees]; oh kovidara [mountain ebony], jambu [rose-apple], arka, bilva [bel fruit], bakula [mimosa] and amra [mango tree]; oh kadamba and nipa and who else of you who for the sake of others live here near the bank of the Yamuna, please be so kind to tell us whose minds were stolen, the path that Krishna took. Oh [mother] earth, what austerity did you perform to have been touched by Kes'ava's feet with a joy that made your bodily hair [her grasses and such] stand on end? Or do you maybe owe your beauty to being trodden by the feet of Vamanadeva [see 8.18-22] or maybe because you were embraced by the body of Varaha [3.13]? Oh wife of the deer, oh friend, did you encounter Acyuta and His beloved one here, He who with all His limbs is a festival to your eyes? There is the fragrance in the air of the garland of the Master of the Gopis that in touch with the breasts of His girlfriend was coloured by the kunkum. Oh trees, when Rama's younger brother passed by, with His arm placed on the shoulder of His sweetheart, with in His hand a lotus and with the tulasi flowers [around His neck] followed by a swarm of bees blind of intoxication, did He with His loving glances acknowledge that you were bowing down? Let us ask these creepers. Despite embracing the arms of their master tree, they must have noticed the touch of His fingernails. Just see how their skins erupt with joy!'

The gopis thus speaking madly, being distraught in their search for Krishna, got fully immersed in Him when each of them began to act out a certain pastime of the Fortunate One. One of them drank as Krishna with another one acting as Putana like an infant from her breast, while yet another one acting for the cart was kicked over by the foot of another gopi who was crying [see chapters 10.6 and 7]. One gopi acting as Krishna was carried away by another gopi imitating a Daitya [Trinavarta, see 10.7] while yet another one crawling about was tinkling with her ankle bells while dragging her feet behind her. Two behaved like Krishna and Rama with some who acted like the gopas and killed one who played for Vatsasura while yet another couple enacted what happened with Bakasura [see 10.11]. Just like Krishna calling for the cows far away, one gopi, who played like Him and acted like she was vibrating a flute, was praised by the others who said: 'Well done!' One of them walked about with her arm placed over a [friend's] shoulder and declared: 'Look at my gracious movements, I am Krishna!' and was thus keeping her mind fixed on Him. 'Do not be afraid of the wind and rain, your deliverance has been arranged by Me', one of them said while she with one hand managed to lift up her shawl [like it was Govardhana Hill, see 10.25]. Oh master of men, one gopi climbing on top of another one declared with her foot on her head: 'Oh you wicked snake, go away, I have taken birth as the one to chastise the mischievous ones!' [see 10.16] One of them said: 'Oh gopas, look at this fierce forest fire, quickly close your eyes, I will without any problem arrange for your protection.' One slender gopi was tied up with a flower garland by another gopi who said: 'There You are, I bind You to the mortar, You pot breaker and butterthief!' and with that being said the other one covered her face and beautiful eyes, pretending to be afraid.

This way being engaged and asking the trees and creepers everywhere in Vrindavana where He was, they at one spot in the forest saw the footprints of the Supreme Soul: 'These are clearly the footprints of the son of Nanda. You can tell by [looking at the marks of] the flag, the lotus, the thunderbolt, the barleycorn and the elephant goad [see *]. The girls who led by the various footprints followed His trail, noticed to their dismay that they all the way were accompanied by the footprints of one of them. They thereupon said: 'Whose footprints are these next to the ones of the son of Nanda? Over whose shoulder has He, as a bull with a she-elephant, placed His arm? He must have been perfectly honoured by her [aradhitah, see Radha] as being the Supreme, One Lord and Controller, for Govinda, thus being pleased, has turned us down and taken her separate. Oh girls, how sacred are the particles of dust of Govinda's lotus feet that by Lord Brahma, Lord Shiva and Shri Ramadevi [Lakshmi] are taken on their heads to dispel the [reactions upon the] sins? For us these footprints of her are more unsettling, because, whom of us gopis was taken aside to enjoy Acyuta's lips in seclusion? Look, here we don't see her feet anymore. The blades of grass and sprouts must have hurt the soles of her tender feet so that her love has lifted up His sweetheart. Carrying His sweetheart the footprints pressed much deeper... Just see, oh gopis, how, burdened by the weight, our so intelligent object of desire Krishna has placed His girlfriend down to pick some flowers. And see these half footprints over here. To gather flowers for His sweetheart the One Beloved made this imprint by standing on His toes. Furthermore, in order to arrange the design of her hair the love-stricken friend with His loving girl sat down precisely here in order to make for His sweetheart a crown from the flowers.'

[Shri Shuka said:] 'Even though Krishna was perfectly contented, satisfied and undivided within Himself, He enjoyed with her and thus demonstrated the covetousness and selfhood of man and women who are motivated by lust. 5-3 Krishna in this matter showed for the sake of which gopi He had abandoned the other women, the other gopis who completely bewildered wandered around in the forest. She in her turn then thought of herself: 'He has accepted me, the best of all women, as His beloved and has turned down the gopis who were led by lust!'

Thereupon going to that spot in the forest, she got proud and said to Krishna: 'I cannot move on, please carry me wherever You want to go.'

Thus being addressed Krishna said to His sweetheart: 'Climb on My back.' and then He disappeared. She felt very sorry.

'Oh Master, oh Lover, oh Dearest, where are You, where are You? Oh mighty armed One, please my friend, show Yourself to me, Your wretched maidservant!'

Shri Shuka said: 'The gopis not far away following the trail of the Supreme Lord discovered their unhappy friend in a state of being bewildered about her separation from her Beloved. To their utter amazement they heard her saying that she had received Madhava's respect but that He also had let her down because of her bad behavior. As far as the light of the moon permitted they thereupon entered the forest [to look for Him], but finding themselves in the dark, the women desisted. Absorbed in Him, discussing Him, imitating Him and filled with His presence they, simply singing about His qualities, no longer thought about their homes [see also 7.5: 23-24]. Turning back to the bank of the Yamuna they meditated on Krishna, sang together and eagerly awaited His arrival.'

*: In the Skanda Purana is found an explanation of these [in total nineteen] marks: 'At the base of the large toe on His right foot, the unborn Lord carries the mark of a disc, which cuts down the six [mental] enemies of His devotees. At the bottom of the middle toe of that same foot Lord Acyuta has a lotus flower, which increases the greed for Him in the minds of the beelike devotees who meditate on His feet. At the base of His small toe is a thunderbolt, which smashes the mountains of His devotees' reactions to past sins, and in the middle of His heel is the mark of an elephant goad, which brings the elephants of His devotees' minds under control. The joint of His right large toe bears the mark of a barleycorn, representing all kinds of enjoyable opulences. A thunderbolt is found on the right side of His right foot, and an elephant goad below that.' See the Vedabase of 10.30: 25 for further info.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 31:

The Songs of the Gopis in Separation

The gopis said: 'Because of Your birth the land of Vraja is more and more glorious and the goddess of fortune resides there perpetually. Show Yourself oh dear beloved, You for whom the devotees who search for You everywhere sustain their life breath. Not being here, oh Finest of Grace, You with the beauty of Your glance - which excels the exquisite beauty of the heart of the lotus that so perfectly grew in the pond of autumn - put an end to the life of us, the maidservants who gave themselves to You without expecting anything in return, oh Lord of Love. Is that not murder? Time and again, oh Greatest Personality, we have been protected by You against all that is fearsome: perishing by the water [of Kaliya, 10.16], by the demon [Agha, 10.12], by the rains, the storm and thunderbolts [of Indra, 10.25] and by the bull and the son of Maya [the incidents with Arishthasura and Vyomasura which Shuka discusses later]. Oh Friend, You who appeared in the dynasty of the devotees [the Satvatas] are actually not the son of the gopi [Yashoda]. Your Lordship is the seer, the inner consciousness of all embodied beings, oh You who appeared on the request of Brahma who was praying for the protection of the universe [see also 3.8: 16 and 10.14]. You who took the hand of the goddess, oh best of the Vrishnis, made the ones fearless who in the fear about their material existence approached Your feet. Please, oh Lover, place as an answer to our desires Your lotus like hand on our heads. Oh You who put an end to the suffering of the inhabitants of Vraja, oh Hero of the women who with His smile defeats the false smiles of the people, please oh Friend, accept us, Your eternal maidservants. Please show us Your beautiful lotus face. Your lotus feet that remove the sins of the embodied souls surrendered to You, that follow the cows grazing grass, that are the abode of the goddess and that stood on the hoods of the serpent, please put them on our breasts and dispel the lust in our hearts. Oh You with Your lotus eyes, because of Your sweet charming voice and words that are so attractive to the intelligent ones, these maidservants, oh Hero, are getting bewildered. Please restore us to life with the nectar of Your lips. The nectar of Your talks as described by the great thinkers drive away the sins of the individual souls who suffer [in this material world]. Charged with spiritual power they are a blessing for everyone who hears them. Oh how beneficent are the persons who with song spread those talks all over the world [*].

We are happy to meditate on Your affectionate smiles full of divine love, Your glances and Your pastimes, but the intimate conversations, which go straight to our hearts oh deceiver, agitate our minds! When You leave Vraja to herd the animals oh Master, we are pained. We feel uncomfortable within, oh Lover, when we think of the husks, grasses and sprouting plants that are sharp to Your feet, oh Master, those feet that are more beautiful than a lotus. When You at the end of the day show again Your bluish black locks and Your lotus face thickly covered with dust, You time and again bring Cupid to our minds, oh Hero. Your lotus feet grant the highest satisfaction in fulfilling the desires of those who bow down to them and in being worshiped by the one born on the lotus [Brahma]. They are the ornament of the earth and the proper object to meditate upon in times of distress. Therefore please oh Lover, oh Remover of the Anxiety, place Your feet upon our breasts. Grief is destroyed and the happiness of love increases by the vibrations of the flute that so perfectly handled [by You] makes us forget the attachments to other persons. So please, oh hero, grant us the nectar of Your lips! When You go to the forest during the day, a single moment becomes like an eon for those who do not see Your curling locks of hair and Your beautiful face. How foolish is he [Brahma] who created the eyelids of the ones who are looking forward to see You! Completely neglecting our husbands, children, ancestors, brothers and other relatives we sought Your presence, oh Acyuta, oh You who know the reasons of our movements. Oh cheater, how could You in the dead of night abandon the women who were bewildered by the clear sound of Your flute? By intimately chatting with You finding the lust rising in our hearts, by seeing Your smiling face, loving glances and Your broad chest that is the abode of the goddess, our minds full of craving, time and again got bewildered. For those living in the forests of Vraja Your so very, for each and all, auspicious appearance constitutes the destruction of their distress oh dearest. Please grant us a bit of that medicine that counteracts the disease in the hearts of Your devotees hankering for You. Your so tender lotus feet we, oh beloved, place gently on our breasts, afraid that the forest You roam might be too rough for them. We who consider Your Lordship our very life, with restless minds are concerned that they do not suffer any harm from small pebbles and so on [see further the Shikshashthaka].'

*: The pupils of Prabhupada here refer to the following story: 'King Prataparudra recited this verse to Shri Caitanya Mahaprabhu during Lord Jagannatha's Ratha-yatra festival. While the Lord was resting in a garden, king Prataparudra humbly entered and began massaging His legs and lotus feet. Then the king recited the thirty-first chapter of the tenth

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BOOK of the Shrimad Bhagavatam, the songs of the gopis. The Caitanya-caritamrita relates that when Lord Caitanya heard this verse, beginning tava kathamritam, He immediately arose in ecstatic love and embraced king Prataparudra. The incident is described in detail in the Caitanya-caritamrita (Madhya 14.4 - 1, and in his edition Shrila Prabhupada has given an extensive commentary.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 32:
Krishna Returns to the Gopis

Shri Shuka said: 'The gopis oh King, thus went on singing and speaking deliriously, endearingly weeping loudly and hankering for the audience of Krishna. The son of Vasudeva [or Shauri, 'the Son of the Hero'], the Bewilderer of [Cupid] the bewilderer of the mind, thereupon appeared directly before them, smiling with His lotus like face and wearing a yellow garment and a garland. When they saw that He, their dearest one, had returned to them, the girls full of affection opened their eyes wide and stood all simultaneously up as if life itself had returned to their bodies. One of them joyfully seised the hand of Shauri with her folded palms while another one put His arm, adorned with sandalwood paste, around her shoulder. A slender gopi took the remnants of the bethel He had chewed in her joined hands and another one took His lotus feet and placed them on her burning breasts. Another one with frowning eyebrows biting her lips threw, beside herself in her love, agitated, sidelong looks at Him as if she wanted to harm Him. Another one [said to be Radha] staring at Him relished His lotus face but could, despite the full taste, not get enough, just like saints cannot get enough of His feet. One of them placed Him, through the openings of her eyes, in her heart and kept embracing Him there with her eyes closed, while her hairs stood on end being drowned in ecstasy, as if she was a yogi [*]. All of them experienced a supreme jubilation at the sight of Kes'ava and gave up the distress of their separation, just like normal people do when they meet a spiritually enlightened person. My dear King, in the midst of those who were relieved of their sorrow, Acyuta, the Supreme Lord, appeared even more brilliant, as the Original Person complete with all His spiritual potencies. 1-1 The Almighty One took them with Him and arrived at the banks of the Yamuna. There the auspicious river with the hands of her waves had collected soft sands. The kunda and mandara flowers fragrantly bloomed with bees [attracted] by the autumnal breeze, while the moon, plentifully shining, with its rays dispelled the darkness of the night. The pain of the desires in their heart was dispelled by the ecstasy of seeing Him. By arranging a seat for their dear friend with their shawls that were smeared with the kunkuma from their breasts, the gopis attained the ultimate fulfillment of their souls as [described in] the scriptures [see also 10.87: 23]. The Supreme Lord and Controller for whom the masters of yoga arrange a seat in their hearts, present in the assembly of the gopis was seated there resplendently. Thus exhibiting His personal form He was worshiped as the exclusive reservoir of all beauty and opulence in the three worlds. He who awakens Cupid, was honoured with smiles, with playful glances, with sporting their eyebrows, with massaging His feet and hands upon their laps and was thus offered praise, but still being somewhat incensed they addressed Him. The fine gopis said: 'Some follow the example of those who respect them, some show respect without being respected themselves and some have no love for anyone. Oh dear one, can You explain that to us?'

The Supreme Lord said: 'Friends who exclusively to their self-interest reciprocate with respect, are no real friends that way because they in desiring their benefit do not follow the principle. They who are respectful and kind without being respected themselves, like parents e.g., are faultless in their sense of duty and of real friendship, oh slender girls. As for those who have no respect, nor even answer the love they receive from others, one may speak of either [spiritually] self-satisfied souls, people whose material desires were fulfilled, ungrateful, dissatisfied human beings or else persons inimical towards venerable personalities [like spiritual masters and superiors]. But I My friends, despite the respect I receive from other living beings, do not reciprocate that propensity [for pure love] in order to let it increase. Someone will entertain no thought of anything else then, just like a poor man who collected some wealth and is afraid to lose it again [see also B.G. 4: 11 and 10.29: 27]. Because of your for My sake defying of what the people, the scriptures and your relatives all say and because of [My desire to increase] your propensity to love Me, I have answered by disappearing from your sight My dear girls [**]. So do not be displeased with your Beloved, oh dear ones. I will, not even living as long as a god in heaven, be able to repay you for your unadulterated worship of Me. May your own pious activities constitute the answer [be the reward] for that cutting with the so difficult to overcome chains of your household lives.'

*: Shrila Vis'vanatha Cakravarti Thhakura states that the seven gopis mentioned thus far in this chapter are the first seven of the eight principal gopis of which the Shri Vaishnava-toshani in a verse gives the names as being Candravali, Shyamala, Shaibya, Padma, Shri Radha, Lalita and Vis'akha. The eighth one is understood to be Bhadra. The Skanda Purana declares these eight gopis to be the principal ones among the three billion gopis and Radha is, as confirmed in the Padma Purana, Brihad-gautamiya-tantra and the Rig-paris'ishtha, the Lord's most beloved one.

**: Intermitted reinforcement as practiced by Krishna so evanescently here, in fact creates the strongest bond, so confirms modern behavioral science. Thus with all His religions everywhere in the world there are days of materially motivated work where we do not see Him as He vanishes into the background, and days of prayer where we do meet Him by His representatives.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 33:
The Rasa Dance

Shri Shuka said: 'When the gopis heard these most charming words of the Supreme Lord, they gave up their lamentation about having been deserted. The touch of His limbs had fulfilled all their desires. Govinda on the spot thereupon engaged in a dance [a rasa, or sport] in which the faithful jewels among women all satisfied joined with their arms linked together.

- The festival of the dance commenced with the gopis positioned in a circle. Krishna, the Controller of the Mystic Union, always keeping Himself situated between two of them, held His arms around the necks of the women next to Him. At that moment the sky was crowded by hundreds of celestial carriers belonging to the denizens of heaven with their wives whose minds were carried away by curiosity. Thereupon kettledrums resounded and a rain of flowers came down, while the chief singers of heaven together with their wives sang about His immaculate glories. In the circle of the dance there was a great rumor of the bracelets, ankle bells and waist bells of the women who were together with their Beloved. The Supreme Lord, the son of Devaki, being together with them appeared as handsomely splendid as an exquisite [blue] sapphire in the midst of golden ornaments. The way they placed their feet, by the gestures of their hands, their smiles, playful eyebrows and their bending waists, by their breasts moving beneath their clothes, their earrings at their necks and their perspiring faces, with the braids of their hair, their tightly tied belts and their singing about Him, they, in the role of Krishna's consorts, shone as streaks of lightening amidst the clouds. They by whose song the entire universe is pervaded, sang loudly with their coloured throats, danced joyfully and were happy in their dedication to be touched by Krishna. One gopi who together with Krishna raised [her voice relative to His] in pure tones of close harmony, was praised by Him who pleased exclaimed: 'excellent, excellent!' And another gopi who vibrated along with them with a special metre, He also showed His great appreciation. A certain gopi [Radha probably] whose bracelets and flowers were slipping, stood fatigued because of the dancing at the side of the Master of the Ceremony ['He who holds the club'] and grasped His shoulder with her arm. Somewhere else there was one who placed Krishna's arm that was as fragrant as a blue lotus, over her shoulder and kissed it while she smelled the sandalwood with her hair standing on end. Another one, looking beautiful with the glittering of her earrings that were shaking because of the dancing, placed her cheek next to His and received from Him the betel nut He had chewed. One of them who with Acyuta at her side was dancing and singing with tinkling ankle bells and waist bells, feeling tired placed His auspicious lotus hand on her breasts. Now that the gopis had achieved the Infallible Lord, the Exclusive Lover of the Goddess of Fortune, as their lover, they enjoyed it, with His arms around their necks, to sing about Him. With the lotus flowers behind their ears and the wreaths in their hair falling to the ground, with the locks of their hair decorating their cheeks and their beautiful faces perspiring, with the reverberation of the harmonious sounds of their armlets and bells and the bees buzzing around them, the gopis danced together with the Supreme Lord in the arena of the dance. The Master of the Goddess of Fortune, thus with His embraces, the touches of His hands, His affectionate glances and His broad playful smiles, enjoyed it to be together with the young women of Vraja, just like a boy does who plays with His own reflection. From the bodily contact with Him being overwhelmed in their senses, it was for the ladies of Vraja not easy to keep their hair, their dresses and the cloths that covered their breasts sufficiently tidy. Their flower garlands and ornaments were in disarray, oh best of the Kurus. Seeing Krishna thus playing, the goddesses moving through the sky were seised by desires of love and the moon and his followers [the stars] got amazed. Expanding Himself to as many [appearances] as there were cowherd women, He, despite being the Supreme Lord satisfied within, enjoyed the pastime He had with them. In loving compassion He with His most soothing hand wiped the faces of the gopis when they felt tired from the pleasure of the romance, my best one. The gopis greatly pleased by the touch of His fingernails, sang about the exploits of their Hero, honouring Him with the beauty of their smiles, glances and cheeks that was heigtened by the effulgence of their shining locks of hair and golden earrings.

Being tired, He, with His garland crushed and smeared by the kunkuma of their breasts, quickly being followed by the bees, as the leader of the Gandharvas, entered together with them the water [of the Yamuna] in order to dispel the fatigue, just as a bull elephant does when he with his wives has broken the irrigation dikes [in their case: the normal rules of conduct]. In the water He was splashed from all sides by the girls who looked at Him with love and laughter my best one. Thereto being worshiped from the heavenly carriers [of the gods] with a rain of flowers He, who is personally always satisfied within, in that place reveled in playing [with the gopis] like He was the king of the elephants [see also 8.3]. Just like an elephant that is dripping rut with his wives, He then, surrounded by the swarm of His bees and women, passed through a grove nearby the Yamuna that everywhere was filled with the - by the wind carried - fragrance of the flowers in the water and on the land. He, the Truth of all Desires, thus with His many adoring girlfriends spent the night that was so bright because of the moonlight. He thereby controlled within Himself [during that one night] the romantic feelings that He wished to honour during all autumn nights, the nights that so very much inspire for poetic descriptions of spiritual moods [or rasas].'

7-2 Shri Parikchit said: 'In order to establish the dharma and to subdue the defiant souls, He, the Supreme Lord, the Controller of the Universe descended with His plenary portion [Balarama]. How could He, the original speaker, executor and protector of the codes of moral conduct, behave so to the contrary, oh brahmin, by touching the wives of other men? What did He, being satisfied within, have in mind with this no doubt contemptible performance, oh best of the vowed ones? Please dispel our doubt about this.'

Shri Shuka said: 'The transgression of dharma and the boldness that we [sometimes] see of mighty authorities, does not mean they are at fault. They are like an all-consuming fire [that is not affected by what it consumes]. Someone not in control [of himself] must not even think of ever doing a thing like this. Being as foolish to act in such a way, means one's demise, one is not a Rudra who can drink the poison of the ocean [see 8.7]. It are the words of the authorities that are true, their acts should only occasionally be taken as an example. What they do should intelligently be followed only in case they are in agreement with their words [see also B.G. e.g. 3: 6-7, 3: 42, 5: 7]. Just as they who act egolessly do not benefit from the good acts they perform, they neither will suffer any disadvantage when they act contrary to the virtue. How can we in relation to the Controller(s) of those who are controlled - all the created beings, animals, human beings and denizens of heaven - speak in terms of right or wrong? The sages [His representatives] whose karmic bondage has all been washed away by serving the dust of the lotus feet, are satisfied by the power of yoga and act freely, they never get entangled because of Him. In what sense could one speak of a state of bondage with those who act according to the wishes of Him who assumed His wonderful bodies [for their sake, see vapu]? He who within the gopis and their husbands, indeed within all embodied beings lives as the Supreme Witness, assumes a form in this world in order to engage in His pastimes. In order to show His mercy to His devotees, He with assuming a humanlike body engages in [amorous] pastimes, hearing about which one becomes devoted to Him [see also 1.7: 10]. The cowherd men of Vraja who were bewildered by the power of His maya, were not jealous of Krishna. They all thought that their wives had stayed at their side. Even though the gopis did not want to, the sweethearts of the Supreme Lord, on Krishna's advise went home after that [endless] night of Brahma had passed. Anyone who with faith listens to or gives an account of this pastime of Lord Vishnu with the cowherd girls of Vraja, will achieve the transcendental devotional service of the Supreme Lord. He will quickly become sober and forthwith drive away the disease of lust in the heart.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 34:
Sudars'ana Delivered and Shankhacudha Killed

Shri Shuka said: 'The gopas one day eager for God with bullock carts went on a trip into the Ambika forest. There they took a bath in the Sarasvati and worshiped with paraphernalia devotedly the mighty demigod Pashupati [Shiva as the lord of the animals] and the goddess Ambika [*], oh King. Respectfully donating cows, gold, clothing and sweet grains to all the brahmins, they prayed: 'devo nah priyatam' [may God be pleased with us]. Following strict vows only drinking water [see 8.16] the highly blessed Nanda, Sunanda [Nanda's younger brother] and the others stayed that night on the bank of the Sarasvati. Some giant snake that was very hungry happened to live in that forest and slithering on his belly began to swallow the sleeping Nanda. Seised by the python he shouted: 'Krishna, oh Krishna my dear boy, save this surrendered soul. This huge serpent is devouring me!' Hearing his cries the gopas rose immediately and seeing what happened they perplexed took up firebrands to attack the snake. The snake, despite being burned by the torches, did not

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release Nanda. But the Supreme Lord, the Master of the Devotees came and touched him with His foot. The divine touch of the Supreme Lord's foot put an end to his badness. He gave up his snake body and next assumed a form that was worshiped by the Vidyadharas [he was their leader]. The Lord of the Senses then questioned the personality who, offering his obeisances and with his body adorned with a golden necklace, brilliantly shining stood before Him. 'Who might you be who, shining so beautifully, are wonderful to behold? Tell Me what led to this terrible fate of having been forced to assume such a ghastly form [7.13: 11]?'

The [erstwhile] serpent said: 'I am Sudars'ana, a certain Vidyadhara well-known for his opulence and appearance. I used to wander all the directions in my celestial carrier. Because I, conceited about my appearance, ridiculed the sages who descended from Angira I, for my sin of deriding them, was made to assume this ugly form. They, in their compassionate nature, with pronouncing their imprecation included the favor that all my viciousness would be destroyed after having being touched by the foot of the Master of All Worlds. I beg You, that same person who for the surrendered souls are the remover of the fear of a material existence, oh You who by the touch of Your foot freed me from the curse, for Your permission [to return to my world], oh Destroyer of All Distress. I am surrendered to You, oh Greatest of All Yogis, oh Supreme Personality, oh Master of the Truthful Ones. Please command me, oh Lord, oh Controller of all the Controllers of the Universe. Seeing You I was immediately freed from the punishment of the brahmins oh Acyuta, oh You whose name being sung instantly purifies all those who may hear it as also the singer himself. How much more then, would it mean to be touched by Your foot?'

Thus circumambulating Him and offering his obeisances, Sudars'ana took leave. He returned to heaven and Nanda was delivered from his awkward position. The men of Vraja witnessing Krishna's personal display of power stood amazed. Thereupon they on the spot finished their duties [unto Shiva] and returned to the cowherd village, oh King, [on their way] with reverence recounting what had happened.

Some day thereafter [at Gaura-purnima so one says] Govinda and Rama, whose deeds are so wonderful, in the middle of the night were playing in the forest with the girls of Vraja. Their glories were charmingly sung by the group of women bound in affection to Them, whose limbs were finely decorated and smeared, next to the garlands and the impeccable clothes they wore. The two of Them [together with them] honoured the nightfall with the appearance of the moon and the stars, the jasmine buds that with their fragrance intoxicated the enjoying bees and the breeze that transported the fragrance of the lotuses. They both, for the mind and ears of all living beings, sang about the fortune, together from high to low producing the entire scale of notes that was available. The gopis who listened to Their singing, in their fascination did not notice oh ruler of man, that their dresses slipped and their hair and flowers got disheveled. While the two thus were amusing Themselves to their heart's content, singing to the point of ecstasy, a servant of Kuvera arrived on the scene carrying the name Shankhacudha ['wealthy-crest']. Right before their eyes, oh King, he shamelessly drove the group of women away in the northern direction, while they were crying out to the Two they had chosen as their Lords. Seeing that they who belonged to Them were seised by a thief like a couple of cows and were crying out 'Oh Krishna, oh Rama, help us!', the two brothers ran after them. Calling 'Do not be afraid' They comforted them with Their words. They moved quickly with Shala logs in Their hands and soon caught up with that worst specimen of all Yakshas who was speeding away with great haste. When he saw the two approaching like Time and Death personified, he became afraid. In his confusion he left the women behind and ran for his life. Govinda pursued him wherever he fled in order to rob him of his crest jewel, while Balarama stayed behind to protect the women. Overtaking him like it was nothing the Almighty Lord with His fist knocked off the crest jewel of the villain together with his head. After thus having killed Shankhacudha He brought the shining jewel to His elder brother and handed it satisfied over to Him while the gopis were watching.'

*: Ambika means mother, good woman, a name scripturally associated with the femininity of Uma and Parvati in relation to Skanda, Shiva or Rudra, as a term of respect. Ambikavana is found in the Gujarat province, near the city of Siddhapura. Shrila Vis'vanatha Cakravarti Thhakura quotes authorities here who claim that Ambikavana is situated at the bank of the Sarasvati river [that does not exist any longer] and is found northwest of Mathura. Ambikavana is notable for its deities of Shri Shiva and his wife, the goddess Uma.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 35:

The Gopis Sing about Krishna as He Wanders in the Forest

Shri Shuka said: 'When Krishna had left for the forest, the gopis, unhappy chasing Him in their mind, passed their days singing loudly about Krishna's pastimes.

- The gopis said [in double verses]: 'With His left cheek put to His left arm He, oh gopis, with His eyebrows moving, places the flute at His lips, while stopping the holes with His tender fingers. Where Mukunda thus sounds His flute the women travel the sky together with the Siddhas. Embarrassed about the desires pursued by their minds, they listen in amazement and forget the sadness they felt, as also their girdles. - Oh girls, listen how wonderfully Nanda's son, the giver of joy to people in trouble, He with His brilliant smile and fixed streak of lightning [the Shrivatsa or the goddess] on His chest, sounds His flute. Groups of bulls kept in the pasture, deer and cows, with their ears pricked up at a distance, with their mouths filled, stop chewing and, transfixed by His play, dreaming, stand frozen as if it concerned a drawn picture. - When Mukunda dear gopis, looking like a wrestler with an arrangement of [peacock] feathers, [mineral] colours and leaves, together with Balarama and the gopas, calls for the cows, the flow of the rivers is interrupted. They, just like us lacking in piety, trembling out of love with their arms of water stand perplexed, while hankering for the dust of His lotus feet that is transported by the wind. - When He moving around in the forest and on the hillsides, as the Original Person with His flute calls for the cows and He for His prowess and inexhaustible opulences by His company extensively is praised in every way, the creepers and the trees, heavy with flowers and fruits, bend over all by themselves. As if they wanted to reveal Vishnu present within them, they in their love rain down torrents of sweet sap, while the growths on their bodies stand on end in ecstatic love. 0-1 The very moment He as the most attractive one to see raises His flute, with respect for the desirable song of the strongly humming swarm of bees around His divine garland intoxicated by the honey sweet [subtle] fragrance of the tulsi flowers, oh then, the cranes, swans and other birds in the lake with their minds seised by the charm of the song come forward to pay Him homage with their eyes closed, keeping silent with their minds under control. 2-1 Oh Vraja devis, when He, being together with Balarama, for fun wears a garland on His head, at the mountain side gives happiness vibrating on His flute and makes the whole world delightfully enjoy, the deck of clouds then, afraid to offend such a great personality, in return most gentle minded, thundering and raining flowers upon his Friend, offers its shade as a parasol. 4-1 Oh pious lady [Yashoda], when your son, who is an expert in different cowherd matters and a genius in the different styles of playing, places His flute to His bimba-red lips to produce the harmonious sounds of His music, the masters of spiritual authority like Indra, Shiva and Brahma who hear that tonal variety, with their minds confounded bow their heads because they cannot ascertain its essence. 6-1 When He plays His famous flute and, moving with the grace of an elephant, with His flower petal lotus feet marks the soil of Vraja with the different symbols of the flag, thunderbolt, lotus and elephant goad, He with His body relieves the earth from the distress caused by the hooves [of the cows]. As He walks [by] and bestows His playful glances, we get excited in our amorous feelings and stand transfixed like trees, in our bewilderment not knowing anymore [what the condition would be of] our dresses and braids.

At times, when He, with the garland around His neck smelling of the by Him favored tulsi, counts the cows on a string of coloured beads and then, throwing His arm over the shoulder of a loving companion, sings, the wives of the black deer, the doe - just like the gopis who gave up their civil aspirations -, approach that ocean of transcendental qualities to sit at His side with their hearts stolen by the sound produced by Krishna's flute. 0-2 Oh sinless lady, your darling child, the son of Nanda, is now, with His attire ornamented with a garland of jasmine flowers and surrounded by the gopas and the cows, having fun playing with His companions along the Yamuna. The wind gently blowing in His favor, honours Him there with a touch of sandalwood scent, while the lesser divinities [the Upadevas] surrounding Him present Him gifts and offer praise with instrumental music and songs. 2-2 Taking care of the cows of Vraja and at His feet being worshiped as the lifter of the mountain [see 10.25] He, at the end of the day collected the herd of cows. Playing His flute with His companions, He on His way was everywhere worshiped by all adults [and demigods]. This moon, born from the womb of Devaki, who came with a desire to fulfill the desires of His friends, was, even when He was tired and His garland was coloured by the dust raised by the hooves, a feast for the eyes. 4-2 He greets His well-wishing friends while slightly rolling His eyes as if He is intoxicated. With His garland of forest flowers, with His face paled like a jujube plum [a badara], with the soft line of His cheeks and with the beauty of the golden earrings adorning Him, He is the Lord of the Yadus, the Lord sporting just like the lord of the elephants. His joyful face is like the moon, the lord of the night, who at the end of the day drives away the infinite sorrow of the cows [and the gopis] of Vraja after the heat of the daytime.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Oh King, the women of Vraja with their hearts and minds absorbed in Him, thus enjoyed their days, highly spirited singing about Krishna's pastimes.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 36:

The Bull Arishthasura Defeated and Akrura Sent by Kamsa

The son of Vyasa said: 'Some time later the bull demon named Arishtha who had a huge hump, came to the cowherd village. Ripping open the soil with his hooves the earth trembled because of his body. Bellowing very loudly and scraping the ground with his hooves, he with his tail upward, with the tips of his horns tearing up the mud walls and throwing up clods, with glaring eyes was releasing little bits of urine and stool. - The frightening sight of his sharp horns and his hump, that looked like a mountain with amassing clouds, terrified the gopas and gopis so much my best one, that the women and the cows in their fear untimely lost their fetuses in miscarriages. The animals panicked and ran away from the pasture, oh King, while all the people crying 'Krishna, Krishna!', sought Govinda to take shelter. The Supreme Lord, seeing the entire cow-community distraught fleeing in fear, pacified them with the words 'do not fear' and called out to the bull demon: 'You dull-witted, bad creature, how dare you in the presence of Me, the chastiser of foul miscreants like you, to frighten these gopas and their animals?!'

Acyuta, the Lord, thus speaking slapped His arms to anger Arishtha with the sound of His palms and assumed a posture thereto in which He threw His serpentine arm over a friend's shoulder. He indeed managed that way to enrage Arishtha who furiously scratched the earth with his hoof and [then] with his tail raised to the clouds attacked Krishna. Bloodthirsty staring from the corners of his eyes he pointed his horns straight ahead and ran full speed toward Acyuta like he was a thunderbolt released by Indra. The Supreme Lord though, seised him by the horns and threw him like a rival elephant eighteen feet back. Warded off he quickly restored to charge again in blind anger, to which he sweating all over breathed heavily. Attacking Him he was [by the Lord] seised by his horns and made to trip by His foot, so that he slapped down to the ground like a wet garment. The Lord thereupon struck him with his [broken off] horn until he fell flat. Vomiting blood, excreting a mass of urine and stool and throwing his legs about, he in pain rolling with his eyes left for the abode of Death. The demigods thereupon scattered flowers upon the Lord in worship. After thus having killed the demon with the big hump He, that feast for the eyes of the gopis, together with Balarama entered the cowherd village while being praised by the twice-born ones.

With the demon Arishtha being killed by the Worker of Miracles, Krishna, the powerful sage Narada who has the vision of God said to Kamsa: [see 1.6: 25-29] 'Devaki's daughter actually was Yashoda's girl, Balarama was the son of Rohini and Krishna was also born from Devaki. Vasudeva out of fear placed Them in charge of his friend Nanda, They [Krishna and Balarama] were the two who killed your men.'

The lord of Bhoja hearing that, raging with anger took up a sharp sword to kill Vasudeva. Narada withheld Kamsa [by saying] that Vasudeva's two sons would bring about his death. With that in mind he then chained him and his wife with iron shackles [see also 10.1: 64-69]. After the deva-rishi had left, Kamsa spoke with the demon Kes'i and told him: 'You are the one to kill Rama and Kes'ava.'

Then he called together Mushthika, Canura, Shala, Tos'ala and others as also his ministers and his elephant keepers. The king of Bhoja said to them: 2-2 'Mushthika and Canura, dear mates, please listen to what I have to say, oh heroes. The two sons of Anakadundubhi are living in the cowherd village of Nanda. It was foretold that Krishna and Balarama would cause my death. If we manage to get Them here for the sake of a wrestling match you can kill Them. Build a ring with various stages around it. Let all subjects from inside and outside the city witness an open competition. Dear elephant-keeper, you my good man, should take the elephant Kuvalayapida to the entrance of the arena and destroy there my enemies. It has to commence on the fourteenth [Caturdas'i] of the month with the bow-sacrifice performed according to the injunctions. For the Lord of the Spirits [Shiva], the graceful one, the proper kind of animals should be offered in sacrifice.'

Thus having issued his orders he, well versed in the art of securing one's personal interest, called for Akrura ['the one not cruel'], the most eminent Yadu. He took his hand into his own and then said: 'Dear master of charity please do me a favor. With all respect, there is no one among the Bhojas and Vrishnis to be found who is as merciful as you are. The way Indra, the mighty king of heaven achieved his goals by taking shelter of Lord Vishnu, I have taken shelter of you, oh kind one, for you always carry out your duties respectfully. Go to Nanda's cowherd village where the two sons of Anakadundubhi live and bring Them without delay here on this chariot. These two have been sent by the gods under the protection of Vishnu for the sake of my death. Bring Them together with the gopas headed by Nanda over here and tell

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them to take along gifts of tribute. When you have brought Them here I will have Them killed by the elephant that is as mighty as the time itself. And if They manage to escape that, my wrestlers who are as strong as lightning will put an end to Them. After the two of Them are dead I will next kill the pained relatives whose leader is Vasudeva: the Vrishnis, Bhojas and the Das'arhas [see again 10.1: 67]. And my old father Ugrasena so greedy for the kingdom I will give the same treatment, as also his brother Devaka and my other opponents. The thorns of this earth, oh friend, will thus be destroyed. Together with my elder relative [my father-in-law] Jarasandha and my dear friend Dvivida, as also with determined comrades like Shambara, Naraka and Bana, I will enjoy this earth, killing all those kings who side with the demigods. And now, with this knowledge, bring me quickly the young boys Rama and Krishna to attend the bow-sacrifice here and to respect the glory of the Yadu capital [of Mathura].'

Shri Akrura said: 'Oh King, there is nothing wrong with your approach to free yourself from unwanted elements. One should act irrespective failure or success, destiny after all determines the end result. Even though providence foils his plans, the common man fervently acts to his desires and is unwillingly confronted with happiness and distress. Nonetheless I will execute your order.'

Shri Shuka said: 'After Kamsa thus had instructed Akrura and dismissed his ministers, he entered his quarters and Akrura returned home.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 37:

Kes'i and Vyoma Killed and Narada Eulogizes Krishna's Future

- Shri Shuka said: 'Then there was Kes'i being sent by Kamsa [in 10.36: 20]. He as a huge horse with his hooves ripped open the earth and with the speed of mind scattered the clouds as also the celestial carriers of the gods. With his manes and neighing he frightened everyone. The Supreme Lord in response to the stir of the clouds created by his tail and his whinnying that terrified His cowherd village, thereupon stepped forward to fight. He called for Kes'i who roaring like a lion was searching Him. The moment he who was hard to conquer and approach and most aggressively with a wide open mouth was swallowing the sky, saw Him before him, he rushed furiously forward to attack the lotus eyed Lord with his legs. The Lord of the Beyond alert to that dodged that attack and seised him with His arms by the legs. He whirled him around indifferently and threw him at a distance of a hundred bow lengths, standing there just like the son of Tarkshya [Garuda] throwing a snake. Regaining his consciousness he stood up in bitter rage and ran, [with his mouth] wide open, full speed at the Lord. With a smile He then put His left arm in Kes'i's mouth, like it was a snake in a hole. As Kes'i's teeth came in touch with the Lord's arm they fell out as if they had come in contact with a red-hot iron. Thereupon the arm of the Supreme Soul swelled within his body so that his belly expanded like a diseased belly does after being neglected. Because Krishna's arm thus expanded his breathing was arrested. Kicking with his legs, perspiring all over, rolling with his eyes and excreting feces, he thereupon fell lifeless to the ground. After the Mighty-armed One had retracted His arm from the dead body that looked like a cucumber [karkathika], He, unassuming as He was in His effortlessly having killed His enemy, was honoured from above by the gods with a rain of flowers.

The devarishi [Narada], the most exalted devotee of the Lord, oh King, approached Krishna in private and said the following to Him who is so effortless in His actions: 0-1 'Krishna, oh Krishna, oh Vasudeva, immeasurable Soul, oh Lord of Yoga, oh Controller of the Universe, oh shelter of each, oh You master and very best of the Yadus! You alone are the Soul of all living beings who, like fire hidden in firewood, resides within the heart as the Witness, the Lord, the Supreme Personality. You as the refuge of the spiritual soul first of all, through Your energy, produced the modes of nature. Unfailing in Your purpose You through these modes create, destroy and maintain this universe. You, this one [creator] Himself, have descended for the protection of the virtuous ones and for the destruction of the demons [Daityas], the savages [Rakshasas] and tormentors [Pramathas] who have the world of the living beings in their grip. To our great fortune You in person have sportively killed this demon who had assumed the form of a horse and because of whose neighing being terrified the vigilant gods abandoned heaven. 5-2 The day after tomorrow, I will see that Canura, Mushthika and other wrestlers as also the elephant [Kuvalayapida] and Kamsa are killed by You oh Almighty One. Thereafter [the demons] Shankha, [Kala-]yavana, Mura and Naraka will follow, You will steal the parijata flower and defeat Indra. I will see You marry the daughters of the heroes [the kings] as a reward for Your valor. In Dvaraka You will deliver King Nriga from his curse, oh Master of the Universe and capture the jewel named Syamantaka together with a wife. You will retrieve the deceased son of a brahmin [Sandipani Muni] from Your abode [of death] and then You will kill Paundraka, burn down the city of Kas'i [Benares] and see to the demise of Dantavakra. Thereafter You will kill the king of Cedi [S'ishupala] at the great sacrifice [see also 3.2: 19, 7.1: 14-15]. The poets on this earth will be singing about these and other great feats that I will see You perform during Your stay in Dvaraka. Then I will see You as the charioteer of Arjuna assume the form of Time in bringing about the destruction of the armed forces of this world. Let us approach [You who are] this Supreme Lord, full of the purest wisdom, who is completely fulfilled in His original identity, whose will in none of His exploits can be thwarted and who by the power of His potency always desists from [identifying with] the flow of things happening with the modes of the illusory, material energy. For You I am bowed down, You the Greatest of the Yadus, Vrishnis and Satvatas, the self-contained Controller who by Your creative potency has arranged for an endless number of specific situations in which You immediately could act and You have taken upon Yourself [the burden of] humanity being divided [in warfare].'

Shri Shuka said: 'The most eminent sage among the devotees thus respectfully having honoured Krishna, the leading Yadu, received permission to leave and went away most delighted about having seen Him. Govinda, the Supreme Lord who in a fight had killed Kes'i, still tended the animals together with the cowherd boys who were most pleased with the happiness He brought to Vraja. One day, when the gopas were grazing the animals, they at the hillside engaged in the game 'stealing and hiding', playing the roles of thieves and protectors. Some of them were the thieves, some were the shepherds, while a couple of them, oh King, played for the unsuspecting sheep. A son of the demon Maya named Vyoma ['the sky'], a powerful magician, disguised himself as a gopa and then, engaging as one of the many thieves, led away almost all the boys who acted as the sheep. The great demon threw them one by one in a mountain cave the entrance of which he blocked with a boulder so that only four or five of them remained. Krishna, He who offers shelter to all pious souls, finding out what he was doing, seised the gopa carrier as forcefully as a lion would seize a wolf. The demon resumed his original form that was as big as a mountain. By all means he tried to free himself, but held tightly in His grip he, being debilitated, failed. Controlling Him with His arms Acyuta forced him to the ground and while the gods in heaven were watching He killed him like he was a sacrificial animal. He broke through the blocked entrance of the cave and led the gopas out of their awkward position. Praised by the gopas and the gods, He thereupon returned to His cowherd village.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 38:

Akrura's Musing and Reception in Gokula

Shri Shuka said: 'The high-minded soul Akrura spent the night in the city of Mathura [after 10.36: 40] and then mounted his chariot to go to Nanda's cowherd village. On his way he experienced an exceptional amount of devotion for the greatly fortunate lotus-eyed Personality of Godhead and thus he thought as follows: 'What good works have I done, what severe penance did I suffer or else of what worship have I been or what charity have I given, that I today may see Kes'ava? My attainment of the presence of the One Praised in the Verses is, I think, for someone with a worldly mind as difficult to achieve as the chanting of the Vedas is for someone of the lowest class. But enough of that, even for a fallen soul like me there is a chance to acquire the audience of Acyuta. Some time someone pulled along by the river of time may reach the other shore! Today my impurity will be uprooted and my birth will bear fruit, for it are the lotus feet of the Supreme Lord whereupon the yogis meditate, that I am going to respect. Kamsa sending me here did me a great service indeed by obliging me to look for the feet of the Lord who descended into this world. It is by the effulgence of His rounded toenails that in the past many a soul succeeded in freeing himself from the hard to overcome darkness of a material existence. With these [feet] that, marked by the red kunkum from the breasts of the gopis, are worshiped by Brahma, Shiva and the other demigods, by Shri the goddess of fortune, the sages and the devotees, He with His companions moves about in the forest while tending the cows. The deer are passing me on my right side [an auspicious sign]! I certainly will behold Mukunda's beautiful cheeks and nose, His smiles, the glances of His reddish lotus eyes and the hair curling around His face. Today I no doubt will enjoy the direct sight of Vishnu. I unfailingly will directly behold that paragon of beauty, who of His own accord assumed the form of a human being to diminish the burden of this earth. Even though He is a witness [just like me] to the true and untrue, He is free from [false] ego. By that personal potency of Him He has dispelled the darkness and bewilderment of an existence in separation [see also 2.5: 14, 2.10: 8-9, 3.27: 18-30 and 10.3: 18]. Working from the inside out, He, by the created beings that manifested after He cast His glance upon the material energy of His creation, can [only indirectly] be approached through the vital airs, senses and intelligence of their bodies [see also 2.2: 35]. His auspicious words, in combination with the qualities, activities and the incarnations [of Him and His expansions], put an end to all sins in the world and bring life, beauty and purity to the entire universe, while words devoid of these are considered as [useful as] things that beautify a corpse. And now He who maintains the codes of conduct has descended in His own dynasty of faithful souls [Satvatas], He who as the leader of the immortals brings joy and happiness by spreading His fame with His presence in Vraja as the Controller whose all-auspicious nature is glorified by the godly ones. Today I will certainly see Him, the destination and spiritual master of all the great souls in the three worlds, He the real beauty and great feast for everyone endowed with eyes, He who exhibits the form that is the desire of the goddess, He who is my safe haven, the One because of whom all my dawns became [a sign of] His auspicious presence. The moment I alight from my chariot to respect the feet of the two Lords, the Principal Personalities upon whom even the yogis fix their intelligence in their self-realisation, I will certainly bow down to Them as also to the friends [and the others] who live with Them in the forest. And when I have fallen at the base of His feet, the Almighty One will place upon my head His lotus hand that dispels the fear for the serpent of time, the snake because of whose swift force the people terrified seek shelter. By placing in that hand an offering, Purandara [see 8.13: 4] and also Bali [see 8.19] acquired rulership [the position of Indra] over the three worlds. It is the same hand that, fragrant like an aromatic flower, during the pastime with the ladies of Vraja by its touch wiped away their fatigue [see 10.33]. Even though I am a messenger sent by Kamsa, Acyuta will not adopt an attitude of enmity towards me. He, the Knower of the Field [of the body, see B.G. 13: 3], witnessing everything that takes place inside and outside of the heart, sees with a perfect vision. Smiling affectionately He will look upon me, with my joined palms being fixed at the basis of His feet. With the immediate eradication of all my contamination by His glance, I will thus be freed from doubt and achieve intense happiness. With me [standing before Him] as His best friend and as a family member who is exclusively devoted to Him, He will close me in His two large arms. As a result my body will instantly become sanctified and my karma-dependent bonds will slacken. When I, with my head down and palms joined, have achieved physical contact with Him, Urus'rava ['the renown Lord'] will address me with words like 'Oh Akrura, dear relative...' Because of the Greatest of All Persons my life will thus be a success. How pitiable is the birth of the one who was not honoured by Him this way! No one is His favorite or best friend, nor is anyone disliked by Him, hated or held in contempt by Him [see B.G. 9: 29]. Nevertheless He reciprocates with His devotees [see also 10.32: 17-22] according to their actions, just like a [desire] tree from heaven that upon approach brings whatever one desired [see vaishnava pranama]. In addition His elder brother, the most excellent Yadu [Balarama], smiling at me who stands there with a head bowed down, will embrace me, take hold of my hands and take me into His house to receive me with all respects and then inquire how Kamsa fares together with the members of His family.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Thus on his way with his chariot pondering over Krishna, the son of Shvaphalka [see 9.24: 15] reached the village of Gokula as the sun was setting behind the mountain, oh King. The imprints of His feet, of which the rulers of all worlds hold the pure dust on their crowns, he saw in the earth of the pasture: a wonderful decoration showing the shapes of the lotus, the barleycorn, the elephant goad and so on [see also 10.16: 18 and 10.30: 25*]. The ecstasy of seeing them exited him greatly, made his hair stand on end and filled his eyes with tears. Getting down from his chariot he rolled himself in the footprints exclaiming: 'Oh this is the dust from my master's feet!' This is what for all embodied beings is the goal of life: to give up one's pride, fear and sorrow when one is faced with and hears about and such, the message of the signs of the Lord [see 7.5: 23-24].

In Vraja he saw Krishna and Rama, who, wearing yellow and blue garments and with eyes that looked like autumnal lotuses, were going to the place where the cows were milked. The two boys who are the shelter of the goddess were, bluish-dark and fair skinned, most beautiful to behold with their mighty arms, attractive faces and a gait like that of a young elephant. With Their feet marked by the flag, bolt, goad and lotus, and with Their smiles and glances full of compassion the two great souls increased the beauty of the cow pasture. They whose pastimes were so magnanimous and attractive, were freshly bathed, impeccably dressed, wore flower garlands and jeweled necklaces and had smeared Their limbs with auspicious, fragrant substances. The two original, most excellent persons, who are the Cause and the Masters of the universe [see also 5.25], had for the welfare of that universe descended in Their distinct forms of Balarama and Kes'ava. Oh King, with their effulgence they, as a mountain of emerald and a mountain of silver both decorated with gold, dispelled the darkness in all directions. Quickly climbing down from his chariot Akrura, overwhelmed with affection, prostrated himself at the feet of Rama and Krishna. Seeing the Supreme Personality he, because of the tears of joy overflowing his eyes and the eruptions [of ecstasy] marking his limbs, in his

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eagerness could not announce himself, oh King. The Supreme Lord, the Caretaker of the Surrendered Souls, recognised him, drew him near with His hand that is marked with a chariot wheel [the cakra] and happily embraced him. 7-3 Thereupon the magnanimous Sankarshana [Rama] embraced him who stood there with his head bowed down. With His hand taking hold of his two hands He took him together with His younger brother into the house. There He inquired whether he had enjoyed a pleasant journey. He offered him an excellent seat and washed his feet with sweetened milk, as was prescribed as a form of reverential respect. Donating a cow in charity and respectfully giving the tired guest a massage, the Almighty One faithfully served him pure food of different tastes [fit for a sacrifice]. After having eaten Rama, the Supreme Knower of the Dharma, with love further arranged for herbs to serve the tongue and for fragrances and flower garlands for the highest satisfaction.

After thus having honoured him Nanda asked: 'Oh descendant of Das'arha, how are you faring with the merciless Kamsa alive, that boss who is [treating his subjects] just like a butcher [deals] with sheep? If he being cruel and self-indulgent killed the babies of his own sister to her great distress, what then would that mean for the wellbeing of his subjects, for you?'

Thus being properly respected by Nanda with true and pleasing words, Akrura shook off the fatigue of his journey.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 39:

Krishna and Balarama Leave for Mathura

Shri Shuka said: 'After comfortably seated on a couch thus having been honoured that much by Rama and Krishna, he [Akrura] saw that everything had taken place what he on his way had pictured in his mind. What would be unattainable when the Supreme Lord, the shelter of Shri, is satisfied? Still, the ones devoted to Him, oh King, do not desire anything. After having enjoyed supper the Supreme Lord, the son of Devaki, asked about the activities of Kamsa towards His friends and relatives, as also what his plans were. The Supreme Lord said: 'Oh gentle one, have you recovered from your trip? I wish you all the best! Are your friends, relatives and other associates all hale and hearty? But why, My dear one, would I ask about the well-being of us, our relatives and the citizens, as long as Kamsa, that disease of the family, who only in name is our maternal uncle, is prospering? Ah! Because of Me there was great suffering for My noble parents: their sons were killed and they were imprisoned. Fortunately, today My wish has been fulfilled to see you, My close relative, oh gentle one. Please uncle, explain the reason why you came here.'

Shri Shuka said: 'On the request of the Supreme Lord the descendant of Madhu [Akrura, see 9.23: 29] described everything of the inimical attitude [of Kamsa] towards the Yadus and his murderous intentions in relation to Vasudeva. He disclosed what the message was he was sent for as an envoy and what Narada had told him [Kamsa] about Krishna being born as a son of Anakadundubhi. When Krishna and Balarama, the destroyer of all boldness in opposition, heard what Akrura had to say, they laughed and told Nanda, their [foster] father, what the king had ordered. 1-1 Nanda then issued the following official announcement to the gopas and the other people of Gokula: 'Gather all dairy products, take gifts and yoke the wagons. Tomorrow we together with all the people under my care will go to Mathura to offer the king our products and have a great festival.'

When the cowherd girls heard that Akrura had come to Vraja to take Rama and Krishna along to the city, they got totally upset. That created in the hearts of some of them such a great pain, that their beautiful faces turned pale because of their sighing, while the knots in the hair, the bracelets and dresses of other girls slipped away. Of other gopis fixed in meditation on Him, all the sensory functions ceased so that they took no notion of this world anymore, just like it happens with those who attained the realm of self-realisation. Others fainted, thinking of how Shauri had touched their hearts by sending His loving smiles and expressing Himself in wonderful phrases. 7-1 Thinking about Mukunda's charming movements, His activities, affectionate smiles, His glances that removed all unhappiness, His jesting words and mighty deeds, they joined in fear of the separation, greatly distressed, in groups to speak with tears on their faces, deeply absorbed, about Acyuta. The fine gopis said: 'Oh Providence, where is your mercy to bring together the embodied souls in love and friendship? Separating us you leave us unfulfilled in our purposes. How uselessly you just like a child toy with us! Having shown to us the face of Mukunda framed in black locks, His fine cheeks and straight nose and the beauty of His modest smile dispelling the misery, you are not doing any good by [now] making this invisible to us. By the name of Akrura ['not-cruel'] you certainly are cruel, in your, like a fool, alas, taking away the Perfection of All Creation in one form, the enemy of Madhu, you formerly allowed our eyes to see. The son of Nanda breaks in a moment with His friendship. He has taken up a new love and has, alas, no eyes for us [anymore], we who under His influence were made to give up our homes, relatives, children and husbands and directly serve Him. How happy the dawn is after this night, when unfailingly the hopes have been fulfilled of the women of the city [of Mathura]! For then they imbibe the face of the master of Vraja arriving there with the nectarean smile that can be seen in the corners of His eyes. However subservient and intelligent Mukunda may be, once His mind is seised by their honey-sweet words, oh girls, what chance is there for us? Would He, spellbound by the enchantments of their bashful smiles, still return to us rustics? Today there certainly will be a great festival before the eyes of the Das'arhas, Bhojas, Andhakas, Vrishnis and Satvatas and all others out there, when they on the road see the Darling of the Goddess, the reservoir of all transcendental qualities who is the son of Devaki. Such an unkind person, a person as extremely cruel as he, should not be called 'a-krura' because he, without the least excuse, removes from the presence of us people [of Vraja] full of sorrow, the one dearer to us than the dearest. He who so coldly has mounted the chariot [Krishna], is by these foolish gopas followed in their bullock carts. And the elders don't even say a word. Today providence is not working in our favor! Let us go to Him now and stop Him! He cannot do this to us, the family, the elders and our relatives, we who not even for half a second can miss the association of Mukunda. Separated by that fate our hearts will be broken! For us, who by the charm of His loving affection, attractive smiles, intimate discussions, playful glances and embraces, were drawn to the assembly of the rasa dance [10.33], the night passed in a single moment! How, oh gopis, can we without Him ever defeat the insurmountable darkness? How can we ever exist without Him, that Friend of Ananta [Rama] who at the end of the day, surrounded by the gopas entered Vraja with His hair and garland smeared with the dust of the hoofs, He who, playing His flute and smiling from the corners of His eyes, stole our minds with His glances?'

Shri Shuka said: 'Thus speaking in pain about the separation, the ladies of Vraja, in attachment thinking of Krishna, forgot all their shame and cried out loudly: 'Oh Govinda, oh Damodara, oh Madhava!'

While the women were lamenting thus, Akrura at sunrise, after having performed his morning duties, set out with his chariot. The gopas who led by Nanda followed Him in their wagons, took along an abundance of offerings and clay pots filled with dairy products. Also the gopis followed their beloved Krishna [for some time] and [then] stood waiting, hoping for some pleasing words from the Lord. The Greatest among the Yadus saw them lamenting at His departure and consoled them lovingly with the message: 'I will do My best!' Sending their minds after Him for as long as the flag and the dust of the chariot were visible, they stood there like painted figures. Without the hope of ever seeing Him back, they returned and free from sorrow spent their days and nights singing about the activities of their Beloved.

With the chariot moving as swiftly as the wind, the Supreme Lord together with Rama and Akrura, oh King, arrived at the Yamuna, the river removing all sin. After touching the water there with His hand and drinking the sweet liquid that was as effulgent as jewels, He went behind the chariot to a grove and then climbed [back] on it together with Balarama. Akrura asked Them to stay behind on the chariot and went to a pool in the Yamuna to perform a bath in accord with the injunctions. Immersing himself in that water and reciting perennial mantras, Akrura saw before him the likeness of Rama and Krishna. 2-4 He thought: 'How can the two sons of Anakadundhubhi positioned on the chariot be present here? Let me see whether They are still there...', and rising from the water he saw Them sitting where he had left Them. Again alone entering the water he wondered: 'Was my vision of Them in the water a hallucination maybe?' 4-4 And again he saw in that same place the Lord of the Serpents [Ananta or Balarama], the Godhead with the thousands of heads, hoods and helmets, who by the perfected ones, the venerable ones, the singers of heaven and the ones of darkness was praised with bowed heads. Clad in blue and [with a complexion] as white as the filaments of a lotus stem, He was situated there like He was mount Kailasa with its white peaks. 6-4 On His lap there was situated peacefully, like a dark cloud, the Original Personality with the four arms clad in yellow silk. He had reddish eyes like the petals of a lotus, an attractive cheerful face with a charming, smiling glance, fine eyebrows, ears and a straight nose, beautiful cheeks and red lips. He had high shoulders and a broad chest home to the Goddess, stout, long arms and a conch shell-like neck, a deep navel and a belly with lines like those of a [banyan] leaf. 9-5 He had firm buttocks and hips, two thighs like an elephant's trunk, shapely knees and an attractive pair of shanks. His ankles were high, reddish were the rays emanating from His toenails and the soft toes of His lotus feet surrounding His two big toes glowed like flower petals. 1-5 Adorned with a helmet bedecked with large and precious gems, wearing bracelets, armlets, a belt, a sacred thread, necklaces, ankle bells and earrings, He carried an effulgent lotus, a conch shell, a disc and a club in His hands next to the Shrivatsa mark on His chest, His brilliant Kaustubha jewel and a flower garland. 3-5 He was accompanied by attendants headed by Nanda and Sunanda and was, according to each his different type of loving attitude, praised in sanctified words by Sanaka and the others [the Kumaras], by the leading demigods headed by Brahma and Shiva, by the foremost twice-born ones [headed by Marici] and by the most exalted devotees led by Prahlada, Narada and Vasu. He was served by His [feminine] internal potencies of fortune [Shri], development [Pushthi or also strength], speech [Gir or knowledge], beauty [Kanti], renown [Kirti], contentment [Tushthi or renunciation - these first ones are His six opulences]; comfort [Ila, bhu-s'akti, the earth-element or sandhini] and power [Urja, expanding as Tulasi] as also by His potencies of knowing and ignorance [vidya and avidya, leading to liberation and bondage], His internal pleasure potency [S'akti or hladini], [His marginal potency, jiva-s'akti] and His creative potency [Maya].

Witnessing this to his great pleasure, he [Akrura], stood enthused with supreme devotion, with the hairs of his body standing on end and with his eyes and body getting wet because of his loving ecstasy. Getting himself together the great devotee with a choked voice offered his respects with his head bowed down. Joining his hands he attentively prayed slowly.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 40: Akrura's Prayers

Shri Akrura said: 'I bow down to You, oh Lord Narayana, Cause of All Causes, oh Original Inexhaustible Person, oh You from whose navel the lotus sprouted on the whorl of which Lord Brahma appeared who generated this world. Earth, water, fire, air, ether and its source [the false ego]; the totality of matter [see footnote 10.13: ***] and its origin [the Purusha]; the mind, the senses, the objects of all the senses and the demigods [belonging to them], together constitute the [secondary] causes of the universe that have generated from Your [transcendental] body. They, under the [outer] direction of the material realm, have because of that lifelessness no knowledge about the true identity of the Supreme Self, Your Soul. Also the unborn one [Brahma] being bound to the modes of material nature, cannot know Your form transcendental to these modes [see also 10.13: 40-56]. It is to the honour of You that the yogis perform sacrifice, You the Supreme Personality and Controller within each, within the material elements and within the ruling gods and saints. Some brahmins worship You, with respect for the three sacred [agni-traya] fires, by means of the mantras of the three Vedas elabourately with various rituals for deities of different names and forms. Some who strive for spiritual knowledge, attain peace by renouncing all fruitive actions and worship the embodiment of knowledge [the guru, the Lord] by means of sacrifices in the field of spiritual knowledge [see e.g. B.G. 4: 28, 17: 11-13, 18: 70]. Others, whose intelligence is purified by the principles [the vidhi] included by You, worship You, absorbed in You, as the one form assuming many forms. Still others worship You, the Supreme Lord, in the form of Lord Shiva, by treading the path described by Lord Shiva that in different ways is presented by many teachers. Even though they as devotees of other divinities are of a different attention, they all worship You who as the Controller comprises all the gods [see B.G. 9: 23]. Just like the rivers that, filled by the rain and springing from the mountains from all sides, enter the ocean, oh master, similarly all these paths [of the demigods] finally lead to You [see B.G. 2: 70, 9: 23-25, 10: 24 and 11: 28]. All the conditioned living beings, from the nonmoving ones up to Lord Brahma, are caught in the qualities [gunas] of goodness [sattva], passion [rajas] and ignorance [tamas] of Your material nature [see B.G. 14]. I offer You, the Soul of All Souls my obeisances who, with a detached vision are present as the witness and the consciousness of everyone, as He who, with this stream of the material modes that was created by Your lower energy, deals with the souls who identify themselves therewith as gods, human beings and animals. 3-1 One considers fire as Your face, earth as Your feet, the sun as Your eye, the sky as Your navel and the directions as Your sense of hearing. Heaven is Your head, the ruling demigods are Your arms, the ocean is Your abdomen and the wind is Your vital air and physical strength. The trees and the plants are the hairs on Your body, the clouds are the hair on Your head and the mountains are the bones and nails of Your Supreme Being. Day and night are the blinking of Your eye, the founding father is Your genitals and the rain is regarded as Your semen [see e.g. also 2.6: 1-11]. Just like the aquatics that move about in the water or the small insects in an udumbara fig, in You all the worlds - including their rulers and the many souls that crowd them -, found their origin, in You, their Inexhaustible, One Personality comprising all mind and senses.

For the sake of Your pastimes You in this world manifest various forms, with which the people, to be purified from their unhappiness, full of joy sing Your glories. 7-1 My respects for You, the Original Cause who in the form of Matsya [the fish, see 8.24] moved about in the ocean of dissolution and for Hayagriva [the Lord with the horsehead, see 5.18: 6]. My obeisances unto You, the slayer of Madhu and Kaithaba, unto the huge master tortoise [Kurma, see 8.7 & 8]

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who held the mountain Mandara and all glory to You in the form of the boar [Varaha, see 3.13] whose pleasure it was to lift the earth out of the ocean. My obeisances to You, the amazing lion [Nrisimha, see 7.8 & 9] who removes the fear of every righteous soul, and to You who as the dwarf [Vamana, see 8.18-21] covered the three worlds in one step. All glories to You, the Lord of the descendants of Bhrigu [Parashurama, see 9.15 & 16] who cut down the forest of conceited nobles, and my obeisances to You, the best one of the Raghu dynasty [Lord Rama, see 9.10 & 11] who put an end to Ravana. My obeisances to You, oh Lord of the Satvatas, oh You who are Lord Vasudeva [of His consciousness], Lord Sankarshana [of His ego], Lord Pradyumna [of His intelligence] and Lord Aniruddha [of His mind, see further 4.24: 35 & 36]. My obeisances to Lord Buddha [He as the awakened One], the Pure One, the bewilderer of the demoniac descendants of Diti and Danu. My respects for You in the form of Lord Kalki [the Lord descending 'for the wicked ones'], the annihilator of the meat-eaters [the mlecchas] who pose as kings [see also 2.7].

Oh Supreme Lord, the individual souls in this world are bewildered by Your deluding material energy [maya] and are, because of the false conceptions of 'I' and 'mine' [asmita], made to wander along the paths of fruitive activities [karma]. As for my own body, children, home, wife, wealth, followers and so on, I too am deluded in foolishly thinking that they would be true, oh Mighty One, while they are more like dream images [that come and go]. Thus groping in the dark with a mentality of wishing to enjoy a world of opposites, I, in not being of the true self or what is eternal and taking misery for the contrary [of happiness], fail to know You who are my dearmost self and soul. Like a fool overlooking water that is covered by plants or like someone running after a mirage, I have turned away from You. With a pitiable intelligence because of material desires and actions, I could not find the strength to check my disturbed mind that by the so very powerful, willfull senses was diverted from one thing to another [see B.G. 13: 1-4 & 5.11: 10].

In this condition, I now approach Your feet that for any impure person, I think, are impossible to attain without Your mercy. Only by serving the truthful [of Your devotees, nature and culture, sat] a person can develop Your [Krishna] consciousness and put an end to the cycle of rebirth in this material world, oh Lord with the lotus navel. I offer my obeisances to You, the Embodiment of Wisdom and the Source of All Forms of Knowledge, You, the Absolute Truth of unlimited potencies who rules over the forces in control of the [conditioned] person. My reverence is there for You, the son of Vasudeva, in whom all living beings reside. You I prove my respect oh Lord of the Senses, please protect me in my surrender oh Master.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 41:
The Lords' Arrival in Mathura

Shri Shuka said: 'While he [Akrura] was praying, Krishna, the Supreme Lord, having shown His personal form in the water, withdrew Himself the way an actor winds up his performance. When he saw that the image had disappeared, he emerged from the water, quickly finished his different ritual duties and surprised went to the chariot. Hrishikes'a asked him: 'Have you seen something miraculous on the earth, in the heavens or in the water? We gather you did!'

Shri Akrura said: 'Whatever wonderful things there may be out here on earth, in the sky or in the water, are all situated in You who comprise everything; what would I, seeing You, not have seen? Beholding You, the One Person in whom all wonders of the earth, the sky and the waters are found,, oh Absolute of the Truth, what else that I see in this world would amaze me?'

With those words the son of Gandini [Akrura] drove the chariot forward to take Rama and Krishna to Mathura [where they arrived] at the end of the day. The people of the villages who here and there on the road approached Them, were pleased to see the sons of Vasudeva oh King, and could not take their eyes off Them. In the meantime, Nanda, the gopas and the rest of the inhabitants of Vraja had arrived there and stayed in a park outside the city to wait for Them. Catching up with them the Supreme Lord, the Master of the Universe, said to the humbly smiling Akrura while taking his hand into His own: 'You go ahead of Us to the city with the chariot and go home. We will rest here and then see the city.'

Shri Akrura said: 'How can I enter Mathura without the two of You oh Master? Do not let me down, oh Lord, oh Caretaker of the Devotees, I am Your devotee! Please, oh supreme well-wisher, come together with Your elder brother, the gopas and Your friends to our house so that it is graced with its Master, oh Lord of the Beyond. I am a householder of sacrifice, please bless our home with the dust of Your feet so that my forefathers, the sacrificial fires and the demigods will be satisfied. The great king Bali by bathing Your two feet became glorious [see 8.19] and achieved unequaled power as also the destination reserved for unalloyed devotees. The pure water washing from Your feet and received by Lord Shiva on his head [9.9], has sanctified the three worlds so that the sons of king Sagara [9.8] attained heaven. [9.9] Oh God of the Gods, oh Master of the Universe about whom one piously hears and chants, oh Best of the Yadus, oh Lord Praised in the Verses, oh Lord Narayana, let there be the obeisance unto You.'

The Supreme Lord said: 'I will come to your house accompanied by My elder brother. After killing My enemy in the midst of the Yadus [Kamsa], I will grant My well-wishers the satisfaction.'

Shri Shuka said: 'After thus being addressed by the Supreme Lord, Akrura somewhat disheartened entered the city. He informed Kamsa on his efforts and thereupon went home. Later in the afternoon Krishna together with Sankarshana [Rama] and the gopas entered Mathura to take a look around. 0-2 There He saw the high gates and doorways of crystal, front doors and immense archways of gold, storehouses of copper and brass and inviolable moats, [everywhere] beautified by public gardens and attractive parks. The intersections decorated with gold, the mansions with their pleasure gardens, the assembly halls of the guilds and the houses with their columned balconies as also the ornate paneled rafters, were bedecked with vaidurya gems, diamonds, quartz crystals, sapphires, coral, pearls and emeralds. Sounds vibrated of the pet doves and peacocks that sat in the openings of the lattice windows and on the gem-studded floors. The avenues, streets and courtyards were sprinkled with water and [for a welcome] were strewn with garlands, new sprouts, parched grains and rice. The doorways of the houses were nicely decorated with pots filled with yogurt smeared with sandalwood paste, ribbons and flower petals, rows of lamps, leaves, bunches of flowers, trunks of banana trees and betel nut trees and flags. As the sons of Vasudeva entered there surrounded by Their friends oh King, the women of the city, eager for a look, all hurried to stand along the main road and climb on top of the houses. Some had put on their clothes backwards and forgotten one of their pair of ornaments, putting on only one earring or one set of ankle bells. Other ladies made up one eye but not the other one. Some in their excitement had abandoned the meals they were taking or did not finish their massage. They left their bathing or, hearing the commotion, got up not finishing their nap. Others as mothers put aside the infant they were feeding milk. Walking like a bull elephant in rut, He boldly stole their minds with the glances of His lotus eyes and the game of His smiles. With His body, that source of pleasure to the Goddess of Fortune, He afforded their eyes a festival. Seeing Him whom they repeatedly had heard about, their hearts melted. Receiving the honour of being sprinkled by the nectar of His glances and broad smiles, they, with goose pimples, through their eyes innerly embraced their idol, this embodiment of ecstasy, and gave up their endless distress [of missing Him], oh subduer of the enemies. Having climbed the rooftops of their mansions, the playful women, with faces blooming like lotuses because of their love, showered Balarama and Kes'ava with flowers. With yogurt, barleycorns and pots filled with water, fragrant substances and other items of worship the Two were joyfully worshiped at every step by the brahmins. The women of the city said: 'Oh what great austerity the gopis must have performed to may constantly witness these Two, who for human society are the greatest source of pleasure.'

Krishna, the elder brother of Gada [see 9.24: 46] approached a certain washerman engaged in dyeing and asked him for first class, clean garments. 'Please, oh best man, give the two of Us some suitable clothes. When you donate them to Us, who deserve it, that will bring You the highest benefit, that suffers no doubt!'

Requested by the Supreme Lord who is complete and perfect in every way, he most falsely proud as a servant of the king, indignantly said full of anger: 'Is it no impudence of You who roam the mountains and the forests, to desire to wear garments like these belonging to the king? Get lost You fools, do not beg like this if You want to live! I swear, people as bold as You, are arrested, looted and killed by the king's men!'

Thus humiliating Them he raised the anger of the son of Devaki who with the side of one hand hit his head from his body. When his assistants fled in all directions, they left behind bundles of clothes. Acyuta took the garments. Krishna and Balarama dressed Themselves with a set of clothes to Their liking, threw several of them on the ground and gave the rest to the gopas. Thereupon a weaver came who full of love for Them befittingly ornamented Their clothes with pieces of cloth of different colours. Krishna and Rama with each His own specific high quality outfit and nice decorations, looked as resplendent as a pair of young elephants, one light and one dark, adorned for a festival. The Supreme Lord being pleased with the weaver, granted him sarupya, in this world to be liberated with the same supreme opulence, physical strength, influence, memory and sense control [the grace of His characteristics, see also mukti].

They both next went to the house of Sudama ['well-giving'], the garland-maker. Seeing Them he stood up and bowed down putting his head to the ground. He brought seats for Them, water to wash Their feet and hands, presents and such and honoured Them and Their companions with garlands, betel nut and sandalwood paste. He said: 'Our birth has been worthwhile and the family has been purified, oh Master. Together with me, my forefathers, the gods and the seers are satisfied that You came here. You two, who constitute the Ultimate Cause of the Universe, have with Your plenary portions descended to this world for its protection and happiness. Even though You reciprocate with those who are of worship, with You there is no bias in Your vision. You as the Soul of the Universe, are as well-wishing friends equal to all living beings. You Two should order me, Your servant, what I should do for You. For this is for anyone the greatest blessing: to be appointed by You.'

Shuka said: 'Thus understanding what to do oh best of kings, Sudama, steeped in love, presented garlands made of fresh and fragrant flowers. Beautifully adorned with them the two benefactors Krishna and Rama, who together with Their companions were most satisfied, granted the surrendered soul who bowed down, every benediction that he wished for. He chose for an unshakable devotion unto Him alone, the Supreme soul of the Complete Whole, for friendship with all living beings and for the blessing of transcendence. Thus blessing him with prosperity, a thriving family, strength, a long life, renown and beauty, He left together with His elder brother.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 42:
The Breaking of the Sacrificial Bow

Shri Shuka said: 'Walking the king's road, Krishna saw a woman carrying a tray with ointments for the body. She was hunchbacked [*], was young and had an attractive face. The Bestower of the Essence with a smile asked where she was going. 'Who are you with your nice thighs? Ah dear woman, look at those ointments! Please tell Us honestly for whom this all is meant. Offer, if you want, the two of Us that ointment for the body, then there will soon be the supreme benefit for you.'

The maidservant said: 'Oh handsome One, I am a servant of Kamsa known as Trivakra ['three-bend'] respected indeed for my work with ointments. Prepared by me they are very dear to the chief of the Bhojas. But okay, who else but the two of You would deserve them?'

With her mind overwhelmed by the beauty, charm and sweetness of Their talks, smiles and glances, she gave Them plenty of ointment. Adorning Their bodies with the colours that contrasted with Their complexions, the ointments proved to be of the highest quality. Thus being anointed They appeared beautifully. To deliver proof of the benefit of meeting Him, the satisfied Supreme Lord decided to straighten the crooked back of Trivakra who had such an attractive face. With both His feet pressing down on her toes, Acyuta with both His hands took hold of her chin and raised her up with two fingers pointing upwards. Thereupon all of a sudden straight by Mukunda's touch, she had become a most perfect woman with evenly proportioned limbs, large hips and breasts. Thus endowed with beauty, quality and good feelings she was roused to the notion of sleeping with Him. With a smile she addressed Kes'ava while pulling at the end of His upper garment. 'Come oh hero, let us go to my house. I cannot bear to leave You here, please have mercy, oh Best of All Men, with me whose head is reeling.'

With this request of the woman Krishna glanced at Balarama who watched what happened and then at the gopas. He laughed and said to her: 'Oh you with your beautiful eyebrows, I will visit your home, where men may find relieve of their anxieties, when I have accomplished what I came for. That will do us, travelers far from home, good. For you are the best one might wish for.'

After leaving her behind with these sweet words, He, walking down the road with His brother, was by the merchants honoured with various offerings of betel nut, garlands and fragrant substances. With Him before their eyes the women could not think straight any longer. Agitated by Cupid, they stood nailed to the ground with their clothes, bangles and hair in disorder. After asking the residents for the place of the sacrificial bow, Acyuta entered there. It was a bow as magnificent as a rainbow, the bow of Indra. The bow was guarded by many men and worshiped with the greatest wealth. Krishna forced His way past the guards who blocked Him and picked it up. Before the eyes of the guards He lifted it easily with His left hand and pulled the string in a second. Lord Urukrama ['giant-step'] broke it in two like He was an elephant eager for a piece of sugar cane. The sound of the breaking bow penetrated all directions of the sky and the earth and made Kamsa who heard it, tremble with fear. Trying to get hold of Him, He and His comrades were surrounded by the guards who enraged had taken up their weapons and shouted: 'Grab Him, kill Him!' Seeing their evil intentions Balarama and Kes'ava each took up a piece of the bow and vehemently struck them down.

After They had also slain an armed force that was sent by Kamsa, the Two walked out of the gate of the arena, happy to observe the exciting riches of the city. The citizens who had witnessed Their amazing heroic act deemed Them, because of

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their strength, boldness and beauty, the finest among the gods. Freely wandering around, the sun began to set and Krishna and Rama accompanied by the gopas returned to the place outside the city where they had left their wagons. The [predictions of] benedictions in Mathura, spoken by the gopis that were tormented by feelings of separation when Mukunda left, [10.39: 23-25], all came true for those who had the full vision of the body of this paragon of male beauty, of Him, the shelter so much desired by the Goddess of Fortune that she forgot about the others worshiping her. After the both of Them had washed Their feet and eaten boiled rice with milk, They, fully aware of Kamsa's scheme, spent the night there quite comfortably. 6-2 But Kamsa stayed awake a long time having heard of the game Govinda and Rama had played in breaking the bow and killing his small army of guards. In his fear he saw with his bad mind, in his sleep as also being awake, many bad omens and messengers of death. 8-3 In the mirror he could not see the reflection of his own head and for no reason he saw a double image of the heavenly bodies. In his shadow he saw a hole and he could not hear the sound of his breath. He saw a golden hue over the trees and could not spot his own footprints. In his sleep he was embraced by ghosts, he rode a donkey and swallowed poison. He saw someone going about naked being smeared with oil and wearing a garland of nalada flowers [indian spikenards, a Valerian type]. In his sleep as also awake seeing these and similar omens, he was mortally afraid and could not sleep anymore.

When the night had passed, oh descendant of Kuru and the sun rose above the water, Kamsa had the great wrestling festival he organised. The king's men ceremoniously vibrated musical instruments and drums in the arena and decorated the galleries with garlands, flags, ribbons and arches. The citizens and the people from elsewhere, headed by the state officials and the brahmins, were comfortably seated upon them, while the royalty received special seats. Kamsa surrounded by his ministers sat on the royal dais, but positioned there in the midst of his governors, his heart trembled. As the musical instruments played in rhythms appropriate for the wrestling, the richly ornamented wrestlers proudly entered together with their instructors and sat down. Canura, Mushthika, Kutha, Shala and Tos'ala, being enthused by the pleasing music, took their place on the wrestling mat. The gopa Nanda and the cowherds he led were called forward by the king of Bhoja [Kamsa] to present their offerings and next sat down in one of the galleries.'

*: The pupils of Prabhupada elucidate: 'According to Shrila Vis'vanatha Cakravarti Thhakura, the young hunchbacked girl was actually a partial expansion of the Lord's wife Satyabhama. Satyabhama is the Lord's internal energy known as Bhu-s'akti [see 10.39: 53-55], and this expansion of hers, known as Prithivi, represents the earth, which was bent down by the great burden of countless wicked rulers. Lord Krishna descended to remove these wicked rulers, and thus His pastime of straightening the hunchback Trivakra, as explained in these verses, represents His rectifying the burdened condition of the earth.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 43:
Krishna Kills the Elephant Kuvalayapida

Shri Shuka said: 'After Krishna and Rama had washed Themselves, oh chastiser of the enemies, They heard the vibrations of kettledrums for the wrestling match and went hither to take a look. When Krishna reached the gate of the arena He saw the elephant Kuvalayapida standing there, directed by his keeper. Tightening His clothes and tying together His curly locks, He spoke to the elephant keeper with words as grave as the rumbling clouds: 'Elephant keeper, oh elephant keeper, let Us pass, move aside right now or else I will send you, together with your elephant, today to the abode of Yama [the lord of death].'

Thus being threatened the elephant keeper got angry and goaded the furious elephant that was like Yama, Time and death, in the direction of Krishna. The master elephant ran toward Krishna and violently seised Him with his trunk, but Krishna dealing him a blow, escaped from the grip and disappeared between his legs. Angry for not seeing Him anymore, he spotted Him by his sense of smell and grabbed Him with the end of his long nose, but Krishna used force and freed Himself once more. Krishna seised him by the tail and dragged him, that mountain of power, for twenty-five bow-lengths with the ease with which Garuda plays with a snake. Acyuta moving him to the left and the right was also moved about by him, just like a calf does with a young boy [at its tail. See also 10.8: 24]. The moment they came standing face to face, He slapped the elephant with His hand and then quickly moved away again. Thus He hit him at every step and then made him trip. Running away He pretended to fall to the ground, but then He suddenly got up so that the elephant angrily came to strike the earth with his tusks. With his prowess foiled that lord of the elephants was driven into a frenzy and urged on by his keepers, he furiously attacked Krishna again. The Supreme Lord, the killer of Madhu, confronting him in his attack, seised him by his trunk and made him fall to the ground. With the ease of a lion jumping on the fallen giant, the Lord yanked out a tusk and killed the elephant and his keepers with it.

Leaving aside the dead elephant He, being sprinkled with drops of the elephant's blood and sweat, took the tusk on His shoulder and entered [the arena] with His lotus face shining with the fine drops that had appeared by His own perspiring. Oh King, Baladeva and Janardana surrounded by several cowherd boys, thus appeared before the audience with the elephant's tusks as their chosen weapons. For the wrestlers He was lightning, for the men He was the best and for the women He was Cupid incarnate. For the cowherds He was a relative, for the impious rulers He was a chastiser and for His parents He was a child. For the king of Bhoja He was death, for the unintelligent ones He was merely a material form, for the yogis He was the Supreme Reality and for the Vrishnis He was the most worshipable deity. In these ways being regarded differently, He entered the arena together with His brother [see * and rasa]. When Kamsa saw that Kuvalayapida had been killed and that the two of Them were invincible, his mind was overtaken by a very great anxiety, oh ruler of man. The two mighty-armed Lords, the way They were dressed in each His own garments, with ornaments and garlands, looked in Their excellent costumes like two actors and radiated, being present in the arena, with an effulgence that overwhelmed the minds of all onlookers. The people sitting in the galleries, the citizens and the people from outside, oh King, seeing the two Supreme Personalities, in sheer delight opened their eyes and mouths wide and drank in the vision of Their faces, never getting enough of Them. 1-2 As if they were drinking Them through their eyes, licking Them up with their tongues, smelling Them through their nostrils and embracing Them with their arms, they spoke with each other commemorating the beauty, qualities, charm and bravery they had seen and heard from Them: 'These two who descended to this world in the home of Vasudeva, are no doubt the direct expansions of Hari, the Supreme Personality. This one here was born from Devaki and brought to Gokula where He, growing up in the house of Nanda, lived in secret all the time. He put an end to Putana and the whirlwind-demon and also ended the lives of others like the Arjuna trees, Shankhacuda, Kes'i and Dhenuka. 6-2 He saved the cows and their tenders from the forest fire, He subdued the serpent Kaliya and sobered up Indra by delivering all the residents of Gokula from rain, wind and hail when He for seven days with one hand held up the best of all mountains. The gopis seeing His always cheerful, smiling face and glance that are free from fatigue, could transcend all sorts of distress and live happily. They say that because of Him this Yadu dynasty will become very famous and, being protected in every way, will achieve all riches, power and glory. And this brother of His, the lotus-eyed Rama, He is of all opulence and killed Pralamba, [and we think... **] Vatsasura, Bakasura and others.'

With the people thus speaking and the musical instruments resounding, Canura addressed Krishna and Balarama and spoke the following words: 'Oh son of Nanda, oh Rama, You two heroes are well respected and skillful at wrestling; the King hearing of it wanted to see that and called for You. When citizens in mind, deeds and words perform to the pleasure of the King, they will acquire good fortune, but not acting so they achieve the opposite. The gopas evidently are always very happy to tend their calves and play and horse around in the forests while grazing the cows. Let us together with the two of You therefore act to the pleasure of the King. Everybody will be pleased with us, for the King embodies the interest of all living beings.'

When Krishna heard this He, welcoming the fight and [thus] considering it desirable, spoke words befitting the time and place [see also 4.8: 54]: 'Even though we wander in the forest, we are also subjects of the Bhoja King. Therefore we must always do whatever pleases him, for that will bring us the supreme benefit. We young boys should, befittingly, contest with those equal in strength. The wrestling match should take place in such a manner that the assembled audience in this arena will not fall from its belief.'

Canura said: 'You and Balarama are no boys or youngsters, You are the strongest of the strong who sported to kill the elephant that had the strength of a thousand elephants! Therefore the two of You should fight with those who are strong. There surely is no injustice in that, it is Your prowess against mine oh descendent of Vrishni, and let Balarama take it up with Mushthika.'

*: Aldus spreekt men van tien rasa's, houdingen of gemoedsgesteldheden in relatie tot Krishna: strijdlust [zoals waargenomen door de worstelaars], bewondering [door de mannen], geslachtelijke aantrekking [de vrouwen], lachen [de koeherders], ridderlijkheid [de koningen], genade [Zijn ouders], schrik [Kamsa], afschuw [de dommen], vredige neutraliteit [de yogi's] en liefdevolle toewijding [de Vrishni's].

**: Vatsasura, Bakasura werden in feite door Krishna gedood.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 44:
The Wrestling Match and the Killing of Kamsa

Shri Shuka said: 'The Supreme Lord Madhusudana thus firmly determined positioned Himself opposite to Canura and so did the son of Rohini with Mushthika. Locking their hands with their hands and their legs with their legs, they pulled and pushed each other with force to attain the victory. With their elbows against their elbows, their knees against their knees, their head against their head and their chest against their chest they dealt one another their blows. Wheeling, shoving, crushing and throwing down, releasing, running in front and running behind, they offered each other resistance. Desiring the victory they harmed themselves, lifted each other up and carried each other, pushed each other away and held each other fast.

Compassionate about that fight between the weak and the strong, the women assembled in groups oh King, and said: 'Alas, what an enormous lack of responsibility on the part of the people present in the king's assembly. Together with the king they wish to see a fight between the strong and the weak! On one side we see the appearances of these two mountains of master wrestlers with limbs as strong as lightning, while on the other side there are these two youths with tender limbs who have not reached maturity yet! This association violates the rules of dharma. There where unrighteousness rises, one should not remain a moment longer! A wise person should not attend an assembly where the members are bent on improprieties. When a human being in silent consent with false pretenses subscribes to wrong assumptions, he incurs sin. Just see how wet Krishna's lotus like face is from the effort of dancing around his opponent. He looks like the whorl of a lotus flower with drops of water. Look how Balarama's face is even more beautiful the way He laughing and with eyes like copper in His anger is focussing on Mushthika. How meritorious indeed are the tracts of Vraja where the Original Personality in this disguise of human traits, with a wonderful variety of forest flower garlands, together with Balarama vibrates His flute, moves about in different pastimes and herds the cows, while His feet are worshiped by the lord on the mountain [Shiva] and the goddess of fortune. What would the austerities have been that the gopis have performed to be allowed to drink in through their eyes the form of such an essence of unequaled, unsurpassed loveliness perfect in itself, ever new and difficult to attain as the only abode of fame, beauty and opulence? The fortunate ladies of Vraja with their milking, threshing, churning, smearing [with the dung], swinging on swings, with their crying babies, their sprinkling, cleaning and so on, sing with their minds attached and choked up with tears about Him and thus find their way thanks to their consciousness of Urukrama. The women who hear Him playing the flute, while He together with the cows early in the morning leaves and late in the evening returns to Vraja, hurry outside to meet, in utter piety, Him on the road with His smiling, merciful face and glances.'

While they were speaking thus, the Supreme Lord, the Controller of Mystic Power, decided to kill His enemy, oh hero of the Bharatas. When their parents [in prison] heard about the women's words of concern about their sons, they, full of remorse, burned in their love being overwhelmed with sorrow, for they did not know how strong their sons were. As Acyuta and His opponent fought each other with all the different wrestling techniques, Balarama and Mushthika did the same. Due to the crushing, lightning hard blows dealt by the hands and feet of the Supreme Lord, Canura felt more and more pained and exhausted and was physically completely broken. Clenching both his hands into fists he with the speed of a hawk fell upon the Supreme Lord Vasudeva and enraged struck Him on His chest. 2-2 No more being moved by his blows than an elephant hit with a flower garland, the Lord seised Canura by his arms, whirled him several times around and threw him with great force to the ground. Crashing like a massive festival column he, with his clothes, hair and garland all scattered, lost his life. 4-2 Likewise did also Mushthika, after striking the powerful Lord Balabhadra with his fist, receive a violent blow from His palm so that he trembling, giving up blood from his mouth, right where he stood fell lifeless to the ground, like a tree struck down by the wind. Then Kutha stepped forward. Nonchalantly he oh King, with great ease was killed by the fist of Rama, the best of all fighters. Thereupon Shala was struck in the head by the toes of Krishna and Tos'ala was torn apart by Him, so that they both fell. After Canura, Mushthika, Kutha, Shala and Tos'ala had been killed, the remaining wrestlers all fled away hoping to save their lives. Krishna and Rama joining with Their young cowherd friends sported together with them, played musical instruments and danced about tinkling with Their ankle bells. Except for Kamsa all the people rejoiced in the accomplishment of Rama and Krishna, while the leading brahmins and sadhus exclaimed: 'Excellent, excellent!'

Seeing the best of his wrestlers killed or fled away, the Bhoja king silenced his instrumental music and spoke the words: 'Expel the two sons of Vasudeva who behaved so badly from the city, seize the gopas' wealth and tie up that fool Nanda! And Vasudeva who is so ignorant, that darn dullard

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and my father Ugrasena and his followers, should all, for their siding with the enemy, be killed right away.'

While Kamsa thus most angrily was raving, the Imperishable Lord with ease jumped up and quickly climbed up to the high royal dais. Seeing Him, his own death, approaching, Kamsa, smart as he was, immediately stood up from his seat and took up his sword and shield. Kamsa, sword in hand moved about from the left to the right as quick as a hawk in the sky, but he was seised by the force of the Lord's irresistible and fearsome strength, like a snake by the son of Tarkshya [Garuda]. Grabbing him by the hair, the crown slipped from his head. The Lord with the Lotus Navel then hurled him from the high platform down into the wrestling arena, whereupon He, the Independent Support of the Entire Universe, threw Himself on top of him. Like a lion with an elephant, He dragged him dead along the ground before the eyes of all the people, from whom then loudly arose an 'Ooo..h, ooooh' sound, oh King of the humans. Since he, constantly being filled with anxiety, had seen Him, the Controller with the cakra in His hand, before his mind's eye whenever he drank or ate, walked, slept or breathed, he [being liberated] thus obtained that very same so most difficult to acquire form [see also sarupya 10.41: 42 and 10.29: 13]. His eight younger brothers Kanka, Nyagrodhaka and the rest, then infuriated attacked to avenge their brother. Thus rushing forward ready to strike they were beaten down by Balarama who wielded His club like the lion king ruling the animals. Kettledrums resounded in the sky and Brahma, Shiva, the other gods and expansions of the Lord, being pleased chanted praises and showered flowers upon Him while their wives were dancing.

The wives [of Kamsa and his brothers], oh Emperor, grieving over the death of their well-wishers, approached the spot with tears in their eyes and beating their heads. Embracing their husbands lying on the hero's bed, the women lamented loudly, shedding a river of tears: "Alas oh master, my dearest, oh defender of the holy duty, oh kindness, oh you so full of compassion for the ones unprotected! The very moment that you found your death we, your household and offspring, have found our death. This city bereft of you, its master, does, just like us, oh most heroic of men, not appear as beautiful now that its festivity and bliss has all ended. The terrible violence you have committed against innocent living beings, has brought you in this condition, oh dearest. How can he who causes harm to other living beings end well? He who is neglectful of Him, the One who for certain is the origin, maintenance and disappearance of all living beings in this world, can never prosper in happiness.'

Shri Shuka said: 'The Supreme Lord, the Maintainer of All the Worlds, consoled the wives of the king [and his brothers], and arranged as prescribed the funeral rites for the ones deceased. Krishna and Rama thereupon freed Their father and mother from their fetters and proved Their respect for them by touching their feet with Their heads. Devaki and Vasudeva offered, in recognition of [Them as being] the Controllers of the Universe, their obeisances with joined palms and - apprehensively - did not embrace their sons.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 45:

Krishna Rescues His Teacher's Son

Shri Shuka said: 'Knowing that His parents had arrived at the notion that He would be the Supreme Personality, He said to Himself: 'This should not be so'. And thus He expanded His personal illusory potency [His yogamaya] that bewilders the people. Approaching them together with His elder brother, the Greatest Devotee of All [the Satvatas], with humility bowed down to His parents in order to satisfy them and respectfully said: 'Dear father and mother! Oh father, because of Us you were always afraid and have never seen anything of the toddler age, the boyhood and youth of your two sons [*]. As ordained by fate We, being deprived of living in your presence, could not experience the joy of the happiness of children who live at home with their parents. A mortal person may never, not even for a lifespan of a hundred years, be able to repay the debt to his parents. He took his birth from them and by them he is maintained. They are the source of the body that is suitable for all goals of life [all purusharthas, compare 10.32: 22]. A son who, even though capable, with his resources and wealth does not provide for their sustenance, will after his death be forced to eat his own flesh [see also 5.26]. When one is capable of, but not maintains one's mother and father, the elderly, one's chaste wife, one's very young child, one's spiritual master, a [depending] brahmin or anyone seeking one's protection, one is a person who is dead even though he breathes [see B.G. 11: 33]. Because of Kamsa who always disturbed Our minds, We could not honour you and have spent Our days [of youth] without having been of any use to you. Please oh father and mother, forgive Us the fact that, falling under the control of others, We from Our part could not serve you so that the hardhearted one [Kamsa] could give you such a great pain.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Thus bewildered by the words of Him, the Lord and Soul of the Universe who through His maya appeared as a human being, they raised Them upon their laps to experience the joy of closing Them in their arms. Bound by the rope of affection crying a river they, with their throats full of tears being overwhelmed, could not say a word, oh King. The Supreme Lord, the son of Devaki, who thus comforted His parents, then made His maternal grandfather Ugrasena, King over the Yadus. He told him: 'Please, oh great King, with Us as your subjects, take command, for because of the curse of Yayati [see 9.18: 42] one being born as a Yadu should not sit on the throne. When I am there as a servant to attend to you, the demigods and such will bow down before you to offer you tribute. Then what to speak of the other rulers of men?'

All His close relatives and other relations, the Yadus, Vrishnis, Andhakas, Madhus, Das'arhas, Kukuras and other clans, who disturbed in their fear of Kamsa had fled in all directions, were honoured and consoled, for living in foreign regions had made them weary. He, the Maker of the Universe, brought them back to their homes and satisfied them with valuable gifts. 7-1 Protected by the arms of Krishna and Sankarshana they in their homes enjoyed the complete fulfillment of their desires because, now that they day after day saw the loving, always cheerful, beautiful lotus face and merciful, smiling glances of Mukunda, with Krishna and Balarama the fever [of a material existence] had ended. Even the eldest ones were youthful and full of strength and vitality, now that they there [in Mathura] time and again through their eyes could imbibe the nectar of Mukunda's lotus face. Thereupon the Supreme Lord, the son of Devaki, and Sankarshana approached Nanda oh great King. They, embracing him, said: 'Oh father, with the great affection and the fondling of the two of you, you have cared for Us in a great way. The love the parents have for their children is truly greater than even the love they have for each other. Those persons are father and mother who nourish, like they were their own sons, the children who were abandoned by relatives unable to maintain and protect them. Please return all together to Vraja dear father, We will come to see you relatives unhappy in your love, after having made Our friends [out here] happy.' The Supreme Lord, the Infallible One thus appeasing Nanda and the people from Vraja, thereupon respectfully honoured them with clothing, jewelry and pots and such.

Thus being addressed by the two of Them, Nanda engulfed by affection, embraced Them with tears filling his eyes and went together with the gopas to Vraja. The son of Shurasena [Vasudeva], oh King, then arranged for a priest and brahmins to properly perform the second-birth initiation of his sons. For their remuneration he donated in worship fully decorated cows with golden chains and ornaments, complete with calves and linen wreaths. Magnanimously he gave them in charity the cows that were stolen away by Kamsa, the same cows he previously had donated within his mind the very day that Krishna and Rama were born [see 3.10: 11-12]. After having been initiated into the twice-born status, They, of proper vows, took the vow of celibacy [to be a student] from Garga, the preceptor of the Yadus [see also gayatri and brahmacarya]. 0-3 The Lords of the Universe who are the source of any form of knowledge, concealed in Their human activities the perfection of Their omniscience that is not founded on any knowledge from the outside. They [nevertheless] then desired to reside in the school of the guru and approached a native of Kasi [Benares] called Sandipani, who dwelt in the city of Avanti [Ujjain]. Thus obtaining [the company of] these self-controlled souls, he was by Them respected as if he was the Lord Himself. Doing this They in Their devotion formed an irreproachable example of service to the teacher. That best of the twice-born souls as Their guru, taught Them, contented as he was with Their pure love and submissive acts, all the Vedas with their corollary literatures and philosophical treatises [Upanishads], [**] the Dhanur-veda [military science, archery] along with all its secrets [the mantras], the dharma [the codes of human conduct, the laws] and the nyaya [the methods of logic] as also the anvikshikim [the knowledge of philosophical debate or tarka] and the six aspects of the raja-nitim [political science, see ***]. 5-3 As the best of all first class persons and as the promulgators of all knowledge They, oh ruler of man, fixed in concentration, fully assimilated with simply having heard it only once, the complete of the sixty-four arts in as many days and nights [*4] and satisfied Their preceptor, oh King, by offering him compensation [gurudakshina]. Oh King, the bramin in consideration of the amazing greatness of Their superhuman intelligence, after consulting with his wife, arrived at the wish to see his child again that had perished in the ocean at Prabhasa [see also 1.15: 49, 3.1: 20, 3.3: 25]. 'So be it' the two great warlords of unlimited prowess said and next mounted a chariot to head for Prabhasa. Having arrived there, they walked up to the shore and sat down for a moment. The [god of the] ocean recognised Them and offered Them tribute [compare 9.3: 13]. The Supreme Lord said to him: 'Present Us at once the son of Our guru, a young boy you have seised here with a mighty wave.'

The person of the ocean said: 'It was not I who took him away, oh Lord, it was a powerful Daitya named Pancajana, oh Krishna, a demon who moves through the water in the form of a conch. He who lives here indeed has kidnapped him.' Hearing that the Master quickly entered the water and killed him, but He could not find the boy in his belly. 2-4 Taking the conch shell that had grown as a part of the demon, He returned to the chariot and went to the beloved city of Yamaraja [the lord of death] known as Samyamani [*5]. [Arriving there,] Janardana together with the Lord who has a plow for His weapon [Balarama] blew loudly on His conch shell [see also B.G. 1: 15] so that Yamaraja, he who restrains the living beings, could hear the sound. Overflowing with devotion Yamaraja worshiped Them elabourately and humbly bowing down said to Krishna who dwells in each his heart: 'What can I do for the two of You, oh Vishnu who, for Your pastime, has appeared in the form of [two] human beings?'

The Supreme Lord said: 'Please bring Me the son of My guru who was brought here because of his karmic bondage, oh great King. It is My command that should be given priority.'

'So be it' he said and brought forward the preceptor's son. The Best of the Yadus gave him back to Their guru whom They then said: 'Please make another wish.'

The honourable guru said: 'My dear Boys, I am completely fulfilled by the remuneration for the guru the two of You have offered. What else would there be left for the spiritual master to desire from Persons like You? Please go home, oh heroes, may Your fame purify [the entire world] and may the mantras [Your appearance and delight] ever be fresh in this life and in the next [see also 10.13: 2]!'

Thus by Their guru permitted to leave, They, on Their chariot as fast as the wind and thundering like a cloud, reached Their city. The citizens who had not seen Balarama and Janardana for many days, all rejoiced to see Them again, like having regained a lost treasure.'

*: Shrila Vis'vanatha Cakravarti points out: 'The kaumara stage lasts until the age of five, pauganda up to age ten and kais'ora to age fifteen. From then on, one is known as yauvana.' According to this statement, the kais'ora period ends at the age of fifteen. Krishna was only eleven years old when He killed Kamsa, according to Uddhava's words: ekadas'a-samas tatra gudharcih sa-balo 'vasat. 'Like a covered flame, Lord Krishna remained there incognito with Balarama for eleven years' (S.B. 3.2: 2. The three years and four months that Lord Krishna stayed in Mahavana were the equivalent of five years for an ordinary child, and thus in that period He completed His kaumara stage of childhood. The period from then to the age of six years and eight months, during which He lived in Vrindavana, constitutes His pauganda stage. And the period from the age of six years and eight months through His tenth year, during which time He lived in Nandis'vara [Nandagrama], constitutes His kais'ora stage. Then, at the age of ten years and seven months, on the eleventh lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month of Caitra, He went to Mathura, and on the fourteenth day thereafter He killed Kamsa. Thus He completed His kais'ora period at age ten, and He eternally remains at that age. In other words, we should understand that from this point on the Lord remains forever a kis'ora.'

**: These are the so-called angas and Upanishads. The six angas are: Shiks'a (phonetics), chanda, (prosody), vyakarana (grammar), jyotisha (astronomy), kalpa (content and rules for the rituals) and nirukta (etymology).

***: The six aspects of political science are: sandhi, making peace; vigraha, war; yana, marching or expedition; asana, sitting tight or encampment; dvaidha, dividing one's forces or separating one's allies; and sams'aya, depending on allies or seeking the protection of a more powerful ruler.

*4: The Lords learned: gitam, singing; vadyam, playing on musical instruments; nrityam, dancing; nathyam, drama; alekhyam, painting; vis'eshaka-cchedyam, painting the face and body with coloured unguents and cosmetics; tandula-kusuma-bali-vikarah, preparing auspicious designs on the floor with rice and flowers; pushpastaranam, making a bed of flowers; das'ana-vasananga-ragah, colouring one's teeth, clothes and limbs; mani-bhumika-karma, inlaying a floor with jewels; Shayya-racanam, covering a bed; udaka-vadyam, ringing waterpots; udaka-ghatah, splashing with water; citra-yogah, mixing colours; malya-grathana-vikalpah, preparing wreaths; Shekharapida-yojanam, setting a helmet on the head; nepathya-yogah, putting on apparel in a dressing room; karna-patra-bhangah, decorating the earlobe; sugandha-yuktih, applying aromatics; bhushana-yojanam, decorating with jewelry; aindrajalam, jugglery; kaucumara-yogah, the art of disguise; hasta-laghavam, sleight of hand; citra-s'akapupa-bhakshya- vikara-kriyah, preparing varieties of salad, bread, cake and other delicious food; panaka-rasa-ragasava-yojanam, preparing palatable drinks and tinging draughts with red colour; suci-vaya-karma, needlework and weaving; sutra-krida, making puppets dance by manipulating thin threads; vina-damarukavadyani, playing on a lute and a small X-shaped drum; prahelika, making and solving riddles; 9a) pratimala, capping verses, or reciting poems verse for verse as a trial of memory or skill; durvacaka-yogah, uttering statements difficult for others to answer; pustaka-vacanam, reciting books; and nathikakhyayika-dars'anam, enacting short plays and writing anecdotes. kavya-samasya-puranam, solving enigmatic verses; paththika-vetra-bana-vikalpah, making a bow from a strip of cloth and a stick; tarku-karma,

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spinning with a spindle; takshanam, carpentry; vastu-vidya, architecture; raupya-ratna- pariksha, testing silver and jewels; dhatu-vadah, metallurgy; mani- raga-jnanam, tinging jewels with various colours; akara-jnanam, mineralogy; vrikshayur-veda-yogah, herbal medicine; mesha-kukkutha-lavaka-yuddha-vidhih, the art of training and engaging rams, cocks and quails in fighting; Shuka-s'arika-pralapanam, knowledge of how to train male and female parrots to speak and to answer the questions of human beings; utsadanam, healing a person with ointments; kes'a-marjana- kaus'alam, hairdressing; akshara-mushthika-kathanam, telling what is written in a book without seeing it, and telling what is hidden in another's fist; mlecchita-kutarka-vikalpah, fabricating barbarous or foreign sophistry; des'a-bhasha-jnanam, knowledge of provincial dialects; pushpa-s'akathika-nirmiti-jnanam, knowledge of how to build toy carts with flowers; yantra-matrika, composing magic squares, arrangements of numbers adding up to the same total in all directions; dharana-matrika, the use of amulets; samvacyam, conversation; manasi-kavya-kriya, composing verses mentally; kriya-vikalpah, designing a literary work or a medical remedy; chalitaka-yogah, building shrines; abhidhana-kosha-cchando-jnanam, lexicography and the knowledge of poetic meters; vastra-gopanam, disguising one kind of cloth to look like another; dyuta-vis'esham, knowledge of various forms of gambling; (so) akarsha-krida, playing dice; balaka-kridanakam, playing with children's toys; vainayiki vidya, enforcing discipline by mystic power; vaijayiki vidya, gaining victory; and vaitaliki vidya, awakening one's master with music at dawn. [see also Krishna book chapter 45].

*5: Samyama means self-control, restraint, holding together, the integration of concentration [dharana], meditation [dhyana], and absorption [samadhi] in yoga.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 46:

Uddhava Spends the Night in Gokula Talking with Nanda

Shri Shuka said: 'The best adviser of the Vrishnis was Krishna's beloved friend Uddhava [see also 3.2], a direct disciple of Brihaspati and a man of the finest intelligence. One day the Supreme Lord Hari, who removes the distress of the surrendered souls, grabbed his hand and spoke to him, His dearest and most faithful devotee. 'Please Uddhava, oh gentle one, go for the satisfaction of My parents to Vraja and relieve through My message the gopis from the mental pain of being separated from Me. With their minds fixed on Me, they, absorbed in Me, have made Me the purpose of their lives and abandoned all their material ties [with their husband, home and children, see 10.29: 4]. Understanding the ones who for My sake left behind this world and its moral obligations, I sustain those who have only Me as their beloved and dearmost Self. When My best one, the women of Gokula remember Me, their dearest object of love being far away, they become stunned being overwhelmed by the anxiety of separation [see also B.G. 2: 62-64]. With My promises to return, the cowherd women who are fully dedicated to Me, with great difficulty manage to hold on and in some way keep their lives somewhat going.'

Shri Shuka said: 'After having said this oh King, Uddhava respectfully accepted the message of his Maintainer, mounted his chariot and set off for the cowherd village of Nanda. Just as the sun was setting, the fortunate soul reached Nanda's pastures, passing there unnoticed because of the dust of the hooves of the animals coming home. -1 With the sounds of the bulls in rut fighting each other for the fertile cows, with the cows with filled udders running after their calves, with the beauty of the white calves capering here and there and with the milking and the loud reverberation of flutes, the finely ornamented gopis and gopas, auspiciously singing about the deeds of Balarama and Krishna, were resplendent to behold. It was all most attractive with the homes of the gopas filled with incense, lamps and flower garlands for the worship of the fire, the sun, the guests, the cows, the brahmins, the forefathers and the gods [see also 10.24: 25]. The forest flowering on all sides echoed with the swarms of bees, singing birds, the karandava ducks and the swans crowding around the adorning bowers of lotuses. After having arrived there Nanda approached the dear follower of Krishna and embraced him, happy to be reverential with Lord Vasudeva in mind. He fed him with the finest food, had him comfortably seated on a nice sofa to be relieved of the fatigue and had his feet massaged and so on. Then he inquired: 'Oh dear and most fortunate one, does our friend the son of Shura [Vasudeva] who is so devoted to his well-wishers, fare well now that he is released and was reunited with his children? What a luck that the wicked Kamsa, who constantly hated the always righteous and saintly Yadus, together with his followers has been killed because of his sins! Is Krishna still thinking of us, His mother, His well-wishers and friends, the gopas of Vraja of whom He is the master, the cows, Vrindavana forest and the mountain [see 10.24: 25]? Is Govinda coming back to see His relatives once again, so that we may glance upon His face, His beautiful nose, His nice smile and eyes? Krishna, that so very great Soul, has protected us against insurmountable mortal dangers like a forest fire, the wind and rain, as also against a bull and a serpent. The memory of Krishna's valorous deeds, playful sidelong glances, smiles and words, my dear, made all of us forget our material actions. In Him the mind of those who see the locations where He played, the rivers, the hills and the different parts of the forest that were decorated by His feet, finds its total absorption. I think that Krishna and Rama who arrived here for a great and divine cause of the gods, as confirmed by Garga [see 10.8: 12], are the two most elevated ones among the demigods. Kamsa, who had the strength of ten thousand elephants, the wrestlers and the king of the elephants, after all have been playfully killed by the both of Them, as easy as animals are by the lion king. A solid bow as long as three talas [three lengths] was by Him, regal as an elephant, broken like a stick and for seven days He with one hand held up a mountain! Pralamba, Dhenuka, Arishtha, Trinavarta, Baka and other demons who had conquered both Sura and Asura, were by Them killed out here with ease.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Nanda fully immersed in Krishna thus over and over remembering Him, became extremely anxious and fell silent, overcome by the force of love. Also mother Yashoda overhearing the descriptions of her son's activities in her love gave way to her tears with her breasts moistened. When Uddhava saw the two of them in their love for the Supreme Lord in this condition of supreme attraction, he filled with joy spoke to Nanda. Shri Uddhava said: 'Having developed a mentality like this for Narayana, the spiritual master of all, the two of you are for certain the most praiseworthy of all embodied beings on the planet oh respectful souls. The two of Mukunda and Balarama are the seed and womb of the universe, They are the Original Male Principle [purusha] and His Creative Primeval Energy [pradhana] who with knowledge and control guide the living beings in their confused state. 2-3 The person who, giving up his life, but for a moment immerses his impure mind [in Him], that very instant will immediately eradicate all traces of his karma and find himself heading for the supreme destination in a spiritual form with the luster of the sun. With you good souls giving Him, Narayana, the Soul and Cause of All, the purest and most exceptional love, what other good deeds would there for you remain to perform? Before long Acyuta, [as] the Lord Supreme, the Master and Protector of the Devotees, will satisfy His parents and return to Vraja. In the [wrestling] arena having killed Kamsa, the enemy of all Yadus, Krishna will be true to His word that He would return to you. Please do not falter, oh most fortunate souls, you will see Krishna in the near future. He is present within the hearts of all living beings like fire in firewood. No one is dear or not dear to Him, nor does He, who is free from false pride, regard anyone superior or inferior. He is of an equal respect for everyone [compare Shri Shri Shikshashthaka and B.G. 9: 29]. For Him there is no father and mother, no wife, no children and so forth. No one is related to Him, nor is anyone strange to Him and with Him there is neither a question of a [material] body or birth [compare B.G. 10: 3]. For Him there is no karma in this world obliging Him to appear in wombs of a pure, impure or mixed nature. Yet He for the sake of His pastimes manifests to redeem His saintly devotees [see B.G. 3: 22; 4: 7; 13: 22]. Even though He is transcendental beyond the modes called goodness, passion and ignorance, He accepts it to play by the modes. He, the Unborn One, is thus of creation, maintenance and destruction. Just as for someone when he whirls around, the ground seems to be whirling, so too it appears that - when one thinks to be one's body - oneself is the doer, while it is the mind that is acting [*, compare B.G. 3: 27]. He is not just the son of the two of you, He is the Supreme Lord Hari, the Lord of Control who is the Son, the Soul, the Father and the Mother of everyone. That what is seen or heard, what is in the past, the present or in the future, that what is stationary, mobile, large or small, can in no way be assigned a status separate from Acyuta. He, the Supersoul, is the reality and welfare of all and everything.'

While Nanda and Krishna's messenger were speaking this way, the night came to an end oh King, and the gopis who had risen, lighted the lamps in the house for the worship and began to churn the butter. As the women were moving their hips and breasts while pulling the ropes, they radiated in the light of the lamps, with the rows of bangles on their arms, with their jewels, with their faces red of the kunkum and glowing from their earrings and necklaces. All inauspiciousness was dispelled in every direction with the loud singing of the lotus eyed women of Vraja whose reverberating sound, mixed with the sounds of churning butter, filled the air. When the almighty sun rose, the residents of Gokula saw the golden chariot outside the house of Nanda and wondered: 'Whose chariot is this? Maybe Akrura has come, that servant of Kamsa's desires who took our lotus-eyed Krishna to the city of Mathura. Would he, with his master satisfied, be here now to perform the funeral rites with us?' And while the women were speaking thus, Uddhava came walking who had finished his morning duties.'

*: Srila ViSvanatha Cakravarti gives a parallel idea: Although our happiness and distress are caused by our own interaction with the material qualities, we perceive the Lord to be their cause.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 47:

The Gopi Reveals Her Emotions: The Song of the Bee

- Shri Shuka said: 'When the women of Vraja saw him, the servant of Krishna, with his long arms, with his lotus eyes, wearing a yellow garment and a lotus garland, with his effulgent lotus like countenance and polished earrings, they were quite astonished and wondered where this handsome, young man came from and to whom he belonged who wore clothes and ornaments like those of Krishna. Talking like this they all eagerly crowded around him who enjoyed the protection of the lotus feet of Uttamas'loka [the Lord Praised in the Scriptures]. With due respect bowing down before him in humility and shyly smiling with their glances, sweet words and such, they asked it him, after first having taken him separate and offered him a seat, for they had understood that he was an envoy of the Husband of the Goddess of Fortune. 'We know that you arrived here as the personal associate of the chief of the Yadus who, as your Master, has sent you here to satisfy His parents. We really would not know why else He should have thought of this cow place. Even for a sage the bonds of affection with one's relatives are difficult to relinquish. The interest in others manifested out of self-interest proves itself as friendship for as long as it takes; it is a pretense as good as the interest of bees for flowers or of men for women. Prostitutes abandon a penniless man, citizens deny an incompetent king, graduates leave behind their teacher and priests leave [their attendants] after being compensated. Birds abandon a tree rid of its fruits and guests leave the house where they ate. Animals leave the forest that burned down and a lover likewise leaves the woman he enjoyed to unite with.'

-1 Now that Uddhava, the messenger of Krishna, had arrived in their midst, the gopis who thus with their words, bodies and minds were focussed on Krishna, put aside their worldly concerns. Without restraint they sang and cried in the constant remembrance of the youth and childhood activities of their Sweetheart. One gopi [noted as Radha, see also *] seeing a honeybee as she meditated on the association with Krishna, imagined it to be a messenger sent by her Beloved and spoke as follows. The gopi said: 'Oh honeybee, you friend of a cheater, do not touch my feet with your whiskers still carrying the kunkum from His garland, the powder that rubbed off from the breasts of a rival lover. One who sends a messenger like you is derided in the assembly of the Yadus. Let the Lord of Madhu [Himself] be of mercy with the women [instead] [prajalpa **]! One time He made us drink the nectar of His bewildering lips and then suddenly abandoned us like we were some flowers. I wonder why the goddess of fortune [Padma] serves His lotus feet just like you [oh bee]. That must be so because her mind, alas, has been stolen by Krishna's chitchat [parijalpa ***]. Oh mister sixlegs, dear bee, why are you singing so busily about the Master of the Yadus in front of us who are old friends of this Friend of Vijaya [Arjuna] who left behind their homes? You better sing of His topics before His [new] girlfriends, the pain of whose breasts He [now has] relieved. His sweethearts will provide you the charity you seek [vijalpa *4]. Which women in heaven, on earth and below would not be available to Him who, so unattainable, can deceive you with His charming smiles and arching eyebrows? When the wife of the Fortunate One is of worship in the dust of His feet, what then would be our value? Luckily for those feeling bad about it, there is the sound vibration [to be chanted of] huttamas'loka' [ujjalpa *5]. Keep your little head away from my feet! I know you, you expert who as a messenger from Mukunda learned the diplomacy of flatter! Why should I make amends with Him who, so ungrateful, has abandoned us, we who for His sake in this life have left behind their children, husbands and everything else [sanjalpa *6]? Against all rules He [as Rama, see 9.10 & 11] as cruel as a hunter shot the king of the monkeys [Vali], was conquered by a woman [Sita], disfigured a woman driven by lust [Shurpanakha, the sister of Ravana] and, after consuming His tribute, [as Vamana] bound up Bali like a crow [see 8.21]. Therefore enough of all friendliness with that Black Boy who impossibly can be given up when we keep talking about His stories [avajalpa *7]. Those ears are freed from all sins, who just once enjoyed but a drop of the nectar of the pastimes that He constantly performed. Such a one is completely liberated from the duality, wherefrom any [personal, material] sense of duty is instantly ruined. For that reason many people here [in Vrindavana], by therewith rejecting their miserable homes and families, end up wretched and, just like birds, practice the livelihood of begging [abhijalpa *8]. We, taking His deceptive words for true, just like the black deer's foolish doe wives who trust the hunter's song, repeatedly experienced this sharp pain of lust that was caused by the touch of His fingernails. Oh messenger, I beg you, talk of something else [ajalpa *9]! My sweet little friend, have you been sent back here by my Beloved? Please ask me what you want, you are to be honoured by me my dearest. Why are you here raising in us these [amorous] feelings for Him that are so impossible to

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relinquish? For is, oh gentle one, His consort the goddess of fortune Shri, not always present with Him on His chest [pratijalpa *10]? What a pity that the son of Nanda resides in Mathura now. Does He think so now and then of the household affairs of His father, His friends and the cowherd boys, oh great soul? Or else, does He still talk about us, His maidservants? When will He lay His aguru-scented hand on our heads [sujalpa *11]?'

Shri Shuka said: huddhava, having heard how the cowherd girls were longing to see Krishna, in order to pacify them thereupon related to them the message of their Sweetheart. Shri Uddhava said: 'You have dedicated your minds unto the Supreme Lord Vasudeva and are thus honourable to all people because you, good selves, therewith fulfilled your life's purpose [of modeling the emotions of relating to Him]. By means of donations, vows [of poverty, celibacy and fasting], sacrifices, using prayer beads [japa], studying and by turning inward, concentrating and meditating, as also by other kinds of auspicious practices [see also yama, niyama, vidhi and bhagavata dharma], the bhakti, the devotional service is realised unto Krishna. The unexcelled [standard of] devotion unto the Supreme Lord Uttamas'loka, that by you good people fortunately has been established, is even hard to attain for the sages. To your great fortune you have chosen to leave your sons, husbands, physical comforts, relatives and homes for the sake of that superior, male personality called Krishna. By the wholehearted love that ruled you because of your separation from Adhokshaja [the Transcendental Lord] oh glorious ones, you have done me [the Lord and everyone] a great favor. Please, good ladies, listen to the message that I as a faithful servant of my master came bringing to you from your Beloved for the sake of your happiness.

The Supreme Lord has said: 'You women are actually never separated from Me ever being present as the Soul of All. Just as all the elements, the ether, the fire, the air, the water and the earth are part of all beings, I am there as the union of all the elements of the mind, the life air, the senses and the natural modes. By means of Myself I create, destroy and sustain Myself in Myself, through the power of My deluding potency consisting of the material elements, the senses and the modes of nature. The soul full of pure spiritual knowledge, that separately exists free from the association of the modes, is perceived [as the constant witness] in the operations of deep sleep, dream sleep and waking consciousness. The mind by which one meditates upon the objects of the senses constitutes a mirage, just as a dream constitutes an illusion when one wakes up. Staying alert one should bring that what [in the mind] gathers from the input of the senses under control [compare B.G. 2: 68 and 6: 35-36]. Just as the ocean is the end station for all the rivers, this [insight] is the end conclusion of all Vedic literatures, analysis and yoga, of all intelligent people, renunciation, penance, sense control and truthfulness [compare B.G. 2: 70]. The fact then that I, so dear to your eyes, am situated so far away from you, is according to My wish that your mind - that is subjected to attraction - meditates upon Me. The mind of a woman remains absorbed more when her lover is far away than when she has him present before her eyes. Because in the constant remembrance of Me your minds are totally absorbed in Me and free from all restlessness, you will see Me appear soon. Those remaining here in Vraja while I was sporting at night in the forest [see 10.29: 9] and for that reason did not experience the rasa dance, were as fortunate to achieve Me by thinking of My luster.'

Shri Shuka said: 'The women of Vraja hearing the instructions thus imparted by their Beloved, pleased as they were to have their memories revived by the message, thereupon addressed Uddhava. The gopis said: 'The cause of the suffering, Kamsa, the enemy of the Yadus, has fortunately together with his followers been killed. What a blessing that Acyuta at present lives happily with His well-wishers who [therewith] achieved everything they desired. Oh gentle one, maybe the elder brother of Gada [Krishna, see 9.24: 46] gives the women of the city the love that belongs to us, we who affectionately revere Him bashfully with inviting smiles and glances. How will our Darling, so versed in all the matters of love, not become bound by the bewildering gestures and words of the city women, who are also [just as we] constantly of worship? And... does Krishna, oh pious one, remember us; does He ever mention us, village girls, when He freely talks in the company of the city women? Does He recall those nights in which He enjoyed in Vrindavana, that place so enchanting because of the lotus, the jasmine and the moon? He at the time with tinkling ankle bells danced with us, His beloved girlfriends, who glorified Him for His attractive stories. Will that descendant of Das'arha return to this place and with His touch bring us back to life who are tormented by the sorrow He gave rise to Himself? Will He do that just as Indra with his clouds would [replenish] a forest? But why would Krishna come here now that He, surrounded by all His well-wishers, is happy having attained a kingdom, having killed His enemies and having married the daughters of kings? What purpose would there, for us forest-dwellers or for other women, be to fulfill unto Him, the great Soul and husband of the goddess of fortune, whose every desire is already fulfilled? He is complete in Himself! The greatest happiness is found in non-expectancy, so even the unchaste Pingala stated [a courtesan, see 11.8]. Yet, for us focused on Krishna who very well know this, it is most difficult not to cherish any hope. Who is capable of forgetting the intimate talks with Uttamas'loka, He from whose body the goddess never moves away despite Him not desiring her? In the company of Sankarshana, oh prabhu, Krishna with the cows and the sounds of the flute passed through the different places in the forest, by the rivers and the hills. Ah, time and again those places carrying the glory of His footprints, remind us of the son of Nanda we can never forget. Oh, how can we ever forget Him with our hearts being stolen by His lovely gait, His playful glances, His generous smiles and nectarean words? Oh Master, Master of the Goddess and Master of Vraja; oh Destroyer of the Suffering, oh Govinda, lift Gokula out of the ocean of misery it is submerged in!'

Shri Shuka said: 'With their fever of separation removed by Krishna's messages, they thereupon worshiped him, Uddhava, recognizing him as Adhokshaja Himself. Remaining there for some months he, singing about the topics of Krishna's pastimes, gave joy to Gokula by dispelling the sorrow of the gopis. All the days that Uddhava dwelled in Nanda's cowherd village, passed for the residents of Vraja in a single moment, because they were filled with discussions about Krishna. Seeing the rivers, forests, mountains, valleys and flowering trees, the servant of the Lord took pleasure in reminding the people of Vraja of Krishna. Noticing how confused and such the gopis were in their absorption in Krishna, Uddhava was extremely pleased and offered them all respect while singing the following: 'On this earth these young cowherd women are the only ones of [real success] in acquiring a body, for they achieved the perfection of an exclusive love for Govinda, the Soul of All - a love that is desired by sages, by ourselves and by those afraid of a material existence. Of what use would the [three] brahminical births be [of deriving an existence from one's parents, one's guru and one's sacrifices] for someone who has a taste for the topics of the Unlimited Lord? What is one compared to these women who, impure in their conduct towards Krishna, wander in the forests? What is one's position compared to this stage of perfect love for the Supreme Soul? For the one who is of constant worship, even when he is not very learned, most certainly the Lord directly bestows the highest good, the good that imbibed works like the king of all medicines [that is: irrespective the person]. The blessing the Vraja ladies found in the embrace of Uttamas'loka in the rasa dance, was not bestowed on the goddess on His chest who is so intimately associated with Him, was not His mercy for the heavenly damsels with their lotus flower scent and luster, nor was it granted to any other kind of woman [10.33]. Oh, let me be devoted to the dust of the lotus feet of the gopis in Vrindavana! Let me be any of the bushes, creepers or herbs there [in relation] to them, to those women who in worship of the feet of Mukunda, whom one seeks with the help of the Vedas, abandoned the path of civil correctitude and left behind the family members that are so difficult to give up. The feet of the Supreme Lord where the goddess, Lord Brahma and the other gods with all their desires fulfilled, just like accomplished masters of yoga, can only dream of, were by Krishna in the gathering of the rasa dance placed on their breasts, so that they by embracing them could overcome their anguish. I offer my obeisances again and again to the dust of the feet of the women of Nanda's cowherd village, whose loud chanting of Krishna's glories purifies the three worlds.'

Shri Shuka said: '[Uddhava,] the descendant of Das'arha thereupon took leave of Yashoda, Nanda, the gopas and the gopis, mounted his chariot and was about to leave. But when he left, Nanda and the others approached him with various items of worship in their hands and said affectionately and with tears in their eyes: 'May our mental activities be founded on Krishna's lotus feet, may our words be an expression of His names and may our bodies when they bow down and such, do so for His sake. May there, wherever we for our work have to wander to the Lord's will, may there, with whatever we do and give away in charity, be the attachment to Krishna our Lord.'

After the gopas thus had honoured him with Krishna bhakti, oh first among men, Uddhava returned to Mathura, the city that [now] enjoyed the protection of Krishna. After bringing Krishna his obeisances, he told Him about the intense devotion of the residents of Vraja and next gave Vasudeva, Balarama and the king [Ugrasena] the gifts sent along for them.'

*: To substantiate the claim that this concerns Radha, quotes Shrila Jiva Gosvami the following verses from the Agni Purana: "At dawn the gopis inquired from Krishna's servant, Uddhava, about the Lord's pastimes and recreation. Only Shrimati Radharani, immersed in thought of Krishna, withdrew Her interest in the talks. Then Radha, who is worshiped by the residents of Her Vrindavana village, spoke up in the midst of Her girlfriends. Her words were full of pure transcendental knowledge and expressed the ultimate portion of the Vedas."

**: Shrila Vis'vanatha Cakravarti points out that this and the following nine verses exemplify ten kinds of impulsive speech [citra-jalpa or strange chatter] spoken by a lover as expressions of godconscious folly or divine madness [divyonmada]. Shrila Rupa Gosvami in the Ujjvala-nilamani 4.18 says to this expression: "Prajalpa is speech that denigrates the tactlessness of one's lover with expressions of disrespect. It is spoken in a mood of envy, jealousy and pride."

***: Ujjvala-nilamani 4.18: 'Parijalpa is that speech which, through various devices, shows one's own cleverness by exposing the mercilessness, duplicity, unreliability and so on of one's Lord.'

*4: Ujjvala-nilamani 4.18: "According to learned authorities, vijalpa is sarcastic speech that is addressed to the killer of Agha and that openly expresses jealousy while at the same time hinting at one's angry pride."

*5: Ujjvala-nilamani 4.18: "The declaration of Lord Hari's duplicitous nature in a mood of spite born of pride, together with jealously spoken insults directed against Him, has been termed ujjalpa by the wise."

*6: Ujjvala-nilamani 4.19: "The learned describe sanjalpa as that speech which decries with deep irony and insulting gestures the beloved's ungratefulness and so on."

*7: Ujjvala-nilamani 4.19: "Saintly persons have concluded that when a lover, impelled by jealousy and fear, declares that Lord Hari is unworthy of her attachment because of His harshness, lustiness and dishonesty, such speech is called avajalpa."

*8: Ujjvala-nilamani 4.19: "When a lover indirectly states with remorse that her beloved is fit to be given up, such speech, uttered like the plaintive crying of a bird, is called abhijalpa."

*9: Ujjvala-nilamani 4.19: "A statement spoken in disgust, describing how the male lover is deceitful and brings one misery, and also implying that He gives happiness to others, is known as ajalpa."

*10: Ujjvala-nilamani 4.19: "When the lover humbly states that although she is unworthy of attaining her beloved she cannot give up hoping for a conjugal relationship with Him, such words, spoken with respect for her beloved's message, are called pratijalpa."

Shrila Vis'vanatha Cakravarti explains that the goddess of fortune, Shri, has the power to assume many different forms. Thus when Krishna enjoys other women, she stays on His chest in the form of a golden line. When He is not consorting with other women, she puts aside this form and gives Him pleasure in Her naturally beautiful form of a young woman.

*11: Ujjvala-nilamani 4.20: "When, out of honest sincerity, a lover questions Shri Hari with gravity, humility, unsteadiness and eagerness, such speech is known as sujalpa."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 48:
Krishna Pleases His Devotees

Shri Shuka said: 'The Supreme Lord, the Soul of All who Sees Everything, with understanding [for Uddhava's report of desirous women] wished to please the serving girl [Trivakra, as He had promised 10.42: 12] and went to the house of the woman who was troubled by lust [see 10.42: 10]. It was richly endowed with expensive furnishings, replete with sensual articles and was beautified with strings of pearls and banners, canopies, beds and seats as also fragrant incense, oil lamps, flower garlands and sandalwood. Seeing Him arriving at her house, she immediately rose to her feet and together with her female companions hurried to receive Acyuta properly, who respectfully was welcomed with an excellent seat and so on. The saintly Uddhava was also worshiped, but he touched his seat and sat on the floor. Krishna, faithful to the ways of human society, then laid Himself without delay upon a luxurious bed [in the inner chambers]. She prepared her body by bathing, anointing, dressing up with ornaments, garlands and perfume, bethel nut and drinking fragrant fluids and such, and then shyly and with playful smiles approached Madhava with tempting glances. Calling forward the lovely woman, who was shy in fear of the novel contact, He took hold of her two with bangles ornamented hands and placed the beauty on the bed to enjoy together with her, she whose only proof of piety consisted of having offered ointment. Smelling the feet of the Unlimited Lord and embracing within her arms, between her breasts, her Lover, the Personification of All Ecstasy, wiped away the pain that because of Cupid burned in her breasts, chest and eyes. Thus she succeeded in letting go of her so very long standing distress. Because she had offered body ointment to Him, the Master of Enlightenment, she had obtained the Lord who is so hard to obtain. But unfortunately [compare 4.9: 31] she begged the following: 'Please Beloved, stay here for a few days together with me! Enjoy, for I cannot bear to give up Your association, oh Lotus flower-eyes.'

He who is of Respect for Others, considerate with her, granted her the boon she desired [in the form of a promise], whereupon the Lord of All together with Uddhava returned to His own supremely opulent residence. The one who, in full worship of Vishnu, the Controller of All Controllers who is so

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difficult to honour [other than by pure devotion], choses for a benediction that is spiritually too easy, is with that superficiality not engaged very intelligently [see also 7.15: 36].

Krishna, the Master, also desired to please Akrura and engage him in some business as well, and thus He went together with Uddhava and Balarama to his house. 3-1 When he saw Them coming, the greatest of all illustrious personalities who were his relatives, he joyfully rose to his feet to embrace Them for a welcome. Bowed down to Krishna and Rama he was greeted by Them whereupon he, after They had taken their seats, worshiped Them as was prescribed. 5-1 The water he had used to wash Their feet he sprinkled all over his head, oh King, after which he presented gifts, the finest clothing, sandalwood, garlands and excellent ornaments. With his head bowed down he in worship placed His feet on his lap to massage them, and addressed with humility, facing down, Krishna and Rama as follows: 'To our good fortune the two of You have killed the sinful Kamsa as also his brothers and followers. Thus delivering Your dynasty from endless troubles You have made it prosperous. You two are the pradhana and purusha [material and efficient] causes of the universe that are one with the universe and apart from whom not a single cause or effect [para-apara] can be found. This universe You created from Your energies, You have subsequently entered. Thus You can be perceived in the many [forms], oh Absolute Truth, that we know about from listening to the scriptures and by direct experience. Just as the earth element and the other elements differently manifest themselves in various species of living mobile and immobile beings, You, the Single One Self-reliant Self, the Supersoul, manifest in a multitude [of souls] within those different life forms. You create, maintain and then again destroy the universe, but You are, with the qualities of Your potencies: [respectively] the passion, the goodness and the ignorance [the gunas], not bound to those actions or their modes. For what could for You now, who are the Soul of All Knowledge, constitute a cause of bondage? Because it has never been proven that You are determined by physical matters and such, there is with You no question of a literal birth or of material opposites. For that reason there exists for You in fact no bondage or any liberation [compare 10.14: 26]. And if that happens to be so according to Your sweet will [see e.g. 10.11: 7], it is the consequence of our mistaken notion about You [like in 10.23: 10-11]. For the benefit of this universe You proclaim the classical path of the Veda and assume forms in the mode of goodness the very moment the path is obstructed by wicked persons adhering to godlessness. You as that very same person, oh Master, have now descended in the home of Vasudeva together with Your plenary portion [Balarama]. This You have done in order to spread the fame of the [Yadu] dynasty and to remove from this earth the burden of the hundreds of armies present there by killing their kings [see also 1.11: 34], kings who are expansions of the adversaries of the god-fearing souls [see e.g. 7.1: 40-46]. Today oh Lord, our residence has been most blessed by the arrival of You, Adhokshaja, the Spiritual Master of the Universe who are the embodiment of all the gods, forefathers, living beings and humans, You from whose feet the water [of the Ganges, see 5.17] washes that purifies the three worlds. What other scholar would there be for us? To whom else should we turn for shelter but to You, the well-wisher whose loving words for His devotees are always faithful? For grateful to the supporters who worship You, You give all that they desire, even Yourself with whom there is never any diminution or increase [see also B.G. 2: 40]. We to our fortune have, with us here, before our eyes You who even for the masters of yoga and the most prominent among the enlightened ones are a goal hard to attain. Please swiftly cut through the ties of our delusional existence that result from Your material energy: our children, wife, wealth, honourable friends, our home, body and so on.'

Thus extensively being worshiped by His devotee, Krishna the Supreme Lord smiled at Akrura and spoke with words that practically swept him of his feet. The Supreme Lord said: 'You, Our paternal uncle and praiseworthy friend, are Our spiritual master. We are always the ones depending on you and [like your sons] need to be protected, maintained and graced by you. Someone like you belongs to the most elevated among the honourable ones and deserves it to be served by anyone desiring the saintliest and highest good. Demigods are always after their own interests, but pure devotees are not. Not to decry the sacred places that consist of water [rivers] or the deities that are made of clay and stone: they purify in the course of time, but the saints [themselves] bring purification after just once having met them. You certainly are the very best of all Our well-wishers. I would like you to go for Us to the city named after the elephant [Hastinapura] and find out what it is that for the sake of the welfare of the Pandavas needs to be done. When their father died, they as young boys together with their mother were in great distress. They were by the king [Dhritarashthra] taken to his capital, where they are residing since, so I have heard. The King, the son of Ambika [see 9.22: 25], was blind and was, under the control of his wicked sons [one hundred of them led by Duryodhana, 9.22: 26], weak-minded so that the sons of his brother [Pandu] certainly were not treated equally by him. Go and find out whether his actions are good or bad at present, so that we with that knowledge can make arrangements for the benefit of Our dear friends.'

After Akrura fully having instructed with these words, the Fortunate One, Lord Hari, returned to His residence with Uddhava and Sankarshana.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 49:

Akrura's Mission in Hastinapura

- Shri Shuka said: 'He [Akrura] went to Hastinapura, the city marked by the glory of the kings of the Puru dynasty [see family-tree], and saw there the son of Ambika [Dhritarashthra, see 9.22: 25] together with Bhishma, Vidura and Pritha [Kunti], as also Bahlika and his son [Somadatta], Dronacarya and Kripacarya, Karna, Duryodhana, the son of Drona [Ashvatthama], the Pandavas and other friends. After the son of Gandini [Akrura, see 9.24: 15] appropriately had greeted his relatives and friends, they inquired with him for news about their kin whereupon he in his turn asked how they were faring. He stayed there for a couple of months in order to find out what the king, who could not raise his voice against his wicked sons, was doing in following the advise of mischievous persons [like Karna]. - Both Vidura and Kunti told him everything about the unbecoming acts - like the administering of poison - that the sons of Dhritarashthra had perpetrated in their intolerance for the influence, skill, strength, bravery, humility and so on of the sons of Pritha, whose excellent qualities were loved by the citizens. Now that Pritha saw her [Vrishni-]brother Akrura before her, she, remembering her place of birth [Mathura], addressed him and said with tears in her eyes: 'Oh gentle one, do our parents and brothers, my sisters, nephews and the women of the family as also my [old girlhood] friends still remember us? Do the son of my brother, Krishna, the Supreme Lord, the shelter full of care for the devotees and Balarama with His lotus petal eyes, still think of the sons of His father's sister? And... will He come to console me with His words, I who with young boys deprived of their father in the midst of enemies am lamenting like a doe between the wolves? Krishna, oh Krishna, oh Greatest Yogi, oh Soul and Protector of the Universe, please watch over this surrendered soul who together with her children is drowning in distress oh Govinda! [see also 1.8: 17-43] For mankind in fear of death and rebirth, I see no other shelter than Your lotus feet, oh Master and Controller granting liberation. My obeisances unto Krishna, the pure Absolute Truth and Supersoul, the Lord of Yoga and Unifier of Consciousness, unto You whom I approach for shelter.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Oh King, Your own great-grandmother thus remembering her relatives and Krishna, the Controller of the Universe, began to cry loudly over her misfortune. Akrura, equanimous in distress and happiness, and the illustrious Vidura consoled Kunti by reminding her of those [the gods] who fathered her sons [see family-tree]. When it was about time to leave he approached the king amidst his supporters, who was fully determined by his sons [and his foster sons] whom he treated unequally. He wanted to relate to him what in friendship was communicated by his well-wishing relatives [Krishna and Rama]. Akrura said: 'Oh dear, beloved son of Vicitravirya [9.22: 21-25], to the greater glory of the Kurus you, after the demise of your brother Pandu, have now assumed the throne. Dutifully protecting the earth and the citizens, delighting the people with your good character and treating your relatives equally, you will achieve perfection and renown! Acting to the contrary however, you will be condemned in this world and land in darkness. Therefore always be equal toward both the Pandavas and your own sons. No one in this world, oh King, is given an enduring association with whomever. Not even with one's own body the association endures. So what to say about a wife, children and so on? A living being is born alone and dies alone. Alone one enjoys the good consequences [of one's actions] and also has to face the bad consequences. The wealth that lacking in dharma was acquired by an unintelligent person, is stolen by others disguised as dependents [like relatives], just like the water of a fish [will be occupied by its own offspring]. Those lacking in wisdom maintain their life, wealth and children in disrespect of dharmic matters and think 'I am the owner', but frustrated in their purposes they end up destitute and abandoned [see 4.31 6.15: 21-23 and 7.15]. Left to his own devices [by his relatives] carrying his load [all alone], not conversant with the purpose of life and with his goals unfulfilled, he blind to his own dharmic duties enters the deepest darkness [see also 3.30; 5: 26; 6.1: 40]. Therefore, seeing this world, oh King, as a dream, as something magical, as a thing of the mind, bring that mind under control with intelligence and thus find your balance and peace, prabhu.'

Dhritarashthra said: 'I can never get enough of the auspicious words you are speaking, oh master of charity, they are for a mortal like me, as the nectar of immortality! But however pleasing they might be, oh gentle one, they are, just like lightening in a cloud, not fixed in my wavering heart, because I am partial in my attachment to my sons. What person can defy what is ordained by the Lord, who has descended in the Yadu family to diminish the burden of the earth? [see B.G. 9: 8] He whose path is inconceivable, creates this universe by His own creative energy, distributes the modes and enters them. My obeisances unto Him whose actions are inscrutable, the Supreme Lord with whom we find liberation from the cycle of birth and death.'

Shri Shuka said: 'The descendant of Yadu [Akrura] thus being apprised of the mentality of the king, took leave of his well-wishers and returned to the capital of the Yadus. According to the purpose for which he was sent, he reported to Rama and Krishna what position Dhritarashthra had taken toward the Pandavas, oh descendant of Kuru.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 50:

Krishna Uses Jarasandha and Establishes the City of Dvaraka

Shri Shuka said: 'Asti and Prapti, the two queens of Kamsa, oh hero of the Bharatas, were unhappy that their husband had been killed and distressed went to their father's house. They told their father, the king of Magadha named Jarasandha [see also 1.15: 9, 9.22: 8, 10.2: 1-2, 10.36: 36], everything about the cause of their widowhood. Hearing those bad tidings, oh King, he full of sorrow and indignation embarked upon the extreme endeavor of ridding the earth of the Yadavas. With twenty-three akshauhinis he amassed around Mathura to besiege the royal capital of the Yadus on all sides. - When Krishna, the Supreme Lord Hari, saw how his army, like an ocean that overflowed its boundaries, besieged His city and filled His subjects with fear, He as the Ultimate Cause in a Human Form, considered what, to the purpose of His descent into this world, would be the best course of action considering the time and place: - 'I will surely annihilate his army, this burden of the earth gathered by the king of Magadha, in which he brought together all who subservient to him have assumed leadership and now can be counted in akshauhinis of infantry, cavalry, chariotry and elephantry. Jarasandha however, I should spare so that he again will try to assemble an army. For this purpose I have descended: to remove the burden of this earth, to protect the virtuous ones and put an end to the rest [that is bad]. As soon as after a certain period of time injustice predominates, I also assume other bodies in order to protect the dharma [see also 2.7 and B.G. 4: 7].'

While he was thinking this way that very instant two chariots [from Vaikunthha] approached from the sky as effulgent as the sun, complete with drivers and equipment. Also the Lord's ancient and divine weapons appeared of their own accord. Seeing them the Lord of the Senses said to Sankarshana: 3-1 'Oh Respected One, please take notice of this imminent danger for the Yadus who are protected by You Prabhu. This is Your chariot that arrived with Your favorite weapons. We indeed were born for this purpose: to act oh Lord, for the benefit of the saintly souls. So please remove now from this earth the burden of these twenty-three armies.'

After thus having invited Him, the two descendants of Das'arha in armor, resplendent with Their weapons, left the city in Their chariots accompanied by a very small contingent. Appearing [from the city], the Supreme Personality with Daruka at the reins, blew His conch shell so that the hearts of the enemy soldiers trembled with terror. Jarasandha looked at the two of Them and said: 'Krishna You worst of all persons, I do not desire to contest with You. It is shameful to fight with someone who is but a boy, a fool like You hiding away. Get lost You murderer of Your relatives! And Rama, if You dare to fight, then muster courage. You either cut by my arrows drop Your body and go to heaven or You kill me!'

The Supreme Lord said: 'Truly, heroes don't have to vaunt, they simply show their prowess. How oh King, can We take serious the words of a man who facing his death is delirious?'

Shri Shuka said: 'The son of Jara, then marched with his gigantic number of mighty forces toward the two descendants of Madhu who thereupon were surrounded by the soldiers, chariots, flags, horses and charioteers, just like the wind covers the sun with clouds or a fire with dust. When the two chariot banners of Hari and Rama, that were marked by the palm tree and by Garuda, could not be seen anymore in the fray, the women of the city who were positioned on the watchtowers, the palaces and gateways, swooned, being stricken by grief. The Lord witnessing how His army was harassed by the most fearsome clouds of arrows that the enemy forces repeatedly rained upon them, then twanged His most excellent bow the Sharnga, that is worshiped by Sura and Asura. From His quiver He fixed, pulled back and released floods of sharp arrows with which He, whirling around like a burning torch, relentlessly stroke the chariots, elephants, horses and foot soldiers. Elephants fell down with their foreheads split open, many a horse had its neck severed, chariots including their horses and flags were destroyed and the arms, legs and shoulders of the charioteers, their masters and the foot soldiers were cut by the arrows. 5-2 From the cut off limbs of the two-legged ones, the elephants and the horses the blood flowed in hundreds of streams that were filled with

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arms that looked like snakes, people's heads that looked like turtles, dead elephants that resembled islands and dead horses that resembled crocodiles. Hands and thighs appeared like fish, human hair like water weeds, bows like waves and weapons like separate bushes. The rushing streams frightening to the timid and inspiring to the intelligent, were crowded with chariot wheels that were like frightening whirlpools and full of precious gems and fine jewelry that looked like stones and gravel. Sankarshana, with His unbounded potency stroke with His plow His furious enemies down one after the other. The military force dear King, that was supervised by the king of Magadha for destruction and that was as unfathomable, frightening and unsurpassable as the limitless ocean, was for the Lords of the Universe, the two sons of Vasudeva, but a plaything. Despite the fact that one describes Him [in response to philosophers who proclaim His being unconcerned] as playing His game in imitation of the human ways, it is not at all surprising that He, who with His Unlimited Qualities effects the maintenance, creation and annihilation of the three worlds, subdues an opposing party. The so very strong Jarasandha whose army had been destroyed and who, deprived of his chariot, was left with only his breath, was seised by Balarama as forcibly as one lion seizing another lion. But, as He who had killed so many adversaries was tying him up with the ropes of Varuna [compare 5.24: 23] and of normal man, He was checked by Govinda, for He needed Jarasandha for another purpose.

He, honoured by heroes, was ashamed to be released by the two Lords of the Universe and considered to perform penances, but he was on that path checked by the rest of the nobles who explained to him in clear terms, with meaningful words and practical arguments: 'Your being defeated by the Yadus occurred as a consequence of your karmic bondage.' The son of Brihadratha all of whose soldiers had been killed and who had been left alone by the Supreme Lord, then dispirited returned to Magadha.

Mukunda who had overcome the ocean of enemy forces without losing His army, was showered with flowers by the servants of the three worlds who praised Him. Then He met the citizens of Mathura who, with their fever allayed felt great joy, and His glory was sung by bards, heralds and panegyrists. As He entered the city with its sprinkled roads, many banners and festively decorated gateways, conch shells and kettledrums, drums and horns together with vinas, flutes and mridangas [two-sided devotional drums] resounded while the elated citizens loudly recited Vedic verses. The women gazed at Him affectionately with wide open eyes full of love and covered Him with flower garlands, yogurt, parched rice and sprouts. The countless valuables consisting of the ornaments of the heroes fallen on the battlefield, were by the Lord all presented to the king of the Yadus [Ugrasena]. And so it happened that the king of Magadha thus with his akshauhinis seventeen times fought against the Yadus who were protected by Krishna's military strength. The Vrishnis with the help of Krishna's power entirely destroyed the forces of the king. And every time his soldiers lay dead, he was abandoned and then went away. Just as the eighteenth battle was about to take place, a foreign fighter [Kalayavana] appeared who was sent by Narada. Having heard about the Vrishnis he arrived with three crores of barbarians [mlecchas] and besieged Mathura, for among the human beings he had found no one who could match him. Seeing him, Krishna together with Sankarshana [Balarama] thought: 'Ah, [an attack] from two sides. A great problem has risen for the Yadus! This Yavana who opposes Us today is of the same great strength as Jarasandha, who will also get here either today, tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. While the two of Us are fighting with him the son of Jara, when he comes, will kill our relatives or else move them to his own stronghold. Let us therefore today kill the barbarians and build a fortress to house our intimates, that is impenetrable to human beings.'

After deliberating on the matter, the Supreme Lord arranged for a fortress [with a circumference] of twelve yojanas within the sea, where He had a city built [called Dvaraka or 'many-gated', see also 1: 11] that had all kinds of wonderful facilities. 0-5 The science of the architecture of Tvashtha [Vis'vakarma] could be admired there, who with his expertise constructed the main avenues, courtyards and service roads to the plots of land. It contained splendid gardens and parks with the trees and creepers of the gods and gateways made of quartz with upper levels that with their turrets of gold touched the sky. The service buildings fitted with silver and brass were decorated with pots of gold and had jeweled rooftops. It had houses with floors with precious emeralds that were occupied by people from the four varnas, it had watchtowers and temples housing the presiding deities and radiated with the palaces of the Lord of the Yadus. Lord Indra delivered to the Lord the parijata [coral-]tree as also the Sudharma-hall ['good law'] situated in which a mortal is not affected by the laws of mortality. Varuna delivered horses as swift as the wind that had a white and exclusively dark-grey colour. The treasurer of the gods [Kuvera] delivered the eight mystic treasures [see nidhi] and the local rulers contributed with each their own wealth. Whatever powers of control the Supreme Lord had delegated to them as their own perfections, were all offered back to Krishna, now that He had come to earth. After Krishna by the power of His yoga had transported all His subjects to that place [*], He consulted with Balarama, the protector of the citizens, and then went out of the city gate unarmed, wearing a garland of lotus flowers.'

*: Shrila Vis'vanatha Cakravarti quotes the following verses here from the Shri Padma Purana, Uttara-khanda: "In the middle of the night, as the citizens of Mathura slept, Lord Janardana suddenly removed them from that city and placed them in Dvaraka. When the men awoke, they were all amazed to find themselves, their children and their wives sitting inside palaces made of gold."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 51:

The Deliverance of Mucukunda

- Shri Shuka said: 'Seeing Him coming out [of the city see 50: 57] like the rising moon, most beautiful to behold, with a dark complexion, a yellow silk garment, the Shrivatsa on His chest, the brilliant Kaustubha gem decorating His neck, His mighty, long four arms and eyes as pink as newly grown lotuses, His always effulgent, clean, joyful smile to His beautiful cheeks, His lotus like face and the display of His shark-shaped earrings, he [Kalayavana] thought: 'This person indeed with the Shrivatsa, the four arms, the lotus eyes, wearing forest-flowers and with a great beauty, must be Vasudeva. Considering the marks as mentioned by Narada He, going there without weapons on foot, can be no one else. I'll fight Him without weapons!' The Yavana in pursuit thus decided to catch up with Him who had turned His face and fled away, He, who is unattainable even to the mystic yogis. With every step He seemed to be within the reach of his hands, but after thus being taken a great distance by the Lord, the leader of the Yavanas was led to a mountain cave. In his pursuit he insulted Him with words like 'Fleeing does not behove someone like You born in the Yadu dynasty!' Yet he, whose mischief had not found its end, could not get hold of Him. Despite being insulted this way, the Supreme Lord entered the mountain cave. The Yavana followed Him, but saw another man lying there. 'And now, bringing me this long distance, He is lying down here like a saint!' Thus erroneously thinking that the man was Acyuta, he struck him full force with his foot. The man woke up after a long period of sleep and slowly opened his eyes. Looking around in every direction, he saw him standing at his side. Oh descendant of Bharata, by the glance the angered man cast on him, he was instantly burned to ashes by a fire that was generated from within his own body [*].'

The honourable king [Parikchit] said: 'Who precisely was that person, oh brahmin, of which family was he and of what powers? Why had he retreated into the cave to sleep and from whose seed was that destroyer of the Yavana born?'

Shri Shuka said: 'He is known as Mucukunda. He was born in the Ikshvaku dynasty as a son of Mandhata [see 9.6: 38 and 9.7]. He is a great personality devoted to the brahminical order and someone true to his vow in battle. On the request for help of the gods headed by Indra who were terrified because of the Asuras, he for a long time was of service to assure them their protection. After having secured Guha ['from the cave'; Skanda or Karttikeya] as their guardian of heaven, they said to Mucukunda: 'Oh King, please desist from the difficult task to protect us. Forgetting all your personal desires, you oh hero, with the abandoning of a kingdom in the world of man, have removed those [asura] thorns for our protection. Your children, your queens and your other relatives, ministers, advisors and subjects do not live anymore. Time has swept them away. The Supreme, Inexhaustible Lord of Control is the Time itself, more powerful than the most powerful ones, who, playing a game of herdsman and flock, sets the mortal beings in motion. We wish you all good fortune, please choose today any benediction from us, except for the boon of liberation that can only be conferred by the Supreme Inexhaustible Lord Shri Vishnu.'

He who for his great fame thus was addressed by the demigods, respectfully saluted them and entered a cave to enjoy the sleep the gods had granted him [**]. After the barbarian was burned to ashes, the Supreme Lord, the great hero of the Satvatas, revealed Himself to sage Mucukunda. 3-2 He as dark as a cloud, was clad in a yellow, silken garment, carried the Shrivatsa on His chest and the brilliant Kaustubha gem that radiated. With His four arms and the beautifying Vaijayanti garland, with His attractive, calm face and glittering shark-shaped earrings, with His affectionate smile appealing to all mankind and His glance, with His youthful handsome form, His noble gait and His fire that was like that of a lion, He formed an appearance of an overwhelming effulgence. Facing this unassailable splendor he who was highly intelligent, filled with awe hesitantly posed a question. Shri Mucukunda said: 'Who are You to join with me in the wilderness in a mountain cave, while You with Your feet, that are like the petals of a lotus, walk the thorny ground? Maybe You are the Supreme Lord, the origin of all empowered beings, or else the god of fire, the sun god, the moon god, the king of heaven or perhaps a ruler from another planet. I think You are the leading godhead [Vishnu] among the three principal demigod personalities [Brahma, Shiva and Vishnu], the Greatest One, for You dispel the darkness of this cave [the 'heart'] like a lamp with its light. Oh Most Eminent Among All Man, if You like, please describe truthfully for us eager to hear, Your birth, activities and lineage. We from our side, oh tiger among men, are descendants of Ikshvaku, a family of kshatriyas. And I was born from the son of Yuvanas'va and am called Mucukunda, oh Lord. Because I remained awake for a long time and my fatigued senses were overwhelmed by sleep, I for my comfort lay down in this solitary place. Then I was awakened by someone. That person because of his sinful mentality turned to ashes. Immediately thereafter I then saw Your good Self so glorious, oh Chastiser of the Enemies. Because of Your unbearable effulgence we, being diminished in our faculties, cannot behold You, oh most Gracious One, You deserve it to be honoured by all embodied beings!'

Thus being addressed by the king, the Supreme Lord and Origin of the Entire Creation replied with a broad smile using words rumbling as deep as the clouds. The Supreme Lord said: 'There are thousands of My births, activities and names My dear one, limitless as they are, they cannot even be enumerated by Me! Some time, after many lives, one may succeed in counting all the dust particles of the earth, but that will never be accomplished with My qualities, activities, names and births. Not even the greatest sages enumerating My births and activities that take place in respect of the three aspects of time [past, present, future], oh King, can reach the end [compare 8.5: 6 and 8.23: 29]. 9-4 Nonetheless oh friend, just listen to what I have to tell you about My current birth. In the past I was beseeched by Lord Brahma [see 3.9 and also 10.14] to secure the dharma and destroy the demons who constituted a burden to the earth. Thus I descended into the Yadu dynasty in the home of Vasudeva and because of that fact the people call Me Vasudeva, the son of Vasudeva. I killed Kalanemi [see 10.8: 56] as also Kamsa [10.44], Pralamba [10.18] and others who were hateful with the virtuous souls. This Yavana, oh King, was burned by your scorching glance. I, the one person caring for the devotees, approached this cave for the sake of favoring you, for in the past you have often prayed for it. Tell Me what blessing you want from Me, oh saintly King, I will fulfill all your wishes. Any person who has satisfied Me, will never again need to lament.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Thus being addressed Mucukunda bowed down to Him and spoke. Knowing He was Narayana, the [original] Godhead, he filled with joy remembered the words of Garga [***]. Shri Mucukunda said: 'Man being cheated by Your bewildering potency maya oh Lord, is not of worship for You. Not understanding the true purpose of life he - whether he is male or female - seeking his happiness gets entangled in household affairs that make him unhappy. The person who somehow or other in this world attains the rarely obtained, highly evolved human form of life and not an idle [animal] form oh sinless one, will, with an impure mind, not be of worship and like an animal be fallen in the blind well of his home. Oh Unconquerable One, I thus have wasted my time with building a kingdom and acquiring opulence, which now is all gone. Intoxicated like an earthly ruler who mistakes his mortal frame for himself, I suffered endless anxieties because of having gotten attached to children, wives, riches and land. Minding this body, which is a confinement like a pot or a wall, I thus thought myself to be a god among man. Surrounded by chariots, elephants, horses, infantry and generals I traveled around on this earth, but, in my great pride, I never seriously regarded You. Forgetful about what needs to be done, hankering for sense objects and endlessly ruminating with an ever growing greed, one is suddenly placed before You, who are as attentive as a hungry snake licking its fangs to kill a mouse. The same vehicle of time, the body that first was called 'the king' riding in chariots furnished with gold or on fierce elephants, is unavoidably in the course of time named 'feces', 'worms' and 'ashes' [see also 16.4: 2-6]. Full circle having conquered the directions, without further conflicts, being seated on a throne and praised by rulers alike, the person in his home is led about like a pet animal while deriving his happiness from intercourse with women oh Lord. Reaching in that situation for more than another possesses he, by strictly avoiding pleasures, performs his duties with penance, but thinking of himself as 'I am mightier, I am my own master' he, whose urges are so pronounced, cannot attain happiness. When the wandering person reaches the end of his material existence, he, oh Infallible One, will find the association of those who are good and honest [the sat-sanga]. Thereupon the devotion for Him will come about, He who, as the Lord of the Higher [cause] and Lower [effects], is the only object for the pious souls. Oh Lord, I think that with the spontaneous disappearance of my attachment to my kingdom, You have shown me Your mercy. For that is what the saintly rulers of endless stretches of land pray for when they enter the forest in want of their solitude. I do not desire anything else but to be of service at Your feet, for they are to those not desiring a material life the object of desire, the boon that is sought, oh Almighty One. Which faithful man of worship for

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You, the Bestower of the Path of Emancipation, oh Lord, would choose as a boon for that which causes his bondage? Therefore oh Lord, entirely putting aside the worldly blessings because of which one is entangled in the modes of passion, ignorance and goodness, I approach You, the Original Person of Pure Knowledge, who free from mundane designations and duality, is transcendental to the modes. Tormented by disturbances I, for a long time, was full of sorrow being distressed in the world. With my six enemies [the senses and the mind] never being satisfied there was no way to find peace oh Bestower of the Shelter. Please oh Lord, protect me who, facing these dangers oh Supreme Soul, has approached Your lotus feet, the truth that is free from sorrow and fear.'

The Supreme Lord said: 'Oh great King, emperor of all, you have a pure and capable mind, for, even though you were tempted to ask for benedictions, you were not spoiled by desires. Please know that I tempted you with benedictions to ascertain whether you are free from bewilderment. The exclusive[ly to Me devoted] intelligence of the bhaktas is never diverted by material blessings. Those not devoted to Me who occupy themselves with breathing exercises and such, did not diminish their material desires [the vasanas], oh King, so that one sees that their minds again assert themselves [materially]. Wander this earth at will and may there, with your mind fixed on Me, for you thus always be an uninterrupted devotion unto Me. Following the dharma of the ruling class you have killed living beings when you were hunting and with other actions. That sin you should now uproot completely by fully immersing yourself in penances with Me as your shelter. In your birth following this one oh King, you, becoming a supreme well-wisher to all living beings, will be a fine brahmin and attain Me for certain [see also B.G. 5:29].'

*: Mucukunda, the man asleep, as stated hereafter fought for a long time on behalf of the demigods and finally took as his benediction the right to sleep undisturbed. The parampara by Shrila Vis'vanatha Cakravarti quotes the Hari-vams'a that explains he secured the further benediction of being able to destroy anyone who disturbed his sleep. He further elucidates that Mucukunda made this rather morbid request to scare Lord Indra, who, so Mucukunda thought, might otherwise wake him up repeatedly to request his help in fighting Indra's cosmic enemies. Indra's consent to Mucukunda's request is described in the Shri Vishnu Purana as follows: "The demigods declared, 'Whoever awakens you from sleep will suddenly be burnt to ashes by a fire generated from his own body.' "

**: Shrila Bhaktisiddhanta Sarasvati Thhakura gives the following lines from an alternate reading of this chapter. These lines are to be inserted between the two halves of this verse:

nidram eva tato vavre
sa raja Shrama-karshitah
yah kas'cin mama nidraya
bhangam kuryad surottamah
sa hi bhasmi-bhaved ashu
tathoktas' ca surais tada
svapam yatam yo madhye tu
bodhayet tvam acetanah
sa tvaya drishtha-matras tu
bhasmi-bhavatu tat-kshanat

"The King, exhausted by his labour, then chose sleep as his benediction. He further stated, 'Oh best of the demigods, may whoever disturbs my sleep immediately be burned to ashes.' The demigods replied, 'So be it,' and told him, 'That insensitive person who wakes you in the middle of your sleep will immediately turn to ashes simply by your seeing him."

***: The parampara states: 'Shrila Shridhara Svami informs us that Mucukunda was aware of the prediction of the ancient sage Garga that in the twenty-eighth millennium the Supreme Lord would descend. According to Acarya Vis'vanatha, Garga Muni further informed Mucukunda that he would personally see the Lord. Now it was all happening.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 52:

The Lords Leap from a Mountain and Rukmini's Message to Lord Krishna

Shri Shuka said: 'Thus being blessed by Krishna, the descendant of Ikshvaku [Mucukunda] circumambulating Him bowed down and left through the mouth of the cave. Noticing that the human beings, the animals, plants and trees were all in a poor condition [were small], he concluded that the Age [the yuga] of Kali had arrived and went in the northern direction [compare 1.15: 44]. He had faith in the process of penance, was of self-control and free from attachments and doubts. With his mind thus absorbed in Krishna he entered the realm of the mountain Gandhamadana ['the nice smell']. Reaching Badarikashrama [see e.g. 3.4: 4, 4.12: 16, 5.4: 5, 7.11: 6], the residence of Nara-Narayana, he who conquering all duality had found peace in his austerity, worshiped the Lord.

The Supreme Lord returned to His city Mathura that was surrounded by the Yavanas, killed the barbarian army and brought their riches to Dvaraka. As Acyuta was engaged in taking the wealth with oxen and men, Jarasandha arrived on the scene leading twenty-three armies. Seeing the mighty waves of soldiers of the enemy armies, the two Madhavas adopting a human course, quickly ran away, oh King. Abandoning the load of riches They, appearing afraid but factually being free from fear, on Their lotus petal feet covered many yojanas. Seeing the Two escape, the mighty ruler of Magadha loudly laughed and pursued the Lords with charioteers and soldiers, not being quite aware of Their special nature. Exhausted from full speed having run a long distance, They climbed a very high mountain known as Pravarsana ['the rainy one'] where the mighty Lord [Indra] is always showering rains. Knowing that They were hiding on the mountain, but not exactly where, oh King, he [Jarasandha], with firewood set ablaze the mountain on all sides. Quickly leaping down from the eleven yojanas high, everywhere burning mountain, They fell to the ground. Not being seen by Their opponent or his helpers, the two finest Yadus returned to Their city that had the ocean as its moat, oh King. The king of the Magadhas mistakenly thought that Balarama and Kes'ava had burned in the fire, pulled back his huge force and returned to Magadha. As previously stated, the opulent sovereign of Anarta, named Raivata, on the order of Brahma gave Balarama his daughter Raivati in marriage [9.3: 33-36]. 6-1 The Supreme Lord Govinda, oh hero among the Kurus, married with Vaidarbhi [Rukmini] the daughter of Bhismaka, on her own request. She was a plenary portion of the Goddess of Fortune. With force overruling Shalva and the other kings in support of Shishupala, He accomplished this [by stealing her away] before the eyes of all the people, just like the son of Tarksya [Garuda, stole] the nectar from heaven.'

The honourable king said: 'In the manner of a Rakshasa [by kidnapping thus], so I heard, the Supreme Lord thus married Rukmini, the daughter of Bhismaka with the charming face. Oh lord, I would like to hear how Krishna, He with His immeasurable potency, stole away His bride and [therewith] defeated such kings as Jarasandha and Shalva. Which intelligent person oh brahmin, can ever get enough of listening to the righteous, enchanting and always new stories [see 10.45: 48] we hear about Krishna which remove the worldly contamination?'

The son of Vyasa said: 'There was a king named Bhismaka, the great ruler of Vidarbha, who had five sons and one daughter with an exceptionally pretty face. Rukmi was the first born son, followed by Rukmaratha, Rukmabahu, Rukmakes'a and Rukmamali. Rukmini was their chaste sister [rukma means: 'what is bright or radiant']. Hearing Mukunda's beauty, prowess, character and opulences being sung by those who came to her family home, she deemed Him a suitable husband. Krishna knowing her to be a repository of intelligence, auspicious marks, magnanimity, beauty, good behavior and other qualities, likewise considered her a suitable wife and decided to marry her. But Rukmi, who hated Krishna, prevented this, even though his family wanted to give his sister to Krishna, oh King. He preferred Shishupala. The princess of Vidarbha with her dark eyes, was unhappy with that knowledge. She pained her mind and quickly sent a certain dependable brahmin to Krishna. After arriving in Dvaraka he was ushered in by the gatekeepers and saw the Original Personality sitting on a golden throne. The moment the Lord who is good to the brahmins, saw him, He came down from His throne, seated him and performed worship the same way the residents of heaven worship Him. With him having eaten and rested, He who is the goal of the devotees approached him to personally massage his feet. Patiently He asked him: 'Oh My best one, are the religious activities supported by your first-class, twice-born seniors, proceeding without too much difficulty and are you always happy within? When a brahmin remains satisfied with whatever [comes his way] and does not fail in his religious duty, that will bring him all he desires. Dissatisfied he, even as a master of the enlightened ones, will keep moving from world to world, while he satisfied, even when he possesses nothing, will sleep well with all his limbs [and mind] free from distress. I bow My head again and again to those brahmins who are satisfied with what they get, for they, peaceful and free from false ego, are the best well-wishers of all living beings [see also B.G. 2: 71, 12: 13-14]. Are you faring well as a subject to your king? He in whose kingdom one being protected leads a happy life, is very dear to Me. Where have you come from crossing the [ocean of] troubles and for what purpose have you come here? Please tell Us everything if it is not a secret. What is it that We may do for you?'

After the Supreme One who for the sake of His pastimes assumes His bodies, thus had asked these questions, the brahmin related everything to Him. 'Shri Rukmini told me: 'Oh Most Beautiful One of all the Worlds, I heard about Your qualities. For all who listen and whom You have entered through the openings of their ears, You thus remove the distress of their bodies. To those who have eyes, the sight of Your beauty constitutes the complete fulfillment of their life's purpose. Therefore I have without any shame devoted my mind to You Acyuta! Who oh Mukunda, compares to Your greatness, Your lineage, character, beauty, knowledge, youth, property and influence? Which sober and marriageable girl of a noble birth would, coming of age, not choose You for her husband, oh lion among men, oh You who fills the mind of every member of society with joy? I thus have chosen Your good Self, oh dear Lord, for my husband. I offer myself hereby to You as Your wife oh Omnipotent One. Please accept me! May the king of Cedi [S'ishupala], who like a jackal wants to steal away the portion belonging to the king of the animals, never touch what is allotted to the [real] hero. When I sufficiently have worshiped the Supreme Personality of Godhead, the Lord, by the performance of pious works, with sacrifices, charity, observances and vows, by honouring the gods, the gurus and the brahmins and with other activities, may [Krishna] the elder brother of Gada [9.24: 46] then [please] come and take my hand and not the son of Damaghosa or others like him? Come tomorrow when the marriage takes place, unseen to Vidarbha, oh Invincible One. Fight surrounded by Your officers then to crush the armed resistance of the kings of Caidya and Magadha and next, as the reward for Your valor, marry me in the rakshasa style [by taking me with You]. You may wonder how, with me moving within my quarters, You can carry me away without killing my relatives. Let me tell You how: the day before there is a large ceremonial procession outside [the palace] for the presiding deity of the family. In that ceremony the new bride approaches the goddess Girija [Ambika in her temple]. Great souls like [Shiva] the husband of Uma, in order to overcome their own ignorance, long to bathe in the dust of Your lotus feet. When I, oh Lotus-eyed One, cannot obtain Your mercy, I should, being weakened by vows, give up my life to attain You [only] after hundreds of births.' The brahmin ended with: 'This is the confidential message I bring you, oh Lord of the Yadus, please consider what needs to be done right now in this matter.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 53:

Krishna Kidnaps Rukmini

Shri Shuka said: 'When [Krishna] the descendant of Yadu heard the confidential message of the princes of Vidarbha, He took the hand of the messenger into His own and addressed him with a smile. The Supreme Lord said: 'I am in My mind also fixed on her and cannot sleep at night. I know that Rukmi in his enmity is against My marriage with her. I will bring her, that indisputable beauty who deems Me the best, over here and crush in battle that half-breed royalty, the way one ignites a fire from firewood!'

Shri Shuka said: 'Knowing the exact [astronomical] time of Rukmini's marriage, Madhusudana told His charioteer: 'Daruka, get the chariot immediately ready.' He brought the chariot yoked with the horses Shaibya, Sugriva, Meghapuspa and Balahaka [*] and stood with folded palms before Him. Shauri mounted His chariot together with the brahmin and [Rukmi] obeyed his control, was about to give his daughter away to Shishupala and saw to it that the required duties were performed. - The city was thoroughly cleansed and its avenues, streets and intersections were abundantly sprinkled with water. It was decorated with banners on flagpoles and with archways. The women and men of the city in their opulent homes aromatic with aguru, arrayed in spotless clothing, wore their jewels, smeared their bodies with fragrant substances and decorated themselves with flowers and other ornaments. He [Bhismaka] saw to it that the forefathers, the demigods and the brahmins were worshiped according to the rules oh King, that they were properly fed and that the auspicious mantras were recited. The bride properly bathed, cleaned her teeth, put on her auspicious marriage necklace as also a brand-new set of clothes and adorned herself with the most excellent jewels. For the protection of the bride, the best among the brahmins recited mantras from the Sama, Rig and Yajur Veda and the priests expert in the Atharva mantras poured oblations of ghee to pacify the ruling planets. The king, very well versed in the vidhi, donated gold, silver, clothing and sesame seeds mixed with raw sugar to the brahmins. King Damaghosa, the lord of Cedi, the same way arranged that the knowers of the mantras for his son [the bridegroom] performed everything that was conducive to his prosperity. He traveled to Kundina [Bhismaka's capital] accompanied by hordes of elephants dripping with mada, golden chariots decorated with garlands and many regiments infantry and cavalry. The master of Vidarbha met him half way to prove his respects and with pleasure settled him in a specially constructed residence. Shalva, Jarasandha, Dantavakra and Viduratha who sided with Shishupala, came together with Paundraka and thousands of others. 8-1 Those who were inimical towards Krishna and Rama had decided on the following: 'When Krishna together with Rama and the other Yadus comes to steal Shishupala's bride we, in order to secure her, together will join to fight Him.' All the kings thus had arrived with a complete contingent of troops and vehicles.

When Lord Balarama heard about these preparations of the hostile kings and that Krishna had set off alone to steal the bride, He, fearing a fight, filled with love for His brother swiftly went to Kundina together with a mighty force of

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elephants, horses, chariots and soldiers on foot. The daughter of Bhismaka with her lovely hips who awaited the arrival of Krishna, did not see the brahmin return and then wondered: 'Alas only three yamas [nine hours] remain before I will marry. How unlucky I am, the Lotus-eyed One does not come and I do not know why, nor has as yet the brahmin carrying my message returned. Perhaps the One Faultless in Mind and Body, in His initial willingness saw something contemptible in me, so that He does not come to take my hand. What a misfortune! The creator is not favorably disposed towards me, nor is the great Lord Shiva... or maybe Devi, his consort [known as] Gauri, Rudrani, Girija or Sati, has turned against me.'

Ruminating this way the young girl, whose mind had been stolen by Krishna, closed her eyes brimming with tears, aware of the time [that was left]. While the bride thus was waiting for Govinda's arrival, oh King, her left thigh, arm and eye twitched, foretelling something desirable. That very moment that purest one among the brahmins following the command of Krishna, saw the divine princes who stayed in the inner chambers of the palace. Noticing his joyful face and the relaxed movements of his body she, as an expert in telling signs, inquired with a pure smile. He told her about the arrival of Yadunandana [the 'Child of the Yadus'] and related the words He had said to assure her that He would marry with her. Realizing that He had come, the mind of Vaidarbhi cleared whereupon she gladdened knew no better answer than to bow down to the dear brahmin. [The king] hearing that Rama and Krishna had arrived eager to witness his daughter's marriage, accompanied by the sounds of instruments came to welcome Them with abundant offerings. He as was prescribed performed worship with desirables like honey-milk [madhu-parka] and brought new clothes. Generously arranging for an opulent place to stay he afforded Them, Their soldiers and associates, proper hospitality. Thus he with all that was wanted, according to each his power, age, strength and wealth, was of respect for the kings who had assembled. The residents of Vidarbha-pura hearing that Krishna had arrived, all came to drink in His lotus face with the cupped palms of their eyes [and said]: 'He who has also such a perfect body is the only one who deserves Rukmini as a wife. He is the most suitable husband for princes Bhaismi! May Acyuta the Cause of the Three Worlds, be pleased with whichever of our good deeds and be as merciful to accept the hand of Rukmini.' This is what the citizens bound to their increasing pure love said.

The bride protected by guards left the inner palace and went to the temple of Ambika [see also 10.52: 42]. 0-4 Going there on foot to see the lotus petal feet of Bhavani, she, totally absorbed in meditating on Krishna's lotus feet, kept silent in de midst of her mothers and female companions. She was guarded by the valiant, armed soldiers of the king, and while they stood prepared with their weapons raised, cymbals and mridangas, conch shells, horns and other wind instruments were played. 2-4 The bride was accompanied by the well ornamented wives of the brahmins, thousands of prominent courtesans carrying various items of worship and presents, flowergarlands, fragrances, clothing and jewelry, as also by singers who sang and offered prayers, by musicians and bards and by chroniclers and heralds. Reaching the temple of the goddess she washed her feet and lotus like hands, sipped water for purification and entered, sanctified and peaceful, the place where Ambika resided. The so very young girl was by the elderly wives of the brahmins, who were well acquainted with the injunctions, accompanied in offering her respects to Bhavani who was there together with her consort Lord Bhava [Shiva]. [She prayed:] 'Again and again oh Ambika, I offer you and also your children [Ganes'a and Kartikeya] my obeisances. Please allow Krishna, the Supreme Lord, to be my husband.'

With different offerings of water, fragrant substances, whole grains and incense, gifts of clothing, garlands, necklaces and ornaments and an array of lamps she offered worship, as also did the wives of the brahmins with savories, cakes, prepared betel nut, sacred threads, fruits and sugar cane. The women gave her what remained of the offering as also their blessings, whereupon the bride bowed down to them and to the deity and ate some of the food that was sacrificed. Then she ended her vow of silence and left the temple of Ambika, while she with her hand, beautified by a jeweled ring, held on to a maidservant. 1-5 With her well-formed waist, the earrings that decorated her face, her pure beauty, the gem-studded belt on her hips and her budding breasts, she was just like the illusory potency of the Lord that bewilders even the sober ones [Mayadevi, see also 8.12: 38-40; 10.2***]. Seeing her pure smile, her bimba red lips reflected in her jasmine-bud teeth, her gait like a royal swan as she walked her feet that were tinkling and beautified by the effulgence of her finely crafted ankle bells, the assembled and respectable heroes were bewildered and distressed by the lust she generated. With her, on the pretext of the procession, offering her beauty to Lord Krishna, the minds of the kings who saw her broad smiles and shy glances, were stolen and their weapons dropped to the ground as they fainted and fell from their horses, elephants and the chariots on which they were seated. Slowly walking, she put the two whorls of her lotus flower feet one before the other, meanwhile eagerly expecting the arrival of the Supreme Personality. Throwing aside her hair with the nails of her hand she, coyly looking at the kings present, from the corners of her eyes that very moment spotted Acyuta. Right before the eyes of His enemies Krishna then seised the king's daughter who stood prepared to mount His chariot. He lifted her onto His chariot that was marked with [the flag of] Garuda, drove back the circle of kings and slowly left the place with Balarama in front, just like a lion would do removing his prey from the midst of jackals. The adversaries headed by Jarasandha, could in their conceit, with their honour ruined, not bear the defeat: 'We archers are damned with those cowherds like a bunch of puny animals stealing the honour of us, the lions!'

*: Shrila Vis'vanatha Cakravarti quotes the following text of the Padma Purana describing Lord Krishna's chariot horses: "S'aibya was green like a parrot's wings, Sugriva yellow-gold, Meghapuspa the colour of a cloud, and Balahaka whitish."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 54:

Rukmi's Defeat and Krishna Married

Shri Shuka said: 'And so they all [realizing that they had been robbed], most angrily and in armor, mounted their vehicles and with each surrounded by his own troops, holding their bows, went after Them. When the Yadava army noticed that they were being followed, the officers stopped to face them, oh King and twanged their bows. From the backs of their horses, the shoulders of their elephants and the seats of their chariots, the [enemy] masters of arms released a rain of arrows the way the clouds release their water over the mountains. The moment the slender-waisted girl saw the army of her Lord being covered by heavy rains of arrows, she embarrassed looked at His face with eyes full of fear. The Supreme Lord laughed and said: 'Do not be afraid, oh you with your beautiful eyes, your troops will destroy this enemy force right now.' The heroes Gada [Krishna's younger half-brother], Sankarshana and the others could not tolerate the display of power of the enemy forces and thus they struck their horses, elephants and chariots down with arrows of iron. The heads of those riding the chariots, the horses and the elephants, fell by the thousands to the ground, complete with earrings, helmets and turbans. One could see the heads of horses, donkeys, mules, elephants and camels as also [loose] heads of humans, clubs and bows, hands with swords, hands without fingers, thighs and legs. The kings headed by Jarasandha who eager for the victory saw that their armies were annihilated by the Vrishnis, lost their courage and left. They approached and addressed Shishupala who, with the wife of his choice being stolen away, was dispirited and perturbed with a dried up face that had lost all its colour. [Jarasandha said:] 'Oh Sir, tiger among men, please give up your gloom, for the embodied beings there is no permanence of desirable or undesirable matters. The way a woman that is made of wood dances to the desire of a puppeteer, this world, which is concerned with joy and sorrow, is controlled by the Lord. I myself with twenty-three armies have lost seventeen battles with Shauri [Krishna]. Only one I have won. Nevertheless I never lament or rejoice, for I know that the world is driven by Time and fate combined. Also now we all, leaders of the commanders of heroes, have been defeated by Yadus with a meager entourage who were protected by Krishna. Our enemies, with the time in their favor, have won now, but then again, when our time has come, we will win.'

Shri Shuka said: 'S'ishupala thus persuaded by his friends, went back to his city with his company and so too each of the surviving kings returned to his own place. The mighty Rukmi however, who hated Krishna and could not bear the fact that his sister got married in the rakshasa style, pursued Krishna surrounded by an entire akshauhini. 9-2 Rukmi, mighty armed with his bow and armor, most angrily full of resentment swore to all the kings listening: 'Let me tell you this: I truly will not return to Kundina without having killed Krishna in battle and having retrieved Rukmini.' After having said this he climbed on his chariot and told his charioteer: 'Quickly, drive the horses to the place where Krishna is, there must be a fight between Him and me. Today I, with my sharp arrows, will break the pride of that evil-minded Cowherd who so violently abducted my sister!'

Thus vaunting foolishly he, not realizing what the Lord was all capable of, thereupon with a single chariot came forward and shouted at Krishna: 'Stand still, stop!' Drawing his bow he most firmly struck Krishna with three arrows and said: 'Wait a minute, You corrupter of the Yadu dynasty! Where do You think You are going, having stolen my sister like a crow stealing the sacrificial butter? Today I will put an end to Your false pride, You foolish cheater, You devious fighter! If You do not want my arrows to kill You, lay off and release the girl'. But Krishna smiled and struck Rukmi with six arrows that broke his bow. After Krishna had fired eight arrows at his four horses, two at his charioteer and three at his flagpole, he took up another bow and struck Krishna with five arrows. Even though He was struck by all these arrows Krishna broke his bow again, and when Rukmi picked up yet another one, Acyuta also broke that one. The spiked bludgeon, the trident, the lance, the shield and sword, the pike, the javelin or whatever weapon he took up were all broken by Him, the Lord. He then leaped from his chariot and ran, sword in hand and as furious as a bird in the wind, forward with the intent to kill Krishna. With His arrows Krishna broke the sword and shield of His attacker to pieces and next, ready to kill Rukmi, took up His own sharp sword. When the saintly Rukmini saw that He wanted to kill her brother, she, beset with fear, fell at the feet of her husband and spoke piteously.

Shri Rukmini said: 'Oh Lord of Yoga, oh Inscrutable Soul, oh God of Gods, oh Master of the Universe, oh Auspicious One, please don't kill my brother, oh Mighty-armed One.'

Shri Shuka said: 'As she, with her limbs trembling with fear, her mouth dry of sorrow, her throat choked and her golden necklace disheveled in her agitation, was holding His feet, He desisted out of compassion. He tied him up with a piece of cloth and shaved him, making a mess of him with only little bits of his hair and mustache remaining. Meanwhile the amazing army of the Yadu heroes crushed their opponents the way elephants crush a lotus flower [compare 1.7]. When the Yadu soldiers approached Krishna they found Rukmi in a sorry condition, as good as dead. The almighty Supreme Lord Sankarshana, feeling pity, thereupon released him from his ties and said to Krishna: 'Oh Krishna, what a terribly bad shaving job You have done with his mustache and hair! Disfiguring a family member like this equals to killing him!'

[To Rukmini:] 'Oh saintly lady, please do not be angry with Us for making such a mess of your brother. To the matter of the one who brings happiness and grief no one else can be held accountable but the person in question. A human being after all has to face the consequences of his own actions.'

[And to Krishna again:] 'Even though a relative because of his wrongdoing deserves to be killed, he should not be killed by a relative but rather be banned [from the family]. Why should he who because of his evil deeds ended his own [honourable] life, be killed a second time?'

[To Rukmini:] 'The code of conduct for warriors as established by the founding father [Brahma] is that a brother must not even hesitate to kill his own brother. And that indeed is something most dreadful.'

[Back to Krishna again:] 'Blinded as they are in their infatuation about the wealth, those who are proud of a kingdom, land, riches, women, honour, power or something else [other than the soul], do therefore commit offenses.'

[And to Rukmini again:] 'In this attitude of you toward all living beings, of always wishing evil to foes and wishing good to friends [and family], you are just as partial as an ignorant person. Because of the Lord's illusory power the people are bewildered about the Real Self [the soul]. [In maya] taking the body for their self, they speak in terms of having a friend, an enemy or someone neutral. Being bewildered one perceives the One and Only Supreme Soul of Every Inanimate and Animate Being as many, just like seeing different luminaries [in stead of one radiating fire] or considering the air [as different in case of an enclosed space, see also B.G. 18: 20-21 and 1.2: 32]. The physical body having a beginning and an end is composed of the physical elements, the senses and the modes of nature. In a state of ignorance it is something [that through conditioning is] imposed upon the soul and produces [the experience of] the cycle of birth and death. For the soul [who knows though] there is no oneness with or separation from anything material in the manifest world oh chaste one, since matter is caused and arranged by the soul. It is like the witnessing and the form witnessed with the sun [that cannot separate from or unite with the manifest world]. Being born and such are but transformations of the body and not of the soul, just as the lunar phases do not imply that the moon has died on the day of a new moon [see B.G. 2: 20]. An unintelligent person undergoes his material existence the way a sleeping person for the purpose of the unreality [of a dream] experiences himself, the objects of his senses and the results of his actions [see also 6.16: 55-56]. Oh you with the pristine smile, please be therefore yourself again [as the goddess of fortune] and dispel, with the knowledge of the essence, the sadness born from ignorance that drained and confused you.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Slender-waisted Rukmini thus being enlightened by the Supreme Lord Balarama, gave up her resignation and with intelligence regained her composure. Left with only his life air, expelled by his enemies and deprived of his strength and luster, he [Rukmi] had to think constantly of the way he had been misshapen. Frustrated in his personal desires he then built a residence, a city named Bhojakatha ['having experienced the vow']. Because he had said: 'I will not return to Kundina without having killed the evil-minded Krishna and having brought back my sister', he in his anger resided at that very spot [where he was humiliated]. The Supreme Lord, thus defeating the earthly rulers, took the daughter of Bhismaka to His capital and married her according to the vidhi oh protector of the Kurus. To that occasion there was a great rejoicing among the citizens in each and every home of the Yadu city, oh King,

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where no one else but Krishna, the leader of the Yadus, was the great love. The men and women filled with joy, with shining jewels and earrings, respectfully presented wedding gifts to the celebrated couple that was exquisitely dressed. The city of the Vrishnis appeared beautifully with the festive columns that were erected, the variety of flower garlands, the banners, the gems, the arches and at every doorway an arrangement of auspicious items as pots full of water, aguru incense and lamps. It's streets were sprinkled and the entrances were beautified with plantain and betel nut stems that were placed by elephants dripping with mada belonging to the popular personalities who were invited. The members of the Kuru, Srinjaya, Kaikeya, Vidarbha, Yadu and Kunti families enjoyed the occasion of being together in the midst of the people who excitedly ran about. When they heard about the kidnapping of Rukmini that was being sung all around, the kings and their daughters were greatly impressed. Oh King, all the citizens in Dvaraka were overjoyed to see Krishna, the Master of All Opulence joined in marriage with Rukmini, the goddess of fortune.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 55:

The History of Pradyumna

Shri Shuka said: 'Cupid [Kamadeva], an expansion of Vasudeva who previously got burned by the anger of Rudra, had returned to Him in order to obtain a body again [see also 3.1: 28 and 8.10: 32-34 and B.G. 10; 28]. Born from the seed of Krishna in the daughter of the king of Vidarbha [Rukmini] He was thus known as Pradyumna ['the prominently mighty one', see also vyuha]. He was in no respect inferior to His Father. Shambara ['the juggler' see 7.2: 4-5, 10.36: 36], who could assume any form he wanted, stole the child away that was not even ten days old yet. Recognizing Him as his enemy, he threw Him in the ocean and returned home. Pradyumna was swallowed by a mighty fish that, together with others being trapped in a huge net, was seised by fishermen. The fishermen presented it to Shambara who sent the gift to the cooks who with a knife cut it open in the kitchen. The child they found in its belly was given to Mayavati who was astonished. From Narada she heard the facts about the child's birth and how it had ended up in the belly of the fish. - She was by Shambara appointed to prepare rice and vegetables, but she in fact was Cupid's famous wife named Rati. She [after pleading with Lord Shiva and being directed to Shambara] was waiting for her burned husband to obtain a new body. Understanding that the infant was Kamadeva, she developed love for the child. He, the son of Krishna, soon attained full youth and became very enchanting to the women who saw Him. o) Dear King, full of love she with a bashful smile, raised eyebrows, glances and gestures of conjugal attraction approached Him, her husband, the most beautiful one in society with His long arms and eyes the size of a lotus petal. The Lord in the form of Krishna's own son said to her: 'Oh mother, you in your attitude acting differently like a girlfriend, therewith overstep the [standards for the] mood of motherly affection.'

Rati replied: 'You are the son of Narayana by Shambara stolen from Your home and I am Your legitimate wife Rati, oh Cupid my master! Not yet being ten days old You were by that demon Shambara thrown into the ocean, where a fish devoured You from the belly of which we received You here, oh master! Please put an end to that hard to approach and difficult to conquer enemy of Yours who knows hundreds of magic spells. This You can realise with the help of bewildering magic and such! Your mother with her son gone is distressed like a cow missing her calf. Overwhelmed with love for her child she is pitifully crying like an osprey.'

Speaking thus Mayavati gave the great soul Pradyumna the mystic knowledge called Mahamaya ['the great bewildering potency'] that puts an end to all magic spells. Thereupon He approached Shambara to call him to battle. He reviled him with intolerable insults and thus provoked a fight. Offended by the harsh words he, with eyes red as copper, infuriated like a snake being struck by a foot, came forward holding a mace. Whirling his club swiftly, he threw it at the Great Soul Pradyumna, producing a sound as sharp as a stroke of lightning. The weapon was in its flight by Lord Pradyumna knocked away with His club oh King. Gotten angry He thereupon hurled His club at the enemy. The demon resorted to the daitya magic he had learned from Maya Danava and released, moving through the sky, a downpour of weapons over the son of Krishna [compare 3.19: 20]. Harassed by the rain of weapons the powerful warrior, the son of Rukmini, implemented the great charm that, rooting in goodness, supersedes all magic. The demon then used hundreds of weapons belonging to Kuvera's guardians [Guhyakas], the heavenly singers [Gandharvas], the ogres [Pis'acas], the celestial snakes [Uragas] and the man-eaters [Rakshasas], but the son of Krishna stroke them all down. Drawing His sharp-edged sword He with one violent blow severed Shambara's head, complete with helmet, earrings and his red mustache, from his body. As the gods full of praise from above rained flowers upon Him, He was by His wife who traveled the sky, through the air brought to the city [of Dvaraka]. Together with His wife He, like a cloud with lightning, from the sky entered the inner spaces of the most exquisite palace, oh King, that was crowded with hundreds of women. 7-2 When they saw Him, dark as a cloud, dressed in yellow silk, with long arms, reddish eyes, a pleasing smile, His charming countenance, His nicely decorated lotus like face and His bluish-black curling locks, the women, who thought He was Krishna, bashfully hid themselves here and there. Gradually the ladies noticed slight differences in His appearance, whereupon they delighted and most surprised approached Him and [Rati,] that jewel among women. When the sweet-voiced and dark-eyed Rukmini saw Him, she remembered her lost son and her breasts got wet out of affection.

[She thought:] 'Who would this gem among men be, whose son is He, what lotus-eyed woman has carried Him in her womb and what is more, who is this woman won by Him? If the son I lost who was taken from the maternity room were alive somewhere, He would be of the same age and appearance! How can He have the same physical appearance, have the same gait, limbs, voice, smile and glance as the Wielder of the Sharnga [Krishna's bow]? Considering my great affection for Him and the trembling in my left arm, He no doubt for sure is - He must be - the child I carried in my womb!'

While the daughter of the king of Vaidarbha thus was conjecturing, the Lord Hailed in the Scriptures arrived there together with Devaki and Anakadundubhi. Even though the Supreme Lord knew all about the matter He, Janardana, remained silent. It was Narada who told the whole story, beginning with the kidnapping by Shambara. When the women of Krishna's residence heard about that great miracle they cheered in ecstasy to welcome Him who had been lost for so many years, as if someone had returned from death. Devaki, Vasudeva, Krishna, Balarama and also the women [of the palace] and Rukmini embraced the couple and rejoiced. Hearing that Pradyumna who had been lost had returned, the residents of Dvaraka declared: 'Oh, by providence the child we thought dead has come back!'

It was not that surprising that they, who constantly thought of the resemblance with His father their master, in the full of their attraction as His mothers backed off out of respect for Him. When they acted that way when He appeared before their eyes as the spitting image of the form of the Shelter of the Goddess of Fortune, as Cupid the God of Love in person, what would one expect then of [the feelings of] other women?'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 56:

How the Syamantaka jewel Brought Krishna Jambavati and Satyabhama

Shri Shuka said: 'Satrajit ['always victorious', see 9.24: 13] who had offended Lord Krishna, did his best for Him and gave Him his daughter and the jewel Syamantaka.'

The honourable king said: 'What offense committed Satrajit against Krishna, oh brahmin? Where did the Syamantaka come from and why gave he his daughter to the Lord?'

Shri Shuka said: 'Satrajit was a devotee of the sun god. The godhead was very satisfied with him and gave him, his best friend, out of affection the jewel called Syamantaka. He, who wore the jewel that shone as brilliant as the sun around his neck, was upon his arrival in Dvaraka, because of its effulgence not recognised, oh King. The people blinded by the glare thought, when they saw him from a distance, that he was Surya and reported that to the Supreme Lord who was engaged in a game of dice. 'Oh Narayana, our obeisances unto You oh Holder of the Conch, Disc and Club, oh Damodara, oh Lotus-eyed One, oh Govinda, oh son of the Yadus! Savita ['the radiant one'], he who with the intense radiation of his glowing disc robs the people of their vision, has arrived to see You, oh Lord of the Universe. Knowing that You at the moment are hiding among the Yadus, the leaders of the demigods in the three worlds are eagerly looking for You. And now the one unborn [Surya], has come to see You, oh Master.'

Shri Shuka said: 'When He with the lotus-eyes heard these innocent words He said with a smile: 'This person is not Ravideva, it is Satrajit who glows because of his jewel.'

Arriving at his opulent home Satrajit festively executed auspicious rituals in the temple room where he with the help of scholars installed the jewel. Day after day that brought him eight bharas [of about 9.7 kg] of gold, oh prabhu, and nothing inauspicious like food scarcity, a premature death, catastrophes, snakebites, mental and physical disorders and cheaters, occurred there in the presence of the correctly worshiped gem. Once Shauri [Krishna] on behalf of the king of the Yadus [Ugrasena] asked for the gem, but Satrajit, greedy for the wealth, considered it no offense not to hand it over.

Prasena [Satrajit's brother] one day hung the intensely radiating jewel around his neck, mounted a horse and went hunting in the forest. A lion killed Prasena and his horse and took the jewel into a cave, where he in his turn was killed by Jambavan ['he from the Jambu-trees' the king of the bears] who wanted the jewel. In the cave he gave the jewel to his offspring as a toy to play with. Satrajit meanwhile not seeing his brother, got deeply troubled. He said: 'My brother who disappeared in the forest wearing the jewel around his neck, is probably killed by Krishna.' The people hearing this whispered it in each other's ears. When the Supreme Lord heard about this He, in order to exonerate Himself from the imputation, together with some citizens followed the path that Prasena had taken. In the forest they discovered that he and his horse were killed by a lion and that, further up on a hillside, the lion in his turn had been killed by Riksha [Jambavan]. The Supreme Lord positioned His men outside the terrifying cave of the king of the rikshas [the bears] and then entered the pitch-dark place alone. When He saw that that most precious of all jewels was used as a child's toy, He decided to take it away and approached the child. Seeing the stranger the nurse cried in fear so that Jambavan, that strongest of the strong hearing it, infuriated came running. Not aware of whom he was dealing with, he took Him for a worldly person and angrily fought against Him, the Supreme Lord, his own Master [compare 5.6: 10-11 and B.G. 16: 18]. A most furious fight ensued between the two, who each tried to win with the help of stones, trees, their arms and with weapons, as if they were two hawks fighting over some meat. They continued the fight day and night without interruption for twenty-eight days, with fists against fists dealing blows as hard as lightening. Jambavan with the muscles of his huge body pummeled by the blows of Krishna's fists, perspired all over and exhausted addressed Him in great amazement: 'I know You, You are the life air, the physical and mental strength of all living beings, Lord Vishnu, the Primeval Personality, the All-powerful Supreme Controller. You are the Eternal Creator of All Creators and Created Ones of the Universe, the Subduer of the subduers, the Lord, the Supreme Soul of all Souls [compare 3.25: 41-42]. You are the One because of whose commanding glances, manifesting a slight anger, the crocodiles and whale-eaters [timingilas] became agitated and the ocean was directed to give way. You are the One to whose glory a bridge was built and by whose arrows the heads of the Rakshasa [Ravana] were severed and fell to the ground [see 9: 10].'

9-3 Oh King, Acyuta, the lotus-eyed Supreme Lord, the son of Devaki, then, from His great compassion for His devotees, addressed the king of the bears who had understood the truth. He touched him with the hand that bestows all blessings and said with a voice as deep as the [rumbling] clouds: 'Oh lord of the bears, We came here to this cave because of the jewel. I want to disprove the false accusation that is held against Me with this jewel.' Thus being addressed he [Jambavan] happily presented to Krishna, as a respectful offering, his maiden daughter Jambavati together with the jewel.

When His people did not see Shauri coming out who had entered the cave, they, after waiting for twelve days, most unhappily returned to their city. Devaki, Rukmini devi, Vasudeva and all His friends and relatives lamented after they heard that Krishna had not reappeared from the cave. The residents of Dvaraka full of sorrow cursed Satrajit and then worshiped Candrabhaga [the 'fortune of the moon'], Durga, in order to retrieve Krishna. After having worshiped the goddess she thereupon granted them the benediction. To their great jubilation the Lord who had achieved His purpose then directly appeared together with His [new] wife. Greatly aroused on finding out that Hrishikes'a had come with a wife and the jewel around His neck, they all rejoiced as if someone had risen from death. Satrajit, summoned by the Supreme Lord to the royal assembly, was in the presence of the king informed that the jewel had been recovered which then was presented to him. Most ashamed he with his head down, accepted the gem and went home, leaving full of remorse about his sinful behavior. 0-4 Pondering over his offense [of having kept it for himself and having accused Krishna] he, apprehensive about a conflict with the ones in power thought: 'How will I cleanse myself of the contamination and how can I satisfy Acyuta? What good should I do so that the people will not curse me for being narrow-minded, petty, befooled and avaricious after the wealth? I will give Krishna the [Syamantaka-]jewel and also my daughter, that jewel among women. That is the way to make it up with Him and nothing else!'

Thus intelligently having taken a decision Satrajit set himself to it and presented his fair daughter and the jewel to Krishna. Satyabhama, who was sought by many men for her qualities of a fine character, her beauty and the magnanimity she was blessed with, married the Lord according to the customs. The Supreme Lord said: 'We do not wish to have the jewel back, oh King. You are devoted to the godhead [Surya], let it be yours so that We may also be the enjoyers of its fruits.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 57:

Satrajit Murdered, the Jewel Stolen and Returned Again

The son of Vyasa said: 'When Krishna heard [the rumor] that the sons of Pandu and queen Kunti had burned to death [in the house of lac], He who exactly knew what had transpired, together with Balarama went to the Kuru kingdom for His family obligations. Meeting Bhishma, Kripa,

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Vidura, Gandhari and Drona They equally sorrowful said: 'Ah how painful this is!'

[Meanwhile in Krishna's absence in Dvaraka] Akrura and [the Bhoja] Kritavarma saw an opportunity and said to Shatadhanva ['hundredbow', a bad character]: 'Why not take the jewel? He [Satrajit] promised us his gem of a daughter, but ignoring us he gave her to Krishna. Why then should Satrajit not follow his brother [in death, see 10.56: 13 and *]?' Thus influenced by the two that most wicked man, in his sinfulness shortening his lifespan, killed out of greed Satrajit while he was sleeping [compare 1.17: 39]. As the women [in Satrajit's residence] helplessly cried calling for help after he had killed him like a butcher kills animals, he took the jewel and disappeared.

When Satyabhama saw that her father had been killed, she thrown in grief lamented: 'Oh father, alas oh father, with you being killed I am killed!' and then she fainted. Putting the corpse in a large vessel of oil she went to Hastinapura to Krishna who [already] knew of the situation, and related sorrowfully the murder of her father. The Lords hearing that, oh King, imitating the human ways both lamented with eyes full of tears: 'Oh what a tragedy fell upon us!'

The Supreme Lord then went back to His capital with His wife and elder brother, prepared to kill Shatadhanva and take the jewel from him. When he heard about it, he in fear took action to save his life and asked Kritavarma for assistance. But he told him: 2-1 'I cannot commit such an offense against the Lords Rama and Krishna. How can anyone who causes Them trouble find happiness? Kamsa and his followers lost their wealth and lives because they hated Them and Jarasandha lost after seventeen battles [even] his chariot!'

Turned down by him, he next begged Akrura for help. But he said likewise: 'Who, knowing the strength of the Lordships, can oppose Them? 5-1 He who maintains, creates and destroys this universe as a pastime, He whose purpose is not even known to the secondary creators [headed by Brahma] who are bewildered by His invincible [maya] potency, He who playing as a child of seven years old uprooted a mountain that He held up with a single hand like a boy holds a mushroom [see 10.25], Him, Krishna the Supreme Lord to whose wondrous acts there is no end, I worship. I offer my obeisances to Him who, as the source of all existence, is the Supreme Soul, the immovable centre.'

Shatadhanva also being rejected by him, left the precious jewel with him, mounted a horse that could cover a hundred yojanas and took off. Krishna and Rama mounted the chariot with the emblem of Garuda and pursued the murderer of Their respected senior with the fasted horses, oh King. In a park in a suburb of Mithila Shatadhanva's horse collapsed. He abandoned it and continued on foot in terror, with a furious Krishna after him who also ran. With him on the run the Lord, on foot, severed with His sharp edged disc, his head from his body and then searched his upper and lower garments for the gem. Not finding the stone, Krishna went near His elder brother and said: 'S'atadhanva was killed in vain, he did not carry the jewel.'

Balarama then said: 'S'atadhanva must have left the rock with some person, therefore go [back] to the city [of Dvaraka] and search for him. I myself wish to pay a visit to the king of Videha [the later Janaka, see 9.10: 11] who is most dear to Me.' Having said this the descendant of Yadu oh King, entered Mithila [the capital of Videha]. Seeing Him, the king of Mithila immediately, with a mind full of love, rose to his feet and honoured Him who was so worshipable with all available means, as was prescribed. He, the Mighty One, honoured by the affectionate great soul Janaka, lived there in Mithila for several years. During that time He taught Duryodhana to wield the club.

When Kes'ava the Almighty Lord arrived in Dvaraka, He, to comfort His beloved [the grieving Satyabhama], told her about the demise of Shatadhanva and the failure to get hold of the jewel. He, the Supreme Lord, together with all friends then saw to it that the necessary ritual duties for the funeral of the deceased relative [Satrajit] were performed. As soon as the ones responsible, Akrura and Kritavarma, heard that Shatadhanva had been killed, they out of fear went into exile, somewhere outside of Dvaraka. With Akrura in exile ill omens arose for the residents of Dvaraka. They continually experienced physical and mental troubles and had problems with other living beings and the higher powers [natural disasters included, compare 1.14; 1.17: 19 **]. Some citizens my dear, were thus lost in guesses, forgetting completely what traditionally was said about Him, the refuge of the sages. How can with Him being present any calamity arise? [They said:] 'When Indra withheld the rains, the king of Benares [Kas'i, see also 9.17: 4] gave his daughter Gandini to Shvaphalka [Akrura's father, 9.24: 15] who visited him. Thereupon it indeed rained in Kas'i. Wherever Akrura stays, his son who has his [father's] prowess, lord Indra will shower rains and no painful disturbances or untimely deaths will be seen.'

Hearing these words of the elders, Janardana, convinced that this [absence of Akrura] was not the only explanation for the omens happening [***], ordered that Akrura should be brought back. 5-3 Greeting him with respect and honour and pleasantly discussing topics, He, fully aware of everything that went on in his heart, smiled and said: 'We of course, oh master of charity, are already familiar with the fact that you at present are in the possession of the opulent Syamantaka jewel that Shatadhanva entrusted to you. Since Satrajit had no sons it are his daughter's sons [she and her sons] who should receive his inheritance after having presented water, offerings and having cleared his remaining debts. 8-3 Nevertheless, the jewel should stay with you, because it is for others impossible to manage, oh trustworthy keeper of the vows. My brother however, does not fully believe Me concerning the gem. To bring peace to My relatives, please show it to Us now oh most fortunate soul who with your altars of gold uninterrupted continue with your sacrifices.' Thus won over by the conciliatory words, the son of Shvaphalka took the gem hidden in his garment and handed over the jewel that shone as brilliant as the sun. After showing the Syamantaka jewel to His relatives, [and thus] doing away with the emotions [of the accusations] against Him, the Lord returned it to him. Whoever recites, hears or remembers this narration full of the prowess of the Supreme Controller Vishnu that most auspiciously removes all distress, will attain peace and drive away his sins and bad reputation.'

*: Being pure devotees they could not actually be unhappy about this match, nor could they become jealous rivals of the Lord. Therefore they had an ulterior motive in behaving like His rivals. So there are speculations in the parampara about Akrura being cursed for his taking Krishna away from Gokula [see 10.39] or about Kritavarma being a member of Kamsa's family, or that the two might have been angry with the victim because he spoiled Krishna's good name by slandering that He would have killed his brother.

**: According to Shrila Shridhara Svami, reasoning after verse 32 and 35-36, took Akrura the Syamantaka jewel and went to reside in the city of Benares, where he became known as Danapati, "the master of charity." There he executed elabourate fire sacrifices on gold altars with assemblies of qualified priests.

***: Also concerning this there are speculations on why there could have been this trouble despite the Lord's gracious presence. Some suggest that Krishna would deliver the bad times because He was compromised by Akrura who took the jewel elsewhere in rivalry with His rule. At the other hand it is not that unusual that murder in a community to the rule of God and Krishna, delivers that community a bad time, as one often sees taking place after major wars as pointed out in the Bhagavatam with its description of the bad times when Krishna after the great Kuru-war Himself departed for His heavenly abode [1.14].

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 58:

Krishna also Weds Kalindi, Mitravinda, Satya, Lakshmana and Bhadra [*]

Shri Shuka said: 'One day the Supreme Personality, the Possessor of all Opulence, went to Indraprastha accompanied by Yuyudhana [Satyaki, His charioteer] and others to visit the sons of Pandu who had surfaced again [after the fire in the house of lac]. When they saw Him, Mukunda, the Lord of the Entire Universe arriving, the heroes all stood up at once, as if He, the master of their senses, their life air, had returned. The heroes who embraced Acyuta found all their sins annihilated by the contact with His body and experienced the joy of beholding His affectionately smiling face. After Krishna first had offered His obeisances at the feet of Yudhishthhira and Bhima [because they were older] and firmly had embraced Phalguna [or Arjuna who was only eight days older], He next respectfully greeted the twin brothers [Nakula and Sahadeva, who were younger]. Krishna sitting on an elevated seat was slowly, step by step, shyly approached by the impeccable, newly [to the Pandavas] wed [Draupadi], to offer her obeisances. Satyaki was similarly welcomed, honoured and seated by the sons of Pritha as were also the others who found a seat around Him. He thereupon approached Queen Kunti [His aunt] to offer His obeisances and was by her embraced with eyes wet because of her intense affection [see also 1.8: 18-43]. Inquiring after the welfare of her and her daughter-in-law [Draupadi], she in her turn, as the sister of His father [Vasudeva], inquired in detail after His relatives. With tears in her eyes and with a throat choked up by emotion, she in her love for Him who shows Himself to dispel the distress, remembering the many trials and tribulations, said: 'We only fared better when You oh Krishna, remembering us, Your relatives, protected us by sending my brother [Akrura, see 10.49]. For You, the Well-wisher and Soul of the Universe, there is never the delusion of 'ours' and 'theirs.' Nonetheless do You, situated in the heart, put an end to the sufferings of those who remember [You] continuously [see also B.G. 9: 29].'

Yudhishthhira said: 'I do not know what good deeds we, who have but a poor intelligence, have performed to [be allowed to] see You, oh Supreme Controller rarely seen by [even the] masters of yoga.'

Upon the request of the king to stay with them, the Almighty One happily was their guest during the months of the rainy season [see also 10.20] and thus for the eyes of the residents of Indraprastha constituted a source of joy. 3-1 One day [**] Arjuna, the killer of powerful enemies, in armor mounted his chariot with the monkey [or Hanuman] flag, holding his Gandiva [his bow] and taking his two inexhaustible quivers of arrows and entered together with Krishna a large forest filled with many beasts of prey to have a good time there [see also B.G. 1]. There he with his arrows pieced tigers, boars, wild buffalo, rurus [a kind of antelopes], Sharabhas [a kind of deer], gavayas [a kind of oxen], rhinoceroses, black deer, rabbits and porcupines [see also 4.28: 26 and 5.26: 13]. Servants carried the animals to the king [to Yudhishthhira] to be sacrificed at a special occasion [otherwise the hunt would have been forbidden, see 9.6: 7-8]. Bibhatsa ['the frightening one', Arjuna] fatigued was overcome by thirst and went to the Yamuna. As the two great chariot fighters took a bath and drank from the clear water, the two Krishnas [see B.G. 10: 37] spotted a maiden charming to behold walking there. Sent by his Friend, Phalguna approached the exquisite woman who had fine hips and teeth and an attractive face. He inquired: 'Who are you, to whom do you belong, oh slender-waisted girl, where do you come from and what are your plans? I think you are looking for a husband. Tell me all about it, oh beauty!'

Shri Kalindi said: 'I am the daughter of the demigod Savita [the sun god]. I want Vishnu, the most excellent granter of boons, to be my husband and am engaged in severe penances. I accept no other husband but Him, the Abode of Shri [the goddess]. May He, the Supreme Lord Mukunda, the shelter of the helpless, be satisfied with me. Until I meet Acyuta, I am living in a mansion built by my father in the Yamuna waters and am thus named Kalindi [see also bhajan verse 2 and 10.15: 47-52].' Gudakes'a ['thick-haired' Arjuna] related this to Vasudeva who already knew this. He lifted her up on His chariot and drove back with her to king Dharma [Yudhishthhira].

Krishna [in the past] at the request of the sons of Pritha, had ordered Vis'vakarma to build a most amazing colourful city for them [Indraprastha]. The Supreme Lord resided there for the pleasure of His devotees. [Before the city was built] He wanted to give the Khandava forest [at Kurukshetra] to Agni and for that purpose [of burning down the forest he] became Arjuna's charioteer. Pleased with that offer oh King, Agni gave to Arjuna a bow and a chariot with white horses, two inexhaustible quivers of arrows and an armor impenetrable to whatever armed opposition. Maya [the demon who was] delivered from the fire presented [out of gratitude] an assembly hall to his friend [Arjuna], in which Duryodhana mistook the water he saw for a solid floor [so that he fell into it, see 10.75]. After He [Krishna] from him [from Arjuna] and his well-wishers received permission to leave, He returned to Dvaraka accompanied by Satyaki and the rest of His entourage [see also 1: 10]. Then He who was so very meritorious married Kalindi on a day when the seasons, the stars and the other luminaries were most favorable for spreading the greatest happiness among His people.

Vindya and Anuvindya, two kings from Avanti [Ujjain] subservient to Duryodhana, forbade their sister [Mitravinda] who was attracted to Krishna, [to choose for Him] during her svayamvara [ceremony for selecting a husband]. Mitravinda, the daughter of Rajadhidevi, His father's sister [9.24: 28-31] oh King, was by Krishna with force abducted before the eyes of the kings [compare 10.53].

From Nagnajit the most religious ruler of Kaus'alya [Ayodhya, see 9.10: 32] there was a divine daughter named Satya who was also called Nagnajiti, oh King. None of the kings would marry her if he could not defeat seven uncontrollable, vicious bulls that with the sharpest horns could not tolerate the smell of warriors. When the Supreme Lord heard that she was available for the one who defeated the bulls, the Master of the Satvatas, surrounded by a large army went to the Kaus'alya capital. The lord of Kos'ala joyfully rose to his feet [upon His arrival] and seated Him with substantial offerings and such, and he was greeted in return. As soon as the daughter of the king saw that the suitor of her choice had arrived she expressed the wish: 'May He, the Husband of Rama, become my husband! When I have fulfilled my vows, let the fire [of sacrifice] then make my hopes come true. The Goddess of Fortune, the one on the lotus [Brahma] and the master of the mountain [Shiva] hold, together with the various rulers of the world, the dust of His lotus feet on their heads. How can He be pleased by me, that Supreme Lord, He who for His pastime assumes a body with the desire to protect the codes of dharma, the fixed rules that He Himself has instigated every time [He descended]?'

He [Nagnajit] said to the One worshiped further the following: 'Oh Narayana, oh Lord of the Universe, what may I, who am so insignificant, do for You who are filled with the happiness of the Soul?'

Shri Shuka said: 'Oh child of the Kurus, the Supreme Lord being pleased accepted a seat, with a smile spoke to him in a voice as deep as a [rumbling] cloud. The Supreme Lord said: 'Oh ruler of man, for a member of the royal order who follows his dharma, to beg for something is condemned by the learned

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ones. Nevertheless I beg you for your friendship. This with an eye for your daughter for whom We offer nothing in return though.'

The King said: 'Who else but You, oh Supreme Lordship, would in this world be a desirable groom for my daughter? You, on whose body the Goddess resides and whose side she never leaves, are the only One who possesses the qualities! But in order to secure a [suitable] husband for my daughter oh best of the Satvatas, previously a condition has been set by us to test the prowess of the suitors of my daughter. These seven wild bulls, oh hero, are untamable. A great number of princes broke their limbs being defeated by them. If You manage to subdue them oh descendant of Yadu, You have my permission as the bridegroom for my daughter, oh Husband of Shri.'

Hearing of this condition, the Lord tightened His clothes, divided Himself into seven and subdued the bulls as if it concerned a simple game. Shauri tied them up with ropes and dragged them, broken in their pride and strength, behind Him like He was a boy playing with a wooden toy. The king was astonished and pleased gave Krishna his suitable daughter. The Supreme Lord, the Master, thereupon accepted her in accord with the Vedic injunctions. The queens [of king Nagnajit] were exhilarated to attain Krishna as the dear husband of the princess and that led to great festivity. Conch shells, horns and drums resounded together with songs and instrumental music. The twice-born ones pronounced blessings and joyful men and women in their finest dresses adorned themselves with garlands. 0-5 The mighty king gave away ten thousand cows as a wedding gift, including three thousand excellently dressed maidens with golden ornaments around their necks, nine thousand elephants, a hundred times as many chariots with a hundred times as many horses completed by a hundred times as many men. The king of Kos'ala, placed the couple on a chariot and then, with his heart melting by affection, sent them off surrounded by a large army. The [rival] kings who heard about it could not accept the frustration. In their strength just as broken by the Yadus as they were before by the bulls, they blocked the road along which He was taking His bride. They released volleys of arrows at them, but were, like vermin, driven back by Arjuna, the wielder of the Gandiva who acted like a lion in his desire to please his Friend. The son of Devaki, the Supreme Lord and Chief of the Yadus, having obtained the dowry, arrived in Dvaraka and lived there happily with Satya.

Bhadra was a princess of Kaikeya. She was the daughter of Shrutakirti, a paternal aunt of the Lord. She was by her brothers headed by Santardana [see 9.24: 38] given in marriage to Krishna.

The Lord also married Lakshmana, the daughter of the king of Madra. She was endowed with all good qualities and was by Krishna single-handedly carried away at her svayamvara ceremony, just like the nectar of the demigods once was stolen by Garuda [see also 10.83: 17-39].

After Krishna had killed Bhaumasura [***], thousands equally beautiful women who were taken captive by the demon, also became His wives.'

*: In sum Krishna wed 16008 wives: 1: Rukmini, 2 Jambavati, 3 Satyabhama, 4 Kalindi, 5 Mitravinda, 6 Satya (Nagnajiti), 7 Bhadra, 8 Lakshmana, as discussed in 10.83: 17 and the 16000 wives held captive by Bhaumasura.

**: A date after the burning of the Khandava forest that is referred to later in verse 25.

***: A demon according the Vishnu-purana born as a consequence of Lord Varaha touching mother earth when He lifted her up from the ocean [see 3.13: 31].

Chapter 59: Mura and Bhauma Killed and the Prayers of Bhumi

The honourable king said: 'Please tell me about this adventure of the wielder of the Sharnga [Krishna]. How was Bhaumasura [the demon Naraka], who captured these women, killed by the Supreme Lord?'

Shri Shuka said: 'Bhauma had stolen lord Indra's Varuna parasol, the earrings of his relative [his mother Aditi, see 8.17] as also a certain location [called Mani-parvata] on the mountain of the gods [Mandara hill, see 8.6: 22-23]. Lord Indra then informed Him [Lord Krishna] about what Bhaumasura all had done. Together with His wife [Satyabhama see *] seated on Garuda He thereupon traveled to the city of Pragjyotisha [Bhauma's capital, now Tejpur of Assam], which lay protected surrounded by mountains and weapons, fire, water and wind. The place was fortified by a [mura-pas'a] fence consisting of tens of thousands of tough and dreadful wires on all sides. With His club He broke through the rock fortifications, with His arrows He defeated the weapon systems, with His disc He forced a way through the fire, the water and wind defenses and with His sword He likewise got through the fence. Resounding His conch shell He broke the seals [of the fortress] as also the hearts of the brave warriors and with His heavy mace Gadadhara broke through the ramparts. Hearing the vibration of the Lord's Pancajanya that sounded like the thunder at the end of the universe, the five-headed demon Mura rose up who lay asleep in the water [of the moat]. With his trident raised and with an effulgence as terrible as the fire of the sun most difficult to behold, he, as if he with his five mouths would swallow the three worlds, launched his attack the way the son of Tarkshya [Garuda] would attack a snake. Whirling his trident he threw it with all his strength at Garuda with such a tumultuous roar from his five mouths, that the earth, the sky and the outer space in all directions of the egg like shell of the universe reverberated. Lord Krishna then with two arrows broke the trident flying at Garuda in three pieces and next with great force hit his faces with more arrows. The demon furiously hurled his club at Him. That club flying at Him on the battlefield was by Gadagraja [Krishna as the Elder Brother of Gada] broken into thousands of pieces [by His own club]. But when he next with his arms raised rushed forward at Him, the unconquerable One with ease sliced off his heads with His disc. Lifeless he with his heads severed fell into the water, as if Indra with his force had split off a mountain peak. His seven sons, feeling greatly distressed upon their father's death, thereupon angrily moved into action to retaliate.

Incited by Bhaumasura, Tamra, Antariksha, Shravana, Vibhavasu, Vasu, Nabhasvan and the seventh son Aruna with their weapons stepped forward on the battlefield headed by their general Pithha. In their attack they furiously used swords, clubs, spears, lances and tridents against the Invincible One, but the Supreme Lord of Infallible Prowess with His arrows cut their complete mountain of weapons into tiny pieces. Cutting off their heads, thighs, arms, legs and armor, He sent the ones who were headed by Pithha all to the abode of Yamaraja. Bhauma, the son of mother earth, who saw that his army and leaders succumbed to the arrows and disc of Krishna, could not accept that and marched forward with elephants in rut that were born from the milk ocean. Seeing Lord Krishna with His wife sitting on Garuda like a cloud with lightning sitting above the sun, he released his Shataghni [spiked missile] at Him while at the same time all his soldiers attacked. The Supreme Lord, the Elder Brother of Gada, turned their bodies as also the bodies of the horses and elephants of Bhaumasura's army, with differently feathered sharp arrows into a collection of severed arms, thighs and necks. 7-1 Each of the sharp and shafted weapons that the warriors employed, oh hero of the Kurus, were by Krishna with three arrows at a time cut to pieces. Garuda who carried Him, stroke the elephants with his two large wings and thus defeated them. Harassed by his wings, beak and talons they moved back into the city while Naraka ['hell' or Bhauma] continued with the battle. Bhauma, annoyed to see his army forced in retreat because of Garuda, struck him with the spear that [once] withstood the thunderbolt [of Indra]. But he was not shaken more by it than an elephant being hit with a flower garland. Bhauma, frustrated in his endeavors, next took up his trident to kill Acyuta, the Infallible One, but before he could even release it, the Lord with the razor-sharp edge of His cakra cut off the head of Naraka as he was sitting on his elephant. That head, complete with its brilliant, shining decorations of earrings and a nice helmet, fell to the ground. [There were exclamations of] 'Alas, alas' and 'Bravo bravo!', while the sages and ruling demigods showered Lord Krishna with flower garlands.

Mother earth thereupon approached Krishna and presented golden earrings glowing with shining jewels and a Vaijayanti garland of forest flowers. She gave Him the parasol of Varuna and the Great Gem [the peak of Mandara]. Oh King, the goddess with a mind full of devotion then folded her palms, bowed down and praised the Lord of the Universe who is worshiped by the best of the demigods. Bhumi said: 'I offer You my obeisances, oh God of Gods, oh Lord, oh holder of the conch, the disc and the club who to the desire of Your devotees have assumed Your forms, oh Supreme Soul. Let there be the praise unto You. I worship Him with the lotus-like depression in His belly, my reverence for the One with the garland of lotuses, my respects for He whose glance is as cool as a lotus, my praise unto You who have feet that are like lotuses [as in 1.8: 22]. My obeisances unto You, the Supreme Lord, Vasudeva, Vishnu, the Original Person, the Primeval Seed and the Complete of Knowledge, unto You my salutations. May there be the veneration for You, the Unborn Progenitor, the Unlimited Absolute, the Soul of the higher and lower energies, the Soul of the Creation, the Supersoul! Desiring to create, oh Master, You stand out as being the Unborn One [as Brahma], for the purpose of annihilation You adopt the mode of ignorance [as Shiva] and for the sake of maintenance You are [manifested as] the goodness [as the Vishnu-avataras] of the Universe. [Yet You are] not covered [by these modes], oh Lord of Jagat [the Living Being that is the Universe]. Being Kala [time], Pradhana [the unmanifested state of matter, the primal ether] and Purusha [the Original Person] You nevertheless exist independently thereof. This self of mine [the earth], the water, the fire, the air and the ether, the sense objects, the demigods, the mind, the senses and the doer, the total material energy - in sum everything that moves around or does not move around, constitutes the bewilderment oh Supreme Lord [when one supposes that it would exist independently of You]. Everything after all resides within You, the One Without a Second [see also siddhanta]! This son of him [called Bhagadatta, son of Bhauma, Bhumi's grandson] has in his fear approached the lotus feet of You who removes the distress of those who take shelter. Please protect him and place on his head Your lotus hand that eradicates all sins.'

Shri Shuka said: 'The Supreme Lord, with these words being entreated by Bhumi with devotion and humility, took his fear away and entered the residence of Bhauma that was equipped with all conveniences. The Lord found there sixteen thousand [**] maidens of the royal order who by Bhaumasura by force were taken away from the kings. When the women saw Him enter, the most excellent of all men, they enchanted chose for Him, who by fate was brought to them, as the husband of their desire. Absorbed in Krishna they thought: 'May providence make that He becomes my husband.' Thus contemplating they, one after the other, all installed Him in their heart. After they were properly washed and clad in spotless clothes, He sent them off in palanquins to Dvaraka together with the enormous treasure of chariots, horses and a great number of other valuables [that was captured]. Kes'ava also dispatched sixty-four swift white elephants with four tusks from the family of Airavata [Indra's elephant]. 8-3 Thereupon He went to the abode of the king of the gods and gave Aditi her earrings. Then He together with His beloved [Satyabhama] was worshiped by Indra, the head of the thirty [chief] demigods, and the great king's wife. Urged by His own wife He uprooted the [heavenly tree, the] parijata and placed it on Garuda. He defeated the demigods including Indra [who wanted to prevent that] and brought it to His city. All the way from heaven being followed by the bees that were greedy for its sweet fragrance and juice, the tree beautified the garden of Satyabhama's residence after being planted there. [Indra] that great soul among the demigods, had bowed down, touched His feet with the tips of his crown and begged Acyuta to fulfill his desire, but now that he had achieved his purpose [viz. the Lord], he nevertheless started to quarrel with Him [about the parijata]. To hell [those demigods] with their wealth, what an ignorance [see also: 3.3: 5]! The Supreme Lord then properly married with all those women, at the same time living in various residences with them and for that purpose the Imperishable One assumed as many forms [see 10.58: 45, 10.69: 19-45 and B.G. 9: 15; 13: 31]. Happily engaged with the women who were eager to please Him, He who performs the most inconceivable deeds, never left their unequalled and superior palaces. Even though He is perfectly satisfied within, He carried out His duties as a householder and enjoyed life like any other man [see also 1.11: 37-39]. The women shared in an ever-increasing pleasure the always fresh, loving attraction of associating with Him in smiles and glances, intimate talks and bashfulness. Thus having obtained the Husband of Rama they this way managed to attain Him in a manner that is not even available to Brahma and the other gods. Even though they had hundreds of maidservants, they were personally of service to the Lord by approaching Him to offer a seat, be of first-class worship and wash His feet as also to serve Him with betel nut, massages and fanning, fragrances, garlands and dressing His hair, arranging His bed, bathing and presenting gifts.'

*: The acaryas explain that Satyabhama would accompany Krishna to give permission to kill Bhauma despite the promise He once made to Bhumi, the earth-goddess, not to hurt her son Bhauma without her permission. She would also come along to procure the parijata flower tree Krishna had promised her after He brought Rukmini one such flower [see also 10.50: 54 and 3.3: 5]

**: As to the number of Krishna's queens there is no absolute agreement. Here is written 16000. The Vishnu Purana V.19 - 9.31 mentions 16100 while even others speak of 16001. Not counting the verse 10.90: 29 which again mentions over 16100 of them, would, reasoning from the Bhagavatam stories only, there be 16008 queens [see also previous footnote *].

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 60:

Lord Krishna Teases Queen Rukmini

The son of Badarayana [of Vyasa] said: 'He, the Spiritual Master of the Universe one day comfortably being positioned on Rukmini's bed was served by her who together with her female companions was fanning Him, her Husband. He, the Unborn Lord, the Supreme Controller who sends forth, protects and devours the universe, now was born among the Yadus to play His game and defend His rule [*, see also 6.3: 19]. - That private part of the palace was brilliantly decorated with strings of pearls and resplendent with a canopy, with lamps made out of jewels and with jasmine flower garlands swarming with humming bees. The light of the spotless moon was filtered through the openings of the lattice windows, the wind carried the fragrance from the grove of parijata trees and thus transported the atmosphere from the garden and the exciting scent of aguru incense oh King was escaping through the window openings. There she served her Husband, the Controller of All Worlds, who was comfortably seated on an excellent pillow on the bed that shone white as milk foam. The goddess took a yak-hair fan with a jeweled handle from the

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hand of a maidservant and, performing worship, fanned her Master with it. Standing at Krishna's side making sounds with her jeweled ankle bells, she appeared beautifully with her rings, bangles and fan in her hand, with her garment that with its tip concealed her breasts red of the kunkum, with the glow of her necklace and with the priceless belt she wore around her hips. As she pleased smiled with her locks, earrings and jewels around her neck, her bright and happy face and sweet lips, He recognised her as an appearance of the goddess of fortune who, with no other purpose in life, for the sake of His pastime corresponds with bodies befitting the forms that He assumes [**]. The Lord then spoke.

The Supreme Lord said: 'Oh princess you were desired by kings, rulers of the world of beauty, strength and generosity who were abundantly endowed with great powers, influence and opulence. Rejecting suitors at your disposition like Shishupala and others who, mad because of Cupid were offered to you by your brother and father, I wonder why you have chosen for Us, so different from them. In fear of the kings oh lovely-browed one, and having moved to the ocean for shelter [to Dvaraka], We were of enmity with the ones in power and have well-nigh relinquished the throne. Oh beautiful eyebrows, women concerned with men whose behavior is uncertain, usually have to suffer. They follow a path that is not acceptable to normal society. We with no possessions are dear to those people who have nothing themselves and therefore we as a rule are not very popular among the rich who rarely pay Me any respect, oh fine-waisted lady. Marriage and friendship is there between two people equal in property, birth, influence, physique and prospects and never between a superior and an inferior [in this]! Oh princess of Vidarbha, you could not foresee this, you did not know when you chose for Us who miss the good qualities, We who are praised by beggars out of their mind! Now, please accept for yourself a husband that is suitable, a first class noble capable of fulfilling all your wishes in this life and the next. Shishupala, Shalva, Jarasandha, Dantavakra and other kings all hate Me, oh you with your beautiful legs, and so does your elder brother Rukmi. I took you with Me oh good one, in order to dispel the pride and arrogance of those who are blinded by the intoxication of their power. We wanted to restrain the power of the wicked ones [see also B.G. 4: 7]. Indifferent about a home and a body We do not really care about wives, children and wealth; free from any endeavoring We remain completely satisfied within Ourselves, just like a light doing nothing more.'

Shri Shuka said: 'After the Supreme Lord had said this as the destroyer of the pride of she who as His beloved one thought herself inseparable, He stopped. From the Master of the Lords of the Three worlds, her own Beloved, she, the goddess, had never before heard such an unpleasant thing. With fear growing in her heart she, trembling with a terrible anxiety, then began to sob [see Shri Shri Shikshashthaka verse 6 & 7]. With her most delicate foot that glowed red of her nails, she scratched the earth and, while she with her tears smeared the makeup of her eyes and sprinkled the red kunkuma powder on her breasts, she froze, face downward, with her speech checked by her extreme sorrow. Because of her great grief, fear and anguish not thinking clearly anymore, her bangles slipped and her fan fell from her hand. With her mind disrupted she suddenly swooned. Her body fell to the ground with her hair scattered, like she was a plantain tree blown down by the wind [see rasa]. The moment He, not being understood by her, saw what the full import of His joking meant to the bond of divine love with His beloved, the Supreme Lord, merciful Krishna, felt sorry for her. He quickly got down from the bed and picked her up with His four arms. Gathering her hair, He wiped her face with His lotus hand. 7-2 Wiping her tear-filled eyes and smeared breasts, oh King, He put His arm around her who, chaste as she was, had no other object of desire. The Master, the Expert in Pacification, compassionately consoled her who so pitiably was confused by His clever joking. [Being motivated] for the Goal of All Pure Souls she did not deserve this. The Supreme Lord said: 'Oh Vaidarbhi, do not be unhappy with Me, I know you are fully dedicated to Me My dearest. I acted in jest to hear what you would say. This is how I wanted to see the face of love: with lips trembling in agitation, glances cast from the corners of reddish eyes and beautiful eyebrows knit together. To spend time joking with one's beloved is indeed for a mundane householder the greatest achievement in family life, oh timid one of temperament.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Vaidarbhi oh King, thus completely pacified by the Supreme Lord, understood that His words had been playful and gave up her fear of being rejected by her Beloved. Bashfully, with a charming smile looking the Supreme Lord in the face, she oh descendant of Bharata, with affectionate glances addressed the Best of All Men. Shri Rukmini said: 'Well, so be it, it is as You said oh Lotus-eyed One. I am different from You who are the Supreme Lord. Who am I compared to the Almighty One who takes pleasure in His own glory? Who am I compared to the Controller, the Supreme Lord of the Three [principal deities]. What now would be my position as someone whose feet are held by fools because of her material qualities? It is true, You, oh Urukrama [Lord of the Greater Order], laid Yourself down in the ocean as if You would be afraid of the modes. You always in the pure awareness of the Supreme Soul, battle against the badness of the material senses and, with Your servants, have rejected the position of a king because it means blind ignorance [see also Shri Shri Shadgosvami-ashthaka verse 4 and Shri Shri Shikshashthaka verse 4]. For sages who relish the honey of Your lotus like feet, Your path is not that apparant, while it is even impossible to comprehend for animals in a human form [materialists]. For, as uncommon as the activities of You, the Supreme Controller are, oh All-powerful One, just as unusual are the actions of those who follow You. You are without possessions, for beyond You there is nothing to be found. To You even enjoyers of offerings like Brahma and others carry offerings. Materially satisfied persons who are blinded by their status, do not know You as their death, but You are most dear to the great enjoyers, just as they are dear to You [see also 1.7: 10]. You are the ultimate goal comprising all the goals of human life, You are the very Self longing for whom intelligent persons discard everything. They are the ones who delight in Your association oh Omnipotent One, and not the man and woman who in their mutual attraction [their lust] experience pleasure and pain. You are the Supreme Soul of all the Worlds who gives Himself away and about whose prowess the sages speak who gave up their staff [for wandering around, becoming Paramahamsas, see 5.1*]. You were for that reason chosen by me in rejection of those masters of heaven - the one born on the lotus [Brahma] and the one ruling existence [Shiva]. What would my interest be in others whose aspirations are destroyed by the force of Time that is generated by Your eyebrows? How foolish were the words You used saying that You have taken shelter in the ocean out of fear, oh Gadagraja, oh You who by twanging Your Sharnga drove back the kings when You abducted me, Your deserved tribute, the way a lion snatches his share away from the animals [see also jalpa 10.47: 12-21]. The kings Anga [father of Vena, 4.13: 47], Vainya [Prithu, 4.23], Jayanta [Bharata, 6.7: 11], Nahusha [Yayati, 9.19], Gaya [15.15: 6-7] and others, for want of You have abandoned their crown, their absolute sovereignty over their kingdoms and entered the forest, oh Lotus-eyed One. Would they, being fixed on Your path, have suffered in this world [see text 13]? Which woman would take shelter of another man, once she has smelled the by the saints described aroma of Your lotus feet, the feet where Lakshmi resides and that for all people bestow liberation? Which mortal woman with the insight to ascertain what's best for her, would not take You seriously as the Abode of All Qualities, and would chose for someone who is always of great fear [because of his false ego]? I have chosen for Him, Yourself, the Ultimate Master and Supreme Soul of All Worlds, as the one suitable to fulfill my desires in this life and the next [see last verse Shri Shri Shikshashthaka]. May there for me, who wandered on different paths [or in births], be the shelter of Your feet that, when they approach their worshiper, award with liberation from all falsehood. Leave the kings You mentioned [in verse 10] oh Acyuta, to the mercy of those women in whose homes they are like asses, oxen, dogs, cats and slaves, because these women never put their ears close to the core that You as the plague of Your enemies are, oh You who are sung and discussed in the scholarly assemblies of Mrida ['the gracious one' or Shiva] and Virinca ['the pure one beyond passion' or Brahma]. The woman who is not smelling the honey of Your lotus feet, is of a totally bewildered notion. She worships as her partner a living corpse containing flesh, bones, blood, worms, stool, mucus, bile and air, that is covered by skin, whiskers, bodily hair, nails and head hair. Oh Lotus-eyed One, let there be my love for the feet of You who take more pleasure in the True Self than in me. The very moment You in order to expand this universe assume a predominance of passion and glance upon Me [as prakriti], You show us the greatest mercy [see also 10.53: 2]. I think Your words are not entirely untrue, oh Killer of Madhu, an unmarried girl once in a while may feel attracted [to another man], like it happened to Amba [daughter of the king of Kas'i who was attracted to Shalva, see Mahabharata and note 9.22: 20*]. Even being married the mind of a promiscuous woman is attracted to yet another man. When one is intelligent one should not keep such an unfaithful woman, for when one stays attached to her, one will have fallen in both [this and the next life, see also 9.14: 36].'

The Supreme Lord said: 'All that you replied is correct. What I have said fooling you, oh princess, I did because I wanted to hear you speak about this, oh virtuous lady! Oh fair lady, you can always count on whatever benedictions you desire from Me in order to be freed from the lust, oh gracious one, oh You who are exclusively devoted to Me. Oh sinless one, I have understood your pure love and adherence to your husband in vows, for being disturbed by My words, your mind attached to Me, could not be diverted. They who with lust in their hearts fall for civil status and worship Me with penances and adherence to vows, are bewildered by the illusory energy of Me, the Controller of the Final Beatitude [see also B.G. 2:42-44]. Oh sweetheart, unfortunate are they who having achieved Me, the Master of both Emancipation and Riches, only desire material benefits. These are even available for persons living in hell and therefore is for those who are obsessed with sense gratification, hell the most suitable place [see also 3.32, and 7.5: 32]. Fortunately, oh mistress of the house, you constantly rendered the faithful service to Me that grants liberation from material existence. That service is most difficult for mischievous characters, especially women with bad intentions, who only care for their own life breath and derive pleasure from breaking off [relations]. Oh respectful one, in my palaces I can find no wife as loving as you are, you who at the time of her marriage disregarded the kings who had arrived; you who, having heard the stories about My truth, sent a brahmin carrier to Me with a confidential message. When your brother who was defeated in battle and disfigured [10.54], on the day of the marriage ceremony [of Aniruddha, her grandson, see next chapter] got killed during a gambling match, you suffered unbearable grief, but afraid to be separated from Us, you did not say a word and that is how You conquered Us. When I did not show up after you sent a messenger with the most confidential bidding to obtain My person, you considered this world all empty and wanted to give up this body that would not be of anyone else's service [see 10.53: 22-25]. May you always be that way [of fortitude] and may We always rejoice in it.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Thus in intimate conversations following the course of the human world, the Supreme Lord and Ruler of the Universe, took pleasure in enjoying Himself with Rama. In the residences of the other queens He, the Almighty Lord and Spiritual Master of All the Worlds, behaved similarly like a householder and carried out the duties of a family man.'

*: The Sanskrit word used here is setu: it means bridge, dam, boundary limit, thus in this context His guidance, religion, rule and law.

**: Spoken by Shri Paras'ara in the Vishnu Purana there is, so Shrila Shridhara Svami reminds us, a verse confirming this one:

devatve deva-deheyam
manushyatve ca manushi
vishnor dehanurupam vai
karoty eshatmanas tanum

"When the Lord appears as a demigod, she [the goddess of fortune] takes the form of a demigoddess, and when He appears as a human being, she takes a humanlike form. Thus the body she assumes matches the one Lord Vishnu takes."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 61:
Lord Balarama Slays Rukmi at Aniruddha's Wedding

Shri Shuka said: 'Each of the wives of Krishna gave birth to ten sons not inferior in any respect to their Father's personal opulence. Never seeing Acyuta leave their palaces, every one of the princesses considered herself the dearest one. The women had no notion of His truth. Fully enchanted by the Supreme Lord's face that was as beautiful as the whorl of a lotus, His long arms, His eyes and loving glances, His witty approach and charming talks, the women with their appeal, could not conquer the mind of the Almighty One. Despite the romantic signs they beamed from their arched brows, their hidden looks and coy smiles that so charmingly displayed their intentions, the sixteen thousand wives were not capable of agitating His senses with their arrows of Cupid and other means. These women who obtained the Lord of Rama as their partner and thus achieved what not even Lord Brahma and the other gods can attain, first of all eagerly looked forward to enjoy His ever-fresh intimate association and exchanged with pleasure, incessantly and with an increasing loving attraction, smiles and glances with Him [as in 10.59: 44]. Even though they [as stated] had hundreds of maidservants, they personally approached Him to offer Him a seat, to be of first-class worship, wash His feet and serve Him betel nut. They gave massages, fanned Him, and served the Almighty Lord with fragrances, garlands, dressing His hair, arranging His bed, bathing and presenting gifts [as in 10.59: 45]. Among those [16008 *] wives of Krishna who each had ten sons, there were, as I previously stated, eight principal queens. I will sum up their sons beginning with Pradyumna.

- He was by the Lord begotten in Rukmini [see 10.54: 60] and was in no way inferior to Him, just as were Carudeshna, Sudeshna and the powerful Carudeha, Sucaru, Carugupta, Bhadracaru and another son called Carucandra as also Vicaru and Caru, the tenth son. 0-1 The ten sons of Satyabhama [10.56: 44] were Bhanu, Subhanu, Svarbhanu, Prabhanu, Bhanuman and Candrabhanu, as also Brihadbhanu and the eighth son Atibhanu followed by Shribhanu and Pratibhanu [bhanu means luster, splendor]. Samba, Sumitra, Purujit, Shatajit and Sahasrajit, Vijaya and Citraketu, Vasuman, Dravida and Kratu were the sons of Jambavati [10.56: 32]. These sons headed by Samba were the ones favored by their Father [see also 7.1: 2 & 12]. Vira, Candra and As'vasena, Citragu, Vegavan, Vrisha, Ama, Shanku, Vasu and the mighty Kunti were the sons of Nagnajiti [or Satya, see 10.58: 55]. Shruta, Kavi, Vrisha, Vira, Subahu, the one called

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Bhadra, Shanti, Dars'a, Purnamasa and Somaka the youngest one, were the sons of Kalindi [10.58: 23]. Praghosha, Gatravan, Simha, Bala, Prabala, and Urdhaga were together with Mahas'akti, Saha, Oja and Aparajita the sons of Madra [see **]. Vrika, Harsha, Anila, Gridhra, Vardhana, Unnada, Mahamsa, Pavana, Vahni and Kshudhi were the sons of Mitravinda [10.58: 31]. The sons of Bhadra were Sangramajit, Brihatsena, Shura, Praharana and Arijit, Jaya, Subhadra, Vama, Ayur and Satyaka [10.58: 56]. Diptiman, Tamratapta and others were the sons of Lord Krishna and Rohini [*]. Oh King, Pradyumna living in the city of Bhojakatha [Rukmi's domain] begot in Rukmavati, the daughter of Rukmi, the greatly powerful Aniruddha [see also 4.24: 35-36]. From these sons and grandsons of the sixteen thousand mothers, tens of millions descendants of Krishna took their birth, oh King.'

The king said: 'How could Rukmi give his daughter in marriage to the son of his Enemy? Defeated by Krishna in battle he waited for an opportunity to kill Him. Please, oh learned one, explain to me how this marriage between the two enemies could be arranged. Yogis [like you] are perfectly able to see the past, the present and what has not happened yet, as also things far away, things blocked by obstacles and matters beyond the senses.'

Shri Shuka said: 'At her svayamvara ceremony she [Rukmavati] choose the, for her manifest, Cupid [Pradyumna] who took her away after He with a single chariot in battle had defeated the assembled kings. In order to please his sister [Rukmini], Rukmi granted his daughter his nephew, even though he always thought of his enmity with Krishna who had insulted him [10.54: 35]. Oh King, the young large-eyed daughter of Rukmini, Carumati, married with the son of Kritavarma named Bali. Rukmi, despite being bound in enmity to the Lord, gave to Aniruddha - who was his daughter's son, his granddaughter named Rocana in marriage. Knowing that it was against the dharma [not to side with one's enemy], he, constrained by the ropes of affection, preferred to please his sister with that marriage. Oh King, on the occasion of that happy event, Rukmini, Balarama and Kes'ava [Krishna], Samba, Pradyumna and others came to the city of Bhojakatha.

After the ceremony, some arrogant kings led by the ruler of Kalinga said to Rukmi: 'You should defeat Balarama in a game of dice. He, oh King, is really not that good at it but is nevertheless greatly fascinated by it.' Thus being addressed Rukmi invited Balarama to play a game of dice with him. In that match Balarama accepted a wager of first hundred, then thousand and then ten thousand [gold coins]. But it was Rukmi who won. The king of Kalinga thereupon loudly laughed at Balarama baring his teeth freely. The Carrier of the Plow could not tolerate this. When Rukmi next accepted a bet of a hundred thousand coins that was won by Balarama, Rukmi resorted to deceit and said: 'I have won!'

With a mind boiling like the ocean on the day of a full moon, the handsome Balarama whose naturally reddish eyes were burning with anger, accepted a wager of a hundred million coins. Balarama fairly also won that game, but Rukmi again resorted to deceit and said: 'It is won by me. May these witnesses confirm that!'

Then a voice spoke from the sky: 'It was Balarama who fairly won the wager, what Rukmi said is a lie!'

Discarding that voice the prince of Vidarbha, urged on by the wicked kings to head for his death, derided Sankarshana by saying: 'You cowherds roaming in the forest are no experts in playing dice. To play dice and shoot arrows is something for kings and not for the likes of you!'

Thus being insulted by Rukmi in the ceremonial assembly [of the marriage] and laughed at by the kings present, He angrily raised His club and struck him dead. Quickly He seised the fleeing king of Kalinga on his tenth step and in His rage knocked out the teeth he had bared while laughing at Him [see also 4.5: 21]. Tormented by Balarama's club the [other] kings fled in terror, drenched in blood with their arms, legs and heads broken. The fact that his brother-in-law, Rukmi, had been slain, oh King, was by the Lord neither welcomed nor protested out of fear to break the bond of affection with Rukmini and Balarama. The descendants of Das'arha whose purposes under the shelter of Madhusudana all had been fulfilled, thereupon placed the groom Aniruddha together with His bride on a chariot and led by Balarama left Bhojakatha to head for Kus'asthali [another name of Dvaraka].'

*: This one called Madra is the eighth principal wife of Krishna not mentioned before; she is the daughter of the ruler of Madra, called Brihatsena, and also known as Lakshmana. From the Bhagavatam knowing her story as told in 10.83: 17, it is clear that she belonged to the eight queens He married before. Thus there were the 16008 of them. Rohini [not to confuse with Balarama's mother who has the same name], not to be considered as a principal wife, seems to have been the one heading the sixteen thousand princesses. So taking Madra as the cause for speaking of 16001 wives in stead of 16000, do we in sum have: 1 Rukmini, 2 Jambavati, 3 Satyabhama, 4 Kalindi, 5 Mitravinda, 6 Satya (Nagnajiti), 7 Bhadra and 8 Madra (Lakshmana) and then the sixteen thousand headed by Rohini who came second [see also footnote 10.59** and the list of them in 10.83].

**: Srila Sridhara Svami explains that every queen of the Lord had one daughter.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 62:
Usha in Love and Aniruddha Apprehended

The honourable king said: 'Bana's daughter named Usha ['dawn'] married the best of the Yadus [Aniruddha]. Because of the marriage a great and terrible battle took place between the Lord and Shankara [Shiva as 'the auspicious one']. Oh great yogi, it is up to you to explain all this.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Bana ['arrow'], the eldest son of the one hundred sons born from the semen of Bali ['gift'] - the great soul who donated the earth to the Lord who had appeared in the form of Vamana [see 8.19-22] -, was respectable, magnanimous, intelligent and truthful in his vows and always fixed in his devotion for Lord Shiva. In the charming city known as Shonita ['resin'] he founded his kingdom, where the immortals served him like menial servants. They did that because Shambhu ['the beneficent one' or Shiva] in the past had been pleased by him as he, endowed with a thousands arms, had played musical instruments while Mrida [Shiva as 'the gracious one'] was dancing. He, the great lord and master of all created beings, the compassionate one offering shelter to his devotees, rewarded him with a benediction of his choice. Bana then chose for him [Shiva] as the protector of his city. Intoxicated by his strength, Bana one day being present at his side said to Giris'a [Shiva as the lord of the mountain] while touching his lotus feet with a helmet as bright as the sun: 'I bow down to you Mahadeva [great god], oh controller and spiritual master of the worlds, who, like a tree from heaven, fulfills all the wishes of the people who feel unfulfilled. The one thousand arms you gave me have become but a burden to me. Except for you I do not find an equal opponent in the three worlds. With my arms itching to pulverize mountains, I proceeded to fight the elephants of all directions, oh primeval one, but terrified of me they all ran away.'

Hearing that the great lord said infuriated: 'Your flag will be broken when, oh fool, your pride is vanquished in that battle of yours with someone like me.' Thus being addressed the foolish character went home full of delight, oh king, unintelligently waiting there for the demise of his heroism as was predicted by the lord of the mountain [compare 2.1: 4].

His virgin daughter named Usha, in a dream had an amorous encounter with the son of Pradyumna, a lover thus found whom she never before had seen or heard of [see *]. Not seeing him anymore in her dream, she - being among her girlfriends - rose up disturbed and was most embarrassed to hear herself say: 'Where are you my lover?' The daughter Citralekha ['the fine sketch-artist'] of a minister of Bana named Kumbhanda, thereupon as a friend of hers most curiously questioned her companion Usha. 'Who is it you are looking for, oh beautiful eyebrows, and what do you expect from him, for we as yet have not seen anyone winning your hand, oh princess.'

'In my dream I saw a certain man with a dark complexion, lotus like eyes, yellow garments and mighty arms - one of the kind that stirs a woman's heart. He is the one I am seeking. That lover made me drink the honey of his lips, went elsewhere and left me hankering for him, being thrown in an ocean of distress.'

Citralekha said: 'I will take your distress away! If he can be found anywhere in the three worlds, I will bring him to you, that [future] husband, that thief who stole your heart. Please point him out to me.'

Thus having spoken she accurately drew for her the demigod and the heavenly singer, the one perfected, the venerable one and the lowlife serpent, the demon, the magician, the supernatural being and the human being. 8-1 Of the humans she drew Vrishnis like Shurasena, Vasudeva, Balarama and Krishna, but seeing Pradyumna Usha became bashful and with Aniruddha being drawn she bent down her head in embarrassment, oh great lord, and said smiling: 'That is Him, that one here!' Citralekha, the yogini, recognised Him as Krishna's grandson [Aniruddha], oh King, and then traveled by the higher spheres [the mystical way] to Dvaraka, the city under the protection of Krishna. Using her yogic power, she took Pradyumna's son who was sleeping on a fine bed, to Shonitapura and showed her girlfriend her Beloved. Seeing Him, that most beautiful man, her face lit up. Together with the son of Pradyumna she then enjoyed in her private quarters that men were not allowed to see. 3-2 She worshiped Him in faithful service with priceless garments, garlands, fragrances, lamps, sitting places and such, with beverages, liquid and solid food and with words. Thus continuously keeping Him hidden in the maiden quarters He, who because of Usha's greatly increasing affection was diverted in His senses, lost count of the days. 5-2 Thus enjoyed by the Yadu hero she, in breaking her vow [of chastity], could not conceal the symptoms of her extreme happiness. They were noticed by her governesses who reported [to Bana, her father]: 'Oh King, we have noticed that your daughter is of a conduct not respectable for an unmarried girl, she besmirches the family. She was well guarded by us within the palace and never left, oh master. We have no idea how she, hidden from the looks of men, could have been spoilt.'

When Bana heard that his daughter had been defiled, he most disturbed quickly headed for the maiden quarters. Arriving there he saw the most superior Yadu. 9-3 He stood perplexed to behold that son of Cupid sitting in front of her. That exclusive beauty of all the worlds, dark-skinned in yellow clothes, with His lotus eyes, mighty arms, earrings and locks, sat there with a face lit up by His glowing ornaments and smiling glances. He was playing dice with His all-auspicious sweetheart, the red kunkuma of whose breasts was found all over the, by her manufactured, springtime jasmine garland that hung between His arms. Seeing him entering surrounded by many armed guards, the Sweet Lord raised His club made of muru [a type of iron] and stood firm ready to strike, like death personified holding the rod of punishment. Closing in from all sides to apprehend Him, He attacked them like a dominant boar cornered by a pack of dogs, so that they all with their heads, arms and legs crushed, being hurt ran away to escape from the palace. But even as He was striking down the guards, the son of Bali himself furiously captured Him with the [mystical] snake-ropes [of Varuna, see also 8.21: 28]. Usha, utterly defeated and discouraged, was overwhelmed by sorrow upon seeing the arrest and cried bitter tears.'

*: Here Shrila Vis'vanatha Cakravarti Thhakura quotes the following verses from the Vishnu Purana, which explain Usha's dream: 'Oh brahmana, when Usha, the daughter of Bana, happened to see Parvati playing with her husband, Lord Shambhu, Usha intensely desired to experience the same feelings. At that time Goddess Gauri [Parvati], who knows everyone's heart, told the sensitive young girl, 'don't be so disturbed! You will have a chance to enjoy with your own husband.' Hearing this, Usha thought to herself, 'But when? And who will my husband be?' In response, Parvati addressed her once more: 'The man who approaches you in your dream on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Vais'akha will become your husband, Oh princess.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 63:
The Fever in Conflict and Bana Defeated

Shri Shuka said: 'Not seeing Aniruddha any longer, oh son of Bharata, His relatives passed the four months of the rainy season in sadness. Hearing from Narada the news of what He had done and that He had been captured, the Vrishnis, who had Krishna as their worshipable deity, went to Shonitapura. - The best of the Satvatas, knowing Pradyumna, Yuyudhana [Satyaki], Gada, Samba, and Sarana, Nanda, Upananda, Bhadra and others, being led by Balarama and Krishna assembled with twelve akshauhinis and besieged on all sides Bana's city completely. Seeing the city gardens, the city walls and watchtowers ravaged he, fuming with anger, came out to meet them with an army equally big. Bhagavan Shiva appeared together with his son [Kartikeya, his general] from the city on the back of Nandi, his bull, in order to fight, accompanied by the Pramathas [his different mystic attendants], at the side of Bana against Rama and Krishna. Oh King, a most tumultuous, astonishing and hair-raising fight took place of Krishna against Shankara and Pradyumna against Kartikeya. Balarama fought against Kumbhanda and Kupakarna, Samba fought against Bana's son and Satyaki fought against Bana himself. To be a witness, the leaders of the godly headed by Lord Brahma came in their celestial vehicles as also the sages, the perfected souls and the venerable ones, the singers and the dancing girls of heaven and the spirits. 0-1 Discharging sharp-pointed arrows from His bow, the Sharnga, Shauri [Krishna] drove away the Bhutas [spirits of the dead], the Pramathas [mystic spirits], the Guhyakas [the wealth-keepers of Kuvera], the Dakinis [female imps of Kali] the Yatudhanas [practitioners of black magic], the Vetalas [vampires], the Vinayakas [demons of education, distracters, humiliaters], the Pretas [ghosts, hobgoblins], the Matas [demoniac mothers], the Pis'acas [child-demons], the Kushmandas [meditation-disturbers, diseasing demons] and the Brahma-rakshasas [fallen brahmins as in 9.9: 25] who all followed Shankara. The holder of the trident [Pinaki or Shiva] using different types of weapons against the Wielder of the Sharnga, saw them all neutralised with befitting counter weapons. They could not daunt the Carrier of the Sharnga. He used a Brahmastra against a Brahmastra, a mountain weapon against a wind weapon, a rain weapon against a fire weapon and His narayanastra [His personal weapon] against Shiva's [personal] pashupatastra [the 'beast strap'-weapon]. After Shauri next had bewildered lord Shiva by making him yawn with a yawning weapon, He attacked Bana's army with His sword, club and arrows. Kartikeya distressed by Pradyumna's arrows that rained down from all sides, with blood streaming from his limbs fled from the battlefield on his pea cock carrier. Kumbhanda and Kupakarna tormented by the club [of Balarama] fell and their armies, whose leaders were killed, fled in all directions.

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Bana seeing his troops torn apart, left aside Satyaki whom he was fighting, crossed with his chariot the battlefield and most furiously attacked Krishna. Bana, in a frenzy because of the fighting, fixed two arrows on each of his bows and simultaneously pulled back all five hundred of them. These bows were by Bhagavan all split at the same time, and after He had hit the chariot, the horses and the charioteer, He blew His conch shell. [then] Hoping to save her son's life, his mother, named Kothara, positioned herself naked, with her hair loosened, in front of Krishna. When Lord Gadagraja thereupon turned His face away not to look at the naked woman, Bana, without his chariot and with his bow broken, took the opportunity to escape into the city. But after Shiva's followers had been driven away, Jvara, the [personification of Shiva's hot] fever with three heads and three feet, attacked the descendant of Das'arha like he wanted to set fire to the ten directions [see *]. Seeing him Lord Narayana thereupon released His own fever [of extreme cold] so that the two Jvaras of Mahes'vara and Vishnu came to fight each other. The one of Mahes'vara tormented by the force of Vishnu's fever cried out in pain. Not finding a safe refuge anywhere Mahes'vara's Jvara thirsting for protection thereupon with folded hands devout began to praise Hrishikes'a. The Jvara said: 'I bow down to You, the Supreme Lord Unlimited in His Potencies, the Soul of All of Pure Consciousness, the Cause of the totality of the creation, dissolution and maintenance of the universe, to You, the Absolute Truth of Perfect Peace to whom the Vedas indirectly refer. I approach You for being the negation of this maya, this material bewilderment of time, fate, karma, the individual propensities, the subtle elements, the field [that is the body], the life force [prana], the self, the transformations [the eleven senses] and the aggregate of all of this [in the form of the subtle body called the linga]. That illusory reality constitutes a never ending flow [like that] of seeds and sprouts. With various intentions you engage in divine missions [lilas] in order to maintain the pious ones, the sages, and the codes of conduct in the world and put an end to those who abandoned the path and turned to violence. This incarnation of Yours is there to remove the burden from this earth [see also B.G. 9: 29 and 4: 8]. I am tormented by this most terrible fever of Your power that is unbearably cold but, nevertheless, is burning, for indeed, as long as the embodied souls are caught in their desires and do not serve the soles of Your feet, they must suffer continually.'

The Supreme Lord said: 'Oh three-headed one, I am satisfied with you, may your fear that was raised by My fever leave you. For anyone who remembers our conversation there will be no reason to be afraid of you.'

Thus being addressed the fever weapon of Mahes'vara bowed down to Acyuta and went away, but Bana, riding his chariot, came forward with the intent to fight Janardana. Thereupon oh King, the demon with his thousand arms carrying numerous weapons, fuming with anger, released arrows at Him who Carries the Cakra. As he again and again was hurling weapons, the Supreme Lord with the razor-sharp edge of His disc cut off his arms like they were the branches of a tree. While Bana's arms were being severed, the great lord Bhava [- of existence, Shiva] approached out of compassion for his devotee and spoke to the Wielder of the Disc. Shri Rudra said: 'You alone are the Absolute Truth, the Light of the Supreme hidden in the language of the Absolute [of the Veda]. They whose hearts are spotless can see You being as pure as the blue sky. 5-3 The atmosphere is Your navel, the fire Your face, the water Your semen, heaven Your head and the directions are Your sense of hearing. The earth is Your foot, the moon Your mind and the sun Your sight. I am Your awareness of Self, the ocean is Your abdomen and Indra is Your arm. Your good self, with the plants as the hair on Your body, the clouds as the hair on Your head, with Virinca as Your intelligence, with the Prajapati as Your genitals and the religion as Your heart, are the Purusha from whom all the worlds originated. You, oh unbounded glory, are present in this descent to defend the dharma in favor of the Complete of the Living Being [the universe] and we [demigods] all manifest and develop, enlightened by You, the seven worlds [see dvipa]. You are the Original Supreme Person without a second, the Transcendental, Self-manifesting Cause without a prior cause, the Lord. Yet You, for the sake of the full manifestation of Your qualities, come here as an apparition of Your illusory potency [in different lifeforms, gods and avataras]. Just as the sun in its own shade [behind the clouds] is hidden from sight and illumines the visible forms, You, Almighty One, similarly self-luminous, are covered by the modes of nature [by false ego] and illumine the reality of the modes as also the beings who have these qualities. Those who, being fully entangled in their respect for their children, wife, a home and so on, in their intelligence are bewildered by maya, [like drowning persons first] rise to the surface [of the ocean of misery] and [then] sink [to the bottom. See B.G. 9: 21]. Pitiful is the person who, by the grace of God having attained this human world, has no control over his senses and is not willing to honour Your feet, for he is someone who fools himself. The mortal being who, opposing [politically e.g.] because of the sense-objects, rejects You, his True Self and dear most Guide, is eating the poison and avoiding the nectar. I, Brahma as also the demigods and the sages with a pure consciousness have surrendered themselves wholeheartedly to You, the Master, the dear most Self. Let us worship You, the Godhead, the cause of the rise, the maintenance and the demise of the Living Being that is the Universe [jagat], You who perfectly in peace equipoised, are the unique, unequalled Friend, True Self and worshipable Lord of all the worlds and all the souls, the shelter to find liberation from one's material existence. This person [Bana] is my favorite, my dearest follower whom I awarded with fearlessness, oh Lord, please grant him therefore Your grace, the way You were also of mercy for the master of the Daityas [Prahlada].'

The Supreme Lord said: 'We shall do what you told us you would like oh great lord, I fully agree with your conclusion. This son of Virocana [Bali] will be spared by Me, for I granted Prahlada the benediction that his descendants would not be killed by Me [see 7.10: 21]. His arms were severed by Me in order to subdue his pride and I destroyed his huge military force because it had become a burden to the earth. The Asura left with four of his arms, will become your principal associate, he will not age and be immortal, he has nothing to fear on any account.'

The Asura thus attaining freedom from fear, bowed his head down to Krishna, brought the son of Pradyumna and His wife and placed them on a chariot. Putting Him and His wife, ornamented and with fine clothes, in front, He [Krishna] with the permission of Shiva left, being surrounded by an akshauhini [a military division]. When He entered His capital that was fully decorated with flags, arches of victory and with its streets and crossroads sprinkled, He was respectfully welcomed by the people of the city, His relatives and the twice-born souls, with the sounds of conch shells, side drums and kettledrums. For the person who rises at dawn and remembers this victory of Krishna in the battle with Shankara, there will be no defeat.'

*: Here Shrila Vis'vanatha Cakravarti Thhakura quotes the following description of the Shiva-jvara: "The terrible Shiva-jvara had three legs, three heads, six arms and nine eyes. Showering ashes, he resembled Yamaraja at the time of universal annihilation."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 64:

On Stealing from a Brahmin: King Nriga a Chameleon

The son of Vyasa said: 'One day [in their youth], oh King, the Yadu boys Samba, Pradyumna, Caru, Bhanu, Gada and others went to a park to play. Playing there for a long time they, being thirsty, looked for water and discovered an amazing creature in a dry well. They saw there a chameleon that was as big as a mountain and with a mind filled with wonder they, moved by compassion, tried to lift it up. With straps of leather and twisted ropes attached to it, the boys failed to lift the creature out of the well and so they reported it excitedly to Krishna. The lotus-eyed Supreme Lord, the Maintainer of the Universe, taking a look saw it and picked it easily up with His left hand. Being touched by the hand of Uttamas'loka, the chameleon form was immediately given up for the one of a beautiful heavenly being with a complexion of molten gold and wonderful ornaments, clothes and garlands. Even though He was very well aware of what had led to this situation, Mukunda asked, so that the common man (also) could know: 'Who are you, oh fortunate soul? Considering your excellent appearance I dare say you are an exalted demigod! What action has brought you oh good soul, in this condition that you certainly did not deserve? Please tell Us, eager to know, all about yourself - that is to say, if you deem this the proper place to speak about it.'

Shri Shuka said: 'The king thus being questioned by Krishna whose forms are unlimited, with his helmet as brilliant as the sun bowed down to Madhava and addressed Him. Nriga said: 'I, the ruler of man called Nriga [see 9.1: 11-12, 9.2: 17], am a [grand-]son of Ikshvaku, oh Master. Maybe You have heard that I am counted among the men of charity. What would be unknown to You oh Master, oh Witness of the Mind of all Beings whose vision is not impeded by time? Nevertheless I will speak as You wish. I have donated as many cows as there are grains of sand on earth, as there are stars in the sky or as there are raindrops in a shower of rain. I gave away dairy cows that were honestly acquired, that were young, sweet, of beauty, brown and fair and endowed with many other qualities, together with their calves, with gold on their horns, silver on their hooves and adorned with fine fabrics and garlands. 4-1 I, of pious works and performing worship with fire sacrifices, was of charity and gave ornaments to truth-loving, young and talented brahmins with families in need, who were known for their austerity and vast knowledge of the Vedas and who had good qualities and a good character. I donated cows, land, gold, houses, horses and elephants, marriageable girls with maidservants, sesame seeds, silver, bedding and clothing, jewels, furniture and chariots. Unknowingly I gave a cow owned by a certain first class dvija [a brahmin not accepting gifts anymore, see 7.11] away to another twice-born soul. Having wandered off, the cow had mingled with my herd. As the cow was led away she was spotted by her master who said: 'She is mine!' But he who had accepted the gift said thereupon: 'Nriga gave this one to me!'

The two learned ones arguing in defense of their own interest said to me: 'You sir, as a giver have been a thief!' Hearing this I was dumbstruck.

Thus being embarrassed in respect of my religious duty, I begged the two men of learning: 'Please give me this one cow and I will give you a hundred thousand of the best quality in return! Please you both, have mercy with your servant. I did not know what I was doing. Save me from the danger of falling down into a dirty hell!'

'I do not want that at all, oh King!' the owner said and went away.

'I am not interested in all those other cows', the other one said and left.

After this had happened I was by the messengers of Yamaraja taken to his abode and there oh God of Gods, oh Master of the Universe, questioned by the Lord of Death and Retribution [as follows, see also 5.26: 6, 6.1: 31 and 6.3]. 'Do you first want to face the consequences of your bad deeds oh King, or those of your good deeds? As for your unlimited deeds of charity, I see a splendid world.'

I thus said: 'Let me first experience my bad deeds, oh Godhead.' He then said: 'Then fall!' and as I was falling, oh Master, I saw myself as a chameleon! Being Your servant generous towards the brahmins and hankering for Your presence, oh Kes'ava, not even today the memory of You has left me [see also 5.8: 28]. Oh Almighty One, how can You now in person be visible to me, You, the Supreme Soul, upon whom the masters of yoga within their spotless hearts meditate through the eye of the scriptures? How, oh Adhoks'aja, can I, whose intelligence was blinded by severe troubles, now be able to perceive You? Is that not reserved for those whose material life in this world has ended? 7-2 Oh God of Gods, Master of the Universe, Lord of the Cows and Supreme Personality! Oh Path Laid out for Man, Master of the Senses, Grace of the Verses, oh You Infallible and Undiminishing One! Please permit me to leave for the world of the gods oh Krishna, oh Master, may, wherever I reside, my mind take to the shelter of Your feet! My obeisances unto You, the Source of All Beings, the Absolute of the Truth and the Possessor of Unlimited Potencies. I offer You, Krishna [*], the son of Vasudeva, the Lord of all forms of yoga, my respects.'

Thus having spoken and having circumambulated Him he, after touching Krishna's feet with his crown, received permission to leave and boarded, for all humans to see, a most excellent celestial chariot. Krishna, the Supreme Lord, the son of Devaki, the God and Soul of Dharma devoted to the brahmins, addressed His personal associates and was as follows of instruction for the royalty: 'If even for someone, who is of a greater potency than fire, the smallest amount of property that he consumes [steals or denies] of a brahmin, is difficult to enjoy, what then to say of kings who think they are the Lord Himself? The halahala poison [that was churned with Mandara] I do not consider real poison because there was a remedy for it [namely Shiva, see 8.7]. That what belongs to a brahmin though, I call real poison [when it is misappropriated], for that has no antidote in the world. Poison destroys the one who ingests it and fire is extinguished with water, but the fire that burns with the kindling wood of the belongings of a brahmin burns one's community down to the ground. When one enjoys a brahmin's property without his permission, that will destroy three of one's generations [in a family line see **], but when one enjoys it with force by means of an external power [as by governmental actions or by corporate interests], ten previous and ten subsequent generations will be affected [with a contamination of one's honour, see also 9.8]. Members of the royal class, do, blinded by royal opulence [see also B.G. 1: 44], not foresee their downfall into hell, when they childishly covet the property of a good natured brahmin. 7-3 Those kings and other members of the royal family who, failing in their control, usurped the share of a brahmin, will for as many years be cooked in the hell called Kumbhipaka [5.26: 13], as there were particles of dust touched by the teardrops of generous brahmins who, for the sake of their beloved ones, had to cry over the means of support that were stolen from them. He who deprives a brahmin of his livelihood, whether it was provided by oneself or someone else, will for sixty thousand years be born as a worm in feces. May I never acquire the wealth belonging to a brahmin. They who desire such a thing are short-lived and will be defeated. They will lose their kingdom and turn into horrifying snakes. Dear followers, do not be inimical towards a man of learning, not even when he has committed a sin. Whether he strikes you physically time and again or curses you, you should always honour him. The way I always take care to bow down to persons of learning, all of you should be of the same respect. He who acts otherwise, qualifies for being punished by Me. The property taken away from a brahmin leads to the downfall of the taker, even done unknowingly.

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Just like we saw it happen to the person of Nriga with the brahmin's cow.'

After thus having exhorted the residents of Dvaraka, the Supreme Lord Mukunda, the Purifier of All Worlds, entered His palace.'

*: In the Mahabharata (Udyoga-parva 71., is stated to the name of Krishna: "The word krish is the attractive feature of the Lord's existence, and na means 'spiritual pleasure.' When the verb krish is added to na, it becomes krishna, which indicates the Absolute Truth."

**: According to Shrila Shridhara Svami, does tri-purusha, the Sanskrit term used here, refer to oneself, one's sons and one's grandsons.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 65:

Lord Balarama in Vrindavana and the Stream Divided

Shri Shuka said: 'Oh best of the Kurus, the Supreme Lord Balarama mounted [one day] His chariot eager to see His friends and traveled to Nanda's cowherd village. Balarama was by the gopas and gopis, who for a long time indeed had missed Him, embraced. After offering His respects to His parents He was joyfully greeted with prayers: 'Oh descendant of Das'arha, Lord of the Universe, please always protect us together with Your younger brother [Krishna].' Having said this they pulled Him close on their laps and embraced Him, wetting Him with the water from their eyes. - In accordance with the scriptures He headed for the elder gopas following which He was welcomed by the younger ones. Next He approached the cowherds whom He, according to each his age, friendship and family relationship, greeted with smiles and taking their hands into His. After having offered Him a comfortable seat so that He could rest a while and such, they, who had dedicated their all and everything to the service of their lotus-eyed Krishna, gathered around Him and asked Him, with voices faltering because of their love, questions relating to the welfare of their loved ones [in Dvaraka]. 'Oh Balarama are all our relatives faring well? Are Your wives and children all remembering us still, oh Rama? To our great fortune the sinful Kamsa was killed and our relatives were freed! Luckily, they took shelter in a fortress [Dvaraka] and managed to kill and conquer our enemies!' Honoured to see Balarama in their midst, the gopis asked with a smile: 'Is Krishna, the darling of the city women, living happily? Is He still thinking of His people, His [foster] father and His mother? Will He ever come to see His mother personally and does He with the mighty arms remember our enduring service? 1-1 For His sake oh Lord, we have detached ourselves from those who are so difficult to give up: our mothers, fathers, brothers, husbands, children and sisters, oh descendant of Das'arha. Suddenly rejecting us and leaving us, He broke with the friendship, but which woman would not trust His words [that He would return]? How can those smart city women, who are attracted by His eloquence, nice smiles and the lust He raises in their hearts, put faith in the words of Him who so ungrateful has His heart easily elsewhere and breaks off contact? But why would we dilate about Him any longer, oh gopis? Let us talk about something else. If He wants to pass His time without us, we will do the same [and try to live without His presence. See also 10.47: 47].'

Thus speaking together the women remembered Shauri's laughing, conversations, attractive glances, gait and loving embrace and that made them cry. Sankarshana, the Supreme Lord, being an expert in different kinds of conciliation, consoled them with Krishna's confidential messages which touched their hearts. Rama resided there during the two months Madhu and Madhava [the first two of the vernal equinox] and also at night brought [amorous] delight to the gopis [see also 10.15: 8]. In a grove near the Yamuna [known as Shrirama-ghaththa] where the wind carried the fragrance of kumuda [night-blooming] lotuses and the full moon bathed the place in its light, He enjoyed it to be served in the company of the many women. From the hollow of a tree the divine [intoxicating liquor] Varuni flowed that was brought by Varuna and, with its aroma, made the entire forest even more fragrant. Balarama, smelling the fragrance of that honey flow carried by the wind, sought the place where it could be found and drank from it together with the women. As the singers of heaven sang His glory He, beautified by the circle of young women, enjoyed just like Indra's bull elephant with a herd of females. Kettledrums resounded in the sky, the Gandharvas joyfully rained down flowers and the sages praised Balarama for His heroic deeds. While His pastimes were sung by the women, Halayudha [Balarama as 'armed with the plow'], inebriated with His eyes heavy from the intoxication, wandered through the forest.

He with His flowers, with a single earring, mad with joy, carrying His Vaijayanti garland and with His smiling, lotus like face covered by beads of perspiration like it were snowflakes, then called for the Yamuna with the purpose to play in the water. But when the river thereupon ignored His drunken words and did not come, she was by Him angrily dragged with the tip of His plow. 'Being called by Me oh sinful one, you did not come. Because you, in disregard of Me, are moving about as you like, I will bring you here with the tip of My plow in a hundred little streams!'

The [goddess of the] Yamuna thus being chided, fell afraid at His feet, oh King and spoke trembling the following words to the Yadu descendant [*]: 'Rama, Balarama, oh mighty armed one, what do I know about Your prowess, oh Master of the Universe who with a single portion of Yourself [S'esha] holds up the earth? Please, Supreme Lord, let me go, I surrender myself to You. I was not aware of Your status as the Supreme Personality, oh Soul of the Universe taking care of the devotees!'

Balarama, the Supreme Lord, being entreated by the Yamuna then released her and together with the women entered the water, like He was the king of the elephants with his wives. After having played to His heart's content He came out of the water, whereupon Kanti ['the female beauty, the brightness of the moon', a name of Lakshmi] presented Him a set of blue garments, most valuable ornaments and a splendid necklace. He put on the blue clothes and hung the golden necklace around His neck. Excellently being ornamented and anointed, He looked as resplendent as the elephant of the great lord Indra. Oh King, even today the currents of the Yamuna, the way they were drawn by the unlimitedly powerful Balarama, are considered a proof of His prowess. This is how

*: The parampara comments: 'According to Shrila Jiva Gosvami, the goddess who appeared before Lord Balarama is an expansion of Shrimati Kalindi, one of Lord Krishna's queens in Dvaraka. Shrila Jiva Gosvami calls her a "shadow" of Kalindi, and Shrila Vis'vanatha Cakravarti confirms that she is an expansion of Kalindi, not Kalindi herself. Shrila Jiva Gosvami also gives evidence from Shri Hari-vams'a - in the statement pratyuvacarnava-vadhum - that Goddess Yamuna is the wife of the ocean. The Hari-vams'a therefore also refers to her as Sagarangana.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 66:

The False Vasudeva Paundraka and His Son Consumed by Their Own Fire

Shri Shuka said: 'After Balarama had left for Nanda's cowherd village oh King, the ruler of Karusha [called Paundraka] who foolishly thought 'I am Vasudeva', sent a messenger to Krishna. People childishly had suggested: 'You are Vasudeva, the Supreme Lord who has descended as the Master of the Universe!' and so he thought of himself as the Infallible One. Like a boy of little intelligence who by kids was appointed king, he being silly, sent a messenger to Krishna who resided in Dvaraka, to Him whose ways are inscrutable. The envoy arriving in Dvaraka, relayed in the royal assembly to Krishna Almighty with the Lotus petal Eyes, the message of his king: 'I am the one and only Vasudeva and no one else. I have descended to this world with the purpose of showing mercy to the living beings, You however, have to give up Your false claim on that title! Oh Satvata, give up my symbols that You carry out of ignorance. You better come to me for shelter! If You do not, then give me battle instead.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Hearing that boasting of the stupid Paundraka, the members of the assembly headed by Ugrasena laughed out loud. The Supreme Lord, after the joking was done, said to the messenger: 'I will hurl at you oh fool, the symbols you so boast about. You will be the shelter of dogs, you ignoramus, when you lie dead with that face of yours covered by flocking herons, vultures and vathas.'

Thus being addressed the messenger conveyed that insulting reply in full detail to his master. Krishna with His chariot rode to the vicinity of Kas'i [Varanasi]. As soon as the mighty warrior Paundraka noticed His preparations for battle, he appeared from the city joined by two akshauhinis. 2-1 He was followed by his friend the king of Kas'i who covered his back with three akshauhinis. Oh King, Krishna saw Paundraka complete with a conch, a disc, a sword and a club, a Sharnga bow, a Shrivatsa mark and other symbols, including a Kaustubha gem and the decoration of a garland of forest flowers. Wearing a pair of fine silken yellow garments and carrying Garuda in his banner, he wore a valuable crown and had ornamented himself with gleaming, shark-shaped earrings. The sight of him dressed up as His spitting image, like he was an actor on a stage, made the Lord laugh heartily. The enemies attacked the Lord with tridents, clubs and bludgeons, pikes, blades, barbed missiles, lances, swords, axes and arrows. Krishna however, with His club, sword, disc and arrows, fiercely tormented the military force of elephants, chariots, horses and infantry of Paundraka and the king of Kas'i, like He was the fire at the end of the age tormenting the different kinds of living beings. The battlefield, strewn with the chariots, horses, elephants, bipeds, mules and camels cut to pieces by His disc, shone like the horrible playground of the Lord of the Ghosts [Bhutapati, or Shiva], who pleases the wise therewith. Shauri then said to Paundraka: 'Those weapons you mentioned by mouth of your messenger, I will now release at you. I will force you to renounce My name and everything that you falsely assumed, oh fool! And today I will turn to you for shelter [as you wanted], when I do not wish to fight you.'

Thus deriding him, He drove Paundraka out of his chariot with His sharp arrows and with His disc lopped off his head, just like Indra with his thunderbolt splits a mountain top. So too He with His arrows severed the head of the king of Kas'i from his body, sending it flying into Kas'i-puri like the wind transporting the flower-cup of a lotus. Thus having killed both the envious Paundraka and his friend, the Lord entered Dvaraka where He was honoured by the Siddhas [the perfected souls] who recited His nectarean stories. By assuming the personal form of the Supreme Lord and [thus] constantly meditating upon Him oh King, he [Paundraka] had destroyed all his material ties and became fully immersed in Him [viz. Krishna conscious, also see sarupya]. Seeing the head with the earrings that had landed near the palace gate, the people wondered: 'Whose head would this be?' Recognizing it as the head of the king, the ruler of Kas'i, his queens, his sons, his other relatives and the citizens loudly cried: 'Alas master, oh master, oh King, we are killed!' 7-2 His son named Sudakshina executed the funeral rites for his father, reflected and decided: 'In order to avenge my father I will kill my father's murderer'. And thus 'the excellence of charity', with great attention together with the priests prayed to Mahes'vara [Lord Shiva]. At [the holy place of] Avimukta the great lord, being satisfied, offered him the choice of a benediction. He asked the mighty demigod for the benediction of a means to slay the One who had killed his father. 0-3 [Shiva said:] 'Be together with the brahmins and the leading priest of service to the dakshina [southern] fire following an abhicara ['hurting'] ritual. It is a ritual used against an enemy of the brahmins. That ritual fire together with the Pramathas [Shiva's attendants, see also 10.63: 6] will fulfill your desire.' Thus being instructed he observed the vows in order to harm Krishna. 2-3 Thereupon from the fire of the altar pit rose an impressive most horrendous figure with a tuft of hair, beard and mustache red like molten copper, hot radiating cinders of eyes, terrible teeth and a harsh face with arched and furrowed eyebrows. With his tongue licking the corners of his mouth, he was naked waving with a blazing trident [see also 4.5: 3 and 6.9: 12]. With legs as big as palm trees shaking the earth he, accompanied by ghosts, ran to Dvaraka while setting fire to all the directions. Seeing the [creature risen from the] abhicara fire approaching, all the residents of Dvaraka were struck with fear, just like animals facing a forest fire. Frightened they upset ran to the Supreme Personality of Godhead who at the royal court was playing a game of dice [and said to Him]: 'Save us oh Lord of the Three Worlds, save us from the fire burning down the city!'

Hearing the despondency of the people and seeing how upset His own men were, Sharanya, the Protector, laughed loudly and said: 'Do not be afraid of this, I will protect you!'

The Almighty Lord, everyone's Witness within and without, understood that the creature came from Mahes'vara and then, in order to put an end to him, sent off the cakra that He always carries with Him. This weapon of Krishna, the Sudars'ana cakra, that like a million suns was blazing with an effulgence like the fire at the end of the universe, tormented with its heat both the sky, the heavens, the earth in its ten directions and the fire [of the demon; see also 9.4: 46]. Frustrated by the power of the weapon of Him with the Disc in His Hand, the fire that was created turned around oh King. In its deference it from all sides closed in on Varanasi and burned to death Sudakshina and all his priests. He [finally] was consumed by the abhicara[-fire] that he had created himself. The cakra of Vishnu directly thereafter in pursuit entered Varanasi with its gateways and watchtowers and its many raised porches, assembly halls, market places, warehouses and the buildings housing the elephants, horses, chariots and grains. Having burned all of Varanasi to ashes, Vishnu's Sudars'ana disc returned to the side of Krishna, He whose actions are effortless. Any mortal being who in full attention recounts or hears this heroic pastime of the Supreme Lord Praised in the Verses will be released from all sins.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 67:

Balarama Slays the Ape Dvivida

The honourable king said: 'I wish to hear more about Balarama, the Unlimited and Immeasurable Lord whose activities are so amazing. What else did He do?'

Shri Shuka said: 'There was a certain ape named Dvivida ['the two-faced one'], a friend of Naraka [or Bhaumasura, see 10.59]. He was the mighty brother of Mainda and an advisor of Sugriva [the monkey-chief, see also 9.10: 32, *]. In order to avenge his friend [who was killed by Krishna] this ape wreaked havoc by setting fire to the cities, villages, mines and cowherd communities of the kingdom. Sometimes he tore loose rocks and devastated with them all regions, especially the province of Anarta where the Lord resided who had killed his friend. Then again he stood in the middle of the ocean and, with a force of ten thousand elephants, with his arms churned the ocean water, thus flooding the coastal regions. At the ashramas of the exalted seers he wickedly broke down the trees and fouled the sacrificial fires with urine and stool. In a mountain valley he, like a wasp hiding an insect, brutally threw men and women in caves that he sealed with large

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boulders. Thus ravaging the lands and [even] defiling women of standing he, [one day] heard very sweet singing originating from the mountain named Raivataka and went hither. -1 There he saw Balarama the Lord of the Yadus who, most attractive in all His limbs and wearing a lotus garland, was positioned in the midst of a bevy of women. Intoxicated from drinking varuni [see also 10.65: 19] He rolled with His eyes and was singing, while His body shone as magnificently as an elephant in rut. The mischievous tree-dweller climbed on a branch and presented himself by shaking the tree and crying out frantically. Seeing his impudence Baladeva's consorts laughed out loud. The women in for some fun at first thought little of it. The ape ridiculed them with odd gestures of his eyebrows and such and showed them while Rama was watching, his bare behind right in front of them. 4-1 Balarama, the best of all launchers, angrily threw a rock at him, but the rascal ape made fun of Him dodging it, seised the jar of liquor and further aggravated Him. Wickedly laughing he broke the jar and pulled at the ladies' clothes. Full of false pride about his power, he thus with his insults offended the Strong One. Faced with the rudeness and the ravage this terror created all around, He full of anger determined to kill the enemy took up His club and plow. The mighty Dvivida did that also. He uprooted a Shala tree with one hand, ran towards Balarama and struck Him on the head with it. But as it descended on His head Sankarshana unperturbed like a mountain, with His great strength took hold of it and struck back with His Sunanda [His club]. 9-2 Hit on his skull by the club the ape, with the resulting downpour of blood, looked as nice as a mountain red of oxide. Ignoring the blow he next charged in his turn, again violently uprooting and stripping another tree, but Balarama now really getting angry smashed it into a hundred pieces, just as He did with yet another one that by the ape was taken up in great fury. Time and again being beaten by the Supreme Lord, he thus raging with everywhere uprooting the forest, stripped it of all its trees. Frustrated about it he thereupon released a hail of stones over Baladeva, but the Wielder of the Club pulverised them all with ease. With both his arms as big as palm trees, the champion of the apes clenching his fists, attacked the Son of Rohini and beat Him on the chest. The Great Lord of the Yadus thereupon threw aside His club and plow and hammered with His hands him furiously on the collarbone so that Dvivida vomited blood and came down. Because of the fall he made, the mountain with all its cliffs and trees shook oh tiger among the Kurus, just like a boat tossed about in the water by the wind. 'Jaya!', 'All glories!' and 'Excellent!', the enlightened souls, the perfected ones and the great sages residing in heaven exclaimed and poured down a shower of flowers.

Thus having finished Dvivida who wreaked havoc in the world, the Supreme Lord upon entering the city was glorified by the people singing hymns.'

*: According to Shrila Jiva Gosvami, the Mainda and Dvivida mentioned in this verse are empowered expansions of the same Ramayana deities, who as residents of Lord Ramacandra's Vaikunthha domain fell down because of an offense against Lakshmana. Shrila Vis'vanatha Cakravarti compares the fall out of bad association with Naraka, made by Dvivida and Mainda - whom he considers eternally liberated devotees - to that of Jaya and Vijaya.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 68:

The Marriage of Samba and the Kuru City Dragged Trembling of His Anger

Shri Shuka said: 'Oh King, the daughter of Duryodhana named Lakshmana was by Samba ['with the mother'], the son of Jambavati who was always victorious in battle, abducted from her svayamvara. The Kauravas became angry and said: 'How ill-behaved this boy is, insulting us with his by force taking the maiden against her will. Arrest him who is so undisciplined. What can the Vrishnis do against it? By our grace they enjoy the land that we gave them! When the Vrishnis find out that their son has been captured, they will come here. Then we will break their pride so that they will find peace, just as the senses do when they are firmly controlled.'

Having said this Karna, Shala, Bhuri, Yajnaketu [or Bhuris'rava] and Duryodhana, with the permission of the eldest Kuru [Bhishma], set out to fight Samba. The moment the great warrior Samba saw the followers of Dhritarashthra rushing at him, he took up his splendid bow and singlehandedly stood his ground like a lion. Determined to capture him, they who were headed by Karna filled with anger said: 'You there stop, stand and fight!', upon which the bowmen, getting in front of him, showered him with arrows. He, the descendant of the Yadus, oh best of the Kurus, unjustly attacked by the Kurus [all against one], could, as the son of the Inconceivable One [Krishna], not accept that any more than a lion would tolerate an attack from lower animals. -1 Twanging his wonderful bow, the hero all by himself, in one move, pierced the six warriors of Karna in their chariots with as many arrows. Four arrows he employed for each team of four horses and one arrow for each its charioteer and warrior. For that feat of arms he thereupon was honoured by the great bowmen. But then four of them pierced his horses, one pierced his charioteer and one split his bow. Thus they drove him out of his chariot. Now that the Kurus in the fight had gotten the young boy out of his chariot, they tied him up with difficulty and returned, victoriously with their girl, to their city.

Hearing from Narada Muni about this oh King, [the Yadus] got very angry with the Kurus [see also 10.49: 27] and, on the command of Ugrasena, prepared for war. 4-1 But Balarama, He who purifies the Age of Quarrel [Kali-yuga], calmed down the Vrishni heroes who already had put on their armor, for he did not wish a quarrel between the Vrishnis and the Kurus. On His chariot that shone like the sun, going to Hastinapura, He, surrounded by the brahmins and the elders of the family, looked like the moon surrounded by the seven planets [then known, see also 5.22]. After reaching Hastinapura, Balarama remained outside in a park and sent Uddhava ahead to find out what Dhritarashthra had in mind. According to the rules offering his respects to the son of Ambika [Dhritarashthra], to Bhishma and Drona, Bahlika and Duryodhana, he informed them that Balarama had arrived. Extremely pleased to hear that He, Balarama, their Dearest Friend had arrived, they all, after duly having paid Uddhava their respects, went to meet Him with auspicious offerings in their hands. Meeting Balarama they, as was proper, presented cows and water to welcome Him. They who knew about His [true] power bowed down their heads to Him. Asking each other whether their relatives were hale and hearty, Balarama next straight from His heart spoke the words: 'After with undivided attention having taken notice of what Ugrasena our master, the ruler of the rulers of the earth, asks of you, you without delay should act accordingly. [He tells you:] As for now I have tolerated that you in defiance of the rules, with the many of you have defeated and tied up but a single man who did respect the codes [of war], for I wish to keep the unity among my relatives... .'

Hearing the words of Baladeva that befitting His power were filled with potency, courage and strength, the Kauravas answered angrily: 'Look how wondrously inescapable Time moves on. That what is a shoe now wants to step on a head that is ornamented with a crown! These Vrishnis who are connected to us by marital ties, share with us our beds, seats and meals. We treated them as equals and gave them their thrones. Because we looked the other way, they could enjoy the yak-tail fan, the conch shell, the white sunshade, the crown, the throne and the royal bed [compare 10.60: 10-20]. The Yadus no longer should be allowed to carry the divine insignia of kings. Those symbols work as much to the disadvantage of the giver [that we are] as when one gives nectar to a snake! The Yadus now assuming the command could prosper through our grace. They have lost all shame! How would even Indra dare to appropriate what was not granted by Bhishma, Drona, Arjuna or the other Kurus? It is like a sheep claiming a lion's kill!'

The son of Vyasa said: 'Oh best of the Bharatas, the low men intoxicated by their birth, relations and the opulence that gave them their status, thus used these harsh words against Balarama and then entered their city. Faced with the bad character of the Kurus and hearing their unbecoming words, the Infallible Lord became angry and then said, while He repeatedly laughed and not bothered to present Himself nicely: 'Given the big mouth these impudent, dishonest people have to their various passions, they clearly do not aim at peace. They apparently need to be pacified by corporeal punishment, like animals that one has to beat with a stick! 2-3 Oh, looking for peace with these people, I have come here, after tactfully having calmed the Yadus who boiled with anger, as also Krishna who was mad. And those very same dull-headed people addicted to quarreling, now full of conceit, in their wickedness of not respecting Him - Me thus -, have the audacity to use harsh words! And Ugrasena would not be fit to command the Bhojas, Vrishnis and Andhakas, while Shakra ['the powerful one' or Indra] and other rulers follow his orders?? And He [Krishna], sitting in Sudharma [the heavenly council-hall], thanks to whom the parijata tree is enjoyed that was brought down from the immortals [see 10.59: 38-39], not even He would deserve an elevated seat??? He, the Ruler of the Complete Whole, whose two feet are worshiped by the Goddess of Fortune herself, He, truly the Lord of Shri, would not even be worth the paraphernalia of a human king?!?! He of whom all the exalted rulers of the world hold the dust of His lotus like feet on their helmet, the feet that constitute the place of worship of all holy places and of whom Brahma, Shiva and also I, next to the goddess, as portions of a portion, also constantly carry the dust with care... where would His royal throne stand?????! The Vrishnis may enjoy whatever small piece of land granted to them by the Kurus and... We would be the so-called shoes, while the Kurus would be the head?!!!? Ah those proud madmen intoxicated by their would-be power of rule..., which man in command can tolerate their inconsistent, dismal drivel? Today I will rid the earth of the Kauravas!', and speaking thus He enraged took His plow and rose up as if He would set fire to the three worlds.

With the tip of His plow He infuriated pulled up the city of Hastinapura and dragged her along with the intention to throw her into the Ganges. 2-4 When the Kauravas saw how the city, about to fall in the Ganges, being dragged tumbled about like a raft, they got very agitated and, in order to save their lives, together with their families went to the Master for shelter. Led by Lakshmana and Samba they folded their hands: 'Rama, oh Balarama, oh Foundation of Everything [Akhiladhara], we the infatuated, who poor of understanding do not know Your Majesty, beg You to forgive us our offense. You alone are the unique, original cause of the generation, continuation and reuniting [of this universe]. Oh Lord, one says that the worlds are the playthings You play with. You oh Unlimited One, playfully carry on Your head the globe of the earth oh Thousand-headed One [see also 5.25] and when the creation ends, You, the One Without a Second, withdraw the universe into Your body, remain alone and lie down [see also 6.16: 29-64]. Your anger is meant for the instruction of everyone, oh Bhagavan, Sustainer of the Mode of Goodness. It is not there out of hatred or envy, but is there for the purpose of maintaining and protecting the living being. We bow down to you oh Soul of All Beings, oh Holder of [the symbols of] All Energies, oh Inexhaustible One and Maker of the Universe, our obeisances for You whom we sought for shelter.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Lord Bala being propitiated by the surrendered souls in distress because of their trembling place of refuge, thus being satisfied relieved them of their fear by the words: 'Do not be afraid.' 0-5 As a dowry for his daughter, Duryodhana as a loving father gave away twelve hundred sixty-year-old elephants and hundred and twenty thousand horses, sixty thousand golden chariots shining like the sun and a thousand maidservants with jeweled lockets around their necks. The Supreme Lord, the chief of the Satvatas, accepted all of that and then departed together with His son and daughter-in-law, being bid farewell by His well-wishers. After entering His city and having met the relatives who carried Him, the Wielder of the Plow, in their hearts, He in the midst of the assembly of the Yadu leaders related everything that had passed between Him and the Kurus. And truly, even today this city shows the signs of Balarama's prowess. It can be seen down by the Ganges where it is being prominently elevated to the south.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 69:

Narada Muni's Vision of Krishna in His Household Affairs

- Shri Shuka said: 'Hearing that Lord Krishna had killed Naraka [see 10.59] and that He alone had married so many women, Narada wanted to see that with his own eyes [and thought]: 'How wonderful it is that He with a single body is married to that many women, at the same time in sixteen thousand separate residences being alone with each of them.' Thus eager to take a look the sage of the gods came to Dvaraka, the place so flowery with its parks and pleasure gardens resounding with the noise of flocks of birds and swarms of bees. Blooming blue lotuses [indivaras], day-blooming ones [ambhojas], white esculent ones [kahlaras], moonlight-blooming lotuses [kumudas] and water lilies [utpalas] filled the lakes where the sounds were heard of swans and cranes. There were nine hundred thousand palatial mansions embellished with crystal glass, silver and great emeralds, that were splendidly furnished with gold and jewels. The city was systematically planned with many avenues, roads, intersections and squares, assembly houses and charming temples for the gods. Its paths and courtyards, shopping streets and patios were all sprinkled with water while the sun was warded off by banners that waved from the flagpoles. - In the city there was an opulent quarter honoured by all the local authorities. Tvashtha [the architect Vis'vakarma], had there for the Lord [who resided there], in full exhibited his talents by making the sixteen thousand residences for Shauri's wives as beautiful as he could. Narada entered one of the great palaces. -1 The building was supported by coral pillars that were excellently decorated with vaidurya ['cat-eye' gemstone]. The walls were covered with sapphires and the spotless floors shone everywhere. It was built with canopies that by Tvashtha were constructed with hangings of pearls and had seats and beds made of ivory that were decorated with the finest jewels. There were well-dressed, adorned maidservants with lockets around their necks and finely clad men with turbans and armor, jewels and earrings. Many gem-studded lamps dispelled with their light the darkness and on the carved eaves my best, the peacocks danced, crying loudly taking the aguru smoke they saw curling upwards from the latticed windows for a cloud. Inside, the man of learning saw the Lord of the Satvatas together with His wife who fanned Him with a yak-tail fan with a golden handle. She in her turn was every instant supported by a thousand maidservants equal to her in personal qualities, beauty, youth and fine dress. The Supreme Lord, the best defender of all dharma, noticing him, immediately rose from Shri's couch and offered him His own seat while bowing down with joined palms. Even though He

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was the Supreme Guru of the Living Being, He washed his feet and took that water on His head. He as the master of all saintly souls justly carries the transcendental name of 'the Well-wisher of the Brahmins' [Brahmanya deva] because one by dint of the holy shrine of His feet finds full purification [see also the stories of the Ganges flowing from His feet. 5.17 & 9.9]. Having been of full worship for the devarishi as was prescribed by the scriptures, He, the Greatest Sage, the Original Narayana, the friend of Nara, conversed with him in weighed words that were as sweet as nectar and asked: 'Oh Master, oh Fortunate One, what may We do for you?'

Shri Narada said: 'It is not that surprising that You show friendship for all people, oh Almighty Ruler of All the Worlds who subdues the envious ones. We very well know that You who are universally praised, out of Your own will have descended for the highest good of the continuation and the protection of the Living Being [*]. Having seen Your two feet, that for Your devotees are the path of liberation upon which Lord Brahma and the other gods of unfathomable intelligence meditate in the heart and which for those, who are fallen in the well of a material existence, are the shelter for deliverance, I ask for Your blessing to remember You so that I during my travels may constantly think of You.'

Narada my best, thereupon entered another residence of a wife of Krishna, with the wish to know the mystical power of illusion [yogamaya] of the Master of All Masters of Yoga. 0-2 And there he saw Him also. He was playing a game of dice with His beloved and Uddhava. He stood up for him, honoured him with transcendental devotion and seated him etc., asking him - as if He did not know: 'When has your good self arrived? How can those [householders] who are not so fulfilled like Us, do what should be done for those [sannyasis] who are fully satisfied [within]? Anyway, please tell Us oh brahmin, how We can make a success of this birth.' But Narada who was astonished, stood up, said nothing and went to another palace. And there he saw Govinda cuddling His small children. Next in another palace, he saw Him preparing for a bath. In one place he saw Him offering oblations, elsewhere he saw Him worshiping the five sacrificial fires [see maha-yajnas] with the obligatory rituals, then again He was feeding brahmins and in yet another place He was eating the remnants [of sacrifices]. Somewhere He was of sunset-worship while controlling His speech with reciting the mantra [for it, see Gayatri and japa] and elsewhere He moved about with His sword and shield in areas of practice. Here the Elder Brother of Gada rode horses, elephants and chariots and there He was lying on His sofa being praised by bards. This place He was consulting with advisers, Uddhava and others and that place He was engaged sporting in the water surrounded by dancing girls and other women. Somewhere He donated excellent, well ornamented cows to brahmins and elsewhere He listened to the auspicious classical stories [Puranas] and epic histories [Itihasas]. Laughing and joking with His beloved in this mansion, He elsewhere practiced the religion [dharma], the economy [artha] and the [regulation of] physical lusts [kama, see also purusharthas]. Sitting alone in one place to meditate on the Original Person Transcendental to Material Nature, He in another place rendered menial service to the elders, serving them attentively with things they liked. Planning for war with certain people here, and there again making peace, Kes'ava together with Balarama elsewhere minded the welfare of the pious souls. [He saw Him] arranging opulent weddings for daughters and sons in accordance with the vidhi, at the right time, with wives and husbands compatible to them. [He saw] the people astonished to witness the grand celebrations in which the Master of the Masters of Yoga sent away from home His children and welcomed in-laws in the family. With elabourate sacrifices in worship of all the gods being busy at one place, He was at another place of dharma in civil service arranging for wells, parks and monasteries and such. For a hunting expedition He somewhere was mounting a horse from Sindhi while He elsewhere, surrounded by the most valorous Yadus, was killing the animals to be offered in sacrifice [see **]. At another place the Yoga master was moving about in disguise in the city and in other homes, eager to find out what the mentalities of the different people were. Narada almost laughed about that what of His yogamaya, of assuming the human role, had unfolded before his eyes and said to Hrishikes'a: 'From the service delivered at Your feet the knowledge could rise of Your mystical potencies, potencies that even for the great mystics are hard to envision, oh Lord of Yoga, oh Supreme Soul. Permit me to follow You in humility, oh Godhead, I will wander about the [fourteen] worlds that are flooded with Your glory and loudly sing about Your pastimes that purify all the worlds.'

The Supreme Lord said: 'Oh brahmin, I am the spokesman of the dharma and its performer. I am also the sanctioner of dharma as I teach it to the world. Do not be bewildered acknowledging it my son [when I set an example].'

Shri Shuka said: 'He [Narada] thus saw [as no one else could see ***] Him present in one and the same form in all the palaces where He performed the spiritual principles of dharma that purify the householders. After repeatedly having witnessed Krishna's unlimited prowess in the elabourate manifestation of His yogamaya, the seer filled with wonder stood amazed. With [his witnessing of] the artha, kama and dharma [civil duties of household life, see also 7.14], thus by Lord Krishna's faithful heart thoroughly honoured, he satisfied went away with Him constantly in his mind. Narayana who for the welfare of everyone had manifested His potencies my dear, thus following the path of human existence, enjoyed the shy affectionate glances and satisfied laughter of His sixteen thousand most excellent women. Anyone, oh dear King, who chants, listens or appreciates [to read about] the unequaled activities performed by the Lord in this world, by Him who is the cause of the generation, continuation and dissolution of the universe, will become devoted to the Supreme Lord who constitutes the path of liberation.'

*: The parampara adds here: 'As pointed out by Shrila Vis'vanatha Cakravarti, all living beings are in fact servants of the Lord. The acarya quotes the following verse from the Padma Purana to elucidate:

a-karenocyate vishnuh
Shrir u-karena kathyate
ma-karas tu tayor dasah
panca-vims'ah prakirtitah

"[In the mantra AUM] the letter a signifies Lord Vishnu, the letter u signifies the goddess Shri, and the letter m refers to their servant, who is the twenty-fifth element." The twenty-fifth element is the jiva, the living being. Every living being is a servant of the Lord, and the Lord is the true friend of every living being. Thus even when the Lord chastises envious persons like Jarasandha, such punishment amounts to real friendship, since both the Lord's chastisement and His blessing are for the benefit of the living being.

**: Even though this activity for the common people and the brahmins is forbidden by the vidhi rule of daya for the sake of being compassionate with all living beings, it is in certain cases allowed to kill animals in Vedic society. Shrila Prabhupada comments: "According to Vedic regulations, the kshatriyas were allowed to kill prescribed animals on certain occasions, either to maintain peace in the forests or to offer the animals in the sacrificial fire. Kshatriyas are allowed to practice this killing art because they have to kill their enemies mercilessly to maintain peace in society." [see also e.g. 4: 26, 7.15, 10.1: 4, 10.56: 13 and 10.58: 13-16].

***: The parampara adds to this: 'As stated in text 2 of this chapter, all the Lord's activities in the many palaces were performed by the Lord's single spiritual form (ekena vapusha), which manifested in many places at once. This vision was revealed to Narada because of his desire to see it and the Lord's desire to show it to him. Shrila Vis'vanatha Cakravarti points out that the other residents of Dvaraka could see Krishna only in the particular part of the city they themselves occupied, and not anywhere else, even if they would sometimes go to another precinct on some business. Thus the Lord gave a special view of His pastimes to His beloved devotee Narada Muni.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 70:

Krishna's Routines, Troubles and Narada Pays Another Visit

Shri Shuka said: At the break of dawn the crowing roosters were cursed by the wives of the Sweet Lord who, with the arms of their husband [the One Yogamaya Lord in Many] around their neck, were disturbed over the [consequent] separation. The birds awakened from their sleep by the bees in the breeze of the parijata trees, woke up Krishna with their noisy singing like they were the poets at the court. But Vaidarbhi [Rukmini] did not like that most auspicious time of the day because she then would have to miss the embrace of her beloved [Krishna]. - Madhava rose during the brahma-muhurta [the hour before sunrise], touched water and cleared His mind to meditate upon the unequaled, exclusive, self-luminous Self beyond all dullness of matter. This True Self dispels, infallible as it is, by its [His] own nature perpetually the impurity and gives the joy of existence. It is known as the Brahman that, with its [His] energies, constitutes the cause of the creation and the destruction of this universe [see also 3.29: 31 & 36-37, B.G. 7: 5 & 6 and *]. After according to the vidhi having bathed in pure water, He, the most truthful One, first dressing in lower and upper garments, performed the entire sequence of the worship at dawn and such and then, after offering oblations in the fire, quietly controlling His speech, chanted the Vedic mantra [the Gayatri, see also **]. - He faithful to His own nature in worship of the rising sun propitiated His own expansions. With due respect for the gods, the sages and forefathers, His elders and the ones of learning, He donated day after day many, many good-natured cows with gold on their horns, silver on their hooves and pearl necklaces around their necks, cows that were rich with milk and had given birth to one calf only. Nicely caparisoned they were presented to the learned brahmins together with linen, deerskins, sesame seeds and ornaments [see also ***]. Paying His respects to the cows, the men of learning, the godly souls, the elders, the spiritual teachers and to all living beings who were but expansions of Himself, He [giving darshan], laid His hand on all [persons and] auspicious matters. He, the very ornament of society, decorated Himself with the clothes, divine garlands, fragrant pastes and jewelry that befitted Him. He cared for both the ghee [used in the sacrifices] and the mirror and attended to the cows, the bulls, the twice-born souls, the gods and the objects of desire. He provided gifts to the satisfaction of all societal classes living in the city and in the palace and welcomed His ministers responding to all their needs in full. After first having distributed garlands, betel nut and sandalwood paste to the learned ones, [and then] to His friends, His ministers and His wives, He next would take His own share. His driver, who by then had brought His supremely wonderful chariot yoked with the horses Sugriva and so on [see 10.53: 5], stood bowing before Him. Holding the hand of the charioteer He then together with Satyaki and Uddhava mounted the chariot like He was the sun rising over the mountains in the east. With difficulty leaving the women behind in the palace who looked at Him with shy and loving glances, He departed, displaying a smile that seised their minds. Awaited by all the Vrishnis He entered the assembly hall named Sudharma [see also 10.50: 54] that for those who enter, fights the six waves [of material life], my dear [see shath-urmi]. The Almighty One, the Best of the Yadus seated there high on His throne in the midst of the Yadus who were the lions among men, illuminated all the quarters with His effulgence that shone like the moon in the sky surrounded by the stars. There were jesters, oh King, who served the Almighty One with various forms of amusement, professional entertainers [like magicians] and women who dancing energetically were of service. They danced to the sounds of vinas, mridangas and muraja-drums, flutes, cymbals and conches, while the bards, storytellers and panegyrists sang and offered praise. Some brahmins sitting there continually recited Vedic mantras while others recounted stories about kings from the past famed for their piety.

Some day a person arrived, oh King, who was never seen there before. Announced by the doorkeepers he was given access to the Fortunate One. After his reverence before Krishna, the Supreme Lordship, he with joined palms submitted that [a certain number of] kings were suffering because they were being held captive by Jarasandha. During a conquest of all the directions by him, those kings had been captured who had not accepted him in complete subservience. They - about twenty thousand of them - were forcibly detained in the fortress of Girivraja. The kings had sent the message: 'Krishna, oh Krishna, oh immeasurable Soul, oh You who takes away the fear of the surrendered souls. We being so different in mentality, afraid as we are in our material existence, have come to You for shelter! The whole world delighting in misconduct is bewildered about the duties out here to be of one's own worship for You according to Your [varnashrama] command. May there be the obeisances unto You, the Ever Vigilant [hunblinking eye of Time'] who all of a sudden [at the time of one's death] cuts off that headstrong hope for longevity in this life. You, the predominating authority of this universe, have descended together with Your expansion [Balarama] in order to protect the saintly and to subdue the wicked. We would not know oh Lord, how anyone transgressing Your law [like Jarasandha] or anyone else by his own creativity [like us] could achieve such a thing. With the burden of this mortal frame carried by us with a constant fear, our happiness is like the conditional happiness of kings, oh Lord, that is [as ephemeral] as a dream. When we reject the happiness of the soul that is obtained by selfless service unto You, we have to suffer the greatest misery with Your bewildering material reality of maya out here. Therefore, oh Goodness whose two feet remove the sorrow, please release us, the surrendered souls, from the fetters of karma formed by the king named Magadha. Like the king of the animals capturing sheep, he all by himself wielding the prowess of a ten thousand mad elephants, has imprisoned us in His palace. Eighteen times [facing him] You [seventeen times] raised Your cakra and crushed him. Only once he managed to defeat You in battle when You, confiding in Your unlimited power, were absorbed in human affairs [see 10.50: 41 & 10.52: 7]. And now he filled with pride torments us, Your subjects, oh Unconquerable One. Please rectify that!' The messenger said: 'Those who are held captive by Jarasandha thus hanker to see You in their surrender to the base of Your feet. Please bestow Your welfare on these poor souls!'

Shri Shuka said: 'After the envoy of the kings thus had spoken, the supreme rishi [Narada] appeared who with his yellowish mass of matted locks had an effulgence like that of the sun. As soon as the Supreme Lord Krishna, the Supreme Controller of the controllers of all the worlds, saw him, He together with His followers and the members of the assembly gladdened stood up and bowing His head proved His respects. After the muni had accepted a seat, He pleased him with worship according to the rules and spoke next the truthful, pleasing words: 'It is a fact that the three worlds today are completely freed from all fear, for that is the quality of you, the great and fortunate soul traveling the worlds. Within the three worlds created by the Lord there is nothing you do not

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know, let us therefore hear from you what the plans of the Pandavas are.'

Shri Narada said: 'I often witnessed [the different appearances of] Your inscrutable maya oh Almighty One, oh Bewilderer of [even] the Creator of the Universe [see 10.14]. It does not amaze me oh All-encompassing One, that You, being covered by Your own energies, are moving among the created beings like a fire with its light covered. Who is able to properly understand the purpose of You who by Your material energy creates and withdraws this universe [that for its beings is] manifested to exist in relation to You [to experience the essence]. My obeisances for You whose nature is inconceivable. For the individual soul in samsara, who knows no liberation from the trouble that the material body brings, He lights His torch of fame through the pastimes of His avataras. You, that Lord, I approach for shelter. I will nonetheless tell You, oh Highest Truth who imitates the human ways, what Your devotee the king [Yudhishthhira], the son of Your father's sister, intends to do. The king, the son of Pandu desires the sovereignty and wants to perform for Your sake the greatest sacrifice that is called the Rajasuya. Can You please give Your blessing to this? Oh Lord, that best of all sacrifices will be attended by all the enlightened and likewise souls eager to see You, as also by all the kings of victory and glory. When the dregs of society find purification from just hearing about, chanting and meditating on You, the Full Manifestation of the Absolute, what may then be expected in case of those who [factually may] see and touch You? The spotless reputation of You that is expanding in all directions, is proclaimed in heaven, in the lower regions and on earth, oh Bringer of Good Fortune to All the Worlds. In the form of the water washing from Your feet that purifies the entire universe, that grace is called the [river] Mandakini in the divine spheres, the Bhogavati in the lower worlds and the Ganges here on earth.'

Shri Shuka said: 'When His supporters [the Yadus] did not agree with this proposition [for a Rajasuya] because they desired the defeat [of Jarasandha], Kes'ava with a smile and a charming use of words addressed His servant Uddhava. The Fortunate One said: 'You, as the apple of Our eye and Our well-wishing friend, from that position know perfectly well what expression would be of use in this regard. Please tell Us what should be done, We have full faith in you and will do what you say.'

With that request from his Maintainer who acted as if He, the all-knowing One, was puzzled, Uddhava humbly accepting the order on his head, gave a reply.'

*: Concerning the matter of Brahman relating to the person of Krishna the parampara adds: 'One who is favored by the Lord's internal potency can understand the nature of the Absolute Truth [or Brahman]; this understanding is called Krishna consciousness.'

**: According to Shridhara Svami Lord Krishna, before sunrise first offering oblations and then doing the mantra, in this would follow the disciplic succession of Kanva Muni [mentioned in 9.20].

***: With the M.W. dictionary confirming to the term badva used here the meaning of 'a great number' Shridhara Svami quotes several Vedic scriptures to show that in the context of the Vedic ritual, a badva here refers to 13.084 cows and further gives evidence that the usual practice for great saintly kings in previous ages was to give away 107 such badva, or groups of 13.084 cows. Thus the total number of cows given in this sacrifice, known as Mancara, could have amounted to 14 lakhs, or 1.400.000.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 71:

The Lord Travels to Indraprastha on the Advice of Uddhava

Shri Shuka said: 'The gifted Uddhava hearing what thus was stated by the devarishi, spoke with understanding for the stance taken by Krishna and the royal assembly. Shri Uddhava said: 'Oh Lord, You should do what the rishi said and assist Your cousin who wants to perform the sacrifice. You should also protect those [kings] who seek their refuge. Since the Rajasuya sacrifice should be performed by someone who gained the upper hand in all directions, oh Almighty One, You to my opinion will serve both the purposes [of the sacrifice and the protection] when you triumph over the son of Jara. This way releasing the imprisoned kings, there will be a great advantage for us as also glory for You oh Govinda. He [Jarasandha] is a king as strong as a thousand elephants and cannot be defeated by other men in power, save for Bhima who is equally strong. He can only be defeated chariot-to-chariot, not when he is together with a hundred akshauhinis. Devoted as he is to the brahminical, he will also never refuse what the men of learning ask from him. Bhima visiting him wearing the dress of a brahmin, must beg for charity and without hesitation kill him in a one-to-one fight in Your presence. Hiranyagarbha ['the one of the golden light' or Brahma] and Sharva [he who kills by the arrow, Shiva, see 7.10: 67] are but the instruments, in universal creation and annihilation, of the Supreme Lord of the Universe, of You in the form of formless Time. The godly wives of the [imprisoned] kings sing in their homes about Your spotless deeds. They sing about You killing their enemy and delivering them. They sing about You just as the gopis do [missing You, see 10.31] and the lord of the elephants [Gajendra did being captured see 8.3], just as the daughter of Janaka [Sita] did [for Ramacandra, see 9.10] and Your parents [prayed for Your grace being imprisoned by Kamsa, see 10.3], just as the sages do upon having obtained Your shelter [see e.g. 9.5] as also we now do singing about You. The killing of Jarasandha, oh Krishna, will surely bring us an immense advantage, namely the consequent excellence [of the kings] as also the sacrifice favored by You.'

Shri Shuka said: 'The words Uddhava thus spoke, in every way auspicious and infallible, oh King, were by the devarishi, the Yadu elders and also by Krishna praised in response. The Almighty Supreme Lord, the son of Devaki, took leave from the ones He owed respect [following the human ways] and next ordered His servants Daruka, Jaitra and others to prepare for His departure. He assembled His wives, sons and luggage, said goodbye to Sankarshana [Balarama] and the Yadu king [Ugrasena], oh killer of the enemies and then mounted His chariot brought by His driver, from which the flag of Garuda waved. Then, surrounded by His chiefs and fierce guard, chariots, elephants, infantry and cavalry - His personal army - He moved out, with from all sides the vibration of the sounds of mridangas, bheri horns, gomukha horns, kettledrums and conch shells. In golden palanquins carried by strong men, Acyuta's wives along with their children well guarded by soldiers with shields and swords in their hands, followed their Husband clad in fine clothes, ornamented and with perfumed oils and garlands. Next came the ornamented women of the household and the courtesans on human carriers, camels, bulls, buffalo, donkeys, mules, bullock carts and she-elephants that [further] were fully loaded with grass huts, blankets, clothing and more items like that. The huge army carrying a choice of long flagpoles, banners, luxurious sunshades, yak-tail fans, weapons, jewelry, helmets and armor, appeared that day glittering and shining in the rays of the sun. With the rumour of its sounds it sounded like an ocean restless with timingilas and waves. After having heard and approved His plan, the muni [Narada], being honoured by the Lord of the Yadus and feeling happy over his meeting with Mukunda, bowed down to Him, placed Him in his heart and then left through the sky. In order to please him with His word the messenger of the kings was told the following by the Supreme Lord: 'Do not fear oh envoy, I wish you [and your kings] all good fortune. I will see to it that the king of Magadha will be put to death.'

Thus being addressed the messenger departed and informed the kings in detail. And so they, eager for their liberation, awaited the moment they would meet Shauri. The Lord traveling through Anarta [the region of Dvaraka], Sauvira [eastern Gujarat], Marudes'a [the Rajasthan desert] and Vinas'ana [the district of Kurukshetra], on his way passed [many] hills, rivers, cities, villages, cow pastures and quarries. After first crossing the river Drishadvati, Mukunda next crossed the Sarasvati, then passed through the province of Pancala and Matsya and finally reached Indraprastha. Hearing that He had arrived whom one sees but rarely among human beings, the one whose enemy still had to be born [king Yudhishthhira, in order to welcome Him], joyfully came out [of his city] surrounded by priests and relatives. With an abundance of sounds of songs and instrumental music and the vibration of hymns he headed for Hrishikes'a, as much filled with reverence as the senses are tuned to life. The heart of the Pandava seeing Lord Krishna after so long a time, melted with affection whereupon he embraced Him, his dearmost friend, over and over. The ruler of man closing the body of Mukunda, the shining abode of Rama in his arms, found all his ill-fortune destroyed and achieved the highest bliss. In his exhilaration having tears in his eyes he forgot the illusory affair of being embodied in the material world. Bhima filled with joy embraced Him, his maternal nephew and laughed out of love with eyes brimming with tears. And also from the eyes of the twins [Nakula and Sahadeva] and of Kiriti ['he with the helmet' or Arjuna] flowed profusely the tears as they with pleasure embraced Acyuta, their dearmost friend. After being embraced by Arjuna and having received obeisances from the twins, He, according to the etiquette, bowed before the brahmins and the elders and honoured [the rest of] the honourable Kurus, Srinjayas and Kaikayas. The bards, the chroniclers, the singers of heaven, the eulogists and jesters with mridangas, conches, kettledrums, vinas, small drums and gomukha horns, all sang, danced and glorified with hymns the Lotus-eyed one, as also did the brahmins. The Supreme Lord, the Crest Jewel of all Souls of Pious Renown, thus being glorified by His well-wishers around Him, entered the decorated city. 1-3 In the city of the king of the Kurus He saw, on the roads sprinkled with water that were fragrant of the mada [the rut-liquid] of elephants, colourful flags, gateways decorated with golden pots full of water and young men and women all clad in new apparel who wore ornaments, flower garlands and had sandalwood on their bodies. In each home lamps were lit and offerings of tribute displayed. The smoke of incense drifted trough the latticed windows and banners waved from the rooftops that were adorned with golden domes with large silver bases. Hearing of the arrival of Him who for the eyes of man is a reservoir to drink from, the young women in order to witness that, went onto the king's road. Thereby they immediately abandoned their households - or their husbands in bed -, with [sometimes] in their eagerness, the knots in their hair and their dresses loosened. On that road very crowded with elephants, horses, chariots and soldiers on foot, they caught the sight of Krishna with His wives. And while they embraced Him in their hearts, the women who [because of the commotion] had climbed onto the rooftops, scattered flowers and prepared Him a heartfelt welcome with broadly smiling glances. Seeing Mukunda's wives on the road like stars around the moon, the women exclaimed: 'What have they done that the Foremost of Men with but the small portion of His glances and playful smiles grants their eyes the [greatest] joy?' Citizens here and there approached Him with auspicious offerings in their hands and the masters of the guilds, who had banned their sins, performed worship for Krishna. As He entered the king's palace the members of the royal household all approached in a hurry to greet Mukunda filled with love and with blossoming eyes. The moment Pritha [queen Kunti] saw her brother's son, Krishna, the Controller of the Three Worlds, she with a heart full of love together with her daughter-in-law [Draupadi] rose from her couch in order to embrace Him. The king brought Govinda, the Supreme God of All Gods, to His quarters but, overwhelmed by his great joy, he forgot what all had to be done to honour Him with reverence. Krishna oh King, performed His obeisances in respect of His aunt and the elderly women, whereupon His sister [Subhadra] and Krishna [Draupadi] bowed down to Him. 1-4 Urged by her mother-in-law [Kunti] Krishna [Draupadi] honoured all Krishna's wives with clothing, flower garlands and jewelry and such: Rukmini, Satyabhama, Bhadra, Jambavati, Kalindi, Mitravinda the descendant of Shibi, the chaste Nagnajiti as also the others who had come. The king of dharma [Yudhishthhira] comfortably accommodated Janardana, His army, His servants, ministers and His wives and saw to it that they suffered no lack at any given moment. 4-4 He stayed a couple of months because He wanted to please the king and went, sporting with Arjuna, surrounded by guards out riding in His chariot. Together with Arjuna He satisfied the fire-god by offering him the Khandava forest. Maya [Danava, a demon] whom He had saved, then built a celestial assembly hall for the king [in Hastinapura].'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 72:

Jarasandha Killed by Bhima and the Kings Freed

- Shri Shuka said: 'Yudhishthhira one day sat in his court surrounded by the sages, the nobles, the popular personalities, the business men and his brothers. With all the acaryas, the family, the elders, his blood relatives, in-laws and friends listening, he addressed Krishna saying the following. Shri Yudhishthhira said: 'Oh Govinda, I wish to honour Your different heroic deeds with the purifying sacrifice that is the king of all fire sacrifices named Rajasuya. Please allow us to perform that sacrifice oh Master. They who constantly, in full service meditate upon and glorify Your slippers, which cause the destruction of all inauspicious things, find purification. They and not other persons, oh You whose navel is like a lotus, manage by their prayers to put an end to their material existence or else get, as far as they desire something, the things done they want. Therefore oh God of Gods, let the people see the power of serving Your lotus feet in this world. Please oh All-powerful One, show them both the status of the Kurus and the Srinjayas who are of worship and the status of the ones who are not of worship. In Your mind of Absolute Truth there can be no difference between 'mine en thine', for You are the Soul of All Beings who, equal in Your vision, experience the happiness within Yourself. Those who properly serve You, You, just like the desire tree, grant the desired results according to the service rendered. There is no contradiction in this [catering to desires].'

The Supreme Lord said: 'There is nothing wrong with your plan, oh King, following it all the world will witness your auspicious fame, oh tormentor of the enemies! For the sages, the forefathers, the gods and the friends, oh master of Us, as also for all living beings, [the performance of] this king of sacrifices [the literal meaning of Rajasuja] is desirable. Bring the earth under control by conquering all the kings, collect all the necessities [for the ceremony], and [next] perform the great sacrifice. These brothers of yours, oh King, were born as partial aspects of the demigods who rule the worlds [see family-tree], and I, who am unconquerable for those not in control with themselves, am conquered by you who are of self-control. No person, not even a demigod - not to mention an earthly ruler -, can by his strength, beauty, fame or riches in this world subdue someone who is devoted to Me.'

Shri Shuka said: 'The king with a face blossoming like a lotus, was pleased to hear the song [the Gita] of the Supreme Lord. Energised by the potency of Vishnu, he engaged his brothers in the conquest of all the directions. He sent Sahadeva with the Srinjayas to the south, Nakula with the

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Matsyas in the western direction, Arjuna with the Kekayas to the north and Bhima with the Madrakas to the east. The heroes, by their personal strength subduing many kings, brought him from everywhere an abundance of riches, because for him, intent upon performing the sacrifice, the enemy still had to be born, oh King. The king heard that Jarasandha was not defeated and thought about it. The Original Person, the Lord, then enlightened him on the means Uddhava had mentioned [in 10.71: 2-10]. And so Bhimasena, Arjuna and Krishna disguised as brahmins together went to Girivraja my dear, where the son of Brihadratha [Jarasandha] resided. Going to his residence at the hour appointed for receiving [uninvited] guests, the nobles, appearing as brahmins, begged with the religious householder who was of respect for the brahminical culture: 'Oh King, know us as guests in need who have arrived from afar. We wish you all the best. Please grant us all that we desire. What would for a patient person be intolerable, what would for an impious person be impossible, what would by a generous person not be donated and who would exclude someone who has an equal vision towards all? He is reprehensible and pitiable who, while being very well capable, with the temporal body fails to acquire the lasting fame glorified by the saints. Many souls like Haris'candra, Rantideva, Unchavritti Mudgala, Shibi, Bali, and the legendary pigeon with its hunter [see*], attained the eternal [Soul] through the [forsaking of that what is] impermanent.'

Shri Shuka said: 'However, from their voices, their physical stature and the bowstring marks on their arms even, he [Jarasandha] recognised them as nobles, as members of the family he had seen before. [he thought:] 'These relatives of the royal class wearing the insignia of brahmins, I should give whatever they demand, even something as difficult to forsake as my own body. 4-2 Is it not known of Bali that his spotless glory spread wide in all directions, even though he was brought down by Lord Vishnu [Vamana] who, appearing in the form of a twice-born soul of Vishnu, a brahmin, wanted to take away Indra's opulence? Knowingly the daitya king [Bali] gave away the entire earth, despite the advise against it, that he received [from his guru, see 8.19]. Of what use is it for someone from a kshatriya background, to be alive but, with his perishable body, not endeavor in favor of the greater glory of the brahmins?' With that mentality the generous soul said to Krishna, Arjuna and Vrikodara ['wolf-belly' or Bhima]: 'Oh men of learning, I will give you whatever you want, even if you ask for my own head!'

The Supreme Lord said: 'Please, oh high and mighty King, accept the challenge to give us battle in a one-to-one fight, if you deem that fit. We, members of the royalty, have come here with the wish to fight and do not want anything else. That is Bhima the son of Pritha, the other one is his brother Arjuna and know Me to be Krishna, their maternal cousin, your enemy [see 10.50].'

Thus being invited the king of Magadha laughed loudly and said contemptuously: 'In that case, I will give you battle, you fools! But I will not fight with You. Cowardly You, lacking in strength in the battle, abandoned Your city Mathura and left for a safe place in the ocean. As for this one, Arjuna, he is not old enough nor very strong, he is no match for me and should not be my opponent. Bhima is the one equal in strength to me.'

Thus having spoken he gave Bhima a large club and went outside the city, himself taking up another one. Then opposing on the battle ground, the two heroes stroke each other with their lightning-bolt like clubs. The fight drove them to mad fury. Skillfully circling each other to the left and the right, the fight appeared as beautiful as of a couple of actors on a stage. The clash of their clubs swung against each other, oh King, resembled a crash of lightning or the clattering of elephant tusks. Infuriated vigorously fighting like a couple of elephants, their clubs, which with the rapid force of their arms were powerfully swung against each other's shoulders, hips, feet, hands, thighs and collarbones, were in the contact smashed to pieces like they were some arka branches. With their clubs thus being ruined, the two great heroes among men angrily pummeled each other with their iron-like fists. [And also] the slapping of their hands sounded like elephants crashing into each other or as harsh claps of thunder. The fight of the two men striking each other who were equally trained, just as strong and of the same endurance, thus remained undecided and continued unabated, oh King [**]. Krishna who had knowledge about the birth and death of the enemy and how he by Jara was brought to life [see 9.22: 8 and ***], then shared His own power of thought with the son of Pritha. He whose Vision is Infallible had determined the means to kill their enemy and demonstrated it to Bhima by tearing apart a twig for a sign. Understanding that, the immensely strong Bhima, the best of all fighters, seised his enemy by the feet and threw him to the ground. Standing with his foot on top of one leg, he with both hands took hold of the other one and tore, just like a great elephant with a tree branch, him apart from the anus upward. The king's subjects then saw him separated in two pieces with each one leg, one thigh, one testicle, one hip, one backside, one shoulder, one arm, one eye, one eyebrow and one ear. After the lord of Magadha had been killed a great cry of lamentation rose, while Arjuna and Acyuta both congratulated Bhima and embraced him. The Unfathomable One Supreme Lord and Sustainer of All Living Beings then freed the kings who were imprisoned by the king of Magadha and crowned his son Sahadeva as the lord and master of the Magadhas.'

*: The story goes that the pigeon and his mate gave their own flesh to a hunter to prove their hospitality, and thus they were taken to heaven in a celestial airplane. When the hunter understood their situation in the mode of goodness, he also became renounced, gave up hunting and went off to perform severe austerities. Because he was freed of all sins, was he, after his body burned to death in a forest fire, elevated to heaven.

**: Some acaryas include the following two verses in the text of this chapter, and Shrila Prabhupada has also translated them in 'Krishna':

evam tayor maha-raja
yudhyatoh sapta-vims'atih
dinani niragams tatra
suhrid-van nis'i tishthhatoh
ekada matuleyam vai
praha rajan vrikodarah
na Shakto 'ham jarasandham
nirjetum yudhi madhava

"Thus, oh King, they continued to fight for twenty-seven days. At the end of each day's fighting, both lived at night as friends in Jarasandha's palace. Then on the twenty-eighth day, oh King, Vrikodara [Bhima] told his maternal cousin, 'Madhava, I cannot defeat Jarasandha in battle.' "

***: Shrila Prabhupada writes "Jarasandha was born in two different parts from two different mothers. When his father saw that the baby was useless, he threw the two parts in the forest, where they were later found by a black-hearted witch named Jara. She managed to join the two parts of the baby from top to bottom. Knowing this, Lord Krishna therefore also knew how to kill him."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 73:
Lord Krishna Blesses the Liberated Kings

- Shri Shuka said: 'The twenty thousand eight hundred [kings] who in battle were defeated [by Jarasandha] came out of the fortress of Giridroni [the capital] being filthy and with dirty clothes. Emaciated by hunger, with dried up faces and because of their imprisonment being greatly weakened, they drank Him in with their eyes and appeared to be licking Him up with their tongues, to be smelling Him with their nostrils and embracing Him with their arms. For Him, dark grey like a rain cloud, in yellow clothing, marked by the Shrivatsa, with His four arms, charming eyes pinkish as the whorl of a lotus, pleasant face and the gleaming makara [seamonster shaped] earrings; for Him with a lotus, a club, a conch shell and a disc in His hands, adorned with a helmet, necklace, golden bracelets, a belt and armlets and with the splendid, brilliant jewel and a forest flower garland around His neck; for Him they, whose sins were destroyed, bowed their heads down at His feet. And the same moment the kings with joined palms praised the Master of the Senses with their words, the weariness of their imprisonment was dispelled by the ecstasy of seeing Krishna.

The kings said: 'We offer You our obeisances oh God of the Gods, oh Lord of the Surrendered Souls and Remover of Distress. Oh Inexhaustible One, please oh Krishna, save us who take refuge in You in our despondency about this terrible material existence. Oh Madhusudana, we do not want to blame the ruler of Magadha , oh Master, for it is by Your grace, oh Almighty One, that the kingdoms of the rulers of man [who defy You] fall down. Intoxicated by his wealth and power of rule a king loses his self-restraint and does not obtain the real benefit, because he, deluded by Your maya, takes his temporary assets for permanent. The same way a child takes a mirage for a reservoir of water, those lacking in discrimination take the illusory affair that is subject to transformation, for substantial. 2-1 We who in the past, in our lusting about the wealth, were blinded and quarreled with each other about ruling this earth, have very mercilessly harassed our citizens, oh Master and have with [You in the form of] death standing before us, arrogantly disregarded You. We oh Krishna, have been forced to part with our opulence and were hurt in our pride by Your mercy in the form of the irresistible power of the Time that moves so mysteriously. We beg You to allow us to live in the remembrance of Your feet. We henceforth no longer hanker for a kingdom that, appearing like a mirage, must constantly be served by the material body that is subjected to demise and constitutes a source of disease. Nor do we, oh Almighty One, hanker for the fruits of pious work in an hereafter that is so attractive to our ears [compare B.G. 1: 32-35]. Please instruct us in the means by which we may remember Your lotus feet, despite the fact that we cannot stop returning over and over to this world [see B.G. 8: 14]. Again and again we offer our obeisances to Krishna the son of Vasudeva, the Lord and Supersoul of those who know to surrender, to Govinda, the Destroyer of the Distress.'

Shri Shuka said: 'The Supreme Lord, the Giver of Shelter, in this spirit being praised by the kings who were freed from their bondage dear King, mercifully spoke to them with kind words. The Supreme Lord said: 'Oh Kings, I assure you, as from now, as you wish, in you there will rise a very firm devotion to Me, the Self and Controller of All. Your resolve is a fortunate one oh rulers, for I see you truthfully speak about the impudent infatuation with the opulence and power that drives mankind to madness. Haihaya [or Kartaviryarjuna 9.15: 25], Nahusha [9.18: 1-3], Vena [see 4.14], Ravana [9.10], Naraka [or Bhauma 10.59: 2-3] and others fell from their positions as gods, demons and men, because they were intoxicated by the opulence. Understanding that this material body and such have a beginning and an end, you, with [Vedic] sacrifices being connected to Me in worship, have the duty to protect your citizens in accordance with the dharma. Engaged in begetting generations of progeny and encountering the facts of happiness and distress, birth and death, you should fix your minds in My worship. Neutral in respect of the body and everything to it and steadfast to the vows being satisfied within, you, fully focussing your minds upon Me, will finally reach Me, the Absolute of the Truth [compare B.G. 4: 9; 8: 7; 9: 28; 12: 3-4].'

Shri Shuka said: 'Krishna, the Supreme Lord and Controller of All the Worlds, who thus had instructed the kings, then engaged menservants and women to give them a bath. Oh descendant of Bharata, He took care that Sahadeva [Jarasandha's son] served them with the clothing, ornaments, garlands and sandalwood paste that befitted them. Properly bathed and well decorated they were fed with excellent food and bestowed with various pleasures worthy of kings, like betel nut etc. Honoured by Mukunda the kings freed from their distress shone splendidly with their gleaming earrings, like they were the planets at the end of the rainy season. After assigning chariots to them adorned with gold and jewels and pulled by fine horses He, gratifying them with pleasing words, sent them off to their kingdoms. They who thus by Krishna, the greatest of all personalities, were liberated from hardship, went away with in their minds nothing but the deeds of Him, the Lord of the Living Being that is the Universe. With their ministers and other associates they discussed what the Supreme Personality had done and then attentively carried out what the Lord had instructed. After having Jarasandha killed by Bhimasena, Kes'ava accepted worship from Sahadeva and departed accompanied by the two sons of Pritha. Arriving in Indraprastha they blew the conch shells that previously had made the enemies unhappy they defeated, but now brought delight to their well-wishers. The residents of Indraprastha were pleased in their hearts to hear that sound. They understood that Jarasandha was put to rest and that the king [Yudhishthhira] had achieved his purpose. Having offered the king their obeisances, Arjuna, Bhima and Janardana recounted everything they had done. The king of dharma could not utter a word when he heard that. In ecstasy over Krishna's mercy he shed tears out of love.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 74:
The Rajasuya: Krishna Number One and Shishupala Killed

Shri Shuka said: 'King Yudhishthhira, thus hearing about the death of Jarasandha and the display of power of the almighty Krishna, was pleased about it and addressed Him. Shri Yudhishthhira said: 'All the spiritual masters, inhabitants, and great rulers there are in the three worlds, carry the difficult to obtain command [of You] on their heads. That You Yourself, the Lotus-eyed Lord, take directions from by the day living people [like us] who consider themselves controllers, is oh All-pervading One, a great pretense [of you imitating our ways]. The way it is with the movements of the sun, the power of the One without a Second, the Absolute Truth, the Supersoul, does not increase nor diminish by [His] activities [see B.G. 2: 40]. Oh Madhava, the perverted animalistic mentality of making distinctions of 'I and mine' and 'you and yours', is truly not Yours, oh Unconquerable One, nor of Your bhaktas.'

Shri Shuka said: 'The son of Pritha thus having spoken, chose at a proper time for the sacrifice, with the permission of Krishna, the priests who were suitable, brahmins who were Vedic experts: - Dvaipayana [Vyasa], Bharadvaja, Sumantu, Gotama, Asita, Vasishthha, Cyavana, Kanva, Maitreya, Kavasha, Trita, Vis'vamitra, Vamadeva, Sumati, Jaimini, Kratu, Paila, Paras'ara, Garga, Vais'ampayana as also Atharva, Kasyapa, Dhaumya, Rama of the Bhargavas [Parashurama], Asuri, Vitihotra, Madhucchanda, Virasena and Akritavrana. 0-1 Also others were invited like Drona, Bhishma, Kripa, Dhritarashthra with his sons and the highly intelligent Vidura. Kings with their royal entourages, brahmins, kshatriyas, vais'yas and Shudras all came there eager to attend the sacrifice, oh King. The brahmins with golden plowshares then furrowed the place for worshiping the gods and inaugurated the king there according to the injunctions. 3-1 The utensils were golden like it had been in the past when Varuna was of sacrifice [compare 9.2: 27]. The rulers of the worlds headed by Indra, including Brahma and

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Shiva, the perfected ones and the heavenly singers with their entourage, the scholars, the great serpents [v.i.p.s, egos], the sages, the wealth keepers and the wild men, the birds of heaven [see khaga], the mighty ones, the venerable souls and the earthly kings as also the wives of the kings who were invited, came from everywhere to the Rajasuya sacrifice which they, not surprised at all [about all the wealth], deemed quite appropriate for a devotee of Krishna. The priests who were as powerful as the gods, performed the Rajasuya sacrifice for the great king as was Vedically prescribed, the way the demigods did it for Varuna. On the day set for extracting the soma juice, the king properly with great attention worshiped the sacrificers and the most exalted personalities of the assembly. The members of the assembly pondered over who of them should be honoured first, but could not arrive at a conclusion because there were many [members who qualified]. Then Sahadeva [the Pandava] spoke up: 'Acyuta deserves the supreme position, He is the Supreme Lord, the leader of the Satvatas. He stands for all the demigods as also the place, the time and the paraphernalia and such. 0-2 This universe as also the great sacrificial performances, the sacred fire, the oblations and the incantations are founded upon Him. The analytical perspective and the science of yoga are aiming at Him. He is the One and Only without a second upon whom the living being [the universe] is based,, oh members of the assembly. He is the Unborn One relying on Himself only who creates, maintains and destroys. His grace brings about the various activities out here and because of His grace the entire world endeavors for the ideals characterised by religiosity and such [the purusharthas]. Therefore the greatest honour should be given to Krishna, the Supreme One. If we do that, we will be honouring all living beings, ourselves included. It should be awarded to Krishna, the Soul of all beings who considers no one as separate from Himself, to the Peaceful One Perfectly Complete who for anyone who wishes his love to be answered constitutes the Unlimited [of an Infinite Return].'

After Sahadeva well known with Krishna's dignity thus had spoken, he fell silent whereupon all the ones of excellence and truth who heard this, filled with happiness said: 'This is excellent, very fine!'

Hearing the twice-born souls say this, the king, pleased to know the heart of the assembly, overwhelmed by love worshiped Hrishikes'a in full. 7-2 He washed His feet and took the water that purifies the world on his head. Then he carried it joyfully to his wife, his brothers, his ministers and family. And as he with precious yellow silken garments and jewelry honoured Him, he could not look straight at Him because of the tears that filled his eyes. Seeing Him honoured this way all the people with joined palms exclaimed: 'Obeisances to You, all victory to You!' and saying this they bowed down to Him and showered Him with flowers.

The son of Damaghosha [S'ishupala, see 10.53] hearing this, aroused by the descriptions of Krishna's qualities, angrily rose from his seat waving with his arms and said, indignantly addressing the Fortunate One with harsh words, the following in the middle of the assembly: 'The Vedic word of truth that Time is the unavoidable controller, has by this been proven, for even the intelligence of the elders could be led astray by the words of a boy! You all know best who would be the most praiseworthy one! Please, oh leaders of the assembly, pay no attention to the statements of the boy that Krishna should be chosen to be honoured. 3-3 You overlook the leaders in the assembly who are the best among the wise, who are dedicated to the Absolute Truth and are worshiped by the rulers over the planet. They are men who by spiritual understanding, austerity, Vedic knowledge and vows eradicated their impurities. How can a cowherd who is a disgrace to His family, deserve it to be worshiped? He deserves it no more than a crow deserves the sacred rice cake! How can He who, engaging of His own accord, acts outside the bounds of all religious duties, devoid of kula [a proper upbringing] varna [vocational propriety] and ashrama [sense of duty according to one's age], thus missing the qualities, deserve it to be worshiped? With His [Yadu-]dynasty cursed by Yayati [see 9.18: 40-44], being ostracised by well-behaved persons [see 10.52: 9] and wantonly addicted to drinking [e.g. 10.67: 9-10], how can such a one deserve the worship? Abandoning the lands [of Mathura] graced by the brahmin sages, He with His associates took to a fortress in the sea [10.50: 49] where the brahminical order is not observed [10.57: 30] and where they as thieves cause the people a lot of trouble [e.g. 10.61].'

The Supreme Lord did not say a word to him who, using such and more harsh words, had lost all his chances. He kept silent like a lion to a jackal's cry. Hearing that intolerable criticism, the members of the assembly covered their ears and walked away while angrily cursing the king of Cedi. A person who does not leave the place where the Supreme Lord or His devotee is criticised, loses his pious credit and will fall down. Then the sons of Pandu as also the Matsyas, Kaikayas and Srinjayas stood up infuriated with raised weapons, prepared to kill Shishupala. Shishupala oh scion of Bharata, thereupon undaunted took up his sword and shield and challenged with insults the kings in the assembly who were the proponents of Krishna. The Supreme Lord at that point stood up and stopped His devotees. Displeased He attacked His enemy with His sharp-edged disc and severed his head from his trunk. With Shishupala being killed a tumultuous uproar rose from the audience. The kings siding with him feared for their lives and fled away. Right before the eyes of everyone alive, from the body of Shishupala a light rose that entered Krishna like it was a meteor falling from the sky to the earth [see also 10.12: 33]. Throughout three lifetimes he had been obsessed with this mentality [of enmity] and thus meditating he [now finally] attained Oneness with Him [B.G. 4: 9, see also 10.12: 33]. It is indeed so that one's attitude is the cause of one's rebirth [see B.G. 8: 6 & Jaya and Vijaya]. The emperor rewarded the priests and the members of the assembly abundantly with gifts, respecting them all properly according to the scriptural injunctions and next performed the avabhritha ceremony [of washing himself and the utensils to conclude the sacrifice]. Krishna, the Master of all Yoga Masters, saw to it that the great sacrifice of the king was concluded and stayed, on the request of His well-wishers, a couple of months more [in Indraprastha]. The son of Devaki, Is'vara, then took leave from the king - who did not like that - and together with His wives and ministers went back to His city. The story of the two Vaikunthha residents who because of a curse of the sages [the Kumaras] had to take birth repeatedly, I have related to you in great detail [see 3.16]. When King Yudhishtthira bathed at the avabhritha of the Rajasuja, he in the midst of the brahmins and kshatriyas shone as brilliant as the king of the demigods. All the gods, human beings and travelers of the sky [the lesser gods, the Pramathas], being honoured by the king, happily returned to their domains, full of praise for Krishna and the sacrifice. [All were happy], except for the sinful Duryodhana who was the pest of the Kuru dynasty and the personification of the Age of Quarrel. To face the flourishing opulence of the Pandavas was something he could not tolerate.

He who recites these activities of Lord Vishnu, the deliverance of the kings, the [Rajasuya] sacrifice and the killing of the king of Cedi and such, is delivered from all sin.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 75:

Concluding the Rajasuya and Duryodhana Laughed at

- The honourable king said: 'All the people of God, oh brahmin, who assembled at the Rajasuya sacrifice of Ajatas'atru [he whose enemy was never born, or Yudhishthhira], were delighted about the great festivity they saw: all the kings, the sages and enlightened souls, so I heard my lord, except for Duryodhana. Please tell us what the reason was.'

The son of Vyasa said: 'At the Rajasuya sacrifice of the great soul who is your grandfather, the family members who were bound in divine love, were engaged in humbly serving his cause. - Bhima was in charge of the kitchen, Duryodhana supervised the finances, Sahadeva managed the reception and Nakula procured the required items. Arjuna served the preceptors, Krishna washed the feet, the daughter of Drupada served the food and the magnanimous Karna handed out the gifts. Yuyudhana, Vikarna, Hardikya, Vidura and others like the sons of Bahlika headed by Bhuris'rava and Santardana, were, eager to please the king, willing to engage in the different duties during the elabourate sacrifice, oh best of the kings. After the king of Cedi had entered the feet of the master of the Satvatas, the priests, the prominent officials, the highly learned and all the best well-wishers, being well honoured with pleasing words, auspicious offerings and gifts of gratitude, executed the avabhritha bathing ceremony in the heavenly river. During the avabhritha celebration the music sounded of a variety of gomukha horns, kettledrums, large drums, mridangas, smaller drums and conch shells. Female dancers danced and singers sang joyfully in groups as the loud sound of their vinas, flutes and hand cymbals reached the heavens. The kings wearing necklaces of gold took off together with foot soldiers, nice flags and banners of different colours and well ornamented majestic elephants, chariots and horses. The Yadus, Srinjayas, Kambojas, Kurus, Kekayas and Kos'alas with their armies headed by [the king,] the performer of the sacrifice, made the earth tremble. The officials, the priests and the brahmins of excellence loudly vibrated Vedic mantras, while the demigods and sages, the forefathers and singers of heaven sang praises and rained down flowers. Men and women nicely adorned with sandalwood paste, garlands, jewelry and clothes, smeared and sprinkled each other playing with various liquids. The courtesans were by the men playfully smeared with oil, yogurt and perfumed water with plenty of turmeric and vermilion powder, and they smeared them in return [*]. The queens guarded by soldiers went out to witness this firsthand, just as did the wives of the gods in their celestial chariots in the sky. By their cousins and friends being sprinkled in their turn, they offered a beautiful sight with their blossoming faces and shy smiles. Squirting their brothers-in-law, their friends and so on with syringes, in their excitement, their arms, breasts, thighs and waists became visible because their dresses got drenched and loosened and the braids of small flowers in their hair slipped. With their charming play they thus agitated the ones who are impure of mind. The emperor mounted his chariot harnessed with the finest horses and shone, hung with gold, with his wives in all directions like he was the king of sacrifices, the Rajasuya with all its rituals, in person. After the priests had guided him through the patni-samyaja- [**] and avabhritha ceremonies, they made him perform the acamana of sipping water for purification and bathe in the Ganges together with Draupadi. The kettledrums of the gods resounded together with those of the human beings, while the demigods, the sages, the forefathers and the humans released a downpour of flowers. Following this humans of all occupational and spiritual orders bathed in that place where even the greatest sinner can instantly be freed from all contamination. The king next put on a new set of silken garments and nicely ornamented honoured the priests, the officials and the brahmins with jewelry and clothing. The king, devoted to Narayana, in diverse ways went at lengths in proving his respects to the kings, his friends, well-wishers, direct family, more distant relatives as also to others. All the men with their jewels and earrings, flowers and turbans, jackets and silken garments as also with the most precious pearl necklaces, shone like the demigods. The women also radiated brilliantly with the beauty of their faces adorned with pairs of earrings and locks of hair and wearing golden belts. 5-2 Oh King, the highly qualified priests, the officials, the Vedic experts, the brahmins, the kshatriyas, vais'yas, Shudras and the kings who had come and together with their followers, the planetary rulers, the spirits, the forefathers and demigods had been worshiped, then with his permission all returned to their abodes. Like mortal men drinking amrita, they never had enough of glorifying the great celebration of the Rajasuya sacrifice performed by the wise king, the servant of the Lord. In his love for his family members, friends and relatives, king Yudhishthhira then stopped them. He was in pain about being separated from Krishna. My dear, in order to please him the Supreme Lord then stayed there. The Yadu heroes headed by Samba He sent off to Dvaraka. The king, the son of Dharma [of Yamaraja or Dharma, the lord of the duties] by Krishna being freed from his feverish condition [see also 10.63: 23] thus successfully managed to cross over the so difficult to overcome ocean of his great ambition.

When Duryodhana one day saw the opulence in the palace, he was troubled by the greatness of the Rajasuya and of him [Yudhishthhira] whose life and soul belonged to Acyuta. All the different opulences of the kings of men, the kings of the demons and the kings of the gods could be seen there. With that wealth that was provided by the cosmic architect [Maya Danava], the daughter of king Drupada served her husbands [the Pandavas]. The Kuru-prince lamented, for his heart was fixed on her. The thousands of queens of the Lord of Mathura were there also present at the time, most attractive with their waists and heavy hips moving around slowly on their feet that charmingly tinkled, wearing their pearl necklaces reddened by the kunkuma from their breasts and with their beautiful faces richly adorned with earrings and locks of hair. 4-3 In the assembly hall constructed by Maya it so happened that the son of Dharma, the emperor in person, in the company of his attendants, his family and also Krishna - who was his Very Eye - was seated on a throne of gold, being endowed with the opulences of supreme rulership and praised by court poets, like he was Indra. There oh King, then entered Duryodhana surrounded by his brothers. Proud as a peacock wearing a crown and necklace, he with a sword in his hand was ranting angrily [at the doorkeepers]. Bewildered by the magic of Maya taking the solid floor for water, he held the end of his garment high, but further up he fell into water that he mistook for a solid floor. Bhima seeing it laughed out loudly just as the women, the kings and the rest did, my dear. Even though they were checked by the king, it carried the approval of Krishna. He [Duryodhana], burning with anger, embarrassed with his face turned down, being hurt within left for Hastinapura whereupon from the saintly ones rose a very noisy 'Alas alas!' Ajatas'atru [the king] felt a little sad, while the Supreme Lord, from whose glance the bewilderment had risen, kept silent. He was prepared to remove the burden from the earth [see also 1.15: 25-26, 10.2: 38 and 10.63: 27].

Oh King, this is what I have to tell you concerning your question about the bad-heartedness of Duryodhana during the great Rajasuya sacrifice.'

*: Present day India knows the tradition of the Holi celebrations, the festival of colours once a year on the morning after the full moon in early March every year, where one plays this game. It celebrates the arrival of spring and the death of the demoness Holika. Holika was the sister of Hiranyakas'ipu who fighting Prahlada could not succeed in killing him [see 7.5]. She, said to be fire resistant, sitting with him in a fire could not harm him. He remained unscathed, but she burned in the fire to ashes. Thus are with Holi the night before great bonfires lit to commemorate the story. Although Holi is observed all over the north, it's celebrated with special joy and zest at Mathura, Vrindavana, Nandgaon, and Barsnar (the places where Lord Krishna and Shri Radha grew up). Lord Krishna, while growing up in Vraja, popularised the festival with His ingenious pranks. The gopis of Vraja

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responded with equal enthusiasm and the festivities have continued ever since. Role reversal with travesty, feminism etc. are accepted customs for the duration of the festival. Men and women of Vraja clash in a colourful display of a mock battle of the sexes. A naturally occurring orange-red dye, Kesudo, is used to drench all participants.

**: The patni-samyaja ritual is the ritual performed by the sponsor of the sacrifice and his wife, consisting of oblations to Soma, Tvashtha, the wives of certain demigods, and Agni.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 76:

The Battle Between Shalva and the Vrishnis

Shri Shuka said: 'Please, oh King, now listen how Krishna, in His body playing the human, in yet another wonderful deed killed the lord of Saubha. Shalva as he was called, was a friend of Shishupala. He came to Rukmini's wedding and was together with Jarasandha and others by the Yadus defeated in battle [see 10.54 and also 10.50]. Before all the kings listening he swore: 'Wait and see, I will, with all I can, rid the earth of the Yadavas!'

The foolish king this way vowed, only once a day ate a handful of dust while worshiping as his master the lord who protects the animalistic ones [Pashupati or Shiva *]. After a year had passed Ashutosha [Shiva, as the one who is quickly pleased] offered the master of Uma, Shalva who had approached him for shelter, the choice of a benediction. He chose a vehicle terrifying to the Vrishnis with which he could travel at will and that could not be destroyed by the gods, the demons, the humans, the singers of heaven, the serpents or the wild men. Giris'a [Shiva as the Lord of the mountain] said 'so be it' and ordered Maya Danava, who was there to conquer the cities of the enemies [see 7.10: 53], to build a [flying] fortress made of iron named Saubha and offer it to Shalva. The vehicle filled with darkness, moved as one liked and was unassailable. When Shalva obtained it he, remembering the enmity the Vrishnis had shown, went to Dvaraka with it. -1 Oh best of the Bharatas, Shalva besieged the city with a large army and destroyed the parks, the gardens and the towers, gateways, mansions, outer walls, outlook posts and recreational areas surrounding it. From his superior vimana torrents of weapons came down including stones and trees, thunderbolts, snakes and hailstones. A fierce whirlwind rose that covered all the directions with dust. The city of Krishna thus terribly being tormented by Saubha oh King, could not find peace, just as the earth could not with [the besieging by the threefold flying fortress of] Tripura [see 7.10: 56].

The Great Lord Pradyumna seeing how His subjects were being harassed then said to them: 'Do not fear!', after which the great hero, who was of an untold glory, mounted His chariot. 4-1 Eminent leaders among chariot heroes like Satyaki, Carudeshna, Samba, Akrura and his younger brothers, Hardikya, Bhanuvinda as also Gada, Shuka, Sarana and other bowmen, came forward [from the city] in armor, being protected by chariotry, elephantry, cavalry and infantry. Thereupon a hair-raising battle commenced between the Yadus and the followers of Shalva, that was as tumultuous as the battle between the demons and the demigods [see 8.10]. The way the warm rays of the sun dissipate the darkness of the night, by the son of Rukmini with His divinely empowered weapons in an instant the magical tricks were destroyed of the master of Saubha. 8-1 With twenty-five iron-tipped, in their joints perfectly smoothened arrows with golden shafts He struck Shalva's commander-in-chief [Dyuman]. With a hundred of them He pierced Shalva, with one shaft He pierced each of his soldiers, with ten shafts he pierced each of his charioteers and with three shafts he pierced each of his carriers [elephants, horses]. When they saw that amazing, mighty feat of Pradyumna, the great personality, He was honoured by all the soldiers of His side and the side of the enemy. The magical illusion created by Maya that then was seen in many forms, next seen in a single form and then again was not seen at all, constituted an inconstancy that made it impossible for his opponent to locate him. Moving hither and thither like a whirling firebrand the airship of Saubha never stayed in one place; from one moment to the next it was seen on the earth, in the sky, on a mountain top or in the water. Wherever Shalva with his soldiers appeared with his Saubha ship, at that spot the arrows were aimed by the army commanders of the Yadus. Shalva lost his grip because of his enemy, for his army and fortress had to suffer from the arrows shot that, striking like fire and the sun, were as intolerable as snake poison. Even though the heroes of Vrishni, eager for the victory here and in the hereafter, were extremely pained by the floods of weapons launched by the commanders of Shalva, they did not leave their positions. Shalva's companion named Dyuman who was previously hurt by Pradyumna, then positioned himself before Him with a club of maura iron and struck Him with a powerful roar. Pradyumna, the subduer of the enemies, received a full blow in the chest. His chariot driver, the son of Daruka, knew what his duty was and removed Him from the battlefield.

The son of Krishna quickly regained His consciousness and said to His chariot driver: 'It is not right, oh driver, for Me to be removed from the battlefield! Except for Me, no one born in the house of Yadu has ever been known to have abandoned the battlefield. Now My reputation is stained because of a driver who thinks like a eunuch! What should I having fled from the battlefield say now when I meet My fathers Rama and Krishna? How should I excuse Myself being questioned concerning the matter? My sisters-in-law certainly will deride Me saying: 'Oh hero, how could Your enemies succeed in turning You into a coward in battle?'

The charioteer said: 'Oh Long-lived One, what I did I have done in full awareness of my prescribed duty oh Lord. A driver should protect the master who ran into danger, just as the master should protect the driver. With that in mind I removed You from the battlefield. Seeing you knocked unconscious by the enemy, I thought You were wounded!'

*: The Monier-Williams dictionary states: "According to one legend every deity acknowledged himself to be a mere pashu or animal when entreating Shiva to destroy the Asura Tri-pura."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 77: Shalva and the Saubha fortress Finished

Shri Shuka said: 'After touching water, fastening His armor and picking up His bow He [Pradyumna] said to His charioteer: 'Take Me to the warrior Dyuman.' Dyuman [in His absence] had decimated His troops, but now the son of Rukmini with a smile counterattacking struck back with eight naraca arrows [made of iron]. With four of them He struck the four horses, with one the driver, with two the bow and flag and with one his head. Gada, Satyaki, Samba and others killed the army of the master of Saubha. All occupants of Saubha fell into the ocean with their throats cut. For twenty-seven days and nights the tumultuous and fearsome fight between the Yadus and the followers of Shalva striking one another thus continued. - Krishna who was called away by [Yudhishthhira,] the son of Dharma, stayed in Indraprastha [see 10.71] and noticed there, after the Rajasuya was completed and Shishupala had been killed, very bad omens. He took leave of the Kuru elders, the sages and Pritha and her sons and headed for Dvaraka. He said to Himself: 'With Me coming to this place accompanied by My honourable elder brother, the kings siding with Shishupala very well may be attacking My city.'

When He saw king Shalva's Saubha and the destruction going on of all that belonged to Him, Kes'ava arranged for the protection of the city and said to Daruka: 'Bring Me My chariot, oh driver, and quickly take Me near Shalva; and take care not to be outsmarted by this lord of Saubha, he is a great magician.'

With that command taking the reigns Daruka drove the chariot forward so that, with Him arriving there, all of His own men and the soldiers of the opposing party could see [the emblem of] Garuda ['the younger brother of Aruna']. Shalva, who as the chief of a practically completely destroyed army, saw Lord Krishna on the battlefield, hurled his spear, that made a scary sound, at Krishna's charioteer. In its flight illumining all directions like it was a great meteor, it was by Krishna midair swiftly cut into a hundred pieces. Like being the sun with its rays in the sky, He pierced him with six arrows and struck the Saubha fortress that was moving about with torrents of them. But when Shalva struck Shauri's left arm, the arm with His bow, most amazingly, the Sharnga fell from the hand of Sharngadhanva. From all the living beings witnessing it a great cry of dismay arose. The lord of Saubha roared loudly and said this to Janardana: 7-1 'Because You oh fool, right before our eyes stole away the bride of our brother and friend [S'ishupala 10.53] and he unsuspecting by You within the assembly was killed [10.74], You Yourself, who are so convinced of Your invincibility, will today with my sharp arrows be sent to the land of no return, provided You have the guts to stand in front of me!'

The Supreme Lord said: 'You dullard, boast in vain not seeing your impending death. Heroes do not prattle, they rather demonstrate their prowess!'

Having spoken thus the Supreme Lord infuriated with a frightening power and speed struck Shalva with His club on the collarbone so that he reeled and had to vomit blood. But when He lifted His club again Shalva had disappeared and a moment later a man bowing his head appeared before Krishna who lamenting spoke the words: 'Mother Devaki has sent me! Krishna, oh Krishna, oh Mighty-armed One so full of love for Your parents, Your father has been captured and led away by Shalva like a domestic animal by a butcher being led to the slaughterhose.'

Hearing these disturbing words Krishna, who had assumed the nature of a human being, spoke out of love disconsolate and with compassion, like He was a normal man: 'How could that petty Shalva abduct My father and defeat Balarama who is never confounded or defeated by Sura or Asura? Fate indeed is powerful!'

After Govinda had said this, the master of Saubha approached Krishna like he was leading Vasudeva before Him and then said the following: 'He here is the one who begot You and for whom You live in this world. I will kill him straight before Your eyes. Save him if You can, You ignoramus!'

The magician thus mocking Him cut off the head of the 'Anakadundubhi', took the head and climbed in the Saubha vehicle that hovered in the sky. In spite of His full knowledge and great powers of perception He, out of love for the ones dear to Him, for a moment remained absorbed in His normal humanity. But then it dawned on Him that Shalva had used a demoniac, magic trick designed by Maya Danava. Alerted on the battlefield as if He awoke from a dream, He saw neither the messenger nor His father's body anywhere. Noticing His enemy sitting in his Saubha that moved about in the sky, Acyuta prepared to kill him. That is how some sages say it who do not reason correctly, oh seer among the kings. They most certainly then contradict the words they once spoke but have forgotten again [compare e.g. 10.3: 15-17; 10.11: 7; 10.12: 27; 10.31: *; 10.33: 37; 10.37: 23; 10.38: 10; 10.50: 29; 10.52: 7 and 10.60: 58]. In what way would the lamentation, bewilderment, affection or fear that are born from ignorance, belong to the Infinite One in whom one finds the undivided complete of wisdom, spiritual knowledge and opulence? Those who, encouraged by service in self-realisation at His feet, dispel the bodily concept of life that bewildered man since time immemorial, attain the eternal glory in a personal relationship with Him [svarupa] - so how could there be any bewilderment then with Him, the Supreme Destination of the Truthful Ones? And while Shalva with great force attacked Him with torrents of weapons, Lord Krishna whose prowess never fails, pierced his armor, bow and crest jewel with His arrows and smashed the Saubha vehicle of His enemy with His club. Shattered into thousands of pieces by the club in Krishna's hand, it fell into the water. Shalva thereupon abandoned it, took position and rushed forward with his club in his hands towards Acyuta. As he ran toward Him carrying his club, Krishna severed his arm with a bhalla cutting arrow. In order to kill Shalva He next raised His wonderful disc weapon. Looking like a mountain beneath a rising sun, He shone with a radiation resembling the light at the end of time. The Lord severed the head of that master of great magic with it, complete with earrings and crown, the way lord Indra with his thunderbolt severed Vritrasura's head [see 6.12]. From his men then rose a loudly voiced 'alas, alas!'

After the sinner had fallen and the Saubha fortress was destroyed by the club, kettledrums sounded in the sky oh King, played by a host of demigods. And then... it was Dantavakra who, in order to avenge his friends, furiously ran forward.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 78:

Dantavakra Killed and Romaharshana Slain with a Blade of Grass

- Shri Shuka said: 'Out of friendship for the absent Shishupala, Shalva and Paundraka - who all had passed on to the next world, the wicked one [Dantavakra, see 9.24: 37] appeared who, all alone, on foot and with a club in his hand, oh great King, infuriated made the earth tremble under his feet by his great physical power. Seeing him coming His way Lord Krishna quickly took up His club, leaped down from His chariot and stopped him in his tracks like the shore does with the sea. Raising his club the king of Karusha arrogantly said to Mukunda: 'What a luck, what a luck I have today to see You crossing my path. You oh Krishna who as our maternal cousin have used violence against my friends, want to kill me. Therefore I will kill You oh fool, with my thunderbolt club. I who care about my friends will have paid my debt to them only after having killed You oh ignoramus, You oh enemy in the form of a family member who are like a disease to one's body.'

Thus with harsh words harassing Krishna like one does an elephant with goads, he roared like a lion and stroke Him with his club on the head. Krishna, the deliverer of the Yadus, despite being hit by the club, did not move an inch on the battlefield and with His Kaumodaki [His club] struck him heavily in the middle of his chest. With his heart shattered by the club he vomited blood and fell lifeless to the ground with his hair, arms and legs spread wide. Then, oh king, before the eyes of all living beings, an amazing, very subtle light entered Lord Krishna, just as it happened with Shishupala [see 10.74: 45]. Viduratha, his brother, came next. Plunged in sorrow about his relative, he with sword and shield came forward, breathing heavily in his desire to kill Him. As he attacked Him oh King of kings, Krishna with the razor-sharp edge of His cakra sliced off his head complete with its helmet and earrings. 3-1 After thus having killed the, for others insurmountable, Shalva and his Saubha fortress along with Dantavakra and his younger brother Viduratha, He was praised by gods and men, sages and the perfected ones. The heavenly singers and scientists, the great ones of excellence and the dancing girls, the forefathers and the keepers of the wealth as also the venerable and the mighty ones all sang His glory, showering flowers the moment He surrounded by the most eminent Vrishnis entered His decorated capital. This is how the Controller of Yoga, Krishna the Supreme Lord and

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Master of the Living Being is victorious. It is to those who have an animalistic vision that He seems to suffer defeat [*].

When Lord Balarama heard about the preparations the Kurus and Pandavas made for war, He being neutral departed under the pretext of going to bathe at the holy places. After at Prabhasa having bathed and having honoured the demigods and sages, forefathers and human beings [there], He, surrounded by brahmins, went to the Sarasvati [where she is] flowing westward to the sea. 9-2 Oh son of Bharata, He visited the broad body of water of Bindu-saras, Tritakupa, Sudars'ana, Vis'ala and Brahma-tirtha, Cakra-tirtha, the Sarasvati where she flows eastward and all [the holy places] along the Yamuna and the Ganges. He also went to the Naimisha[ranya] forest where the rishis were engaged in the performance of an elabourate sacrifice [see also 1.1: 4]. They who for a long time had been engaged in the sacrifice recognised Him upon His arrival and properly greeted Him reverentially by standing up and bowing down to Him. After He together with His entourage had been worshiped and had accepted a seat, He noticed that the disciple [Romaharshana, see also 1.4: 22] of the greatest of all sages [Vyasa] had remained seated. Seeing that the suta [a son of a mixed marriage of a brahmin father and kshatriya mother] who had not bowed down or joined his palms, was sitting higher than the rest of the learned ones, the sweet Lord got angry: 'Because he, born as a pratiloma, sits higher than these brahmins and also higher than Me, the Protector of the Religion, he, being so arrogant, deserves it to die. 5-2 As a disciple of the Lord among the sages [Vyasa thus] he has fully studied the many Itihasas, Puranas and Shastras about the religion, but this has not led to good qualities. Not in control with himself, he vainly lacking in humility and not having subdued his mind, deems himself a scholarly authority and is thus engaged like an actor. It is for this purpose indeed that I have descended into this world: to put an end to those who pose as religious but factually are most sinful.'

Even though He was on a pilgrimage and thus had stopped with killing the impious ones, the Supreme Lord after having said this, did what had become inevitable. The Lord put an end to him by means of the tip of a blade of grass that He held in His hand. All the sages said 'Ohhh, ohhh' and in distress said to Sankarshana deva: 'You have committed an irreligious act, oh Master. We have granted him the master's seat for the duration of the sacrifice , oh Darling of the Yadus, along with a long life and freedom from physical worries. 1-3 Even though You, oh Master of Mystic Power, are not regulated by the scriptural injunctions, You unknowingly have killed a brahmin. But if You oh Purifier of the World, atone for Your killing a brahmin, the people in general, who are inspired by no one else, will benefit from Your example.'

The Supreme Lord said: 'I want to be of compassion for the common people and will perform the atonement for this killing. Please tell Me what the prescribed ritual to be done first would be. Oh, please say the word, and by My mystic potency I will bring about the long life, strength and sensory power that you promised him.'

The sages said: 'Please, oh Balarama, arrange it so that both Your potency of killing by means of that [grass] weapon and that what we have said may remain.'

The Supreme Lord said: 'The Vedas tell us that the child taking birth from you is truly one's self. Therefore his son [Suta Gosvami, see 1.2: 1] should be the speaker [of the Purana, endowed] with a long life, strong senses and physical power [see also **]. Oh best of sages, please tell Me what you want. I shall do it, and again, please, oh intelligent ones, think of what the proper atonement would be, for I have no idea.'

The rishis said: 'The fearsome demon Balvala, the son of Ilvala, comes here every new moon and spoils our sacrifice. The best you can do for us oh descendant of Das'arha, is to defeat that sinner who pours pus on us, blood, feces, urine, wine and meat. You subsequently, for twelve months should do penance by serenely traveling around the land of Bharata [India] and find purification by bathing at the holy places.'

*: It is in these verses that the Bhagavatam says that one has the vision of an animal if one thinks that the Lord would ever suffer defeat as seemed to be the case with Krishna fleeing from Jarasandha [10.52], Krishna acting as if he would be impressed by Shalva's tricks [10.77: 27-32], the Buddha being food-poisoned or Jesus Christ being crucified. In the end to His evanescence there is the victory, the enlightenment, the resurrection and the second birth in acceptance of the teaching.

**: To illustrate the principle enunciated here by Lord Balarama, the parampara in the person of Shrila Shridhara Svami quotes the following Vedic verse that appearing in both the Shatapatha Brahmana 4.9.8. and the Brihad-aranyaka Upanishad .4.:

angad angat sambhavasi
hridayad abhijayase
atma vai putra-namasi
sanjiva Sharadah Shatam

"You have taken birth from my various limbs and have arisen from my very heart. You are my own self in the form of my son. May you live through a hundred autumns."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 79:
Lord Balarama Slays Balvala and Visits the Holy Places

Shri Shuka said: 'Then, on de day of the new moon, a fierce and frightening wind arose scattering dust, oh King, with the smell of pus everywhere. Thereupon a rain of abominable things produced by Balvala poured down upon the sacrificial arena, after which he himself appeared carrying a trident. - The sight of that immense body, which looked like a heap of charcoal with a topknot and beard of burning copper, his fearsome teeth and face with contracted eyebrows, reminded Rama of His club, which crushes opposing armies, and His plow that subdues the Daityas. Both the weapons presented themselves immediately at His side. With the tip of His plow Balarama got hold of Balvala, who moved about in the sky, and with His club then angrily struck the harasser of the brahmins on the head. He produced a cry of agony and fell, with his forehead cracked open, gushing blood to the ground like a red mountain struck by a thunderbolt. The sages praised Rama, awarded Him practical benedictions and ceremonially sprinkled Him with water, just like the great souls did with [Indra] the killer of Vritrasura [Indra, see 6.13]. They gave Rama a Vaijayanti flower garland of unfading lotuses in which Shri resided and a divine set of clothes together with celestial jewelry.

Next receiving permission to leave them He together with [a group of] brahmins went to the Kaus'iki river where He took a bath. From there He headed for the lake from which the Sarayu flows. Following the course of the Sarayu He arrived in Prayaga where He bathed to propitiate the demigods and other living beings. Thereafter He went to the hermitage of Pulaha Rishi [see also 5.7: 8-9]. 1-1 After having immersed Himself in the Gomati, the Gandaki, the Shona and Vipas'a river, He went to Gaya to worship His forefathers and to the mouth of the Ganges to perform ritual ablutions. At Mount Mahendra He saw Lord Parashurama. After honouring Him He then bathed where the seven branches of the Godavari river converge with the rivers the Vena, the Pampa and the Bhimarathi. Having seen Lord Skanda [Karttikeya] Balarama next visited Shri-s'aila, the residence of Lord Giris'a [Shiva] and saw the Master in Dravida-des'a [the southern provinces] the most sacred hill, the Venkatha [of Balaji]. After [having visited] the cities of Kamakoshni and Kanci He went to the river the Kaveri as also to the greatest of them all, the most holy Shri-ranga, where the Lord manifested [as Ranganatha]. He went to the place of the Lord, the mountain Rishabha, then to southern Mathura [Madurai where the goddess Minakshi resides] and next to Setubandha [Cape Comorin] where the gravest sins are destroyed. 6-1 There the Wielder of the Plow, Halayudha, gave a great number of cows away to the brahmins. He went to the rivers the Kritamala and Tamraparni and the Malaya mountain range, where He bowed down to pay respect to Agastya Muni who, sitting there in meditation, gave Him his blessings. Leaving with his permission He went to the southern ocean where he saw the goddess Durga [known as Kanya]. Then reaching Phalguna and taking a bath in the sacred lake of the five Apsaras where Lord Vishnu manifested, He again gave away a myriad of cows. 9-2 The Supreme Lord thereupon traveled through Kerala and Trigarta and arrived at Gokarna [northern Karnataka], a place sacred because of the manifestation of Dhurjathi ['he with a load of matted locks'], Shiva. Seeing the honoured goddess [Parvati] residing on an island off the coast, Balarama went to Shurparaka where He touched the waters of the Tapi, the Payoshni and the Nirvindhya. Next He entered the Dandaka forest and went to the Reva where the city of Mahishmati is found. There He touched the water of Manu-tirtha and then returned to Prabhasa.

From the brahmins [there] He heard about the annihilation of all the kings in a battle [at Kurukshetra] between the Kurus and the Pandavas. He concluded that the earth was being relieved of her burden [see also e.g. 10.50: 9]. He, the beloved Son of the Yadus, then went to the battle where He tried to stop Bhima and Duryodhana who with their maces were fighting each other on the field [see also 10.57: 26]. But when Yudhishthhira, the twins Nakula and Sahadeva, Krishna and Arjuna saw Him, they were silent as they offered their obeisances with the burning question: 'What does He want to tell us, coming here?' He saw the two with clubs in their hands skillfully moving in circles and furiously strive for the victory. He said: 'Oh King, oh Great Eater, the two of you warriors are equal in prowess. One I think is of a greater physical power, while the other is technically better trained. I do not see how from any of you, who are equally skilled, a victory or defeat can be expected. So stop this useless fight.'

In spite of being sensible people, the two, who fixed in their enmity kept each other's harsh words and misdeeds in mind, did not take heed of His words, oh King. Balarama decided that it was their fate and went to Dvaraka were He was greeted by a delighted family headed by Ugrasena. When He [later on] returned again to Naimisharanya, the sages engaged Him, the Embodiment of All Sacrifice who had renounced all warfare, with pleasure in all the different kinds of rituals [*]. The Almighty Supreme Lord bestowed upon them the perfectly pure spiritual knowledge by which they could perceive this universe as residing within Him and also see Him as pervading the entire creation. After together with His wife [Revati, see 9.3: 29-33] having executed the concluding ritual avabhritha bath He, well dressed, nicely adorned and surrounded by His family members and other relatives and friends, appeared as splendid as the moon in its full glory [full and surrounded by the stars].

There are countless other [pastimes] like this of the mighty, unlimited and unfathomable Balarama who through His illusory power appears as a human being. Whoever regularly, at dawn and dusk, remembers the activities of the unlimited Balarama that are all amazing, will become dear to Lord Vishnu.'

*: Shrila Prabhupada writes here: 'Actually Lord Balarama had no business performing the sacrifices recommended for ordinary human beings; He is the Supreme Personality of Godhead, and therefore He Himself is the enjoyer of all such sacrifices. As such, His exemplary action in performing sacrifices was only to give a lesson to the common man, to show how one should abide by the injunctions of the Vedas.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 80: An Old Brahmin Friend Visits Krishna

The honourable king said: 'My lord, I would like to hear oh master, what valorous deeds there are more of Lord Krishna, the Supreme Soul of Unlimited Powers. How can anyone who is disgusted with running after material desires and knows the essence oh brahmin, desist from listening to the transcendental topics of the Lord Hailed in the Scriptures after repeatedly having heard them? The actual power of speech is the one describing His qualities, the hands that really work are the ones that do His work, the true mind is the mind remembering Him as dwelling with the mobile and immobile living beings, and the ear that actually hears is the ear turned to His sanctifying topics [compare 2.3: 20-24]. It is about the head that bows to both of His manifestations [among the mobile and immobile beings], about the eye that sees Him only and about the limbs that regularly honour the water that washed the feet of Vishnu or His devotees'."

Suta [1.2: 1] said: "After Vishnurata [Parikchit as being Vishnu-sent] had asked this question, he was addressed by the powerful sage, the son of Vyasa whose heart was fully absorbed in Vasudeva. Shri Shuka said: 'There was a certain friend of Krishna [called Sudama, not the same one as mentioned in 10.41: 43], a brahmin well versed in the Vedas, who, peaceful of mind and in control of his senses, was detached from the sense objects. As a householder he subsisted on that what came of its own accord. His wife was, just like him, poorly dressed and emaciated of hunger. Distressed by the poverty she, with her face dried up and trembling legs, faithful to her husband, approached him and said: 'Is it not so, oh brahmin, oh master of devotion, that the Husband of Shri is your friend and that that best one of the Satvatas is filled with compassion for the brahmins and is willing to give them shelter? Please approach Him, my most gracious man, for He, the Ultimate Shelter of the Saintly Souls, will then provide you with abundant wealth because you have such a hard time maintaining your family. If the Lord of the Bhojas, Vrishnis and Andhakas who is now present in Dvaraka, even gives Himself to a person [just] remembering His lotus feet, then what would the Spiritual Master of the Universe not do for people of worship who are not so much interested in economic success and sensual gratification?'

2-1 The brahmin who thus repeatedly in various ways was entreated by his wife then thought: 'The sight of Uttamas'loka is indeed the highest attainment.' He took the decision to visit Him and asked her: 'If there is anything in the house that I can bring as a gift my good woman, please give it to me!' She begged with the other brahmins for four fists of husked and parched rice, wrapped it in a piece of cloth and gave it to her husband to bring as a gift.

He, the best of the scholars, took it with him and on his way to Dvaraka wondered: 'How will I ever get this audience with Krishna?' 6-1 Together with a couple of local brahmins the scholar passed three gates and guard stations and walked between the houses of Acyuta's faithful followers, the Andakas and Vrishnis. One normally could not go there and so he felt as if he had attained the bliss of the Pure Spirit. He next entered one of the opulent sixteen thousand residences of the Lord's queens [*]. Acyuta who sat on His consort's bed, saw him from a distance, immediately rose and came forward to close him gladly in His arms. The Lotus-eyed One in touch with the body of His dear friend, the wise brahmin, extremely ecstatic released affectionately some teardrops from His eyes. 0-2 Having him seated on the bed He fetched some items to honour His friend and washed his feet. The Supreme Lord of All the Worlds took the water on His head, oh King. Then the Purifier anointed him with divinely fragrant sandalwood and

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aloe-wood [lignaloes or aguru] paste and kunkuma. He gladly honoured His friend with aromatic incense and series of lamps and offered him bethel nut and a cow. Next He spoke a word of welcome. The goddess [Rukmini] was personally of service by carefully fanning with a yak's tail the dirty and poorly dressed, emaciated twice-born soul, whose veins could be seen. The people in the palace thus seeing Krishna engaged in His spotless reputation, were amazed about the intense love with which the unkempt looking soul [the avadhuta] was honoured: 5-2 'What pious deeds has he performed, this unwashed, condemned and lowly mendicant deprived of all prosperity in the world? How can he with reverence be served by the Spiritual Master of the Three Worlds who is the abode of Shri? Leaving the goddess sitting on her bed He embraced him as an older brother!'

Taking hold of each other's hands, oh King, they discussed the charming topics of the past when they together lived in the school of their spiritual master [see 10.45: 31-32]. The Supreme Lord said: 'Oh brahmin, after the guru received his remuneration from you and you returned [home], oh knower of the dharma, did you marry a suitable wife or not? With your mind occupied by household affairs, you were not driven by desires and I also know that you do not take much pleasure, oh wise soul, in the pursuit of material happiness. Some people perform their worldly duties without being disturbed by desires in their minds. Acting to set an example as I do, they shake off the propensities that naturally arise. Do you, oh brahmin, still remember our stay in the gurukula? It is there that a twice-born soul learns to understand what needs to be known and thus manages to transcend his ignorance. One is born twice my dear friend: after first being born materially one [secondly] manifests through a spiritual master, a bestower of spiritual knowledge like Myself, who teaches what the duties are for all spiritual orders [or stages of life, see ashrama and 7.12]. Among those engaged in the varnashrama system [see also B.G. 4: 13] in this world, they [who thus are twice born] are the expert knowers of the true welfare, oh brahmin, for they cross over the ocean of material existence with the help of the words stemming from Me in the form of the spiritual master. I, the Soul of All Beings, am not as satisfied by ritual worship, a new life, austerity or self-control as I am by faithful service to the spiritual master [compare 7.14: 17]. 5-3 Oh brahmin, do you still remember what we did, when we were living with our spiritual master, when we once by the wife of our guru were sent away to fetch firewood? Having entered a big forest, oh brahmin, all out of season, a fierce harsh thundering wind arose with rain. With the sun having set we, with all directions covered in darkness and with all the water around us, could neither recognise the direction nor high or low areas. Constantly heavily besieged by the fierce wind and water in that flood, we did not know what way to go and in distress wandered through the forest holding each other's hands. Our guru Sandipani knew this and at sunrise set out to search for us, his disciples. The acarya then found us suffering. 'Oh you children, for my sake you have to suffer heavily! In your devotion for me you have disregarded that what is most dear to all living beings: the [comfort of your] body! Well, this is what disciples should do to pay the debt to their spiritual master: being perfectly pure in their love, they must be willing to offer the spiritual master their very self and possessions. I am satisfied with you my dear boys, oh best of the brahmins. May your desires be fulfilled and may in this world and the next your words, your mantras, never lose their attraction ['their freshness' compare 10.45: 48].' Many things like this happened when we were living at the house of the guru. Only by the mercy of the spiritual master a person will find [spiritual] fulfillment and attain peace.'

The brahmin said: 'What more is there for me to achieve in life, oh God of Gods, oh Guru of the Universe, than to have lived together at the guru's house with You whose every desire is fulfilled? Oh Almighty One, Your body, constituting the fertile field of all welfare, comprises the Absolute Truth that is celebrated [in the Vedas]. Your residing with spiritual masters is nothing but an extraordinary role-play [see also e.g. 10.69: 44 and 10.77: 30]!'

*: Shrila Vis'vanatha Cakravarti quotes from the Padma Purana, Uttara-khanda, which says that the brahmin actually entered the palace of Rukmini: 'sa tu rukminy-antah-pura-dvari kshanam tushnim sthitah'; 'He stood for a moment in silence at the doorway of Queen Rukmini's palace'.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 81:

The Brahmin Honoured: Lord Krishna the Godhead of the Brahmins

- Shri Shuka said: 'He, Bhagavan Krishna, the True Goal of the Devotees, the Lord Who Perfectly Knows the Minds of All Beings, in this manner conversing with this best one among the brahmins, then, in His dedication to the ones of learning, laughed and spoke with a smile and a loving glance to His dear friend. The Supreme Lord said: 'What gift have you brought for Me from home, oh brahmin? Even the slightest that in pure love is offered by devotees, turns into something immense for Me, whereas not even the greatest that is being presented by non-devotees pleases Me. Whoever offers Me a leaf, a flower, a fruit and water with devotion, that offer brought from the heart by a soul of good habits I accept [same as in B.G. 9: 26].'

But the twice-born soul thus being addressed, was too embarrassed with Him, the Husband of the Goddess of Fortune, bowed down his head and did not offer the few hands of rice grains, oh King. - As the direct witness in the heart of all living beings fully cognizant of the reason why he had come, He thought: 'He worshiped Me in the past and never desired opulence. But because he, My friend, in order to keep his chaste and devoted wife happy, has come to Me now, I will give him riches not attainable for [even] the immortals [see also B.G. 9: 22].' With that in mind He Himself from under the garment of the twice-born one snatched away the rice grains that were tied in a bundle and said: 'What is this? Have you brought this for Me My dear friend? That gives Me the greatest pleasure! These rice grains satiate Me and the whole universe [that I am]!'

Speaking thus He took a handful to eat and a second one, whereupon Shri [Rukmini devi], devoted to Him, the One Supreme, seised His hand [for the beaten grains were hard to digest]. 'That oh Soul of Each and Everyone, is enough to make a person wishing to satisfy You, prosper in this world and the next with all opulence available.'

After to his satisfaction having drunk and eaten the brahmin spent that night in Acyuta's palace. He thought he had attained heaven. The next day dear King, as he returned home, he was honoured by Him, the Self-satisfied Maintainer of the Universe who made him happy as he walked along the path. Even though he had received no wealth from Krishna and had been too embarrassed to ask for it himself, he on his way home was filled with joy about the audience he had with the Great One. 'Ah, what a privilege it is to have witnessed the devotion of the Godhead of the Brahmins for the twice-born souls. He who carries Lakshmi in His chest embraced the poorest wretch! Who am I? A destitute sinner! And who is Krishna? The temple of Shri! And He, this friend of the brahmins, closed me in His arms! He seated me on the bed of His consort like one of His brothers. Tired as I was, I was fanned by His queen holding a [yak-tail] hair fan. Being served with sincerity with a massage for my feet and such, I was worshiped like a demigod by the God of Gods, the Godhead of the Scholars! The worship of His feet is the root of all perfections and opulence that man in his emancipation may find in heaven, on earth and in the lower regions. 'If this poor soul acquires opulence he, delighting in excess, will not remember Me', He must have thought in His grace, and thus did not grant me the slightest amount of wealth.'

Thus lost in thought he arrived at the vicinity of his home. There he found himself placed before high rising palaces rivaling the sun, the fire and the moon. On all sides they were surrounded by wonderful courtyards and gardens swarming with hordes of cooing birds, ponds full of lilies and day and night blooming white lotuses. There were well adorned and ornamented men and women with deer-like eyes. 'What is this, whose place is this, how could this come about?' This way paining his mind he was welcomed by the men and women with a luster like the demigods, who most fortunately loudly sang to instrumental music. His wife, hearing that her husband had arrived, extremely jubilant quickly appeared excitedly from the house like she was the goddess of fortune manifesting herself from her abode. Seeing the husband she was so devoted to, she solemnly held her head down embracing him within her heart with closed eyes filled with tears because of her eagerness and love. He stood amazed at the sight of his wife who, shining in the midst of maidservants with golden lockets around their necks, radiated like a goddess in a vimana. Pleased he together with her entered his home that with its hundreds of gem-studded pillars resembled the palace of the great Indra. 9-3 There were ivory beds ornamented with gold [with bedding] white as foam and couches with golden legs, yak tail fans, golden chairs with soft cushions and canopies hung with strings of pearls. Seeing the sparkling clear quartz walls inlaid with precious emeralds as also the shining jeweled lamps and the women decorated with jewels, the brahmin, now free from worries with all the excessive opulence, reasoned about the cause of his unexpected prosperity: 'This prosperity here, of me always so unlucky and poverty stricken, must be the consequence of the glance that He, the Best of the Yadus who is of the Greatest Opulence, has cast on me. It is no doubt my Friend, the most exalted among the Das'arhas and Enjoyer of Unlimited Wealth, who, without saying a word, like a cloud [pouring rain] has given me this opulence when He, with me in His presence, noticed that I came begging. After having accepted with pleasure a palmful of roasted rice that I brought, this very day He makes something insignificant of the great gift He gives and something great of the meager gift of a friend [like me]. May there life after life, repeatedly be my love [sauhrida], friendship [sakhya], sympathy [maitri] and servitude [dasya] for Him, the Supremely Compassionate Reservoir of Transcendental Qualities, as also my adherence to the intimate association with His devotees. The Supreme and Never Born Lord does not bestow the wonderful opulences - a kingdom and material assets - upon His devotee when he [not initiated or not twice-born, see 10.80: 32] fails in understanding. In His wisdom He sees how the false pride [the arrogance, the conceit with the wealth, or the mada] leads to the downfall of the wealthy.'

He [Sudama] this way firmly being fixed in intelligence, was most devoted to Janardana and enjoyed free from intense desire [for wealth or profit] together with his wife. Therewith he always kept in mind that he [sooner or later] would have to abandon the objects of his senses. The brahmins are even the master of Him, the God of Gods, Hari, the Master and Lord of Sacrifice. There exists no higher worshipable deity than them [see also 7.11: 14, 7.14: 17-18, 10.24: 25, 10.45: 32]. By thus recognizing the Unconquerable One as being conquered by His own servants [see also 9.4: 63 and 10.9: 19] he, the learned friend of the Supreme Lord, was released from his bondage to the [material] self. By the force of his meditation upon Him he soon attained His abode, the destination of the truthful ones. The human being who hears about this sympathy for the brahmins of the Godhead of the Brahmins, will find love for the Supreme Lord and be freed from the bondage of [fruitive] labour [karma, see also 7.11: 35].'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 82:

All Kings and the Inhabitants of Vrindavana on Pilgrimage Reunite with Krishna

Shri Shuka said: 'When Balarama and Krishna lived in Dvaraka, there was one day [*] an eclipse of the sun as great as the one at the end of the kalpa [a day of Brahma]. The people knowing that beforehand, oh King, came from everywhere to the field of Samanta-pancaka ['the five lakes' at Kurukshetra] in the hope that that would work in their favor. - It is the place where Lord Parashurama, the greatest hero among the warriors, rid the earth of its [tyrannical] rulers and with the streams of their blood created the great lakes [see 9.16: 18-19]. Even though Bhagavan Lord Parashurama was unaffected by karmic reactions, He, in order to set an example for the common man, was there of worship like a normal person who wishes to dispel the sin. To that occasion therefore, oh son of Bharata, a great number of people of Bharata came there on a holy pilgrimage. Vrishnis like Gada, Pradyumna and others as also [the elders] Akrura, Vasudeva and Ahuka [Ugrasena] who all wanted to eradicate their sins, went to that holy place. Aniruddha together with Sucandra, Shuka, Sarana and the army commander Kritavarma remained behind to guard [the city]. - As effulgent Vidyadharas they in chariots resembling heavenly vehicles moved on in waves of horses, bellowing elephants and masses of foot soldiers. Resplendent with their wives, with golden necklaces, flower garlands, attire and armor, they appeared on the road as supremely divine and majestic as [demigod] sky travelers. The greatly pious Yadavas bathing and fasting there, carefully saw to it that cows, garments, garlands, gold and necklaces were donated to the brahmins. After once more in the lakes of Parashurama as prescribed having taken a bath [the next day to conclude their fast], they fed the leading brahmins with the finest food and prayed thereto: 'Let there be our devotion for Krishna.' The Vrishnis thereupon with the permission of Krishna, their exclusive deity, comfortably sat down to eat in the cool shade of the trees. 2-1 Having arrived there they saw the Matsyas, Us'inaras, Kaus'alyas, Vidarbhas, Kurus, Srinjayas, Kambojas, Kaikayas, Madras, Kuntis, Anartas and Keralas; hundreds of allied and adversary kings and others who were their friends and relatives, oh King. They also saw their dear friends, the gopas and gopis headed by Nanda who had been aching [to see them] for so long. Meeting again, with their hearts and faces blooming as beautiful as lotuses because of the emotions, they embraced each other firmly and thus experienced the greatest delight with streams of tears, goose pimples and a choked-up voice. The women looking at one another, with great eyes filled with tears of pure love, smiled with the greatest friendship and closed each other in their arms, pressing breasts to breasts that were smeared with kunkum paste. Thereupon they paid their respects to the elders and received obeisances from their younger relatives. Having inquired after their well-being and having discussed the comfort of their journey, they next started to talk with each other about Krishna.

Kunti saw her brothers and sisters with their children, her parents, her sisters-in-law and Mukunda and gave up her sorrow while talking to them. Kunti said: 'Oh respectable brother, I feel most unfulfilled in my prayers because you who are so very good, forgot what happened to me during my times of emergency [see also 1.8: 24]! Friends, relatives, sons, brothers and even parents, easily forget the one [among them] suffering misfortune.'

Shri Vasudeva said: 'Dear sister, do not be cross with us, men are the playthings of fate. Whether someone acts of his own accord or follows the directions of others, he always falls under the control of the Lord. Pestered by Kamsa we scattered in all directions [see 10.2: 7 and 10.4]. Only now we by Divine Ordinance have returned to our places, oh sister.'

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Shri Shuka said: 'All the kings who there were honoured by Vasudeva, Ugrasena and the other Yadavas, found peace in the supreme happiness of seeing Acyuta. 3-2 Bhishma, Drona, the son of Ambika [Dhritarashthra], Gandhari with her sons as also the Pandavas and their wives, Kunti, Sanjaya, Vidura and Kripa; Kuntibhoja and Viratha, Bhishmaka, the great Nagnajit, Purujit, Drupada, Shalya, Dhrishthaketu and the king of Kas'i; Damaghosha, Vis'alaksha, the kings of Maithila, Madra and Kekaya, Yudhamanyu, Sus'arma, Bahlika and others with their sons, as also, oh best of kings, many other kings resorting under Yudhishthhira, were all amazed to see the personal form of Shauri, [Krishna] the abode of Shri, there together with His wives. After from both Balarama and Krishna having received proper proof of respect, the kings in their turn filled with joy, enthusiastically praised the Vrishnis, the personal associates of Krishna: 'Oh master of the Bhojas [Ugrasena], you have chosen a commendable birth among men in this world, for you continually see Krishna, He who even by the yogis is rarely seen. 9-3 His fame as praised in the Vedas, the water washing from His feet and the words of the revealed scriptures thoroughly purify this universe [see also B.G. 15: 15]. Even though her wealth had been ravaged by Time, the earth's vitality has been awakened by the touch of His lotus feet with her fulfilling all our desires like an abundance of rain. By seeing Him in person, by touching Him and walking with Him, conversing, lying down, sitting, eating, being bound through marriage with Him and having Him as a blood-relative, you [normally] following the hellish path of family life have now found Vishnu, liberation and heaven [in person] who constitutes the cessation [of one's searching in life. See also 5.14 and 7.14 and B.G. 11: 41-42].'

Shri Shuka said: 'When Nanda found out that the Yadus headed by Krishna had arrived there, he went to meet Him, accompanied by the gopas with their belongings on their wagons. In their delight excited to enjoy His presence after so long a time, the Vrishnis revived as if awakened from death and embraced Him firmly. When Vasudeva, beside himself of love overjoyed embraced Him, he remembered the troubles created by Kamsa because of which he had to leave his sons behind in Gokula [see 10.3 & 10.5]. Krishna and Rama embraced Their [foster] parents and offered Their respects but could, with throats filled with tears of love, not utter a word, oh greatest hero of the Kurus. The so very fortunate couple, Nanda and Yashoda, in their turn raised their sons on their laps, held Them in their arms and gave up their sorrow [of having been separated from Them]. Thereupon Rohini and Devaki embraced the queen of Vraja and addressed her with their throats full of tears, remembering what she had done [for them] in her friendship: 'Which woman can forget your unceasing friendship oh queen of Vraja? Not even obtaining the wealth of Indra would suffice to repay you in this world! When these Two [boys] had not yet met Their [real] parents They, residing with the two of you as Their [foster] parents, received the education and affection, nourishment and protection. My good lady, in the custody of you saintly souls, strange to no one and as protective as eyelids to eyes, They had nothing to fear.'

Shri Shuka said: 'The gopis seeing Krishna, their object of desire after such a long time, the One for seeing whom they would curse the creator of their eyelids [see 10.31: 15], all, by their eyes, took Him into their hearts to embrace Him there to their satisfaction and thus attained the ecstatic absorption that even for souls constantly united [with Him in meditation] is difficult to attain. The Supreme Lord approached them more privately, embraced them, informed after their health and with a smile said the following: 'Dear girlfriends, do you still remember Us, We who intent on destroying the enemy party for that purpose stayed away so long? Maybe you think ill of Us being afraid that We have put you out of Our mind - but in fact it is the Supreme Lord who brings together and separates the living beings. The way the wind brings together masses of clouds, grass, cotton and dust and scatters them again, the same way the Creator of the living beings brings together and scatters His subjects [compare 10.5: 24-25]. By the love for Me that you fortunately developed on your part, you have obtained Me; it is indeed the devotion unto Me that leads the living beings to immortality [compare B.G. 9.33]. Oh ladies, being present both inside and outside, I am both the beginning and the end of all created beings, the same way ether, water, earth, air and fire applies to all material things [see also e.g. 10.9: 13-14]. These material entities, who thus [on the one hand] exist within the elements of creation and [on the other hand] according to their true nature pervade those elements in the form of the atma [the Soul, self and person], you should both ways consider as being present within Me, within the Imperishable, Supreme Truth [see also e.g. 1.3: 1, 3.26: 51, 10.59: 29, B.G. 9: 15 and siddhanta].'

Shri Shuka said: 'The gopis, this way being instructed by Krishna's teaching about the atma, eradicated the subtle covering of their soul [their false ego, see linga, 7.2: 47 and 4.29] by constantly meditating on Him and were thus fulfilled by Him. They said: 'With that what You said, oh Lord with the Lotus navel, we wish that our minds, however being engaged in household affairs, are ever vigilant at Your lotus feet, the feet that the great yogis and highly learned philosophers keep in mind to meditate upon, for they constitute, for those who fell into the dark pit of a material existence, the only shelter of deliverance [see also 7.5: 5, 10.51: 46, 7.9: 28, 7.15: 46].'

*: According to Shrila Sanatana Gosvami in his Vaishnava-toshani commentary this event, described in retrospect, would have occurred after Balarama's visit to Vraja 0.6 and before Maharaja Yudhishthhira's Rajasuya sacrifice (in 10.7 because the enmity within the Kuru family, the exile of the Pandavas and the ensuing war at Kurukshetra arose directly after the sacrifice.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 83:
Draupadi Meets the Queens of Krishna

Shri Shuka said: 'The Supreme Lord, the spiritual master and goal of the gopis who thus showed His favor, then asked Yudhishthhira and the rest of His good-hearted relatives about their welfare. They who by seeing His feet were freed from their sinful reactions, felt very honoured thus being questioned by the Lord of the World and gladly replied: 'How can they be unhappy who ever drank the intoxicating nectar of Your lotus-like feet that is poured out by the minds and mouths of the great souls? How can they who with the drinking cups of their ears drank to their fill not experience the happiness, oh Master, oh Destroyer of the forgetfulness of the embodied souls about the Creator who granted them their physical existence? By the light of Your personal form we are released from the bonds of the three [states] of material consciousness [wakefulness, dreaming and sleeping]. Being totally immersed therein, we are of spiritual happiness having bowed down to You, the goal of the perfected saints [the paramahamsas], who by the power of Your illusion have assumed this form for the protection of the unlimited and ever fresh Vedic knowledge that is threatened by time.'

The great sage said: 'While the crest jewel of all personalities who is praised in the scriptures thus was being glorified by His people, the women of the Andhaka and Kaurava clans met to discuss with each other the stories about Govinda that are sung in the three worlds. Please listen as I describe them to you. - Shri Draupadi said: 'Oh Vaidarbhi [Rukmini], Bhadra, Jambavati and Kaus'ala [Nagnajiti]; oh Satyabhama, Kalindi, Shaibya [Mitravinda], Rohini [see * and 10.61*] and Lakshmana [Madra] and other wives of Krishna, please tell us how it came to pass that Acyuta, the Supreme Lord Himself, by the grace of His mystic power lived the way one lives in the world and got married to you?'

Shri Rukmini said: 'Like a lion taking his share from a herd of goats and sheep He, who puts the dust of His feet upon the heads of invincible fighters, took me away when the kings, with their bows ready, were about to offer me to Shishupala. May the feet of Him, the abode of Shri, be my object of worship [see 10.52-54].'

Shri Satyabhama said: 'Being accused [by my father King Shatrajit] He, in order to clear His name, defeated the king of the bears [Jambavan] and brought the jewel back to my father whose heart was distressed about the death of his brother [Prasena]. Afraid [about this accusation] he offered me to the Lord, even though I was spoken for [see 10.56].'

Shri Jambavati said: 'The creator of my body, not realizing that He, the Husband of Sita, was his master and worshipable deity, fought for twenty-seven days with Him. After he recognised Him he came to his senses, took hold of His feet and presented me to Him together with the jewel. I am His maidservant [see also 10.56].'

Shri Kalindi said: 'Knowing that I was executing penances with the desire to touch His feet, He came together with His friend [Arjuna] and took my hand. I am the one cleaning His residence [10.58: 12-23].'

Shri Mitravinda said: 'During my svayamvara He came forward and stole me away the way the enemy of the elephants [a lion] claims his share amidst a pack of dogs. After having defeated the kings and my brothers who insulted Him, He took me to His capital where Shri resides. May I there, life after life, serve Him with washing His feet [10.58: 31].'

Shri Satya said: 'Seven great, strong and vital bulls with the sharpest horns, that by my father were arranged to test the prowess of the kings, destroyed the pride of the heroes. But they were quickly subdued and tied up by Him with the ease of children playing with young goats. This way with His valor paying for me, He defeated the kings on the road with an army of four divisions and took me, being protected by maidservants, with Him. May there be my servitude unto Him [10.58: 32-55].'

Shri Bhadra said: 'With me in love with Him, oh Krishna [Draupadi], my father of his own accord invited my maternal cousin Krishna and gave me to Him together with a retinue of female companions and a military escort of one akshauhini. May there for me, birth after birth wandering because of my karma, be that betterment of myself in touching His feet [10.58: 56].'

Shri Lakshmana said: 'Oh Queen, because I repeatedly heard the glorification by Narada of Acyuta's births and activities, my heart became fixed upon Mukunda, He who by her [the goddess Shri] holding the lotus after due consideration was chosen in rejection of the [demigod] rulers of the world. My father, also known as Brihatsena, oh saintly lady, knew my state of mind and out of love for his daughter arranged for means to meet this end [of marrying with Krishna]. Just as with your svayamvara, oh Queen a fish was used [hung high as a target] that had to be won by Arjuna, also in my case there was such a target. Hidden from sight however, it could only be seen as a reflection in water [in a pot below]. Hearing about this, from everywhere all the kings expert in the art of archery and wielding other weapons, came to my father's city together with their thousands of teachers. My father honoured all of them with full respect for each his strength and age. Then they, who had set their minds upon me, took up the bow and arrows to pierce [the target] in the assembly. Some of them after lifting [the bow] were unable to string it and gave up and some, having pulled the bowstring, fell down because they were hit by it. Other heroes like the kings of Magadha [Jarasandha], Cedi [S'ishupala] and Ambashthha as also Bhima, Duryodhana and Karna, managed to string the bow but could not locate the target. Arjuna managed to locate it and, aiming carefully while looking at the reflection of the fish in the water, took a shot, but the arrow did not hit the target, it just brushed it. 5-2 After the kings were defeated in their pride and had given up, the Supreme Lord playfully took up the bow and managed to string it. At the moment the sun was situated in Abhijit [in 'victory', or at noon] He fixed an arrow on it and pierced, with a single look in the water, the fish with His arrow so that it fell down. Kettledrums resounded in the sky and on earth the sounds of 'jaya' were heard while the demigods overwhelmed by joy released torrents of flowers. Next, with a shy smile on my face and a wreath of flowers in my hair, I entered the arena with gently tinkling ankle bells on my feet, a golden necklace with brilliant jewels around my neck and a pair of fine silken, new garments held together by a belt. I lifted up my face encircled by its many locks of hair and with my cheeks effulgent because of the earrings and looked all around at the kings. With a cool smile casting sidelong glances I slowly placed my necklace around the neck of Murari who had captured my heart. At that moment conch shells, mridangas, tabors, kettledrums and war drums and such instruments resounded while the singers sang and male and female dancers danced. The leading kings could not accept the choice I thus made for the Supreme Lord as my master, oh Draupadi. Upset and with a heart full of imprecation they became quarrelsome. Faced with that situation He lifted me on the chariot with its four excellent horses. He prepared His Sharnga, donned His armor and stood firm to offer battle with His four arms [displayed in full]. Daruka drove the chariot that was trimmed with gold, oh Queen, while the kings looked on as if they were [startled] animals seeing the lion king. Like village dogs with a lion the kings went after Him. Some of them then tried to block His way by raising their bows against Him. Because of the floods of arrows shot from the Sharnga some of them fell with their arms, legs and necks severed, while others gave it up and fled. Like the sun god reaching his abode [or the western horizon] the Lord of the Yadus then entered Dvaraka, His city, that is glorified in heaven and on earth, that was profusely decorated with wonderful archways and banners on flagpoles blocking the sunlight. My father honoured his friends, immediate relations and other family members with the most valuable clothing and jewelry, with beds, seats and with other furniture. In his devotion he presented the most valuable weapons to the Lord of the Complete [Purnasya], as also maidservants endowed with all riches, infantry, elephantry, chariotry and cavalry. By abruptly breaking off our material bonds and doing penances, we have all become the maidservants of His household, of Him, the One Satisfied Within Himself.'

The other queens said [as expressed by Rohini]: 'After He in battle had killed the demon Bhauma and his followers, He discovered that we, the daughters of the kings that the demon defeated during his conquest of the earth, had been imprisoned by him. Because we constantly had remembered His lotus feet as the source of liberation from a material existence He, the One All of whose Wishes are Fulfilled, married us after our release. 1-4 Oh saintly lady, we do not desire rulership over the earth, a heavenly kingdom, unlimited pleasures or mystic power. Nor do we strive for the supreme divinity, to achieve immortality or the abode of Hari. We [just] want to carry on our heads the dust of the divine feet of the Wielder of the Club that is enriched with the fragrance of the kunkuma from the bosom of Shri [see also 10.47: 60, ** and the Shri Shri Shikshashthaka verse 4]. We desire the same as what the Pulinda women [the gopis] desire, as what the grass and the plants and the grazing cows and gopas of Vraja desire: to be touched by the feet of the Supreme Soul.'

*: The one called Rohini here is not Rohini, the mother of Balarama, but the one queen representing the 16000 queens that Krishna wed next to His eight principal queens.

**: The parampara points out that the Shri referred to here is the supreme goddess of fortune as identified by the 'Brihad-gautamiya-tantra':

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devi krishna-mayi prokta
radhika para-devata
sarva-Lakshmi-mayi sarva
kantih sammohini para

"The transcendental goddess Shrimati Radharani is the direct counterpart of Lord Shri Krishna. She is the central figure for all the goddesses of fortune. She is endowed with the power to attract the all-attractive Personality of Godhead. She is the primeval internal potency of the Lord."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 84:
Vasudeva of Sacrifice to the Sages at Kurukshetra Explaining the Path of Success

Shri Shuka said: 'When Pritha, the daughter of the king of Subala [Gandhari] and Draupadi, Subhadra and the wives of the kings as also His gopis, heard of the loving attachment [of the wives] to Krishna, Lord Hari, the Soul of All, they were all greatly amazed with tears filling their eyes. - As the women thus were conversing with the women and the men with the men, sages arrived at the place eager to see Krishna and Rama: Dvaipayana, Narada, Cyavana, Devala and Asita; Vis'vamitra, Shatananda, Bharadvaja and Gautama; Lord Parashurama and his disciples, Vasishthha, Galava, Bhrigu, Pulastya and Kasyapa; Atri, Markandeya and Brihaspati; Dvita, Trita, Ekata and the sons of Brahma [the four Kumaras] as also Angira, Agastya, Yajnavalkya, sages like Vamadeva and others. Seeing them the Pandavas, Krishna, Rama, the kings and others who sat down, immediately stood up to bow down to the souls who are honoured throughout the universe. They all, including Balarama and Acyuta, honoured them befittingly with words of welcome, sitting places, water to wash their feet and water to drink, flower garlands, incense and sandalwood paste. With the sages sitting down comfortably the Supreme Lord, who in His embodiment defends the dharma, addressed that with rapt attention listening assembly of great souls. The Supreme Lord said: 'We who achieved this birth have now all obtained its fruit: the audience of the masters of yoga that even by the demigods is rarely won. How is it possible that human beings who are not very renounced and see God in the form of the temple deity, now may enjoy your company and may touch you, ask you questions, bow down and be of worship at your feet and such? By just seeing you, the saints, one is instantly purified, while that is not so with the holy places consisting of water or with the deities made of clay and stone that only after a long time make that happen [1.13: 10]. Neither the fire, the sun, the moon nor the firmament, neither the earth, the water, the ether, the breath, the speech nor the mind take, when they are worshiped, away the sins of someone entangled in material opposites. But they are wiped away by just a few moments of service to men of [brahminical] learning. With the idea of himself as being the body that can be so smelly with its three elements [of mucus, bile and air], with the notion of a wife and that all as being his property, with the view of clay as being something worshipable, with the thought of water as being a place of pilgrimage, he [the common man going for appearances] is not of [respect for] the men of wisdom. As such he is [not much better than] a cow or an ass.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Hearing this being said by Krishna, the Supreme Lord of Unlimited Wisdom, the scholars were silent, confounded by the words that were hard to digest. The sages pondered for some time over the Lord and the subordinate position [He had assumed] and concluded that what He had said was meant to enlighten the people. Thus they addressed Him, the Spiritual Master of the Universe, with a smile on their faces. The honourable sages said: 'Just see how we, the best knowers of the truth and chief creators of the universe, are bewildered by the power of the material illusion created by the activities of the Supreme Lord, who so amazingly covert in His operations pretends to be the one controlled. Effortlessly He creates, all by Himself, the variety of this universe and maintains and destroys it without getting entangled Himself. He is in His actions just like the earth element with the many names and forms of its transformations. What an actor [imitator] the Almighty One is in His activities [see also 8.6: 10]! Your good Self, the Original Personality of the Soul, nonetheless at times assume the mode of goodness in order to protect Your people and to chastise the wicked; it is the mode in which You maintain the eternal Vedic path of the varnashrama divisions [of status/vocational orientations] by means of Your pastimes [see also sanatana dharma]. The Spirit of the Absolute [as known by the Vedas] is Your pure heart wherein the manifest, the unmanifest and the transcendental position is realised by means of austerities, study and turning inward in concentrated meditation [see also B.G. 7: 5]. Oh Absolute Truth, You show Your respect for the community of the brahmins because one by means of those perfect representatives can understand the revealed scriptures. Consequently You are the leader of all souls of respect for the brahminical culture. Today we achieve the fulfillment of our birth, education, austerities and vision, for it is the goal of the saintly souls to find association with You, the Ultimate of all Welfare. We offer [You] Krishna our obeisances, You, the Supreme Lord whose wisdom is always fresh, the Supersoul who covers His greatness with His yogamaya. None of these kings who enjoy Your company, nor the Vrishnis, know You hiding behind the curtain of maya, as the Supreme Soul, the Time and the Lord [B.G. 6: 26]. 4-2 The way a sleeping person, who envisions an alternate reality with names and forms, in what he manifests through his mind does not know of a separate reality beyond it, does one with You similarly having names and forms, have no clue because of the discontinuity of one's memory that is created by the activity of the senses that bewilder one's consciousness with Your maya [compare B.G. 4: 5 and 4.29: 1, 10.1: 41 and 7.7: 25]. Today You granted us the vision of Your feet forming the source of the Ganges that washes away an abundance of sins. When one [with them] well installed in the heart has ripened in one's yoga practice and fully has matured in devotional service, the material mentality that covers the individual souls is destroyed and Your destination is attained - so please, show Your devotees Your mercy.'

Shri Shuka said: 'The sages having said this took leave of Das'arha [Krishna], Dhritarashthra and Yudhishthhira, oh sage among kings, and prepared to return to their hermitages. Seeing this the greatly renown Vasudeva [the father of Krishna] approached them and bowing down took hold of their feet while expressing the following, carefully chosen words. Shri Vasudeva said: 'My obeisances to you who [represent] all the gods [*]. Oh seers, please listen, tell us this: how can we be freed from our karma by doing work?'

Shri Narada said: 'Oh scholars, this question asked by Vasudeva in his eagerness to learn about his ultimate benefit, is not that surprising at all considering the fact that he thinks of Krishna as being a child [of his, his son]. When people are close in this world, it is easily a cause of disregard, just as it is e.g. with someone living at the Ganges who leaves to seek purification elsewhere. 2-3 The quality of [the Lord] His awareness is never disturbed by time-dependent matters like the creation, destruction and so on of this universe, not by its own activity nor by another agency [see B.G. 4: 14 and 10: 30]. The consciousness of Him, the One Controller without a Second, is not affected by hindrances, material actions and their consequences and the natural modes with their flow of changes [kles'a, karma and guna]. Others [though] may consider Him as being covered by His own expansions of prana and other elements of nature, just like the sun is hidden by clouds, snow or eclipses.'

Then, before all the kings as also Acyuta and Rama listening, oh King, the sages addressed Vasudeva saying: 'It has been ascertained as being correct that karma is counteracted by this [type of] work: to worship with faith and with festive sacrifices Vishnu, the Lord of All Sacrifices. Scholars demonstrated from the viewpoint of the Shastras that this religiousness of being connected [in yoga] is the easiest way to pacify the mind; it brings joy to the heart. For the twice-born soul at home in worship of the Personality of Godhead to perform sacrifices faithfully with spotlessly [justly] acquired possessions, constitutes the path that brings success [**]. An intelligent person should renounce the desire for wealth by means of sacrifices and charity. He should give up the desire for a wife and kids by engaging in temple affairs. With the help of [the cakra order of] Time [and also as being the destroyer of all worlds, see also 9.5 and B.G. 3: 16] he should forget the desire for a world for himself, oh Vasudeva. All sages renounced their [three types of] desires for a household life and went into the forest for doing penances [see also B.G. 2: 13]. Prabhu, a twice-born soul is born with three debts: a debt to the gods, a debt to the sages and a debt to the forefathers. Not liquidating them by [respectively] sacrifice, studying the scriptures and by begetting children [also pupils and brainchildren like books, see ***] he, upon leaving the body, will fall down [back into the material world]. But you [Vasudeva] are presently free from two of the debts, the debt to the sages and the debt to the forefathers, oh magnanimous soul. Be now free from your debt to the gods and renounce your homestead. Oh Vasudeva, [in a previous life] your good self must have been of much worship with devotion for the Supreme Lord of the Universe, for He assumed the role of your son [see also 1o.3: 32-45 and 11.5: 41].'

Shri Shuka said: 'Vasudeva having heard the words they spoke, chose for the sages as his priests and propitiated them by bowing his head. The rishis being asked oh King, then engaged the pious soul in fire sacrifices that strictly to the principles with excellent arrangements were performed at the holy field [of Kurukshetra]. 4-4 When he was about to be initiated the Vrishnis came joyfully to the sacrificial pavilion, bathed and well-dressed, wearing garlands and being elabourately ornamented. They came together with their queens who, carrying the items of worship in their hands, were clad in the finest clothes, wore lockets around their necks and were smeared with sandalwood paste, oh King. Clay tom-toms and tabors, kettle drums and drums, conch shells and other musical instruments sounded, male and female dancers danced and bards and panegyrists sweet voiced sang together with the female singers of heaven and their husbands. According to the rules by the priests sprinkled with sacred water [for his initiation], Vasudeva with his eyes being decorated with collyrium and his body being smeared with fresh butter, together with his eighteen wives [see 9.24: 21-23 & 45] looked like the moon king surrounded by the stars. With them all finely decorated wearing silk saris and bangles, necklaces, ankle bells and earrings he, being initiated and clad in deerskin, shone brilliantly. Oh great King, his officials and priests radiated with their jewels and garments of silk as if they were standing in the sacrificial arena of the killer of Vritra [Indra, see 6.11]. At that time the two Lords Rama and Krishna also stepped forward. With each of Them being accompanied by His own wives, sons and family members as expansions of Their glory, They shone just as splendidly. Vasudeva exercised, in accordance with the rules, respect for the Lord of Rituals, Mantras and Paraphernalia, by performing [both the types of] fire sacrifices and such that are differently characterised as 'original' [or primary, different prototypes as described in the Shruti] and 'changed' [or secondary, offerings following adapted procedures, see *4]. Next he compensated at the designated time the priests, who were already richly decorated, with gifts of gratitude that decorated them even more, as also with marriageable girls, cows and land of great value. After the great sages had executed the ritual with oblations by the sponsor and his wife [patni-samyaja] as also the concluding ritual [avabhrithya], the brahmins, with [Vasudeva] the chief of the yajna in front, bathed in the lake of Lord Parashurama [9.16: 18-19]. Having bathed he together with the women gave their jewelry and clothing away to the bards and next in his finest apparel honoured all the classes of people and even the dogs with food. 5-5 His relatives, their wives and children, the leaders of the Vidarbhas, Kos'alas, Kurus, Kas'is, Kekayas and Srinjayas, the officials, the priests, the different types of enlightened souls, the ordinary humans, the paranormal souls ['the ghostly'], the forefathers and the venerable personalities he gave opulent gifts. Then they took leave from Krishna, the Abode of Shri, and departed full of praise for the sacrifice that was performed. 7-5 The immediate family members Dhritarashthra and his younger brother [Vidura], Pritha and her sons [Arjuna, Bhima and Yudhishthhira], Bhishma, Drona, the twins [Nakula and Sahadeva], Narada, Bhagavan Vyasadeva and others embraced their friends and relatives, the Yadus, and then, with hearts melting of affection upon the separation, with difficulty returned to their respective places as also did the rest of the guests. Nanda out of affection for his relatives stayed together with the cowherds [a little longer]. They were by Krishna, Balarama, Ugrasena and the rest honoured with extra opulent worship. Vasudeva who with ease had crossed over the ocean of his great ambition [see also 10.3: 11-12], felt most satisfied. Surrounded by his well-wishers he took Nanda's hand and spoke to him.

Shri Vasudeva said: 'The by God forged bond of men called affection is, I think, even for heroes and yogis difficult to give up. Even though the friendship you offered so very saintly has not been reciprocated by us, being so forgetful of what you did, it will never cease, for it is beyond compare. Formerly [sitting in Kamsa's prison] we could not act on your behalf and now, well-to-do, oh brother, we even with you standing in front of us fail to see you because our eyes are blinded being intoxicated by our opulence. May someone who is after the real benefit of life never find the fortune of kings, oh you so full of respect, for with his vision thus being clouded he is blind to even the needs of his own family and friends [compare 10.10: 8].'

Shri Shuka said: 'Thus with tears filling his eyes remembering what he [Nanda] all had done in his friendship, Anakadundubhi, with his heart softened by the intimacy, had to weep. Out of love for his friend who showed his affection and for Krishna and Rama, Nanda then said: 'I will go later, I will go tomorrow', but stayed three months longer with the Yadus who honoured him. 7-6 Being satisfied with desirables like the most valuable ornaments, finest linen and various priceless pieces of furniture, he accepted the gifts that were offered by Vasudeva, Ugrasena, Krishna, Uddhava and others. Seen off by the Yadus, he departed together with the inhabitants of Vraja and his family. As they went to Mathura, Nanda, the gopas and the gopis could not put Govinda's lotus feet out of their minds and consequently looked back [many a time]. With their relatives having departed the Vrishnis, who had Krishna as their deity, saw that the rainy season was about to begin and therefore turned back to Dvaraka. To the people [at home] they gave an account of the great festivity and of what had taken place in relation to the lord of the Yadus [Vasudeva] and all the well-wishers they had seen during the pilgrimage [see 10.82].'

*: This statement, so reminds the parampara, is confirmed in the authoritative Shruti-mantras, that declare 'yavatir vai devatas tah sarva veda-vidi brahmane vasanti': "Whatever demigods exist, all reside in a brahmana who knows the Veda."

**: The parampara adds: 'Both Shridhara Svami and Shri Jiva Gosvami here agree that the ritual karma of Vedic sacrifices is particularly meant for attached householders. Those who are already renounced in Krishna consciousness, like Vasudeva himself, need only cultivate their faith in the

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Lord's devotees, His Deity form, His name, the remnants of His food and His teachings, as given in Bhagavad Gita and Shrimad Bhagavatam.'

***: The word putra used here usually refers to a child, but also means doll or any other artificial thing to care for like a home, or works of art, a book or another byproduct as Prabhupada and his pupils called it as e.g. in 3.28: 38 and 11.20: 27-28. It literally means 'preserving from the hell called Put', the place where the childless ones reside.

*4: The parampara explains: 'The Brahmana portion of the Vedic Shruti specifies the complete step-by-step procedure of only a few prototype sacrifices, such as the Jyotishthoma and Dars'a-purnamasa. These are called the prakrita, or original, yajnas; the details of other yajnas must be extrapolated from the patterns of these prakrita injunctions according to the strict rules of the Mimamsa-s'astra. Since other yajnas are thus known by derivation from the prototype sacrifices, they are called vaikrita, or "changed".'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 85:

Lord Krishna Instructs Vasudeva and Retrieves Devaki's Sons

The son of Vyasa said: 'One day, Sankarshana and Acyuta, the two sons of Vasudeva, visited Their father who, after They had honoured his feet, welcomed Them affectionately and spoke to Them. Having heard the words of the sages referring to the superhuman qualities of his two sons, he became convinced of Their heroic deeds. Addressing Them by name he said: 'Krishna, oh Krishna, oh greatest yogi, oh eternal Sankarshana, I know that the two of You are the direct [representatives] of the original nature [or pradhana] and the supreme male principle [the purusha or person] of this universe. You are directly the Supreme Lord, the masters of the original substance and the person. Whatever comes into existence whenever for whatever reason, originates from You, is created by You and exists within You, is there for Your sake and belongs to You. Oh Lord of the Beyond, this variegated universe that You created from Yourself, is maintained by You, oh Unborn One, You enter it as the Supersoul [the Paramatma] and [constitute therewith] the life principle of the vitality [prana] and the individuality [jiva]. Of both [the animate, and inanimate] entities that, different as they are and all belonging to the Supreme, are thus dependent, You are the One who constitutes the creative potency that is active within the life air and the other basic forces of the universe [see also 2.5: 32-33]. The glow, brilliance, luminosity and the particular existence of the moon, the fire, the sun, the stars and lightning B.G. 15: 12], the permanence of the mountains and the fragrance and sustaining power of the earth, are all You in fact. The quenching and the vitalizing capacity of water as also the water itself and its taste are You, oh Lord. Oh Controller, on the basis of Your air [the oxygen...] there is the body heat, the mental and physical vigor, the endeavor and the movement [see also B.G. 11: 39]. You are the directions and the spaces they describe, the omnipresent ether and the elemental sound belonging thereto. You are the [primeval] sound that constitutes the syllable AUM and its differentiation in particular forms [of language, see also B.G. 7: 8]. You are the power of sense perception, You are their gods [see also see also 3.12: 26] and of them You are the mercy [granting these sensations]. You are of the intelligence the power to decide and of the living being the power to remember things correctly [B.G. 7: 10 & 15: 15]. You, the primeval Cause of all Causes [the non-manifest original substance pradhana], are the source of the physical elements [tamas], the passions of the senses [rajas] and the stream of consciousness of the creative gods [sattva, see also B.G. 14]. Among the entities that are subject to destruction in this world You are the imperishable being, just as the substance of something is observed [and not lost] with its transformations. The modes of goodness, passion and ignorance and their functions are in this [imperishable] way regulated within You, within the Supreme Absolute Truth, by Your internal potency [the yogamaya of Your pastimes]. On that account there is in You [Yourself] no question of these modifications. When they are conditioned by You [and in You] as products of creation, they have You inside of them, You who otherwise are not material [eternally free, nitya-mukta, see also B.G. 2: 12, 9: 4-5 & 8: 19]. In this world they are ignorant who impelled by their karma [eternally bound, nitya-bandha] move around in the cycle of rebirth because they fail to understand the transcendental destination that is the Soul of the Complete. I was as fortunate to acquire with this life this difficult to attain, most suitable form of human existence, but because of Your deluding energy [maya] I have spent my entire life in confusion about what one's own purpose in life would be. With You who in this world ties everyone together with the ropes of affection, there is with the body and the progeny and other relations the 'this I am' and 'these are mine' to it [see also e.g. 2.9: 2, 4.28: 17, 4.29: 5, 5.5: 8 and 6.16: 41]. The two of You are not our sons but evidently the Lords of pradhana and purusha who descended to remove the burden of rulers from the earth, as You have said [10.50: 7-10]. I therefore today seek the shelter of Your lotus feet that, from the surrendered, from the distressed souls, take away the fear of being entangled [in the material world], oh Friend, and that is all. Enough, I have enough of that hankering for sense enjoyment that binds me to the mortal frame and makes me think of You, the Supreme One, as being my child. In the maternity room You indeed said [see 10.3: 44] that You were the Unborn Soul who age after age having taking birth with us thus operates to defend Your dharma and therewith just like a cloud [changing form] assume and give up various bodies [see B.G. 4: 8]. Oh, who can understand the mystic potency and powerful expansions of You, the all-pervading, most glorified Lord?'

Shri Shuka said: 'Having heard these statements of His father, the Supreme Lord, the best of the Satvatas, with humility bowed down and then replied broadly smiling in a gentle voice. The Supreme Lord said: 'I consider these meaningful words of yours appropriate, oh father, since by referring to Us, your Sons, you have expressed the complete of reality. I, you, He, My brother, and these residents of Dvaraka, must together with everything that moves and not moves, all be considered the same way [as expansions of Me], oh best of the Yadus [B.G. 9: 5 & 15 and the siddhanta]. The Supreme Soul being indeed one, self-luminous, eternal and distinct, by means of the modes, from Himself has created the material entities that belong to those modes. Being free from the modes He is thus seen as many. It is as with the ether, the air, the fire, the water and the earth that, being single elements, depending their locations, in their manifest and unmanifest, small and large products appear as many [see also B.G. 13: 31].'

Shri Shuka said: 'Vasudeva thus having been addressed by the Supreme Lord, oh King, was liberated from his thinking in opposites and became silent, being satisfied within. 7-2 Then at that place, oh best of the Kurus, Devaki, the worshipable goddess of all who to her utter amazement had heard of [the retrieval of] the son of Their guru [10.45], asked Krishna and Rama loudly and clear to bring back her own sons who were murdered by Kamsa. With that in mind looking back, she spoke sad and distraught with tears in her eyes. Shri Devaki said: 'Rama, oh Rama, oh Immeasurable Soul; oh Krishna, Master of the Yoga Masters, I know that the two of You are the Original Personalities, the Lords of the Creators of the Universe [see also catur-vyuha]. Having taken birth from me You have now descended because of the kings who, living in defiance of the scriptures and with their good qualities destroyed by the time [of Kali-yuga], became a burden to the earth. Oh Soul of All That Be, today I have come to seek shelter with You, who by a partial expansion [the modes] of an expansion [the material energy] of an expansion [Narayana] of Yours gives rise to the generation, prospering and dissolution of the universe [see also 2.5]. 2-3 One says that Your guru ordered You to retrieve his son wo had died a long time ago. You brought him from the place of the forefathers to Your spiritual master as a gift of gratitude to the teacher. Please, oh You two Masters of the Yoga Masters, fulfill the same way my desire. I would like to see my sons brought back who were killed by Kamsa [see 10.4].'

The rishi [Shuka] said: 'Thus entreated by Their mother, oh descendant of Bharata, Rama and Krishna entered the nether world of Sutala utilizing Their internal potency [see 5.24: 18]. The daitya king [Bali] who saw Them entering stood immediately up to bow down to Them together with his entourage. He was overwhelmed with joy of seeing Them, the Supreme Soul and Self of the Universe who were his favorite divinity of worship. Bringing Them royal seats, They were happy to sit down there. He washed the feet of the two Great Souls and together with his followers took the water [upon their heads] that purifies [everyone] up to Brahma. He worshiped Them by presenting all the wealth of himself and his family: the most valuable riches, garments, ornaments, fragrant pastes, bethel nut, lamps, nectarean food and so on [*]. He who had conquered Indra [see 8.15], over and over took hold of the Supreme Lord's feet. With a heart melting of love, with tears of happiness in his eyes and with his hair standing on end, oh King, he spoke with a choked up voice. Bali said: 'My obeisances to Ananta, the Greatest Being and Krishna, the Absolute Truth, the Supersoul, the Disseminator and Creator of analytical knowledge [sankhya, see 3.25-32] and [the science of bhakti] yoga. To see You is indeed something rarely achieved by the living beings. But [if You endeavor to reach us] of Your own accord it lies even within the reach of people like us whose natures are of passion and ignorance [see B.G. 3: 21-23]. 1-4 The sons of Diti and Dana, the singers of heaven, the perfected souls, the scientists, the venerable persons, the wealth keepers, the wild, the carnivorous and the paranormal ones, the mystics, the politicians, we and others like them are constantly fixed in a grudge against the physical presence of You, the direct embodiment of the revealed scriptures who are of pure goodness. Some are obstinate with hatred and some are of devotion with a certain lust [an ulterior motive], while the enlightened souls predominated by the mode of goodness are not attracted in that [negative] way [compare: the atmarama-verse 1.7: 10]. Oh Master of the Yoga Masters, when not even expert yogis know Your bewildering power of yoga that for the greater part is characterised by terms like this [svarupa and vis'esha inborn and modal game of identity], what then to expect of us? Have therefore mercy with me and lead me out of the blind well of a householder's life towards the other shelter of Your lotus feet that is sought by selfless souls. Thus I may wander everywhere alone or else under the protection of those [saints, devotees, Vaishnavas, desire trees] who are willing to help everyone in the world, the ones at whose feet one finds peace and obtains what one needs in life [the 'vritti']. Please direct us oh Controller of the ones [self-]controlled, make us sinless oh Master, turn us into a person who executes with faith and is thus freed from [scriptural, ritual] fixations.'

The Supreme Lord said: 'Once, during the first Manu, Marici fathered six sons born from Urna. They were demigods who laughed when they saw that the loving one ['kam', or Brahma in this case] wanted to copulate with his daughter [called Vak, see 3.12: 28-35, compare 3.20: 23]. 8-4 Because of that offense they immediately entered a womb to be born to Hiranyakas'ipu. They were then by Yogamaya transferred to be born from the womb of Devaki, oh King. They were murdered by Kamsa. She laments over them as being her own sons. These same sons are living here near you [see also ** and 10.2*]. We would like to take them from here in order to dispel their mother's sadness. When thereafter the curse is lifted they, being freed from the misery, will come back to their own [heavenly] world. By My grace these six - Smara [Kirtiman, see 10.1: 57], Udgitha, Parishvanga, Patanga, Kshudrabhrit and Ghrini - will return to the destination of the saintly souls.'

Thus having spoken They, both being honoured by Bali, took the sons back to Dvaraka and presented them to their mother. When she saw the boys, the breasts of the goddess flowed because of her affection for her sons. She placed them on her lap and embraced them, over and over smelling their heads. Bewildered by the illusory energy of Vishnu because of which the creation comes into being, she lovingly allowed her sons to drink from her breasts that were wet as they touched them. 5-5 Having drunk her nectarean milk, that had remained from the milk the Wielder of the Club had drank [before Vasudeva carried Him to Gokula], they, because of [thus] coming in touch with the body of Narayana, regained the awareness of their original selves. Bowing down to Govinda, Devaki, their father and Balarama they, for everyone to see, went to [heaven,] the abode where the gods reside. Seeing this return and departure of the dead, divine Devaki thought in great amazement about the magic that was arranged by Krishna, oh King. Oh descendant of Bharata, there are of Krishna, the Supreme Soul unlimited in His valor, countless heroic acts like this.'

Shri Suta said [at Naimisharanya, 1.1: 4]: "Whoever devoutly hears or recounts the way this pastime of Murari whose glories are unlimited is described by Vyasa's respected son, will by thus fixing his mind on the Supreme Lord, go to His all-auspicious heavenly abode, for this true delight for His devotees' ears fully annihilates the sins of the living being."

*: The parampara adds here that there are nine standard processes of devotional service as Prahlada points out in 7.5: 23-24, and that the last, atma-samarpanam, the handing over of one's wealth as modeled by Bali Maharaja for the sake of the atma-nivedanam of self-communication with the Lord, is the culmination toward which every endeavor should aim. If one tries to impress the Lord with wealth, power, intelligence and so on but fails to humbly understand oneself to be His servant, one's so-called devotion is only a presumptuous show. The parampara thus warns here against the false religion of pompous ceremony without regard for the yogic retreat as of Daksha in 4.2. See also B.G. 2: 42-43.

: The parampara explains with the acaryas Shridhara Svami and Vis'vanatha Cakravarti that after taking Marici's six sons from Hiranyakas'ipu, Lord Krishna's Yogamaya first made them pass through one more life as children of another great demon, Kalanemi [the previous incarnation of Kamsa, see 10.1: 68], and then she finally transferred them to the womb of Devaki. For the full story see footnote 10.1*.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 86:

Arjuna Kidnaps Subhadra, and Krishna Instructs Bahulas'va and Shrutadeva

The honourable king [Parikchit] said: 'Oh brahmin, we would like to know how she who is my grandmother, the sister of Krishna and Rama [Subhadra, see 9.24: 53-55], got married to Arjuna.'

- Shri Shuka said: 'Arjuna, the great lord, while on a pilgrimage wandering the earth, reaching Prabhasa heard that Balarama intended to give His maternal cousin away to Duryodhana and to no one else. Desirous of her, he therefore went to Dvaraka disguised as a renunciate with a tridanda [*]. Determined to fulfill his purpose, he resided there during the months of the rainy season and was [according to the custom] all the time honoured by Balarama and the citizens without them being aware who he was. One day being invited as a guest he was brought to the house of Balarama who faithfully presented him a meal which he then ate. With his eyes wide open of happiness, he saw the wonderful girl there who

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enchanted heroes. Smitten he fixed his mind on her. Seeing him who stole each woman's heart, she desired him also. She fixed her heart and eyes upon him and full of desire bashfully smiling cast sidelong glances. Thinking of nothing but her, Arjuna awaited the right opportunity. With his heart trembling of the strongest desire, he could find no peace. When she during an important religious festival rode away from the fortress in a chariot, the mighty warrior seised the opportunity to abduct the girl who had stolen his heart. That occurred with the consent of her parents [see 1o.1: 56] and Krishna. Standing on the chariot he, like the king of the animals claiming his share, raised his bow and drove back the heroes and guards who tried to stop him while her relatives were angrily shouting. Balarama upon hearing about it was as perturbed as the ocean during a full moon. Lord Krishna and His family had to grasp Him respectfully by His feet in order to pacify Him. He thereupon was pleased to send presents of great value, elephants, horses and male and female servants as a wedding gift for the groom and bride.'

Shri Shuka continued: 'There was among Krishna's brahmins one named Shrutadeva. He was one of the best being exclusively devoted to Krishna and was known for the fullness of his realisation - his serenity, learning and freedom from sense gratification. As a householder dwelling in Mithila in the kingdom of Videha, he performed his duties without being concerned about what he received for his sustenance. Day by day doing his tasks as required he was satisfied with just that - and nothing more - what he by providence acquired as his share for his sober maintenance. The ruler of that kingdom stemming from the line of King Mithila [Janaka] was known by the name of Bahulas'va. He was just as selfless as he was my dear King. They were both equally dear to Acyuta. Pleased with the two of them the Supreme Lord mounted His chariot that was brought by Daruka. Together with a group of sages the Master went to Videha. He was accompanied by Narada, Vamadeva, Atri, Krishna Dvaipayana Vyasa, Parashurama, Asita, Aruni, I [Shuka], Brihaspati, Kanva, Maitreya, Cyavana and others. Everywhere He came, the citizens and villagers approached, carrying arghya [offerings of water] to welcome Him like He was the risen sun surrounded by the planets. In Anarta [where Dvaraka is], Dhanva [the desert region], Kuru-jangala [Thaneswar and Kurukshetra], Kanka, Matsya [Jaipur and Aloyar], Pancala [the Ganges region], Kunti, Madhu, Kekaya [northeast Punjab], Kos'ala [from Kas'i to the Himalayas], Arna [east of Mithila] and in many other kingdoms, the men and women drank with their eyes the gentle smiles and affectionate glances of His lotus face oh King. By [thus] bestowing upon them the fearlessness of the spiritual vision, the Spiritual Master of the Three Worlds put an end to the blindness of their eyes. This way gradually reaching Videha, He heard His glories being sung by the God-conscious souls and the commoners, the glories that eradicate all misfortune and purify every corner of the universe. The moment the villagers and citizens heard that Acyuta had arrived, oh King, they joyfully came forward to greet Him with offerings in their hands. Seeing Him who is Praised in the Verses, they with their faces and hearts blossoming of love and with joined palms held to their heads, bowed down to Him and the sages whom they till then only knew from hearsay. Both the king of Mithila and Shrutadeva prostrated at His feet with each of them in his mind the thought that the Spiritual Master of the Universe especially for him had arrived to be of mercy. Bahulas'va and Shrutadeva then, both with their palms joined, at the same time invited the Descendant of Das'arha and the brahmins to be their guests. The Supreme Lord wanted to please them both and accepted their offer by entering each his house [simultaneously] without them seeing this [vaibhava-prakas'a miracle]. 7-2 The descendent of Janaka [Bahulas'va] who, later that day, saw them fatigued coming from a distance to his house, mindfully brought fine seats outside for them so that they could sit comfortably. Overjoyed at heart with intense devotion and eyes clouded with tears he bowed down to wash the feet, the water of which is capable of purifying the entire world. Together with his family he took it on his head and honoured the Lords [and sages] with sandalwood paste, garlands, clothing, jewelry, incense, lamps, arghya, cows and bulls. After they had eaten their fill, he, while happily massaging the feet of Vishnu on his lap, in order to please them, slowly said the following in a gentle voice.

Shri Bahulas'va said: 'You oh Almighty One, the Self-illumined Witness and Soul of All Created Beings, have now become visible to us, those who are remembering Your lotus feet. To be true to the statement You have made that 'No one, not even Ananta, Shri or the Unborn Brahma is as dear to Me as the unalloyed devotee', You have manifested before our eyes [see also 7.7: 51-52, 10.9: 20-21, 10.47: 58-63]. What person who knows this would abandon Your lotus feet, when You give Yourself to peaceful sages free from possessions? Descending in the Yadu dynasty for the sake of the ones who are caught in the cycle of birth and death [samsara] You have, in order to put an end to it, disseminated Your fame that removes the sins of the three worlds. All glories to You oh Krishna, oh Supreme Lord of an unlimited intelligence, oh Nara-Narayana who are perfectly peaceful in Your austerity. Please oh Omnipresent One, dwell together with the brahmins for a few days in our home and sanctify this dynasty of Nimi with the dust of Your feet.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Thus being invited by the king, the Supreme Lord and Maintainer of the Entire World stayed there and thus made the men and women of Mithila happy. Shrutadeva who just like Bahulas'va received Krishna in his house, bowed down to the sages and [then] in great delight danced with waving clothes. He made them sit on mats of darbha grass that were brought, he greeted them with words of welcome and then together with his wife washed their feet with pleasure. Overjoyed of having all his desires fulfilled, he most piously sprinkled himself, his house and his family with the water. With offerings of fruits, aromatic root [us'ira], pure nectarean sweet water, fragrant clay, tulsi leaves, kus'a grass and lotus flowers he honoured them with all items of worship at his disposition as also with food conducive to the mood of goodness [see B.G. 17: 8]. He wondered: 'How could it happen that I who fell down in the blind well of family life, may enjoy this association with Krishna and these godly people in whom He resides? It is the dust of their feet that constitutes the dignity of all the holy places.' Having shown his hospitality, Shrutadeva, with them comfortably being seated, sat close together with his wife, relatives and children and addressed them while massaging [the Lord] His feet.

Shrutadeva said: 'It is not just today that we see the Supreme Personality present before us. We in fact enjoy His presence ever since He created this universe with His energies and [as an avatara] entered it in His own [transcendental] state. He enters this world and appears there the way a sleeping person, alone with his mind, creates a separate world in his imagination. You appear in the heart of those persons who with a pure [by meditation peaceful] mind time and again hear and speak about You, glorify You, worship You and converse about You. In spite of being situated in the heart You are far removed from minds agitated by material affairs. One cannot get hold of You by one's own [material] powers, but You support those souls who know to appreciate Your qualities [see also B.G. 7: 25]. May there be my obeisances unto You, who are the Supersoul for the knowers of the Supreme Spirit and the One who [in the form of Time **] brings death to the conditioned soul, You, the One who assumes the forms of effect as also the forms of cause, You whose vision is not covered by Your deluding potency but who are covered to our vision. Please, oh You as that Supersoul, command us Your servants. What, oh Lord should we do? Oh, having this form of Your good Self visible before our eyes, is what puts an end to the troubles of humanity!'

Shri Shuka said: 'Having heard what he thus said to Him, the Supreme Lord, the destroyer of the distress of the surrendered souls, addressed him with a broad smile while taking his hand in His own. The Supreme Lord said: 'Oh brahmin, you should know that these sages came along for the purpose of blessing you. Wandering with Me, they purify all the worlds with the dust of their feet. The deities, pilgrimage sites and sacred rivers being visited, being touched and being worshiped, purify gradually, but the same thing is attained [at once] by the glance of those [sages] who are most worshipable [see also 4.30: 37, 7.9: 44, 10.9: 21, 10.84: 11]. A brahmin is by birth the best of all living beings, and even more so, when he, as a portion of Me, is endowed with austerity, learning and contentment! [Even] this four-armed form is not as dear to Me as a brahmin. A man of [brahminical] learning comprises all the Vedas the way I comprise all the gods [see also 10.84: 12]. Those whose intelligence is spoiled and fail to understand it this way, are envious. While they do consider the visible form of an idol worthy of worship, they are of neglect towards their guru, the [brahminical] scholar, who in fact is Me, their very Self. A learned man of respect for Me, keeps the moving and nonmoving part of this universe as also the elementary categories basic to it, in mind as being forms of Me [see also B.G. 5: 18]. Therefore oh brahmin, just worship these brahmin seers with the same faith as you have in Me. You will thus directly be of worship for Me and not in any other way as with [e.g. offering] vast riches [and such].'

Shri Shuka said: 'He [S'rutadeva] as also the king of Mithila who thus received instruction from the Lord, by their single-minded devotion unto Krishna and His company of most exalted brahmins, attained the transcendental destination. The Supreme Lord who is of devotion for His own devotees, stayed with the two devotees, taught the path of the truthful soul [***] oh King and returned again to Dvaraka.'

*: The tridanda is a staff carried by vaishnava sannayasis symbolizing the threefold austerity of thought, speech and action. In all these three the renunciate is vowed to serve Vishnu. The staff consists of three sticks wrapped in saffron cloth with a small extra piece wrapped in at the top.

**: Time is the Lord's impersonal feature. The parampara says: 'It is understood from the Vedic science of epistemology, the 'Nyaya-S'astra', that knowledge of an object (prameya) depends on a valid means of knowing (pramana)' (pp 10.86: 5. So would knowing Krishna in the form of Time as-He-is (I am the Time, the light of the sun and the moon, as He says to be in the Gita) - by means of clocks managed validly to His nature, the Sun as with a sundial, and calendars managed validly to His order, the moon, like with its phases - constitute the proper brahminical conduct. With weeks to the moon and clocks to the sun, standardtime with its mean time deadness, zone time arbitrary false oneness and summertime instability, would constitute the time of ignorance in denial of Krishna, the father of Time, even though Krishna affirms the worship of Time with the pragmatical and thus karmic dictate of standardtime, to which He still calls that demigod (...) worship less attractive and wrong [see also cakra, kala en 1.2: 26, B.G. 9: 23, 10: 21, 30 & 33, 7: 8 and the Bhagavatam time quotes].

***: Prabhupada adds here: "The instruction we receive from this incident is that King Bahulas'va and Shrutadeva the brahmana were accepted by the Lord on the same level because both were pure devotees. This is the real qualification for being recognised by the Supreme Personality of Godhead."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 87:

The Underlying Mystery: Prayers of the Personified Vedas

Shri Parikchit said: 'Oh brahmin, the Absolute Truth [brahma] cannot be described in words [*] and has no material qualities. How can the revealed scriptures [the Shruti, the Vedas] dealing with the modes of nature, directly refer to that what is elevated above cause [the subtle] and effect [the gross]?'

Shri Shuka said: 'The intelligence, senses, mind and the life force of the living beings were by their Lord and Master evolved for the sake of [dealing with, being satisfied with] elementary matter, for the sake of getting a life and for the sake of the [emancipation of the] soul and its ultimate liberation. The predecessors [like the Kumaras] of our predecessors [like Narada] were fixed upon this same underlying mystery [upanishad] concerning the Absolute Truth. Whoever with faith holds on to it will be free from material attachment and attain peace and happiness [see also 8.24: 38]. I will here relate to you now an account concerning Lord Narayana. It is about a conversation between Narayana Rishi and Narada Muni.

One day when the Supreme Lord's beloved Narada was traveling the worlds, he went for a visit to the ashrama of the Eternal Seer Narayana. From the beginning of Brahma's day He [Narayana Rishi], has just for the welfare in this and the next life of human beings who maintain the dharma, in Bharata-varsha been engaged in penances, spiritual knowledge and peacefulness [see kalpa]. Having arrived there he [Narada] bowed down to Him who sat there surrounded by sages from Kalapa - the village where He resided - and asked this very same question oh best of the Kurus. As the seers were listening the Supreme Lord related the following ancient discussion about the Absolute Truth that took place between the inhabitants of Janaloka [the world of the celibate saints]. The Supreme Lord said: 'Oh son of the self-born Lord [Brahma], long ago in Janaloka a sacrificial ceremony took place held by the [urdhva-retah] celibate sages there who had found their life in Brahma. You [Narada] had left for Shvetadvipa to see the Lord [Aniruddha]. Thereupon a lively discussion ensued [between the sages of Janaloka] about Him [Vishnu in the function of Aniruddha] in whom the Vedas lie down to rest [after the dissolution of the material world] that rose the question that you are now again asking Me. Even though they were equally qualified as for their penance and study of the Shruti as also equal minded towards friends, foes and neutrals, they appointed one of them as their speaker while the rest eagerly listened.'

Shri Sanandana said: 'When He [Maha-Vishnu] after having created this universe withdrew for the sake of its dissolution and was lying asleep, the Vedas in person awakened the Supreme One with descriptions of His characteristics, the way a sleeping king by his court poets is awakened when they as his servants approach him at dawn with [recitations of] his heroic deeds. The Vedas said: 'All glories, oh all glories to You, please Unconquerable One, defeat the eternal illusion that assumed the form of the natural modes and constitutes the [human] weakness. Because You, who in Your original status are complete with all opulences, at times engaging with Your spiritual and material energies awaken the powers of the mobile and immobile embodied beings [awake them to consciousness], You can by us, the Vedas, be supported [**]. The world we perceive is by the seers regarded as a product of something greater [of brahman], something that, no more than clay, [as a resource] undergoes any change itself, being transformed in forms that dissolve again. For that reason the seers dedicated their minds, words and actions to You. Where else could the footsteps of men be placed than on the ground they are walking [see also 6.16: 22, 11.24: 18 and B.G. 7: 20-25]? Your people of enlightenment, oh Master of All the Three Worlds, therefore dive deep into the nectarean ocean of narrations [about You, the katha] that eradicate the impurity and put an end to their troubles. It is therefore not that surprising that they who by the power of their own minds dispelled the [unwanted] qualities of the [identification with

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one's] temporality oh Supreme One, experience the uninterrupted happiness of Your abode in their worship. They who, like a bellows, are just displacing some air as they breathe [see B.G. 18: 61] are full of vitality [only] when they are Your faithful followers, for You, who are elevated above cause and effect, constitute the underlying reality from whose mercy the universal egg of the material complete, the separate existence [the ego] and the other aspects of creation were produced [see 3.26: 51-53]. Adapted to the particular forms of the living being, You then appear here as the Ultimate Form among the different gross and subtle physical coverings [the kos'as and B.G. 18: 54]. Among those living according to the standards of the seers, they who are engrossed in their vision worship the abdomen [the lower centres] while the Arunis [the superior yogis] first of all fix their attention on the pranic knot of the subtle energies [see cakra] of the heart. From there oh Unlimited One, they move [their attention] upward to the head that is Your abode and then they go to the highest destination from which they, having reached it, never again fall down into the mouth of death [see also B.G. 8: 16]. Entering in a certain manner the by You differently created species of life as their motivation, You become visible depending the higher or lower form of Your own created beings, just as fire manifests itself [depending the form ignited]. You thus existing among them as the 'real' among the hunreal', are understood as being one unchanging, equal manifestation of love ['taste'] by those who free from material entanglements have spotless minds [see also B.G. 2: 12]. The person residing within the bodies he owes to his karma is, as an expansion of You who are the possessor of all energies as is stated [by the Vedas], in fact not of the external [the gross body, the deha], nor of the internal [the subtle body, the linga] but is [by these bodies] enveloped. When scholars of the scriptures have developed faith in ascertaining the status of the living entity as being of that manifestation [as an expansion of Yours, a person], they worship Your feet as the source of liberation and the field in which all offerings are sown. By diving deep into the vast nectar ocean of the adventures of the forms that You have assumed to propagate the hard to grasp principle of the soul, the few souls who found relief from the fatigue [of a material life] do not even wish to be liberated from this world, oh Lord. This is so because they, after abandoning their homes, found association with the community of the swans [the transcendental people] at Your lotus feet [see e.g. 4.24: 58, 4.30: 33, 5.12: 16, 5.13: 21, 7.6: 17-18, 7.14: 3-4]. This body useful for serving You, acts as one's self, one's friend and beloved. They however who alas fail to delight in You, rather find the degradation of the physical frame [in successive births], in spite of You as their very Self being favorably disposed, helpful and affectionate. As a matter of fact they, failing to find their way with their great existential fears, cling to material desires and are [thus] self destructive ['soul killing'] in their worship of the unreal [see also B.G. 16: 19]. That what by the sages with their breathing, mind and senses being brought under control in steadfast yoga is worshiped in the heart, is also attained by those who remember You in enmity [see also 3.2: 24 and 10.74: 46]. We [the Shrutis] will likewise attain You and, being equally considered by You, equally relish the nectar of the lotus feet that the women enjoy [the gopis, Your wives] whose minds are attracted to Your arms that are as firm as mighty snake bodies. Ah, who out here, who but recently was born and soon will die, has an inkling of the One Who Came First from whom the [leading] seer [Brahma] arose who was followed by the two groups of demigods [controlling the senses and the principles. See B.G. 7: 26]? When He lies down to withdraw, at that time nothing remains of the gross and the subtle, nor of that what comprises them both [the bodies] and the flow of Time and the Shastras are also no longer there [B.G. 9: 7]. They who, teaching with authority, declare that life springs from dead matter, that that what is eternal would end [see B.G. 2: 16], that the soul would not be one [see 10.14: 9] and that doing business would constitute reality [see B.G. 17: 28], they who state that the living being thus would have been produced from the three modes [see B.G. 14: 19 and 13: 28], are fixed upon a dualistic notion born from ignorance. Such a thing cannot exist in Your transcendence, in You who are the Essence of Full Perception [see also 5.6: 9-11]. The [temporality of forms and thus the] untrue threefoldness and its [mind] phenomena up to the human beings, appear in You as if they would be true. [They are illusory] but, because they are transformations non-different from Him, they are nevertheless not rejected by the knowers of the Soul, for they consider the entirety of this world as something true [viz. as Your living body]. They [these forms and also persons], created by Him who enters [His creation] in person, are for that reason recognised as being [parts and parcels] of the True Self, just as gold is not different when being assigned different forms [see also 6.16: 22]. They [only] who worship You as the shelter of all created beings do not worry about Death and simply put their feet on his head, but with Your words You tie up even the scholars [among the non-devotees] the way one ties up animals. They who consider themselves Your friends [thus] arrive at purification and not so much those who turned their face away. You are the self-effulgent causeless one [free from the senses] who maintains the power of the sensory functions of all [creatures]. The demigods together with the unborn lord Brahma take part in paying You tribute and partake of the offerings carried, just as the local rulers in a kingdom together with the sovereign who rules the entire country are of respect [for You] and enjoy their share. That is how they who are the appointed leaders perform their duties in fear of You. The species of life, that manifest themselves as stationary and moving, are by Your material energy motivated for action. But that can happen only when You, the One aloof, oh Eternally Liberated One, cast Your brief glance thereupon [by assuming Your forms] for having Your pastimes in the material world. To [You] the Supreme [Personality of Godhead], no one can be a stranger or a friend, just as the ether can have no perceptible qualities. In that sense You are like the void of space. If the countless embodiments of the living beings would be eternal, the omnipresent [Time] as a consequence would not be such a sovereign rule, oh Unchanging One. But it is not otherwise. Because the substance cannot be independent from that from which it was generated [- pradhana, the primeval ether -] [You] the regulator [who are the Time, B.G. 10: 30] must be known as being equally present everywhere [as the 'fourth dimension']. When one supposes that one knows [You materially] one is mistaken in the falsehood of an opinion [on the local order, see 6.5: 19]. Material nature [prakriti] and the person [purusha] do not find their existence at a particular point in time. Not originating as such [from one or the other] it is from the combination of these two [primordial elements] that living bodies find their existence in You, just as bubbles find their existence as a combination of water and air. And just as rivers merge into the ocean and all flavors [of flower nectar] merge into the honey, these living beings with all their different names and qualities [in de end] merge [again] into [You,] the Supreme [see also B.G. 9: 7]. Those who are wise understand how much Your maya bewilders human beings and frequently render traditional service unto You, the source of liberation. How could there for the ones who faithfully follow You be any kind of fear about a material existence, a fear that by the three rimmed [wheel of Time - of past, present and future] - by Your furrowing eyebrows - repeatedly is raised in those who do not take shelter of You [see also B.G. 4: 10, 7: 14 & 14: 26]? The mind being conquered by the senses and the breath is like a horse not under control [B.G. 2: 60 and 5.11: 10]. Those who in this world strive for regulation but have abandoned the feet of the guru, find, being most unsteady with the various methods of control, full of distress hundreds of obstacles on their way oh Unborn One. They are like merchants [sailing] on the ocean who failed to employ a helmsman [see 10.51: 60 & B.G. 4: 34]. What do servants, children, a body, a wife, money, a house, land, vitality and vehicles mean to human beings for whom You became their very Self, the Embodiment of All Pleasure? And what at all would to those, who fail to appreciate the truth [of Him] and carry on with their indulgence in sexual matters, bring [real] happiness in this world that is subject to destruction and, in itself, is lacking meaning [see also B.G. 13: 8-12]? The seers free from false pride who, with the greatest piety, on this earth direct themselves at the places of pilgrimage and the sites of His pastimes, have installed Your feet in their heart and destroy all sins with the water of their feet. They who but once turned their mind towards You, the Supreme Soul of Eternal Happiness, will never again devote themselves to the homely affair [of a family life] that steals away a person's essential qualities. If someone says: 'From the real [of God] the real [of the universe] has manifested', that can certainly be doubted and refuted [*4]. The combination is inconsistent, for it is true in a number of cases, while it is an illusion not being so in other cases. For the sake of worldly purposes, rows of people with a dark vision like to consider it alternatively and bewilder, with different meanings and implications of Your numerous words of wisdom, those who are not using their minds with the ritual praises. Because this universe did not exist in the beginning and after its annihilation neither will exist, can be concluded that that what in-between appears within You, the sole object of love, is the untrue. We understand this universe thus as an [unreal, illusory] combination of different categories of the [real] primal substance [see text 26], while the less intelligent ones prone to falsehood, consider this mind game as real [see B.G. 6: 8]. By reason of [the insurmountable presence of] material nature, he [the living entity] reconciles himself to that undeveloped state and, in taking to her qualities [the gunas], accordingly assumes forms. Bound to those forms he is deprived of spiritual qualities and runs into [the facts of birth and] death. You Yourself on the other hand leave her [the material energy] aside like a snake that sheds its skin and are in Your eightfold greatness [see siddhis] glorified as the One Unlimited in His Glories who is endowed with all spiritual qualities. When those who restrain themselves do not uproot the desires in their hearts, they, in their impurity, cannot reach You who have entered their heart. They are like someone who has forgotten the jewel he hung around his neck. Yoga practitioners who are satisfied with an animalistic life will be unhappy in both [worlds here and hereafter]: [here about] death they cannot escape [and hereafter about] You whose kingdom they cannot attain [see also B.G. 6: 41-42]. Someone who understands You, is not concerned about the favorable or unfavorable, good or bad that is associated with the body he has assumed, neither does he care about what others say. Oh You of All qualities, day after day he fills his ears with the song that is heard in every age through the disciplic succession. For that reason the children of Manu [the human beings, see 3.22: 34-39 and 5.13: 25] consider You the ultimate goal of liberation. Neither the masters of heaven nor even You, can reach the end of Your glories oh Unlimited One, oh You within whom the many universes by the drive of Time, each in their own shell, are blown about in the sky like particles of dust. The Shrutis bearing fruit by [neti neti] eliminating that what is not the Absolute Truth, find in You their ultimate conclusion [see siddhanta].'

The Supreme Lord said: 'Having heard this instruction about the True Self, the sons of Brahma understood their final destination and worshiped thereupon perfectly satisfied the sage Sanandana. This is how in the past the nectar of the underlying mystery of all the Vedas and Puranas [the Upanishad philosophy] was distilled by the great souls [the classical sages] who appeared in this world to roam in higher spheres. Oh you heir of Brahma [Narada], wander the earth as you wish, meditating with faith upon this instruction about the Soul that turns the desires of man to ashes.'

Shri Shuka said: 'The self-possessed rishi, thus receiving the command of the sage, accepted it faithfully, oh King. Now completely being of success he, whose vow was as firm as a kshatriya's, after due consideraton said the following. Shri Narada said: 'My obeisances to Him, the Supreme Lord Krishna of a spotless renown, who manifests His attractive expansions for the liberation of all living beings [1.3: 28].'

Thus having spoken Narada bowed down to the Original Rishi [Narayana] and to the great souls who were His pupils. Then he went from there to the hermitage of my physical father, Dvaipayana Vedavyasa. He was honoured by the great devotee [Vyasa] who offered him a seat, whereupon Narada sat down and described to him what he had heard from the mouth of Shri Narayana. And thus I have answered your question oh King, on how the mind can be engaged in the Absolute Truth [- the reality] without material qualities that cannot be expressed in words. He who watches over this universe in the beginning, the middle and the end, He who is the Controller of the unmanifested matter [pradhana] and the individual soul [jiva], He who sent forth this universe, entered it along with the individual seer and producing bodies [with him] regulates them, He because of whom one surrendering abandons the material energy one embraces the way a sleeper abandons his body, is the Supreme Lord upon whom one incessantly should meditate to be free from fear [see B.G. 16: 11-12, 1.9: 39 and the bhajan Sarvasva Tomara Carana].'

*: Shrila Shridhara Svami elabourately analyzes this problem, of describing the inexpressible Truth in definable terms, by means of the traditional discipline of Sanskrit poetics that states that words have three kinds of expressive capacities, called Shabda-vrittis. These are the different ways a word refers to its meaning, distinguished as mukhya-vritti - literal meaning (divided in rudhi, conventional use and yoga, derived use as in etymology), lakshana-vritti - metaphorical meaning, and the closely related gauna-vritti, a similar meaning; exemplified by: the word lion has the three expressive forms of: it is a lion - literal, he is a lion - metaphorical and he is like a lion - similar use. So in fact the question is how the Absolute would be covered taken literal, in metaphor and in simile.

**: According to Shrila Jiva Gosvami, the twenty-seven verses of the prayers of the personified Vedas (Texts 14 - 4 represent the opinions of each of the twenty-eight major Shrutis. These chief Upanishads and other Shrutis are concerned with the various approaches of the Absolute Truth. See the purports pp 10.87 of this chapter of the parampara for specific quotes.

***: The Kathha Upanishad .2.1 proclaims:

nityo nityanam cetanas' cetananam
eko bahunam yo vidadhati kaman
tam pithha-gam ye 'nupas'yanti dhiras
tesham Shantih Shas'vati netaresham

"Among all the eternal, conscious beings, there is one who supplies the needs of everyone else. The wise souls who worship Him in His abode attain everlasting peace. Others cannot."

*4: The parampara writes here: "According to Shrila Vis'vanatha Cakravarti Thhakura, the Upanshads teach that this created world is real but temporary."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 88:
Lord Shiva Saved from Vrikasura

The king [Parikchit] said: 'The demigods, demons and human beings who worship the austere Lord Shiva, are usually rich and enjoy their senses, contrary to the ones who honour Lakshmi and her Husband, the Lord Hari. We are in

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great doubt about this and would like to understand this matter of the contradictory destinations of the worshipers of the two Lords, who are of such opposite characters.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Shiva, who is always united with his Shakti, covers the natural modes with the three characteristics of his emotion [his sattva], his authority [his rajas] and his darkness [his tamas]. He thus constitutes the [embodiment of the] threefold principle of [false] ego. From them the sixteen transformations [lingas] have manifested [of the mind, the ten senses and the five elements]. Someone who turns to [the ruling deity of] any of them will enjoy all kinds of material wealth [see under Shiva]. Lord Hari however, the Original Person, is transcendental to material nature and absolutely untouched by the modes. He is the [inner] witness seeing everything. By worshiping Him one is freed from [the influence of] the gunas. This is what your grandfather the king [Yudishthhira] asked Acyuta when he, after completing his horse sacrifices, heard from Him about the dharma. The Supreme Lord, his Master, who for the sake of the ultimate benefit of all men had descended into the Yadu family, then was pleased to speak to him as he eagerly listened. The Supreme Lord said: 'From the one I favor I gradually take away the wealth. Wanting he will suffer one distress after the other and be abandoned by his friends and relatives [see also 7.15: 15, 9.21: 12, 10.81: 14 & 20, 10.87: 40, B.G. 9: 22]. When he failing in his attempts to endeavor for money gets frustrated and becomes friends with My devotees, I will show him My mercy. When one, intelligent with the wisdom, understands that the subtle, pure, eternal spirit of the Supreme Infinite Brahman constitutes one's true self, one is freed from samsara. Leaving Me aside because I am most difficult to worship, people worship others from which they quickly find satisfaction in receiving royal opulence. Having become arrogant, proud and negligent they, surprisingly, then insult those whom they owe the benedictions [see also B.G. 2: 42-44; 4: 12; 7: 20-25; 17: 22, 18: 28].'

Shri Shuka said: 'Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva and others are capable of pronouncing curses and granting favors. Brahma and Shiva are quick with their condemnations and blessings my dear King, but the Infallible One [Lord Vishnu] is not. In this connection the following ancient story is told as an example about Giris'a [Shiva], who ran into danger because he offered the demon Vrikasura the choice of a benediction. An Asura named Vrika, a son of Shakuni [see 9.24: 5], once met Narada on the road and wickedly asked him whom of the three Lords would be quickly pleased. He said: 'For quick success you better worship Shiva. He is as quickly satisfied by qualities as he is angered by faults. Satisfied about Ten-head [Ravana] and Bana who like minstrels sang his glories, he ran into great trouble [though] when he gave them unequaled power.'

Thus being informed the Asura worshiped him [Lord Shiva] at Kedara [in the Himalayas], by offering oblations of flesh from his own limbs into the fire that is Shiva's mouth. 8-1 Out of frustration not to obtain the sight of the Lord he, at the seventh day, with his hair wetted in the waters of that holy place, was about to cut off his head with a hatchet. But at that moment Shiva supremely merciful rose from the fire looking like Agni. He stopped him by seizing his arms just like we would do. By that touch his body was restored to its original complete state. He told him: 'Enough, enough, dear man, please listen. Choose a benediction from me, I will bestow whatever boon you desire. Ah, tormenting your body so greatly is useless, for I am [already] pleased by persons who with some water approach me for shelter [see also B.G. 17: 5-6]!'

The sinner then asked the god for a boon that terrified all living beings: 'May everyone die upon whose head I place my hand!'

Oh son of Bharata, when Rudra heard this, he disgruntled vibrated om and granted the request with a forced smile, like he was giving milk to a snake [see also 10.16: 37]. To put the favor to a test the demon then tried to put his hand on the head of Lord Shambu, Shiva who thus became afraid of what he had caused himself. Trembling with fear being pursued by him, he from the north [of his residence] fled in all directions to the limits of the earth and the sky. 5-2 Not knowing what to do against it, the chief demigods remained silent. He thereupon went to Vaikunthha, the place of light beyond all darkness where Narayana, the Supreme Goal is personally present. That place constitutes the destination from where renunciates do not return who stopped with the violence [against other creatures] and found peace [see also Shvetadvipa]. 7-2 The Supreme Lord, the Eradicator of Distress, who from a distance saw the danger, by the power of His yogamaya turned Himself into a young brahmin student and came before him. Complete with a belt, deerskin, rod and prayer beads He had an effulgence that glowed like fire. He respectfully greeted him humbly with kus'a grass in His hands. The Supreme Lord said: 'Dear son of Shakuni, you seem to be tired. Why have you come from so far? Please rest a while, should we not attend to all the desires of this personal body? If We may hear about it oh mighty one, please tell Us what you have in mind. One usually accomplishes one's purposes with the help of others is it not?'

Shri Shuka said: 'Thus being questioned by the Supreme Lord with words that rained like nectar, all his fatigue vanished. He told Him what he had done. The Supreme Lord [then] said to Vrika: 'If that is the case, We cannot put faith in Shiva's statements, for he has been cursed by Daksha to become diabolical as the king of the ghosts and devils [see 4.2: 9-16]. If you, oh King of the Danavas, put faith in him as the 'spiritual master of the universe', then see right now what happens when you place your hand on your own head! If Shambhu's words thus or otherwise prove to be false, oh best of the Danavas, then please kill him who has been fooling you, so that he never lies again.'

He was thus as bewildered by the so very clever, excellent words of the Supreme Lord, that he thought no longer and foolishly placed his hand on his own head. Like being hit by lightening his head was instantly shattered. He fell down whereupon from the sky the sounds could be heard of 'Victory!', 'Hail!' and 'Well done!' Now that, with the death of the sinful Asura Vrika, Shiva was freed from the danger, the celestial sages, the ancestors and the singers of heaven released a rain of flowers. 8-3 Bhagavan, the Supreme Personality, then addressed the delivered Giris'a: 'Ah, dear Mahadeva, see how this sinner was killed by his own sinfulness! What happiness, oh master, can there be for a living being who was of offense with the elevated saints, not to mention having been in offense with the Lord of the Universe, the Guru of the Living Being [see also 1.18: 42, 7.4: 20 and B.G. 16: 23]? Whoever hears or speaks about this rescue of lord Shiva by the Lord of the Supersoul, the Inconceivable Personal Manifestation of the Ocean of All Energies, will be freed from his enemies as also from the repetition of birth and death.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 89:

Vishnu the Best of the Gods and the Krishnas Retrieve a Brahmin's Sons

Shri Shuka said: 'Among sages performing a sacrifice at the bank of the Sarasvati, oh King, a controversy arose as to whom of the three [Lords] who are there from the beginning, would be the greatest. Desirous to know this they sent the son of Brahma called Bhrigu to find this out oh King. He went to the court of Brahma. To test his goodness, he did not bow down to him nor did he utter a prayer. That kindled the great Lord's passion who then got angry. In spite of the anger towards his son that was rising in his heart, the self-born one managed to control himself, just as fire is extinguished by its own [evolutionary] product [water, see also 3.12: 6-10]. Next he went to Mount Kailasa where Shiva, glad to see him, rose to his feet in order to embrace his brother. - But when Bhrigu denied this and said: 'You are a transgressor of the path', he became angry and ready to kill rose, with eyes shooting fire, his trident against him. The goddess [Parvati] fell at his feet and pacified him verbally. Bhrigu subsequently went to Vaikunthha where Lord Janardana resides. - The Supreme Lord, the Destination of the Devotees, was lying with His head on the lap of the goddess of fortune. He kicked Him in the chest whereupon He together with Lakshmi rose up. He came down from the bed, bowed His head down to the sage and said: 'Be welcome oh brahmin, take this seat, please forgive Us, oh master, for a moment We did not notice you had arrived! 0-1 Please purify Me, My world and the rulers of all worlds devoted to Me, with the water washing from the feet of your good self that creates the sacredness of the sites of pilgrimage. Today, My lord, I have become the exclusive shelter of the goddess of fortune, because with your foot having freed My chest from all sin, she will consent to reside there.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Bhrigu delighted and pleased by the solemn words the Lord of Vaikunthha thus spoke, fell silent, with tears in his eyes being overwhelmed by devotion. Oh King, Bhrigu returned to the sacrifice of the sages defending the Veda and described in full what he personally had experienced. 4-1 Hearing this the sages fell in amazement, because putting faith in Lord Vishnu as the greatest One bringing peace and fearlessness, they were freed from their doubts. The direct proof of His dharma, spiritual knowledge, detachment, realisation [of tat], eight mystic powers [siddhis] and fame drives away the impurities of the mind. He is called the Supreme Destination for all selfless souls and saintly sages who with minds that are equipoised and peaceful have forsaken the violence [of ruling by passion]. His favorite embodiment is the mode of goodness and the brahmins are His worshipable deities, they who are peaceful persons of keen intellect who revere Him without ulterior motives [see 1.2: 7; 3.25: 37 and 10.81]. In accord with the gunas there are three types of conditioned beings who find their existence by His material energy: the wild ones [of tamas, the Rakshasas], the unenlightened ones [of rajas, the Asuras] and the godly ones [of sattva, the Suras]. Among these three beings, those in the mode of goodness [the Suras] are the ones who lead the way [see B.G. 14: 6 & 14: 14].'

Shri Shuka said: 'The scholars [assembled] at the Sarasvati in order to dispel the doubt of the common people thus [with this conclusion] served the lotus feet of the Supreme Personality [of Pure Goodness] and attained His destination.'"

Shri Suta [at Naimisharanya] said: "This is how this nectar with the fragrance of a lotus flowed from the mouth of the son of the sage [Vyasa]. That nectar dealing with the Supreme Personality, shatters the fear of a material existence and makes the traveler on the [worldly] road constantly drink the fine verses through the holes of his ears and forget the fatigue of his wanderings. Shuka said: 'Once, in Dvaraka, it happened that the child born from the wife of a brahmin died the very moment it, as one says, touched the ground, oh descendant of Bharata. The brahmin took the corpse to the gate of the king [Ugrasena] and then, presenting it, in misery lamenting with an agitated mind said the following: 'Because this unqualified, avaricious kshatriya addicted to sense gratification, with a deceitful mind and hostile to the brahmins, failed in his duties, my son had to die. Citizens in service of a wicked ruler of man who, out of control with his senses, delights in violence, will always suffer poverty and be unhappy.'

And so it came to pass a second and a third time that the wise brahmin the same way left [a dead child] at the gate and sang the same song [of lamentation]. 6-2 Arjuna who some day was in the vicinity because of Kes'ava, happened to hear about it when the brahmin lost a ninth child. He said: 'Oh brahmin, is there not someone out here who can wield the bow at your home? Truly these members of the ruling class behave like brahmins attending a sacrifice! There where brahmins have to lament the loss of wives, children and wealth, the ones dressed up as kings are but actors living for their own material interest. Oh great lord, I will protect the offspring of the two of you who are so miserable in this matter. And if I fail to fulfill my promise, I will enter fire to put an end to my sins [compare B.G. 2: 34].'

The brahmin said: 'Neither Sankarshana, Vasudeva, Pradyumna the greatest archer, nor Aniruddha the incomparable chariot fighter, could save them [my sons]. Then why do you so naively try to do that what could not be done by the [catur-vyuha] Lords of the Universe? We therefore cannot believe it.'

Shri Arjuna said: 'I am neither Sankarshana, oh brahmin, nor Krishna nor even a descendant. I am the one called Arjuna whose bow is the Gandiva! Do not belittle my prowess that satisfied the three-eyed one [Lord Shiva] oh brahmin. I will defeat Death in battle and bring your children back , oh master!'

Oh tormentor of the enemies [king Parikchit], the scholar thus being convinced by Arjuna went home, satisfied about what he had heard about the prowess of the son of Pritha. When his wife was about to deliver again, the most elevated brahmin said distraught to Arjuna: 'Save, please save my child from death!'

He touched pure water, offered his obeisances to the mighty Lord [Shiva], remembered [the mantras for] his weapons and strung the bowstring of his Gandiva. Upwards, downwards and sidewards he with arrows being charged with the mantras, created a cage of arrows and thus fenced in the house of delivery. The child that next took birth from the brahmin's wife, cried for some time but then suddenly disappeared into the sky complete with its body. The brahmin thereupon in the presence of Krishna derided Arjuna by saying: 'Just see what a fool I am, I who trusted the boasting of an eunuch! When neither Arjuna, Aniruddha, Balarama nor Kes'ava could save them, who else would be capable to offer protection in a situation like this? Damn that Arjuna with his false words, damn the bow of that braggart who so dumb and delusional thought he could return the ones taken by fate!'

While the wise brahmin thus was cursing him, Arjuna resorted to a mystic incantation and went straight to the heavenly city of Samyamani where the great Yamaraja lives. 3-4 Not finding the brahmin's child there he, with his weapons ready, went from there to the cities of Indra, Agni, Nirriti [the god of death subordinate to Yamaraja], Soma [the moon god], Vayu and Varuna. Next he searched all the other regions, from the subterranean world up to the highest position in heaven. Failing to obtain from them the son of the twice-born soul, he was ready to enter the fire as he had promised, but then was opposed by Krishna who stopped him. [He said:] 'I will show you the sons of the brahmin, please do not despise yourself! Men [as critical with us] like this, are going to bring the spotless fame of the two of us.'

After this statement, the Supreme Lord, the Divine Controller, mounted his chariot together with Arjuna and set off in the western direction. Passing over the seven continents with their seven seas and seven mountain ranges, He crossed the [lokaloka] border that separated the worlds from outer space and entered the vast darkness [see also 5.1: 31-33]. 8-4 There in the darkness the horses Shaibya, Sugriva, Meghapushpa and Balahaka [see also 10.53*] lost their way, oh best of the Bharatas. Seeing their plight the Supreme Lord, the Great Master of All Yoga Masters, sent His personal cakra

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shining like a thousand suns ahead of the chariot. The Sudars'ana disc, that with its extremely intensive effulgence was speeding ahead as fast as the mind, cut itself through the immense dense and fearsome darkness of the manifestation like an arrow from Lord Ramacandra's bow shot at an army. Arjuna followed the path of the cakra beyond that darkness and beheld the all-pervasive, endlessly expanding, transcendental light [the brahma-jyoti], that hurt his eyes so much that he closed them [see also 10.28: 14-15]. From there they entered a body of water that by a mighty wind was moved about into a splendor of huge waves. In the water was situated a wondrous abode that supremely radiated with columns shining brightly with thousands of inlaid gems. The huge serpent Ananta resided there. Amazing with His thousands of heads that radiated with the gems upon the hoods and His twice as many frightening eyes, He with His dark blue necks and tongues resembled the white mountain [Kailasa]. 4-5 On that serpent he saw the almighty, highest authority of the Personality Supreme to all Personalities of Godhead sitting comfortably, looking like a dense raincloud, with beautiful yellow garments, a pleasing attractive face and broad eyes. His thousands of scattered locks bathed in the brilliance of His earrings and the clusters of large jewels in His crown. Being framed by a garland of forest flowers He with His eight handsome long arms, Kaustubha jewel and Shrivatsa mark, was as the Chief of the Rulers of the Universe served by His personal associates headed by Nanda and Sunanda, as also by His cakra and His other weapons that manifested their personal forms, [the consorts of] His energies for prosperity, beauty, fame and material creation [resp. Pushthi, Shri, Kirti and Aja] and the complete of His mystic powers [siddhis]. Acyuta paid homage to Himself in His Unlimited Form as did also Arjuna who was amazed by the sight [of Maha-Vishnu]. The Almighty Lord and Master of the Rulers of the Universe then with a smile and an invigorating voice addressed the two of them who had joined their palms. 'I brought the sons of the brahmin over here with the desire to see the two of you who descended as My expansions to protect the dharma. Please quickly return to My presence after you have killed the ones of darkness who burden the earth [see 2.2: 24-27 and 2.6: 26]. Even though all the desires of the two of you have been fulfilled, oh best of all persons, you should be engaged in upholding the dharma for the sake of the common man, just as the sages Nara and Narayana did.'

The two Krishnas [see also B.G. 10: 37] thus being instructed by the Supreme Lord of the Highest Abode, said 'om' while bowing down to the Almighty One. They took the sons of the twice-born soul with them and returned elated to their abode [Dvaraka], the same way they had come. There they handed the sons, who had the same bodies and the same age [as they had when they were lost], over to the brahmin. Having seen the abode of Vishnu, Arjuna was most surprised. He concluded that whatever powers human beings have, are all manifestations of Krishna's mercy. He [Krishna] performed many heroic acts like this in the world, enjoyed the sensual pleasures [see also 1.11: 35-39] and was of worship with the most important sacrifices [e.g. in 10.24 and 10.74 & 75]. Just like Indra at the right time pours his rain, the Supreme Lord in excercising His Supremacy, rained down all that was desired upon His subjects, beginning with His brahmins. By killing all the kings who opposed the dharma and therein having engaged Arjuna and others, He has paved the way for the son of Dharma [Yudhishthhira] to carry out the principles of religion [see also 1.14 & 15].'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 90:

The Queens Play and Speak and Lord Krishna's Glories Summarised

- Shri Shuka said: 'The Master of the goddess of fortune resided happily in Dvaraka. His city, opulent in every respect, was populated by the most prominent Vrishnis and their excellently, in new apparel dressed women, who in the beauty of their youth shone like lightening when they on the rooftops were playing with balls and other toys. Its roads were always crowded with well ornamented and honoured elephants dripping with mada, with foot soldiers and horses and chariots shining with gold. The city was richly endowed with gardens and parks with rows of flowering trees where from all sides the sounds of the bees and the birds were heard that frequented them. He [Krishna] enjoyed there with His sixteen thousand wives for whom He, as their one and only love, had expanded Himself in their richly furnished residences in as many different forms [see also 10.69: 41]. There were crystal clear ponds filled with the cooing of flocks of birds and the aroma of the pollen of night and day blooming lotuses and water lilies. The Great Appearance sported there by diving into the water of the streams, whereby His body, being embraced by the women, was smeared with the kunkuma of their breasts. - Being glorified by the singers of heaven who played two-sided drums, kettledrums and tabors as also by male and female reciters playing vinas, His laughing wives squirted Him wet with syringes. Squirting them wet in His turn He sported like the lord of the treasure keepers [Kuvera] with his nymphs. With their clothes wet revealing their thighs and breasts, they looked resplendently as they - with the flowers of their large braids scattered all over the place and with blooming faces beaming wide smiles - tried to seize His syringe and under the spell of Cupid embraced their Spouse. Like He was the king of the elephants surrounded by she-elephants, Krishna enjoyed the being sprayed by and spraying of the women, while the kunkuma from their breasts stuck to His garland and the arrangement of His wealth of hair was disheveled from being absorbed in the game. Done playing Krishna gave the male and female performers who earned their livelihood by singing and playing music, the ornaments and garments of Himself and His wives. Krishna thus sporting stole away the hearts of the wives with His movements, talks, glances and smiles, His jokes, exchanges of love and embraces. With their minds exclusively focussed on Mukunda they, being entranced, spoke like they were mad. Now listen to me as I relate to you the words they spoke thinking about the Lotus-eyed One.

The queens said [see also 10.47: 12-21, 10.83: 8-40]: 'Oh kurari you are lamenting! Deprived of sleep you cannot rest while the Controller tonight is sleeping somewhere in the world at an unknown place. Can it be that your heart, just like ours oh friend, was deeply pierced by His smiling and the munificent, playful glance of His lotus eyes? Oh cakravaki, having closed your eyes for the night, you nevertheless are crying pitifully for your unseen friend. Or do you perhaps, after having attained the servitude, just like us desire to carry in your braided hair the garland that was honoured by Acyuta's feet? Oh dear, dear ocean, you are always making such a noise, never getting any sleep. Are you suffering from sleeplessness? Or were, maybe, your personal qualities stolen by Mukunda so that you also got into this hard to cure [diseased] condition? Oh moon are you, in the grip of the fell disease of consumption, so emaciated that you cannot dispel the darkness with your rays? Or are you maybe dumbstruck, oh dearest, because you, just like us, cannot remember what Mukunda all said? Oh wind from the Malaya mountains, what have we done that displeased you so that our hearts are led by Cupid [Kamadeva], hearts that are already torn apart by Govinda's sidelong glances? Oh honourable cloud, you surely are a friend most dear to the Chief of the Yadavas with the Shrivatsa on His chest. We are, in our meditation on pure love, just as bound to Him as your good self is. Your most eager heart is just as distraught as ours. We just like you, remember Him over and over. And that results in torrents of rain with you, just as it time and again makes us shed streams of tears. It can be so hurtful to associate with Him! Oh sweet-throated cuckoo, please tell me what I should do to please you who vibrate His so very dear sounds, in this voice that is capable of reviving the dead. Oh mountain with your broad-minded intelligence, you do not move or speak. Are you preoccupied with great matters or do you maybe, just like us, desire to hold on your breasts the feet of the darling son of Vasudeva? Oh [rivers,] wives of the ocean, your lakes have alas lost their wealth of lotuses that shriveled away now that they dried up, just like us, who grew very thin because of not obtaining the loving glance of our beloved husband, the Lord of Madhu, who so often stole our hearts [see also 10.47: 41 and 10.48: 11]? Oh swan, be welcome and sit down, please drink some milk and tell us the news oh dear one, for we know you to be a messenger of Shauri. Is the Unconquerable One all well? Does He who is so fickle in His friendship, still remember that He talked to us a long time ago? Why should we [run after Him to] be of worship, oh servant of the campaka? Tell Him who raises the desire, to visit us without the goddess of fortune. Why should that woman have the exclusive right of devotion?'

Shri Shuka said: 'Speaking and acting with such ecstatic love for Krishna, the Master of the Yoga masters, the wives of Lord Madhava attained the ultimate goal. He, who in numerous songs is glorified in numerous ways, attracts with force the mind of any woman who but heard about Him. And how much more attractive would He then be to those who directly see Him? How can we ever describe the austerities of the women who, with the idea of having Him as their husband, the Spiritual Master of the Universe, with pure love served His feet perfectly with massages and so on? Thus proceeding according to the dharma as defended by the Vedas, He, the Goal of all Saintly Souls, demonstrated how one living at home arrives at the regulation of one's religiosity, economic development and sense gratification [the purusharthas]. With Krishna answering to the highest standard of a householder's life, there where over sixteen thousand and one hundred queens [see also 10.59** and 7.14]. Among them there were eight gems of women headed by Rukmini whom I, along with their sons, one after the other have described previously [see 10.83 & 10.61: 8-19], oh King. Krishna, the Supreme Lord Who Never Fails in His Purpose, begot in each of His many wives ten sons [and one daughter]. Among these there were eighteen maharathas of an unlimited prowess, whose fame spread wide. Hear now from me their names. 3-3 They were: Pradyumna and [His son] Aniruddha; Diptiman and Bhanu as also Samba, Madhu and Brihadbhanu; Citrabhanu, Vrika and Aruna; Pushkara and Vedabahu, Shrutadeva and Sunandana; Citrabahu and Virupa, Kavi and Nyagrodha. Oh best of kings, Pradyumna, the son of Rukmini, was of these sons of Krishna - the enemy of Madhu - the most prominent one. He was just like His father. He, the great chariot fighter, married the daughter of Rukmi [named Rukmavati] from whom next Aniruddha was born who was endowed with the strength of a ten thousand elephants [see 10.61]. He, as you know, married Rukmi's granddaughter [Rocana] from whom next His son Vajra was born, one of the few who survived the battle with clubs [see 3.4: 1 & 2]. Pratibahu was his son, who fathered Subahu whose son Shantasena had Shatasena as his son. No one born in this family was poor in wealth or had few children, was short-lived, small in prowess or neglecting the brahminical interest.

The glorious deeds of the men born in the Yadu dynasty cannot be summed up, oh King, not even in a ten thousand years. I heard that there were thirty-eight million eight-hundred thousand teachers for the children of the Yadu family. Who can keep count of the Yadavas when Ugrasena alone among its great personalities was assisted by ten thousand times ten thousand, times hundreds of thousands of men [*]? The most pitiless Daityas who in [past ages in] wars between the gods and the demons had been killed, took their birth among the human beings and arrogantly troubled the populace. The devas were by the Lord ordered to descend in the one hundred-and-one clans of the family, oh King, in order to subdue them [see 10.1: 62-63]. Krishna was to them, on account of His mastery, the authority of Lord Hari because of which all the Yadavas who were His faithful followers prospered. Because the Vrishnis always thought of Krishna, they, in their activities of sleeping, sitting, walking, conversing, playing, bathing and so on, forgot the presence of their own bodies [and hence were fearless, see also 10.89: 14-17]. Oh King, when Krishna took His birth among the Yadus He outshone the pilgrimage site of the heavenly river [the Ganges] that washes from His feet. Because of His embodiment friends and foes attained their goal [7.1: 46-47]. The undefeated and supremely perfect goddess Shri belongs to Him, she for whom others are struggling. His name being heard or chanted is what destroys the inauspiciousness. He settled the dharma for the lines of [disciplic] succession [the schools of the sages]. With Lord Krishna holding the weapon that is the wheel of Time [His cakra], it is no wonder that the burden of the earth was removed [see also 3.2: 7-12]. He is glorious as the Ultimate Abode and is known as the son of Devaki. He is the devotion of the Yadu nobles who with His arms [or His devotees] puts an end to the unrighteous ones. He is the Destroyer of the distress of the moving and not-moving living beings. He is the One who, always smiling with His beautiful face, awakens Cupid in the damsels of Vraja [see 10.30-33, 10.35, 10.47]. Thus proceeding with the wish to protect His transcendental path [of devotional service], He for the sake of His lila has assumed various personal forms. With them imitating the [human] ways, He has destroyed the [burden of the] karma [belonging to them]. When one wants to follow His feet one will have to listen to the stories about this Best One among the Yadus. A mortal who at every sacrificial ceremony hears about, sings about and meditates upon the beautiful topics concerning Mukunda, heads from his home for His abode, the place where the inescapable sway of death is arrested. Even the ones ruling this earth [like Dhruva and Priyavrata] went into the forest for this sake.'

*: The parampara adds here that to the rules of Mimamsa interpretation the number of three is taken as the default number when no specific number is given. So literally would strict to the rules be said here that Ugrasena would have had 30 trillion attendants.

Thus the tenth BOOK of the Shrimad Bhagavatam ends named: The Summum Bonum.

BOOK 11: GENERAL HISTORY

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 1:

The Curse Upon the Yadu Dynasty

Shri Shuka said: 'After Lord Krishna together with Balarama and surrounded by the Yadus had realised the elimination of the Daityas and had reduced the burden of the earth, very soon a conflict arose [between the Kauravas and the Pandavas]. They [the Pandavas] who time and again were angered by the duplicitous gambling, the insults, the grabbing by the hair [of Draupadi] and the other transgressions of their enemies [their nephews, the Kauravas], constituted the immediate cause [with the historical dynastic struggle, see also Yayati and 10.49 & 10.68] for the Supreme Lord to [further] relieve the earth of her burden and [also] kill all the kings who assembled [at Kurukshetra] to take opposite sides. And after the Yadus being protected by His arms had eliminated the kings who with their royal armies had burdened the earth, the Unfathomable Lord thought to Himself: 'One may say that the burden of the earth has been eliminated, but I do not think the load is gone. The intolerable burden [alas] remains with the Yadu dynasty itself.

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They who in every respect sought their refuge in Me, were never frustrated in the exercise of their power. Since they have no defeat to fear from any other side I will arrange a quarrel within the Yadu dynasty, just like fire in a bamboo-grove [is generated by the wind through mutual friction]. That is how I will achieve [My purpose:] My abode of peace [see also 3.3: 14 and 8.8: 37].'

Thus having decided, oh King, the Lord, the Almighty One who realises everything He wants, withdrew His family by means of a curse that was pronounced against them by the brahmins. - After by His form, the beauty of all the worlds, having freed the eyes of men, by His words having attracted the minds of all who remembered them and by His feet having redirected the [wrongful] activities of anyone who saw them, the Lord, who effortlessly on earth spread His glories that are praised in the most beautiful verses and by which one may cross the ocean of ignorance, achieved His [desired] position [of peace and beatitude, see also 7.5: 23-24].'

The King said: 'How could it happen that this curse against the Vrishnis was pronounced by the brahmins? The Vrishnis who were fully absorbed in Krishna, were always charitable and respectful towards the brahmins and served the elders. What led to that curse and what kind of curse was it, oh purest among the twice-born souls? Please tell me how this dissension [could rise] among those who share the same soul [of Krishna].'

The son of Vyasa said: 'Embodied in a form that was the amalgamation of all things beautiful, on earth performing the most auspicious activities and to His full satisfaction enjoying His life as He resided in His abode [of Dvaraka], He, so greatly famed, [now] wanted to destroy His dynasty. That was the only thing left to do for Him. 1-1 After in the house of the lord of the Yadus [Vasudeva] having performed most favorable rituals to bestow piety and take away the impurities of Kali-yuga, the sages Vis'vamitra, Asita, Kanva, Durvasa, Bhrigu, Angira, Kasyapa, Vamadeva, Atri, Vasishthha, Narada and others, were by The Soul of Time [Lord Krishna] sent away to go to Pindaraka [a pilgrimage site]. 3-1 [Having arrived there] they were approached by young boys of the Yadu dynasty in a game in which Samba the son of Jambavati [see also 10.68] had dressed up in woman's clothes. Feigning humility they took hold of their feet and impudently asked: 'This black-eyed pregnant woman would like to ask you something, oh men of learning, but she is too embarrassed to do it herself. Can you tell whether she who is about to give birth and desires a son, will get one?'

Oh King, the sages thus being tricked said angrily to them: 'She, oh fools, will for you give birth to a mace that will destroy the dynasty!'

Most terrified to hear that, they hastily uncovered the belly of Samba wherein indeed a club made of iron could be seen. 'What have we done? What will the family say of us? What a bad luck!' they said perturbed, took the club and went home. With the beauty of their faces faded, they brought the club to an assembly of the king [Ugrasena] and told in the presence of all the Yadus what had happened. When they saw the club and heard about the infallible curse of the learned souls, oh King, the inhabitants of Dvaraka were astonished and distraught with fear. Ahuka [Ugrasena], the Yadu king, ordered the club to be ground to bits and next threw the iron together with the remaining pieces of the club into the water of the ocean. The iron was swallowed by a certain fish while the fine dust was carried away by the waves and washed ashore where it grew into canes with sharp-edged blades [called eraka]. The fish was by a fisherman in the ocean caught in a net together with others. The piece of iron contained in the fish's stomach was by a hunter [called Jara] fixed on a shaft [as an arrowhead]. Even though the Supreme Lord very well knew what it all meant, He did not want to reverse the curse of the scholars and, in His form of Time, accepted it.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 2:

Maharaja Nimi Meets the Nine Yogendras

Shri Shuka said: 'Desirous to worship Krishna, oh best of the Kurus, Narada continued to stay in Dvaraka, the capital protected by the arms of Govinda [see also 6.5: 43 & 10.69]. Which sensible person faced with death coming from all sides, oh King, would not be of worship for the lotus feet of Mukunda who is so worshipable for even the best of the immortals? One day Vasudeva said the following to the deva-rishi who came over to his house and was respectfully greeted and worshiped with paraphernalia and a comfortable seat. Shri Vasudeva said: 'Oh great lord, this visit of yours compares to the visit of a good father, for you who are there for both the misers and everyone on the path of Uttamas'loka, appear for the benefit of all embodied souls. What the gods do means misery and happiness to the living beings, but what saints like you do who accepted the Infallible One as their very soul, results in happiness only [see also 1.2: 25-26, 3.25: 21]. The gods behave like one's shadow. They care for their worshipers depending the obeisances one makes and the karma that one has. But the saints are of mercy for the fallen souls [irrespective of what they did. See also B.G. 3: 12, 4: 12, 7: 20-23]. Oh brahmin, I nevertheless would like to ask you about the religious duties to please the Supreme Lord, [for] the mortal soul who with faith hears about them, will be freed from all fear [compare 10.2: 30-33]. A long time ago [in a previous life], I, bewildered by His maya, worshiped Ananta, the Lord who Awards Liberation, for begetting a child in this world and not for my liberation [see also 10.3: 32-45 and 4.1: 20]. Please instruct us therefore,, oh you true to the vow, so that we without much trouble by your mercy may find liberation from this world full of dangers that frightens us at every step.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Oh king, thus being asked by the intelligent Vasudeva, the deva-rishi was pleased to speak to him because his qualities reminded him of the Lord. Shri Narada said: 'This question you asked about the bhagavata-dharma is the correct one, oh best of the Satvatas, for the entire universe is purified by that dharma. By hearing or talking about it, by meditating upon it, accepting it with reverence or appreciating it when done by others, this dutiful respect of the truth purifies immediately even those who are averse to the gods and the entire world. Today you brought the Supreme Lord, the Personality of Godhead Narayana to my mind [see also 10.87: 5], chanting and hearing about whom one becomes supremely blissful and pious. Concerning this matter one often mentions the example of the ancient story of a conversation between the sons of Rishabha and the king of Videha who was a broad-minded soul. The son of Svayambhuva Manu named Priyavrata had a son named Agnidhra. From him there was Nabhi and his son is remembered as Rishabhadeva [see also 5.3]. He appeared in this world with the desire to teach the dharma of finding liberation and is considered a plenary expansion of Vasudeva. Of Him there were one hundred sons who perfectly observed the Absolute Truth. The eldest one, Bharata [see 5.7], was completely devoted to Lord Narayana. It is because of his name that this wonderful part of the world is called Bharata-varsha [or India]. When his earthly pleasures ended and he consequently rejected a material life, he left his home behind and achieved in three consecutive births His destination by practicing austerities in worship of Lord Hari. Nine of His [Rishabha's] sons became rulers over the nine separate areas [nava-dvipa] of this subcontinent while eighty-one other sons of him became twice-born brahmins who initated the complete of the [karma-kanda] path of fruitive Vedic sacrifices [see 5.2: 19-21]. 0-2 The nine remaining sons, Kavi, Havir, Antariksha, Prabuddha, Pippalayana, Avirhotra, Drumila, Camasa and Karabhajana were greatly fortunate sages engaged in explaining the [Vedic] purpose. They were rigorous ascetics learned in the science of spirituality who wandered around naked ['dressed by the wind only']. Wandering the earth they [called the nava-yogendras] saw the entire universe consisting of the gross and the subtle, as one and the same form of the Supreme Lord and as non-different from the Self [see also 1.5: 20 and B.G. 13: 14 & 15: 7]. Unimpeded moving at will, they go wherever they like and thus freely travel the worlds of the enlightened souls, the perfected ones and the ones to be propitiated, the heavenly singers, the treasure keepers, the [common] humans, the ones of superpower and the serpentine, visiting the sages, the angels, the ghostly followers of Shiva, the scientists, the twice-born ones and the cows. Once in Ajanabha [name of India before Bharata] they arrived during the soma sacrifice of the great soul Nimi [see also 9.13] that was carried out to the wishes of the seers. Seeing those pure devotees whose brilliance rivaled the sun, oh King, the performer of the sacrifice, the brahmins, everyone, nay even the fires, rose up in respect. The ruler of Videha [Nimi] recognizing them as devotees of Narayana, gladly seated them and honoured them with all the respect they deserved. With humility bowing down to the nine of them who glowed with an effulgence like the sons of Brahma [the Kumaras, see 4.22: 6] the king, immersed in transcendental rapture, posed questions. Shri Videha [Nimi] said: 'I consider you to be direct associates of the Supreme Lord, the enemy of Madhu, as servants of Vishnu who travel around for the sake of purifying all the worlds. I think that to achieve the association of the ones dear to the Lord of Vaikunthha, is as difficult as it is for embodied beings to achieve a human body that any moment can be lost [see also B.G. 8: 16 and 16: 19-20]. I therefore ask you, oh sinless ones, what the supreme good would be in this material ocean where, for human beings, the greatest treasure consists of enjoying but a second the association of the devotees. Please speak about the science of devotional service, provided you deem us qualified enough to hear about it. Satisfied with that service He, the Unborn Lord, will even give Himself personally to the one who sought His refuge.'

Shri Narada said: 'They, the greatest of the great oh Vasudeva, thus at the request of Nimi in their turn affectionately spoke with reverence to the king in the company of the priests and the members of the sacrificial assembly. Shri Kavi said: 'Someone whose intelligence in this world is constantly disturbed because he takes the temporal [body] for the true self, can in my view reach fearlessness [only] when he worships the lotus feet of the Infallible One, the Soul of the Universe in whom all fear ceases [see 3.9: 6 and e.g. B.G. 2: 56, 2: 71, 4: 10, 12: 13-14]. The method thereto is discussed by the Supreme Lord and known as the bhagavata dharma by which people who suffer from ignorance may easily realise the Supreme Soul. A man accepting that dharma, oh King, will never be caught in illusions nor ever trip or fall on this path, not even when he closes his eyes running [see also the catuh-s'loki of B.G. 10: 8-11 and verse 5: 17]. Whatever one according to one's nature physically, verbally, mentally or sensually does with intelligence or a purified consciousness, should all be offered to the Supreme with the thought: 'This I do for Narayana' ['narayanaya iti', compare B.G. 3: 9 and 9: 27]. For those who led by the illusory energy and forgetful about Him, have turned away from the Supreme Lord in falsely identifying themselves [with the body], fear will rise because they are absorbed in matters second to Him. For that reason an intelligent person should be fully and purely devoted to the Lord and consider his spiritual master as his soul and salvation [see B.G. also 4: 34, 1.5: 12 and B.G. 7: 14, 15: 7]. Even though [the object of a mental image may] not [be] present in reality, to the mind of a person experiencing [the material world, its] duality can be manifest like in a dream that is moved by desire and fear [by 'its two mental chariots']. An intelligent person should therefore bring the mind under control that, because of [its reference to] material activities, is committed to positive and negative emotions. That is how one arrives at fearlessness [see also B.G. 6: 35]. Hearing about the all-auspicious appearances and activities of Him with the Wheel in His Hand [see 1.9: 37], of whom the with them associated names are chanted in this world, one should, singing without the material association [of a wife, home and children], freely and without shame move in all directions. Thus being vowed one, by repeating ['chanting'] His so very dear, holy name, develops the attachment of a mind dissolved in laughing and crying loudly and in getting exited like a madman in dance and song, without any concern about what others think of it [*]. One should bow to ether, air, fire, water, earth and the luminaries, all living beings, the directions, the trees and other immovable beings, the rivers and oceans and whatever that might exist in the Supreme Lord's body of creation, while considering nothing as existing separately [from the Soul, **]. Devotion, experiencing the presence of the Supreme Lord and detachment from everything else, are the three [characteristics] that simultaneously occur with someone who sought refuge [in Him] - just about the way things are with someone being engaged in eating who experiences satisfaction with the nourishment he gets and with the reduction of hunger with every bite. For the devotee who thus in obedience [to the disciplic succession] is worshiping the feet of Acyuta, devotion, detachment and knowledge of the Supreme Lord will manifest, oh king Nimi, whereupon he then directly will attain transcendental peace [see B.G. 2: 71].'

The king said: 'Please tell me next about the devotee of the Fortunate One. What are his duties, what is his nature, how does he behave among men, what does he say and by which symptoms is he dear to the Lord?'

Shri Havir said: 'The one who sees this Soul [this basic principle of all existence] in all forms of existence [of matter and spirit] and is of devotional service to [the Supreme Spirit Soul,] the Lord with the notion that all forms of existence are situated within the [gigantic universal body of the] Supreme Lord, belongs to His most advanced devotees [an uttama adhikari, see also B.G. 6: 29 & 30]. In the stage before this one, on the middle platform, he [the so-called madhyama adhikari] is of love for the Supreme Lord, of friendship with advanced persons, of mercy to the neophytes and indifferent toward [envious,] hostile souls [see also 4.24: 57, 7.9: 43, B.G. 4: 8 & 15: 7 and ***]. He who in his worship of the Lord faithfully engages with the deity [the murti] but is neither respectful towards the devotees nor towards others, is a materialistic devotee [a prakrita or a beginner, a so-called kanishthha adhikari, see also B.G. 7: 20 and 3.29: 24-25 & 7.14: 40]. He who despite the engagement of his senses with their objects, hates nor rejoices and recognises this universe as the deluding material energy of Lord Vishnu, is certainly a first-class devotee [see also B.G. 5: 3]. He who, because he keeps the Lord in mind [see also 6.2: 14], is not bewildered by the [inescapable] nature of a material life consisting of birth, decay, hunger, fear, thirst, sensory functions, the life air, the mind and the intelligence, is the foremost devotee [see also B.G. 2: 56-57]. In the mind of someone who has Vasudeva as His only shelter, lust [see B.G. 3: 37-43], karma and [its consequent] material desires [see also B.G. 6: 4] will never develop. Such a one is truly a first-class devotee. A person who is not attached in the egotistical sentiment of a bodily concept of life - in the sense of being of a good birth, of meritorious acts or a certain varnashrama status orientation, caste or race, is someone dear to the Lord [see B.G. 2: 71 & 12: 13-14]. He who does not think in opposites in the sense of 'mine' and 'thine' about property and the body, someone who is equal and peaceful with all living beings, no doubt belongs to the best devotees [see B.G. 13: 28-31 & 14: 22-25]. He who neither is tempted by the opulence found in the three worlds, nor, not even for a moment, half a second or a split of a

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second, moves away from the lotus feet of the Supreme Lord that are the refuge of the enlightened souls and others, he who - undisturbed in his remembrance - regards the Unconquerable One as his very soul, is a topmost Vaishnava [see also 18: 66]. Again: how can of the toes of the Supreme Lord's feet, the feet of all those great heroic acts, how can of the lunar light radiating from the jewel-like nails that takes away the pain in the hearts, there be any pain of importance with the ones who are of worship? Can the burning heat of the sun be of any effect when the moon has risen [see also 10.14: 58]? He never leaves the heart of the one whom one calls His foremost devotee, however accidentally that devotee directly might have called for Him [by means of His names], He who, bound by the ropes of love, destroys the sins regardless of their number [see also B.G. 4: 36 and *4].'

*: Shri Caitanya Mahaprabhu also emphasised this by quoting: 'harer nama harer nama harer namaiva kevalam kalau nasty eva nasty eva nasty eva gatir anyatha [Adi 17.21]': 'In this age of Kali there is no alternative, there is no alternative, there is no alternative for spiritual progress but the holy name, the holy name, the holy name of the Lord.' Also Shrila Bhaktisiddhanta Sarasvati Thhakura recommends to this that one studies the following verse: 'parivadatu jano yatha tatha va nanu mukharo na vayam vicarayamah hari-rasa-madira-madati-matta bhuvi viluthhamo nathamo nirvis'amah': 'Let the garrulous populace say whatever they like; we shall pay them no regard. Thoroughly maddened by the ecstasy of the intoxicating beverage of love for Krishna, we shall enjoy life running about, rolling on the ground and dancing in ecstasy.' (Padyavali 7 This is what defines Krishna-consciousness.

**: Shrila Bhaktisiddhanta Sarasvati Thhakura has warned us that if we do not see everything as a manifestation of the Supreme Personality of Godhead, we shall become victims of phalgu-vairagya, or immature renunciation.

***: The parampara adds here: 'Shrila Bhaktisiddhanta Sarasvati Thhakura has given a nice explanation of the difference between arcana and bhajana. Arcana refers to the platform of sadhana-bhakti, in which one serves the Lord to carry out the rules and regulations of the process. One who has achieved the shelter of the Lord's holy name and is totally engaged in the attempt to serve the Lord should be considered to be on the platform of bhajana, even though his external activities may sometimes be less strict than those of the neophyte engaged in arcana. This apparent lack of strictness, however, refers to laxity not in the basic principles of sane behavior and renunciation of sense gratification, but rather in the details of Vaishnava ceremonies.'

*4: Nimi, the King of Videha, asked, so helps us the parampara, the following nine questions of the nine Yogendras, the saintly sons of Rishabha. What is the highest good? (Chapter Two, verse 3; What are the religious principles (dharma), natural proclivities (svabhava), behavior (acara), speech (vakya) and outward symptoms (lakshana) of a bhagavata, a Vaishnava devotee of the Lord? .4; What is the external energy of Vishnu, the Supreme Lord? .; How can one become dissociated from this maya? .1; What is the true identity of Brahman? .3; What are the three types of karma, namely karma based on the enjoyment of the fruits of work, karma offered to the Supreme Lord, and naishkarmya? .4; What are the various pastimes of the various incarnations of God? .; What is the aim or destination of one who is against the Supreme Lord and devoid of bhakti (in other words, a non-devotee)? .; and What are the respective colours, forms and names of the four yugavataras, the four incarnations of the Supreme Lord who appear in the four ages, and what is the process of worshiping each of Them? .1.

The transcendental answers to these inquiries were given by the great devotees Kavi, Havir, Antariksha, Prabuddha, Pippalayana, Avirhotra, Drumila, Camasa and Karabhajana. These nine paramahamsas answered the nine questions, each in turn, in the following verses: 2.33-43; 2.45-55; 3.3-16; 3.18-33; 3.35-40; 3.43-55; 4.2-23; 5.2-18; and 5.20-42.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 3:

Liberation from Maya and Karma Knowing and Worshiping the Lord

The honourable king [Nimi] said: 'My lords, please tell us about the illusory potency [or maya, see also 11.2: 48] of the Supreme Lord Vishnu, we would like to understand that what bewilders even the great mystics. We enjoy the nectar of your talks about Lord Hari, but we are not yet satisfied by that antidote against the pain a mortal experiences being tormented by the misery of samsara.'

Shri Antariksha said: 'The Soul of All Living Beings evolved, by means of the elements of the greater creation, all creatures high and low [see B.G. 13: 22 & 14: 18], oh mighty armed one, so that they, the Original Person's own [parts and parcels], could be successful with [the choice between] the sense objects and the true self, the Soul [see also 10.87: 2]. Having entered the living beings that thus were created with the help of the five gross elements and having divided Himself as the one [witness] to the ten [senses of perception and action], He was pleased to engage them [in a life] with the modes of nature. The living being, that by the Supreme Soul was given a life with the modes, enjoys those modes and consequently takes this created body for the true self as also himself for the master and thus becomes entangled [see also B.G. 15: 8, compare 11.2: 37]. The proprietor of the body is because of the sense-motivated actions, driven by desires and engaged in different karmic - fruitive - activities from which he reaps the different fruits. And thus he moves through this world in both a state of happiness and the contrary thereof [see B.G. 2: 62]. This way by his karma reaching destinations that bring him a lot of things that are not so good, the living being till the end of time helplessly experiences birth and death. When the dissolution of the material elements is near the [Lord in the form of] Time that is Without a Beginning or an End, withdraws the manifest universe consisting of the gross objects and subtle modes [back] into the unmanifest [see also 3.29: 40-45, 3.26: 51]. There will be a terrible drought on earth that lasts for a hundred years, so that the three worlds during that period will be seriously scorched by the accumulated heat of the sun. Beginning from the lower regions [Patala], the fire, with its flames fanned by the winds shooting upwards from the mouth of Sankarshana, will burn all directions. Great masses of samvartaka ['end time'] clouds will rain for a hundred years with torrents as long as elephant trunks, so that everything will be inundated. Oh King, the universe will thereupon, like a fire running out of fuel, be abandoned by the Personality of the Universal Form, as He [in the form of Brahma] enters the subtle reality of the unseen [pradhana, see also B.G. 8: 19, 3.32: 12-15]. The earth, by the wind deprived of its aroma, changes [back] into water and the water by the same process [of the wind] being deprived of its taste, becomes fire [again, see *]. Fire, by darkness deprived of its [quality, its] form, turns into air and the air, losing its [quality of] touch, dissolves into the ether. When the sky [the ether], by the Supreme Soul of Time is deprived of its quality [of sound], it merges into the ego [of not-knowing]. The senses, the mind and the intelligence oh King, merge together with the gods [representing the emotions] into the ego-element and the I-awareness merges together with all its guna-qualities into the Supreme Self [see also 3.6 and 3.26: 21-48]. After thus for you having described the three departments of this bewildering energy, this agent of the Supreme Lord consisting of maintenance, creation and dissolution [characterised by goodness, passion and ignorance], what would you like to hear more from us?'

The honourable king said: 'Oh great sage, please tell how [even] materialistic people with ease may overcome this material energy of the Lord that is so unsurpassable for those lacking in self-control.'

Shri Prabuddha said: 'One should see that people who live as husband and wife, with their endeavors to lessen the distress and to gain in happiness, achieve the opposite result. What happiness can one expect from the unsteadiness of having a home, children, relatives, domestic animals and the hard to acquire wealth which always gives distress, that mean death to the soul? Know that the idealised world for which one thus settles, is founded upon fruitive labour, cannot be sustained and is characterised by matters like a loss of behaving properly in groups of equals and with superiors [B.G. 8: 16]. Someone eager to know about the highest good, should therefore take shelter of a spiritual master who resides in the supreme tranquility of the Absolute Truth and is also well versed in the conclusions of the Vedas [see e.g. 5.5: 10-13, 7.11: 13, 7.12: 1-16, 7.15: 25-26, 10.86: 57 and B.G. 4: 34]. With the guru as one's soul and worshipable deity, one should learn the science of devotional service [the bhagavata dharma or emancipation process, see 11.2: 34] by which, free from illusion being of faithful service, the Supreme Soul can be satisfied who bestows His own Self [**]. One should first of all detach the mind from everything and properly, with mercy, friendship and reverence for all living beings, cultivate association with devotees [compare 11.2: 46]. [That entails: inner and outer] cleanliness, penance, tolerance and silence, scriptural study, simplicity, celibacy, nonviolence and equanimity concerning the known opposites [see also yama & niyama and B.G. 12: 13-20]. In solitude, without [attachment to] a fixed residence, wearing old rags and satisfied with anything, one should with the Lord constantly kept in mind, meditate upon the omnipresent True Self [see also 2.2: 5, 7.13: 1-10]. With faith in the scriptures about the Supreme Lord and not blaspheming other scriptures, one should with respect for the truth and with one's mind, speech and activities strictly controlled, be innerly peaceful and master one's senses [see also B.G. 15: 15]. 7-2 Hearing, chanting and meditating the incarnations, pastimes and qualities of the Lord whose activities are all wonderful, one must do everything for His sake. Whatever worship, charity, penance, japa or piety one performs, everything held dear, one's wife, sons, home and very life air, one should dedicate to the Supreme [see also B.G. 9: 27]. In rendering service to both [the moving and nonmoving living beings] one must be of friendship with the common man as also with the devotees, the great souls who accepted Krishna as the Lord of their heart. By the glories of the Lord one may find in mutual discussions, in being attracted to each other, in pleasing one another and in one's together putting an end to material activities, the purification of [one's relation with] the soul [see also B.G. 3: 38]. Remembering [Him] and reminding one another, the bhakti unto the Lord who puts an end to the chain of sins, because of that devotion leads to an awakening whereby the body responds with goose bumps [see also 11.2: 40]. Sometimes one cries by the thought of Acyuta, sometimes one laughs or takes great pleasure or speaks, acts wondrously, dances and sings and sometimes one, following the example of the Unborn One, is freed from distress and becomes silent while attaining the Supreme [see also 10.35]. Thus learning about the bhagavata dharma and taking lessons from the consequent bhakti, someone aimed at Narayana will easily overcome the maya that is so difficult to defeat [see also 1.1: 2].'

The honourable king [Nimi] said: 'Please, all of you expert knowers of the Supreme, be so kind to speak to us about the transcendental position of the Supersoul of the Absolute Truth, that is associated with the name of Narayana [see also 1.2: 11].'

Shri Pippalayana said: 'Oh King, know that the Supreme gives life, it is that on the basis of which the senses, the life air and the minds of the bodies of all living beings are moving. It constitutes the cause without cause of the creation, destruction and maintenance of this universe, that exists in the state of wakefulness, in the dream state and in the unconscious state as also external to these states [of consciousness]. This [Supreme Truth] cannot be covered by the mind, by the faculties of speech, sight, intelligence, the life air or by the senses, just as a fire cannot be covered by its own sparks. Not even the Vedic word may express it, for the Vedas deny that the Supreme Self can be expressed in words. It can only be achieved by indirect expressions, by words that refer to that without which there would be no ultimate purpose to the scriptural restrictions [compare 10.87]. In the beginning being One, it thereafter became known as the threefold of goodness, passion and ignorance [of the gunas] that is associated with the power to act and the power of consciousness of the I-awareness that one calls the individual living being [the jiva, the individual soul]. Assuming the forms of spiritual knowledge [the gods], actions [of the senses and their] objects and [good and bad] results it thus possesses a great variety of energies. It is the Supreme alone that [as the Absolute Truth or Brahman] is manifest beyond both the [relative of the] gross and the subtle [see also mahat-tattva, pradhana, 4.29: 79, B.G. 10: 42, 13: 13 & 7: 14]. This Soul, never born and never dying, grows nor decays. It is the knower of the stages of life of the living beings that are subjected to change. That Soul, omnipresent and everlasting, which is pure consciousness, became many [jivas], just as the [one] life air [prana] by the power of the senses resulted in a variety [of vital forms, see also B.G. 2: 23-30 and ***]. [With beings that originated] from eggs, with embryos, with plants and with that what is difficult to discern in moisture [micro-organisms], the vital air accompanies the [same] individual soul [see also linga] from one [life form] to the other, just as the self, apart from the thought process invariably stays the same with a memory restoring when one awakens from a deep sleep in which the ego and the senses had merged [see B.G. 2: 22]. When one desires the feet of Him with the Lotus-navel, the dirt in the heart that was generated by the modes of nature and the fruitive action, is cleansed away by the power of bhakti. After one then is purified completely, the truth of the soul is directly realised, just as the rising sun becomes visible to the naked eye [B.G. 2: 55 and 6: 20-23 and nyayika].'

The honourable king said: 'Please explain to us the karma yoga by which a person being purified in this life quickly gets rid of his fruitive actions and, freed from karmic reactions, achieves the Supreme [see also B.G. 1-6 or 3.5]. In the presence of my father [Ikshvaku see also 9.6: 4] I in the past asked the sages [the Kumaras] a similar question, but the sons of Brahma did not reply. Can you speak about the reason for this?'

Shri Avirhotra replied: 'Right action, non-action and wrong action [karma, akarma, vikarma] are Vedic subject matters, not a worldly subject and since Vedic knowledge comes from the Lord Himself, [even such great] enlightened souls [easily] get confused about this matter [see also B.G. 4: 16-17 and 4.29: 26-27]. Offering guidance to ignorant human beings, the Vedas in covert terms prescribe material activities [duties] to be freed from karma, the way one also prescribes a medicine [see also B.G. 3: 26, see 5.5: 17, 10.24: 17-18]. Someone ignorant who has not subdued his senses and fails to do what the Vedas say, will by his lack of dharma following a wrong course of action [vikarma], achieve death time and again [see also B.G. 3: 8, 16: 23-24, 17: 5-6, 18: 7]. When one according to what the Vedas prescribe without attachment performs and sacrifices for the sake of the Supreme Lord, one will certainly achieve the perfection that to raise interest is put in terms of fruitive results [karma-kanda and B.G. 4: 17-23]. Someone who quickly wants to cut the knot [of attachment] in the heart that binds the soul to the body, should, with [respect for] the regulative principles [the vidhi],

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worship Lord Kes'ava as also study the divine as described in the supplementary Vedic literatures [the tantras, see also B.G. 12: 6-7]. Having obtained the mercy [the initiation] of the teacher of example [the acarya] who shows him what is handed down by tradition, the devotee should worship the Supreme Personality in the particular form he prefers [see also B.G. 3: 35, 7: 20]. Cleansed, sitting in front [of His idol], with a concentrated mind controlling his breath and such [see ashthanga-yoga] and purifying the body by invoking His protection in renunciation [by assigning the different parts of his body to Him by marking them with mantras], he should worship the Lord [see also B.G. 5: 27-28 and 6.8: 4-6]. 0-5 With all available ingredients he [thereto] prepares himself in his heart and mind. He takes the deity and everything belonging to it as also the items to be offered and sprinkles the floor and the place to sit. He prepares the water for the sacrifice and attentively puts the deity in its proper place. He draws sacred marks on His heart and the other parts of His body. Next he is of worship with the appropriate mantra [4*]. 2-5 With the mantras belonging to Him he should be of worship for each particular deity and its limbs, His special features [like His cakra] and His associates [like the panca-tattva, see the Shishumara-mantra or the Ambaris'a prayers for the cakra mentioned in 5.23: 8 and 9.5]. Presenting the worship in every respect as it is enjoined with water for His feet, scented water to welcome, water for the mouth and for bathing and such, with clothing, ornaments, fragrances, necklaces, unbroken barleycorns [meant for applying tilaka] and with garlands, incense, lamps and such offerings, he should bow down to the Lord with reverence and prayer. Absorbing himself in that activity [as a servant and not falsely identifying himself] he should, thus meditating, fully be of worship for the murti of the Lord. Then, taking the remnants to his head [for acceptance], he should put Him respectfully back where He belongs. He who thus worships the Lord, the Supreme Soul, who is present in the fire, the sun, the water and so on, as also in the guest and in one's own heart [see also 2.2: 8], will soon be liberated.'

*: When a quality is removed, becomes an element nondifferent from the element that evolved earlier in the evolution of the universe, it then merges, changes, or dissolves into it. That is how the annihilation of the universe takes place.

**: Shrila Rupa Gosvami formulated four preliminary requisites for advancement in this: '[1] Accepting the shelter of the lotus feet of a bona fide spiritual master, [2] becoming initiated by the spiritual master and learning from him how to discharge the duties of devotional service, [3] obeying the orders of the spiritual master with faith and devotion, and [4] following in the footsteps of the great acaryas [teachers] under the direction of the spiritual master.' (Bhakti-rasamrita-sindhu 1.2.7

***: Shrila Madhvacarya here quotes, from the Moksha-dharma section of Vyasadeva's Mahabharata, the Lord saying:

aham hi jiva-samjno vai
mayi jivah sanatanah
maivam tvayanumantavyam
dristho jivo mayeti ha
aham Shreyo vidhasyami
yathadhikaram is'varah

'The living entity, known as jiva, is not different from Me, for he is My expansion. Thus the living entity is eternal, as I am, and always exists within Me. But you should not artificially think, 'Now I have seen the soul.' Rather, I, as the Supreme Personality of Godhead, will bestow this benediction upon you when you are actually qualified.'

*4: Just as each prakrita, impersonalist, materialistic devotee is worshiping the Lord as the deity of his preference in His form of Time with pragmatically perverted, unleaped clocks and week divisions [see the Order of Time and kala for correcting on this] and with mantras like 'be on time' and 'time is money', so too does classical bhakti with the kanishthha or beginning personalist devotee, more faithful to the Vedic authority, worship the personal form of the Lord in the form of a [Krishna] deity while saying 'om namo bhagavate vasudevaya' [4.8: 54], the Gayatri, the Mahamantra and other mantras. In all these cases should be remembered what Vyasa in 11.2: 47 says about murti-worship in general.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 4:

The Activities of Nara-Narayana and the other Avataras described

The honourable king [Nimi] said: 'Please speak to us about the activities of each of these self-chosen appearances by which the Lord performed, is performing and will perform in this world [see also 2.7].'

Shri Drumila said: 'Truly, he who tries to enumerate the unlimited transcendental qualities of the Unlimited One is a person with the intelligence of a child. One may somehow, in due course of time, be able to count the dust particles on earth, but one can never count the qualities of the Reservoir of all Potencies [see also 10.14: 7, 10.51: 38]. When the Original Personality of Godhead Narayana assumed the from Himself generated body of the universe that was created out of the five material elements and entered it in His plenary expansion, He thus became known as the Purusha [see also 1.3: 1]. In the vastness of this three-world body originated, from His senses, the two kinds of senses of action and perception of the embodied beings, originated from His Will the spiritual knowledge and from His breathing strength, ability and endeavor. He is the prime mover of the creation, destruction and maintenance in passion, ignorance and goodness [see B.G. 3: 27, 13: 30 and S.B. 6.17: 19, 3.26: 7, 3.27: 2, 3.32: 12-15, 10.46: 41, 10.83: 3]. In the beginning He with the mode of passion became Shata-dhriti [Lord Brahma] for the creation of this universe, for the maintenance of dharma and protection of the brahmins He became Vishnu, the Lord of Sacrifice, and for the annihilation in ignorance the Original Person assumed the form of Rudra [Lord Shiva]; among the created beings He is thus always of creation, maintenance and destruction [see also 2.10: 41-46, 4.29: 79, 4.30: 23].

He was born from Murti, the daughter of Daksha and wife of Dharma [*], as Nara and Narayana, the best of sages perfectly of peace. They spoke in favor of performing the duty that is characterised by a cessation of all material activities, and even live today being served by the greatest of sages at Their feet [see B.G. 9: 27 and also 2.7: 6, 4.1: 49: 57, 5.19: 9]. Lord Indra was afraid and thought: 'He [Narayana] wants to usurp my kingdom.' He engaged Cupid who went to Badarikashrama together with his associates the Apsaras. There he in the gentle breeze of spring with his arrows, [consisting of] the glances of the women, tried to pierce Him, not knowing His greatness. The Original Godhead understood the offense committed by Indra and spoke free from pride with a smile to the ones who stood there trembling: 'Please do not fear oh mighty Madana [Lord of Love], oh god of the wind and wives of the demigods, please accept these gifts from Us and bless this ashrama with your presence.'

Oh god of men [Nimi], after He who Brings Fearlessness had spoken this way, the gods full of shame bowed to Him and said, begging for compassion with their heads down: 'Oh Almighty One, with You, the Supreme Unchanging One, this [kind of respect] is not that unusual, not with You at whose feet in great numbers those bow down who are self-controlled and satisfied within [see also 1.7: 10]. For those who serve You to transcend their material worlds and reach the Supreme, there exist many hindrances [temptations] created by the enlightened souls [or the demigods]. But when one allots those souls their share by means of offerings in sacrifices, there are, for this other type of devotee, no such impediments. Because of You being the Protector he can place his foot then on top of those obstacles [see also 9.4: 8 and 10.2: 33]. Some people [dealing] with us in the form of [material troubles like] hunger, thirst, the three time-bound qualities [of seasonal heat, cold and rain], the wind, the tongue and the genitals, fall victim of anger finding no results and abandon their difficult austerities as being useless. Having crossed endless oceans [of hardship] they then [with their anger, so to speak] drown in [the water of] a cow's hoof print [see B.G. 17: 5-6, 6.1: 16 and compare 5.8: 23 and 10.12: 12].'

As they were praising Him [Narayana] He before their eyes showed [a number of] women most wonderful to behold, who nicely being decorated were serving the Almighty One [see also 2.7: 6]. Seeing these women who were like the Goddess of Fortune in person, the followers of the god [of love] were bewildered by the magnificence of the beauty and fragrance that humbled their own luster. The Lord of All Lords with a faint smile said to those who bowed down before Him: 'Please choose from these ladies one you deem suitable as an ornament of heaven.'

The servants of the demigods vibrating 'om' in consent, offered Him their obeisances, chose Urvas'i, the best of the Apsaras, and then returned to heaven with her put in front. Bowing down before lord Indra in his assembly they, before an audience of all the residents of the three heavens, told him about the strength of Narayana. He stood amazed. The Infallible Lord, Vishnu who with His expansions descends into this world for the welfare of the entire universe, spoke about self-realisation assuming the forms of the [transcendental] swan [Hamsa], Dattatreya, the Kumaras and our father, the Supreme Lord Rishabha [B.G. 14: 4]. The original texts of the Vedas were brought back by Him, the killer of Madhu, in His horse incarnation [Hayagriva]. In His fish incarnation [Matsya] He protected Vaivasvata Manu [Satyavrata], the planet earth, and the herbs during the deluge. In His boar incarnation [Varaha] He delivered the earth from the waters and killed the demoniac son of Diti [Hiranyaksha]. In the form of a tortoise [Kurma] He held the mountain [Mandara] upon His back with which the nectar was churned. He [in His transcendental form, Vishnu] freed the king of the elephants [Gajendra] who in his distress surrendered to Him because of the crocodile. He delivered the ascetic sages [the tiny Valakhilyas] offering prayers, who had fallen [into the water of a cow's hoof print]. He delivered Indra from being absorbed in darkness after he had killed Vritrasura. He delivered the wives of the demigods who were helplessly imprisoned in the asura palace [by Bhaumasura]. He in the form of Nrisimhadeva killed Hiranyakas'ipu, the asura king, in order to free the saintly devotees from fear. As Lord Vamana He on the pretext of charity took the earth away from Bali and gave her to the sons of Aditi. By His various appearances [the ams'a-avataras] He during the reign of each Manu protects the worlds. For the sake of the God-fearing souls He [seated on Garuda thus also] killed the daitya leaders in a battle between the gods and demons [see 8.10]. As Lord Parashurama He rid the earth of the members of the ruling class and destroyed, as the fire that He descending from Bhrigu was, twenty-seven times the dynasty of Haihaya. As the husband of Sita [Ramacandra] He subdued the ocean and killed Ten-head [Ravana] along with his soldiers on Lanka. When one tells the stories about the glories of Him who is always victorious, the contamination of the entire world is annihilated. The Unborn Lord will take His birth [as Krishna] in the Yadu dynasty and will, in order to diminish the burden of the earth, perform deeds that are even hard to perform for the demigods. At the end of Kali-yuga He [as the Buddha] with speculative arguments will bewilder those who perform their sacrifices apart from Him [or the traditions]. He [as Lord Kalki] will finally put an end to all low-class rulers. There are of the so very glorious Lord of the Living Being [the Lord of the Universe Jagadis'vara] we have thus described, oh mighty-armed one, countless appearances and activities just like these.'

*: According to the Matsya Purana .1, Dharma, the father of Nara-Narayana Rishi, was born from the right breast of Brahma and later married thirteen of the daughters of Prajapati Daksha.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 5:

Narada Concludes His Teachings to Vasudeva

The honourable king [Nimi] said: 'Oh you perfect in the knowledge of the soul, what is the destination of those who as good as never worship the Supreme Personality of Hari [see also 11.3: *4] and, with their lusts not at peace, are out of control with themselves?'

Shri Camasa said: 'From the face, arms, thighs and feet of the Original Person originated, with the different [combinations * of the] basic qualities of nature, the four spiritual orders [or ashramas] and vocations headed by the brahmins [or varnas, see also B.G. 4: 13]. In case any member of these [orders] is not of worship or of disrespect for the Supreme Lord who is the source of his very self, he will, having strayed from his position, fall down [see B.G. 16: 23]. Many people see no chance to engage in talks about the Lord and never consider Acyuta's glories. Personalities like yourself should be of mercy with [especially] women [compare 5.17: 15], with Shudras and others [who thus have lost their way]. Even intellectuals, nobles and traders who [by initiation] got access to the lotus feet of the Lord, lose their way in their commitment to [all kinds of] philosophies of life [see also 5.6: 11, B.G. 2: 42-43]. Ignorant about karmic matters they, who factually lack in experience but proudly consider themselves very learned, are enchanted by the beauty of the [Vedic] language and express themselves in flattering entreaties [to the demigods] that lead them astray [see also B.G. 9: 3]. Full of passion, with evil desires and lusty, they are as angry as snakes, deceitful and conceited and sinfully make fun of the ones dear to Acyuta. In their homes arranged for the sake of sexuality they speak amongst each other about the blessings of their worship of women. Killing animals without considering the consequences, they are of sacrifice for the sake of their own maintenance only and have no regard for the distribution of food and gifts in gratitude [to the spiritual leaders and their following, see also B.G. 16]. With their intelligence blinded by pride about their wealth, special abilities, lineage, education, renunciation, beauty, strength and performance of rituals, they hard-hearted deride the saintly souls dear to the Lord, nor respect the Controller Himself [see also e.g. 1.8: 26, 4.2: 24, 4.31: 21, 5.1: 12, 7.15: 19, 8.22: 26 and also B.G. 2: 42-43]. Less intelligent persons [preferably] do not hear about the most worshipable Lord glorified in the Vedas, the Supreme Soul who, [as separate] as the ether, is eternally situated in all embodied beings. They rather discuss the [materialistic] ideas that keep them going. In the material world the conditioned soul is always led by sexual intercourse, meat-eating and intoxication [by alcohol and drugs] in disregard of the scriptural injunctions. These matters [though] are settled in [respectively] marital relationships, in sacrifices and in ritual usage with the purpose to suspend them [see also 1.17: 38-39]. One only benefits with the fruit of dharma because of which there is both the knowledge and the wisdom that lead to liberation. But in their houses they [the materialists] do not see the insurmountable power of death over the body they identify themselves with [see also 3.30: 7, 7.6: 8, 4.29: 52-55 but also 4.22: 10]. It is enjoined that wine should be accepted by smelling it and that likewise an animal should be killed as prescribed and not by hurting it [the 'wrong' violent way]. Sexual intercourse the same way is there [for conquering the urge] to beget children and not so much for sensual pleasure [B.G. 7: 11]. For this purest fulfillment of duty according to the rules they [the less intelligent ones] have

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no understanding. Those who have no knowledge of these facts and most unholy presumptuously consider themselves saintly, harm innocently trusting animals. After they have left their bodies those animals will eat them [compare 5.26: 11-13 and 4.25: 7-8]. Envying their own True Self, their Lord and Controller living [within their body and] in the bodies of others, they fall down who are bound in their affection to their own mortal frame and its relations. They who did not achieve beatitude but managed to leave behind their ignorance, following the threefold path [of the three goals of pious living: rituals, an income and regulated desires, see also the purusharthas, 10.2: 32] will [still] ruin their life when they are not of any [reflection, meditation and] leisure [or work too hard]. All those who kill their soul [by slaving without meditation] and miss the peace, presume in their ignorance to have knowledge but in due course of time suffer the destruction of all their hopes and dreams when they fail to fulfill their [spiritual] duties. Those who turned their face away from Vasudeva unintentionally enter the darkness, as is arranged by the illusory energy of the Supreme Soul, when they [at the end of their life] leave behind their homes, children, friends and wives.'

The honourable king said: 'What colour and form had the Supreme Lord in which time period and what are the names and methods by which He is worshiped by men? Please enlighten us about this.'

Shri Karabhajana replied: 'Lord Kes'ava [Krishna] has in the [yugas] named Krita [or Satya], Treta, Dvapara and Kali different complexions [see also 10.26: 16], names and forms, and is accordingly worshiped by various processes. In Satya-yuga He is white, has four arms and matted locks and carries a tree bark garment, a black deerskin, a sacred thread, akshaseed prayer beads, a rod and a water pot. The human beings in that age are peaceful, free from envy, kind to all, equipoised and of worship for the Lord by means of both austerity and mind and sense control. He is thus celebrated as Hamsa ['the Swan'], Suparna ['Beautiful Wings'], Vaikunthha ['the Lord of the Kingdom of Heaven'], Dharma ['the Maintainer of the Religion'], Yoges'vara ['the Controller of the Yoga'], Amala ['the Immaculate One'], Is'vara ['the Supreme Controller'], Purusha ['the Original Person'], Avyakta ['the One Unmanifest'] and Paramatma ['the Supersoul']. In Treta-yuga He has a red complexion, golden locks and four arms and wears three belts [according to the initiations for the first three varnas] while carrying, as the personification of the three Vedas, sacrificial ladles [**] and such as His symbols. The human beings who as seekers of the Absolute Truth are fixed in their religiosity, worship Him in that age with the rituals of sacrifice of the three Vedas as Hari, the godhead covering all the gods [see also 1.16: 20]. One calls Him [in Treta-yuga] Vishnu ['the All-pervading One'], Yajna ['the Lord of Sacrifice'], Pris'nigarbha [the son of Pris'ni, 10.3: 32], Sarvadeva ['God of All Gods'], Urukrama ['the Lord of the Wide Strides'], Vrishakapi [the Lord as memorable and rewarding who dispels the distress], Jayanta ['All-victorious'] and Urugaya ['Most Glorified']. In Dvapara-yuga the Supreme Lord is gray blue, wearing yellow garments and characterised by His attributes [the disc, club, lotus and conch] and His physical characteristics, like His Shrivatsa, [peacock feather and Kaustubha gem]. Oh King, mortal men who want to gain knowledge of the Supreme worship Him, the Original Person, in that age in the role of a great king, according to the Vedas and Tantras [like e.g. in 1.10: 16-18 and 10.74: 17-24 and ***] as follows. 9-3 'We offer Sankarshana, Pradyumna, Aniruddha and You, Vasudeva our obeisances, You Narayana Rishi, the Original and Supreme Personality of Godhead, the Greater Soul, the Controller of the Creation, the Very Form of the Universe and the True Self of all Living Beings [see catur-vyuha].' Oh King, the Lord of the Universe is thus praised in Dvapara-yuga. Please hear also how one in respect of the scriptural regulations is of worship in Kali-yuga [see also 7.9: 38]. [in Kali-yuga] people of proper understanding worship, through sacrifices mostly consisting of congregational chanting, the Lord with a dark complexion and a bright luster [Krishna and Krishna-Caitanya], complete with His limbs, devotees, weapons and companions [see also Panca-tattva] as follows. 'Oh Supreme Personality, let me worship Your lotus feet. One always meditates upon them for they put an end to the humiliation [by the dominance of matter]. Answering to [all] the desire [of the soul] they constitute the authority and place of pilgrimage to which Shiva and Brahma bow down. Taking away the distress of Your servants, they are the most worthy shelter, oh protector of the ones who surrender, and the boat for the ocean of birth and death. Oh Supreme Personality let me honour Your lotus feet, for You fixed in dharma abandoned upon the words of a brahmin [like Akrura, Shri Advaita] the so hard to forsake and by the demigods anxiously desired, opulence of Shri, oh You who, being of mercy for the ones who are caught in animal nature, [as Rama, Krishna, the Buddha, as Caitanya etc.] went to the distant land [of India, the wilderness, the forest, the desert, into sannyasa] to pursue Your desired purpose [Your mission, Your dharma, Your presence as the Lord of the devotees, 4*].'

Oh King, this is how the Supreme Lord Hari, the Lord of All Blessings, by the people of each yuga is worshiped with the names and forms belonging to that age. Respectable souls knowing the value of the age praise Kali-yuga pointing out that it's essence consists of the blessing that all desired goals can be attained by the mere congregational chanting [of His names]. For the embodied soul wandering around in this universe there is no greater gain than this [sankirtana] by which the cycle of birth and death is broken and [His] Supreme Peace is attained [see also 2.1: 11, 3.33: 7, 8.23: 16 and 8.23*]. 8-4 The inhabitants of Satya-yuga and the other yugas, oh King, want to take birth in Kali-yuga because one in that age, oh great monarch, everywhere can find devotees of Narayana. One especially finds them in great numbers in the provinces of South India. The human beings there who drink from the water of the rivers the Tamraparni, the Kritamala, the Payasvini, the extremely pious Kaveri, the Mahanadi and the Pratici, oh lord of men, are mostly pure-hearted devotees of the Supreme Lord Vasudeva. Oh King when someone forsakes his material duties and takes to the shelter of Mukunda, the One Affording Shelter, he is neither the servant nor the debtor of the gods, the sages, ordinary living beings, friends and relatives, society or of the forefathers [see also B.G. 3: 9]. Someone who devoted to the shelter of His feet has given up his inclination for others, is very dear to the Supreme Lord Hari. Whatever misconduct [vikarma] somehow took place, will be removed by Him who is situated in everyone's heart [see 8.23: 16 and B.G. 9: 22, 9: 30, 18: 56].'

Shri Narada said: 'After he thus had heard about the science of devotional service [king Nimi,] the master of Mithila felt most satisfied and offered together with the priests prayers to the wise sons of Jayanti [the Yogendras 5.4: 8]. The perfected souls thereupon disappeared before the eyes of everyone present. The king faithfully followed this dharma and achieved the supreme destination. You also [Vasudeva] oh most fortunate soul, will attain the Supreme when you, with faith in these religious duties, are situated in the devotional service you heard about and have abandoned your material concerns. Because the Supreme Lord, the Controller Hari assumed the position of your son, the earth was fulfilled by your glories as husband and wife. Showing your love for Krishna as your son, by your embracing and conversing, taking rest, sitting and eating with Him, your hearts were purified. Kings like Shishupala, Paundraka and Shalva who enviously competing related to His movements, glances and so on, and thus meditating fixed their minds upon Him as they lay down, sat down and such, have achieved a likewise [spiritual] position. What kind of blessings may then be expected for those who were favorably minded [see mukti and also Jaya & Vijaya]? Do not think of Krishna that He would be your son. He is the Supreme Soul and Controller of All, who by the power of His illusory potency appeared as a normal human being and concealed His opulence as the Supreme Infallible One [see also B.G. 4: 6]. The fame of Him who descended to award liberation spread wide over the world because He appeared for both putting an end to the asura members of the noble class who burdened the earth as for the protection of the transcendentalists devoted to Him [see also B.G. 4: 7].'

Shri Shuka said: 'Having heard this, the greatly fortunate Vasudeva and Devaki were most amazed and gave up the illusion they had cherished [of considering Krishna their son]. He who one-pointed of attention meditates upon this pious, historical account, will this very life shake off his [material] contamination and achieve spiritual perfection.'

*: With the Rik-samhita .4: 1, the Shukla-yajur Veda 4: 1 and the Atharva Veda 9: 6 all saying 'The brahmana appeared as His face, the king as His arms, the vais'ya as His thighs, and the Shudra was born from His feet', according to Shridhara Svami, the brahmins are considered to be born from the mode of goodness, the kshatriyas from a combination of goodness and passion, the vais'yas from a combination of passion and ignorance and the Shudras from the mode of ignorance.

**: Mentioned here are the vikankata wooden sruk and the khadira wooden sruva that serves the sruk for pouring ghee into the fire.

***: The parampara, as to remind us of the degradation of devotion through the yugas [see also 1.16: 20] elucidates: 'The inhabitants of Satya-yuga were described as Shantah, nirvairah, suhridah and samah, or peaceful, free from envy, the well-wishers of every living entity, and fixed on the spiritual platform beyond the modes of material nature. Similarly the inhabitants of Treta-yuga were described as dharmishthhah and brahma-vadinah, or thoroughly religious, and expert followers of the Vedic injunctions. In the present verse, the inhabitants of Dvapara-yuga are said to be simply jijnasavah, desiring to know the Absolute Truth. Otherwise they are described as martyah, or subject to the weakness of mortal beings.' One after the other age is one thus worshiping by meditation, sacrifices, temple worship and congregational chanting.

4*: The parampara adds to this: 'Corroborating the explanation of this verse, the followers of Caitanya Mahaprabhu also worship Him in His six-armed form of shad-bhuja. Two arms carry the waterpot and danda of the sannyasi Caitanya Mahaprabhu, two arms carry the flute of Lord Krishna, and two arms carry the bow and arrow of Shri Ramacandra. This shad-bhuja form is the actual purport of this verse of the Shrimad Bhagavatam'.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 6:
Retirement on the Advise of Brahma and Uddhava Addressed in Private

Shri Shuka said: 'Thereafter lord Brahma arrived [in Dvaraka] being surrounded by his sons, the gods and the lords of man. Lord Bhava [Shiva] also came, the for all living beings favorable controller, who was accompanied by a host of ghostly beings. - Also Indra the powerful controller and his gods [the Maruts] came, the sons of Aditi, the good ones of clarity [the Vasus], the protectors of health [the As'vins], the artists [the Ribhus], the descendants of Angira, the expansions of Shiva [the Rudras], the demigods of the intellect [the Vis'vedevas], of commerce [the Sadhyas] and other demigods, the singers and dancing girls of heaven [Gandharvas and Apsaras], the ones of excel [the Nagas], the perfected ones [Siddhas] and the venerable souls [Caranas], the treasure keepers [Guhyakas], the seers [the Rishis], the forefathers [Pitas] and the scientists [Vidyadharas] as also the ones of special talents [the Kinnaras], all came together in Dvaraka eager to see Krishna, the Supreme Lord who removes the impurities everywhere in the universe, who with His transcendental form enchants the entire human society and spreads His fame throughout all the worlds. In that splendid city rich with a great abundance they with their hungry eyes saw Lord Krishna who is so wonderful to behold.

After having covered the best of the Yadus with flower garlands brought from the gardens of heaven, they praised Him, the Lord of the Living Being, and expressed themselves in all kinds of amazing ideas and words. The gods said: 'We with all our intelligence, senses, vital air, mind and words bow down at Your lotus feet, oh Lord, the feet upon which they meditate in their heart who are connected in the love of striving for liberation from the powerful grip of karmic consequences. You, by [engaging] the material energy consisting of the three modes, create, protect and destroy the inconceivable cosmic manifestation within Yourself while being situated within those modes. [Nevertheless] You are by them not entangled in karmic activities at all, oh Unconquerable One, because You, the irreproachable Lord, are always absorbed in Your unrestricted happiness [see also B.G. 3: 22]. Oh Worshipable One, the purification of those persons who have a contaminated consciousness is not as much brought about by incantations, respecting injunctions, study of the scriptures, charity, penances and rituals, oh Greatest of All, as it is caused by listening to those souls who are situated in pure goodness and have a fully matured and transcendental faith in Your glories [see also 4.29: 36-38]. May there for us be Your lotus feet, the fire that annihilates our inauspicious mentality and that by sages desiring the real benefit is carried in their appeased hearts, the fire of Your four forms [of soul, ego, mind and intelligence, the catur-vyuha] that three times a day is worshiped by the self-controlled devotees so as to reach beyond the [material] heavens and acquire an opulence like Yours. Upon them [Your feet] they are meditating, oh Lord, who, having folded their hands, pour the ghee they took into the fire of sacrifice in the [nirukta] process of understanding the three Vedas. Upon them the yoga practitioners are meditating who, inquisitive about Your [yoga-]maya mystic potency, are united in the realisation of the True Self. [But] they are fully attained [only] by the most elevated devotees [see uttama and 11.2: 45-47]. With the withered flower garland that we offer You, Your Lordship's consort Shri [dwelling there], oh Almighty One, feels challenged like a jealous co-wife, for You accept this offering as being properly performed [see also B.G. 9: 26]. May there always be Your lotus feet, the fire that consumes our impure desires! Your feet that like flags decorating flagpoles with three mighty steps [defeat the possessiveness and bring down the water of the Ganges] in each of the three worlds [see 8.20], create fear among the armies of the demons and fearlessness among the troops of the God-fearing souls. For the virtuous souls they are there for the attainment of heaven and for the mischievous ones they are there for exactly the opposite oh Most Powerful One. May these feet oh Supreme Lord, free us Your worshipers from our sins. Brahma and all the other embodied beings have their existence as oxen bound by a rope through their nose. Being controlled by Time they trouble each other. May the lotus feet of You, the Supreme Personality transcendental to both material nature and the individual person, bring us transcendental happiness [compare 1.13: 42, 6.3: 12]. You are the cause of the creation, maintenance and annihilation of this [universe]. You are the cause of the unseen, the individual soul and the complete whole of the manifest reality. They say that You, this very same personality, are the time factor controlling all who appears as a wheel divided in three [summer, winter and spring/autumn]. One says that You are the Supreme Personality who in the form of Time

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uninterrupted in Your flow effects the decay of everything [*]. The living being [beginning with Maha-Vishnu] acquires its power [potency] from that [time aspect] of Yours. You establish the vastness of matter with it [mahat-tattva]. United with that same nature You therefrom generate - the way an ordinary fetus is produced - the golden primeval egg of the universe endowed with its [seven] outer layers [see kos'a]. You are therewith the original Controller of everything that moves and keeps its place. You after all, are in Your activities oh Master of the Senses, never affected Yourself by the change of the objects of the senses that presents itself because of the operating modes of nature. Others by contrast, engaged of their own accord [in austerities], having turned away live in fear [see also B.G. 16: 23-24]. Your sixteen thousand wives were enchanting every time they launched the arrows of Cupid by showing their feelings with their eyebrows, smiles and glances. But they were not able to perplex Your senses by all the methods of their messages and advances of conjugal love [see also 1.11: 36]. The rivers of nectar of Your stories and the rivers resulting from the bathing of Your feet, can put an end to all the impurities of the three worlds. Those who strive for purification and seek association, approach [You therefore] in two places: by making their ears listen to the stories the tradition offers [in the temples] and by bringing their bodies [in the rivers] in contact with the water that flows from Your feet.'

The honourable son of Vyasa [Shuka] said: 'After he who commands hundreds [of sages, Brahma] together with Shiva and the demigods thus had praised Govinda, the Supreme Lord, he addressed Him offering his obeisances from his position in the sky. Shri Brahma said: 'Oh Lord, we requested You previously to diminish the burden of the earth. Oh Unlimited Soul, You have fulfilled that request the way we wanted it. Having established the principles of dharma among both the pious souls and the seekers of truth, it is indeed Your glory spread by You in all directions, that removes the impurity of all the worlds. For the benefit of the universe assuming a form and descending in the Yadu dynasty, You with magnanimous deeds have performed incomparable activities. Oh Lord, those saintly souls who in the age of Kali hear and chant about Your activities, will easily overcome the darkness [see also 10.14]. Oh Supreme Personality, since Your descent in the Yadu-vams'a one hundred and twenty-five autumns have passed, oh Master. 6-2 Oh You Foundation of Everything, for You there is no longer any obligation to the God-fearing souls and the remaining part of the dynasty has factually been annihilated by this curse of the brahmins [see 11.1]. Therefore we ask You whether You intend to leave for Your Supreme Abode and if You please want to protect us, the servants of Vaikunthha and the guardians of all worlds and their inhabitants.'

The Supreme Lord said: 'I have understood what you said, oh controller of the demigods. All the work has been accomplished for your sake, the burden of the earth has been removed. This same Yadu family that [with My appearance has] expanded its power, courage and opulence, threatened to devour the entire world and has therefore been checked by Me just like an ocean is checked by its shore. If I would not withdraw the vast dynasty of overly proud Yadus, this world would be destroyed by that flood. Because of the brahmins' curse right now the annihilation of the family has begun. After that has taken place, oh sinless Brahma, I will pay a visit to your abode.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Thus being addressed by the Lord of the World, the self-born one fell down at His feet to offer Him his obeisances. The godhead then returned to his abode together with the different gods. The Supreme Lord thereafter observed the development of serious portents in the city of Dvaraka. He spoke to the assembled Yadu elders. The Supreme Lord said: 'These very serious disturbances appearing everywhere are a consequence of the curse the brahmins pronounced against our family, it is impossible to counteract. We should not stay here if we want to continue with our lives. Let us not delay oh venerable souls, and this very day go to Prabhasa, that so very pious place [**]. The king of the stars [the moon god] who was seised by consumption because of a curse of Daksha, once took a bath there, was immediately freed from his offense and resumed the waxing of his phases. 7-3 When we also bathe there to the satisfaction of the forefathers, offer different kinds of foodstuff to the demigods and the venerable scholars and also distribute gifts with faith in them as being worth the charity, we will overcome the terrible danger, just as one with boats overcomes the ocean.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Oh child of the Kurus, the Yadavas who were thus instructed by the Fortunate One, decided after due consideration to go to the holy site and yoked their horses to their chariots. 0-4 Oh King, Uddhava [see also 3.2 and 10.46 & 47] as an ever faithful follower of Krishna came to hear what the Lord had said. Facing the fearful evil omens [see also 1.14: 2-5] he approached the Lord of the lords of the universe in private and addressed Him with folded hands bowing down his head at His feet. Shri Uddhava said: 'Oh Lord and God of Gods, oh Master of Yoga, oh Piety of Hearing and Singing, You are about to withdraw this family now and give up this world. Even though You as the Supreme Controller are very well capable of it, You are not willing to counteract the curse of the brahmins! Oh Kes'ava, I cannot even for half a moment tolerate to give up Your lotus feet, please take me also to Your abode [see also 3.29: 13]! Your pastimes are supremely auspicious oh Krishna, they are nectar to the human ear. Once people have the taste of them they forsake all desire for other things. How can we, who were always devoted to You when we were lying down, sitting, walking, standing, bathing, recreating and eating and such, ever abandon You, our dear most Self? Eating the food remnants and adorned with the garlands, fragrances, garments and ornaments that You enjoyed, we, Your servants, will conquer the illusory energy for certain. The but in air clad sinless, peaceful members of the renounced order, who as sages of strict observance always send their seed upwards, go to the abode known as Brahman [see urdhva retah and also 10.2: 32]. 8-4 We on the other hand, oh Greatest of All Yogis, who in this world wander on the paths of fruitive labour, will together with Your devotees pass beyond the hard to conquer darkness by discussing the topics that make us remember and glorify Your deeds, words, movements, broad smiles, glances and Your amorous sports after the example of the human world.'

Shri Shuka said: 'Thus being informed oh King, the Supreme Lord, the son of Devaki, for a long time spoke in private with His dear servant Uddhava.'

*: Time in three can be regarded as the three types of seasons, summer winter and spring/autumn or as the three to the order, the cakra, of the sun, moon and the stars or the past, the present and the future and as the time of nature, culture and the psychological experience [see also tri-kalika, 5.22: 2, time-quotes and B.G. 10: 30 & 33, 11: 32].

**: Prabhasa is a famous holy place located near the Veraval railway station, within the region of Junagarah. At the base of the same pippala tree under which Lord Krishna was reported to have reposed there is now a temple. One mile away from the tree, on the seashore, is the Vira-prabhanjana Mathha, and it is said that from this point the hunter Jara fired the arrow which marked the end of His earthly presence [as described in the last two chapters of this BOOK].

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 7:

Krishna Speaks about the Masters of the Avadhuta and the Pigeon of Attachment

The Supreme Lord said: 'That what you said to Me, oh greatly fortunate one [Uddhava], is indeed My plan [to withdraw the dynasty]. Brahma, Bhava and the leaders of the worlds, are looking forward to see me back in My abode [see 11.6: 26-27]. I have completed My task here for the sake of the God-conscious souls [to diminish the burden of the earth] for which I, upon the prayers of Lord Brahma, have descended together with My partial expansion [Balarama]. Because of the curse [of the brahmins] this family will certainly find its end. It will be destroyed in a mutual quarrel and on the seventh day [from now] the ocean will inundate this city [Dvaraka]. Oh man of virtue, when I have abandoned this world, it will soon fall victim of Kali and be bereft of all piety [see also 1.16 & 17]. After I have left, you certainly should not stay here, oh gentle soul, for in Kali's time the people on earth will take pleasure in misconduct. With your mind fully fixed on Me you should in fact forsake all emotional ties with your family and friends and being equal towards all wander around in this world [see B.G. 6: 9, 6: 29, 14: 22-25]. This world you think of, talk about, look at, listen to and such, you should consider a transitory presentation of matters, a game of shadows that captures your imagination [see also 10.40: 25]. Someone not [spiritually] connected is confused about many values and assumes things to be right or wrong. Thus considering good and evil he makes a difference between right action, no action and wrong action [he judges, see further B.G. 4: 16]. Consider therefore, with your senses under control and your mind connected, this world as situated within the Self that expanded everywhere and that Self as being situated in Me, the Supreme Lord. Fully endowed with knowledge and wisdom, being satisfied in one's mind and of understanding with the Self that for every embodied soul constitutes the object of affection, one is never discouraged by hindrances. Having risen above the two of [right and] wrong, he does not turn away from what is forbidden thinking it is bad, nor does he engage in what is enjoined because of considering it good - like a young child he does not judge. When one firmly being fixed in knowledge and wisdom sees the universe as being pervaded by Me and peacefully, as a well-wisher, acts towards all living beings, one will never again fall into [the] misfortune [of repeated births].'

Shri Shuka said: 'Oh King, after thus by the Supreme Lord having been instructed, the exalted and fortunate Uddhava eager to learn about the supreme principle, bowed down to the Infallible Lord to offer his obeisances and spoke. Shri Uddhava said: 'Oh Lord of Yoga, oh Unity keeping us together, oh Essence of uniting in consciousness and Source of mystical power, You spoke to my advantage about the forsaking as is known in the renounced order [sannyasa]. This renunciation is difficult to perform my Lord, when one is dedicated to [the not regulated love of one's] lust and sense gratification, especially when one is not devoted to You I think [compare B.G. 6: 33-34]. With my consciousness merged with the body and its relations as arranged by Your maya, I am thus foolish [being caught in the notion] of 'I' and 'mine'. Teach me therefore, so that Your servant may easily perform according to the process You teach. Who else is there but You who are of the Truth and personally reveal Yourself to me? Who else but my Lord, the Supreme Soul, does actually qualify for this? Not even among the awakened souls I find such a one. Everyone up to the ones led by Brahma, is in his consciousness an embodied soul who, when he takes the external world for substantial, is bewildered by Your maya. I who with my mind in renunciation am tormented by distress, approach You therefore for shelter Narayana, oh Friend of Man, oh You perfect, unlimited and omniscient Lord ever fresh in Your abode of Vaikunthha.'

The Supreme Lord said: 'Human beings well acquainted with the state of affairs in this world, generally deliver themselves with the help of their own intelligence from the inauspicious disposition [of the 'I' and 'mine' perspective]. A person in a way constitutes his own guru because he with the help of his reasoning and direct perception [his self-instruction], may find his [real] benefit. They who are wise and experienced with the order of [sankhya or analytic] yoga, can see Me in their human existence, clearly manifested in My full glory, with all My energies [see also Kapila]. Many types of bodies have evolved with one, two, three, four or more legs or with none at all. The human form among these is the one most dear to Me [see also 3.29: 30, 6.4: 9]. In this world being situated in such a body one may look for Me, the Supreme Controller, by following direct signs [in bhakti listening and meditating] with the help of one's qualities of perception [intelligence, mind and senses]. [But in mere jnana] by logical reasoning following indirect symptoms [- the ones of My creation -], I cannot be perceived [as a person and am even rejected, see also 2.2: 35, 2.9: 36]. Concerning this one cites the following ancient story of a conversation between the, oh so mighty king Yadu and an avadhuta.

Yadu, who was well versed in the dharma, once saw a young brahmin mendicant wandering around unafraid of anything and took the opportunity to ask him questions [see also 7.13]. Shri Yadu said: 'How did you acquire this extraordinary intelligence, oh brahmin? How can you, fully cognizant not being engaged in any work, travel the world with the confidence of a child? People who are religious, work for an income, gratify their senses and pursue knowledge, are normally endeavoring for the purpose of opulence, a good name and a long life. You however, capable, learned, experienced, handsome and eloquent as you are, are not a doer and do not desire a thing, like a stupefied, maddened, ghostly creature. Everyone burns in the forest fire of lust and greed, but you stand, to be free from the fire, like an elephant in the Ganges and are not burned. We ask you, oh brahmin, to please tell us what the cause is of the inner happiness that you, living all by yourself, experience without any form of material enjoyment.'

The Supreme Lord said: 'The brahmin thus being asked and honoured by the greatly fortunate and intelligent Yadu, who out of his respect for brahmins humbly bowed his head, then spoke. The honourable brahmin said: 'There are many spiritual masters I took shelter of by my intelligence, oh King. Having learned to understand through them I now, being freed, wander around in this world. Please listen to their description. 3-3 The earth, the air, the sky, the water, the fire, the moon and the sun, the pigeon, the python, the sea, the moth, the honeybee and the elephant, the honey thief, the deer, the fish, the prostitute [Pingala], the osprey and the child, the girl, the arrow maker, the serpent, the spider and the wasp, are my twenty-four spiritual masters, oh King. From studying their actions I in this life have learned everything about the Self. Listen oh son of Nahusha [or Yayati], oh tiger among men, I will tell you what I have learned from each of them separately.

From the earth I learned the rule that a learned person should not deviate from the path and keep steady, however much he is harassed by his fellow living beings who simply follow what is arranged by fate. From the mountain one must learn to be always there for others, that one must devote all one's actions to the welfare of others. For a pious person to the example of a tree be dedicated to others [see Shri Shri Shikshashthaka-3], constitutes the sole reason for his existence [see also 10.22: 31-35 and B.G. 17: 20-22].

A sage should be happy with the mere movement of his vital air and not seek his satisfaction in sense gratification. His spiritual knowing will thus not be lost and his mind and speech will not be distracted. A yogi free from selfhood should, just like the wind, never get entangled in relating to the objects of the senses and all their different favorable and unfavorable qualities. When a self-realised soul has entered different bodies made of earth [elements] in this world and is endowed with their different qualities, he, well aware of

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himself, will not connect himself with these qualities, just like the wind does not with different odors.

A sage should meditate upon the soul stretched out in all moving and nonmoving living beings and thereby, with his different contacts [embodiments], consider himself a pure spirit, equal to the ether that expands everywhere [see also B.G. 2: 24, 3: 15, 6: 29-30, 9: 6, 11: 17, 12: 3-4 and 13: 14]. Just as the realm of the ether is not touched by the winds that blow the clouds, a person [in his real self] is not affected by his physical bodies consisting of fire, water and earth that are moved by Time according to the modes of nature.

A sage who by nature is a pure, softhearted, sweet and gentle place of pilgrimage for human beings, sanctifies just like water, the souls who gather [the friends], by being seen by them, touched and honoured [see also sakhya].

Brilliant, glowing and immovable because of his austerity, he who only eats when it is necessary is connected in the soul. Even when he eats everything [and thus goes beyond necessity], he does not lose his purity, just like a fire does not [irrespective what it consumes]. Sometimes [like a fire under ashes being] concealed, sometimes being manifested and being worshipable to those who desire the real benefit he [the sage, when he serves as their guru] always enjoys their offerings and burns both their past and subsequent [present] misfortune [see also 10.81: 4 and B.G. 3: 14]. The Almighty One assumes the identity of each after, just like fire appearing in firewood, having entered the different types of bodies of the higher and lower life forms He created by His potency ['true' and huntrue' ones, god or animal].

The state of the body [one undergoes] from one's birth until one's death changes by the course of Time that itself cannot be seen; it is the body that changes, not the soul, just as the phases of the moon [change, but not the moon itself, B.G. 2: 13, 2: 20]. Just as with flames [one cannot see apart] from a fire individual souls cannot be seen separately from the bodies that constantly die and are born again, also the [absolute of] Time itself cannot be seen, despite [the relativity of] its speeding, compelling stream [*].

A yogi with his senses accepts and forsakes sense objects depending the moment [according to the cakra order] and does not attach to them, just as the sun with its rays engaged in [evaporating and returning] bodies of water is not ruled by them. When the sun seems to have fallen apart in its reflections one, unless one is dull-witted, does not consider its original form as being different. Similarly the soul, despite of having entered in reflections [of different selves], is not seen as different.

One should never lose oneself in too much affection or close association with anyone, because thus indulging one will suffer great distress, just like a foolish pigeon [see also 7.2: 50-56]. A certain pigeon once in the forest built its nest in a tree and dwelt there for some years with a female companion. The pigeons, with their hearts full of love, lived a householder's life whereby their glances, bodies and minds were tied to each other [like with ropes]. Trusting each other making love they in the trees of the forest were engaged in resting, sitting, walking, standing, communicating, playing, eating and so on. Whatever she would like, oh King, was what he, desirous to please her, did. He mercifully catered to all her desires, even when it was difficult and had no control over his senses. The chaste female pigeon got pregnant for the first time and delivered, in due course, in the nest the eggs in the presence of her husband. From them at the appropriate time the little ones hatched with the tender limbs and feathers that were created by the inconceivable potencies of the Lord. The couple then very pleased nourished their progeny, to which they compassionately listened to the awkward sounds of the chirping children that surrounded them. To see the little ones happy with their fluffy wings, their endearing chirping and their activities of jumping up to fly, filled the parents with joy. With their hearts bound together by their affection they, not giving it any further thought, completely bewildered by the illusory potency of Vishnu, fed their children, their offspring. One day the two heads of the family left for finding food for the children and wandered far away, most anxiously searching all around in the forest. Some hunter who happened to pass through the forest saw the young birds moving near their nest and caught them with a net he had spread. The male and female pigeon who were always eagerly engaged in taking care of their children, thereupon returned to the nest to bring them food. The female pigeon saw that the little ones born from her, her children, were trapped in the net and rushed forward in utter distress crying out to them, who were also crying. Bound to her love constantly she had looked after her children without a thought for herself and so she, overwhelmed by the maya of the Unborn One, forgot about herself and was also trapped in the net. The unfortunate male pigeon most miserably lamented that his children and his wife so much alike him, had been caught. They were more dear to him than his life: 'Alas, just see how I, so unintelligent and of little merit, find my destruction. Unfulfilled I failed in my life's purpose and have ruined my family life, the threefold path [of the purusharthas]! She who suitable and faithful accepted me as her husband, as her god, has gone to heaven with her saintly children, leaving me behind in an empty house. What now is the purpose of my life with my wife and children dead? What is there for me, miserable and wretched living in an empty nest?' Seeing them caught within the net, still in the grip of death, he in misery sat motionless and also landed empty minded in the net. The ruthless hunter who had achieved his purpose, took the householder, his children and his pigeon wife and headed for his home.

A family man who dissatisfied with the soul takes pleasure in material opposites [like that of man and wife], will [unmeditated] suffer greatly with his relatives, just like this bird so miserable in maintaining its family. A person who achieved the human position, but with the door of liberation wide open, is attached to family affairs like this bird, may, to whatever height he might have reached, be considered fallen [see also 3.30, 3.32: 1-3, 4.28: 17, 5.26: 35, 7.14, 7.15: 38-39, 7.15: 67, 8.16: 9 and 10.69: 40].'

*: This analytic method, of in this case returning to the subject of the fire after having introduced the next subject of the moon, is called simhavalokana, or 'the lion's glance', by which one simultaneously proceeds forward and casts backward glances to see if anything has been overlooked.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 8:

What One Learns from Nature and the Story of Pingala

The honourable brahmin said: 'Since there is sensual happiness , oh King, in both heaven and hell and also feelings of unhappiness are there for all embodied beings [as their counterpart], an intelligent person should not desire such happiness [see B.G. 2: 14].

He should eat, as passive as a python, what is acquired accidentally, whether it is much or little, tasteless or pure and delicious food [7.13: 37-38]. When no food is coming he, just like a big python that eats whatever providence provides, should lie down and fast for many days [7.15: 15]. Both physically and mentally being strong, he, though endowed with senses, should stay free from desire and, resting [but] clear-minded, carry his body without engaging in action.

A sage is pleasing, grave, unfathomable, unlimited, unsurpassable [in his knowing] and never disturbed, just like the calm waters of the ocean [see also B.G. 12: 15]. Someone wise who accepts Narayana as the One Supreme, just like the ocean with its rivers, does not dry up or swell, whether he flourishes to his liking or is penniless [B.G. 2: 70].

When someone who did not conquer his senses, sees a woman, he is tempted by that seductive illusory energy of the Lord and lands in darkness, just like a moth lands in the fire. Upon seeing the by maya produced clothing, golden ornaments and so on of the women, a person lacking in discrimination will, with his desire for sense-gratification, feel aroused by lusty desires and no doubt lose his spiritual bearings, just like a moth is destroyed [B.G. 2: 62-63].

A sage has to practice the occupation of a honeybee by going door to door without giving trouble and only eat little bits of food, just enough to keep the body alive [5.5: 3, 7.2: 11-13, 7.12: 6. 7.14: 5, 7.15: 15 and B.G. 4: 21]. Just like a honeybee obtains its nectar from small and large flowers, a well versed man must extract the [Vedic] essence from both the smallest and the largest scriptures [11.7: 23, B.G. 15: 15]. With the belly as his container and the hand as his plate he should, not being a collector like a honeybee, accept food in charity and not keep it for the night or the next day. A mendicant should not collect for the night or the following day, because he, just like a honeybee [collecting more and more], will lose himself thereby [in excess].

A mendicant must not touch a girl, not even with his foot or one of wood, because he otherwise will be captured by the physical contact, just like an elephant in the grip of a she-elephant. A man of intelligence should never try to get a woman, because he otherwise may find himself killed [because of a rival], the way an elephant will be destroyed by other elephants superior in strength.

Riches that with great difficulty are accumulated by a greedy person who neither enjoys them himself nor shares them with others, are rather enjoyed by someone else who steals them away, just like the honey collector does upon discovering honey [see also 5.13: 10]. The way a honey thief is the first one to enjoy the honey that was painstakingly collected, also the ascetic is the first one to enjoy the eagerly desired blessings of the wealth that with a lot of trouble was acquired by householders [see e.g. 1.19: 39 and 7.14: 17].

An ascetic moving through the forest should not listen to worldly songs; he should learn from the deer that was captured for being fooled by the hunter's call [see the bhajans]. Taking pleasure in common dancing, musical entertainment and songs, Rishyas'ringa, the son of Mrigi ['deer'], was subdued by women, like he was a plaything [see *, 5.8 and 5.25: 11].

The way a fish that follows its taste with no intelligence is hooked and finds its death, also a person, most harassed being fooled by what the tongue dictates, may against his better judgement waste his life. Sages [even] who are of self-restraint quickly conquer the material senses, except however for the tongue, the desire of which increases with the fasting [see prasadam prayer]. A human being not in control of his tongue but in control of his other senses, has no self-control yet, [only] when he has conquered his tongue, he has mastered them all [see also 8: 16 and B.G. 2: 59].

In the city of Videha there used to be a prostitute called Pingala. Oh son of kings, learn now from me something I learned from her. She one night stood as a prostitute outside her door showing off her beautiful figure to get a customer into her house. Oh best among men, desiring money she looked at all the men passing in the street and thought: 'Oh this lover can pay the price, that one is wealthy enough.' 5-2 With them coming and going she, thus subsisting on selling her love, thought: 'Maybe some guy carrying plenty will approach me for love and give me a bundle.' Giving thought to this vain hope, standing in the doorway and spoiling her sleep, walking down the street and returning to the house, it became midnight. As she sadly dropped her face in her desire for money, her anxiety started to give way to a supreme detachment that brought her happiness. Please hear from me the song she sang after this disgust of her mind, a detachment that is like a sword to the ties of someone's hopes and desires. Dear King, a person who has not developed detachment is not willing to give up his physical ties, just as a human being lacking in wisdom is not willing to give up his [claims of] ownership. Pingala said: 'See how badly illusioned I am! I must be out of my mind, making a fool of my self in my lust to desire useless pleasures from a lover. Being ignorantly devoted to a most insignificant and unsatisfactory lust that only leads to illusion, grief, distress, misery and fear, I have refrained from the love of Him the eternal one bringing welfare, most dear and close to me. Oh, uselessly subjecting my soul to torture, I engaged as a prostitute, the most reprehensible of all occupations! Desiring money and sexual pleasure, I sold my body to greedy, lusty, pitiable womanizers. Wh0 else but me would devote herself to this house with nine doors full of stool and dripping urine that is constructed with the bones of a spine, the ribs, hands and legs and covered by a skin, hair and nails [compare B.G. 5: 13 and 4.25-28]? Among the residents of Videha I am the one as foolish of intelligence to desire, most unfaithful lusting, another man than Him who gives us the Soul, Acyuta. When I pay the price of giving myself to Him, the well-wisher who is the one most dear, the Lord and Soul of all embodied beings, I will enjoy with Him, just like [the goddess] Rama. How little happiness gave me the sensual pleasure and the men who pleased my senses? To have a wife or [even the grace of] the gods has, being spread in time, all its beginning and its end. I who so stubbornly went for pleasure therefore with my disgust somehow must have pleased the Supreme One, Lord Vishnu who brings the happiness I now experience! Had I been unlucky, there would not have been this misery leading to disgust, this loathing that makes someone relinquish his bondage and find [real] peace [compare 1.8: 25]. Having refrained from cherishing vain hope in my addiction to sensual pleasures, I now approach Him for shelter and accept devotedly the great help that He, the Original Lord, offers me. Fully satisfied convinced that I thus can handle whatever comes my way, I will succeed in living and enjoying just with Him, the Self of love and Happiness that is certain. When one has fallen in the well of a material existence, by sensual pleasures has been robbed of one's insight and is caught in the grip of the snake of Time, who else but the Original Lord, would deliver one's soul [see also 10.34]? The moment a soul attentively sees the universe as seised by the snake of Time, he being sober will detach from everything material and be suitable to serve as his own protector.'

The honourable brahmin said: 'Thus being determined to put an end to the desperation that was caused by her desire for lovers, she sat down on her bed having found inner peace. The greatest unhappiness results from [material] desires and the greatest happiness from the absence of them. Therewith putting an end to her hope for a lover, Pingala [finally] happily slept.'

*: Rishyas'ringa, meaning 'deer-horn' to the deer that is musically attracted, was the young son of the sage Mrigi, intentionally brought up by his father in an atmosphere of complete innocence. Mrigi Rishi thought that if his son were never exposed to the sight of women he would always remain a perfect brahmacari. But by chance the inhabitants of the neighbouring kingdom, who were suffering from a long-term drought, received divine advice that rain would return to their kingdom only after the brahmana named Rishyas'ringa stepped foot in it. Therefore they sent beautiful women to the hermitage of Mrigi to entice Rishyas'ringa and bring him back with them. Since Rishyas'ringa had never even heard about women, he easily fell for their trap [quoted from pp 11.8: 18].

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 9:

Detachment from All that is Material

The honourable brahmin said: 'When one strives to own all the things held dear by man [a house, a wife, goods etc.], that

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will be a source of unhappiness. Anyone who knows this and is of detachment, achieves unlimited happiness.

A large hawk [the osprey] who had a prey was attacked by others who were very strong and without meat. The moment he gave up his [desire for] prey, he achieved happiness.

There is no trace of honour or dishonour in me, nor do I know the anxiety of people with a home and children. Like a child I wander around in this world, sporting and enjoying only the soul. There are two types of people free from anxiety: the one retarded who ignorant like a child is overwhelmed by great happiness and the one who reached the Absolute beyond the natural modes.

Once, at the house of a young girl all of whose relatives [that day] had gone to another place, a couple of men arrived who wanted to marry her. She received them with great hospitality. Being alone she beat the rice so that her guests could eat, and doing so the conch shell bracelets on her arms made a lot of noise. Shy she filled with shame thought about that [servant] noise and then intelligently one by one broke the shell bracelets from her arms, leaving but two on each wrist. From those two there was still the noise of course as she was husking the rice, but after she further removed one from each pair of shell ornaments, only one remained and no sound could be heard anymore. Oh subduer of the enemy, I, wandering around in all regions searching for the truth about the world, personally witnessed the lesson taught by this girl. When there are many people in one place, quarrels will rise, even from two people there will be such conduct. Therefore one should live alone, just like the bracelet of the girl. The mind should be steadied by detachment and a regulated yoga practice [vairagya and abhyasa] in which one conquers one's breathing in sitting postures and carefully concentrates on one point [the true self, see also B.G. 6: 10-15 and 6: 46-47]. When the mind has achieved that position and step by step is freed from its karma contamination, the mode of goodness increases in strength while passion and ignorance recede. Without this fuel [for one's karma] one then attains beatitude [nirvana, see also B.G. 6: 26 and 14: 6-8].

When one is thus being fixed in the soul, one does not know anything about what is outside or inside, just like the arrow maker who absorbed in his arrow did not notice the king standing at his side [see B.G. 7: 27-28].

A sage must walk alone without a fixed residence [or temple], must very alert exercise restraint and should not be recognised in his actions. Without companions he speaks only little. Building a home for one's temporary self is a vain and troublesome endeavor. A serpent happily prospers having entered a home built by others [see also B.G. 4: 18].

The one Self, the One Lord without a second who became the Foundation and Reservoir of All, is Narayana, the Godhead who by His own potency created the universe in the beginning and by His potency of Time withdraws His creation within Himself at the end of the kalpa. 7-1 When the material powers of sattva and so on, are balanced by the time factor that is the potency of the True Self [the Soul, the Lord], the Original Personality, the purusha is found as the Supreme Controller, the Lord of both the primary nature [pradhana] and the person. He, the worshipable object of all conditioned and transcendental souls has His existence in the purest experience that one describes as kaivalya [or beatitude], the fulness of the blissful state without [guna] attributes [see also B.G. 7: 5 and *]. By means of the pure potency of His Self, His own bewildering energy composed of the three modes, He oh subduer of the enemies, at the onset of creation agitating [in the form of Time], manifests the plan of matter [the sutra, the thread, the rule or direction of the mahat-tattva, see also 3.26: 19]. This universe, in which the living being finds its existence [of repeated births], is strung and bound to that [thread, that plan] that manifested itself as the cause of the three modes that [in their turn] bring about the different categories of the manifestation, so one says [see also B.G. 7: 7]. The way a spider expands its thread from itself, with that thread by its mouth enjoys [its meal] and swallows that thread again, the Supreme Lord also operates.

On whatever state of [one's own nature or] form the conditioned soul with intelligence fixes his mind, out of love, hate or fear, he will reach [see B.G. 8: 6]. Oh King, a wasp larva meditating on the fully grown wasp that has put him in the hive, reaches without leaving his previous body [by transformation] the same state of being when fully grown.

This is what I know from taking instruction from all these gurus. Now please oh King, hear from me what I have to say about the knowledge I acquired by learning from my own body. With one's body one always has to suffer because of the inevitable burden of its maintenance and future destruction. I contemplate the truths of the world with it and the body is therefore, despite being there for the service of others, to me a teacher of renunciation and discrimination who convinces me to wander about in detachment. Wishing to give it pleasure one has to divide one's care over the different departments of the wife, the children, the animals, the servants, the home and the relatives. Just as in nature a tree drops the seed that was produced and dies, the body at the time of death must give up the wealth it with great struggle accumulated. One moment the tongue distracts the cherished body and sometimes thirst is doing this, the other moment the genitals distract and then the sense of touch is pressing, the belly demands attention, the ears lead elsewhere, the smell points in a direction or the fickle eyes are leading astray. The operating forces of the body are thus pulled in many directions, just like the head of a household is, being led by many co-wives. After He from His powers had created the many different physical forms of the crawling creatures [the insects], the mammals, birds, snakes and so on, the Lord, in His heart not satisfied with it, created the human life form that He endowed with an intelligence fit for envisioning the Absolute Truth and that brought Him gladness. After many births having attained this human form that is so difficult to attain and, though not eternal, has a great value, someone in control of himself but doomed to die, must as long as he has not ended, without delay in this world endeavor for the ultimate liberation, [the way out], sense-gratification after all is available in all forms of life.

Thus [with all these twenty-four plus one masters] without ties having awakened and with wisdom looking [at the world] from within the soul, I wander the earth free from attachment and false ego. The knowledge acquired from a single teacher cannot be very solid or complete [see 11.3: 21]. The Absolute Truth without a second, is by the sages sung in many ways.'

The Supreme Lord said: 'After the so very intelligent brahmin [who in fact was Lord Dattatreya, see 2.7: 4 and **] thus had spoken to king Yadu and properly was honoured by the king offering his obeisances, then bid farewell and went away, just as contented as he had come. Yadu, the forefather of our forefathers, having heard the words of the avadhuta, became liberated from all his attachment in a consciousness equal toward all.'

*: Considering verse 3.25: 34 stating that devotees seek company to associate with Krishna, the acaryas to this verse say that that single-mindedness with the Lord without speculating as a jnani, is the same as being alone to prevent quarrels [see pp. 11.9: 10].

**: The parampara [pp. 11.9: 32] confirms: 'This verse [2.7: 4] mentions that Yadu was purified by contact with the lotus feet of Dattatreya, and similarly the present verse states, vandito sv-arcito rajna - King Yadu worshiped the lotus feet of the brahmana. Thus, according to Shrila Shridhara Svami, the avadhuta brahmana is the Personality of Godhead Himself, and this is confirmed by Shrila Vis'vanatha Cakravarti Thhakura.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 10:
The Soul Free, the Soul Bound

The Supreme Lord said: 'A soul free from desire who accepts My shelter, should practice the varnashrama system of behaving oneself in society [B.G. 4: 13], conscientiously performing the personal duties that I spoke about [see also in e.g. 10.60: 52 and B.G. 3: 35]. A purified soul should understand that all endeavors of embodied souls who, focussed on the sensuous self, take the material qualities for true are doomed to fail [see also B.G. 13: 32]. Just as the sensuous matters that the meditator sees in the realm of sleep or in his fantasy do not help him because of their messy nature, also the intelligence is ineffectual when being led by the senses that follow a diversity of outer selves [B.G. 2: 41 & 9: 15]. Devoted to Me one gives up one's active [employment] life [pravritti] and engages in a contemplative life [nivritti]; when one is fully absorbed in [self] inquiry one is no longer bound to the injunctions for performing material labour [karma, see 7.15: 47]. Devoted to Me one should at all times respect the vow of yoga [yama, the vidhi] and its regulated practice [niyama] as good as one can, as also respect a guru who knows My form and is peaceful under My control [see also 7.14: 41-42]. Humble without false pride and jealousy, be industrious [in devotion], non-possessive, fixed in friendship, without haste, interested in inquiring and free from spite and idle talk. Remaining neutral with an equal vision towards one's wife, children, home, land, relatives and bank account and such, one should recognise one's self-interest in that of others [see B.G. 5: 18].

The soul is the self-enlightened seer different from the gross and subtle body, just as fire emitting light as it burns differs from the firewood [see also B.G. 2: 16-24]. Like the different qualities of being dormant, manifesting, being large or small that there are [of the fire], there are also the qualities of the material body that by the higher self, having entered it, are accepted [see also 3.24: 6, 4.9: 7, 10.37: 10-11, 10.46: 36]. This body, which was constructed by the modes of nature [expanding] from the Original Person [see B.G. 8: 4], ties the living entity to a material existence [to samsara] from which it breaks away by the knowledge of the Soul. One should therefore, by cultivating knowledge, get in touch with the pure, transcendental [Supreme] Soul situated within oneself [2.2 and B.G. 9: 5] and gradually give up this concept of the material affair [as being an independent reality]. The acarya can be compared to the lower part of [a pile of] kindling wood, the disciple to the top part and the instructions to the [kindling] stick used in between, while the knowledge that brings happiness is there like the fire [that brings light, compare 9.14: 44-46]. This purest intelligence of the souls of experience [the acaryas], drives away the illusion originating from the gunas and then - being raised by those modes - finds peace itself, the way a fire burns up when it runs out of fuel [see also 11.3: 12].

For the controllers and enjoyers of karma there is of course the eternal duality of happiness and grief, time and place, to have and to be. When you take all that is matter for eternal and complete, your intelligence is ruled by all the different forms and changes belonging to it. All living beings thinking thus oh Uddhava, again and again will find themselves being born [fall ill, die] and so on [see 3.11], after all, being united with a form one is bound to the [conditioning] limbs of time [of sun and moon, day and night etc.]. In this, one can clearly see the lack of independence of the karmic controller as also the happiness and unhappiness of such an enjoyer. What purpose is served by someone [that] helpless [see B.G. 9: 3 and 11.9: 1]? Among the embodied beings the fool is sometimes unhappy and even the sage is not always happy as well. Wishing to be happy always is a useless endeavor and in fact something most egotistical [see also B.G. 2: 15 and 11.9: 4]. Even if one manages to achieve happiness and escape distress, one still has no direct knowledge of the [yoga] process by which death loses its power [compare B.G. 10: 34]. What guarantee of material happiness would a material object or lust be able to provide the person? With death never pleasing close at hand such a thing gives no satisfaction, like with a person condemned who is led to his place of execution. What we heard about [heaven] as also what we know from our own experience [earth] is spoilt by rivalry, fault-finding, lapse and decay. Just like with agriculture where many obstacles are in the way [of a happy result], it is useless to desire for [perfect] material happiness [see also 11.3: 20]. When one manages to perfectly practice one's righteousness [dharma] without being troubled by hindrances, even the status one thus acquires will not last forever. Please, listen therefore to the following [see also B.G. 2: 14].

On earth having worshiped the gods with sacrifices the performer goes to the heavenly worlds where he may enjoy like a god the celestial pleasures he achieved [see B.G. 3: 11 and 4: 12]. Shining in the temple [the 'vimana'] because of his accumulated merit he, being surrounded by goddesses wearing charming clothes, enjoys while he [as he leaves this earth] is glorified with songs by the singers of heaven. Surrounded by the sounds of bells he fares to his desire with the heavenly women, but while relaxing comfortably in the pleasure gardens of the gods, he in his delight has no awareness of his downfall [see e.g. 7.15: 69-73]. After for long having enjoyed the heavens until his pious credits were used up, having exhausted his merits he against his will falls down from heaven, [not properly fixed] being forced from his course by time [compare B.G. 9: 20-22]. 7-2 When he, due to his material involvement, is engaged in actions against the dharma or, not having conquered his senses, lives wantonly as a miserable, greedy philanderer, is of violence against other living beings, kills animals against the rules and worships hordes of ghosts and spirits [compare 7.12: 12], a living being will, once he passed on, helplessly thereupon land in the deepest darkness of the hellish worlds. He will, because of what he did, again have to accept a material body to perform therewith activities that [again] cause him great grief in the future. What happiness would someone find swearing by activities that invariably lead to death [see also 5.26: 37 and B.G. 16: 19-21]? In all the worlds exists fear of Me [in the form of Time] among all their leaders; the individual souls living as long as a kalpa fear Me and even the one supreme, Brahma who lives for two parardhas, fears Me [see also 1.13: 17-20, 3.8: 20, 3.11: 33, 3.25: 42, 3.26: 16, 3.29: 37, 3.29: 40-45, 5.24: 15, 5.24: 28]. The material senses, stimulated by the modes of nature, give rise to activities and the individual soul, the jiva, who is fully engaged by the materially oriented senses and the gunas, undergoes the various karmic consequences [see also 3.32 and B.G. 3: 27]. As long as there is the differentiation of the modes of nature, there will be the different forms of existence of the soul, and as long as there are these different states of the soul, there will be [karmic] dependence [see also B.G. 17: 2]. As long as one is not free from this dependence there will be fear for the Lord and Controller [who is the Time]. They [then] who enjoy this [karmic bond] will become bewildered and always be full of sorrow. With the given reciprocal action [or the operation] of the modes of nature, one calls Me variously the Time, the Soul, the Vedic Knowledge, the World, [the original nature or] Nature [at large], as also the Dharma.'

Shri Uddhava said: 'Even though the one embodied is present in the midst of the modes of nature, he is not necessarily bound to what incessantly operates upon him from the material body [like happiness and distress]. In other words, how can it happen that someone, as a free soul, is caught in the grip of the modes oh Almighty One? 6-3 How is he situated, how does he enjoy, or by what symptoms can he be known? What would he eat or how would he evacuate, lie down or sit [compare B.G. 14: 21]? Please explain to me what I ask You, oh Infallible One, oh Best Answerer of Questions.

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This at the same time being eternally bound and being eternally liberated is something confusing me.'

*: This philosophy is known to be propounded by the followers of Jaimini Kavi that defend the pravritti marga of regulated sense-gratification before the nivritti-marga of activities in renunciation; something to which the parampara offering this book, with this verse, strongly opposes pointing out that one is thus eternally stuck, nitya-baddha, in repeated birth, old age, disease etc.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 11:

Bondage and Liberation Explained and the Devotional Service of the Saintly Person

The Supreme Lord said: 'One cannot really say that one is bound or liberated here due to My modes. To be in the grip of the natural qualities or to be free from them is not caused by My illusory energy [*]. There is lamentation, bewilderment, happiness, distress and the acceptance of a material body because of illusion. Material life repeating itself is [merely] an idea of the soul that is just as unreal as a dream. Please Uddhava, understand that knowledge and ignorance are two forms of Myself that, created by My original potency, give rise to the liberation and bondage of the embodied beings. The bondage of the living entity, that is part and parcel of My Oneness, oh great intelligence, is there since time immemorial because of ignorance and the opposite [of liberation] is there because of knowledge. Let Me now My dear, dilate on the different characteristics of the opposing nature of being conditioned and being liberated, an opposition that is found in one and the same practice. Two birds of a similar nature and friends of each other, one day make a nest in a tree. One of them eats from the fruits of the tree, while the other does not eat, even though he is the strongest of the two [see also 6.4: 24]. The one not eating the fruits of the tree, is conscious and knows both himself and the other one, while the one that eats does not have a clue. The latter is always bound, while the one full of knowledge is eternally liberated [see also B.G. 4: 5]. Although engaged in a body an enlightened person does not abide by the body, like having risen from a dream. A foolish person abides by the body even though he is not engaged in the body, like seeing a dream [see B.G. 16: 18]. Someone not enlightened is invariably obliged to the false ego that thinks in accord with the senses that are directed by the gunas and the sense objects also generated [see B.G. 3: 28]. The ignorant soul who thus, by fate ordained, was caught here in this body because of his by the gunas generated karmic activities, thinks: 'I am the doer' [see also B.G. 3: 27]. An intelligent person is not bound that way. Wherever he goes, rests, sits, walks, bathes, sees, touches, smells, eats, hears and so on, he is detached with the qualities he experiences. 2-1 Though being situated in the material world, he, turned away from its ruling powers and assisted by the most expert and in detachment sharpened vision, cuts with all doubts. Just as the sky, the sun and the wind do not attach themselves, he neither attaches to the separateness of things [the duality of the world], like he has awakened from a dream. The person whose functions of the life breath, senses, mind and intelligence are free from desires, is liberated, despite being situated in a body [that is ruled] by the natural modes. One's body is sometimes for some reason attacked by animals or destructive people and sometimes one is worshiped [by a lover or a follower]. An intelligent person is never seriously moved when that happens [see B.G. 14: 22-25]. With an equal vision having moved beyond the notion of good and bad, a wise man will neither praise those who are behaving very well or speaking excellently, nor criticize others who are acting or expressing themselves poorly [see also B.G. 5: 18]. Someone satisfied within should live free from acting, without saying a word and not contemplating good or evil and that way wander around like being dumb [see also 5.9]. When someone well versed in the Vedic literatures is not absorbed in the Supreme [does not meditate or perform devotional service], the fruit of his effort, his work, will be like that of someone taking care of a cow that gives no milk. Oh Uddhava, he who takes care of a cow that gives no milk, an unchaste wife, a body fully dependent upon others, children without service, wealth wrongly spent, and speaks [about Vedic knowledge] without [ever] mentioning Me [see also 10.14: 4 and 5.6: 11], will suffer one misery after another. A wise person My dear Uddhava, will not accept words [or texts] devoid of My purifying activities or desired appearances as lila-avataras for the sake of the maintenance, creation and annihilation of the world. When one desirous of knowledge thus gives up the misconception of a [material] diversity as existing [separately] of the soul [**], one should put an end to one's materialistic life and fix one's purified mind upon Me, the All-pervading One [see also B.G. 7: 19, B.G. 18: 55]. In case you are not able to steady your mind on the spiritual platform, then dedicate, not deviating [from the regulative principles], all your actions to Me without expecting anything in return [B.G. 12: 11, 10: 10, 18: 54]. 3-2 When one with belief listens to, sings about and constantly remembers the narrations about My birth and activities that purify the entire world and also expresses them dramatically, and thereto, for My sake, under My protection regulates one's religiosity, sensual pleasure and finances [the purushartas], one will develop an unflinching devotion unto Me, the One Eternal, oh Uddhava. By the devotion as acquired in the [sat-sanga] association with devotees, someone very easily will be able to attain My refuge that those pure souls undoubtedly will show him.'

Shri Uddhava said: 'What kind of person would in Your opinion, oh Uttamas'loka, be a pure soul, and what sort of worship unto You would carry the approval of Your honoured faithful followers? Please speak about this to me, Your surrendered devotee who loves You as his only shelter, oh Master of the Universe, Supervisor of the World and Commander of the Person. You the Supreme Truth and Spirit as [unattached] as the sky, the Original Person transcendental to material nature, are the Supreme Lord who, descending to the desire of Your devotees, has accepted a diversity of forms.'

The Supreme Lord said: 'When someone is merciful, causes no harm, is tolerant towards all embodied beings, is firmly anchored in the truth, an irreproachable soul, is equal-minded and helpful towards everyone; when someone is of an intelligence that is not disturbed by material desires, is of restraint, is soft-natured, pure-hearted, non-possessive, not worldly, eats little, is peaceful, steady, has Me for his shelter and is thoughtful; when someone is vigilant, a profound soul, of a firm resolve, has conquered the shath-guna [different forms of material misery], offers respect, inspires, is friendly, compassionate and learned; when someone knows the qualities and shortcomings as taught by Me, and, worshiping Me, is even willing to give up all his religious preferences [see also B.G. 18: 66], he belongs to the best of the truthful ones [see also 5.18: 12, B.G. 12: 13-20]. Whether someone knows Me like this or not, knows who I am or how I exist, when he is exclusively devoted to Me, I count him among the best devotees. 4-4 Seeing, touching and worshiping My appearance in this world, My devotees render personal service and offer prayers of glorification and obeisance, to which they regularly sing about My qualities and activities. Hearing the topics about Me they always with faith meditate upon Me, oh Uddhava, and offer as servants in full surrender all that they acquire. Discussing My birth and activities they take great delight in engaging with musical instruments and songs and dance, with discussions and festivals in My sacred houses. Sacrificing at all celebrations and annual festivities as mentioned in the Vedic literatures and their tantras, they observe vows and are of initiation in relation to Me. With faithfully installing My deity they endeavor, for themselves as also for others, by working for flower gardens, orchards, playgrounds, cities and temples. Sincere as servants they serve Me by thoroughly cleaning and dusting the house [the temple], washing it with water [and cow-dung, see also 10.6: 20*], sprinkling it with scented water and making mandalas. Modestly without pride, not advertising their devotional service they not even use for themselves the light of the lamps presented to Me and offer Me articles most dear to them or most desirable in the material world. With that kind of offering one qualifies for immortality.

The sun, the fire, the brahmins, the cows, the Vaishnavas, the sky, the wind, the water, the earth, the self and all living beings, My dearest, constitute the places of My worship. 3-4 In the sun one can find Me by offering selected verses from the three Vedas [see also the Gayatri and the Surya-namskar]. In fire one finds Me with oblations of ghee. One can find Me as the best among the scholars when one worships Me by offering them hospitality. With the cows, My dear, you reach Me by means of offerings of grass and such. One finds Me in the Vaishnavas by honouring them with loving friendship. I am found in the sky [of one's inner space] when one is fixed in meditation in the heart. In the air one finds Me by considering it the most important [life giving principle of prana, by means of pranayama see B.G. 4: 29]. In water one can find Me by using articles of worship together with water [see B.G. 9: 26]. In the earth [one finds Me] with confidential mantras and within the self one can find Me by offering food to the embodied soul [see e.g. Prasada sevaya and Bhoga arati]. One may worship Me as the knower of the field in all living beings [see Paramatma and B.G. 13: 3] by seeing Me as equally present everywhere [see niyama]. Peacefully being absorbed in Me thus meditating these different places, one should be of worship for My transcendental form that is equipped with the conch shell, the disc, the club and the lotus flower [see picture]. Someone who with his mind fixed on Me thus worships Me with sacrificial performances and pious works [as mentioned], obtains loving service unto Me and has My remembrance [of realised knowledge] because of his fine service [see also B.G. 5: 29].

Oh Uddhava, apart from the bhakti-yoga realised through association with My devotees, there are no means that actually work, for I am the path of life, the refuge, for the ones of virtue [see also 4.31: 12]. And now oh child of the Yadus, I will speak to you, who are willing to listen, even about the most confidential supreme secret [of intimate association with Me], for you are My servant, well-wisher and friend [compare B.G. 18: 63 & 68].'

*: The parampara adds: 'The Supreme Personality of Godhead is not different from His potencies, yet He is always above them as the supreme controller.... Liberation means that the living entity should transfer himself to the spiritual potency of the Lord, which can be divided into three categories - hladini, the potency of bliss; sandhini, the potency of eternal existence; and samvit, the potency of omniscience.' This is another formulation of the divine in terms of sat-cit-ananda; Krishna as being eternity, consciousness and bliss.

**: Quoting from the Viveka, Shrila Madhvacarya states that nanatva-bhramam, the mistake to the material diversity, indicates the following illusions: considering the living entity to be the Supreme; considering all living entities to be ultimately one entity without separate individuality; considering that there are many Gods [independent of one another, see 5.18: 12]; thinking that Krishna is not God [is not personal as well as impersonal the complete whole, vasudeva sarvam iti, B.G. 7: 19]; and considering that the material universe [the impersonal nature] is the ultimate reality [see also 1.2: 11]. All these illusions are together fought by chanting the Mahamantra or attending to the other bhajans for two hours a day.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 12:

The Confidential Secret Beyond Renunciation and Knowledge

- The Supreme Lord said: 'One does not ascend to Me by mysticism or analysis, common piety or the study of the scriptures, by penances, renunciation, pious works or charity, by respecting vows, ceremonies, Vedic hymns, pilgrimage, by general discipline or the basic rules. One rather closes Me in one's heart by the sat-sanga with My devotees [see 11.11: 25] that drives away all attachment to sense gratification. - By associating with My devotees many living beings in every age achieved My refuge like the sons of Diti, the malicious ones, the animals, the birds, the singers and dancers of heaven, the ones of excellence and of perfection, the venerable souls and the treasure keepers, the scientific ones among the humans and the merchants, labourers and women, the uncivilised ones and the ones of passion and slowness. So also did Vritrasura, the son of Kayadhu [Prahlada, see 6.18: 12-13] and others like them, Vrishaparva [see 9.18: 26], Bali, Bana, Maya as also Vibhishana [brother of Ravana], Sugriva [leader of the Vanaras] and Hanuman, Jambavan, Gajendra, Jathayu, Tuladhara, Dharma-vyadha, Kubja and the gopis in Vraja, the wives of the brahmins [see 10.23] and others. Not having studied the sacred scriptures, nor having worshiped the great saints, they, without vows and not having undergone austerities, attained Me by association with My devotees. - Only by unalloyed love indeed the gopis, just as others of a limited intelligence like the cows, the immobile creatures, the snakes [like Kaliya] and more animals, managed to achieve perfection and quite easily attained Me, I who cannot even be reached by greatly endeavoring in yoga, analysis, charity, vows, penances, ritualistic sacrifices, exegesis, personal study or taking to the renounced order. When Akrura took Me and Balarama to Mathura they, [the inhabitants of Vrindavana] whose hearts were attached [to Me] with the deepest love, suffered greatly because of the separation as they saw no one else to make them happy [see 10: 39]. All the nights they in Vrindavana spent with Me, their most dearly Beloved oh Uddhava, seemed to take but a moment to them, but again bereft of Me they became as long as a kalpa. Just as sages fully absorbed lose the awareness of names and forms - like they are rivers entering the water of the ocean - also they whose consciousness was intimately bound to Me had no awareness anymore of their bodies, their present or their future [see also B.G. 2: 70]. The hundreds and thousands [of women] who desired Me as their friend and lover, had no knowledge of My actual position and attained Me by associating with Me, the Absolute Supreme Truth. 4-1 Therefore oh Uddhava give up the [religious] precepts and prohibitions, denial and routines and what you should listen to and have listened to. Choose for Me alone, the actual shelter of the Soul within all embodied beings. With that exclusive devotion you will enjoy My mercy and have nothing to fear from any side [compare B.g. 18: 66].'

Shri Uddhava said: 'Hearing Your words, oh master of all yoga masters, has not dispelled the doubt in my heart that is clouding my mind.'

The Supreme Lord said: 'He, the living being in person [the Lord], is manifest within along with the prana. He after all entered the heart and has His place in the subtle sound vibration that fills the mind with the grosser form of the [word sounds that are] different intonations of short and long vowels and consonants. Just as fire confined within wood, with the help of air, kindled by friction is born very tiny and increases with ghee, I similarly manifest Myself in this [Vedic, inner] voice. Speech, the function of the hands and legs, the genitals and the anus [the karmendriyas], smell, taste, sight, touch and hearing [the jnanendriyas] and the functions of one's determination, wisdom and self concern [or 'mind, intelligence and false ego'] as also the primary cause of matter

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[pradhana or the 'thread', see 11.9: 19] and [the gunas] rajas, tamas and sattva, are thus [to be understood as] transformations [of My nature]. This living entity, one and unmanifest, that is concerned with the threefold [nature of the gunas], constitutes the source of the lotus of creation. He who is eternal, in the course of time divided [therewith] His potencies in many divisions, just like seeds do that fell on fertile soil. The complete of this universe, expanding long and wide like cloth expanding along the threads of its warp and woof, is situated in Him [on His thread, see also 6.3: 12 and B.G. 7: 7]. Since time immemorial there is this tree of material existence [samsara] that, blossoming and producing fruits, is naturally inclined to fruitive action [or karma]. 2-2 Of this tree extending in the sun there are two seeds [sin and piety], hundreds of roots [the living entities], three lower trunks [the modes], five upper trunks [the elements], five saps produced [sound, form, touch, taste and aroma], eleven branches [the mind and the ten indriyas], two birds having a nest [jiva and atma], three types of bark [air, bile and mucus] and two fruits [happiness and distress]. Those who fervently desiring live a household life [the 'vultures'] enjoy one fruit of the tree [that of sin], whereas the other fruit [of piety] is enjoyed by the swanlike [sages] who live in the forest. He who with the help of the worshipable ones [the devotees, the gurus] knows the Oneness of Him who by dint of His maya appears in many forms, knows the [actual meaning of the] Vedas. The sober soul who thus with unalloyed devotion honours the spiritual master and with the axe of knowledge cuts with the subtle body of attachment entertained by the individual soul, attains with the greatest care [living spiritually] the Supreme Soul and then abandons the means [by which he attained, see also B.G. 15: 3-4].'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 13:

The Hamsa-avatara Answers the Questions of the Sons of Brahma

The Supreme Lord said: 'The goodness, passion and ignorance we know from the gunas are matters of the mind and not of the soul; with goodness the other two can be counteracted while goodness itself is controlled by character and good sense [*]. The goodness of someone leads to and strengthens the dharma that is characterised by devotional service unto Me. That what belongs to the mode of goodness [like nature, consciousness, courage and wisdom] will result in [bhagavata-]dharma when one seriously cultivates [its] inner strength. When goodness increases and dominates, dharma puts an end to passion and ignorance. When they are superseded the godlessness [adharma] that is the root of the two, is quickly vanquished. The doctrine [followed], [the way one deals with] water, the people [one associates with], one's surroundings and [the way one behaves with] time, one's [occupational] activities, one's birth [or social background], as also [the type of] meditation, mantras and purificatory rites [one respects] are the ten [factors] determining the [prominence of a particular] mode. That what of these matters belongs to the mode of goodness is appreciated by the classical sages, that what belongs to the mode of ignorance they criticize and that what belongs to the mode of passion they are neutral about. As long as there is no self-realisation [self-remembrance] making amends [for the influence of the modes], a person should cultivate the things belonging to the mode of goodness so that the character develops from which the religiousness rises that leads to spiritual insight. Just as fire, that in a forest of bamboos was generated by friction of the stalks, pacifies after having burned [see also 1.10: 2, 3.1: 21], also the activity of the material body [and the mind] will pacify that was generated by the interaction of the natural modes.'

Shri Uddhava said: 'Mortals generally are very well known with the fact that sense gratification is a source of trouble, but they nevertheless delight in it, oh Krishna. How can it be that they willingly behave like dogs, asses and goats?'

-1 The Supreme Lord said: 'It is because a fool has another intelligence in his I-awareness. Not paying attention [to his dharma] a terrible passion arises in his heart that leads his mind astray. Bound to that passion the mind thus convinced imagines all kinds of things. Focussed on the qualities of nature [the gunas] he is thus beset with desires that make his life unbearable. With the senses not under control someone, bewildered by the force of passion and under the sway of desires, engages in fruitive activities, despite being well aware of the resulting unhappiness. Even though [also] the intelligence of a learned person gets bewildered by passion and ignorance, no attachment arises in him because he, well aware of the contamination, carefully puts his mind back on the right track. When one has conquered the breathing process [pranayama] and has mastered the sitting postures [asana], one should attentively, step by step, without slackening gather one's mind by concentrating on Me at appointed times [to the positions of the sun and the moon, see B.G. 7: 8 and 5: 26-28]. The yoga system as instructed by My pupils under the lead of Sanaka [the Kumaras] boils down to the following: turn the mind away from everything and directly find absorption in Me the way it should [with mantras, see also 8.3: 22-24].'

Shri Uddhava said: 'When and in what form dear Kes'ava, have You instructed Sanaka and the others in this yoga? That is what I would like to know.'

The Supreme Lord said: 'The sons headed by Sanaka who took their birth from the mind of him who originated from the golden egg [Hiranyagarbha or Brahma], inquired of their father about the so very subtle, supreme goal of the science of yoga. Sanaka and the others said to him: 'The mind is directed at the gunas, the qualities of nature, and the gunas impose themselves on the mind. Oh Master, what is for someone who desires liberation, for someone who wishes to cross over this material ocean, the process of breaking away from that mutual effect [see also B.G. 2: 62-63]?'

The Supreme Lord said: 'The great self-born godhead, the creator of all beings, thus being questioned, seriously pondered over what was asked but could not find the words to describe the essential truth, for his mind was bewildered because of his creative labour [see also 2.6: 34, 2.9: 32-37 and 10: 13]. With the desire to find closure he remembered Me, the original godhead [he originated from, see 3.8], and at that time I became visible in My Hamsa form [the Swan **]. Seeing Me they, headed by Brahma, approached Me, offered their obeisances at My lotus feet and asked: 'Who are You?' Thus being questioned by the sages interested in the ultimate truth, I spoke to them. Please Uddhava, hear now what I said to them that moment. 'Oh brahmins, If you with that question mean to say that, relating to the one true essence, there would be no difference between our individual souls, how then would you be able to pose a question like this, oh sages, or how could I as a speaker then be of any authority [or constitute a refuge]? Also if you would refer to the five elements our bodies are equally composed of, your question about who I am would in fact be a meaningless gesture of words. That what by the mind, speech, sight and the other senses is grasped, is what I all am. There is really nothing that exists outside of Me, that is what you have to understand clearly. The mind is directed at the gunas and the gunas impose themselves upon the mind dear men, but to the living entity of which I am the Soul, both the mind and the gunas are outer appearances. With the mind directed at the natural qualities and the qualities that, imposing themselves by stimulating the senses, constantly put the mind at work, the one who is of [realisation with] My transcendental [Hamsa] form, [through meditation] must give up both the mind and the [operation of the] gunas [see also vritti and neti neti]. Wakefulness, dreaming and deep sleep are the transformations of the mind due to the modes of nature. The individual soul is, with characteristics different from them, known to be their witness [see also 7.7: 25 and B.G. 7: 5]. The materially motivated intelligence constitutes the bondage that keeps the soul occupied with the modes of nature, but when one is situated in Me, in the fourth state of consciousness [turiya], one at that moment can give up both the mind and the sense objects [see 11.3: 35]. The bondage of the soul as a result of identifying oneself with the body [of false ego,] constitutes the opposite purpose. A soul of knowledge who detached in samsara is situated in the fourth state, gives up the anxiety [about those ego-matters]. As long as a person is convinced of many different purposes and does not desist [from that engagement] by means of meditation, he, even though awake, will be sleeping with his eyes open, just as unaware as someone who sees something in a dream [see also B.G. 2: 41]. The states of existence apart from the Supreme Soul are inessential because of the separation created by them; to the seer who is filled with motives and objectives they are just as deluding as what one experiences in a dream. In the waking state he enjoys the qualities of the external matters at the moment. In his dreams he undergoes with all his senses a similar experience in the mind. In deep sleep he withdraws himself completely. But being one in his remembrance [in turiya] he, as a witness of the functioning of the three successive states of consciousness, becomes lord and master over his senses [see also 4.29: 60-79 and B.G. 15: 7-8]. After considering the three states of consciousness that originate from the modes of My nature, My deluding potency, then be resolute about the purpose [of realizing Me as the fourth state] and cut in your heart with the cause of all doubts [the ahankara] by means of the sword of discrimination sharpened by the logic and instructions concerning the truth. Regard this delusional state of mind, [with images] popping up today and gone tomorrow, as the most restless sphere of a firebrand. The one spiritual soul deceptively appears in many divisions as an illusion, a threefold dream of variations operated by the guna creation [see also B.G. 9: 15, 15: 16, linga and siddhanta]. When you turn your eye away from that [creation] and become silent with your desires ended, you [in meditation] must arrive at the realisation of your [actual] happiness. And in case you happen to be [full of thoughts] about this earth, you have to understand that that is insubstantial. That what one gives up one will remember till the end of one's life and will not confuse one again. Just as someone blurred by liquor is indifferent about the clothes he put on, it makes no difference to the one of perfection whether his perishable body sits or stands, or whether he by providence leaves this earth or obtains [a new body], for he reached his original position [of service, his svarupa]. The body will as long as its karma, its chain of fruitive actions, lasts, continue with the breathing it took up as ordained by fate. But having awakened to his original position someone highly situated in the absorption of yoga will no longer cultivate any such [ego driven] dreaming and appear as such. Oh learned souls, understand that with this explanation about the confidential, analytical knowledge of yoga, the science of uniting one's consciousness, I have come to you as Yajna [Vishnu, the Lord of Sacrifice] with the desire to describe the dharma of persons like you. Oh best of the twice-born souls, I am the Supreme Way of yoga, of analysis, of the truth and the sacred law as also the [ultimate] path of [all] beauty, fame and self-control. All the excellence such as being transcendentally situated, being free from expectations, being the Well-wisher, the Dearest One, the True Self, the One Equal, the detachment and so on, belongs, for being free from the natural modes, to My honour.'

[Krishna said to Uddhava:] I thus put an end to the doubts of the sages headed by Sanaka. Honouring Me with transcendental devotion, they with beautiful hymns chanted My glories. Perfectly worshiped and glorified by the greatest among the sages I thereupon, before the eyes of Brahma, returned to My abode.'

*: In Sanskrit the term sattva, is, apart from meaning goodness, inner strength, good sense and true nature, another word for character. Character, moral backbone, is also described as Shila or svarupa; 'form, piety, morality, habit or custom' or 'one's own form, one's true nature' or one's constitutional position of relating to Krishna as Svami Prabhupada preferred to speak of.

**: The parampara comment here says: "Hamsa means 'swan', and the specific ability of the swan is to separate a mixture of milk and water, extracting the rich, milky portion. Similarly, Lord Krishna appeared as Hamsa, or the swan, in order to separate the pure consciousness of Lord Brahma from the modes of material nature."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 14:

The Devotional Coherence of the Methods and the Meditation on Vishnu

Shri Uddhava said: 'Krishna, the defenders of the Absolute Truth speak of many processes for spiritual advancement, are they supreme in their combination or would one of them be the most important? You stated clearly, oh Master, that the yoga of devotion by which the mind gets fixed upon You, practiced free from desires, removes all material attachment.'

The Supreme Lord said: 'This message known as the Vedas that concerns the dharma that is founded on Me, was lost at the time of the universal annihilation [pralaya], but was by Me at the beginning [of a new era] spoken to Brahma [see also 3.9: 29-43]. Brahma spoke this to his eldest son Manu and the seven great sages headed by Bhrigu in their turn accepted it from Manu [see 8.1 & 8.13 and B.G. 4: 1-3]. - From these forefathers, there were the following descendants: the godly and the demoniac souls, the Shiva followers, the human beings, the perfected ones and the singers of heaven, the scientists and the venerable souls. From [different combinations of] rajas, tamas and sattva [the gunas] generated the many different natures of the different humanoids [Kimdevas], the half-humans [Kinnaras], the snake-like types [Nagas], the wild men [Rakshasas] and the ape-like souls [Kimpurushas]. From all these living entities who by their propensities are divided in many types and just as many leaders, flowed [like rivers from a mountain] the diversity of rituals and mantras. Due to this great variety of natures the philosophies of life are thus divided among the human beings. Some of those philosophies in this constitute traditions of disciplic succession while others are heretical [pashanda]. The people whose intelligence is bewildered by My illusory power, oh best of all persons, express themselves in countless ways about what according to their karma and taste would be better. Some people speak in favor of pious activities while others speak of fame, sense gratification, truthfulness, self-control and peacefulness. Some propound self-interest, political influence, renunciation or consumption and others defend sacrifice, penance, charity, vows and arrangements of do's and don'ts [yama-niyama]. With inevitably a beginning and an end to the meager ends gained with one's karma, there is the prospect of misery as a consequence; situated in ignorance one is doomed to a miserable existence full of complaints. Someone who has fixed his consciousness on Me oh man of learning, and in every respect is free from material desires, knows the happiness of My spiritual Self. How can such a happiness ever be attained by those who are attached to worldly affairs [see 4.31: 12]? He who does not desire, who is of peace and controls his senses, whose consciousness is equal whatever the circumstances and who has a mind that is completely satisfied with Me, is filled with happiness wherever he goes. A soul fixed in Me, wants Me and nothing else. He does not desire the position of Brahma, nor the position of

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Indra. He neither wants an empire on earth nor a sovereign position in the lower worlds, he does not desire the perfections [the siddhis] of yoga or a second birth [see e.g. 5.1: 6]. Neither the one born from My body [Brahma], nor Shankara [Shiva], Sankarshana [Balarama], the Goddess of Fortune [Shri] or even My own Self is as dear to Me as you [see also B.G 12: 20]. The sage [the devotee] who without personal desire is of peace, who is not inimical to anyone and of an equal vision, I always follow closely so that there is purification by the dust of the lotus feet [see also 7.14: 17]. The great souls who not eager for sense gratification are of a mind that is constantly attached to Me, who are of inner peace, who care for all individual souls and whose consciousness is not ruled by lusts, experience My happiness that can only be known by complete independence. Despite being harassed by sensual desires, a devotee of Mine who did not conquer his strong senses, by dint of his devotion will not be defeated thereby [see also 1.5: 17, 8.7: 44, 11.13: 12 and B.G. 9: 30, 2: 62-64]. Just as firewood because of the blazing flames of a fire turns into ashes, devotion with Me as the object burns the [consequences of one's] sins completely oh Uddhava. The yoga system, analytical philosophy, pious activities, Vedic study, austerity and renunciation, oh Uddhava, do not keep Me as satisfied as a well developed devotional service unto Me. One obtains Me by single-minded devotion with faith in the Supreme Soul, the object of love of the devotees. Devotional service directed at Me will even purify someone who has eaten dogs. Neither dharma accompanied by truthfulness and mercy, nor knowledge linked to austerity will purify one's consciousness fully when bereft of devotional service unto Me. How can without bhakti one's hair stand on end, without loving service the heart melt, without devotion the tears flow, the bliss be and one's heart be purified? The universe is purified by the one whose voice chokes up, whose heart melts, who cries again and again, sometimes laughs, is ashamed, loudly sings and dances in the connectedness of My bhakti [see also Shri Shri Shikshashthaka and 11.2: 40]. Just like gold being molten in fire gives up impurities and returns to its original state, also the contamination of karma is removed from the spirit soul when one worships Me united in My loving service. Even as the power to see restores once the eye is treated with ointment, the spirit soul again sees the One Subtle Essence once being cleansed by hearing and chanting My pious narrations. Just as the intelligence of someone meditating the objects of the senses is entangled in the sense experience [see B.G. 2: 62-63], one's thought becomes dissolved in Me when one keeps thinking of Me. One's material considerations are therefore like the figments of a dream; [having awakened being] absorbed in Me one forsakes them. The mind is purified when one is completely absorbed in My love. Giving up being intimate with women and keeping far from those attached to uniting sexually, one should [thus free from being physically identified] composed sit at ease in seclusion and with great care concentrate on Me [see also 11.8: 13-14 *]. No other attachment brings a man as much suffering and bondage as the attachment to women and the association with those who are attached to women [see also 1.4: 25, 5.5: 2, 5.13: 16, 6.9: 9, 7.12: 9, 9.14: 36, 9.19: 17, 10.10: 8, 10.51: 51, 10.60: 44-45 & 48].'

Shri Uddhava said: 'Oh Lotus-eyed One, how should one meditate on You when one desires liberation, in what way and on what form? Please, can You speak to me about meditation?'

The Supreme Lord said: 'Sitting straight and comfortably on a seat at the level of the floor, one should place one's hands in one's lap and focus one's eyes on the tip of one's nose. Then one should clear the path of one's prana, one's vital air, step by step exercising inhaling, retaining and exhaling and the other way around - while controlling one's senses [**, see pranayama, and B.G. 4: 29]. With the help of one's life breath [prana] one should, like through the fibre of a lotus stalk, guide upwards the sound AUM in the heart to vibrate it continuously like a ringing bell so as to reunite the [15 after] sounds of recitation [in the nose, anusvara ***]. The life breath must thus joined with the Pranava [see also 9.14: 46] be practiced ten times, at sunrise, noon and sunset. After one month one will then be in control of one's vital air [*4]. 6-4 With one's eyes half closed one should, alert and with one's face lifted, concentrate on the lotus within the heart that is directed upwards. Within the whorl of its eight petals one should one after the other picture the sun, the moon and the fire. Within the fire one should consider My harmonious form so auspicious for meditation, that is gentle, cheerful and endowed with four beautiful arms. The neck and the forehead are of a charming beauty as also the pure smile and the ears with the glowing shark shaped earrings. One should meditate on the golden dress, the complexion with the colour of a rain cloud, the curl on the chest where the goddess resides, the conch and the disc, the club and the lotus as also on the beauty of the forest flower garland. One should also meditate upon all the beautiful and charming parts of My body: the feet with their shining bells, the richly glowing Kaustubha gem, the shining crown and bracelets, the girdle and armlets, the merciful smile and the delicate glance. By turning the mind away from the senses and their sense objects one thus with intelligence should lead the charioteer of one's thinking [the soul, the master of intelligence], sober and grave, [with love] in the direction of My completeness. One's consciousness spread over all of this, then must be withdrawn to one point by focussing on the wonderful smile of the face and no longer regarding other parts. Thus being established one should withdraw one's consciousness by meditating on the ether. Also forsaking that, one next must ascend to Me and not think of anything else anymore. With one's consciousness thus fully absorbed, the individual soul sees Me in the self and all selves in Me, the same way the rays of the sun are united in the sun [see also B.G. 9: 29]. The deluded state of considering oneself the owner, the knower and the doer, will all together soon find its dissolution in the mind of the yogi who most concentrated practices the meditation as mentioned [compare: 2.2: 8-14].'

*: Not to have this verse misinterpreted with the Sanskrit word sangam that one would have to shun association with women in stead of shunning being intimate with them, was by Svami Prabhupada stressed - contrary to the tradition in India - that women and men can very well associate both living within one temple or household within the culture of Krishna consciousness. This was one of his great feats of reform to the lead of a traditional temple tradition that was negative about living together with women. Nor must from this verse be concluded that one should not be intimate with women, for procreation would stop then and the human race would end. It is all about not getting attached that way by proper regulation of kama as a basic civil virtue or purushartha. One should, preferably being married, always be prepared - at times - to give up the intimacy with each other and embrace celibacy, the same way as one should always be prepared - at times - to engage in intimacy and embrace each other in Krishna's love for and from women.

**: The reversal technique of pranayama as described here practically could mean that one pauses halfway inhaling and exhaling. This is unusual, one normally inhales, pauses and exhales following the natural flow of breath. To meditate normally and still follow this advise, one can also shift the attention from starting with inhaling to starting with exhaling one's breath, and reverse the process this way.

***: When one is culturally not of a regular mantra practice of reciting Sanskrit and thus does not have any anusvara, nasal vibration to integrate, it is the advise for this Age of Quarrel to practice the Mahamantra to appease the mind so wayward with modern time: hare Krishna, hare Krishna, Krishna Krishna, hare hare, hare Rama, hare Rama, Rama Rama, hare hare.

*4: Considering the greatly variable length of day worldwide it is customary to do this at the fixed times of the regular hours of a [meditation-]clock preferably set to the sun at twelve when the sun goes through the south [see also cakra].

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 15:
Mystical Perfection: the Siddhis

The Supreme Lord said: 'When a yogi is connected [in the Absolute Truth], has conquered his senses and breathing and has fixed his attention upon Me, the mystical perfections of yoga are at his disposal.'

Uddhava said: 'Oh You who bring all yogis perfection, kindly tell me which method is required for concentration and how these perfections work. And, Acyuta, how many perfections are there?'

The Supreme Lord said: 'The masters of yoga speak of eighteen mystical perfections [siddhis] and meditations [leading to them]. Eight of them are [primary and] prominent in Me and ten of them [are secondary and] originate from the quality [of goodness]. - Oh gentle one, the eight mystical perfections consist of the ability to get, as for the form, into the smallest [anima], the biggest [mahima] or the lightest [laghima relative to garima, the heaviest], the ability to acquire whatever material object [prapti], the ability to enjoy sensually whatever can be seen or heard [prakamya], the ability to have the upper hand in employing the forces [is'ita or is'itva], the ability to be in control by means of magic unobstructed by the modes [vas'itva] and the ability to answer to any desire that seeks [His] favor [kamavasayita]. Know them to be the ones prominent in Me. - [The ten secondary siddhis consist of] the ability in this body not to be plagued by hunger and thirst and such, the ability to hear from afar, the ability to see things far away, the ability to be transported with the speed of mind, the ability to assume any form at will, the ability to enter into the bodies of others, the ability to die at will, the ability to witness the sporting [of the heavenly girls] with the gods, the ability to be of perfect accomplishment as one likes and the ability to have one's commands fulfilled unimpeded. - To know the past, the present and the future, to be free from the dualities, to know the minds of others, to check the potency of fire, the sun, water, poison and so on and not to be conquered by others are examples of the perfections that are described as being the result of concentrating in yoga. Please learn now from Me by means of which type of meditation what perfection occurs.

My worshiper who focusses his mind pertaining to the subtle elements of perception [tanmatra] on Me as the Self of those sense elements and nothing else, obtains the anima perfection [the ability to enter the smallest]. Focussing one's mind on the truth of the complete [the mahat-tattva] with Me as the inhabiting soul, one achieves the perfection of mahima [to enter the greatest] as also grip on each element separately. The yogi may obtain laghima [lightness] by attaching to Me as the supreme element of the smallest elements [the atoms], the subtle property of Time [see also cakra]. He who with his mind focussed upon Me narrows down the mind completely to the emotionality of the I-principle, obtains the siddhi of prapti [mystic acquisition] by which he becomes the proprietor of the senses of all living beings. In order to obtain from Me, whose appearance lies beyond perception, the super excellent siddhi of prakamya [to enjoy whatever whenever] one should fix one's mental activity on Me, the Supersoul that is the thread running through the huge reality of matter [see also sutra]. When one focusses one's consciousness on Vishnu, the Original Controller of the Three [gunas, see also B.G. 7: 13] who is the mover in the form of Time, one will obtain the siddhi of is'itva [the supremacy] by means of which the conditioned body [the field] and its knower can be controlled [*]. The yogi who fixes his mind on Me, Narayana, the fourth state [turiya] that is described by the word fortunate [bhagavat **], obtains, being endowed with My nature, the vas'itva perfection [the ability to subdue by means of magic]. When one focusses one's mind, that is pure in Me, on the impersonal absolute [brahman] that is free from material qualities [or transcendental], one obtains the supreme of happiness wherein one's desire finds its complete fulfillment [kamavasayita].

When a human being concentrates on Me as the Lord of Shvetadvipa, the personification of goodness, the sum total of dharma, he obtains a pure existence free from the six waves [of material disturbance: hunger, thirst, bewilderment, decay, grief and death, anurmi-mattvam see also shath-urmi]. When one in the mind leads away the transcendental sound that is present in the prana [see 11.14: 35], in Me, the personification of the sky, one perceives therein the Swan [Lord Hamsa or the saintly person, see 11.13: 19] and hears the words spoken by all living beings [dura-s'ravana, see also divyam Shrotam]. When one merges one's eyes with the sun and the sun with one's eyes [doing so transcendentally and not staring physically into the sun] one can, with one's mind in meditation on Me, therein see anything that is far away [dura-dars'ana, see also 2.1: 30]. When one fully absorbs one's mind in Me, the body, by the power of the meditation on Me, that mind follows together with the breath; the self then moves wherever the mind goes [manojava]. Because it lies within the power of My yoga [to appear in different forms], for the mind intent on assuming whatever form, the very form that was desired will appear, when I am the shelter [kamarupa]. When a perfected yogi [a siddha] wishes to enter the body of another person, he must give up his own gross body and project himself into that body. That he should accomplish by, like being the wind, entering it through the vital breath, the way a bee switches flowers [para-kaya-praves'anam]. When [a yogi is about to die and] wants to give up the material body, he blocks his anus with his heel and carries his prana from the heart up to the chest and from there to the throat to go to the head, from where he, rising to the spiritual seat at the top of the skull [the brahma-randhrena], leads himself to the spiritual world [svacchandu-mrityu, see also 2.2: 19-21]. When one desires to enjoy the pleasure gardens of the demigods one should meditate upon the mode of goodness situated in Me, so that one sees the by goodness moved women of the demigods arrive in their vehicles [their vimanas, devanam saha-kridanudars'anam]. When someone by means of his reason became convinced of My truth or else by his devotion unto Me, he with his mind thus absorbed consequently will achieve his purpose [yatha-sankalpa-samsiddhi]. The person who arrived at the realisation of My nature, supremacy and dominion, is someone who by no means can be frustrated because his order and command are as good as Mine [ajnapratihata gatih, see also B.G. 9: 31].

A yogi pure of character who by dint of his devotion unto Me knows how to focus his mind [dharana] acquires insight in the three phases of time [past, present and future] supported by knowledge of birth and death [see tri-kalika]. Of a sage versed in uniting consciousness whose mind was pacified in My yoga the body cannot be injured by fire and so on, just as aquatics cannot be harmed by the water in which they live [see also 7.5: 33-50]. He [my devotee] becomes unconquerable when he meditates upon My expansions that are decorated with the Shrivatsa and the weapons, flags, ceremonial umbrellas and different fans [see also B.G. 11: 32].

The man of wisdom who worships Me thus by the process of concentrating in yoga, will in every respect be attended by the mystical perfections as described. What perfection would be difficult to achieve for a sage who being focussed by meditation on Me subjugated his senses, his breathing and his mind? One says [though] that they [these siddhis], for the one who practices the highest form of yoga - the [bhakti] yoga by

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means of which one obtains everything thinkable from Me - are a hindrance and a waste of time. All perfections one in this world may acquire by birth, by herbs, austerities and by mantras are all obtained by the practice of [bhakti] yoga. Progress in uniting one's consciousness cannot be achieved by any other method [***]. I am the cause and the protector of all the perfections. I am the Lord of Yoga [the final union], the Lord of analysis, of dharma and of the [Vedic] teachers, propounders and adherents. The same way material elements have their existence inside and outside the living beings, I Myself, the Soul, who cannot be enclosed, exist inside and outside of all the embodied beings [see also B.G. 2: 29-30].

*: Verse 15 refers to attainment of spiritual perfection by meditation on the personal, transcendental aspect of time of Vishnu, as opposed to meditating time as mentioned in verse 12, relating more to the impersonal aspect of the natural order belonging to the elements, of the cakra that is Vishnu's weapon.

**: Apart from the three gunas to Lord Narayana and the three states of consciousness of waking, dreaming and dreamless sleep, there is also mention of the three planes of existence of the physical gross of the greater universe consisting of the five elements; the astral, subtle, plane of the ten senses of action and perception and their objects, the mind and intelligence, and the causal plane of the consciousness and the knower; in short: the world, the sensual body and the individual knower to which there is the Original Person of God as the fourth [see also B.G. 13: 19].

***: The actual perfection of yoga is, following verse 35 coming next, named Krishna consciousness by the Vaishnavas who defend the Bhagavatam in the West.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 16: The Lord's Opulence

Shri Uddhava said: 'You are the Supreme Spirit in person, not restrained and without a beginning and an end. You are the [true] protector and the maintenance, destruction and creation of all that exists. Oh Supreme Lord, for souls lacking in self-control being hard to understand, the brahmin knowers worship Your presence within both the superior and the inferior entities of creation. The great sages achieve perfection by worshiping You with devotion for this and that form. Please speak to me about these forms. Oh Maintainer of All Beings, not being visible You are engaged as the Very Soul of the living beings. You see them while they, bewildered by You[r external reality], do not see You. And, please, oh greatest Might, explain to me what all the potencies are that You manifest in all directions on earth, in heaven and in hell. I offer my obeisances at Your lotus feet, the abode of all holy places.'

The Supreme Lord said: 'This question, oh best of all questioners, was at the time of the destruction posed by Arjuna who desired to fight his rivals [at Kurukshetra, see B.G. 2: 54, 13: 1-2, 14: 21, 18: 1]. Aware of the fact that the killing of his relatives for the sake of sovereignty was an irreligious, abominable act, he desisted and said in a worldly mind: 'Having them killed I would be the killer' [B.G. 1: 37-45, compare 2: 19]. That tiger among men, asked Me just before the battle took place questions like you did and was then by Me instructed with the needed arguments.

I am the Supersoul of these living entities, oh Uddhava, their Well-wisher and Lord and Master; I am the maintenance, creation and annihilation of all living beings. I am the goal of those who seek progress, the Time of those who exert control, I am the equilibrium of the modes of nature as also the virtue of those endowed with good qualities. I am the thread [the rule, sutra] of everything composed of the gunas, I am the totality of all great things, among that what is subtle I am the spirit soul and of all things that are difficult to conquer I am the mind. I am Hiranyagarbha [Brahma, the original teacher] of the Vedas, among the mantras I am the three-lettered Omkara, of the letters I am the first one [the 'a'], and among the sacred metres I am the three-footed one [the Gayatri mantra]. Among all the gods I am Indra, among the Vasus I am Agni, among the sons of Aditi I am Vishnu [Vamana] and among the Rudras I am Nila-Lohita [the one coloured red-blue, Shiva, see also 3.12: 7]. I am Bhrigu among the brahmin sages, I am Manu among the saintly kings, among the demigod sages I am Narada and among the cows I am Kamadhenu [the cow of plenty]. Of the ones perfected in control I am Kapila, Garuda I am among the birds, Daksha among the founding fathers, and Aryama among the forefathers. Oh Uddhava know Me among the sons of Diti as Prahlada, the lord of the unenlightened souls, know Me as the [order of the] moon to the stars and the herbs, and as Kuvera, the lord of wealth among the Yakshas and Rakshasas. Among the lordly elephants I am Airavata, I am Varuna, the master of the aquatics, of all things that heat and illumine I am the sun, and among the human beings I am the master of the realm [the king]. Ucchais'rava I am among the horses, among the metals I am gold, Yamaraja I am among those who exercise control and among the serpents I am Vasuki. Among the hooded snakes I am Anantadeva, among the beasts with teeth and horns I am the lion, among the social orders [the status-groups, the ashramas] I am the fourth order [the sannyasis] and among the vocations [the varnas] I am the first one [of the brahmins], oh sinless one. Among the holy rivers I am the Ganges, I am the ocean among the expanses of water, I am the bow among the weapons and among the wielders of the bow I am the destroyer of Tripura [Shiva]. I am Meru among the abodes, among the places that are inaccessible I am the Himalayas, among the trees I am the as'vattha, and among the plants I am the ones bearing grains. Among the priests I am Vasishthha, among those vowed to the Veda I am Brihaspati, Kartikeya [Skanda] I am among the military leaders and among the foremost [of spiritual leadership] I am the unborn, supreme lord [Brahma, the Creator]. Among the sacrifices I am the study of the Veda, among the vows I am the vow of nonviolence [vegetarianism], and among the purifiers fire, wind, sun, water, speech and soul I am the most pure [the Supersoul]. Of the [eight-fold] process of yoga I am the full opposition with the soul [the final stage of samadhi], to those desiring victory I am prudent counsel, I am the [metaphysical] logic of all discrimination [of distinguishing between spirit and matter], and for the speculative [opinionated, reputed] philosophers I am the diversity of views [shad-dars'ana]. Among the ladies I am Shatarupa [wife of Manu, see 3.12: 54] and among the men I am Svayambhuva Manu. Among the sages I am sage Narayana [see 10.87: 4] and among the celibates I am Sanat-kumara. Among the principles of religion I am renunciation, of all things basic I am the inner awareness, of the secrecy I am the friendliness and the silence, and of the sexual couples I am the unborn one [Brahma, the original father]. Of that what constitutes a stable vision I am the solar year, of the seasons I am spring, among the months I am Margas'irsha [November-December] and of the lunar mansions [the twenty-seven nakshatras] I am Abhijit. Among the yugas I am Satya-yuga, among the sober ones I am Devala and Asita, of the Vedic editors I am Dvaipayana [Vyasadeva] and among the scholars learned in spirituality I am Shukracarya. Among the ones named Bhagavan [the Supreme Lord] I am Vasudeva, among My devotees I am indeed you [Uddhava], among the ape-like souls I am Hanuman and among the scientists I am Sudars'ana. I am the ruby among the jewels, of all things beautiful I am the lotus cup, of all types of grass I am the kus'a grass and of the oblations I am the ghee of the cow. I am the wealth of those engaged in business, I am the gambling of the cheaters, I am the forgiveness of the tolerant and I am the character of the ones in the mode of goodness. I am the mental and physical strength of the strong. Please know that I am the [devotional] work performed by the devotees and that of My nine forms [nava murti] by which these Satvatas are worshiping Me, I am the Supreme Original Form [Vasudeva]. Among the singers of heaven I am Vis'vavasu, and among the heavenly dancing girls I am Purvacitti. I am the steadiness of the mountains and the pure aroma of the earth. I am the supreme taste of water and of what is most brilliant I am the sun. I am the effulgence of the moon, the stars and the sun, and I am the transcendental sound vibration in the ether [see also 11.15: 19]. Among the ones devoted to the brahminical culture I am Bali, among the heroes I am Arjuna and I am the generation, stability and dissolution of all living beings. Of the potency of all senses I am the walking, speaking, evacuating, handling and enjoying [the karmendriyas] as also the touching, seeing, tasting, hearing and smelling [the jnanendriyas].

All this I enumerated - earth, air, sky, water and fire, the ego, the greater [principle, the intellect], the [additional eleven] transformations [the ten indriyas and the mind], the person, that what is unmanifest and the modes of rajas, tamas and sattva - stands together with the spiritual knowledge and the steady conviction [therewith] for Me, I the One Supreme. I, the Supreme Lord, the living entity, the [good] qualities and the possessor of the qualities, am the Soul of all; I am indeed everything, the one outside of whom nothing whatsoever exists. I who create the universes by the millions, may count their atoms after a certain time, but not so My opulences [compare 10.14: 7]. Whatever power, beauty, fame, dominion [see 11.15], humility, renunciation, enjoyment, fortune, strength, tolerance or wisdom one may find, all constitutes an integral part of Me. All these spiritual potencies I briefly described to you [see also B.G. 7, 9 and 10] are transformations that by the mind are put in corresponding words [in the scriptures, in the teachings]. [Therefore] control your mind, control your speech, control your breath and senses. Control yourself [through meditation] from within the soul so that you will never again stumble on the path of material existence. Of a transcendentalist who is not by meditation completely in control of his speech and mind, his vows, penance and charity will flow away like water from an unbaken pot. Someone devoted to Me should therefore control his words, mind and life air. With that intelligence thus connected in devotion unto Me he achieves his life's purpose.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 17:

The Varnashrama System and the Boat of Bhakti: the Students and the Householders

- Shri Uddhava said: 'Oh Lotus-eyed One, You previously described the religious principles of being devoted to You that are respected by all varnashrama followers and even by those who do not follow this system. Explain now to me how human beings by mindfully executing their occupational duties may arrive at devotional service unto You. - Dear Madhava, oh Mighty-armed One, in the past You in the form of Lord Hamsa approached Brahma about the religious principles by which one finds supreme happiness [11.13]. After having ruled for such a very long time oh Subduer of the Enemies, these principles that You have taught today, will not be common any longer in human society [see also 5.6: 10 and 11.5: 36 and Kali-yuga]. - Dear Acyuta, there is no speaker, creator and protector of dharma other than You; not on earth and not even in the assembly of Brahma where You are present in a partial manifestation of Yours [viz. the Vedas, see also 10.87]. When the earth is abandoned by Your lordship, oh Madhusudana, oh Creator, Protector and Speaker, who then oh Lord, will speak about the [knowledge that was] lost? Please describe therefore to me oh Master, oh Knower of All Dharma, who would qualify to observe the original duties that are characterised by devotion unto You and how does one perform them?'

Shri Shuka said: 'He, the Supreme Lord Hari, thus being questioned by the best of His devotees was pleased and then spoke, for the sake of the welfare of all conditioned souls, about the eternal duties of dharma. The Supreme Lord said: 'This question of yours is one faithful to the dharma, it leads man to beatitude. Please, Uddhava, learn from Me about these forms of good [varnashrama] conduct concerning the societal status [ashrama] and vocation [varna]. In the beginning in Satya-yuga there was [only] one class of human beings and they were called hamsa [swan]. The citizens of that age were by birth well known with the duties to be performed - hence the scholars know that age as Krita-yuga, the age of the fulfillment of duty. One during that time with the Pranava gave expression to the [not in four divided] Veda, knowing Me to be the duty in the form of the bull of religion [see 1.16: 18 and 1.17: 24]. Fixed in austerity and free from sins, one worshiped Me as Lord Hamsa. At the beginning of Treta-yuga, oh greatly fortunate one, in My heart from the prana the threefold of knowing [the three Vedas Rig, Sama and Yajur] originated whereby I appeared in the three forms of sacrifice [hence the name Treta, see ritvik]. From the Original Personality the intellectuals, the rulers, the merchants and the labourers [the varnas] generated whose personal activities can be recognised as [respectively] those from the mouth, the arms, the thighs and feet [legs] of the universal form [compare 2.1: 37]. The celibate students came from My heart, the householders are from My loins, from My chest the ones [of retreat] living in the forest found their existence and the renounced order of life is found in My head [see ashramas]. The usual natures of the people of the different societal classes [varnas] and status groups [ashramas] evolved according to the situation of their birth [in My body]: in a low position inferior natures evolved and in a high position superior natures developed. Equanimity, sense-control, austerity, cleanliness, contentment, forgiveness, sincerity, devotion to Me, compassion and truthfulness are the natural qualities of the brahmins [compare 7.11: 21 and B.G. 18: 42]. Ardor, physical strength, determination, heroism, tolerance, generosity, endeavor, steadiness, being mindful of the brahminical culture and leadership are the natural qualities of the kshatriyas [My arms, compare 7.11: 22 and B.G. 18: 43]. Faith, dedication to charity, straightforwardness, service to the brahmins and always engaged in the accumulation of money, constitute the natural qualities of the vais'yas [My thighs, compare 7.11: 23 and B.G. 18: 44]. Free from deceit being obedient towards the twice-born souls [the three higher varnas], of service for both the cows and the divine personalities as also being perfectly contented with the reward thus acquired, are the natural qualities of the Shudras [His feet or legs, compare 7.11: 24 and B.G. 18: 44]. To be unclean, deceitful, thievish, faithless, quarrelsome, lusty, fiery and of constant hankering, constitutes the nature of those who occupy the lowest position [the outcasts]. It is the duty of all members of society to be of nonviolence, truthfulness and honesty, to be free from lust, anger and greed and to desire the welfare and happiness of all living entities.

A twice-born soul having undergone a second birth with purificatory rites [with samskaras receiving a sacred thread] and [initiation into] the Gayatri mantra, should reside in the residence [the school] of the guru and must with his senses under control on his request study the scriptures [see also B.G. 16: 24]. Carrying a belt, a deerskin, a staff, prayer beads, a brahmin thread, a water pot and matted hair, he [the brahmacari] without neglecting [*] his teeth and clothes, uses kus'a grass [to sit upon] and [does] not [accept] a pleasant seat. Bathing and eating, attending sacrifices and doing japa, passing stool and urine, he does in silence [Vaishnavas

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actually murmur doing japa]; he should not [fully] trim his nails or hair, including the hair under his arms and in the pubic area [see also Shikha]. Someone under the vow of celibacy should never spill his semen and, when it flowed of its own, take a bath, control his breath and chant the Gayatri [see also urdhva-retah]. Purified with fixed attention, at the beginning and the end of the day performing his japa silently, he should serve the fire-god, the sun [see cakra], the acarya, the cow, the brahmin, the teacher, the elderly and the God-fearing soul [compare: 11.14: 35]. He has to recognise Me in the teacher of example [the acarya]. The acarya he should never at any time enviously deny respect considering him a mortal being, for the spiritual master represents all the gods [see also rule of thumb and compare e.g. 7.14: 17, 10.81: 39, 10.45: 32 and 11.15: 27]. In the morning and evening he should bring him the food that was collected and offer it to him together with other articles. In self-restraint he should accept what he allows [to be his share]. He should always humbly be engaged in serving the acarya, following him closely, proving his respect with folded hands wherever he goes, rests, sits or stands. Thus being engaged he [the upakurvana brahmacari] should, free from [unregulated] sense gratification and without breaking the vow [of celibacy], live in the school of the guru until the education is completed [see also Kumaras]. If he [naishthhika, faithful for the rest of his life] desires to climb up to the world of the verses [Maharloka], the heaven of Brahma, he should, for the sake of his Vedic studies, offer his body to the guru with the great vow [of permanent celibacy, see yama]. Actively engaged in the spirit and sinless he should worship Me as being the Supreme Undivided Intelligence present in the fire, in the spiritual master, in himself and in all living beings [see also B.G. 5: 18, siddhanta and advaita]. The first thing to be forsaken by someone [sexually ripe but spiritually directed who is] not running his own household, is to glance at, touch, converse and joke and such with [sexually receptive] women or other sexually active living beings [see 11.14: 29 and 6.1: 56-68]. 4-3 Cleanliness, washing one's hands, bathing, in the morning and evening being of religious service, worshiping Me, visiting holy places, handling the prayer beads, avoiding things untouchable, things not fit for consumption and things not to be discussed - this all oh Uddhava, constitutes the voluntary penance that in order to restrain the mind, the words and the body with Me, I who reside within all beings, is enjoined for all spiritual departments [ashramas]. A brahmin observing the great vow who thus burns his karmic mentality by the intensity of his penance, becomes as bright as a fire and a spotless devotee of Mine. When after thus properly having studied the Vedic knowledge, he [the brahmacari] desires [to enter family life], he must offer the spiritual master remuneration and with his permission bathe himself, [put on nice clothes and leave **].

Except for when he is My devotee, a true dvija [a person from the three higher classes] should either enter family life [grihastha], the forest [vanaprastha] or become a monk, a mendicant ['samniyasin' or sannyasi]; he should move from one authorised societal position [ashrama] to the other and not act otherwise. Desiring a household one should marry a wife with similar qualities who is beyond reproach and younger in age. When the first wife is of the same vocation another one may follow [of a lower class - varna - or subdivision of it, the caste - jati]. Sacrifice, Vedic study and charity are the activities of all twice-born souls, but only the brahmins practice the acceptance of charity, giving [Vedic] instructions and performing sacrifices for others [compare 7.11: 14]. When a brahmin considers the acceptance of charity as detrimental to his penance, spiritual power and glory, he must subsist on the other two [of teaching and sacrifice] and when he considers also these two as incompatible with his spirituality, he must subsist on gathering ears of corn left behind in the field [live 'of the stones', see also 6.7: 36, 7.15: 30 and B.G. 9: 22]. The body of a brahmin is not meant for futile sense gratification [and the consequent involuntary penances of war, disease and incarceration], it is meant for [voluntary] penances in this world and an unlimited happiness in the world hereafter [see also 11.6: 9 and B.G. 17: 14-19]. With his consciousness perfectly contented in his occupation of gleaning grains and magnanimously, free from passion cultivating dharma, someone who has fixed his mind upon Me - and who is thus not very attached - can achieve liberation even when he lives a householder's life [compare B.G. 3: 22 and 10.69]. He who delivers a brahmin surrendered to Me [or an experienced devotee] from a life of suffering [poverty], I before long, like a boat in the ocean, will deliver from all misery. A king saves himself by delivering, like a father, his people from difficulties, just as a bull elephant without any fear for himself protects himself and other elephants [see also 4.20: 14]. The human ruler who thus proceeding on earth removes all sins, will therefore enjoy heaven, together with the king of heaven [Indra] riding a heavenly vehicle as brilliant as the sun. When a [Vedic] scholar suffers want he can engage in doing business like a merchant, or suffering misfortune he must take up the sword [engage in politics]. In no case of misfortune he can behave like a dog [follow a lower master]. A king in case of emergency may maintain himself by acting like a merchant, by hunting or by acting like a man of knowledge. But he can never follow the course of a[n obedient] dog. A vais'ya may adopt the business of a Shudra and a Shudra may adopt the way of an artisan and make baskets and mats, but freed from misery he must not desire a livelihood by engaging in a lower type of work [see also 7.11: 17]. [Being a householder] one should perform worship on a daily basis for the demigods, the sages, the forefathers and all living beings as being My potencies, by studying Vedic knowledge, saying the mantras svadha ['blessed be'] and svaha ['hail to'] and by offering food and such depending the prosperity one enjoys [see also 11.5: 41]. Whether one's money was acquired without endeavor or acquired by performing one's straight duty, one should without burdening one's dependents, be of proper respect with the help of Vedic rituals. One should not be fixed on one's family members nor get bewildered by them [trying to control them]; being wise one sees that things ahead are just as temporary as matters of the past. The association with one's children, wife, relatives and friends is like an association with travelers; one is separated from all of them in a next body, just like a dream disappears that occurs in one's sleep [see also 7.2: 21, 9.19: 27-28]. A liberated soul thus convinced who does not identify with the body and selflessly lives at home like a guest, will not get entangled in the domestic situation. When one with the activities of a family life worships Me, one may as a devotee remain at home or enter the forest, or also, given responsible offspring, take to the renounced order. Someone though whose consciousness is disturbed by his desire for a home, children and money, is in a state of bondage and - henpecked - being of a miserly mentality, unintelligently thinks in terms of I and mine. 'Oh my poor old mom and dad. Oh my wife with a baby in her arms and, oh my young, unprotected children! How in the world can they live when they, wretched because of missing me, have to suffer greatly?' [see e.g. also 11.7: 52-57] Such a person whose mind in his domestic situation thus is overwhelmed by thoughts and emotions, will because of his bewildered intelligence of constant concern about his family, find no satisfaction and land in darkness when he dies.'

*: The term adhauta used here means, according the Monier Williams Dictionary, the negative of dhauta, which means white, washed, and purified as also removed and destroyed. Concerning teeth and clothes this could mean unpolished teeth and unwashed clothes as also teeth not broken, neglected or rotting and clothes properly covering the body. So it is to the context of the other values of renunciation to decide what meaning would apply. Since adhauta in the first sense would be at odds with the value of cleanliness, Shaucam [see e.g. verse 20 of this chapter and 1.17: 24], here therefore, contrary to previous interpretations, is chosen for the second sense of well maintained teeth and clothes properly covering the body, which is more in line with the normal code of conduct of vaishnava brahmacari devotees in acceptance of a spiritual master [see also pp. 11.17: 23].

**: This process of 'tidying' is called the samavartana-samskara that marks the completion of the studies and returning home from living with the guru.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 18:

The Varnashrama System: the Withdrawn and the Renounced

The Supreme Lord said: 'When one in the third phase of one's life wants to retreat into the forest, one should, in order to reside there peacefully, entrust the wife to one's sons or else together with her dwell in the forest. One should arrange for the pure [*] sustenance of the bulbs, roots and fruits of the forest and dress oneself with tree bark, grass, leaves or animal skins. [In the forest] one should allow the hair on one's head and body, one's facial hair and nails [to grow] as also the filth of one's body, not [extensively] clean one's teeth, [but] bathe three times a day and [at night] sleep on the ground. Thus proceeding one must ascetically tolerate the five fires during the summer [the sacrificial fires in four directions and the sun above], the torrents of rain during the rainy season and the cold of winter when one is submerged in water up to one's neck [see also 4.23: 6]. One eats what is either prepared on a fire, what has ripened by time or what was pulverised with a mortar, with a stone or ground with one's teeth. One should personally collect whatever that is needed for one's sustenance depending the place, the time and one's energy and understand that [living in the forest] one must not store anything for another time [see also 7.12: 19]. A vanaprastha may worship Me with oblations [of rice, barley and dal], may offer rice cakes or offer fruits according to the season, but he may never be of the worship mentioned in the scriptures of sacrificing animals. As he did before [when he was a grihastha] he should perform the fire sacrifice, the sacrifice on a new moon day and a full moon day as also the four months' sacrifice [of caturmasya], that are enjoined by the Vedic experts. When he with that ascetic practice has worshiped Me, the sage [the vanaprastha] all skin and bones, from the world of the seers will achieve Me, the Goal of All Penance [see also maharloka]. Is there a greater fool than someone who, for a long time being of this difficult but glorious penance that awards liberation, practices this penance for the purpose of trivial sense gratification [see also vantas'i]? When he in his regulated activities due to old age with his body trembling is no longer able to carry on, he should place the sacrificial fire in his heart, concentrate on Me and enter the fire [see also 7.12: 23]. But in case full detachment from all result-minded action has developed in him and [the achievement of] a higher world means nothing more to him than hell, he may give up the [vanaprastha] sacrificial fire and take to the renounced order [see also B.G. 18: 2 and **].

After having worshiped Me according to the injunctions and having given all he has to the priest, he [the vanaprastha] must place the sacrificial fire within his life breath and free from desires and worries wander about [as a sannyasi, see also 9.6*]. The demigods to begin with create obstacles for him in the form of his wife [and other allurements later on]; these he should surpass and transcend [see also B.G. 6: 25, 1.19: 2-3, 5.6: 4, 11.4: 7]. If a sage wishes to wear clothes he uses another cloth to cover his loincloth [or kaupina]. All the rest he gives up, besides a water pot and a staff [accepting] nothing else without necessity. He should place his foot on a clear place [free from living beings], clear the water he wants to drink with his cloth, speak the truth in clear terms and engage in action with a clear mind. Saying little, reserve and breath control constitute the strict disciplines for the voice, the body and the mind. He with whom these are not found My dearest, can, despite his bamboo rods, never be considered a real sannyasi [see also tridanda]. When he goes begging with the four varnas he should at random approach seven different houses, avoid impure [sinful, polluted] households and be satisfied with whatever he acquired [see also cakra, compare 1.4: 8]. Next he somewhere outside has to go to a reservoir of water, wash himself and then without saying a word distribute the food that was begged and purified. Thereafter he should eat the food that remained in its entirety. He should move about alone on this earth free from attachment, with his senses fully under control, and satisfied and amused with the True Self, steady on the spiritual platform, be of an equal vision [B.G. 5: 18, see bhajan]. In a remote and safe place the sage, with his consciousness purified by his love for Me, should concentrate on the soul only as being non-different from Me. By focussing in knowledge he must gain insight in the bound and liberated state of the self. He is bound when the senses are distracted and he is liberated when he has them under control [when he - devoted to Me - concentrates, meditates and gets absorbed, see also 11.10]. The sage with his six senses [the five physical senses and the mind] fully under control being conscious of Me, having experienced the greater happiness of the soul, therefore should live detached from futile material desires. He should travel to the pure places on earth with rivers, mountains and forests. The cities, towns and pasturing grounds he should enter only to beg for alms from those working for material purposes. He again and again must [try to] collect alms from the department of the vanaprastha order of life, for by food obtained by gleaning in a purified existence [not being of fruitive labour, karma], one is freed from illusion and quickly achieves spiritual perfection. He should never take the perishable things he sees with his eyes for the ultimate reality; with a consciousness free from attachment he should turn away from all designs for [material progress in] this life or a future existence. Fixed in his [true] self he should no longer keep the universe in mind and thus arguing [as previously] forsake all that illusory energy that in the self binds together his mind, speech and vital air [see ahankara]. Whether he in detachment is devoted to knowledge or as My devotee not even desires liberation, he [ultimately] should abandon the ashrama duties and their rituals and move beyond the range of rules and regulations [see also 10.78: 31-32, 3.29: 25 and 5.1*]. Despite his intelligence he [the detached soul, a sannyasi] should play like a child, despite his expertise he should act as if incompetent, despite his learning he should speak like being absent-minded and despite his knowing the injunctions he should behave in an unrestricted manner ['wander as a cow']. He should never attach to the [karma-kanda] Vedic philosophy [of sacrificing for the sake of return], nor should he heretically oppose it; he should refrain from scepticism and empty talk, nor take sides in [political] argumentations. Someone wise should never feel disturbed by other people nor should he disturb others. He should tolerate harsh words, never treat anyone with disrespect and never - like an animal to the interest of the body - with anyone create hostility [see also B.G. 12: 15]. The One Supreme Soul is situated within all living beings as also within one's own body. Just like the one moon is reflected in different reservoirs of water, all material bodies are composed of the energy of the One [Lord, see also B.G. 6: 29 & 13: 34]. He [the sannyasi] should not feel dejected when there is no [or no proper] food, nor should he rejoice at times when there is plenty of food; he should be firmly fixed in the notion that both matters [of plenty and scarcity] are determined by fate [by the Lord]. He should endeavor in order to eat and to sustain his personal life

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force properly, for by that strength he contemplates the spiritual truth that, being understood, leads to liberation [see B.G. 6: 16]. The food he obtained by chance he must eat, whether it is first class or of a low quality. Similarly the clothes and place to sleep a sage must accept the way they came of their own accord [see also 7.13]. General cleanliness, washing the hands, taking a bath and other regular duties are to be performed without any compulsion by a person of spiritual realisation, just as [free as] I, the Controller, act according to the game I play. For him the perception of things [as existing] separate from Me is over, for having Me in view such a perception is destroyed. Sometimes such a notion lingers till the body dies, but then he will attain Me. He who has no notion of My dharma, but in his desire for spiritual perfection developed detachment from the lusty sense enjoyment that leads to unhappiness, should approach a wise [bonafide] spiritual master [of proper reference, a guru, see also B.G. 16: 23-24, 4: 34 & 17: 14]. The devotee should serve the spiritual master who embodies Me, with great faith without envy and offenses for as long as it takes to arrive at a clear realisation of the Absolute Truth [see also 11.17: 27]. 0-4 He though who is not in control of the six forms [of vice, the anarthas], allows the charioteer of the body to be led by the senses, is bereft of knowledge and detachment, and just wants to subsist on [and not learn from] the three-stick staff, denies Me, himself and the divine personalities within himself and harms the dharma; not having overcome the contamination of this world he will also be lost and abandoned in the world hereafter.

Nonviolence and equanimity constitutes the dharma of a mendicant [a sannyasi], discrimination and penance constitutes the dharma of someone living in the forest [a vanaprastha], protecting all living beings and performing sacrifices constitutes the dharma of a householder [a grihastha], and serving the teacher of example [the acarya] constitutes the dharma of a celibate student [a brahmacari]. Of all those who worship Me with celibacy, austerity, cleanliness, contentment and being friendly towards all living entities, a householder though may approach his wife for intercourse at the proper time. Someone who thus according to his dharma worships Me, is not devoted to anything else and understands Me to be present in all living entities, will obtain unflinching devotional service unto Me. Oh Uddhava, he will come to Me by bhakti, by loving service unto Me, the Supreme Lord of All Worlds, the Absolute Truth and cause, the origin and dissolution of everything. When one thus by one's dharma has purified one's existence, one will, fully understanding My supreme position and endowed with spiritual knowledge and wisdom, very soon reach Me. The followers of the varnashrama dharma are characterised by this [traditional] code of conduct. This sense of duty combined with my bhakti awards the highest perfection of life. Oh saintly soul, this what I described to you on your request, constitutes the means by which one as a devotee can be perfectly engaged in one's duty and come to Me, the One Supreme.'

*: Shrila Bhaktisiddhanta Sarasvati Thhakur quoting from the Manu-samhita points out that the word medhyaih or 'pure' in this context means that while residing in the forest a sage may not accept honey-based liquors, animal flesh, fungus, mushrooms, horseradish or any hallucinogenic or intoxicating herbs, not even on the pretext of a medicinal treatment.

**: Shastri C.L. Goswami comments here to his translation of the book: 'the Shruti lays down that a brahmana may turn out to be a recluse whenever true vairagya appears in him in whatever stage of life.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 19:

The Perfection of Spiritual Knowledge

The Supreme Lord said: 'Someone who, endowed with knowledge in accord with the oral tradition, is of self-realisation and does not lose himself in speculations [about what would be true knowledge], must, known with the fact that this universe is a complete illusion, for both the sake of Me and spiritual knowledge renounce his worldly concerns. For a person of spiritual knowledge I am the object of worship, the goal, the motive and final conclusion. Besides Me as his favorite, his light and final beatitude, he has no other purpose. They who have fully perfected their knowledge and wisdom know My lotus feet as most auspicious. For that reason the learned transcendentalist who by means of spiritual knowledge holds on to Me, is most dear to Me [see also B.G. 7: 17-18]. Performing austerities, visiting holy places, doing japa, giving charity or other pious activities cannot provide the perfection that is created by but a fraction of this spiritual knowledge [compare 10.46: 32-33]. Therefore oh Uddhava, knowing your true self in association with this spiritual discrimination that you accomplished by intelligence and consciousness, be of your way [svarupa] of serving Me with devotion. With the sacrifice of Vedic knowledge and wisdom the sages achieved the highest perfection by worshiping Me, the Lord of All Sacrifices who is the Supersoul inside of them. The transformation of the three departments [of nature, the gunas] that surrounds you, constitutes an illusion that appears in the present [of the bewildering material energy] that is not there in the beginning nor in the end [of the universe]. In what sense can the being born and such of your material body, that at first did not exist, is not there afterwards, but only exists in between, have any relation to you[r essence, your true self, your soul]?'

Shri Uddhava said: 'Oh Controller of the Universe, oh You in the Form of the Universe, please explain the yoga of devotion unto You that is also sought by the greatest souls. This devotion encompasses the extensive, perfectly pure knowledge endowed with detachment and wisdom, that carries the approval of the established tradition [of storytelling]. Oh Lord, for the one who, tormented on the path of material existence, is overwhelmed by the threefold misery [see 1.17: 19], I see no other shelter but the canopy of Your two lotus feet that shower the nectar. Please uplift this person who so badly craving for some insignificant happiness, bitten by the snake of time, hopelessly fell down in this dark pit [of material existence]. Oh Greatest Authority, pour out Your words of mercy that lead to liberation!'

The Supreme Lord said: '[Yudhishthhira] the king who considered no one his enemy, in the past asked Bhishma, the best of the upholders of dharma, this question while we were all attentively listening [see 1.9: 25-42]. When the war between the descendants of Bharata had ended, he, overwhelmed by the destruction of his beloved friends and relatives, after having heard about the many principles of religion, finally asked about the path of liberation. I shall describe to you what was heard from the mouth of that soul vowed to the divine [Bhishma] in support of higher knowledge, detachment, self-realisation, faith and devotional service. That knowledge by which one recognises the one element [of the Absolute Spirit, the Supersoul, the Lord, see 1.2: 11] within the nine, eleven, five and three elements of all living beings, has been determined by Me to be higher knowledge [jnana]. When one is not in that sense concerned with all the elements composed of the three modes but rather sees, as should, the One who brings about, maintains and annihilates this universe, one at that time speaks of self-realisation [vijnana]. That what is there in the beginning, is halfway present from one creation to another and still remains when there is the annihilation of everything, is what one considers true and eternal. Vedic knowledge [s'ruti], direct experience [pratyaksha], traditional instruction [aitihya or smriti] and logical inference [anumana] are the four forms of right perception in facing the flickering nature by which a person masters [becomes detached from] the material diversity [see pramana]. Inauspiciousness is found up to the heaven of Virinca [Brahma] because all material routines [including rituals] are subject to change. An intelligent person should understand that, just like the things he sees, everything he is about to see is transitory [see also shath-urmi, 11.3: 20 and B.G. 8: 16].

Because of your love for Me I formerly talked to you about bhakti-yoga oh sinless one. Let Me now also expound on the supreme method of this devotion unto Me. 0-2 Faith in the nectar of the narrations about Me, always recite [sing] My glories, to be fixed on ceremonial worship, to relate to Me with hymns and prayers; to have great respect for My devotional service, to offer obeisances with all of one's limbs, to be of first-class worship for My devotees, to think of Me as being present in all living beings, to dedicate all one's normal activities to Me, to describe with words My qualities, to offer one's mind to Me and reject all material desires; to give up wealth for My sake, to renounce sensual pleasures and material happiness, to be of sacrifice with charity and offerings, to do japa and to keep to vows and austerities for My purpose, are for human beings of surrender oh Uddhava, the different forms of religiosity to rise to loving service unto Me - what other purpose would remain for My devotee [to be accomplished]? When situated in peace one's consciousness is absorbed in the [supreme] soul, one achieves, being strengthened by the mode of goodness, religiosity, spiritual knowledge, detachment and opulence. But when one being fixed upon the material variety, chases one's senses in every direction and thus became a prisoner of one's passion, you should understand that one, by that [materialistic] consciousness dedicated to the impermanent, will achieve the opposite. Dharma is said to lead to My devotional service and spiritual knowledge [jnana] to witnessing the presence of the Supreme Soul. Detachment [vairagya] results in disinterestedness in the objects of sense gratification and opulence [ais'varya] culminates in the mystical perfections of anima and so on [perfections and powers see 11.15 & 11.16 and bhaga].'

Shri Uddhava said: 'How many types of restrictions [yama] and regular duties [niyama] does one speak of, oh Subduer of the Enemy, what is equilibrium, what is self-control dear Krishna, what is tolerance and what is constancy my Lord? What is charity and what is penance, what is heroism, what does one say about reality and truth, what is renunciation and wealth, what is desirable, what a sacrifice and what is religious remuneration? What do you think is the strength of a person, oh Fortunate One, what is opulence and gain, oh Kes'ava, what is education, what modesty, what is superior, what beauty and what is happiness as also unhappiness? Who is learned, who is a fool, what is the real path and what the false path, what is heaven and what is hell and who do You say is a friend and what is home? Who is wealthy, who is poor, who is a wretch and who is a controller; please speak to me about these matters as also about the opposite qualities, oh Lord of the Truthful Souls.'

The Supreme Lord said: 'Nonviolence, truthfulness, not coveting or stealing the property of others, detachment, modesty, non-possessiveness, trustfulness, celibacy, silence, steadiness, forgiveness and fearlessness are the twelve types of restrictions [of yama]. [Inner and outer] cleanliness, doing japa, penance, sacrifice, faith, hospitality, worship of Me, visiting holy places, care for the welfare of others in this world, contentment and serving the spiritual master are the twelve regular duties [of niyama]. These two times twelve types of principles and duties that human beings remember and honour, My dear one, yield results [like beatitude or prosperity] depending each his desire [*]. 6-3 Mental equilibrium means the absorption of one's intelligence in Me [see also 11.16: 10] and self-control entails the disciplining of the senses. Tolerance means that one has to endure unhappiness and constancy entails the conquering of the tongue and genitals. The highest charity is to forsake the rod [to punish others] and giving up one's lust one thinks of penance. One is a hero when one conquers one's propensity to enjoy materially and there is sense of reality when one sees [the One, the Lord] equally present. Kind, so one says, one differs [or is truthful] with the words used by the sages. One speaks of cleanliness when one is detached from performing productive labour [see also e.g. 1.1: 2 and B.G. 18: 6] and in case of renunciation one speaks of sannyasa [the renounced order]. Religiousness constitutes for human beings the wealth to be desired and I Myself, the Most Fortunate One, the Supreme Personality, am the sacrifice. The spiritual reward is wise instruction and the control of one's breath constitutes supreme strength. 0-4 Opulence is My divine nature [see 11.16 and bhaga], gain is My bhakti, education is the nullifying of the division of the self [see siddhanta and advaita] and modesty [sense of shame] is the disgust against improper action [sin]. Beauty means to be of good qualities - like being detached from material desires and such, happiness means to transcend both [material] happiness and distress, unhappiness is to rely on the [physical] happiness of lust and a wise person is someone who can tell the difference between liberation and bondage. A fool is someone who identifies himself with the body and so on [the mind etc.], the right path is the one leading to Me, the wrong path is to be understood as the one leading to a bewildered mind and heaven implies the predominance of the mode of goodness. Hell is the predominance of the mode of ignorance, one's real friend is the spiritual master who is Me My dear friend, and the human body is one's home. He who is enriched with good qualities is called a rich person while a poor person is someone who is discontented. A wretched person is someone who did not subdue his senses, a controller is someone whose intelligence is not attached to the material affair and someone attached to sense gratification is of the opposite [kind of qualities, a slave]. These, oh Uddhava, are the subjects of your inquiry I all properly have elucidated. But why should one elabourately describe the characteristics of good and bad qualities when thinking about good and bad still means that one fails to see the [true] quality [of transcendence] distinct from them [compare with 3.10: 28-29, 6.16: 10-11, 11.7: 8, 11.11: 16 and B.G. 7: 5].'

*: Patanjali formulates in his Yoga Sutras II: 30-32, the restrictions and duties of the yoga adept as follows: "Nonviolence, love of truth, non-stealing, celibacy and the not striving for possessions together constitute the renunciation [yama]. This is the great universal vow valid independent of the place, the time, the circumstance and one's birth. Cleanliness, contentment, penance, consideration and surrender to the person of God constitute the regulation [niyama]."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 20:

Trikanda Yoga: Bhakti Surpasses Knowledge and Detachment

Shri Uddhava said: 'The Vedic literature of Your Lordship, oh Lotus-eyed One, that pays attention to the injunctions concerning actions and prohibitions, deals about the good and bad sides of karma [akarma and vikarma]. They also discuss the differences within the varnashrama system wherein the father may be of a higher [anuloma] or a lower [pratiloma] class than the mother, they are about heaven and hell and expound on the subjects of having possessions, one's age, place and time [see also 4.8: 54 and *]. How can human beings without Your prohibitive and regulatory words concerning final beatitude, tell the difference between virtue and vice [compare 11.19: 40-45]? The Vedic knowledge emanating from You offers the forefathers, the gods as also the human beings a superior eye upon the - not for everyone that evident

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- meaning of life, what would be the goal and how we may achieve. The difference between virtue and vice one can see with the help of Your Vedic knowledge and does not arise by itself, but the Vedas also nullify such a difference and thus clearly confuse the issue....'

The Supreme Lord said: 'The three ways of yoga I described in My desire to grant human beings the perfection, are the path of philosophy [jnana], the path of work [karma] and the path of devotion [bhakti]; there are no other means [of elevation] whatsoever [see also B.G. contents and tri-kanda]. For those who disgusted with fruitive labour [or sacrifices] forsake such activities, there is the yoga of spiritual knowledge and for those who have not turned themselves consciously away and do feel for material happiness, there is the path of karma-yoga. When it happens that in a person, who is neither averse nor very attached, faith awakens in My narrations and such, the path of bhakti-yoga will bring perfection. For as long as one is not fed up [with one's material life] and no faith has awakened in My discourses and listening etc. [7.5: 23-24], one will have to continue with one's fruitive labour [see also 1.2: 7, 11.5: 41]. Someone will not go to heaven nor to hell, oh Uddhava, if he holds on to his prescribed duties without deviating and, free from ulterior motives, is of worship with performing sacrifices [see also B.G. 8: 16]. When one, existing in this world, free from sin is situated in one's duties and is pure [in one's motives], one obtains transcendental knowledge and possibly My bhakti [compare 1.5: 23-31]. Just as the residents of hell, even the residents of heaven desire for this planet earth that is so conducive to the spiritual knowledge and devotional service that prove themselves neither in hell nor in heaven. A wise human being should not strive for hell or heaven, nor for this planet earth, for one becomes bewildered when one enters a physical body. Even though [the body is] subject to death, it brings the perfection of one's life purpose within reach. Someone who knows this should [therefore], before he dies, attentively endeavor for transcendence. Not being attached a bird attains happiness after giving up the nest it made in a tree that was cut down by some messengers of death. Knowing that with every day and night one's life span is shortened [likewise], one is beset with fear, free from attachment [though] one, with the intelligence of transcendence being without desires, attains perfect peace. A person is the killer of his own soul when he, in this well suited boat of the so rarely attained but naturally acquired physical human body, does not cross over the ocean of material existence, being propelled by the favorable winds that I am and with the spiritual master as the captain. When a yogi, disgusted with material endeavoring, being detached is in full control of his senses, he has to concentrate his mind to stabilize it with self-discipline. The mind being narrowed down to the spiritual platform should, when suddenly being drawn away, carefully - according to the rules of the game - be brought under the control of the self [see also B.G. 6: 26]. When one conquers one's breath and senses, one should not forget what the actual purpose of the mind is. With one's intelligence perfect in goodness, it should always be led back under the supervision of the soul [to be its servant, see B.G. 3: 42]. This restraining of the mind with the intimate confidentiality with which one also constantly observes a horse that one wants to tame, is what is known as the most supreme practice of yoga [see also B.G. 6: 33-34]. By analyzing how all the different elements [and principles of spiritual knowledge] cohere and are in conflict, how they originate and how they are lost, the mind should be kept attentive until [spiritually] satisfied. The mind of someone who, guided by the instructions [of the spiritual master], being disgusted got detached, will by analysis of and meditation upon what is perceived, give up its false identification [with matter and the body]. The mind must not be focussed on any other practice than on the austerities and procedures of the [eightfold] yoga method, on logical analyses and spiritual knowledge and on the exercises of respect for My form [thus on trikanda, threefold yoga: karma-, jnana- and bhakti-yoga]. If a yogi out of negligence commits a reprehensible deed, he should burn away that sin by means of the yoga method only; never at any time he should try to do this in a different way [compare B.G. 1.5: 17, 4: 19, 9: 30]. When each is firmly grounded in his own position one speaks of virtue, but because of the nature of karmic activities one is impure in one's engagement. Driven by desire to put an end to those [impurities or destabilizing] attachments, one consequently - by the rule of virtue and vice - with this [by Me, then] arrives at [the needed niyama] regulations. 7-2 When faith in my narrations and disgust with all karma has awakened in someone, he [the atmanandi bhakta], despite his lack of ability to [fully] renounce, knows that his lusts are the root of his misery. Therefore repenting the sense gratification resulting in misery that he [nevertheless] also engages in, he should remain happy and worship Me being resolute in that faith and conviction. All the lusts a sage has in his heart are destroyed when his heart is firmly established in Me by constantly worshiping Me in the bhakti-yoga as described [see sthita-prajna]. The knots in the heart are cut, all misgivings are in shreds and the chain of fruitive actions ends when one sees Me as the Supreme Soul of All. For a yogi who being connected in My devotional service fixed his mind on Me, for that reason generally neither the path of knowledge nor the path of detachment [from fruitive activities] is the way to become happy in this world. 2-3 That what is obtained by fruitive action, penance, the cultivation of knowledge and detachment, that what is achieved by mystical yoga, charity, religious observances, auspicious actions or other methods, My devotee easily achieves in My bhakti when he somehow or other desires heaven, final beatitude or My abode. Saintly persons of profound intelligence, devotees fully dedicated to Me, never desire anything but Me, I who grant them beatitude and freedom from birth and death. It is said that it is best not to desire anything, so that with him who does not seek any personal reward, who is fully independent, the bhakti unto Me may arise that grants the greatest happiness [see also 2.3: 10]. With Me the unfavorable qualities of the modes of nature [like bewilderment, slowness and restlessness] cannot [again] manifest themselves in pure devotees, because they, free from desire, are under all circumstances stable in their consciousness. They now belong to the ones who moved beyond what can be understood with a materially motivated intelligence [see also B.G. 9: 30].

Those who follow these methods I have now instructed, achieve the security of My abode in the direct perception of that what is the Absolute Truth.'

*: The vaidehakas consist of those born of a Shudra father and brahmana mother, the sutas are those born from a kshatriya father and a brahmana mother or from a Shudra father and kshatriya mother. The murdhavasiktas are those born of a brahmana father and kshatriya mother. Ambashthhas are those born from a brahmana father and vais'ya mother [these often work in the healthcare business]. Karana indicates those born of a vais'ya father and Shudra mother or of a kshatriya father and vais'ya mother.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 21:

On Distinguishing between Good and Bad

The Supreme Lord said: 'They who give up My paths of jnana, karma and bhakti, will, in the cultivation of their lusts and fickle senses, keep moving through the cycle of birth and death. When one manages to be steady in one's position that is called virtue, while the opposite of that is considered vice; this is the conclusion about these two [see also B.G. 2: 16]. What would be pure or impure concerning the religion, what would be vice or virtue in normal affairs and what would be favorable or unfavorable for one's physical survival are matters [of good and bad] one must evaluate from the same category of elements, oh sinless one [what is good for the body e.g. is not necessarily good for the religion]. This approach of matters I put forward for the sake of those who bear the burden of religious principles. Earth, water, fire, air and ether are the five basic elements that, from Lord Brahma down to the nonmoving creatures, constitute the bodies of the living beings who are all connected in the Supreme Soul. Even though they consist of the same elements and in that sense are equal, the Vedas assign different names and forms to them in service of their self-interest [see varnashrama].

What would be the right and wrong considerations concerning the time, place, the things and so on, is established by Me with the purpose of restricting materially motivated activities. Among all places, those places are impure where there is no respect for the brahminical culture and no spotted antelopes can be found, where there are no saintly, cultured men even when there are spotted antelopes, where it is unclean like Kikatha [a place of low-class men, see mleccha and *] and places where the earth is barren. The time that by its nature [solar position, lunar phase] or by its objects [appointment by calendar and sundial] is suitable for performing one's prescribed duties is considered good and the time that impedes the performance of one's duties or is unsuitable [night time e.g. or times of different obligations] is considered bad [see also B.G. 7: 8, 11.20: 26, kala and kalakutha **]. The purity or impurity of a thing [or of a substance] is determined [validated] with the help of another thing, in respect of what one says about it, by means of a ritual performance [of purification], in respect of time or according to its relative magnitude [***]. Whether it [- viz. the quality of a thing -] imposes accordingly a sinful [or pious] reaction upon a person depends on that person's power or impotence, intelligence, wealth, condition and place. By a combination of time, air, fire, earth and water or by each of them separately [matters are purified like] grains, things made of wood, clay and bone, thread, skins, liquids and things won from fire. When something in touch with that what is impure removes a bad smell or dirt and thus restores the original nature of an object one speaks of purification. By bathing, charity and austerity a twice-born soul who remembers Me should perform activities in respect of his age, his heroism, ritual purification and prescribed duties, in accord with that what is pure, the cleanliness of the [original] Self. The purification derived from a mantra is a consequence of the correct knowledge about it. The purification by a certain act is the consequence of one's dedication to Me. Dharma [religiosity] prospers by [the purity of] the six factors [as mentioned: the place, the time, the substance, the mantras, the doer and the devotional act], whereas godlessness [adharma] is produced by the contrary.

Sometimes though, a virtue turns out to be a vice and a vice - by providence [or Vedic instruction] - turns out to be a virtue. Respecting the regulative principles one is thus faced with the fact that the distinction between what is good and bad is factually effaced by them [4*]. The same performance of karma because of which someone fell down is not the cause of another fall down. Someone who fell [in love e.g.] does not fall any further; for such a one natural attachment changes into a virtue. Whatever one desists from one is freed from - this is for human beings the foundation of religious life [natural pious living] that takes away the suffering, fear and delusion. When one presumes the objects stimulating the senses to be good, a person will develop attachment as a consequence, from that attachment lust originates and because of that lust [to enjoy at will] there is quarrel among people. Because of quarreling there is the anger that is difficult to handle and because of anger there is ignorance; and thus someone's broad consciousness is quickly overtaken by darkness [or narrowed consciousness]. Oh saintly soul, a living being bereft that way [of clear understanding] becomes empty-headed so that, as a consequence having fallen away from his goals in life, he - just like dull matter - is as good as dead [compare B.G. 2: 62-63]. Adhering to the sensual affair one, vainly living the life of a tree, fails in knowing oneself and others, so that one's breathing is nothing more than pumping air. The awards promised in the [karma-kanda part of the] scriptures are for man not the highest good; they are merely enticements to create a taste for the ultimate good [upasana-kanda], similar to what one says to make someone take a medicine. From the moment they are born, mortals develop a mind of attachment to their family, their vital functions and the objects of their desire, because of which they lose sight of the interest of their soul. Why would the intelligent ones [the Vedic authority] encourage those, who on the path of danger blind to their real interest in submission [to karmic actions] land in darkness, to further engage in such [attachments, also 5.5: 17]? Some who thus with a perverted intelligence do not understand the purpose [of finding fulfillment in Krishna], speak in [karma-mimamsa] flowery language about [sacrificing for the sake of] material benefits; something about which he who really knows the Vedas does not speak [see also B.G. 2: 42-44]. Those who are lusty, miserly and greedy take the flowers [of karmic sacrifices] for the fruit [of realisation]; bewildered by the fire they suffocate from the smoke and do not realise their position [their true identity of being an individual soul instead of a body]. Armed with their expressions My dear, they do not know Me who is seated within their heart and from whom this universe generated that is also Me. In their self-indulgence they are like people staring into fog. 9-3 Not understanding My confidential conclusion [see also 10.87 and B.G. 9] they, absorbed in their sensuality, [as meat eaters] are attached to the violence [against animals] that may occur under conditions [in nature], but certainly never is encouraged for sacrifices. In reality they take pleasure in being violent against the animals that [without necessity] were slaughtered for their sense gratification. With their ritual worship of the gods, the forefathers and the leading spirits, they are mischievous people. In their hearts they all - like business men investing their wealth - imagine to achieve in a world as pleasing as it sounds, but which is as unreal as a dream. Established in the mode of passion, goodness or ignorance they worship the gods and others headed by Indra who likewise delight in passion, goodness and ignorance, but Me they do not worship properly [thus, see also B.G. 9: 23 and 10: 24 & 25]. 3-3 [They think:] 'When we worship the demigods with sacrifices here, we will enjoy heaven, and when that has ended, turn back to earth in wealth in a fine family.' With their minds thus bewildered by the flowery words [of the Vedas] they nevertheless, as proud and most greedy men, are not attracted to My topics.

The trikanda divided Vedas have the spiritual understanding of the true self, the soul, as their subject matter, but also the seers who esoterically express themselves more indirectly [the 'other gurus'] are dear to Me. The transcendental [Vedic] sound [the Shabda-brahman] manifesting itself [at different levels] in the prana, the senses and the mind [of the pure, self-realised, enlightened person] is most difficult to understand; it is unlimited and as unfathomably deep as the ocean [see also 11.12: 17-18]. The groundless, changeless Absolute of endless potencies that I promote [as My nature, see Omkara], is represented within the living beings in the form of sound vibrations, the way a lotus stalk is represented by a single strand of fiber [see also 11.18: 32 and 6.13: 15]. 8-4 Just as a spider weaves its web from the heart by its orifice, the breath of the Lord [the prana] from the ether is manifesting the sound vibration through the mind in the form of the different phonemes. Full of nectar comprising all the shapes that branch out in thousands of directions, the Master, decorated with consonants, vowels,

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sibilants and semivowels, has expanded from the syllable om. By the elabourated diversity of expressions and metrical arrangements - that each have four more syllables -, He Himself creates and withdraws again the vast, unlimited expanse [of the Vedic manifestation of sound, see also B.G. 15: 15]. For instance the metres Gayatri, Ushnik and Anushthup; Brihati and Pankti as also Trishthup, Jagati, Aticchanda, Atyashthi, Atijagati and Ativirath [have each in this order four more syllables]. The [confidential] heart of the matter of what these literatures [karma-kanda] enjoin [to be done], what they [upasana-kanda] indicate [as being the object of devotion], what aspects they describe or what alternatives they [jnana-kanda] thus offer [as philosophy], is in this world not known by anyone else but Me [compare 11.20, B.G. 4: 5, 7: 26, 10: 41]. I am the One enjoined, I am the object of worship, I am the alternative [the philosophical hypothesis] that is offered and the One who is explained away [5*]. The transcendental sound vibration of the Vedas establishes Me as being their meaning and elabourately describes the material duality as the department of the bewildering energy one has to emasculate to ultimately become happy.'

*: Shrila Madhvacarya quotes from the Skanda Purana as follows: 'Religious persons should reside within an eight-mile radius of rivers, oceans, mountains, hermitages, forests, spiritual cities or places where the Shalagrama-s'ila [a black oval river-stone suitable for worship] is found. All other places should be considered kikatha, or contaminated. But if even in such contaminated places black and spotted antelopes are found, one may reside there as long as sinful persons are not also present. Even if sinful persons are present, if the civil power rests with respectable authorities, one may remain. Similarly, one may dwell wherever the Deity of Vishnu is duly installed and worshiped.'

**: The parampara adds here: 'Political, social or economic disturbances that obstruct the execution of one's religious duties are considered inauspicious times.' Therefore the - form of, type of - time with which one achieves the association of the Supreme Lord or the Lord's pure devotee, is the most auspicious time, whereas the form of time which is politically, economically or socially determined and with which one loses such association, is most inauspicious. Religious timing - to the sun and moon e.g. - is sat kala, or true timing and proper conditioning, whereas humanly determined timing is asat kala, or time conditioning by false authority, a karma motivated time driven by ulterior motives. Scientifically it concerns a biological conflict at the level of the nervous system between natural stimuli of time, like the regularity of daylight, and the cultural stimuli of time that oppose with linear and generalised concepts of time like mean time and zone time. The time sense of modern man is for this reason disturbed, he suffers psychological time, an unstable sense of time which is fundamental to the cultural neurosis.

***: An example to illustrate this rather abstract formulation is the clock: the clock is pure or impure relative to its object measured: the time of nature as another 'thing' of time. This is called the criterion of scientific validation or the determination of the zero point of measurement. But also speaking of it in a scientific lecture telling that the mean of time, the clock deviating from nature, is derived from and refers to nature itself through a scientific formula that expresses the so called equation of time, is a political way of sanctifying, declaring the truth of, an obviously deviating clock. Furthermore there is also the religious ritual that presents the cross of Jesus Christ for instance, or the Mahamantra of Lord Caitanya, to the standard of time on the clock in order to forgive the sin of the pragmatical deviating from Krishna's nature of time and the scientific rationalisation about it. Next we can simply set the clock to the nature of time, to the time of Krishna, to be true to the religious insight [see f.c.o.]. And finally, realizing that the confidentiality of Krishna's time cannot be imposed politically, there is the purity to the relative magnitude, as this verse states, that with the modern complexity of time awareness can be respected with a dual display of time offered by some clocks or else with two clocks combined: one display set to nature and one to the politics of pragmatical timekeeping. Thus we can by this verse tolerate the impurity of profit motivated karmic time manipulations and still manage with purity as devotees [Prabhupada who on the one hand demanded punctuality, requested his devotees to further study the subject of time. 'All days and hours are the same to me. I leave that matter to you', he confided in 'A Transcendental Diary' by Hari Shauri Dasa].

4*: The parampara gives an example: 'Someone who abandons one's wife and children is certainly irresponsible and thoughtless. If one takes sannyasa, however, and remains fixed on a higher spiritual platform, he is considered to be a most saintly person. Piety and sin therefore depend upon particular circumstances and are at times difficult to distinguish.' According to Shrila Madhvacarya, persons above the age of fourteen are considered capable of distinguishing between good and bad and are thus responsible for their pious and sinful activities.

5*: This 'explaining away' of Him as an absolute norm is associated with the relationship between form and content. In bhakti one is faced with His form, the form of the acarya and the form of the other devotees as the entrance gate giving access to the Vedic knowledge. Once having passed that gate on one's way inside, the gate for which the Lord stands with His form is of a lesser importance than the content taken care of by jnana. When one has accessed the content, the form is just as obsolete as the package of a product is when one wants to use it after being bought. But Lord Krishna is of course just as well the form as the content. In that sense one rather finds Him on one's way inside. The explaining away pertains to the form thus. Thus is the necessity demonstrated of the trikanda threefoldness of yoga: karma-yoga constitutes the way, bhakti-yoga constitutes the shop and jnana-yoga shows the contents of spiritual realisation to procure there.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 22:
Prakriti and Purusha: Nature and the Enjoyer

- Shri Uddhava said: 'Oh Lord of the Universe, how many basic elements of creation [tattvas] have been enumerated by the seers? Oh Master, I heard You speak about the twenty-eight basic elements of this world [see also 11.19: 14]. Some say there are twenty-six, others speak of twenty-five or twenty-seven, some speak of nine, some of four and others of eleven elements, while others speak of sixteen, seventeen or thirteen elements. Oh Eternal Supreme One, could You please explain to us what the sages who so differently express themselves with the calculations of their divisions have in mind with them?'

The Supreme Lord said: 'With them [those elements] present everywhere the brahmins speak the way it suits them, after all, what would there for those who lifted up [the veil of] My maya, be difficult to say? 'It is not the way you say it, it is the way I say it': this is what my unsurpassable [bewildering] energies do to those who argue about causes [see darshanas and 6.4: 31]. Because My energies are interacting, differences of opinion arise among the ones who talk about this subject [of causation], but when one finds peace in the control over one's senses the controversy subsides and the arguing stops [one attains the true nature of the Supreme Spirit, atmatattva]. Because the various [subtle and gross] elements mutually pervade one another, oh best among men, a speaker wants to give a fitting description with an enumeration of causes and consequences. With each of those divisions any single element refers to the other elements; whether it is there as a cause or an effect, when you see one element [like the ether] you also see all the other elements that element is part of [*]. Discrimination as heard from the mouth of anyone who wants to reflect upon cause and effect, we accept [as authoritative], when that distinction originated from consistent reasoning. A person is stuck to eternal ignorance and cannot all by himself figure out what the process of self-realisation entails. That knowledge is derived from someone else familiar with the Absolute Truth [compare 11.21: 10]. In this knowledge concerning the good quality of material nature, there is not the slightest difference between the purusha - the Supreme Being, the Soul, the actual person - and is'vara the Lord. To suppose that it would be otherwise is a useless figment [see B.G. 18: 20 and 9: 15 and **]. The modes of goodness, passion and ignorance as the causes of [respectively] maintenance, creation and destruction, constitute material nature [prakriti] but [do] not [control] the soul [see also B.G. 3: 27]. In this world the mode of goodness is of knowledge [light], the mode of passion is of fruitive labour [karma] and the mode of ignorance is of a lack of wisdom. The interaction of the modes is called Time and that what is there by nature, the natural propensity [svabhava], constitutes the thread [the mahat-tattva is the sutra, see also 11.12: 19-21].

The actual person [purusha], material nature [prakriti], the intelligent witnessing [mahat-tattva], the identification with the form [ahankara], ether, air, fire, water and earth are thus the nine elements of creation I referred to [in verse 1]. Hearing, touching, seeing, smelling and tasting are the five [senses] by which one acquires knowledge; the speech organ, the hands, the genitals, the anus and the legs constitute their operation, oh dear one, and the mind is there for both of them. Sounds, tactile qualities, tastes, fragrances, and forms [or colours] are the categories of the sense objects [see vishaya] and speech, manufacturing, excretion [by anus and genitals] and locomotion are the functions covered by them. In the beginning of creation the purusha uninvolved witnesses the material nature of this universe, the universe that by the operation of sattva and the other modes assumes the forms of the gross manifestations and subtler causes [see also 2.10: 10]. All the elements of the 'great principle' [the mahat-tattva] and what belongs to it, received their potencies from the glance of the Lord, undergo transformation and create, amalgamated by the power of nature, the egg of the universe [see also 2.5: 35, 3.20: 14-15, 3.26: 51-53, 3.32: 29, 5.26: 38, 11.6: 16]. With the five physical elements beginning with the ether on the one hand and the individual knower [the jiva] with the Supreme Soul [the Paramatma] on the other hand, we speak of seven constituent elements as the foundation from which the body, the senses and the life air [are produced]. Departing from six elements one speaks of the Transcendental Person as the sixth element conjoined with the five material elements He first projected as His creation and thereupon entered. When one speaks of four elements, fire, water and earth arise from the Original Self; from these elements this cosmos originated, the birth place of all material products. Counting seventeen there is the consideration of the five gross elements, the five senses and their five objects together with the one mind and the soul as the seventeenth element. The same way counting sixteen elements the soul is identified with the mind. With thirteen elements one has the five gross elements, the five senses, the mind and the [individual and supreme] soul. Counting eleven elements one speaks of the soul, the gross elements and the senses. With the eight natural elements [the five gross ones, mind, intelligence and false ego] and the purusha, the Original Person, one thereupon has nine. In this way the various divisions of the tattva elements have been contrived by the seers, all logically being supported by rational arguments; with the sages there is no lack of clarity.'

Shri Uddhava said: 'Because both nature and the enjoyer [prakriti and purusha], despite being constitutionally different, cover one another, oh Krishna, there seems to be no difference between the two: one sees the soul within nature and nature within the soul [see also B.G. 18: 16]. Please oh Lotus eyed One, All-knowing and Very Expert in Reasoning, cut down with Your words the great doubt in my heart. The living beings receive from You the knowledge that by the potency of Your outer illusion is stolen away [again]. Only You understand the real nature of Your illusory power and no one else [see also B.G. 15: 15].'

The Supreme Lord said: 'Prakriti and purusha [nature and the enjoyer] are completely different, oh best of all persons. This creation [prakriti] is subjected to transformation because of the interaction of the gunas. My dear, the deluding energy consisting of the three modes establishes by those modes a diversity of combinations and mentalities. This changeable nature based upon the gunas is of three kinds, one is called adhyatma, the next adhidaiva and another adhibhuta [see also kles'as and 1.17: 19]. In this world one's sight [adhyatma], that what one sees [adhibhuta] and the light upon it [adhidaiva], create each other's perfection with the sun independently in the sky. [So too] the [Super]soul, the original cause separate from these three aspects, by its own conscious experience acts as the perfection of all that was achieved. Next to the eyes the same [trinity] applies to the sense of touch and what one feels with it, to the ear and what one hears, to the tongue and its occupation, to the nose with what is smelled and to one's consciousness together with its attributes. The agitation of the modes takes place on the basis of the primal ether and leads to changes [or pradhana constitutes the cause of the time phenomena]. The principle of the intellect [the mahat-tattva, see also ***] therefore gives rise to a false I-awareness that is the cause of three different types of bewilderment: emotion [vaikarika], ignorance [tamasa] and sensual pleasure [aindriya]. Lacking the full knowledge of the Supersoul one says things like 'this is real and that is not real' with the focus of discussion on material dualities. Although useless such [speculations] will not cease for as long as persons have turned their attention away from Me, their true abode.'

Shri Uddhava said: 'How do those souls whose minds are diverted from You by the fruitive activities they perform, oh Master, accept and give up higher and lower material bodies? Please Govinda explain to me what by those who are not so spiritual is not understood because they, predominantly knowing this world, were cheated.'

The Supreme Lord said: 'The mind of people that is shaped by their fruitive labour, is bound to the five senses. Traveling from one world to the next, the soul, that has a separate existence, follows that mind [see also linga, vasana and B.G. 2: 22]. The mind that depending its karma always contemplates, rises because of what is seen or heard about through the senses, but inert [when dying away from the sense objects] the remembrance [of that life] is thereupon lost. This total forgetfulness of the living entity in which it does not remember a self that for this or that reason was absorbed in the objects of the senses, is what one calls death. Oh man of charity, what one calls birth is when a person completely identifies himself with the body he assumed, just like what one does in a dream or when one has a fantasy. And just as one in a dream or fantasy has no remembrance of a previous dream or fantasy, one also does not think of having had a previous existence [*4 en B.G. 4: 5]. Because of the creation of this sense refuge, this body, a threefold notion [of being of a high, middle or low class birth] appears concerning the form assumed. This leads the person to [believe in] an outer duality also found inside, like giving birth to bad offspring. My best one, created bodies constantly find and lose their existence as a consequence of Time, the imperceptible, subtle energy of which one does not notice. Just like the flame of a candle, the stream of a river and the fruits of a tree, the lifespan, the circumstances and such of all created beings are determined by it. One has it wrong when one says 'this light is the same as this lamp' and 'this flow of water is the same as this river'. The

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same way it is wrong to say that 'this human [body] is the same as this person'. It is a way of reasoning by which men are wasting their lives [see also 6.16: 58, 7.6: 1-2]! Actually this person does not take birth from the seed of his own activities, nor does he die. He is immortal and was only joined [with this body] because of illusion, just like fire in firewood [See B.G. 2: 24]. Impregnation, gestation, birth, infancy, childhood, youth, middle age, old age and death are the nine stages of the body. These superior or inferior physical conditions - that one owes to one's own motives [of karmic rebirth] -, a soul accepts as his own because of being bound to the modes, but sometimes he [by the grace of the Lord with due effort in yoga] manages to distance himself from them. From the birth of one's offspring and death of one's forefathers one may conclude to the truth [of one's own life]. He who properly understands the characteristics of this duality [and thus knows he is the continuing soul] is no longer subject to this generation and destruction of things. Someone knowing about the seed and maturity of a tree, is the witness distinct from the birth and death of that tree. In the same way one is the witness separate from the [birth and death of] the physical body. An unintelligent person who fails to distinguish between soul and matter and in touch with matter takes the external world for the real thing, lands completely bewildered in the cycle of birth and death [see also B.G. 9: 21-22 and 1.7: 5]. Wandering around because of his karma he, when he follows the mode of goodness, will go to the sages and the gods. Following the lead of passion he will move among the common people or fall into the [demoniac] grip of darkness, and by the mode of ignorance he will find himself among the ghosts and spirits or reach the animal kingdom [see also B.G. 6: 41-42, 9: 25; 17: 4]. Observing dancing and singing persons one tends to imitate them. The same way one is, despite [as a silent witness] not being engaged, inclined towards a material intelligence when one is faced with the qualities of matter [see also 11.21: 19-21]. 4-5 Just as trees seem to move seen in water that moves and the world seems to spin when one's eyes are spinning around, one's mental impressions of experienced sense objects are neither real. Just like the things one sees in a dream are but figments of one's imagination, also the soul's image of a life of birth and death is but a phantom. For someone meditating the objects of the senses, material life will not stop despite being an illusory affair, just like the occurrence of unpleasant things in a dream [may repeat itself *5]. Therefore Uddhava, do not delight in the sense objects that play games with the senses. Just see how one, based upon the illusion of the material duality risen within the self, fails to realise the soul. 8-5 When one is insulted, neglected, ridiculed or envied by bad people, or else chastised, held captive or deprived of one's means of livelihood, or when one is repeatedly spat or urinated upon by ignorant people, someone desiring the Supreme who thus being shaken is having difficulties, should save himself by resorting to his essence [see also 5.5: 30].'

Shri Uddhava said: 'How do I learn this? Please, oh Best of All Speakers, tell us that. The offenses of ignorant people against oneself is what I find most difficult to tolerate. Even for scholars it is difficult, oh Soul of the Universe. Except for those who fixed in Your dharma in peace reside at Your lotus feet, material nature no doubt constitutes the greatest burden.'

*: Two examples: A pot is part of the element earth and earth is part of a pot. All matter is part of the ether [substantial space] and ether is part of all the elements.

**: The parampara adds here: 'Shri Caitanya Mahaprabhu described the actual situation as acintya-bhedabheda-tattva - the supreme controller and the controlled living entities are simultaneously one and different. In the material mode of goodness the oneness is perceived. As one proceeds further, to the stage of vishuddha-sattva, or purified spiritual goodness, one finds spiritual variety within the qualitative oneness, completing one's knowledge of the Absolute Truth' [see also siddhanta].

***: To differentiate the basic terms used in this chapter: Prakriti is the material nature with its living beings and gunas, pradhana is the primordial, undifferentiated state of matter without the specific creatures and gunas and the mahat-tattva is the totality of the greater reality of it all, also known as the principle of intellect or the cosmic intelligence. The purusha is the original person who is the enjoyer: the Lord and the living beings who are the same in quality.

*4: According to the well-known exception that confirms the rule says Shrila Vis'vanatha Cakravarti Thhakura here that by the mystic power of jati-smara one may remember one's previous body. Patanjali in the Yoga Sutra III.18 says: 'Impressions which, carried along in the self, surface, give insight in previous states of life'.

*5: The classical philosophical stance defended here is: 'When one has a body one is a soul, when one is a body one is a pig', where the pig is here the fallen soul returning time and again to a materialistic life.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 23:
Forbearance: the Song of the Avanti Brahmana

The son of Vyasa said: 'After Uddhava, the greatest of the devotees, had said this to Him, the chief of the Das'arhas whose heroism is so worthy to be discussed, He praised His servant for his words and replied. The Supreme Lord said: 'Oh disciple of Brihaspati, in this world there is virtually no pious soul capable of keeping his mind in check after being disturbed by the insulting words of an uncivilised person. A person is not as much hurt when pierced by arrows through a sensitive part of his body, as by the painful arrows of the harsh words of uncivilised people getting lodged in his heart. In this regard Uddhava, a most pious story is told. Please listen carefully, I shall describe it to you. It was related by a mendicant who, upon being insulted by bad people, kept his composure reminding himself that it happened as a consequence of his past deeds. In Avanti [in the district of Malwa] there once lived a certain brahmin, very rich with many opulences, who earned his livelihood doing business; but he was a miserly person, full of lust, greed and very prone to anger [see also B.G. 2: 49]. He had no respect for his relatives and guests, not even in words, nor catered he, devoid of religiosity, at the right time to his own needs. His sons, in-laws, his wife, daughters and servants turned against the miser with his bad character and in disgust withheld their affection. Thus lacking in dharma as well as pleasure, the five claimants of sacrifice [the deities, see panca-bhaga] became angry with that obsessive treasurer who failed for both the worlds [this and the next]. By his neglect of them he lost all his credit oh magnanimous one, and all the wealth for which he so painstakingly had troubled himself was lost. Oh Uddhava, a part of the wealth of this so-called brahmin was seised by his relatives, some by thieves, some by providence, some by time, some by common people and some by higher authorities [see also 10.49: 22]. When he had lost his property, in him, who devoid of religiosity and pleasure was neglected by his kin, arose a hard to endure anxiety. Thus ruminating he, choked with tears, for a long time lamented in pain over his lost riches, whereupon a great feeling of disgust for worldly affairs came over him.

He then said to himself: 'Alas, how painful to trouble myself that much with all this toiling for money that brought me neither pleasure, nor served the dharmic purpose. In general the wealth of misers never ever results in any happiness: in this life it leads to self-torment and when they die they end up in hell with it. However pure the reputation of the famous may be or however praiseworthy the qualities of the virtuous are, it is all destroyed with a little greed, just like what white leprosy [vitiligo] does with an enchanting, physical beauty. In the building up, realizing, increasing, protecting, spending, losing of and rejoicing with capital, man must toil, fear, worry and live with uncertainty. 8-1 Theft, violence, lies, duplicity, lust, anger, perplexity, pride, discord, enmity, lack of faith, competition and [the three] dangers [of intoxication, promiscuity and gambling, see also 1.17: 24] are the fifteen unwanted things known by man as the consequence of fostering riches. He who desires the ultimate benefit in life should therefore keep the undesirable, that poses as wealth, at a great distance. One's brothers, wife, parents and friends who are unified in love, all, from one moment to the next, turn into enemies over a single penny. For the smallest amount of money they agitated give in to anger, very quickly, as an adversary out for destruction, forget their goodwill and turn you down in the wink of an eye. They who do not appreciate it as a human being to have achieved a birth the immortals pray for with next to that [even] a superior second birth, destroy their self-interest and head for an unfavorable destination [see also B.G. 16: 19-20]. What person who achieved this human life, this gateway to heaven and liberation, would attach to property, a realm of meaninglessness where he is subject to death? When one does not share with the ones who deserve a share - the greater family of the gods, the seers, the forefathers, one's relatives, the living entities and oneself - one falls down like a money minded Yaksha. What can one do as an old man when one, maddened by one's youth, strength and wealth - the means by which a smart man settles for his perfection - has wasted one's life endeavoring for money [see B.G. 3: 35]? How does [even] a man of intelligence fall victim to a never ending, vain pursuit of wealth? All the world is most bewildered enchanted by some kind of inescapable illusory power! What is the use of the goods or they who provide them, or what would be the use of the objects of desire or the people who try to satisfy you? Or, differently stated, of what use is it for someone in the grip of death to be engaged in fruitive activities that only lead to yet another birth? The Supreme Lord, the Supreme Personality who comprises all the gods and who, satisfied with me, led me to this condition of detachment, constitutes the boat for the soul [to cross the material ocean. See also 11.17: 44]. With the time remaining [in my life] I will, free from confusion about the complete of my self-interest, restrict my body to the minimum and find perfect peace within my self [see also 2.2: 3, 7.12: 6]. May the gods, the controllers of the three worlds with this be pleased with me. Was it not Khathvanga who achieved the spiritual abode in a single moment?'

The Supreme Lord said: 'Thus making up his mind, the most pious brahmin from Avanti untied the knots [of desire] in his heart and became a peaceful, silent mendicant. He wandered this world alone and inconspicuous, and entered, with his self, senses and vital air under control [see tri-danda], its cities and villages to subsist on charity. Seeing him as an old, dirty beggar, low-class people dishonoured him with many an insult oh blessed soul. Some stole away his triple staff, his begging bowl, his water pot and his seat, while others took his prayer beads and his torn rags. Showing them to him they offered them back and then took them again away from the sage. When he at the river shore wanted to enjoy his share of the food he had acquired by begging, the grave sinners urinated upon it and spat on his head. He who after his vow of silence did not speak, they would challenge to speak beating him when he kept silent. Some shouted: 'This one is a thief' while others said: 'Tie him up, bind him!' and bound him in ropes. Some taunted him with disrespect like: 'This one is a religious hypocrite, a cheater who lost his wealth, was thrown out by his family and has now taken to this profession.' 8-3 'See how this person who in his silence pursues his goal as powerful and steadfast as the king of the mountains, is as firmly determined as a [deceptive] heron.' Some ridiculed him speaking thus, while others passed foul air and, binding him in chains, kept the brahmin captive like a pet animal. Thus subjected to [the three types of] impositions as caused by other living beings, by higher powers and by his own nature [see kles'a], he understood that whatever came his way befell him because of fate. Being insulted by lowly people trying to get the better of him he, fixed in goodness keeping firm to his duty, sang the following song [see also B.G. 18: 33].

The brahmin said: 'These people are not the cause of my happiness or distress, nor can I blame the demigods, my body, the planets, my karma or the time. It is, according to the standard authorities [the Shruti] nothing but the mind that causes someone to rotate in the cycle of material life. The mind acquiring the qualities of the modes becomes very strong because of them and thus gives rise to the different sorts of white [good], red [passionate] and black [ignorant] activities that lead to the conditions [the societal classes] corresponding to those colours. The uninvolved Supersoul of transcendental enlightenment as a friend exists along with - and perceives - the struggling mind, that, with the image of the world it carries, embraces the objects of desire. It is in the engagement with the modes of nature that the individual soul [bewildered by that mind] gets entangled in attachment [see also B.G. 3.42-43]. Charity, one's prescribed duty, niyama, yama, and listening [to the scripture], pious works and the purification by vows all entail the subduing of the mind and have as their aim the absorption of the mind [samadhi] that constitutes the supreme [self-realisation] of yoga. What would be the use of charitative rituals and such for someone whose mind has been pacified by perfectly being absorbed [in Him]? Or, why would one in addition, occupy oneself with these processes of distribution and such when one has lost one's way with a mind not under control? Other gods [and the senses they represent] have always fallen under the control of the mind that itself never allows the control of anything [or anyone] else. He constitutes a fearsome god stronger than the strongest and the One who [in the form of His mantras] can bring him under control, is therefore the God of gods [see also B.G. 6: 35-36, *]. When one [being worldly engaged] fails to subdue that difficult to conquer enemy [see B.G. 6: 6] tormenting and attacking because of its unmanageable urges, some therefore being utterly bewildered create useless quarrels and are thus with the mortals in this world friends, neuters and rivals. People whose entire mind is seised by their body, think in terms of 'I' and 'mine' and are thus blinded in their intelligence. Because of this difficult to defeat illusion of 'this I am' and 'that is someone else', they wander around in darkness. When you say that [adhibhautika] another human being is the cause of your happiness or distress, you may wonder what this means for the soul; happiness and distress [thus seen] belong to the earth [and not to the soul who finds happiness by self-realisation]. With whom can you be angry about the pain when your tongue happens to be bitten by your own teeth? When you [adhidaivika] say that the gods are responsible for your suffering, then how would that relate to your soul? That sufferig pertains to the changeable nature [of the senses and their rulers, the soul stands apart from]. With whom should you be angry when one limb of your body hurts another limb? When you say that the soul itself [adhyatmika] would be the cause of your happiness and distress, such a difference would be part of your own nature. But how can one when there is only the soul and nothing outside - neither happiness nor distress - blame anyone? That difference after all would be unreal then [see B.G. 2: 14]. If the planets would be the cause of one's happiness and distress, how would that relate to the soul who is unborn? The heavenly bodies relate to that what is born. A planet is only troubled by other planets so they [the astrologers] say, so with

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whom should the living being distinguished from his body [and his planetary positions] be angry then? If you assume karma to be the cause of your happiness and distress, what does that karma then mean to your soul? Certain is that with the animating person on the one hand and this animated body endowed with consciousness [that on itself is] not alive on the other hand, neither of both constitute the root cause of your karma. What is there left to be upset about then? And if we say that time would be the cause of our happiness and distress, where do we find the soul in that notion? The soul is not equal to the time, the way fire is not equal to its heat and snow is not equal to [cold]. With whom must one be angry when there is no duality in the transcendental position [see also B.G. 18: 16 and time quotes]? For him, [the spiritual soul] superior in transcendence, there is not from anyone, from whatever side or in any way the influence of the duality [of happiness and distress], the influence of the world of opposites, as can be seen with the arising false ego [of the mind being seised] that shapes one's material existence. He who awakens to this intelligence has nothing to fear from the material creation [with all her living beings]. By the worship of Mukunda's feet I will cross over the difficult to defeat ocean of material nescience. I am certain of this because of the foregoing great seers [or acaryas] who were firmly fixed in the worship of the Supreme Soul [see also B.G. 6: 1-2].'

The Supreme Lord said: 'While he had lost his wealth and gotten detached, while he had left his home and free from moroseness traveled the earth, the sage, despite being insulted by rascals, did not forsake his duties and spoke this song. There is no other cause of happiness and grief than the bewilderment of someone's mind that in material life out of ignorance created its friends, neuters and enemies [see also 10.32: 17-22, B.G. 9: 29]. Therefore My best, bring in every respect with an intelligence absorbed in Me the mind under control and [attain] thus being connected the essence of the science of yoga [see also Shri Shri Shikshashthaka verse 1]. Whoever with full attention meditates on, makes others listen or listens himself to this [song] based upon the knowledge of the Absolute as sung by the mendicant, will for certain never [again] be overwhelmed by the dualities [of happiness and grief].'

*: Some think that the essence of yoga is to stop the mind all together, but Krishna stresses in this chapter clearly that it is about the control, not the stopping. That stopping is an impersonalist mayavada buddhist technique to concentrate on one's essence and constitutes a willfully created illusion [see Buddhism]. Saying neti-neti like Prahlada e.g. the mind will indeed concentrate on the essence which exactly will boost the mind in that direction. So with the stopping of its worldly engagement, the real engagement of the mind in prayers and philosophy begins. Not going for the siddhis, the mystical perfections, the mind must thus be engaged for the Fortunate One, for Krishna, by means of concentration on His names, mantras and stories. By Shravanam, kirtanam etc. one has to learn to listen, sing and follow according to the scripture, the guru and the co-believers. The first two yoga sutras I.1 & 2 atha yoganUshanamam, yogah citta vritti nirodah, should be translated with 'as the lesson of yoga, now curb the rumination of the mind about worldly things' and not with 'your yoga lesson now is to stop the mind from working'. Of course one has to use one's mind, in obedience to the Holy Spirit, to the voice of God; the mind is after all an aspect of the divine ruled by Aniruddha in the catur vyuha (see also vritti and siddhi).

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 24:

Analytic Knowledge, Sankhya, Summarised

The Supreme Lord said: 'I shall now discuss with you the analytic knowledge as established by the classical authorities. Knowing this a person can immediately give up the bewilderment based upon the material duality. In the first age of dutifulness [Krita], in the beginning when there were [only] persons expert in [spiritual] discrimination, as also before that time [during the period of annihilation], the Knower was simply one and the same as the [universe] known [see also 11.22: 29]. That One Great Undifferentiated Truth inaccessible to speech and mind [Brahman], turned into the twofold of material nature on the one hand and the enjoyment [of the enjoyer of that result] on the other hand [see 11.22]. One essential half, material nature [prakriti] is she [the 'mother'], who is of a dualistic nature, while he, the other entity, the knower, is called the purusha [the enjoying person or male principle]. By My agitation of material nature [in the form of time, of Kala], the modes of tamas, rajas and sattva [the gunas] have manifested in order to fulfill the desires of the living entity. From them the thread [the activating principle of the sutra] arose, together with the principle of intelligence [mahat]. From the transformation of mahat came about the false ego [the ahankara of the purusha who identifies with the object of perception] that is the cause of bewilderment. That I-awareness is thus of the three [guna] categories and [accordingly makes] with clarity, emotion and ignorance [alternately use of] the sense objects [tanmatra], the senses [indriyas] and the mind [manas]. Thus it [the identified self] constitutes the cause of understanding and not understanding [the so-called conscious and unconscious]. The darkness of the false ego gave rise to the subtle sensations of gross matter, its emotion awakened the senses and the clarity of the identified self called for the eleven gods [see deva]. Because all the elements combined to function under My influence they brought the egg of the universe into being that serves as My supreme residence [see from 11.22: 18].

I appeared [as Narayana] in the egg that was situated in the water of the causal ocean and from My navel a lotus arose that is known as the universe. On that lotus the self-born one found his existence [Brahma, see 3.8]. He, the soul of the universe endowed with passion, created from his penance by My mercy the three different worlds called earth, the atmosphere and heaven [bhuh, bhuvah and svaha], as also its rulers [see Gayatri and loka]. Heaven became the residence of the demigods, the atmosphere the home of the ghostly spirits, the earthly places offered the humans and other living beings shelter and the place beyond these three is there for the Siddhas, the ones of perfection [Siddhaloka]. The places of the underworld were by the master created as the residence for all asuras [hunenlightened souls' or demons] and those perfect in their ego [the 'snakes', the Nagas]. All the destinations of the three worlds thus owe their existence to the fruitive activities proper to the modes [see B.G. 4: 17, 10.1: 42-43]. By penance, yoga and by forsaking [in sannyasa] one is of the spotless destinations of mahar, janas, tapas and satya, but My destination [Vaikunthha] is reached by performing devotional service. As arranged by Me, the Supporter, the Soul [the energy] of Time, one rises up from or drowns in the mighty stream of the modes of this world in which one is bound to performing fruitive labour. Whatever the small, the big, the thin and the thick of manifestation, is all brought about by the combination of material nature and its enjoyer [see also B.G. 18: 16]. That what constitutes the cause of something - common matters like things of gold and things of clay - is there in the beginning, during the life as also in the end of that what was produced and is subject to transformation [and is thus illusory as for its form, compare 6.16: 22, 10.87: 15, 11.22: 8]. Something that serves as a previous ingredient of a thing that - as something different - constitutes a change of form of that ingredient, is called the true of something provided it is present from the beginning to the end [compare B.G. 2: 13, 2: 16]. Material nature [prakriti] the foundation of which is constituted by the causal [transformed] ingredient of the Supreme Person [the purusha], together with that what is the agitating agent, viz. Time [kala], makes up the threefold of the Absolute Truth [Brahman] that I am. For as long as I look after it, the grand creation will perpetually, for the sake of the variegation of its qualities, generation after generation continue to exist until its dissolution [see also B.G. 3: 24]. When the form of the universe that is pervaded by Me has manifested the planetary variety of its time periods [of creation, maintenance and decay], this variety with its different worlds [losing its synergy] arrives at [a dissolution into] its five composing gross elements [see yugas, manvantaras, and B.G. 11: 13]. 2-2 The mortal frame [at the time of annihilation] will merge with the food, the food with the grains, the grains with the earth and the earth with the fragrance. Fragrance becomes merged with the water, the water with its quality of taste, the taste with the fire and the fire with the form. Form merges with air, air merges with touch and touch merges thereupon with the ether. Ether merges with the subtle object of sound and the senses [of sound etc.] become merged with their sources [the gods of the sun and moon etc.]. The sources My dear Uddhava, merge with the mind of the ego of goodness, the controller of the sound, that dissolves in the original state of the elements [the ego of slowness]. This all-powerful primal elementary nature then merges with the cosmic intelligence [mahat]. That greater principle dissolves in its own modes and they in their turn merge with their ultimate abode, the unmanifest state of nature that merges with the infallible Time. Time merges with the individuality [the jiva] of the Supreme in command of the illusory potency and that individuality merges with Me, the Supreme Self Unborn [atma], who, characterised by creation and annihilation, is perfectly established in Himself and remains alone [see also 3.11: 28, 4.23: 15-18, 11.3: 12-15]. Just as with the darkness when the sun rises in the sky, how can the bewilderment of the dual mind remain in the heart of the one who seriously studies this? This is what I, the Supervisor of the Spiritual and Material world, had to say concerning this Sankhya instruction of analysis [see also 3.25 - 3.33] that breaks through the bondage of doubts of the people who both go along with and go against nature.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 25:

The Three Modes of Nature and Beyond

The Supreme Lord said: 'Oh best of persons, try to understand what I am about to say concerning the way someone is influenced by a certain mode of My material nature [*]. - With the mode of goodness one finds equanimity, sense control, tolerance, discrimination, penance, truthfulness, compassion, remembrance, contentment, renunciation, freedom from desire, faithfulness, modesty and pleasure within. With the mode of passion there is lust, endeavor, conceit, dissatisfaction, false pride, a desire for blessings, separatism, sense gratification, rashness, love of praise, ridicule, display of valor and hard sanctioning. With the mode of ignorance one runs into intolerance, greed, deceitfulness, violence, attention seeking, hypocrisy, listlessness, quarrel, lamentation, delusion, the suffering of depression, sloth, false expectations, fear and indolence. These, one after the other described by Me, constitute the majority of the effects of the modes. Hear now about their combinations [see also B.G. 14]. Oh Uddhava, the notion of 'I am this way' and 'that is a trait of mine' that people have [in relation to these qualities] when they are engaged with their mind, senses, sense objects and life breath, reflects a combination of the modes [see also 11.23: 49, 11.24: 7, 11.24: 13]. In case a person is fixed in his religiosity, economic development and sense gratification, [also] the resultant faith, wealth and enjoyment is an expression of the interaction of the different modes. When a person in family life is of a dedication characterised by sense gratification and thereafter performs his religious duties, a combination of the modes is a fact. From someone's self-control can be deduced that he is endowed with goodness and so on, his lust is indicative of the mode of passion and such, and from his anger etcetera one may conclude that he is caught in ignorance. When someone worships Me with devotion and indifference about the results of his labour, such a person should be understood to be of a practice of goodness, whether he is a man or a woman. When one in the fulfillment of one's duties worships Me hoping for benedictions, such devotion must be understood as being of the nature of passion, and when one does it with violent intentions one is of ignorance [see also B.G. 17: 20-22]. The modes of sattva, tamas and rajas influence the [conditioned] individual but not Me; one is bound to them because they manifest in the mind and lead to attachment to life-forms and sense-objects [see also B.G. 4: 14]. When the mode of goodness - which is pure, luminous and auspicious - predominates over the other two [of passion and ignorance], a person will be blessed with happiness, religiosity, knowledge and other good qualities [see also B.G. 14: 11, 18: 37]. When passion defeats goodness and ignorance one gets attached, wants to make a difference and tends to impermanence, because of which one with profit minded actions and striving for a good name and wealth becomes unhappy [see also B.G. 14: 12, 18: 38]. When ignorance dominates passion and goodness one's discrimination is defeated, one's consciousness is covered, one's initiative is lost and one becomes endowed with bewilderment, complaints, sleeping too much, violence and false hopes [see also B.G. 14: 13, 18: 39]. When one's consciousness clears up and the senses are no longer distracted, one achieves physical self-confidence and a detached mind; know that to be the goodness of My refuge. When the intelligence is disturbed by too much activity, when one fails to disengage from one's senses, when one is not at ease with one's body and when the mind is unsteady, you should understand that to be the symptoms of passion. Failing in the higher functions of consciousness, getting dull, being unable to focus, not being mindful, not understanding things and being gloomy you should recognise as the mode of ignorance. When goodness increases the strength of the gods increases, when passion increases the demons grow stronger and when ignorance increases Uddhava, the wild men will get on top. Know that one is wakeful in the mode of goodness, that one is sleepy in passion, that one is not aware in the ignorant mode of the living entity and that the fourth [transcendental] state [of consciousness turiya] pervades the three [see also 7.7: 25 and B.G. 6: 16]. In the mode of goodness spiritual [Vedic] persons reach higher and higher, in the mode of ignorance one reaches head first lower and lower [births] and in the mode of passion one is stuck in between [in attachments, see also B.G. 6: 45, 16: 19]. Those who die in goodness go to heaven, those who die in passion go to the human world and those who die in ignorance go to hell. They however who are free from the modes come to Me [see also B.G. 9: 25, 14: 18]. Work dutifully done as a sacrifice unto Me without desiring the fruits is in the mode of goodness, work done with a profit motive is of the mode of passion and work performed with violence and pressure and such, is of the mode of ignorance [B.G. 17: 20-22]. Spiritual knowledge of detachment is of the mode of goodness, fostering opinions one is of the mode of passion and a materialistic conviction belongs to the mode of ignorance. Spiritual knowledge focussed upon Me [however] is considered to be free from the modes [see also 6.14: 2]. To have one's residence in the forest is of the mode of goodness, to reside in a town is said to be of the mode of passion, to reside in a gambling house is of the mode of ignorance but My residence is elevated above the modes [see also 7.12: 22, 11.18: 25]. A worker free from attachment is of the mode of goodness, blinded by personal desire one is of the mode of passion, having lost one's memory one speaks of the mode of ignorance [see 11.22: 38-39] [but] the one who has taken shelter of Me is free from the modes. In the mode of goodness one believes in spiritual matters, in the mode of passion one

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believes in fruitive activities, in the mode of ignorance one is irreligious, but one is transcendental to the modes with faith in My devotional service. Food that is wholesome, pure and attained effortlessly is considered to be of the mode of goodness, [strongly] catering to the senses it is of the mode of passion and impure food that makes one suffer is of ignorance [see also B.G. 17: 7-10]. Happiness derived from the soul is of the mode of goodness, generated by sense objects it is of passion, happiness derived from delusion and depravity is of the mode of ignorance, but free from the modes happiness is found in Me [see 11.15: 17 & B.G. 5: 21, but also 6: 7].

Material substance, the place, the fruit of action, time, knowledge, activity, the performer, faith, the state of consciousness and the species and destinations of life thus all belong to the three gunas. Oh best among men, all that exists, being seen, heard or pictured in one's mind, is a composition of the three modes that was established by the unseen [Original] Enjoyer. These forms of existence [and stages of life] of the [repeatedly incarnating] living being are bound to the operation of the modes. Oh gentle one, the individual soul who, dedicated to Me in bhakti-yoga, conquers these modes that manifest themselves in the mind, qualifies for My transcendental love. They who obtained this human body by which one acquires knowledge and develops wisdom, should therefore be as smart to shake off their attachment to the modes and worship Me. A learned man should worship Me free from material association; attentively having subdued his senses a sage should take to the mode of goodness and conquer the modes of passion and ignorance. With his intelligence pacified he, being connected [in bhakti] without any [other] dependency, should also conquer the mode of goodness. The embodied soul who [thus] freed from the modes gives up the cause of his conditioning, reaches Me. The living entity, who as an individual soul by Me thus was liberated from the modes of nature that nestled in his mind, achieves thus, by dint of the Absolute Truth, complete fulfillment and will no longer, neither internally nor externally, wander around.'

*: The word nature can also be taken literally as the modes in the sense of the seasons and their primary demigods. Krishna says that Vishnu, who is the original controller above the modes, the best of the gods [10.89: 14-17], is of goodness [11.15: 15], the purest mode [B.G. 14: 6], leading to the godliness of Him [B.G. 14: 14] and that of the seasons He is the season of spring [B.G. 10: 35]. As such is autumn/spring His season of balance and of the mode of goodness. The same way the inertia of cold is representative for the mode of ignorance that is ruled by Shiva and the hyperactivity and heat of the summer is a display of the mode of passion that is ruled by Brahma.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 26: The Song of Pururava

The Supreme Lord said: 'Having acquired this human body that is My characteristic, one achieves, being situated in My dharma, Me, the Supreme Soul of Spiritual Happiness situated in the heart. Someone who fixed in spiritual knowledge has become free from the cause of material life that is based upon the products of the modes, does not get entangled in their illusory qualities despite of being surrounded by them; although present before his eyes they are insubstantial and nothing but illusion to him. One should never at any time seek the company of materialists devoted to the gratification of their genitals and bellies because they who follow such people will fall into the darkest pit, like a blind man following another blind man. The descendant of Ila [called Aila or Pururava, see also 9.14: 15-16], the well-known great emperor, sang the following mighty song when he bewildered being separated from Urvas'i, in resignation managed to restrain his grief. The moment she abandoned him and left, he naked crying like a madman ran after her calling out: 'Oh my wife, oh you terrible woman, please stop!' With his mind possessed by Urvas'i he after years of insignificantly gratifying his lusts, was not satisfied and did not notice the nights coming and going.'

Pururava said: 'Just see how bewildered I got! With my consciousness contaminated by lust I, in the embrace of this goddess, did not notice my life time passing. I had no idea whether the sun was rising or setting and was, thus spending my days, alas robbed by her of countless years. Oh what a pity this total bewilderment of mine because of which the body of this mighty emperor, this crown jewel of kings, became a toy animal for women! When she abandoned me, the mighty controller, together with all of my kingdom as if I were a blade of grass, I ran crying naked like a madman after the woman. Where is now the influence, strength and sovereignty of the person I am? I ran after this woman leaving me, just like an ass with the hoof being kicked for punishment! What is the use of knowledge, austerities, renunciation, the scriptures or of solitude and silence for the one whose mind is stolen by women? To hell with the fool I am not knowing what his best interest would be; I who thought to be a scholar in achieving the position of a lord and controller but who, just like a bullock or ass, was conquered by women! For so many years serving Urvas'i's lips I, with the lust born from my mind, never got enough of the nectar, just like a fire one can never satisfy with oblations. Who else but the Innerly Satisfied Lord of the Sages, the Supreme Lord Beyond the Senses, can free someone else who lost his mind with a courtesan? Out of control with myself being dull-minded, I saw no end to my confusion, even though the goddess [Urvas'i] eloquently gave me advice [see 9.14: 20-22]. What would she have done wrong to a 'seer' like me who, taking a rope for a snake, has no notion of his real nature [his svarupa]? I am the one out of control with his senses is it not? What does this filthy body, unclean, full of bad odors, have to offer; what are those 'pleasing [feminine] qualities' and so on anyway? They constitute an influence originating from ignorance! 9-2 One can never tell whether this body belongs to one's parents, wife or employer, to [the funeral] fire, the dogs and jackals or to the [indwelling] soul or one's friends. One gets attached to this unholy matter and praises it, in case of a woman, for having such a cute nose, beautiful smile and face, but one heads with it for the lowest destination [of decay]. In what sense would one differ from worms when one enjoys that what is composed of skin, flesh, blood, muscle, fat, marrow and bone, urine, stool and pus? A man understanding what's best for him, should never run after women or associate with men thus engaged, for the sole reason that the mind united with the senses reaches for sense objects and thus gets agitated [compare 5.5: 2, 7.12: 9, 9.19: 17, 9.14: 36]. [Because] a thing not heard or seen gives no rise to mental agitation, the mind of someone not engaging his senses becomes fixed and pacified. When not even wise men can rely on the six enemies [lust, anger, greed, bewilderment, intoxication and envy; the shath-varga], then what about persons like me? One therefore should not get sensorily attached to women or to men attached to women [see also yoshita].'

The Supreme Lord said: 'He, the worshipable lord of gods and men, who thus sang his song [of complaint], then gave up the world of Urvas'i. Realizing Me, the Supersoul in his heart, he with the transcendental knowledge found peace within himself and ended his illusion. An intelligent person having abandoned bad association therefore should be fixed on devotees, for only by their words he can cut off the deep attachment of his mind. Devotees with their minds fixed on Me do not depend [on lusts] and are, with an equal minded vision, completely peaceful and free from possessiveness, false ego, the dualities and greed. Oh most fortunate one, these greatly fortunate souls are constantly discussing My stories that have the power to completely eradicate the sins of anyone who chooses for them. They who, faithfully dedicated to Me, hear, chant and respectfully take them [My stories] to heart, will attain My bhakti. What else would there remain [to be accomplished] for a devotee once he has achieved devotional service unto Me, the One of Countless Qualities who is the Absolute Truth comprising the experience of spiritual happiness? Just as cold, fear and darkness will dissipate for the one who resorts to the supreme grace of fire [Agni], similarly dullness, apprehension and ignorance will dissolve for someone who serves the devotees. For those who submerge and again rise in the fearful ocean of material life, the saintly devotees, peaceful in understanding the Absolute, constitute a supreme shelter as good as a life boat for people drowning in the water [compare 11.23: 28 and 11.17: 44]. Devotees constitute the refuge of those afraid to fall down, as good as food is there to grant the living beings their life, I exist as the shelter for the distressed and dharma is there as the wealth of the deceased. The devotees grant you the [divine] eyes while the sun [only] shows the external world after having risen; they are the worshipable ones, one's [true] relatives, they are one's actual self and Me as well [see also e.g. 1.1: 15, 3.5: 47, 3.6: 28, 11.2: 6]. He [Pururava] who for that reason no longer desired the world of Urvas'i, then liberated from all attachment, innerly satisfied wandered this earth.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 27:
On Respecting the Form of the Lord

Shri Uddhava said: 'Can You please explain the ritual yoga [kriya-yoga] of the service unto You as a deity, oh Master? Who is of that worship, in respect of what form is one of worship and in what manner are You worshiped then, oh Master of the Satvatas [see also murti and 11.3: 48-55]? The sages Narada, Bhagavan Vyasa and my preceptor the son of Angira [Brihaspati] repeatedly say that for the welfare of men there is nothing as conducive. - The words about this that emanated from Your lotus mouth were spoken by the great unborn Lord [Brahma] unto his sons headed by Bhrigu and by the great Lord Shiva speaking to the goddess [Parvati, see B.G. 3: 9-10]. This [service to Your deity form] is approved by all classes and spiritual orders of society and is, I think, most beneficial for women and the working class oh Magnanimous One. Oh Lotus-eyed Lord, please, oh Controller of All Controllers in the Universe, speak to Your bhakta - who is so very attached - about this means of liberation from the bondage of karma.'

The Supreme Lord said: The number of [karma-kanda] prescriptions for worshiping deities [see e.g. B.G. 1-6] is endless Uddhava, let Me in brief explain it nicely one step at a time. One should worship Me as one desires following one of the three kinds of sacrifice according to the Vedas, the explanatory literatures [tantras like the Pancaratra] or a combination of them. Now hear from Me how a person, who according to the for him specific Vedic precepts [*] achieved the status of a second birth, should worship Me with faith and devotion. He must, connected in bhakti, free from ulterior motives ['honestly'] with the necessary paraphernalia worship Me, his worshipable guru, as being present in a deity, a sacrificial area, a fire, in the [position of the] sun, in water or in the twice-born heart itself [**]. For purification he should first bathe and brush his teeth and next purify himself with both types of [Vedic and tantric] mantras while applying clay and such [see tilaka, kavaca and 6.8: 3-10]. To be freed from his karma, he perfectly convinced should engage in My ritual worship [puja] and thereto perform duties as prescribed in the Vedas [see also 11.14: 35] with worship and such [like expressing the Gayatri-mantra] at the three junctures of the day [dawn, noon and sunset].

There are eight types of forms with which one remembers Me: in stone, wood, metal, smearable substances [like clay], being painted, in sand, in jewels and as an image kept in the mind. Of the two kinds of individual temple deities that are moved and not moved, the installed deity oh Uddhava, is in His worship not brought forward (avadana) and taken away again (udvasa). Not being installed one has these options, but when assigned a fixed place the following two possibilities are found: not being of a smearable substance [or being painted or made of wood] He is washed, in all other cases He is cleansed without water. There is the worship of My different deities with excellent paraphernalia, there is the worship of a devotee free from material desire using whatever that is readily available and there is the worship in the heart in a mental respect [by love only].

With a deity [in the temple] customary bathing and decorating is most appreciated Uddhava, for a holy place that is an exercise of respect in mantras [tattva-vinyasa] and for fire oblations [of sesame, barley etc.] drenched in ghee are considered best. With the sun that is a meditation in asanas [see Surya-namskar] and with water offerings of water and such are most suitable. Offerings presented with faith by a devotee of Mine are most dear to Me, even if it is just a bit of water. And what to say of an offering [by devotees] of foodstuffs, flowers, lamps, fragrances and incense [see also B.G. 9: 26]? An offer [by contrast] that, even if it is very rich, is made by a non-devotee will not satisfy Me [see also B.G. 16]. Cleansed, having collected the necessary items, having arranged the seat with blades [of kus'a grass] pointing to the east and sitting down facing the east or the north or else directly facing the deity, he should then be of worship [compare 1.19: 17, 4.24: 10, 8.9: 14-15]. After having assigned mantras to his own body and also having done this to My form, he should clean My Deity with his hand and properly prepare the sprinkling vessel and the sacred pot. With the water of the vessel sprinkling the area of the deity, the utensils and his own body, he next should prepare three vessels with water and arrange for the necessary auspicious items as far as available [like flowers, grains, blades of grass, sesame seeds etc., see ***]. With the mantras for the heart [hridayaya namah], the head [s'irase svaha] and the tuft of hair [s'ikhayai vashath] the worshiper should purify the three vessels of water for His feet [padya], His hands [arghya], and His mouth [acamana], and do the same with the Gayatri. He should meditate on the Original Individuality of all Expansions, the very subtle transcendental form of Mine that, within his body that was fully purified by air and fire, is situated on the lotus of the heart and by perfected souls is experienced in the end vibration of the Pranava [see also 2.2]. With that [meditated form] by his own realisation conceived, he, of worship within his body and fully being absorbed in thought of Me, should invite Me within the deity - and all that is respected along with it - by touching My limbs with mantras [nyasa] and thereupon honour Me [externally by performing puja]. 5-2 After first having imagined My seat decorated with the nine Shaktis and the [deities of] dharma etc. [*4] as an effulgent eight-petaled lotus with saffron filaments in its whorl, he should offer to Me the padya, arghya and acamana water and other items of worship to be perfect with the two [of enjoyment and liberation] in respect of both the Vedas and the tantras. One after the other he next must honour My disc-weapon [the Sudars'ana cakra], conch [the Pancajanya], club [the Kaumodaki] and arrows and bow [the Sharnga], My [Balarama items of the] plow and pestle [hala and mushala], My gem [the Kaustubha], garland [the Vaijayanti] and chest mark curl of white hairs [the Shrivatsa]. [He also honours] Garuda, Nanda, Sunanda, Pracanda and Canda, Mahabala, Bala, Kumuda and Kumudekshana [My carrier bird and eight associates]. Durga, Vinayaka [Ganes'a], Vyasa, Vishvaksena [see 6.8: 29, 9.21: 25-26], the spiritual masters and the demigods - each in their own place facing the deity - should be worshiped with the sprinkling of water and other rituals [*5]. 0-3 Every day [the deity] should be bathed, as far as the means permit, using different kinds of water scented with sandalwood, us'ira root, camphor, kunkuma and

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aguru. Also hymns should be chanted such as the ones from a section of the Vedas known as Svarna-gharma, the incantation called Mahapurusha, the Purusha-sukta [from the Rig Veda] and songs from the Sama Veda like the Rajana and others. My devotee should lovingly decorate Me with clothing, a sacred thread, ornaments, marks of tilaka, garlands and [apply] fragrant oils, the way it is enjoined. The worshiper should with faith present to Me padya and acamana water, fragrances and flowers, whole grains, incense, lamps and other items. According to his means he should make offerings of foodstuffs like candy, sweet rice, ghee, rice flour cake [s'ashkuli], sweet cakes [apupa], sweet rice flour dumplings with coconut [modaka], spicy sweet wheat cake of ghee and milk [samyava], yogurt and vegetable soups. On special days or else every day [the deity] should be offered a massage with ointment, a mirror, an eucalyptus stick for cleaning the teeth, a bath, food to be chewed and not to be chewed, as also song and dance. In a sacrificial area set up as prescribed he should, wearing a girdle, using a fire pit and an elevation for sacrificing, by hand build and bring to a blaze a fire that is equally piled up. Spreading [kus'a grass, mats] and then sprinkling and ceremonially [anvadhana] placing wood in the fire according to the rules, he should, having arranged for the acamana water, sprinkle the items to offer and meditate on Me as residing in the fire. 8-4 Meditating in worship of Me as being brilliant with a colour of molten gold, with My conch, disc, club and lotus, My four arms and peacefulness; My garment with the colour of the filaments of a lotus, shining helmet, bracelets, belt, the ornaments on My arms, the Shrivatsa on My chest, the effulgent Kaustubha and a flower garland; throwing pieces of wood soaked in ghee into the fire and in the course of the arghya ritual making the two offerings of sprinkling ghee [in two ways called Agharas] and [two different] oblations of ghee [called Ajyabhagas], a learned person should, with root mantras and the [sixteen lines of the] Purusha-sukta hymn, offer the oblations into the fire for Yamaraja and the other demigods called Swishthikrit in due order using a mantra for each [see also 11.14: 36-42, 11.19: 20-24, 11.21: 15]. Thus having been of worship he should bow to offer obeisances unto My associates and next present offerings chanting the basic mantra for the deity in question, thereby remembering Narayana as the Original Self of the Absolute Truth. After having offered acamana water and giving the remnants of the food to Vishvaksena, he should present to Me prepared betel nut with fragrant substances for the mouth [see also 11.3: 48-53, 11.25: 28]. He should [next] for some time [see kala, 11.21: 9] become absorbed in celebration by listening himself and make others listen to My stories, by acting out My transcendental activities and by dancing, chanting loudly and singing along with others [see also e.g. 11.5: 36-37, 11.14: 23-24]. With prayers from the Puranas, with large or small prayers from other ancient scriptures, with prayers written by others [see bhajans] and prayers from more common sources, he should prostrate himself, pay his obeisances and say: 'Oh Lord, please show Your mercy [prasida bhagavan].' Placing his head at My feet with his palms brought together [he may say a prayer like:] 'Oh Lord, please protect this surrendered soul who in this material ocean is afraid of being devoured by death [prapannam pahi mam is'a, bhitam mrityu-graharnavat, compare B.G. 11: 19].' Praying thus he should put the remnants granted by Me to his head and do this prayer once more - when the deity respectfully is to be bidden farewell - to give the light [of the deity] a place within the light [of his heart *6].

Whenever one develops faith in Me, in whatever deity form or other manifestation, one should for that form be of worship since I, the Original Soul of All, am situated within My own form as also in all living beings [see also B.G. 6: 31 and *7]. By thus being of worship with the [ritual] processes of acting in yoga as described in the Vedas and more specialised texts, a person will, in both this life and the next, by My grace achieve the perfection he desired. In order to properly establish My deity the devotee should build a strong temple and maintain beautiful flower gardens [that provide flowers] for daily puja, festivals and yearly occasions. In order to assure the continuance of the daily worship and the special occasions, he donates land, shops, cities and villages and will achieve an opulence equal to Mine. Installing a deity one attains the entire earth, building a temple one attains the three worlds and performing puja and likewise services one attains the realm of Brahma, but when one does all of these three one will attain a quality [a transcendental integrity] equal to Mine. He who free from ulterior motives worships Me thus, will by bhakti-yoga unite his consciousness in devotion and attain Me [see also 5.5: 14, 11.12: 24 and B.G. 6: 44]. The one who destroys [or steals away] the service [and/or the goods] delivered to the gods and the brahmins by oneself or by others, is a stool-eating worm bound to take birth for a hundred million years [compare 10.64: 39]. The perpetrator [of that kind of offense] as also his accomplice, the one who instigated it and the one who approved it, all will have to share the karmic consequences in the life that follows over and over [depending the degree of the damage done].'

*: The parampara says to this that members of the three higher classes of society all achieve the twice-born status by initiation into the Gayatri mantra. Brahmana boys may according to the tradition after due preparation be initiated at the age of eight, kshatriya boys when they are eleven and vais'ya boys at the age of twelve.

**: The materialistic devotee - almost any person thus - is of devotion with the help of an image of God in the form of a timetable, the sacrificial ground in the form of the desk in his office, the fire in the stove on which he regularly cooks his meals, the sun with the date on the solar calendar and the clock he is manipulating pragmatically, the water with the daily shower he takes and the dishes he washes, and with the twice-born heart that he in his daily contemplations according to the wisdom as an adult acquired from personal experience and from his teachers. Everyone is thus, more or less engaged in devotional service in the practices of devotion as mentioned here, be it at an unconscious materialist and rather impersonal level (see prakrita).

***: 'Shrila Shridhara Svami gives references from the Vedic literature stating that the water meant for bathing the feet should be combined with millet seeds, durva grass mixed in water, vishnukranta flowers and other items. The water used for arghya should include the following eight items - fragrant oil, flowers, unbroken barleycorns, husked barleycorns, the tips of kus'a grass, sesame seeds, mustard seeds and durva grass. The water for sipping should include jasmine flowers, ground cloves and kakkola berries' (p.p. 11.27: 2.

*4: The seat of dharma is imagined here as consisting of righteousness, wisdom, detachment and supremacy for its legs, the opposite values for the sides of the seat and the three gunas for the three planks of the base.

*5: According to Shrila Jiva Gosvami the personalities mentioned here are eternally liberated associates of the Lord who reside in the spiritual sky beyond the material manifestation. Not so much the Ganes'a who in this world, as the son of Lord Shiva, is famous for awarding financial success, and the goddess Durga, the wife of Lord Shiva, renown as the external, illusory potency of the Supreme Lord. (p.p. 11.27: 2.

*6: Devotees accepting flowers, food or fire from the deity customarily take the offering first to their head as a token of respect.

*7: The parampara adds here: 'By regulated, faithful worship one gradually understands that the deity is completely nondifferent from the Supreme Lord Himself. At that stage one, on the strength of deity worship, rises to the second-class platform of devotional service. At this more developed stage one desires to make friendship with other devotees of the Lord, and as one becomes solidly established in the community of Vaishnavas, one completely gives up material life and gradually becomes perfect in Krishna consciousness' (p.p. 11.27: 4.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 28:
Jnana Yoga or the Denomination and the Real

The Supreme Lord said: 'When one understands that the world, this combination of matter and person, is based upon one and the same reality, one should refrain from praising and criticizing someone else's nature and activities. He who praises or criticizes someone else's nature and actions quickly strays from his [real] interest [of self-realisation] because he thus adheres to the falsehood [of the world of opposites]. A person aware of the objective diversity is just [as unaware of the one reality] as an embodied soul whose senses, overcome by sleep, experience the illusory reality [of a dream] or the deathlike state of having lost consciousness. What would be good or what would be bad in this unreal, deceptive material duality that, considered by the mind and put into words, results in a false [insufficient] image of reality [*]? Even though shadows, echoes and mirages constitute mere suggestions, they create motives [in people]; the same way the body and what belongs to it gives rise to material conceptions [identifications] that create fear until the day one dies [for they offer no firm hold]. - The Master, the Lord, the Soul alone, manifests this universe and Himself, protects all that exists and Himself and withdraws both the creation and Himself. Apart from the Soul, outside of Him, hence no separate living being can be found, just as no other basis can be found for this, within the Self perceived, threefold splendor of the gunas - that you must know as the threefold manifestation generated by the illusory energy of maya [B.G. 14: 19]. Someone who, perfectly conversant and experienced, is well aware of what I have now described, does not blame or praise [in looking for another cause], and wanders the earth as free as the sun. When one by direct perception, logical deduction, scriptural truth and one's self-realisation knows that that what is inessential has a beginning and an end, one should move around in this world free from attachment [see also B.G. 2: 16].'

Shri Uddhava said: 'Material existence is not the experience of the seer who is a soul of self-realisation, nor the experience of the spiritless body that constitutes the seen. Whose experience might it be then oh Lord? The inexhaustible soul, free from the modes, is pure, self-luminous and uncovered just like a fire, while the material body is like firewood that is without understanding. To which of the two belongs the experience of a material life in this world?'

The Supreme Lord said: 'As long as the soul is attracted to the body, the senses and the life force, material existence will continue to flourish, despite being meaningless to the ignorant. Even though not having a purpose of its own, the course of mundane existence [the 'wheel'] does not cease to exist; one keeps, like [being caught] in a dream, contemplating the objects of the senses and the meaninglessness arriving with it [compare 3.27: 4, 4.29: 35 & 73, 11.22: 56, B.G. 2: 14]. But that [dreaming] what presents someone who is not awake many undesirable experiences in his sleep, will certainly not confound the one who awakened. Lamentation, elation, fear, anger, greed, confusion, hankering and such, one observes with the birth and death of the false ego [ahankara] and [is] not [seen] with the soul [that does not take birth or die, see 11.22: 12, 11.23: 50-56, 11.25: 30]. The individual soul [of identification] with his attention directed at the body, the senses, the life force and the mind, assumes, depending the gunas and the karma, his form within the [great universal] Self. With the lead [the sutra] of the complete of nature thus very differently denominated [as a dog, ape or human being], he then controlled by time moves around in material existence. A sober sage free from desire moving around in this world will, with the sword of transcendental knowledge sharpened by worship, cut with this, without a firm basis, [in false ego] being represented in the many forms of the mind, the speech, the life force and the bodily functions. Spiritual knowledge [jnana, entails] the discrimination [of spirit and matter and is nourished by] scripture and penance, personal experience, historical accounts and logical inference. [It is based upon] that what is there in the beginning, what stays the same in between and what remains in the end of this [creation], namely the Time and Ultimate Cause [of brahman, the Absolute Truth, see also B.G. 10: 30, 33, 11: 32 and kala]. Just like gold alone being present before it is processed, when it is processed and in the final product of the processing, I am present in different disguises of [the with the gunas processing of] this creation [see also guna-avataras]. My dearest, this spirit of condensed knowledge [this transcendental intelligence] in its three conditions [of wakefulness, sleep and unconscious sleep], constitutes, while manifesting itself in the form of the three modes as the causing [of rajas], the caused [of tamas] and the causal agent [of sattva, compare 11.22: 30], the fourth factor [the 'gold' or turiya] that as an independent variable stands for the single [Absolute] Truth of each of them. That what was absent before, is absent afterwards and is not there [independently] in between, is but a designation, a reference. Whatever that was created and is known by something else, is actually only [a reference to] that something else - that is how I see it. Even though this creation, which appears with the transformations of the mode of passion, not really exists, it thus shines forth as [a reference to] the Absolute Truth standing in its own light, as the Brahman [the impersonal form of God] of the variety of senses, their objects, the self and the transformations [of the five elements, see also siddhanta]. When one by discriminating this way has achieved clarity about the Absolute of the Spiritual Truth, one must wisely speak against the opposite [of falsely identifying oneself], cut with the doubt regarding the Soul and in the contentment of one's own spiritual happiness desist from all lusty [unregulated] matters [see B.G. 3: 34]. The body made of earth is not the true self, nor are the senses that, their gods or the life air, the external air, water, fire or a mind only interested in matter ['food']; nor is the intelligence that, material consciousness, the I that thinks itself the doer, the ether, the earth, material things or the restraint [the universal primeval state of equilibrium]. Having properly distinguished My abode [or personal identity], what will be the virtue of the meditative control of the senses - which are manifestations of the gunas - or what would on the other hand be the objection against their agitation; what difference would it make to the sun whether the clouds gather or disperse? Just as the sky itself is not affected by the coming and going qualities of the atmosphere, fire, water and earth or by the qualities of the seasons [of heat and cold], also the Imperishable Supreme remains free from the influence of sattva, rajas and tamas, the modes that constitute the cause of the I-concept of material existence [see also 1.3: 36, 3.27: 1, B.G. 7: 13]. Nevertheless, until one by steadfast bhakti-yoga unto Me has banned all the impurity of passion from one's mind, one must avoid the attachment with the modes that was produced by the deluding material energy [see B.G. 7: 1, 14 and **]. The same way a disease that was treated imperfectly time and again returns and gives a man trouble, also a mind not purified of its karmic contamination will torment an inexperienced yogi who is still of all kinds of attachment. Imperfect yogis who are commanded by impediments in the form of the human beings [family members, disciples etc., see e.g. Shri Shri Shikshashthaka-4] sent to them by the thirty gods [see tridas'a] will, by their perseverance in their previous life, once again [in a new life] engage in the practice of yoga,

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but never more be entangled in fruitive activities [see also 11.18: 14, B.G. 6: 41-42]. A normal living being affected by the work he performs, his karma, remains, impelled by sometimes this and then again that impulse, in that position until the moment he dies. But someone intelligent is, despite being situated in the material position, not that [fickle], because he, with the experience of the happiness he found, gave up his material desire. Someone whose consciousness is fixed in the True Self does not give it a moment's thought whether he is standing, sitting, walking or lying down, urinating, eating food or doing whatever else that manifests from his conditioned nature. When one is intelligent one does not take anything else [but the soul] for essential. Whenever such a one faces the not really [independently] existing matters of the senses, he from his logic denies them their separateness, so that they are like the things of a dream that disappear when one wakes up. The soul is not something one accepts or rejects [that comes and goes], but the ignorance [resulting in a material body] that you in many forms under the influence of karma and guna accepted as an inextricable part of yourself My best one, [ultimately] dissolves again in simply that knowledge. Just as the rising sun puts and end to the darkness in the human eye without creating what exists, also a clever and thorough search for My pure truth puts an end to the darkness of someone's intelligence. This self-luminous, unborn, immeasurable Greatness of Understanding who is aware of everything is the One Without a Second in whom words find their closure and by whom impelled speech and the life airs are moving. Whatever notion of duality one might have of the [Supreme] Soul is nothing but a figment of the mind; for such an idea there is no other ground that one's own [identified] self [compare 7.13: 7]. The explanations [in terms of good and bad, see also 11.21: 16] offered by the so-called scholars of the meaning of this, in names and forms perceivable, duality that unmistakably consists of the five elements, are [completely] in vain [see also 5.6: 11].

The body of a yogi who with a lack of experience tries to engage in the practice of yoga, may be hindered by rising disturbances. In that case the following rule of conduct is prescribed. Some disturbances may be overcome by postures [asanas] combined with concentration exercises [dharana], others can be defeated by penances [tapas, see ***], mantras and medicinal herbs. Certain inauspicious matters one can overcome step by step by constantly thinking of Me [Vishnu-smarana], by [loudly or silently] honouring My names and such [japa, sankirtana] and by following in the footsteps of the masters of yoga [see also B.G. 6: 25]. Some [yogis] keep their bodies under control and make them fit by focussing on health, employing different methods and exercises for the sake of material perfection [siddhis]. It goes without saying that good health should not be worshiped when such an endeavor is useless, for in matters of the body one is, just like a fruit on a tree, subject to decay [see also 11.15: 33]. Although the material body of someone regularly practicing yoga will attain fitness, being intelligent My devotee does not put faith in such yoga and will give it up [in the course of time *4]. The yogi who, free from desires takes to My shelter and practices this process of yoga, experiences the inner happiness [of the soul] and accepts no defeat by disturbances.'

*: Contrary to popular notions that the medium would be the message, here is stated clearly that the medium is not the message. The words and the ideas, and also the so-called fixed form of things, are all false relative to the original truth, the message, the essence. That what is expressed is the essence, not the expression itself. So the one living being of the person and the living material nature with her Time as the masculine aspect, is the essence and all ideas, fixed things of it and words about it are actually false. Thus we have the paradox of the in itself false expression in words and ideas, this sentence before you as a reader e.g., of that what is true on itself as the wholeness of life. So there are idols of Krishna being worshiped with the strict warning not to consider them as something material. Thus praise and criticism, good and bad, are dual notions missing the point of what is objectively the value free reality of brahman, the Absolute Truth of the reality free from illusion that is equally present both outside and inside. Or as one puts it these days: science is value-free.

**: The purport of this is that, even though material nature as His gigantic virath-rupa form is nondifferent from the Supreme Lord (as elabourately described in this and other chapters), one who has yet to conquer material desire must not artificially seek solace in material things, declaring them to be nondifferent from the Lord [see p.p. 11.28: 27].

***: Concerning penance the beginner is reminded of the fact that voluntary penance, voluntary suffering, is better than penance enforced from the outside in the form of a disease, legal prosecution, shortage, calamities etc. Like the Jews in Exodus would be ready to leave Egypt one should be ready for the coming of the Lord [see also 11.17: 42 and B.G. 2: 40, 12: 16].

*4: Here one is reminded of the fact that characters like Ravana and Hiranyakas'ipu also practiced yoga and attained fitness; attaining perfections that way can also be something demoniac and is thus not the object of belief as stated here. Attaining the Lord is rather the motive for the yogi. Control, health and order is something nice to achieve, but without the Lord it is just as well a thing of the devil.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 29:

Bhakti Yoga: the Most Auspicious way to Conquer Death

Shri Uddhava said: 'This process of yoga is, I think, most difficult to execute for someone not spiritual. Please, oh Acyuta, tell me in simple terms how a person may easily succeed [see also B.G. 6: 33-34]. Generally oh Lotus-eyed One, [beginning] yoga practitioners get frustrated trying to unite the mind and, unable to find absorption, grow weary of subduing their thoughts. For that reason oh Lotus-eyed Lord of the Universe, the swanlike [devotees] delight in taking to the shelter of Your lotus feet that are the source of all ecstasy, while they who take pride in the results of their yoga, do not [take shelter] and are defeated by Your material energy. It comes as no surprise Acyuta, that You as a friend to all servants with no other shelter, are joined in intimacy with them [are commanded by them], You who [as Rama] were affectionate with the animal-like [Vanaras] while the edges of Your footstool were covered by the effulgent helmets of the great controllers [like Brahma]. Knowing the benefit You offer oh Supreme Soul, Bestower of All Perfections and dearest Lord to those seeking shelter, who would reject You or ever be devoted to anything else and forget [about You in exchange] for some opulence? What would not be granted to us when we serve the dust of Your feet [see also 10.44: 15, 10.47: 46]? The scholars - despite all their work - would not even with a lifetime as long as Brahma's be capable of expressing the gratitude [we owe You], oh Lord. For You, in order to remind us of the greater [spiritual] joy for dispelling the sadness of being embodied, show us Your path in two ways: in the form of that what from the caittya authority [of the Supersoul] is mentally conceived within and that what from the outside is conceived on the authority of the acarya [the parampara-guru of the tradition].'

Shri Shuka said: 'Thus questioned by Uddhava who in his heart was most attached to Him, the Lord of all Lords spoke lovingly with an attractive smile, He who - with the universe as His plaything - by His energies assumed His three [principal] forms [the guna-avataras].' The Supreme Lord said: 'I shall explain to you My most auspicious dharma by means of which, with faith executed, a mortal being may defeat unconquerable death. He whose mind is attracted to My devotional service and has offered his heart and intelligence unto Me, should remember to perform step by step all his prescribed duties for My sake. One should take shelter of the holy places frequented by My saintly devotees and [follow the example of] the conduct of My devotees among the demigods, humans and demons. Either alone or in association one should with respect for the position of the moon [e.g.], at special occasions and at festivals engage in singing and dancing and so on, with royal opulence [and generous contributions]. With a pure heart one should see Me, the Supreme Soul free as the sky, as being present within and without oneself and all living beings [see also B.G. 13: 16 and 1.7: 10]. 3-1 Oh brightest spirit, when one with My love thus is of respect for all living beings, one with such an approach has taken shelter of the highest possible knowledge, the absolute unity of spirit. This way regarding the brahmin and the outcast, the thief and the man faithful to the brahminical culture, the sun and the spark, the gentle one and the cruel one equally, one is considered a wise person [see B.G. 5: 18]. Of the person who constantly meditates upon My presence in all men quickly the rivalry, envy, disdain and false ego will disappear. Ignoring the laughter of one's friends and without being embarrassed about outer appearances one should [factually] throw oneself like a rod to the ground and offer one's obeisances to [all,] even [to] dogs, outcasts, cows and asses [see also Shri Shri Shikshashthaka-3]. With the functions of what one says, thinks and does, one this way will have to be of worship as long as one has not developed the vision of Me being present in all living beings [see also tridanda]. For the one who by knowledge and realisation sees the Supreme Soul everywhere, everything is based upon the Absolute Truth. Thus free from doubt he should desists from [material striving, karmic activities]. I consider this - with the functions of one's mind, words and actions seeing Me within all living beings - the most appropriate of all processes. My dear, because this by Me perfectly established method is free from the modes and has no ulterior motives there is, when one thus tries to be of service unto Me Uddhava, not even the slightest loss [see also B.G. 2: 40]. Oh best among the pious souls, when one is capable of performing one's duty free from ulterior motives for the sake of Me, the One Supreme, [the emotions] of that endeavor like fear and such, will be futile [see also B.G. 18: 6]. This in one's life by means of the false and mortal achieving of Me, the One Immortal, constitutes the cleverness of the clever and the intelligence of the intelligent.

This survey both in brief and in detail I thus explained to you, constitutes the complete science of the Absolute Truth that even for the demigods is difficult to access. With clear, logical arguments I repeatedly explained to you the spiritual knowledge; properly understood this will put an end to the doubts a person may have and liberate him. He who concentrates on this question of yours as also on My clear reply, will attain the eternal secret of the Vedas, the Supreme, Absolute Truth. I shall naturally, give Myself to that person who without reservation passes on to devotees this traditional instruction of Mine, this knowledge of the Absolute Truth. He who repeats [for others] this Supreme [Knowledge] that is so sanctifying and clear, reveals My presence with the lamp of knowledge and will find purification day after day. The person who attentively and with faith regularly listens to this and is of transcendental devotional service unto Me [is a bhakta], will not get entangled in karmic activities [see also B.G. 3: 9]. Uddhava, oh friend, do you have a clear understanding of the spiritual now and has this lamentation and illusion that arose in your mind been removed [see 11.6: 42-49 and also B.G. 18: 72]? Do not share this with a hypocrite, an atheist or a cheat, nor with someone not willing to listen, a non-devotee or an obstinate person [compare to B.G. 18: 67]. Share it with a person free from these bad qualities, someone virtuous and pure, kindly disposed and dedicated to the welfare of the brahmins, as also with labourers and women if they are of devotion [compare B.G. 9: 32]. For the inquisitive one fully understanding this, there is nothing further to know; once one has drunk the nectar of this palatable beverage nothing will remain. Everything that people of success with the four goals of life [catuh-vidah] may find in knowledge, fruitive labour, mystic yoga, ordinary activities or in political ruling, you can equally find in Me My best one [see also B.G. 18: 66]. When a mortal surrenders himself to Me and forsakes all his fruitive labour in his desire of service, he at that time attains freedom from birth and death and qualifies for sharing in My nature.'

Shri Shuka said: 'After he had heard the words of Uttamas'loka and thus was shown the path of yoga, Uddhava with folded hands said nothing because his throat was choked up with love and his eyes were brimming with tears. Checking himself to steady his mind that was overwhelmed by love, oh King, he felt most grateful. With folded hands he touched the lotus feet of the Hero of the Yadus with his head and addressed Him. Shri Uddhava said: 'The great darkness of the delusion I embraced oh Unborn Primeval Person, was dispelled by Your presence. What cold, darkness and fear would have power over someone who approached the sun? You who are so merciful in Your goodness offered to me Your servant, in return the torchlight consisting of Your wisdom. Whoever filled with gratitude can abandon the basis of Your feet and look for another shelter? The because of Your maya firmly binding rope of my affection for the Das'arhas, Vrishnis, Andhakas and Satvatas, cast by You for the production of offspring, was severed by the sword of the correct knowledge about the soul. Let me offer my obeisances unto You oh Greatest Yogi, please tell me how I as a surrendered soul can be steadfast in the attraction of Your lotus feet.'

The Supreme Lord said: 'Please Uddhava, accept My advice to head for My hermitage called Badarika. At the riverbanks there be purified by the touching of and bathing in the water emanating from My feet [see 5.17]. Be, with your eyes fixed upon the Alakananda [a tributary of the Ganges] cleansed of all impurities, dress yourself in bark My dear, eat from the forest and be happy freed from desire. Exercise with your intelligence, spiritual knowledge and wisdom, forbearance with all dualities, keep saintly to your principles, restrict your senses and live in peace and absorption. Believe in and meditate upon that what you from Me have learned to discriminate. When you with your words and mind absorbed in Me thus devote yourself to My dharma you will, with that discipline reaching beyond the three destinations [the gunas or the three worlds], thereupon reach Me.'

Shri Shuka said: 'After thus having been addressed by the Lord of Understanding, Uddhava circumambulated Him keeping Him to the right and even though he at the time of his departure was free from the influence of material opposites, he with a breaking heart with his head bowed down flooded His feet with his teardrops. Finding it most difficult to let go of His love, he because of the departure was overwhelmed by emotions and could not abandon Him. Filled with pain he again and again offered his obeisances and placed the slippers of his Maintainer on his head. Then he departed [*]. The great devotee then installed Him permanently in his heart and went to the illustrious place of pilgrimage [which as such is also called Vis'ala] the One Friend in the Universe had mentioned. There properly executing his austerities, he attained the Lord's destination [Vaikunthha]. Anyone who with honest belief is full of attention for [listens to, speaks about and practices] this ocean of ecstasy, this nectarean sea of spiritual knowledge [of bhakti-yoga] that by Krishna, He whose feet are served by the masters of Yoga, was collected for His devotee, will liberate [himself and therewith] the entire world. I am bowed down to the greatest and first of all beings, the personality named Krishna, who makes His many devotees drink the nectar from the [milk] ocean that is de essence of the Vedas, the essence of the spiritual knowledge and wisdom that

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He, as the author of the Vedas, like a bee delivered in order to take away the fear of material existence.'

*: The parampara adds here: 'According to the Shrimad Bhagavatam [3.4: 5], while Uddhava was enroute to Badarikashrama he heard about the Lord's journey to Prabhasa. Turning back and following Lord Krishna from behind, he saw the Lord alone just after the withdrawal of the Yadu dynasty. After being again mercifully instructed by the Personality of Godhead (along with Maitreya, who had just arrived), Uddhava felt his knowledge of the truth reawaken, and then, by the order of the Lord, he went on his way.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 30:

The Disappearance of the Yadu dynasty

The honourable king [Parikchit] said: 'What did the Supreme Lord and Protector of All Living Beings do in Dvaraka after Uddhava, the great devotee, had left for the forest? Please tell how He, the Chief of the Yadus Dearest to All Eyes, gave up His body when His family found destruction after being cursed by the brahmins [see 11.1]? Attached to His form the women could not turn their eyes away from Him and having entered the ears of the sages His form, occupying their minds, would not leave them. How attractive were the words that by the ambitious poets were used to express His beauty? And what to say of those who, seeing Him on the battlefield on Arjuna's chariot, acquired a similar status [of being liberated]?'

The powerful rishi [Shuka] said: 'Observing the great disturbances that had appeared in the sky, the earth and in outer space, Krishna addressed the Yadus seated in the Sudharma hall [see 10.50: 54] as follows [see also 1.14]. The Supreme Lord said: 'Oh best of the Yadus, considering these fearful, great and inauspicious omens, that are like the flags of the king of death, we should not stay a moment longer here in Dvaraka. The women, the children and the elderly should go from here to Shankhoddhara [halfway Dvaraka and Prabhasa] and we will go to Prabhasa where the Sarasvati flows westward. There we should purify by bathing, fast and fix our minds, and then worship the gods [the idols] with various offerings, ablutions and alepa [smearing with sandalwood]. When the brahmins have performed the ceremonies for our well-being, we will give them cows, land, gold, clothing, elephants, horses, chariots and houses [see also 3.3: 26-28]. This is the course we have to follow in order to avert misfortune and bring about good fortune, for to worship the best among the living beings - the gods, the brahmins and the cows - brings about the highest perfection [compare to 10.24: 25].' After they all thus had listened to the Enemy of Madhu, the elderly Yadus said 'So be it!' and crossed over by boat [to the mainland] to head for Prabhasa in chariots. There the Yadus performed in accordance with the instructions of the Lord of the Yadus, the Supreme Personality, all auspicious rituals with transcendental devotion and everything else that would strengthen them. Then they, as was destined [see 11.1: 4], lost their intelligence drinking from a large supply of sweet tasting maireya [honey-liquor], the ingredients of which overpowered their minds [see also 6.1: 58-60]. Among the heroes bewildered by Krishna's illusory potency a terrible quarrel arose because they intoxicated of the excessive drinking became arrogant. Infuriated they on the shore took up their weapons - their bows, swords, bhalla-arrows [arrows with a particular arrowhead] clubs, lances and spears - and fought. Attacking with arrows, they most enraged faced each other with flying flags riding chariots, elephants and other carriers; asses, camels, bulls, buffalos, mules and even humans, just like elephants in the forest fighting with their tusks. With their enmity aroused Pradyumna in the battle fought ferociously against Samba, Akrura against Bhoja, Aniruddha against Satyaki, Subhadra against Sangramajit, Sumitra against Suratha and the two Gadas [the brother and a son of Krishna] against each other. Others also, like Nis'athha, Ulmuka and more of them headed by Sahasrajit, Shatajit and Bhanu, confronted and killed each other, blinded by their intoxication and totally being bewildered by Mukunda. Completely forgetting their friendship, the Kuntis, the Kukuras, the Visarjanas, the Madhus and Arbudas, Vrishnis and Andhakas, the Bhojas, the Satvatas, the Das'arhas and the inhabitants of Mathura and Shurasena slaughtered each other. In their bewildered state relatives killed relatives and friends killed friends; sons fought against their fathers and their brothers, nephews against uncles, paternal uncles against maternal uncles and well-wishers against well-wishers. Running out of arrows and having their bows broken and missiles used, they took up cane stalks [eraka, see 11.1: 22]. Those stalks held in their fists turned into iron rods as strong as thunder bolts as they attacked their enemies with them, and even though Krishna tried to stop them, they attacked Him as well. Confused with their minds turned to killing, they mistook Balarama for an enemy oh King and also raised their weapons against Him. The Two [of Balarama and Krishna] then also most furiously joined the fight, oh son of the Kurus, and engaged in killing, using the stalks in Their fists as clubs as They moved about in the fight. In the grip of the brahmin curse with their minds clouded by Krishna's maya, the fury of their rivalry led to their destruction, just like a fire of bamboos turns a forest into ashes.

When all of His clans this way had found destruction, Krishna concluded that [just as it was planned, 11.1: 1-4], the remaining burden of the earth had been removed. Balarama on the shore of the ocean resorted to meditation on the Original Person and, merging Himself within Himself, gave up the human world. Seeing that Balarama had left, the Supreme Lord, the son of Devaki, found a pippala tree and silently sat down on the lap of the earth [see also 3.4]. 8-3 Exhibiting His four-armed form He, like a fire without smoke, with His brilliant effulgence dissipated the darkness in all directions. With His Shrivatsa mark and gray-blue cloud-like colour, He wore a heavenly pair of silken garments and radiated [with His ornaments] like molten gold. His face, which like a blue lotus smiled beautifully with His charming lotus eyes, was adorned with His locks of hair and gleaming shark-shaped earrings. Splendid with a belt, a sacred thread, a helmet and bracelets, arm-ornaments, necklaces, ankle bells and other royal symbols, there was the Kaustubha gem. And so He sat there with His right foot reddish like a lotus placed on His thigh, with the forms of His personal weapons in His hands and with a garland of forest flowers around His neck. His foot that had the form of a deer's face, was [then] pierced by an arrow of a hunter named Jara who thought he saw a deer. The arrow was fashioned from a fragment of the iron that had remained [from the by the brahmins cursed club that had been destroyed, see 11.1: 23]. When he [Jara] saw the four-armed personality he, afraid of having committed an offense, fell with his head down at the feet of the Enemy of the Asuras. 'This sinful person acted in ignorance, oh Madhusudana, please forgive this sinner's deed, oh Uttamas'loka, oh Sinless One. Oh Master, what I did in disrespect of You, Vishnu, was wrong, oh You whose constant remembrance, so they say, destroys the darkness of ignorance of all men. Please kill me therefore immediately oh Lord of Vaikunthha, so that I, a sinful deer hunter, may not again commit such an offense against the saints [*]. What can I, impure by birth, say about Him, about You [and the destruction of the Yadus]? The operation of Your mystic power is not even understood by Virinca, Rudra and the other masters and sons of the Vedic word, for their vision is clouded by Your bewildering potency!'

Shri Bhagavan said: 'Fear not, oh Jara, please get up, for what you did was My desire; you have My permission to go to heaven, the abode for those who are of good deeds.'

After thus having been instructed by Krishna, the Fortunate One who generated His own form, he circumambulated Him three times. Then bowing down to Him he departed in a vimana [a heavenly vehicle, also: a 'higher spirit'] to heaven. Daruka searching where Krishna was, coming close scented the fragrant air of tulasi and went in that direction. He found Him there brilliant and effulgent, surrounded by His weapons and resting at the base of the As'vathha. With his heart overwhelmed by emotions he rushed down from the chariot and fell with his eyes full of tears at His feet. 'Oh Master, not seeing Your lotus feet my power of vision is lost and I fail to know the directions, nor can I find peace; just the way one in the night of a new moon lands in darkness.'

As he was speaking thus, right before the eyes of the chariot driver the chariot, along with the horses and the flag of Garuda marking it, rose up in the sky, oh King of kings. And while Vishnu's divine weapons were following, Janardana spoke to the driver who stood perplexed about what was happening. 'Oh driver, go to Dvaraka and inform Our family members about the mutual destruction of their close relatives, about My condition and about the passing away of Sankarshana. You and your relatives should not remain in Dvaraka. Now the Yadu capital has been abandoned by Me it will sink into the ocean. Each of you should take your own family as also Our parents with you and under the protection of Arjuna go to Indraprastha. You however, [I wish to] remain firm in My devotional service with indifference [about material affairs] being fixed in spiritual knowledge. Understand that [all of] this was a creation of My maya and thus obtain inner tranquility.'

After thus being addressed by Him he [Daruka] circumambulated Him, over and over offering his obeisances. He placed his head at His lotus feet, and went with a sad heart to the city.'

: Shrila Vis'vanatha Cakravarti Thhakura wonders, since deer are by nature fearful and timid, how any deer could possibly be on the scene of such a huge battle, and how a hunter could calmly go about his business in the midst of such carnage. Therefore, the withdrawal of the Yadu dynasty and Lord Krishna's own disappearance from this earth were not material historical events; they are instead a display of the Lord's internal potency for the purpose of winding up His manifest pastimes on earth [p.p. 11.30: 37]. Also the name of the hunter Jara, meaning old age, is indicative of the metaphorical purport of this incident [see also footnote 10.87:]. In the Mahabharata-tatparya-nirnaya, Shri Madhvacarya-pada wrote that the Lord for His mission created a body of material energy into which the arrow was shot. But the Lord's actual four-armed form was never touched by the arrow of Jara, who is actually an incarnation of the Lord's devotee Bhrigu Rishi. In a previous age Bhrigu Muni had offensively placed his foot on the chest of Lord Vishnu.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 31:

The Ascension* of Lord Krishna

[*"Ascension", "Assumption", or "Translation", is a belief usually associated with the so-called "Abrahamic religions." In this belief concept, holy, sacred, divine or saint individuals have ascended into Heaven after death, or in some cases, even without dying first. However, this concept is also known in Hinduism (and consequently also in Jainism, Buddhism, or other Indian religions) due to Zoroastrian-Persian and Hebrew influence on the protagonists in the Mahabharata. Both, resurection and rebirth, terms which are often interpreted and translated in different ways, offer people spiritual salvation in the face of certain physical death.]

Shri Shuka said: 'Then Brahma arrived there [in Prabhasa], along with Shiva with his consort, the demigods led by Indra, the sages and the lords of the people. - The forefathers, the perfected souls and divine singers, the scientists and the champions, the venerable ones, the treasure keepers and the wild men, the ones of superpower and the dancing girls of heaven and all the ones of Garuda [the dvijas] desirous to witness the passing away of the Supreme Lord, eagerly chanted and praised the birth and activities of Lord Shauri [Krishna]. Crowding the sky in a great number of vimanas oh King, they being joined in transcendental devotion showered flowers. When the Supreme Lord saw the great father [Brahma] and his powerful expansions [the demigods], the Almighty One closed His lotus eyes and fixed His consciousness within Himself. Without in meditation on the fire burning in a mystic trance the object so auspicious for all concentration and meditation, viz. His body most attractive to all the worlds, He entered His heavenly abode [compare 4.4].

And while in heaven kettledrums resounded and flowers fell from the sky, Truth, Righteousness, Constancy, Fame and Beauty followed Him as He left the earth [*, see also 10.39: 53-55]. The demigods and others headed by Brahma not knowing the path that Krishna took, did not all see Him entering His abode, but those who did were most amazed. Just as mortals cannot determine the path lightning describes in the sky while leaving the clouds, the demigods could not determine Krishna's path. But Brahma, Shiva and the others who saw it, in astonishment glorified the yogic power of the Lord. Thereupon each of them returned to his own world. Oh King, understand the appearance and the disappearance of the Supreme One among the embodied beings, to be a false show like that of an actor, enacted by His illusory potency. Creating this universe by Himself, entering it, engaging in pastimes in it and in the end winding it up, He ceases [with these functions] and remains in the greatness of the Supreme Self. He who brought the son of His guru back in the same body after he had been taken to the world of Yamaraja [10.45], He who protected you against being burned by the superior weapon [1.12], He who even conquered Shiva who is the death of the agents of death [10.63], why would He who brought the deer hunter [Jara] body and all to the spiritual world, not be capable of preserving Himself? Despite the fact that He as the One Possessing Unlimited Potencies constitutes the exclusive cause of the maintenance, creation and annihilation of all created beings, He did not desire to keep His physical frame here in the mortal world. Why would He, who is the destination for those who are fixed upon Him, keep up appearances [see also 3.2: 10-11]? Anyone who, rising early in the morning, attentively with devotion glorifies this supreme destination of Krishna, will undoubtedly reach that unsurpassable position [see also B.G. 8: 6].

When Daruka arrived in Dvaraka, he fell down at the feet of Vasudeva and Ugrasena that he wet with his tears because of missing Krishna. 6-1 He told the story of the complete destruction of the Vrishnis oh ruler of man. When the people heard it they, with their hearts upset, were rendered senseless in their grief. Overwhelmed by the separation from Krishna, they struck their faces and quickly went to the place where their relatives were lying lifeless. Devaki, Rohini and Vasudeva thereupon could not find their sons Krishna and Balarama and lost their consciousness because of the pain of their bereavement. Tormented by their separation from the Supreme Lord they gave up their lives on the spot my best one. Then the [Yadava] wives climbed upon the funeral pyre and embraced their [dead] husbands. The wives of Balarama entered the fire and embraced His body, and so did the wives of Vasudeva and the Lord's daughters-in-law for Pradyumna and the others. Also Krishna's wives led by Rukmini, His first queen, entered the fire fully absorbed in Him. Arjuna distressed because of his separation from Krishna, his dear friend, consoled himself with the transcendental words of Krishna's song [like 2: 11-12 , 2: 20-21, 2: 27, 4: 7, 4: 6, 7: 25 and 14: 27 of the Bhagavad Gita]. Arjuna saw to it that

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for the relatives who had died and who had no remaining family members, the funeral rites were executed in order of the seniority of the deceased as is prescribed. Immediately after Dvaraka had been abandoned by the Lord, it was flooded by the ocean, except, oh King, for the residence of the Supreme Personality of Godhead [see archeology pictures 1, 2 & 3 of the site]. In that very place Madhusudana, the Supreme Lord, is eternally present; as the most auspicious of all auspicious places, its remembrance alone is enough to take away everything inauspicious. Arjuna moved the survivors - the women, the children and elders of the deceased - to Indraprastha and placed there Vajra [Aniruddha's son] on the throne. After Your grandfathers had heard from Arjuna about the death of their Friend oh King, they all left to make the great journey, but not before they had first installed you as the maintainer of the dynasty [they went northwards, see also 1.15: 34-51]. Any conditioned soul who with faith sings about the birth and activities of Vishnu, the God of Gods, will be freed from all sins [see Shri Das'avatara Stotra]. The attractive and most auspicious exploits and childhood pastimes of the incarnation of the Supreme Lord Hari [with all His expansions, see 10.1: 62-63], have now been described here [in this Story of the Fortunate One] as also elsewhere [in other scriptures]. Anyone who proclaims them will attain the transcendental devotional service that is the destination of the perfect sages [the paramahamsas].'

*: Shrila Vishvanatha Cakravarti Thhakura comments here: 'Truth and other qualities departed so that various bad qualities could become prominent in Kali-yuga.'

Thus the eleventh BOOK of the Shrimad Bhagavatam ends named: Krishna's Final Instructions.

BOOK 12: THE AGE OF DETERIORATION

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 1:

The Degraded Dynasties and Corrupt Nature of the Rulers of Kali-yuga

Shri Parikchit said: 'Please oh sage, can you tell me whose dynasty ruled over the earth after Krishna, the jewel of the Yadu dynasty, had left for His heavenly abode?' [*]

- Shri Shuka said: 'The last descendant of Brihadratha in the future [see 9.22: 49] was named Puranjaya [not the one mentioned in 9.6: 12]. His minister Shunaka will assassinate his master to make his own son named Pradyota [historical: Bimbisara] king. His son Palaka will have Vis'akhayupa as his son and Rajaka will be his successor. His son will be Nandivardhana. These five Pradyotana kings will enjoy the earth for one hundred thirty-eight years. Then Shishunaga will take birth and Kakavarna will be his son, from whose son Kshemadharma, Kshetrajna will be born. The son Vidhisara [of Kshetrajna] will have Ajatas'atru as his son and Darbhaka, his son, will have Ajaya as his successor. - From Ajaya there will be [another] Nandivardhana whose son is Mahanandi. These ten Shishunaga kings, oh best of the Kurus, will rule over the earth in the age of Kali for three hundred sixty years. Oh King, the son of Mahanandi, a certain Nanda, will take birth from the womb of a working class woman and will, as a powerful master over millions, be the destroyer of the royal class. The kings will become irreligious and be no better than Shudras. He [Mahapadmananda], that ruler over millions, will be like a second Parashurama and as an unchallenged authority bring the entire earth under one rule [see 9.15 & 16]. From him eight sons headed by Sumalya will take birth and enjoy this earth as kings for a hundred years. A certain brahmin [called Canakya] trusted by the nine Nandas [Mahapadmananda and his sons] will overturn them. With them removed the Mauryas will rule the earth in Kali-yuga [**]. The brahmin will put Candragupta on the throne and his son Varisara will next be succeeded by Ashokavardhana. SuYasha [Dasaratha Maurya] will be born to him, Sangata [Samprati], his son, will father Shalishuka of whom next Somas'arma [Devavarman] will be born who will father Shatadhanva from whose loins Brihadratha will take his birth. These ten Maurya kings, oh eminent hero of the Kuru dynasty, will rule the earth in Kali-yuga for the time of one hundred thirty-seven years. 5-1 From Agnimitra [the son of the first Shunga king named Pushpamitra, a general who will murder Brihadratha] there will be Sujyeshthha [Vasujyeshthha] who will father Vasumitra whose son will be Bhadraka [Andhraka] who will be succeeded by Pulinda [Pulindaka]. His son will be Ghosha to whom Vajramitra will be born. His son Bhagavata [Bhagabhadra] will beget Devabhuti oh eminent Kuru. These ten Shunga kings will enjoy the earth for more than hundred [109] years. Thereafter this earth will be ruled by the Kanva dynasty poor in qualities, oh ruler of man. Vasudeva, a most intelligent minister from the Kanva family, [with the help of a female slave] will kill the lusty Shunga king Devabhuti and thereupon himself assume leadership. His son Bhumitra will have a successor called Narayana [with a son named Sus'arma]. These Kanva kings will rule the earth for three-hundred-forty-five more years in Kali-yuga. A low-class most degraded man of the Andhra race called Bali, will as a servant kill Sus'arma, the [last] Kanva king, and rule the earth for some time. 1-2 His brother named Krishna, will be the next ruler of the earth. His son Shantakarna will have Paurnamasa as his successor. His son Lambodara will beget king Cibilaka. Cibilaka will father Meghasvati who in his turn will beget Athamana, who will be succeeded by Anishthakarma. Haleya, his son, will have Talaka as his son whose son Purishabhiru will have Sunandana as the next king. Cakora [his son] will be succeeded by the eight Bahus, among whom Shivasvati will be a great subduer of enemies. To Gomati, his son, Puriman will be born, whose son will be called Medas'ira. Shivaskanda born from his loins will have YajnaShri as his son and his descendant will be Vijaya who will father the sons Candravijna and Lomadhi. These thirty kings will rule the world for four hundred fifty-six years, oh son of the Kurus [***]. From the city of Avabhriti then seven Abhira kings will follow, ten Gardabhis and sixteen Kanka kings, earthly rulers who will be very greedy. Next there will be eight Yavanas, fourteen Turushkas and furthermore ten Gurundas and eleven kings of the Maula dynasty. 9-3 The eleven Maulas will rule for three hundred years after these [preceding three dynasties] have ruled the earth for one thousand ninety-nine years my dear. When they are all dead and gone, in the city of Kilakila the kings Bhutananda, Vangiri, Shishunandi, his brother Yas'onandi and then Praviraka will rule for one-hundred-and-six years. 2-3 To them [the Kilakilas] thirteen sons will be born called the Bahlikas. Thereafter the kings Pushpamitra, his son Durmitra as also seven Andhras, seven Kaus'alas and the rulers of Vidura and Nishadha will reign at the same time [over different realms]. In the province of Magadha a king named Vis'vasphurji will assume power, who like another Puranjaya will turn the people of all classes into inferior Pulindas, Yadus and Madrakas [low-class, uncivilised men, see *4]. This unintelligent king, who protected in the city of Padmavati will rule over the earth from the source of the Ganges to Prayaga, will in respect of the citizens predominantly act against the brahminical order and ruin the mighty class of the kshatriyas. The twice-born souls living in the provinces Shaurashthra, Avanti, Abhira, Shura, Arbuda and Malava will [at that time] fail to fulfill their vows while they who rank first among the people [the kings] will become no better than Shudras. The lands at the river Sindhu, as also the districts of Candrabhaga, Kaunti and Kas'mira, will be ruled by uncivilised men [mlecchas], Shudras and others who, lacking spiritual strength, deviate from the standard.

Oh King, these generally uncivilised, earthly caretakers [politicians] who, simultaneously ruling, are dedicated to irreligious and unrealistic practices will, with fierce tempers [competing for the dominion] allow their subjects hardly any freedom [economically]. They will ruin the lives of women, children, cows and intellectuals and hanker for money and the wives of other men. Lacking in strength they mostly have short, unstable careers of success and failure and live short lives. Not initiated and devoid of regulative principles these barbarians behaving like kings, under the sway of passion and ignorance, will virtually devour the citizens. The people in the cities following the example of the character, behavior and speech of these men, will, harassed by these rulers and by each other, thus be destroyed [in wars, economic collapse and natural disasters, see also kles'a, Kali-yuga and B.G. 16: 6-12].'

*: The parampara of ISKCON left out this first line of Parikchit questioning, where other sources like Shastri C.L. Gosvami do begin this chapter thus.

**: The parampara adds: 'The great historical narration Shrimad Bhagavatam, which began with the events prior to the cosmic manifestation, now reaches into the realm of modern recorded history. Modern historians recognise both the Maurya dynasty and Candragupta, the king mentioned in the following verse.' [p.p. 12.1.11]

***: According an academic translator of the Bhagavatam, Ganesh Vasudeo Tagare [1989, Morilal Banarsidass], this period would be found short before the beginning of the christian year count. Analyzing this text in reference to historical sources he, stating that there are many discrepancies with the cultural [manipulated?] records, also concludes that historically the Kanva dynasty would have only ruled for forty-five years from 75 to 30 B.C., and not for the three hundred forty-five as the Sanskrit text states here. According to him this part of the Bhagavatam would have been of a later date and consist of a mishmash of hearsay historical knowledge, which is a position contested by the parampara of course, since it is more likely to err in the discordance of worldly interest than in the harmony of a consciousness motivated by spiritual discipline.

*4: The total span of generations covered here from the first Puranjaya to the last one in the line of the Kali-yuga decay, thus would have stretched from about 2000 B.C. to about the twelfth century AD.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 2:

Despair and Hope in the Age of Quarrel

Shri Shuka said: 'And then, oh King, under the strong influence of the time [of Kali-yuga] religiousness, truthfulness, cleanliness, tolerance and mercy as also duration of life, physical strength and memory will diminish day after day [see also 1.16]. Among the people of the age of Kali all one attains by good birth, behavior and qualities will be wealth while material power will be the only factor determining what is just and reasonable. Relations between men and women will be based upon sensual pleasure, business will be ruled by deceit, masculinity and femininity are there for sexual attraction and a sacred thread will suffice to be considered learned. External marks only determine someone's spiritual status and constitute the basis for mutual exchanges, because of a lack of funds one is less credible and scholarship consists of word jugglery. Poverty simply means a lack of virtue and hypocrisy and deceit are the standard of virtue; verbal agreement is enough to be married and a bath suffices to start the day. A holy place is a reservoir of water somewhere far away, beauty depends on one's hair style, life's purpose is to fill one's belly, someone audacious is considered truthful, when one can maintain a family one is an expert and one observes religious principles for the sake of one's reputation. With the earth being crowded with a populace thus corrupted, anyone who is the strongest among the intellectuals, the rulers, the merchants and the working class, will be called the king. The citizens whose wives and property are stolen by a merciless and avaricious ruling class that behaves like ordinary thieves, will flee to the mountains and the forests. Suffering draughts, famine and taxation they will be ruined and resort to the consumption of leaves, roots, meat, honey, fruits, flowers and seeds [see also 1.16: 20, 4.20: 14, 4.21: 24, B.G. 3: 14]. Plagued by cold, wind, heat, rain and snow as also by quarrels, hunger, thirst and diseases, they suffer a great deal of distress and anxiety. The maximum duration of life for human beings in Kali-yuga will be fifty years. 2-1 When the bodies of all living entities are in decay from the contamination of Kali-yuga, when the dutifulness of the members of all status-orientations is lost, when the Vedic path for all man has changed into a predominantly atheistic sense of duty, when the kings mainly consist of thieves and the people in their various occupations are lying criminals of useless violence [against specially animals], when the societal classes as good as all are engaged in profit-minded labour, cows have the same value as goats, the hermitages hardly can be distinguished from materialistic households, family bonds do not reach beyond the ties of marriage, when the plants and herbs are mostly small sised and all trees are like Shami trees, when there is always lightning in the clouds and the homes are ruled by loneliness [voidism, impersonalism, see Pranati], when Kali-yuga is running at its end and the people behave like asses, the Supreme Lord will descend in the mode of pure goodness to defend the dharma.

The spiritual master of all the moving and nonmoving living beings, Lord Vishnu, the Supreme Personality and Controller of All, takes birth for the protection of the religion and to put an end to the karma of the saintly souls. In the village of Shambhala Lord Kalki will appear in the home of the great soul, the eminent brahmin VishnuYasha ['the glory of Vishnu']. 9-2 Mounting His swift horse Devadatta, the Lord of the Universe endowed with His sword, transcendental qualities and eight mystic opulences [siddhis], will subdue the reprobates. With speed traveling the earth on His horse He, unrivaled in His splendor, will slaughter the thieves dressing as kings by the millions. When all the robbers have been killed, the minds of all the residents of the towns and cities will clear up who came in touch with the breeze carrying the most sacred fragrance of the [with sandalwood paste] decorated body of Lord Vasudeva. When Vasudeva, the Supreme Lord, is situated in their hearts in the transcendental form of His goodness, the production of offspring will be abundant. After the Supreme Lord Kalki, the Lord and Master of Dharma, has incarnated, Satya-yuga will begin and progeny will be created in the mode of goodness [see yuga]. The moment the sun and the moon together with Jupiter [Bhrihaspati] in the same constellation [of Karkatha or Cancer] enter the lunar mansion of Tishya [or Pushya, 3° 20′ to 16° 40′ see zodiac], Satya-yuga [Krita] will begin.

I briefly described all the past, present and future kings belonging to the solar and lunar dynasties [see also vams'a]. Beginning from the birth of your good self up to the coronation of king Nanda [see 12.1: 12] eleven hundred and fifty years will pass [*]. 7-2 On the [northwest] line between the two stars [Pulaha and Kratu] one first sees rising in the constellation of the seven sages [Ursa Major, the Great Bear], one in the nightly sky sees their [ruling] lunar mansion. The sages [the stars] in that lunar mansion remain connected with it for a hundred human years. Now, in your time, they are situated in the nakshatra called Magha. When Vishnu the Supreme Lord, the sun known as Krishna, returned to heaven, this world entered the age of Kali in which people delight in sin. For as long as He, the Husband of Rama, touched the earth with His lotus feet, Kali could not prevail on earth. Kali-yuga begins when the [constellation of the] seven divine sages enter[s] Magha. That period covers twelve hundred [godly] years [or 432.000 human years, see also kala]. When the seven sages pass from Magha to the lunar mansion of

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Purvasadha, this age of Kali will attain its full strength beginning with the time of king [Mahapadma] Nanda and his descendants. The historians say that the age of Kali began the very day that Shri Krishna departed for the spiritual world. At the end of the thousand celestial years of the fourth [Kali] age, Satya-yuga will start again, the time when the minds of men will be self-enlightened.

Thus this dynasty from [Vaivasvata] Manu has been enumerated as it is known on earth. The positions of the scholars, the traders and the workers in each age can therewith also be understood. Of these personalities, these great souls, one only remembers their names; all that remains of their glory on this earth are their stories. Devapi, the brother of Shantanu [9.22: 12-17] and Maru [9.12: 5-6] who took birth in the Ikshvaku dynasty, are endowed with great mystical power and both live [even now] in Kalapa. At the end of the age of Kali they will return to human society and promulgate the varnashrama-dharma as it was before, deriving from the instructions they received from Vasudeva [Krishna]. The four ages of Krita [Satya], Treta, Dvapara and Kali that the living beings undergo in this world, will repeat themselves continuously following this sequential order [see also mahayuga]. Oh King, these kings, these gods among man and the others I described, who arriving on this earth exert their possessiveness, in the end all have to forsake this world and face their demise. Even if someone's body carries the name of king it is nevertheless destined to be known as stool, worms or ashes. For the sake of that body he was an enemy of other living beings and therefore ends up in hell. What does such a one know about his self-interest [compare 6.18: 25, 7.15: 37, 10.10: 10, 10.51: 50]? [A king may think:] 'How can this same undivided earth as controlled by the personalities of my predecessors and now under my control, stay in the hands of my son, grandson and other descendant?' When one accepts this body that is composed of earth, water and fire, with a notion of 'I' and when one says 'mine' to this earth, one lacks in intelligence, for in the end reaching one's own absence one has to forsake both this body and this earth [see also 4.9: 34-35]. Oh King, of whatever that kings may enjoy in the world with all their power, is by Time nothing more preserved than some accounts and histories [compare with 2.9: 33, 5.19: 28, 11.19: 16, 11.28: 21].'

*: From this statement can be derived, that the Candragupta that after Nanda by Canakya was put on the throne must have been another Candragupta than the one who 1500 years later supposedly defeated Alexander the Great in the fourth century B.C. The parampara adds to the discrepancy of three centuries further: 'Although Shukadeva Gosvami previously described approximately fifteen hundred years of royal dynasties, it is understood that some overlapping occurred between kings.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 3:

The Song of Mother Earth and the Remedy for Kali-yuga

Shri Shuka said: 'When the earth saw the kings busily engaged in conquering her, she laughed and said: 'Ah, just see how these kings, these playthings of death, wish to conquer me! This lust of the rulers of man and even the sages, is doomed to fail; those kings are putting their faith in a lump of matter that compares to a water bubble.' - 'Let us first conquer the sixfold [of the senses and the mind], then subdue the leading ministers and then the advisors. Next we rid ourselves of the citizens, the friends, the elephant keepers and the thorns [the thugs]. This way we will step by step conquer the earth and her girdle of seas', but thinking thus with their hearts caught in expectations, they do not realise the finality of their existence [compare B.G 16: 13-18]. Having conquered the lands by the sea they, with all their might, next enter the seas. Of what use is such a victory over the self? Spiritual liberation is the fruit of conquering oneself!

The Manus and their sons, oh best of the Kurus, all gave up [ruling over me] and left [for the forest] the way they came, but those lacking in intelligence try to conquer me through warfare. Because of me among materialistic persons conflict arises between fathers and sons and between brothers, for their hearts are ruled by possessing power. Endeavoring for me saying 'This entire land is mine and not yours, you fool', the rulers quarrel, kill each other and get killed [compare e.g. 2.5: 13, 2.7: 42, 4.29: 5, 5.5: 8, 6.16: 41, 7.8: 7-10, 9.4: 2-12]. -1 Prithu, Pururava, Gadhi, Nahusha, Bharata, Kartaviryarjuna, Mandhata, Sagara, Rama [*], Khathvanga, Dhundhuha [or] Kuvalayas'va [9.6: 23-24], Raghu [9.10: 1], Trinabindu [9.2: 30], Yayati, Sharyati [9.3: 1], Shantanu [9.22: 12-13], Gaya [5.15: 6-13], Bhagiratha [9.9: 2-17], Kakutstha [9.6: 12], Naishadha [Nala, 9.9: 16-17, 9.23: 20-21, from the descendants of Nishadha, 9.12: 1], Nriga [Nabhaga, 10.64: 10], Hiranyakas'ipu, Vritra, Ravana, who made the whole world lament, Namuci [8.11: 29-49], Shambara [10.36: 36], Bhauma, Hiranyaksha and Taraka [8.10: 19-24], as also many other demons and kings of great control over others, were all heroes who well informed were unconquerable and subdued everyone. Living for me, oh mighty one, they expressed great possessiveness but, by the force of Time being subjected to death, they failed to accomplish their goals, historical accounts is all that remained of them [see also B.G. 4: 7].

[Shuka continued:] These narrations I related to you about great kings who spread their fame in all the worlds and then departed, do not express the highest purpose, oh mighty one. They are but a wealth of words [a backdrop] for dilating on renunciation and wisdom. It is rather the repeated discussing and singing about the qualities of the Lord Praised in the Verses, what destroys everything inauspicious. He who desires Lord Krishna's pure devotional service should therefore do that regularly [seeking that association] and hear [about Him] time and again.'

The honourable king [Parikchit] said: 'By what means my Lord, do the people living in Kali-yuga eradicate the faults accumulating because of that age? Please explain to me how it is. How about the yugas, the duties prescribed for them, the time they last and when they end, as also the Time itself that represents the movement of the Controller, of Lord Vishnu the Supreme Soul [see also time quotes page].'

Shri Shuka said: 'The religion of the people in Satya-yuga, oh King, is by the people of the time maintained with all its four legs: the powerful legs of truth [satya], compassion [daya], penance [tapas] and charity [dana, or also Shauca, purification [**], compare 1.17: 24, 3.11: 21 and see niyama]. The [hamsa-]people [of that age] are content, merciful, friendly, peaceful, self-controlled, tolerant, satisfied within, equal-minded and mostly ascetic [see also 3.13: 35 and 11.17: 10]. In Treta-yuga one fourth of [the strength of each of] the legs of dharma is gradually lost because of the legs of adharma or godlessness: untruth, violence, dissatisfaction and discord [compare 1.17: 25]. During that age people are of devotion with rituals and penances, without any excessive violence or wanton desires. Prospering in their respect for the three Vedas they follow the three paths [of regulating the religion, the economy and sense gratification], while the four classes are predominantly brahminically oriented oh King. The dharmic qualities of austerity, compassion, truth and charity are in Dvapara-yuga reduced to one half [of their strength] because of the adharmic characteristics of violence, discontent, lies and hatred. One is [in that age] of a high moral fiber, one loves glory and is absorbed in Vedic study. One is opulent with large families and joyful, while brahmins and nobles constitute the greatest number among the four classes. Because of the constant increase of the principles of godlessness, in Kali-yuga the legs of religiousness further decrease to one fourth [of their strength, compare 1.17: 25], until they finally will be destroyed. In that age the people will be greedy, ill-mannered, lacking in compassion, prone to useless quarrel, unfortunate and obsessed with material desires, while they will mainly consist of labourers and less civilised characters. The qualities of goodness, passion and ignorance that thus [depending the age] are observed in a person, undergo - being impelled by [the operation of] Time - permutations within the mind [***]. The time when the mind, the intelligence and the senses flourish in the mode of goodness, should be understood as Satya-yuga, the age of taking pleasure in knowledge and austerity. Oh intelligent one, when the conditioned souls devoted to their duties are of ulterior motives and strive for honour, that predominance of passion must be considered the time of Treta. When greed and dissatisfaction, false pride, envy and hypocrisy are seen everywhere and actions are dominated by selfhood, one speaks of the time of Dvapara, the age of passion and ignorance.

Kali-yuga is known as the age of ignorance, where there is deceit, false testimony, sloth and lethargy, violence, depression, lamentation, delusion, fear and poverty. As a consequence the mortals will be shortsighted, unfortunate, eating too much, lusty and poverty-stricken while the women will act of their own accord and be unchaste. In the populated areas uncivilised people will take high positions [and act like thieves], the Vedic scriptures will be slighted by false doctrines [heretics], the political leaders will devour the people and the twice-born souls will be dedicated to their bellies and genitals. The youngsters [the students] will be averse to vows and impure in their engagements, the householders will be beggars [with what they claim], the withdrawn souls [the middle-aged, with no nature left to retreat into] will be city-dwellers and the renounced order will greedily endeavor for wealth [be engaged in 'reli-business']. Smaller in size, voracious and having many children, [the women will have] lost their timidity and constantly speak harshly and with great audacity be as deceitful as thieves. The merchants will indulge in cheating so that their business dealings will be wicked while the people unnecessarily will consider any contemptible occupation [in the sex industry or gambling business] a good job. Servants will abandon a master who lost his wealth - even if he is the best one around, masters will abandon a handicapped servant - even when he belonged to the family for generations, and cows will be abandoned [and killed] as soon as they stopped giving milk. Under the control of women, men in Kali-yuga will be wretched and forsake their fathers, brothers, friends and relatives, while regularly associating with their brothers and sisters-in-law in a conception of friendship based upon sexual enjoyment. Labourers being dressed up as mendicants of austerity, will accept religious charity to earn their living and mount a high seat to speak about religious matters without any knowledge of dharmic principles. 9-4 With their minds constantly full of stress, emaciated by famine and taxes in times of scarcity with droughts on the surface of the earth, oh King, the people of Kali-yuga will be troubled by countless worries and live in fear. Lacking in clothing, food, drink, rest, sexual love [vyavaya, also called 'change'], bathing and personal ornaments they will appear like ghostly creatures. In the age of Kali one will even over a single coin develop enmity [5.14 and 5.14: 26], reject friendly relations, kill oneself [be suicidal] and even kill one's relatives [domestic violence]. Only interested in the petty service of the stomach and the genitals one, even being born in a respectable family, will not protect the elderly parents, the wife and the children. Oh King, with their minds diverted by atheism the mortals in Kali-yuga in general will not worship the Infallible One, the Personality of Godhead who is the Supreme Spiritual Master of the three worlds at whose feet the various masters bow down. In Kali-yuga the people do not worship Him, even though He is the One by whom a person, who dying in distress collapsing with a faltering voice helplessly chants His name, is freed from the chains of karma and achieves the topmost destination [see also B.G. 8: 10 and 6.2]. The objects [and food], places and the individual nature of man are as a result of Kali-yuga all polluted [diseased, full of faults], but when one installs Bhagavan, the Supreme Personality in one's heart, He takes all this contamination away.

Of those human beings who but even heard, glorified, meditated, worshiped or venerated the Supreme Lord, the inauspiciousness is cleansed away that from a thousand births accumulated in their hearts. Just as the discolouration one finds in gold because of other metals is removed by fire, the impurities of the mind of yoga practitioners are removed when Lord Vishnu has entered their heart. Education, penance, breath control, friendship, bathing in holy waters, vows, charity and praying with prayer beads do not realise as full the purification of the mind as the presence of Him, the Unlimited Personality of Godhead, in the heart. Therefore oh King, do your utmost best to establish Lord Kes'ava in your heart; the moment you die [here after this week] you will with your attention focussed on Him attain the highest destination. The Supreme Lord meditated upon by those who are dying is the Supreme Controller, the Soul and Shelter of All, who leads them to their true identity my dearest. In the ocean of faults of Kali-yuga, oh King, there is luckily one great good quality: just by singing about [and meditating on] Krishna['s name, see bhajans] one can be liberated from material bondage and achieve beatitude [see also bhagavata dharma and kirtana]. The same result one achieves in Satya-yuga by meditating on Vishnu, one achieves in Treta-yuga by worshiping with sacrifices and one achieves in Dvapara-yuga by serving the lotus feet [of Him in the form of a king], is in Kali-yuga achieved by singing about [and meditating on the names of] the Lord [see also 11.5: 38-40].'

*: According to Shrila Shridhara Svami, and as confirmed by Shrila Vis'vanatha Cakravarti Thhakura, the king Rama mentioned here is not the incarnation of Godhead Ramacandra. This is corroborated by the M.W. dictionary mentioning the demigod Varuna, writers, teachers and other great personalities addressed with that name. Probably Bhargava is meant, also known as Ushana, who most powerfully formed a dynasty descending from the sages Bhrigu and Markandeya [see: 9.16: 32 and 4.1: 45].

**: In the M.W. dictionary three meanings are given for the word dana: 1. donating, giving gifts 2. sharing or communicating and 3. purification. The last meaning confirms the use of the term Shauca in the First BOOK of Shrimad-Bhagavatam as the fourth leg of the bull of religion. This alternative definition of the word danam is confirmed by Shrila Vis'vanatha Cakravarti Thhakura.

***: The parampara adds to this: 'The particular age represented by goodness (Satya), passion (Treta), passion and ignorance (Dvapara) or ignorance (Kali) exists within each of the other ages as a subfactor.'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 4:

Pralaya: The Four Types of Annihilation

Shri Shuka said: 'Time beginning with the smallest unit of the atom and culminating in the two halves [or parardhas of the life of Brahma], oh King, has been described [in 3.11] together with the duration of the yugas. Now hear about the annihilation of a kalpa. A thousand cycles of four yugas is called a kalpa, a day of Brahma, in which there are fourteen original progenitors of mankind [Manus] oh ruler of the citizens. At their end there is a period of dissolution of the same duration that is described as the night of Brahma. During that time the three worlds are subject to destruction. This is said to be the occasional annihilation [or naimittika pralaya] in which [Narayana] the creator of the universe lies down upon His bed Ananta, to absorb the universe including Lord Brahma. After the completion of two parardhas [the

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two halves of the entire life] of the highest situated living being, Lord Brahma, the seven elements [mahat, ahankara and the five tanmatras] are subject to destruction. This [occasion] oh King, at which the universal egg, this aggregate [of these seven universal aspects] reaches the time of its disruption and dissolves oh King, constitutes the elemental [prakritika] annihilation. For a hundred years oh King, the clouds will not shower rain upon the earth. The people being confounded by the time will, in the distress of their hunger with the lack of food that follows, [even] consume each other and step by step find their destruction. The sun with its terrible rays will evaporate all the juice of the earth, the ocean and the living bodies, and not give the slightest [precipitation] in return. Thereupon from the mouth of Lord Sankarshana the fire of destruction will issue, that raised by the force of the wind will burn all levels of existence on earth [and the other planets, 3.11: 30, 8.5: 35]. The universal egg burning on all sides with the flames of the fire from below and the sun above, will glow like a ball of cow dung. Next for more than a hundred years the terrible wind of the ultimate destruction [samvartaka] will blow and turn the sky gray with dust. Clusters of multicoloured clouds dear King, then will pour down rain for a hundred years with tremendous claps of thunder. The shell of the universe will thereupon fill up and constitute a single [cosmic] body of water. The moment the water of the flood takes away the quality of fragrance, the element earth, being deprived of its fragrance, will dissolve [see also 3.26: 49-61, 11.3: 9, 11.24: 22-27].

Fire then takes away the taste of water, after which it, deprived of this quality, dissolves. Next follows fire that by air is deprived of its form because it takes its quality [of touch] away, after which the air enters the ether that takes away that quality. Then, oh King the ether dissolves in the original element of nature [adi, false ego in ignorance] that takes away its quality of sound. Subsequently the senses are seised by the vital power of the universe [tejas or false ego in passion] my best, while the gods are absorbed by the universal modification [vikara, the false ego of goodness]. Cosmic intelligence [mahat] seizes the false ego with all its functions after which mahat is absorbed by the modes of nature of sattva and so on. These three modes, oh King, are then, under the pressure of Time, overtaken by the inexhaustible doer [the original unmanifest form of nature]. The original doer is not subject to transformation in divisions of time [shath-urmi] and such qualities; being unmanifest without a beginning and an end, it [or He] is the infallible eternal cause. 0-2 Therein [in His primal state] one does not find speech, mind, or the mode of goodness, passion or ignorance. Neither the elements of the complete whole - the vital air, the intelligence, the senses and so on - are found there, nor are the gods there or the arrangement of the different planetary orders. There is no sleeping, waking or deep sleep, no water, air, ether, fire, earth or sun. That what is like a void or someone fast asleep, is the [primal] substance that defies all logical explanation and serves as the root [the pradhana], so say the authorities. This [state] constitutes the [prakritika pralaya] dissolution wherein all the material elements of nature and energies of the unseen Original Person are completely dismantled by Time and helplessly merge.

It is spiritual knowledge [the consciousness, the Absolute Truth alone] that is the foundation which manifests in the form of these elements of intelligence, the senses and the sense objects. Whatever that is perceived as having a beginning and an end is insubstantial, for it has no existence apart from its cause [only being a reference to it, compare 11.28: 21]. A lamp, an eye that perceives and the form perceived do not stand apart from the light [that is treated by them]. The same way intelligence, the senses and sense perceptions do not stand apart from the [one Supreme] reality [the Absolute Truth] that is quite different [see also siddhanta and B.G. 9.15]. The wakefulness, sleep and deep sleep that belong to the intelligence are therefore called a deception of the senses [relative to the fourth state of meditation called turiya]. This oh King is the duality experienced by the soul [11.13: 27-34]. Just as clouds are there and are not there in the sky, this entire universe with its different parts being generated and having vanished is there and not there within the Absolute of the Truth. The ingredient cause my best, of any composite entity out here, is something real [that can be perceived] so is stated [in the Vedanta-sutra], just as the threads of a piece of cloth can be perceived separately from the fabric they form [see also 6.3: 12, 11.12: 21]. Whatever one may experience as having a general cause and a specific effect constitutes a form of illusion; everything with a beginning and an end is insubstantial because of the interdependence [of cause and effect]. Even though knowable to us the changeable nature of [the phenomenal world or] even a single atom, can in no way be explained without [- as standing apart from -] the Self inside [of the Time, the Lord, the expansion of the universe, the 'fourth dimension'], for if that would be so [if there would not be such a Self] it should, being equal to the consciousness, stay the way it is. One cannot have different types of Absolute Truth; if an unknowing person thinks of the Absolute in terms of opposites, that is just like having two skies, two daylights or two life breaths. Just as gold appears to men in many forms depending its use, the Supreme Lord Adhokshaja who is inconceivable to the senses, is described in different terms by a worldly person and a person of Vedic knowledge. A cloud brought about by the sun is made visible by the sun but means darkness to the eyes that are a partial expansion of the sun. Similarly the ego, one's I-awareness, is a quality of the Absolute made visible by the Absolute, but as a partial expansion of the Absolute that ego means darkness [falsehood] to the individual soul being bound to the material self. When a cloud produced by the sun is riven, the eye sees the sun's form. When the same way the false ego that covers the spirit soul is destroyed by spiritual [self-]inquiry, remembrance [of the Original Self] will be the result. When one thus with this sword of discrimination has cut away the false ego originating from illusion that binds the soul and one has developed a firm realisation of the Infallible Supreme Soul, one speaks of the entire annihilation [of one's materially determined existence, atyantika pralaya], dear King.

Oh subduer of the enemies, some expert knowers of the subtle all-pervading spirit, assert that the creation and destruction of all living beings beginning with Brahma, is an everlasting [nitya] process. The [more or less favorable living] conditions of all living beings subject to transformation, are rapidly and continuously wiped out by the mighty force of the current of Time and constitute the causes of their birth and death. These states of existence created by the Time, the form of the Lord without a beginning or an end, one does not see [directly], just as the [movements of the] planets in the sky are not seen [directly, see also 3.10: 10-14]. Annihilation in the sense of a continuous [nitya], periodical [naimittika], natural [elemental or prakritika] and complete [atyantika] destruction has been described. This is how Time [kala] operates.

These narrations about the lila of the creator of the universe, Narayana, the reservoir of all existences, have been related briefly and clearly to you, oh best of the Kurus. Not even the Unborn One [Lord Brahma] would be able to enumerate them completely. For a person distressed by the fire of the different miseries of life and the desires to cross the hard to overcome ocean of material existence, there is no boat but the one of being devoted with a taste for the narrations of the pastimes of the Fortunate One, the Supreme Personality. Long ago the infallible Lord Nara-Narayana taught this essential compendium of all the classical stories, to Narada Muni who passed it on to Krishna Dvaipayana [Vyasa, the author; see 5.19: 10-15]. He, that powerful Lord Badarayana, thereupon was pleased to teach me this Bhagavatam oh Maharaja, this anthology equal in status to the four Vedas. Suta Gosvami, sitting here with us oh best of the Kurus, will [in his turn] pass it on when he is questioned by sages headed by Shaunaka during a lengthy sacrificial ceremony in the forest of Naimisharanya [see 1.1].'

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 5:
Final Instructions to Maharaja Parikchit

Shri Shuka said: 'In this [narration] I have elabourately described the Supreme Lord Hari, the Soul of the Universe, from whose grace Lord Brahma was born [3.8] from whose anger Lord Shiva [3.12: 7] took birth. Oh King, you who think 'I am going to die', have to give up this animalistic mentality; it is not so that you - just like the body - [as a soul] have been born while you before were non-existent. You likewise neither shall die today [see also B.G. 2: 12 & 2: 20]. You will not get a new life as a child of yours or in the form of a grandchild, the way a plant sprouts from its own seed; you differ from the body and that what belongs to it as much as fire [differs from the wood it is burning *]. The way one in a dream can witness one's own head being cut off [while staying alive] one also witnesses the physical body composed of the five elements and so on. That is why the soul of the body is of an unborn and eternal nature [see also B.G. 2: 22]. When a pot is broken the air in the pot again will be as the air before; so too the individual regains his original spiritual state when the body is dead. The material bodies, qualities and actions of the spirit soul result from a materially oriented mind; and it is maya, the illusory potency of the Lord, that brings about the material mind and the consequent [repeated] material existence of the individual living being [through ahankara, see also 2.5: 25, 3.26: 31-32, 3.27: 2-5]. The combination of oil, a vessel, a wick and fire is what one sees together with the burning of a lamp. Likewise one sees how because of the interaction of the modes of passion, goodness and ignorance the material existence of the physical body develops and finds destruction. The soul differing from the gross [deha] and the subtle [linga] body, is self-luminous, and constitutes, because it is as unchanging as the sky, the foundation [adhara] that is eternal and beyond comparison. Oh prabhu, engaging your intelligence thus with logical inferences in meditation upon Lord Vasudeva, you should carefully consider your essence, your true self, that is covered by your physical frame. Takshaka [the snake-bird] sent by the words of the brahmin [1.18] will not burn you; the messengers of death cannot supersede you [your soul] who [now] have mastered the causes of death and death itself [see also 11.31: 12]. 1-1 With the consideration 'I am the Original Supreme Spirit, the Abode of the Absolute and the Supreme Destination' you should place yourself within the Supreme Self that is free from material designations. [Having done this] you will, with the entire world thus set apart from the self, not even notice Takshaka or your own body when he, licking his lips and with his mouth full of poison, bites your foot. Dear soul, is there anything more you want to know, oh King, after all that I in response to your questions told you about the activities of the Lord?'

*: In the Shruti-mantra it is said: pita putrena pitriman yoni-yonau: "A father has a father in his son, because he may take birth as his own grandson."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 6:
Maharaja Parikchit Liberated and the Veda Handed Down in Four

Shri Suta said: "After Maharaja Parikchit, the one protected by Vishnu, had heard what was said by the sage, the equal minded seer of the Supreme Soul, the son of Vyasa, he approached his lotus feet, bowed his head down and said with his hands folded the following to him. The king said: 'With the great mercy shown by your goodness full of compassion, I have attained perfection because you described directly to me the Lord Without a Beginning or End. It is no surprise at all for great souls absorbed in the Infallible One to be of mercy with the ignorant conditioned souls who are tormented by distress. We [thus] heard from you this collection of classical stories in which the Supreme Lord Uttamas'loka is being described [*]. My lord, I do not fear Takshaka or any other living being, nor do I fear repeated deaths; I have entered the Spirit of the Absolute revealed by you as [nirvana, as] standing apart from everything material, and [am now] free from fear. Please allow me oh brahmin, to place my speech [and other sensory functions] in Adhokshaja so that I, with an absorbed mind having forsaken all sensual desires, can give up my life. With the help of you who showed the all-auspicious, supreme shelter of the Lord Almighty, I have become fixed in non-material knowledge and wisdom and has my ignorance been eradicated.' "

Suta said: "Thus having been addressed the powerful saint, the son of Vyasa, gave him the permission. After the king, that god among the people, along with the renounced sages had worshiped him, the sage left. -1 Parikchit, the saintly king, by the power of reason thereupon placed his mind in his soul, meditated on the Supreme Truth and arrested his breath so that he became as motionless as a tree. On the bank of the Ganges sitting on darbha grass laid to the east, the great yogi, facing the north, broke in perfect realisation of the Absolute Spirit with all doubts. Dear scholars, when Takshaka, being triggered by the angered son of the brahmin sage [Samika], was on his way to kill the king, he encountered Kasyapa Muni [see 1.18]. He was an expert in countering poison, but Takshaka satisfied him with valuables and persuaded him to return home. Thereupon he, able to assume any form desired, disguised himself as a brahmin and bit the king. Before the eyes of all embodied souls the body of the fully self-realised saint among the kings was consumed by the fire of the snake's poison and turned immediately to ashes. From all directions of the earth and the sky a great cry of lamentation was heard of the surprise of all demigods, demons, human beings and other creatures. The kettledrums of the demigods resounded, the Gandharvas and Apsaras sang and the self-realised souls spoke words of praise and rained down a shower of flowers. When Janamejaya heard that his father had been bitten by Takshaka, he most enraged accordingly together with the brahmins offered all the snakes [of the world] as oblations in a sacrificial ceremony. Takshaka seeing the great serpents being burned in the blazing fire of the snake sacrifice, agitated by fear went to Indra for shelter. King Janamejaya not seeing Takshaka among them, said to the brahmins: 'Why has Takshaka, the lowest of all serpents, not been burned?'

[They answered:] 'Oh best of the kings, he is hiding, having approached Indra for shelter. The snake is protected by him and therefore did not end up in the fire.'

After the highly intelligent son of Parikchit heard these words he said to the priests: 'Dear scholars, why not throw Takshaka along with Indra into the fire?'

Hearing that the priests performed the ritual for offering Takshaka along with Indra. [They prayed:] 'Oh Takshaka, may you quickly fall into this fire here together with Indra and his host of demigods.' Indra who together with Takshaka and his vimana was thrown from his position by the derogatory words of the brahmins, became most disturbed. Brihaspati, the son of Angira, who saw him together with Takshaka fall from the sky in his vimana, addressed the king: 'This snake-bird does not deserve to be killed by you, oh ruler of men. He, this king of the snakes, drank from the nectar [of the gods] and is therefore beyond any doubt free from aging and immortal! The life and death of a living being and his destination [in a next life], oh King, are solely the result of his karma; no other agent than this brings him happiness and distress. A living being dying because of snakes, thieves, fire

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and lightening, hunger, thirst, disease or other agents oh King, undergoes that because of his accumulated karma. For that reason oh King, this sacrifice should be stopped that is performed with the intent to harm others. People burning innocent snakes will have to suffer that fate themselves [see also the Mahabharata 1.43].' "

Suta said: "Thus being addressed he said: 'So be it!', and with respect for the words of the great sage he ceased with the snake sacrifice and worshiped that master of speech [Brihaspati]. It is this great material illusion [mahamaya] belonging to Vishnu that, because of the interaction of the material qualities [the gunas], causes misfortune, cannot be counteracted and from which the souls who are part and parcel of Him become bewildered and are caught in material bodies. 0-3 The visible illusory energy wherein abiding one lacking in peace thinks in terms of deceit, will not [prevail] when one constantly investigates what goes on in the soul. This is so because one therein, [in that state] the transcendentalists speak about, is not of the materialistic arguments that assume so many forms nor thereof is of a mind full of decisions and doubts. In that [transcendental consciousness] the living entity is not of worldly concerns or of their causes and the benefits achieved by them, nor is he therein of the I-awareness [that is so strong] in being bound to the modes. That is all excluded then. A wise soul should take pleasure in warding off the waves of worldly conditioning as also anyone thus being entangled [see also e.g. 6.4: 31-32]. The supreme refuge of Lord Vishnu is, by those who wish to give up everything inessential, designated as that what is 'neither this, nor that' [see also neti neti]. Rejecting the immorality [of materialism] and with their emotions directed at nothing else, they embrace in their hearts the 'not-that' [of the Soul, of Him] to which they hold on deeply absorbed in meditation [in samadhi]. [Thus] not being corrupted by the 'I' and 'mine' that is based upon having a body and a home, they attain this supreme refuge of Lord Vishnu. Insulting words one should tolerate and one should never disrespect anyone, nor should one identify with this material body or hold a grudge against whomever. I offer my obeisances to Him, the Supreme Personality of Godhead Shri Krishna whose knowledge is always new and upon whose lotus feet meditating I have assimilated this collection of wisdom [Samhita]'."

Shri Shaunaka said: "Please tell us this oh gentle soul [Suta]: in what way spoke Paila and the other highly intelligent disciples of Vyasa who constitute the Vedic authority, about the Vedas and how have they divided them?"

Suta said: "Oh brahmin, Lord Brahma, the most elevated being, had his mind perfectly under control and heard in his heart the subtle transcendental sound [of ta-pa, 2.9: 6] that arose from the ether. One can hear that sound when one closes one's ears [for sounds from the outside. See also Shabda]. By the worship of that sound, oh brahmin, yogis cleanse the contamination away from the heart that is known as the substance, the activity and the doer [**], and find liberation from rebirth. From that [sound] the threefold omkara [A-U-M] came into being that, manifesting itself unseen, constitutes the representation of the Supreme Lord [Bhagavan], the Absolute Truth [Brahman] and the Supersoul [Paramatma, see also 1.2: 11, B.G. 7: 8]. 0-4 One perceives this [eternal, itself imperceptibly manifesting] sound, outside the physical sense of hearing and power of vision. The complete of the Vedic sound one employs is an elabouration of this omkara that from the soul manifests itself in the ether. It constitutes the direct expression of the self-generating Absolute Truth and Supersoul, it constitutes the eternal seed of the Vedas and constitutes the secret of all mantras [see also 7.15: 31, 9.14: 48, 11.14: 34-35, 11.21: 36-40]. Oh eminence of Bhrigu, the three sounds of the alphabet beginning with A that came into being [the sounds A, U and M], are fundamental to [all] the threefold forms of material existence: the modes [the gunas], the names [of the three Vedas], the destinations [the three types of lokas] and the states of consciousness [avasthatraya]. The mighty unborn Lord [Brahma] created from it [that threefold sound] the different sounds of the total collection of vowels, sibilants, semivowels and consonants as they are known by their short and long forms. For the purpose of giving instruction on the four sacrifices [see ritvik], the almighty one created with all these sounds from his four faces the four Vedas, along with his omkara and vyahriti invocations [of the names of the seven lokas]. He taught them [as a complete set] to his sons who were the great rishis among the brahmins most expert in the art of Vedic recitation, and they in their turn imparted them as instructors of dharma [acaryas] to their sons. Throughout the four yugas generation after generation, one after the other disciple fixed in his vows received them [these Vedas] by disciplic succession [parampara]. They were divided among the prominent sages at the end of Dvapara-yuga. The brahmin sages, inspired by the Infallible Lord situated in their hearts, came to that dividing among each other of the Vedas when they saw that under the influence of time the intelligence [of the people] diminished, the life span shortened and the strength weakened [see also 1.4: 16-18]. 8-4 Oh brahmin, in this period [of Manu], Brahma and Shiva and other rulers over the worlds requested the Supreme Lord, the Protector of the Universe, to protect the principles of religion. Oh most fortunate soul, the Lord [in the form of Krishna Dvaipayana Vyasa], by Paras'ara begotten in the womb of Satyavati, then descended as a partial expansion of His plenary portion [Sankarshana] and divided the Veda in four. Like someone sorting out gems, he separated the group of mantras in four categories of collections [Samhitas]: the Rig, Atharva, Yajur and Sama Veda [see Vedas]. The highly intelligent and mighty sage, asked four of his disciples to approach him one by one, oh brahmin, to give each of them one of the [four] collections. 2-5 He taught Paila the first collection [the Rig Veda] named Bahvrica ['many verses'], to Vais'ampayana he spoke the collection of Yajur mantras called Nigada ['the recited'], the Sama mantras titled Chandoga ['singer in metre'] he told Jaimini and the [Atharva] mantras from [the sages] Atharva and Angira he entrusted to his dear disciple Sumantu [see also 4.21: 22]. 4-5 Paila told his Samhita [that he divided in two] to Indrapramiti and Bashkala. The latter one oh son of Bhrigu [Shaunaka], divided his collection in four parts he handed down to his disciples Bodhya, Yajnavalkya, Paras'ara and Agnimitra. The self-controlled sage Indrapramiti taught his collection to the learned seer [his son] Mandukeya and his disciple Devamitra taught it to Saubhari and others. Shakalya, his son, divided his collection in five parts he gave to Vatsya, Mudgala, Shaliya, Gokhalya and Shis'ira. Sage Jatukarnya, also a disciple of his added to the collection he received a glossary when he passed it down to Balaka, Paila, Jabala and Viraja. Bashkali [the son of Bashkala] assembled from the different branches [of the Rig Veda] the collection called the Valakhilya-Samhita that was received by [the daitya sons] Valayani, Bhajya and Kas'ara. This is how those many collections of the Rig Veda verses were maintained by these brahmin seers [in disciplic succession]. Anyone who hears about the distribution of these sacred verses is freed from all sins.

[Some] disciples of Vais'ampayana were known as the Carakas ['the ones vowed'] for they executed a vow on behalf of their guru to atone for the sin of having killed a brahmin. They became authorities on the Atharva Veda. Yajnavalkya, another disciple, said: 'Oh master, what value have the endeavors of these weak fellows? I will perform a most difficult penance!'

Thus being addressed his spiritual master got angry and said: 'Go away, enough of you, a disciple insulting scholars; give immediately everything up that I taught you!'

The son of Devarata then regurgitated the collected Yajur mantras. After he had left the sages greedily looked at these Yajur mantras and turned into partridges picking them up. These branches of the Yajur Veda thus became known as the most beautiful Taittiriya-Samhita ['the partridge collection']. Oh brahmin, Yajnavalkya, looking for extra mantras unknown to his spiritual master, thereupon carefully worshiped the Lord of the sun.

Shri Yajnavalkya said: 'My obeisances unto the Supreme Personality of Godhead, who, appearing as the sun and just like the ether in the form of the Supersoul inside and in the form of Time outside, is present in the hearts of the four kinds of living entities beginning from Brahma down to the blades of grass [as born from wombs, eggs, moist and seed, see also 2.10: 37-40]. You who cannot be covered by material terms, all by Yourself, with the flow of years made up of the tiny fragments of kshanas, lavas and nimeshas [see 3.11: 7], carry out the maintenance of this universe by taking away and returning its water [in the form of rain]. Oh Lord of the Sun, oh Glowing One, oh Best among the Gods, by the rules of the sacred tradition I daily meditate, at the [three] junctures of the day, with full attention on Your glowing sphere, on You the mighty controller, who burn all the sins, the consequent suffering as also what led to them, of all souls offering prayers [see also 11.14: 35 and the Gayatri]. You, who in this world are the Lord dwelling in the hearts of all the moving and nonmoving living beings depending on Your shelter, awaken [and inspire] their unconscious material mind, senses and different vital airs [the vayus]. This world was seised and swallowed by the horrible mouth of the python known as darkness and became unconscious like being dead. You alone, most magnanimous mercifully casting Your glance, awaken [the sleeping souls] with the gift of insight. At the beginning, half way and at the end of the day You thus, day after day engage [the pious] in the ultimate benefit known as one's own nature of delivering service in a spiritual existence [svadharma]. Like an earthly king You [in the form of the sun] travel around everywhere creating fear among the sinners while the deities of the directions holding lotus flowers, with folded palms offer their respects. Hoping for Yajur mantras not known to anyone else, I therefore with prayer approach Your two lotus feet, oh Lord, that are honoured by the spiritual masters of the three worlds [lokas, and see 5.23: 8].'"

Suta said: "He, the Supreme Lord of the Sun thus glorified being satisfied, assumed the form of a horse and presented to the sage the Yajur mantras that were never learned by any other mortal being [see also 5.18: 6]. The mighty sage divided the hundreds of Yajur mantras in fifteen branches that were accepted by the disciples Kanva, Madhyandina and others under the name Vajasaneyi: 'stemming from the manes of the horse.' Of Jaimini Rishi, the manager of the Sama Veda, there was a son Sumantu as also a grandson Sutvan. Each of them he told one half of the collection. 6-7 Sukarma, another disciple [of Jaimini] and great thinker, divided the tree of the Sama Veda into a thousand collections of Sama mantras after which, oh brahmin, the disciples Hiranyanabha - the son of Kus'ala - Paushyanji as also another one named Avantya who was most advanced in spiritual realisation, took charge of them. From Paushyanji and Avantya there were five hundred disciples who are called the Sama Veda singers of the north, or also [in later times, some of them] the singers of the south. Laugakshi, Mangali, Kulya, Kus'ida and Kukshi, [five] other disciples of Paushyanji, each took care of a hundred collections of mantras. Krita, a disciple of Hiranyanabha, communicated twenty four Samhitas to his disciples and the remaining ones were handed down by the self-realised sage Avantya."

*: The Shrimad Bhagavatam is also known by the name of 'Paramahamsa Samhita': the collection of stories about the Supreme Swanlike Lord.

**: The substance, the activity and the doer as impurities are understood as manifestations of the ego-inspiring modes of the ignorance of inert matter, the passion of movement and the goodness of knowledge, also known as the adhibhautika hindrance of the body, the adhyatmika hindrance of the organs of action and the adhidaivika hindrance of the senses of perception [see kles'a].

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 7:

The Devotion in Samhita Branches and the Ten Topics of the Puranas

Shri Suta said: "Sumantu Rishi, the knower of the Atharva Veda [see 12.6: 52-53], instructed his mantra collection to his disciple [named Kabandha], who [dividing it in two] spoke it to Pathya and Vedadars'a. Please listen: Shauklayani, Brahmabali, Modosha and Pippalayani, the disciples of Vedadars'a and the disciples Kumuda, Shunaka and Jajali of Pathya my dear brahmin, were also all of them authorities on the Atharva Veda. Then Babhru and Saindhavayana, two disciples of Shunaka [Angira], the same way learned two Samhitas and other disciples headed by Savarna learned them [from them again] in their turn. Also Nakshatrakalpa, Shantikalpa, Kasyapa, Angirasa and others belong to these acaryas of the Atharva Veda. Hear now, oh sage, about the authorities of the Puranas.

Trayyaruni, Kasyapa, Savarni, Akritavrana, Vais'ampayana and Harita are the six masters of the Puranas. Each of them learned one collection from the mouth of Vyasa's pupil, my father [Romaharshana], and I, as a disciple of [all] these [masters], became well versed in all [the collections]. Kasyapa, I, Savarni and Akritavrana, who is a disciple of Rama [Parashurama, see also 10.74: 7-9], learned four basic collections from [Romaharshana,] the disciple of Vyasa. Oh brahmin, please listen attentively to what the characteristics are of a Purana as ascertained by the most intelligent brahmin seers in accordance with the Vedic scriptures. -1 The creation [of this universe, sarga], the subsequent creation [of different worlds and beings, visarga], the maintenance [the sustenance, the vritti or sthana] and protection [the raksha or poshana of the living beings], the reigns [of the various Manus], the dynasties [vams'as], the narrations about them [vams'a-anucaritam], the annihilation [of different kinds, pralaya or samstha], the reason [the individual living entity or hetu] and the supreme shelter [of the Fortunate One or apas'raya], oh brahmin, are the ten topics characterizing a Purana as understood by the authorities on the matter. Some state that relative to the greater ones, the smaller Puranas deal with only five of these subjects [see also Shuka on this 2.10: 1-7 and *].

Creation [sarga] is what one calls the generation from the primordial state. From that state the agitation of the modes raised the cosmic intelligence from which the identification with matter rose that is divided in three aspects [or types of beings to the modes]. This further led to the manifestation of the subtle forms of perception, the senses and the objects of sense perception [formation by the conditioning of and identification with Time, compare 2.10: 3].

The secondary creation [visarga] consists of the collection of ideas [impressions, desires, expectations, the vasanas] of the moving and nonmoving living beings. These propensities are, by the grace of the Original Person [the purusha], produced the same way as seed that produces [even more] seed.

Living beings subsist on other living beings that move around or else do not move around. For human beings specifically this [vritti] means that one therein acts according to either one's personal nature, one's lust or to scriptural regulations.

Raksha [or protection] concerns the [activities of the] incarnations of the Infallible One who age after age are present here among the animals, the mortals, the seers and the

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demigods of this universe, and kill the enemies of the threefold Veda [see also B.G. 4: 7].

With every reign of a Manu one speaks of the sixfold [manifestation of the] Lord: the Manu, the demigods, the sons of the Manu, the different controllers of the enlightened souls [the Indras], the seers [or rishis] and the partial incarnations [of the Lord, the ams'a-avataras].

Dynasties [vams'as] originating from Brahma extend as series of kings through the past, present and future [trikalika] and their histories [vams'a-anucaritam] describe the activities of the prominent members in succession.

The periodical, natural, continuous and complete annihilation taking place as a consequence of His potency constitutes the four aspects of what the scholars describe as the dissolution of this universe [as samstha or pralaya, see also 12.4].

The reason [hetu] of the [existence of the] creation [sarga] and everything thereto [the maintenance and destruction] of this [universe] is [constituted by] the individual living soul [the spiritual and personal jiva], who out of ignorance is of result-minded action [accumulates karma], someone of whom others speak as the unmanifest [impersonal and conditioned] self.

The Absolute Truth ['God', brahma, devadeva] as the supreme shelter [apas'raya] is present both separate from and connected with [or inside] the waking, sleeping and dreamless state, the material forms presented by the illusory energy and the individual [moral] conduct. Just as the basic substance of material objects exists both separately from as in connection with existing matters with a name and form, it [the Absolute Truth] throughout the various phases of a bodily existence, is connected with and separate from the seed in the beginning up to the five elements [one returns to] in the end [compare 8.6: 10]. When the mind stops out of it own by giving up the three functions of consciousness [vritti-traya] or by practicing [bhakti-]yoga, one knows the Supreme Soul and ceases from material endeavoring [zie ook 3.25: 32-33].

The sages expert in the ancient stories, say that, thus being distinguished by their characteristics, there are eighteen big and [eighteen] small Puranas [from 9.000 up tot 81.000 verses, see also Upa-purana]. 3-2 They [the big ones] are known as the three times six Puranas [according to each guna-avatara] named Brahma, Padma, Vishnu, Shiva, Linga, Garuda, Narada, Bhagavata, Agni, Skanda, Bhavishya, Brahma-vaivarta, Markandeya, Vamana, Varaha, Matsya, Kurma and Brahmanda [see Puranas]. Oh brahmin, I thus described thoroughly the branches [of Vedic knowledge] conducive to one's spiritual potency the way they were divided by the sage [Vyasa], his disciples and the disciples of his disciples."

*: The Vedic verse (Amarkhasa) to this secondary status of a Purana says: sargas' ca pratisargas' ca vams'o manvantarani ca vams'anucaritam ceti puranam panca-lakshanam; "Creation, secondary creation, the dynasties of kings, the reigns of Manus and the activities of various dynasties are the five characteristics of a Purana."

Shrila Jiva Gosvami has explained to this that the ten principal topics of Shrimad-Bhagavatam are found within each of the twelve BOOKs. One should not try to assign each of the ten topics to a particular BOOK. Nor should the Shrimad-Bhagavatam be artificially interpreted to show that it deals with the topics successively. The simple fact is that all aspects of knowledge important to human beings, summarised in the ten categories mentioned above, are described with various degrees of emphasis and analysis throughout the Shrimad-Bhagavatam [pp. 12.7: 9-10].

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 8:

Markandeya Resists All Temptation and Prays to Nara-Narayana Rishi

Shri Shaunaka said: "Oh Suta, may you live long, oh saintly soul. Oh best of speakers, please talk to us, for you are for a mankind wandering in the endless darkness the seer of the opposite [of the light]. - People say that the son of Mrikandu, a seer [called Markandeya] was blessed with an exceptionally long life span and that he was the only soul to remain at the end of the kalpa when this entire universe was engulfed. He, the foremost descendant of Bhrigu this kalpa factually took birth in my own family. We as yet have not seen any such great deluge of all creation taking place in our age. When he alone wandered this great ocean [of destruction] he spotted, so the story goes, a single wonderful personality, an infant boy, lying within the fold of a banyan leaf. About this, oh Suta we are in great doubt. Oh yogi by everyone regarded the greatest authority on the Puranas, please put for us so eager to know about it, an end to that doubt."

Suta said: "Oh great sage, the effect of your question is that it will take away the confusion of the entire world for it leads to the discussion of the story of Narayana that removes the dirt of Kali-yuga. -1 After Markandeya had received the second-birth initiation rituals from his father and orderly had studied the Vedic hymns and principles of religion, he was equipped with austerity and recitation. Keeping to the great vow [of lifelong celibacy, see yama] he was peaceful with matted hair and bark clothes, and carried a water pot, a mendicant's staff, a sacred thread and a celibate's belt. With the skin of a black deer and lotus-seed prayer beads he for the sake of his regulated practice [see niyama] worshiped at sunrise and sunset the Lord in the form of the fire, the sun, the guru, the scholars and the Supreme Soul. In the morning and the evening he brought what he had collected by begging to his spiritual master and being invited by his guru then joined in the eating in silence, or else, not being asked, he would fast [see also 7.12: 5 and 7.14: 17]. When he thus with penance and study had worshiped the Master of the Senses for countless [or millions of] years, he had conquered what is impossible to conquer: death. Brahma, Bhrigu, Shiva, Daksha, the sons of Brahma and many others among the human beings, demigods, forefathers and ghostly spirits all stood amazed about that [achievement]. This way with his austerities, recitations and restraint maintaining the great vow of celibacy, the yogi having turned his mind inwards, meditated upon the Lord in the Beyond and rid himself of all hindrances. As he was thus fixing his mind with the powerful practice of yoga, the enormous lapse of time passed consisting of six manvantaras [of 71 mahayugas each]. In the seventh period of Manu, Purandara [Indra] heard about the austerities, became afraid of them, oh brahmin, and decided to obstruct them. He sent celestial singers and dancing girls to the sage as also Cupid, the spring season, the [sandalwood scented] Malaya breeze, the child of passion [or greed] and the child of intoxication. Oh mighty soul, they all went to his hermitage on the northern side of the Himalaya mountains where the river Pushpabhadra and the peak named Citra are situated. 8-2 The fine site of the ashrama was crowded with twice-born souls, was marked with nice trees and creepers and reservoirs of pellucid water everywhere. Humming with maddened bees it was filled with families of birds - excitedly cooing cuckoos and busily dancing, proud peacocks. The winds blowing there transported the cooling drops of mist from the waterfalls and being embraced by the charm of flowers, called for the god of love. With the moon rising at night showing its face, springtime appeared there with series of new sprouts and blossoms from the multitude of creepers closely embracing the trees. The god of love, the master of hordes of heavenly women, showed himself there holding his bow and arrows, as he was followed by groups of singing Gandharvas playing musical instruments. The servants of Indra found him sitting there in meditation after having offered his sacrificial oblations, with his eyes closed as invincible as fire personified. The women danced in front of him and the celestial singers sang, making charming music with drums, cymbals and vinas. And while the servants of Indra, the child of greed and the child of spring tried to agitate the mind of the sage, Cupid fixed his five-pointed arrow [concerning one's sight, smell, sound, touch and taste] on his bow. 6-2 The wreath of flowers fell from the hair of Punjikasthali [an Apsara] who, with her waist greatly challenged by her heavy breasts, was playing with a number of balls. Running after the balls with her eyes wandering here and there, the belt of her thin garment loosened and the wind lifted up the fine fabric [see also 3.20: 35-36, 3.22: 17, 5.2: 14, 8.12: 17-24]. Cupid, thinking he had conquered him, then shot his arrow, but all these actions directed at the sage proved to be as futile as the endeavors of a disbeliever. Oh sage, this way trying to compromise the sage, they felt themselves being burned by his potency and thus desisted, just like children having aroused a snake. Oh brahmin, even though the followers of Indra had violated the great muni, he did not yield to the sentiments of ego. For a great soul that is not so surprising at all.

Seeing and hearing how, because of the strength of the brahmin seer, Kamadeva along with his associates stood powerless, the mighty king of heaven was greatly amazed. In order to show the sage His mercy who thus had fixed his mind in austerity, recitation and restraint, the Lord manifested Himself in the forms of Nara and Narayana. 3-3 One of Them was white and the other black. Their eyes were like blooming lotuses, They had four arms, had clothes of bark and black deerskin, They carried a water pot and a straight staff of bamboo in Their most purifying hands and had three-stranded sacred threads. With prayer beads of lotus seeds and with the Vedas that purify all living beings [in the form of bundles of darbha] They, being worshiped by the chief demigods and standing tall with an effulgent yellowish colour, radiating like lightning were austerity personified. Seeing the sages Nara and Narayana, the forms of the Supreme Personality of Godhead, he stood up to offer his obeisances with the greatest respect and prostrated himself. Because he, when he saw Them, experienced happiness all over his body, mind and senses and the hairs on his body stood on end, he was unable, from the tears filling his eyes, to see Them clearly before him. Standing humbly with folded hands he addressed Them eagerly as if he wanted to embrace Them, and choking said to the two Lords the syllables 'na-ma-ha, na-ma-ha' (my obeisances, my obeisances). He offered Them seats, bathed Their feet and worshiped Them with incense and flower garlands while anointing Them with sandal wood and other fragrant substances. As They sat comfortably on Their places ready to bestow Their mercy upon the sage, he again bowed down at Their feet and spoke the following words to the supremely worshipable personalities.

Shri Markandeya said: 'Oh Almighty One, how can I describe You who moves the vital breath of all embodied living beings including Brahma, Shiva and myself, and who following stirs into action the power of speech, the mind and the senses. Nevertheless [despite this physical imposition] You become the loving friend of everyone worshipping You. These personal forms of the Fortunate One oh Supreme Lord, You manifest for the ultimate benefit of the cessation of material misery and the defeat of death. And just as You for the sake of protection manifest various other forms, You - like a spider [with its web] - once having created this universe, again swallow it up completely. Because of You, the Protector, the Supreme Controller of the moving and nonmoving living beings, the one situated at the soles of His feet is never touched by the emotions of karma, guna and kala; it is before You indeed that the sages with the Veda in their heart at every moment in praise bow down to worship and meditate to attain You. We know of nothing else but the attainment of Your feet, the very form of liberation oh Lord, that benefits the person who has to fear from all sides. Brahma whose time takes two parardhas, is most afraid on account of this because You are the Time. And how much more would that not be true for the worldly entities created by him [see 10.13: 56]? Let me therefore with forsaking the covering of my soul, worship the foundation of Your feet, of You who are the intelligence of the real and the teacher of the soul who are the Absolute Truth. The material body with everything thereto is but temporal, one remembers it for only a moment and without its essence it has no meaning. One must attain You and thus see all desired purposes fulfilled. Oh Lord, oh Friend of the Soul, even though all the products of Your illusory potency carrying the names sattva, rajas and tamas, exist as a form of [Your] pastime for the sake of the maintenance, destruction and creation of this universe, it is the mode of goodness, sattva, that exists for our liberation and not any of the other two [of passion and ignorance] that bring men danger, bewilderment and fear [see also guna-avataras and 10.89: 18]. Because fearlessness, the happiness of the soul and the spiritual world are attained by the mode of goodness, the Satvatas, Your devotees, are of that consideration and never of any other [mode or] form of the Original Person. For that reason the spiritual authorities in this world worship as most dear to them the transcendental personal form of You [Vishnu], as also the form of those who have only eyes for You [the Vaishnavas], oh Supreme Lord [see also 1.2: 26]. The All-pervading, All-inclusive Manifestation and Master of the Universe, the Supreme Personality of Godhead, I offer my obeisances, for He is the supremely worshipable deity Narayana, the sage of perfect purity and Nara, the best of the humans and master of the Vedic scriptures in command of His speech [see hamsa]. He who by the deceptive command of his eyes, becomes diverted in his intelligence and fails to recognise [Your presence] within his own senses, heart and even within the objects perceived, may despite his understanding being covered by Your maya nevertheless succeed when he directly obtains the Vedic knowledge from its source, from You the Spiritual Master of All. The vision of the Supreme Soul, the mystery revealed by the Vedic texts, is what the great scholars headed by the Unborn Lord [Brahma] become bewildered about when they try to adjust, with all sorts of philosophies, the subject matter of Him to their way of life. Him, the Supreme Personality who escapes the understanding of the [materially conditioned] spirit soul I offer my respects [compare 1.3: 37, 4.31: 11, 4.18: 5, 5.6: 11, 5.14: 1, 7.15: 58, 11.19: 1, 11.20: 7 and B.G. 16: 23-24]."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 9:

Markandeya is Shown the Lord's Bewildering Potency

Shri Suta said: "The Supreme Lord Narayana, Nara's Friend, who thus by Markandeya, the intelligent sage, was properly respected, thereupon satisfied spoke to the eminent follower of Bhrigu. The Supreme Lord said: 'Oh dear man perfectly absorbed in the soul, you are the best of all brahmin seers for by your austerities, recitations and concentration you do not deviate in your devotional service unto Me. We are perfectly satisfied about your steady adherence to the great vow. We wish you all the best. Please choose a benediction to your liking. I am the Giver of All Benedictions you desire.'

The honourable rishi said: 'You, oh Lord of Lords, oh Infallible One, are victorious as the Remover of the Distress of the Surrendered Soul. We are perfectly satisfied with as much as the benediction of having seen Your good Self. Brahma and others with a mind matured in yoga all acquired the sight of Your omnipotent lotus feet and now You in person are visible before my eyes. Nonetheless oh Lotus-eyed Crest Jewel of Fame, I would like to witness the illusory potency because of which the entire world along with its rulers knows the Absolute Truth as a material differentiation [compare B.G. 11: 3-4].'

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Suta said: 'Oh sage [Shaunaka], the Supreme Lord by the rishi to His satisfaction being glorified and worshiped with these words said with a smile to him 'So be it'. Thereupon the Lord departed for Badarikashrama. - The rishi remained behind in his hermitage thinking only of that purpose [of witnessing the energy of the Lord] and venerated and meditated under all circumstances the Lord to the best of his ability [as being present] in the fire, the sun, the moon, the water, the earth, the wind, the lightning as also in his heart. Thus immersed in the stream of pure love [prema] he sometimes forgot to prove his respects. Oh best of Bhrigu, when the sage one day was performing his evening worship on the bank of the Pushpabhadra, a great wind arose oh brahmin. It created a terrible sound followed by the appearance of threatening clouds as solid as wagon wheels that resounded loudly with lightning and torrential showers of rain everywhere. Then from all sides the four oceans appeared that engulfed the surface of the earth with wind-tossed waves in which there were terrible sea monsters and fearful whirlpools accompanied by ominous sounds. Perplexed the sage became afraid seeing how the earth flooded and all the four types of inhabitants of the universe [as born from moist, seed, embryos and eggs] including himself, inside and outside were plagued by the fierce winds, the bolts of lightning and the great waves of water rising higher than the sky. Before his eyes the water of the great ocean was swirled around by hurricanes in frightening waves as it swelled with the rain from the clouds and covered the entire earth with its continents, islands and mountains. With the three worlds, the earth, outer space, the celestial bodies and heavenly places flooded in all directions the great sage, as the only soul remaining, wandered about like a dumb and blind person, with his matted locks scattered. Suffering hunger and thirst, attacked by monstrous crocodiles and whale-eaters and plagued by the winds he, tormented by the waves, moved about in the infinite darkness he had fallen into, overcome by fatigue and not knowing which direction of the sky or the earth he went. 7-1 Sometimes drowning in a great whirlpool and then beaten by the waves he was threatened by monsters that tried to eat him the one moment and the other moment were attacking each other. In distress he sometimes felt sick and suffered pains with occasional depressions, bewilderment, misery, unhappiness and happiness, while fearing for his life at other times. Countless and countless, hundreds and thousands of years passed with him in bewilderment wandering around in that maya, that deluding material energy of Vishnu.

One day, as he was roaming about there, the twice-born soul spotted upon a raised mound of earth a beautiful young banyan tree with fruits and blossoms. Upon a branch of it toward the northeast he saw an infant boy lying within the fold of a leaf swallowing the darkness with His effulgence [see also 3.33: 4]. 2-2 Amazed the king among the scholars drank with his eyes from the sight of His complexion that was as blue as a great emerald, His beautiful lotus face, His conch shell-striped throat, His broad chest, fine nose and beautiful eyebrows. His splendid hairs trembled to His breath, His beautiful shell-shaped ears resembled pomegranate flowers, His coral lips by their effulgence slightly reddened the nectarean charming smile on his face and the corners of His eyes were reddish like the whorl of a lotus. His breathing moved the lines of His abdomen contorted by His deep leaf like navel and ... he saw how the infant with the graceful fingers of His two hands grabbed one of His lotus feet and placed it in His mouth [*]. When he saw the baby his weariness was dispelled instantly and out of pleasure the lotus of his heart and his lotus eyes spread wide open. With his hair standing on end he asked himself who that wonderful appearance could be and went straight for the child to find an answer. That very moment the man of Bhrigu with a breath of the infant was drawn into His body like a mosquito whereupon he utterly surprised stood perplexed to see from that position the entire universe the way it was before. 8-2 He saw the entire expanse of all the stars, the mountains and oceans, the directions of the great islands and continents, the enlightened and unenlightened souls, the forests, countries, rivers, cities and mines, the peasant villages, the cow pastures and the various engagements of the varnashrama society. Of this universe being manifested as real he saw the basic elements of nature and all their gross manifestations as also the Time itself in the form of the different yugas and kalpas and whatever other object of use in material life. In front of the universe seeing the Himalayas, the Pushpabhadra river and his hermitage where he had met the rishis [Nara and Narayana], he was by the breath of the infant thrown outside again and fell back into the ocean of dissolution. 1-3 And there, on the raised stretch of land in the water where the banyan grew, was the child again lying in the fold of its leaf, glancing at him with a nectarean smile of love from the corner of His eyes. Placing the vision of the infant within his heart he greatly excited ran to embrace the Lord of the Beyond. That very instant He, the Supreme Lord, the master of yoga in person who is hidden in the heart of all living beings, suddenly became invisible to the rishi, the same way things that are made by an incompetent person may suddenly fail to serve. Oh brahmin, following Him immediately also the banyan disappeared and the waters of the annihilation of the world and he found himself in front of his ashrama as before."

*: The infant putting its foot into its mouth is by Shrila Vis'vanatha Cakravarti Thhakura interpreted as the Lord saying, 'see how sweet my feet are to the taste of the devotee'.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 10:
Shiva, Lord and Helper Glorifies Markandeya Rishi

Shri Suta said: "He who this way experienced the might of the yoga-maya as arranged by Narayana, sought shelter with Him. Shri Markandeya said: 'I fall at the soles of the feet of You who takes away the fear of those who approached You, oh Lord who with Your illusory potency in the form of knowledge even bewilders the scholars.' "

Suta said: "The great Lord Rudra [Shiva] who, accompanied by Rudrani [Uma] and surrounded by his entourage, traveled through the sky on his bull, saw how he was thus absorbed in meditation. - Uma observing the seer then said to Giris'a: 'Look at this man of learning who with his body, senses and mind motionless is as calm as the water and schools of fish of the ocean with the wind laid down. Please, oh you who are the bestower of it, award him the perfection of his penances.'

The mighty Lord said: 'I am sure that the brahmin seer does not desire any benedictions in any field, not even liberation, for he has achieved the transcendental devotional service unto the Supreme Lord, the Inexhaustible Original Person. Nevertheless Bhavani, let us talk to this pure devotee. It is indeed man's highest achievement to gain the association of saintly souls.' "

Suta said: "Thus having spoken he, the master of all knowledge, the controller of all embodied souls and the shelter of the righteous ones, approached him. Having arrested the functions of his mind, he [the sage] had neither knowledge of himself or the outer world, nor of the arrival of the two powers of control over the universe in person. Giris'a the Controller, the great Lord, understanding that, entered the ethereal privacy of Markandeya's heart by means of his mystic potency, just like the wind passing through an opening. 1-1 Shiva appeared inside of him with hair locks blond like lightening, having three eyes and ten arms and rising as high as the sun. Together with a tiger skin he used for his garment, he exhibited his bow and trident, arrows and sword, shield, prayer beads, damaru (a small drum), ax and skull. When he saw him in his heart manifesting suddenly, the sage desisted from his trance and wondered in surprise: 'Who is this and where did he come from?'

Opening his eyes and seeing that Lord Rudra had arrived with his associates and Uma, the sage with his head offered the one guru of the three worlds his obeisances. He honoured him together with his company and Uma with words of welcome, sitting places, water for their feet, water to drink, perfumed oil, garlands, incense and lamps. He said: 'Oh mighty one, what can I do for you, oh Lord who pacifies the universe by the full satisfaction of your ecstatic experience? I offer you my obeisances who delights in the mode of ignorance, you who devoted to passion are horrifying and you who give pleasure in the mode of goodness.' "

Suta Gosvami said: "Praised by these words he, the mighty Lord, the foremost of the demigods and shelter of the truthful soul, perfectly satisfied and happy-minded addressed him with a smile. The great Lord said: 'Please, choose a boon to your liking, for of all [demigod] givers of benedictions the three of us are the [guna-avatara] Lords by whose infallible audience a mortal being finds immortality. 0-2 The local rulers and inhabitants of all worlds, I, the great Lord Brahma and Lord Hari, glorify, worship and assist those who are saintly, peaceful and free from material attachment, who care for all living beings and free from enmity and equal towards all, are of a single-minded devotion unto us. They [these devotees] do not even acknowledge the slightest difference between me, the Infallible One and the one unborn, nor between themselves or other people and that is why we praise you. Mere bodies of water are no holy places and deities on themselves are devoid of life; they purify the soul only after a long time, but you do so by simply being seen [see also 10.48: 31]. We offer the brahmins our respects who carry our forms represented by the three Vedas and who by penances, study and concentration in yoga [samyama] are absorbed in the True Self. Even the greatest sinners and outcasts find purification by seeing you and hearing about you, and what would that not mean when one directly speaks to you [see also 7.14: 17, 10.64: 41-42]?' "

Suta Gosvami said: "Thus with his ears drinking from the nectar reservoir of words full of the secret of dharma of the one decorated with the moon, the sage was not satisfied. He who because of Vishnu's maya was terribly exhausted from having wandered for such a long time, had been freed from a great load of trouble by the grace of Lord Shiva's nectarine words and spoke to him. Shri Markandeya said: 'Ah, how inconceivable for embodied souls this pastime is of the great controllers: they offer their obeisances to the ones they control who praise them as the lords of the universe! In general the authorised speakers act [by precept and example] for the embodied souls to accept the dharma and encourage and praise those who do so. Such an attitude of the Fortunate One [and His associates] does not compromise the power of His activities formed by His illusory energy [maya], any more than the tricks of a magician compromise his ability. 1-3 He who as the Supersoul from His mind [by Himself in the form of Time] created this universe and subsequently entered it [in the form of the avataras], manifests Himself like being the doer through the operating modes of nature, just like a person witnessing a dream. Let me offer my obeisances to Him, the Supreme Personality who, endowed with the three gunas, is the true Self on top of them. He is the pure, unequaled spiritual master who is the original form of the Absolute Truth [see B.G. 4: 13, 13: 30, 14: 19]. From seeing You a person can achieve whatever he desires, irrespective what. But what other benediction should I desire from you, oh all-pervading Lord whose presence itself is the highest [one may attain]? Nevertheless I would like to ask from you who stand for the Complete that entails the fulfillment of all wishes, one benediction: the unfailing devotional service unto the Supreme Personality of Godhead and unto the both of You and the ones devoted to Him.' "

Suta Gosvami said: "Thus being worshiped and glorified by the well-spoken words of the sage, the great Lord Sharva, thereto encouraged by his consort, said: 'Oh great sage full of devotion for Adhokshaja, may all your wishes be fulfilled. And may you also till the end of the kalpa enjoy fame, piety and freedom from old age and death. May you have knowledge of the threefold nature of time [tri-kalika], oh brahmin as also wisdom in combination with a free heart. May there for you being blessed with brahminical potency, be the status of teacher of the Purana.' "

Suta Gosvami said: "After having granted the sage these blessings he, the Lord with the three eyes, went away, on his way telling the goddess what he [Markandeya] in the past had accomplished and experienced. He that best soul of Bhrigu, who had achieved the greatest of the great in yoga, even today demonstrably travels about, on his path of serving the Lord with single-minded devotion. This is what I could describe to you of the amazing potency of the illusory energy of the Supreme Personality as experienced by the intelligent Markandeya. Some declare this unprecedented life [of the sage] to be [nothing more than] the repeatedly being born of the human being in the illusory creation of the Supreme Soul, but they have no idea what they are talking about. Oh best one of Bhrigu [Shaunaka], the story I described is infused with the potency of the Lord with the Chariot wheel in His hand [Krishna as the Lord of Time]; for anyone who hears it himself or makes someone else listen to it there will never be a repetition of births, a worldly conditioned existence, based on karma."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 11:
Vishnu's Attributes and the Order of the Month of Him as the Sun god

Shri Saunaka said: "Oh great devotee of the Supreme Personality known with the essence. You, oh best knower who knows so much, we now ask about this matter of the definitive conclusion of all the supplementary literatures [the tantras]. - We wish you all fortune! Please describe to us eager to learn, the kriya-yoga method of proceeding with His form by which, expertly performed, a mortal being may attain immortality. How do the followers of the tantric prescriptions [the tantrikas] in their regular worship conceive of the limbs, associates, weapons and ornaments of the Master of the Goddess of Fortune who is pure consciousness in person?"

Suta said: "My obeisances to the gurus! I shall speak about the opulences of Lord Vishnu that by the standard authorities beginning with Padmaja [Lord Brahma as the one born on the lotus] are described in the Vedas and tantras. He, the universal form [the complete of the universe, the virath-rupa], consists of the nine elements of creation [the tattvas] beginning with maya [or prakriti] and their [sixteen] transformations [vikaras]. In that conscious existence the three worlds [the lokas] produced are discerned [see also 11.22: 4-25]. - This form of the Purusha, has the earth for His feet, heaven for His head, cosmic space for His navel, the sun for His eyes, the air for His nostrils and the directions for His ears. The Master, the Lord, has the Prajapati for His genital and death for His anus. The Absolute Controller has the local rulers [the demigods] for His many arms, the moon for His mind, yama [or Yama] for His eyebrows, shame for His upper lip and greed for His lower lip. The moonlight stands for the teeth, delusion for the smile, the trees for the hairs on the body of the Almighty Lord and the clouds are the hair on the head of the Purusha [see also e.g. 2.6: 1-11, 2.10: 24-32, 10.40: 13-14, 11.12: 18-20]. Just as one can determine the dimensions of a normal individual by measuring the spread of his limbs, one can determine the dimensions of Him, the Gigantic Person, by the spread of the planetary systems [see also 5.20-24]. The Kaustubha gem carried by the Unborn One represents the spiritual light of the individual soul. The Shrivatsa mark on the chest of the Almighty represents its

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expansive effulgence [of the gem/the soul]. 1-1 His material energy consisting of different combinations of the natural modes is represented by His flower garland, the yellow garment He wears stands for the Vedic metres and His sacred thread represents the three syllable AUM. The processes of sankhya and yoga are carried by the Godhead in the form of His makara ['sea-monster'] earrings, and His crown, freeing all the worlds from fear, represents the superior [transcendental] position. The seat He sits on is called Ananta [the snake bed] - it is unevolved matter [pradhana, the primal ether], the lotus [the Lord's throne] thereupon is the goodness associated with dharma, spiritual knowledge and so on. 4-1 The club He carries constitutes the principle element [of prana or the vital air] relating to the sensory power, physical power and the power of mind. His excellent conch shell is the element water and His Sudars'ana disc is the principle of tejas [the vital power, the dignity, the fire in opposition]. His sword is, [pure] as the atmosphere, the ether element, His shield consists of the mode of ignorance, His bow Sharnga is the specific order [or spirit, the rupa] of time, and His quiver of arrows consists of the karma [the action or the karmendriyas]. His arrows, they say, are the senses, His chariot is the incitement to action [the mind], His external appearance constitutes the objects of perception [tanmatras] and His gestures [mudras] represent the essence of purposeful action. The cyclic order [of time, viz. the sun and the moon] constitutes the exercise of respect for the Godhead, spiritual initiation [diksha] is the purification process for the spiritual soul and devotional service to the Fortunate One is how one puts an end to a bad course (sin). The supreme lotus of Bhagavan's pastimes refers to the meaning of the word bhaga [His opulences] and the fan and whisk the Supreme Lord has accepted for His worship are religion and fame. Dear brahmins, His umbrella is Vaikunthha, the place free from foolishness and the one called Suparna [Garuda] who is the carrier of the Personality of Sacrifice [Vishnu or Yajna] represents the threefold Veda [see footnote]. The goddess Shri inseparable from the Lord constitutes His visible inner nature [*], Vishvaksena is known as the personification of the tantra scriptures and the eight doorkeepers headed by Nanda [**] stand for the Lord's qualities of anima and such [the siddhis]. Vasudeva, Sankarshana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha are, as you know, the names of the manifested forms [the vyuha expansions] of the Original Person Himself oh brahmin [Shaunaka]. Bhagavan, the Supreme Lord, can be discussed in terms of [the states of consciousness concerning] the entire universe [vis'va], the passionate ego [taijasa], the individual learning [prajnã] and the transcendence [turiya], that stand for [respectively His] functions of the [omnipresent perception of] external objects [as embodied by the expansion of His mind Prayumna], of sense itself [of the force, by the expansion of His ego Sankarshana], of the one that senses [of the expansion of His personal intelligence Aniruddha] and of spiritual self-realisation [the transcendental beatitude of Him, Vasudeva]. In His four personal forms [His expansions], Bhaga-van [the possessor of the fullness], the Lord and Controller, maintains these four states with the help of His major [arms; as in verse 14-15] and minor limbs [His extra limbs, His guardians], His weapons and His ornaments. Oh best of the brahmins, He alone is the self-illuminating source of the Absolute Truth [the Vedas] who, perfect in His own greatness and completeness, by His own material energy creates, withdraws and maintains this universe. As such [a performer of various material functions] He, while not being covered in His transcendental awareness, is [sometimes] described as being materially unfolded [as divided]. But by those who are devoted to Him He can be realised as their one true self, their very Soul. Shri Krishna, friend of Arjuna, chief of the Vrishnis, Annihilator of the Rebellious Royal Dynasties whose prowess never deteriorates, oh Govinda, place of pilgrimage whose glories, which bring about auspiciousness by just hearing about them, are sung by Vraja's cowherd men and women and their dependents, please protect Your servants! Anyone who rises at dawn and with his mind absorbed in Him [in tat] to himself meditates these characteristics of the Supreme Original Person, arrives at the realisation of the Absolute Truth present in his heart."

Shri Shaunaka said: "The great sage Shuka described to the listening king Parikchit ['the grace of Vishnu'] the seven [pairs of] attendants of the sun god occupying a different position in each month. Please speak to us so faithful, about the names and actions of these expansions of the Lord's manifestation as Surya, and the deities involved [see also 5.21: 18]."

Suta said: "This regulator of all the planets [the sun] revolving in their midst [around mount Meru, see 5.22: 2] was [by the Lord in the form of Time] created from the [proto-]material primal energy [pradhana] of Vishnu, the Supreme Soul of all embodied beings. The sun being the one and only Lord, the original creator and self indeed of all the [planetary] worlds, constitutes the basis of all ritualistic activities of the Vedas that are differently described by the sages. Oh brahmin, the material energy of the Lord is thus described in nine: the time, the place, the endeavor, the performer, the instrument, the specific ritual, the scripture, the paraphernalia and the result [compare B.G. 18: 13-15].

The Supreme Lord assuming the form of Time, is there for the [regulation of the] planetary motion to the rule of twelve [months or masas, see also B.G. 10: 21], beginning with Madhu. In each of the twelve He [accompanying the sun god] moves differently with His [six] associates [He as a certain Deva together with a different Apsara, Rakshasa, Naga, Yaksha, sage and Gandharva]. Dhata [as the Surya Deva], Kritasthali [as the Apsara], Heti [as the Rakshasa], Vasuki [as the Naga], Rathakrit [as the Yaksha], Pulastya [as the sage] and Tumburu [as the Gandharva] are the ones ruling the month of Madhu [or Caitra at the vernal equinox, March/April]. [Likewise respectively] Aryama, Punjikasthali, Praheti, Kacchanira, Athauja, Pulaha and Narada rule the month of Madhava [Vais'akha, April/May]. Mitra, Menaka, Paurusheya, Takshaka, Rathasvana, Atri and Haha are the ones ruling the month of Shukra [Jyaisthha or Jeshthha, May/June]. Varuna, Rambha, Citrasvana, Shukra, Sahajanya, Vasishthha and Huhu are the ones ruling the month of Shuci [Ashadha, June/July]. Indra, Pramloca, Varya, Elapatra, Shrota, Angira and Vis'vavasu are the ones ruling the month of Nabhas [S'ravana, July/August]. Vivasvan, Anumloca, Vyaghra, Shankhapala, Asarana, Bhrigu and Ugrasena are the ones ruling the month of Nabhasya [Bhadrapada, August/September ***]. Pusha, Ghritaci, Vata, Dhananjaya, Suruci, Gautama and Sushena are the ones ruling the month of Tapas [Magha, January/February]. Parjanya, Senajit, Varca, Airavata, Ritu, Bharadvaja and Vis'va are the ones ruling the month of Tapasya [Phalguna, February/March]. Amshu, Urvas'i, Vidyucchatru, Mahas'ankha, Tarkshya, Kasyapa and Ritasena are the ones ruling the month of Sahas [Margas'irsha, November/December]. Bhaga, Purvacitti, Sphurja, Karkothaka, Urna, Ayu and Arishthanemi are the ones ruling the month of Pushya [Pausha, December/January]. Tvashtha, Tilottama, Brahmapeta, Kambalas'va, Shatajit, Jamadagni the son of Ricika and Dhritarashthra as the Gandharva are the ones ruling the month of Isha [As'vina, September/October]. And Vishnu, Rambha, Makhapeta, As'vatara, Satyajit, Vis'vamitra and Suryavarca are the ones ruling the month of Urja [Karttika, October/November].

All these [personalities] constitute the glories of Vishnu, the Supreme Personality of Godhead in the form of the sun god; they take away the sinful reactions of everyone who in the morning and the evening, day after day remember them. The Lord who [as the Deva] with His six types of associates thus moves in all directions through this universe, therewith disseminates in each of the twelve months a pure consciousness for its inhabitants in this and a next life. 7-4 While the sages glorify Him with the Sama, Rig and Yajur hymns that reveal His identity, the Gandharvas sing loudly about Him, the Apsaras dance in front of Him, the Nagas prepare the chariot, the Yakshas harness the horses and the strong Rakshasas push it from behind. In front of the chariot the sixty thousand pure Valakhilya brahmin sages go, being of worship with prayers to the Almighty [see also 4.1: 39]. The Unborn Lord Hari, the Supreme Controller, the Possessor of All Opulences without a beginning or an end, protects the worlds, by expanding Himself thus in each kalpa into [all these] various forms."

Threefold Veda: The Rig- Yajur- and Sama Veda are the three Vedas of the principal original division of the Vedic verses also called trayi vidya. They are about the reciting of hymns (Rig), the performance of sacrifices (Yajur) and the chanting of songs (Sama). The Atharva Veda is a later addition dealing with the so-called atharvanas, the procedures for everyday life.

*: According to the Skanda Purana in the verses beginning with 'aparam tv aksharam ya sa' there are three infallible energies thus: the external material energy of maya, the internal potency of Sr'i and the Supreme Energy of the Purusha, the Lord Himself.

**: The Padma Purana 56.9-2 lists eighteen guardians or attendants of the Lord: Nanda, Sunanda, Jaya, Vijaya, Canda, Pracanda, Bhadra, Subhadra, Dhata, Vidhata, Kumuda, Kumudaksha, Pundariksha, Vamana, Shankukarna, Sarvanetra, Sumukha and Supratishthhita.

***: At this point is broken with the regular order of the months. The different translators do not agree about the cause of this break of order and some have suggested to correct the order of the verses given to correct this.

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 12:

The Topics of Shrimad Bhagavatam Summarised

Suta said: "Offering my obeisances to Lord Krishna, to the creator, to the brahmins and to the supreme of dharma, I shall now discuss the eternal nature of religion [in terms of the topics discussed in the Bhagavatam]. Oh sages, upon your request I related to you these wondrous pastimes of Lord Vishnu that are especially suitable for people in respect of the person. The direct interest of this [narration] is the glorification of the Lord, the Remover of All Sins, Narayana, the Lord of the Senses, the Supreme Personality and Master of the Satvatas. Herein the creation and annihilation of this universe and the confidential knowledge of the One Self-existent Supreme Spirit is discussed, including the purity of perception and the means of cultivating that [self-]realisation.

- Bhakti-yoga and the renunciation belonging to it are discussed at length [in 1.2, 7.5-10 and 11.29], just as the history of Narada [1.4-6] and the story of Parikchit that describes how the sage among the kings fasted until death because of a curse of [the son of] a sage to the occasion of which he had a conversation with Shuka, the best of the brahmins [see 1.8-18]. What follows is a discussion of how one may attain liberation by concentrating in yoga in case one has to die [2.2: 15-21], a conversation between Narada and Brahma [2.5], the row of avataras [1.3 en 2.7] and how the process of evolution takes place from the primary of nature [or pradhana, 3.26: 10-72]. Next there is the discussion Vidura had with Uddhava [3.1: 25 - 3.4] and the one Vidura had with Maitreya [3.5 - 4.31], [preceded by] what a Purana entails [in general, see 2.10: 1 and 12.7: 9-10], following which the subject is discussed of the winding up of creation within the Mahapurusha [2.10: 6, 3.11: 30, 8.5: 35, 11.3: 8-15, 12.4]. It then continues about the creation as happening from [the modes of] material nature, the generation of the seven derivatives [of mahat, ahamkara and the tanmatras, see 3.20: 12-17] and the evolution of the egg of the universe from which the universal form of the Lord arises [3.6]. The gross and subtle movements of time [3.11 are also discussed including] the generation of the lotus [3.8] and the killing of Hiranyaksha in order to deliver the earth from the ocean [3.17-19]. [Then there is a discussion about] the creation of the higher beings, the animals [the mammals] and the lower species [3.12: 37-48], the birth of Rudra [3.12] and the appearance of Svayambhuva Manu from the male/female division of the Lord [see 3.12: 49-53, 4.1]. 2-1 [Discussed are] the progeny of the first woman Shatarupa the excellent consort [of Manu], the offspring of [the nine daughters of] the pious wife [Devahuti] of the founding father Kardama [see 3.24: 20-25 and 4.1], the descent of the Supreme Soul, the Supreme Personality of Lord Kapila and the conversation the scholarly Kapila had with Devahuti [His mother, 3.25-33]. 4-1 The stories about the descendants of the nine brahmins [who married Kardama's daughters, 4.1], the destruction of Daksha's sacrifice [4.2-7] and the history of Dhruva [4.8-13] are then followed by those about Prithu [4.15-23] and Pracinabarhi [4.24-29], his conversation with Narada [4.29] and the stories about Priyavrata [5.1], Nabhi [5.3] and the lives of Rishabha [5.3-6] and Bharata Maharaja, oh brahmins [5.7-13]. The continents, subcontinents and oceans, the mountains and rivers are described in detail [5.19-20] as also the complete of the celestial sphere [5.21-23] and the situation of the subterranean regions and hell [5.24-26]. [Next there are the descriptions of] Daksha's [re-]birth as the son of the Pracetas [6.4] and the progeny of his daughters constituting the demigods, demons and human beings, the animals [the mammals], serpents, birds and other species [6.6]. [There is also an account of] the birth and death of [Vritra, 6.9-12] the son of Tvashtha and the two sons of Diti, Hiranyaksha [3.14-19] and Hiranyakas'ipu, oh brahmins, and the history of the great soul Prahlada, the lord of the Daityas [7.2-8]. 9-2 The reigns of the Manus [8.1] are described in detail as also the liberation of the king of the elephants [Gajendra, 8.2-4] and the avataras of Lord Vishnu for each period of Manu [8.5 and 13], like Hayas'irsha [8.24: 8 and 57; 5.18: 1], Nrisimha [7.9-10], Vamana [8.18-22], Matsya [8.24] and the descent of Kurma for the purpose of [supporting the] churning of the nectar from the milk ocean by the inhabitants of heaven [8.7-8]. [Next there is an account of] the great war between the demons and the gods [8.10] as also the succession of the dynasties of kings [9.2, 7, 9, 12, 13, 17, 20-24]; the dynasty of the great soul Sudyumna [9.1] and the birth of Ikshvaku and his dynasty [9.6]. In this book the stories about Ila [9.1: 16-27] and Tara [9.14: 4-13] are discussed including a description of the descendants of the Surya-vams'a, like Shas'ada [Vikukshi, 9.6: 6-11] and Nriga [9.1: 11-12, 9.2: 17 and 10: 64]. Then there are the stories about Sukanya [9.3], [the daughter of] Sharyati, the intelligent Kakutstha [Puranjaya, 9.6: 12-19], Mandhata [9.6: 33-37 and 9.7], Saubhari [9.6], Sagara [9.8] and Khathvanga [9.9: 41-47]. The actions of Lord Ramacandra, the King of Kos'ala [are presented] that dispel all sin [9.10 and 11], of Nimi who gave up his material body [9.13] and also the appearance of the descendants of king Janaka [or Shiradhvaja] is discussed [9.13: 18-27]. 5-2 The elimination of the ruling class by Lord Parashurama, the greatest descendant of Bhrigu [is discussed 9.15 and 16] as also Aila [Pururava, 9.14 and 15], Nahusha [9.18: 1], Yayati [9.18 and 19], Dushmanta's son Bharata [9.20], Shantanu [9.22: 12-13] and Shantanu's son Bhishma [9.22: 18-19] of the Candra-vams'a and the celebrated dynasty of Yadu, the eldest son of Yayati [9.23: 18-29]. [It is] the dynasty in which the Supreme Lord known as Krishna, the Master of the Universe, descended in the house of Vasudeva. Subsequently His birth [10.3] and how He grew up in Gokula are described [10.4-10]. 8-3 His countless exploits are [next] glorified: how He sucked the milk along with the life-air out of Putana [10.6], how He as a child broke the cart and

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trampled Trinavarta [10.7], killed Baka, Vatsa [10.11] and Agha, [10.12 and how He dealt with] Brahma who hid the calves and boys [10.13 and 14], how He with His companions destroyed Dhenuka [10.15] and Pralamba [10.18] and how He saved them [the gopas] from a forest fire that entrapped them [10.17 and 19]. 1-3 There is the [story about the] taming of the snake Kaliya [10.16-17], the contentment of the Infallible Lord about the vows observed by the young gopis [10.21 and 22], the mercy for the sorry wives of the brahmins performing a sacrifice [10.23]; the lifting of Govardhana hill [10.25] and the worship and ritual bathing next performed by Indra and Surabhi [10.27], Krishna's sporting with the gopis during the nights [10.29-33], the rescue of Nanda Maharaja from a great serpent [10.34] and the killing of the foolish Shankhacuda [10.34], Arishtha [10.36] and Kes'i [10.37]. [There is the description of] the arrival of Akrura [10.38] and the departure thereafter of Rama and Krishna, the lamentation of the women of Vraja [10.39] and the tour [of the Lords] in Mathura [10.41]. The killing of the elephant Kuvalayapida [10.43], of the wrestlers Mushthika and Canura, and of Kamsa and others [10.44] is discussed as also the retrieval of the deceased son of Sandipani, the guru [10.45]. Residing in Mathura in the company of Uddhava and Balarama oh brahmins, the Lord performed pastimes for the satisfaction of the circle of the Yadus [10.48]. [Next there are the stories about] the repeated annihilation of the troops assembled by Jarasandha [10.50], about the founding of Dvaraka and about the killing of the king of the barbarians [Kalayavana, 10.51]. [These are followed by descriptions of] the kidnapping of Rukmini to the occasion of which the Lord defeated His rivals in battle [10.53] and how the parijata tree together with the Sudharma hall were obtained from the abode of the demigods [from Indra, 10.50: 54]. The killing of the master of Pragjyotishapura [Bhauma or Naraka] and the taking away of the young maidens [is discussed in 10.59] with next following the forced yawning of Shiva in the battle with Bana and the severing of Bana's arms [10.63]. 0-4 The [Bhagavatam also discusses the] prowess and death of Pancajana [10.45: 40-41], Shambara [10.55], Pithha [10.59], Mura [10.59], Dvivida [10.67], the king of Cedi [10.74], Shalva [10.76-77], the foolish Dantavakra [10.78] and others, how the Pandavas became the direct cause [for Krishna] to relieve the earth's burden [10.49] and how the burning of Varanasi came about [10.66]. 2-4 [There is the story of] the withdrawal of His family [11.30] on the pretext of a curse from the brahmins [11.1] and [an account of] the wonderful discussion between Vasudeva and Uddhava in which the science of the true self came to its full expression in ascertaining the dharma [of how to live with Krishna not physically being present anymore, see 11.6-29]. Thereafter His forsaking the mortal world by the strength of His own mystical power [is related, 11.31]. [Also discussed are] the characteristics of the different yugas and their corresponding behaviors [11.17 and 12.3], the disturbance of man in Kali-yuga [12.1-3], the four types of annihilation and the three [guna] kinds of creation [12.4]. [Finally there is an account about] Vishnurata [Parikchit], the intelligent saintly king who had to relinquish his body [12.5-6], the story of how the seer [Vyasa and others] conveyed the branches of the Veda [12.6-7], the pious narration about Markandeya [12.8-10], the composition of the [universal form of the] Mahapurusha and the arrangement [of time] in relation to the sun, the self of the universe [12.11].

Thus, oh best of the brahmins, I have discussed here everything that you asked about. Therewith I have praised the complete of the activities of the Lord's lila-avataras. When one falls, trips, hurts oneself or sneezes and then spontaneously loudly cries 'haraye namah' [obeisances to Hari], one is freed from all [reactions to one's] sin. Of persons glorifying the Supreme Lord and hearing about the potency of the Unlimited One, all vice that enters the heart is cleansed away entirely, the same way the sun removes the darkness or a strong wind removes the clouds. False, meaningless, empty words are all those discussions wherein the Supreme Lord in the Beyond is not mentioned. Only those stories are true, auspicious and meritorious that have the qualities of the Fortunate One as their conclusion. Those words are pleasing, attractive and always new that praise the glories of Uttamas'loka, the One Celebrated in the Verses; to the mind they mean a constant great celebration that for everyone dries up the ocean of misery. A use of colourful words never describing the glories of the Lord that sanctify the entire universe, compares to a place of pilgrimage for crows and is never served by the swanlike, pure saintly devotees who think of Acyuta only [alike 1.5: 10]. That creation of words which revolutionizes the sins of the people and in which, although imperfectly composed, each verse depicts the names and glories of the unlimited Lord, is heard, sung and accepted by the ones who are purified and honest [identical to 1.5: 11]. Even endeavoring free from material motives, spiritual knowledge devoid of the love of the Infallible One actually does not look very good. What is the use of fruitive labour always giving pain - even when done perfectly - when it is not offered to the Lord [alike 1.5: 11]? The great effort of faithful to the scriptures and with penance fulfilling one's duties within the varnashrama system, leads to nothing but a good name and wealth. But when one listens and exercises respect and so on with glorifying His qualities, one obtains the remembrance of the lotus feet of the Maintainer of the Goddess of Fortune. The remembrance of Lord Krishna's lotus feet destroys everything inauspicious and leads to good fortune. Connected in knowledge, wisdom and detachment one with devotion unto the Supreme Soul arrives at purification of the heart. You, oh most eminent brahmins, are all extremely fortunate with a fixed position for Narayana, the Original Soul and Godhead of all, in your heart. With that love for the Heavenly Lord Beyond Whom No Other is Found, be perpetually of worship! I also was reminded of this science of the Soul hearing it in the attentively listening assembly of great sages from the mouth of Shuka, the supreme sage, when king Parikchit was fasting until death. Oh brahmins, this what I told you about the glories of Vasudeva whose great actions are so worthy to be described, completely puts an end to all inauspiciousness. Someone who with unswerving attention every yama [three hour period] and every kshana [a moment or 1.6 second] with faith makes others listen or faithfully listens himself to but one verse or even half a verse, but one line or even half a line, [therewith] certainly purifies his soul. If one, refraining from eating, with careful attention recites from or listens to [the Bhagavatam] on the eleventh or either twelfth day [Ekadas'i or Dvadas'i of a 15-day lunar fortnight, see 3.11: 10], one will be blessed with a long life and be freed from all that causes a fall. When one self-controlled and fasting studies this collection of verses at [the holy places of] Pushkara, Mathura or Dvaraka, one will be freed from the fear [of time, or of a material life, see also 1.13: 19]. The demigods and sages, the perfected souls and the forefathers, the progenitors and the kings will bestow all that one desires, when one glorifies these verses by proclaiming them or listening to them. A twice-born soul who studies them will as a result obtain the same rivers of honey, ghee and milk that one acquires by studying the Rig, Yajur and Sama verses. Diligently studying this essential compilation of classical stories, someone twice-born will attain that supreme position the Supreme Personality of Godhead spoke about. An educated man studying them acquires knowledge of matters, a king acquires the domain encircled by the oceans, a businessman acquires the control over treasures and a worker will rid himself of all that leads to a fall down. While the Fortunate One in His countless forms is extensively described in the form of stories in each of these verses, by contrast Hari, the Lord of all beings who annihilates all the impurities of Kali-yuga, is elsewhere [in other scriptures] not constantly glorified. I am bowed down to Him the Unborn, Unlimited, Real Self by whose energies there is the creation, maintenance and destruction of the universe, to Him the Infallible Lord whose glory is hard to understand for [even] the masters of heaven being headed by the unseen one [Aja or Brahma], the mighty one [S'akra or Indra], and the beneficent one [Shankara or Shiva]. My obeisances to the Eternal Lord, the Best of All the Gods, to the Fortunate One whose Manifestation is Pure Consciousness and who by the collection of His nine powers [s'aktis or potencies] settled for His own Self as the refuge for the moving and nonmoving living beings.

I bow down to him, the son of Vyasa who defeats everything inauspicious, he who, attracted in his heart by the pleasing pastimes of the Unconquerable Lord, in denial though of any other type of consciousness was as merciful to give up his solitary happiness and disclose the [Bhagavata] Purana about His activities, the light of reality."

BHAGAVATA PURANA CHAPTER 13:
The Glories of Shrimad Bhagavatam

Suta said: "I offer Him my obeisances, the Godhead who in arrangements of mantras from the Vedas, their limbs [the angas] and the Upanishads with transcendental prayers is praised by Brahma, Indra, Rudra and the children of heaven [the Maruts], the Godhead about whom the Sama Veda chanters are singing, the Godhead upon whom the yogis who see Him in their minds concentrate in meditation, He whose end is not known to anyone among the enlightened and unenlightened souls. The Supreme Personality of Godhead in the form of a tortoise [Kurma] became sleepy from the scratching edges of the stones of Mandara mountain that most heavily rotated upon His back. May all of you be protected by the winds that are the traces left behind by the flow of His breathing and by the ceaseless tides of the ebb and flow of the water that up to the present day follows the example of His in and outgoing breath. Please listen now to a summation of the number [of verses] of the Puranas, what the purpose is of its subject matter, how the book should be given as a gift, what the glory of that gift-giving is and what the blessing is of the reading and such of this text.

- The Brahma Purana has ten thousand verses, the Padma Purana counts fifty-five thousand, the Shri Vishnu Purana twenty-three thousand and the Shiva Purana twenty-four thousand. The Shrimad Bhagavatam counts eighteen thousand verses, the Narada Purana has twenty-five thousand, the Markandeya Purana nine thousand and the Agni Purana fifteen thousand four hundred verses. The Bhavishya Purana has fourteen thousand five hundred verses, the Brahma-vaivarta Purana counts eighteen thousand and the Linga Purana eleven thousand verses. The Varaha Purana offers twenty-four thousand verses, the Skanda Purana eighty-one thousand one hundred and the Vamana Purana is described in ten thousand verses. The Kurma Purana is described in seventeen thousand verses, the Matsya Purana has fourteen thousand of them, the Garuda Purana next has nineteen thousand verses and the Brahmanda Purana counts twelve thousand verses. In sum the Puranas are thus expressed in four hundred thousand verses [*]. Eighteen thousand of them constitute, as said, the Bhagavatam [see further under Purana].

This [tale of wisdom] was by the Supreme Personality of Godhead [Narayana, see 3.8-10] out of mercy for the first time in its entirety revealed to Brahma who fearful of a material existence sat upon the lotus that grew from His navel [see also 1.1: 1]. 1-1 From the beginning to the end filled with accounts about renunciation it delights the saintly and godly souls with the nectar of its many narrations about the Lord's pastimes. With beatitude [or eternal happiness by emancipation in devotional service] as its one ultimate goal, it has as its prime subject the One Reality Without a Second - the essence of all Vedanta philosophy - that is characterised by the non-difference of the Absolute [impersonal] Truth [brahman] and the One [personal] Soul [atma **]. He who gives the Bhagavatam as a gift on the day of the full moon in the month Bhadra [August/September, in its full glory as the king of all literature] seated on 'a golden throne' [in the constellation of Leo], reaches the supreme destination. Other classical collections of stories [other bibles, other Puranas or holy scriptures] are prominent in the assembly of the saintly only for as long as the great ocean of nectar that is the Bhagavatam is not heard. The Shrimad Bhagavatam constitutes the essence of all Vedanta philosophy, someone who found satisfaction from the taste of that nectar will never feel attracted to anything else [to other sacred scriptures]. Of all Puranas this one is like what the Ganges means in relation to all rivers flowing towards the sea, what Acyuta, the Infallible One, means in relation to all deities and what Shambhu [Shiva] means in relation to all Vaishnavas. Just as unsurpassed Kas'i [Benares] is among all holy places, Shrimad Bhagavatam is matchless among all the Puranas, oh brahmins. Shrimad Bhagavatam is the spotless Purana most dear to the Vaishnavas in which the perfectly pure and supreme spiritual knowledge is celebrated of none but the best devotees. Therein the freedom from all fruitive labour is revealed together with the [therewith associated] knowledge, detachment and devotion that will deliver the person who in consideration of the transcendence with his devotional service manages to listen and exercise the mantras the way it should.

I meditate upon the incomparable torch light of the Immortal Supreme Immaculate Pure Truth Free from Sorrow who long ago revealed this transcendental knowledge to the deity ['Ka' or Brahma], who transferred it to Narada the great sage who delivered it by means of his personal form to Krishna Dvaipayana Vyasa who next handed it down to the king of the yogis [Shukadeva] who on his turn was as merciful to reveal it to [Parikchit] the grace of the Fortunate One. I offer Him my obeisances, the Supreme Personality of Godhead Lord Vasudeva, the Supreme Witness who mercifully explained this [story, this science] to [Brahma] the deity who desired liberation. I offer him my obeisances, the king of the yogis, Shukadeva Gosvami, the personal manifestation of the Absolute Truth who freed [Parikchit] the grace of Vishnu who was bitten by the snake of material existence. Oh Lord of Lords, You are our Master, therefore please make it so that we life after life may rise up in bhakti at Your feet. I offer my obeisances to Him, the Supreme Lord, whose congregational chanting of the holy name destroys all sins and to whom bowing down all misery finds its end."

Thus the twelfth BOOK of the Shrimad Bhagavatam ends named: The Age of Deterioration.

With this last BOOK the Story of the Fortunate One ends, the Bhagavata Purana also known as the Shrimad Bhagavatam and the Paramahamsa Samhita. All glories to the Brahma-Madhva-Gaudiya Sampradaya parampara of the foregoing Vaishnava acaryas headed by Lord Gauranga, Shri Krishna Caitanya Mahaprabhu, who by their commentaries, translations, bhajans and lectures made this presentation possible and brought the full of the Vaishnava culture to the humble western servant of Krishna, Anand Aadhar Prabhu, who in truth is never finished with his work.

*: Next, so affirms the Matsya Purana, there are besides the Purana also a hundred thousand verses found in the Itihasa (the single history) of Vyasa's Mahabharata and a twenty-five thousand in the Itihasa of Valmiki's Ramayana. Thus the complete number of verses for the complete collection of classical stories amounts to five-hundred twenty-five thousand [the smaller Upa-puranas not counted].

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**: This reminds one of the theme of Krishna as being the Time or Kala, and Krishna as being the person, the Supreme Soul, the Original Person manifest before our eyes and present in the beyond. The world seems to be divided in impersonalist science, philosophy and governance on the one hand and personalistic religion of detachment and personal sentiment in civil attachment on the other. But when one with respecting the Time [of nature] as it should finds the person and with respecting the person as it should [in Krishna consciousness] finds the original Time, the problem is solved knowing the oneness of the personal/impersonal opposition to be our equal minded friend and guiding father in the beyond Lord Krishna. As the last word to this dual matter of respect for His reality He states: (in B.G. 18: 'But with all these activities must without doubt, performing them out of duty, the association with their results be given up; that, oh son of Pritha, is My last and best word on it.' Therefore we are of emancipation in devotional service, free from ulterior motives.

THE BHAGAVAD GITA
Volume 8, The Sacred Books of the East
Oxford, The Clarendon Press
Translation: Kashinath Trimbak Telang, 1882
Estimated Range of Dating: 4th - 3rd centuries B.C
(See alternative version, page 5885)

(The Bhagavad Gita (Sanskrit: "The Song of God") is a part of the Mahabharata; Book 6, Section 25 to 43. The Mahabharata is composed in the form of a dialogue between Prince Arjuna and Krishna, an incarnation or avatar of the god Vishnu. Written down between the 3rd and 2nd century BC, it is commonly known as the Gita.

The Gita is set in a narrative framework of a dialogue between Pandava prince Arjuna and his guide and charioteer Krishna, an avatar of Lord Vishnu. At the start of the Dharma Yuddha (righteous war) between Pandavas and Kauravas, Arjuna is filled with moral dilemma and despair about the violence and death the war will cause in the battle against his own kin. He wonders if he should renounce and seeks Krishna's counsel, whose answers and discourse constitute the Bhagavad Gita. Krishna counsels Arjuna to "fulfill his Kshatriya (warrior) duty to uphold the Dharma" through "selfless action". The Krishna–Arjuna dialogues cover a broad range of spiritual topics, touching upon ethical dilemmas and philosophical issues that go far beyond the war Arjuna faces.

Numerous commentaries have been written on the Bhagavad Gita with widely differing views on the essentials. According to some, Bhagavad Gita is written by the god Ganesha which was told to him by Vyasa. Vedanta commentators read varying relations between Self and Brahman in the text: Advaita Vedanta sees the non-dualism of Atman (soul) and Brahman (universal soul) as its essence,[6] whereas Bhedabheda and Vishishtadvaita see Atman and Brahman as both different and non-different, while Dvaita Vedanta sees dualism of Atman (soul) and Brahman as its essence. The setting of the Gita in a battlefield has been interpreted as an allegory for the ethical and moral struggles of human life.

The Bhagavad Gita presents a synthesis of Hindu ideas about dharma, theistic bhakti, and the yogic ideals of moksha. The text covers jñāna, bhakti, karma, and rāj yogas (spoken of in the 6th chapter) incorporating ideas from the Samkhya-Yoga philosophy.

The Bhagavad Gita is the best known and most famous of Hindu texts, with a unique pan-Hindu influence. The Gita's call for selfless action inspired many leaders of the Indian independence movement including Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi; the latter referred to it as his "spiritual dictionary".

Theories on the date of the composition of the Gita vary considerably. Some scholars accept dates from the fifth century to the second century BC as the probable range, the latter likely. The Hinduism scholar Jeaneane Fowler, in her commentary on the Gita, considers second century BC to be the probable date of composition. Just like the Mahabharata and other early Hindu texts, Gita was likely composed about 200 BC. According to the Indologist Arvind Sharma, the Gita is generally accepted to be a 2nd-century-BC text.

The context of the Bhagavad Gita suggests that it was composed in an era when the ethics of war were being questioned and renunciation to monastic life was becoming popular. Such an era emerged after the rise of Buddhism and Jainism in the 5th century BC, and particularly after the semi-legendary life of Ashoka in 3rd century BC. Thus, the first version of the Bhagavad Gita may have been composed in or after the 3rd century BC.

The Author

The author of the Mahabharata, as well as the Bhagavad Gita in it, is Krishna Vyasa (Sanskrit: vyāsa, literally "Compiler"). He is an important figure in most Hindu traditions and is sometimes called Veda Vyāsa, "the one who classified the Vedas") or Krishna Dvaipāyana (referring to his complexion and birthplace). Vyasa is also a character in it. He is considered to be the scribe of both the Vedas and Puranas. According to Hindu beliefs, Vyasa is an avatar (a kind of angel) of the god Vishnu and one of the seven Chiranjivins (long lived, or immortals), who are still in existence according to Hindu belief.

We do not know much about Vyasa. He appears for the first time as the compiler of, and an important character in, the Mahabharata. It is said that he was the expansion of the god Vishnu who came in Dwaparayuga to make all the Vedic knowledge available in writing which was available in only in spoken form at that time. He was the son of Satyavati, daughter of the fisherman Dusharaj, and the wandering sage Parashara. He is credited with being the author of the first Purana, Vishnu Purana). Vyasa was born on an island in the Yamuna river. There are two different views regarding the place of his birth. One of the views suggests that he was born in the Tanahun district in western Nepal. Another view suggests that he was born on Island in Yamuna river near Kalpi, Uttar Pradesh, India. Vyasa had a dark complexion and may be called by the name Krishna (black), and also the name Dwaipayana, meaning 'island-born'.

Vyasa is traditionally known as the chronicler of this epic and also features as an important character in Mahābhārata, Vyasa asks Ganesha to assist him in writing the text. Ganesha imposes a precondition that he would do so only if Vyasa would narrate the story without a pause. Vyasa set a counter-condition that Ganesha understands the verses first before transcribing them. Thus Vyasa narrated the entire Mahābhārata and all the Upanishads and the 18 Puranas, while Lord Ganesha wrote.

Parashara, Vyasa's father, was a maharshi (meaning Great Sage of the highest order of ancient Indian sages) and the author of many ancient Indian texts. He is accredited as the author of the first Purana, the Vishnu Purana, before his son Vyasa wrote it in its present form. He was the grandson of Vasishtha, the son of Śakti Maharṣi. There are several texts which give reference to Parashara as an author/speaker. Modern scholars believe that there were many individuals who used this name throughout time whereas others assert that the same Parashara taught these various texts and the time of writing them varied. The actual sage himself never wrote the texts; the various texts attributed to him are given in reference to Parashara being the speaker to his student.

Vyasa's mother Satyavati (also spelled Satyawati) was the queen of the Kuru king, Shantanu of Hastinapur and the great-grandmother of the Pandava and Kaurava princes (principal characters of the Hindu epic Mahabharata). As she is also the mother of Vyasa, he is also member of both royal dynasties who fought in the Mahabharata War.

Satyavati's story appears in the Mahabharata, the Harivamsa and the Devi Bhagavata Purana. Satyavati is the adopted daughter of a fisherman chieftain, Dashraj and was brought up as a commoner on the banks of the river Yamuna. She is the biological daughter of the Chedi king Uparichara Vasu and a cursed apsara (celestial nymph) who was turned into a fish called Adrika. When she was young, she helped her father, Dashraj, in his job as a ferryman and a fisherwoman. As a young woman, Satyavati met the wandering sage Parashara, who fathered her son Vyasa out of wedlock. The sage also gave her a musky fragrance, which earned her names like Yojanagandha ("She whose fragrance is spread as far as a yojana") and Gandhavati ("fragrant one").

Later King Shantanu, captivated by her fragrance and beauty, fell in love with Satyavati. She married Santanu on her father's condition that their children inherit the throne, denying the birthright of Shantanu's eldest son (and crown prince) Bhishma. Satyavati bore Shantanu two children, Chitrangada and Vichitravirya. After Shantanu's death, she and her prince's sons with the help of Bhishma ruled the kingdom. Although both her sons died childless, she arranged for her first son, Vyasa, to father the children of the two widows of Vichitravirya through niyoga. The children, (Dhritarashtra and Pandu) became the fathers of the Kauravas and Pandavas respectively. After Pandu's death, Satyavati went to the forest for penance and died there.

Vyasa had a son named name Shuka, who was his spiritual successor and heir. As per Skanda Purana, Vyasa married Vatikā, alias Pinjalā, who was the daughter of a sage named Jābāli. It is described that Vyasa's union with her produced his heir, who repeated everything that he heard, thus receiving the name Shuka (lit. Parrot). Other texts including the Devi Bhagavata Purana also narrate the birth of Shuka but with drastic differences. Vyasa was desiring an heir, when an apsara (celestial damsel) named Ghritachi flew in front of him in form of a beautiful parrot, causing him sexual arousal. He discharges his semen, which fell on some sticks and a son developed. This time, he was named Shuka because of the role of the celestial parrot. Shuka appears occasionally in the story as a spiritual guide to the young Kuru princes.

Besides his heir, Vyasa had four other disciples — Paila, Jaimini, Vaishampayana and Sumantu. Each one of them was given the responsibility to spread one of the four Vedas. Paila was the made the incharge of Rigveda, Jaimini of the Samaveda, Vaishampayana of the Yajurveda and Sumantu of Atharvaveda. Vyasa is believed to have lived on the banks of Ganga in modern-day Uttarakhand. The site was also the ritual home of the sage Vashishta, along with the Pandavas, the five brothers of the Mahabharata.

Content
Structure

The Bhagavad Gita is a poem written in the Sanskrit language. Its 700 verses are structured into several ancient Indian poetic meters, with the principal being the shloka (Anushtubh chanda). It has 18 chapters in total. Each shloka consists of a couplet, thus the entire text consists of 1,400 lines. Each shloka line has two quarter verses with exactly eight syllables. Each of these quarters is further arranged into "two metrical feet of four syllables each", state Flood and Martin. The metered verse does not rhyme. While the shloka is the principal meter in the Gita, it does deploy other elements of Sanskrit prosody. At dramatic moments, it uses the tristubh meter found in the Vedas, where each line of the couplet has two quarter verses with exactly eleven syllables.

The Narrative

The Gita is a dialogue between Krishna and Arjuna right before the start of the climactic Kurukshetra War in the Hindu epic Mahabharata. Two massive armies have gathered to destroy the other. The Pandava prince Arjuna asks his charioteer Krishna to drive to the center of the battlefield so that he can get a good look at both the armies and all those "so eager for war". He sees that some among his enemies are his own relatives, beloved friends, and revered teachers. He does not want to fight to kill them and is thus filled with doubt and despair on the battlefield. He drops his bow, wonders if he should renounce and just leave the battlefield. He turns to his charioteer and guide Krishna, for advice on the rationale for war, his choices and the right thing to do. The Bhagavad Gita is the compilation of Arjuna's questions and moral dilemma, Krishna's answers and insights that elaborate on a variety of philosophical concepts.[103][105] The compiled dialogue goes far beyond the "a rationale for war"; it touches on many human ethical dilemmas, philosophical issues and life's choices. According to Flood and Martin, although the Gita is set in the context of a war epic, the narrative is structured to apply to all situations; it wrestles with questions about "who we are, how we should live our lives, and how should we act in the world". According to Sargeant, it delves into questions about the "purpose of life, crisis of self-identity, human soul, human temperaments, and ways for spiritual quest".

Characters

• Arjuna, one of the five Pandavas
• Krishna, Arjuna's charioteer and guru who was actually an incarnation of Vishnu
• Sanjaya, counselor of the Kuru king Dhritarashtra (secondary narrator)
• Dhritarashtra, Kuru king (Sanjaya's audience) and father of the Kauravas

The 18 Chapters

Bhagavad Gita comprises 18 chapters (section 25 to 42) in the Bhishma Parva of the epic Mahabharata. Because of differences in recensions, the verses of the Gita may be numbered in the full text of the Mahabharata as chapters 6.25–42 or as chapters 6.23–40. The number of verses in each chapter vary in some manuscripts of the Gita discovered on the Indian subcontinent. However, variant readings are relatively few in contrast to the numerous versions of the Mahabharata it is found embedded in, and the meaning is the same.

The original Bhagavad Gita has no chapter titles. Some Sanskrit editions that separate the Gita from the epic as an independent text, as well as translators, however, add chapter titles such as each chapter being a particular form of yoga. For example, Swami Chidbhavananda describes each of the eighteen chapters as a separate yoga because each chapter, like yoga, "trains the body and the mind". He labels the first chapter "Arjuna Vishada Yogam" or the "Yoga of Arjuna's Dejection". Sir Edwin Arnold titled this chapter in his 1885 translation as "The Distress of Arjuna".

***Chapter 1** (46 verses)*

The 1st chapter may have the following titles: Arjuna vishada yoga, Prathama Adhyaya, The Distress of Arjuna, The War Within, or Arjuna's Sorrow.

The Bhagavad Gita opens by setting the stage of the Kurukshetra battlefield. Two massive armies representing different loyalties and ideologies face a catastrophic war. With Arjuna is Krishna, not as a participant in the war, but only as his charioteer and counsel. Arjuna requests Krishna to move the chariot between the two armies so he can see those "eager for this war". He sees family and friends on the enemy side. Arjuna is distressed and in sorrow. The issue is, states

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Arvind Sharma, "is it morally proper to kill?" This and other moral dilemmas in the first chapter are set in a context where the Hindu epic and Krishna have already extolled ahimsa (non-violence) to be the highest and divine virtue of a human being. The war feels evil to Arjuna and he questions the morality of war. He wonders if it is noble to renounce and leave before the violence starts, or should he fight, and why.

***Chapter 2** (72 verses)*

The 2nd chapter may have the following titles: Sankhya Yoga, The Book of Doctrines, Self-Realisation, or The Yoga of Knowledge (and Philosophy). It begins the philosophical discussions and teachings found in Gita. The warrior Arjuna whose past had focused on learning the skills of his profession now faces a war he has doubts about. Filled with introspection and questions about the meaning and purpose of life, he asks Krishna about the nature of life, soul, death, afterlife and whether there is a deeper meaning and reality.[118] Krishna answers. The chapter summarizes the Hindu idea of rebirth, samsara, eternal soul in each person (Self), universal soul present in everyone, various types of yoga, divinity within, the nature of Self-knowledge and other concepts. The ideas and concepts in the second chapter reflect the framework of the Samkhya and Yoga schools of Hindu philosophy. This chapter is an overview for the remaining sixteen chapters of the Bhagavad Gita.

***Chapter 3** (43 verses)*

The 3rd chapter may have the following titles: Karma yoga, Virtue in Work, Selfless Service, or The Yoga of Action.

Arjuna, after listening to Krishna's spiritual teachings in Chapter 2, gets more confounded and returns to the predicament he faces. He wonders if fighting the war is "not so important after all" given Krishna's overview on the pursuit of spiritual wisdom. Krishna replies that there is no way to avoid action (karma), since abstention from work is also an action. Krishna states that Arjuna has an obligation to understand and perform his duty (dharma), because everything is connected by the law of cause and effect. Every man or woman is bound by activity. Those who act selfishly create the karmic cause and are thereby bound to the effect which may be good or bad. Those who act selflessly for the right cause and strive to do their dharmic duty do God's work. Those who act without craving for fruits are free from the karmic effects, because the results never motivated them. Whatever the result, it does not affect them. Their happiness comes from within, and the external world does not bother them. According to Flood and Martin, chapter 3 and onwards develops "a theological response to Arjuna's dilemma".

***Chapter 4** (42 verses)*

The 4th chapter may have the following titles: as Jñāna–Karma-Sanyasa yoga, The Religion of Knowledge, Wisdom in Action, or The Yoga of Renunciation of Action through Knowledge.

Krishna reveals that he has taught this yoga to the Vedic sages. Arjuna questions how Krishna could do this, when those sages lived so long ago, and Krishna was born more recently. Krishna reminds him that everyone is in the cycle of rebirths, and while Arjuna does not remember his previous births, he does. Whenever dharma declines and the purpose of life is forgotten by men, says Krishna, he returns to re-establish dharma. Every time he returns, he teaches about inner Self in all beings. The later verses of the chapter return to the discussion of motiveless action and the need to determine the right action, performing it as one's dharma (duty) while renouncing the results, rewards, fruits. The simultaneous outer action with inner renunciation, states Krishna, is the secret to the life of freedom. Action leads to knowledge, while selfless action leads to spiritual awareness, state the last verses of this chapter. The 4th chapter is the first time where Krishna begins to reveal his divine nature to Arjuna.

***Chapter 5** (29 verses)*

The 5th chapter may have the following titles: Karma–Sanyasa yoga, Religion by Renouncing Fruits of Works, Renounce and Rejoice, or The Yoga of Renunciation.

The chapter starts by presenting the tension in the Indian tradition between the life of sannyasa (monks who have renounced their household and worldly attachments) and the life of grihastha (householder). Arjuna asks Krishna which path is better. Krishna answers that both are paths to the same goal, but the path of "selfless action and service" with inner renunciation is better. The different paths, says Krishna, aim for—and if properly pursued, lead to—Self-knowledge. This knowledge leads to the universal, transcendent Godhead, the divine essence in all beings, to Brahman – the Krishna himself. The final verses of the chapter state that the self-aware who have reached self-realisation live without fear, anger, or desire. They are free within, always.

***Chapter 6** (47 verses)*

The 6th chapter may have the following titles: Dhyana yoga, Religion by Self-Restraint, The Practice of Meditation, or The Yoga of Meditation.

The chapter opens as a continuation of Krishna's teachings about selfless work and the personality of someone who has renounced the fruits that are found in chapter 5. Krishna says that such self-realized people are impartial to friends and enemies, are beyond good and evil, equally disposed to those who support them or oppose them because they have reached the summit of consciousness. The verses 6.10 and after proceed to summarize the principles of Yoga and meditation in the format similar to but simpler than Patanjali's Yogasutra. It discusses who is a true yogi, and what it takes to reach the state where one has no malice towards anyone. Selfless service is also a topic here:

"It is not those who lack energy nor those who refrain from action, but those who work without expecting reward who attain the goal of meditation, Theirs is true renunciation."—Bhagavad Gita 6.1 [Eknath Easwaran]

***Chapter 7** (30 verses)*

The 7th chapter may have the following titles: Jnana–Vijnana yoga, Religion by Discernment, Wisdom from Realisation, or The Yoga of Knowledge and Judgement.

The chapter 7 once again opens with Krishna continuing his discourse. He discusses jnana (knowledge) and vijnana (realization, understanding) using the Prakriti-Purusha (matter-soul) framework of the Samkhya school of Hindu philosophy, and the Maya-Brahman framework of its Vedanta school. The chapter states that evil is the consequence of ignorance and the attachment to the impermanent, delusive Maya. It equates self-knowledge and the union with Purusha (Krishna) as the Self to be the highest goal of any spiritual pursuit.

***Chapter 8** (28 verses)*

The 8th chapter may have the following titles: Aksara–Brahma yoga, Religion by Devotion to the One Supreme God, The Eternal Godhead, or The Yoga of the Imperishable Brahman.

The chapter opens with Arjuna asking questions such as what is Brahman and what is the nature of karma. Krishna states that his own highest nature is the imperishable Brahman, and that he lives in every creature as the adhyatman. Every being has an impermanent body and an eternal soul, and that "Krishna as Lord" lives within every creature. The chapter discusses cosmology, the nature of death and rebirth. This chapter contains eschatology of the Bhagavad Gita. Importance of the last thought before death, differences between material and spiritual worlds, and light and dark paths that a soul takes after death are described.

***Chapter 9** (34 verses)*

The ninth chapter may have the following titles: Raja–Vidya–Raja–Guhya yoga, Religion by the Kingly Knowledge and the Kingly Mystery, The Royal Path, or The Yoga of Sovereign Science and Sovereign Secret.

Chapter 9 opens with Krishna continuing his discourse as Arjuna listens. Krishna states that he is everywhere and in everything in an unmanifested form, yet he is not in any way limited by them. Eons end, everything dissolves and then he recreates another eon subjecting them to the laws of Prakriti (nature). He equates himself to being the father and the mother of the universe, to being the Om, to the three Vedas, to the seed, the goal of life, the refuge and abode of all. The chapter recommends devotional worship of Krishna.

***Chapter 10** (42 verses)*

The 10th chapter may have the following titles: Vibhuti–Vistara–yoga, Religion by the Heavenly Perfections, Divine Splendor, or The Yoga of Divine Manifestations.

Krishna reveals his divine being in greater detail, as the ultimate cause of all material and spiritual existence, one who transcends all opposites and who is beyond any duality. Krishna says he is the atman in all beings, Arjuna's innermost Self, also compassionate Vishnu, the Surya (sun god), Indra, Shiva-Rudra, Ananta, Yama, as well as the Om, Vedic sages, time, Gayatri mantra, and the science of Self-knowledge. Arjuna accepts Krishna as the purushottama (Supreme Being).

***Chapter 11** (55 verses)*

Some translators title the chapter as Vishvarupa–Darshana yoga, The Manifesting of the One and Manifold, The Cosmic Vision, or The Yoga of the Vision of the Cosmic Form.

On Arjuna's request, Krishna displays his "universal form" (Viśvarūpa). This is an idea found in the Rigveda and many later Hindu texts, where it is a symbolism for atman (Self) and Brahman (Absolute Reality) eternally pervading all beings and all existence. Chapter 11 describes Arjuna entering first into savikalpa samadhi (a particular), and then nirvikalpa samadhi (a universal) as he gets an understanding of Krishna.

***Chapter 12** (20 verses)*

The 12th chapter may have the following titles: Bhakti yoga, The Religion of Faith, The Way of Love, or The Yoga of Devotion.

In this chapter, Krishna glorifies the path of love and devotion to God. Krishna describes the process of devotional service (Bhakti yoga). This chapter of the Gita offers an easier path to most human beings to identify and love God in a human-like representation, in any form. He can be projected as a merciful father, a divine mother, a wise friend, a passionate beloved, or even a mischievous child. The text states that combining "action with inner renunciation" with the love of Krishna as a personal God leads to peace. In the last eight verses of this chapter, Krishna states that he loves those who have compassion for all living beings, are content with whatever comes their way, who live a detached life that is impartial and selfless, unaffected by fleeting pleasure or pain, neither craving for praise nor depressed by criticism.

***Chapter 13** (34 verses)*

The 13th chapter may have the following titles: Ksetra–Ksetrajna Vibhaga yoga, Religion by Separation of Matter and Spirit, The Field and the Knower, or The Yoga of Difference between the Field and Field-Knower.

The chapter opens with Krishna continuing his discourse from the previous chapter. He describes the difference between transient perishable physical body (kshetra) and the immutable eternal soul (kshetrajna). The presentation explains the difference between ahamkara (ego) and atman (soul), from there between individual consciousness and universal consciousness. The knowledge of one's true self is linked to the realization of the soul. This chapter offers the clearest enunciation of the Samkhya philosophy by explaining the difference between field (material world) and the knower (soul), prakriti and purusha. It redefines the battlefield as the human body, the material realm in which one struggles to know oneself" where human dilemmas are presented as a symbolic field of interior struggle.

***Chapter 14** (27 verses)*

The 14th chapter may have the following titles: Gunatraya–Vibhaga yoga, Religion by Separation from the Qualities, The Forces of Evolution, or The Yoga of the Division of Three Gunas.

The chapter once again opens with Krishna continuing his discourse from the previous chapter. Krishna explains the difference between purusha and prakriti, by mapping human experiences to three Guṇas (tendencies, qualities). These are listed as sattva, rajas and tamas. All phenomena and individual personalities are a combination of all three gunas in varying and ever-changing proportions. The gunas affect the ego, but not the soul, according to the text. This chapter also relies on the Samkhya theories.

***Chapter 15** (20 verses)*

The 15th chapter may have the following titles: Purushottama yoga, Religion by Attaining the Supreme Krishna, The Supreme Self, or The Yoga of the Supreme Purusha.

The 15th chapter expounds on Krishna theology, in the Vaishnava Bhakti tradition of Hinduism. Krishna discusses the nature of God, according to Easwaran, wherein Krishna not only transcends impermanent body (matter), he also transcends the atman (soul) in every being. The verses in this chapter in association with select verses in other chapters make the metaphysics of the Gita to be dualistic. The fundamental element, in every thing, is God.

***Chapter 16** (24 verses)*

The 16th chapter may have the following titles: Daivasura–Sampad–Vibhaga yoga, The Separateness of the Divine and Undivine, Two Paths, or The Yoga of the Division between the Divine and the Demonic.

According to Easwaran, this is an unusual chapter where two types of human nature are expounded, one leading to happiness and the other to suffering. Krishna identifies these human traits to be divine and demonic respectively. He states that truthfulness, self-restraint, sincerity, love for others, desire to serve others, being detached, avoiding anger, avoiding harm to all living creatures, fairness, compassion and patience are marks of the divine nature. The opposite of these are demonic, such as cruelty, conceit, hypocrisy and being inhumane, states Krishna.

***Chapter 17** (28 verses)*

The 17th chapter may have the following titles: Shraddhatraya-Vibhaga Yoga, Religion by the Threefold Kinds of Faith, The Power of Faith, or The Yoga of the Threefold Faith.

Krishna qualifies the three divisions of faith, thoughts, deeds, and even eating habits corresponding to the three modes (gunas).

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Chapter 18 *(78 verses)*

The 18th chapter may have the following titles: Moksha–Sanyasa Yoga, Religion by Deliverance and Renunciation, Freedom and Renunciation, or The Yoga of Liberation and Renunciation.

In the final and long chapter, the Gita offers a final summary of its teachings in the previous chapters. It begins with discussion of spiritual pursuits through sannyasa (renunciation, monastic life) and spiritual pursuits while living in the world as a householder. It re-emphasises the karma-phala-tyaga teaching, or "act while renouncing the fruits of your action".

THEMES

The Nature of God

The Gita describes a kind of universal God which and who is everywhere, unaffected, constant, absolute, indescribable and without features. This Absolute God is neither a He nor a She, but a "neuter principle", an "It or That". The Gita teaches both the abstract God and the personalised Brahman (God), the latter in the form of Krishna. The whole concept reminds us of early Christianity with God the father and Christ the son. The general practice is very different from the totalitarian and rigid practice promoted by the so-called Abrahamic religions, such as Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The Gita text accomplishes the co-existence of universal God and the personal (humanised) God by bluring any distinction between universal (impersonal) God and the personalised God. This practice has led scholars to call the Gita as panentheistic, theistic and monistic. This dualistic image of God offers believers different ways to find God. One could say, the way to the goal is more important than the goal itself.

The Nature of Self

The Gita, states Fowler, "thoroughly accepts" atman as a foundational concept. In the Upanishads, this is the Brahmanical idea that all beings have a "permanent real self", the true essence, the soul it refers to as Atman (Self). In the Upanishads that preceded the Gita such as the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, the salvific goal is to know and realise this Self, a knowledge that is devoid of the delusions of instinctive "I, mine, egoistic" typically connected with the body, material life processes that are impermanent and transient. The Gita accepts atman as the pure, unchanging, ultimate real essence, experiencer of one's being.

The Nature of the World

The Gita considers the world to be transient, all bodies and matter as impermanent. Everything that constitutes prakriti (nature, matter) is process driven and has a finite existence. It is born, grows, matures, decays and dies. It considers this transient reality as Maya. Like the Upanishads, the Gita focuses on what it considers as real in this world of change, impermanence, and finitude. To build its theological framework about the world, the text relies on the theories found in Samkhya and Vedanta schools of Hinduism.

Asceticism, Renunciation and Ritualism

The Gita rejects ascetic life, renunciation as well as Brahminical Vedic ritualism where outwardly actions or non-action are considered a means of personal rewards in this life, after-life or a means of liberation. It instead recommends the pursuit of an active life where the individual adopts "inner renunciation", acts to fulfill what he determines to be his dharma, without craving for or concerns about personal rewards, viewing this as an "inner sacrifice to the personal God for a higher good". The Gita rejects "actionless behaviour" found in some Indic monastic traditions. It also "relegates the sacrificial system of the early Vedic literature to a path that goes nowhere because it is based on desires".

Just War and Duty

Unlike any other religious scripture, the Bhagavad Gita broadcasts its message in the centre of the battlefield. Several modern Indian writers have interpreted the battlefield setting as an allegory of "the war within". In the Gita we can see religious defence of the warrior class's (Kshatriya Varna) duty (svadharma), which is to conduct combat and war with courage. The Gita is defending killing when necessary for the betterment of society, such as, for example, the killing of a tyrant, suppressor or conqueror. Defensive war seem not to be just an allegorical teaching, but a literal defence of just war. The bravery and courage of Arjuna to fight as a warrior obviously serves as an ideal.

Dharma, the Eternal Law of Righteousness

Dharma is a prominent paradigm of the Mahabharata, and it is referenced in the Gita as well. The term dharma has a number of meanings. Fundamentally, it means "what is right". Contextually, it also means the essence of "duty, law, class, social norms, ritual and cosmos itself" in the text, in the sense "the way things should be in all these different dimensions". The Bhagavad Gita itself says what dharma is all about: it means duty and in verse 2.7 it refers to the "right [and wrong]", and in 14.27 to "eternal law of righteousness".

Moksha: Liberation / Salvation

Liberation or moksha in Vedanta philosophy is not something that can be acquired. Ātman (Soul) and Self-knowledge, along with the loss of egotistic ignorance, the goal of moksha, is something that is always present as the essence of the self, and must be realised by each person by one's own effort. While the Upanishads largely uphold such a monistic viewpoint of liberation, the Bhagavad Gita also accommodates the dualistic and theistic aspects of moksha. The Gita, while including impersonal Nirguna Brahman as the goal, mainly revolves around the relationship between the Self and a personal God or Saguna Brahman. A synthesis of knowledge, devotion, and desireless action is offered by Krishna as a spectrum of choices to Arjuna; the same combination is suggested to the reader as a way to moksha. The Bhagavad Gita shows that every aspect of life is in fact a way of salvation.)

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BHAGAVADGITA.CHAPTER 1

Dhritarâshtra said: What did my (people) and the Pândavas do, O Sangaya! when they assembled together on the holy field of Kurukshetra, desirous to do battle?

Sangaya said: Seeing the army of the Pândavas drawn up in battle-array 1, the prince Duryodhana approached the preceptor, and spoke (these) words: 'O preceptor! observe this grand army of the sons of Pându, drawn up in battle-array by your talented pupil, the son of Drupada. In it are heroes (bearing) large bows, the equals of Bhîma and Arjuna in battle--(namely), Yuyudhâna, Virâta, and Drupada, the master of a great car 2, and Dhrishtaketu, Kekitâna, and the valiant king of Kâsî, Purugit and Kuntibhoga, and that eminent man Saibya; the heroic Yudhâmanyu, the valiant Uttamaugas, the son of Subhadrâ, and the sons of Draupadî--all masters of great cars. And now, O best of Brâhmanas! learn who are most distinguished among us, and are leaders of my army. I will name them to you, in order that you may know them well. Yourself, and Bhîshma, and Karna, and Kripa the victor of (many) battles; Asvatthâman, and Vikarna, and also the son of Somadatta, and many other brave men, who have given up their lives for me, who fight with various weapons, (and are) all dexterous in battle. Thus our army which is protected by Bhîshma is unlimited; while this army of theirs which is protected by Bhîma is very limited. And therefore do ye all, occupying respectively the positions 1 assigned to you, protect Bhîshma 2 only.'

Then his powerful grandsire, Bhîshma, the oldest of the Kauravas, roaring aloud like a lion, blew his conch, (thereby) affording delight to Duryodhana. And then all at once, conchs, and kettledrums, and tabors, and trumpets were played upon; and there was a tumultuous din. Then, too, Mâdhava and the son of Pându (Arjuna), seated in a grand chariot to which white steeds were yoked, blew their heavenly conchs. Hrishîkesa 3 blew the Pânkaganya 4, and Dhanangaya the Devadatta, and Bhîma, (the doer) of fearful deeds, blew the great conch Paundra. King Yudhishthira, the son of Kuntî 5, blew the Anantavigaya, and Nakula and Sahadeva (respectively) the Sughosha and Manipushpaka. And the king of Kâsî, too, who has an excellent bow, and Sikhandin, the master of a great car, and Dhrishtadyumna, Virâta, and the unconquered Sâtyaki, and Drupada, and the sons of Draupadî, and the son of Subhadrâ, of mighty arms, blew conchs severally from all sides, O king of the earth! That tumultuous din rent the hearts of all (the people) of Dhritarâshtra's (party), causing reverberations throughout heaven and earth. Then seeing (the people of) Dhritarâshtra's party regularly marshalled, the son of Pându, whose standard is the ape, raised his bow 1, after the discharge of missiles had commenced, and O king of the earth! spake these words to Hrishîkesa: 'O undegraded one! station my chariot between the two armies, while I observe those, who stand here desirous to engage in battle, and with whom, in the labours of this struggle, I must do battle. I will observe those who are assembled here and who are about to engage in battle, wishing to do service in battle 2 to the evil-minded son of Dhritarâshtra.'

Sangaya said: Thus addressed by Gudâkesa 3, O descendant of Bharata 4! Hrishîkesa stationed that excellent chariot between the two armies, in front of Bhîshma and Drona and of all the kings of the earth, and said O son of Prithâ! look at these assembled Kauravas.' There the son of Prithâ saw in both armies, fathers and grandfathers, preceptors, maternal uncles, brothers, sons 1, grandsons, companions, fathers-in-law, as well as friends. And seeing all those kinsmen standing (there), the son of Kuntî was overcome by excessive pity, and spake thus despondingly.

Arjuna said: Seeing these kinsmen, O Krishna! standing (here) desirous to engage in battle, my limbs droop down; my mouth is quite dried up; a tremor comes on my body; and my hairs stand on end; the Gândîva (bow) slips from my hand; my skin burns intensely. I am unable, too, to stand up; my mind whirls round, as it were; O Kesava! I see adverse omens 2; and I do not perceive any good (to accrue) after killing (my) kinsmen in the battle. I do not wish for victory, O Krishna! nor sovereignty, nor pleasures: what is sovereignty to us, O Govinda! what enjoyments, and even life? Even those, for whose sake we desire sovereignty, enjoyments, and pleasures, are standing here for battle, abandoning life and wealth-preceptors, fathers, sons as well as grandfathers, maternal uncles, fathers-in-law, grandsons, brothers-in-law, as also (other) relatives. These I do not wish to kill, though they kill (me), O destroyer of Madhu 3! even for the sake of sovereignty over the three worlds, how much less then for this earth (alone)? What joy shall be ours, O Ganârdana! after killing Dhritarâshtra's sons? Killing these felons 1 we shall only incur sin. Therefore it is not proper for us to kill our own kinsmen, the sons of Dhritarâshtra. For how, O Mâdhava! shall we be happy after killing our own relatives? Although having their consciences corrupted by avarice, they do not see the evils flowing from the extinction of a family, and the sin in treachery to friends, still, O Ganârdana! should not we, who do see the evils flowing from the extinction of a family, learn to refrain from that sin? On the extinction of a family, the eternal rites of families are destroyed 2. Those rites being destroyed, impiety predominates over the whole family 3. In consequence of the predominance of impiety, O Krishna! the women of the family become corrupt 4; and the women becoming corrupt, O descendant of Vrishni! intermingling of castes results; that intermingling necessarily leads the family and the destroyers of the family to hell; for when the ceremonies of (offering) the balls of food and water (to them) fail 5, their ancestors fall down (to hell). By these transgressions of the destroyers of families, which occasion interminglings of castes, the eternal rites of castes and rites, of families are subverted. And O Ganârdana! we have heard that men whose family-rites are subverted, must necessarily live in hell. Alas! we are engaged in committing a heinous sin, seeing that we are making efforts for killing our own kinsmen out of greed of the pleasures of sovereignty. If the sons of Dhritarâshtra, weapon in hand, should kill me in battle, me weaponless and not defending (myself), that would be better for me.

Sangaya said: Having spoken thus, Arjuna cast aside his bow together with the arrows, on the battle-field, and sat down in (his) chariot, with a mind agitated by grief.

BHAGAVADGITA.CHAPTER 2

Sangaya said: To him, who was thus overcome with pity, and dejected, and whose eyes were full of tears and turbid, the destroyer of Madhu spoke these words.

And the God said: How (comes it that) this delusion, O Arjuna! which is discarded by the good, which excludes from heaven, and occasions infamy, has overtaken you in this (place of) peril? Be not effeminate, O son of Prithâ! it is not worthy of you. Cast off this base weakness of heart, and arise, O terror of (your) foes!

Arjuna said: How, O destroyer of Madhu! shall I encounter with arrows in the battle Bhîshma and Drona--both, O destroyer of enemies! entitled to reverence? Not killing (my) preceptors--(men) of great glory--it is better to live even on alms in this world. But killing them, though they are avaricious of worldly goods, I should only enjoy blood-tainted enjoyments. Nor do we know which of the two is better for us-whether that we should vanquish them, or that they should vanquish us. Even those, whom having killed, we do not wish to live--even those sons of Dhritarâshtra stand (arrayed) against us. With a heart contaminated by the taint of helplessness 1, with a mind confounded about my duty, I ask you. Tell me what is assuredly good for me. I am your disciple; instruct me, who have thrown myself on your (indulgence). For I do not perceive what is to dispel that grief which will dry up my organs 2 after I shall have obtained a prosperous kingdom on earth without a foe, or even the sovereignty of the gods 3.

Sangaya said: Having spoken thus to Hrishîkesa, O terror of (your) foes! Gudâkesa said to Govinda, 'I shall not engage in battle;' and verily remained silent. To him thus desponding between the two armies, O descendant of Bharata! Hrishîkesa spoke these words with a slight smile.

And the God said: You have grieved for those who deserve no grief, and you talk words of wisdom 1. Learned men grieve not for the living nor the dead. Never did I not exist, nor you, nor these rulers of men; nor will any one of us ever hereafter cease to be. As, in this body, infancy and youth and old age (come) to the embodied (self) 2, so does the acquisition of another body; a sensible man is not deceived about that The contacts of the senses 3, O son of Kuntî! which produce cold and heat, pleasure and pain, are not permanent, they are ever coming and going. Bear them, O descendant of Bharata! For, O chief of men! that sensible man whom they 4 (pain and pleasure being alike to him) afflict not, he merits immortality. There is no existence for that which is unreal; there is no non-existence for that which is real. And the (correct) conclusion about both 5 is perceived by those who perceive the truth. Know that to be indestructible which pervades all this; the

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destruction of that inexhaustible (principle) none can bring about. These bodies appertaining to the embodied (self) which is eternal, indestructible, and indefinable, are said 6 to be perishable; therefore do engage in battle, O descendant of Bharata! He who thinks it to be the killer and he who thinks it to be killed, both know nothing. It kills not, is not killed 1. It is not born, nor does it ever die, nor, having existed, does it exist no more. Unborn, everlasting, unchangeable, and primeval, it is not killed when the body is killed 2. O son of Prithâ! how can that man who knows it thus to be indestructible, everlasting, unborn, and inexhaustible, how and whom can he kill, whom can he cause to be killed? As a man, casting off old clothes, puts on others and new ones, so the embodied (self) casting off old bodies, goes to others and new ones. Weapons do not divide it (into pieces); fire does not burn it, waters do not moisten it; the wind does not dry it up. It is not divisible; it is not combustible; it is not to be moistened; it is not to be dried up. It is everlasting, all-pervading, stable, firm, and eternal 3. It is said to be unperceived, to be unthinkable, to be unchangeable. Therefore knowing it to be such, you ought not to grieve, But even if you think that it is constantly born, and constantly dies, still, O you of mighty arms! you ought not to grieve thus. For to one that is born, death is certain; and to one that dies, birth is certain 4. Therefore about (this) unavoidable thing, you ought not to grieve. The source of things, O descendant of Bharata! is unperceived; their middle state is perceived; and their end again is unperceived. What (occasion is there for any) lamentation regarding them 1? One looks upon it 2 as a wonder; another similarly speaks of it as a wonder; another too hears of it as a wonder; and even after having heard of it, no one does really know it 3. This embodied (self), O descendant of Bharata! within every one's body is ever indestructible. Therefore you ought not to grieve for any being. Having regard to your own duty also, you ought not to falter, for there is nothing better for a Kshatriya 4 than a righteous battle. Happy those Kshatriyas, O son of Prithâ! who can find such a battle (to fight)--come of itself 5--an open door to heaven! But if you will not fight this righteous battle, then you will have abandoned your own duty and your fame, and you will incur sin. All beings, too, will tell of your everlasting infamy; and to one who has been honoured, infamy is (a) greater (evil) than death. (Warriors who are) masters of great cars will think that you abstained from the battle through fear, and having been highly thought of by them, you will fall down to littleness. Your enemies, too, decrying your power, will speak much about you that should not be spoken. And what, indeed, more lamentable than that? Killed, you will obtain heaven; victorious, you will enjoy the earth. Therefore arise, O son of Kuntî! resolved to (engage in) battle. Looking alike on pleasure and pain, on gain and loss, on victory and defeat, then prepare for battle, and thus you will not incur sin. The knowledge here declared to you is that relating to the Sânkhya, 1. Now hear that relating to the Yoga. Possessed of this knowledge, O son of Prithâ! you will cast off the bonds of action. In this (path to final emancipation) nothing that is commenced becomes abortive; no obstacles exist; and even a little of this (form of) piety protects one from great danger 2. There is here 3, O descendant of Kuru! but one state of mind consisting in firm understanding. But the states of mind of those who have no firm understanding are many-branched and endless. The state of mind consisting in firm understanding regarding steady contemplation 4 does not belong to those, O son of Prithâ! who are strongly attached to (worldly) pleasures and power, and whose minds are drawn away by that flowery talk which is full of (ordinances of) specific acts for the attainment of (those) pleasures and (that) power, and which promises birth as the fruit of acts 1--(that flowery talk) which those unwise ones utter, who are enamoured of Vedic words, who say there is nothing else, who are full of desires, and whose goal is heaven 2. The Vedas (merely) relate to the effects of the three qualities 3; do you, O Arjuna! rise above those effects of the three qualities, and be free from the pairs of opposites 4, always preserve courage 5, be free from anxiety for new acquisitions or protection of old acquisitions, and be self-controlled 6. To the instructed Brâhmana, there is in all the Vedas as much utility as in a reservoir of water into which waters flow from all sides 7. Your business is with action alone; not by any means with fruit. Let not the fruit of action be your motive (to action). Let not your attachment be (fixed) on inaction 8. Having recourse to devotion, O Dhanangaya! perform actions, casting off (all) attachment, and being equable in success or ill-success; (such) equability is called devotion. Action, O Dhanangaya! is far inferior to the devotion of the mind. In that devotion seek shelter. Wretched are those whose motive (to action) is the fruit (of action). He who has obtained devotion in this world casts off both merit and sin 1. Therefore apply yourself to devotion; devotion in (all) actions is wisdom. The wise who have obtained devotion cast off the fruit of action; and released from the shackles of (repeated)births 2, repair to that seat where there is no unhappiness 3. When your mind shall have crossed beyond the taint of delusion, then will you become indifferent to all that you have heard or will heard 4. When your mind, confounded by what you have heard 5, will stand firm and steady in contemplation 6, then will you acquire devotion.

Arjuna said: What are the characteristics, O Kesava! of one whose mind is steady, and who is intent on contemplation? How should one of steady mind speak, how sit, how move?

And the God said: When a man, O son of Prithâ! abandons all the desires of his heart, and is pleased in his self only and by his self 1, he is then called one of steady mind. He whose heart is not agitated in the midst of calamities, who has no longing for pleasures, and from whom (the feelings of) affection, fear, and wrath 2 have departed, is called a sage of steady mind. His mind is steady, who, being without attachments anywhere, feels no exultation and no aversion on encountering the various agreeable and disagreeable 3 (things of this world). A man's mind is steady, when he withdraws his senses from (all) objects of sense, as the tortoise (withdraws) its limbs from all sides. Objects of sense draw back from a person who is abstinent; not so the taste (for those objects). But even the taste departs from him, when he has seen the Supreme 4. The boisterous senses, O son of Kuntî! carry away by force the mind even of a wise man, who exerts himself (for final emancipation). Restraining them all, a man should remain engaged in devotion, making me his only resort. For his mind is steady whose senses are under his control. The man who ponders over objects of sense forms an attachment to them; from (that) attachment is produced desire; and from desire anger is produced 5; from anger results want of discrimination 6; from want of discrimination, confusion of the memory; from confusion of the memory, loss of reason; and in consequence of loss of reason. he is utterly ruined. But the self-restrained man who moves among 1 objects with senses under the control of his own self, and free from affection and aversion, obtains tranquillity 2. When there is tranquillity, all his miseries are destroyed, for the mind of him whose heart is tranquil soon becomes steady. He who is not self-restrained has no steadiness of mind; nor has he who is not self-restrained perseverance 3 in the pursuit of self-knowledge; there is no tranquillity for him who does not persevere in the pursuit of self-knowledge; and whence can there be happiness for one who is not tranquil? For the heart which follows the rambling senses leads away his judgement, as the wind leads a boat astray upon the waters. Therefore, O you of mighty arms! his mind is steady whose senses are restrained on all sides from objects of sense. The self-restrained man is awake, when it is night for all beings; and when all beings are awake, that is the night of the right-seeing sage 4. He into whom all objects of desire enter, as waters enter the ocean, which, (though) replenished, (still) keeps its position unmoved,-he only obtains tranquillity; not he who desires (those) objects of desire. The man who, casting off all desires, lives free from attachments, who is free from egoism 1, and from (the feeling that this or that is) mine 2, obtains tranquillity. This, O son of Prithâ! is the Brahmic 3 state; attaining to this, one is never deluded; and remaining in it in (one's) last moments, one attains (brahma-nirvâna) the Brahmic bliss 4.

BHAGAVADGITA.CHAPTER 3

Arjuna said: If, O Ganârdana! devotion is deemed by you to be superior to action, then why, O Kesava! do you prompt me to (this) fearful action? You seem, indeed, to confuse my mind by equivocal words. Therefore, declare one thing determinately, by which I may attain the highest good.

And the God said: O sinless one! I have already declared, that in this world there is a twofold path 5--that of the Sânkhyas by devotion in the shape of (true) knowledge; and that of the Yogins by devotion in the shape of action. A man does not attain freedom from action 6 merely by not engaging in action; nor does he attain perfection 7 by mere 8 renunciation. For nobody ever remains even for an instant without performing some action; since the qualities of nature constrain everybody, not having free-will (in the matter), to some action 1. The deluded man who, restraining the organs of action 2, continues to think in his mind about objects of sense, is called a hypocrite. But he, O Arjuna! who restraining his senses by his mind 3. and being free from attachments, engages in devotion (in the shape) of action, with the organs of action, is far superior. Do you perform prescribed action, for action is better than inaction, and the support of your body, too, cannot be accomplished with inaction. This world is fettered by all action other than action for the purpose of the sacrifice 4. Therefore, O son of Kuntî! do you, casting off attachment, perform action for that purpose. The Creator, having in olden times created men together with the sacrifice, said: 'Propagate with this. May it be the giver to you of the things you desire. Please the gods with this, and may those gods please you. Pleasing each other, you will attain the highest good. For pleased with the sacrifices, the gods will give you the enjoyments you desire. And he who enjoys himself without giving them what they have given, is, indeed, a thief.' The good, who eat the leavings of a sacrifice, are released from all sins. But the unrighteous ones, who prepare food for themselves only, incur sin 5.

From food are born (all) creatures; from rain is the production of food; rain is produced by sacrifices; sacrifices are the result of action; know that action has its source in the Vedas; the Vedas come from the Indestructible. Therefore the all-comprehending Vedas are always concerned with sacrifices 1. He who in this world does not turn round the wheel revolving thus, is of sinful life, indulging his senses, and, O son of Prithâ! he lives in vain. But the man who is attached to his self only, who is contented in his self, and is pleased with his self 2, has nothing to do. He has no interest at all in what is done, and none whatever in what is not done, in this world 3; nor is any interest of his dependent on any being. Therefore 4 always perform action, which must be performed, without attachment. For a man, performing action without attachment, attains the Supreme. By action alone, did Ganaka and the rest work for perfection 5. And having regard also to the keeping of people (to their duties) you should perform action. Whatever a great man does, that other men also do. And people follow whatever he receives as authority. There is nothing, O son of Prithâ! for me to do in (all) the three worlds, nothing to acquire which has not been acquired. Still I do engage in action. For should I at any time not engage without sloth in action, men would follow in my path from all sides, O son of Prithâ! If I did not perform actions, these worlds would be destroyed, I should be the cause of caste interminglings; and I should be ruining these people. As the ignorant act, O descendant of Bharata! with attachment to action, so should a wise man act without attachment, wishing to keep the people (to their duties). A wise man should not shake the convictions of the ignorant who are attached to action, but acting with devotion (himself) should make them apply themselves to all action. He whose mind is deluded by egoism thinks himself the doer of the actions, which, in every way, are done by the qualities of nature 1. But he, O you of mighty arms! who knows the truth about the difference from qualities and the difference from actions 2, forms no attachments, believing that qualities deal with qualities 3. But those who are deluded by the qualities of nature form attachments to the actions of the qualities 4. A man of perfect knowledge should not shake these men of imperfect knowledge (in their convictions). Dedicating all actions to me with a mind knowing the relation of the supreme and individual self, engage in battle without desire, without (any feeling that this or that is) mine, and without any mental trouble 1. Even those men who always act on this opinion of mine, full of faith, and without carping, are released from all actions. But those who carp at my opinion and do not act upon it, know them to be devoid of discrimination, deluded as regards all knowledge 2, and ruined. Even a man of knowledge acts consonantly to his own nature 3. All beings follow nature. What will restraint effect? Every sense has its affections and aversions towards its objects fixed. One should not become subject to them, for they are one's opponents 4. One's own duty, though defective, is better than another's duty well performed. Death in (performing) one's own duty is preferable; the (performance of the) duty of others is dangerous.

Arjuna said: But by whom, O descendant of Vrishni! is man impelled, even though unwilling, and, as it were, constrained by force, to commit sin?

And the God said: It is desire, it is wrath 1, born from the quality of passion; it is very ravenous, very sinful. Know that that is the foe in this world. As fire is enveloped by smoke, a mirror by dust, the fœtus by the womb, so is this 2 enveloped by desire. Knowledge, O son of Kuntî! is enveloped by this constant foe of the man of knowledge, in the shape of desire, which is like a fire 3 and insatiable. The senses, the mind, and the understanding are said to be its seat 4; with these it deludes the embodied (self) after enveloping knowledge. Therefore, O chief of the descendants of Bharata! first restrain your senses, then cast off this sinful thing which destroys knowledge and experience 5. It has been said 6, Great are the senses, greater than the senses is the mind, greater than the mind is the understanding. What is greater than the understanding is that 7. Thus knowing that which is higher than the understanding, and restraining (your)self by (your)self, O you of mighty arms! destroy this unmanageable enemy in the shape of desire.

CHAPTER IV.

And the God said: This everlasting 1 (system of) devotion I declared to the sun, the sun declared it to Manu 2, and Manu communicated it to Ikshvâku. Coming thus by steps, it became known to royal sages. But, O terror of (your) foes! that devotion was lost to the world by long (lapse of) time. That same primeval devotion I have declared to you to-day, seeing. that you are my devotee and friend, for it is the highest mystery.

Arjuna said: Later is your birth the birth of the sun is prior. How then shall I understand that you declared (this) first?

And the God said: I have passed through many births, O Arjuna I and you also. I know them all, but you, O terror of (your) foes! do not know them. Even though I am unborn and inexhaustible in (my) essence, even though I am lord of all

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beings, still I take up the control of my own nature 3, and am born by means of my delusive power. Whensoever, O descendant of Bharata! piety languishes, and impiety is in the ascendant, I create myself. I am born age after age, for the protection of the good, for the destruction of evil-doers, and the establishment of piety. Whoever truly knows thus my divine birth and work, casts off (this) body and is not born again. He comes to me, O Arjuna! Many from whom affection, fear 1, and wrath have departed, who are full of me, who depend on me, and who are purified by the penance of knowledge 2, have come into my essence. I serve men in the way in which they approach me 3. In every way, O son of Prithâ! men follow in my path 4. Desiring the success of actions 5, men in this world worship the divinities, for in this world of mortals, the success produced by action is soon obtained. The fourfold division of castes was created by me according to the apportionment of qualities and duties. But though I am its author, know me to be inexhaustible, and not the author. Actions defile me not. I have no attachment to the fruit of actions. He who knows me thus is not tied down by actions. Knowing this, the men of old who wished for final emancipation, performed action. Therefore do you, too, perform action as was done by men of old in olden times. Even sages are confused as to what is action, what inaction. Therefore I will speak to you about action, and learning that, you will be freed from (this world of) evil. One must possess knowledge about action; one must also possess knowledge about prohibited action; and again one must possess knowledge about inaction. The truth regarding action is abstruse. He is wise among men, he is possessed of devotion, and performs all actions 1, who sees inaction in action, and action in inaction. The wise call him learned, whose acts are all free from desires and fancies, and whose actions are burnt down by the fire of knowledge. Forsaking all attachment to the fruit of action, always contented, dependent on none, he does nothing at all, though he engages in action. Devoid of expectations, restraining the mind and the self, and casting off all belongings 2, he incurs no sin, performing actions merely for the sake of the body 3. Satisfied with earnings coming spontaneously 4, rising above the pairs of opposites, free from all animosity, and equable on success or ill-success, he is not fettered down, even though he performs (actions). The acts of one who is devoid of attachment, who is free 5, whose mind is fixed on knowledge, and who performs action for (the purpose of) the sacrifice 6 are all destroyed. Brahman is the oblation; with Brahman (as a sacrificial instrument) it is offered up; Brahman is in the fire; and by Brahman it is thrown; and Brahman, too, is the goal to which he proceeds who meditates on Brahman in the action 1. Some devotees perform the sacrifice to the gods, some offer up the sacrifice by the sacrifice itself in the fire of Brahman 2. Others offer up the senses, such as the sense of hearing and others, in the fires of restraint 3; others offer up the objects of sense, such as sound and so forth, into the fires of the senses 4. Some again offer up all the operations of the senses and the operations of the life-breaths into the fire of devotion by self-restraint 5, kindled by knowledge. Others perform the sacrifice of wealth, the sacrifice of penance, the sacrifice of concentration of mind, the sacrifice of Vedic study 6, and of knowledge, and others are ascetics of rigid vows. Some offer up the upward life-breath into the downward life-breath, and the downward life-breath into the upper life-breath, and stopping up the motions of the upward and downward life-breaths, devote themselves to the restraint of the life-breaths 7. Others, who (take) limited food, offer up the life-breaths into the life-breaths. All of these, conversant with the sacrifice, have their sins destroyed by the sacrifice. Those who eat the nectar-like leavings of the sacrifice repair to the eternal Brahman 1. This world is not for those who perform no sacrifice, whence (then) the other, O best of the Kauravas! Thus sacrifices of various sorts are laid down in the Vedas. Know them all to be produced from action 2, and knowing this you will be released (from the fetters of this world). The sacrifice of knowledge, O terror of (your) foes! is superior to the sacrifice of wealth, for action, O son of Prithâ! is wholly and entirely comprehended in knowledge. That 3 you should learn by salutation, question, and service 4. The men of knowledge who perceive the truth will teach knowledge to you. Having learnt that, O son of Pându! you will not again fall thus into delusion; and by means of it, you will see all beings, without exception, first in yourself, and then in me 5. Even if you are the most sinful of all sinful men, you will cross over all trespasses by means of the boat of knowledge alone. As a fire well kindled, O Arjuna! reduces fuel to ashes, so the fire of knowledge reduces all actions to ashes 6. For there is in this world no means of sanctification like knowledge 7, and that one perfected by devotion finds within one's self in time. He who has faith, whose senses are restrained, and who is assiduous, obtains knowledge 1. Obtaining knowledge, he acquires, without delay, the highest tranquillity. He who is ignorant and devoid of faith, and whose self is full of misgivings, is ruined. Not this world, not the next, nor happiness, is for him whose self is full of misgivings. Actions, O Dhanangaya! do not fetter one who is self-possessed 2, who has renounced action by devotion, and who has destroyed misgivings by knowledge. Therefore, O descendant of Bharata! destroy, with the sword of knowledge, these misgivings of yours which fill your mind, and which are produced from ignorance. Engage in devotion. Arise!

BHAGAVADGITA.CHAPTER 5

Arjuna said: O Krishna! you praise renunciation of actions and also the pursuit (of them). Tell me determinately which one of these two is superior.

And the God said: Renunciation and pursuit of action are both instruments of happiness. But of the two, pursuit of action is superior to renunciation of action. He should be understood to be always an ascetic 3, who has no aversion and no desire. For, O you of mighty arms! he who is free from the pairs of opposites is easily released from (all) bonds. Children--not wise men--talk of sankhya and yoga as distinct. One who pursues either well obtains the fruit of both. The seat which the sânkhyas obtain is reached by the yogas 1 also. He sees (truly), who sees the sânkhya and yoga as one. Renunciation, O you of mighty arms! is difficult to reach without devotion; the sage possessed of devotion attains Brahman 2 without delay. He who is possessed of devotion, whose self is pure, who has restrained his self 3, and who has controlled his senses, and who identifies his self with every being, is not tainted though he performs (actions). The man of devotion, who knows the truth, thinks he does nothing at all, when he sees 4, hears, touches, smells, eats, move-b, sleeps, breathes, talks, throws out 5, takes, opens or closes the eyelids; he holds that the senses deal with the objects of the senses. He who, casting off (all) attachment, performs actions dedicating them to Brahman, is not tainted by sin, as the lotus-leaf 6 (is not tainted) by water. Devotees, casting off attachment, perform actions for attaining purity of self, with the body, the mind, the understanding, or even the senses 7--(all) free (from egoistic notions). He who is possessed of devotion, abandoning the fruit of actions, attains the highest tranquillity. He who is without devotion, and attached to the fruit (of action), is tied down by (reason of his) acting in consequence of (some) desire. The self-restrained, embodied (self) lies at case within the city of nine portals 1, renouncing all actions by the mind, not doing nor causing (any thing) to be done. The Lord is not the cause of actions, or of the capacity of performing actions amongst men, or of the connexion of action and fruit. But nature only works. The Lord receives no one's sin, nor merit either. Knowledge is enveloped by ignorance, hence all creatures are deluded 2. But to those who have destroyed that ignorance by knowledge of the self, (such) knowledge, like the sun, shows forth that supreme (principle). And those whose mind is (centred) on it, whose (very) self it is, who are thoroughly devoted to it, and whose final goal it is, go never to return, having their sins destroyed by knowledge. The wise look upon a Brâhmana possessed of learning and humility, on a cow, an elephant, a dog, and a Svapâka, as alike 3. Even here, those have conquered the material world, whose mind rests in equability 4; since Brahman is free from defects and equable, therefore they rest in Brahman. He who knows Brahman, whose mind is steady, who is not deluded, and who rests in Brahman, does not exult on finding anything agreeable, nor does he grieve on finding anything disagreeable 1. One whose self is not attached to external objects, obtains the happiness that is in (one's) self; and by means of concentration of mind, joining one's self (with the Brahman), one obtains indestructible happiness. For the enjoyments born of contact (between senses and their objects) are, indeed, sources of misery; they have a beginning as well as an end 2. O son of Kuntî! a wise man feels no pleasure in them. He who even in this world, before his release from the body, is able to bear the agitations produced from desire and wrath, is a devoted man, he is a happy man. The devotee whose happiness is within (himself), whose recreation is within (himself), and whose light (of knowledge) also is within (himself), becoming (one with) the Brahman 3, obtain the Brahmic bliss 4. The sages whose sins have perished, whose misgivings are destroyed, who are self-restrained, and who are intent on the welfare of all beings 5, obtain the Brahmic bliss. To the ascetics, who are free from desire and wrath 6, and whose minds are restrained, and who have knowledge of the self, the Brahmic bliss is on both sides (of death). The sage who excludes (from his mind) external objects, (concentrates) the visual power between the brows 1, and making the upward and downward life-breaths even, confines their movements within the nose, who restrains senses, mind, and understanding 2, whose highest goal is final emancipation, from whom desire, fear, and wrath have departed, is, indeed, for ever released (from birth and death). He knowing me to be the enjoyer of all sacrifices and penances, the great Lord of all worlds, and the friend of all beings, attains tranquillity.

BHAGAVADGITA.CHAPTER 6

And the God said: He who, regardless of the fruit of actions, performs the actions which ought to be performed, is the devotee and renouncer; not he who discards the (sacred) fires 3, nor he who performs no acts. Know, O son of Pându! that what is called renunciation is devotion; for nobody becomes a devotee who has not renounced (all) fancies 4. To the sage who wishes to rise to devotion, action is said to be a means, and to him, when he has risen to devotion, tranquillity 5 is said to be a means. When one does not attach oneself to objects of sense, nor to action, renouncing all fancies, then is one said to have risen to devotion. (A man) should elevate his self by his self 6; he should not debase his self, for even (a man's) own self is his friend, (a man's) own self is also his enemy 1. To him who has subjugated his self by his self 2, his self is a friend; but to him who has not restrained his self, his own self behaves inimically, like an enemy. The self of one who has subjugated his self and is tranquil, is absolutely concentrated (on itself), in the midst of cold and heat, pleasure and pain, as well as honour and dishonour. The devotee whose self is contented with knowledge and experience 3, who is unmoved 4, who has restrained his senses, and to whom a sod, a stone, and gold are alike, is said to be devoted. And he is esteemed highest, who thinks alike 5 about well-wishers, friends, and enemies, and those who are indifferent, and those who take part with both sides, and those who are objects of hatred, and relatives, as well as about the good and the sinful. A devotee should constantly devote his self to abstraction, remaining in a secret place 6, alone, with his mind and self 7 restrained, without expectations, and without belongings. Fixing his seat firmly in a clean 8 place, not too high nor too low, and covered over with a sheet of cloth, a deerskin, and (blades of) Kusa (grass),--and there seated on (that) seat, fixing his mind exclusively on one point, with the workings of the mind and senses restrained, he should practice devotion for purity of self. Holding his body, head, and neck even and unmoved, (remaining) steady, looking at the tip of his own nose 1, and not looking about in (all) directions, with a tranquil self, devoid of fear, and adhering to the rules of Brahmakârins 2, he should restrain his mind, and (concentrate it) on me, and sit down engaged in devotion, regarding me as his final goal. Thus constantly devoting his self to abstraction, a devotee whose mind is restrained, attains that tranquillity which culminates in final emancipation, and assimilation with me. Devotion is not his, O Arjuna! who eats too much, nor his who cats not at all; not his who is addicted to too much sleep, nor his who is (ever) awake. That devotion which destroys (all) misery is his, who takes due food and exercise 3, who toils duly in all works, and who sleeps and awakes (in) due (time) 4. When (a man's) mind well restrained becomes steady upon the self alone, then he being indifferent to all objects of desire, is said to be devoted. As a light standing in a windless (place) flickers not, that is declared to be the parallel for a devotee, whose mind is restrained, and who devotes his self to abstraction. That (mental condition), in which the mind restrained by practice of abstraction, ceases to work; in which too, one seeing the self by the self 5, is pleased in the self; in which one experiences that infinite happiness which transcends the senses, and which can be grasped by the understanding only; and adhering to which, one never swerves from the truth; acquiring which, one thinks no other acquisition higher than it; and adhering to which, one is not shaken off even by great misery; that should be understood to be called devotion in which there is a severance of all connexion with pain. That devotion should be practised with steadiness and with an undesponding heart. Abandoning, without exception, all desires 1, which are produced from fancies, and restraining the whole group of the senses on all sides by the mind only 2, one should by slow steps become quiescent 3, with a firm resolve coupled with courage 4; and fixing his mind upon the self, should think of nothing. Wherever the active and unsteady mind breaks forth 5, there one should ever restrain it, and fix it steadily on the self alone. The highest happiness comes to such a devotee, whose mind is fully tranquil, in whom the quality of passion has been suppressed, who is free from sin, and who is become (one with) the Brahman. Thus constantly devoting his self to abstraction, a devotee, freed from sin, easily obtains that supreme happiness--contact with the Brahman 6. He who has devoted his self to abstraction, by devotion, looking alike on everything, sees the self abiding in all beings, and all beings in the self 1. To him who sees me in everything, and everything in me, I am never lost, and he is not lost to me 2. The devotee who worships me abiding in all beings, holding that all is one 3, lives in me, however he may be living 4. That devotee, O Arjuna! is deemed to be the best, who looks alike on pleasure or pain, whatever it may be, in all (creatures), comparing. all with his own (pleasure or pain) 5.

Arjuna said: I cannot see, O destroyer of Madhu! (how) the sustained existence (is to be secured) of this devotion by means of equanimity which you have declared-in consequence of fickleness. For, O Krishna! the mind is fickle, boisterous 6 strong, and obstinate; and I think that to restrain it is as difficult as (to restrain) the wind.

And the God said: Doubtless, O you of mighty arms! the mind is difficult to restrain, and fickle 7. Still, O son of Kuntî! it may be restrained by constant practice and by indifference (to worldly objects). It is my belief, that devotion is hard to

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obtain for one who does not restrain his self. But by one who is self-restrained and assiduous, it can be obtained through (proper) expedients.

Arjuna said: What is the end of him, O Krishna! who does not attain the consummation of his devotion, being not assiduous 1, and having a mind shaken off from devotion, (though) full of faith? Does he, fallen from both (paths) 2, go to ruin like a broken cloud, being, O you of mighty arms! without support, and deluded on the path (leading) to the Brahman? Be pleased, O Krishna! to entirely destroy this doubt of mine, for none else than you can destroy this doubt.

And the God said: O son of Prithâ! neither in this world nor the next, is ruin for him; for, O dear friend! none who performs good (deeds) comes to an evil end. He who is fallen from devotion attains the worlds of those who perform meritorious acts, dwells (there) for many a year, and is afterwards born into a family of holy and illustrious 3 men. Or he is even born into a family of talented devotees; for such a birth as that in this world is more difficult to obtain. There he comes into contact with the knowledge which belonged to him in his former body, and then again, O descendant of Kuru! he works for perfection 4. For even though reluctant 5, he is led away by the self-same former practice, and although he only wishes to learn devotion, he rises above the (fruits of action laid down in the) divine word. But the devotee working with great efforts 1, and cleared of his sins, attains perfection after many births, and then reaches the supreme goal. The devotee is esteemed higher than the performers of penances, higher even than the men of knowledge, and the devotee is higher than the men of action; therefore, O Arjuna! become a devotee. And even among all devotees, he who, being full of faith, worships me, with his inmost self intent on me, is esteemed by me to be the most devoted.

BHAGAVADGITA.CHAPTER 7

And the God said: O son of Prithâ! now hear how you can without doubt know me fully, fixing your mind on me, and resting in me, and practising devotion. I will now tell you exhaustively about knowledge together with experience; that being known, there is nothing further left in this world to know. Among thousands of men, only some 2 work for perfection 3; and even of those who have reached perfection, and who are assiduous, only some know me truly. Earth, water, fire, air, space, mind, understanding, and egoism 1, thus is my nature divided eightfold. But this is a lower (form of my) nature. Know (that there is) another (form of my) nature, and higher than this, which is animate, O you of mighty arms! and by which this universe is upheld. Know that all things have these (for their) source 2. I am the producer and the destroyer of the whole universe. There is nothing else, O Dhanangaya! higher than myself; all this is woven upon me, like numbers of pearls upon a thread 3. I am the taste in water, O son of Kuntî! I am the light of the sun and moon. I am 'Om 4' in all the Vedas, sound 5 in space, and manliness in human beings; I am the fragrant smell in the earth, refulgence in the fire; I am life in all beings, and penance 6 in those who perform penance. Know me, O son of Prithâ! to be the eternal seed of all beings; I am the discernment of the discerning ones, and I the glory of the glorious 7. I am also the strength, unaccompanied by fondness or desire 8, of the strong. And, O chief of the descendants of Bharata! I am love unopposed to piety 9 among all beings. And all entities which are of the quality of goodness, and those which are of the quality of passion and of darkness, know that they are, indeed, all from me; I am not in them, but they are in me 1. The whole universe deluded by these three states of mind, developed from the qualities, does not know me, who am beyond them and inexhaustible; for this delusion of mine, developed from the qualities, is divine and difficult to transcend. Those cross beyond this delusion who resort to me alone. Wicked men, doers of evil (acts), who are deluded, who are deprived of their knowledge by (this) delusion, and who incline to the demoniac state of mind 2, do not resort to me. But, O Arjuna! doers of good (acts) of four classes worship me: one who is distressed, one who is seeking after knowledge, one who wants wealth, and one, O chief of the descendants of Bharata! who is possessed of knowledge. Of these, he who is possessed of knowledge, who is always devoted, and whose worship is (addressed) to one (Being) only, is esteemed highest. For to the man of knowledge I am dear above all things, and he is dear to me. All these are noble. But the man possessed of knowledge is deemed by me to be my own self. For he with (his) self devoted to abstraction, has taken to me as the goal than which there is nothing higher. At the end of many lives, the man possessed of knowledge approaches me, (believing) that Vâsudeva is everything. Such a high-souled man is very hard to find. Those who are deprived of knowledge by various desires approach other divinities, observing various regulations 1, and controlled by their own natures 2. Whichever form (of deity) any worshipper wishes to worship with faith, to that form I render his faith steady. Possessed Of that faith, he seeks to propitiate (the deity in) that (form), and obtains from it those beneficial things which he desires, (though they are) really given by me. But the fruit thus (obtained) by them, who have little judgement, is perishable. Those who worship the divinities go to the divinities 3, and my worshippers, too, go to me. The undiscerning ones, not knowing my transcendent and inexhaustible essence, than which there is nothing higher, think me, who am unperceived, to have become perceptible 4. Surrounded by the delusion of my mystic power 5, I am not manifest to all. This deluded world knows not me unborn and inexhaustible. I know, O Arjuna! the things which have been, those which are, and those which are to be. But me nobody knows. All beings, O terror of (your) foes! are deluded at the time of birth by the delusion, O descendant of Bharata! caused by the pairs of opposites arising from desire and aversion. But the men of meritorious actions, whose sins have terminated, worship me, being released from the delusion (caused) by the pairs of opposites, and being firm in their beliefs 1. Those who, resting on me, work for release from old age and death 2, know the Brahman 3, the whole Adhyâtma, and all action. And those who know me with the Adhibhûta, the Adhidaiva, and the Adhiyagna, having minds devoted to abstraction, know me at the time of departure (from this world).

BHAGAVADGITA.CHAPTER 8

Arjuna said: What is that Brahman, what the Adhyâtma, and what, O best of beings! is action? And what is called the Adhibhûta? And who is the Adhiyagna, and how in this body, O destroyer of Madhu? And how, too, are you to be known at the time of departure (from this world) by those who restrain their selfs?

And the God said: The Brahman is the supreme, the indestructible. Its manifestation (as an individual self) is called the Adhyâtma. The offering (of an oblation to any divinity), which is the cause of the production and development of all things, is named action. The Adhibhûta is all perishable things. The Adhidaivata is the (primal) being. And the Adhiyagna, O best of embodied (beings)! is I myself in this body. And he who leaves this body and departs (from this world) remembering me in (his) last moments, comes into my essence. There is no doubt of that. Also whichever form 1 (of deity) he remembers when he finally leaves this body, to that he goes, O son of Kuntî! having been used to ponder on it. Therefore, at all times remember me, and engage in battle. Fixing your mind and understanding on me, you will come to me, there is no doubt. He who thinks of the supreme divine Being, O son of Prithâ! with a mind not (running) to other (objects), and possessed of abstraction in the shape of continuous meditation (about the supreme), goes to him. He who, possessed of reverence (for the supreme Being) with a steady mind, and with the power of devotion, properly concentrates the life-breath between the brows 2, and meditates on the ancient Seer, the ruler, more minute than the minutest atom 3, the supporter of all, who is of an unthinkable form, whose brilliance is like that of the sun, and who is beyond all darkness 4, he attains to that transcendent and divine Being. I 5 will tell you briefly about the seat, which those who know the Vedas declare to be indestructible; which entered by ascetics from whom all desires have departed; and wishing for which, people pursue the mode of life of Brahmakârins 1. He who leaves the body and departs (from this world), stopping up all passages 2, and confining the mind within the heart 3, placing the life-breath in the head, and adhering to uninterrupted meditation 4, repeating the single syllable 'Om,' (signifying) the eternal Brahman 5, and meditating on me, he reaches the highest goal. To the devotee who constantly practises abstraction, O son of Prithâ! and who with a mind not (turned) to anything else, is ever and constantly meditating on me, I am easy of access. The high-souled ones, who achieve the highest perfection, attaining to me, do not again come to life, which is transient, a home of woes 6. All worlds, O Arjuna! up to the world of Brahman, are (destined) to return 7. But, O son of Kuntî! after attaining to me, there is no birth again. Those who know a day of Brahman to end after one thousand ages, and the night to terminate after one thousand ages, are the persons who know day and night 1. On the advent of day, all perceptible things are produced from the unperceived; and on the advent of night they dissolve in that same (principle) called the unperceived. This same assemblage of entities, being produced again and again, dissolves on the advent of night, and, O son of Prithâ! issues forth on the advent of day, without a will of its own 2. But there is another entity, unperceived and eternal, and distinct from this unperceived (principle), which is not destroyed when all entities are destroyed. It is called the unperceived, the indestructible; they call it the highest goal. Attaining to it, none returns 3. That is my supreme abode. That supreme Being, O son of Prithâ! he in whom all these entities dwell 4, and by whom all this is permeated, is to be attained to by reverence not (directed) to another. I will state the times, O descendant of Bharata! at which devotees departing (from this world) go, never to return, or to return. The fire, the flame 5, the day, the bright fortnight, the six months of the northern solstice, departing (from the world) in these, those who know the Brahman go to the Brahman. Smoke, night, the dark fortnight, the six months of the southern solstice, (dying) in these, the devotee goes to the lunar light and returns 1. These two paths, bright and dark, are deemed to be eternal in this world 2. By the one, (a man) goes never to return, by the other he comes back. Knowing these two paths, O son of Prithâ! no devotee is deluded 3. Therefore at all times be possessed of devotion, O Arjuna! A devotee knowing all this 4, obtains all the holy fruit which is prescribed for (study of) the Vedas, for sacrifices, and also for penances and gifts, and he attains to the highest and primeval seat.

BHAGAVADGITA.CHAPTER 9

Now I will speak to you, who are not given to carping, of that most mysterious knowledge, accompanied by experience, by knowing which you will be released from evil. It is the chief among the sciences, the chief among the mysteries. It is the best means of sanctification. It is imperishable, not opposed to the sacred law. It is to be apprehended directly 1, and is easy to practise. O terror of your foes! those men who have no faith in this holy doctrine, return to the path of this mortal world, without attaining to me. This whole universe is pervaded by me in an unperceived form. All entities live in me, but I do not live in them 2. Nor yet do all entities live in me. See my divine power. Supporting all entities and producing all entities, my self lives not in (those) entities. As the great and ubiquitous atmosphere always remains in space, know that similarly all entities live in me 3. At the expiration of a Kalpa, O son of Kuntî! all entities enter my nature; and at the beginning of a Kalpa, I again bring them forth. Taking the control of my own nature 4, I bring forth again and again this whole collection of entities, without a will of its own 5, by the power of nature. But, O Arjuna! these actions do not fetter 6 me, who remain like one unconcerned, and who am unattached to those actions. Nature gives birth to movables and immovables through me, the supervisor, and by reason of that 7, O son of Kuntî! the universe revolves. Deluded people of vain hopes, vain acts, vain knowledge 1, whose minds are disordered, and who are inclined to the delusive nature of Asuras and Râkshasas, not knowing my highest nature as great lord of all entities, disregard me as I have assumed a human body 2. But the high-souled ones, O son of Prithâ! who are inclined to the godlike nature, knowing me as the inexhaustible source of (all) entities, worship me with minds not (turned) elsewhere.

Constantly glorifying me, and exerting themselves 3, firm in their vows 4, and saluting me with reverence, they worship me, being always devoted. And others again, offering up the sacrifice of knowledge, worship me as one, as distinct, and as all-pervading in numerous forms 5. I am the Kratu 6, I am the Yagna, I am the Svadhâ, I the product of the herbs. I am the sacred verse. I too am the sacrificial butter, and I the fire, I the offering 7. I am the father of this universe, the mother, the creator, the grandsire, the thing to be known, the means of sanctification, the syllable Om 8, the Rik, Sâman, and Yagus also; the goal, the sustainer, the lord, the supervisor, the residence 1, the asylum, the friend, the source, and that in which it merges, the support, the receptacle, and the inexhaustible seed. I cause heat and I send forth and stop showers. I am immortality and also death; and I, O Arjuna! am that which is and that which is not 2. Those who know the three (branches of) knowledge, who drink the Soma juice, whose sins are washed away, offer sacrifices and pray to me for a passage into heaven; and reaching the holy world of the lord of gods, they enjoy in the celestial regions the celestial pleasures of the gods. And having enjoyed that great heavenly world, they enter the mortal world when (their) merit is exhausted 3. Thus those who wish for objects of desire, and resort to the ordinances of the three (Vedas), obtain (as the fruit) going and coming. To those men who worship me, meditating on me and on no one else, and who are constantly devoted, I give new gifts and preserve what is acquired by them 4. Even those, O son of Kuntî! who being devotees of other divinities worship with faith, worship me only, (but) irregularly 5. For I am the enjoyer as well as the lord 6 of all sacrifices. But they know me not truly, therefore do they fall 7. Those who make vows 8 to the gods go to the gods; those who make vows to the manes go to the manes, those who worship the Bhûtas go to the Bhûtas; and those likewise who worship me go to me. Whoever with devotion offers me leaf, flower, fruit, water, that, presented with devotion, I accept from him whose self is pure. Whatever you do, O son of Kuntî! whatever you eat, whatever sacrifice you make, whatever you give, whatever penance you perform, do that as offered to me 1. Thus will you be released from the bonds of action, the fruits of which are agreeable or disagreeable. And with your self possessed of (this) devotion, (this) renunciation 2, you will be released (from the bonds of action) and will come to me. I am alike to all beings; to me none is hateful, none dear. But those who worship me with devotion (dwell) in me 3, and I too in them. Even if a very ill-conducted man worships me, not worshipping any one else, he must certainly be deemed to be good, for he has well resolved 4. He soon becomes devout of heart, and obtains lasting tranquillity. (You may) affirm, O son of Kuntî! that my devotee is never ruined. For, O son of Prithâ! even those who are of sinful birth 5, women, Vaisyas;

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and Sûdras likewise, resorting to me, attain the supreme goal. What then (need be said of) holy Brâhmanas and royal saints who are (my) devotees? Coming to this transient unhappy 1 world, worship me. (Place your) mind on me, become my devotee, my worshipper; reverence me, and thus making me your highest goal, and devoting your self to abstraction, you will certainly come to me.

BHAGAVADGITA.CHAPTER 10

Yet again, O you of mighty arms! listen to my excellent 2 words, which, out of a wish for your welfare, I speak to you who are delighted (with them). Not the multitudes of gods, nor the great sages know my source; for I am in every way 3 the origin of the gods and great sages. Of (all) mortals, he who knows me to be unborn, without beginning, the great lord of the world, being free from delusion, is released from all sins. Intelligence, knowledge, freedom from delusion, forgiveness, truth, restraint of the senses, tranquillity, pleasure, pain, birth, death, fear, and also security, harmlessness, equability, contentment, penance, (making) gifts, glory, disgrace, all these different tempers 4 of living beings are from me alone. The seven great sages, and likewise the four ancient Manus 5, whose descendants are (all) these people in the world, were all born from my mind, (partaking) of my powers. Whoever correctly knows these powers and emanations of mine, becomes possessed of devotion free from indecision; of this (there is) no doubt. The wise, full of love 2, worship me, believing that I am the origin of all, and that all moves on through me. (Placing their) minds on me, offering (their) lives to me, instructing each other, and speaking about me, they are always contented and happy. To these, who are constantly devoted, and who worship with love,, I give that knowledge by which they attain to me. And remaining in their hearts, I destroy, with the brilliant lamp of knowledge, the darkness born of ignorance in such (men) only, out of compassion for them.

Arjuna said: You are the supreme Brahman, the supreme goal, the holiest of the holy. All sages, as well as the divine sage Nârada, Asita 3, Devala, and Vyâsa, call you the eternal being, divine, the first god, the unborn, the all-pervading. And so, too, you tell me yourself, O Kesava! I believe all this that you tell me (to be) true; for, O lord! neither the gods nor demons understand your manifestation 4. You only know your self by your self. O best of beings! creator of all things! lord of all things! god of gods! lord of the universe! be pleased to declare without, exception your divine emanations, by which emanations you stand pervading all these worlds. How shall I know you, O you of mystic power! always meditating on you? And in what various entities 1, O lord! should I meditate on you? Again, O Ganârdana! do you yourself declare your powers and emanations; because hearing this nectar, I (still) feel no satiety.

And the God said: Well then, O best of Kauravas! I will state to you my own divine emanations; but (only) the chief (ones), for there is no end to the extent of my (emanations). I am the self, O Gudâkesa! seated in the hearts of all beings 2. I am the beginning and the middle and the end also of all beings. I am Vishnu among the Âdityas 3, the beaming sun among the shining (bodies); I am Marîki among the Maruts 4, and the moon among the lunar mansions 5. Among the Vedas, I am the Sâma-veda 6. I am Indra among the gods. And I am mind among the senses 7. I am consciousness in (living) beings. And I am Sankara 8 among the Rudras, the lord of wealth 9 among Yakshas and Rakshases. And I am fire among the Vasus, and Meru 10 among the high-topped (mountains). And know me, O Arjuna! to be Brihaspati, the chief among domestic priests. I am Skanda among generals. I am the ocean among reservoirs of water 1. I am Bhrigu among the great sages. I am the single syllable (Om 2) among words. Among sacrifices I am the Gapa sacrifice 3; the Himâlaya among the firmly-fixed (mountains); the Asvattha 4 among all trees, and Nârada among divine sages; Kitraratha among the heavenly choristers, the sage Kapila among the Siddhas 5. Among horses know me to be Ukkaissravas 6, brought forth by (the labours for) the nectar; and Airâvata among the great elephants, and the ruler. of men among men 7. I am the thunderbolt among weapons, the wish-giving (cow) among cows. And I am love which generates 8. Among serpents I am Vâsuki. Among Nâga 9 snakes I am Ananta; I am Varuna among aquatic beings. And I am Aryaman among the manes, and Yama 10 among rulers. Among demons, too, I am Pralhâda. I am the king of death (Kâla, time) among those that count 11. Among beasts I am the lord of beasts, and the son of Vinatâ 1 among birds. I am the wind among those that blow 2. I am Râma 3 among those that wield weapons. Among fishes I am Makara 4, and among streams the Gâhnavî 5. Of created things I am the beginning and the end and the middle also, O Arjuna! Among sciences, I am the science of the Adhyâtma, and I am the argument of controversialists. Among letters I am the letter A 6, and among the group of compounds the copulative 7 compound. I myself am time inexhaustible, and I the creator whose faces are in all directions. I am death who seizes all, and the source of what is to be. And among females, fame 8, fortune, speech, memory, intellect, courage. forgiveness. Likewise among Sâman hymns, I am the Brihat-sâman 9, and I the Gâyatrî 10 among metres. I am Mârgasîrsha among the months, the spring among the seasons 1; of cheats, I am the game of dice; I am the glory of the glorious, I am victory, I am industry, I am the goodness of the good. I am Vâsudeva among the descendants of Vrishni 2, and Arjuna among the Pândavas. Among sages also, I am Vyâsa 3; and among the discerning ones, I am the discerning Usanas 4. I am the rod of those that restrain, and the policy 5 of those that desire victory. I am silence respecting secrets. I am the knowledge of those that have knowledge And, O Arjuna! I am also that which is the seed of all things. There is nothing movable or immovable which can exist without me. O terror of your foes! there is no end to my divine emanations. Here I have declared the extent of (those) emanations only in part. Whatever thing (there is) of power, or glorious, or splendid, know all that to be produced from portions of my energy. Or rather, O Arjuna! what have you to do, knowing all this at large? I stand supporting all this by (but) a single portion (of myself) 6.

BHAGAVADGITA.CHAPTER 11

Arjuna said: In consequence of the excellent and mysterious words concerning the relation of the supreme and individual soul,, which you have spoken for my welfare, this delusion of mine is gone away. O you whose eyes are like lotus leaves! I have heard from you at large about the production and dissolution of things, and also about your inexhaustible greatness. O highest lord! what you have said about yourself is so. I wish, O best of beings! to see your divine form. If, O lord! you think that it is possible for me to look upon it, then, O lord of the possessors of mystic power 1! show your inexhaustible form to me.

And the God said: In hundreds and in thousands see my forms, O son of Prithâ! various, divine, and of various colours and shapes. See the Âdityas, Vasus, Rudras, the two Asvins, and Maruts likewise. And O descendant of Bharata! see wonders, in numbers, unseen before. Within my body, O Gudâkesa! see to-day the whole universe, including (everything) movable and immovable, (all) in one, and whatever else you wish to see. But you will not be able to see me with merely, this eye of yours. I give you an eye divine. (Now) see my divine power.

Sangaya said: Having spoken thus, O king! Hari, the great lord of the possessors of mystic power, then showed to the son of Prithâ. his supreme divine form, having many mouths and eyes, having (within it) many wonderful sights, having many celestial ornaments, having many celestial weapons held erect, wearing celestial flowers and vestments, having an anointment of celestial perfumes, full of every wonder, the infinite deity with faces in all directions 1. If in the heavens, the lustre of a thousand suns burst forth all at once, that would be like the lustre of that mighty one. There the son of Pându then observed in the body of the god of gods the whole universe (all) in one, and divided into numerous 2 (divisions). Then Dhanangaya filled with amazement, and with hair standing on end, bowed his head before the god, and spoke with joined hands.

Arjuna said: O god! I see within your body the gods, as also all the groups of various beings; and the lord Brahman seated on (his) lotus seat, and all the sages and celestial snakes. I see you, who are of countless forms, possessed of many arms, stomachs, mouths, and eyes on all sides. And, O lord of the universe! O you of all forms! I do not see your end or middle or beginning. I see you bearing a coronet and a mace and a discus--a mass of glory, brilliant on all sides, difficult to look at, having on all sides the effulgence of a blazing fire or sun, and indefinable. You are indestructible, the supreme one to be known. You are the highest support 1 of this universe. You are the inexhaustible protector of everlasting piety. I believe you to be the eternal being. I see you void of beginning, middle, end--of infinite power, of unnumbered arms, having the sun and moon for eyes, having a mouth like a blazing fire, and heating the universe with your radiance. For this space between heaven and earth and all the quarters are pervaded by you alone. Looking at this wonderful and terrible form of yours, O high-souled one! the three worlds are affrighted. For here these groups of gods are entering into you. Some being afraid are praying with joined hands, and the groups of great sages and Siddhas are saying 'Welfare 2!' and praising you with abundant (hymns) of praise. The Rudras, and Âdityas, the Vasus, the Sâdhyas, the Visvas, the two Asvins, the Maruts, and the Ushmapas, and the groups of Gandharvas, Yakshas, demons, and Siddhas are all looking at you amazed. Seeing your mighty form, with many mouths and eyes, with many arms, thighs, and feet, with many stomachs, and fearful with many jaws, all people, and I likewise, are much alarmed, O you of mighty arms! Seeing you, O Vishnu! touching the skies, radiant, possessed of many hues, with a gaping mouth, and with large blazing eyes, I am much alarmed in my inmost self, and feel no courage, no tranquillity.

And seeing your mouths terrible by the jaws, and resembling the fire of destruction, I cannot recognise the (various) directions, I feel no comfort. Be gracious, O lord of gods! who pervadest the universe. And all these sons of Dhritarâshtra, together with all the bands of kings, and Bhîshma and Drona, and this charioteer's son 1 likewise, together with our principal warriors also, are rapidly entering your mouths, fearful and horrific 2 by (reason of your) jaws. And some with their heads smashed are seen (to be) stuck in the spaces between the teeth. As the many rapid currents of a river's waters run towards the sea alone, so do these heroes of the human world enter your mouths blazing all round. As butterflies, with increased velocity, enter a blazing fire to their destruction, so too do these people enter your mouths with increased velocity (only) to their destruction. Swallowing all these people, you are licking them over and over again from all sides, with your blazing mouths. Your fierce splendours, O Vishnu! filling the whole universe with (their) effulgence, are heating it. Tell me who you are in this fierce form. Salutations be to thee, O chief of the gods! Be gracious. I wish to know you, the primeval, one, for I do not understand your actions.

And the God said:

I am death, the destroyer of the worlds, fully developed, and I am now active about the overthrow of the worlds. Even without you, the warriors standing in the adverse hosts, shall all cease to be. Therefore, be up, obtain glory, and vanquishing (your) foes, enjoy a prosperous kingdom. All these have been already killed by me. Be only the instrument, O Savyasâkin 1! Drona, and Bhîshma, and Gayadratha, and Karna, and likewise other valiant warriors also, whom I have killed, do you kill. Be not alarmed. Do fight. And in the battle you will conquer your foes.

Sangaya said: Hearing these words of Kesava, the wearer of the coronet 2, trembling, and with joined hands, bowed down; and sorely afraid, and with throat choked up, he again spoke to Krishna after saluting him.

Arjuna said: It is quite proper, O Hrishîkesa! that the universe is delighted and charmed by your renown, that the demons run away affrighted in all directions, and that all the assemblages of Siddhas bow down,(to you). And why, O high-souled one! should they not bow down to you (who are) greater than Brahman, and first cause? O infinite lord of gods! O you pervading the universe! you are the indestructible, that which is, that which is not, and what is beyond them 3. You are the primal god, the ancient being, you are the highest support of this universe 1. You are that which has knowledge, that which is the object of knowledge, you are the highest goal. By you is this universe pervaded., O you of infinite forms! You are the wind, Yama, fire, Varuna, the moon, you Pragâpati, and the great grandsire 2. Obeisance be to thee a thousand times, and again and again obeisance to thee! In front and from behind obeisance to thee! Obeisance be to thee from all sides, O you who are all! You are of infinite power, of unmeasured glory; you pervade all, and therefore you are all! Whatever I have said contemptuously,--for instance, 'O Krishna!' 'O Yâdava!' 'O friend!'--thinking you to be (my) friend, and not knowing your greatness (as shown in) this (universal form), or through friendliness, or incautiously; and whatever disrespect I have shown you for purposes of merriment, on (occasions of) play, sleep, dinner, or sitting (together), whether alone or in the presence (of friends),--for all that, O undegraded one! I ask pardon of you who are indefinable 3. You are the father of the world-movable and immovable,--you its great and venerable master; there is none equal to you, whence can there be one greater, O you whose power is unparalleled in all the three worlds? Therefore I bow and prostrate myself, and would propitiate you, the praiseworthy lord. Be pleased, O god! to pardon (my guilt) as a father (that of his) son, a friend (that of his) friend, or a husband (that of his) beloved. I am delighted at seeing what I had never seen before, and my heart is also alarmed by fear. Show me that same form, O god! Be gracious, O lord of gods! O you pervading the universe! I wish to see you bearing the coronet and the mace, with the discus in hand, just the same (as before) 1. O you of thousand arms! O you of all forms! assume that same four-handed form.

And the God said: O Arjuna! being pleased (with you), I have by my own mystic power shown you this supreme form, full of glory, universal, infinite, primeval, and which has not been seen before by any one else but you, O you hero among the Kauravas! I cannot be seen in this form by any one but you, (even) by (the help of) the study of the Vedas, or of 2 sacrifices, nor by gifts, nor by actions, nor by fierce penances. Be not alarmed, be not perplexed, at seeing this form of mine, fearful like this. Free from fear and with delighted heart, see now again that same form of mine.

Sangaya said: Having thus spoken to Arjuna, Vâsudeva again showed his own form, and the high-souled one becoming again of a mild form, comforted him who had been affrighted.

Arjuna said: O Ganardana! seeing this mild, human form of yours, I am new in my right mind, and have come to my normal state.

And the God said: Even the gods are always desiring to see this form of mine, which it is difficult to get a sight of, and which you have seen. I cannot be seen, as you have seen me, by

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(means of) the Vedas, not by penance, not by gift, nor yet by sacrifice. But, O Arjuna! by devotion to me exclusively, I can in this form be truly known, seen, and assimilated 1 with, O terror of your foes! He who performs acts for (propitiating) me, to whom I am the highest (object), who is my devotee, who is free from attachment, and who has no enmity towards any being, he, O son of Pându! comes to me.

BHAGAVADGITA.CHAPTER 12

Arjuna said: Of the worshippers, who thus, constantly devoted, meditate on you, and those who (meditate) on the unperceived and indestructible, which best know devotion?

And the God said: Those who being constantly devoted, and possessed of the highest faith, worship me with a mind fixed on me, are deemed by me to be the most devoted. But those, who, restraining the (whole) group of the senses, and with a mind at all times equable, meditate on the indescribable, indestructible, unperceived (principle) which is all-pervading, unthinkable, indifferent 1, immovable, and constant, they, intent on the good of all beings, necessarily attain to me. For those whose minds are attached to the unperceived, the trouble is much greater. Because the unperceived goal 2 is obtained by embodied (beings) with difficulty. As to those, however, O son of Prithâ! who, dedicating all their actions to me, and (holding) me as their highest (goal), worship me, meditating on me with a devotion towards none besides me, and whose minds are fixed on me, I, Without delay, come forward as their deliverer from the ocean of this world of death. Place your mind on me only; fix your understanding on me. In me you will dwell 3 hereafter, (there is) no doubt. But if you are unable to fix your mind steadily on me, then, O Dhanangaya! endeavour 4 to obtain me by the abstraction of mind (resulting) from continuous meditation 5. If you are unequal even to continuous meditation, then let acts for (propitiating) me be your highest (aim). Even performing actions for (propitiating) me, you will attain perfection. If you are unable to do even this, then resort to devotion 6 to me, and, with self-restraint, abandon all fruit of action. For knowledge is better than continuous meditation; concentration 7 is esteemed higher than knowledge; and the abandonment of fruit of action than concentration; from (that) abandonment, tranquillity soon (results). That devotee of mine, who hates no being, who is friendly and compassionate, who is free from egoism, and from (the idea that this or that is) mine, to whom happiness and misery are alike, who is forgiving, contented, constantly devoted, self-restrained, and firm in his determinations, and whose mind and understanding are devoted to me, he is dear to me. He through whom the world is not agitated 1, and who is not agitated by the world, who is free from joy and anger and fear and agitation, he too is dear to me. That devotee of mine, who is unconcerned 2, pure, assiduous 3, impartial, free from distress 4, who abandons all actions (for fruit 5), he is dear to me. He who is full of devotion to me, who feels no joy and no aversion, who does not grieve and does not desire, who abandons (both what is) agreeable and (what is) disagreeable, he is dear to me. He who is alike to friend and foe, as also in honour and dishonour, who is alike in cold and heat, pleasure and pain, who is free from attachments, to whom praise and blame are alike, who is taciturn 6, and contented with anything whatever (that comes), who is homeless 7, and of a steady mind, and full of devotion, that man is dear to me. But those devotees who, imbued with faith, and (regarding) me as their highest (goal), resort to this holy (means for attaining) immortality, as stated, they are extremely dear to me.

BHAGAVADGITA.CHAPTER 13

And the God said: This body, O son of Kuntî! is called Kshetra 1, and the learned call him who knows it the Kshetragna. 2. And know me also, O descendant of Bharata! to be the Kshetragna in all Kshetras. The knowledge of Kshetra and Kshetragna is deemed by me (to be real) knowledge. Now hear from me in brief what that Kshetra (is), what (it is) like, what changes (it undergoes), and whence (it comes), and what is he 3, and what his powers, (all which) is sung in various ways by sages in numerous hymns 4, distinctly, and in well-settled texts full of argument, giving indications or full instruction about the Brahman. The great elements 5, egoism, the understanding, the unperceived also, the ten senses, and the one, and the five objects of sense, desire, aversion, pleasure, pain, body, consciousness, courage, thus in brief has been declared the Kshetra with changes 1. Absence of vanity, absence of ostentatiousness, absence of hurtfulness, forgiveness, straightforwardness, devotion to a preceptor, purity 2, steadiness, self-restraint, indifference towards objects of sense, and also absence of egoism; perception of the misery and evil of birth, death 3, old age, and disease; absence of attachment, absence of self-identifying regard for son, wife 4, home, and so forth; and constant equability on the approach of (both what is) agreeable and (what is) disagreeable; unswerving devotion to me, without meditation on any one else; resorting to clean places, distaste for assemblages of men 5, constancy in knowledge of the relation of the individual self to the supreme, perception of the object 6 of knowledge of the truth, this is called knowledge; that is ignorance which is opposed to this. I will declare that which is the object of knowledge, knowing which, one reaches immortality; the highest Brahman, having no beginning nor end, which cannot be said to be existent or non-existent 7. It has hands and feet on all sides, it has eyes, heads, and faces on all sides, it has ears on all sides, it stands pervading everything in the world. Possessed of the qualities of all the senses, (but) devoid of all senses 1, unattached, it supports all, is devoid of qualities, and the enjoyer 2 of qualities. It is within all things and without them; it is movable and also immovable; it is unknowable through (its) subtlety; it stands afar and near 3. Not different in (different) things 4, but standing as though different, it should be known to be the supporter of (all) things, and that which absorbs and creates (them). It is the radiance even of the radiant (bodies); it is said (to be) beyond darkness. It is knowledge, the object of knowledge, that which is to be attained to by knowledge, and placed in the heart of all 5. Thus in brief have Kshetra, knowledge, and the object of knowledge been declared. My devotee, knowing this, becomes fit for assimilation with me. Know nature and spirit both (to be) without beginning, and know all developments and qualities 6 (to be) produced from nature. Nature is said to be the origin of the capacity of working (residing) in the body and the senses; and spirit is said (to be) the origin of the capacity of enjoying pleasures and pains 1. For spirit with nature joined, enjoys the qualities born of nature. And the cause of its birth in good or evil wombs is the connexion with the qualities 2. The supreme spirit in this body is called supervisor, adviser 3, supporter, enjoyer, the great lord, and the supreme self also. He who thus knows nature and spirit, together with the qualities, is not born again, however living 4. Some by concentration see the self in the self by the self; others by the Sânkya-yoga; and others still by the Karma-yoga 5; others yet, not knowing this, practise concentration, after hearing from others 6. They, too, being (thus) devoted to hearing (instruction) cross beyond death. Whatever thing movable or immovable comes into existence, know that to be from the connexion of Kshetra and Kshetragna, O chief of the descendants of Bharata! He sees (truly) who sees the supreme lord abiding alike in all entities, and not destroyed though they are destroyed. For he who sees the lord abiding everywhere alike, does not destroy himself 1by himself, and then reaches the highest goal. He sees (truly), who sees (all) actions (to be) in every way done by nature alone, and likewise the self (to be) not the doer. When a man sees all the variety of entities as existing in one 2, and (all as) emanating from that, then he becomes (one with) the Brahman. This inexhaustible supreme self, being without beginning and without qualities, does not act, and is not tainted, O son of Kuntî! though stationed in the body. As by (reason of its) subtlety the all-pervading space is not tainted, so the self stationed in every body is not tainted. As the sun singly lights up all this world, so the Kshetragna, O descendant of Bharata! lights up the whole Kshetra. Those who, with the eye of knowledge, thus understand the difference between Kshetra and Kshetragna, and the destruction of the nature of all entities 3, go to the supreme.

BHAGAVADGITA.CHAPTER 14

And the God said: Again I will declare (to you) the highest knowledge, the best of (all sorts of) knowledge, having learnt which, all sages have reached perfection beyond (the bonds of) this (body). Those who, resorting to this knowledge, reach assimilation with my essence, are not born at the creation, and are not afflicted 1 at the destruction (of the universe). The great Brahman 2 is a womb for me, in which I cast the seed. From that, O descendant of Bharata! is the birth of all things. Of the bodies, O son of Kuntî! which are born from all wombs, the (main) womb is the great Brahman, and I (am) the father, the giver of the seed. Goodness, passion, darkness, these qualities 3 born from nature, O you of mighty arms! bind down the inexhaustible soul in the body. Of these, goodness, which, in consequence of being untainted, is enlightening and free from (all) misery, binds the soul, O sinless one! with the bond of pleasure and the bond of knowledge 4. Know that passion consists in being enamoured, and is produced from craving and attachment. That, O son of Kuntî! binds down the embodied (self) with the bond of action. Darkness (you must) know to be born of ignorance, it deludes all embodied (selfs). And that, O descendant of Bharata! binds down (the self) with heedlessness 1, indolence, and sleep. Goodness unites (the self) with pleasure; passion, O descendant of Bharata! with action; and darkness with heedlessness, after shrouding up knowledge. Passion and darkness being repressed, goodness stands, O descendant of Bharata! Passion and goodness (being repressed), darkness; and likewise darkness and goodness (being repressed), passion 2. When in this body at all portals 3 light (that is to say) knowledge prevails, then should one know goodness to be developed. Avarice, activity 4, performance of actions, want of tranquillity, desire, these are produced, O chief of the descendants of Bharata! when passion is developed. Want of light, want of activity 5, heedlessness, and delusion, these are produced, O descendant of Kuru! when darkness is developed. When an embodied (self) encounters death, while goodness is developed, then he reaches the untainted worlds of those who know the highest 6. Encountering death during (the prevalence of) passion, he is born among those attached to action. Likewise, dying during (the prevalence of) darkness, he is born in the wombs of the ignorant 1. The fruit of meritorious action is said to be good, untainted; while the fruit of passion is misery; and the fruit of darkness ignorance. From goodness is produced knowledge, from passion avarice 2, and from darkness heedlessness and delusion and ignorance also. Those who adhere to (the ways of) goodness go up 3; the passionate remain in the middle; while those of the qualities of darkness, adhering to the ways of the lowest quality, go down. When a right-seeing person sees none but the qualities (to be) the doers (of all action), and knows what is above the qualities 4, he enters into my essence. The embodied (self), who transcends these three qualities, from which bodies are produced 5, attains immortality, being freed from birth and death and old age and misery.

Arjuna said: What are the characteristics, O lord! of one who has transcended these three qualities? What is his conduct, and how does he transcend these three qualities 6?

And the God said: He is said to have transcended the qualities, O son of Pându! who is not averse to light and activity and delusion (when they) prevail, and who does not desire (them when they) cease 1; who sitting like one unconcerned is never perturbed by the qualities 2; who remains steady and moves 3 not, (thinking) merely that the qualities 4 exist; who is self-contained 5; to whom pain and pleasure are alike; to whom a sod and a stone and gold are alike; to whom what is agreeable and what is disagreeable are alike; who has discernment; to whom censure and praise of himself are alike; who is alike in honour and dishonour; who is alike towards the sides of friends and foes; and who abandons all action 6. And he who worships me with an unswerving devotion, transcends these qualities, and becomes fit for (entrance into) the essence of the Brahman. For I am the embodiment of the Brahman 7, of indefeasible immortality, of eternal piety, and of unbroken happiness.

BHAGAVADGITA.CHAPTER 15

And the God said: They say the inexhaustible Asvattha 1 has (its) roots above, (its) branches below; the Khandas are its leaves. He who knows it knows the Vedas. Upwards and downwards extend its branches, which are enlarged by the qualities, and the sprouts of which are sensuous objects. And downwards to this human world are continued its roots which lead on to action. Its form is not thus known here, nor (its) end, nor beginning, nor support. But having with the firm weapon of unconcern, cut this Asvattha, whose roots are firmly fixed, then should one seek for that seat from which those that go there never return, (thinking) that one rests on that same primal being from whom the ancient course (of worldly life) emanated. Those who are free from pride and delusion, who have overcome the evils of attachment, who are constant in (contemplating) the relation of the supreme and individual self, from whom desire has departed, who are free from the pairs (of opposites) called pleasure and pain, go undeluded to that imperishable seat 2. The sun does not light it, nor the moon, nor fire 1. That is my highest abode, going to which none returns. An eternal portion of me it is, which, becoming an individual soul in the mortal world, draws (to itself) the senses with the mind as the sixth 2. Whenever the ruler (of the bodily frame) obtains or quits a body, he goes taking these (with him) as the wind (takes) perfumes from (their) seats 3. And presiding over the senses of hearing and seeing, and touch, and taste, and smell, and the mind, he enjoys sensuous objects. Those who are deluded do not see (him) remaining in or quitting (a body), enjoying or joined to the qualities 4; they see, who have eyes of knowledge. Devotees making efforts perceive him abiding within their selfs 5. But those whose selfs have not been refined, and who have no discernment, do not perceive him even (after) making efforts. Know that glory (to be) mine which, dwelling in the sun, lights up the whole world, or in the moon or fire.

Entering the earth 1, I by my power support all things; and becoming the juicy moon, I nourish all herbs. I becoming the fire, and dwelling in the bodies of (all) creatures, and united with the upward and downward life-breaths, cause digestion of the fourfold food 2. And I am placed in the heart of all 3; from me (come) memory, knowledge, and their removal; I alone am to be learnt from all the Vedas; I am the author of the Vedântas 4; and I alone know the Vedas. There are these two beings in the world, the destructible and the indestructible 5. The destructible (includes) all things. The unconcerned one is (what is) called the indestructible. But the being supreme is yet another, called the highest self, who as the inexhaustible lord, pervading the three worlds, supports (them). And since I transcend the destructible, and since I am higher also than the indestructible 6, therefore am I celebrated in the world and in the Vedas as the best of beings. He who, undeluded, thus knows me the best of beings, worships me every way 1, O descendant of Bharata! knowing

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everything. Thus, O sinless one! have I proclaimed this most mysterious science. He who knows this, has done all he need do, and he becomes possessed of discernment.

BHAGAVADGITA.CHAPTER 16

Freedom from fear, purity of heart, perseverance in (pursuit of) knowledge and abstraction of mind, gifts 2, self-restraint 2, and sacrifice, study of the Vedas, penance, straightforwardness, harmlessness, truth 2, freedom from anger, renunciation 3, tranquillity, freedom from the habit of backbiting 4, compassion for (all) beings, freedom from avarice, gentleness, modesty, absence of vain activity, noblemindedness, forgiveness, courage, purity, freedom from a desire to injure others, absence of vanity, (these), O descendant of Bharata! are his who is born to godlike endowments. Ostentatiousness, pride, vanity 5, anger, and also harshness and ignorance (are) his, O son of Prithâ! who is born to demoniac 6 endowments. Godlike endowments are deemed to be (means) for final emancipation, demoniac for bondage 1. Grieve not, O descendant of Bharata! you are born to godlike endowments. (There are) two classes of created beings in this world, the godlike and the demoniac; the godlike (class) has been described at length; now hear from me, O son of Prithâ! about the demoniac. Demoniac persons know not action or inaction 2, neither purity nor yet (correct) conduct nor veracity are in them. They say the universe is devoid of truth 3, devoid of fixed principle 4, and devoid of a ruler, produced by union (of male and female) caused by lust 5, and nothing else. Holding this view, (these) enemies of the world, of ruined 6 selfs, of little knowledge, and of ferocious actions, are born for the destruction (of the world). Entertaining insatiable desire, full of vanity, ostentatiousness, and frenzy, they adopt false notions 7 through delusion, and engage in unholy observances. Indulging in boundless thoughts ending with death 8, given up to the enjoyment of objects of desire, being resolved that that is all, bound down by nets of hopes in hundreds, given up to anger and desire, they wish to obtain heaps of wealth unfairly for enjoying objects of desire. 'This have I obtained to-day; this wish I will obtain; this wealth is mine; and this also shall be mine; this foe I have killed; others too I will destroy; I am lord, I am the enjoyer, I am perfect 1, strong, happy; I have wealth; I am of noble birth; who else is like me? I will sacrifice 2; I will make gifts; I will rejoice.' Thus deluded by ignorance, tossed about by numerous thoughts, surrounded by the net of delusion, and attached to the enjoyment of objects of desire, they fall down into impure hell. Honoured (only) by themselves, void of humility, and full of the pride and frenzy of wealth, these calumniators (of the virtuous) perform sacrifices, which are sacrifices only in name, with ostentatiousness and against prescribed rules 3; indulging (their) vanity, brute force, arrogance, lust, and anger; and hating me in their own bodies and in those of others 4. These enemies 5, ferocious, meanest of men, and unholy, I continually hurl down, to these worlds 6, only into demoniac wombs. Coming into demoniac wombs, deluded in every birth, they go down to the vilest state, O son of Kuntî! without ever coming to me. Threefold is this way, to hell,--ruinous to the self 1,--lust, anger, and likewise avarice; therefore one should abandon this triad. Released from these three ways to darkness, O son of Kuntî! a man works out his own welfare, and then proceeds to the highest goal. He 2 who abandoning scripture ordinances, acts under the impulse of desire, does not attain perfection 3, nor happiness, nor the highest goal. Therefore in discriminating between w hat should be done and what should not be done, your authority (must. be) scripture. And knowing what is declared by the ordinances of scripture, you should perform action in this world.

BHAGAVADGITA.CHAPTER 17

Arjuna said: What is the state of those, O Krishna! who worship with faith, (but) abandoning scripture ordinances--goodness, passion, or darkness?

And the God said: Faith is of three kinds in embodied (beings), it is produced from dispositions 4. It is of the quality of goodness, of the quality of passion, and of the quality of darkness. Hear about it. The faith of all, O descendant of Bharata! is conformable to the heart 1. A being here is full of faith, and whatever is a man's faith, that is a man himself 2. Those of the quality of goodness worship the gods; those of the quality of passion the Yakshas and Rakshases 3; and the others, the people of the quality of darkness, worship departed (spirits) and the multitudes of Bhûtas. Know those to be of demoniac convictions, who practise fierce penance 4 not ordained by scripture; who are full of ostentatiousness and egoism, and of desire, attachment, and stubbornness; who are without discernment; and who torment the groups of organs in (their) bodies, and me also seated within (those) bodies. The food also, which is liked by all, and likewise the sacrifice, the penance, and gifts, are of three kinds. Listen to the distinctions regarding them as follows. The kinds of food which increase life, energy, strength, health, comfort, and relish, which are savoury, oleaginous, full of nutrition, and agreeable, are liked by the good. The kinds of food which are bitter, acid, saltish, too hot, sharp, rough, and. burning, and which cause pain. grief, and disease, are desired by the passionate. And the food 5 which is cold, tasteless, stinking, stale, impure, and even leavings, are liked by the dark. That sacrifice is good which, being prescribed in (scripture) ordinances, is performed by persons not wishing for the fruit (of it), and after determining (in their) mind that the sacrifice must needs be performed. But when a sacrifice is performed, O highest of the descendants of Bharata! with an expectation of fruit (from it), and for the purpose of ostentation, know that sacrifice (to be) passionate. They call that sacrifice dark, which is against the ordinances (of scripture), in which no food is dealt out (to Brâhmanas, &c.), which is devoid of Mantras 1, devoid of Dakshinâ presents, and which is without faith. Paying reverence to gods, Brâhmanas, preceptors, and men of knowledge; purity 2, straightforwardness, life as Brahmakârin, and harmlessness, (this) is called the penance bodily. The speech which causes no sorrow, which is true, agreeable, and beneficial, and the study 3 of the Vedas, (this) is called the penance vocal. Calmness of mind, mildness, taciturnity 4, self-restraint, and purity of heart, this is called the penance mental. This threefold penance, practised with perfect faith, by men who do not wish for the fruit, and who are possessed of devotion is called good. The penance which is done for respect, honour, and reverence 5, and with ostentatiousness, and which is uncertain and transient 1, is here called passionate. And that penance is described as dark, which is performed under a misguided conviction, with pain to oneself, or for the destruction of another. That gift is said (to be) good, which is given, because it ought to be given, to one who (can) do no service (in return), at a (proper) place and time, an d to a (proper) person. But that gift which is given with much difficulty, for a return of services, or even with an expectation of fruit 2, is said to be passionate. And that gift, is described as dark, which is given to unfit persons, at an unfit place and time, without respect, and with contempt. Om, Tad, and Sat, this is said (to be) the threefold designation of the Brahman. By that 3, the Brâhmanas and the Vedas and sacrifices were created in olden times. Hence, the performance by those who study the Brahman, of sacrifices, gifts, and penances, prescribed by the ordinances (of scripture), always commence after saying 'Om 4.' Those who desire final emancipation perform the various acts of sacrifice and penance, and the various acts of gift, without expectation of fruit, after (saying) 'Tad 5.' 'Sat' is employed to express existence and goodness; and likewise, O son of Prithâ! the word 'Sat' is used to express an auspicious act. Constancy in (making) sacrifices. penances, and gifts, is called 'Sat;' and (all) action, too, of which that 1 is the object, is also called 'Sat.' Whatever oblation is offered, whatever is given, whatever penance is performed, and whatever is done, without faith 2, that, O son of Prithâ! is called 'Asat,' and that is nought, both after death and here 3.

BHAGAVADGITA.CHAPTER 18

Arjuna said: O you of mighty arms! O Hrishîkesa! O destroyer of Kesin! I wish to know the truth about renunciation and abandonment distinctly.

And the God said: By renunciation the sages understand the rejection of actions done with desires. The wise call the abandonment of the fruit of all actions (by the name) abandonment. Some wise men say, that action should be abandoned as being full of evil; and others, that the actions of sacrifice, gift, and penance should not be abandoned. As to that abandonment, O best of the descendants of Bharata! listen to my decision; for abandonment, O bravest of men! is described (to be) threefold. The actions of sacrifice, gift, and penance should not be abandoned; they must needs be performed; for sacrifices, gifts, and penances are means of sanctification to the wise. But even these actions, O son of Prithâ! should be performed, abandoning attachment and fruit; such is my excellent and decided opinion. The renunciation of prescribed action is not proper. Its abandonment through delusion 1 is described as of the quality of darkness. When a man abandons action, merely as being troublesome, through fear of bodily affliction, he does not obtain the fruit 2 of abandonment by making (such) passionate abandonment. When prescribed action is performed, O Arjuna! abandoning attachment and fruit also, merely because it ought to be performed, that is deemed (to be) a good abandonment. He who is possessed of abandonment 3, being full of goodness, and talented, and having, his doubts destroyed, is not averse from unpleasant actions, is not attached to pleasant 4 (ones). Since no embodied (being) can abandon actions without exception 5, he is said to be possessed of abandonment, who abandons the fruit of action. The threefold fruit of action, agreeable, disagreeable, and mixed, accrues after death to those who are not possessed of abandonment, but never to renouncers 1. Learn from me, O you of mighty arms! these five causes of the completion of all actions, declared in the Sânkhya system 2. The substratum, the agent likewise, the various sorts of organs, and the various and distinct movements, and with these the deities, too, as the fifth. Whatever action, just or otherwise, a man performs with his body, speech, and mind, these five are its causes. That being so, the undiscerning man, who being of an unrefined understanding, sees the agent in the immaculate self, sees not (rightly) 3. He who has no feeling of egoism 4, and whose mind is not tainted, even though he kills (all) these people, kills not, is not fettered, 5 (by the action). Knowledge 6, the object of knowledge, the knower--threefold is the prompting to action. The instrument, the action, the agent, thus in brief is action threefold. Knowledge and action and agent are declared in the enumeration of qualities 1 (to be) of three classes only, according to the difference of qualities. Hear about these also as they really are. Know that knowledge to be good, by which (a man) sees one entity, inexhaustible, and not different in all things (apparently) different 2 (from one another). Know that knowledge to be passionate, which is (based) on distinctions 3 (between different entities), which sees in all things various entities of different kinds. And that is described as dark, which clings to one created (thing) only as everything, which is devoid of reason, devoid of real principle, and insignificant 4. That action is called good, which is prescribed, which is devoid of attachment, which is not done from (motives of) affection or aversion, (and which is done) by one not wishing for the fruit. That is described as passionate, which (occasions) much trouble, is performed by one who wishes for objects of desire, or one who is full of egotism 5. The action is called dark, which is commenced through delusion, without regard to consequences, loss, injury, or strength 6. That agent is called good, who has cast off attachment, who is free from egotistic talk, who is possessed of courage and energy, and unaffected by success or ill-success. That agent is called passionate, who is full of affections 7, who wishes for the fruit of actions, who is covetous, cruel, and impure, and feels joy and sorrow. That agent is called dark, who is without application 1, void of discernment, headstrong, crafty, malicious, lazy, melancholy, and slow. Now hear, O Dhanangaya! the threefold division of intelligence 2 and courage, according to qualities, which I am about to declare exhaustively and distinctly. That intelligence, O son of Prithâ! is good which understands action and inaction 3, what ought to be done and what ought not to be done, danger and the absence of danger, emancipation and bondage. That intelligence, O son of Prithâ! is passionate, by which one imperfectly understands piety and impiety, what ought to be done and also what ought not to be done. That intelligence, O son of Prithâ! is dark, which shrouded by darkness, understands impiety (to be) piety, and all things incorrectly. That courage, O son of Prithâ! is good courage, which is unswerving 4, and by which one controls the operations of the mind, breath, and senses, through abstraction. But, O Arjuna! that courage is passionate, by which one adheres to piety, lust, and wealth 5, and through attachment 6 wishes, O son of Prithâ! for the fruit, That courage is dark, O son of Prithâ! by which an undiscerning man does not give up sleep, fear, sorrow, despondency, and folly. Now, O chief of the descendants of Bharata! bear from me about the three sorts of happiness. That happiness is called good, in which one is pleased after repetition 1 (of enjoyment), and reaches the close of all misery, which is like poison first and comparable to nectar in the long run, and which is produced from a clear knowledge of the self 2. That happiness is called passionate, which (flows) from contact between the senses and their objects, and which is at first comparable to nectar and in the long run like poison. That happiness is described as dark, which arises from sleep, laziness, heedlessness, which deludes the self, both at first and in its consequences. There is no entity either on earth or in heaven among the gods, which is free from these three qualities born of nature. The duties of Brâhmanas, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas, and of Sûdras, too, O terror of your foes! are distinguished according to the qualities born of nature 3. Tranquillity 4, restraint of the senses, penance, purity, forgiveness, straightforwardness, also knowledge, experience, and belief (in a future world), this is the natural duty of Brâhmanas. Valour, glory, Courage, dexterity 1, not slinking away from battle, gifts, exercise of lordly power 2, this is the natural duty of Kshatriyas. Agriculture, tending cattle, trade, (this) is the natural duty of Vaisyas, And the natural duty of Sûdras, too, consists in service. (Every) man intent on his own respective duties obtains perfection 3. Listen, now, how one intent on one's own duty obtains perfection. Worshipping, by (the performance of) his own duty, him from whom all things proceed, and by whom all this is permeated, a man obtains perfection. One's duty, though defective, is better than another's duty well performed 4. Performing the duty prescribed by nature, one does not incur sin. O son of Kuntî! one should not abandon a natural duty though tainted with evil; for all actions are enveloped by evil, as fire by smoke 5. One who is self-restrained, whose understanding is unattached everywhere, from whom affections have departed, obtains the supreme perfection of freedom from action 6 by renunciation. Learn from me, only in brief, O son of Kuntî! how one who has obtained perfection attains the Brahman, which is the highest culmination of knowledge. A man possessed of a pure

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understanding, controlling his self by courage, discarding sound and other objects of sense, casting off affection and aversion; who frequents clean places, who eats little, whose speech, body, and mind are restrained, who is always intent on meditation and mental abstraction 1, and has recourse to unconcern, who abandoning egoism 2, stubbornness, arrogance, desire, anger, and (all) belongings, has no (thought that this or that is) mine, and who is tranquil, becomes fit for assimilation with the Brahman. Thus reaching the Brahman 3, and with a tranquil self, he grieves not, wishes not; but being alike to all beings, obtains the highest devotion to me. By (that) devotion he truly understands who I am and how great. And then understanding me truly, he forthwith enters into my (essence). Even performing all actions, always depending on me, he, through my favour, obtains the imperishable and eternal seat. Dedicating in thought 4 all actions to me, be constantly given up to me, (placing) your thoughts on me, through recourse to mental abstraction. (Placing) your thoughts on me, you will cross over all difficulties by my favour. But if you will not listen through egotism 5, you will be ruined. If entertaining egotism, you think that you may not fight, vain, indeed, is that resolution of yours. Nature 6 will constrain you. That, O son of Kuntî! which through delusion you do not wish to do, you will do involuntarily, tied down by your own duty, flowing from your nature. The lord, O Arjuna! is seated in the region of the heart 1 of all beings, turning round all beings (as though) mounted on a machine, by his delusion. With him, O descendant of Bharata! seek shelter in every way 2; by his favour you will obtain the highest tranquillity, the eternal seat. Thus have I declared to you the knowledge more mysterious than any mystery. Ponder over it thoroughly, and then act as you like. Once more, listen to my excellent words-most mysterious of all. Strongly I like you, therefore I will declare what is for your welfare. On me (place) your mind, become my devotee, sacrifice to me, reverence me, you will certainly come to me. I declare to you truly, you are dear to me. Forsaking all duties 3, come to me as (your) sole refuge. I will release you from all sins. Be not grieved. This 4 you should never declare to one who performs no penance 5, who is not a devotee 6, nor to one who does not wait on (some preceptor) 7, nor yet to one who calumniates me. He who, with the highest devotion 8 to me, will proclaim this supreme mystery among my devotees, will come to me, freed from (all) doubt. No one amongst men is superior to him in doing what is dear to me. And there will never be another on earth dearer to me than he. And he who will study this holy dialogue of ours, will, such is my opinion, have offered to me the sacrifice of knowledge 1. And the man, also, who with faith and without carping will listen (to this), will be freed (from sin), and attain to the holy regions of those who perform pious acts 2. Have you listened to this, O son of Prithâ! with a mind (fixed) on (this) one point only? Has your delusion (caused) by ignorance been destroyed, O Dhanangaya?

Arjuna said: Destroyed is my delusion; by your favour, O undegraded one! I (now) recollect 3 myself. I stand freed from doubts 4. I will do your bidding.

Sangaya said: Thus did I hear this dialogue between Vâsudeva and the high-minded son of Prithâ, (a dialogue) wonderful and causing the hair to stand on end. By the favour of Vyâsa, I heard this highest mystery, (this) devotion 5, from Krishna himself, the lord of the possessors of mystic power, who proclaimed it in person. O king! remembering and (again) remembering this wonderful and holy dialogue of Kesava and Arjuna, I rejoice over and over again. And remembering and (again) remembering that excessively wonderful form of Hari also, great is my amazement, O king! and I rejoice over and over again. Wherever (is) Krishna, the lord of the possessors of mystic power, wherever (is the great) archer, the son of Prithâ, there in my opinion (are) fortune, victory, prosperity 1, and eternal justice.

THE SACRED SCRIPTURES OF JAINISM

(Jainism is a religion originally from India that teaches that "all the events in the universe are self-caused, random, fixed and are independent of previous events or external causes or god": Jain philosophy is the oldest philosophy of India that distinguishes body (matter) from the soul (consciousness) completely. It teaches that the universe is eternal and that every living being has a soul which has the power to become all-knowing (observer of all the random events). A soul which has won over its inner enemies like attachment, greed, pride, etc. is called jina which means conqueror or victor(over ignorance). The holy book of Jainism is Pravachansara.

Jain dharma is one of the world's oldest religions and has two major ancient sub-traditions, Digambaras and Svetambaras, with different views on ascetic practices, gender and which texts can be considered canonical; both have mendicants supported by laypersons (sravakas and sravikas). Most Jains live in India, and according to the 2001 Census of India there are around 4.2 million living there. However, the Oxford Handbook of Global Religions, published in 2006, suggests that census figures may provide lower than the true number of followers as many Jains officially identify themselves as Hindu. The true number of Jains therefore could be estimated between 5 and 10 million.

Main Teachings

1. Every living being has a soul.

2. Every soul is potentially divine, with innate qualities of infinite knowledge, perception, power, and bliss (masked by its karmas).

3. The universe is self-regulated, with all the events self-caused, and every soul has the potential to achieve divine consciousness (siddha) through its own efforts.

4. There is no supreme divine creator, owner, preserver or destroyer.

5. Therefore, Jainists think of every living being as themselves, harming no one and be kind to all living beings.

6. Every soul is born as a celestial, human, sub-human or hellish being according to its own karmas.

7. Every soul is the architect of its own life, here or hereafter.

8. When a soul is freed from karmas, it becomes free and attains divine consciousness, experiencing infinite knowledge, perception, power, and bliss.

9. Right View, Right Knowledge and Right Conduct (triple gems of Jainism) provide the way to this realisation.

10. Navakar Mantra is the fundamental prayer in Jainism and can be recited at any time of the day. Praying by reciting this mantra, the devotee bows with respect to liberated souls still in human form (Arihantas), fully liberated souls (Siddhas), spiritual leaders (Acharyas), teachers (Upadyayas) and all the monks. By saluting them, Jains receive inspiration from them to follow their path to achieve true bliss and total freedom from the karmas binding their souls. In this main prayer, Jains do not ask for any favours or material benefits. This mantra serves as a simple gesture of deep respect towards beings who are more spiritually advanced. The mantra also reminds followers of the ultimate goal, nirvana or moksha.

11. Jainism stresses on the importance of controlling the senses including the mind, as they can drag one far away from true nature of the soul.

12. Limit possessions and lead a pure life that is useful to yourself and others. Owning an object by itself is not possessiveness; however attachment to an object is.[8] Non-possessiveness is the balancing of needs and desires while staying detached from our possessions.

13. Enjoy the company of the holy and better qualified, be merciful to those afflicted souls and tolerate the perversely inclined.

14. It is important not to waste human life in evil ways. Rather, strive to rise on the ladder of spiritual evolution.

15. The goal of Jainism is liberation of the soul from the negative effects of unenlightened thoughts, speech and action. This goal is achieved through clearance of karmic obstructions by following the triple gems of Jainism.

16. Jains mainly worship idols of Jinas, Arihants and Tirthankars, who have conquered the inner passions and attained divine consciousness. Jainism acknowledges the existence of powerful heavenly souls (Yaksha and Yakshini) that look after the well beings of Thirthankarars. Usually, they are found in pair around the idols of Jinas as male (yaksha) and female (yakshini) guardian deities. Even though they have supernatural powers, they are also wandering through the cycles of births and deaths just like most other souls.

Jainism has been praised for some of its practices and beliefs. The leader of the campaign for Indian independence, Mahatma Gandhi, greatly influenced by Jainism, said: "No religion in the World has explained the principle of Ahiṃsa so deeply and systematically as is discussed with its applicability in every human life in Jainism. As and when the benevolent principle of Ahiṃsa or non-violence will be ascribed for practice by the people of the world to achieve their end of life in this world and beyond, Jainism is sure to have the uppermost status and Mahavīra is sure to be respected as the greatest authority on Ahiṃsa."

If we want to find out what a certain religion or belief-system is all about, we only need to look at the persons who where involved in its founding. In this regard, it is of particular importance to look at language, geography, names, and their relationships with other people.

In Jainism, a Tirthankara (Sanskrit: tīrthankara; literally a 'ford-maker') is a saviour and spiritual teacher of the dharma (righteous path). The word tirthankara signifies the founder of a tirtha, which is a fordable passage across the sea of interminable births and deaths, the saṃsara. The Tirthankaras are considered as the founders of Jainism; there were 24. These 24 Tirthankaras are legendary figures, if we put it simple, and they are closely connected to the Jain cosmology. Jain cosmology is the description of the shape and functioning of the Universe (loka) and its constituents (such as living beings, matter, space, time etc.) according to Jainism. Jain cosmology considers the universe as an uncreated entity that has existed since infinity with neither beginning nor end [with this model of thought, the Jains come quite close to the findings of modern scientists.].

According to Jains, a Tirthankara is an individual who has conquered the saṃsara, the cycle of death and rebirth, on their own, and made a path for others to follow. After understanding the true nature of the self or soul, the Tīrthankara attains Kevala Jnana (omniscience). The first Tirthankara founded Jainism. Tirthankara provides a bridge for others to follow the new teacher from saṃsara to Mahaviraswami (liberation).

The word tirthankara signifies the founder of a tirtha which means a fordable passage across the sea of interminable births and deaths (called saṃsara). Tirthankaras are variously called "Teaching Gods", "Ford-Makers", "Crossing Makers" and "Makers of the River-Crossing. There is only one Tirthankara historically verifiable and that is the 24th and last Tirthankara whose name is Mahavira. The other Tirthankaras also might have existed as real persons but we have no archaeological evidence that could stand up to scientific scrutiny.

Mahavira, also known as Bhagwan Mahavira, Vardhamana or Veer, was the spiritual successor of 23rd Tirthankara Parshvanatha. Mahavira was born in the early part of the 6th century BC into a royal Kshatriya Jain family in Bihar, India, not far away from Buddha's homeland in southern Nepal. His mother's name was Trishala and father's name was Siddhartha [which was also Buddha's name]. They were lay devotees of Parshvanatha. Mahavira abandoned all worldly possessions at the age of about 30 and left home in pursuit of spiritual awakening, becoming an ascetic [Buddha's renunciation story sounds almost the same - he was 29 when he became a pious ascetic.] Mahavira practised intense meditation and severe austerities for 12 and a half years, after which he attained Kevala Gyan (omniscience). He preached for 30 years and attained Moksha (salvation) in the 6th century BC, although the year varies by sect.

Historically, Mahavira, who preached Jainism in ancient India, was [probably] an older contemporary of Gautama Buddha. Scholars variously date him from 6th-5th century BC and his place of birth is also a point of dispute among them. What kind of personal relationship existed between Mahavira and Siddhartha Gautama Buddha is unclear. Mahavira was member of the legendary "Solar dynasty" [Suryavaṁsa = "Descendants of the Sun"], also called the "Ikshvaku dynasty". Rama [born in Ayodhya to King Dasharatha and Queen Kaushalya who was also the mother of Shanta, a character in the famous Ramayana epic.], likewise belonged to the Ikshavaku dynasty.

According to the Jain texts, twenty-two out of the twenty-four Jain Tirthankara belonged to this dynasty. According to Buddhist texts and tradition, Siddhartha Gautama Buddha also descended from this dynasty. Many important personalities belonging to this royal house: Mandhatri, Muchukunda, Ambarisha, Bharata Chakravartin, Bahubali, Harishchandra, Dilīpa, Sagara, Raghu, Rama and Pasenadi. Both, the Hindu Puranas and the Buddhist texts include Shuddodhana, Gautama Buddha and his son Rahula in their accounts of the Ikshvaku dynasty. According to the Buddhist texts, Mahasammata, an ancestor of Ikshvaku was the founder of this dynasty, who was elected by the people as the first king. According to the Puranas, supreme preceptor of the Ikshvaku dynasty was sage Vashishta.

Mahavira taught that observance of the vows of ahimsa (non-violence), satya (truth), asteya (non-stealing), brahmacharya (chastity), and aparigraha (non-attachment) are necessary for spiritual liberation. He taught the principles of Anekantavada (many-sided reality): syadvada and nayavada. Mahavira's teachings were compiled by Indrabhuti Gautama (his chief disciple) as the Jain Agamas. The texts, transmitted orally by Jain monks, are believed to have been largely lost by about the 1st century AD (when the remaining were first written down in the Svetambara tradition). The

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surviving versions of the Agamas taught by Mahavira are some of Svetambara Jainism's foundation texts, but their authenticity is disputed in Digambara Jainism.

Mahavira is usually depicted in a sitting or standing meditative posture, with the symbol of a lion beneath him. His earliest iconography is from archaeological sites in the North Indian city of Mathura, and is dated from the 1st century BC to the 2nd century AD. His birth is celebrated as Mahavir Janma Kalyanak and his nirvana (salvation) is observed by Jains as Diwali.

List of the 24 tirthankaras

Present cosmic age

In chronological order, the names, emblems and colours of the 24 tirthankaras of this age are mentioned below: Dhanuṣa means "bow", hatha means "hands" and 1 Purva equals 8,400,000 x 8,400,000 or 70,560,000,000,000 years. Where these exaggerations come from is not clear but we find them also in the Hebrew Bible [See: Methuselah the biblical patriarch who is said to have died at the age of 969 years; Genesis 5:21–27.].

1. Rishabhanatha (Adinatha), 8,400,000 Purva
2. Ajitanatha, 7,200,000 Purva
3. Sambhavanatha, 6,000,000 Purva
4. Abhinandananatha, 5,000,000 Purva
5. Sumatinatha, 4,000,000 Purva
6. Padmaprabha, 3,000,000 Purva
7. Suparshvanatha, 2,000,000 Purva
8. Chandraprabha, 1,000,000 Purva
9. Pushpadanta (Suvidhinath), 2,00,000 Purva
10. Shitalanatha, 1,00,000 Purva
11. Shreyanasanatha, 84,00,000 Years
12. Vasupujya, 72,00,000 Years
13. Vimalanatha, 60,00,000 Years
14. Anantanatha, 30,00,000 Years
15. Dharmanatha, 10,00,000 Years
16. Shantinatha, 7,00,000 Years
17. Kunthunatha, 95,000 Years
18. Aranatha, 84,000 Years
19. Mallīnatha (a woman), 56,000 Years
20. Munisuvrata, 30,000 Years
21. Naminatha, 10,000 Years
22. Neminatha, 1000 Years
23. Parshvanatha, 100 Years
24. Mahavira, 72 Years

Comparing Jainism with Buddhism and Hinduism

All three religions share concepts and doctrines such as karma and rebirth, with similar festivals and monastic traditions. They do not believe in eternal heaven or hell or judgement day. They grant the freedom to choose beliefs such as in gods or no-gods, to disagree with core teachings, and to choose whether to participate in prayers, rituals and festivals. They all consider values such as non-violence to be important, link suffering to craving, individual's actions, intents, and karma, and believe spirituality is a means to enlightened peace, bliss and eternal liberation (moksha). Most importantly, they all share the Five Precepts, the basic laws which are identical to the last five of the Jewish and Christian Ten Commandments. In any case, when one goes through Hinduist, Jainist, Buddhist and Daoist texts, one can get the impression that those texts peculiarly look like ancient Jewish texts, especially when it comes to law and rules.

Jainism differs from both Buddhism and Hinduism in its ontological premises. All believe in impermanence, but Buddhism incorporates the premise of anatta ("no eternal self or soul"). Hinduism incorporates an eternal unchanging atman ("soul"), while Jainism incorporates an eternal but changing jiva ("soul"). In Jain thought, there are infinite eternal jivas, predominantly in cycles of rebirth, and a few siddhas (perfected ones). Unlike Jainism, Hindu philosophies encompass nondualism where all souls are identical as Brahman and posited as interconnected one

While both Hinduism and Jainism believe "soul exists" to be a self-evident truth, most Hindu systems consider it to be eternally present, infinite and constant (vibhu), but some Hindu scholars propose soul to be atomic. Hindu thought generally discusses Atman and Brahman through a monistic or dualistic framework. In contrast, Jain thought denies the Hindu metaphysical concept of Brahman, and Jain philosophy considers the soul to be ever changing and bound to the body or matter for each lifetime, thereby having a finite size that infuses the entire body of a living being.

Jainism is similar to Buddhism in not recognising the primacy of the Vedas and the Hindu Brahman. Jainism and Hinduism, however, both believe "soul exists" as a self-evident truth. Jains and Hindus have frequently intermarried, particularly in northern, central and western regions of India. Some early colonial scholars stated that Jainism like Buddhism was, in part, a rejection of the Hindu caste system, but later scholars consider this a Western error. A caste system not based on birth has been a historic part of Jain society, and Jainism focused on transforming the individual, not society.

Monasticism is similar in all three traditions, with similar rules, hierarchical structure, not traveling during the four-month monsoon season, and celibacy, originating before the Buddha or the Mahavīra. Jain and Hindu monastic communities have traditionally been more mobile and had an itinerant lifestyle, while Buddhist monks have favoured belonging to a sangha (monastery) and staying in its premises. Buddhist monastic rules forbid a monk to go outside without wearing the sangha's distinctive ruddy robe, or to use wooden bowls. In contrast, Jain monastic rules have either required nakedness (Digambara) or white clothes (Svetambara), and they have disagreed on the legitimacy of the wooden or empty gourd as the begging bowl by Jain monks.

Jains have similar views with Hindus that violence in self-defence can be justified, and that a soldier who kills enemies in combat is performing a legitimate duty. Jain communities accepted the use of military power for their defence; there were Jain monarchs, military commanders, and soldiers. The Jain and Hindu communities have often been very close and mutually accepting. Some Hindu temples have included a Jain Tirthankara within its premises in a place of honour, while temple complexes such as the Badami cave temples and Khajuraho feature both Hindu and Jain monuments.

Jain ethics and the Five Precepts (5 Vows)

Jainism teaches five ethical duties, which it calls "the Five Vows". They are identical to the Five Precepts in Buddhism, Daoism, and the second half of the Jewish and Christian Ten Commandments which all can be traced back to the Instructions of Shuruppak, Mesopotamia, 2600 BC). They are called Anuvratas (Small Vows) for Jain laypersons, and Mahavratas (Great Vows) for Jain mendicants (beggars). For both, its moral precepts preface that the Jain has access to a guru (teacher, counsellor), deva (Jina, god), doctrine, and that the individual is free from five offences: doubts about the faith, indecisiveness about the truths of Jainism, sincere desire for Jain teachings, recognition of fellow Jains, and admiration for their spiritual pursuits. Such a person undertakes the following Five Vows of Jainism:

1. Ahiṃsa (Non-violence = Thou shalt not kill)
2. Satya (Truth = Thou shalt not bear false witness)
3. Asteya (Non-stealing = Thou shalt not steal)
4. Brahmacharya (Chastity = Thou shalt not commit adultery)
5. Aparigraha (Non-possession = Thou shalt not covet)

The Five Precepts (Vows) in detail, with the decriptions of the transgression, they look like this:

1. Ahiṃsa, "intentional non-violence" or "noninjury": The first major vow taken by Jains is to cause no harm to other human beings, as well as all living beings (particularly animals). This is the highest ethical duty in Jainism, and it applies not only to one's actions, but demands that one be non-violent in one's speech and thoughts. Transgressions: Binding, beating, mutilating limbs, overloading, withholding food and drink.

2. Satya, "truth": This vow is to always speak the truth. Neither lie, nor speak what is not true, and do not encourage others or approve anyone who speaks an untruth. Transgressions: Perverted teaching, divulging what is done in secret, forgery, misappropriation, and proclaiming other's thoughts (which sounds pretty much like our modern copyright laws).

3. Asteya, "not stealing": A Jain layperson should not take anything that is not willingly given. Additionally, a Jain mendicant should ask for permission to take it if something is being given. Transgressions: Prompting others to steal, receiving stolen goods, under- buying in a disordered state, using false weights and measures, and deceiving others with artificial or imitation goods.

4. Brahmacharya, "celibacy": Abstinence from sex and sensual pleasures is prescribed for Jain monks and nuns. For laypersons, the vow means chastity, faithfulness to one's partner. Transgressions: Bringing about marriage, intercourse with an unchaste married woman, cohabitation with a harlot, perverted sexual practices, and excessive sexual passion.

5. Aparigraha, "non-possessiveness": This includes non-attachment to material and psychological possessions, avoiding craving and greed. Jain monks and nuns completely renounce property and social relations, own nothing and are attached to no one. Transgressions: Exceeding the limits set by oneself with regard to cultivable lands and houses, riches such as gold and silver, cattle and corn, men and women servants, and clothes.

Jainism prescribes seven supplementary vows, including three guṇa vratas (merit vows) and four sikṣa vratas. The Sallekhana (or Santhara) vow is a "religious death" ritual observed at the end of life, historically by Jain monks and nuns, but rare in the modern age. In this vow, there is voluntary and gradual reduction of food and liquid intake to end one's life by choice and with dispassion, This is believed to reduce negative karma that affects a soul's future rebirths.

Apart from five fundamental vows seven supplementary vows are prescribed for a sravaka. These include three guṇa vratas (Merit vows) and four sikṣa vratas (Disciplinary vows). The vow of sallekhana is observed by the votary at the end of his life. It is prescribed both for the ascetics and householders. According to the Jain text, Puruṣarthasiddhyupaya:

The man who incessantly observes all the supplementary vows and sallekhana (together, these are called seelas) for the sake of safeguarding his vows (vratas), gets fervently garlanded (a gesture to indicate her choice for a husband) by the maiden called 'liberation'.

— Puruṣarthasiddhyupaya

The five 'lesser vows' of anuvrata consist of the five greater vows but with less restrictions to incorporate the duties of a householder, i.e. a layperson with a home, he or she has responsibilities to the family, community and society that a Jain monk does not have. These minor vows have the following incorporated into ethical conduct:

1. Take account of the responsibilities of a householder.
2. Are often limited in time.
3. Are often limited in scope.

Guna Vratas

1. Digvrata- restriction on movement with regard to directions. Transgressions: Exceeding the limits set in the directions, namely upwards, downwards and horizontally, enlarging the boundaries in the accepted directions, and forgetting the boundaries set, are the five transgressions of the minor vow of direction.

2. Bhogopabhogaparimana- vow of limiting consumable and non-consumable things. Transgressions: Victuals containing (one-sensed) organisms, placed near organisms, mixed with organisms, stimulants, and ill-cooked food.

3. Anartha-dandaviramana- refraining from harmful occupations and activities (purposeless sins). Transgressions: Vulgar jokes, vulgar jokes accompanied by gesticulation, garrulity, unthinkingly indulging in too much action, keeping too many consumable and non-consumable objects.

Siksa Vratas

1. Samayika- vow to meditate and concentrate periodically. Transgressions: Misdirected three-fold activity, lack of earnestness, and fluctuation of thought.

2. Desavrata- limiting movement to certain places for a fixed period of time. Transgressions: Sending for something outside the country of one's resolve, commanding someone there to do thus, indicating one's intentions by sounds, by showing oneself and by throwing clod, etc.

3. Prosadhopavasa- Fasting at regular intervals. Transgressions: Excreting, handling sandalwood paste, flowers etc., and spreading mats and garments without inspecting and cleaning the place and the materials, lack of earnestness, and lack of concentration.

4. Atihti samvibhag- Vow of offering food to the ascetic and needy people. Transgressions: Placing the food on things with organisms such as green leaves, covering it with such things, food of another host, envy and untimely food

Sallekhana

Sallekhana, also known as samlehna, santhara, samadhi-marana or sanyasana-marana, is a supplementary vow to the ethical code of conduct of Jainism. It is the religious practice of voluntarily fasting to death by gradually reducing the intake of food and liquids. It is viewed in Jainism as the thinning of human passions and the body, and another means of destroying rebirth-influencing karma by withdrawing all physical and mental activities. It is not considered as a suicide by Jain scholars because it is not an act of passion, nor does it deploy poisons or weapons. After the sallekhana vow, the ritual preparation and practice can extend into years. Sallekhana is a vow available to both for Jain ascetics and householders. Historic evidence such as nishidhi engravings suggest sallekhana was observed by both men and women, including queens, in Jain history. However, in the modern era, death through sallekhana has been a relatively uncommon event.

Food Law and Fasting: There are no food laws in Jainism, however the practice of non-violence towards all living beings has led to Jain culture being vegetarian [This applies also for many Hinduists and Buddhists and it may be interesting to find out what its origin is.]. Devout Jains practice lacto-vegetarianism, meaning that they eat no eggs, but accept dairy products if there is no violence against animals during their production. Veganism is encouraged if there are concerns about animal welfare. Jain monks, nuns and some followers avoid root vegetables such as potatoes, onions, and garlic because tiny organisms are injured when the plant is pulled up, and because a bulb or tuber's ability to sprout is seen as characteristic of a higher living being. Jain monks and advanced laypeople avoid eating after sunset, observing a vow

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of ratri-bhojana-tyaga-vrata. Monks observe a stricter vow by eating only once a day.

Jains fast particularly during festivals. This practice is called upavasa, tapasya or vrata, and may be practiced according to one's ability. Digambaras fast for Dasa-laksana-parvan, eating only one or two meals per day, drinking only boiled water for ten days, or fasting completely on the first and last days of the festival, mimicking the practices of a Jain mendicant for the period. Svetambara Jains do similarly in the eight day paryusana with samvatsari-pratikramana. The practice is believed to remove karma from one's soul and provides merit (punya). A "one day" fast lasts about 36 hours, starting at sunset before the day of the fast and ending 48 minutes after sunrise the day after. Among laypeople, fasting is more commonly observed by women, as it shows her piety and religious purity, gains merit earning and helps ensure future well-being for her family. Some religious fasts are observed in a social and supportive female group. Long fasts are celebrated by friends and families with special ceremonies.

God: Jainism is a transtheistic religion, holding that the universe was not created, and will exist forever. It is believed to be independent, having no creator, governor, judge, or destroyer. In this, it is unlike the Abrahamic religions, but similar to Buddhism. However, Jainism believes in the world of heavenly and hell beings who are born, die and reborn like earthly beings. Jain texts maintain that souls who live happily in the body of a god do so because of their positive karma. It is further stated that they possess a more transcendent knowledge about material things and can anticipate events in the human realms. However, once their past karmic merit is exhausted, it is explained that their souls are reborn again as humans, animals or other beings. In Jainism, perfect souls with a body are called arihant (victors) and perfect souls without a body are called Siddhas (liberated souls).

Salvation (also called Liberation): According to Jainism, purification of soul and liberation can be achieved through the path of three jewels: Samyak darsana (Correct View), meaning faith, acceptance of the truth of soul (jīva); Samyak gyana (Correct Knowledge), meaning undoubting knowledge of the tattvas; and Samyak charitra (Correct Conduct), meaning behaviour consistent with the Five vows. Jain texts often add samyak tap (Correct Asceticism) as a fourth jewel, emphasizing belief in ascetic practices as the means to liberation (moksha). The four jewels are called moksha marg (the path of liberation).

Scriptures: Jain canonical scriptures are called Agamas. They are believed to have been verbally transmitted, much like the ancient Buddhist and Hindu texts, and to have originated from the sermons of the tirthankaras, whereupon the Ganadharas (chief disciples) transmitted them as Shrut Jnana (heard knowledge). The spoken scriptural language is believed to be Ardhamagadhi by the Svetambara Jains, and a form of sonic resonance by the Digambara Jains.

The Svetambaras believe that they have preserved 45 of the 50 original Jain scriptures (having lost an Anga text and four Purva texts), while the Digambaras believe that all were lost, and that Acharya Bhutabali was the last ascetic who had partial knowledge of the original canon. According to them, Digambara Acharyas recreated the oldest-known Digambara Jain texts, including the four anuyoga. The Digambara texts partially agree with older Svetambara texts, but there are also gross differences between the texts of the two major Jain traditions. The Digambaras created a secondary canon between 600 and 900 AD, compiling it into four groups or Vedas: history, cosmography, philosophy and ethics.

The most popular and influential texts of Jainism have been its non-canonical literature. Of these, the Kalpa Sutras are particularly popular among Svetambaras, which they attribute to Bhadrabahu (c.300 BC). This ancient scholar is revered in the Digambara tradition, and they believe he led their migration into the ancient south Karnataka region and created their tradition. Svetambaras believe instead that Bhadrabahu moved to Nepal. Both traditions consider his Niryuktis and Samhitas important. The earliest surviving Sanskrit text by Umaswati, the Tattvarthasutra is considered authoritative by all traditions of Jainism. In the Digambara tradition, the texts written by Kundakunda are highly revered and have been historically influential. Other important Jain texts include: Samayasara, Ratnakaranda sravakacara, and Niyamasara.

Jains under Mohammedan Persecution: Jainism has faced persecution during and after the Mohammedan conquests on the Indian subcontinent. Islamic rulers, such as Mahmud Ghazni (1001), Mohammad Ghori (1175) and Ala-ud-din Muhammed Shah Khalji (1298) further oppressed the Jain community. Muslims vandalised idols and destroyed temples or converted them into mosques because total submission of non-Muslims is the most important doctrine of Islam; the word Islam itself means submission. They also burned Jain books and killed Jains because anyone who does not belong to the "People of the Book" [Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians] is to put to death when they do not immediately submit to Islam, according to Islamic scripture. There were significant exceptions, such as Emperor Akbar (1542–1605) whose legendary religious tolerance, out of respect for Jains, ordered the release of caged birds and banned the killing of animals on the Jain festival of Paryusan. After Akbar, Jains faced an intense period of Muslim persecution in the 17th century. The Jain community were the traditional bankers and financiers, and this significantly impacted the Muslim rulers. However, they rarely were a part of the political power during the Islamic rule period of the Indian subcontinent.

Colonial era reports and Christian missions variously viewed Jainism as a sect of Hinduism, a sect of Buddhism, or a distinct religion. Christian missionaries were frustrated at Jain people without pagan creator gods refusing to convert to Christianity, while colonial era Jain scholars such as Champat Rai Jain defended Jainism against criticism and misrepresentation by Christian activists. Missionaries of Christianity and Islam considered Jain traditions idolatrous and superstitious. These criticisms, states John E. Cort, were flawed and ignored similar practices within sects of Christianity.)

THE AKARANGA SUTRA

From: Jaina Sutras, Part 1,
Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 22
Editor: F. Max Müller, Oxford
Original Language: Prakrit
Translation: Hermann Jacobi, 1884
Estimated Range of Dating, Book 1: 500 B.C. - 300 B.C.
Estimated Range of Dating, Book 2: 200 B.C. - 50 AD.

(The Acharanga Sutra or Acaranga Sutra (First Book c. 5th–4th century BC; Second Book c. 2nd–1st century BC) is the first of the twelve Angas, part of the agamas (religious texts) which were compiled based on the teachings of Mahavira.

The existing text of the Acharanga Sutra which is used by the Svetambara sect of Jainism was recompiled and edited by KshamaShraman Devardhigani, who headed the council held at Valabhi c. 454 AD. The Digambaras do not recognise the available text, and regard the original text as having been lost in its original form. The Digambara text, Mulachara is said to be derived from the original Acharanga and discusses the conduct of a Digambara monk.

The Acharanga Sutra is the oldest agam, from a linguistic point of view, written in Ardhamagadhi Prakrit. The Sutra contains two books, or Srutaskandhas. The first book is the older part, to which other treatises were later added. It describes the conduct and behavior of ascetic life: the mode of asking for food, bowl, clothes, conduct while walking and speaking and regulation of possessions by ascetics. It also describes the penance of Mahavira, the Great Hero.

The second book is divided into four sections called Kulas. There were originally five Kulas, but the fifth, the Nisihiyagghana, is now reckoned as a separate work. The first and second parts lay down rules for conduct of ascetics.

The Acaranga has been described in details in Samavayanga and the Nandī. According to them, the main studies of the Acaranga are 'Acara gocara' i.e. code of conduct, vinaya (humility), vainayika (fruition of humility), sthana (difference postures), gamana (travelling), cankramaṇa (movements), bhojana-matra (quantity of food intake), svadhyaya (spiritual studies), bhaṣa samiti (principles of speech), gupti (restraint or of mind, speech and body), sayya (place of stay), upadhī (belongings) etc. The Acaranga recommends purity of all these aspects. Acharya Umasvati has briefly dealt with the subject matter of the nine chapters of the Acaranga. They are:

1. Ṣadjīvanikaya yatana – self-restraint in respect of the six kinds of living beings.
2. Abandoning of ego over worldly things.
3. Conquest over trials and tribulations of life.
4. Unshakable perception about righteousness.
5. Detachment towards worldly affairs.
6. The process to decay or destroy the karmas.
7. Service towards elders.
8. Penance and austerities.
9. Renunciation of attachment to sexual objects)

AKARANGA SUTRA
BOOK 1

AKARANGA BOOK 1 1ST LECTURE,
CALLED KNOWLEDGE OF THE WEAPON.

FIRST LESSON

1 O long-lived (Gambusvamin)! I (Sudharman) have heard the following discourse from the venerable (Mahavira):

2 Here many do not remember whether they have descended in an eastern direction (when they were born in this world), or in a southern, or in a western, or in a northern direction, or in the direction from above, or in the direction from below, or in a direction intermediate (between the cardinal points), or in a direction intermediate between these (and the cardinal points).

3 Similarly, some do not know whether their soul is born again and again or not; nor what they were formerly, nor what they will become after having died and left this world.

4 Now this is what one should know, either by one's own knowledge or through the instruction of the highest (i.e. a Tirthakara), or having heard it from others: that he descended in an eastern direction, or in any other direction (particularised above). Similarly, some know that their soul is born again and again, that it arrives in this or that direction, whatever direction that may be.

5 He believes in soul, believes in the world, believes in reward, believes in action (acknowledged to be our own doing in such judgements as these): 'I did it;' 'I shall cause another to do it;' 'I shall allow another to do it.' In the world, these are all the causes of sin, which must be comprehended and renounced.

6 A man that does not comprehend and renounce the causes of sin, descends in a cardinal or intermediate direction, wanders to all cardinal or intermediate directions, is born again and again in manifold births, experiences all painful feelings.

7 About this the Revered One has taught the truth (comprehension and renunciation). For the sake of the splendour, honour, and glory of this life, for the sake of birth, death, and final liberation, for the removal of pain, all these causes of sin are at work, which are to be comprehended and renounced in this world. He who, in the world, comprehends and renounces these causes of sin, is called a reward-knowing sage (muni). Thus I say.

SECOND LESSON.

[After the chief tenets of Jainism with regard to soul and actions have briefly been stated in the first lesson, the six remaining lessons of the first lecture treat of the actions which injure the six classes of lives or souls. The Jainas seem to have arrived at their concept of soul, not through the search after the Self, the self-existing unchangeable principle in the ever-changing world of phenomena, but through the perception of life. For the most general Jaina term for soul is life (giva), which is identical with self (aya, atman). There are numberless lives or souls, not only embodied in animals, men, gods, hell-beings (tasa, trasa), and plants (vanassai, vanaspati), but also in the four elements--earth, water, fire, wind. Earth, etc., regarded as the abode of lives is called earth-body, etc. These bodies are only perceptible when an infinite number of them is united in one place. The earth-lives, etc., possess only one organ, that of feeling; they have undeveloped (avyakta)intellect and feelings (vedana), but no limbs, etc. The doctrines about these elementary lives are laid down in Bhadrabahu's Niryukti of our Sutra, and are commented upon in Silanka's great commentary of it. They are very abstruse, and deal in the most minute distinctions, which baffle our comprehension.]

1 The (living) world is afflicted, miserable, difficult to instruct, and without discrimination. In this world full of pain, suffering by their different acts, see the benighted ones cause great pain.

2 See! there are beings individually embodied (in earth; not one all-soul). See! there are men who control themselves, (whilst others only) pretend to be houseless (i.e. monks, such as the Bauddhas, whose conduct differs not from that of householders), because one destroys this (earth-body) by bad and injurious doings, and many other beings, besides, which he hurts by means of earth, through his doing acts relating to earth.

3 About this the Revered One has taught the truth: for the sake of the splendour, honour, and glory of this life, for the sake of birth, death, and final liberation, for the removal of pain, man acts sinfully towards earth, or causes others to act so, or allows others to act so. This deprives him of happiness and perfect wisdom. About this he is informed when he has understood or heard, either from the Revered One or from the monks, the faith to be coveted.

4 There are some who, of a truth, know this (i.e. injuring) to be the bondage, the delusion, the death, the hell. For this l a man is longing when he destroys this (earth-body) by bad, injurious doings, and many other beings, besides, which he hurts by means of earth, through his doing acts relating to earth. Thus I say.

5 As somebody may cut or strike a blind man (who cannot see the wound), as somebody may cut or strike the foot, the ankle, the knee, the thigh, the hip, the navel, the belly, the flank, the back, the bosom, the heart, the breast, the neck, the arm, the finger, the nail, the eye, the brow, the forehead, the head, as some kill (openly), as some extirpate (secretly), (thus the earth-bodies are cut, struck, and killed though their feeling is not manifest).

6 He who injures these (earth-bodies) does not comprehend and renounce the sinful acts; he who does not injure these, comprehends and renounces the sinful acts. Knowing them, a wise man should not act sinfully towards earth, nor cause others to act so, nor allow others to act so. H e who knows these causes of sin relating to earth, is called a reward-knowing sage. Thus I say.

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HIRD LESSON.

[The water-lives which are treated of in this lesson are, as is the case with all elementary lives, divided into three classes: the sentient, the senseless, and the mixed. Only that water which is the abode of senseless water-lives may be used. Therefore water is to be strained before use, because the senseless lives only are believed to remain in water after that process.]

1 (Thus I say): He who acts rightly, who does pious work, who practises no deceit, is called houseless.

2 One should, conquering the world, persevere in that (vigour of) faith which one had on the entrance in the order; the heroes (of faith), humbly bent, (should retain their belief in) the illustrious road (to final liberation) and in the world (of water-bodies); having rightly comprehended them through the instruction (of Mahavira), (they should retain) that which causes no danger (i.e. self-control). Thus I say.

3 A man should not (himself) deny the world of (water-bodies), nor should he deny the self. He who denies the world (of water-bodies), denies the self; and he who denies the self, denies the world of (water-bodies).

4 See! there are men who control themselves; others pretend only to be houseless; for one destroys this (water-body) by bad, injurious doings, and many other beings, besides, which he hurts by means of water, through his doing acts relating to water.

5 About this the Revered One has taught the truth: for the sake of the splendour, honour, and glory of this life, for the sake of birth, death, and final liberation, for the removal of pain, man acts sinfully towards water, or causes others to act so, or allows others to act so.

6 This deprives him of happiness and perfect wisdom. About this he is informed when he has understood and heard from the Revered One, or from the monks, the faith to be coveted. There are some who, of a truth, know this (i.e. injuring) to be the bondage, the delusion, the death, the hell. For this a man is longing when he destroys this (water-body) by bad and injurious doings, and many other beings, besides, which he hurts by means of water, through his doing acts relating to water. Thus I say.

7 There are beings living in water, many lives; of a truth, to the monks water has been declared to be living matter. See! considering the injuries (done to water-bodies), those acts (which are injuries, but must be done before the use of water, eg. straining) have been distinctly declared. Moreover he (who uses water which is not strained) takes away what has not been given (i.e. the bodies of water-lives). (A Bauddha will object): 'We have permission, we have permission to drink it, or (to take it) for toilet purposes.' Thus they destroy by various injuries (the water-bodies). But in this their doctrine is of no authority. He who injures these (water-bodies) does not comprehend and renounce the sinful acts; he who does not injure these, comprehends and renounces the sinful acts.

8 Knowing them, a wise man should not act sinfully towards water, nor cause others to act so, nor allow others to act so. He who knows these causes of sin relating to water, is called a reward-knowing sage. Thus I say.

FOURTH LESSON.

1 (Thus I say): A man should not, of his own accord, deny the world (of fire-bodies), nor should he deny the self. He who denies the world (of fire-bodies), denies the self; and he who denies the self, denies the world (of fire-bodies).

2 He who knows that (viz. fire) through which injury is done to the long-living bodies (i.e. plants) [The fire-bodies live not longer than three days.], knows also that which does no injury (i.e. control); and he who knows that which does no injury, knows also that through which no injury is done to the long-living bodies.

3 This has been seen by the heroes (of faith) who conquered ignorance; for they control themselves, always exert themselves, always mind their duty. He who is unmindful of duty, and desiring of the qualities (i.e. of the pleasure and profit which may be derived from the elements) is called the torment (of living beings). Knowing this, a wise man (resolves): 'Now (I shall do) no more what I used to do wantonly before.'

4 See! there are men who control themselves; others pretend only to be houseless; for one destroys this (fire-body) by bad and injurious doings, and many other beings, besides, which he hurts by means of fire, through his doing acts relating to fire. About this the Revered One has taught the truth: for the sake of the splendour, honour, and glory of this life, for the sake of birth, death, and final liberation, for the removal of pain, man acts sinfully towards fire, or causes others to act so, or allows others to act so.

5 This deprives him of happiness and perfect wisdom. About this he is informed when he has understood, or heard from the Revered One or from the monks, the faith to be coveted. There are some who, of a truth, know this (i.e. injuring) to be the bondage, the delusion, the death, the hell. For this a man is longing, when he destroys this (fire-body) by bad and injurious doings, and many other beings, besides, which he hurts by means of fire, through his doing acts relating to fire. Thus I say.

6 There are beings living in the earth, living in grass, living on leaves, living in wood, living in cowdung, living in dust-heaps, jumping beings which coming near (fire) fall into it. Some, certainly, touched by fire, shrivel up; those which shrivel up there, lose their sense there; those which lose their sense there, die there.

7 He who injures these (fire-bodies) does not comprehend and renounce the sinful acts; he who does not injure these, comprehends and renounces the sinful acts. Knowing them, a wise man should not act sinfully towards fire, nor cause others to act so, nor allow others to act so. He who knows the causes of sin relating to fire, is called a reward-knowing sage. Thus I say.

FIFTH LESSON.

[The discussion of the 'wind-bodies,' which should follow that of the fire-bodies, is postponed for two lessons in which the vegetable and animal world is treated of. The reason for this interruption of the line of exposition is, as the commentators state, that the nature of wind, because of its invisibleness, is open to doubts, whilst plants and animals are admitted by all to be living beings, and are, therefore, the best support of the hylozoistical theory. That wind was not readily admitted by the ancient Indians to be a peculiar substance may still be recognised in the philosophical Sutras of the Brahmans. For there it was thought necessary to discuss at length the proofs for the existence of a peculiar substance, wind. It should be remarked that wind was never identified with air, and that the Jainas had not yet separated air from space.]

1 'I shall not do (acts relating to plants) after having entered the order, having recognised (the truth about these acts), and having conceived that which is free from danger (i.e. control).'

2 He who does no acts (relating to plants), has ceased from works; he who has ceased from them is called 'houseless.' Quality is the whirlpool (avatta = samsara), and the whirlpool is quality. Looking up, down, aside, eastward, he sees colours, hearing he hears sounds; longing upwards, down, aside, eastward, he becomes attached to colours and sounds.

3 That is called the world; not guarded against it, not obeying the law (of the Tirthakaras), relishing the qualities, conducting himself wrongly, he will wantonly live in a house (i.e. belong to the world).

4 See! there are men who control themselves; others pretend only to be houseless, for one destroys this (body of a plant) by bad and injurious doings, and many other beings, besides, which he hurts by means of plants, through his doing acts relating to plants.

5 About this the Revered One has taught the truth: for the sake of the splendour, honour, and glory of this life, for the sake of birth, death, and final liberation, for the removal of pain, man acts sinfully towards plants, or causes others to act so, or allows others to act so. This deprives him of happiness and perfect wisdom. About this he is informed when he has understood, or heard from the Revered One or from the monks, the faith to be coveted. There are some who, of a truth, know this (i.e. injuring) to be the bondage, the delusion, the death, the hell. For this a man is longing when he destroys this (body of a plant) by bad and injurious doings, and many other beings, besides, which he hurts by means of plants, through his doing acts relating to plants. Thus I say.

6 As the nature of this (i.e. men) is to be born and to grow old, so is the nature of that (i.e. plants) to be born and to grow old; as this has reason, so that has reason; as this falls sick when cut, so that falls sick when cut; as this needs food, so that needs food; as this will decay, so that will decay; as this is not eternal, so that is not eternal; as this takes increment, so that takes increment; as this is changing, so that is changing.

7 He who injures these (plants) does not comprehend and renounce the sinful acts; he who does not injure these, comprehends and renounces the sinful acts. Knowing them, a wise man should not act sinfully towards plants, nor cause others to act so, nor allow others to act so. He who knows these causes of sin relating to plants, is called a reward-knowing sage. Thus I say.

SIXTH LESSON.

1 Thus I say: There are beings called the animate, viz. those who are produced 1st. from eggs (birds, etc.), 2nd. from a fetus (as elephants, etc.), 3rd. from a fetus with an enveloping membrane (as cows, buffaloes, etc.), 4th. from fluids (as worms, etc.), 5th. from sweat (as bugs, lice, etc.), 6th. by coagulation (as locusts, ants, etc.), 7th. from sprouts (as butterflies, wagtails, etc.), 8th. by regeneration (men, gods, hell-beings).

2 This is called the Samsara for the slow, for the ignorant. Having well considered it, having well looked at it, I say thus: all beings, those with two, three, four senses, plants, those with five senses, and the rest of creation, (experience) individually pleasure or displeasure, pain, great terror, and unhappiness. Beings are filled with alarm from all directions and in all directions. See! there the benighted ones cause great pain. See! there are beings individually embodied.

3 See! there are men who control themselves; others pretend only to be houseless, for one destroys this (body of an animal) by bad and injurious doings, and many other beings, besides, which he hurts by means of animals, through his doing acts relating to animals.

4 About this the Revered One has taught the truth: for the sake of the splendour, honour, and glory of this life, for the sake of birth, death, and final liberation, for the removal of pain, man acts sinfully towards animals, or causes others to act so, or allows others to act so. This deprives him of happiness and perfect wisdom. About this he is informed, when he has understood, or heard from the Revered One or from the monks, the faith to be coveted. There are some who, of a truth, know this (i.e. injuring) to be the bondage, the delusion, the death, the hell. For this a man is longing, when he injures this (body of an animal) by bad and injurious doings, and many other beings, besides, which he hurts by means of animals, through his doing acts relating to animals. Thus I say.

5 Some slay (animals) for sacrificial purposes, some kill (animals) for the sake of their skin, some kill (them) for the sake of their flesh, some kill them for the sake of their blood; thus for the sake of their heart, their bile, the feathers of their tail, their tail, their big or small horns, their teeth, their tusks, their nails, their sinews, their bones; with a purpose or without a purpose. Some kill animals because they have been wounded by them, or are wounded, or will be wounded.

6 He who injures these (animals) does not comprehend and renounce the sinful acts; he who does not injure these, comprehends and renounces the sinful acts. Knowing them, a wise man should not act sinfully towards animals, nor cause others to act so, nor allow others to act so. He who knows these causes of sin relating to animals, is called a reward-knowing sage. Thus I say.

SEVENTH LESSON.

1 He who is averse from (all actions relating to) wind, knows affliction. Knowing what is bad, he who knows it with regard to himself, knows it with regard to (the world) outside; and he who knows it with regard to (the world) outside, knows it with regard to himself: this reciprocity (between himself and) others (one should mind). Those who are appeased, who are free from passion, do not desire to live.

2 See! there are men who control themselves; others pretend only to be houseless, for one destroys this (wind-body) by bad and injurious doings, and many other beings, besides, which he hurts by means of wind, through his doing acts relating to wind.

3 About this the Revered One has taught the truth: for the sake of the splendour, honour, and glory of this life, for the sake of birth, death, and final liberation, for the removal of pain, man acts sinfully towards wind, or causes others to act so, or allows others to act so. This deprives him of happiness and perfect wisdom. About this he is informed when he has understood, or heard from the Revered One or from the monks, the faith to be coveted. There are some who, of a truth, know this to be the bondage, the delusion, the death, the hell. For this a man is longing when he destroys this (wind-body) by bad and injurious acts, and many other beings, besides, which he hurts by means of wind, through his doing acts relating to wind. Thus I say.

4 There are jumping beings which, coming near wind, fall into it. Some, certainly, touched by wind, shrivel up; those which shrivel up there, lose their sense there; those which lose their sense there, die there.

5 He who injures these (wind-bodies) does not comprehend and renounce the sinful acts; he who does not injure these, comprehends and renounces the sinful acts. Knowing them, a wise man should not act sinfully towards wind, nor cause others to act so, nor allow others to act so. He who knows these causes of sin relating to wind, is called a reward-knowing sage. Thus I say.

6 Be aware that about this (wind-body) too those are involved in sin who delight not in the right conduct, and, though doing acts, talk about religious discipline, who conducting themselves according to their own will, pursuing sensual pleasures, and engaging in acts, are addicted to worldliness. He who has the true knowledge about all things, will commit no sinful act, nor cause others to do so, etc.

7 Knowing them, a wise man should not act sinfully towards the aggregate of six (kinds of) lives, nor cause others to act so, nor allow others to act so. He who knows these causes of sin relating to the aggregate of the six (kinds of) lives, is called a reward-knowing sage. Thus I say.

End of the First Lecture, called Knowledge of the Weapon.

AKARANGA BOOK 1 2ND LECTURE,
CALLED CONQUEST OF THE WORLD.

FIRST LESSON.

1 Quality is the seat of the root, and the seat of the root is quality. He who longs for the qualities, is overcome by great

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pain, and he is careless. (For he thinks) I have to provide for a mother, for a father, for a sister, for a wife, for sons, for daughters, for a daughter-in-law, for my friends, for near and remote relations, for my acquaintances, for different kinds of property, profit, meals, and clothes. Longing for these objects, people are careless, suffer day and night, work in the right and the wrong time, desire wealth and treasures, commit injuries and violent acts, direct the mind, again and again, upon these injurious doings (described in the preceding lecture).

2 (Doing so), the life of some mortals (which by destiny would have been long) is shortened. For when with the deterioration of the perceptions of the ear, eye, organs of smelling, tasting, touching, a man becomes aware of the decline of life, they after a time produce dotage. Or his kinsmen with whom he lives together will, after a time, first grumble at him, and he will afterwards grumble at them. They cannot help thee or protect thee, nor canst thou help them or protect them.

3 He is not fit for hilarity, playing, pleasure, show. Therefore, ah! proceeding to pilgrimage, and thinking that the present moment is favourable (for such intentions 1, i.e. in the qualities of the external things lies the primary cause of the Samsara, viz. sin; the qualities produce sin, and sinfulness makes us apt to enjoy the qualities.), he should be steadfast and not, even for an hour, carelessly conduct himself. His youth, his age, his life fade away. A man who carelessly conducts himself; who killing, cutting, striking, destroying, chasing away, frightening (living beings) resolves to do what has not been done (by any one)--him his relations with whom he lived together, will first cherish, and he will afterwards cherish them. But they cannot help thee or protect thee, nor canst thou help them or protect them.

4 Or he heaps up treasures for the benefit of some spendthrifts, by pinching himself. Then, after a time, he falls in sickness; those with whom he lives together will first leave him, and he will afterwards leave them. They cannot help thee or protect thee, nor canst thou help them or protect them.

5 Knowing pain and pleasure in all their variety, and seeing his life not yet decline, a wise man should know that to be the proper moment (for entering a religious life); while the perceptions of his ear, eye, organs of smelling, tasting, touching are not yet deteriorated, while all these perceptions are not yet deteriorated, man should prosecute the real end of his soul. Thus I say.

SECOND LESSON.

1 A wise man should remove any aversion (to control); he will be liberated in the proper time. Some, following wrong instruction, turn away (from control). They are dull, wrapped in delusion. While they imitate the life of monks, (saying), 'We shall be free from attachment,' they enjoy the pleasures that offer themselves. Through wrong instruction the (would-be) sages trouble themselves (for pleasures); thus they sink deeper and deeper in delusion, (and cannot get) to this, nor to the opposite shore. Those who are freed (from attachment to the world and its pleasures), reach the opposite shore. Subduing desire by desirelessness, he does not enjoy the pleasures that offer themselves. Desireless, giving up the world, and ceasing to act, he knows, and sees, and has no wishes because of his discernment; he is called houseless.

2 (But on the contrary) he suffers day and night, works in the right and the wrong time, desires wealth and treasures, commits injuries and violent acts, again and again directs his mind upon these injurious doings; for his own sake, to support or to be supported by his relations, friends, the ancestors, gods, the king, thieves, guests, paupers, Sramanas.

3 Thus violence is done by these various acts, deliberately, out of fear, because they think 'it is for the expiation of sins [The sacrificial rites of the Brahmanas are meant.],' or for some other hope. Knowing this, a wise man should neither himself commit violence by such acts, nor order others to commit violence by such acts, nor consent to the violence done by somebody else.

This road (to happiness) has been declared by the noble ones, that a clever man should not be defiled (by sin). Thus I say.

THIRD LESSON.

1 'Frequently (I have been born) in a high family, frequently in a low one; I am not mean, nor noble, nor do I desire (social preferment).' Thus reflecting, who would brag about his family or about his glory, or for what should he long?

2 Therefore a wise man should neither be glad nor angry (about his lot): thou shouldst know and consider the happiness of living creatures. Carefully conducting himself, he should mind this: blindness, deafness, dumbness, one-eyedness, hunchbackedness 1, blackness, variety of colour (he will always experience); because of his carelessness he is born in many births, he experiences various feelings.

3 Not enlightened (about the cause of these ills) he is afflicted (by them), always turns round (in the whirl of) birth and death. Life is dear to many who own fields and houses. Having acquired dyed and coloured (clothes), jewels, earrings, gold, and women, they become attached to these things. And a fool who longs for life, and worldly-minded, laments that (for these worldly goods) penance, self-restraint, and control do not avail, will ignorantly come to grief.

4 Those who are of a steady conduct do not desire this (wealth). Knowing birth and death, one should firmly walk the path (i.e. right conduct), (and not wait for old age to commence a religious life),

For there is nothing inaccessible for death. All beings are fond of life, like pleasure, hate pain, shun destruction, like life, long to live. To all life is dear.

5 Having acquired it (i.e. wealth), employing bipeds and quadrupeds, gathering riches in the three ways, whatever his portion will be, small or great, he will desire to enjoy it. Then at one time, his manifold savings are a large treasure. Then at another time, his heirs divide it, or those who are without a living steal it, or the king takes it away, or it is ruined in some way or other, or it is consumed by the conflagration of the house. Thus a fool doing cruel deeds which benefit another, will ignorantly come thereby to grief.

6 This certainly has been declared by the sage. They do not cross the flood, nor can they cross it; they do not go to the next shore, nor can they go to it; they do not go to the opposite shore, nor can they go to it. And though hearing the doctrine, he does not stand in the right place; but the clever one who adopts the true (faith), stands in the right place (i.e. control). He who sees by himself, needs no instruction. But the miserable, afflicted fool who delights in pleasures, and whose miseries do not cease, is turned round in the whirl of pains. Thus I say.

FOURTH LESSON.

1 Then, after a time, he falls in sickness: those with whom he lives together, first grumble at him, and he afterwards grumbles at them. But they cannot help thee or protect thee, nor canst thou help them or protect them.

2 Knowing pleasure and pain separately [The meaning seems to be: If people do not know that pleasure and pain are the result of their own works, etc.], they trouble themselves about the enjoyment (of the external objects). For some men in this world have (such a character that) they will desire to enjoy their portion, whether it be large or small, in the three ways: Then, at one time, it will be sufficiently large, with many resources. Then, at another time, his heirs divide it, or those who have no living steal it, or the king takes it away, or it is ruined in some way or other, or it is consumed by the conflagration of the house. Thus a fool, doing cruel acts, comes ignorantly to grief.

3 Wisely reject hope and desire, and extracting that thorn (i.e. pleasure) thou (shouldst act rightly). People who are enveloped by delusion do not understand this: he who (gathers wealth) will, perhaps, not have the benefit of it. The world is greatly troubled by women. They (viz. men) forsooth say, 'These are the vessels (of happiness).' But this leads them to pain, to delusion, to death, to hell, to birth as hell-beings or brute beasts. The fool never knows the law.

4 Thus spake the hero: 'Be careful against this great delusion; the clever one should have done with carelessness by considering death in tranquillity, and that, the nature of which is decay (viz. the body); these (pleasures), look! will not satisfy (thee). Therefore have done with them! Sage, look! this is the great danger, it should overcome none whomsoever. He is called a hero who is not vexed by (the hardships caused) by control. He should not be angry because the (householder) gives him little. If turned off, he should go. Thou shouldst conform to the conduct of the sages.' Thus I say.

FIFTH LESSON.

1 That for this (viz. pleasure) the wants of the world should be supplied by bad injurious doings: for one's own sons, daughters, daughters-in-law, kinsmen, nurses, kings, male and female slaves, male and female servants, for the sake of hospitality, of supper and breakfast, the accumulation of wealth is effected.

2 (This is) here for the enjoyment of some men. (But a wise man) exerting himself, houseless, noble, of noble intellect, of noble perception recognises the proper moment (for all actions). He should not accept, nor cause others to accept, or permit them to accept anything unclean 1 [Amagandha, unclean, is also a Buddhist term; see Rhys Davids' Buddhism, pp. rat, 181.]. Free from uncleanliness he should wander about.

3 Being not seen in buying and selling, he should not buy, nor cause others to buy, nor consent to the buying of others. This mendicant who knows the time, the strength (of himself), the measure (of all things), the practice, the occasion (for begging, etc.), the conduct, the religious precepts, the true condition (of the donor or hearer), who disowns all things not requisite for religious purposes, who is under no obligations, he proceeds securely (on the road to final liberation) after having cut off both (love and hate). Clothes, alms-bowls, blankets, brooms, property, straw mats, with regard to these things he should know (what is unclean). When he receives food he should know the quantity required. This has been declared by the Revered One: he should not rejoice in the receipt of a gift, nor be sorry when he gets nothing. Having got much, one should not store it away; one should abstain from things not requisite for religious purposes. With a mind different (from that of common people) a seer abandons (these things). This is the road taught by the noble ones, well acquainted with which one should not be defiled (by sin). Thus I say.

4 Pleasures are difficult to reject, life is difficult to prolong. That man, certainly, who loves pleasures, is afflicted (by their loss), is sorry in his heart, leaves his usual ways, is troubled, suffers pain. The farsighted one who knows the world, knows its inferior part (hell), its upper part (heaven), its side-long part (the state of brute beasts). He who knows the relation (of human affairs, viz.) that he who desires for the world is always turned round (in the samsara), is called among mortals a hero, who liberates those who are fettered.

5 As the interior (of the body is loathsome), so is the exterior; as the exterior, so is the interior. In the interior of the body he perceives the foul interior humours, he observes their several courses (or eruptions). A well-informed man knowing (and renouncing the body and pleasures), should not eat (his saliva); he should not oppose himself to the (current of knowledge). Certainly, that man who engages in worldly affairs, who practises many tricks, who is bewildered by his own doings, acts again and again on that desire which increases his unrighteousness. Hence the above has been said for the increase of this (life). (A man addicted to pleasures) acts as if immortal, and puts great faith (in pleasure); but when he perceives that this body sustains pains, he cries in his ignorance. Therefore keep in your mind what I say.

6 A heretic 1 professes to cure (the love of pleasure), while he kills, cuts, strikes, destroys, chases away, resolves to do what has not been done before. To whom he applies the cure--enough of that fool's affection; or he who has (the cure) applied, is a fool. This does not apply to the houseless. Thus I say.

SIXTH LESSON.

1 He who perfectly understands (what has been said in the preceding lesson) and follows the (faith) to be coveted, should therefore do no sinful act, nor cause others to do one. Perchance he meditates a sin (by an act against only) one (of the six aggregates of lives); but he will be guilty (of sin against) every one of the six, Desiring happiness and bewailing much, he comes ignorantly to grief through his own misfortune.

2 Through his own carelessness every one produces that phase of life in which the vital spirits are pained. Observing (the pain of mundane existence, one should) not (act) with violence. This is called the true knowledge (and renunciation). He who ceasing from acts relinquishes the idea of property, relinquishes property itself. That sage has seen the path (to final liberation) for whom there exists no property. Knowing this, a wise man, who knows the world and has cast off the idea of the world, should prudently conquer 1 the obstructions to righteousness. Thus I say.

3 The hero does not tolerate discontent,
The hero does not tolerate lust.
Because the hero is not careless,
The hero is not attached (to the objects of the senses).

Being indifferent against sounds (and the other) perceptions, detest the comfort of this life.

A sage adopting a life of wisdom, should treat his gross body roughly.

The heroes who have right intuition, use mean and rough food.

Such a man is said to have crossed the flood (of life), to be a sage, to have passed over (the samsara), to be liberated, to have ceased (from all activity). Thus I say.

4 A sage is called unfit who does not follow the law and fails in his office. (But on the contrary) he is praised as a hero, he overcomes the connection with the world, he is called the guide (or the right way). What has been declared to be here the unhappiness of mortals, of that unhappiness the clever ones propound the knowledge.

5 Thus understanding (and renouncing) acts, a man who recognises the truth, delights in nothing else; and he who delights only in the truth, recognises nothing else. As (the law) has been revealed for the full one, so for the empty one; as for the empty one, so for the full one. But he (to whom the faith is preached) will perhaps disrespectfully beat (the preacher). Yet know, there is no good in this (indiscriminate preaching). (But ascertain before) what sort of man he is, and whom he worships. He is called a hero who liberates the bound, above, below, and in the sideward directions. He always conforms to all knowledge (and renunciation); the hero is not polluted by the sin of killing. He is a wise man who perfectly knows the non-killing, who searches after the liberation of the bound. The clever one is neither bound nor liberated; he should do or leave undone (what the hero does or does not do); he should not do what (the hero) leaves undone: Knowing (and renouncing) murder of any kind and worldly ideas in all respects. He who sees himself, needs no instruction. But the miserable and afflicted fool who delights in pleasures and

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whose miseries do not cease, is turned round in the whirl of pains. Thus I say.

End of the Second Lecture, called Conquest of the World.

AKARANGA BOOK 1 3RD LECTURE, CALLED HOT AND COLD.

FIRST LESSON.

1 The unwise sleep, the sages always wake. Know, that in this world the (cause of) misery brings forth evil consequences! Knowing the course of the world, one should cease from violent acts. He who correctly possesses these (sensual perceptions), viz. sounds, and colours, and smells, and tastes, and touches,

2 who self-possessed, wise, just, chaste, with right comprehension understands the world, he is to be called a sage, one who knows the law, and righteous. He knows the connection of the whirl (of births) and the current (of sensation with love and hate). Not minding heat and cold, equanimous against pleasure and pain, the Nirgrantha does not feel the austerity of penance. Waking and free from hostility, a wise man, thou liberatest (thyself and others) from the miseries.

3 But a man always benighted, subject to old age and death, does not know the law. Seeing living beings suffering, earnestly enter a religious life. Considering this, O prudent one, look!

Knowing the misery that results from action, The deluded and careless one returns to life; Disregarding sounds and colours, upright, Avoiding Mara one is liberated from death.

4 Carefully abstaining from pleasures and ceasing from bad works he is a hero, guarding himself, who is grounded in knowledge [Regarding the evil-doer.]. He who knows the violence done for the sake of special objects, knows what is free from violence [And renounces.]; he who knows what is free from violence, knows the violence done for special objects. For him who is without karman, there is no appellation. The condition of living beings arises from karman.

Examining karman and the root of karman, viz. killing, examining (it) and adopting its contrary, he is not seen by both ends. Knowing this, a wise man who knows the world and has cast off the idea of the world, should prudently conquer the obstructions to righteousness. Thus I say.

SECOND LESSON.

1 Look, Sir, at birth and old age here,
Examine and know the happiness of the living,
Thence the most learned, knowing (what is called) the highest good,
He who has right intuition, commits no sin.
2 Undo the bond with mortals here;
He who lives by sins, is subject to both,
Desirous of pleasures they heap up karman,
Influenced by it they are born again.
3 Killing (animals) he thinks good sport, and derives mirth from it:
Away with that fool's company, he increases his own unrighteousness.
4 Thence the most learned, knowing (what is called) the highest good,
Aware of the punishment, commits no sin;
Wisely avoid the top and the root!
Cutting them off, he knows himself free from karman.

1 That man will be liberated from death; he is a sage who sees the danger, knowing the highest good in this world, leading a circumspect life, calm, guarded, endowed (with knowledge, etc.), always restrained, longing for death, he should lead a religious life. Manifold, indeed, appear sinful actions; therefore prove constant to truth! Delighting in it, a wise man destroys all karman.

2 Many, indeed, are the plans of this man (of the world); he will satisfy his desires; he (thereby causes) the slaughter of others, the pain of others, the punishment of others, the slaughter, the blame, the punishment of a whole province. Doing such things, some have exerted themselves.

3 Therefore the second (i.e. the wrong creed) is not adhered to. The knowing one seeing the vanity (of the world) [knowing the rise and fall of the souls], the Brahman follows the unrivalled (control of the Jainas). He should not kill, nor cause others to kill, nor consent to the killing of others. 'Avoid gaiety, not delighting in creatures (i.e. women), having the highest intuition,' keeping off from sinful acts.

And the hero should conquer wrath and pride,
Look at the great hell (as the place) for greed.
Therefore the hero abstaining from killing,
Should destroy sorrow, going the road of easiness.
Here now the hero, knowing the bondage,
Knowing sorrow, should restrain himself.
Having risen to birth among men,
He should not take the life of living beings.

THIRD LESSON.

1 'Knowing the connection of the world, (carelessness is not for his benefit).' 'Look at the exterior (world from analogy with thy own) self; [then] thou wilt neither kill nor destroy (living beings);' viz. out of reciprocal regard [well examining] he does no sinful act. What is the characteristic of a sage? 'Recognising the equality (of all living beings), he appeases himself.'

2 Knowing the highest good, one should never be careless; Guarding one's self, always prudent, one should pass life on the right road. 'One should acquire disregard of sensual enjoyment, being with a great one (i.e. a god) or the small ones (men).' When one knows whence men come and where they go, and when both ends are out of sight, one is not cut, nor slit, nor burnt, nor struck by any one in the whole world. [For the sake of love and hate, or worldly and heavenly bliss.] Some do not remember what preceded the present: 'what has been his past? what will be his future?' Some men here say: 'what has been his past, that will be his future.'

3 There is no past thing, nor is there a future one; So opine the Tathagatas. He whose karman has ceased and conduct is right, who recognises the truth (stated above) and destroys sinfulness (thinks): What is discontent and what is pleasure? not subject to either, one should live; Giving up all gaiety, circumspect and restrained, one should lead a religious life.

4 Man! Thou art thy own friend; why wishest thou for a friend beyond thyself? Whom he knows as a dweller on high, him he should know as a dweller far (from sin) and whom he knows as a dweller far (from sin), him he should know as a dweller on high. Man! restraining thyself (from the outward world) 'thou wilt get free from pain.' Man, understand well the truth! exerting himself in the rule of truth a wise man overcomes Mara.

5 'The gifted man, following the law, sees well his true interest.' In a twofold way, for the sake of life's splendour, honour and glory (some men exert themselves), wherein they go astray. The gifted, touched by calamity, are not confounded. 'Mind this! the worthy one, in this world, gets out of the creation.' Thus I say.

FOURTH LESSON.

1 That man (i.e. the liberated) conquers wrath, pride, deceit, and greed. This is the doctrine of the Seer who does not injure living beings and has put an end (to acts and to samsara). Preventing propensity to sin destroys former actions. He who knows one thing, knows all things; and he who knows all things, knows one thing [Because true knowledge of one thing is inseparable from true knowledge of all things.]. He who is careless in all respects, is in danger; he who is not careless in all respects, is free from danger.

2 He who conquers one (passion), conquers many; and he who conquers many, conquers one. 'Knowing the misery of the world' rejecting the connection with the world, 'the heroes go on the great journey,' they rise gradually; 'they do not desire life.'

3 He who avoids one (passion), avoids (them all) severally; and he who avoids them severally, avoids one. Faithful according to the commandment (of the Tirthakaras), wise, and understanding the world according to the commandment--such a man is without danger from anywhere. There are degrees in injurious acts, but there are no degrees in control.

4 He who knows wrath, knows pride; he who knows pride, knows deceit; he who knows deceit, knows greed; he who knows greed, knows love; he who knows love, knows hate; he who knows hate, knows delusion; he who knows delusion, knows conception; he who knows conception, knows birth; he who knows birth, knows death; he who knows death, knows hell; he who knows hell, knows animal existence; he who knows animal existence, knows pain.

Therefore, a wise man should avoid wrath, pride, deceit, greed, love, hate, delusion, conception, birth, death, hell, animal existence, and pain. This is the doctrine of the Seer, who does not injure living beings and has put an end (to acts and to samsara). Preventing the propensity to sin destroys former actions. Is there any worldly weakness in the Seer? There exists none, there is none. Thus I say.

End of the Third Lecture, called Hot and Cold.

AKARANGA BOOK 1 4TH LECTURE, CALLED RIGHTEOUSNESS.

FIRST LESSON.

1 The Arhats and Bhagavats of the past, present, and future, all say thus, speak thus, declare thus, explain thus: all breathing, existing, living, sentient creatures 1 should not be slain, nor treated with violence, nor abused, nor tormented, nor driven away.

2 This is the pure, unchangeable, eternal law, which the clever ones, who understand the world, have declared: among the zealous and the not zealous, among the faithful and the not faithful, among the not cruel and the cruel, among those who have worldly weakness and those who have not, among those who like social bonds and those who do not: 'that is the truth, that is so, that is proclaimed in this (creed).'

3 Having adopted (the law), one should not hide it, nor forsake it. Correctly understanding the law, one should arrive at indifference for the impressions of the senses, and 'not act on the motives of the world.' 'He who is not of this mind [Who acts not on worldly motives.], how should he come to the other?' What has been said here, has been seen (by the omniscient ones), heard (by the believers), acknowledged (by the faithful), and thoroughly understood by them. Those who acquiesce and indulge (in worldly pleasures), are born again and again. 'Day and night exerting thyself, steadfast,' always having ready wisdom, perceive that the careless (stand) outside (of salvation); if careful, thou wilt always conquer. Thus I say.

SECOND LESSON.

1 There are as many asravas as there are parisravas, and there are as many parisravas as there are asravas. There are as many anasravas as there are aparisravas, and there are as many aparisravas as there are anasravas. He who well understands these words and regards the world according to the instruction (and understands), that which has been distinctly declared, that 'wise man proclaims (the truth) here to men,' who still belong to the samsara, who are awakened, and have reached discrimination.

2 'Those also who are afflicted and careless' (will be instructed). I say this as a truth. There is nothing secure from the mouth of death. Those who are led by their desires, who are the tabernacle of fraud, 'who seized by Time dwell in the heap (of karman),' are born again and again. [Many who are again and again (immersed) in delusion, (will often renew) their acquaintance with the places of pain; they experience the pains inherent in regeneration. He who often does cruel acts, often undergoes (punishment in hell, etc.) He who seldom does cruel acts, seldom undergoes (punishment).]

3 Some say thus, also the wise ones; the wise ones say thus, also some others. Many and several in this world, Brahmanas or Sramanas, raise this discussion: We have seen, heard, acknowledged, thoroughly understood, in the upper, nether, and sidelong directions, and in all ways examined it: all sorts of living beings may be slain, or treated with violence, or abused, or tormented, or driven away. Know about this: there is no wrong in it.

4 That is a doctrine of the unworthy. But those who are teachers, have said: You have wrongly seen, wrongly heard, wrongly acknowledged, wrongly understood, in the upper, nether, and sidelong directions, in all ways wrongly examined it, when you say thus, speak thus, declare thus, explain thus: All sorts of living beings may be slain, or treated with violence, or abused, or tormented, or driven away. Know about this: there is no wrong in it. That is a doctrine of the unworthy.

5 But we say thus, speak thus, declare thus, explain thus: All sorts of living beings should not be slain, nor treated with violence, nor abused, nor tormented, nor driven away. Know about this, there is no wrong in it. This is the doctrine of the teachers.

6 First the persuasion of every one should be ascertained, and then we will ask them severally: Ye professors! is pain pleasant to you, or unpleasant? If they give the right answer, reply: For all sorts of living beings pain is unpleasant, disagreeable. and greatly feared. Thus I say.

THIRD LESSON.

1 'Reflect and observe that whether you go to this world or to that beyond, in the whole world those who are discerning beings, who abstain from cruelty, relinquish karman. They are flesh-subduing, called duty-knowing, upright men, aware that pain results from actions.' Thus say those who have right intuition.

2 All the professors, conversant with pain, preach renunciation. Thus thoroughly knowing karman, observing the commandment, wise, unattached (to the world), recognising thy Self as one [I.e. as separate and different from the world.], subdue the body, chastise thyself, weaken thyself: 'just as fire consumes old wood!' Thus with a composed mind, unattached, 'unhesitatingly avoid wrath!' Considering the shortness of life 'know pain, or what will come [According to the commentators the present and future pains.];' one shall feel the several feelings; and perceive the world suffering under them.

3 Those who are free from sinful acts are called anidana. Hence a very wise man should not be inflamed (by wrath). Thus I say.

FOURTH LESSON.

1 One should mortify (one's flesh) in a low, high, and highest degree, quitting one's former connections, and entering tranquillity. Therefore a hero is careful, a person of pith, guarded, endowed (with knowledge, etc.), and always restrained. Difficult to go is the road of the heroes, who go whence there is no return (final liberation). Subdue blood and flesh.

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2 That man is called a worthy one, a hero, one to be followed, who living in chastity [guarding his eyes] shakes off the aggregate. He who desires the current of karman, is a fool who has not cut off the fetters of, nor conquered the connection with, (the world.) For such as dwell in darkness, and are without knowledge, there is no success in faith. Thus I say.

3 'Whence should he have it [Success in faith.], who does not get it early, late, or in the middle of life?' But the discerning one is awakened, and ceases to act. See that it is good to be so! Cutting off that 'whence bondage, cruel death, and dreadful pain,' 'and the (desire for) external (objects) flow, he who among mortals knows freedom from acts,' 'seeing that acts will bear fruit, the knower of the sacred lore, parts from (karman).'

4 There are those who have established themselves in the truth, who (were, are, or will be) heroes, endowed (with knowledge), always exerting themselves, full of equanimity, valuing the world (as it deserves) in the east, west, south, north. We shall tell the knowledge of them who (were, etc.) heroes, endowed (with knowledge), always exerting themselves, full of equanimity, valuing the world (as it deserves). Is there any worldly weakness in the Seer? There exists none, there is none. Thus I say.

End of the Fourth Lecture, called Righteousness.

AKARANGA BOOK 1 5TH LECTURE, CALLED ESSENCE OF THE WORLD.

FIRST LESSON.

1 Many entertain cruel thoughts against the world with a motive or without one; they entertain cruel thoughts against these (six classes of living beings). To him pleasures are dear. Therefore he is near death. Because he is near death, he is far (from liberation). But he who is neither near (death) nor far (from liberation), considers the life of a slow and ignorant fool as similar to a dewdrop trembling on the sharp point of the blade of Kusa grass which falls down when shaken by the wind. A fool, doing cruel acts, comes thereby ignorantly to grief. Through delusion he is born, dies, etc.' Being conversant with the deliberation about this delusion, one is conversant with the samsara; being not conversant with that deliberation, one is not conversant with the samsara. He who is clever, should not seek after sexual intercourse. But having done so, (it would be) a second folly of the weak-minded not to own it. Repenting and excluding (from the mind) the begotten pleasures, one should instruct others to follow the commandment. Thus I say.

2 See! many who desire colours, are led around (in the samsara), they (experience) here again and again feelings (i.e. punishment). Many live by injurious deeds against the world, they live by injurious deeds against these (living beings). Also the fool, suffering (for his passions), delights in bad acts here, mistaking that for salvation which is none. Many (heretics) lead the life of a hermit (in order to avoid worldly sorrows and pains).

3 Such a man has much wrath, much pride, much conceit, much greed; he delights in many (works), acts frequently like a stage-player or a rogue, forms many plans, gives way to his impulses, is influenced by his acts though he pretends to be awakened: (thinking) that nobody will see him. Through the influence of ignorance and carelessness the fool never knows the law. Men! unhappy creatures, world-wise are those who, not freeing themselves from ignorance, talk about final liberation: they turn round and round in the whirlpool (of births). Thus I say.

SECOND LESSON.

1 Many do not live by injurious deeds against the world, they do not live by injurious deeds against these (living beings). Ceasing from them, making an end of them, he perceives: this is a favourable opportunity [For adopting the right conduct.]; he who searches for the right moment for this body (should never be careless). This is the road taught by the noble ones.

2 When he has become zealous for the law, he should never be careless, knowing pain and pleasure in their various forms. Men act here on their own motives; it has been declared that they suffer for their own sins. Neither killing nor lying, he should (patiently) bear (all unpleasant) feelings when affected by them. That man is called a true monk.

3 Those who are not given to sinful acts are (nevertheless) attacked by calamities; but then the steadfast will bear them. (He has to bear) them afterwards as (he has done) before (his conversion). (The body) is of a fragile, decaying nature, (it is) unstable, transient, uneternal, increasing and decreasing, of a changeable nature. Perceive this as its true character. For him who well understands this, who delights in the unique refuge, for the liberated and inactive there is no passage (from birth to birth). Thus I say.

4 Many are attached to something in the world--be it little or much, small or great, sentient or nonsentient--they are attached to it (here) amongst these (householders). Thus some incur great danger. For him who contemplates the course of the world and does not acknowledge these attachments (there is no such danger). Knowing that that which is well understood is well practised, man! with thy eyes on the highest good, be victorious (in control). Among such men only is real Brahmanhood. Thus I say.

5 I have heard this, and it is in my innermost heart; and the freedom from bonds is in your innermost heart. He who has ceased (to have worldly attachments), the houseless, suffers with patience a long time. The careless stand outside, the careful lead a religious life. Maintain rightly this state of a sage. Thus I say.

THIRD LESSON.

1 Many are not attached to something in this world, they are not attached to it among these (householders). He is a wise man who has heard and understood the word of the learned ones. Without partiality the law has been declared by the noble ones. As I have destroyed here the connection with the world, so is the connection elsewhere difficult to destroy. Therefore I say: One should not abandon firmness.

2 Some who early exert themselves, do not afterwards slide back; some who early exert themselves, afterwards slide back; those who do not early exert themselves, (can of course) not slide back. That man also is of this description, who knowing the world (as worthless nevertheless) follows its ways. 'Knowing this, it has been declared by the sage.' Here the follower of the commandment, the wise, the passionless, he who exerts himself before morning and after evening 1, always contemplating virtue and hearing (the merit of it) will become free from love and delusion. 'Fight with this (your body)! why should you fight with anything else?' Difficult to attain is this (human body) which is worth the fight. For the clever ones have praised the discernment of wisdom; the fool who falls from it, is liable to birth, etc.

3 In this (religion of the Jainas the cause of the fool's fall) has been declared (to depend) on colour* and killing. [* Colour stands for all perceptions of the senses. Of course, the attachment to sensual pleasures is meant.] But a sage who walks the beaten track (to liberation), regards the world in a different way. 'Knowing thus (the nature of) acts in all regards, he does not kill,' he controls himself, he is not overbearing.

4 Comprehending that pleasure (and pain) are individual, advising kindness, he will not engage in any work in the whole world: keeping before him the one (great aim, liberation), and not turning aside, 'living humbly, unattached to any creature.' The rich (in control) who with a mind endowed with all penetration (recognises) that a bad deed should not be done, will not go after it. What you acknowledge as righteousness, that you acknowledge as sagedom (mauna); what you acknowledge as sagedom, that you acknowledge as righteousness. It is inconsistent with weak, sinning, sensual, ill-conducted house-inhabiting men.

5 'A sage, acquiring sagedom, should subdue his body.' 'The heroes who look at everything with indifference, use mean and rough (food, etc.)' Such a man is said to have crossed the flood (of life), to be a sage, to have passed over (the samsara), to be liberated, to have ceased (from acts). Thus I say.

FOURTH LESSON.

1 For a monk who has not yet reached discrimination, it is bad going and difficult proceeding when he wanders (alone) from village to village. Some men (when going wrong) will become angry when exhorted with speech. And a man with wary pride is embarrassed with great delusion.

2 There are many obstacles which are very difficult to overcome for the ignorant and the blinded. Let that not be your case! That is the doctrine of the clever one (Mahavira). Adopting the (akarya's) views, imitating his indifference (for the outer world), making him the guide and adviser (in all one's matters), sharing his abode, living carefully, acting according to his mind, examining one's way, not coming too near (the akarya), minding living beings, one should go (on one's business).

3 (A monk should according to the akarya's order) go and return, contract or stretch (his limbs), thoroughly clean (what ought to be cleaned). Sometimes, though a monk be endowed with virtue and walks in righteousness, living beings, coming in contact with his body, will be killed. (If this happens through mere carelessness) then he will get his punishment in this life; but if it was done contrary to the rules, he should repent of it and do penance for it. Thus he who knows the sacred lore*, recommends penance combined with carefulness. [* The monk must closely inspect everything with which he comes in contact in order to avoid killing animals; this holds good with regard to walking, sitting, sleeping, eating, drinking, etc.]

4 (When a monk) with fully developed intuition and knowledge, calm, guarded, endowed (with knowledge), always restrained, perceives (a woman tempting him), he should consider within himself: what will this person do? The greatest temptation in this world are women. This has been declared by the sage.

5 When strongly vexed by the influence of the senses, he should eat bad food, mortify himself, stand upright, wander from village to village, take no food at all, withdraw his mind from women. First troubles, then pleasures; first pleasures, then troubles [In order to attain pleasure, one has to work for the means; after the enjoyment of the pleasures one has to undergo punishment in hell, etc.]: thus they are the cause of quarrels. Considering this and well understanding it, one should teach oneself not to cultivate (sensuality). Thus I say. He should not speak of women, nor look at them, nor converse with them, nor claim them as his own, nor do their work. Careful in his speech and guarding his mind, he should always avoid sin. He should maintain this sagedom. Thus I say.

FIFTH LESSON.

1 Thus I say: a lake is full of water, it is in an even plain, it is free from dust, it harbours (many fish*) [*Like unto it is a teacher who is full of wisdom, who lives in a quiet country, is free from passion, and protects living beings.]. Look! he (the teacher) stands in the stream (of knowledge) and is guarded in all directions. Look! there are great Seers in the world, wise, awakened, free from acts. Perceive the truth: from a desire of (a pious) end they chose a religious life. Thus I say.

2 He whose mind is always wavering, does not reach abstract contemplation. Some, bound (by worldly ties), are followers (i.e. understand the truth); some who are not bound, are followers. How should he not despond who amongst followers is a non-follower? 'But that is truth beyond doubt, what has been declared by the Ginas.'

3 Whatever a faithful, well-disposed man, on entering the order, thought to be true, that may afterwards appear to him true; what he thought to be true, that may afterwards appear to him untrue; what he thought to be untrue, that may afterwards appear to him true; what he thought to be untrue, that may afterwards appear to him true. What he thinks to be true, that may, on consideration, appear to him true, whether it be true or untrue. What he thinks to be untrue, that may, on consideration, appear to him untrue, whether it be true or untrue. But he who reflects should say unto him who does not reflect: Consider it to be true. Thus the connection (i.e. the continuity of sins) is broken.

4 Regard this as the course of the zealous one, who stands (in obedience to the spiritual guide). In this point do not show yourself a fool! As it would be unto thee, so it is with him whom thou intendest to kill. As it would be unto thee, so it is with him whom thou intendest to tyrannise over. As it would be unto thee, so it is with him whom thou intendest to torment. I n the same way (it is with him) whom thou intendest to punish, and to drive away. The righteous man who lives up to these sentiments, does therefore neither kill nor cause others to kill (living beings). He should not intentionally cause the same punishment for himself.

5 The Self is the knower (or experiencer), and the knower is the Self. That through which one knows, is the Self. With regard to this (to know) it (the Self) is established. Such is he who maintains the right doctrine of Self. This subject has truly been explained. Thus I say.

SIXTH LESSON.

1 Some not instructed (in the true law) make (only a show) of good conduct; some, though instructed, have no good conduct. Let that not be your case! That is the doctrine of the clever one. Adopting the (akarya's) views, imitating his indifference (for the outer world), making him the guide and adviser (in all one's matters), sharing his abode, conquering (sinfulness), one sees the truth; unconquered one should be one's own master, having no reliance on anything (in the world). He who is great and withdraws his mind from the outer world, should learn the teaching (of the Tirthakaras) through the teaching (of the akarya); by his own innate knowledge, or through the instruction of the highest, or having heard it from others. A wise man should not break the commandment. Examining all (wrong) doctrines from all sides and in all respects, one should clearly understand (and reject) them. 'Knowing the delight of this world [For the same pain he has caused to others in this life, he will suffer in the life hereafter.], circumspect and restrained, one should lead the life of an ascetic.' Desiring liberation [This means that knowledge is a modification (parinama) of the Self, and therefore one with it, but not as a quality or action of the Self different from it.], a hero should, through the sacred lore, ever be victorious. Thus I say.

2 The current (of sin) is said to come from above, from below, and from the sides; these have been declared to be the currents through which, look, there is sinfulness. 'Examining the whirlpool, a man, versed in the sacred lore, should keep off from it.' Leaving the world to avert the current (of sin), such a great man, free from acts, knows and sees the truth; examining (pleasures) he does not desire them.

3 Knowing whence we come and whither we go, he leaves the road to birth and death, rejoicing in the glorious (liberation). 'All sounds recoil thence, where speculation has

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no room,' nor does the mind penetrate there. The saint knows well that which is without support.

4 (The liberated) is not long nor small nor round nor triangular nor quadrangular nor circular; he is not black nor blue nor red nor green nor white; neither of good nor bad smell; not bitter nor pungent nor astringent nor sweet; neither rough nor soft; neither heavy nor light; neither cold nor hot; neither harsh nor smooth; he is without body, without resurrection, without contact (of matter), he is not feminine nor masculine nor neuter; he perceives, he knows, but there is no analogy (whereby to know the nature of the liberated soul); its essence is without form; there is no condition of the unconditioned. There is no sound, no colour, no smell, no taste, no touch--nothing of that kind. Thus I say.

End of the Fifth Lecture, called Essence of the World.

AKARANGA BOOK 1 6TH LECTURE, CALLED THE CLEANING.

FIRST LESSON.

1 He who is awakened amongst men, preaches; the man to whom all these classes of lives are well known, preaches the unparalleled wisdom. He praises the road to liberation for those who well exert themselves, who have forsworn cruelty, are zealous and endowed with knowledge. Thus some great heroes are victorious; but, look, some others who are wanting in control do not understand (the welfare of) their souls. Thus I say.

2 As in a lake a greedy leaf-covered tortoise cannot rise up; as the trees do not leave their place (though shaken by storms, etc.): thus men, born in various families, cry bitterly because they are attached to the objects of the senses [Literally, the colours.]; on account of their sinfulness they do not reach liberation.

3 Now look at those who are born in these families to reap the fruit of their own acts: Boils and leprosy, consumption, falling sickness, blindness and stiffness, lameness and humpbackedness, Dropsy and dumbness, look! apoplexy(?) and eye-disease, trembling and crippledness, elephantiasis and diabetes,

These are the sixteen diseases enumerated in due order; besides them many illnesses and wounds occur.

Contemplating their (i.e. the creatures') death, knowing their births in higher and lower regions, contemplating the fruit (of their acts), hear about this according to truth.

There are said to be blind beings dwelling in darkness; once or frequently meeting this lot, they experience pleasant and unpleasant feelings. This has been declared by the awakened ones.

4 There are beings endowed with voice, with taste, water-beings dwelling in water, beings living in the air: 'beings torment beings. See the great danger in this world;' many pains (are the lot) of the creatures. Men who are given to their lusts, come to destruction through their weak, frail body. 'The fool works hard, thinking' that the unhappy one suffers many pains. 'Knowing that these diseases are many, should the afflicted search after (remedies)?' See! they are of no avail, have done with them! Sage! see this great danger! Do not hurt anybody! Contemplate. Be attentive! I shall proclaim the doctrine of renunciation.

5 To reap the fruit of their acts they are born in these various families, they increase, are born, grow up, become awakened, and leave the world in due order as great sages. The lamenting parents say to them who proceed on the glorious road: 'Do not leave us!'

6 Consulting their own pleasure, indulging their passions, 'making a noise 1, the parents cry:' No man who leaves his parents is (fit to become) a flood-crossing sage! (The ascetic) does not take refuge there (in his family); for what could attract him there?

He should always maintain this knowledge! Thus I say.

SECOND LESSON.

1 Though some know the misery of the world, have relinquished their former connections, have given up ease, live in chastity, and, whether monk or layman, thoroughly understand the law, they are not able (to persevere in a religious life). The ill-disposed, giving up the robe, alms-bowl, blanket, and broom, do not bear the continuous hardships that are difficult to bear. He who prefers pleasures will, now or after an hour [I.e. after a short time.], be deprived (of the body*, not to recover it; * The body with five organs, in which alone liberation can be realised.) for an infinite space of time. And thus they do not cross (the samsara), for the sake of these pleasures which entail evil consequences and are associated with others of their kind.

2 But some who embrace the law, will practise it, being careful about its outward signs; not giving way to worldliness, but being firm. Knowing (and renouncing) all lust, a devout man becomes a great sage when he breaks all bonds, thinking: Nothing belongs to me. A man who, thinking, I am I, exerts himself for this (creed), ceases (to act), is houseless, walks about bald-headed. The naked, fasting (monk), who combats the flesh, will be abused, or struck, or hurt; he will be upbraided with his former trade, or reviled with untrue reproaches. Accounting (for this treatment) by his former sins, knowing pleasant and unpleasant occurrences, he should patiently wander about. Quitting all worldliness one should bear all (disagreeable) feelings, being possessed of the right view.

3 Those are called naked, who in this world, never returning (to a worldly state), (follow) my religion according to the commandment. This highest doctrine has here been declared for men. Delighted with this, destroying that (i.e. the effect of works), he will successively give up sinfulness, after having come to a knowledge of it. Here (in our religion) some live as single mendicants. Therefore a wise man should lead the life of an ascetic by collecting pure alms or any alms in all sorts of families. 'If (the food) be of good or bad smell, or if dreadful beasts inflict pain on (other) beings'--all that happens to you, you will firmly bear it. Thus I say.

THIRD LESSON.

1 A sage who is well instructed in the law and leads a life of abstinence, is always a destroyer of the effects of works. To a mendicant who is little clothed and firm in control, it will not occur (to think): My clothes are torn, I shall beg for (new) clothes; I shall beg for thread; I shall beg for a needle; I shall mend (my clothes); I shall darn them; I shall repair them; I shall put them on; I shall wrap myself in them.

2 The unclothed one, who excels in this (abstinence), will often be molested by (sharp blades of) grass, by cold, heat, gnats, and mosquitoes. The unclothed one, who effects scarcity (of his wants or of his karman), bears these and various other hardships. He is fit for penance, as has been declared by the Revered One. Understanding this in all respects and with his whole mind, he should perfectly know righteousness. The great heroes (i.e. the Tirthakaras) who for a long time walked in the former years, the worthy ones bore the troubles (mentioned above); endowed with perfect knowledge they had lean arms and very little flesh and blood. He who discontinues (to sin) and is enlightened, is said to have crossed (the samsara), to be liberated, and to have ceased (to act). Thus I say.

3 But can discontent lay hold of a mendicant, who has ceased to act and leads a religious life, for a long time controlling himself? He advances in his spiritual career and exerts himself. As an island which is never covered with water, so is the law taught by the noble ones (a safe refuge for those in danger). They are free from desires, free from murder, beloved, wise, learned. For their benefit has been the exertion of the Revered One; as birds (feed) their young ones, so are the disciples regularly to be instructed day and night. Thus I say.

FOURTH LESSON.

1 The disciples are thus regularly instructed, day and night, by the knowledge-endowed great heroes, receiving knowledge from them. Some, being seduced from the calmness of the mind, adopt rough manners. Some, living in chastity, dispute the authority (of the teacher), others hear and understand his words; they intend to lead a godly life, but having left the world [Or obedience to their teacher], they are not qualified (for a religious life). Others, being incensed by lusts, greedy, sensual, 'do not care for abstract meditation and religious instruction: these men speak harshly unto the teacher.' It is a second folly of the slow-minded to call virtuous, calm, religiously living men worthless. Some, turning from (control), assign its difficulty as their reason (for doing so) [They do not upbraid their teachers, and hence are not guilty of the second folly.]; others, falling from the pure knowledge and defiling the creed, though not without devotion, for the love of life change (their vows). 'When they feel the hardships (of a religious life) they slide back, for their love of life.' Their leaving the world is a bad leaving.

2 Those who deserve to be called fools, are born again and again. Standing low (in learning or control) they will exalt themselves (and say) in their pride: I am learned. They speak harshly unto the passionless; they upbraid them with their former trades, or revile them with untrue reproaches. The wise, therefore, should know the law. Thou lovest unrighteousness, because thou art young, and lovest acts, and sayest: 'Kill beings;' thou killest them or consentest to their being killed by others. (Such a man) thinks contemptuously: A very severe religion has been proclaimed. Sinking in opposition to the law, he is called murderer. Thus I say.

3 Some think: What have I to do with this or that man? Thus they leave father and mother, kith and kin, like heroes exerting themselves, free from murder. Look! the pious and calm become desponding; the rising, cast down. Those troubled with sensuality, the cowardly men become perverters of the faith [Or breakers of vows.]. Therefore the reputation of some becomes bad. He is an apostate ascetic! He is an apostate ascetic!

4 Look! Some, though living with religious, pious, calm, and worthy (monks), are not religious, nor pious, nor calm, nor worthy. Knowing them, the learned, the wise, the steadfast hero will always be victorious through the right faith. Thus I say.

FIFTH LESSON.

1 Staying in or between houses, in or between villages, in or between towns, in or between counties, a monk is attacked by murderers, or is subject to the hardships (of a mendicant's life). A hero should bear these hardships.

2 A saint, with right intuition, who cherishes compassion for the world, in the east, west, south, and north, should preach, spread, and praise (the faith), knowing the sacred lore. He should proclaim it among those who exert themselves, and those who do not*, among those who are willing to hear (the word). [* This is equivalent either to believers and heretics, or to clerical and lay men.]

3 Not neglecting tranquillity, indifference, patience, liberation, purity, uprightness, gentleness, and freedom from worldly cares, one should, with due consideration, preach the law of the mendicants to all sorts of creatures.

4 With due consideration preaching the law of the mendicants, one should do no injury to one's self, nor to anybody else, nor to any of the four kinds of living beings. But a great sage, neither injuring nor injured, becomes a shelter for all sorts of afflicted creatures, even as an island, which is never covered with water.

5 Thus a man who exerts himself, and is of a steady mind, without attachment, unmoved (by passion) but restless (in wandering about), having no worldly desires, should lead the life of an ascetic. Having contemplated the beautiful law, the discerning one is liberated. Therefore look at worldliness, ye men, fettered in fetters!

Those whom lust conquers, sink; therefore do not shrink from the hard (control)! He who knows (and renounces) perfectly and thoroughly these injurious acts, from whom the injurers do not shrink 1, 'who has shaken off wrath, pride,' delusion, and greed, 'he is called a removed one.' Thus I say.

6 On the decay of the body (he does not despond, but deserves) his appellation, 'the leader of the battle.' The sage who has reached the other side, unafflicted and unmoved like a beam, being in the power of death, desires death as the dissolution of the body. Thus I say.

End of the Sixth Lecture, called the Cleaning.

AKARANGA BOOK 1 7TH LECTURE, CALLED LIBERATION.

FIRST LESSON.

1 I say: To friendly or hostile (heretics) one should not give food, drink, dainties and spices, clothes, alms-bowls, and brooms; nor exhort these persons to give (such things), nor do them service, always showing the highest respect. Thus I say.

2 (A heretic may say): Know this for certain: having or not having received food, etc. (down to) brooms, having or not having eaten (come to our house), even turning from your way or passing (other houses; we shall supply your wants). Confessing an individual creed, coming and going, he may give, or exhort to give, or do service (but one should not accept anything from him), showing not the slightest respect. Thus I say.

3 Some here are not well instructed as regards the subject of conduct; for desirous of acts, they say: 'Kill creatures;' they themselves kill or consent to the killing of others; or they take what has not been given; or they pronounce opinions, e. g. the world exists, the world does not exist, the world is unchangeable, the world is ever changing; the world has a beginning, the world has no beginning; the world has an end, the world has no end; (or with regard to the self and actions): this is well done, this is badly done; this is merit, this is demerit; he is a good man, he is not a good man; there is beatitude, there is no beatitude; there is a hell, there is no hell. When they thus differ (in their opinions) and profess their individual persuasion, know (that this is all) without reason 1. Thus they are not well taught, not well instructed in the religion such as it has been declared by the Revered One, who knows and sees with quick discernment. (One should either instruct the opponent in the true faith) or observe abstinence as regards speech. Thus I say.

4 Everywhere [In all other religious sects.] sins are admitted; but to avoid them is called my distinction. For ye who live in a village or in the forest, or not in a village and not in the forest, know the law as it has been declared. 'By the Brahman, the wise (Mahavira), three 3 vows have been enjoined.' Noble and tranquil men who are enlightened and exert themselves in these (precepts), are called free from sinful acts.

5 Knowing (and renouncing) severally and singly the actions against living beings, in the regions above, below, and on the surface, everywhere and in all ways--a wise man neither gives pain to these bodies, nor orders others to do so, nor assents to their doing so. Nay, we abhor those who give pain to these bodies. Knowing this, a wise man should not cause this or any other pain (to any creatures). Thus I say.

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SECOND LESSON.

1 A mendicant may exert himself, or stand or sit or lie in a burying-place or in an empty house or in a mountain cave or in a potter's workshop. A householder may approach a mendicant who stays in any of these places, and say unto him: O long-lived Sramana! I shall give you what I have bought or stolen or taken, though it was not to be taken, nor given, but was taken by force, viz. food, drink, dainties and spices, clothes, an alms-bowl, a plaid, a broom--by acting sinfully against all sorts of living beings; or I shall prepare you snug lodgings; eat (the offered food), dwell (in the prepared house; The above-detailed benefactions.).

2 O long-lived Sramana! A mendicant should thus refuse a householder of good sense and ripe age: O long-lived householder! I do not approve of thy words, I do not accept thy words, that, for my sake, thou givest unto me what thou hast bought or stolen or taken, though it was not to be taken, nor given, but was taken by force, viz. food, drink, dainties and spices, clothes, an alms-bowl, a plaid, a broom--by acting sinfully against all sorts of living beings; or that thou preparest pleasant lodgings for me. O long-lived householder! I have given up this, because it is not to be done.

3 A mendicant may exert himself, etc. (first sentence of § 1). A householder, without betraying his intention, may approach him who stays in some one of the above-mentioned places, and give unto him what has been taken, etc. (all as above, down to) or prepare pleasant lodgings, and accommodate the mendicant with food (and lodging). A mendicant should know it by his own innate intelligence, or through the instruction of the highest (i.e. the Tirthakaras), or having heard it from others: This householder, forsooth, for my sake injures all sorts of living beings, to give me food, etc., clothes, etc., or to prepare pleasant lodgings. A mendicant should well observe and understand this, that he may order (the householder) not to show such obsequiousness. Thus I say.

4 Those who having, with or without the mendicant's knowledge, brought together fetters, become angry (on the monk's refusal) and will strike him, saying: Beat, kill, cut, burn, roast, tear, rob, despatch, torture him! But the hero, come to such a lot, will bravely bear it, or tell him the code of conduct, considering that he is of a different habit; or by guarding his speech he should in due order examine the subject, guarding himself. This has been declared by the awakened ones: The faithful should not give to dissenters food, etc., clothes, etc., nor should they exhort them (to give), nor do them service, always showing the highest respect. Thus I say.

5 Know the law declared by the wise Brahmana one should give to one of the same faith food, etc., clothes, etc., and one should exhort him (to give) or do him service, always showing the highest respect. Thus I say.

THIRD LESSON.

1 Some are awakened as middle-aged men and exert themselves well, having, as clever men, heard and received the word of the learned. The noble ones have impartially preached the law. Those who are awakened, should not wish for pleasure, nor do harm, nor desire (any forbidden things). A person who is without desires and does no harm unto any living beings in the whole world, is called by me 'unfettered.'

2 One free from passions understands perfectly the bright one, knowing birth in the upper and nether regions. 'Bodies increase through nourishment, they are frail in hardships.' See some whose organs are failing (give way to weakness).

A person who has no desires, cherishes pity. He who understands the doctrine of sin, is a mendicant who knows the time, the strength, the measure, the occasion, the conduct, the religious precept; he disowns all things not requisite for religious purposes, in time exerts himself, is under no obligations; he proceeds securely (on the road to final liberation) after having cut off both (love and hate).

3 A householder approaching a mendicant whose limbs tremble for cold, may say: O long-lived Sramana! are you not subject to the influences of your senses?

O long-lived householder! I am not subject to the influences of my senses. But I cannot sustain the feeling of cold. Yet it does not become me to kindle or light a fire [I.e. self-control.], that I may warm or heat myself; nor (to procure that comfort) through the order of others.

Perhaps after the mendicant has spoken thus, the other kindles or lights a fire that he may warm or heat himself. But the mendicant should well observe and understand this, that he may order him to show no such obsequiousness. Thus I say.

FOURTH LESSON.

1 A mendicant who is fitted out with three robes, and a bowl as fourth (article), will not think: I shall beg for a fourth robe. He should beg for (clothes) which he wants, and which are permitted by the religious code; he should wear the clothes in the same state in which they are given him; he should neither wash nor dye them, nor should he wear washed or dyed clothes, nor (should he) hide (his garments when passing) through other villages, being careless of dress. This is the whole duty* of one who wears clothes [The original has fire-body, which the faithful are enjoined not to injure; see lecture, lesson 4.]. But know further, that, after winter is gone and the hot season has come, one should leave off the used-up (garment of the three), being clad with an upper and under garment, or with the undermost garment, or with one gown, or with no clothes--aspiring to freedom from bonds [I.e. freedom from worldly cares and interest.]. Penance suits him. Knowing what the Revered One has declared, one should thoroughly and in all respects conform to it.

2 When it occurs to a blessed 4 mendicant that he suffers pain, and cannot bear the influence of cold, he should not try to obviate these trials, but stand fast in his own self which is endowed with all knowledge. 'For it is better for an ascetic that he should take poison.' Even thus he will in due time put an end to existence. This (way to escape trials) has been adopted by many who were free from delusion; it is good, wholesome, proper, beatifying, meritorious. Thus I say.

FIFTH LESSON.

1 A mendicant who is fitted out with two robes, and a bowl as third (article), will not think: I shall beg for a third robe. He should beg for robes which are allowed to be begged for; he should wear the clothes, etc. etc. This is the whole outfit of one who wears clothes. But know further, that after the winter is gone and the hot season has come, one should leave off the used-up garments; having left off the used-up garments, (one should) be clad with the undermost garment, with a gown, or with no clothes at all--aspiring to freedom from bonds. Penance suits him. Knowing what the Revered One has declared, one should thoroughly and in all respects conform to it.

2 When the thought occurs to a mendicant that through illness he is too weak, and not able to beg from house to house--and on his thus complaining a householder brings food, etc., obtained (without injuring life), and gives it him--then he should, after deliberation, say: O long-lived householder! it does not become me to eat or drink this food, etc., or (accept) anything else of the same kind.

3 A mendicant who has resolved, that he will, when sick, accept the assistance of fellow-ascetics in good health, when they offer (assistance) without being asked, and that vice versa he, when in health, will give assistance to sick fellow-ascetics, offering it without being asked--(he should not deviate from his resolution though he die for want of help).

4 Taking the vow to beg (food, etc.) for another (who is sick), and to eat (when sick) what is brought by another; taking the vow to beg, etc., and not to eat what is brought; taking the vow not to beg, etc., but to eat what is brought; taking the vow neither to beg, etc., nor to eat what is brought--(one should adhere to that vow). Practising thus the law as it has been declared, one becomes tranquil, averted from sin, guarded against the allurements of the senses. Even thus (though sick) he will in due time put an end to existence [As in the preceding lesson a man who cannot conquer his sensuality, is permitted to commit suicide (by hanging himself, etc.), in order to put an end to his trials and temptations, so in this lesson a man whose sickness prevents him from persevering in a life of austerities, is permitted to commit suicide by rejecting food and drink. This is called bhaktapana pratyakhyana mukti. It seems therefore to have been regarded as leading to final liberation (mukti).]. This (method) has been adopted by many who were free from delusion; it is good, wholesome, proper, beatifying, meritorious. Thus I say.

SIXTH LESSON.

1 A mendicant who is fitted out with one robe, and a bowl as second (article), will not think: I shall beg for a second robe. He should beg for such a robe only as is allowed to be begged for, 'and he should wear it in the same state as he receives it. This is, etc. (see lesson 4, § 1).

But when the hot season has come, one should leave off the used-up clothes; one should be clad with one or no garment--aspiring to freedom from bonds. Knowing what the Revered One, etc. (see lesson 5, § 1).

When the thought occurs to a mendicant: 'I am myself, alone; I have nobody belonging to me, nor do I belong to anybody,' then he should thoroughly know himself as standing alone--aspiring to freedom from bonds. Penance suits him. Knowing what the Revered One has declared, one should thoroughly and in all respects conform to it.

2 A male or female mendicant eating food etc. should not shift (the morsel) from the left jaw to the right jaw, nor from the right jaw to the left jaw, to get a fuller taste of it, not caring for the taste (of it)--aspiring to freedom from bonds. Penance suits him. Knowing what the Revered One has declared, one should thoroughly and in all respects conform to it.

3 If this thought occurs to a monk: 'I am sick and not able, at this time, to regularly mortify the flesh,' that monk should regularly reduce his food; regularly reducing his food, and diminishing his sins, 'he should take proper care of his body, being immovable like a beam; exerting himself he dissolves his body.'

4 Entering a village, or a scot-free town, or a town with an earth-wall, or a town with a small wall, or an isolated town, or a large town, or a sea-town, or a mine, or a hermitage, or the halting-places of processions, or caravans, or a capital--a monk should beg for straw; having begged for straw he should retire with it to a secluded spot. After having repeatedly examined and cleaned the ground, where there are no eggs, nor living beings, nor seeds, nor sprouts, nor dew, nor water, nor ants, nor mildew, nor waterdrops, nor mud, nor cobwebs--he should spread the straw on it. Then he should there and then effect (the religious death called) itvara [Itvara or ingitamarana consists in starving oneself, while keeping within a limited space. A religious death is usually permitted only to those who have during twelve years undergone preparatory penance, consisting chiefly in protracted periods of fasting. The scholiast says that in our case the itvara is not enjoined for sick persons who can no longer sustain austerities; but they should act as if they were to commit the itvara suicide, hoping that in five or six days the sickness would leave them, in which case they are to return to their former life. But if they should not get better but die, it is all for the best.].

5 This is the truth: speaking truth, free from passion, crossing (the samsara), abating irresoluteness, knowing all truth and not being known, leaving this frail body, overcoming all sorts of pains and troubles through trust in this (religion), he accomplishes this fearful (religious death). Even thus he will in due time put an end to existence. This has been adopted by many who were free from delusion; it is good, wholesome, proper, beatifying, meritorious. Thus I say.

SEVENTH LESSON.

1 To a naked monk the thought occurs: I can bear the pricking of grass, the influence of cold and heat, the stinging of flies and mosquitos; these and other various painful feelings I can sustain, but I cannot leave off the covering of the privities. Then he may cover his privities with a piece of cloth.

A naked monk who perseveres in this conduct, sustains repeatedly these and other various painful feelings: the grass pricks him, heat and cold attack him, flies and mosquitos sting him. A naked monk (should be) aspiring to freedom from bonds. Penance suits him. Knowing what the Revered One has declared, one should thoroughly and in all respects conform to it.

2 A monk who has come to any of the following resolutions,--having collected food, etc., I shall give of it to other monks, and I shall eat (what they have) brought; (or) having collected food, etc., I shall give of it to other monks, but I shall not eat (what they have) brought; (or) having collected food, etc., I shall not give of it to other monks, but I shall eat (what they have) brought; (or) having collected food, etc., I shall not give of it to other monks, nor eat (what they have) brought;

3 (or) I shall assist a fellow-ascetic with the remnants of my dinner, which is acceptable 1 and remained in the same state in which it was received, and I shall accept the assistance of fellow-ascetics as regards the remnants of their dinner, which is acceptable and remained in the same state in which it was received;--(that monk should keep these vows even if he should run the risk of his life)

4--aspiring to freedom from bonds. Penance suits him. Knowing what the Revered One has declared, one should thoroughly conform to it.

5 (The last two paragraphs of the last lesson are to be reproduced here.)

Thus I say.

EIGHTH LESSON.

1 The wise ones who attain in due order to one of the unerring states (in which suicide is prescribed), those who are rich in control and endowed with knowledge, knowing the incomparable (religious death, should continue their contemplation).

2 Knowing the twofold (obstacles, i.e. bodily and mental), the wise ones, having thoroughly learned the law, perceiving in due order (that the time for their death has come), get rid of karman.

3 Subduing the passions and living on little food, he should endure (hardships). If a mendicant falls sick, let him again take food.

4 He should not long for life, nor wish for death he should yearn after neither, life or death.

5 He who is indifferent and wishes for the destruction of karman, should continue his contemplation. Becoming unattached internally and externally, he should strive after absolute purity.

6 Whatever means one knows for calming one's own life, that a wise man should learn (i.e. practise) in order to gain time (for continuing penance).

7 In a village or in a forest, examining the ground and recognising it as free from living beings, the sage should

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spread the straw. [Here commences the description of the bhakta pratyakhyana marana, suicide by rejecting food.]

8 Without food he should lie down and bear the pains which attack him. He should not for too long time give way to worldly feelings which overcome him.

9 When crawling animals or such as live on high or below, feed on his flesh and blood, he should neither kill them nor rub (the wound).

10 Though these animals destroy the body, he should not stir from his position, After the asravas have ceased, he should bear (pains) as if he rejoiced in them.

11 When the bonds fall off, then he has accomplished his life. (We shall now describe) a more exalted (method 1) for a well-controlled and instructed monk.

12 This other law has been proclaimed by Gnatriputra: He should give up all motions except his own in the thrice-threefold way.

13 He should not lie on sprouts of grass, but inspecting the bare ground he should lie on it. Without any comfort and food, he should there bear pain.

14 When the sage becomes weak in his limbs, he should strive after calmness [He should not give way to melancholy thoughts.]. For he is blameless, who is well fixed and immovable (in his intention to die).

15 He should move to and fro (on his ground), contract and stretch (his limbs) for the benefit of the whole body; or (he should remain quiet as if he were) lifeless.

16 He should walk about, when tired of (lying), or stand with passive limbs; when tired of standing, he should sit down.

17 Intent on such an uncommon death, he should regulate the motions of his organs. Having attained a place swarming with insects, he should search for a clean spot.

18 He should not remain there whence sin would rise. He should raise himself above (sinfulness), and bear all pains.

19 And this is a still more difficult method 1, when one lives according to it: not to stir from one's place, while checking all motions of the body.

20 This is the highest law, exalted above the preceding method: Having examined a spot of bare ground he should remain there; stay O Brahmana!

21 Having attained a place free from living beings, he should there fix himself. He should thoroughly mortify his flesh, thinking: There are no obstacles in my body.

22 Knowing as long as he lives the dangers and troubles, the wise and restrained (ascetic) should bear them as being instrumental to the dissolution of the body.

23 He should not be attached to the transitory pleasures, nor to the greater ones; he should not nourish desire and greed, looking only for eternal praise.

24 He should be enlightened with eternal objects, and not trust in the delusive power of the gods; a Brahmana should know of this and cast off all inferiority.

25 Not devoted to any of the external objects he reaches the end of his life; thinking that patience is the highest good, he (should choose) one of (the described three) good methods of entering Nirvana. Thus I say.

End of the Seventh Lecture, called Liberation.

AKARANGA BOOK 1 8TH LECTURE,
(CALLED) THE PILLOW OF RIGHTEOUSNESS.

FIRST LESSON.

1 As I have heard it, I shall tell how the Venerable Ascetic, exerting himself and meditating, after having entered the order in that winter, wandered about*, 'I shall not cover myself with that robe,' only in that winter (he used it). He had crossed (the samsara) for the rest of his life. This (refusing of dress) is in accordance with his doctrine. [* Silanka remarks: 'This verse has not been explained by the author of the old tika. Why? Either because it offers no difficulty, or because it was wanting. Yet it is found in the Manuscripts. of the text alone. We do not exactly know the reason.' Which old tika is meant by Silanka we cannot tell with certainty. It scarcely can be the Kurni, for in the Bombay Manuscript. of it the text of the verse in question is giver, but no explanation beyond the words: esa pukkha, this is (given as an answer to) a question.]

2 More than four months many sorts of living beings gathered on his body, crawled about it, and caused pain there.

3 For a year and a month he did not leave off his robe. Since that time the Venerable One, giving up his robe, was a naked, world-relinquishing, houseless (sage).

4 Then he meditated (walking) with his eye fixed on a square space before him of the length of a man. Many people assembled, shocked at the sight; they struck him and cried.

5 Knowing (and renouncing) the female sex in mixed gathering places, he meditated, finding his way himself: I do not lead a worldly life.

6 Giving up the company of all householders whomsoever, he meditated. Asked, he gave no answer; he went, and did not transgress the right path.

7 For some it is not easy (to do what he did), not to answer those who salute; he was beaten with sticks, and struck by sinful people.

8 Disregarding slights difficult to bear, the Sage wandered about, (not attracted) by story-tellers, pantomimes, songs, fights at quarter-staff, and boxing-matches.

9 At that time the son of Gnatri saw without sorrow (or pleasure) people in mutual conversation. Gnatriputra obtained oblivion of these exquisite sorrows.

10 For more than a couple of years he led a religious life without using cold water; he realised singleness, guarded his body, had got intuition, and was calm.

11 Thoroughly knowing the earth-bodies and water-bodies and fire-bodies and wind-bodies, the lichens, seeds, and sprouts,

12 He comprehended that they are, if narrowly inspected, imbued with life, and avoided to injure them; he, the great Hero.

13 The immovable (beings) are changed to movable ones, and the movable beings to immovable ones; beings which are born in all states become individually sinners by their actions.

14 The Venerable One understands thus: he who is under the conditions (of existence), that fool suffers pain. Thoroughly knowing (karman), the Venerable One avoids sin.

15 The sage, perceiving the double (karman) [Present and future.], proclaims the incomparable activity [I.e. religious life.], he, the knowing one; knowing the current of worldliness, the current of sinfulness, and the impulse,

16 Practising the sinless abstinence from killing, he did no acts, neither himself nor with the assistance of others; he to whom women were known as the causes of all sinful acts, he saw (the true state of the world).

17 He did not use what had expressly been prepared for him 5; he well saw (that bondage comes) through action. Whatever is sinful, the Venerable One left that undone: he consumed clean food.

18 He did not use another's robe, nor does he eat out of another's vessel. Disregarding contempt, he went with indifference to places where food was prepared.

19 Knowing measure in eating and drinking, he was not desirous of delicious food, nor had he a longing for it. A sage should not rub his eyes nor scratch his body.

20 Looking a little sideward, looking a little behind, answering little when spoken to, he should walk attentively looking on his path.

21 When the cold season has half-way advanced, the houseless, leaving off his robe and stretching out his arms, should wander about, not leaning against a trunk.

22 This is the rule which has often been followed by the wise Brahmana, the Venerable One, who is free from attachment: thus proceed (the monks).

Thus I say.

THIRD LESSON.

1 Always well guarded, he bore the pains (caused by) grass, cold, fire, flies, and gnats; manifold pains.

2 He travelled in the pathless country of the Ladhas, in Vaggabhumi and Subbhabhumi 1; he used there miserable beds and miserable seats.

3 In Ladha (happened) to him many dangers. Many natives attacked him. Even in the faithful part of the rough country the dogs bit him, ran at him.

4 Few people kept off the attacking, biting dogs. Striking the monk, they cried 'Khukkhu,' and made the dogs bite him.

5 Such were the inhabitants. Many other mendicants, eating rough food in Vaggabhumi, and carrying about a strong pole or a stalk (to keep off the dogs), lived there.

6 Even thus armed they were bitten by the dogs, torn by the dogs. It is difficult to travel in Ladha.

7 Ceasing to use the stick (i.e. cruelty) against living beings, abandoning the care of the body, the houseless (Mahavira), the Venerable One, endures the thorns of the villages (i.e. the abusive language of the peasants), (being) perfectly enlightened.

8 As an elephant at the head of the battle, so was Mahavira there victorious. Sometimes he did not reach a village there in Ladha.

9 When he who is free from desires approached the village, the inhabitants met him on the outside, and attacked him, saying, 'Get away from here.'

10 He was struck with a stick, the fist, a lance, hit with a fruit, a clod, a potsherd. Beating him again and again, many cried.

11 When he once (sat) without moving his body, they cut his flesh 1, tore his hair under pains, or covered him with dust.

12 Throwing him up, they let him fall, or disturbed him in his religious postures; abandoning the care of his body, the Venerable One humbled himself and bore pain, free from desire.

13 As a hero at the head of the battle is surrounded on all sides, so was there Mahavira. Bearing all hardships, the Venerable One, undisturbed, proceeded (on the road to Nirvana).

This is the rule which has often been followed, etc.

FOURTH LESSON.

1 The Venerable One was able to abstain from indulgence of the flesh, though never attacked by diseases. Whether wounded or not wounded, he desired not medical treatment.

2 Purgatives and emetics, anointing of the body and bathing, shampooing and cleansing of the teeth do not behove him, after he learned (that the body is something unclean).

3 Being averse from the impressions of the senses, the Brahmana wandered about, speaking but little. Sometimes in the cold season the Venerable One was meditating in the shade.

4 In summer he exposes himself to the heat, he sits squatting in the sun; he lives on rough (food): rice, pounded jujube, and beans.

5 Using these three, the Venerable One sustained himself eight months. Sometimes the Venerable One did not drink for half a month or even for a month.

6 Or he did not drink for more than two months, or even six months, day and night, without desire (for drink). Sometimes he ate stale food.

7 Sometimes he ate only the sixth meal, or the eighth, the tenth, the twelfth; without desires, persevering in meditation.

8 Having wisdom, Mahavira committed no sin himself, nor did he induce others to do so, nor did he consent to the sins of others.

9 Having entered a village or a town, he begged for food which had been prepared for somebody else. Having got clean food, he used it, restraining the impulses.

10 When there were hungry crows, or thirsty beings stood in his way, where he begged, or when he saw them flying repeatedly down,

11 When a Brahmana or Sramana, a beggar or guest, a Kandala 1, a cat, or a dog stood in his way,

12 Without ceasing in his reflections, and avoiding to overlook them, the Venerable One slowly wandered about, and, killing no creatures, he begged for his food.

13 Moist or dry or cold food, old beans, old pap, or bad grain, whether he did or did not get such food, he was rich (in control).

14 And Mahavira meditated (persevering) in some posture, without the smallest motion; he meditated in mental concentration on (the things) above, below, beside, free from desires.

15 He meditated free from sin and desire, not attached to sounds or colours; though still an erring mortal (khadmastha), he wandered about, and never acted carelessly.

16 Himself understanding the truth and restraining the impulses for the purification of the soul, finally liberated, and free from delusion, the Venerable One was well guarded during his whole life.

This is the rule which has been followed, etc.

End of the Ninth Lecture, called the Pillow of Righteousness.

End of the First Book.

THE AKARANGA SUTRA,
BOOK 2
FIRST PART.

AKARANGA BOOK 2 FIRST LECTURE,
CALLED BEGGING OF FOOD.

FIRST LESSON.

1 When a male or a female mendicant, having entered the abode of a householder with the intention of collecting alms, recognises food, drink, dainties, and spices as affected by, or mixed up with, living beings, mildew, seeds or sprouts, or wet with water, or covered with dust--either in the hand or the pot of another [By the other is meant the householder or the giver (datri).]--they should not, even if they can get it, accept of such food, thinking that it is impure and unacceptable.

2 But if perchance they accept of such food, under pressing circumstances, they should go to a secluded spot, a garden, or a monk's hall--where there are no eggs, nor living beings, nor sprouts, nor dew, nor water, nor ants, nor mildew, nor drops (of water), nor mud, nor cobwebs--and rejecting (that which is affected by), and cleaning that which is mixed up (with living beings, etc.), they should circumspectly eat or drink it. But with what they cannot eat or drink, they should resort to a secluded spot, and leave it there on a heap of ashes or bones, or rusty things, or chaff, or cowdung, or on any such-like place which they have repeatedly examined and cleaned.

3 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept as alms whatever herbs they recognise, on examining them, as still whole, containing their source of life, not split longwise or broadwise, and still alive, fresh beans, living and not broken; for such food is impure and unacceptable.

4 But when they recognise after examination that those herbs are no more whole, do not contain their source of life, are split longwise or broadwise, and no more alive, fresh beans, lifeless and broken, then they may accept them, if they get them; for they are pure and acceptable.

5 A monk or nun on a begging-tour should not accept as alms whatever flattened grains, grains containing much chaff, or half-roasted spikes of wheat, etc., or flour of wheat, etc., or

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rice or flour of rice, they recognise as only once worked; for such food is impure and unacceptable.

6 But when they recognise these things as more than once worked, as twice, thrice worked, then they may accept them, if they get them; for they are pure and acceptable.

7 A monk or a nun desiring to enter the abode of a householder for collecting alms, should not enter or leave it together with a heretic or a householder; or a monk who avoids all forbidden food, etc., together with one who does not.

8 A monk or a nun entering or leaving the out-of-door places for religious practices or for study 1 should not do so together with a heretic or a householder; or a monk who avoids all forbidden food, together with one who does not.

9 A monk or a nun wandering from village to village should not do so together with a heretic or a householder; or a monk who avoids all forbidden food, together with one who does not.

10 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not give, immediately or mediately, food, etc., to a heretic or a householder; or a monk who avoids all forbidden food, to one who does not.

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept food, etc., from a householder whom they know to give out of respect for a Nirgrantha, in behalf of a fellow-ascetic, food, etc., which he has bought or stolen or taken, though it was not to be taken nor given, but was taken by force, by acting sinfully towards all sorts of living beings; for such-like food, etc., prepared by another man or by the giver himself, brought out of the house or not brought out of the house, belonging to the giver or not belonging to him, partaken or tasted of, or not partaken or tasted of, is impure and unacceptable.

11 In this precept substitute for 'on behalf of one fellow-ascetic,' (2) on behalf of many fellow-ascetics, (3) on behalf of one female fellow-ascetic, (4) on behalf of many female fellow-ascetics; so that there will be four analogous precepts.

12 A monk or a nun should not accept of food, etc., which they know has been prepared by the householder for the sake of many Sramanas and Brahmanas, guests, paupers, and beggars, after he has counted them, acting sinfully towards all sorts of living beings; for such food, whether it be tasted of or not, is impure and unacceptable.

13 A monk or a nun should not accept of food, etc., if the said food, etc., has been prepared by the giver himself, has been brought out of the house, does not belong to the giver, has not been partaken or tasted of; for such food, etc., is impure and unacceptable; but if the food, etc., has been prepared by another person, has been brought out of the house, belongs to the giver, has been partaken or tasted of, one may accept it; for it is pure and acceptable.

14 A monk or a nun wishing to enter the abode of a householder with the intention of collecting alms, should not, for the sake of food or drink, enter or leave such always liberal, always open houses, where they always give a morsel, always the best morsel, always a part of the meal, always nearly the half of it.

This certainly is the whole duty of a monk or a nun in which one should, instructed in all its meanings and endowed with bliss, always exert oneself.

Thus I say.

SECOND LESSON.

1 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept food, etc., in the following case: when, on the eighth or paushadha day, on the beginning of a fortnight, of a month, of two, three, four, five, or six months, or on the days of the seasons, of the junction of the seasons, of the intervals of the seasons, many Sramanas and Brahmanas, guests, paupers, and beggars are entertained with food, etc., out of one or two or three or four vessels, pots, baskets, or heaps of food; such-like food which has been prepared by the giver, etc., (all down to) not tasted of, is impure and unacceptable. But if it is prepared by another person, etc. (see first lesson, § 13), one may accept it; for it is pure and acceptable.

2 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour may accept food, etc., from unblamed, uncensured families, to wit, noble families, distinguished families, royal families, families belonging to the line of Ikshvaku, of Hari, cowherds' families, Vaisya families, barbers' families, carpenters' families, takurs' families, weavers' families; for such food, etc., is pure and acceptable.

3 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept food, etc., in the following case: when in assemblies, or during offerings to the manes, or on a festival of Indra or Skanda or Rudra or Mukunda or demons or Yakshas or the snakes, or on a festival in honour of a tomb, or a shrine, or a tree, or a hill, or a cave, or a well, or a tank, or a pond, or a river, or a lake, or the sea, or a mine--when on such-like various festivals many Sramanas and Brahmanas, guests, paupers, and beggars are entertained with food, etc. (all as in § 1, down to) acceptable.

4 But when he perceives that all have received their due share, and are enjoying their meal, he should address the householder's wife or sister or daughter-in-law or nurse or male or female servant or slave and say: 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) will you give me something to eat?' After these words of the mendicant, the other may bring forth food, etc., and give it him. Such food, etc., whether he beg for it or the other give it, he may accept; for it is pure and acceptable.

5 When a monk or a nun knows that at a distance of more than half a yogana a festive entertainment is going on, they should not resolve to go there for the sake of the festive entertainment.

6 When a monk hears that the entertainment is given in an eastern or western or southern or northern place, he should go respectively to the west or east or north or south, being quite indifferent (about the feast); wherever there is a festive entertainment, in a village or scot-free town, etc. (see 1, 7, 6, § 4), he should not go there for the sake of the festive entertainment.

The Kevalin assigns as the reason for this precept, that if the monk eats food, etc., which has been given him on such an occasion, he will incur the sin of one who uses what 1 has been prepared for him, or is mixed up with living beings, or has been bought or stolen or taken, though it was not to be taken, nor was it given, but taken by force.

7 A layman might, for the sake of a mendicant, make small doors large, or large ones small; put beds from a level position into a sloping one, or from a sloping position into a level one; place the beds out of the draught or in the draught; cutting and clipping the grass outside or within the upasraya, spread a couch for him, (thinking that) this mendicant is without means for a bed. Therefore should a well-controlled Nirgrantha not resolve to go to any festival which is preceded or followed by a feast.

This certainly is the whole duty, etc. (see end of lesson).

Thus I say.

THIRD LESSON.

1 When he has eaten or drunk at a festive entertainment, he might vomit (what he has eaten), or not well digest it; or some other bad disease or sickness might befall him.

The Kevalin says this is the reason:

A mendicant, having drunk various liquors, together with the householder or his wife, monks or nuns, might not find the (promised) resting-place on leaving the scene of entertainment and looking out for it; or in the resting-place he may get into mixed company; in the absence of his mind or in his drunkenness he may lust after a woman or a eunuch; approaching the mendicant (they will say): O long-lived Sramana! (let us meet) in the garden, or in the sleeping-place, in the night or in the twilight.' Luring him thus by his sensuality (she says): Let us proceed to enjoy the pleasures of love.' He might go to her, though he knows that it should not be done.

2 These are the causes to sin, they multiply continuously. Therefore should a well-controlled Nirgrantha not resolve to go to any festival which is preceded or followed by a feast.

3 A monk or a nun, hearing or being told of some festivity, might hasten there, rejoicing inwardly: 'There will be an entertainment, sure enough!' It is impossible to get there from other families alms which are acceptable and given out of respect for the cloth 1, and to eat the meal. As this would lead to sin, they should not do it. But they should enter there, and getting from other families their alms, should eat their meal.

4 A monk or a nun, knowing that in a village or a scot-free town, etc. (see 1, 7, 6, § 4), an entertainment will be given, should not resolve to go to that village, etc., for the sake of the entertainment. The Kevalin assigns as the reason herefore: When a man goes to a much-frequented and vulgar entertainment somebody's foot treads on his foot, somebody's hand moves his hand, somebody's bowl clashes against his bowl, somebody's head comes in collision with his head, somebody's body pushes his body, or somebody beats him with a stick or a bone or a fist or a clod, or sprinkles him with cold water, or covers him with dust; or he eats unacceptable food, or he receives what should be given to others. Therefore should a well-controlled Nirgrantha not resolve to go to a much-frequented and vulgar entertainment to partake of it.

5 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept such food, etc,, about the acceptability or unacceptability of which his (or her) mind has some doubts or misgivings for such food, etc.

6 When a monk or a nun wishes to enter the abode of a householder, they should do so with the complete outfit.

7 A monk or a nun entering or leaving the out-of-door places for religious practices or study, should do so with the complete outfit.

8 A monk or a nun wandering from village to village should do so with the complete outfit.

9 A monk or a nun should not, with the complete outfit, enter or leave the abode of a householder to collect alms, or the out-of-door places for religious practices and study, or wander from village to village on perceiving that a strong and widely-spread rain pours down, or a strong and widely-spread mist is coming on, or a high wind raises much dust, or many flying insects are scattered about and fall down.

10 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept food, etc., in the houses of Kshatriyas, kings, messengers, and relations of kings, whether they are inside or outside, or invite them; for such food, etc., is impure and unacceptable. Thus I say.

FOURTH LESSON.

1 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not resolve to go to a festival, preceded or followed by an entertainment, to partake of it, when they know that there will be served up chiefly meat or fish or roasted slices of meat or fish; nor to a wedding breakfast in the husband's house or in that of the bride's father; nor to a funeral dinner or to a family dinner where something is served up,--if on their way there, there are many living beings, many seeds, many sprouts, much dew, much water, much mildew, many drops (of water), much dust, and many cobwebs; or if there have arrived or will arrive many Sramanas and Brahmanas, guests, paupers, and beggars, and if it will be a crowded assembly, so that a wise man may not enter or leave it, or learn there the sacred texts, to question about them, to repeat them, to consider them, to think about the substance of the law.

2 A monk or a nun may go to such an entertainment (as described in the preceding Sara), provided that on their way there, there are few living beings, few seeds, etc.; that no Sramanas and Brahmanas, etc., have arrived or will arrive; that it is not a crowded assembly, so that a wise man may enter or leave, etc. [This precept applies, according to the commentator, only to sick monks, or such as can get nothing elsewhere.]

3 A monk or a nun desirous to enter the abode of a householder, should not do so, when they see that the milch cows are being milked, or the food, etc., is being cooked, and that it is not yet distributed. Perceiving this, they should step apart and stay where no people pass or see them. But when they conceive that the milch cows are milked, the dinner prepared and distributed, then they may circumspectly enter or leave the householder's abode for the sake of alms.

4 Some of the mendicants say to those who follow the same rules of conduct, live (in the same place), or wander from village to village: 'This is indeed a small village, it is too populous, nor is it large; reverend gentlemen, go to the outlying villages to beg alms [The just arrived monks should do as they are bidden.].'

Some mendicant may have there kinsmen or relations, e. g. a householder or his wife, or daughters, or daughters-in-law, or nurses, or male and female slaves or servants. Such families with which he is connected by kindred or through marriage, he intends to visit before (the time of begging): 'I shall get there (he thinks) food or dainties or milk or thick sour milk or fresh butter or ghee or sugar or oil or honey or meat or liquor, a sesamum dish 3, or raw sugar, or a meal of parched wheat 4, or a meal of curds and sugar with spices 5; after having eaten and drunk, and having cleaned and rubbed the alms-bowl, I shall, together with other mendicants, enter or leave the abode of a householder to collect alms.' As this would be sinful, he should not do so.

5 But, at the proper time, entering there with the other mendicants, he may there in these or other families accept alms which are acceptable and given out of respect for his cloth, and eat his meal.

This certainly is the whole duty, etc. (see end of lesson).

Thus I say.

FIFTH LESSON.

1 When a monk or a nun on entering the abode of a householder sees that the first portion of the meal is being thrown away 1 or thrown down, or taken away, or distributed, or eaten, or put off, or has already been eaten or removed; that already other Sramanas and Brahmanas, guests, paupers, and beggars go there in great haste; (they might think), 'Hallo! I too shall go there in haste.' As this would be sinful, they should not do so.

2 When a monk or a nun on a begging-tour comes upon walls or gates, or bolts or holes to fit them, they should, in case there be a byway, avoid those (obstacles), and not go on straight.

The Kevalin says: This is the reason: Walking there, he might stumble or fall down; when he stumbles or falls down, his body might become contaminated with faeces, urine, phlegmatic humour, mucus, saliva, bile, matter, semen, or blood. And if his body has become soiled, he should not wipe or rub or scratch or clean [In honour of the gods.] or warm or dry it on the bare ground or wet earth [or dusty earth] on a rock or a piece of clay containing life, or timber inhabited by worms, or anything containing eggs, living beings, etc. (down to) cobwebs; but he should first beg for some straw or leaves, wood or a potsherd, which must be free from dust, resort with it to a secluded spot, and on a heap of ashes or bones, etc. (see 2, 1, 1, § 2), which he has repeatedly examined and cleaned, he should circumspectly wipe or rub, warm or dry (his body).

3 When a monk or a nun on a begging-tour perceives a vicious cow coming towards them, or a vicious buffalo coming towards them, or a vicious man, horse, elephant, lion,

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tiger, wolf, panther, bear, hyena, sarabha, shakal, cat, dog, boar, fox, leopard coming towards them, they should, in case there be a byway, circumspectly avoid them, and not walk on straight.

4 When a monk or a nun on a begging-tour comes on their way upon a pit, pillar, thorns, or unsafe, marshy or uneven ground, or mud, they should, in case there be a byway, avoid these (obstacles), and not walk on straight.

When a monk or a nun on a begging-tour perceives that the entrance of a householder's abode is secured by a branch of a thorn bush, they should not, without having previously got the (owner's) permission, and having examined and swept (the entrance), make it passable or enter and leave (the house). But they may circumspectly do so, after having got the (owner's) permission, and having examined and swept it.

5 When a monk or a nun on a begging-tour knows that a Sramana or a Brahmana, a guest, pauper or beggar has already entered (the house), they should not stand in their sight or opposite the door 1.

The Kevalin says: This is the reason: Another, on seeing him, might procure and give him food, etc. Therefore it has been declared to the mendicants: This is the statement, this is the reason, this is the order, that he should not stand in the other mendicants' sight or opposite the door.

Knowing this, he should go apart and stay where no people pass or see him. Another man may bring and give him food, etc., while he stays where no people pass or see him, and say unto him: 'O long-lived Sramana! this food, etc., has been given for the sake of all of you; eat it or divide it among you.' Having silently accepted the gift, he might think: Well, this is just (enough) for me!' As this would be sinful, he should not do so.

Knowing this, he should join the other beggars, and after consideration say unto them: 'O long-lived Sramanas! this food, etc., is given for the sake of all of you; eat it or divide it among you.' After these words another might answer him: 'O long-lived Sramana! distribute it yourself.' Dividing the food, etc., he should not (select) for himself too great a portion, or the vegetables, or the conspicuous things, or the savoury things, or the delicious things, or the nice things, or the big things; but he should impartially divide it, not being eager or desirous or greedy or covetous (of anything). When he thus makes the division, another might say: 'O long-lived Sramana! do not divide (the food); but let us, all together, eat and drink.' When he thus eats, he should not select for himself too great a portion, etc.; but should eat and drink alike with all, not being desirous, etc.

6 When a monk or a nun on a begging-tour perceives that a Sramana or Brahmana, a beggar or guest has already entered the house, they should not overtake them and address (the householder) first. Knowing this, they should go apart and stay where no people pass or see them. But when they perceive that the other has been sent away or received alms, and has returned, they may circumspectly enter the house and address the householder.

This certainly is the whole duty, etc.

Thus I say.

SIXTH LESSON.

1 When a monk or a nun on a begging-tour perceives that many hungry animals have met and come together in search of food, e. g. those of the chicken-kind or those of the pig-kind, or that crows have met and come together, where an offering is thrown on the ground, they should, in case there be a byway, avoid them and not go on straight.

2 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not stand leaning against the door-post of the householder's abode, or his sink or spitting-pot, nor in sight of, or opposite to his bathroom or privy; nor should they contemplate a loophole or a mended spot or a fissure (of the house) or the bathing-house, showing in that direction with an arm or pointing with a finger, bowing up and down.

3 Nor should they beg, pointing with a finger at the householder, or moving him with a finger, or threatening him with a finger, or scratching him with a finger, or praising him, or using coarse language.

4 If he sees somebody eating, eg. the householder or his wife, etc., he should after consideration say: 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) will you give me some of that food?' After these words the other might wash or wipe his hand or pot or spoon or plate with cold or hot water 1. He should after consideration say: 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) do not wash or wipe your hand or pot or spoon or plate! If you want to give me something, give it as it is!' After these words the other might give him a share, having washed or wiped his hand, etc., with cold or hot water. But he should not accept anything out of such a hand, etc., which has been before treated thus; for it is impure and unacceptable.

5 It is also to be known that food, etc., is impure and unacceptable, which is given with a wet hand, though the hand be not purposely wetted.

6 The same rule holds good with regard to a moistened hand, etc., and a dusty hand, etc., and a hand which is soiled with clay, dew, orpiment, vermilion, realgar, collyrium, white chalk, alum, rice-flour, kukkusa, ground drugs.

7 It is also to be known that he may accept such food, etc., which is given with a soiled hand, etc., to one similarly soiled (i.e. with what one is to receive), or to one unsoiled, with hand similarly soiled; for such food, etc., is pure and acceptable.

8 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept flattened grains, grains containing much chaff, etc. (see 2, 1, 1, § 5), which a layman, for the sake of the mendicant, has ground 1, grinds, or will grind, has winnowed, winnows, or will winnow on a rock or a piece of clay containing life, etc. (see 2, 1, 5, § 2, all down to) cobwebs; for such large, parched grains, etc., are impure and unacceptable.

9 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept fossil salt or sea salt which a householder, for the sake of the mendicant, has ground or pounded, grinds or pounds, will grind or pound on a rock or a piece of clay containing life, etc.; for such-like fossil salt or sea salt is impure and unacceptable.

10 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept food, etc., which is prepared over the fire; for such food is impure and unacceptable. The Kevalin says: This is the reason: A layman will kill the fire-bodies, by wetting or moistening, wiping or rubbing, throwing up or turning down the food, etc., for the sake of the mendicant. Hence it has been declared to the mendicants: This is the statement, this is the reason, this is the order, that they should not accept food, etc., which has been prepared over the fire, etc.

This certainly is the whole duty, etc.

Thus I say.

SEVENTH LESSON.

1 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept food, etc., which has been placed on a post or pillar or beam or scaffold or loft 1 or platform or roof or some such-like elevated place; for such food fetched from above is impure and unacceptable. The Kevalin says: This is the reason: The layman might fetch and erect a stool or a bench or a ladder or a handmill, get upon it, and getting upon it fall or tumble down. Thus he might hurt his foot or arm or breast or belly or head or some other part of his body; or he might kill or frighten or bruise or smash or crush or afflict or pain or dislocate all sorts of living beings. Therefore he should not accept such-like food, etc., fetched from above.

2 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept food, etc., which a layman, for the sake of the mendicant, has taken from a granary or vault by contorting himself up and down and horizontally; thinking that such-like food is brought from underground.

3 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept food, etc., which is kept in earthenware. The Kevalin says: This is the reason: The layman might, for the sake of the mendicant, break the earthen vessel containing the food, etc., and thereby injure the earth-body; in the same way he might injure the fire-body, the wind-body, plants and animals; by putting it again (in earthenware), he commits the pakkhakamma sin. Hence it has been said to the mendicant, etc., that he should not accept food, etc., which is put in earthenware.

4 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept food, etc., placed on the earth-body, the wind-body, the fire-body, for such food is impure and unacceptable. The Kevalin says: This is the reason: A layman might, for the sake of the mendicant, stir or brighten the fire, and taking the food, etc., down from it, might give it to the mendicant. Hence it has been said, etc., that he should accept no such food.

5 When a monk or a nun on a begging-tour sees that a layman might, for the sake of the mendicant, cool too hot food, etc., by blowing or fanning with a winnowing basket or fan or a palm leaf or a branch or a part of a branch or a bird's tail or a peacock's tail or a cloth or a corner of a cloth or the hand or the mouth, they should, after consideration, say (to the householder or his wife): 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) do not blow or fan the hot food, etc., with a winnowing basket, etc.; but if you want to give it me, give it as it is.' After these words the other might give it after having blown or fanned it with a winnowing basket, etc.; such-like food they should not accept, because it is impure and unacceptable.

6 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept food, etc., which is placed on vegetable or animal matter 1; for such food is impure and unacceptable.

7 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept water which has been used for watering flour or sesamum or rice, or any other such-like water which has been recently used for washing, which has not acquired a new taste, nor altered its taste or nature, nor has been strained; for such-like water is impure and unacceptable. But if it has long ago been used for washing, has acquired a new taste, has altered its taste or nature, and has been strained, it may be accepted, for it is pure and acceptable.

8 When a monk or a nun on a begging-tour finds water used for washing sesamum, chaff or barley, or rainwater or sour gruel or pure water, they should, after consideration, say (to the householder or his wife): 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) will you give me some of this water?' Then the other may answer him: 'O long-lived Sramana! take it yourself by drawing it with, or pouring it in, your bowl!' Such-like water, whether taken by himself or given by the other, he may accept.

9 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept such water as has been taken from the bare ground, etc. (see 2, 1, 5, § 2, all down to) cobwebs, or water which the layman fetches in a wet or moist or dirty vessel, mixing it with cold water.

This certainly is the whole duty, etc.

Thus I say.

EIGHTH LESSON.

1 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept juice of mangos, inspissated juice of mangos, juice of wood-apples, citrons, grapes, wild dates, pomegranates, cocoa-nuts, bamboos, jujubes, myrobalans, tamarinds, or any such-like liquor containing particles of the shell or skin or seeds, which liquor the layman, for the sake of the mendicant, pressed, strained, or filtered through a basket 1, cloth, or a cow's tail; for such liquor is impure and unacceptable.

2 When a monk or a nun on a begging-tour smells, in travellers' houses or garden houses or householders' houses or maths, the scent of food or drink or sweet scents, they should not smell them, being indifferent against smell, and not eager or desirous or greedy or covetous of the pleasant smell.

3 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept raw things which are not yet modified by instruments 1, as bulbous roots, growing in water or dry ground, mustard stalks; for they are impure and unacceptable. The same holds good with regard to long pepper, ground long pepper, common pepper, ground common pepper, ginger or ground ginger.

4 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept such raw fruits which are not yet modified by instruments, as those of Mango, Amrataka, Ghigghira [Name of a shrub.], Surabhi 3, Sallaki [Boswellia Thurifera.]; for they, etc.

5 The same holds good with regard to raw shoots which, etc., as those of Asvattha, Nyagrodha, Pilamkhu 5, Niyura [Cedrela Toona.], Sallaki.

6 The same holds good with regard to raw berries which, etc., as those of Kapittha [The wood-apple tree, Feronia Elephantum.], pomegranate, or Pippala.

7 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept raw, powdered fruits which are not well ground and still contain small seeds, as those of Umbara, Pilamkhu, Nyagrodha, and Asvattha; for etc.

8 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept unripe wild rice, dregs, honey, liquor, ghee, or sediments of liquor, if these things be old or if living beings are engendered or grow or thrive in them, or are not taken out, or killed or destroyed in them.

9 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept any such-like raw plants 1 as Ikshumeru, Ankakarelu, Kaseru, Samghatika, Putialu.

10 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept any such-like (vegetables) as Nymphaea or stalk of Nymphaea or the bulb of Nelumbium or the upper part or the filament of Lotus or any part of the plant.

11 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept such-like raw substances as seeds or sprouts, growing on the top or the root or the stem or the knots (of a plant), likewise the pulp or blossoms of the plantain, cocoa-nut, wild date, and palmyra trees.

12 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept any such-like raw unmodified substances as sugar-cane, which is full of holes, or withering or peeling off or corroded by wolves; or the points of reeds or the pulp of plantains.

13 The same holds good with regard to garlic or its leaves or stalk or bulb or integument.

14 Likewise with regard to cooked fruits of Atthiya [A certain tree.], Tinduka [Diospyros Glutinosa.], Vilva [Aegle Marmelos], Sriparni [Pistia Stratiotes.].

15 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept such raw, unmodified substances as corn, clumps of corn, cakes of corn, sesamum, ground sesamum, or cakes of sesamum.

This is the whole duty, etc.

Thus I say.

NINTH LESSON.

1 In the east or west or south or north, there are some faithful householders, etc., (all down to) servants who will speak thus: 'It is not meet that these illustrious, pious, virtuous, eloquent, restrained, controlled, chaste ascetics, who have ceased from sensual intercourse, should eat or drink food, etc., which is adhakarmika 1; let us give to the ascetics all food, etc., that is ready for our use, and let us, afterwards, prepare food for our own use.' Having heard such talk, the mendicant should not accept such-like food, etc., for it is impure and unacceptable.

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2 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour or in their residence or on a pilgrimage from village to village, who know that in a village or scot-free town, etc., dwell a mendicant's nearer or remoter relations--viz. a householder or his wife, etc.--should not enter or leave such houses for the sake of food or drink. The Kevalin says: This is the reason: Seeing him, the other might, for his sake, procure or prepare food, etc. Hence it has been said to the mendicant, etc., that he should not enter or leave such houses for the sake of food or drink.

Knowing this, he should go apart and stay where no people pass or see him. In due time he may enter other houses, and having begged for alms which are acceptable and given out of respect for his cloth, he may eat his dinner. If the other has, on the mendicant's timely entrance, procured or prepared food, etc., which is adhakarmika, he might silently examine it, and think: 'Why should I abstain from what has been brought.' As this would be sinful, he should not do so. But after consideration he should say: 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) as it is not meet that I should eat or drink food, etc., which is adhakarmika, do not procure or prepare it.' If after these words the other brings and gives him adhakarmika food which he has prepared, he should not accept such-like food, etc., for it is impure and unacceptable.

3 When a monk or a nun on a begging-tour sees that meat or fish is being roasted, or oil cakes, for the sake of a guest, are being prepared, they should not, quickly approaching, address the householder; likewise if the food is prepared for the sake of a sick person.

4 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour might, of the received quantity of food, eat only the sweet-smelling parts and reject the bad-smelling ones. As this would be sinful, they should not do so; but they should consume everything, whether it be sweet smelling or bad smelling, and reject nothing.

5 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour might, of the received quantity of drink, imbibe only the well-flavoured part, and reject the astringent part. As this would be sinful, they should not do so; but they should consume everything, whether it be well flavoured or astringent, and reject nothing.

6 A monk or a nun, having received a more than sufficient quantity of food, might reject (the superfluous part) without having considered or consulted fellow-ascetics living in the neighbourhood, who follow the same rules of conduct, are agreeable and not to be shunned; as this would be sinful, they should not do so. Knowing this, they should go there and after consideration say: 'O long-lived Sramanas! this food, etc., is too much for me, eat it or drink it!' After these words the other might say: 'O long-lived Sramana! we shall eat or drink as much of this food or drink as we require; or, we require the whole, we shall eat or drink the whole.'

7 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept food, etc., which for the sake of another has been put before the door, if the householder has not permitted him to do so, or he gives it him; for such food, etc. But on the contrary he may accept it.

This is the whole duty, etc.

Thus I say.

TENTH LESSON.

1 A single mendicant, having collected alms for many, might, without consulting his fellow-ascetics, give them to those whom he list; as this would be sinful, he should not do so. Taking the food, he should go there (where his teacher etc. is) and speak thus: 'O long-lived Sramana! there are near or remote (spiritual) relations of mine: a teacher, a sub-teacher, a religious guide, a Sthavira, a head of a Gana, a Ganadhara, a founder of a Gana; forsooth, I shall give it them.' The other may answer him: 'Well now, indeed, O long-lived one! give such a portion!' As much as the other commands, thus much he should give; if the other commands the whole, he should give the whole.

2 A single mendicant, having collected agreeable food, might cover it with distasteful food, thinking: 'The teacher or sub-teacher, etc., seeing what I have received, might take it himself; indeed, I shall not give anything to anybody!' As this would be sinful, he should not do so.

Knowing this, he should go there (where the other mendicants are), should put the vessel in his out-stretched hand, show it (with the words): Ah, this! ah, this!' and hide nothing.

3 A single mendicant, having received some food, might eat what is good, and bring what is discoloured and tasteless; as this would be sinful, he should not do so.

4 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept any part of the sugar-cane 1, whether small or large, pea-pods, seed-pods, of which articles a small part only can be eaten, and the greater part must be rejected; for such things are impure and unacceptable.

5 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept meat or fish containing many bones, so that only a part of it can be eaten and the greater part must be rejected; for such meat or fish, etc., is impure and unacceptable.

6 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour may be invited to meat or fish containing many bones, (by the householder who addresses him thus): 'O long-lived Sramana! will you accept meat with many bones?' Hearing such a communication, he should say, after consideration: 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) it is not meet for me to accept meat with many bones; if you want to give me a portion of whatever size, give it me; but not the bones!' If after these words the other (i.e. the householder) should fetch meat containing many bones, put it in a bowl and return with it, (the mendicant) should not accept such a bowl, whether out of the other's hand or a vessel [They are detailed in the original: amtarukkhuyam, a piece between two knots; ukkhugamdiyam, a piece containing a knot; ukkhukoyagam (?), ukkhumeragam, top of a stalk; ukkhusalagam, long leaf; ukkhudalagam, fragment of a leaf.]; for it is impure and unacceptable. But if he has inadvertently accepted it, he should not say: 'No, away, take it!' Knowing this, he should go apart, and in a garden or an upasraya, where there are few eggs, etc., (all down t o) cobwebs, eat the meat or fish, and taking the bones, he should resort to a secluded spot and leave them on a heap of ashes, etc. (see 2, 1, 1, § 2).

7 If a householder should fetch fossil salt or sea salt, put it in a bowl and return with it, a monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept it out of the other's hand or vessel; for, etc.

But if he has inadvertently accepted it, he should return with it to the householder, if he is not yet too far away, and say, after consideration: 'Did you give me this with your full knowledge or without it?' He might answer: I did give it without my full knowledge; but indeed, O long-lived one! I now give it you; consume it or divide it (with others)!'

Then being permitted by, and having received it from, the householder, he should circumspectly eat it or drink it, and what he cannot eat or drink he should share with his fellow-ascetics in the neighbourhood, who follow the same rules of conduct, are agreeable, and not to be shunned; but if there are no fellow-ascetics, the same should be done as in case one has received too much food.

This is the whole duty, etc.

Thus I say.

ELEVENTH LESSON.

1 Some mendicants say unto (others) who follow the same rules of conduct, or live in the same place, or wander from village to village, if they have received agreeable food and another mendicant falls sick [This is the way in which the commentator construes the sentence. There is some confusion in the text, which cannot easily be removed.]: 'Take it! give it him! if the sick mendicant will not eat it, thou mayst eat it.' But he (who is ordered to bring the food) thinking, 'I shall eat it myself,' covers it and shows it (saying): This is the lump of food, it is rough to the taste, it is pungent, it is bitter, it is astringent, it is sour, it is sweet; there is certainly nothing in it fit for a sick person.' As this would be sinful, he should not do so. But he should show him which parts are not fit for a sick person (saying): 'This particle is pungent, this one bitter, this one astringent, this one sour, this one sweet.'

2 Some mendicants say unto (others) who follow the same rules of conduct, or live in the same place, or wander from village to village, if they have received agreeable food and another mendicant falls sick: 'Take it! give it him! if the mendicant will not eat it, bring it to us!' 'If nothing prevents me, I shall bring it.' (Then he might act as stated in § 1, which would be sinful.)

3 For the avoidance of these occasions to sin there are seven rules for begging food and as many for begging drink, to be known by the mendicants.

Now, this is the first rule for begging food. Neither hand nor vessel are wet 1: with such a hand or vessel he may accept as pure, food, etc., for which he himself begs or which the other gives him. That is the first rule for begging food.

4 Now follows the second rule for begging food. The hand and the vessel are wet. The rest as in the preceding rule. That is the second rule for begging food.

5 Now follows the third rule for begging food. In the east, etc., there are several faithful householders, etc., (all down to) servants: they have put (food) in some of their various vessels, as a pan, a pot, a winnowing basket, a basket, a precious vessel. Now (the mendicant) should again know: is the hand not wet and the vessel wet; or the hand wet and the vessel not wet? If he collect alms with an alms-bowl or with his hand, he should say, after consideration: 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) with your not-wet hand, or with your wet vessel, put (alms) in this my bowl, or hand, and give it me!' Such-like food, for which he himself begs or which the other gives him, he may accept; for it is pure and acceptable. That is the third rule for begging food.

6 Now follows the fourth rule for begging food. A monk or a nun may accept flattened grains, etc. (cf. 2, 1, 1, § 5), for which they beg themselves or which the other gives them, if it be such as to require little cleaning or taking out (of chaff); for it is pure, etc. That is the fourth rule for begging food.

7 Now follows the fifth rule for begging food. A monk or a nun may accept food which is offered on a plate or a copper cup or any vessel, if the moisture on the hands of the giver is almost dried up; for, etc. That is the fifth rule for begging food.

8 Now follows the sixth rule for begging food. A monk or a nun may accept food which had been taken up from the ground, either taken up for one's own sake or accepted for the sake of somebody else, whether it be placed in a vessel or in the hand; for, etc. That is the sixth rule for begging food.

9 Now follows the seventh rule for begging food. A monk or a nun may accept food of which only a part may be used, and which is not wanted by bipeds, quadrupeds, Sramanas, Brahmanas, guests, paupers, and beggars, whether they beg for it themselves, or the householder gives it them. That is the seventh rule for begging food.

10 These are the seven rules for begging food; now follow the seven rules for begging drink. They are, however, the same as those about food, only the fourth gives this precept: A monk or a nun may accept as drink water which has been used for watering flour or sesamum, etc. (2, 1, 7, § 7), if it be such as to require little cleaning and taking out (of impure) articles; for, etc.

11 One who has adopted one of these seven rules for begging food or drink should not say: 'These reverend persons have chosen a wrong rule, I alone have rightly chosen.' (But he should say): 'These reverend persons, who follow these rules, and I who follow that rule, we all exert ourselves according to the commandment of the Gina, and we respect each other accordingly.'

This certainly is the whole duty, etc.

Thus I say.

End of the First Lecture, called Begging of Food.

AKARANGA BOOK 2 SECOND LECTURE,
CALLED BEGGING FOR A COUCH.
FIRST LESSON.

1 If a monk or a nun want to ask for a lodging, and having entered a village or scot-free town, etc., conceive that lodging to contain eggs, living beings, etc., they should not use it for religious postures, night's-rest, or study.

2 But if the lodging contains only few eggs or few living beings, etc., they may, after having inspected and cleaned it, circumspectly use it for religious postures, etc. Now, if they conceive that the householder, for the sake of a Nirgrantha and on behalf of a fellow-ascetic (male or female, one or many), gives a lodging which he has bought or stolen or taken, though it was not to be taken nor given, but was taken by force, by acting sinfully towards all sorts of living beings, they should not use for religious postures, etc., such a lodging which has been appropriated by the giver himself, etc. (see 2, 1, 1, § 11).

The same holds good if there be instead of a fellow-ascetic many Sramanas and Brahmanas, guests, paupers, and beggars. But if the lodging has been appropriated by another man than the giver, etc., they may, after having inspected and cleaned it, circumspectly use it for religious postures, etc.

3 A monk or a nun, knowing that the layman has, for the sake of the mendicant, matted the lodging, whitewashed it, strewn it (with grass, etc.), smeared it (with cowdung), levelled, smoothed, or perfumed it (or the floor of it), should not use that lodging, which has been prepared by the giver himself, etc., for religious postures. But if it has been prepared by another person, etc., they may circumspectly use it for religious postures.

4 A monk or a nun, knowing that a layman will, for the sake of a mendicant, make small doors large, etc. (all as in 2, 1, 2, § 7, down to) spread his couch or place it outside, should not use such a lodging which has been appropriated by the giver himself, etc., for religious postures, etc. But if it has been appropriated by another person, etc., they may circumspectly use it for religious postures, etc.

5 Again, a monk or a nun, knowing that the layman, for the sake of the mendicant, removes from one place to another, or places outside, bulbs or roots or leaves or flowers or fruits or seeds or grass-blades of water plants, should not use such a lodging, which is appropriated by the giver himself, for religious postures, etc. But if it has been prepared by another person, etc., they may circumspectly use it for religious postures, etc.

6 A monk or a nun, knowing that the layman, for the sake of the mendicant, removes from one place to another, or places outside, a chair or a board or a ladder or a mortar, should not use such a lodging-place, etc. (all as at the end of the last paragraph).

7 A monk or a nun should not use for religious postures, etc., a lodging-place above ground, as a pillar or a raised platform or a scaffold or a second story or a flat roof, likewise no underground place (except under urgent circumstances). If by chance they are thus lodged, they should there not wash or clean their hands or feet or eyes or teeth or mouth with hot or cold water; nor should they put forth there any other secretion, as excrements, urine, saliva, mucus, bilious humour, ichor, blood, or any other part of the bodily humours.

The Kevalin says: This is the reason: Making secretions he might stumble or fall; stumbling or falling he might hurt his hand, etc. (2, I, 7, § 1), or any other limb of his body, or kill,

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etc., all sorts of living beings. Hence it has been said to the mendicant, etc., that he should use no above-ground lodging-place for religious postures, etc.

8 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not use, for religious postures, a lodging-place used by the householder, in which there are women, children, cattle, food, and drink. This is the reason: A mendicant living together with a householder's family may have an attack of gout, dysentery, or vomiting; or some other pain, illness, or disease may befall him; the layman might, out of compassion, smear or anoint the mendicant's body with oil or ghee or butter or grease, rub or shampoo it with perfumes, drugs, lodhra, dye, powder, padmaka, then brush or rub it clean; clean, wash, or sprinkle it with hot or cold water, kindle or light a fire by rubbing wood on wood; and having done so, he might dry or warm (the mendicant's body).

Hence it has been said to the mendicant, etc., that he should not use for religious postures, etc., a lodging-place which is used by the householder.

9 This is (another) reason: While a mendicant lives in a lodging used by the householder, the householder or his wife, etc., might bully, scold 1, attack or beat each other. Then the mendicant might direct his mind to approval or dislike.: 'Let them bully each other!' or, 'Let them not bully each other!' etc. etc.

Hence it has been said to the mendicant, etc., that he should not use, for religious postures, etc., a lodging-place used by the householder.

10 This is (another) reason: While the mendicant lives together with householders, the householder might, for his own sake, kindle or light or extinguish a fire-body. Then the mendicant might direct his mind to approval or dislike: Let them kindle or light or extinguish a fire-body;' or, 'Let them not do so.'

Hence it has been said to the mendicant, etc. (see above).

11 This is (another) reason: While the mendicant lives together with householders, he might see the householder's earrings or girdle or jewels or pearls or gold and silver 2 or bracelets (those round the wrist and those round the upper arm) or necklaces (those consisting of three strings, or those reaching halfway down the body, or those consisting of eighty strings or forty strings or one string or strings of pearls, golden beads or jewels) or a decked or ornamented girl or maiden. Thus the mendicant might direct his mind to approval or dislike: 'Let her be thus;' or, 'Let her not be thus.' So he might say, so he might think. Hence it has been said to the mendicant, etc. (see above).

12 This is (another) reason: While a mendicant lives together with householders, the householder's wives, daughters, daughters-in-law, nurses, slave-girls or servant-girls might say: 'These reverend Sramanas, etc., have ceased from sexual intercourse; it behoves them not to indulge in sexual intercourse: whatever woman indulges with them in sexual intercourse, will have a strong, powerful, illustrious, glorious, victorious son of heavenly beauty.' Hearing and perceiving such talk, one of them might induce the mendicant ascetic to indulge in sexual intercourse.

Hence it has been said to the mendicant, etc., that he should not use for religious postures, etc., a lodging used by the householder.

This is the whole duty, etc.

Thus I say.

SECOND LESSON.

1 Some householders are of clean habits and the mendicants, because they never bathe, are covered with uncleanliness; they smell after it, they smell badly, they are disagreeable, they are loathsome. Hence the householders, with regard to the mendicant, put off some work which otherwise they would have done before, and do some work which otherwise they would have put off.

Hence it has been said to the mendicant, etc., that he should not use, for religious postures, etc., a lodging used by the householder.

2 This is the reason: While a mendicant lives together with householders, the householder might, for his own sake, have prepared something to eat. Then, afterwards, he might, for the sake of the mendicant, prepare or dress food, etc., and the mendicant might desire to eat or drink or swallow it.

Hence it has been said to the mendicant, etc. (see above).

3 This is the reason: While the mendicant lives together with a householder, there may be ready wood cleft for the use of the householder. Then, afterwards, (the householder) might, for the sake of the mendicant, cleave or buy or steal wood, kindle or light, by rubbing wood on wood, the fire-body, and the mendicant might desire to dry or warm himself at, or enjoy, the fire.

Hence it has been said to the mendicant, etc. (see above).

4 When in the night or twilight a mendicant, to ease nature, leaves the door open, a thief, watching for an occasion, might enter. It is not meet for the mendicant to say: This thief enters or does not enter, he hides himself or does not hide himself, he creeps in or does not creep in, he speaks or does not speak; he has taken it, another has taken it, it is taken from that man; this is the thief, this is the accomplice, this is the murderer, he has done so [For if he gives warning of the thief, the warner or the thief might be slain; but if he gives no warning, no life will be lost, though the mendicant's integrity may be doubted.]. The householder will suspect the ascetic, the mendicant, who is not a thief, to be the thief. Hence it has been said to the mendicant, etc.

5 A monk or a nun should not use, for religious postures, etc., sheds of grass or straw which contain eggs, living beings, etc. But they may do so if they contain few eggs, few living beings, etc.

6 A mendicant should not stay in halting-places, garden houses, family houses, monasteries, where many fellow-ascetics are frequently arriving.

1. If the reverend persons continue to live in those places after staying there for a month* in the hot or cold seasons or for the rainy season (he should say): 'O long-lived one! you sin by overstaying the fixed time.' [* Or any fixed period, which the mendicant has vowed not to exceed staying in one place.]

7 2. If the reverend persons repeatedly live in halting-places, etc., after staying there for the proper time, without passing two or three intermediate months somewhere else, (he should say): 'O long-lived one! you sin by repeating your retreat in the same place.'

8 3. Here, in the east, west, north, or south, there are, forsooth, some faithful householders, householders' wives, etc., who are not well acquainted with the rules of monastic life (with regard to the fitness of lodging-places); nevertheless they believe in, perceive, are convinced of, (the merit of) giving lodging to mendicants. They (accordingly) give lodging-places for the sake of many Sramanas and Brahmanas, guests, paupers, and beggars, in workshops, chapels, temples, assembly halls, wells, houses or halls for shopkeeping or for keeping or building carriages, distilleries, houses where Darbha-grass, bark, trees, wood or charcoal are being worked, houses on burial-places, rooms for retirement near the place of sacrifice 1, empty houses, hill-houses, caves, stone-houses, or palaces. He should say to those reverend persons who live in such-like places as workshops, etc., together with other guests: 'O long-lived one! you sin by living in a place frequented by other sectarians.'

9 4. Here, in the east, etc. They accordingly give, etc. (all as in §8 down to) palaces. If the mendicants come there while the other religious men do not come there, they sin by living in a place not frequented by other mendicants.

10 5. In the east, west, north, or south there are faithful householders, viz. a householder or his wife, etc., who will speak thus: 'It is not meet that these illustrious, pious, virtuous, eloquent, controlled, chaste ascetics, who have ceased from sexual intercourse, should dwell in a lodging which is adhakarmika: let us give to the mendicants the lodgings which are ready for our use, viz. workshops, etc., and let us, afterwards, prepare lodgings for our own use, viz. workshops, etc.' Hearing and perceiving such talk, if the reverend persons frequent such-like lodgings, viz. workshops, etc., and live in them which are ceded by other people (they should be warned): 'O long-lived one! that (lodging is infected by the sin called) vargakriya.'

11 6. Here, in the east, etc. (see § 8 all down to) they give lodging-places for the sake of many Sramanas and Brahmanas, guests, paupers, and beggars, after having well counted them, in workshops, etc.

If the reverend persons frequent such-like lodgings, viz. workshops, etc., and live in them which are ceded by other people (they should be warned): 'O long-lived one! that (lodging is infected by the sin called) mahavargakriya.'

12 7. Here, in the east, etc. They accordingly give, for the sake of many sorts of Sramanas 1, after having well counted them, lodging-places, viz. workshops, etc. If the reverend persons frequent such-like lodgings, viz. workshops, etc., and live in them which are ceded by other people (they should be warned): 'O long-lived one! that (lodging is infected by the sin called) savadyakriya.'

13 8. Here, in the east, etc. They accordingly prepare, for the sake of one sort of Sramanas, lodgings, viz. workshops, etc., for which purpose great injury is done to the earth, water, fire, wind-bodies, plants, and animals, great injury, great cruelty, great and manifold sinful acts; by wasting cold water or strewing (the ground), smearing it with cowdung, shutting the doors and securing the bed, lighting a fire. If the reverend persons frequent such-like lodgings, viz. workshops, etc., and lead in such ceded lodgings an ambiguous 2 life (they should be warned): 'O long-lived one! that (lodging is infected by the sin called) mahasavadyakriya.'

14 9. But if the lodgings, viz. workshops, etc., are prepared by the householders for their own sake under the same circumstances as detailed in the preceding paragraph, and the reverend persons frequent such-like lodgings, they lead, in those lodgings, an unambiguous life. 'O long-lived one! that (lodging is infected by the very small sin called) alpasa vadyakriya.'

This is the whole duty, etc.

Thus I say.

THIRD LESSON.

1 'It* is difficult to obtain pure, acceptable alms; it is indeed not free from such preparations as strewing the ground (with Darbha-grass), smearing it (with cowdung), shutting the doors and securing the beds. [* The commentators say that this passage contains the mendicant's answer to an invitation to live in this or that village. By the second it is meant the lodging.] And he (the mendicant) delights in pilgrimage, religious exercises, study, begging for a bed, a couch, or other alms.'

Some mendicants explain thus (the requisites of a lodging); they are called upright, searching after liberation, practising no deceit.

Some householders (who, having learned the requisites of a lodging-place, fit one out accordingly, try to deceive the mendicants, saying): 'This lodging, which we offer you, has been assigned to you, it has been originally prepared for our sake, or for the sake of some relations, it has been used, it has been relinquished.'

Explaining* thus, he truly explains. (The teacher says): Well, he is (an explainer of the truth). [* The commentator supposes here the householder to further p. 130 inquire after the requisites of, and the objections to, the lodging-place. The mendicant should explain them.]

2 If a mendicant, at night or at the twilight, leaves or enters a small lodging, one with a small door, a low or crammed lodging, (he should put forward) first his hand, then his foot, and thus circumspectly leave or enter it.

The Kevalin says: This is the reason: There might be a badly bound, badly placed, badly fastened, loose umbrella, pot, stick, staff, robe, hide, leather boots or piece of leather belonging to Sramanas or Brahmanas; and the mendicant, when leaving or entering (the lodging) at night or twilight, might stumble or fall; stumbling or falling he might hurt his hand or foot, etc. (see IV, 1, 7, § 1), kill, etc., all sorts of living beings.

Hence it has been said to the mendicant, etc., that one (should put forward) first the hand, then the foot, and thus circumspectly leave or enter such a lodging.

3 He (the mendicant) should, at halting-places, etc., ask for a lodging-place, after having inquired who is the landlord or who is the tenant. H e should ask permission to use the lodging-place in this way: 'By your favour, O long-lived one! we shall dwell here for a while (for the time and in the place) which you will concede.' (If the landlord should object and say that he owns the lodging for a limited time only, or if he asks for the number of monks for which the lodging is required, he should answer) 1: 'As long as this lodging belongs to you, (or) for the sake of as many fellow-ascetics (as shall stand in need of it), we shall occupy the lodging; afterwards we shall take to wandering.'

4 A monk or a nun may know the name and gotra of him in whose lodging he lives; in that case they should not accept food, etc., in that house whether invited or not invited; for it is impure and unacceptable.

5 A monk or a nun should not use for religious postures, etc., a lodging-place which is used by the householder, which contains fire or water; for it is not fit for a wise man to enter or leave it, etc. (cf. II, 1, 4, § 1).

6 A monk or a nun should not use for religious postures, etc., a lodging for which they have to pass through the householder's abode, or to which there is no road; for it is not fit, etc. (see last paragraph).

7 A monk or a nun should not use for religious postures, etc., a lodging where the householder or his wife, etc., might bully or scold, etc., each other (see 2, 2, 1, § 9); for it is not fit, etc.

8 A monk or a nun should not use for religious postures, etc., a lodging where the householder or his wife, etc., rub or anoint each other's body with oil or ghee or butter or grease; for it is not fit, etc.

9 A monk or a nun should not use for religious postures, etc., a lodging where the householder or his wife, etc., rub or shampoo each other's body with perfumes, ground drugs, powder, lodhra, etc. (see 2, 2, 1, § 8); for it is not fit, etc.

10 A monk or a nun should not use for religious postures, etc., a lodging where the householder or his wife, etc., clean, wash, or sprinkle each other's body with cold or hot water; for it is not fit, etc.

11 A monk or a nun should not use for religious postures, etc., a lodging where the householder or his wife, etc., go about naked or hide themselves, or talk about sexual pleasures, or discuss a secret plan; for it is not fit, etc.

12 A monk or a nun should not use for religious postures, etc., a lodging which is a much-frequented playground 1; for it is not fit, etc.

13 1. If a monk or a nun wish to beg for a couch, they should not accept one which they recognise full of eggs, living beings, etc.

14 2. If the couch is free from eggs, living beings, but is heavy, they should not accept such a couch.

3. If the couch is free from eggs, living beings, light, but not movable, they should not accept such a couch. (15)

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16 4. If the couch is free from eggs, living beings, etc., light, movable, but not well tied, they should not accept such a couch.

17 5. If the couch is free from eggs, living beings, light, movable, and well tied, they may accept such a couch.

18 For the avoidance of these occasions to sin there are four rules, according to which the mendicant should beg for a couch. Now this is the first rule for begging for a couch.

If a monk or a nun beg for a couch, specifying (its quality), viz. one of Ikkata-reed, a hard one, one of Gantuka-grass, of Para-grass, of peacock feathers, of hay, of Kusa-grass, of brush-hair, of Pakkaka, of Pippala, of straw, they should, after consideration, say: 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) please give me this here!' If the householder prepares one of the above-specified couches, or if the mendicant asks himself, and the householder gives it, then he may accept it as pure and acceptable.

This is the first rule.

19 Now follows the second rule.

If a monk or a nun beg for a couch (of the above-detailed description) after having well inspected it, they should, after consideration, say: 'O long-lived one! etc.' (all as in the first rule).

This is the second rule 2.

20 If a monk or a nun beg for a couch of the above-detailed description, viz. one of Ikkata-grass, etc., from him in whose house he lives, they may use it if they get it; if not, they should remain in a squatting or sitting posture (for the whole night).

This is the third rule.

21 Now follows the fourth rule.

If a monk or a nun beg for a couch such as it is spread, either on the ground or on a wooden plank, they may use it if they get it; if not, they should remain in a squatting or sitting posture (for the whole night).

This is the fourth rule.

22 A monk who has adopted one of these four rules, should not say, etc. (all as in 2, 1, 11, § 12, down to) we respect each other accordingly.

23 If a monk or a nun wish to give back a couch, they should not do so, if the couch contains eggs, living beings, etc. But if it contains few living beings, etc., they may restrainedly do so, after having well inspected, swept, and dried it.

24 A monk or a nun on a begging-tour or in a residence or on a pilgrimage from village to village should first inspect the place for easing nature. The Kevalin says: This is the reason: If a monk or a nun, in the night or the twilight, ease nature in a place which they have not previously inspected, they might stumble or fall, stumbling or falling they might hurt the hand or foot, etc., kill, etc., all sorts of living beings.

25 A monk or a nun might wish to inspect the ground for their couch away from that occupied by a teacher or sub-teacher, etc. (see 2, 1, 10, § 1), or by a young one or an old one or a novice or a sick man or a guest, either at the end or in the middle, either on even or uneven ground, or at a place where there is a draught or where there is no draught. They should then well inspect and sweep (the floor), and circumspectly spread a perfectly pure bed or couch.

26 Having spread a perfectly pure bed or couch, a monk or a nun might wish to ascend it. When doing so, they should first wipe their body from head to heels; then they may circumspectly ascend the perfectly pure bed or couch, and circumspectly sleep in it.

27 A monk or a nun sleeping in a perfectly pure bed or couch (should have placed it at such a distance from the next one's) that they do not touch their neighbour's hand, foot, or body with their own hand, foot, or body; and not touching it, should circumspectly sleep in their perfectly pure bed or couch.

28 Before inhaling or breathing forth, or coughing or sneezing or yawning or vomiting or eructating, a monk or a nun should cover their face or the place where it lies; then they may circumspectly inhale or breathe forth, etc.

29 Whether his lodging 1 be even or uneven; full of, or free from, draughts; full of, or free from, dust; full of, or free from, flies and gnats; full of, or free from, dangers and troubles--in any such-like lodging one should contentedly stay, nor take offence at anything.

This is the whole duty, etc.

Thus I say.

End of the Second Lecture, called Begging for a Couch.

AKARANGA BOOK 2 THIRD LECTURE,
CALLED WALKING.
FIRST LESSON.

1 When the rainy season has come and it is raining, many living beings are originated and many seeds just spring up, the roads between (different places) contain many living beings, seeds, etc. (see 2, 1, 1, § 2), the footpaths are not used, the roads are not recognisable. Knowing this (state of things) one should not wander from village to village, but remain during the rainy season in one place.

2 When a monk or a nun knows that in a village or scot-free town, etc. (see 1, 7, 6, § 3), there is no large place for religious practices nor for study; that there cannot easily be obtained a stool, bench, bed, or couch, nor pure, acceptable alms; that there have come or will come many Sramanas and Brahmanas, guests, paupers, and beggars; that the means of existence are extremely small; that it is not fit for a wise man to enter or leave it, etc. (see 2, 1, 4, § 1); in such a village, scot-free town, etc., they should not remain during the cold season.

3 When a monk or a nun knows that in a village or scot-free town, etc., there is a large place for religious practices or for study; that there can easily be obtained a stool, bench, bed, or couch, or pure, acceptable alms; that there have not come nor will come Sramanas and Brahmanas, guests, paupers, and beggars; that the means of existence are not small, etc., they may remain in such a village, etc., during the rainy season.

4 Now they should know this: After the four months of the rainy season are over, and five or ten days of the winter have passed, they should not wander from village to village, if the road contains many living beings, etc., and if many Sramanas and Brahmanas, etc., do not yet travel.

5 But if after the same time the road contains few living beings, and many Sramanas and Brahmanas, etc., travel, they may circumspectly wander from village to village.

6 A monk or a nun wandering from village to village should look forward for four cubits, and seeing animals they should move on by walking on his toes or heels or the sides of his feet. If there be some bypath, they should choose it, and not go straight on; then they may circumspectly wander from village to village.

7 A monk or a nun wandering from village to village, on whose way there are living beings, seeds, grass, water, or mud, should not go straight if there be an unobstructed byway; then they may circumspectly wander from village to village.

8 A monk or a nun on the pilgrimage, whose road (lies through) places belonging to borderers, robbers, Mlekkhas, non-Aryan people, half-civilised people, unconverted people, people who rise or eat at an improper time, should, if there be some other place for walking about or friendly districts, not choose the former road for their voyage.

9 The Kevalin says: This is the reason: The ignorant populace might bully, beat, etc., the mendicant, in the opinion that he is a thief or a spy, or that he comes from yonder (hostile village); or they might take away, cut off, steal or rob his robe, alms-bowl, mantle, or broom. Hence it has been said to the mendicant, etc., that one whose road (lies through) places belonging, etc. (all as in the last paragraph); then he may circumspectly wander from village to village.

10 A monk or a nun on the pilgrimage, whose road (lies through) a country where there is no king or many kings or an unanointed king or two governments or no government or a weak government, should, if there be some other place for walking about or friendly districts, not choose the former road for their voyage. The Kevalin says: This is the reason: The ignorant populace might bully or beat, etc., the mendicant, etc. (all as in § 9).

11 A monk or a nun on the pilgrimage, whose road lies through a forest 1 which they are not certain of crossing in one or two or three or four or five days, should, if there be some other place for walking about or friendly districts, not choose the former road for their voyage.

12 The Kevalin says: This is the reason: During the rain (he might injure) living beings, mildew, seeds, grass, water, mud. Hence it has been said to the mendicant that one whose road lies through such a forest, etc. (all as in the last paragraph) then he may circumspectly wander from village to village.

13 A monk or a nun on the pilgrimage, on whose way there is some watercourse which must be crossed by a boat, should not ascend such a boat which plies up or down or across (the river), neither for one yogana's or half a yogana's distance, neither for a shorter nor a longer voyage, if they know that the householder [By householder is here intended the host of the mendicant.] will buy or purloin the boat, or doing the work necessary to put the boat in order, pull it ashore out of the water, or push it from the shore into the water, or bale it, if it is filled (with water), or cause a sinking boat to float.

14 A monk or a nun, knowing that a boat will cross the river, should, after having received the owner's permission, step apart, examine their outfit, put aside their provender, wipe their body from head to heels, reject the householder's food, and putting one foot in the water and the other in the air, they should circumspectly enter the boat.

15 A monk or a nun in entering the boat should not choose for that purpose the stern or the prow or the middle of the boat; nor should they look at it holding up their arms, pointing at it with their finger, bowing up and down.

16 If, on board, the boatman should say to the monk, 'O long-lived Sramana! pull the boat forward or backward, or push it, or draw it with the rope towards you, or, let us do it together,' he should not comply with his request, but look on silently.

17 If, on board, the other should say to him, 'O long-lived Sramana! you cannot pull the boat forward or backward, or push it, or draw it with a rope towards you; give us the rope, we will ourselves pull the boat forward or backward, etc.,' he should not comply with his request, but look on silently.

18 If, on board, the other should say to him, 'O long-lived Sramana! if you can, pull the boat by the oar, the rudder, the pole, and other nautical instruments,' he should not comply with his request, but look on silently.

19 If, on board, the other should say to him, 'O long-lived Sramana! please, lade out the water with your hand, or pitcher, or vessel, or alms-bowl, or bucket,' he should not comply with his request, but look on silently.

20 If, on board, the other should say to him, 'O long-lived Sramana! please, stop the boat's leak with your hand, foot, arm, thigh, belly, head, body, the bucket, or a cloth, or with mud, Kusa-grass, or lotus leaves,' he should not comply with his request, but look on silently.

21 If a monk or a nun see that water enters through a leak in the boat, and the boat becomes dirty all over, they should not approach the boatman and say: 'O long-lived householder! water enters through a leak into the boat, and it becomes dirty all over.'

One should not think so or speak so; but undisturbed, the mind not directed outwardly, one should collect one's self for contemplation; then one may circumspectly complete one's journey by the boat on the water.

This is the whole duty, etc. Thus I say.

SECOND LESSON.

1 If, on board, the boatman should say to the mendicant, 'O long-lived Sramana! please, take this umbrella, pot, etc. (see 2, 2, 3, § 2), hold these various dangerous instruments [The original has six words for different kinds of rubbing, which it would be impossible to render adequately in any other language.], let this boy or girl drink,' he should not comply with his request, but look on silently.

2 If, on board, the boatman should say to another of the crew, 'O long-lived one! this Sramana is only a heavy load for the boat, take hold of him with your arms and throw him into the water!' hearing and perceiving such talk, he should, if he wears clothes, quickly take them off or fasten them or put them in a bundle on his head.

3 Now he may think: These ruffians, accustomed to violent acts, might take hold of me and throw me from the boat into the water. He should first say to them: 'O long-lived householders! don't take hold of me with your arms and throw me into the water! I myself shall leap from the boat into the water!' If after these words the other, by force and violence, takes hold of him with his arms and throws him into the water, he should be neither glad nor sorry, neither in high nor low spirits, nor should he offer violent resistance to those ruffians; but undisturbed, his mind not directed to outward things, etc. (see 2, 3, 1, § 21), he may circumspectly swim in the water.

4 A monk or a nun, swimming in the water, should not touch (another person's or their own?) hand, foot, or body with their own hand, foot, or body; but without touching it they should circumspectly swim in the water.

5 A monk or a nun, swimming in the water, should not dive up or down, lest water should enter into their ears, eyes, nose, or mouth; but they should circumspectly swim in the water.

6 If a monk or a nun, swimming in the water, should be overcome by weakness, they should throw off their implements (clothes, etc.), either all or a part of them, and not be attached to them. Now they should know this: If they are able to get out of the water and reach the bank, they should circumspectly remain on the bank with a wet or moist body.

7 A monk or a nun should not wipe or rub or brush or stroke 1 or dry or warm or heat (in the sun) their body. But when they perceive that the water on their body has dried up, and the moisture is gone, they may wipe or rub, etc., their body in that state; then they may circumspectly wander from village to village.

8 A monk or a nun on the pilgrimage should not wander from village to village, conversing with householders; they may circumspectly wander from village to village.

9 If a monk or a nun on the pilgrimage come across a shallow water, they should first wipe their body from head to heels, then, putting one foot in the water and the other in the air, they should wade through the shallow water in a straight line.

10 If a monk or a nun on the pilgrimage come across a shallow water, they should wade through it in a straight line, without being touched by or touching (another person's or their own?) hand, foot, or body with their own hand, foot, or body.

11 A monk or a nun, wading through shallow water in a straight line, should not plunge in deeper water for the sake of pleasure or the heat; but they should circumspectly wade through the shallow water in a straight line. Now they should know this: If one is able to get out of the water and reach the bank, one should circumspectly remain on the bank with a wet or moist body.

12 A monk or a nun should not wipe or rub, etc. (all as in § 7).

13 A monk or a nun on the pilgrimage, with their feet soiled with mud, should not, in order that the grass might take off the mud from the feet, walk out of the way and destroy the grass by cutting, trampling, and tearing it. As this would be sinful, they should not do so. But they should first

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inspect a path containing little grass; then they may circumspectly wander from village to village.

14 If a monk or a nun on the pilgrimage come upon walls or ditches or ramparts or gates or bolts or holes to fit them, or moats or caves, they should, in case there be a byway, choose it, and not go on straight.

15 The Kevalin says: This is the reason: Walking there, the mendicant might stumble or fall down; when he stumbles or falls down, he might get hold of trees, shrubs, plants, creepers, grass, copsewood, or sprouts to extricate himself. He should ask travellers who meet him, to lend a hand; then he may circumspectly lean upon it and extricate himself; so he may circumspectly wander from village to village.

16 If a monk or a nun perceive in their way (transports of) corn, waggons, cars, a friendly or hostile army 1, some encamped troops, they should, in case there be a byway, circumspectly choose it, and not walk on straight. One trooper might say to another: 'O long-lived one! this Sramana is a spy upon the army; take hold of him with your arms, and drag him hither!' The other might take hold of the mendicant with his arms and drag him on. He should neither be glad nor sorry for it, etc. (see § 3); then he may circumspectly wander from village to village.

17 If on his road travellers meet him and say, 'O long-lived Sramana! how large is this village or scot-free town, etc.? how many horses, elephants, beggars, men dwell in it? is there much food, water, population, corn? is there little food, water, population, corn?' he should not answer such questions if asked, nor ask them himself.

This is the whole duty, etc.

Thus I say.

THIRD LESSON.

1 A monk or a nun on the pilgrimage, in whose way there are walls or ditches or ramparts or gates, etc. (see 2, 3, 2, § 14), hill houses, palaces, underground houses, houses in trees, mountain caves, a sacred tree or pillar, workshops, etc. (see 2, 2, 2, § 8), should not look at them holding up their arms, pointing at them with their fingers, bowing up and down. Then they may circumspectly wander from village to village.

2 A monk or a nun on the pilgrimage, on whose way there are marshes, pasture-grounds, moats, fortified places, thickets, strongholds in thickets, woods, mountains, strongholds on mountains, caves 1, tanks, lakes, rivers, ponds, lotus ponds, long winding ponds, water-sheets, rows of water-sheets, should not look at them holding up their arms, etc. (see § 1).

3 The Kevalin says: This is the reason: The deer, cattle, birds, snakes, animals living in water, on land, in the air might be disturbed or frightened, and strive to get to a fold or (other place of) refuge, (thinking): 'The Sramana will harm me!'

Hence it has been said to the mendicant, etc., that he should not look at the objects (mentioned in § 2) holding up his arms, etc. [The passage closes: 'then he may circumspectly wander from village to village together with the master and teacher (ayariovagghaya).' But as the master and teacher have not been mentioned before, and will be mentioned in the next Sutra, it is almost certain that the words in question have been brought over from the next Sutra, or that they ought to be supplied to all Sutras from the beginning of the third lesson.]

4 A monk or a nun, wandering from village to village together with the master or teacher, should not touch the master's or teacher's hand with their own, etc.; but without touching or being touched they should circumspectly wander from village to village together with the master or teacher.

5 A monk or a nun, wandering from village to village together with the master or teacher, might be met on the road by travellers and asked: 'O long-lived Sramana! who are you? whence do you come, and where do you go?' The master or teacher may answer and explain; but whilst the master or teacher answers and explains, one should not mix in their conversation. Thus they may wander from village to village with a superior priest.

6 A monk or a nun, wandering from village to village with a superior priest, should not touch the superior's hand with their own, etc. (see § 4). .

7 A monk or a nun, wandering from village to village with superior priests, might be met on the road by travellers, and be asked: 'O long-lived Sramana! who are you?' He who has the highest rank of them all, should answer and explain; but whilst the superior answers and explains, one should not mix in their conversation, etc. (see § 5).

8 A monk or a nun, wandering from village to village, might be met on the road by travellers, and be asked: 'O long-lived Sramana! did you see somebody on the road? viz. a man, cow, buffalo, cattle, bird, snake, or aquatic animal--tell us, show us!' The mendicant should not tell it, nor show it, he should not comply with their request, but look on silently, or, though knowing it, he should say that he did not know. Then he may circumspectly wander from village to village.

9 He should act in the same manner, if asked about bulbs of water-plants, roots, bark, leaves, flowers, fruits, seeds, water in the neighbourhood, or a kindled fire;

10 Likewise, if asked about (transports of) corn, waggons, cars, etc. (see II, 3, 2, § 16).

11 Likewise, if asked: 'O long-lived Sramana! how large is this village or scot-free town, etc.?'

12 Likewise, if asked: 'O long-lived Sramana! How far is it to that village or scot-free town, etc.?'

13 If a monk or a nun, wandering from village to village, sees a vicious cow coming towards them, etc. (see 2, 1, 5, § 3), they should not, from fear of them, leave the road, or go into another road, nor enter a thicket, wood, or stronghold, nor climb a tree, nor take a plunge in a large and extended water-sheet, nor desire a fold or any other place of refuge, or an army or a caravan; but undisturbed, the mind not directed to outward things, they should collect themselves for contemplation; thus they may circumspectly wander from village to village.

14 If the road of a monk or a nun on the pilgrimage lies through a forest, in which, as they know, there stroll bands of many thieves desirous of their property, they should not, for fear of them, leave the road, etc. (all as in § 13).

15 If these thieves say, 'O long-lived Sramana! bring us your clothes, etc., give them, put them down!' the mendicant should not give or put them down. Nor should he reclaim (his things) by imploring (the thieves), or by folding his hands, or by moving their compassion, but by religious exhortation or by remaining silent.

16 If the thieves, resolving to do it themselves, bully him, etc., tear off his clothes, etc., he should not lodge an information in the village or at the king's palace; nor should he go to a layman, and say, 'O long-lived householder! these thieves, resolving to do (the robbing) themselves, have bullied me, etc., they have torn off my clothes,' etc. He should neither think so, nor speak so; but undisturbed, etc. (see § 13).

This is the whole duty, etc.

Thus I say.

End of the Third Lecture, called Walking.

AKARANGA BOOK 2 4TH LECTURE,
CALLED MODES OF SPEECH.

FIRST LESSON.

1 A monk or a nun, hearing and perceiving these uses of speech, should know that the following ones are not to be employed and have not hitherto been employed (by persons of exemplary conduct); those who speak in wrath or in pride, for deception or for gain, who speak, knowingly or unknowingly, hard words. They should avoid all this, which is blamable. Employing their judgement, they should know something for certain and something for uncertain*:

2 (N. N.) having received food or not having received food, having eaten it or not having eaten it, has come or has not come, comes or does not come, will come or will not come. [* The commentator understands this passage and the following paragraph in a different way: a man of ripe judgement should utter no such positive assertions, e. g. it is certain (that it will rain), or it is not certain, etc. He seems to have been of opinion that the prohibition in the last sentence, savvam etam savaggam vaggegga, extends also to the following sentence. But this is not probable, as etam generally refers to what precedes, and imam to what follows.]

3 Well considering (what one is to say), speaking with precision, one should employ language in moderation and restraint: the singular, dual, plural; feminine, masculine, neuter gender; praise, blame, praise mixed with blame, blame mixed with praise; past, present, or future (tenses), the first and second, or third (person). If one thinks it necessary to speak in the singular, he should speak in the singular; if he thinks it necessary to speak in the plural, he should speak in the plural, etc. Considering well: this is a woman, this is a man, this is a eunuch, this is to be called thus, this is to be called otherwise, speaking with precision, he should employ language in moderation and restraint.

4 For the avoidance of these occasions to sin, a mendicant should know that there are four kinds of speech: the first is truth; the second is untruth; the third is truth mixed with untruth; what is neither truth, nor untruth, nor truth mixed with untruth, that is the fourth kind of speech: neither truth nor untruth. Thus I say.

All past, present, and future Arhats have taught and declared, teach and declare, will teach and declare these four kinds of speech; and they have explained all those things which are devoid of intellect, which possess colour, smell, taste, touch, which are subject to decay and increase, which possess various qualities.

5 A monk (or a nun should know that) before (the utterance) speech is speech in (antecedent) non-existence; that while uttered, it is (real) speech; that the moment after it has been uttered, the spoken speech is speech in (subsequent) non-existence.

6 A monk or a nun, well considering, should not use speech whether truth or untruth, or truth mixed with untruth, if it be sinful, blamable, rough, stinging, coarse, hard, leading to sins, to discord and factions, to grief and outrage, to destruction of living beings.

7 A monk or a nun, considering well, should use true and accurate speech, or speech which is neither truth nor untruth (i.e. injunctions); for such speech is not sinful, blamable, rough, stinging, etc.

8 A monk or a nun, if addressing a man who, if addressed, does not answer, should not say: 'You loon! you lout! you Sudra! you low-born wretch! you slave! you dog! you thief! you robber! you cheat! you liar! etc.; you are such and such! your parents are such and such!' Considering well, they should not use such sinful, blamable, etc., speech.

9 But in that case they should say: 'N. N.! O long-lived one! O long-lived ones! O layman! O pupil! O faithful one! O lover of faith!' Considering well, they should use such sinless, blameless, etc., speech.

10 A monk or a nun, if addressing a woman who, if addressed, does not answer, should not say: 'You hussy! you wench! etc.' (repeat the above list of abusive words adapted to females). Considering well, they should not use such sinful, blamable, etc., speech.

11 A monk or a nun, if addressing a woman who, if addressed, does not answer, should say: 'O long-lived one! O sister! madam! my lady! O lay-sister! O pupil! O faithful one! O lover of faith!' Considering well, they should use such sinless, blameless, etc., speech.

12 A monk or a nun should not say: 'The god 1 of the sky! the god of the thunderstorm! the god of lightning! the god who begins to rain! the god who ceases to rain! may rain fall or may it not fall! may the crops grow or may they not grow! may the night wane or may it not wane! may the sun rise or may it not rise! may the king conquer or may he not conquer!' They should not use such speech.

13 But knowing the nature of things, he should say: The air; the follower of Guhya; a cloud has gathered or come down; the cloud has rained.'

This is the whole duty, etc.

Thus I say.

SECOND LESSON.

1 A monk or a nun, seeing any sort (of diseases), should not talk of them in this way: 'He has got boils, or leprosy, etc. (see 1, 6, 1, § 3); his hand is cut, or his foot, nose, ear, lip is cut.' For as all such people, spoken to in such language, become angry, hence, considering well, they should not speak to them in such language.

2 A monk or a nun, seeing any sort (of good qualities), should speak thus: 'He is strong, powerful, vigorous, famous, well-formed, well-proportioned, handsome.' For as all such people, spoken to in such language, do not become angry, they should, considering well, speak to them in such language.

3 A monk or a nun, seeing any sort of such things as walls or ditches, etc. (see 2, 3, 2, § 14), should not speak of them in this way: This is well-executed, finely executed, beautiful, excellent, (so done) or to be done;' they should not use such sinful, etc., language.

4 A monk or a nun, seeing walls, etc., should speak about them in this way: 'This has been executed with great effort, with sin, with much labour; it is very magnificent, it is very beautiful, it is very fine, it is very handsome;' considering well, they should use such sinless, etc., language.

5 A monk or a nun, seeing food, etc., prepared, should not speak about it in this way: 'This is well executed, finely executed, beautiful, excellent, (so done) or to be done;' considering well, they should not use such sinful, etc., language.

6 A monk or a nun, seeing food, etc., prepared, should speak about it in this way: 'This has been executed with great effort, with sin, with much labour; it is very good, it is excellent, it is well seasoned, it is most delicious, it is most agreeable;' considering well, they should use such sinless, etc., language.

7 A monk or a nun, seeing a man, a cow, a buffalo, deer, cattle, a bird, a snake, an aquatic animal of increased bulk, should not speak about them in this way: 'He (or it) is fat, round, fit to be killed or cooked;' considering well, they should not use such sinful, etc., language.

8 A monk or a nun, seeing a man, a cow, etc., of increased bulk, should speak about them in this way: 'He is of increased bulk, his body is well grown, well compacted, his flesh and blood are abundant, his limbs are fully developed;' considering well, they should use such sinless, etc., language.

9 A monk or a nun, seeing any sort of cows (or oxen), should not speak about them in this way: 'These cows should be milked or tamed or covered, should draw a waggon or car;' considering well, they should not use such sinful, etc., language.

10 A monk or a nun, seeing any sort of cows (or oxen), should speak about them in this way: 'It is a young cow, a milch cow, she gives much milk, it is a short or a large one, a beast of burden;' considering well, they should use such sinless, etc., language.

11 A monk or a nun, seeing big trees in parks, on hills, or in woods, should speak about them in this way: 'These (trees) are fit for palaces, gates, houses, benches, bolts, boats, buckets, stools, trays, ploughs, mattocks (?), machines, poles, the nave

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of a wheel (?), gandi, seats, beds, cars, sheds;' considering well, they should not use such sinful, etc., language.

12 A monk or a nun, seeing big trees in parks, on hills, or in woods, should speak about them in this way: 'These trees are noble, high and round, big; they have many branches, extended branches, they are very magnificent,' etc. (see § 4); considering well, they should use such sinless, etc., language.

13 A monk or a nun, seeing many wild fruits, should not speak about them in this way: 'They are ripe, they should be cooked or eaten, they are just in season, or soft, or they have just split;' considering well, they should not use such sinful, etc., language.

14 A monk or a nun, seeing many wild fruits, should speak about them in this way: They are very plentiful, they contain many seeds, they are fully grown, they have developed their proper shape;' considering well, they should use such sinless, etc., language.

15 A monk or a nun, seeing many vegetables, should not speak about them in this way: 'They are ripe, they are dark coloured, shining, fit to be fried or roasted or eaten;' considering well, they should not use such sinful, etc., language.

16 A monk or a nun, seeing many vegetables, should speak about them in this way: 'They are grown up, they are fully grown, they are strong, they are excellent, they are run to seed, they have spread their seed, they are full of sap;' considering well, they should use such sinless, etc., language.

17 A monk or a nun, hearing any sort of sounds, should not speak about them in this way: 'This is a good sound, this is a bad sound;' considering well, they should not use such sinless, etc., language; but they should call them good, if they are good; bad, if they are bad; considering well, they should use such sinless, etc., language.

18 In the same manner they should speak about the (five) colours, as black, etc.; the (two) smells, as pleasant or unpleasant; the (five) tastes, as sharp etc.; the (five) kinds of touch, as hard, etc.

19 A monk or a nun, putting aside wrath, pride, deceit, and greed, considering well, speaking with precision, what one has heard, not too quick, with discrimination, should employ language in moderation and restraint.

This is the whole duty, etc.

Thus I say.

End of the Fourth Lecture, called Modes of Speech.

AKARANGA BOOK 2 5TH LECTURE,
CALLED BEGGING OF CLOTHES.
FIRST LESSON.

1 A monk or a nun wanting to get clothes, may beg for cloth made of wool, silk, hemp, palm-leaves, cotton, or Arkatula, or such-like clothes. If he be a youthful, young, strong, healthy, well-set monk, he may wear one robe, not two; if a nun, she should possess four raiments, one two cubits broad, two three cubits broad, one four cubits broad [The first to wear in the cloister, the second and third for out-of-door, the fourth for assemblies.]. If one does not receive such pieces of cloth, one should afterwards sew together one with the other.

2 A monk or a nun should not resolve to go further than half a yogana to get clothes. As regards the acceptance of clothes, those precepts which have been given in the (First Lesson of the First Lecture, called) Begging of Food, concerning one fellow-ascetic, should be repeated here; also concerning many fellow-ascetics, one female fellow-ascetic, many female fellow-ascetics, many Sramanas and Brahmanas; also about (clothes) appropriated by another person.

3 A monk or a nun should not accept clothes which the layman, for the mendicant's sake, has bought, washed, dyed, brushed, rubbed, cleaned, perfumed, if these clothes be appropriated by the giver himself. But if they be appropriated by another person, they may accept them; for they are pure and acceptable.

4 A monk or a nun should not accept any very expensive clothes of the following description: clothes made of fur, fine ones, beautiful ones; clothes made of goats' hair, of blue cotton, of common cotton, of Bengal cotton, of Patta, of Malaya fibres, of bark fibres, of muslin, of silk; (clothes provincially called) Desaraga, Amila, Gaggala, Phaliya, Kayaha; blankets or mantles.

5 A monk or a nun should not accept any of the following plaids of fur and other materials: plaids made of Udra, Pesa fur 1, embroidered with Pesa fur, made of the fur of black or blue or yellow deer, golden plaids, plaids glittering like gold, interwoven with gold, set with gold, embroidered with gold, plaids made of tigers' fur, highly ornamented plaids, plaids covered with ornaments.

6 For the avoidance of these occasions to sin there are four rules for begging clothes to be known by the mendicants.

Now, this is the first rule:

A monk or a nun may beg for clothes specifying (their quality), viz. wool, silk, hemp, palm-leaves, cotton, Arkatula. If they beg for them, or the householder gives them, they may accept them; for they are pure and acceptable.

This is the first rule.

7 Now follows the second rule:

A monk or a nun may ask for clothes which they have well inspected, from the householder or his wife, etc. After consideration, they should say: 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) please give me one of these clothes!' If they beg for them, or the householder gives them, they may accept them; for they are pure and acceptable.

This is the second rule.

8 Now follows the third rule:

A monk or a nun may beg for an under or upper garment. If they beg for it, etc. (see § 7).

This is the third rule.

9 Now follows the fourth rule:

A monk or a nun may beg for a left-off robe, which no other Sramana or Brahmana, guest, pauper or beggar wants. If they beg, etc. (see § 7).

This is the fourth rule.

A monk or a nun who have adopted one of these four rules should not say, etc. (all as in 2, 1, 11, § 12, down to) we respect each other accordingly.

10 A householder may perhaps say to a mendicant begging in the prescribed way: O long-lived Sramana! return after a month, ten nights, five nights, to-morrow, to-morrow night; then we shall give you some clothes.' Hearing and perceiving such talk, he should, after consideration, say: 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) it is not meet for me to accept such a promise. If you want to give me (something), give it me now!'

After these words the householder may answer: O long-lived Sramana! follow me! then we shall give you some clothes.' The mendicant should give the same answer as above.

After his words the householder may say (to one of his people): 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) fetch that robe! we shall give it the Sramana, and afterwards prepare one for our own use, killing all sorts of living beings.'

Hearing and perceiving such talk, he should not accept such clothes; for they are impure and unacceptable.

11 The householder 1 may say (to one of his people): 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) fetch that robe, wipe or rub it with perfume, etc. (see 2, 2, 1, § 8); we shall give it to the Sramana.'

Hearing and perceiving such talk, the mendicant should, after consideration, say: 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) do not wipe or rub it with perfume, etc. If you want to give it me, give it, such as it is!'

After these words the householder might nevertheless offer the clothes after having wiped or rubbed them, etc.; but the mendicant should not accept them, for they are impure and unacceptable.

12 The householder may say (to another of his people): 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) bring that robe, clean or wash it with cold or hot water!'

The mendicant should return the same answer as above (in §11) and not accept such clothes.

13 The householder may say (to another of his people): 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) bring that cloth, empty it of the bulbs, etc. (see 2, 2, 1, § 5); we shall give it to the Sramana.' Hearing and perceiving such talk, the mendicant should say, after consideration: 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) do not empty that cloth of the bulbs, etc.; it is not meet for me to accept such clothes.' After these words the householder might nevertheless take away the bulbs, etc., and offer him the cloth; but he should not accept it; for it is impure and unacceptable.

14 If a householder brings a robe and gives it to the mendicant, he should, after consideration, say: 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) I shall, in your presence, closely inspect the inside of the robe.'

The Kevalin says: This is the reason: There might be hidden in the robe an earring or girdle or gold and silver, etc. (see 2, 2, 1, § 11), or living beings or seeds or grass. Hence it has been said to the mendicant, etc., that he should closely inspect the inside of the robe.

15 A monk or a nun should not accept clothes which are full of eggs or living beings, etc.; for they are impure, etc. A monk or a nun should not accept clothes which are free from eggs or living beings, etc., but which are not fit nor strong nor lasting nor to be worn--which though pleasant are not fit (for a mendicant); for they are impure and unacceptable.

16 A monk or a nun may accept clothes which are fit, strong, lasting, to be worn, pleasant and fit for a mendicant; for they are pure and acceptable.

17 A monk or a nun should not wash his clothes, rub or wipe them with ground drugs, etc., because they are not new.

A monk or a nun should not clean or wash his clothes in plentiful water, because they are not new.

18 A monk or a nun should not make his clothes undergo the processes (prohibited in § 17), because they have a bad smell.

19 A monk or a nun wanting to air or dry (in the sun) their clothes, should not do so on the bare ground or wet earth or rock or piece of clay containing life, etc. (see 2, 1, 5, § 2). [If the garment falls on the ground, it would come in contact with dust, etc., then it would contain living beings and be no more pure.]

20 A monk or a nun wanting to air or dry (in the sun) their clothes, should not hang them for that purpose on a post of a house, on the upper timber of a door-frame, on a mortar, on a bathing-tub, or on any such-like above-ground place, which is not well fixed or set, but shaky and movable.

21 A monk or a nun wanting to air or dry (in the sun) their clothes, should not lay them for that purpose on a dyke, wall, rock, stone, or any such-like above-ground place, etc.

22 A monk or a nun wanting to air or dry (in the sun) their clothes, should not do it on a pillar, a raised platform, a scaffold, a second story, a flat roof, or any such-like above-ground place, etc.

23 Knowing this, he should resort to a secluded spot, and circumspectly air or dry his clothes there on a heap of ashes or bones, etc. (see 2, 1, 1, § 1), which he has repeatedly inspected and cleaned.

This is the whole duty, etc.

Thus I say.

SECOND LESSON.

1 A monk or a nun should beg for acceptable clothes, and wear them in that state in which they get them; they should not wash or dye them, nor should they wear washed or dyed clothes, nor (should they) hide (their clothes) when passing through other villages, being careless of dress. This is the whole duty for a mendicant who wears clothes.

A monk or a nun wanting, for the sake of alms, to enter the abode of a householder, should do so outfitted with all their clothes; in the same manner they should go to the out-of-door place for religious practices or study, or should wander from village to village.

Now they should know this: A monk or a nun dressed in all their clothes should not enter or leave, for the sake of alms, the abode of a householder, etc. etc., on perceiving that a strong and widely spread rain pours down, etc. (see II, 1, 3, § 9).

2 If a single mendicant borrows for a short time a robe (from another mendicant) and returns after staying abroad for one, two, three, four, or five days, he (the owner) should not take such a robe for himself, nor should he give it to somebody else, nor should he give it on promise (for another robe after a few days), nor should he exchange that robe for another one. He should not go to another mendicant and say: 'O long-lived Sramana! do you want to wear or use this robe?' He (the owner of the robe) should not rend the still strong robe, and cast it away; but give it him (who had borrowed it) in its worn state; he should not use it himself.

3 The same rule holds good when many mendicants borrow for a short time clothes, and return after staying abroad for one, etc., days. All should be put in the plural.

4 'Well, I shall borrow a robe and return after staying abroad for one, two, three, four, or five days; perhaps it will thus become my own.' As this would be sinful, he should not do so.

5 A monk or a nun should not make coloured clothes colourless, or colour colourless clothes; nor should they give them to somebody else thinking that they will get other clothes; nor should they give it on promise (for other clothes); nor should they exchange them for other clothes; nor should they go to somebody else and say: 'O long-lived Sramana! do you want to wear or use these clothes?' They should not rend the still strong clothes, and cast them away, that another mendicant might think them bad ones.

6 If he sees in his way thieves, he should not from fear of them, and to save his clothes, leave the road or go into another road, etc. (see II, 3, 3, § 13), but undisturbed, his mind not directed to outward things, he should collect himself for contemplation; then he may circumspectly wander from village to village.

7 If the road of a monk or a nun on the pilgrimage lies through a forest in which, as they know, there stroll bands of many thieves desirous of their clothes, they should not from fear of them, and to save their clothes, leave the road or go into another road, etc. (all as in § 6).

8 If these thieves say: 'O long-lived Sramana! bring us your robe, give it, deliver it!' he should not give or deliver it. He should act in such cases (as prescribed in II, 3, 3, §§ 15 and 16).

This is the whole duty, etc.

Thus I say.

End of the Fifth Lecture, called Begging of Clothes.

AKARANGA BOOK 2 6TH LECTURE,
CALLED BEGGING FOR A BOWL.
FIRST LESSON.

1 A monk or a nun wanting to get a bowl, may beg for one made of bottle-gourd or wood or clay, or such-like bowls. If he be a youthful, young, etc. (see 2, 5, 1, § 1) monk, he may carry with him one bowl, not two.

A monk or a nun should not resolve to go farther than half a Yogana to get a bowl.

As regards the acceptance of a bowl, those four precepts which have been given in (the First Lesson of the First Lecture, called) Begging of Food, concerning one fellow-

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ascetic, etc., should be repeated here, the fifth is that concerning many Sramanas and Brahmanas.

A monk or a nun should not accept a bowl which the layman has, for the mendicant's sake, bought, etc. (see the Lecture called Begging of Clothes).

2 A monk or a nun should not accept any very expensive bowls of the following description: bowls made of iron, tin, lead, silver, gold, brass, a mixture of gold, silver, and copper, pearl, glass, mother of pearl, horn, ivory, cloth, stone, or leather; for such very expensive bowls are impure and unacceptable.

3 A monk or a nun should not accept bowls which contain a band of the same precious materials specialised in § 2; for etc.

4 For the avoidance of these occasions to sin there are four rules for begging a bowl to be known by the mendicants.

Now this is the first rule:

A monk or a nun may beg for a bowl specifying its quality, viz. bottle-gourd or wood or clay. If they beg for such a bowl, or the householder gives it, they may accept it, for it is pure and acceptable.

This is the first rule.

5 Now follows the second rule:

A monk or a nun may ask for a bowl, which they have well inspected, from the householder or his wife, etc. After consideration, they should say: 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) please give me one of these bowls, viz. one made of bottle-gourds or wood or clay.' If they beg for such a bowl, or the householder gives it, they may accept it; for etc.

This is the second rule.

6 Now follows the third rule:

A monk or a nun may beg for a bowl which has been used by the former owner or by many people. If they beg for it, etc. (see § 5).

This is the third rule.

7 Now follows the fourth rule:

A monk or a nun may beg for a left-off bowl which no other Sramana or Brahmana, guest, pauper, or beggar wants. If they beg for it, etc. (see § 5).

This is the fourth rule.

A monk or a nun having adopted one of these four rules should not say, etc. (see II, 1, t r, § 12, all down to) we respect each other accordingly.

8 A householder may perhaps say to a mendicant begging in the prescribed way: 'O long-lived Sramana! return after a month,' etc. (all as in the Lecture called Begging of Clothes 1).

9 The householder may say (to one of his people): 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) fetch that bowl, rub it with oil, ghee, fresh butter or marrow, we shall give it,' etc. (see II, 5, 1, § 11); or wash, wipe, or rub it with perfumes,' etc.; or 'wash it with cold or hot water;' or 'empty it of the bulbs,' etc. (see II, 5, 1, §§ 11 and 12).

10 The householder may say (to the mendicant): 'O long-lived Sramana! stay a while till they have cooked or prepared our food, etc., then we shall give you, O long-lived one! your alms-bowl filled with food or drink; it is not good, not meet that a mendicant should get an empty alms-bowl.' After consideration, the mendicant should answer: 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) it is indeed not meet for me to eat or drink food etc. which is adhakarmika; do not cook or prepare it; if you want to give me anything, give it as it is.' After these words the householder might offer him the alms-bowl filled with food or drink which had been cooked or prepared: he should not accept such an alms-bowl, for it is impure and unacceptable.

11 Perhaps the householder will bring and give the mendicant an alms-bowl; the mendicant should then, after consideration, say: 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) I shall in your presence closely inspect the interior of the bowl.'

The Kevalin says: This is the reason: In the alms-bowl there might be living beings or seeds or grass. Hence it has been said to the mendicant, etc., that he should closely inspect the interior of the alms-bowl.

12 All that has been said in the Lecture called Begging of Clothes (2, 5, I, § 15 down to the end) is mutatis mutandis to be repeated here. (In § 15, add before perfumes) with oil, ghee, butter or marrow.

This is the whole duty, etc.

Thus I say.

SECOND LESSON.

1 A monk or a nun, entering the abode of a householder for the sake of alms, should after examining their alms-bowl, taking out any living beings, and wiping off the dust, circumspectly enter or leave the householder's abode.

The Kevalin says: This is the reason: Living beings, seeds or dust might fall into his bowl. Hence it has been said to the mendicant, etc., that he should after examining his alms-bowl, taking out any living beings, circumspectly enter or leave the householder's abode.

2 On such an occasion the householder might perhaps, going in the house, fill the alms-bowl with cold water and, returning, offer it him; (the mendicant) should not accept such an alms-bowl* either in the householder's hand or his vessel; for it is impure and unacceptable. [* Though the alms-bowl is expressly mentioned, it must stand here for water, as the commentators interpret the passage.]

3 Perhaps he has, inadvertently, accepted it; then he should empty it again in (the householder's) water-pot; or (on his objecting to it) he should put down the bowl and the water somewhere, or empty it in some wet place.

4 A monk or a nun should not wipe or rub a wet or moist alms-bowl. But when they perceive that on their alms-bowl the water has dried up and the moisture is gone, then they may circumspectly wipe or rub it.

5 A monk or a nun wanting to enter the abode of a householder, should enter or leave it, for the sake of alms, with their bowl; also on going to the out-of-door place for religious practices or study; or on wandering from village to village.

If a strong and widely spread rain pours down, they should take the same care of their alms-bowl as is prescribed for clothes (in the preceding Lecture, Lesson 2, § 1).

This is the whole duty, etc.

Thus I say.

End of the Sixth Lecture, called Begging for a Bowl.

AKARANGA BOOK 2 7TH LECTURE,
CALLED REGULATION OF POSSESSION.
FIRST LESSON.

1 'I shall become a Sramana who owns no house, no property, no sons, no cattle, who eats what others give him; I shall commit no sinful action; Master, I renounce to accept anything that has not been given.' Having taken such vows, (a mendicant) should not, on entering a village or scot-free town, etc., take himself, or induce others to take, or allow others to take, what has not been given. A mendicant should not take or appropriate any property, viz. an umbrella* or vessel or stick, etc. (see II, 2, 3, § 2), of those monks together with whom he stays, without getting their permission, and without having inspected and wiped (the object in question); but having got their permission, and having inspected and wiped (the object in question), he may take or appropriate it. [* The commentator (Silanka) states that the monks in Kunkanadesa, etc., are allowed to carry umbrellas, because of the heavy rains in that country.]

2 He may beg for a domicile in a traveller's hall, etc. (see 2, 1, 8, § 2), having reflected (on its fitness for a stay); he should ask permission to take possession of it from him who is the landlord or the steward of that place: 'Indeed, O long-lived one! for the time, and in the space which you concede us, we shall dwell here. We shall take possession of the place for as long a time as the place belongs to you; and of as much of it as belongs to you; for as many fellow-ascetics (as shall stand in need of it); afterwards we shall take to wandering.'

3 Having got possession of some place, a mendicant should invite to that food, etc., which he himself has collected, any fellow-ascetics arriving there who follow the same rules and are zealous brethren; but he should not invite them to anything of which he has taken possession for the sake of somebody else.

4 Having got possession of some place (in a traveller's hall, etc.), a mendicant should offer a footstool or bench or bed or couch, which he himself has begged, to any fellow-ascetics arriving there who follow other rules than he, yet are zealous brethren; but he should not offer them anything of which he has taken possession for the sake of somebody else.

5 Having got possession of some place in a traveller's hall, etc., a mendicant might ask from a householder or his sons the loan of a needle or a Pippalaka or an ear-picker or a nail-parer, he should not give or lend it to somebody else; but having done that for which he wanted one of the above articles, he should go with that article there (where the householder, etc., is), and stretching out his hands or laying the article on the ground, he should, after consideration, say: 'Here it is! here it is!' But he should not with his own hand put it in the hand of the householder.

6-12 A monk or a nun should not take possession of anything on the bare ground, on wet ground, where there are eggs, etc.; nor on pillars or such an above-ground place (2, 2, 1, § 7); nor on a wall, etc.; nor on the trunk of a tree, etc.; nor where the householder or fire or water, or women or children or cattle are, and where it is not fit for a wise man to enter or to leave, etc., nor to meditate on the law; nor where they have to pass through the householder's abode or to which there is no road, and where it is not fit, etc.; nor where the householder or his wife, etc., bully or scold each other, etc. (see 2, 2, 1, § 9, and 3, § 7); nor where they rub or anoint each other's body with oil or ghee or butter or grease; nor where they take a bath, etc.; nor where they go about naked, etc. (all as in 2, 2, 3, §§ 7-12).

This is the whole duty, etc.

Thus I say.

SECOND LESSON.

1 He may beg for a domicile in a traveller's hall, etc. (see 2, 1, 8, § 2), having reflected (on its fitness); he should ask permission to take possession of it from the landlord or the steward of that place: 'Indeed, O long-lived one! for the time and in the space you concede us, we shall dwell here [§ 2 of the preceding Lesson is repeated word for word.],' etc. (see 1, § 2). Now what further after the place is taken possession of? He should not remove from without to within, or vice versa, any umbrella or stick, etc. (see 2, 2, 3, § 2) belonging to Sramanas or Brahmanas (previously settled there); nor should he wake up a sleeping person, nor offend or molest the (inmates).

2 A monk or a nun might wish to go to a mango park; they should then ask the landlord's or steward's permission (in the manner described above). Now what further after the place is taken possession of? Then they might desire to eat a mango. If the monk or the nun perceive that the mango is covered with eggs, living beings, etc. (see 2, 1, 1, § 2), they should not take it; for it is impure, etc.

3 If the monk or the nun perceive that the mango is free from eggs, living beings, etc., but not nibbled at by animals, nor injured, they should not take it; for it is impure, etc. But if they perceive that the mango is free from eggs, living beings, etc., and is nibbled at by animals and injured, then they may take it; for it is pure, etc.

4 The monk might wish to eat or suck one half of a mango or a mango's peel or rind or sap or smaller particles. If the monk or the nun perceive that the above-enumerated things are covered with eggs, or living beings, they should not take them; for they are impure, etc. But they may take them, if they are free from eggs, etc., and nibbled at by animals or injured.

5 A monk or a nun might wish to go to a sugarcane plantation. They should ask permission in the manner described above. The monk or the nun might wish to chew or suck sugar-cane. In that case the same rules as for eating mango apply also; likewise if they wish to chew or to suck the sugar-cane's pulp, fibres, sap, or smaller particles.

6 A monk or a nun might wish to go to a garlic field. They should ask permission in the manner described above. The monk or the nun might wish to chew or suck garlic. In that case the same rules as for eating mangoes apply also; likewise if they wish to chew or suck the bulb or peel or stalk or seed of garlic.

7 A monk or a nun, having got possession of a place in a traveller's hall, etc., should avoid all occasions to sin (proceeding from any preparations made by) the householders or their sons, and should occupy that place according to the following rules.

8 Now this is the first rule: He may beg for a domicile in a traveller's hall, etc., having reflected (on its fitness for a stay), etc. (§ 2 of the preceding Lesson is to be repeated here). This is the first rule.

9 Now follows the second rule: A monk resolves: 'I shall ask for possession of a dwelling-place, etc., for the sake of other mendicants, and having taken possession of it for their sake, I shall use it.' This is the second rule.

10 Now follows the third rule: A monk resolves: 'I shall ask for possession of a dwelling-place, etc., for the sake of other mendicants, and having taken possession of it for their sake, I shall not use it.' This is the third rule.

11 Now follows the fourth rule: A monk resolves: 'I shall not ask for possession of a dwelling-place, etc., for the sake of other mendicants; but if the dwelling-place, etc., has already been ceded to them, I shall use it.' This is the fourth rule.

12 Now follows the fifth rule: A monk resolves: 'I shall ask for possession of a dwelling-place for my own sake, not for two, three, four, or five persons.' This is the fifth rule.

13 Now follows the sixth rule:

If a monk or a nun, occupying a dwelling-place in which there is Ikkada reed, etc. (see 2, 2, 3, § 18), get this thing, then they may use it; otherwise they should remain in a squatting or sitting posture.

This is the sixth rule.

14 Now follows the seventh rule: A monk or a nun may beg for a dwelling-place paved with clay or wood. If they get it, then they may use it; otherwise they should remain in a squatting or sitting posture. This is the seventh rule.

One who has adopted one of these seven rules, should not say, etc. (all as in 2, 1, 11, § 12).

15 I have heard the following explanation by the venerable (Mahavira): The Sthaviras, the venerable ones, have declared that dominion is fivefold:

The lord of the gods' dominion;
The king's dominion;
The houseowner's dominion;
The householder's dominion;
The religious man's dominion.
This is the whole duty, etc.
Thus I say.
End of the Seventh Lecture, called Regulation of Possession.

SECOND PART.
THE SEVEN LECTURES.
AKARANGA BOOK 2 8TH LECTURE.

1 When a monk or a nun wishes to perform religious postures 3, they should enter a village or a scot-free town, etc.; having entered it, they should not accept a place, even if it is offered, which is infected by eggs or living beings, etc.; for such a place is impure and unacceptable. In this way all that

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has been said about couches (in the Second Lecture) should be repeated here as far as 'water-plants' (2, 2, 1, § 5).

2 Avoiding these occasions to sin, a mendicant may choose one of these four rules for the performance of religious postures.

This is the first rule: I shall choose something inanimate, and lean against it; changing the position of the body, and moving about a little, I shall stand there. This is the first rule.

3 Now follows the second rule: I shall choose something inanimate, and lean against it; changing the position of the body, but not moving about a little, I shall stand there. This is the second rule.

4 Now follows the third rule: I shall choose something inanimate, and lean against it; not changing the position of the body, nor moving about a little, I shall stand there. This is the third rule.

5 Now follows the fourth rule: I shall choose something inanimate, but I shall not lean against it; not changing the position of the body, nor moving about a little, I shall stand there. Abandoning the care of the body, abandoning the care of the hair of the head, beard, and the other parts of the body, of the nails, perfectly motionless, I shall stand there. This is the fourth rule.

One who has adopted one of these four rules, etc. (see II, 1, 11, § 12).

This is the whole duty, etc. Thus I say.

AKARANGA BOOK 2 9TH LECTURE.

1 When a monk or a nun wishes to go to a pure place for study, they [The original has the first person ketissami.] should not accept one which is infected by eggs or living beings, etc.; for it is impure and unacceptable. But if that place for study to which they wish to go, is free from eggs or living beings, etc., they may accept it; for it is pure and acceptable. In this way all that has been said in the corresponding passage about couches 1 should be repeated here as far as 'water-plants.'

2 If parties of two, three, four, or five (mendicants) resolve to go to the place for study, they should not embrace or hug, bite with their teeth or scratch with their nails each other's body.

This is the whole duty, etc, Thus I say.

AKARANGA BOOK 2 10TH LECTURE.

1 A monk or a nun being pressed by nature should, in case they have not their own broom, beg for that of a fellow-ascetic. A monk or a nun, seeing that the ground is infected by eggs or living beings, etc., should not ease nature on such an unfit ground. But if the ground is free from eggs or living beings, etc., then they may ease nature on such a ground.

2, 3 A monk or a nun, knowing that the householder with regard to such a place for the sake of one or many, male or female fellow-ascetics, for the sake of many Sramanas or Brahmanas whom he has well counted, kills living beings and commits various sins, should not ease nature on such a place or any other of the same sort, whether that place be appropriated by another person or not 3, etc. (see II, 1, 1, § 13). .

4 Now he should know this: If that place has not been appropriated by another person, etc., he may ease nature on such a place (after having well inspected and cleaned it).

5 A monk or a nun should not ease nature on a ground which for their sake has been prepared or caused to be prepared (by the householder), or has been occupied by main force, or strewn with grass, or levelled, or smeared (with cowdung), or smoothed, or perfumed.

6 A monk or a nun should not ease nature on a ground where the householders or their sons remove from outside to inside, or vice versa, bulbs, roots, etc. (see II, 2, 1, § 5).

7 A monk or a nun should not ease nature on a pillar or bench or scaffold or loft or tower or roof.

8 A monk or a nun should not ease nature on the bare ground or on wet ground or on dusty ground or on a rock or clay containing life, or on timber inhabited by worms or on anything containing life, as eggs, living beings, etc.

9 A monk or a nun should not ease nature in a place where the householders or their sons have. do, or will put by bulbs, roots, etc.

10 A monk or a nun should not ease nature in a place where the householders or their sons have sown, sow, or will sow rice, beans, sesamum, pulse, or barley.

11 A monk or a nun should not ease nature in a place where there are heaps of refuse, furrows, mud, stakes, sprigs, holes, caves, walls, even or uneven places.

12 A monk or a nun should not ease nature in fireplaces, layers (or nests) of buffaloes, cattle, cocks, monkeys, quails, ducks, partridges, doves, or francoline partridges.

13 A monk or a nun should not ease nature in a place where suicide is committed, or where (those who desire to end their life) expose their body to vultures, or precipitate themselves from rocks or trees*, or eat poison, or enter fire. [* The commentator says: where they fall like a tree, having starved themselves to death, or where they fall from trees.]

14 A monk or a nun should not ease nature in gardens, parks, woods, forests, temples, or wells.

15 A monk or a nun should not ease nature in towers, pathways, doors, or town gates.

16 A monk or a nun should not ease nature where three or four roads meet, nor in courtyards or squares.

17 A monk or a nun should not ease nature where charcoal or potash is produced, or the dead are burnt, or on the sarcophaguses or shrines of the dead.

18 A monk or a nun should not ease nature at sacred places near rivers, marshes or ponds, or in a conduit.

19 A monk or a nun should not ease nature in fresh clay pits, fresh pasture grounds for cattle, in meadows or quarries.

20 A monk or a nun should not ease nature in a field of shrubs, vegetables, or roots.

21 A monk or a nun should not ease nature in woods of Asana [Terminalia Tomentosa.], Sana [Crotolaria Juncea.], Dhataki [Grislea Tomentosa.], Ketaki [Pandanus Odoratissimus.], Mango, Asoka, Punnaga, or other such-like places which contain leaves, flowers, fruits, seeds, or sprouts.

22 A monk or a nun should take their own chamber-pot or that of somebody else, and going apart with it, they should ease nature in a secluded place where no people pass or see them, and which is free from eggs or living beings, etc.; then taking (the chamber-pot), they should go to a secluded spot, and leave the excrements there on a heap of ashes, etc. (see II, 1, 1, § 2).

This is the whole duty, etc.

Thus I say.

AKARANGA BOOK 2 11TH LECTURE.

1 A monk or a nun should not resolve to go where they will hear sounds of a Mridanga, Nandimridanga, or Ghallari [These are different kinds of drums.], or any such-like various sounds of drums.

2 If a monk or a nun hear any sounds, viz. of the Vina, Vipamki, Vadvisaka, Tunaka, Panaka, Tumbavinika, or Dhamkuna, they should not resolve to go where they will hear any such-like various sounds of stringed instruments.

3 The same precepts apply to sounds of kettledrums, viz. of the Tala, Lattiya, Gohiya, or Kirikiriya;

4 Also to sounds of wind instruments, viz. the conch, flute, Kharamukhi, or Piripiriya.

5 A monk* or a nun should not, for the sake of hearing sounds, go to walls or ditches, etc. (see II, 3, 3, §§ 1 and 2); [* The beginning, 'If a monk or a nun hear particular sounds somewhere, viz.,' and the end, 'they should not resolve to go to suchlike or other places for the sake of hearing sounds,' are in the text repeated in all, §§ 5-16. In the translation the text has been somewhat Abridged.]

6 Nor to marshes, pasture grounds, thickets, woods, strongholds in woods, mountains, strongholds in mountains;

7 Nor to villages, towns, markets, or a capital, hermitages, cities, halting-places for caravans;

8 Nor to gardens, parks, woods, forests, temples, assembly halls, wells;

9 Nor to towers, pathways, doors, or town gates;

10 Nor where three or four roads meet, nor to courtyards or squares;

11 Nor to stables (or nests) of buffaloes, cattle, horses, elephants, etc. (see 10, § 12);

12 Nor to places where buffaloes, bulls, horses, etc., fight;

13 Nor to places where herds of cattle, horses, or elephants are kept;

14 Nor to places where story-tellers or acrobats perform, or where continuously story-telling, dramatical plays, singing, music, performance on the Vina, beating of time, playing on the Turya, clever playing on the Pataha is going on;

15 Nor to places where quarrels, affrays, riots, conflicts between two kingdoms, anarchical or revolutionary disturbances occur;

16 Nor to places where a young well-attended girl, well-attired and well-ornamented, is paraded, or where somebody is led to death.

17 A monk or a nun should not, for the sake of hearing sounds, go to places where there are many great temptations 1, viz. where many cars, chariots, Mlekkhas, or foreigners meet.

18 A monk or a nun should not, for the sake of hearing sounds, go to great festivals where women or men, old, young, or middle-aged ones are well-dressed and ornamented, sing, make music, dance, laugh, play, sport, or give, distribute, portion or parcel out plenty of food, drink, dainties, and spices.

19 A monk or a nun should not like or love, desire for, or be enraptured with, sounds of this or the other world, heard or unheard ones, seen or unseen ones.

This is the whole duty, etc.

Thus I say.

AKARANGA BOOK 2 12TH LECTURE.

1 If a monk or a nun see various colours (or forms), viz. in wreaths, dressed images, dolls, clothes, woodwork, plastering, paintings, jewelry, ivory-work, strings, leaf-cutting, they should not for the sake of pleasing the eye resolve to go where they will see various colours (or forms). All that has been said in the last chapter with regard to sounds should be repeated here with regard to colours (or forms); only the passages on music are to be omitted.

AKARANGA BOOK 2 13TH LECTURE.

1 One should neither be pleased with nor prohibit the action of another which relates to one's self, and produces karman.

One should neither be pleased with nor prohibit it [In the text these words are repeated after each Sutra in §§ 1-10.];

If another (i.e. a householder) wipes [or rubs] the mendicant's feet;

2 If he kneads or strokes them;

3 If he touches or paints them;

4 If he smears or anoints them with oil, ghee, or marrow;

5 If he rubs or shampoos them with Lodhra, ground drugs, powder, or dye;

6 If he sprinkles or washes them with hot or cold water;

7 If he rubs or anoints them with any sort of ointment;

8 If he perfumes or fumigates them with any sort of incense;

9 If he extracts or removes a splinter or thorn from them;

10 If he extracts or removes pus or blood from them.

11 If he wipes or rubs the mendicant's body, etc. (see §§ 2-8 down to) if he perfumes or fumigates it with any sort of incense.

12 If he wipes or rubs a wound in (the mendicant's) body (etc. 1, down to) if he sprinkles or washes it with hot or cold water;

13 If he cuts or incises it with any sharp instrument; if after having done so, he extracts or removes pus or blood from it.

14 If he wipes or rubs a boil, abscess, ulcer, or fistula (etc., down to) if he cuts or incises it with any sharp instrument; if after having done so, he extracts or removes pus or blood from it;

15 If he removes, or wipes off, the sweat and uncleanliness on his body;

16 If he removes, or wipes off, the dirt of his eyes, ears, teeth, or nails.

17 If he cuts or dresses the long hair of his head or his brows or his armpits;

18 If he removes, or wipes off, the nit or lice from his head.

19 One should neither be pleased with nor prohibit it, if the other, sitting in the Anka or Paryanka posture, wipes or rubs (the mendicant's) feet; in this way the §§ 1-18 should be repeated here.

20 One should neither be pleased with nor prohibit it, if the other, sitting in the Anka or Paryanka posture, fastens or ties a necklace of many or less strings, a necklace hanging down over the breast, a collar, a diadem, a garland, a golden string;

21 If the other leading him to, or treating him in, a garden or a park, wipes or rubs (the mendicant's) feet, etc. (all as above); similarly with actions done reciprocally.

22 One should neither be pleased with nor prohibit it, if the other tries to cure him by pure charms;

If the other tries to cure him by impure charms;

If he tries to cure him, digging up and cutting, for the sake of a sick monk, living bulbs, roots, rind, or sprouts.

23 For sensation is the result of former actions; all sorts of living beings experience sensation.

This is the whole duty, etc.

Thus I say.

AKARANGA BOOK 2 14TH LECTURE.

1 One should not be pleased with nor prohibit a reciprocal action, which relates to one's self, and produces karman.

A mendicant should not be pleased with nor prohibit it, if (he and the other) wipe or rub each other's feet, etc.

In this way the whole Thirteenth Lecture should be repeated here.

This is the whole duty, etc. Thus I say.

End of the Second Part, called the Seven Lectures.

THIRD PART.

AKARANGA BOOK 2 15TH LECTURE,

CALLED THE CLAUSES.

1 In that period, in that age lived the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira, the five (most important moments of whose life happened) when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Uttaraphalguni; to wit: In Uttaraphalguni he descended (from heaven), and having descended (thence), he entered the womb (of Devananda); in Uttaraphalguni he was removed from the womb (of Devananda) to the womb (of Trisala); in Uttaraphalguni he was born; in Uttaraphalguni tearing out his hair, he left the house, and entered the state of houselessness; in Uttaraphalguni he obtained the highest knowledge and intuition, called Kevala, which is infinite, supreme, unobstructed, unimpeded, complete, and perfect. But in Svati the Venerable One obtained final liberation.

2 When in this Avasarpini era, the Sushama-sushama period, the Sushama period, the Sushamaduhshama period, and much time of the Duhshamasushama period had elapsed, seventy-five years nine and a half months of it being left; in the fourth month of summer, in the eighth fortnight, in the light

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fortnight of Ashadha, on its sixth day, while the moon was in conjunction with Uttaraphalguni, the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira descended from the great Vimana, the all-victorious and all-prosperous Pushpottara, which is like the lotus amongst the best (and highest flowers), and like the Svastika and Vardhamanaka amongst the celestial regions, where he had lived for twenty Sagaropamas till the termination of his allotted length of life, (divine) nature and existence (among gods). Here, forsooth, in the continent of Gambudvipa, in Bharatavarsha, in the southern part of it, in the southern brahmanical part of the place Kundapura, he took the form of an embryo in the womb of Devananda, of the Galandharayana gotra, wife of the Brahmana Rishabhadatta, of the gotra of Kodala, taking the form of a lion.

3 The knowledge of the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira (with reference to this transaction) was threefold: he knew that he was to descend; he knew that he had descended; he knew not when he was descending. For that time has been declared to be infinitesimally small.

4 Then in the third month of the rainy season, the fifth fortnight, the dark (fortnight) of Asvina, on its thirteenth day, while the moon was in conjunction with Uttaraphalguni, after the lapse of eighty-two days, on the eighty-third day current, the compassionate god (Indra), reflecting on what was the established custom (with regard to the birth of Tirthakaras), removed the embryo from the southern brahmanical part of the place Kundapura to the northern Kshatriya part of the same place, rejecting the unclean matter, and retaining the clean matter, lodged the fetus in the womb of Trisala of the Vasishtha gotra, wife of the Kshatriya Siddhartha, of the Kasyapa gotra, of the clan of the Gnatris, and lodged the fetus of the Kshatriyani Trisala in the womb of Devananda of the Galandharayana gotra, wife of the Brahmana Rishabhadatta, of the gotra of Kodala, in the southern brahmanical part of the place Kundapuri.

5 The knowledge of the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira (with regard to this transaction) was threefold: he knew that he was to be removed; he knew that he was removed; he also knew when he was being removed.

6 In that period, in that age, once upon a time, after the lapse of nine complete months and seven and a half days, in the first month of summer, in the second fortnight, the dark (fortnight) of Kaitra, on its thirteenth day, while the moon was in conjunction with Uttaraphalguni, the Kshatriyani Trisala, perfectly healthy herself, gave birth to a perfectly healthy (boy), the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira.

7 In that night in which the Kshatriyani Trisala, perfectly healthy herself, gave birth to a perfectly healthy (boy), the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira, there was one great divine, godly lustre (originated) by descending and ascending gods and goddesses (of the four orders of) Bhavanapatis, Vyantaras, Gyotishkas, and Vimanavasins; and in the conflux of gods the bustle of gods amounted to confusion.

8 In that night, etc., the gods and goddesses rained down one great shower of nectar, sandal powder, flowers, gold, and pearls.

9 In that night the gods and goddesses (of the above-mentioned four orders) performed the customary ceremonies of auspiciousness and honour, and his anointment as a Tirthakara.

10 Upwards from the time when the Venerable Mahavira was placed in the womb of the Kshatriyani Trisala, that family's (treasure) of gold, silver, riches, corn, jewels, pearls, shells, precious stones, and corals increased.

11 When the parents of the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira had become aware of this, after the lapse of the tenth day, and the performance of the purification, they prepared much food, drink, sweetmeats, and spices; and having invited a host of friends, near and remote relatives, they distributed, portioned out, bestowed (the above-mentioned materials) to Sramanas, Brahmanas, paupers, beggars [The next word, bhivvumdaga, has been left out in the translation.], eunuchs, etc., and distributed gifts to those who wanted to make presents; then they gave a dinner to the host of friends, near and remote relatives, and after dinner they announced the name (of the child) to their guests:

12 'Since the prince was placed in the womb of the Kshatriyani Trisala, this family's (treasure) of gold, silver, riches, corn, jewels, pearls, shells, precious stones, and corals increased; therefore the prince shall be called Vardhamana (i.e. the Increasing).'

13 The Venerable Ascetic Mahavira was attended by five nurses: a wet-nurse, a nurse to clean him, one to dress him, one to play with him, one to carry him; being transferred from the lap of one nurse to that of another, he grew up on that beautiful ground, paved with mosaic of precious stones, like a Kampaka tree [Michelia Champaka.] growing in the glen of a mountain.

14 Then the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira, after his intellect had developed and the childhood had passed away, lived in the enjoyment of the allowed, noble, fivefold joys and pleasures: (consisting in) sound, touch, taste, colour, and smell.

15 The Venerable Ascetic Mahavira belonged to the Kasyapa gotra. His three names have thus been recorded by tradition: by his parents he was called Vardhamana, because he is devoid of love and hate (he is called) Sramana (i.e. Ascetic), because he sustains dreadful dangers and fears, the noble nakedness, and the miseries of the world; the name Venerable Ascetic Mahavira has been given to him by the gods.

The Venerable Ascetic Mahavira's father belonged to the Kasyapa gotra; he had three names: Siddhartha, Sreyarsa, and Gasamsa. His mother belonged to the Vasishtha gotra, and had three names: Trisala, Videhadatta, and Priyakarini. His paternal uncle Suparsva belonged to the Kasyapa gotra. His eldest brother, Nandivardhana, and his eldest sister, Sudarsana, belonged both to the Kasyapa gotra. His wife Yasoda belonged to the Kaundinya gotra. His daughter, who belonged to the Kasyapa gotra, had two names: Anogga and Priyadarsana. His granddaughter, who belonged to the Kausika gotra, had two names: Seshavati and Yasovati.

16 The Venerable Ascetic Mahavira's parents were worshippers of Parsva and followers of the Sramanas. During many years they were followers of the Sramanas, and for the sake of protecting the six classes of lives they observed, blamed, repented, confessed, and did penance according to their sins. On a bed of Kusa-grass they rejected all food, and their bodies dried up by the last mortification of the flesh, which is to end in death. Thus they died in the proper month, and, leaving their bodies, were born as gods in Adbhuta Kalpa. Thence descending after the termination of their allotted length of life, they will, in Mahavideha, with their departing breath, reach absolute perfection, wisdom, liberation, final Nirvana, and the end of all misery.

17 In that period, in that age the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira, a Gnatri Kshatriya, Gnatriputra, a Videha, son of Videhadatta, a native of Videha, a prince of Videha, lived thirty years amongst the householders under the name of 'Videha.'

After his parents had gone to the worlds of the gods and he had fulfilled his promise, he gave up his gold and silver, his troops and chariots, and distributed, portioned out, and gave away his valuable treasures (consisting of) riches, corn, gold, pearls, etc., and distributed among those who wanted to make presents to others. Thus he gave away during a whole year. In the first month of winter, in the first fortnight, in the dark (fortnight) of Margasiras, on its tenth day, while the moon was in conjunction with Uttaraphalguni, he made up his mind to retire from the world.

18 1st A year before the best of Ginas will retire from the world, they continue to give away their property, from the rising of the sun.

2nd One krore and eight lakhs of gold is his gift at the rising of the sun, as if it were his morning meal.

3rd Three hundred and eighty-eight krores and eighty lakhs were given in one year.

4th The Kundaladharas of Vaisramana, the Laukantika and Maharddhika gods in the fifteen Karmabhumis 1 wake the Tirthakara.

5th In Brahma Kalpa and in the line of Krishnas, the Laukantika Vimanas are eightfold and infinite in number.

6th These orders of gods wake the best of Ginas, the Venerable Vira: Arhat! propagate the religion which is a blessing to all creatures in the world!'

When the gods and goddesses (of the four orders of) Bhavanapatis, Vyantaras, Gyotishkas, and Vimanavasins had become aware of the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira's intention to retire from the world, they assumed their proper form, dress, and ensigns, ascended with their proper pomp and splendour, together with their whole retinue, their own vehicles and chariots, and rejecting all gross matter, retained only the subtile matter. Then they rose and with that excellent, quick, swift, rapid, divine motion of the gods they came down again crossing numberless continents and oceans till they arrived in Gambudvipa at the northern Kshatriya part of the place Kundapura; in the north-eastern quarter of it they suddenly halted.

19 Sakra, the leader and king of the gods, quietly and slowly stopped his vehicle and chariot, quietly and slowly descended from it and went apart. There he underwent a great transformation, and produced by magic a great, beautiful, lovely, fine-shaped divine pavilion, which was ornamented with many designs in precious stones, gold, and pearls. In the middle part of that divine pavilion he produced one great throne of the same description, with a footstool.

20 Then he went where the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira was, and thrice circumambulating him from left to right, he praised and worshipped him. Leading him to the divine pavilion, he softly placed him with the face towards the east on the throne, anointed him with hundredfold and thousandfold refined oil, with perfumes and decoctions, bathed him with pure water, and rubbed him with beautifying cool sandal, laid on a piece of cloth worth a lakh. He clad him in a pair of robes so light that the smallest breath would carry them away; they were manufactured in a famous city, praised by clever artists, soft as the fume of horses, interwoven with gold by skilful masters, and ornamented with designs of flamingos. Then (the god) decked him with necklaces of many and fewer strings, with one hanging down over his breast and one consisting of one row of pearls, with a garland, a golden string, a turban, a diadem, wreaths of precious stones, and decorated him with garlands, ribbons, scarves, and sashes like the Kalpavriksha.

21 The god then, for a second time, underwent a great transformation, and produced by magic the great palankin, called Kandraprabha [I.e. shining like the moon.], which a thousand men carry. (This palankin) was adorned with pictures of wolves, bulls, horses, men, dolphins, birds, monkeys, elephants, antelopes, sarabhas [A fabulous animal with eight legs.], yaks, tigers, lions, creeping plants, and a train of couples of Vidyadharas; it had a halo of thousands of rays; it was decorated with thousands of brilliant glittering rupees; its lustre was mild and bright; the eyes could not bear its light; it shone with heaps and masses of pearls; it was hung with strings and ribbons, and with golden excellent necklaces, extremely beautiful; it was embellished with designs of lotuses and many other plants; its cupola was adorned with many precious stones of five colours, with bells and flags; it was conspicuous, lovely, beautiful, splendid, magnificent.

22 7th This palankin was brought for the best of Ginas, who is free from old age and death; it was hung with wreaths and garlands of divine flowers, grown in water or on dry ground.

8th In the middle of the palankin (was) a costly throne covered with a divine cloth, precious stones and silver, with a footstool, for the best of Ginas.

9th He wore on his head a chaplet and a diadem, his body was shining, and he was adorned with many ornaments; he had put on a robe of muslin worth a lakh.

10 After a fast of three days, with a glorious resolution he ascended the supreme palankin, purifying all by his light.

11 He sat on his throne, and Sakra and Isana, on both sides, fanned him with chowries, the handles of which were inlaid with jewels and precious stones.

12 In front it was uplifted by men, covered with joyful horripilation; behind the gods carried it: the Suras and Asuras, the Garudas and the chiefs of Nagas.

13 The Suras carried it on the eastern side, and the Asuras on the southern one; on the western side the Garudas carried it, and the Nagas on the northern side.

14th As a grove in blossom, or a lotus-covered lake in autumn looks beautiful with a mass of flowers, so did (then) the firmament with hosts of gods.

15th As a grove of Siddhartha [White mustard.], of Karnikara [Cassia Fistula.] or of Kampaka [Michelia Champaka.] looks beautiful with a mass of flowers, so did (then) the firmament with hosts of gods.

16th In the skies and on earth the sound of musical instruments produced by hundreds of thousands of excellent drums, kettle-drums, cymbals, and conches was extremely pleasant.

17th Then the gods ordered many hundreds of actors to perform a very rich concert of four kinds of instruments: stringed instruments and drums, cymbals and wind-instruments.

At that period, in that age, in the first month of winter, in the first fortnight, the dark (fortnight) of Margasiras, on its tenth day, called Suvrata, in the Muhurta called Vigaya, while the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Uttaraphalguni, when the shadow had turned towards the east, and the first Paurushi was over, after fasting three days without taking water, having put on one garment, the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira, in his palankin Kandraprabha, which only a thousand men can carry, with a train of gods, men, and Asuras left the northern Kshatriya part of the place Kundapura by the high way for the park Gnatri Shanda. There, just at the beginning of night, he caused the palankin Kandraprabha to stop quietly on a slightly raised untouched ground, quietly descended from it, sat quietly down on a throne with the face towards the east, and took off all his ornaments and finery.

23 The god Vaisramana, prostrating himself, caught up the finery and ornaments of the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira in a cloth of flamingo-pattern. Mahavira then plucked out with his right and left (hands) on the right and left (sides of his head) his hair in five handfuls. But Sakra, the leader and king of the gods, falling down before the feet of the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira, caught up the hair in a cup of diamond, and requesting his permission, brought them to the Milk Ocean. After the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira had plucked out his hair in five handfuls (as described above), he paid obeisance to all liberated spirits, and vowing to do no sinful act, he adopted the holy conduct. At that moment the whole assembly of men and gods stood motionless, like the figures on a picture.

18th At the command of Sakra, the clamour of men and gods, and the sound of musical instruments suddenly ceased, when Mahavira chose the holy conduct.

19th Day and night following that conduct which is a blessing to all animated and living beings, the zealous gods listen to him with joyful horripilation.

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When the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira had adopted the holy conduct which produced that state of soul in which the reward of former actions is temporarily counteracted, he reached the knowledge called Manahparyaya, by which he knew the thoughts of all sentient beings, with five organs, which are not defective, and possess a developed intellect, (living) in the two and a half continents and the two oceans. Then he formed the following resolution: I shall for twelve years neglect my body and abandon the care of it; I shall with equanimity bear, undergo, and suffer all calamities arising from divine powers, men or animals.

24 The Venerable Ascetic Mahavira having formed this resolution, and neglecting his body, arrived in the village Kummara when only one Muhurta of the day remained. Neglecting his body, the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira meditated on his Self, in blameless lodgings, in blameless wandering, in restraint, kindness, avoidance of sinful influence (samvara), chaste life, in patience, freedom from passion, contentment; control, circumspectness, practising religious postures and acts; walking the path of Nirvana and liberation, which is the fruit of good conduct. Living thus he with equanimity bore, endured, sustained, and suffered all calamities arising from divine powers, men, and animals, with undisturbed and unafflicted mind, careful of body, speech, and mind.

25 The Venerable Ascetic Mahavira passed twelve years in this way of life; during the thirteenth year in the second month of summer, in the fourth fortnight, the light (fortnight) of Vaisakha, on its tenth day, called Suvrata, in the Muhurta called Vigaya, while the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Uttaraphalguni, when the shadow had turned towards the east, and the first wake was over, outside of the town Grimbhikagrama, on the northern bank of the river Rigupalika, in the field of the householder Samaga, in a north-eastern direction from an old temple, not far from a Sal tree, in a squatting position with joined heels exposing himself to the heat of the sun, with the knees high and the head low, in deep meditation, in the midst of abstract meditation, he reached Nirvana, the complete and full, the unobstructed, unimpeded, infinite and supreme, best knowledge and intuition, called Kevala.

26 When the Venerable One had become an Arhat and Gina, he was a Kevalin, omniscient and comprehending all objects, he knew all conditions of the world, of gods, men, and demons; whence they come, where they go, whether they are born as men or animals (kyavana), or become gods or hell-beings (upapada); their food, drink, doings, desires, open and secret deeds, their conversation and gossip, and the thoughts of their minds; he saw and knew all conditions in the whole world of all living beings.

27 On the day when the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira reached the Kevala, the gods (of the four orders of) Bhavanapatis, Vyantaras, Gyotishkas, and Vimanavasins descended from, and ascended to heaven, etc. (as on the moment of his birth, see above, § 7).

28 Then when the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira had reached the highest knowledge and intuition, he reflected on himself and the world: first he taught the law to the gods, afterwards to men.

29 The Venerable Ascetic Mahavira endowed with the highest knowledge and intuition taught the five great vows, with their clauses, the six classes of lives to the Sramanas and Nirgranthas, to Gautama, etc.

The six classes of lives are earth-body, etc. (down to) animals.

1st. The first great vow, Sir, runs thus:

1 I renounce all killing of living beings, whether subtile or gross, whether movable or immovable. Nor shall I myself kill living beings (nor cause others to do it, nor consent to it). As long as I live, I confess and blame, repent and exempt myself of these sins, in the thrice threefold way 1, in mind, speech, and body. There are five clauses.

The first clause runs thus: A Nirgrantha is careful in his walk, not careless. The Kevalin assigns as the reason, that a Nirgrantha, careless in his walk, might (with his feet) hurt or displace or injure or kill living beings. Hence a Nirgrantha is careful in his walk, not careless in his walk. This is the first clause.

2 Now follows the second clause: A Nirgrantha searches into his mind (i.e. thoughts and intentions). If his mind is sinful, blamable, intent on works, acting on impulses, produces cutting and splitting (or division and dissension), quarrels, faults, and pains, injures living beings, or kills creatures, he should not employ such a mind in action; but if, on the contrary, it is not sinful, etc., then he may put it in action. This is the second clause.

3 Now follows the third clause: A Nirgrantha searches into his speech; if his speech is sinful, blamable, etc. (all down to) kills creatures, he should not utter that speech. But if, on the contrary, it is not sinful, etc., then he may utter it. This is the third clause.

4 Now follows the fourth clause: A Nirgrantha is careful in laying down his utensils of begging, he is not careless in it. The Kevalin says: A Nirgrantha who is careless in laying down his utensils of begging, might hurt or displace or injure or kill all sorts of living beings. Hence a Nirgrantha is careful in laying down his utensils of begging, he is not careless in it.

This is the fourth clause.

5 Now follows the fifth clause: A Nirgrantha eats and drinks after inspecting his food and drink; he does not eat and drink without inspecting his food and drink. The Kevalin says: If a Nirgrantha would eat and drink without inspecting his food and drink, he might hurt and displace or injure or kill all sorts of living beings. Hence a Nirgrantha eats and drinks after inspecting his food and drink, not without doing so. This is the fifth clause.

In this way the great vow is correctly practised, followed, executed, explained, established, effected according to the precept. This is, Sir, the first great vow: Abstinence from killing any living beings. i.

2nd. The second great vow runs thus:

1 I renounce all vices of lying speech (arising) from anger or greed or fear or mirth. I shall neither myself speak lies, nor cause others to speak lies, nor consent to the speaking of lies by others. I confess and blame, repent and exempt myself of these sins in the thrice threefold way, in mind, speech, and body. There are five clauses.

The first clause runs thus: A Nirgrantha speaks after deliberation, not without deliberation. The Kevalin says: Without deliberation a Nirgrantha might utter a falsehood in his speech. A Nirgrantha speaks after deliberation, not without deliberation. This is the first clause.

2 Now follows the second clause: A Nirgrantha comprehends (and renounces) anger, he is not angry. The Kevalin says: A Nirgrantha who is moved by anger, and is angry, might utter a falsehood in his speech. A Nirgrantha, etc. This is the second clause.

3 Now follows the third clause: A Nirgrantha comprehends (and renounces) greed, he is not greedy. The Kevalin says: A Nirgrantha who is moved by greed, and is greedy, might utter a falsehood in his speech. A Nirgrantha, etc. This is the third clause.

4 Now follows the fourth clause: A Nirgrantha comprehends (and renounces) fear, he is not afraid. The Kevalin says: A Nirgrantha who is moved by fear, and is afraid, might utter a falsehood in his speech. A Nirgrantha, etc. This is the fourth clause.

5 Now follows the fifth clause: A Nirgrantha comprehends (and renounces) mirth, he is not mirthful. The Kevalin says: A Nirgrantha who is moved by mirth, and is mirthful, might utter a falsehood in his speech. A Nirgrantha, etc. This is the fifth clause.

In this way the great vow is correctly practised, followed, etc. This is, Sir, the second great vow. ii.

3rd. The third great vow runs thus:

1 I renounce all taking of anything not given, either in a village or a town or a wood, either of little or much, of small or great, of living or lifeless things. I shall neither take myself what is not given, nor cause others to take it, nor consent to their taking it. As long as I live, I confess and blame, etc. (all down to) body. There are five clauses.

The first clause runs thus: A Nirgrantha begs after deliberation, for a limited ground, not without deliberation. The Kevalin says: If a Nirgrantha begs without deliberation for a limited ground, he might take what is not given. A Nirgrantha, etc. This is the first clause.

2 Now follows the second clause: A Nirgrantha consumes his food and drink with permission (of his superior), not without his permission. The Kevalin says: If a Nirgrantha consumes his food and drink without the superior's permission, he might eat what is not given. A Nirgrantha, etc. This is the second clause.

3 Now follows the third clause: A Nirgrantha who has taken possession of some ground, should always take possession of a limited part of it and for a fixed time. The Kevalin says: If a Nirgrantha who has taken possession of some ground, should take possession of an unlimited part of it and for an unfixed time, he might take what is not given. A Nirgrantha, etc. This is the third clause.

4 Now follows the fourth clause: A Nirgrantha who has taken possession of some ground, should constantly have his grant renewed. The Kevalin says: If a Nirgrantha has not constantly his grant renewed, he might take possession of what is not given. A Nirgrantha, etc. This is the fourth clause.

5 Now follows the fifth clause: A Nirgrantha begs for a limited ground for his co-religionists after deliberation, not without deliberation. The Kevalin says: If a Nirgrantha should beg without deliberation, he might take possession of what is not given. A Nirgrantha, etc. This is the fifth clause.

In this way the great vow, etc. This is, Sir, the third great vow. iii.

4th. The fourth great vow runs thus:

1 I renounce all sexual pleasures, either with gods or men or animals. I shall not give way to sensuality, etc. (all as in the foregoing paragraph down to) exempt myself. There are five clauses.

The first clause runs thus: A Nirgrantha does not continually discuss topics relating to women. The Kevalin says: If a Nirgrantha discusses such topics, he might fall from the law declared by the Kevalin, because of the destruction or disturbance of his peace. A Nirgrantha, etc. This is the first clause.

2 Now follows the second clause: A Nirgrantha does not regard and contemplate the lovely forms of women. The Kevalin says: If a Nirgrantha regards and contemplates the lovely forms of women, he might, etc. A Nirgrantha, etc. This is the second clause.

3 Now follows the third clause: A Nirgrantha does not recall to his mind the pleasures and amusements he formerly had with women. The Kevalin says: If a Nirgrantha recalls to his mind the pleasures and amusements he formerly had with women, he might, etc. A Nirgrantha, etc. This is the third clause.

4 Now follows the fourth clause: A Nirgrantha does not eat and drink too much, nor does he drink liquors or eat highly-seasoned dishes. The Kevalin says: If a Nirgrantha did eat and drink too much, or did drink liquors and eat highly-seasoned dishes, he might, etc. A Nirgrantha, etc. This is the fourth clause.

5 Now follows the fifth clause: A Nirgrantha does not occupy a bed or couch affected [This may mean belonging to, or close by.] by women, animals, or eunuchs. The Kevalin says: If a Nirgrantha did occupy a bed or couch affected by women, animals, or eunuchs, he might, etc. A Nirgrantha, etc. This is the fifth clause.

In this way the great vow, etc. This is, Sir, the fourth great vow. iv.

5th. The fifth great vow runs thus:

1 I renounce all attachments [This means the pleasure in external objects.], whether little or much, small or great, living or lifeless; neither shall I myself form such attachments, nor cause others to do so, nor consent to their doing so, etc. (all down to) exempt myself.

There are five clauses.

The first clause runs thus: If a creature with ears hears agreeable and disagreeable sounds, it should not be attached to, nor delighted with, nor desiring of, nor infatuated by, nor covetous of, nor disturbed by the agreeable or disagreeable sounds. The Kevalin says: If a Nirgrantha is thus affected by the pleasant or unpleasant sounds, he might fall, etc. (see above, IV, I).

If it is impossible not to hear sounds, which reach the ear, the mendicant should avoid love or hate, originated by them. A creature with ears hears agreeable and disagreeable sounds. This is the first clause.

2 Now follows the second clause: If a creature with eyes sees agreeable and disagreeable forms (or colours), it should not be attached, etc., to them.

The Kevalin says, etc. (the rest as in the last clause. Substitute only see and forms for h ear and sounds).

This is the second clause.

3 Now follows the third clause: If a creature with an organ of smell smells agreeable or disagreeable smells, it should not be attached to them. (The rest as above. Substitute smell and nose.) This is the third clause.

4 Now follows the fourth clause: If a creature with a tongue tastes agreeable or disagreeable tastes, it should not be attached, etc., to them. (The rest as above. Substitute taste and tongue.)

This is the fourth clause.

5 Now follows the fifth clause: If a creature with an organ of feeling feels agreeable or disagreeable touches, it should not be attached to them. (The rest as above. Substitute feel and touch.) This is the fifth clause. In this way the great vow, etc. (see above). v.

He who is well provided with these great vows and their twenty-five clauses is really Houseless, if he, according to the sacred lore, the precepts, and the way correctly practises, follows, executes, explains, establishes, and, according to the precept, effects them.

End of the Fifteenth Lecture, called the Clauses.

FOURTH PART.

AKARANGA BOOK 2 16TH LECTURE,

CALLED THE LIBERATION.

1 The creatures attain only a temporary residence (in one of the four states of being); hearing this supreme truth (i.e. the doctrine of the Tirthakara's) one should meditate upon it. The wise man should free himself from the family bonds; fearless should he give up acts and attachments.

2 A mendicant, living thus, self-controlled towards the eternal (world of living beings), the matchless sage, who collects his alms, is insulted with words by the people assailing him, like an elephant in battle with arrows.

3 Despised by such-like people, the wise man, with undisturbed mind, sustains their words and blows, as a rock is not shaken by the wind. (4) Disregarding (all calamities) he

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lives together with clever (monks, insensible) to pain and pleasure, not hurting the movable and immovable (beings), not killing, bearing all: so is described the great sage, a good Sramana.

5 As the lustre of a burning flame increases, so increase the austerity, wisdom, and glory of a steadfast sage who, with vanquished desires, meditates on the supreme place of virtue 1, though suffering pain [Dhammapadam.].

6 The great vows which are called the place of peace, the great teachers, and the producers of disinterestedness have, in all quarters of the earth, been proclaimed by the infinite Gina, the knowing one, as light, illumining the three worlds, (repels) darkness.

7 The unbound one, living amongst the bound (i.e. householders), should lead the life of a mendicant; unattached to women, he should speak with reverence. Not desiring this or the next world, the learned one is not measured by the qualities of love.

8 The dirt (of sins) formerly committed by a thus liberated mendicant who walks in wisdom (and restraint), who is constant, and bears pain, vanishes as the dirt covering silver (is removed) by fire.

9 He lives, forsooth, in accordance with wisdom (and restraint), and walks free from desire, and with conquered sensuality. As a snake casts off its old skin, so is the Brahmana freed from the bed of pain.

10 As they call the great ocean a boundless flood of water, difficult to traverse with the arms (alone), so should the learned one know (and renounce) it (the samsara): that sage is called 'Maker of the end.'

11 Here amongst men bondage and deliverance have been declared; he who, according to that doctrine (of the church), knows bondage and deliverance: that sage is called 'Maker of the end.' (12) He for whom there is no bondage whatever in this world, and besides in the two (other continents, or heaven and hell), is indeed a (monk needing) no support and no standing place; he has quitted the path of births.

End of the Sixteenth Lecture, called the Liberation.

[End of the Second Book.]

[End of the Akaranga Sutra.]

THE KALPA SUTRA OF BHADRABAHU.
or The Gospel of Mahavira or Life Of Mahavira
or Kalpa Sutra or Lives Of The Ginas
From: Jaina Sutras, Part 1,
Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 22
Editor: F. Max Müller, Oxford
Original language: Prakrit
Translation: Hermann Jacobi, 1884
Estimated Range of Dating: 250 B.C. - 200 A.D.

(The Kalpa Sutra is a Jain text containing the biographies of the Jain Tirthankaras, notably Parshvanatha and Mahavira. Traditionally ascribed to Bhadrabahu, which would place it in the 4th century BC, it was probably put in writing when the Brahmi Script was more widely in use, so perhaps between the 3rd century BC and 2nd century AD.

Within the six sections of the Jain literary corpus belonging to the Svetambara school, it is classed as one of the Cheda Sutras. This Sutra contains detailed life histories and, from the mid-15th century, was frequently illustrated with miniature painting. The oldest surviving copies are written on paper in western India in the 14th century. The book is read and illustrated in an eight-day-long festival of Paryushan by Jain monks for general people. Only monks can read the scriptures, as in Jainism, this book has very high spiritual values.)

LIFE OF MAHAVIRA, LECTURE 1

1 Obeisance to the Arhats!

Obeisance to the Liberated Ones!

Obeisance to the Religious Guides!

Obeisance to the Religious Instructors! Obeisance to all Saints in the World!

This fivefold obeisance, destroying all sins, is of all benedictions the principal benediction.

In that period, in that age lived the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira, the five (most important moments of whose life happened) when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Uttaraphalguni; to wit, in Uttaraphalguni he descended (from heaven), and having descended (thence), he entered the womb (of Devananda); in Uttaraphalguni he was removed from the womb (of Devananda) to the womb (of Trisala); in Uttaraphalguni he was born; in Uttaraphalguni, tearing out his hair, he left the house and entered the state of houselessness; in Uttaraphalguni he obtained the highest knowledge and intuition, called Kevala, which is infinite, supreme, unobstructed, unimpeded, complete, and perfect. But in. Svati the Venerable One obtained final liberation.

[End of the First Lecture.]

LIFE OF MAHAVIRA, LECTURE 2

[Vakana. These vakanas are the parts into which the Kalpa Sutra is generally divided by some commentators. I have adopted the distribution of Samayasundara.]

2 In that period, in that age the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira, having on the sixth day of the fourth month of summer, in the eighth fortnight, the light (fortnight) of Ashadha, descended from the great Vimana, the all-victorious and all-prosperous Pushpottara, which is like the lotus amongst the best things, where he had lived for twenty Sagaropamas till the termination of his allotted length of life, of his (divine nature, and of his existence (among gods); here in the continent of Gambudvipa, in Bharatavarsha,--when of this Avasarpini era the Sushama-sushama, the Sushama, and Sushamaduhshama periods, and the greater part of the Duhshamasushama period (containing a Kodakodi of Sagaropamas, less forty-two thousand years) had elapsed, and only seventy-two years, eight and a half months were left, after twenty-one Tirthakaras of the race of Ikshvaku and of the Kasyapa gotra, and two of the race of Hari and of the Gautama gotra, on the whole twenty-three Tirthakaras had appeared,--the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira, the last of the Tirthakaras, took the form of an embryo in the womb of Devananda, of the Galandharayana gotra, the wife of the Brahmana Rishabhadatta, of the gotra of Kodala, in the brahmanical part of the town Kundagrama in the middle of the night, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Uttaraphalguni, after his allotted length of life, of his (divine) nature, and of his existence (amongst gods) had come to their termination.

3 The knowledge of the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira (about this) was threefold; he knew that he was to descend, he knew that he had descended, he knew not when he was descending 2.

In that night in which the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira took the form of an embryo in the womb of the Brahmani Devananda of the Galandharayana gotra, the Brahmani Devananda was on her couch, taking fits of sleep, in a state between sleeping and waking, and having seen the following fourteen illustrious, beautiful, lucky, blest, auspicious, fortunate great dreams, she woke up. To wit:

4 An elephant, a bull, a lion, the anointing (of the goddess Sri), a garland, the moon, the sun, a flag, a vase, a lotus lake, the ocean, a celestial abode, a heap of jewels, and a flame.

5 When the Brahmani Devananda, having seen these dreams, woke up, she--glad, pleased, and joyful in her mind, delighted, extremely enraptured, with a heart widening under the influence of happiness, with the hair of her body all erect in their pores like the flowers of the Kadamba touched by rain-drops--firmly fixed the dreams (in her mind), and rose from her couch. Neither hasty nor trembling, with a quick and even 3 gait, like that of the royal swan, she went to the Brahmana Rishabhadatta, and gave him the greeting of victory. Then she comfortably sat down in an excellent chair of state; calm and composed, joining the palms of her hands so as to bring the ten nails together, she laid the folded hands on her head, and spoke thus:

6 'O beloved of the gods, I was just now on my couch taking fits of sleep, in a state between sleeping and waking, when I saw the following fourteen illustrious, etc., great dreams; to wit, an elephant, etc.

7 'O beloved of the gods, what, to be sure, will be the happy result portended by these fourteen illustrious, etc., great dreams?'

8 When the Brahmana Rishabhadatta had heard and perceived this news from the Brahmani Devananda, he, glad, pleased, and joyful (see § 5, down to) rain-drops, firmly fixed the dreams (in his mind), and entered upon considering them. He grasped the meaning of those dreams with his own innate intellect and intuition, which were preceded by reflection, and thus spoke to the Brahmani Devananda:

9 'O beloved of the gods, you have seen illustrious dreams; O beloved of the gods, you have seen beautiful, lucky, blest, auspicious, fortunate dreams, which will bring health, joy, long life, bliss, and fortune! We shall have success, O beloved of the gods, we shall have pleasure; we shall have happiness, O beloved of the gods, we shall have a son! Indeed, O beloved of the gods, after the lapse of nine complete months and seven and a half days you will give birth to a lovely and handsome boy with tender hands and feet, with a body containing the entire and complete five organs of sense, with the lucky signs, marks, and good qualities; a boy on whose body all limbs will be well formed, and of full volume, weight, and length, of a lovely figure like that of the moon!

10 And this boy, after having passed his childhood [That is, having reached his eighth year.], and, with just ripened intellect, having reached the state of youth, will repeat, fully understand, and well retain (in his mind) the four Vedas: the Rig-veda, Yagur-veda, Sama-veda, Atharva-veda--to which the Itihasa [Purana.] is added as a fifth, and the Nigghantu [Dictionary.] as a sixth (Veda)--together with their Angas and Upangas, and the Rahasya 4; he will know the six Angas, he will be versed in the philosophy of the sixty categories 5, and well grounded in arithmetic, in phonetics, ceremonial, grammar, metre, etymology, and astronomy 6, and in many other brahmanical [and monastic] sciences besides.

11 Therefore, O beloved of the gods, you have seen illustrious dreams, etc. (see § 9).'

In this way he repeatedly expressed his extreme satisfaction.

12 When the Brahmani Devananda had heard and perceived this news from the Brahmana Rishabhadatta, she--glad, pleased, and joyful, etc. (see § 5)--joining the palms of her hands, etc. (see § 5, down to) and spoke thus:

13 'That is so, O beloved of the gods; that is exactly so, O beloved of the gods; that is true, O beloved of the gods; that is beyond doubt, O beloved of the gods; that is what I desire, O beloved of the gods; that is what I accept, O beloved of the gods; that is what I desire and accept, O beloved of the gods; that matter is really such as you have pronounced it.'

Thus saying, she accepted the true meaning of the dreams, and enjoyed together with Rishabhadatta the noble permitted pleasures of human nature.

14 In that period, in that age, Sakra,--the chief and king of the gods, the wielder of the thunderbolt, the destroyer of towns, the performer of a hundred sacrifices, the thousand-eyed one, Maghavan, the punisher of the Daitya Paka, the lord of the southern half of the earth [I.e. of that part of it which lies to the south of mount Meru. The legendary "Mount Meru", also recognised as Sumeru, Sineru or Mahameru, is the sacred five-peaked mountain of Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist cosmology and is considered to be the centre of all the physical, metaphysical and spiritual universes. Many famous Buddhist and similar Jain as well as Hindu temples have been built as symbolic representations of this 5-peaked mythological mountain, for example temple pyramids called Angkor Wat, Ta Keo, Bakong, Bakheng in Angkor, Cambodia.], the lord of the thirty-two thousand celestial abodes, the bestrider of the elephant Airavata, the chief of the Suras, who wears spotless clothes and robes, and puts on garlands and the diadem, whose cheeks were stroked by fine, bright, and trembling earrings of fresh gold [the most prosperous, the most brilliant, the most mighty, the most glorious, the most powerful, and the most happy one], with a splendid body, ornamented with a long down-reaching garland,--this Sakra was in the Saudharma Kalpa, in the celestial abode Saudharma Avatamsaka, in the council-hall Sudharman, on his throne Sakra; he who exercises and maintains the supreme command, government, management, guidance, direction, and sovereign power and generalship over the thirty-two thousand gods of the celestial abodes, the eighty-four thousand gods of a rank equal with that of himself, the thirty-two chief gods, the four guardians of the world, the eight principal queens with their trains, the three courts, the seven armies, and the seven commanders of these armies. He was then enjoying the permitted pleasures of divine nature under the great din of uninterrupted story-telling, dramatical plays, singing, and music, as beating of time, performance on the Vina, the Turya, the great drum, and the Patupataha.

15 And he viewed this whole continent Gambudvipa with his extensive (knowledge called) Avadhi. There he saw in the continent Gambudvipa, in Bharatavarsha, in the southern half of Bharata, in the brahmanical part of the town Kundagrama, the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira taking the form of an embryo in the womb of the Brahmani Devananda of the Galandharayana gotra, wife of the Brahmana Rishabhadatta of the gotra of Kodala; and--glad, pleased, and joyful in his mind, delighted, extremely enraptured, with a heart widening under the influence of happiness, with the hair of his body bristling and erect in their pores like the fragrant flowers of Nipa when touched by rain-drops, with his eyes and mouth open like full-blown lotuses, with his excellent, various, trembling bracelets, with diadem and earrings, his breast lighted up by necklaces, wearing long and swinging ornaments with a pearl pendant--the chief of the gods rose with confusion, hasty and trembling from his throne, descended from the footstool, took off his shoes which were by a clever artist set with Vaidurya and excellent Rishta and Angana, and ornamented with glittering jewels and precious stones, threw his seamless robe over his left shoulder, and, arranging the fingers of his hands in the shape of a bud, he advanced seven or eight steps towards the Tirthakara. Bending his left knee and reposing on the right one, he three times placed his head on the ground and lifted it a little; then he raised his bracelet-encumbered arms, and joining the palms of his hands so as to bring the ten nails together, laid the hands on his head and spoke thus:

16 'Reverence to the Arhats and Bhagavats; to the Adikaras, the Tirthakaras, the perfectly-enlightened ones; to the highest of men, the lions among men, the flowers among mankind 2, the Gandhahastins among men; to the highest in the world, the guides of the world, the benefactors of the world, the lights of the world, the enlighteners of the world; to the givers of safety, to the givers of sight, to the givers of the road, to the givers of shelter, to the givers of life, to the givers of knowledge; to the givers of the law, the preachers of the law, the lords of the law, the leaders of the law, the universal emperors of the best law; to the light, the help, the shelter, the refuge, the resting-place, the possessors of unchecked

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knowledge and intuition who have got rid of unrighteousness; to the conquerors and the granters of conquest, the saved and the saviours, the enlightened and the enlighteners, the liberated and the liberators, to the all-knowing ones, the all-seeing ones, to those who have reached the happy, stable, unstained, infinite, unperishable, undecaying place, called the path of perfection, whence there is no return; reverence to the Ginas who have conquered fear.

'Reverence to the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira, the Adikara, the last of the Tirthakaras who was predicted by the former Tirthakaras, etc. [According to the commentary all the epithets from 'the enlightened one' down to 'who has reached' are intended by this etc.] here adore the Revered One yonder, may the Revered One yonder see me here!' With these words he adored, he worshipped the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira, and sat down on his excellent throne facing the east. Then the following internal, reflectional, desirable idea occurred to the mind of Sakra, the chief of kings and gods:

17 'It never has happened, nor does it happen, nor will it happen, that Arhats, Kakravartins, Baladevas, or Vasudevas, in the past, present, or future, should be born in low families, mean families, degraded families, poor families, indigent families, beggars' families, or brahmanical families.

18 For indeed Arhats, Kakravartins, Baladevas, and Vasudevas, in the past, present, and future, are born in high families, noble families, royal families, noblemen's families, in families belonging to the race of Ikshvaku, or of Hari, or in other suchlike families of pure descent on both sides.

19 Now this is something which moves the wonder of the world: it happens in the lapse of numberless Avasarpinis and Utsarpinis, because the imperishable, indescribable, and undestroyable Karman relating to name and gotra must take effect, that Arhats, etc., in the past, present, and future, descend in (i.e. take the form of an embryo in the womb of a woman belonging to) low families, etc.; but they are never brought forth by birth from such a womb.

20 This Venerable Ascetic Mahavira, now, in the continent Gambudvipa, in Bharatavarsha, in the brahmanical part of the town Kundagrama, has taken the form of an embryo in the womb of the Brahmani Devananda of the Galandharayana gotra, wife of the Brahmana Rishabhadatta of the gotra of Kodala.

21 Hence it is the established custom of all past, present, and future Sakras, chiefs and kings of the gods, to cause the Arhats and Bhagavats to be removed from such-like low, mean, etc., families, to such-like high, noble, etc., families.

22 It is, therefore, better that I should cause the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira, the last of the Tirthakaras who was predicted by the former Tirthakaras, to be removed from the brahmanical part of the town Kundagrama, from the womb of the Brahmani Devananda of the Galandharayana gotra, wife of the Brahmana Rishabhadatta of the gotra of Kodala, to the Kshatriya part of the town Kundagrama, and to be placed as an embryo in the womb of the Kshatriyani Trisala of the Vasishtha gotra, wife of the Kshatriya Siddhartha of the Kasyapa gotra, belonging to the clan of the Gnatri Kshatriya,; and to cause the embryo of the Kshatriyani Trisala of the Vasishtha gotra to be placed in the womb of the Brahmani Devananda of the Galandharayana gotra.'

Thus he reflected and called Harinegamesi, the divine commander of the foot troops; having called him, he spoke thus:

23-25 Well, now, beloved of the gods, it never has happened, etc. (§§ 17-20 are verbally repeated).

26 'Therefore, go now and remove the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira from the brahmanical part, etc., and place the embryo of the Kshatriyani Trisala, etc. (see § 21). Having done this, return quickly to report on the execution of my orders.'

27 When Harinegamesi, the divine commander of the foot troops, was thus spoken to by Sakra, the chief and king of the gods, he--glad, pleased, and joyful, etc. (see § 15)--laid his folded hands on his head and modestly accepted the words of command, saying, 'Just as your Majesty commands.' After this he left the presence of Sakra, the chief and king of the gods, and descended towards the northeastern quarter; then he transformed himself through his magical power of transformation, and stretched himself out for numerous Yoganas like a staff, (during which he seized) jewels, Vagra, Vaidurya, Lohitaksha, Masaragalla, Hamsagarbha, Pulaka, Saugandhika, Gyotisara, Angana, Anganapulaka, Gatarupa, Subhaga, Sphatika, and Rishta; (of these precious materials) he rejected the gross particles, and retained the subtle particles.

28 Then for a second time he transformed himself through his magical power of transformation, and produced the definitive form (which gods adopt on entering the world of men); having done so, he passed with that excellent, hasty, trembling, active, impetuous, victorious, exalted, and quick divine motion of the gods right through numberless continents and oceans, and arrived in Gambudvipa, in Bharatavarsha, in the brahmanical part of the town Kundagrama, at the house of the Brahmana Rishabhadatta, where the Brahmani Devananda dwelt. Having arrived there, he made his bow in the sight of the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira, and cast the Brahmani Devananda, together with her retinue, into a deep sleep; then he took off all unclean particles, and brought forth the clean particles, and saying, 'May the Venerable One permit me,' he took the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira in the folded palms of his hands without hurting him. Thus he went to the Kshatriya part of the town Kundagrama, to the house of the Kshatriya Siddhartha, where the Kshatriyani Trisala dwelt; he cast her and her attendants into a deep sleep, took off all unclean particles, and brought forth the clean particles, and placed the embryo of the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira in the womb of the Kshatriyani Trisala, and the embryo of the Kshatriyani Trisala he placed in the womb of the Brahmani Devananda of the Galandharayana gotra. Having done so, he returned in that direction in which he had come.

29 With that excellent, etc. (see § 28), divine motion of the gods, he flew upwards right through numberless continents and oceans, taking thousands of Yoganas in each motion, and arrived in the Saudharma Kalpa, in the divine abode called Saudharma Avatamsaka, where Sakra, the chief and king of the gods, sat on the throne called Sakra, and reported to Sakra, the chief and king of the gods, on the execution of his orders.

In that period, in that age the knowledge of the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira was threefold; he knew that he was to be removed; he knew that he was removed; he knew not when he was being removed.

30 In that period, in that age, on the thirteenth day of the third month of the rainy season, in the fifth fortnight, the dark (fortnight) of Asvina, after the lapse of eighty-two days, on the eighty-third day current (since his conception), the embryo of the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira was, on the command of Sakra, safely removed by Harinegamesi from the womb of the Brahmani Devananda to that of the Kshatriyani Trisala, in the middle of the night, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Uttaraphalguni.

[End of the Second Lecture.]

LIFE OF MAHAVIRA, LECTURE 3

[In some Manuscripts the last part of this paragraph is placed at the end of the next one.]

31 In that night in which the embryo of the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira was removed from the womb of the Brahmani Devananda of the Galandharayana gotra to that of the Kshatriyani Trisala of the Vasishtha gotra, the former was on her couch taking fits of sleep in a state between sleeping and waking; and seeing that these fourteen illustrious, beautiful, lucky, blest, auspicious, fortunate, great dreams were taken from her by the Kshatriyani Trisala, she awoke.

32 In that night in which the embryo of the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira was removed from the womb of the Brahmani Devananda of the Galandharayana gotra to that of the Kshatriyani Trisala of the Vasishtha gotra, the latter was in her dwelling-place, of which the interior was ornamented with pictures, and the outside whitewashed, furbished and cleansed, the brilliant surface of the ceiling was painted, the darkness was dispelled by jewels and precious stones, the floor was perfectly level and adorned with auspicious figures; which, moreover, was furnished with offerings of heaps of delicious, fragrant, strewn flowers of all five colours, was highly delightful through curling, scented fumes of black aloe, the finest Kundurukka and Turushka [Different kinds of the resin of Boswellia.], and burning frankincense; was exquisitely scented with fine perfumes, and turned as it were into a smelling-bottle; on a couch with a mattress of a man's length, with pillows at head and foot, raised on both sides and hollow in the middle, soft as if one walked on the sand of the banks of the Ganges, covered with the cloth of a robe of ornamented linen, containing a well-worked towel, and hung with red mosquito curtains, delightful, soft to the touch like fur, wadding, Pura [Name of a tree.], butter, or cotton, with all the comforts of a bed, such as fragrant, excellent flowers and sandal-powder--(in such a room and on such a bed Trisala was) taking fits of sleep between sleeping and waking, and having seen the following fourteen, etc. (see § 3), dreams, viz. an elephant, etc. (see § 4), she awoke.

33 1. Then Trisala saw in her first dream a fine, enormous elephant, possessing all lucky marks, with strong thighs and four mighty tusks; who was whiter than an empty great cloud, or a heap of pearls, or the ocean of milk, or the moon-beams, or spray of water, or the silver mountain (Vaitadhya); whose temples were perfumed with fragrant musk-fluid, which attracted the bees; equalling in dimension the best elephant of the king of the gods (Airavata); uttering a fine deep sound like the thunder of a big and large rain-cloud.

34 2. Then she saw a tame, lucky bull, of a whiter hue than that of the mass of petals of the white lotus, illumining all around by the diffusion of a glory of light; (a bull) whose lovely, resplendent, beautiful hump was delightful through the collection of its charms, whose glossy skin (was covered with) thin, fine, soft hairs; whose body was firm, well made, muscular, compact, lovely, well proportioned, and beautiful; whose horns were large, round, excellently beautiful, greased at their tops, and pointed; whose teeth were all equal, shining, and pure. He foreboded innumerable good qualities.

35 3. Then she saw a handsome, handsomely shaped, playful lion, jumping from the sky towards her face; a delightful and beautiful lion whiter than a heap of pearls, etc. (see § 33), who had strong and lovely fore-arms, and a mouth adorned with round, large, and well-set teeth; whose lovely lips, splendent through their proportions, and soft like a noble lotus, looked as if they were artificially ornamented; whose palate 1 was soft and tender like the petals of the red lotus, and the top of whose tongue was protruding; whose eyes were like pure lightning, and revolved like red-hot excellent gold just poured out from the crucible; (a lion) with broad and large thighs, and with full and excellent shoulders, who was adorned with a mane of soft, white, thin, long hair of the finest quality; whose erect, well-shaped, and well-grown tail was flapping; the tops of whose nails were deeply set and sharp; whose beautiful tongue came out of his mouth like a shoot of beauty.

36 4. Then she, with the face of the full moon, saw the goddess of famous beauty, Sri, on the top of Mount Himavat, reposing on a lotus in the lotus lake, anointed with the water from the strong and large trunks of the guardian elephants. She sat on a lofty throne. Her firmly placed feet resembled golden tortoises, and her dyed, fleshy, convex, thin, red, smooth nails were set in swelling muscles [Literally, elevated and fat.]. Her hands and feet were like the leaves of the lotus, and her fingers and toes soft and excellent; her round and well-formed legs were adorned with the Kuruvindavarta, and her knees with dimples. Her fleshy thighs resembled the proboscis of an excellent elephant, and her lovely broad hips were encircled by a golden zone. Her large and beautiful belly was adorned by a circular navel, and contained a lovely row of hairs (black as) collyrium, bees, or clouds, straight, even, continuous, thin, admirable, handsome, soft, and downy. Her waist, which contained the three folds, could be encompassed with one hand. On all parts of her body shone ornaments and trinkets, composed of many jewels and precious stones, yellow and red gold. The pure cup-like pair of her breasts sparkled, encircled by a garland of Kunda flowers, in which glittered a string of pearls. She wore strings of pearls made by diligent and clever artists, shining with wonderful strings, a necklace of jewels with a string of Dinaras, and a trembling pair of earrings, touching her shoulders, diffused a brilliancy; but the united beauties and charms of these ornaments were only subservient to the loveliness of her face. Her lovely eyes were large and pure like the water lily. She sprinkled about the sap from two lotus flowers which she held in her splendid hands, and gracefully fanned herself. Her glossy, black, thick, smooth hair hung down in a braid.

37 5. Then she saw, coming down from the firmament, a garland charmingly interwoven with fresh Mandara flowers. It spread the delicious smell of Kampaka [Michelia Champaka.], Asoka [Jonesia Asoka.], Naga [Mesua Roxburghii.], Punnaga [Rottlera Tinctoria.], Priyangu [Panicum Italicum.], Sirisha [Acacia Sirisa.], Mudgara [A species of jasmine.], Mallika [Jasminum Zambac.], Gati [Jasminum Grandiflorum.], Yuthika [Jasminum Auriculatum.], Ankolla [Alangium Hexapetalum.], Korantakapatra [Not specialised in our dictionaries.], Damanaka [Artemisia Indica.], Navamalika [The many-flowered Nykanthes or Jasminum Zambac.], Bakula [Mimusops Elengi.], Tilaka [Clerodendum Phlomoides or Symplocos Racemosa.], Vasantika [Gaertnera Racemosa.], Nuphar, Nymphaea, Patala. [Bignonia Suaveolens.], Kunda [Fragrant Oleander.], Atimukta [Diospyros Glutinos or Dalbergia Ougeinense.], and Mango; and perfumed the ten divisions of the universe with its incomparably delightful fragrance. It was white through wreaths of fragrant flowers of all seasons, and brilliant through splendid, beautiful embellishments of many colours. Towards it came humming swarms of different kinds of bees 16, and filled with their sweet noise the whole neighbourhood.

38 6. And the moon: white as cow-milk, foam, spray of water, or a silver cup, glorious, delighting heart and eyes, full, dispelling the compact darkness of the thickest wilderness, whose crescent shines at the end of the two halves of the month, opening the blossoms of the groups of Nymphaeas, adorning the night, resembling the surface of a well-polished mirror. She was of a white hue, like a flamingo, the stars' head-ornament, the quiver of Cupid's arrows, raising the waters of the ocean, burning as it were disconsolate people when absent from their sweethearts, the large, glorious, wandering headmark of the celestial sphere--beloved in heart and soul by Rohini 1. Such was the glorious, beautiful, resplendent full moon which the queen saw.

39 7. Then she saw the large sun, the dispeller of the mass of darkness, him of radiant form, red like the Asoka, the open Kimsuka, the bill of a parrot, or the Gungardha, the adorner of the lotus groups, the marker of the starry host, the lamp of the firmament, throttling as it were the mass of cold, the illustrious leader of the troop of planets, the destroyer of night, who only at his rising and setting may be well viewed, but (at all other times) is difficult to be regarded, who

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disperses evil-doers that stroll about at night, who stops the influence of cold, who always circles round Mount Meru, whose thousand rays obscure the lustre of other lights.

40 8. Then she saw an extremely beautiful and very large flag, a sight for all people, of a form attractive to the beholders. It was fastened to a golden staff with a tuft of many soft and waving peacock's feathers of blue, red, yellow, and white colours, and seemed as if it would pierce the brilliant, celestial sphere, with the brilliant lion on its top, who was white like crystal, pearlmother, Anka-stone, Kunda-flowers, spray of water, or a silver cup.

41 9. Then she saw a full vase of costly metal, splendent with fine gold, filled with pure water, excellent, of brilliant beauty, and shining with a bouquet of water lilies. It united many excellencies and all-auspicious marks, and stood on a lotus-(shaped foot), shining with excellent jewels. It delighted the eyes, glittered and illumined all about; it was the abode of happy Fortune, free from all faults, fine, splendid, exquisitely beautiful, entwined with a wreath of fragrant flowers of all seasons.

42 10. Then she saw a lake, called Lotus Lake, adorned with water lilies. Its yellow water was perfumed by lotuses opening in the rays of the morning sun; it abounded with swarms of aquatic animals, and fed fishes. It was large, and seemed to burn through the wide-spreading, glorious beauty of all kinds of lotuses. Its shape and beauty were pleasing. The lotuses in it were licked by whole swarms of gay bees and mad drones. Pairs of swans, cranes, Kakravakas, ducks, Indian cranes, and many other lusty birds resorted to its waters, and on the leaves of its lotuses sparkled water-drops like pearls. It was a sight, pleasing to the heart and the eye.

43 11. Then she whose face was splendid like the moon in autumn, saw the milk-ocean, equalling in beauty the breast of Lakshmi, which is white like the mass of moon-beams. Its waters increased in all four directions, and raged with ever-changing and moving, excessively high waves. It presented a splendid and pleasant spectacle as it rushed to and from the shore with its wind-raised, changeable, and moving billows, its tossing waves, and its rolling, splendid, transparent breakers. From it issued camphor-white foam under the lashing (tails) of great porpoises, fishes, whales, and other monsters of the deep. Its agitated waters were in great uproar, occasioned by the vortex Gangavarta, which the vehemence and force of the great rivers produced; they rose, rushed onwards and backwards, and eddied.

44 12. Then she saw a celestial abode excelling among the best of its kind, like the lotus (among flowers). It shone like the morning sun's disk, and was of a dazzling beauty. Its thousand and eight excellent columns (inlaid with) the best gold and heaps of jewels diffused a brilliant light like a heavenly lamp, and the pearls fastened to its curtains glittered. It was hung with brilliant divine garlands, and decorated with pictures of wolves, bulls, horses, men, dolphins, birds, snakes, Kinnaras, deer, Sarabhas, Yaks, Samsaktas, elephants, shrubs, and plants. There the Gandharvas performed their concerts, and the din of the drums of the gods, imitating the sound of big and large rain-clouds, penetrated the whole inhabited world. It was highly delightful through curling, scented fumes of black aloe, the finest Kundurukka and Turushka, burning frankincense and other perfumes. It (shed) continuous light, was white, of excellent lustre, delighting the best of gods, and affording joy and pleasure.

45 13. Then she saw an enormous heap of jewels containing Pulaka, Vagra, Indranila, Sasyaka, Karketana, Lohitaksha, Marakata, Prabala, Saugandhika, Sphatika, Hamsagarbha, Angana, and Kandrakanta. Its base was on the level of the earth, and it illumined with its jewels even the sphere of the sky. It was high and resembled Mount Meru.

46 14. And a fire. She saw a fire in vehement motion, fed with much-shining and honey-coloured ghee, smokeless, crackling, and extremely beautiful with its burning flames. The mass of its flames, which rose one above the other, seemed to interpenetrate each other, and the blaze of its flames appeared to bake the firmament in some places.

46 b After having seen these fine, beautiful, lovely, handsome dreams, the lotus-eyed queen awoke on her bed while the hair of her body bristled for joy.

Every mother of a Tirthakara sees these fourteen dreams in that night in which the famous Arhat enters her womb.

[End of the Third Lecture.]

LIFE OF MAHAVIRA, LECTURE 4

47 When the Kshatriyani Trisala, having seen these fourteen illustrious, great dreams, awoke, she was glad, pleased, and joyful, etc. (see § 5, down to) rose from her couch, and descended from the footstool. Neither hasty nor trembling, with a quick and even gait like that of the royal swan, she went to the couch of the Kshatriya Siddhartha. There she awakened the Kshatriya Siddhartha, addressing him with kind, pleasing, amiable, tender, illustrious, beautiful, lucky, blest, auspicious, fortunate, heart-going, heart-easing, well-measured, sweet, and soft words.

48 Then the Kshatriyani Trisala, with the permission of king Siddhartha, sat down on a chair of state inlaid with various jewels and precious stones in the form of arabesques; calm and composed, sitting on an excellent, comfortable chair, she addressed him with kind, pleasing, etc. (see last paragraph), words, and spoke thus:

49 'O beloved of the gods, I was just now on my couch (as described in § 32), etc. (see § 5), and awoke after having seen the fourteen dreams; to wit, an elephant, etc. What, to be sure, O my lord, will be the happy result portended by these fourteen illustrious, great dreams?'

50 When the Kshatriya Siddhartha had heard and perceived this news from the Kshatriyani Trisala, he glad, pleased, and joyful, etc. (see § 5, down to) firmly fixed the dreams in his mind, and entered upon considering them; he grasped the meaning of those dreams with his own innate intelligence and intuition which were preceded by reflection, and addressing the Kshatriyani Trisala with kind, pleasing, etc., words, spoke thus:

51 'O beloved of the gods, you have seen illustrious dreams, etc. (see § 9, down to) you will give birth to a lovely, handsome boy, who will be the ensign of our family, the lamp of our family, the crown 1 of our family, the frontal ornament of our family, the maker of our family's glory, the sun of our family, the stay of our family, the maker of our family's joy and fame, the tree of our family, the exalter of our family; (a boy) with tender hands and feet, etc. (see § 9, down to the end).

52 And this boy, after having passed childhood, and, with just ripened intellect, having reached the state of youth, will become a brave, gallant, and valorous king, the lord of the realm, with a large and extensive army and train of waggons.

53 Therefore, O beloved of the gods, you have seen illustrious, etc., dreams, etc. (see § 9).' In this way he repeatedly expressed his extreme satisfaction. When the Kshatriyani Trisala had heard and perceived this news from king Siddhartha, she glad, pleased, and joyful, etc. (see § 12, down to) and spoke thus:

54 'That is so, O beloved of the gods, etc. (see § 13, down to) as you have pronounced it.' Thus saying she accepted the true meaning of the dreams, and with the permission of king Siddhartha she rose from her chair of state, inlaid with various jewels and precious stones in the form of arabesques. She then returned to her own bed, neither hasty nor trembling, with a quick and even gait like that of the royal swan, and spoke thus:

55 'These my excellent and pre-eminent dreams shall not be counteracted by other bad dreams.' Accordingly she remained awake to save her dreams by means of (hearing) good, auspicious, pious, agreeable stories about gods and religious men.

56 At the time of daybreak the Kshatriya Siddhartha called his family servants and spoke thus:

57 Now, beloved of the gods, quickly make ready, or have made ready, the exterior hall of audience; see that it be sprinkled with scented water, cleaned, swept, and newly smeared, furnished with offerings of fragrant, excellent flowers of all five colours, made highly delightful through curling scented fumes, etc. (see § 32, down to) and turned, as it were, into a smelling box; also erect my throne, and having done this quickly return, and report on the execution of my orders.'

58 When the family servants were thus spoken to by king Siddhartha, they--glad, pleased, and joyful, etc. (see § 12, down to) on their heads, and modestly accepted the words of command, saying, 'Yes, master!' Then they left the presence of the Kshatriya Siddhartha, and went to the exterior hall of audience, made it ready, and erected the throne (as described in the last paragraph). Having done this, they returned to the Kshatriya Siddhartha; joining the palms of their hands so as to bring the ten nails together, laid the folded hands on their heads, and reported on the execution of their orders.

59 Early at the wane of the night, when the bright morning disclosed the soft flowers of the full-blown lotuses and Nymphaeas, rose the sun: he was red like the Asoka, the open Kimsuka, the bill of a parrot or the Gungardha; of an intense redness like that of the Bandhugivaka [Pentapetes Phoenicea.], the feet and eyes of the turtle dove, the scarlet eyes of the Indian cuckoo, a mass of China roses, or vermilion. He, the thousand-rayed maker of the day, shining in his radiance, awakened the groups of lotuses. When in due time the god of the day had risen and by the blows of his hands (or rays) the darkness was driven away, while the inhabited world was, as it were, dipped in saffron by the morning sun, the Kshatriya Siddhartha rose from his bed,

60 descended from the footstool, went to the hall for gymnastic exercises, and entered it. There he applied himself to many wholesome exercises, jumped, wrestled, fenced, and fought till he got thoroughly tired: then he was anointed with hundredfold and thousandfold refined different kinds of oil, which nourished, beautified, invigorated, exhilarated, strengthened, and increased all senses and limbs. On an oiled hide he was shampooed by clever men with soft and tender palms of the hands and soles of the feet, who were well acquainted with the best qualities of the practices of anointing, kneading, and stretching; well trained, skilful, excellent, expert, intelligent, and never tiring. When by this fourfold agreeable treatment of the body the king's bones, flesh, skin, and hair had been benefited, and his fatigues banished, he left the hall for gymnastic exercises,

61 and entered the bathing-house. The pleasant bathing-room was very agreeable, and contained many windows ornamented with pearls; its floor was decorated with mosaic of various jewels and precious stones. On the bathing-stool, inlaid with various jewels and precious stones in the form of arabesques, he comfortably sat down and bathed himself with water scented with flowers and perfumes, with tepid water and pure water, according to an excellent method of bathing, combined with healthy exercises. When this healthy excellent bathing under many hundredfold pleasures was over, he dried his body with a long-haired, soft, scented, and coloured towel, put on a new and costly excellent robe, rubbed himself with fresh and fragrant Gosirsha 1 and sandal, and ornamented himself with fine wreaths and sandal-ointment. He put on (ornaments) of jewels and pearls, hung round his neck fitting necklaces of eighteen, nine, and three strings of pearls, and one with a pearl pendant, and adorned himself with a zone. He put on a collar, rings, and charming ornaments of the hair, and encumbered his arms with excellent bracelets: he was of excessive beauty. His face was lighted up by earrings, and his head by a diadem; his breast was adorned and decked with necklaces, and his fingers were, as it were, gilded by his rings. His upper garment of fine cloth contained swinging pearl pendants. H e put on, as an emblem of his undefeated knighthood, glittering, well-made, strong, excellent, beautiful armlets, made by clever artists of spotless and costly jewels, gold, and precious stones of many kinds. In short, the king was like the tree granting all desires, decorated and ornamented; an umbrella, hung with wreaths and garlands of Korinta flowers, was held above him. He was fanned with white excellent chowries, while his appearance was greeted with auspicious shouts of victory. Surrounded by many chieftains, satraps, kings, princes, knights, sheriffs, heads of families, ministers, chief ministers, astrologers, counsellors, servants, dancing masters, citizens, traders, merchants, foremen of guilds, generals, leaders of caravans, messengers, and frontier-guards, he--the lord and chief of men, a bull and a lion among men, shining with excellent lustre and glory, lovely to behold like the moon emerging from a great white cloud in the midst of the flock of the planets and of brilliant stars and asterisms--left the bathing-house,

62 entered the exterior hall of audience and sat down on his throne with the face towards the east.

63 On the north-eastern side he ordered eight state chairs, covered with cloth and auspiciously decorated with white mustard, to be set down. Not too far from and not too near to himself; towards the interior of the palace, he had a curtain drawn. It was adorned with different jewels and precious stones, extremely worth seeing, very costly, and manufactured in a famous town; its soft cloth was all over covered with hundreds of patterns and decorated with pictures of wolves, bulls, horses, men, dolphins, birds, snakes, Kinnaras, deer, Sarabhas, Yaks, Samsaktas, elephants, shrubs, and plants. Behind it he ordered to be placed, for the Kshatriyani Trisala, an excellent chair of state, decorated with arabesques of different jewels and precious stones, outfitted with a coverlet and a soft pillow, covered with a white cloth, very soft and agreeable to the touch. Then he called the family servants and spoke thus:

64 'Quickly, O beloved of the gods, call the interpreters of dreams who well know the science of prognostics with its eight branches, and are well versed in many sciences besides!'

When the family servants were thus spoken to by king Siddhartha, they--glad, pleased, and joyful, etc.--laid the folded hands on their heads and modestly accepted the words of command, saying, 'Yes, master!'

65 Then they left the presence of the Kshatriya Siddhartha, went right through the town Kundapura to the houses of the interpreters of dreams, and called the interpreters of dreams.

66 Then the interpreters of dreams, being called by the Kshatriya Siddhartha's family servants, glad, pleased, and joyful, etc., bathed, made the offering (to the house-gods), performed auspicious rites and expiatory acts, put on excellent, lucky, pure court-dress, adorned their persons with small but costly ornaments, and put, for the sake of auspiciousness, white mustard and Durva grass on their heads. Thus they issued from their own houses and went right through the Kshatriya part of the town Kundapura to the front gate of king Siddhartha's excellent palace, a jewel of its kind.

67 There they assembled and went to the exterior hall of audience in the presence of the Kshatriya Siddhartha. Joining the palms of their hands so as to bring the ten nails together, they laid the folded hands on their heads and gave him the greeting of victory.

68 The king Siddhartha saluted and honoured the interpreters of dreams, made them presents, and received them with respect. They sat down, one after the other, on the chairs of state which had been placed there before.

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69 Then the Kshatriya Siddhartha placed his wife Trisala behind the curtain, and taking flowers and fruits in his hands, addressed with utmost courtesy the interpreters of dreams:

70, 71 'O beloved of the gods, the Kshatriyani Trisala was just on her couch, etc. (see § 32, down to the end).

72 What to be sure, O beloved of the gods, will be the result portended by these fourteen illustrious great dreams?'

73 When the interpreters of dreams had heard and perceived this news from the Kshatriya Siddhartha, they--glad, pleased, and joyful, etc.--fixed the dreams in their minds, entered upon considering them, and conversed together.

74 Having found, grasped, discussed, decided upon, and clearly understood the meaning of these dreams, they recited before king Siddhartha the dream-books and spoke thus:

75 'O beloved of the gods, in our dream-books are enumerated forty-two (common) dreams and thirty great dreams. Now, O beloved of the gods, the mothers of universal monarchs or of Arhats wake up after seeing these fourteen great dreams out of the thirty great dreams, when the embryo of a universal monarch or an Arhat enters their womb;

viz. an elephant, a bull, etc.

76 The mothers of Vasudevas wake up after seeing any seven great dreams out of these fourteen great dreams, when the embryo of a Vasudeva enters their womb.

77 The mothers of Baladevas wake up after seeing any four great dreams out of these fourteen great dreams, when the embryo of a Baladeva enters their womb.

78 The mother of Mandalikas wake up after seeing a single great dream out of these fourteen great dreams, when the embryo of a Mandalika enters their womb.

79 Now, O beloved of the gods, the Kshatriyani Trisala has seen these fourteen great dreams, etc. (see § 51, down to the end).

80 And this boy, etc. (see § 52, down to) the lord of a realm with a large and extensive army and train of waggons, a universal emperor or a Gina, the lord of the three worlds, the universal emperor of the law. .

81 Therefore, O beloved of the gods, the Kshatriyani Trisala has seen illustrious dreams,' etc. (see § 9).

82 When king Siddhartha had heard and perceived this news from the interpreter of dreams, he--glad, pleased, and joyful, etc.--spoke to them thus:

83 That is so, O beloved of the gods, etc. (see § 11, down to) as you have pronounced it.'

Thus saying he accepted the true meaning of the dreams, and honoured the interpreters of dreams with praise and plenty of food, flowers, perfumes, garlands, and ornaments. He made them a present in keeping with their station in life [Or a life annuity.] and dismissed them.

84 After this the Kshatriya Siddhartha rose from his throne, went to the Kshatriyani Trisala behind the curtain, and addressed her thus:

85, 86 Now, O beloved of the gods, you have seen these fourteen great dreams, etc. (see §§ 79, 80, down to) emperor of the law.'

87 When the Kshatriyani Trisala had heard and perceived this news, she--glad, pleased, and joyful, etc.--accepted the true meaning of the dreams.

88 With the permission of king Siddhartha she rose from her chair of state which was decorated with arabesques of various jewels and precious stones, and returned to her own apartments, neither hasty nor trembling, with a quick and even gait like that of the royal swan.

89 From that moment in which the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira was brought into the family of the Gnatris, many demons in Vaisramana's service, belonging to the animal world, brought, on Sakra's command, to the palace of king Siddhartha, old and ancient treasures, of which the owners, deponers, and families to whom they originally belonged were dead and extinct, and which were hidden in villages, or mines, or scot-free towns, or towns with earth walls, or towns with low walls, or isolated towns, or towns accessible by land and water, or towns accessible either by land or by water only, or in natural strongholds, or in halting-places for processions or for caravans, in triangular places, or in places where three or four roads meet, or in courtyards, or squares, or high roads, or on the site of villages or towns, or in drains of villages or towns, or in bazaars, or temples, or assembling halls, or wells, or parks, or gardens, or woods, or groves, or burying-places, or empty houses, or mountain caves, or hermits' cells, or secret places between walls, or in houses on an elevation, or houses for audience, or palaces.

90 In the night in which the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira was brought into the family of the Gnatris their silver increased, their gold increased; their riches, corn, majesty, and kingdom increased; their army, train, treasure, storehouse, town, seraglio, subjects, and glory increased; their real valuable property, as riches, gold, precious stones, jewels, pearls, conches, stones, corals, rubies, etc., the intensity of their popularity and liberality highly increased. At that time the following personal, reflectional, desirable idea occurred to parents of the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira:

91 From the moment that this our boy has been begotten, our silver increased, our gold increased, etc. (see § 90, down to) the intensity of our liberality and popularity highly increased. Therefore when this our boy will be born, we shall give him the fit name, attributive and conformable to his quality--Vardhamana.'

92 Now the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira, out of compassion for his mother, did not move nor stir nor quiver, but remained quiet, stiff, and motionless. Then the following, etc. (see § 90, down to) idea occurred to the mind of the Kshatriyani Trisala: 'The fruit of my womb has been taken from me, it has died, it is fallen, it is lost. Formerly it moved, now it does not move.' Thus with anxious thoughts and ideas, plunged in a sea of sorrow and misery, reposing her head on her hand, overcome by painful reflections, and casting her eyes on the ground she meditated. And in the palace of king Siddhartha the music of drums and stringed instruments, the clapping of hands, the dramatical performances, and the amusements of the people ceased, and mournful dejection reigned there.

93 Then the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira, knowing that such an internal, etc. (see § 90, down to) idea had occurred to the mind of his mother, he quivered a little.

94 Feeling her child quivering, trembling, moving, and stirring, the Kshatriyani Trisala--glad, pleased, and joyful, etc.--spoke thus: 'No, forsooth, the fruit of my womb has not been taken from me, it has not died, it is not fallen, it is not lost. Formerly it did not move, but now it does move.' Thus she was glad, pleased, and joyful, etc.

Then the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira, while in her womb, formed the following resolution: 'It will not behove me, during the life of my parents, to tear out my hair, and leaving the house to enter the state of houselessness.'

95 Bathing, making offerings to the house-gods, performing auspicious rites and expiatory acts, and adorning herself with all ornaments, the Kshatriyani Trisala kept off sickness, sorrow, fainting, fear, and fatigue by food and clothing, perfumes and garlands, which were not too cold nor too hot, not too bitter nor too pungent, not too astringent nor too sour nor too sweet, not too smooth nor too rough, not too wet nor too dry, but all just suiting the season. In the proper place and time she ate only such food which was good, sufficient, and healthy for the nourishment of her child. She took her walks in places which were empty and agreeable as well as delightful to the mind; her desires were laudable, fulfilled, honoured, not disregarded, but complied with and executed; she most comfortably dozed, reposed, remained, sat, and laid on unobjectionable and soft beds and seats, and thus most comfortably carried her unborn child.

96 In that period, in that age the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira 1--after the lapse of nine months and seven and a half days, in the first month of summer, in the second fortnight, the dark (fortnight) of Kaitra, on its fourteenth day, (while all planets were in their exaltations, the moon in her principal conjunction, and the sky in all its directions clear, bright, and pure; while a favourable and agreeable low wind swept the earth; at the time when the fields were green and all people glad and amusing themselves) [The passage in round brackets seems to be a later addition; for it is wanting in my oldest Manuscript, and the commentator says that it was not seen in many books. The occurrence of the astrological term exaltation (ukka = ὕψωμα) in this passage proves it to be inserted after 300 A.D. For about that time Greek astrology had been introduced in India, as I have shown in my dissertation: De Astrologiae Indicae 'Hora' appellatae originibus, Bonn, 3872.] in the middle of the night while the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Uttaraphalguni--(Trisala), perfectly healthy herself, gave birth to a perfectly healthy boy.

[End of the Fourth Lecture.]

LIFE OF MAHAVIRA, LECTURE 5

97 In that night in which the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira was born, there was a divine lustre originated by many descending and ascending gods and goddesses, and in the universe, resplendent with one light, the conflux of gods occasioned great confusion and noise.

98 In that night in which the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira was born, many demons in Vaisramana's service belonging to the animal world, rained down on the palace of king Siddhartha one great shower of silver, gold, diamonds, clothes, ornaments, leaves, flowers, fruits, seeds, garlands, perfumes, sandal, powder, and riches.

99 After the Bhavanapati, Vyantara, Gyotishka, and Vaimanika gods had celebrated the feast of the inauguration of the Tirthakara's birthday, the Kshatriya Siddhartha called, at the break of the morning, together the town policemen and addressed them thus:

100 'O beloved of the gods, quickly set free all prisoners in the town of Kundapura, increase measures and weights, give order that the whole town of Kundapura with its suburbs be sprinkled with water, swept, and smeared (with cowdung, etc.) that in triangular places, in places where three or four roads meet, in courtyards, in squares, and in thoroughfares, the middle of the road and the path along the shops be sprinkled, cleaned, and swept; that platforms be erected one above the other; that the town be decorated with variously coloured flags and banners, and adorned with painted pavilions [According to the commentary this may also be translated: smeared (with cowdung) and whitewashed.]; that the walls bear impressions in Gosirsha, fresh red sandal, and Dardara [Dardara is sandal wood brought from Dardara. All who have travelled in India will have noticed on walls the impressions of the hand mentioned in the text.] of the hand with outstretched fingers; that luck-foreboding vases be put on the floor, and pots of the same kind be disposed round every door and arch; that big, round, and long garlands, wreaths, and festoons be hung low and high; that the town be furnished with offerings, etc. (see § 32, down to) smelling box; that players, dancers, rope-dancers, wrestlers, boxers, jesters, story-tellers, ballad-singers, actors, messengers, pole-dancers, fruit-mongers, bag-pipers, lute-players, and many Talakaras be present. Erect and order to erect thousands of pillars and poles, and report on the execution of my orders.'

101 When the family servants were thus spoken to by king Siddhartha, they--glad, pleased, and joyful, etc. (see § 58)--accepted the words of command, saying, 'Yes, master!'

Then they set free all prisoners, etc. (see § 100, down to) pillars and poles. Having done this, they returned to king Siddhartha, and laying their hands on their heads, reported on the execution of his orders.

102 The king Siddhartha then went to the hall for gymnastic exercises, etc. (see §§ 60 and 61 4). (After having bathed) the king accompanied by his whole seraglio, and adorned with flowers, scented robes, garlands, and ornaments, held during ten days the festival in celebration of the birth of a heir to his kingdom; (it was held) under the continuous din and sound of trumpets, with great state and splendour, with a great train of soldiers, vehicles, and guests, under the sound, din, and noise of conches, cymbals, drums, castanets, horns, small drums, kettle drums, Muragas, Mridangas, and Dundubhis 1, which were accompanied at the same time by trumpets. The customs, taxes, and confiscations were released, I buying and selling prohibited, no policemen were allowed to enter houses, great and small fines were remitted, and debts cancelled. Numberless excellent actors performed and many Talakaras were present, drums sounded harmoniously, fresh garlands and wreaths were seen everywhere, and the whole population in the town and in the country rejoiced and was in full glee.

103 When the ten days of this festival were over, the king Siddhartha gave and ordered to be gives hundreds and thousands and hundred-thousands of offerings to the gods, gifts, and portions (of goods); he received and ordered to be received hundreds, thousands, and hundred-thousands of presents.

104 The parents of the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira celebrated the birth of their heir on the first day, on the third day they showed him the sun and the moon, on the sixth day they observed the religious vigil; after the eleventh day, when the impure operations and ceremonies connected with the birth of a child had been performed, and the twelfth day had come, they prepared plenty of food, drink, spices, and sweetmeats, invited their friends, relations, kinsmen, agnates, cognates, and followers, together with I the Gnatrika Kshatriyas. Then they bathed, made offerings (to the house-gods), and performed auspicious rites and expiatory acts, put on excellent, lucky, pure court-dress, and adorned their persons with small but costly ornaments. At dinner-time they sat down on excellent, comfortable chairs in the dining-hall, and together with their friends, relations, kinsmen, agnates, cognates and followers, and with the Gnatrika Kshatriyas they partook, ate, tasted, and interchanged (bits) of a large collation of food, drink, spices, and sweetmeats.

105 After dinner they went (to the meeting hall) after having cleansed their mouths and washed; when perfectly clean, they regaled and honoured their friends, etc. (see § 104, down to) Gnatrika Kshatriyas with many flowers, clothes, perfumes, garlands, and ornaments. Then they spoke thus to their friends, etc.:

106, 107 'Formerly, O beloved of the gods, when we had begotten this our boy, the following personal, reflectional, desirable idea occurred to our mind: "From the moment that this our boy has been begotten, our silver increased, our gold increased, etc. (see § 91, down to) Vardhamana. Now our wishes have been fulfilled, therefore shall the name of our boy be Vardhamana."'

108 The Venerable Ascetic Mahavira belonged to the Kasyapa gotra. His three names have thus been recorded: by his parents he was called Vardhamana; because he is devoid of love and hate, he is called Sramana (i.e. Ascetic); because he stands fast in midst of dangers and fears, patiently bears hardships and calamities, adheres to the chosen rules of penance, is wise, indifferent to pleasure and pain, rich in control, and gifted with fortitude, the name Venerable Ascetic Mahavira has been given him by the gods.

109 The Venerable Ascetic Mahavira's father belonged to the Kasyapa gotra; he had three names: Siddhartha, Sreyamsa, and Gasamsa, etc. (see Akaranga Sutra II, 15, § 15, down to) Seshavati and Yasovati.

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110 The Venerable Ascetic Mahavira--clever, with the aspirations of a clever man, of great beauty, controlling (his senses), lucky, and modest; a Gnatri Kshatriya, the son of a Gnatri Kshatriya; the moon of the clan of the Gnatris; a Videha, the son of Videhadatta, a native of Videha, a prince of Videha--had lived thirty years in Videha when his parents went to the world of the gods (i.e. died), and he with the permission of his elder brother and the authorities of the kingdom 2 fulfilled his promise. At that moment the Laukantika gods, following the established custom, praised and hymned him with these kind, pleasing, etc. (see § 47, down to) sweet, and soft words:

111 'Victory, victory to thee, gladdener of the world! Victory, victory to thee, lucky one! Luck to thee, bull of the best Kshatriyas! Awake, reverend lord of the world! Establish the religion of the law which benefits all living beings in the whole universe! It will bring supreme benefit to all living beings in all the world!' Thus they raised the shout of victory.

112 Before the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira had adopted the life of a householder (i.e. before his marriage) he possessed supreme, unlimited, unimpeded knowledge and intuition. The Venerable Ascetic Mahavira perceived with this his supreme unlimited knowledge and intuition that the time for his Renunciation had come. He left his silver, he left his gold, he left his riches, corn, majesty, and kingdom; his army, grain, treasure, storehouse, town, seraglio, and subjects; he quitted and rejected his real, valuable property, such as riches, gold, precious stones, jewels, pearls, conches, stones, corals, rubies, etc.; he distributed presents through proper persons, he distributed presents among indigent persons.

113 In that period, in that age, in the first month of winter, in the first fortnight, in the dark (fortnight) of Margasiras, on its tenth day, when the shadow had turned towards the east and the (first) Paurushi 4 was full and over, on the day called Suvrata, in the Muhurta called Vigaya, in the palankin Kandraprabha, (Mahavira) was followed on his way by a train of gods, men, and Asuras, (and surrounded) by a swarm of shell-blowers, proclaimers, pattivallas, courtiers, men carrying others on the back, heralds, and bell bearers. They praised and hymned him with these kind, pleasing, etc. (see § 47, down to) sweet and soft words:

114 'Victory, victory to thee, gladdener of the world! Victory to thee, lucky one! Luck to thee! with undisturbed knowledge, intuition, and good conduct conquer the unconquered Senses; defend the conquered Law of the Sramanas; Majesty, conquering all obstacles, live in Perfection; put down with thy devotion Love and Hate, the (dangerous) wrestlers; vigorously gird thy loins with constancy and overcome the eight Karmans, our foes, with supreme, pure meditation; heedful raise the banner of content, O Hero! in the arena of the three worlds gain the supreme, best knowledge, called Kevala, which is free from obscurity; obtain the pre-eminent highest rank (i.e. final liberation) on that straight road which the best Ginas have taught; beat the army of obstacles! Victory, victory to thee, bull of the best Kshatriyas! Many days, many fortnights, many months, many seasons, many half-years, many years be not afraid of hardships and calamities, patiently bear dangers and fears; be free from obstacles in the practice of the law!' Thus they raised the shout of victory.

115 Then the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira--gazed on by a circle of thousands of eyes 1, praised by a circle of thousands of mouths, extolled by a circle of thousands of hearts, being the object of many thousands of wishes, desired because of his splendour, beauty, and virtues, pointed out by a circle of thousands of forefingers, answering with (a salam) of his right hand a circle of thousands of joined hands of thousands of men and women, passing along a row of thousands of palaces, greeted by sweet and delightful music, as beating of time, performance on the Vina, Turya, and the great drum, in which joined shouts of victory, and the low and pleasing murmur of the people; accompanied by all his pomp, all his splendour, all his army, all his train, by all his retinue, by all his magnificence, by all his grandeur, by all his ornaments, by all the tumult, by all the throng, by all subjects, by all actors, by all time-beaters, by the whole seraglio; adorned with flowers, scented robes, garlands, and ornaments, etc. (see § 102, down to) which were accompanied at the same time by trumpets--went right through Kundapura to a park called the Shandavana of the Gnatris and proceeded to the excellent tree Asoka.

116 There under the excellent tree Asoka he caused his palankin to stop, descended from his palankin, took off his ornaments, garlands, and finery with his own hands, and with his own hands plucked out his hair in five handfuls. When the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Uttaraphalguni, he, after fasting two and a half days 1 without drinking water, put on a divine robe, and quite alone, nobody else being present, he tore out his hair and leaving the house entered the state of houselessness.

117 The Venerable Ascetic Mahavira for a year and a month wore clothes; after that time he walked about naked, and accepted the alms in the hollow of his hand. For more than twelve years the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira neglected his body and abandoned the care of it; he with equanimity bore, underwent, and suffered all pleasant or unpleasant occurrences arising from divine powers, men, or animals.

118 Henceforth the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira was houseless, circumspect [Circumspect is samita, guarding gupta; the former relates to execution of good acts, the latter to the abstinence from bad ones.] in his walking, circumspect in his speaking, circumspect in his begging, circumspect in his accepting (anything), in the carrying of his outfit and drinking vessel; circumspect in evacuating excrements, urine, saliva, mucus, and uncleanliness of the body; circumspect in his thoughts, circumspect in his words, circumspect in his acts; guarding his thoughts, guarding his words, guarding his acts, guarding his senses, guarding his chastity; without wrath, without pride, without deceit, without greed; calm, tranquil, composed, liberated, free from temptations, without egoism, without property; he had cut off all earthly ties, and was not stained by any worldliness: as water does not adhere to a copper vessel, or collyrium to mother of pearl (so sins found no place in him); his course was unobstructed like that of Life; like the firmament he wanted no support; like the wind he knew no obstacles; his heart was pure like the water (of rivers or tanks) in autumn; nothing could soil him like the leaf of a lotus; his senses were well protected like those of a tortoise; he was single and alone like the horn of a rhinoceros; he was free like a bird; he was always waking like the fabulous bird Bharunda, valorous like an elephant, strong like a bull, difficult to attack like a lion, steady and firm like Mount Mandara, deep like the ocean, mild like the moon, refulgent like the sun, pure like excellent gold; like the earth he patiently bore everything; like a well-kindled fire he shone in his splendour.

These words have been summarised in two verses:

1st. A vessel, mother of pearl, life, firmament, wind, water in autumn, leaf of lotus, a tortoise, a bird, a rhinoceros, and Bharunda;

2nd. An elephant, a bull, a lion, the king of the mountains, and the ocean unshaken--the moon, the sun, gold, the earth, well-kindled fire.

There were no obstacles anywhere for the Venerable One. The obstacles have been declared to be of four kinds, viz. with regard to matter, space, time, affects. With regard to matter: in things animate, inanimate, and of a mixed state; with regard to space: in a village or a town or in a wood or in a field or a threshing-floor or a house or a court-yard; with regard to time: in a Samaya or an Avalika or in the time of a respiration or in a Stoka or in a Kshana or in a Lava or in a Muhurta or in a day or in a fortnight or in a month or in a season or in a half year or in a year or in a long space of time; with regard to affects: in wrath or in pride or in deceit or in greed or in fear or in mirth or in love or in hate or in quarrelling or in calumny or in tale-bearing or in scandal or in pleasure or pain or in deceitful falsehood, etc. (all down to) or in the evil of wrong belief. There was nothing of this kind in the Venerable One.

119 The Venerable One lived, except in the rainy season, all the eight months of summer and winter, in villages only a single night, in towns only five nights; he was indifferent alike to the smell of ordure and of sandal, to straw and jewels, dirt and gold, pleasure and pain, attached neither to this world nor to that beyond, desiring neither life nor death, arrived at the other shore of the samsara, and he exerted himself for the suppression of the defilement of Karman.

120 With supreme knowledge, with supreme intuition, with supreme conduct, in blameless lodgings, in blameless wandering, with supreme valour, with supreme uprightness, with supreme mildness, with supreme dexterity, with supreme patience, with supreme freedom from passions, with supreme control, with supreme contentment, with supreme understanding, on the supreme path to final liberation, which is the fruit of veracity, control, penance, and good conduct, the Venerable One meditated on himself for twelve years. During the thirteenth year, in the second month of summer, in the fourth fortnight, the light (fortnight) of Vaisakha, on its tenth day, when the shadow had turned towards the east and the first wake was over, on the day called Suvrata, in the Muhurta called Vigaya, outside of the town Grimbhikagrama on the bank of the river Rigupalika, not far from an old temple, in the field of the householder Samaga, under a Sal tree, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Uttaraphalguni, (the Venerable One) in a squatting position with joined heels, exposing himself to the heat of the sun, after fasting two and a half days without drinking water, being engaged in deep meditation, reached the highest knowledge and intuition, called Kevala, which is infinite, supreme, unobstructed, unimpeded, complete, and full.

121 When the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira had become a Gina and Arhat, he was a Kevalin, omniscient and comprehending all objects; he knew and saw all conditions of the world, of gods, men, and demons: whence they come, whither they go, whether they are born as men or animals (kyavana) or become gods or hell-beings (upapada), the ideas, the thoughts of their minds, the food, doings, desires, the open and secret deeds of all the living beings in the whole world; he the Arhat, for whom there is no secret, knew and saw all conditions of all living beings in the world, what they thought, spoke, or did at any moment.

122 In that period, in that age the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira stayed the first rainy season in Asthikagrama, three rainy seasons in Kampa and Prishtikampa, twelve in Vaisali and Vanigagrama, fourteen in Ragagriha and the suburb of Nalanda, six in Mithila, two in Bhadrika, one in Alabhika, one in Panitabhumi, one in Sravasti, one in the town of Papa in king Hastipala's office of the writers: that was his very last rainy season.

123 In the fourth month of that rainy season, in the seventh fortnight, in the dark (fortnight) of Karttika, on its fifteenth day, in the last night, in the town of Papa in king Hastipala's office of the writers, the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira died, went off, quitted the world, cut asunder the ties of birth, old age, and death; became a Siddha, a Buddha, a Mukta, a maker of the end (to all misery), finally liberated, freed from all pains.

124 This occurred in the year called Kandra, the second (of the lustrum); in the month called Pritivardhana; in the fortnight Nandivardhana; on the day Suvratagni, surnamed Upasama; in the night called Devananda, surnamed Nirriti; in the Lava called Arkya; in the respiration called Mukta; in the Stoka called Siddha; in the Karana called Naga; in the Muhurta called Sarvarthasiddha; while the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Svati he died, etc. (see above, all down to) freed from all pains.

125 That night in which the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira died, etc. (all down to) freed from all pains, was lighted up by many descending and ascending gods.

126 In that night in which the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira died, etc. (all down to) freed from all pains, a great confusion and noise was originated by many descending and ascending gods.

127 In that night in which the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira died, etc. (all down to) freed from all pains, his oldest disciple, the monk Indrabhuti of the Gautama gotra, cut asunder the tie of friendship which he had for his master, and obtained the highest knowledge and intuition, called Kevala, which is infinite, supreme, etc., complete, and full.

128 In that night in which the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira died, etc. (all down to) freed from all pains, the eighteen confederate kings of Kasi and Kosala, the nine Mallakis and nine Likkhavis 1, on the day of new moon, instituted an illumination on the Poshadha, which was a fasting day; for they said: 'Since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter!'

129 In that night in which the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira died, etc. (all down to) freed from all pains, the great Graha called Kshudratma, resembling a heap of ashes, which remains for two thousand years in one asterism, entered the natal asterism of the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira.

130 From the moment in which the great Graha, etc., entered the natal asterism of the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira, there will not be paid much respect and honour to the Sramanas, the Nirgrantha monks and nuns.

131 But when the great Graha, etc., leaves that natal asterism, there will be paid much respect and honour to the Sramanas, the Nirgrantha monks and nuns.

132 In that night in which the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira died, etc. (all down to) freed from all pains, the animalcule called Anuddhari was originated: which when at rest and not moving, is not easily seen by Nirgrantha monks and nuns who have not yet reached the state of perfection, but which when moving and not at rest, is easily seen by Nirgrantha monks and nuns who have not yet reached the state of perfection.

133 On seeing this (animalcule) many Nirgrantha monks and nuns must refuse to accept the offered alms.

'Master, why has this been said?' 'After this time the observance of control will be difficult.'

135-145 In that period, in that age the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira had an excellent community of fourteen thousand Sramanas with Indrabhuti at their head; thirty-six thousand nuns with Kandana at their head; one hundred and fifty-nine thousand lay votaries with Sankhasataka at their head; three hundred and eighteen thousand female lay votaries with Sulasa and Revati at their head; three hundred sages who knew the fourteen Purvas, who though no Ginas came very near them, who knew the combination of all letters, and like Gina preached according to the truth; thirteen hundred sages who were possessed of the Avadhi-knowledge and superior a,, qualities; seven hundred Kevalins who possessed the combined 1 best knowledge and intuition; seven hundred who could transform themselves, and, though no gods, had obtained the powers (riddhi) of gods; five hundred sages of mighty intellect who know the mental conditions of all developed beings possessed of intellect and five senses in the two and a half continents and two oceans; four hundred professors who were never vanquished in the disputes occurring in the assemblies of gods, men, and Asuras; seven hundred male and fourteen hundred female disciples who reached perfection, etc. (all down to) freed from all pains; eight hundred sages in their last

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birth who were happy as regards their station, happy as regards their existence, lucky as regards their future.

146 The Venerable Ascetic Mahavira instituted two epochs in his capacity of a Maker of an end: the epoch relating to generations, and the epoch relating to psychical condition; in the third generation ended the former epoch, and in the fourth year of his Kevaliship the latter.

147 In that period, in that age the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira lived thirty years as a householder, more than full twelve years in a state inferior to perfection, something less than thirty years as a Kevalin, forty-two years as a monk, and seventy-two years on the whole. When his Karman which produces Vedaniya (or what one has to experience in this world), Ayus (length of life), name, and family, had been exhausted, when in this Avasarpini era the greater part of the Duhshamasushama period had elapsed and only three years and eight and a half months were left, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Svati, at the time of early morning, in the town of Papa, and in king Hastipala's office of the writers, (Mahavira) single and alone, sitting in the Samparyanka posture, reciting the fifty-five lectures which detail the results of Karman, and the thirty-six unasked questions, when he just explained the chief lecture (that of Marudeva) he died, etc. (see § 124, all down to) freed from all pains.

148 Since the time that the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira died, etc. (all down to) freed from all pains, nine centuries have elapsed, and of the tenth century this is the eightieth year. Another redaction has ninety-third year (instead of eightieth).

[End of the Fifth Lecture.]

[End of the Life of Mahavira.]

LIFE OF PARSVA.

149 In that period, in that age lived the Arhat Parsva, the people's favourite [Purisadaniya, explained: who is to be chosen among men because of his preferable karman.], the five most important moments of whose life happened when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Visakha: in Visakha he descended (from heaven), and having descended thence, entered the womb (of his mother); in Visakha he was born; in Visakha, tearing out his hair, he left the house and entered the state of houselessness; in Visakha he obtained the highest knowledge and intuition, called Kevala, which is infinite, supreme, unobstructed, unimpeded, complete, and full; in Visakha he obtained final liberation.

150 In that period, in that age, in the first month of summer, in the first fortnight, the dark (fortnight) of Kaitra, on its fourth day, the Arhat Parsva, the people's favourite, descended from the Pranata Kalpa [This is the tenth world of the gods.], where he had lived for twenty Sagaropamas, here on the continent Gambudvipa, in Bharatavarsha, in the town of Benares; and in the middle of the night when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Visakha, after the termination of his allotted length of life, divine nature, and existence (among the gods), he took the form of an embryo in the womb of the queen Vama, wife of Asvasena, king (of Benares).

151 The knowledge of the Arhat Parsva, the people's favourite, (about this) was threefold, etc. (repeat §§ 3-95 after making the necessary substitutions, and omitting what exclusively applies to Mahavira, all down to) comfortably carried her unborn child.

152 In that period, in that age the Arhat Parsva, the people's favourite--after the lapse of nine months and seven and a half days, in the second month of winter, in the third fortnight, the dark (fortnight) of Paushya, on its tenth day, in the middle of the night when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Visakha--(Vama), perfectly healthy herself, gave birth to a perfectly healthy boy.

153, 154 In that night in which the Arhat Parsva, the people's favourite, was born, etc. (repeat §§ 97-107 with the necessary alterations, all down to) therefore shall the name of our boy be Parsva [This name was given him because before his birth his mother, lying on her couch, saw in the dark a black serpent crawling about. This is the account given by the commentator, who forgets to tell us how it comes to bear on the name Parsva.].

155 The Arhat Parsva, the people's favourite, clever, with the aspirations of a clever man, of great beauty, controlling his senses, lucky, and modest, lived thirty years as a householder. Then the Laukantika gods, following the established custom, addressed him with these kind, pleasing, etc., sweet, and soft words:

156 'Victory, victory to thee, gladdener of the world!' (see § 111, down to) Thus they raised the shout of victory.

157 Before the Arhat Parsva, the people's favourite, had adopted the life of a householder, etc. (see § 112, down to) indigent persons. In the second month of winter, in the third fortnight, the dark (fortnight) of Paushya, on its eleventh day, in the middle of the night, riding in his palankin called Visala, followed on his way by a train of gods, men, and Asuras, etc. (Parsva) went right through the town of Benares to the park called Asramapada, and proceeded to the excellent tree Asoka. There, etc. (see § 116, down to) five handfuls. When the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Visakha, he, after fasting three and a half days without drinking water, put on a divine robe, and together with three hundred men he tore out his hair, and leaving the house entered the state of houselessness.

158 The Arhat Parsva, the people's favourite, for eighty-three days neglected his body, etc. (see § 117, down to) animals.

159 Thereafter the Arhat Parsva, the people's favourite, was houseless, circumspect, etc. (see §§ 1 18-120, down to) meditated upon himself for eighty-three days.

During the eighty-fourth day--it was in the first month of summer, in the first fortnight, the dark (fortnight) of Kaitra, on its fourth day, in the early part of the day, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Visakha--Parsva, under a Dhataki tree, after fasting two and a half days without drinking water, being engaged in deep meditation, reached the infinite, etc. (see § 120, down to) highest knowledge and intuition called Kevala, etc. (see § 121, down to) moment.

160 The Arhat Parsva, the people's favourite, had eight Ganas and eight Ganadharas (enumerated in a Sloka): Subha and Aryaghosha, Vasishtha and Brahmakarin, Saumya and Sridhara, Virabhadra and Yasas.

161-166 The Arhat Parsva, the people's favourite, had an excellent community of sixteen thousand Sramanas with Aryadatta [Ariyadinna in the original.] at their head; thirty-eight thousand nuns with Pushpakula at their head one hundred and sixty-four thousand lay votaries with Suvrata at their head; three hundred and twenty-seven thousand female lay votaries with Sunanda at their head; three hundred and fifty sages who knew the fourteen Purvas, etc. (see § 138); fourteen hundred sages who were possessed of the Avadhi knowledge; one thousand Kevalins; eleven hundred sages who could transform themselves, six hundred sages of correct knowledge, one thousand male and two thousand female disciples who had reached perfection, seven hundred and fifty sages of vast intellect, six hundred professors, and twelve hundred sages in their last birth.

167 The Arhat Parsva, the people's favourite, instituted two epochs in his capacity of a Maker of an end: the epoch relating to generations and the epoch relating to psychical condition; the former ended in the fourth generation, the latter in the third year of his Kevaliship.

168 In that period, in that age the Arhat Parsva, the people's favourite, lived thirty years as a householder, eighty-three days in a state inferior to perfection, something less than seventy years as a Kevalin, full seventy years as a Sramana, and a hundred years on the whole. When his fourfold Karman was exhausted and in this Avasarpini era the greater part of the Duhshamasushama period had elapsed, in the first month of the rainy season, in the second fortnight, the light (fortnight) of Sravana, on its eighth day, in the early part of the day when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Visakha, (Parsva), after fasting a month without drinking water, on the summit of mount Sammeta, in the company of eighty-three persons, stretching out his hands, died, etc. (all down to) freed from all pains.

169 Since the time that the Arhat Parsva, the people's favourite, died, etc. (all down to) freed from all pains, twelve centuries have elapsed, and of the thirteenth century this is the thirtieth year. End of the Life of Parsva.

LIFE OF ARISHTANEMI.

170In that period, in that age lived the Arhat Arishtanemi, the five most important moments of whose life happened when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Kitra. In Kitra he descended from heaven, etc. (see § 149, down to) obtained final liberation.

171 In that period, in that age, in the fourth month of the rainy season, in the seventh fortnight, the dark (fortnight) of Karttika, on its twelfth day, the Arhat Arishtanemi descended from the great Vimana, called Aparagita, where he had lived for thirty-six Sagaropamas, here on the continent Gambudvipa, in Bharatavarsha, in the town of Sauripura [The Prakrit form is Soriyapura, which would correspond to Sanskrit Saurikapura. It is Krishna's town.], and in the middle of the night when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Kitra, he took the form of an embryo in the womb of the queen Siva, wife of the king Samudravigaya, etc. (the seeing of the dreams, the accumulation of riches, etc., should be repeated here).

172 In that period, in that age the Arhat Arishtanemi--after the lapse of nine months and seven and a half days, in the first month of the rainy season, in the second fortnight, the light (fortnight) of Sravana, on its fifth day, etc.--(Siva), perfectly healthy herself; gave birth to a perfectly healthy boy. (Repeat the account of the birth, substituting the name Samudravigaya, all down to) therefore shall the name of our boy be Arishtanemi [His mother saw in a dream a nemi, the outer rim of a wheel, which consisted of rishta stones flying up to the sky. Hence the name Arishtanemi.]. The Arhat Arishtanemi, clever, etc. (see §§ 155157, all down to) indigent persons.

173 In the first month of the rainy season, in the second fortnight, the light (fortnight) of Sravana, on its sixth day riding in his palankin called Uttarakura, and followed on his way by a train of gods, men, and Asuras, etc. (Arishtanemi) went right through the town of Dvaravati to the park called Revatika, and proceeded to the excellent Asoka tree. There, etc. (see § 116, down to) five handfuls. When the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Kitra, after fasting two and a half days without drinking water, he put on a divine robe, and together with a thousand persons he tore out his hair, and leaving the house entered the state of houselessness.

174 The Arhat Arishtanemi for fifty-four days neglected his body, etc. (see §§ 117-120). During the fifty-fifth day--it was in the third month of the rainy season, in the fifth fortnight, the dark fortnight of Asvina, on its fifteenth day, in the last part of the day, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Kitra--(Arishtanemi) under a Vetasa [Vata in some Manuscripts; it is the Banyan tree.] tree on the summit of mount Girnar [Ugginta in the original.], after fasting three and a half days without drinking water, etc., obtained infinite, etc., highest knowledge and intuition called Kevala, etc. (see § 121, down to) moment.

175-181 The Arhat Arishtanemi had eighteen Ganas and eighteen Ganadharas. The Arhat Arishtanemi had an excellent community of eighteen thousand Sramanas with Varadatta at their head; forty thousand nuns with Arya Yakshini at their head; one hundred and sixty-nine thousand lay votaries with Nanda at their head; three hundred and thirty-six thousand [Read khattisam in the printed text.] female lay votaries with Mahasuvrata at their head; four hundred sages who knew the fourteen Purvas, etc.; fifteen hundred sages who were possessed of the Avadhi knowledge; fifteen hundred Kevalins; fifteen hundred sages who could transform themselves; one thousand sages of vast intellect; eight hundred professors; sixteen hundred sages in their last birth; fifteen hundred male and three thousand female disciples who had reached perfection. The Arhat Arishtanemi instituted, etc. (see § 146, down to) the former ended in the eighth generation, the latter in the twelfth year of his Kevaliship.

182 In that period, in that age the Arhat Arishtanemi lived three centuries as a prince, fifty-four days in a state inferior to perfection, something less than seven centuries as a Kevalin, full seven centuries as a Sramana, a thousand years on the whole. When his fourfold Karman was exhausted and in this Avasarpini era a great part of the Duhshamasushama period had elapsed, in the fourth month of summer, in the eighth fortnight, the light (fortnight) of Ashadha, on its eighth day, in the middle of the night when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Kitra, (Arishtanemi), after fasting a month without drinking water, on the summit of mount Girnar, in the company of five hundred and thirty-six monks, in a squatting position, died, etc. (all down to) freed from all pains.

183 Since the time that the Arhat Arishtanemi died, etc. (all down to) freed from all pains, eighty-four thousand years have elapsed, of the eighty-fifth millennium nine centuries have elapsed, of the tenth century this is the eightieth year.

[End of the Life of Arishtanemi.]

EPOCHS OF THE INTERMEDIATE TIRTHAKARAS.

[The numbers are given in the same way as in § 183. I have abridged these tedious accounts. All Tirthakaras except Mahavira have the title Arhat, which I have dropped in the sequel.]

184-203 Since the time that the Arhat Nami died, etc. (all down to) freed from all pains, 584,979 years have elapsed, this is the eightieth year. Since the death of Munisuvrata this is the year 1,184,980. Since Malli this is the year 6,584,980. Ara died 10,000,000 years before Malli; Kunthua quarter of a Palyopama before Malli; Santi three-quarters of a Palyopama; Dharma three Sagaropamas before Malli; Ananta seven Sagaropamas before Malli; Vimala sixteen Sagaropamas before Malli; Vasupugya forty Sagaropamas before Malli; Sreyamsa a hundred Sagaropamas before Malli. Sitala died a krore of Sagaropamas, less 42,003 years and eight and a half months, before the death of Vira. Suvidhi, surnamed Pushpadanta, died ten krores of Sagaropamas before Sitala; Kandraprabha a hundred krores of Sagaropamas before Sitala; Suparsva a thousand krores of Sagaropamas before Sitala; Padmaprabha ten thousand krores of Sagaropamas before Sitala; Sumati one hundred thousand krores of Sagaropamas before Sitala; Abhinandana one million krores of Sagaropamas before Sitala; Sambhava two million krores of Sagaropamas before Sitala; Agita five million krores of Sagaropamas before Sitala.

LIFE OF RISHABHA.

204-205 In that period, in that age lived the Arhat Rishabha, the Kosalian [Kosaliya = Kausalika. He is thus called because he was born in Kosala or Ayodhya.], four important moments of whose life happened when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Uttarashadha; the fifth, when in conjunction with Abhigit: in Uttarashadha he descended from heaven, etc. (all down to) in Abhigit he obtained final liberation.

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206 In that period, in that age, in the fourth month of summer, in the seventh fortnight, the dark (fortnight) of Ashadha, on its fourth day, the Arhat Rishabha, the Kosalian, descended from the great Vimana called Sarvarthasiddha, where he had lived for thirty-three Sagaropamas, here on the continent Gambudvipa, in Bharatavarsha, in Ikshvakubhumi, and in the middle of the night, etc., he took the form of an embryo in the womb of Marudevi, wife of the patriarch Nabhi [Kulakara; these Kulakaras were the first kings and founders of families at the time when the rest of mankind were 'Yugalins.' The first Kulakara was Vimalavahana; the seventh and last of the line Nabhi.].

207 The knowledge of the Arhat Rishabha about this, etc. (all as in the case of Mahavira, but note the following differences: the first dream is a bull 'coming forward with his face,' the other (mothers of Tirthakaras see first) an elephant. She (Marudevi) relates them to Nabhi, the patriarch; there are no interpreters of dreams; Nabhi, the patriarch, himself interprets them).

208 In that period, in that age the Arhat Rishabha, the Kosalian,--in the first month of summer, in the first fortnight, the dark (fortnight) of Kaitra, on its eighth day, etc.,--(Marudevi), perfectly healthy herself, gave birth to a perfectly healthy boy.

209 (The circumstances connected with the birth of Rishabha are the same as in the case of that of Mahavira, only that the contents of §§ 100 and 101 do not apply to the present case.)

210 The Arhat Rishabha, the Kosalian, belonged to the Kasyapa gotra, and he had five names: Rishabha, First King, First Mendicant, First Gina, and First Tirthakara.

211 The Arhat Rishabha, the Kosalian, clever, with the aspirations of a clever man, of great beauty, controlling (his senses), lucky, and modest, lived two millions of former years [Kosaliya = Kausalika. He is thus called because he was born in Kosala or Ayodhya.] as a prince, and six millions three hundred thousand former years as a king. During his reign he taught, for the benefit of the people, the seventy-two sciences, of which writing is the first, arithmetic the most important, and the knowledge of omens the last, the sixty-four accomplishments of women, the hundred arts, and the three occupations of men [The arts, as those of the potter, blacksmith, painter, weaver, and barber, each of which five principal arts is subdivided into twenty branches, are inventions and must be taught; while the occupations, agriculture, trade, etc. have everywhere developed, as it were, of themselves. The accomplishments of women are dancing, singing, etc. The commentator adds to these a detailed list of those questionable accomplishments which Vatsyayana has so curiously described, and refers the reader to the Gayamangala for further details. The latter work, a still extant commentary on the p. 283 Kama Sutra, must therefore be older than 1307, the date of Ginaprabhamuni's commentary on the Kalpa Sutra.]. At last he anointed his hundred sons as kings, and gave each a kingdom. Then the Laukantika god, following the established custom, etc. (see §§ 110-112, down to) indigent persons. In the first month of summer, in the first fortnight, the dark (fortnight) of Kaitra, on its eighth day, in the latter part of the day, riding in his palankin called Sudarsana, followed on his way by a train of gods, men, and Asuras, etc. (Rishabha) went right through the town Vinita to the park called Siddhartha Vana, and proceeded to the excellent tree Asoka. There, etc. (see § 116, down to) four handfuls. When the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Ashadha, he, after fasting two and a half days without drinking water, put on a divine robe, and together with four thousand of high, noble, royal persons, and Kshatriyas, he tore out his hair, and leaving the house entered the state of houselessness.

212 The Arhat Rishabha, the Kosalian, for one thousand years neglected his body, etc. (see §§ 1 I7-120, down to) meditated upon himself for one thousand years. Thereupon--it was in the fourth month of winter, the seventh fortnight, the dark (fortnight) of Phalguna, on its eleventh day, in the early part of the day, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Ashadha, outside of the town Purimatala, in the park called Sakatamukha, under the excellent tree Nyagrodha--(Rishabha) after fasting three and a half days without drinking water, being engaged in deep meditation, reached the infinite, etc. (see § 120, down to) highest knowledge and intuition called Kevala, etc. (see § 121, down to) moment.

213-226 The Arhat Rishabha, the Kosalian, had eighty-four Ganas and eighty-four Ganadharas. The Arhat Rishabha, the Kosalian, had an excellent community of eighty-four thousand Sramanas with Rishabhasena at their head; three hundred thousand nuns with Brahmisundari at their head; three hundred and five thousand lay votaries with Sreyamsa at their head; five hundred and fifty-four thousand female lay votaries with Subhadra at their head; four thousand seven hundred and fifty sages who knew the fourteen Purvas, etc.; nine thousand sages who were possessed of the Avadhi knowledge; twenty thousand Kevalins; twenty thousand six hundred sages who could transform themselves; twelve thousand six hundred and fifty sages of vast intellect, etc.; twelve thousand six hundred and fifty professors; twenty thousand male and forty thousand female disciples who had reached perfection; twenty-two thousand nine hundred sages in their last birth, etc. The Arhat Rishabha, the Kosalian, instituted, etc. (see § 146, down to) the former ended after numberless generations, the latter from the next Muhurta after his Kevaliship.

227 In that period, in that age the Arhat Rishabha, the Kosalian, lived two millions of former years as a prince, six millions three hundred thousand former years as a king, together eight millions three hundred thousand former years as a householder; a thousand (former) years in a state inferior to perfection, nine-and-ninety thousand former years as a Kevalin, together a hundred thousand former years as a Sramana, and eight millions four hundred thousand years on the whole. When his fourfold Karman was exhausted, and in this Avasarpini era the Sushamaduhshama period had nearly elapsed, only three years and eight and a half months being left, in the third month of winter, in the fifth fortnight, the dark (fortnight) of Magha, on its thirteenth day, in the early part of the day when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Abhigit, (Rishabha), after fasting six and a half days without drinking water, on the summit of mount Ashtapada, in the company of ten thousand monks in the Samparyanka position, died, etc. (all down to) freed from all pains.

Since the time that the Arhat Rishabha, the Kosalian, died, etc. (all down to) freed from all pains, three years and eight and a half months elapsed; thereupon one koti of kotis of Sagaropamas, less forty-two thousand and three years and eight and a half months, elapsed. At that time the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira died; after his Nirvana nine centuries elapsed, of the tenth century this is the eightieth year.

[End of the Life of Rishabha.]

[End of the Lives of the Ginas.]

LIST OF THE STHAVIRAS.

1 At that period, at that age the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira had nine Ganas and eleven Ganadharas. 'Why, now, has it been said, that the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira had nine Ganas, but eleven Ganadharas?'

'The oldest monk of the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira was Indrabhuti of the Gautama gotra, who instructed five hundred Sramanas; the middle-aged monk was Agnibhuti of the Gautama gotra, who instructed five hundred Sramanas; the youngest was Vayubhuti of the Gautama gotra, who instructed five hundred Sramanas. The Sthavira Arya-Vyakta of the Bharadvaga gotra instructed five hundred Sramanas; the Sthavira Arya-Sudharman of the Agnivesyayana gotra instructed five hundred Sramanas; the Sthavira Mandikaputra 1 of the Vasishtha gotra instructed two hundred and fifty Sramanas; the Sthavira Mauryaputra of the Kasyapa gotra instructed two hundred and fifty Sramanas; the Sthavira Akampita of the Gautama gotra and Sthavira Akalabhratri of the Haritayana gotra, both Sthaviras instructed together three hundred Sramanas each; the Sthaviras Metarya and Prabhasa, both of the Kaundinya gotra, instructed together three hundred Sramanas each [The sum total of Sramanas is therefore 4711, while in § 134 it is stated to have been 14,000.]. Therefore, Sir, has it been said that the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira had nine Ganas, but eleven Ganadharas:

2 All these eleven Ganadharas of the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira, who knew the twelve Angas, the fourteen Purvas, and the whole Siddhanta of the Ganins, died, etc. (all down to) freed from all pains in Ragagriha after fasting a month without drinking water. The Sthaviras Indrabhuti and Arya Sudharman both died after the Nirvana of Mahavira. The Nirgrantha Sramanas of the present time are all (spiritual) descendants of the monk Arya Sudharman, the rest of the Ganadharas left no descendants.

3 The Venerable Ascetic Mahavira was of the Kasyapa gotra. His disciple was:

1. Arya Sudharman of the Agnivesyayana gotra;
2. Arya Gambunaman of the Kasyapa gotra;
3. Arya Prabhava of the Katyayana gotra;
4. Arya Sayyambha, father of Manaka, was of the Vatsa gotra;
5. Arya Yasobhadra of the Tungikayana gotra.

4 In the short redaction the list of Sthaviras after .Arya Yasobhadra is the following:

6. Arya Sambhutavigaya of the Mathara gotra and Arya Bhadrabahu of the Prakina gotra;
7. Arya Sthulabhadra of the Gautama gotra;
8. 1st. Arya Mahagiri of the Ailapatya gotra and
   2nd. Arya Suhastin of the Vasishtha gotra;
9. Susthita and Supratibuddha, surnamed Kotika and Kakandaka, of the Vyaghrapatya gotra;
10. Arya Indradatta (Indadinna) of the Kausika gotra;
11. Arya Datta (Dinna) of the Gautama gotra;
12. Arya Simhagiri Gatismara of the Kausika gotra;
13. Arya Vagra of the Gautama gotra;
14. Arya Vagrasena of the Utkrishta gotra.

He had four disciples: Arya Nagila, Arya Padmila, Arya Gayanta, and Arya Tapasa, each of whom founded a Sakha called after his name, viz. the Aryanagila Sakha, the Aryapadmila Sakha, the Aryagayanti Sakha, and the Aryatapasi Sakha.

In the detailed redaction the list of Sthaviras after Arya Yasobhadra is the following:

6. 1st. Arya Bhadrabahu of the Prakina gotra, who had four disciples of the Kasyapa gotra:
   a. Godasa, founder of the Godasa Gana, which was divided into four Sakhas:
      a1. The Tamraliptika Sakha,
      a2. The Kotivarshiya Sakha,
      a3. The Pundravardhaniya Sakha, and
      a4. The Dasikharbatika Sakha.
   b. Agnidatta,
   c. Ganadatta,
   d. Somadatta.

   2nd. Arya Sambhutavigaya of the Mathara gotra, who had twelve disciples:

7. a. Nandanabhadra,
   b. Upananda,
   c. Tishyabhadra,
   d. Yasobhadra,
   e. Sumanobhadra,
   f. Manibhadra,
   g. Punyabhadra,
   h. Sthulabhadra of the Gautama gotra,
   i. Rigumati,
   k. Gambu,
   l. Dirghabhadra, and
   m. Pandubhadra;

   and seven female disciples:
   a. Yaksha,
   b. Yakshadatta (Yakshadinna),
   c. Bhuta,
   d. Bhutadatta (Bhutadinna),
   e. Sena (also Ena),
   f. Vena,
   g Rena.

8. 1st. Arya Mahagiri of the Ailapatya gotra, who had eight disciples:
   A. Uttara,
   B. Balissaha, who both together founded the Uttarabalissaha Gana, which was divided into four Sakhas
      a. Kausambika,
      b. Sautaptika (Pr. Soittiya),
      c. Kautumbini (or Kundadhari),
      d. Kandanagari.
   C. Dhanarddhi (Pr. Dhanaddha),
   D. Siraddhi (Pr. Siriddha),
   E. Kodinya,
   F. Naga,
   G. Nagaputra,
   H. Khaluka Rohagupta of the Kausika gotra, founder of the Trairasika Sakha.

   2nd. Arya Suhastin of the Vasishtha gotra, who had twelve disciples:

9. A. Arya Rohana of the Kasyapa gotra, founder of the Uddeha Gana, which was divided into four Sakhas:
      a. Udumbarika (Pr. Udumbariggiya),
      b. Masapurika,
      c. Matipatrika,
      d. Purnapatrika (Pr. Punnapattiya, Panna°, Sunna°, or Suvanna°);

   and into six Kulas:
      aa. Nagabhuta,
      bb. Somabhuta,
      cc. Ullagakkha (or Ardrakakkha?),
      dd. Hastilipta (Pr. Hatthiligga),
      ee. Nandika (Pr. Nandigga),
      ff. Parihasaka.

   B. Bhadrayasas of the Bharadvaga gotra, who founded the Uduvatika Gana, which was divided into four Sakhas:
      a. Kampiyika (Pr. Kampiggiya),
      b. Bhadriyika (Pr. Bhaddiggiya),
      c. Kakandika,
      d. Mekhaliyika (Pr. Mehaliggiya);

   and into three Kulas:
      aa. Bhadrayaska (Pr. Bhaddagasiya),
      bb. Bhadraguptika,
      cc. Yasobhadra (Pr. Gasabhadda).

   C. Megha.

   D. Kamarddhi (Pr. Kamiddhi) of the Kundala gotra, who founded the Vesavatika Gana, which was divided into four Sakhas:
      a. Sravastika,
      b. Ragyapalika (Pr. Raggapaliya),
      c. Antarangika (Pr. Antariggiya),
      d. Kshemaliptika (Pr. Khemaliggiya);

   and into four Kulas:
      aa. Ganika,
      bb. Maighika,
      cc. Kamarddhika,
      dd. Indrapuraka.

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E. Srigupta of the Harita gotra, founder of the Karana Gana, which was divided into four Sakhas:
a. Haritamalakari,
b. Samkasika,
c. Gavedhuka,
d. Vagranagari;
and into seven Kulas:
aa. Vatsaliya (Pr. Vakkhaligga),
bb. Pritidharmika,
cc. Haridraka (Pr. Haligga),
dd. Pushyamitrika (Pr. Pusamittigga),
ee. Malyaka (Pr. Maligga),
ff. Aryaketaka,
gg. Krishnasakha (Pr. Kanhasaha).

F. Rishigupta Kakandaka of the Vasishtha gotra, founder of the Manava Gana, which was divided into four Sakhas:
a. Kasyapiya (Pr. Kasaviggiya),
b. Gautamiya (Pr. Goyameggiya),
c. Vasishthiya (Pr. Vasitthiya),
d. Saurashtrika;
and into three Kulas:
aa. Rishiguptika,
bb. Rishidattika,
cc. Abhiyasasa.

G. and H. Susthita and Supratibuddha, surnamed Kautika and Kakandaka, of the Vyaghrapatya gotra, founders of the Kautika Gana, which was divided into four Sakhas:
a. Ukkanagari,
b. Vidyadhari,
c. Vagri,
d. Madhyamika (Pr. Magghimilla);
and into four Kulas:
aa. Brahmaliptaka (Pr. Bambhaligga),
bb. Vatsaliya (Pr. Vakkhaligga.),
cc. Vaniya (Pr. Vanigga),
dd. Prasnavahanaka.

Both Sthaviras had together five disciples:

10. a. Arya Indradatta (Pr. Indadinna) of the Kasyapa gotra,
b. Priyagantha, founder of the Madhyama Sakha,
c. Vidyadharagopala of the Kasyapa gotra, founder of the Vidyadhari Sakha,
d. Rishidatta,
e. Arhaddatta (Pr. Arihadatta).

11. Arya Datta (Pr. Dinna) of the Gautama gotra, who had two disciples:

12. 1st. Arya Santisenika of the Mathara gotra, founder of the Ukkanagari Sakha, who had four disciples:
a. Arya Senika, founder of the Aryasenika Sakha,
b. Arya Tapasa, founder of the Aryatapasi Sakha,
c. Arya Kubera, founder of the Aryakubera Sakha, and
d. Arya Rishipalita, founder of the Aryarishipalita Sakha.

2nd. Arya Simhagiri Gatismara of the Gautama gotra, who had four disciples:

13. a. Dhanagiri,
b. Arya Samita of the Gautama gotra, founder of the Brahmadvipika Sakha,
c. Arya Vagra of the Gautama gotra, founder of the Aryavagra Sakha,
d. Arhaddatta (Pr. Arihadinna).

14. 1st. Arya Vagrasena, founder of the Aryanagila Sakha,
2nd. Arya Padma, founder of the Aryapadma Sakha,
3rd. Arya Ratha of the Vatsa gotra, founder of the Aryagayanti Sakha.

15. Arya Pushyagiri of the Kausika gotra.
16. Arya Phalgumitra of the Gautama gotra.
17. Arya Dhanagiri of the Vasishtha gotra.
18. Arya Sivabhuti of the Kautsa gotra.
19. Arya Bhadra of the Kasyapa gotra.
20. Arya Nakshatra of the Kasyapa gotra.
21. Arya Raksha of the Kasyapa gotra.
22. Arya Naga of the Gautama gotra.
23. Arya Gehila of the Vasishtha gotra.
24. Arya Vishnu of the Mathara gotra.
25. Arya Kalaka of the Gautama gotra.
26. Arya Sampalita and Bhadra, both of the Gautama gotra.
27. Arya Vriddha of the Gautama gotra.
28. Arya Sanghapalita of the Gautama gotra.
29. Arya Hastin of the Kasyapa gotra.
30. Arya Dharma of the Suvrata gotra.
31. Arya Simha of the Kasyapa gotra.
32. Arya Dharma of the Kasyapa gotra.
33. Arya Sandilya.

Bowing down my head, I pay my reverence to the Sthavira Gambu of the Gautama gotra, who possessed steady virtue, good conduct, and knowledge. ix.

I prostrate myself before the Sthavira Nandita of Kasyapa gotra, who is possessed of great clemency and of knowledge, intuition, and good conduct. x.

Then I adore the Kshamasramana Desiganin of the Kasyapa gotra, who, steady in his conduct, possesses the highest righteousness and virtue. xi.

Then I prostrate myself before the Kshamasramana Sthiragupta of the Vatsya gotra, the preserver of the sacred lore, the wise one, the ocean of wisdom, him of great virtue. xii.

Then I adore the Sthavira prince, Dharma, the virtuous Ganin, who stands well in knowledge, intuition, good conduct, and penance, and is rich in virtues 1. xiii.

I revere the Kshamasramana Devarddhi of the Kasyapa gotra, who wears, as it were, the jewel of the right understanding of the Sutras, and possesses the virtues of patience, self-restraint, and clemency. xiv.

End of the List of the Sthaviras.

RULES FOR YATIS.

1 1. In that period, in that age the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira commenced the Paggusan when a month and twenty nights of the rainy season had elapsed.

Why has it been said that the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira commenced the Paggusan when a month and twenty nights of the rainy season had elapsed?'

2 'Because at that time the lay people have usually matted their houses, whitewashed them, strewn them (with straw), smeared them (with cowdung), levelled, smoothed, or perfumed them (or the floor of them), have dug gutters and drains, have furnished their houses, have rendered them comfortable, and have cleaned them. Hence it has been said that the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira commenced the Paggusan when a month and twenty nights of the rainy season had elapsed.'

3 As the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira commenced the Paggusan when a month and twenty nights of the rainy season had elapsed, so the Ganadharas commenced the Paggusan when a month and twenty nights of the rainy season had elapsed.

4 As the Ganadharas have done, so the disciples of the Ganadharas have done.

5 As they have done, so the Sthaviras have done.

6 As they have done, so do the Nirgrantha Sramanas of the present time.

7 As they do, so our masters, teachers, etc. do.

8 As they do, so do we commence the Paggusan after a month and twenty nights of the rainy season have elapsed. It is allowed to commence the Paggusan earlier, but not after that time.

9 2. Monks or nuns during the Paggusan are allowed to regard their residence as extending a Yogana and a Krosa all around, and to live there for a moderate time.

10 3. During the Paggusan monks or nuns are allowed to go and return, for the sake of collecting alms, not farther than a Yogana and a Krosa (from their lodgings).

11 If there is (in their way) an always flowing river which always contains water, they are not allowed to travel for a Yogana and a Krosa.

12 But if the river is like the Eravati near Kunala, such that it can be crossed by putting one foot in the water and keeping the other in the air, there it is allowed to travel for a Yogana and a Krosa.

13 But where that is impossible, it is not allowed to travel for a Yogana and a Krosa.

14 4. During the Paggusan the Akarya will say, 'Give, Sir!' Then he is allowed to give (food to a sick brother), but not to accept himself.

15 If the Akarya says, 'Accept, Sir!' then he is allowed to accept (food), but not to give.

16 If the Akarya says, 'Give, Sir! accept, Sir!' then the patient is allowed to give and to accept (food).

17 5. Monks or nuns who are hale and healthy, and of a strong body, are not allowed during the Paggusan frequently to take the following nine drinks: milk, thick sour milk, fresh butter, clarified butter, oil, sugar, honey, liquor, and meat.

18 6. During the Paggusan a collector of alms might ask (the Akarya), 'Sir, is (anything of the just-mentioned articles) required for the sick man?' he (the Akarya) says, 'Yes, it is.' Then (the sick man) should be asked, 'How much do you require?' The Akarya says, 'So much is required for the sick man: you must take so much as he told you.' And he (the collector of alms) should beg, and begging he should accept (the required food). Having obtained the quantity ordered, he should say, 'No more!' Perchance (the giver of food) might ask, 'Why do you say so, Sir?' (Then he should answer), 'Thus much is required for the sick man.' Perchance, after that answer the other may say, 'Take it, Sir! You may after (the sick man has got his share) eat it or drink it.' Thus he is allowed to accept it, but he is not allowed to accept it by pretending that it is for the sick man.

19 7. In householders' families which are converted, devoted, staunch adherers (to the law), and honour, praise, and permit (the visits of monks), Sthaviras, during the Paggusan, are not allowed to ask, 'Sir, have you got such or such a thing?' if they do not see it. 'Why, Sir, has this been said?' 'Because a devout householder might buy it or steal it.'

20 8. During the Paggusan a monk eats only one meal a day, and should at one fixed time frequent the abodes of householders for the sake of collecting alms, except when he does services for the Akarya, the teacher, an ascetic, or a sick man, likewise if he or she be a novice who has not yet the marks of ripe age.

21 To a monk who during the Paggusan eats only one meal on every second day, the following special rule applies. Having gone out in the morning, he should eat and drink his pure dinner, then he should clean and rub his alms-bowl. If his dinner was sufficient, he should rest content with it for that day; if not, he is allowed for a second time to frequent the abodes of householders for the sake of collecting alms.

22 A monk who during the Paggusan eats on every third day, is allowed twice to frequent the abodes of householders for the sake of collecting alms.

23 A monk who during the Paggusan eats one meal on every fourth day, is allowed three times to frequent the abodes of householders for the sake of collecting alms.

24 A monk who keeps still more protracted fasts, is allowed at all (four) times to frequent the abodes of householders for the sake of collecting alms.

25 9. A monk who during the Paggusan eats one meal every day, is allowed to accept all (permitted) drinks. A monk who during the Paggusan eats one meal on every second day, is allowed to accept three kinds of drinks: water used for watering flour, sesamum, or rice [Cf. Akaranga Sutra 2, 1, 7, § 7. The definitions given in our commentary are the following: the first is water mixed with flour, or water used for washing the hands after kneading flour; the second, water with which squeezed leaves, etc. are sprinkled; the third, water used for washing threshed and winnowed rice (tandula).]. A monk who eats one meal on every third day, is allowed to accept three kinds of drinks: water used for washing sesamum, chaff, or barley [Akaranga Sutra 2, 1, 7, § 8. The first is water used for washing sesamum, or, in Maharashtra, husked sesamum; the second, water used for washing rice, etc. (vrihyadi); the third, water used for washing barley.]. A monk who during the Paggusan eats one meal on every fourth day, is allowed to accept three kinds of water: rain-water, or sour gruel, or pure (i.e. hot) water. A monk who during the Paggusan keeps still more protracted fasts, is allowed to accept only one kind of drink: hot pure water. It must contain no boiled rice. A monk who abstains from food altogether, is allowed to accept only one kind of drink: pure hot water. It must contain no boiled rice; it must be filtered, not unfiltered; it must be a limited quantity, not an unlimited one; it must be sufficient, not insufficient.

26 10. A monk who during the Paggusan restricts himself to a certain number of donations, is allowed to accept (e. g.) five donations of food, and five of drink; or four of food, and five of drink; or five of food, and four of drink. He may accept one donation of salt for seasoning his meat. He should rest content for that day with the dinner he has brought together, and is not allowed a second time to frequent the abodes of householders for the sake of collecting alms.

27 During the Paggusan monks or nuns who restrict their visits to certain houses may go to a place where rice is cooked, if it is the seventh house from that where they are lodged. According to some, the lodging is included in the seven houses which such a mendicant must pass before he may participate in the festive entertainment; but according to others, it is not included in those seven houses.

28 11. During the Paggusan a monk who collects alms in the hollow of his hand, is not allowed to frequent the abodes of householders, etc., if rain, even in the form of a fine spray, falls down.

29 During the Paggusan a monk who collects alms in the hollow of his hand, is not allowed to stay anywhere except in a house after having accepted alms, for it might begin to rain. But he should eat a part, and put back the rest (if it then begins to rain), covering his hand with the other hand, and laying it on his bosom or hiding it under his armpit; then he should go to well-covered (places), to a cave or the foot of a tree, where no water or drops of water or spray of water falls in his hand.

30 12. During the Paggusan a monk who collects alms in the hollow of his hand, is not allowed to collect alms if rain, even in the form of a fine spray, falls down.

31 13. During the Paggusan a monk who uses an alms-bowl is not allowed to frequent the abodes of householders for the sake of collecting alms if it rains fast, but he is allowed to do so if it rains but little; but they must wear then an under and upper garment.

32 During the Paggusan, a monk who has entered the abode of a householder while there are single showers of rain, is allowed (when the rain ceases for a moment) to stand under a grove, or in his residence, or in the assembling-hall of the village, or at the foot of a tree.

33 If before his arrival a dish of rice was being cooked, and after it a dish of pulse was begun to be cooked, he is allowed to accept of the dish of rice, but not of the dish of pulse.

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34 But if before his arrival a dish of pulse was being cooked, and after it a dish of rice was begun to be cooked, he is allowed to accept of the dish of pulse, but not of the dish of rice.

35 If both dishes were begun to be cooked before his arrival, he is allowed to accept of both. If both dishes were begun to be cooked after his arrival, he is not allowed to accept of either. He is allowed to accept of what was prepared before his arrival; he is not allowed to accept of what was prepared after his arrival.

36 During the Paggusan, etc. (see § 32, down to) tree; he is not allowed to pass there his time with the food he had collected before. But he should first eat and drink his pure (food and drink), then rub and clean his alms-bowl, and, putting his things together, he should, while the sun has not yet set, go to the place where he is lodged; but he is not allowed to pass the night in the former place.

37 During the Paggusan, etc. (see § 32, down to) tree.

38 It is not allowed that there at the same place should stand together one monk and one nun, nor one monk and two nuns, nor two monks and one nun, nor two monks and two nuns. But if there is a fifth person, a male or female novice, or if that place can be seen (by those who pass) or doors open on it, then they are allowed to stand there together.

39 During the Paggusan, etc. (see § 32, down to) tree. It is not allowed that there at the same place should stand together a monk and a lay woman, etc. (through the four cases as in § 28). But if there is a fifth person, a Sthavira or a Sthavira, or if that place can be seen (by those who pass) or doors open on it, then they are allowed to stand there together. The same rule applies to a nun and a layman.

40 14. During the Paggusan monks or nuns are not allowed to accept food, drink, dainties, and spices for one who has not asked them, and whom they have not promised to do so.

41 'Why has this been said, Sir?' 'Because one who collects alms for another without being asked for it, might eat them or not, just as he lists.'

42 15. During the Paggusan monks or nuns are not allowed to take their meals as long as their body is wet or moist.

43 'How has this been said, Sir?' 'Seven places which retain the moisture have been declared: the hands, the lines in the hand, the nails, the top of the nails, the brows, the under lip, the upper lip.' But when they perceive that the water on their body has dried up and the moisture is gone, then they are allowed to take their meals.

44 16. There are these eight classes of small things which a mendicant ought diligently to perceive, observe, and inspect, viz. living beings, mildew, seeds, sprouts, flowers, eggs, layers, and moisture.

What is understood by the small living beings? The small living beings are declared to be of five kinds: black, blue, red, yellow, and white ones. There is an animalcule called Anuddhari, which when at rest and not moving is not easily seen by monks and nuns who have not yet reached perfection, which when not at rest but moving is easily seen by monks and nuns who have not yet reached perfection. Monks and nuns who have not yet reached perfection must diligently perceive, observe, and inspect this. Those are the small living beings.

45 What is understood by small mildew? Small mildew has been declared to be of five kinds: black, blue, etc. There is a kind of small mildew which has the same colour as the substance on which it grows. Monks, nuns, etc. (see § 44, down to) inspect this. That is small mildew.

What is understood by small seeds? Small seeds are declared to be of five kinds: black, blue, etc. There is a kind of small seeds of the same colour as grain. Monks and nuns, etc. (see § 44, down to) inspect this. Those are the small seeds.

What is understood by small sprouts? Small sprouts are declared to be of five kinds: black, blue, etc. There is a kind of small sprouts of the same colour as earth. Monks and nuns, etc. (see § 44, down to) inspect them. Those are the small sprouts.

What is understood by small flowers? Small flowers are declared to be of five kinds: black, blue, etc. There is a kind of small flowers of the same colour as the tree (on which they grow). Monks and nuns, etc. (see § 44, down to) inspect them. Those are the small flowers.

What is understood by small eggs? Small eggs are declared to be of five kinds: eggs of biting insects, of spiders, of ants, of lizards (or wasps), and of chameleons. Monks and nuns, etc. (see § 44, down to) inspect them. Those are the small eggs.

What is understood by small caves or lairs? Small caves or lairs are declared to be of five kinds: lairs of animals of the asinine kind, chasms, holes, cavities widening below like the stem of a palm tree, and wasps' nests. Monks and nuns, etc. (see § 44, down to) inspect them. Those are the small caves or lairs.

What is understood by small moisture? Small moisture is declared to be of five kinds: dew, hoarfrost, fog, hailstones, and damps. Monks and nuns, etc. (see § 44, down to) inspect this. That is small moisture.

46 17. During the Paggusan a monk might wish to frequent the abodes of householders for the sake of collecting alms. He is not allowed to go without asking leave of the teacher, or sub-teacher, or religious guide, or Sthavira, or head of the Gana, or Ganadhara, or founder of the Gana, or whom else he regards as his superior; he is allowed to go after having asked leave of one of these persons (in this way): 'I want with your permission to frequent the abodes of householders for the sake of collecting alms.' If he (the superior) grants permission, one is allowed to go; if not, one is not allowed to go.

'Why has this been said, Sir?' 'The teacher knows how to make good what has been done wrong.'

47 The same rule applies concerning the visits to temples and leaving the house for easing nature, or any other business, also the wandering from village to village.

48 18. During the Paggusan a monk might wish to take some medicine; he is not allowed to take it without asking leave of the teacher, etc. (see § 47, down to) founder of the Gana; but he is allowed to take it after having asked leave of one of these persons (in this way): 'I want, Sir, with your permission to take some medicine,' viz. so much or so often. If he, etc. (see § 46, down to) wrong.

49 The same rule applies if a monk wants to undergo some medical cure.

50 Also if he wants to do some exalted penance.

51 Also if he intends, after the last mortification of the flesh which is to end in death, to wait for his last hour without desiring it, in total abstinence from food and drink or in remaining motionless; also if he wants to go out or to enter, to eat food, etc., to ease nature, to learn his daily lesson, to keep religious vigils--he is not allowed to do it without asking leave.

52 19. If during the Paggusan a monk wants to dry or warm (in the sun) his robe, alms-bowl, blanket, broom, or any other utensil, he is not allowed without asking one or many persons to frequent the abodes of householders for the sake of collecting alms, to eat food, etc., to visit temples or leave the house for easing nature, to learn his daily lesson, to lie down with outstretched limbs or stand in some posture. If there is somebody near, one or many persons, then he should say: 'Sir, please mind this (robe, etc.) while I frequent the abodes of householders, etc. (see above, down to) posture.' If that person promises to do it, then he (the monk) is allowed to go; if he does not promise it, then he is not allowed to go.

53 20. During the Paggusan monks or nuns are not allowed to be without their proper bed or bench 1. This is the reason: A mendicant whose bed and bench are not reserved for his own use, are low and rickety, not sufficiently fastened, without a fixed place, and never exposed to the sun, and who is not circumspect in what he does, nor accustomed to inspect and clean the things of his use, will find it difficult to exercise control;

54 but on the contrary, control will be easy to him.

55 21. During the Paggusan monks or nuns must always inspect three spots where to ease nature; not so in the summer and winter, as in the rainy season. 'Why has this been said, Sir?' 'For in the rainy season living beings, grass, seeds, mildew, and sprouts frequently come forth.'

56 22. During the Paggusan monks or nuns must have three pots, one for ordure, one for urine, and a spitting-box.

57 Monks and nuns, who wear after the Paggusan their hair as short as that of a cow, are not allowed to do so during the Paggusan after that night (of the fifth Bhadrapada); but a monk should shave his head or pluck out his hair. Shaving with a razor every month, cutting with scissors every half-month, plucking out every six months.

This is the conduct chiefly of Sthaviras during the rainy season.

58 23. During the Paggusan monks or nuns should not use harsh words after the commencement of the Paggusan; if they do, they should be warned Reverend brother (or sister), you speak unmannerly.' One who (nevertheless) uses harsh words after the commencement of the Paggusan, should be excluded from the community.

59 24. If, during the Paggusan, among monks or nuns occurs a quarrel or dispute or dissension, the young monk should ask forgiveness of the superior, and the superior of the young monk. They should forgive and ask forgiveness, appease and be appeased, and converse without restraint 1. For him who is appeased, there will be success (in control); for him who is not appeased, there will be no success; therefore one should appease one's self. 'Why has this been said, Sir?' 'Peace is the essence of monachism.'

60 25. During the Paggusan monks or nuns should have three lodging-places; (two) for occasional use, which must be inspected; one for constant use, which must be swept.

61 26. During the Paggusan monks or nuns should give notice of the direction or intermediate direction in which they intend to go forth for the sake of begging alms. 'Why has this been said, Sir?' 'During the Paggusan the reverend monks frequently undertake austerities; an ascetic becoming weak and exhausted might swoon or fall down. (In case of such an accident the remaining) reverend monks will undertake their search in that direction or intermediate direction (which the ascetic had named them).

62 27. During the Paggusan monks or nuns are not allowed to travel farther than four or five Yoganas, and then to return. They are allowed to stay in some intermediate place, but not to pass there (at the end of their journey) the night.

63 Of those Nirgrantha monks who follow, etc. (see Akaranga Sutra 2, 15, 5 end, down to) . . . . these (rules regulating) the conduct of Sthaviras in the rainy season, some will reach perfection, etc. (see § 124, down to) be freed from all pains in that same life, some in the next life, some in the third birth; none will have to undergo more than seven or eight births.

64 In that period, in that age the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira, in the town of Ragagriha, in the Kaitya Gunasilaka, surrounded by many monks and nuns, by many men and women of the laity, by many gods and goddesses, said thus, spoke thus, declared thus, explained thus; he proclaimed again and again the Lecture called Paryushanakalpa with its application, with its argumentation, with its information, with its text, with its meaning, with both text and meaning, with the examination of the meaning.

Thus I say.

[End of the Rules for Yatis.]

[End of the Kalpa Sutra.]

THE UTTARADHYAYANA SUTRA

From: Jaina Sutras, Part 2,
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(Uttaradhyayana or Uttaradhyayana Sutra is one of the most important sacred books of the Svetambara Jains. It consists of 36 chapters, each of which deals with aspects of Jain doctrine and discipline.It is believed by some to contain the actual words of Bhagwan Mahavira.

The Uttaradhyayana resembles the Sutrakritanga with regard to its subjects treated; but it is of greater extent than the original part of the Sutrakritanga, and the plan of the work is carried out with more skill. Its intention is to instruct a young monk in his principal duties, to commend an ascetic life by precepts and examples, to warn him against the dangers in his spiritual career, and to give some theoretical information. The heretical doctrines are only occasionally alluded to, not fully discussed; apparently the dangers expected from that quarter grew less in the same measure as time advanced and the institutions of the sect were more firmly established. Of more importance to a young monk seems to have been an accurate knowledge of animate and inanimate things, as a rather long treatise on this subject has been added at the end of the book.--Though there is an apparent plan in the selection and arrangement of the single Lectures, still it is open to doubt whether they were all composed by one author, or only selected from the traditional literature, written or oral, which among the Jainas, as everywhere else, must have preceded the formation of a canon. I am inclined to adopt the latter alternative, because there is a greater variety of treatment and style in the different parts than seems compatible with the supposition of one author, and because a similar origin must be assumed for many works of the present canon.)

UTTARADHYAYANA 1ST LECTURE.

ON DISCIPLINE.

1 I shall explain in due order the discipline of a houseless monk, who has got rid of all worldly ties. Listen to me.

2 A monk who, on receiving an order 1 from his superior*, walks up to him, watching his nods and motions, is called well-behaved. [* The original has the plural instead of the singular. It takes great liberties in this respect, and the commentators constantly call to help a vakanavyatyaya or lingavyatyaya, exchange of number or gender, as the case may be. It is impossible in the translation to follow the original in this respect, and useless to note all such grammatical blunders. The conclusion we may draw from them is that in the spoken language many grammatical forms which in the literary language continued to be used, were on the point of dying out or had already actually become obsolete. I am almost sure that the vernacular of the time when the Sutras were composed began to drop the distinction between the singular and plural in the verb. It was, however, artificially revived in the literary Maharashtri of later days.]

3 But a monk who, on receiving an order from his superior, does not walk up to him, being insubordinate and inattentive, is called ill-behaved.

4 As a bitch with sore ears is driven away everywhere, thus a bad, insubordinate, and talkative (pupil) is turned out.

5 As a pig leaves a trough filled with grain to feed on faeces, so a brute (of a man) turns away from virtue, and takes to evil ways.

6 Hearing a man thus compared to a dog and a pig, he who desires his own welfare, should adhere to good conduct.

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7 Therefore be eager for discipline, that you may acquire righteousness; a son of the wise*, who desires liberation, will not be turned away from anywhere. [* Buddhaputta. Buddha is here and in the sequel explained by akarya, teacher. The word is in the crude form, not in the inflected form, as the nominative would not suit the metre. Liberties of this kind are frequently met with in our text.]

8 One should always be meek, and not be talkative in the presence of the wise; one should acquire valuable knowledge, and avoid what is worthless.

9 When reprimanded a wise man should not be angry, but he should be of a forbearing mood; he should not associate, laugh, and play with mean men.

10 He should do nothing mean, nor talk much; but after having learned his lesson, he should meditate by himself.

11 If he by chance does anything mean, he should never deny it, but if he has done it, he should say: 'I have done it;' if he has not done it, 'I have not done it.'

12 He should not, in every case, wait for the express command (of the teacher) like an unbroken horse for the whip (of the rider), but like a broken horse which sees the whip (of the rider) he should commit no evil act.

13 Disobedient, rough speaking, ill-behaved pupils will exasperate even a gentle teacher; but those will soon win even a hot-tempered teacher who humour him and are polite.

14 He should not speak unasked, and asked he should not tell a lie; he should not give way to his anger, and bear with indifference pleasant and unpleasant occurrences.

15 Subdue your Self, for the Self is difficult to subdue; if your Self is subdued, you will be happy in this world and in the next.

16 Better it is that I should subdue my Self by self-control and penance, than be subdued by others with fetters and corporal punishment.

17 He should never do anything disagreeable to the wise [Buddhanam, i.e. the superiors.], neither in words nor deeds, neither openly nor secretly.

18 He should not (sit) by the side of the teacher, nor before him, nor behind him; he should not touch (the teacher's) thigh with his own, nor answer his call from the couch.

19 A well-behaved monk should not sit on his hams, nor cross his arms, nor stretch out his legs, nor stand (too) close to his teacher.

20 If spoken to by the superior, he should never remain silent, but should consider it as a favour; asking for his command, he should always politely approach his teacher.

21 If the teacher speaks little or much, he should never grow impatient; but an intelligent pupil should rise from his seat and answer (the teacher's) call modestly and attentively.

22 He should never ask a question when sitting on his stool or his bed, but rising from his seat and coming near, he should ask him with folded hands.

23 When a pupil who observes the above rules of conduct, questions the teacher about the sacred text, its meaning, or both, he should deliver it according to tradition.

24 A monk should avoid untruth, nor should he speak positively (about future things, his plans, etc.); he should avoid sinful speech, and always keep free from deceit.

25 He should not tell anything sinful or meaningless or hurtful, neither for his own sake nor for anybody else's, nor without such a motive. .

26 In barbers' shops or houses, on the ground separating two houses, or on the highway a single monk should not stand with a single woman, nor should he converse with her.

27 Any instruction the wise ones [Buddhah.] may give me in a kind or a rough way, I shall devotedly accept, thinking that it is for my benefit.

28 (The teacher's) instruction, his manner of giving it, and his blaming evil acts are considered blissful by the intelligent, but hateful by the bad monk.

29 Wise, fearless monks consider even a rough instruction as a benefit, but the fools hate it, though it produces patience and purity of mind.

30 He should occupy a low, firm seat, which does not rock; seldom rising and never without a cause, he should sit motionless.

31 At the right time a monk should sally forth, and he should return at the right time; avoiding to do anything out of time, he should do what is appropriate for each period of the day.

32 A monk should not approach (dining people) sitting in a row, but should collect alms that are freely given; having begged according to the sanctioned rules, he should eat a moderate portion at the proper time.

33 A monk should wait (for his alms) alone, not too far from other monks, nor too near them, but so that he is not seen by another party; another monk should not pass him to get the start of him.

34 Neither boldly erect nor humbly bowing down, standing neither too close by nor too far off, a monk should accept permitted 1 food that was prepared for somebody else.

35 In a place that is covered above and sheltered on all sides, where there are no living beings nor seeds, a monk should eat in company, restrained and undressed.

36 A monk should avoid as unallowed such food as is well dressed, or well cooked, or well cut, or such in which is much seasoning, or which is very rich, or very much flavoured, or much sweetened.

37 (The teacher) takes delight in instructing a clever (pupil), just as the rider (in managing) a well-broken horse; but he tires to instruct a foolish (pupil), just as the rider (tires to manage) an unbroken horse.

38 (A bad pupil thinks:) 'I get but knocks and boxes on the ear, hard words and blows;' and he believes a teacher who instructs him well, to be a malevolent man.

39 A good pupil has the best opinion (of his teacher), thinking that he treats him like his son or brother or a near relation; but a malevolent pupil imagines himself treated like a slave.

40 He should not provoke his teacher's anger, nor should he himself grow angry; he should not offend the teacher nor irritate him by proclaiming his faults.

41 Perceiving the teacher's anger one should pacify him by kindness, appease him with folded hands, and promise not to do wrong again.

42 He who adopts the conduct which the wise ones [Buddha.] have attained by their virtues and always practised, will not incur blame.

43 Guessing the teacher's thoughts and the purport of his words, one should express one's assent, and execute (what he desires to be done).

44 An excellent pupil needs no express directions, or he is (at least) quickly directed; he always carries out his duties as he is told.

45 An intelligent man who has learned (the sacred texts) takes his duties upon himself 3, and he becomes renowned in the world; as the earth is the dwelling of all beings, so he will be a dwelling of all duties.

46 When the worthy teachers, who are thoroughly enlightened and from early times well versed in conduct, are satisfied (with a pupil), they will make over to him their extensive and weighty knowledge of the sacred texts.

47 His knowledge will be honoured, his doubts will be removed, he will gladden the heart of his teacher by his good acts; kept in safety by the performance of austerities and by meditation, being as it were a great light, he will keep the five vows.

48 Honoured by gods, Gandharvas, and men, he will, on leaving this body which consists of dirt and impurities, become either an eternal Siddha, or a god of great power and small imperfections.

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 2ND LECTURE.
ON TROUBLES*.

[Parisaha, that which may cause trouble to an ascetic, and which must be cheerfully borne.]

O long-lived (Gambusvamin)! I (Sudharman) have heard the following Discourse* from the Venerable (Mahavira) [* The commentator (Devendra) says that when Mahavira spoke, he was understood by all creatures, whatever was their language. He quotes the following verse: (deva devim nara narim sabaras kapi sabarim tiryanko pi ka tairaskim menire bhagavadgiram.) The gods, men, Sabaras, and animals took the language of the Lord for their own. See: Acts 2:11.]:

Here [I.e. in our creed or religion. This is generally the meaning of the word iha, here, opening a sentence.], forsooth, the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira of the Kasyapa Gotra has declared twenty-two troubles which a monk must learn and know, bear and conquer, in order not to be vanquished by them when he lives the life of a wandering mendicant. These, then, are the twenty-two troubles declared by the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira, which a monk must learn and know, bear and conquer, in order not to be vanquished by them when he lives the life of a wandering mendicant:

1. digankha (gugupsa)-parisaha, hunger;
2. pivasa (pipasa)-p., thirst;
3. siya (sita)-p., cold;
4. usina (ushna)-p., heat;
5. damsamasaya (damsamasaka)-p., gad-flies, and gnats;
6. akela-p., nakedness;
7. arati-p., to be discontented with the objects of control.
8. itthi (stri)-p., women;
9. kariya (karya)-p., erratic life;
10. nisihiya (naishedhiki)-p., place for study;
11. se.gga (sayya)-p., lodging;
12. akkosa (akrosa)-p., abuse;
13. vaha (vadha)-p., corporal punishment;
14. gayana (yakana)-p., to ask for something;
15. alabha-p., to be refused;
16. roga-p., illness;
17. tana-phasa (trinasparsa), pricking of grass;
18. galla-p., dirt;
19. sakkarapurakkara (satkarapurahkara)-p., kind and respectful treatment;
20. panna (pragna)-p., understanding;
21. annana (agnana)-p., ignorance;
22. sammatta (samyaktva)-p., righteousness.

1 The enumeration of the troubles has been delivered by the Kasyapa [I.e. Mahavira, who belonged to the Gotra of Kasyapa.], I shall explain them to you in due order. Listen to me.

2 1. Though his body be weakened by hunger, a monk who is strong (in self-control) and does penance, should not cut or cause another to cut (anything to be eaten), nor cook it or cause another to cook it.

3 Though emaciated like the joint of a crow's (leg) and covered with a network of veins, he should know the permitted measure of food and drink, and wander about with a cheerful mind.

4 2. Though overcome by thirst, he should drink no cold water, restrained by shame and aversion (from forbidden things); he should try to get distilled water.

5 Wandering about on deserted ways, in pain, thirsty, with dry throat, and distressed, he should bear this trouble (of thirst).

6 3. If a restrained, austere ascetic occasionally suffers from cold on his wanderings, he should not walk beyond the (prescribed) time, remembering the teaching of the Gina.

7 'I have no shelter and nothing to cover my skin, therefore I shall make a fire to warm myself;' such a thought should not be entertained by a monk.

8 4. If he suffers from the heat of hot things, or from the heat of his body, or from the heat of summer, he should not lament the loss of comfort.

9 A wise man, suffering from heat, should not long for a bath, or pour water over his body, or fan himself.

10 5. Suffering from insects a great sage remains undisturbed. As an elephant at the head of the battle kills the enemy, so does a hero (in self-control conquer the internal foe).

11 He should not scare away (insects), nor keep them off, nor be in the least provoked to passion by them. Tolerate living beings, do not kill them, though they eat your flesh and blood.

12 6. 'My clothes being torn, I shall (soon) go naked,' or 'I shall get a new suit;' such thoughts should not be entertained by a monk.

13 At one time he will have no clothes, at another he will have some; knowing this to be a salutary rule, a wise (monk) should not complain about it.

14 7. A houseless and poor monk who wanders from village to village may become tired of ascetic life: he should bear this trouble.

15 A sage should turn away from this discontent; he should wander about free from sins, guarded in himself, a tabernacle (as it were) of the Law, doing no actions, and perfectly passionless.

16 8. In this world men have a natural liking for women; he who knows (and renounces) them, will easily perform his duties as a Sramana.

17 A wise man who knows that women are a slough, as it were, will get no harm from them, but will wander about searching for the Self.

18 9. Alone, living on allowed food, he should wander about, bearing all troubles, in a village or a town or a market-place or a capital.

19 Different (from other men) a monk should wander about, he should acquire no property; but not being attached to householders, he should live without a fixed residence.

20 10. In a burial-place, or a deserted house, or below a tree he should sit down, alone, without moving, and he should not drive away any one.

21 Sitting there he should bear all dangers; when seized with fear, he should not rise and go to some other place.

22 11. A monk who does penance and is strong (in self-control), will not be affected beyond measure by good or bad lodgings, but an evil-minded monk will.

23 Having obtained a good or bad lodging in an empty house, he should stay there thinking: 'What does it matter for one night?'

24 12. If a layman abuses a monk, he should not grow angry against him; because he would be like a child, a monk should not grow angry.

25 If a monk hears bad words, cruel and rankling ones, he should silently overlook them, and not take them to heart.

26 13. A monk should not be angry if beaten, nor should he therefore entertain sinful thoughts; knowing patience to be the highest good, a monk should meditate on the Law.

27 If somebody strikes a restrained, resigned Sramana somewhere, he should think: 'I have not lost my life.'

28 14. It will always cause difficulties to a houseless monk to get everything by begging, and nothing without begging.

29 The hand (of the giver) is not always kindly stretched out to a monk when he is on his begging tour; but he should not think that it would be better to live as a householder.

30 15. He should beg food from the householder when his dinner is ready; a wise man should not care whether he gets alms or not.

31 'I get nothing to-day, perhaps I shall get something to-morrow;' a monk who thinks thus, will not be grieved by his want of success.

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32 16. If any misfortune happens and he suffers pain, he should cheerfully steady his mind, and bear the ills that attack him.

33 He should not long for medical treatment, but he should continue to search for the welfare of his soul; thus he will be a true Sramana by neither acting himself nor causing others to act.

34 17. When a naked, rough, restrained ascetic lies on the grass, his body will be hurt.

35 In the sun his pain will grow insupportable; still a monk, though hurt by the grass, will not use clothes.

36 18. When by the heat of summer his body sweats and is covered with dirt and dust, a wise monk should not lament his loss of comfort.

37 He should bear (all this), waiting for the destruction of his Karman, (and practising) the noble, excellent Law; he should carry the filth on his body till he expires.

38 19. It may be that a gentleman salutes a monk, or rises from his seat on his approach, or invites him (to accept alms in his house): a monk should evince no predilection for men of this sort, who show him such marks of respect.

39 Not resentful, having few wants, begging from strangers, and not being dainty, a wise man should not long for pleasant things, nor be sorry afterwards (for not having got them).

40 20. 'Forsooth, in bygone times I have done actions productive of ignorance, for I do not remember them when asked by anybody anywhere.'

41 'Afterwards, however, actions productive of ignorance take effect.' Therefore comfort yourself, knowing the consequences of actions.

42 21. 'It was of no use to turn away from the lust of the senses and to live restrainedly, for I do not properly recognise good and bad things.'

43 'Though in practising austerities and religious observances I live according to strict rules, still the hindrances to knowledge will not go off.'

44 22. A monk should not think: 'There is, indeed, no life to come, nor an exalted state to be acquired by penances; in short, I have been deceived.'

45 A monk should not think: 'Those lied who said that there were, are, and will be Ginas.'

All these troubles have been declared by the Kasyapa. A monk should not be vanquished by them, when attacked by any anywhere.

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 3RD LECTURE.

THE FOUR REQUISITES.

1 Four things of paramount value are difficult to obtain here by a living being: human birth, instruction in the Law, belief in it, and energy in self-control.

2 1. The universe is peopled by manifold creatures, who are, in this Samsara, born in different families and castes for having done various actions.

3 Sometimes they go to the world of the gods, sometimes to the hells, sometimes they become Asuras in accordance with their actions.

4 Sometimes they become Kshattriyas, or Kandalas and Bukkasas, or worms and moths, or (insects called) Kunthu and ants.

5 Thus living beings of sinful actions, who are born again and again in ever-recurring births, are not disgusted with the Samsara, but they are like warriors (never tired of the battle of life).

6 Living beings bewildered through the influence of their actions, distressed and suffering pains, undergo misery in non-human births.

7 But by the cessation of Karman, perchance, living beings will reach in due time a pure state and be born as men.

8 2. And though they be born with a human body, it will be difficult for them to hear the Law, having heard which they will do penances, combat their passions and abstain from killing living beings.

9 3. And though, by chance, they may hear the Law, it will be difficult for them to believe in it; many who are shown the right way, stray from it.

10 4. And though they have heard the Law and believe in it, it is difficult for them to fulfill it strenuously; many who approve of the religion, do not adopt it.

11 Having been born as a man, having heard the Law, believing in it, and fulfilling it strenuously, an ascetic should restrain himself and shake off sinfulness.

12 The pious obtain purity, and the pure stand firmly in the Law: (the soul afterwards) reaches the highest Nirvana, being like unto a fire fed with ghee.

13 Leave off the causes of sin, acquire fame through patience! (A man who acts up to this) will rise to the upper regions after having left this body of clay.

14 The Yakshas who are gifted with various virtues, (live in the heavenly regions, situated) one above the other, shining forth like the great luminaries, and hoping never to descend thence. Intent on enjoying divine pleasures and changing their form at will, they live in the upper Kalpa heavens many centuries of former* years. [* One 'former' (purva) year consists of 7,560 millions of common years. The idea that years were longer when the world was still young, is apparently suggested by the experience which everybody will have made, that a year seemed to us an enormously long time when we were young, and the same space of time p. 17 appears to us shorter and shorter as we advance in life. A similar analogy with our life has probably caused the belief in the four ages of the world, shared by the Hindus and the ancients. For does not childhood to most of us appear the happiest period of our life, and youth better still than the time of full-grown manhood? As in retrospect our life appears to us, so primitive man imagines the life of the world to have been: the first age was the best and the longest, and the following ages grew worse and worse, and became shorter at the same time. This primitive conceit was by the ancients combined with the conceit of the year, so that the four ages were compared with the four seasons of the year. Something similar seems to have happened in India, where, however, there are three or six seasons. For the Jainas seem to have originally divided one Eon into six minor periods. Now the year was frequently compared to a wheel, and this second metaphor was worked out by the Jainas. They named the six minor periods aras, literally spokes of a wheel, and divided the whole Eon into one descending part (of the wheel), avasarpini, and one rising part, utsarpini. These Avasarpinis and Utsarpinis are probably a later improvement, and the Eon originally contained but six Aras. But if there were indeed twelve Aras from the beginning, they must have been suggested by the twelve months of the year.]

15 The Yakshas, having remained there according to their merit, descend thence at the expiration of their life and are born as men.

16 Men are of ten kinds.

17 Fields and houses, gold, cattle, slaves and servants: where these four goods, the causes of pleasure, are present, in such families he is born.

18 He will have friends and relations, be of good family, of fine complexion, healthy, wise, noble, famous, and powerful.

19 After having enjoyed, at their proper time, the unrivalled pleasures of human life, he will obtain true knowledge by his pure religious merit acquired in a former life.

20 Perceiving that the four requisites are difficult to obtain, he will apply himself to self-control, and when by penances he has shaken off the remnant of Karman, he will become an eternal Siddha.

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 4TH LECTURE.

IMPURITY.

1 You cannot prolong your life, therefore be not careless; you are past help when old age approaches. Consider this: what (protection) will careless people get, who kill living beings and do not exert themselves?

2 Men who adhering to wrong principles acquire wealth by evil deeds, will lose it, falling into the snares (of their passions) and being held captive by their hatred.

3 As the burglar caught in the breach of the wall perishes by the work the sinner himself had executed, thus people in this life and the next cannot escape the effect of their own actions.

4 If a man living in the Samsara does an action for the sake of somebody else, or one by which he himself also profits, then, at the time of reaping the fruit of his actions, his relations will not act as true relations (i.e. will not come to his help).

5 Wealth will not protect a careless man in this world and the next. Though he had seen the right way, he does not see it, even as one in the dark whose lamp has suddenly been put out.

6 Though others sleep, be thou awake! Like a wise man, trust nobody, but be always on the alert; for dangerous is the time and weak the body. Be always watchful like a Bharunda 1 bird!

7 A monk should step carefully in his walk (i.e. in his life), supposing everything to be a snare for him. First he must bestow care on his life till he wins the stake (viz. enlightenment), and afterwards he should despise it, annihilating his sins.

8 By conquering his will, (a monk) reaches liberation, as a well-broken horse which is clad in harness (goes to battle). Be watchful in your young years; for thereby a monk quickly obtains liberation.

9 'If he does not get (victory over his will) early, he will get it afterwards;' such reasoning presupposes the eternity of human life. But such a man despairs when his life draws to its close, and the dissolution of his body approaches.

10 One cannot quickly arrive at discernment; therefore one should exert one's self, abstain from pleasures, understand the world, be impartial like a sage, and guard one's self: (thus) never be careless.

11 A Sramana who again and again suppresses the effects of delusion, and controls himself, will be affected in a rough way by external things; but a monk should not hate them in his mind.

12 External things weaken the intellect and allure many; therefore keep them out of your mind. Keep off delusion, remove pride, do not practise deceit, leave off greed.

13 Heretics who are impure and vain, are always subject to love and hate, and are wholly under the influence (of their passions). Despising them as unholy men, desire virtues till the end of your life.

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 5TH LECTURE.

DEATH AGAINST ONE'S WILL.

1 In this ocean (of life) with its currents (viz. births) difficult to cross, one man has reached the opposite shore; one wise man has given an answer to the following question.

2 These two ways of life ending with death have been declared: death with one's will, and death against one's will.

3 Death against one's will is that of ignorant men, and it happens (to the same individual) many times. Death with one's will is that of wise men, and at best it happens but once.

4 Mahavira has (thus) described the first kind in which an ignorant man, being attached to pleasures, does very cruel actions.

5 A man attached to pleasures and amusements will be caught in the trap (of deceit). (He thinks): 'I never saw the next world, but I have seen with my own eyes the pleasures of this life.'

6 'The pleasures of this life are (as it were) in your hand, but the future ones are uncertain 1. Who knows whether there is a next world or not?'

7 The fool boasts: 'I shall have the company of (most) men.' But by his love of pleasures and amusements he will come to grief.

8 Then he begins to act cruelly against movable and immovable beings, and he kills living beings with a purpose or without.

9 An ignorant man kills, lies, deceives, calumniates, dissembles, drinks liquor, and eats meat, thinking that this is the right thing to do.

10 Overbearing in acts and words, desirous for wealth and women, he accumulates sins in two ways [Viz. By his acts and thoughts.], just as a young snake gathers dust (both on and in its body).

11 Then he suffers ill and is attacked by disease; and he is in dread of the next world when he reflects on his deeds.

12 I have heard of the places in hell, and of the destination of the sinner, where the fools who do cruel deeds will suffer violently.

13 Then going to the place where he is to be born again according to his deeds, he feels remorse, as I have heard (from my teacher).

14, 15 As a charioteer, who against his better judgement leaves the smooth highway and gets on a rugged road, repents when the axle breaks; so the fool, who transgresses the Law and embraces unrighteousness, repents in the hour of death, like (the charioteer) over the broken axle.

16 Then when death comes at last, the fool trembles in fear; he dies the 'death against one's will,' (having lost his chance) like a gambler vanquished by Kali.

17 Thus has been explained the fools' 'death against one's will;' now hear from me the wise men's 'death with one's will!'

18 Full of peace and without injury to any one is, as I have heard (from my teachers), the death of the virtuous who control themselves and subdue their senses.

19 (Such a death) does not fall to the lot of every monk, nor of every householder; for the morality of householders is of various character, and that of monks is not always good throughout.

20 Some householders are superior to some monks in self-control; but the saints are superior to all householders in self-control.

21 Bark and skin (of a goat), nakedness, twisted hair, baldness--these (outward tokens) will not save a sinful ascetic.

22 A sinner, though he be a mendicant (friar), will not escape hell; but a pious man, whether monk or householder, ascends to heaven.

23 A faithful man should practise the rules of conduct for householders; he should never neglect the Posaha fast in both fortnights, not even for a single night.

24 When under such discipline he lives piously even as a householder, he will, on quitting flesh and bones, share the world of the Yakshas.

25 Now a restrained monk will become one of the two: either one free from all misery or a god of great power.

26-28 To the highest regions, in due order, to those where there is no delusion, and to those which are full of light, where the glorious (gods dwell)--who have long life, great power, great lustre, who can change their shape at will, who are beautiful as on their first day, and have the brilliancy of many suns--to such places go those who are trained in self-control and penance, monks or householders, who have obtained liberation by absence of passion.

29 Having heard (this) from the venerable men who control themselves and subdue their senses, the virtuous and the learned do not tremble in the hour of death.

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30 A wise man having weighed (both kinds of death) and chosen the better one (taught in) the Law of Compassion, will become calm through patience, with an undisturbed mind (at the time of death).

31 When the right time (to prepare for death) has arrived, a faithful (monk) should in the presence (of his teacher) suppress all emotions (of fear or joy) and wait for the dissolution of his body.

32 When the time for quitting the body has come, a sage dies the 'death with one's will,' according to one of the three methods.

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 6TH LECTURE.

THE FALSE ASCETIC.

1 All men who are ignorant of the Truth are subject to pain; in the endless Samsara they suffer in many ways.

2 Therefore a wise man, who considers well the ways that lead to bondage and birth, should himself search for the truth, and be kind towards all creatures.

3 'Mother, father, daughter-in-law, brother, wife, and sons will not be able to help me, when I suffer for my own deeds.'

4 This truth should be taken to heart by a man of pure faith; he should (therefore) cut off greed and love, and not hanker after his former connections.

5 Cows and horses, jewels and earrings, cattle, slaves and servants: all these (possessions) you must give up in order to obtain the power of changing your form at will.

6 Everything that happens to somebody, affects him personally; therefore, knowing the creatures' love of their own self, do not deprive them of their life, but cease from endangering and combating them.

7 Seeing that to accept (presents) leads to hell, one should not accept even a blade of grass; only to preserve one's life one should eat the food that is put in one's own alms-bowl.

8 Here some are of opinion that they will be delivered from all misery by merely attending the teacher, without abstaining from sins.

9 Acknowledging the truth about bondage and liberation, but talking only, not acting (in accordance with these tenets), they seek comfort for themselves in mighty words.

10 Clever talking will not work salvation; how should philosophical instruction do it? Fools, though sinking lower and lower through their sins, believe themselves to be wise men.

11 They are (going) a long way in the endless Samsara; therefore looking out carefully one should wander about carefully.

12 Choosing what is beyond and above (this world, viz. liberation), one should never desire (worldly objects), but sustain one's body only to be able to annihilate one's Karman.

13 Those will reap pains who, in thoughts, words, or acts, are attached to their body, to colours, and to forms.

14 Recognising the cause of Karman, one should wander about waiting for one's death; (knowing) the permitted quantity of food and drink, one should eat (such food as has been) prepared (by the householders for their own consumption).

15 An ascetic should not lay by any store, not even so little as the grease (sticking to his alms-bowl); but as a bird with its plumage, so he with his alms-bowl should wander about without desires.

16 Receiving alms in a manner to avoid faults, and controlling one's self, one should wander about in a village (etc.) without a fixed residence; careful among the careless one should beg one's food.

17 Thus has spoken the Arhat Gnatriputra, the venerable native of Vaisali, who possesses the highest knowledge and who possesses the highest faith, who possesses (at the same time) the highest knowledge and the highest faith.

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 7TH LECTURE.

THE PARABLE OF THE RAM, ETC.

1 As somebody, to provide for (the arrival of) a guest, brings up a young ram, gives it rice and gram, and brings it up in his yard;

2 Then when it is grown up and big, fat and of a large belly, fattened and of a plump body, it is ready for the guest.

3 As long as no guest comes, the poor (animal) lives; but as soon as a guest arrives, its head is cut off, and it is eaten.

4 As this ram is well treated for the sake of a guest, even so an ignorant, great sinner longs (as it were) for life in hell.

5 An ignorant man kills, tells lies, robs on the highway, steals foreign goods, deceives, (always thinking of some one) whom he could plunder, the villain.

6 He is desirous of women and pleasures, he enters on undertakings and business, drinks liquor, eats meat, becomes strong, a subduer of foes.

7 He eats crisp goats' meat, his belly grows, and his veins swell with blood--but he gains nothing but life in hell, just as the ram is only fed to be killed for the sake of a guest.

8, 9 After having enjoyed pleasant seats, beds, carriages, riches, and pleasures, after having squandered his wealth which he had so much trouble in gaining, and after having committed many sins, he will, under the burden of his Karman, and believing only in the visible world, be grieved in the hour of death like the ram at the arrival of a guest.

10 Then the sinner who has been killing living beings, at the end of his life falls from his state, and against his will he goes to the world of the Asuras, to the dark place.

11 As a man for the sake of one Kakini (risks and) loses a thousand (Karshapanas), or as the king lost his kingdom (and life) by eating a mango-fruit which he was strictly forbidden (by his physician):

12 Even so are human pleasures compared with the pleasures of the gods: divine life and pleasures surpass (the former) a thousand times and more.

13 Those endowed with excellent knowledge live many nayutas* of years; so great a loss suffer the fools in a life of less than a hundred years!

[* A nayuta or niyuta is equal to 49,786,136,000,000,000,000,000,000,000.

It is derived in the following way:

1 purvanga = 8.400,000

1 purva = 8,400,000 purvangas.

1 nayutanga = 8,400,000 purvas.

1 nayuta = 8,400,000 nayutangas.]

14, 15 Three merchants set out on their travels, each with his capital; one of them gained there much, the second returned with his capital, and the third merchant came home after having lost his capital. This parable [This parable closely corresponds to Matthew 25:14, Luke 19:11.] is taken from common life; learn (to apply it) to the Law.

16 The capital is human life, the gain is heaven; through the loss of that capital man must be born as a denizen of hell or a brute animal.

17 These are the two courses open to the sinner; they consist in misery, as corporal punishment, etc.; for the slave to his lusts has forfeited human life and divine life.

18 Having once forfeited them, he will have to endure these two states of misery; it will be difficult for him to attain an upward course [I.e. birth as a man or a god.] for a long time to come.

19 Considering what is at stake, one should weigh (the chances of) the sinner and of the virtuous man (in one's mind). He who brings back his capital, is (to be compared to) one who is born again as a man.

20 Those men who through the exercise of various virtues become pious householders, will be born again as men; for all beings will reap the fruit of their actions.

21 But he who increases his capital, is (to be compared to) one who practises eminent virtues; the virtuous, excellent man cheerfully attains the state of gods.

22 When one thus knows that a (virtuous) monk or householder will be gladdened (by his gain), how, then, should a man, whilst he is losing (his chance), not be conscious of his losing it?

23 As a drop of water at the top of a blade of Kusa-grass dwindles down to naught when compared with the ocean, so do human pleasures when compared with divine pleasures.

24 The pleasures in this very limited life of men are like (the water at) the top of a blade of Kusa-grass; for the sake of what will a man not care to gain and to keep (so precious a good which he risks to lose)?

25 He who has not renounced pleasure, will miss his aim (i.e. the true end of his soul); for though he has been taught the right way, he will go astray again and again.

26 But he who has renounced pleasure, will not miss his aim; (he will think): I have learned that, by getting rid of this vile body, I shall become a god.

27 He will be born among men where there is wealth, beauty, glory, fame, long life, and eminent happiness.

28 See the folly of the sinner who practises unrighteousness: turning away from the Law, the great sinner will be born in hell.

29 See the wisdom of the wise man who follows the true Law: turning away from unrighteousness, the virtuous man will be born as a god.

30 A wise man weighs in his mind the state of the sinner and that of the virtuous man; quitting the state of the sinner, a sage realises that of the virtuous.

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 8TH LECTURE.

KAPILA'S VERSES*.

[* This lecture is ascribed to Kapila. According to an old story, told in the commentary, he was the son of Kasyapa, a Brahman p. 32 of Kausambi, and his wife Yasa. When Kasyapa died, his place was given to another man. His wife then sent her boy to Sravasti to study under Indradatta, a friend of his father's. That man was willing to instruct the boy, and procured him board and lodging in a rich merchant's house. Kapila, however, soon fell in love with the servant-girl who was appointed to his service. Once, at a festival kept by her caste, the girl in tears told him that she could not take part in the festivity as she had no money to buy ornaments. To get some she asked him to go to Dhana, a merchant, who used to give two pieces of gold to the man who saluted him first in the morning. Accordingly Kapila set out in the night, but was taken up by the police and brought before the king, Prasenagit. The student made a clear breast before the king, who was so pleased with him that he promised to give him whatever he should ask. Kapila went in the garden to consider what he should ask; and the more he thought about it, the more he raised the sum which he believed he wanted, till it came to be ten thousand millions. But then, all of a sudden, the light came upon him; he began to repent of the sinful life he had led up to that time, and tearing out his hair he became a Svayamsambuddha. Returning to the king, he pronounced verse 17: The more you get, etc., and giving him the Dharmalabha, he went his way. He practised austerities and acquired superior knowledge, by dint of which he came to know that in a wood, eighteen leagues from Ragagriha, lived a gang of five hundred robbers, under a chief Balabhadra. These men, he knew, would become converts to the right faith; accordingly he went to the wood where they lived. He was made prisoner, and brought before the leader of the robbers. To have some fun out of him they ordered him to dance, and on his objecting that there was none to play up, they all clapped their hands to beat the time. He then sang the first stanza of this lecture, by which some robbers were converted, and he continued to sing, repeating this stanza after each following verse (as dhruva), till at last all the robbers were converted.]

1 By what acts can I escape a sorrowful lot in this unstable ineternal Samsara, which is full of misery?

2 Quitting your former connections place your affection on nothing; a monk who loves not even those who love him, will be freed from sin and hatred.

3 Then the best of sages, who is exempt from delusion and possesses perfect knowledge and faith, speaks for the benefit and eternal welfare, and for the final liberation of all beings.

4 All fetters (of the soul), and all hatred, everything of this kind, should a monk cast aside; he should not be attached to any pleasures, examining them well and taking care of himself.

5 A stupid, ignorant sinner who never fixes his thoughts on the soul's benefit and eternal welfare, but sinks down through hatred and the temptation of lust, will be ensnared as a fly is caught on glue.

6 It is difficult to cast aside the pleasures of life, weak men will not easily give them up; but there are pious ascetics (sadhu) who get over the impassable (Samsara) as merchants cross the sea.

7 Some there are who call themselves Sramanas, though they are like the beasts ignorant of (the prohibition of) killing living beings; the stupid sinners go to hell through their superstitious beliefs.

8 One should not permit (or consent to) the killing of living beings; then he will perhaps be delivered from all misery; thus have spoken the preceptors who have proclaimed the Law of ascetics.

9 A careful man who does not injure living beings, is called 'circumspect' (samita). The sinful Karman will quit him as water quits raised ground.

10 In thoughts, words, and acts he should do nothing injurious to beings who people the world, whether they move or not.

11 He should know what alms may be accepted, and should strictly keep these rules; a monk should beg food only for the sustenance of life, and should not be dainty.

12 He should eat what tastes badly, cold food, old beans, Vakkasa Pulaga, and for the sustenance of his life he should eat Manghu (ground badara).

13 Those who interpret the marks of the body, and dreams, and who know the foreboding changes in the body (angavidya), are not to be called Sramanas; thus the preceptors have declared.

14 Those who do not take their life under discipline, who cease from meditation and ascetic practices, and who are desirous of pleasures, amusements, and good fare, will be born again as Asuras.

15 And when they rise (in another birth) from the world of the Asuras, they err about, for a long time, in the Samsara; those whose souls are sullied by many sins, will hardly ever attain Bodhi.

16 And if somebody should give the whole earth to one man, he would not have enough; so difficult is it to satisfy anybody.

17 The more you get, the more you want; your desires increase with your means. Though two mashas would do to supply your want, still you would scarcely think ten millions sufficient.

18 Do not desire (women), those female demons 1, on whose breasts grow two lumps of flesh, who continually change their mind, who entice men, and then make a sport of them as of slaves.

19 A houseless (monk) should not desire women, he should turn away from females; learning thoroughly the Law, a monk should strictly keep its rules.

20 This Law has been taught by Kapila of pure knowledge; those who follow it, will be saved and will gain both worlds.

Thus I say.

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UTTARADHYAYANA 9TH LECTURE.
THE PRAVRAGYA OF KING NAMI*.

[* The Life of king Nami and his Bodhi is told in the commentary. The Prakrit text of this romance is printed in my 'Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Maharashtri,' Leipzig, 1886, p. 41 ff. Nami is one of the four simultaneous Pratyekabuddhas, i.e. one of those saints who reach the highest stage of knowledge by an effort of their own, not through regular instruction and religious discipline. The Pratyekabuddhas or Svayamsambuddhas (Sahasambuddha in Prakrit) do not, however, propagate the true Law, as the Tirthakaras do. As the legend of Nami is not materially connected with our text, I need not give an abstract of it here.]

1 After (Nami) had descended from the world of the gods, and had been born as a man, he put an end to the influence of delusion, and remembered his former birth.

2 Remembering his former birth, king Nami became a Svayamsambuddha in the true Law, and placing his son on the throne he retired from the world.

3 After having enjoyed, in the company of the beautiful ladies of his seraglio, excellent pleasures which match those of the heavens, king Nami became enlightened and gave up his pleasures.

4 Having given up the town and country of Mithila, his army, seraglio, and all his retinue, the venerable man retired from the world and resorted to a lonely place.

5 When the royal Seer Nami retired from the world, at the occasion of his Pravragya there was an uproar in Mithila.

6 To the royal Seer who had reached the excellent stage of Pravragya, Sakra in the guise of a Brahmana addressed the following words:

7 'Why is now Mithila full of uproar? Dreadful noises are heard from palaces and houses.'

8 On hearing this, the royal Seer Nami, pursuing his reasons and arguments, answered the king of the gods thus:

9 'In Mithila is the sacred tree Manorama, full of leaves, flowers, and fruits, which sheds a cool shadow; this tree is always a favourite resort of many (birds).

10 'Now, as this sacred tree Manorama is shaken by the storm, the birds, suffering, destitute of refuge, and miserable, scream aloud.'

11 On hearing this, the king of gods, pursuing his reasons and arguments, answered the royal Seer Nami thus:

12 "This is fire and storm, your palace is on fire! Reverend sir, why do you not look after your seraglio?"

13 Nami answered (see verse 8):

14 'Happy are we, happy live we who call nothing our own; when Mithila is on fire, nothing is burned that belongs to me.

15 To a monk who has left his sons and wives, and who has ceased to act, nothing pleasant can occur, nor anything unpleasant.

16 'There is much happiness for the sage, for the houseless monk, who is free from all ties, and knows himself to be single and unconnected (with the rest of the world).'

17 Indra answered (see verse 11):

18 "Erect a wall, gates, and battlements; dig a moat; construct sataghnis: then you will be a Kshattriya."

19 Nami answered (see verse 8):

20-22 'Making Faith his fortress, Penance and Self-control the bolt (of its gate), Patience its strong wall, so that guarded in three ways it is impregnable; making Zeal his bow, its string Carefulness in walking (iriya), and its top (where the string is fastened) Content, he should bend (this bow) with Truth, piercing with the arrow, Penance, (the foe's) mail, Karman--(in this way) a sage will be the victor in battle and get rid of the Samsara.'

23 Indra answered (see verse 11):

24 "Build palaces, excellent houses, and turrets; thus you will be a Kshattriya."

25 Nami answered (see verse 8):

26 'He who builds his house on the road, will certainly get into trouble; wherever he wants to go, there he may take up his lodgings.'

27 Indra answered (see verse 11):

28 "Punishing thieves and robbers, cut-purses and burglars, you should establish public safety; thus you will be a Kshattriya."

29 Nami answered (see verse 8):

30 'Men frequently apply punishment wrongly: the innocent are put in prison, and the perpetrator of the crime is set at liberty.'

31 Indra answered (see verse 11):

32 "O king, bring into subjection all princes who do not acknowledge you; thus you will be a true Kshattriya."

33 Nami answered (see verse 8):

34 'Though a man should conquer thousands and thousands of valiant (foes), greater will be his victory if he conquers nobody but himself.

35 'Fight with your Self; why fight with external foes? He who conquers himself through himself, will obtain happiness.

36 'The five senses, anger, pride, delusion, and greed--difficult to conquer is one's self; but when that is conquered, everything is conquered.'

37 Indra answered (see verse 11):

38 "Offer great sacrifices, feed Sramanas and Brahmanas, give alms, enjoy yourself, and offer sacrifices: thus you will be a true Kshattriya."

39 Nami answered:

40 'Though a man should give, every month, thousands and thousands of cows, better will be he who controls himself, though he give no alms.'

41 Indra answered:

42 "You have left the dreadful asrama (that of the householder) and are wanting to enter another; (remain what you were), O king, and be content with observing the Posaha-days."

43 Nami answered:

44 'If an ignorant man should eat but a blade of Kusa-grass every month, (the merit of his penance) will not equal the sixteenth part of his who possesses the Law as it has been taught.'

45 Indra answered:

46 "Multiply your gold and silver, your jewels and pearls, your copper, fine robes, and carriages, and your treasury; then you will be a true Kshattriya."

47 Nami answered:

48 'If there were numberless mountains of gold and silver, as big as Kailasa, they would not satisfy a greedy man; for his avidity is boundless like space.

49 'Knowing that the earth with its crops of rice and barley, with its gold and cattle, that all this put together will not satisfy one single man, one should practise austerities.'

50 Indra answered:

51 "A miracle! O king, you give up those wonderful pleasures, in search of imaginary objects; your very hope will cause your ruin."

52 Nami answered:

53 'Pleasures are the thorn that rankles, pleasures are poison, pleasures are like a venomous snake; he who is desirous of pleasures will not get them, and will come to a bad end at last.

54 'He will sink through anger; he will go down through pride; delusion will block up his path; through greed he will incur dangers in both worlds.'

55 Throwing off the guise of a Brahmana, and making visible his true form, Sakra saluted him respectfully and praised him with these sweet words:

56 "Bravo! you have conquered anger; bravo! you have vanquished pride; bravo! you have banished delusion; bravo! you have subdued greed.

57 "Bravo for your simplicity, O saint! bravo for your humility, O saint! bravo for your perfect patience! bravo for your perfect liberation!

58 "Here (on earth) you are the highest man, Reverend sir, and hereafter you will be the highest; exempt from all blemishes you will reach Perfection, a higher state than which there is none in this world."

59 Thus praising the royal Seer, Sakra in perfect faith kept his right side towards him and paid reverence to him, again and again.

60 After having adored the best sage's feet marked by the Kakra and the Ankusa, he flew up through the air, with his crown and his earrings prettily trembling.

61 Nami humbled himself; enjoined by Sakra in person, the king of Videha left the house, and took upon him Sramanahood.

62 Thus act the enlightened, the wise, the clever ones; they turn away from pleasures, as did Nami, the royal Seer.

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 10TH LECTURE.
THE LEAF OF THE TREE.

1 As the fallow leaf of the tree falls to the ground, when its days are gone, even so the life of men (will come to its close); Gautama, be careful all the while!

2 As a dew-drop dangling on the top of a blade of Kusa-grass lasts but a short time, even so the life of men; Gautama, be careful all the while!

3 As life is so fleet and existence so precarious, wipe off the sins you ever committed; Gautama, etc.

4 A rare chance, in the long course of time, is human birth for a living being; hard are the consequences of actions; Gautama, etc.

5 When the soul has once got into an earth-body, it may remain in the same state as long as an Asamkhya; Gautama, etc.

6 When the soul has once got into a water-body, etc. (all as in verse 5).

7 When a soul has once got into a fire-body, etc. (all as in verse 5).

8 When the soul has once got into a wind-body, etc. (all as in verse 5).

9 When the soul has once got into a vegetable-body, it remains long in that state, for an endless time, after which its lot is not much bettered; Gautama, etc.

10 When the soul has once got into a body of a Dvindriya (i.e. a being possessing two organs of sense), it may remain in the same state as long as a period called samkhyeya; Gautama, etc.

11 When the soul has once got into a body of a Trindriya (i.e. a being possessing three organs of sense), it, etc. (all as in verse 10).

12 When the soul has once got into a body of a Katurindriya (i.e. a being possessing four organs of sense), it, etc. (all as in verse 10).

13 When the soul has once got into a body of a Pankendriya (i.e. a being possessing five organs of sense), it may remain in the same state as long as seven or eight births; Gautama, etc.

14 When the soul has once got into the body of a god or of a denizen of hell, it may remain in that state one whole life; Gautama, etc.

15 Thus the soul which suffers for its carelessness, is driven about in the Samsara by its good and bad Karman; Gautama, etc.

16 Though one be born as a man, it is a rare chance to become an Arya; for many are the Dasyus and Mlekkhas; Gautama, etc.

17 Though one be born as an Arya, it is a rare chance to possess all five organs of sense; for we see many who lack one organ or other; Gautama, etc.

18 Though he may possess all five organs of sense, still it is a rare chance to be instructed in the best Law; for people follow heretical teachers; Gautama, etc.

19 Though he may have been instructed in the right Law, still it is a rare chance to believe in it; for many people are heretics; Gautama, etc.

20 Though one believe in the Law, he will rarely practise it; for people are engrossed by pleasures; Gautama, etc.

21 When your body grows old, and your hair turns white, the power of your ears decreases; Gautama, etc.

22 When your body grows old, and your hair turns white, the power of your eyes decreases; Gautama, etc.

23 When your body grows old, and your hair turns white, the power of your nose decreases.

24 When your body grows old, and your hair turns white, the power of your tongue decreases.

25 When your body grows old, and your hair turns white, the power of your touch decreases.

26 When your body grows old, and your hair turns white, all your powers decrease.

27 Despondency, the king's evil, cholera, mortal diseases of many kinds befall you; your body wastes and decays; Gautama, etc.

28 Cast aside from you all attachments, as the (leaves of) a lotus let drop off the autumnal water, exempt from every attachment, Gautama, be careful all the while!

29 Give up your wealth and your wife; you have entered the state of the houseless; do not, as it were, return to your vomit; Gautama, etc.

30 Leave your friends and relations, the large fortune you have amassed; do not desire them a second time; Gautama, etc.

31 There is now no Gina 1, but there is a highly esteemed guide to show the way; now being on the right path, Gautama, be careful all the while!

32 Now you have entered on the path from which the thorns have been cleared, the great path; walk in the right path; Gautama, etc.

33 Do not get into an uneven road like a weak burden-bearer; for you will repent of it afterwards; Gautama, etc.

34 You have crossed the great ocean; why do you halt so near the shore? make haste to get on the other side; Gautama, etc.

35 Going through the same religious practices as perfected saints, you will reach the world of perfection, Gautama, where there is safety and perfect happiness; Gautama, etc.

36 The enlightened [Buddha.] and liberated monk should control himself, whether he be in a village or a town, and he should preach to all the road of peace; Gautama, etc.

37 Having heard the Buddha's* well-delivered sermon, adorned by illustrations, Gautama cut off love and hatred and reached perfection.

Thus I say.

[* Here the word "buddha" is used as a title; but its use is very restricted, scarcely going beyond that of a common epithet. This is just what we otherwise should have to assume in order to explain the use by the Bauddhas of that word to denote the founder of their sect. In the Sutrakritanga 2, 6, 28 Buddha, in the plural, actually denotes the prophets of the Buddhists.]

UTTARADHYAYANA 11TH LECTURE.
THE VERY LEARNED.

1 I shall explain, in due order, the right discipline of a houseless monk who has got rid of all worldly ties. Listen to me.

2 He who is ignorant of the truth, egoistical, greedy, without self-discipline, and who talks loosely, is called ill-behaved and void of learning.

3 There are five causes which render wholesome discipline impossible: egoism, delusion, carelessness, illness, and idleness:

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4, 5 For eight causes discipline is called virtue, viz.: not to be fond of mirth, to control one's self, not to speak evil of others, not to be without discipline, not to be of wrong discipline, not to be covetous, not to be choleric, to love the truth; for their influence discipline is called virtue.

6 A monk who is liable to the following fourteen charges, is called ill-behaved, and does not reach Nirvana:

7-9 If he is frequently angry; if he perseveres in his wrath; if he spurns friendly advice; if he is proud of his learning; if he finds fault with others; if he is angry even with friends; if he speaks evil even of a good friend behind his back; if he is positive in his assertions; if he is malicious, egoistical, greedy, without self-discipline; if he does not share with others; if he is always unkind: then he is called ill-behaved.

10-13 But for the following fifteen good qualities he is called well-behaved: if he is always humble, steady, free from deceit and curiosity; if he abuses nobody; if he does not persevere in his wrath,; if he listens to friendly advice; if he is not proud of his learning; if he does not find fault with others; if he is not angry with friends; if he speaks well even of a bad friend behind his back; if he abstains from quarrels and rows; if he is enlightened, polite, decent, and quiet: then he is called well-behaved.

14 He who always acknowledges his allegiance to his teacher, who has religious zeal and ardour for study, who is kind in words and actions, deserves to be instructed.

As water put into a shell shines with a doubled brilliancy, so do the piety, fame, and knowledge of a very learned monk. (15)

16 As a trained Kamboga-steed, whom no noise frightens, exceeds all other horses in speed, so a very learned monk is superior to all others.

17 As a valiant hero bestriding a trained horse, with heralds singing out to his right and left, (has no equal), neither has a very learned monk.

18 As a strong and irresistible elephant of sixty years, surrounded by his females, (has no equal), neither has a very learned monk.

19 As a sharp-horned, strong-necked bullock, the leader of the herd, is a fine sight, so is a very learned monk.

20 As a proud lion with sharp fangs, who brooks no assault, is superior to all animals, so is a very learned monk (superior to all men).

21 As Vasudeva, the god with the conch, discus, and club, who fights with an irresistible strength, (has no equal), neither has a very learned monk.

22 As a universal monarch with his fourfold army and great power, the possessor of the fourteen attributes of a king, (has no equal), neither has a very learned monk.

23 As Sakra the thousand-eyed, the wielder of the thunderbolt, the fortress-destroyer, the king of gods, (has no equal), neither has a very learned monk.

24 As the rising sun, the dispeller of darkness, who burns as it were with light, (has no equal), neither has a very learned monk.

25 As the moon, the queen of the stars, surrounded by the asterisms, when she is full at full-moon, (has no equal), neither has a very learned monk.

26 As a well-guarded storehouse of merchants, which is filled with grain of many kinds, (has no equal), neither has a very learned monk.

27 As the best of Gambu trees, called Sudarsana, which is the abode of the presiding deity, (has no equal), neither has a very learned monk.

28 As the best of rivers, the ocean-flowing stream Sita 1 with its dark waters, (has no equal), neither has a very learned monk.

29 As the best of hills, high mount Mandara, on which various plants shed a bright lustre, (has no equal), neither has a very learned monk.

30 As the ocean of inexhaustible water, the delight of Svayambhu [This epithet apparently refers to Vishnu's sleeping on the ocean.], which is full of precious things of many kinds, (has no equal), neither has a very learned monk.

31 Monks who equal the ocean in depth, who are difficult to overcome, are frightened by nobody (or nothing), and are not easily assailed, who are full of extensive learning and take care of themselves, will go to the highest place, after their Karman has been annihilated.

32 Therefore, seeker after the highest truth, study the sacred lore, in order to cause yourself and others to attain perfection.

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 12TH LECTURE

HARIKESA*.

[* The commentators relate a legend of the principal figure in the following lecture. We may skip his former births and begin with his last. Near the Ganges lived Balakoshtha, chief of a Kandala tribe, called Harikesa (the yellow-haired). With his wife Gauri he had a son Bala, who in the course of time became a Jaina monk and a great Rishi. On his wanderings he once stayed in the Tinduga-grove near Benares, the presiding deity of which, a Yaksha, became his most fervent follower. One day Bhadra, king Kausalika's daughter, came to the Yaksha's shrine and paid homage to the idol. But seeing the dirty monk, she did not conceal her aversion. The Yaksha, however, to punish her for her want of respect for the holy man, possessed her. As no physician or conjurer could cure her madness, the Yaksha, by whom she was possessed, said she would recover only if she were offered as bride to Bala, the monk. The king agreeing, Bhadra became sound as before and went to the monk to choose him for her husband. Bala of course refused her. She was then married by the king to his Purohita, Rudradeva, whose sacrifice-enclosure is the scene of the occurrences related in the Twelfth Lecture.]

1 Harikesa-Bala was born in a family of Svapakas (Kandalas); he became a monk and a sage, possessed of the highest virtues, who had subdued his senses.

2 He observed the rules with regard to walking, begging, speaking, easing nature, and receiving and keeping (of things necessary for a monk) controlled himself, and was always attentive (to his duty).

3 He protected from sin his thoughts, speech, and body, and subdued his senses. Once on his begging tour, he approached the enclosure of a Brahmanical sacrifice.

4 When (the priests) saw him coming up, emaciated by austerities, in a miserable condition, and with the poorest outfit, they laughed at him, the ruffians.

5 Stuck up by pride of birth, those killers of animals, who did not subdue their senses, the unchaste sinners, made the following speech:

6 'Who is that dandy coming there? he is swarthy, dreadful, with a turned-up nose, miserably clad, a very devil 1 of a dirty man, with a filthy cloth put on his neck?

7 'Who are you, you monster? or for what purpose have you come here? you miserably clad devil of a dirty man! go, get away! why stand you there?'

8 At this turn the Yaksha, who lived in the Tinduka-tree, had compassion on the great sage, and making his own body invisible spoke the following words:

9 "I am a chaste Sramana, controlling myself; I have no property, nothing belonging to me, and do not cook my food; I have come for food which is dressed for somebody else at the time when I call.

10 "You give away, eat, and consume plenty of food; know that I subsist by begging; let the mendicant get what is left of the rest."

11 'The dinner has been prepared for Brahmanas, it has been got ready especially for ourselves and for us exclusively; we shall not give you such food and drink; why stand you there?'

12 "The husbandmen throw the corn on high ground and on low ground 1, hoping (for a return). For the like motive give unto me; I may be the field which may produce merit (as the return for your benevolence)."

13 'All the world knows that we are (as it were) the field on which gifts sown grow up as merit; Brahmanas of pure birth and knowledge are the blessed fields.'

14 "Those who are full of anger and pride, who kill, lie, steal, and own property, are Brahmanas without pure birth and knowledge; they are very bad fields.

15 "You are only the bearer of words as it were, you do not understand their meaning, though you have learned the Vedas. The saints call at high and lowly (houses); they are the blessed fields."

16 'Detractor of the learned doctors, how dare you speak thus in our presence! This food and drink should rather rot, than we should give it you, Nirgrantha.'

17 "If you do not give me what I ask for, I who observe the Samitis, who am protected by the Guptis, who subdue my senses, what benefit, then, will you gain by your sacrifices?"

18 'Are here no Kshattriyas, no priests who tend the fire, no teachers with their disciples, who will beat him with a stick, or pelt him with a nut, take him by the neck, and drive him off?'

19 On these words of the teachers, many young fellows rushed forward, and they all beat the sage with sticks, canes, and whips.

20 At that turn king Kausalika's daughter, Bhadra, of faultless body, saw that the monk was beaten, and appeased the angry youngsters.

21 'He is the very man to whom the king, impelled by the devil (who possessed me), had given me, but who would not think of me; he is the sage whom princes and gods adore, who has refused me.

22 'He is that austere ascetic, of noble nature, who subdues his senses and controls himself; the chaste man, who would not accept me when my own father, king Kausalika, gave me to him.

23 'He is the man of great fame and might, of awful piety and power; do not injure him who cannot be injured, lest he consume you all by the fire (of his virtue).'

24 When the Yakshas heard these well-spoken words of (the Purohita's) wife Bhadra, they came to the assistance of the sage, and kept the young men off.

25 Appearing in the air with hideous shapes, the Asuras beat the people. When Bhadra saw them with rent bodies spitting blood, she spoke again thus:

26 'You may as well dig rocks with your nails, or eat iron with your teeth, or kick fire with your feet, as treat contemptuously a monk.

27 'Like a poisonous snake is a great sage of severe austerities, of tremendous piety and power; like a swarm of moths you will rush into a fire, if you beat a monk on his begging tour.

28 'Prostrate yourself before him for protection, you together with all of them, if you want to save your life and your property; for in his wrath he might reduce the world to ashes.'

29, 30 When the Brahmana saw the disciples bowing their back and head, and holding out their hands, not minding their occupation; with streaming eyes, spitting blood, looking upwards, their eyes and tongues protruding, like as many logs of wood, he became heartbroken and dejected, and together with his wife he appeased the sage: 'Forgive us our injury and abuse, sir!

31 'Forgive, sir, these ignorant, stupid boys, that they injured you; sages are exceedingly gracious, nor are the saints inclined to wrath.'

32 "There is not the least hatred in me, neither now, nor before, nor in future. The Yakshas attend upon me, therefore they have beaten the boys."

33 'You know the truth and the Law; you are not angry, compassionate sage; we take refuge at your feet, we together with all of them.

34 'We worship you, mighty sir; there is nothing in you that we do not worship; eat this dish of boiled rice seasoned with many condiments.

35 'I have got plenty of food; eat it to do us a favour!' The noble (monk) said 'yes,' and took food and drink after having fasted a whole month.

36 At that moment the gods caused a rain of perfumed water and flowers, and showered down heavenly treasures; they struck the drums, and in the air they praised the gift.

37 'The value of penance has become visible, birth appears of no value! Look at the holy Harikesa, the son of a Svapaka, whose power is so great.'

38 "O Brahmanas, why do you tend the fire, and seek external purity by water? The clever ones say that external purity which you seek for, is not the right thing.

39 "You (use) Kusa-grass, sacrificial poles, straw and wood, you touch water in the evening and in the morning; thereby you injure living beings, and in your ignorance you commit sins again and again."

40 'How should we sacrifice, O monk, and how avoid sinful actions? Tell us, ascetic, whom the Yakshas hold in honour, what do the clever ones declare to be the right method of sacrificing?'

41 "Doing no injury to living beings of the six orders, abstaining from lying and from taking what is not freely given, renouncing property, women, pride, and deceit, men should live under self-restraint.

42 "He who is well protected by the five Samvaras and is not attached to this life, who abandons his body, who is pure and does not care for his body, wins the great victory, the best of offerings."

43 'Where is your fire, your fireplace, your sacrificial ladle? where the dried cowdung (used as fuel)? Without these things, what kind of priests can the monks be? What oblations do you offer to the fire?

44 "Penance is my fire; life my fireplace; right exertion is my sacrificial ladle; the body the dried cowdung; Karman is my fuel; self-control, right exertion, and tranquillity are the oblations, praised by the sages, which I offer."

45 'Where is your pond, and where the holy bathing-place? how do you make your ablutions or get rid of impurity? Tell us, O restrained monk whom the Yakshas hold in honour; we desire to learn it from you.'

46 "The Law is my pond, celibacy my holy bathing-place, which is not turbid, and throughout clear for the soul 1; there I make ablutions; pure, clean, and thoroughly cooled I get rid of hatred* (or impurity). [* Dosa, which means hatred (dvesha) and impurity (dosha).]

47 "The clever ones have discovered such bathing, it is the great bath praised by the seers, in which the great seers bathe, and, pure and clean, they obtain the highest place."

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 13TH LECTURE.

KITRA AND SAMBHUTA*.

[* The stories about Kitra and Sambhuta and the fate they underwent in many births are common to Brahmans, Jainas, and Buddhists. The whole subject has been exhaustively dealt with by Prof. Leumann in two learned papers in the Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, vol. 5, pp. 1 ff., 111 ff., where an analysis of the various documents which relate this legend is given, and the Prakrit text of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Lectures together with a German

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translation is published. For all details, therefore, the reader is referred to Prof. Leumann's papers.]

1, 2 Being contemptuously treated for the sake of his birth (as a Kandala) Sambhuta took, in Hastinapura, the sinful resolution (to become a universal monarch in some later birth); descending from the heavenly region Padmagulma, he was born of Kulani in Kampilya as Brahmadatta; Kitra, however, was born in the town Purimatala in the great family of a merchant; when he had heard the Law, he entered the order.

3 In the town Kampilya, both Sambhuta and Kitra (as they were called in a former birth) met again and told each other the reward they had realised for their good and bad actions.

4 The universal monarch Brahmadatta, the powerful and glorious king, respectfully addressed the following words to him (who had been) his brother (in a former birth):

5 We were brothers once, kind to each other, loving each other, wishing well to each other.

6 'We were slaves in the country of the Dasarnas, then antelopes on mount Kalangara, then geese on the shore of Mritaganga, and Svapakas in the land of Kasi.

7 'And we were gods having great power, in the regions of the gods. This is our sixth birth, in which we are separated from each other.'

8 "Karman is produced by sinful thoughts, and you have entertained them, O king; it is by the influence of this Karman that we were separated."

9 'I had done actions derived from truth and purity, and now I enjoy their effect; is this also true in your case, Kitra?'

10 "Every good deed will bear its fruit to men; there is no escape from the effect of one's actions. Through riches and the highest pleasures my soul has got the reward for its virtues.

11 "Know, Sambhuta, that you have got the reward of your virtues in the shape of great wealth and prosperity; but know, O king, that is just so with Kitra; he also obtained prosperity and splendour.

12 "A song of deep meaning condensed in words has been repeated in the midst of a crowd of men, (having heard) which monks of piety and virtues exert themselves in this (religion): I have become a Sramana."

13 'Renowned are my beautiful palaces Ukka, Udaya, Madhu, Karka, and Brahman: this house, full of treasures and containing the finest products of the Pankalas, O Kitra, regard it as your own!

14 'Surround yourself with women who dance, and sing, and make music; enjoy these pleasures, O monk; I deem renunciation a hard thing.'

15 As the virtuous Kitra, for old friendship's sake, loved the king who was attached to sensual pleasures, and as he had at heart his welfare, he spoke to him the following words:

16 "All singing is but prattle, all dancing is but mocking, all ornaments are but a burden, all pleasures produce but pains.

17 "O king, pleasures which the ignorant like, but which produce pains, do not delight pious monks who care not for pleasure, but are intent on the virtues of right conduct.

18 "Excellent king, the lowest caste of men is that of the Svapakas, to which we twice belonged; as such we were loathed by all people, and we lived in the hamlets of Svapakas.

19 "In that miserable birth we lived in the hamlets of Svapakas, detested by all people; then we acquired the Karman (the fruit of which we now enjoy).

20 "You are now a king of great power and prosperity, enjoying the reward of your good actions; put from you the transitory pleasures, and enter the order for the sake of the highest good!

21 "He who in this life has done no good actions and has not practised the Law, repents of it in the next world when he has become a prey to Death.

22 "As a lion takes hold of an antelope, so Death leads off a man in his last hour; neither mother, nor father, nor brother will, at that time, save a particle (of his life).

23 "Neither his kinsmen, nor his friends, nor his sons, nor his relations will share his suffering, he alone has to bear it; for the Karman follows the doer.

24 "Leaving behind bipeds and quadrupeds, his fields, his house, his wealth, his corn, and everything; against his will, and accompanied only by his Karman, he enters a new existence, either a good or a bad one.

25 "When they have burned with fire on the funeral pile his forlorn, helpless corpse, his wife and sons and kinsfolk will choose another man to provide for them.

26 "Life drags on (towards death) continuously; old age carries off the vigour of man. King of the Pankalas, mark my words: do no fearful actions."

27 'I, too, know just as well as you, O saint, what you have told me in your speech: pleasures will get a hold on men and are not easily abandoned by such as we are, sir.

28 'O Kitra, in Hastinapura I saw the powerful king (Sanatkumara), and I took that sinful resolution in my desire for sensual pleasures.

29 And since I did not repent of it, this has come of it, that I still long for sensual pleasures, though I know the Law.

30 'As an elephant, sinking down in a quagmire, sees the raised ground but does not get to the shore, so do we who long for sensual pleasures, not follow the path of monks.

31 'Time elapses and quickly pass the days; the pleasures of men are not permanent; they come to a man and leave him just as a bird leaves a tree void of fruit.'

32 "If you are unable to abandon pleasure, then do noble actions, O king; following the Law, have compassion on all creatures: then you will become a god on entering a new existence.

33 "If you have no intention of abandoning pleasure, and still long for undertakings and property, my long talk has been to no purpose. I go, king, farewell."

34 And Brahmadatta, king of the Pankalas, did not act on the counsel of the saint; he enjoyed the highest pleasure, and (afterwards) sank into the deepest hell.

35 But Kitra the great sage, of excellent conduct and penance, was indifferent to pleasure; after he had practised the highest self-control, he reached the highest place of perfection.

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 14TH LECTURE.

ISHUKARA.

1 Having been gods in a former existence and lived in the same heavenly region, some were born (here below) in the ancient, wealthy, and famous town called Ishukara [In Prakrit Usuyara (or Isuyara). According to the Prakrit legend given in the commentary it was in the Kuru country.], which is beautiful like heaven.

2 By a remnant of the merit they had acquired in their former life, they were born in noble families. Disgusted with the world and afraid of the Samsara, they abandoned (pleasures, etc.) and took refuge in the path of the Ginas.

3 Two males remained bachelors, (the third became) the Purohita (Bhrigu), (the fourth) his wife Yasa, (the fifth) the widely-famed king Ishukara, and (the sixth) his wife Kamalavati.

4 Overcome by fear of birth, old age, and death, their mind intent on pilgrimage, and hoping to escape the Wheel of Births, they examined pleasures and abandoned them.

5 Both dear sons of the Brahmanical Purohita, who was intent on works, remembered their former birth, and the penance and self-control they had then practised.

6 Averse to human and heavenly pleasures, desiring liberation, and full of faith, they went to their father and spoke thus:

7 'Seeing that the lot of man is transitory and precarious, and that his life lasts not long, we take no delight in domestic life; we bid you farewell: we shall turn monks.'

8 In order to dissuade them from a life of austerities, the father replied to those (would-be) monks: 'Those versed in the Vedas say that there will be no better world for men without sons.

9 'My sons, after you have studied the Vedas, and fed the priests, after you have placed your own sons at the head of your house, and after you have enjoyed life together with your wives, then you may depart to the woods as praiseworthy sages.'

10, 11 The young men perceiving that the Purohita was wholly consumed, as it were, by the fire of grief, which was fed by his individual inclinations and blown into a huge flame by the wind of delusion; that he suffered much and talked a great deal in many ways; that he tried to persuade them by degrees, and that he would even bribe them with money and with objects of desire, (spoke) these words:

12 "The study of the Vedas will not save you; the feeding of Brahmanas will lead you from darkness to darkness, and the birth of sons will not save you. Who will assent to what you said?

13 "Pleasures bring only a moment's happiness, but suffering for a very long time, intense suffering, but slight happiness; they are an obstacle to the liberation from existence, and are a very mine of evils.

14 "While a man walks about without abandoning pleasures, and grieves day and night, while he is anxious about other people, and seeks for wealth, he comes to old age and death.

15 "I have this, and I have not that; I must do this, and I should not do that! While he talks in this strain, the robbers (viz. time) drag him away. What foolishness is this!"

16 'Great wealth and women, a family and exquisite pleasures: for such things people practise austerities. All this you may have for your asking.'

17 "What avail riches for the practice of religion, what a family, what pleasures? We shall become Sramanas, possessed of many virtues, and wander about collecting alms."

18 'As fire is produced in the Arani-wood, as butter in milk, and oil in sesamum seed, so, my sons, is the soul 1 produced in the body; (all these things) did not exist before, they came into existence, and then they perish; but they are not permanent.'

19 "(The soul) cannot be apprehended by the senses, because it possesses no corporeal form, and since it possesses no corporeal form it is eternal. The fetter of the soul has been ascertained to be caused by its bad qualities, and this fetter is called the cause of worldly existence.

20 "Thus being ignorant of the Law, we formerly did sinful actions, and through our wrong-mindedness we were kept back and retained (from entering the order). We shall not again act in the same way.

21 "As mankind is harassed (by the one), and taken hold of (by the other), and as the unfailing ones go by, we take no delight in the life of a householder."

22 'Who harasses the world? who takes hold of it? whom do you call unfailing? My sons, I am anxious to learn this.'

23 "Mankind is harassed by Death; it is taken hold of by Old Age; the days are called unfailing: know this, Father!

24 "The day that goes by will never return; the days elapse without profit to him who acts contrary to the Law.

25 "The day that goes by will never return; the days elapse with much profit to him who acts up to the Law."

26 'Having lived together in one place, and both parties having acquired righteousness, we shall, O my sons, afterwards go forth (as monks) and beg alms from house to house.'

27 "He who can call Death his friend, or who can escape him, or who knows that he will not die, might perhaps decide: this shall be done tomorrow.

28 "We will even now adopt the Law, after the adoption of which we shall not be born again. The future has nothing in store for us (which we have not experienced already). Faith will enable us to put aside attachment."

29 (Bhrigu speaks to his wife Vasishthi.) 'Domestic life ceases (to have attraction) for one who has lost his sons; Vasishthi, the time has arrived for me to turn mendicant friar. As long as a tree retains its branches, it is really a tree; when they are lopped off, it is called a trunk.

30 'As a bird without its wings, as a king in battle without his followers, as a merchant on a boat without his goods, even so am I without my sons.'

31 "You have brought together all these objects of desire, and have collected many exquisitely pleasant things. Let us, therefore, fully enjoy the pleasures; afterwards we shall go forth on the road of salvation."

32 'We have finished enjoying pleasures, my dear; our life is drawing to its close. I do not abandon pleasures for the sake of an unholy life; but looking with indifference on gain and loss, on happiness and suffering, I shall lead the life of a monk.'

33 "May you not remember your brothers (when it is too late) like an old goose swimming against the current. Enjoy the pleasures together with me. A mendicant's life is misery."

34 'My dear, as a snake casts off the slough of its body and goes along free and easy, even so have my sons abandoned pleasure. Why should I, being left alone, not follow them?

35 'As the fish Rohita [Cyprinus Rohita.] breaks through a weak net, even so wise men of exemplary character and famous for their austerities abandon pleasure and live as mendicants.

36 "As the herons fly through the air and the geese too, who had rent the net, even so my sons and my husband depart. Why should I, being left alone, not follow them?"

37 When the queen had heard that the Purohita with his wife and sons had entered the order, abandoning pleasures and all his large property, she spoke to the king:

38 'A man who returns, as it were,. to the vomit, is not praised; but you want to confiscate 1 the property left by the Brahmana.

39 'If the whole world and all treasures were yours, you would still not be satisfied, nor would all this be able to save you.

40 'Whenever you die, O king, and leave all pleasant things behind, the Law alone, and nothing else in this world, will save you, O monarch.

41 'As a bird dislikes the cage, so do I (dislike the world). I shall live as a nun, without offspring, poor, upright, without desire, without love of gain, and without hatred.

42, 43 'As when by a conflagration of a forest animals are burned, other beasts greatly rejoice, being under the influence of love and hate; even so we, fools that we are, being attached to pleasure, do not perceive that the world is consumed by the fire of love and hatred.

44 'Those who have enjoyed pleasures, and have renounced them, move about like the wind, and go wherever they please, like the birds unchecked in their flight.

45 'When they are caught, and held by my hand, sir, they struggle; we shall be like them, if we are attached to pleasures.

46 'As an unbaited (bird) 1 sees a baited one caught in the snare, even so shall we avoid every bait and walk about, not baited by anything.

47 'Being aware that pleasures are causes for the continuance of worldly existence, as illustrated in (the above) similes of the greedy man, one should be cautious and stir as little as possible, like a snake in the presence of Suparna.

48 'Like an elephant who has broken his fetters, go to your proper destination. O great king Ishukari; this is the wholesome truth I have learned.

49, 50 'Leave your large kingdom and the pleasures which are so dear to all; abandon what pleases the senses, and what

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attracts; be without attachment and property; learn thoroughly the Law and give up all amusements; then practise famous and severe penance, being of firm energy.'

51 In this way all (these) professors of the Law gradually obtained enlightenment, being frightened by birth and death, and seeking for the end of misery.

52 Their doubts about the true doctrine were dispersed, and they realised the Bhavanas; in a short time they reached the end of misery.

53 The king and the queen, the Brahmanical Purohita, his wife, and his sons, they all reached perfection.

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 15TH LECTURE.

THE TRUE MONK.

1 He who adopts the Law in the intention to live as a monk, should live in company (with other monks), upright, and free from desire; he should abandon his former connections, and not longing for pleasures, he should wander about as an unknown beggar: then he is a true monk.

2 Free from love he should live, a model of righteousness, abstaining from sins, versed in the sacred lore, protecting his soul (from every wrong), wise, hardy, observing everything; he who is attached to nothing, is a true monk.

3 Ignorant of abuse and injury, a steadfast monk should be a model of righteousness, always protecting his soul (from sins), neither rash nor passionate; when he endures everything, then he is a true monk.

4 He who is content with lowly beds and lodgings, bears heat and cold, flies and gnats, is neither rash nor passionate, and endures everything, he is a true monk.

5 He does not expect respectful treatment, nor hospitality, nor reverence, nor, indeed, praises; he controls himself, keeps the vows, practises austerities, lives together with other monks, meditates on his soul; this is a true monk.

6 If he does not care for his life, or abandons every delusion, if he avoids men and women, always practises austerities, and does not betray any curiosity, then he is a true monk.

7 He who does not profess and live on divination from cuts and shreds, from sounds on the earth or in the air, from dreams, from diagrams, sticks, and properties of buildings, from changes in the body, from the meaning 1 of the cries (of animals)--he is a true monk.

8 Spells, roots, every kind of medical treatment, emetics, purgatives, fumigation, anointing of the eye, and bathing, the patient's lamentation, and his consolation--he who abstains from all these things, is a true monk.

9 He who does not praise, or pay attention to, the warriors, Ugras, princes, Brahmanas, Bhogas, and artists of all sorts, who abstains from this, he is a true monk.

10 He who does not, for earthly gain, improve his acquaintance with householders, with whom he fell in as a monk, or was in friendly relation before that time, he is a true monk.

11 A Nirgrantha is forbidden to take from householders, if they do not give it themselves, bed, lodging, drink, food, or any dainties and spices; he who is not angry at such occasions, he is a true monk.

12 If a monk gets any food and drink, or dainties and spices, and does not feel compassion (on a sick fellow-monk) in thoughts, words, and deeds, (then he is not a true monk); but if he has his thoughts, words, and acts under strict discipline, then he is a true monk.

13 Dish-water, barley-pap, cold sour gruel, water in which barley has been washed: such loathsome food and drink he should not despise, but call at the lowliest houses (for alms); then he is a true monk.

14 There are many voices on the earth, of gods, of men, and of beasts, dreadful, frightful, and awful noises; if he hears them without trembling, then he is a true monk.

15 He who understands all religious disputations, [who lives together with fellow-monks], who practises self-discipline, who meditates on his soul, who is wise, hardy, and observes everything, who is calm, and does not hurt anybody, he is a true monk.

16 He who, not living by any art, without house, without friends, subduing his senses, free from all ties, sinless, and eating but little, leaves the house and lives single, he is a true monk.

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 16TH LECTURE.

THE TEN CONDITIONS OF PERFECT CHASTITY.

O long-lived (Gambusvamin)! I (Sudharman) have heard the following Discourse from the Venerable (Mahavira):

Here [The word 'here' is explained as meaning 'in this religion of the Jainas.'], indeed, the venerable Sthaviras have declared ten conditions for the realisation of celibacy, by hearing and understanding which the monks will reach a high degree of self-discipline, of Samvara, and of contemplation, will be well protected (by the three Guptis), will guard their senses, guard their chastity, and will thus never be remiss (in the attendance on their religious duties).

What, then, are those ten conditions for the realisation of celibacy as declared by the venerable Sthaviras, by hearing and understanding which the monks will reach a high degree of self-discipline, of Samvara, and of contemplation, will be well protected (by the three Guptis), will guard their senses, guard their chastity, and will thus never be remiss (in the attendance on their religious duties)?

These, then, are the ten conditions for the realisation of celibacy, etc. (all down to) duties.

1. A Nirgrantha may occupy various places for sleep or rest; but a Nirgrantha should not occupy places, for sleep or rest, frequented by women, cattle, or eunuchs. The preceptor has explained the reason for this. If a Nirgrantha occupies places for sleep or rest, frequented by women, cattle, or eunuchs, then, though he be chaste, there may arise a doubt with regard to his chastity, or a sensual desire, or a feeling of remorse, or he will break the rules, or he will become a slave to passion, or he will acquire a dangerous illness of long duration, or he will desert the faith which the Kevalin has proclaimed. Therefore a Nirgrantha should not occupy places, for sleep or rest, frequented by women, cattle, or eunuchs.

2. A Nirgrantha should not converse with women. The preceptor has explained the reason for this. If a Nirgrantha converses with women, etc. (all as above).

3. A Nirgrantha should not sit together with women on the same seat. The preceptor has explained the reason for this. If a Nirgrantha sits on the same seat with women, etc. (all as above).

4. A Nirgrantha should not look at, or contemplate, the charms and beauties of women. (The rest similar as above.)

5. A Nirgrantha should not, behind a screen, or curtain, or wall, listen to the screeching or screaming or singing or laughing or giggling or crying of women. (The rest similar as above.)

6. A Nirgrantha should not recall to his memory the pleasure and amusements which in the past he enjoyed together with women. (The rest similar as above.)

7. A Nirgrantha should not eat well-dressed food. (The rest similar as above.)

8. A Nirgrantha should not eat or drink to excess. (The rest similar as above.)

9. A Nirgrantha should not wear ornaments. The preceptor has explained the reason for this. If he wears ornaments, or adorns his body, he might become an object of desire to women. When he is an object of desire to women, then, etc. (the rest as in).

10. A Nirgrantha should not care for sounds, colours, tastes, smells, and feelings. (The rest similar as above.)

Here are some verses (to the same effect):

1 A monk should take up a detached lodging, free from, and not frequented by women, to preserve his chastity.

2 A chaste monk should avoid talking with women, which delights the mind and foments love and passion.

3 A chaste monk should always avoid the company of, and frequent conversation with women.

4 A chaste monk should avoid observing the body, limbs, and figure of women, their pleasant prattle and oglings.

5 A chaste monk should avoid listening to the screeching, screaming, singing, laughing, giggling, and crying of women.

6 A chaste monk should never recall to his mind how he had laughed and played with women, and had enjoyed them, how they became jealous, and what tricks he played to frighten them.

7 A chaste monk should always avoid well-dressed food and drink which will soon raise his sensuality.

8 A chaste monk should always eat his food, collected according to the rules, for the sustenance of life, in the prescribed quantity, and at the right time; concentrated in his thoughts he should not eat to excess.

9 A chaste monk should abstain from ornaments, he should not adorn his body after the fashion of amorous people.

10 He should always abstain from the five orders of pleasant things: sounds, colours, smells, tastes, and feelings of touch.

11 A lodging frequented by women, their pleasant talk, their company, and looking at their charms;

12 Their screeching, screaming, singing, and laughing, eating and sleeping together with them; well-dressed food and drink, or partaking of them to excess;

13 And ornaments and finery: these pleasant things, which are hard to leave, are like the poison Talaputa, for a man who seeks after the true Self.

14 He should, once for all, abandon pleasant things which are hard to leave; and concentrated in his thoughts he should avoid whatever casts a doubt on his chastity.

15 A monk should be the steadfast charioteer, as it were, of the Law in the park of the Law, a vessel of righteousness, content, restrained, attentive to the duties of a chaste monk.

16 The gods, Danavas, Gandharvas, Yakshas, Rakshasas, and Kinnaras pay homage to a chaste monk who performs his difficult duties.

17 This unchangeable, permanent, and eternal Law has been proclaimed by the Ginas; through it the Siddhas have reached perfection, and others will reach it.

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 17TH LECTURE.

THE BAD SRAMANA.

1 A Nirgrantha who has entered the order, who has learned the Law, who has received religious discipline, and who has obtained the benefit of Bodhi which is difficult to obtain, may perhaps afterwards begin to live as he likes.

2 (He will say:) I have a good bed and wherewithal to cover me; I obtain food and drink; I know everything that comes to pass, friend; why then should I study, sir?

3 He who, after entering the order, always sleeps, eats, and drinks as much as he likes, and lives comfortably, is called a bad Sramana.

4 The sinner who despises the learning and discipline which his preceptor and teachers have taught him, is called a bad Sramana.

5 He who does not, as he should, strive to please his preceptor and teachers, and does not, in his arrogance, treat them with respect, is called a bad Sramana.

6 He who hurts living beings, seeds, and sprouts, who does not control himself, though he believes himself well-controlled, is called a bad Sramana.

7 He who uses a bed, a plank, a chair, a seat, or his duster, without having well wiped these things, is called a bad Sramana.

8 He who walks with great haste and without care, being overbearing and fierce, is called a bad Sramana.

9 He who carelessly inspects things, throwing down his duster at random, not being attentive to the inspection of things, is called a bad Sramana.

10 He who carelessly inspects things, his attention being absorbed by what he hears, who always slights his teachers, is called a bad Sramana.

11 He who is deceitful, talkative, arrogant, greedy, who does not control himself, nor share (his food, etc. with those who are in want), and is not of an amiable disposition, is called a bad Sramana.

12 He who is a controversialist, and ill-behaved, who perverts the truth, and delights in quarrels and contentions, is called a bad Sramana.

13 He who sits down on a weak, shaking seat wherever he lists, and is not careful in sitting down, is called a bad Sramana.

14 He who sleeps with dusty feet and does not inspect his couch, being careless about his bed, is called a bad Sramana.

15 He who eats milk, curds, and other things produced from milk, and does not practise austerities, is called a bad Sramana.

16 He who eats after sunset, and when admonished, makes an angry reply, is called a bad Sramana.

17 He who leaves his own teacher, and follows heretical ones, who continuously changes his school, being of a bad disposition, is called a bad Sramana.

18 He who has left his own house, and busies himself in another's house, who lives by fortune-telling, is called a bad Sramana.

19 He who eats the food of his relations, and does not like living by alms, who reposes on the seat of the householder, is called a bad Sramana.

20 Such a monk, who, like the heretics, does not protect himself from sins, who though having the appearance (of a monk) is the lowest among his worthy brethren, is despised in this world like poison; he is nobody in this world and in that beyond.

21 But he who always avoids these sins, and is pious amongst his brethren, is welcomed in this world like nectar; he conquers this world and the next.

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 18TH LECTURE.

SANGAYA.

1 In the town of Kampilya there was a king, named Sangaya, who possessed numerous troops and war-chariots; once he went a-hunting.

2 He was surrounded on all sides by a large host of horses, elephants, chariots, and footmen.

3 He chased the deer on horseback in the Kesara-park of Kampilya; and intent on his sport he killed there the frightened deer.

4 Now in the Kesara-park there was a houseless ascetic intent on sacred study and meditating on the Law.

5 Annihilating sinful inclinations, he meditated in the Asphota-bower. But the king killed the deer that fled to him.

6 Now the king on horseback came quickly there; he saw the killed deer and saw the monk there.

7 The king in his consternation (thought) 'I had nearly hurt the monk; ill-fated and cruel me that is mad for the sport.'

8 Having dismissed his horse, the king bowed respectfully to the monk's feet (saying), 'Forgive me this, Reverend sir.'

9 But the venerable monk, being plunged in silent meditation, made no reply to the king, who, therefore, was seized with fear.

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10 'I am Sangaya; answer me, Reverend sir; a monk might by the fire of his wrath reduce millions of men to ashes.'

11 'Be without fear, O king; but grant safety to others also; in this transient world of living beings, why are you addicted to cruelty?

12 'As you must, of necessity, one day part with everything, in this transient world of living beings, why do you cling to kingly power?

13 'Transient like a stroke of lightning are life and beauty, which you love so much; you do not comprehend what will benefit you in the next life.

14 'Wives and children, friends and relations, all are dependent on a man during his life; but they will not follow him in death.

15 'The sons, in great sorrow, will remove the corpse of their father (to the cemetery); and so will parents do with their sons and relations; O king, do penance!

16 'O king, other men, glad, and pleased, and well attired, will enjoy the riches (the deceased) had amassed, and will dally with the wives he had so well guarded.

17 'And whatever actions he has done, good or wicked ones, with their Karman he will depart to his next existence.'

18 Then the king was taught the Law by this monk, and was filled with a great desire for purity, and disregard of worldly objects.

19 Sangaya gave up his kingly power and adopted the faith of the Ginas in the presence of the venerable monk Gardabhali.

20 A Kshattriya, who had abandoned his kingdom and had turned monk, said to him: 'As you look so happy in outward appearance, you must have peace of mind.

21 'What is your name, to which Gotra do you belong, and why have you become an ascetic? How do you venerate the enlightened ones [Buddhe, explained akaryan, preceptors.], and how did you come to be called a well-behaved (monk)?

22 "My name is Sangaya; I belong to the Gotra of Gotama; my teacher is Gardabhali, who is conversant with the sacred lore and good conduct.

23 "O great sage, the man of limited knowledge talks foolishly on these four heads*, viz. the existence of the soul, its non-existence, idolatry, and the inefficiency of knowledge. [* These are the four great heresies: (1st) that of the kriyavadinas, who maintain that the soul exists; (2nd) that of the akriyavadinas, who hold the reverse of the preceding doctrine; (3rd) that of the vainayikas, which seems to be identical with salvation by bhakti; (4th) that of the agnanavadinas, who contend that knowledge is not necessary for salvation, but t a p a s; this seems identical with the karmapatha. The commentators explain kriyavadinah 'those who believe the soul or atman to be characterised by the verb to be (i.e. by a permanent and unchangeable existence), and ascribe to it such qualities as ubiquity or non-ubiquity, activity or non-activity.' This they treat as heresy, but from Mahavagga VI, 31, 2 (vol. 17, p. 109) it is evident that the Jainas were considered kriyavadins. The akriyavada is also identified with the kshanikavada or doctrine, usually ascribed to Buddhists, that everything has but a momentary existence and is in the next moment replaced by a facsimile of itself. About these heresies compare the Sutrakritanga I, 12; 2, 2, 77,]

24 "This has been declared by him who is enlightened, wise, liberated, conversant with the sacred lore and good conduct, who is truthful and of right energy.

25 "Men who commit sins will go to hell; but those who have walked the road of righteousness, will obtain a place in heaven.

26 "All this delusive talk (of the heretics) is untrue and without any meaning; I live and walk about according to the rules of self-control.

27 "I know all these heresies to be contemptible; I know that there will be a life hereafter, and I know my Self.

28 "I was an illustrious god in the Mahaprana heaven, and reached old age as we here would say of a man who is a hundred years old; but in heaven, hundred years consist of as many Mahapalis of Palis.

29 "Descending from the Brahmaloka, I was born as a man. I know exactly the length of my life as well as that of other men.

30 "A monk should abandon the manifold doctrines (of heretics), and his own fancies, and such deeds as are productive of evil everywhere. One should live up to this wisdom.

31 "I keep clear of the (superstitious) questions and the spells of laymen, exerting myself day and night (in the true religion). Thinking thus, one should practise austerities.

32 "And what you of a pure mind asked me just now, that has been revealed by the enlightened one [Buddha.]; such knowledge makes part of the creed of the Ginas.

33 "A wise man believes in the existence of the soul, he avoids the heresy of the non-existence of the soul; possessing true faith one should practise the very difficult Law according to the faith.

34 "Having learned this pure creed, which is adorned by truth and righteousness, Bharata 1 gave up Bharatavarsha and all pleasures, and entered the order.

35 "King Sagara also gave up the ocean-girt Bharatavarsha and his unrivalled kingly power, and reached perfection through his compassion.

36 "After having given up Bharatavarsha, the famous universal monarch of great power, called Maghavan, entered the order.

37 "King Sanatkumara, a universal monarch of great power, placed his son on the throne, and then practised austerities.

38 "Santi, a universal monarch of great power, the bringer of peace to the world, gave up Bharatavarsha and reached perfection.

39 "King Kunthu, the bull of the Aikshvaka race, the widely famed lord, reached perfection.

40 "King Ara, after he had given up the sea-girt Bharatavarsha, reached perfection on becoming exempt from defilement.

41 "After having given up his large kingdom, his army and war-chariots, his exquisite pleasures, Mahapadma* practised austerities. [* Mahapadma was the ninth Kakravartin. His elder brother was Vishnukumara, who was ordained by Suvrata, a disciple of Munisuvrata, the twentieth Tirthakara. He wrenched the sovereignty of the world from Namuki, minister of his father Padmottara, who had ascended the throne, by making him promise as much of his territory as he could cover with three strides. This is the Brahmanical story of Vishnu and Bali, for whom the Jainas have substituted Namuki. According to them the minister Namuki was, in a disputation, defeated by the Jaina monks, and to revenge himself on them, he ordered them to quit his kingdom as soon as he got it.--Mahapadma's residence was Hastinapura.]

42 "Having brought the (whole) earth under his sceptre, king Harishena, who humbled the pride (of other kings), reached perfection.

43 "Gaya, together with thousands of kings, renouncing the world, practised self-restraint. He reached perfection which has been taught by the Ginas.

44 "Dasarnabhadra, giving up his flourishing kingdom of Dasarna, turned monk; he renounced the world, being directed to do so by Sakra himself.

45 "Karakandu was king of Kalinga; Dvimukha, of Pankala; Nami, of Videha; Naggati (or rather Nagnagit), of Gandhara.

46 "Nami humbled himself, being directed to do so by Sakra himself; the king of Videha left the house and became a Sramana.

47 "These bulls of kings have adopted the faith of the Ginas; after having placed their sons on the throne, they exerted themselves as Sramanas.

48 "Udayana, the bull of the kings of Sauvira, renounced the world and turned monk; he entered the order and reached perfection.

49 "And thus the king of Kasi, exerting himself for the best truth, abandoned all pleasures, and hewed down, as it were, his Karman like a forest.

50 "And thus king Vigaya, whose sins were not quite annihilated, turned monk after he, the famous man, had quitted his excellent kingdom.

51 "And thus the royal seer Mahabala practised severe penance with an undistracted mind, and took upon himself the glory (of self-control).

52 "Why should a wise man, for bad reasons, live on earth like a madman, since those persons (mentioned above) who reached eminence, exerted themselves strongly?

53 "I have spoken true words able to promote virtue; some have been saved, some are being saved, and some will be saved.

54 "Why should a wise man, for bad reasons, bring affliction upon himself? He who has become free from all ties and sins, will reach perfection."

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 19TH LECTURE.

THE SON OF MRIGA.

1 In the pleasant town of Sugriva, which is adorned with parks and gardens, there was the king Balabhadra and Mriga, the principal queen.

2 Their son Balasri, also known as Mrigaputra (i.e. son of Mriga), the darling of his father and mother, was crown-prince, a (future) lord of ascetics.

3 In his palace Nandana he dallied with his wives, like the god Dogundaga, always happy in his mind.

4 Standing at a window of his palace, the floor of which was inlaid with precious stones and jewels, he looked down on the squares, places, and roads of the town.

5 Once he saw pass there a restrained Sramana, who practised penance, self-restraint, and self-control, who was full of virtues, and a very mine of good qualities.

6 Mrigaputra regarded him with fixed eyes, trying to remember where he had seen the same man before.

7 While he looked at the saint, and his mind became pure, the remembrance of his former birth carne upon him as he was plunged in doubt.

8 When the remembrance of his former birth came upon the illustrious Mrigaputra, he remembered his previous birth and his having been then a Sramana.

9 Being not delighted with pleasures, but devoted to self-control, he went to his father and mother, and spoke as follows:

10 'I have learned the five great vows; (I know) the suffering (that awaits the sinner) in hell or in an existence as a brute; I have ceased to take delight in the large ocean (of the Samsara); therefore, O mother, allow me to enter the order.

11 'O mother, O father, I have enjoyed pleasures which are like poisonous fruit: their consequences are painful, as they entail continuous suffering.

12 'This body is not permanent, it is impure and of impure origin; it is but a transitory residence (of the soul) and a miserable vessel of suffering.

13 'I take no delight in this transitory body which one must leave sooner or later, and which is like foam or a bubble.

14 'And this vain human life, an abode of illness and disease, which is swallowed up by old age and death, does not please me even for a moment.

15 'Birth is misery, old age is misery, and so are disease and death, and ah, nothing but misery is the Samsara, in which men suffer distress.

16 'Leaving behind my fields, house, and gold, my son and wife, and my relations, leaving my body needs must, one day, depart.

17 'As the effect of Kimpaka-fruit is anything but good, so the effect of pleasures enjoyed is anything but good.

18 'He who starts on a long journey with no provisions, will come to grief on his way there, suffering from hunger and thirst.

19 'Thus he who without having followed the Law, starts for the next world, will come to grief on his way there, suffering from illness and disease.

20 'He who starts on a long journey with provisions, will be happy on his way there, not suffering from hunger and thirst.

21 'Thus he who after having followed the Law, starts for the next world, will be happy on his journey there, being exempt from Karman and suffering.

22, 23 'As when a house is on fire, the landlord carries away valuable things and leaves behind those of no value; so when the whole world is on fire, as it were, by old age and death, I shall save my Self, if you will permit me.'

24 To him his parents said: "Son, difficult to perform, are the duties of a Sramana; a monk must possess thousands of virtues.

25 "Impartiality towards all beings in the world, whether friends or enemies, and abstention from injury to living beings throughout the whole life: this is a difficult duty.

26 "To be never careless in abstaining from falsehood, and to be always careful to speak wholesome truth: this is a difficult duty.

27 "To abstain from taking of what is not given, even of a toothpick, etc.; and to accept only alms free from faults: this is a difficult duty.

28 "To abstain from unchastity after one has tasted sensual pleasures, and to keep the severe vow of chastity: this is a very difficult duty.

29 "To give up all claims on wealth, corn, and servants, to abstain from all undertakings, and not to own anything: this is a very difficult duty.

30 "Not to eat at night any food of the four kinds, not to put away for later use or to keep a store (of things one wants): this is a very difficult duty.

31, 32 "Hunger and thirst, heat and cold, molestation by flies and gnats, insults, miserable lodgings, pricking grass, and uncleanliness, blows and threats, corporal punishment and imprisonment, the mendicant's life and fruitless begging: all this is misery.

33 "Such a life is like that of pigeons (always afraid of dangers); painful is the plucking out of one's hair; difficult is the vow of chastity and hard to keep (even) for a noble man.

34 "My son, you are accustomed to comfort, you are tender and cleanly [Literally, well washed or bathed.]; you are not able, my son, to live as a Sramana.

35 "No repose as long as life lasts; the great burden of duty is heavy like a load of iron, which is difficult to be carried, O son.

36 "As it is difficult to cross the heavenly Ganges, or to swim against the current, or to swim with one's arms over the sea, so it is difficult to get over the ocean of duties.

37 "Self-control is untasteful like a mouthful of sand, and to practise penance is as difficult as to walk on the edge of a sword.

38 "It is difficult (always to observe the rules of) right conduct with one's eyes for ever open like (those of) a snake, O son; it is difficult to eat iron grains, as it were.

39 "As it is very difficult to swallow burning fire, so is it difficult for a young man to live as a Sramana.

40 "As it is difficult to fill a bag with wind, so is it difficult for a weak man to live as a Sramana.

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41 "As it is difficult to weigh Mount Mandara in a balance, so it is difficult to live as a Sramana with a steady and fearless mind.

42 "As it is difficult to swim over the sea with one's arms, so it is difficult for one whose mind is not pacified, (to cross) the ocean of restraint.

43 "Enjoy the fivefold human pleasures. After you have done enjoying pleasures, O son, you may adopt the Law."

44 He answered: 'O father and mother, it is even thus as you have plainly told; but in this world nothing is difficult for one who is free from desire.

45 'An infinite number of times have I suffered dreadful pains of body and mind, repeatedly misery and dangers.

46 'In the Samsara, which is a mine of dangers and a wilderness of old age and death, I have undergone dreadful births and deaths.

47 'Though fire be hot here, it is infinitely more so there (viz. in hell); in hell I have undergone suffering from heat.

48 'Though there may be cold here, it is of infinitely greater intensity there; in hell I have undergone suffering from cold.

49 'An infinite number of times have I been roasted over a blazing fire in an oven, screaming loud, head down and feet aloft.

50 'In the desert which is like a forest on fire, on the Vagravaluka and the Kadambavaluka rivers, I have been roasted an infinite number of times.

51 'Being suspended upside down over a boiler, shrieking, with no relation to help me, I was cut to pieces with various saws, an infinite number of times.

52 'I have suffered agonies when I was fastened with fetters on the huge Salmali tree, bristling with very sharp thorns, and then pushed up and down.

53 'An infinite number of times have I been crushed like sugar-cane in presses, shrieking horribly, to atone for my sins, great sinner that I was.

54 'By black and spotted wild dogs I have, ever so many times, been thrown down, torn to pieces, and lacerated, screaming and writhing.

55 'When I was born in hell for my sins, I was cut, pierced, and hacked to pieces with swords and daggers, with darts and javelins.

56 'I have been forcibly yoked to a car of red-hot iron full of fuel, I have been driven on with a goad and thongs, and have been knocked down like an antelope.

57 'On piles, in a blazing fire, I have forcibly been burnt and roasted like a buffalo, in atonement for my sins.

58 'An infinite number of times have I violently been lacerated by birds whose bills were of iron and shaped like tongs, by devilish vultures.

59 'Suffering from thirst I ran towards the river Vaitarani to drink its water, but in it I was killed (as it were) by blades of razors [The water of the river Vaitarani consists of a very caustic acid.].

60 'When suffering from the heat, I went into the forest in which the trees have a foliage of daggers; I have, ever so many times, been cut to pieces by the dropping dagger-leaves.

61 'An infinite number of times have I suffered hopelessly from mallets and knives, forks and maces, which broke my limbs.

62 'Ever so many times have I been slit, cut, mangled, and skinned with keen-edged razors, knives, and shears.

63 'As an antelope I have, against my will, been caught, bound, and fastened in snares and traps, and frequently I have been killed.

64 'As a fish I have, against my will, been caught with hooks and in bow-nets; I have therein been scraped, slit, and killed, an infinite number of times.

65 'As a bird I have been caught by hawks, trapped in nets, and bound with bird-lime, and I have been killed, an infinite number of times.

66 'As a tree I have been felled, slit, sawn into planks, and stripped of the bark by carpenters with axes, hatchets, etc., an infinite number of times.

67 'As iron I have been malleated, cut, torn, and filed by blacksmiths, an infinite number of times.

68 'I have been made to drink hissing molten copper, iron, tin, and lead under horrid shrieks, an infinite number of times.

69 'You like meat minced or roasted; I have been made to eat, ever so many times, poisoned meat, and red-hot to boot.

70 'You like wine, liquor, spirits, and honey; I have been made to drink burning fat and blood.

71 'Always frightened, trembling, distressed, and suffering, I have experienced the most exquisite pain and misery.

72 'I have experienced in hell sharp, acute and severe, horrible, intolerable, dreadful, and formidable pain.

73 'O father, infinitely more painful is the suffering in hell than any suffering in the world of men.

74 'In every kind of existence I have undergone suffering which was not interrupted by a moment's reprieve.'

75 To him his parents said: "Son, a man is free to enter the order, but it causes misery to a Sramana that he may not remedy any ailings."

76 He answered: 'O father and mother, it is even thus as you have plainly told; but who takes care of beasts and birds in the woods?

77 'As a wild animal by itself roams about in the woods, thus I shall practise the Law by controlling myself and doing penance.

78 'When in a large forest a wild animal falls very sick at the foot of a tree, who is there to cure it?

79 'Or who will give it medicine? or who will inquire after its health? or who will get food and drink for it, and feed it?

80 'When it is in perfect health, it will roam about in woods and on (the shores of) lakes in search of food and drink.

81 'When it has eaten and drunk in woods and lakes, it will walk about and go to rest according to the habits of wild animals.

82 'In the same way a pious monk goes to many places and walks about just as the animals, but afterwards he goes to the upper regions.

83 'As a wild animal goes by itself to many places, lives in many places, and always gets its food; thus a monk on his begging-tour should not despise nor blame (the food he gets).

84 'I shall imitate this life of animals.' "Well, my son, as you please." With his parents' permission he gave up all his property.

85 'I shall imitate this life of animals, which makes one free from all misery, if you will permit me.' "Go, my son, as you please."

86 When he had thus made his parents repeat their permission, he gave up for ever his claims in any property, just as the snake casts off its slough.

87 His power and wealth, his friends, wives, sons, and relations he gave up as if he shook off the dust from his feet, and then he went forth.

88 He observed the five great vows, practised the five Samitis, and was protected by the three Guptis; he exerted himself to do mental as well as bodily penance.

89 He was without property, without egoism, without attachment, without conceit, impartial towards all beings, whether they move or not.

90 He was indifferent to success or failure (in begging), to happiness and misery, to life and death, to blame and praise, to honour and insult.

91 He turned away from conceit and passions, from injurious, hurtful, and dangerous actions, from gaiety and sadness; he was free from sins and fetters.

92 He had no interest in this world and no interest in the next world; he was indifferent to unpleasant and pleasant things, to eating and fasting.

93 He prevented the influx of Karman (asrava) through all bad channels; by meditating upon himself he obtained praiseworthy self-purification and sacred knowledge.

94, 95 Thus he thoroughly purified himself by knowledge, right conduct, faith, penance, and pure meditations, and after having lived many years as a Sramana, he reached perfection after breaking his fast once only every month.

96 Thus act the enlightened ones, the learned, the clever; like Mrigaputra they turn away from pleasures.

97, 98 When you have heard the words of the illustrious and famous son of Mriga, his perfect practise of austerities, and his liberation, famous in the three worlds, you will despise wealth, the cause of misery, and the fetter of egoism, the cause of many dangers, and you will bear the excellent and pleasant yoke of the Law that leads to the great happiness of Nirvana.

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 20TH LECTURE.

THE GREAT DUTY OF THE NIRGRANTHAS.

1 Piously adoring the perfected and the restrained saints, listen to my true instruction which (teaches the real) profit (of men), religion, and liberation.

2 King Srenika, the ruler of Magadha, who possessed many precious things, once made a pleasure-excursion to the Mandikukshi Kaitya.

3 It was a park like Nandana, with trees and creepers of many kinds, peopled by various birds, and full of various flowers.

4 There he saw a restrained and concentrated saint sitting below a tree, who looked delicate and accustomed to comfort.

5 When the king saw his figure, his astonishment at that ascetic's figure was very great and unequalled.

6 'O his colour, O his figure, O the loveliness of the noble man, O his tranquillity, O his perfection, O his disregard for pleasures!'

7 Adoring his feet and keeping him on his right side (he sat down), neither too far off nor too close by, and asked him with his hands clasped:

8 'Though a young nobleman, you have entered the order; in an age fit for pleasure you exert yourself as a Sramana, O ascetic; I want to hear you explain this.'

9 "I am without a protector, O great king; there is nobody to protect me, I know no friend nor any one to have sympathy with me."

10 Then king Srenika, the ruler of Magadha, laughed: 'How should there be nobody to protect one so accomplished as you?'

11 'I am the protector of religious men; O monk; enjoy pleasures together with your friends and relations; for it is a rare chance to be born as a human being.'

12 "You yourself are without a protector, Srenika, ruler of Magadha; and as you are without a protector, how can you protect anybody else?"

13 When the saint had addressed this unprecedented speech to the king, who was greatly moved and astonished, and struck with astonishment, (he answered):

14 'I have horses, elephants, and subjects, a town and a seraglio, power and command: enjoy human pleasures.

15 'In possession of so great means, which permit the owner to enjoy all pleasures, how could he be without protection? Reverend sir, you speak untruth.'

16 "O king, you do not know the meaning and origin of (the word) 'without protection,' nor how one comes to be without protection or with protection, O ruler of men.

17 "Hear, O great king, with an undistracted mind in what way a man can be said to be 'without protection,' and with what purpose I have said all this.

18 "There is a town Kausambi by name, which is among towns what Indra is (among the gods); there lived my father, who possessed great wealth.

19 "In my childhood, O great king, I caught a very bad eye-disease and a severe burning fever in all my limbs, O ruler of men.

20 "My eyes ached as if a cruel enemy thrust a sharp tool in the hollow of my body.

21 "In the back, the heart, and the head, I suffered dreadful and very keen pains equal to a stroke of lightning.

22 "Then the best physicians came to my help, who cure by their medical art and by spells, who were versed in their science, and well knew spells and roots.

23 "They tried to cure me according to the fourfold science which they had been taught; but they could not rid me of my pains: hence I say that I am without protection.

24 "My father would have spent all he possessed, for my sake; but he could not rid me of my pains, hence I say that I am without protection.

25 "My mother, O great king, was agonized with grief about her son; but she could not, etc.

26 "O great king, my own brothers, the elder and younger ones, could not rid me of my pains, etc.

27 "O great king, my own sisters, the elder and younger ones, could not, etc.

28 "O great king, my loving and faithful wife moistened my breast with the tears of her eyes.

29 "The poor lady did not eat, nor drink, nor bathe, nor use perfumes, wreaths, and anointment, with my knowledge or without it.

30 "O great king, she did not leave my side even for a moment; but she could not rid me of my pains, hence I say that I am without protection.

31 "Then I said: It is very hard to bear pains again and again in the endless Circle of Births.

32 "If I, for once, shall get rid of these great pains, I shall become a houseless monk, calm, restrained, and ceasing to act.

33 "While I thought so, I fell asleep, O ruler of men; and after that night my pains had vanished.

34 "Then in the morning of the next day I took leave of my relations and became a houseless monk, calm, restrained, and ceasing to act.

35 "Thus I became the protector of myself and of others besides, of all living beings, whether they move or not.

36 "My own Self is the river Vaitarani, my own Self the Salmali tree; my own Self is the miraculous cow Kamaduh, my own Self the park Nandana.

37 "My own Self is the doer and undoer of misery and happiness; my own Self, friend and foe, according as I act well or badly.

38 "But there is still another want of protection, O king; hear, therefore, O king, attentively with concentrated thoughts, how some easily discouraged men go astray after having adopted the Law of the Nirgranthas.

39 "If an ordained monk, through carelessness, does not strictly keep the great vows, if he does not restrain himself, but desires pleasure, then his fetters will not be completely cut off.

40 "One who does not pay constant attention to his walking, his speaking, his begging, his receiving and keeping (of things necessary for a monk), and his easing nature [These are the five Samitis], does not follow the road trod by the Lord.

41 "One who for a long time wears a shaven crown and mortifies himself, but who is careless with regard to the vows, and neglects penance and self-control, will not be a winner in the battle (of life).

42 "He is empty like a clenched fist, (of no value) like an uncoined false Karshapana or like a piece of glass resembling turquoise, he is held lightly by men of discernment.

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43 "He who has the character of a sinner, though he lays great stress on the outward signs of his calling as a means of living; he who does not control himself, though he pretends to do so; will come to grief for a long time.

44 "As the poison Kalakuta kills him who drinks it; as a weapon cuts him who awkwardly handles it; as a Vetala kills him who does not lay him; so the Law harms him who mixes it up with sensuality.

45 "He who practises divination from bodily marks and dreams, who is well versed in augury and superstitious rites, who gains a sinful living by practising magic tricks 5, will have no refuge at the time (of retribution).

46 "The sinner, always wretched, goes from darkness to darkness, to utter misery; the unholy man who breaks the rules of monks, rushes, as it were, to hell, and to be born again as a brute.

47 "He who accepts forbidden alms, viz. such food as he himself asks for, as has been bought for his sake, or as he gets regularly (as by right and custom), who like fire devours everything, will go to hell from here, after having sinned.

48 "A cut-throat enemy will not do him such harm as his own perversity will do him; the man without pity will feel repentance in the hour of death.

49 "In vain he adopts nakedness, who errs about matters of paramount interest; neither this world nor the next will be his; he is a loser in both respects in the world.

50 "Thus the self-willed sinner who leaves the road of the highest Ginas, who with the appetite of an osprey is desirous of pleasure, will grieve in useless sorrow.

51 "A wise man who hears this discourse, an instruction full of precious wisdom, and who deserts every path of the wicked, should walk the road of the great Nirgranthas.

52 "He who possesses virtuous conduct and life, who has practised the best self-control, who keeps from sinful influences 1, and who has destroyed his Karman, will reach (in the end) the greatest, best, and permanent place (viz. mukti),"

53 Thus the austere and calm, great ascetic and great sage who kept great vows and possessed great fame, preached at great length this great sermon: the great duty of the Nirgranthas.

54 And king Srenika, pleased, spoke thus: 'You have truly shown what it is to be without protection.

55 'You have made the best use of human birth, you have made a true gain, O great sage, you are a protector (of mankind at large) and of your relations, for you have entered the path of the best Ginas.

56 'You are the protector of all unprotected beings, O ascetic; I ask you to forgive me: I desire you to put me right.

57 'That by asking you I have disturbed your meditation, and that I invited you to enjoy pleasures, all this you must forgive me.'

58 When the lion of kings had thus, with the greatest devotion, praised the lion of houseless monks, he, together with his wives, servants, and relations, became a staunch believer in the Law, with a pure mind.

59 The ruler of men, with the hair on his body joyfully erected, bowed his head (to the monk), keeping him on his right side, and departed.

60 And the other, rich in virtues, protected by the three Guptis, and abstaining from injuring (living beings) in the three ways (viz. by thought, words, and acts), travelled about on the earth, free like a bird, and exempt from delusion.

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 21ST LECTURE.
SAMUDRAPALA.

1 In Kampa there lived a Sravaka, the merchant Palita, who was a disciple of the noble and venerable Mahavira.

2 As a Sravaka he was well versed in the doctrines of the Nirgranthas. Once he went by boat to the town of Pihunda on business.

3 A merchant gave him his daughter while he was doing business in Pihunda. When she was big with child, he took her with him on his returning home.

4 Now the wife of Palita was delivered of a child at sea; as the boy was born at sea (samudra), he was named Samudrapala.

5 Our merchant, the Sravaka, went leisurely to Kampa, to his house; in his house the boy grew up surrounded by comfort.

6 He studied the seventy-two arts, and acquired knowledge of the world; he was in the bloom of youth, and had a fine figure and good looks.

7 His father procured him a beautiful wife, Rupini, with whom he amused himself in his pleasant palace, like a Dogundaga god.

8 Once upon a time he saw from the window of his palace a man sentenced to death, dressed for execution, on his way to the place of execution.

9 Agitated by what he saw, Samudrapala spoke thus: 'Of wicked actions this is the bad result.'

10 He became enlightened at once, the venerable man, and he was immensely agitated; he took leave of his parents, and entered the state of houselessness.

11 Abandoning the great distress to which the worldly are liable, the great delusion, and whatever causes fear, one should adopt the Law of monks, the vows, the virtues, and the (endurance of) calamities.

12 One should keep the five great vows, viz. not to kill, to speak the truth, not to steal, to be chaste, to have no property whatever; a wise man should follow the Law taught by the Ginas.

13 A monk should have compassion on all beings, should be of a forbearing character, should be restrained and chaste, and abstaining from everything sinful; he should live with his senses under control.

14 Now and then he should travel in one country, taking into consideration its resources and his own ability; like a lion he should not be frightened by any noise; and whatever words he hears, he should not make an improper reply.

15 In utter indifference he should walk about, and bear everything, be it pleasant or unpleasant; he should not approve of everything everywhere, nor care for 1 respectful treatment or blame.

16, 17 There are many opinions here among men, which a monk places in their true light; there will rise many dangerous and dreadful calamities, caused by gods, men, or animals, which are difficult to be borne and cause easily-discouraged men to sink under them; but a monk who comes in contact with them will not be afraid, like a stately elephant at the head of the battle.

18 Cold and heat, flies and gnats, unpleasant feelings, and many diseases attack the body; without flinching he should bear them, and should not recall to his memory the pleasures he once enjoyed.

19 Giving up love, hatred, and delusion, a monk who is always careful and who is steadfast even as Mount Meru cannot be shaken by the storm, should bear calamities, guarding himself.

20 A great sage should be neither too elevated by pride nor too humble, he should not care for respectful treatment nor blame; an ascetic who has ceased (to act), will by means of his simplicity enter the path of Nirvana.

21 He is neither grieved nor pleased (by anything), he abandons his relations with men, he ceases (to act), is intent on the benefit of his soul, he strives for the highest good (viz. mukti), and uses the means to reach it, free from sorrow, egoism, and any kind of property.

22 A merciful (monk) should use beds distant from others, which are not got ready for his sake 2 nor strewn (with leaves or things considered to be possessed of life); he should sustain such hardships as the sages are accustomed to.

23 The great sage (Samudrapala), understanding the sacred lore and practising completely the best Law, shone forth like the sun in the sky, being possessed of the highest knowledge and glory.

24 Having annihilated his Karman both meritorious and sinful, being steadfast 1, and free from all fetters, Samudrapala crossed the ocean-like Flood of worldly existence and obtained exemption from transmigration.

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 22ND LECTURE.
RATHANEMI.

1 In the town of Sauryapura there was a powerful king, Vasudeva by name, who possessed the characteristic marks of a king.

2 He had two wives, Rohini and Devaki; each of them had a beloved son, Rama and Kesava.

3 In the town of Sauryapura there was (another) powerful king, Samudravigaya by name, who possessed the characteristic marks of a king.

4 His wife was Siva by name; and her famous son was the venerable Arishtanemi, the saviour of the world and the lord of ascetics.

5 This Arishtanemi, who was gifted with an excellent voice and possessed the thousand and eight lucky marks of the body, was a Gautama, and his skin was black.

6 His body was strong like that of a bull, and hard like steel; he was well proportioned, and had a belly like that of a fish.

Kesava asked the girl Ragimati in marriage for him.

7 Now this daughter of an excellent king was virtuous and well looking; she possessed all lucky marks of the body, and shone forth like the lightning Saudamani.

8 Her father said to the powerful Vasudeva: 'Let the prince come here that I may give him my daughter.'

9 He had taken a bath containing all (lucky) herbs, and had performed the customary ceremonies; he wore a suit of heavenly clothes and was decked out with ornaments.

10 Riding on the best mast elephant of Vasudeva he looked beautiful, like a jewel worn on the head.

11, 12 He sat under a raised umbrella, fanned by two chowries, and he was surrounded on all sides by a host of Dasarhas and by a complete army drawn up in rank and file, while the heavenly sound of musical instruments reached the sky.

13 With such pomp and splendour the hero of the Vrishnis started from his own palace.

14 On his way he saw animals, kept in cages and enclosures, overcome by fear and looking miserable.

15 Seeing them on the point of being killed for the sake of their flesh, and to be eaten afterwards, the great sage spoke to his charioteer thus:

16 'Why are all these animals, which desire to be happy, kept in cages and enclosures?'

17 Then the charioteer answered: 'Lucky are these animals because at thy wedding they will furnish food for many people.'

18 Having heard these words, which announced the slaughter of many animals, the great sage, full of compassion and kindness to living beings, meditated thus:

19 'If for my sake many living beings are killed, I shall not obtain happiness in the next world.'

20 Then the famous man presented the charioteer with his pair of earrings, his neck-chain, and all his ornaments.

21 When he had formed his resolution, the gods descended (from heaven), according to the established custom, to celebrate, with great pomp together with their retinue, the event of his renunciation.

22 Surrounded by gods and men, and sitting on an excellent palankin, the Venerable One left Dvaraka and ascended mount Raivataka

23 On arriving at the park he descended from his excellent palankin, surrounded by a crowd of thousands, and then his renunciation took place, while the moon was in conjunction with Kitra.

24 Then he himself plucked out his delightfully-perfumed, soft, and curled hair in five handfuls.

25 And Vasudeva said to that subduer of the senses, who had plucked out his hair: 'O lord of ascetics, may you soon obtain what you wish and desire.

26 'Increase in knowledge, faith, and right conduct, in forbearance and perfection!'

27 In this manner Rama and Kesava, the Dasarhas, and many people paid homage to Arishtanemi and then returned to the town of Dvaraka.

28 When the daughter of the king heard of the ordination of the Gina, laughter and gaiety forsook her, and she was overwhelmed with affliction'.

29 Ragimati thought: 'Shame upon my life, that I have been forsaken by him! it is better I should turn nun.'

30 Firm and decided she cut off her tresses which were black like bees and dressed with a brush and comb.

31 And Vasudeva said to her who had cut off her hair, and subdued her senses: 'Lady, cross the dreadful ocean of the Samsara without difficulty!'

32 When she had entered the order, the virtuous and very learned lady induced there many people, her relations and servants, to enter the order too.

33 On her way to mount Raivataka it began to rain; her clothes being wet, she entered a cave and waited there in the darkness while it was raining.

34 She took off her clothes and was naked as she was born, thus she was seen by Rathanemi, whose (peace of) mind became (thereby) disturbed; and afterwards she saw him.

35 She was frightened when she discovered herself alone with the monk; folding her arms over her breast she sank down trembling.

36 When the prince, Samudravigaya's son, saw her frightened and trembling, he spoke the following words:

37 'I am Rathanemi, O dear, beautiful, sweetly-speaking lady! Do accept me for your lover, O slender one 1, you shall have no cause to complain.

38 'Come, let us enjoy pleasures, for it is a rare chance to be born a human being; after we have enjoyed pleasures, we shall enter on the path of the Ginas.'

39 When Ragimati perceived that Rathanemi's strength of will was broken, and temptation had got the better of him, she did not lose her presence of mind and defended her Self on that occasion.

40 The daughter of the best king, true to self-control and her vows, maintained the honour of her clan and family, and her virtue, and spoke to him:

41 'If you owned the beauty of Vaisramana, the pleasing manners of Nalakubara, if you were like Purandara himself, I should have no desire for you.

42 'Fie upon you, famous knight, who want to quaff the vomited drink for the sake of this life; it would be better for you to die.

43 'I am the daughter of the Bhoga-king, and you are an Andhakavrishni; being born in a noble family let us not become like Gandhana-snakes; firmly practise self-control!

44 'If you fall in love with every woman you see, you will be without hold like the Hatha-plant, driven before the wind.

45 'As a herdsman or a keeper of goods does not own the things (he has the care of), so you will not truly own Sramanahood.'

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46 Having heard these well-spoken words of the virtuous lady, he returned to the Law like an elephant driven by the hook.

47 Protected in thoughts, words, and acts, subduing his senses and keeping the vows, he practised true Sramanahood throughout life.

48 After practising severe austerities both of them became Kevalins, and having completely annihilated their Karman, they reached the highest perfection.

49 Thus act the enlightened, the wise, the clever ones; they turn from pleasures as did this best of men.

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 23RD LECTURE.

KESI AND GAUTAMA.

1 There was a Gina, Parsva by name, an Arhat, worshipped by the people, who was thoroughly enlightened and omniscient, a prophet of the Law, and a Gina.

2 And there was a famous disciple of this Light of the World, the young Sramana Kesi, who had completely mastered the sciences and right conduct.

3 He possessed the light of Sruta and Avadhi knowledge, and was surrounded by a crowd of disciples; wandering from village to village he arrived in the town of Sravasti.

4 In the district of that town there is a park, called Tinduka; there he took up his abode in a pure place to live and sleep in.

5 Now at that time there lived the Prophet of the Law, the Gina, who in the whole world is known as the venerable Vardhamana.

6 And there was a famous disciple of this Light of the World, the venerable Gautama by name, who had completely mastered the sciences and right conduct.

7 He knew the twelve Angas, was enlightened, and was surrounded by a crowd of disciples; wandering from village to village he too arrived in Sravasti.

8 In the district of that town there is a park Koshthaka; there he took up his abode in a pure place to live and sleep in.

9 The young Sramana Kesi and the famous Gautama, both lived there, protecting themselves (by the Guptis) and being careful.

10 The pupils of both, who, controlled themselves, who practised austerities, who possessed virtues, and who protected their Self, made the following reflection:

11 'Is our Law the right one, or is the other Law 1 the right one? are our conduct and doctrines right, or the other?

12 'The Law as taught by the great sage Parsva, which recognises but four vows, or the Law taught by Vardhamana, which enjoins five vows?

13 'The Law which forbids clothes (for a monk), hr that which (allows) an under and upper garment? Both pursuing the same end, what has caused their difference?'

14 Knowing the thoughts of their pupils, both Kesi and Gautama made up their minds to meet each other.

15 Gautama, knowing what is proper and what is due to the older section (of the church), went to the Tinduka park, accompanied by the crowd, his pupils.

16 When Kesi, the young monk, saw Gautama approach, he received him with all becoming attention.

17 He at once offered Gautama the four pure kinds of straw and hay to sit upon.

18 Kesi, the young Sramana, and the famous Gautama, sitting together, shone forth with a lustre like that of sun and moon.

19 There assembled many heretics out of curiosity, and many thousands of laymen;

20 Gods, Danavas, Gandharvas, Yakshas, Rakshasas, and Kinnaras (assembled there), and there came together invisible ghosts too.

21, 22 Kesi said to Gautama, 'I want to ask you something, holy man.' Then to these words of Kesi Gautama made the following reply: "Sir, ask whatever you like." Then with his permission Kesi spoke to Gautama:

23 'The Law taught by the great sage Parsva, recognises but four vows, whilst that of Vardhamana enjoins five.

24 'Both Laws pursuing the same end, what has caused this difference? Have you no misgivings about this twofold Law, O wise man?'

25 Then to these words of Kesi Gautama made the following reply: "Wisdom recognises the truth of the Law and the ascertainment of true things.

26 "The first saints were simple but slow of understanding, the last saints prevaricating and slow of understanding, those between the two simple and wise; hence there are two forms of the Law [The meaning of this explanation is as follows. As the vow of chastity is not explicitly mentioned among Parsva's four vows, but was understood to be implicitly enjoined by them, it follows that only such men as were of an upright disposition and quick understanding would not go astray by observing the four vows literally, i.e. by not abstaining from sexual intercourse, as it was not expressly forbidden.--The argumentation in the text presupposes a decay of the morals of the monastic order to have occurred between Parsva and Mahavira, and this is possible only on the assumption of a sufficient interval of time having p. 123 elapsed between the last two Tirthakaras. And this perfectly agrees with the common tradition that Mahavira came 250 years after Parsva.].

27 "The first could but with difficulty understand the precepts of the Law, and the last could only with difficulty observe them, but those between them easily understood and observed them."

28 'Well, Gautama, you possess wisdom, you have destroyed my doubt; but I have another doubt which you must explain to me, Gautama.

29 'The Law taught by Vardhamana forbids clothes, but that of the great sage Parsva allows an under and upper garment.

30 'Both Laws pursuing the same end, what has caused this difference? Have you no misgivings about this twofold Law, O wise man?'

31 To these words of Kesi Gautama made the following reply: "Deciding the matter by their superior knowledge, (the Tirthakaras) have fixed what is necessary for carrying out the Law.

32 "The various outward marks (of religious men) have been introduced in order that people might recognise them as such; the reason for the characteristic marks is their usefulness for religious life and their distinguishing character.

33 "Now the opinion (of the Tirthakaras) is that knowledge, faith. and right conduct are the true causes of final liberation, (and not the outward marks)."

34 'Well, Gautama, you possess wisdom, you have destroyed my doubt; but I have another doubt, which you must explain to me, Gautama.

35 'Gautama, you stand in the midst of many thousand (foes) who make an attack on you; how have you vanquished them? [This question does not refer to the difference in doctrines between Parsva and Mahavira, but is discussed here, as the commentator states, for the benefit of the pupils of both sages who are engaged in conversation. I think, however, that this and the following questions are asked and answered here by the disciples of the two Tirthakaras for a better reason than that given by the scholiast. For in them the leading topics of Jainism are treated in a symbolical way. Gautama at once understands the true meaning of the similes and interprets them to the satisfaction of Kesi. In this way the unity in doctrine subsisting between the Law of Parsva and that of Mahavira is demonstrated to the hearers of the dispute, after the differences had been explained away.]

36 "By vanquishing one, five are vanquished; by vanquishing five, ten are vanquished; by this tenfold victory, I vanquish all foes."

37 Kesi said to Gautama: 'Whom do you call a foe?' To these words of Kesi Gautama made the following reply:

38 "Self is the one invincible foe, (together with the four) cardinal passions, (viz. anger, pride, deceit, and greed, they are five) and the (five) senses (make ten). These (foes), O great sage, I have regularly vanquished."

39 'Well, Gautama, etc. (as in verse 28).

40 'We see many beings in this world who are bound by fetters; how have you got rid of your fetters and are set free, O sage?'

41 "Having cut off all fetters, and having destroyed them by the right means, I have got rid of my fetters and am set free, O sage."

42 Kesi said to Gautama: 'What do you call fetters?' To these words of Kesi Gautama made the following reply:

43 "Love, hatred, etc., are heavy fetters, attachment is a dangerous one; having regularly destroyed them, I live up to the rules of conduct."

44 'Well, Gautama, etc. (as in verse 28).

45 'O Gautama, in the innermost heart there grows a plant which brings forth poisonous fruit; how have you torn it out?'

46 "I have thoroughly clipped that plant, and torn it out altogether with its roots; thus I have got rid of the poisonous fruit."

47 Kesi said to Gautama, 'What do you call that plant?' To these words of Kesi Gautama made the following reply:

48 "Love of existence is that dreadful plant which brings forth dreadful fruit; having regularly torn it out, I live pleasantly."

49 'Well, Gautama, etc. (as in verse 28).

50 'Gautama, there is blazing up a frightful fire [In the original 'fire' is put in the plural because the four kashayas or cardinal passions are denoted by it.] which burns the embodied beings; how have you put it out?'

51 "Taking water, excellent water, from (the river) produced by the great cloud, I always pour it over my body; thus sprinkled the fire does not burn me."

52 Kesi said to Gautama, 'What do you call the fire?' To these words of Kesi Gautama made the following reply:

53 "The passions are the fire; knowledge, a virtuous life, and penances are the water; sprinkled with the drops of knowledge the fire of the passions is extinguished and does not burn me."

54 'Well, Gautama, etc. (as in verse 28).

55 'The unruly, dreadful, bad horse, on which you sit, runs about, Gautama! how comes it to pass that it does not run off with you?'

56 "I govern it well in its course by the bridle of knowledge; it does not go astray with me, it keeps to the right path."

57 Kesi said to Gautama, 'What do you call this horse?' To these words of Kesi Gautama made the following reply:

58 "The mind is that unruly, dreadful, bad horse; I govern it by the discipline of the Law (so that it becomes a well-) trained Kamboga-steed."

59 'Well, Gautama, etc. (as in verse 28).

60 'There are many bad roads in this world, which lead men astray; how do you avoid, Gautama, going astray as you are on the road?'

61 "They all are known to me, those who are in the right path and those who have chosen a wrong path; therefore I do not go astray, O sage!"

62 Kesi said to Gautama, 'What do you call the path?' To these words of Kesi Gautama made the following reply:

63 "The heterodox and the heretics have all chosen a wrong path; the right path is that taught by the Ginas; it is the most excellent path."

64 'Well, Gautama, etc. (as in verse 28).

65 'Is there a shelter, a refuge, a firm ground for the beings carried away by the great flood of water? do you know the island, O Gautama?'

66 "There is a large, great island in the midst of water, which is not inundated by the great flood of water."

67 Kesi said to Gautama, 'What do you call this island?' To these words of Kesi Gautama made the following reply:

68 "The flood is old age and death, which carry away living beings; Law is the island, the firm ground, the refuge, the most excellent shelter."

69 'Well, Gautama, etc. (as in verse 28).

70 'On the ocean with its many currents there drifts a boat; how will you, Gautama, on board of it reach the opposite shore?'

71 "A boat that leaks will not reach the opposite shore; but a boat that does not leak, will reach it."

72 Kesi said to Gautama, 'What do you call this boat?' To these words of Kesi Gautama made the following reply:

73 "The body is the boat, life is the sailor, and the Circle of Births is the ocean which is crossed by the great sages."

74 'Well, Gautama, etc. (as in verse 28).

75 'In this dreadfully dark gloom there live many beings; who will bring light into the whole world of living beings?'

76 "The spotless sun has risen which illuminates the whole world; he will bring light into the whole world of living beings."

77 Kesi said to Gautama, 'What do you call this sun?' To these words of Kesi Gautama made the following reply:

78 "Risen has he who put an end to the Circle of Births, the omniscient Gina, the luminary, who brings light into the whole world of living beings."

79 'Well, Gautama, etc. (as in verse 28).

80 'Do you, O sage, know a safe, happy, and quiet place for living beings which suffer from pains 1 of body and mind?'

81 "There is a safe place in view of all, but difficult of approach, where there is no old age nor death, no pain nor disease."

82 Kesi said to Gautama, 'What is this place called?' To these words of Kesi Gautama made the following reply:

83 "It is what is called Nirvana, or freedom from pain, or perfection, which is in view of all; it is the safe, happy, and quiet place which the great sages reach.

84 "That is the eternal place, in view of all, but difficult of approach. Those sages who reach it are free from sorrows, they have put an end to the stream of existence."

85 'Well, Gautama, you possess wisdom, you have destroyed my doubt; obeisance to you, who are not troubled by doubts, who are the ocean, as it were, of all Sutras.'

86 After his doubt had been solved, Kesi, of enormous sanctity, bowed his head to the famous Gautama.

87 And in the pleasant (Tinduka park) he sincerely adopted the Law of the five vows, which was proclaimed by the first Tirthakara, according to the teaching of the last Tirthakara.

88 In that meeting of Kesi and Gautama, knowledge and virtuous conduct were for ever brought to eminence, and subjects of the greatest importance were settled.

89 The whole assembly was greatly pleased and fixed their thoughts on the right way. They praised Kesi and Gautama: 'May the venerable ones show us favour!'

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 24TH LECTURE.

THE SAMITIS.

1 The eight articles of the creed are the Samitis and the Guptis; there are five Samitis and three Guptis.

2 The Samitis are: 1st. irya-samiti (going by paths trodden by men, beasts, carts, etc., and looking carefully so as not to occasion the death of any living creature); 2nd. bhasha-samiti (gentle, salutary, sweet, righteous speech); 3rd. eshana-samiti (receiving alms in a manner to avoid the forty-two faults that are laid down); 4th. adana-samiti (receiving and keeping of

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the things necessary for religious exercises, after having carefully examined them); 5th. ukkara-samiti (performing the operations of nature in an unfrequented place).

The three Guptis (which are here included in the term Samiti in its wider application) are: 1st. mano-gupti (preventing the mind from wandering in the forest of sensual pleasures by employing it in contemplation, study, etc.); 2nd. vag-gupti (preventing the tongue from saying bad things by a vow of silence, etc.); 3rd. kaya-gupti (putting the body in an immovable posture as in the case of Kayotsarga).

3 The eight Samitis are thus briefly enumerated, in which the whole creed taught by the Ginas and set forth in the twelve Angas, is comprehended.

4 1. The walking of a well-disciplined monk should be pure in four respects: in respect to 1st. the cause; 2nd. the time; 3rd. the road; 4th. the effort.

5 The cause is: knowledge, faith, and right conduct; the time is day-time; the road excludes bad ways.

6 The effort is fourfold, viz. as regards: 1st. substance, 2nd. place, 3rd. time, and 4th. condition of mind. Hear me explain them.

7 With regard to substance: the (walking monk) should look with his eyes; with regard to place: the space of a yuga (i.e. four hastas or cubits); with regard to time: as long as he walks; and with regard to condition of mind: carefully.

8 He walks carefully who pays attention only to his walk and his body (executing it), whilst he avoids attending to the objects of sense, but (minds) his study, the latter in all five ways [Alambana, literally support; explained: supported by which the mind becomes pure.].

9, 10 2. To give way to: anger, pride, deceit and greed, laughter, fear, loquacity and slander; these eight faults should a well-disciplined monk avoid; he should use blameless and concise speech at the proper time.

11 3. As regards begging, a monk should avoid the faults in the search, in the receiving, and in the use 6 of the three kinds of objects, viz. food, articles of use, and lodging.

12 A zealous monk should avoid in the first (i.e. in the search for alms) the faults occasioned either by the giver (udgama) or by the receiver (utpadana); in the second (i.e. in the receiving of alms) the faults inherent in the receiving; and in the use of the articles received, the four faults*.

[* There are altogether forty-six faults to be avoided. As they are frequently alluded to in the sacred texts, a systematical enumeration and description of them according to the Dipika will be useful.]

There are sixteen udgama-doshas by which food, etc. becomes unfit for a Jaina monk:

1. Adhakarmika, the fault inherent in food, etc., which a layman has prepared especially for religious mendicants of whatever sect.

2. Auddesika, is food, etc., which a layman has prepared for a particular monk.

3. Putika, is food, etc., which is pure on the whole, but contains particles impure on account of the first fault.

4. Unmisra, is food, etc., of which a part only had been especially prepared for the monk in question.

5. Sthapanakarmika, is food, etc., which has been reserved for the monk.

6. Prabhritika, is food, etc., which has been prepared for some festivity.

7. Praduhkarana, when the layman has to light a lamp in order to fetch the alms for the monk.

8. Krita, when he has to buy the things.

9. Pramitya, when he has to fetch a ladle (? uddharaka) in order to draw out the food, etc.

10. Paravritti, when he replaces bad particles of the food by good ones, and vice versa.

11. Adhyahrita, when he has to fetch the food, etc., from some distance.

12. Udbhinna, when he has to open locks before he gets at the food, etc.

13. Malahrita, when he has to take the food, etc., from some raised or underground place.

14. Akkhidya, when the food, etc., was taken by force from somebody.

15. Anisrishta, when a man gives from a store he possesses in common with other men, without asking their permission.

16. Adhyavapura, when the mendicant calls while the dinner is being cooked, and for his sake more food is put in the pot on the fire.

(Some of these faults are enumerated in the Aupapatika Sutra, § 96, III.)

There are sixteen utpadana-doshas; or such faults as are occasioned by the monk's using some means to make the layman give him alms:

1. Dhatrikarman, when the monk plays with the layman's children.

2. Dutakarman, when he gives him information about what his people are doing.

3. Nimitta, when he speaks in praise of almsgiving.

4. Agivika, when he makes his birth and family known to him.

5. Vapanika, when he expatiates upon his misery.

6. Kikitsa, when he cures sick people.

7. Krodhapinda, when he extorts alms by threats.

8. Manapinda, when he tells the layman that he has laid a wager with other monks that he would get alms from him.

9. Mayapinda, when he employs tricks or buffoonery in order to procure alms.

10. Lobhapinda, when he goes begging from a desire of good fare.

11. Samstava-pinda, when he flatters the layman.

12. Vidyapinda, when he makes a show of his learning; or when he conjures a god from whom to get alms.

13. Mantradosha, when he obliges the layman in some way or other.

14. Kurnayoga, when he makes himself invisible and then takes away the food, etc.

15. Yogapinda, when he teaches people spells, tricks, etc.

16. Mulakarman, when he teaches them how to obviate evils by roots, charms, etc.

There are ten faults of grahanaishana:

1. Sankita, when a monk accepts alms from a frightened layman.

2. Mrakshita, when the food is soiled (kharantita) by animate or inanimate matter.

3. Nikshipta, when the food is placed among animate things.

4. Pihita, when animate food is covered with inanimate matter, and vice versa.

5. Samhrita, when the layman has to take out the thing to be given from one vessel and puts it into another.

6. Dayaka, when the condition or occupation of the giver forbids accepting alms from him.

7. Unmisrita, when the layman mixes up pure with impure food.

8. Aparita (?), when one joint possessor gives away from the store against the other's will.

9. Lipta, when the layman gives food, etc., with a ladle or his hand, soiled with milk, butter, etc.

10. Khardita, when in giving alms he spills milk, etc.

There are four faults of paribhogaishana:

1. Samyogana, when the monk puts together the ingredients for a good meal.

2. Apramana, when he accepts a greater than the prescribed quantity of food.

3. Ingala, when he praises a rich man for his good fare, or dhuma, when he blames a poor man for his bad fare.

4. Akarana, when he eats choice food on other occasions than those laid down in the sacred texts.]

13 4. If a monk takes up or lays down the two kinds of things belonging to his general and supplementary outfit, he should proceed in the following way.

14 A zealous monk should wipe the thing after having inspected it with his eyes, and then he should take it up or put it down, having the Samiti in both respects.

15 5. Excrements, urine, saliva, mucus, uncleanliness of the body, offals of food, waste things, his own body (when he is about to die), and everything of this description (is to be disposed of in the way to be described).

16 [A place may be not frequented and not seen (by people), or not frequented but seen, or frequented and not seen, or frequented and seen.

17, 18 In a place neither frequented nor seen by other people, which offers no obstacles to self-control, which is even, not covered with grass or leaves [Agghusire = asushire, not perforated, not having holes. I translate according to the author of the Avakuri. The literal p. 135 translation would give a wrong idea, as it would come to the same as the word bilavargita in the next verse.], and has been brought into its present condition not long ago, which is spacious, has an inanimate surface-layer, not too near (the village, etc.), not perforated by holes, and is exempt from insects and seeds--in such a place he should leave his excrements, etc.

19 The five Samitis are thus briefly enumerated, I shall now explain in due order the three Guptis.

20 1. There is, 1st. truth; 2nd. untruth; 3rd. a mixture of truth and untruth; 4th. a mixture of what is not true, and what is not untrue. The Gupti of mind refers to all four.

21 A zealous monk should prevent his mind from desires for the misfortune of somebody else, from thoughts on acts which cause misery to living beings, and from thoughts on acts which cause their destruction.

22 2. The Gupti of speech is also of four kinds (referring to the four divisions as in verse 20).

23 A zealous monk should prevent his speech from (expressing) desires, etc. (as in verse 21).

24, 25 3. In standing, sitting, lying down, jumping, going, and in the use of his organs, a zealous monk should prevent his body from intimating obnoxious desires, from doing acts which cause misery to living beings, or which cause their destruction.

26 These are the five Samitis for the practice of the religious life, and the Guptis for the prevention of everything sinful.

27 This is the essence of the creed, which a sage should thoroughly put into practice; such a wise man will soon get beyond the Circle of Births.

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 25TH LECTURE.

THE TRUE SACRIFICE.

1 There was a famous Brahmana, Gayaghosha by name, who was born in a Brahmanical family, but who was pledged to the performing of the yamas.

2 This great sage, who subdued all his senses, and who walked on the right road, came, on his wandering from village to village, to the town of Benares.

3 There outside of Benares he took up his lodgings in a pleasant park; there he took up his abode in a pure place to live and sleep in.

4 At the same time a Brahmana, versed in the Vedas, Vigayaghosha by name, offered a sacrifice in that town.

5 Now this houseless (monk) at the end of a fast of a month's duration, went to the sacrifice of Vigayaghosha to beg alms.

6 The priest wanted to turn the approaching monk off: 'I shall not give you alms, mendicant, beg somewhere else.

7, 8 'Priests who are versed in the Vedas and are chaste as behoves offerers, who are versed in the Gyotishanga and are well grounded in the sacrificial science, who are able to save themselves. and others, such priests ought to be presented with food and all they desire.'

9 When the great sage was thus refused by the priest, he was neither angry nor pleased, as he always strove for the highest good.

10 Not to obtain food, or drink, or whatever else he wanted, but to save these people he spoke the following words:

11 "You do not know what is most essential in the Vedas, nor in sacrifices, nor in the heavenly bodies, nor in duties.

12 "Nor do you know those who are able to save themselves and others; but if you do, then speak out!"

13 The priest did not make a reply to defend himself against his insinuation; but he and all there assembled joined their hands and questioned the great sage:

14 'Tell us the most essential subject in the Vedas, and tell us what is most essential in the sacrifice; tell us the first of the heavenly bodies, and tell us the best of dharmas.

15 'Who are able to save themselves and others (viz. tell me). I ask you to solve this my doubt, O saint.'

16 "The most essential subject in the Vedas is the agnihotra, and that of the sacrifice is the purpose of the sacrifice 1; the first of the heavenly bodies is the moon, and the best of dharmas is that of Kasyapa (i.e. Rishabha).

17 "The beautiful (gods) with joined hands praise and worship the highest Lord (i.e. the Tirthakara) as the planets, etc., (praise) the moon.

18 "The ignorant (priests) pretend to know the sacrifice, those whose Brahmanical excellence consists in (false) science; they shroud themselves in study and penance, being like fire covered by ashes.

19 "He who is called by people a Brahmana and is worshipped like fire (is no true Brahmana). But him we call a true Brahmana, whom the wise point out as such.

20 "He who has no worldly attachment after entering the order, who does not repent of having become a monk, and who takes delight in the noble words, him we call a Brahmana.

21 "He who is exempt from love, hatred, and fear, (and who shines forth) like burnished gold, purified in fire, him we call a Brahmana.

22 "A lean, self-subduing ascetic, who reduces his flesh and blood, who is pious and has reached Nirvana, him we call a Brahmana.

23 "He who thoroughly knows living beings, whether they move or not, and does not injure them in any of the three ways, him we call a Brahmana.

24 "He who does not speak untruth from anger or for fun, from greed or from fear, him we call a Brahmana.

25 "He who does not take anything that is not given him, be it sentient or not sentient, small or large, him we call a Brahmana.

26 "He who does not carnally love divine, human, or animal beings, in thoughts, words, or acts, him we call a Brahmana.

27 "He who is not defiled by pleasures as a lotus growing in the water is not wetted by it, him we call a Brahmana.

28 "He who is not greedy, who lives unknown, who has no house and no property, and who has no friendship with householders, him we call a Brahmana.

29 "He who has given up his former connections (with his parents, etc.), with his kinsmen and relations, and who is not given to pleasure, him we call a Brahmana.

30 "The binding of animals (to the sacrificial pole), all the Vedas, and sacrifices, being causes of sin, cannot save the sinner; for his works (or Karman) are very powerful.

31 "One does not become a Sramana by the tonsure, nor a Brahmana by the sacred syllable om, nor a Muni by living in

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the woods, nor a Tapasa by wearing (clothes of) Kusa-grass and bark.

32 "One becomes a Sramana by equanimity, a Brahmana by chastity, a Muni by knowledge, and a Tapasa by penance.

33 "By one's actions one becomes a Brahmana, or a Kshattriya, or a Vaisya, or a Sudra.

34 "The Enlightened One has declared these (good qualities) through which one becomes a (true) Snataka; him who is exempt from all Karman, we call a Brahmana.

35 "The most excellent twice-born men who possess these good qualities, are able to save themselves and others."

36 When thus his doubt had been solved, Vigayaghosha, the Brahmana, assented* to the great sage Gayaghosha and to his (speech). [* Samudaya tayam tam tu. The text is evidently corrupted. Samudaya stands, according to the commentators, for samadaya, but there is no finite verb with which to construe the absolute participle, either expressed or easily supplies'. Perhaps we must read samuvaya vayam = samuvaka vakas; for the perfect is retained in some cases. However, if this conjecture be right, the next line would be superfluous.]

37 Vigayaghosha, pleased, folded his hands and spoke as follows: 'You have well declared to me what true Brahmanahood consists in.

38 'You are a sacrificer of sacrifices, you are the most learned of those who know the Vedas, you know the Gyotishanga, you know perfectly the Law.

39 'You are able to save yourself and others; therefore do us the honour to accept our alms, O best of monks.'

40 "I do not want any alms; but, O Brahmana, enter the order at once, lest you should be drifted about on the dreadful ocean of the Samsara, whose eddies are dangers.

41 "There is glue (as it were) in pleasure: those who are not given to pleasure, are not soiled by it; those who love pleasures, must wander about in the Samsara; those who do not, will be liberated.

42 "If you take two clods of clay, one wet, the other dry, and fling them against the wall, the wet one will stick to it.

43 "Thus foolish men, who love pleasure, will be fastened (to Karman), but the passionless will not, even as the dry clod of clay (does not stick to the wall)."

44 When Vigayaghosha had learned the excellent Law from the houseless Gayaghosha, he entered the order.

45 Gayaghosha and Vigayaghosha both annihilated their Karman by self-control and penance, and reached the highest perfection.

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 26TH LECTURE.

THE CORRECT BEHAVIOUR.

1 I shall declare the correct behaviour (samakari) which causes freedom from all misery; by practising it the Nirgranthas have crossed the ocean of Samsara.

2-4 The correct behaviour of monks consists of (the following) ten parts: 1st. avasyika; 2nd. naishedhiki; 3rd. aprikkhana; 4th. pratiprikkhana; 5th. khandana; 6th. ikkhakara; 7th. mithyakara; 8th. tathakara; 9th. abhyutthana; 10th. upasampad.

5-7 The avasyika is required when he leaves a room (or the presence of other monks on some necessary business); the naishedhiki, on entering a place; aprikkhana, (or asking the superior's permission) for what he is to do himself; pratiprikkhana, for what somebody else is to do; khandana, (or placing at the disposal of other monks) the things one has got; ikkhakara, in the execution (of one's intention by oneself or somebody else); mithyakara, in the blaming oneself (for sins committed); tathakara, (assent) in making a promise; abhyutthana, in serving those who deserve respect; and upasampad, in placing oneself under another teacher. Thus the twice fivefold behaviour has been declared.

8 After sunrise during the first quarter (of the first Paurushi)* he should inspect (and clean) his things and pay his respects to the superior. [* The southern half of the sky or horizon, between east and west, is divided into four quarters, each of which corresponds in time to a paurushi, the fourth part of a day or a night.]

9 Then, with his hands joined, he should ask him: 'What shall I do now? I want to be employed, sir, in doing some work or in studying.'

10 If he is ordered to do some work, he should do it without tiring; if he is ordered to study, he should do it without allowing himself to be affected by any pains.

11 A clever monk should divide the day into four (equal) parts (called paurushi), and fulfil his duties (uttaraguna) in all four parts.

12 In the first Paurushi he should study, in the second he should meditate, in the third he should go on his begging-tour, and in the fourth he should study again.

13 In the month Ashadha the Paurushi (of the night) contains two feet (pada)*; in the month Pausha, four; in the months Kaitra and Asvayuga, three. [* A paurushi is the fourth part of a day or a night; about the time of the equinoxes, when the day as well as the night contains twelve hours, the paurushi contains three hours. At the same time, in the months Kaitra and Asvina, as we learn from our verse, the paurushi has three feet, padas. The pada therefore is equal to one hour exactly. The duration of the night at the summer solstice was therefore estimated at eight hours and at the winter solstice at sixteen, just as in the Vedic Gyotisha.]

14 (The Paurushi) increases or decreases a digit* (angula) every week, two digits every fortnight, four digits every month. [* A digit, angula, is apparently the twelfth part of a foot, pada = one hour. The digit is therefore equal to five minutes.]

15 The dark fortnight of Ashadha, Bhadrapada, Karttika, Pausha, Phalguna, and Vaisakha are known as avamaratras [The fortnights, mentioned in the text, consist of fourteen days only, the remaining ones of fifteen days. In this way the lunar year is made to consist of 354 days.].

16 In the quarter of the year comprising the three months Gyeshthamula, Ashadha, and Sravana, the (morning-) inspection is to last six digits (beyond ¼ Paurushi); in the second quarter, eight; in the third, ten; in the fourth, eight [Or thirty, forty, fifty, forty minutes respectively.].

17 A clever monk should divide the night too into four parts, and fulfil his duties (uttaraguna) in all four parts.

18 In the first Paurushi he should study, in the second he should meditate, in the third he should leave off sleep, and in the fourth he should study again.

19 When the nakshatra which leads the night* has reached the first quarter of the heaven, at dawn he should cease to study. [* I.e. the nakshatra which is in opposition to the sun, and accordingly rises at the same time with the setting sun, and sets with the rising sun, compare Ramayana III, 16, 12.]

20 When a small part of the quarter is left [I.e. is about to set.], in which the (leading) nakshatra stands, during that space of time, being considered intermediate* (between two) days, a monk should watch. [* Verattiya, translated vairatrika; but there is no such word in Sanskrit. It apparently stands for dvairatrika, belonging to two days. As the Hindus reckon the day from sunrise, the time immediately preceding it may be considered to belong to two days.]

21 In the first quarter (of the first Paurushi) he should inspect (and clean) his things, pay his respects to his superior, and then begin to study, not allowing himself to be affected by any pains.

22 In the (last) quarter of the first Paurushi, after paying his respect to the Guru, a monk should inspect his almsbowl, without, however, performing the Kala-pratikramana.

23 He should first inspect his mouth-cloth, then his broom, and taking the broom in his hand he should inspect his cloth.

24 Standing upright he holds his cloth firmly and inspects it first leisurely, then he spreads it, and at last he wipes it.

25 (He should spread the cloth) without shaking or crushing it, in such a way as to make the folds disappear, and to avoid friction of its parts against each other; he should fold it up six times in length, and nine times in breadth, and then he should remove living beings with his hand (spreading the cloth on the palm of his hand).

26 He must avoid want of attention: 1st. in beginning his work; 2nd. in taking up the corners of the cloth; 3rd. in folding it up; 4th. in shaking out the dust; 5th. in putting it down (on some other piece of cloth); 6th. in sitting upon the haunches.

27 (One must further avoid) to hold the cloth loosely, or at one corner, or so as to let it flap, or so as to subject it to friction, or so as to shake it in different ways, or if one has made a mistake in the number of foldings (see verse 25) to count (aloud or with the help of the fingers, etc.)

28 There should be neither too little nor too much of inspection, nor an exchange (of the things to be inspected); this is the right way to do (the inspection), all other methods are wrong:--

29 (This is) if one engaged in inspecting his things converses or gossips (with anybody), renounces something, teaches another his lesson, or receives his own lesson from another, (he neglects his inspection).

30 He who is careful in the inspection, protects the six kinds of living beings, viz. the earth-bodies, water-bodies, fire-bodies, wind-bodies, plants, and animals.

31 He who is careless in the inspection, injures the six kinds of living beings (just enumerated).

32 In the third Paurushi he should beg food and drink, (he may do so) for any of the following six reasons:

33 1st. To prevent an illness; 2nd. to serve the Guru; 3rd. to be able to comply with the rules about walking; 4th. to be able to comply with the rules of self-control; 5th. to save one's life; 6th. to be able to meditate on the Law.

34 A zealous Nirgrantha or Nirgranthi may omit to beg food for the following six reasons, when it will not be considered a transgression of his duties:

35 1st. In case of illness; 2nd. in case of a disaster; 3rd. to preserve one's chastity and the Guptis; 4th. out of compassion for living beings; 5th. in the interest of penance; 6th. to make an end of one's life.

36 Taking his whole outfit a monk should inspect it with his eye; he then may walk about, but not beyond half a Yogana.

37 In the fourth Paurushi he should put away his almsbowl (after having eaten his meal), and then begins his study which reveals all existent things.

38 In the last quarter of the fourth Paurushi he should pay his reverence to the Guru, and after having performed Kala-pratikramana, he should inspect his lodging.

39 A zealous monk should also inspect the place where to discharge his excrements and urine, and then (till the sun sets) he should go through Kayotsarga without allowing himself to be affected by any pains.

40 Then he should, in due order, reflect on all transgressions he has committed during the day, with regard to knowledge, faith, and conduct.

41 Having finished Kayotsarga, and paid his reverence to the Guru, he should, in due order, confess his transgressions committed during the day.

42 Then having recited the Pratikramana Sutra, and having annihilated his sins, he should pay his reverence to the Guru (asking absolution), and go through Kayotsarga without allowing himself to be affected by any pains.

43 Having finished Kayotsarga, and paid his reverence to the Guru, he should pronounce the customary (three) praises, and then wait for the proper time.

44 In the first Paurushi (of the night) he should study; in the second he should meditate; in the third he should leave off sleep; and in the fourth he should study again.

45 In the fourth Paurushi he should wait for the proper time and then begin to study without waking the householders.

46 In the last quarter of the fourth Paurushi he should pay his reverence to the Guru, and performing Kala-pratikramana he should wait for the proper time.

47 When the (time for) Kayotsarga has arrived, he should go through it, without allowing himself to be affected by any pains.

48 Then he should, in due order, reflect on all transgressions he has committed during the night with regard to knowledge, faith, and conduct.

49 Having finished Kayotsarga and paid his reverence to the Guru, he should, in due order, confess his transgressions committed during the night.

50 Then having recited the Pratikramana Sutra etc. (see verse 41).

51 He should consider what kind of austerities he will undertake. Having finished his Kayotsarga, he pays his reverence to the Guru.

52 Having finished Kayotsarga and paid his reverence to the Guru, he should practise those austerities which he has decided upon, and praise the perfected saints.

53 Thus has been summarily declared the correct behaviour, by practising which many souls have crossed the ocean of Samsara.

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 27TH LECTURE.

THE BAD BULLOCKS.

1 There was a Sthavira and Ganadhara, the learned sage Garga. This leader of the Gana once made the following reflections:

2 'He who rides in a car, crosses a wilderness; he who rides, as it were, in (the car of) religious exercise, crosses the Samsara.

3 'But he who puts bad bullocks before his car, will be tired out with beating them; he will feel vexation, and his goad will be broken (at last).

4 '(A bad bullock) will bite its mate in the tail; it will wound the other; it will break the pin of the yoke, or it will leave the road.

5 'It will fall down on its side, or sit down, or lie down; it will jump up or caper, or it will obstinately make for a young cow.

6 'It will furiously advance with its head lowered for an attack, or angrily go backward; it will stand still as if dead, or run at full speed.

7 'The cursed beast 4 will rend asunder the rope, or in its unruliness break the yoke; and roaring it will break loose and run off.

8 'Just as bad bullocks are when put before a car, so are bad pupils when yoked, as it were, to the car of the Law; they break down through want of zeal.

9 'Some attach great importance to their success; some to their good fare; some to their comfort; some nurse their anger.

10 'Some are averse to begging; some are afraid of insults and are stuck up; (how can) I convince them by reasons and arguments?

11 '(A bad pupil) makes objections, and points out (imagined) difficulties; he frequently acts in opposition to the words of the superiors.

12 '(He will say if sent to a lady): "She does not know me, she will give me nothing; I suppose she will be gone out; send some other monk there."

13 'If sent on an errand, they do not do what they were bidden, but stroll about wherever they like; or deporting

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themselves like servants of the king, they knit their brows (when speaking to other people).

14 'After they have been instructed, admitted into the order, and nourished with food and drink, they disperse in all directions like geese whose wings have grown.'

15 Now this driver (viz. Garga), who had to deal with bad bullocks, thought: 'What have I to do with bad pupils? I am disheartened.

16 'As are bad pupils, so are bad bullocks; I shall leave these lazy donkeys, and shall practise severe austerities.'

17 That noble man, who was full of kindness, grave, and always meditating, wandered about on the earth, leading a virtuous life.

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 28TH LECTURE.

THE ROAD TO FINAL DELIVERANCE.

1 Learn the true road leading to final deliverance, which the Ginas have taught; it depends on four causes and is characterised by right knowledge and faith.

2 A. Right knowledge; B. Faith; C. Conduct; and D. Austerities; this is the road taught by the Ginas who possess the best knowledge.

3 Right knowledge, faith, conduct, and austerities; beings who follow this road, will obtain beatitude.

4 A.) Knowledge is fivefold: 1st. Sruta, knowledge derived from the sacred books; 2nd. Abhinibodhika, perception; 3rd. Avadhi, supernatural knowledge; 4th. Manahparyaya, knowledge of the thoughts of other people; 5th. Kevala, the highest, unlimited knowledge.

5 This is the fivefold knowledge. The wise ones have taught the knowledge of substances, qualities, and all developments.

6 Substance is the substrate of qualities; the qualities are inherent in one substance; but the characteristic of developments is that they inhere in either (viz. substances or qualities).

7 Dharma, Adharma, space, time, matter, and souls (are the six kinds of substances); they make up this world, as has been taught by the Ginas who possess the best knowledge.

8 Dharma, Adharma, and space are each one substance only; but time, matter, and souls are an infinite number of substances.

9 The characteristic of Dharma is motion, that of Adharma immobility, and that of space, which contains all other substances, is to make room (for everything).

10 The characteristic of time is duration, that of soul the realisation of knowledge, faith, happiness, and misery.

11 The characteristic of Soul is knowledge, faith, conduct, austerities, energy, and realisation (of its developments).

12 The characteristic of matter is sound, darkness, lustre (of jewels, etc.), light, shade, sunshine; colour, taste, smell, and touch.

13 The characteristic of development is singleness, separateness, number, form, conjunction, and disjunction.

14 1st. giva, Soul; 2nd. agiva, the inanimate things; 3rd. bandha, the binding of the soul by Karman; 4th. punya, merit; 5th. papa, demerit; 6th. asrava, that which causes the soul to be affected by sins; 7th. samvara, the prevention of asrava by watchfulness; 8th. the annihilation of Karman; 9th. final deliverance: these are the nine truths (or categories).

15 He who verily believes the true teaching of the (above nine) fundamental truths, possesses righteousness.

16 B.) Faith is produced by 1st. nisarga, nature; 2nd. upadesa, instruction; 3rd. agna, command; 4th. sutra, study of the sutras; 5th. biga, suggestion; 6th. abhigama, comprehension of the meaning of the sacred lore; 7th. vistara, complete course of study; 8th. kriya, religious exercise; 9th. samkshepa, brief exposition; 10th. dharma, the Law.

17 1. He who truly comprehends, by a spontaneous effort of his mind, (the nature of) soul, inanimate things, merit, and demerit, and who puts an end to sinful influences, (believes by) nature.

18 He who spontaneously believes the four truths (explicitly mentioned in the last verse), which the Ginas have taught, (thinking) they are of this and not of a different nature, believes by nature.

19 2. But he who believes these truths, having learned them from somebody else, either a Khadmastha 1 or a Gina, believes by instruction.

20 3. He who has got rid of love, hate, delusion, and ignorance, and believes because he is told to do so, believes by command.

21 4. He who obtains righteousness by (the study of) the Sutras, either Angas or other works, believes by the study of Sutras.

22 5. He who by correctly comprehending one truth arrives at the comprehension of more -- just as a drop of oil expands on the surface of water--believes by suggestion.

23 6. He who truly knows the sacred lore, viz. the eleven Angas, the Prakirnas, and the Drishtivada, believes by the comprehension of the sacred lore.

24 7. He who understands the true nature of all substances by means of all proofs (pramana) and nayas, believes by a complete course of study.

25 8. He who sincerely performs (all duties implied) by right knowledge, faith, and conduct, by asceticism and discipline, and by all Samitis and Guptis, believes by religious exercise.

26 9. He who though not versed in the sacred doctrines 1 nor acquainted with other systems, holds no wrong doctrines, believes by brief exposition.

27 10. He who believes in the truth of the realities, the Sutras, and conduct, as it has been explained by the Ginas, believes by the Law.

28 Right belief depends on the acquaintance with truth, on the devotion to those who know the truth, and on the avoiding of schismatical and heretical tenets.

29 There is no (right) conduct without right belief, and it must be cultivated (for obtaining) right faith; righteousness and conduct originate together, or righteousness precedes (conduct).

30 Without (right) faith there is no (right) knowledge, without (right) knowledge there is no virtuous conduct, without virtues there is no deliverance, and without deliverance there is no perfection.

31 (The excellence of faith depends on the following) eight points: 1st. that one has no doubts (about the truth of the tenets); 2nd. that one has no preference (for heterodox tenets); 3rd. that one does not doubt its saving qualities; 4th. that one is not shaken in the right belief (because heretical sects are more prosperous); 5th. that one praises (the pious); 6th. that one encourages (weak brethren); 7th. that one supports or loves the confessors of the Law; 8th. that one endeavours to exalt it.

32-33 C.) Conduct, which produces the destruction of all Karman, is 1st. samayika, the avoidance of everything sinful; 2nd. khedopasthapana, the initiation of a novice; 3rd. pariharavisuddhika, purity produced by peculiar austerities*; 4th. sukshma samparaya, reduction of desire; 5th. akashaya yathakhyata, annihilation of sinfulness according to the precepts of the Arhats, as well in the case of a Khadmastha as of a Gina. [* The Dipika contains the following details. Nine monks resolve to live together for eighteen months. They make one of their number their superior, kalpasthita, four become pariharikas, and the remaining four serve them (anupariharikas). After six months the pariharikas become anupariharikas and vice versa. After another six months the kalpasthita does penance and all the other monks serve him as anupariharikas.]

34 D.) Austerities are twofold: external and internal; both external and internal austerities are sixfold.

35 By knowledge one knows things, by faith one believes in them, by conduct one gets (freedom from Karman), and by austerities one reaches purity.

Having by control and austerities destroyed their Karman, great sages, whose purpose is to get rid of all misery, proceed to (perfection).

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 29TH LECTURE.

THE EXERTION IN RIGHTEOUSNESS.

O long-lived (Gambusvamin)! I (Sudharman) have heard the following discourse from the venerable (Mahavira).

Here, forsooth, the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira, of the Kasyapa Gotra, has delivered this lecture called the exertion in righteousness. Many creatures, who truly believe in the subject (taught in this lecture), put their faith in it, give credence to it, accept it, practise it, comply with it, study it, understand it, learn it, and act up to it according to the precept (of the Ginas) 1--have obtained perfection, enlightenment, deliverance, final beatitude, and have put an end to all misery.

This lecture treats of the following subjects:

1. samvega, longing for liberation;
2. nirveda, disregard of worldly objects;
3. dharmasraddha, desire of the Law;
4. gurusadharmikasusrushana, obedience to co-religionists and to the Guru.
5. alokana, confession of sins before the Guru;
6. ninda, repenting of one's sins to oneself;
7. garha, repenting of one's sins before the Guru;
8. samayika, moral and intellectual purity of the soul;
9. katurvimsatistava, adoration of the twenty-four Ginas;
10. vandana, paying reverence to the Guru;
11. pratikramana, expiation of sins;
12. kayotsarga, a particular position of the body;
13. pratyakhyana, self-denial;
14. stavastutimangala, praises and hymns;
15. kalasya pratyupekshana, keeping the right time;
16. prayaskittakarana, practising penance;
17. kshamapana, begging forgiveness;
18. svadhyaya, study;
19. vakana, recital of the sacred texts;
20. pariprikkhana, questioning (the teacher);
21. paravartana, repetition;
22. anupreksha, pondering;
23. dharmakatha, religious discourse;
24. srutasyaradhana, acquisition of sacred knowledge;
25. ekagramanahsannivesana, concentration of thoughts;
26. samyama, control;
27. tapas, austerities;
28. vyavadana, cutting off the Karman;
29. sukhasata, renouncing pleasure;
30. apratibaddhata, mental independence;
31. vikitrasayanasanasevana, using unfrequented lodgings and beds;
32. vinivartana, turning from the world;
33. sambhogapratyakhyana, renouncing collection of alms in one district only;
34. upadhipratyakhyana, renouncing articles of use;
35. aharapratyakhyana, renouncing food;
36. kashayapratyakhyana, conquering the passions;
37. yogapratyakhyana, renouncing activity;
38. sariraprtyakhyana, renouncing the body;
39. sahayapratyakhyana, renouncing company;
40. bhaktapratyakhyana, renouncing all food;
41. sadbhavapratyakhyana, perfect renunciation;
42. pratirupata, conforming to the standard;
43. vaiyavritya, doing service;
44. sarvagunasampurnata, fulfilling all virtues;
45. vitaragata, freedom from passion;
46. kshanti, patience;
47. mukti, freedom from greed;
48, argava, simplicity;
49. mardava, humility;
50. bhavasatya, sincerity of mind;
51. karanasatya, sincerity of religious practice;
52. yogasatya, sincerity of acting;
53. manoguptata, watchfulness of the mind;
54. vag-guptata, watchfulness of the speech;
55. kayaguptata, watchfulness of the body;
56. manahsamadharana, discipline of the mind;
57. vaksamadharana, discipline of the speech;
58. kayasamadharana, discipline of the body;
59. gnanasampannata, possession of knowledge;
60. darsanasampannata, possession of faith;
61. karitrasampannata, possession of conduct;
62. srotrendriyanigraha, subduing the ear;
63. kakshurindriyanigraha, subduing the eye;
64. ghranendriyanigraha, subduing the organ of smell;
65. gihvendriyanigraha, subduing the tongue;
66. sparsanendriyanigraha, subduing the organ of touch;
67. krodhavigaya, conquering anger;
68. manavigaya, conquering pride;
69. mayavigaya, conquering deceit;
70. lobhavigaya, conquering greed;
71. premadveshamithyadarsanavigaya, conquering love, hate, and wrong belief;
72. sailesi, stability;
73. akarmata, freedom from Karman.

1 Sir, what does the soul obtain by the longing for liberation? By the longing for liberation the soul obtains an intense desire of the Law; by an intense desire of the Law he quickly arrives at an (increased) longing for liberation; he destroys anger, pride, deceit, and greed, which reproduce themselves infinitely; he acquires no (bad) Karman, and ridding himself of wrong belief which is the consequence of the latter, he becomes possessed of right faith; by the purity of faith some will reach perfection after one birth; nobody, however, who has got this purity, will be born more than thrice before he reaches perfection.

2 Sir, what does the soul obtain by disregard of worldly objects? By disregard of worldly objects the soul quickly feels disgust for pleasures enjoyed by gods, men, and animals; he becomes indifferent to all objects; thereby he ceases to engage in any undertakings, in consequence of which he leaves the road of Samsara and enters the road to perfection.

3 Sir 1, what does the soul obtain by the desire of the Law? By the desire of the Law the soul becomes indifferent to pleasures and happiness to which he was attached; he abandons the life of householders, and as a houseless monk he puts an end to all pains of body and mind, which consist in (the suffering of) cutting, piercing, union (with unpleasant things), etc.; and he obtains unchecked happiness.

4 By obedience to co-religionists and to the Guru the soul obtains discipline (vinaya). By discipline and avoidance of misconduct (towards the teacher) he avoids being reborn as a denizen of hell, an animal, a (low) man, or a (bad) god; by zealous praise of, devotion to, and respect for (the Guru) he obtains birth as a (good) man or god, gains perfection and beatitude, does all praiseworthy actions prescribed by discipline, and prevails upon others to adopt discipline.

5 By confession of sins (before the Guru) the soul gets rid of the thorns, as it were, of deceit, misapplied austerities, and wrong belief, which obstruct the way to final liberation and cause an endless migration of the soul; he obtains simplicity, whereby the soul which is free from deceit does not acquire that Karman which results in his having a carnal desire for a woman or eunuch 4, and annihilates such Karman as he had acquired before.

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6 By repenting of one's sins to oneself the soul obtains repentance, and becoming indifferent by repentance he prepares for himself an (ascending) scale of virtues*, by which he destroys the Karman resulting from delusion. [* Karanagunasredhim pratipadyate. It is difficult to render this phrase adequately; the meaning is that by successively destroying moral impurities one arrives at higher and higher virtues.]

7 By repenting of one's sins before the Guru the soul obtains humiliation; feeling humiliated, he will leave off all blameable occupations, and apply himself to praiseworthy occupations, whereby a houseless monk will stop infinite disabling developments.

8 By moral and intellectual purity (literally, equilibrium) the soul ceases from sinful occupations.

9 By the adoration of the twenty-four Ginas the soul arrives at purity of faith.

10 By paying reverence (to the Guru) the soul destroys such Karman as leads to birth in low families, and acquires such Karman as leads to birth in noble families; he wins the affection of people, which results in his being looked upon as an authority, and he brings about general goodwill.

11 By expiation of sins he obviates transgressions of the vows; thereby he stops the Asravas, preserves a pure conduct, practises the eight articles, does not neglect (the practice of control), and pays great attention to it.

12 By Kayotsarga he gets rid of past and present (transgressions which require) Prayaskitta; thereby his mind is set at ease like a porter who is eased of his burden; and engaging in praiseworthy contemplation he enjoys happiness.

13 By self-denial he shuts, as it were, the doors of the Asravas; by self-denial he prevents desires rising in him; by prevention of desires he becomes, as it were, indifferent and cool towards all objects.

14 By praises and hymns he obtains the wisdom consisting in knowledge, faith, and conduct; thereby he gains such improvement, that he will put an end to his worldly existence, (or) be born afterwards in one of the Kalpas and Vimanas.

15 By keeping the right time he destroys the Karman which obstructs right knowledge.

16. By practising Prayaskitta he gets rid of sins, and commits no transgressions; he who correctly practises Prayaskitta, gains the road and the reward of the road, he wins the reward of good conduct.

17 By begging forgiveness he obtains happiness of mind; thereby he acquires a kind disposition towards all kinds of living beings; by this kind disposition he obtains purity of character and freedom from fear.

18 By study he destroys the Karman which obstructs right knowledge. (18)

19 By the recital of the sacred texts he obtains destruction of Karman, and contributes to preserve the sacred lore, whereby he acquires the Law of the Tirtha, which again leads him to the complete destruction of Karman, and to the final annihilation of worldly existence.

20 By questioning (the teacher) he arrives at a correct comprehension of the Sutra and its meaning, and he puts an end to the Karman which produces doubts and delusion.

21 By repetition he reproduces the sounds (i.e. syllables) and commits them to memory.

22 By pondering (on what he has learned) he loosens the firm hold which the seven kinds of Karman, except the Ayushka (have upon the soul); he shortens their duration when it was to be a long one; he mitigates their power when it was intense; (he reduces their sphere of action when it was a wide one); he may either acquire Ayushka-karman or not, but he no more accumulates Karman which produces unpleasant feelings, and he quickly crosses the very large forest of the fourfold Samsara, which is without beginning and end.

23 By religious discourses he obtains destruction of the Karman; by religious discourses he exalts the creed, and by exalting the creed he acquires Karman, which secures, for the future, permanent bliss.

24 By acquisition of sacred knowledge he destroys ignorance, and will not be corrupted by worldliness.

25 By concentration of his thoughts he obtains stability of the mind.

26 By control he obtains freedom from sins.

27 By austerities he cuts off the Karman.

28 By cutting off the Karman he obtains (the fourth stage of pure meditation characterised by) freedom from actions, by doing no actions he will obtain perfection, enlightenment, deliverance, and final beatitude, and will put an end to all misery.

29 By renouncing pleasures he obtains freedom from false longing, whereby he becomes compassionate, humble, free from sorrow, and destroys the Karman produced by delusion regarding conduct.

30 By mental independence he gets rid of attachment, whereby he will concentrate his thoughts (on the Law), and will for ever be without attachment and fondness (for worldly things).

31 By using unfrequented lodgings and beds he obtains the Gupti of conduct, whereby he will use allowed food, be steady in his conduct, be exclusively delighted with (control), obtain a yearning for deliverance, and cut off the tie of the eightfold Karman.

32 By turning from the world he will strive to do no bad actions, and will eliminate his already acquired Karman by its destruction; then he will cross the forest of the fourfold Samsara.

33 By renouncing collection of alms in one district only he overcomes obstacles; unchecked by them he exerts himself to attain liberation; he is content with the alms he gets, and does not hope for, care for, wish, desire, or covet those of a fellow-monk; not envying other monks he takes up a separate, agreeable lodging.

34 By renouncing articles of use he obtains successful study; without articles of use he becomes exempt from desires, and does not suffer misery.

35 By renouncing (forbidden) food he ceases to act for the sustenance of his life; ceasing to act for the sustenance of his life he does not suffer misery when without food.

36 By conquering his passions he becomes free from passions; thereby he becomes indifferent to happiness and pains.

37 By renouncing activity he obtains inactivity, by ceasing to act he acquires no new Karman, and destroys the Karman he had acquired before.

38 By renouncing his body he acquires the pre-eminent virtues of the Siddhas, by the possession of which he goes to the highest region of the universe, and becomes absolutely happy.

39 By renouncing company he obtains singleness; being single and concentrating his mind, he avoids disputes, quarrels, passions, and censoriousness, and he acquires a high degree of control, of Samvara, and of carefulness.

40 By renouncing all food he prevents his being born again many hundreds of times.

41 By perfect renunciation he enters the final (fourth stage of pure meditation), whence there is no return; a monk who is in that state, destroys the four remnants of Karman which even a Kevalin possesses, viz. vedaniya, ayushka, naman, and gotra; and then he will put an end to all misery.

42 By conforming to the standard of monks he obtains ease, thereby he will be careful, wear openly the excellent badges of the order, be of perfect righteousness, possess firmness and the Samitis, inspire all beings with confidence, mind but few things , subdue his senses, and practise, in a high degree, the Samitis and austerities.

43 By doing service he acquires the Karman which brings about for him the naman and gotra of a Tirthakara.

44 By fulfilling all virtues he secures that he will not be born again; thereby he will become exempt from pains of the body and mind.

45 By freedom from passion he cuts off the ties of attachment and desire; thereby he becomes indifferent to all agreeable and disagreeable sounds, touches, colours, and smells.

46 By patience he overcomes troubles.

47 By freedom from greed he obtains voluntary poverty, whereby he will become inaccessible to desire for property.

48 By simplicity he will become upright in actions, thoughts, and speech, and he will become veracious; thereby he will truly practise the Law.

49 By humility he will acquire freedom from self-conceit; thereby he will become of a kind and meek disposition, and avoid the eight kinds of pride.

50 By sincerity of mind he obtains purity of mind, which will cause him to exert himself for the fulfilment of the Law which the Ginas have proclaimed; and he will practise the Law in the next world too.

51 By sincerity in religious practice he obtains proficiency in it; being proficient in it he will act up to his words.

52 By sincerity of acting he will become pure in his actions.

53 By watchfulness 1 of the mind he concentrates his thoughts; thereby he truly practises control.

54 By watchfulness of speech he keeps free from prevarication; thereby he enables his mind to act properly.

55 By watchfulness of the body he obtains Samvara; thereby he prevents sinful Asravas.

56 By discipline of the mind he obtains concentration of his thoughts; thereby he obtains development of knowledge, which produces righteousness and annihilates wrong belief.

57 By discipline of the speech he obtains development of faith, whereby he acquires facility of becoming enlightened, and destroys preventing causes.

58 By discipline of the body he obtains development of conduct, which causes him to conduct himself according to the regulation; thereby he destroys the four remnants of Karman which even a Kevalin possesses; after that he obtains perfection, enlightenment, deliverance, and final beatitude, and he puts an end to all misery.

59 By possession of knowledge he acquires an understanding of words and their meaning; thereby he will not perish in the forest of the fourfold Samsara; as a needle with its thread will not be lost, thus the soul possessing the sacred lore will not be lost in the Samsara; he performs all prescribed actions relating to knowledge, discipline, austerities, and conduct, and well versed in his own and in heterodox creeds he will become invincible.

60 By possession of faith he annihilates wrong belief which is the cause of worldly existence, and he will not lose his inner light; but he endues his Self with the highest knowledge and faith, and purifies it.

61 By possession of conduct he obtains a stability like that of the king of mountains 2 (viz. Meru), whereby a houseless monk destroys the four remnants of Karman which even a Kevalin possesses; after that he obtains perfection, enlightenment, deliverance, and final beatitude, and puts an end to all misery.

62 By subduing the organ of hearing he overcomes his delight with or aversion to all pleasant or unpleasant sounds, he acquires no Karman produced thereby, and destroys the Karman he had acquired before.

63-66 (All this applies also to his) subduing the organs of sight, of smelling, of tasting, and of touch (with regard to) pleasant colours, smells, tastes, and touches.

67. By conquering anger he obtains patience; he acquires no Karman productive of anger, and destroys the Karman he had acquired before.

68 By conquering pride he obtains simplicity, etc. (as in 67, substituting pride for anger).

69 By conquering deceit he obtains humility, etc. (as in 67, substituting deceit for anger).

70 By conquering greed he obtains content, etc. (as in 67, substituting greed for anger).

71 By conquering love, hate, and wrong belief he exerts himself for right knowledge, faith, and conduct, then he will cut off the fetters of the eightfold Karman; he will first destroy the twenty-eight kinds of Karman, which are productive of delusion; (then) the five kinds of obstruction to right knowledge, the nine kinds of obstruction to right faith, and the five kinds of obstacles (called Antaraya): the last three remnants of Karman he destroys simultaneously; afterwards he obtains absolute knowledge and faith, which is supreme, full, complete, unchecked, clear, faultless, and giving light (or penetrating) the whole universe; and while he still acts, he acquires but such Karman as is inseparable from religious acts; the pleasant feelings (produced by it) last but two moments: in the first moment it is acquired, in the second it is experienced, and in the third it is destroyed; this Karman is produced, comes into contact (with the soul), takes rise, is experienced, and is destroyed; for all time to come he is exempt from Karman.

72 Then when his life is spent up to less than half a muhurta, he discontinues to act, and enters upon the (third degree of) pure meditation, from which there is no relapse (to lower degrees), and which requires most subtile functions only (of his organs); he first stops the functions of his mind, then the functions of speech, then those of the body, at last he ceases to breathe. During the time required for pronouncing five short syllables, he is engaged in the final pure meditation, in which all functions (of his organs) have ceased, and he simultaneously annihilates the four remnants of Karman, viz. vedaniya, ayushka, naman, and gotra.

73 Then having, by all methods, got rid of his audarika, karmana (and taigasa) bodies, the soul takes the form of a straight line, goes in one moment, without touching anything and taking up no space, (upwards to the highest Akasa), and there develops into its natural form, obtains perfection, enlightenment, deliverance, and final beatitude, and puts an end to all misery.

74 This indeed is the subject of the lecture called exertion in righteousness, which the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira has told, declared, explained, demonstrated.

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 30TH LECTURE.

THE ROAD OF PENANCE.

1 Now hear with concentrated mind, how a monk destroys by austerities the bad Karman which he had acquired by love and hatred

2 By abstaining 1st. from destroying life; 2nd. from lying; 3rd. from taking anything which is not given; 4th. from all sexual indulgence; 5th. from having any property; and 6th. from eating at night, the soul becomes free from Asravas.

3 By possessing the five Samitis and the three Guptis, by freedom from passions, by subduing the senses, by vanquishing conceit, and by avoiding delusions, the soul becomes free from Asravas.

4 Hear attentively how a monk destroys (the Karman) acquired by love and hatred in the absence of the above-mentioned (virtues).

5, 6 As a large tank, when its supply of water has been stopped, gradually dries up by the consumption of the water and by evaporation, so the Karman of a monk, which he acquired in millions of births, is annihilated by austerities, if there is no influx of bad Karman.

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7 Austerities are of two kinds: external and internal; external austerities are of six kinds, and internal are of six kinds.

External austerities are:

8 1st. anasana, fasting; 2nd. avamodarika, abstinence; 3rd. bhikshakarya, collecting alms; 4th. rasaparityaga, abstention from dainty food; 5th. kayaklesa, mortification of the flesh; 6th. samlinata, taking care of one's limbs.

9 1. Fasting is of two kinds: a. itvara, temporary, and b. maranakala, fasting which precedes, and ends with death. Temporary fasting is either such in which a desire (for food) is present, or such in which no such desire exists.

10 a. The temporary fasting is briefly of six kinds: 1st. in the form of a line*; 2nd. in the form of a square; 3rd. in the form of a cube; 4th. of a sixth power; 5th. of a twelfth power; 6th. of any arrangement. Temporary fasting (can be practised) for different objects which one has in mind.

[* 175:4 The meaning of this singular statement is as follows. If four fasts of two, three, four, and five days are performed in this order, they form a line. If this set of fasts is four times repeated, each time beginning with a different number, we get sixteen fasts; they form a square, viz.:

1. 2. 3. 4
2. 3. 4. 1
3. 4. 1. 2
4. 1. 2. 3

11 The next class contains 64 fasts, the fourth 4,096, the fifth 16,777,216 fasts. Fasts of the last class require 700,000 years at least, and must be assumed to be restricted to former Tirthakaras, whose lives lasted enormous periods of time.

12 b. Fasting which is to precede death, is of two kinds with regard to the motions of the body: with change (of position) and without change.

13 And again it is twofold: admitting of relief 1, or not; one may either leave the place (which one has chosen to die in), or not leave it; in both cases one may not take any food.

14 2. Abstinence is briefly of five kinds: with regard to a. substance; b. place; c. time; d. state of mind; e. development.

15 a. He who takes less food than he usually does, in the extreme case but one mouthful, performs abstinence with regard to substance.

16 b. (Place means) a village, a scotfree town [Nagara, where no taxes (na kara) are levied, while villages pay eighteen taxes.], a capital, a camp of merchants, a mine, a settlement of a wild tribe, a place with an earth wall, a poor town, a town with a harbour, a large town, an isolated town, and an open town.

17 In a hermitage, a vihara, a halting-place for procession, a resting-place for travellers, a station of herdsmen, a camp on high ground, a caravan's camp, a fortified place of refuge.

18 In gardens, on roads, in houses--all this is meant by place. In these and similar places he may (wander about). In this way he performs abstinence with regard to place.

19 1st. peta, 2nd. ardhapeta, 3rd. gomutrika, 4th. patangavithika, 5th. sambukavartta, 6th. ayatam-gatva-pratyagata.

20 c. Abstinence with reference to time (is observed by him) who goes about in that time of the four Paurushis of the day (which he selects for that purpose).

21 Or if he collects alms in a part of the third Paurushi, or in its last quarter, then he observes abstinence with reference to time.

22, 23 d. Abstinence with reference to state of mind (is observed by him) who accepts alms from a woman or man, from an adorned or unadorned person, from one of any age or dress, of any temper or colour: if that person does not change his disposition or condition.

24 e. A monk who observes abstinence according to the particulars which have been enumerated with regard to substance, place, time, and state of mind, observes abstinence with regard to development too.

25 3. With regard to collecting alms there are the eight principal ways how to collect them; the seven eshanas (or modes of begging) and other self-imposed restrictions.

26 4. Abstention from dainty food means abstention from such highly nourishing food and drink as milk, curds, ghee, etc.

27 5. Mortification of the flesh consists in the different postures as Virasana, etc., which benefit the soul, and which are difficult to perform.

28 6. Using unfrequented lodgings and beds consists in living and sleeping in separate and unfrequented places where there are neither women nor cattle.

29 Thus external austerities have been briefly explained; I shall now explain internal austerities in due order.

30 Internal austerities are:

1. prayaskitta, expiation of sins;
2. vinaya, politeness;
3. vaiyavritya, serving the Guru;
4. svadhyaya, study;
5. dhyana, meditation;
6. vyutsarga, abandoning of the body.

31 1. Expiation of sins is tenfold, what must be confessed, etc.; this is to be strictly observed by a monk; this is called expiation of sins.

32 2. Politeness consists in rising (from one's seat), folding of the hands, offering of a seat, loving the Guru, and cordial obedience.

33 3. There are ten kinds of service, as serving the Akarya, etc.; doing service consists in giving one's assistance as well as one is able.

34 4. Study is fivefold: 1st. saying or learning one's lesson; 2nd. (questioning the teacher about it); 3rd. repetition; 4th. pondering; 5th. religious discourse.

35 5. Abstaining to meditate on painful and sinful things, one should, with a collected mind, engage in pure meditations on the Law; this the wise call meditation.

36 6. If a monk remains motionless when lying down, sitting, or standing upright, this is called abandoning of the body, which is the sixth kind (of internal austerities).

37 If a sage truly performs these two kinds of austerities, he will soon be thoroughly released from the Circle of Births.

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 31ST LECTURE.

MODE OF LIFE.

1 I shall declare the mode of life that benefits the soul; by practising it many souls have crossed the ocean of Samsara.

2 One should desist from one thing, and practise another: desist from neglect of self-control, and practise self-control.

3 Love and hatred are two evils which produce bad Karman; if a monk always avoids them, he will not stand within the circle (of transmigration).

4 A monk who always avoids the thrice threefold hurtful, conceited, and delusive acts, will not stand in the circle (of transmigration).

5 A monk who well bears calamities produced by gods, animals, or men, will not stand, etc.

6 A monk who always avoids the (four) different kinds of praises, passions, expressions (of the emotions), and (of the four) meditations the two sinful ones, will not stand, etc.

7 A monk who always exerts himself with regard to the (five) vows, the (five) objects of sense, the (five) Samitis, and (five) actions, will not stand, etc.

8 A monk who always exerts himself with regard to the six lesyas, the six kinds of bodies, and the six (regular functions as) eating, will not stand, etc.

9 A monk who always exerts himself with regard to the (seven) rules of accepting alms 8, and the seven causes of danger (to other men) will not stand, etc.

10 A monk who always exerts himself with regard to the (eight) objects of pride 1, to that which protects his chastity, and to the tenfold Law of the monks.

11 A monk who always exerts himself with regard to the (eleven) duties of the upasakas, and the (twelve) duties of the bhikshus, will not stand, etc.

12 A monk who always exerts himself with regard to the (thirteen) actions (productive of Karman), to the various (fourteen) kinds of living beings, and the (fifteen) places of punishment of the wicked, will not stand, etc.

13 A monk who always exerts himself with regard to the sixteen Gathas, and to the (seventeen kinds of) neglect of self-control, will not stand, etc.

14 A monk who always exerts himself with regard to the (eighteen kinds of) continence, to the (nineteen) gnatadhyayanas, and the (twenty) cases for not concentrating one's thoughts, will not, etc.

15 A monk who always exerts himself with regard to the twenty-one forbidden 1 actions, and the twenty-two troubles, will not stand, etc.

16 A monk who always exerts himself with regard to the twenty-three (lectures of the) Sutrakritanga, and to the gods whose number exceeds by an unit* (the number of the lectures of the Sutrakritanga), will not stand, etc. [* Rupa. The twenty-four gods are: ten Bhavanapatis, eight Vyantaras, five Gyotishkas, one Vaimanika; or the 24 prophets.]

17 A monk who always exerts himself with regard to the twenty-five clauses, and (to the recitation of the twenty-six) chapters of the Dasas, etc., will not stand, etc.

18 A monk who always exerts himself with regard to the (twenty-seven) virtues of the laity, and the (twenty-eight lectures of the) Prakalpa*, will not stand, etc. [* Rupa. The twenty-four gods are: ten Bhavanapatis, eight Vyantaras, five Gyotishkas, one Vaimanika; or the 24 prophets.]

19 A monk who always exerts himself with regard to the (twenty-nine) causes of wrong knowledge, and the (thirty) causes of delusion, will not stand, etc.

20 A monk who always exerts himself with regard to the (thirty-one) qualities of Siddhas, etc., the (thirty-two) Yogas, and thirty-three Asatanas, will not stand, etc.

21 A clever monk who always exerts himself with regard to the above-mentioned points, will soon be thoroughly released from the Circle of Births

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 32ND LECTURE.

THE CAUSES OF CARELESSNESS.

1 With attentive mind hear me explain for your benefit the deliverance from the beginningless time, together with its causes, and from all misery: a truly wholesome subject.

2 By the teaching of true knowledge, by the avoidance of ignorance and delusion, and by the destruction of love and hatred, one arrives at final deliverance which is nothing but bliss.

3 This is the road to it: to serve the Gurus and the old (teachers), to avoid throughout foolish people, to apply oneself earnestly to study, and to ponder zealously on the meaning of the Sutras.

4 A Sramana engaged in austerities, who longs for righteousness, should eat the proper quantity of allowed food, should select a companion of right understanding, and should live in a place suited to seclusion.

5 If he does not meet with a clever companion who surpasses or equals him in virtue, he should live by himself, abstaining from sins and not devoted to pleasures.

6 As the crane is produced from an egg, and the egg is produced from a crane, so they call desire the origin of delusion, and delusion the origin of desire.

7 Love and hatred are caused by Karman, and they say that Karman has its origin in delusion; Karman is the root of birth and death, and birth and death they call misery.

8 Misery ceases on the absence of delusion, delusion ceases on the absence of desire, desire ceases on the absence of greed, greed ceases on the absence of property.

9 I shall explain in due order the means which must be adopted by him who wants to thoroughly uproot love, hatred, and delusion.

10 Pleasant food should not be enjoyed with preference, for it generally makes men over-strong; and desires rush upon the strong, like birds upon a tree with sweet fruits.

11 As in a forest, full of fuel, a fire fanned by the wind cannot be extinguished, so the fire (as it were) of the senses of him who eats as he lists; it does not benefit any chaste man.

12 The mind of those who always live in unfrequented lodgings, who eat low food, and who subdue their senses, will not be attacked by the foe, Love, who is vanquished as disease is by medicine.

13 As it is not safe for mice to live near the dwelling of a cat, so a chaste (monk) cannot stay in a house inhabited by women.

14 A Sramana, engaged in penance, should not allow himself to watch the shape, beauty, coquetry, laughter, prattle, gestures, and glances of women, nor retain a recollection of them in his mind.

15 Not to look at, nor to long for, not to think of, nor to praise, womankind: this is becoming the meditation of the noble ones, and it is always wholesome to those who delight in chastity.

16 Though those who possess the three Guptis, cannot be disturbed even by well-adorned goddesses, still it is recommended to monks to live by themselves, as this is wholesome in every way.

17 To a man who longs for liberation, who is afraid of the Samsara, and lives according to the Law, nothing in the world offers so many difficulties 1 as women who delight the mind of the ignorant.

18 To those who have overcome the attachment (to women), all others will offer no difficulties; even as to those who have crossed the great ocean, no river, though big like the Ganges, (will offer any difficulty).

19 From desire of pleasure arises the misery of the whole world, the gods included; whatever misery of body and mind there is, the dispassionate will put an end to it.

20 As the fruit of the Kimpaka is beautiful in taste and colour, when eaten; but destroys the life when digested, (being) poison; similar in their effect are pleasures.

21 A Sramana, engaged in austerities, who longs for righteousness, should not fix his thoughts on the pleasant objects of the senses, nor turn his mind from them, if they be unpleasant.

22 'Colour' attracts the eye; it is the pleasant cause of Love, but the unpleasant cause of Hatred*; he who is indifferent to them (viz. colours), is called dispassionate. [Love and Hatred must of course be understood in their widest meaning. The same remark applies to the term 'colour,' which according to Hindu terminology denotes everything that is perceived by the eye. The first three sentences are, in the original, dependent on verbs as vadanti, ahus. I have, here and elsewhere, dropped them in the translation.]

23 The eye perceives 'colour,' and 'colour' attracts the eye; the cause of Love is pleasant, and the cause of Hatred is unpleasant.

24 He who is passionately fond of 'colours,' will come to untimely ruin; just as an impassioned moth which is attracted by the light rushes into death.

25 He who passionately hates (a colour), will at the same moment suffer pain. It is the fault of an undisciplined man that he is annoyed (by a colour); it is not the 'colour' itself that annoys him.

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26 He who is very fond of a lovely 'colour,' hates all others; hence a fool will suffer misery, but a dispassionate sage is not affected by it.

27 He who has a passion for 'colours,' will kill many movable and immovable beings; a passionate fool, intent on his personal interest, pains and torments those beings in many ways.

28 How can a man who passionately desires 'colours,' be happy while he gets, keeps, uses, loses, and misses (those things). Even when he enjoys them, he is never satisfied.

29 When he is not satisfied with those 'colours,' and his craving for them grows stronger and stronger, he will become discontented, and unhappy by dint of his discontent; misled by greed he will take another's property.

30 When he is overcome by violent desire, takes another's property, and is not satisfied with those 'colours' and their possession, then his deceit and falsehood increase on account of his greed; yet he will not get rid of his misery.

31 After and before he has lied, and when he is on the point of lying, he feels infinitely unhappy. Thus when he takes another's property, and is (after all) not satisfied by the 'colours' (he has obtained), he becomes unhappy, and nobody will protect him.

32 How, then, can a man who is devoted to 'colours,' ever derive any happiness from anything? He suffers pain at the time of their enjoyment to procure which he had suffered misery.

33 In the same way he who hates 'colours,' incurs a long succession of pains; when his mind is filled with hatred, he accumulates Karman which in the end again produces misery.

34 But a man who is indifferent to 'colours,' is free from sorrows; though still in the Samsara, he is not affected by that long succession of pains, just as the leaf of the Lotus (is not moistened) by water.

* * *

[The whole set of verses 22-34 is, with few alterations, five times repeated in the original in order to apply to the other organs of sense.

Verses 35-47 treat of sounds; 'sound' is to be substituted for 'colour,' 'ear' for 'eye.'

The last line of verse 37, which corresponds to verse 24, runs thus:

As an impassioned deer allured (by a song) rushes into death, without being satisfied with the sound.

In the same way verses 48-60 apply to smells'; substitute 'smell' and 'organ of smell.'

Verses 61-73 apply to tastes; substitute 'tastes' and 'tongue.'

Verses 74-86 apply to touches; substitute touches' and 'body.'

Verses 87-99 apply to feelings; substitute 'feelings' and 'mind.'

50 The lines corresponding to the comparison in verse 24, run as follows:

Just as an impassioned snake which is allured by the smell of a drug, when it comes out of its hole.

63 Just as an impassioned fish which is eager to swallow the bait, has its body transfixed by a hook.

76 Just as an impassioned buffalo who dives in cold water, is taken hold of by a crocodile and dies.

89 Just as an impassioned elephant who is inflamed by carnal desires, is turned from his way by a female elephant (and is captured and at last killed in battle).]

* * *

100 Thus the objects of the senses and of the mind cause pain to passionate men, but they never in the least cause any pain to the dispassionate.

101 Pleasant things (by themselves) do not cause indifference nor emotions (as anger, etc.); but by either hating or loving them, a man undergoes such a change through delusion.

102, 103 Anger, pride, deceit, greed; disgust, aversion to self-control and delight in sensual things 1; mirth, fear, sorrow, carnal desire for women, men, or both; all these manifold passions arise in him who is attached to pleasures; and so do other emotions produced by those (before mentioned) arise in him who is to be pitied, who (ought to be) ashamed of himself, and who is hateful.

104 A monk should not desire a companion, not (even) one who is able to perform his religious duties; nor, if he regrets having taken the vows, (should he desire for) a worldly reward of his austerities. Such emotions of an infinite variety arise in one who is the slave of his senses.

105 Desiring happiness and being submerged in the ocean of delusion, he forms many plans for warding off misery; and for their sake an impassioned man exerts himself.

106 But all kinds of objects of the senses, sounds, etc., will cause to the indifferent neither a pleasant nor an unpleasant feeling.

107 He who endeavours to recognise the vanity of all desires, will arrive at perfect indifference. When he ceases to desire the objects (of the senses), his desire for pleasures will become extinct.

108 The dispassionate man who has performed all duties will quickly remove the obstructions to right knowledge and to right faith, and whatever Karman produces obstruction (to righteousness).

109 Then he knows and sees all things, he is free from delusion and hindrances, his Asravas have gone, and he is proficient in meditation and concentration of thoughts, and being pure he will arrive at beatitude when his life is spent.

110 He will get rid of all misery which always afflicts mankind; recovered from the long illness, as it were, and glorious, he becomes infinitely happy, and obtains the (final) aim.

111 We have taught the way how to become exempt from all misery which arises since time without beginning; those beings who follow it will in their time become infinitely happy.

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 33RD LECTURE.

THE NATURE OF KARMAN.

1 I shall now in due order explain the eight kinds of Karman, bound by which the soul turns round and round in the Circle of Births.

2, 3 The eight kinds of Karman are briefly the following:

1. Gnanavaraniya (which acts as an obstruction to right knowledge);

2. Darsanavaraniya (which acts as an obstruction to right faith);

3. Vedaniya (which leads to experiencing pain or pleasure);

4. Mohaniya (which leads to delusion);

5. Ayuhkarman (which determines the length of life);

6. Naman (which determines the name or individuality of the embodied soul);

7. Gotra (which determines his Gotra);

8. Antaraya (which prevents one's entrance on the path that leads to eternal bliss).

4 1. Obstruction of knowledge is fivefold (viz. obstruction to):

a. Sruta, knowledge derived from the sacred books;

b. Abhinibodhika, perception;

c. Avadhignana, supernatural knowledge;

d. Manahparyaya, knowledge of the thoughts of other people;

e. Kevala, the highest, unlimited knowledge.

5, 6 2. The nine kinds of obstruction to right faith are: 1st. sleep; 2nd. activity; 3rd. very deep sleep; 4th. a high degree of activity; 5th. a state of deep-rooted greed; 6th-9th refer to faith in the objects of the first three and the last kinds of knowledge.

7 3. Vedaniya is twofold, pleasure and pain; there are many subdivisions of pleasure and so there are of pain also.

8 4. Mohaniya is twofold as referring to faith and to conduct; the first is threefold, the second twofold.

9 The three kinds of Mohaniya referring to faith are: 1st. right faith; 2nd. wrong faith; 3rd. faith partly right and partly wrong.

10 The two kinds of Mohaniya referring to conduct are: 1st. what is experienced in the form of the four cardinal passions; 2nd. what is experienced in the form of feelings different from them.

11 The first kind of this Karman is sixteenfold, the second sevenfold or ninefold.

12 5. Ayushka is fourfold as referring to 1st. denizens of hell; 2nd. brute creation; 3rd. men; 4th. gods.

13 6. Naman is twofold, good and bad; there are many subdivisions of the good variety, and so there are of the bad one also.

14 7. Gotra is twofold, high and low; the first is eightfold, and so is the second also.

15 8. Antaraya is fivefold as preventing: 1st. gifts; 2nd. profit; 3rd. momentary enjoyment; 4th. continuous enjoyment; and 5th. power.

16 Thus the division of Karman and the subdivisions have been told.

Now hear their number of atoms, place, time, and development.

17 The number of atoms of every Karman is infinite; it is (infinitely) greater than (the number) of fettered 1 souls, but less than that of the perfected ones.

18 The Karman in the six directions of space* binds all souls, and it binds the whole soul in all its parts in every possible way. [The six directions of space are the four cardinal points, zenith and nadir. The commentators quote scripture that ekendriyas, or beings with one organ of sense, are bound by Karman in three and more directions. The true meaning of this statement is beyond my grasp.--The Dipika explains how Karman acts on the soul. The soul absorbs all material particles of a suitable nature (especially the karmapudgalas) with which it comes into contact, i.e. all that are in the same space with the soul, and assimilates them in the form of gnanavaraniya, etc., just as fire consumes everything within its reach, but nothing beyond it.]

19 The longest duration (of Karman) is thirty Krores of Krores of Sagaropamas, and the shortest a part of a muhurta.

20 This holds good with both Avaraniyas, with Vedaniya and Antaraya.

21 The longest duration of Mohaniya is seventy Krores of Krores of Sagaropamas, and the shortest a part of a muhurta.

22 The longest duration of Ayushka is thirty-three Krores of Krores of Sagaropamas, and the shortest a part of a muhurta.

23 The longest duration of Naman and Gotra is twenty Krores of Krores of Sagaropamas, and the shortest eight muhurtas.

24 The number of perfected souls is infinite, and that of the subdivisions of Karman 1 is also (infinite); the number of atoms in all these (subdivisions) exceeds (the number) of all souls.

25 Therefore a wise man should know the different subdivisions of these Karmans, and should exert himself to prevent and to destroy them.

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 34TH LECTURE.

ON LESYA*.

[* The lesyas (adhyavasaya viseshah) are different conditions produced in the soul by the influence of different Karman; they are therefore not dependent on the nature of the soul, but on the Karman which accompanies the soul, and are, as it were, the reflection of the Karman on the soul, as stated in the following verse from the Avakuri: krishnadidravyasakivyat parinamo ya atmanah | spatikasyeva tatrayam lesyasabdah pravartate || The alteration produced on the soul, just as on a crystal by the presence of black things, etc., is denoted by the word lesya.' The Lesya, or, according to the above explanation, what produces Lesya, is a subtile substance accompanying the soul; to it are attributed the qualities described in this lecture.--The word lesa is derived from klesa; this etymology appears rather fanciful, but I think it may be right. For the Lesyas seem to be the Klesas, which affect the soul, conceived as a kind of substance. The Sanskrit term Lesya is of course a hybrid word. It must, however, be stated that lesa occurs also in the meaning 'colour,' e.g. Sutrakrit. 1, 6, 13, and that the Prakrit of klesa is kilesa.]

1 I shall deliver in due order the Lecture on Lesya; hear the nature of the six Lesyas (produced by) Karman.

2 Hear. 1st. names, 2nd. colours, 3rd. tastes, 4th. smells, 5th. touches, 6th. degrees, 7th. character, 8th. variety, 9th. duration, 10th. result, and 11th. life of the Lesyas.

3 1. They are named in the following order: black, blue, grey, red, yellow, and white.

4 2. The black Lesya has the colour of a rain-cloud, a buffalo's horn, (the fruit of) Rishtaka [Sapindus Detergens.], or the eye of the wagtail.

5 The blue Lesya has the colour of the blue Asoka [It is not the common Asoka, Jonesia Asoka, which has red flowers.], the tail of the Kasha [Corarias Indica, blue jay; according to some, a kingfisher.], or of lapis lazuli.

6 The grey Lesya has the colour of the flower of Atasi [Linum Usitatissimum, whose flowers are blue.], the feathers of the Kokila, or the collar of pigeons.

7 The red Lesya has the colour of vermilion, the rising sun, or the bill of a parrot.

8 The yellow Lesya has the colour of orpiment, turmeric, or the flowers of Sana [Crotolaria Juncea.] and Asana [Terminalia Tomentosa.].

9 The white Lesya has the colour of a conch-shell, the anka-stone [Anka, manivisesha.], Kunda-flowers [Jasminum Multiflorum.], flowing milk, silver, or a necklace of pearls.

10 3. The taste of the black Lesya is infinitely more bitter than that of Tumbaka [The gourd Lagenaria Vulgaris.], (the fruit of the) Nimb-tree [Azadirachta Indica.], or of Rohini.

11 The taste of the blue Lesya is infinitely more pungent than Trikatuka [The aggregate of three spices, etc., black and long pepper and dry ginger.] and Hastipippali.

12 The taste of grey Lesya is infinitely sourer than that of unripe Mango and Kapittha [Feronia Elephantum.].

13 The taste of red Lesya is infinitely more pleasant than that of ripe Mango and Kapittha.

14 The taste of yellow Lesya is infinitely better than that of excellent wine and various liquors, honey and Maireyaka [A kind of intoxicating drink, extracted from the blossoms of Lythrum Fructicosum, with sugar, etc.].

15 The taste of white Lesya is infinitely better than that of dates, grapes, milk, candied and pounded sugar.

16 The smell of the bad Lesyas (viz. the three first) is infinitely worse than that of the corpse of a cow, dog, or snake.

17 The smell of the three good Lesyas is infinitely more pleasant than that of fragrant flowers and of perfumes when they are pounded.

18 5. The touch of the bad Lesyas is infinitely worse than that of a saw, the tongue of a cow, or leaf of the Teak tree.

19 The touch of the three good Lesyas is infinitely more pleasant than that of cotton, butter, or Sirisha-flowers [Acacia Sirisa.].

20 6. The degrees [The Lesyas may possess their qualities in a low, middle, or high degree; each of these degrees is again threefold, viz. low, middle, and high. In this way the subdivision is carried on up to 243.] of the Lesyas are three,

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or nine, or twenty-seven, or eighty-one, or two hundred and forty-three.

21, 22 7. A man who acts on the impulse of the five Asravas, does not possess the three Guptis, has not ceased to injure the six (kinds of living beings), commits cruel acts, is wicked and violent, is afraid of no consequences, is mischievous and does not subdue his senses--a man of such habits develops the black Lesya.

23, 24 A man of the following qualities: envy, anger, want of self-control, ignorance, deceit, want of modesty, greed, hatred, wickedness, carelessness, love of enjoyment; a man who pursues pleasures and does not abstain from sinful undertakings, who is wicked and violent--a man of such habits develops the blue Lesya.

25, 26 A man who is dishonest in words and acts, who is base, not upright, a dissembler and deceiver, a heretic, a vile man, a talker of hurtful and sinful things, a thief, and full of jealousy--a man of such habits develops the grey Lesya.

27, 28 A man who is humble, steadfast, free from deceit and inquisitiveness, well disciplined, restrained, attentive to his study and duties 4, who loves the Law and keeps it, who is afraid of forbidden things and strives after the highest good--a man of such habits develops the red Lesya.

29, 30 A man who has but little anger, pride, deceit, and greed, whose mind is at ease, who controls himself, who is attentive to his study and duties, who speaks but little, is calm, and subdues his senses--a man of such habits develops the yellow Lesya.

31, 32 A man who abstains from constant thinking about his misery and about sinful deeds, but engages in meditation on the Law and truth only, whose mind is at ease, who controls himself, who practises the Samitis and Guptis, whether he be still subject to passion or free from passion, is calm, and subdues his senses--a man of such habits develops the white Lesya.

33 8. There are as many varieties of Lesyas as there are Samayas in the innumerable Avasarpinis and Utsarpinis, and as there are countless worlds.

34 9. Half a muhurta is the shortest, and thirty-three Sagaropamas plus one muhurta is the longest duration of the black Lesya.

35 Half a muhurta is the shortest, and ten Sagaropamas plus one Palyopama and a part of an Asamkhyeya is the longest duration of the blue Lesya.

36 Half a muhurta is the shortest, and three Sagaropamas plus one Palyopama and a part of an Asamkhyeya is the longest duration of the grey Lesya.

37 Half a muhurta is the shortest, and two Sagaropamas plus one Palyopama and a part of an Asamkhyeya is the longest duration of the red Lesya.

38 Half a muhurta is the shortest, and ten Sagaropamas plus one muhurta is the longest duration of the yellow Lesya.

39 Half a muhurta is the shortest, and thirty-three Sagaropamas plus one muhurta is the longest duration of the white Lesya.

40 I have described above the duration of the Lesyas generally; I shall now detail their duration in the four walks of mundane existence.

41 The shortest duration of the grey Lesya (of a denizen of hell) is ten thousand years, the longest three Sagaropamas plus one Palyopama and part of an Asamkhyeya.

42 The shortest duration of the blue Lesya (of a denizen of hell) is three Sagaropamas plus one Palyopama and a part of an Asamkhyeya, the longest ten Sagaropamas plus one Palyopama and a part of an Asamkhyeya.

43 The shortest duration of the black Lesya (of a denizen of hell) is ten Sagaropamas plus one Palyopama and a part of an Asamkhyeya, the longest thirty-three Sagaropamas.

44 I have described the duration of the Lesyas of denizens of hell; I shall now describe that of animals, men, and gods.

45 The duration of any of the Lesyas except the best (viz. white one) is less than a muhurta for (the lowest organisms), animals, and men.

46 Half a muhurta is the shortest duration of the white Lesya (of animals and men), and the longest a Krore of former years less nine years.

47 I have described the duration of the Lesyas of animals and men, I shall now describe that of the gods.

48 The shortest duration of the black Lesya is ten thousand years, the longest a Palyopama and (a part of) an Asamkhyeya.

49 The shortest duration of the blue Lesya is equal to the longest of the black one plus one Samaya; the longest is one Palyopama plus a (greater part of) an Asamkhyeya.

50 The shortest duration of the grey Lesya is equal to the longest of the blue one plus one Samaya; the longest is one Palyopama plus (a still greater part of) an Asamkhyeya.

51 I shall now describe the red Lesya as it is with gods, Bhavanapatis, Vyantaras, Gyotishkas, and Vaimanikas.

52 The shortest duration of the red Lesya is one Palyopama, the longest two Sagaropamas plus one Palyopama and a part of an Asamkhyeya.

53 The shortest duration of the red Lesya is ten thousand years, the longest two Sagaropamas plus one Palyopama and a part of an Asamkhyeya.

54 The longest duration of the red Lesya plus one Samaya is equal to the shortest of the yellow Lesya; its longest, however, is ten muhurtas longer.

55 The longest duration of the yellow Lesya plus one Samaya is equal to the shortest of the white Lesya; the longest, however, is thirty-three muhurtas longer.

56 10. The black, blue, and grey Lesyas are the lowest Lesyas; through them the soul is brought into miserable courses of life.

57 The red, yellow, and white Lesyas are the good Lesyas; through them the soul is brought into happy courses of life.

58 11. In the first moment of these Lesyas when they are joined (with the soul), the latter is not born into a new existence.

59 In the last moment of all these Lesyas when they are joined (with the soul), the latter is not born into a new existence.

60 While the last muhurta is running and a part of it is still to come, the souls with their Lesyas developed, go to a new birth.

61 A wise man should, therefore, know the nature of these Lesyas; he should avoid the bad ones and obtain the good ones.

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 35TH LECTURE.

THE HOUSELESS MONK.

1 Learn from me, with attentive minds, the road shown by the wise ones, which leads a monk who follows it, to the end of all misery.

2 Giving up the life in a house, and taking Pravragya, a sage should know and renounce those attachments which take hold of men.

3 A restrained monk should abstain from killing, lying, stealing, carnal intercourse, from desire, love, and greed.

4 Even in his thoughts a monk should not long for a pleasant painted house filled with the fragrance of garlands and frankincense, secured by doors, and decorated with a white ceiling-cloth.

5 For in such a dwelling a monk will find it difficult to prevent his senses from increased desire and passion.

6 He should be content to live on a burial-place, in a deserted house, below a tree, in solitude, or in a place which had been prepared for the sake of somebody else.

7 A well-controlled monk should live in a pure place, which is not too much crowded, and where no women live.

8, 9 He should not build a house, nor cause others to erect one; for many living beings both movable and immovable, both subtile and gross, are seen to be killed when a house is being built; therefore a monk should abstain from building a house.

10 The same holds good with the cooking of food and drink, or with one's causing them to be cooked. Out of compassion for living beings one should not cook nor cause another to cook.

11 Beings which live in water, corn, or in earth and wood, are destroyed in food and drink; therefore a monk should cause nobody to cook.

12 There is nothing so dangerous as fire, for it spreads in all directions and is able to destroy many beings; one should therefore not light a fire.

13 Even in his thoughts a monk should not long for gold and silver; indifferent alike to dirt and gold he abstains from buying and selling.

14 If he buys, he becomes a buyer; if he sells, he becomes a merchant; a monk is not to engage in buying and selling.

15 A monk who is to live on alms, should beg and not buy; buying and selling is a great sin; but to live on alms is benefitting.

16 He should collect his alms in small parts according to the Sutras and so as to avoid faults; a monk should contentedly go on his begging-tour, whether he get alms or not.

17 A great sage should not eat for the sake of the pleasant taste (of the food) but for the sustenance of life, being not dainty nor eager for good fare, restraining his tongue, and being without cupidity.

18 Even in his thoughts he should not desire to be presented with flowers, to be offered a seat, to be eloquently greeted, or to be offered presents, or to get a magnificent welcome and treatment.

19 He should meditate on true things only, committing no sins and having no property; he should walk about careless of his body till his end arrives.

20 Rejecting food when the time of his death arrives, and leaving the human body, he becomes his own master, and is liberated from misery.

21 Without property, without egoism, free from passions and the Asravas, he obtains absolute knowledge, and reaches eternal beatitude.

Thus I say.

UTTARADHYAYANA 36TH LECTURE.

ON LIVING BEINGS AND THINGS WITHOUT LIFE.

1 Now learn from me with attentive minds the division of Living Beings and Things without life, which a monk must know who is to exert himself in self-control.

2 The Living Beings and the Things without life make up this world (Loka); but the space where only Things without life are found is called the Non-world (Aloka).

3 The Living Beings and the Things without life will be described with reference to 1st. substance, 2nd. place, 3rd. time, and 4th. development.

4 A. Things without life.

Things without life are 1st. possessing form, 2nd. formless; the formless things are of ten kinds, those possessing form are of four kinds.

5, 6 (1) The ten kinds of formless things: 1st. Dharma, 2nd. its divisions, 3rd. its indivisible parts; 4th. Adharma, 5th. its divisions, 6th. its indivisible parts; 7th. space, 8th. its divisions, 9th. its indivisible parts, and 10th. time.

7 Dharma and Adharma are co-extensive with the World (Loka); space fills the World and the Non-world (Aloka); time exists in what is called the place of time.

8 Dharma, Adharma, and Space are ever without beginning and end.

9 And time also, if regarded as a continuous flow, is called so (i.e. without beginning and end); but with regard to an individual thing it has a beginning and an end.

10 (2) The four kinds of things possessing form are 1st. compound things, 2nd. their divisions, 3rd. their indivisible parts, and 4th. atoms.

11 Compound things and atoms occur as individual things and apart (or different from others), in the whole world and in parts of the world; this is their distribution with regard to place.

12 Subtile things occur all over the world, gross things only in a part of it. I shall now give their fourfold division with regard to time.

13 With regard to the continuous flow (or development of a thing) it is without beginning and without end; but with regard to its existence (as an individual thing) it has both a beginning and an end.

14 The longest duration of Things without life possessing form is an immeasurable period; the shortest one Samaya.

15 The longest interruption in the existence of Things without life possessing form is an endless time; the shortest one Samaya.

16 Their development is fivefold: with regard to 1st. colour, 2nd. smell, 3rd. taste, 4th. touch, and 5th. figure.

17 Those which develop with regard to colour are of five kinds: 1st. black, 2nd. blue, 3rd. red, 4th. yellow, 5th. white.

18 Those which develop with regard to smell are of two kinds: 1st. sweet-smelling substances, and 2nd. of bad smell.

19 Those which develop with regard to taste are of five kinds: 1st. bitter, 2nd. pungent, 3rd. astringent, 4th. sour, and 5th. sweet.

20, 21 Those which develop with regard to touch are of eight kinds: 1st. hard, 2nd. soft, 3rd. heavy, 4th. light, 5th. cold, 6th. hot, 7th. smooth, and 8th. rough.

In this way the substances have been declared, which develop with regard to touch.

22 Those which develop with regard to figure are of five kinds: 1st. globular, 2nd. circular, 3rd. triangular, 4th. square, and 5th. long.

23 Things of black colour are subdivided with regard to smell, taste, touch, and figure.

24-27 The same subdivision holds good with blue, red, yellow, and white things.

28, 29 Things of sweet smell are subdivided with regard to colour, taste, touch, and figure; things of bad smell are similarly subdivided.

30 Things of bitter taste are subdivided with regard to colour, smell, touch, and figure.

31-34 The same subdivision holds good with pungent, astringent, sour, and sweet things.

35 Things of hard touch are subdivided with regard to colour, smell, taste, and figure.

36-42 The same subdivision holds good with soft, heavy, light, cold, hot, smooth, and rough things.

43 Things of globular figure are subdivided with regard to colour, smell, taste, and touch.

44-47 The same subdivision holds good with circular, triangular, square, and long things.

48 Thus the division of Things without life has briefly been told.

B. Living Beings.

I shall now, in due order, deliver the division of living beings.

49 Living beings are of two kinds: 1st. those still belonging to the Samsara, and 2nd. the perfected souls (siddhas). The latter are of many kinds; hear me explain them.

50 (1) The perfected souls are those of women, men, hermaphrodites, of orthodox, heterodox, and householders.

51 Perfection is reached by people of the greatest, smallest, and middle size, on high places, underground, on the surface of the earth, in the ocean, and in water (of rivers, etc.).

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52, 53 Ten hermaphrodites reach, at the same time, perfection, twenty women, one hundred and eight men; four householders, ten heterodox, and one hundred and eight orthodox monks.

54 Two individuals of the greatest size reach perfection (simultaneously), four of the smallest size, and one hundred and eight of the middle size.

55 Four individuals reach perfection (simultaneously) on high places, two in the ocean, three in water, twenty underground, and one hundred and eight on the surface of the earth.

56 From where are the perfected souls debarred? Where do the perfected souls reside? Where do they leave their bodies, and where do they go, on reaching perfection?

57 Perfected souls are debarred from the non-world (Aloka); they reside on the top of the world; they leave their bodies here (below), and go there, on reaching perfection.

58 Twelve Yoganas above the (Vimana) Sarvartha is the place called Ishatpragbhara, which has the form of an umbrella; (there the perfected souls go).

59 It is forty-five hundred thousand Yoganas long, and as many broad, and it is somewhat more than three times as many in circumference.

60 Its thickness is eight Yoganas, it is greatest in the middle, and decreases toward the margin, till it is thinner than the wing of a fly.

61 This place, by nature pure, consisting of white gold, resembles in form an open umbrella, as has been said by the best of Ginas.

62 (Above it) is a pure blessed place (called Sita), which is white like a conch-shell, the anka-stone, and Kunda-flowers; a Yogana thence is the end of the world.

63 The perfected souls penetrate the sixth part of the uppermost Krosa of the (above-mentioned) Yogana.

64 There at the top of the world reside the blessed perfected souls, rid of all transmigration, and arrived at the excellent state of perfection.

65 The dimension of a perfected soul is two-thirds of the height which the individual had in his last existence.

66 The perfected souls, considered singly, (as individuals) have a beginning but no end; considered collectively (as a class) they have neither a beginning nor an end.

67 They have no (visible) form, they consist of Life throughout, they are developed into knowledge and, faith, and they possess paramount happiness which admits of no comparison.

68 They all dwell in one part of the world, and have developed into knowledge and faith, they have crossed the boundary of the Samsara, and reached the excellent state of perfection.

69 (2) Living beings which still belong to the Samsara, are of two kinds: a. movable, and b. immovable ones: the immovable ones are of three kinds:

70 A. Earth Lives, B. Water Lives, and C. plants; these are the three kinds of immovable living beings; now learn from me their subdivision.

71 A. The Earth Lives are of two kinds: subtile and gross; and both of them are either fully developed or undeveloped.

72 The gross and fully developed are of two kinds: viz. smooth or rough. The smooth ones are of seven kinds:

73 Black, blue, red, yellow, white, pale dust, and clay.

The rough ones are of thirty-six kinds:

74 Earth, gravel, sand, stones, rocks, rock-salt, iron, copper, tin, lead, silver, gold, and diamond;

75 Orpiment, vermilion, realgar, Sasaka, antimony, coral, Abhrapatala, Abhravaluka; these are varieties of gross (Earth-) bodies and kinds of precious stones.

76 Hyacinth, natron, Anka, crystal, Lohitaksha, emerald, Masaragalla, Bhugamokaka, and sapphire;

77 Kandana, red chalk, Hamsagarbha, Pulaka, and sulphur; Kandraprabha, lapis lazuli, Galakanta, and Suryakanta.

78 These thirty-six kinds of 'rough earth' have been enumerated. The 'subtile earth' is but of one kind, as there is no variety.

79 The subtile species is distributed all over the world, but the gross one (is found) in a part of the world only.

I shall now give their fourfold division with regard to time.

80 With regard to the continuous flow (or development of an earth-body) it is without a beginning and end; but with regard to its existence in its present form it has both a beginning and end.

81 Twenty-two thousand years is the longest duration of the Earth Lives; its shortest is less than a muhurta.

82 The longest duration of the body of Earth Lives, if they do not leave that (kind of) body, is an immeasurable time; the shortest is less than one muhurta.

83 The longest interval between an Earth Life's leaving its body (till its return to it), is an endless time; the shortest less than one Muhurta.

84 Their varieties, caused by (difference of) colour, smell, taste, touch, figure, and place, are (counted) by thousands.

85 B. The Water Lives are of two kinds: subtile and gross ones; and both of them are either fully developed or undeveloped.

86 The gross and fully developed ones are of five kinds: pure water, dew, exudations, fog, and ice.

87 The 'subtile water' is of one kind, as there is no variety. The subtile species is distributed all over the world, but the gross one (is found) in a part of the world only.

88-92 With regard to the continuous flow, etc. (as in verse 80).

Seven thousand years is the longest duration of the life of Water Lives, etc. (as in verse 81). (All that has been said of Earth Lives in verses 82-84 is verbally repeated here of 'Water Lives.')

93 γ. Plants are of two kinds: subtile and gross ones; and both of them are either fully developed or undeveloped.

94 The gross and fully developed plants are of two kinds: either many have one body in common, or each has its own body.

95 Those who severally have their own body are of many kinds: trees, shrubby plants, shrubs, big plants, creeping plants, grass;

96 Palms, plants of knotty stems or stalks, mushrooms, water-plants, annual plants, and herbs. These are called plants possessing severally their own body.

97 Those plants of which many have one body in common are of many kinds: Aluya, Mulaya, ginger;

98 Harili, Sirili, Sassirili, Gavai, Keyakandali, onion, garlic, plantain-tree, Kuduvvaya;

99 Lohinihuya, Thihuya, Tuhaga, Kanha, Vaggakanda, Suranaya;

100 Assakanni, Sihakanni, Musundhi, turmeric, and many others besides.

101 The subtile plants are of one kind, as there is no variety. Subtile plants are distributed all over the world, gross plants (are found) in a part of the world only.

102 With regard to the continuous flow, etc. (as in verse 80).

103-106 Ten thousand years is the longest duration of the life of plants, etc. (All as in verses 81-84. Substitute plants, which are here called vanaspati and panaka, for Earth-bodies.)

107 Thus the three kinds of immovable living beings have briefly been told. I shall now explain in due order the three kinds of movable living beings.

108 B. The movable beings are α. the Fire Lives, A. the Wind Lives, and C. those with an organic body; these are the three kinds of movable beings. Learn from me their subdivision.

109 A. The Fire Lives are of two kinds: subtile and gross ones; and both of them are either fully developed or undeveloped.

110 The gross and fully developed ones are of many kinds: coal, burning chaff, fire, and flame of fire;

111 Meteors, and lightning, and many other kinds besides.

The subtile Fire Lives are but of one kind, as there is no variety.

112-117 The subtile species, etc. (see verses 79-84. Substitute Fire Lives for Earth Lives. In verses 114 f., corresponding to verses 81, 89, and 103, read: 'the longest duration of the life of Fire Lives is three days,' etc.; the rest as above).

118 B. The Wind Lives are of two kinds, etc. (as in verse 109).

119 The gross and fully developed ones are of five kinds: squalls, whirlwinds, thick winds [According to the comm. these winds blow on the oceans which are situated below the Ratnaprabha-hell, or which support the heavenly Vimanas, and have the density of snow. Perhaps the notion is similar to that of the Hindu astronomers, who fancied that the heavenly bodies were set in motion by cords of wind called pravaha. See Surya Siddhanta II, 3.], high winds, low winds;

120 And the Samvartaka* wind, etc.; thus they are of many kinds. [This seems to be the Hurricane which causes the periodical destruction of the world. But Devendra says: Samvartaka is a wind which carries grass, etc., from the outside into a particular place.'; whick sounds more like the action of a Tornado]

The subtile Wind Lives are but of one kind, as there is no variety.

121-126 The subtile species, etc. (as above 79-84. Substitute Wind Lives for Earth Lives. In verse 123, corresponding to 114, read: 'the longest duration of the life of Wind Lives is three thousand years;' the rest as above).

127 C. Movable beings with organic bodies (i.e. animals) are of four kinds: i. those possessing two organs of sense, ii. those with three organs, iii. those with four organs, iv. those with five organs.

128 1.) Beings with two organs of sense are of two kinds: subtile and gross ones. Both are either fully developed or undeveloped. Learn from me their subdivision.

129 Worms, Somangala, Alasa, Maivahaya, Vasimuha, shells, conches, Sankhanaga;

130 Palloya, Anullaya, cowries, leeches, Galaga, and Kandana.

131 These and others are the many kinds of beings with two organs of sense. All of them live in a part of the world only, they do not live everywhere.

132 With regard to the continuous flow, etc. (as in verse 80).

133 The duration of the life of beings with two organs of sense is twelve years at the utmost; the shortest is less than a muhurta.

134 The longest duration of the body of beings with two organs of sense is a Samkhyeya (or measurable time) if they do not leave that (kind of) body; the shortest is less than one muhurta.

135, 136 = 83, 84. Substitute 'beings with two organs of sense' for Earth Lives.

137 2.) Beings with three organs of sense are of two kinds: subtile and gross ones. Both are either fully developed or undeveloped. Learn from me their subdivision.

138 Kunthu , ants, bugs, Ukkala, white ants, Tanahara, Katthahara, Maluga, Pattaharaga;

139 Duga shining like lead, which originate in the kernel of the cotton-seed, Sadavari, centipedes, Indagaiya;

140 Cochineal, etc. Thus they are of many kinds. All of them live in a part of the world only, they do not live everywhere.

141-145 = 132-136. (Substitute 'beings with three organs of sense.' The longest duration, etc., is forty-nine days, verse 142 = 133.)

146 3.) Beings with four organs of sense are of two kinds: subtile and gross ones. Both are either developed or undeveloped. Learn from me their subdivision.

147 Andhiya, Pottiya, flies, mosquitoes, bees, moths, Dhinkana and Kankana;

148 Kukkuda, Singiridi, Nandavatta, scorpions, Dola, crickets, Virali, Akkhivehaya;

149 Akkhila, Sahaya Akkhirodaya, Vikitta, Vikittapattaya, Uhilmgaliya, Galakari, Niya, and Tantavagaiya.

150-155 These and others are the beings with four organs of sense. All of them, etc. (the rest as in verses 131-136. Substitute 'beings with four organs of sense.' The longest duration, etc., is six months, verse 152 = 133).

156 4.) Beings with five organs of sense are of four kinds: denizens of hell, animals, men, and gods. .

157 A. Denizens of hell are of seven kinds according to the seven hells; they are called Ratnabha, Sarkarabha, Valukabha;

158 Pankabha, Dhumabha, Tama, and Tamatama. Thus the seven kinds of denizens of hell have been enumerated.

159, 160 All the (denizens of hell) live in a part of the world only; they do not live everywhere, etc. (as in verses 79 and 80).

161 In the first hell the longest duration of their life is one Sagaropama; the shortest is ten thousand years.

162 In the second hell the longest duration of their life is three Sagaropamas; the shortest is one Sagaropama.

163 In the third hell the longest duration of their life is seven Sagaropamas; the shortest is three Sagaropamas.

164 In the fourth hell the longest duration of their life is ten Sagaropamas; the shortest is seven Sagaropamas.

165 In the fifth hell the longest duration of their life is seventeen Sagaropamas; the shortest is ten Sagaropamas.

166 In the sixth hell the longest duration of their life is twenty-two Sagaropamas; the shortest is seventeen Sagaropamas.

167 In the seventh hell the longest duration of their life is thirty-three Sagaropamas; the shortest is twenty-two Sagaropamas.

168 The length of the life of denizens of hell is also that of their continuance in the same kind of body, with regard both to the longest and shortest duration of it.

Verses 169, 170 = 83, 84. (Substitute, denizens of hell.)

171 B. The animals which possess five organs of sense are of two kinds, those which originate by generatio aequivoca, and those which are born from the womb.

172 Either of them are again of three kinds: 1. aquatic, 2. terrestrial, and 3. aerial animals. Learn from me their subdivision.

173 1. Fishes, tortoises, crocodiles, Makaras, and Gangetic porpoises are the five kinds of aquatic animals.

174, 175 = 159, 160.

176 The longest duration of the life of aquatic animals is one Krore of former years 2; the shortest is less than one muhurta.

177 The longest duration of the aquatic animals' continuance in the (same kind of body) is from two to nine Krores of former years.

178 = 83.

179 2. Quadrupeds and reptiles are the two kinds of terrestrial animals. The quadrupeds are of four kinds; listen to my description of them:

(1st) Solidungular animals, as horses, etc.;

(2nd) Biungular animals, as cows, etc.;

(3rd) Multiungular animals, as elephants, etc.;

(4th) Animals having toes with nails, as lions, etc. (180)

181 The reptiles are of two kinds: 1st. those which walk on their arms, as lizards, etc., and 2nd. those which move on their breast, as snakes, etc. Both are again of many kinds.

182, 183 = 159, 160.

184 The longest duration of the life of terrestrial animals is three Palyopamas; the shortest is less than one muhurta.

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The longest duration of the terrestrial animals' continuance in the (same kind of) body is three Palyopamas plus from two to nine Krores of former years; the shortest is less than one muhurta. (185)

187 3. Winged animals are of four kinds: those with membranous wings, those with feathered wings, those with wings in the shape of a box, and those (which sit on) outspread wings.

188, 189 = 159, 160.

190 The longest duration of the life of aerial animals is an Asamkhyeya-part of a Palyopama; the shortest is less than one muhurta.

191 The longest duration (of the aerial animals' continuance in the same kind of body) is an Asamkhyeya-part of a Palyopama plus from two to nine Krores of former years; the shortest is less than one muhurta.

192, 193 = 159, 160.

194 C. Men are of two kinds; listen to my description of them: men originating by generatio aequivoca, and men born from the womb.

195 Those who are born from the womb are of three kinds: those living in the Karmabhumi, those living in the Akarmabhumi, and those living on the minor continents [These are seven groups of islands situated off the eastern and western ends of the Himalaya, which are inhabited by fabulous races.].

196 They have, in the same order, fifteen, thirty, and twenty-eight subdivisions. These are the numbers handed down.

197 Men originating by generatio aequivoca are of as many kinds. They all live but in a part of the world.

203 Verses 198-202 = 183-186. (Substitute, 'men' for 'terrestrial animals.')

d. Gods are of four kinds; listen to my description of them: 1. Bhaumeyikas; 2. Vyantaras; 3. Gyotishkas; 4. Vaimanikas.

204 There are ten kinds of Bhavanavasins (= Bhaumeyikas), eight of those who live in woods (= Vyantaras), five of Gyotishkas, and two of Vaimanikas.

205 1. The Bhavanavasins are: the Asura-, Naga-, Suvarna-, Vidyut-, Agni-, Dvipa-, Udadhi-, Vata-, and Ghanika-(Kumaras 5).

206 2. The eight kinds of Vyantaras are: Pisakas, Bhutas, Yakshas, Rakshasas, Kinnaras, Kimpurushas, Mahoragas, and Gandharvas.

207 3. The moons, the suns, the Nakshatras, the planets, and the hosts of stars are the fivefold dwellings of the Gyotishkas.

208 4. The Vaimanika gods are of two kinds: A. those who are born in the heavenly Kalpas, and B. those who are born in the regions above them.

209 A. The former are of twelve kinds: those who live in (the following Kalpas, after which they are named): Saudharma, Isana, Sanatkumara, Mahendra, Brahmaloka, and Lantaka;

210 Mahasukla, Sahasrara, Anata, Pranata, Arana, and Akyuta. These are the gods who are born in Kalpas.

211 B. The gods who are born in the regions above the Kalpas are of two kinds: α′. the Graiveyakas, and β′. the Anuttaras. The Graiveyakas are of nine kinds.

212 A. The lowest of the lowest, the middle of the lowest, the highest of the lowest, the lowest of the middle;

213 The middle of the middle, the highest of the middle, the lowest of the highest, the middle of the highest;

214 The highest of the highest. These are the Graiveyaka gods.

B. The Vigayas, the Vaigayantas, the Gayantas, the Aparagitas

And the Sarvarthasiddhas: these are the five kinds of Anuttara gods.

215-217 = 159-160 These and others besides are the many kinds of Vaimanika gods.

218 The longest duration of the life of the Bhaumeyika gods is somewhat more than a Sagaropama, the smallest ten thousand years.

219 The longest duration of the life of the Vyantaras is one Palyopama, the shortest is ten thousand years.

220 The longest duration of the life of the Gyotishkas is one Palyopama plus one hundred thousand years, the shortest is the eighth part of a Palyopama.

221 The longest duration of life in the Saudharmakalpa is two Sagaropamas, the shortest is one Palyopama.

(In the same way (a) the longest, and (b) the shortest duration of life in the remaining Kalpas and heavenly regions is given in the original. I give in the sequel the substance only of each verse.)

222 In Isana Kalpa (a) is somewhat more than a Sagaropama, (b) somewhat more than a Palyopama.

223 In Sanatkumara Kalpa (a) is seven, (b) two Sagaropamas.

224 In Mahendra Kalpa (a) is somewhat more than seven Sagaropamas, (b) somewhat more than two.

225 In Brahmaloka Kalpa (a) is ten Sagaropamas, (b) seven.

226 In Lantaka Kalpa (a) is fourteen Sagaropamas, (b) ten.

227 In Mahasukla Kalpa(a) is seventeen Sagaropamas, (b) fourteen.

228 In Sahasrara Kalpa (a) is eighteen Sagaropamas, (b) seventeen.

229 In Anata Kalpa (a) is nineteen Sagaropamas, (b) eighteen.

230 In Pranata Kalpa (a) is twenty Sagaropamas, (b) nineteen.

231 In Arana Kalpa (a) is twenty-one Sagaropamas, (b) twenty.

232 In Akyuta Kalpa (a) is twenty-two Sagaropamas, (b) twenty-one.

233 In the first (Graiveyika region) (a) is twenty-three Sagaropamas, (b) twenty-two.

234 In the second (Graiveyika region) (a) is twenty-four Sagaropamas, (b) twenty-three.

235 In the third (Graiveyika region) (a) is twenty-five Sagaropamas, (b) twenty-four.

236 In the fourth (Graiveyika region) (a) is twenty-six Sagaropamas, (b) twenty-five.

237 In the fifth (Graiveyika region) (a) is twenty-seven Sagaropamas, (b) twenty-six.

238 In the sixth (Graiveyika region) (a) is twenty-eight Sagaropamas, (b) twenty-seven.

239 In the seventh (Graiveyika region) (a) is twenty-nine Sagaropamas, (b) twenty-eight.

240 In the eighth (Graiveyika region) (a) is thirty Sagaropamas, (b) twenty-nine.

241 In the ninth (Graiveyika region) (a) is thirty-one Sagaropamas, (b) thirty.

242 In the four heavens (of the Anuttara gods), beginning with Vigaya, (a) is thirty-three Sagaropamas, (b) thirty-one.

243 In the great Vimana Sarvartha(siddha) there is no difference between the longest and shortest duration of life, but it is always thirty-three Sagaropamas.

244, 245, 246 = 159, 160 The longest and shortest duration of the gods' (continuance in the same kind of) body is equal to that which has been given for their life.

247 We have described the Living Beings, the worldly and the perfected ones, and we have described the Lifeless Things, those possessing form and those without form.

248 Having thus learned (the nature of) living beings and lifeless things which is in accordance with the principles of reasoning, and believing in it, a sage should delight in self-control.

249 After having lived as a Sramana many years, a sage should mortify himself by the following religious exercises.

250 The longest duration of the mortification is twelve years; the middle, one year; and the shortest, six months.

251 In the first four years he should abstain from dressed food, in the second four years he should keep various fasts.

252 During two years he should eat Akamla at the end of every second fast; in the following half year he should keep not too long fasts.

253 In the second half of the year he should keep long fasts. During the whole year he should eat but small portions of Akamla.

254 During the (last) year a sage should make the ends of two consecutive fasts meet, and should break his fast after half a month or a whole month, (till he dies).

255 The following (Bhavanas), Kandarpa-, Abhiyogika-, Kilvisha-, Moha-, and Asuratva-(Bhavanas), will lead to evil ways (i.e. bad births); they are obnoxious at the time of death.

256 Those souls who cherish heretical opinions, commit sins, and kill living beings, will not reach Bodhi at the time of death.

257 Those souls who cherish orthodox opinions, do not commit sins, and are enveloped in white Lesya, will reach Bodhi at the time of death.

258 Those souls who cherish heretical opinions, commit sins, and are enveloped in black Lesya, will not reach Bodhi at the time of death.

259 Those who love the creed of the Ginas and piously practise it, will be pure and free from the soil (of passions), and will (in due time) get out of the Circle of Births.

260 The miserable men who do not know the creed of the Ginas, will many times commit unholy suicide and die against their will.

261 Those who are well versed in the sacred lore and possess much knowledge, who awaken piety (in others) and appreciate their good qualities, are for this very reason worthy to hear the doctrine of salvation.

262 He who by ribaldry and buffoonery, by his comical habits and appearance, by jests and words amuses other people, realises the Kandarpa-Bhavana.

263 Those who practise spells and besmear their body with ashes for the sake of pleasure, amusement, or power, realise the Abhiyogika-Bhavana.

264 The deceitful man who reviles the sacred lore, the Kevalins, the teacher of the Law, the Satigha, and the monks, realises the Kilvishika-Bhavana.

265 He who is continuously angry, and who puts his faith in prognostics, realises the Asuratva-Bhavana.

266 Those who use weapons, eat poison, throw themselves into fire or water, and use things not prescribed by the rules of good conduct, are liable to be born and to die again and again. (Such persons realise the Moha-Bhavana.)

267 The enlightened and liberated Gnatri(putra) has thus delivered Thirty-six Lectures of the Uttaradhyayana, which the pious approve of.

THE SUTRAKRITANGA

The Sutrakritanga Sutra
The Suyagadamga Sutra
Prakrit text by Gandhara Sudharmasvami
From: Jaina Sutras, Part 2,
Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 45
Editor: F. Max Müller, Oxford
Original Language: Prakrit
Translation: Hermann Jacobi, 1895
Estimated Range of Dating: 4th-2nd century B.C.

(Sutrakritanga (also known in Prakrit as Suyagaḍaṃga is the second agama of the 12 main angas of the Jain Svetambara canon. According to the Svetambara tradition it was written by Gandhara Sudharmasvami in Ardhamagadhi Prakrit. The following three topics are covered:

• Jain doctrine – Causes of bondage, description of hells, destruction of karmas etc.

• Conduct of Monks – Injunctions and prohibitions, difficulties faced, avoiding temptation of women etc.

• Heretical Doctrines and errors – Materialists, Fatalists and other wrong beliefs

The text is in two main parts: the first in verse and the second in prose. It is written using techniques including narration and questions and answers, and the chapters start with Sudharmasvami explaining the various doctrines to his chief disciple Jambuswami and answering his questions. According to Jain the text dates c. 4th-3rd century BC. Among scholarship, a tie between the 4th and the 2nd centuries BC are discussed.

This agama [scripture, holy text] describes nonviolence, Jain metaphysics, and the refutation of other religious theories such as Kriyavada, Akriyavada, Ajnanavada, and Vinayavada. Sanskrit commentary has been done by Silanka who lived in the second half of the ninth century AD. The agama is divided into two parts consisting of 16 lectures and 7 lectures respectively. The agama is also called sutra. [Etymology on Sutra: In Indian literature, a sutra is any short rule, a theorem condensed in few words. A collection of sutras becomes a text, and this is also called sutra (often capitalised in Western literature). The Sanskrit word Sutra (Pali: sutta, Ardha Magadhi: suya) means "string, thread". The root of the word is siv, "that which sews and holds things together". The word is related to suci (Sanskrit: meaning "needle, list", and suna (Sanskrit: for "woven"). In the context of literature, sutra means a distilled collection of syllables and words, any form or manual of "aphorism, rule, direction" hanging together like threads with which the teachings of ritual, philosophy, grammar, or any field of knowledge can be woven.].)

FIRST BOOK 1.

[Srutaskandha. Its Sanskrit title mentioned by Silanka is Gathashodasaka, i.e. the book whose Sixteenth Lecture is called Gatha. It is mentioned in the Uttaradhyayana 31,13 by the name of the sixteen Gathas; see above, p, 182.]

SUTRAKRITANGA 1ST LECTURE,
CALLED THE DOCTRINE

[Samaya. This title is not found in Manuscripts at the end of the lecture, but it is given by the author of the Niryukti (verse 29). The subject of this lecture is more fully treated in §§ 15-33 of the First Lecture of the Second Book.]

1ST CHAPTER.

1 One should know what causes the bondage of Soul, and knowing (it) one should remove 3 it.

(Gambusvamin asked Sudharman):

What causes the bondage (of Soul) according to Mahavira? and what must one know in order to remove it?

2 (Sudharman answered):

He who owns even a small property in living or lifeless things, or consents to others holding it, will not be delivered from misery.

3 If a man kills living beings, or causes other men to kill them, or consents to their killing them, his iniquity will go on increasing.

4 A sinner who makes the interests of his kinsmen and companions his own, will suffer much; for the number of those whose interest he takes to heart constantly increases.

5 All this, his wealth and his nearest relations, cannot protect him (from future misery); knowing (this) and (the value of) life, he will get rid of Karman.

6 Some men, Sramanas and Brahmanas, who ignore and deny these true words 3, adhere (to their own tenets), and are given to pleasures.

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7 Some profess (the exclusive belief in) the five gross elements: earth, water, fire, wind, and air.

8 'These five gross elements (are the original causes of things), from them arises another (thing, viz. atman) [In other words: the Atman is produced by the elements. But there is, it would seem, but one Atman, for in verses 11, 12, we have another heretical philosophy which acknowledged a plurality of transient atmans.]; for on the dissolution of the (five elements) living beings cease to exist.

9 'And as the Earth, though it is but one pile, presents many forms, so the intelligent (principle, viz. the atman) appears under various forms as the universe.'

10 Thus say some fools. (But how can they explain on their theory that) the man engaging in undertakings, who has committed a sin, will himself suffer severe pain.?

11 'Everybody, fool or sage, has an individual soul. These souls exist (as long as the body), but after death they are no more; there are no souls which are born again.

12 'There is neither virtue nor vice, there is no world beyond; on the dissolution of the body the individual ceases to be.'

13 'When a man acts or causes another to act, it is not his soul (atman) which acts or causes to act.' Thus they (viz. the adherents of the Sankhya philosophy) boldly proclaim.

14 How can those who hold such opinions explain (the variety of existence in) the world? They go from darkness to utter darkness, being fools and engaged in works.

15 Some say that there are five elements and that the soul is a sixth (substance), but they contend that the soul and the world (i.e. the five elements) are eternal.

16 'These (six substances) do not perish neither (without nor with a cause); the non-existent does not come into existence, but all things are eternal by their very nature.'

17 Some fools say that there are five skandhas of momentary existence. They do not admit that (the soul) is different from, nor identical with (the elements), that it is produced from a cause (i.e. the elements), nor that it is without a cause (i.e. that it is eternal).

18 The Ganayas* say that there are four elements: earth, water, fire, and wind, which combined form the body (or soul?). [* Ganaya, which is explained in the Dipika by gnanaka = panditammanya, denotes the Bauddhas. I think that the word may be derived from yana 'vehicle,' which the Buddhist used to designate the two sections of the church, viz. the Hinayana and Mahayana schools. The commentator quotes a various reading: avare for ganaya, and explains it as referring to another sect of Bauddhas than those spoken of in the preceding verse. Silanka comments on the reading avvare first, and then on ganaya.]

19 (All these heretics say): 'Those who dwell in houses, in woods, or on hills, will be delivered from all misery if they adopt our creed.'

20 But they do not cross the Flood of Life, who, ignoring the true relation of things, and not versed in the true Law, hold the above heretical opinions.

21 They do not reach the end of the Samsara, who, ignoring, etc.

22 They do not reach the end of transmigration, who, etc.

23 They do not put an end to birth, who, etc.

24 They do not put an end to misery, who, etc.

25 They do not put an end to death, who, etc.

26 They will again and again experience manifold pains in this ring of the earth, which is full of death, disease, and old age.

27 The highest Gina, Mahavira the Gnatriputra, has said that they will undergo births without number, being placed in all sorts of existences.

Thus I say.

2ND CHAPTER.

1 Again some* say: 'It is proved that there are individual souls; they experience pleasure and pain; and (on dying) they lose their state of life. [* They are the fatalists whose peculiar opinions are stated in verses 2 and 3.]

2, 3 'But misery (and pleasure) is not caused by (the souls) themselves; how could it be caused by other (agents, as time, etc.)? Pleasure and misery, final beatitude and temporal (pleasure and pain) are not caused by (the souls) themselves, nor by others; but the individual souls experience them; it is the lot assigned them by destiny.' This is what they (i.e. the fatalists) say.

4 Those who proclaim these opinions, are fools who fancy themselves learned; they have no knowledge, and do not understand that things depend partly on fate, and partly on human exertion.

5 Thus (say) some heretics; they are very bold men; if they act up to their principles, they will never be delivered from misery.

6 As the swift deer who are destitute of protection, are frightened where there is no danger, and not frightened where there is danger;

7 (As) they dread safe places, but do not dread traps; they are bewildered by ignorance and fear, and run hither and thither;

8 If they did jump over the noose or pass under it, they would escape from the snare; but the stupid animal does not notice it;

9 The unhappy animal, being of a weak intellect, runs into the dangerous (place), is caught in the snare, etc., and is killed there;

10 So some unworthy Sramanas who hold wrong doctrines are afraid of what is free from danger, and are not afraid of real dangers.

11 The fools dread the preaching of the Law, but they do not dread works, being without discernment and knowledge.

12 Shaking off greed, pride, deceit, and wrath, one becomes free from Karman. This is a subject (which an ignorant man, like) a brute animal, does not attend to.

13 The unworthy heretics who do not acknowledge this, will incur death an endless number of times, like deer caught in a snare.

14 All Brahmanas and Sramanas contend that they possess the knowledge (of the truth), but the creatures in the whole world do not know anything.

15, 16 As a Mlekkha repeats what an Arya has said, but does not understand the meaning, merely repeating his words, so the ignorant, though pretending to possess knowledge, do not know the truth, just as an uninstructed Mlekkha.

17 The speculations of the Agnostics cannot lead to knowledge; they cannot reach the truth by themselves, still less teach it to other men.

18 As when a man in a wood who does not know it, follows a guide who also does not know it, both being unacquainted (with the place), come to great trouble;

19 As when one blind man is the guide of another, the man walks a great distance, loses his way, or follows a wrong way;

20 Thus some who search after salvation and pretend to practise the (true) Law, follow the false Law and do not arrive at the thoroughly right (thing, viz. self-control).

21 Thus some (wrong philosophers) do not apply to others for arguments, but they continue to err because they believe their own arguments to be right [The last part of the verse might also be translated: 'because these fools believe the subject to be cleared up (mangu) by their own arguments.'].

22 Thus arguing according to their light, and ignorant about what is right and wrong, they do not get out of misery as birds do not get out of their cage.

23 They praise their own creed and blame that of their opponents, but those who act in this respect the part of philosophers, will be kept confined in the Circle of Births.

24 There is the doctrine of the Kriyavadins, which has been previously explained; it augments the misery of worldly existence of those who do not well consider the nature of acts.

25 'He who intends (to kill) a living being but does not do it by (an act of) his body, and he who unknowingly kills one, both are affected by that act through a slight contact (with it) only, but the demerit (in their case) is not fully developed [An intentional killing of a living being must actually take place in order to induce the Karman on the soul. If one of the essential conditions which constitute the guilt of slaughter (himsa), p. 243 is wanting the Karman is still produced; however, it does not take a firm hold of the soul, but merely 'touches' it. This is of course the opinion of the Kriyavadins.].'

26 'There are three ways of committing sins: by one's own activity, by commission, by approval (of the deed).

27 'These are the three ways of committing sins. Thus by purity of the heart one reaches Nirvana.

28 'A layman may kill his son (during a famine) and eat him; a wise (monk) who partakes of the meat, will not be defiled by the sin [According to Silanka the father too would not be guilty; but this interpretation is against good sense and grammar.].'

29 The mind of those who sin in thoughts is not pure; they are wrong, they do not conduct themselves carefully.

30 Men attached to pleasure, who think that the above-mentioned doctrines will save them, commit sins.

31, 32 As a blind-born man getting into a leaky boat, wants to reach the shore, but is drowned during the passage, so some unworthy, heretical Sramanas wish to get beyond the Circle of Births, but they are whirled round in it.

Thus I say.

3RD CHAPTER.

1 If a monk should eat forbidden food which a pious (layman) has prepared for some guest, and which food has been mixed up with even thousand (times more pure food) 1, he would be neither monk nor layman.

2-4 Sramanas who do not comprehend this and do not know what is dangerous, who care for the pleasures of the moment only, will suffer death an endless number of times, like big 2 fishes who when the water rises are by the water (deposited) on dry land and are killed (there), poor things, by hungry dhankas and herons.

5 We hear also of another error of some (philosophers): some say that the world has been created (or is governed) [Devautte. This is either devair uptah, sown, i.e. produced by the gods, or devair guptah, governed by the gods.] by the gods, others, by Brahman.

6 Some say that it has been created by the Isvara, others that it was produced from chaos, etc., this world with living beings and lifeless things, with its variety of pleasure and pain.

7 The great Rishi* said, that the world has been created by Svayambhu; Mara originated Maya, therefore the world (appears to be) uneternal. [* The commentators unfortunately have not preserved the name of the great Rishi; they identify Svayambhu with Vishnu 'or some one else.' This Svayambhu, afraid that the earth should become overcrowded, called to help Yama, alias Mara, who with the help of Maya makes the creatures appear to die.]

8 Some Brahmanas and Sramanas say that the universe was produced from the (primeval) egg, and He (Brahman) created the things. These ignorant men speak untruth.

9 Those who on arguments of their own maintain that the world has been created, do not know the truth. Nor will (the world) ever perish.

10 Know that misery arises from wicked deeds [It is not given us by any of the above-mentioned agents whom the opponents believe to have created the world.]. How can those who do not know the origin (of misery) know its prevention?

11 Some say that the soul (of him who is) pure will become free from bad Karman (on reaching beatitude), but that in that state it will again become defiled through pleasant excitement or hate.

12 (According to them [According to Silanka the followers of Gosala and the Trairasikas are meant. The latter are the Jaina followers of the Vaiseshika philosophy. The Trairasika Sakha was founded by Khaluka Rohagupta, see part i, p. 290. The name Trairasika is said to have been given to these philosophers because they admit a third state besides those of the bound and of the liberated.].) he who has lived on earth as a restrained monk, will afterwards become free from Karman. As clear water which was free from defilement becomes again defiled, so (will be the soul).

13 A wise man should consider that these (heretics) do not lead a life of chastity, and that all these disputants proclaim their own creed in opposition (to the others).

14 (Others maintain that) perfection can only be reached by their method of religious life, not otherwise; and that even before (that time) they have their senses under control and possess everything to be wished for.

15 Some say that they will be perfected and sound.

On the head of Perfection some men are infatuated with their own doctrines.

16 But these uncontrolled (men) will whirl round in the beginningless (Circle of Births); after a Kalpa they will rise from their sphere to become the lowest of Asuras.

Thus I say.

4TH CHAPTER.

1 These (philosophers) who are vanquished (by their passions) cannot help you in cases where a sinner perishes [A various reading first commented upon by Silanka is: bala panditamanino, being ignorant men who fancy themselves learned.]; though having given up their former occupations they will give advice in worldly matters.

2 A wise monk who fully appreciates this, should not mix with those (heretics); without conceit and not attached to them a sage should lead a life equally removed (from love and hate).

3 Some say that those who own possessions and engage in undertakings (may reach perfection); but a monk should take his refuge to those who neither own possessions nor engage in undertakings.

4 A wise man should beg food which has been prepared (for somebody else), and he should accept what is freely given him, without greed and passions; he should abstain from overbearing behaviour.

5 He should know the talk of people: some say things which are the outcome of a wrong understanding and are but opinions of others repeated.

6 'The world is boundless and eternal, it exists from eternity and does not perish [According to Silanka the eternity of things means, with these philosophers, that one thing always retains the same genus or gati, e.g. that he who was a man in this life will again be a man in the next.]; (another) bold philosopher says that the world is limited, but eternal.

7 'Some say that the knowledge (of the highest authority) is unlimited; but the same bold philosopher says that it is limited in every way [The commentators interpret this verse as if not two philosophical opinions but only one was spoken of. Unlimited knowledge is according to them different from omniscience; in the second part of the sentence 'limited' refers to the sleep of Brahman during which he is unconscious.].'

8 Some beings have motion, others not; it depends on certain conditions whether they are in the one state or in the other.

9 (E. g. big creatures) have one form of bodily existence and then another [Men are some time embryos, then young men, then old men.]. But all are subject to pain; hence they should not be killed.

10 This is the quintessence of wisdom: not to kill anything. Know this to be the legitimate conclusion from the principle

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of the reciprocity with regard to non-killing [That clearly refers to the Golden Rule: Ahimsasamayam = ahimsasamatam, viz. as you do not wish to be killed, so others do not wish to be killed. The last part of the sentence might also be translated: know this to be the real meaning of the Law (samaya) of ahimsa. The same verse recurs I, 11, 10.].

11, 12 Living (according to the rules of conduct), and without greed, one should take care of the highest good [Adana, right knowledge, right faith, and right conduct.].

In walking, in sitting and lying down, and in food and drink: with regard to these three points a monk should always control himself.

And he should leave off pride, wrath, deceit, and greed.

13 Possessing the Samitis and being protected by the five Samvaras, a pious monk should live, till he reaches perfection, as a man free from fetters among those bound in fetters (viz. the householders).

Thus I say.

SUTRAKRITANGA 2ND LECTURE,
CALLED THE DESTRUCTION OF KARMAN.

[The name of this lecture, which occurs in its last line, is veyaliya, because, as the author of the Niryukti remarks, it treats on vidarika, destruction (of Karman), and because it is composed in the Vaitaliya metre. For either word, vaidarika (or rather vaidalika, cf. karmavidalana) and vaitaliya may, in Jaina Prakrit, become veyaliya or vetaliya. A play of words was apparently intended; it would have been impossible, if both words had not become identical in sound. We may, therefore, conclude that the language of the author obeyed the same phonetic laws as the Jaina Prakrit exhibited in our MSS., or in other words, that the text has been written down in about the same language in which it was originally composed. The name of the Fifteenth Lecture leads to the same inference; for it is called gamaiya (yamakiya) because each of its verses contains the verbal ornament called yamaka, and because it opens with the words gam aiyam (yad atitam).]

1ST CHAPTER.

(Rishabha said to his sons):

1 Acquire perfect knowledge of the Law! why do you not study it? It is difficult to obtain instruction in it after this life. The days (that are gone by) will never return, nor is it easy a second time to obtain human birth.

2 See, young and old men, even children in the mother's womb die. As a hawk catches a quail, so (life) will end when its time is spent.

3 (A man) may suffer for the sake of his parents; he will not easily obtain happiness after this life. A pious man should consider these causes of danger and cease to act.

4 For in this world living beings suffer individually for their deeds; for the deed they have done themselves, they obtain (punishment), and will not get over it before they have felt it.

5 Even gods, Gandharvas, Rakshasas, and Asuras; animals who live on earth, and snakes; kings, common people, merchants, and Brahmanas: they all must leave their rank and suffer.

6 Notwithstanding their pleasures and relations, all men must suffer in due time the fruit of their works; as a cocoa-nut detaching itself from its stalk (falls down), so (life) will end when its time is spent.

7 Even a very learned or virtuous man, or a Brahmana or an ascetic, will be severely punished for his deed when he is given to actions of deceit.

8 See, those (heretics) who search for the knowledge of truth, but who do not cross the Samsara, talk only about the highest good (without reaching it).

How will you understand what is near you and what is beyond [According to Silanka, this world and the next, or domestic life and monachism, or the Samsara and Moksha are meant by the expression 'what is near you and what is beyond.']? In the meanwhile you suffer for your deeds.

9 He who walks about naked and lean, he who eats only once after a month, if he is filled with deceit, will be born an endless number of times.

10 Man, cease from sins! For the life of men will come to an end. Men who are drowned (in lust, as it were), and addicted to pleasure will, for want of control, be deluded.

11 Exert and control yourself! For it is not easy to walk on ways where there are minutely small animals. Follow the commandments which the Arhats have well proclaimed.

12 Heroes (of faith) who desist (from sins) and exert themselves aright, who subdue wrath, fear, etc., will never kill living beings; they desist from sins and are entirely happy.

13 It is not myself alone who suffers, all creatures in the world suffer; this a wise man should consider, and he should patiently bear (such calamities) as befall him, without giving way to his passions.

14 As a wall covered with a plastering (of dried cowdung) is by a shock made thin, so (a monk) should make his body lean by fasting, etc. He should abstain from slaughter of living beings. This is the Law proclaimed by the Sage.

15 As a bird covered with dust removes the grey powder by shaking itself, so a worthy and austere Brahmana, who does penance, annihilates his Karman.

16 Young and old people claim a houseless Sramana as their own, though he begs according to the Law, observes the rules of conduct, and performs austerities. People will even cry themselves hoarse, but they will not captivate him.

17 Whatever they will do to move his pity, however they will cry about their son, they will not captivate a worthy and virtuous monk or make him return to domestic life.

18 Though they tempt him with pleasures, and though they should bind him and carry him home, if he does not care for a (worldly) life, they will not captivate him or make him return to domestic life.

19 His father and mother, his children and wife who claim him, will admonish him: 'See, you are our supporter; care not for the next world in order to support us.'

20 Some people are (foolishly) attached to others, and are thereby deluded; the unrighteous make them adopt unrighteousness, and they exult in their wickedness.

21 Therefore a worthy and wise man should be careful, ceasing from sin and being entirely happy. The virtuous heroes of faith (have chosen) the great road, the right and certain path to perfection.

22 He who has entered the road leading to the destruction (of Karman), who controls his mind, speech, and body, who has given up his possessions and relations and all undertakings, should walk about subduing his senses.

2ND CHAPTER.

1 A sage thinks that he should leave off sins just as (a snake) leaves its slough; and he is not proud of his Gotra and other advantages; or is there any use in blaming others?

2 A man who insults another will long whirl in the Circle of Births; to blame others is not good. Considering this a sage is not conceited.

3 He who is independent, and he who is the servant of a servant, if they but observe the Vow of Silence, they have no reason to be ashamed; (therefore a monk) should behave equally towards all.

4 Indifferent and pure with regard to every kind of control, a Sramana should walk about; he who entertains pure thoughts during his whole life, dies as a worthy and wise man.

5 The sage who sees the far-off (goal, viz. liberation), past and future things, will practise indifference, though he suffer corporal punishment and be beaten.

6 Possessing perfect wisdom, a sage always vanquishes (his passions); he correctly expounds the Law; he never neglects even the smallest (duty); he is neither angry nor proud.

7 A man who controls himself according to (the Law), which is praised by many people, and is not bound by any worldly ties, who is always pure like a lake, proclaims the Law of Kasyapa.

8 Seeing that numerous living beings lead an individual life, and that every one feels (pleasure and pain) just as the others, a wise man who observes the Vow of Silence, leaves off (injuring them).

9 A sage has completely mastered the Law, and has ceased to do actions; but the selfish grieve, they will not (thereby) recover their (lost) property.

10 Know that it (viz. property) entails pains in this world, and very great pains in the next. Who will lead a domestic life when he knows that everything must perish?

11 One should know (and renounce) the great attachment (to the world), and respect and honours on earth; (for conceit) is a very thin thorn difficult to pull out. A wise man, therefore, should abandon worldliness [This is a rather dark verse. Silanka, after explaining it, quotes the verse as it was read by the Nagarguniyas, which may be rendered thus: Respect and honours are a great obstacle, this he should know; be the thorn small (or) difficult to pull out, a wise man should remove it by the (means we are about to describe).].

12 A monk should perform postures (as Kayotsarga, etc.) alone on his seat, and alone on his couch he should meditate; excelling in the performance of austerities, guarded in words, and restrained in thoughts.

13 An ascetic does not shut the door of a deserted house (where he puts up), nor does he open it; when asked he returns no (rude) answer; he cuts no grass, nor does he strew it (on the ground for a couch).

14 Where (he is) at sunset, there he calmly (performs his duties); a sage bears pleasant and unpleasant things, be there insects, or wild beasts, or snakes.

15 He bears the three kinds of calamities arising from beasts, men, and gods. A great sage will not be seized with a shivering, etc. [Literally, horripilation. By the 'etc.' the other outward signs of horror are indicated.], when he stays in a deserted house.

16 He should not fear for his life, nor should he desire to be praised (for his courage). Fearful things will frighten the mind of a monk who stays in a deserted house.

17 They say that he who is very well disciplined, who protects others, who lives in a place removed from other people, who is not frightened by dangers, possesses right conduct, etc.

18 A monk who uses warm or hot water [It should be kept in mind that Jaina monks are forbidden to use cold water, because it is considered to possess life.], who follows the Law, and loathes (wrong conduct), will by intercourse with bad kings become deficient in his devotion though he be ever so virtuous.

19 When a monk quarrels and uses very bad language, he will suffer great spiritual loss; therefore a wise man should not quarrel.

20 He who abstains from cold water, who plans (or undertakes) nothing, and has ceased from even the smallest actions, who does not eat food out of the dish of a householder, possesses right conduct, etc.

21 Though life cannot be prolonged, as the saying is, still foolish people sin recklessly; a foolish man is filled to the brim (as it were) with sins. Considering this a sage is not conceited.

22 By self-invented rites common people seek holiness, they are full of deceit and shrouded (as it were) in delusion. But a monk is holy through his innocence, he allows no troubles [Literally, cold and heat.] to influence his words, (thoughts, and acts).

23 As a clever gambler, playing at dice, is not vanquished, since he casts the Krita, but not Kali, nor Treta, nor Dvapara;

24 So adopt for your welfare the best and highest Law which has been proclaimed in this world by the Saviour, as the clever (gambler casts) the Krita, and avoids the other casts.

25 I have heard that sensual pleasures are said to have the strongest hold on men; but those who abstain from them follow the Law of Kasyapa.

26 Those who follow the Law that has been proclaimed by Gnatrika, the great seer, are virtuous and righteous; they confirm each other in the Law.

27 Take no heed of the seductive (pleasures), endeavour to shake off delusion. Those who are not subdued by the wicked (pleasures), know meditation to be their duty.

28 A monk should not tell stories, nor ask idle questions, nor gossip. But, knowing the highest Law, he should perform his religious duties, and regard nothing his own.

29 A monk should not indulge deceit, greed, pride, and wrath. Those are virtuous who have arrived at the right understanding of these passions, and who have well practised control.

30 (A monk) should be free from attachment, wise, controlling himself, seeking the Law, earnest in the performance of austerities, and subduing his senses. It is difficult to obtain the soul's benefit.

31 Right conduct, etc., which has been taught by the Gnatrika, the sage who knew everything in the whole world, has either not been learned or not been truly practised (by creatures now in distress).

32 Many men who thought this Law to be the highest good and conducive to their spiritual welfare, obeyed their preceptors, ceased from works, and have crossed the great flood (of worldly existence).

Thus I say.

3RD CHAPTER.

1 If a monk who abstains from actions, suffers pain (for acts done) through ignorance, that Karman will be annihilated through control. The wise reach (perfection) getting rid of death.

2 Those who resist the seductions are placed on a line with those who have crossed the Samsara. Therefore look up (at beatitude as the end in view). Those (virtuous men) regard pleasures as equal to diseases.

3 Men of princely rank wear precious things imported by merchants; likened (to these precious things) are the excellent great vows together with (the prohibition of) eating at night.

4 Pleasure-seeking men who are greedy and are absorbed by amusements, are reckless and like the wretched; they do not know that meditation (has been enjoined as) a duty.

5 As a bullock which is hurt and urged on by the driver [Instead of 'driver' and 'bullock' we might translate 'hunter' and 'deer.'] becomes weak, and at last, when its strength is exhausted and it is unable to move, sinks down;

6 So he who knows the pursuit of pleasures, must sooner or later give up their enjoyment (lest they drag him down). He who is still surrounded by pleasant things, should not love pleasures, whether he obtains them, or for some reason or other does not obtain them.

7 Lest the lot of the wicked should fall to you, escape (the influence of the senses), and discipline yourself! The wicked will much and strongly grieve, groan, and wail.

8 See, life in this world (is transient); though your life lasts a hundred years, you die as a short-lived man; mind that (your) years swiftly pass. Nevertheless greedy men are attached to pleasures.

9 Those who engage in undertakings, who work the perdition of their souls, and who kill (living beings), will go to the world of the wicked, to the abode of the Asuras for a long time (to dwell there).

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10 Though life cannot be prolonged, as the saying is, still foolish people sin recklessly (thinking): 'We are only concerned with the present time; who has seen the next world and returned thence?'

11 Believe in the words of him who sees (everything), you who are blind, as it were, you whose sight is blinded, ah, whose sight is obstructed by your works which result in delusion!

12 The unhappy again and again suffer from delusion; therefore have done with praise and honours! A wise ascetic should consider that living beings are like himself (as regards love of life, aversion to pain, etc.).

13 The man also who still lives in the house, should, in accordance with his creed, be merciful to living beings; we are bidden to be fair and equal with all; (thereby even a householder) goes to the world of the gods.

14 Being instructed in the creed of the Lord, exert yourself in the truth (i.e. in control)! A monk who has thoroughly subdued his selfishness should collect pure alms.

15 Knowing the truth, one should live up to it, seeking the Law, earnest in the performance of austerities, possessing the Guptis, being accomplished, one should always exert oneself, intent on the soul's benefit, and desiring the highest good (viz. liberation).

16 The fool thinks that his wealth, cattle, and relations will save him; they him, or he them. But they are no help, no protection.

17 When calamity befalls him, or the end of his life draws near, he must go and come alone; the wise believe that there is nothing to protect him.

18 All living beings owe their present form of existence to their own Karman; timid, wicked, suffering latent misery, they err about (in the Circle of Births), subject to birth, old age, and death.

19 He should know that the present time is the best opportunity to mend, and that an awakening is difficult to obtain. A wise man should be aware of this. The (first) Gina has said this, and so the remaining ones (will) say it.

20 O ye monks, the virtuous (Ginas) that have been and will be, the followers of the Law of Kasyapa, they all have commended these virtues.

21 Do not kill living beings in the threefold way [I.e. by your own acts, by order, and by assent; or by thoughts, words, and acts.], being intent on your spiritual welfare and abstaining from sins. In this way numberless men have reached perfection, and others, who live now, and who are to come, (will reach it).

Thus spoke the Arhat Gnatriputra, the reverend, famous native of Vaisali [This passage in prose appended to the metrical text seems to contradict the supposition of the commentators that the whole lecture was pronounced by Rishabha.], who possessed the highest knowledge and the highest faith, who possessed (simultaneously) the highest knowledge and faith.

Thus I say.

SUTRAKRITANGA 3RD LECTURE,
CALLED THE KNOWLEDGE OF TROUBLES

1ST CHAPTER.

1 A man believes himself a hero as long as he does not behold the foe, as did Sisupala (before he beheld) the valorously-fighting, great warrior [Viz. Krishna. Krishna's victory over Sisupala is told in the Mahabharata, Sabhaparvan, Sisupalavadha (eighth parvan). It forms the subject of Magha's famous poem Sisupalavadha.].

2 They go forward to the head of the battle; but when the fight has begun the mother will not recognise her son, and he will be mangled by his foe.

3 So a novice, who as yet has not suffered pains and is not yet used to a mendicant's life, believes himself a hero till he practises austerities.

4 When during the winter they suffer from cold and draughts, the weak become disheartened like Kshattriyas who have lost their kingdom.

5 When they suffer from the heat of summer, sad and thirsty, the weak become disheartened like fish in shallow water.

6 It is painful never to take anything but what is freely given, and begging is a liard task. Common people say that (men become monks) because they will not work and are wretched.

7 Weak men who are unable (to bear) these insults in villages or towns, become disheartened like cowards in the battle.

8 Perchance a snarling dog will bite a hungry monk; in that case the weak will become disheartened like animals burnt by fire.

9 Some who hate (the monks), revile them: 'Those who lead such a (miserable) life (as monks do), atone but (for their sins in a former life).'

10 Some call them names, as 'naked, lowest of beggars, baldhead, scabby, filthy, nasty.'

11 Those who behave in this way and do not know better, go from darkness to utter darkness, being fools and shrouded in delusion.

12 When bitten by flies and gnats, and unable (to bear) the pricking of grass, (they will begin to doubt), 'I have not seen the next world, all may end with death!'

13 Some weak men who suffer from the plucking out of the hair, and who are unable to preserve their chastity, will become disheartened like fish transfixed by a spear [Ketana, perhaps 'caught with the hook.'].

14 Some low people who lead a life of iniquity, and entertain heretical opinions, being subject to love and hatred, injure a monk.

15 Some fools in outlying countries take a pious monk for a spy or a thief, bind him, and insult him with angry words.

16 A weak monk being hurt with a stick or a fist or a fruit, remembers his (kind) relations, just as a woman who in a passion has left (her husband and house).

17 All these hardships are difficult to bear; the weak return to their house (when they cannot bear them), like elephants covered with arrows (break down).

Thus I say.

2ND CHAPTER.

1 There are some tender affections which monks cannot easily overcome. On their account some become disheartened, and are unable to practise control.

2 His relations on seeing him will surround him and cry: 'Child, we have brought you up, (now) support us! O dear! why will you leave us?

3 'Child, your father is an old man; your sister is still very young; (and here), O dear, are your own brothers from the same mother; why will you leave us?

4 'Support your mother and father, thus you will win this world; it is a duty in this world to protect one's mother.

5 'The old people are kind-spoken; your sons, child, are very young; you have married your wife; (take care) that she will not go to another man.

6 'Come, child, let us go home; we can do all the work, you need not (do it); the next time we shall take care (that you will not be overburdened with work); child, let us meanwhile go to our house.

7 'Afterwards you may go again; by this (visit of yours) you will not cease to be a Sramana; who will hinder you to practise control when you have done with worldly desires? [Akamagam. Another explanation is, if you are not willing (to do domestic work).]

8 'All your outstanding debts we have divided between us, and we shall give you the money (required for) business.'

9 In this way (his relations) come to him, lamenting, and try to persuade him. Held fast by his attachment for his relations, he quickly returns to his house.

10 As a creeper encircles a tree growing in the forest, so his relations press him hard that he should leave off control.

11 He is held fast by his attachment for his relations. So the keepers always follow a newly-caught elephant, and a cow which has just calved never goes far (from the calf).

12 Men do not (easily) get over this attachment, as (they do not get over) the ocean. For its sake the weak suffer pains, being engrossed by their attachment for their relations.

13 But a monk should renounce it; for every attachment is but a cause of sin. He should not desire life, having been instructed in the best Law.

14 There are these whirlpools which have been pointed out by Kasyapa: the wise keep clear of them, but the ignorant go down in them.

15 Kings and ministers of kings, Brahmanas and Kshattriyas try with pleasant things to seduce a monk who leads a holy life.

16 (They try to seduce him) with elephants, horses, chariots, and cars, with pleasure-trips (saying to him): 'Enjoy these excellent pleasures, great sage, we worship you!

'Clothes, perfumes, ornaments, women, and beds: enjoy these pleasures, friend, we worship you! (17)

18 'All the vows which you, holy man, have kept while a monk, are compatible with your living in a house.

19 'It will be no sin, for you have wandered about long (enough).' In this way they try to tempt him, as men decoy a pig with wild rice.

20 Weak men who are exhorted to live as monks, but who are unable to practise control, break down like weak (bullocks carrying a heavy burden) uphill.

21 Unable to practise the rough (i.e. control), and harassed by the austerities, weak men break down, like old oxen in going uphill.

22 When men who are greedy, attached to women, and who love pleasures, are tempted in the way described above, they return to their houses.

Thus I say.

3RD CHAPTER.

1 As at the time of the battle the coward looks behind him for a ditch, thicket, or other hiding-place 1, (thinking that) nobody knows who will win;

2 'A moment's moment will bring the decision [Literally, a moment of a moment of moments will be such.]; when we lose, we shall fly.' Thus thinks the coward.

3 So some Sramanas, knowing themselves to be weak, have recourse to worldly sciences [As grammar, astrology, medicine, etc.] when they see that they will suffer want.

4 (They say): 'Who knows what will cause my loss of sanctity, women or water? When we are questioned, we shall speak out (i.e. show our knowledge). We have no (other) resource (in case of need)!'

5 They are cautious, like those who look out for a ditch, etc. Those who doubt (their ability for control) are like men ignorant of the way.

6 But famous warriors, leaders of heroes at the time of the battle, do not look behind them; (they think) what if all end with death?

7 A monk who exerts himself in a similar way, should slip off the ties that bind him to his house. Putting aside all undertakings, he should wander about for the welfare of his soul.

8 Some revile a monk who leads a holy life. But these revilers are far off from perfection.

9 (The revilers say), 'You live just as the laymen do, being attached to one another, for (e.g.) you beg alms for a sick man and give it him.

10 'Therefore you still have an attachment, being obedient to the will of one another; you have not the purity produced by the right path, and have not got beyond the Circle of Births.'

11 Now a monk who knows (the truth about) Moksha should answer them: 'You speak thus, wavering between two ways of life (viz, that of householders and monks).

12 'You eat out of the vessels* (of householders, and make them) bring food for a sick brother; you eat seeds and drink cold water, and what has been especially prepared (for you when sick). [* For these heretics carry the principle of absolute poverty so far as to reject even the use of almsbowls.]

13 'You are infected by great faults, you are void of discrimination, and your resolutions are bad. It is not good to scratch a wound too much, for it will grow worse [The meaning is that the overdoing of the principle of poverty is just] as harmful as the scratching of a wound.].'

14 They should be instructed in the truth by one who knows it and is free from passions: 'Yours is not the right way, you speak and act without consideration.

15 'This your talk is weak, like the top of a bamboo, (when you say: a sick brother) may eat the food brought by a householder, but not that brought by a monk!

16 '(And when you say that) our religious precepts are wholesome only for householders (not for monks, we reply that our prophet had) no such (inconsistent) ideas when he taught (his Law).'

17 When (these heretics) cannot prove (their assertion) by any arguments they give up the discussion, and fall back on their bold (assertion).

18 Overcome by their passions and infected by untruth, (these men) have recourse to bad language, as the (savage) Tankana* (when beaten) have recourse to their hills. [* This hill tribe lived somewhere in the north-east of Madhyadesa, see Petersburg Dictionary, sv. The Brockhaus and Efron Encyclopedic Dictionary (Russian: Энциклопедический словарь Брокгауза и Ефрона, abbr. ЭСБЕ, tr. Entsiklopedicheskiy slovar' Brokgauza i Yefrona; 35 volumes, small; 86 volumes, large) is a comprehensive multi-volume encyclopedia in Russian. It contains 121,240 articles, 7,800 images, and 235 maps. It was published in Imperial Russia in 1890–1907, as a joint venture of Leipzig and St Petersburg publishers.]

19 The argumentation of a monk whose mind is at rest should possess many good qualities. He should proceed in such a way as not to exasperate his opponent.

20 Following this Law which has been proclaimed by the Kasyapa, a sound monk should carefully attend a sick brother.

21 Knowing the beautiful Law, a wise and thoroughly restrained monk should bear all hardships and wander about till he reaches final liberation.

Thus I say.

4TH CHAPTER.

1 Some say that in old times great men, rich in religious penance, have reached perfection though they drank (cold) water (and ate fruits and roots). Ignorant men (who hear such assertions) are led astray (by them).

2 'Nami, the king of Videha, ate nothing, Ramagupta did eat, Bahuka drank (cold) water, and so did Taragana [Instead of Taragana, Silanka writes Narayana.], the seer.

3 Asila, Devala, the great sage Dvipayana, and Parasara did drink (cold) water, and did eat seeds and sprouts [Asila is not known from other sources; perhaps Asita is meant, and Asila Davila stands for Asita Devala. Concerning Dvipayana, the Parasara, compare Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. 42, p. 495. But in the Aupapatika Sutra (ed. Leumann, § 76) Parasara and Dvipayana are two distinct persons.].

4 'I have heard that in old times these renowned and well-known great men ate seeds and drank water, and have reached perfection.'

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5 When weak (monks hear such assertions) they become disheartened, as donkeys break down under their burden; in case of danger they retreat (and perish) like men who walk on crutches.

6 Some* say: Pleasant things are produced from pleasant things. (They are those who disdain) the noble path and the renowned highest good. [* According to the commentators the Buddhists are intended. They quote some verses in illustration of the pushtimarga of the Buddhists, one of which is not yet known I believe. It runs thus: 'Having enjoyed a pleasant dinner, and a pleasant seat and bed, a muni in a pleasant house meditates on pleasant things.'

7 Do not, by disdaining it, lose much for the sake of little. If you do not give up this (wrong law), you will repent of it as the man did who carried iron (a long way) believing it to be silver.

8 (And so will) those who kill living beings, who do not abstain from untrue speech, who take what is not freely given them, who enjoy sexual pleasures, and who own property.

9 Some unworthy heretics, slaves of women, ignorant men who are averse to the Law of the Ginas, speak thus:

10 'As the squeezing of a blister or boil (causes relief) for some time, (and has no dangerous consequences), so it is with (the enjoyment of) charming women. How could there be any sin in it?

11 'As a ram drinks the quiet water, so, etc. (the rest as in verse 10).

12 'As the bird Pinga drinks the quiet water (flying), etc. (the rest as in verse 10).'

13 So say some unworthy heretics who entertain false doctrines, and who long for pleasures, as the ewe* for her kid. [* Puyana (putana, who is ever desirous of young), explained either by sakini hog' or gaddarika 'ewe.' The commentators relate the following anecdote. In order to find out which animal loved its young ones best, their young ones were placed at the bottom of a well. Their mothers assembled round the brink and howled, but the ewe threw herself recklessly into the well. Therefore the ewe excels the other animals in maternal love.]

14 Those who do not think of the future, but only enjoy the present, will repent of it afterwards when their life or their youth is gone.

15 But those who exert themselves at the proper time, feel no remorse afterwards; these heroes who have got rid of their fetters, do not long for life.

16 As Vaitarani, the river (of hell), is difficult to pass, so in this world women are to the unwise (a temptation) difficult to overcome.

17 Those who have given up intercourse with women and have left off adorning themselves, are well established in control, because they have renounced everything.

18 As merchants go over the sea, so they will cross the flood (of Samsara), where living beings despond and suffer pains because of their own deeds.

19 A monk who knows this, will live as a virtuous man guarded by the Samitis; he will abstain from untrue speech, and not take what is not freely given him.

20 He should cease to injure living beings whether they move or not, on high, below, and on earth. For this has been called the Nirvana, which consists in peace.

21, 22 = I, 3, 3, 20 and 21.

Thus I say.

SUTRAKRITANGA 4TH LECTURE,
CALLED KNOWLEDGE OF WOMEN.
1ST CHAPTER.

1 A monk who has left his mother and father and all worldly ties, (determines) to walk about alone and wise, to abstain from sexual pleasures, and to ask for a secluded place (where to lodge).

2 With clever pretences women make up to him, however foolish they be; they know how to contrive that some monks will become intimate with them.

3 They will often sit down at his side; they always put on fine clothes; they will show him the lower part of their body, and the armpit, when lifting up their arms, so that he will follow them about.

4 And occasionally a woman will tempt him to a comfortable couch or bed. But he should know these things to be as many traps under various disguises.

5 He should not look at them, nor should he consent to anything inconsiderate, nor walk together with them; thus he will well guard himself.

6 Inviting a monk and winning his confidence, they offer themselves to him. But he should know, and fly from these temptations in their various forms.

7 Meekly and politely they approach him with their manifold arts to win his heart; and talking sweetly in confidential conversation they make him do (what they like).

8 As (men by baiting) with a piece of flesh a fearless single lion get him into a trap, so women may capture an ascetic though he be careful.

And then they make him do what they like, even as a wheelwright gradually turns the felly of a wheel.

9 As an antelope caught in a snare, so he does not get a out of it, however he struggles.

10 Afterwards he will feel remorse like one who has drunk milk mixed with poison; considering the consequences, a worthy monk should have no intercourse with women.

11 Therefore he should avoid women, knowing them to be like a poisoned thorn. He is no Nirgrantha who without companion (goes into) houses, being a slave (to passion) and preaches (his religion).

12 Those who are attached to this sinful (intercourse) must be reckoned among the wicked. Even a monk who practises severe austerities should avoid the company of women.

13 A monk should have no intercourse with his daughters and daughters-in-law, with nurses or female slaves, or with grown-up girls.

14 When the relations and friends see (the intimacy of a monk with a girl), they become angry (saying): 'All creatures love pleasures; you are a man, protect and support her.'

15 But some become angry even when they see an innocent Sramana, and suspect the fidelity of their wives because of the dishes they serve up [There is a saying in German: Eine verliebte Köchin versalzt den Brei, 'a cook in love spoils the soup.' The commentators put different constructions on the last part of the sentence.].

16 Those who have intercourse with (women) have already ceased to practise meditation; Sramanas, therefore, for the benefit of their souls, do not go to the apartments (of women).

17 Though many leave the house, some (of them) arrive but at a middling position (between householder and monk); they merely talk of the path to perfection. The force of sinners is talking.

18 In the assembly he pronounces holy (words), yet secretly he commits sins; but the wise know him to be a deceiver and great rogue.

19 The sinner does not confess his wrong, but rather boasts of it when reprimanded. Though he is admonished not to act as most men do, he becomes weak again and again.

20 Some men of great intelligence who perform their duties as supporters of women, get into their power, though they be well acquainted with the Striveda.

21 (The adulterers') hands and feet are cut off, their skin and flesh are torn off, they are roasted alive, and acid is poured into their wounds.

22 Their ears and nose are cut off, and their throats cut; (all this) they will suffer, but though suffering here for their sins they will not promise not to do the same again.

23 All this some have learned, and it has been well demonstrated in the Striveda. Though (people) know it, they do wrong (impelled) by Karman.

24 One man (women) have in their heart, another in their words, and another still in their actions. Therefore a monk should not trust women, knowing that they are full of deceit.

25 A young woman, putting on fine ornaments and clothes, will say to a Sramana: 'I shall give up (my former way of life) and practise the rough (viz. control). Reverend sir, teach me the Law!'

26 Or by professing herself a lay-disciple and co-religionist of the Sramanas, (she will try to make a friend of him). As a pot filled with lac (will melt) near the fire, so even a wise (monk) will fall through intercourse with women.

27 A pot filled with lac thrown into the fire melts quickly and is destroyed; so monks are lost through intercourse with women.

28 Some commit sins (with a girl), but when questioned about it, they say: 'I have done no sin; she only slept in my lap (like my daughter).'

29 This is a second folly of the sinner that he obstinately denies what he has done. He commits a twofold sin, since, for the sake of his reputation, he falls again.

30 (Some women) will say, by way of invitation, to a good-looking, self-knowing monk: 'Holy man, accept a robe, an almsbowl, food or drink (at our house)!'

31 He should regard their words like wild rice, and should not desire to call at (their) house; for a fool who is bound in the fetters of sensuality will be subject to delusion again and again.

Thus I say.

2ND CHAPTER.

1 A monk, living single [Oe = ekah, explained: free from love and hate.], should not fall in love; if he loves pleasures, he should again become indifferent. Now hear the pleasures of Sramanas, which some monks enjoy.

2 When a monk breaks the law, dotes (on a woman), and is absorbed by that passion, she afterwards scolds him, lifts her foot, and tramples on his head.

3 'O monk, if you will not live with me as a woman who has still her hair, I shall tear it out; but do not live separated from me.'

4 But when they have captured him, they send him on all sorts of errands [The following verses are interesting as they afford us a glimpse of a Hindu household some 2,000 years ago. We find here a curious list of domestic furniture and other things of common use.]: 'Look (for the bodkin to) carve the bottle-gourd [Alabukkhegga = alabukkhedam pippalakadi sastram.], fetch some nice fruit.

5 '(Bring) wood to cook the vegetables, or that we may light a fire at night; paint my feet [Or, scour my pots.], come and meanwhile rub my back!

6 'Look after my clothes, bring food and drink, get me some perfume, a broom, a barber* (to shave my head)! [*Kasavaga = kasyapa, explained napita. The word is probably derived from the root kash 'to scrape.' According to Silanka verses 5-6 refer to things used by monks and nuns.]

7 'Give me the collyrium-box, my ornaments, the lute, Lodhra-powder [Symplocos Racemosa, the bark of which is used in dyeing.], a Lodhra-flower, the Venupalasika-lute [This is a thin piece of bamboo or bark held between the teeth and with the left hand, and played by the right hand just like a Vina. (Silanka.)], a pill!

8 'A Utpalakushta [Probably Costus Speciosus.], Tagara-powder [Tabernaemontana Coronaria.], and aloe pounded together with Usira [Andropogon Muricatus.], oil for anointing the face, baskets of bamboo wickerwork to put my things in!

9 'Reach me the lip-salve, fetch the umbrella and slippers, the knife to cut the string, have my robe dyed bluish!

10 'Give me the pot to cook the vegetables in, Myrobalans [They are used in bathing.], the jar to fetch water in, the stick to paint the mark upon the forehead, the pin to apply collyrium (to the eyelids), or the fan when it is hot!

11 'Fetch me the pincers [To tear out the hair growing in the nose.], the comb, the ribbon to bind up the hair, reach me the looking-glass, put the tooth-brush near me!

12 'Fetch me areca-nut and betel, needle and thread, the chamber-pot, the winnowing basket, the mortar, the pot for liquefying natron [Used in India instead of soap for cleaning linen.]!

13 'Give me the vessel (used in worshipping the gods [Kandalaka, a copper vessel used in worship. The name was current in Mathura at the time when Silanka wrote or the author from whose work he copied this remark.]), the water-pot. Friend, dig a privy. Fetch the bow for our son, the bullock for the Sramanera!

14 'The small pot, the drum, and the ball of cloth for the boy (to play with). Sramana, the rainy season is at hand, look after the house and the stores!

15 '(Fetch) the chair with woven twine seat, the wooden shoes to walk on!' Pregnant women order their husbands about like slaves to fulfil their craving.

16 When a son, the reward (of their wedded life), is born, (the mother bids the father) to hold the baby, or to give it her. Thus some supporters of their sons have to carry burdens like camels.

17 Getting up in the night they lull the baby asleep like nurses; and though they are ashamed of themselves, they wash the clothes like washermen.

18 This has been done by many men who for the sake of pleasures have stooped so low; they become the equals of slaves, animals, servants, beasts of burden--mere nobodies.

19 One should not mind the entreaties of women, but abstain from their friendship and company. These pleasures which are derived therefrom are called causes of blamable actions.

20 Restraining himself by the thought that these dangerous (pleasures) will not be to his benefit, a monk should abstain from women, and commit no unnatural crime.

21 A wise and learned monk whose soul is in a pure condition (Lesya), will abstain from doing work for others; in thoughts, words, and actions he will bear all troubles.

22 The hero (of faith) who has vanquished sin and delusion, has said all this. A monk, therefore, whose soul is pure (and free from sins) should wander about till he reaches final liberation.

Thus I say.

SUTRAKRITANGA 5TH LECTURE,
CALLED DESCRIPTION OF THE HELLS.
1ST CHAPTER.

1 I once asked the Kevalin, the great sage: What is the punishment in the hells? Knowing it, O sage, tell it me who do not know it! How do sinners go to hell?

2 When I thus questioned the illustrious Kasyapa, the omniscient one [Asupanna--asupragna 'quickly comprehending.' I usually render this word 'intelligent,' when it is used of common monks.] spoke as follows: I shall describe the truly insupportable pains where there is distress and (the punishment of) evil deeds.

3 Those cruel sinners who, from a desire of (worldly) life, commit bad deeds, will sink into the dreadful hell which is full of dense darkness and great suffering.

4 He who always kills movable and immovable beings for the sake of his own comfort, who injures them, who takes what is not freely given, who does not learn what is to be practised (viz. control);

5 The impudent sinner, who injures many beings without relenting, will go to hell; at the end of his life the will sink to

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the (place of) darkness; head downwards he comes to the place of torture.

6 They hear the cries of the punishers: Beat, cut, split, burn him! The prisoners in hell lose their senses from fright, and do not know in what direction to run.

7 Going to a place like a burning heap of coals on fire, and being burnt they cry horribly; they remain there long, shrieking aloud.

8 Have you heard of the horrible (river) Vaitarani, whose cutting waves are like sharp razors 1? They cross the horrible Vaitarani, being urged on by arrows, and wounded with spears.

9 The punishers pierce them with darts; they go in the boat, losing their memory; others pierce them with long pikes and tridents, and throw them on the ground.

10 Some, round whose neck big stones are tied, are drowned in deep water. Others again roll about in the Kadambavaluka (river) 2 or in burning chaff, and are roasted in it.

11 And they come to the great impassable hell, full of agony, called Asurya (i.e. where the sun does not shine), where there is great darkness, where fires, placed above, below, and all around, are blazing.

12 There, as in a cave, being roasted on the fire, he is burned, having lost the reminiscence (of his sins) and consciousness of everything else; always suffering (he comes) to that miserable hot place that is ever ready (for the punishment of evildoers).

13 There the cruel punishers have lighted four fires, and roast the sinners; they are roasted there like fishes put on the fire alive.

14 The prisoners in hell come to the dreadful place called Santakshana (i.e. cutting), where the cruel punishers tie their hands and feet, and with axes in their hands cut them like wooden planks.

15 And they turn the writhing victims round, and stew them, like living fishes, in an iron caldron filled with their own blood, their limbs covered with ordure, their heads smashed.

16 They are not reduced to ashes there, and they do not die of their enormous pains; undergoing this punishment, the miserable men suffer for their misdeeds.

17 And there in the place, where there is constant shivering, they resort to a large burning fire; but they find no relief in that place of torture; the tormentors torture them still.

18 There is heard everywhere the noise of painfully uttered cries even as in the street of a town. Those whose bad Karman takes effect (viz. the punishers), violently torment again and again those whose bad Karman takes effect also (viz. the punished).

19 They deprive the sinner of his life; I shall truly tell you how this is done. The wicked (punishers) remind by (similar) punishment (their victims) of all sins they had committed in a former life.

20 Being killed they are thrown into a hell which is full of boiling filth. There they stay eating filth, and they are eaten by vermin.

21 And there is an always crowded, hot place, which men deserve for their great sins, and which is full of misery. (The punishers) put them in shackles, beat their bodies, and torment them (by perforating) their skulls with drills.

22 They cut off the sinner's nose with a razor, they cut off both his ears and lips; they pull out his tongue a span's length and torment (him by piercing it) with sharp pikes.

23 There the sinners dripping (with blood) whine day and night even as the dry leaves of a palm-tree (agitated by the wind). Their blood, matter, and flesh are dropping off while they are roasted, their bodies being besmeared with natron.

24 Have you heard of the large, erected caldron of more than man's size, full of blood and matter, which is extremely heated by a fresh fire, in which blood and matter are boiling?

25 The sinners are thrown into it and boiled there, while they utter horrid cries of 'Agony; they are made to drink molten lead and copper when they are thirsty, and they shriek still more horribly.

26 Those evildoers who have here forfeited their souls' (happiness) for the sake of small (pleasures), and have been born in the lowest births during hundred thousands of 'former years,' will stay in this (hell). Their punishment will be adequate to their deeds.

27 The wicked who have committed crimes will atone for them, deprived of all pleasant and lovely objects, by dwelling in the stinking crowded hell, a scene of pain, which is full of flesh (etc.).

Thus I say.

2ND CHAPTER.

1 I shall now truly tell you another kind of perpetual suffering, how the sinners who have committed crimes suffer for the deeds they have done in their former lives.

2 Tying their hands and feet the (punishers) cut open their belly with razors and knives; taking hold of the mangled body of the sinner, they forcibly tear the skin off his back.

3 They cut off his arms at the armpits; they force his mouth wide open and scald it; they yoke the sinner to a car and drive him, and growing angry 1 they pierce his back with a goad.

4 The (sinners) walk over ground burning and glowing like red-hot iron; scorched they shriek horribly, being urged on with arrows and put to a red-hot yoke.

5 The sinners are driven over slippery ground which is like a road of red-hot iron; in this dreadful place (the ministers of hell) make them go forward like slaves (beating them) with sticks.

6 Proceeding in this intolerable (hell) they are crushed by rocks tumbling down. There is the (caldron) Santapani, where evildoers suffer for a long time.

7 They throw the sinners into caldrons and boil them; scalded they rise thence again; devilish crows feed on them and (so do) other beasts having claws devour them.

8 There is a place of smokeless fire in the form of a pile where (the sinners) greatly distressed shriek horribly; head downwards they are lacerated and cut into pieces with iron knives.

9 Tied up and skinned they are devoured by steel-nebbed birds; it is the hell called Samgivani, where life is long, and where men of an evil mind are tortured.

10 The (punishers) pierce them with sharp pikes as people do with a captured pig. Transfixed by a pike the (sinners) shriek horribly; suffering both (bodily and mentally) they feel nothing but pains.

11 There is a great place always on fire, where fires burn without fuel; there for a long time stay the evildoers shrieking aloud.

12 Setting on fire large piles, they thrust into them (a sinner) who will cry horribly; as butter thrown in the fire melts, so does the evildoer there.

13 And there is an always crowded, hot place which one deserves for one's great sins, and which is full of misery. There (the punishers) tie (the sinner's) hands and feet, and belabour him with sticks like an enemy.

14 They break the sinner's back with a weapon, and smash his skull with iron clubs; their bodies are split and sawn like a plank; and tortured with red-hot awls (the sinners) are subjected (to cruelties).

15 Cruel evildoers, urged on with arrows, and put to work (by the punishers), carry burdens in the way of elephants; two or three (punishers) get on one (victim) and growing angry hurt his vital parts.

16 The sinners are driven over the large, slippery, and thorny ground; tightly bound with straps they lose their senses; the revenging (punishers) cut them into pieces 4, and throw them about like a bali-sacrifice.

17 There is a dreadful mountain towering high up in the air, called Vaitalika*, where the evildoers are tortured for more than a thousand hours. [* Vetaliya. The commentators render it vaikriya 'produced by magic,' and moreover explain the word as an epithet, not as a proper name.]

18 Tortured, the sinners shriek, suffering day and night; in this horrid, great hell, which is full of implements of torture, they are put to a cruel death.

19 Full of wrath, like their enemies in a former life, (the punishers) crush them with hammers and clubs. With mangled bodies, and vomiting blood, they fall to the ground, head foremost.

20 There are the ever hungry, savage, always wrathful, great jackals by whom the evildoers bound with shackles are devoured.

21 There is the dreadful, slimy river, which is always flowing and full of molten iron; in this very dreadful river (the sinners) must descend one by one.

22 These pains are suffered without interruption by the sinner who stays there for a long time. There is no escape from the torture; he must, himself and alone, suffer the pains.

23 Whatever cruelty he has done in a former birth, the same will be inflicted on him in the Circle of Births. Having been born in an extremely miserable state of life, the sufferer experiences infinite pain.

24 A wise man hearing of these hells should not kill any living being in the whole world; believing in true doctrines and renouncing all property he should know the world, but not become a slave to it.

25 Knowing the endless Circle of Births with regard to animals, men, and gods, and the reward they will get; knowing all this, (a wise man) should wait for his decease, practising meanwhile self-control.

Thus I say.

SUTRAKRITANGA 6TH LECTURE,
CALLED PRAISE OF MAHAVIRA.

1 Sramanas and Brahmanas, householders and heretics, have asked (me): Who is he that proclaimed this unrivalled truly wholesome Law, which was (put forward) with true knowledge?

2 What was the knowledge, what the faith, and what the conduct of the Gnatriputra? If you know it truly, O monk, tell us as you have heard it, as it was told you!

3 This wise and clever great sage possessed infinite knowledge and infinite faith. Learn and think about the Law and the piety of the glorious man who lived before our eyes 2!

This wise man had explored all beings, whether they move or not, on high, below, and on earth, as well as the eternal and transient things. Like a lamp he put the Law in a true light. (4)

5 He sees everything; his knowledge has got beyond (the four lower stages) [Concerning the five stages or kinds of knowledge,]; he has no impurity; he is virtuous, of a fixed mind, the highest, the wisest in the whole world; he has broken from all ties; he is above danger and the necessity to continue life.

6 Omniscient, wandering about without a home, crossing the flood (of the Samsara), wise, and of an unlimited perception, without an equal, he shines forth (or he does penance) like the sun, and he illumines the darkness like a brilliant fire,

7 The omniscient sage, Kasyapa, has proclaimed this highest Law of the Ginas; he, the illustrious one, is prominent (among men) like the thousand-eyed Indra among the gods of heaven.

8 His knowledge is inexhaustible like the (water of the) sea; he has no limits and is pure like the great ocean; he is free from passion, unfettered, and brilliant like Sakra, the lord of the gods.

9 By his vigour he is the most vigorous; as Sudarsana (Meru), the best of all mountains, or as heaven, a very mine of delight, he shines forth endowed with many virtues.

10 (Meru) a hundred thousand yoganas high, with three tiers 3, with the Pandaga (-wood) as its flag, rising ninety-nine thousand yoganas above the ground, and reaching one thousand below it;

11 It touches the sky and is immersed in the earth; round it revolve the suns; it has the colour of gold, and contains many Nandana (parks); on it the Mahendras enjoy themselves.

12 This mountain is distinguished by (many) names; it has the colour of burnished gold; it is the greatest of all mountains, difficult to ascend on account of its rocks; this excellent mountain is like a part of the earth on fire.

13 The king of mountains, standing in the centre of the earth, is seen in a pure light 1 like that of the sun. With such beauty shines forth this many-coloured, lovely (mountain), which is crowned with radiance.

14 Thus is described the glory of mount Sudarsana, the great mountain; similar to it is the Sramana Gnatriputra, who is noble, glorious, full of faith, knowledge, and virtue.

15 As Nishadha is the best of long-stretched mountains, and Rukaka of circular ones, so is he (Mahavira) among sages the wisest in the world, according to the declaration of the wise ones.

16 After having taught the highest Law he practised the highest contemplation, which is the purest of pure, pure without a flaw, thoroughly white (as it were) like mother-of-pearl and the moon.

17 Having annihilated all his Karman, the great sage by his knowledge, virtue, and faith reached the insurpassable, highest perfection, a state which has a beginning but no end.

18 As the Salmali, in which the Suparna gods take their delight, is most famous among trees, as Nandana is among parks, so is the Omniscient most famous through his knowledge and virtue.

19 As thunder is the loudest of sounds, as the moon is the most glorious of heavenly bodies, as sandal is the best of perfumes, so of monks is he who had renounced all wishes or plans.

20 As (the ocean on which sleeps) Svayambhu is the best of seas, as Dharanendra is the best of Nagas, as the juice of sugarcane is, as it were, the flag of juices, so is he (Mahavira) the flag of monks by his austerities.

21 As Airavana is the best of elephants, the lion of beasts, Ganga of rivers, as Garuda, Venudeva, is the best of birds, so is Gnatriputra the best of those who have taught the Nirvana.

22 As Vishvaksena is the most famous of warriors, as the lotus is the best of flowers, as Dantavakra is the best of Kshattriyas, so Vardhamana is the best of sages.

23 As giving safety is the best of gifts, as the best of true speeches is that which causes no distress, as chastity is the highest of austerities, so is the Sramana Gnatriputra the highest of men.

24 As the Lavasaptamas are the highest of those gods who live very long, as the palace Saudharman is the best of heavenly abodes, as Nirvana is the chief object of the Law, so there is no wiser man than Gnatriputra.

25 He (bears everything) like the earth; he annihilates (his Karman); he is free from greed; he, the Omniscient, does not keep store (of anything); he has crossed the ocean of life like the sea: he, the Hero, who grants protection to all, and whose perception is infinite.

26 Having conquered the passions which defile the soul: wrath, pride, deceit, and greed, the Arhat, the great sage, does not commit any wrong, nor does he cause it to be committed.

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27 He understood the doctrines of the Kriyavadins, of the Akriyavadins, of the Vainayikas, and of the Agnanavadins; he had mastered all philosophical systems, and he practised control as long as he lived.

28 He abstained [Variya, literally 'forbade.'] from women, and from eating at night, he practised austerities for the removal of pain, he knew this world and that beyond; the lord renounced everything at every time.

29 Having heard and believing in the Law, which has been proclaimed and taught by the Arhat, and has been demonstrated with arguments, people will either make an end of their mundane existence, or they will become like Indra, the king of gods.

Thus I say.

SUTRAKRITANGA 7TH LECTURE,
CALLED DESCRIPTION OF THE WICKED.

1 Earth, water, fire, wind; grass, trees, and corn; and the movable beings, (viz.) the oviparous, viviparous, those generated from dirt, and those generated in fluids;

2 These classes (of living beings) have been declared (by the Ginas); know and understand that they (all desire) happiness; by (hurting) these beings (men) do harm to their own souls, and will again and again be born as one of them.

3 Every being born high or low in the scale of the living creation, among movable and immovable beings, will meet with its death. Whatever sins the evildoer commits in every birth, for them he must die.

4 In this world or in the next (the sinners suffer themselves what they have inflicted on other beings), a hundred times, or (suffer) other punishment. Living in the Samsara they ever acquire new Karman, and suffer for their misdeeds.

5 Some leave their mother and father to live as Sramanas, but they use fire; (the prophet) says: 'People are wicked who kill beings for the sake of their own pleasure.'

6 He who lights a fire, kills living beings; he who extinguishes it, kills the fire. Therefore a wise man who well considers the Law, should light no fire.

7 Earth contains life, and water contains life; jumping (or flying) insects fall in (the fire); dirt-born vermin (and beings) living in wood: all these beings are burned by lighting a fire.

8 Sprouts are beings possessed of natural development, their bodies (require) nourishment, and all have their individual life. Reckless men who cut them down out of regard for their own pleasure, destroy many living beings.

9 By destroying seeds, when young or grown up, a careless man does harm to his own soul. (The prophet) says: 'People are wicked who destroy seeds for the sake of their own pleasure.'

10 Men die as embryos, or as babies who do not yet talk, or who do so already; other men, as boys wearing five tufts of hair 1, or as youths, or in middle age: at the expiration of their life all leave the body and die.

11 Wake up, men! If we look at the dangers (to which he is exposed) a fool has not much chance to obtain human birth; always suffering like men in fever, people will go to utter misery.

12 Some say that perfection is reached by abstaining from the seasoner of food (viz. salt), others by the use of cold water (i.e. by ablutions), others again by (tending) a fire.

13 Perfection is not reached by bathing in the morning, nor by abstention from acids and salt; but by drinking liquor or eating meat or garlic men obtain another state of existence (than perfection).

14 Those who, touching water in the morning and evening, contend that perfection is obtained through water (are easily refuted). For if perfection could be obtained by contact with water, many beings living in water must have reached perfection:

15 Fishes, tortoises, aquatic snakes, cormorants, otters, and demons living in water. The clever ones declare those to be wrong who maintain that perfection may be obtained through water.

16 If water did wash off the impure Karman, it must take off merit too. But this (assertion of the heretics) has no foundation but their wish. As a blind man follows a guide (and misses his goal), so a fool (who makes ablutions, etc. as a means of reaching Moksha) kills living beings.

17 If water did wash off the sins of him who committed them, some would have obtained perfection who killed water-beings. Therefore he is wrong who maintains the attainment of perfection through water.

18 Those who, lighting fire in the morning and evening, contend that perfection is obtained through fire (are easily refuted). For if thereby perfection could be obtained, mechanics also, who use fire, would be liberated.

19 Perfection cannot be established by such gratuitous assertions; those who have not learned the truth will come to harm. A wise man, who knows the truth, should know and understand that all beings desire happiness.

20 All creatures who have committed sins wail, suffer, and tremble. Considering this a wise monk who has ceased to sin, and guards his own self, should abstain from violence with regard to movable and (immovable) beings.

21 He who keeps a store of rightly-obtained food and eats it; he who makes ablutions with pure water, contracting his limbs; he who washes and adorns his clothes, is far from being a naked monk.

22 A wise man, seeing that it is sinful (to use) water, should live of pure water, till he is liberated from the Samsara; not eating seeds and bulbs, he abstains from bathing, etc., and from women.

23 He who, after having left father, mother, house, sons, cattle, and wealth, visits houses where he gets nice food, is far from being a Sramana.

24 He who visits houses where he gets nice food, who professes the Law, desirous only of filling his belly, and brags (of himself) for the sake of food, is not equal to the hundredth part of an Arya.

25 A miserable man, who becomes a monk in order to get food from others, and a flatterer by the desire of filling his belly, will, in no remote future, come to harm, even as a boar greedy of wild rice.

26 The servile man says pleasing things for the sake of food, drink, and other things: but wrong belief and bad conduct are worthless like chaff.

27 He should beg where he is unknown, and maintain himself by it; he should not seek fame and respect by his austerities; he should not desire (pleasant) sounds and colours, but conquer his longing for all kinds of pleasures.

28 A monk should avoid every attachment and bear every pain, be full (of wisdom), not greedy, wander about homeless, give assurance of safety (to all beings), and be free from passions.

29 (In order to be able) to practise control a monk should eat; he should desire to get rid of sin; if he suffers pain, he should have recourse to control, and subdue the foe at the head of the battle, as it were.

30 Though beaten he should be like a plank; he should wait for the advent of death; having annihilated his Karman he should not again mix with the world, but be rather like a car whose axle is broken.

Thus I say.

SUTRAKRITANGA 8TH LECTURE,
CALLED ON EXERTION*.

[* Virya; it is the power or virtue of a thing.]

1 It is said that two definitions of exertion are given; but in what does the exertion of the virtuous consist, and how is it defined?

2 Some say that it consists in works, and the pious (say that it consists) in abstention from works. Men appear divided into two classes from this point of view.

3 Carelessness is called (the cause of) Karman, carefulness that of the contrary (viz. absence of Karman); when the one or the other is predicated (of a man, he is called) either a fool or a wise man.

4 Some learn sciences [Sattha = sastra or sastra. On the latter alternative we must translate '(practice of) arms.'] which teach the destruction of living beings, others study spells for killing all sorts of creatures.

5 Deceivers practise deceit in order to procure themselves pleasures and amusement; they kill, cut, and dismember (beings) for the sake of their own comfort.

6 The careless (commit sins) by thoughts, words, and acts, with regard to this and the next world, both (by doing the act themselves and by making others do it).

7 A cruel man does cruel acts and is thereby involved in other cruelties; but sinful undertakings will in the end bring about misery.

8 Sinners, subject to love and hate and doing wrong, acquire Karman arising from passions and commit many sins.

9 Thus the 'exertion leading to works' of the sinners has been described; now learn from me the wise men's 'exertion not leading to works.'

10 A pious monk, who is free from bonds and has severed all fetters, annihilates his bad Karman, and removes definitely the thorn (of sin).

11 Following the right doctrine he exerts himself; as one becomes more and more the receptacle of misery, so his bad thoughts (or sinfulness) increase.

12 Those who have good places (in heaven, etc.) must surely leave them (some time). We live together with relations and friends but a limited time.

13 Considering this, a wise man should conquer his greed, and enter upon the noble (path), which contains all virtues and is not blamed.

14 Whether he know the pith of the Law by intuition or through instruction, a houseless (monk) should exert himself and abstain from sins.

15 When a wise man, in whatever way, comes to know that the apportioned space of his life draws towards its end, he should in the meantime quickly learn the method (of dying a religious death).

16 As a tortoise draws its limbs into its own body, so a wise man should cover, as it were, his sins with his own meditation.

17 He should draw in, as it were, his hands and feet, his mind and five organs of sense, the effect of his bad Karman, and every bad use of language.

18 The virtuous exert themselves with regard to the distant end (viz. Liberation [Silanka quotes and comments upon four different readings of the first line of this verse, the last of which is rendered above as it is the textus receptus of the Dipika. (1st) Abstaining from even small pride and from deceit, one, etc. (2nd) 'Great' for 'even small.' (3rd) I have heard from some men: This is the valour of the virtuous man, that, etc. After this verse Silanka quotes another which, he says, is not found in MSS. of the text, but p. 300 is found in the Tika. It is, however, the identical verse I, 3, 4, 20, see above, p. 271, which occurs again I, 11, 11.]). One should live indifferent to one's own happiness, calm, and without any attachment.

19 Do not kill living beings, do not take what is not freely given, do not talk false, treacherous speech! This is the Law of him who is rich in control.

20 Do not desire by words or thoughts what is a transgression (of the Law); guarding yourself in all ways, and subduing (the senses), practise control.

21 A man who guards his self and subdues his senses, abhors all sins, past, present, and future ones.

22 Benighted men of wrong faith, (though) they be renowned as heroes, exert themselves in a bad way, which will have, in all respects, evil consequences for them.

23 Wise men of right faith, who are renowned heroes, exert themselves in a good way which will have no (evil) consequences whatever for them.

24 Penance is of no good if performed by noble men who have turned monks (for the sake of fame); but that penance of which nobody else knows anything (is meritorious). Do not spread your own fame [Compare Matthew 6:1-6.]!

25 A pious man should eat little, drink little, talk little; he should always exert himself, being calm, indifferent, a subduer (of his senses), and free from greed.

26 Meditating and performing religious practices, abandoning his body, regarding forbearance as the paramount duty, a monk should wander about till he obtains liberation.

Thus I say.

SUTRAKRITANGA 9TH LECTURE,
CALLED THE LAW.

1 What is the Law that has been preached by the wise Brahmana (i.e. Mahavira [The word brahmana (mahana) is here, as in many other passages, a mere honorific title which could be rendered by 'ascetic.'])? Learn from me the noble Law of the Ginas as it is.

2 Brahmanas, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas, Kandalas, Vukkasas, hunters, merchants, Sudras, and others who are accustomed to do acts;

3 The iniquity of all these men who cling to property goes on increasing; for those who procure themselves pleasures by sinful acts will not get rid of misery.

4 After a man has done acts which cause the death of living beings, his pleasure-seeking relations take possession of his wealth, whilst the doer of the acts must suffer for them.

5 'Mother, father, daughter-in-law, brother, wife, and sons will not be able to help me, when I suffer for my own deeds.'

6 Taking to heart this truth from which flow the most important truths, a monk, without property and without egoism, should follow the teaching of the Ginas.

7 Leaving his wealth, sons, relations, and property, leaving sorrow that never ceases, (a monk) should wander about without any worldly interests.

8 Earth, water, fire, and wind; grass, trees, and corn; oviparous animals, the two kinds of viviparous 1 animals; beings engendered in fluids and in dirt, and plants;

9 These six classes of living beings a wise man should know and treat tenderly, in thoughts, words, and acts; he should neither do actions nor desire property whereby he might do them any harm.

10 Untrue speech, sexual intercourse, personal property, taking things that are not freely given: all these causes of injury to living beings a wise man should abstain from.

11 Deceit, greed, anger, and pride: combat these causes of sin; a wise man should abstain from them.

12 Washing, dyeing, making urine, evacuation of the bowels, vomiting, anointing of the eyes, and whatever is contrary to the rules of conduct: from all this a wise man should abstain.

13 Perfumes, wreaths, bathing, cleansing of the teeth, property, actions referring to women: from all this a wise man should abstain.

14 Alms that have been prepared, or bought, or stolen, or brought for the sake of a monk, or alms that contain particles of the above mentioned, or such alms as are unacceptable (for one cause or other), from all these a wise man should abstain.

15 Invigorating food, anointing of the eyes, greed, damaging others, washing (one's limbs), (rubbing them with) Lodhra-powder, etc.: from all this a wise man should abstain.

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16 Deliberating with laymen, praising their work, answering their questions, eating the householder's meals: from all this a wise man should abstain.

17 He should not learn to play chess, he should not speak anything forbidden by the Law; a wise man should abstain from fights and quarrels.

18 Shoes, an umbrella, dice, chowries, working for another, helping each other: from all this a wise man should abstain.

19 A monk should not void his excrements or urine among plants; he should never rinse his mouth (even) with distilled water after having removed (everything endowed with life).

20 He should never eat or drink out of a householder's vessel; nor wear his clothes, especially if he is a naked monk: from all this a wise man should abstain.

21 A stool or bed or a seat in a house, asking of news and recollection (of past sports): from all this a wise man should abstain.

22 Fame, glory, and renown; honours and respectful treatment; all pleasures in the whole world: from all this a wise man should abstain.

23 A monk (should be content) with such food and drink as will sustain his life; he should give a portion of it to others: [from all this a wise man should abstain.]

24 Thus spoke the Nirgrantha, the great sage Mahavira; he who possesses infinite knowledge and faith has taught the Law and the sacred texts.

25 In speaking (a monk) should use as few words as possible; he should not delight in another's foibles; he should avoid deceiving speech, and should answer after ripe reflection.

26 One will repent of having used the third kind of speech [The four kinds of speech are (1st) true speech, (2nd) untrue speech, (3rd) speech partly true and partly untrue, (4th) speech which is neither true nor untrue.--Inaccurate statements are intended here.]; a secret should not be made known. This is the Nirgrantha's commandment.

27 (A monk) should not call one names, nor 'friend,' nor by his Gotra; 'thou, thou' is vulgar; never address one by 'thou!'

28 A virtuous monk should never keep company (with the wicked); for thereby he incurs dangers (for his conduct) disguised as pleasures. A wise man should be aware of them.

29 (A monk) should not stay in the house of a householder except by constraint; nor should he amuse himself too long (by looking) at the sports of the children of the village.

30 Not desirous of fine things, he should wander about, exerting himself; not careless in his conduct, he should bear whatever pains he has to suffer.

31 If beaten, he should not be angry; if abused, he should not fly into a passion; with a placid mind he should bear everything and not make a great noise.

32 He should not enjoy pleasures though they offer themselves; for thus he is said (to reach) discernment. He should always practise what is right to do in the presence of the enlightened ones.

33 He should obey and serve a wise and pious teacher, (such teachers) as are heroes (of faith), who search for the benefit of their souls, are firm in control, and subdue their senses.

34 These men, who do not see the light (as it were) in domestic life, are the beloved of the people; these heroes, free from bondage, do not desire life.

35 They do not long for sensual pleasures, they do not engage in works. All that (the heretics) always talk about, is opposed to the right faith.

36 Excessive pride and deceit, all worldly vanities: all this a wise man knows and renounces, and thus brings about his final Liberation.

Thus I say.

SUTRAKRITANGA 10TH LECTURE, CALLED CAREFULNESS.

1 The wise (Arhat) having pondered on the Law proclaimed it; learn from me correctly what is carefulness. A monk who forms no resolutions and is possessed of carefulness, should wander about, giving no offence to any creature;

2 To no living beings, whether they move or not, whether above or below or on earth, by putting a strain upon them by his hands or feet. Nor should he take from householders anything that is not freely given.

3 Having mastered the Law and got rid of carelessness, he should live on allowed food 3, and treat all beings as he himself would be treated; he should not expose himself to guilt by his desire for life; a monk who performs austerities should not keep any store.

4 Restraining his senses from women, a sage should wander about free from all worldly ties. See, every creature and every being suffers pain and is afflicted.

5 Doing harm to these beings, an ignorant man becomes involved in sins. Sin is committed by injuring (beings), and one sins also by employing others (in such acts).

6 He too who leads a miserable life, commits sin. Therefore (the Ginas) have enjoined thorough carefulness. One should know the truth, delight in control and sound judgement, cease from injuring beings, and be of a settled mind.

7 Looking at all people with an impartial mind, one should not do anything to please or to harm them. After a virtuous beginning some become miserable and lose heart, (since) they desire honour and fame.

8 Desiring unallowed food and accepting such, the sinner, careless in his conduct, is attached to women, and tries to acquire property.

9 Given to violent deeds he accumulates (Karman); on his decease he (meets with) really distressing misery. Therefore a wise man considers well the Law; a sage wanders about free from all worldly ties.

10 He should not expose himself to guilt by his desire for life, but he should wander about without any attachment. Speaking after due consideration, and combating his worldly desires, he should say nothing that involves slaughter of living beings.

11 He should not desire unallowed food, and he should not mix with people who desire such; he should mortify his flesh, thinking (of his duty), and giving up his sorrows without regard (to worldly interests).

12 Try to realise that you are single and alone; thereby you will obtain Liberation; mind, this is no false assertion! This Liberation is not anything unreal, but the best thing. An ascetic is free from anger, and delights in the truth.

13 Abstain from sexual intercourse with women, do not acquire property; a man possessed of carefulness will, beyond doubt, be a saviour (to others) in all circumstances.

14 A monk having conquered aversion to control and delight in sensual objects 1, should bear all troubles caused by (pricking) grass, cold, heat, and insects; he should endure pleasant and unpleasant smells.

15 Guarding his speech and possessed of carefulness, acquiring (pure) Lesya, he should wander about; he should not thatch a house for himself or for others, nor behave towards other people like a householder.

16 Questioned by somebody who maintains the unchangeable character of the soul 3, he should expound the true (doctrine); those who engage in works and are held in worldly bondage, do not know the Law which leads to Liberation.

17 Men here have various opinions; (they adhere) to the doctrine of the Kriyavadins and Akriyavadins. The iniquity of an unrestrained sinner, who after having been born injures the body (of beings to procure his own happiness), goes on increasing.

18 Forgetting that his life will have an end, a rash and foolish man is full of selfishness; he toils day and night, greedy of wealth, as if he never should grow old or die.

19 Leave wealth and cattle, all relations and dear friends! (A man) always talks (about these things), and he is infatuated with them; but other people will take away his wealth.

20 As smaller beasts keep at a distance from a lion, being afraid of him, so a wise man keeps aloof from sin, well considering the Law.

21 A wise man who has become awakened should turn away from sin, when he considers the evils arising from slaughter and the great dangers entailed by his cruel disposition.

22 A sage setting out for the real good (viz. Liberation), should not speak untruth; this (rule, they say,) comprises Nirvana and the whole of carefulness. He should not do works, nor cause others to do them, nor assent to others doing them.

23 When he gets pure (food), he should not be affected (by love or hate), and he should not be too fond (of such food) nor long for it. A pious monk, free from bonds, should wander about desiring neither honours nor fame.

24 A monk who has left the house and is free from desires should abandon his body, annihilating his sins; he should not desire life nor death, and walk about, having got beyond the Circle (of Births) [Or, the fetter of sin.].

Thus I say.

SUTRAKRITANGA 11TH LECTURE, CALLED THE PATH.

1 What is the Path that has been preached by the wise Brahmana (i.e. Mahavira), having correctly entered upon which path a man crosses the flood (of Samsara) which is difficult to pass?

2 O monk and great sage, tell us this best path which leads to liberation from all misery, as you know it!

3 Tell us how we should describe that path, if somebody, a god or a man, should ask us about it!

4 If somebody, a god or a man, ask you about it, tell them the truth about the path. Listen to me!

5, 6 The very difficult (path) explained by the Kasyapa, following which some men from this earth have formerly passed over. (the Samsara) like traders over the ocean, pass over it (even now), and will pass over it in future; (this path which) I have learned, I shall explain in due order; men, listen to me!

7 Earth-lives are individual beings, so are water-lives, fire-lives, and wind-lives; grass, trees, corn;

8 And the remaining, (viz.) the movable beings; thus are enumerated the six classes of living beings; these are all the living beings, there are no more besides.

9 A wise man should study them with all means of philosophical research. All beings hate pains; therefore one should not kill them.

10 This is the quintessence of wisdom: not to kill anything. Know this to be the legitimate conclusion from the principle of the reciprocity with regard to non-killing.

11 He should cease to injure living beings whether they move or not, on high, below, and on earth. For this has been called the Nirvana, which consists in peace.

12 Master (of his senses) and avoiding wrong, he should do no harm to anybody, neither by thoughts, nor words, nor acts.

13 A wise man who restrains his senses and possesses great knowledge, should accept such things as are freely given him, being always circumspect with regard to the accepting of alms, and abstaining from what he is forbidden to accept.

14 A true monk should not accept such food and drink as has been especially prepared for him along with slaughter of living beings.

15 He should not partake of a meal which contains but a particle of forbidden food: this is the Law of him who is rich in control. Whatever (food a monk) suspects (to be impure), he may not eat.

16 A man who guards his soul and subdues his senses, should never assent to anybody killing beings.--In towns and villages cases (will occur, which place) the faithful (in a dilemma).

17 Hearing the talk of people, one should not say, 'this is a good action,' nor 'this is a bad action.' For there is an objection (to either answer).

18 He should not say that it is meritorious, because he ought to save those beings, whether they move or not, which are killed there for the sake of making a gift.

19 Nor should he say that it is not meritorious, because he would then prevent those for whose sake the food and drink in question is prepared, to get their due.

20 Those who praise the gift, are accessory to the killing of beings; those who forbid it, deprive (others) of the means of subsistence.

21 Those, however, who give neither answer, viz. that it is meritorious, or is not so, do not expose themselves to guilt, and will reach Beatitude.

22 Knowing that Beatitude is the best thing as the moon is among the stars, a sage always restrained and subduing his senses brings about Beatitude.

23 A pious man shows an island to the beings which are carried away (by the flood of the Samsara) and suffer for their deeds. This place of safety has been proclaimed (by the Tirthakaras).

24 He who guards his soul, subdues his senses, puts a stop to the current (of the Samsara), and is free from Asravas, is (entitled to) expound the pure, complete, unparalleled Law.

25 Those who do not know this (Law), are not awakened, though they fancy themselves awakened; believing themselves awakened, they are beyond the boundary of right faith.

26 Eating seeds and drinking cold water and what has been especially prepared for them, they enter upon meditation, but are ignorant of the truth, and do not possess carefulness.

27, 28 As dhankas, herons, ospreys, cormorants, and pheasants meditate upon capturing fish, (which is) a sinful and very low meditation, so some heretical, unworthy Sramanas contemplate the pursuit of pleasures; (they are) sinful and very low like herons.

29 Here some weak-minded persons, abusing the pure path, enter upon a wrong path. They thereby will go to misery and destruction.

30, 31 As a blind-born man getting into a leaky boat wants to reach the shore, but is drowned during the passage; so some unworthy, heretical Sramanas, having got into the full current (of the Samsara), will incur great danger.

32 But knowing this Law which has been proclaimed by the Kasyapa, (a monk) crosses the dreadful current (of the Samsara), and wanders about intent on the benefit of his soul.

33 Indifferent to worldly objects, a man should wander about treating all creatures in the world so as he himself would be treated.

34 A wise man knowing (and renouncing) excessive pride and deceit, (in short) giving up all (causes of worldly existence), brings about his Liberation.

35 He acquires good qualities, and leaves off bad qualities; a monk, who vigorously practises austerities, avoids anger and pride.

36 The Buddhas [Here Buddha is a synonym for Tirthakara.] that were, and the Buddhas that will be, they (as it were) have Peace as their foundation, even as all things have the earth for their foundation.

37 And if any accidents whatever befall him who has gained that (foundation), he will not be overpowered by them as a mountain by the storm [Silanka says that by exercise the power of resistance will be increased, and in confirmation of this he relates the well-known story of the herdsman who daily carried a calf from its birth till it was two years old.].

38 A restrained, very learned, and wise (monk) should accept such alms as are freely given him, being free from

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passions and waiting for his end. This is the doctrine of the Kevalin.

Thus I say.

SUTRAKRITANGA 12TH LECTURE,
CALLED THE CREED.

[Samosarana = samavasarana. This word and the verb samosarai are commonly used when Mahavira preaches to a meeting (melapaka) gathered round him.]

1 There are four (heretical) creeds which the disputants severally uphold: 1st. the Kriyavada, 2nd. the Akriyavada, 3rd. the Vinayavada, and 4th. the Agnanavada.

2 The agnostics, though they (pretend to) be clever, reason incoherently, and do not get beyond the confusion of their ideas. Ignorant (teachers) speak to ignorant (pupils), and without reflection they speak untruth.

3 Believing truth to be untruth, and calling a bad man good, the various upholders of Vinaya, asked about it, explain their tenet.

4 Without perceiving the truth they speak thus: this object (viz. Moksha) is realised by us thus (viz. by Vinaya). The Akriyavadins who deny Karman, do not admit that the action (of the soul is transmitted to) the future moments [The meaning is that as everything has but a momentary existence, there is no connection between the thing as it is now, and as it will be in the next moment. This is a doctrine of the Bauddhas. But the Sankhyas are also reckoned among the Akriyavadins, because, according to them, the atman does not act.].

5 They become involved in contradiction in their own assertions; they falter in their speech and are unable to repeat what is said to them 4. This (their opinion) has a valiant counter-opinion, this (our opinion) has no valiant counter-opinion; and Karman has six sources.

6 The Akriyavadins who do not understand the truth, bring forward various opinions; many men believing in them will whirl round in the endless Circle of Births.

7 'There rises no sun, nor does it set; there waxes no moon, nor does it wane; there are no rivers running, nor any winds blowing; the whole world is ascertained to be unreal.'

8 As a blind man, though he have a light, does not see colours, etc., because he is deprived of his eye(sight), so the Akriyavadin, having a perverted intellect, does not recognise the action (of the soul) though it does exist.

9 Many men in this world who have studied astrology, the art of interpreting dreams, divination from diagrams, augury, divination from bodily marks, and from portents, and the eight branches (of divination from omens), know the future [This would be impossible if the whole world was unreal.].

10 (The opponents say that) some forecasts are true, and the prophecies of others prove wrong; therefore they do not study those sciences, but they profess to know the world, fools though they be.

11 The (Kriyavadins) Sramanas and Brahmanas understanding the world (according to their lights), speak thus: misery is produced by one's own works, not by those of somebody else (viz. fate, creator, etc.). But right knowledge and conduct lead to liberation.

12 The (Tirthakaras), being (as it were) the eyes of the world and its leaders, teach the path which is salutary to men; they have declared that the world is eternal inasmuch as creatures are (for ever) living in it, O ye men!

The Rakshasas and the dwellers in Yama's world, the troops 1 of Asuras and Gandharvas, and the spirits that walk the air, and individual beings: they will all be born again and again. (13)

(The Samsara) which is compared to the boundless flood of water, know it to be impassable and of very long duration on account of repeated births. Men therein, seduced by their senses and by women, are born again and again both (as movable and immovable beings). (14)

15 The sinners cannot annihilate their works by new works; the pious annihilate their works by abstention from works; the wise and happy men who got rid of the effects of greed, do not commit sins.

16 They know the past, present, and future ways of the world; they are leaders of other men, but follow no leader; they are awakened, and put an end to mundane existence.

17 Averse to injury of living beings, they do not act, nor cause others to act. Always restraining themselves, those pious men practise control, and some become heroes through their knowledge.

18 He regards small beings and large beings, the whole world as equal to himself; he comprehends the immense world, and being awakened he controls himself among the careless.

19 Those who have learned (the truth) by themselves or from others, are able (to save) themselves and others. One should always honour a man, who is like a light and makes manifest the Law after having well considered it.

20 He who knows himself and the world; who knows where (the creatures) go, and whence they will not return; who knows what is eternal, and what is transient; birth and death, and the future existences of men;

21 He who knows the tortures of beings below (i.e. in hell); who knows the influx of sin and its stoppage; who knows misery and its annihilation,--he is entitled to expound the Kriyavada,

22 Being not attached to sounds and colours, indifferent to tastes and smells, not desiring life nor death, guarded by control, and exempt from the Circle (of Births).

Thus I say.

SUTRAKRITANGA 13TH LECTURE,
CALLED THE REAL TRUTH.

1 I shall now expound, in accordance with truth, the various qualities of men; I shall explain the virtue and peace of the good, the vices and the unrest of the wicked.

2 Having learned the Law from men who exert themselves day and night, from the Tathagatas, they neglect the conduct in which they had been instructed, and speak rudely to their teacher.

3 Those who explain the pure doctrine according to their individual opinion, falsify it in repeating (it after their teachers); those who speak untruth from pride of knowledge, are not capable of many virtues.

4 Those who on being questioned conceal the truth, defraud themselves of the real good. These bad men who believe themselves good and are full of deceit, will go to endless punishment.

5 He who is of a wrathful disposition and calls everything by its true name, who renews a composed quarrel, will, like a blind man groping his way with a stick, do harm to himself, being still subject to passion and possessing evil Karman.

6 He who is quarrelsome and talks improperly, is not impartial nor beyond the reach of deceit 1; but he who executes the commands (of his teacher) and controls himself, sees nothing but the truth and is exempt from deceit.

7 He who conforms to admonitions however many he receives, is kindly spoken, subtile, manly, noble, and a well-doer; (such a man) is impartial and beyond the reach of deceit.

8 He who believes himself rich in control, or inconsiderately vaunts his knowledge, or fancies himself purified by austerities, will look upon other men as shadows.

9 He is always turned round by delusion, and has no place in the Gotra where the Vow of Silence is practised (viz. in the Jaina church), who not being awakened puts himself forward in order to gain honours through something different from control.

10 A Brahmana or Kshattriya by birth, a scion of the Ugra race or a Likkhavi, who enters the order eating alms given him by others, is not stuck up on account of his renowned Gotra.

11 His pedigree on his mother's and on his father's side will be of no use to him, nothing will but right knowledge and conduct: when after becoming a monk he acts like a householder, he will not succeed in obtaining final Liberation.

12 If a poor monk subsisting on the meanest food is attached to vanities, desires fame, and not being awakened, (makes his monkhood) a means of subsistence, he will suffer again and again (in the Circle of Births).

13 A monk, who is eloquent, speaks very well, has bright ideas, is clever, possesses a fine intellect, and has purified his soul, may (perhaps) despise other men on account of his intellect.

14 Thus an intelligent monk who puts himself forward, has not yet realised carefulness; or rather he is a weak-minded man who elated by his success blames other men.

15 A monk should combat pride of genius, pride of sanctity, pride of birth, and (pride of good) living, which is enumerated as the fourth; such a man is wise and of the right stuff.

16 The wise leave off these kinds of pride, the pious do not cultivate them; the great sages are above all such things as Gotra (etc.), and they ascend to the place where there is no Gotra at all (viz. to Moksha).

17 A monk who looks upon his body as on a corpse and fully understands the Law, will on entering a village or a town distinguish between what may be accepted and what may not, and will not be greedy of food or drink.

18 A monk having conquered aversion to control and delight in sensual objects, living in company with many brethren or leading a single life, should silently repeat to himself: 'A man must come and go (according to his Karman) alone' (i.e. without deriving any help from others).

19 Knowing it by intuition or having learned it from others, one should teach the Law which is a benefit to men; the pious are not given to blameable sinful practices.

20 If (a monk preaches the Law to some one) whose disposition he has not ascertained, that man, not believing (what he is taught), will become angry, and may wound him in a way that will shorten or end his life. When he knows their disposition, he (may teach) others the truth.

21 A wise man by suppressing his Karman and his will should renounce his interest in everything else. (For) through the objects of sight (i.e. senses) which are causes of danger, men come to harm. Knowing the truth with regard to movable and immovable beings (a monk should exert himself) [The commentators make out the following meaning: A wise (preacher) should ascertain (his hearers') occupations and inclinations, and then (try to) better their evil disposition. Through the objects of sight which are causes of danger, men are led astray. A wise man knowing (the disposition of his hearers should preach the Law which is wholesome) to all living beings whether they move or not.].

22 Not desiring honour or fame, he should say nothing to anybody either to please or to irritate him. Avoiding all evils, a monk should without embarrassment and passion (preach the Law).

23 Well considering (his duties) in accordance with truth, abstaining from doing injury to living beings, not desiring life nor death, he should wander about released from the Circle (of Births).

Thus I say.

SUTRAKRITANGA 14TH LECTURE,
CALLED THE NIRGRANTHA.

1 He who has given up all worldly ties and is instructed in our creed, should practise chastity, exerting himself; obeying the commands (of his teacher) he should make himself well acquainted with the conduct; a clever (monk) should avoid carelessness.

2 As (birds of prey), e.g. Dhankas, carry off a fluttering young bird whose wings are not yet grown, when it attempts to fly from the nest, but is not able to do so, because it is too young and its wings are not yet grown;

3 Just as they carry off a young bird whose wings are not yet grown, so many unprincipled men will seduce a novice who has not yet mastered the Law, thinking that they can get him in their power, when they have made him leave (the Gakkha).

4 A good man should long to live with his teacher in order to perform his duties, knowing that he who does not live with his teacher will not put an end to his mundane existence. Making manifest the conduct of the virtuous, an intelligent (monk) should not leave the (company of his teacher).

5 (A monk) who complies with the rules for Yatis 1 as regards postures, lying down, sitting, and exertions, who is thoroughly acquainted with the Samitis and Guptis, should in teaching others explain each single (point of conduct).

6 Whether he hears (pleasant) sounds or dreadful ones, he should not allow himself to be influenced by them, and persevere in control; nor should a monk be sleepy or careless, but by every means he should get rid of doubts.

7 If admonished by a young or an old monk, by one above him or one of equal age, he should not retort against him, being perfectly free from passion; for one who is (as it were) carried away (by the stream of the Samsara), will not get to its opposite shore.

8 (He should not become angry) if (doing anything wrong) his own creed is quoted against him by a heretic, or if he is corrected by (somebody else) be he young or old, or by a female slave engaged in low work or carrying a jar, or by some householder.

9 He should not be angry with them nor do them any harm, nor say a single hard word to them, but he should promise not to commit the same sin again; for this is better than to do wrong.

10 As to one who has lost his way in the wood, others who have not, (show it, thus some) teach the path which is salutary to men. Therefore (he should think): this is for my good that those who know put me right.

11 Now he who has lost his way should treat with all honour him who has not. This simile has been explained by the Prophet. Having learned what is right one should practise it.

12 As a guide in a dark night does not find the way since he cannot see it, but recognises the way when it has become light by the rising of the sun;

13 So a novice who has not mastered the Law, does not know the Law, not being awakened; but afterwards he knows it well through the words of the Ginas, as with his eye (the wanderer sees the way) after sunrise.

14 Always restrained with regard to movable and immovable beings which are on high, below, and on earth, (a monk) should wander about entertaining no hostile thoughts (towards them) and being steadfast (in control).

15 At the right time he may put a question about living beings to a well-conducted (monk), who will explain the conduct of the virtuous; and what he hears he should follow and treasure up in his heart, thinking that it is the doctrine of the Kevalins.

16 Living in this (company of the teacher) and protecting (himself or other beings) in the three ways (viz. in thoughts, words, and acts), he (gets) peace and the annihilation (of sins) as they say. Thus speak those who know the three worlds, and they do not again commit faults!

17 A monk by hearing the desired Truth gets bright ideas and becomes a clever (teacher); desiring the highest good and practising austerities and silence, he will obtain final Liberation (living on) pure (food).

18 Those who having investigated the Law expound it, are awakened and put an end to mundane existence; able to liberate both (themselves and others), they answer the well-deliberated questions.

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19 He does not conceal (the truth) nor falsify it; he should not indulge his pride and (desire for) fame; being wise he should not joke, nor pronounce benedictions.

20 Averse to injury of living beings, he does not disgrace his calling by the use of spells; a good man does not desire anything from other people, and he does not give utterance to heretical doctrines.

21 A monk living single should not ridicule heretical doctrines, and should avoid hard words though they be true; he should not be vain, nor brag, but he should without embarrassment and passion (preach the Law).

22 A monk should be modest though he be of a fearless mind; he should expound the Syadvada; he should use the two (permitted) kinds of speech [The first and fourth kinds of speech are here intended.], living among virtuous men, impartial and wise.

23 He who follows (the instruction) may believe something untrue; (one should) kindly (tell him) 'It is thus or thus.' One should never hurt him by outrageous language, nor give long-winded explanations of difficult passages.

24 (If the pupil does not understand his short explanation), he should explain at greater length. When the pupil has heard it, he will correctly understand the Truth. A monk should utter pure speech, which is in accordance with the creed (of the Ginas), and should declare the distinction of sin.

25 He should well learn the (sacred texts) as they have been revealed; he should endeavour (to teach the creed), but he should not speak unduly long. A faithful man who is able to explain the entire creed 1 will not corrupt the faith.

26 He should not pervert nor render obscure (the truth); he should fabricate neither text nor meaning, being a saviour; being devoted to the Teacher and considering well his words, he delivers faithfully what he has learned.

27 He who correctly knows the sacred texts, who practises austerities, who understands all details of the Law, who is an authentic interpreter, clever, and learned--such a man is competent to explain the entire creed.

Thus I say.

SUTRAKRITANGA 15TH LECTURE,
CALLED THE YAMAKAS*.

[This lecture has been named from its opening words gamaiyam, which also means, consisting of yamakas (compare Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. 11, p. 101). For in this lecture each verse or line opens with a word repeated from the end of the preceding one. This artifice is technically called srinkhala-yamaka, or chain-yam aka, a term which seems to be contained in another name of our lecture, mentioned by the author of the Niryukti (verse 28), viz. adaniya-sankaliya. For sankaliya is the Prakrit for srinkhala (e.g. in our text I, 5, 2, 20), though Silanka here renders it wrongly sankalita; and adaniya by itself is used as a name of our lecture.]

1 What is past, present, and to come, all this is known to the Leader, the Saviour, who annihilates the hindrances to right faith.

2 The annihilator of doubt knows the incomparable (Law); he, the expounder of the incomparable (Law), is not inclined towards this or that (heretical doctrine). .

3 On this or that (article of the creed he has) the correct opinion; hence he is rightly called a true (man); he who always possesses the truth, is kind towards his fellow-creatures.

4 Towards your fellow-creatures be not hostile: that is the Law of him who is rich in control; he who is rich in control renounces everything, and in this (world meditates on the) reflections on life.

5 He whose soul is purified by meditating on those reflections is compared to a ship in water; like a ship reaching the shore he gets beyond misery.

6 A wise man gets beyond it who knows the sins of this world; sinful acts are got rid of by him who does not undertake any new acts.

7 He who does not undertake new acts does not acquire Karman, and he verily understands (Karman); understanding it he becomes a Great Hero, who is not born (again) and does not die.

8 A Great Hero, who has no Karman, does not die.--As the wind extinguishes a light, (so he puts down) the lovely women in this world.

9 Those men whom women do not seduce, value Moksha most; those men are free from bondage and do not desire life.

10 Turning from worldly life, they reach the goal by pious acts; by their pious acts they are directed (towards Liberation), and they show the way to others.

11 The preaching of the Law (has different effect) on different creatures; he who is rich in control, is. treated with honour, but does not care for it; he exerts himself, subdues his senses, is firm, and abstains from sexual intercourse.

12 (He should not yield to temptations as a pig which) is decoyed by wild rice, being proof against sins, and free from faults. Being free from faults he always subdues his senses, and has reached the incomparable cession of Karman.

13 Knowing the incomparable (control), he should not be hostile towards anybody, in thoughts, words, or deeds, having eyes (to see everything).

14 He truly is the eye of men who (dwells so to speak) on the end of desire; on its end (i.e. edge) glides the razor, on its end (i.e. rim) rolls the wheel.

15 Because the wise use the ends (of things, i.e. bad food, etc.), they are called 'makers of an end' here. Here in the world of men we are men to fulfil the Law.

16 In this creed which surpasses the world, (men) become perfected saints or gods, as I have heard; and I have heard that outside the rank of men this is not so [Perfection cannot be obtained by other creatures than men.].

17 Some (heretics) have said that they (viz. the gods) put an end to misery [I.e. reach final beatitude.]; but others (Jainas) have repeatedly said that this (human) body is not easily obtained.

18 To one whose soul has left (human life), it is not easy again to obtain instruction (in the Law), nor is such a mental disposition which they declare appropriate for adopting the Law.

19 How can it even be imagined that he should be born again, who professes the pure, complete, unparalleled Law, and is a receptacle of the unparalleled Law?

20 How could the wise Tathagatas be born again, the Tathagatas who engage in no undertakings, the supreme, the eyes of the world?

21 And there has been declared by the Kasyapa the supreme condition, by realising which some happy and wise men reach excellence.

22 A wise man who has gained strength (in control) which leads to the expiation of sins, annihilates his former works, and does not do new ones.

23 The Great Hero does no actions which are the effects of former sins. By his actions he is directed (towards Moksha), abstaining from works which are entailed by birth.

24 That which all saints value highly (viz. control), destroys the thorn (viz. Karman); practising it some have been liberated, and others have become gods.

25 There have been wise men, and there will be pious men, who having come to the end and made manifest the end of the incomprehensible path, have been liberated.

Thus I say.

SUTRAKRITANGA 16TH LECTURE,
CALLED THE SONG.

1 Now the Venerable One said: He who thus subdues his senses, who is well qualified (for his task) and abandons his body, is to be called a Brahmana, a Sramana, a Bhikshu, a Nirgrantha. (The pupil) replied: Why is he who thus subdues his senses, who is well qualified (for his task) and abandons his body, to be called a Brahmana, a Sramana, a Bhikshu, a Nirgrantha? Tell this, O great sage!

2 He is a Brahmana for this reason that he has ceased from all sinful actions, viz. love, hate, quarrel, calumny, backbiting, reviling of others, aversion to control, and love of pleasures, deceit, untruth, and the sin of wrong belief; that he possesses the Samitis, always exerts himself, is not angry, nor proud.

3 He is a Sramana for this reason that he is not hampered by any obstacles, that he is free from desires, (abstaining from) property, killing, telling lies, and sexual intercourse; (and from) wrath, pride, deceit, greed, love, and hate: thus giving up every passion that involves him in sin, (such as) killing of beings. (Such a man) deserves the name of a Sramana, who subdues (moreover) his senses, is well qualified (for his task), and abandons his body.

4 He is a Bhikshu for this reason that he is not conceited, but modest, and obedient (to his Guru), that he subdues his senses, is well qualified (for his task), and abandons his body, that he sustains all troubles and calamities, that he practises with a pure mind the (prescribed) conduct, exerts himself well, is steadfast, and eats but a moderate quantity of food which is given him by others. (Such a man) deserves the name of a Bhikshu.

5 He is a Nirgrantha for this reason that he is single, knowing the absolute (atman), awakened, proof against sins, well disciplined; that he possesses the Samitis and equanimity, knows the true nature of the Self, is wise, has renounced the causes of sin both (objectively and subjectively), does not desire honour, respect, and hospitality, but searches and knows the Law, endeavours to gain Liberation, and lives restrained. (Such a man) deserves the name of a Nirgrantha, who subdues his senses, is well qualified (for his task), and abandons his body.

6 Know this to be thus as I have told you, because I am the Saviour.

Thus I say.

2ND BOOK.
SUTRAKRITANGA 1ST LECTURE,
CALLED THE LOTUS.

1 O long-lived (Gambusvamin)! I (Sudharman) have heard the following Discourse from the Venerable (Mahavira). We now come to the Lecture called 'the Lotus.' The contents of it are as follows:

2 There is a lotus-pool containing much water and mud, very full and complete, answering to the idea (one has of a lotus-pool), full of white lotuses, delightful, conspicuous, magnificent, and splendid.

3 And everywhere all over the lotus-pool there grew many white lotuses, the best of Nymphaeas, as we are told, in beautiful array, tall, brilliant, of fine colour, smell, taste, and touch, (etc., all down to) splendid.

4 And in the very middle of this lotus-pool there grew one big white lotus, the best of Nymphaeas, as we are told, in an excellent position, tall, (etc., all down to) splendid.

5 [§§ 3 and 4 are to be repeated with the word 'all' or 'whole' added to 'lotus-pool'.]

6 Now there came a man from the Eastern quarter to the lotus-pool, and standing on the bank of it he saw that one big white lotus, (etc., as above). Now this man spoke thus: 'I am a knowing, clever, well-informed, discerning, wise, not foolish man, who keeps the way, knows the way, and is acquainted with the direction and bent of the way. I shall fetch that white lotus, the best of all Nymphaeas.' Having said this the man entered the lotus-pool. And the more he proceeded, the more the water and the mud (seemed to) extend. He had left the shore, and he did not come up to the white lotus, the best of Nymphaeas, he could not get back to this bank, nor to the opposite one, but in the middle of the lotus-pool he stuck in the mud.

7 This was the first man. Now (we shall describe) the second man. There came a man from the Southern quarter to the lotus-pool, and standing on the bank of it he saw that one big white lotus (etc., all as above). There he saw one man who had left the shore, but had not come up to the white lotus, the best of Nymphaeas, who could not get back to his bank, nor to the opposite one, but stuck in the mud in the middle of the lotus-pool. Now the second man spoke of the first man thus: 'This man is not knowing, not clever, (etc., see above, all down to) not acquainted with the direction and bent of the way.' For that man said: 'I am a knowing, (etc., all down to) I shall fetch that white lotus, the best of Nymphaeas.' But this white lotus, the best of Nymphaeas, cannot be got in the way this man tried.

8, 9 'However, I am a knowing, clever, (etc., all down to the end of the paragraph) he stuck in the mud.' This was the second man. (The same thing happened to a third and a fourth man, who came from the Western and Northern quarters respectively, and saw two and three men respectively sticking in the mud. Some Manuscripts give the story at length, others abbreviate it.)

10 Now a monk living on low food and desiring to get to the shore (of the Samsara), knowing, clever, (etc., all down to) acquainted with the direction and bent of the way, came to that lotus-pool from some one of the four quarters or from one of the intermediate points (of the compass). Standing on the bank of the lotus-pool he saw the one big white lotus, (etc., as above). And he saw there those four men who having left the shore, (etc., all as above) stuck in the mud. Then the monk said: 'These men are not knowing, (etc., all down to) not acquainted with the direction and bent of the way; for these men thought: We shall fetch that white lotus, the best of Nymphaeas. But this white lotus, the best of Nymphaeas, cannot be got in the way these men tried. I am a monk living on low food, (etc., all down to) acquainted with the direction and bent of the way. I shall fetch that white lotus, the best of Nymphaeas.' Having said this the monk did not enter the lotus-pool; but standing on the bank of it he raised his voice: 'Fly up, O white lotus, best of Nymphaeas!' And the white lotus, the best of Nymphaeas, flew up.

11 I have told you, O long-lived Sramanas, a simile 1; you must comprehend the meaning of it. The Nirgrantha monks and nuns worshipped and praised the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira, and then spoke thus: 'You have told, O long-lived Sramana, the simile, but we do not comprehend its meaning, O long-lived Sramana!' The Venerable Ascetic Mahavira addressed the crowd of Nirgrantha monks and nuns, and spoke thus: Ah, you long-lived Sramanas! I shall tell, declare, explain, expound, and demonstrate it with its meaning, reasons, and arguments. Thus I say:

12 O long-lived Sramanas, meaning the world I spoke of the lotus-pool. Meaning Karman I spoke of the water. Meaning pleasures and amusements I spoke of the mud. Meaning people in general I spoke of those many white lotuses, the best of Nymphaeas. Meaning the king I spoke of the one big white lotus, the best of Nymphaeas. Meaning heretical teachers I spoke of those four men. Meaning the Law I spoke of the monk. Meaning the church I spoke of the bank. Meaning the preaching of the Law I spoke of (the monk's) voice. Meaning Nirvana I spoke of (the lotus') flying up. Meaning these things, O long-lived Sramanas, I told this (simile).

13 Here in the East, West, North, and South many men have been born according to their merit, as inhabitants of this our world, viz. some as Aryas, some as non-Aryas, some in noble families, some in low families, some as big men, some as small men, some of good complexion, some of bad complexion,

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some as handsome men, some as ugly men. And of these men one man is king, who is strong like the great Himavat, Malaya, Mandara, and Mahendra mountains, (etc., all down to) who governs his kingdom in which all riots and mutinies have been suppressed.

And this king had an assembly of Ugras and sons of Ugras, Bhogas and sons of Bhogas, Aikshvakas and sons of Aikshvakas, Gnatris and sons of Gnatris, Kauravas and sons of Kauravas, warriors and sons of warriors, Brahmanas and sons of Brahmanas, Likkhavis and sons of Likkhavis, commanders and sons of commanders, generals and sons of generals.

14 And of these men some one is full of faith. Forsooth, the Sramanas or Brahmanas made up their mind to go to him. Being professors of some religion (they thought) 'We shall teach him our religion.' (And they said): 'Know this, dear sir, that we explain and teach this religion well.

11 'Upwards from the soles of the feet, downwards from the tips of the hair on the head, within the skin's surface is (what is called) Soul, or what is the same, the Atman. The whole soul lives; when this (body) is dead, it does not live. It lasts as long as the body lasts, it does not outlast the destruction (of the body). With it (viz. the body) ends life. Other men carry it (viz. the corpse) away to burn it. When it has been consumed by fire, only dove-coloured bones remain, and the four bearers return with the hearse to their village. Therefore there is and exists no (soul different from the body). Those who believe that there is and exists no (such soul), speak the truth. Those who maintain that the soul is something different from the body, cannot tell whether the soul (as separated from the body) is long or small, whether globular or circular or triangular or square or sexagonal or octagonal or long, whether black or blue or red or yellow or white, whether of sweet smell or of bad smell, whether bitter or pungent or astringent or sour or sweet, whether hard or soft or heavy or light or cold or hot or smooth or rough. Those, therefore, who believe that there is and exists no soul, speak the truth. Those who maintain that the soul is something different from the body, do not see the following (objections):

16 'As a man draws a sword from the scabbard and shows it (you, saying): "Friend, this is the sword, and that is the scabbard," so nobody can draw (the soul from the body) and show it (you, saying): "Friend, this is the soul, and that is the body." As a man draws a fibre from a stalk of Munga grass and shows it (you, saying): "Friend, this is the stalk, and that is the fibre;" or takes a bone out of the flesh, or the seed of Amalaka from the palm of his hand, or a particle of fresh butter out of coagulated milk, and shows you both things separately; or as he presses oil from the seed of Atasi, and shows the oil and oil-cake separately, or as he presses the juice from the sugar-cane, and shows the juice and the molasses separately, so nobody can show you the soul and the body separately. The same applies also when fire is churned from Arani-wood. Those who believe that there is and exists no soul, speak the truth. Those who say that the soul is different from the body, are wrong.'

17 This murderer says: 'Kill, dig, slay, burn, cook, cut or break to pieces, destroy! Life ends here; there is no world beyond.' These (Nastikas) cannot inform you on the following points: whether an action is good or bad, meritorious or not, well done or not well done, whether one reaches perfection or not, whether one goes to hell or not. Thus undertaking various works they engage in various pleasures and amusements for their own enjoyment.

18 Thus some shameless men becoming monks propagate a Law of their own. And others believe it, put their faith in it, adopt it, (saying:) 'Well, you speak the truth, O Brahmana, (or) O Sramana! We shall present you with food, drink, spices, and sweetmeats, with a robe, a bowl, or a broom.' Some have been induced to honour them, some have made (their proselytes) to honour them.

19 Before (entering an order) they were determined to become Sramanas, houseless, poor monks who would have neither sons nor cattle, to eat only what should be given them by others, and to commit no sins. After having entered their order they do not cease (from sins), they themselves commit sins, they cause others to commit sins, and they assent to another's committing sins. Thus they are given to pleasures, amusements, and sensual lust; they are greedy, fettered, passionate, covetous, the slaves of love and hate; therefore they cannot free themselves (from the Circle of Births), nor free anybody else from it, nor free any other of the four kinds of living beings from it. They have left their former occupations, but have not entered the noble path. They cannot return (to worldly life), nor get beyond it; they stick (as it were) in pleasures and amusements. Thus I have treated of the first man (as one who believes that) soul and body are one and the same thing.

20 Now I shall treat of the second man 1 (as one who believes that) everything consists of the five elements.

Here in the East, (etc., see §§ 13, 14, all down to) teach this religion well.

21 'There are five elements through which we explain whether an action is good or bad, (etc., see § 18, all down to) hell or not. Everything down to a blade of grass (consists of them).

22 'And one should know the intermixture of the elements by an enumeration of them. Earth is the first element, water the second, fire the third, wind the fourth, and air the fifth. These five elements are not created, directly or indirectly, nor made; they are not effects nor products; they are without beginning and end; they always produce effects, are independent of a directing cause or everything else; they are eternal. Some, however, say that there is a Self besides the five elements. What is, does not perish; from nothing nothing comes.

23 All living beings, all things, the whole world consists of nothing but these (five elements). They are the primary cause of the world, even down to a blade of grass.

24 'A man buys and causes to buy, kills and causes to kill, cooks and causes to cook, he may even sell and kill a man. Know, that even in this case he does not do wrong.'

These (Nastikas) cannot inform you, (etc., see §§ 15-18, all down to) they stick (as it were) in pleasures and amusements.

Thus I have treated of the second man (who believes that) everything consists of the five elements.

25 Now I shall treat of the third man (who believes that) the Self is the cause of everything. Here in the East, (etc., see §§ 12, 13, all down to) teach this religion well.

26 'Here all things have the Self for their cause and their object, they are produced by the Self, they are manifested by the Self, they are intimately connected with the Self, they are bound up in the Self.

'As, for instance, a tumour is generated in the body, grows with the body, is not separate from the body, but is bound up in the body: so all things have the Self for their cause, (etc., all as above).

'As, for instance, a feeling of indisposition is generated in the body, grows with the body, is never separate from the body, but is bound up in the body: so all things have the Self for their cause, (etc., all as above).

'As, for instance, an anthill is made of earth, grows through earth, is not separate from earth, but is bound up in earth: so all things, (etc., all as above).

'As, for instance, a tree springs up on earth, grows on earth, is not separate from earth, but is bound up in earth: so all things, (etc., all as above).

'As, for instance, a lotus springs up in earth, grows on earth, is not separate from earth, but is bound up in earth: so all things, (etc., all as above).

'As, for instance, a mass of water is produced by water, grows through water, is not separate from water, but is bound up in water: so all things, (etc., all as above).

'As, for instance, a water-bubble is produced in water, grows in water, is not separate from water, but is bound up in water: so all things, (etc., all as above).

27 'And the twelve Angas, the Canon of the Ganins 1, which has been taught, produced, and declared by the Sramanas, the Nirgranthas, viz. the Akaranga (all down to) the Drishtivada, is wrong, not true, not a representation of the truth; but this (our doctrine) is correct, is true, is a representation of the truth.'

The (heretics in question) make this assertion, they uphold this assertion, they (try to) establish this assertion.

Therefore they cannot get out of the misery produced by this (error), even as a bird cannot get out of its cage.

28 These (heretics) cannot inform you, (etc., see §§ 16-19, all down to) they stick, as it were, in pleasures and amusements.

Thus I have treated of the third man (who believes that) the Self is the cause of everything.

Now I shall treat of the fourth man who believes that Fate is the cause of everything.

29 Here in the East, (etc., see §§ 12, 13, all down to) teach this religion well.

30 'There are two (kinds of) men. One man admits action, another man does not admit action. Both men, he who admits action, and he who does not admit action, are alike, their case is the same, because they are actuated by the same force.

31 'An ignorant man thinks about the cause as follows: "When I suffer, grieve, blame myself, grow feeble 1, am afflicted, or undergo great pain, I have caused it; or when another man suffers, etc., he has caused it." Thus an ignorant man thinks himself or another man to be the cause of what he or the other man experiences.

'A wise man thinks about the cause as follows: "When I suffer, etc., I did not cause it; and when another man suffers, etc., he did not cause it."

'A wise man thinks thus about the cause of what he himself or another man experiences. I say this: "Movable or immovable beings in all the four quarters thus (i.e. by the will of Fate) cone to have a body, to undergo the vicissitudes of life, to lose their body, to arrive at some state of existence, to experience pleasure and pain."'

32 Entertaining such opinions these (heretics) cannot inform you, (etc., as in § 17, down to the end).

33 These worthless men entertain such opinions, and believe in them till they cannot return, (etc., as in § 19 down to) amusements. I have treated of the fourth man who believes that Fate is the cause of everything.

34 These four men, differing in intellect, will, character, opinions, taste, undertakings, and plans, have left their former occupations, but have not entered the noble path. They cannot return (to worldly life) nor get beyond it; they stick (as it were) in pleasures and amusements.

35 I say: here in the East, West, North, and South there are some men, viz. Aryas, non-Aryas, (etc., as in § 13, all down to) ugly men. They own small or large houses and fields, they own few or many servants and peasants. Being born in such-like families, they renounce (their possessions) and lead a mendicant's life. Some leave their kinsmen and their property to lead a mendicant's life; others, who have no kinsmen nor property, lead a mendicant's life. Whether they have kinsmen and property or not, they renounce them and lead a mendicant's life.

36 Previously, however, they thought thus: 'Here, indeed, a man, who is on the point of turning monk, makes the following reflections with regard to different things: I possess fields, houses, silver, gold, riches, corn, copper, clothes, real valuable property, as riches, gold, precious stones, jewels, pearls, conches, stones, corals, rubies. I enjoy sounds, colours, smells, tastes, and feelings of touch. These pleasures and amusements belong to me, and I belong to them.'

37 A wise man, previously, should thus think to himself: 'Here, indeed, some painful illness or disease might befall me, unwished for, unpleasant, disagreeable, nasty, painful and not at all pleasant. O ye dear pleasures, take upon you this painful illness or disease, unwished for, unpleasant, disagreeable, nasty, painful and not at all pleasant, that I may not suffer, grieve, blame myself, grow feeble, be afflicted, and undergo great pain. Deliver me from this painful illness or disease, (etc., all as above).' But this desire of his has never yet been fulfilled.

38 Here, in this life, pleasures and amusements are not able to help or to save one. Sometimes a man first forsakes pleasures and amusements, sometimes they first forsake him. Pleasures and amusements are one thing, and I am another. Why then should we be infatuated with pleasures and amusements which are alien (to our being)? Taking this into consideration, we shall give up pleasures and amusements. A wise man thinks them alien to himself.

39 There are things more intimately connected with me, viz. my mother, father, brother, sister, wife, children, grandchildren, daughters-in-law, servants, friends, kinsmen, companions, and acquaintances. These my relations belong to me, and I belong to them. A wise man, previously, should think thus to himself: 'Here, indeed, some painful illness or disease might befall me, (etc., all as in § 37 down to the end, but substitute "relations" for "pleasures").

40 'Or some painful illness or disease, unwished for, (etc., all down to) not at all pleasant might befall my dear relations. I will take upon me this painful illness or disease, etc., that they may not suffer, (all down to) undergo great pain. I will deliver them from this painful illness or disease.' But this desire of his has never yet, been fulfilled. For one man cannot take upon himself the pains of another; one man cannot experience what another has done.

41 Individually a man is born, individually he dies, individually he falls (from this state of existence), individually he rises (to another). His passions, consciousness, intellect, perceptions, and impressions belong to the individual exclusively. Here, indeed, the bonds of relationship are not able to help nor save one. (All as in § 38 down to the end; substitute 'bonds of relationship' for 'pleasures and amusements.')

42 There are things more intimately connected with me, viz. my hands, feet, arms, legs, head, belly, character, life, strength, colour, skin, complexion, ear, eye, nose, tongue, and touch; they are part and parcel of me. But I grow old with regard to life, strength, (all down to) touch. The strong joints become loose, the body is furrowed with wrinkles, the black hair turns white, even this dear body which has grown with food, must be relinquished in due time. Making such reflections, a monk should lead a mendicant's life and know that all things are divided into living beings and things without life, (and living beings again into) movable and immovable ones.

43 Here, indeed, householders are killers (of beings) and acquirers of property, and so are even some Sramanas and Brahmanas. They themselves kill movable and immovable living beings, have them killed by another person, or consent to another's killing them.

44 Here, indeed, householders are killers (of beings) and acquirers of property, and so are even some Sramanas and Brahmanas. They themselves acquire sentient or senseless objects of pleasure, have them acquired by another person, or consent to another's acquiring them.

45 Here, indeed, householders are killers (of beings) and acquirers of property, and so are even some Sramanas and Brahmanas. But I am no killer (of beings) nor an acquirer of property. Relying upon 1 householders and such Sramanas and Brahmanas as are killers (of beings) and acquirers of

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property, we shall lead a life of chastity. (He should, however, part company with them.) (The pupil asks): What is the reason thereof? (The teacher answers): As before (their ordination they were killers of beings), so (they will be) afterwards, and vice versa. It is evident that (householders) do not abstain (from sins) nor exert themselves (in control); and (as monks) they will relapse into the same (bad habits).

46 The householders and those Sramanas and Brahmanas, who are killers (of beings) and acquirers of property, commit sins both (from love and hatred). But a monk who takes this into consideration, should lead a life subject to neither (love nor hatred).

47 I say: in the East, West, North, and South (a true monk) will have renounced works, be exempt from works, will have put an end to them. This has been taught (by the prophets, etc.).

48 The Venerable One has declared that the cause (of sins) are the six classes of living beings, earth-lives, etc. As is my pain when I am knocked of-struck with a stick, bone, fist, clod, or potsherd; or menaced, beaten, burned, tormented, or deprived of life; and as I feel every pain and agony from death down to the pulling out of a hair: in the same way, be sure of this, all kinds of living beings feel the same pain and agony, etc., as I, when they are ill-treated in the same way 1. For this reason all sorts of living beings should not be beaten, nor treated with violence, nor abused, nor tormented, nor deprived of life 2.

49 I say: the Arhats and Bhagavats of the past, present, and future, all say thus, speak thus, declare thus, explain thus: all sorts of living beings should not be slain, nor treated with violence, nor abused, nor tormented, nor driven away. This constant, permanent, eternal, true Law has been taught by wise men who comprehend all things. Thus a monk abstains from (the five cardinal sins) slaughter of living beings, etc. He does not clean his teeth with a tooth-brush 1, he does not accept collyrium, emetics, and perfumes.

50 A monk who does not act, nor kill, who is free from wrath, pride, deceit, and greed, who is calm and happy, should not entertain the following wish: May I, after my departure from this world, by dint of my intellect, knowledge, memory, learning, or of the performance of austerities, religious duties, chastity, or of this habit to eat no more than is necessary to sustain life, become a god at whose command are all objects of pleasure, or a perfected saint who is exempt from pain and misery. (Through his austerities) he may obtain his object, or he may not obtain it.

51 A monk should not be infatuated with sounds, colours, smells, tastes, and feelings of touch; he should abstain from wrath, pride, deceit, and greed, from love, hate, quarrel, calumny, reviling of others, aversion to control and delight in sensual things, deceit and untruth, and the sin of wrong belief. In this way a monk ceases to acquire gross Karman, controls himself, and abstains from sins.

52 He does not kill movable or immovable beings, nor has them killed by another person, nor does he consent to another's killing them. In this way a monk ceases to acquire gross Karman, controls himself, and abstains from sins.

53 He does not acquire sentient or senseless objects of pleasure, nor has them acquired by another person, nor does he consent to another's acquiring them. In this way, (etc., all as above).

54 He does no actions arising from sinful causes, nor has them done by another person, nor does he consent to another's doing them. In this way (etc., all as above).

55 A monk should not take food, drink, dainties, and spices when he knows that (the householder) to satisfy him, or for the sake of a co-religionist, has bought or stolen or taken it, though it was not given nor to be taken, but was taken by force, by acting sinfully towards all sorts of living beings; nor does he cause another person to eat it, nor does he consent to another's eating it. In this way (etc., all as above).

56 A monk may think as follows: The (householders) have the means (to procure food for those) for whose sake it is prepared; viz. for himself 3, his sons, daughters, daughters-in-law, nurses, relations, chiefs, male and female slaves, male and female servants; for a treat of sweetmeats, for a supper, for a breakfast the collation has been prepared. This food is to be eaten by some people, it is prepared by some one else, it is destined for some one else, it is free from the faults occasioned either by the giver or by the receiver or by the act of receiving it, rendered pure, rendered free from living matter, wholly free from living things, it has been begged, has been given to the monk on account of his profession, it has been collected in small bits, it is food fit for a learned monk, it is lawful to eat it at the present occasion, it is of the prescribed quantity, it greases, as it were, the axle of the carriage and anoints the sore, being just sufficient to enable one to practise control and to carry the burden of it; he should consume that food (without delay) even as the snake returning to its hole; that is to say: one should eat when it is time for eating, drink when it is time for drinking, dress when it is time for dressing, seek cover when it is time for seeking cover, and sleep when it is time for sleeping.

57 A monk who knows the proper measure (in all things) travelling in one direction or other, should teach, explain, and praise (the Law), preach it unto those who exert themselves well, and to those who do not, to all who come to listen. (He should preach to them): indifference for the peace of mind, cessation of passion, Nirvana, purity, simplicity, humility, freedom from bonds. He should preach the Law which prohibits to kill any living being, after having well considered it.

58 When a monk preaches the Law, he should preach it not for the sake of food, drink, clothes, resting-place, or lodging, nor for any objects of pleasure; but he should preach the Law indefatigably, for no other motive than the annihilation of Karman.

59 Those heroes of faith who are instructed in the Law by such a monk and exert themselves well, are possessed of all (virtues), abstain from all (sins), cease from all (passions), conduct themselves well in every way, and reach final beatitude.

60 Such a monk searches the Law, knows the Law, and endeavours to gain Liberation; as it has been said: 'He may get the white lotus, the best of Nymphaeus, or he may not get it.' Such a monk knows and renounces actions, worldly occupations, and the life of a householder; he is free from passions, possesses the Samitis, is wise, always exerts himself; he is to be called: a Sramana, a Brahmana, calm, a subduer of his senses, guarding himself, liberated, a seer, a sage, virtuous, wise, a monk, living on low food, desiring to get to the shore (of the Samsara), fulfilling the general and particular virtues.

Thus I say.

SUTRAKRITANGA 2ND LECTURE,
CALLED ON ACTIVITY.

1 O long-lived (Gambusvamin)! I (Sudharman) have heard the following Discourse from the Venerable (Mahavira). We now come to the Lecture called 'on Activity.' The contents of it are as follows: It treats, briefly, of two subjects: merit and demerit.

(The former is when the Self is) at rest, (the latter, when it is) in disturbance.

2 Now the explanation of the first subject, viz. demerit, is as follows. Here in the East, West, North, and South, (etc., all as in II, I, 12, down to) ugly men.

3 And as regards committing of sin, among denizens of hell, brute animals, gods, men, and whatever other suchlike beings there be, the sentient beings feel 4 the pain.

4 And these beings practise the following thirteen kinds of activity--

1st. sinning for one's interest;
2nd. sinning without a personal interest;
3rd. sinning by slaying;
4th. sinning through accident;
5th. sinning by an error of sight;
6th. sinning by lying;
7th. sinning by taking what is not freely given;
8th. sinning by a mere conceit;
9th. sinning through pride;
10th. sinning through bad treatment of one's friends;
11th. sinning through deceit;
12th. sinning through greed;
13th. actions referring to a religious life.

[1st] The First Kind Of Committing Sins is that prompted by a motive. This is the case when a man for his own sake, for the sake of his relations, his house, his family, his friends, for the sake of Nagas, Bhutas, or Yakshas does injury to movable or immovable beings, or has it done by another person, or consents to another's doing it. Thereby the, bad Karman accrues to him. This is the first kind of committing sins, that prompted by a motive. (5)

6 [2nd] We now treat of the Second Kind Of Committing Sins, viz. that which is not prompted by personal interest. This is the case when a man slays, kills, cuts, pierces, hacks, mangles, or puts to death movable living beings, not because he wants their body, skin, flesh, blood, heart, bile, feathers of their tail, tail, big or small horns, teeth, tusks, nails, sinews, bones, or marrow; nor because he has been wounded by them, or is wounded, or will be wounded; nor in order to support his children, or to feed his cattle, or to enlarge his houses, nor for the maintenance of Sramanas and Brahmanas, nor for the benefit of his body; setting aside reason a fool acquires the habit of cruelty, being a wanton killer.

7 This is the case when a man slays, etc. (see above) immovable living beings as Ikkata-reed, Kathina, Gantuka-grass, Para-grass, Moksha-trees, grass, Kusa-grass, Kukkhaka, Pappaka, or straw, not in order to support his children, (etc., all down to) wanton killer.

8 Or when a man on a marsh, a lake, a sheet of water, a pasture-ground, a place surrounded by a ditch, a moat, a thicket, stronghold 1 in a thicket, forest, stronghold in a forest, [mountain, stronghold on a mountain], piles up grass and lights a fire, or has it lighted by another person, or consents to another's lighting it. Thereby the bad Karman accrues to him. This is the second kind of committing sins, that prompted by no personal interest.

9 [3rd] We now treat of the Third Kind Of Committing Sins, called slaying. This is the case when a man thinking that some one has hurt, hurts, or will hurt him, or one of his people, or somebody else, or one of that person's people, kills movable and immovable beings, has them killed by another person, or consents to another's killing them. Thereby the bad Karman accrues to him. This is the third kind of committing sins, called slaying.

10 [4th] We now treat of the Fourth Kind Of Committing Sins, called accidental. This is the case when in marshes (etc., all as above, down to) strongholds in a forest, a man who lives on deer, who likes deer, who dotes on deer, goes a hunting deer. Fancying to see deer, he takes aim with his arrow to kill the deer. Thinking that he will kill the deer, he kills a partridge, or a duck, or a quail, or a pigeon, or a monkey, or a francoline partridge. Here instead of one (being) he hurts another, (therefore he is called) an accidental killer.

11 This is the case when a man weeding rice, Kodrava, panic seed, Paraka, or Ralaka, uses his knife to cut some weeds. Fancying that he is cutting some weed-grasses, he cuts rice (etc., down to) Ralaka. Here instead of one (plant) he hurts another; (therefore he is called) an accidental killer. Thereby the bad Karman accrues to him. This is the fourth kind of committing sins, called accidental.

12 [5th] We now treat of the Fifth Kind Of Committing Sins, viz. by an error of sight. This is the case when a man living together with his mother, father, brothers, sisters, wives, sons, daughters, or daughters-in-law, and mistaking a friend for an enemy, kills the friend by mistake.

13 This is the case when during a riot in a village, or a scot-free town, or a town with an earth wall, or a poor town, or an isolated town, or a large town, or a sea-town, or a mine, or a hermitage, or a halting-place of processions or caravans, or a capital, a man mistaking for a robber one who is not, kills him by mistake. Thereby the bad Karman accrues to him. This is the fifth kind of committing sins, viz. by an error of sight.

14 [6th] We now treat of the Sixth Kind Of Committing Sins, viz. by lying. This is the case when a man for his own sake, or for the sake of his relations, his house, or his servants tells lies, causes another person to tell lies, or consents to another's telling lies. Thereby the bad Karman accrues to him. This is the sixth kind of committing sins, viz. by lying.

15 [7th] Now we treat of the Seventh Kind Of Committing Sins, viz. by taking what is not freely given. This is the case when a man for his own sake (etc., as above) takes himself what is not freely given, has it taken by another person, or consents to another's taking it. Thereby the bad Karman accrues to him. This is the seventh kind of committing sins, viz. by taking what is not freely given.

16 [8th] Now we treat of the Eighth Kind Of Committing Sins, viz. by a mere conceit. This is the case when a man, without being disappointed by anybody in any way, meditates, melancholy, sorry, angry, downcast, anxious in thoughts and ideas, plunged in a sea of sorrow and misery, reposing his head on the palm of his hand, overcome by painful reflections, and casting his eyes on the ground. There are four mental, but real, conditions (of this kind), viz. wrath, pride, deceit, and greed; for wrath, pride, deceit, and greed are mental conditions. Thereby the bad Karman accrues to him. This is the eighth kind of committing sins, viz. by a mere conceit.

17 [9th] Now we treat of the Ninth Kind Of Committing Sins, viz. through pride. This is the case when a man drunk (as it were) with pride of caste, family, beauty, piety, knowledge, success, power, intelligence, or any other kind of pride, slights, blames, abuses, reviles, despises somebody else and extols himself, (thinking:) 'he is my inferior, I am of better caste or family, and possess greater power and other advantages.' When he leaves this body and is only accompanied by his Karman, he, without a will of his own, goes forth from womb to womb, from birth to birth, from death to death, from hell to hell. He is cruel, stubborn, fickle, and proud. Thereby the bad Karman accrues to him. This is the ninth kind of committing sins, viz. through pride.

18 [10th] We now treat of the Tenth Kind Of Committing Sins, consisting in bad treatment of one's friends. This is the case when a man living together with his mother, father, brothers, sisters, wives, sons, daughters, or daughters-in-law, severely punishes even the smallest offence of theirs; e.g. he ducks the offender in cold water, or pours hot water over him, or scalds him with fire, or lashes his sides sore with a halter, reed, rope, strap of leather, whip, or thong of a whip, or he beats the offender with a stick, bone, fist, clod, or potsherd. When such a man is at home, (his people) are miserable; but when he is abroad, they rejoice. Such a man, who is for ever punishing, severely punishing, is hateful in this world and the next, irritable, passionate, an extortioner. Thereby the bad Karman accrues to him. This is the tenth kind of committing sins, consisting in bad treatment of one's friends.

19 [11th] We now treat of the Eleventh Kind Of Committing Sins, viz. through deceit. Those who conceal their thoughts, who are shrouded in darkness, who are light as the feather of an owl or heavy like a mountain, use unworthy speech though they be Aryas. They believe themselves different from what they really are; asked one

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thing, they answer another, they speak different from what is to be spoken.

20 As a man in whose body sticks an arrow, does not extricate it (fearing the pain), nor has it extricated by somebody else, nor destroys it, but hides it; and the arrow, being not removed, goes deeper and deeper (in the flesh); so a deceitful man, having practised deception, does not confess it, expiate it, blame the deed to himself or others, does not remove it, annihilate it, and endeavour not to do it again, does not practise the prescribed austerities and penance. A deceitful man is generally not trusted in this world, a deceitful man is not trusted in the next world. He blames and reviles (the person whom he has deceived), he praises himself, and rejoices, and does not desist (from his vile practices); he conceals the wrong he has done to others, and does not acquire a pure Lesya. Thereby the bad Karman accrues to him. This is the eleventh kind of committing sins, viz. through deceit.

21 [12th] We now treat of the Twelfth Kind Of Committing Sins, viz. through greed. Those (heretical monks) who live in woods, in huts, about villages, or practise some secret rites, are not well controlled, nor do they well abstain (from slaying) all sorts of living beings. They employ speech that is true and untrue at the same time: 'do not beat me, beat others; do not abuse me, abuse others; do not capture me, capture others; do not torment me, torment others; do not deprive me of life, deprive others of life.' And thus they are given to sensual pleasures, desire them, are held captive by them, passionately love them for four or five years, for six or ten years--(the period) may be shorter or longer. After having enjoyed these pleasures, and having died at their allotted time, they will be born in some places inhabited by Asuras and evildoers. And when they are released therefrom, they will be born deaf and dumb, or blind 3, or dumb by birth. Thereby the bad Karman accrues to him. This is the twelfth kind of committing sins, viz. through greed.

22 These twelve kinds of committing sins should be well understood by a pious Sramana or Brahmana.

23 [13th] We now treat of the Thirteenth Kind Of acquiring Karman, that having reference to religious life. A monk who controls himself for the benefit of his soul, who in walking carefully avoids to cause the death of any living creature, who uses gentle and righteous speech, who receives alms in a manner to avoid the forty-two faults, who is careful in receiving and keeping of things necessary for religious exercises, who performs the operations of nature (excrements, urine, saliva, corporal impurities and mucus) in an unfrequented place, who is careful with regard to mind, speech, and body, who guards his mind, speech, and body so as to protect his soul from passions , who guards his senses, who leads a chaste life regulated by the three Guptis, who carefully walks, stands, sits down, lies down, and speaks, who carefully takes up and lays down his cloth, alms-bowl, blanket, broom,--(even) such a monk performs various subtile actions called iryapathika (if it did but consist in moving an eyelash). This Karman is acquired and comes in contact (with the soul) in the first moment, in the second moment it is experienced, in the third it is destroyed; thus it is acquired, comes in contact (with the soul), takes rise, and is destroyed. For all time to come (the person in question) is exempt from Karman. Thereby the bad Karman accrues to him. This is the thirteenth kind of acquiring Karman, that inseparable from a religious life.

24 All the Arhats and Bhagavats of the past, present, and future have told, tell, and will tell, have declared, declare, and will declare the above thirteen kinds of acquiring Karman. They have practised, practise, and will practise the thirteenth kind of acquiring Karman.

25 As a supplement to the above (discussion) will now be told the subject of men's success by occult sciences. Some men differing in intellect, will, character, opinions, taste, undertakings, and plans, study various evil sciences;

26 viz. (the divination) from terrestrial accidents, from strange phenomena, from dreams, from phenomena in the air, from changes in the body, from sounds, from mystical signs, from seeds; (the interpretation of the) marks of women, men, elephants, cows, partridges, cocks, ducks, quails, of wheels, parasols, shields, sticks, swords, precious stones, jewels;

27 the art to make one happy or miserable, to make a woman pregnant, to deprive one of his wits; incantations, conjuring; oblations of substances; the martial arts; the course of the moon, sun, Venus, and Jupiter; the falling of meteors; great conflagration; divination from wild animals, the flight of crows, showers of dust, rain of blood, the Vaitali and Ardhavaitali arts, the art of casting people asleep, of opening doors, the art of Kandalas, of Sabaras, of Dravidas, of Kalingas, of Gaudas, of Gandharas; the spells for making somebody fall down, rise, yawn; for making him immovable, or cling to something; for making him sick, or sound; for making somebody go forth, disappear, (or come). These and similar sciences are practised (by some men) for the sake of food, drink, clothes, a lodging, a bed, and various objects of pleasure. They practise a wrong science, the unworthy, the mistaken men. After having died at their allotted time, they will be born in some places inhabited by Asuras and evildoers. And when they are released therefrom, they will again be born deaf and dumb, or night-blind.

28 Some man for his own sake or for the sake of his relations, family, or servants, or entering the service of an acquaintance or neighbour of his, becomes his companion or his helpmate, or he goes to meet him, or he becomes a burglar, or a cut-purse, or he tends sheep, or he becomes a hunter, or he catches birds, or he uses nets (for catching deer), or he becomes a fisherman or a cowherd or a slayer of cows or a dog-keeper or he hunts with dogs.

29 A man, becoming the companion of another man, will follow him everywhere, (and having inspired him with confidence) beats, cuts, pierces; tears, thrashes, or puts him to death, and thereby gets his food. By these very evil deeds he degrades himself.

30 A man, becoming the helpmate of another man, always attends on him, (and having inspired him with confidence) beats, etc. (all down to) degrades himself.

31 A man, going to meet somebody, on the road, beats, etc. (all down to) degrades himself.

32 A man, becoming a burglar, breaks into a house and beats, etc. (all down to) degrades himself.

A man, becoming a cut-purse, cuts the purse and beats, etc. (all down to) degrades himself. (33)

34 A man, becoming a tender of sheep, beats, cuts, pierces, tears, thrashes, or puts to death a ram or some other animal. (The rest as above.)

35 A man, becoming a hunter, beats, etc. (all down to) puts to death a buffalo or some other animal. (The rest as above.)

36 A man, using nets (for catching deer), beats, etc., an antelope or some other animal. (The rest as above.)

37 A man, catching birds, beats, etc., a bird or some other animal. (The rest as above.)

38 A man, becoming a fisherman, beats, etc., a fish or some other animal. (The rest as above.)

39 A man, becoming a cowherd, beats, etc., a cow or some other animal. (The rest as above.)

40 A man, slaying cows, beats, etc., a cow or some other animal. (The rest as above.)

41 A man, becoming a dog-keeper, beats, etc., a dog or some other animal. (The rest as above.)

42 A man, becoming the helpmate of a dog-keeper, beats, etc., a dog or some other animal. (The rest as above.)

43 A man, rising in an assembly, may promise to kill some (animal) and he will beat, etc., a partridge, duck, quail, pigeon, monkey, a francoline partridge, or some other animal. (The rest as above.)

44 A man, being angry for some reason, e.g. because his granary or his liquor-cask runs short, sets fire to the cornfields of the householders or their sons, has the fire set by another person, or consents to another's setting fire to them. (The rest as above.)

45 A man, being angry for some reason, e.g. because his granary or liquor-cask runs short, makes a deep cut in the strong limbs of the camels, cows, horses, or donkeys of the householders or their sons, has it made by another person, or consents to another's making the cut. (The rest as above.)

46 A man, being angry for some reason, e.g. because his granary or his liquor-cask runs short, covers with brambles or twigs the householders', or their sons', stable for the camels, cows, horses, or donkeys, and burns them, or has them burnt by another person, or consents to another's burning them. (The rest as above.)

47 A man, being angry for some reason, etc. (as above), steals a householder's or his sons' earrings (or girdle), or jewels, or pearls, has them stolen by another person, or consents to another's stealing them. (The rest as above.)

48 A man, being angry, etc. (as before), robs Sramanas or Brahmanas of their umbrella, stick, staff, small property, pot, chair, clothes, blanket, leather boots, knife, or scabbard, has it done by another person, or consents to another's robbing them. (The rest as above.)

49 A man, without consideration (and without any provocation), sets fire to the cornfields of the householders, etc. (All as in § 44.)

50 A man, without consideration, makes a deep cut in the strong limbs of the camels, etc. (All as in § 45)

51 A man, without consideration, covers with brambles and twigs the stables for the camels, etc., and burns them, etc. (All as in § 46.)

52 A man, without consideration, steals the earrings, etc. (All as in § 47.)

53 A man, without consideration, robs Sramanas or Brahmanas of their umbrella, etc. (All as in § 48.)

54 A man, on seeing Sramanas or Brahmanas (whom he detests), degrades himself by various evil deeds. Either he gives them a slap with the open hand to turn them away 1, or he abuses them. And when the monk at the proper time calls (at his house on the begging-tour), he does not give him alms (but says): those who become Sramanas are the meanest workmen, men unable to support (their family), low-caste men, wretches, idlers!

55 Such men praise this life, this miserable life; they do nothing on behalf of the next world; they suffer, grieve, blame themselves, grow feeble, are afflicted, and undergo great pain; they do not cease to cause others to suffer, grieve, etc., to slay and to put men in fetters; and while they make suffer or kill, or make suffer and kill (beings), and do various evil deeds, they enjoy the excellent pleasures of human life; viz. such a man eats at dinner-time, he drinks at drinking-time, he dresses himself at dressing-time, he goes to bed at the proper time, and sleeps at sleeping-time. Doing everything in its turn, he bathes, makes the offering (to the house-gods) 1, performs auspicious rites and expiatory acts, washes his head, hangs a wreath round his neck, adorns himself with precious stones and golden (trinkets), puts on (his head) a chaplet of flowers; with his body strengthened, with a wreath hanging down to the girdle of his loins, dressed in new clothes, his limbs and body anointed with sandal, (sitting) on a large throne in a lofty upper room (of his house), surrounded by women and a troop of followers, in the light (of torches) burning the whole night, under the great din of uninterrupted storytelling, dramatical plays, singing, and music, as beating of time, performing on the Vina, Turya, the great drum, and Patupataha, he enjoys the excellent pleasures of human life.

56 When he gives an order to one man, even four or five men will, without being asked, go up to him (and say): 'Speak, beloved of the gods, what shall we do? what shall we fetch? what shall we give you? what (trinket) shall we put on you? what is your heart's desire? what relishes your mouth?'

Unworthy men who see him will say: 'Forsooth, this man is a god; this man is the anointed of the gods, this man will support (us), as he supports others.' But noble men who see him will say: 'This man does cruel actions, and maintains himself by them. His is the southern region, the hell, the dark fortnight 1. In the future he will not easily obtain enlightenment.'

57 (The conduct described in the preceding) part 2 is agreeable to some (heretical) monks, to some householders, to men governed by love of life. This conduct is unworthy, impure, void (of virtues), not holy, not right, not eradicating sins; it is not the road to perfection, liberation, Nirvana, final delivery, not the road of those who are freed from all misery; it is thoroughly untrue, and bad.

This is the explanation of the first subject, viz. demerit.

58 Now the explanation of the second subject, viz. merit, is as follows:

Here in the East, West, North, and South there are some men, viz. Aryas, non-Aryas, (all down to) ugly men. They own fields and houses, (etc., all as in II, 1, §§ 34-59, down to) reach final beatitude.

59 (The conduct described in this) part is holy, right, (all just the reverse of what was said in § 58, down to) thoroughly true, and good. This is the explanation of the second subject, viz. merit.

60 Now the explanation of the third subject, viz. the mixed state, is as follows:

Those who live in woods, in huts, near villages, (etc., all as above, § 21, down to) or blind. (The conduct described in this) part is not holy, (etc., all as in § 57, down to) thoroughly untrue, and bad.

This is the explanation of the third subject, viz. the mixed state.

61 Now the explanation of the first subject, viz. demerit, is as follows:

Here in the East, West, North, and South live some men; they are householders, men of great desires, great undertakings, great possessions, unrighteous men, men practising unrighteousness, very unrighteous men, men speaking unrighteously, living unrighteously, thinking unrighteously, given to unrighteousness, men of unrighteous character and conduct, men gaining an unrighteous livelihood.

62 They beat, cut , pierce, skin, are bloody-handed, violent, cruel, wicked, rash; they habitually practise bribery, fraud, deceit, imposture, dishonesty, and trickery; they are of bad character and morals, they are difficult to please, they do not abstain from killing living beings; as long as they live they do not abstain from wrath, (etc., all as in II, 1, 51, down to) the sin of wrong belief; nor from bathing, rubbing, painting, anointing themselves; from sounds, touches, tastes, colours, smells; from wreaths and ornaments; from cars, carriages, vehicles, litters, swings, coach and pair, palankins, beds, seats; from enjoying a ride or drive; from having many followers; from buying, selling, doing business with Mashas, half Mashas, and Rupees; from silver, gold, riches, corn, precious stones, pearls, conches, stones, and corals; from using wrong weights and measures; from undertakings and slaughter; from working and making others work; from cooking and making others cook; from cutting, pounding, threatening, beating, binding, killing, and causing pain; and whatever other suchlike wicked and sinful actions of worthless men there be, that cause pains to other beings: these men do not abstain from them as long as they live.

As some idle, cruel men wantonly injure Kalama [A sort of rice.], Masura [A sort of pulse or lentil.], sesamum, Mudga [A

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sort of kidney-bean.], beans, Nishpava [Probably Dolichos Sinensis.], Kulattha [A sort of pulse, Dolichos Uniflorus.], Alisanda [cannot be identified.], Elamikkha [cannot be identified.], so an idle, cruel man wantonly hurts partridges, ducks, quails, pigeons, francoline partridges, deer, buffaloes, boars, iguanas, tortoises, and snakes.

63 A man will (occasionally) severely punish even the smallest offence of his domestics, viz. a slave or messenger or hired servant or vassal or parasite; e.g. punish him, pull out his hair, beat him, put him in irons, in fetters, in stocks, into prison, screw up in a pair of shackles (his hands and feet) and break them, cut off his hands or feet or ears or nose or lips or head or face (?), pierce his feet, tear out his eyes, teeth, tongue, hang him, brush him, whirl him round, impale him, lacerate him, pour acids (in his wounds), belabour him with cutting-grass, bind him to a lion's tail (!), or a bull's tail, burn him in a wood on fire, let him be devoured by crows and vultures, stop his food and drink, keep him a prisoner for life, let him die any of these horrid deaths.

64 A man will (occasionally) severely punish even the smallest offence of his next of kin, viz. his mother or father or brother or sister or wife or sons or daughters or daughters-in-law; e.g. he ducks the offender in cold water, (etc., all as in § 18, down to) hateful in this world and the next. They suffer, grieve, blame themselves, grow feeble, are afflicted, and undergo great pain; they do not cease to cause others to suffer, grieve, etc., to slay and to put men in fetters.

65 And thus they are given to sensual pleasures, desire them, are held captive by them, passionately love them for four or five years, for six or ten years --the period may be shorter or longer. Having enjoyed pleasures, having produced the effects of iniquity, having acquired the Karman of many sinful actions which generally bear him downwards, (he goes to the bottom of the hell). As a ball of iron or stone, when thrown in the water, sinks below the surface of the water till it stops at the bottom, so a man of the sort we are treating of, who is full of Karman, full of sin, full of demerit, full of disgrace, full of iniquity, full of wicked thoughts, deceit, imposture, and fraud, and, as a rule, kills animals, having died at the allotted time, will sink below this earth, and go to the bottom of the hell.

66 These hells are round inside, square outside, on their floor razorlike arrows are thick-set (and covered with flowers), they are filled with perpetual darkness, never lighted up by the planets, moon, sun, Nakshatras, and stars; their floor is slippery with a coating of marrow, fat, flesh, blood, and matter, and besmeared with grease; these hells are impure, smelling detestably, black, of the colour of fire, very rugged, difficult to pass, horrid. And horrid are the pains in these hells.

67 And those who are condemned to live in these hells, do not sleep nor slumber, nor do they get any consolation or comfort or recreation or encouragement; but the denizens of hell there suffer exquisite, great, deep, hard, rough, violent, painful, sharp, intolerable agonies.

68 As a tree growing on a hill falls by its weight when its roots are cut, on a low, rugged, inaccessible place, so a man of the sort we are treating of wanders from womb to womb, from birth to birth, from death to death, from hell to hell, from pain to pain. His is the southern region, the hell, the dark fortnight. In the future he will not easily obtain enlightenment. (The . conduct described in the preceding) part is unworthy, impure, (etc., see § 57, all down to) it is thoroughly untrue, and bad. This is the explanation of the first subject, viz. demerit.

69 Now the explanation of the second subject, viz. merit, is as follows:

Here in the East, West, North, and South there are some such men as abstain from undertakings and possessions, righteous men, men practising righteousness, (etc., all as in § 58, but substitute 'righteous' for 'unrighteous,' down to) men gaining a righteous livelihood. They are of good character and morals, they are easy to please and good. They abstain from killing living beings as long as they live, (etc., all just the reverse of what was said in § 62, down to) whatever other suchlike wicked actions there be, that cause pains to other beings: these men abstain from them as long as they live.

70 There are such monks as in walking carefully avoid to occasion the death of any living creature, (etc., all as in § 23, down to) as lead chaste lives regulated by the three Guptis, as are free from anger, pride, deceit, and greed, as are calm, tranquil, passionless, happy, free from the Asravas, and bondage, without sorrow; as water does not adhere to a copper vessel, or collyrium to mother-of-pearl (so sins find no place in them); their course is unobstructed like that of Life; like the firmament they want nothing to support them; like the wind they know no obstacles; their heart is pure like the water (of rivers or tanks) in autumn; like the leaves of a lotus they cannot be soiled by anything; their senses are well protected like the limbs of a tortoise; they are single and alone like the horn of a rhinoceros; they are free like birds; they are always waking like the fabulous bird Bharunda; they are valorous like elephants, strong like bulls, difficult to attack like lions, steady and firm like Mount Mandara, deep like the ocean, mild like the moon, refulgent like the sun, pure like excellent gold; like the earth they patiently bear everything; like a well-kindled fire they shine in their splendour.

71 There are no obstacles anywhere for these reverend men. The obstacles have been declared to be of four kinds, viz. animals born from eggs, viviparous animals, things belonging to somebody, articles necessary for religious exercises. In whichever direction they want to go, there they meet with no obstacle; but being pure and free, full of learning, control, and austerities, they purify themselves.

72 These reverend men practise the following mode of living which just suffices for carrying on existence; they eat but one meal in two, three, four, five, six, seven days, in half a month, in one, two, three, four, five, six months; they (have vowed to) live on such food only as has been taken out of the cooking-vessel, or as is still in it, or the first kind of food in one place and the second in another, or on low food, or bad food, or food collected in small bits, or food given with a dirty hand, or the reverse, or food given with a hand, etc. soiled by it; they (have vowed to) accept such alms only as are within sight (when they beg), or are out of sight, as they are asked whether they would accept, or as they are not asked about, as are given with contempt, or the reverse; they beg (in houses where they are) unknown, or when food is scarce; they accept only such things as are at hand, or only a limited number of gifts, or only a fixed quantity of food; they beg according to the rules (laid down for begging); they eat low food or bad food or tasteless food or badly tasting food or rough food or disagreeable food; they lead a low or mean life; they drink sour gruel, they eat nothing seasoned with ghee or similar materials; they do not drink liquors or eat meat, they do not eat highly-flavoured food; they eat standing, or supported by something, or sitting on a stool or an armchair; they lie down stretched out like a stick, or curved like a bent piece of wood; they sit in the sun, they go naked; they do not scratch themselves; they do not spit; they do not cut their beard, hair, and nails, they do not take any care of their person.

73 Living in this way they practise many years Sramanahood, and if then they fall sick, or even if they do not, they refuse food and omit many meals by abstaining from food. When they have attained that for whose sake they went about naked and bald-headed, did not bathe, nor clean their teeth, nor protect their head from the sun, nor wear shoes; they slept on the bare ground or a plank or a piece of wood, plucked out their hair, led a life of chastity, entered the houses of strangers, and bore, with indifference, success, failure, honour, disgrace, slights, blame, reviling, threatening, beating, all sorts of hardships, and the twenty-two calamities and troubles; (when they have attained their end), they reach, while they are breathing their last, the highest knowledge and faith, called Kevala, which is infinite, supreme, unobstructed, unimpeded, complete and full; and then they obtain absolute perfection, enlightenment, deliverance, final beatitude, and put an end to all misery.

74 Some become liberated without assuming another body (after quitting the last). But others, having died at the allotted time, are, on account of a residue of (good) Karman, born in one of the regions of the gods. Among very beautiful, very splendid, very excellent, very glorious, very strong, very powerful, very happy (gods), they become very beautiful, very splendid, etc., gods 1; their breasts shining with necklaces; their arms encumbered with bracelets and armrings; wearing ear-ornaments which play on their cheeks, and earrings which hang down to the bracelets on their upper arms; wearing various ornaments on their hands; their crowns adorned with gay wreaths; putting on highly perfumed, excellent clothes; using beautiful, excellent garlands and ointments; their splendid body ornamented with a long down-reaching garland; having divine colours, touches, constitution (of the body), and rank; lighting up and illumining all ten quarters (of the universe) with their divine beauty, splendour, lustre, brightness, brilliancy, and light; beautiful when they go, beautiful when they rest, and happy also in the time to come.

(The conduct described in the preceding) part is worthy, pure, (etc., see § 57, all down to) it is thoroughly true, and good.

This is the explanation of the second subject, viz. merit.

75 Now the explanation of the third subject, viz. the mixed state, is as follows:

Here in the East, West, North, and South there are some such men as have few desires, few undertakings, few possessions, righteous men, men practising righteousness, (etc., all as in § 69, down to) men gaining a righteous livelihood. They are of good character and morals, easy to please, and good. They abstain, as long as they live, from one kind of killing living beings, but they do not abstain from another, (etc., similar as in § 62, all down to) whatever suchlike wicked actions there be, that cause pains to other beings, from some of them these men abstain as long as they live, from others they do not abstain.

76 There are, for instance, followers of the Sramanas, who comprehend (the doctrine about) living beings and things without life, who understand (the difference between) virtues and sins, who are well grounded in (the knowledge of) the Asravas, Samvara, the realisation and annihilation (of Karman), the subject of actions, bondage, and final liberation; who, without anybody to back them, cannot be seduced from the creed of the Nirgranthas by hosts of gods, Asuras, Nagas, Suvarnas, Yakshas, Rakshasas, Kinnaras, Kimpurushas, Garudas, and snake-gods; who have no doubts, scruples, or misgivings about this creed of the Nirgranthas, but have grasped its meaning, got hold of its meaning, got information about its meaning, ascertained its meaning, and understood its meaning; whose very marrow* of the bones has been penetrated by their love (for the Nirgrantha creed), avowing that it alone is true, and all others futile [* Here the commentator inserts the following story: In Ragagriha lived a friar versed in magic arts; he carried off every woman he saw. On the citizens complaining about the rape, the king resolved to find out and punish the man. Catching sight of him at last on the fifth day, the king went after him till the friar disappeared in a hollow tree of the park, which led to an underground room. There the king followed and killed him. He released all the women whom the friar had captured. But one of them would not return to her husband, being desperately smitten with love for her seducer. On the advice of some wise men she was made to drink the friar's (pounded) bones mixed up with milk. This took the spell off her and cured her of her strange passion.]. They keep the bar (of their gates) raised and their door open, having no desire to enter a stranger's house or his seraglio. They strictly keep the Posaha-fast on the fourteenth and eighth days of the month, on certain festivals 3, and on full-moon days. They provide the Nirgrantha Sramanas with pure acceptable food, drink, dainties and spices, with clothes, alms-bowls, blankets and brooms, with drugs and medicines, with stools, planks, beds, and couches. They purify themselves by practising the Silavratas and Gunavratas 4, the Viramana, the Pratyakhyana, the Posaha-fasts, and austerities which they have vowed to perform.

77 Living in this way they are for many years followers of the Sramanas, and if then they fall sick, or even if they do not, they refuse food and omit many meals by abstaining from food. Having confessed their sins and expiated them, and having attained perfection, they die at their allotted time, to be born again as gods in one of the regions of the gods, (etc., all as in § 74, down to) it is thoroughly true, and good.

This is the explanation of the third subject, viz. the mixed state.

78 He who does not practise cessation (from sin), is called a foolish man; he who practises cessation (from sin), is called a wise man; he who in one regard practises cessation (from sin) and in another does not, is said to be in a state partaking of that of a wise man and that of a foolish man.

The conduct of him who does not practise cessation from all (sins), is that of a man who kills living creatures; it is unworthy, (etc., all down to) thoroughly untrue, and bad.

The conduct of him who practises cessation from all (sins), is that of a man who does not kill living creatures; it is worthy, pure, (etc., all down to) thoroughly true, and good.

The conduct of a man who in one regard practises cessation from all (sins) and in another does not, is that of a man who kills some living creatures and does not kill others; it is worthy, pure, (etc., all down to) thoroughly true, and good.

79 Those whom we have been treating of, fall under the two heads: merit and demerit; (the former is when the Self is) at rest, (the latter, when it is) in disturbance.

Now the explanation of the first subject is as follows:

There are enumerated three hundred and sixty-three philosophical schools 1: those of the Kriyavada, those of the Akriyavada, those of the Agnanikavada, and those of the Vainayikavada. These (philosophers) teach final beatitude, they teach final deliverance, they speak as Sravakas, they speak as teachers of Sravakas.

80 All these philosophers, founders of systems of their own, differing in intellect, will, character, opinions, taste, undertakings, and plans, formed one large circle, and every one of them stood in his place.

One man took hold of a vessel quite full of burning coals by an iron pair of tongs, and addressed those philosophers, founders of systems of their own, differing in intellect, (etc., all down to) undertakings and plans, in the following way: 'Heighho! ye philosophers, (etc., all down to) undertakings and plans! take this vessel full of burning coals and hold it for a minute in your hands! But do not take hold of it by a pair of tongs, nor put out the fire, nor come to the help of one of your own creed or of an alien creed (by putting out the fire, etc.); but fair and honest 1, without using any trick, stretch out your hands.' Having thus spoken, the man took hold of the vessel quite full of burning coals by an iron pair of tongs, and (offered to) put it in the hands of those philosophers. But the philosophers, (etc., all down to) undertakings and plans, held back their hands. On this the man addressed all the philosophers, (etc., all down to) undertakings and plans, in the following way: 'Heighho, ye philosophers, (etc., all down to) undertakings and plans! why do you hold back your hands?' 'Our hand will be burned.' 'What then, if it is burned?' '(We shall suffer) pain.' 'Because you are afraid of pain, you

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hold back your hands!' (So are all creatures averse to pain). This is a maxim of general application, it is a true principle, a religious reflection; this maxim, this principle, this religious reflection holds good with regard to every (living being). Therefore those Sramanas and Brahmanas who say that all sorts of living beings may be beaten or treated with violence or abused or tormented or deprived of life, will in the time to come suffer cutting or piercing, will experience birth, old age, death, conception in the womb, the Circle of Births, regeneration, existence as a foetus, the whole scale of mundane existences, and suffer a variety of pains,

81 They will many times undergo punishment, pulling out of the hair, threatening, putting in irons, (etc., similar as in § 63, all down to) whirling round; (they will witness) the death of their mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters, sons, daughters, and daughters-in-law; (they will experience) poverty, bad luck, company of hated people, separation from those whom they love, misery, and despair; they will again and again wander about in the beginningless and endless, immense wilderness of the fourfold Samsara. They will not reach perfection, (etc., all down to) not put an end to all misery.--This is a maxim of general application, (etc., all down to) holds good with regard to every (living being).

82 But those Sramanas and Brahmanas who say that all sorts of living beings should not be beaten, etc., will in the time to come not suffer cutting, etc. They will not undergo many punishments, (etc., all just the reverse of what has been said in §§ 80, 81, down to) put an end to all misery.

83 Thus those beings who practise the first twelve kinds of actions, have not attained perfection, (etc., all down to) have not, nor do, nor will put an end to all misery.

84 But those beings who practise the thirteenth kind of action, have attained perfection, (etc., all down to) have put, or put, or will put an end to all misery.

85 Thus a monk who obtains his soul's good and benefit, who guards himself, who (well directs the functions) of his soul, who well exerts himself, who protects himself (from evil), who is careful of himself, who saves himself (from the Samsara), should withhold his soul (from the twelve kinds of committing sins).

Thus I say.

SUTRAKRITANGA 3RD LECTURE,
CALLED KNOWLEDGE OF FOOD.

O long-lived (Gambusvamin)! I (Sudharman) have heard the following discourse from the Venerable (Mahavira). We now come to the Lecture called 'Knowledge of Food.' The contents of it are as follows:

1 Here in the East, West, North, and South there are, all in all, in the world four kinds of seed: seeds generated at the top (of the plant), at its root, at its knots, at its stem [The commentators here give the reading of the Nagarguniyas: 'the growth of seeds of the plants is fivefold, viz. they grow from the top (of the plant), its root, its knots, its stem, and its beads; p. 389 and some are of a sixth kind called sammurkhima' (i.e. those plants which are believed to be originated by the coalescing particles of the substance in which they grow, e.g. grass springing up on ground lately cleared by fire).--The various readings of the Nagarguniyas are occasionally quoted in commentaries (see e.g. part i, p. 32, note 2). But I do not think that it has been satisfactorily made out who these Nagarguniyas were.]. According to the seed and place (of growth) of these plants some beings--born in earth, originated in earth, and grown in earth, having in it their birth, origin, and growth, being impelled by their Karman, and coming forth in it on account of their Karman, growing there in particles of earth, the origin of various things--come forth as trees.

2 These living beings feed on the liquid substance of these particles of earth, the origin of various things; these beings consume earth-bodies, water-bodies, fire-bodies, wind-bodies, bodies of plants; they deprive of life the bodies of manifold movable and immovable beings; the destroyed bodies which have been consumed before, or absorbed by the rind, (are) digested and assimilated (by them). And the bodies of these (trees) which bring forth their different parts, are of manifold colours, smells, tastes, touches, forms, and arrangement of corporeal particles. These beings (animating trees) come into existence because of their Karman; so we are taught (by the Tirthakaras, etc.)

3 And again it has been said of old: some beings born in trees, originated by trees, sprung from trees, (etc., as in § 1, down to) springing from trees that originated in earth, come forth as trees originated by trees. These beings feed on the sap of the trees originated in earth, (etc., all as in § 2, down to the end).

4 (In the same way, and in nearly the same words, the offshoots of the trees mentioned in the preceding paragraph are treated of.)

5 And again it has been said of old: some beings born in trees, (etc., all as above, down to) growing in trees, that are originated by trees, come forth as their roots, bulb, stem, branches, twigs, leaves, flowers, fruits, and seeds. These beings feed on the sap of those trees originated by trees, (etc., all as in § 2, down to) and the bodies of the roots, bulb, stem, etc. are of manifold colours, (etc., all as in § 2, down to the end).

6-9 (The four paragraphs that come next, 6-9, are identical with the preceding ones, except that 'creeper' is substituted for 'tree.')

10-15 (In the same way 'grass [Trina.]' is treated in four paragraphs, but the whole is much abridged; then it is said that 'herbs' [Osahi = Oshadhi.] and 'plants' [Hariya = harita.] are to be treated in four paragraphs each.)

16 And again it has been said of old: some beings born in earth, (etc., all as in § 1, down to) growing there in particles of earth that are the origin of various things, come forth as Aya, Kaya, Kuhana, Kandu, Uvvehaliya, Nivvehaliya, Esava, Sakkha, Khattaga, Vasaniya [All the commentators say about the words Aya, etc. (which offer some various readings in the MSS.), is that they denote particular plants (vanaspativisesha) which must be learned from people (who know them). I give the words in their Prakrit form, and do not attempt to transpose them into Sanskrit.]. (The rest as in § 2, but substitute the words Aya, etc. for 'trees.') Here there is only one paragraph, the remaining three do not apply here [For there are no Ayas originated by Ayas except through their seed.].

17 And again it has been said of old: some beings born in water, (etc., all as in §§ 1-11, substitute only 'water' for 'earth.' Thus we have four paragraphs for trees, four for creepers, four for grass, four for herbs, four for plants).

18 Now it has been said of old: some beings born in water, (etc., all as above, down to) growing in particles of water that are the origin of various things, come forth as Udaga, Avaga [Avaka, a grassy plant growing in marshy land, Blyxa Octandra.], Panaga, Sevala [Saivala, the aquatic plant Vallisneria.], Kalambuya [Kadamba, Nauclea Kadamba.], Kaseruya [Kaseru, Scirpus Kysoor.], Kakkhabhaniya, Uppala, Pauma, Kumuya, Nalina [The last four are well-known varieties of lotus, called in Sanskrit: utpala, padma, kumuda, nalina.], Subhagasoniya, Pondariya, Mahapondariya, Sayavatta, Sahassavatta, Kalhara, Kokanada, Tamarasa [The Sanskrit of the last seven items is: pundarika, mahapundarika, satapattra, sahasrapattra, kahlara, kokanada, and tamarasa; they are all varieties of lotus.], as stalks and fibres of lotus, as Pukkhala [Pushkara.], and Pukkhalatthibhaga. (The rest similar as in § 2.)

19 And again it has been said of old: some beings come forth as movable beings from trees born in earth, from trees originated by trees, from the roots, (etc., down to) seeds produced by trees, originated by creepers born on trees, from creepers born on creepers, from the roots, etc. of creepers born on creepers, from grass*, from herbs*, from plants*, from Aya, [* This is to be detailed in the same way as with trees and creepers.] (etc., all down to) Kura born in earth; from trees born in water (the rest similar as with trees born in earth), from Udaga, (etc., all down to) Pukkhalatthibhaga born in water.

20 These creatures feed on the sap of the trees, creepers, grass, herbs, plants, be they born in earth or water, on trees or creepers or grass or herbs or plants; (the sap) of their roots, (etc., all down to) seeds, of Ayas, etc., of Udakas, etc. And these creatures consume earth-bodies, (etc., all as in § 2, down to) assimilated by them. And the bodies of these beings born of trees, creepers, grass, herbs, plants, their roots, etc., of Ayas, etc., of Udagas, etc., are of manifold colours, (etc., the rest as in § 2, down to the end).

21 And again it has been said of old: a man and a woman combine in cohabitation in a cunnus, which was produced by their Karman, and there they deposit their humours. Therein are born the souls of different men, viz. of those born in Karmabhumi, or in Akarmabhumi, or in the minor continents, of Aryas and barbarians, as women or men or eunuchs, according to the semen and blood of the mother and the other circumstances (contingent on their coming into existence). These beings at first feed on the menses of the mother and the semen of the father, or both combined into an unclean, foul (substance). And afterwards they absorb with a part (of their bodies) the essence of whatever food the mothers take. Gradually increasing and attaining to the proper dimensions of a foetus they come forth from the womb, some as males, some as females, some as neuters. As long as they are babies, they suck the mother's milk; but when they grow older, they eat boiled rice, or gruel, or both movable and immovable beings. These beings consume earth-bodies, (etc., all as before, down to) assimilated by them. And the bodies of these men, viz. those born in Karmabhumi, or Akarmabhumi, or in the minor continents, of Aryas and barbarians, are of manifold colours, (etc., all as in § 2, down to the end).

22 (This paragraph is nearly identical with the preceding one, but substitute 'aquatic animals of five organs of sense, viz. fishes, (all down to) porpoises,' for 'different men' in the beginning and the end. The following sentence in the middle is slightly different; it runs thus: 'as long as they are young, they feed on the mothers' humours, but when they grow older they eat plants, or both movable and immovable beings.')

23 (This paragraph treats of) quadrupeds, terrestrial animals with five organs of sense, viz. solidungular animals, biungular animals, multiungular animals, and animals having toes with nails. (All as in the last paragraph, only 'as long as they are young, they feed on their mothers' milk.')

24 (This paragraph treats of) reptiles moving on the breast, (being) terrestrial animals with five organs of sense, viz. snakes, huge snakes, Asalika, and dragons. (All as before, but the following passage is different.) Some bring forth eggs, some bring forth living young ones; some come out of the egg as males, some as females, some as neuters. As long as they are young, they live on wind. (The rest as above.)

25 (This paragraph treats of) terrestrial animals with five organs of sense, walking on their arms, viz. iguanas, ichneumons, porcupines, frogs, chameleons, Khoras, Gharakoillas, Vissambharas, rats, man-gooses, Païlaiyas, cats, Gohas, Kauppaiyas. (The rest as in the last paragraph.)

26 (This paragraph treats of) aerial animals with five organs of sense: birds with membranous wings, birds with feathered wings, birds with wings in the shape of a box, and birds (which sit on) outspread wings. (All as before; only the following passage is different): 'As long as they are young, they are hatched by their mothers' warmth.' (The rest as above.)

27 And again it has been said of old: there are beings of manifold birth and origin, (etc., all as in § 1, down to) growing there on the animate or inanimate bodies of manifold movable or immovable creatures, come forth as parasites. These beings feed on the humours of various movable and immovable creatures, etc. And the bodies of these movable and immovable parasites are of manifold colours, (etc., as above).

28, 29 In the same way vermin generated in filthy substances and in the skin of living animals are to be treated of.

30 And again it has been said of old: there are some beings of manifold birth and origin, (etc., all as in § 1, down to) growing thereon (or in) the animate or inanimate bodies of manifold movable or immovable creatures as that (water)-body, which is produced by wind, condensed by wind, and carried along by wind; it goes upwards, when there is an upward wind; it goes downwards, when there is a downward wind; it goes in a horizontal direction, when there is a horizontal wind; (its varieties are) hoar-frost, snow, mist, hailstones, dew, and rain. These beings feed on the humours of these manifold movable and immovable creatures, etc. And the bodies of these (water-lives, viz.) hoar-frost, etc., produced by manifold movable or immovable creatures, are of manifold colours, (etc., as above).

31 And again it has been said of old: some beings, born in water, (etc., all similar as in § 1, down to) come forth in water(-bodies) in the water produced by manifold movable or immovable beings. These beings feed on the humours of the water(-bodies) produced by manifold movable and immovable creatures. (The rest similar as above.)

32 And again it has been said of old: some beings, born in water, (etc., all similar as in § 1, down to) come forth in water-bodies produced by other water-bodies. These beings feed on the humours of those other water-bodies produced by water-bodies. (The rest similar as above.)

33 And again it has been said of old: some beings, born in water, (etc., all similar as in § 1, down to) come forth as movable creatures in the water produced by water-bodies. These beings feed on the humours of the water(-bodies) produced by water. (The rest similar as before.)

34 And again it has been said of old: some beings, of various birth and origin, (etc., all as in § 1, down to) come forth as fire-bodies in the manifold animate or inanimate bodies of movable or immovable creatures [E.g. when two bulls or elephants rush upon one another, sparks of fire are seen issuing from their horns or teeth. Fire is produced when two pieces of wood or stone are rubbed one against the other.]. These beings feed on the manifold movable or immovable creatures. The rest similar as before.)

The remaining three paragraphs are similar (to those treating of) water-bodies.

35 (This paragraph treats of wind-bodies in the same way as the preceding ones treated of fire-bodies; like it, it consists of four paragraphs).

36 And again it has been said of old: some beings, of various birth and origin, (etc., all as in § 1, down to) come forth, in the manifold animate and inanimate bodies of movable and immovable creatures, as earth, gravel, etc. Here the following verses (from the Uttaradhyayana XXXVI, 74-77) are to be made use of:

1. Earth, gravel, sand, stones, rocks, rock-salt, iron, copper, tin, lead, silver, gold, and diamond;

2. Orpiment, vermilion, realgar, Sasaka, antimony, coral, Abhrapatala, Abhravaluka; these are varieties of gross (earth-)bodies, and precious stones.

3. Hyacinth, natron, Anka, crystal, Lohitaksha, emerald, Masaragalla, Bhugamokaka, and sapphire;

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4. Kandana, red chalk, Hamsagarbha, Pulaka, and sulphur; Kandraprabha, lapis lazuli, Galakanta, and Suryakanta.

These beings feed on the humours of these manifold movable and immovable beings. (The rest as above.)

The remaining three paragraphs are similar (to those treating of) water-bodies.

37 And again it has been said of old: all sorts of living beings, of manifold birth, origin, and growth, born in bodies, originated in bodies, grown in bodies, feeding on bodies, experience their Karman, are actuated by it, have their form and duration of life determined by Karman, and undergo changes through the influence of Karman. This you should know, and knowing it you will be careful and circumspect with regard to your food, and always exert yourself.

Thus I say.

SUTRAKRITANGA 4TH LECTURE,
CALLED RENUNCIATION OF ACTIVITY.

O long-lived (Gambusvamin)! I (Sudharman) have heard the following Discourse from the Venerable (Mahavira). We now come to the Lecture called 'Renunciation of Activity.' The contents of it are as follows:

It is the Self that may not renounce (activity),that may be accustomed to act, that may adhere to errors, that may be prone to sin, that may be thoroughly ignorant, that may be thoroughly stolid, that may not consider the operations of mind, speech, and body, that may not avoid and renounce sins.

1 The Venerable One has said, 'He (i.e. the Self) is uncontrolled, unresigned, does not avoid and renounce sins, is active, careless, prone to sin, thoroughly ignorant, thoroughly stolid. Though a fool does not consider the operations of his mind, speech, and body, nor does see even a dream 5; still he commits sins [The doctrine of the Jainas is that Karman is the result of the action of every being, even of those whose intellect or consciousness is not developed, as with the ekendriyas or beings who possess but one organ of sense. The opponent, however, maintains that only conscious actions of intelligent beings bring about Karman. This question is discussed in the following paragraphs.].

2 The opponent says to the teacher: 'There can be no sin, if (the perpetrator of an action) does not possess sinful thoughts, speech, and functions of the body, if he does not kill, if he has no internal organ, if he does not consider the operations of mind, speech, and body, if he does not see even a dream.' What is the meaning of the opponent in making this statement? 'When there is a sinful mind, there is sin of the mind; when there is sinful speech, there is sin of the speech; when there is a sinful body, there is sin of the body. When one kills, possesses an internal organ, and considers the operations of mind, speech, and body, when one sees even a dream, then there is sin. Only he who has these qualities can commit sin.' The opponent goes on to say, 'Those who say: There is sin, though (the perpetrator of an action) does not possess sinful thoughts, speeches, and functions of the body, though he does not kill, though he does not possess an internal organ, though he does not consider the operations of mind, speech, and body, and though he does not see even a dream,--those who say this, are wrong.'

3 Here the teacher says to the opponent: 'It is true what I have just said: there is sin, though (the perpetrator of the action) do not possess sinful thoughts, (etc., all as above, down to) though he do not see even a dream.' 'What is the reason thereof?' (The Akarya says): 'The Venerable One has assigned the six classes of living beings as the reason: the earth-lives, (etc., all down to) movable beings. With regard to these six classes of living beings, the Self does not avoid and renounce sins, he is wicked and does harm through cruelty: (this holds good with regard to the five cardinal sins) killing of living beings, etc. (and the passions): anger, etc. (down to) the sin of wrong belief.'

4 (The Akarya says): 'The Venerable One has illustrated this by the example of a murderer: a murderer (who hates) a householder or his son or the king or his servant, resolves, on an occasion offering, to enter (the victim's house) and to kill him when he finds an opportunity [The Nagarguniyas have another reading (where, is not stated by Silanka): If he sees no opportunity, or his proposed victim is always on his guard, he does not kill him, but he resolves in his mind: If I get an opportunity, or I find that man off his guard, I shall certainly kill him.]. Is not this murderer who has formed this resolution, (a man) who, day and night, whether sleeping or waking, is full of hostility and wrong; who is wicked and does harm through cruelty? An unbiassed opponent before whom this is laid, will answer: Indeed, he is!'

5 (The Akarya says): 'As this murderer who has formed the above resolution is a man who (etc., all as in § 4, down to) does harm through cruelty--(and this holds good with regard to the five cardinal sins:) killing of living beings, etc. (and the passions:) anger, etc., (down to) the sin of wrong belief--so it has been said of him by the Venerable One: he is uncontrolled, unresigned, he does not avoid and renounce sins, he is active, careless, prone to sins thoroughly ignorant, thoroughly stolid. Though a fool does not consider the operations of his mind, speech, and body, nor does see even a dream, still he commits sins.

6 As a murderer who entertains (murderous) intentions towards a householder, etc., is a man who (etc., all as in § 4, down to) does harm through cruelty; so an ignorant man who entertains (cruel) intentions towards all sorts of living beings, is a man who (etc., all as in § 4, down to) does harm through cruelty.

7 (An opponent might object): This is no good reasoning. (For) there are many living beings which one, during one's whole life, never saw, nor heard of, nor cared for, nor took notice of. Towards these beings, therefore, one cannot (be said to) entertain (murderous) intentions, nor to be one who, day and night, whether sleeping or waking, is full of hostility and wrong, (etc., the rest as in § 4).

8 (The Akarya says): The Venerable One has refuted this by two illustrations, one of a sentient being, the other of a senseless being. The first is as follows: A sentient being, possessing five organs of sense and a developed internal organ, may with regard to the six classes of living beings, viz. earth-bodies, (all down to) movable beings, impose some restriction upon himself; (e.g.) that he will meet his wants, or have them met by others, by means of earth-bodies only. His intention is: I shall meet my wants, or have them met by others, by means of earth-bodies only. His intention is not (to make use of) this or that (particular earth-body): he meets his wants, or has them met by others, by means of earth-bodies in general. With regard to them, therefore, he is uncontrolled, unrestrained, does not avoid and renounce sins. The same applies to the remaining five classes of living beings.--Some one may meet his wants, or have them met by others, by means of the six classes of living beings. His intention is: I shall meet my wants, or have them met by others, by means of the six classes of living beings; it is not: by means of some particular beings. He meets his wants, (etc.) by means of living beings in general. With regard to them, therefore, he is uncontrolled, etc. (This holds good with the five cardinal sins): killing of living beings, etc., (and with the passions): anger, (etc., all down to) the sin of wrong belief. The Venerable One has said that such a creature, (etc., all as in § 1, down to) commits sins.

9 The illustration of senseless beings is as follows: Senseless beings, viz. earth-bodies, (etc., all down to) plants, to which must be added, as a sixth item, some movable beings, which have no reason nor consciousness, nor intellect, nor mind, nor speech, in order to do something, or to have it done by others, or to consent to others' doing it; these benighted creatures (are to be considered as murderers), are full of hostility and wrong (all as in § 4) [If the passage were printed in full, the most glaring contradictions would stare the reader in the face. The cause hereof is not that the passage cannot correctly be rendered, but that the authors of the Sutras always make use of set phrases whether all parts of them suit the case in hand or not. Sometimes we can avoid downright nonsense by selecting a somewhat different rendering from what was given in another part of the book; and so I do in the last sentence of this paragraph. But this is only a makeshift.] against all sorts of living beings. (This holds good with the five cardinal sins:) killing of living beings, etc., (and with the passions, all down to) the sin of wrong belief. Know this: though these beings have neither mind nor speech, yet as they cause pain, grief, damages, harm, and injury, they must be regarded as not abstaining from causing pain, etc.

10 Thus even senseless beings are reckoned instrumental in bringing about slaughter of living beings, (etc., all down to) the sin of wrong belief. Beings, whatever their origin, who were sentient (in one existence) will become senseless ones (in another) and vice versa. Not getting rid of, nor shaking off, nor annihilating, nor destroying their Karman, the thoroughly wicked and ignorant wander from the body of a senseless being into that of sentient ones, or from the body of a sentient being into that of senseless ones, or from the body of a sentient being into that of another, or from the body of a senseless being into that of another. The sentient beings and the senseless ones, both are wrong in their conduct and commit sins through cruelty. The Venerable One has said that such a (creature) is uncontrolled, (etc., all as in I, down to) commits sins.

11 (The opponent asks): 'What must one do or cause to be done, in order to become controlled and restrained, to avoid and renounce sins?' (The Akarya answers): The Venerable One has declared that the cause (of sins) are the six classes of living beings, earth-lives, etc. As I feel pain, so they do. Therefore they should not be injured or killed.

This constant, permanent, eternal, true Law has been taught by wise men who comprehend all things. Thus a monk abstains from (the five cardinal sins): slaughter of living beings, etc., (and of vices, all down to) the sin of wrong belief. He does not clean his teeth with a tooth-brush, he does not accept collyrium, emetics, and perfumes. Such a monk does not act nor kill, he is free from wrath, pride, deceit, and greed, he is calm and happy. The Venerable One says that such a (monk) is well controlled and restrained, does avoid and renounce sins, is not active, but careful and thoroughly wise.

Thus I say.

SUTRAKRITANGA 5TH LECTURE,
CALLED FREEDOM FROM ERROR.

1 A very clever (monk) who practises the vow of chastity, should not adopt the following (heretical) doctrines, nor behave badly in this religion.

2 He should not believe that (this world) is without beginning or without end, eternal or not eternal, according to the argumentation (of heretics).

3 From these alternatives you cannot arrive at truth; from these alternatives you are, certainly, led to error.

4 One should not say: that there will be an end of beings who (know and) teach the truth*; nor that all beings are not alike, nor that they shall be in (perpetual) bondage, or (that the prophets are) eternal. [* Sastarah, teachers, here those who reach perfection. The meaning is that the world would become empty if all beings should reach perfection. This should not he maintained, nor the opposite opinion, that some beings are qualified for Nirvana and others not.]

5 From these alternatives you cannot arrive at the truth, etc. (see verse).

7 One should not say: the guilt of killing small and great animals is the same, or not the same. (6) From these alternatives, etc.

8 One should know that those who accept things especially prepared for them, will be affected by demerit (in some cases), or will not be affected (where it is allowed by scripture).

9 From these alternatives, etc.

10 One should not maintain the identity of the audarika, aharika, and karmana bodies, nor that everything cannot everywhere come into existence, nor that it can.

11 From these alternatives, etc.

12 Do not maintain that the world does not exist, maintain that it exists.

13 Do not maintain that Giva and Agiva do not exist, but that they exist.

14 Do not maintain that Dharma and Adharma do not exist, but that they exist.

15 Do not maintain that bondage and liberation do not exist, but that they exist.

16 Do not maintain that virtue and vice do not exist, but that they exist.

17 Do not maintain that Asrava and the stoppage of Asrava do not exist, but that they exist.

18 Do not maintain that the experiencing of the effect, and the annihilation of Karman do not exist, but that they exist.

19 Do not maintain that activity and non-activity do not exist, but that they exist.

20 Do not maintain that anger and pride do not exist, but that they exist.

21 Do not maintain that deceit and greed do not exist, but that they exist.

22 Do not maintain that love and hate do not exist, but that they exist.

23 Do not maintain that the fourfold Circle of Births does not exist, but that it exists.

24 Do not maintain that there are no gods and goddesses, but that there are.

25 Do not maintain that there is no such thing as perfection and non-perfection, but that there is such a thing.

26 Do not maintain that there is no place exclusively reserved for those who attain to perfection, but that there is such.

27 Do not maintain that there are no pious and wicked men, but that there are.

28 Do not maintain that there is no such thing as good and bad, but that there is good and bad.

29 The theory will not work that (a man is always) good, or (always) bad. The wrongly instructed Sramanas do not comprehend the (soul's) bondage (through Karman).

30 (Do not assert) that everything is imperishable, or full of pains, nor that criminals should be put to death or not be put to death; one should not speak in this way.

31 Do not assert that those men are well-behaved monks who lead a pure life, and that those others lead an impure life.

32 A wise monk should not say: we get alms (from this householder) or we do not; but he should improve his chances for final liberation.

33 A monk should conform himself to these opinions taught by the Ginas, and wander about till he reaches final liberation.

Thus I say.

SUTRAKRITANGA 6TH LECTURE,
CALLED ARDRAKA

[The commentators relate a romantic story about prince Ardraka, which need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that he became monk, and after many adventures held the disputation which forms the subject of our lecture. After having vanquished his opponents, he was about to join Mahavira, when a newly-tamed elephant broke his chain, rushed on him, but just in front of him went down on his knees and paid him reverence. King Srenika witnessed this scene, and wondered how the elephant could have broken his chains. Ardraka replied that it was still more strange that a man could break the fetters which worldliness had fastened

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upon him. The whole story must be very old, for it is epitomised in ten gathas by the author of the Niryukti.--The names of the opponents not stated in the text of the verses are supplied from the commentaries.].

1 Gosala. 'Listen, Ardraka [This name is spelt either Ardra or Ardraka, Adda in Prakrit.], to what (Mahavira) has done. At first he wandered about as a single monk; but now he has surrounded himself by many monks, and teaches every one of them the Law at length.

2 'The inconstant man has decided upon this mode of life [According to the commentators, Gosala intimates that Mahavira had found it very inconvenient to live alone, because he was then exposed to many injuries; so he set up as a Tirthakara.]: to stand up in a crowd of men, surrounded by monks, and to teach his doctrines for the benefit of many people. Therefore his former and his present life are not of a piece.

'Either to live as a single mendicant (was right conduct) or his present life; therefore both do not agree with each other.'

3 Ardraka. "His past, present, and future lives agree with each other; for he is really always single and alone (though he be now surrounded by many followers).

4 "For if a Sramana or Brahmana who causes peace and security, comprehends the nature of movable and immovable living beings and explains it in a crowd numbering thousands, he realises singleness, remaining in the same mental condition as before.

5 "It is no sin to teach the Law, if (he who teaches it) is patient and resigned, subdues his senses, avoids bad speech, and uses virtuous speech.

6 "He who (teaches) the great vows (of monks) and the five small vows (of the laity, the laymen), the five Asravas and the stoppage of the Asravas, and control, who avoids Karman in this blessed life of Sramanas, him I call a Sramana."

7 Gosala. ('As your Law makes it no sin for Mahavira to surround himself by a crowd of disciples), so according to our Law an ascetic, who lives alone and single, commits no sin if he uses cold water, eats seeds, accepts things prepared for him, and has intercourse with women.'

8 Ardraka. "Know this: those who use cold water, eat seeds, accept things especially prepared for them, and have intercourse with women, are (no better than) householders, but they are no Sramanas.

9 "If those who eat seeds, use (cold) water, and have intercourse with women, are admitted to be Sramanas, then householders too are Sramanas; for they do the same things.

10 "Monks who eat seeds and use cold water, who beg alms as a means of living, will, though they leave their relations, be born again and again, and will not put an end to mundane existence."

Gosala. 'In making this statement you blame all philosophers alike!'

11 Ardraka. "Every philosopher praises his own doctrines and makes them known.

12 "Sramanas and Brahmanas blame one another when they teach (their doctrines). (The truth, they say,) is all on their side; there is none on that of the opponents. But we blame only the (wrong) doctrines and not at all (those who entertain them).

13 "We do not detract from anybody because of his personal qualities; but we make known the path pointed out in our creed. I have been taught the supreme, right path by worthy, good men.

14 "If a well-controlled man, afraid of injuring any movable or immovable living beings, above, below, or on earth, condemns (evil deeds), he does not at all blame (anybody) in this world."

15 Gosala. 'Out of fear your Sramana will not stay in houses for travellers or in public garden-houses; for in such places he would meet with many clever people, with lower or nobler men, with talkative or silent ones.

16 'He will not stay there because he fears lest some monks, wise, well instructed, learned men, who are well versed in the sacred texts and their meaning, should put questions to him.'

17 Ardraka. "Doing nothing without a purpose, nor without consideration, neither on the behest of the king nor from fear of anybody, he answers questions or not (according to the circumstances); but he (answers) worthy people with a definite purpose (in his mind).

18 "He, the wise man, impartially teaches (the Law) whether he goes (to his pupils) or not; because unworthy men have fallen from the true faith, he does not go to places (frequented by them)."

19 Gosala. 'As a merchant desirous of gain (shows) his wares and attracts a crowd to do business, in a similar way (acts) the Sramana Gnatriputra. This is what I think and calculate about it.'

20 Ardraka. "(Mahavira) acquires no new (Karman), he annihilates the old, avoiding wrong opinions; and thus the saviour said to others: Herein is contained the vow (leading to) Brahman (i.e. Moksha); this is the gain which a Sramana is desirous of. Thus I say.

21 "A merchant kills living beings and desires property; not leaving his kinsmen, he attracts a crowd in order to do business.

22 "Desiring riches and addicted to sensuality, merchants wander about to earn their living. But we (say) that they are passionately fond of pleasures, unworthy, and desiring the enjoyment of love.

23 "They do not abstain from slaughter and the acquirement of property, they are in bondage and full of wickedness; and their gain of which you spoke,. will be the endless Circle of Births and pains manifold.

24 "They do not always make profit, nor does it last for ever; they meet with both results (success and failure) in their quest of gain. The profit (of the teacher), however, has a beginning, but no end; the saviour and sage shares his profit (with others).

25 "Him who kills no (living beings), who has compassion on all creatures, who is well grounded in the Law, and causes the truth of the Law to be known, him you would equal to those wicked men! This is the outcome of your folly."

26 A Buddhist. 'If (a savage) thrusts a spit through the side of a granary, mistaking it for a man; or through a gourd, mistaking it for a baby, and roasts it, he will be guilty of murder according to our views.

27 'If a savage puts a man on a spit and roasts him, mistaking him for a fragment of the granary; or a baby, mistaking him for a gourd, he will not be guilty of murder according to our views.

28 'If anybody thrusts a spit through a man or a baby, mistaking him for a fragment of the granary, puts him on the fire, and roasts him, that will be a meal fit for Buddhas to break fast upon.

29 'Those who always feed two thousand worthy monks, acquire great merit and become powerful gods in Arupa (dhatu).'

30 Ardraka. "Well-controlled men cannot accept (your denial of) guilt incurred by (unintentionally) doing harm to living beings. It will cause error and no good to both who teach such doctrines and who believe them.

31 "A man who knows the nature of movable and immovable living beings, above, below, and on earth, who is afraid of injuring them and abstains from wicked deeds, may speak and act (in accordance with our Law); he will not be guilty of any (sin).

32 "It is impossible to mistake (a fragment of the granary) for a man; only an unworthy man can say it. How can (the idea of a man) be produced by a fragment of the granary? Even to utter this is an untruth.

33 "Do not use such speech by means of which you do evil; for such speech is incompatible with virtues. No ordained (monk) should speak empty words.

34 "Oh! you have explored this subject; you have thoroughly examined the consequences of acts of living beings; your (fame) reaches the Eastern and Western oceans; you view (the universe as if) it stood on the palm of your hands!

35 "Thoroughly examining the consequences of acts of living beings, (our monks) have found out a pure way of sustaining life. It is a maxim of the monks of our creed 3, that nobody who lives by secret sins, should lay down the Law.

36 "A man who always feeds two thousand worthy monks, does not control himself, and will be blamed in this world like a man with bloody hands.

37 "They kill a fattened sheep, and prepare food for the sake of a particular person; they season the meat with salt and oil, and dress it with pepper.

38 "You are irreligious, unworthy men, devoted to foolish pleasures, who say that partaking heartily of this meat you are not soiled by sin.

39 "All who partake of such food, commit sins in their ignorance; but the wise do nothing of the kind. Even to utter it is an untruth.

40 "In compassion to all beings, the seers, the Gnatriputras, avoid what is sinful; afraid of it, they abstain from food especially prepared for them.

41 "They abstain from wicked deeds, afraid of injuring living beings, and do no harm to any creature; therefore they do not partake of such food. This is a maxim of the monks of our creed.

42 "(Having reached) this perfection in the Law of the Nirgranthas and standing firm in it, one should live without deceit. The awakened sage who is endowed with all virtues thereby obtained very great fame."

43 A Vedic Priest. 'Those who always feed two thousand holy mendicants, acquire great merit and become gods. This is the teaching of the Veda.'

44 Ardraka. "He who always feeds two thousand holy cats (i.e. Brahmanas), will have to endure great pains in hell, being surrounded by hungry (beasts).

45 "He who despises the Law that enjoins compassion, and praises the Law that permits slaughter, and who feeds but a single unprincipled man, even if he be a king, will go to darkness, and not to the gods."

46 A Vedantin. 'Both of us follow (very much the same) Law; we stood firm in it, and shall do so in the time to come; (we believe that) virtue consists in good conduct, and that knowledge (is necessary for liberation); and with regard to the Circle of Births there is no difference between us.

47 '(But we assume) an invisible, great, eternal, imperishable, and indestructible Soul, who excels all other beings in every respect, as the moon excels the stars.'

48 Ardraka. "(If there were but one Soul common to all beings) they could not be known (from one another), nor could they experience different lots; there would not be Brahmanas, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras 1, insects, birds, and snakes; all would be men and gods.

49 "Those who do not know all things by Kevala (knowledge), but who being ignorant teach a Law (of their own), are lost themselves, and work the ruin of others in this dreadful, boundless Circle of Births.

50 "Those who know all things by the full Kevala knowledge, and who practising meditation teach the whole Law, are themselves saved and save others.

51 "You have, in your mind, made equal both those who lead a blameable life, and those who in this world practise right conduct. Friend, you are deluded,"

52 A Hastitapasa. 'Every year we kill one big elephant with an arrow, and live upon it in order to spare the life of other animals.'

53 Ardraka. "If every year you kill but one animal without abstaining from sin, though you are not guilty of the slaughter of other creatures, there is little difference between you and a householder.

54 "If a man kills every year but one animal, and lives (in other respects) as a Sramana, he is unworthy, and works his perdition. Such men will not become Kevalins."

55 A (monk) who has achieved his religious perfection through the instruction of the Awakened One [Buddhassa anai.], and stands firm in it, who guards himself in the threefold way (i.e. with regard to thoughts, words, and acts), and who possesses the things requisite for crossing the immense ocean of existence, may preach the Law.

Thus I say.

SUTRAKRITANGA 7TH LECTURE,
CALLED NALANDA.

1 At that time, at that period, there was a town of the name Ragagriha: it was rich, happy, thriving, etc. Outside of Ragagriha, in a north-eastern direction, there was the suburb Nalanda; it contained many hundreds of buildings, etc.

2 In that suburb Nalanda there was a householder called Lepa; he was prosperous, famous; rich in high and large houses, beds, seats, vehicles, and chariots; abounding in riches, gold, and silver; possessed of useful and necessary things; wasting plenty of food and drink; owning many male and female slaves, cows, buffaloes, and sheep; and inferior to nobody.

3 This householder Lepa, a follower of the Sramanas, comprehended (the doctrine of) living beings and things without life, (etc., all as in II, 2, 76, p. 382, down to the end of the paragraph).

4 This householder Lepa possessed, in a northeastern direction from the suburb Nalanda, a bathing-hall, called Seshadravya; it contained many hundreds of pillars, was beautiful, etc. In a northeastern direction from this bathing-hall Seshadravya, there was a park called Hastiyama. (Description of the park 3.)

5 And there in some house the Venerable Gautama was staying. The venerable (man) was in the garden, and so was Udaka, the son of Pedhala, a Nirgrantha and follower of Parsva 4, of the Medarya Gotra. He went there where the Venerable Gautama was, and said: 'O long-lived Gautama, I want to ask you about a point (of faith); O long-lived one, please explain it to me so as it has been taught (by the Tirthakara).' And the Venerable Gautama spoke thus to Udaka, the son of Pedhala: "Well, long-lived one, I shall see about it, when I have heard and understood (your question)." And Udaka, the son of Pedhala, spoke thus to the Venerable Gautama:

6 'O long-lived Gautama, there are Nirgrantha Sramanas, called Kumaraputras, who profess your creed; they make a zealous householder, a follower of the Sramanas, renounce injury to movable beings except on the order (from an established authority), as the householder caused one of the captured thieves to be set free. Those who make this renunciation, make a bad renunciation; those who cause this renunciation to be made, cause a bad renunciation to be made; in causing another to make this renunciation, they annul their own allegation [Viz. that by abstaining from slaughter of living beings they kill no living beings.]. Why do I say this? Beings belong to the Circle of Births; though they be (now) immovable beings, they will (some time) become movable ones, or though they be (now) movable beings, they will become immovable ones; when they leave the bodies of immovable beings, they will be born in bodies of movable ones, and when they leave the bodies of movable beings, they will be born in bodies of immovable ones. When they are born in bodies of immovable beings, it is no sin to kill them.

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7 '(But if they make him renounce) injury to creatures which are, for the time being, movable beings, except on the order (from an established authority)--as the householder caused one of the captured thieves to be set free--(if they take this vow), those who make this renunciation, make a good renunciation; those who cause this renunciation to be made, cause a good renunciation to be made; in causing another to make this renunciation, they do not annul their own allegation. Though in this way a correct expression is found, some (monks) from anger or greed cause the householder to make the renunciation (without the necessary restriction). Is not this our interpretation right? O long-lived Gautama, do you approve of it?'

8 And Gautama spoke thus to Udaka, the son of Pedhala: "O long-lived Udaka, we certainly do not approve of it. The Sramanas or Brahmanas who say thus, speak thus, declare thus, and explain thus, do not speak as Sramanas or Nirgranthas, they speak noxious speech. They mislead laymen. They make void all vows undertaken for sparing particular living beings [E.g. if a man vows to kill no Brahmana (and does not add the restriction 'for the time being'), he may kill no man or animal whatever; for the soul of that man or animal may, in the past, have been embodied in a Brahmana.]. Why do I say this? Beings belong to the Circle of Births; though they be (now) immovable beings, they will (some time) become movable ones, (etc., all as in § 6, down to) when they leave the bodies of movable beings, they will be born in the bodies of immovable ones. When they are born in the bodies of movable beings, it is a sin to kill them."

And Udaka, the son of Pedhala, spoke thus: 'Which beings do you call movable beings? movable ones or others? '

9 And Gautama spoke thus to Udaka, the son of Pedhala: "O long-lived Udaka, what you call beings which are, for the time being, movable ones, we call movable beings; and what we call movable beings, you call beings which are, for the time being, movable ones. Both expressions are equal, and mean the same thing. O long-lived one, why do you think it more correct to say: beings which are, for the time being, movable ones; and why do you think it incorrect to say: movable beings, that you censure the one expression, and applaud the other? This your interpretation is not right.

10 "And the Venerable One has spoken thus: Some men there are who say: we cannot, submitting to the tonsure, renounce the life of a householder and enter the monastic state, but we shall gradually conform to the Gotra (i.e. community of the monks). Accordingly they make known the limits, fix the limits, determine the limits (beyond which they will not go in the enjoyment of worldly goods); and renounce injury to movable beings, except on the order 1 (of an established authority)--as the householder caused one of the captured thieves to be set free. And this turns out to their benefit.

11 "Movable beings are called so, when they get this character 2 through the taking effect of the Karman relating to movable beings. But when their duration of life as movable beings comes to its close, the (soul), embodied in a movable being, leaves its life as such and becomes embodied in an immovable being. Immovable beings are called so, when they get this character through the taking effect of the Karman relating to immovable beings. But when their duration of life as an immovable being comes to its close, the (soul), embodied in an immovable being, leaves its life as such and takes again a new form of existence; they are (then) called* animated beings, (animals) of large bodies, or of long life." [* They are called (vukkanti = ukyante) is apparently equivalent with: they get the name (nama); 'name,' however, means in Jaina and Bauddha terminology as much as 'the nature of the thing.' The words of the text, therefore, come to mean: 'they become or are animated beings,' etc.]

12 And Udaka, the son of Pedhala, spoke thus to the Venerable Gautama: 'Is there not a chance, that a follower of the Sramanas, though he has renounced slaughter of but one class of living beings, ceases altogether to injure any? [The question discussed in the following paragraphs is whether, at some future time, all movable beings in the Samsara might not die out, and none but immovable beings be left. This idea is combated at great length by Gautama.] Why do I say this? Beings belong to the Circle of Births, though they be (now) immovable beings, they will (some time) become movable ones, and though they be movable beings, they will become immovable ones. When they leave the bodies of immovable beings, all are born in bodies of movable ones, and when they leave the bodies of movable beings, all will be born in bodies of immovable ones. When they are born in bodies of immovable beings, they may be killed [The meaning is, that at some future time movable beings may have ceased to exist, since they are all born as immovable beings, and vice versa. If the latter is the case, a layman, who abstains from killing animals, practically does injury to no being whatever; if the former is the case, he cannot transgress his vow even if he would.].'

13 And the Venerable Gautama spoke thus to Udaka, the son of Pedhala: "O long-lived one, we do not admit what you say; viz. that there is a chance that a follower of the Sramanas should cease to do injury to any kind of living beings. Why do we say this? Beings belong to the Circle of Births, (etc., all as above, down to) when they are born in bodies of movable beings, it is a sin to kill them. They are called animated beings, (animals) of large bodies, or of long life. There are always a great many animate beings, (the slaughter of) which a follower of the Sramanas must renounce, there are none, (the slaughter of) which he need not renounce. If he ceases, or has done with, or has given up (injuring) the large class of movable beings, his renunciation is good. What you or somebody else says, that there is a chance of a layman's ceasing to do an injury altogether, by renouncing slaughter of one kind of beings; this interpretation of yours is not right."

14 The Venerable One 1 gave an illustration: "I put a question to the Nirgranthas: O long-lived ones, (suppose) there be some men who have made the following declaration: 'I shall not inflict punishment on those who, submitting to the tonsure, renounce the life of a householder and enter the monastic state; but I shall inflict punishment on those who lead a domestic life.' Some Sramana, who for four or five years, or for six or ten years--the period may be shorter or longer--has wandered about in the land, returns to domestic life. Now answer me: does the man break his word when he puts to death this (renegade) householder?" 'Certainly not!' "It is just the same with a follower of the Sramanas, who has renounced injury to movable beings, but not to immovable ones. If he kills immovable beings, he does not transgress his vow. This you acknowledge, O Nirgranthas, this you must acknowledge!"

15 The Venerable One gave another illustration: "I put a question to the Nirgranthas. O long-lived Nirgranthas, (suppose) there be householders or sons of householders, born in respectable families, who come to you for instruction in the Law. Ought they to be instructed in the Law?" 'Yes, they should.' "When they have learned and understood this Law, will they say: this creed of the Nirgranthas is true, supreme, excellent, full of virtues, right, pure, it removes doubts, it is the road to perfection, liberation, Nirvana; it is free from error and doubts, it is the road of those who are free from all misery; those who adopt it will reach perfection, (etc., all down to) put an end to all misery; exerting ourselves we shall control ourselves with regard to all kinds of living beings.--Will they speak thus?" 'Yes.' "Should such men be admitted to the order?" 'Yes, they should.' "Should such men be instructed in the discipline and kept to attend to religious instruction?" 'Yes, they should.' "Do they renounce injury to every living being?" 'Yes, they do.' "Now (suppose) one of these men who lead such a life, after wandering about in the land for four or five years, or for six or ten years--the period may be shorter or longer--returns to domestic life. Will this man (still) abstain from doing injury to every living being?" 'No.' "The same man who at first (as a householder) had not renounced injury to every living being, who afterwards has renounced, and who now does not renounce injury to every living being, did at first not control himself, did so afterwards, and does not so now. As long as he does not control himself, he does not renounce injury to every living being. This you acknowledge, O Nirgranthas, this you must acknowledge!"

16 The Venerable One gave (another) illustration: "I put a question to the Nirgranthas. O long-lived Nirgranthas, (suppose) there be monks or nuns of other sects, who come to you for instruction in the Law, (all as before, down to) attend to religious instruction." 'Yes, they should.' "Is it lawful to eat with such men?" 'Yes, it is.' "Now (suppose) some of these people who lead such a life, (etc., all as before, down to) return to domestic life. Is it lawful to eat with them then?" 'No, it is not.' "The same man with whom to eat was not lawful at first, was lawful afterwards, and is not lawful now, was no Sramana at first, was a Sramana afterwards, and is no Sramana now. It is not lawful for Nirgrantha Sramanas to eat together with him. This you acknowledge, O Nirgranthas; this you must acknowledge!"

17 And the Venerable One spoke thus: "There are some followers of the Sramanas, who have made this declaration: we cannot, submitting to the tonsure, renounce the life of a householder and enter the monastic state, but we shall strictly observe the Posaha on the fourteenth and the eighth days of each fortnight, (on the new-moon, and) full-moon days, we renounce gross ill-usage of living beings, grossly lying speech, gross taking of things not given, (unlawful) sexual intercourse, (unlimited) appropriation of property; we shall set limits to our desires in the two forms and in the three ways. They will also make the following renunciation: 'neither do nor cause anything (sinful) to be done for my sake.' Having (on Posaha-days) abstained from eating, drinking, bathing, and using beds or chairs, may they, on their decease, be said to make a (righteous) end of their life?" 'Certainly, they do make such an end of their life.' "They are called animated beings, (etc., all as in § 13, down to) this interpretation of yours is not right."

18 The Venerable One spoke thus: "There are some followers of the Sramanas, who have made this declaration: we cannot, submitting to the tonsure, renounce the life of a householder and enter the monastic state; we also cannot strictly observe the Posaha on the fourteenth and the eighth days of each fortnight, (on the days of new-moon) and full-moon; but while we are preparing ourselves for death by fasting, we shall abstain from food and drink without longing for the end; we shall renounce all ill-usage of living beings, all lying speech, all taking of things not given, all sexual intercourse, all property, (saying): 'neither do nor cause anything (sinful) to be done for my sake.' (All the rest as in the preceding paragraph)"

19 And the Venerable One spoke thus: "There are some men of great desires, great undertakings, etc., who do not abstain from all ill-usage of living beings, (etc., down to) from all property. During the whole time, from their taking the vows of a follower of the Sramanas till their death, they abstain from injury to living beings. Then they die; in their next existence they experience their Karman, and receive an evil lot. (The rest as before)"

20 And the Venerable One spoke thus: "There are some men of no desires, no undertakings, who abstain from all ill-usage of living beings, (etc., down to) from all property. During the whole time, from their taking the vows of a follower of the Sramanas till their death, they abstain from injury to living beings. Then they die; in their next existence they experience their Karman, and receive a happy lot. (The rest as before)"

21 And the Venerable One spoke thus: "There are some men of few desires, few undertakings, who abstain from ill-usage of one sort of living beings, (etc., down to) from one sort of property. During the whole time, (etc., the rest as in the last paragraph)."

22 And the Venerable One spoke thus: "There are some men who live in woods, in huts, near villages, or practise some secret rites, who are not well controlled, do not well abstain (from slaying) all sorts of living beings. They employ speech that is true and untrue at the same time: do not beat me, beat others, (etc., all as in II, 2, 21, down to) having died at their allotted time, they are born in some places inhabited by Asuras 1 and evil-doers. And when they are released therefrom, they will be born deaf and dumb or blind. They are called animated beings, (etc., the rest as in § 13)."

23 And the Venerable One spoke thus: "There are some beings of a long life, which a follower of the Sramanas abstains from injuring through life. They die after him. They are called animated beings, (etc., the rest as in § 13)."

24, 25 (The two next paragraphs treat in exactly the same way of beings of an equally long life, which die simultaneously with him, and of beings of a short life, which die before him.)

And the Venerable One spoke thus: "There are some followers of the Sramanas, who have made this declaration: we are not able to strictly observe the Posaha-days, but we are able, when preparing ourselves for death by fasting, to abstain from food and drink without longing for the end. The vow of such a man is the Samayika Desavakasika: (he declares) in the morning: (I shall travel) only thus or thus far in an eastern, western, southern, northern direction. He renounces injury to all beings: I shall cause peace and security to all sorts of living beings.

26 "Within those (limits) the movable living beings, which the follower of the Sramanas abstains from injuring till his death, will leave their life, and will then be born, within the same limits, as movable living beings, which the follower of the Sramanas abstains from injuring till his death. With regard to them the follower of the Sramanas has made a good renunciation. They are called animated beings, (etc., the rest as before).

27 "The movable beings within those limits, etc, will, after their death, be born within the same limits as immovable beings, from injuring which without a purpose the follower of the Sramanas abstains till death, but not with a purpose, (etc., the rest as before).

28 "The movable beings within those limits, etc., will, after their death, be born, beyond those limits, as movable or immovable beings, (etc., the rest as before).

29 "The immovable beings within those limits, etc., will, after their death, be born, within the same limits, as movable beings, (etc., the rest as before).

30 "The immovable beings within those limits, etc., will, after their death, be born, within the same limits, as immovable beings, (etc., the rest as before).

31 "The immovable beings within those limits, etc., will, after their death, be born, beyond those limits, as immovable beings, (etc., the rest as before).

32 "The movable and immovable beings beyond those limits, etc., will, after their death, be born, within those limits, as movable beings, (etc., the rest as before).

33 "The movable and immovable beings beyond those limits, etc., will, after their death, be born, within those limits, as immovable beings, (etc., the rest as before).

34 "The movable and immovable beings beyond those limits, etc., will, after their death, be born, beyond those limits, as movable and immovable beings, (etc. the rest as before)."

35 The Venerable One spoke thus: "It has never happened, it does not happen, nor will it ever happen, that all movable beings will die out and become immovable ones, nor that all immovable beings die out and become movable ones. Since movable and immovable beings never die out, there is no chance, as you or somebody else say, that a layman ceases to

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do injury altogether by renouncing slaughter of one kind of beings; this interpretation of yours is not right."

36 And the Venerable One spoke thus: "If (a man) who has been instructed in right knowledge, faith, and conduct for the avoidance of sins, blames a (righteous) Sramana or Brahmana though he is well disposed towards them, he effects the loss of his merit for another world; but if he does not blame them, he heightens the purity of his merit for another world." On this Udaka, the son of Pedhala, took no further notice of the Venerable Gautama and was about to return in the direction in which he had come.

37 And the Venerable One spoke thus: "O long-lived Udaka, he who has learned from a Sramana or Brahmana whomsoever even one noble religious truth, and considers himself thereby furthered with regard to his peace and happiness, will respect, acknowledge, praise, salute, honour, reverence, and worship him even as a blessed and holy deity or sacred shrine."

38 Then Udaka, the son of Pedhala, spoke thus to the Venerable Gautama: 'As I had not before known, heard, understood, and comprehended these words, I did not believe in the meaning (of your words), which I had never perceived nor heard nor understood nor appreciated, and which were never explained nor defined nor delivered nor made clear to me, nor pondered over by me. But now, Reverend Sir, as I do know, etc., these words which I have perceived, heard, etc., I believe, accept, and approve of their meaning. It is just as you say!'

39 Then the Venerable Gautama spoke thus to Udaka, the son of Pedhala: "Believe it, sir; accept it, sir; approve of it, sir; it is just as we have said." Then Udaka, the son of Pedhala, spoke thus to the Venerable Gautama: 'I desire, Reverend Sir, in your presence to pass from the creed which enjoins four vows 1, to the creed which enjoins the five great vows and the Pratikramana.'

40 Then the Venerable Gautama went with Udaka, the son of Pedhala, to the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira. Then Udaka, the son of Pedhala, solemnly circumambulated the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira three times from the left to the right, and having done so he praised and worshipped him, and then he spoke thus: 'I desire, Reverend Sir, in your presence to pass from the creed which enjoins four vows, to the creed which enjoins the five great vows and the Pratikramana. May it so please you, beloved of the gods, do not deny me!' Then, in the presence of the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira, Udaka, the son of Pedhala, passed from the creed which enjoins four vows, to the creed which enjoins the five great vows and the Pratikramana.

Thus I say.

THE NALADIYAR

The Instructions of the Tamil Jains
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(The Nalatiyar is a Tamil poetic work of didactic nature belonging to the Eighteen Lesser Texts (Patiṉeṇkīḻkaṇakku) anthology of Tamil literature. This belongs to the post Sangam period corresponding to between 100 and 500 AD. The term "Naladiyar" is derived from the Tamil terms Naalu, a colloquial form of Naangu meaning "four", adi meaning metrical feet or poetic metre, and aar referring to a honorific suffix. Thus Naladiyar refers to the work that contains four-lined verse. The work is also termed Naaladi Naanooru, meaning "four hundred quatrains," since it has 400 verses in total.

Nalaṭiyar was composed by Jain monks in the Tamil language. The Nalaṭiyar contains 400 poems, each containing four lines. Every poem deals with morals and ethics, extolling righteous behaviour, pretty much like the Instructions of Shuruppak, Mesopotamia, 2600 BC and subsequent teachings that we can find in the Torah of the Bible or in the 613 Mitzvot. It is divided into three sections, the first section focusing on the importance of virtuous life, second section on the governance and management of wealth, and the third smaller section on the pleasures. The Nalaṭiyar is unique in the employment of similes, which help to teach the moral codes using simple examples from daily life. For example, one of the poems states that just like a calf placed in front of a vast herd of cows seeks out its mother unerringly and attaches itself, the deeds of the past home in on the doer and exact their price unfailingly.

The Naladiyar is one of the few original works we have in Tamil. It contains altogether forty chapters, of ten stanzas each, on moral subjects. The origin of the name is thus told in the introduction of Father Beschi's Shen Tamil Grammar:-- "Eight thousand poets visited the p. 219 court of a certain prince, who, being a lover of the Muses, treated them with kindness and received them into favour; this excited the envy of the bards who already enjoyed the royal patronage, and in a short time they succeeded so completely in their attempt to prejudice their master against the new comers that the latter found it necessary to consult their safety by flight, and, without taking leave of their host, decamped in the dead of night. Previous to their departure each poet wrote a venba on a scroll, which he deposited under his pillow. When this was made known, the king, who still listened to the counsels of the envious poets, ordered the scrolls to be collected and thrown into a river, when four hundred of them were observed to ascend, for the space of four feet, naladi, against the stream. The king, moved by this miraculous ocourrence, directed that these scrolls should be preserved, and they were accordingly formed into a work, which from the foregoing circumstance received the name of Naladiyar." I append a few chapters as specimens of the work.)

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 1 - Unstable Wealth

1. Even those who have eaten of every variety of food of six flavours laid before them by their wives with anxious attention, not taking a second portion from any dish, may yet become poor and go and beg somewhere for pottage. Verily riches are but seeming, not to be considered as actually existing.

2. When by blameless means thou hast acquired great wealth, then eat with others rice imported by oxen, for wealth never remaineth in the centre with anyone, but changes its position like a cart-wheel.

3. Even those who have marched as generals, mounted on the back of an elephant and shaded by the umbrella, when the effect of evil deeds works their ruin, will suffer a change of state, and while their wives are enjoyed by their foes, will fall for ever.

4. Understand that these things are unstable which thou deemest stable. Therefore do quickly the duties in thy power to perform if thou wouldst do thom at all, for the days of life are gone, are gone, and even now death is come, is come.

5. Those who give alms at once without keeping it back, when anything, however small, has come into their hands, and do not say, Oh, this can be given hereafter, will escape from the forest path in which the cruel but just Yama drags those whom he has bound fast with the rope.

6. The day appointed passes not its bourne; there are none in this world who, escaping it and passing by, have leaped over death and lived. Be liberal, then, ye who have laid up abundant and exceeding wealth. Your funeral drum may beat to-morrow.

7. Death devours your days, using the sun from which they originate as the measure by which he metes them. Practise therefore virtue and be compassionate, for such as do not act thus, though they are born, must be esteemed as unborn.

8. Men of but small attainments in virtue, no tconsidering their natural tendency, say, We are wealthy. The greatest wealth may be utterly destroyed and vanish, like a flash of lightning darting in the night from a thunder-cloud.

9. If a man will not eat sufficiently, will not dress becomingly, does nothing worthy of commendation, will not wipe away the distress of relatives, who are with difficulty to be obtained, and is not liberal, but keeps his wealth to himself, of such a one it must surely be supposed that he is lost.

10. They who, vexing their own bodies by stinting them in food and raiment, perform not acts of that goodly charity which never faileth, but avariciously hoard up what they have gathered together, will lose it all. O Lord of the mountain land which toucheth the sky! the bees which are driven from the honey they have collected bear witness.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 2 - Unstable Youth

1. Those who are truly wise, mindful that grey hairs will come, have become ascetics in youth. Those who rejoice in unstable youth, never free from vice, leaning on a staff will rise up with difficulty.

2. The bonds of friendship are broken, wives have become cold in love, or few, the cords of love are loosened. Consider the matter well. What profit is there in the married state? Oh, it is come, the wail of distress, as when a ship founders!

3. Those foolish men who give themselves up to lust and cling to the marriage state until their body is an object of disgust to all, their teeth falling out, their gait unsteady, and compelled to lean for support on a staff, while they are indistinct in speech, walk not in the path of virtue, which is a fortress to its possessor.

4. To those men who conceive useless desires towards her who is ready to die, stooping, staggering, shaking her head, leaning on a staff and stumbling, shall trouble come; when the staff she holds in her hand becomes her mother's, i.e. when she exchanges her own staff for her mother's, on accoant of age.

5. She who was my mother, having borne me in this world, had departed seeking a mother for herself, if this be the case also with her mother, one mother seeking after another mother, then is this world wretched indeed.

6. Unstable joy like that of a sheep, which when the fragrant garland, thick with leaves, is waved in front of it, in the hands of the priest in the horrid place where he exorcises devils, eats thereof as though it were fodder, sach joy wise men have not.

7. Since the season of youth is like the ripe fruit, which being loosed falls from the trees in the cool grove, desire ye not greatly the damsel, saying she has eyes like a lance, for she will hereafter stoop in her gait and have to use a staff in lieu of her eyes.

8. How old are you? What is the state of your teeth? Do you eat twice a day? Thus with one question after another do they inquire about the state of the body. The wise, who understand its nature, care not about it.

9. Say not, We will look to virtue bye-and-bye, we are young; but do good while you have wealth, without concealing it. Not only does the ripe fruit which has come to maturity, but strong green fruit also falls down during a storm.

10. Truly relentless death wanders about seeking after men, Oh, take ye the shoulder wallet betimes and be ready. He even thrusts forth the fœtus and takes away the child amidst the cries of its mother. So it is well always to remember his subtlety.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 3 - The Unstable Body

1. Even of the lords of the umbrella held over the head of the elephant, like the moon when seen over the hills, none are left in this world without its being proclaimed upon earth that they have died.

2. The orb of shining light rises as the measure of the day of life without one day's omission. Therefore perform your duty before the day of life be finished. No person will abide in the earth beyond it.

3. The mind of the excellent will urge them along the path of safety by the suggestion that the marriage drum that is beaten in their house may that very day become the funeral drum for the inmates and sound accordingly.

4. Once they go and beat the drum, they beat a little and beat it again; behold how brave it is. And in beating it the third time, they rise and cover up the corpse and take the funeral fire, the dying carrying the dead.

5. To him who though he has seen the relatives assemble together and with loud lamentations take the corpse and convey it to the burning-place, does nevertheless marry, and say to himself this is happiness, It is, It is the funeral drum speaking out in warning tones.

6. When the soul which carries the skin bag, i.e. the body, to experience joy and sorrow; and dwelling in it operates secretly but perfectly, has left the body, what does it matter whether it be dragged about with a rope, or be buried in some carefully selected place, or whether it be cast into any hole dug in the centre, or whether it is left to be contemned by all?

7. Who are they upon this wide world who can be compared with the men of profound wisdom, who look upon the body as nothing more than a thing which is like the bubbles caused by the falling rain, appearing for a moment and then vanishing; and who say, We are the persons who will remove this evil of births?

8. Let those who have got a vigorous body enjoy the benefit which is to be derived from it; for the body is like a cloud which quivers on the mountain--it appears for a time and almost directly vanishes.

9. Practise virtue even now, acknowledging the instability of the body, which is like the drop of dew on the point of grass; for it is daily said, This very moment he stood, he sat down, he reclined, and amidst the cries of relations he died.

10. Men come into the world unasked for, appear in the house as relations and quietly depart, as the bird which goes far off, its nest-tree being forsaken, leaving their body without saying a word to relatives.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 4 - The source of the power of virtue

1. Those who, relying on penance done in a former birth, do not exercise penance now, will be greatly afflicted, for they shall stand at the threshold, not being allowed to enter, and looking in will say, How flourishing is this family! i.e. they shall be homeless.

2. Say not, foolish heart, While here let us pursue our interests and forget virtue; for although thou mayest live long and prosper, say, what wilt thou do when the days of thy life are past?

3. When the ignorant receives the fruit of former evil deeds, he sighs bitterly and grieves within himself. The wise, reflecting that it is the destined consequence of their sins, hasten to pass the limit of metempsychosis and to depart from it.

4. Having obtained a human body, so difficult of attainment, so act as to procure great merit by it, for in the next birth charity will profit thee as the juice of the sugarcane when pressed, while thy body will decay like the refuse cane.

5. Those who have pressed the cane and extracted the sugar will not be grieved when they see the flame arising from the refuse cane while burning; nor will they who have acquired the merit arising from the mortification of the body mourn when death approaches.

6. Think not whether it will be this day, or that day, or what day, but, reflecting that death even now stands behind

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thee, eschew evil, and as far as possible practise the good prescribed to thee by the excellent.

7. Since upon inquiry it will be found that the benefits that arise from being born in human shape are great and various, it is proper to practise virtue in order to obtain heavenly bliss, and to walk circumspectly, avoiding evil desires.

8. The seed of the banyan tree, though exceedingly small, grows into a large tree and affords abundant shade; in like manner, however small may be the benefit of a virtuous act, it covers as it were the face of heaven.

9. Although they daily see the passing away of days, yet they think not of it, and daily rejoice over the present day, as if it would last for ever, for they do not consider the past day to be one day added to the portion of their life that has expired.

10. Shall I put away the precious jewel of honour, and by the ignoble practice of mendicancy shall I live? I will do so if this body can endure permanently though fed by meanness.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 5 - The impure body

1. Do they look on a perishable body, i.e. the wise? and are they loud in praise of woman 's beauty? If only a piece of skin, small as the wing of a fly, be grazed on the body, a stick will be required to drive away the crows.

2. Since the beauty of the body consists in a covering which hides its inward filth, a covering of skin in which are many orifices, encourage not these sensual desires which are excited by this external covering of the body, which hides its filth. It is proper to look upon it as the inside of a (dirty) bag.

3. The ancients noticing that by the process of eating, the body always emits a stench, and on account of this bundle of dry and worthless sticks, (i.e. the body), chewed betel, crowned the head with many flowers, and adorned the body with meretricious ornaments. Is the inward filth thereby done away with?

4. Shall I forsake asceticism because the senseless crowd would excite me, saying, Woman's eye is like the lotus in clear water, the Gyal fish, and the battle-spear? I will conduct. myself as one who sees that the nature of the eye is like a palmyra nut, from which the pulp has been taken and the water poured out.

5. Shall I forsake asceticism because foolish, vain, and despicable persons trouble me, saying foolish things about teeth white as pearls or the jessamine buds? No; I will conduct myself as if I saw the jawbone fallen from the head in the burning-ground, in the presence of all men.

6. Tell me what is the nature of the damsel adorned with cool garlands, who is composed of flesh and fat, which are placed in the skin with the sinews which bind together the bowels and marrow, the blood and the bones.

7. By reason of the beautiful skin causing it to appear lovely to the eye, and which is the external covering of the body, which is like a pot ejecting liquid freces and seething filth abominable, from nine orifices which ooze out with excrementitious matter, the foolish will say of this body, Oh, thou who hast wide shoulders! Oh, thou who art adorned with bracelets! etc. etc.

8. Have they not seen the powerful vulture, p. 222 both cock and hen, close to the carcase, overturning and pecking at the stinking vehicle, the axle (i.e. life) being broken--they who, not comprehending the true nature of the body, commend it because they see it adorned with sandal powder and garlands?

9. The skulls of the dead appearing with deep and hollow eyes, that alarm the minds of those who see them, look at the living and working, will abundantly testify and say, Stand in the way of virtue, this is the nature of the body.

10. The whitened skull of the dead will correct the faults of the proud, alarming and mocking at them. Those whose faults are corrected by seeing the skulls, acknowledge that such is the quality of the body; they will not therefore be anxious to hold themselves as things that have any real existence.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 6 - Asceticism

1. Like as when a lamp is brought into a room darkness disappears, so sin cannot stand before the effects of former good deeds. And like as darkness approaches and spreads over the room when the oil in the lamp is decreasing, so when the effect of the good deeds is exhausted, the effect of evil deeds will take its place.

2. Those who are preëminent in learning, knowing that youth is unstable and that sickness, old age, and death are certainties, perfarm their duty now. There are no men so foolish as those, or fools so foolish as those who rave about the indestructible treatises of grammar and astrology.

3. Those who are greatly wise, seeing that, on careful examination, all such things as youth, complexion, form, dignity, and strength, are unstable, will without delay endeavour to save themselves by becoming ascetics.

4. The poor, though they endure many days' affliction, will desire one day's pleasure; the self-controlled, knowing the changeableness of domestic happiness, and having regard to its attendant misery, have renounced the domestic state.

5. Youth is gone in vain, and now old age with sickness comes. Therefore, oh my soul! take courage and rise up with me without hesitation--wilt thou not go? Let us walk in the way of asceticism or virtue.

6. Since it is a hard thing for a husband to part with his wife, though she may neither have borne children, nor have a good disposition,-- therefore on account of the misery which matrimony causes, the wise have long ago called it kerdy,--that is, the thing to be eschewed.

7. Those earnest men who, when troubles hard to be borne and enough to prostrate the mind come upon them, to frustrate the austerities which they have resolutely undertaken, put them aside, and, confining themselves stedfastly, observe their rules, are ascetics indeed.

8. It is the duty of the excellent not only to forgive despite, but also to pity those who, on account of the despite they have done them, will in the next birth fall into the fire of hell.

9. He who has power to observe the rule of virtue which he has laid down, and to keep himself undisturbed by the five organs of sense fromwhich arise lust and desire--or the body, mouth, nose, ears, and eyes--shall unfailingly obtain beatitude.

10. The mean, though they see affiictions come thronging upon them, never think of asceticism, and long only for gratification; but the excellent, though pleasures come crowding in; upon them, having regard to their attendant miseries, cherish not the desire of any pleasure.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 7 - Placidity

1. Let the respectful honour, and let despising tramplers trample: good is the freedom from abusive anger in those who know that all is as the treading of a fly upon their heads.

2. Will those renounce their precious life of indestructible excellence, not caring to preserve it when they find any cause of offence (or when their penance is hindered), who, not removing from the place in which they stand, are able perseveringly to complete their penance, even when they experience great reproach.

3. As the angry words which a man speaks, opening his mouth unguardedly, continually burn him, so those who possess that knowledge which arises from oral instruction and incessant search after truth will never be angry and utter burning words of fury.

4. The excellent will not be hot and angry when their inferiors oppose them and utter bad words. The base, turning it over in their minds will speak of it and chafe in the hearing of everybody in the place, and jump with rage and knock their heads against a post.

5. The self-control exhibited by youth is self-control indeed. Liberality manifested by one p. 223 who has no increasing riches is liberality that is profitable for all things. The patience shown by one who has the power and ability to oppress others is patience indeed.

6. They who are noble will, in the sight of all men, take patiently and regret the evil words that issue from the mouth of the vulgar like stones that are thrown, being influenced by the consideration of their high birth, as the cobra quickly closes its hood when ashes are thrown upon it.

7. To be unresisting to those who would oppose them as enemies, the wise call not imbecility. When others have impatiently opposed them and done them evil, it is good if they do not evil in return.

8. The wrath of the vulgar will continue to spread though it run on a long time; the anger of the excellent in disposition will cool of itself, like the heat of boiling water.

9. Having done them a kindness they mind it not; do them never so much unkindness they will do what is kind; but to do unjustly, even through inadvertence, is not proper for those who are born in a high family.

10. There are none here who, though they see a dog snap angrily at them, will in return snap at the dog again with their mouth. When baseborn persons mischievously utter base things, will the noble repeat such words with the . . . . [text missing] . . .

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 8 - Patience

1. Good lord of the cool hills festooned with springs! speak not at all with a fool. If a fool speak, he will speak only to injure you. To slip away from him, and to avoid him by any means in your power, is good.

2. When inferiors speak improper words, the patient hearing these words is patience indeed. The earth, surrounded with swelling waves, will not regard impatient behaviour as praiseworthy, but baseness only.

3. Will the hard words uttered (in reproof) by friends be more evil than the sweet words of strangers speaking with joy, O lord of the cool shore of the mighty ocean, where the beautiful winged insects turn over all the flowers, if they get men who understand the consequence thereof?

4. Knowing what ought to be known, and submitting thereunto, fearing what ought to be feared, performing every duty so as to satisfy the world, and living in the enjoyment of pleasure according to their means; they who are thus disposed never experienoe the evils of life.

5. When two persons are friends, mixing without variance, should there be misconduct on the part of one, let the other be patient, as far as he can bear it. If he cannot take it patiently, let him not speak evil, but withdraw to a distance.

6. Though another do one evil, if he say, Well, let it pass, and blame himself, it is good: To give up intimate associates, O lord of the forests! is hard even to brutes.

7. O king of the fair hills abounding with hollow-sounding streams! does not close intimacy with the great arise from the idea that they forgive the grievous faults that are committed against them? Will friends be wanting to them who do what is good?

8. Those who are gifted with patience, and who are not so rash as to destroy themselves though withered and famished with hunger, will not declare their misery to those who love them not. They will make it known only to those who have the power to help them.

9. Let pleasure alone, when thou canst enjoy it, if disgrace attends it, O Lord of the hill country abounding in waters! though pleasure only be constantly regarded, it is preferable to enjoy it in a harmless way.

10. Although he himself be ruined, let not a man think of injuring the worthy; let him not eat with whom he should not eat, even though the flesh of his body waste away; let him not speak words intermingled with falsehood, although he get the whole world canopied by the heavens for his reward.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 9 - Not coveting another's wife

1. Let not the modest man covet another's wife, since the fear attending that sin is great, the pleasure is of short duration, and if you daily reflect, it renders one liable to the punishment of death by the king, and it is a sin that daily leads men to hell.

2. To those who covet their neighbours' wives these four things,--virtue, praise, friendship, and dignity,--will not accrue. To those who covet their neighbours' wives these four things,--hatred, vengeance, and sin accompanied with fear,--will accrue.

3. What benefit arises from the shamelessly desiring one's neighbour's wife? Since in the going to her there is fear, in going away there is fear, in the enjoyment itself there is fear, in case the sin be not known there is fear,--it is always productive of fear.

4. Of what matter is that enjoyment, O wicked one, which you regard? Say. Since if you are discovered your family will be dishonoured, if you are canght your leg will be cut off; while in the act you are in dread, and it will cause ever-enduring anguish in hell.

5. Those who are destitute of everything that is good, and companions of the vile, have habitually sinned with damsels with mole-spotted breasts, and in a former birth have violated by force the wives of others, shall in the next birth be born hermaphrodites and live by dancing.

6. Why should he look with desire upon his neighbour's wife who, after inquiring about a propitious day, and having the drum beaten that all may know, has celebrated his marriage, who has a wife tender and loving in his own house, who then placed herself under his care?

7. The enjoyment of the man of unstable mind possessed with delusion, who desires and embraces the wife of his neighbour, while his neighbours reproach him and his relations fear and are troubled, is of the nature of that pleasure which is caused by licking a serpent's head.

8. Since the desire which arises in the minds of the wise increases not, nor shows itself (by actions), nor extends beyond their own family, the pain which it causes being very grievous, and they, fearing lest by it they should be put to shame before their foes, speak not of it at all. Therefore it dies away of itself in the mind.

9. An arrow, or fire, or the sun with shining beams, though they wound and burn, scorch only the body. But desire,--since it wounds, grieves, and burns the soul,--is much more to be feared than any of these things.

10. If he plunge overhead in the water, a man may escape from the fearful red flames which have sprung up in, and are ravaging a town. But though he plunge in many holy rivers, desire will still be unquenched; yea, though he live like an anchorite on the mountain top, it will still burn.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 10 - Liberality

1. To those men the gates of heaven shall never be closed, who with tender hearts and with a mind in accordance with their alms, greatly rejoicing, give even in poverty according to their ability, even as they did in the day of prosperity.

2. Before you is disgusting old age, and your dying day also: these are pains destructive of greatness. Run not vainly here and there. Covet not. Give alms, then eat. Hide not any of it when you possess wealth.

3. The wealth of him who in this birth wipes not away the tears of those who, trembling with poverty, betake themselves to him, by reason of his merit in a former birth, of not eating till he had given a portion to others, shall go on increasing while the time of increase lasts. But when the effect of these good deeds is exhausted, that wealth shall altogether leave him, let him hold it never so firmly.

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4. Give what you are able, even though you have not the thousandth part of a measure of rice in the house, and then eat your meal; the wise call those in this birth wandering beggars whose chimneys smoke not in this earth, surrounded by the deep sea, who gave not alms in a former birth.

5. Let a man who regards both this world and the next, give what he can as he gets it; and if, through poverty, giving be impossible, to abstain from begging will be to give twice.

6. Those who give are like the female palm tree surrounded by the terrace in the midst of the village, they live beloved by many. Men who eat without giving to others, though their family be flourishing, are like the male palm in a burning-ground.

7. When the rain that should fall falls not, and when mankind omit to do the things they ought to do, O lord of the cool shore beaten by the waves where the Punnei-flower repels the noisome odour or the fish! in what way does the world get on!

8. Man's duty is to give to those who are unable to bear (their distresses), not driving them away, nor turning away from the extended hands, O lord of the cool shore of ocean, full of rivers! to give to those who will pay it back again--has the name of a loan at interest.

9. Not saying they have very little, not saying they have not anything, let them ever exercise fruitful charity to all. Like the pitcher of the mendicant who enters the house-door for alms, it will, in due course, gradually become full.

10. Those who are ten miles distant can hear the sound of the wide drum beaten with the stick; those a yojana distant, can hear the hoarse thunder; but all who live in the three worlds piled up will hear the report that some of the excellent have given alms.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 11 - The effect of actions done in a former birth

1. As a young calf when let loose among a number of cows naturally seeks out and attaches itself to its own mother, so does the act of a former state of existence seek out and attach itself to him who has performed it.

2. The prosperity of him who knows that beauty, youth, glittering wealth, and honour remain not stable in one birth to any one, and yet in one birth performs not a single good deed--has the nature of a thing that takes a body, remains for a time, and then utterly perishes.

3. There are none at all who are not anxious to acquire wealth. Each one's experience of happiness or misery is measured by the deeds of a former birth. None can make the wood-apple round, none can dye the Karla-fruit black.

4. To avoid those things which are to happen, or to detain those who are to depart, is alike impossible even to saints, even as there is none who can give rain out of season, or prevent its falling in season.

5. Those who were once in dignity as tall as the Palmyra, live on, daily losing their greatness, and becoming small as a grain of millet, hide within them their glory. On enquiry it will appear that that which has happened is nothing but the effect of deeds done in a former birth.

6. If you wish to know how it is that those perish, who know the benefits accruing from the sciences which they have acquired by oral instruction, while the unlearned prosper: it is because Yama looks upon the unlearned as refuse cane, since they are destitute, as to their minds, of the sap of knowledge, and therefore he cares not to take them away.

7. Behold all those whose bosoms are goaded by distress and who wander forlorn through the long streets, know--O lord of the cool shore of the billowy ocean where the playful swans tear in pieces the water-flowers!--that this proceeds from the acts of former births.

8. When those who, besides being not ignorant, have learned that which they ought to know and do that which is blameable, O king of the cool shore of the broad ocean, where the lotus flings its odours to the winds! this proceeds from the acts they have formerly done.

9. All who dwell in the world surrounded by the surging ocean desire to be exempt from the afflictive effects of former evil deeds, and to experience the effect of former good deeds; but, whether men wish or do not wish, it is impossible p. 270 to prevent that from affecting themwhich is ordained to happen.

10. The effect of the act of former births does not fall below nor exeeed its due proportion, nor doth it fail to come in its turn, neither does it assist out of season, but when it ought to be there it is. Of what use therefore is sorrow when it affiicts you?

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 12 - Truth

1. To say he has not that which he does not really possess is no harm to any one. It is the usage of the world. To lie standing or running, that the desire (of others) may fail, O thou who hast rows of bracelets! hath evil more than that of those who have destroyed a good thing done.

2. The excellent and the vile never change their respective natures: though a man should eat sugar it will not taste bitter, and though the gods themselves should eat of the Margosa fruit, it will still taste bitter.

3. In time of prosperity a man's near relations will be as numerous as the stars which sport over the sky. When any one is subjected to intolerable sorrow, O lord of the cool mountain! those who will say "We are related to him" are few indeed.

4. He who secures the middle one of these three things, virtue, wealth and happiness, which have a hold on men's minds in this faithless world, shall secure the other two also; whilst he who obtains not the middle one shall be afflicted like the tortoise put into the pot and boiled.

5. If it be the calf of a good cow, the heifer also will fetch a good price. Though they be unlearned, the words of the rich will pass current. Like ploughing when there is little moisture, touching the surface only, the words of the poor will go for nothing.

6. Although deeply instructed in the knowledge of truth, those who have not accustomed themselves to restraint can never be restrained. Thus, O large-eyed beauty! though the wild gourd be dressed with salt, ghee, milk, curds, and various condiments, its natural bitterness will never be removed.

7. O lord of the shores of the swelling ocean covered with forests, scented by the perfume of the Punnei flowers! since that which is fated to happen will happen, let persons never utter reproachful words behind the backs of those who revile them, but only before their faces.

8. Though cows be of different colours, the milk which the cows prodnce is not of different colours. Like milk, the fruit of virtue is of one nature, though virtue itself take many colours in this world, like the cows.

9. Has any one lived entirely without praise in the world? Has any one failed through exertion to prosper? Has any one died without being reproached? Has anyone, even to the end of his life, collected (what he deems) sufficient wealth? If you inquire, you will not find even one.

10. If they every way consider there is nothing else that goes with them but the actions they have done, there (in the other world) even the body which (here) they cherished and adorned is useless when death takes them away.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 13 - The fear of misconduct

1. A burning-ground is the proper place for the bodies of those who, though plunged in the sea of domestic cares, betake not themselves to asceticism as a refuge. The stomach of the possessors of little wisdom is a burning-place for beasts and birds without number, i.e. he eats them.

2. They should have their legs bound with iron, become slaves to their enemies, and go to the field of gloomy soil, who keep in a cage the partridge or the quail, which live in the woods resounding with the sound of winged insects.

3. He who ln a former birth desiring crabs broke off their legs and ate them, when the effect of that sin shall take place, he shall wander about afflicted with leprosy, the palms of his hands excepted; all his fingers like Chank-shell beads will rot away.

4. Even such a thing as ghee when approached by the flame of fire will cause intolerable pain by fierce burning; of many bad actions will they become guilty who, though not crooked, become so, and associate with those who are bad.

5. Friendship with the wise will daily increase in regular gradation, like the crescent moon. Friendship with the base will daily decrease, like the full moon which rides through the sky.

6. Thinking them good thou didst associate with them. If in those with whom thou hast associated there be no good intent towards thee who hast associated with them. O thou who didst associate (with such)! listen: It is like a man opening a box believing that there is an unguent in it and seeing a snake inside.

7. O lord of the land resplendent with mountains on whose declivities genii abound! since a man's actions differ so much from his mind, who is there that is capable of searching out so as to understand the resources of another's mind?

8. O lord of the fair hills over which slowly roll streams that cast up gems! the great friendship of those who love with deceit, making a prentence of stedfast attachment but not loving with the heart, will only afflict the mind.

9. Like as when the glittering spear that he cast is caught by his enemy's hand, the theif's courage is destroyed, so since the gains of sin follow after and destroy the acquirer of these gains in two births, it is good to leave the ignorant altogether.

10. Wilt thou not cease to long for a family? How long wilt thou live in sorrow saying, It is for children? O my heart! there is no advantage that accrues to the soul except the good thou doest, though it be but little.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 14 - Learning

1. The beauty of the hair, and the beauty of the encircling garment, and the beauty of saffron is no beauty; the beauty of learing is (real) beauty, for it is decisive of our mental excellence.

2. Since learning even in this life will be beneficial, since when it is imparted to others it is not diminished, since it renders its possessors illustrious, since they who have it during life suffer no loss, we see no medicine like it which destroys delusion.

3. Wise people take the salt produced in a barren soil to be more valuable than the rice of a fertile soil. Though they be of the lowest station, people who have acquired learning will be put in the chief place.

4. From the place in which it is stored up it cannot be stolen. It can suffer no harm, though to that place fire should come. Though very glorious kings rage, they cannot sear it. Therefore wisdom, and nothing else, is what one who intends to lay up an inheritance for his children should acquire.

5. Learning has no bounds; the students' days are few. Would they calmly reflect, diseases are many. Let them carefully investigate and make themselves acquainted with those things which are essential, making a good choice like the swan, which drinks the milk and leaves the water.

6. They will not despise the boatman because he is at the lower end among the old castes. Lo, by his assistance they pass the river! And like this is getting advantage through the help of a man who has learned books.

7. Let me see whether the joy of associating with those who possess the qualities which are derived from indestructible ancient learning, who are without hatred and also very acute, be not as sweet as dwelling in Amravuti, the city of the gods, in the wide expanse of heaven.

8. Lord of the cool shore of the roaring ocean! the friendship of those who have acquired learning is like eating sugar-cane from the top (downwards). Attachment to those who are graceless and destitute of good qualities is like eating it from the root (upwards), having rejected the top.

9. Though unlearned, if they walk in the society of the learned they will daily acquire good understanding, as a new (earthen) vessel by contact with the bright-coloured Padiri flower gives (its scent) to the water itself.

10. If a man learn ever so much, instead of studying the books of wisdom, the reading of worldly books is all of the nature of mere noise: there are none who can discover from them the way to rid themselves of sorrow.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 15 - High Birth

1. A noble family will not decrease in (good) qualities, even when their clothes are torn and their body wasted. Even when trouble comes, upon bim, will the lion devour the long grass?

2. Manliness, goodness, right conduct, these three belong to those who are born in a sky-touching family. But, O lord of the hill-country covered by the clouds which touch the sky! they fall not to the share of others, even though they have acquired great riches.

3. Rising from their seat and going to meet (a stranger), leaving others, these the high-born have assumed as their unflinching rule of conduct. It is not their nature to be reckoned one with the mean.

4. If he do good things, it is conformable to (his) nature; if bad, it will be a fault despicable in the eyes of many: and in this case what is the profit to him of being born in a family known to all?

5. (To those born in a good family) there is fear of ignorance, fear of doing the deeds of the base, fear that anything which ought not to be spoken may escape from them, fear of not giving anything to those who beg for all. Brutish are they who are born in a family destitute of these graces.

6. Goodness of relatives, pleasant words, liberality, and every other good quality of the mind, all these, O lord of the cool shore of the roaring ocean, where the large gems and pearls shed their lustre! meet in those who are born in a good family.

7. Though the building be decayed, and the white ants have collected together, a large house may nevertheless have a wing not fallen. So those who are born in a high famliy, even when they suffer distress, will do the things they ought to do.

8. Like the moon, which enlightens the beautiful wide and extended earth on one side, though the serpent (athisesha) hold it in the other, those who are born in a good family will not slacken in well-doing, though poverty be against them.

9. The things which even in poverty those will do who are born in a high family, the vulgar will not do, even though they be rich. The deer, though it should be harnessed (for war), is not strong enough to fight like the charger.

10. The high-born, even when they have not anything, will approach those who are in want, and be a prop when they totter. When the broad river (bed) is dug up, though it be dry, yet clear water will soon appear.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 16 - The Good

1. The moon, which sheds its beams abroad over the beautiful and wide-spread sky, and the good, are like each other. But the moon bears spots, the good bear them not. They wolud be confused and waste away should a blemish befall them.

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2. Whether successful or otherwise, the good will be held blameless. Is the dart which glanced from the lion inferior to the arrow that pierced the heart of the jackal?

3. The good, though they be poor and emaciated, will not guiltily ascend and rise over the bounds (of duty); binding their courage, as much as in them lies, with the cords of a mind free from anxiety, they will do the things that ought to be done.

4. The good, though they should meet with a person in the way, only for one day, will cleave to him with affection, as if (there subsisted between them) an ancient friendship. O lord of the goodly hills! a path will be made even upon a rock if one walk upon it for a few days.

5. If an unlearned person in the assembly speak what is destitute of meaning, like unconnected letters, the good will listen kindly, though with pain, even feeling pity that he should be put to shame before a multitude.

6. Though you bite the sngar-cane, or take its juice by beating and bruising it till the joints be broken, it will only be pleasant as far as it is tasted. Though people abuse them injuriously, the highborn will not speak faultily with the mouth.

7. The faultless virtuous steal not, drink not spirits; these things the good reject and leave altogether. Neither do they mock or reproach others; though confused in speech they will not lie with their mouths; and though in declining circumstances, they grieve not about it.

8. If one be deaf to the secrets of others, blind to the wife of his neighbour though well acquainted with her excellencies, and dumb in calumniating others, to him it is not necessary to inculcate virtue.

9. When people go day after day to those who are destitute of good qualities, they will despise them as beggars. The excellent, whenever they see (such), will say (if they want anything), Well, and will do them honour.

10. The base will live in obsequious attendance on the rich. Is it not like falling in a cave full of everything, when thou hast fallen upon a good family?

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 17 - Against reproaching the great

1. O lord of the fair hill-land resounding with streams! we should not, thinking they will forgive us, do what is hateful to the guiltless, for none can remove their anger when once they are provoked.

2. What though those who know not good and right feelings obtain the privilege of associating without expense with those who cannot be approached though gold be offered to them, yet they do but vainly waste their time.

3. These two things, the esteeming of any person, or the depreciation of any person, fall within the province of the excellent (alone). Deeply learned sages regard as nothing the contempt or praise of those who know not how to conduct themselves aright.

4. Like as the golden-coloured serpent trembles, though in Patala, if he hear the sound of the fierce anger of the thunder in the heavens, so enemies, though they have shut themselves up in a fort difficult of access, will not be able to escape when the great are angry.

5. The estimation which they form (of others) who say, Ye know us not, there are none like us, is no true estimation. But the estimation formed by the excellent; who know what virtue is, and consider themselves as not to be at any one's beck and call, is a correct estimation.

6. O lord of the shore of the cool broad ocean! friendship with the mean, like the shadow of the morning, will continually decrease, while friendship with those who have long been famous will increase more and more, like the shadow of the afternoon.

7. Like as the cool budding umbrageous trees afford shelter alike to all who approach them, so the wealth of kings and the excellenae of the beauty of women may be enjoyed by all who may venture to approach them, no worthiness being required at their hands.

8. Since separation even from those who possess not the power of investigating what they have, causes great and unceasing pain, O lord of the wide-spread, mighty, and exhaustless backwaters! the not contracting friendship with any one is a karor of times the best.

9. When the matter is spoken of, (it will be found) that with the excellent such days as these are not, viz. days which have not been spent in study, days in which the great have not been visited, or days in which alms have not been given according to ability.

10. The glory of the great consists in humility; the acquirements of the learned appear in his self-control. The rich are rich indeed if they remove the afflictions of their dependants, when acquainted with them.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 18 - Good Society

1. The habitual sins which they, contrary to right conduct, commit, associating in the time of ignorance with those who know the way of virtue, vanish as the dewdrops do from the blades of grass as soon as the sun has become hot.

2. Know ye the way of virtue. Fear ye death. Bear with the harsh words of others. Restrain deceitfulness. Hate ye the friendship of the wicked. Ever obtain instruction at the mouth of the great.

3. Since separations from friends, grievous disease, and death are close at hand to all who possess a body, let my soul unite with the truly learned, who are convinced that the metempsychosis, which commenced ages ago, is a great evil.

4. If one can obtain the privilege of living always with men of good disposition in friendship, who constantly perform acts of virtue through a succession of births, though that succession is affliction, no one will despise it when they have considered the matter.

5. The water that runs from the sink when it reaches great waters will become a Tirtha, even its name being changed. Thinking of this, even those who have not family greatness will stand as a rock associating: with the good, who have virtue and greatness.

6. Even the hare in the wide, beauteous, and sublime heavens, since it is seen in the moon with refulgent beams, will be adored (by men). And in like manner even those who are without any dignity (of their own), if they obtain the love of the good, who are as mountains of virtue, will have dignity.

7. Water when mixed with milk will become milk, not remaining water. Will it exhibit the appearance of water? In like manner, if you consider it, the meanness of the mean when united with the dignity of the excellent will utterly vanish.

8. The grass near the stump of the tree will not shake with the plough of the ploughman. Feeble though they be, the anger of enemies will not come on those who have joined the society of the good.

9. Like paddy multiplied through the goodness of the soil, persons will become good through the goodness of their respective families. Like the destruction of a good ship on the approach of a strong gale, goodness will be destroyed by bad company.

10. Though innocent in intention, persons will be despised on account of the (bad) company they have joined. In the forest both the scent-giving sandal and the teak tree will be burned when the brushwood, which has been cut, has caught fire.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 19 - Greatness

1. It is no longer in our power to give alms. Youth for ever has fled away. Those damsels who before loved us care no more for us; (therefore,) no longer desiring (to continue in) the domestic state, and renouncing the arbitrary desire of becoming great, this is now the one thing needful.

2. In the household state we have enjoyed pleasure, here we are rich. Fools so thinking, will behave inconsiderately. Those who understand the household state, that it, though seeming to last, lasts not, will never have sorrow.

3. Lay up seed for heaven without delusion of mind; and, void of all distress, enjoy life like the wise, maintaining your proper station, remembering always that there are various things that change their nature without efficient cause.

4. They say that in the time of drought the well of spring-water will preserve the inhabitants, though by drawing its water they subsist. So the duty of liberality is found with the great, even when in declining circumstances; with others, even when they are rich, it is rare.

5. As the river which springs up in the place where they dug for a spring, even when it is dry, yielding much water supports the people, (the great) even when exhausted and wasted by giving of their riches to many, will do the things they ought to do, giving to a few.

6. O lord of the mighty mountains! a crime committed by the worthy will appear like a brand-mark on a white ox. Though the base commit sins as heinous as that of killing an ox, no blot will appear upon those base ones, their guilt will be wholly invisible (being wholly guilt, and nothing else).

7. Connexion with those who are destitute of a disposition fitted to their mean condition, as far as it extends, will produce sorrow; while even enmity on the part of the excellent wise, who will not do what is wrong even in sport, will bring with it greatness.

8. Desire ye that honour should accrue to the good and merciful in disposition; alarm your enemies with terror, enough to alarm Yama himself. Decide then who endeavour to deceive you, and render unto the good their just measure of beneficence.

9. Those who are imperturbable and without any change of mind, even though they be confused by any one hastening and uttering evil calumny, are truly pure-minded, like the bright light in a lamp.

10. The excellent expend the food first prepared in charity (or a first portion of food), and eat what food is left. That food will deliver the eater from these three crimes--lust, anger, and delusion, and will serve him in all his afflictions even to the end.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 20 - Perseverance

1. Let those branches of a family who subsist on what their relations give them, like the rice-plants nourished beneath the bank of a tank which holds but little water, perish. Is want known by those persevering people who (constantly) change their position, like the eye of the juggler watching the motion of the sword?

2. Even that which stood a trembling stick by the wayside, when it has acquired strength, may become fit for a post to tie an elephant to. Life also is similar to this if a man free himself from a base nature.

3. The strong tiger, if it be without prey for a single day, will even catch a small frog and eat it. Do not despise small things; even great matters will become greater by exertion.

4. O lord of the cool shore of the breakwaters, where the waves dash against the calderia bushes! though a persan think within himself that the matter will not succeed, yet, if he still go on with it, and unswervingly labour, this is perseverance. When all things around them are prosperous, will not even women succeed in their undertakings?

5. There is neither limit nor use in talking thus, He is of low-caste, and, He is of good caste. Good caste is constituted by those things alone, viz. ancient, glorious, and resplendent wealth; penance; learning and perseverance.

6. The wise, who know their own ability (to complete a work), until it is completed keep their knowledge to themselves, and speak not of it to others. The world lies at the beck of those men, illustrious ill wisdom, who can ascertain by the expression (of their faces) the ability of others.

7. The hanging root supports the banyan-tree like a son, when it is eaten away by white ants. Even so if imbecility appear in the father, it will not be apparent when the son he begat conceals it.

8. Though they should die meanly, not having anything in their house, will they do things fitted to bring down disgrace upon their own heads who have the strength of the lion possessed of powerful paw and sharp claws, which make sore the livid face of the elephant?

9. The hair-like, round-stalked flower produced by the sugar-cane is destitute of sweet honey and fragrant odour. Even so, what will be the good of being born in a high and lofty family, if there be no manly courage to carve out for one's self a name?

10. The base will eat the curry and boiled rice given with much pleasure by the great and rich. Even water procured by the earnest perseverance of those who do not know the name of curry will be as ambrosia.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 21 - The union of relations

1. As a mother forgets the pain and trouble she suffered during pregnancy and childbirth when she sees her infant in her lap, so the distress a man suffers from poverty and other misfortune disappears when he sees his relatives inquiring for him.

2. Supporting his relatives without partiality (like a tree which gives shade to all those who approach itat the time when the hot season is nigh), taking pains himself that many may eat the fruit of these exertions, is like a tree whose fruit is ripe. So to live is the duty of a good man.

3. Lord of the piled-up hills! the great will not say of their relatives; We cannot bear them. Though very many large unripe fruits be produced (upon a tree) very closely, there is not one branch which does not bear its (share of the) fruit.

4. Though they contract very close friendship in the sight of the world, yet the friendship of the base will not endure; (while) the amity of the stable-minded will be as enduring as the perseverance of the unswerving great, (which endures) till they have realized their hopes of heaven.

5. Those who, making no distinctions between persons and conditions, relatives and strangers, actuated by their natural feelings alone, seek all who are in poverty or affliction and relieve their distress, will be regarded by every one as preëminently worthy.

6. It is sweeter to take a heap of grass-seed without salt, and in any kind of dish, in the house of a relative dear as life, than to eat on a golden dish rice white as the tiger's claws, and mixed with sugar and milk from the hands of an enemy.

7. The desirable fried curry of politeness, though had at due-time in the house of those who are not one's friends, will be (bitter) as margosa-seed. Hear, A curry of vegetables, thongh served up at sunset, by those who are relatives, is pleasant.

8. Even those who have been pleasantly entertained by another as frequently as a hammer strike the anvil, will forsake him, just as the tongs leave the iron in the forge; but those who are truly worthy of being called friends will adhere to him in distress, as the rod by which it is turned adheres to the metal in the furnace.

9. O thon who art adorned by a cool and fragrant garland! when relations have partaken of the prosperity of their relatives, if they partake not also of their adversity until death, is there anything they can do for them in the other world?

10. Delicious curry (yellow as the cat's eye), when eaten alone in the honse of those who love us not, will be as the margosa. When living in the house of those who are like us and love us, cold water and grass-seed will be as nectar.

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NALATIYAR CHAPTER 22 - The choice of friends

1. Friendship with the wise, whose intelligence divines our thoughts, is like eating a sugar-cane from the top (as its sweetness increases more and more); connexion with persons without sweetness of disposition is like eating it from the opposite end (the flavour decreasing by degrees).

2. Some accept (the highborn as friends) merely on the ground that such, remembering their high birth, will not act inconsistently--not, O lord of the fair hills, from which the birds flee on the approach of the gold-coloured torrent! because the minds of such are known.

3. Avoiding the friendship of those who resemble elephants, seek the friendship of those who resemble dogs; for an elephant will kill his driver whom he has known for a long time, but a dog will wag his tail while the spear thrown at him is still in his body.

4. Men cleave not to those to whom their hearts cleave not, within a short space of time; but will the friendship which cherishes the memory of those who are intertwined with one's heart be abandoned, though they are absent from us for a long time?

5. When affection continues affection, then is friendship preserved, like the flower on the stalk, which, being full-blown, closes not again. Those who resemble the lotus, which, having once blown, closes again its petals, know neither affection nor friendship.

6. Those who are at the bottom in (the scale of) friendship are like the areca-tree; those others who are in the middle are like the cocoanut-tree. The friendship of those who have experience of .the past is like the palmyra-tree, (whose uses are) difficult to reckon. Such are at the top (in the scale).

7. Even vegetable curry served in the water that rice has been boiled in will be as nectar if a man accept it kindly. To eat the abundance of the unfriendly, though it be white rice flavoured with meat and rich seasoning is (to eat) the kanjira-fruit.

8. Though they adhere to one in friendship as closely as the small toes of a dog to one another, yet of what benefit is the love of those who do not help one even to the extent of the leg of a fly? Therefore, though the friendship of those who, like the channel which fructifies the rice-field, be ever so far away, we must nevertheless go to obtain it.

9. It is better to be without the love of those who are without sincerity. Death is preferable to an incurable disease. To kill him at once is more desirable than to vex a man so that he becomes sore at heart, and to abuse is better than to praise one for that which we do not possess.

10. To join oneself to many, and strive many days and examine dispositions, and take (for friends) those who are worthy, is proper. Even with a deadly serpent, to associate and afterwards to part from it will be painful.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 23 - The bearing with the faults of others

1. When those we love greatly, and esteem as virtuous, prove otherwise, this ought carefully to be concealed, for rice in the grain has a husk, water, foam, and flowers some unseemly leaves.

2. Though it burst the bank whenever they would stop it, they will not be angry with good water. Those who live desiring good water will repeatedly draw it up. Men will not be angry, but be patient concerning the friendship of those whom they themselves have courted, though these persons act towards them with constant hate.

3. Though they do evil exceedingly, is it not fitting to be patient with one's friend? O lord of the lofty hills where the beautiful winged insects hum over the variegated konju-flowers! the forbearance of one is the friendship of both.

4. O lord of the wave-resounding shore where bright-rayed pearls are thrown up by the rolling billows, and where float swift-sailing ships! if friends from whom it is difficult to separate, possess not virtuous dispositions, they are as a fire kindled to burn our hearts.

5. Even though they do what is disagreeable, one should preserve as gold those who ought not to be forsaken. Daily do men seek for fire and keep it in their house, though it has consnmed both their good house and gold.

6. Is it right utterly to abandon friends, who ought not to be forsaken though guilty of evil deeds? O lord of the renowned mountains, which, covered by the long-stemmed bamboo, pierce the sky! will men cut off their hand because it has struck the eye?

7. Lord of the cool land where the waters brightly shine! the good will not look upon the faults of others after mixing with them (in friendship), though they act disagreeably. Persons destitute of strength of mind who take up evil things and speak of them after mixing (in friendship), are themselves inferior to those of whom they speak.

8. In a thing done by strangers, though in itself exceeding bad, what is there fitted to give pain? Considered rightly, it is the acts of those who are affectionately attached; which, O lord of the land where the waterfalls murmur! will be esteemed excellent, abiding in the mind.

9. If persons become aware that those whom they have taken into friendship, supposing them to be their friends, are not their friends, let them nevertheless esteem them better than their friends, and conceal the discovery in their own breasts.

10. If after contracting a firm friendship with any one, I set myself to note his good and bad qualities, may I be cast into the hell where the traitor who discovers the secrets of his friend is punished, and may I be scoffed at by the whole world!

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 24 - Improper Friendship

1. O lord of the fair and well-watered mountains, where abundance of cascades fall down from the black crags! men will remain until they have done their work in an old house the thatch of which is untied, keeping out the water br a dam, and being drenched with the rain falling down upon them. Thus will friends! remain with one until their business is finished.

2. The friendship of illustrious men is eminently valuable, and is productive of benefit as timely rain. But the f'riendship of the mean, even in the time of their prosperity, resembles, O lord of the land of clear water! the failure of rain in its due season.

3. The enjoyment of the friendship of men of acute understanding is desirable as the joys of heaven. But connexion with unprofitable men uninstrncted in science and literature is a very hell.

4. Our intimacy with those to whom we are not bound by the chain of f'riendship, O king of the hills, the sides of which are covered with groves of tall sandal-trees! though it seem day by day to increase, will be dissolved as instantaneously as fire catches straw.

5. The presumptuously saying, We are those who will do what should not be done, and the deferring and putting aside that which ought to be done at once, verily these two things will cause affliction instantly, even to ascetics, who have renounced the pleasures of the domestic state.

6. Though born in the same pool and grown up together, the ambel-flower will never be like the expanded kuverlei. The actions of those who are destitute of excellence, though they obtain the friendship of people of high excellence, will never at tain the actions of such persons.

7. A little monkey breaking into a fruit with its finger, will strike and seize its own father, thongh coming to meet it. Lord of the hills! the friendship of those who are without unity (of mind) is not pleasant.

8. If I stretch not out my hand and deliver my whole soul without hesitation to my friend who is in distress, may I be cast into the hell where the wretch is punished who has violated the chaste wife of his friend, and may I be scoffed at throughout the far-famed earth!

9. Like pouring margosa-oil into a pot into which ghee has been poured and taken out again, O lord of the fragrant and goodly mountains! is the acquisition of the favour of those who are acquainted with evil, after the renunciation of the favour of those who are acquainted with good.

10. The absence of benevolence of disposition in him whose form is beautiful is like water mixed with milk, that is pleasant to drink. For those who are wise, to become companions of the wicked is like the naga playing with the female cobra.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 25 - The possession of understanding

1. When the excellent behold their enemies in adverse circumstances, being themselves confused on that account, they will not come near to invade them. In like manner the invincible and mighty serpent (Rhagu) will not draw near to afflict the moon in her first quarter.

2. Lord of the cool shore of the broad ocean! self-control is the ornament of the poor. Should they behave without respect and without any measure of propriety, their lineage will be published by (the inhabitants of) the village they live in.

3. Let the seed of the wormwood be sown in the best of soils, it will never become a cocoanut-tree. So even the Southerns (Yama's subjects) have, by performing acts of virtue, attained heaven; while the Northerns, having derived no advantage from their privileges, very many of them have perished. A happy new birth depends upon a person's virtuous conduct.

4. Though the fruit of the plantain be ripened in the bitter season of the margosa, it will not lose its sweetness. Thus, although those who are naturally good, associate with the bad, their friendship with them will not corrupt their minds.

5. Sweet water may be produced even on the brink of the sea-shore, and salt water on the side of a mountain. O lord of the cool shore washed by the waves of the ocean! it is truly said that sensible men will not imitate those with whom they consort, but will preserve their own minds.

6. O lord of the cool shore of the ocean where the thick-boughed punnei-trees flourish! will those who are virtuous and impartial towards all, first contract and then dissolve friendship? (Sooner) than this, it is better that friendship should never be contracted.

7. To be united in friendship with the prudent, who think of that of which they ought to think, is productive of the highest felicity, and affliction is avoided by separating from fools, who know not what belongs to friendship,

8. Whether an individual establish himself in a good situation, or whether, spoiling that condition, he debase himself, or whether he exalt himself to a much higher condition, or whether he make himself superior to all, he does so entirely by his own exertions.

9. In the way of business, even for the great to follow after the ignorant is not folly, but wisdom, O nobly-born king of the cool shore resounding with ocean-waves!

10. Having undertaken a profitable business,having experienced enjoyment, having performed acts of charity to the excellent! if any one in any one birth is able to do all this, such a consummation may well be compared to a merchant-ship that has reached her port.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 26 - The want of understanding

1. Poverty consists in the being destitute of accurate learning. Great wealth, which has been accumulated by acquisition, consists in the possession of that learning. Will not the hermaphrodite, who is destitute of manliness, adorn itself with every jewel which is desirable in its eyes?

2. Would you know why affliction and loss of dignity befall those who know the benefits of knowledge derived from many books? It is this: when Sarasvati, of ancient renown, takes up her abode with them, Lakshmi, being coy, will flee away.

3. He that receives not, but despises as mere talk the command of his father to study, on a letter being gently held out to him in the presence of many, calls out to the person who presented it and seizes the rod of offence.

4. If one who has grown up in ignorance enter the assembly of the excellent in learning, in the earth, and sits down, it will be like the sitting down of a dog; and though, not remaining quiet, he should say anything, it will be like the barking ofa dog.

5. The vulgar will repair to the learned and speak of what they know nothing of; the good, though asked of all they know, display it not, knowing that it will be thrown away.

6. Those whose tongues are adorned with learning and knowledge fear the disgrace of evil speaking. The unwise indulge therein. Thus on the palm-tree the dry leaves maintain a perpetual rustling, whilst the green leaves make no noise.

7. When speaking of the way of virtue to those who comprehend not what is good, it is like pressing the sweet mango into a bowl of hogwash. Like a stick driven against a rock,--the point is broken, it will not enter in at the ear.

8. Though they wash it with milk and put it to dry many days, charcoal has not the property of becoming white. Though they strike with a stick, and thrust too, understanding will not enter into the body void of virtue.

9. Like the fly, which battens on filth, instead of feasting on the sweet-smelling and (honey) dropping flower, so to those whose minds are inherently base, what pleasure is there in words that come from the mouth of the worthy, though clean and sweet as honey?

10. The acute and faultless instruction uttered by the wise, strikes on the mind of the mean without laying hold of it. A mean man will look on the face of one like himself, and with him hold converse.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 27 - Riches without goodness

1. The bat will not go to the rough-stemmed wood-apple tree, though near and fruitful. So the riches of those who, though they be very near to one, have no greatness of soul, have not the excellence of being considered as profitable.

2. Though there be handfuls of small buds on the milk-hedge, men will not put out their hand to gather them, for its flowers are not fit for wearing. (Even so,) the wise will not form friendship with the mean, though they have much wealth

3. Though they live on the shore of the rolling ocean, they repair to the saltless well of a running spring and drink. Though wealthy men be nigh, they will go afar off and fix their desire upon the liberal.

4. In the seagirt earth merit is various. The sensible should be great. Those who are foolish, and are like unbeaten steel and the thorny brinjal, will flourish in silk and gay apparel.

5. If you ask what is the reason why, while the good and just are in poverty, the unjust and unlearned are wealthy, O thou who hast eyes elongated like a lance! when one investigates the matter, it is nothing else but the effect of deeds done in, a former birth.

6. (O Lakshmi,) who like a golden image sits upon that fair flower whose leaves are like scentless plates of gold, die and become ashes upon the ground! you connect yourself with the mean of all sorts, leaving the good who resemble gold.

7. O thou who hast eyes like a lance! is not shame attached to the poverty of the just? Is not the wealth of the miser like painters'-green? (i.e. it so cleaves to him that he will not give alms.) When thou hast investigated these two states thou wilt not approve or desire either of them.

8. Those who are honest (when they become poor), going to distant lands, and eating various kinds of food, will spend their days; while those who are dishonest (when they become

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poor) will sit in their houses and eat curry and rice while the perspiration streams from their bodies, and will not go to distant lands.

9. When the ear of the golden-red paddy is scorched, the heaven bright with lightning will vomit and pour forth (rain) in to the sea. The liberality of tbose who are simple, even when they are possessed of riches, is of like character.

10. Those are the senseless who, though they read, understand nat. The sensible, though they read not, resemble the learned. Those who, though utterly poor, will not beg, are the truly rich. Even the rich are poor if they give not.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 28 - Illiberality

1. To give a part of their meal to the extent of their ability, both to the friendly and unfriendly, and after that to eat, is truly to eat a meal. To those who refuse their food to the needy, and so live and eat and pass on, the door of heaven will be closed.

2. Those who have, to the best of their ability, practised to any extent trifling acts of charity, will in another birth become great; while those who, when they have become wealthy, say, We will give alms some time or other, shall be punished and shall perish from all the sea-surrounded earth.

3. He who employs not his time in enjoying his property, or gives not of it to ascetics, but lays it up (like a miser)--at him, the foolish one, about to perish, his hoarded wealth shall mock, and the favour of the world shall mock.

4. The great wealth which the miserly-minded have attained, who neither know how to give it away nor to use it themselves, shall be like the beauteous damsels of a family, who when they have arrived at puberty are enjoyed by others; i.e. others than its owner shall enjoy it.

5. Though they live near the mighty ocean whose waters overflow, men look on the spring of a small well whose water is almost dried up and live. The poverty of the great is better than the riches of those who know not of the next birth.

6. If you ask why I say, It is mine, It is mine, concerning the property of that ignorant man who gives not to others, saying, It is mine, It is mine,--while it belongs to that wretched man he gives it not in alms, neither does he himself enjoy it, neither do I give it away in alms or enjoy it myself.

7. The poor are more exempt from trouble than the niggardly rich. They are exempt from the labour of guarding that wealth. They are exempt from the trouble of bringing it. They are exempt from the pain of having their hands bound. In many ways are they exempt from trouble.

8. While the property is his own, he gives it not away; when it becomes the property of his partners, they also give it not away in alms. If he gives it away before his death, the partners will find no fault with him; if after death they give it away, he will not find fault with them.

9. Comparing beggars to a calf, and benefactors to a cow, such a spontaneous benevolence is true benevolence. Forced charity is as when a cow will only give its milk when coerced by strong men, who push it about and apply various instruments to its limbs. Such benevolence is the mark of a base mind.

10. The seeking to accumulate wealth is a cause of vexation. The guarding that collected shining wealth causes vexation. Again, if any of that wealth which is so guarded be diminished, there is vexation. If it be lost, how great the vexation! Truly this said wealth is the very abode of vexation.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 29 - Poverty

1. Although a man live wearing a patched cloth round his loins, yet the possession of eight or ten pieces of money will gain him great honour among many persons. Those who have nothing at all, though born of a respectable family, are considered (by such) as more despicable than a dead carcase.

2. It is said that ghee is more subtle than water, and all know that smoke is more subtle than ghee. If you inquire, you will find that the afflicted mendicants will creep in through crevices through which even smoke cannot permeate.

3. O king of the woodlands where they chase the parent from the cultivated field with stones, where the Kantharla (November-flower plant) growing upon the mountains lofty and abounding with rocks, is out of flower the swarms of red-spotted winged insects will not even approach near it (to extract its honey): thus the destitute have no relations.

4. In the day of prosperity thousands are very slaves, as crows will collect together at the mangled carcase (i.e. the dead crow); but in the day when this is changed, like the insect (which wanders about for food), there is not one single person in the world who will ask you, Are you well?

5. O lord of the fair hills crowded together, where the streams fall upon the rocks and wash them! the high birth of those who are environed by poverty will disappear, their great dignity will disappear, and their illustrious learning will also disappear.

6. Scorn those who, though they live in the same town, give no alms to those who came to them tormented in mind by sharp hunger, and asking for somewhat with great desire. It would be far better to go away to some distant place and live as guests in other houses, than to remain fruitlessly spending their days in that place.

7. O thou who hast sharp teeth causing envy to the buds of the jessamine! those who are mendicants (or those who have the affliction of begging) will lose, together with their right-mindedness, abundant accurate learning, and all other good qualities which they may have at any time possessed.

8. It is better for him who once was charitable, i.e. who stood in the way of giving, but who now cannot give aught to beggars, to spend his life in the afflictive way of stretching out his hands for alms in every house in the far land to which he has gone, than to remain in his own land,--than living in his native town, standing in the way of poverty, trying to mend his circumstances.

9. When wealth has gone, in the time of adversity, the poor, with those arms once adorned with bracelets, bend the branches of trees, pluck off the leaves and eat them, using as a dish an earthen pot, and live on with discontented minds eating leaf-curry (or that which is (cooked) without salt.

10. O lord of the hill-country, cool and very beautiful and lofty, where the streams of water fall down (from the rocks)! the swarms of shining and beautiful winged beetles crowded with red spots crawl not on the branch which has ceased to blossom; in like manner the unfortunate have no friends.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 30 - Innocence

1. The minds of the honourable, when they see the disgraceful things or excesses perpetrated by the ignorant who rely upon their wealth, will burn in one compact flame as the fire burns the jungle on which it has seized.

2. The honourable, though they become through destitution mere bones and skin, will they follow those who are destitute of proper dispositions, to make known their afflictions to them? Or will they refrain from telling the trouble which they endure to the great (or wise), who are beforehand intuitively acquainted with them?

3. If it be that they are like those who say, as soon as others see their wives, Alas, the chastity of our wives is in danger! being afraid, place us outside and give us rice,--on this account forsake associating with the rich.

4. The estimation of the excellent will bestow on us good in this life. It will stand unswervingly in the way of goodness, and it will afford benefits to be enjoyed in the next birth; That estimation is good indeed, O thou who sheddest a delicious scent from thy hair!

5. The excellent will not do the things which will bring upon them the effects of sin in another birth, or disgrace in this birth, though it should cost them their lives. Death will cause trouble for only a moment in one day; there is nothing like sin, which will cause grievous and long-enduring misery.

6. Among all those who live in this fertile and wide world, those who give not alms to others, amongst the rich, though exceeding rich, are poor indeed; while those who go not to beg alms of the rich, though they have become exceedingly poor, are indeed illustrious.

7. All who are in the lowest grade of virtue dread pinching hunger; all who are in the middle grade will fear affliction. O thou with long lance-shaped eyes, whose brows are spread like a bow on each side! the highest grade of all will fear the reproach uttered against them by others.

8. These are the good, these are the liberal givers, but they are now become poor. When the rich, thus reviling them, cast upon them a contemptuous smile, the minds of the eminently excellent will burn, like the fire in the smith's forge when excited by the bellows.

9. The shame which is caused by not giving alms to those who desire of us, is not modesty. Nor is the shame which one feels every day who flees from battle, modesty. But true modesty is that shame which will not suffer us to declare the wrongs inflicted on us by our enemies in the day of our distress.

10. The tiger of the forest having slain an elk, will not eat it, but will leave it if it fall on the left side. In like manner, could the excellent by a sacrifice of principle obtain all the wealth that exists under the wide-extended heavens, they would not even desire it.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 31 - Dread of mendicity

1. Will those who possess clear understanding follow after such men as constantly revile them, saying, These poor men will become rich through our means; they cannot acquire wealth of themselves?

2. Does not a man's death and his birth take place (frequently) in the twinkling of an eye? Is it, therefore, a reproach to a man if he starve and keep his integrity inviolate, rather than fill his stomach by the disgraceful practice of mendicity?

3. There are none who, using poverty as a pretext, venturing on beggary, do not go to others for assistance in the way of meanness. Will the excellent then go for alms to any others but to those who will embrace them and say, Come to my house and eat?

4. Though Lakshmi withdraw from them and God be angry, the excellent will not stand with bended neck before the ignorant who bury their money in the earth, and who contemplate not heavenly things with constant minds.

5. Living without begging from friends, strong in affection and who are like the apple of our eyes, who withhold not their assistance from us, is life indeed. Since one's mind melts with angnish when one reflects on a life of mendicity, what must their feelings be who receive alms!

6. Since it is a means of removing the affliction of poverty for one to beg for himself, then let affliction be my portion, and let precious wealth depart from me. Of what use is it for him to ask alms of his neighbour with a mind rocked with covetaus desires and eyes dimmed with tears?

7. O lord of the mountains from whose sides fall streams which throw up gold! though a person be born again and again in the world who will not allow himself to reproach beggars, yet (so few are such persons) it must be said he belongs not to this world.

8. If a person being tormented with poverty, rejecting true wisdom and allowing ignorance to abide in his mind, goes to a person and says, Give me alms, and if the person so asked refuse to give, will he not die from very shame at that moment?

9. Is the gently walking in the way of asceticism more grievous than the saying to others, Give me at least something, thus debasing one's dignity of the custom of doing homage to others, to whom he has attached himself by making their acquaintance?

10. Let a person, on the ground of old acquaintance, do that benevolence which is fitting in the way of affection to others if they be unworthy of that benevolence. A fire unquenchable pressed down in their minds will consume them (till they perish).

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 32 - Experience in (conducting of) assemblies

1. Before the learned men who are confused in mind, who conduct themselves according to their so-called wisdom, smiting with their hands, reiterating again and again their foolish observations, and who disturb the proper order of the assembly, gently desist from uttering words of wisdom.

2. The eminently wise will not consort with the evil poet who comes into the assembly as if he were a learned man, reciting some poem of another's which he has learned; that evil poet entering into the assembly will reproach the people who are there, or if not, to disgrace them, will smite his own shoulder and rise up to commence strife.

5. There are many men who speak many words, who love to commence strife with others, esteeming their own words unanswerable (or overpowering in speech), who understand not how to argue convincingly with their opponents, and who know not (how to acknowledge themselves) beaten.

4. The simpleton, not being able to acquire any learning for himself, goes into the assembly of the learned, and reciting as his own a stanza which he has learned from some schoolboy, exposes thereby his own ignorance.

5. Those who rise np to show the wisdom or the power of their words, and consort with angry persons who, opposing others with wrathful minds, receive not what is truth, but contend alone for victory, like wild beasts, shall see their own teeth, like the seeds of the gourd, in their hands.

6. When the ignorant recite a poem without understanding its meaning, speak anger-exciting words, the excellent of imperishable renown, being greatly ashamed of them, will stand grieving much for her who bare them.

7. Science is easily acquired by all obedient students, like the shoulders of courtezans who take all they can get. But the substance of acquired learning is as difficult to be understood as are the in ward instructions of those courtezans beauteous in body as flower-buds.

8. Those learned men who collect plenty of books bring them and fill up every room in their houses, and yet understand them not, are of one kind, while those learned men who both understand their purport and are able to explain them to others are of another kind.

9. O lord of the extended hills where the wild oxen resort in herds! Can the works of these persons be called excellent and faultless commentaries who construct them not in these four methods--concisely, copiously, catechetically, and paraphrastically?

10. Will those who are not born of a good family, no matter how much learning they have acquired, will they become sufficiently wise to pass over, without censuring, the faults which occur in the speech of others? The truly learned make as if they knew not the despicable learning of those who understand not their exposition of science.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 33 - Defective knowledge

1. The learned will esteem as precious the speech of those friends who declare to them the gracious way of wisdom. The base, who are esteemed as worthless, will abuse and revile them. The ladle appreciates not the flavour of the milk-porridge.

2. Though men destitute of rectitude listen to those who are destitute of envy, when they declare the way of virtue, yet they give no heed, just as the chakler's dog, which seizes and

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devours leather, knows not how to appreciate the taste of rice and milk.

3. Although they see by numerous examples the way by which their precious life may depart in the twinkling of an eye, yet they do not good even to the extent of a grain of millet. What does it matter whether such stupid, shameless (persons) live, or whether they die?

4. Since the days of life are few, and to our life there is no continuing stay, and since it is reviled (or contemned) by many, why should any one nourish fierce hatred in his heart in secret, and not be friendly with those he may meet.

6. If a person going before a public assembly abusively reproach another, and the reproached reviles not in turn but remains quiet, if the reviler thereafter live on and prosper, he will indeed be an object of astonishment to all (who see him).

6. The hard words, Get out and go away, will be uttered by the female slave in his own house, while she pushes him out, to him who, before old age comes upon him, perseveres not in performing deeds of virtue.

7. Men of small understanding fruitlessly spend their day of life; since they themselves enjoy not their wealth, they bestow no benefit on the good. They attain not the excellent way of life, which would be a strong fortress for them, and with confused minds do they rely on their wealth.

8. The foolish man who in the time of youth binds not up as a viaticum the rice needful for the road on which he travels, but binds up his money (like an orange) and says, Hereafter we will do the requisite acts of charity,--when with the hand he makes a sign that he wishes a bag of gold to be brought, the relations will say he wants a sour wood-apple.

9. Men of small understanding who in time of adversity and dangerous sickness anxiously think of another world, in the time of prosperity think not of another birth, even to the extent of a grain of mustard-seed.

10. Alas! though men of defective understanding see Yama surrounding with his rope to take away those precious ones, immeasurably beloved, dear as their own lives, what is it? Though they have acquired these children, they think not of virtue, but fruitlessly waste their days of life.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 34 - Ignorance

1. The quality of those who greatly rejoice in the act of domestic joy in this life, while they continually behold Yama slaughtering their lives, even Yama the great and mighty in slaughter, is like that of a tortoise which its captors have put in a pot of water, while they kindle a fire (to boil it), which sports in the water, being ignorant of its real condition.

2. The quality of those who have resolved, saying, After we have performed all the duties incumbent upon us in the domestic state, we will learn the way of virtue, is like the speech of those who having gone down to the sea to bathe, said, We will begin to bathe as soon as the noise has altogether ceased.

3. The ignorance of the customs of the world anciently renowned, faultless and full of excellence, in one who has obtained without let or hindrance these five things,--caste, penance, learning, high birth, and preëminence, --is like rice-milk destitute of butter (therefore tasteless).

4. Though great stones do not understand the speech of men, yet since they do what is required of them, as standing, sitting, lying down, or moving, they are far more useful than a fool (as it is impossible to induce a fool to act as we wish him).

5. If a fool, when angry with others, with any cause for anger,--like one who supposes he has made an acquisition, without having really obtained anything--bewildered by passion, cannot crowd together abusive words, his tongue tingles all over.

6. The worthless friendships of those who say, We will make them our own, while they follow those who have no friendship for them, O lord of the sea-shore where the punnei with fair blossoms grows! is as it were losing one's arm in striking another with a stone.

7. As the ants without intermission walk round and round the outside of the pot in which there is butter, though it be impossible to get at it, so men of the world will never learn, but cleave to those rich men who never give them anything.

8. Will they not abhor the days of life who daily enjoy not good, who practise not virtue, who give not to the destitute, who enjoy not their own wives (but seek to dishonour others'), and who live not a life commended by others?

9. Friendship with those who say, We care not for their commendation, when those who love them praise them, and who are destitute of all tried good qualities, although by it one should be able to obtain the whole eorth surrounded by the sea with rolling harsh-resounding waves, will be only affliction.

10. When a man's neighbours commend one on account of his learning, wide-extended fame, and high birth, he shall obtain glory. But if he himself speak of these things. his brother-in-law will mock him, saying, He is a lunatic who cannot be cured by any medicine.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 35 - Meanness

1. Though one every morning, as a necessary duty, put bruised grain into the mouth of the fowl, it desists not from turning up the dunghill; so though one explain books of science of great importance, yet the mean man will the more follow the path most agreeable to his mind.

2. When one proposes, saying, Let us go at once to the abode of the perfect, who have acquired learning which establishes the mind, the base will rise up and say, Let us go to sleep, or if not, they will say something else equally foolish and refuse to go altogether.

3. Though the excellent obtain great honour, they swerve not from their former disposition, but follow one line of conduct. O lord of the fair land of copious streams! though the base obtain great honour, they too alter not their line of conduct.

4. If one confer a benefit upon them even as small as a grain of millet, the excellent will consider it to be as large as a palmyra-tree. O lord of the fair land of sparkling steams! though a benefit as large as a palmyra be daily conferred upon him, the ignorant mean man has no gratitude (it is considered as no benefit at all by those who are ungrateful for the good done to them).

5. Though the dog be delicately nourished and fed from a golden dish, yet it will ever be earnestly looking out for the leavings of others. Thus the acts of the base-minded, though they are esteemed as honourable persons, will not correspond with their rank in life.

6. The worthy, though they have attained the wealth of the world, will at no time indulge in haughty speech, but if the mean have acquired the wealth of one cani (1/80 part) added to one muntheri (1/320) they will regard themselves as great as Indra king of heaven.

7. Though the shoe be wrought with excellent gems set in the purest gold, yet it is intended for the foot of its owner. In like manner, though the mean-minded be very rich, yet he will be found out by his deeds.

8. O lord of the fair and victorious land of mighty hills! the base man is mighty in speaking harsh words. He regards no one, laughs at the misery of others, grows more and more enraged and will continually reproach others.

9. O lord of the cool shores of the sea where the honey-producing Nay (a water-flower) grows, resounding with waves! if persons remain with them many days, the excellent will say, These are old friends, and will show kindness to them, whereas the base-minded will hate and revile them.

10. Though men take away the plucked-up grass from the bullock and give it to the heifer, and thus feed it up for many days, yet it will never be strong enough to be yoked to a cart. O king, hear! Though the base are very rich, yet their deeds will betray them.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 36 - Baseness or Envy

1. Those who have knowledge bound up in their minds, though young in years, watch over, keep, and restrain themselves. The ignorant, though old in years, go on obstinately practising evil deeds, and, like the reed, never lose their hollowness.

2. Though the frog dwells always in the beauteous and wide pool it never divests itself of its slime; and though those who have no sound knowledge learn faultless and illustrious sciences, yet they have not ability to understand them.

3. O good lord of the heaped-up mountain land! while it is indecorous to extol the good qualities of persons before their faces, what are those wretches' tongues made of, who, standing in the presence of those persons, declare their faults, for the purpose of destroying their reputation?

4. O beauteous and fair matron! women of high birth will not set off their beauty by ornaments as slave-girls. Courtesans who thus pride themselves on their dress will pass away (fruitlessly) or despised by all, just like the sudden swelling of a river, which soon passes off altogether.

5. Those mean persons are of the nature of the chisel, which without being struck will not even penetrate a tender leaf, though resting upon it; they will give nothing to the kind-hearted, but will give anything to those who employ force, if they meet them.

6. The mountaineer thinks of his mountains, the husbandman of his productive lands, the wise think of the special benefits they have received from others, and the fool thinks only of the abuse he has received.

7. For one good turn they have received from another the wise will endure a hundred evils afterwards inflicted. But if they have received a hundred good turns and have suffered only one evil turn, fools will consider the hundred good turns as evil.

8. The base in prosperity will not do these things which those who are of high birth will do even in adversity. Though one place rings (of gold) upon the tusks of a hog, O thou who hast eyes like a lance! it will never become a warlike elephant.

9. Many persons fade away like the lotus-leaf (having been obliged to alter their tone of speech) after they exultingly boasted of their intention to others, saying, To-day we will grow rich; yea, this very day we will grow rich; after a time we will grow rich.

10. The serdei-plant, though growing in water and green in colour, has no moisture in it. so the world has in it persons who are as useless as the great stony rocks, though they abound in great wealth.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 37 - Miscellanies

1. Though it be a building on which the clouds creep, a fort exceeding strong, shining: resplendent with the gems stored up in it, of what benefit is it? The house of him who has no beloved and excellent wife is to the view a dreadful forest.

2. Though they be guarded (as it were) with naked swords, with unrelaxing vigilance, should there be the smallest possible relaxation of that vigilance, the period will be short indeed before they begin to act ignominiously. And long indeed will that period last during which softly speaking females will not desire to return to proper conduct.

3. The woman who bold in opposition threatens blows is as death. She who resorts not to her kitchen betimes in the morning is an incurable disease, and she who gives grudgingly the food she has prepared is a household devil. Women of these three kinds are a destroying weapon to their husbands.

4. Though he is advised to eschew marriage, he eschews it not; though the sound of the dead-drum pierces his ear he heeds it not. Moreover the wise say that the delusion which leads him to think that matrirnony is indeed a pleasant state is a crime worthy to be punished by stoning.

5. The highest grade of virtue is living in persevering austerities. The middle grade of virtue is living in marriage with wives who are dear to us. The lowest grade of all is, thinking that money does not come in fast enough, covetously to follow after and abide with those persons who know us not.

6. The chiefest of the learned are those who spend their time in learning many sciences. The next in rank are those who give to the worthy the goods acquired by merit in a former birth, and thus pass their time. The lowest of all are those who cannot sleep for envy, arising from the feeling that they have not fared luxuriously or obtained sufficient wealth.

7. As the fruitful shoot of the red-grained rice becomes afterwards itself red rice and. flourishes, O lord of the city (Indra) surrounded by fruitful fields which are covered by red rice! in the same manner the learning of the father becomes the learning of the son.

8. The wealthy and the excellent perish, while the sons of concubines and the base wax great, the lower place becoming the upper place. Thus the world subsists, the lower part becoming the upper part of an umbrella.

9. O good lord of the victorious mountain-land where the falling streams sweep along gems! it were better that those who when they hear their dear friends declaring the affliction of their minds, have no desire to alleviate their sorrows, should die by casting themselves down from a mountain top than that they should live.

10. If we impartially examine the two things, it will be found that the inundation of the river and the love of beauteous and desirable courtesans are alike. If the rains fail, the inundation will cease; and if their lovers' money is expended, those courtesans' love for them will fail also.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 38 - Courtesans

1. If you impartially investigate the two things, it will be found that there is no difference between the shining light of a lamp and the love of courtesans. When the oil is exhausted, the light of the lamp vanishes, and when the money of their lovers is gone, their love also evaporates.

2. The fair and beantiful matron who is adorned with chosen jewels (a courtesan) said, I will go with you to the top of the mountain and cast myself down from it for your sake. But when he said, My money is gone, she came weeping, stating that her foot was painfnlly swollen and she could not go up the monntain, and left altogether.

3. Let them (i.e. their lovers) be even as fair as Indra the red-eyed, who is worshipped by the gods in the beauteous and wide-spread heavens,--courtesans, like freshly plucked mango-leaves, will politely dismiss them, and send them away as soon as their money is exhausted.

4. Those who have no property are as poison to the lotus-eyed beautiful courtesans, who are destitute of all goodness of mind; while those who in the sight of all have acquired their wealth by working the oil-mill will be as delicious as sugar.

5. (Only) those fools who like wild beasts will come near courtesans, who act as the vilanga-fish, which shows its one end to the shark and its other end to the fish in the clear pool, filled with honey-producing flowers.

6. If the golden-braceleted one who has affirmed, saying, As the perforated bead leaves not the thread on which it is strung, and as the andril-bird which never leaves its mate, I will never separate from you,--if she becomes, like the horn of the ram, turned away from its fellow, O my poor heart! will you still remain with her, or will you come away with me?

7. They shall be derided by many who are delighted with the love of courtesans (thinking that they are their friends), who, like the wild cow, lick the hands of men, at the same time

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poisoning them, and who are like the ghyal in jumping and running away when they have spoiled their lovers of their property, and yet imagine that they are their friends!

8. Courtesans rejoice and appear as friends while their lovers have aught to give; but when they have exhausted their wealth, then they show thernselves as enemies and become (estranged from them), as the horn of a ram twisted from its fellow. Those who come not near the full-breasted courtesans whose eyes roll like the deer, yet leave not off their way of sin, may well say, We have attained the right way.

9. Those who imagine the beauteous courtesans who hide within them the disposition that will afterwards injure them, even when they speak lowly words in order to create confidence, and who, believing these words to be true; imagine them to be their friends, possess their own bodies for themselves alone, and not for any benefit to be done to others.

10. Even at the time when those who have bodies laden with sin have by inquiry found out all the crafty intentions which beautiful-browed courtesans whose minds are fixed upon others have conceived against them, they walk as though they knew them not.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 39 - Chaste Women

1. Though women be high in reputation and equal to the goddess Ayrani in conjugal fidelity, they must carefully avoid those who love them, and follow them in hopes of gratification, for such caution is the safeguard of the virtue of matrons with perfumed foreheads.

2. If in time of distress, when the meal of the whole family is cooked by the water of a small pot, if a host of relatives sufficient to consume the water of the sea should come all at once, the softly-speaking woman, who shows herself as bounteous as the ocean, is the glory of her house.

3. Though her house be open on the four quarters, though it be exceedingly small, and though the rain pour in on every side, a chaste and virtuous woman will be honoured in the place where she resides, and her habitation respected.

4. She who is pleasing to the eye, who in all things gratifies her husband according to his desire, and at all times stands in awe of him, whose modesty is so conspicuous as to shame her sex, and in all her love-quarrels with him acts with such prudence that reconciliation affords hirn increased delight, this mildly-speaking matron is truly a woman.

5. Whenever our husbands embrace our shoulders, we feel ashamed as if we saw them for the first time. What pleasure, then, can these women enjoy who from the desire of money endure daily the embraces of many?

6. Riches in the possession of a generous man resemble in their effects the learning acquired by a man of great natural ability. The chastity of a modest woman is like a sharp sabre in the hands of a courageous man.

7. As if when we had by us red and black gram at the same rate of six measures for a fanam, his breast, which is like a hill, after having embraced many fair women altogether inferior to me, comes unwashed to embrace me also. My husband comes to embrace me with his unwashed breast like a hill, after having embraced the bosoms of fair-browed ones who are not like me.

8. O poet, speak not harshly to me! for if you so speak I shall be to my husband like the left side of the tambour, which gives no sound. Wherefore lift up thy feet and gently retire from me; speak to those (strange women) who are to him like the right side of the tambour, which gives forth sound.

9. I am she who was afflicted when flies flew around my husband, who possesses the cool field, where the reeds being plucked up, the waters shine. I am she who when sparks of fire fly about him and (courtesans) fight against it with their opposing breasts; still endure life, though I look upon his wide bosom adorned with sandal-powder.

10. O singer, utter not that gross falsehood, saying, He who wears a garland of buds loosely strung together will be kind to me. I am not dear to him, but am like the flower of the sugarcane (which is destitute of sweetness). Speak these words to them who are like the middle joints of the cane and sweet to him.

NALATIYAR CHAPTER 40 - De Amore [Of Love]

1. O lord of the cool shore of the wide-extended backwaters, whose pellucid waves dash along with unceasing noise! if one live not in matrimony the body will suffer in health. If there are no love-quarrels between man and wife, marriage will be tame indeed.

2. The sound of the approaching monsoon booming in every quarter of the heavens from the rain-fraught clouds is like that of the death-drum to a wife separated from her husband, for he promised to return before the rains set in. They are setting in, and therefore she fears that he is no more, or else he would have returned.

3. At eventide, when darkness prevents mechanics from distinguishing their tools, the wife will select blooming flowers, and after having strung them on a thread, will cast away the garland from her weeping., and will say, Of what use will this garland be to me, whose husband is absent?

4. Does not my wife, while reclining on her couch and counting with her taper fingers the days I had appointed for my absence, reproach me for my absence, while she wipes away one by one the tears which fall from her eyes, red with weeping as she beholds the setting sun?

5. The kingfisher, mistaking my wife's eyes for a gyal-fish, will fly after her, but when it sees her beautiful eyebrow it will forbear to strike, afraid and supposing it a bow.

6. When the henna-dyed cotton was applied to the foot of my daughter of beauteous form, and whose mouth is perfumed like the red lotus, she would say, Gently, gently, and withdraw her foot lest it should be hurt by the cotton. How then will that foot be able to travel the gravelly paths of the forest?

7. In the golden and ruddy-tinted eventide, when the sound of the stylus on the palm-leaves is hushed, the wife separated from her husband, while she thinks of his absence, will tear off her garland and cast it from her, wiping off the sandal paste which adorns her beauteous form.

8. O thou with shining bracelets! you asked me saying, Will you be able to follow him through the paths of the forest difficult to be traversed? As a person who has bought a horse immediately learns to ride, if I, did not previously know how to do so, so will I learn to follow him.

9. I understood not yesterday what she meant when she so closely embraced me [the... mother is speaking]. Now I do understand, what she meant, viz. that to-day she would leave me and follow her husband through the forest-paths by which the timid deer flee away from the tiger.

10. I upbraid not the three-eyed Śiva, nor the crow, nor the hooded serpent,--they have not sinned against me. Nor do I upbraid my mother who bore me--O thou who hast breasts like the buds of the golden-coloured congon-flower! But I do compain of the path which has taken away my husband from me,--who, has left me for the sake of gain.

DRAVYASAMGRAHA

by Acarya Nemicandra,
Translation: Sarat Chandra Ghoshal, 1917
Estimated Range of Dating: 10 th century A.D.

(The Dravyasaṃgraha is a 10th century Jain work of Acarya Nemicandra (Also known as Nemicandra Siddhanta Cakravartin) that gives a lucid exposition of the six reals or substances as per the Jain cosmology: sentient (jīva), non-sentient (ajīva), principle of motion (dharma), of rest (adharma), space (akasa) and time (kala). A clear knowledge of what they are and their role in this universe is one of the prerequisites to enlightenment and ultimately to salvation, the reaching of which is the ultimate goal of any soul.)

1. I always salute with my head that eminent one among the great Jinas, who is worshipped by the host of Indras and who has described the Dravyas (substances) Jiva and Ajiva.

2. Jiva is characterized by upayoga, is formless and an agent, has the same extent at its own body, is the enjoyer (of the fruits of Karma), exists in samsara, is Siddha and has a characteristic upward motion.

3. According to Vyavahara Naya, that is called Jiva, which is possessed of four Pranas, viz., Indriya (the senses), Bal (force), Ayu (life) and Ana-prana (respiration) into the three periods of time (viz., the present, the past and the future), and according to Nischaya Naya that which has consciousness is called Jiva.

4. Upayoga is of two kinds, Darshana and Jnana. Darshana is of four kinds, Darshana is known to be (divided into) Chaksu, Achuksu; Avadhi and Kevala.

5. Jnana is of eight kinds, viz., Jnana and Ajnana of Mati, Sruta and Avadhi, manah-paryaya and Kevala. (It is also divided into Pratyaksha and Paroksa (from another point of view).

6. According to Vyavahara Naya, the general characteristics of Jiva are said to be eight kinds of Jnana and four kinds of Darshana. But according to Suddha Naya, (the characteristics of Jiva) are pure Jnana and Darshana.

7. According to Nischaya Naya, Jiva is without form; because the five kinds of colour and taste, two kinds of smell, and eight kinds of touch are not present in it. But according to Vyavahara Naya [Jiva] has form through the bondage [of Karma.]

8. According to Vyavahara Naya is the doer of the Pudgala Karmas. According to Nischaya Naya (Jiva is the doer of) Thought Karmas. According to Suddha Naya (Jiva is the doer) of Suddha Bhavas.

9. According to Vyavahara Naya, Jiva enjoys happiness and misery the fruits of Pudgala karmas, According to Nischaya Naya, Jiva has conscious Bhavas only.

10. According to Vyavahara Naya, the conscious Jiva, being without Samudghata, becomes equal in extent to a small or a large body, by contraction and expansion; but, according to Nischaya, Naya (it) is existent in innumerable Pradesas.

11. The earth, water, fire, air and plants are various kinds of Sthavara possessed of one sense. The Trasa Jivas, conches, etc., are possessed of two, three, four and five senses.

12. Jivas possessing five senses are known (to be divided into) those having mind and those without mind. All the rest are without mind. [Jivas] having one sense (are divided into two classes) Badara and Suksma. All (of these have again to varieties each) Paryapta and its opposite.

13. Again, according to impure (Vyavahara) Naya, Samsari Jivas are of fourteen kinds according to Margana and Gunasthana. But according to pure Naya, all Jivas should be understood to pure.

14. The Siddhas (or liberated Jivas) are void of karmas, possessed of eight qualities, slightly less than the final body, eternal, possessed of Utpada (rise) and Vyaya (fall), and existent at the summit of Loka.

15. Again, Ajivas should be known to be Pudgala, Dharma, Adhrma, Akasa and Kala. Pudgala has form and the qualities, Rupa, etc. But the rest are without form.

16. Sound, union, fineness, grossness, shape, division, darkness and image, with lustre and heat (are) modifications of the substance (known as) Pudgala.

17. As water assists the movement of moving fish, so Dharma (assists the movement of moving) Pudgala and Jiva. (But) it does not move (Pudgala and Jiva which are) not moving.

18. As shadow (assists the staying of) the travellers, (so) Adharma assists the staying of the Pudgalas and Jivas which are stationary, But that (i.e. Adharma) does not hold back moving (Pudgalas and Jivas).

19. Know that which is capable of allowing space to Jiva etc. to be Akasa, according to Jainism Lokakasa and Alokakasa, thus (Akasa is) of two kinds.

20. Lokakasa is that in which Dharma, Adharma, Kala, Pudgala and Jiva exist. That which is beyond (this Lokakasa) is called Alokakasa.

21. Vyavahara Kala (Time from the ordinary point of view) is that which helps to produce changes in substances and which is known from modifications (produced in substances), while Parmarthika (i.e. real) Kala is understood from continuity.

22. Those innumerable substances which exist one by one in each Pradesa of Lokakasa, like heaps of jewels, are points of time.

23. In this manner this Dravya is said to be of six kinds, according to the subdivisions of Jiva and Ajiva. The five, without Kala, should be understood to be Astikayas.

24. As these exist, they are called "Asti" by the great Jinas, and because (they have) many Pradesas, like bodies, therefore (they are called) Kayas. (Hence these are called) Astikayas.

25. In Jiva and in Dharma and Adharma, the Pradesas are innumerable, in Akasa (The Pradesas are) infinite and in that which has form (viz., Pudgala) (these are) of three kinds, (viz., numerable, innumerable and infinite). Kala (Time) has one (Raradesha). Therefore it is not (called) Kaya.

26. An atom (of Pudgala), though having one Pradesa, becomes of many Pradesas, through being Pradesa in many Skandhas. For this reason, from the ordinary point of view, the omniscient ones call (it to be) Kaya.

27. Know that (to be) surely Pradesa which is obstructed by one indivisible atom of Pudagala and which can give space to all particles.

28. We shall describe briefly those varieties of Jiva and Ajiva also which are (known as) Asrava, Bandha, Samvara. Nirjara and Moksha with Punya and Papa.

29. That modification of the soul by which Karma gets into (it) is to be known as Bhavasrava, as told by the Jina, and the other (kind of Asrava) is the influx of Karma.

30. Then, it should be known that of the former (i.e., Bhavasrava) (the subdivisions are) Mithyatva, Avirati, Pramada, Yoga, Anger, etc., (which are again of) five, five fifteen, three and four classes, respectively.

31. That influx of mater which causes Jnanavaraniya etc., it to be known as Dravyasrava as called by the Jina and possessing many varieties.

32. That conscious state by which Karma is bound (with the soul) is called Bhava-bandha, while the interpenetration of the Pradesas of Karma and the soul is the other (i.e., Dravyabandha).

33. Bandha is of four kinds, according to the (subdivisions, viz.,) Prakriti, Sthiti, Anubhaga and Pradesa, Prakirti and Pradesa are (produced) from Yoga, but Sthiti and Anubhaga are from Kasaya.

34. That modification of consciousness which is the cause of checking Asrava (influx) of Karma, is surely Bhavasamvra, and the other (known as Dravyasamvra is known from) checking Dravyasrava.

35. That Vratas (Vows), Samitis (attitudes of carefulness), Guptis (Restraints), Dharmas (Observances), Anuprekasas (Meditations), Parisaha-jayas (the victories over troubles) and various kinds of Charitra (Conduct) are to e known as varieties of Bhava-samvara.

36. That Bhava (modification of the soul) by which the mater of Karma disappears in proper time after the fruits [of

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such Karma] are enjoyed [is called Bhava-Nirjara], also [the destruction of Karmic matter] through penances [is known as Bhava-Nirjara.] And that destruction [itself] [is known as Dravya-Nirjana] Thus Nirjara should be known of two kinds.

37. That modification of the soul which is the cause of the destruction of all Karmas, is surely to be known as Bhava-moksha and (actual) separation of the Karmas [is] Dravya-moksha.

38. The Jivas consist of Punya and Papa surely having auspicious and inauspicious Bhavas (respectively). Punya is Satavedaniya, auspicious life, name and class, while Papa is (exactly) the opposite (of these).

39. Know that from the ordinary point of view, perfect faith, knowledge and conduct are the cause of liberation, while really one's own soul consisting of these three (is the cause of liberation).

40. The three jewels (i.e., Perfect Faith, Perfect Knowledge and Perfect Conduct) do not exist in any other substance excepting the soul. Therefore, the soul surely is the cause of liberation.

41. Samyaktva (perfect faith) is the belief in Jiva, etc. That is a quality of the soul, and when this arises, Jnana (knowledge), being free from errors, surely becomes perfect.

42. Samyak Jnana (Perfect Knowledge) is the detailed cognition of the real nature of the ego and non-ego, is freed from Samsaya (Doubt), Vimoha (Perversity) and Vibhrama (Indefiniteness), and is of many varieties.

43. That perception of the generalities of things without particularities in which there is no grasping of details, is called Darsana in (Jaina) scriptures.

44. In Samsati Jivas, Jnana is preceded by Darshana. For this reason [in him], the two Upayogas (viz. Jnana and Darshana) do not (arise) simultaneously. But in Kevalis, both of these two (arise) simultaneously.

45. Know Charitra to be refraining from what is harmful and engagement in what is beneficial. But according to Vyavahara Naya, Charitra (Conduct) has been mentioned by the Jina to consist of Vrata, Samiti and Gupti.

46. That checking of external and internal actions by one who has knowledge, in order to destroy the causes of Samsara, is the excellent samyak Charitra (Perfect Conduct) mentioned by the Jina.

47. Because by the rule a sage gets both the (Vyavahara and Nischaya) causes of liberation by meditation, therefore (all of) you practise meditation with careful mind.

48. If you wish to have your mind fixed in order to succeed in various kinds of meditation, do not be deluded by or attached to beneficial objects and do not be averse to harmful objects.

49. Repeat and meditate on (the Mantras), signifying the Paramesthis and consisting of thirty-five, sixteen, six, five four, two and one (letter) and other (mantras) taught by the Guru (preceptor).

50. That pure soul existing in an auspicious body, possessed of (infinite) faith, happiness, knowledge and power which has destroyed the four Ghatiya Karmas, is to be meditated on as an Arhat.

51. Meditate on the Siddha - the soul which is bereft of the bodies produced by eight kinds of Karmas, which is the seer and knower of Loka and Aloka, which has a shape like a human being and which stays at the summit of the universe.

52. That sage who attaches himself and others to the practice of Virya (Power), Charitra (Conduct) and Tapa (Penance) in which faith and knowledge are eminent is to be meditated as Acharya (Preceptor).

53. That being, the greatest of the great sages who being possessed of the three jewels, is always engaged in preaching the religious truths, is (known as) Upadhyaya (Teacher). Salutation to him.

54. That sage who practices well conduct which is always pure and which is the path of liberation with perfect faith and knowledge is a Sadhu. Obeisance to him.

55. When a Sadhu attaining concentration becomes void of conscious effort by meditation on anything whatever, that state is called real meditation.

56. Do not act, do not talk do not think, so that the soul may be attached to and fixed in itself. This only is excellent meditation.

57. As a should which (practises) penances, (holds) vows and (has knowledge of) scriptures, becomes capable of holding the axle of the chariot of meditation, so to attain that (meditation) be always engaged in these three (i.e. penances, vows and Sastras).

58. Let the great sages, full of the (knowledge) of Sastras and freed from the collection of faults, correct this Dravya-samgraha which is spoken by the sage Nemichandra who has little (knowledge) of the Sastras.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF EMPEROR ASHOKA

From: Inscriptions of Asoka, India
Translation: Eugen Julius Theodor Hultzsch, 1925
Estimated Range of Dating 260 - 230 BC

(PROLOGUE:
Ashoka, sometimes Ashoka the Great, was an Indian emperor of the Maurya Dynasty, who ruled almost all of the Indian subcontinent from c. 269 to 232 BC. He was a grandson of the founder of the Maurya Dynasty, Chandragupta Maurya. Emperor Ashoka wanted to spread of Buddhism as the unifying belief system of his Indian empire. Considered to be one of India's greatest emperors, Ashoka expanded Chandragupta's empire to reign over a realm stretching from present-day Afghanistan in the west to Bangladesh in the east. It covered the entire Indian subcontinent except for parts of present-day Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala. The empire's capital was Pataliputra (in Magadha, present-day Patna), with provincial capitals at Taxila and Ujjain.

Emperor Ashoka's story of conversion to Buddhism goes like this: Ashoka waged a destructive war against the state of Kalinga (modern Odisha), which he conquered in about 260 BC. In about 263 BC, he converted to Buddhism after witnessing the mass deaths of the Kalinga War, which he had waged out of a desire for conquest and which reportedly directly resulted in more than 100,000 deaths and 150,000 deportations.

Ashoka is remembered for the inscriptions (called "edicts") on rocks and pillars, for sending Buddhist monks to Sri Lanka and Central Asia, and for establishing monuments marking several significant sites in the life of Gautama Buddha. The inscriptions belong to the oldest properly written texts in India as well as the oldest written records of Buddhism and lots of ite ethics and virtues. The inscriptions were created after the similar design of Persia's King Darius inscriptions and they revolve around a few recurring themes: Ashoka's conversion to Buddhism, the description of his efforts to spread Buddhism, his moral and religious precepts, and his social welfare programme and even animal protection. The edicts were based on Ashoka's ideas on administration and behaviour of people towards one another and religion. Ashoka was called "the Great" not only for making Buddhism a state religion but much more for the absolute unusual act of renouncing military force as political tool, except self-defence.

The Edicts of Ashoka are a collection of more than thirty inscriptions on the pillars as well as boulders and cave walls. Ashoka used the expression Dhamma Lipi (meaning: "Inscriptions of the Dharma") to describe his own Edicts. The inscriptions show his efforts to develop the Buddhist dharma (or dhamma), which are the ethic laws or the right way of living, throughout his empire. Although Buddhism as well as Gautama Buddha are mentioned, the edicts focus on social and moral precepts rather than specific religious practices or the philosophical dimension of Buddhism. This is the reason why these texts are called edicts. These were located in public places and were meant for people to read. Each edict exists in several identical copies spread throughout the whole empire (We will mention here only one location each.).

These inscriptions were dispersed throughout the areas of modern-day Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Nepal, and, Bangladesh, and provide the first real evidence of Buddhist scripture. The edicts describe in detail Ashoka's view about dhamma, an earnest attempt to solve some of the problems that a complex society faced. According to the edicts, the extent of Buddhist proselytism during this period reached as far as the Mediterranean, and many Buddhist monuments were created.

In these inscriptions, Ashoka refers to himself as "Beloved of the Gods" (Devanampiya). The identification of Devanampiya with Ashoka was confirmed by an inscription discovered in 1915 by C. Beadon, a British gold-mining engineer, at Maski, a village in Raichur district of Karnataka. Another minor rock edict, found at the village Gujarra in Datia district of Madhya Pradesh, also used the name of Ashoka together with his titles: "Devanampiya Piyadasi Asokaraja". The inscriptions found in the central and eastern part of India were written in Magadhi Prakrit using the Brahmi script, while Prakrit using the Kharoshthi script, Greek and Aramaic were used in the northwest. These edicts were deciphered by British archaeologist and historian James Prinsep.

Most of the edicts were composed in a language called Prakrit which is related to the much older Sanskrit. Brahmi script, and sometimes in the Kharoshthi script in the northwest, were the two Indian writing systems used for the inscriptions. They had both become extinct around the 5th century AD. The ancient Brahmi script was deciphered by Norwegian scholar Christian Lassen and James Prinsep, a British archaeologist, philologist, and official of the East India Company. The edicts in Brahmi script mentioned a King Devanampriya Piyadasi which Prinsep was able to associate this title with Emperor Ashoka. He published the results in March 1838.

In the 20th century then, archaeologists were surprised to find inscriptions in Greek (the language of the New Testament) and Aramaic (the language of Jesus). These discoveries threw new light on the true relationship between people of the Holy Land and Persia or India.

The Edicts are divided into four categories, according to their size (Minor or Major) and according to their medium (Rock or Pillar). Chronologically, the minor inscriptions tend to precede the larger ones, while rock inscriptions generally seem to have been started earlier than the pillar inscriptions:

- ***Minor Rock Edicts:*** *Edicts inscribed at the beginning of Ashoka's reign; in Prakrit, Greek and Aramaic.*
- ***Minor Pillar Edicts:*** *Schism Edict, Queen's Edict, Rummindei Edict, Nigali Sagar Edict; in Prakrit.*
- ***Major Rock Edicts: 14*** *Edicts (termed 1st to 14th) and 2 separate ones found in Odisha; in Prakrit and Greek.*
- ***Major Pillar Edicts: 7*** *Edicts, inscribed at the end of Ashoka's reign; in Prakrit.*

Basically, there are two different kinds of information inscribed:

1. The Minor Rock Edicts (in which Ashoka is sometimes named in person, as in Maski and Gujarra) as well as the Minor Pillar Edicts are very religious in their content: they mention extensively the Buddha (and even previous Buddhas as in the Nigali Sagar inscription), the Samgha, Buddhism and Buddhist scriptures (as in the Bairat Edict).

2. The Major Rock Edicts and Major Pillar Edicts are essentially moral and political in nature: they never mention the Buddha or explicit Buddhist teachings, but are preoccupied with order, proper behaviour and non violence under the general concept of "Dharma" (virtues, precepts and compassion in life), and they also focus on the administration of the state and positive relations with foreign countries as far as the Hellenistic Mediterranean of the mid-3rd century BC.)

MINOR ROCK EDICTS

Maski Minor Rock Edict of Ashoka.
Location: town of Maski on the River Maski,
tributary of the Tungabhadra, Raichur district,
State of Karnataka, southern India.

(Association of Emperor Ashoka with the title "Devanampriya" ("Beloved-of-the-Gods"). The Maski inscription confirmed the association of the title "Devanampriya" with "Asoka", both readable in the first line. "Devanampiyasa Asoka", honourific Devanampiya ("Beloved of the God", in the adjectival form -sa) and name of Ashoka, in Brahmi script, in the Maski Edict of Ashoka.)

[A proclamation] of Devanampriya Asoka.

Two and a half years [and somewhat more] (have passed) since I am a Buddha-Sakya.

[A year and] somewhat more (has passed) [since] I have visited the Samgha and have shown zeal.

Those gods who formerly had been unmingled (with men) in Jambudvipa, have how become mingled (with them).

This object can be reached even by a lowly (person) who is devoted to morality.

One must not think thus, — (viz.) that only an exalted (person) may reach this.

Both the lowly and the exalted must be told : "If you act thus, this matter (will be) prosperous and of long duration, and will thus progress to one and a half.

Minor Rock Edict No. 1 (conflated versions)
Location: Srinivaspuri near Kalkaji Temple,
Kailash Colony, near the Bahapur area, South Delhi, India.
Adapted from Romilla Thapar translation

(In this Edict, Emperor Ashoka describes himself as a Buddhist layman (Upasaka) /a Buddha-Sakya /a Sakya, and also explains he has been getting closer to the Samgha and has become more ardent in the faith.)

From Suvarnagiri, on the order of His Highness the Prince, and the officers: good health to the officers of Isila who are to be instructed thus:

Thus speaks the Beloved of the Gods, Asoka:

I have been a Buddhist layman (Upasaka) /a Buddha-Sakya /a Sakya for more than two and a half years, but for a year I did not make much progress. Now for more than a year I have drawn closer to the Order (Samgha) and have become more ardent. The gods, who in India up to this time did not associate with men, now mingle with them, and this is the result of my efforts.

Moreover this is not something to be obtained only by the great, but it is also open to the humble, if they are earnest and they can even reach heaven easily.

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This is the reason for this announcement that both humble and great should make progress and that the neighbouring peoples also should know that the progress is lasting,

And this investment will increase and increase abundantly, and increase to half as much again.

This matter must he inscribed here and elsewhere on the hills, and wherever there is a stone pillar it is to be engraved on that pillar. You must go out with this document throughout the length and breadth of your district.

This announcement has been proclaimed while on tour; 256 nights have been spent on tour.

Minor Rock Edict No. 2 (conflated versions)
Location: Siddapur, Brahmagiri, Chitradurga district, State of Karnataka, India.
Adapted from Romilla Thapar translation
(Only appears in a few places, in conjunction with Minor Edict No.1)

Thus says the Beloved of the Gods. Whatever the Beloved of the Gods orders must be carried out in every respect. The rajuka [rural officer] is to be instructed and he will instruct the people of the countryside, assembling them with the sound of the drum; likewise the local chiefs. Obey mother and father, obey the teachers, have mercy on living beings; speak the truth. These virtues of Dhamma should be followed.

Thus you will instruct them on the orders of the Beloved of the Gods, and also you will ensure that elephant trainers, clerks, fortune-tellers, and Brahmans instruct their apprentices according to ancient tradition, that they should honour their masters.... righteous masters. In a family relatives must treat each other with respect.

This is the ancient custom, conducive to long life, and thus it must be carried out.

Carved by the engraver Capada.

Minor Rock Edict No. 3
Location: town of Bairat (ancient Viratnagar), north of Jaipur, district of Rajasthan, India.

(Only appears at Bairat, where it was discovered in front of the Bairat Temple, possibly the oldest free-standing temple in India. The Edict is now located in the Museum of The Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Also known as the Bhabru Edict. Ashoka claims "great is my reverence and faith in the Buddha, the Dharma (and) the Samgha", and makes a list of recommended Buddhist scriptures that Buddhist monks as well as the laity should repeatedly study.)

The Magadha king Priyadarsin, having saluted the Samgha hopes they are both well and comfortable.

It is known to you, Sirs, how great is my reverence and faith in the Buddha, the Dharma (and) the Samgha.

Whatsoever, Sirs, has been spoken by the blessed Buddha, all that is quite well spoken.

But, Sirs, what would indeed appear to me (to be referred to by the words of the scripture): "thus the true Dharma will be of long duration", that I feel bound to declare:

The following expositions of the Dharma, Sirs, (viz.) the Vinaya-Samukasa ("The Exaltation of Discipline"), the Aliya-vasas ("The Ideal Mode of Life"), the Anagata-bhayas ("Fears to Come"), the Muni-gathas ("The Songs of the Hermit"), the Moneya-Suta ("Discourse on the Hermit Life"), the Upatisa-pasina ("The Questions of Upatishya"), and the Laghulovada ("The Sermon to Rahula") which was spoken by the blessed Buddha concerning falsehood, — I desire, Sirs, that many groups of monks and (many) nuns may repeatedly listen to these expositions of the Dharma and may reflect (on them).

In the same way both laymen and laywomen (should act).

For the following (purpose), Sirs, am I causing this to be written, (viz.) in order that they may know my intention.

Minor Rock Edict No. 4
The Kandahar Inscription in Greek and Aramaic
Location: Chehel Zina, Kandahar, Afghanistan.

(The Kandahar Bilingual Rock Inscription, (also called Kandahar Edict of Ashoka, or "Chehel Zina Edict"), was discovered in 1958. It was found on a rock on the mountainside of Chehel Zina (also Chilzina, or Chil Zena, "Forty Steps"), in the vicinity of Kandahar (Afghanistan), which forms the western natural bastion of Old Kandahar, or Alexandria Arachosia, Kandahar's Old City. Once it belonged to the north-eastern edge of the Indian empire, near the border with the Greco-Bactrian kingdom and Ai-Khanoum It is a text in Greek and Aramaic, proclaimed and carved in stone by Emperor Ashoka around 260 BC. It is known as the very first inscription of Ashoka, written in the 10th year of his reign, preceding all other inscriptions. This first inscription was written in Classical Greek and Aramaic exclusively. It is sometimes considered as one of the several "Minor Rock Edicts" of Ashoka (named "Minor Rock Edict No.4).

Background and Implications

Ashoka proclaims his faith, 10 years after the violent beginning of his reign, and affirms that living beings, human or animal, cannot be killed in his realm. In the Greek part of the text, he translates the Dharma he advocates by "Piety" Eusebeia, in Greek. The usage of Aramaic reflect the fact that Aramaic had been considered the official language of the first Persian Empire which had ruled in those parts until the conquests of Alexander the Great. The Aramaic is not an exact translation of the Greek, and it seems rather that both texts were translated separately from an original text in Magadhi, the common official language of India at the time, used on all the other Edicts of Ashoka in Indian language, even in such linguistically distinct areas as Kalinga. It is written in Aramaic alphabet. This inscription is actually rather short and general in content, compared to most Major Rock Edicts of Ashoka, including the other inscription in Greek of Ashoka in Kandahar, the Kandahar Greek Edict of Ashoka, which contains long portions of the 12th and 13th edicts, and probably contained much more since it was cut off at the beginning and at the end.

With Alexander the Great, Greek language became dominant in all conquered territorries, closely followed by the laguage of the Jews, Aramaic. The Edict shows the presence of a sizable Greek and Jewish population in the area, as it shows the lingering importance of Aramaic, several decades after the fall of the (Achaemenid or First) Persian Empire, in which it had an almost official position. At the same epoch, the Greeks were firmly established in the newly created Greco-Bactrian kingdom under the reign of Diodotus I, and particularly in the border city of Ai-Khanoum, not far away in the northern part of Afghanistan. The usage of Greek in the Edict indeed means that the message was intended for the Greeks and Jews living in Kandahar. Greek communities lived in the northwest of Ashoka's Mauryan empire (today Afghanistan and Pakistan), following the conquest and the colonisation efforts of Alexander the Great around 323 BC. These communities therefore seem to have been still significant in the area of Afghanistan during the reign of Ashoka, about 70 years after Alexander. The proclamation of this Edict in Kandahar is usually taken as proof that Ashoka had now control over that part of the (Seleucid or Second) Persian Empire, presumably after General Seleucos (Alexander's successor in Persia) had ceded this territory to Chandragupta Maurya in their 305 BC peace agreement.

The Greek and Aramaic versions vary somewhat, and seem to be rather free interpretations of an original text in Prakrit. The Aramaic text clearly recognises the authority of Ashoka with expressions such as "our Lord, king Priyadasin", "our lord, the king", suggesting that the readers were indeed the subjects of Ashoka, whereas the Greek version remains more neutral with the simple expression "King Ashoka".)

English translation of the Greek text:

1. Ten years (of reign) having been completed, King
2. Piodasses (Ashoka) made known (the doctrine of)
3. Piety* to men; and from this moment he has made
4. men more pious, and everything thrives throughout
5. the whole world. And the king abstains from (killing)
6. living beings, and other men and those who (are)
7. huntsmen and fishermen of the king have desisted
8. from hunting. And if some (were) intemperate, they
9. have ceased from their intemperance as was in their
10. power; and obedient to their father and mother and to
11. the elders, in opposition to the past also in the future,
12. by so acting on every occasion, they will live better
13. and more happily."

* the Greek text uses the word "Eusebeia", meaning Buddhism.

English translation of the Aramaic text:

1. Ten years having passed. It so happened that our lord, king Priyadasin, became the institutor of Truth,

2. Since then, evil diminished among all men and all misfortunes lie caused to disappear; and [there is] peace as well as joy in the whole earth.

3. And, moreover, [there is] this in regard to food: for our lord, the king, [only] a few [animals] are killed; having seen this, all men have given up [the slaughter of animals]; even those men who catch fish (i.e. the fishermen) are subject to prohibition.

4. Similarly, those who were without restraint have ceased to be without restraint.

5. And obedience to mother and to father and to old men [reigns] in conformity with the obligations imposed by fate on each [person].

6. And there is no Judgement for all the pious (Buddhist) men,

7. This [i.e. the practice of Law of Buddhism] has been profitable to all men and will be more profitable [in future].

MINOR PILLAR EDICTS

(The Minor Rock Edicts of Ashoka are exclusively inscribed on some of the Pillars of Ashoka, at Sanchi, Sarnath, Allahabad, Rummindei and Nigali Sagar.)

Sarnath Schism Edict of Ashoka
Location: Sarnath, Bihar.

"..... [cannot] be divided. The Samgha both of monks and of nuns is made united as long as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall reign, and) as long as the moon and the sun (shall shine). The monk or nun who shall break up the Samgha, must be caused to put on white robes and to reside in a non-residence. For my desire is that the Samgha may be united (and) of long duration."

Sanchi Schism Edict of Ashoka;
or Edict of Ashoka on the Sanchi pillar.
Location: Sanchi, Madhya Pradesh.

"... path is prescribed both for the monks and for the nuns. As long as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall reign ; and) as long as the Moon and the Sun (shall endure), the monk or nun who shall cause divisions in the Sangha, shall be compelled to put on white robes and to reside apart. For what is my desire ? That the Sangha may be united and may long endure."

The Allahabad Pillar
Location: (originally in Kosambi, Bihar)
Akbar's Allahabad Fort in Prayagraj, Uttar Pradesh.

The Allahabad pillar carries edicts of Emperor Ashoka but also later inscriptions attributed to the Gupta emperor Samudragupta (4th century AD). Also engraved on the stone are inscriptions by the Mughal emperor Jahangir, from the 17th century. At some point of time, the pillar was moved from its original location and installed within Akbar's Allahabad Fort in Prayagraj, Uttar Pradesh. As the fort is now occupied by the Indian Army, the public are only allowed limited access to the premises and special permission is required to view the pillar.

The pillar is a single shaft of polished sandstone standing 35 feet (10.7 m) high. It has a lower diameter of 35 inches (0.9 m) and an upper diameter of 26 inches (0.7 m). The capital of the pillar is shown in a photograph from 1870 but is now lost. The capital of the pillar had a surrounding frieze with palmettes that looked like small rosette flowers. An almost identical frieze was found in Delphi (Greece).

The Ashokan inscriptions suggest that the pillar was first erected at Kaushambi, an ancient town some 30 kilometres west of its current location which was then the capital of the kingdom of Koshala. It was moved to Allahabad much later when the region came under Muslim rule. The presence of another broken pillar at Kaushambi near the ruins of the Ghoshitarama monastery has led some to believe that the Allahabad Pillar might have been one of a pair, not unlike the ones discovered at Rampurva.

When James Prinsep of the Asiatic Society came across the broken pillar just inside the gates of the Allahabad Fort in c. 1834 and made a complete copy of its several inscriptions. There are three sets of inscriptions on the column from the three emperors, Ashoka Maurya, Samudragupta and Jahangir. They are accompanied by some minor inscriptions by pilgrims and others, which are derided as a mass of modern scribblings by Cunningham. Some of these are, however, dated and coupled with the style of scripts used, are useful to establish the periods when the pillar was in an erect position, and when it was lying prone on the ground. An analysis by Prinsep and later by Cunningham indicated that the Allahabad Pillar was very likely erect from the time of Samudragupta until the mid-13th century AD.

The Ashokan inscriptions on the Allahabad Pillar (along with inscriptions elsewhere) was pivotal to the decipherment of the Brahmi script by James Prinsep. It led to the rediscovery of the Mauryan emperor Ashoka and the unearthing of the full extent of his empire. The Ashokan inscriptions on the Allahabad Pillar (along with inscriptions elsewhere) was pivotal to the decipherment of the Brahmi script by The Asiatic Society's James Prinsep. It led to the rediscovery of the Mauryan emperor and the unearthing of the full extent of his empire. The inscription is engraved in continuous lines around the column in Brahmi and contains the same six edicts that can be seen on the other pillars. However, much of the third and fourth edicts have been "ruthlessly destroyed by the cutting of the vain-glorious inscription of Jahangir, recording the names of his ancestors". Besides the six edicts, the Allahabad pillar also includes what are known as the Schism edict and the Queen's edict. The inscription is engraved in continuous lines around the column in Brahmi and contains the same six edicts that can be seen on the other pillars. However, much of the third and fourth edicts have been "ruthlessly destroyed by the cutting of the vain-glorious inscription of Jahangir, recording the names of his ancestors". Besides the six edicts, the Allahabad pillar also includes what are known as the Schism edict and the Queen's edict.

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Allahabad Schism Edict of Ashoka:

(The Schism Edict, referred to as the Kaushambi edict by Cunningham, is a command from the emperor addressing the senior officials (Mahamatras) of Kaushambi urging them to avoid dissension and stay united. The following is a conflation of various fragmented versions of the edict:)

Devanampriya (Ashoka, the Beloved of the Gods) commands the Mahamatras (officers) of Kosambi or Kausambi/Pata[liputra] thus:

No one is to cause dissention in the Order. The Order of monks and nuns has been united, and this unity should last for as long as my sons and great grandsons, and the moon and the sun.

Whoever creates a schism in the Order, whether monk or nun, is to be dressed in white garments, and to be put in a place not inhabited by monks or nuns. For it is my wish that the Order should remain united and endure for long. This is to be made known to the Order of monks and the Order of nuns. Thus says the Beloved of the Gods: You must keep one copy of this document and place it in your meeting hall, and give one copy to the laity. The laymen must come on every uposatha day [day of confession and penance] to endorse this order. The same applies to special officers who must also regularly attend the uposatha, and endorse this order, and make it known. Throughout your district you must circulate it exactly according to this text. You must also have this precise text circulated in all the fortress districts [under military control].

Queen's edict

(The Queen's Edict refers to the charitable deeds of Ashoka's queen, Karuvaki, the mother of Prince Tivala.)

On the order of the Beloved of the Gods, the officers everywhere are to be instructed that whatever may be the gift of the second queen, whether a mango-grove, a monastery, an institution for dispensing charity or any other donation, it is to be counted to the credit of that queen … the second queen, the mother of Tivala, Karuvaki.

(Major Pillar Edicts 1-6: The pillar also contains the so-called Major Pillar Edicts, from 1 to 6 which we do not display here as they have nothing to do with Ashoka. They are inscriptions from a much later time, attributed to the 4th century AD Gupta emperor, Samudragupta.)

Rummindei Edict of Ashoka

Location: Lumbini (Buddha's place of birth), Nepal.

Estimated Range of Dating: 250 BC.

When King Devanampriya Priyadarsin had been anointed twenty years, he came himself and worshipped (this spot) because the Buddha Shakyamuni was born here. (He) both caused to be made a stone bearing a horse and caused a stone pillar to be set up, (in order to show) that the Blessed One was born here. (He) made the village of Lummini free of taxes, and paying (only) an eighth share (of the produce).

Nigali Sagar Edict of Ashoka

Location: Nigali Sagar, Nepal.

Estimated Range of Dating: 250 BC.

"Devanam piyena piyadasin lajina- chodasavasa bhisitena Budhasa Konakamanasa thube-dutyam vadhite Visativa sabhisitena –cha atana-agacha-mahiyite silathabe-cha usa papite"

"His Majesty King Priyadarsin in the 14th year of his reign enlarged for the second time the stupa of the Buddha Kanakamuni and in the 20th year of his reign, having come in person, paid reverence and set up a stone pillar".

MAJOR ROCK EDICTS

(The Major Rock Edicts of Ashoka are inscribed on large rocks, except for the Kandahar version in Greek (Kandahar Greek Edict of Ashoka), written on a stone plaque belonging to a building. The Major Edicts are not located in the heartland of Mauryan territory, but on the frontiers of the territory controlled by Ashoka. These texts existed in identical copies and were spread all over the Empire. Examples: Empire West: Old Kandahar, Afghanistan, and Girnar, Gujarat, India; Empire South: Gooty, near Guntakal, Anantapur, Andhra Pradesh, India; Empire North: Shahbazgarhi, Mardan, Pakistan, and Khalsi, Dehradun District, Uttarakhand, India; Empire East: Dhauli, Khordha district, Odisha, and Jaugada, Ganjam district, Odisha, India.

Content of the Edicts: There are altogether 14 Major Rocks Edicts, forming a group which is duplicated with only slight variations in 10 known locations, and two Separate Major Rock Edicts, in Dhauli and Jaugada.)

Major Rock Edict No. 1

(Ashoka prohibits animal slaughter. Bans festive gatherings and killings of animals. Only two peacocks and one deer were killed in Asoka's kitchen. He wished to discontinue this practice of killing two peacocks and one deer as well.)

This rescript on morality has been caused to be written by Devanampriya Priyadarsin. Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed. And also no festival meeting must be held. For king Devanampriya Priyadarsin sees much evil in festival meetings. And there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king Devanampriya Priyadarsin.

Formerly in the kitchen of king Devanampriya Priyadarsin many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry. But now, when this rescript on morality is caused to be written, then only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, but even this deer not regularly.

But even these three animals shall not be killed (in future).

Major Rock Edict No. 2

(Provides for care for man and animals, describes recipients as the Chola, Pandyas, Satyapura and Keralputra Kingdoms of South India, and the Greek king Antiochos II and his neighbours.)

Everywhere in the dominions of king Devanampriya Priyadarsin and (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the Cholas, the Pandyas, the Satiyaputa, the Kelalaputa, Tamraparni, the Yona (Greek) king named Antiyoga (Antiochos), and the other kings who are the neighbours of this Antiyoga, everywhere two (kinds of) medical men were established by king Devanampriya Priyadarsin, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.

Wherever there were no herbs beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted. Likewise, wherever there were no roots and fruits, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

On the roads trees were planted, and wells were caused to be dug for the use of cattle and men.

Major Rock Edict No. 3

(Rules of morality and their implementation through Civil Servants. Generosity to Brahmans. Issued after 12 years of Ashoka's coronation. It says that the Yuktas (subordinate officers) and Pradesikas (district Heads) along with Rajukas (Rural officers) shall go to the all areas of kingdom every five years and spread the Dhamma Policy of Ashoka.)

King Devanampriya Priyadarsin speaks thus. (When I had been) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me. Everywhere in my dominions the Yuktas, the Lajuka, (and) the Pradesika shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.

Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, and to Brahmanas and Sramanas is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.

And the councils (of Mahamatras) also shall order the Yuktas to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.

Major Rock Edict No. 4

(Rules of morality. Dhammaghosa is ideal to the mankind and not the Bherighosa. Impact of Dhamma on society.)

In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Sramanas and Brahmanas.

But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of king Devanampriya Priyadarsin, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.

Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of king Devanampriya Priyadarsin, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brahmanas and Sramanas, (and) obedience to mother and father.

Both in this and in many other ways is the practice of morality promoted. And king Devanampriya Priyadarsin will ever promote this practice of morality.

And the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of king Devanampriya Priyadarsin will ever promote this practice of morality until the aeon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct

For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality. And the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct. Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

For the following purpose has this been written, (viz. in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve the neglect (of it).

(This rescript) was caused to be written by king Devanampriya Priyadarsin (when he had been) anointed twelve years.

Major Rock Edict No. 5

(Establishment and role of the Mahamatras. Concerns about the policy towards slaves. He mentions in this rock edict "Every Human is my child". Appointment of Dhammamahamatras is mentioned in this edict.)

King Devanampriya Priyadarsin speaks (thus).

It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds. He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.

Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed. Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the aeon (of destruction of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.

But he who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds. For sin indeed steps fast.

Now, in times past (officers) called Mahamatras of morality did not exist before. Mahdmatras of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) anointed thirteen years. These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting morality, and for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the Yona, Kambojas, and Gandharas, and whatever other western borderers (of mine there are).

They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brahmanas and Ibhiyas, with the destitute; (and) with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality, (and) in releasing (them) from the fetters (of worldly life). They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, and in setting (them) free, if one has children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively. They are occupied everywhere, here and in all the outlying towns, in the harems of our brothers, of (our) sisters, and (of) whatever other relatives (of ours there are). These Mahamatras of morality are occupied everywhere in my dominions with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality or properly devoted to charity.

For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants may conform to it.

Major Rock Edict No. 6

(Ashoka's management of government affairs. Describes Emperor's desire to get informed about the conditions of the people constantly. Talks about welfare measures.)

King Devanampriya Priyadarsin speaks thus.

In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at any time did exist before. But I have made the following (arrangement).

Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palanquin, (and) in the park. And everywhere I shall dispose of the affairs of the people.

And also, if in the council (of Mahamatras) a dispute arises, or an amendment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the Mahamatras, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

Thus I have ordered. For I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business. For I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men. But the root of that (is) this, (viz,) exertion and the dispatch of business. For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men. And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

Now, for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz, that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons and wives may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men.

But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

Major Rock Edict No. 7

(The importance of self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion. Requests tolerance for all religions - "To foster one's own sect, depreciating the others out of affection for one's own, to exalt its merit, is to do the worst harm to one's own sect.")

King Devanampriya Priyadarsin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.

For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.

But men possess various desires (and) various passions. They will fulfil (either) the whole (or) only a portion (of their duties). But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but)

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does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.

Major Rock Edict No. 8

(The "Diamond Throne" built by Ashoka in Bodh [Buddha] Gaya. Describes Asoka's first Dhamma Yatra to Bodhgaya & Bodhi Tree.)

Morality tours by Ashoka. This Edict is remarkable in that it describes the visit of the king to Sambodhi (Sambodhi inscription.jpg Sa?+bodhi, "Complete Enlightenment"), another name of Bodh Gaya. It is thought that Ashoka built in Bodh Gaya the Diamond Throne, in order to mark the place where the Buddha reached enlightenement.

According to tradition, Ashoka was profoundly grieved when he discovered that the sacred pipal tree was not properly being taken care of and dying out due to the neglect of Queen Ti?yarak?ita. As a consequence, Ashoka endeavoured to take care of the Bodhi Tree, and built a temple around it. This temple became the center of Bodh Gaya. A sculpture at Sanchi, southern gateway of Stupa No1, shows Ashoka in grief being supported by his two Queens. Then the relief above shows the Bodhi Tree prospering inside its new temple. Numerous other sculptures at Sanchi show scenes of devotion towards the Bodhi Tree, and the Bodhi Tree inside its temple at Bodh Gaya.

The Kalsi version also uses the title "Devampriyas" to describe previous kings (whereas the other versions use the term "Kings"), suggesting that the title "Denampriya" had a rather wide usage.)

In times past the Devanampriyas (Kings) used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours.

On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).

When king Devanampriya Priyadardin had been anointed ten years, he went out to Sambodhi.

Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.

On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Sramanas and Brahmanas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).

This second period (of the reign) of king Devanampriya Priyadarsin becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

Major Rock Edict No. 9

(Morality rather than ceremonies. Condemns popular ceremonies. Stress in ceremonies of Dhamma.)

King Devanampriya Priyadarsin speaks (thus).

Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a child, (and) when setting out on a journey; on these and other such (occasions) men are practising many ceremonies.

But in such (cases) mothers and wives are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.

Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised. But these (ceremonies) bear little fruit indeed. But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality.

Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Sramanas and Brahmanas; these and other such (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, or even a (mere) neighbour ought to say : "This is meritorious. This practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained, (thinking): "I shall observe this".

For other a ceremonies are of doubtful (effect). One may attain his object (by them), but he may not (do so). And they (bear fruit) in this world only.

But that practice of morality is not restricted to time. Even if one does not attain (by it) his object in this (world), then endless merit is produced in the other (world).

But if one attains (by it) his object in this (world), the gain of both (results) arises from it; (viz.) the (desired) object (is attained) in this (world), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that practice of morality.

Major Rock Edict No. 10

(Condemns the desire for fame and glory. Strive for Dhamma, meaning moral and virtues.)

King Devanampriya Priyadarsin does not think that either glory or fame conveys much advantage, except whatever glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim) that in the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, or that they may conform to the duties of morality.

On this (account) king Devanampriya Priyadarsin is desiring glory and fame.

And whatever effort king Devanampriya Priyadarsin is making, all that (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger.

But the danger is this, viz. demerit. But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim). But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult to accomplish just for a high (person).

Major Rock Edict No. 11

(Morality, courtesy, meritorius deeds.)

King Devanampriya Priyadarsin speaks thus,

There is no such gift as the gift of morality, the distribution of morality, (and) kinship through morality.

Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother and father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Sramanas and Brahmanas, (and) abstention from killing animals.

Concerning this a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour, ought to say "This is meritorious. This ought to be done".

If one is acting thus, (happiness) in this world is attained, and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that gift of morality.

Major Rock Edict No. 12

(Respect other sects and not take pride in one's own. Also written in Greek in the Kandahar Greek Edict of Ashoka [last portion])

King Devanampriya Priyadarsin is honouring all sects: ascetics or house holders, with gifts and with honours of various kinds.

But Devanampriya does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place. This promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways. But its root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech, (i.e.) that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or (that) it should be moderate in every case. But other sects ought to be honoured in every way.

If one is acting thus, he is promoting his own sect considerably and is benefiting other sects as well.

If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is both hurting his own sect and wronging other sects as well.

For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects, — all (this) out of pure devotion to his own sect, (i.e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect, — if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.

But concord is meritorious, (i.e.) that they should both hear and obey each other's morals.

For this is the desire of Devanampriya, (viz.) that all sects should be both full of learning and pure in doctrine.

And those who are attached to their respective (sects), ought to be spoken to (as follows). Devanampriya does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

And many (officers) are occupied for this purpose, (viz.) the Mahamatras of morality, the Mahamatras controlling women, the inspectors of cowpens, or other classes (of officials).

And this is the fruit of it, (viz,) that both the promotion of one's own sect takes place, and the glorification of morality.

Major Rock Edict No. 13

(A Greek translation of Edicts 13 and 14, the Kandahar Greek Edict of Ashoka, was also discovered in Kandahar, Afghanistan. It is the largest inscription from the edict. It talks about the Ashoka's victory over Kalinga and also mentions about the high number of casualties in that war. King considered the victory by "Dhamma" to be the foremost victory; mentions the victory of "Dhamma" where the Greek being named Amtiyoga or Amtiyaka, identified with Antiochus II Theos of the Seleucid Empire, rules; it also mentions the victory of Dhamma where rule the following Greek kings beyond Antiochus: Tulamaya = Ptolemy III Euergetes of Egypt; Antekina = Antigonus Gonatus of Macedonia; Maka = Magas of Cyrene; Alikyashudala = Alexander I of Epirus. It also mentions the victory of Dhamma in south India among the Cholas and Pandyas, as far as Ceylon. This edict was also written in Greek (probably together with all the other Major Rock Edicts 1-14 originally) in the Kandahar Greek Edict of Ashoka (first portion recovered).

Content: Asoka's victory in the Kalinga war followed by remorse. Victory of morality in India and among the Greeks (Yonas), as far as where the Greek kings Antiochus, Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas and Alexander rule.

The kings mentioned in Edict 13 as following the Dharma have been identified with the major Hellenistic rulers of the period:)

When king Devanampriya Priyadarsin had been anointed eight years, (the country of) the Kalingas was conquered by (him). One hundred and fifty thousand in number were the men who were deported thence, one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain there, and many times as many those who died.

After that, now that (the country of) the Kalingyas has been taken, Devanampriya (is devoted) to a zealous study of morality, to the love of morality, and to the instruction (of people) in morality. This is the repentance of Devanampriya on account of his conquest of (the country of) the Kalingyas. For, this is considered very painful and deplorable by Devanampriya, that, while one is conquering an unconquered (country), slaughter, death, and deportation of people (are taking place) there,

But the following is considered even more deplorable than this by Devanampriya. (To) the Brahmanas or Sramanas, or other sects or householders/ who are living there, (and) among whom the following are practised: obedience to those who receive high pay, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion, to these then happen injury or slaughter or deportation of (their) beloved ones. Or if there are then incurring misfortune the friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives of those whose affection (for the latter) is undiminished, although they are (themselves) well provided for, this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons) themselves.

This is shared by all men and is considered deplorable by Devanampriya.

There is no country where these (two) classes, (viz.) the Brahmanas and the Sramanas, do not exist, except among the Yona; and there is no (place) in any country where men are not indeed attached to some sect.

Therefore even the hundredth part or the thousandth part of all those people who were slain, who died, and who were deported at that time when (the country of) the Kalingas was taken, (would) now be considered very deplorable by Devanampriya.

.....desires towards all beings ..... self-control, impartiality, (and) kindness.

But this by Devanampriya, viz, the conquest by morality.

And this (conquest) has been won repeatedly by Devanampriya both [here] and among all (his) borderers, even as far as at (the distance of) six hundred yojanas where the Yona king named Antiyoga (is ruling), and beyond this Antiyoga, (where) four kings (are ruling), (viz, the king) named Tulamaya, (the king) named Antekina, (the king) named Maka, (and the king) named Alikyashudala, (and) likewise towards the south, (where) the Chodas and Pandyas (are ruling), as far as Tamraparni.

Likewise here in the king's territory, among the Greeks (Yonas) and Kambojas, among the Nabhakas and Nabhapanktis, among the Bhojas and Pitinikyas, among the Andhras and Paladas, everywhere (people) are conforming to Devanampriya's instruction in morality.

Even those to whom the envoys of Devanampriya do not go, having heard of the duties of morality, the ordinances, (and) the instruction in morality of Devanampriya, are conforming to morality and will conform to (it).

This conquest, which has been won by this everywhere; causes the feeling of satisfaction. Firm becomes this satisfaction, (viz.) the satisfaction at the conquest by morality.

But this satisfaction is indeed of little (consequence). Devanampriya thinks that only the fruits in the other (world) are of great (value).

And for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz,) in order that the sons (and) great-grandsons (who) may be (born) to me, should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made; (that), if a conquest does please them, they should take pleasure in mercy and light punishments; and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest.

This (conquest bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world. And let all (their) pleasure be the pleasure in exertion. For this (bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

Major Rock Edict 14

(Describes objectives and modalities of inscriptions in different parts of the Empire.)

These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written by king Devanampriya Priyadarsin either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length,

For the whole was not suitable everywhere.

For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall constantly cause still (more) to be written.

And (some) of this has been stated again and again because of the charm of certain topics, (and) in order that men should act accordingly.

But some of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality, or because (my) motive was not liked, or by the fault of the writer.

First Separate Major Rock Edict (Dhauli version)

(In Dhauli and Jaugada, on the east coast of India, in the recently conquered territory of Kalinga, Major Rock Edicts 11 to 13 were omitted from the normal complement of Edicts from 1 to 14, but two separate Edicts were put in their place. The First Separate Major Rock Edicts mainly addresses local officials (from Tosali in the Dhauli Separate Edicts and from Somapa in the Jaugada versions) referring to the requirements of a fair judicial system, and the system of control established

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by Ashoka through the Mahamatras, sent from Pataliputra, Ujjain and Taxila.

Chronologically, it seems that the First Separate Rock Edict was actually engraved after the Second Separate Rock Edict. The first and second separate edicts seem to have been inscribed at about the same time as the other Major Rock Edicts, in the 13th and 14th years of Ashoka's reign.)

At the word of Devanampriya, the Mahamatras at Tosali, (who are) the judicial officers of the city, have to be told (thus).

Whatever I recognise (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds, and to accomplish by (various) means. And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. (to give) instruction to you. For you are occupied with many thousands of men, with the object of gaining the affection of men.

All men are my children. As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, the same I desire also on behalf of [all] men. And you do not learn how far this (my) object reaches. Some single person only learns this, (and) even he (only) a portion, (but) not the whole. Now you must pay attention to this, although you are well provided for.

It happens in the administration (of justice) that a single person suffers either imprisonment or harsh treatment. In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment is (obtained) by him accidentally, while [many] other people continue to suffer. In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially. But one fails to act (thus) on account of the following dispositions: envy, anger, cruelty, hurry, want of practice, laziness, (and) fatigue. (You) must strive for this, that these dispositions may not arise to you. And the root of all this is the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry. He who is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will not rise; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance. He who will pay attention to this, must tell you: "See that (you) discharge the debt (which you owe to the king); such and such is the instruction of Devanampriya".

The observance of this produces great fruit, (but its) non-observance (becomes) a great evil. For if one fails to observe this, there will be neither attainment of heaven nor satisfaction of the king. For how (could) my mind be pleased if one badly fulfils this duty? But if (you) observe this, you will attain heaven, and you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.

And this edict must be listened to (by all) on (every day of) the constellation. And it may be listened to even by a single (person) also on frequent (other) occasions between (the days of) Tishya. And if (you) act thus, you will be able to fulfil (this duty). For the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the judicial officers of the city may strive at all times (for this), [that] neither undeserved fettering nor undeserved harsh treatment are happening to [men]. And for the following purpose I shall send out every five years a Mahamatra who will be neither harsh nor fierce, (but) of gentle actions, (viz. in order to ascertain) whether (the judicial officers), paying attention to this object, are acting thus, as my instruction (implies).

But from Ujjayini also the prince (governor) will send out for the same purpose a person of the same description, and he will not allow (more than) three years to pass (without such a deputation). In the same way (an officer will be deputed) from Takhasila also. When these Mahamatras will set out on tour, then, without neglecting their own duties, they will ascertain this as well, (viz.) whether (the judicial officers) are carrying out this also thus, as the instruction of the king (implies).

Second Separate Major Rock Edict (Dhauli version)

(In Dhauli and Jaugada, on the east coast of India, in the recently conquered territory of Kalinga, Major Rock Edicts 11 to 13 were omitted, but another separate Edict was put in their place, the Second Separate Major Rock Edict, addressed to the officials of Tosali in the Dhauli Separate Edicts and of Somapa in the Jaugada versions. The Second Separate Edict asks the local officials to try to convince "unconquered bordering tribes" that the intentions of Ashoka towards them are benevolent.)

At the word of Devanampriya, the prince (governor) and the Mahamatras at Tosali have to be told (thus).

Whatever I recognize (to be right), that, and to accomplish by (various) means ..... my

As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, thus . . It might occur to (my) unconquered borderers (to ask): What does the king desire with reference to us? [This] alone is my wish with reference to the borderers, that they may learn that Devanampriya . . . . . f ... , that they may not be afraid of me, but may have confidence (in me); that they may obtain only happiness from me/ not misery; that they may [learn] this, that Devanampriya -will forgive them what can be forgiven; that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; (and) that they may attain (happiness in) this world and (in) the other world. ...

For the following purpose I am instructing you, (viz. that) I may discharge the debt (which I owe to them) by this, that I instruct (you) and inform (you) of (my) will, my unshakable resolution and vow. Therefore, acting thus, (you) must fulfil (your) duty and must inspire confidence to them, in order that they may learn that Devanampriya is to them like a father, that Devanampriya loves them like himself, and that they are to Devanampriya like (his own) children. Therefore, having instructed (you), and having informed you of (my) will, I shall have (i. e, entertain) officers in (all) provinces for this object. For you are able to inspire confidence to those (borderers) and (to secure their) welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world. And if (you) act thus, you will attain heaven, and will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.

And for the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz,) in order that the Mahamdtras may strive at all times to inspire confidence to those borderers (of mine) and (to induce them) to practise morality,

And this rescript must be listened to (by all) every four months on (the day of) the constellation Tishya. But if desired, it may be listened to even by a single (person) also on frequent (other) occasions between (the days of) Tishya. If (you) act thus, you will be able to carry out (my orders).

MAJOR PILLAR EDICTS

(The Major Pillar Edicts of Indian Emperor Ashoka refer to 7 separate major Edicts of Ashoka inscribed on columns, the Pillars of Ashoka, which are significantly detailed and are among the earliest dated inscriptions of any Indian monarch. These texts existed in identical copies and were spread all over the Empire. Examples: Location in the North: today in Delhi, but originally from Topra in Yamunanagar district, Haryana, India. Location in the East: in Lauriya near Areraj, Bethia, Bihar, India.)

Major Pillar Edict No. 1

(Asoka's principle of protection of the people.)

King Devanampriya Priyadarsin speaks thus. This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-six years.

(Happiness) in this (world) and in the other (world) is difficult to secure without great love of morality, careful examination, great obedience, great fear (of sin), (and) great energy.

But indeed by my instruction this regard for morality and love of morality have been promoted day by day and will progress still (more).

And my agents also, both the high ones and the low ones and those of middle rank, are conforming to and practising (morality), (and are thus) able to stir up fickle (persons).

In the same way the Mahamatras of the borderers also (are acting). For (their) instruction (is) this, viz. to protect according to morality, to dispose according to morality, to cause pleasure according to morality, (and) to guard (their speech) according to morality.

Major Pillar Edict No. 2

(Defines dhamma as a minimum of sins, many virtues, compassion, liberality, truthfulness and purity.)

King Devanampriya Priyadarfiin speaks thus.

(To practise) morality is meritorious; but what does morality include? (It includes) few sins, many virtuous deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, (and) purity.

The gift of spiritual insight also has been bestowed by me in many ways.

On bipeds and quadrupeds, on birds and aquatic animals various benefits have been conferred by me, (even) to the boon of life. And many other virtuous deeds also have been performed by me.

For the following purpose was this rescript on morality caused to be written by me, (viz.) in order that (men) might conform to it, and that it might be of long duration. And he who will act thus will perform good deeds.

Major Pillar Edict No. 3

(Abolishes sins of harshness, cruelty, anger, pride etc.)

King Devananipriya Priyadarsin speaks thus.

(Men) regard only (their) virtuous deeds, (thinking): "This virtuous deed has been performed by me". They do not at all regard (their) evil deeds, (thinking) : "This evil deed has been performed by me". This very (act) is called a sin.

Now this is indeed difficult to recognise. But indeed this ought to be regarded thus: these (passions), viz. fierceness, cruelty, anger, pride, envy, are called sinful. Let me not ruin (myself) by (these) very (passions).

The following ought to be specially regarded: "This (action conduces) to my (happiness) in this (world), that other (action) to my (happiness) in the other (world).

Major Pillar Edict No. 4

(Deals with duties of Rajukas.)

King Devanampriya Priyadarsin speaks thus.

This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-six years.

My Lajukas are occupied with the people, with many hundred thousands of men.

I have ordered that either rewards or punishments are left to their discretion, in order that the Lajukas should perform (their) duties confidently (and) fearlessly, that they should bestow welfare and happiness on the people of the country, and that they should confer benefits (on them).

They will know how to cause pleasure and to cause pain (to them), and will exhort the people of the country through those who are devoted to morality, in order that they may attain (happiness) both in this (world) and in the other (world).

The Lajukas also must obey me. They will also obey the agents who know (my) wishes. And these (agents) will also exhort those (people), in order that the Lajukas may be able to please me.

For, as one feels confident after having entrusted (his) child to an intelligent nurse, (thinking): "The intelligent nurse will be able to keep my child well", so the Lajukas were appointed by me for the welfare and happiness of the country-people.

In order that they should perform (their) duties, being fearless, confident, (and) unperturbed, for this (purpose) I have ordered that either rewards or punishments are left to the discretion of the Lajukas.

For the following is to be desired, (viz,) that there should be both impartiality in judicial proceedings and impartiality in punishments.

And my order (reaches) even so far (that) a respite of three days is granted by me to persons lying in prison on whom punishment has been passed, (and) who have been condemned to death.

(In this way) either (their) relatives will persuade those [Lajukas) to (grant) their life, or, if there is none who persuades (them), they will bestow gifts or will undergo fasts in order to (attain happiness) in the other (world).

For my desire is this, that, even when the time (of respite) has expired, they should attain (happiness) in the other (world).

And various moral practices, self-control, (and) the distribution of gifts are (thus) promoted among the people.

Major Pillar Edict No. 5

(A list of animals and birds which should not be killed on some days, and another list of animals which have not to be killed at all occasions. Describes the release of 25 prisoners by Asoka.)

King Devanampriya Priyadarsin speaks thus.

(When I had been) anointed twenty-six years, the following animals were declared by me inviolable, viz. parrots, mainas, the aruna, ruddy geese, wild geese, the nandimukha, the gelata, bats, queen-ants, terrapins, boneless fish, the vedaveyaka, the Ganga-puputaka, skate-fish, tortoises and porcupines, squirrels (?), the srimara, bulls set at liberty, iguanas (?), the rhinoceros, white doves, domestic doves, (and) all the quadrupeds which are neither useful nor edible.

Those [she-goats], ewes, and sows (which are) either with young or in milk, are inviolable, and also those (of their) young ones (which are) less than six months old.

Cocks must not be caponed.

Husks containing living animals must not be burnt.

Forests must not be burnt either uselessly or in order to destroy (living beings).

Living animals must not be fed with (other) living animals.

Fish are inviolable, and must not be sold, on the three Chaturmasis (and) on the Tishya full-moon during three days, (viz.) the fourteenth, the fifteenth, (and) the first (tithit), and invariably on every fast-day.

And during these same days also no other classes of animals which are in the elephant-park (and) in the preserves of the fishermen, must be killed.

On the eighth (tithi) of (every) fortnight, on the fourteenth, on the fifteenth, on Tishya, on Punarvasu, on the three Chaturmasis, (and) on festivals, bulls must not be castrated, (and) he-goats, rams, boars, and whatever other (animals) are castrated (otherwise), must not be castrated;(then).

On Tishya, on Punarvasu, on the Chaturmasis, (and) during the fortnight of (every) Chaturmasis, horses (and) bullocks must not be branded.

Until (I had been) anointed twenty-six years, in this period the release of prisoners was ordered by me twenty-five (times).

Major Pillar Edict No. 6

(Dhamma Policy.)

King DavanaApriya Priyadarsin speaks thus.

(When I had been) anointed twelve years, rescripts on morality were caused to be written by me for the welfare and happiness of the people, (in order that), not transgressing those (rescripts), they might attain a promotion of morality in various respects.

(Thinking): "Thus the welfare and happiness of the people (will be secured)" I am directing my attention not only to (my) relatives, but to those who are near and far, in order that I

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may lead-them to happiness, and I am instructing (them) accordingly.

In the same manner I am directing my attention to all classes. And all the sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds.

But this is considered by me (my) principal (duty), viz. visiting (the people) personally.

(When I had been) anointed twenty-six years, this rescript on morality was caused to be written by me.

Major Pillar Edict No. 7

(Works done by Asoka for Dhamma Policy. He says that all sects desire both self-control and purity of mind.)

King Devanampriya Priyadarsin speaks thus. The kings who were in times past, had this desire, that men might (be made to) progress by the promotion of morality; but men were not made to progress by an adequate promotion of morality.

Concerning this, king Devanampriya Priyadarsin speaks thus. The following occurred to me. On one hand, in times past kings had this desire, that men might (be made to) progress by an adequate promotion of morality; (but) on the other hand, men were not made to progress by an adequate promotion of morality. How then might men (be made to) conform to (morality)? How might men (be made to) progress by an adequate promotion of morality? How could I elevate them by the promotion of morality?

Concerning this, king Devanaahpriya Priyadarsin speaks thus. The following occurred to me. I shall issue proclamations on morality, (and) shall order instruction in morality (to be given). Hearing this, men will conform to (it), will be elevated, and will (be made to) progress considerably by the promotion of morality. For this purpose proclamations on morality were issued by me, (and) manifold instruction in morality was ordered (to be given), [in order that those agents] (of mine) too, who are occupied with many people, will exhort (them) and will explain (morality to them) in detail. The Lajukas also, who are occupied with many hundred thousands of men, —these too were ordered by me: "In such and such a manner exhort ye the people who are devoted to morality".

Devanampriya Priyadarsin speaks thus. Having in view this very (matter), I have set up pillars of morality (Dhaṃma taṃbhāni, ie "pillars of the Dharma"), appointed Mahamatras of morality (Dhaṃma Mahāmātā, the "Inspectors of the Dharma"), (and) issued [proclamations] on morality.

King Devanampriya Priyadarsin speaks thus. On the roads banyan-trees were caused to be planted by me, (in order that) they might afford shade to cattle and men, (and) mango-groves were caused to be planted. And (at intervals) of eight kos wells were caused to be dug by me, and flights of steps (for descending into the water) were caused to be built. Numerous drinking-places were caused to be established by me, here and there, for the enjoyment of cattle and men. [But] this so-called enjoyment (is) [of little consequence]. For with various comforts have the people been blessed both by former kings and by myself. But by me this has been done for the following purpose: that they might conform to that practice of morality.

Devanampriya Priyadarsin speaks thus. Those my Mahamatras of morality too are occupied with affairs of many kinds which are beneficial to ascetics as well as to householders, and they are occupied also with all sects. Some (Mahamatras) were ordered by me to busy themselves with the affairs of the Sangha; likewise others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the Brahmanas (and) Ajivikas; others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the Nirgranthas; others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with various (other) sects; (thus) different Mahamatras (are busying themselves) specially with different (congregations). But my Mahamatras of morality are occupied with these (congregations) as well as with all other sects.

King Devanampriya Priyadarsin speaks thus. Both these and many other chief (officers) are occupied with the delivery of the gifts of myself as well as of the queens, and among my whole harem [they are reporting] in divers ways different worthy recipients of charity both here and in the provinces. And others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the delivery of the gifts of (my) sons and of other queens' sons, in order (to promote) noble deeds of morality (and) the practice of morality. For noble deeds of morality and the practice of morality (consist in) this, that (morality), viz. compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness, and goodness, will thus be promoted among men.

King Devanampriya Priyadarsin speaks thus. Whatsoever good deeds have been performed by me, those the people have imitated, and to those they are conforming. Thereby they have been made to progress and will (be made to) progress in obedience to mother and father, in obedience to elders, in courtesy to the aged, in courtesy to Brahmanas and Sramanas, to the poor and distressed, (and) even to slaves and servants.

King Devanampriya Priyadarsin speaks thus. Now this progress of morality among men has been promoted (by me) only in two ways, (viz.) by moral restrictions and by conversion. But among these (two), those moral restrictions are of little consequence; by conversion, however, (morality is promoted) more considerably. Now moral restrictions indeed are these, that I have ordered this, (that) certain animals are inviolable. But there are also many other moral restrictions which have been imposed by me. By conversion, however, the progress of morality among men has been promoted more considerably, (because it leads) to abstention from hurting living beings (and) to abstention from killing animals.

Now for the following purpose has this been ordered, that it may last as long as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall reign and) as long as the moon and the sun (shall shine), and in order that (men) may conform to it. For if one conforms to this, (happiness) in this (world) and in the other (world) will be attained.

This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-seven years.

Concerning this, Devanampriya says. This rescript on morality must be engraved there, where either stone pillars or stone slabs are (available), in order that this may be of long duration.

The Aramaic inscription of Laghman

Location: Laghman, Afghanistan.

Translation by André Dupont-Sommer

(The Aramaic inscription of Laghman, also called the Laghman II inscription, is an inscription on a slab of natural rock in the area of Laghman, Afghanistan, written in Aramaic by the Indian emperor Ashoka about 260 BC, and often categorized as one of Minor Rock Edicts of Ashoka. This inscription was published in 1970 by André Dupont-Sommer. Since Aramaic was an official language of the Achaemenid Empire, and reverted to being just its vernacular tongue in 320 BC with the conquests of Alexander the Great, it seems that this inscription was addressed directly to the populations of this ancient empire still present in northwestern India, or to border populations for whom Aramaic remained the language used in everyday life.

The Aramaic Inscription of Laghman is the oldest of the known Ashoka inscriptions, with the Kandahar Bilingual Inscription, both dated to the year 10 of Ashoka's reign.

Another Aramaic inscription, almost identical, was discovered nearby in the Laghman Valley, and published in 1974:)

In the year 10, behold, the king Priyadasi expelled vanity from among prosperous men, friends of that which is vain, friends of those who fish fish creatures.

At 200 "bows", there is over there the place called Tadmor.

This is the KNPTY road, that is to say (the road) of the Garden: more than 120 ("bow"). At TRT', here: 100. Above: 80. Done with Wasu The Judge

(EPILOGUE:

The translation is slightly incomplete but brings some valuable indications. It first mentions the propagation of moral rules, which Ashoka will call "Dharma" in his Edicts of Ashoka, consisting of the abandonment of vanity and respect for the life of the people and animals (here, urging people to give up fishing).

Then, according to semitologist André Dupont-Sommer, who made a detailed analysis of the script observed in multiple rock inscriptions in the Laghman valley as well as in other Aramaic inscriptions of Ashoka, the inscription mentions the city of Tadmor (Tdmr in the Aramaic script in the inscription, ie Palmyra), destination of the great commercial road leading from India to the Mediterranean basin, located at a distance of 3800 km. According to the reading of Dupont-Sommer, Palmyra is separated by two hundreds "bows" from Laghman. In the inscription, the word used to indicate bow is "QSTN", and Dupont-Sommer asserted that it is an Aramaic word denoting a unit to measure a distance of 15 to 20 kilometres, which could represent a day on the road for an archer. Other distances are then given, which makes it possible to interpret Laghman's inscription as a kind of information terminal on the main trade route with the West.

Other texts: The discovery of this inscription follows that of several other inscriptions in Aramaic or Greek (individually, or both languages together), written by Ashoka. The most famous are the Kandahar Bilingual Inscription, written in Greek and Aramaic, or the Greek Edicts of Ashoka, also found in Kandahar. Previously, in 1915, Sir John Marshall had discovered the Aramaic Inscription of Taxila, and in 1932 another inscription in Aramaic was discovered in the Laghman Valley in Pul-i-Darunteh, also called "Laghman I", the Aramaic inscription of Pul-i-Darunteh, then in 1963 an "Indo-Aramaic" inscription alternating Indian Prakrit and the Aramaic language, but using only Aramaic characters, with the Aramaic parts translating the Indian parts transcribed in the Aramaic alphabet, was also discovered in Kandahar: the Aramaic Inscription of Kandahar.)

THE LALITA-VISTARA SUTRA

The Gospel of the Buddha
The Play in Full or The Extensive Play
The Noble Great Vehicle Sūtra
The Story of Siddharta Gautama Buddha
Source: Toh 95, Degé Kangyur, vol. 46
(mdo sde, kha), folios 1b–216b
Translation: Dharmachakra Translation Committee, 2013
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd century A.D.

(The Lalitavistara Sūtra is a Sanskrit Mahayana Buddhist sutra that tells the story of Gautama Buddha from the time of his descent from Tushita until his first sermon in the Deer Park near Varanasi. The term Lalitavistara has been translated "The Play in Full" or "Extensive Play," referring to the Mahayana view that the Buddha's last incarnation was a "display" or "performance" given for the benefit of the beings in this world.

"The Play in Full" is without a doubt one of the most important sutras within Buddhist Mahayana literature. In some ways, it has similarities with Christian gospels with one significant difference: It does not claim to be history, although it contains some historical facts. With parts of the text dating from the earliest days of the Buddhist tradition, this story of the Buddha's awakening has captivated the minds of devotees, both ordained and lay, as far back as the beginning of the common era.

In brief, The Play in Full tells the story of how the Buddha manifested in this world and attained awakening. The sutra, which is structured in twenty-seven chapters, begins with the Buddha being requested to teach the sutra by several gods, as well as the thousands of bodhisattvas and sravakas in his retinue.

Concerning the origins of the text, the Dharmachakra Translation Committee states: In the early 20th century, P. L. Vaidya believed that the finished Sanskrit text dated to the 3rd century A.D. The text is also said to be a compilation of various works by no single author and includes materials from the Sarvastivada and the Mahayana traditions. . . . This scripture is an obvious compilation of various early sources, which have been strung together and elaborated on according to the Mahāyāna worldview. As such this text is a fascinating example of the ways in which the Mahāyāna rests firmly on the earlier tradition, yet reinterprets the very foundations of Buddhism in a way that fit its own vast perspective. The fact that the text is a compilation is initially evident from the mixture of prose and verse that, in some cases, contains strata from the very earliest Buddhist teachings and, in other cases, presents later Buddhist themes that do not emerge until the first centuries of the common era. Previous scholarship on The Play in Full (mostly published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries) devoted much time to determining the text's potential sources and their respective time periods, although without much success. [...] Although this topic clearly deserves further study, it is interesting to note that hardly any new research on this sūtra has been published during the last sixty years. As such the only thing we can currently say concerning the sources and origin of The Play in Full is that it was based on several early and, for the most part, unidentified sources that belong to the very early days of the Buddhist tradition.

As an example of how widely the sutra was disseminated, the Lalitavistara Sutra was known to the Mantranaya (Vajrayana) practitioners of Borobudur, who had the text illustrated by stonemasons. The massive Borobudur Temple-Pyramid in Java, Indonesia, is decoradted with reliefs contain a series of panels depicting the life of the Buddha as described in the Lalitavistara Sutra. In these reliefs, arranged on 460 panels, the story starts from the glorious descent of the Buddha from the Tushita heaven, and ends with his first sermon in the Deer Park.

The translation of the verses in this document is primarily based on the best preserved original in Sanskrit and another original in Tibetan. This text was translated by the Dharmachakra Translation Committee 85000 *under the supervision of Chökyi Nyima Rinpoche. Cortland Dahl, Catherine Dalton, Hilary Herdman, Heidi Koppl, James Gentry, and Andreas Doctor translated the text from Tibetan into English. Andreas Doctor and Wiesiek Mical then compared the translations against the original Tibetan and Sanskrit, respectively.)*

The Noble Great Vehicle Sutra - The Play in Full

LALITA-VISTARA CHAPTER 1 — The Setting

[In the first chapter of the sutra, the Buddha is staying at Jetavana with a large gathering of disciples. One evening, a group of divine beings visit the Buddha and request him to tell the story of his awakening for the benefit of all beings. The Buddha consents.]

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Homage to all buddhas and bodhisattvas!

Thus have I heard at one time. The Blessed One was staying in Sravasti at Jetavana Grove, in the park of Anathapindada, along with a great saṅgha of twelve thousand monks.

Among them were venerable Jñanakaundinya, venerable Asvajit, venerable Baspa, venerable Mahanama, venerable Bhadrika, venerable Yasodeva, venerable Vimala, venerable Subahu, venerable Purṇa, venerable Gavaṁpati, venerable Urubilva Kasyapa, venerable Nadikasyapa, venerable Gayakasyapa, venerable Sariputra, venerable Mahamaudgalyayana, venerable Mahakasyapa, venerable Mahakatyayana, venerable Mahakaphila, venerable Kaundinya, venerable Cunanda, venerable Purnamaitrayaniputra, venerable Aniruddha, venerable Nandika, venerable Kasphila, venerable Subhuti, venerable Revata, venerable Khadiravanika, venerable Amogharaja, venerable Mahaparanika, venerable Vakkula, venerable Nanda, venerable Rahula, venerable Svagata, and venerable Ananda.

Along with these monks were 32,000 bodhisattvas, all of whom had only a single birth remaining and were adept in all the perfections of the bodhisattvas. They enjoyed all the superknowledges of the bodhisattvas and had attained all the dharanis and all the confidence of the bodhisattvas. They had completed all the aspirations of the bodhisattvas, understood and realized all discriminating knowledges of the bodhisattvas, and gained mastery over all the absorptions of the bodhisattvas. They had obtained all the powers of the bodhisattvas and dwelt with all the patience of the bodhisattvas. Indeed each of them had completed all the bodhisattva grounds.

Foremost among them were the bodhisattva great being Maitreya, the bodhisattva great being Dharanisvararaja, the bodhisattva great being Siṁhaketu, the bodhisattva great being Siddharthamati, the bodhisattva great being Prasantacaritramati, the bodhisattva great being Pratisaṁvitprapta, the bodhisattva great being Nityodyukta, and the bodhisattva great being Mahakarunacandrin.

At that time the Blessed One dwelt in the city of Sravasti, where he was revered by his fourfold retinue, as well as by kings, princes, royal ministers, vassal kings, and attendants. Likewise his followers among the military, the priests, the merchants, the householders, and the royal court revered him. Both city dwellers and those who lived in the countryside, as well as the adherents of non-Buddhist philosophies, spiritual seekers, priests, logicians, and wandering hermits, also revered him. He was treated as their master and showed great respect.

Presented with offerings, the Blessed One received abundant savory food and drink, robes, alms bowls, bedding, healing medicines and remedies, and other appropriate necessities. Yet the great wealth and renown he enjoyed were like drops of water rolling off the petals of a lotus flower. The Blessed One remained detached and untainted by it all.

As the Blessed One's fame spread throughout the world, he became known by various names and epithets, such as the Blessed One, the Worthy One, the Perfectly and Completely Awakened One, He Who Is Both Wise and Virtuous, the Bliss-Gone One, the Knower of the World, the Peerless Guide Who Tames Beings, the Teacher of Gods and Men, and the Blessed Buddha.

Endowed with the fivefold vision, the Blessed One taught the inhabitants of this and other worlds, each with its gods, Mara, Brahma, monks, nuns, and priests.

To all these beings, gods and humans alike, he taught what he himself had realised, and what he had thereby actualized and accomplished.

The teachings he gave were virtuous in the beginning, virtuous in the middle, and virtuous in the end. Sublime in both word and meaning, the Dharma he taught was at once distinct, complete, pure, and wholesome. He taught all these beings how to live a life of purity.

One evening during his midnight session, the Blessed One entered a state of deep absorption known as the array of the Buddha's adornments. The moment he entered into this state of absorption, the ray of light known as the light of wisdom free from attachment that arouses the memory of the buddhas of times past shone forth from the protuberance on the crown of his head. Illuminating all the pure heavenly realms, the light attracted Mahesvara and innumerable other divine sons. From the mass of light that radiated from the Thus-Gone One, the following verses of exhortation arose:

"Come commune with the Sage, the Lion of the Sakyas.
Sublime, supremely brilliant, and pure,
The light of wisdom he radiates dispels darkness.
Peaceful in form, his mind is virtuous and tranquil.
"Take as your master the one with natural mastery of the Dharma,
An ocean of wisdom, with power both vast and pure,
The sovereign of the Dharma, the all-knowing lord of sages,
A god of gods, revered by gods and humans alike.
"Go before the Peaceful One, the One Who Is Liberated,
He who has mastered those minds that are difficult to tame
And whose own mind is free from the snares of Mara,
For seeing him and hearing him is not without benefit.
"With supreme devotion, go, all of you,
Before the One Who Is Peerless in Illuminating the Dharma,
Who dispels darkness and shows the sublime way
With peaceful conduct and knowledge infinite in scope.
"As the king of doctors, he dispenses divine nectar,
Conquering the evil hordes with his courageous eloquence.
He is a friend of the Dharma and knows the ultimate.
He is a peerless guide who illuminates the path."

Struck by the light of wisdom free from attachment, which arouses the memory of the buddhas of times past, the divine sons of the pure heavenly realms were inspired by these verses and immediately arose from their tranquil absorptions. Through the power of the Buddha, they recalled the blessed buddhas of innumerable and incalculable eons, remembering the qualities of the buddha realms of each blessed buddha, as well as the retinue that surrounded the buddhas and the teachings they gave.

That night, just as people went to bed, the divine sons of the pure heavenly realms visited the Blessed One. Among them were Isvara, Mahesvara, Nanda, Sunanda, Candana, Mahita, Prasanta, Prasantavinitesvara, and many other divine sons of the pure heavenly realms. With their brilliant colours, they illuminated the entire Jetavana Grove with a divine light. Placing their heads at his feet, they prostrated [Koutou, that is the act of deep respect for or submission to deities and saints shown by prostration, that is, kneeling and bowing so low as to have one's head touching the ground. This is practised by Buddhist, Jainists, Sikhs, Christians (mainly of the Oriental Orthodox churches), and on occasions by Jews, Muslims, Catholic Christians and some Protestant Christians] to the Blessed One and then stood to one side, supplicating him with the following words:

"Blessed One, there is an extensive collection of discourses on the Dharma that bears the name Lalitavistara (The Play in Full). This teaching illuminates the basic virtues of the bodhisattvas, showing how the Bodhisattva descended from the sublime palace in the Heaven of Joy, intentionally entered the womb, and sojourned in the womb. It shows the power of the place where he was born to a noble family, and how he surpassed others through all the superior special qualities that he demonstrated through his actions as a youth. It shows his many unique qualities, such as his skills in craftsmanship, activity, writing, arithmetic, calculations, astrology, fencing, archery, feats of physical strength, and wrestling, demonstrating his superiority to all other beings in these areas. It shows how he enjoyed his retinue of consorts and the pleasures of his kingdom.

"This teaching proclaims how he attained the result brought about by the concordant cause of all the bodhisattva activities, showing how he manifested as a bodhisattva and destroyed the legions of Mara. It explains the ten powers, the four fearlessnesses, and the other innumerable qualities of a thus-gone one, and presents the infinite teachings taught by the thus-gone ones of times past, including the blessed Padmottara, Dharmaketu, Dipaṁkara, Gunaketu, Mahakara, Ṛsideva, Sritejas, Satyaketu, Vajrasaṁhata, Sarvabhibhu, Hemavarna, Atyuccagamin, Prabalasagara, Puspaketu, Vararupa, Sulocana, Ṛsigupta, Jinavaktra, Unnata, Puspita, Urnatejas, Puskara, Surasmi, Maṅgala, Sudarsana, Mahasiṁhatejas, Sthitabuddhidatta, Vasantagandhin, Satyadharmavipulakirti, Tisya, Pusya, Lokasundara, Vistirnabheda, Ratnakirti, Ugratejas, Brahmatejas, Sughosa, Supuspa, Sumanojñaghosa, Sucesṭarupa, Prahasitanetra, Gunarasi, Meghasvara, Sundaravarna, Ayustejas, Salilagajagamin, Lokabhilasita, Jitasatru, Sampujita, Vipasyin, Sikhin, Visvabhu, Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, and the thus-gone one, the worthy one, the perfectly and completely awakened Kasyapa.

"Blessed One, please teach this now to heal the multitude of beings. Teach it to bring them happiness. Teach it out of love for the world, to benefit a great multitude of beings, gods and humans alike. Teach it to be our doctor and to bring us happiness. Teach it to propagate this Great Vehicle. Please teach it to defeat our opponents and overpower all demonic forces; to instruct all the bodhisattvas and inspire all those who follow the Bodhisattva Vehicle to arouse diligence; to embrace the true Dharma and ensure the continuity of the Three Jewels. Please teach it to illuminate all the enlightened activities of the Buddha."

Out of love for these divine sons, and indeed for the entire world including the gods, the Blessed One remained silent, thereby offering his consent. Seeing that this silence indicated the Blessed One's consent, the divine sons were overjoyed and content. With happiness and delight, they prostrated at his feet and circled him three times, scattering sandalwood powder, aloe wood powder, and mandarava flowers. Then they vanished.

At dawn the next day, the Blessed One proceeded to a circular bamboo grove. Surrounded by the assembly of bodhisattvas, and with the Saṅgha of listeners gathered before him, he sat down on the seat they had prepared and addressed the monks:

"Monks, this evening a group of divine sons from the pure heavenly realms came before me. Among them were Isvara, Mahesvara, Nanda, Sunanda, Candana, Mahita, Prasanta, Vinitesvara, and many others."

The Blessed One then continued to recount the events of the previous evening, up to the point where the divine sons disappeared. Bowing before the Blessed One with palms joined, the bodhisattvas and great listeners then made the following request:

"Blessed One! Please grant us the teaching entitled The Play in Full. Please teach this now to heal the multitude of beings and bring them happiness. Please teach it out of love for the world and to benefit the myriad of beings, gods and humans alike. Please teach it to benefit the great bodhisattvas of the present and to benefit future generations. Please teach it so that you can be our doctor and bring us happiness."

Out of love for the great bodhisattvas, for the great listeners, for gods, humans, and demigods, and indeed for the entire world, the Blessed One remained silent, thereby offering his consent. He then addressed the assembly:

"Monks, last night as I rested here,
Comfortable and free from afflictions,
And dwelling evenly with one-pointed concentration,
A group of divine sons arrived before me.
"With great miraculous powers and brilliant colours,
They were pristine, blazing with magnificence.
Illuminating Jetavana Grove with their splendour,
They joyfully approached me.
"There were millions of gods,
Including Mahesvara, Candana, Isvara, Nanda,
Prasantacitta, Mahita, Sunanda,
And a divine son called Santa.
"They prostrated at my feet, circumambulated me,
And gathered here before me.
They joined their palms with respect
And offered me this request:
"'To heal all the worlds,
This vast sutra, this great discourse,
Was taught by all the victorious ones of times past.
Today as well, O Sage, since you have dispelled attachment,
"'Consider the assembly of bodhisattvas,
Defeat opponents and tame all demons,
By teaching us this supreme Great Vehicle.
Thus, Able One, please grant us your lucid explanations.'
"The assembly of gods thus offered their request,
And with my silence, I indicated my consent.
This brought them joy and satisfaction,
And with delight they scattered flower petals.
"Thus listen here, monks, to this vast sutra,
Taught in times past by all the thus-gone ones
For the welfare of all the worlds.
Listen, one and all, to this great discourse."
This concludes the first chapter on the setting.

LALITA-VISTARA CHAPTER 2 — The Inspiration

[The following morning, the Buddha tells his story to the gathered disciples. He begins the story by telling of his previous life, in which the future Buddha was living in the heavenly realms surrounded by divine pleasures. In this previous life, he was known as the Bodhisattva. The Bodhisattva is enjoying the immense pleasures of his heavenly life, but due to his past aspirations, one day the musical instruments of the heavenly palace call out to him, reminding him of his prior commitment to attain awakening.]

Now, monks, what is this extensive discourse on the Dharma known as The Play in Full?

Monks, the Bodhisattva dwelt in the supreme realm of the Heaven of Joy, where he received offerings, empowerments, and was praised and revered by one hundred thousand gods. He had achieved his goal and was elevated by his former aspirations.

His intelligence was such that he had attained the entire range of the Buddhadharma. Indeed his eye of wisdom was at once both vast and utterly pure. Radiating with mindfulness, intelligence, realisation, modesty, and joyfulness, his mind was extremely powerful. He had mastered the perfections of generosity, discipline, patience, diligence, concentration, knowledge, and skillful means, and was adept in the fourfold path of Brahma: great love, great compassion, great joy, and great equanimity. With great awareness, he was free of obscurations and had manifested the vision of wisdom free from attachment. Likewise he had perfected each and every quality of awakening: the applications of mindfulness, the thorough relinquishments, the bases of miraculous power, the faculties, the powers, the branches of awakening, and the path.

Sublime signs and marks, indicating his boundless accumulation of merit and wisdom, beautifully adorned the body of the Bodhisattva, who had engaged in proper conduct for a long time. Acting in perfect accordance with his words, his unerring statements were always genuine. At once honest, straightforward, and free from guile, his mind was invincible.

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Free of pride, conceit, arrogance, fear, and timidity, he was impartial toward all beings.

The Bodhisattva had paid homage to countless awakened beings, to billions upon billions of buddhas. His loving gaze was revered by billions upon billions of bodhisattvas. Likewise Sakra, Brahma, Mahesvara, the guardians of the world, gods, nagas, gandharvas, demigods, garudas, kiṃnaras, and yaksas, in their multitudes, rejoiced in his glory.

Having perfectly discerned their every word, the Bodhisattva's learned understanding of the teachings was at once unimpeded, discerning, and perfect. He was an unerring vessel of mindfulness, able to recall the teachings of all the buddhas. The number of dharanis he had received was infinite. The Bodhisattva was the great captain of the vessel of the Dharma, which he had perfectly accomplished through the applications of mindfulness, the thorough relinquishments, the bases of miraculous power, the faculties, the powers, the branches of awakening, the path, the perfection of knowledge, the precious quality of skillful means, and merit. With the intention to travel beyond the four rivers,1 he conquered Mara, subdued hostile forces, and defeated all of his opponents. Indeed he set himself at the frontlines and destroyed the enemy hordes of the afflictions with the firm vajra weapon of supreme wisdom.

This great being was like a lotus. Having a stem of great compassion deeply rooted in the mind of awakening, this lotus was born of superior intention. It was sprinkled with the water of profound diligence and had skillful means as its centre, branches of awakening for its anthers, and mental stability for its stamen. This lotus arose from an immaculate ocean of a vast accumulation of virtues. Its blossoming petals, illuminated by moonlight free from the torment of pride and arrogance, were pristine.

Emitting the scent of discipline, study, and conscientious speech unhindered throughout the ten directions, this lotus was foremost throughout the world in terms of knowledge, yet untainted by the eight worldly concerns. It radiated the sweet fragrance of the accumulation of merit and wisdom, while the sunlight of knowledge and wisdom warmed it, causing the hundred petals of its pure vision to blossom. The Bodhisattva was a lion among men. Swift and strong were his four bases of miraculous power, just as the claws and fangs of the four noble truths were extremely sharp. He bared the fangs of the four communions with Brahma and gathered others through the four ways of attraction with his head. With a well-proportioned body, due to having understood the twelve links of dependent origination, and a flowing mane of the complete perfection of the thirty-seven branches of awakening, along with awareness and wisdom, his mouth opened with the three gateways to liberation, while his eyes indicated the utter purity of tranquility and insight. He dwelt in the mountain caves of mental stability, complete liberation, absorption, and deep meditation.

Born of the jungles of the four activities and discipline, he was endowed with the ten powers, the fourfold fearlessness, and perfect might. The hairs on his body did not bristle with the fear of creation and destruction, nor did his valor ever diminish. He subdued the masses of non-Buddhists, who are like rabbits and deer, letting out the great lion's roar of no self.

As the sun of great beings, light rays of knowledge radiated from the orb of his liberation and concentration, dispelling the light of the swarms of non-Buddhists, who are like fireflies, and eliminating the darkness and obscuring film of ignorance. Indeed, with brilliant strength and diligence, the radiant majesty of his merit shone brightly among gods and humans.

As the light of the moon, there was no darkness within him; he perfectly embodied all that is wholesome. The sight of him was beautiful to behold and pleasing to the mind, and his eye faculty was unobstructed. Adorned by the constellations of one hundred thousand gods, the moonlight of the soothing branches of awakening radiated from this sphere of concentration, liberation, and wisdom, causing the lilies among humans and gods to bloom.

The Great Bodhisattva was followed by a fourfold retinue, like the moon by the four continents, and he was endowed with the jewels of the seven branches of awakening. He engaged all beings equally and possessed an unimpeded analytical capacity.

His intention was enhanced by the sublime and perfectly complete austerities and spiritual practices that he observed on the path of the ten virtuous activities. As the king of Dharma, he turned the precious wheel of the supreme Dharma without hindrance, having been born into a line of universal monarchs.

Filled with all the precious teachings, including that of dependent origination, so profound and difficult to fathom, he never tired of study. Thus his boundless wisdom had become vast and all-encompassing. His discipline was beyond measure as well.

Indeed his mind was as vast as the oceans and the earth. Equal to earth, water, fire, and air, his mind was as firm and unmoving as Mount Meru. He was free from attachment and aversion, with a mind as pristine and open as the centre of space; it was vast and unlike any other. His superior intent was utterly pure. His acts of generosity were done well, as were his previous endeavors and his superior deeds.

He sought out all basic virtues and had formed positive habitual tendencies. Ascertaining the basic virtues, he practiced all such virtues for seven incalculable eons. He practiced the seven forms of generosity and engaged in the five types of action that create merit, just as he tread the path of the ten virtues—the three physical, the four verbal, and the three mental wholesome actions—and practiced the forty kinds of correct application. Likewise did he make the forty kinds of correct aspiration, immerse himself in the forty kinds of right intention, perfect the forty kinds of liberation, and erect the forty kinds of right interest.

He took ordination with 4 million buddhas and presented 5.5 million buddhas with offerings. Similarly the Bodhisattva served 1.54 billion solitary buddhas. Establishing innumerable sentient beings on the paths to the higher realms and liberation, he desired to become perfectly and completely awakened, to attain supreme, genuine, and complete awakening.

With only one lifetime remaining, he passed away and was reborn in the supreme realm of the Heaven of Joy as a supreme divine child named Svetaketu. The assembly of gods showed him great reverence, honouring him as one who would leave their midst and take birth in the human world, where before long he would become the Buddha, attaining perfect, complete, and unexcelled awakening.

He dwelt in a celestial palace with 32,000 floors, adorned with verandas, domes, architraves, skylights, cool pavilions, multiple stories, and courtyards. This palace was filled with parasols, flags, and streaming banners; it was covered by canopies of tiny jeweled bells and strewn with mandarava and mahamandarava flowers.

The songs of millions upon millions of celestial maidens could be heard throughout. Its enchanting, even grounds were covered with golden canopies and filled with various trees, such as mountain ebonies, magnolias, trumpet vines, orchids, muchalindas, mahamuchalindas, asokas, banyans, persimmon trees, narras,

karnikaras, kesaras, salas, and coral trees. In every direction there were flowered canopies, overflowing with jyotis, malikas, barasikas, taranis, sumanas, bali, kotaranis, and other sweet-smelling flowers. Likewise there were danukari flowers, celestial flowers, blue lotuses, pink lotuses, water lilies, and white lotuses. Various birds flew through the air, singing out their beautiful melodies. Among them were parrots, sarikas, cuckoos, geese, peacocks, ducks, pheasants, snipe, partridge, and many others.

Millions upon millions of gods turned their eyes toward the palace and gazed at it in awe. The great and vast Dharma was proclaimed throughout, and thereby the force of their enthusiastic desire subdued all the afflictions, eliminating pride, conceit, arrogance, aggression, rage, and anger, and bringing about happiness, well-being, joy, and mindfulness on a vast scale.

The Bodhisattva dwelt comfortably in this great celestial palace, where a discourse on the genuine Dharma emerged amid a symphony of 84,000 musical instruments. From their sound, the following verses of inspiration arose, telling of the many virtuous deeds that the Bodhisattva carried out in times past:

"Recall the power of your vast store of merit
And the illuminating knowledge of your boundless intelligence,
Peerless strength, and great power.
Recall the prophecy of Dipaṃkara.
"With a mind free from the vast range of impurities,
You have pacified conceit and flaws, relinquishing the three stains,
While your virtuous heart is at once pristine and free from fault.
Bring to mind your generous deeds of times past.
"You have cultivated tranquility and discipline,
Practiced austerities and patience, subdued and diligent.
With concentration and the strength of knowledge,
Bring to mind all the deeds you engaged in over billions of eons.
"You developed love for all sentient beings
And made offerings to billions of buddhas.
Remember, do not forget, you who are of infinite renown!
Now the time has come—do not let it slip away!
"Immaculate One—destroyer of the afflictions, birth, and death—
Gods, nagas, yaksas, gandharvas,
And the powerful demigods await you.
You who know the way of death and passing away, take rebirth.
"Even enjoying pleasurable things for thousands of eons
Will not satisfy them, just as saltwater will not slake one's thirst.
Now that you yourself are sated, be kind;
Please satisfy those who have thirsted for so long.
"Are you not one of untarnished reputation
Who takes delight in the Dharma, not desire?
And furthermore your eyes are unblemished,
So now please look with love upon the world with its gods.
"Were the millions of gods not satisfied
Upon hearing the Dharma from you?
So now please cast your gaze upon those who dwell
In the lower realms, those who have no freedom.
"With your mighty, unblemished gaze, have you not observed
The buddhas throughout the ten directions of the world,
Listening to them as they teach the Dharma?
Please therefore reveal this supreme Dharma to the world.
"Glorious One, do you not adorn the palace in the Heaven of Joy
With the splendour of your merit?
So please, with the heart of compassion,
Rain down upon the victory banner of Jambudvipa.
"Many gods of the realm of form,
Who have transcended the realm of desire,
Are all rejoicing in you, saying,
'Reach awakening through your austerities!'
"Protector, you are to conquer the works of Mara
And bring defeat to the non-Buddhists.
Has awakening not been placed in the palm of your hand?
The time has now come—do not let it slip away!
"Courageous One, like a great bank of clouds,
You cover this world that blazes with the fire of afflictions.
Please send down a shower of nectar
And soothe the afflictions of gods and humans.
"Like a skilled doctor who knows the constitutions of his patients,
You dispense medicine to those who are chronically ill.
With the healing salve of the threefold liberation,
Bring these beings swiftly to the blissful state of nirvana.
"Not hearing the lion's roar,
Jackals yelp without fear.
Let forth the lion's roar of the buddhas,
Striking fear into the hearts of the jackal-like non-Buddhists.
"Holding the lamp of knowledge in your hand,
You have a power of strength and diligence unique upon the earth.
Now you must defeat Mara,
Touching the earth with the perfect palm of your hand.
"The four guardians of the world are present,
Waiting to offer you an alms bowl.
Sakra, Brahma, and millions of others are present as well,
Waiting to receive you when you take birth.
"You with sublime wisdom, you whose line is great indeed,
Cast your gaze upon the great family with whom you will live.
Observe the precious, exalted family among whom you will take birth,
For this is where you will manifest the conduct of a bodhisattva.
"When a precious jewel is placed in the right vessel,
It makes the jewel even more glorious.
Likewise let your pristine mind, like a precious jewel,
Rain down upon the victory banner of Jambudvipa."
Thus did the melodious sounds
Of many verses such as these spring forth,
Exhorting the Compassionate One with the words:
"The time is now—do not let it slip away!"
This concludes the second chapter on the inspiration.

LALITA-VISTARA CHAPTER 3 — The Purity of the Family

[Upon being reminded of his previous commitments, the Bodhisattva announces, to the despair of the gods in this realm, that he will abandon his divine pleasures in order take birth in the human realm and there attain complete awakening.]

Monks, in this way the Bodhisattva was exhorted that the time for the Dharma had come. Emerging from that great celestial palace, the Bodhisattva went to the great Dharmoccaya Palace, where he taught the Dharma to the gods in the Heaven of Joy. In the palace, he seated himself upon a lion throne known as Sublime Dharma. He was joined in the palace by a group of divine sons whose good fortune equaled that of the Bodhisattva, and who had entered the same vehicle. Bodhisattvas with similar conduct to the Bodhisattva gathered from throughout the ten directions. Retinues with equally pure intentions accompanied the divine sons, without the assembly of divine maidens and even without ordinary divine sons. Altogether a retinue of 680 million entered the palace, each sitting on a lion throne according to rank. The Bodhisattva then spoke: "Monks, in twelve years the Bodhisattva shall enter the womb of his mother."

At that time the divine sons from the pure realms ventured to Jambudvipa. Hiding their divine forms, they took on the

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guise of priests and taught the Vedas to other priests. They made it known that one who entered the womb in this manner would be a great being possessed of thirty-two marks: "Someone with such marks would become one of two things. There would be no third option," they said. "If such an individual were to live as a householder, he would become a universal monarch with a fourfold army. He would become a conqueror, a righteous Dharma king. Such a king would have the seven treasures: the precious wheel, the precious elephant, the precious horse, the precious jewel, the precious wife, the precious steward, and the precious minister.

"How is it that a universal monarch comes to possess the precious wheel? Such a wheel can only belong to a king who has been appointed to the highest rank of the ruling class. On the fifteenth day of the lunar month, while observing a posadha fast, the king will first wash his head and then go to the top terrace of the palace, surrounded by the women of the female quarters. Then a precious, divine wheel with one thousand spokes will appear from the east. As high as seven tala trees, the wheel, which is not made by a smith, is round with a central hub and made entirely of gold.

"This precious, divine wheel will now belong to the king, who is appointed to the highest rank of the ruling class. As he sees it, he will think to himself, 'I have heard that if a precious, divine wheel appears from the east when a king, who has been appointed to the highest rank of the ruling class, ascends to the top floor of the palace surrounded by a gathering of women while observing a posadha fast on the fifteenth day of the lunar month, then he shall become a universal monarch. Since I can now clearly perceive this precious, divine wheel, I must certainly be a universal monarch!'

"The king appointed to the highest rank of the ruling class will then draw his cloak back from one shoulder and lower his right knee to the ground. Turning the precious, divine wheel with his right hand, he will proclaim, 'Precious wheel, noble and divine, please turn in harmony with the Dharma, rather than that which is not the Dharma.'

"The precious, divine wheel, set in motion by the king appointed to the highest rank of the ruling class, will magically travel through space to the east, followed by the universal monarch and his four battalions. Wherever the wheel comes to rest, there the king appointed to the highest rank of the ruling class and his four battalions will set up their camp.

"As he travels, the provincial kings of the eastern lands will come to greet him, carrying silver vessels filled with gold dust, and gold vessels filled with fragments of silver. 'Welcome lord,' they will say. 'Please come. This kingdom is yours. It is extremely vast and prosperous. With bountiful harvests, it is both delightful and populous. Indeed it is filled with people. Now that you have arrived in this land, lord, it is yours. We beseech you to stay.'

"Replying to the provincial kings, the king appointed to the highest rank of the ruling class will respond, 'May you rule your respective kingdoms according to the Dharma, and not by what is not Dharma. Do not take the lives of living beings, do not take what is not given, and do not engage in sexual misconduct. Likewise you should refrain from telling lies, sowing discord, speaking harshly, and talking frivolously.

Do not let your mind be overcome by covetousness, malice, or misguided beliefs. Do not befriend those who take life or those with misguided beliefs. Should non-Dharma arise in my dominion, do not applaud those who practice it.' In this way the king, who is appointed to the highest rank of the ruling class, will conquer the east.

"Having conquered the east, the precious wheel will then move toward the eastern seas. Crossing over them, it will travel magically through space to the south, accompanied by the universal monarch and his four battalions. As before he will conquer the south, and then move on to conquer the west and the north.

"Once the king has conquered the north, the wheel will move toward the northern seas and, traveling magically through the sky to the royal palace, it will come to rest unharmed at the entrance to the quarters of the queen's retinue. In this manner the king appointed to the highest rank of the ruling class comes to possess the precious wheel. "How is it that a universal monarch comes to possess the precious elephant?

The precious elephant of the king appointed to the highest rank of the ruling class appears in the same way that the precious wheel appeared. Completely white in colour, the precious elephant has four limbs, two tusks, and a trunk. Its head is ornamented with gold, and it bears a gold victory banner. Likewise it is bedecked with gold ornaments and covered with gold netting. Its magical powers enable it to

fly through the sky and transform itself. This king of elephants is known as Bodhi. "When the king appointed to the highest rank of the ruling class wishes to examine the precious elephant, he will mount it at daybreak and travel throughout this great earth, which is surrounded by oceans. After returning to the royal palace, he will fondly resume his governance. In this manner the universal monarch comes to possess the precious elephant.

"How is it that a universal monarch comes to possess the precious horse? The precious horse of the king appointed to the highest rank of the ruling class appears just as before. The precious horse has a blue body and a black head with a braided mane. It is bridled, bearing a gold victory banner and gold ornaments, and it is covered with gold netting. With its magical powers, it can fly through the sky and transform itself. This king of horses is known as Balahaka.

"When the king appointed to the highest rank of the ruling class wishes to examine the precious horse, he will mount it at daybreak and travel throughout this great earth, which is surrounded by oceans. After returning to the royal palace, he will fondly resume his governance. In this manner the universal monarch comes to possess the precious horse.

"How is it that a universal monarch comes to possess the precious jewel? The precious jewel of the king appointed to the highest rank of the ruling class appears just as before. It is a lapis lazuli gem of pure blue colour, with eight facets and very fine craftsmanship. With the light emitted from the precious jewel, the entire female quarters are bathed in light.

"When the king appointed to the highest rank of the ruling class wishes to examine the precious jewel, then, at midnight, in complete darkness, he will affix it to the tip of a victory banner and venture out in the gardens to observe the sublime grounds. The light emitted by the precious jewel will illuminate the surrounding area for an entire league, including all four battalions of the king's army. The people who dwell in the vicinity of the precious jewel will be illuminated by its radiance. Seeing and recognising each other, they will say to one another, 'Wake up, friends. Start your work and get to the market. The sun is up and the day has begun.' In this manner the universal monarch appointed to the highest rank of the ruling class comes to possess the precious jewel.

"How is it that the universal monarch appointed to the highest rank of the ruling class comes to possess the precious wife? The precious wife of the king appointed to the highest rank of the ruling class appears just as before. In accord with tradition, the precious wife has been born into the warrior class. She is not too tall or short, too fat or thin, too dark or fair. Indeed she is beautiful in form, pleasant in manner, and pleasing to the eye. In the full bloom of life, every pore of her body emits the scent of sandalwood, while her mouth smells with the fragrance of a lotus flower. Her body is as soft to the touch as the finest cloth; in cold weather her body is warm to the touch, and in warm weather it is cool. Her mind, let alone her body, desires no one other than the universal monarch. In this manner the universal monarch comes to possess the precious wife.

"How is it that the universal monarch appointed to the highest rank of the ruling class comes to possess the precious steward? The precious steward of the king appointed to the highest rank of the ruling class appears just as before. Learned, lucid, and intelligent, the precious steward's divine sight will enable him to perceive treasures—both those that are owned and those that are not—in the surrounding area for up to an entire league. With those treasures that do not belong to anyone, he will cater to the material needs of the universal monarch. In this manner the universal monarch

comes to possess the precious steward. "How is it that the universal monarch appointed to the highest rank of the ruling class comes to possess the precious minister? The precious minister of a king appointed to the highest rank of the ruling class appears just as before. The precious minister is learned, lucid, and intelligent. The universal monarch merely has to think of commissioning an army and it is done. In this manner the universal monarch comes to possess the precious minister. The universal monarch thus possesses these seven treasures.

"The universal monarch will also have one thousand sons. Brave, heroic, and supremely able in body, these sons will attain nothing but victory over the forces that oppose them. Without resorting to punishment or acts of violence, the king will rule with the Dharma, bringing peace and order to the entire vast kingdom that extends all the way to the oceans.

"If, however, he leaves his family behind and becomes a monk, he will become a buddha. Relinquishing the attachment of desire, and without relying on anyone else as a guide, he will become the teacher of gods and humans."

With these words, the divine sons inspired the priests to recite the Vedas. In a similar manner, other divine sons arrived in Jambudvipa to exhort the solitary buddhas. "Noble ones," they said. "Give up this buddha realm. In twelve years' time, the Bodhisattva will enter the womb of his mother."

Monks, at that time there was a solitary buddha named Mataṅgawho dwelt on Mount Golaṅgulaparivartana in the city of Rajagrha. Hearing the exhortation of the gods, he became as still as mud resting upon a boulder, then rose up into the sky to the height of seven tala trees. Merging with the fire element, like a torch he passed into nirvana. His bile and phlegm, ligaments and bones, and flesh and blood were completely consumed by fire, leaving nothing but a few spherical relics on the ground. Even today, they are known as the footprints of the sage.

Monks, at this same time five hundred solitary buddhas were assembled in a deer park outside Varanasi. They too heard the exhortation of the gods, rose up into the sky to the height of seven tala trees and, turning into fire, passed into nirvana like a torch. Their bile and phlegm, ligaments and bones, and flesh and blood were completely consumed by fire. Nothing was left behind, save a few spherical relics that fell to the ground. From this point on, the area came to be known as Rsipatana, or the Hill of the Fallen Sages. The area also came to be known as Mrgadava, or the Deer Park, since deer frolicked there without fear.

Monks, in this manner the Bodhisattva dwelt in the supreme realm of the Heaven of Joy, where he beheld four great visions. What were these four? He beheld the time of his birth, the continent of his birth, the country of his birth, and the family of his birth.

And why, monks, did the Bodhisattva behold the time of his birth? Because a bodhisattva does not enter his mother's womb at the beginning of time when sentient beings are evolving. Rather it is when the world has formed and when birth, old age, sickness, and death have become known that a bodhisattva enters his mother's womb.

And why, monks, did the Bodhisattva behold the continent of his birth? Because a bodhisattva is not born in an outlying continent, nor is he born on the eastern continent of Purvavideha, on the western continent of Aparagodaniya, or on the northern continent of Uttarakuru. Rather a bodhisattva is born on the southern continent of Jambudvipa.

And why, monks, did the Bodhisattva behold the country of his birth? Because a bodhisattva is not born in outlying lands where people are as stupid as sheep, with dull faculties, ignorant, and incapable of distinguishing right from wrong. Rather a bodhisattva is born in a central land. And why, monks, did the Bodhisattva behold the family of his birth? Because a bodhisattva is not born into an inferior family, like a family of outcastes, flute makers, cartwrights, or servants. A bodhisattva is only born into one of two families—a priestly family or a family of the ruling class. When the priestly families are dominant in the world, the bodhisattva is born into a priestly family. When the rulingclass families are dominant in the world, the bodhisattva is born into a ruling-class

family. Thus, monks, at this time the ruling-class families were dominant in the world, so bodhisattvas were born into such families.

Relying on his superior ability, the Bodhisattva beheld these four great visions as he dwelt in the supreme realm of the Heaven of Joy. Having seen them, he remained silent.

Monks, the divine sons and bodhisattvas then asked one another: "Into what precious family will the Bodhisattva be born? In what mother's womb will he be conceived?"

Some said, "The Vaideha family in the land of Magadha is wealthy, prosperous, and happy. This is a fitting place for the Bodhisattva to be conceived."

"This is not a worthy place for the Bodhisattva to be conceived," others responded, "for the mother's family is not pure, nor is the father's. The family's fortunes have come about from little merit, not a vast store of merit. They are impetuous, unstable, and fickle. The surrounding environs of their land are like a desert, with few groves, lakes, and ponds. This is a primitive land, like a remote village. Hence this is not a worthy place for the Bodhisattva to take birth."

Some said, "The Kosala family has a large retinue, many mounts, and great wealth. This is a fitting place for the Bodhisattva to be conceived."

"This is not a worthy place, either," others replied. "The Kosala family descends from outcastes. Neither the father's nor the mother's families are pure. Their interests are base and their line is ignoble. Moreover, they have no limitless store of wealth and treasures. Hence this is not a worthy place for the Bodhisattva to take birth." Some said, "The family of the king of Vatsa is wealthy, prosperous, and happy. This is a fitting place for the Bodhisattva to be conceived."

To this, others replied, "This is not a worthy place. The family of the king of Vatsa is base, violent, and lacking in nobility. They are illegitimate by birth, and their accomplishments have not resulted from the noble deeds of their parents. The king is a nihilist. Hence this is not a worthy place for the Bodhisattva to take birth, either."

Some suggested, "The city of Vaisali is wealthy, prosperous, and happy. Delightful and teeming with people, it is like a heavenly palace, with terraces, balconies, architraves, skylights, cool pavilions, multistoried buildings, and palaces. This city is filled with blooming flowers, ringed with gardens, and encircled by forests. This is a worthy place for the Bodhisattva to be conceived."

"This is not a worthy place, either," others replied. "They do not speak to one another with decorum. They have no Dharma practice, nor do they respect their superiors, elders, leaders, or those in between. Each thinks that he is king, never taking on the role of a student or accepting the Dharma. Hence this city is not worthy of the Bodhisattva, either."

Others said, "The Pradyota family in the city of Ujjayini has a great army and many mounts. They have emerged

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victorious in battle over their foes. This is a fitting place for the Bodhisattva to be conceived."

To this the response came, "This is not a worthy place, for these people are malicious and violent. They are uncivilized, wild, and impetuous, without any heed for the consequences of their actions. Hence this is not an appropriate place for the Bodhisattva to be conceived."

Some said, "The city of Mathura is rich, prosperous, and happy. It is populous, filled with people. The royal palace of King Subahu, who commands an army of brave warriors, is a fitting place for the Bodhisattva to be conceived."

"This is not a worthy place," others replied. "This king was born into a family with wrong views. Indeed he is like a savage, so it is inappropriate for the Bodhisattva to take his final existence in a family with wrong views. Hence this as well is not an appropriate place for the Bodhisattva to be conceived."

Some suggested, "The king of the city of Hastinapura was born in the family descended from Pandu. This king is brave, courageous, and handsome. He has conquered opposing armies. Thus it is fitting for the Bodhisattva to be conceived in this family."

To this, others responded, "This family is also not worthy of the Bodhisattva. Those born into the Pandava family have confused their genealogy. They say that Yudhiṣṭhira is the son of Dharma, that Bhimasena is the son of Vayu, that Arjuna is the son of Indra, and that Nakula and Sahadeva are the sons of the two Asvins. Hence it is not proper for the Bodhisattva to be conceived in this family."

Some said, "The city of Mithila is extremely beautiful and prosperous. This is the land ruled by King Sumitra, who has many elephants, horses, chariots, infantry, and troops. He also has great material wealth, with great stores of gold, silver, jewels, pearls, lapis lazuli, conchs, crystals, corals, fine gold, and many other riches and belongings. He is powerful, with an army unafraid of the kings from surrounding lands. He has many friends, and he delights in the Dharma. This family is a fitting place for the Bodhisattva to be conceived."

"This is not appropriate," others replied. "King Sumitra does indeed have these qualities. Yet he is extremely aged, so he does not even possess the ability to produce a son. Moreover, he already has many sons. It is not proper for the Bodhisattva to be conceived in this family."

In this manner the bodhisattvas and gods observed all the illustrious royal families to be found throughout the sixteen kingdoms of Jambudvipa, and found them all to be inadequate.

As they considered this, a divine son named Jñanaketudhvaja, who was firmly established in the Great Vehicle and could not be turned away from awakening, spoke to the great assembly of gods and bodhisattvas: "Come, my friends. Let us go before the Bodhisattva himself and ask him what sublime qualities a precious family must have in order for a bodhisattva to take his final birth there."

"Excellent!" they replied. With palms joined, they all went before the Bodhisattva and asked him, "Sublime Being, what sublime qualities must a precious family have for a bodhisattva to take his final birth there?"

Looking upon the great assembly of bodhisattvas and the great assembly of gods, the Bodhisattva then addressed the gathering: "Friends, the family into which a bodhisattva takes his final birth must have sixty-four excellent qualities. What are these sixty-four qualities?

"This family must be noble and it must be known by all. It must not be petty or prone to violence. It must be of a good caste and good clan. It must have excellent marital unions, with excellent marital unions in the past, and marital unions between individuals who are pure. These marital unions must be between people who are both pure, well-known by all, and renowned for their great power. This family must have many men and women. It must be fearless, not base or cowardly. It must not be greedy, but disciplined. It must be wise and watched over by ministers. This family must be creative and thereby enjoy worldly pleasures. This family should be steadfast in its friendships and safeguard the lives of all the beings throughout the animal kingdom. They must have gratitude and know how to conduct themselves appropriately.

They must not be moved by ambition, anger, ignorance, or fear. They must be afraid of engaging in negative deeds. They must not dwell in ignorance. This family must be benevolent and industrious. It must be inspired to give, be generous, and remember the kindness of others. They must be physically strong, with great power and strength, indeed supreme strength. They must make offerings to the sages, to the gods, and to stupas, and also pay homage to their ancestors. They must not hold grudges.

"This family must be renowned throughout the ten directions and have a vast retinue. It must not be divided. It must be peerless. This family must be the most senior and the most illustrious among all families. It must be powerful, and renowned as such. They must respect their fathers, mothers, mendicants, and priests. They must have great stores of treasure and grain. They must have a great deal of gold, and many jewels, gems, pearls, lapis lazuli, conchs, crystals, corals, fine gold, silver, and many other riches and belongings. They must have many elephants, horses, camels, oxen, and sheep. They must have many male servants, female servants, officials, and workers. This family must be difficult to defeat. It must accomplish all of its aims. It must be a family of universal monarchs. It must be aided, in great measure, by the root virtues accumulated in the past. It must be descended from a noble family, a family of bodhisattvas. Indeed this family must be irreproachable when it comes to any accusations of faults related to one's birth, such as those found

in this entire world with its gods, demons, and brahmas, mendicants and priests. Friends, the family of a bodhisattva in his final existence must have these sixty-four qualities.

"Friends, the woman in whose womb a bodhisattva is conceived in his final existence must have thirty-two qualities. What are these thirty-two qualities? A bodhisattva in his final existence must be conceived in the womb of a woman known by all and steadfast in conduct. She must come from a good caste and a good family. She must have an excellent figure, an excellent name, and excellent proportions. She must not have given birth previously, and she must have excellent discipline. She must be generous, cheerful, and adroit. She must also be clear minded, calm, fearless, learned, wise, honest, and without guile. She must be free from anger, jealousy, and greed. She must not be coarse, easily distracted, or prone to gossip. She must be patient and good-natured, with a good conscience and sense of modesty. She should have little attachment, anger, and ignorance. She should be free from the faults of womankind and be a devoted wife. In his final existence, a bodhisattva must be conceived in the womb of a woman with all of these excellent qualities.

"Friends, a bodhisattva is not conceived in his mother's womb while the moon is waning. A bodhisattva in his final existence must be conceived during a full moon.

On the fifteenth day of the waxing moon, and in conjunction with the constellation Pusya, the Bodhisattva will be conceived in the womb of a mother who is observing the posadha fast."

The bodhisattvas and divine sons, having heard the Bodhisattva explain the attributes of the pure family and the pure mother, thought to themselves, "Where can a family with the qualities described by this holy being be found?"

Pondering this question, they then thought, "The seat of the Sakyas is wealthy, prosperous, agreeable, and pleasant. It has bountiful harvests and is teeming with people. Its king, Suddhodana, descends from pure families on both his mother's and father's side. His wife as well is pure. His deeds are not swayed by the afflictions, and he bears excellent physical characteristics. Extremely wise and endowed with brilliant merit, the king comes from an illustrious family and is descended from a line of universal monarchs. He has incalculable wealth and treasures and innumerable precious jewels. He believes in karma and does not hold negative views. He rules over all the lands of the Sakya clan and is honoured and revered by all the merchants, householders, ministers, and people in his court. He is kind and handsome, neither too old nor too young. He has a fine body and every excellent quality. He is knowledgeable concerning crafts, astrology, the self, the Dharma, the truth, the world, and signs. Indeed he is a Dharma king who guides according to the Dharma.

"The city of Kapilavastu is the abode of sentient beings who have generated basic virtues. All those who are born there are equal in fortune to the king. The wife of King Suddhodana is Mayadevi, the daughter of Suprabuddha, a ruler of the Sakya clan. She is wealthy and youthful. Indeed she is in the prime of life. She has an excellent figure and has not given birth. She has no sons or daughters. With a beautiful form, as pleasing to the eye as a finely drawn picture, she is bedecked with jewellery like a celestial maiden, free from the faults of womankind. She speaks the truth, with words that are soft, gentle, dependable, and altogether beyond reproach. Her voice is like that of the cuckoo; she is demure and speaks only sweet and pleasant words.

"Mayadevi is reserved, free from anger, pride, conceit, and arrogance. She does not get indignant or jealous; rather what she says is timely, and she gives generously. She is disciplined and devoted to her husband, unconcerned with other men. Her head, ears, and nose are perfectly symmetrical. Her hair, as black as a bee, frames a fine forehead and a beautiful brow. Always smiling, she speaks with sincerity, her words measured and pleasing to the ear. She is quick to learn, honest and

straightforward, free from guile, artifice, and deceit. She is modest and decent, constant and dependable, and not prone to idle or frivolous chatter. She has little attachment, anger, and ignorance; rather she is patient and of good character, carefully guarding her limbs, eyes, and mind. The movement of her limbs is gentle, and her skin is as soft as kacalindi cloth. Her eyes are as pure as the petals of a newly blossomed lotus flower. Her nose is well formed with a beautiful complexion. Her limbs are firm and gently curved like the arch of a rainbow. Every part of her body is beautiful and free from faults. She is attractive, with lips as red as the bimba fruit, a tapered neck bedecked with jewellery, and teeth as white as jasmine and sumana flowers. She has sloping shoulders, tapering arms, a waist curved like the arch of a bow, perfect sides, and a deep navel. Her hips are smooth, wide, round, and firm. Her body is as firm as a vajra. She has thighs that are as well proportioned as an elephant's trunk, and calves like an antelope's. The palms of her hands and the soles of her feet are like liquid lac. She is attractive to others, with faultless eyes. Alluring to the mind and pleasing to the eye, her form is superior even when compared with other

beautiful women. Indeed she is without peer. Since her form is like a magical emanation, the word maya, meaning 'magically emanated,' was included in her name.

She is also skilled in all the arts. Like a celestial maiden in the garden of Indra, Mayadevi lives in King Suddhodana's female quarters. She is fit to be the mother of the Bodhisattva. Thus it appears that the purity of the family described by the Bodhisattva can be seen only in the Sakya clan." On this topic, it is said:

In the Dharmoccaya Palace, the Pure Being
Sat upon the lion throne called Sublime Dharma.
Bodhisattvas of great renown and gods
Equal in fortune to himself gathered around the Sage.
Seated there, they entertained this thought:
"What family is known to be pure
And fitting for the Bodhisattva to take birth in?
And where are the father and mother with pure qualities?"
Looking throughout all Jambudvipa,
All the major royal families and royal lines
Were found to be flawed. Considering this,
The Sakya clan alone was seen to be free of faults.
"King Suddhodana belongs to a royal family.
He descends from a pure line of monarchs,
Wealthy, prosperous, and free from conflicts.
A holy being, he is righteous and has gained respect.
"All the other beings in the city of Kapilavastu
Are righteous and pure in mind.
The city is filled with gardens, groves, and palaces;

The beautiful city of Kapilavastu is the most suitable birthplace.

"All its inhabitants are mighty and powerful,
With the strength of two or even three elephants.
They have perfected their training in archery and weapons
And do not harm others, even to protect their own lives.
"King Suddhodana's wife is supreme
Among one thousand other sublime women.
Enchanting in appearance, like a magical emanation,
She is aptly named Mayadevi, 'Magically Emanated Goddess.'
"Her body is as beautiful as a celestial maiden,
With a shapely silhouette and perfectly formed limbs.
Any being, whether a god or a human,
Could never see enough of Maya.
"She harbors no attachment or hatred;

She is gentle and tender, and her speech honest and mellifluous.

Neither harsh nor abrasive, she is extremely tranquil,
Never frowning and always with a smile on her face.
"With a good conscience and a sense of modesty, she observes the Dharma.

She is free from pride and conceit, and not prone to overexuberance,

Just as she has no envy and is free from guile and artifice.
She delights in giving and is always loving in her thoughts.
"Believing in karma and abandoning misguided deeds,
She adheres to what is true, controlled in body and mind.
She is free from the multitude of faults
That are commonly found in women the whole world over.
"Indeed Mayadevi is without rival,
For no other woman in the realm of humans can match her,

Nor so in the realm of gandharvas, or even in the heavenly realms.

She is worthy of being the mother of the Great Sage.
"For five hundred lifetimes, she alone
Has been the mother of the Bodhisattva,
Just as King Suddhodana has been his father.
She thus has all the qualities of a worthy mother.
"As disciplined as an ascetic, she follows a strict code of conduct,

And while following her own conduct, she shares in her husband's duties.

She has fulfilled her vow, given to her by the king,

For she has abstained from sexual activity for thirty-two months.

"Wherever she may be, whether sitting or standing,
Lying down or in motion, those places
Become filled with the brilliant light
Given off by her dedication to virtuous deeds.
"No being, whether god, demigod, or human,
Is able to look upon her with a lustful mind.
They all look upon her as a mother or a daughter,

For she follows the right conduct and is endowed with noble qualities.

"Due to the virtuous deeds of Mayadevi,
The king's vast empire increases in prosperity.
Unmatched by the neighbouring kings,

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The ruler's renown and fame also continue to increase.
"In this way Maya is a suitable vessel;
In this way the Holy Being is supremely beautiful.
Thus, since these two are endowed with supreme qualities,
One will be the son, and one is worthy to be the mother.
"Other than Devi, who is endowed with the most supreme of qualities
And has the strength of ten thousand elephants,
No woman would be able to carry
The supreme man of Jambudvipa."
With these words of praise, the divine sons
And bodhisattvas, with their vast knowledge,
Proclaimed the sublime Maya to be the mother,
Saying, "She is fit to give birth to the joy of the Sakya family."
This concludes the third chapter on the purity of the family.

LALITA-VISTARA CHAPTER 4 — The Gateways to the Light of the Dharma

[Before leaving the heavenly realms, the Bodhisattva delivers one final teaching to the gods.]

Monks, while the Bodhisattva was seeing the family of his birth, he dwelt in the Heaven of Joy in Uccadhvaja, a great celestial palace measuring sixty-four leagues around, where he taught the Dharma to the gods of the Heaven of Joy. The Bodhisattva had come to this great celestial palace where he now addressed all the divine sons of the Heaven of Joy: "Come, gather here," he said. "Come listen to the Bodhisattva's final teaching on the Dharma, a recollection of the Dharma entitled 'The Application of Passing.'"

Hearing these words, all the divine sons in the Heaven of Joy, along with the assembly of divine maidens, gathered together in the great celestial palace.

There the Bodhisattva blessed the surrounding area, which was as vast as the entire world with its four great continents. The area was so splendid, so beautiful to behold, so filled with ornaments, and so enchanting that all the divine sons of the desire and form realms came to think that their own homes seemed like charnel grounds in comparison.

The Bodhisattva was seated upon a lion throne that was utterly resplendent as a result of the ripening of his merit. The base of the throne was bedecked with various precious jewels, and piles of cushions covered in celestial cloth sat upon it. Scented with the fragrant smells of various celestial perfumes and the finest of incense, the throne was covered with colourful and fragrant flowers. It was magnificent indeed, glittering with the light of many hundreds of thousands of precious jewels, draped with nets of priceless gems, and giving off the sound of strings from jeweled chimes. Delightful to behold, the throne radiated the sounds of hundreds of thousands of jeweled bells, and it was covered with many hundreds of thousands of nets made of precious jewels. Hanging from it were many hundreds of thousands of silk streamers, and it was ornamented with many hundreds of thousands of silk tassels and garlands.

Hundreds of thousands of divine maidens sang, danced, and played instruments, proclaiming hundreds of thousands of sublime qualities. Hundreds of thousands of guardians of the world stood watch, while hundreds of thousands of Sakras offered prostrations, and hundreds of thousands of Brahmas bowed down before the throne. Billions upon billions of bodhisattvas surrounded it, and billions upon billions of buddhas from the ten directions, infinite in number, focused their attention on it. This throne came about due to the force of the ripening of merit amassed through the perfections carried out over billions upon billions of eons, indeed incalculable eons.

Monks, in this way the Bodhisattva sat upon a grand lion throne with these qualities and spoke to the great gathering of gods. "Friends," he said. "Look upon the body of the Bodhisattva, adorned as it is with the signs of a hundred merits. Look upon those innumerable and uncountable bodhisattvas who dwell in the ten directions, in the east, south, west, and north, above, below, and all around, and who are now in the sublime realm of the Heaven of Joy. They are all approaching their final existence and, surrounded by an assembly of gods, they each delight the gods with the appearance of their passing, demonstrating the gateway to the light of Dharma. Look upon them, countless, innumerable, and incalculable such as they are."

Then, through the blessings of the Bodhisattva, the entire assembly of gods saw all these bodhisattvas. Observing them, they faced the Bodhisattva, joined their palms, and bowed down before him. Prostrating with their entire bodies, they exclaimed, "How wondrous! The blessings of the Bodhisattva are indeed inconceivable, for we can see all these bodhisattvas by merely directing our gaze."

The Bodhisattva then addressed the great assembly of gods with the following words: "Friends, please listen to the gateways to the light of the Dharma that delight the gods with the form of their passing, which these bodhisattvas teach the divine sons. There are 108 gateways [commandments, precepts or instructions] to the light of the Dharma, and they must be taught without fail to a gathering of gods by a bodhisattva at the time of his passing. What are these one hundred and eight gateways? They are as follows:

1. Faith, my friends, is a gateway to the light of Dharma, for with it one's mind is unshakable.

2. Inspiration is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for with it the mind is divested of impurities.

3. Supreme joy is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for with it the body becomes extremely pliable.

4. Contentment is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for with it the mind becomes pure.

5. Physical restraint is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for with it the three physical faults are purified.

6. Verbal restraint is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for with it the four verbal faults are relinquished.

7. Mental restraint is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for with it covetousness, malice, and misguided views are abandoned.

8. Recollection of the Buddha is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to the pure perception of the Buddha.

9. Recollection of the Dharma is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to the pure teaching of the Dharma.

10. Recollection of the Saṅgha is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it stops one from transgressing the rules.

11. Recollection of giving is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads one to let go of all material things.

12. Recollection of discipline is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to the fulfillment of aspirations.

13. Recollection of the divine is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to a vast mindset.

14. Love is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it surpasses all things created by merit based on material things.

15. Compassion is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads one to take up nonviolence.

16. Joy is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it clears away all displeasure.

17. Equanimity is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to contempt for desire.

18. Investigating impermanence is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to the transcendence of the attachment of the desire, form, and formless realms.

19. Investigating suffering is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to the cessation of misguided goals.

20. Investigating the absence of self is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it eliminates overt fixation on the self.

21. Investigating peace is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it dampens the flames of passion.

22. Having a good conscience is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it brings complete inner peace.

23. Modesty is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it brings complete peace in others.

24. Truth is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for with it gods and humans are not deceived.

25. The authentic is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for with it one is not deceived.

26. Dharma practice is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for with it one relies upon the Dharma.

27. Going to the Three Jewels for refuge is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it enables one to transcend the three lower realms.

28. Acknowledging the kindness of others is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it ensures that the basic virtues one has engaged in do not go to waste.

29. Gratitude is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads one to not condemn others.

30. Knowing oneself is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads one to not praise oneself.

31. Knowing sentient beings is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads one to not belittle others.

32. Knowing the Dharma is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads one to apply the Dharma assiduously and in the correct manner.

33. Knowing the right time is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it ensures that seeing will be meaningful.

34. Conquering pride is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to the perfection of wisdom.

35. A mind free from vindictiveness is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it allows one to protect both oneself and others.

36. Not holding grudges is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it allows one to be free from regret.

37. Sincere interest is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it enables one to make great effort and be free from doubt.

38. Investigating repulsiveness is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it enables one to dispense with thoughts about what one desires.

39. Absence of malice is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it enables one to dispense with vengeful thoughts.

40. Absence of stupidity is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it clears away ignorance.

41. Pursuit of the Dharma is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it enables one to rely upon the meaning.

42. Desiring the Dharma is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads one to connect to the light of the Dharma.

43. Seeking to listen is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it enables one to investigate the Dharma precisely and in the correct manner.

44. Correct application is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to the right conduct.

45. Knowledge of names and forms is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it enables one to transcend all attachment.

46. Conquering views about causes is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to the attainment of awareness and complete liberation.

47. The elimination of attachment and aversion is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it eliminates judgemental thoughts.

48. Expertise concerning the aggregates is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to thorough understanding of suffering.

49. Equality of the elements is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to the relinquishment of the source of suffering.

50. Withdrawal of the senses is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads one to meditate on the path.

51. Acceptance of nonarising is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to the actualisation of cessation.

52. Mindfulness of the body is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to physical isolation.

53. Mindfulness of the sensations is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to the cessation of all sensations.

54. Mindfulness of the mind is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to a precise understanding of the mind's illusory nature.

55. Mindfulness of the phenomena is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to unimpaired wisdom.

56. The four thorough relinquishments are gateways to the light of the Dharma, for they enable one to relinquish all nonvirtuous qualities and to perfect all virtuous qualities.

57. The four bases of miraculous power are gateways to the light of the Dharma, for they lead to lightness of body and mind.

58. The faculty of faith is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads one to not depend on the guidance of others.

59. The faculty of diligence is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it endows one with the wisdom of realisation.

60. The faculty of mindfulness is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads one to engage in wholesome deeds.

61. The faculty of absorption is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to the liberation of mind.

62. The faculty of knowledge is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to the wisdom of direct perception.

63. The power of faith is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to the thorough transcendence of the power of Mara.

64.• The power of diligence is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for with it one will not turn back.

65. The power of mindfulness is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for with it one will not be led astray.

66. The power of absorption is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for with it one will relinquish all discursive thinking.

67. The power of knowledge is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for with it one will not be easily deceived.

68. The aspect of awakening of complete mindfulness is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it enables one to understand the Dharma as it is.

69. The aspect of awakening of the complete discernment of the Dharma is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it enables one to accomplish all Dharmas.

70. The aspect of awakening of complete diligence is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it endows one with the intelligence of perfect realisation.

71. The aspect of awakening of complete joy is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it enables one to accomplish absorption.

72. The aspect of awakening of complete agility is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it enables one to accomplish one's endeavors.

73. The aspect of awakening of complete absorption is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it enables one to comprehend the equality of all phenomena.

74. The aspect of awakening of complete equanimity is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to distaste for all births.

75. Right view is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it prevents one from transgressing the rules.

76. Right resolve is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads one to relinquish all thoughts, concepts, and ideas.

77. Right speech is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads one to realise that all words, sounds, language, and speech are like echoes.

78. Right action is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to the absence of karma and the absence of ripening.

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79. Right livelihood is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads one to cease all pursuits.
80. Right effort is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads one to reach the other shore.
81. Right mindfulness is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to the absence of mindlessness and mental engagements.
82. Right absorption is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to the attainment of the absorption of an undisturbed mind.
83. The mind of awakening is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it ensures the continuity of the line of the Three Jewels.
84. Intention is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to a lack of desire for the Lesser Vehicle.
85. Superior intention is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to a distinct focus on the vast Buddhadharma.
86. Application is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to the perfection of all virtuous qualities.
87. The perfection of generosity is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to the sublime marks and signs, to the complete purity of the buddha realms, and to the thorough ripening of those sentient beings that are greedy.
88. The perfection of discipline is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it enables one to transcend all the restricted and lower states of existence and to ripen those sentient beings with lax discipline.
89. The perfection of patience is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it enables one to relinquish malice, aggression, anger, pride, arrogance, and conceit, and to ripen those sentient beings that harbour malice.
90. The perfection of diligence is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it enables one to practice all virtuous endeavors and to ripen those sentient beings that are lazy.
91. The perfection of concentration is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it enables one to give rise to all states of equipoise and superknowledge and to ripen those sentient beings that are distracted.
92. The perfection of knowledge is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it enables one to relinquish the dark fog of ignorance and stupidity, to abandon incorrect views, and to ripen sentient beings with incorrect knowledge.
93. Skillful means are gateways to the light of the Dharma, for they enable one to teach modes of conduct that accord with the interests of sentient beings and to practice all the teachings of the Buddha.
94. The four ways of attracting students are gateways to the light of the Dharma, for they gather sentient beings and turn them into suitable recipients for the Dharma that comes from the discovery of awakening.
95. Ripening sentient beings is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it enables one to not be attached to one's own happiness and to be free from discouragement.
96. Grasping the true Dharma is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it enables one to eliminate the afflictions of all sentient beings.
97. The accumulation of merit is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it enables one to nurture all sentient beings.
98. The accumulation of wisdom is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it perfects the ten powers.
99. The accumulation of calm abiding is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to the attainment of the absorption of the thus-gone ones.
100. The accumulation of insight is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to the attainment of the eye of knowledge.
101. Accessing authentic discerning awareness is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to the attainment of the eye of Dharma.
102. Accessing the trustworthy is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to the purity of the eye of the Buddha.
103. The attainment of dharani is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it enables one to retain everything said by the Buddha.
104. The attainment of confidence is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it enables one to satisfy all sentient beings by offering them clear explanations.
105. Acceptance of the concordant Dharma is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to being in accord with the entirety of the Buddhadharma.
106. Acceptance of the Dharma of nonarising is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to the attainment of prophecy.
107. The ground of nonreturning is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to the complete perfection of the entirety of the Buddhadharma.
108. The wisdom that evolves from ground to ground is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads to being empowered with the wisdom of omniscience. The ground of empowerment is a gateway to the light of the Dharma, for it leads one to be conceived in the womb, to be born, to manifest in the world, to undergo austerities, to go to the seat of awakening, to tame Mara, to attain complete awakening, to turn the wheel of Dharma, and to manifest great parinirvana.

"These, friends, are known as the 108 gateways to the light of the Dharma, which a bodhisattva must teach to the assembly of gods at the time of his passing."

Monks, when the Bodhisattva taught this chapter, "The Gateways to the Light of the Dharma," out of the assembly of gods, 84,000 divine sons gave rise to the mind of unexcelled, perfect and complete awakening. The 32,000 divine sons who had previously been trained gained acceptance that phenomena are nonarising. The 360 million divine sons gained the pure eye regarding phenomena, unblemished and untainted. The entire fine realm of the Heaven of Joy was covered in celestial flowers up to one's knees.

Monks, at that time the Bodhisattva uttered these verses in order to bring even more joy to the assembly of gods:

At the time that the Guide, the Lion of Men, passes away,
And descends from the supreme realm of the Heaven of Joy,
He proclaims these words to the gods:
"Abandon all forms of mindlessness!
"The multitude of divine pleasures,
All wonderful things conjured up by the mind,
All of this is caused by virtuous actions.
So listen now to learn about these actions.
"Acknowledge the kindness done to you.
Do not fall back into the three lower realms
After exhausting your previous stores of merit;
There is only unhappiness and suffering there.
"Once you develop respect for me,
Apply yourselves earnestly to practicing
The teachings that you have heard,
And you will inevitably attain boundless joy.
"All desirable things are impermanent and unstable;
Nothing is eternal, not even the eons.
Everything is like a mirage or an illusion,
And as fleeting as lightning or a water bubble.
"The pleasure brought about by the qualities
Of desirable things is as unsatisfying as drinking saltwater,
But those with noble pristine knowledge
That transcends the world are satisfied.
"Goddesses, companions, and beautiful songs
Are like the audience of a play.
They are like a crowd of people who assemble
And then go their own separate ways.
"In the realm of the conditioned, there are no allies,
No friends, no relatives, and no retinue.
And besides, the karma that results from good deeds
Also binds one, and ever follows behind one's back.
"Therefore be harmonious with one another;
Act with a loving and benevolent mind.
Engage in wholesome activities,
For actions done well bring no torment.
"Please recall the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha,
And do not slip into heedlessness.
Those who delight in study, discipline, and generosity
Are endowed with patience and gentleness.
"Investigate suffering, impermanence, and lack of self;
Examine these three phenomena thoroughly.
They occur in connection to causes and conditions;
They are void of life and have no owner.
"Whatever miraculous powers you see in me,
And whatever eloquence, wisdom, and qualities I may have,
All of this is caused by virtuous deeds
Arising from study, discipline, and conscientiousness.
"For the welfare, benefit, and love of sentient beings,
You should emulate me with your discipline, study,
Conscientiousness, generosity,
Restrain, and self-control.
"For you will not be able to accomplish the auspicious teachings
By the mere sound of your voice and speech.
Please adopt the right conduct
And practice what you teach.
"Do not simply follow what other people say;
Exert yourself with continuous concentration.
When acting, one takes the opportunity;
Without acting, one does not accomplish anything.
"Recall all the suffering you have experienced
Circling through cyclic existence until now.
If you fall prey to distortions,
Nirvana and freedom from attachment will not be achieved.
"Therefore, having now obtained freedom,
A spiritual guide, and a conducive environment,
And having met with the superior teaching of Dharma,
You should pacify attachment and the other afflictions.
"Freed from pride, arrogance, and conceit,
Always flexible, upright, and honest,
Dedicate yourself to reaching the transcendence of suffering
And apply yourself to realizing the path.
"Disperse all the darkness and turbidity of ignorance
With the lamp of knowledge.
Tear the net of error, with its latencies,
Using the vajra of wisdom.
"What need is there to say many things?
It is in your interest to follow this teaching.
If you do not abide by this teaching,
Then it is not the fault of the teaching.
"When I attain awakening
And shower down the teaching that leads to immortality,
You, who have pure minds, should come
And listen to the true Dharma."

This concludes the fourth chapter on the gateways to the light of the Dharma.

LALITA-VISTARA CHAPTER 5 — Setting Out

[The Bodhisattva installs Maitreya as his regent in the heavenly realms and sets out for the human realm accompanied by great displays of divine offerings and auspicious signs.]

Monks, in that way the Bodhisattva revealed this Dharma discourse to the large retinue of gods. Thus they understood his message and became excited, delighted, and forbearing. At that point he spoke to the retinue of fortunate gods: "Friends, I will now proceed to Jambudvipa. In the past when I practiced the conduct of a bodhisattva, I attracted sentient beings through the four activities of giving, pleasant speech, beneficial activity, and demonstrating consistency in speech and aims. But friends, if I now do not achieve unexcelled, perfect and complete awakening, I would be ungrateful and irrational."

Hearing that, the divine sons of the Heaven of Joy wept and embraced the feet of the Bodhisattva. They said, "Virtuous One, if you do not remain, this Heaven of Joy will be without splendour."

To this, the Bodhisattva replied to the great retinue of gods, "The bodhisattva Maitreya will teach you the Dharma." Then the Bodhisattva took the crown from his own head and placed it on the head of the bodhisattva Maitreya, saying, "Virtuous one, you shall awaken to perfect and complete buddhahood after me."

In that way the Bodhisattva enthroned the bodhisattva Maitreya in the Heaven of Joy. Then he again spoke to the great retinue of gods: "Friends, in what type of form should I enter the womb of a mother?"

Some replied, "As a human in the form of a priest." But other gods suggested, "In the form of Sakra, or Brahma, or a great king, or Vaisravana, or a gandharva, or a kiṃnara, or a mahoraga, or Mahesvara, or the moon god, or the sun god, or a garuda."

There was also one of the divine sons of the Brahma realm present, who was called Ugrateja. Having been a sage in his previous life, he had taken rebirth among the gods, where he had become irreversible from unexcelled and perfect awakening. He now spoke:

"The priests' mantras and the treatises of the Vedas mention the proper form for a bodhisattva to take when descending into the womb of his mother. It should be in the form of an excellent, great elephant with six tusks, covered with golden netting. Its head should be very red and exceedingly handsome. It should ooze fragrant fluids from its temples and have a glorious body. Someone who is learned in the Vedas and scriptures of the priests will then recognize such features and use them to predict the arrival of a person endowed with the thirty-two marks of a great man."

Monks, while the Bodhisattva was still residing in the sublime Heaven of Joy, he considered the time for his birth. At that time he manifested eight omens at the sublime residence of King Suddhodana. What were these eight?

The residence was immaculate since all weeds, stumps, brambles, small pebbles, and gravel had been removed. It was well watered and very clean. It was undisturbed by wind and free from soot and dust. There were no mosquitoes, flies, bees, or snakes. It was covered with flowers, and the area became level, like the palm of a hand. This was The First Omen.

Flocks of birds came to the palace from the Himalayan mountains, the king of mountain ranges. There were pattraguptas, parrots, mynas, cuckoos, swans, curlews, peacocks, wild geese, painted snipe, nightingales, pheasants, and many others. The birds had beautiful and delightful wings in many colours and sang in melodious sounds. They perched upon the verandas, turrets, doorways, pavilions, and upper terraces of King Suddhodana's sublime residence. The birds were joyful and content, and they each sang happily. This was The Second Omen.

In all of King Suddhodana's delightful parks, woodlands, and gardens, the various trees blossomed and carried fruits of all seasons. This was The Third Omen.

In each of King Suddhodana's lotus ponds and reservoirs, there appeared lotuses the size of cartwheels, each with many trillions of petals. This was The Fourth Omen.

In that sublime residence of King Suddhodana, all the provisions of butter, sesame oil, honey, raw sugar, and sugar-cane juice were never depleted and appeared to be full even though they were used abundantly. This was The Fifth Omen.

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Inside the women's quarters of King Suddhodana's excellent residence, all the instruments, such as the great kettledrums, the clay and wooden kettledrums, the flutes, lutes, reed pipes, three-stringed lutes, bells, and cymbals suddenly emitted wonderful music by themselves without being played. This was The Sixth Omen.

In that most excellent residence of King Suddhodana, all the containers of different types of precious substances, such as gold, silver, jewels, pearls, beryl, shells, crystals, and corals, opened their lids and displayed their flawless perfection and abundance. This was The Seventh Omen.

A pure and immaculate light, much brighter than those of the sun and the moon, appeared and produced mental and physical pleasure. This was The Eighth Omen.

Queen Maya bathed and applied perfumes to her body. She ornamented her arms with many bracelets and dressed in the softest and most beautiful garments. Joyful, happy, and rapturous, accompanied and encircled by ten thousand women, she went to where King Suddhodana was seated comfortably in the music hall. She seated herself to his right side on the fine, precious throne draped with jeweled latticework. With a smiling and trusting face free from anger, she spoke to King Suddhodana in these verses:

"Your Majesty, master of the earth, good lord, I pray that you hear me!
Your Highness, please grant me a favour!
Please listen and rejoice in your heart
Concerning these wishes on which my mind is set.

"Lord, out of love for all beings, I will adopt the eight precepts,
Which include disciplined and moral conduct, as well as fasting.
Without harming any living creature and always with pure feelings,
I will love others in the same way that I love myself.

"I have renounced any thievish thoughts and given up attachment and arrogance;
Your Majesty, I will not act immorally.
I will remain truthful, not slander others, and abandon harsh words;
I will never use idle or nonvirtuous words.

"I renounce all anger, aggression, stupidity, and conceit;
Renouncing all covetousness, I will be content with my own wealth.
I will act properly and renounce flattery, hypocrisy, and envy;
I will travel this path of the ten virtuous actions.

"I am joyfully engaged in strict disciplined conduct;
So, sovereign master of men, do not act lustfully because of attraction to me.
Your Majesty, may nonvirtue not arise in you for a long time;
Please rejoice as I am nearby you in strict discipline.

"Your Highness, I beseech you, quick, say yes today!
Inside the cool pavilion at the top of the palace where the swans roost,
On a soft and sweetly scented bed scattered with flowers,
I would like to live happily, always surrounded by my female friends.

"May no male servants, boys,
Or even common women attend me.
May I hear only pleasant and harmonious talk,
And may there be nothing unpleasant to hear or see.

"I ask that you release all those held in prisons
And that you endow the poor with wealth.
For one week, for the sake of people's happiness,
Please give food, drink, clothing, chariots, palanquins, and horses.

"May each and every man, woman, and child in this palace
Be free from quarreling and angry words.
May their minds be full of mutual affection,
And may they enjoy themselves together, like gods in pleasure groves.

"May no persecution, beating, or malicious threats take place.
May there be no royal retribution or unjust punishment.
Lord, please look upon all beings as if upon an only child;
Think benevolently and lovingly with a composed mind."

When the king heard this speech, he rejoiced and proclaimed:

"Let everything you wish come to pass!
Whatever you seek and wish,
That request I shall grant you."

The excellent king commanded his entourage:

"Make the finest preparations in the upper quarters of the palace.
Decorate them with beautiful flowers and use the best incense and perfume;
Adorn them with parasols, banners, and rows of palm trees.

"Place on guard twenty thousand brave fighting men in armour,
Brandishing swords, arrows, spears, and lances.
Let them guard the quarters where the swans call out melodiously;
Let them guard the queen with loving care so that she is not afraid." [44]

Bathed, perfumed, well dressed, and with her arms bejeweled,
Surrounded by her female attendants, like a divine maiden,
Accompanied by the pleasant sounds of thousands of cymbals,
The queen ascends and rests like a divine maiden.

The legs of her bed are embellished with costly divine jewels;
It is a pleasing bed bestrewn with flowers.
There she unfastens her tiara of precious jewels, [F.26.b]
Like a divine maiden in the Misraka Garden.

Monks, in the meantime the gods were gathering. There were the four great kings;

Sakra, lord of the gods; and the divine sons of Suyama, Santusita, Sunirmita, and Paranirmitavasavartin.

There were also Sarthavaha, the officer son of Mara; Brahma, the lord of Saha; the divine priest Brahmottara; the divine priest Subrahma; and Prabhavyuha, Abhasvara, Mahesvara, and the gods living in the pure realms of Nisthagata and the Highest Heaven, as well as many hundreds of thousands of others as well. They spoke to one another in these words:

"Friends, if we were to allow the Bodhisattva to depart alone, without expressing our gratitude to him, it would be dishonourable of us. Friends, who among us will have the courage to serve the Bodhisattva constantly and ceaselessly as he travels to the womb of his mother? Who will serve him as he is in the womb, when he is born, as he grows and plays as a young child? Who will serve him when he is in the female quarters watching the musical performances, and when he renounces his home and is practicing austerities? Who will serve him as he proceeds to the seat of awakening,

tames the demons, attains perfect and complete awakening, and turns the wheel of the Dharma? Who will serve him until he demonstrates passing into great parinirvana?

Who can keep him company with a kind, affectionate, friendly, loving, and noble attitude?"

Then they sang these verses:

"Who among us has the courage to follow joyfully
This being, one with such perfect appearance?
Who would like to increase
His merit, splendour, power, and renown?

"Whoever lives in these divine palaces
And wishes to enjoy the divine pleasures
Of the goddesses and the divine delights,
Let him serve the one with a face like an immaculate moon.

"Whoever wishes to enjoy the charming Misraka Garden,
With the celestial palace, the birthplace of the gods,
Full of golden-hued flowers,
Let him serve the immaculate brilliant one.

"Whoever wishes to frolic together with goddesses
In a splendid chariot, or in the pleasure groves
Carpeted with petals of mandarava flowers,
Let him serve this great being.

"Whoever aspires to be the ruler of the Heaven Free from Strife
Or to be the lord of the Heaven of Joy,
Someone worthy of worship by all beings,
Let him serve the one of unlimited renown.

"Whoever desires to enjoy himself in a beautiful mansion
In the Heaven of Delighting in Emanations
And wants to enjoy all the mentally created illusions,
Let him serve this one possessing excellent qualities.

"Whoever is a master over demons, but whose mind has no hatred,
Who has attained complete mastery of all types of power,
Who is the master of his senses and has surpassed others,
Let him go with this benefactor.

"Similarly whoever wishes to pass beyond the desire realm
And reside in the realm of Brahma,
Let him serve today the great being
Resplendent with the four immeasurables.

"Whoever longs to take birth among humans
In the vast realm of a supreme universal monarch,
Let him serve the One with Abundant Merit,
The Jewel Mine, the One Who Bestows Fearlessness and Bliss.

"Whoever wants to be a ruler or the son of a wealthy merchant,
Rich and happy with great wealth,
Surrounded by an army able to conquer enemies,
Let him go with this benefactor.

"Whoever desires beauty, luxuries, and power,
And wishes for fame, courage, and good qualities,
And would like to speak agreeably with words that are heeded,
Let him attend upon that learned lord who speaks with the voice of Brahma.

"Whoever desires the divine and human enjoyments,
Or all the happiness of the three realms of existence,
Or the bliss of concentration and the happiness in solitude,
Let him follow the Dharma Lord.

"Whoever yearns to abandon attachment and anger,
And wants to clear away the darkness of the afflictions,
Let him, with his mind calm, tranquil, and totally at peace,
Quickly follow the One Who Has Tamed His Mind.

"Whoever wishes for the wisdom of learners, masters, and solitary buddhas,
As well as the wisdom of omniscience,
And hopes to roar like a lion through the ten powers,
Let him follow the learned one with an ocean of qualities.

"Whoever desires to close the path to the lower realms,
And open the path to the fortune of deathlessness,
And travel on the eightfold path,
Let him follow the One Who Has Completed All Paths.

"Whoever wishes to make offerings to the Thus-Gone One,
And listen to the Dharma from that lord of compassion,
And attain the qualities of the saṅgha,
Let him follow this ocean of qualities.

"Whoever hopes to exhaust the sufferings of birth, old age, sickness, and death,
And be free from the shackles of cyclic existence,
And enjoy purity equal to limitless space,
Let him follow this pure being.

"Whoever wishes to liberate himself as well as others,
Desiring beauty that is pleasing to all,
Supreme bodily marks, and the blossoming of qualities,
Let him attend the learned one who is beautiful to behold.

"The learned one who wishes for
Discipline, absorption, and knowledge,
Who wants liberation that is profound, hard to see, and difficult to fathom,
Let him quickly follow the king of physicians.

"Whoever desires many such qualities,
And the happiness of existence as well as nirvana,
And wants to utterly perfect all qualities,
Let him follow the learned one who masters disciplined conduct."

When they heard these verses, the gods assembled. There were 84,000 gods from the Heaven of the Four Great Kings, 100,000 gods from the Heaven of the Thirty-Three, 100,000 gods from the Heaven Free from Strife, 100,000 gods from the Heaven of Joy, 100,000 gods from the Heaven of Delighting in Emanations, 100,000 gods from the Heaven of Making Use of Others' Emanations, 60,000 gods from the realm of Mara who were born there because of their former virtuous actions, 68,000 gods from the realm of Brahma, and many hundreds of thousands of gods assembled from

all the realms up to the highest heaven.

Moreover, many hundreds of thousands of divine sons came together from the east, the south, the west, and the north. The foremost among the divine sons then spoke these verses to the great assembly of gods:

"Immortal lords, please listen to these words
That express what is on our minds!
We give up our sensual enjoyments and the perfect bliss of concentration
In order to serve this sublime pure being.

"As he enters the womb, abides in the womb, and is born,
We will make offerings to the Great Being, so worthy of worship.
We shall protect the Sage, who is well guarded by merit;
No one shall cause him any problems through a hostile mind.

"In songs and with the melodious sounds of cymbals,
We will praise the qualities of the one with an ocean of qualities.
Whoever hears this will engender the excellent mind of awakening
And thus delight all gods and humans.

"We shall fill the king's palace with flower petals
And light the finest incense of black aloe.
With that aroma, gods and humans will become very content;
It will free them from sickness and fever and make them happy.

"We will fill the entire city of Kapilavastu
With blossoms of mandarava flowers, beautiful jasmine, and hibiscus,
In order to make offerings to him,
Who appears due to virtuous activities.

"As long as he is in his mother's womb, untainted by the three stains,
And until he is born in order to bring an end to aging and death,
We will serve him devotedly.
Our wish is to make offerings to the great intelligent one. [48]

"It will be a great blessing for gods and humans
To witness the newborn taking seven steps,
To see him received by Sakra and Brahma,
And to see the Pure Being bathed with perfumed water.

"While he behaves in accord with the world,
And conquers the afflictions of desire inside the women's quarters,
And as he abandons his entire kingdom,
Throughout that time, we will serve him devotedly.

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"When he acquires grass and travels to the seat of awakening,
And as he conquers the demons and gains awakening, [F.28.b]
And is entreated to turn the wheel of the Dharma by a billion Brahma gods,
Throughout that time, we will make vast offerings to the Bliss-Gone One.
"While he tames trillions of beings for the deathless state,
Performing enlightened activity in the trichiliocosm,
And until he passes into cool and peaceful nirvana,
For that long, none of us will abandon the greatly renowned sage."
Monks, the divine maidens who sport in the desire realms saw the perfection of the
Bodhisattva's bodily form and wondered, "What is she like, that maiden who will conceive this sublime and supreme pure being?"
Filled with curiosity, they gathered the finest and best flowers, incense, lamps, perfumes, garlands, ointments, powders, and cloths. Then, blessed as they were with supernatural powers from the ripening of merit and with divine bodies that are mentally created, they instantaneously disappeared from that celestial palace.
By means of their celestial powers, they traveled to Kapilavastu, that sublime city with a hundred thousand gardens, and arrived at King Suddhodana's residence, known as Home of the Swans, the great mansion that resembled the palaces of the ruler of the gods.
The divine maidens, wearing loose gowns, were well adorned by the splendour of their immaculate merit, and their arms and hands were full of divine ornaments. They saw Queen Maya resting on her fine bed. They pointed her out to each other and, hovering in midsky, they sang these verses to one another:
"We divine maidens who live in divine abodes
Saw the attractive body of the Bodhisattva.
At that time we considered,
'What will the mother of the Bodhisattva be like?'
"Our curiosity aroused, we approached the royal palace
With garlands of flowers in our hands.
Bearing aloft flowers as well as ointments,
We bowed with folded hands.
"We beauties with revealing garments
Stretched our hands and pointed out
Queen Maya resting in her bed,
Saying, 'Oh! Behold the beauty of that human woman!'
"Because of pride we thought
That divine maidens had the most attractive bodies.
Yet when we saw the body of the king's wife,
We saw that her splendour outshines our divine bodies.
"She will be the mother of the Supreme Being;
Full of charms, she is like Rati herself.
Just as a precious jewel rests within a fine vessel,
This queen will be such a vessel for the god of gods.
"From the palms of her hands and the soles of her feet,
Her attractive limbs surpass the divine.
When you look at her, your eyes will not be sated,
And she will only thrill your heart and mind more and more.
"Her attractive face and body
Shine like the beautiful moon in the sky
And blaze like the stainless fire of the sun.
Her body shines with an excellent light.
"The complexion of this queen is resplendent,
Shining like the purest gold.
Her hair is soft, clean, and sweetly scented,
Black like the excellent bee and arranged in braids.
"Her eyes are like lotus petals;
Her teeth are like stars in the sky.
Her waist is curved like a bow and her hips are ample;
Her shoulders are raised and her joints are smooth.
"Her thighs and calves are like the trunk of an elephant,
And her knees have a shapely form.
The palms of her hands and the soles of her feet are smooth and red;
Surely she can only be a divine maiden."
Thus they examined her in many ways,
Tossed flowers and circumambulated her.
Then, praising the renowned mother of the Victorious One,
They instantly returned to the divine realm.
The four guardians of the four directions,
Sakra, the gods free from strife, the gods enjoying emanations,
Other gods, demigods, kumbhandas, raksasas,
Kiṃnaras, and mahoragas spoke:
"Go before the Supreme Being;
Protect him, the best of men.
Do not be hostile to beings;
Do no harm to any person."
As Queen Maya resided in the palace,
They all assembled with their retinues.
Holding bows and arrows, swords, spears, and weapons,
They remained in the middle of the sky, keeping watch.
The divine sons, who know the time of passing,
Came joyfully before Queen Maya.
They held flowers as well as ointments;
With folded hands, they paid homage.
"Lion of Speech, your time is now!
Generate compassion and kindness for the entire world;
Lord of Men, Pure Being, demonstrate passing away.
We pray that you grant the gift of the Dharma."
Monks, as the Bodhisattva was about to pass away and take rebirth, many hundreds
of thousands of bodhisattvas, who were bound by just one more birth, came to him
from the east of the sacred abode of the Heaven of Joy. They approached the Bodhisattva
in order to make offerings to him. Likewise many hundreds of thousands of
bodhisattvas, all of them bound by just one more birth, came from all ten directions
within the sacred abode of the Heaven of Joy, also approaching the Bodhisattva in
order to make offerings to him.
There were 8.4 million divine maidens from the Heaven of the Four Great Kings
who approached the Bodhisattva, making offerings to him accompanied by music
and singing. Similarly, 8.4 million divine maidens from each of the realms of the
Heaven of the Thirty-Three, the Heaven Free from Strife, the Heaven of Joy, the
Heaven of Delighting in Emanations, and the Heaven of Making Use of Others' Emanations
approached the Bodhisattva. Singing songs and playing musical instruments
of all types, they made offerings to the Bodhisattva.
At that time the Bodhisattva had taken his seat on the Glorious Essence lion throne
inside his great palace. This throne had come about through all his merit and was visible
to all the gods and nagas. Then, as the bodhisattvas and many millions of gods,
nagas, and yaksas assembled around him, he began his departure from the sublime
realm of the Heaven of Joy.
Monks, as he started to move, the Bodhisattva's body began to shine with a brilliant and dazzling light that surpassed any other celestial light. This unprecedented light illuminated all the vast and enormous realms of the great trichiliocosm. Even the darkest regions of the world, filled with negativity and obscurity, where even the renowned great power and magical ability of the sun and the moon are unable to produce light, colours, or heat, were bathed in light. In those realms, the unfortunate beings normally cannot even see their own hands. But even there, the dazzling light shone. Due to the light, the beings in those realms now recognized one another and remarked: "Listen, friends! Other beings have also been born here!"
Then the whole billionfold world system became distorted in six ways and exhibited eighteen great signs. It began to quiver, tremble, quake, move, make sound, and roar, each in three degrees of intensity. The world shook so violently that its centre and edge, east and west, as well as north and south, all bounced around, so that when one side was up, the other was down.
At that point one could hear all sorts of pleasant and cheerful sounds. There were sounds that inspired love and made everyone serene. There were inviting and refreshing sounds that were impossible to describe or imitate, agreeable sounds that do not produce fear. At that moment there was not a single being anywhere that felt hostile, frightened, or anxious. At that moment even the light of the sun and moon and the splendour of the gods, such as Sakra, Brahma, and the worldly protectors, could not be perceived anymore. All beings who were living in the hells, along with those born as animals and all those in the world of the lord of death, became instantaneously free from suffering and filled with every happiness. No being had any painful emotion, such as anger, delusion, envy, jealousy, pride, hypocrisy, arrogance, wrath, malice, or burning anguish. At that moment all sentient beings felt love for each other, wished each other well, and saw each other as parents and children.
Trillions of divine and human musical instruments played sweet sounds without even being touched or played. Hundreds of millions of gods also lifted and carried that great mansion using their hands, shoulders, and the crowns of their heads. Hundreds of thousands of divine maidens also sang their individual songs. From all around they praised the Bodhisattva with the sounds of their tunes:
"You previously accumulated virtuous actions;
You have appeared through virtue gathered over a long time.
You have purified the mode of all phenomena;
Today we bring forth a great offering to you.
"In the past, for billions of eons,
You gave up your dear sons and daughters.
This shower of celestial flowers
Is the fruition of that generosity.
"Lord, you cut off your own flesh,
Kindheartedly weighing it on a scale to release a bird.
The fruition of that practice of giving
Is that worldly pretas obtain food and drink.
"In the past, for billions of eons,
You preserved unbroken, uncorrupted discipline.
By the fruition of the practice of that discipline,
The unfree lower realms are purified.
"In the past, for billions of eons,
You cultivated patience as the basis for attaining awakening.
The result of your practice of patience
Is that gods and humans develop loving minds.
"In the past, for billions of eons,
You cultivated supreme and unwavering diligence.
The result of your practice of diligence
Is that your body is beautiful like Mount Meru.
"In the past, for billions of eons,
You trained in concentration to purify the afflictions.
The result of your practice of concentration
Is that beings are not harmed by afflictions.
"In the past, for billions of eons,
You trained in knowledge that destroys the afflictions.
The result of your practice of knowledge
Is that you emit sublime and beautiful light.
"With the armour of love, you have destroyed the afflictions
And developed great compassion for all beings.
You have attained perfect delight and excellent equanimity;
Bliss-Gone One, Great Being, homage be to you!
"You are exalted by the splendour of the light of the lamp of knowledge
And have cleared all darkness of delusion.
Homage to you, Able One Who Shows the Path—
The leader, the eye in the trichiliocosm.
"Skilled in the higher knowledge of the bases of miraculous powers,
You see the truth and have trained in the sacred meaning.
Having crossed over, you liberate others;
Homage to you, the Bliss-Gone One Who Liberates.
"Skilled in means and higher knowledge,
You show a passing away that is devoid of death and rebirth.
Although you act harmoniously in accord with worldly law,
You are in no way attracted to the world.
"Inconceivably excellent gains come to anyone
Who merely comes to hear or see you.
So how about those who actually listen to the Dharma
And develop faith and joy?
"The entire realm of the Heaven of Joy is gloomy,
But the sun has risen in Jambudvipa.
You will awaken inconceivable trillions of creatures
Who are asleep due to their afflictions.
"Today the palace will be filled with wonders:
It will be crowded with trillions of deities;
It will resound with the music played by divine maidens;
In the king's mansion, sweet music will be heard.
"The lady is endowed with supreme beauty,
Nourished by the brilliance of her merit and virtuous actions.
This perfect son of hers will outshine
The three worlds with his splendour.
"The splendourous appearance of this perfect man
Will henceforth prevent any greed and quarrels
Among beings in this sublime palace.
All shall be lovingly reverential.
"When a king from a lineage of universal monarchs is born,
Into the lineage of a king, that lineage will become greatly exalted.
Likewise the city of Kapilavastu shall become perfect
And filled with treasures.
"Yaksas, raksasas, kumbhandas, guhyakas,
Gods, and kiṃnaras with their forces—
All those who guard the supreme man
Shall attain liberation before long.
"Guide, whatever merit accumulates
As we praise you with respect and reverence,
We dedicate it all to awakening.
Best of Men, may we quickly become like you!"
This concludes the fifth chapter on setting out.

LALITA-VISTARA CHAPTER 6 — Entering the Womb

[The Bodhisattva enters into the human world via the womb of Queen Māyā, where he resides for the duration of the pregnancy within a beautiful temple, enjoying the happiness of absorption.]

Monks, the cold season had passed and it was the third month of spring. It was the finest season, when the moon enters the constellation Visakha. The leaves of trees unfurled and the most exquisite flowers blossomed. It was neither cold nor hot, and there was no fog or dust in the air. Fresh green grass covered the grounds everywhere.

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The Lord of the Three Worlds, revered by all the worlds, now judged that the time had come. On the fifteenth day, during the full moon, while his future mother was observing the posadha precepts during the constellation of Pusya, the Bodhisattva moved, fully conscious and aware, from the fine realm of the Heaven of Joy to the womb of his mother.

He entered through his mother's right side in the form of a baby elephant, white in colour with six tusks. His head was the colour of a reddish insect, and the tusks were blazing gold. He had all his limbs intact and his full faculties. As he entered, he stayed only at the right side of the womb and never on the left. As this occurred, Queen Maya was sleeping on her pleasant bed and saw the following in her dream:

A snowy-silver coloured elephant with six tusks,
Beautiful feet, exquisite trunk, and a pretty red head,
Moving in a fine gait with joints as stable as a diamond—
That perfect elephant entered her womb.
She had never seen, heard of, or experienced
Such a rare happiness.
Feeling this physical and mental bliss,
She became absorbed in concentration.

As she awoke, Queen Maya first adorned herself with ornaments and flowing garments. Refreshed in body and mind, she felt affectionate, joyful, and calm. She then arose from her bed and made her way down from the upper floors of the palace, surrounded by her female attendants. She proceeded to the asoka-tree forest, where she felt at ease. Once there, she sent a message to King Suddhodana: "Your Majesty, please come, the queen would like to see you."

When King Suddhodana heard this message, he became very elated, and immediately he rose from his throne. Surrounded by his ministers and townspeople, attendants and relatives, he went to the asoka forest. However, as he arrived, his body suddenly felt very heavy and he was unable to enter the forest. In this way he just stood at the entrance to the asoka forest. Reflecting a little, he then spoke these verses:

"I do not remember my body ever feeling this heavy,
Even as I led my army of warriors into battle.
Now I cannot even enter my own property;
Can anyone tell me what has happened?"

Some gods of the pure realms had settled in the middle of the sky. Now they revealed half their bodies and spoke these verses to King Suddhodana:

"Your Majesty, a bodhisattva, a great being,
With qualities of austerity and discipline, honoured by the three worlds,
Loving and compassionate, and empowered by merit and wisdom,
Has left the Heaven of Joy for the womb of Queen Maya in order to become your son."

Then, joining his palms and bowing his head,
The king went into the forest, overwhelmed by reverence and awe.
Without pride or arrogance, he looked at Queen Maya
And asked, "What may I do for you? Tell me what to do."
The queen replied:

"A fine and beautiful elephant, white as snow or silver,
More dazzling than the sun and the moon, well proportioned,
With beautiful legs, six great tusks, and joints as firm as diamond,
Entered my womb—please listen to this story.
"In my sleep I saw this trichiliocosm illuminated, its darkness gone,
While ten million gods were praising me.
I felt no anger, aggression, hatred, or confusion;
I felt peaceful and full of the bliss of concentration.
"I wonder if this dream of mine shows happiness or sorrow for our family?
Is my dream a genuine prediction?
Your Majesty, quickly summon the priests
Who are specialists in the Vedic treatises on dreams."

Hearing these words, the king instantly summoned the priests
Who were experts in the Vedas and their treatises.
When the priests stood before Queen Maya, she said,
"Listen to my story; this is what I dreamed."

The brahmins replied, "Your Majesty, please speak. When we hear what you saw in your dream, we will explain."

The queen replied:

"A fine and beautiful elephant, white as snow or silver,
More dazzling than the sun and the moon, well proportioned,
With beautiful legs, six great tusks, and joints as firm as diamond,
Entered my womb—please listen to this story."

As they heard these words, the priests remarked:

"Your clan shall meet no sorrow but only extensive delight.
A son will be born to you, his limbs adorned with the marks;
He will belong to the lineage of kings, a great universal monarch.
"If he renounces his pleasures, his kingdom, and his palace,
And goes forth as a monk, unattached, full of compassion and love for the world,
He will become a buddha worthy of offerings in the three worlds.
He will satisfy the world with the supreme taste of the nectar of immortality."

Following this positive prediction,
The priests had their meal in the royal palace,
Accepted an offering of gifts,
And subsequently departed.

Monks, when King Suddhodana heard that message from the priests who understood how to analyse marks and signs and who knew the scriptures related to dreams, he was satisfied. Impressed, delighted, and joyful, he felt blissful and happy. He pleased the priests by offering them delicious food and drink. When they were all full, he entertained them and presented them with gifts before they departed.

At the same time, as an offering to the Bodhisattva, alms were distributed at the four gates of the city of Kapilavastu and at all its crossroads and junctions. The king offered food to those who were hungry, and drink to those who were thirsty. He offered clothes to those who needed clothing, carriages to those who required transportation, perfumes to those who desired perfume, garlands to those who wished for garlands, oils to those who wanted ointments, sheets to those who longed for bedding, shelter to the homeless, and necessities to those who yearned for provisions.

Then, monks, King Suddhodana considered, "I wonder in which residence Queen Maya can stay happily and without affliction?"

At that very instant the four great kings approached King Suddhodana and spoke to him: "Your Majesty, do not worry; remain happily in equanimity. We will prepare a palace for the Bodhisattva."

Then Sakra, lord of the gods, approached King Suddhodana and spoke to him:

"The palaces of the protectors are no good;
Those of the Heaven of the Thirty-Three are better.
I will give the Bodhisattva a palace
Equal to my Vaijayanta."

Then a divine son from the Heaven Free from Strife approached King Suddhodana and spoke to him:

"When ten million gods of Sakra's realm
See my mansion, they marvel.
This glorious house, the best of the Heaven Free from Strife,
I give to the king's son."

Then a divine son from the Heaven of Joy approached King Suddhodana and spoke to him:

"Previously this renowned being
Dwelt in a delightful palace
When he was in the Heaven of Joy.
That palace I will now offer to the Bodhisattva."

Then a divine son from the Heaven of Delighting in Emanations approached King Suddhodana and spoke to him:

"A glorious, mentally created mansion
That is made of jewels,
I will give to the Bodhisattva, king,
As an act of worship."

Then a divine son from the Heaven of Making Use of Others' Emanations approached King Suddhodana and spoke to him:

"The resplendence of my mansion
Eclipses the light and colours
Of any beautiful mansion
Anywhere in the desire realm.
"So let me give that glorious mansion
As an offering to the Bodhisattva.
Your Majesty, I will bring
My beautiful jewel palace.
"It is strewn with divine flowers
And scented with divine perfumes.
I will offer this spacious palace;
There the queen may remain."

Monks, in this way each of the eminent gods of the desire realm individually presented their respective residences as an offering to the Bodhisattva, right there in the fine city of Kapilavastu. King Suddhodana also provided an excellent mansion. It far surpassed those built by other humans, although it could not match the divine palaces. However, by the power of the Bodhisattva resting in the absorption known as the great array, Queen Maya appeared in all of those residences. During the period when the Bodhisattva stayed in Queen Maya's womb, he remained on the right side of the womb, seated in a cross-legged posture. In addition all the chief gods believed that the mother of the Bodhisattva remained only in the residence they had given her, and not anywhere else. On this topic, it is said:

While the Bodhisattva remained in the absorption known as the great array,
He emanated inconceivable magical displays,
Which perfectly fulfilled the wishes of all the gods.
The wishes of the king, too, became fulfilled.

Then some divine sons among the assembly began to wonder: "Even the gods in the Heaven of the Four Great Kings turn back when they approach human habitations.

So what about the gods of the highest order—those in the Heaven of the Thirty-Three, the Heaven Free from Strife, or the Heaven of Joy? How could the pure Bodhisattva, who is free from bad-smelling odours, superior to the entire world, a jewel among beings, transmigrate from the divine realm of the Heaven of Joy and remain for ten months in the foul-smelling human body inside his mother's womb?"

Then at that time, by the power of the Buddha, venerable Ananda asked the Blessed One: "O Blessed One, the Thus-Gone One has taught how the female body is inferior and enjoys desire. That was astonishing. But, Lord, it is even more astonishing that when you, who are superior to all worlds, were a bodhisattva in the past, you moved from the divine realm of the Heaven of Joy and entered your mother, remaining in a human body on the right side of the womb! Blessed One, you have mentioned how it all happened, and yet it is simply beyond me!"

The Blessed One replied: "Ananda, would you like to see the jeweled structure that the Bodhisattva delighted in? The one that became the Bodhisattva's delight as he stayed in his mother's womb?"

Ananda replied: "Yes please, Blessed One, right away. Bliss-Gone One, now would be a perfect time! If the Thus-Gone One should reveal the Bodhisattva's delight, it would be a great pleasure to witness it."

Then, through the Blessed One's doing, Brahma, lord of the Fearless Realm, disappeared from the Brahma realm together with 6.8 million gods of that same realm.

They all appeared in the presence of the Blessed One, where they prostrated at the feet of the Blessed One and circled him three times. Then Brahma stood to one side, bowing to the Blessed One.

Although the Blessed One knew already, he asked Brahma, the lord of the Saha world: "Brahma, did you remove the structure that delighted me in the past when I was a bodhisattva and stayed for ten months in my mother's womb?" Brahma replied: "Yes, Blessed One. Indeed, Bliss-Gone One." "Well, Brahma," the Blessed One said, "where is it now?"

Brahma responded, "Blessed One, it is in the Brahma realm."

"Brahma," the Blessed One remarked. "In that case, fetch this structure that delighted me as a bodhisattva for ten months and show it to everyone so they can know how it was constructed."

Brahma, lord of the Fearless Realm, now spoke to the gods of the Brahma realm, saying: "Please wait here until I bring the jeweled structure that delighted the Bodhisattva."

Then Brahma, lord of the Fearless Realm, prostrated with his head at the feet of the Blessed One before disappearing from the presence of the Blessed One. In that very instant he reached the Brahma realm. There he spoke these words to the divine son Subrahma:

"Friend, go from this Brahma realm up to the Heaven of the Thirty-Three and tell them: 'We are bringing the jeweled structure that delighted the Bodhisattva and we are taking it into the presence of the Blessed One. Those among you who would like to see it should come quickly!'"

Brahma, lord of the Fearless Realm, together with 84 trillion gods, lifted the jewelled structure that had delighted the Bodhisattva and placed it atop a great mansion in the Brahma realm that was three hundred leagues high. Surrounded by all these many trillions of gods, he then descended back down to Jambudvipa.

At that time there was a great gathering of divine sons from the desire realm who wished to serve the Bodhisattva. These gods further embellished the jewelled structure that had delighted the Bodhisattva, using divine fabrics, garlands, perfumes, flowers, music, and other divine delights. The most eminent among the gods all surrounded the structure.

At the same time Sakra, lord of the gods, was standing far away on top of Mount Sumeru in the middle of the ocean. Shielding his face with his palm, he turned his head and stared out unblinking and completely transfixed, but he was unable to see the jewelled structure. Why was that? Among the gods, those of the Brahma realm have the greatest ability, and the gods in the Heaven of the Thirty-Three, the Heaven Free from Strife, the Heaven of Joy, the Heaven of Delighting in Emanations, and the Heaven of Making Use of Others' Emanations are inferior in comparison to them. So what need is there to speak of Sakra, master of the gods?

At that moment the Blessed One quieted the divine music because the humans in Jambudvipa would all go insane merely from hearing such music. The four great kings now came before Sakra, lord of the gods, and asked him:

"Lord of the gods, what can we do? We are unable to see this jeweled structure that delighted the Bodhisattva."

Sakra responded: "Friends, what can I do? I also cannot see it right now. Nevertheless, friends, when it is brought into the presence of the Blessed One, we should be able to see it."

The four great kings pleaded: "Lord of the gods, for that reason let us quickly do whatever is necessary to see it!"

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Sakra replied: "Friends, wait until the best of the superior divine sons come into the presence of the Blessed One and delight him."

Thus they stood aside, turned their heads, and gazed intently at the Blessed One.

Suddenly Brahma, lord of the Fearless Realm, arrived together with 84 trillion gods, carrying the jeweled structure that had delighted the Bodhisattva and bringing it in front of the Thus-Gone One.

The jeweled structure that had delighted the Bodhisattva was finely shaped, exquisite and beautiful to behold. It was square in form and had four pillars. At the top was a beautifully adorned upper floor scaled to fit a six-month-old fetus. Inside that upper chamber was a throne with a sitting area that was likewise scaled to fit a sixmonth-old fetus.

There is nothing whatsoever in the world, including the realms of gods and Brahma gods, that is similar in colour and shape to the jeweled structure that delighted the Bodhisattva. When the gods saw it, their eyes were dazzled and they were amazed.

When it was placed in the presence of the Thus-Gone One, it gleamed, radiated heat, and shone brightly. This multistoried structure was as resplendent as gold that has been smelted twice by an expert goldsmith so that it has become perfectly refined and free from any impurity.

Likewise nothing whatsoever in all the divine realms can compare to the size and shape of the throne inside the structure that had delighted the Bodhisattva, except perhaps the neck of the Bodhisattva, which resembles a conch in shape and colour.

Even the garments worn by the great Brahma lost their beauty in front of the Bodhisattva's throne, causing them to resemble cast-off black blankets that have been beaten by wind and rain. The temple was made from uraga sandalwood, which is so precious that a single mote of its dust is equal in value to a thousand universes. Furthermore the temple was surrounded on all sides by more such uraga sandalwood. Inside that temple hovered an identical second structure, which did not touch the first structure. Inside this second temple hovered an identical third structure, which also did not touch the second structure. Within that third temple made of incense was a throne with cushions. The colour of the uraga sandalwood was like the finest blue beryl. Around the temple of incense were all types of flowers that surpassed even those of the gods. They had not been planted there, but appeared solely because of the maturation of the Bodhisattva's previous basic virtue.

That precious structure that delighted the Bodhisattva was like a diamond—solid, firm, and indestructible. Yet it was also pleasant to the touch, like kacalindi cloth. Moreover, the precious structure that delighted the Bodhisattva clearly reflected all that is found within the abodes of the gods of the desire realm.

On the evening in which the Bodhisattva entered the womb, a lotus appeared from below the waters, piercing the earth and rising up 6.8 million leagues, as far as the Brahma realm. Only the best of charioteers and the great Brahma, who is master of a thousand powers, were able to see that flower. To everyone else, it was invisible. In that great lotus appeared a drop of nectar, which embodied the extracted essence and vitality of the entire great trichiliocosm. The great Brahma placed this drop into a beautiful vessel of beryl and offered it to the Bodhisattva. The Bodhisattva accepted the gift and, out of affection for the great Brahma, he drank it. Apart from a bodhisattva in his final existence, who has completed all the bodhisattva stages, no other being is able to digest such a drop of vital energy.

What were the previous actions that prepared the Bodhisattva for digesting this drop of vital energy? When the Bodhisattva was practicing the conduct of a bodhisattva for extended periods in the past, he gave medicine to the sick, fulfilled the wishes of those who had aspirations, and never abandoned those who came to him for refuge. He always offered the finest flowers, the best fruits, and the most delicious foods first to the thus-gone ones, the memorials of the thus-gone ones, the saṅgha of hearers of the thus-gone ones, and his parents. Only then would he cater to his own needs. It was as a result of this activity that the great Brahma offered the Bodhisattva this drop of nectar. Within that temple all the most excellent and exquisite pleasures and amusements came together, manifesting due to the maturation of the Bodhisattva's previous actions.

Moreover, within the precious structure that delighted the Bodhisattva, a set of garments appeared, known as the ornament of a hundred thousand. Apart from a bodhisattva in his final existence, no other being anywhere could ever receive such garments. In fact all possible sublime and perfect forms, sounds, smells, tastes, and textures were present within that peaked structure.

In this way the temple that delighted the Bodhisattva was completely perfect and finely constructed both inside and outside. It was also pleasant to touch, like silk from the Kacalindi region. This is merely an example, for in reality nothing could compare to it.

Because of the previous aspirations of the Bodhisattva, his intentions were accomplished. It is the nature of things that a great bodhisattva is born into the human world. Having renounced his home, he attains perfect and complete awakening and turns the wheel of Dharma. Yet before he enters his mother's womb, a temple of precious materials is manifested on the right side of the mother's womb. Then as a bodhisattva transmigrates from the Heaven of Joy, he remains seated in a cross-legged position in that tiered chamber. The body of a bodhisattva in his last existence is free from the four stages of embryonic development. Instead he appears seated, with all his limbs, organs, and characteristics fully formed. As such Queen Maya saw the arrival of an elephant in her dream.

Now Sakra, lord of the gods, as well as the four great kings, the twenty-eight great commanders of the yaksas, and the master of the guhyakas, who are the type of yaksa from which Vajrapani came, all knew that the Bodhisattva had entered the womb of his mother, and they constantly stayed close to him. The Bodhisattva also had four goddesses named Utkhali, Samutkhali, Dhvajavati, and Prabhavati serve him. When these four goddesses knew that the Bodhisattva had entered the womb of his mother, they kept a constant guard over him. In addition, when Sakra, lord of the gods, discovered that the Bodhisattva had entered the womb of his mother, he brought along five hundred divine sons to constantly follow the Bodhisattva.

The body of a bodhisattva who has entered the womb of his mother develops certain features. For example, it is like a great fire burning on a mountaintop during the darkest night, visible from a league or even five leagues away. The body of the Bodhisattva as he entered the womb of his mother was just this way. It was radiant, well formed, handsome, and pleasing to see. As he sat with crossed legs inside that peaked structure, he was exceedingly beautiful. He appeared to have a golden hue, shining like refined gold adorned with precious beryl. The mother of the Bodhisattva could also see the Bodhisattva within her womb.

In the same way that a lightning bolt illumines everything as it emerges from a mass of clouds, so the Bodhisattva dwelling in his mother's womb also illuminated the innermost chamber of the precious temple through his splendour, brilliance, and colour. When that was illuminated, he illuminated the middle chamber of the fragrant temple. When the second level of the fragrant temple was illuminated, the light went farther and illuminated the outer chamber of the fragrant temple. Then, as the third level of the fragrant temple was bathed in light, his mother's entire body became filled with light. The light then went farther and illuminated the seat upon which his mother was seated. Gradually the light streamed forth and brightened the entire palace. The light rays rose beyond the palace and illuminated the east. Likewise, while the Bodhisattva was residing in the womb of his mother, the glory, brilliance, and colour of the Bodhisattva illuminated the south, the west, and the north, below and above. In fact all the ten directions were bathed in light for several miles in each direction.

Monks, in the early morning the four great kings and the twenty-eight great commanders of the yaksas together with five hundred yaksas arrived to meet the Bodhisattva and to offer him their respect and veneration, and also to listen to the Dharma. At that time the Bodhisattva, who was aware of their arrival, extended his right hand and pointed out their seats. The guardians of the world and the other guests sat down on the arranged seats. They perceived the Bodhisattva, who was in the womb of his mother, in the form of a child who has already taken birth, extending his hand and moving it in various positions. Upon seeing this they prostrated to the Bodhisattva and were filled with joy, devotion, and well-being.

When the Bodhisattva saw that they were settled, he offered them a Dharma teaching and made sure that they understood, became inspired, and were filled with joy. When they wished to go, the Bodhisattva, who knew full well their thoughts, extended his right hand as a farewell greeting. As he retracted his hand, there was no harm done to his mother. The four great kings understood the greeting and thought: "We have been dismissed by the Bodhisattva." Then they circled around the Bodhisattva and his mother three times before departing. This was the circumstance and the reason why the Bodhisattva, in the quiet of the night, would extend his right hand and draw it back. Finally he would let the hand rest while maintaining mindfulness and carefulness.

At other times when people came to see the Bodhisattva, be they women or men, boys or girls, he would first joyfully welcome them, and then his mother would do the same. Monks, in this way the Bodhisattva became very skilled at initiating delightful salutations as he dwelt in his mother's womb. There was no one, whether god, naga, yaksa, human, or nonhuman, who was ever able to greet the Bodhisattva first with a delightful salutation. Instead the Bodhisattva would initiate the salutations, and afterward the mother of the Bodhisattva would joyfully welcome the guests.

When the morning had passed and the noon hour arrived, Sakra, the lord of the gods, along with the most eminent divine sons of the Heaven of the Thirty-Three, came to meet the Bodhisattva and to offer him their respect and veneration, and also to listen to the Dharma. The Bodhisattva, who saw them coming from a distance, extended his golden-coloured right hand and, to the delight of Sakra, lord of the gods, and the gods of the Heaven of the Thirty-Three, pointed out their seats. Monks, at that moment Sakra, lord of the gods, was unable to resist the Bodhisattva's request, and so he and the divine sons all settled down on the seats that had been arranged for them.

When the Bodhisattva knew that they were settled, he offered them a Dharma teaching and made sure that they understood, became inspired, and were filled with joy. In whichever direction the Bodhisattva would extend his hand, the mother of the Bodhisattva would turn to face that way. Then the gods reflected: "The Bodhisattva is having a heartwarming conversation with us." And each one of them thought:

"The Bodhisattva is speaking directly to me; to me alone he extends a friendly welcome." All the while the images of Sakra, lord of the gods, and those of the gods of the Heaven of the Thirty-Three were reflected within the temple. Thus nowhere else were the Bodhisattva's enjoyments as perfectly pure as in the womb of his mother.

Monks, when Sakra, lord of the gods, and the other divine sons wished to depart, the Bodhisattva, who knew full well their thoughts, extended his right hand as a farewell greeting. As he retracted his hand, there was no harm done to his mother. At that time Sakra, lord of the gods, and the other divine sons of the Heaven of the Thirty-Three reflected: "We have been dismissed by the Bodhisattva." Then they circled around the Bodhisattva and his mother three times before departing.

Monks, noontime passed, and it was now evening when Brahma, lord of the Fearless Realm, surrounded by many hundreds of thousands of divine sons, approached the Bodhisattva carrying a drop of the vital force of the divine realms. They came to meet the Bodhisattva and to offer him their respect and veneration, and also to listen to the Dharma.

Monks, the Bodhisattva knew that Brahma, lord of the Fearless Realm, was arriving together with his retinue, and again he raised his golden-coloured right hand. He cordially greeted Brahma, lord of the Fearless Realm, and those divine sons of the pure realms, and pointed out their seats to them. Monks, again it was not possible for Brahma, lord of the Fearless Realm, to resist the Bodhisattva's command.

Thus Brahma, lord of the Fearless Realm, as well as the other divine sons of the pure realms, settled on those seats that had been arranged. When the Bodhisattva knew that they were settled in, he offered them a Dharma teaching and made sure that they understood, became inspired, and were filled with joy. In whichever direction the Bodhisattva would extend his hand, the mother of the Bodhisattva would turn to face that way. Then the gods reflected: "The Bodhisattva is having a heartwarming conversation with us." And each one of them thought: "The Bodhisattva is speaking directly to me; to me alone he extends a friendly welcome."

Monks, when Brahma, lord of the Fearless Realm, and those divine sons of the pure realms wished to depart, the Bodhisattva, who knew full well their thoughts, extended his right hand as a farewell greeting. As he retracted his hand with mindfulness and carefulness, there was no harm done to his mother. Then Brahma, lord of the Fearless Realm, and those gods of the pure realms reflected: "We have been dismissed by the Bodhisattva." Then they circled around the Bodhisattva and his mother three times before departing. Finally the Bodhisattva let his hand rest while maintaining mindfulness and carefulness.

Monks, from everywhere, such as the east, the south, the west, the north, above and below, many hundreds of thousands of bodhisattvas came to meet the Bodhisattva and to offer him their respect and veneration, and also to listen to the Dharma and correctly proclaim that Dharma. Once they had arrived, the Bodhisattva's body began emitting light, which manifested into lion thrones. The Bodhisattva then indicated to the bodhisattvas to take their seat on these thrones. When he knew that they were settled in, the Bodhisattva questioned and examined the bodhisattvas regarding the divisions pertaining to the Great Vehicle. However, with the exception of the gods who were of equal fortune, no one else perceived this. Monks, this was the circumstance and the reason why the Bodhisattva projected light from his body in the quiet of the night.

Monks, while the Bodhisattva was dwelling in the womb of his mother, Queen Maya did not feel any heaviness in her body. On the contrary she felt light, supple, and happy, and she did not experience any uncomfortable pains in her belly. She was not afflicted by attachment, anger, or delusion. She did not entertain any desirous thoughts, nor any thoughts of ill will or harm. She neither experienced nor witnessed any heat, cold, hunger, thirst, gloom, uncleanliness, nor fatigue. No unpleasant forms, sounds, smells, tastes, or textures appeared to her, and she also had no bad dreams. There were no female

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deception, guile, envy, or feminine disturbing emotions to trouble her.

At that time the mother of the Bodhisattva observed the five basic precepts. She was disciplined and followed the path of the ten virtuous actions. The mother of the Bodhisattva never desired any man whomsoever, and neither did any man feel lust in the presence of the mother of the Bodhisattva.

Merely by seeing the mother of the Bodhisattva, any woman, man, boy, or girl in the city of Kapilavastu and its surrounding areas who had been possessed was cured and regained consciousness immediately, regardless of whether they had been possessed by gods, nagas, yaksas, gandharvas, demigods, garudas, or bhutas. Those nonhuman beings quickly departed for other places.

All those who had been struck by illness were freed from their disease as soon as the mother of the Bodhisattva placed her right hand on the top of their head. In this way she would cure those who suffered from any illness or ailment that arises from disharmony among wind, bile, or phlegm. She would cure illnesses related to the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, and lips, as well as toothaches, throat diseases, goiters, lumps, various forms of leprosy, tuberculosis, madness, dementia, fevers, swellings, boils, rashes, scabs, and other illnesses. Once they were freed from their disease, these people could then return to their homes. Queen Maya would also pick herbs and distribute them to the sick, who would immediately regain their health and vigour.

When Queen Maya looked inside her belly, she saw the Bodhisattva resting on the right side of her womb. She could see this as clearly as if she was looking at her own face in a spotless mirror. Seeing him in that way, she was satisfied, elated, and delighted. She felt extremely happy, buoyant, and joyful.

Monks, through the blessings of the Bodhisattva staying in his mother's womb, the sounds of divine musical instruments arose constantly without interruption both day and night, and a rain of divine flowers fell. The gods sent timely rains, and the winds blew at appropriate moments. The seasons and the stars all moved in a balanced manner. The kingdom was joyful and the harvests were bountiful. There were no disturbances or animosity anywhere.

In the city of Kapilavastu, the clan of the Sakyas and everyone else had plenty to eat and drink, and they enjoyed themselves with various amusements. They were generous and created merit. They happily amused themselves just as one does during the autumn festival at the end of the fourth month. King Suddhodana devoted himself purely to religious practice. Setting aside all his kingly work, he lived in complete purity as if he had entered an ascetic's grove. With great delight, he followed the Dharma. Monks, such were the miraculous marvels that occurred while the Bodhisattva remained in his mother's womb.

At this time the Blessed One asked venerable Ananda: "Ananda, would you like to see the jeweled structure that delighted the Bodhisattva when he stayed in his mother's womb?"

Ananda replied: "Yes, Blessed One. I would love to, Bliss-Gone One !"

The Blessed One then showed the jeweled structure to venerable Ananda as well as to Sakra, lord of the gods; the four guardians of the world; and many other gods and humans. As they saw the structure, they were satisfied, uplifted, and full of rejoicing.

In a joyful mood, they were happy and delighted.

Then once again, Brahma, lord of the Fearless Realm, lifted up the jeweled structure and brought it with him to the Brahma realm, where he installed it as an object of worship.

Then the Blessed One again addressed the monks: "Monks, in this way, while the Bodhisattva dwelt in his mother's womb, he ripened 36 million gods and humans within the Three Vehicles."

On this topic, it is said:

When the Victors' Son, the Great Being, settled in his mother's womb,

The earth with its forests shook in six ways.

Golden light shone forth and all the lower realms were purified;

All the gods joyfully proclaimed, "He will be a Dharma king!"

Well shaped and resplendent with many jewels is the great mansion

Where the Hero, the Perfect Guide, has ascended and remains.

It is resplendent, filled with exquisitely fragrant sandalwood,

A few grams of which is worth the whole trichiliocosm filled with jewels.

Bursting forth from beneath the great trichiliocosm,

A lotus, which is a mine of good qualities, emerged with a drop of vital energy.

Within seven days, it reached the world of Brahma through the power of merit;

Brahma collected the vital drop and offered it to the Victors' Son.

Apart from the Bodhisattva, a mighty hero,

No being anywhere could digest the drop.

This drop of vital energy is imbued with the merit of many eons;

Whoever consumes it becomes pure in body, mind, and consciousness.

Sakra, Brahma, and the guardians of the world paid the Bodhisattva three visits

In order to make offerings to the Guide.

They prostrated, made offerings, and listened to the sublime Dharma,

Then they circled around him and returned to their abodes.

From all worlds and realms came bodhisattvas desiring the Dharma;

Sitting on seats of light, they illumined each other.

Because they heard the sacred Dharma of the Supreme Vehicle,

They all could leave with joy, proclaiming songs of praise.

Any woman or child afflicted by suffering,

Possessed by spirits, with troubled mind, naked and covered with dust,

Recovered their senses upon seeing Queen Maya.

With intelligence and mindfulness restored, they returned to their homes.

Those afflicted by illness caused by disorders of wind, bile, or phlegm,

And those with body and mind tormented by diseases of the eyes and ears,

And all those stricken by many different kinds of ailments,

Were freed from illness when Queen Maya placed her hand on their heads.

Moreover, gathering herbs from the ground,

Maya gave them to the sick, who all became cured.

Happy and healthy, they returned to their homes,

While the King of Physicians, the remedy itself, dwelt in the womb.

Whenever Queen Maya examined her body,

She saw the Bodhisattva in her womb.

Like the moon in the sky encircled by stars,

The Bodhisattva was ornamented by marks.

She was untroubled by attachment, anger, or delusion,

Had no sexual desires, nor envy or ill will.

With a joyful and elated mind, she was blissful,

Never bothered by hunger and thirst, or heat and cold.

The sounds of divine instruments constantly arose without being played.

Excellent sublime flowers, fragrant with divine perfumes, fell like rain.

Gods and humans behold this, and none of them

Feel any resentment or ill will toward each other.

Beings rejoiced and played, and made offerings of food and drink;

They uttered cries of joy, content and delighted as they were.

The kingdom was at peace, undisturbed and with well-timed rain;

Grasses, medicinal herbs, and flowers grew in a timely manner.

Over the royal palace, a rain of jewels fell for seven days;

Impoverished beings brought them home and enjoyed the bounty.

At that time there were no impoverished or suffering beings;

Everyone was as joyful as the beings in the pleasure grove atop Mount Meru.

The king of the Sakyas observed the mending and purification ritual;

Leaving his royal duties, he only practiced the Dharma.

He went into the grove of the ascetics and said to Mayadevi,

"How blissful your body must be, bearing the Perfect Being!"

This concludes the sixth chapter on entering the womb.

LALITA-VISTARA CHAPTER 7 — The Birth

[The Bodhisattva takes birth at the grove in Lumbinī and declares his intention to attain complete awakening.]

Monks, in this way ten months passed, and the time came for the Bodhisattva to take birth. At that time thirty-two omens occurred in King Suddhodana's parks: All flowers budded and blossomed. In the ponds, all the blue, red, and white lotus flowers also budded and blossomed. New fruit and flower trees sprung from the earth, budded, and came into blossom. Eight trees of precious gems appeared. Twenty thousand great treasures emerged and remained on the grounds. Inside the women's quarters, jeweled shoots sprouted forth. Scented water, saturated with fragrant oils, flowed forth. Lion cubs descended from the snow mountains. They joyfully circled the sublime city of Kapilavastu and then rested by the gates without harming anyone. Five hundred young white elephants arrived, stroking King Suddhodana's feet with the tips of their trunks, and then settling down next to him.

Divine children, wearing sashes, were seen moving back and forth between the laps of the women in the retinue of King Suddhodana's queen.

Naga girls could be seen holding aloft various offerings, revealing the upper half of their bodies as they moved about in the sky. Ten thousand celestial maidens were seen hovering in the sky, holding up peacock feathers. Ten thousand full vases appeared in a ring around the city of Kapilavastu. Ten thousand celestial maidens appeared with vases of scented water on their heads. Ten thousand celestial maidens appeared holding up parasols, flags, and banners. Many hundreds of thousands of celestial maidens appeared holding conch shells, drums, clay drums, and cymbals adorned with bells.

The winds became still and ceased to blow. All streams and rivers stopped their flow. The sun, the moon, the celestial chariots, the planets, and the stars all stood still. The constellation of Pusya appeared. King Suddhodana's residence became adorned with a net of jewels.All fires were extinguished. The palace, temples, gateways, and doorways were decorated with tassels of jewels and gems. The doors to the storehouses of cloths and gems appeared wide open. The calls of crows, owls, vultures, wolves, and jackals ceased to be heard. Instead many delightful sounds were heard. All people stopped their work. The ground became level without any bumps or hollows. All crossroads, junctions, roads, and marketplaces became as even and smooth as the palm of a hand and were beautifully bestrewn with flower petals. All pregnant women birthed their babies with comfort and ease. All the gods in the sala forest revealed half their bodies from among the trees' leaves and remained there, bowing. Such were the thirty-two omens that occurred.

Then Mayadevi, due to the magnificence and strength of the Bodhisattva, knew that it was time for her to give birth. During the first watch of the night, she came to King Suddhodana and spoke these words:

"Lord, please listen to what is on my mind;

For a long time now, I have thought about the pleasure grove.

If you will not be upset, displeased, or envious,

I should quickly go to that pleasure grove.

"You are also weary from austerities and diligently contemplating the Dharma;

I myself have carried a pure being within me for a long time now.

The sala, that most wonderful of trees, is now in blossom;

O Lord, it is therefore fitting for us to go to the pleasure grove!

"Spring, that excellent season, is a joyous time for women;

The bees are humming and the cuckoos singing.

Fresh and sweet, the fragrance of flowers drifts through the air;

Please issue an order, and let us go there right away!"

The king heard Mayadevi's words, and then,

Delighted and elated, he spoke to his retinue:

"Arrange my horses, elephants, and chariots!

Decorate the excellent garden at Lumbini!

"Quick, prepare twenty thousand elephants,

Dark blue like mountains or storm clouds.

Ornament the lordly six-tusked elephants with bells attached to their flanks;

Decorate them with gold and gems and cover them with lattices of gold.

"Quick, harness twenty thousand royal steeds,

Fast as the wind, strong and excellent steeds,

With silvery snow-coloured tails, manes that are beautifully plaited,

And lattices of golden bells hung on their flanks.

"Quick, gather twenty thousand brave men,

Heroes who long for the battlefield and combat.

Let them brandish sharp weapons—bows and arrows, swords, spears, and lassos—

To carefully guard Mayadevi and her retinue.

"Have Lumbini bestrewn with gold and jewels;

Adorn all the trees with many types of cloths and jewels.

Quick, plant many flowers, like in the gardens of the gods;

Arrange all of this, and then swiftly report to me."

Hearing this, the retinue immediately arranged

All the conveyances and ornamented Lumbini.

They then called out, "Victory! Victory! Long live the king!

Your command is fulfilled and all is ready. Please look, O lord!"

The sublime lord of men, with a joyous mind,

Entered the palace and spoke thus to the women:

"Those of you to whom I am dear and who would like to bring me joy,

Follow my command and adorn yourselves.

"With colourful clothes, beautiful and soft,

And fragrant with enchanting perfume,

Adorn your chests with necklaces of pearls;

Today everyone should wear all their ornaments!

"Bring hundreds of thousands of delightful instruments:

Hand drums, flutes, lutes, clay drums, and cymbals.

Hearing the melodious sound of these instruments, even the gods will be pleased!

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You make the goddesses similarly joyful!
"In the supreme chariot, only Mayadevi shall sit;
None of the ladies nor the men shall join her.
This chariot shall be led by a host of bright young women;
No one shall mention anything unpleasant or unfitting!"
Mayadevi then left her palace and went to the door of the king.
When she arrived, the divisions of horses, elephants, chariots, and foot soldiers
All called out with a deafening roar,
As loud as the waves on a great turbulent ocean.
At this moment, auspiciously, a hundred thousand bells rang out.
The king himself decorated the chariot,
And a thousand gods prepared a divine throne.
The four precious trees were complete with flowers and leaves.
Peacocks, cranes, and swans sounded their delightful calls;
Parasols, flags, and banners of all sizes were hoisted.
The chariot was covered with a beautiful lattice of tinkling bells and divine cloth;
From up in the heavens, celestial maidens looked down at the chariot.
They called out in divine melodious tones, offering words of praise.
When Mayadevi sat upon the lion throne,
The earth of the trichiliocosm trembled in six ways.
The gods waved cloths and scattered a rain of flowers:
"Today at Lumbini, a sublime being is to be born!"
The four guardians of the world led the supreme chariot;
Sakra himself, lord of the Heaven of the Thirty-Three, cleared its path.
Brahma, going ahead, expelled all untamed creatures;
Hundreds of thousands of gods joined their hands and bowed down.
The king, with a joyful heart, surveyed what had been prepared,
Thinking, "This child must be the god of gods!
When the four guardians, Brahma, and the gods, led by Sakra, make such offerings, He will surely become a Buddha!
"None of the gods, nor the nagas, Sakra, Brahma, or the guardians of the world, And no other being in the trichiliocosm could accept such offerings as these, For their heads would burst asunder or their lives be lost. Yet he, supreme among gods, can accept all offerings."

Monks, Mayadevi now set forth, surrounded and protected by 84,000 richly ornamented horse-drawn chariots, 84,000 richly ornamented elephant-drawn chariots, and 84,000 brave, heroic, and handsome foot soldiers wearing excellent and solid armour. She was escorted by 60,000 Sakya maidens. She was guarded by 40,000 elders, youths, and middle-aged men from King Suddhodana's Sakya clan. She was also surrounded by 60,000 women from King Suddhodana's retinue, who sang songs and played music, bells, and cymbals. Some 84,000 celestial maidens followed her, as did 84,000 naga maidens, 84,000 gandharva maidens, 84,000 kiṃnara maidens, and 84,000 female demigods. All of them were lavishly ornamented and sang her praise in melodic voices accompanied by music.

The entire Lumbini Grove was sprinkled with droplets of perfumed water and strewn with celestial flowers. Every tree in that perfect grove had leaves, flowers, and fruits, even though it was out of season. Even the gods had done their best to decorate the forest. They had, in fact, made it appear like the gods' Misraka Garden.

When Mayadevi arrived at the Lumbini Grove, she stepped down from her fine chariot. As human and divine maidens encircled her, she wandered from tree to tree and from grove to grove. She looked among all the trees and eventually arrived beneath a very special and exquisite fig tree. Its branches spread out, full of lush leaves and clusters of blossoms, and further adorned with numerous human and divine flowers. Richly scented cloths of many colours were draped across its branches. It was sparkling with the light of many gems and jewels. Its roots, trunk, branches, and leaves were all adorned with jewels. Its branches were long and spread out spaciously.

The ground where the fig tree stood was smooth like the palm of a hand, beautiful and open, and it was full of dark blue grass, the colour of a peacock's neck. The earth was pleasant to the touch, like soft kacalindi cloth. This tree had supported the mothers of previous victorious ones, and it had been praised in the poetry of the gods.

It was a tree to which the wholesome and peaceful gods of the pure realms would bow down and touch with their heads, including their topknots and diadems. Now the queen and her retinue had arrived at this pure and stainless fig tree.

However, at this moment the Bodhisattva's magnificence and power caused the fig tree itself to bow down and pay homage to him. Mayadevi stretched out her right arm, like a flash of lightning appearing in the middle of the sky, and grasped a branch of the tree. She auspiciously directed her gaze into the open sky and stretched her body. At that point sixty thousand goddesses from the desire realm approached Mayadevi to assist and venerate her.

Such were the miracles that occurred while the Bodhisattva was in his mother's womb. Now, as the ten months had been completed, he emerged from his mother's right side, fully aware and mindful. In this way he was unstained by any impurities of the womb, which otherwise are said to stain everyone else.

Monks, at that time Sakra, lord of the gods, and Brahma, lord of the Fearless Realm, appeared before the Bodhisattva. As they remembered and recognized who he was, they were full of veneration for the Bodhisattva and wrapped him up in divine silk. The temple in which the Bodhisattva had dwelt while in his mother's womb was carried off by Brahma, lord of the Fearless Realm, and the other gods of the Brahma realm up into their realm, where they enshrined the temple in a memorial and made it an object of worship. Thus the Bodhisattva was first received by the gods rather than by any humans.

As soon as he was born, the Bodhisattva stepped onto the ground. Wherever his feet touched the ground, a large lotus immediately sprung from the earth. Then the great naga kings Nanda and Upananda revealed their upper bodies in the sky and produced two streams of cool and warm water to rinse the Bodhisattva's body.

Sakra, Brahma, the guardians of the world, and many hundreds of thousands of divine sons then bathed the Bodhisattva in perfumed water and scattered flower petals over him. A parasol of precious gems and two yak-tail whisks also appeared from midair.

The Bodhisattva stood on a large lotus and surveyed the four directions with his lion's gaze, the gaze of a great being. At that time the Bodhisattva, with unhindered higher knowledge, which he manifested due to the ripening of previous roots of virtue, saw the entire great trichiliocosm. He saw all the cities, towns, estates, kingdoms, royal cities, and lands, as well as all gods and humans. He also perfectly knew the minds of all sentient beings and carefully surveyed them, looking to see if there was anyone similar to himself in terms of virtuous conduct, discipline, meditative absorption, or knowledge. However, in the entire great trichiliocosm, the Bodhisattva did not see anyone like himself.

At that point the Bodhisattva felt a lion-like fearlessness, free from anxiety or apprehension. Without any hesitation or wavering, he reminded himself of his good motivations. Because he had examined the minds of all sentient beings, he now knew their thoughts. Unsupported, he took seven steps toward the east and declared, "I will be the cause of all virtuous practices."

Wherever the Bodhisattva took a step, a lotus sprouted forth. He then took seven steps toward the south and said, "I am worthy of the offerings of gods and humans."

Next he took seven steps toward the west and, pausing on the seventh step, he proclaimed these satisfying words in lion-like fashion: "I am the Supreme Being on this earth. This is my last birth, where I shall uproot birth, old age, sickness, and death!" He then took seven steps toward the north and said, "I will be supreme among all sentient beings!" Next he took seven steps downhill, saying, "I will subjugate Mara and his army! I will cause great rain clouds of the Dharma to shower down on all hell beings, extinguishing the fires of hell and filling the beings there with happiness." Finally he took seven steps uphill, lifted his gaze, and said, "All sentient beings will look up to me."

As the Bodhisattva spoke in this way, his words were immediately heard throughout the entire great trichiliocosm. Such was the nature of the foreknowledge that sprang from the ripening of the Bodhisattva's previous actions. Whenever a bodhisattva takes birth into his final existence, and as he awakens to perfect and complete buddhahood, various miracles unfold.

Monks, at that time all beings were so delighted that the hairs on their bodies shivered. There was also a terrifying quaking of the earth, which caused the hairs on their bodies to stand on end. The cymbals and musical instruments of gods and humans sounded without being played by anyone. At that time all the trees in the great trichiliocosm—whether in season or not—blossomed and bore fruit. From the expanse of pure space, the sound of thunder rang out, and from the cloudless sky, a fine mist of rain showered down ever so gently, mixed with divinely coloured flowers, cloths, ornaments, and powdered incense. Deliciously scented breezes blew, delightful and cooling. In all directions there was no darkness, dust, smoke, or mist to be seen, and everything appeared bright and beautiful.

Also, from the empty space above, the great melodious and profound sounds of the realm of Brahma were heard. All the light of the sun, the moon, Brahma, Sakra, and the guardians of the world [86] was eclipsed by an otherworldly light of a hundred thousand colours, which filled the entire great trichiliocosm and brought pleasure and happiness, both physical and mental, to everyone that it touched. At the very moment when the Bodhisattva was born, all beings became filled with bliss. All types of attachment, anger, delusion, pride, [F.47.a] dislike, dejection, fear, greed, jealousy, and stinginess subsided, and everyone abandoned all forms of unwholesome conduct.

The illnesses of the sick were cured. The hungry and the thirsty were relieved of their hunger and thirst. The drunk and intoxicated were freed from their intoxication. The mad had their sanity restored. The blind could see. The deaf could hear. The crippled had their capacities restored. The destitute gained wealth. The imprisoned were freed. All ailments and sufferings of those in the hell realms, starting with the Hell of Ultimate Torment, ceased at that moment. The suffering of those born into the animal realm, such as the fear of being eaten by one another, was also pacified.

Likewise the sufferings experienced by beings in the realm of the lord of death, such as hunger and thirst, were also pacified.

The newborn Bodhisattva had already practiced good conduct for countless trillions of eons, and he possessed great diligence and strength. As such, when he took his first seven steps, he had already attained the state of reality. Therefore all the buddhas, the blessed ones, in all the realms in the ten directions blessed the earth at that spot of vajra nature so that it would not be destroyed by his steps. Monks, such was the awesome strength of the newborn Bodhisattva's first seven steps.

At that time the entire world was filled with a bright light, and the sounds of singing and dancing were heard. A rain of flowers, powders, incense, garlands, jewels, ornaments, and cloths showered down from innumerable clouds. All beings were filled with perfect joy. In short, when the Bodhisattva, who is more exalted than anyone in all the worlds, came into this world, many inconceivable events took place.

Venerable Ananda now stood up from his seat, removed his robe from one shoulder, and kneeled, placing his right knee on the ground. He joined his palms in the direction of the Blessed One, bowed, and supplicated him with these words:

"The Blessed One, the Thus-Gone One, is truly more amazing than anyone else. The Bodhisattva possessed incredible qualities, but how much more so the One Who Has Awakened to Perfect and Complete Buddhahood? O Blessed One, I therefore take refuge in Lord Buddha four times, five times, ten times, fifty times, a hundred times, or rather many hundreds of thousands of times!"

After the Blessed One had been supplicated in this manner by the venerable Ananda, the Blessed One proclaimed:

"In the future there will be some monks who do not train their bodies and minds and do not acquaint themselves with discipline and knowledge. Like unskilled children, they will be highly proud, wild, arrogant, unrestrained, distracted, hesitant, doubting, and without trust. They will bring stains on the monastic order and not live like proper monks. When they hear about the Bodhisattva entering his mother's womb in such a pure way, they will not believe it. Instead they will gather and gossip, saying, 'Listen, all of you, just listen to this nonsense! The Bodhisattva supposedly entered into his mother's womb, where he mixed with impure fluids. And yet he is said to have had such enjoyments. Moreover, it is said that when he was born, he emerged from his mother's right side without being sullied by any stains of the womb. [F.48.a] But how could this be possible?'

"Such fools will not understand that the bodies of those who have engaged in excellent actions are not begotten from unclean fluids. Monks, such sublime beings enter into and abide in the womb in the finest manner. It is due to their love and compassion for sentient beings that bodhisattvas are born into the world of humans, since gods do not turn the wheel of Dharma. Why is this? Ananda, it is because beings would otherwise have been discouraged, thinking, 'The Blessed One, the Thus-Gone One, the Worthy One, the Completely Perfect Buddha is a god. We are just human beings, so we are not able to achieve that state.'

"It will not occur to these foolish beings, such thieves of the Dharma, to think, 'This being is inconceivable and we cannot judge him.' Ananda, these future people will also not believe in the Buddha's miracles, let alone the miracles displayed by the Thus-Gone Bodhisattva. Ananda, these foolish beings will be overcome with desire for wealth, respect, and praise. They will sink into filth and be overcome with their lust for honour. In this way these impertinent beings will abandon the Buddha's teachings. Just consider how much nonvirtue they will accumulate!"

Ananda asked, "Blessed One! In the future will there really be such monks who reject excellent sutras like this one, and who speak poorly of them?" The Blessed One replied, "Ananda, not only will there be those who reject the sutras and speak poorly of them, there will also be monks who perform many negative deeds and leave aside their obligations as monks."

Ananda then asked, "Blessed One, please tell me how life will turn out for those wicked beings? What will happen as they move from one life to the next?"

The Blessed One replied, "They will share the fate of those who deny the Buddha's awakening and those who insult and defame the buddhas, the blessed ones, of the past, present, and future."

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Venerable Ananda's hairs stood on end as he exclaimed, "I pay homage to the Buddha!" He then said to the Blessed One, "Blessed One, when I hear about the conduct of those wicked beings, it almost makes me faint!"

Then the Blessed One gave this speech: "Ananda, the behavior of such people will not be proper, but base. Ananda, through their improper conduct, these beings will fall into the great hell of incessant pain. Why is this? Ananda, there are some monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen who do not feel inspired when they hear sutras like this one. Instead they do not trust these sutras and they reject them. As soon as they die, they will all fall into the great Hell of Ultimate Torment. Ananda, one should never attempt to measure the thus-gone ones. Why not? Because, Ananda, the thus-gone ones are immeasurable, profound, vast, and difficult to judge.

"Ananda, when some beings hear sutras like this one, they become joyful, elated, and full of faith. Those beings obtain something wonderful. Their lives become meaningful and their humanity serves a purpose. Their conduct is excellent and they take hold of what is truly essential. They are freed from the three lower realms. They become heirs of the thus-gone ones and obtain all that they need. Their trust is meaningful and they will receive their fair share of the provisions of the kingdom. They will trust deeply in noble beings and cut through Mara's snares. They will cross over the wastelands of saṃsara and remove the thorns of misery. They will reach a place of supreme joy and genuinely take refuge. As appropriate objects for others' generosity, they are worthy recipients of offerings. These beings appear in the world only rarely, and when here they are to be held as proper objects of generosity. Why is that? It is because they have faith in the teachings of the thus-gone ones, which go against all worldly conventions.

"Ananda, those beings do not possess any inferior forms of roots of virtue. Ananda, those beings are not just companions who befriend me for a few lifetimes only. And why is that? Because, Ananda, some beings are pleased and delighted to hear me, but not to see me. Some, Ananda, are pleased and delighted to see me, but not to hear me. Still others, Ananda, are pleased and delighted both to see me and to hear me. Ananda, whatever the case, when beings are pleased and delighted to see me or hear me, you can be certain that they are friends who have accompanied me for multiple lifetimes. The Thus-Gone One sees them, and the Thus-Gone One will liberate them. They have the same qualities as the Thus-Gone One. They have gone for refuge in the Thus-Gone One. The Thus-Gone One has accepted them.

"Ananda, even during earlier times when I was practicing the conduct of a bodhisattva, others came to see me, desperate and bound by fear, begging me to protect them from their fears, which I did. So now that I have awakened to perfect and complete buddhahood, I will certainly do the same. Ananda, strive in faith; the Thus-Gone One urges you thus! Ananda, the task before you has already been completed by the Thus-Gone One. The Thus-Gone One has pulled out the thorn of pride.

"Ananda, if a person is willing to travel for hundreds of miles just to receive news of a friend and is delighted to hear that news, then how about if they actually meet their friend? Whoever relies on me and generates the roots of virtue will be recognised by the future thus-gone ones, the worthy ones, the completely perfect buddhas, who will think, 'Those beings are the old friends of the thus-gone ones. They are also our friends.'

"Why is that? Ananda, it is because friends please and delight each other. Whoever is dear to one's friend is also dear and delightful to oneself. Therefore, Ananda, have trust and understand it to be so. Develop trust and think, 'I also entrust myself to the thus-gone ones, the worthy ones, the completely perfect buddhas of the future. They are also my friends.' Think like this, and your wishes will be fulfilled.

"Ananda, think of this example: Consider a man who is strong and well-regarded but has only one son,. Now, if that father has many friends, then even if he should pass away, the friends of the father will still accept the son and not reject him. Ananda, in the same way, whoever has faith in me, I will accept as my friend. They will take refuge in me. The Thus-Gone One has many friends. And because those friends of the Thus-Gone One speak genuinely and tell no lies, I entrust those friends of the Thus-Gone One to those who speak the truth—the future thus-gone ones, the worthy ones, the completely perfect buddhas. Therefore, Ananda, strive to have faith! That is what I ask of you!"

Thus, monks, when the Bodhisattva was born, many trillions of goddesses resting in the centre of the sky showered divine flowers, incense, garlands, scented oils, cloths, and jewels upon Mayadevi.

On this topic, it is said:

At that time sixty thousand goddesses with melodious voices,
Glowing with virtuous, stainless, pure golden light, resplendent like the sun and moon,
Arrived at Lumbini and spoke to Mayadevi:
"Do not be displeased but filled with joy! We are your servants.
"Please tell us what to do, what you wish to be done;
We are your capable servants, with loving intentions.
We beg you to be joyful and abandon all sorrow;
Today, queen, you shall give birth with ease
To the sublime physician who will overcome sickness and death!
"The trees' buds open, and the sala trees blossom;
Thousands of gods stand before you, bowing their arms.
The earth and the sea tremble in six different ways;
Thus your son will be known here and in heaven as the Transcendent One.
"A pure light beautifies everything, glowing golden;
Hundreds of fine instruments resound from the empty sky without being played.
A hundred thousand pure, clean gods free from desire joyfully pay homage;
Today the One Who Will Benefit the Entire World shall be born.
Sakra, Brahma, the guardians of the world, and other gods
Stand by, joyfully and happily, with folded hands.
The Lion-like Being, with disciplined conduct, emerged from Mayadevi's right side;
Like a golden mountain, glowing with purity, the Guide was born.
Sakra and Brahma held out their hands, receiving the Sage;
A hundred thousand realms trembled and were suffused with light.
The beings of the three lower realms were joyful, their sufferings freed;
A hundred thousand gods scattered flowers and waved banners.
From the solid earth sprung beautiful lotuses, the nature of vajra.
They appeared auspiciously where the Guide placed his wheel-marked feet.
He took seven steps and spoke with a melodious voice like Brahma's:
"I will be a perfect being, a sublime physician who cures old age and death!"
Brahma and Sakra, the supreme gods, hovered in the centre of space;
They bathed the body of the Guide with pure, clean, and fragrant water.
Two naga kings, dwelling in space, spouted forth two streams of cool and warm water;
As well, one hundred thousand gods bathed the Guide's body with fragrant water.
The guardians of the world, with deep respect, held him in their fine hands;
The trichiliocosm, with all its animate and inanimate contents, shook.
As dazzling light streamed forth, even the lower realms were pacified;
When the Guide of the World was born, all suffering and afflictions ceased.
Upon the Victorious Guide of Men,
The gods showered a cooling rain of flowers.
Then the strong and diligent being
Took seven steps.
Wherever he placed his feet on the ground,
A beautiful lotus,
Adorned with many jewels,
Sprouted forth from the earth.
Thus, having taken seven steps,
With the melodious voice of Brahma, he proclaimed:
"The sublime physician, dispeller of old age and death,
Has now arrived!"
Fearlessly he looked in all directions
And then spoke meaningfully:
"I am the leader of the world;
Supreme in this world, I am its guide.
"This is my last birth."
Saying this, the Guide of Men smiled.
Sakra and the world protectors felt strong faith
And bathed the benefactor of the world with the finest scented water.
The naga kings, too, followed suit,
Bathing his body with streams of scented water.
Ten billion other gods suspended in the sky
Also cooled his self-arisen body with streams of delightful scented water.
They held aloft vast white parasols and beautiful yak-tail fans;
Hovering in space, the gods bathed the body of the leader of men.

One man swiftly related the joyful news to Suddhodana:

"O king, great fortune! Your son has been born, adorned with signs!
He will certainly be a universal monarch, the jewel of your family lineage;
Uniting the victory banners of Jambudvipa under one umbrella, he will have no enemies."

Then a second man came and presented himself before Suddhodana.

"O king, great fortune! Now, just as the Prince has been born into the Sakya clan,
There were 25,000 sons born to the Sakya house.
All are invincible, strong, and powerful."

Yet another man came and said, "O king, listen to my joyful news!
Eight hundred children, headed by Chanda, have been born to the servants.
Kaṇṭhaka's mare birthed ten thousand foals,
Perfect horses, glowing golden, with plaited manes and tails.
Twenty thousand kings from the borderlands
Came before the king, saying, "O king, may you be victorious!
We have come. Now tell us, king, what shall we do?
Your Majesty, you are the master and we are the subjects. King, may victory be yours!
"Twenty thousand fine elephants adorned with golden lattices
Have quickly marched to Kapilavastu, trumpeting out their cries.
Headed by Gopa, six thousand black-spotted calves have been born;
As the supreme god is born, so are these other beings. How excellent for the kingdom!
"Go, king, look upon all that is yours! Lord of shining merit!
As thousands of joyous gods and humans see the qualities of the newborn,
They set out for perfect awakening beyond suffering
And call out, 'May all be successful!'"

Monks, at the time of the Bodhisattva's birth, a great show of generosity was instigated. Moreover, five hundred children of noble family were born. Ten thousand girls, headed by Yasovati, were also born, as well as eight hundred female servants and five hundred male servants, headed by Chanda. Likewise ten thousand mares and ten thousand colts, headed by Kaṇṭhaka, were born. Finally five hundred female elephants and five hundred male elephants were born following the Bodhisattva's birth. These births were all recorded in registers by King Suddhodana and given to his young son for entertainment.

Through the power of the Bodhisattva and for his enjoyment, a bodhi tree grew at the centre of the four billion regions, while a sandalwood-tree forest grew at the inner region. Also for the Bodhisattva's enjoyment, five hundred parks sprang forth in the area surrounding the city. The entrances to five thousand treasures became visible as they broke forth from the earth. Thus all of King Suddhodana's intentions were perfectly fulfilled.

Then the king wondered, "Now, what shall I name my young son? Well, immediately when my son was born, all of my aims were fulfilled, so I will name him Sarvarthasiddha, Fulfiller of All Aims." Then King Suddhodana arranged a great naming ceremony and announced, "This child's name is Sarvarthasiddha."

Monks, although the Bodhisattva had now been born, his mother's right side was not torn or damaged but had returned to its usual state. Moreover, Trita's wells manifested with flowing waters, and three ponds of scented oil sprang forth.

Then five thousand celestial maidens came before the Bodhisattva's mother, bringing fragrant oils perfumed with the scent of celestial perfumes. They wanted to know how the birth had gone and whether she was feeling weary. Likewise five thousand celestial maidens bearing unguents came before the Bodhisattva's mother and asked how the birth was and whether she was weary. Then five thousand celestial maidens bearing vases filled with water scented with celestial perfumes came before the Bodhisattva's mother and asked how the birth was and whether she was weary. Next five thousand celestial maidens bearing divine children's clothing came before the Bodhisattva's mother and asked how the birth was and whether she was weary. Then five thousand celestial maidens bearing divine children's ornaments came before the Bodhisattva's mother and asked how the birth was and whether she was weary. Finally five thousand celestial maidens singing and playing divine instruments came before the Bodhisattva's mother and asked how the birth was and whether she was weary.

All of the non-Buddhist sages from Jambudvipa who possessed the five extraordinary abilities came flying through the sky and arrived before King Suddhodana. They called out, "May the king thrive!"

Monks, for seven days following the Bodhisattva's birth, he was honoured with celestial and human music, respected, revered, and given various offerings in the Lumbini Grove. Food, drink, and enjoyments were proffered. The entire Sakya clan gathered, and everyone called out with delight, practiced generosity, engaged in merit, and satisfied the needs of 32,000 priests each day. They gave anything that was desired to whoever desired it. Sakra and Brahma also manifested themselves in the form of young priests within that

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gathering of priests and, sitting at the head of the line, they sang these verses of auspiciousness:

"As the lower realms are pacified,
As all beings feel joy,
He Who Will Establish Beings in Happiness,
The Bringer of Joy, has been born!
"As the unclouded lights
Of the gods, the sun, and the moon
Are outshone and disappear,
A light of merit has certainly appeared!
"The blind can see again;
The deaf can hear again;
The insane have had their sanity restored.
He will become an object of worship for the world!
"Since, unharmed by negative emotions,
The minds of beings are filled with love,
It is certain, without a doubt,
That he will become worthy of the offerings of ten million Brahmas.
"As sala trees blossom
And the earth is even,
Certainly he will become omniscient,
The recipient of offerings of all the world.
"Since the world is calm
And great lotuses have sprouted forth,
Certainly this splendourous one
Will be the protector of the world!
"Since gentle fragrant breezes
Perfumed with divine incense
Pacify the illnesses of beings,
He will become the king of physicians.
"As the hundred gods living in the form realm
Who are free from desire
Join their palms and bow down,
He will become worthy of veneration!
"Humans can see the gods,
And gods can see humans,
Yet they are without animosity toward one another;
Thus he will become the great leader!
"Since all fires have died out,
And all flowing rivers are still,
And the earth sways gently,
He will be one who sees the truth!"

Monks, seven days after the Bodhisattva was born, the time came for Mayadevi to pass away. Upon her death, she was born among the gods in the Heaven of the Thirty-Three.

Monks, you may think that it was because of the Bodhisattva that Mayadevi died. But you should not look upon things that way, since she had reached the maximum extent of her lifespan. Monks, seven days after the bodhisattvas of the past were born, their mothers also died. And why is that? Because once a bodhisattva is born and has grown up, it would destroy his mother's heart if he were to renounce his home.

Monks, seven days earlier Mayadevi had gone in great pomp from the city of Kapilavastu to the pleasure grove. However, with a splendour one trillion times greater than that, the Bodhisattva now entered the city of Kapilavastu. When he entered, five thousand vases filled with scented water were carried ahead of him. Likewise five thousand maidens carrying fans made of peacock feathers walked ahead. Five thousand maidens waving palm fronds preceded them, and farther ahead came five thousand maidens holding golden vases of scented water, who sprinkled this water upon the path. They were preceded by five thousand maidens holding various fresh garlands of wildflowers, as well as five thousand maidens carrying various boxes. Then came five thousand maidens holding fine jewels and sweeping the path. Farther ahead walked five thousand maidens carrying beautiful cushions, and five thousand priests carrying bells and ringing out sounds of auspiciousness. In front of them there were five thousand beautifully decorated elephants. Then came twenty thousand horses covered with golden ornaments and full of jewels.

Following the Bodhisattva were eighty thousand chariots beautifully outfitted with lattices of golden bells, and with parasols, victory banners, and flags hoisted. Then came forty thousand imposing foot soldiers and heroes wearing strong armour. Uncountable billions of gods of the desire and form realms, hovering in the sky, made various types of offerings to the Bodhisattva and followed after him. The Bodhisattva himself rode in a chariot, which the gods of the desire realm had decorated with a great array of ornaments. Twenty thousand celestial maidens with ornate jewellery held up jewel garlands and guided the chariot. Between every two of the celestial maidens was a human maiden, and between every two human maidens was a celestial maiden. However, because of the power of the Bodhisattva, the celestial girls did not find the smell of the human girls displeasing. Nor were the human maidens overwhelmed by the sight of the beautiful celestial maidens.

Monks, in the city of Kapilavastu, five hundred Sakyas had constructed five hundred homes for the Bodhisattva. When the Bodhisattva entered the city, they stood in front of these houses with their hands folded. Bowing reverentially, they invited the Bodhisattva:

"Sarvarthasiddha, please come here! God of Gods, please come here! Pure Being, please come here! Sublime Captain, please come here! Bringer of Pleasure, Joy, and Rapture, please come here! You Who Are Renowned as Being beyond Reproach, please come here! All-Seeing One, please come here! Peerless One beyond Equal, with your splendour, qualities, and body adorned with the major and minor signs, please come here!"

King Suddhodana wanted to make everyone happy, so he took the Bodhisattva into all the houses. In this way it took four months before the Bodhisattva entered his actual residence, the palace known as Display of Gems.

Then the eldest of the elders of the Sakya clan gathered to discuss who among their women should be responsible for the upbringing, care, and nurturing of the Bodhisattva. They agreed that it should be a skilled and kind person who could care for him in a loving and altruistic atmosphere. Five hundred Sakya women came to volunteer, saying, "I will care for the Prince! Please let me take care of the Prince."

The eldest male and female Sakyas then argued, "All of these women are impetuous young girls, who are vain and proud because of their beauty and youth. Such women are incapable of caring for the Prince and his needs. However, the Prince's maternal aunt Mahaprajapati Gautami would be able to raise the Prince so that he is happy and well. She will also be able to please King Suddhodana."

Since everyone agreed with this suggestion, they encouraged Mahaprajapati Gautami to take on this task. And indeed Mahaprajapati Gautami raised the Prince well. At that time thirty-two additional nurses were appointed to serve the Bodhisattva. Of these, eight would carry him, eight were nursemaids, eight were playmates, and eight were appointed to bathe him.

King Suddhodana then gathered all of the Sakyas for a council and asked, "Will this Prince be a universal monarch or will he instead depart from here as a renunciant?"

At that time the great sage Asita, who had the five extraordinary powers, was residing on the slopes of Himavat, the king of mountains, together with his sister's son Naradatta. When the Bodhisattva was born, he saw many amazing miraculous displays and he perceived many divine sons who joyfully hovered in the sky, waving banners and calling out, "Buddha!" Witnessing this, he thought to himself, "Excellent!

I must see this!" With his divine eye, he looked all over Jambudvipa and saw that a prince had been born to King Suddhodana in the city of Kapilavastu. It was a prince who shone with the light of merit, who was worshiped by everyone, and whose body was beautifully adorned with the thirty-two marks of a great being. He said to the young priest Naradatta:

"Young priest, listen! A jewel has come into this world! In the city of Kapilavastu, in the household of King Suddhodana, a prince has been born. He shines with the light of merit, is worshiped by everyone, and is beautifully adorned with the thirtytwo marks of a great being. If he remains in his palace, he will become a universal monarch who commands the four armies. He will be a victorious and pious Dharma king with the necessary strength to govern. He will also have seven precious possessions, which are the precious wheel, the precious elephant, the precious horse, the precious wife, the precious jewel, the precious steward, and the precious minister. He will beget one thousand sons, who will all be heroic, brave, handsome, and triumphant.

By his innate strength, he will subdue and conquer the entire world and its oceans without using force or weapons, and in a way that accords with the doctrine. In this way the entire world will be his kingdom. If, however, he leaves his home and goes forth as a renunciant, he will become a thus-gone one, a worthy one, a completely perfect buddha. He will become a teacher and a guide who is independent of others and renowned throughout the world. So come, let us go and see him."

Just like the king of swans, the great sage Asita, accompanied by his nephew Naradatta, soared through the sky to the city of Kapilavastu. When he arrived, he concealed his magical powers and entered the city on foot. He went to the palace of King Suddhodana and walked right up to the palace gates where, monks, he saw many hundreds of thousands of animals gathered.

The sage Asita went to the gatekeeper and told him, "Sir! Go and tell King Suddhodana that a sage has come to see him."

The gatekeeper went before King Suddhodana with folded hands and said, "Your Majesty! There is an old, elderly, and decrepit sage at the gate, who says that he wishes to see the king."

King Suddhodana had a seat prepared for the sage Asita and said to the gatekeeper, "Let the sage enter."

The gatekeeper returned from the king's quarters and told the sage Asita to enter the palace. The sage Asita went before King Suddhodana and told him, "Great king, may you be victorious! May you be victorious! May you live long! May you rule in accord with the Dharma!"

King Suddhodana first honoured the sage by giving him water to bathe his feet and rinse his mouth. He then very respectfully seated him on a cushion. Once he saw that the sage was sitting comfortably, he respectfully addressed him: "Sage, I do not recall having seen you before. Why have you come here?"

The sage Asita replied to King Suddhodana, "Great king, I have come to see the son who was born to you."

The king said, "Great sage, the child is sleeping now. Please wait for a short while until he wakes."

The sage replied, "Great king, a great being like this does not sleep long. Great beings like him usually remain awake."

Monks, out of affection for the sage Asita, the Bodhisattva now showed signs of having awakened. King Suddhodana carefully lifted Prince Sarvarthasiddha with both hands and carried him before the sage Asita. When the sage Asita looked at the Bodhisattva, he saw that his body was wonderfully adorned with the thirty-two marks and eighty signs of a great being. His body was superior even to that of Sakra, Brahma, and the guardians of the world. It was even more splendourous than hundreds of thousands of suns, and all of its parts were perfectly beautiful.

The sage exclaimed, "Oh! An amazing being has been born in this world! An exceptional and amazing being has been born in this world!" He stood up from his seat, joined his palms, prostrated to the Bodhisattva's feet, and circumambulated him. He then took the Bodhisattva on his lap and remained pensive. He saw that the Bodhisattva's body bore the thirty-two marks of a great being, and he knew that these marks could only indicate one of two possibilities. He saw that if the Bodhisattva was to stay in the palace, he would become a universal monarch who commands the four armies. He would be a victorious and pious Dharma king with the necessary strength to govern. He would also have the seven precious possessions of the wheel, the elephant, the horse, the wife, the jewel, the steward, and the minister.

He would beget one thousand sons, who would all be heroic, brave, handsome, and triumphant. By his innate strength, he would subdue and conquer the entire world and its oceans without using force or weapons, and in a way that accords with the doctrine. In this way the entire world would be his kingdom. On the other hand, if he were to leave his home and go forth as a renunciant, he would become a thus-gone one, renowned as the completely perfect buddha, a peerless leader. As the sage saw this, tears streamed down his face and he sat there sobbing.

Seeing the sage crying, shedding tears and sobbing, the king became afraid and distressed, and he very quickly inquired of the great sage: "Sage! You shed tears, you cry, and you sigh deeply. What is wrong? Is some misfortune to befall the Prince?"

The great sage Asita replied to the king: "Great king, I am not crying for sake of the Prince, and no misfortune will befall him. I cry for myself because, great king, I am elderly, old, and decrepit. Prince Sarvarthasiddha, however, will awaken to perfect and complete buddhahood and turn the wheel of the unexcelled Dharma in a way hat cannot be done by any ascetic, priest, god, demon, or anybody else who follows worldly teachings. He will teach in a way that is beneficial and brings happiness to the world, including the gods. He will share a teaching of pure conduct, which is good in the beginning, good in the middle, and good in the end. It will be a teaching with excellent meaning and excellent words. It will be unique, perfect, pure, purifying, and consummate.

"When those who are bound within the caste system hear his teaching, those who are not free from birth will be liberated. Likewise those who are afflicted by old age, sickness, death, grief, lamentation, suffering, unhappiness, and irritation will be liberated from old age, sickness, death, grief, lamentation, suffering, unhappiness, and irritation. The rain of the sublime teaching will refresh those who are tormented by the flames of desire, anger, and stupidity.

"He will lead onto the straight path to nirvana those beings who are veiled by a variety of mistaken views and who have entered mistaken paths. He will free from bondage those who are trapped in the cage and prison of saṃsara and who are bound by the fetters of disturbing emotions. In those beings who are blinded by darkness, clouded vision, and the cataract of ignorance, he will engender the eye of insight. For those beings who are wounded by the thorn of disturbing emotions, he will pull out that thorn. Great king, an udumbara flower sometimes, though rarely, blooms in the world. Great king, in the same way, rarely, once in many millions of years, a blessed buddha is born in the world. And this great Prince will certainly awaken to unexcelled, perfect and complete buddhahood.

"Once he awakens to unexcelled, perfect and complete buddhahood, he will liberate many billions of beings, bringing them across the ocean of saṃsara and establishing them in immortality. Yet I shall not live to see this jewel of the Buddha. This is why, great king, I cry and sigh so sadly. I will not be able to venerate him, even if I remain healthy.

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"Great king, if you look in our scriptures, you will see that the prince Sarvarthasiddha will not stay at home. The reason is, great king, that the prince Sarvarthasiddha bears the thirty-two marks of a great being. And what are these marks?

"(1) Great king, Prince Sarvarthasiddha has a crown protuberance. That, great king, is the first mark of a great being found on Prince Sarvarthasiddha. (2) Great king, Prince Sarvarthasiddha's hair is deep blue like the neck of a peacock or kohl powder, and curls to the right. (3) His forehead is even. (4) Great king, at the place between Sarvarthasiddha's eyebrows, there is a ringlet of hair the colour of snow or silver. (5) Great king, Prince Sarvarthasiddha's eyelashes are like those of a bull. (6) His eyes are of a deep blue colour. (7) He has forty teeth.(8) He has even teeth. (9) His teeth are without gaps between them. (10) His teeth are perfectly white. (11) Great king, Prince Sarvarthasiddha has the voice of Brahma. (12) His experience of taste is unexcelled. (13) His tongue is very long and slender. (14) His jaw is like that of a lion. (15) His shoulders are well-rounded. (16) Seven of his body parts are wellrounded. (17) His chest is broad. (18) His skin is smooth and golden. (19) When standing up straight, his hands reach his knees. (20) His torso is like that of a lion. (21) Great king, Prince Sarvarthasiddha's arm span and height are identical, like the banyan tree. (22) Each of his hairs grows individually, and their tips curl to the right and upward. (23) His private parts are well sheathed. (24) His thighs are wellrounded. (25) His calves are like those of the black antelope, the king of deer. (26) His fingers are long. (27) His heels are broad. (28) His arches are high. (29) His palms and the soles of his feet are soft. (30) His fingers and toes are webbed. (31) Great king, on the palms of his long-fingered hands and on the soles of his long-toed feet, there are beautiful thousand-spoked wheels with both centre and rim. (32) Great king, Prince Sarvarthasiddha has even and well-placed feet.

"Great king, Prince Sarvarthasiddha possesses these thirty-two marks of a great being. Great king, marks of this type are not found on the body of a universal monarch; these are the marks found on the body of a bodhisattva.

"Great king, the body of Prince Sarvarthasiddha is adorned with eighty minor marks. Because he has these signs, Prince Sarvarthasiddha will not stay at home, but will certainly develop renunciation and depart from his home. Great king, what are these eighty minor marks? Well, great king, (1) Prince Sarvarthasiddha's fingernails are rounded, (2) copper coloured, and (3) glossy. (4) His fingers and toes are rounded, (5) long, and (6) well proportioned. (7) His veins are not visible. (8) His anklebones are not visible. (9) His joints are not visible. (10) His feet are even, rather than uneven. (11) His heels are broad. Great king, (12) Prince Sarvarthasiddha has markings on his hands that are even, (13) clear, (14) deep, (15) straight, (16) and well arranged. (17) His lips are red like the bimba fruit. (18) His voice is not loud. (19) His tongue is supple, soft, and copper coloured. (20) His voice is melodious like the trumpeting of an elephant, or the roll of thunder.

"Moreover, (21) his arms are long. (22) He is excellently clean. (23) His body is soft. (24) His body is not subject to fear or hesitancy. (25) His body is well proportioned, (26) heroic, (27) beautiful, and (28) well composed. (29) His kneecaps are broad, large, and well-developed. Great king, (30) Prince Sarvarthasiddha's body is rounded, (31) very smooth, (32) straight, and (33) well structured. (34) His navel is deep, (35) not crooked, and (36) tapering. (37) Like a sage, he is very pure in his conduct. (38) He is exceedingly attractive, (39) of pure appearance, and (40) shines with a light that dispels all darkness.

"Great king, (41) Prince Sarvarthasiddha moves with the serene gait of an elephant, (42) the stride of a lion, (43) the step of a great bull, (44) the swoop of a swan. (45) His steps always make beautiful circles to the right. (46) His sides are rounded, (47) well proportioned, and (48) straight. (49) His waist is slight like the curve of a bow. (50) His body is free from any blemishes or dark spots. Great king, (51) Prince Sarvarthasiddha has rounded canines. (52) His canines are sharp and well spaced. (53) His nose is elegantly high. (54) His eyes are clear, (55) stainless, (56) warm, (57) elongated, (58) large, and (59) resemble blue lotuses.

"Great king, Prince Sarvarthasiddha has (60) even eyebrows that are (61) thick, (62) dark, (63) continuous, and (64) tapered. (65) His cheeks are plump, (66) even, (67) unblemished, (68) and free from the flush of aggression. (69) His sense organs are clearly apparent. Great king, (70) Prince Sarvarthasiddha has a perfect tuft of hair between his brows. (71) His face and forehead are proportional. (72) His head is large. (73) His hair is black, (74) even, (75) fragrant, (76) soft, (77) well kempt, (78) well arranged, and (79) curly. Great king, (80) Prince Sarvarthasiddha has hair that curls into the forms of the endless knot, the mark of auspiciousness, the mark of eternal happiness, and the mark of prosperity. Great king, Prince Sarvarthasiddha has all of these eighty marks.

"Great king, these eighty marks that Prince Sarvarthasiddha bears mean that Prince Sarvarthasiddha will not remain in his home, but will certainly leave the palace in order to live the life of a renunciant."

When King Suddhodana heard the sage Asita's prophecy about the Prince, he rejoiced and felt satisfied, elated, joyful, and blissful. He rose from his seat, prostrated at the feet of the Bodhisattva, and spoke this verse:

"All the gods prostrate to you.
The sages give you offerings,
And the entire world worships you,
So I will also offer you my homage."

And so, monks, King Suddhodana satisfied the sage Asita and his nephew Naradatta appropriately with a banquet, offered them fine garments, and circumambulated them. Then the great sage Asita returned to his own abode by magically flying through the air. Once there, the great sage Asita told the young priest, "Naradatta, when you hear that a buddha has appeared in this world, you must go immediately to see him and take ordination with that teacher. This will have a long-lasting purpose and bring you benefit and happiness."

On this topic, it is said:

Seeing the hosts of gods, suspended in space calling out, "Buddha!"
The divine sage Asita, who lived on the mountain slopes, was filled with joy.
"What is this word Buddha, which brings such joy to all beings?
It fills my body with pleasure, my mind with joy, and brings supreme peace.
"Is he a god, a demigod, a garuda, a kiṃnara, this Buddha?
That word, which I never heard before, brings joy and trust."
He looked with divine vision over the ten directions, mountains, earth, and oceans,
And looking again saw many amazing sights on the earth, mountains, and oceans.
"This beautiful light glows brilliantly, bringing physical bliss.
As coral shoots spring forth on the mountaintops,
The trees burst into blossom and are laden with fruits—
It is clear that a sublime jewel will soon appear in the three realms.
"The earth appears even and stainless like the palm of a hand,
The gods joyfully wave banners in midair,
Marvelous gems float in the abode of the ocean's naga king—
Certainly a victorious jewel, a source of the doctrine, will appear in Jambudvipa!
"The lower realms are pacified, suffering removed, and beings find joy,
Hosts of devas move about the sky with delight
As the pleasing and melodious songs of the gods resound—
These are certainly signs that here in the three realms, a jewel will appear."
Here in Jambudvipa, the sage Asita looked with the divine eye
To the city of Kapilavastu, King Suddhodana's sublime city.
There he saw a person born who was as strong as Narayana, with signs and splendourous merit;
He rejoiced, his mind became joyful, and he gained strength.
Amazed, he went quickly with his disciple
And arrived at the gate of Kapilavastu, the king's supreme city,
Where he saw many trillions of living beings thronging.
He asked the gatekeeper to quickly say that a sage was at the gate.
The gatekeeper hurriedly entered the palace and told the king:
"Your Majesty, there is an old sage, a great ascetic, at the palace gates;
That supreme sage asks to enter the king's palace.
Great king, shall I let him in or not? Please let me know."
The king made a seat for the sage and said, "Go and bring him here."
When the sage Asita heard the doorman's words, he was happy and joyful. Like a thirsty man wishes for cool water, or one tormented by hunger hopes for food,
The sublime sage was overjoyed at the prospect of seeing this excellent being.
He joyously exclaimed, "King, may you be victorious and live long!"
With these pleasing words and with calm mind and senses, he took his seat.
The king respectfully addressed the sage with these words:
"Please tell me, sage, why have you come to the royal palace?"
"A son was born to you, supreme, transcendent, and splendourous,
Ornamented by thirty-two excellent signs, and with the power of Narayana.
Your Majesty, I would be delighted to see your son, Sarvarthasiddha;
That is why I have come here, O king. I have no other wish."
"Excellent, you are welcome. Tired or not, I am delighted to see you.
The Boon-Granting Prince is sleeping, so this is not the time to see him.
Wait a while and you will see the Perfect One,
Who is like a stainless full moon adorned with a crown of stars."
When the Supreme Guide awoke, glowing like the full moon,
The king took that blazing being, whose light outshone the sun, onto his lap.
"Sage, behold the Golden One, worshiped by gods and humans."
The sage Asita saw his beautiful feet, ornamented by the mark of wheels.
Then the sage stood up, joined his palms, and prostrated to the Prince's feet;
The learned sage held the child and gazed upon him, deep in thought.
He saw the child with the strength of Narayana, ornamented by supreme marks;
Skilled in the Vedas and commentaries, the sage shook his head as he saw two possibilities:
The child would be a powerful universal monarch or a buddha, supreme in the world.
Terribly sad in body and mind, the sage shed tears and sighed deeply.
The supreme king became afraid and asked, "Why does the priest weep?
Does the sage Asita see some obstacle for my Sarvarthasiddha?
"O Sage, why do you weep? Tell me the truth, what good or evil do you see?"
"There is no misfortune or obstacle for your son, Sarvarthasiddha;
I myself am old and infirm, and thus I grieve for myself.
This Prince will be a buddha, revered by the world, who will teach the genuine doctrine.
"And because I will not see this delightful sight, I cry.
Your Majesty, his stainless body is marked by thirty-two excellent signs,
Thus he has only one of two destinies, and no third choice:
Either he will be a universal monarch, or he will be a buddha, supreme on this earth.
"Yet, since he will not desire sense pleasures, he will certainly become a buddha."
Hearing the sage's prophecy, the king was delighted and overjoyed;
He stood up, joined his palms, and prostrated at the Prince's feet.
"Powerful One, the gods worship you, the sages praise you.
"Supreme Leader of All Beings in the Three Realms, I prostrate to you!"
The sage was delighted and spoke to his nephew: "Listen to my instructions!
When this Prince awakens as a buddha and turns the wheel of Dharma, You must immediately take ordination and follow the Able One, and then you shall attain nirvana."
The sublime sage prostrated at the Prince's feet, circled him, and told the king:
"You have very good fortune to have a son like this!
He will satisfy the world, with its gods and humans, through the doctrine."

The great sage then left Kapilavastu and returned to his hermitage.

Monks, as soon as the Bodhisattva was born, the divine son Mahesvara called out to the divine sons of the pure abodes:

"Friends, there is a bodhisattva, a great being, who has excellently and diligently practiced purification, generosity, discipline, patience, diligence, concentration, knowledge, methods, studies, conduct, ascetic practices, and austerities for countless trillions of eons. He has great love, great compassion, and great joy, and is possessed of a noble mind by virtue of its equanimity. He strives for the benefit of all beings and is shielded by the armour of diligence. He has appeared out of the roots of virtue that were brought about by previous buddhas.

"He is adorned with the marks of a hundred merits and is full of a determined resolve. He conquers the enemy's army and has a joyful and excellent mind without stains. He bears the crowning banner of great wisdom. He uproots the strength of the demons. He is the great leader of the trichiliocosm and is worshiped by gods and humans. He has performed great sacrifices and possesses an exceedingly excellent accumulation of merit. Since he has his mind set on deliverance, he will uproot birth, old age, and death. He is wellborn and will bring beings to awakening. Born into the family of King Iksvaku, he has come to the world of humans. He will soon awaken to unexcelled, perfect and complete buddhahood. Let us go and pay homage to him, serve him, respect him, and praise him. The other divine sons who are overcome by their pride will see us paying homage to the Bodhisattva, and they will cast aside their pride, haughtiness, and arrogance. They will also go to pay homage, service, and

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respect to the Bodhisattva. This will bring lasting purpose, benefit, and happiness to those divine sons, until they attain immortality. The might and prosperity of King Suddhodana will become renowned. Let us make a true prophecy about the Bodhisattva, and then return."

After the divine son Mahesvara had said this, he took off for the palace of King Suddhodana surrounded by 1.2 million divine sons, bathing the entire city of Kapilavastu in light. The gatekeeper informed the king of their arrival, and Mahesvara entered the palace with the king's permission. He prostrated, touching his head to the Bodhisattva's feet, drew his robe over one shoulder, and circled the Bodhisattva many hundreds of thousands of times. He then took the Bodhisattva onto his lap and spoke these joyful words to King Suddhodana: "Great king, you should be supremely delighted! The reason, great king, is that the Bodhisattva's body is beautifully ornamented with the major and minor marks of a great being, and he outshines the world of gods, humans, and demigods with his colour, magnificence, renown, and glory.

Great king, it is therefore certain that the Bodhisattva will awaken to unexcelled, perfect and complete buddhahood."

Monks, in this way the divine son Mahesvara, together with the many gods of the pure abodes, made offerings to the Bodhisattva and showed him great respect. As they had now given the true prophecy, they returned to their own abodes.

On this topic, it is said:

Learning of the birth of He Who Has Crossed the Ocean of Qualities,

Mahesvara, overjoyed, spoke to the gods:

"For many millions of eons, it is so rare even to hear of this;

So come, let us go and worship the Lord of Men."

Thus all the twelve thousand pure gods, beautifully ornamented with jeweled crowns,

Excellently comported, and with their lovely hair flowing,

Quickly traveled to the supreme city of Kapilavastu

And stood before the king's gate.

They spoke politely to the gatekeeper:

"Go to the palace and make our arrival known to the king."

The gatekeeper went inside as they asked,

Joined his palms, and spoke to the king.

"Your Majesty, may you always be victorious and live long!

Pure luminescent beings with great merit stand by your door,

Beautifully ornamented with jeweled crowns and excellent conduct.

Their faces are like the full moon; their luster is pure like that of the clear moon.

"King, wherever they go, they cast no shadow;

When they walk, their steps make no sound.

When they step on the earth, they raise no dust,

And beings never tire of gazing upon them.

"Their bodies radiate great clear light.

Their words are beautiful; those of humans cannot compare!

Their speech is profound, soft, and melodious.

These are not humans; I think they must be gods.

"They wait respectfully, each of them holding in his hands

The choicest flowers, garlands, unguents, and silk.

King, it is certain that they have come

To see and worship the Prince, the God of Gods."

The king, hearing these words, was delighted and said,

"Go invite them all into the palace.

The qualities and behavior you have described,

Such miracles are not made by humans."

The gatekeeper joined his palms and spoke to the gods:

"The king invites you all to come inside."

The gods with garlands in their arms were overjoyed

And entered the king's palace, which was similar to the god realm.

Seeing these supreme gods enter his palace,

The king rose from his seat and joined his palms:

"These thrones with jeweled legs have been arranged here.

Please, with your great benevolence, kindly take your seats."

Then, without pride or haughtiness, the gods took their seats.

"King, please listen to our reason for coming here.

A child, whose body is pure and who has great merits, has been born to you;

We wish to see his honoured person.

"We know the significance of excellent marks;

We know what they mean, their course and their application.

Thus, sublime king, do not feel sad;

We wish to see the one who has these many marks.

The king, surrounded by the women of the palace, was filled with joy,

And he took the Prince, blazing like a fire, on his lap.

The supreme gods, with flowing hair, approached;

Just when they emerged from the door, the whole trichiliocosm trembled.

When the supreme gods saw the Leader's feet and nails,

Copper coloured, stainless, pure, and majestic,

Those gods with their flowing hair quickly stood and prostrated,

Placing their heads at the feet of the one with stainless brilliance.

Because of these marks and the glory that they show,

As well as the splendour of merit and the unseen crown of his head,

And also because of the light that shines from the tuft of hair on his forehead,

It is certain that he will conquer Mara and find awakening.

The gods praised the Prince, saying, "He is free from the darkness of disturbing emotions;

He is full of qualities and is able to see things, just as they are.

This jewel among men has finally appeared—

The one who has conquered the enemies of birth, old age, death, and disturbing emotions.

"Stirred by objects of desire and imagination, three fires are born,

Setting the three existences ablaze and causing deep torment.

Yet you, a heroic cloud of Dharma, will aid the tormented by filling the trichiliocosm

With a rain of the nectar of immortality to calm the suffering of negative emotions.

"With a loving voice and soft, compassionate speech,

You will call out with the delightful strains of Brahma's voice,

Heard in all three realms and by all beings.

Blessed One, quickly call out with the great speech of a buddha!

"You will conquer the evil hordes of non-Buddhists with mistaken views,

Who are caught up in worldly desire and who remain on the peak of existence.

Hearing your doctrine of emptiness and interdependent causality,

They will scatter like jackals before a lion!

"You clear away the obscuration of ignorance, the haze of the great disturbing emotions;

You appear and manifest for the sake of beings.

You, the shining light of wisdom, the light rays of insight,

May you dispel the great darkness of all beings with your gaze!

"When such an amazing pure being as this appears,

Gods and humans acquire a tremendous boon.

This precious being, who grants awakening,

Will cut the path to the lower realms and open the paths of the gods!"

The gods strewed a rain of divine flowers over Kapilavastu,

Then they circled and praised the Bodhisattva,

Calling out, "This is the Buddha, the excellent Buddha!"

Before departing joyfully up through the sky.

This concludes the seventh chapter on the birth.

LALITA-VISTARA CHAPTER 8 — Going to the Temple

[The infant Bodhisattva visits a temple where the stone statues rise up to greet him.]

Monks, on the very evening of the Bodhisattva's birth, there were twenty thousand girls born among the ruling class, the priestly class, the merchants, and the householders, such as the landowners. All of them were offered to the Bodhisattva by their parents to serve and honour him. King Suddhodana also gave twenty thousand girls to the Bodhisattva to serve and honour him. His friends, his ministers, his kinfolk, and his blood relatives also offered twenty thousand girls to serve and honour the Bodhisattva.

Finally the members of ministerial assemblies also offered twenty thousand girls to serve and honour the Bodhisattva.

Monks, at that time the male and female elders of the Sakya clan gathered and said to King Suddhodana: "King, please pay heed. The Prince should now worship in the temple."

King Suddhodana replied, "Yes, it would be excellent for him to worship in this way. Therefore let the city be decorated! Ornament the streets, crossroads, intersections, and marketplaces. Send away all hunchbacks and all blind, deaf, and mute people, as well as anyone who is deformed or crippled. Gather everything auspicious!

Beat the drums of merit and ring the bells of auspiciousness. Ornament the gates of this excellent city. Play the most pleasant instruments, cymbals, and drums. Assemble all the local lords and gather the merchants, householders, ministers, gatekeepers, and all the local people. Prepare chariots for the girls. Procure brimming vases. Gather the priests who are experts in recitation. Ornately decorate the temples."

Monks, everyone followed the commands issued by the king. Then King Suddhodana went to his home and spoke to Mahaprajapati Gautami, saying, "The Prince is to pray in the temple. Ornament him well."

Mahaprajapati Gautami replied, "Of course," and dressed the Prince lavishly. While the Prince was being dressed, with a slight smile and no hint of annoyance he spoke these pleasant words to his maternal aunt: "Mother, where are you taking me?"

She replied, "Son, I am taking you to the temple."

The Prince then smiled, laughed, and spoke these verses to his maternal aunt:

"When I was born, this trichiliocosm trembled.

Sakra, Brahma, the demigods, the mahoragas,

Surya, and Candra, as well as Vaisravana and Kumara,

All bowed their heads to my feet and paid homage to me.

"What other god is there who is superior to me,

Who my mother takes me to worship today?

I am superior to all the gods; I am the God of Gods.

There is no other god like me, so how could anyone be superior?

"Still, mother, I will follow worldly customs;

When beings see my miraculous displays, they will be pleased.

It will inspire them with great respect,

And gods and humans will know that I am the God of Gods."

Monks, once the main streets, crossroads, intersections, and markets had been richly

ornamented, with praises and benedictions of all kinds posted around the city, a richly

ornamented chariot was prepared for the Prince in the inner courtyard. With all

auspicious circumstances having been arranged in this manner, King Suddhodana

lifted the Prince onto his lap. Surrounded by priests, townspeople, merchants, householders,

ministers, local lords, gatekeepers, local people, friends, and kinfolk, they

traveled through the richly ornamented roads, intersections, crossroads, and marketplaces,

which were enveloped in the fragrant scent of incense and strewn with flower

petals, filled with horses, elephants, chariots, and foot soldiers, with parasols, victory

banners, and flags held aloft, and resounding with many instruments. At that time a

hundred thousand gods led the Bodhisattva's chariot. Many hundreds of millions of

divine sons and maidens scattered flowers from the sky above and played cymbals.

Monks, King Suddhodana, accompanied by the great royal procession, splendour,

and ceremony, brought the Prince to the temple. As soon as the Bodhisattva placed

his right foot in the temple, the insentient statues of the gods, such as

Siva, Skanda, Narayana, Kubera, Candra, Surya, Vaisravana, Sakra, Brahma, and the

guardians of the world, all stood up from their seats and prostrated at the Bodhisattva's

feet. Right then a hundred thousand gods and humans cried out in amazement

and delight. The fine city of Kapilavastu trembled in six ways. A rain of divine flowers

fell, and a hundred thousand divine instruments sounded without even being

played. Then the various statues in the temple all returned to their seats and spoke

these verses:

"Mount Meru, the greatest and best of mountains, would never bow down to a mustard

seed;

The great ocean, the naga king's abode, would never bow down to a puddle;

The brilliant sun and moon would never bow down before a firefly.

So how could the Noble One, with merit and wisdom, bow down before the gods?

"The gods and humans of this trichiliocosm

Are like mustard seeds, puddles, and fireflies, and yet filled with pride.

If the world bows to He Who Is like Mount Meru, the Ocean, the Sun, and the

Moon—The self-arisen sublime one of this world—then they would attain heaven and nirvana."

Monks, when the Bodhisattva entered the temple, 3.2 million divine sons gave rise to the intention to attain unexcelled, perfect and complete awakening. Monks, these are the circumstances and causes related to the Bodhisattva's equanimity as he was brought to the temple.

This concludes the eighth chapter on going to the temple.

LALITA-VISTARA CHAPTER 9 — The Ornaments

[Buddha's father, Śuddhodana, commissions marvelous jewellery for him.]

Monks, at the time of the constellation of Citra, after the constellation of Hasta had passed, the chief priest of the king, who was called Udayana, the father of Udayin, [F.64.b] went before King Suddhodana surrounded by some five hundred

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priests and said, "Your Majesty, please know that it is now proper for ornaments to be made for the Prince."

The king replied, "Very well, then do it."

At that time King Suddhodana had five hundred types of ornaments made by five hundred Sakyas. He commissioned bracelets, anklets, crowns, necklaces, rings, earrings, armbands, golden belts, golden threads, nets of bells, nets of gems, shoes bedecked with jewels, garlands adorned with various gems, jeweled bangles, chokers, and diadems. When the ornaments were completed the Sakyas went before King Suddhodana at the time of the constellation of Pusya and said, "King, please ornament the Prince."

The king replied, "It is better if you ornament the Prince and make these offerings to him, since I have commissioned the ornaments for the Prince."

They replied, "The Prince should wear these ornaments that we have made for seven days and nights. This will make our efforts meaningful."

At dawn, as the sun rose, the Bodhisattva entered the park known as Stainless Array, where Mahaprajapati Gautami took him onto her lap. Eighty thousand women welcomed the Bodhisattva and gazed at his countenance. Ten thousand girls welcomed the Bodhisattva and gazed at his countenance. Ten thousand Sakyas welcomed the Bodhisattva and gazed at his countenance. Five thousand priests also arrived and gazed at the Bodhisattva's countenance. Then the ornaments that had been commissioned by the gracious king of the Sakyas were fastened onto the Bodhisattva's body.

As soon as the ornaments were placed on the Bodhisattva's body, the radiance of his body eclipsed their luster. They did not glitter or gleam, and they lost all their shine. They were just like a lump of coal that is placed next to gold from the River Jambu—it also does not glitter, gleam, or shine. In the same way, when the ornaments were struck by the light radiating from the Bodhisattva's body, they lost all their glitter, gleam, and shine. And thus it was that any ornament that was placed on the Bodhisattva's body lost its luster, like a lump of soot thrown before gold from the Jambu River.

Then the goddess of the pleasure grove, Vimala, revealed her vast body before the king and the group of Sakyas, and spoke these verses to them:

"Even if the entire trichiliocosm with its cities and towns
Were filled with stainless and beautiful gold,
A single coin of gold from the Jambu River would steal its splendour,
Leaving the other gold bereft of glory and brilliance.

"Even if this entire earth were filled with gold from Jambudvipa,
The light radiating from the pores of the Glorious Guide would outshine it.
It would not shine or gleam, but lose its beauty and glow;
Before the Blissful Protector, it would appear just like soot.

"He is brimming with hundreds of qualities, adorned by his own magnificence;
Not beautified by ornaments, his body is perfectly stainless.
The glows of the sun and moon, the stars, jewels, fire,
Sakra, and Brahma are no longer bright in front of his intense glory.

"His body is adorned with signs, the result of previous virtue,
So why would he need ordinary ornaments made by someone else?
Remove the ornaments! Do not disturb the One Who Makes the Foolish Wise—
He, who brings supreme knowledge, does not wear artificial ornaments!

"Chanda was born at the same time as the son of the kingdom;
Give these beautiful spotless jewels to him, the servan
Reflecting that the Sakya clan would flourish and become supreme,
The Sakyas were delighted and amazed.
Having spoken these words, the goddess scattered divine flowers over the Bodhisattva
and disappeared.
This concludes the ninth chapter on the ornaments.

LALITA-VISTARA CHAPTER 10 — The Demonstration at the Writing School

[The Bodhisattva attends his first day at school, where he far surpasses even the most senior tutors. This chapter is notable in that it contains a list of scripts known to the Bodhisattva which has been of great importance in the history of Indic scripts, particularly through the comparison of various surviving versions of the text.]

Monks, when the young child had grown a little older, he was taken to school. He went there amid hundreds of thousands of auspicious signs, and he was surrounded and attended by tens of thousands of boys, along with ten thousand carts filled with hard food, soft food, and condiments, and ten thousand carts filled with gold coins and gems. These were distributed in the streets and road junctions, and the entrances to the markets of the city of Kapilavastu. At the same time a symphony of eight hundred thousand cymbals was sounded, and a heavy rain of flowers fell.

Hundreds of thousands of girls, adorned with all kinds of jewellery, perched themselves on the balconies, turrets, arches, windows, upper stories, and roofs of the homes. Gazing at the Bodhisattva, they tossed flowers. There were also eight thousand divine maidens, who were adorned with loose hanging jewellery and carried bhadraṁkara gems. They went ahead of the Bodhisattva, cleansing his way. Gods, nagas, yaksas, gandharvas, demigods, garudas, kiṃnaras, and mahoragas revealed the upper halves of their bodies, and festooned wreaths of flowers and woven silk from the sky. All the Sakya factions, with King Suddhodana leading the way, went ahead of the Bodhisattva. With such an array as this, the Bodhisattva was taken to school.

As soon as the Bodhisattva arrived in school, the schoolmaster, who was called Visvamitra, was unable to withstand the Bodhisattva's splendour and radiance, and prostrated to him face-down on the ground. A divine son from the Heaven of Joy called Subhanga saw the schoolmaster collapsed on the ground and, grabbing him with his right hand, raised him up. Suspended in the sky, Subhanga then said the following verses to King Suddhodana and the crowd:

"Whatever topics of knowledge are circulating in this world of humans—
Numbers, scripts, mathematics, the permutations of the elements,
And all the immeasurable mundane techniques of craftsmanship—
This child already learned these things many tens of millions of eons ago.

"Nonetheless he acts solely in harmony with people.
The Well-Instructed One thus came to school for the sake of instruction,
In order to mature many children for the Highest Vehicle
And to bring a myriad other beings to immortality.

"He knows the way of the path of the transcendent four truths.
He is adept in how things arise based on causes,
And how the cessation and termination of conditioned existence leads to the calm state.
When he knows all that, how could he not know the subject of scripts?

"There is no master superior to him throughout the three worlds;
Among all gods and humans, he alone is foremost.
All of you do not know even the names of the scripts
That he has learned before, many tens of millions of eons ago.

"This pure being knows in a single instant
The manifold, diverse thoughts of beings.
When he knows such invisible and formless things,
Why mention the visible forms of scripts?"

When he had spoken these verses, the divine son honoured the Bodhisattva with celestial flowers and immediately thereafter disappeared.

The nannies and the entourage of maids were asked to stay at the school, while the remaining Sakyas, headed by Suddhodana, departed. The Bodhisattva took up a writing board made of sandalwood. It was decorated with flecks of divine gold of prime quality and studded with precious gems on all sides. He then addressed the master Visvamitra:

"Which script, O master, will you be teaching me? Will it be the Brahmi script, the Kharoshti script, or the Puskarasari script? Will it be the Aṅga script, the Vaṅga script, the Magadha script, the Maṅgalya script, the Aṅguliya script, the Sakari script, the Brahmavali script, the Parusya script, the Dravida script, the Kirata script, the Daksinya script, the Ugra script, the Saṁkhya script, the Anuloma script, the Avamurdha script, the Darada script, the Khasya script, the Cina script, the

Luna script, the Huna script, the Madhyaksaravistara script, the Puspa script, the Deva script, the Naga script, the Yaksa script, the Gandharva script, the Kiṃnara script, the Mahoraga script, the Asura script, the Garuda script, the Mrgacakra script, the Vayasaruta script, the Bhaumadeva script, the Antariksadeva script, the Uttarakurudvipa script, the Aparagodani script, the Purvavideha script, the Utksepa script, the Niksepa script, the Viksepa script, the Praksepa script, the Sagara script, the Vajra script, the Lekhapratilekha script, the Anudruta script, the Sastravarta script, the Gananavarta script, the Utksepavarta script, the Niksepavarta script, the Padalikhita script, the Dviruttarapadasaṁdhi script, the Yavaddasottarapadasaṁdhi script, the Madhyaharini script, the Sarvarutasaṁgrahani script, the Vidyanulomavimisrita script, the Ṛsitapastapta script, the Rocamana script, the Dharanipreksini script, the Gaganapreksini script, the Sarvausadhinisyanda script, the Sarvasarasaṁgrahani script, or the Sarvabhutarutagrahani script? Master, which of those
sixty-four scripts will you teach me?"

The schoolmaster Visvamitra was amazed, and he smiled. Setting aside pride, conceit, and arrogance, he replied with the following verses:

"How wonderful! Even though the Pure Being
Is learned in all topics in the world,
He follows the conventions of the world.
Thus he has come to school.

"He has learned scripts
Even the names of which
I have not heard,
Yet he has come to school.

"I see his face,
But the crown of his head is invisible.
If he has mastered the knowledge of scripts,
How can I teach him?

"This god, great god of gods,
Supreme divine scholar among all gods,
Is superior and without equal.
No person in the world is comparable to him.

"Only because of his unparalleled expertise
In applying knowledge and means,
Will I teach this learned being—
The final refuge of all beings."

Monks, then the schoolmaster taught writing to the Bodhisattva, along with ten thousand other children. However, through the power of the Bodhisattva, as the schoolmaster was saying the alphabet to the children, he did it in the following manner:

When he said the letter a, out came the statement: "Every composite phenomenon is impermanent (anityaḥ sarvasaṁskaraḥ)."

When he said the letter a, out came the statement: "Beneficial to self and others (atmaparahita)."

When he said the letter i, out came the statement: "The vast development of the senses (indriyavaipulya)."

When he said the letter i, out came the statement: "The world is riddled with plague (itibahulaṁ jagat)."

When he said the letter u, out came the statement: "The world is rife with misfortune (upadravabahulaṁ jagat)."

When he said the letter u, out came the statement: "The world is of little substance (unasattvaṁ jagat)."

When he said the letter e, out came the statement: "Faults come from desire (esanasamutthanadosa)."

When he said the letter ai, out came the statement: "The noble path is virtuous (airyapathaḥ sreyaniti)."

When he said the letter o, out came the statement: "The stream has been forded (oghottara)."

When he said the letter au, out came the statement: "Spontaneously generated (aupapaduka)."

When he said the letter aṁ, out came the statement: "The emergence of what is efficacious (amoghotpatti)."

When he said the letter aḥ, out came the statement: "Reaching an end (astaṁgamana)."

When he said the letter ka, out came the statement: "Immersion in the full ripening of actions (karmavipakavatara)."

When he said the letter kha, out came the statement: "All phenomena are like space (khasamasarvadharma)."

When he said the letter ga, out came the statement: "Immersion in the profound Dharma of dependent origination (gambhiradharmapratityasamutpadavatara)."

When he said the letter gha, out came the statement: "Eradicating the darkness of delusion and the thick veils of ignorance (ghanapaṭalavidyamohandhakaravidhamana)."

When he said the letter ṅ, out came the statement: "The complete purification of factors (aṅgavisuddhi)."

When he said the letter ca, out came the statement: "The path of the four noble truths (caturaryasatyapatha)."

When he said the letter cha, out came the statement: "Abandoning the passion of lust (chandaragaprahana)."

When he said the letter ja, out came the statement: "Transcending old age and death (jaramaranasamatikramana)."

When he said the letter jha, out came the statement: "Vanquishing the forces of the god of love (jhasadhvajabalanigrahana)."

When he said the letter ña, out came the statement: "Making known (jñapana)."

When he said the letter ṭa, out came the statement: "Severing the round of rebirths (vaṭṭopacchedana)."

When he said the letter ṭha, out came the statement: "A question rejected out of hand (ṭhapaniyaprasna)."

When he said the letter ḍa, out came the statement: "Vanquishing the evil one and those who cause discord (damaramaranigrahana)."

When he said the letter dha, out came the statement: "The impure regions (midhavisayaḥ)."

When he said the letter na, out came the statement: "Afflictions are subtle (renuklesaḥ)."

When he said the letter ta, out came the statement: "Suchness is undifferentiated (tathatasaṁbheda)."

When he said the letter tha, out came the statement: "Strength, power, force, and self-confidence (thamabalavegavaisaradya)."

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When he said the letter da, out came the statement: "Generosity, discipline, restraint, and gentleness (danadamasaṁyamasaurabhya)."

When he said the letter dha, out came the statement: "The wealth of the noble ones is sevenfold (dhanamaryanaṁ saptavidham)."

When he said the letter na, out came the statement: "Full knowledge of name and form (namarupaparijña)."

When he said the letter pa, out came the statement: "The absolute (paramartha)."

When he said the letter pha, out came the statement: "The actualisation of the attainment of the fruition (phalaprapatisaksatkriya)."

When he said the letter ba, out came the statement: "Liberation from bondage (bandhanamoksa)."

When he said the letter bha, out came the statement: "The destruction of existence (bhavavibhava)."

When he said the letter ma, out came the statement: "The cessation of arrogance and pride (madamanopasamana)."

When he said the letter ya, [F.68.a] out came the statement: "Understanding phenomena exactly as they are (yathavaddharmaprativedha)."

When he said the letter ra, out came the statement: "Dissatisfaction with pleasure is delighting in the absolute (ratyaratiparamartharati)."

When he said the letter la, out came the phrase: "Severing the vine (latachedana)."

When he said the letter va, out came the statement: "The best vehicle (varayana)."

When he said the letter sa, out came the statement: "Calm abiding and insight (samathavipasyana)."

When he said the letter sa, out came the statement: "Destroying the six sense bases and obtaining the superknowledges and wisdoms (sadayatananigrahanabhijñajñanavapti)."

When he said the letter sa, out came the statement: "Attaining the perfect awakening to omniscient wisdom (sarvajñajñanabhisaṁbodhana)."

When he said the letter ha, out came the statement: "Destroying the afflictions and parting from desire (hataklesaviraga)."

When he said the letter ksa, out came the statement: "Reaching the end of letters, all phenomena are ineffable (ksaraparyantabhilapya sarvadharma)."

Thus, while the schoolmaster taught the children the alphabet, there emerged innumerable hundreds of thousands of excellent Dharma teachings due to the Bodhisattva's power. Moreover, while the Bodhisattva was attending school, 32,000 children gave rise to thoughts aimed at unexcelled, perfect and complete awakening. This is the circumstance and the reason why the Bodhisattva attended school, even though he was already so learned.

This concludes the tenth chapter on the demonstration at the writing school.

LALITA-VISTARA CHAPTER 11 — The Farming Village

[On a visit to the countryside as a young boy, he attains of the highest levels of samadhi. Samadhi or samapatti, in Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, Sikhism and yogic schools, is a state of meditative consciousness. It is the training of the mind, commonly translated as meditation, to withdraw the mind from the automatic responses to sense-impressions, and leading to a "state of perfect equanimity and awareness". In Buddhism, it is the last of the eight elements of the Noble Eightfold Path. In the Ashtanga Yoga tradition, it is the eighth and final limb identified in the Yoga Sutras of Patanjali.]

Monks, on another occasion when the Prince had grown a little older, he went with the sons of the ministers and some other boys to visit a farming village. After seeing the village, he entered a park at the edge of the fields. The Bodhisattva wandered around there in complete solitude. As he was strolling through the park, he saw a beautiful and pleasant rose apple tree, and he decided to sit down cross-legged under its shade. Seated there, the Bodhisattva attained a one-pointed state of mind.

He then settled into the first meditative concentration, which is free of factors connected with evil deeds and nonvirtues. It is accompanied by thought and analysis and is imbued with the joy and pleasure born of discernment.

He then brought about the cessation of thoughts and analysis and became perfectly quiet. As his mind became concentrated, he settled into the second meditative concentration, which is free of thought and analysis and is imbued with the joy and pleasure born of meditative absorption.

Without any attachment to joy, he remained in equanimity with mindfulness and introspection and experienced physical pleasure. Aware and cognizant, he felt physically at ease. He had settled into the third meditative concentration, which is without joy: "Impartial, aware, and abiding at ease," as the noble ones describe it. He had already relinquished suffering and, as he now abandoned the feeling of comfort, both mental pleasure and displeasure vanished. Thus he settled into the fourth meditative concentration: perfectly pristine with impartiality and mindfulness, unconnected with pleasure or pain.

Right then five non-Buddhist sages, who had miraculous powers and the five superknowledges, were flying through the sky toward the north. Yet as they flew above this grove, they suddenly could not go any farther, and it felt as if they were being pushed back. With the hairs on their bodies bristling with anger, they said the following verse:

"Like an elephant tearing apart a fresh grove of mango trees,
We proceed and reduce to ashes even the enormous diamond peak of Mount Meru.
Even among gods we go unhindered, high above the realm of yaksas and gandharvas,
Yet here at this grove, we are weak. Whose force dissolves our magical powers?"

Dwelling in that grove was a goddess, who sang this verse to the sages:

"It is the Sakya Prince, descendant of the best of kings, who shines like the dawn;
This wise, supreme man has a moon-like face with the beauty of a blooming lotus.
He, whom gods, naga kings, gandharvas, and yaksas revere, is in the park, concentrating;
His power, gained from merit in millions of lives, is thwarting your miracles."

When the sages looked down below, they saw a child blazing with glory and splendour, and they thought: "Who is this seated here? Could it be Vaisravana, lord of wealth? Or is it Mara, lord of sense pleasures, or perhaps the lord of the mahoragas?

Could it be Sakra, the vajra holder? Or is it perhaps Rudra, or the lord of kumbhandas? Could it be the mighty Krsna, or perhaps the divine moon, or the thousand-rayed sun? Or will it turn out to be a universal monarch?" Then they spoke the following verse:

"This youth appears far more beautiful than Vaisravana.
So is he Rahu, an image of the vajra holder, the sun, or the moon?
Or maybe he is an image of the supreme lord of sense pleasures, or Rudra, or Krsna?
Or perhaps he is a perfect Buddha, adorned with glorious physical signs?"

Then the goddess of the grove addressed the sages with the following verse:

"All the splendour of Vaisravana and the thousand-eyed one,
All the splendour of the four guardians of the world and the lord of the demigods,
All the splendour of Brahma, lord of the world, and Krsna,
Is minuscule in comparison to that of the son of the Sakyas."

Once the sages heard the goddess's words, they descended to the ground. There they saw the Bodhisattva practicing concentration, his body immovable and blazing with a mass of light. Reflecting on the Bodhisattva, they praised him with verses. One of the sages said:

"In a world tormented by the fire of afflictions,
This lake has appeared.
He will discover the Dharma
That will soothe beings."
Another sage said:
"In a world benighted with ignorance,
This torch has appeared.
He will discover the Dharma
That will illuminate beings."
Then the third sage remarked:
"On a vast ocean of sorrow,
This sublime vessel has appeared.
He will discover the Dharma
That will ferry beings across."
The fourth sage said:
"To those bound by the fetters of afflictions,
A savior has appeared.
He will discover a Dharma
That will free beings."
Finally the last sage said:
"To those afflicted with old age and sickness,
The best of doctors has come.
He will discover a Dharma
That frees from birth and death."

Once the sages had praised the Bodhisattva with these verses, they circumambulated him three times and returned to the sky.

King Suddhodana did not see the Bodhisattva. Displeased with his absence, he said, "Where has the child gone? I do not see him."

A great many people ran around searching for the boy. Finally one of the ministers saw the Bodhisattva seated cross-legged, practicing concentration in the shade of a rose apple tree. Although the shade of all the trees had shifted by that time, the shade of the rose apple tree had not left the Bodhisattva's body. Seeing him there, the minister was surprised. Elated with a sense of satisfaction and joy, he was ecstatic. In a state of jubilation he rushed before King Suddhodana and said the following verses:

"Your Majesty, look! This child is practicing concentration
In the shade of the rose apple tree.
He shines with glory and splendour
Like Sakra or Brahma!
"The shade of the tree
Where this perfect being is seated
Does not leave him.
It shades this supreme being while he practices concentration."

King Suddhodana went over to the rose apple tree. He saw the Bodhisattva blazing
with glory and splendour and said this verse:
"Like seeing a fire blazing on a mountain peak,
Or the moon present amid a cluster of stars,
When I see him meditating with a torch-like luster,
My limbs tremble."
He bowed to the feet of the Bodhisattva and said this verse:
"I have now twice bowed down to your feet,
O Leader and Lord—
Once when you were born,
And now as you practice concentration, shining."

At that point some of the other boys, who were carrying their seats, made a commotion.

The ministers thus told them, "Quiet down! Quiet down!"

"Why?" asked the boys.

The ministers responded: "Even though the orb of the sun has shifted, the shade of
his tree does not leave Prince Siddhartha—who has the highest and most sublime
marks of virtue and who is brilliant as the sky—as he practices concentration, motionless as a mountain."

On this topic, it is said:
In summer, the first month after spring,
When flowers were covered in buds and blooming,
When cranes, peacocks, parrots, and myna birds were singing,
Most of the Sakya boys went outside.
Chanda, surrounded by the other boys, said, "Young Prince, come on!
Let's go and take a look at the forest.
What use is staying in the house like a priest?
Come on, let's go call on some girls."
At midday, the Pristine Being,
Unnoticed and without asking his parents,
Went out to a village
Accompanied by five hundred attendants.
In that village, which belonged to the supreme king,
There was a rose apple tree with many broad branches.
Seeing the tree, the Prince was disturbed by the suffering he had just understood,
And remarked, "Conditioned things are no good! They bring a lot suffering."
With a disciplined mind, he approached the shade of the rose apple tree,
Gathered some grass, and spread out a seat for himself.
Then, sitting cross-legged and upright, the Bodhisattva practiced concentration,
Immersed in the virtue of the four concentrations.
When five sages were coursing through the sky,
They could not move beyond the top of the rose apple tree.
Thwarted, they relinquished pride and conceit,
And all of them were drawn to investigate.
They thought, "We travel swiftly and without impediment,
Penetrating the supreme Mount Meru, and likewise the surrounding ranges,
Yet we are unable to pass beyond this rose apple tree.
What could be the reason for this?"
They descended and settled on the ground,
Where they saw the Bodhisattva, the Son of the Sakyas,
As he sat cross-legged at the trunk of the rose apple tree, practicing concentration,
Shining and brilliant like the glow of gold from the Jambu River.
Surprised, they joined their hands at their heads
And paid homage, bowing down to his feet with palms joined.
They said, "Holy One, Wellborn One, who brings happiness to the world!
May you swiftly become awakened and lead beings to immortality!"
The supreme tree bowed down like a lotus leaf;
Though the sun shifted, its shade did not leave the Bliss-Gone One.
Many thousands of gods, with palms joined,
Bowed down to the feet of this resolute child.
Suddhodana, searching all around his quarters, asked,
"Where has my son gone?"

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His maternal aunt said, "I have searched but did not find him;
Your Majesty, please find out where the boy has gone."
Suddhodana frantically asked his attendants,
The doormen, and everyone else in the inner quarters,
"Has anyone seen my son go out?"
Then someone said, "Your Majesty! The Supreme One has gone to a farming village."
The king hurriedly left together with his companions
And saw the Prince sitting on a hill by the farming village,
Benefiting others and blazing with splendour,
Like a trillion rising suns.
Taking off his crown, sword, and shoes,
The king made salutations to the Prince with his palms joined above his head.
The king said, "Yes! The eminent sages speak eloquently and truthfully;
The boy will surely leave home for the sake of awakening."
Twelve hundred gods with supreme devotion,
As well as five hundred Sakya boys, approached.
Seeing the miraculous power of the Bliss-Gone One with his ocean of qualities,
They firmly engendered the intent set on supreme awakening.
Shaking the ground of the entire trichiliocosm,
The Bodhisattva arose from his absorption with mindfulness and introspection.
The Resplendent One then said to his father in the voice of Brahma:
"O father, relinquish your fields and seek no further! [136]
"If it's gold that you seek, I will shower down a rain of gold;
If it's garments that you seek, I will offer you garments;
If it's grain that you seek, I will shower down a rain of grain.
Your Majesty, please apply this genuinely to everyone!"
Once he had instructed his father and those in the retinue,
He instantly returned to the supreme city.
In conformity with worldly convention, he dwelt in that city,
Yet the Pristine Being had fixed his mind on renouncing the palace.
This concludes the eleventh chapter on the farming village.

LALITA-VISTARA CHAPTER 12 — Demonstrating Skill in the Arts

[As a young man, he demonstrates his incredible prowess in the traditional worldly arts, and wins the hand of Gopā, a Śākya girl whose father requires proof of the Bodhisattva's qualities as a proper husband.]

Monks, one time, when the Prince had grown older, King Suddhodana was sitting in the meeting hall together with the assembly of Sakyas. There some of the Sakya elders spoke to King Suddhodana:

"Your Majesty, you know that the priests who are skilled in making predictions, as well as the gods who have definite knowledge, have foretold that if Prince Sarvarthasiddha renounces the household, he will become a thus-gone one, a worthy one, a completely perfect buddha. Yet if he does not renounce the household, he will become a universal monarch, a righteous Dharma king who has conquered the four quarters and is equipped with the seven treasures. The seven treasures that will be his are the precious wheel, the precious elephant, the precious horse, the precious wife,

the precious jewel, the precious steward, and the precious minister. He will have one thousand sons, all of them full, fierce warriors with well-built bodies that destroy the armies of the enemy. He will conquer the entire earth without the use of violence or weapons, and then he will rule according to the Dharma. Therefore we must arrange a marriage for the Prince. Once he is surrounded by a group of women, he will discover pleasure and not renounce the household. In that way the line of our universal monarchy will not be cut, and we will be irreproachably respected by all the kings of the realm."

King Suddhodana then spoke to the assembly: "If we are to do such a thing, then you should determine which girl would be a suitable match for the Prince."

One by one, five hundred Sakyas each came forth and said, "My daughter would be suitable for the Prince! My daughter is very beautiful."

The king said, "My son is difficult to match. So we should ask the Prince himself which girl he prefers."

As everyone gathered and broached the matter with the Prince, he told them, "I will give you an answer in seven days." He then thought:

"I know the endless pitfalls of desire—
They are the root of suffering, rife with conflict, enmity, and despair.
Desire is threatening, like a poisonous leaf,
Like fire and like the blade of a sword.
"Sensual objects are not alluring to me,
Nor am I attracted when among a crowd of women.
So I ought to dwell silently in the forest,
With a mind stilled by the bliss of concentrated absorption."

The Prince first reflected in this way. Then, manifesting skillful means, he considered the ripening of sentient beings and engendered intense compassion for them. He then said the following verses:

"Lotuses thrive in filthy swamps;
A king receives veneration surrounded by a crowd of people.
When a bodhisattva obtains a sizable entourage,
He leads trillions of sentient beings to the deathless state.
"The wise bodhisattvas who came before me,
All were known to have wives, children, and harems,
Yet they were not enamored with desire, nor deprived of the bliss of meditation.
I too will emulate their merits.
"An ordinary woman, lacking qualities of proper conduct and honest speech,
Would not be suitable for me at all.
Someone who pleases me, who is modest,
And perfectly pure in beauty, birth, family, and race would be fitting.
"The following verses describe her qualities;
If there is a girl like that, seek her out for me!
I have no use for an unabashed ordinary person;
If someone has the qualities described here, seek her out for me!
"She should be young and beautiful, but without vanity;
She should be loving like a sister.
Fond of renunciation, she should be generous and disciplined toward priests and ascetics.
Find a girl like this for me, O father!
"She should be without pride, conceit, or hostility;
She should be without deceit, jealousy, or guile, and not stray from uprightness.
She should not lust after other men, even in dreams;
Content with what is hers, she should lie with her husband, free from carelessness.
"She should not be arrogant or slothful. She should comport herself fittingly.
She should be without any pride or willfulness, like a servant.
She should not be attracted to alcohol, tastes, sounds, or fragrances;
She should be free of greed and covetousness, satisfied with her fortune.
"Adhering to truth, she should be steady and unwavering;
Not puffed up, she should dress with modesty.
Always engaging in righteousness, she should be unimpressed with flashy displays;
She should always be pure in body, speech, and mind.
"She should not be excessively slothful or indolent, nor full of foolish pride;
Circumspect, she should always be engaged in good deeds.
She should regard her in-laws with the affection reserved for teachers,
And be as loving to the servants and maids as she is to herself.
"She should be as adept as a courtesan in knowing the arts of love;
She should be the last to go to sleep and the first to rise;
She should lovingly obey, and be as guileless as a mother.
Find me, O father, a wife like this!"

Monks, when King Suddhodana heard those verses, he ordered his family priest,

"Go, great priest, out to the city of Kapilavastu! Go to every household and scrutinise the girls! If there is someone with these qualities—no matter whether she is a girl of royal caste, priestly caste, merchant caste, or servant caste—report to us about that girl! Because the Prince is not after family or caste; rather he is interested in her qualities alone."

On that occasion, he said the following verses:

"Whether she is a girl of royal caste or priestly caste,
Merchant caste or servant caste—
Report to me whichever girl
Possesses these qualities!
"My son is not enthralled
By family or caste;
His mind delights in
Good qualities, truth, and righteousness."

Monks, the family priest went out to the city of Kapilavastu carrying the written verses, and wandered from house to house looking carefully, searching for a girl with such qualities. However, he did not see such a girl.

Eventually he reached the house of the Sakya Dandapani. When he entered that dwelling, he saw a beautiful, pleasant, and captivating girl. The girl had a sublimely beautiful complexion like a white lotus, was neither too tall nor too short, neither too fat nor too thin, neither too fair nor too dark, was in her first blush of youth, and was a jewel of a woman, just as the Prince had described.

The girl grabbed hold of the priest's feet and asked, "O great priest, what is your aim?"

The priest said:

"The son of Suddhodana is sublimely handsome;
Replete with thirty-two auspicious marks, he has splendourous qualities.
He has written of the qualities of a wife;
Whoever has those qualities will be his bride."

He then gave the girl the letter. The girl read the verses out loud, then she revealed a

smile and spoke in verse to the priest:

"O priest, since I have all of these suitable qualities,
May this handsome and gentle Prince be my husband!
If he consents, there should be no delay,
Or I will end up with an inferior, ordinary man."

The councilor went before King Suddhodana and told him what had happened: "I have seen, O king, a girl who would be suitable for the boy."

The king asked, "Who does she belong to?"

The councilor replied, "Your Majesty, she is the daughter of the Sakya Dandapani."

King Suddhodana thought to himself: "The boy is unparalleled and inclined toward virtue. Most girls have no qualities, yet they think of themselves very highly. I will have some pleasing items made and let the boy distribute them to all the girls. I will choose for the Prince whichever girl his eyes linger upon."

King Suddhodana did indeed prepare some pleasing items made of gold, silver, and various jewels. Once the preparations were completed, he had the bell sounded in the city of Kapilavastu and announced the following decree: "In seven days the Prince will give a public showing. He will give pleasing goods to the girls, so all the girls should gather together in the assembly hall at that time."

Monks, after seven days had passed, the Bodhisattva went to the assembly hall and took his seat on a splendid throne. King Suddhodana had put some spies in place and ordered them: "Report to me if the boy's eyes linger upon any particular girl!"

Monks, then the girls in the city of Kapilavastu, as many as there were, all came to the assembly hall where the Bodhisattva was seated in order to see him and lay claim to the gifts being offered.

Monks, then the Bodhisattva gave the pleasing items to the girls according to the order of their arrival. The girls, however, could not bear the Bodhisattva's splendour and brilliance and, as soon as they received the gifts, they quickly departed.

Then the daughter of Dandapani Sakya, the Sakya girl named Gopa, surrounded and escorted by an entourage of female servants, came into the assembly hall where the Bodhisattva was seated. She approached the Bodhisattva and stood to one side, staring at him with unblinking eyes.

When the Bodhisattva had finished distributing all the gifts, she went up to him and, with a smile on her face, said to him, "O Prince, you pay no attention to me. Have I done anything inappropriate toward you?"

The Prince responded, "I am not ignoring you. But you certainly have come very late." He then took off his ring, which was worth several hundreds of thousands of silver coins, and gave it to her.

She said, "Am I, Prince, worthy of this?"

The Prince replied, "Here, take all these other ornaments of mine as well."

Then the girl said, "It is not right to strip the Prince of his adornments. Rather we should adorn the Prince." And then she left.

The people who were positioned as spies came before King Suddhodana and reported the event, saying, "O king, the boy's eyes lingered upon the daughter of Dandapani Sakya, the Sakya girl named Gopa, and there was a brief conversation between them."

When King Suddhodana heard this, he sent the councilor-priest before Dandapani Sakya with the request, "May your daughter be given to my son!"

Dandapani replied, "The noble boy has grown up in the palace in ease and comfort.

Yet our family rule is such that a girl can only be granted to someone who is skilled in the arts, and not to a man who lacks these skills. The Prince is not skilled in the arts since he does not know the maneuvers of swordsmanship, archery, combat, or wrestling. How can I give away my daughter to someone who lacks such skills?"

The king was informed of this reply and thought, "This makes two times that I have been opposed with such a commonsensical rule. When I said, 'Why do the Sakya boys not come to attend upon the boy?' I was told, 'Why should we attend upon an indolent?' And now this." The king sat and reflected thus.

The Bodhisattva heard the story as well. He went to King Suddhodana and asked,

"Your Majesty, what's wrong? Why are you sitting here so depressed?"

But the king just responded, "O child, enough with your questioning!"

But the Prince insisted, "Your Majesty, it is absolutely essential that you tell me!"

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He asked King Suddhodana three times, until finally the king told the Bodhisattva what was wrong.

The Bodhisattva then asked, "O king, is there anyone in this city who can compete with me in the arts?"

King Suddhodana, with a smile on his face, said to the Bodhisattva, "My son, are you capable of demonstrating any athletic prowess?"

The Prince responded, "I surely am, Your Majesty. So please assemble everyone who is skilled in the arts! Then I will demonstrate my skills before them."

King Suddhodana then asked for the bell to be sounded in the city of Kapilavastu and announced, "In seven days the Prince will demonstrate his prowess in the arts.

Thus everyone skilled in the arts is to assemble then!"

When seven days had passed, a group of Sakya boys five hundred strong assembled.

The daughter of Dandapani Sakya, the Sakya girl named Gopa, was put forward as a trophy for the victor, and a pledge was sworn: "Whoever here is victorious in swordsmanship, archery, combat, and wrestling shall have her."

Ahead of everyone else, the boy Devadatta arrived from the city. He saw that a large white elephant was being brought to the city for the Bodhisattva to ride. Intoxicated with jealousy, and drunk with pride about his Sakya family line as well as his own strength, he grabbed hold of the elephant by its trunk with his left hand and killed it with his right hand in a single stroke.

Right then the boy Sundarananda arrived. Seeing that an elephant had been killed at the city gate, he asked, "Who killed it?"

The crowd told him, "It was Devadatta."

Sundarananda said, "That was not right of Devadatta." Grabbing hold of the elephant by the tail, he dragged it outside the city gate.

Later the Bodhisattva arrived riding a chariot and noticed the dead elephant. When he inquired who had killed the animal, he was told that it was Devadatta. The Bodhisattva said, "That was not good of Devadatta. Who dragged the elephant outside the city gate?"

When he was then told that it was Sundarananda who had done so, he answered,

"It was good that Sundarananda carried it out, but this animal has a huge body. When it decays, the entire city will fill with a horrible stench." Then, while still on his chariot, the Prince extended one foot to the ground, and with his big toe he took hold of the elephant and hurled it a mile outside the city, over seven walls and seven moats. A deep pit formed where the elephant landed. Today this is aptly called Elephant Gorge.

Then hundreds of thousands of gods and humans let out hundreds of thousands of cries of amazement and waved their banners. From the sky, divine sons called out these verses:

"In a movement like a great elephant in rut,
The Bodhisattva grabbed hold of the great elephant with his big toe
And hurled it far outside the fair city,
Beyond seven of the city's moats.
"This supremely wise one will surely
Hurl the people who are bloated with the strength of pride
Far beyond the city of saṃsara,
Alone, through the strength of his insight."

Then five hundred Sakya boys emerged from the city and arrived at the place where they were to demonstrate their abilities in the arts. King Suddhodana, the Sakya elders, and a big crowd also arrived there, eager to compare the differences in artistic skill between the Bodhisattva and the other Sakya boys.

First those Sakya boys who were skilled in the rules of writing competed with the Bodhisattva in the art of scripts. The teacher Vismamitra was appointed judge by the Sakyas, and he announced: "You are to determine who among these boys is superior, whether in penmanship or in the knowledge of scripts."

Then, because the teacher Vismamitra had witnessed firsthand the Bodhisattva's knowledge of scripts, he smiled and said these verses:

"This pure being has reached perfection
In all the scripts, as many as there are in all the worlds,
Whether it be the world of humans, the world of gods,
The world of demigods, or the world of gandharvas.
"Neither you nor I know even the names
Of the scripts and letters
That this moon among men knows.
I have witnessed it firsthand. He will be victorious."

The Sakyas said, "It may indeed be that this boy is superior in knowledge of scripts, but he should also be tested and distinguish himself in knowledge of mathematics."

So the greatest mathematician among the Sakyas, a man called Arjuna, an adept in knowledge of calculation, was appointed judge and told, "You are to determine who among the boys here is superior in knowledge of numbers."

First the Bodhisattva proposed a mathematical problem. One of the Sakya boys tried to calculate it, but he could not solve it. Next another Sakya boy, then two, three, four, five, ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, a hundred—up to five hundred of them—together tried to calculate the problem, but they could not solve it.

Next the Bodhisattva said, "Now you propose a mathematical problem, and I will calculate it." One of the Sakya boys proposed a mathematical problem to the Bodhisattva, but the boy could not confound the Bodhisattva's calculations. Next two of the Sakya boys, then three, four, five, ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty—up to five hundred of them—together proposed a mathematical problem, but they could not confound the Bodhisattva's calculations.

Finally the Bodhisattva said, "Enough with this dispute! All of you should convene and propose a mathematical problem for me. Then I will calculate it." Accordingly five hundred Sakya boys in unison proposed an unprecedented problem, and still the Bodhisattva calculated it without any consternation. In this way all the Sakya boys met their match while the Bodhisattva remained undefeated. The great mathematician Arjuna was amazed and said these verses:

"When this fine intellect was questioned,
His knowledge was so very quick
That all five hundred Sakya boys
Were surpassed on the path of calculation.
"With such insight, wisdom,
Intellect, and mindfulness,
This ocean of knowledge
Even today learns and trains further in calculation."

The whole Sakya assembly was shocked and amazed, and they all said in unison, "O Prince Sarvarthasiddha, you have won, you have won!" All of them stood up from their seats, and with palms joined paid homage to the Bodhisattva.

Then they addressed King Suddhodana: "Great king, you are so fortunate to have a son whose eloquent self-confidence is so swift, nimble, subtle, and potent in the face of questions."

King Suddhodana then said to the Bodhisattva, "Son, can you match the ways of calculation with the great mathematician Arjuna, an expert in the knowledge of numbers?"

"I can, Your Majesty," responded the Bodhisattva.

"Then calculate away!" commanded the king.

The great mathematician Arjuna then asked the Bodhisattva, "Child, do you know

how to calculate the number called ten million to the hundredth power?"

"Yes, I do," said the Bodhisattva.

"How then," asked Arjuna, "should one commence that calculation?"

The Bodhisattva replied:"One hundred times ten million is called a billion (ayuta).

One hundred times one billion is called one hundred billion (niyuta). One hundred times one hundred billion is called one quadrillion (kañkara). One hundred quadrillions is called one sextillion (vivara). One hundred sextillions is called a nonillion (aksobhya). One hundred nonillions is called a vivaha. One hundred vivahas is called an utsañga. One hundred utsañgas is called a bahula. One hundred bahulas is called a nagabala. One hundred nagabalas is called a tiṭilambha. One hundred tiṭilambhas is called a vyavasthanaprajñapti. One hundred vyavasthanaprajñaptis is called a hetuhila. One hundred hetuhilas is called a karaphu. One hundred

karaphus is called a hetvindriya. One hundred hetvindriyas is called a samaptalambha. One hundred samaptalambhas is called a gananagati. One hundred gananagatis is called a niravadya. One hundred niravadyas is called a mudrabala.

One hundred mudrabalas is called a sarvabala. One hundred sarvabalas is called a visaṁjñagati. One hundred visaṁjñagatis is called a sarvasaṁjña. One hundred sarvasaṁjñas is called a vibhutaṁgama. One hundred vibhutaṁgamas is called a tallaksana.

"If one uses tallaksana as the basic unit of calculation, it is feasible to calculate the size of Mount Meru, the king of mountains. Beyond that is the number called dhvajagravati. If one uses dhvajagravati as the basic unit of calculation, it is possible to solve the calculation for all the grains of sand in the river Ganges. Beyond that is the number called dhvajagranisamani. Next is the number called vahanaprajñapti. Then comes the number called iṅga. Beyond that is the number called kuruṭu. Then comes the number called kuruṭavi. Then comes the number called sarvaniksepa. With this count serving as the basic unit of calculation, it is possible to calculate the number of grains of sand in ten Ganges rivers. Beyond that is the number called agrasara. With this figure as the basic unit of calculation, it is possible to solve the calculation equal to the number of grains of sand in one billion Ganges rivers.

"Finally comes the number called application to the smallest particles (paramanura jaḥprave sanugata). With the exception of a thus-gone one, a bodhisattva who dwells at the sublime seat of awakening, or a bodhisattva who is about to be initiated into all Dharmas, there is no other being who understands this number, with the exception of me and perhaps one like me, namely a bodhisattva in his final existence who has departed from the household."

Then Arjuna asked, "Child, how would you enumerate the number application to the smallest particles?"

The Bodhisattva answered: "Seven of the smallest particles is one small particle.

Seven small particles is one water particle. Seven water particles is one airborne dust particle. Seven airborne dust particles is one dust particle on a hare. Seven dust particles on a hare is one dust particle on a sheep. Seven dust particles on a sheep is one dust particle on a cow. Seven dust particles on a cow is one louse egg. Seven lice eggs is one mustard seed. Seven mustard seeds is one barley grain. Seven barley grains is one finger joint. Twelve finger joints is one thumb tip to one index fingertip.

Two measures of one thumb tip to one index fingertip is one cubit. Four cubits is one bow. One thousand bows is considered one earshot in Magadha. Four times shouting-distance is one league. Who among you knows the total number of smallest particles in a league?"

"Well," said Arjuna. "I am uncertain about this. So, child, how much more so will the others, who are of weaker intellect, be confused? Child, please explain how many of the smallest particles make up a league."

The Bodhisattva explained: "A league contains 100 billion nonillions, 30 quintillions, 60 billion, 320 million, 512 thousand smallest particles. Such is the sum of smallest particles in a league. There are seven thousand leagues here in Jambudvipa, eight thousand leagues in the western continent of Godaniya, nine thousand leagues in the eastern continent of Videha, and ten thousand leagues in the northern continent of Kuru.

"Moreover, there are one billion worlds of four continents, such as this world, and one billion oceans. There are also one billion surrounding mountain ranges and one billion outer ranges. Likewise there are one billion Mount Merus, the kings of mountains.

"There are one billion god realms belonging to the four great kings. There are one billion Heavens of the Thirty-Three, one billion Heavens Free from Strife, one billion Heavens of Joy, one billion Heavens of Delighting in Emanations, and one billion Heavens of Making Use of Others' Emanations.

"There are also one billion Brahma Realms, one billion realms of the High Priests of Brahma, one billion realms of Brahma's Entourage, one billion realms of Great Brahma, one billion realms of Limited Light, one billion realms of Limitless Light, one billion realms of the Luminous Heaven, one billion realms of the Heaven of Limited Virtue, one billion realms of the Heaven of Limitless Virtue, one billion realms of the Heaven of Perfected Virtue, one billion realms of the Cloudless Heaven, one billion realms of the Heaven of Increased Merit, one billion realms of the Heaven of Great Fruition, one billion realms of the Heaven of Concept-Free Beings, one billion realms of the Unlofty Heaven, one billion realms of the Heaven of No Hardship, one billion realms of the Sublime Heaven, one billion realms of the Gorgeous Heaven, and one billion realms of the Gods of the Highest Heaven. All of this is called a great trichiliocosm.

"In width and breadth, each world system contains leagues measuring in the hundreds, thousands, ten millions, billions, hundred billions, and so on, all the way up to the measure of an agrasara. There is also a corresponding measure of the smallest particles. The number of these particles can indeed be calculated but, since it is unfathomable, it is called incalculable. A number of smallest particles even more incalculable than that are those contained in a great trichiliocosm."

When the Bodhisattva demonstrated this display of calculation, the great mathematician Arjuna and the entire assembly of Sakyas were surprised and delighted, and they felt great appreciation and joy. They each kept just a single garment for themselves and offered the remaining garments and jewellery to the Bodhisattva.

Then the great mathematician Arjuna uttered the following verses:

"One hundred times ten million is a billion.
Likewise it is for one hundred billion and one quadrillion,
And also for a sextillion and a nonillion, but beyond that is unknown to me.
So in mathematics, the knowledge of the Peerless One is superior.
"Moreover, Sakyas,
"If he can calculate in the duration of a single utterance of the sound huṁ,
All the dust particles, blades of grass, forests,
Medicinal herbs, and drops of water in a trichiliocosm,
Then what is so amazing about the other five hundred boys?"

When he said this, hundreds of thousands of gods and humans let out hundreds of thousands of exclamations of shock and cries of joy. From the centre of the sky, divine sons called out the following verse:

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"The Bodhisattva perfectly understands, with a single movement of his mind,

All the primary and subsidiary mental states, conceptions, and opinions

That belong to all beings throughout the three times without exception,

Whether they be inferior or superior, narrow or broad."

Monks, in this way all the Sakya youths were defeated and the Bodhisattva alone

stood out. As the day progressed, the Bodhisattva also excelled in all aspects of leaping, swimming, and running. In the sky above, divine sons sang these verses:

"With the qualities of disciplined conduct and austerity

And the strength of his forbearance, discipline, and love, developed over millions of eons,

He is a leader with a body and mind that are supple in action,

And so you now witness the superiority of his swiftness.

"You see this most excellent being here in this city,

But instantaneously he is moving throughout the ten directions,

Paying homage to infinite victorious ones,

With a plethora of jewels and gold, in infinite worlds.

"Yet you are totally unaware of his comings and goings;

Such is the extent of his miraculous powers.

So why should his skills here provoke wonder?

He is without equal, and you should feel respect for him." [

With his performances, the Bodhisattva uniquely distinguished himself. The Sakyas then said: "The Prince should also be tested in terms of his strength."

At that time the Bodhisattva stood to one side while the five hundred Sakya youths wrestled among themselves. Then thirty-two Sakya youths stayed on to confront the Bodhisattva in wrestling. First Nanda and Ananda approached the Bodhisattva to wrestle with him. But as soon as the Bodhisattva merely touched the two boys, they were unable to withstand the Bodhisattva's power and brilliance, and they collapsed on the ground.

Next Devadatta vied with the Bodhisattva. He was a conceited and arrogant young man, who was bloated with pride about his strength and his relationship to the Sakya lineage. In the arena filled with spectators, Devadatta first made a round clockwise, and then he lunged at the Bodhisattva. The Bodhisattva, however, was calm and unhurried. He playfully seized Devadatta with his right hand, twirled him into a triple spin, and tossed him to the ground. All the while the Bodhisattva's mind was full of love. He did not intend to hurt Devadatta, but only to break his pride. Therefore Devadatta was unharmed.

Then the Bodhisattva said, "Enough of this quarrel. You should now all join up and confront me in wrestling." Exhilarated, they all assailed the Bodhisattva.

However, as soon as the Bodhisattva touched them, they were unable to withstand his splendour, brilliance, physical strength, and stamina. Merely by his touch, they fell to the ground. Then hundreds of thousands of gods and humans let out hundreds of thousands of exclamations of shock and cries of joy. The divine sons in the sky showered down a rain of flowers and called out these verses:

"Even if all the myriad beings in the ten directions

Became like mighty wrestlers inclined to foul play

And converged on this bull among men,

His mere touch would bring them to the ground.

"Grabbing Meru, the foremost mountain and the adamantine mountain ranges,

And all other mountains throughout the ten directions,

He could reduce them all to powder,

So what is so amazing about a human body with no substance?

"Through the strength of his love, he will vanquish Mara—

That mighty, foul-playing wrestler—along with his bannered forces of footmen and cavalry.

Under the most excellent lord of trees, he will vanquish this friend of darkness

And peacefully attain unexcelled awakening."

In this way the Bodhisattva, fighting alone, was the winner. Then Dandapani said to the Sakya youths: "This has now been tested and witnessed. Next let him demonstrate his skill in archery."

First Ananda placed an iron drum twice shouting-distance away as his target.

Next Devadatta placed an iron drum four times shouting-distance away as his target.

Then Sundarananda placed an iron drum six times shouting-distance away as his target. Dandapani placed an iron drum eight times shouting-distance away as his target.

Finally the Bodhisattva placed an iron drum ten times shouting-distance away as his target. Behind the drum he set up seven palm trees, and beyond that he set up an iron image of a wild boar.

Ananda struck his drum target twice shouting-distance away, but he could not shoot any farther. Devadatta struck the drum target four times shouting-distance away, but he also could not shoot any farther. Then Sundarananda struck the drum target six times shouting-distance away, but he was also unable to shoot any farther.

Dandapani struck the drum target eight times shouting-distance away and pierced it, but he also could not shoot any farther than that.

However, whichever bow the Bodhisattva drew, the string snapped or the bow broke. So the Bodhisattva asked, "King, is there any other bow here in the city that I can string or that can withstand my physical strength?"

The king replied, "Yes, my son, there is."

The boy asked, "Where is it?"

The king replied, "Son, your grandfather was called Siṁhahanu.He had a bow that is now being honoured in the temple with incense and flower garlands. No one since him has been able to string the bow, let alone draw it."

The Bodhisattva said, "Your Majesty, may the bow be brought here! I would like to test it."

When the bow was brought to the assembly, all the Sakya youths tried pulling the bow with all their strength, but they were unable to string it, let alone draw it. Then the bow was placed before the Sakya Dandapani, who mustered all his bodily strength and endurance and tried to string the bow, but could not. Finally the bow was placed before the Bodhisattva. He picked it up and, sitting on his seat in the cross-legged position, he held it with his left hand and strung it with a single fingertip of his right hand.

While he was stringing the bow, a sound resonated throughout the entire city of Kapilavastu. All the townspeople became agitated and asked one another where the sound came from. Some said, "The sound is surely from Prince Sarvarthasiddha, who has strung his grandfather's bow." Then hundreds of thousands of gods and humans let out hundreds of thousands of exclamations of shock and cries of joy. The divine sons in the sky then said this verse to King Suddhodana and to the masses:

"Just as this bow was drawn by the Sage

Without rising from his seat,

So will he undoubtedly fulfill his purpose

And conquer the armies of Mara with ease."

Monks, the Bodhisattva now picked up an arrow, drew the bow, and released the arrow.

His shot was so powerful that the arrow went right through the targets set up by Ananda, Devadatta, Sundarananda, and Dandapani. The arrow then cleaved his own iron drum target, which was ten times shouting-distance away, then pierced the seven palm trees and the iron image of a boar before it finally entered the ground and disappeared. There, in the area where the arrow pierced the ground and vanished, a crater formed, which still to this day is called Arrow Crater.

Then hundreds of thousands of gods and humans let out hundreds of thousands of exclamations of surprise and cries of joy. The entire assembly of Sakyas was shocked and astonished. They said, "How amazing! He has such expertise in the arts, without even having trained."

The divine sons in the sky then called out to King Suddhodana and the masses:

"O people, why be so amazed? Do you know what's amazing?"

"He will sit on this earth, on the seat of the previous awakened ones.

Holding the bow of calm abiding, he will shoot the arrows of empty selflessness,

And so destroy the enemies —the afflictions, rent asunder the net of views,

And attain sublime awakening—tranquil, stainless, and free of sorrow."

Having spoken thus, the divine sons approached the Bodhisattva, strewing him with

divine flowers.

In this way the Bodhisattva was superior in all the main aspects of the mundane arts, as well as in all practices beyond the reach of gods and humans. He was superior in leaping, and likewise in writing, finger counting, computation, arithmetic, wrestling, archery, running, rowing, swimming, elephant mounting, horsemanship, carriage driving, bow-and-arrow skills, balance and strength, heroics, gymnastics, elephant driving, lassoing, rising, advancing, retreating, gripping with the hand, gripping using the foot, gripping using the top of the head, cutting, cleaving, breaking, rubbing, target shooting without causing injury, target shooting at vital points, target shooting through only hearing the target, striking hard, playing dice, poetry composition, prose composition, painting, drama, dramatic action, tactical analysis, attending the sacred fire, playing the lute, playing other musical instruments, dancing, singing, chanting, storytelling, comedy, dancing to music, dramatic dancing, mimicry, garland stringing, cooling with a fan, dying precious gems, dying clothes, creating optical illusions, dream analysis, bird sounds, analysis of women, analysis of men, analysis of horses, analysis of elephants, analysis of cattle, analysis of goats, analysis of sheep, analysis of dogs, ritual science and its related lexicon, revealed scripture, ancient stories, history, the Vedas, grammar, etymologies, phonetics, metrics and composition, rules for conducting rituals, astrology, the Samkhya philosophical system, the Yoga philosophical system, ceremonies, the art of courtesans, the Vaisesika philosophical system, economics, ethics, hydraulics, knowledge of demigods, knowledge of game animals, knowledge of bird sounds, logic, hydromechanics, beeswax crafts, sewing, wickerwork, leaf cutting, and perfume making.

When that became clear, the Sakya Dandapani decided to give away his daughter, the Sakya girl Gopa, to the Bodhisattva. King Suddhodana also formally requested her hand in marriage for the Bodhisattva.

Then indeed, in order to conform to worldly conventions, the Bodhisattva dwelt among 84,000 women and showed himself to partake of the amorous games with pleasure. Among the 84,000 women, the Sakya girl Gopa was consecrated as the foremost wife. However, no matter who the Sakya girl Gopa encountered, whether it was her mother-in-law, her father-in-law, or any other member of the inner quarters, she did not cover her face. So people criticised her and spoke badly of her, saying, "A new wife is supposed to be covered, but this one is always exposed."

The Sakya girl Gopa heard this rumour, and in front of all the folk of the inner quarters, she said these verses:

"A noble being shines when uncovered,

Whether sitting, standing, or walking,

Like a precious gem beaming,

Radiant on the pinnacle of a standard.

"While going, a noble being shines,

And likewise while coming, a noble being shines.

While rising or sitting,

A noble being always shines.

"A noble being shines when speaking,

And even when silent, a noble being shines,

Just like a nightingale does

Whenever seen or heard.

"Whether he wears clothes made of kusa grass,

Poor quality clothes, or his body is emaciated,

One who is replete with good qualities and is adorned by those qualities

Shines with his own radiance.

"A noble one without evil

Shines perpetually,

Whereas an immature being who commits evil

Never shines no matter what he wears.

"Those who have evil in their hearts but whose speech is sweet

Are like a jar of poison topped off with nectar.

Like a rocky stone rough to the touch, they are hard inside;

Being with them is like caressing a viper's head.

"The truly gentle are approached and honoured by all,

Just like a sacred bathing bank, which sustains everyone.

Noble beings are like a jar filled with milk and curd;

It is extremely auspicious to behold such a pure nature.

"Those who have long shunned evil companions,

Who are now surrounded by precious spiritual friends,

Who relinquish evil deeds and adhere to the teaching of the buddhas

Are fruitfully auspicious to behold.

"Those who control their bodies thus control all physical faults;

Those who control their speech never confuse their words;

Those with guarded senses are mentally composed and serene.

What good is it to cover the face of such beings?

"Others may be covered in a thousand garments,

But if their minds are revealed to lack shame and modesty

And if they have no good qualities and lack truthful speech,

Then they move through the world more naked than naked.

"There are those who conceal their mind and restrain their senses,

Who are satisfied with their husbands and do not pine after others.

When they shine unconcealed, like the sun and moon,

What good is it to cover their faces?

"Furthermore the great sages, those who know the thoughts of others,

And the assemblies of gods all know my thoughts.

They know my discipline, qualities, restraint, and carefulness;

So why should I veil my face?"

Monks, when King Suddhodana heard these eloquent verses from the Sakya girl Gopa, he felt satisfied and happy, and he cheerfully rejoiced. He then offered her a pair of fine cotton fabrics that were set with many different types of jewels, a pearl necklace worth a hundred billion silver coins, and a garland of gold set with red pearls.

The king then offered this sentiment:

"Just as my son is adorned with good qualities,

His bride too is radiant with her own good qualities.

That these two pristine beings have come together

Is just like butter and clarified butter."

This concludes the twelfth chapter on demonstrating skill in the arts.

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LALITA-VISTARA CHAPTER 13 — Encouragement

[The Bodhisattva reaches maturity and is able enjoy life in the palace, where he is surrounded by all types of pleasure, including a large harem to entertain him. Seeing this, the gods gently remind him of his vows to awaken.]

Monks, while the Bodhisattva was staying in the midst of his retinue of consorts, there were numerous gods, nagas, yaksas, gandharvas, demigods, garudas, kimnaras, and mahoragas, as well as Sakra and Brahma and the guardians of the world, who were eager to make offerings to the Bodhisattva. They arrived calling out in joyous voices. However, monks, as time went on, many of these gods, nagas, yaksas, gandharvas, demigods, garudas, kimnaras, and mahoragas, as well as Sakra, Brahma, and the worldly protectors, began to think to themselves:

"Now, is this not sacred being staying too long among the consorts? There are beings who have been brought to maturity over a long period of time through the four means of attracting disciples, namely generosity, kind talk, meaningful actions, and practicing what one preaches. Once he attains awakening, those beings would be able to understand his teachings on the Dharma. But perhaps all these suitable recipients for his teaching may be gone by then. In that case, the Bodhisattva will leave his home and awaken to unexcelled, perfect and complete buddhahood on his own."

So they approached the Bodhisattva. Full of respect and devotion, they joined their palms and bowed before him. Standing expectantly in his presence, they asked with concern:

"Will we ever witness the Bodhisattva—this sacred, supreme, and pure being—leave home as an act of renunciation? Once he has left home, will we see him sitting under the great king of trees, taming Mara and his army, and awakening to unexcelled, perfect and complete buddhahood?

"When shall we see him accessing the ten powers of the thus-gone ones, the four types of fearlessness of the thus-gone ones, and the eighteen unique qualities of a buddha? Or spinning the unexcelled wheel of Dharma in its twelve aspects?

Or teaching, through a vast display of buddhahood, according to the wishes of the world, including its gods, humans, and demigods, and satisfying them?"

Monks, for a long time—many uncountable eons—the Bodhisattva had always and continuously been without any need to rely on others. He was his own master with regard to worldly concerns, as well as those that go beyond the world. For a long time he had known the right time, the occasion, and the opportunity for the practice of all aspects of the roots of virtue. His higher knowledge was flawless, and his five types of superknowledge were fully manifest. Since he had a masterly command of his sense faculties, he could manifest miraculous powers. He knew indeed what was timely as well as what was untimely. Seeking the right opportunity, he would never miss it, just like the great ocean, which is always timely. Since he possessed the power of clairvoyant wisdom, he knew everything himself:

"This is the appropriate time for reaching out, this is the time for separation, this is the time for getting together, this is the time for showing kindness, this is the time for resting in equanimity, this is the time to speak, this is the time to remain silent, this is the time to leave home, this is the time to take ordination, this is the time to recite, this is the time for deep reflection, this is the time to stay in solitude, this is the time to stay within royal circles, this is the time to be among priests and householders, and this is the time to be among gods, nagas, yaksas, gandharvas, demigods, garudas, kimnaras, mahoragas, Sakra, Brahma, worldly protectors, monks, nuns, as well as male and female novices. This is the time to teach the Dharma, and this is the time to rest inwardly."

At all times the Bodhisattva knew whether the time was suitable or not, and he watched out for opportunities. Monks, for bodhisattvas who have reached their last existence, it is customary that the buddhas, the blessed ones, who dwell in the realms within the ten directions, always come while these bodhisattvas amuse themselves in the female quarters and encourage them through singing and music to enter the gate of Dharma

On this topic, it is said:

Whatever perfect beings abide in the worlds of ten directions,
It is through their special power that, accompanied by music,
These verses and songs, so pleasant and sweet,
Encourage the supreme being to renounce his home.
"When witnessing others who suffer greatly,
You previously made an aspiration
To become their protector and refuge,
As well as their supreme supporter and defender.
"Virtuous Hero! Remember your previous actions
And your vow to help others.
This is your time, your moment;
So, Supreme Sage, renounce your palace!
"It is for the sake of those for whom you have previously given up
The best of wealth, and even your head, arms, and legs,
That you will become a buddha, the supreme tamer of gods and humans,
The foremost in the world, and a storehouse of hundreds of qualities.
"With discipline you must perform austerities and hardship;
With patience you will benefit others.
With diligence you will unfold all good qualities;
Your concentration and knowledge will have no equal in the three realms.
"The many beings afflicted by anger and blemished by hate
Must be embraced by your love, Thus-Gone One.
Those who are lost and without any qualities of goodness
And the many unskillful ones must all feel your compassion.
"With your merit and wisdom, virtue pervades your body;
With your stainless concentration and higher knowledge, you shine brightly.
You illumine the ten directions,
Like the stainless moon free from clouds."
Many such pleasing words, accompanied by music,
Are sung by the victorious ones.
They encourage the One Who Gods and Humans Venerate, saying:
"This is the time for you to renounce your palace."

Monks, the home of the Bodhisattva was indeed exquisite, complete with the most perfect belongings. It was anything a person could wish for, full of all the things necessary for comfortable living. Like a divine palace, it had the very best of verandas, turrets, porticoes, skylights, corridors, upper floors, and terraces. It was adorned with all sorts of jewels in many different arrangements and patterns. Parasols, flags, and banners were hoisted. Fine bells made of gems hung from lattices, as did hundreds of thousands of silk streamers. There were garlands of pearls set with various precious stones, and bridges built with boards that were ornamented by all types of jewels.

Flower garlands and decorations hung everywhere. Incense burners dispensed fragrant smoke, and silk canopies were spread above. Fragrant flowers from all seasons adorned the grounds, and the ponds were full of white lotus flowers in bloom. In all the many lotus ponds were flocks of many types of birds, such as leafbirds, parrots, mynas, cuckoos, swans, peacocks, wild geese, kunalas, and pheasants that all called out in their beautiful voices. There were grounds covered in blue lapis lazuli that reflected all the many fine features of the palace. It was so delightful to watch, and thus one could never get enough.

The exquisite and perfect mansion where the Bodhisattva lived was a source of supreme pleasures and joy. In his palace his body was always pure and stainless, he was adorned with flower garlands and jewellery, and his limbs were scented with the finest and most sweet-smelling oils. To cover his body he wore stainless white clothes of the finest quality, without any blemishes whatsoever. His bedding was made of divine fabrics of the finest thread, and as soft to the touch as the kacalindi cloth. There on his perfect couch, he lay surrounded by his wonderful retinue of consorts, who all resembled divine maidens. All the girls were virtuous, agreeable, and wholesome in conduct.

Inside this beautiful palace, the Bodhisattva woke up to the sound of conchs, kettledrums, clay drums, wood drums, lutes, harps, tambourines, cymbals, and flutes that produced the most sweet-sounding and melodious tunes to accompany their many sweet songs. The girls woke up the Bodhisattva with beautiful and soft songs accompanied by the melodious tones of flutes. However, due to the grace of the blessed ones, the buddhas in the ten directions, the instruments suddenly began to encourage the Bodhisattva by resounding with these verses:

The girls are delighted and joyful;
They play fine melodies on beautiful instruments.
At that moment, by the power of the victorious ones in the ten directions,
These many verses can be heard, in all their diversity:
"Seeing the beings who are forever without protector,
Hero, you made the following promise:
'I will awaken to the supreme state without old age or grief
So that I can deliver all beings from death, old age, and other sufferings.'
"Therefore, Virtuous One, quickly leave this fine city
And practice the conduct of previous sages.
When you reach the right place on the earth,
You shall awaken to the incomparable wisdom of the victorious ones.
"In the past you gave away your exquisite wealth and riches,
And even your hands, feet, and dear body.
Great Sage, now is your time;
Open up the limitless river of Dharma for sentient beings.
"Your stainless and virtuous discipline has never been broken;
Until now you have always been adorned by the best qualities;
Great Sage, no one has discipline like you.
Now you must free beings from their many afflictions.
"For hundreds of lives you trained in forbearance;
You had patience with all kinds of evil words from others;
Through patience you are forbearing, self-controlled, and at ease.
Lord of Men, now you must decide to depart from home.
"Your diligence is firm, steadfast, and unshakable;
Bliss-Gone One, you are great from beginning to end.
Virtuous One, you will tame Mara, the evil one, and his army,
And dry up the entire three lower realms.
"This is why you have practised disciplined conduct and austerities—
To burn the afflictions of these evil and degenerate times.
Now let a rain of nectar fall
To soothe the thirst of those who for so long have had no protector.
"Now remember your supreme vow from the past:
'I will leave behind this beautiful town,
Quickly attain the state without death or sorrow,
And satisfy those who suffer from thirst with the nectar of immortality.'
"You are skilled in the supreme actions of knowledge;
Your wisdom is vast and limitless.
So now, Virtuous One, shine the beautiful light of knowledge
On those who are caught in delusion and doubt.
"For hundreds of lives you have trained in love,
As well as compassion, joy, and equanimity.
All those perfect acts that you have performed,
You must now share with sentient beings."
Through all the splendour of the victorious ones in the ten directions,
These verses, the wonderful blossoms of qualities, come about.
Through music they reverberate beautifully,
Encouraging the youth who rests on his couch.
At that time the joyful maidens who bring pleasure,
Beautiful as they are, play melodious tunes.
At the same time the victorious ones in the ten directions, who tame gods and humans,
Let this perfect speech be heard through the instruments in a pleasant sound:
"You, who benefit beings and possess many qualities,
Have made the virtues of the victorious ones your own as you traveled the paths.
Remember your past disciplined conduct and austerities;
Quick, go to the supreme tree and attain the state of immortality.
"Gods and humans are thirsty, lacking the qualities of the victorious ones;
Yet your resolve equals the task, so grant them the nectar of immortality.
You possess the features of the ten powers, and all learned ones venerate you;
Quick, Lord of Men, dispense that nectar.
"You, Benefactor of the World, delight in the qualities of the victorious ones.
In your past lives you gave away your wealth, jewels, and gold,
Your beloved wife and children, your land, cities, and villages,
And even your own head, eyes, hands, and feet.
"O Best of Men, in former times you were a virtuous king.
When a person came before you and said,
'Please give me this land with its cities and villages,'
You gave it away with a happy and undisturbed mind.
"In former times you were a personal priest to a king;
You attended upon the masters and caused no harm to anyone.
Best among priests, you established many ordinary beings in virtue;
After you died you were reborn in the divine realms.
"Prince, in the past you were a perfect sage.
At that time an evil king cut off your limbs in anger,
Yet your mind remained undisturbed and you performed your caste duties.
At that time milk flowed from your arms and legs.
"In the past you were a sage's son known as Syama;
In the fine shelter of the mountains, you delighted in your difficult discipline.
Yet when a ruler pierced you with his poisonous arrows,
You were not disturbed, and only felt pity for him.
"In the past, O Receptacle of Qualities, when you were a leader of a pack of deer,
A hunter was carried off by a raging mountain torrent.
Wishing to help, you carried him to dry land.
Even as you brought your enemy to safety, you remained calm.
"Perfect Man, in previous times you were born as the son of a priest.
When your gem fell in the ocean,
You dried out the ocean.
As the strong and firm leader of human beings, you recovered the valuable gem.
"Perfect Being, in times past you were born as a holy sage.

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Once when a priest approached you, saying, 'Please give me your protection,'
Sage, you told him, 'Venerable priest, I will rid you of the enemy.'
You gave away your body, while the priest kept his.
"In the past you approached the sage Syama at his place by the tree;
He asked you how many leaves were on the tree.
With your skill you counted the leaves accurately
And told him the exact number.
"Previously you were a virtuous, quick-darting parrot that lived in a tree;
Although the tree died, you remained, remembering its kindness.
The king of gods saw your virtues and rejoiced;
He restored the perfect tree to its former glory.
"Your disciplined conduct and austerities are beyond compare;
You are a receptacle of virtue, rich in qualities, treading the path of virtue.
Your time has come to abandon your city and your land;
Quick, establish beings in the virtuous actions of the victorious ones."
When gems of playful women, exquisitely dressed, their bodies adorned,
Play sweet music on the best of instruments,
Then, by the glory of the victorious ones in the ten directions,
These wonderful verses emerge from the beautiful sounds of the instruments:
"You vowed, 'I will be the protector of the world plagued by old age and death.'
Light of the World, in times past, for many eons, you have made this wish.
Lion of Men, remember your past aspirations;
Lord of Men, this is your time for renouncing your home.
"For billions of lives, you generously made many lavish gifts,
Giving away your wealth, gems, gold, fine cloth, a variety of jewels,
Your hands, feet, eyes, your beloved child, and the wealth of your kingdom.
Still you never had any resentment or anger for those who took it.
"You, Sasiketu, have been a peaceful king with fine teeth,
Loving and compassionate, with a crown jewel shining like the moon.
Such were your main deeds, mighty hero with the beautiful eyes of a king.
As a king, for billions of years you have practiced generosity gladly.
"Thus-Gone One, for many eons you have practiced discipline.
Like a stainless jewel, your discipline has been pure;
Like a female yak that protects her calf, you have guarded your discipline.
Since you delight in discipline, you have done so much to benefit beings.
"As a perfect elephant, the arrows of the evil hunter hit you,
Yet you felt love and compassion for this harsh enemy and protected him.
You gave him your fine and beautiful tusks and did not relinquish your discipline;
You displayed such discipline many times.
"Delighting in forbearance, you had patience with the many harms, sufferings,
Harsh words, murders, and imprisonments inflicted upon you by others.
In the past you always provided others with every comfort,
And although they were your executioners, you still remained forbearing.
"Protector, once you were a bear, living in a mountain lair;
At that time you rescued a man, frightened and terrified, out of an avalanche.
You served him roots and berries and provided him with every comfort;
Although he soon killed you and carried you off, you remained patient.
"When through austerities, you sought awakening and wisdom of many qualities,
You possessed fortitude, determination, unshakable resolve, and diligence;
The strength of your diligence could overcome even the most powerful demon.
Lion of Men, the time has come for renunciation.
"In the past you were the finest of horses, as white as snow;
With compassion, you traveled swiftly through the sky to the land of demonesses.
You rescued the men in distress and brought them to safety;
Many times have you demonstrated such diligence.
"A skilled meditator, you destroyed afflictions with calmness, discipline, and restraint,
And tamed the fickle mind, which chases after the pleasures of the senses.
Since you delight in concentration, your personal qualities benefit others;
Now, Perfect Being, the time has come for you to demonstrate your concentration.
"In the past you were a well-to-do sage who delighted in concentration;
People who had lost their king invited you and consecrated you to kingship.
You showed these people the ten virtues and established them on the path of Brahma;
Later, as they died, they all proceeded to the realm of Brahma.
"You have mastered the art of knowing the destinies of beings in all directions;
You know their actions, languages, and capacities.
You have perfected the way, the discipline, and different types of memory;
Royal Son, today the time for renunciation has come.
"In the past, when you saw anyone with wrong views,
Who suffered from old age, death, and all the different afflictions,
You instructed them in the straight path that destroys existence.
You who conquer darkness, you have benefited the world greatly."
These many virtuous and beautiful verses emerge from the tune of the instruments;
By the glory of the victorious ones, they encourage the hero:
"Intelligent One, the time for renunciation has come;
When you see these suffering beings, do not remain indifferent."
The pleasing and joyful women are adorned
With fine clothes, gems, necklaces, perfumes, and flower garlands;
They wake the Supreme Being with music and song.
By the power of the victorious ones, the instruments call out these verses:
"It was for the sake of others that for many eons,
You gave up what is hard to abandon and were disciplined, forbearing, and diligent.
Through your training in concentration and knowledge, your time has come;
Guide, quick, direct your mind toward renunciation, without delay!
"Before you relinquished treasuries of jewels, gold, silver, and ornaments;
In all those lives, you performed sacrifices of many types.
You gave away your wife, sons, daughters, body, kingdom, and even your life;
For the sake of awakening, you gave away without limits what is hard to abandon.
"You have been kings rich in merit and renowned for splendour:
Nimindhara, Nimi, Krsnabandhu, Brahmadatta, Kesarin,
Sahasrayajña, Dharmacinti, Arcimat, and Drdhadhanu.
Always considering the matter well, you gave to lowly people what is hard to give.
"You have been powerful Sutasoma, Diptavirya, and Puñyarasmi;
Generous and powerful, you also acknowledged the kindness of others.
O Royal Sage, you were the moon-like hero Satyavardhana,
The king Subhasitagavesin, and the gentle Sumati.
"You have been Candraprabha, Visesagamin, and Renu, lord of the ten directions;
You have been the king of Kasi Pradanasura, Ratnacuda, and Santaga.
When you were these rulers, as well as others, you gave what is hard to give;
As you showered a rain of gifts then, may you now shower a rain of Dharma.
"In the past you saw the best of beings, as numerous as sand in the Ganges,
And made an inconceivable and limitless number of offerings to them.
As you searched for supreme awakening in order to liberate others then,
Hero, now the time has come to renounce this perfect city.
"At the beginning you offered Amoghadarsin a sala flower;
With a mind full of devotion, you gazed for a moment at Vairocana.
You offered Dundubhisvara a myrobalan fruit;
When you saw Candana's house, you brought your grass torch and held it up.
"When Renu entered the city, you scattered a handful of fragrant powder at him;
When Dharmesvara taught the Dharma, you applauded him.
When you saw Samantadarsin, you declared your homage to him;
You joyfully threw a golden chain toward Maharciskandhin.
"To Dharmadhvaja you offered a robe, and to Nirodha a handful of beans.
You offered Jñanaketu a flower of the asoka tree, and soup to Sarathi.
You offered a candle to Ratnasikhin, and medicine to Padmayoni.
To Sarvabhibu you offered a pearl necklace, and to Sagara a lotus flower.
"You offered a canopy to Padmagarbha, and a rain cover to Simha.
To Salendraraja you offered clarified butter, and milk to Puspita.
To Yasodatta you offered kuruṇṭa flowers, and food to Satyadarsin.
You bowed down to Jñanameru, and offered robes to Nagadatta.
"To Atyuccagamin you offered the finest sandalwood, and a handful of salt to Tisya.
You offered lotus flowers to Mahavyuha, and jewels to Rasmiraja.
To Sakyamuni you offered a handful of gold, and you praised Indraketu.
You offered earrings to Suryananda, and a golden crown to Sumati.
"To Nagabhibhu you offered a jewel, and a cotton mat to Pusya.
To Bhaisajyaraja you offered a precious parasol, and a throne to Simhaketu.
You offered Guñagradhari a net of precious stones, and instruments to Kasyapa.
To Arciketu you offered powders of exquisite scent, and flowers to Caityaka.
"You offered Aksobhyaraja a multistoried palace, and a flower garland to Lokapujita.
To Tagarasikhin you offered your kingdom, and to Durjaya much incense.
You offered yourself to Mahapradipa, and jewel adornments to Padmottara.
To Dharmaketu you offered various flowers, and blue lotuses to Dipaṃkara.
"In the past you made these and other offerings,
Manifold and marvelous, to the best of beings.
Remember the buddhas of the past and your offerings to these teachers;
Do not abandon those who suffer without protection; leave your home.
"Merely seeing Dipaṃkara, you attained supreme forbearance,
And discovered, accordingly, the five indestructible clairvoyant perceptions.
Subsequently you performed inconceivable offerings
For limitless eons to all the buddhas in all the universes.
"Now limitless eons have passed, and those buddhas have passed into nirvana.
Where are all your past bodies and names now?
All things perish by nature; there is no permanence in conditioned things.
Delights, kingdoms, and enjoyments are impermanent, so leave this perfect city.
"Like the fierce and terrifying inferno, when this eon comes to an end,
Old age, sickness, and death bring great and terrible fear.
In the end, all things are conditioned and therefore cannot last;
Look at those who suffer intensely and, Capable One, renounce."
As the retinue of women wake up the Lord of Men,
Who was resting in his comfortable bed,
With sounds of lutes, flutes, and other instruments,
At that time the following words come from within the sounds of the instruments:
"The three worlds are ablaze with the suffering of old age and sickness;
This world is ablaze with the fire of death and without a protector.
Always deluded in impure existence,
Beings spin like a bee caught in a vase.
"The three worlds are unstable, like autumn clouds;
The birth and death of beings is like watching a play.
The life of a being passes quickly,
Like a lightning bolt in the sky or a mountain stream.
"By the power of craving for existence and ignorance,
Beings take birth as humans, gods, or in the three lower realms.
In their ignorance they continuously circle among these five existences,
Like the spinning of a potter's wheel.
"Beautiful forms, sweet sounds, fragrant smells,
Delicious tastes, and pleasant touch—
The snare of these unfortunate times has caught beings,
Like the hunter's snare catches a monkey.
"The objects of enjoyment lead to much suffering and harm;
They bring fear, make enemies, and lead to depravity.
A noble being will reject them like a bowl of excrement,
The edge of a sword, or poison ivy.
"The objects of enjoyment always bring fear and depravity;
They make us suffer when we think of them, and they make us blind.

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They always produce causes of fear and are the root of suffering;
They make the vine of craving for existence grow.
"Just like a terrifying fire pit,
So the noble ones understand desire.
Or they see it like a great swamp, or like walking on swords,
Or like the edge of a knife smeared with honey.
"Like a viper's head or a bowl of excrement,
So the wise ones understand desire.
Desires are like a pang of pain, and as fragile as a bird's egg;
Like a bone among dogs, they are the prime cause of enmity.
"Desired objects are like a moon reflected in water,
Like a reflection, or an echo,
Like an illusion, or like a theater play,
Or like a dream—thus perceive the noble ones.
"Desired objects are momentary and empty.
They are as untrue as a magical illusion or a mirage;
They have no substance, like a bubble of water or foam.
The learned ones realize that these objects emerge from conceptualisation.
"At first in youth, when one has a fine body,
One is liked and desired and acts like a child.
Yet when old age, suffering, and diseases conquer the splendour of the body,
One is abandoned, just like a dried-up river is abandoned by deer.
"When one is powerful with the best of wealth, grains, and possessions,
One is liked and desired and acts like a child.
Yet when the wealth is spent and suffering sets in,
One is abandoned, just like an empty wilderness.
"Like a tree with flowers and fruits,
People love a person who delights in giving.
Yet when the wealth is gone, one becomes a beggar, miserable in old age;
At that point, just like a vulture, one becomes disliked.
"When one is powerful, rich, and handsome, one is like a lord;
People like to meet such a being, and one pleases their senses.
Yet when one is old, suffering from disease, and all wealth is spent,
One becomes as disagreeable as death.
"When one is old and youth has passed,
Like a tree struck by lightning,
One is worn out and terrifying to others, like a ruined house.
Sage, quick, tell us how to avoid old age!
"Old age withers men and women,
Just as the malu ivy does to a thick sala forest.
Old age robs one's diligence, energy, and power,
Like a person caught in a swamp.
"Old age makes the beautiful person ugly;
Old age steals one's splendour and robs one's power.
Old age takes your happiness and defeats you;
Old age brings death and destroys your vital force.
"There are hundreds of diseases, and being struck by sickness
Brings torment to beings, like deer tormented by forest fire.
Look at those beings that are overcome by old age and sickness,
And, quick, explain how to be free of suffering!
"Just as the heavy snow during winter
Steals all life from grass, trees, and herbs,
So, alas, do sickness and old age rob the vitality of beings
And destroy their faculties, bodies, and strength.
"Old age and disease exhaust all stores of wealth and grain;
They bring great anguish to beings.
They create resentment and bring animosity among loved ones;
They torment everyone intensely, like the sun in the sky.
"When the time of passing away has arrived,
One is always separated from one's favourite possessions and loved ones.
There will be no returning or meeting again,
Just as fruits or leaves taken by the river never meet the tree again.
"Death makes the powerful helpless;
Death robs everyone, like a river carrying off a tree.
One must proceed alone, without friend or company;
One is powerless but to follow the results of one's actions.
"Death devours beings by the hundreds,
Like a sea monster devouring numerous beings,
Or like a garuda devouring a naga, or an elephant catching a lion,
Or how a fire devours plants, herbs, and living creatures.
"To liberate beings from these hundreds of calamities,
Thus you made your aspiration.
Now remember that aspiration of bygone times;
The time for leaving your home has come."
While the group of delighted women
Are waking up the Great Sage with their music,
At this time, through the power of the thus-gone ones,
These wonderful verses come out from the sound of the instruments:
"Everything compounded quickly disintegrates;
Nothing lasts longer than a flash of lightning in the sky.
Your time has now come—
The time for leaving home, Disciplined One!
"Conditioned things are impermanent and without stability;
Their nature is to break, like an unbaked earthen vase.
They are like things on loan from another,
Or a city of sand, so short-lived are they.
"All these conditioned things are impermanent by nature.
Like mud plaster applied during the rains,
Or the sandy banks of the river,
They depend on conditions and have a feeble nature.
"Conditioned things are like the light of a candle:
They have the nature of quickly coming and going.
Like the wind, they do not remain;
Like foam, they are feeble and insubstantial.
"Conditioned things are inert and empty;
When examined they are like the stem of the plantain tree.
They are like an illusion that deceives the mind;
They are like an empty fist that tricks children.
"All conditioned things come about
Based on causes and conditions.
One causing the other, they arise in dependence,
Yet all the childish beings do not recognise this.
"Just as valvaja grass depends on muñja grass
To give a rope proper strength,
Or just as a bucket in a well depends on a winch—
One unable to function without the other—
"So too function the twelve links of interdependent origination.
Being all in mutual dependence,
One thing follows after another,
And it cannot be seen where one thing ends and the other begins.
"When you have a seed, a sprout can grow,
Yet the seed is not the sprout.
Still it is not different;
In this way the true nature knows no permanence or impermanence.
"Formative factors have ignorance for their cause;
Formative factors do not truly exist.
Ignorance and formative factors
Are naturally empty and inert.
"The seal makes the mark of the seal appear,
Yet the seal itself was not transferred anywhere.
It is not in the mark, yet it is also not elsewhere;
In this way the formative factors are beyond annihilation and permanence.
"It is based on the eye and form
That the eye consciousness appears.
Yet the form is not dependent on the eye,
Nor is the form transferred to the eye.
"Although all of this is without a self and is repulsive,
Beings perceive it as having a self and as beautiful.
Although that is a mistaken and corrupt imputation,
The eye consciousness arises from it.
"The consciousness ceases and rearises.
The practitioner observes this arising and ceasing of consciousness:
It goes nowhere and it does not come from anywhere.
The practitioner perceives consciousness as empty and illusory.
"Since the combination of these three is needed—
The lower and upper pieces of wood, and the action of the hands—
A fire is born in dependence on conditions.
It is born, fulfills its purpose, and quickly ceases.
"In this way some scholars investigate:
'Where does this come from and where does it proceed?'
They check in all directions,
And find that nothing comes and nothing goes.
"The conditions for the aggregates, the sense fields, and the elements
Are ignorance, craving, and karma.
When all of these assemble, that is called a sentient being,
Although ultimately nothing is there.
"Based on the lips, throat, palate, and tongue,
The sounds of syllables are produced.
This is not so with just the throat or the palate;
No sound can be found in them individually.
"Speech occurs based on all of these things coming together;
It emerges based on the power of mind and intelligence.
Yet mind and speech are by nature invisible;
They are nowhere to be found, inside or outside.
"When the learned ones analyze the coming and going
Of speech, voices, sounds, and tunes,
They see that all speech is like an echo,
Momentary and without substance.
"Sound is based on wood and strings
Meeting with the movements of the hands.
Due to these three things, sounds can emerge
From instruments such as the melodious lute.
"When some skillful people analyze this and wonder:
'Where does the sound come from and where does it go?'
They may search in all directions,
Yet never find the origin of sound or its destination.
"This is how all compounded phenomena appear,
Based on causes and conditions.
The practitioner, by observing the true nature of conditioned things,
Sees that these things are all empty and inert.
"The aggregates, sense fields, and elements
Are empty within and empty without;
They all lack a self and do not abide.
Everything is essentially like space.
"That everything is this way,
You realised when you met Dipaṃkara.
That which you understood, exactly as it is,
You must now make gods and humans comprehend.
"Beings are scorched by attachment and anger,
Yet they are falsely imputed—such ills are not for real.
Guide, release the stream of nectar,
The cooling waters of peace from the cloud of compassion.
"'Once I attain supreme awakening,
I will gather noble wealth for beings.'
Skillful One, saying this you sought out supreme awakening,
And for many millions of eons you made offerings to the learned.
"Remember your previous actions!
Charioteer, do not forget to bring this noble wealth
To those who are depressed, poor, and suffering.
Gather them with your noble wealth.
"'I will show millions of beings
The perfect gate to the nectar of the higher realms.'
Saying this, you guarded your discipline well
In order to block the way to the three lower realms.
"Keep your discipline and fulfill your wishes;
Remember your past actions.
Close the gates to the three lower realms,
And open the gates to the nectar of the higher realms.
"'I will put up with beings' hostility and anger,
And liberate everyone from the ocean of existence.
I will establish them in peace and happiness without disease.'
Saying this, you have always trained in forbearance.
"Remember your previous actions!
Do not abandon those who engage in harmful actions,
Due to being disturbed by animosity, ill will, and harmful wishes.
You said: 'I will bring those beings to the stage of forbearance.
"'I will prepare the ship of Dharma,
Deliver beings from the ocean of existence,
And establish them in peace and happiness without disease.'
Saying this, you have relied on diligence to achieve that.
"Remember your previous actions!
The four rivers carry beings away;
Quick, rescue those beings that have no guide,
Through the power of your diligence and the strength of your discipline.
"'I will establish on the noble path
Those beings that have confused faculties and suffer from monkey-like thoughts.'
O Gentle One, to accomplish that,
You have trained in concentration that expels disturbing emotions.
"Remember your previous actions!
Do not abandon those afflicted beings
Who are agitated by the web of disturbing emotions.
Establish these beings in one-pointed concentration.
"'I will give beings who are veiled by the darkness of delusion and ignorance
A vision of many hundred doors to the Dharma.
I will give them eyes that can see reality.'
Saying this, you have meditated on knowledge.
"Remember your previous actions!
To those beings who are veiled by the darkness of delusion and ignorance,
You must give the excellent light of sacred knowledge,
The eye of Dharma, which is stainless and impeccable."
Verses like this emerge from
The sounds of the women's instruments.
Hearing them, all the Bodhisattva's sleepiness vanishes
And he sets his mind on perfect and supreme awakening.

Monks, in this way, even as the Bodhisattva was with his retinue of consorts, he could not avoid hearing the sound of the Dharma. He could not avoid thinking about the Dharma. Monks, this was because for so long the Bodhisattva had paid his respects to the Dharma and to those who teach the Dharma. From the innermost core of his being, he strove toward the Dharma, wished for the Dharma, and his only delight was in the Dharma. As he searched for the Dharma, he was insatiable.

He taught the Dharma just as he had heard it. He was a master of generosity in bestowing the gift of the unexcelled great Dharma. He taught the Dharma without seeking

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rewards. He was without any stinginess when it came to teaching the Dharma.

Regarding the Dharma, he never held back anything as a teacher. He practiced the Dharma that he taught. He was brave in making the Dharma manifest. He found his home in the Dharma, his protection in the Dharma, and his refuge in the Dharma. His point of reference was the Dharma, and his ultimate resort was the Dharma. With the Dharma as his object of meditation, proficient in forbearance, he practiced the perfection of knowledge and attained skillful means.

Monks, the Bodhisattva demonstrated, with a playful mastery of his great skillful means, the actions conforming to the wishes of his entire retinue of consorts. He was acting in conformity with the bodhisattvas of the past who, while being beyond the world, acted in worldly ways. Since the Bodhisattva had long ago realized the shortcomings of desire, he now demonstrated sensual enjoyment, without himself wanting it, simply in order to ripen others. By the unique power of the accumulation of merit, gathered through limitless roots of virtue, he demonstrated the qualities of the ruler of the world. He demonstrated a complete enjoyment of the delightful forms, sounds, smells, tastes, and textures that went far beyond anything known to gods and humans in terms of quality and extent.

He demonstrated a mastery of mind, which was free from attachment to any of his delightful maidens of pleasure. He ripened those who were now in his company as friends, due to the power of their previous aspirations and their accumulated roots of virtue. As such he was able to stay among the consorts without ever being disturbed by the stains of worldly emotions. While watching for the time to ripen the potential in those who were around him, the Bodhisattva kept his former promise acutely in mind.

He actualised the Buddha and the Dharma and perfected the power of aspiration. For sentient beings he felt great compassion and kept their complete freedom foremost in his mind. He understood that in the end, any amount of wealth will be used up. He understood that saṃsara is full of many calamities and terrors. He broke free from the evil shackles of Mara, extricated himself from the prison of cyclic existence, and directed his attention to nirvana.

Monks, from the very beginning the Bodhisattva had already understood the many shortcomings of cyclic existence. With all his heart, he stopped striving after compounded phenomena, as well as all kinds of grasping and clinging. Instead he now only felt interest in the Buddhadharma. He turned toward the state of nirvana and turned his back on saṃsara. He delighted in the domain of a thus-gone one, because he had separated himself from the domain of Mara.

Perceiving the three realms to be ablaze with the shortcomings of existence, his wish was to free himself from them, and he became skilled in removing himself from the shortcomings and faults of cyclic existence. His wish was to become ordained, and his mind was filled with the thought of leaving home. He was determined to live in solitude and delighted in seeking remoteness. His wish was to be completely on his own and at peace.

He strove to be of help, both for himself and for others, and was a hero in unexcelled persistence. He wished to be of service to the world and to assist the world. He wished happiness and the peace of accomplishment for the world. He had compassion for the world and wanted to help. He was filled with love, saturated with great compassion, and skilled in the art of attracting others. He was never sad. He was skilled in ripening and training others. In his heart he harbored the same love toward everyone that one has for one's only child.

He had abandoned wishes for material objects and paid no attention to them. He delighted in giving and sharing. He never refused, but gave courageously with an open hand. He made religious offerings. He accumulated perfect merit and guarded it well. Through discipline, he freed himself from any stains or miserliness, and was fully in control of his thoughts. He was a peerless great benefactor. Even though he gave, he had no expectation of reward. He was a heroic giver ready to subdue the hostile forces of the entire multitude of disturbing emotions, the primary ones being longing, desire, attachment, anger, haughtiness, pride, delusion, and miserliness.

He did not lapse from continually giving rise to the state of omniscience. He was always well protected by an armour of great generosity. He had love and compassion for the world and wished to help. His protection and coat of mail was diligence. His focus was on liberating others. His power was compassion, and his strength was courage. He did not turn back. He had complete impartiality with regard to all beings, and his weapon was generosity. He was able to satisfy the hopes and wishes of others. He was a vessel fit for awakening who continuously realised the Dharma. He would dedicate his awakening to all beings. He did not lower his banner. When he gave, his generosity was not involved with subject, object, and action. He had the sharp vajra weapon of supreme wisdom. He conquered all opposing forces of disturbing emotions.

He was disciplined, skilled, and behaved correctly. He guarded carefully all his physical, verbal, and mental acts, and exhibited fear of even the smallest unwholesome act. His discipline was perfectly pure. Mentally he had abandoned all stains and was now clean and spotless. Disturbing emotions resulting from negative speech, harmful talk, adversity, criticism, blaming, cursing, beatings, threats, murder, bondage, and imprisonment did not perturb his mind, which was simply unshakable. He was perfectly forbearing and gentle. He had no harmful wishes, never did any damage, and was utterly free from any ill will.

He had given rise to a fervent diligence that was set on helping all other beings. It was a firm resolve. He could not be turned back from accomplishing all the practices that are the roots of virtue. He was mindful and composed. His mind was not distracted, and he rested one-pointedly in concentration. He was skilled in analyzing phenomena. He had found the light, and all darkness had disappeared for him. His mind was filled with thoughts about the nature of impermanence, suffering, and repulsiveness.

He was trained in the applications of mindfulness, the thorough relinquishments, the bases of miraculous power, the faculties, the powers, the branches of awakening, the path, the four truths of the noble ones, and all the principles conducive to awakening.

His mind was purified by tranquility and insight. He perceived the truth of dependent origination. Since he had realized the truth, he was not reliant on others. He mastered the three gateways to liberation. He had realized that all phenomena are like an illusion, a mirage, a dream, a moon reflected in water, an echo, or an optical illusion. Monks, in this way the Bodhisattva lived according to the Dharma.

In this way he rested in wisdom. In this way he rested in a state of immense qualities. In this way he strove for the benefit of others.

Encouraged even more by these verses, which emerged out of the sounds of the instruments through the blessings of the buddhas in the ten directions, the Bodhisattva at this point manifested four Dharma gates in order to mature his retinue of consorts, just as all previous bodhisattvas in their last existence had done. What are these four Dharma gates?

The first Dharma gate that he manifested is called pure accomplishment. It refers to the four means of attracting disciples: generosity, kind talk, meaningful actions, and practicing what one preaches.

The second Dharma gate that he manifested is called the irreversible state. It produces the power of aspiration toward inexhaustible omniscience, and it ensures that the capacity of the Three Jewels is upheld and not wasted.

The third Dharma gate that he manifested is called putting great compassion into practice. It is a disposition of never abandoning any sentient beings.

The fourth Dharma gate that he manifested is called the great array. It accomplishes the unique strength of the accumulation of wisdom, which ascertains the meaning of the different categories related to all the factors of awakening.

These are the four Dharma gates that the Bodhisattva manifested. At that point, in order to mature his entire retinue of consorts, he produced many miraculous manifestations. By the power of the Bodhisattva, these miraculous displays caused hundreds of thousands of Dharma gates to emerge from the sounds of the music, such as the following:

"Through profound aspirations in one's heart
And the heartfelt compassion for beings,
The mind of the most eminent awakening is born."
Such words rang out from the musical instruments.
"Faith, devotion, dedication, respect,
Lack of pride, and humility before the teachers,
Inquiry and search for the nature of virtue,
And training in mindfulness." Such were the words that emerged.
"Generosity, calmness, collectedness, discipline,
Forbearance, diligence,
Concentration, absorption,
Knowledge, and means." Such were the words that emerged.
"Through settling on love, compassion,
Joy, equanimity, higher knowledge,
And the four means of attracting disciples,
You will ripen beings." Such were the words that emerged.
"Analyze the four applications of mindfulness,
The thorough relinquishments, the bases of miraculous power,
The five faculties, the five powers, and the branches of awakening."
Such were the words that emerged from the instruments.
"The divisions of the supreme eightfold path of the noble ones,
Tranquility, insight, impermanence,
Suffering, lack of self, and repulsiveness."
Such were the words that emerged from the instruments.
"Freedom from attachment, solitude,
Knowledge of extinction, nonarising,
Cessation, nonabiding, and nirvana."
Such were the words that emerged from the instruments.
Through the power of the Perfect Bodhisattva,
Such words emerged from the instruments.
As all these wanton women heard these words, they learned them,
And directed their aspirations for awakening to the Perfect Being.

Monks, while the Bodhisattva remained in this way among his retinue of consorts, he
matured 84,000 women along with many hundreds of thousands of assembled gods
for the attainment of unexcelled and perfect awakening.

When it was time for the Bodhisattva to leave home, there arrived a divine son from the Heaven of Joy by the name Hrideva, on a visit concerning the Bodhisattva's unexcelled and perfect awakening. Then, in the quiet of the night, he arrived at the palace together with an assembly of 32,000 divine sons in order to serve and venerate the Bodhisattva. As he arrived, he stopped in midair and sang these verses to the Bodhisattva:

"You have manifested passing away, Famed One!
Lion of Men, you have also manifested birth.
In order to teach the retinue of consorts,
You have acted in accordance with the world.
"While acting in conformity with the world,
You have ripened many gods and humans.
Today the time has come,
So please consider leaving home.
"If you are not free yourself, you will be unable to liberate others;
A blind man cannot show the way.
If you are free, you can liberate others;
A person with sight can show the way.
"Those beings who are slaves to desire—
Attached to their house, wealth, sons, and wife—
When being trained by you,
May they too form a wish to leave their homes.
"You must abandon your dominion and the sports of love,
And the seven riches on the four continents.
When people hear that you have renounced all this,
The world with its gods and humans will long for the same.
"You are not delighted by desire;
You rest in the bliss of concentration.
Yet many hundreds of gods and humans,
You awaken from their sleep.
"The prime of life is very short;
It passes quickly, like a cascading waterfall.
As youth fades away,
Leaving home will not seem appealing.
"So depart from home now
While you are still young and in your prime.
Fulfill your promise
And act in the interest of the host of gods.
"Desired objects never satisfy;
They are just like salty water from the ocean.
Satisfied, however, are those who possess knowledge,
The stainless noble ones who transcend the world.
"You are the delight of King Suddhodana's kingdom,
Who has won its hearts and minds.
Your face is like a blooming lotus with hundreds of petals.
So please consider departing now!
"Beings suffer from the burning torment of disturbing emotions.
They are without refuge, bound in heavy fetters.
Hero, quick, establish them in peace
On the path to complete liberation.
"You, the skilled physician,
Please, quickly establish in the happiness of nirvana
The beings touched by diseases, who have suffered for so long,
By dispensing the medicine of Dharma.
"Beings are blind in the darkness of their stupor
And bound by the web of wrong views.
You are the eye of gods and humans,
So quick, shine the light of wisdom.
"'We must see the One Who Has Attained Awakening,
And listen to the unexcelled Dharma.'
So say the many gods, demigods, nagas,
Yaksas, and gandharvas who are watching you.
"The king of nagas can see your splendour,
Since it illumines even his abode.
He brings boundless offerings,
So fulfill his wish for disciplined conduct.
"'At the feet of the Bodhi tree your mind shall be perfected,
And we shall present you with four offering bowls.'
So say the four guardians of the world and their armies,
Who are all awaiting you.
"Even Brahma, the peaceful and compassionate one,
Who speaks lovingly, awaits you, thinking:
'I must request this lord of men
To turn the unexcelled wheel.'
"The gods who venerate awakening
Are all present at the seat of awakening.
They await you, thinking:
'We shall witness his awakening.'

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"It is true that bodhisattvas
Demonstrate their occupation with consorts.
You, however, should be at the forefront.
Do not fall behind them!
"Remember the sweet-sounding and soft words
Of Dipankara when he gave his prophecy!
Utter now the sound of the victorious ones' voice,
The voice that is genuine and free from error!
This concludes the thirteenth chapter on encouragement.

LALITA-VISTARA CHAPTER 14 — Dreams

[The Bodhisattva takes a trip outside of the palace walls to visit the royal parks. On this trip, he encounters a sick person, an old man, a corpse, and a religious mendicant. Deeply affected by these sights, the Bodhisattva renounces his royal pleasures.]

Monks, while the divine son in this way was encouraging the Bodhisattva, a dream occurred to King Suddhodana. As he was sleeping, King Suddhodana dreamed that the Bodhisattva was leaving the palace in the quiet of the night, surrounded by a host of gods. As the Bodhisattva left the palace, the king saw that he had become ordained and was wearing the saffron-coloured robes.

As soon as the king awoke, he immediately asked the chamberlain: "Is the young Prince with the consorts?"

The chamberlain replied, "Yes, Your Majesty."

King Suddhodana, sitting in the female quarters, thought to himself: "Then the young Prince will surely leave us soon, as these omens foretell." As a sharp pain shot through his heart, he began to scheme: "My young Prince must never even set foot in the palace gardens. He must always remain inside with the maidens so that he will be addicted to their pleasures. He must never leave us!"

Then, in order for the young Prince to enjoy himself, King Suddhodana erected three palaces for each of the three seasons—hot, rainy, and cold. The Hot Season Palace was very cool, the Rainy Season Palace was both cool and warm, and the Winter Palace was naturally warm. At each palace five hundred guardsmen walked up and down the staircase. While they were ascending and descending the stairs, their calls could be heard for a distance of half a league. Everyone thought, "The young Prince will never be able to leave without being noticed."

Nevertheless all the astrologers and fortunetellers kept making the same prediction, saying: "The young Prince will leave through the Gate of Auspiciousness." So the king had massive door panels fitted into the Gate of Auspiciousness, so large that it took five hundred men to open and close each of them. The calls of these five hundred men could be heard half a league away. The king provided the palaces with the five desirable things, the likes of which had never been seen before. There were constantly young maidens around the Bodhisattva, playing their instruments, singing songs, and dancing for him.

Monks, at that point the Bodhisattva told his charioteer: "I will go to the parks, so
quick, go and prepare my chariot."

But the charioteer went to King Suddhodana and told him: "Your Majesty,
the young Prince wishes to visit the parks."

On hearing that, King Suddhodana thought to himself: "My young Prince has never been to the parks to see their lovely grounds. However, if I allow him to visit the parks, the young Prince must be surrounded by women. That way he can really enjoy amorous delights and surely he will not leave us then."

As King Suddhodana had such love for the Bodhisattva and wanted to please him, he dispatched bell ringers and made the following announcement to the people in his city: "Seven days from now, the young Prince will be visiting the grounds of the pleasure grove. You must all make sure that the young Prince does not catch sight of anything disagreeable, so take care that everything that is not beautiful has been removed, and every nice thing, pleasing to the senses, has been brought forth!"

Accordingly, on the seventh day, the entire city was beautifully adorned. The parks were also adorned with canopies of cloth in various colours, as well as parasols, flags, and banners. The road on which the Bodhisattva was to proceed had been sprinkled and swept, sprayed with perfumed water, and scattered with fresh flower petals. Incense burners dispensed fragrant smoke, and along the road vases had been placed and plantain trees planted. The road was shaded with silk canopies in many colours, and festooned with nets of tiny jewel bells and decorative garlands and tassels. Four army divisions had also taken position along the route, and members of the retinue were busy adorning the young Prince's consorts.

Amid all this activity, while the Bodhisattva was exiting through the eastern gate of the city on his way to the parks, through the power of the Bodhisattva the divine sons from the pure abodes emanated an old man on the road ahead. He was a decrepit old man, so skinny that the veins on his body protruded. His teeth had fallen out and he was covered in wrinkles everywhere. His hair was gray and he was hunched over like the rafters in a gable roof. Weak and broken, he had to use a stick to keep himself from falling. He was in pain and his vitality was long gone. The only sounds that emerged from his throat were a dry wheezing. As he stood there on the road, with the weight of his upper body supported by his stick, all his limbs were shaking and trembling.

When the Bodhisattva saw the man, he asked his charioteer the following, even though he already knew the answer:

"Charioteer! Who is that decrepit man?
He is so weak, emaciated, and wrinkled;
His head is all gray, his teeth are few and far between, and his body is so skinny.
Holding his stick, he sways in discomfort from side to side."

The charioteer replied:

"Your Highness, that man is overcome by old age;
His senses are weak, he suffers greatly, and his strength and energy are gone.
His relatives despise him and no one looks after him;
Unable to function, he has been abandoned like a piece of wood in the forest."

The Bodhisattva then asked:

"Is that a practice specific to his family,
Or could that happen to anyone?
Quick, tell me the truth!
Then I will reflect on what I hear."

The charioteer replied:

"Your Highness, that is not the practice of his caste or the state;
For all beings, old age overcomes youth.
Even your father, mother, friends, and relatives
Are not free from old age, nor is any other class of people."

The Bodhisattva then remarked:

"Charioteer! How sad; childish and ignorant beings do not see old age,
Proud and crazed as they are in youth.
I will go back now—quick, turn my chariot around!
If I shall also be old, how can I enjoy myself and play games?"

So the Bodhisattva turned his fine chariot around and returned to the city.

However, monks, sometime later, while the Bodhisattva was setting out for the parks through the southern city gate, again accompanied by a large parade, he saw on the road a man suffering from disease. His body was weak, and he was suffering greatly as he lay in his own urine and feces. There was no one to take care of him or assist him, and he was breathing only with the greatest difficulty. When the Bodhisattva saw this man, he turned to the charioteer and asked him the following, even though he already knew the answer:

"Charioteer, the body of this poor man is covered in sores and discoloured;
His senses are weak, he is crippled, and he breathes so heavily.
He is so skinny, his belly is in convulsions, and he suffers;
He is lying in his own excrement, in a revolting state."

The charioteer replied:

"Your Highness, that man is seriously ill;
Confronted by the terrors of disease, he is now on the brink of death.
The splendour of his former health is gone and his strength has been lost;
He has no protection, refuge, or sanctuary, and nowhere to go."

The Bodhisattva then exclaimed:

"Health is just like a play in a dream.
What wise person, having witnessed
Such unbearable terrors of disease,
Would have a positive view of playful games?"

And so, monks, once again the Bodhisattva turned his beautiful chariot around and returned to the city.

However, monks, sometime later, while the Bodhisattva was setting out for the parks through the western city gate, accompanied by a large parade, he saw on the road a dead man who had reached his end. The corpse was lying on a stretcher, covered by a cotton cloth. It was surrounded by a group of relatives who wailed, cried, and lamented. As they followed the deceased, they pulled out their hair, threw dust on their heads, beat their chests, and lamented loudly.

When he saw this, the Bodhisattva turned to the charioteer and asked him the following, even though he already knew the answer:

"Charioteer, who is this man carried on the stretcher?
The other people have surrounded him,
And they keep pulling their hair, scratching their faces with their fingernails,
Throwing dust on their heads, beating their chests, and crying in distress."

The charioteer replied:

"Your Highness, this man has died in Jambudvipa;
Never again shall he see his parents, wife, or children.
He must abandon his possessions, his house, his friends, and his relatives,
And proceed to the next world, where he shall never see his relatives again."

The Bodhisattva exclaimed:

"How sad that old age destroys youth!
How sad that health is destroyed by various sicknesses!
How sad that the life of a wise man does not last long!
How sad that scholars are attached to pleasure!
"Even if there were no old age, sickness, or death,
The five aggregates would still be ridden with great suffering.
What then about old age, sickness, and death, which always occur together?
Well then! Turn around—I will think about how to be liberated from this state."

And so, monks, once again the Bodhisattva turned his fine chariot around and returned to the city.

Monks, sometime later, while the Bodhisattva was setting out for the parks through the northern city gate, through the power of the Bodhisattva the divine sons emanated a mendicant in the street where they were passing. The Bodhisattva saw the mendicant and noticed that he was peaceful. He was self-controlled and restrained.

He had pure conduct, and his eyes did not wander but looked down ahead at a distance of six feet. His behavior was beautiful and exquisite, as was the way he walked. The way he looked ahead and to the left and right was also beautiful. When he bent and stretched his limbs, he did so in an exquisite manner. The way he wore his robes and his offering bowl was delightful to see.

When he saw this monk, the Bodhisattva turned to the charioteer and asked him the following, even though he already knew the answer:

"Charioteer, who is this peaceful and calm person?
He walks with his eyes toward the ground at a distance of six feet.
His clothes are saffron coloured and his actions so peaceful;
He carries his offering bowl and is not overbearing or haughty."

The charioteer replied:

"Your Highness, that person is what we call a monk.
He has abandoned sensual enjoyments and now acts in a very gentle manner;
He has become a mendicant and searches for peace.
Free from attachment and anger, he lives from alms."

The Bodhisattva said:

"What you say is very true, and I agree;
Wise beings always praise the life of a monk.
Such a life is beneficial for oneself and it also helps others;
It is a happy life that results in the sweet nectar of immortality.

And so, monks, once again the Bodhisattva turned his fine chariot around and returned to the city.

Monks, King Suddhodana both saw and heard that the Bodhisattva had been inspired in these ways. So in order to guard the Bodhisattva even more, he erected a perimeter wall around the palace, dug trenches, and strengthened the gates. He also posted guards, alerted his brave soldiers, and even prepared the cavalry. All of them were in full armour. In order to guard the Bodhisattva, he placed a full army division at each of the junctions by the four city gates to keep watch day and night, and told them to prevent the Bodhisattva from eloping. At the quarters of the consorts he directed everyone to continuously sing and play music, and not to stop for even a moment. "You must apply all your skills in pleasure and games!" he told them. "Use all your female trickery and keep persevering with the young Prince so that when his mind becomes attached to you, he will not want to leave for the sake of ordination!"

On this topic, it is said:

At the gates there are men fond of combat, holding their swords aloft;
There are elephants, horses, chariots, and men in armour on rows of elephants.
Ditches have been dug, and tall walls and archways with turrets have been built;
There are gates so solid that their noise can be heard for several miles.
All the Sakyas are worried and keep guard day and night;
The great noise of the powerful army is heard everywhere.
The city is in turmoil and full of terrified cries: "May the Gentle One not depart!
If the holder of the Sakya lineage leaves, this royal line will be broken!"
The women are told: "You must never stop your songs and music;
You must make him stay, so captivate his mind with your games of pleasure.
Demonstrate all your many ways of female trickery and make a good effort;
Watch over him and create hindrances so that the Gentle Being does not depart!"

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These are omens that foretell the departure of the best of charioteers:
The swans, cranes, peacocks, mynas, and parrots do not make any sounds.
They sit on terraces, by palace windows, on gateways, parapets, and pedestals;
Depressed, unhappy, and miserable, they hang their heads and remain silent.
Even the beautiful lotuses in the ponds and the pools wither and die;
The foliage and the flowers in the trees disappear, and the trees blossom no more.
The strings on the lutes and the sitars break for no apparent reason;
The drums, big and small, all break when touched and emit no sounds.
The whole city is disturbed and overcome by lethargy;
Nobody has any desire for dancing, singing, or making merry.
Even the king is severely depressed and given to brooding;
He wonders: "Oh no, will the Sakya lineage, of such fortune, now be destroyed?"
As Gopa and the Prince lie asleep in the same bed,
A dream appears to Gopa in the middle of the night.
She dreams that the entire earth with all its mountains is shaken;
The trees are rocked by the wind, and uprooted they fall to the ground.
The sun, the moon, and the stars that adorn them fall from the sky onto the earth;
She sees her shorn-off hair in her right hand, and her diadem crumbling into pieces.
Her hands and feet are cut off and she finds herself naked;
Her pearl necklace and the jewel in her girdle break apart.
The four legs of her bed break off, and she ends up lying on the ground;
The beautiful and splendourous handle of the king's parasol is broken.
All her ornaments fall off and are scattered about and carried off by water;
Her husband's ornaments, clothes, and crown lie scattered on their bed.
Torches are carried out from the city, which is left behind in darkness;
The beautiful jewel lattices she sees in her sleep are broken.
The tassels of pearl fall off and the ocean is stirred;
She dreams that Meru, the king of mountains, is shaken in its foundation.
These are the dreams that appear to the daughter of the Sakyas.
As she awakens with tearful eyes, she asks her husband:
"Lord, what is going to befall me? Please tell me the meaning of these dreams!
My memory is confused, and I cannot see clearly. My heart is aching!"
The Lord replies to Gopa in a voice as sweet as the nightingale, a drum, or Brahma:
"Cheer up! Nothing bad is in store for you.
Only beings who have created previous merit have such dreams;
People for whom there is suffering in store could never dream like that.
"When you dream that the earth is shaken
And the mountains crumble to the earth,
It shows that gods, nagas, raksasas, and bhutas
All rank you as the highest among those worthy of worship.
"When you dream that the trees are uprooted
And you cut off your hair with your right hand,
It shows that you, Gopa, will quickly cut the web of afflictions
And free yourself from the web of viewing conditioned phenomena.
"When you dream that the sun and the moon fall to the ground
And that the stars fall as well,
It shows that you, Gopa, will quickly conquer the enemy of afflictions
And will become worthy of offerings and praise from the world.
"When you dream that your pearl necklace is torn
And that you are naked and your body is mutilated,
It shows that you, Gopa, can soon leave your female body
And swiftly attain a male body.
"When you dream that the legs of your bed break off
And the precious handle of the parasol is broken,
It shows that you, Gopa, shall quickly cross the four rivers
And see me as the single parasol bearer in the triple universe.
"When you dream that your jewellery is carried off by water
And my clothes and crown are left behind on my throne,
It shows that you, Gopa, shall quickly see me adorned with signs
And receiving the praise of the entire world.
"When you dream that billions of lights
Leave the city and plunge it into darkness,
It shows, Gopa, that soon I will illuminate with the light of knowledge
The entire world, which is plagued by delusion and the darkness of ignorance.
"When you dream that your pearl necklace breaks
And your beautiful golden chain is broken,
It shows that you, Gopa, shall quickly cut the web of affliction
And remove your chain of conceptual perception.
"Gopa, since you pay homage to me
And always make offerings with the highest respect,
You shall never go to the lower realms or meet with suffering.
Soon you shall have happiness and fortune.
"In the past I made abundant offerings;
I guarded my discipline and always trained in forbearance.
Therefore whoever has faith in me
Shall find happiness and fortune.
"For a limitless number of millions of eons in cyclic existence,
I have trained in the perfect path to awakening.
Therefore whoever has faith in me
Shall eliminate the three lower realms.
"So be happy and do not be depressed!
Be fulfilled and joyful!
Soon you shall attain happiness and fortune.
Gopa, with such good omens, lay down and sleep."
Those who are nourished by the splendour of merit and have merit in their heart,
Will see in their dreams splendourous signs,
Which occur to supreme beings, who have accumulated virtuous karma,
At the time of their departure from home.
Such a being dreams that the waters in the four great oceans
Are stirred with the strokes of his hands and feet.
The entire earth becomes his bed,
And the king of mountains is his pillow.
He sees in his dream a light shining forth
That clears away the deep darkness of the world.
A parasol emerges from the ground and covers the entire three worlds;
Touched by this radiance, the misery of those who suffer disappears.
In his dream four white-and-black animals lick his feet,
Birds of four colours change into one colour.
He climbs an abhorrent and revolting mountain of excrement,
Yet he succeeds and remains free from stains.
In his dream he further sees rivers overflowing
And many billions of beings swept away.
Building a boat he frees himself and can save others;
He takes them to the best of shores, the one that is free from fear and suffering.
He further sees many beings struck with illness;
Their health and splendour is gone, and their strength is weak.
He becomes a doctor and dispenses many medicines,
Curing billions of beings of their many diseases.
He sits on a lion throne on the central mountain;
His students join their palms, and the gods all venerate him.
He sees himself victorious in the midst of a battle,
With the immortals in the sky cheering him in joyous voices.
Such signs did the Bodhisattva see in his dreams,
And he saw the fulfillment of his virtuous and excellent conduct.
The gods and humans who heard this were delighted and thought:
"Soon he shall become the god of humans and gods!"
This concludes the fourteenth chapter on dreams.

LALITA-VISTARA CHAPTER 15 — Leaving Home

[The Bodhisattva departs from the palace to begin the life of a religious seeker on a spiritual journey.]

Monks, in the meantime the Bodhisattva thought to himself, "It would not be right if
I did not share my plans with the great king Suddhodana and simply left home without his permission. It would be very ungrateful of me."
So that night when everything became quiet, he left his own quarters and entered the quarters of King Suddhodana. As soon as the Bodhisattva stepped foot on the palace floor, the entire palace became illuminated with light. The king woke up and, when he saw the light, he promptly asked his chamberlain, "Did the sun rise? It is such a beautiful light!"
His chamberlain replied: "No, my lord, it is still the middle of the night." He continued:
"My lord, the light of the sun causes trees and walls to cast shadows;
It torments and overheats the body.
Also swans, peacocks, parrots, cuckoos, and wild ducks
Call out at the time of dawn.
"However, Your Majesty, this light is lovely and pleasant.
It is soothing, auspicious, and does not burn;
It penetrates trees and walls and casts no shadow.
Someone with great qualities must have arrived here."
The king, worried, looked all around,
And saw the pure being with eyes like lotuses.
He tried to get up from his bed, but did not succeed;
The noble one with pure heart then felt respect for his father.
Standing in front of the king, he said:
"My lord, now the time is right for me to leave home;
Please do not hinder me and don't be distraught.
My king, may you, my family, and the people of the kingdom forgive me."
The king replied with tears filling his eyes:
"What will it take for you to change your mind?
Will you ask me for a boon? Tell me, I will give you anything!
I am yours, and you can have the palace, the servants, and this whole kingdom."
Then, in a sweet voice, the Bodhisattva replied:
"My lord, I wish for four boons. Please grant them to me!
If you are able to give them to me, you will have power over me.
You will always see me here at home and I will not depart.
"I want, my lord, to be unharmed by old age;
To retain my fine complexion and youth forever;
To be healthy and without disease;
And to have infinite life without death ever coming."
When the king heard these words, he felt extremely sad.
"My son, you are asking for the impossible; I am powerless here.
Even the sages who live for eons are not beyond
Degeneration and the dreads of sickness, old age, and dying."
"My lord, if you cannot give me these four boons—
Freedom from misfortune and the terrors of sickness, old age, and dying—
Then I request of you another boon. Please listen, Your Majesty:
I wish that, after I die, I will not have to take rebirth again."
When the king heard these words from the best among men,
He diminished his longing, let go of his attachment for his son, and said:
"Then go and benefit and liberate beings. I rejoice in that.
May all your wishes be fulfilled."
Monks, then the Bodhisattva left and went to his own residence, where he lay down on his bed. No one had even noticed that he had left.
Monks, at daybreak King Suddhodana gathered the entire Sakya clan and announced,
"The Prince wants to abandon his home. What shall we do?"
The Sakyas replied, "Your Majesty, let us guard him. There are many of us in the Sakya clan, and he is alone. He will not be able to leave home."
Thereafter the Sakyas and King Suddhodana placed five hundred young men by the eastern city gate to guard the Bodhisattva. All the men were armed, trained in combat, skilled in archery and javelin throwing, and were as strong as powerful wrestlers. In order to further guard the Bodhisattva, each of the young Sakya men had five hundred chariots at their disposal, and along with each chariot were five hundred infantrymen.
Likewise they placed five hundred young men by the southern, western, and northern city gates to guard the Bodhisattva. All the men were armed, trained in combat, skilled in archery and javelin throwing, and were as strong as powerful wrestlers. In order to further guard the Bodhisattva, each of the young Sakya men had five hundred chariots at their disposal, and along with each chariot were five hundred infantrymen.
The elders of the Sakya clan, both male and female, were also placed everywhere at road intersections, junctions, and many highways in order to guard the Bodhisattva.
Even King Suddhodana kept watch at the palace gate, accompanied by five hundred young Sakyas mounted on elephants and horses.
Mahaprajapati Gautami said to her servants:
"Light bright lamps and fasten all jewels to the peak of the banners!
Hang garlands of pearls and illuminate this entire palace!
Play music, sing songs, and stay awake and alert through the night.
Guard the Prince so that he cannot leave without anybody knowing.
"Arm yourselves! Carry in your hands weapons—
Swords and lances, bows and arrows, and two-pointed spears—
To guard our beloved prince.
Everyone must be on high alert!
"First shut all doors, then lock them tight
And place door bolts firmly across the door panels.
Unless you must, do not open any door,
Otherwise this noble being might escape.

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"Adorn yourselves with necklaces of jewels and pearls;
Wear flower ornaments, half-moon ornaments, and chains.
Adorn yourselves with belts, rings, and earrings;
Take care to fasten your anklets well.
"Should this benefactor of humans and gods, who acts like a proud elephant,
Try to escape in a hasty manner,
You should confront him in such a way
That no harm is done to him.
"You girls with lances in your hands,
Who surround the bed of this pure being,
You must not slip into laziness,
But watch him with eyes like a butterfly.
"In order to guard the Prince,
Adorn this palace with bejeweled lattices
And take up your flutes and play them to your fullest.
Protect the Stainless Being through the night!
"Keep each other awake
And do not take rest.
Otherwise he may certainly leave his home behind,
Abandoning the kingdom and all his subjects.

"If he were to leave his home,
Then the royal palace would become a place with no joy.
The continuity of the royal lineage, which has endured so long, Would become interrupted."

Monks, at that point the twenty-eight great yaksa generals, such as Pañcika, met with the five hundred sons of Hariti and voiced their concern: "Friends, tonight the Bodhisattva will leave his home. So you should delight in making offerings to him."

Likewise the four great kings, who had entered the Adakavati Palace, told the great gathering of yaksas: "Friends, tonight the Bodhisattva will leave his home. You must

help him leave by carrying the hooves of his fine horse with your hands."

The gathering of yaksas responded:

"Hard as vajra, and indestructible with a body as powerful as Narayana's,
Diligent and strong, this perfect man cannot be moved.
Although great Meru, the foremost mountain, may be lifted and held up in the sky,
No one can lift the mountain of a victor's qualities, founded on merit and wisdom."

Vaisravana said:

"For people bloated with pride, this teacher will be heavy;
For those who are loving and respectful, he will be light.
If from your heart you devote yourself to him with respect,
You will find him as light as a tuft of cotton is to birds.
"I will walk in front, while you will carry his horse.
When the Bodhisattva leaves, we shall gather vast amounts of merit!"

Monks, then Sakra, lord of the gods, spoke to the gods in the Heaven of the Thirty-Three: "Friends, tonight the Bodhisattva will leave his home. So you should delight in making offerings to him."

The divine son Santamati replied: "I will cause all men, women, and children in the city of Kapilavastu to fall asleep."

The divine son Lalitavyuha offered: "I will silence all sounds from horses, elephants, donkeys, camels, cows, buffaloes, women, men, boys, and girls."

Then the divine son Vyuhamati volunteered: "I will construct in midair a fabulous road seven chariots wide, flanked on both sides by jeweled platforms, blazing with the light of sunstone gems, shaded with raised parasols, flags, and banners, strewn with various flowers, and censed from incense burners of various fragrances. On this road the Bodhisattva will set forth."

Then the king of the elephants named Airavana spoke: "Upon my trunk I will erect a mansion thirty-two leagues tall. In that mansion divine maidens can assemble to serve and venerate the Bodhisattva by making music, singing songs, and playing instruments."

Then Sakra, lord of the gods, himself said: "I will open the gates and show him the path."

Next the divine son Dharmacarin said: "I will cause the retinue of consorts to look unappealing."

Then the divine son Sañcodaka spoke: "I will help the Bodhisattva to rise from his bed."

Finally the naga kings Varuna, Manasvin, Sagara, Anavapta, Nanda, and Upananda spoke: "We, for our part, will produce cloud banks of sandalwood and let a rain of sandalwood powder descend as offerings to the Bodhisattva."

Monks, then all the gods, nagas, yaksas, and gandharvas set out to do what they had promised.

In the meanwhile the Bodhisattva's mind was on the Dharma. He was resting comfortably in the music hall, surrounded by his ladies. As he reflected on the conduct of past buddhas and the way to benefit all sentient beings, he was thinking about four aspiration prayers that he had formed in the past:

"Previously I wished to become a self-appearing lord and pursue omniscience. At that time I donned the armour of the following fourfold resolve. First:

"I have seen how sentient beings suffer. So may I free and liberate those who are bound to the world and caught in the prison of cyclic existence. May I liberate sentient beings from the tight shackles and chains of craving."

Such was his first aspiration prayer from the past. Next he thought of his second aspiration prayer from the past:

"May I shine the light of Dharma for those who are thrown deep into the darkness of great ignorance within the world—for the people whose eyes are obscured by the cataract of ignorance, who lack the eye of wisdom, and who are blind with ignorance and delusion. May I raise the lamp of wisdom, which destroys the darkness for those who are blinded by ignorance. May I apply the medicine of the three gateways to liberation—the remedy that employs means, wisdom, and knowledge. May I remove the darkness of ignorance and all cataracts and faults of dullness, and in this way purify their wisdom eye."

Then the Bodhisattva thought of his third aspiration prayer from the past:

"Alas, this world has raised the banner of pride and egotism. It is obsessed with clinging to 'I' and 'mine.' People's minds grasp at the self, and false notions of a self distort their views. May I bring down this banner of pride that thinks 'I am' by showing them the noble path."

Finally the Bodhisattva thought of his fourth aspiration prayer from the past:

"Alas, this world is not at peace because of the self. The world is continually disturbed and is like a tangled mass of cords. Beings come and go. They always move and circle back and forth between this world and the next. Their spinning around knows no end and resembles a firebrand's circle. May I show them the Dharma of tranquility, which brings fulfillment through knowledge."

Right then the divine son Dharmacarin and the divine sons of the pure abodes made the retinue of consorts appear unappealing. After the divine sons had revealed the consorts' unpleasant and unattractive features, they took position in the sky and uttered the following verses:

The divine sons who have great magical powers
Spoke to the One with Elongated Eyes like a Blooming Lotus:
"How can you be so delighted
When living amid a cemetery?"
Inspired by the lords of gods,
Immediately the Bodhisattva looked around and examined the retinue of consorts.
Seeing that they had become repulsive,
He thought, "It is true, I live amid a cemetery."

When the Bodhisattva looked at the entire retinue of women, he saw that some had garments that had slipped off, some had disheveled hair, and some had their jewellery in disarray. Others had lost their head ornaments, some had ugly shoulders, while some had uncovered arms and legs. Some had repulsive expressions, while the eyes of others were crossed. Some were drooling, and others were snoring.

Some were laughing wildly, some were coughing, and others were prattling incoherently.

Some others were gnashing their teeth, and the complexion of others had changed. Some of the women had unpleasant features, such as arms that were too long. Some tossed their feet around. Some had their heads uncovered, while the heads of others were covered. The facial features of some had changed. The bodies of some looked awful, and some were even lying naked.

Some were hunched over and making gargling sounds. Some, still holding clay kettledrums, were twisting their bodies and heads. Some of the women held their instruments, such as lutes and three-stringed lutes. Others were grinding their flutes with their teeth, making crushing noises. Some were playing kampilas, nakalus, and sampas whose resonance boxes had been removed. Some had their eyes closed, some had them open, and some were rolling their eyes. Some of the women were also lying with their mouths agape.

The Bodhisattva looked at the retinue of consorts, who were lying there on the floor looking utterly revolting, and he had the impression that he was indeed in a cemetery.

On this topic, it is said:
Seeing this, the Protector of the World felt upset.
With an outpouring of compassion he exclaimed,
"Ah! This gathering is so miserable!
How could I find delight in this assembly of demonesses?
"Flawed and obscured with delusion is the judgement
Of he who thinks that worthless sense pleasures are meaningful.
Like a bird caught in a cage,
One never regains one's freedom."

Then the Bodhisattva examined his retinue of women by means of this gateway to the light of the Dharma. Next, with words spoken out of great compassion, he lamented sentient beings:

"These childish beings arekilled, like the condemned at the scaffold.
These childish beings are filled with desire, like fools who are attracted to a ceramic vase filled with vomit.
These childish beings are drowning, like elephants sinking in deep water.
These childish beings are confined, like thieves in a dungeon.
These childish beings are content, like a pig surrounded by filth.
These childish beings are greedy, like a dog with a bone.
These childish beings fall, like moths flying into the candle flame.
These childish beings are trapped, like a monkey tangled in a snare.
These childish beings are caught, like fish snarled in a net.
These childish beings are cut up, like sheep on a slaughtering log.
These childish beings are impaled, like a criminal on the tip of a stake.
These childish beings are sinking, like an old elephant in a swamp.
These childish beings perish, like a ship wrecked on the ocean.
These childish beings fall, like a blind person tumbling into a deep abyss.
These childish beings are exhausted, like water running into the surface of the
earth.
These childish beings go up in smoke, like this great earth at the end of the eon.
These childish beings are spinning, like the revolving of a potter's wheel.
These childish beings have lost their way, like blind people roaming the mountains.
These childish beings are tied up and run in circles, like dogs kept on a leash.
These childish beings wither, like grasses and trees in the hot season.
These childish beings diminish, like the waning moon during the dark fortnight.
These childish beings are devoured, like snakes by the garudas.
These childish beings are swallowed, like ships by huge sea monsters.
These childish beings are robbed, like a traveler by a horde of thieves.
These childish beings are broken, like palm trees in a storm.
These childish beings are killed, like someone bitten by a poisonous snake.
These childish beings are wounded because of seeking a taste, like fools licking a knife smeared with honey.
These childish beings are carried away, like wooden logs taken off by the river.
These childish beings play, like children toying with their own excrement.
These childish beings are controlled, like elephants by the mahout's hook.
These childish beings are deceived, like a simple-minded person by a charlatan.
These childish beings exhaust their roots of virtue, like a gambler losing his wealth.
These childish beings are devoured, like merchants consumed by demonesses.

The Bodhisattva examined the retinue of consorts by means of these thirty-two similes.

He contemplated the impure nature of the body and developed a feeling of repulsion, and then disgust. Next he meditated the fact that his own body was just like theirs, and so he truly saw the shortcomings of the physical body. Then he let go of his attachment toward the body, destroying his perception of it as being attractive and instead seeing it as repulsive. He saw that the body, from the soles of the feet all the way up to the top of the head, is made of filth, produces filth, and emits filth. At that moment he exclaimed the following verses:

"Grown in the fields of karma and born from the water of craving, we call it the transitory body.
This body is moist from tears, sweat, and mucus, and filled with urine and blood.
It is full of all kinds of filth, fat, pus, and brains;
It constantly leaks excrement and it stinks.
"It is made of bones, teeth, and hair, and is covered by a hairy skin;
Packed with intestines, liver, spleen, lymph, and saliva, it is weak.
It is like a machine held together by bones and sinew and adorned with flesh;
It is filled with diseases, subject to pain, and always afflicted by hunger and thirst.
"The body of beings has many cavities and transforms into old age and death.
Seeing the body, what wise person would not think of it as an enemy?"

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In this way the Bodhisattva remained mindful of the body as something that must be left behind.

The divine sons, who were hovering in the sky above, asked the divine son Dharmacarin:

"Dear friend, what is this? Siddhartha dawdles and keeps looking at the retinue of consorts. He even smiles and does not seem displeased. But perhaps he is like a deep ocean that cannot be fathomed? Because isn't it true that whoever is unattached does not cling to objects? Or will he perhaps forget the promise he made when he was inspired by the gods?"

The divine son Dharmacarin replied: "Why say something like that? There is surely evidence that when he practiced awakened conduct in the past, he developed this kind of detachment. Why then would he all of a sudden become attached in this existence, which is his last?"

Monks, indeed the Bodhisattva had become certain. He was filled with distaste and had made up his mind. So without any delay, he gracefully rose from his seat in the music hall and turned toward the east. With his right hand he parted the bejewelled lattice and went onto the palace roof. There he folded his hands and, recalling all the buddhas, he bowed to them. When he looked up into the expanse of space, he saw Indra, the one-thousand-eyed lord of the gods, with a retinue of one hundred thousand gods, holding flowers, incense, garlands, perfumes, scented powder, garments, parasols, victory banners, flags, earrings made of flowers, and garlands made of precious stones. Bowing before him, Indra paid his respect to the Bodhisattva.

The Bodhisattva also saw the four guardians of the world together with hordes of yaksas, demons, gandharvas, and nagas. They all wore solid armour, corselets, and helmets. In their arms they held swords, bows and arrows, spears, javelins, and tridents. They gracefully took off their bejeweled diadems and crowns and bowed before the Bodhisattva. Then he saw two divine sons, the Sun and Moon,

standing on his right and left sides. Pusya, the chief of all constellations, was also seen standing by.

Seeing that it was now midnight, the Bodhisattva called upon Chanda:

"All the auspicious signs have come together;
Without a doubt I will accomplish my wishes tonight.
Chanda, do not vacillate or delay!
Ornament the king of horses and bring it bedecked to me."

When Chanda heard these words, he felt sad and asked:

"Where are you going, you who whose eyebrows are long
And who has eyes as beautiful as blooming lotuses?
A lion among men, with a face like the autumn moon,
The moon that delights the lotuses of the night?
"Your face is like a blooming white lotus;
It is as tender as a young blue lotus.
Your splendour is like that of the sun, or well-purified gold;
It is like the newly risen and stainless moon,
"Like the fire whose flames are fed by the sacrificial butter.
Your splendour is like a blazing flash of lightning;
Your invincible gait is as graceful as that of a confident elephant;
You walk and place your feet beautifully, with the gait of a bull, a lion, or a swan."

The Bodhisattva replied:

"Chanda, tell me, for what purpose then
Have I in the past forsaken my arms and legs and eyes?
I have given up my head and my beloved wife and children,
My kingdom, wealth, gold, and clothes,
"Elephants and horses laden with jewels,
Swift as the wind and of great power.
For trillions of eons I have trained in discipline and patience,
Delighting in diligence, the powers, concentration, and knowledge.
"Therefore, once I attain the auspicious peace of awakening,
The time has come for me to free beings drowning in the ocean of old age and death."

Chanda replied: "I have heard, my Lord, that when you were born, you were brought to the priests who are skilled in making predictions based on examining signs. They prophesied before your father, King Suddhodana: 'Your Majesty, your royal line will flourish.' When King Suddhodana inquired further, the priests replied:

"'Your newborn son possesses a hundred marks of merit
And blazes with the splendour of merit.
He will become a universal monarch, ruling over the four continents,
And he will possess the seven treasures.
"'However, if he is confronted with the miseries of this world,
He will abandon his retinue of consorts and leave his home.
Then he will attain awakening, the state free from old age and death.
He will satisfy beings with the water of the Dharma.'

"My Lord, there is this prophecy and it cannot be denied. But please listen to what I have to say, for I may be able to help you!"

"How so?" asked the Bodhisattva.

Chanda replied: "My Lord, why is it that some people go through disciplined actions and practice austerities? They wear deerskin and tie their hair in a topknot.

They wear garments made of tree bark. They let their nails, hair, and beard grow long. They take pleasure in torturing their bodies and go through various difficult torments. They take up the harshest of austerities because, as they say, they wish to attain the best among gods and humans. But you, Lord, you already possess this good fortune!

"The kingdom is prosperous, large, and peaceful, with excellent harvests. It is delightful and filled with many people. Your parks are the best of the best, full of flowers and fruits and resounding with the singing of birds. There are beautiful ponds with blue, pink, and white lotus flowers, and they resound with the cries of swans, peacocks, cuckoos, wild ducks, storks, and whooper swans. There are many flowering trees growing around the lakes, such as mango, asoka, magnolia, amaranth, and saffron trees. The parks are adorned with groves of jeweled trees that are arranged like chessboards and surrounded by jewel platforms. One sees jeweled lattices hanging everywhere. The parks can be enjoyed during any season, and they are pleasant to visit whether it is the hot season, the rainy season, autumn, or winter.

"Your palaces are like the palace of Vaijayanta, wherein one finds the peace of true Dharma, and all one's worries are gone. Since your palaces are the colour of autumn clouds, they resemble Mount Kailasa. They are adorned with verandas, arches, portals, windows, cooling terraces, and top-floor terraces. They resound with the tinkling of tiny bejeweled bells on latticed draperies.

"Your retinue of consorts is well trained. They sing songs while playing melodious music and dancing. They play tunas, panavas, flutes, lutes, wood kettledrums, reed pipes, wooden pins, cymbals, kampilas, nakalus, guitars, clay kettledrums with a good sound, and paṭahas. They attend upon you with comedy and dance—playful, enjoyable, happy, and sweet.

"And you, my Lord, are still young. You are in the prime of your life. You are a fresh and tender boy with black hair and a body like a lotus. You have not yet given yourself to the pleasures of the senses. So now enjoy yourself, like the lord of the Heaven of the Thirty-Three, the lord of the gods, the one endowed with a thousand eyes. We can always leave our homes later, once we are old."

At that moment Chanda spoke the following verse:

"You know the techniques of enjoyment, so relish them,
Like the powerful lord of gods in the Heaven of the Thirty-Three!
Later, when we are old,
We can practice disciplined conduct and austerities!"

The Bodhisattva replied: "Enough, Chanda! These sense pleasures are impermanent and unstable. They do not endure and are subject to change. Like the rapids of a mountain torrent, they quickly pass and are turbulent. Like dewdrops, they do not last. Like an empty fist that tricks a child, they have no substance. Like the core of a plantain tree, they have no strength. Like a vase of unbaked clay, they naturally break. Like autumn clouds, they appear one moment and vanish the next. Like a flash of lightning in the sky, they last for just the briefest time. Like a vessel filled with poison, they cause pain. Like poison ivy, they bring discomfort.

"The objects of desire, which are desperately craved by all those with immature minds, are like water bubbles, always changing. Like a mirage, they are caused by mistaken perception. They are like a hallucination that has come about through false thinking. Just like dreams, they cannot satisfy, since one is grasping at a false appearance.

Just as it is difficult to fill the oceans, desires can never be fulfilled. Like saltwater, objects of desire only make you thirstier. Like the head of a viper, they are dangerous to touch. Like a deep abyss, they are abandoned entirely by wise people. They produce anxiety, cause strife, and generate distress and faults. Knowing this, the wise ones avoid them, the clever ones deplore them, the noble ones abhor them, and the intelligent ones disparage them. Yet the ignorant embrace them, and the immature rely on them."

At that moment he spoke the following verses:

"Wise people avoid the sense pleasures like the head of a snake;
They drop them like a filthy vessel filled with excrement.
Chanda, since I understand that sense pleasures
Destroy all virtue, I do not enjoy them."

Then Chanda, wailing as if in sharp pain, with tearful eyes and stricken with agony, exclaimed the following verses:

"Why do some persevere in many austerities?
They wear deerskin and let their hair, beard, and nails grow long;
They cover themselves in tree bark.
Adhering to their practices of austerities, many have emaciated bodies.
"Some eat only vegetables, millet, and the gardula plant.
Others, who have vowed to adopt the behavior of a cow, always keep their heads down.

We, however, should become the best and most distinguished in the world;

We should be supreme universal monarchs and guardians of the world,

"Or vajra holders like Sakra, or the chief god in the Heaven Free from Strife,

Aspiring to experience the bliss of meditation in the realm of Brahma.

Perfect Being, your kingdom is wealthy, flourishing with excellent harvests.

Full of parks and palaces, it equals the Vaijayanta Palace.

"These ladies are well trained in offering pleasures,
In combination with song and the melodious sounds of lutes and reed pipes.
Enjoy these pleasures, my Lord!
If you do not leave, you will experience great delights!"

The Bodhisattva answered:

"Listen, Chanda! In previous births
I have endured hundreds of sufferings—
Imprisonment, slavery, beatings, threats—all on account of desire.
While my mind was fixed on conditioned things, I could not gain liberation.
"Under the sway of carelessness and overcome by delusion,
I was blind in the past, covered with a veil of wrong views.
Such views made me grasp at the notion of a self
And perpetuate the experience of sensations, all due to not knowing the Dharma.
"All things move and change and are impermanent like clouds;
They may be likened to a flash of lightning.
They are like a dewdrop on a blade of grass, and deceptive like an empty fist;
They have no essence and no self, and lack intrinsic existence in every way.
"So my mind is not attached to objects anymore.
Chanda, bring me Kaṇṭhaka, well adorned, the supreme king of all horses.
My auspicious aspirations from the past have been fulfilled;
Overcoming everything, I will become a master of all phenomena, a king of Dharma, a sage."

Chanda replied:

"Do you not see these women with eyes like blooming lotuses,
Who are adorned with garlands of many precious gems,
Sparkling like a flash of lightning amid cloud banks in the sky,
So beautiful as they rest on their beds?
"Or those who play such sweet-sounding flutes and cymbals,
Clay drums and reed pipes, making music and song,
Accompanied by the sounds of partridge, peacocks, and cuckoos?
Are you going to abandon this place, which is like a city of kiṃnaras?
"Here are many flowers, such as jasmine, blue lotuses, coral jasmine, and magnolias,
And fragrant garlands with masses of fine blossoms.
We have perfectly scented incense made of black aloe wood,
And sublime scented ointments. Do you not see all of this?
"Here you get the finest cuisine and the best dishes,
With exquisite flavors, emitting superb aromas,
Along with the sweetest beverages.
Do you not see them, my Lord? Where will you go?
"Here your garments are scented in the cold season with warming oils,
And in the hot season, with sandalwood.
You have beautiful, fine silken clothing;
Do you not see them, my Lord? Where will you go?
"Here are the five sense pleasures,
As exquisite as the divine pleasures in the god realms.
Now, enjoy and revel in them with delight and bliss!
Then later, Noble Lord of the Sakyas, you can retreat to the forest!"

The Bodhisattva replied:

"Chanda, for countless eons beyond measure,
I have enjoyed the many sense pleasures of humans and gods,
In the manner of forms, sounds, smells, tastes, and textures,
Yet I have failed to become satisfied!
"I have been a supreme royal son, so rich in power!
I have been a universal monarch, ruling over the four continents.
I possessed the seven treasures,
And I lived in the midst of ladies.
"I ruled over the Heaven of the Thirty-Three and the Heaven Free from Strife;
I left those realms and came here.
In the past I enjoyed the most sacred and superb objects
Among the gods of emanations.
"I have been the lord of demons, who controls the realms of gods;
I have enjoyed the best and most exquisite sense pleasures, but found no satisfaction.
How then would I find satisfaction now by indulging in inferior pleasures?

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This is out of the question!
"Moreover, Chanda, I see that this world is suffering;
It is caught in the midst of cyclic existence.
It is a wilderness of misery, full of afflictions and evil,
Where beings are constantly swept away.
"Without refuge or purpose, beings wander in the darkness of ignorance and delusion;
They suffer from the terrors of old age, sickness, and death.
They are assailed by the sufferings attendant upon taking birth,
And they suffer the onslaughts of enemies.
"So I will now assemble the ship of Dharma.
It is constructed with the strongest wood—
Giving, disciplined conduct, patience, and diligence—
And firmly secured by my indestructible, superior motivation.
"It is my resolve to board that ship and cross the ocean of cyclic existence.
Then I will ferry innumerable beings across this ocean,
This sea of suffering so hard to cross with its waves of anger,
Monsters of passion, and maelstroms of enmity.
"I will cross the ocean of existence,
Infested with the monsters of harmful views and the demons of affliction.
Once I have ferried innumerable beings across,
I will establish them on the auspicious dry land without old age or death."
At that time Chanda, who now cried even harder, exclaimed: "Lord, is your resolve based on conviction?"
The Bodhisattva replied:
"Chanda, listen to this about my resolve:
I will strive to benefit and liberate beings!
My resolve is like a mountain: immutable, unchangeable, and firm.
It is as difficult to move as Meru, the king of mountains."
Chanda then asked, "Lord, how can you be so certain?"
The Bodhisattva replied:
"Even if bolts of lightning, battle-axes, spears, and arrows were to rain upon me,
And if molten iron, blazing like a fork of lightning,
And an erupting volcano were to drop on my head,
I would never want to be a householder again!"
At this moment the divine sons who were watching from the sky uttered cries of joy and rained down flowers, exclaiming:
"With a mind not attached to any object,
And with compassion and love for sentient beings,
May you, the one with supreme intelligence, be victorious!
You are the protector who grants fearlessness to beings.
"Like the sky, which remains unattached to darkness, dust, smoke, or comets,
The mind of the Supreme Being remains unattached.
The Pure Being is unstained by pleasurable objects,
Just like a lotus rising up from the water."
Monks, when the divine sons Santamati and Lalitavyuha understood the Bodhisattva's determination, they caused all men, women, and children in the city of Kapilavastu to fall asleep. They made everything plunge into deep silence.
Monks, at that moment the Bodhisattva realized that everyone in the city was sound asleep, that the hour of midnight had come, and that the moon was in the constellation of Pusya, the lord of constellations. He was aware that right then the time had come for him to leave home.
So he told his servant: "Chanda, do not badger me now. Instead, without any further delay, bring me my horse Kaṇṭhaka, well adorned."
As soon as the Bodhisattva uttered these words, the four great kings left their residences.
They had listened to the Bodhisattva's words and had prepared to make offerings to him. Now they hurried quickly to the city of Kapilavastu.
King Dhṛtarāṣṭra, lord of the gandharvas, arrived from the east together with several trillion kiṃnaras playing various instruments and singing songs. As soon as Dhṛtarāṣṭra arrived, he began to circumambulate the city of Kapilavastu. Stopping in the east, from where he had arrived, he paid homage to the Bodhisattva.
The great king Virudhaka arrived from the south with several trillion kumbhandas holding in their hands various pearl necklaces. In addition they carried various precious gems, and vases filled with different types of perfumes. As soon as Virudhaka arrived, he also began to circumambulate the city of Kapilavastu. Stopping in the south, from where he had arrived, he paid homage to the Bodhisattva.
The great king Virupaksa arrived from the west with several trillion nagas holding in their hands various necklaces made of pearls and different types of precious gems.
They sent forth a gentle breeze from a rain of flowers and perfumed powders that emitted beautiful scents. When Virupaksa arrived, he also circumambulated the city of Kapilavastu. Stopping in the west, from where he had arrived, he paid homage to the Bodhisattva.
The great king Kubera arrived from the north with several trillion yaksas holding in their hands precious jewels of the type called starlight. They also carried oil lamps and lighted lanterns. They held in their hands various weapons, such as bows and arrows, swords, spears, lances with two and three points, discuses, one-pointed pikes, and javelins, and they were armed with strong armour and helmets. When Kubera arrived, he also began to circumambulate the city of Kapilavastu. Then he settled in the northern direction, from where he had arrived, and paid homage to the Bodhisattva.
Thereafter Sakra, lord of the gods, arrived together with the gods from the Heaven of the Thirty-Three, bringing divine flowers, perfumes, garlands, ointments, scented powders, garments, parasols, victory banners, flags, earrings, and adornments. When he arrived there, he began to circumambulate the city of Kapilavastu. Then he settled together with his retinue in the space above, in the same direction from which he had come, and began to pay homage to the Bodhisattva.
Monks, when Chanda heard the Bodhisattva's words, his eyes became filled with tears and he said: "Lord, you know the right time, the right moment, and the right occasion. However, this is not the right time and not the occasion to leave. So why do you give me the order for leaving?"
The Bodhisattva replied: "Chanda, the time has come." Then Chanda asked:
"The time for what, my Lord?" The Bodhisattva replied:
"A long time ago, while seeking to benefit beings,
I made the wish to liberate the world
Once I attained the state of awakening beyond old age or death.
Now that time has come."
On this topic, it is said:
At the time when the Supreme Being departed,
All the gods were eager to present offerings.
All protector gods of heaven and earth came,
As did Sakra, lord of the gods, along with his following.
The gods of the Heaven Free from Strife, the Heaven of Joy, and the Heaven of Delighting in Emanations,
And the gods of the Heaven of Making Use of Others' Emanations all came.
So did the naga kings Varuna, Manasvin,
Anavapta, as well as Sagara.
The gods in the form realm also came,
Those who always experience the peace of concentration.
They were in a hurry to make offerings to the Supreme Being,
Who is worthy of honour in all the three realms.
Also the bodhisattvas, who were his companions in past actions,
Gathered there from all ten directions, saying,
"Let us see the departure of the Victorious One,
And make offerings to him in an appropriate manner."
The great being who is lord of the guhyakas,
Pradiptavajra, positioned himself in the sky above.
Wearing an armour, strong, brave, and energetic,
He held a blazing vajra in his hand.
Moon and Sun, these two divine sons,
Came to stand to his right and left.
They joined their palms together
And reflected on the Bodhisattva's departure.
The constellation Pusya as well, with his retinue,
Transformed his body in a majestic way,
And stood before the noblest of men.
With a delightful voice he spoke:
"Now that Pusya is present, this is the perfect time to leave.
Tonight all your virtuous and auspicious prayers will be fulfilled;
I will accompany you.
As you make an end to desire, may you encounter no obstacles!
"You have been encouraged by the divine son Sañcodaka.
Now swiftly manifest your strength and courage,
And liberate all beings who are oppressed by misery!
Now is the right time for you to leave!"
Billions of gods had gathered
And let a rain of ravishing flowers fall down.
The Bodhisattva, for his part, sat there in the perfect cross-legged posture;
Surrounded by gods, he was so beautiful, blazing with splendour.
In the city, all men, women, and children
Became tired and fell asleep, abandoning their chores.
The horses, elephants, oxen, parrots, cranes, peacocks, and mynas
Became tired and quickly slept, not noticing anything.
Armed with lances hard as vajra, and mounted on elephants, horses, and chariots,
The Sakya youths who kept guard also fell asleep,
As did the king, the princes, and the royal pages.
The retinue of consorts, completely naked, were asleep and oblivious.
As midnight arrived, the Bodhisattva spoke to Chanda
In a voice captivating like Brahma's and sweet as a nightingale:
"Chanda, bring Kaṇṭhaka, well adorned and well groomed.
Do not create obstacles and do not hesitate, if you have any affection for me."
Chanda's eyes filled with tears as he spoke to his master:
"Great Charioteer, where will you go? What do you need the horse for?
You know the right time and moment, and this is not the time to practice the Dharma.
The gates are shut and firmly bolted, so who will open them for you?"
Right then Sakra opened the gate merely by the power of his mind;
Chanda was thrilled at the sight, yet also sad and on the verge of tears.
"Oh no, what shall I do now? Who can help? To whom should I turn?
Sakra will only listen to the one with such invincible power.
"What use is this powerful army with its four divisions?
The king, the princes, and the royal pages—none of them know what the Bodhisattva is doing.
Yasovati and the retinue of consorts are in their beds, lulled to sleep by the gods.
Alas! He is leaving. The vow he made in the past is now being fulfilled!"
Right then, billions of overjoyed gods spoke to Chanda:
"Chanda, bring him the excellent horse Kaṇṭhaka. Do not disappoint our guide.
The gods and demigods play their millions of drums and instruments,
And still this supreme city that the gods have put to sleep does not awake!
"Chanda, look to the pure sky where a divine light shines so beautifully!
Look at the millions of assembled bodhisattvas making offerings.
Look at glorious Sakra, Saci's husband, who is at the gates with his army.
Look at the gods, demigods, and kiṃnaras who are here making offerings!"
Chanda heard the gods and told the horse Kaṇṭhaka:
"You must neigh now, because here comes the supreme charioteer of beings!"
Then he adorned the horse's jasmine-coloured hoofs with gold.
Distressed and weeping, he gave the horse to He Who Is an Ocean of Qualities, saying:
"You with noble marks who benefits others, here is your horse of virtuous pedigree.
May all your past aspirations become fulfilled! Please proceed!
May all obstacles be pacified and your desired disciplined conduct accomplished!
May you grant all beings happiness, rebirth in the higher realms, and peace!"
When the Bodhisattva rose from his seat, the earth shook in six ways;
He mounted the supreme king of horses that resembled the full moon.
The guardians, with their pure lotus-like hands, then lifted up the supreme horse;
Sakra and Brahma went in the front, showing the way.
The pure and bright light sent forth by the Bodhisattva illumined the earth;
The lower realms were pacified, and all beings were happy and free from afflictions.
A rain of flowers fell, millions of instruments sounded, and gods and demigods rejoiced;
All of them circumambulated the city and departed filled with delight.
Since the Great Being was leaving, the deity of the best of cities came, feeling depressed.
Appearing before the Bodhisattva, the deity spoke to his lotus face, feeling miserable and dejected:
"If you leave, the city will become disturbed and steeped in darkness.
If tonight you abandon your palace, there will be no joy and no happiness for me.
"No longer will I hear the singing of the birds,
Or the sweet sound of the flute in the female quarters,
Or the sound of songs with propitious lyrics,
Which you, One of Infinite Fame, used to hear on waking up.
"No longer will I behold the assembly of divine siddhas
Who make offerings to you day and night,
Nor will I be able to smell any longer the divine scents,
If you, who conquers emotions, abandons this palace tonight.
"This palace, if abandoned by you,
Will be like a withered and used garland;
It will seem like an empty stage.
When you are gone, all magnificence and splendour will disappear.
"You will take away the vitality and power from this entire city;
Like a wasteland, it will shine with beauty no more.

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Today, disproved are the sages' prophecies
That you will be a universal monarch on earth.
"The might of the Sakyas on this earth will come to nothing,
And the royal family line will be interrupted.
The hopes of the assembly of Sakyas will be dashed entirely
If you, the great tree of merit, depart.
"Immaculate One, Faultless One, let me go with you,
Wherever you wish to depart for.
Yet please engender love and compassion,
And take one more look at this palace!"
The Intelligent One looked at the palace
And spoke in the sweetest voice:
"Until I have made an end to birth and death,
I will not return to the city of Kapilavastu.
"Until I have attained precious awakening,
The supreme level of immortality beyond old age and dying,
I will not turn my face toward Kapilavastu,
Whether I am standing, sitting, lying down, or walking."
When the Bodhisattva, the Lord of Beings, departed,

The celestial maidens traveling through the sky began to sing his praise:

"He is the marvelous object of offering and a great field of merit,

The field for those wishing for merit, and the giver of the fruit of immortality.

"Out of compassion for sentient beings, he has throughout ten million eons

Trained in generosity, self-control, and restraint, and thus attained awakening.

His discipline is pure, his conduct excellent, and his practice undiminished;

He did not pursue pleasures and enjoyments, but observed discipline.

"He always spoke patiently to protect others;

Even when his limbs were cut off, he was never angry or hostile.

Constantly diligent for millions of eons, he never felt disheartened;

Thus he has awakened and performed millions of sacrifices.

"Always in meditative concentration, his mind has become calm and tranquil;

Since he has burned away all emotions, he will liberate millions of beings.

He possesses unobstructed knowledge and is free from conceptual thinking;

With a mind free from conceptuality, he will become a self-arising victor.

"His mind is always suffused with love, and his compassion is complete;

He possesses joy, equanimity, concentration, and knows the four immeasurables.

He is the supreme god of gods, worthy of all gods' worship;

With his pure, stainless, and sublime mind, he perfected millions of qualities.

"He is a refuge for the frightened, and a lamp for the blind;

He is a place of rest for the persecuted, and a physician for those long sick.

He is like a king, a righteous king, like Sakra with a thousand eyes,

Like the self-arisen Brahma, pure in body and mind.

"He is firm with abundant knowledge, diligent and detached;

He is a hero because he destroyed the afflictions; undefeated, he conquers all enemies.

He is fearless like a lion and gentle like an elephant;

He is the leader of the herd like a perfect bull, always patient and without anger.

"He is bright like the moon and illuminating like the sun;

He shines like a torch and glows like a star.

He is unstained like a lotus, and his discipline smells sweet like a flower;

This teacher is immovable like Mount Meru and provides sustenance like the earth;

He is unshakable like an ocean.

"He has defeated the demon of the afflictions and the demon of the aggregates;

He has defeated the demon of death and the demon of the divine son.

He is the great leader who soon will teach the supreme, eightfold path of the noble ones

To those who are established in wrong paths.

"Free from the darkness of ignorance, he destroys old age, death, and the afflictions;

He will become the self-arisen victor, famous on earth and in heaven.

In the form of a supreme being, he is praised in infinite ways;

Through the merit of praising you, may we become like you, the lion of speech."

Monks, once the Bodhisattva had left his home, he crossed over the lands of the Sakyas, the Krodyas, and the Mallas. When day broke, he had arrived six leagues away from the town of Anumaineya in the country of Maineya. There he dismounted from his horse Kaṇṭhaka and, once he was on the ground, he dismissed the great assembly of gods, nagas, yaksas, gandharvas, demigods, garudas, kiṃnaras, and mahoragas. Then he thought to himself: "I should entrust these ornaments and the horse Kaṇṭhaka to Chanda, and then send him back."

So he summoned Chanda and told him, "Chanda, you should go back now. Take these ornaments and my horse Kaṇṭhaka and return to the palace."

At the place where Chanda left the Bodhisattva in order to return home, a memorial was later built. This memorial is still known today as Chanda's Return. The Bodhisattva then thought to himself: "With my hair this long, I cannot be a monk." So he took his sword, cut off his hair, and then cast it into the air. The gods in the Heaven of the Thirty-Three collected the hair for worship. Even to this day the gods in the Heaven of the Thirty-Three celebrate this event during the Hair Festival. At this very place another memorial was built, which today is still known as Receipt of the Hair.

Again the Bodhisattva considered, "If I am to be a monk, it would not be right to wear silken garments. So it would be good if I could find some clothes suitable for living in the forest."

The gods of the pure realms then thought, "The Bodhisattva needs saffron-coloured robes." Immediately a divine son left and manifested in front of the Bodhisattva in the form of a hunter wearing saffron-coloured cloth.

The Bodhisattva asked the divine son: "My friend, would you give me your saffron-coloured robes? Then I will give you my silken garments."

The divine son replied, "Your clothes already suit you well, and I am happy with what I wear."

But the Bodhisattva insisted: "Please, I beg you."

The divine son, still in the shape of a hunter, then gave his saffron-coloured clothes to the Bodhisattva, while he himself took the Bodhisattva's silken garments. Because the divine son was overcome with devotion to the Bodhisattva, he touched the garments to his head, holding them with both of his hands. Then he returned to the celestial world in order to render offerings and veneration to the garments there. Chanda had witnessed the exchange of clothes, and later a memorial was erected at the site. This memorial is still known today as the Memorial of Receiving the Saffron-Coloured Cloth.

When the Bodhisattva cut off his hair and put on the saffron-coloured cloth, one hundred thousand gods felt joyous, pleased, and elated. Happy and delighted, they called out cries of joy and exclaimed:

"Friends, Prince Siddhartha has left his home. Friends, Prince Siddhartha has become a monk! He will awaken to unexcelled, perfect and complete buddhahood and will turn the wheel of the Dharma. He will liberate from birth the infinite number of beings who are born. Then he will free them from old age, death, sickness, pain, lamentation, suffering, depression, and distress, and ferry them to the other shore of the ocean of saṃsara. He will establish them in the realm of phenomena, which is blissful, peaceful, deathless, and free from fear, suffering, harm, and stain."

These words of amazement, delight, and joy resounded all the way up to the Highest Heaven.

When the retinue of consorts did not see the young Prince, they began to search for him in the spring, summer, and winter palaces, and in his private rooms and apartments. Unable to find him, they all began to wail like fish hawks. The ladies were overcome by extreme grief, and some cried out, "My son!" Others called out "My brother," "My husband," "My lord," and "My master." Some mumbled different tender words, while others contorted their bodies in various ways and wept. Some of the ladies plucked their hair, while others faced each other and sobbed.

Some cried with rolling eyes, and others shed tears, wiping their faces with their garments. Some slapped their thighs with their hands, and others beat their chests.

Some slapped their arms with their hands, and others beat their heads.

Some covered their head with dust and wept, crying out loud. Some ladies were seen disheveling their hair, others pulling it out. Some raised their arms and lamented loudly. Some ran headlong, like gazelles pierced by poisonous arrows, all the while crying. Some among them staggered about like a plantain tree shaken by the wind and sobbed. Others tossed their bodies around on the floor, as if they were just about to die, while some writhed on the ground, as if they were fish pulled from water, and cried. Others collapsed suddenly on the ground, like a tree that has been cut from its root, and wept.

When the king heard these noises, he asked his fellow Sakyas: "What is this loud noise coming from the ladies' apartments?"

The Sakyas looked into the matter and replied: "Your Majesty, the young Prince is not in the ladies' apartments."

The king then ordered: "Quickly close the city gates! Let us search for the Prince within the gates!" But the Prince was nowhere to be found, whether inside or outside the gates.

Mahaprajapati Gautami collapsed on the ground lamenting and said to King Suddhodana: "Your Majesty, get my son back quickly."

The king then sent messengers on horseback into the four directions with the order:

"Go, and do not come back until you have found the Prince!"

Since those who can read signs and the future had prophesied that the Bodhisattva would leave through the Gate of Auspiciousness, the messengers proceeded to this gate. There they saw that a rain of flowers had fallen on the road, and they thought, "He must have leftthis way."

When they had traveled a little farther, they met the divine son who was carrying the Bodhisattva's silken garments on his head. Again they thought: "These are the silken garments of the Prince. Can it be that he has been killed for their sake? Get hold of this man!"

However, right then they saw Chanda trailing behind the divine son, leading the horse Kaṇṭhaka and carrying the Bodhisattva's ornaments. So they said, "Here comes Chanda with Kaṇṭhaka. Let us not act rashly but instead question him first."

So they asked him, "Chanda, did this man kill the Prince for the sake of his silken garments?"

Chanda replied: "No, not at all. This person offered the Prince his own saffron-coloured clothes, and the Prince in return gave him these silken garments. That divine son then placed the garments on top of his head and returned right then to his celestial realm in order to venerate them."

The men questioned Chanda further: "What do you think, Chanda? Should we go after the Prince? Will we be able to make him return?"

Chanda replied: "No, you will not be able to do so. The young prince is so diligent, disciplined, and steadfast. He said that unless he awakens to perfect and complete buddhahood, he will never again enter the city of Kapilavastu. So he will not return with you. What the Prince said will happen is in fact what will happen. And why will the Prince not return? Because of his enthusiasm, discipline, and steadfastness."

Then Chanda took the horse Kaṇṭhaka and the ornaments and went to the inner quarters. Three young Sakyas called Bhadrika, Mahanama, and Aniruddha tried for a long time to lift the ornaments, but they were unable to. These ornaments were made for someone with a body as strong as Narayana, and so other people were not able to wear them.

When Mahaprajapati Gautami saw that nobody could move the ornaments, she thought: "When I see his ornaments lying there, my heart is pierced with pain. I think it is better therefore to throw the ornaments into the pond." So she let the ornaments be thrown into the pond, and even to this day that lake is called the Lake of the Ornaments.

On this topic, it is said:

When the wise and courageous Bodhisattva departed from his home,

The entire city of Kapilavastu awoke from its sleep.

Everyone thought that the young prince was still asleep in his bed;

Seeing one another, they felt content.

When Gopa and the assembly of consorts awoke,

They looked at his bed but did not find the Bodhisattva there.

They let out cries that reached the king's quarters:

"Alas, we have been deceived! Where did the Bodhisattva go?"

When the king heard that, he collapsed on the ground.

He wept and cried: "Oh no, my only son!"

Many hundreds of Sakyas tried to revive him,

Sprinkling water from vases on him as he lay motionless.

Gopa had also fallen off her bed and onto the ground;

She cut her hair and took off her jewellery.

She exclaimed: "Before long we must separate from those we love.

The Guide of Beings told me that; he made me so perfectly aware of this.

"Your form is so beautiful; your faultless limbs are perfect.

So brilliant and pure; all beings cherish you.

Praised as he who brings good fortune, you are honoured in heaven and on earth.

When you left my bed, where did you go?

"Until I see the Bodhisattva with all his good qualities again,

I will not drink water, nor mead or liquor.

I shall sleep on the ground and wear my matted hair in a topknot;

Without bathing, I shall practice disciplined conduct and austerities.

"In all the parks, the leaves, flowers, and fruits are gone;

The brilliant white necklaces of pearl have faded and collected dust.

Since the most noble being has left this fine city,

The palace has lost its beauty and the city has become like a desert!

"Alas, the delightful singing voices!

Alas, the assembly of consorts with fine jewellery!

Alas, the spaces covered with golden nets!

All this I shall see no more without him, who is so full of qualities."

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The maternal aunt, who also felt miserable,
Tried to console her, saying: "Daughter of the Sakyas, do not cry.
The supreme noble one among men has said in the past:
'I will liberate this world from birth and old age.'"
The Great Sage, who is well trained in thousands of virtues,
Traveled six leagues during the remainder of the night.
He gave his fine horse and his ornaments to Chanda and said:
"Chanda, take these and return to the city of Kapilavastu!
"Repeat the following to my parents:
'The young Prince has left. Please do not be saddened!
When he attains awakening, he will return.
Then you will listen to the Dharma and find peace.'"
Chanda began to weep and spoke again to the Guide:
"Your kinfolk, the best of people, may beat me and ask,
'Chanda, where have you taken the virtuous Bodhisattva?'
But I have no ability, fortitude, and strength."
The Bodhisattva replied: "Chanda, do not be afraid.
My kinfolk will be happy to see you again.
They will always regard you as their teacher
And love you in the same way as they loved me."
Bringing the finest of horses and the ornaments,
Chanda returned to the park of the noble one among men.
The guard at the park, overjoyed upon seeing them,
Speedily conveyed the happy news to the Sakyas:
"The Prince, the noble horse, as well as Chanda,
Have returned to the park, so don't worry anymore."
When the king, who was surrounded by the retinue of Sakyas, heard this,
He became exhilarated and quickly went to the park.
But Gopa, knowing the intelligence and steadfastness of the Bodhisattva,
Was not thrilled, and did not trust these words. She thought:
"It is wrong to assume that the Prince returned here
Before having attained awakening."
When the king saw only the horse Kaṇṭhaka and Chanda,
He cried out and collapsed on the ground.
"Alas, my son, so talented in playing music and singing songs,
Where have you gone, abandoning this kingdom?
"Chanda, now explain to me truly, right here,
Where did the Bodhisattva go, and what are his plans?
Who opened the gate for him, who led him away?
How did the gods make offerings to him?"
Chanda replied, "Powerful king, listen to me.
At night, when the old and young in this city were deeply asleep,
The Bodhisattva told me in a soft and gentle voice,
'Chanda, quickly bring me the king of horses.'
"I tried to wake up the assembly of men and ladies,
But they were so sound asleep that they did not hear my words.
With tears I had to bring him the king of all horses.
I then told him, 'Benefactor of Beings, go wherever you please.'
"Sakra opened the gates that were fitted with a lock;
The guardians of the world tightly held the horse's hoofs.
When the hero mounted the horse, the trichiliocosm shook;
The road on which he traveled through the sky was very broad indeed.
"A bright light appeared, which dispelled the pitch-black darkness;
Flowers fell, and the sound of hundreds of musical instruments was heard.
The gods and divine maidens offered him praises
As he moved through the sky surrounded by a celestial retinue."
Then Chanda took the noble horse and the ornaments with him
And went into the ladies' quarters, weeping.
When Gopa saw Chanda and the noble horse,
She fainted and collapsed on the ground.
Startled, the large gathering of women
Brought water, washed her, and called out:
"May our Sakya princess not die now!
It would be too much to bear if we lost two loved ones!"
The dejected princess of the Sakyas gathered her strength
And embraced the neck of the noble king of horses.
Recalling the games of love from the past,
She was overcome by sorrow and cried out:
"Alas, you gave me joy!
Alas, noble man whose face is like the spotless moon!
Alas, my most noble of men!
Alas, you with excellent marks, so stainless and splendid!
"Alas, my wellborn man with a perfect body,
Well formed and tapering, you are unequalled.
Alas, my lord full of supreme qualities,
Venerated by humans and gods alike and full of great compassion.
"Alas, my powerful man, who is as strong as Narayana,
You conquer the hordes of demons.
Alas, my gentle love with a voice as sweet as Brahma's
And as soft as the sound of a nightingale.
"Alas, my man of limitless renown,
You have emerged from hundreds of virtues and have stainless merit!
Alas, you are my love with glory beyond limits!
Adorned with good qualities, you delight the sages!
"Alas, my handsome love, who was born in the sublime forest of Lumbini,
Which resounds with the buzzing of bees.
Alas, my dear one, renowned in heaven and on earth,
You who are a revered tree of wisdom.
"Alas, my sweet-tasting man, with lips like the bimba fruit,
With eyes like a lotus and skin of golden hue.
Alas, my dear one with spotless teeth,
As white as cow's milk or snow.
"Alas, my dear one with a beautiful nose, beautiful eyebrows,
And the stainless circling hair between your brows.
Alas, my dear one with shoulders so well formed,
With a waist like a bow, legs like a deer, and rounded hips.
"Alas, my man with thighs like the trunk of an elephant,
With fair hands and feet, and with copper-coloured nails.
All these beautiful attributes were formed by your merit
And delighted the king.
"Alas, you were my melodious song and music,
And a balm obtained from exquisite flowers in the best of seasons.
Alas, you were to me the scent of flowers;
You brought delight to the retinue of consorts with song and music.
"Alas, fine Kaṇṭhaka, my husband's companion!
Where did you carry him?
Alas, Chanda, don't you have any compassion?
Why did you not wake us when the best of men was leaving?
"Today the compassionate guide
Of those who need guidance has left this noble city.
Why did you not tell us
That our benefactor was leaving?
"How did our benefactor leave?
And who helped him escape from the capital?
In which direction has he gone?
Fortunate are the deities of the forest groves who are now his companions.
"Chanda, I am miserable, for I had been showed a treasure.
Yet now, since it is like my eyes have been gouged, restore my sight!
Chanda, the victorious ones always teach
That one's parents are to be honoured.
"If he abandoned them, needless to mention
That he would leave the pleasures of love with a woman!
Alas, to separate from those we love
Is like watching a play—nothing endures!
"Because of grasping at concepts, childish beings hold mistaken views;
This is why they have to take birth and die.
In the past he taught that all who are conditioned by birth and death
Have no friends whatsoever.
"So may his wishes be fulfilled and may he,
Under the best of trees, attain supreme and noble awakening.
When he has attained stainless awakening,
May he return to this noble city!"
When Chanda heard Gopa's words,
He felt deeply unhappy.
He said in a voice choked with tears:
"Gopa, listen to my words.
"Around midnight, when the gathering of ladies
Were deeply asleep, secretly
The One Elevated with Hundreds of Merits
Told me to bring his horse Kaṇṭhaka.
"When I heard his words,
I immediately looked at you, asleep on your bed,
And I shouted aloud to you, Gopa,
'Your beloved is about to leave, get up!'
"But the gods blocked my words,
And so not even one lady awoke.
Weeping, I adorned that king of horses
And gave it to the most exalted among men.
"Kaṇṭhaka then neighed with his fierce energy,
And although the sound could be heard for a mile,
Nobody in our fine city heard it,
Having been lulled to sleep by the gods.
"As the hooves of Kaṇṭhaka—
Covered with gold, silver, and precious gems—struck the earth,
The earth gave off a terrible and beautiful sound,
And yet nobody could hear it.
"At that time the constellation of Pusya had arisen,
And the moon and the stars were shining in the sky.
From the sky tens of millions of gods folded their hands,
Bowed to him, and offered prostrations.
"With the assembly of yaksas and raksasas in attendance,
The four guardians of the world, who possess great magical power,
Lifted the hooves of Kaṇṭhaka with their hands
That were as spotless and pure as the anthers of a lotus flower.
"The Lord elevated with hundreds of merits
Mounted the horse and resembled a red lotus and a jasmine flower.
At that time the earth shook in six different ways,
And the buddha realms were pervaded with stainless light.
"Then the god Sakra, the husband of Saci,
And the principal of all gods, opened the gates.
A hundred million gods preceded the Bodhisattva,
And the nagas and gods offered him their veneration as he left.
"The noble Kaṇṭhaka, at a mere sign,
Carried the protector of this world across the sky.
Gatherings of gods and demigods, along with Sakra,
Escorted the Bliss-Gone One as he was leaving.
"The divine maidens, so skilled in playing music,
Praised the qualities of the Bodhisattva.
They all gave Kaṇṭhaka strength
As they sang to him in the most delightful and touching way:
"Kaṇṭhaka, carry the guide of this world!
Be swift and don't feel sad!
When you assist the protector of this world,
You are free from the dangers of the lower realms and difficult rebirths.'
"Each of the gods also expressed this desire, saying:
'I also want to carry the guide of this world.'
There was not a place to be found
Not walked upon by the millions of gods, who said:
"Kaṇṭhaka, look at the path prepared for you in the sky!
It is so bright and beautiful.
Its bejeweled ledges are ornamented in various ways,
And it is censed with divine incense based on supreme essences.
"'Kaṇṭhaka, because of your meritorious deed,
You will be magically reborn in the Heaven of the Thirty-Three.
As divine maidens surround you and attend to you,
You will delight in divine sense pleasures.'
"Gopa, do not shed any more tears!
Be happy and rejoice!
Before long you will witness the best among men attaining awakening.
You will see him honoured and served by the immortals.
"Gopa, one should never shed tears over people
Who do such excellent deeds!
Instead, rejoice in He Who Is Elevated by Hundreds of Splendours and Merits,
And do not weep anymore!
"Gopa, even if I were to speak for seven days
About the offerings that humans and gods arranged
At the time of our King's departure from home,
I would not be able to cover it all.
"You have served and paid respect
To the One Who Benefits Beings;
Thus you will find supreme and inconceivable attainment.
I believe that you shall become just like him, the most noble being!"
This concludes the fifteenth chapter on leaving home.

LALITA-VISTARA CHAPTER 16 — The Visit of King Bimbisara

[The Bodhisattva seeks out the foremost spiritual teachers of his day, and he quickly surpasses each of his teachers in understanding and meditative concentration. His extraordinary charisma also attracts many beings, such as the king of Magadhā, who requests the Bodhisattva to take up residence in his kingdom, but without success.]

Monks, through the blessing of the Bodhisattva, Chanda told King Suddhodana, the Sakya princess Gopa, the retinue of consorts, and everyone else among the Sakyas what had happened in order to alleviate their suffering.

Monks, the Bodhisattva first gave his silken robes to a divine son in the form of a hunter, and then he donned the hunter's saffron-coloured robes. He adopted the lifestyle of a renunciate in order to act in agreement with the perception of worldly people, and also because he felt compassion for others and wished to mature them.

The Bodhisattva then went to the hermitage of a Brahmin woman called Saki. The woman invited the Bodhisattva to stay and have a meal. Next the Bodhisattva went to the hermitage of a Brahmin woman called Padma, who also invited the Bodhisattva to stay for a meal. Later he went to the hermitage of a sagely priest called Raivata, who offered the Bodhisattva hospitality in the same way. Likewise Rajaka, the son of Datrmadandika, also invited him as a guest. Monks, in this way the Bodhisattva slowly made his way to the city of Vaisali.

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At that time Arada Kalapa had arrived in Vaisali, where he resided together with a Saṅgha of listeners and three hundred students, to whom he taught the practices that actualize the state of utter absence. When Arada Kalapa saw the Bodhisattva approaching in the distance, he was amazed and told his students: "Oh, look at his figure!"

The students replied: "Yes, we see him. He is amazing."

Monks, I walked up to where Arada Kalapa was staying and addressed him in the following way: "Arada Kalapa, I have come to learn spiritual practices from you."

Arada Kalapa replied: "Gautama, I shall give you a teaching through which a faithful person of good family can accomplish omniscience with very little hardship."

Monks, I then thought to myself: "I have faith. I am also diligent. I am mindful and I can practise absorption. I also have knowledge. So therefore, in order to master and actualise that teaching, I will practice on my own in a solitary place, without getting distracted."

Monks, I then practiced on my own in solitude with carefulness and diligence. And indeed, with only little hardship, I was able to understand and actualize the teaching.

Monks, I then went to Arada Kalapa and asked him: "Arada Kalapa, you have understood and actualised this teaching, isn't that true?"

"Yes, Gautama, indeed I have," he replied.

I then told him: "I have also understood and actualised this teaching."

Arada Kalapa replied: "Well then, Gautama, whatever teaching I know, you also know. And whatever you know, I also know. So now both of us should assume patronage of the students."

After he made that offer, Arada Kalapa honoured me with exquisite offerings and installed me as a teacher in residence, who would share his duties with him. Monks, I then thought to myself: "Arada's teaching does not bring freedom. It would not bring total freedom from suffering for either of us. So now I must depart and search for a better practice."

Monks, since I had now stayed in Vaisali for as long as I found enjoyable, I proceeded to the country of Magadha and found my way to Rajagrha, the capital city of that country. Once there I took up residence at Pandava, the king of mountains, where I stayed on its slope alone in solitude without any company. At that time many trillions of gods protected me.

One morning I dressed in the skirt and robes of a mendicant and, holding my offering bowl, I went into the city of Rajagrha through the Gate of Warm Water and started my alms round. I looked ahead and to both sides and proceeded in a gracious manner, moving my limbs with elegance. I carried the skirt, the offering bowl, and the monk's robes in a very beautiful manner. My senses were undistracted and my mind was not diverted by outer events. Like an image of someone who is carrying a vase filled with oil, I looked ahead at a distance of six feet.

When the people of Rajagrha saw me, they were amazed and thought: "Goodness, is that Brahma? Or perhaps Sakra, king of the gods, or Vaisravana? Or is it some kind of mountain god?"

On this topic, it is said:

Stainless and of infinite glory,
The Bodhisattva becomes a mendicant of his own will.
His mind is peaceful and his actions are gentle;
He resides on the slope of Pandava, the king of mountains.
As the Bodhisattva knows that day has broken,
He dons his robes, so beautiful to behold.
Holding his alms bowl with a humble attitude,
He enters Rajagrha on his alms round.
Like gold, he is of refined nature
And bears the thirty-two marks.
When men and women see him,
They cannot get enough of beholding him.
The streets are adorned with precious fabrics;
People move out of his way, only to follow behind him.
They ask, "Who is that being whom we have never seen before
And whose luster makes the whole city shine?"
Thousands of women stand on their roofs
And in their doorways and windows.
Filling the streets, they leave their houses empty;
Dropping all other tasks, they only stare at this perfect man.
All business and shopping comes to an end;
Even those in the bars stop drinking.
They cannot stay still in their houses or in the streets
As they behold the form of this perfect man.
Quickly one man runs to the palace
And joyfully relates the story to King Bimbisara:
"It seems that Brahma himself is doing alms rounds in our city!
Your Majesty, you are most fortunate!"
Some people say to the king that it is Sakra, king of the gods;
Others say it is a divine son from the Heaven Free from Strife.
Others say it is a god from the Heaven of Joy or the Heaven of Delighting in Emanations;
Some suggest it is a divine son from the Heaven of Making Use of Others' Emanations.
There are some who say that it is the Moon or the Sun;
Some say it is Rahu, Bala, or Vemacitri.
Still others are saying,
"He lives on Pandava, the king of mountains."
As the king hears these reports,
He is overjoyed and comes to his balcony.
There he sees the Perfect Being, the Bodhisattva,
Who shines with beauty like well-refined gold.
King Bimbisara gives the Bodhisattva some alms
And tells his men: "Find out where he goes."
Seeing that he returns to the best of mountains, they report back:
"Your Majesty, he is staying on the face of the mountain!"
Knowing that the night has passed,
King Bimbisara, surrounded by a large retinue,
Arrives at the root of Pandava, the king of mountains,
And sees that the mountain is ablaze in glory.
He dismounts from his chariot and proceeds on foot.
With great devotion he beholds the Bodhisattva
Sitting cross-legged on a cushion of grass,
Immutable, like the central mountain.
The king touches his head to the Bodhisattva's feet.
As they discuss many issues, the king says:
"I will give you half my kingdom.
Enjoy the sense pleasures here; I will give you all you need."
The Bodhisattva replies in soft words:
"Ruler of this land, may your life be long!
I have already discarded a beautiful kingdom and become a monk
In order to search for peace with no expectations for the future."
The king of Magadha responds to the Bodhisattva:
"You are young and in the prime of life;
You have a beautiful complexion and you are strong.
Let me offer you much wealth and many women.
"Please stay in my kingdom and enjoy yourself.
When I see you, I am filled with supreme joy;
Please be my friend, and I will give you my entire kingdom.
Please enjoy its abundant pleasures.
"Please do not stay in the empty forest;
From now on, please do not sit on grass on the ground.
Your body is so young and fresh,
So please stay in my kingdom and enjoy yourself."
The Bodhisattva replies in a gentle voice,
With love and concern for the king's welfare:
"King, may fortune always be with you!
I do not seek desirable objects.
"Desire is like poison and has endless faults;
It pushes beings into hell and the realms of hungry spirits and animals.
Ignoble desires are condemned by the wise ones;
I have abandoned desire like putrid snot.
"Desires fall like fruit from trees;
They pass like clouds and rain.
Unstable and fleeting, they move like the wind;
They destroy everything that is good, and should be avoided.
"If people don't get what they want, their desires burn;
But even if they do get what they want, it is never enough.
However, when desires consume someone who is unable to handle them,
That is when these terrifying desires bring the most pain.
"Your Majesty, even if one man were to attain
All the pleasures of the gods
And everything desirable among humans,
It still would not suffice, and he would search for more.
"Yet, Your Majesty, whoever is peaceful and gentle,
Informed by the noble and stainless Dharma,
And filled with knowledge—he is satisfied.
For him desirable objects have no attraction.
"Your Majesty, if one follows after desire,
It will never end.
Like drinking salty water,
Following after desire only increases craving.
"Your Majesty, consider how unstable the body is.
There is no substance to the body—it is like a machine of suffering;
It constantly leaks from the nine openings.
Your Majesty, I have no desire for pleasures.
"I have abandoned many delights
And thousands of women so beautiful to behold.
I now wish for the perfect peace of sacred awakening.
Since I find no joy in conditioned existence, I have left it."
The king of Magadha now asks:
"Monk, where do you come from?
Where were you born? Where are your father and mother?
Are you a member of the ruling class, a priest, or a king?
Monk, please tell me everything, if you don't mind."
The Bodhisattva replies:
"Your Majesty, I am from the city of Kapilavastu of the Sakyas,
A wonder-filled city of which you may have heard.
My father's name is Suddhodana.
I renounced this city because I wished for deeper qualities."
The king of Magadha says:
"Good! We are so glad to see you!
As for your life, we too can learn from it.
Also forgive me for my earlier intention
To invite the One Free from Desire to enjoy sense pleasures.
"If you do become awakened,
Dharma Lord, please share the Dharma with me.
Self-Born One, that you now live in my country
Is for me the greatest gift of all."
Once again the king bows to the Bodhisattva's feet;
He circumambulates the Bodhisattva with the greatest respect.
Then, surrounded by his entourage,
The ruler returns to his royal palace.
The Protector of the World came to the city in Magadha;
Peacefully, he stayed as long as he wished.
When he had accomplished the welfare of gods and humans,
The Lord of Men proceeded to the banks of the Nairañjana River.

This concludes the sixteenth chapter on the visit of King Bimbisara.

LALITA-VISTARA CHAPTER 17 — Practicing Austerities

[The Bodhisattva follows Rudraka, a renowned spiritual teacher. He quickly masters the prescribed trainings, but once again he is disappointed with the teachings. The Bodhisattva concludes that he must discover awakening on his own, and he sets out on a six-year journey of extreme asceticism. These practices take him to the brink of death.]

Monks, at that time a son of Rama by the name of Rudraka arrived in Rajagrha, where he stayed with a large group of seven hundred of his students. He was teaching his students the principles of the disciplined conduct necessary for attaining the state where there is neither perception nor nonperception.

Monks, the Bodhisattva saw that Rudraka, the son of Rama, was in charge of a group, indeed a large group, and that as the head of the congregation, he was wellknown, popular, venerated by the masses, and recognized by all scholars. Witnessing this, the Bodhisattva thought to himself:

"Rudraka, the son of Rama, is really in charge of a group, indeed a large group; he is the head of the congregation and, moreover, well-known, popular, venerated by the masses, and recognized by all scholars. However, unless I begin to practice disciplined conduct and austerities myself in his presence, he will never perceive me as someone special. He will also not have an understanding based on direct perception. In this way he will never renounce his concentration, absorption, and states of equilibrium, which are fabricated, defiled, and perpetuating.

"Therefore I must first actualise these experiences myself. In that way I can demonstrate that his worldly absorptions, which are limited to concentration and which only support states of equilibrium, do not carry a result. I will go to Rudraka, the son of Rama, and become accepted as his student in order to demonstrate the superiority of the qualities of my own absorption. I will demonstrate to him that fabricated absorptions are pointless."

Monks, with this purpose in mind, the Bodhisattva went to see Rudraka, the son of Rama. When he met Rudraka, the Bodhisattva asked: "My friend, who is your teacher?

Who taught you so well?"

Rudraka, the son of Rama, answered: "My friend, I did not have a teacher. Nevertheless I did reach a genuine understanding on my own."

The Bodhisattva then asked: "What is it you understand?"

Rudraka replied: "The way of equilibrium, which is neither perception nor nonperception."

Next the Bodhisattva asked: "Could you please allow me to follow you so that I can obtain the instructions for your path of absorption?"

Rudraka replied: "Yes indeed, I will let you follow me so that you can obtain instructions for my path of absorption."

With this the Bodhisattva went off and sat down with his legs crossed. Now, no sooner did the Bodhisattva sit down before he actualized hundreds of all the main types of worldly and transcendent equilibriums in all their many details. The reason he could do this was because he had become a master of his mind, possessing a superior accumulation of merit and wisdom, a special fruition of all his previous trainings, and a distinctive familiarity with all absorptions.

At that point the Bodhisattva arose from his seat, mindful and attentive, and went to see Rudraka, the son of Rama. He then addressed him: "My friend, is there any higher path than the state of neither perception nor nonperception?"

"No," Rudraka replied.

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The Bodhisattva then thought to himself: "Rudraka is not the only one who has faith, diligence, mindfulness, concentration, and wisdom. I am also faithful, diligent, mindful, concentrated, and wise." He therefore addressed Rudraka with these words: "My friend, I have now understood the teaching in which you are adept." Rudraka replied, "Well, in that case, come, we should teach everyone together." And accordingly he installed the Bodhisattva as a teacher on the same level as himself.

The Bodhisattva then said: "My friend, this path does not free the mind. Neither does it free one from attachment. It also does not lead to cessation or peace. It does not bring higher knowledge, nor does it lead to complete awakening. It does not make one a mendicant or a priest, and it does not lead to nirvana."

Monks, in this way the Bodhisattva made up his mind regarding Rudraka, the son of Rama, and his followers. He left them, saying, "This is enough; I am leaving." At that point there were five ascetic companions who were learning religious practices under the guidance of Rudraka, the son of Rama. They thought to themselves:

"Even though we have tried and persisted for a long time in this way, we have not been able to realize our goal. Yet this mendicant Gautama was able to realize it and manifest it through such little hardship. And now he doesn't want it! Surely he must be searching for something even higher than that. Surely he will become a teacher of the world. Whatever he is about to discover, he will probably share it with us." And with this, the five ascetic companions left Rudraka, the son of Rama, to follow the Bodhisattva instead.

Monks, by that point the Bodhisattva had remained in Rajagrha for as long as he wanted, and now he left together with the five ascetic companions in order to wander through the kingdom of Magadha. Somewhere on the road between Rajagrha and Gaya, they met a group of people who were enjoying a feast. This group called out to the Bodhisattva and the five ascetic companions and invited them to sit down and participate in the feast.

Monks, afterward the Bodhisattva proceeded through Magadha and eventually arrived at Gaya. At the peak of Mount Gaya, the Bodhisattva stayed in order to apply himself to strenuous practice. As he was staying there, three parables that he had never previously heard or thought of came to his mind. What were these three?

First he thought: "There are some monks and priests who are unable to separate their mind and body from the objects of their desire. Instead they delight in those objects and feel attached to them, long for them, wish for them, strive for them, crave and thirst for them, become senseless for them, and are burned by them. This striving after the objects of desire never brings peace. They further harm themselves and torment their bodies and end up with intense and unbearable feelings of suffering.

Therefore, in doing so, they become incapable of actualizing the noble wisdom vision that is superior to any human teaching. This is like a person who tries in vain to create a fire in order to make light by rubbing together two wet pieces of wood that have been submerged in water. He will not be able to produce fire and make light.

This is the same as the monks and priests who are unable to separate their mind and body from the objects of their desire. They delight in those objects and feel attached to them, long for them, wish for them, strive for them, crave and thirst for them, become senseless for them, and are burned by them. This striving after the objects of desire never brings peace. They further harm themselves and torment their bodies and end up with intense and unbearable feelings of suffering. Therefore, in doing so, they become incapable of actualising the noble wisdom vision that is superior to any human teaching." This was the first example that he had never thought or heard of that came to the Bodhisattva's mind.

Second, he continued to think: "There are also monks and priests who have separated their mind and body from the objects of their desire. Still they delight in those objects and feel attached to them, long for them, wish for them, strive for them, crave and thirst for them, become senseless for them, and are burned by them. This striving after the objects of desire never brings peace. They further harm themselves and torment their bodies and end up with intense and unbearable feelings of suffering. Therefore, in doing so, they become incapable of actualizing the noble wisdom vision that is superior to any human teaching. This is like a person who tries in vain to create a fire in order to make light by placing a wet piece of wood on the ground and rubbing another wet piece of wood against it. He will be unable to produce fire and make light. This is the same as some monks and priests who have separated their mind and body from the objects of their desire. They delight in those objects and feel attached to them, long for them, wish for them, strive for them, become senseless for them, and crave for them to the extent that they never find peace.

In this way they harm themselves and torment their bodies and end up with intense and unbearable feelings of suffering, as if being burned. Therefore, in doing so, they become incapable of actualizing the noble wisdom vision that is much supreme to the highest human teaching." This was the second example that he had never thought or heard of that came to the Bodhisattva's mind.

Third, he thought: "There are also other monks and priests who have separated their mind and body from the objects of their desire. Although they also delight in those objects and feel attached to them, long for them, wish for them, strive for them, crave and thirst for them, and become senseless for them, they do find peace. Although they do harm themselves and torment their bodies and end up with intense and unbearable feelings of suffering, in doing so they do become capable of actualizing the noble wisdom vision that is superior to human teaching. They are like a person who wishes to create a fire in order to make light, and therefore places a dry piece of wood on the ground and rubs another dry piece of wood against it. For such a person the fire will ignite, and light will shine. This is how there are also other monks and priests who have separated their mind and body from the objects of their desire. Although they also delight in those objects and feel attached to them, long for them, wish for them, strive for them, crave and thirst for them, and become senseless for them, they do find peace. Although they do harm themselves and torment their bodies and end up with intense and unbearable feelings of suffering as if being burned, in doing so they do become capable of actualizing the noble wisdom vision that is much supreme to the highest human teaching." This was the third example that he had never thought or heard of that came to the Bodhisattva's mind.

Monks, then the Bodhisattva thought to himself: "I have also separated my body from the objects of desire. Although I also delight in those objects and feel attached to them, long for them, wish for them, strive for them, crave and thirst for them, and become senseless for them, I do nevertheless find peace. Although I do harm myself and torment my body and end up with intense and unbearable feelings of suffering, as if being burned, in doing so I have become capable of actualizing the noble wisdom vision that is much supreme to the highest human teaching."

Monks, in this way the Bodhisattva remained in Gaya at the peak of Mount Gaya for as long as he pleased before he proceeded by foot to the village Senapati near Urubilva. On the way he passed by the Nairañjana River. He witnessed its pure water and beautiful bathing areas and saw how trees and groves adorned the riverbank and the surrounding village. This made the Bodhisattva very delighted, and he thought to himself: "What an amazing place! It is so pleasant! It is a great place to stay, and it is perfect for someone of noble family who is wholly dedicated to renunciation.

Since I am wholly dedicated to renunciation, I will stay here."

Monks, the Bodhisattva continued to think: "I have been born in this world at the time of the five degenerations among beings who are occupied with lowly pursuits.

These various religious practitioners have so many orientations and views. They wholly fixate on the body. They seek to purify the body by oppressing it in various ways. In complete ignorance, they give instructions. Some, for example, make use of spells, lick their hands, remain seated, cease talking, ingest various roots, abstain from eating meat and fish, spend the summer indoors, refrain from wine and beverages and even water, and take their nourishment from one or three or five or seven houses.

"Some consume roots, fruits, water plants, kusa grass, leaves, cow dung, cow urine, milk, yogurt, butter, molasses, or seeds that have not been ground. There are others who wash and eat the leftovers that swans and pigeons throw away. Others live in villages or remote places. There are others who practice living like an ox, a deer, a dog, a pig, a monkey, or an elephant. There are some who only stand, some who don't talk, and some who hold the virasana body posture. Some live on just one mouthful of food, or anything up to seven mouthfuls. Some eat only once a day, some eat once every twenty-four hours, while others eat every four or five or six days. Others fast for a fortnight or a month, according to the moon.

"Some dress themselves in the feathers of vultures or owls, while others wear planks, muñja grass, asana bark, darbha grass, or valvaja grass. Others don a cloak made of camel wool, goat wool, horsehair, or simply a hide. Still others only put on wet clothes. Some sleep on a stool or in the water, while others sleep in ashes, on rocks, gravel, planks, thorns, grass, or sticks. Others sleep with their heads toward the ground, in squatting posture, or on the bare ground. There are some who wear one, two, three, four, five, six, seven or more pieces of clothing, while others go naked. There are some who have a ritual of bathing, and others who make a ritual out of never bathing. Some let their hair and nails and beards grow long, while others keep their hair braided in a topknot. There are also some who subsist on just a single juniper berry, sesame seed, or grain of rice.

"Some smear their bodies with ashes, soot, dead flower pollen, coal dust, dirt, and mud. Others adorn themselves with bodily hair, reeds, scalp hair, fingernails, rags, ribs, and skulls. They drink hot water, water leftover after washing rice, water filtered through a blanket, and dishwater. Some wear dyes of charcoal, minerals, or saffron, shave their heads, carry vases, human skulls, and clubs.

"In such ways do these fools believe themselves to be pure. Some inhale smoke and fire, stare at the sun, and perform the five-fires ritual. They stand on one foot, raise one hand in the air, and stay in just one spot. Such are the hardships that they undergo. They use burning chaff and coals and tandoor ovens. They walk on glowing rocks, scorching fire, or scalding water. Some go to a sacred riverbank and die there. They follow the course of such practices.

"They believe that they become pure by reciting oṁ, vasaṭ, svadha, svaha, the benedictions, collected praises, or invocations; by repeating mantras or dharanis; or by practicing meditation. Considering themselves pure, they take refuge in and pay homage to beings that they believe to be essential, such as Brahma, Indra, Rudra, Visnu, Devi, Kumara, Matr, Katyayani, Candra, Aditya, Vaisravana, Varuna, the Vasus, the Asvins, nagas, yaksas, gandharvas, demigods, garudas, kiṃnaras, mahoragas, raksasas, bhutas, kumbhandas, pretas, ganas, ancestors, pisacas, devarsis, rajarsis, and brahmarsis.

"They also take refuge in the elements, such as earth, water, fire, wind, and space. Likewise they resort for refuge in mountains, rivers, sources of rivers, lakes, ponds, pools, oceans, reservoirs, lotus ponds, and wells; trees, bushes, vines, grass, tree trunks; cow pens, cemeteries, crossroads where four roads meet, and markets. They pay homage to houses, pillars, and rocks; clubs, swords, bows, axes, arrows, spears, and tridents. They also believe that yogurt, butter, mustard seeds, barley, magic strings, durva grass, jewels, gold, silver, and other such items are auspicious.

"This is what these non-Buddhists rely on because of their fear of cyclic existence. In doing so, some of them think, 'Because of these methods, in the afterlife we shall find heaven and final emancipation.' In this way they go astray on errant paths. They seek refuge in that which cannot offer protection. They take as auspicious that which is not auspicious. They take as pure that which is not pure.

"However, if I now attain mastery in the prescribed practices and austerities, all the opposing views will become suppressed. I will then demonstrate to these people, who disregard karmic actions, the inescapability of the fruits of actions. And as for the gods in the realms of meditative concentration and form, if I can demonstrate a superior meditative concentration, they will become interested."

Monks, following up on these thoughts, the Bodhisattva now began a six-year period of extremely fierce prescribed practices and hardships that were intensely difficult, the hardest of all difficult practices. The reason for calling this difficult practice is because it is excruciatingly difficult, and therefore it is described in such terms.

Except for a bodhisattva who has reached his last existence and rests in equanimity in all-pervasive absorption, there is no one, human or nonhuman, who is capable of undergoing such hardships. This absorption is called all-pervasive because as the Bodhisattva rested in equanimity in the fourth absorption, from the very beginning all movements of the breath slowed down and ceased, and the absorption was nonconceptual.

There was no thought, no movement, no conceptual mind, and no change, yet it was all-pervading and not dependent on anything. Previously no student, master, solitary buddha, or bodhisattva who had taken up such conduct had ever entered this absorption. This absorption is likened to space, because like space—which is motionless, uncaused, and changeless—there is nowhere it cannot reach. In that way it is similar to space, and therefore it is described as such.

Monks, in this way the Bodhisattva displayed true wonders to the worldly ones. He did so in order to shatter the proud satisfaction of extreme practitioners, to vanquish the opponents' attacks, to attract the gods, and to correct nihilists and eternalists, who disregard karmic action. He also did so in order to declare the results of merit, to teach the results of wisdom, to distinguish the levels of concentration, to demonstrate the power and strength of the body, and to develop bravery of mind. For these reasons the Bodhisattva sat down on the rugged earth, crossed his legs, and began to punish and torment his body through his mental resolve.

Monks, for eight winter nights I punished and tormented my body. Sweat ran from my armpits and from my forehead. As the sweat fell on the ground, the drops turned into hoarfrost, heated up, and evaporated. It was just like a strong man who grabs a very feeble person by the neck and strangles him. Such was the manner, monks, in which my mind brought punishment and torment on my body. Sweat ran from my armpits and from my forehead and, as the sweat fell on the ground, the drops turned into hoarfrost, then grew hot, and evaporated.

Monks, at that point I thought to myself: "I should now practice the all-pervading absorption." And, monks, as I was practicing the all-pervading absorption, from my mouth and my nose all movement of breath ceased, and within the openings of my ears an immense sound was heard. The sound

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was as loud and intense as when a blacksmith's bellows is being squeezed. Monks, all the while there was no movement of my breath through my mouth and nose, there was this intense, loud noise in my ears.

Monks, I then continued to think: "I should practice the all-pervading absorption."

Since my mouth, nose, and ears were blocked, [252] the breath went up into my skull. Monks, it felt as if someone was striking my skull with a sharp spear. Monks,

in that way, as my mouth, nose, and ears were blocked, my in-breaths and outbreaths were pushing up and hitting my skull.

Some divine sons noticed the suffering of the Bodhisattva and remarked:

"Oh no! It seems the young Siddhartha is dying!"

The others remarked: "No, he's not dying. This is simply how worthy ones abide in absorption."

On this occasion, they then sang these verses:

"May this son of the Sakya kings,
Who has not fulfilled his aim in the forest here,
Not pass away without fulfilling his intention,
And thus leave this triple world suffering and without a defender.

"Oh no! You are the essential being and your commitment is strong.
Protector, previously in the Heaven of Joy you invited us
To hear the gift of the sacred Dharma,
But now where is your resolve, O Pure Being?"

These divine sons then went to the gods in the Heaven of the Thirty-Three and told Mayadevi: "It seems that the young Prince is about to pass away."

Mayadevi surrounded herself with a retinue of divine maidens, and at midnight they went to the bank of the Nairañjana River where the Bodhisattva was staying. She saw how thin the Bodhisattva had become, and it appeared as if he had died. Upon seeing this, she was choked with tears and began to weep. She then sang these verses:

"When I gave birth to you, my son, in the Lumbini Grove,
Without support, like a lion, you took seven steps on your own.
You gazed in the four directions and said these beautiful words:
'This is my last birth.' Those words will now never come to pass.

"Asita predicted that you would be a buddha in this world,
But his prediction was wrong, as he did not foresee impermanence.
My son, you have not yet had the joys of a universal monarch's splendours,
And now you are passing away in this forest without attaining awakening.

"To whom can I turn to about my son?
To whom shall I cry out in my pain?
Who will give life back to my only son,"
Who is barely alive?

The Bodhisattva answered:

"Who are you? You cry so heart wrenchingly,
With disheveled hair and your beauty impaired,
Lamenting your son so intensely
And throwing yourself on the ground."

Mayadevi replied:

"It is I, your mother, O son,
Who for ten months
Carried you in my womb like a diamond.
It is I who now cry out in despair."

Then, in order to console her, the Bodhisattva told her: "As for grieving for your son, there is no need to worry; your hardship will pay off. Renouncing the world for the sake of awakening is indeed meaningful. What the priest Asita predicted shall come true. Likewise the prediction of Dipaṃkara shall come to pass.

"It is possible that the world may break into a hundred pieces, and the jewel peak of Mount Meru may fall into the ocean. The sun, the moon, and the stars may fall to the ground. Yet although I am an ordinary person, I will not die. Therefore do not bring misery on yourself. Before long you shall behold the awakening of a buddha."

As soon as Mayadevi heard this, she became overjoyed, and the hair on her body stood on end. Sprinkling the Bodhisattva with mandarava flowers, she circumambulated him three times. Then, accompanied by heavenly music, she went back to her abode.

Monks, at that point I thought to myself: "Because some religious practitioners and priests believe that one becomes purified by eating very little food, I must also be diligent in fasting." Monks, I realized that I should henceforth live on a single juniper berry and restrain myself from eating two. Monks, you might think that the juniper berries of that time were larger than now, but that is not the case. They were just as they are now.

Monks, as I now began living on just a single juniper berry, never taking a second, my body became extremely weak and emaciated. Monks, my limbs and joints began to resemble the knots of the asitaki plant or the kala plant. My rib cage resembled the sides of a crab. Like an old stable for horses or elephants where the two sides have caved in and made the inside rafters visible, the insides of my chest became visible through both sides of my ribs. My spine appeared uneven and rugged, like a braid of hair with all its ups and downs.

Just as a bitter gourd that has been cut too early withers, dries out, and develops cracks, likewise my head began to wither, dry out, and develop cracks. Just like a well during the end of summer, where the reflection of the stars has sunk and is hard to notice, my eyeballs had sunk into my head and become barely visible. My legs resembled the legs of a goat or a camel, and so it was for my armpits, belly, chest, and so forth. Monks, when at that point I tried touching my belly with my hand, I actually ended up touching my spine. I was so hunched over that I fell whenever I tried to stand. When I finally managed to get up and wipe my dust-covered body with my hands, my decayed hair fell out of my body. Previously my complexion had been beautiful and smooth, but now this radiance was all gone due to exerting myself in harsh travails.

The people who lived in the villages surrounding the area where I was practicing began to say: "Oh my, the mendicant Gautama has turned black! Have you seen, he's so dark! The mendicant Gautama has the colour of the madgura fish! Previously his complexion was so beautiful, but now it has all changed."

Monks, at that point I thought to myself: "I must apply myself to eating even less than this." I realized that I should henceforth live on only a single grain of rice and restrain myself from eating two. Monks, you may think that the rice grains of that time were larger than now, but that is not the case. They were just as they are now.

Monks, as I now lived on only a single grain of rice, my body quickly grew thinner, and people began to say: "Oh my! The mendicant Gautama has turned black! Have you seen, he's so dark! The mendicant Gautama has the colour of the madgura fish! Previously his complexion was so beautiful, but now it has all changed."

Monks, at that point I thought to myself: "I must apply myself to eating even less than this." I realized that I should henceforth live on only a single sesame seed and restrain myself from eating two. Just as before, I grew even thinner, and people continued to remark on how my previously beautiful complexion had disappeared.

Monks, I then thought to myself: "There are some monks and priests who believe that they are purified by abstaining from eating food. I should also apply myself to completely abstaining from any food." Monks, I then began a complete fast. Monks, as I now began living without any sustenance, my body became extremely weak and emaciated. Monks, my limbs and joints gradually became twice, three times, four times, five times, and finally ten times as thin as the knots of the asitaki and kala plants. My rib cage resembled the sides of a crab, and it looked like a collapsed stable with rafters exposed on either side. My spine appeared like a braided tuft of hair. My skull looked like a cracked gourd. My eyeballs appeared like stars in a sunken well. Monks, whenever I thought I should stand up, I tried to do so, but my body was so hunched over that I fell every time. When I finally managed to get up with great effort and wipe my dust-covered body with my hands, my body hair, its roots rotten, came out of my body. Previously my complexion had been beautiful and smooth, but now this radiance had disappeared because of exerting myself in extreme austerities.

The people who lived in the villages surrounding the area where I was practicing began to say: "Oh my, the mendicant Gautama has turned black! Have you seen, he's so dark! The mendicant Gautama has the colour of the madgura fish! Previously his complexion was so beautiful, but now it has all changed."

During this time King Suddhodana sent a messenger every day to see the Bodhisattva.

Monks, in this way the Bodhisattva displayed true wonders to the world. He did so in order to shatter the proud satisfaction of non-Buddhists, to vanquish the opponents' attacks, to attract the gods, and to show the nihilists and eternalists, who disregard karmic action and the ripening of karmic results. He lived on just a single sesame seed, a single juniper berry, and a single grain of rice in order to demonstrate the accumulation of merit, to teach the qualities of great wisdom, and to distinguish the levels of absorption. In this way he demonstrated hardships for six years without ever weakening his resolve.

The Bodhisattva remained sitting cross-legged for six years. He simply sat the way he was, without forsaking his activity. When the sun was shining, he did not seek shade. When the shade fell on him, he did not move into the sun. Never did he seek shelter from the wind, the sun, and the rain. He never chased away mosquitoes, bees, and poisonous snakes. He did not defecate, urinate, spit, or blow his nose. Neither did he bend his limbs or stretch them out. He never lay down on his belly, side, or back.

The hot season, the winter, and the great clouds, storms, rain, and lightning of autumn all assailed the body of the Bodhisattva. In fact the Bodhisattva did not even use his hand to shelter himself. He did not block his senses, but neither did he follow after the objects of his senses. Those who passed by the Bodhisattva, such as village boys or girls, ox herders, cow herders, grass collectors, wood collectors, and those looking for dung, all thought he was a demon made of dust. They made fun of him and sprinkled him with dust.

In this way the Bodhisattva spent six years, during which time his body became increasingly feeble, weak, and emaciated. When people placed grass or cotton in his ears, it would stick out of his nostrils. When they did the same with his nostrils, the grass and cotton would emerge from his ears. When they placed things in his ears, they would stick out of his mouth. And when they stuffed things in his mouth, they would come out of his ears and nose. Things put in his nostrils would appear out of his ears, nose, and mouth.

The gods, nagas, yaksas, gandharvas, demigods, garudas, kiṃnaras, and mahoragas who witnessed the qualities of the Bodhisattva watched over him day and night, making offerings and forming aspirations. While the Bodhisattva demonstrated austerities for six years, 1.2 trillion gods and humans were matured in the Three Vehicles. On this topic, it is said:

The Bodhisattva left his home
In possession of all good qualities.
In order to benefit sentient beings,
He gave rise to a skillful outlook.
"At the time of the five degenerations,
When lowly people devoted themselves to non-Dharma,
I was born in this world,
Where people endowed with leisure practice Dharma.
"The world is full of non-Buddhists,
Who act out of curiosity or for the sake of good luck.
Making their own bodies into tools,
These childish people think they are purified.
"They walk into ravines, fire, and desolate areas;
Naked, they smear themselves in soil and ashes.
In order to punish the body,
They employ the five-fires ritual.
"They commit the error of using mantras;
In ignorance they lick their hands.
Some do not take food from vases;
Others reject offerings near doors and pillars.
"Some won't take offerings where a dog lives;
Others reject places where they are told to stay or come.
By receiving a single offering from a house,
They think: 'I have become pure.'
"Some reject butter, oil, molasses, and yogurt;
Others won't eat fish, meat, and milk.
Instead they eat vegetables and grain,
Lotus roots and gardula seeds.
"Living on roots, fruits, and leaves,
They wear grass, mendicant's robes, and skins.
Still others wander naked;
Such fools think they have grasped the only truth.
"Some hold up their hand outstretched;
Others keep their hair in a braided knot.
Straying from the path,
They have lost the path, yet they hope for happy rebirths.
"They sleep on beds of grass, sticks, and ashes;
They sleep on thorns or sit upright.
Some always stand on one leg,
Staring, with their faces upturned, at the sun and the moon.
"They also venerate springs, lakes, and ponds,
The ocean, rivers, the sun, and the moon,
Trees and mountain peaks,
Rocks and soil.
"These fools use many different methods,
Trying to purify their bodies.
Because of their wrong views,
They will quickly fall into the lower realms.
"The intense hardship
That I now intend to engage in
Will consist of austerities, discipline, and adversities
That no god or human can perform.
"My concentration will be one
That even solitary buddhas cannot demonstrate.
Stable and firm like a diamond,
I will now practice the all-pervasive concentration.
"There are gods and humans
Who delight in the distorted discipline of non-Buddhists.
In order to ripen these beings,
I will now practice fierce hardship and discipline."
Sitting cross-legged
On bare ground,
He demonstrated the method of subsisting on
A single berry, sesame seed, or rice grain.
Cutting off all movements of the breath,
Immutable, he showed his strength.
For six years he practiced the supreme concentration—
The all-pervasive concentration.
Without any conceptual thought,
Immutable and mentally still,
He practiced the all-pervasive concentration

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That merges with the element of space.
He neither moved from the sun to the shade,
Nor from the shade to the sun.
Immutable like the central mountain,
He practiced the all-pervasive concentration.
He did not protect himself against the wind and the rain,
Nor mosquitoes, poisonous snakes, or bees.
With a completely undisturbed behavior,
He practiced the all-pervasive concentration.
Not merely for his own sake
Did he practice the all-pervasive concentration.
With compassion for others,
He practiced for their sake as well.
Yet village children and cow herders
And those who gather wood and grass
Thought that he was a demon made of dust
And covered him in soil.
They even covered him with impure substances
And harmed him in many ways.
Yet immovable and calm,
He practiced the all-pervasive concentration.
Neither getting up nor lying down,
He did nothing to protect his body.
He did not defecate nor did he urinate;
When sounds were heard, he was neither startled, nor did he avert his gaze.
His flesh and blood dried out
So that the bones and tendons stuck out through his skin.
His spine could be seen through his belly,
Twisted like braided hair.
The gods, demigods, yaksas, gandharvas, and nagas
Who supported him,
Made offerings to him day and night
Because of seeing his qualities.
Since his mind is like the sky,
He practiced the all-pervasive concentration.
"May we also quickly be like him!"
Such aspirations did they make.
Motivated by compassion for others,
He sought to bring about vast benefits to the world.
He did not practice for himself,
Neither for pleasure nor to feel the taste of absorption.
He overcame his opponents' attacks;
He outshone the feeble minds of non-Buddhists.
The actions and deeds that were described by Kasyapa
Were now being demonstrated.
This awakening was the same as the awakening of Krakucchanda;
It is difficult to find even over many eons.
In order to bring benefit to mankind,
He practiced the all-pervasive concentration.
There are 1.2 trillion gods and humans
That are guided in the Three Vehicles.
It is for their sake that the One with Excellent Intellect
Practiced the all-pervasive concentration.
This concludes the seventeenth chapter on practicing austerities.

LALITA-VISTARA CHAPTER 18 — The Nairañjana River

[The Bodhisattva concludes that the austere practices do not lead to awakening and, encouraged by some protective gods, he begins to eat a normal diet once again, and regains his health.]

Monks, during the six years that the Bodhisattva practiced austerities, he was continuously followed by Mara, the evil one. Yet, although Mara tried his best to harm the Bodhisattva, he never found an opportunity. As it became apparent that it would be impossible to harm the Bodhisattva, Mara, sad and dejected, finally left.

It is also expressed in this way:

There is a pleasant wilderness
With forest thickets full of herbs
To the east of Urubilva,
Where the Nairañjana River flows.
There, for the sake of renunciation,
The Bodhisattva persevered with continuous and stable strength.
To attain accomplishment and bliss,
He remained calm and diligent.
Mara approached him and said,
With soft and pleasant words:
"O Son of the Sakyas, get up!
What use is there in tormenting your body?
"Life is better for the living;
Alive, you can practice the Dharma.
As a living being, you can do that,
Then later you will have no regrets.
"But your complexion has faded and is almost gone,
And it appears as though you're on the verge of dying.
Death has a thousand chances,
While life has only one.
"One who always gives
And performs fire offerings
Will accumulate great merit.
Why then do you practice renunciation?
"The path of renunciation brings only suffering
And taming the mind is hard."
This is what Mara said
When addressing the Bodhisattva.
To reply to Mara who said these words,
The Bodhisattva said:
"Evil one, steeped in craziness!
You have come here with ulterior motives.
"For you have no intent
That would match my merits, Mara.
If you were interested in merit,
You would rather speak like this:
"'Since the end of life is death,
I do not concern myself with death.
Wholly devoted to my religious practice,
I shall never back down.
"'If even the flow of rivers
Can be dried out by the wind,
Then what about the body and blood of the renunciant?
Wouldn't that be dried out as well?
"'When his blood has dried out, his flesh will wither.
When his flesh has wasted away,
His mind will become yet clearer.
He will have more dedication, diligence, and absorption.'
"Since I live like that,
I have attained the highest perception,
So I do not worry about my body and my life.
Just look at the purity of my being.
"I am dedicated and diligent;
I have insight as well.
In this world I see no one
Capable of disturbing my diligence.
"Better is death, the thief of the life force,
Than living an unwholesome life.
It is better to die in battle
Than live defeated by the enemy.
"A coward cannot defeat an army;
Armies conquer and win respect.
Yet a hero can defeat an army;
O Mara, I will easily defeat you.
"Desire is your foremost army;
Discontent comes next.
Third is hunger and thirst;
Craving is your fourth army.
"Fifth is dullness and stupor;
Fear is said to be sixth.
Your doubt is army number seven;
Anger and hypocrisy come eighth.
"Ambition, greed, and wanting praise,
Fame obtained through deception,
Seeking to exalt oneself
And put down others:
"This is the army of Mara,
The evil friend who inflicts torment.
Some ascetics and priests
Appear to be caught up in that.
"This army of yours,
Which overcomes this world and that of the gods,
I will destroy it with knowledge,
Just as water destroys a vessel of unbaked clay.
"With mindfulness as the foundation
And knowledge as my training,
I act carefully.
So what will you now do, O feeble-minded one?"

As the Bodhisattva spoke these words, Mara, the evil one, felt very uncomfortable and sad. Having lost his confidence, he disappeared.

Monks, at that point the Bodhisattva thought to himself: "There are monks and priests in the past, the future, and the present who cause themselves harm. They experience intense suffering from unbearable heat and go through very unpleasant experiences. In this way they suffer greatly."

Monks, I continued to think: "With these acts and methods I have not been able to manifest any true knowledge that would be higher than manmade teachings. This path does not lead to awakening. This path is incapable of eradicating the continuation of birth, old age, and death in the future. But there must be another path to awakening that can eradicate the future suffering of birth, old age, and death."

Monks, I continued to think: "Once, when I was sitting in my father's park under the shade of a rose apple tree, I rejoiced as I attained the first level of concentration, which is free from desires and negativities, endued with good qualities, reflective, investigative, and full of joy born out of discrimination. I rejoiced as I attained the levels of concentration up to the fourth. That, indeed, must be the path to awakening, which can eradicate the arising of the sufferings of birth, old age, sickness, and death. And so a conviction was born in me: 'This is the path to awakening!'"

Again I thought: "Yet this path cannot be realized by someone who has grown so weak. If I were to proceed toward the seat of awakening merely by the power of my supernatural knowledge but with my body so critically weak, future beings would not be disposed favourably toward me, and this path would not lead to awakening.

Therefore I shall begin to eat solid food again. That way I can regain my physical strength. Once I do so, I will proceed to the seat of awakening."

Monks, at that point some divine sons felt concern for me. Since they knew my thoughts, they came to where I was staying and told me: "Holy Man, don't eat solid food! We can give you nourishment through the pores of your body."

Monks, I then thought: "I took a vow to remain fasting. And in this way the people in the villages around me would know that the mendicant Gautama abstains from food. However, if these concerned divine sons were to grant me nourishment through the pores of my body, I would be the worst of hypocrites."

The Bodhisattva therefore decided to disregard the words of the divine sons in order to avoid hypocrisy. Instead he decided to begin eating solid foods. Monks, in this way the Bodhisattva arose from the seat where he had practiced discipline and hardship for the past six years, and he proclaimed: "I will now eat solid foods, such as molasses, pea soup, lentil soup, porridge, and rice!"

Monks, at that point the five ascetic companions thought to themselves: "Based on this path and these practices, the mendicant Gautama appears unable to actualise an exalted wisdom vision that is any higher than manmade teachings. Yet how can eating solid foods and leading a comfortable life be of any help? What an ignorant and childish man!" With this thought in mind, the companions left the Bodhisattva and headed toward Varanasi, where they set up camp at the Deer Park by the Hill of the Fallen Sages.

Ever since the Bodhisattva had begun his practice of austerities, ten young girls from the village had served him as a way to see him, venerate him, and assist him. At the same time his five companions had also attended him by bringing him the single juniper berry, sesame seed, or rice grain that he ate. The names of these ten village girls were Bala, Balagupta, Supriya, Vijayasena, Atimuktakamala, Sundari, Kumbhakari, Uluvillika, Jaṭilika, and Sujata.

These young girls now prepared various types of soups for the Bodhisattva and offered them to him. The Bodhisattva accepted these meals, but he also gradually began to go on alms rounds in the local village. In this way he regained his previous luster, appearance, and strength. People now began calling him the beautiful monk and the great monk.

Monks, every day since the beginning of the Bodhisattva's practice of austerities, the village girl Sujata had offered food to eight hundred priests in the hope that the Bodhisattva would come out of his discipline and hardship and maintain his vital functions. As she did so, she offered the prayer: "May the Bodhisattva take my food and thereby truly attain perfect and completely unexcelled awakening!"

Monks, since six years had passed, I had this thought: "My saffron robes have really aged. Perhaps it would be good if I could find some cloth to cover me." Monks, at that point one of Sujata's servants, a woman named Radha, had just died. She had been wrapped in a hemp cloth and left in the charnel ground. When I saw this dusty rag, I decided to use it to cover myself.

As I stood there, bent over with my left leg stretched out and my right hand reaching down in order to pick up the rag, one earth god called out to the sky gods: "Friends, here is a descendent of a great royal clan. He has abandoned his kingdom of a universal monarch, and now he turns his mind to a dusty rag. What a sight! Friends, this is really amazing!"

All the sky gods heard the voice of the earth god, and they passed on the message to the gods in the Heaven of the Four Great Kings. The gods in the Heaven of the Four Great Kings told the gods in the Heaven of the Thirty-Three. They in turn passed on the message to the gods in the Heaven Free from Strife, and from there the message spread to the Heaven of Joy, the Heaven of Delighting in Emanations, the Heaven of Making Use of Others' Emanations, and finally all the way to the Brahma realm. Monks, at that time, at that moment, at that very instant, this message resounded and traveled all the way to Highest Heaven: "Friends, here is a descendent of a great royal clan. He has abandoned his kingdom of a universal monarch, and now he turns his mind to a dusty rag. What a sight! Friends, this is really amazing!"

The Bodhisattva then thought to himself: "I have found this dusty rag, so it would be good if I could find some water to wash it with." At that very moment the gods hit the ground with their hands, and on that spot a lotus pond appeared. Still to this day, this pond is known as the pond where the hands struck.

Once again the Bodhisattva thought: "Now I have obtained water, so it would be good if I could also find a flat stone on which to wash this cloth." At that very moment Sakra placed such a rock before him, and the Bodhisattva now began to wash the dusty rag.

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Sakra, king of the gods, then spoke to the Bodhisattva: "Holy Man, give the cloth to me. Then I will wash it." However, the Bodhisattva wanted to demonstrate the conduct of a renunciant, so he did not give the cloth to Sakra. Instead he washed it himself.

Afterward the Bodhisattva felt tired and wanted to step out of the pond. However, Mara, the evil one, felt jealous and magically raised the edge of the pond. Yet at the side of the pond was a large kakubha tree. In order to follow the worldly custom and to please the goddess of that tree, the Bodhisattva called out to her: "Listen, goddess, lower one of your branches!" The goddess lowered a branch and, as the Bodhisattva grasped it, he was lifted out of the pond. Once he was free, he remained under the shade of the kakubha tree, where he sewed the dusty rag into the robes of a monk. Today this place is still known as the sewing of the dusty rags.

At that point a divine son from the pure abodes, who was called Vimalaprabha, offered the Bodhisattva divine fabrics that had been dyed in saffron-red colour, as is suitable for a monk. The Bodhisattva accepted this gift, and the following morning he put on these fabrics, arranged them into a monk's robes, and went to the nearby village.

At midnight the gods announced the following to Sujata, daughter of the villager Nandika, in the village Senapati in Urubilva: "The one for whom you have been making offerings has relaxed his discipline and decided that he will once again eat nourishing and solid food. Previously you made the aspiration: 'May the Bodhisattva take my food and thereby truly attain perfect and completely unexcelled awakening!'

Now that time has come, so you must do what you ought to be doing."

Monks, as soon as Sujata, daughter of the villager Nandika, heard these words of the gods, she quickly gathered the milk of a thousand cows. Seven times she skimmed the cream from the milk, until she obtained a thick, strength-giving cream.

She then poured this cream into a new clay pot, mixed it with the freshest rice, and placed it on a brand-new stove. As the milk porridge was cooking, various omens manifested. Within the milk appeared the contours of an endless knot, a simple swastika, an elaborate swastika, a lotus, a vardhamana, and other auspicious signs.

Upon seeing this, Sujata thought to herself: "The appearance of these signs surely means that the Bodhisattva will now take food and obtain unexcelled, perfect and complete awakening." At that time a fortuneteller versed in ritual and the art of reading signs came to the village and prophesied that someone would attain immortality there.

When Sujata had finished cooking the porridge, she placed it on the ground where, full of devotion, she had already prepared a seat for the Bodhisattva by scattering flowers and perfumed water. She then told one of her servants, a woman named Uttara: "Uttara, go and fetch the priest. I will stay here and look after this milk porridge with honey."

"Very well, my lady," answered Uttara, who then did as she was told. She went off in the eastern direction, but there she met only the Bodhisattva. She then went south, but there as well she met the Bodhisattva. Then she went west and north, but in those places as well she encountered the Bodhisattva. At that time some divine sons from the pure abodes had removed all the non-Buddhist practitioners, and now none of them were to be found.

When she returned, Uttara told her mistress what had happened: "Wherever I go, the only person I meet is that beautiful monk. Other than him, there are no monks or priests!"

Sujata said: "He alone is the monk, he alone is the priest! It is for his sake that I have prepared this meal. Go, Uttara, and fetch him."

"Very well, my lady," said Uttara, and off she went. When she met the Bodhisattva, she bowed at his feet and conveyed Sujata's invitation to him.

Monks, the Bodhisattva then went to the home of the village girl Sujata, where he sat down at the seat that had been prepared for him. Monks, the village girl Sujata then filled a golden vessel with the milk porridge and honey and offered it to the Bodhisattva.

The Bodhisattva then had this thought: "Sujata has offered this food, and if I eat it now, there is no doubt that I shall truly attain perfect and completely unexcelled awakening." Then the Bodhisattva had his meal. When he was done, he got up and asked Sujata: "Sister, what should I do with the golden bowl?"

She replied: "Please take it with you."

The Bodhisattva told her: "I don't need this bowl."

Sujata then told him: "Well then, do as you please. But I do not give food to anyone without also giving them a bowl."

So the Bodhisattva took the bowl and left Urubilva. Before noon he arrived at the banks of the Nairañjana River, the river of nagas. He put down his bowl and rope and entered the water to refresh himself. Monks, while the Bodhisattva was bathing, several hundred thousand divine sons came to venerate him. They poured divine aloe and sandalwood powder as well as various ointments into the river, and they scattered divine flowers of all colours onto the water. In this way the whole great Nairañjana River flowed on full of divine perfumes and flowers that rained down.

Many trillion divine sons came to collect the perfumed water that the Bodhisattva had used for bathing. They brought it with them to their own abodes in order to enshrine it in memorials and venerate it. The village girl Sujata also collected all the hair and the beard of the Bodhisattva. Thinking that it must be sacred, she took it with her in order to make memorials for veneration.

When the Bodhisattva emerged from the river, he wanted to sit down, and so he looked for a suitable place on the riverbank. Right then, a naga girl who lived in the Nairañjana River emerged out of the earth's surface and offered the Bodhisattva a throne made of jewels.

The Bodhisattva took his seat there and, while he was thinking fondly of the village girl Sujata, he drank what he needed of the milk porridge made with honey.

When he was done with his meal, he threw the golden bowl into the water without any feelings of attachment. As soon as the bowl hit the water, the naga king Sagara, full of devotion and great respect, came to fetch the bowl and bring it to his kingdom, thinking, "This is worthy of veneration!"

At that point the thousand-eyed Indra, the destroyer of cities, changed into a garuda with a diamond beak and attempted to steal the golden bowl from the naga king Sagara. When Indra was unable to do so, he changed into his own form and requested it politely. This time he received the bowl, and he brought it back to the Heaven of the Thirty-Three in order to enshrine it in a memorial for the sake of worship. In this heaven he started a religious festival called The Procession of the Bowl, observed on the days of astrological juncture. To this day the gods in the Heaven of the Thirty-Three hold an annual Festival of the Bowl. The naga girl carried off the magnificent throne in order to make a memorial out of it and venerate it.

Monks, due to the strength of the Bodhisattva's merit and the power of his insight, his body instantaneously changed as soon as he took in solid foods. In one moment his body regained its previous beautiful lotus-like luster. He now manifested the thirty-two and eighty marks of a great being as well as a halo of light, one fathom in diameter, around his body.

On this topic, it is said:

After six years of austerities, the Blessed One thinks:

"I may have the strength of concentration and supernatural knowledge,

But if I go to the king of trees in order to awaken to omniscience under its branches

While I am this emaciated, that would not be kind toward beings in the future.

"Gods and humans with little merit look for wisdom in mistaken ways;

Being in a weakened state, they are unable to attain nectar-like awakening.

Yet if I eat solid and excellent food, I will regain my physical strength;

Then I can go to the king of trees to attain omniscient awakening under its branches."

The village girl Sujata, who has done much good in the past,

Continuously makes offerings, thinking: "May this guide complete his discipline!"

When she hears the request of the gods, she brings milk porridge with honey;

She goes to the river and happily sits on the banks of the Nairañjana.

For one thousand eons the Bodhisattva practiced discipline, and his faculties are at peace.

He goes to the Nairañjana surrounded by hosts of gods and nagas as well as sages;

He makes the crossing and bathes with thoughts aimed at liberating others.

The Sage, pure and stainless, washes himself in the river out of love for the world.

Trillions of gods joyfully descend into the river and infuse the waters

With perfumes and scented powders so the Sacred Being can bathe.

When the Stainless Bodhisattva has bathed and rests serene on the shore,

Thousands of gods rejoice and take the bathing water as an object for venerating the Pure Being.

A divine son offers him saffron robes of beautiful stainless cloth;

Dressed in these suitable robes, the Blessed One rests on the banks of the river.

A naga girl joyfully and devotedly erects a splendid throne

On which the guide of the universe peacefully sits.

Sujata fills a golden bowl with food and offers it to the Mindful One;

She prostrates at his feet, saying joyfully, "Great Guide, please enjoy this!"

The Mindful One eats as much as necessary and then throws the bowl in the river;

The highest god, the destroyer of cities, carries it off, saying, "I will venerate it!"

The very moment the Victorious One consumes solid and excellent food,

His body regains its former strength, magnificence, and splendour.

To Sujata and the gods he offers a teaching that benefits them greatly;

He, the lion with the bearing of a swan and the gait of the supreme elephant, proceeds to the Bodhi tree.

This concludes the eighteenth chapter on the Nairañjana River.

LALITA-VISTARA CHAPTER 19 — Approaching the Seat of Awakening

[Sensing that he is on the verge of attaining his goal, the Bodhisattva sets out for the bodhimaṇḍa, the sacred place where all bodhisattvas in their last existence attain full and complete awakening.]

Monks, when the Bodhisattva bathed in the Nairañjana River and enjoyed a meal, his physical strength came back to him. With a triumphant gait, he now began the walk toward the great bodhi tree. This tree was the king of trees and was found at a place characterized by sixteen unique features.

He walked with the gait of a great being. It was an undisturbed gait, a gait of the naga Indrayaṣṭi, a steadfast gait, a gait as stable as Mount Meru, the king of mountains.

He walked in a straight line without stumbling, not too fast and not too slow, without stomping heavily or dragging his feet. It was a graceful stride, a stainless stride, a beautiful stride, a stride free from anger, a stride free from delusion, and a stride free from attachment. It was the stride of a lion, the stride of the king of swans, the stride of the king of elephants, the stride of Narayana, a stride that floats above the surface, a stride that leaves an impression of a thousand-spoked wheel on the ground, the stride of he whose fingers are connected through a web and who has copper-coloured nails, the stride that makes the earth resound, and the stride that crushes the king of the mountains.

He walked with the stride of someone whose feet level off the terrain, be it sloping up or sloping down, the stride that leads sentient beings to happy rebirths through contact with the light rays that emerge from the web between his fingers, the stride that walks upon stainless lotuses, the stride that proceeds from previous wholesome actions, the stride of the previous buddha-lions, and the stride that proceeds from a stable and indestructible diamond-like intention. He had a stride that destroys all lower realms and all miserable existences, a stride that brings happiness to all beings, a stride that points out the path to liberation, a stride that renders powerless the strength of demons, a stride that suppresses evil opponents with their doctrines, a stride that removes the cataract of darkness and disturbing emotions, and a stride that undoes the workings of cyclic existence.

He walked with a gait that outshines Sakra, Brahma, Mahesvara, and the worldly protectors. His stride was that of the single lord of the great trichiliocosm, the spontaneous stride that cannot be overpowered, the stride that actualises the attainment of omniscient wisdom, the stride of mindfulness and insight, the stride that leads to a happy rebirth, the stride that pacifies old age and death, the stride of stainless peace, the stride that leads to the city of nirvana, which is auspicious, stainless, and free from fear. With such a stride the Bodhisattva set out for the seat of awakening.

Monks, on the stretch between the Nairañjana River and the seat of awakening, the gods of wind clouds swept the road for the Bodhisattva, while the gods of rain clouds sprinkled his path with scented water, and scattered flowers along the way. At that point all the trees in this world of the great trichiliocosm bent their crowns toward the seat of awakening. All the children who had been born on that very day now slept with their heads toward the seat of awakening. Likewise all the mountains that exist in this world of the great trichiliocosm, such as Mount Meru, bowed toward the seat of awakening.

All the way from the Nairañjana River to the seat of awakening, the road had been beautified for a stretch of several miles by the gods of the desire realm. At both sides of the road, they had magically erected a railing made from the seven types of precious stones. The road was shaded, at the height of seven palm trees, with a jeweled latticework and adorned with divine parasols, flags, and banners. At a distance of an arrow's flight, they had emanated a row of palm trees made of the seven types of precious stones and taller than the railing. Between all the palm trees, jewel garlands were strung. In between each pair of palm trees, a lotus pond was built, filled with scented water, lined with golden sand, and covered in blue, yellow, red, and white lotuses. Jewel ledges and lapis lazuli staircases surrounded the ponds.

The ponds resounded with the calls of ducks, storks, swans, geese, cranes, and peacocks.

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Eighty thousand divine maidens sprinkled the path with flowers of divine scent. In front of each of the palm trees was a jewel podium on which eighty thousand divine maidens stood, proffering containers with powders of sandal and aloe wood, and holding up lighted incense burners with sandalwood. On each of these jewel podiums were also five thousand divine maidens singing celestial songs.

Monks, in this way the Bodhisattva proceeded on his way, emitting trillions of light rays, while the realms shook, music played from millions of instruments, a great rain with an abundance of flowers fell, millions of silken banners fluttered in the wind, millions of drums resounded as they were beaten, and horses, elephants, and bulls circumambulated the Bodhisattva. Hundreds of thousands of parrots, mynas, cuckoos, partridge, swans, sandpipers, peacocks, and cakravaka birds were drawn into the Bodhisattva's presence. Adorned with hundreds of thousands of auspicious signs, such was the road on which the Bodhisattva traveled on his way to the seat of awakening.

On that night, the very night when the Bodhisattva set his aim on attaining full and complete awakening, the all-powerful Brahma, the ruler of the great trichiliocosm, called out to his large retinue in the Brahma realm:

"Friends," he said, "you should be aware of this. The Bodhisattva, the Great Being, has donned the great armour. Without forsaking his great vow, protected by his solid armour, he is undeterred and has perfected all the conducts of a bodhisattva. He has reached the further shore of all the perfections and become a master of all the grounds of a bodhisattva. He is perfectly pure in his aspirations of a bodhisattva and joins in the five spiritual faculties of all sentient beings. He has entered the secret locations of all the thus-gone ones and is beyond all paths of demonic activity.

He is not dependent on others regarding the basis for acquiring merit. He is blessed by all thus-gone ones. He demonstrates the path to complete freedom for all sentient beings. He is a great captain who conquers the circle of Mara's army. He is the single hero of the trichiliocosm.

"He has accomplished all the medicines of Dharma and is the great king of physicians, wearing a silken headband of salvation. He is the great Dharma king who shines the bright light of knowledge. He is a great meteor-like king who, like a magnificent lotus flower, is unstained by the eight worldly concerns. He never forgets the dharanis of any teaching. He is like a great ocean, free from attachment and aversion. He is immovable and unshakable like the great central mountain. He is utterly stainless, pure, and in possession of a very wholesome mind, and thus he is like a great jewel. He has become a master of all phenomena and is, in all his actions, beyond intentions.

"The Bodhisattva, who is like the great Brahma, proceeds to the seat of awakening with the desire to awaken to unexcelled, perfect and complete buddhahood in order to tame the armies of Mara. He proceeds in order to perfectly accomplish the ten powers, the fourfold fearlessness, and the eighteen unique qualities of a buddha.

His aim is to turn the great wheel of Dharma and utter the lion's great roar. With the gift of Dharma, he will satisfy all sentient beings. He will purify the eye of Dharma of all sentient beings and annihilate all his opponents together with their doctrines. He goes to the seat of awakening to demonstrate the fulfillment of his previous vows and to gain a ruler's complete mastery over all phenomena. Friends, for these reasons you should pay homage to the Bodhisattva and joyfully assist him in every way possible!"

Then at that point the all-powerful Brahma spoke these verses:

"He, by whose merits and glorious splendour the great path can be known—

Love, compassion, joy, and equanimity, as well as the absorptions and the types of higher knowledge—

Has practiced wholesome conduct for a thousand eons and now sets out for the Bodhi tree.

You should make offerings to that sage as he practices to fulfill his aspirations.

"Take refuge in him, and you will not meet or experience the fears of the lower realms or the lack of the freedoms;

Instead you will find the happiness of desire-realm gods in the vast abode of Brahma.

He went through hardship for six years, and now he departs for the Bodhi tree.

Well done! Let us all venerate this man with joy and devotion!

"He is king of the trichiliocosm, the best of masters, the royal master of Dharma;

In the cities of Indra, Brahma, the Sun, and the Moon, there is no equal to him.

When he was born, one trillion worlds quaked in six different ways;

Today he sets out for the supreme magnificent tree to conquer the armies of Mara.

"The crown of his head I cannot see, nor can the others here in the Brahma realm;

His body, bearing the best of the excellent marks, is adorned with the thirty-two.

His speech is beautiful, sweet, and pleasant to hear, a voice melodious like that of Brahma;

His mind is calm and free from anger. Come, let's pay him homage!

"Intelligent ones who aim to transcend the perpetual bliss in the realms of Indra and Brahma,

Or those who wish to cut the net of the fettering vines of disturbing emotions,

Or those wishing to attain immortality without hearing about it from others, which is an auspicious solitary awakening—

If anyone desires awakening, he should pay homage, in the three realms, to this guide.

"He has renounced the earth with its oceans, along with countless precious objects.

He has abandoned palaces with their oval windows and terraces, as well as conveyances,

The land adorned with exquisite flowers, with beautiful parks, springs, and ponds.

He gave up his limbs, his head, and his eyes, and now he walks to the seat of awakening!"

Monks, the great Brahma, who presides over the trichiliocosm, then made, in a single moment, all the worlds in the great trichiliocosm the same. The world had now become smooth, like the palm of a hand. There was no longer any gravel or rocks, and instead the world was filled with jewels, pearls, cat's-eye gems, conch shells, crystals, corals, gold, and silver. He covered this entire world of the great trichiliocosm in soft green grass, curled to the right in the pattern of a swastika, soft as the finest cloth, and pleasant to the touch.

At that moment all the great oceans had also become as peaceful as dry land, and all the beings who live in the waters had become free from any harm. When all the worldly guardians in the ten directions, such as Indra and Brahma, saw how beautiful the world had become, they decided to venerate the Bodhisattva by adorning a hundred thousand buddha realms in the same way.

All other bodhisattvas who are beyond the world of humans and gods also wished to venerate the Bodhisattva, and therefore they adorned the limitless buddha realms in the ten directions with an array of offerings. All these buddha realms, even though they were adorned in different ways, now appeared as one single buddha realm. All the space between the worlds had disappeared, as had the encircling black mountains and the smaller and greater perimeter walls. All these buddha realms could be seen permeated with the light streaming from the Bodhisattva.

At the seat of awakening, there were sixteen divine sons who guarded the place.

Their names were Utkhalin, Sutkhalin, Prajapati, Surabhala, Keyurabala, Supratiṣṭhita, Mahindhara, Avabhasakara, Vimala, Dharmesvara, Dharmaketu, Siddhapatra, Apratihatanetra, Mahavyuha, Silavisuddhanetra, and Padmaprabha. It was these sixteen divine sons, all of whom had attained irreversible patience, who guarded the seat of awakening.

As a way to venerate the Bodhisattva, they had adorned the seat of awakening. At a distance of eighty leagues, they had encircled the place with railings, built in seven rows. Palm trees were also placed in seven circles, and a sevenfold lattice with bells of precious stones enfolded it. All of this was surrounded with seven threads made of precious materials.

The seat of awakening was covered with cloth made of gold from the River Jambu, a cloth studded with seven precious gems and woven with a golden thread. It was bestrewn with lotuses of gold from the Jambu River, scented with aromatic essences, and covered by a jewel canopy. All the beautiful and excellent trees that grow and are venerated in all the different worlds in the ten directions, including the worlds of gods and humans, now manifested at the seat of awakening. Likewise all the different species of flowers that grow in water as well as on land manifested there at the seat of awakening. Moreover, the bodhisattvas in all the various worlds in the ten directions now became visible at the seat of awakening, adorning the place with their immeasurable accumulations of merit and wisdom.

In this way the divine sons who guarded the seat of awakening magically manifested such displays at that place. They were so magnificent that when the gods, nagas, yaksas, gandharvas, and demigods witnessed them, they began to conceive of their own abodes as nothing more than charnel grounds. As they saw the displays, they felt great respect and exclaimed with joy: "How great! What an inconceivable manifestation of meritorious ripening this is!"

At the Bodhi tree itself there were four deities: Venu, Valgu, Sumanas, and Ojopati.

These four deities of the Bodhi tree also wished to venerate the Bodhisattva, and therefore they modeled the Bodhi tree to give it a perfect root, trunk, branches, leaves, flowers, and fruits, as well as a perfect height and circumference. It was beautiful, nice to behold, wide, and, with its height of eighty palm trees and a corresponding circumference, very imposing. This was indeed a magnificent and beautiful tree.

It was encircled by jewel platforms that were built in seven rows. Jewel palm trees were also placed around it in seven circles, and a sevenfold lattice with bells of precious stones enfolded it. All of this was surrounded with seven threads made of precious materials that formed the outer ring.

Like the coral tree or the kovidara tree, this was a tree that one could never tire of beholding. This place, where the Bodhisattva was to take his seat with the intention of attaining full and complete awakening, had become the essence of indestructible diamond, harder than any diamond in the great trichiliocosm.

Monks, as the Bodhisattva was walking toward the seat of awakening, rays of light streamed forth from his body. The light pacified all the lower realms and caused all unfortunate states to cease. All the painful feelings of beings in the lower realms came to a halt. All beings with impaired faculties now recovered their senses. Anyone who suffered from disease was healed. Anyone feeling discomfort attained happiness. All who were struck with fear found release. Anyone living in bondage was freed from his or her ties. Anyone suffering from poverty discovered wealth. All the people tormented by disturbing emotions found release from their anguish.

Those who were starving had their stomachs filled. All the ones who were parched were relieved of their thirst. Pregnant women gave birth easily. Those who were old and weak gained perfect strength.

At that moment all sentient beings were relieved of the harms inflicted by attachment, anger, ignorance, wrath, greed, cruelty, ill will, envy, and jealousy. At that moment no one experienced dying, moving to the next life, and taking birth. At that moment everyone engendered love, altruism, and a feeling that all beings are each other's mothers and fathers.

This can also be expressed in verse:

All the way to the hell of Ultimate Torment,
The hell beings presented a horrible sight.
These beings had their suffering pacified
And experienced feelings of happiness.
The beings born as animals,
Which harm each other in countless ways,
Were touched by the light of the Lord,
And, for their good, gave rise to a loving mind.
Spirits, as many as there are in the world,
Pained by hunger and thirst,
Discovered food and drink
Through the power of the Bodhisattva.
All unfortunate states came to a halt,
And the lower realms dried out.
All beings gained happiness
And were fulfilled with divine pleasure.
Those without eyes and ears,
And all others with impaired faculties,
Regained their full senses
And obtained beautiful limbs.
Attachment and anger
And other disturbing emotions that harm beings—
In that moment all these disturbing emotions were pacified,
And beings were filled with happiness.
The ones who had lost their minds regained their composure;
Those living in poverty found wealth.
Those stricken with sickness were healed;
Those who were bound were freed.
There was no miserliness nor animosity,
No ill will or strife.
All beings interacted in harmony,
Their minds full of loving kindness.
Just as a father and mother
Cherish their only child,
At that moment all beings felt
Parental love for each other.
The web of the Bodhisattva's light rays
Streamed out all around in the ten directions
And illuminated an inconceivable number of realms,
As numerous as grains of sand in the Ganges.
The Black Mountains
And the surrounding perimeter walls disappeared.
All the vast worlds
Now appeared as one.
They could be seen as clearly as the palm of a hand,
Composed of all kinds of jewels.
In order to venerate the Bodhisattva,
All realms were well adorned.
The attendants at the seat of awakening
Were a group of sixteen gods.
Up to a distance of eighty leagues,
They adorned the seat of awakening.
All great displays
In all the limitless millions of realms
Now manifested at this place
By the power of the Bodhisattva.
The gods, nagas, yaksas,

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Kiṃnaras, and mahoragas
Now came to think of their celestial palaces
As nothing more than charnel grounds.
When gods and humans witnessed this display,
They were filled with amazement.
"How great is this manifestation of merit,
Which results in such an auspicious juncture!"
Without any effort,
Whether physical, verbal, or mental,
All the Bodhisattva's goals, wishes, and intentions
Were fully accomplished.
Even the wishes of others were fulfilled
Through his actions in the past.
The ripening of those actions
Now produced such perfect results.
The four deities at the seat of awakening
Adorned the seat of awakening
To make it even more supreme
Than the heavenly coral trees.
The displays at the seat of awakening
Were created by these four deities.
To describe their qualities in words
Would be utterly impossible. [F.139.a]

Monks, the light that streamed from the body of the Bodhisattva illuminated the abode of Kalika, the king of nagas. The light was pure and stainless and gave rise to joy as it satisfied the bodies and minds that it touched. It cleared away all disturbing emotions and brought joy, happiness, trust, and supreme enjoyment to all sentient beings. When Kalika, the king of the nagas, saw how the light illumined his own abode, he spoke these verses in front of his retinue:

"I see a light like that of Krakucchanda, or the brightness of Kanakamuni;
It is like seeing the stainless and faultless light of Kasyapa, the Dharma king.
Surely a being with supreme features, helpful activity, and wisdom light is here;
That is why this abode of mine is bright and adorned with this golden light.
"Up to now, our isolated home has been filled with darkness as a result of our previous negative actions;
Even the far-reaching rays of the sun and moon do not penetrate this place.
The pure light from fire, jewels, lightning, and the stars also do not penetrate this place;
Neither do the light rays of Indra, Brahma, or the demigods shine through.
"Yet today this house is bright with a beauty that resembles the sun;
Our minds are filled with joy, and our bodies feel at ease and soothed.
Even the rain of warm sand falling on my body feels cool.
It is clear that the One Who Practiced Good Conduct for Many Millions of Eons is
walking toward the Bodhi tree.
"Quick, go get beautiful naga flowers, fine and sweet-smelling cloths, pearl necklaces,
Ornaments and bracelets, powders, and our finest incense.
Offer him the melodious sounds of song and music, and beat the finest drums;
Go now! Make offerings to the benefactor who is worthy of everyone's respect."

Kalika then stood up and, with the naga daughters, looked in the four directions;

He saw the Bodhisattva, shining with splendour like the central mountain.

He was surrounded by millions of gods, demigods, Brahma, Indra, and the yaksas;

Joyfully they venerated him and showed him the way.

The king of the nagas became overjoyed and respectfully made offerings to the Supreme
One in the world;

With devotion he prostrated at the Sage's feet and stood in front of him.

The naga daughters also joyfully and respectfully venerated the Sage;

They scattered flowers, incense, and perfumes, and played music.

Overjoyed with the Lord's perfect qualities, the king of the nagas joined his palms.

"Guide! The best in the world! Wonderful to see your face, like the full moon!
As I saw the omens foretelling the previous sages, I see the very same signs in you.
Today you will conquer Mara's army and attain your desired state.
"This is why in the past you practiced discipline, generosity, and restraint, and gave up all possessions;
This is why you cultivated discipline, ethical conduct, love, compassion, and the power of forbearance.
This is why you were diligent, steadfast, delighting in concentration, and letting your insight blaze;
Today all your aspirations will be fulfilled and you shall become victorious.
"Since other trees with their leaves, flowers, and fruits bow to the Bodhi tree,
Since a thousand vases filled with water circumambulate you,
Since hosts of apsaras, overjoyed, make affectionate sounds,
Since flocks of swans and cranes playfully take to the sky
And joyfully circle clockwise above the Sage, today you will become a worthy one.
"Since hundreds of buddha realms are filled with beautiful golden light,
Since the lower realms in their entirety come to a halt and the suffering of beings ceases,
Since showers fall in the abodes of the sun and the moon, and a soft breeze blows,
Today you will become a leader who delivers beings from birth and old age in the three realms.
"Since the gods give up their delight in pleasure and come to venerate you,
Since Brahma and the gods of the Brahmapurohita class abandon the bliss of concentration,
And likewise all the others in the three realms arrive here,
Today you will become the king of physicians who delivers beings from birth and old age in the three realms.
"Since the path that you walk on today has been swept by the gods,
A path that the lords Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, and Kasyapa also traversed,
Since in your footsteps stainless and perfect lotuses spring forth, breaking out of the earth,
Onto which you tread with powerful steps, today you will become a worthy one.
"Trillions of demons, as many as there are grains of sand in the Ganges,
Are unable to move you from under the branches of the Bodhi tree, or to shake you.
You have made billions of offerings, as many as there are grains of sand in the River Ganges,
Always acting for the benefit of the world—this is why you shine here today.
"The planets, the moon, the stars, and the sun may fall from the sky to the ground,
The mightiest mountains may move from their places, and oceans may dry up,
Some learned person might magically display each of the four elements,
Yet it is impossible that you would go to the king of trees and rise before attaining awakening.
"Guide, in seeing you I have fortuitously obtained great prosperity;
I have made offerings to you, spoken of your qualities, and strived for awakening.
May I and all my naga wives and children become free from this existence.
Your gait is like the walk of an elephant in rut—may we walk like you!"

Monks, at this point Suvarnaprabhasa, the chief queen of Kalika the naga king, came to see the Bodhisattva. She was surrounded and escorted by many naga girls, who were holding various types of cloth, parasols made of assorted jewels, different pearl necklaces, a variety of precious jewels, an array of garlands, a myriad of unguents and powders made by gods and humans, and containers with diverse perfumes. The naga girls attended to the Bodhisattva while they sang melodious songs accompanied by music. In this way, as the Bodhisattva proceeded on his way, they besprinkled him with showers of flowers made of various jewels and praised him with these
verses:

"You are unerring, fearless, confident, and brave;
You are not depressed, but intrepid, joyous, and hard to dominate.
You are not attached, not angry, not deluded, and without desire;
You are dispassionate and liberated. Homage to you, O Great Sage!
"You are a physician who removes pain, and a guide for those who need guidance;
You are the supreme physician who liberates beings from suffering.
Considering those without refuge or protection,
You have manifested as a home and a refuge in this threefold world.
"Since the congregation of gods is pleased and joyful,
They cause a great rain of flowers to fall from the sky.
Since they toss down plenty of the finest cloth,
You will become victorious today. So be joyful!
"Approach the lord of trees and sit there without fear!
Conquer Mara's army and become free from the web of disturbing emotions!
Just as the victorious lords of the past attained awakening,
So you will also attain supreme, sacred, and peaceful awakening!
"For many millions of eons you have aimed for this;
For the sake of liberating beings you have gone through hardship.
Now the time has come for your wishes to be fulfilled;
So go to the lord of trees and connect with supreme awakening."

Monks, the Bodhisattva then thought to himself: "Where did the previous thus-gone ones sit when they attained unsurpassed, genuine and perfect awakening? They sat on a bed of grass!"

At that point hundreds of thousands of gods from the pure abodes descended into the atmosphere. They knew the Bodhisattva's thoughts and said: "Yes, that is how it is. Holy Man, that is correct. The previous thus-gone ones used a seat of grass as they attained unsurpassed, genuine and perfect awakening."

Monks, at the right side of the road the Bodhisattva now noticed a grass seller, whose name was Svastika, who was busy cutting grass. The grass was green, soft, fresh, and beautiful. It coiled to the right and resembled the neck of a peacock. It was as soft to the touch as divine cloth, with the sweetest scent and the most beautiful colour.

At this sight the Bodhisattva left the road, and he went to the grass seller Svastika and spoke to him with sweet words. His words were authoritative, informative, and clear. His speech was uninterrupted, captivating, and pleasant to hear. It was affectionate, worthy to be remembered, encouraging, satisfying, and delightful.

His words were not harsh. They were free from stammering, and they had no animosity.

They were not erratic but smooth, gentle, sweet, and pleasant to the ear. It was a speech that delighted both the body and the mind and cleared away all attachment, anger, delusion, strife, and quarrels. His voice was like the call of the cuckoo bird, the kunala bird, and the partridge. It sounded like a drum or a melodious chant.

It caused no harm but was true, clear, and genuine. His voice had a resonance like the voice of Brahma, or the gushing of waves on the ocean, or the sound of rocks hitting against each other. It was a voice praised by the lord of the gods and the lord of the demigods. It was hard to measure its profundity and depth. It rendered powerful demons powerless and eliminated opposing doctrines.

He spoke with the strength of the lion's roar, the neighing of a horse, the trumpeting of an elephant, and with a voice resounding like that of a naga. His voice was like the clapping of a thundercloud, pervading all buddha realms in the ten directions. It roused all sentient beings in need of guidance. It was unconfused, harmless, and without hesitation. It was appropriate, logical, spoken at the right time, in a timely manner, and contained hundreds of thousands of teachings. It was smooth, unimpeded, and with uninterrupted eloquence. He spoke with a single voice, yet was heard in all languages. His voice caused all meanings to be known, produced all types of happiness, demonstrated the path to liberation, proclaimed the accumulations necessary for the path, did not ignore his audience, pleased all retinues, and conformed with the teachings of all buddhas.

It was with such words, spoken in verse, that the Bodhisattva addressed the grass seller Svastika:

"Svastika, quick, hand me the grass!
Today this grass will be very meaningful to me.
Once I have conquered Mara and his armies,
I will experience the peace of unexcelled awakening.
"That peace, for the sake of which, for many thousands of eons,
I have practiced generosity, constraint, renunciation,
And ethical and disciplined conduct, as well as austerities—
That peace will come to fruition today.
"The power of forbearance and the power of diligence,
The power of concentration and the power of insight,
The power of merit, the power of realisation, and the power of liberation—
Today I will accomplish those.
"The power of insight and the power of means,
The power of miracles and unattached love,
The power of correct discernment and complete truth—
Today I will accomplish those.
"If today you grant me this grass,
You shall reap the power of limitless merit.
For you this is none other than a sign heralding
That you will become an unsurpassed teacher!"

Svastika, hearing these beautiful and sweet words spoken by the Guide,
Became joyful, elated, and thrilled with delight.
Taking a sheaf of soft, fresh, and tender grass,
He stood before the Bodhisattva and spoke these words, his heart overflowing with joy:

"If this grass can help you attain the supreme state of immortality—
The awakening, supremely peaceful, so hard to find, the path that previous buddhas traversed—
Then please wait a moment, O Great Ocean of Qualities of Immeasurable Glory.

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I myself shall awaken first to the supreme state of immortality."

The Bodhisattva replied:

"Svastika, without practicing disciplined conduct and austerities for many eons,

You will not attain awakening by sitting on a seat of fine grass.

Yet when an intelligent person is elevated through the tools of insight and merit,

Then the sages make a prediction and say: 'You will later become a stainless victorious one.'

"Svastika, if it were possible to hand awakening to another being

By making awakening into a lump of alms food, I would surely grant this to everyone!

When I attain awakening, you should know that I will distribute immortality.

You must come, listen, and apply yourself to the teaching, and then you will become stainless."

The Guide took a bundle of soft and perfect grass;

As he departed with the stride of a lion and a swan, the earth shook.

The multitudes of gods and nagas joined their palms, rejoiced, and thought:

"Today he will conquer the hordes of demons and gain immortality!"

Monks, as the Bodhisattva was walking toward the Bodhi tree, the divine sons and bodhisattvas realised that this was the moment when the Bodhisattva, having sat there, would attain awakening and become a truly perfect awakened one. Accordingly they decided to decorate another eighty thousand bodhi trees.

Some of the Bodhi trees were made of flowers and were one hundred thousand leagues high. Other bodhi trees were made of odoriferous substances and were two hundred thousand leagues high. Some bodhi trees were made of sandalwood and were three hundred thousand leagues high. Still other bodhi trees were made of cloth and were five hundred thousand leagues high. Some bodhi trees were made of jewels and were one million leagues high. Other bodhi trees were made of all sorts of jewels and were one trillion leagues high.

At the root of each of these bodhi trees, they erected a suitable lion throne draped in various kinds of divine cloth. By some of the Bodhi trees they also prepared a lotus throne, or a throne made of fragrant substances, or a throne made of various precious materials.

The Bodhisattva now rested evenly in the absorption known as playful array. As soon as the Bodhisattva began to rest in this absorption of playful array, immediately an identical bodhisattva appeared, with his body beautifully adorned with all the excellent marks and representations, sitting upon each of the lion thrones at the root of each of the Bodhi trees.

At that point the bodhisattvas and the divine sons each perceived that the Bodhisattva was resting in equilibrium upon their particular lion throne and not on those set forth by the others. The power of the Bodhisattva's absorption of playful array produced similar perceptions in the beings in hell, those born as animals, those living in the realm of the lord of death, all gods and humans, and all other beings, regardless of their form of existence. All beings now witnessed the Bodhisattva sitting on the lion throne at the root of the Bodhi tree.

Nevertheless, in order to also satisfy the intellect of those who lacked dedication, the Bodhisattva picked up the bundle of grass, went to the Bodhi tree, and circumambulated [went round] it seven times. The Lord then arranged the grass so that the ends of the grass pointed inward and the roots pointed outward. In this way he arranged for himself a very fine seat of grass.

He then sat down like a lion, like a hero, in a powerful way, in a steady way, in a diligent way, in a forceful way, like an elephant, like a lord, in a natural manner, like a wise person, like an unsurpassed person, like a special one, like an exalted one, like a famous one, like one full of praise, like a generous person, like a disciplined person, like a forbearing person, like a diligent person, like a concentrated person, like an insightful being, in a wise manner, in a meritorious manner, like someone who has conquered the attacks of demons, and like someone who has perfected the accumulations. In this way he sat down on the grass seat and crossed his legs facing toward the east. He then straightened his back, collected himself one-pointedly, and formed this firm resolve:

"On this seat my body may wither and rot,

And my skin, my bones, and my flesh may dissolve.

Yet until I attain awakening, so hard to find even through many eons,

I will not move my body from this seat."

This concludes the nineteenth chapter on approaching the seat of awakening.

LALITA-VISTARA CHAPTER 20 — The Displays at the Seat of Awakening

[He arrives at the seat of awakening, and the gods perform a variety of miraculous displays, transforming the area so that it resembles a divine realm, fit for the epic achievement that awaits the Bodhisattva.]

Monks, as the Bodhisattva sat down at the seat of awakening, the gods of the six classes within the desire realm decided to protect the Bodhisattva from obstacles.

These gods therefore took position in the eastern direction. Likewise the southern, western, and northern directions were taken over by other classes of gods.

Monks, when the Bodhisattva sat down at the seat of awakening, he began to emit a light known as inspiring the bodhisattvas. The light shone in all the ten directions, illuminating all the boundless and immeasurable buddha realms—the realms that filled the entire field of phenomena.

In the eastern direction this light encouraged the bodhisattva, the great being, Lalitavyuha, who resided in the Vimala world in the thus-gone one Vimalaprabhasa's buddha realm. Surrounded and escorted by an infinite number of bodhisattvas, he proceeded to the seat of awakening where the Bodhisattva was sitting. As a way to venerate the Bodhisattva, he produced a miraculous manifestation whereby he was able to display all the buddha realms, in all directions to the end of space, as a single mandala made of blue lapis lazuli.

At the same time Lalitavyuha made it so that the Bodhisattva, who was sitting at the seat of awakening, became visible to all sentient beings living in the five types of existences. These sentient beings pointed their fingers at the Bodhisattva and asked each other: "Who is this charming being? Who is that beautiful person?"

Then the Bodhisattva emanated other bodhisattvas in front of everyone. The forms of these bodhisattvas then sang this verse:

"He is someone free from attachment, anger, stains and their habitual tendencies;

Light shines from his body in the ten directions, outshining all other lights.

For many eons he increased the accumulations of merit, absorption, and wisdom;

Sakyamuni, the most illustrious of great sages, now beautifies all places."

In the southern direction the light encouraged the bodhisattva, the great being,

Ratnacchattrakuṭasaṃdarsana, who resided in the world Ratnavyuha of the thus-gone one Ratnarcis' buddha realm. Surrounded and escorted by an infinite number of bodhisattvas, he proceeded to the seat of awakening where the Bodhisattva was sitting.

As a way to venerate the Bodhisattva, he sheltered the entire area with a single jewel parasol.

Indra, Brahma, and the worldly protectors now said to each other: "How come this jewel parasol appeared? Whose karmic result is this?" At that point this verse was heard from the jewel parasol:

"He who donated trillions of jewels, fragrant substances, and parasols

To those without an equal who abide, their minds full of loving kindness, in the state of passing beyond suffering,

Is the benefactor endowed with the best marks with strength like Narayana.

This offering is for him, the master of good qualities, who has gone to the Bodhi tree!"

In the western direction the light encouraged the bodhisattva, the great being, Indrajalin, who resided in the Campakavarna world of the thus-gone one Puspavali Vanaraji Kusumitabhijña's buddha realm. Surrounded and escorted by an infinite number of bodhisattvas, he proceeded to the seat of awakening where the Bodhisattva was sitting. As a way to venerate the Bodhisattva, he sheltered the entire area with a single jewel canopy.

The gods in all directions, together with the nagas, yaksas, and gandharvas, said to each other: "Who created this display of light?" At that point this verse was heard from the jewel canopy:

"He is a jewel mine, a jewel banner, and a delight to the three worlds;

He is the best of gems, renowned as a jewel, who delights in the true Dharma.

He has the diligence by which he will never be cut off from the Three Jewels;

This is to venerate the One Who Is About to Attain Supreme Awakening."

In the northern direction the light encouraged the bodhisattva, the great being,

Vyuharaja, who resided in the Suryavarta world of the thus-gone one Candra surya jihmi kara prabha's buddha realm. Surrounded and escorted by an infinite number of bodhisattvas, he proceeded to the seat of awakening where the Bodhisattva was sitting.

As a way to venerate the Bodhisattva, he revealed within the courtyard the complete displays of qualities of all buddha realms contained in all the worlds in the ten directions.

Seeing this, some bodhisattvas asked each other: "Who created such displays?" At that point this verse was heard from each of the displays:

"The enormity of his merit and wisdom has purified his body;

His disciplined action, austerities, and truthful Dharma have purified his speech.

His conscientiousness, devotion, love, and compassion have purified his mind;

This is to venerate him, the Leader of the Sakyas, who has gone to the king of trees."

In the southeastern direction the light encouraged the bodhisattva, the great being,

Gunamati, who resided in the Gunakara world of the thus-gone one Gunarajaprabhasa's

buddha realm. Surrounded and escorted by an infinite number of bodhisattvas, he proceeded to the seat of awakening where the Bodhisattva was sitting. As a way to venerate the Bodhisattva, he miraculously emanated within the sacred area a multistoried palace endowed with all perfect qualities.

The members of Gunamati's retinue asked: "Who has created such a display?" The multistoried palace then resounded with this verse:

"It is merely a trace of his qualities

That the gods, demigods, yaksas, and mahoragas will ever possess.

With such traits he was born into a royal family of many qualities.

Now this Ocean of Qualities sits under the branches of the Bodhi tree."

Then, in the southwestern direction, the light encouraged the bodhisattva, the great being Ratnasambhava, who resided in the Ratnasambhava world of the thus-gone one Ratnayasti's buddha realm. Surrounded and escorted by an infinite number of bodhisattvas, he proceeded to the seat of awakening where the Bodhisattva was sitting.

As a way to venerate the Bodhisattva, he emanated within the sacred area a limitless and boundless number of pavilions made of precious stones. Then from these celestial pavilions, this verse was heard:

"He who has renounced the ocean and the land along with all precious objects,

Who abandoned his palace with its fine oval windows and terraces, and also his harnessed carriages,

Ornate pavilions, exquisite flowers and garlands, parks, wellsprings, and assembly halls,

Giving up his feet, hands, head, and eyes—he now sits at the seat of awakening."

Then, in the northwestern direction, the light encouraged the bodhisattva, the great being, Meghakuṭabhigarjitasvara, who resided in the Meghavati world of the thus-gone one Megharaja's buddha realm. Surrounded and escorted by an infinite number of bodhisattvas, he proceeded to the seat of awakening where the Bodhisattva was sitting. As a way to venerate the Bodhisattva, he manifested a cloud of gum benjamin and aloe wood above the sacred area and caused a rain of sandalwood dust to fall. The cloud then resounded with this verse:

"He, shining with the light of confidence in knowledge, spreads the cloud of Dharma all throughout the three realms;

He, free from attachment, makes the sacred Dharma—the nectar that takes beings beyond suffering—fall like rain.

He will cut the fettering vines of attachment and negative emotions, along with their habitual tendencies,

And blossoming forth with concentration, miracles, powers, and strengths, he will grant to beings a fount of faith."

Then, in the northeastern direction, the light encouraged the bodhisattva, the great being, Hemajalalaṃkṛta, who resided in the Hemajalapratichanna world of the thus-gone one Ratnacchatrabhyudgatavabhasa's buddha realm. Surrounded and escorted by an infinite number of bodhisattvas, he proceeded to the seat of awakening where the Bodhisattva was sitting. As a way to venerate the Bodhisattva, he emanated appearances of bodhisattvas, each adorned with the thirty-two marks, on each of the palaces and pavilions. Each of these manifestations of bodhisattvas held up flower garlands from both the human and divine realms. They all bowed to the Bodhisattva and, as they offered the flower garlands, they sang this verse:

"Who praised a million buddhas

And respectfully developed great faith?

Who speaks with a beautiful voice, like the melody of Brahma?

To him, who now has arrived at the seat of awakening, I bow."

In the quarter down below, the light encouraged the bodhisattva, the great being, Ratnagarbha, who resided in the Samantavilokita world of the thus-gone one Samantadarsin's buddha realm. Surrounded and escorted by

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an infinite number of bodhisattvas, he proceeded to the seat of awakening where the Bodhisattva was sitting.

As a way to venerate the Bodhisattva, he displayed lotuses made of gold from the Jambu River within the lapis lazuli mandala. At the centre of the lotuses, one could see the upper body of many women, in perfect shape and appearance and adorned with various jewellery. In their hands they proffered many types of jewellery, such as necklaces, bracelets, armbands, gold threads, and pearl necklaces. As they offered these along with flower garlands and silken tassels, they bowed in the direction of the seat of awakening and the Bodhisattva, and sang this verse:

"He always bowed to the buddhas, the hearers,
The solitary buddhas, and his masters.
Disciplined, mindful, joyful, and without pride,
To him, who is full of qualities, you should bow down!"

In the quarter above, the light encouraged the bodhisattva, the great being, Gaganagañja, who resided in the Varagana world of the thus-gone one Ganendra's buddha realm. Surrounded and escorted by an infinite number of bodhisattvas, he proceeded to the seat of awakening where the Bodhisattva was sitting. As a way to venerate the Bodhisattva, he stood in the middle of the sky and brought down a rain of objects never before seen or heard of in any of the buddha realms in the ten directions.

It rained down many types of flowers, incense, perfumes, flower garlands, ointments, powders, cloths, ornaments, parasols, banners, streamers, banners of victory, jewels, precious stones, gold, silver, pearls, horses, elephants, chariots, infantrymen, carriages, flowering trees, leaves, fruits, boys, girls, gods, nagas, yaksas, gandharvas, demigods, garudas, kiṃnaras, mahoragas, Indra, Brahma, worldly protectors, humans, and nonhumans. Everyone felt full of joy and happiness, and no one made anyone afraid or caused anyone harm.

This can also be expressed in verse:

In brief, the offspring of the victorious ones from the ten directions
Arrive to pay homage to the benefactor who has attained awakening.
You will hear only an approximate account of the displays of these bodhisattvas,
The bodhisattvas possessed of strength and beauty.
Some offer a million necklaces;
They arrive in the sky, loud like thunder.
Some display flowers and palaces in the expanse of space;
They arrive with jewel diadems adorning their hair.
Some proclaim emptiness, signlessness, and wishlessness;
As they arrive on the ground, they roar like lions.
Some scatter beautiful flowers never seen before;
As they arrive, they roar like bulls.
Some reveal their bodies in a thousand colours;
As they arrive in space, they cry like peacocks.
Some proclaim the garlands of qualities of the son of the Bliss-Gone Ones;
As they arrive in space, they are like the full moon.
Some, like the sun, send forth rays of light;
As they arrive, they make all the abodes of Mara appear dark.
Some who have gathered the accumulation of merit
Arrive at the seat of awakening, bright as rainbows.
Some scatter a lattice of precious stones from the sky,
Shining like the beautiful new moon.
They throw mandarava flowers and garlands of campaka flowers
Toward the Bodhisattva as he sits at the foot of the king of trees.
Some arrive, making the earth shake with their two feet;
The shaking ground amuses the people.
Some proffer the central mountain on the palms of their hands
As they remain in midair, scattering flowers from baskets.
Some bring the four oceans on top of their heads;
As they arrive, they scatter and sprinkle perfume on the ground.
Some hold up various jewel staffs;
As they arrive, they point out the Bodhisattva from afar.
Some, like Brahma, have peaceful forms;
Their peaceful minds rest calmly and their concentration is firm.
As they arrive, the pores of their bodies resonate with the beautiful sounds
Of limitless love, compassion, joy, and equanimity.
Some arrive like the god Indra;
They come surrounded by millions of gods.
At the Bodhi tree they join their palms
And scatter jewels like the ones possessed by Indra.
Some arrive like the protectors of the four directions,
Surrounded by gandharvas, raksasas, and kiṃnaras.
Like lightning, they bring down a rain of luminous flowers,
And praise the heroic one with the voice of gandharvas and kiṃnaras.
Some arrive with heavenly trees in bloom,
With fruits, flowers, and perfect scents.
Among the leaves, the upper bodies of the buddhas' offspring are visible;
They bow to the centre of the world and scatter flowers.
Some arrive proffering ponds with blooming lotuses;
They bring blue and white lotuses that have opened.
At the centre of each of the flowers, there are beings endowed with the thirty-two
marks,
Who praise the learned Bodhisattva and his undefiled mind.
Some arrive in bodies as big as the central mountain.
Standing in midair, they cast off their bodies;
Immediately they transform into fresh flower garlands,
And cover the realms of the victorious ones in all the trichiliocosm.
Some arrive with eyes blazing like the fire at the end of an eon,
Showing the dissolution and the creation.
From their bodies many Dharma gates are heard,
Causing millions of beings to abandon craving.
Some arrive with lips as beautiful as the bimba fruit;
Their perfect mouths speak with voices like the kiṃnaras.
They appear like maidens, well adorned with necklaces;
The gods who view them cannot get enough.
Some arrive with indestructible, vajra-like bodies;
They wade through the waters below.
Some arrive with their faces like the sun or the full moon;
Their rays of light and luster conquer the faults of disturbing emotions.
Some arrive adorned with precious stones, holding jewels in their hands;
With these gems they cover billions of realms.
In order to benefit, delight, and satisfy many sentient beings,
They bring down a rain of scented and perfect jewel flowers.
Some arrive with the treasury of the precious great dharanis;
From the pores in their skin, hundreds of thousands of sutras are heard.
With their confidence, intelligence, and exalted minds,

They cause realisation in all proud and haughty beings.
Some arrive holding the central mountain like a drum;
Beating it, they fill the sky with sweet voices.
Their sound goes out to millions of realms everywhere:
"The Teacher is poised to awaken today, and subsequently to attain immortality!"

This concludes the twentieth chapter on the displays at the seat of awakening.

LALITA-VISTARA CHAPTER 21 — Conquering Mara

[Māra, the most powerful demon in the desire realm, arrives with the aim of preventing the Bodhisattva from attaining his goal. Māra attempts to terrify the Bodhisattva with his powerful army, and to seduce him with his seductive daughters, but he is unable to divert the Bodhisattva from his goal. Māra gives up, defeated.]

Monks, in order to venerate the Bodhisattva, the other bodhisattvas manifested many such displays at the seat of awakening. The Bodhisattva himself, however, caused all the displays that ornamented all the seats of awakening of the past, present, and future buddhas in all the buddha realms in the ten directions to become visible right there at the seat of awakening. Monks, as the Bodhisattva now sat at the seat of awakening, he thought to himself:

"Mara is the supreme lord who holds sway over the desire realm, the most powerful and evil demon. There is no way that I could attain unsurpassed and complete awakening without his knowledge. So I will now arouse that evil Mara. Once I have conquered him, all the gods in the desire realm will also be restrained. Moreover, there are some divine sons in Mara's retinue who have previously created some basic goodness. When they witness my lion-like display, they will direct their minds toward unsurpassed and complete awakening."

Monks, as soon as the Bodhisattva had this thought, a light known as the light which conquers all demonic congregations was emitted from the hair between his eyebrows. The light illuminated all demonic abodes in the entire great trichiliocosm, making them dark by comparison and causing them to shake. In fact the entire great trichiliocosm was bathed in an immense light.

From this light a voice called out to Mara, the evil one:

"Here is a pure being who has acted well for many eons.
As Suddhodana's son he abandoned his kingdom;
He appeared as a benefactor seeking immortality.
He has arrived at the Bodhi tree, so you should now make an effort!
"Himself having crossed, he causes others to cross;
Himself liberated, he also liberates others.
Having found relief, he gives relief to others;
Having passed beyond suffering, he will cause others to transcend suffering.
"He will empty the three lower realms totally,
And fill the city of gods and humans.
He, the Benefactor, will attain immortality,
And bestow absorptions, higher knowledge, immortality, and happiness.
"He will empty your city, O evil kinsman;
With your army powerless, you will be without an army and without allies.
When the Self-Arisen One, by his nature, pours down the rain of Dharma,
You will not know what to do or where to go."

Monks, Mara, the evil one, was aroused by these verses and had a dream with thirty-two
omens. What are these thirty-two? They are as follows:

1. He saw his abode being filled with darkness.
2. The abode was filled with dust, and rough with scattered pebbles.
3. Startled with fear and terror, he fled in the ten directions.
4. He lost his diadem and his earrings fell off.
5. His lips, throat, and mouth dried out.
6. His heart was beating fast.
7. The leaves, flowers, and fruits in his parks withered.
8. His lotus ponds were emptied of water and dried out.
9. All birds, such as swans, cranes, peacocks, cuckoos, kunalas, the two-headed pheasants, and so forth, had broken wings.
10. All his musical instruments—such as his drum, conch, clay drum, hand drum, tambour, lute, harp, cymbals, and tambourines—broke, fell into pieces, then into shreds, and fell on the ground.
11. His beloved kinfolk and retinue abandoned him, their faces cast down, while he stood aside and brooded.
12. His chief queen, Marini, fell from her bed onto the ground and started beating
her head with her fists.
13. Those among his sons who were the most diligent, powerful, glorious, and intelligent prostrated to the Bodhisattva, who was sitting at the supremely sacred seat of awakening.
14. His daughters wailed and cried out, "Oh no, father, oh no, father!"
15. He was dressed in stained clothes.
16. With his head covered in dust and his face colourless and pale, he beheld himself
as devoid of any vital force.
17. His palace with its corridors, skylights, and porticoes became covered in dust and crumbled down.
18. All his generals from the realms of the yaksas, raksasas, kumbhandas, and gandharvas placed their hands on their heads and fled while crying and wailing.
19. Whatever divine regents there are among the gods in the desire realm—Dhrtarastra, Virudhaka, Virupaksa, Vaisravana, Sakra, Suyama, Santusita, Sunirmanarati, Vasavartin, and so forth—Mara, the evil one, saw all of them eagerly listening to the Bodhisattva with their faces turned toward him.
20. In the midst of battle, his sword could not be pulled from its sheath, and he himself was unwell and wailing.
21. His retinue abandoned him.
22. His vases full of auspicious items fell into a hole.
23. The priest Narada pronounced a curse.
24. The gatekeeper Anandita cried out in distress.
25. The canopy of the sky became covered in darkness.
26. The goddess Sri, who lives in the desire realm, began to weep.
27. His faculties became ineffectual.
28. He lost his allies.
29. His lattices of jewels and pearls became silent, fell apart, tore, and fell down.
30. His whole dwelling swayed.
31. The trees and the turrets of his buildings tore and fell over.
32. The entire army of Mara was felled in a confrontation.

Monks, such were the thirty-two omens in the dream of Mara, the evil one.

When Mara awoke from this dream, he was so terrified that he gathered all his
family members. When he saw that they had gathered along with his armies, his retinue,
his generals, and his gatekeepers, he addressed them with these verses:

When Mara saw these omens, he became worried.
He summoned the demon captain Simhahanu
And his sons and his retinue.
The evil kinsman then conferred with all of them:
"Today I heard these verses sung from the sky:
'A being was born among the Sakyas adorned with perfect marks.
He practiced severe austerities for six years, and now has arrived at the Bodhi tree.'
You must make great effort!
"If the Bodhisattva becomes awakened, all by himself
He will awaken billions of beings.
When he attains immortality and reaches the cool state,
He will empty all our abodes.
"Come on! Let us advance with a great army!

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We shall destroy that monk, alone at the king of trees.
Quick, mobilise the four army divisions!
If you wish to please me, do not delay this.
"Although the world may be full of worthy ones and solitary buddhas,
My force will remain unharmed when they pass beyond suffering.
Yet if he alone becomes a victorious one and a Dharma king,
He would never allow the line of uncountable victorious ones to be broken."
Monks, at that point the son of Mara, the evil one, who was named Sarthavaha, addressed
his father in these verses:
"Father, why is your face so sad and pale?
Your heart is thumping and your every limb is shaking.
Come now, tell me quick, what did you hear or witness?
Let us discover the truth and devise a plan."
With his pride vanished, Mara said:
"Son, listen to me. I had a bad dream, extremely terrifying.
If I were to tell everything now to the audience here,
You would faint and fall to the ground."
Sarthavaha said:
"When the time for battle has arrived, victory is of no bad consequence;
However, for the one who is killed, there is detriment.
If your dream conveys an omen of this kind,
It may be best to give up and not go to war, which would bring humiliation."
Mara replied:
"One with a determined mind will win in battle;
If we rely on firmness and correct action, victory will be ours.
When he sees me and my retinue,
He will be powerless but to rise and bow to my feet."
Sarthavaha said:
"An army may be vast, but if it is weak,
A single powerful hero may win the battle.
Even if the universe were filled with fireflies,
They could be destroyed and eclipsed by a single sun."
Moreover:
"He who is proud and ignorant does not have much acumen;
If he is opposed to a shrewd person, he will not be able to think effectively."
Monks, Mara, the evil one, did not pay heed to Sarthavaha's warning. Instead he gathered all four divisions of his great and powerful army. It was a terrifying army, so brave in battle that it would make anyone's hair stand on end. Such an army had never been seen before, or even heard of, in the realms of gods and humans. The soldiers were able to transform their faces in a trillion ways. On their arms and legs slithered hundreds of thousands of snakes, and in their hands they brandished swords, bows, arrows, darts, lances, axes, tridents, clubs, staffs, bludgeons, lassos, cudgels, discuses, vajras, and spears. Their bodies were covered in finest cuirasses and armour.

Some had their heads, hands, or feet turned backward, or their eyes facing backward.

Their heads, eyes, and faces were ablaze. Their bellies, hands, and feet were deformed, and their faces brimmed with vehement ardor. Their mouths, with protruding ugly fangs, appeared contorted in the extreme, and their thick and broad tongues, rough like a turtle's neck or a straw mat, dangled from their mouths.

Like the eyes of a black snake, which are flush with poison, their eyes were blazing red, as if on fire. Some of them were vomiting poisonous snakes, while others, like garudas emerging from the ocean, grasped these poisonous snakes in their hands and ate them. Some ate human flesh and drank blood, chewing on human arms, legs, heads, and livers, and slurping entrails, feces, and vomit. Their terrifying bodies had many colours, such as brown, blue, red, black, and blazing yellow.

Some had ugly hollow eyes, like wells. Others had eyes that were gouged out, eyes that were ablaze, or disfigured eye sockets. Some had ugly eyes, rolling and blazing. Some carried flaming mountains in their hands while playfully riding on other mountains as their mount. Others ran toward the Bodhisattva, carrying trees that had been uprooted.

Some had ears like goats, demons, elephants, or pigs, or hanging ears. Others had no ears at all. Some had swollen bellies and weak bodies, with their bones sticking out. They had broken noses, bellies like barrels, and feet round as balls. Their skin, flesh, and blood had dried out, and their ears, noses, hands, feet, eyes, or heads were cut.

Some were so thirsty for blood that they would cut each other's heads off. They would make snappy, ugly, terrifying, and rough sounds of "Phut phut, picut, phulu phulu!" Others would call, "Let's get rid of him! Grab that mendicant Gautama along with his tree! Let's make sure that he is caught, cut, slashed, tied, held, harassed, cut in pieces, gotten rid of, and destroyed!"

They were disfigured and caused terror with their awful faces of foxes, jackals, pigs, donkeys, oxen, elephants, horses, camels, wild asses, buffaloes, rabbits, yaks, rhinos, and the eight-legged lion beast. Some had animal bodies like lions, tigers, wild boars, bears, monkeys, elephants, cats, goats, sheep, snakes, mongooses, fish, crocodiles, alligators, tortoises, ravens, vultures, owls, and garudas.

Some had misshapen forms. Some had just one head, but others had two or more, some even up to one hundred thousand. Some had no head at all. Some had just one arm while others had up to one hundred thousand. Others had no arms. Some had just one leg while others had up to one hundred thousand. Others had no legs at all. Some had poisonous snakes emerging from their bodily apertures—ears, mouths, noses, eyes, and belly buttons. They threatened the Bodhisattva as they danced around and brandished their many weapons, such as swords, bows, arrows, darts, tridents, axes, discuses, spears, lances, vajras, javelins, and other sharp weapons.

Some of them wore garlands of human fingers that they had cut off and strung together.

Others wore on their heads bones, hands, and skulls, which they had strung into garlands, and some had their bodies covered in poisonous snakes. Some were holding skulls and rode on elephants, horses, camels, donkeys, and buffaloes. Some had their heads pointing down and feet up. Some had needle-like hair on their heads.

Others had hair like oxen, donkeys, boars, mongooses, goats, sheep, cats, monkeys, wolves, or jackals.

They were vomiting poisonous snakes, spitting out lumps of iron, spewing fire, and producing a rain of flaming iron and copper. They sent rains with thunder, released bolts of lightning, caused a rain of hot iron sands, gathered black clouds, and made storms arise. They sent rains consisting of masses of arrows, bringing darkness and causing swishing sounds as they ran toward the Bodhisattva.

Some of the soldiers swung their lassos, destroyed great mountains, stirred the vast oceans, jumped over tall mountains, and shook Meru, the king of mountains. In this way they came running, throwing their limbs in the air and rocking their bodies.

They cried out loudly in laughter, slapped and beat their chests, and disheveled their hair. Their faces were yellow, their bodies blue, their heads flaming with the hair streaming upward. Running around impetuously, darting here and there with eyes like a fox, they tried to frighten the Bodhisattva.

Old women approached the Bodhisattva and called out to him: "Oh no, son! Oh no, my son! Get up! Quick, get up and flee!" Awful forms of demonesses, flesh eaters, and hungry spirits—one-eyed, limping, and with hunger in their eyes—ran toward the Bodhisattva with outstretched hands, distorted faces, and terrifying cries.

They were fearful and horrifying.

Such an army of demons formed a big gathering, stretching eighty leagues on every side. Just like this single army, so too the armies of hundreds of zillions of evil demons, residing in the great trichiliocosm, spread themselves around the Bodhisattva in horizontal and upward directions.

On this topic, it is said:
Forms of yaksas, kumbhandas, and mahoragas,
As well as raksasas, hungry spirits, and flesh eaters,
In any form that the world finds ugly and fierce,
All have been magically manifested there by these rogues.
They have one, two, three heads,
Up to a thousand faces.
One, two, three arms,
Up to a thousand arms.
There are also many with one, two, three legs,
Even some with a thousand legs.
Some have a blue face and a yellow body;
Others have a yellow face and a blue body.
Their heads and bodies do not match;
Such is the army of soldiers approaching.
They have faces like tigers, snakes, and hogs,
Elephants, horses, donkeys, and camels,
Monkeys, lions, or bears.
Such are the faces of the approaching army.
Many terrifying malevolent spirits approach,
With wild matted hair, sheep heads, crooked bones, and goiters;
Their bodies are drenched with human blood.
Such are the malevolent spirits that approach.
Their legs are like the legs of an antelope;
Their eyeballs look like those of monkeys;
Their fangs look like elephant tusks.
Such are the faces of the approaching army.
The shape of their bodies is that of a crocodile;
Their two eyeballs are ablaze;
Their ears are like those of a goat.
Such are the faces of the approaching army.
Some hold up a staff in their hands,
Others brandish hammers, clubs, and tridents,
While some hold Mount Meru in their hands.
These are the terrifying forms of the approaching malevolent spirits.
They hold up sickles, brandish discuses, roll their eyes,
Lift great mountaintops in their hands,
And bring down storms and rains of rock and meteor.
These are the terrifying malevolent spirits approaching.
They blow hurricanes, bring down rainstorms,
Shoot off billions of lightning bolts,
Roar with thunder, and sway trees.
Yet the leaves on the Bodhi tree remain still.
The rain pours down in torrents;
Rivers overflow and flood the land.
So many terrifying things have appeared
That even inanimate trees fall over
As they witness these terrible forms,
All of them ugly and misshapen.
Yet the One Who Has Qualities, Marks, and Splendour
Keeps his mind unshaken, like Mount Meru.
He sees all phenomena as illusion,
Like a dream, and like clouds.
Since he sees them in this manner that accords with the Dharma,
He meditates steadfastly, established in the Dharma.
Whoever thinks of "me" and "mine"
And clings to objects and the body,
Should be afraid and terrified,
Since they are in the clutches of ignorance.
The Son of the Sakyas has realized the essential truth
That all phenomena arise in dependence and lack reality.
With a mind like the sky, he is just fine,
Unperturbed by the spectacle of the army of rogues.

Monks, among the one thousand sons of Mara, the evil one, there were
some, such as Sarthavaha, who began to feel devotion toward me, the Bodhisattva.

They all assembled on the right side of Mara, the evil one, while those who supported
Mara took a stand on his left side.

Now Mara asked his sons: "What type of army should we use to subdue the Bodhisattva?"

Standing to his right, Mara's son Sarthavaha spoke this verse to his father:
"Would you want to wake up the leader of the nagas?
Would you want to wake up the leader of the elephants?
Would you want to wake up the king of the animals?
That is like wanting to disturb the leader of men from his ease."

Standing to his left, Mara's son Durmati replied:
"Even at the mere sight of us, people's hearts burst,
And so does the solid core of great trees.
Struck by my stare, what power would this monk have?
Or struck by death, what power would he have to live in this world?"

From the right side, Madhuranirghosa spoke:
"What solid core do trees have for that matter?
You say 'I will break him by staring,' but can you do that, people?
Even if you could destroy Mount Meru with your stare,
You could not even open your eyes in his presence."

Moreover:
"To cross the ocean using one's hands
And to drink its water is impossible for people.
Yet looking directly at the Bodhisattva's stainless face
Would be even harder than that."

From the left side, Satabahu said:
"My body has one hundred arms,
And with just one of them I can shoot off one hundred arrows.
O father, I will break the body of this monk!
Be happy and go now without delay."

From the right side, Subuddhi said:
"If it is advantageous to have one hundred arms,
Why do bodily hairs not become arms?
You may hold a spear in each of your hands
And use them all, yet that will bring you nothing."
Why is that?
"Because of his love, the body of this sage
Is inaccessible to poison, weapons, and fire.
Since the love that he feels transcends the world,
When you shoot your weapons, they turn into flowers."

And moreover:
"All the powerful ones in the sky, the earth, and the waters,
Whether humans or guhyakas, may hold up their swords and axes.
But when they go to the leader of men, who has the power of forbearance,
They all change from very strong, to strong, to weak."

On the left side, someone named Ugratejas called out:
"Invisible, I will enter his beautiful body
And then I will burn it,
Just like a low forest fire
Would burn a dry, hollow tree."

On the right side, Sunetra replied:
"You may burn the entire Mount Meru
And enter, invisible, into the earth,
But his vajra mind cannot possibly be burned
By the likes of you, even if you were equal in number to the grains of sand in the River Ganges."

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Moreover:
"It can happen that all mountains quake,
And it may be that the oceans dry up.
It is also possible that the sun and moon will fall from the sky,
And it may be that the earth will one day melt away.
"Yet it is impossible that the one who has set out
To benefit the world with a firm resolve
Should rise from the foot of the great tree
Before he attains awakening."
From the left side, Dirghabahugarvita said:
"Right here before you,
I could use my bare hands
To grind to dust
The sun, the moon, and the stars.
"I could, with playful ease,
Get hold of all the water in the four oceans.
Father, I will get hold of this monk
And throw him to the end of the oceans.
"Father, may this army stand firm!
Do not be aggrieved!
I will uproot the Bodhi tree
And scatter it everywhere with my hands."
From the right side, Prasadapratilabdha said:
"You may proudly assume
That you can crush with your hands
All gods, demigods, and gandharvas,
Along with the earth, the mountains, and the oceans.
"Yet even thousands of beings like you,
As many as there are grains of sand in the Ganges,
Would be unable to move a single hair
On that wise Bodhisattva."
From the left side, Bhayaṃkara said:
"Father, for one who is set in the midst of a great army,
What is the use of excessive fear?
He does not have an army. Where are his allies?
Why do you fear him?"
From the right side, Ekagramati said:
"In the universe, the sun and the moon have no army,
And the universal monarch and the lion have no army.
Likewise this Bodhisattva has no army,
Yet he is capable of destroying Namuci single-handedly."
From the left side, Avatarapreksin said:
"He has no lances or spears, no clubs or swords,
No horses, elephants, chariots, or foot soldiers.
That single arrogant monk, sitting there—
Father, I will kill him today, please have no worries."
From the right side, Puṅyalaṃkara said:
"His body is unshakable and indestructible like Narayana's;
He wears an armour of forbearance and wields the sword of unbendable diligence;
The threefold liberation is his steed, and knowledge is his bow.
Father, through the force of his merit, the Bodhisattva will conquer Mara's army."
From the left side, Anivartin said:
"The fire burning on the plains does not shy away from burning the grass;
The arrow shot skillfully cannot be stopped by a learned one;
The bolt of lightning shooting across the sky does not return.
I will not rest until I have conquered the son of the Sakyas."
From the right side, Dharmakama said:
"When meeting wet grass, the fire retreats;
When the arrow hits a mountain peak, it rebounds;
The bolt of lightning, having hit the ground, sinks down.
Until the Bodhisattva obtains peaceful immortality, he will not retreat."
And why?
"Father, even if one could draw pictures in the empty sky,
Or gather the minds of all sentient beings, as many as there are, into one,
Or, my father, bind the sun, the moon, and the wind with a noose,
One could still not move the Bodhisattva from the seat of awakening."
From the left side, Anupasanta said:
"With the great poison of my gaze, I can burn Mount Meru
And turn the waters in the great oceans to ashes.
So, father, look at the seat of awakening and that monk
As I now turn both of them to ashes with my gaze."
From the right side, Siddhartha said:
"You may be able to fill the world with poison
And put ablaze the great trichiliocosm,
Yet by a mere glance from the One Who Is the Source of All Good Qualities,
Your poison will lose its toxicity.
"In the three realms, there are fierce poisons
In the form of attachment, anger, and delusion.
Yet none of them can be found in his body, nor in his mind,
Just as mud and dust cannot be found in the heavens.
"His body, speech, and mind are pristine,6
And he is filled with love for sentient beings.
No weapon or poison will be able to harm him,
So, father, please, let us all turn back."
From the left side, Ratilola said:
"I will play thousands of instruments
And send forth billions of well-adorned divine girls
Who will get him excited and lead him to our exquisite harem.
I will provide sexual pleasure and bring him under your control."
From the right side, Dharmarati said:
"He only delights in the pleasures of the Dharma,
The bliss of concentration and the significance of immortality,
And the joy of liberating sentient beings and the happiness of a loving mind.
He does not delight in the pleasures of passion."
From the left side, Vatajava said:
"I can at once swallow the sun and the moon
And the wind blowing through the sky.
Father, I will catch that mendicant this very day
And blow him away like a handful of husk."
From the right side, Mara's son named Acalamati said:
"Even if all gods and humans became
As swift and strong as you are
And gathered in a single place,
They would be unable to harm this peerless being."
From the left side, Brahmamati said:
"If there was such a fierce crowd of our men,
He could do nothing to wound your pride.
Since all tasks are accomplished by teams,
How could he harm you just on his own?"
From the right side, Siṃhamati said:
"Lions have never been seen sitting on the ground in a row;
Those with a poisonous gaze do not team up.
Those splendourous beings that have courage because of being true,
Those supreme leaders of beings also do not congregate together."
From the left side, Sarvacandala said:
"Father, you have not heard such heated voices before
As those your sons are calling out with now.
Mustering diligence, speed, and power,
Let's quickly go and destroy that monk!"
From the right side, Siṃhanadin said:
"In the midst of the jungle, when the lion is not there,
Many jackals bark.
Yet when they hear the lion's frightening roar,
They flee in panic in all directions.
"In the same way, these ignorant sons of Mara,
As long as they have not heard the voice of the perfect man,
Raise their voices, opinionated and impudent,
While the lion of men remains silent."
From the left side, Duscintitacintin said:
"Whatever I wish for is quickly accomplished,
So why does he not look at us with circumspection?
He must be either deluded or ignorant
Since he does not rise up quickly and flee."
From the right side, Sucintitartha said:
"He is neither a fool nor a weakling;
You yourselves are the fools, so extremely careless.
You have no idea about his valor;
The power of his insight will conquer you all.
"Even with the strength of demonic sons
Equal in number to the grains of sand in the river Ganges,
You would not be able to bend a single hair on his head,
So how much less could you kill him?
"Do not corrupt your minds;
Instead you should respect him with devotion.
He is about to become king of the three realms;
Turn back and do not make war."

In this way a thousand of Mara's sons, both good and bad, each further addressed Mara, the evil one, in verses. At the end, Bhadrasena, the general of Mara, spoke these verses to him:
"All those who normally follow you, such as Sakra,
The protectors, the hordes of half kiṃnaras,
The leaders of the demigods, and the leaders of the garudas,
Now they all join their palms and bow to the Bodhisattva.
"So what need is there to mention those who do not follow you,
Brahma and the luminous divine sons,
And the gods of the pure abodes—
They all, too, bow to him.
"Even those of your sons who are wise,
Who are powerful and smart,
Venerate the Bodhisattva
In accord with his essence.
"This army of yaksas and other beings,
Which extends for eighty leagues,
Is seen in full by the All-Seeing One,
With a clear mind and without hatred.
"Since he is neither taken aback nor stirred
When seeing this wild and fierce army,
So hideous and frightening,
His victory is certain now.
"Wherever this army is found,
The cries of the jackal and the owl are heard.
When the calls of the crow and the donkey ring out,
It is wise to quickly retreat.
"Please look toward the seat of awakening!
Clever curlews, swans, cuckoos, and peacocks
Are circumambulating the Bodhisattva.
It is certain that today the victory will be his.
"Wherever this army is found,
Dust and soot rain from the sky.
Yet at the seat of awakening, a rain of flowers falls,
So heed my words and turn back!
"Wherever this army is found,
The ground is uneven and filled with thorns and prickles.
Yet at the seat of awakening, the ground is stainless like gold,
So it is better for the wise to retreat.
"The past nightmares
Will now come true. If you do not retreat,
He will reduce this army to dust,
Just as countries are destroyed by the sages.
"When the supreme, masterful sage
Became angry with King Brahmadatta,
He burned the Dandaka Forest
So that for many years no grass would grow.
"Whatever sages there are who practice disciplined conduct
And practice austerities,
He is supreme among them,
For he does not harm any living being.
"Have you not heard before
That the one whose body blazes with all the marks
And who walks away from his home
Will conquer disturbing emotions and attain awakening?
"The sons of the victors manifest such great powers
As an act of worship,
For isn't the Supreme Being
A worthy recipient of the best of offering rites?
"Since the immaculate hair between his eyebrows
Beautifies a trillion realms
And outshines all of us,
He will surely conquer Mara's army.
"Since the gods at the peak of existence
Are unable to see the crown of his head,
So, surely, without being taught by others,
He will attain omniscience.
"Since Mount Meru and the surrounding ranges,
The sun, the moon, Sakra, Brahma,
All the trees, and the best of mountains
All prostrate to the seat of awakening,
"It is certain that the one with the power of merit,
The powers of knowledge and wisdom,
And the powers of forbearance and diligence,
Will render Mara's factions powerless.
"Like an elephant stepping on a fresh clay pot,
Or a lion fighting a fox,
Or the sun effacing a firefly,
The Bliss-Gone One will obliterate our army."
Upon hearing these words, another son of Mara became enraged and, with bloodshot eyes, he said:
"Your praise for this lone person
Is without any bounds.
What could that single man be capable of?
Can you not see this great and terrifying army?"
Then from the right side, the son of Mara called Marapramardaka said:
"It is not necessary to help the sun in this world,
Nor the lion or the universal monarch.
The Bodhisattva sitting with resolve for awakening
Surely does not need any helpers."
At that point, in order to weaken the strength of the demons, the Bodhisattva turned his face, which resembled a blooming lotus with one hundred petals, toward them. Upon seeing the Bodhisattva's face, Mara took flight. Fleeing, he thought that his army could withstand the sight of the Bodhisattva's face, and he once again turned back.

Assisted by his followers, they now began to hurl various weapons upon the Bodhisattva.

However, even when they threw mountains as big as the central mountain at the Bodhisattva, the mountains all turned into flower canopies and celestial palaces.

Those with poisonous gazes, those with poisonous snakes, and those with poisonous breath shot flames of fire at the Bodhisattva. Yet this circle of fire just turned into what seemed to be the Bodhisattva's halo of light.

The Bodhisattva now touched his right hand to his head. Mara perceived that the Bodhisattva was brandishing a sword in his hand, and so he fled toward the south.

However, thinking that it could not be true after all, he again returned. When he came back, the demons began to hurl all sorts of terrifying weapons at the Bodhisattva. They threw swords, arrows, darts, lances, axes, clubs, javelins, bludgeons, discuses, vajras, hammers, uprooted trees, rocks,

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lassos, and iron balls. However, as soon as the demons released the weapons, the weapons turned into garlands and canopies of flowers, and a cooling rain of flower petals fell on the ground. The flower garlands hung as adornments on the Bodhi tree.

When Mara, the evil one, witnessed the Bodhisattva's power and the displays that he performed, his mind was disturbed with jealousy and avarice. He called out to the Bodhisattva: "Listen, young Prince, get up! Get up and relish your kingship—your virtue lies precisely in doing that! On what grounds could you ever attain liberation?"

The Bodhisattva answered Mara, the evil one, with words that were firm, profound, vast, gentle, and sweet:

"You, evil one! Through just a single unstinting act of giving, you have become lord of the desire realm. I, on the other hand, have performed trillions of unstinting acts of giving. I have cut off my hands, legs, eyes, and my head, and given them to beggars. With the intention to liberate sentient beings, I have often given beggars my house, wealth, grains, beds, clothes, and parks."

Mara, the evil one, replied with this verse:

"Previously I made a wholesome act of giving;
It was an unstinting act, and you are my witness.
But you have no witness to your acts,
So there is no point in speaking of them, and instead you will be conquered."

The Bodhisattva replied: "Evil one, the earth here is my witness."

He then embraced Mara, the evil one, and his demonic retinue with thoughts of love and compassion. Like a lion, he was without fear, fright, anxiety, timidity, disturbance, and perturbation. He had no goose bumps, which indicate fear.

He now let his right hand slide over his entire body and then gracefully tapped on the earth—the hand that had the contours of a conch, a victory banner, a fish, a vase, a swastika, an iron hook, and a wheel. The hand's fingers were connected by a web. Its nails were exquisite and copper coloured. Soft and supple, it looked perfectly youthful.

All this was the result of limitless eons of gathering the accumulations of basic goodness. He then spoke this verse:

"This earth supports all beings;
She is impartial and unbiased toward all, whether moving or still.
She is my witness that I speak no lies;
So may she bear my witness."

As soon as the Bodhisattva touched this great earth, it shook in six different ways. It quivered, trembled, and quaked, and it boomed, thundered, and roared. Just as a Magadhan brass cauldron, when struck with a wooden log, chimes and reverberates, so did this great earth sound and reverberate when struck by the Bodhisattva with his hand.

Then the earth goddess in this great trichiliocosm who is called Sthavara, along with her retinue of one billion earth goddesses, began to shake the entire great earth. Not far from where the Bodhisattva was sitting, she broke through the earth's surface and revealed her upper body, adorned with all sorts of jewels. She bowed toward the Bodhisattva, joined her palms, and spoke to him:

"You are right. Great Being, you are right. It is just as you say. We bear witness to this. But still, my Lord, you alone are the supreme witness in the worlds of gods and humans and the supreme authority."

Having spoken thus, the earth goddess Sthavara rebuked Mara, the evil one, in many ways, and praised the Bodhisattva again and again. She made a great display of her myriad powers and then disappeared together with her following there and then.

When the wicked one and his army heard that sound from the earth,
Frightened and disheartened, they all fled,
Just like jackals in the forest hearing the lion's roar,
Or crows taking flight when a rock is thrown.

Now Mara, the evil one, felt unhappy and full of suffering. Still, even though he was miserable and ashamed of himself, he was overpowered by pride to such an extent that he could not leave; he could not turn back and flee. Therefore he turned to his men and spoke:

"All of you! Wait a while until we find out whether it is possible to arouse the Bodhisattva
by polite persuasion. Such a jewel of a being should not be killed outright."

Then Mara, the evil one, spoke to his daughters: "Girls, you must go now to the seat of awakening and examine the Bodhisattva. Does he have desires or not? Is he deluded or intelligent? Is he like a blind man, or does he know the country and seek advantage? And is he weak or strong?"

When they heard these words, these divine maidens went to the seat of awakening where the Bodhisattva was. They assembled in front of the Bodhisattva and began displaying the thirty-two ways of female trickery. What are these thirty-two ways?

They are as follows:

1. Some of the girls partially covered their faces.
2. Some showed off their firm and voluptuous breasts.
3. Some smiled at him and flashed their teeth.
4. Some lifted their arms, waving them in the air to reveal their armpits.
5. Some flaunted their lips, red like bimba fruit.
6. Some looked at the Bodhisattva through half-closed eyes and then quickly
closed their eyes.
7. Some showed off their half-covered breasts.
8. Some loosened their clothes to reveal their hips adorned with girdles.
9. Some wore fine, transparent clothes that revealed their hips and their girdles.
10. Some made clinking sounds with their anklets.
11. Some showed their breasts adorned with strings of pearls.
12. Some showed off their half-naked thighs.
13. Some displayed jays, parrots, and myna birds sitting on their heads and shoulders.
14. Some cast sidelong glances at the Bodhisattva.
15. Some wore good clothes, yet let them hang improperly.
16. Some made the chains on their hips shake and twinkle.
17. Some mischievously moved back and forth in a flirtatious manner.
18. Some danced.
19. Some sang.
20. Some flirted and acted shy.
21. Some shook their thighs like a palm tree moved by the wind.
22. Some let out deep moans.
23. Some dressed in transparent cloth with bells hanging from the string at their
waist and walked around giggling.
24. Some stripped off all their clothes and jewellery.
25. Some showed off all their jewellery, both the secret and the apparent.
26. Some showed their arms, which had been rubbed with perfume.
27. Some displayed their earrings anointed with perfume.
28. Some covered their face with a veil and then suddenly revealed it.
29. Some laughed, played, and had fun, trying to attract each other's attention. But then they again pretended to be shy.
30. Some of them showed off their virgin bodies that had never given birth.
31. Some tried to lure the Bodhisattva with offers of love.
32. Some scattered flower petals on the Bodhisattva.

Standing before the Bodhisattva, they pondered what his thoughts might be as they looked at his face. Did he look at them with his senses aroused? Or did he look into the distance? They looked to see if he was excited or not.

The face of the Bodhisattva, however, remained as pure and stainless as the orb of the full moon when it escapes the mouth of Rahu, or the sun rising in the early dawn, or a golden pillar, or a blooming thousand-petaled lotus, or a sacrificial fire sprinkled with oil. Like the central mountain, it remained unmoving. Like the surrounding mountains, it was truly elevated. He guarded his senses well and, like the elephant, his look was that of someone with a mind well tamed.

Now the daughters of Mara, in a further attempt to arouse the Bodhisattva's desires, spoke these verses to him:

"Springtime is here, the best of seasons;
Let us frolic, dear, while the trees are in bloom.
Your body is so beautiful and attractive;
It is enticing, has auspicious marks, and is well adorned.
"We were born beautiful and with perfect curves;
We are here to please gods and humans and grant complete satisfaction.
Awakening is hard to gain, so change your mind;
Quick, stand up and enjoy the prime of youth!
"It is for your sake that we have come here, all dressed up and adorned;
Come now, take a look at these divine girls so beautifully adorned.
Who would not be thrilled when enjoying the passion of love?
Even a decayed tree would be brought back to life!
"Our voices are soft and our scent is delicious;
Our faces look their best with diadems, earrings, and makeup.
Our faces have beautiful brows and are well anointed;
Our beautiful eyes are as pure and large as lotuses.
"Our faces resemble the full moon;
Our lips are like ripe bimba fruit;
Our teeth are white like conch shells, jasmine flowers, or snow.
So, O Beloved, look at us who ardently desire pleasure.
"Look at our firm and voluptuous breasts,
The beautiful three folds on our bellies,
And our broad and beautiful hips.
Lord, look at us, such beautiful maidens.
"Our thighs resemble the trunk of an elephant;
Our arms are bedecked with abutting bracelets;
Our hips are adorned with beautiful chains.
Lord, look at us, your servants.
"With the gait of a swan, we gently approach you;
Soft and beautiful, we talk of amorous love.
Beautifully adorned as we are,
We are experts in divine pleasures.
"We are well trained in singing, playing instruments, and theatrical performance;
We are born with perfect bodies for the sake of pleasure.
If you don't accept us now, as we crave pleasure,
You will quickly become a loser in this world.
"What man would run away when he sees a treasure?
You will be exactly like that, ignorant of the treasure, which is love,
If you remain ignorant of amorous passion
And fail to enjoy these young girls, who have come of their own will."

Monks, the Bodhisattva just smiled with unblinking eyes. He sat there smiling, with calm senses, physically at ease, resplendent, without attachment, free from anger, and without delusion. Like the king of mountains he was immutable, confident, unconfused, and untroubled. Since he had totally abandoned, all by himself, all disturbing emotions through his well-established intelligence and wisdom, he now spoke with soft and pleasant words in a tone that exceeded even the voice of Brahma. His voice was like that of a cuckoo, pleasant and sweet sounding, as he addressed Mara's daughters with these verses:

"Desire results in a great deal of suffering; it is the root of suffering.
For the unwise, desire ruins their concentration, magical ability, and austerities;
The wise say that chasing women brings no satisfaction.
I will satisfy the unskillful ones with wisdom.
"The thirst of someone who pursues desires increases evermore,
Just like one feels after drinking salty water.
If I were to engage in that, there would be no benefit to me or to others,
And I delight in being useful to both myself and to others.
"Your beauty is like water bubbles or foam;
Like magical colours, it is merely mentally created.
Like a play or a dream, it is unstable and impermanent;
It deludes the minds of childish beings.
"The eyes are like water bubbles—they are enclosed in a membrane,
Like clotted blood is enclosed in a suppurating ulcer.
The belly is one big load of urine and excrement, excreting filth;
This mechanism of suffering has emerged from karma and disturbing emotions.
"It is the deluded people with childish minds, not the wise ones,
Who mistakenly perceive the body as beautiful.
This makes them spin for a long time in cyclic existence, the source of suffering;
Their suffering, experienced in hell, is extremely painful.
"From the crotch, awful smells are leaked;
The thighs, the calves, and the feet are joined together like a mechanical contraption.
When I examine you, I see that you are like an illusion,
Which has deceptively emerged from causes and conditions.
"When seeing that sensual enjoyments are without good qualities,
And that they lead away from the noble path of wisdom,
And that they are the same as poisonous plants or fires, or like angry vipers,
Only fools would call them happiness.
"Whoever becomes a slave of women through desire
Will stray from discipline, from concentration, and lose common sense.
Wallowing in pleasure, he will be far removed from wisdom
If he discards his joy in the Dharma and delights in desire.
"I have neither attachment nor anger;
I do not perceive anything permanent, attractive, or with a self.
I do not feel dislike or joy;
My mind is free, like the wind in the sky.
"Even if the whole world were filled with the likes of you
Who besieged me here, for eons on end,
I would not feel anger, attachment, or delusion,
Because the mind of the victorious ones is like the sky. [F.159.a]
"Although the gods and goddesses in their purity and splendour
Have no blood or bones,
They all live in great fear
Since they lack permanence and cannot endure."

At that point Mara's daughters, skilled as they were in female deception, felt even greater lust, haughtiness, and pride. They displayed love gestures, showed off their adorned bodies, and tried even further female trickery in their attempts to seduce the Bodhisattva. On this topic, it is said:

The most seductive and sweet girls, Trsna, Rati, and Arati,
These three graceful ones hastily arrived, sent by Mara.

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They danced like the shoots of young creepers on a tree blowing in the breeze
To stir lust in the Prince sitting under the tree branches.
Among all seasons, springtime is the best;
At this time men and women frolic, and darkness and dust disappear.
Cuckoos, swans, and peacocks call out, and flocks of birds fill the air;
The time to experience the joys of pleasure has arrived.
For thousands of eons he delighted in discipline, austerities, and hardships;
He is immutable like the king of mountains, with a body like the rising sun.
Like roaring thunder, his beautiful voice resounds like that of the king of beasts;
This person, who benefits others, utters only meaningful words.
Desire, disputes, hostility, and strife bring the fear of death;
Ignorant fools engage in them continually, yet the skilled ones renounce them.
This is the time when the Bliss-Gone One attains immortality,
So today he will conquer Mara and become a worthy one with the ten powers.
After many magical displays they said, "You, with your lotus-like face, listen to us.
You will become a king, a supreme ruler, a powerful master of the earth;
Flocks of beautiful women will play thousands of instruments for you.
Of what use is the dress of a sage to you? Give that up and enjoy pleasures instead."
The Bodhisattva replied:
"I will be the master of the three realms, venerated by gods and humans;
I will be a king who travels by the wheel of Dharma, endowed with ten powers.
A million seekers, and those with no more need for learning, will always bow to me;
Because I enjoy the Dharma, I no longer seek joyful objects."
The daughters replied:
"For as long as your youth has not passed and you are in your prime,
For as long as disease has not struck you and you are not old and gray haired,
For as long as you have your beauty and youth, and we, too, are happy,
For so long you should enjoy the pleasures of love with a smile on your face."
The Bodhisattva replied:
"Until I attain perfect freedom and immortality, so difficult to attain,
Until I am rid of the suffering and bondage in the realms of gods and demigods,
Until old age, disease, and death show their angry faces,
For so long I will train on the auspicious path that leads to the city of fearlessness."
The daughters said:
"In the divine realm you, like Sakra, will be surrounded by divine maidens;
In the Heaven Free from Strife, the Heaven Fully Free from Strife, and the Heaven of
Joy, you will be praised by the best of immortals.
In the realm of Mara, enthralled by amorous women, you will find the pleasures of
love;
Relish playing with us—it will bring great pleasure!"
The Bodhisattva replied:
"Desire is ephemeral like dew on the tip of grass, or like autumn clouds;
Desire is terrifying like the wrath of the naga girls.
Sakra, the gods in the Heaven Free from Strife, and the gods in the Heaven of Joy, all fall under the sway of Mara;
Desire plagues all ignoble ones, so how could anyone rejoice in that?"
The daughters said:
"Look at these beautiful trees with fresh leaves and blooming flowers;
They resound with the cries of pheasants, cuckoo birds, and the humming of bees.
On the ground grows fresh green grass, so soft and thick;
Will you, the lion of a men, enjoy yourself with us young girls in a pleasure grove?"
The Bodhisattva replied:
"All of these trees produce shoots and flowers according to seasons,
And bees also seek out flowers because of suffering from hunger and thirst.
Since everything that grows from the ground will wither under the sun, [F.160.a]
I have resolved to actualize the nectar that all victorious ones have enjoyed."
Mara's daughters replied:
"Look at us! Our faces are like the moon and like fresh lotus flowers;
Our speech is soft and pleasant, and our teeth as white as snow or silver.
Such beauties are rare among the gods, so how about among humans?
These women that you have here are even desired by the highest of gods."
The Bodhisattva replied:
"I see the body as impure, filled with masses of worms;
It easily breaks and perishes, and is thoroughly without pleasure.
Yet I will attain that imperishable state, venerated by the wise,
The state that brings ultimate happiness to the animate and inanimate worlds."
The daughters now put on sixty-four displays of amorous behavior;
They rang their anklets and girdles and let their clothes slip off.
Struck with the arrow of desire, infatuated, with smiles on their faces, they said:
"Lord, do we appear so ugly to you that you don't share our love?"
Knowing the faults in all of saṃsara, the Stainless One replied:
"Desire is like a sword, a spear, a trident, or a razor blade smeared with honey;
It is like the head of a viper or a fire pit—that much I have realized.
So, since women steal one's virtues, I have abandoned their company."
With all the billions of skills that induce amorous infatuation,
The girls were unable to seduce the Bliss-Gone One who has the gait of a young elephant.
So with shame and embarrassment, they now bowed to the feet of the Sage;
Giving rise to respect, joy, and love, they praised the Benefactor:
"Your face is like the spotless centre of a lotus, or the harvest moon;
Your luster is like the flames of a sacrificial fire, or the shine of the golden mountain.
May your wishes and vows, which you have made in hundreds of lives, be fulfilled;
Now that you yourself have crossed, please liberate all suffering beings."
They praised the One Who Is like the Bayur Tree or the Magnolia;
They circumambulated the Supreme Being, who was immutable like a majestic
mountain.
Returning, they bowed their heads to their father and told him:
"Father, this master of gods and humans has no fear or anger.
"With a smiling face he looks on with eyes like lotus petals;
Never does he look at others with attachment or a frown.
Mount Meru may tremble, the oceans dry up, and the sun and moon fall,
But never will He Who Sees the Faults of the Three Existences come under the sway
of amorous women."
When Mara, the evil one, heard these words, he felt even more miserable and unhappy.
Angry and disappointed, he told his daughters: "Oh my, that stupid fool, so ignorant
that he doesn't see your beauty and good looks! How can it be that we are
unable get him away from the seat of awakening?"
Then once again, the daughters of Mara spoke to their father in verse:
"Although we speak to him softly and lovingly, he does not get aroused;
Even though we show him the most secret of things, he does not get hostile.
No matter what acts he witnesses, he remains without delusion;
Although he sees the entire body, his thoughts remain profound.
"He clearly realizes the faults of women;
He is far removed from lust and has no desire.
Neither in divine abodes, nor here on earth, is there a human or a god
Capable of gauging his mind and actions.
"Father, we tried every female trick on him!
With all our lust, surely his heart should have melted!
Yet, although he saw it all, his mind wasn't distracted even once;
Like the foremost king of mountains, he was immutable. [331]
"He accumulated the splendours of hundreds of virtues and qualities;
For many millions of eons he has practiced ethics and disciplined conduct.
The gods and Brahma, pure beings possessing the splendour of virtue,
Pay homage to him and touch their heads to his feet.
"Once he conquers Mara's army,
He will surely attain sacred awakening, just as the victorious ones did in the past.
[F.161.a]
Father, he does not seek fighting or quarreling with us;
Even though our forces are powerful, our task would be a difficult one.
"Father, look at the sky, where millions of perfect Bodhisattvas,
With jewels on the top of their heads, respectfully wait.
On their limbs these sources of wealth are adorned with flower garlands;
They possess the ten powers and have come here to venerate him.
"Whoever has a mind, and even that which doesn't,
Trees, mountains, gods, yaksas, and garudas,
They all bow down to that mountain of qualities.
Father, it would be better to leave him alone today."
Moreover:
"One will not cross where one cannot reach the end;
One will not dig where one cannot pull out the root.
One cannot make him angry, or even make him suffer with forbearance;
One can do nothing that would make him unhappy."
Monks, at that point the eight goddesses dwelling in the tree of awakening—Sri,
Vrddhi, Tapa, Sreyasi, Vidu, Ojobala, Satyavadini, and Samaṅgini— honoured
the Bodhisattva, made him thrive through sixteen types of splendour, and praised him:
"Sacred One, you are beautiful,
Like the moon during the bright fortnight.
With your pure mind, you are radiant,
Like the sun at dawn.
"Pure Being, you have bloomed,
Like a lotus in a pond.
Pure Being, you roar,
Like a lion with a mane, moving in the jungle.
"Supreme Being, you shine forth,
Like the king of mountains in the middle of the ocean.
Pure Being, you are elevated,
Like the ring of surrounding mountains.
"Supreme Being, you are hard to fathom,
Like the ocean rich in jewels.
Protector of the World, your mind is vast,
Like the unlimited sky.
"Pure Being, your mind is firm;
Like the earth, you sustain all beings. [F.161.b]
Supreme Being, your mind is never turbid;
Like the lake Anavapta, it is always calm.
"Supreme Being, your mind is without a fixed abode;
Like wind, it never lingers anywhere in the world.
Supreme Being, you are hard to meet with;
Like the king of brightness, you are free from all conceit.
"Sacred One, you are very powerful;
Like Narayana, you are hard to tame.
Protector of the World, your resolve is firm;
You will not move from the seat of awakening.
"Like a lightning bolt released from the hand of Indra,
Supreme Being, you cannot be turned back.
Supreme Being, you will attain your aim in full;
Soon you will be endowed with the complete ten powers."
Monks, in this way the goddesses at the Bodhi tree glorified the Bodhisattva through
the sixteen types of magnificence.
Monks, at that moment the divine sons of the pure abodes tried to discourage Mara
in sixteen different ways. What were these sixteen? They were:
"Evil one, you are lost;
You are brooding like an old crane.
Evil one, you are powerless,
Like an old elephant sinking in a swamp.
"Evil one, you are on your own,
Like a loser pretending to be a hero.
Evil one, you have no one with you,
Like someone suffering from a contagious disease, abandoned in a forest.
"Evil one, you are weak,
Like a young bull pained by a heavy load.
Evil one, you are thrown on your back,
Like a tree tossed about by the wind.
"Evil one, you are on the wrong path,
Like a traveler who has lost his way.
Evil one, you are the lowest of the low,
Like a poor man who gets envious.
"Evil one, you are garrulous,
Like an impudent crow.
Evil one, you are overcome with pride,

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Like an ungrateful ruffian.
"Evil one, today you will flee,
Like a jackal at the sound of a lion's roar. [F.162.a]
Evil one, today you will be scattered about,
Like a bird tossed around by the roaring wind.
"Evil one, not knowing when the time is right,
You are like a beggar whose merit has run out.
Evil one, today you will be abandoned,
Like a broken pot full of dust.
"Evil one, today you will be restrained by the Bodhisattva,
Like a snake by a spell.
Evil one, you are completely powerless,
Like Urunda, who lost his arms and legs."

Monks, in these sixteen ways the gods from the pure realms tried to discourage Mara. And, monks, the gods who attended upon the Bodhisattva now also tried to break Mara's resolve in sixteen ways. What were these sixteen? They were:

"Evil one, today you will be defeated by the Bodhisattva,
Like an enemy soldier by a hero.
Evil one, today you will be held down by the Bodhisattva,
Like a weak wrestler by a powerful one.
"Evil one, today you will be outmatched by the Bodhisattva,
Like a firefly by the sun.
Evil one, today you will be scattered by the Bodhisattva,
Like a handful of chaff by a strong wind.
"Evil one, today you will be terrified by the Bodhisattva,
Like a jackal by a lion.
Evil one, today you will be felled by the Bodhisattva,
Like a great sala tree whose roots have been cut.
"Evil one, today you will be destroyed by the Bodhisattva,
Like a hostile city by a great king.
Evil one, today you will be dried up by the Bodhisattva,
Like the water-filled footprint of a cow.
"Evil one, today you will flee from the Bodhisattva,
Like a criminal escaping execution.
Evil one, today you will be sent swirling by the Bodhisattva,
Like a swarm of bees by the heat of fire.
"Evil one, today you will be hurt by the Bodhisattva,
Like a lawful king who has lost his kingdom.
Evil one, today you will brood because of the Bodhisattva,
Like an old crane with clipped wings.
"Evil one, today you will be deprived of livelihood by the Bodhisattva,
Like a weary traveler without provisions in a wilderness.
Evil one, today you will be weeping because of the Bodhisattva,
Like someone shipwrecked at sea.
"Evil one, today you will be depleted of life force by the Bodhisattva,
Like grass and trees by the fire at the end of an eon.
Evil one, today you will be crushed by the Bodhisattva,
Like a mountaintop by a mighty thunderbolt."

Monks, although the divine sons who attended upon the Bodhisattva tried to discourage Mara, the evil one, in these sixteen ways, Mara would not be deterred. On this topic, it is said:

Although hosts of deities ask him to turn back, Antaka does not pay heed;
Instead he says, "Tear him up! Beat him! Destroy him! Don't let him escape alive!
If he is liberated, he will liberate my realm and other realms as well;
But the only liberation in store for this mendicant is to get up and flee."

The Bodhisattva said:

"The king of mountains, Mount Meru, may move and all beings may cease to be;
All the stars, the planets, and the moon may fall from the sky to the earth;
It is possible that all beings may think and act in unison and the great oceans may dry
out;
But it is impossible that someone like me would ever move from the king of trees."

Mara replied:

"I am lord of desires and master of the universe.
I rule over gods, demigods, humans, and animals;
All of them fall under my control.
So get up! Since you are in my realm, follow my orders!"

The Bodhisattva said:

"If you are master of sense pleasures, you are clearly not a master at all;
Look who I am in reality—I am master of the Dharma.
If you are the master of sense pleasures, you should not go to the lower realms;
While you watch powerlessly, I shall attain awakening."

Mara replied:

"Monk, what are you doing here in the wilderness on your own?
It is not an easy task to find that which you seek.
Bhrgu, Aṅgiras, and others who exerted themselves in austerities
Did not attain that supreme state, so forget about you, an ordinary man."

The Bodhisattva said:

"With a mind possessed by anger and full of desire for the divine realms,
And a belief that the self is either permanent or impermanent,
And the thought that liberation is a place you can go to,
With such mistaken preconceptions, past sages practiced austerities.
"Not knowing the truth, they preached the existence of a soul,
Variously claiming that this soul is all-pervasive, confined to locations, eternal,
With form, without a form, with qualities, without qualities,
An agent, and not an agent. This is what they claimed.
"But today, sitting here on this seat, I will attain stainless awakening;
I will defeat you, Mara, and repel your army and soldiers.
I will explain to the world about the origin and arising of things,
And also about nirvana, the cool state where suffering is pacified."

Mara, upset, angry, and furious, shouted harsh words:

"Catch that Gautama, who sits alone in the wilderness, and bring him quickly to me!
Take him to my palace, shackle, fetter, and yoke him, and make him my gatekeeper!
I will watch him suffer and cry out uncontrollably in many different ways, a slave of
the gods."

The Bodhisattva replied:

"It is possible that someone can make drawings in the empty sky,
Or catch the blowing wind with a lasso,
Or make the bright sun and moon fall from the sky to the earth,
Yet you, or countless beings like you, will never force me away from this tree."

The powerful army of demons came forth.

With wild cries, playing conchs and various drums, they asked:

"When you see this terrifying army of Mara,
Oh, our son, our dear child, are you not annihilated already?
"You are as bright as gold from the Jambu River, or the pericarp of campaka flower;
You are youthful, praised and honoured by gods and humans.
But today you will meet your doom in this great battle;
You will come under the control of Mara, like the moon seized by the demigod."

With the voice of Brahma and the call of the cuckoo bird,
The Bliss-Gone One spoke to the hordes of yaksas and raksasas:

"He who hopes to remove someone like me from this perfect tree
Is a fool who tries to frighten space itself.
"No one can harm me here beneath this tree,
Not even someone who can destroy the trichiliocosm and count its motes of dust,
Not even someone who can draw all the water in the oceans through a single straw,
Not even someone who can split the supreme diamond mountain in a single instant."

Mara, being thus restrained, became angry;
He held aloft his unsheathed, sharp sword.
"Monk, quick, get up and do as I tell you,
Or I will cut you right away like a bamboo twig or durva grass."

The Bodhisattva replied:

"Even if this trichiliocosm were filled with demons,
And each of them brandished a sword as large as Mount Meru,
They could not bend a hair on my body, let alone kill me.
Do not disbelieve me; I am reminding you of my firm resolve."

With faces of camels, oxen, and elephants, and terrifying eyes,
With venomous snakes for arms, with horrible poisonous eyes,
They hurled erupting volcanoes at him,
As well as trees with their roots, and copper and iron.
They gathered like clouds from the four directions,
Roaring and raining down bolts of lightning, iron balls,
Swords, spears, sharp axes, and poisoned arrows.
They shattered the earth's surface and pulverized trees.
Some had one hundred hands and shot one hundred arrows.
From their mouths they shot out poisonous snakes and fire,
While seizing crocodiles and other aquatic creatures from the ocean.
Some transformed into garudas and pounced at snakes.
Infuriated, some hurled iron balls the size of Mount Meru,
As well as blazing mountain peaks.
Hitting the ground, they made the earth quake
And stirred up the underground masses of water.
Some jumped in front of him and some attacked him from behind;
Yelling out, "You child!" they attacked from the left and from the right.
Their hands and feet were turned the wrong way, and their heads were afire;
Blazing lightning bolts sprang forth from their eyes.
As he witnessed this army of demons, ugly with unnatural forms,
This pure being understood that they were like an illusion.
"There is no Mara here, no army, no being, and also no self;
Like the moon reflected in a pond, so does this threefold universe revolve.
"There is no eye, no man, no women, and no self;
There is no ear, no nose, no tongue, and no body.
No one created these phenomena and no one experiences them;
They arise in dependency and are empty both from within and without."
As he proclaimed the truth that phenomena are empty,
The yaksas who are agreeable to discipline
Perceived the weapons in their hands to be flower garlands.
Such was the result of the words spoken by the One Who Always Speaks the Truth.
He gracefully ran his right hand over his body from head to toe—
The hand, which was adorned with a fine web,
Which had beautiful copper-coloured nails, sparkling like gold from the Jambu River,
And was marked with a thousand-spoked wheel, and was auspicious with the merit of virtue.
He stretched out his hand, like a lightning bolt striking from the sky,
And said, "This earth is my witness.
In the past I have made millions of elaborate sacrifices
And never denied those who petitioned me.
"Water and fire and wind are my witnesses,
And so are Brahma, the lord of beings, the moon, the sun, and the stars.
The buddhas in the ten directions are my witnesses;
My discipline, practice, and the superior branches of awakening are all my witnesses.
"Generosity, discipline, and patience are my witnesses;
Diligence, concentration, and knowledge,
The four limitless contemplations, and the five higher knowledges are my witnesses.
In fact all the gradual practices of awakening are my witnesses.
"However many beings there are in the ten directions,
With all their strength of merit, discipline, and wisdom,
And all their many unrestricted sacrifices,
They do not equal even 1 percent of the qualities in a single hair of mine."
He gracefully touched his hand to the earth
So that the earth resounded like a copper vase.
As Mara heard this he fell to the ground,
And then heard the words, "Strike! Catch this friend of darkness."
As Mara's body started to sweat, his splendour disappeared and his face grew pale;
Mara now saw himself overcome by old age.
He beat his chest and cried out in fear, with no protector in sight;
Mara's mind was confused and his thoughts befuddled.
His elephants, horses, conveyances, and chariots all fell to the ground;
The yaksas, kumbhandas, and flesh eaters were terrified and ran.
Disoriented, they could not find their way, and without resting place or protection,
They fled like birds seeing a forest fire.
Parents, children, sisters, and brothers asked about them:
"Where were they seen? Where have they gone?"
And in this way they started to argue and fight with each other:
"Such suffering has befallen us, and there are no prospects for living."
The great army of demons, so utterly unshakable,
Was now all gone, dispersed, and no more together.
For seven days they did not see each other,
And when they finally did see their phantasmal forms, they said, "Great to see you alive."
The goddess in the tree felt compassion;
She took her vase with water and sprinkled the friend of darkness.
"Quick, get up! You must depart without delay!
For this is what happens to those who pay no heed to the words of the Master."

Mara replied:

"I did not listen to the kind and helpful advice of my sons,

And offended against a perfectly pure being.
Therefore I now reap suffering, fear, misfortune, grief, ruin,
Lamentation, loss of honour, and this miserable state."

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The goddess replied:

"A fool who offends against those who are faultless
Shall himself meet with many troubles—
Fear, suffering, calamities, misery,
Lamentation, murder, and bondage."

The leaders of gods, demigods, garudas, kiṃnaras, and raksasas,

Brahma, Indra, and the gods in the Heaven of Making Use of Others' Emanations

And the Heaven of Joy all proclaimed his victory and called out:

"You have conquered Mara's army! Hero of the World, be victorious!"

They offered garlands of pearls, crescent moons, parasols, flags, and banners,

And showered him with flowers and powders of aloe, tagara, and sandalwood. [343]

They played music and sang,

"Sit at the tree, O Hero, O Lion Who Conquers His Enemies.

"At this supreme seat, you have conquered with love the wicked army of demons.

Hero, today you shall attain awakening!

The ten powers, the unique qualities, the distinct realisations,

And the experiences of a buddha you shall attain today.

"In order to tame Mara, you entered this battle.

There were 360 million beings who witnessed

The power and might of a perfect bodhisattva,

And 240 million who formed the wish for the perfect awakening of a buddha!"

This concludes the twenty-first chapter on conquering Mara. [F.165.a]

LALITA-VISTARA CHAPTER 22 — Perfect and Complete Awakening

[Now the stage is set for the Bodhisattva to attain awakening under the Bodhi Tree, a gradual process that unfolds throughout the night until he fully and perfectly awakens at dawn to become the Buddha ("awakened") or Tathāgata, as he is known subsequent to his awakening.]

Monks, once the Bodhisattva had destroyed his demonic opponents, vanquished his enemies, triumphed in the face of battle, and raised high the parasols, standards, and banners of conquest, he settled into the first meditative concentration. That state is free from desires, free of factors connected with evil deeds and nonvirtues, accompanied by thought and analysis, and imbued with the joy and pleasure born of discernment.

When he had brought about the cessation of thought and analysis, he became perfectly quiet in and of himself, and therefore his mind became concentrated. Through this he settled into the second meditative concentration, which is free of thought and analysis and is imbued with the joy and pleasure born of meditative absorption.

Through disenchantment with joy, he remained impartial, maintained mindfulness and introspection, and experienced physical pleasure. He thus settled into the third meditative concentration, which is unconnected with joy. The noble ones call such a person the impartial one dwelling on pleasure that is imbued with mindfulness.

Through relinquishing pleasure at that moment, and having formerly relinquished pain in the past, both mental pleasure and displeasure vanished. Thus he settled into the fourth meditative concentration, which is perfectly pristine impartiality and mindfulness, unconnected with pleasure or pain.

While the Bodhisattva's mind—purified and cleansed, lucid, free of basic and subsidiary afflictions, gentle, adaptable, and immovable—was immersed in this way, in the early station of the night he produced the intent to actualize the knowledge that sees wisdom with the divine eye, and so he directed his mind toward that purpose.

Then the Bodhisattva, with the pristine divine eye beyond that of humans, looked at sentient beings. He saw them dying and being born, in all their beauty and ugliness, in favourable and unfavourable circumstances, degenerating or advancing precisely in accordance with their actions. With this understanding he thought:

"Alas! Sentient beings engage in negative physical, verbal, and mental conduct. Harbouring wrong views, they revile the noble ones. As they engage in the actions associated with wrong views, once their bodies collapse and they die, they fall into bad migrations and are born among the hell realms. Yet other sentient beings engage in negative physical, verbal, and mental conduct. Harboring the correct view, they do not revile noble ones. Since they engage in the actions associated with the correct view, once their bodies collapse and they die, they are born into pleasant existences in the god realms."

In this manner, with his pristine divine eye beyond that of humans, the Bodhisattva saw sentient beings dying and being born, in all their beauty and ugliness, in favourable and unfavourable circumstances, degenerating and advancing, respectively, precisely in accordance with their actions. Monks, this was indeed how, during the first station of the night, the Bodhisattva actualized knowledge, removed darkness, and lit the light.

Then, while his mind—purified and cleansed, lucid, free of basic and subsidiary afflictions, supple, flexible, and immovable—was immersed in this way, in the middle station of the night the Bodhisattva produced the intent to actualize the knowledge that sees the wisdom of recollecting past lives, and so he directed his mind toward that purpose.

In this way he recollected the previous lives of himself and other sentient beings, starting with one, two, three, four, and five lifetimes, then ten, twenty, thirty, forty, and fifty more lifetimes, then one hundred lifetimes, one thousand lifetimes, one hundred thousand lifetimes, then many hundreds of thousands of lifetimes, ten million lifetimes, a billion lifetimes, ten billion lifetimes, a trillion lifetimes, and a quadrillion lifetimes, then several billion, several tens of billions, several trillions, and several quadrillions of lifetimes, all the way up to the lifetimes in an eon of destruction, an eon of formation, an eon of both destruction and formation, and several eons of both destruction and formation. He remembered the former lives of himself and others in the greatest detail, thinking:

"In that place I had this name, this surname, this family, this caste, this diet, this lifespan, stayed for this duration, and experienced these kinds of pleasure and pain.

After falling from there, I was born here. After falling from there, I was born here…"

Then, while his mind—purified and cleansed, lucid, free of basic and subsidiary afflictions, supple, flexible, and immovable—was immersed in this way, during the final station of the night, just at the break of dawn, right at the time of night when the morning drum is beaten, the Bodhisattva produced the intent to actualize the knowledge that brings suffering and its origin to an end and realizes the insight that exhausts defilements, and so he directed his mind to that purpose.

Then he thought: "How miserable this world is! It is anguished by birth, old age, sickness, death, departure, and rebirth, but it does not know how to remove itself from this massive heap of pure anguish, marked foremost by old age, sickness, and death. Alas! If only beings understood how to extinguish this massive heap of pure anguish marked foremost by old age, sickness, and death."

Then the Bodhisattva continued to think: "What is the prerequisite for old age and dying to take place? And what is the causal condition of aging and death?" It then occurred to him: "Aging and death happen when there is birth. Birth is the causal condition of old age and death."

Then the Bodhisattva thought again: "What is the prerequisite for birth to take place? What is the causal condition of birth?" It then occurred to him: "Birth happens when there is existence. Existence is the causal condition of birth."

Then the Bodhisattva wondered: "What is the prerequisite for existence to emerge?

What is the causal condition of existence?" It then occurred to the Bodhisattva: "Existence

occurs when there is clinging. Clinging is the causal condition of existence."

Then the Bodhisattva wondered: "What is the prerequisite for clinging to occur?

What is the causal condition of clinging?" It then occurred to him: "Clinging occurs when there is craving. Craving is the causal condition of clinging."

Then the Bodhisattva thought: "What is the prerequisite for craving to take place?

What is the causal condition of craving?" It then occurred to him: "Craving occurs when there is feeling. Feeling is the causal condition of craving."

The Bodhisattva then wondered: "What is the prerequisite for feeling to take place? What is the causal condition of feeling?" It then occurred to him: "Feeling happens when there is contact. Contact is the causal condition of feeling."

Then the Bodhisattva thought: "What is the prerequisite for contact to occur?

What is the causal condition of contact?" It then occurred to him: "Contact happens when the six sense fields are present. The six sense fields are the causal condition of contact."

Then the Bodhisattva wondered: "What is the prerequisite for the six sense fields to emerge? What is the causal condition of the six sense fields?" It then occurred to him: "The six sense fields emerge when there is name and form. Name and form is the causal condition of the six sense fields." The Bodhisattva then thought: "What is the prerequisite for name and form to come into being? What is the causal condition of name and form?" It then occurred to him: "Name and form come into being when there is consciousness. Consciousness is the causal condition of name and form."

Then the Bodhisattva wondered: "What is the prerequisite for consciousness to form? What is the causal condition of consciousness?" It then occurred to him: "Consciousness emerges when there are formations. Formations are the causal condition of consciousness."

The Bodhisattva then pondered: "What is the prerequisite for formations to form?

What is the causal condition for formations?" It then occurred to him: "Formations come into being when there is ignorance. Ignorance is the causal condition of formations."

Then, monks, the thought occurred to the Bodhisattva: "Ignorance provides the causal condition for formations. Formations provide the causal condition for consciousness.

Consciousness provides the causal condition for name and form. Name and form provides the causal condition for the six sense fields. The six sense fields provide the causal condition for contact. Contact provides the causal condition for feeling. Feeling provides the causal condition for craving. Craving provides the causal condition for clinging. Clinging provides the causal condition for existence. Existence provides the causal condition for birth. Birth provides the causal condition for old age and death, lamentation, pain, despair, and torment. Such is how this massive heap of pure anguish comes into being."

Monks, through considering and ruminating over these factors, which had never before been heard, there dawned in the Bodhisattva wisdom, vision, knowledge, intelligence, prudence, and insight, and a light began to shine.

Then the Bodhisattva thought: "What must be absent for old age and death not to occur? What must be prevented to eliminate old age and death?" It then occurred to him: "When there is no birth, old age and death do not happen. Old age and death are prevented by preventing birth."

Then the Bodhisattva pondered: "What must be absent for birth not to happen?

What must be prevented to eliminate birth?" The thought then occurred to him:

"When there is no existence, birth does not take place. Birth is eliminated by preventing existence."

The Bodhisattva then considered: "What must be absent to avoid everything down to formations to manifest? What must be prevented to eliminate formations?" It then occurred to him: "When there is no ignorance, formations do not form. Preventing ignorance prevents formations. By preventing formations, consciousness is prevented, and so on, until birth is prevented, thus putting an end to old age and death, anguish, lamentation, pain, despair, and torment. Such is how this massive heap of pure anguish is brought to an end."

Monks, through considering and ruminating over these factors that had never before been heard, there dawned in the Bodhisattva wisdom, vision, knowledge, intelligence, prudence, and insight, and a light began to shine.

Monks, on that occasion I accurately understood four truths [The Four Noble Truths.]. I understood: (1st) the defiled is suffering, (2nd) the source of the defiled, (3rd) how the defiled is brought to cessation, and (4th) the path that leads to the cessation of the defiled. I accurately understood the defilement of desire, the defilement of craving, the defilement of ignorance, and the defilement of beliefs. I understood where exactly these defilements come to an end without leaving any residue, and where exactly these defilements vanish and disappear without leaving any residue.

I accurately understood the identity of ignorance, the source of ignorance, the cessation of ignorance, and the path leading to its cessation. I understood where exactly all ignorance without exception vanishes and disappears. And further I accurately understood the precise identity of formations, the source of formations, the cessation of formations, and the path leading to their cessation. I accurately understood the precise identity of consciousness, the source of consciousness, the cessation of consciousness, and the path leading to its cessation.

I accurately understood the precise identity of name and form, the source of name and form, the cessation of name and form, and the path leading to its cessation. I accurately understood the precise identity of the six sense fields, the source of the six sense fields, the cessation of the six sense fields, and the path leading to their cessation. I accurately understood the precise identity of contact, the source of contact, the cessation of contact, and the path leading to its cessation. I accurately understood the precise identity of feeling, the source of feeling, the cessation of feeling, and the path leading to its cessation. I accurately understood the precise identity of craving, the source of craving, the cessation of craving, and the path leading to its cessation. I accurately understood the precise identity of clinging, the source of clinging, the cessation of clinging, and the path leading to its cessation. I accurately understood the precise identity of existence, the source of existence, the cessation of existence, and the path leading to its cessation. I accurately understood the precise identity of birth, the source of birth, the cessation of birth, and the path leading to its cessation.

I accurately understood the precise identity of old age, the source of old age, the cessation of old age, and the path leading to its cessation. I accurately understood the precise identity of death, the source of death, the cessation of death, and the path leading to its cessation. I accurately understood precisely how this massive heap of pure suffering, with its anguish, lamentation, pain, despair, and torment comes into

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being and how it ceases. I accurately understood the precise identity of suffering, the source of suffering, the cessation of suffering, and the path leading to its cessation.

Thus, monks, sure enough, during the final station of night, just at the break of dawn, right at the time for the beating of the morning drum, the Bodhisattva—the being, the good being, the supreme being, the great being, the ox among men, the elephant among men, the lion among men, the bull among men, the hero among men, the champion among men, the adept among men, the lotus among men, the white lotus among men, the supreme beast of burden among men, the unexcelled charioteer among men—reached unexcelled, perfect and complete awakening, attaining the threefold knowledge. He did so through knowledge that consists of one-pointed insight into everything that might be known, understood, attained, realized, and actualised via the wisdom of the noble ones.

Monks, then the divine sons said, "Friends, let us scatter flowers! The Blessed One has reached perfect awakening!"

But just then, some divine sons who had seen buddhas before came together and told the others, "Friends, since perfect and complete buddhas of the past all produced and manifested a sign, do not toss flowers until the Blessed One has made a sign."

Monks, the Thus-Gone One knew that the divine sons were in doubt, so he ascended into the sky to the height of seven palm trees, and while seated there he uttered this phrase of exultation:

"The path has been interrupted;
Impurities have been extinguished.
The outflows have dried up and flow no longer;
The path, now ended, I travel no longer.
This is called the end of suffering!"

The divine sons thus strewed the Thus-Gone One with celestial flowers, piling them up to his knees.

Monks, when the Thus-Gone Gone reached complete awakening in this manner, a thick darkness was lifted, craving was purified, beliefs were eradicated, the afflictions were rattled, the splinter was removed, the knot was untied, the flag of pride was brought down, the flag of righteousness was lifted, latent formations were uprooted, the suchness of phenomena became known, the absolute was comprehended, the realm of phenomena was understood, the nature of sentient beings was ascertained, those oriented toward reality were approved of, those oriented toward mistakenness were disapproved of, the indeterminate were accepted, the faculties of sentient beings were seen in all their variety, the conduct of sentient beings was understood, the cure for the illnesses of sentient beings was comprehended, and the medicinal concoction of immortality was employed. He became the king of physicians, who would liberate beings from all suffering and establish them in the bliss of nirvana; he took his seat on the magnificent royal throne of the thus-gone ones, the essence of the thus-gone ones. He discovered the means to complete liberation and entered the city of omniscience, where he mingled perfectly with all buddhas and became inseparable from the comprehension of the realm of phenomena.

Monks, the Thus-Gone One abided on the seat of awakening for the first seven days, reflecting, "Here I have brought an end to the suffering of birth, old age, and death, which has been happening since time immemorial."

Monks, indeed, the very moment that the Bodhisattva attained omniscience, all beings throughout all the worlds in the ten directions instantly became ecstatic.

All the worlds were flooded with bright light, including even the dark spaces between them that were riddled with evil.

All the worlds throughout the ten directions shook in six ways: they quivered, trembled, and quaked, wobbled, rocked, and swayed; they vibrated, shuddered, and reeled, rattled, shook, and convulsed; they clattered, rattled, and clanged, boomed, thundered, and roared.

All the buddhas offered congratulations to the Thus-Gone One for reaching perfect and complete awakening and conferred upon him religious gifts. With these religious gifts, this trichiliocosm became covered with a jewel parasol, and from that jewel parasol issued forth a network of light rays, which illuminated the immeasurable and innumerable worlds throughout the ten directions.

Then the bodhisattvas and divine sons throughout the ten directions uttered an expression of joy:

"An adept among beings, a lotus on the lake of wisdom, has appeared.
Untainted by mundane concerns,
He will cause a cloud of great compassion to mass,
Which will shower throughout the realm of phenomena.
"The gentle rain of Dharma, medicine to living beings,
Will cause all the seeds of the roots of virtue to sprout,
Bring growth to the saplings of faith,
And yield the fruits of liberation."

On this topic, it is said:

Since he defeated Mara, along with his hordes, he is indeed a lion among men.

When this teacher actualized the bliss of concentration
And attained the threefold knowledge by means of the tenfold power,
Many tens of millions of buddha realms throughout the ten directions trembled.

Those bodhisattvas who had previously come desiring the Dharma
Bowed before his feet and said: "Are you not tired?
We have witnessed the army, as terrifying it was,
Vanquished by the strength of your insight, merit, and diligence."

Parasols were carried by the buddhas of one hundred billion realms,
Who said, "Well done, Great Being! You overpowered the demonic hordes
And attained the sublime state, deathless and free of anguish.
Swiftly shower down the rain of true Dharma throughout the three worlds."

The best of beings throughout the ten directions extended their arms
And said in the voice of a cuckoo's call:
"Just as we attained awakening, you too have reached the pristine state;
We are just like butter and clarified butter."

Then the divine maidens of the desire realm perceived that the Thus-Gone One on the seat of awakening had attained higher knowledge, fulfilled his purpose, and become victorious in battle. He had vanquished the demonic opponents, raised parasols, standards, and flags, and become a hero, a supreme victor, a man, a great man, a supreme physician, and a great remover of thorns. Like a lion, he was fearless and without worry. Like an elephant, he was gentle. Since he had relinquished the three stains, he was stainless. He was knowledgeable, since he had actualized the threefold knowledge. He had reached the other shore, since he had crossed the four rivers. He was of royal caste since he upheld the single jewel parasol, a priest of the three worlds since he had abandoned evil actions, a mendicant since he has cracked open the eggshell of ignorance, an ascetic since he had perfectly transcended all attachment, a gentleman since he had eradicated afflictions, a hero since he did not let the banner fall, a powerhouse since he was endowed with the ten powers, a jewel mine since he was replete with all the gems of the Dharma.

Knowing this, the divine maidens approached the seat of awakening and praised the Thus-Gone One with these verses:

"Having defeated the demon hordes
At the trunk of the king of trees,
He sits there unshakable like Mount Meru,
Fearless and silent.
"Through practicing generosity, discipline, and restraint
For many tens of millions of eons,
He attained perfect sublime awakening
And therefore shines here today.
"Through practicing discipline, vows, and austerities
For many tens of millions of eons
While seeking awakening,
He outshines Sakra and Brahma.
"Through wearing the strong armour of forbearance
For many tens of millions of eons,
He embraced suffering
And therefore shines like gold.
"Through the strength and intensity of his valor
Over many tens of millions of eons,
He drove away his opponents
And thus triumphed over Mara's army.
"Through his concentration, higher knowledge, and wisdom
Enacted over many tens of millions of eons,
He revered the best of sages
And is therefore honoured now himself.
"Through his insight, learning, and accumulations,
Developed over the course of tens of millions of eons,
He has benefited tens of millions of sentient beings
And thus swiftly attained awakening.
"He has triumphed over the demon of the aggregates
And likewise over the lord of death and the demon of afflictions.
He has also triumphed over the demon of the gods—
Thus he has no anguish.
"This god of gods,
Revered even by the gods,
Is worthy of reverence throughout the three worlds
As a field for those seeking merit.
"He yields the fruit of immortality;
He is a sublime object of veneration.
When a donation is given to him, the result is never-ending
Until the attainment of supreme awakening.
"The hair between his eyebrows radiates light,
Illuminating many tens of millions of locales.
Outshining even the sun and the moon,
He is a light unto all sentient beings.
"His form is handsome—
Sublime and well-proportioned.
Replete with the best of characteristics and poised to be of benefit,
It is worthy of reverence throughout the three worlds.
"His eyes are pristine:
They spontaneously see
The myriad insentient and sentient,
The locales and multitudes of beings.
"His ears are pristine:
They hear infinite sounds,
Those of gods and humans
And those of the victorious ones' Dharma.
"His tongue is long
And as melodious as a cuckoo's voice.
Let us listen to him speak about the Dharma,
An ambrosia that brings great peace.
"Even witnessing Mara's army,
His mind is unperturbed.
Even seeing the multitudes of gods,
His sensible mind is not ecstatic.
"It was not with knives and arrows
That he defeated Mara's army.
Rather it was with truth, restraint, and austerity
That he overcame the villainous thugs.
"Without budging from his seat,
His body was unharmed.
On that occasion he was neither affectionate
Nor even angry.
"Those gods and humans
Who listen to the Dharma from you,
And strive to accomplish it,
Procure their desired acquisition.
"Through the merit of praising you,
O Victorious One, replete with the resplendence of merit,
May we all immediately become like you,
O Moon among Men!"

Once the guide, a bull among men, had awakened to buddhahood,
Hundreds of billions of realms trembled and Mara was vanquished.

Then, in the cadence of Brahma and the melody of a cuckoo,
The Guide first spoke these verses:

"Merit, fully ripened, brings happiness and vanquishes all suffering.
The wishes of a person with merit will be accomplished;
He will overcome Mara, quickly reach awakening,
And attain nirvana, the tranquil state of peace.
"Thus who could get their fill of making merit?
Who could be satiated with listening to ambrosia-like Dharma?
Who could get enough of dwelling in deserted forests?
Who could get enough of working for the welfare of beings?"

Extending his hand, he said to the bodhisattvas:

"Respect has been paid, thus return to your own places."

All of them bowed to the feet of the Thus-Gone One
And returned to their own abodes, in magnificent arrays.
After witnessing the great demonic horde advancing
And the Bliss-Gone One toying auspiciously with them,
Beings, out of an unparalleled wish to reach awakening, said:

"May we vanquish Mara and his horde, and thus reach the deathless state."

Monks, even while the Thus-Gone One reached perfect and complete awakening seated on his lion's throne at the trunk of the tree of awakening, he simultaneously manifested such innumerable displays of awakened playful activity that they would not be easy to reveal even in an eon.

On this topic, it is said:

The earth became as even as the palm of a hand;
Hundred-petaled lotuses in full bloom arose in a flood of light.
Hundreds of thousands of gods bowed down to the seat of awakening
And witnessed there the One Who Was First Heralded by a Lion's Roar.
Hundreds of trees in the trichiliocosm and also its mountains,
Along with Meru, king of mountains, bowed to the seat of awakening.
Approaching the one with the ten powers, Brahma and Sakra paid homage.
Such was the play of the Lion among Men while at the seat of awakening.
Hundreds of thousands of light rays radiated from his body,
Pervading the perfect realms of the victorious ones and pacifying the three lower realms.
Through this, the unfortunate states were dried up in a mere fraction of an instant,
And hardness, conceit, and hatred were rendered harmless to any sentient being.
Such was the play of the Lion among Men while he sat in his seat.
The resplendent tuft of hair on his forehead

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Outshone the radiance of the sun, moon, jewels, fire, lightning, and gods,
And the crown of the Teacher's head was not beheld by any being whatsoever.
Such was the play of the Lion among Men while he sat in his seat.
By touching the earth with the palm of his hand, it trembled in six ways;
This shook Mara's hordes as if they were tufts of cotton.
Mara, brandishing an arrow, etched images in the earth.
Such was the play of the Lion among Men while he sat in his seat.
This concludes the twenty-second chapter on perfect and complete awakening.

LALITA-VISTARA CHAPTER 23 — Exaltation

[Recognising his epic achievement, the entire pantheon of divine beings visits the Thus-Gone One, making offerings and singing his praise.]

Then the divine sons from the pure abodes circumambulated the Thus-Gone One, who sat at the seat of awakening. They showered him with a rain of divine sandalwood powder and praised him with these fitting verses:
"You are a light that has dawned upon this world!
Illuminating Lord of the World,
You have given eyes for abandoning afflictions
To this world gone blind!
"You are victorious in battle!
Through merit you have fulfilled your aim!
Replete with virtuous qualities,
You will satisfy beings!
"Sinless, you have crossed the mire
And stand on dry ground, O Gautama!
You will ferry across other sentient beings,
Who are carried away by the swift current!
"Your great insight exalts you!
You are without peer throughout the worlds!
You are untainted by mundane concerns,
Like a lotus floating on water!
"With the torch of your insight,
You can awaken
This long-slumbering world,
Shrouded in the fog of darkness!
"Into the world of the living,
Chronically troubled with the disease of afflictions,
You have come, O King of Physicians,
To cure the world of all illnesses!
"Now that you have appeared, O Lord,
The unfortunate states will become vacant!
Gods and humans
Will become filled with happiness!
"Those who seek to behold you,
O Gentle Bull among Men,
Will never go to the lower realms
For thousands of eons!
"Those who listen to the Dharma
Will become scholars and be free of illness.
They will be profound and bring an end to the aggregates,
And be free from fear!
"As they sever the bonds of affliction,
They will all be free of clinging
And swiftly become liberated,
And thus attain the fruition of supreme virtue!
"They will be objects of generosity in the world,
Worthy of receiving gifts!
Donations to them will not diminish,
But become causes for all beings to reach nirvana!"

Monks, once the divine sons from the realm of the pure abode had praised the Thus-Gone One in this manner, they prostrated to the Thus-Gone One with palms joined and stood to one side.

Monks, then the luminous divine sons paid homage to the Thus-Gone One sitting at the seat of awakening with a plethora of flowers, incense, perfumes, garlands, unguents, parasols, standards, and flags. When the offerings had been made, they circumambulated him three times and then praised him with these verses:
"Your mind is profound, O Sage, and your voice is sweet;
O Supreme Sage, your song-like voice is melodious like Brahma's.
You have discovered the absolute awakening, most sublime!
Homage to you, who has reached the culmination of all melodious tunes!
"You are protection, an island, the highest goal!
You are the compassionate and loving lord of this world!
You are the supreme physician, remover of thorns!
You are the healer who brings sublime benefit!
"As soon as you saw Buddha Dipaṃkara,
You attained the cloud masses of love and compassion.
Release a torrential downpour of ambrosia, O Lord!
Quell the torment of gods and humans!
"Like a lotus you are untainted by the three worlds!
Like Meru you are immovable and unshakable!
Like a vajra your pledge is unwavering!
Like the moon you are replete with the best of all qualities!"

Monks, once the luminous gods had praised the Thus-Gone One so, they bowed to him with palms joined and stood to one side.

Then the gods from the Brahma realm, led by the son of gods, Subrahman, covered the Thus-Gone One sitting at the seat of awakening with a jewel net studded with many trillions of gems. They circumambulated him three times, then praised him with these fitting verses:
"With your virtuous and stainless insight, you radiate and shine.
You are replete with the thirty-two most sublime characteristics;
Attentive and intelligent, you possess wisdom.
Tireless One, to you we bow down.
"Utterly devoid of the three stains, you are stainless and pure.
Renowned throughout the three worlds, discoverer of the threefold knowledge,
You bestow insight into the threefold liberation.
We bow to you who possesses the three stainless eyes. [360]
"You have banished this foul dark eon, you of well-restrained mind;
Exalted in compassion and love, you work for the welfare of beings.
Sage Exalted in Joy, your mind is tranquil;
Deliverer from Doubt, you delight in impartiality.
"Exalted in discipline and austerity, you act for the welfare of beings;
Having purified your own conduct, you have reached the culmination of conduct.
As the teacher of the four truths, you delight in emancipation;
Being liberated yourself, you liberate other beings as well.
"When Mara, powerful and persistent, arrived,
You defeated him with your insight, diligence, and love,
And then you attained the deathless supreme state.
Vanquisher of the Villainous Hordes, to you we pay homage!"

Monks, once the gods of the Brahma realm, led by the divine son Subrahman, had
praised the Thus-Gone One with these verses, they bowed to him with palms joined and stood to one side.

Then those sons of Mara who were on the side of righteousness approached the Thus-Gone One and covered him with giant jewel parasols and canopies. Then with palms joined, they praised the Thus-Gone One with these fitting verses:
"When we, the dreadful army of Mara, appeared before you,
In your vast power, you vanquished instantaneously our terrifying demonic horde,
Without rising, moving, or saying a word.
Sage who accomplishes all aims and is honoured in the three worlds, we pay homage to you!
"The trillions of demonesses, numerous as the grains of sand in the river Ganges,
Could not move or sway you from the trunk of the sublime bodhi tree;
They made trillions of offerings to you, as many as the grains of sand in the Ganges.
That is why, O Lord, seated here today at the trunk of the Bodhi tree, you shine!
"While pursuing the conduct of supreme awakening,
You gave up your dearest wife, beloved sons, servants, gardens, towns,
Your cities, kingdom, harems, and elephants, [361]
Your head, eyes, tongue, and feet—that is why you shine today!
"'As a buddha, wearing the armour of concentration, miraculous power, and intelligence,
I myself will ferry across trillions of beings, swept away in the ocean of suffering,
In the ship of the sublime Dharma.' This aspiration that you repeatedly voiced
Is now fulfilled, and you will liberate all beings!
"By the merit of praising you, Most Eminent of Speakers, who gave eyes to the
world,
May we all, rejoicing, aspire to omniscience!
As we attain the sublime and peerless awakening that all buddhas praise,
May we defeat the demon hordes and awaken to omniscience!"

Monks, once the sons of Mara had praised the Thus-Gone One in this manner, with palms joined they bowed to the Thus-Gone One and stood to one side.

Then a divine son from the Heaven of Making Use of Others' Emanations, surrounded and escorted by millions of divine sons, sprinkled the Thus-Gone One with golden lotuses from the Jambu River. Then, in his presence, they praised him with these verses:
"Your speech is gentle, calm, and forthright;
Free of the stains of darkness, you have realized the immortal state.
You deserve an unparalleled treatment in heaven and on earth;
Your intelligence is blazing—to you we bow!
"You bring joy and have abandoned afflictions and removed stains and blemishes;
With your joyous speech, you delight gods and humans!
With the light rays from your stainless and effulgent sublime body,
You triumph over this world, like the master of gods and humans!
"Vanquisher of Foes, you are knowledgeable in the conduct of others;
Beloved in the world of gods and humans, you overturn the thoughts of others;
Brilliant and Wise One, you illuminate the conduct of others.
Walk here on this path traversed by those with the ten powers!
"Having relinquished the ubiquitous clinging to existence, suffering falsely construed,
May you train gods and humans by training their minds.
May you course in the sky throughout the four directions like the moon,
And so be a sublime eye and a final refuge in these three worlds!
"Though beloved in the world of gods and humans, you do not gravitate toward sense objects;
Without indulging in desire, you take pleasure in virtue.
Proclaimed far and wide, you are without equal in the three worlds;
You are the protector, the refuge, the only resort of beings here!"

Monks, once the divine sons from the Heaven of Making Use of Others' Emanations, led by the divine son in charge, had praised the Thus-Gone One, with palms joined they bowed to him and stood to one side.

Next the divine son Sunirmita, surrounded and escorted by an assembly of gods from the Heaven of Delighting in Emanations, covered the Thus-Gone One with ribbons of silk studded with various gemstones, and in his presence praised him with these verses:
"You are the light of Dharma that has arisen from relinquishing the three stains;
You destroy delusion, beliefs, and ignorance, and unfold brilliance and glory!
You place in the deathless state those who indulge in the wrong path! [363]
You are an object of veneration here in the world, honoured in heaven and earth!
"You are a physician skilled in healing, who dispenses the elixir of happiness.
Through the path of the previous victorious ones, you eradicate all illnesses of beings,
The lingering symptoms of false belief, affliction, and ignorance that has accumulated.
For this reason, you are the sublime physician and guide who courses upon the earth.
"Sunlight, moonlight, stars, firelight, and the luster of jewels,
The luster of Sakra and Brahma—none of it shines in the presence of your splendour!
With your brilliance and illuminating insight, you are replete with radiance and glory!
To you whose extraordinary wisdom has directly manifested, we bow down!
"Consummate Guide, whose melodious speech relates what is true and untrue
Whose mind is gentle, composed, with subdued sense faculties, and great calmness,
A teacher who can instruct the audiences of gods and humans in need of instruction,
To you, Sage of the Sakyas, bull among men, honoured by gods and humans, we pay homage!
"In your intelligence, you hold wisdom instructions to be supreme and convey them
throughout the three existences;
You remove the three stains and teach the threefold knowledge and the threefold liberation.
O Sage, you understand, according to intellect, who is a fitting vessel and who is not!
To you, unique in the trichiliocosm and honoured in heavens and on earth, we pay homage!"

Monks, once the divine son Sunirmita and his entourage had praised the Thus-Gone
One, with palms joined they bowed down to the Thus-Gone One and sat to one side.

Next the divine son Santusita, along with other divine sons from the Heaven of
Joy, approached the Thus-Gone One as he sat at the seat of awakening and draped
him with a vast patchwork of divine garments. Then he praised the Thus-Gone One in his presence with these verses:

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"When you were dwelling in the Heaven of Joy, you taught the Dharma liberally.
That teaching of yours continues unabated; even today the divine sons practice the Dharma.
We cannot get enough of looking at you, nor can we get enough of listening to the Dharma;
Ocean of Good Qualities, Lamp of the World, to you we bow with head and heart.
"When you departed from the Heaven of Joy, you exhausted all unfortunate states;
Then, while seated at the Bodhi tree, you quelled the afflictions of all beings.
To those for whom you discovered vast awakening and defeated Mara,
With your aspiration now fulfilled, quick, turn the wheel of Dharma in detail!
"There are many thousands of beings throughout the ten directions;
Let the Dharma be heard by those who seek it!
May you make haste to turn the wheel in detail!
May you liberate those thousands of creatures from existence!"
Monks, once the divine son Santusita and his entourage had praised the Thus-Gone
One, with palms joined they bowed to him and sat to one side.
Then the gods from the Heaven Free from Strife, led by the god Suyama, went to where the Thus-Gone One was seated. When they arrived, they worshiped the Thus-Gone One sitting at the seat of awakening with a plethora of flowers, incense, garlands, perfumes, and unguents, and in his presence they praised him with these fitting verses:
"Who is superior to you, you who are without equal
In discipline, absorption, and insight?
To you, Thus-Gone One, adept in inclinations and liberation,
We pay homage with our heads bowed!
"We witness at the seat of awakening
The magnificent displays performed by the gods.
How you are worshiped by gods and humans!
No one else deserves this at all!
"It is not in vain that you have come,
Enduring great hardship in the process.
Defeating the wicked one and his army
You attained unexcelled awakening.
"You have illuminated the ten directions,
Lit up the three worlds with the lamp of your insight.
It is you who will remove the world's cataracts,
Bestowing upon it unexcelled eyes!
"Praising you for an eon
Will not even cover the pores of your body.
Ocean of Good Qualities, renowned throughout the world,
To you, Thus-Gone One, we pay homage with our heads bowed!"
Once the divine sons from the Heaven Free from Strife, led by the divine son Suyama, had praised the Thus-Gone One, with palms joined they bowed to the Thus-Gone One and then stood to one side.
Then Sakra, lord of the gods, together with the gods from the Heaven of the Thirty-Three, paid homage to the Thus-Gone One with a display of flowers, incense, garlands, unguents, parasols, standards, and flags, then praised him with these verses:
"O Sage, you are unflappable, faultless, and ever stable, like Mount Meru!
With merit and splendour, your wisdom light is renowned throughout the ten directions!
O Sage, you previously paid homage to hundreds of thousands of buddhas,
And in their place, you have overcome the demon horde at the Bodhi tree!
"Source of discipline, learning, absorption, and insight, you are the banner of wisdom!
Destroyer of old age and death, you are the supreme physician, who gives eyes to the world!
O Sage, having cast off the three defilements and defects, your sense faculties are restrained, your mind composed!
To you, O Bull among Sakyas, Dharma King of Beings, we go for refuge!
"Your work to achieve awakening, exalted by the force of your perseverance, was infinite!
Your powers—the powers of your insight, skillful means, love, and great merit—
Were already infinite, O Blessed One, when you set out for the state of awakening!
Thus you have the strength of the ten powers today on the seat of awakening!
"Seeing the infinite hordes of armies, the gods became anxious and frightened,
Lest the King of Mendicants in repose at the seat of awakening should be troubled.
But the spirits did not frighten you, nor could they move your body;
Rather your hand struck hard, shaking them, and you defeated Mara's army.
"Just as the previous ones attained sublime awakening on the lion throne,
You have followed in their footsteps; you awakened and became the same as them.
Identical in heart and mind, you have attained omniscience.
Thus, Sublime Being in the World, Self-Arisen One, you are a field of merit for beings."
Monks, once Sakra, lord of the gods, together with the gods from the Heaven of the
Thirty-Three, had praised the Thus-Gone One, with palms joined they bowed to the
Thus-Gone One and sat to one side.
Next the four great kings, together with the divine sons from the Heaven of the Four Great Kings, went to the place where the Thus-Gone One was. When they arrived, they paid homage to him. Hundreds of thousands of divine sons surrounded him, holding garlands and bouquets of abhimuktaka flowers, campaka flowers, jasmine flowers, nutmeg blossoms, and dhanuskari flowers. Hundreds of thousands of celestial maidens surrounded him, singing divine songs. Thereafter they all praised the Thus-Gone One with these fitting verses:
"You whose speech is exceedingly melodious and whose cadence is captivating,
Who is soothing and clear minded like the moon,
Whose face is smiling and whose tongue is long,
To you, Supreme Enrapturing Sage, we pay homage!
"When your melodious speech,
A voice so sweet and beloved among gods and humans,
Resounds throughout all the worlds,
It surpasses the voice of all who can speak!
"It quells the afflictions of attachment, anger, and delusion;
It engenders pristine joy within nonhumans.
Upon hearing the Dharma with a stainless heart,
They all attain exalted liberation.
"You do not disparage the ignorant,
Nor are you ever drunk with conceit about your knowledge.
You are neither pompous nor timid,
Like a firm mountain in the middle of a sea.
"People here have profited well
Since such a being has appeared in the world!
Like the goddess of wealth who is the giver of riches,
You will bestow your Dharma throughout the whole world!"
Once the gods of the Heaven of the Four Great Kings, led foremost by the four great kings themselves, had praised the Thus-Gone One in repose at the seat of awakening, they joined palms and bowed to the Thus-Gone One and stood to one side. Then the gods of the sky approached the Thus-Gone One. As a way of paying homage to the Perfect and Completely Awakened One, the gods adorned the whole sky with a net of jewels and small bells. They offered him jewel parasols, jewel banners, jewel and silk brocade wreaths, ornate jewel earrings, flower wreaths, and pearl strands of various types held by gods who revealed the upper half of their bodies, as well as crescent moons. Upon making these offerings, in his presence they praised him with these verses:
"Dwelling constantly in the sky, O Sage,
We clearly see all the activities of beings as they are.
Looking at your conduct, O Pristine Sentient Being,
We do not see confusion in your focused mind.
"The sky is filled with the guides of humans,
Bodhisattvas who have come to pay tribute.
Since in this way they are bodies of space,
No harm is caused to the celestial mansions.
"Even though rains of flowers,
Enough to fill a world system to the brim,
Descend onto your body from the sky,
They are like rivers flowing into an ocean.
"We see parasols, flowers, earrings, and garlands,
Wreaths of campaka flowers,
Necklaces, moons, and crescent moons.
The gods bestrew you with them, yet they are not mixed together.
"There is no room here for even a hair—
The whole sky is filled with gods.
They pay homage to you, Supreme Biped,
But you are neither proud nor overwhelmed."
Once the gods of the sky had so praised the Thus-Gone One in repose at the seat of awakening, they joined palms and bowed to him and stood to one side. Then the terrestrial gods, in order to pay homage to the Thus-Gone One, cleansed and anointed the entire surface of the earth, sprinkled it with perfumed water, strewed it with flowers, covered it with canopies of various dyed fabrics, and then offered it to the Thus-Gone One. Thereafter they praised him with these verses:
"The trichiliocosm has become as indestructible and firm as a vajra. You sat on the seat of awakening by virtue of your vajra-hard position when you said:
'Even should my skin, flesh, bones, and marrow shrivel up right here,
I will not rise from this place without reaching awakening.'
"If you, Lion among Men, do not consecrate the entire trichiliocosm,
Then the whole thing will collapse
With the violent shock of the arrival of bodhisattvas,
The soles of whose feet will cause ten million realms to quake.
"An illustrious gift is gained by the terrestrial gods
Wherever the most sublime being happens to walk.
You illuminate darkness everywhere in the world;
Now that the trichiliocosm is a basis for worship, how much more so is your body?
"Should we take hold of all the lands of the trichiliocosm—
All the myriad hundreds of thousands of subterranean bodies of water,
And all the myriad livelihoods of beings in those places—
We would offer it all to you. May you use it according to your wishes!
"Wherever you shall sit, walk, or rest,
And wherever the listeners, who are the children of the Bliss-Gone Gautama,
Shall preach the Dharma, or wherever anyone shall listen to it,
We dedicate those places, along with all roots of virtue, for the sake of awakening!"
Once the terrestrial gods had praised in this manner the Thus-Gone One sitting in repose at the seat of awakening, they bowed to him with palms joined and stood to one side.
This concludes the twenty-third chapter on exaltation.

LALITA-VISTARA CHAPTER 24 — Trapusa and Bhallika

[For seven weeks following his awakening, the Buddha remains alone in the forest and does not teach. He is concerned that the truth he has discovered might be too profound for others to comprehend. Sensing this dilemma, the demon Māra tries to trick the Buddha one last time. Māra visits the Buddha and suggests that perhaps this would be a suitable time to pass into parinirvāṇa! The Buddha rejects Māra's advice, and finally Māra retreats. During these first seven weeks, the Buddha also encounters some local passersby, but no teaching is given.]

Monks, while the Thus-Gone One was being praised by the gods after he had reached perfect and complete awakening, he stared at the king of trees without blinking and without getting out of his cross-legged position. Seven days passed in this way while he was at the trunk of the Bodhi tree experiencing bliss from the sustenance of concentration and joy.
Then, once the seven days had passed, the divine sons from the desire realm approached the Thus-Gone One, carrying tens of thousands of vases containing scented water. The divine sons from the form realm also approached the Thus-Gone One, carrying tens of thousands of vases containing scented water. When they arrived, they bathed the Bodhi tree and the Thus-Gone One with the scented water. Innumerable gods, nagas, yaksas, gandharvas, demigods, garudas, kiṃnaras, and mahoragas anointed their own bodies with the scented water that had come into contact with the body of the Thus-Gone One. This engendered among them the intention set on unexcelled, perfect and complete awakening. Even after the divine sons and the others had returned to their respective realms, they did not part from the scented water and desired no other scent. Through the joy and the supreme joy that are born from respectfully taking to heart the Thus-Gone One, they became irreversible from unexcelled, perfect and complete awakening.
Monks, then a divine son named Samantakusuma,]who had joined in that very audience, bowed down to the feet of the Thus-Gone One, and with palms joined said to him, "What, O Blessed One, is the name of the absorption in which the Thus-Gone One remained for seven days without moving from the cross-legged position?"
Monks, thus addressed, the Thus-Gone One told the divine son the following: "Array of the food of joy, O divine son, is the name of the meditative absorption in which the Thus-Gone One remained for seven days without moving from the cross-legged position."
Monks, the divine son Samantakusuma then praised the Thus-Gone One with these verses:
"Your feet are covered with chariot wheels
And shine with the brilliance of stainless, thousand-petaled lotuses.
The crowns of gods brush your feet;
To your feet, replete with splendour, I bow down!"
When he bowed to the feet of the Bliss-Gone One,
The divine son became delighted.
He said this, which was soothing to gods and humans,
And removed their doubt:
"You give joy to the Sakya clan;
You bring an end to attachment, anger, and delusion.
You bring the culmination of all wishes;
Please dispel the doubts of gods and humans.

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"You have gained immeasurable omniscience,
A buddha with the ten powers.
So, Victorious One, why do you remain at the centre of the earth
In the cross-legged pose for seven days?
"What are you staring at for seven days,
With your eyes that are like blooming hundred-petaled lotuses
As you gaze, O Lion among Men,
With your unblinking and pristine eyes?
"Is it your aspiration
That makes you remain cross-legged
For seven days at the king of trees?
Or is it common to all the lions of speech?
"With teeth so even and pure,
And with the supremely fragrant breath of one with the ten powers,
Please speak words of unadulterated truth,
And thus bring joy to gods and humans!"
The Moon-Faced One replied:
"Listen, divine son, to what I say!
I will briefly offer
A response to these questions.
"Just as a king does not leave the place
Where he was consecrated by his kinfolk
For a duration of seven days,
Since that is the duty of kings,
"So also victorious ones, even with the ten powers,
When consecrated, their aspirations fulfilled,
Remain in the cross-legged position
At the centre of the earth for seven days.
"Just as a warrior stares
At vanquished enemy troops,
Buddhas too, at the seat of awakening,
Stare at the afflictions, now destroyed.
"Attachment and anger, born from delusion,
Are like the foes of beings.
Like thieves with their stolen goods,
I have destroyed them here.
"Here I destroyed manifold forms of pride
And arrogance too, so that they exist no more.
I relinquished all defilements,
And the highest wisdom has dawned in me.
"Here the ignorance that drives the thirst for existence
And induces inappropriate actions—
A network of roots including latent formations—
Was scorched by the intense fire of wisdom.
"Here the belief in 'I' and 'mine'
And its tangle of faults,
With roots that extend far, knotted tight with obscurations,
Has been severed by the blade of wisdom.
"Here those enduring deceptions of mine
Have at long last ended in destruction.
The aggregates, along with the clinging to them,
I have discerned through my wisdom.
"The dualistic delusions, erroneous fixations,
Which eventually land one in hell,
I have removed here
So that they are certain never to arise again.
"Here the forest of obscurations
Has been burned away by the fire of my roots of virtue.
I have utterly scorched
The fourfold misconception, too.
"The harmful garland of thoughts
Strung on the thread of conceptions,
I have utterly reversed
With the rosaries of the branches of awakening.
"The sixty-five travails,
The thirty impure delusions,
And the forty misdeeds,
I eliminated here at the centre of the earth.
"The sixteen uncontrolled things,
The eighteen elements,
And the twenty-five pains,
I eliminated while sitting at the centre of the earth.
"The twenty streams of passion
And the twenty-eight fears of beings,
I utterly transcended
Through the force and commitment of my perseverance.
"Likewise five hundred roars of buddhas,
I perfectly comprehended here.
Phenomena, one hundred thousand strong,
I also perfectly comprehended.
"Here all the ninety-eight latent formations,
Down to the bottom of their roots
And all their sprouting shoots,
Were scorched by the fire of my wisdom.
"The reservoir of doubt and uncertainty,
Filled with the waters of views
From the river of craving—the fount of nonvirtue—
Is dried up by the sun of my wisdom.
"When I rid myself of pretense and guile,
Here I cut down the forest of afflictions
That is teeming with deception, stinginess, hatred, and jealousy,
And scorched it with the fire of my discipline.
"Here, through the medicine of wisdom most sublime,
I purged myself of the root of conflict
That induces the nausea of the lower realms—
Namely, disparaging remarks made toward noble ones.
"Here I reached the end of all crying,
Wailing, anguish, and lamentation,
Once I attained
The absorption and qualities born of wisdom.
"Here I triumphed over all the streams of tormenting anguish,
With their tributaries and bends
Of conceit and negligence,
Once I attained the absorption in harmony with truth.
"Here I cut down with the ax of mindfulness
The entire dense jungle of afflictions,
Teeming with the trees of existence and overgrown with the roots of concepts,
And scorched it with the fire of my wisdom.
"Just as Sakra did to the lord of the demigods,
Here I destroyed with the sword of wisdom
The deceptive one who, self-obsessed,
Was powerful enough to rule over the three realms.
"Here at the centre of the earth,
I cut through the entire snare of thirty-six courses of action
With the powerful sword of insight,
Then scorched it with the fire of wisdom.
"Here with the plowshare of trenchant insight,
I uprooted all the root afflictions
Along with their latent formations,
Which yield suffering and anguish.
"Here I cleansed the eye of wisdom,
Naturally pure in all beings.
With the great balm of insight,
I removed the thick cataract of delusion.
"Here, with the sunlight of mindfulness and tranquility,
I dried up the ocean of existence,
An expanse of craving churned up
By the intoxicated crocodiles of the four physical elements.
"Here I extinguished, with the cool water of liberation,
The great fire of lust,
With its billowing smoke of thought
Raging through the timber of objects.
"Here, with the gusts of fierce determination,
I drove away and dispersed
The cloud of latent formations,
With its lightning of proclivities and its thunder of concepts.
"Here I attained the absorption of pristine mindfulness
And struck down with a strong blow of the sword of knowledge
The enemies of conceptual mind and actions,
And the hostile way they reinforce existence.
"Here, having acquired love, I vanquished
The armies of persistent demon hordes
With disfigured shapes, bearing the highest crests
On chariots mighty with elephants and horses.
"Here I fastened down
The horse of the six sense fields,
Engorged with the five sense objects and ever careless with intoxication,
Once I attained the absorption of repulsiveness.
"Here I reached the end
Of infatuation and aggression,
The travails of conflicts and disputes,
Once I attained the absorption of wishlessness.
"Here I exhausted all conceits,
Thoughts, and concepts,
Rooted inside of me and out,
Once I attained the absorption of emptiness.
"Here I relinquished, without exception,
All the pleasures of gods and humans,
Up to the peak of existence,
Once I attained the absorption of signlessness.
"Here, once I attained the threefold liberation,
I completely released
All the fetters of existence
Through the power of my knowledge.
"Here, through witnessing causality,
I vanquished the three causal conceptions:
Conceptions of permanence and impermanence,
Self and lack of self, pleasure and pain.
"Here, at the trunk of the king of trees,
I severed with the blow of impermanence
The unfoldings of different karmas,
All rooted in the six sense fields.
"Here, with the sun of wisdom,
I dispelled the fog of delusion, debased with impurities,
Thick with views of arrogance and anger,
Thus illuminating what was darkened for so long.
"Here, with the boat of tenacity,
I crossed the great ocean of cyclic existence
With its crocodiles of passion and desire,
Its waves of craving, and its grasping at wrong views.
"Here I awakened to the realisation
That scorches desire, anger, delusion,
And mental concepts,
Like grasshoppers fallen into a forest fire.
"Oppressed for so long—
For billions of countless eons—
On the road of cyclic existence,
Here I am revived, my torment now quelled.
"Here I have realized the nectar,
Undiscovered by any other exponent,
Which brings an end to old age, death, anguish, and pain
For the benefit of the world.
"Here I have reached the city of fearlessness,
Where suffering born of craving by means of sensory experience,
And suffering based on the aggregates,
Will arise no more.
"Here I have realized
The great enemies within, in all their multitudes.
Having bound and scorched them,
I have ensured that they can no longer appear.
"Here I have realized the nectar,
For the sake of which
I gave up my own flesh, my eyes, and many precious jewels
For billions of eons.
"Here I understood what was realized
By innumerable victorious ones in the past,
About which sweet and pleasing words
Are exclaimed throughout the world.
"Here I realised
The dependently arisen world to be empty,
Reoccurring in each moment of cognition
Like a mirage, or a city of gandharvas.
"Here I have purified the eye most sublime
By which I see all worlds,
Like fruit placed
In the palm of the hand.
"Here I recollected my former lives.
I attained the threefold knowledge,
Then remembered immeasurable myriad eons,
As if waking from sleep.
"What sets the errant gods and humans aflame
Are their misconceptions.
Yet here I drank the elixir of nectar,
Truly free of error.
"Here, after triumphing through the power of love,
I drank the elixir of nectar,
For the sake of which
Those with the ten powers had cultivated love for all beings.
"Here, having triumphed through the power of compassion,
I drank the elixir of nectar,
For the sake of which
Those with the ten powers cultivated compassion for all beings.
"Here, having triumphed through the power of joy,
I drank the elixir of nectar,
For the sake of which
Those with the ten powers cultivated joy for all beings.
"Here, having triumphed through the power of impartiality,
I drank the elixir of nectar,
For the sake of which
Those with the ten powers cultivated impartiality for myriad eons.
"Here I drank the elixir of nectar
That has been drunk by those with the ten powers,
The victorious lions of yore,
More numerous than the sand in the river Ganges.
"The words that I said
Before Mara and his army were:
'I will not get out of the cross-legged position
Until I bring an end to old age and death.'
"I destroyed ignorance
With blazing, vajra-hard wisdom,
And attained the state of the ten powers.
That is why I now abandon of the cross-legged posture.
"I attained the level of a worthy one,
Exhausted all of my defilements,
And destroyed the demon horde.
That is why I now get out of the cross-legged posture.
"Here I rent asunder
The closed doors of the five obstructions
And cut through the vines of craving.
Now I get out of the cross-legged posture."
Then this moon among men
Rose slowly from his seat,
Accepted the ceremonial anointment,
And took his seat on a lion throne.
The assemblies of gods, using jewel pitchers
Filled with differently scented waters,
Washed the friend of the world,
Who reached the culmination of qualities and the ten powers.
Billions of gods,

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Along with myriad apsaras,
Performed an immeasurable worship service,
With thousands of musical instruments all around.
Divine sons, it is thus
Reasonable, logical, and well grounded
Why victorious ones do not leave their cross-legged position
At the centre of the earth for seven days.

Monks, the perfect and completely awakened Thus-Gone One thus sat for the first seven days on that very seat, thinking, "Here I have reached unexcelled, perfect and complete awakening. Here I have brought an end to the sufferings of beginningless birth, old age, and death." During the second week, the Thus-Gone One wandered far and wide throughout the entire trichiliocosm. During the third week, the Thus-Gone One gazed at the seat of awakening without blinking and thought, "Here I awakened to unsurpassable, perfect and complete buddhahood, bringing an end to the sufferings of beginningless birth, old age, and death." Then, during the fourth week, the Thus-Gone One took a walk, but not as far, this time traveling from the eastern ocean to the western ocean.

Then Mara, the evil one, approached the Thus-Gone One and said, "Since the time has now come for the Blessed One to pass into parinirvana, may the Blessed One pass into parinirvana! May the Bliss-Gone One pass into parinirvana!"

Monks, when he said this, the Thus-Gone One responded to Mara, the evil one: "Evil one, I will not pass into parinirvana until my elder monks have become restrained, lucid, proficient, courageous, and learned; until they have embarked on the Dharma in an authentic way and become masters themselves; and until they can overcome opponents in concordance with the Dharma and teach the Dharma in conjunction with miracles. Evil one, I will not pass away into parinirvana until the tradition of the Buddha, his teaching, and his community are well established in the world; and until infinite bodhisattvas are prophesied to reach unexcelled, perfect and complete awakening. Evil one, I will not pass away until all four of my assemblies become restrained, lucid, proficient, and courageous, and can teach the Dharma in conjunction with miracles."

Then, as soon as Mara, the evil one, had heard these words, he stepped aside and stood there anguished and depressed. Dejected, with his head hung low, he wrote on the ground with a stick: "He has overcome my empire!"

Then three of Mara's daughters—Rati, Arati, and Trsna—spoke this verse to Mara, the evil one:

"Father, why are you unhappy?
Tell us who this man is!
We will bind him with the lasso of desire
And conduct him like an elephant.
"Conducting him, we will promptly
Bring him under your control.
So cast off your bad mood!
You are going to be elated."

Mara, the evil one, said:

"The Bliss-Gone One is the worthy one of the world;
He will never fall under the power of desire.
He has gone far beyond my empire;
This I why I grieve so strongly!"

Even though the girls had already experienced the deeds of the Bodhisattva and the power of the Thus-Gone One, out of their fickleness they did not listen to their father's words. They transformed into girls in the prime of youth, who had just reached maturity and, in order to bewilder the Thus-Gone One, they went before him, summoning all their womanly guiles. However, as the Thus-Gone One paid them no heed, they transformed into decrepit old ladies. The girls then went before their father and said this:

"It is indeed true what you said, father:
'He is not swayed by desire;
He has gone far beyond my empire.
This I why I grieve so strongly!'
"The form that we manifested to destroy Gautama
Would have broken his heart,
Had he only seen it.
Father, please do away with these decrepit bodies of ours."

Mara, the evil one, said:

"I am not aware of anyone in the animate or inanimate world
Who can change what has been done by the Buddha's power.
Go promptly and confess to the Sage the offense that you committed;
He will then return your bodies to their previous form as you wish."

So the daughters went and asked the Thus-Gone One for forgiveness, saying:

"Bliss-Gone One, please forgive our offense!
Blessed One, forgive our offense,
Which we childish, stupid, uncultivated, unskilled, ignorant women
Committed with the wish to insult the Blessed One!"

Then the Thus-Gone One spoke to them with these verses:

"You want to scrape through a mountain with your fingernails,
Chew through iron with your teeth,
Penetrate a mountain with your head,
And measure an unfathomable depth.

"Thus I forgive the offense of you girls. Why is that? Because it is an advancement in the training of the noble Dharma to understand a fault to be a fault, to confess it, and to vow to abstain from it henceforth."

Monks, during the fifth week, the Thus-Gone One dwelt in the domain of the naga king Mucilinda. Since the weather that week was intemperate, the naga king Mucilinda, worried that the Blessed One's body would be harmed by the cold and the wind, came out of his abode, coiled his body around that of the Thus-Gone One seven times, and shielded him with his hoods. From the east as well, several more naga kings arrived. Worried that the cold and wind would harm the Blessed One's body, they too coiled their bodies seven times around the body of the Thus-Gone One and shielded him with their hoods. Just like the naga kings from the east, naga kings from the south, west, and north also came, worried that the cold and wind might harm the Thus-Gone One's body. They too coiled their bodies around the Thus-Gone One's body seven times and shielded him with their hoods. That pile of naga kings loomed at a height like that of Meru, king of mountains. Those naga kings had never before known such bliss as during these seven days and seven nights, because of being close to the Thus-Gone One's body.

When seven days had passed, the naga kings understood that the bad weather had let up, and so they unfurled their bodies from the Thus-Gone One's body. They then bowed their heads at the feet of the Thus-Gone One, circumambulated him three times, and returned to their respective homes. The naga king Mucilinda also bowed his head to the feet of the Thus-Gone One, circumambulated him three times, and then set out for his domain.

During the sixth week, the Thus-Gone One proceeded from the naga king Mucilinda's domain to a banyan tree of a goat herder. On the way, on the bank of the Nairañjana River between the naga king Mucilinda's domain and the goat herder's banyan tree, the Thus-Gone One was spotted by some carakas, parivrajakas, vrddhasravakas, gautamas, nirgranthas, ajivikas, and others as well. They asked him, "Blessed One, did Gautama fare happily during the unseasonable seven-day storm?"

Monks, at that time the Thus-Gone One spoke these meaningful words:

"Happy is the solitude of the contented one
Who has heard the Dharma and can see.
Happy is the abstention from injury, in this world,
Of the one restrained toward living beings.
"Happy is the freedom from desire
That transcends evil.
Happy is the subjugation of selfishness and pride.
These are indeed the supreme forms of happiness!"

Monks, seeing the world ablaze with birth, old age, sickness, death, anguish, lamentation, suffering, discontent, and strife, the Thus-Gone One next uttered this meaningful verse:

"This world is tormented
By sounds, sensations, tastes, forms, and smells.
Even while frightened of existence,
Due to craving after existence, beings continue to pursue existence."

During the seventh week, the Thus-Gone One sat at the trunk of a bodhi tree. During that time, two learned and clever merchant brothers from the north, Trapusa and Bhallika, were traveling back from the south, after having gained much profit, with a caravan of five hundred fully loaded carts carrying many kinds of merchandise. They had two bullocks called Sujata and Kirti. These two bulls had no fear of being waylaid, and thus they could be employed where no other bullocks would pass. Wherever there was a threat, they would stand as though fastened to stakes. They could not be goaded by a whip, but only by handfuls of lotus flowers, or garlands of jasmine flowers.

When this caravan of merchants approached the Bodhi tree, a goddess who lived in a forest of milk trees enchanted all the carriages, thus rendering them motionless.

All the parts of the carriages, such as the harnesses and the rest, tore and split, and the wheels of the carriages sunk into the ground up to their axles. Even with everyone making great effort, the carts would move no farther.

Shocked and frightened, the members of the caravan thought, "Why have the carriages stopped here on this plain? What has happened?" They brought out the two bullocks Sujata and Kirti, but they also would move no farther, even though they were goaded with bunches of lotuses and garlands of jasmine. Then the merchants thought, "Since even these two animals will not move, there certainly must be some threat up ahead."

Thus they dispatched scouts on horseback. When the scouts returned, they reported,

"There is no threat whatsoever."

The goddess then revealed her form and consoled the members of the caravan, saying, "Do not fear!" Now the two bullocks could lead the carts to where the Thus-Gone One was.

When they arrived, they saw the Thus-Gone One blazing like the god of fire, well adorned with the thirty-two marks of a great being, shining with splendour, like the sun just after dawn.

Seeing him, the merchants were shocked and thought, "Is this Brahma who has come here? Or is it Sakra, lord of the gods? Or is it Vaisravana, or perhaps the sun or the moon? Or is it some mountain god, or some river god?"

The Thus-Gone One then revealed his saffron robes, and so the merchants said, "This person in saffron-coloured robes is a renunciant, so he is no threat to us." They had in fact developed devotion to him, and so they said among themselves,

"It must be mealtime for this renunciate. What morsels do we have?"

A few members of the caravan said, "There is honey, gruel, and stripped sugar cane."

So, carrying the honey, gruel, and stripped sugar cane, they went to where the Thus-Gone One was seated, bowed down their heads to his feet, circumambulated him three times, and stood to one side. Then they told the Thus-Gone One: "Please regard us with compassion and accept these alms!"

Monks, the Thus-Gone One then wondered, "It would not be appropriate for me to take these alms with my hands. What vessel did the previous perfect and complete awakened ones use to accept alms?" Right then the answer dawned on him. Monks, knowing that it was time for the Thus-Gone One to eat, at that very moment the four great kings appeared from the four directions carrying four golden alms bowls. They offered them to the Thus-Gone One, saying to him, "Please regard us with compassion and accept these four golden alms bowls!"

Thinking, however, that those bowls were not appropriate for a monk, the Thus-Gone One did not accept them. Thus the four kings came back with four alms bowls made of silver, four made of beryl, four made of quartz, four made of coral, four made of emerald, and four made of every gem. They offered them to the Thus-Gone One, but he declined, thinking that these were all inappropriate for a monk.

Monks, the Thus-Gone One then wondered what kinds of alms bowls the previous thus-gone ones had used to accept alms. He understood that it was alms bowls made of stone, and so that thought dawned in the Thus-Gone One's mind.

Then the great king Vaisravana said to the three other great kings:

"Friends, when the divine sons of the blue realm gave us four stone alms bowls, we thought that they were for our use. But a divine son of the blue realm called Vairocana told us the following:

"'Listen, these alms bowls are not to be used.
Preserve them! They will become honoured as sacred objects.
A victorious one called Sakyamuni will appear;
Offer these alms bowls to him!'
"Friends, the time has now come
To offer a vessel to Sakyamuni.
Paying homage with the melodious sound of song and cymbals,
We will offer the begging bowls.
"He is a vessel made of Dharma and is indestructible,
While these vessels, made of stone, are destructible.
He will be unable to accept another bowl;
Let's go so that he can accept them!"

Then the four kings, together with their kinfolk and retainers, went to the Thus-Gone One holding those alms bowls in their hands and carrying flowers, incense, perfumes, garlands, and unguents, playing cymbals and gongs, and singing songs. Having paid homage to the Thus-Gone One, they filled the alms bowls with divine flowers and offered them to the Thus-Gone One.

Monks, the Thus-Gone One then thought: "These four devoted great kings are giving me four stone alms bowls. But four are too many for me. Yet if I were to accept only one, the other three would be upset. So I will take all four alms bowls and transform them into one."

Monks, the Thus-Gone One then extended his right hand and spoke to the great king Vaisravana in verse:

"Offer an alms bowl to the Bliss-Gone One!
You will become a vessel of the Supreme Vehicle.
By offering an alms bowl to the likes of me,
You will never be bereft of mindfulness and intelligence."

Monks, the Thus-Gone One [F.184.a] then accepted the alms bowl from the great king Vaisravana, regarding him with compassion. Having thus accepted it, he then spoke in verse to the great king Dhrtarastra:

"Whoever gives an alms bowl to the Thus-Gone One
Will never be bereft of mindfulness and insight,
And will spend his time happily at ease
Until awakening to the state of cool repose."

Monks, the Thus-Gone One then accepted the begging bowl from the great king Dhrtarastra, regarding him with compassion. Having accepted it, he spoke in verse to the great king Virudhaka:

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"Give a pristine begging bowl
To the Thus-Gone One, pure in mind,
And you will swiftly become pure in mind,
Worthy of veneration in the world."

Monks, the Thus-Gone One then accepted the alms bowl from the great king Virudhaka, regarding him with compassion. Having accepted it, he spoke to the great king Virupaksa in verse:

"Give, with faultless intention and devotion,
A faultless vessel to the Thus-Gone One,
Who is faultless in discipline and conduct,
And your merit of generosity will be faultless."

Monks, the Thus-Gone One then accepted the alms bowl from the great king Virupaksa, regarding him with compassion. When he had accepted it, he transformed all four alms bowls into one through the power of his wish, and then said this meaningful verse:

"Since, in a previous existence, I offered alms bowls,
Filling them with fruit and making them lovely,
The four miraculous gods are now giving me
These four well-formed alms bowls."

On this topic, it is said:

This wise one, with insight into ultimate reality,
Gazed at the supreme tree of awakening for seven nights.
The earth trembled in six ways,
And then this lion among men rose, with the movements of a lion.
Like the lord of elephants, he slowly walked about,
And eventually reached the trunk of a fig tree.
Like Mount Meru, the Sage sat there unshakable,
Absorbed in concentration and meditation.
At that time the two brothers Trapusa and Bhallika,
With their caravan of merchants
And carriages filled with riches,
Reached a grove of sala trees in full bloom.
Instantly, through the Great Sage's radiance,
The wheels sunk into the earth up to their axles.
Seeing such a situation,
The merchant caravan was terrified.
Carrying swords, arrows, and spears,
They inquired who was dwelling in the forest like a deer.
They saw the Victorious One, who was like the sun in a cloudless sky
And whose face was like an autumn moon.
Without hostility or pride,
They bowed down, wondering who he was.
A deity said from the sky:
"He is a buddha acting for the welfare of the world.
"For seven days and nights,
This embodiment of compassion has not consumed food or drink.
If you want to assuage your own afflictions,
Feed this cultivated body and mind!"
When they heard that sweet speech,
They bowed down to the Victorious One and circumambulated him.
Pleased, they decided with their companions
To feed the Victorious One.

Monks, at that time the herd of cows belonging to the merchants Trapusa and Bhallika was grazing at a neighbouring village. There the cows were milked and yielded clarified butter, which the herdsmen brought to the two merchants, Trapusa and Bhallika, saying: "O my lords, please advise! When we milked all your cows, they yielded clarified butter. Is this auspicious or not?"

Some priests, who were gluttonous by nature, said, "It is inauspicious, so a grand offering of this butter should be made to the priests."

Monks, at that time, however, a priest named Sikhandi spoke. He had been a kinsman of the merchants Trapusa and Bhallika in a previous life. He had been reborn in the Brahma realm, and now manifested among them in the form of a priest. He said the following verses to the merchants:

"In the past you made the aspiration:
'When the Thus-Gone One reaches awakening,
May he partake of our food
And turn the wheel of Dharma!'
"This aspiration has now been fulfilled.
The Thus-Gone One who reached awakening
Should be offered this food.
Once he has eaten, he will turn the wheel of Dharma.
"That your cows yielded clarified butter
Is very auspicious, and occurred under an auspicious constellation.
This is due to the meritorious actions
Of this great sage."
Once Sikhandi had inspired the merchants,
He returned to his own abode.
Trapusa and the others
Were all elated.
They combined without exception
All the milk of one thousand cows,
Collected the cream from the top,
And respectfully prepared a meal.
They cleaned, polished, and sanitized
A jewel bowl called Moon,
Which cost one hundred thousand coins for just one ounce,
Then filled it to the brim with food.
Carrying honey and the jewel bowl,
They approached the trunk of the fig tree and said to the teacher:
"Venerable One, please accept and receive us!
We beg that you eat this well-prepared meal!"
Out of compassion for the two brothers,
And because he was aware of their previous intent to set out toward awakening,
The Teacher accepted and ate the food.
Once he had eaten, he tossed the bowl far into the sky.
A divine king called Subrahman
Retrieved the supreme jewel bowl,
And is still now performing worship with it
In the Brahma realm together with his companions.

Then on that occasion, the Thus-Gone One delighted the merchants Trapusa and Bhallika tremendously with these verses:

"May divine auspiciousness, which accomplishes aims
And brings good fortune throughout the ten directions,
Fulfill all your aims!
May everything promptly be favourable!
"Like a garland around your neck,
May there be glory at your right hand,
May there be glory at your left hand,
And may there be glory surrounding you!
"May the merchants who pursue wealth
And travel throughout the ten directions
Attain great profit,
And may that bring them happiness!
"Should you, for some reason,
Need to travel east,
May the constellations in that direction
Protect you!
"Krttika and Rohini,
Mrgasira, Ardra, and Punarvasu,
Pusya, and Aslesa—
These are the constellations in the east.
"May these seven constellations,
Renowned worldly protectors,
The gods that dwell in the east,
Fully protect you!
"Their lord and king
Is known as Dhrtarastra.
May this lord of all gandharvas,
Together with the sun, protect you!
"May his many sons, wise and mighty,
All eighty-one of whom are called Sakra,
Especially protect you
With health and well-being!
"In one area in the east,
There are eight divine maidens:
Jayanti and Vijayanti,
Siddhartha and Aparajita,
"Nandottara and Nandisena,
Nandini and Nandavardhani.
May they especially protect you
With health and well-being!
"In a quarter in the east there is a reliquary called Capala,
Inhabited and known by victorious ones, protector worthy ones.
May they especially protect you
With health and well-being!
"May the quarters be safe for you!
May you not incur evil!
May you be protected by all deities,
And may you return with great profit!
"Should you, for some reason,
Have to travel to the south,
May the constellations in that direction
Protect you!
"Magha and also
Phalgunis, Hasta,
And Citra, the fifth.
Along with Svatis and Visakha, are in the south.
"Those seven constellations,
Renowned worldly protectors,
Dwell in the southern quarter.
May they protect you!
"Their lord and king
Is called Virudhaka.
May that lord of all kumbhandas,
Together with the lord of death, protect you!
"May his many sons, wise and mighty,
All ninety-one of whom are called Sakra,
Especially protect you
With health and well-being!
"In one section of the south,
There are eight divine maidens:
Sriyamati and Yasamati,
Yasaprapta and Yasodhara,
"Suutthita and Suprathama,
Suprabuddha and Sukhavyuha.
May they protect you
With health and well-being!
"In a section of the south is a reliquary called Padma,
Continually shining with brilliance, always illuminating all.
May it too especially protect you
With health and well-being!
"May the quarters be safe for you!
May you not incur evil!
May all deities protect you,
And may you return with great profit!
"Should you, for some reason,
Need to travel west,
May the constellations that dwell in that direction
Protect you!
"Anuradha and Jestha,
Mula and Drdhaviryata,
Asadhas and Abhijit,
And Sravana—these are the seven.
"These seven constellations,
Renowned worldly protectors,
Dwell in the west.
May they always protect you!
"Their lord and king
Is known as Virupaksa.
May that lord of all nagas,
Together with Varuna, protect you!
"May his many sons, wise and mighty,
All ninety-one of whom are called Sakra,
Especially protect you
With health and well-being!
"In a section of the west,
There are eight divine maidens:
Alambusa and Misrakesi,
Pundarika and Aruna,
"Ekadasa, Navanamika,
Sita and Krsna Draupadi.
May they especially protect you
With health and well-being!
"In a section of the west, there is a mountain called Astamga;
The sun and the moon also reside there.
May that mountain give you wealth
And protect you with health and well-being!
"May the quarters be safe for you!
May you not incur evil!
May you be protected by all deities,
And may you return wealthy!
"If for some reason
You should travel to the north,
May the constellations in that direction
Protect you!
"There are seven:
Dhanistha, Satabhisa,
The pair of Purva Apara and Uttara Apara,
Revati and Asvini and Bharani.
"Those seven constellations,
Renowned worldly protectors,
Reside in the north.
May they always protect you!
"Their lord and king
Is Kubera, borne by men.
May this lord of all yaksas,
Together with Manibhadra, protect you!
"May his many sons, wise and mighty,
All ninety-one of whom are called Sakra, [391]
Especially protect you
With health and well-being!
"In a section of the north,
There are eight divine maidens:
Iladevi and Suradevi,
Prthvi and Padmavati,
"Maharaja, Asa,
Sraddha, and modest Siri.
May they especially protect you
With health and well-being!
"In a section of the north is Mount Gandhamadana. [F.187.a]
It is the abode of all yaksas and bhutas,
Has many peaks, and is pleasant to behold.
May it too protect you with health and well-being!
"May the quarters be safe for you!
May you not incur evil!
May all deities protect you,
And may you return wealthy!
"The twenty-eight constellations,
Seven dwelling in each of the four directions,
The thirty-two divine maidens,
Eight dwelling in each of the four directions,
"The eight renunciates, the eight priests,
The eight towns throughout the lands,
And the eight gods, together with their Sakras,
May they all protect you!

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"May you have good fortune going!
May you have good fortune returning!
May you have the good fortune of beholding your kinfolk!
May you have the good fortune of being beheld by your kinfolk!
"Lovingly cared for by numerous yaksas with their Sakras
And by the worthy ones,
May you travel happily everywhere
And obtain the auspicious nectar.
"Always lovingly protected by Brahma and Vasava,
And by those free of outflows whose minds are liberated,
And also by the nagas and yaksas,
May your lives be preserved for one hundred autumns!"
The Peerless Guide, Lord of the World,
Then lauded their offerings as fortuitous, saying,
"Through this virtuous deed,
You will become victorious ones known as Madhusaṁbhava!"
This was the first prophecy made [392]
By the Victorious One, the Guide of the World.
The infinitely many bodhisattvas that were prophesied later
Cannot possibly turn back from awakening.
When they heard the Victorious One's prophecy,
The two brothers were elated and supremely pleased.
Together with their companions,
They went for refuge in the Buddha and the Dharma.
This concludes the twenty-fourth chapter on Trapusa and Bhallika.

LALITA-VISTARA CHAPTER 25 — Exhortation

[The gods Brahmā, Śakra, and the other gods sense the Buddha's hesitation. They visit the Buddha and formally request him to teach the Dharma. They repeat the request four times before the Buddha eventually consents. Upon his consent to teach, the Buddha says, "O Brahmā, the gates of nectar are opened".]

Monks, while the Thus-Gone One was seated at the trunk of the Bodhi tree, in the privacy of solitude after he had first attained perfect and complete awakening, he had the following thought about those who act in accordance with the world: "Alas! This truth that I realized and awakened to is profound, peaceful, tranquil, calm, complete, hard to see, hard to comprehend, and impossible to conceptualise since it is inaccessible to the intellect. Only wise noble ones and adepts can understand it. It is the complete and definitive apprehension of the abandonment of all aggregates, the end of all sensations, the absolute truth, and freedom from a foundation. It is a state of complete peace, free of clinging, free of grasping, unobserved, undemonstrable, uncompounded, beyond the six sense spheres, inconceivable, unimaginable, and ineffable. It is indescribable, inexpressible, and incapable of being illustrated. It is unobstructed, beyond all references, a state of interruption through the path of tranquility, and imperceptible like emptiness. It is the exhaustion of craving and it is cessation free of desire. It is nirvana. If I were to teach this truth to others, they would not understand it. Teaching the truth would tire me out and be wrongly contested, and it would be futile. Thus I will remain silent and keep this truth in my heart."

At that time he uttered these verses:

"Profound, peaceful, stainless, lucid, and unconditioned—
Such is the nectar-like truth I have realized.
Were I to teach it, no one would understand,
So I will silently remain in the forest.
"I have discovered the supremely sublime and astonishing absolute,
The ineffable state, untainted by language,
Suchness, the sky-like nature of phenomena,
Completely free of discursive, conceptual movement.
"This meaning cannot be understood through words;
Rather it is comprehended through reaching their limit.
Yet when sentient beings, whom previous victorious ones took under their care,
Hear about this truth, they develop confidence in it.
"No Dharma at all exists here;
That which has no existence cannot be found.
For one who knows the chain of causation and action,
There is neither existence nor nonexistence here. [F.188.a]
"For immeasurable hundreds of thousands of eons,
I emulated the previous victorious ones,
But I did not attain forbearance for the fact
That there is no self, no sentient being, and no life force.
"When I attained this forbearance
That nobody dies or is born here,
That the nature of all these phenomena is selfless,
Then Buddha Dipaṃkara made a prophecy about me.
"With my infinite compassion for the whole world,
I will not stand for just anyone to supplicate.
These beings all have faith in Brahma;
Thus, when he supplicates, I will turn the wheel of Dharma.
"It would only be suitable to bring forth this Dharma of mine
If Brahma were to fall to my feet,
Supplicating me to explain the stainless and sublime Dharma,
And if there were intelligent beings of good disposition."

Monks, at that time the Thus-Gone One radiated light from the centre of his forehead, which illuminated the entire trichiliocosm with its brilliance. Then, by means of the Buddha's power, Great Top-Knotted Brahma, lord of the trichiliocosm, became aware of the Thus-Gone One's notion. [394] Having understood that the Blessed One was set on keeping the Dharma to himself without teaching it, he thought, "I will most certainly approach and solicit the Thus-Gone One to turn the wheel of Dharma!"

So right then Great Top-Knotted Brahma addressed the other divine sons of the Brahma realms: "Friends! Even though the Thus-Gone One has awakened to unsurpassable, perfect and complete buddhahood, he is set on keeping the Dharma to himself without teaching it. Alas! This world is doomed! Alas, O friends, this world is really doomed! Thus we must surely go and solicit the worthy one, the perfectly and completely awakened Thus-Gone One, to turn the wheel of Dharma."

Monks, then the Great Top-Knotted Brahma, surrounded and escorted by 6.8 million Brahmas, went to the Thus-Gone One. When he arrived, he bowed his head to the feet of the Thus-Gone One, and with palms joined, said this to him:

"Thus-Gone One, even having awakened to unexcelled, perfect and complete awakening, you are bent on keeping the Dharma to yourself without teaching it. Alas, Blessed One! This world is doomed! Alas, Blessed One, this world is really doomed!

There are clever sentient beings of good disposition with the potential, fortune, and ability to comprehend the meaning of what the Blessed One says. Such being the case, O Blessed One, please eloquently teach the Dharma! Please, O Bliss-Gone One, teach the Dharma!"

Then Brahma spoke these verses:

"Having accomplished the orb of supreme great wisdom,
Radiating light rays throughout the ten directions,
Your wisdom rays could bring lotus-like people to bloom.
So then why today, Sun of Speech, do you remain indifferent?
"Coaxing sentient beings with the wealth of the noble ones,
You could soothe many tens of millions of creatures.
It is not suitable, O Friend of the World,
That you silently remain indifferent to the world!
"May you beat the kettledrum of the sublime Dharma!
May you blow the conch shell of the genuine Dharma!
May you erect the great sacrificial post of the Dharma!
May you light the great lamp of the Dharma!
"May you rain down the waters of Dharma, most sublime!
May you ferry across all those wallowing in the ocean of existence!
May you liberate all those afflicted with severe illness!
May you quell those tormented by the fires of afflictions!
"May you teach the path to peace—
Joyous, auspicious, imperishable, and without sorrow.
Have compassion, O Protector, for those on the wrong path;
They are helpless, since they are not traveling on the path to nirvana!
"May you open the gates to liberation!
May you explain the inalienable way of Dharma!
May you, O Lord, cleanse the sublime eye of Dharma
For beings who are blind from birth!
"There is no one but you, O Protector, Moon among Men,
In the world of Brahma, in the world of gods,
Or in the worlds of yaksas, gandharvas, or humans
Who will remove birth and death from the worlds!
"Recruiting all the gods,
O King of Dharma, I beseech you!
Through this merit, may I also swiftly
Turn the wheel of Dharma, most sublime!"

Monks, in order to show kindness to the world of gods, humans, and nonhumans, the Thus-Gone One looked upon this world with compassion and silently acquiesced to Great Top-Knotted Brahma. Sure enough, once Great Top-Knotted Brahma understood that this Thus-Gone One had silently acquiesced, he anointed the Thus-Gone One with divine sandalwood powder and divine aloe-wood powder, became joyful and ecstatic, and then vanished that very instant.

Monks, in order to engender respect for the Dharma in the world, in order to increase the root of virtue by having Great Top-Knotted Brahma repeatedly request the Dharma, and because the Dharma is exceedingly profound, the Thus-Gone One once again went into the privacy of solitude and had the following thought:

"This truth to which I awakened is profound, subtle, luminous, hard to comprehend, inconceivable, and beyond the intellect. Understood only by the clever and the wise, it is out of step with all worldly people and difficult to see. It is the abandonment of all aggregates, the cessation of all formations, a state of interruption through the path of tranquility, and imperceptible like emptiness. It is the exhaustion of craving, and it is cessation free of desire. It is nirvana. If I were to teach this truth, and if others did not comprehend it, this would be harmful to me. Thus I will most certainly continue to keep it to myself."

Monks, by the power of the Buddha, Great Top-Knotted Brahma once again became aware of this thought of the Thus-Gone One, and he went to see Sakra, lord of the gods. When he arrived, he told Sakra, lord of the gods:

"Understand, Kausika, that the venerable, perfectly and completely awakened Thus-Gone One is bent on not teaching the Dharma and thus keeping it to himself! And since the worthy one, the perfectly and completely awakened Thus-Gone One, is bent on not teaching the Dharma and thus keeping it to himself, alas, O Kausika, this world is doomed! Alas, O Kausika, this world is really doomed! Alas, this world will be plunged into the great darkness of ignorance! Why don't we then go and request that the worthy one, the perfectly and completely awakened Thus-Gone One, turn the wheel of Dharma? Because the thus-gone ones do not turn the wheel of Dharma without being requested!"

"Very well, my friend!" responded Sakra. And so when the night had passed, Sakra, Brahma, the earth gods, the divine sons of the atmosphere, and the divine sons of the Heaven of the Four Great Kings, the Heaven of the Thirty-Three, the Heaven Free from Strife, the Heaven of Joy, the Heaven of Delighting in Emanations, the Heaven of Making Use of Others' Emanations, the Brahma Realm, the Luminous Heaven, the Heaven of Great Fruition, the Heaven of Perfected Virtue, and the pure realms—many hundreds of thousands of divinities of beautiful appearances—illuminated the area surrounding the fig tree with their divine beauty and their divine luminosity, and approached the Thus-Gone One. They bowed their heads to the feet of the Thus-Gone One, circumambulated him, and stood to one side. Then Sakra, lord of the gods, bowed down with palms joined in the direction of the Thus-Gone One and praised him in verse:

"Your mind is completely liberated,
Like a full moon free of eclipse.
May you rise, O Victor in Battle!
May you shine the light of insight in this dark world!"

When he said that, the Thus-Gone One remained silent. Then Great Top-Knotted

Brahma spoke to Sakra, lord of the gods: "O Kausika, venerable, perfectly and completely

awakened thus-gone ones are not requested to turn the wheel of Dharma the

way you requested it."

So Great Top-Knotted Brahma draped his robe on one shoulder, knelt on his right

knee, and bowing down to the Thus-Gone One with palms joined, spoke this verse to

him:

"May you rise, O Victor in Battle!
May you shine the light of insight in this dark world!
The beings will become knowledgeable.
O Sage, may you teach the Dharma!"

Monks, when he said that, the Thus-Gone One repeated to Great Top-Knotted Brahma: "O great Brahma, this truth to which I awakened is profound, subtle, luminous, hard to comprehend, inconceivable, and beyond the intellect. Understood only by the clever and the wise, it is out of step with all worldly people and difficult to see. It is the abandonment of all aggregates, the cessation of all formations, a state of interruption through the path of tranquility, and imperceptible like emptiness. It is the exhaustion of craving, and it is cessation free of desire. It is nirvana. If I were to teach this truth, and if others did not comprehend it, this would be harmful to me. And these verses, O Brahma, are my reply to you, time and again:

"My path, going against the stream, is profound.
It is difficult to see,
Since those blinded by desire do not see it.
Therefore teaching it will not be of any help.
"Beings, bound to their desires,
Are continuously swept away in the stream.
I discovered this with great effort;
Therefore teaching it will not be of any help!"

Monks, when Great Top-Knotted Brahma and Sakra, lord of the gods, understood that the Thus-Gone One would remain silent, these two great beings and their retinue of divine sons, saddened and dejected, disappeared then and there. And so the Thus-Gone One had thrice made up his mind to remain disinterested. Monks, at that time all sorts of negative, inauspicious opinions started to circulate among the people of Magadha. Some said that winds would no longer blow, and some that fires would no longer burn. Some said that rains would no longer fall, some that rivers would no longer flow, and some that crops would no longer grow. Some said that birds would no longer fly in the sky, and some that pregnant women would no longer give birth safely.

Monks, the Great Top-Knotted Brahma knew the nature of the Thus-Gone One's thoughts, and he was aware of the opinions among the people of Magadha. So, at the close of night, he illuminated the entire area surrounding the fig tree with divine light beautiful in colour, and he approached the

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Thus-Gone One. When he arrived, he bowed his head to the feet of the Thus-Gone One, draped his robe on one shoulder, knelt down on his right knee, and bending forward with palms joined, spoke in verse to the Thus-Gone One:

"Previously in Magadha, the Dharma was impure,
Therefore impurely construed talk has emerged there.
Thus, please, O Sage, open the gate of nectar!
They are ready to listen to the stainless Buddhadharma!
"With your goal accomplished, you reached independence.
Having removed the stain of the formation of suffering,
Your virtue is without increase or decrease.
Here in the best Dharma, you have reached perfection!
"O Sage, there is no one like you here in this world!
O Great Sage, how could you be surpassed?
Being the best, you shine here in the three worlds, O Lord,
Like the mountain in the realm of the demigods!
"Please have mercy on suffering beings!
It is never fitting for those like you to remain indifferent!
You are endowed with fearlessness and power!
Only you are able to deliver beings!
"May all these beings who endure pain for so long,
Including gods, renunciates, and priests,
Be healthy and free of fever!
They have no other refuge here!
"Gods and humans have been following you for so long,
Yearning for nectar with the virtuous thought,
'May the Dharma be proclaimed, the Dharma which is no less than
Exactly what the Victorious One understands!'
"Therefore we supplicate you, with your power so dynamic and benevolent,
May you train sentient beings that have long since strayed from the path!
They have longed to hear meanings unheard,
Like the feeble long to be nourished.
"The people, suffering from thirst, O Great Sage,
Are waiting in your presence for this water of Dharma.
Like a cloud over parched earth,
O Guide, satiate them with the rain of Dharma!
"Long lost, people roam throughout existence
Thick with wrong views and full of thorns.
Tell of the straight path, free of brambles,
By which nectar is attained when meditating upon it!
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"The blind, who without a guide have fallen into ravines,
Cannot be led out by anyone else here.
You, Clever Bull, give rise to ardor
And rescue those who have fallen into steep ravines!
"An encounter with you, O Sage, is always so long in coming.
Victorious guides appear on this earth only rarely,
Like an udumbara flower.
O Protector, please liberate sentient beings that have attained this opportunity!
"In your previous existences you had the thought:
'Once I myself have crossed, I will ferry others across!'
Now that you have surely reached the other shore,
Fulfill your solemn vow, you with the dynamic power of truth!
"O Sage, clear away the darkness with the lamp of Dharma!
Raise high the banner of the Thus-Gone One!
The time has come to utter melodious speech!
I beg you to resound like a lion, O You of Drum-like Voice!"

Monks, then the Thus-Gone One looked throughout the entire world with his awakened eye and saw sentient beings that were base, mediocre, and advanced; those that were high, low, and middling; those of good disposition and easy to purify, those of bad disposition and difficult to purify; those that can understand through just a cursory statement, and those for whom the words are paramount and who rely on a detailed explanation for their understanding. He thus saw that sentient beings were grouped into three categories: one that was sure to be wrong, one that was sure to be correct, and one was undetermined. Monks, just as when a person standing on the bank of a lotus pond sees some lotuses submerged in the water, some lotuses at water level, and some lotuses above the water, this was how the Thus-Gone One saw sentient beings situated in three groups when he looked throughout the whole world with his awakened eye.

Monks, then the Thus-Gone One thought, "Whether I teach the Dharma or not, this group that is sure to be wrong will not understand the Dharma. And whether I teach the Dharma or not, this group that is sure to be correct will understand the Dharma. Yet the group that is undetermined will understand the Dharma if I teach it, but will not understand the Dharma if I do not teach it."

Monks, the Thus-Gone One then engendered great compassion, starting with the sentient beings situated in the undetermined group. Monks, from the perspective of his own perfect wisdom, the Thus-Gone One then understood the request made by Great Top-Knotted Brahma and thus spoke to him with this verse:

"O Brahma, the gates of nectar are opened
To those sentient beings of Magadha
With ears and with devotion,
Who constantly listen with attention and without doing harm."

Then, once Great Top-Knotted Brahma understood that the Thus-Gone One had acquiesced,
he rejoiced with satisfaction and glee. Ecstatic and elated, he
bowed with his head to the feet of the Thus-Gone One and vanished right there.

Monks, on that occasion the earth gods then proclaimed and announced to the gods
of the atmosphere:

"Friends, today the venerable, perfectly and completely awakened Thus-Gone One
has acquiesced to turn the wheel of Dharma. He will do this to benefit many beings,
to bring happiness to many beings, to compassionately care for the world, for the
welfare, betterment, and happiness of gods, humans, and the majority of beings. Listen,
friends! The demigod realms will be reduced. The god realms will be filled. And
many sentient beings in the world will reach complete nirvana!"

Once the gods of the atmosphere heard this from the earth gods, they announced it
to the gods in the Heaven of the Four Great Kings. The gods in the Heaven of the
Four Great Kings told those in the Heaven of the Thirty-Three. The gods in the
Heaven of the Thirty-Three told those in the Heaven Free from Strife. The gods in
the Heaven Free from Strife told those in the Heaven of Joy and the Heaven of Delighting
in Emanations. The gods in the Heaven of Joy and the Heaven of Delighting
in Emanations told those in the Heaven of Making Use of Others' Emanations. Finally
they announced and proclaimed this to the gods of the Brahma realms:

"Today, O friends, the venerable, perfectly and completely awakened Thus-Gone One has acquiesced to turn the wheel of Dharma. He will do this to benefit many beings, to bring happiness to many beings, to compassionately care for the world, for the welfare, betterment, and happiness of gods, humans, and the majority of beings. Listen, friends! The demigod realms will be reduced. The god realms will be filled. And many sentient beings in the world will reach complete nirvana!"

Monks, then simultaneously all of them, beginning with the earth gods all the way up to the gods of the Brahma realm, announced in unison the same proclamation as before: "Today, O friends, the venerable, perfectly and completely awakened Thus-Gone One has acquiesced to turn the wheel of Dharma. He will do this to benefit many beings, to bring happiness to many beings, to compassionately care for the world, for the welfare, betterment, and happiness of gods, humans, and the majority of beings. Listen, friends! The demigod realms will be reduced. The god realms will be filled. And many sentient beings in the world will reach complete nirvana!"

Monks, then the four gods of the Bodhi tree named Dharmaruci, Dharmakaya, Dharmamati, and Dharmacarin fell to the feet of the Thus-Gone One and asked: "Where will the Blessed One turn the wheel of Dharma?"

Monks, when they said that, the Thus-Gone One replied: "At the Deer Park by the Hill of the Fallen Sages, outside of Varanasi."

Then they said, "O Blessed One, the city of Varanasi has merely a limited population, and the Deer Park has only a limited amount of tree shade. There are other big cities, O Blessed One, that are wealthy, flourishing, secure, and pleasant, with abundant provisions, teeming with many people and creatures, and adorned with gardens, forests, and mountains. May the Blessed One please turn the wheel of Dharma in one of these other places!"

The Thus-Gone One replied:

"Do not say such a thing, good sirs! And why?
"I performed sixty trillion sacrifices there;
I made offerings to sixty trillion buddhas there.
Varanasi was the preferred place of the previous sages;
This place, exalted by gods and nagas, is ever inspiring for Dharma.
"I remember that 91 billion previous buddhas
Turned the sublime wheel in that supreme grove named after the sages,
Where peace, tranquility, and concentration are actualized, and deer always dwell.
Thus I too will turn the sublime wheel in the supreme grove named after the sages."

This concludes the twenty-fifth chapter on exhortation.

LALITA-VISTARA CHAPTER 26 — Turning the Wheel of Dharma

[The Buddha determines that the most suitable students for his first teaching are his five former companions from the days when he was practicing austerities. The Buddha travels to Deer Park outside of Varanasi, to meet his former companions. Initially, the companions are suspicious of the Buddha for having given up their austerity practices, but they are soon rendered helpless by his majestic presence and request teachings from him. The five companions instantly receive ordination and, in a seminal moment, the Buddha teaches them the Four Noble Truths: suffering, the origin of suffering, the cessation of suffering, and the path that leads to the cessation of suffering. Thus this occasion constitutes the birth of the Three Jewels: the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha.]

Monks, at that point the Thus-Gone One had accomplished everything he had to do. With nothing more to achieve, all his fetters had been cut. All negative emotions had been cleared away, along with his mental stains. He had conquered Mara and all hostile forces, and now he joined the Dharma-way of all awakened ones. He had become omniscient and perceived everything. He possessed the ten powers and had discovered the fourfold fearlessness. All the eighteen unique qualities of a buddha had unfolded within him. Equipped with the fivefold vision, he surveyed the entire world with the unobscured eye of an awakened one and began to reflect:

"To whom should I teach this Dharma for the very first time? Who is pure, kindhearted, easy to train, and a good teacher able to purify others? Who has little desire, anger, and delusion? Who is open-minded and suffers because of never having heard the Dharma? Such a person I should teach first of all. One who understands my teaching will not turn against me."

Then, monks, the Thus-Gone One thought to himself: "Rudraka, the son of Rama, is pure and kindhearted. It is easy for him to make others understand and purify them. He has only little desire, anger, or delusion. He is also open-minded, and now suffers because he has never heard the Dharma. He instructs his students in the practice of disciplined conduct that leads to a state of mind that is neither conscious nor unconscious. Now, where is he staying?"

At that moment the Thus-Gone One realised that Rudraka had died just one week before. The gods, too, bowed their heads to the Thus-Gone One's feet and said, "Lord, that is how it is. Bliss-Gone One, that is how it is. Rudraka, the son of Rama, died just one week ago."

Monks, at that point I had this thought: "Oh no, how sad that Rudraka, the son of Rama, died before hearing this well-prepared teaching! If only he had received my teaching, he would surely have understood it. To him I would have explained this Dharma for the first time, and he would not have turned against me." Monks, the Thus-Gone One again had this thought: "Now, where could there be another being who is pure and easy to train? Who would have all these qualities and not react against the teaching of Dharma?"

Monks, the Thus-Gone One then had this thought: "Arada Kalapa is pure and has all the other qualities. He would not react against the teaching of Dharma." So the Thus-Gone One wondered, "Where would he be now?" Wondering, he realised that Arada Kalapa had passed away just three days earlier.

The gods from the pure realms further clarified that matter for the Thus-Gone One, saying: "Lord, that is how it is. Bliss-Gone One, that is how it is. Arada Kalapa died just three days ago."

The Thus-Gone One then thought: "Oh no, how sad that Arada Kalapa died before hearing this well-prepared teaching!"

Monks, at that point the Thus-Gone One once again reflected: "What other being is pure, has a good heart and all the qualities, and would not react against my presentation of the Dharma?"

Monks, the Thus-Gone One then had this thought: "My five ascetic companions are pure and goodhearted. They will make good teachers who are able to purify others. They have only little desire, anger, or delusion. They would be open-minded, and they are now suffering because of not having heard the Dharma. When I was practicing under hardships, they helped me. They will understand the Dharma taught by me, and they will not turn against me."

Monks, at that point the Thus-Gone One decided: "My five ascetic companions will be the ones to whom I shall teach the Dharma for the first time!" Monks, the Thus-Gone One now further thought: "Where might these five companions be staying?" Scanning the entire world with his eye of an awakened one, he saw the five ascetics staying in the Deer Park in Varanasi by a hill known as the Hill of the Fallen Sages.

After seeing this, he thought to himself: "If I teach these five excellent ascetics the Dharma before I teach anyone else, they will understand my Dharma when I teach it for the very first time."

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Why is that? Monks, they have already practiced and they already possess pure qualities of accomplished scholars. They are intent on the path to liberation and are free from obstructing forces.

Now, monks, having reflected in this way, the Thus-Gone One arose from the seat of awakening, making the trichiliocosm tremble. In due course, passing through the country of Magadha, he set off on his way to Kasi. In Gaya, not far from the seat of awakening, an Ajivika mendicant spotted him from afar. Seeing the Thus-Gone One approaching, he came up to him and stood to one side.

As he stood to one side, monks, the Ajivika first made a pleasing conversation about various things with the Thus-Gone One, saying: "Venerable Gautama, your senses are calm, and your skin is bright, pure, and of yellow hue. Just as the autumn season, which is white and bright, becomes of yellow hue, your senses, Lord Gautama, are bright, and your round face is perfectly pure. Just as when the ripe fruit of the tala tree is nipped off its stem, the severed area immediately becomes yellow, bright, and perfectly pure, [F.194.b] so, Gautama, are your bright senses and your perfectly pure round face. Just as a necklace made of gold from the Jambu River, whose surface has the excellence of a shining meteor, when well fashioned by a skillful son of a goldsmith and thrown onto a white cloth becomes of vivid colour, resplendent, perfectly pure, and exceedingly bright, just so, Venerable Gautama, are your calmed senses, bright skin colour, and your perfectly pure round face. Venerable Gautama, with whom did you practice religion?"

Monks, the Thus-Gone One replied to the Ajivika with this verse:

"I do not have any teacher;
There is no one like me.
I alone am the perfect Buddha,
Cool and without any flaws."

The seeker then said: "Gautama, surely you are not telling me that you have become
a worthy one?" [406]

The Thus-Gone One replied:

"I am a worthy one of the world;
I am the unsurpassed teacher.
Among the gods, demigods, and divine spirits,
There is no rival to me."

The seeker asked: "Gautama, surely you are not telling me that you have become a
victorious one?"

The Thus-Gone One replied:

"The victorious ones should be known to be like me,
Who has exhausted all faults.
I have conquered all evil dharmas;
Therefore, my friend, I am indeed a victorious one."

The mendicant asked again: "Venerable Gautama, where will you go now?"

The Thus-Gone One replied:

"I am on my way to Varanasi.
When I arrive in the city of Kasi,
I shall spread an incomparable light
To shine in this world of the blind.
"I am on my way to Varanasi.
When I arrive in the city of Kasi,
I shall beat the great drum of nectar
To be heard in this world of the deaf.
"I am on my way to Varanasi.
When I arrive in the city of Kasi,
I shall turn the wheel of Dharma
That has never been turned in this world."

"May this come to pass, Gautama!" replied the Ajivika. "May this come to pass!"

The mendicant then took off toward the south while the Thus-Gone One went north. Monks, at this point Sudarsana, the king of the nagas, invited the Thus-Gone One to stay with him in Gaya for some refreshments. The Thus-Gone One then proceeded to Rohitavastu and on toward Uruvela-Kalpa, Anala, and the town of Sarathi. Monks, in all those places the laypeople invited the Thus-Gone One to stay and refresh himself. In due course he arrived at the banks of the great river Ganges. Monks, at that time the great river Ganges was swollen and flowed on the same level as its banks. Now, monks, since the Thus-Gone One wanted to cross the river, he approached a ferryman about this.

The ferryman told him, "Gautama, you must pay the crossing fee."

The Thus-Gone One replied, "Sir, I do not have any means to pay the crossing
fee." Then he flew through the air from one shore to the other.

When the boatman saw this, he felt great regret, thinking, "Oh no, how sad! How
could I refuse to give a ferry ride to such a venerable man worthy of being served!"

He then fainted and fell to the ground.

Later the boatman recounted the story to King Bimbisara: "Your Majesty, when I asked the mendicant Gautama to pay the crossing fee, he told me that he did not have money to pay the fare. Instead he just flew through the air from one bank to the other!"

When King Bimbisara heard this, he waived the crossing fee for monks from that day onward.

Monks, in this way the Thus-Gone One traveled through the land. Finally he arrived at the city of Varanasi. At dawn he dressed, put on his mendicant robe, and took his alms bowl. Then he entered the city of Varanasi to seek alms.

Soon he had acquired enough offerings and sat down for his meal. He then proceeded to the Hill of the Fallen Sages at the Deer Park to meet his five former companions. The five companions could see the Thus-Gone One approaching from a distance, and they began to scheme:

"Venerable ones, look, here comes that mendicant Gautama, that lazy, gluttonous one who has given up on his ascetic practices. Before, when he practiced austerities, he never managed to manifest any deep wisdom derived from the teachings of superior humans. How much worse are things now! He is not to be emulated as he walks around eating proper food and doing easy practices. That lazy glutton! None of
us should approach him to greet him or rise when he comes. Do not help him by holding his robes or his offering bowl. Don't offer him food or drink for refreshment, nor a place to rest his legs. We can, however, set up some spare seats and say: 'Venerable Gautama, these are spare seats. If you like, you may sit.' The venerable Ajñana Kaundinya did not agree with this, but he did not voice his opposition, either.

Monks, the closer the Thus-Gone One came to his five former companions, the more uncomfortable they felt in their seats and wanted to stand up. They felt like birds caught in a cage with a fire burning below.

Just as birds tormented by a fire wish nothing more than to take off quickly and fly away, the closer the Thus-Gone One came to the five companions, the more uncomfortable they felt in their seats and wanted to get up. The reason they felt this way is that no living being is able to remain seated when beholding the Thus-Gone One. So the closer the Thus-Gone One came to the five companions, the more overwhelming his splendour and radiance became. They began to quiver in their seats, and then their prior plan fell apart completely and they all stood up from their seats. One went to greet him. One approached him and held his robe and alms bowl. One prepared a seat for him. One made a footrest. One brought water for washing his feet and said, "Welcome, Venerable Gautama! Welcome, Venerable Gautama! Please sit on this seat that we have laid out."

Monks, the Thus-Gone One indeed sat on the seat that had been arranged, and the five companions, who tried to make diverse, happy, and pleasing conversation with the Thus-Gone One, sat a little apart. They spoke to the Thus-Gone One in the same way the Ajivika had addressed him earlier: "Venerable Gautama, your senses are calm, and your skin is bright, pure, and of yellow hue. Just as the autumn season, which is white and bright, becomes of yellow hue, your senses, Lord Gautama, are bright, and your round face is perfectly pure. Just as when the ripe fruit of the tala tree is nipped off its stem, the severed area immediately becomes yellow, bright, and perfectly pure, so, Gautama, are your bright senses and your perfectly pure round face. Just as a necklace made of gold from the Jambu River, whose surface has the excellence of a shining meteor, when well fashioned by a skillful son of a goldsmith and thrown onto a white cloth becomes of vivid colour, resplendent, perfectly pure, and exceedingly bright, just so, Venerable Gautama, are your calmed senses, bright skin colour, and your perfectly pure round face. Venerable Gautama, with whom did you practice religion?"

The Thus-Gone One answered the five companions in the following way:"Monks, you should not address the Thus-Gone One 'venerable,' meaning 'long-lived.' May it not be long before you obtain your goals, welfare, and happiness. Monks, I have actualised immortality and the path that leads to immortality. Monks, I am the awakened one, the omniscient one, the all-seeing one. I have become tranquil and have exhausted all faults.

"Monks, being the master of phenomena, I will teach you the Dharma. Come, listen and understand. Listen intently with open ears, and I will give you instruction and guidance. When I teach and guide you, you will also relinquish all faults and be liberated within a stainless and insightful state of mind. When you attain realisation, you will proclaim: 'Our births have been exhausted. The religious life has been led. That which ought to be done has been done—and nothing else. We therefore know an existence different from this ordinary life.'

"Did you not, monks, earlier say to yourselves: 'Venerable ones, look, here comes that mendicant Gautama, that lazy, gluttonous one who has given up on his ascetic practices. Before, when he practiced austerities, he never managed to manifest any deep wisdom derived from the teachings of superior humans. How much worse are things now! He is not to be emulated as he walks around eating proper food and doing easy practices. That lazy glutton! None of us should approach him to greet him or rise when he comes. Don't help him by holding his robes or his offering bowl. Do not offer him food or drink for refreshment, nor a place to rest his legs. We can, however, set up some spare seats and say: "Venerable Gautama, these are spare seats. If you like, you may sit."'"

Monks, as soon as the Thus-Gone One had uttered these words, every non-Buddhist symbol and banner that the five companions were wearing disappeared in an instant. Instead they each now found themselves dressed in the three robes of a mendicant with an alms bowl and their head shaven. Even their behavior was as if they had already been ordained for a hundred years. This truly was their "going forth"; this very ordination became the essence of monkhood.

Monks, right away the five monks bowed to the Thus-Gone One's feet and confessed their wrong behavior. In the Thus-Gone One's presence, they developed their recognition of him as their teacher, as well as their love, devotion, and respect for him. Out of devotion they then gave the Thus-Gone One a refreshing and cleansing bath in a lotus pond with lotuses of many different colours.

Monks, after the Thus-Gone One had been refreshed by his bath, he thought to himself: "Where did all the previous thus-gone ones, the worthy ones, the perfect buddhas, turn the wheel of Dharma?" Monks, at whichever place the previous thusgone ones, the worthy ones, turned the wheel of Dharma, at that place there appeared one thousand jewel thrones, made of seven kinds of jewels. Then the Thus-Gone One, out of respect to the thus-gone ones of the past, circumambulated the first three thrones and then sat down crossed-legged on the fourth throne like a fearless lion. The five monks prostrated to the Thus-Gone One with their heads at his feet and then sat down before him.

Monks, at that point the Thus-Gone One's body began to emit light rays that filled this trichiliocosm with bright light. This light illuminated the inhabitants of the entire world who were steeped in evil and darkness. The colour and brilliance of this light even outshone that of the sun and the moon, those magical planets that are otherwise so highly praised for their great power. The light shone so brightly that it illuminated even places so dark that those beings who are born there cannot see their hands, even if they hold them right in front of their faces. Now even those beings were bathed in light so bright that they immediately saw and acknowledged each other, saying, "Oh my, there are other beings here! There really are!"

Then the whole trichiliocosm began to shake in six different ways and exhibited eighteen great signs. It began to quiver, tremble, quake, wobble, thunder, and roar, each in three degrees of intensity. The world shook so violently that when the edge was down, the centre was up; when the edge was up, the centre was down; when the east was down, the west was up; when the west was up, the east was down; when the north was down, the south was up; when the north was up, the south was down.

At that point one could hear all sorts of pleasant and cheerful sounds. There were sounds that inspired love and made everyone serene. There were inviting and refreshing sounds impossible to describe or imitate, agreeable sounds that do not produce fear. At that moment there was not a single being anywhere that felt hostile, frightened, or anxious. At that moment even the light of the sun and moon and the splendour of the gods, such as Sakra, Brahma, and the worldly protectors, could not be perceived anymore. All beings who were living in the hells along with those born as animals and all those in the world of the lord of death became instantaneously free from suffering and filled with every happiness. No being had any emotion, such as hatred, delusion, envy, jealousy, pride, hypocrisy, arrogance, wrath, malice, or burning anguish. At that moment all sentient beings felt love for each other, wished each other well, and saw each other as parents and children. Then, from within the array
of light, these verses rang out:

"Leaving the Heaven of Joy,
The Lord went to the mother's womb,
Took birth in the Lumbini Grove,
And was lifted up by the husband of Saci.
"With the gait of a lion,
He took seven steps and, undistracted,
Spoke with the voice of Brahma:
'I am the most excellent in the world.'
"In order to help all beings,
He abandoned the four continents and took ordination.
He first practiced austerities and hardships
Before going to the centre of the earth.
"He conquered Mara and his army,
And gained awakening for the sake of the world.
He has come to Varanasi
And will turn the wheel of Dharma.
"Brahma and the other gods requested him
To turn the wheel of equanimity.
Engendering compassion for the world,
The Sage gave his consent.
"Keeping his firm promise,
He has come to the Deer Park at Varanasi.
There he will turn the wheel

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That is wondrous, glorious, and unsurpassed.
"The Lord practiced for a hundred billion eons. [F.198.a]
If you seek the Dharma that he discovered,
You should come in a hurry
To listen to the Dharma.
"Rare is the human condition and the arising of a buddha,
And extremely rare it is that someone develops faith.
It is rare to find freedom from the eight unfortunate states,
So listening to the Dharma is the most important activity.
"All these things have been found today:
The Thus-Gone One has appeared, and you have your freedom and faith.
Hearing the Dharma is the most precious thing
Forone who renounces all mad carelessness.
"For the last billion eons,
You have never heard the Dharma.
This Dharma has been discovered today
By one who renounces all mad carelessness.
"Our Guide will turn the wheel of immortality,
So come quickly, everyone!
This voice now urges all of you gods,
From the earth up until Brahma, to come."
Once the great divine voice had called the gods,
They at once abandoned their wealth
And all appeared
By the side of the Thus-Gone One.

Monks, in order for the Thus-Gone One to turn the wheel of Dharma at the Deer Park by the Hill of the Fallen Sages in Varanasi, the earth gods now formed a great circle around the Thus-Gone One. The circle was wonderful and beautiful to the eye. It was enormous with a circumference of seven hundred miles, and the gods adorned the sky above it with parasols, victory flags, banners, and canopies.

The divine sons from the desire and form realms then offered to the Thus-Gone One 8.4 million lion thrones, accompanied by this request: "Please consider us with love and take your seat on this throne. We pray that the Blessed One will then turn the wheel of Dharma."

Monks, at that time from all directions—east, south, west, and north, above and below—many millions of bodhisattvas who had made previous aspirations for this occasion came forth. They all bowed down to the feet of the Thus-Gone One and requested him to turn the wheel of Dharma. All the powerful gods in this billionfold universe, such as Sakra, Brahma, the worldly protectors, and the other ones with the title of Great lord, bowed their heads to the Thus-Gone One's feet. They all requested the Thus-Gone One to turn the wheel of Dharma with these words:

"May the Blessed One now turn the wheel of Dharma for the benefit and happiness of many beings, for the love of the world, for the well-being and happiness of great numbers of beings, both gods and humans. Bliss-Gone One, please make this offering of Dharma. Lord, please shower the rain of Dharma! Unfold the great victory banner of the Dharma! Blow the great conch of the Dharma! Beat the great drum of the Dharma!"

From everywhere in this trichiliocosm, Brahma, Sakra, and many guardians appeared. Bowing their heads to the Victorious One, they said:

"Great Sage, please remember your earlier promise. Previously you said, 'I am the first and the best, I will free all beings from their suffering.' Sage, as you sat below the holy tree, you then tamed Mara and his henchmen, and awakened to the peace and sacredness of supreme awakening. You felled the tree of disturbing emotions.

Now all the intentions that you nurtured for a hundred eons have been fulfilled. So now please look upon those beings who are without a protector and turn the supreme wheel."

The light of the Thus-Gone One illuminated hundreds of thousands of buddha realms, causing many hundreds of sons of the buddhas to arrive miraculously. They offered the Bliss-Gone One manifold and vast offerings and praised his qualities. Then they made this request to his compassionate being:

"Like a compassionate cloud, a lightning bolt of wisdom, and a wind of insight, For a thousand eons, you have nourished beings with your thunderous voice. Please pacify their thirst with the downpour from the rain cloud of the eightfold path; May your powers, faculties, and concentration make the harvest of liberation bountiful.

"For many thousands of eons, you have trained well and rested in the suchness of emptiness;

You dispense the medicine of the Dharma and know the lives of sentient beings.

For human beings, tormented by the hundred diseases of disturbing emotions, Victorious Physician, please turn the supreme wheel of Dharma and liberate beings.

"For so long you increased the six perfections; You performed and amassed an incomparable and immutable wealth of Dharma. As you behold all these beings without protection, wealth, or guidance, Noble Guide, please share the seven types of wealth and turn the wheel.

"Seeking the awakening of the victorious ones, you joyfully relinquished your fortune, Riches, treasures, gold, fine robes, beautiful flowers, ointments, scented powders, Finest dwellings, your retinue of consorts, the kingdom, even your beloved son. Perfect Buddha, please turn the supreme wheel.

"For a hundred eons you have likewise kept your discipline intact and pure, Always training in patience and with your diligence never waning. Sage, your concentration is supreme and your insight is a clairvoyant wisdom; With your intent fulfilled, please remove the fever and turn the supreme wheel."

Monks, at that point a bodhisattva, a great being, known as the One Who Turns the Wheel When the Intent Is Formed, offered a Dharma wheel to the Thus-Gone One. It was an exquisite wheel adorned with all kinds of jewels, gems, and various other embellishments. It had a hub, a rim, and a thousand spokes. It was adorned with flower garlands, lattices of gold, tassels with bells, and the motifs of an elephant in rut, a filled vase, and a swastika. The wheel was adorned with various marks of auspiciousness, beautifully wrapped in divine fabrics and dyed in different colours. It was strewn with flowers of the heavens, adorned with fragrant garlands, and rubbed with perfumed ointments.

In this way it was a wheel as beautiful as can be. It came about through the power of previous aspirations made as the Bodhisattva had trained. It was truly a suitable offering to the Thus-Gone One. Since all the previous thus-gone ones in succession had accepted this wheel, it possessed the unbroken blessings of all the buddhas. In fact this wheel had previously been turned by all former thus-gone ones, worthy ones, perfect buddhas, and therefore it was now offered to the Thus-Gone One for turning.

Once he had made his offering to the Thus-Gone One, the bodhisattva joined his palms and praised the Thus-Gone One with these verses:

"When Dipaṃkara made the prediction for the Pure One,
He said, 'You will become a buddha, a lion among the lions of men.'
At that time I made the following aspiration:
'When I become perfectly enlightened, I will seek the Dharma.'
"Today the best of beings have come here from the ten directions,
So many in number that they cannot be counted.
With joined palms they bow at the Thus-Gone One's feet
And request the joy of the Sakya clan to turn the wheel of Dharma.
"The offerings of the gods at the seat of awakening,
And the arrays of the sons of the victorious ones—
They all stand together, set forth for the wheel of Dharma.
The complete array could never be fully described.
"The heavens above this trichiliocosm are filled with gods,
And on earth demigods, kiṃnaras, and humans roam.
Yet no sound can be heard at this very moment
As everyone looks with a peaceful mind to the Victorious One."

Monks, the Thus-Gone One now spent the first part of the night in silence. During the middle part of the night, he gave an eloquent talk. Finally, during the last part of the night, he summoned the five excellent companions and said:

"Monks, there are two extremes that you should avoid when you have taken ordination. First do not follow self-indulgence, which is shallow, worldly, ordinary, unworthy of a noble one, and attended by undesired consequences. In the long run it will prevent you from practicing your religion. You will become distracted and unable to develop nonattachment. You will not enter into the state of cessation nor develop higher knowledge, or attain the perfect awakening of nirvana. On the other hand, straying from the middle way, you will not pass beyond suffering. If you mistreat your body so that it suffers and is harmed, you will face difficulties as can be observed right now, and in the future even further misery will fall on you.

"Monks, the Bliss-Gone One teaches the Dharma by showing the middle way that does not fall into either of the two extremes. The Dharma that he teaches is one of correct view, intention, speech, action, livelihood, effort, mindfulness, and concentration.

"Monks, there are also four truths of the noble ones. What are these four? Suffering, the origin of suffering, the cessation of suffering, and the path that leads to the cessation of suffering.

"What is suffering? It is the pain that accompanies birth, growing old, falling sick, and dying. It also includes the suffering of meeting the unpleasant and parting from the pleasant. Not finding what is being sought is also suffering. In short the five perpetuating aggregates are suffering. This is what we call suffering.

"What is the origin of suffering? It is the craving that perpetuates existence, which is attended upon by the passion for enjoyment, and which finds pleasures here and there. That is the origin of suffering.

"What is the cessation of suffering? It is the complete and dispassionate cessation of craving that perpetuates existence, which is attended upon by the passion for enjoyment, and which finds pleasures here and there. This is the cessation of suffering.

"What is the path that leads to the cessation of suffering? It is exclusively the eightfold path of the noble ones. [F.200.b] This is the path that starts with correct view and ends with correct concentration. It is called the path that leads to the cessation of suffering—a noble truth.

"Monks, these four truths are the truths of the noble ones.

"Monks, this teaching I had not heard previously. I understood it by intensely and introspectively focusing my mind on suffering. In this way my wisdom, vision, understanding, intellect, intelligence, knowledge, and insight became manifest.

"Monks, this teaching I had not heard previously. I understood it by focusing intently on the origin of suffering. In this way my wisdom, vision, understanding, intellect, intelligence, knowledge, and insight became manifest.

"Monks, this teaching I had not heard previously. I understood it by focusing intently on the cessation of suffering. In this way my wisdom, vision, understanding, intellect, intelligence, knowledge, and insight became manifest.

"Monks, this teaching I had not heard previously. I understood it by focusing intently on the path that leads to the cessation of suffering. In this way my wisdom, vision, understanding, intellect, intelligence, knowledge, and insight became manifest.

"Monks, within this teaching that I had not heard previously, suffering must be known. This I understood by focusing intently on suffering.In this way my wisdom, vision, understanding, intellect, intelligence, knowledge, and insight became manifest.

"Monks, within this teaching that I had not heard previously, the origin of suffering must be abandoned. This I understood by focusing intently on the origin of suffering. In this way my wisdom, vision, understanding, intellect, intelligence, knowledge, and insight became manifest.

"Monks, within this teaching that I had not heard previously, the cessation of suffering must be actualized. This I understood by focusing intently on the cessation of suffering. In this way my wisdom, vision, understanding, intellect, intelligence, knowledge, and insight became manifest.

"Monks, within this teaching that I had not heard previously, the path that leads to the cessation of suffering must be practiced. This I understood by focusing intently on the path that leads to the cessation of suffering. In this way my wisdom, vision, understanding, intellect, intelligence, knowledge, and insight became manifest.

"Monks, within this teaching that I had not heard previously, I have fully understood suffering. This I did by focusing intently on suffering. In this way my wisdom, vision, understanding, intellect, intelligence, knowledge, and insight became manifest.

"Monks, within this teaching that I had not heard previously, I have abandoned the origin of suffering. This I did by focusing intently on the origin of suffering. In this way my wisdom, vision, understanding, intellect, intelligence, knowledge, and insight became manifest.

"Monks, within this teaching that I had not heard previously, I have actualised the cessation of suffering. This I did by focusing intently on the cessation of suffering. In this way my wisdom, vision, understanding, intellect, intelligence, knowledge, and insight became manifest.

"Monks, within this teaching that I had not heard previously, I have practiced the path that leads to the cessation of suffering. This I did by focusing intently on the path that leads to the cessation of suffering. In this way my wisdom, vision, understanding, intellect, intelligence, knowledge, and insight became manifest.

"Monks, in this way I genuinely contemplated each of the four truths of the noble ones while I recited them three times. Still I did not develop the wisdom that sees their twelve aspects. Monks, therefore I did not make any claims of having awakened to unsurpassable, perfect and complete buddhahood, and I still lacked the insight of wisdom.

"However, monks, once I had recited the four truths of the noble ones three times, I developed the wisdom that sees their twelve aspects. At that point my mind was free and my insight was now free and pure. Monks, at that point I declared that I had awakened to unsurpassable, perfect and complete buddhahood. My wisdom vision had been developed, my births had been exhausted, I had carried out my religious practice, I had done what needed to be done, and I will not have another life."

On this topic, it is said:

With the melody of Brahma and the voice of a kiṃnara,
Emanating trillions of light rays,
He, who had cherished the truth for many millions of eons,
The Self-Arisen Sakyamuni, spoke these words to Kaundinya:
"The eyes, ears, and nose are impermanent and baseless;
Likewise the tongue, body, and mind are also suffering, selfless, and empty.
They are lifeless matter, inert like hay or a wall;
There is no self here, neither a person nor life force.
"All phenomena are causally produced;

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Beyond limits and without consciousness, they are like space.
There is no agent and likewise no one who feels,
And no action that can be observed as performed, be it good or bad.
"Suffering arises based on the aggregates;
The water of craving makes it grow.
On the path the aggregates are perceived to be the equality of phenomena;
Infinitely diminished in harmony with the law of decay, they cease.
"Through conceptual thinking, which is superficial,
Ignorance arises; it has no other source.
When you eliminate the cause of formations, there is no passing on;
Consciousness arises dependent on passing on.
"Likewise name and form appear from consciousness;
From name and form, the six sense fields appear.
When joined with these six sense fields, it is said that contact appears;
Contact produces the three kinds of feelings.
"Even the smallest feeling is said to be accompanied by craving,
And craving produces all forms of clinging.
The clinging in turn perpetuates all existence,
And based on existence, one's birth occurs.
"Rooted in birth, the stages of old age, sickness, and death follow;
In this web of existence, there are many types of birth.
Likewise all beings appear from conditions,
With no self or person who transmigrates.
"Whoever has no thought or concept has found the true way;
Whoever has found the true way has no ignorance.
Whoever has brought this ignorance to a halt
Has exhausted all forms of existence for good.
"The Awakened One, the Thus-Gone One, the Self-Arisen One Has severed this causation within himself. Buddha can only mean someone who knows all causality; It does not refer to the aggregates, sense sources, and elements.
"There is no place here for the heretics of other schools; Here, in such practice of the Dharma, the emptiness has been proclaimed. Those beings who are fortunate enough to understand this teaching Are those who studied and were purified under previous buddhas."
When the wheel of Dharma was turned
With its twelve aspects,
Kaundinya understood the meaning,
And so the Three Jewels came to be.
The Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha:
These are the Three Jewels.
Even up to the Palace of Brahma,
The news went out from person to person:
"The Protector of the World
Has turned a stainless wheel.
The Three Jewels, which are so rare in this world,
Have now appeared."
The five monks—
Kaundinya and the rest—
Along with sixty million gods
Purified their eye of Dharma.
Others, however, say that there were eighty million deities
Present from the realm of form.
Their vision was purified
At the time of the turning of the wheel of Dharma.
The 84,000 humans
Who had congregated there
Purified their eyes
And were liberated from all unfavourable rebirths.

Immediately the Thus-Gone One's unbounded voice went out into the ten directions. Its sweet and beautiful sound could be heard throughout the heavens: "The Sage of the Sakyas, endowed with the ten powers, went to the Hill of the Fallen Sages at Varanasi, where he turned the supreme wheel of Dharma. That is what happened."

At the same time hundreds of buddhas, residing in the ten directions, all became silent. This caused all their attendants to ask the victorious ones: "When we heard this voice, you stopped the Dharma talk that you were delivering by means of your ten powers. Why did you become silent? Please tell us right away!"

The buddhas replied: "In the past, for hundreds of lives this Buddha strove diligently toward awakening and did better than many hundreds of thousands of bodhisattvas.

Thus he, the Benefactor, attained spiritual heat and the most auspicious awakening. The Dharma wheel, which revolves three times, has been set in motion, so this is why we are silent."

When the hundred million beings heard this answer from the buddhas, they developed the power of love and entered into supreme and auspicious awakening. Then they said: "Even we are able to follow in the footsteps of this Sage with all his glorious diligence and power. Now may we swiftly become the best in this world; may we give to others the eye of Dharma."

At that point the bodhisattva, the great being, Maitreya addressed the Blessed One:

"Lord, these bodhisattvas, the great beings, who reside in the ten directions of the world would like to hear from you in person in order to learn how you turn the wheel of Dharma. Therefore, Lord, please be kind enough to explain what kind of wheel is the wheel of Dharma, which has been turned by the Thus-Gone One, the Worthy One, the Perfect Buddha."

The Blessed One replied: "Maitreya, the wheel of Dharma is profound because it cannot be grasped by the intellect. This wheel is hard to see because it is beyond duality. This wheel is hard to comprehend because it is not an object of conceptual investigation. This wheel is hard to discern because it is related to the sameness of wisdom and consciousness.

"This wheel is without any blemishes because it leads to the attainment of liberation, which is free from any obscurations. This wheel is subtle because it cannot be exemplified. This wheel is essential because it leads to the attainment of vajra-like wisdom. This wheel is indestructible because it preexists its own turning.

"This wheel is without mental elaboration because it is devoid of the sources of conceptual thinking. This wheel is undisturbed because of its infinite steadiness. This wheel encompasses everything because it is equal to the sky.

"Maitreya, this wheel of Dharma has the nature of the essence of all phenomena. It is a wheel with the power to teach. It is a wheel beyond birth, cessation, and enduring. It is a wheel without the all-ground. It is a wheel of the Dharma-way of nonconceptuality to its full extent.

"It is a wheel of emptiness, a wheel of signlessness, a wheel free of any intent. It is a wheel of the unconditioned, a wheel of solitude, a wheel without desire, a wheel of cessation, and a wheel that engages with the enlightened mind of the thus gone ones.

"It is a wheel that is unconfused regarding the realm of phenomena, a wheel that is undisturbed concerning authentic limit. It is a wheel without attachment and obscuration. It is a wheel free from the two extreme views in the understanding of interdependence. It is a wheel without disturbance within the realm of phenomena beyond centre and edge.

"It is a wheel of the effortless and ceaseless activity of the Thus-Gone One. It is a wheel beyond activity and nonactivity. It is a wheel utterly ungraspable. It is a wheel beyond effort and effortlessness, an inexpressible wheel. It is a wheel that is like the nature of phenomena. It is a wheel of entering the sameness of all phenomena within a single sphere.

"It is a wheel that never reverses and continuously bestows guidance and blessings on sentient beings that are deprived of freedom. It is a wheel of entering the way of the ultimate truth, which assumes nonduality. It is a wheel that genuinely subsumes the realm of phenomena. This wheel is immeasurable because it transcends all limits.

"This wheel cannot be enumerated because it is beyond something that can be counted. This wheel is inconceivable because it is beyond the realm of conceptual mind. This wheel is unequalled because it is beyond equality. This wheel is inexpressible because it is beyond all paths of audible words.

"It is limitless. It is without example because it is beyond exemplification. It is like the sky; it does not cease, yet neither is it permanent. Accepting interdependence does not disturb its peace; it is infinitely peaceful. It is reality itself. Its nature is none other than that, not like that, or neither.

"It speaks the languages of all beings. It suppresses all demonic forces and defeats the non-Buddhists. It is an escape from cyclic existence. It is the entering into the realm of the buddhas. It is understood by noble beings and realized by solitary buddhas. The bodhisattvas embrace it. It is praised by all the buddhas. It is indivisible from all the thus-gone ones."

"Maitreya, such is the wheel of Dharma that the Thus-Gone One turns. It is when the Thus-Gone One turns this wheel that he is called a thus-gone one. Then he is called a perfectly awakened buddha, the one who naturally manifests, lord of Dharma, the guide, the perfect guide, the complete guide, the captain, the one with mastery over all dharmas, and the lord of the Dharma.

"He is also called the one who turns the wheel of Dharma, the liberal provider of the gift of Dharma, lord of the offerings, the one who grants offerings perfectly, the one who accomplishes disciplined action, the one who fulfills all aims, the teacher, the one who gives comfort, the hero, and the one who abandons disturbing emotions.

"He is also known as the one who has conquered in battle, the one who hoists the parasol, the victory flag, and the banner, the one who shines, the radiant one, the one who dispels darkness, the torchbearer, the great king among physicians, the perfect healer, and the great remover of pain.

"He is the one who sees wisdom perfectly clear, the one who sees all around, the one who looks all around, the one with eyes in all directions, the one who shines in all directions, the one who lights up the world all around, the one who faces all directions, the universal sun, the universal moon, the one beautiful in every way, and the one who never abides and neither accepts nor rejects.

"He does not feel elated or depressed, and therefore he is known as the One Similar to the Earth. Since he is unshakable, he is known as the King of Mountains. He is known as the Glory of the World because he possesses all the qualities of the world. Since he is clearly superior to the entire world, he is called the Invisible Summit. He is called ocean-like because his profundity and depth are hard to fathom.

"He is called the Source of the Precious Dharma because he has perfected all the precious teachings that lead to awakening. He is said to be like the wind because he does not rest anywhere. He is known to possess a nonclinging intellect because his mind is nonclinging, unfettered, and liberated. He is called the Irreversible Dharma because of his realisation that penetrates all phenomena. He is known as the Fire-like One because he burns away all disturbing emotions, having given up all pretense.

"He is like the water because he is purified of evil and always has pure thoughts and stainless body and mind. He is like the sky because he has actualized the wisdom of the realm of phenomena, without centre or edge, within the range of nonclinging wisdom.

"He is known as the One Who Abides in a Liberated State of Unobstructed Wisdom because he has abandoned all the different obscuring phenomena. He is called the One with a Body That Issues Forth Entirely from the Realm of Phenomena because he transcends the path of space-like vision. He is called the Supreme Being because he has no disturbing emotions caused by worldly objects.

"He is called the nonclinging being, the one with the limitless intellect, the teacher of the Dharma that transcends the world, the spiritual preceptor of the world, the physician of the world, the most sublime in the world, the one who is not stained by worldly concerns, the protector of the world, the most excellent in the world, the foremost in the world, lord of the world, the one honoured by the world, the ultimate refuge of the world, the one who has gone beyond the world, the light of the world, and the one transcending the world.

"He is called the master of the world, the one who benefits the world, the one who serves the world, the one who knows the world, the one who has become the regent of the world, the excellent recipient of gifts, the one worthy of offerings, the great field of merit, the great being, the supreme being, the most supreme being, the unexcelled being, the being with no one above, the unequaled being, and the unique being.

"He is called the one who always rests in equanimity, the one who rests in the equality of all phenomena, the one who has discovered the path, the teacher of the path, the one who shows the path, and the one who genuinely abides on the path.

"He is called the one who has transcended the domain of Mara and the one who has conquered the retinue of Mara. Since he is no longer subject to old age and death he is known as the one who discovered the cool quality. He is the one without darkness, the one without pains, the one without yearnings, the one without disturbing emotions, the one who has eliminated hesitation, the one who has conquered doubt, the one without attachment, the one who is free, the pure one, the one without desire, the one without anger, the one without delusion, the one who has exhausted defilements, the one without disturbing emotions, the one with power, and the one whose mind is utterly free.

"He is called the one with the realisation of a liberated one, the all-knowing one, the great elephant, the one who accomplishes things that need doing, the one who removes the burdens, the one who postpones his own benefit, the one who has exhausted all bonds to existence, and the one who has been freed by the wisdom of equality.

"He is called the one who has perfected all supreme powers of the mind, the one who has perfected generosity, the most sublime through discipline, the one who has perfected patience, the most sublime through diligence, the one who has discovered higher knowledge through concentration, [F.205.a] the one who has perfected knowledge, and the one who has accomplished aspiration.

"He is called the one who abides in great love, the one who abides in great compassion, the one who abides in great rejoicing, and the one who abides in great equanimity.

"He is called the one who is diligent in gathering sentient beings, the one who has discovered undimmed awareness of everything, the one who is each and everyone's refuge, the one of great merit, the one possessing great wisdom, and the one with perfect mindfulness, mode of thinking, and intellect.

"He is known as the One Who Attained the Light because he possesses the branches of awakening, such as the foundations of mindfulness, the authentic eliminations, the bases of miraculous powers, the faculties and the powers, as well as tranquility and insight.

"He is the one who crossed the ocean of saṃsara, the one who came to the other shore, the one who has reached dry land, the one who attained peace, the one who found fearlessness, and the one who is unharmed by the thorns of disturbing emotions.

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"He is known as the person, the great person, the lion of a man, the one who is not subject to fear and the thrill of excitement, the elephant, the stainless one, the one who has abandoned the three stains, the knower, the one with the three types of insight, the one who has crossed the four rivers, and the one who has reached the other shore.

"He is known as the Member of the Royal Class because he is the only one who carries the jewel parasol. He is known as the Priest because he abandons misguided religions. He is known as the Monk because he smashes the eggshells of ignorance. He is known as the Spiritual Practitioner because he is genuinely beyond attachment to money and gain. He is conversant with sacred knowledge. He is known as the One Whose Disturbing Emotions Have Departed.

"He is called the powerful one, the holder of the ten powers, the blessed one, the one who has developed physical restraint, the king among kings, the king of Dharma, the one who turns and teaches the sacred and supreme wheel of Dharma, the one who teaches a Dharma that is without strife, and the one who grants consecration into omniscient wisdom.

"He is the one who is bound with a stainless headband of liberation, great wisdom, and nonattachment. He is the one who possesses the gems of the seven factors of awakening. He is the one who has actualized all the distinctive qualities of the Dharma. He is the one whose round face is gazed upon by all ministers and noble listeners. He is the one who is surrounded by his sons the bodhisattvas, the great beings. He is called the one who is exceedingly gentle through discipline, and the one who can easily predict the future awakening of a bodhisattva.

"He is called the one who is like Vaisravana, the one who grants the treasury of the seven noble riches, the one who sees clearly, the one who has renounced renunciation, the one who is in possession of all perfect kinds of bliss, the one who fulfills all hopes, and the one who sustains the entire world with assistance and happiness.

"He is said to be like Sakra, holder of the vajra of the power of wisdom, and the one with eyes that see all around. He is known as the one who sees all phenomena with unobscured wisdom, the one who is transformed through wisdom in every respect, and the one who displays the great dance of Dharma.

"He is like the moon, the one that beings never tire of beholding, the one with brilliant light that reaches everywhere, the light that grants friendly disposition and great delight, the light that sees all sentient beings face-to-face, the one that shines on the minds and thoughts of all beings so that they appear exactly as they are, the great array, and the one surrounded by the stars of those who learn and those who no longer learn.

"He is called the one like the disk of the sun, and the one who clears away the darkness of delusion. He is the king who holds the great banner. He is limitless and boundless light. He is the one who illumines all with the great light. He is never confused and so clarifies questions and offers predictions. He is called the one who has conquered the great darkness of ignorance. He is called the one who perceives everything with the great light of wisdom. He is the nonconceptual one. He is called the one who sends light rays equally to all sentient beings in a limitless manner through his love, care, and great compassion. He is known as the one who possesses the mandala of the profound perfection of wisdom that is hard to gain and hard to behold.

"He is called the one who is like Brahma, the one whose path of a religious mendicant is exceedingly calm, and the one who is endowed with all the distinctive qualities of conduct on the path of mendicancy. He is the one with the supreme form beautiful to behold. He is the one with calm faculties, the one with the peaceful mind, the one who has perfected tranquility, the one who has obtained ultimate tranquility, the one who has obtained perfect discipline and tranquility, and the one who has perfected tranquility and insight.

"Concealed and with senses subdued, he is very restrained like an elephant. He is stainless, pure, and calm like a lake. He is the one who has fully abandoned all obscurations of habitual tendencies and disturbing emotions. He is endowed with the thirty-two marks of a great being. He is called the supreme being. His body is beautifully embellished with the eighty excellent signs. He is the foremost among men. He is the one with the ten powers, the charioteer of those to be guided by the unexcelled being who possesses the four types of confidence, the teacher, and the one who has perfected the eighteen unique qualities of a buddha.

"He is the one whose physical, verbal, and mental activity is beyond blame. He is endowed with all supreme aspects and therefore is known as the One Who Has Purified the Surface of the Mirror of Wisdom. Because he has realised equality in relation to dependent origination, he is the One Who Abides in Emptiness. Because he realizes the way of the ultimate truth, he is the One Who Abides in Signlessness. Since he is unstained by any undertaking, he abides in wishlessness.

"Since he cuts the stream of all formations, he is not within the sphere of performance. Since his sphere of wisdom is not disturbed regarding the authentic limit, he is known as the One Who Speaks the Truth. Because he knows suchness, the realm of phenomena, to be like space, neither with nor without characteristics, he is known as the One Who Unerringly Teaches Suchness and Nothing Else.

"Since he understands that all phenomena are like an illusion, a mirage, a dream, a reflection of the moon in water, an echo, and a hallucination, he is known as the One Who Realises the Teaching That Is Free of Disturbing Emotions. Because he produces the cause of passing beyond suffering, he is meaningful to see and to hear. Because he has the heroic capacity to guide sentient beings, he is called the One Who Strides with Unerring Steps. Because he has cut through ignorance and the craving for existence, he is known as the One Who Is Free from Weariness.

"Because he correctly teaches the liberating path, he is known as the One Who Has Built the Bridge. Because he is not sullied by any demonic activities and places, he is known as the One Who Has Defeated the Enemies of Demons and Disturbing Emotions. He has genuinely transcended the desire realm and therefore he is called the One Who Crossed the Swamp of Desire. He has genuinely transcended the form realm and therefore he is called the One Who Has Put Down the Banner of Pride. He has genuinely transcended the formless realm and therefore he is called the One Who Hoists the Banner of Wisdom.

"Because he is endowed with the Dharma body and the wisdom body, he is genuinely beyond all worldly concerns. He is called the Great Tree because he blossoms with precious wisdom of limitless qualities and is endowed with the fruits of liberation. He is called the One Who Is like the Udumbara Flower because it is so rare for him to appear and be seen. He is said to be like the king of gems, the wishfulfilling jewel, because he has genuinely fulfilled his aim of attaining nirvana according to the way.

"For so long he has practiced renunciation, discipline, hardship, and religious practices in a firm and pure manner without wavering or getting weary, and therefore he is known as the One with Firmly Planted Feet.

"For so long parents, monks, priests, spiritual teachers, worthy people, and religious people have been protected and defended by him, and those who have taken refuge with him are never abandoned, so therefore he is said to have the soles of his feet marked with various swastikas, auspicious symbols, and thousand-spoked wheels.

"For so long he has abandoned killing and therefore he is the One with Broad Heels. For so long he has inspired others to abandon killing living beings, so he is the One with Long Fingers. For so long he has explained the benefits of desisting from killing, so he is called the Protector of Many People.

"For so long he has exerted himself in preparing his own hands and his own body by rubbing them with ghee and sesame oil, and then using his hands for bathing and anointing the bodies of parents, monks, priests, spiritual teachers, and worthy people as part of his devoted service to them, so he is the One with Soft and Smooth Hands and Feet.

"For a long time, with the net of the four means of attracting disciples—generosity, kind talk, meaningful actions, and practicing what one preaches—he has skillfully trained the multitudes of beings, so he is the One with Webbed Fingers and Toes.

"For so long he has been acquiring increasingly superior roots of virtue, so he is the One with Arched Feet.

"For so long he has circumambulated parents, monks, priests, spiritual teachers, worthy people, and memorials with relics of the thus-gone ones, respectfully listened to the Dharma, painted images, had his hair stand on end, and caused the same rapture to others by teaching the Dharma, so he is the One Who Has the Hair on His Head Curling to the Right.

"For so long, with great skill, he has paid respect and listened to the Dharma, understood it, memorised it, recited it, caused others to understand it, ascertained the meaning and the words, and with a mind of humility offered refuge to beings faced with old age, sickness, and death, and respectfully explained the Dharma to them, so he is the One with Shanks like an Antelope.

"For so long he has steadfastly applied himself to praising the religious life of monks, priests, and other religious practitioners, and giving them all the necessary supplies. He has given clothing to the naked and never approached another man's woman. He has explained the virtues of spiritual practice and preserved his self-dignity, and therefore he is the One Who Has His Private Parts Well Sheathed.

"For so long the loving actions of his body, speech, and mind have been directed toward not harming living beings, by means of guarding his arms and legs. Therefore he is the One with Long Hands.

"For so long he has known the right measure in eating and has only eaten a little in a restricted manner. He has given medicine to those weakened by the travails of selfcontrol, never despised the poor or the base, never oppressed those who are without protector, repaired the broken memorials of the thus-gone ones, built memorials, and removed fear from those plagued by anxiety. Therefore he is the One with Proportions of a Perfect Circle like the Nyagrodha Tree.

"For so long he has served parents, priests, monks, spiritual teachers, and worthy ones by washing them, anointing them, and massaging them with oils. When it was cold he has used hot water in the sun, and when it was hot he has used cool water in the shade, offering them comforts depending on the season of the year. He has given them beds and seats covered with soft and pleasant cloth, and to the memorials of the thus-gone ones he has offered fragrant oils, banners of delicate cloth, flags, and threads of silk. Therefore he is the One with Smooth and Fine Skin.

"For so long he has never rejected any sentient being, and instead he has delighted in practicing love and patience while inspiring others to do the same by praising the good qualities of forgiveness and altruism. [F.208.a] To the memorials of the thusgone ones and the statues of the thus-gone ones, he has offered golden ornaments, golden flowers, gold dust, and silken banners in golden colour. He has also offered ornaments, golden vessels, and golden-coloured garments. Therefore he is the One with Skin like Gold.

"For so long he has attended scholars and clarified what is virtuous and what is not. He has inquired about what is objectionable and what is not, what is to be practiced and what is not, which dharmas are bad, which mediocre, and which sublime. He has examined the meaning, evaluated it, and gained full certainty. He has cleaned away the insects, spider webs, faded flowers, various weeds, and sand from the memorials of the thus-gone ones. Therefore he is the One with Untangled Hair.

"For so long he has showed respect to parents, leaders, elders, holy people, monks, priests, beggars, destitute beings, and many others who have come to him, satisfying their wishes by providing them with food, drinks, bedding, medicine, clothes, homes, lamps, and all the manufactured necessities of life, plus wells and lotus ponds filled with cool water. Therefore he is the One with the Seven Protuberances.

"For so long he has showed respect to parents, monks, priests, spiritual teachers, and worthy ones, addressing them while bowing or prostrating, and protecting them from danger. He has never showed disrespect to the weak and never forsook those seeking refuge. He has never abandoned his firm resolve. For this reason he is known as the One with the Torso like a Lion.

"For so long he has recognized his own faults and never pointed out the faults of others who have stumbled. He has relinquished the cause of debate and has not engaged in divulging secrets that cause discord among others. In this way he has carefully guarded his speech, actions, and mind, and so he is the One with Broad Shoulders.

"For so long he has showed respect to parents, monks, priests, spiritual teachers, and worthy ones by rising for them, welcoming them, and addressing them honestly. Because he is an expert in the entire commentarial literature, he has been able to restrain beings in their desire to argue and instead has promoted his own Dharmaprecepts in a tactful way. He has established others, such as well-intentioned kings and ministers, on the path of Dharma, which has duly furthered the cause of virtue. In this way he has upheld the totality of the teaching of the Thus-Gone One perfectly and inspired others to practice every virtue. For this reason he is the One with Round Shoulders.

"For so long he has given up all possessions and addressed beggars by pleasant names, whichever they may like to hear. Whenever they have approached, he has never felt contempt for them, disappointed them, or turned them away. Duly fulfilling their wishes, he has never wavered in his firm resolve to give up his wealth. For this reason he is known as the One with a Lion's Jaw.

"For so long he has totally given up divisive talk and has not accepted advice that might lead to dispute, shining with the complete harmony of concord. He has criticised

divisive talk and praised the qualities of getting along in complete harmony. Therefore he is called the One with Forty Even Teeth.

"For so long he has abandoned evil ways and adopted the virtue of goodness. He has avoided bad actions and their maturation, and praised good actions and their maturation. He has made offerings of white cloth and food mixed with milk, and he has painted the memorials of the thus-gone ones with whitewash mixed with milk, while offering them various white flowers and garlands of sumana, varsiki, and dhanuskari flowers. Therefore he is the One with Pure White Teeth.

"For so long he has given up laughing at and mocking others. Instead he has made everyone happy, guarded his words, and spoken in a way that has made others happy.

Never looking for shortcomings and mistakes in others, he has been striving to make everyone get along. He has never wavered in his firm resolve to teach the same Dharma to everyone. Therefore he is the One with Teeth without Gap.

"For so long he has never harmed nor hurt anyone. Instead he has nursed those stricken by disease and given medicine to the sick. He has never tired of giving all kinds of elixirs to those who needed them. Therefore he is called the Possessor of the Universal Elixir of Elixirs.

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"For so long he has never lied or spoken harsh words. Nor has he been rude or dishonest, or sought to humiliate others. Nor has he been unpleasant, or attacked others' weak points. Instead he has practiced love and compassion and applied himself to making others feel happy and fulfilled. With sympathetic joy, he has spoken words that cause happiness—loving, pleasant, and soft words that have touched others, satisfied them, and refreshed their senses. In this way he has applied himself to proper talk and therefore he is the One with the Voice of Brahma.

"For so long he has regarded sentient beings, with his unhindered vision, as his mothers, fathers, and children. Looking at beggars as if they were his only children, he has been filled with love and compassion and has never disappointed them. With his senses still, he has looked at the memorials of the thus-gone ones with unblinking eyes. He has made a firm resolve to inspire other beings to meet the Thus-Gone One, and therefore he is the One with Deep Blue Eyes.

"For so long he has given up unintelligent and lowly attitudes and instead has applied himself perfectly to the lofty and vast. He has inspired beings with the feeling of delight for the Dharma. He has never frowned at others but always showed a smiling face. He has sought the presence of all spiritual teachers and, being so predisposed, he has transformed himself into a collection of everything auspicious. Therefore he is said to have eyelashes like a cow.

"For so long he has given up all faults of speech. Instead he has expounded elaborately on the virtues of the listeners, the solitary buddhas, and all who teach the Dharma. He has copied the sutras of the thus-gone ones, read them, recited them, and explained them to others. Regarding the teachings contained in them, he has been able to differentiate between the words and the meaning, and has been skilled in making others understand the same. Therefore he is the One with a Well-Developed Tongue.

"For so long he has venerated parents, monks, priests, spiritual teachers, and worthy ones by putting his head to their feet. He has praised those who have gone forth and greeted them respectfully, shaved their hair, and anointed their heads with scented oils. To all the beggars he has offered coloured powders, chaplets and garlands, and head ornaments. Therefore he is called the One with the Invisible Crown Protuberance.

"For so long he has encouraged others to make liberal offerings of all sorts and admonished them to follow the teachings of all spiritual friends. Entrusted by those who teach the Dharma, he has gone in all directions without feeling weary in order to serve the buddhas, the bodhisattvas, the solitary buddhas, the noble listeners, Dharma teachers, parents, teachers, and all worthy ones. He has offered them lamps with scented oils of many kinds, and lights and lamps made with oil, ghee, or grass that dispel darkness. He has beautified the statues of the thus-gone ones with the most exquisite, pleasing things, and adorned them with heaps of milky-white jewels. Because he has made others develop the mind of awakening, his accumulation of virtue has been exceptional. Therefore he is known as the One with the Beautiful, Glowing Tuft of Hair between the Eyebrows That Curls Clockwise and Has an Exquisite Colour.

"Because he is endowed with the great strength of Narayana, he is called the Great Narayana. Because he is endowed with power to tame many millions of demons, he is called the Destroyer of All Adversaries.

"Because he is endowed with the ten powers of the thus-gone ones, he is called the One with the Ten Powers of a Thus-Gone One.

"He is skilled in knowing what is proper and improper. He gives up the low and minor vehicle and possesses the power of accomplishing the qualities of the Great Vehicle. He employs its inexhaustible power. Therefore he is the One Who Is Skilled in Knowing What Is Proper and Improper.

"He has the strength that comes from knowing the cause and result of all actions in the past, present, and the future. Therefore he is the One with the Strength That Comes from Knowing the Cause and Effect of All Actions in the Past, Present, and the Future.

"He has the power to know the capacities of all sentient beings and their levels of diligence. Therefore he is the One with the Power to Know the Capacities of All Sentient Beings and Their Levels of Diligence.

"He has the power to know how one enters various types of worlds. Therefore he is the One with the Power to Know How One Enters Various Types of Worlds.

"He has the power to know what liberates various inclinations, many inclinations, and all inclinations. Therefore he is the One with the Power to Know What Liberates Various Inclinations, Many Inclinations, and All Inclinations.

"He has the power to know the path that leads everywhere. Therefore he is the One with the Power to Know the Path That Leads Everywhere.

"He has the power to know all contemplations, liberations, concentrations, and absorptions, as well as the way of purifying and stopping the disturbing emotions. Therefore he is the One with the Power to Know All Contemplations, Liberations, Concentrations, and Absorptions, as well as the Way of Purifying and Stopping the Disturbing Emotions.

"He has the power to know all previous situations without attachment. Therefore he is the One with the Power to Know All Previous Situations without Attachment.

"He has the power of knowledge stemming from his divine eye that sees clearly all forms without exception. Therefore he is the One with the Power of Knowledge Stemming from His Divine Eye That Sees Clearly All Forms without Exception.

"He has the power to know how all habitual tendencies are formed and how all defiled states without exception are exhausted. Therefore he is the One with the Power to Know How All Habitual Tendencies Are Formed and How All Defiled States without Exception Are Exhausted.

"He has attained the confidence that results from his declaration of realizing all dharmas without exception; a confidence that outshines the entire world, including the realm of gods. Therefore he is the One Who Has Attained the Confidence That Results from His Declaration of Realising All Dharmas without Exception; a Confidence That Outshines the Entire World, including the Realm of Gods.

"He declares that 'All disturbing emotions are obstacles for passing beyond suffering,' and thus discovers a confidence that the entire world, including the gods, cannot destroy. Therefore he is the One Who Declares, 'All disturbing emotions are obstacles for passing beyond suffering,' and Thus Discovers a Confidence That the Entire World, including the Gods, Cannot Destroy.

"With his claim that 'Passing beyond suffering is attained when the path of renunciation is accomplished,' he has attained a fearlessness that the entire world, including its gods, cannot overturn. Therefore he is the One Who Claims That 'Passing beyond suffering is attained when the path of renunciation is accomplished,' and Thereby Has Attained a Fearlessness That the Entire World, Including Its Gods, Cannot Overturn.

"He has attained a fearlessness that the entire world, including the gods, cannot reverse, which is expressed through a statement concerning knowledge of the way to abandon all defilements. Therefore he is called the One Who Has Attained a Fearlessness That the Entire World, Including the Gods, Cannot Reverse, which Is Expressed in a Statement Concerning Knowledge of the Way to Abandon All Defilements.

"Because he is a Dharma teacher who never stammers or falters, therefore he is the One Who Teaches the Dharma without Stammering or Faltering.

"He keeps in his heart the essence of the Dharma, which is beyond being spoken or heard. Therefore he is the One Who Keeps in His Heart the Essence of the Dharma, which Is beyond Being Spoken or Heard.

"He is beyond cessation and therefore he is the One beyond Cessation.

"He is able to bless the countless sounds of sentient beings and transform them into the Dharma language of the Buddha. Therefore he is called the One Who Is Able to Bless the Countless Sounds of Sentient Beings and Transform Them into the Dharma Language of the Buddha.

"He is the one who does not forget, therefore he is the One Who Does Not Forget.

"He does not perceive differences, and therefore he is the One Who Does Not Perceive Differences.

"He has one-pointed concentration in all his thoughts as well as in all his absorptions, and therefore he is the One Who Has One-Pointed Concentration in All His Thoughts as well as in All His Absorptions.

"He has developed an equanimity that does not differentiate, and therefore he is the One Who Has Developed an Equanimity That Does Not Differentiate.

"He never loses his absorption in the formation of faith, and therefore he is the One Who Does Not Lose His Absorption in the Formation of Faith.

"With uninterrupted absorption in the formation of diligence, he never loses his diligence. Therefore he is the One Who Does Not Lose His Diligence, Having One-Pointed Absorption in the Formation of Diligence.

"He never loses his mindfulness, and therefore he is the One Who Never Loses His Mindfulness.

"He never loses his wisdom, and therefore he is the One Who Never Loses His Wisdom.

"He never loses his liberation, and therefore he is the One Who Never Loses His Liberation.

"He never loses his vision of liberated wisdom, and therefore he is the One Who Does Not Lose His Vision of Liberated Wisdom.

"He lets wisdom inform all his physical, verbal, and mental actions, and he possesses the wisdom that is guided by wisdom. Therefore he is the One Who Lets Wisdom Inform All His Physical, Verbal, and Mental Actions, and Who Possesses the Wisdom That Is Guided by Wisdom.

"He is endowed with the unimpeded wisdom vision that sees the past, the future, and the present without attachment. Therefore he is the One Who Is Endowed with the Unimpeded Wisdom Vision That Sees the Past, the Future, and the Present without Attachment.

"He has attained stainless freedom, and therefore he is the One Who Has Attained Stainless Freedom.

"He is continuously skilled in inspiring the activities of sentient beings, and therefore he is the One Who Is Continuously Skilled in Inspiring the Activities of Sentient Beings.

"He is skilled in teaching the Dharma to others according to their capabilities, and therefore he is the One Who Is Skilled in Teaching the Dharma to Others according to Their Capabilities.

"He has perfected the sacred environment of all aspects of melodious speech, and therefore he is the One Who Has Perfected the Sacred Environment of All Aspects of Melodious Speech.

"He is skilled in articulating all sounds and echoes, and therefore he is the One with a Voice like a God, a Naga, a Yaksa, a Gandharva, a Demigod, a Garuda, a Kiṃnara, and a Mahoraga.

"He is the one whose voice resounds like the voice of Brahma. He is the one with the voice of a cuckoo bird. He is the one with a voice like a great drum. He is the one with the voice like the resounding of the earth. He is the one with the rumbling voice of a thundercloud of the naga king Sagara.

"He is the one with a voice like the roar of a lion or a bull. He is the one with a voice that satisfies, because it is in accord with the languages of all sentient beings.

He is the one with a voice that delights the circle of his audience without impediment or obstruction. He is the one with a single voice that is understood in all languages.

"He is the one who is honoured by the lord of the Brahma realm. He is the one who is respected by the lord of the gods. He is the one to whom the lord of the nagas bows. He is the one upon whose face the lord of the yaksas gazes. He is the one who the lord of the gandharvas praises in song. He is the one who is gazed upon by the lord of the demons, who beholds him with bright and unblinking eyes. He is the one to whom the lord of the demigods bows. He is the one who is unharmed by the gaze of the lord of the garudas. He is the one who is praised by the lord of the kiṃnaras.

He is the one who the lord of the mahoragas longs to see. He is the one who is venerated by the lord of the humans.

"He is the one who is supported by large gatherings of worthy ones. He is the one who inspires the bodhisattvas, who energizes them and makes them happy. He is the one who teaches the Dharma free from worldliness. He is a venerable teacher of the Dharma who never mistakes any words or syllables. He teaches the Dharma in a timely manner.

"Maitreya, this turning of the wheel of Dharma is merely a brief teaching that praises just a few of the qualities the Thus-Gone One. Maitreya, to list them in an elaborate manner, the Thus-Gone One would need an eon or more. And still that would not be enough to list them all."

Then at that time the Blessed One spoke these verses:

"The wheel of Dharma has been turned,
Which is profound, hard to behold, and subtle.
It is not understood by the non-Buddhists,
Nor by the demons.
"The wheel of Dharma has been turned,
Which is without an all-ground and beyond concepts,
Unborn and without origination,
Unique and empty of inherent nature.
"The Buddha has turned the wheel
That teaches the Dharma of equality,
Without anything to accept and reject,
Causeless and without characteristics.
"The Protector of the World
Has turned the wheel that is like
An illusion, a mirage,
A dream, an echo, or a moon reflected in water.
"It leads beyond conditioned phenomena;
It is not nihilistic and neither is it permanent,
But cuts through all views—
So is the wheel of Dharma described.
"It is an infinitely vast teaching,
Ever equal to space,
Luminous and nonconceptual—
So is the wheel of Dharma described.
"It is free from existence and nonexistence,
Beyond self and no self,
A teaching that is naturally unborn—
That is what we call the wheel of Dharma.
"In the truth of suchness,
It is the final end, yet it is without an end,
This nondual teaching of the Dharma—
That is what we call the wheel of Dharma.
"The eye is essentially empty,
So are the ear and the nose.
The tongue, the body, and also the mind
Are empty and inert.
"Such a wheel is the wheel of Dharma

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That has now been turned.
He awakens unawakened beings;
That's why he is called the Awakened One.
"By myself have I realized this nature—
The nature defined as Dharma—
Without instructions from others,
And so I am the self-arisen possessor of the wisdom eye.
"The one who masters all Dharmas
Is called a lord of Dharma.
The one who knows the genuine Dharma from the incorrect,
That is what we call a guide.
"As many beings as there are to be trained,
That many limitless beings I train.
I have perfected my training,
And so I am called the Perfect Guide.
"All beings that have strayed from the path,
I show the supreme path.
I guide them to the other shore,
And therefore I am the Guide.
"Since I know the way to magnetize,
I gather beings at my side.
Since I save beings from the wasteland of cyclic existence,
I am their leader.
"I master all phenomena,
And so I am the Victorious One, the Master of Dharma.
Since I turn the wheel of Dharma,
I am known as a king of Dharma.
"I am the generous giver of the Dharma, the Teacher,
The unexcelled Lord of the Dharma.
My offering was well performed and the goal accomplished;
My aim is fulfilled and goodness accomplished.
"I am the one who consoles and gives comfort,
The hero who has conquered disturbing emotions.
I am victorious in all battles,
A liberated one who liberates beings.
"I am the light of the world.
I spread the light of knowledge wisdom;
I conquer the darkness of ignorance.
I hold the torch; I am the bright light.
"With great wisdom I am the skillful doctor,
A great healer of the wounds of disturbing emotions.
For all those afflicted with disturbing emotions,
I am the remover of pain.
"All the signs are complete,
And all the marks of goodness adorn me.
Yet, with this body, excellent in every way,
I adapt to the ways of the worldly ones.
"I am powerful with the ten powers,
Confident with the four confidences,
And possessor of the eighteen unique qualities—
The great sage who turns the wheel of Dharma of the Supreme Vehicle.
"This brief explanation
Will set in motion the wheel of Dharma.
This praise of the qualities of the Thus-Gone One
Has listed just but a few.
"For the limitless wisdom of the Buddha
Is as vast as the sky.
Even if one were to speak for an eon,
One would not exhaust the Buddha's qualities."

This concludes the twenty-sixth chapter on turning the wheel of Dharma.

LALITA-VISTARA CHAPTER 27 — Epilogue

[This marks the end of the teaching proper. Finally, in the epilogue, the Buddha encourages his retinue of gods and humans to take this sūtra as their practice and propagate it to the best of their abilities.

The story ends at the very moment when the Buddha has finally manifested all the qualities of awakening and is fully equipped to influence the world, as he did over the next forty-five years by continuously teaching the Dharma and establishing his community of followers.]

The divine sons, who had requested this Dharma teaching from the Thus-Gone One, were now gathered for the turning of the wheel of Dharma. In total there were more than 18,000 divine beings from the pure realms, led by such beings as Mahesvara, Nanda, Sunanda, Candana, Mahita, Santa, Prasanta, and Vinitesvara. At that point the Thus-Gone One addressed the divine beings, headed by Mahesvara, who had come from the pure realms, in the following way:

"Friends, this sutra known as The Play in Full is a very extensive account of the Bodhisattva's playful activity. It constitutes an introduction to the play that is the domain of the Buddha. The Thus-Gone One has taught it to introduce himself. [439] So now you should absorb it, preserve it, and cause it to be retold. In this way, this Dharma-method of mine will spread.

"When the followers of the Bodhisattva Vehicle hear this teaching, they will develop an extremely steadfast diligence. Those beings that develop a strong inclination to attain unsurpassable and perfect awakening will develop a strength that brings down a rain of the great teaching. The demons will be destroyed. All those who proclaim different doctrines will not make their appearance. Your request to teach this Dharma will become a root of virtue—very valuable, yielding great benefits, and earning great praise.

"Friends, whoever joins his palms to this Dharma teaching of The Play in Full will attain eight supreme attributes. What are these eight? These are to attain a supreme body, supreme strength, supreme retinue, supreme presence of mind, supreme renunciation, supreme purity of thoughts, supreme level of meditative concentration, and supreme manifestation of insight. These are the eight supreme attributes that one will attain.

"Friends, whoever sets up a throne for the Dharma teacher who wishes to expound this Dharma teaching of The Play in Full will attain eight desirable positions as soon as he sets up the throne. What are these eight? They are the position of a businessperson, a householder, a universal monarch, a world protector, Sakra, Vasavartin, Brahma, a nonreturning bodhisattva who has reached the supreme essence of awakening, sits on a lion throne, and vanquishes the attacks of demons, and a buddha who has reached perfect and unsurpassable awakening and sits on the throne of turning the wheel of Dharma. These are the eight desirable positions that one will attain.

"Friends, whoever applauds a Dharma teacher expounding this Dharma teaching of The Play in Full will attain eight purities of speech. What are these eight? With the pure action of speech that accords with the truth, others will do as one says. With the pure action of speech that overwhelms one's audience, one's words will be accepted.

With the pure action of not being ignored, one's words will be heeded. By peacefully gathering beings, one will speak pleasantly and softly. By satisfying bodies and minds, one's voice will be like the voice of the cuckoo bird. By uniting beings, one will have one's say. By outshining all voices, one will have a voice like Brahma. By not being dominated by any propagators of other doctrines, one will have a voice like the roar of a lion. By satisfying the sense faculties of all sentient beings, one will have the voice of a Buddha. These are the eight purities of speech that one will attain.

"Friends, whoever puts this Dharma teaching of The Play in Full into writing, and carries, venerates, respects, honours, and pays homage to it while praising this Dharma teaching into the four directions without any feeling of miserliness, saying, 'Come here! Write this teaching down! Hold it! Pass it on! Reflect on it! Memorize it well!' he shall attain eight great treasures. What are these eight great treasures? They are: the treasure of unfailing recall because of not forgetting, the treasure of intelligence by careful analysis, the treasure of realisation by assimilating enthusiastically the meaning of all the sutras, the treasure of memorisation by remembering everything that one hears, the treasure of confidence by satisfying all sentient beings with good counsel, the treasure of Dharma by preserving the true Dharma, the treasure of the mind of awakening by maintaining the lineage of the Three Jewels, and the treasure of accomplishment by developing receptiveness to the truth of nonorigination. These are the eight great treasures that one will attain.

"Friends, whoever teaches this Dharma teaching of The Play in Full and explains it will perfect eight accumulations. What are these eight? They are: generosity by being free of miserliness, discipline by perfecting all virtuous intentions, learning by accomplishing unattached knowledge, calm abiding through actualizing all meditative states and equilibriums, insight through perfecting knowledge by means of the threefold knowledge, merit by refining the excellent marks and the adornments of the buddha realms, wisdom by satisfying the inclinations of all sentient beings, and great compassion because of never tiring of ripening all sentient beings. These are the eight accumulations that one will perfect.

"Friends, whoever has this outlook and, thinking that other sentient beings should receive this instruction, teaches this Dharma teaching of The Play in Full elaborately, will attain eight great forms of merit through this virtuous cause. What are these eight? The first of these eight great types of merit results in becoming a universal monarch. The second great merit results in becoming a supreme ruler in the Heaven of the Four Great Kings. The third great merit results in becoming Sakra, lord of the gods. The fourth great merit results in becoming the divine son Suyama.

The fifth great merit results in becoming Santusita. The sixth great merit results in becoming Sunirmanarati. The seventh great merit results in becoming Vasavartin, the king of gods. The eighth great merit results in becoming Brahma from the Maha-Brahma Heaven. Finally one becomes a thus-gone one, a worthy one, a perfectly awakened one, free from all unvirtuous dharmas and endowed with all the virtuous ones. These are the eight great merits that one will attain.

"Friends, whoever listens attentively to this Dharma teaching of The Play in Full as it is being explained will gain eight pure mind states. What are these eight? They are: love in order to conquer all anger, compassion in order to abandon all ill will, sympathetic joy in order to clear away all depression, equanimity in order to abandon desire and anger, the four concentrations in order to master the entire desire realm, the four equilibriums of the formless realm in order to master the mind, the five types of higher knowledge in order to travel to other buddha realms, and the ability to conquer all traces of habitual tendencies in order to attain the meditative concentration of the heroic gait. These are the eight pure mind states that one will attain.

"Friends, wherever this Dharma teaching of The Play in Full is found, whether in a village, a city, a market, an inhabited place, a district, a courtyard, or a temple, the eight fears will not manifest except from the ripening of past actions. What are these eight? They are: the fears of the troubles caused by (1) rulers, (2) thieves, (3) malicious beings, (3) starvation in a wilderness, (4) fights, (6) quarrels and disputes, (7) divine beings, nagas, yaksas, and (8) all types of misfortune. Other than the ripening of previous actions, my friends, these eight fears will no longer occur.

"Friends, in short, even if the lifespan of the Thus-Gone One were to last for an eon, and even if he were to praise this Dharma teaching uninterruptedly day and night, he would not be able to end his praise of this Dharma teaching, and his inspired speech would still continue.

"Friends, the discipline, absorption, knowledge, liberation, and wisdom vision of liberation of the Thus-Gone One is immeasurable and boundless. For this reason, my friends, if anyone develops the wish that others receive this vast teaching, and subsequently memorizes this Dharma teaching, carries it, propagates it, writes it down, or commissions it to be written, comprehends it, and teaches it elaborately to his congregation, then their merit shall also be boundless."

Then the Thus-Gone One spoke to venerable Mahakasyapa, venerable Ananda, and the bodhisattva great being Maitreya:

"Friends, the unsurpassable and perfect awakening that I have accomplished through limitless billions of eons, I now place in your hands. I entrust you with a supreme entrustment. Now you should keep this teaching with you and teach it elaborately to others."

When he had said this, the Blessed One uttered the following verses in order to pass on his Dharma teaching more fully:

"If the beings whom I see with my buddha-eye
Were all worthy ones equal to Sariputra,
And if someone would make, for millions of eons,
Offerings to them, equal in number to sand grains in the Ganges,
"The merit of this would be surpassed
If one would joyfully make offerings of garlands and the like
To a single solitary buddha,
Even for just a single day and night.
"If all sentient beings were solitary buddhas,
And someone were to offer with great attention
Flowers, perfumes, and ointments
Continually over several eons,
"That merit would be greatly surpassed
If someone were to offer a single thus-gone one
A single prostration accompanied by a devoted attitude
And say, 'Homage to the worthy one!'
"If all sentient beings were buddhas,
And someone were to worship as just explained,
With divine flowers and the most precious flowers of this world,
For many eons, with many kinds of offerings,
"That merit would be greatly surpassed
If someone, at the time when the sacred Dharma is degenerating,
Gives up concern for his body and life
And recites this sutra for a single day and night.
"Whoever wishes to venerate the guides,
And likewise the solitary buddhas and the listeners,
Should give steady rise to the mind of awakening
And always keep this sutra firmly in mind.
"This is the king of all good advice
Given by all thus-gone ones.
Wherever this jewel of a sutra is found,
In that house the Thus-Gone One always resides.
"Whoever gives this sutra to others or recites just a single word,
For millions of eons he shall never stray
Either from its words or its meaning,
And thus attain limitless eloquence and virtue.
"Whoever hears this teaching and puts it into practice
Shall not only be an unsurpassable guide of humans,
But a being without equal,
Inexhaustible like the ocean."

When the Blessed One, the Exalted Lord, had said these words, the divine sons from the pure abodes headed by Mahesvara; all the bodhisattvas, the great beings, headed by Maitreya; the great listeners headed by Mahakasyapa; and the entire world with its gods, humans, demigods, and gandharvas rejoiced at the speech of the Blessed One.

This concludes the twenty-seventh chapter, the epilogue.

This completes the Great Vehicle Sutra, The Play in Full.

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Colophon to the Sanskrit Edition
The Thus-Gone One explained the causes
Of those dharmas that have a cause
And also their cessation.
This is the teaching of the Great Ascetic.
May there be good goodness! May there be goodness in every way!

Colophon to the Tibetan Translation
This was taught and translated by the Indian scholars Jinamitra, Danasila, and Munivarma
and the translator-editor Yeshé Dé, who proofed and finalized the translation.

THE BUDDHA-KARITA OF ASVAGHOSHA.
or The Acts of the Buddha
Translation: Edward Byles Cowell, 1894
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 100-150 A.D.

(The Buddha Karita or Buddhacharita or Buddhacaritam (which means "Acts of the Buddha") is an epic poem in the Sanskrit mahakavya style on the life of Gautama Buddha by Ashvaghosha, composed in the early second century AD. Of the poem's 28 cantos, the first 14 are extant in Sanskrit complete (cantos 15 to 28 are in incomplete form). In 420 AD, Dharmakṣema made a Chinese translation, and in the 7th or 8th century, a Tibetan version was made which "appears to be much closer to the original Sanskrit than the Chinese".

Ashvaghosha (c.80–150 AD) was a Sarvāstivāda Buddhist philosopher, dramatist, poet and orator from India. He was born in Saketa in northern India. He is believed to have been the first Sanskrit dramatist, and is considered the greatest Indian poet prior to Kālidāsa. He was the most famous in a group of Buddhist court writers, whose epics rivalled the contemporary Ramayana. Whereas much of Buddhist literature prior to the time of Ashvaghosha had been composed in the Pāli and Prakrit languages, Ashvaghosha wrote in the Classical Sanskrit language. At that time, Emperor Ashoka's Brahmi Script was used.

The Buddha-Karita is an early Sanskrit poem written in India on the legendary history of Buddha, and therefore contains much that is of interest for the history of Buddhism, beside its special importance as illustrating the early history of classical Sanskrit literature. It is ascribed to Asvaghosha; and, although there were several writers who bore that name, it seems most probable that our author was the contemporary and spiritual adviser of Kanishka in the first century of our era.

Xuan Zang [Hiouen Thsang, fl. 602–664 AD, born Chen Hui / Chen Yi, was a Chinese Buddhist scholar, traveler, and translator, a monk who traveled to India in the seventh century and described the interaction between Chinese Buddhism and Indian Buddhism during the early Tang dynasty.], who left India in 645 AD, mentions him with Deva, Nâgârguna, and Kumarâlabdha, 'as the four suns which illumine the world;' but our fullest account is given by I-tsing, who visited India in 673. He states that Asvaghosha was an ancient author who composed the Alamkâra-sâstra and the Buddha-karita-kâvya,--the latter work being of course the present poem.

Beside these two works he also composed the hymns in honour of Buddha and the three holy beings Amitâbha, Avalokitesvara, and Mahâsthâma, which were chanted at the evening service of the monasteries. 'In the five countries of India and in the countries of the Southern ocean they recite these poems, because they express a store of ideas and meaning in a few words.' A solitary stanza (8, 13) is quoted from the Buddha-karita in Râyamukuta's commentary on the Amarakosha 1, 1. 1, 2, and also by Uggvaladatta in his commentary on the Unâdi-sûtras 1, 156; and five stanzas are quoted as from Asvaghosha in Vallabhadeva's Subhâshitâvali, which bear a great resemblance to his style, though they are not found in the extant portion of this poem.

The Buddha-Karita was translated into Chinese by Dharmaraksha in the fifth century, and a translation of this was published by the Rev. S. Beal in the present series; it was also translated into Tibetan in the seventh or eighth century. The Tibetan as well as the Chinese version consists of twenty-eight chapters, and carries down the life of Buddha to his entrance into Nirvâna and the subsequent division of the sacred relics. The Tibetan version appears to be much closer to the original Sanskrit than the Chinese; in fact from its verbal accuracy we can often reproduce the exact words of the original, since certain Sanskrit words are always represented by the same Tibetan equivalents, as for instance the prepositions prefixed to verbal roots. I may here express an earnest hope that we may still ere long have an edition and translation of the Tibetan version, if some scholar can be found to complete Dr. Wenzel's unfinished labour. He had devoted much time and thought to the work; I consulted him in several of my difficulties, and it is from him that I derived all my information about the Tibetan renderings. This Tibetan version promises to be of great help in restoring the many corrupt readings which still remain in our faulty Nepalese Manuscripts.

Only thirteen books of the Sanskrit poem claim to be Asvaghosha's composition; the last four books are an attempt by a modern Nepalese author to supply the loss of the original. He tells us this honestly in the colophon,--'having searched for them everywhere and not found them, four cantos have been made by me, Amritânanda,--the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth.' He adds the date 950 of the Nepalese era, corresponding to 1830 A.D.; and we have no difficulty in identifying the author. Râgendralâl Mitra in his 'Nepalese Buddhist Literature' mentions Amritânanda as the author of two Sanskrit treatises and one in Newârî; he was probably the father of the old pandit of the Residency at Kâtmându, Gunânanda, whose son Indrânanda holds the office at present. Dr. D. Wright informs me that the family seem to have been the recognised historians of the country, and keepers of the Manuscript treasures of sundry temples. The four books are included in this translation as an interesting literary curiosity. The first portion of the fourteenth book agrees partly with the Tibetan and Chinese, and Amritânanda may have had access to some imperfect copy of this portion of the original; but after that his account is quite independent, and has no relation to the two versions.

In my preface to the edition of the Sanskrit text I have tried to show that Asvaghosha's poem appears to have exercised an important influence on the succeeding poets of the classical period in India. When we compare the description in the seventh book of the Raghuvamsa of the ladies of the city crowding to see prince Aga as he passes by from the Svayamvara where the princess Bhogyâ has chosen him as her husband, with the episode in the third book of the Buddha-karita (slokas 13-24); or the description of Kâma's assault on Siva in the Kumârasambhava with that of Mâra's temptation of Buddha in the thirteenth book, we can hardly fail to trace some connection. The Sanskrit Manuscripts of Nepal are always negligently transcribed and abound with corrupt passages, which it is often very difficult to detect and restore. There is a similar resemblance between the description in the fifth book of the Râmâyana; where the monkey Hanumat enters Râvana's palace by night, and sees his wives asleep in the seraglio and their various unconscious attitudes, and the description in the fifth book of the present poem where Buddha on the night of his leaving his home for ever sees the same unconscious sight in his own palace. Nor may we forget that in the Râmâyana the description is merely introduced as an ornamental episode; in the Buddhist poem it is an essential element in the story, as it supplies the final impulse which stirs the Bodhisattva to make his escape from the world, These different descriptions became afterwards commonplaces in Sanskrit poetry, like the catalogue of the ships in Greek or Roman epics; but they may very well have originated in connexion with definite incidents in the Buddhist sacred legend.)

BUDDHA-KARITA BOOK 1.

1. That Arhat is here saluted, who has no counterpart,--who, as bestowing the supreme happiness, surpasses (Brahman) the Creator,--who, as driving away darkness, vanquishes the sun,--and, as dispelling all burning heat, surpasses the beautiful moon.

2. There was a city, the dwelling-place of the great saint Kapila, having its sides surrounded by the beauty of a lofty broad table-land as by a line of clouds, and itself, with its high-soaring palaces [perhaps Kailâsa], immersed in the sky.

3. By its pure and lofty system of government it, as it were, stole the splendour of the clouds of Mount Kailâsa, and while it bore the clouds which came to it through a mistake, it fulfilled the imagination which had led them thither.

4. In that city, shining with the splendour of gems, darkness like poverty could find no place; prosperity shone resplendently, as with a smile, from the joy of dwelling with such surpassingly excellent citizens.

5. With its festive arbours, its arched gateways and pinnacles [Or towers? (simhakarnaih).], it was radiant with jewels in every dwelling; and unable to find any other rival in the world, it could only feel emulation with its own houses.

6. There the sun, even although he had retired, was unable to scorn the moon-like faces of its women which put the lotuses to shame, and as if from the access of passion, hurried towards the western ocean to enter the (cooling) water.

7. 'Yonder Indra has been utterly annihilated by the people when they saw the glories acquired by the Sâkyas,'--uttering this scoff, the city strove by its banners with gay-fluttering streamers to wipe away every mark of his existence.

8. After mocking the water-lilies even at night by the moonbeams which rest on its silver pavilions,--by day it assumed the brightness of the lotuses through the sunbeams falling on its golden palaces.

9. A king, by name Suddhodana, of the kindred of the sun, anointed to stand at the head of earth's monarchs,--ruling over the city, adorned it, as a bee-inmate a full-blown lotus.

10. The very best of kings with his train ever near him [Also: 'through the highest of mountains, yet bearing his wings (uncut).'],--intent on liberality yet devoid of pride; a sovereign, yet with an ever equal eye thrown on all,--of gentle nature and yet with wide-reaching majesty [Or 'like the moon, yet widely burning (like the sun).'].

11. Falling smitten by his arm in the arena of battle, the lordly elephants of his enemies bowed prostrate with their heads pouring forth quantities of pearls as if they were offering handfuls of flowers in homage.

12. Having dispersed his enemies by his preeminent majesty as the sun disperses the gloom of an eclipse, he illuminated his people on every side, showing them the paths which they were to follow.

13. Duty, wealth, and pleasure under his guidance assumed mutually each other's object, but not the outward dress; yet as if they still vied together they shone all the brighter in the glorious career of their triumphant success.

14. He, the monarch of the Sâkyas, of native pre-eminence, but whose actual pre-eminence was brought about by his numberless councillors of exalted wisdom, shone forth all the more gloriously, like the moon amidst the stars shining with a light like its own [Or perhaps 'shining with undiminished splendour.']

15. To him there was a queen, named Mâyâ, as if free from all deceit (mâyâ)--an effulgence proceeding from his effulgence, like the splendour of the sun when it is free from all the influence of darkness,--a chief queen in the united assembly of all queens.

16. Like a mother to her subjects, intent on their welfare,--devoted to all worthy of reverence like devotion itself,--shining on her lord's family like the goddess of prosperity,--she was the most eminent of goddesses to the whole world.

17. Verily the life of women is always darkness, yet when it encountered her, it shone brilliantly; thus the night does not retain its gloom, when it meets with the radiant crescent of the moon.

18. 'This people, being hard to be roused to wonder in their souls, cannot be influenced by me if I come to them as beyond their senses,'--so saying, Duty abandoned her own subtile nature and made her form visible.

19. Then falling from the host of beings in the Tushita heaven[1], and illumining the three worlds, the most excellent of Bodhisattvas suddenly entered at a thought into her womb, like the Nâga-king entering the cave of Nandâ.

20. Assuming the form of a huge elephant white like Himâlaya, armed with six tusks, with his face perfumed with flowing ichor, he entered the womb of the queen of king Suddhodana, to destroy the evils of the world.

21. The guardians of the world hastened from heaven to mount watch over the world's one true ruler; thus the moonbeams, though they shine everywhere, are especially bright on Mount Kailâsa.

22. Mâyâ also, holding him in her womb, like a line of clouds holding a lightning-flash, relieved the people around her from the sufferings of poverty by raining showers of gifts.

23. Then one day by the king's permission the queen, having a great longing in her. mind, went with the inmates of the gynaeceum into the garden Lumbinî [Lumbini, Nepal, is the birthplace of Siddharta Gautama Buddha.].

24. As the queen supported herself by a bough which hung laden with a weight of flowers, the Bodhisattva suddenly came forth, cleaving open her womb.

25. At that time the constellation Pushya was auspicious, and from the side of the queen, who was purified by her vow, her son was born for the welfare of the world, without pain and without illness.

26. Like the sun bursting from a cloud in the morning,--so he too, when he was born from his mother's womb, made the world bright like gold, bursting forth with his rays which dispelled the darkness.

27. As soon as he was born the thousand-eyed (Indra) well-pleased took him gently, bright like a golden pillar; and two pure streams of water fell down from heaven upon his head with piles of Mandâra flowers.

28. Carried about by the chief suras, and delighting them with the rays that streamed from his body, he surpassed in beauty the new moon as it rests on a mass of evening clouds.

29. As was Aurva's birth from the thigh [Mahâbharata I, 2610.], and Prithu's from the hand, and Mândhâtri's, who was like Indra himself, from the forehead [According to the Mahâbharata 3, l. 10450, he was born from his father's left side, but cf. Vishnu Pur. 4, 2.], and Kakshîvat's from the upper end of the arm,--thus too was his birth (miraculous).

30. Having thus in due time issued from the womb, he shone as if he had come down from heaven, he who had not been born in the natural way,--he who was born full of wisdom, not foolish,--as if his mind had been purified by countless aeons of contemplation.

31. With glory, fortitude, and beauty he shone like the young sun descended upon the earth; when he was gazed at, though of such surpassing brightness, he attracted all eyes like the moon.

32. With the radiant splendour of his limbs he extinguished like the sun the splendour of the lamps; with his beautiful hue as of precious gold he illuminated all the quarters of space.

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33. Unflurried, with the lotus-sign in high relief, far-striding, set down with a stamp,--seven such firm footsteps did he then take,--he who was like the constellation of the seven rishis.

34. 'I am born for supreme knowledge, for the welfare of the world,--thus this is my last birth,'--thus did he of lion gait, gazing at the four quarters, utter a voice full of auspicious meaning.

35. Two streams of water bursting from heaven, bright as the moon's rays, having the power of heat and cold, fell down upon that peerless one's benign head to give refreshment to his body.

36. His body lay on a bed with a royal canopy and a frame shining with gold, and supported by feet of lapis lazuli, and in his honour the yaksha-lords stood round guarding him with golden lotuses in their hands.

37. The gods in homage to the son of Mâyâ, with their heads bowed at his majesty, held up a white umbrella in the sky and muttered the highest blessings on his supreme wisdom.

38. The great dragons in their great thirst for the Law,--they who had had the privilege of waiting on the past Buddhas,--gazing with eyes of intent devotion, fanned him and strewed Mandâra flowers over him.

39. Gladdened through the influence of the birth of the Tathâgata, the gods of pure natures and inhabiting pure abodes were filled with joy, though all passion was extinguished, for the sake of the world drowned in sorrow.

40. When he was born, the earth, though fastened down by (Himâlaya) the monarch of mountains, shook like a ship tossed by the wind; and from a cloudless sky there fell a shower full of lotuses and water-lilies, and perfumed with sandalwood.

41. Pleasant breezes blew soft to the touch, dropping down heavenly garments; the very sun, though still the same, shone with augmented light, and fire gleamed, unstirred, with a gentle lustre.

42. In the north-eastern part of the dwelling a well of pure water appeared of its own accord, wherein the inhabitants of the gynaeceum, filled with wonder, performed their rites as in a sacred bathing-place.

43. Through the troops of heavenly visitants, who came seeking religious merit, the pool itself received strength to behold Buddha, and by means of its trees bearing flowers and perfumes it eagerly offered him worship.

44. The flowering trees at once produced their blossoms, while their fragrance was borne aloft in all directions by the wind, accompanied by the songs of bewildered female bees, while the air was inhaled and absorbed by the many snakes (gathering near).

45. Sometimes there resounded on both sides songs mingled with musical instruments and tabours, and lutes also, drums, tambourines, and the rest,--from women adorned with dancing bracelets.

46. 'That royal law which neither Bhrigu nor Angiras ever made, those two great seers the founders of families, their two sons Sukra and Vrihaspati left revealed at the end.

47. 'Yea, the son of Sarasvatî* proclaimed that lost Veda which they had never seen in former ages,--Vyâsa rehearsed that in many forms, which Vasishtha helpless could not compile; [* The Vishnu Purana (3, 3) says that Sârasvata arranged the Vedas in the ninth age, as Vasishtha in the eighth.]

48. 'The voice of Vâmîki uttered its poetry which the great seer Kyavana could not compose; and that medicine which Atri never invented the wise son of Atri proclaimed after him;

49. 'That Brahmanhood which Kusika never attained,--his son, O king, found out the means to gain it; (so) Sagara made a bound for the ocean, which even the Ikshvâkus had not fixed before him.

50. 'Ganaka attained a power of instructing the twice-born in the rules of Yoga which none other had ever reached; and the famed feats of the grandson of Sûra (Krishna) Sûra and his peers were powerless to accomplish.

51. 'Therefore it is not age nor years which are the criterion; different persons win pre-eminence in the world at different places; those mighty exploits worthy of kings and sages, when left undone by the ancestors, have been done by the sons.'

52. The king, being thus consoled and congratulated by those well-trusted Brahmans, dismissed from his mind all unwelcome suspicion and rose to a still higher degree of joy;

53. And well-pleased he gave to those most excellent of the twice-born rich treasures with all due honour,--'May he become the ruler of the earth according to your words, and may he retire to the woods when he attains old age.'

54. Then having learned by signs and through the power of his penances this birth of him who was to destroy all birth, the great seer Asita in his thirst for the excellent Law came to the palace of the Sâkya king.

55. Him shining with the glory of sacred knowledge and ascetic observances, the king's own priest,--himself a special student among the students of sacred knowledge,--introduced into the royal palace with all due reverence and respect.

56. He entered into the precincts of the king's gynaeceum, which was all astir with the joy arisen from the birth of the young prince,--grave from his consciousness of power, his pre-eminence in asceticism, and the weight of old age.

57. Then the king, having duly honoured the sage, who was seated in his seat, with water for the feet and an arghya offering, invited him (to speak) with all ceremonies of respect, as did Antideva[In allusion to a festival in parts of India] in olden time to Vasishtha:

58. 'I am indeed fortunate, this my family is the object of high favour, that thou shouldst have come to visit me; be pleased to command what I should do, O benign one; I am thy disciple, be pleased to show thy confidence in me.'

59. The sage, being thus invited by the king, filled with intense feeling as was due, uttered his deep and solemn words, having his large eyes opened wide with wonder:

60. 'This is indeed worthy of thee, great-souled as thou art, fond of guests, liberal and a lover of duty,--that thy mind should be thus kind towards me, in full accordance with thy nature, family, wisdom, and age.

61. 'This is the true way in which those seer-kings of old, rejecting through duty all trivial riches, have ever flung them away as was right,--being poor in outward substance but rich in ascetic endurance.

62. 'But hear now the motive for my coming and rejoice thereat; a heavenly voice has been heard by me in the heavenly path, that thy son has been born for the sake of supreme knowledge.

63. 'Having heard that voice and applied my mind thereto, and having known its truth by signs, I am now come hither, with a longing to see the banner of the Sâkya race, as if it were Indra's banner being set up.'

64. Having heard this address of his, the king, with his steps bewildered with joy, took the prince, who lay on his nurse's side, and showed him to the holy ascetic.

65. Thus the great seer beheld the king's son with wonder,--his foot marked with a wheel, his fingers and toes webbed, with a circle of hair between his eyebrows, and signs of vigour like an elephant.

66. Having beheld him seated on his nurse's side, like the son of Agni (Skanda) seated on Devî's side, he stood with the tears hanging on the ends of his eyelashes, and sighing he looked up towards heaven.

67. But seeing Asita with his eyes thus filled with tears, the king was agitated through his love for his son, and with his hands clasped and his body bowed he thus asked him in a broken voice choked with weeping,

68. 'One whose beauty has little to distinguish it from that of a divine sage, and whose brilliant birth has been so wonderful, and for whom thou hast prophesied a transcendent future,--wherefore, on seeing him, do tears come to thee, O reverend one?

69. 'Is the prince, O holy man, destined to a long life? Surely he cannot be born for my sorrow. I have with difficulty obtained a handful of water, surely it is not death which comes to drink it.

70. 'Tell me, is the hoard of my fame free from destruction? Is this chief prize of my family secure? Shall I ever depart happily to another life,--I who keep one eye ever awake, even when my son is asleep?

71. 'Surely this young shoot of my family is not born barren, destined only to wither! Speak quickly, my lord, I cannot wait; thou well knowest the love of near kindred for a son.'

72. Knowing the king to be thus agitated through his fear of some impending evil, the sage thus addressed him: 'Let not thy mind, O monarch, be disturbed,--all that I have said is certainly true.

73. 'I have no feeling of fear as to his being subject to change, but I am distressed for mine own disappointment. It is my time to depart, and this child is now born,--he who knows that mystery hard to attain, the means of destroying birth.

74. Having forsaken his kingdom, indifferent to all worldly objects, and having attained the highest truth by strenuous efforts, he will shine forth as a sun of knowledge to destroy the darkness of illusion in the world.

75. 'He will deliver by the boat of knowledge the distressed world, borne helplessly along, from the ocean of misery which throws up sickness as its foam, tossing with the waves of old age, and rushing with the dreadful onflow of death.

76. 'The thirsty world of living beings will drink the flowing stream of his Law, bursting forth with the water of wisdom, enclosed by the banks of strong moral rules, delightfully cool with contemplation, and filled with religious vows as with ruddy geese.

77. 'He will proclaim the way of deliverance to those afflicted with sorrow, entangled in objects of sense, and lost in the forest-paths of worldly existence, as to travellers who have lost their way.

78. 'By the rain of the Law he will give gladness to the multitude who are consumed in this world with that fire of desire whose fuel is worldly objects, as a great cloud does with its showers at the end of the hot season.

79. 'He will break open for the escape of living beings that door whose bolt is desire and whose two leaves are ignorance and delusion,--with that excellent blow of the good Law which is so hard to find.

80. 'He, the king of the Law, when he has attained to supreme knowledge, will achieve the deliverance from its bonds of the world now overcome by misery, destitute of every refuge, and enveloped in its own chains of delusion.

81. 'Therefore make no sorrow for him,--that belongs rather, kind sire, to the pitiable world of human beings, who through illusion or the pleasures of desire or intoxication refuse to hear his perfect Law.

82. 'Therefore since I have fallen short of that excellence, though I have accomplished all the stages of contemplation, my life is only a failure; since I have not heard his Law, I count even dwelling in the highest heaven a misfortune.'

83. Having heard these words, the king with his queen and his friends abandoned sorrow and rejoiced; thinking, 'such is this son of mine,' he considered that his excellence was his own.

84. But he let his heart be influenced by the thought, 'he will travel by the noble path,'--he was not in truth averse to religion, yet still he saw alarm at the prospect of losing his child.

85. Then the sage Asita, having made known the real fate which awaited the prince to the king who was thus disturbed about his son, departed by the way of the wind as he had come, his figure watched reverentially in his flight.

86. Having taken his resolution and having seen the son of his younger sister*, the saint, filled with compassion, enjoined him earnestly in all kinds of ways, as if he were his son, to listen to the sage's words and ponder over them. [* This was Naradatta, see Lalitavistara, ch. 7. pp. 103, 110 (Foucaux).

87. The monarch also, being well-pleased at the birth of a son, having thrown off all those bonds called worldly objects, caused his son to go through the usual birth-ceremonies in a manner worthy of the family.

88. When ten days were fulfilled after his son's birth, with his thoughts kept under restraint, and filled with excessive joy, he offered for his son most elaborate sacrifices to the gods with muttered prayers, oblations, and all kinds of auspicious ceremonies.

89. And he himself gave to the brahmans for his son's welfare cows full of milk, with no traces of infirmity, golden-horned and with strong healthy calves, to the full number of a hundred thousand.

90. Then he, with his soul under strict restraint, having performed all kinds of ceremonies which rejoiced his heart, on a fortunate day, in an auspicious moment, gladly determined to enter his city.

91. Then the queen with her babe having worshipped the gods for good fortune, occupied a costly palanquin made of elephants' tusks, filled with all kinds of white flowers, and blazing with gems.

92. Having made his wife with her child enter first into the city, accompanied by the aged attendants, the king himself also advanced, saluted by the hosts of the citizens, as Indra entering heaven, saluted by the immortals.

93. The Sâkya king, having entered his palace, like Bhava well-pleased at the birth of Kârttikeya, with his face full of joy, gave orders for lavish expenditure, showing all kinds of honour and liberality.

94. Thus at the good fortune of the birth of the king's son, that city surnamed after Kapila, with all the surrounding inhabitants, was full of gladness like the city of the lord of wealth, crowded with heavenly nymphs, at the birth of his son Nalakûvara.

BUDDHA-KARITA BOOK 2.

1. From the time of the birth of that son of his, who, the true master of himself, was to end all birth and old age, the king increased day by day in wealth, elephants, horses, and friends as a river increases with its influx of waters.

2. Of different kinds of wealth and jewels, and of gold, wrought or unwrought, he found treasures of manifold variety, surpassing even the capacity of his desires.

3. Elephants from Himavat, raging with rut, whom not even princes of elephants like Padma could teach to go round in circles, came without any effort and waited on him.

4. His city was all astir with the crowds of horses, some adorned with various marks and decked with new golden trappings, others unadorned and with long flowing manes,--suitable alike in strength, gentleness, and costly ornaments.

5. And many fertile cows, with tall calves gathered in his kingdom, well nourished and happy, gentle and without fierceness, and producing excellent milk.

6. His enemies became indifferent; indifference grew into friendship; his friends became specially united; were there two sides,--one passed into oblivion.

7. Heaven rained in his kingdom in due time and place, with the sound of gentle winds and clouds, and adorned with wreaths of lightning, and without any drawback of showers of stones or thunderbolts.

8. A fruitful crop sprang up according to season, even without the labour of ploughing; and the old plants grew more vigorous in juice and substance.

9. Even at that crisis which threatens danger to the body like the collision of battle, pregnant women brought forth in good health, in safety, and without sickness.

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10. And whereas men do not willingly ask from others, even where a surety's property is available,--at that time even one possessed of slender means turned not his face away when solicited.

11. There was no ruin nor murder,--nay, there was not even one ungenerous to his kinsmen, no breaker of obligations, none untruthful nor injurious,--as in the days of Yayâti the son of Nahusha.

12. Those who sought religious merit performed sacred works and made gardens, temples, and hermitages, wells, cisterns, lakes, and groves, having beheld heaven as it were visible before their eyes.

13. The people, delivered from famine, fear, and sickness, dwelt happily as in heaven; and in mutual contentment husband transgressed not against wife, nor wife against husband.

14. None pursued love for mere sensual pleasure; none hoarded wealth for the sake of desires; none practised religious duties for the sake of gaining wealth; none injured living beings for the sake of religious duty.

15. On every side theft and its kindred vices disappeared; his own dominion was in peace and at rest from foreign interference; prosperity and plenty belonged to him, and the cities in his realm were (healthy) like the forests.

16. When that son was born it was in that monarch's kingdom as in the reign of Manu the son of the Sun,--gladness went everywhere and evil perished; right blazed abroad and sin was still.

17. Since at the birth of this son of the king such a universal accomplishment of all objects took place, the king in consequence caused the prince's name to be Sarvârthasiddha.

18. But the queen Mâyâ, having seen the great glory of her new-born son, like some Rishi of the gods, could not sustain the joy which it brought; and that she might not die she went to heaven.

19. Then the queen's sister, with an influence like a mother's, undistinguished from the real mother in her affection or tenderness, brought up as her own son the young prince who was like the offspring of the gods.

20. Then like the young sun on the eastern mountain or the fire when fanned by the wind, the prince gradually grew in all due perfection, like the moon in the fortnight of brightness.

21. Then they brought him as presents from the houses of his friends costly unguents of sandalwood, and strings of gems exactly like wreaths of plants, and little golden carriages yoked with deer;

22. Ornaments also suitable to his age, and elephants, deer, and horses made of gold [Cf. Satyavat's toy horses in Mahâbh. 3, 16670.], carriages and oxen decked with rich garments, and carts gay with silver and gold.

23. Thus indulged with all sorts of such objects to please the senses as were suitable to his years,--child as he was, he behaved not like a child in gravity, purity, wisdom, and dignity.

24. When he had passed the period of childhood and reached that of middle youth, the young prince learned in a few days the various sciences suitable to his race, which generally took many years to master.

25. But having heard before from the great seer Asita his destined future which was to embrace transcendental happiness, the anxious care of the king of the present Sâkya race turned the prince to sensual pleasures.

26. Then he sought for him from a family of unblemished moral excellence a bride possessed of beauty, modesty, and gentle bearing, of wide-spread glory, Yasodharâ by name, having a name well worthy of her, a very goddess of good fortune.

27. Then after that the prince, beloved of the king his father, he who was like Sanatkumâra, rejoiced in the society of that Sâkya prinoess as the thousand-eyed (Indra) rejoiced with his bride Sakî.

28. 'He might perchance see some inauspicious sight which could disturb his mind,'--thus reflecting the king had a dwelling prepared for him apart from the busy press in the recesses of the palace.

29. Then he spent his time in those royal apartments, furnished with the delights proper for every season, gaily decorated like heavenly chariots upon the earth, and bright like the clouds of autumn, amidst the splendid musical concerts of singing-women.

30. With the softly-sounding tambourines beaten by the tips of the women's hands, and ornamented with golden rims, and with the dances which were like the dances of the heavenly nymphs, that palace shone like Mount Kailâsa.

31. There the women delighted him with their soft voices, their beautiful pearl-garlands,--their playful intoxication, their sweet laughter, and their stolen glances concealed by their brows.

32. Borne in the arms of these women well-skilled in the ways of love, and reckless in the pursuit of pleasure, he fell from the roof of a pavilion and yet reached not the ground, like a holy sage stepping from a heavenly chariot.

33. Meanwhile the king for the sake of ensuring his son's prosperity and stirred in heart by the destiny which had been predicted for him, delighted himself in perfect calm, ceased from all evil, practised all self-restraint, and rewarded the good.

34. He turned to no sensual pleasures like one wanting in self-control; he felt no violent delight in any state of birth; he subdued by firmness the restless horses of the senses; and he surpassed his kindred and citizens by his virtues.

35. He sought not learning to vex another; such knowledge as was beneficent, that only he studied; he wished well to all mankind as much as to his own subjects.

36. He worshipped also duly the brilliant (Agni) that tutelary god of the Angirasas, for his son's long life; and he offered oblations in a large fire, and gave gold [Or pearls? (krisana.)] and cows to the Brahmans.

37. He bathed to purify his body and mind with the waters of holy places and of holy feelings; and at the same time he drank the soma-juice as enjoined by the Veda, and the heartfelt self-produced happiness of perfect calm.

38. He only spoke what was pleasant and not unprofitable; he discoursed about what was true and not ill-natured, he could not speak even to himself for very shame a false pleasant thing or a harsh truth.

39. In things which required to be done, whether they were pleasant or disagreeable, he found no reason either for desire or dislike; he pursued the advantageous which could be attained without litigation; he did not so highly value sacrifice.

40. When a suppliant came to him with a petition, he at once hastened to quench his thirst with the water sprinkled on his gift; and without fighting, by the battle-axe of his demeanour he smote down the arrogant armed with a double pride.

41. Thus he took away the one, and protected the seven; he abandoned the seven and kept the five; he obtained the set of three and learned the set of three; he understood the two and abandoned the two.

42. Guilty persons, even though he had sentenced them to death, he did not cause to be killed nor even looked on them with anger; he bound them with gentle words and with the reform produced in their character,--even their release was accompanied by no inflicted injury.

43. He performed great religious vows prescribed by ancient seers; he threw aside hostile feelings long cherished; he acquired glory redolent with the fragrance of virtue; he relinquished all passions involving defilement.

44. He desired not to take his tribute of one-sixth without acting as the guardian of his people; he had no wish to covet another's property; he desired not to mention the wrong-doing of his enemies; nor did he wish to fan wrath in his heart.

45. When the monarch himself was thus employed his servants and citizens followed his example, like the senses of one absorbed in contemplation whose mind is abstracted in profound repose.

46. In course of time to the fair-bosomed Yasodharâ,--who was truly glorious in accordance with her name,--there was born from the son of Suddhodana a son named Râhula, with a face like the enemy of Râhu [i.e. the sun or the moon, as eclipsed by the demon Râhu.]

47. Then the king who from regard to the welfare of his race had longed for a son and been exceedingly delighted [at his coming],--as he had rejoiced at the birth of his son, so did he now rejoice at the birth of his grandson.

48. 'O how can I feel that love which my son feels for my grandson?' Thus thinking in his joy he at the due time attended to every enjoined rite like one who fondly loves his son and is about to rise to heaven.

49. Standing in the paths of the pre-eminent kings who flourished in primaeval ages, he practised austerities without laying aside his white garments, and he ordered in sacrifice only those things which involved no injury to living creatures.

50. He of holy deeds shone forth gloriously, in the splendour of royalty and the splendour of penances, conspicuous by his family and his own conduct and wisdom, and desirous to diffuse brightness like the sun.

51. Having offered worship, he whose own glory was secure muttered repetitions of Vedic texts to Svayambhû for the safety of his son, and performed various ceremonies hard to be accomplished, like the god Ka in the first aeon wishing to create living beings.

52. He laid aside weapons and pondered the Sâstra, he practised perfect calm and underwent various observances, like a hermit he refused all objects of sense, he viewed all his kingdoms like a father.

53. He endured the kingdom for the sake of his son, his son for his family, his family for fame, fame for heaven, heaven for the soul,--he only desired the soul's continuance for the sake of duty.

54. Thus did he practise the various observances as followed by the pious and established from revelation,--ever asking himself, 'now that he has seen the face of his son, how may my son be stopped from going to the forest?'

55. The prudent [Lit. 'self-possessed,'] kings of the earth, who wish to guard their prosperity, watch over their sons in the world; but this king, though loving religion, kept his son from religion and set him free towards all objects of pleasure.

56. But all Bodhisattvas, those beings of pre-eminent nature, after knowing the flavour of worldly enjoyments, have departed to the forest as soon as a son is born to them; therefore he too, though he had accomplished all his previous destiny, even when the (final) motive had begun to germinate, still went on pursuing worldly pleasure up to the time of attaining the supreme wisdom.

BUDDHA-KARITA BOOK 3

1. On a certain day he heard of the forests carpeted with tender grass, with their trees resounding with the kokilas, adorned with lotus-ponds, and which had been all bound up in the cold season.

2. Having heard of the delightful appearance of the city groves beloved by the women, he resolved to go out of doors, like an elephant long shut up in a house.

3. The king, having learned the character of the wish thus expressed by his son, ordered a pleasure-party to be prepared, worthy of his own, affection and his son's beauty and youth.

4. He prohibited the encounter of any afflicted common person in the highroad; 'heaven forbid that the prince with his tender nature should even imagine himself to be distressed.'

5. Then having removed out of the way with the greatest gentleness all those who had mutilated limbs or maimed senses, the decrepit and the sick and all squalid beggars, they made the highway assume its perfect beauty.

6. Along this road thus made beautiful, the fortunate prince with his well-trained attendants came down one day at a proper time from the roof of the palace and went to visit the king by his leave.

7. Then the king, with tears rising to his eyes, having smelt his son's head and long gazed upon him, gave him his permission, saying, 'Go;' but in his heart through affection he could not let him depart.

8. He then mounted a golden chariot, adorned with reins bright like flashing lightning [or 'rays.'], and yoked with four gentle horses, all wearing golden trappings.

9. With a worthy retinue he entered the road which was strewn with heaps of gleaming flowers, with garlands suspended and banners waving, like the moon with its asterism entering the sky.

10. Slowly, slowly he passed along the highway, watched on every side by the citizens, and beshowered by their eyes opened wide with curiosity like blue lotuses.

11. Some praised him for his gentle disposition, others hailed him for his glorious appearance, others eulogised his beauty from his fine countenance and desired for him length of days.

12. Hump-backed men coming out from the great families, and troops of foresters and dwarfs, and women coming out from the meaner houses bowed down like the banners of some procession of the gods.

13. Hearing the news, 'the prince is going out,' from the attendants of the female apartments, the women hastened to the roofs of the different mansions, having obtained the leave of their lords.

14. Hindered by the strings of their girdles which had slipped down, with their eyes bewildered as just awakened from sleep, and with their ornaments hastily put on in the stir of the news, and filled with curiosity, they crowded round;

15. Frightening the flocks of birds which lived in the houses, with the noise of their girdles and the jingling of their anklets which resounded on the staircases and roofs of the mansions, and mutually reproaching one another for their hurry.

16. Some of these women, even in their haste as they rushed longing to see, were delayed in their going by the weight of their hips and full bosoms.

17. Another, though well able to go herself, checked her pace and forbore to run, hiding with shame her ornaments hitherto worn only in seclusion, and now too boldly displayed.

18. There they were restlessly swaying about in the windows, crowded together in the mutual press, with their earrings polished by the continual collision and their ornaments all jingling.

19. The lotus-like faces of the women gleamed while they looked out from the windows with their earrings coming into mutual proximity, as if they were real lotuses fastened upon the houses.

20. With the palaces all alive with crowds of damsels, every aperture thrown open in eager curiosity, the magnificent city appeared on every side like heaven with its divine chariots thronged with celestial nymphs.

21. The faces of the beautiful women shone like lotuses wreathed in garlands, while through the narrowness of the windows their earrings were transferred to each other's cheeks.

22. Gazing down upon the prince in the road. the women appeared as if longing to fall to the earth; gazing up to him with upturned faces, the men seemed as if longing to rise to heaven.

23. Beholding the king's son thus radiant in his beauty and glory, those women softly whispered, 'happy is his wife,' with pure minds and from no baser feeling.

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24. 'He with the long sturdy arms, who stands in his beauty like the flower-armed god visibly present, will leave his royal pomp and devote himself to religion,' thus thinking, full of kindly feelings towards him, they all offered reverence.

25. Beholding for the first time that high-road thus crowded with respectful citizens, all dressed in white sedate garments, the prince for a while did feel a little pleasure and thought that it seemed to promise a revival of his youth.

26. But then the gods, dwelling in pure abodes, having beheld that city thus rejoicing like heaven itself, created an old man to walk along on purpose to stir the heart of the king's son.

27. The prince having beheld him thus overcome with decrepitude and different in form from other men, with his gaze intently fixed on him, thus addressed his driver with simple confidence:

28. 'Who is this man that has come here, O charioteer, with white hair and his hand resting on a staff, his eyes hidden beneath his brows, his limbs bent down and hanging loose,--is this a change produced in him or his natural state or an accident?'

29. Thus addressed, the charioteer revealed to the king's son the secret that should have been kept so carefully, thinking no harm in his simplicity, for those same gods had bewildered his mind:

30. 'That is old age by which he is broken down,--the ravisher of beauty, the ruin of vigour, the cause of sorrow, the destruction of delights, the bane of memories, the enemy of the senses.

31. 'He too once drank milk in his childhood, and in course of time he learned to grope on the ground; having step by step become a vigorous youth, he has step by step in the same way reached old age.'

32. Being thus addressed, the prince, starting a little, spoke these words to the charioteer, 'What! will this evil come to me also?' and to him again spoke the charioteer:

33. 'It will come without doubt by the force of time through multitude of years even to my long-lived lord; all the world knows thus that old age will destroy their comeliness and they are content to have it so.'

34. Then he, the great-souled one, who had his mind purified by the impressions of former good actions, who possessed a store of merits accumulated through many preceding aeons, was deeply agitated when he heard of old age, like a bull who has heard the crash of a thunderbolt close by.

35. Drawing a long sigh and shaking his head, and fixing his eyes on that decrepit old man, and looking round on that exultant multitude he then uttered these distressed words:

36. 'Old age thus strikes down all alike, our memory, comeliness, and valour; and yet the world is not disturbed, even when it sees such a fate visibly impending.

37. 'Since such is our condition, O charioteer, turn back the horses,--go quickly home; how can I rejoice in the pleasure-garden, when the thoughts arising from old age overpower me?'

38. Then the charioteer at the command of the king's son turned the chariot back, and the prince lost in thought entered even that royal palace as if it were empty.

39. But when he found no happiness even there, as he continually kept reflecting, 'old age, old age,' then once more, with the permission of the king, he went out with the same arrangement as before.

40. Then the same deities created another man with his body all afflicted by disease; and on seeing him the son of Suddhodana addressed the charioteer, having his gaze fixed on the man:

41. 'Yonder man with a swollen belly, his whole frame shaking as he pants, his arms and shoulders hanging loose, his body all pale and thin, uttering plaintively the word "mother," when he embraces a stranger,--who, pray, is this?'

42. Then his charioteer answered, 'Gentle Sir, it is a very great affliction called sickness, that has grown up, caused by the inflammation of the (three) humours, which has made even this strong man no longer master of himself.'

43. Then the prince again addressed him, looking upon the man compassionately, 'Is this evil peculiar to him or are all beings alike threatened by sickness?'

44. Then the charioteer answered, 'O prince, this evil is common to all; thus pressed round by diseases men run to pleasure, though racked with pain.'

45. Having heard this account, his mind deeply distressed, he trembled like the moon reflected in the waves of water; and full of sorrow he uttered these words in a low voice:

46. 'Even while they see all this calamity of diseases mankind can yet feel tranquillity; alas for the scattered intelligence of men who can smile when still not free from the terrors of disease!

47. 'Let the chariot, O charioteer, be turned back from going outside, let it return straight to the king's palace; having heard this alarm of disease, my mind shrinks into itself, repelled from pleasures.'

48. Then having turned back, with all joy departed, he entered his home, absorbed in thought; and having seen him thus return a second time, the king himself entered the city.

49. Having heard the occasion of the prince's return he felt himself as deserted by him, and, although unused to severe punishment, even when displeased, he rebuked him whose duty it was to see that the road was clear.

50. And once more he arranged for his son all kinds of worldly enjoyments to their highest point; imploring in his heart, 'Would that he might not be able to forsake us, even though rendered unable only through the restlessness of his senses.'

51. But when in the women's apartments his son found no pleasure in the several objects of the senses, sweet sounds and the rest, he gave orders for another progress outside, thinking to himself, 'It may create a diversion of sentiment.'

52. And in his affection pondering on the condition of his son, never thinking of any ills that might come from his haste, he ordered the best singing-women to be in attendance, as well-skilled in all the soft arts that can please.

53. Then the royal road being specially adorned and guarded, the king once more made the prince go out, having ordered the charioteer and chariot to proceed in a contrary direction (to the previous one).

54. But as the king's son was thus going on his way, the very same deities created a dead man, and only the charioteer and the prince, and none else, beheld him as he was carried dead along the road.

55. Then spoke the prince to the charioteer, 'Who is this borne by four men, followed by mournful companions, who is bewailed, adorned but no longer breathing?'

56. Then the driver,--having his mind overpowered by the gods who possess pure minds and pure dwellings,--himself knowing the truth, uttered to his lord this truth also which was not to be told:

57. 'This is some poor man who, bereft of his intellect, senses, vital airs and qualities, lying asleep and unconscious, like mere wood or straw, is abandoned alike by friends and enemies after they have carefully swathed and guarded him.'

58. Having heard these words of the charioteer he was somewhat startled and said to him, 'Is this an accident peculiar to him alone, or is such the end of all living creatures?'

59. Then the charioteer replied to him, 'This is the final end of all living creatures; be it a mean man, a man of middle state, or a noble, destruction is fixed to all in this world.'

60. Then the king's son, sedate though he was, as soon as he heard of death, immediately sank down overwhelmed, and pressing the end of the chariot-pole with his shoulder spoke with a loud voice,

61. 'Is this end appointed to all creatures, and yet the world throws off all fear and is infatuated! Hard indeed, I think, must the hearts of men be, who can be self-composed in such a road.

62. 'Therefore, O charioteer, turn back our chariot, this is no time or place for a pleasure-excursion; how can a rational being, who knows what destruction is, stay heedless here, in the hour of calamity [or misfortune]?'

63. Even when the prince thus spoke to him, the charioteer did not turn the chariot back; but at his peremptorily reiterated command he retired to the forest Padmakhanda.

64. There he beheld that lovely forest like Nandana itself. full of young trees in flower with intoxicated kokilas wandering joyously about, and with its bright lakes gay with lotuses and well-furnished with watering-places [for cattle]

65. The king's son was perforce carried away to that wood filled with troops of beautiful women, just as if some devotee who had newly taken his vow were carried off, feeling weak to withstand temptation, to the palace of the monarch of Alakâ, gay with the dancing of the loveliest heavenly nymphs.

BUDDHA-KARITA BOOK 4.

1. Then from that city-garden, with their eyes restless in excitement, the women went out to meet the prince as a newly-arrived bridegroom;

2. And when they came up to him, their eyes wide open in wonder, they performed their due homage with hands folded like a lotus-calyx.

3. Then they stood surrounding him, their minds overpowered by passion, as if they were drinking him in with their eyes motionless and blossoming wide with love.

4. Some of the women verily thought that he was Kâma incarnate,--decorated as he was with his brilliant signs as with connate ornaments.

5. Others thought from his gentleness and majesty that it was the moon with its ambrosial beams as it were visibly come down to the earth.

6. Others, smitten by his beauty, yawned as if to swallow him, and fixing their eyes on each other, softly sighed.

7. Thus the women only looked upon him, simply gazing with their eyes,--they spoke not, nor did they smile, controlled by his power.

8. But having seen them thus listless, bewildered in their love, the wise son of the family priest, Udâyin, thus addressed them:

9. 'Ye are all skilled in all the graceful arts, proficients in understanding the language of amorous sentiments, possessed of beauty and gracefulness, thorough masters in your own styles.

10. 'With these graces of yours ye may embellish even the Northern Kurus, yea, even the dances of Kuvera, much more this little earth.

11. 'Ye are able to move even sages who have lost all their desires, and to ensnare even the gods who are charmed by heavenly nymphs.

12. 'By your skill in expressing the heart's feelings, by your coquetry, your grace, and your perfect beauty, ye are able to enrapture even women, how much more easily men.

13. 'You thus skilled as ye are, each set in her own proper sphere,--such as this is your power,--I am not satisfied with your simplicity [when you profess to find him beyond your reach].

14. 'This timid action of yours would be fit for new brides, their eyes closed through shame,--or it might be a blandishment worthy even of the wives of the cowherds.

15. 'What though this hero be great by his exalted glory, yet "great is the might of women," let this be your firm resolve.

16. 'In olden time a great seer, hard to be conquered even by the gods, was spurned by a harlot, the beauty of Kâsi, planting her feet upon him.

17. 'The Bhikshu Manthâlagautama was also formerly spurned by Bâlamukhyâ with her leg, and wishing to please her he carried out dead bodies for her sake to be buried.

18. 'And a woman low in standing and caste fascinated the great seer Gautama, though a master of long penances and old in years.

19. 'So Sântâ by her various wiles captivated and subdued the sage's son Rishyasringa, unskilled in women's ways.

20. 'And the great seer Visvâmitra, though plunged in a profound penance, was carried captive for ten years in the forests by the nymph Ghritâkî.

21. 'Many such seers as these have women brought to shame,--how much more then a delicate prince in the first flower of his age?

22. 'This being so, boldly put forth your efforts that the prosperity of the king's family may not be turned away from him.

23. 'Ordinary women captivate similar lovers; but they are truly women who subdue the natures of high and low.'

24. Having heard these words of Udâyin these women as stung to the heart rose even above themselves for the conquest of the prince.

25. With their brows, their glances, their coquetries, their smiles, their delicate movements, they made all sorts of significant gestures like women utterly terrified.

26. But they soon regained their confidence [Lit. 'dispelled their want of confidence.'] through the command of the king and the gentle temperament of the prince, and through the power of intoxication and of love.

27. Then surrounded by troops of women the prince wandered in the wood like an elephant in the forests of Himavat accompanied by a herd of females.

28. Attended by the women he shone in that pleasant grove, as the sun surrounded by Apsarasas in his royal garden.

29. There some of them, urged by passion, pressed him with their full firm bosoms in gentle collisions.

30. Another violently embraced him after making a pretended stumble,--leaning on him with her shoulders drooping down, and with her gentle creeper-like arms dependent.

31. Another with her mouth smelling of spirituous liquor, her lower lip red like copper, whispered in his ear, 'Let my secret be heard.'

32. Another, all wet with unguents, as if giving him her command, clasped his hand eagerly and said, 'Perform thy rites of adoration here.'

33. Another, with her blue garments continually slipping down in pretended intoxication, stood conspicuous with her tongue visible like the night with its lightning flashing.

34. Others, with their golden zones tinkling, wandered about here and there, showing to him their hips veiled with thin cloth.

35. Others leaned, holding a mango-bough in full flower, displaying their bosoms like golden jars.

36. Another, coming from a lotus-bed, carrying lotuses and with eyes like lotuses, stood like the lotus-goddess Padmâ, by the side of that lotus-faced prince.

37. Another sang a sweet song easily understood and with the proper gesticulations, rousing him, self-subdued though he was, by her glances, as saying, 'O how thou art deluded.'

38. Another, having armed herself with her bright face, with its brow-bow drawn to its full, imitated his action, as playing the hero.

39. Another, with beautiful full bosoms, and having her earrings waving in the wind, laughed loudly at him, as if saying, 'Catch me, sir, if you can!'

40. Some, as he was going away, bound him with strings of garlands,--others punished him with words like an elephant-driver's hook, gentle yet reproachful.

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41. Another, wishing to argue with him, seizing a mango-spray, asked, all bewildered with passion, 'This flower, whose is it?'

42. Another, assuming a gait and attitude like those of a man, said to him, 'Thou who art conquered by women, go and conquer this earth!'

43. Then another with rolling eyes, smelling a blue lotus, thus addressed the prince with words slightly indistinct in her excitement,

44. 'See, my lord, this mango covered with its honey-scented flowers, where the kokila sings, as if imprisoned in a golden cage.

45. 'Come and see this asoka tree, which augments lovers' sorrows,--where the bees make a noise as if they were scorched by fire.

46. 'Come and see this tilaka tree, embraced by a slender mango-branch, like a man in a white garment by a woman decked with yellow unguents.

47. 'Behold this kuruvaka in flower, bright like fresh ['just exuded,'] resin-juice, which bends down as if it felt reproached by the colour of women's nails.

48. 'Come and see this young asoka, covered all over with new shoots, which stands as it were ashamed at the beauty of our hands.

49. 'See this lake surrounded by the sinduvâra shrubs growing on its banks, like a fair woman reclining, clad in fine white cloth.

50. 'See the imperial power of females,--yonder ruddy-goose in the water goes behind his mate following her like a slave.

51. 'Come and listen to the notes of this intoxicated cuckoo as he sings, while another cuckoo sings as if consenting, wholly without care.

52. 'Would that thine was the intoxication of the birds which the spring produces,--and not the thought of a thinking man, ever pondering how wise he is!'

53. Thus these young women, their souls carried away by love, assailed the prince with all kinds of stratagems.

54. But although thus attacked, he, having his senses guarded by self-control, neither rejoiced nor smiled, thinking anxiously, 'One must die.'

55. Having seen them in their real condition, that best of men pondered with an undisturbed and stedfast mind.

56. 'What is it that these women lack that they perceive not that youth is fickle? for this old age will destroy whatever has beauty.

57. 'Verily they do not see any one's plunge into disease, and so dismissing fear, they are joyous in a world which is all pain.

58. 'Evidently they know nothing of death which carries all away; and so at ease and without distress they can sport and laugh.

59. 'What rational being, who knows of old age, death and sickness, could stand or sit down at his ease or sleep, far less laugh?

60. 'But he verily is like one bereft of sense, who, beholding another aged or sick or dead, remains self-possessed and not afflicted.

61. '(So) even when a tree is deprived of its flowers and fruits, or if it is cut down and falls, no other tree sorrows.'

62. Seeing him thus absorbed in contemplation, with his desires estranged from all worldly objects, Udâyin, well skilled in the rules of policy, with kindly feelings addressed him:

63. 'Since I was appointed by the king as a fitting friend for thee, therefore I have a wish to speak to thee in this friendliness of my heart.

64. 'To hinder from what is disadvantageous,--to urge to what is advantageous,--and not to forsake in misfortune,--these are the three marks of a friend.

65. 'If I, after having promised my friendship, were not to heed when thou turnest away from the great end of man, there would be no friendship in me.

66. 'Therefore I speak as thy friend,--such rudeness as this to women is not befitting for one young in years and graceful in person.

67. 'It is right to woo a woman even by guile,--this is useful both for getting rid of shame and for one's own enjoyment.

68. 'Reverential behaviour and compliance with her wishes are what binds a woman's heart; good qualities truly are a cause of love, and women love respect.

69. 'Wilt thou not then, O large-eyed prince, even if thy heart is unwilling, seek to please them with a courtesy worthy of this beauty of thine?

70. 'Courtesy is the balm of women, courtesy is the best ornament; beauty without courtesy is like a grove without flowers.

71. 'But of what use is courtesy by itself? let it be assisted by the heart's feelings; surely, when worldly objects so hard to attain are in thy grasp, thou wilt not despise them.

72. 'Knowing that pleasure was the best of objects, even the god Puramdara (Indra) wooed in olden time Ahalyâ the wife of the saint Gautama.

73. 'So too Agastya wooed Rohinî, the wife of Soma; and therefore, as Sruti saith, a like thing befell Lopâmudrâ [Agastya's wife. This seems to refer to Lopâmudrâ's words to her husband in Rig-veda I, 179; cf. also Mahâbharata 3, 97.].

74. 'The great ascetic Vrihaspati begot Bharadvâga on Mamatâ the daughter of the Maruts, the wife of Autathya [This should be Utathya (cf. Mahâbh. I, civ). Mamatâ had Dîrghatamas by her husband and Bharadvâga by Vrihaspati. The Manuscripts read Samatâ.].

75. 'The Moon, the best of offerers, begat Budha of divine nature on the spouse of Vrihaspati as she was offering a libation [She is called Târâ, Vishnu Pur. 4, 6.].

76. 'So too in old time Parâsara, overpowered by passion on the bank of the Yamunâ, lay with the maiden Kâlî who was the daughter of the son of the Water (Agni).

77. 'The sage Vasishtha through lust begot a son Kapingalâda on Akshamâlâ a despised low-caste woman [Manu 9, 23.]

78. 'And the seer-king Yayâti, even when the vigour of his prime was gone, sported in the Kaitraratha forest with the Apsaras Visvâkî.

79. 'And the Kaurava king Pându, though he knew that intercourse with his wife would end in death, yet overcome by the beauty and good qualities of Mâdrî yielded to the pleasures of love.

80. 'And so Karâlaganaka, when he carried off the Brâhman's daughter, incurred loss of caste thereby, but he would not give up his love.

81. 'Great heroes such as these pursued even contemptible desires for the sake of pleasure, how much more so when they are praiseworthy of their kind?

82. 'And yet thou, a young man, possessed of strength and beauty, despisest enjoyments which rightly belong to thee, and to which the whole world is devoted.'

83. Having heard these specious words of his, well-supported by sacred tradition, the prince made reply, in a voice like the thundering of a cloud:

84. 'This speech manifesting affection is well-befitting in thee; but I will convince thee as to where thou wrongly judgest me.

85. 'I do not despise worldly objects, I know that all mankind are bound up therein; but remembering that the world is transitory, my mind cannot find pleasure in them.

86. 'Old age, disease, and death--if these three things did not exist, I too should find my enjoyment in the objects that please the mind.

87. 'Yet even though this beauty of women were to remain perpetual, still delight in the pleasures of desire would not be worthy of the wise man.

88. 'But since their beauty will be drunk up by old age, to delight therein through infatuation cannot be a thing approved even by thyself [Or 'even by the soul.']

89. 'He who himself subject to death, disease, and old age, can sport undisturbed with those whose very nature implies death, disease, and old age, such a man is on a level with birds and beasts.

90. 'And as for what thou sayest as to even those great men having become victims to desire, do not be bewildered by them, for destruction was also their lot.

91. 'Real greatness is not to be found there, where there is universally destruction, or where there is attachment to earthly objects, or a want of self-control.

92. 'And when thou sayest, "Let one deal with women even by guile," I know nought about guile, even if it be accompanied with courtesy.

93. 'That compliance too with a woman's wishes pleases me not, if truthfulness be not there; if there be not a union with one's whole soul and nature, then "out upon it" say I.

94. 'A soul overpowered by passion, believing in falsehood, carried away by attachment and blind to the faults of its objects,--what is there in it worth being deceived?

95. 'And if the victims of passion do deceive one another,--are not men unfit for women to look at and women for men?

96. Since then these things are so, thou surely wouldest not lead me astray into ignoble pleasures,--me afflicted by sorrow, and subject to old age and death?

97. 'Ah! thy mind must be very firm and strong, if thou canst find substance in the transitory pleasures of sense; even in the midst of violent alarm thou canst cling to worldly objects, when thou seest all created beings in the road of death.

98. 'But I am fearful and exceedingly bewildered, as I ponder the terrors of old age, death, and disease; I can find no peace, no self-command, much less can I find pleasure, while I see the world as it were ablaze with fire.

99. 'If desire arises in the heart of the man, who knows that death is certain,--I think that his soul must be made of iron, who restrains it in this great terror and does not weep.'

100. Then the prince uttered a discourse full of resolve and abolishing the objects of desire; and the lord of day, whose orb is the worthy centre of human eyes, departed to the Western Mountain.

101. And the women, having worn their garlands and ornaments in vain, with their graceful arts and endearments all fruitless, concealing their love deep in their hearts, returned to the city with broken hopes.

102. Having thus seen the beauty of the troop of women who had gone out to the city-garden, now withdrawn in the evening,--the prince, pondering the transitoriness which envelopes all things, entered his dwelling.

103. Then the king, when he heard how his mind turned away from all objects of sense, could not lie down all that night, like an elephant with an arrow in its heart; but wearied in all sorts of consultation, he and his ministers could find no other means beside these (despised) pleasures to restrain his son's purpose.

BUDDHA-KARITA BOOK 5.

1. He, the son of the Sâkya king, even though thus tempted by the objects of sense which infatuate others, yielded not to pleasure and felt not delight, like a lion deeply pierced in his heart by a poisoned arrow.

2. Then one day accompanied by some worthy sons of his father's ministers, friends full of varied converse,--with a desire to see the glades of the forest and longing for peace, he went out with the king's permission.

3. Having mounted his good horse Kamthaka, decked with bells and bridle-bit of new gold, with beautiful golden harness and the chowrie waving*, he went forth like the moon mounted on a comet. [* The white bushy tail of the Tibet cow, fixed on a gold or ornamented shaft, rose from between the ears of the horse.' Wilson, Hindu Drama, 1, p. 200.]

4. Lured by love of the wood and longing for the beauties of the ground, he went to a spot near at hand on the forest-outskirts; and there he saw a piece of land being ploughed, with the path of the plough broken like waves on the water.

5. Having beheld the ground in this condition, with its young grass scattered and torn by the plough, and covered with the eggs and young of little insects which were killed, he was filled with deep sorrow as for the slaughter of his own kindred.

6. And beholding the men as they were ploughing, their complexions spoiled by the dust, the sun's rays, and the wind, and their cattle bewildered with the burden of drawing, the most noble one felt extreme compassion.

7. Having alighted from the back of his horse, he went over the ground slowly, overcome with sorrow,--pondering the birth and destruction of the world, he, grieved, exclaimed, 'this is indeed pitiable.'

8. Then desiring to become perfectly lonely in his thoughts, having stopped those friends who were following him, he went to the root of a rose-apple in a solitary spot, which had its beautiful leaves all tremulous (in the wind).

9. There he sat down on the ground covered with leaves [or sharp-pointed leaves,'], and with its young grass bright like lapis lazuli; and, meditating on the origin and destruction of the world, he laid hold of the path that leads to firmness of mind.

10. Having attained to firmness of mind [Query], and being forthwith set free from all sorrows such as the desire of worldly objects and the rest, he attained the first stage of contemplation, unaffected by sin, calm, and 'argumentative.'

11. Having then obtained the highest happiness sprung from deliberation [Two syllables are lost in this line.], he next pondered this meditation,--having thoroughly understood in his mind the course of the world:

12. 'It is a miserable thing that mankind, though themselves powerless and subject to sickness, old age, and death, yet, blinded by passion and ignorant, look with disgust on another who is afflicted by old age or diseased or dead.

13. 'If I here, being such myself, should feel disgust for another who has such a nature, it would not be worthy or right in me who know this highest duty.'

14. As he thus considered thoroughly these faults of sickness, old age, and death which belong to all living beings, all the joy which he had felt in the activity of his vigour, his youth, and his life, vanished in a moment.

15. He did not rejoice, he did not feel remorse; he suffered no hesitation, indolence, nor sleep; he felt no drawing towards the qualities of desire; he hated not nor scorned another.

16. Thus did this pure passionless meditation grow within the great-souled one; and unobserved by the other men, there crept up a man in a beggar's dress.

17. The king's son asked him a question,--he said to him, 'Tell me, who art thou?' and the other replied, 'Oh bull of men, I, being terrified at birth and death, have become an ascetic for the sake of liberation.

18. 'Desiring liberation in a world subject to destruction, I seek that happy indestructible abode, isolated from mankind, with my thoughts unlike those of others, and with my sinful passions turned away from all objects of sense

19. 'Dwelling anywhere, at the root of a tree, or in an uninhabited house, a mountain or a forest,--I wander without a family and without hope, a beggar ready for any fare, seeking only the highest good.'

20. When he had thus spoken, while the prince was looking on, he suddenly flew up to the sky; it was a heavenly inhabitant who, knowing that the prince's thoughts were

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other than what his outward form promised, had come to him for the sake of rousing his recollection.

21. When the other was gone like a bird to heaven, the foremost of men was rejoiced and astonished; and having comprehended the meaning of the term dharma, he set his mind on the manner of the accomplishment of deliverance.

22. Then like Indra himself, and having tamed his senses,--desiring to return home he mounted his roble steed; and having made him turn back as he looked for his friends, from that moment he sought no more the desired forest.

23. Ever seeking to make an end of old age and death, fixing his thoughts in memory on dwelling in the woods, he entered the city again but with no feelings of longing, like an elephant entering an exercise-ground after roaming in a forest-land.

24. 'Happy truly and blessed is that woman whose husband is such as thou, O long-eyed prince!' So, on seeing him, the princess exclaimed, folding her hands to welcome him, as he entered the road.

25. He whose voice was deep-sounding like a cloud heard this address and was filled with profound calm; and as he heard the word 'blessed' he fixed his mind on the attainment of Nirvâna.

26. Then the prince whose form was like the peak of a golden mountain,--whose eye, voice, and arm resembled a bull, a cloud, and an elephant,--whose countenance and prowess were like the moon and a lion,--having a longing aroused for something imperishable,--went into his palace.

27. Then stepping like a lion he went towards the king who was attended by his numerous counsellors, like Sanatkumâra in heaven waiting on Indra resplendent in the assembly of the Maruts.

28. Prostrating himself, with folded hands, he addressed him, 'Grant me graciously thy permission, O lord of men,--I wish to become a wandering mendicant for the sake of liberation, since separation is appointed for me.'

29. Having heard his words, the king shook like a tree struck by an elephant, and having seized his folded hands which were like a lotus, he thus addressed him in a voice choked with tears:

30. 'O my son, keep back this thought, it is not the time for thee to betake thyself to dharma; they say that the practice of religion is full of evils in the first period of life when the mind is still fickle.

31. 'The mind of the thoughtless ignorant young man whose senses are eager for worldly objects, and who has no power of settled resolution for the hardships of vows of penance, shrinks back from the forest, for it is especially destitute of discrimination.

32. 'It is high time for me to practise religion, O my child of loved qualities[1], leaving my royal glory to thee who art well worthy to be distinguished by it; but thy religion, O firm-striding hero, is to be accomplished by heroism; it would be irreligion if thou wert to leave thine own father.

33. 'Do thou therefore abandon this thy resolution; devote thyself for the present to the duties of a householder; to a man who has enjoyed the pleasures of his prime, it is delightful to enter the penance-forest.'

34. Having heard these words of the king, he made his reply in a voice soft like a sparrow's: 'If thou wilt be my surety, O king, against four contingencies, I will not betake myself to the forest.

35. 'Let not my life be subject to death, and let not disease impair this health of mine; let not old age attack my youth, and let not misfortune destroy my weal.'

36. When his son uttered a speech so hard to be understood, the king of the Sâkyas thus replied: 'Abandon this idea bent upon departure; extravagant desires are only ridiculous.'

37. Then he who was firm as Mount Meru addressed his father: 'If this is impossible, then this course of mine is not to be hindered; it is not right to lay hold of one who would escape from a house that is on fire.

38. 'As separation is inevitable to the world, but not for Dharma [This accompanies the soul at death; cf. Manu 8, 17.], this separation is preferable; will not death sever me helplessly, my objects unattained and myself unsatisfied?'

39. The monarch, having heard this resolve of his son longing for liberation, and having again exclaimed, 'He shall not go,' set guards round him and the highest pleasures.

40. Then having been duly instructed by the counsellors, with all respect and affection, according to the sâstras, and being thus forbidden with tears by his father, the prince, sorrowing, entered into his palace.

41. There he was gazed at by his wives with restless eyes, whose faces were kissed by their dangling earrings, and whose bosoms were shaken with their thick-coming sighs,--as by so many young fawns.

42. Bright like a golden mountain, and bewitching the hearts of the noble women, he enraptured their ears, limbs, eyes, and souls by his speech, touch, form, and qualities.

43. When the day was gone, then, shining with his form like the sun, he ascended the palace, as the rising sun ascends Mount Meru, desiring to dispel the darkness by his own splendour.

44. Having ascended, he repaired to a special golden seat decorated with embellishments of diamond, with tall lighted candlesticks ablaze with gold, and its interior filled with the incense of black aloe-wood.

45. Then the noblest of women waited during the night on the noblest of men who was like Indra himself, with a concert of musical instruments, as the crowds of heavenly nymphs wait on the son of the Lord of wealth upon the summit of Himavat, white like the moon.

46. But even by those beautiful instruments like heavenly music he was not moved to pleasure or delight; since his desire to go forth from his home to seek the bliss of the highest end was never lulled.

47. Then by the power of the heavenly beings most excellent in self-mortification, the Akanishthas, who knew the purpose of his heart, deep sleep was suddenly thrown on that company of women and their limbs and gestures became distorted.

48. One was lying there, resting her cheek on her trembling arm; leaving as in anger her lute, though dearly loved, which lay on her side, decorated with gold-leaf.

49. Another shone with her flute clinging to her hand, lying with her white garments fallen from her bosom,--like a river whose banks are smiling with the foam of the water and whose lotuses are covered with a straight line of bees [The bees represent the flute held in the lotus-like hand.].

50. Another was sleeping, embracing her drum as a lover, with her two arms tender like the shoot of young lotus and bearing their bracelets closely linked, blazing with gold.

51. Others, decked with new golden ornaments and wearing peerless yellow garments, fell down alas! helpless with sleep, like the boughs of the Karnikâra broken by an elephant.

52. Another, leaning on the side of a window, with her willow-form bent like a bow, shone as she lay with her beautiful necklace hanging down, like a statue[1] in an archway made by art.

53. The lotus-face of another, bowed down, with the pinguent-lines on her person rubbed by the jewelled earrings, appeared to be a lotus with its stalk bent into a half-circle, and shaken by a duck standing on it [This is a hard verse, but the woman's face above the bent body seems to be compared to the duck standing on the flower and bending its stalk.].

54. Others, lying as they sat, with their limbs oppressed by the weight of their bosoms, shone in their beauty, mutually clasping one another with their twining arms decorated with golden bracelets.

55. And another damsel lay sound asleep, embracing her big lute as if it were a female friend, and rolled it about, while its golden strings trembled, with her own face bright with her shaken earrings.

56. Another lay, with her tabour, . . .

57. Others showed no lustre with their eyes shut, although they were really full-eyed and fair-browed,--like the lotus-beds with their buds closed at the setting of the sun.

58. Another, with her hair loose and dishevelled, and her skirts and ornaments fallen from her loins, lay with her necklace in confusion, like a woman crushed by an elephant and then dropped.

59. Others, helpless and lost to shame, though naturally self-possessed and endued with all graces of person, breathed violently as they lay and yawned with their arms distorted and tossed about.

60. Others, with their ornaments and garlands thrown off,--unconscious, with their garments spread out unfastened,--their bright eyes wide open and motionless,--lay without any beauty as if they were dead.

61. Another, with fully-developed limbs, her mouth wide open, her saliva dropping, and her person exposed, lay as though sprawling in intoxication,--she spoke not, but bore every limb distorted.

62. Thus that company of women, lying in different attitudes, according to their disposition and family, bore the aspect of a lake whose lotuses were bent down and broken by the wind.

63. Then having seen these young women thus lying distorted and with uncontrolled gestures, however excellent their forms and graceful their appearance,--the king's son felt moved with scorn.

64. 'Such is the nature of women, impure and monstrous in the world of living beings; but deceived by dress and ornaments a man becomes infatuated by a woman's attractions.

65. 'If a man would but consider the natural state of women and this change produced in them by sleep, assuredly he would not cherish his folly; but he is smitten from a right will and so succumbs to passion.'

66. Thus to him having recognised that difference there arose a desire to escape in the night; and then the gods, knowing his purpose, caused the door of the palace to fly open.

67. Then he went down from the roof of the palace, scorning those women who lay thus distorted; and having descended, undauntedly he went out first into the courtyard.

68. Having awakened his horse's attendant, the swift Khamdaka, he thus addressed him: 'Bring me quickly my horse Kamthaka, I wish to-day to go hence to attain immortality.

69. 'Since such is the firm content which to-day is produced in my heart, and since my determination is settled in calm resolve, and since even in loneliness I seem to possess a guide,--verily the end which I desire is now before me.

70. 'Since abandoning all shame and modesty these women lay before me as they did, and the two doors opened of their own accord, verily the time is come to depart for my true health.'

71. Then, accepting his lord's command, though he knew the purport of the king's injunctions, as being urged by a higher power in his mind, he set himself to bring the horse.

72. Then he brought out for his master that noble steed, his mouth furnished with a golden bit, his back lightly touched by the bed on which he had been lying, and endued with strength, vigour, speed, and swiftness;

73. With a long chine, and root of the tail and heel,--gentle, with short hair, back, and ears,--with his back, belly, and sides depressed and elevated, with broad nostrils, forehead, hips, and breast.

74. The broad-chested hero, having embraced him, and caressing him with his lotus-like hand, ordered him with a gentle-toned voice, as if he were desirous to plunge into the middle of an army:

75. 'Oftentimes have evil enemies been overthrown by the king when mounted on thee; do thou, O best of steeds, so exert thyself that I too may obtain the highest immortality.

76. 'Companions are easy to be found in battle or in the happiness obtained by winning worldly objects or in attaining wealth; but companions are hard for a man to find who has fallen into misfortune or when he flies for refuge to Dharma.

77. 'And yet all those who in this world are companions, whether in sinful custom or in seeking for Dharma,--as my inner soul now recognises,--they too are verily sharers in the common aim.

78. 'Since then, when I attain this righteous end, my escape from hence will be for the good of the world,--O best of steeds, by thy speed and energy, strive for thine own good and the good of the world.'

79. Thus having exhorted the best of steeds like a friend to his duty, he, the best of men, longing to go to the forest, wearing a noble form, in brightness like fire, mounted the white horse as the sun an autumnal cloud.

80. Then that good steed, avoiding all noises which would sound startling in the dead of night and awaken the household,--all sound of his jaws hushed and his neighing silenced,--went forth, planting his hurrying steps at full speed.

81. With their lotus-like hands, whose fore-arms were adorned with golden bracelets, the Yakshas, with their bodies bent down, threw lotuses and bore up his hoofs as he rushed in startled haste.

82. The city-roads which were closed with heavy gates and bars, and which could be with difficulty opened even by elephants, flew open of their own accord without noise, as the prince went through.

83. Firm in his resolve and leaving behind without hesitation his father who turned ever towards him, and his young son, his affectionate people and his unparalleled magnificence, he then went forth out of his father's city.

84. Then he with his eyes long and like a full-blown lotus, looking back on the city, uttered a sound like a lion, 'Till I have seen the further shore of birth and death I will never again enter the city called after Kapila.'

85. Having heard this his utterance, the troops of the court of the Lord of wealth[3] rejoiced; and the hosts of the gods, triumphing, wished him a successful accomplishment of his purpose.

86. Other heavenly beings with forms bright like fire, knowing that his purpose was hard to fulfil, produced a light on his dewy path like the rays of the moon issuing from the rift of a cloud.

87. But he with his horse like the horse of Indra, the lord of bay horses, hurrying on as if spurred in his mind, went over the leagues full of many conflicting emotions [Or perhaps 'six leagues.']--the sky all the while with its cloud-masses checkered with the light of the dawn.

BUDDHA-KARITA BOOK 6.

1. Then when the sun, the eye of the world, was just risen, he, the noblest of men, beheld the hermitage of the son of Bhrigu,

2. Its deer all asleep in quiet trust, its birds tranquilly resting,--seeing it he too became restful, and he felt as if his end was attained.

3. For the sake of ending his wonder and to show reverence for the penances observed, and as expressing his own conformity therewith, he alighted from the back of his horse.

4. Having alighted, he stroked the horse, exclaiming, 'All is saved,' and he spoke well-pleased to Khamdaka, bedewing him as it were with tears from his eyes:

5. 'Good friend, thy devotion to me and thy courage of soul have been proved by thy thus following this steed whose speed is like that of Târkshya [An old mythic representation of the sun as a horse.].

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6. 'Bent even though I am on other business, I am wholly won in heart by thee,--one who has such a love for his master, and at the same time is able to carry out his wish.

7. 'One can be able without affection, and affectionate though unable; but one like thee, at once affectionate and able, is hard to find in the world.

8. 'I am pleased with this noble action of thine; this feeling is seen towards me, even though I am regardless of conferring rewards.

9. 'Who would not be favourably disposed to one who stands to him as bringing him reward? but even one's own people commonly become mere strangers in a reverse of fortune.

10. 'The son is maintained for the sake of the family, the father is honoured for the sake of our own (future) support; the world shows kindness for the sake of hope; there is no such a thing as unselfishness without a motive.

11. 'Why speak many words? in short, thou hast done me a very great kindness; take now my horse and return, I have attained the desired wood.'

12. Thus having spoken, the mighty hero in his desire to show perfect gentleness unloosed his ornaments and gave them to the other, who was deeply grieved.

13. Having taken a brilliant jewel whose effect illumined his diadem, he stood, uttering these words, like the mountain Mamdara with the sun resting on it:

14. 'By thee with this jewel, O Khamda, having offered him repeated obeisance, the king, with his loving confidence still unshaken, must be enjoined to stay his grief.

15. '"I have entered the ascetic-wood to destroy old age and death,--with no thirst for heaven, with no lack of love nor feeling of anger.

16. '"Do not think of mourning for me who am thus gone forth from my home; union, however long it may last, in time will come to an end.

17. '"Since separation is certain, therefore is my mind fixed on liberation; how shall there not be repeated severings from one's kindred?

18. '"Do not think of mourning for me who am gone forth to leave sorrow behind; it is the thralls of passion, who are attached to desires, the causes of sorrow, for whom thou shouldst mourn.

19. '"This was the firm persuasion of our predecessors,--I as one departing by a common road am not to be mourned for by my heir.

20. '"At a man's death there are doubtless heirs to his wealth; but heirs to his merit are hard to find on the earth or exist not at all.

21. '"Even though thou sayest, 'He is gone at a wrong time to the wood,'--there is no wrong time for religious duty (dharma), life being fragile as it is.

22. '"Therefore my determination is, 'I must seek my supreme good this very day;' what confidence can there be in life, when death stands as our adversary?"

23. 'Do thou address the king, O friend, with these and such-like words; and do thou use thy efforts so that he may not even remember me.

24. 'Yea, do thou repeat to the king our utter unworthiness; through unworthiness affection is lost,--and where affection is lost, there is no sorrow.'

25. Having heard these words, Khamda, overwhelmed with grief, made reply with folded hands, his voice choked by tears:

26. 'At this state of mind of thine, causing affliction to thy kindred, my mind, O my lord, sinks down like an elephant in the mud of a river.

27. 'To whom would not such a determination as this of thine cause tears, even if his heart were of iron,--how much more if it were throbbing with love?

28. 'Where* is this delicacy of limb, fit to lie only in a palace,--and where is the ground of the ascetic forest, covered with the shoots of rough kusa grass? [*A common expression (which occurs also in Persian poetry) to imply the incompatibility of two things.]

29. 'When, on hearing thy resolve, I first brought thee this horse,--it was fate only, O my lord, which made me do it, mastering my will.

30. 'But how could I, O king, by mine own will, knowing this thy decision,--carry back the horse to the sorrow of Kapilavastu?

31. 'Surely thou wilt not abandon, O hero, that fond old king, so devoted to his son, as a heretic might the true religion?

32. 'And her, thy second mother, worn with the care of bringing thee up,--thou wilt not surely forget her, as an ingrate a benefit?

33. 'Thou wilt not surely abandon thy queen, endowed with all virtues, illustrious for her family, devoted to her husband and with a young son, as a coward the royal dignity within his reach?

34 'Thou wilt not abandon the young son of Yasodharâ, worthy of all praise, thou the best of the cherishers of religion and fame, as a dissolute spendthrift his choicest glory?

35, 'Or even if thy mind be resolved to abandon thy kindred and thy kingdom, thou wilt not, O master, abandon me,--thy feet are my only refuge.

36. 'I cannot go to the city with my soul thus burning, leaving thee behind in the forest as Sumitra left the son of Raghu.

37. 'What will the king say to me, returning to the city without thee? or what shall I say to thy queens by way of telling them good news?

38. 'As for what thou saidst, "thou must repeat my unworthiness to the king"--how shall I speak what is false of thee as of a sage without a fault?

39. 'Or even if I ventured to speak it with a heart ashamed and a tongue cleaving to my mouth, who would think of believing it?

40. 'He who would tell of or believe the fierceness of the moon, might tell of or believe thy faults, O physician of faults.

41. 'Him who is always compassionate and who never fails to feel pity, it ill befits to abandon one who loves;--turn back and have mercy on me.'

42. Having heard these words of Khamda overcome with sorrow,--self-possessed with the utmost firmness the best of speakers answered:

43. 'Abandon this distress, Khamda, regarding thy separation from me,--change is inevitable in corporeal beings who are subject to different births.

44. 'Even if I through affection were not to abandon my kindred in my desire for liberation, death would still make us helplessly abandon one another.

45. 'She, my mother, by whom I was borne in the womb with great thirst and pains,--where am I now with regard to her, all her efforts fruitless, and where is she with regard to me?

46. 'As birds go to their roosting-tree and then depart, so the meeting of beings inevitably ends in separation.

47. 'As clouds, having come together, depart asunder again, such I consider the meeting and parting of living things.

48. 'And since this world goes away, each one of us deceiving the other,--it is not right to think anything thine own in a time of union which is a dream.

49. 'Since the trees are parted from the innate colour of their leaves, why should there not still more be the parting of two things which are alien to each other?

50. 'Therefore, since it is so, grieve not, my good friend, but go; or if thy love lingers, then go and afterwards return.

51. 'Say, without reproaching us, to the people in Kapilavastu, "Let your love for him be given up, and hear his resolve.

52. '"Either he will quickly come back, having destroyed old age and death; or else he will himself perish, having failed in his purpose and lost hold of every support."'

53. Having heard his words, Kamthaka, the noblest of steeds, licked his feet with his tongue and dropped hot tears.

54. With his hand whose fingers were united with a membrane and which was marked with the auspicious svastika, and with its middle part curved, the prince stroked him and addressed him like a friend:

55. 'Shed not tears, Kamthaka, this thy perfect equine nature has been proved,--bear with it, this thy labour will soon have its fruit.'

56. Then seizing the sharp jewelled sword which was in Khamdaka's hand, he resolutely drew out from the sheath the blade decked with golden ornaments, like a serpent from its hole.

57. Having drawn it forth, dark blue like a blue lotus petal, he cut his decorated tiara and his hair, and he tossed it with its scattered muslin into the air as a grey goose into a lake.

58. And the heavenly beings, with a longing to worship it, seized it respectfully as it was thrown up; and the divine hosts paid it due adoration in heaven with celestial honours.

59. Having thus divorced his ornaments and banished all royal magnificence from his head, and seeing his muslin floating away like a golden goose, the stedfast prince desired a sylvan dress.

60. Then a celestial being, wearing the form of a hunter, pure in heart, knowing his thoughts, approached near him in dark-red garments; and the son of the Sâkya king thus addressed him:

61. 'Thy red garments are auspicious, the sign of a saint; but this destructive bow is not befitting; therefore, my good friend, if there is no strong preference in the matter, do thou give me that dress and take this of mine.'

62. The hunter replied, 'It has given me my desire ['from essence of desire.'], O giver of desires, as by this I have inspired animals with confidence and then killed them; but if thou hast need of it, O thou who art like Indra, accept it at once and give me the white dress.'

63. With extreme joy he then took that sylvan dress and gave away the linen one; and the hunter, assuming his heavenly form, having taken the white garment, went to heaven.

64. Then the prince and the attendant of the horse were filled with wonder as he was thus going, and forthwith they paid great honour anew to that sylvan dress.

65. Then the great-souled one, having dismissed the weeping Khamda, and wearing his fame veiled by the sign of the red garment, went towards the hermitage, like the king of mountains wrapped in an evening cloud.

66. While his master, thus regardless of his kingdom, was going to the ascetic-wood in mean garments, the groom, tossing up his arms, wailed bitterly and fell on the ground.

67. Having looked again he wept aloud, and embraced the horse Kamthaka with his arms; and then, hopeless and repeatedly lamenting, he went in body to the city, not in soul.

68. Sometimes he pondered, sometimes he lamented, sometimes he stumbled, and sometimes he fell; and so going along, wretched through his devoted attachment, he performed all kinds of actions in the road without conscious will.

BUDDHA-KARITA BOOK 7.

1. Then having left the weeping tear-faced Khamda,--indifferent to all things in his longing for the forest he by whom all objects are accomplished, overpowering the place by his beauty, entered that hermitage as if it were fully blessed.

2. He the prince with a gait like the lion's, having entered that arena of deer, himself like a deer,--by the beauty of his person, even though bereft of his magnificence, attracted the eyes of all the dwellers in the hermitage.

3. The drivers of wheeled carriages also, with their wives, stood still in curiosity, holding the yokes in their hands,--they gazed on him who was like Indra, and moved not, standing like their beasts of burden with their heads half bent down.

4. And the Brâhmans who had gone outside for the sake of fuel, having come with their hands full of fuel, flowers, and kusa grass,--pre-eminent as they were in penances, and proficients in wisdom, went to see him, and went not to their cells.

5. Delighted the peacocks uttered their cries, as if they had seen a dark-blue cloud rising up; and leaving the young grass and coming forward, the deer with restless eyes and the ascetics who grazed like deer* stood still. [*A form of ascetic observance, see Mahâbh. I, 3644; V, 4072. Cf. infra, sloka 15.]

6. Beholding him, the lamp of the race of Ikshvâku, shining like the rising sun,--even though their milking was over, being filled with joy, the oblation-giving cows poured forth their milk.

7. 'It is one of the eight Vasus or one of the two Asvins, descended here,'--these words arose, uttered aloud by the sages in their astonishment at seeing him.

8. Like a second form of the lord of the gods, like the personified glory of the universe, he lighted up the entire wood like the sun come down of his own accord.

9. Then he, being duly honoured and invited to enter by those dwellers in the hermitage, paid his homage to the saints, with a voice like a cloud in the rainy season.

10. He, the wise one, longing for liberation, traversed that hermitage filled with the holy company desirous of heaven,--gazing at their strange penances.

11. He, the gentle one, having seen the different kinds of penance practised by the ascetics in that sacred grove,--desiring to know the truth, thus addressed one of the ascetics who was following him:

12. 'Since this to-day is my first sight of a hermitage I do not understand this rule of penance; therefore will your honour kindly explain to me what resolve possesses each one of you.'

13. Then the Brâhman well-versed in penance told in order to that bull of the Sâkyas, a very bull in prowess, all the various kinds of penance and the fruit thereof.

14. 'Uncultivated food, growing out of the water, leaves, water, and roots and fruits,--this is the fare of the saints according to the sacred texts; but the different alternatives of penance vary.

15. 'Some live like the birds on gleaned corn, others graze on grass like the deer, others live on air with the snakes, as if turned into ant-hills [Cf. the legend of the princess Sukanyâ, given in Wilson's note, Hindu Drama, I, p. 263.].

16. 'Others win their nourishment with great effort from stones, others eat corn ground with their own teeth; some, having boiled for others, dress for themselves what may chance to be left.

17. 'Others, with their tufts of matted hair continually wet with water, twice offer oblations to Agni with hymns; others plunging like fishes into the water dwell there with their bodies scratched by tortoises.

18. 'By such penances endured for a time,--by the higher they attain heaven, by the lower the world of men; by the path of pain they eventually dwell in happiness,--pain, they say, is the root of merit.'

19. The king's son, having heard this speech of the ascetic, even though he saw no lofty truth in it, was not content, but gently uttered these thoughts to himself:

20. 'The penance is full of pain and of many kinds, and the fruit of the penance is mainly heaven at its best, and all the worlds are subject to change; verily the labour of the hermitages is spent for but little gain.

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21. 'Those who abandoning wealth, kindred, and worldly objects, undertake vows for the sake of heaven,--they, when parted, only wish to go to a still greater wood of their own again [Their desired heaven will only be a fresh penance-grove.].

22, 'He who by all these bodily toils which are called penances, seeks a sphere of action for the sake of desire,--not examining the inherent evils of mundane existence, he only seeks pain by pain.

23. 'There is ever to living creatures fear from death, and they with all their efforts seek to be born again; where there is action, there must inevitably be death,--he is always drowned therein, just because he is afraid.

24. 'Some undergo misery for the sake of this world, others meet toil for the sake of heaven; all living beings, wretched through hope and always missing their aim, fall certainly for the sake of happiness into misery.

25. 'It is not the effort itself which I blame, which flinging aside the base pursues a high path of its own; but the wise, by all this common toil, ought to attain that state in which nothing needs ever to be done again.

26. 'If the mortification of the body here is religion, then the body's happiness is only irreligion; but by religion a man obtains happiness in the next world, therefore religion here bears irreligion as its fruit.

27. 'Since it is only by the mind's authority that the body either acts or ceases to act, therefore to control the thought is alone befitting,--without the thought the body is like a log.

28. 'If merit is gained by purity of food, then there is merit also in the deer; and in those men also who live as outcasts from all enjoyments, through being estranged from them by the fault of their destiny.

29. 'If the deliberate choice of pain is a cause of merit, why should not that same choice be directed to pleasure? If you say that the choice of pleasure carries no authority, is not the choice of pain equally without authority?

30. 'So too those who for the sake of purifying their actions, earnestly sprinkle water on themselves, saying, "this is a sacred spot,"--even there this satisfaction resides only in the heart,--for waters will not cleanse away sin.

31. 'The water which has been touched by the virtuous,--that is the spot, if you wish for a sacred spot on the earth; therefore I count as a place of pilgrimage only the virtues of a virtuous man[1], water without doubt is only water.'

32. Thus he uttered his discourse full of various arguments, and the sun went down into the west; then he entered the grove where penances had now ceased and whose trees were gray with the smoke of the (evening) oblations;

33. Where the sacred fires had been duly transferred when kindled to other spots,--all crowded with the holy hermits who had performed their ablutions, and with the shrines of the gods murmuring with the muttered prayers,--it seemed all alive like the full service of religion in exercise.

34. He spent several nights there, himself like the moon, examining their penances; and he departed from that penance-field, feeling that he had comprehended the whole nature of penance.

35. The dwellers of the hermitage followed him with their minds fixed on the greatness of soul visible in his person, as if they were great seers beholding Religion herself, withdrawn from a land invaded by the base.

36. Then he looked on all those ascetics with their matted hair, bark garments, and rag-strips waving, and he stood considering their penances under an auspicious and noble tree by the way-side.

37. Then the hermits having approached stood surrounding the best of men; and an old man from among them thus addressed him respectfully in a gentle voice:

38. 'At thy coming the hermitage seems to have become full, it becomes as it were empty when thou art gone,--therefore, my son, thou wilt not surely desert it, as the loved life the body of one who wishes to live.

39. 'In front stands the holy mountain Himavat, inhabited by Brahmarshis, râgarshis, and surarshis; by whose mere presence the merit of these penances becomes multiplied to the ascetics.

40. 'Near us also are holy spots of pilgrimage, which become ladders to heaven; loved by divine sages and saints whose souls are intent on devotion and who keep their souls in perfect control.

41. 'From hence, again, the Northern quarter is especially to be fitly followed for the sake of preeminent merit; even one who was wise starting towards the south could not advance one single step.

42. 'Hast thou seen in this sacred grove one who neglects all ceremonies or who follows confused ceremonies or an outcast or one impure, that thou dost not desire to dwell here? Speak it out, and let the abode be welcomed.

43. 'These hermits here desire thee as their companion in penance, thee who art like a storehouse of penance,--to dwell with thee who art like Indra would bring prosperity even to Vrihaspati.'

44. He, the chief of the wise, when thus addressed in the midst of the ascetics by their chief--having resolved in his mind to put an end to all existence thus uttered his inward thought:

45. 'The upright-souled saints, the upholders of religion, become the very ideal of our own kindred through their delight in showing hospitality; by all these kind feelings of thine towards me affection is produced in me and the path which regards the self as supreme is revealed.

46. 'I seem to be all at once bathed by these gentle heart-touching words of thine, and the joy now throbs in me once more which I felt when I first grasped the idea of dharma.

47. 'There is sorrow to me when I reflect that I shall have to depart, leaving you who are thus engaged, you who are such a refuge and who have shown such excessive kindness to me,--just as there was when I had to leave my kindred behind.

48. 'But this devotion of yours is for the sake of heaven,--while my desire is that there may be no fresh birth; therefore I wish not to dwell in this wood; the nature of cessation is different from that of activity.

49. 'It is not therefore any dislike on my part or the wrong conduct of another, which makes me go away from this wood; for ye are all like great sages, standing fast in the religious duties which are in accordance with former ages.

50. Then having heard the prince's discourse, gracious and of deep meaning, gentle, strong, and full of dignity, the ascetics paid him especial honour.

51. But a certain Brâhman who was lying there in the ashes, tall and wearing his hair in a tuft, and clothed in the bark of trees, with reddish eyes and a thin long nose, and carrying a pot with water in his hand, thus lifted his voice:

52. 'O sage, brave indeed is thy purpose, who, young as thou art, hast seen the evils of birth; he who, having pondered thoroughly heaven and liberation, makes up his mind for liberation,--he is indeed brave!

53. 'By all those various sacrifices, penances and vows the slaves of passion desire to go to heaven; but the strong, having battled with passion as with an enemy, desire to obtain liberation.

54. 'If this is thy settled purpose, go quickly to Vindhyakoshtha; the Muni Arâda lives there who has gained an insight into absolute bliss.

55, 'From him thou wilt hear the path to truth, and if thou hast a desire for it, thou wilt embrace it; but as I foresee, this purpose of thine will go on further, after having rejected his theory.

56. 'With the nose of a well-fed horse, large long eyes, a red lower lip, white sharp teeth, and a thin red tongue,--this face of thine will drink tip the entire ocean of what is to be known.

57. 'That unfathomed depth which characterises thee, that majesty and all those signs of thine,--they shall win a teacher's chair in the earth which was never won by sages even in a former age.'

58. The prince replied, 'Very well,' and having saluted the company of sages he departed; the hermits also having duly performed to him all the rites of courtesy entered again into the ascetic grove.

BUDDHA-KARITA BOOK 8.

1. Meanwhile the attendant of the horse, in deep distress, when his unselfish master thus went into the forest, made every effort in the road to dissolve his load of sorrow, and yet in spite of it all not a tear dropped from him.

2. But the road which by his lord's command he had traversed in one night with that horse,--that same road he now travelled in eight days, pondering his lord's absence.

3. And the horse Kamthaka, though he still went on bravely, flagged and had lost all spirit in his heart; and decked though he was with ornaments, he had lost all his beauty when bereft of his master.

4. And turning round towards that ascetic-grove, he neighed repeatedly with a mournful sound; and though pressed with hunger, he welcomed not nor tasted any grass or water on the road, as before.

5. Slowly they two at last came back to the city called after Kapila, which seemed empty when deserted by that hero who was bent on the salvation of the world,--like the sky bereft of the sun.

6. Bright as it was with lotus-covered waters, adorned also with trees full of flowers, that garden of his, which was now like a forest, was no longer gay with citizens who had lost all their gladness.

7. Then those two,--who were as it were silently forbidden by the sad inhabitants who were wandering in that direction, their brightness gone and their eyes dim with tears,---slowly entered the city which seemed all bathed in gloom.

8. Having heard that they had returned with their limbs all relaxed, coming back without the pride of the Sâkya race, the men of the city shed tears in the road, as when in old days the chariot of the son of Dasaratha came back.

9. Full of wrath, the people followed Khamdaka in the road, crying behind him with tears, 'Where is the king's son, the glory of his race and kingdom? he has been stolen away by thee.'

10. Then he said to those faithful ones, 'I have not left the king's son; but by him in the uninhabited forest I weeping and the dress of a householder were abandoned together.'

11. Having heard these words of his those crowds adopted a most difficult resolve; they did not wipe away the tears which fell from their eyes, and they blamed their own (evil) hearts on account of the consequences of their actions;

12. Then they said, 'Let us go this very day into that forest, whither he is gone, whose gait is like the king of elephants; without him we have no wish to live, like the senses when the souls depart.

13. 'This city bereft of him is a forest, and that forest which possesses him is a city; the city without him has no charms for us, like heaven without the lord of the Maruts, when Vritra was slain [Quoted by Uggvaladatta, on Unâdi-sûtras 1, 156.].'

14. Next the women crowded to the rows of windows, crying to one another, 'The prince has returned;' but having heard that his horse had an empty back, they closed the windows again and wailed aloud.

15. But the king, having undertaken religious observances for the recovery of his son, with his mind distressed by the vow and the sorrow, was muttering prayers in the temple, and performing such rites as suited the occasion.

16. Then with his eyes filled with tears,--taking the horse, his whole soul fixed on the horse,--overcome with grief he entered the palace as if his master had been killed by an enemy.

17. And entering the royal stable, looking about with his eyes full of tears, Kamthaka uttered a loud sound, as if he were uttering his woe to the people.

18. Then the birds that fed in the middle of the house, and the carefully cherished horses that were tied near by, re-echoed the sound of that horse, thinking that it might be the return of the prince.

19. And the people, deceived by an excessive joy, who were in the neighbourhood of the king's inner apartments, thought in their hearts, 'Since the horse Kamthaka neighs, it must be that the prince is coming.'

20. Then the women, who were fainting with sorrow, now in wild joy, with their eyes rolling to see the prince, rushed out of the palace full of hope, like flickering lightnings from an autumn cloud.

21. With their dress hanging down, and their linen garments soiled, their faces untouched by collyrium and with eyes dimmed by tears; dark and discoloured and destitute of all painting[1], like the stars in the sky, pale-red with the ending of night;

22. With their feet unstained by red, and undecked by anklets,--their faces without earrings, and their ears in their native simplicity,--their loins with only nature's fulness, and uncircled by any girdle,--and their bosoms bare of strings of pearls as if they had been robbed.

23. But when they saw Khandaka standing helpless, his eyes filled with tears, and the horse, the noble women wept with pale faces, like cows abandoned by the bull in the midst of the forest.

24. Then the king's principal queen Gautamî, like a fond cow that has lost her calf, fell bursting into tears on the ground with outstretched arms, like a golden plantain-tree with trembling leaves.

25. Some of the other women, bereft of their brightness and with arms and souls lifeless, and seeming to have lost their senses in their despondency, raised no cry, shed no tear, and breathed not, standing senseless as if painted.

26. Others as having lost all self-control, fainting in their sorrow for their lord, their faces pouring tears from their eyes, watered their bosoms from which all sandal-wood was banished, like a mountain the rocks with its streams.

27. Then that royal palace was illumined with their faces pelted by the tears from their eyes, as a lake in the time of the first rains with its dripping lotuses pelted by the rain from the clouds.

28. The noble women beat their breasts with their lotus-like hands, falling incessantly, whose fingers were round and plump, which had their arteries hidden and bore no ornaments,--as creepers tossed by the wind strike themselves with their shoots.

29. And again how those women shine forth, as their bosoms rose up together after the blow from the hand, and trembled with the shock,--like the streams, when their pairs of ruddy geese shake, as the lotuses on which they sit wave about with the wind from the wood [unclear meaning.].

30. As they pressed their breasts with their hands, so too they pressed their hands with their breasts,--dull to all feelings of pity, they made their hands and bosoms inflict mutual pains on each other.

31. Then thus spoke Yasodharâ, shedding tears with deep sorrow, her bosom heaving with her sighs, her eyes discoloured with aneer, and her voice choking with emotion through the influence of despondency:

32. 'Leaving me helplessly asleep in the night, whither, O Khamdaka, is he, the desire of my heart, gone? and when thou and Kamthaka are alone come back, while three went away together, my mind trembles.

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33. 'Why dost thou weep to-day, O cruel one, having done a dishonourable, pitiless, and unfriendly deed to me? Cease thy tears and be content in thy heart,--tears and that deed of thine ill agree.

34. 'Through thee, his dear obedient faithful loyal companion, always doing what was right, the son of my lord is gone never to return,--rejoice,--all hail! thy pains have gained their end.

35. 'Better for a man a wise enemy rather than a foolish friend unskilled in emergencies; by thee, the unwise self-styled friend, a great calamity has been brought upon this family.

36. 'These women are sorely to be pitied who have put away their ornaments, having their eyes red and dimmed with continuous tears, who are as it were desolate widows, though their lord still stands as unshaken as the earth or Mount Himavat.

37. 'And these lines of palaces seem to weep aloud, flinging up their dovecots for arms, with the long unbroken moan of their doves,--separated verily, with him, from all who could restrain them.

38. 'Even that horse Kamthaka without doubt desired my utter ruin; for he bore away from hence my treasure when all were sound asleep in the night,--like one who steals jewels.

39. 'When he was able to bear even the onsets of arrows, and still more the strokes of whips,--how then for fear of the fall of a whip, could he go carrying with him my prosperity and my heart together?

40. 'The base creature now neighs loudly, filling the king's palace with the sound; but when he carried away my beloved, then this vilest of horses was dumb.

41. 'If he had neighed and so woke up the people, or had even made a noise with his hoofs on the ground, or had made the loudest sound he could with his jaws, my grief would not have been so great.'

42. Having thus heard the queen's words, their syllables choked with tears and full of lament, slowly Khamdaka uttered this answer, with his face bent down, his voice low with tears, and his hands clasped in supplication:

43. 'Surely, O queen, thou wilt not blame Kamthaka nor wilt thou show thy anger against me,--know that we two are entirely guiltless,--that god amongst men, O queen, is gone away like a god.

44. 'I indeed, though I well knew the king's command, as though dragged by force by some divine powers, brought quickly to him this swift steed, and followed him on the road unwearied.

45. 'And this best of horses as he went along touched not the ground with the tips of his hoofs as if they were kept aloft from it; and so too, having his mouth restrained as by fate, he made no sound with his jaws and neighed not.

46. 'When the prince went out, then the gate was thrown open of its own accord; and the darkness of the night was, as it were, pierced by the sun,--we may learn from hence too that this was the ordering of fate.

47. 'When also by the king's command, in palace and city, diligent guards had been placed by thousands, and at that time they were all overcome by sleep and woke not,--we may learn from hence too that this was the ordering of fate.

48. 'When also the garment, approved for a hermit's dwelling in the forest, was offered to him at the moment by some denizen of heaven, and the tiara which he threw into the sky was carried off,--we may learn from hence too that this was the ordering of fate.

49. 'Do not therefore assume that his departure arises from the fault of either of us, O queen; neither I nor this horse acted by our own choice; he went on his way with the gods as his retinue.'

50. Having thus heard the history of the prince's departure, so marvellous in many ways, those women, as though losing their grief, were filled with wonder, but they again took up their distress at the thought of his becoming an ascetic.

51. With her eyes filled with the tears of despondency, wretched like an osprey who has lost her young,--Gautamî abandoning all self-control wailed aloud,--she fainted, and with a weeping face exclaimed:

52. 'Beautiful, soft, black, and all in great waves, growing each from its own special root,--those hairs of his are tossed on the ground, worthy to be encircled by a royal diadem.

53. 'With his long arms and lion-gait, his bull-like eye, and his beauty bright like gold, his broad chest, and his voice deep as a drum or a cloud, should such a hero as this dwell in a hermitage?

54. 'This earth is indeed unworthy as regards that peerless doer of noble actions, for such a virtuous hero has gone away from her,--it is the merits and virtues of the subjects which produce their king.

55. 'Those two feet of his, tender, with their beautiful web spread between the toes, with their ankles concealed, and soft like a blue lotus,--how can they, bearing a wheel marked in the middle, walk on the hard ground of the skirts of the forest?

56. 'That body, which deserves to sit or lie on the roof of a palace,--honoured with costly garments, aloes, and sandal-wood,--how will that manly body live in the woods, exposed to the attacks of the cold, the heat, and the rain?

57. 'He who was proud of his family, goodness, strength, energy, sacred learning, beauty, and youth,--who was ever ready to give, not to ask,--how will he go about begging alms from others?

58. 'He who, lying on a spotless golden bed, was awakened during the night by the concert of musical instruments,--how alas! will he, my ascetic, sleep to-day on the bare ground with only one rag of cloth interposed?'

59. Having heard this piteous lamentation, the women, embracing one another with their arms, rained the tears from their eyes, as the shaken creepers drop honey from their flowers.

60. Then Yasodharâ fell upon the ground, like the ruddy goose parted from her mate, and in utter bewilderment she slowly lamented, with her voice repeatedly stopped by sobs:

61. 'If he wishes to practise a religious life after abandoning me his lawful wife widowed,--where is his religion, who wishes to follow penance without his lawful wife to share it with him?

62. 'He surely has never heard of the monarchs of olden times, his own ancestors, Mahâsudarsa [Mahâsudassana is the name of a king in Gâtaka 1, 95.] the rest,--how they went with their wives into the forest,--that he thus wishes to follow a religious life without me.

63. 'He does not see that husband and wife are both consecrated in sacrifices, and both purified by the performance of the rites of the Veda, and both destined to enjoy the same results afterwards,--he therefore grudges me a share in his merit.

64. 'Surely it must be that this fond lover of religion, knowing that my mind was secretly quarrelling even with my beloved, lightly and without fear has deserted me thus angry, in the hope to obtain heavenly nymphs in Indra's world!

65. 'But what kind of a thought is this of mine? those women even there have the attributes which belong to bodies,--for whose sake he thus practises austerities in the forest, deserting his royal magnificence and my fond devotion.

66. 'I have no such longing for the joy of heaven, nor is that hard for even common people to win if they are resolute; but my one desire is how he my beloved may never leave me either in this world or the next.

67. 'Even if I am unworthy to look on my husband's face with its long eyes and bright smile, still is this poor Râhula never to roll about in his father's lap?

68. 'Alas! the mind of that wise hero is terribly stern,--gentle as his beauty seems, it is pitilessly cruel,--who can desert of his own accord such an infant son with his inarticulate talk, one who would charm even an enemy.

69. 'My heart too is certainly most stern, yea, made of rock or fashioned even of iron, which does not break when its lord is gone to the forest, deserted by his royal glory like an orphan,--he so well worthy of happiness.'

70. So the queen, fainting in her woe, wept and pondered and wailed aloud repeatedly,--self-possessed as she was by nature, yet in her distress she remembered not her fortitude and felt no shame.

71. Seeing Yasodharâ thus bewildered with her wild utterances of grief and fallen on the ground, all the women cried out with their faces streaming with tears like large lotuses beaten by the rain.

72. But the king, having ended his prayers, and performed the auspicious rites of the sacrifice, now came out of the temple; and being smitten by the wailing sound of the people, he tottered like an elephant at the crash of a thunderbolt.

73. Having heard (of the arrival) of both Khamdaka and Kamthaka, and having learned the fixed resolve of his son, the lord of the earth fell struck down by sorrow like the banner of Indra when the festival is over.

74. Then the king, distracted by his grief for his son, being held up for a moment by his attendants all of the same race, gazed on the horse with his eyes filled with tears, and then falling on the ground wailed aloud:

75. 'After having done many dear exploits for me in battle, one great deed of cruelty, O Kamthaka, hast thou done,--for by thee that dear son of mine, dear for his every virtue, has been tossed down in the wood, dear as he was, like a worthless thing.

76. 'Therefore either lead me to-day where he is, or go quickly and bring him back again; without him there is no life left to me, as to one plunged in sickness without the true medicine.

77. 'When Suvarnanishthîvin was carried away by death, it seemed impossible that Srimgaya should not die; and shall I, when my duty-loving son is gone, fear to set my soul free, like any coward?

78. 'How should not the mind of Manu himself be distracted, when parted from his dear virtuous son*,--(Manu) the son of Vivasvat, who knew the higher and the lower, the mighty lord of creatures, the institutor of the ten chieftains ['king-race ten made;']. [* this son could refer to his losing his son Sudyumna, who was changed to a woman, Vishnu Purana 4, 1].

79. 'I envy the monarch, that friend of Indra, the wise son of king Aga, who, when his son went into the forest, went himself to heaven, and dragged out no miserable life here with vain tears.

80. 'Describe to me, O beloved one, the court of that hermitage, whither thou hast carried him who is as my funeral oblation of water; these my vital airs are all ready to depart, and are eager for it, longing to drink it.'

81. Thus the king, in his grief for his separation from his son,--losing all his innate firmness which was stedfast like the earth,--loudly lamented as one distraught, like Dasaratha, a prey to his sorrow for Râma.

82. Then the wise counsellor, endued with religious learning, courtesy, and virtue, and the old family priest, spoke to him as was befitting in these well-weighed words, neither with their faces overwhelmed by grief nor yet wholly unmoved:

83. 'Cease, O noblest of men, thy grief, regain thy firmness,--surely thou wilt not, O firm hero, shed tears like one of no self-control'; many kings on this earth have gone into the forests, throwing away their royal pomp like a crushed wreath.

84. 'Moreover, this his state of mind was all predetermined; remember those words long ago of the holy sage Asita; "He will never be made to dwell even for a moment contentedly in heaven or in an emperor's domain."

85. 'But if, O best of men, the effort must be made, quickly speak the word, we two will at once go together; let the battle be waged in every way with thy son and his fate whatever it be.'

86. Then the king commanded them both, 'Do you both go quickly hence,--my heart will not return to quiet, any more than a bird's in the woods longing for its young.'

87. With a prompt acquiescence at the king's order the counsellor and the family priest went to that forest; and then with his wives and his queen the king also, saying, 'It is done,' performed the remainder of the rites.

BUDDHA-KARITA BOOK 9

1. Then the two, the counsellor and the family priest, beaten by the king with his scourge of tears, went with every effort to that forest in the hurry of affection, like two noble horses goaded.

2. Having come at last full of weariness to that hermitage, accompanied by a fitting train,--they dismissed their royal pomp and with sober gestures entered the abode of Bhârgava.

3. Having saluted that Brâhman with due respect, and having been honoured by him with due reverence in return, having seated themselves, plunging at once into the subject, they addressed Bhârgava, who was likewise seated, concerning their errand.

4. 'Let your honour know us to be respectively imperfect proficients in preserving the sacred learning and in retaining the state-counsels,--in the service of the monarch of the Ikshvâku race, pure in his valour and pure and wide in his glory.

5. 'His son, who is like Gayanta, while he himself is like Indra, has come here, it is said, desirous to escape from the fear of old age and death,--know that we two are come here on account of him.'

6. He answered them, 'That prince of the long arms did indeed come here, but not as one unawakened; "this dharma only brings us back again,"--recognising this, he went off forthwith towards Arâda, seeking liberation.'

7. Then they two, having understood the true state of things, bade that Brâhman at once farewell, and wearied though they were, went on as if they were unwearied, thither whither the prince was gone.

8. As they were going, they saw him bereft of all ornaments, but still radiant with his beauty, sitting like a king in the road at the foot of a tree, like the sun under the canopy of a cloud.

9. Leaving his chariot, the family priest then went up to the prince with the counsellor, as the saint Aurvaseya [Agastya, the son of Urvasî. Vâmadeva was Dasaratha's counsellor.] went with Vâmadeva, wishing to see Râma when he dwelt in the forest.

10. They paid him honour as was fitting, as Sukra and Amgiras honoured Indra in heaven; and he in return paid due honour to them, as Indra in heaven to Sukra and Amgiras.

11. Then they, having obtained his permission, sat down near him who was the banner of the Sâkya race; and they shone in his proximity like the two stars of the asterism Punarvasû in conjunction with the moon.

12. The family priest addressed the prince who shone brightly as he sat at the foot of the tree, as Vrihaspati addressed Indra's son Gayanta, seated in heaven under the heavenly tree parikata:

13. 'O prince, consider for a moment what the king with his eyes raining tears said to thee, as he lay fainting on the ground with the arrow of thy sorrow plunged into his heart.

14. '"I know that thy resolve is fixed upon religion, and I am convinced that this purpose of thine is unchanging; but I am consumed with a flame of anguish like fire at thy flying to the woods at an inopportune time.

15. '"Come, thou who lovest duty, for the sake of what is my heart's desire,--abandon this purpose for the sake of duty;

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this huge swollen stream of sorrow sweeps me away as a river's torrent its bank.

16. '"That effect which is wrought in the clouds, water, the dry grass, and the mountains by the wind, the sun, the fire, and the thunderbolt,--that same effect this grief produces in us by its tearing in pieces, its drying up, its burning, and its cleaving.

17. '"Enjoy therefore for a while the sovereignty of the earth,--thou shalt go to the forest at the time provided by the sâstras,--do not show disregard for thy unhappy kindred,--compassion for all creatures is the true religion.

18. '"Religion is not wrought out only in the forests, the salvation of ascetics can be accomplished even in a city; thought and effort are the true means; the forest and the badge are only a coward's signs.

19. '"Liberation has been attained even by householders, Indras among men, who wore diadems, and carried strings of pearls suspended on their shoulders, whose garlands were entangled with bracelets, and who lay cradled in the lap of Fortune.

20. '"Bali and Vagrabâhu, the two younger brothers of Dhruva, Vaibhrâga, Âshâdha, and Amtideva, and Ganaka also, the king of the Videhas, and king Senagit's son, his tree of ripe blessing;

21. '"Know that all these great kings who were householders were well skilled in attaining the merit which leads to final bliss,--do thou also therefore obtain both simultaneously--royal magnificence and the control over the mind.

22. '"I desire,--when I have once closely embraced thee after thy kingly consecration is once performed, and while thou art still wet with the sacred water,--when I behold thee with the pomp of the royal umbrella,--in the fulness of that joy to enter the forest."

23. 'Thus did the king say to thee in a speech whose words were stopped by tears,--surely having heard it, for the sake of what is so dear to him, thou wilt with all affection follow his affection.

24. 'The king of the Sâkyas is drowned in a deep sea of sorrow, full of waves of trouble, springing from thee; do thou therefore deliver him helpless and protectorless like an ox drowning in the sea.

25. 'Having heard that Bhîshma who sprang from Gangâ's womb, Râma, and Râma the son of Bhrigu,--all did what would please their fathers;--surely thou too wilt do thy father's desire.

26. 'Consider also the queen, who brought thee up, who has not yet gone to the region inhabited by Agastya [The south,--the region of the god of death.]--wilt thou not take some heed of her, who ceaselessly grieves like a fond cow that has lost her calf?

27. 'Surely thou wilt succour thy wife by the sight of thee, who now mourns widowed yet with her lord still alive,--like a swan separated from her mate or a female elephant deserted in the forest by her companion.

28. 'Thy only son, a child little deserving such woe, distressed with sorrow, and [Five syllables are here lost,--apakvasattvam?] . . . . --O deliver Râhula from the grief of his kindred like the full moon from the contact of Râhu!

29. 'Burned with the fire of anguish within him, to which thy absence adds fresh fuel,--a fire whose smoke is sighs and its flame despair,--he wanders for a sight of thee through the women's apartments and the whole city.'

30. The Bodhisattva,--whose perfection was absolute,--having heard the words of the family priest, reflected for a moment, knowing all the virtues of the virtuous, and then thus uttered his gentle reply:

31. 'I well know the paternal tenderness of the king, especially that which he has displayed towards me; yet knowing this as I do, still alarmed at sickness, old age, and death, I am inevitably forced to leave my kindred.

32. 'Who would not wish to see his dear kindred, if but this separation from beloved ones did not exist? but since even after it has been once, separation will still come again, it is for this that I abandon my father, however loving.

33. 'I do not however approve that thou shouldst consider the king's grief as caused by me, when in the midst of his dream-like unions he is afflicted by thoughts of separations in the future.

34. 'Thus let thy thoughts settle into certainty, having seen the multiform in its various developments; neither a son nor kindred is the cause of sorrow,--this sorrow is only caused by ignorance.

35. 'Since parting is inevitably fixed in the course of time for all beings, just as for travellers who have joined company on a road,--what wise man would cherish sorrow, when he loses his kindred, even though he loves them [Some letters are here lost in the original.]?

36. 'Leaving his kindred in another world, he departs hither; and having stolen away from them here, he goes forth once more; "having gone thither, go thou elsewhere also,"--such is the lot of mankind,--what consideration can the yogin have for them?

37. 'Since from the moment of leaving the womb death is a characteristic adjunct[4], why, in thy affection for thy son, hast thou called my departure to the forest ill-timed?

38. 'There may be an "ill time" in one's attaining a worldly object,--time indeed is described as inseparably connected with all things; time drags the world into all its various times; but all time suits a bliss which is really worthy of praise.

39. 'That the king should wish to surrender to me his kingdom,--this is a noble thought, well worthy of a father; but it would be as improper for me to accept it, as for a sick man through greed to accept unwholesome food.

40. 'How can it be right for the wise man to enter royalty, the home of illusion, where are found anxiety, passion, and weariness, and the violation of all right through another's service?

41. 'The golden palace seems to me to be on fire; the daintiest viands seem mixed with poison; infested with crocodiles [The remainder of the prince's speech is lost. By Beal's translation from the Chinese, fifteen verses are missing.] [is the tranquil lotus-bed].' . . . . . .

42. Having heard the king's son uttering this discourse, well suitable to his virtues and knowledge of the soul, freed from all desires, full of sound reasons, and weighty,--the counsellor thus made answer:

43. 'This resolve of thine is an excellent counsel, not unfit in itself but only unfit at the present time; it could not be thy duty, loving duty as thou dost, to leave thy father in his old age to sorrow.

44. 'Surely thy mind is not very penetrating, or it is ill-skilled in examining duty, wealth, and pleasure,--when for the sake of an unseen result thou departest disregarding a visible end.

45. 'Again, some say that there is another birth,--others with confident assertion say that there is not; since then the matter is all in doubt, it is right to enjoy the good fortune which comes into thy hand.

46. 'If there is any activity hereafter, we will enjoy ourselves in it as may offer; or if there is no activity beyond this life, then there is an assured liberation to all the world without any effort.

47. 'Some say there is a future life, but they do not allow the possibility of liberation; as fire is hot by nature and water liquid, so they hold that there is a special nature in our power of action [i.e. it cannot be established.].

48. 'Some maintain that all things arise from inherent properties,--both good and evil and existence and non-existence; and since all this world thus arises spontaneously, therefore also all effort of ours is vain.

49. 'Since the action of the senses is fixed, and so too the agreeableness or the disagreeableness of outward objects,--then for that which is united to old age and pains, what effort can avail to alter it? Does it not all arise spontaneously?

50. 'The fire becomes quenched by water, and fire causes water to evaporate; and different elements, united in a body, producing unity, bear tip the world.

51. 'That the nature of the embryo in the womb is produced as composed of hands, feet, belly, back, and head, and that it is also united with the soul,--the wise declare that all this comes of itself spontaneously.

52. 'Who causes the sharpness of the thorn? or the various natures of beasts and birds? All this has arisen spontaneously; there is no acting from desire, how then can there be such a thing as will?

53. 'Others say that creation comes from Îsvara,--what need then is there of the effort of the conscious soul [Purusha.]? That which is the cause of the action of the world, is also determined as the cause of its ceasing to act.

54. 'Some say that the coming into being and the destruction of being are alike caused by the soul, but they say that coming into being arises without effort, while the attainment of liberation is by effort.

55. 'A man discharges his debt to his ancestors by begetting offspring, to the saints by sacred lore, to the gods by sacrifices; he is born with these three debts upon him,--whoever has liberation (from these,) he indeed has liberation.

56. 'Thus by this series of rules the wise promise liberation to him who uses effort; but however ready for effort with all their energy, those who seek liberation will find weariness.

57. 'Therefore, gentle youth, if thou hast a love for liberation, follow rightly the prescribed rule; thus wilt thou thyself attain to it, and the king's grief will come to an end.

58. 'And as for thy meditations on the evils of life ending in thy return from the forest to thy home,--let not the thought of this trouble thee, my son,--those in old time also have returned from the forests to their houses.

59. 'The king Ambarîsha, though he had dwelt in the forest, went back to the city, surrounded by his children; so too Râma, seeing the earth oppressed by the base, came forth from his hermitage and ruled it again.

60. 'So too Drumâksha, the king of the Sâlvas, came to his city from the forest with his son; and Sâmkriti Amtideva [the son of Samkriti], after he had become a Brahmarshi, received his royal dignity from the saint Vasishtha.

61. 'Such men as these, illustrious in glory and virtue, left the forests and came back to their houses; therefore it is no sin to return from a hermitage to one's home, if it be only for the sake of duty.'

62. Then having heard the affectionate and loyal words of the minister, who was as the eye of the king,--firm in his resolve, the king's son made his answer, with nothing omitted or displaced, neither tedious nor hasty:

63. 'This doubt whether anything exists or not, is not to be solved for me by another's words; having determined the truth by asceticism or quietism, I will myself grasp whatever is ascertained concerning it.

64. 'It is not for me to accept a theory which depends on the unknown and is all controverted, and which involves a hundred prepossessions; what wise man would go by another's belief? Mankind are like the blind directed in the darkness by the blind.

65. 'But even though I cannot discern the truth, yet still, if good and evil are doubted, let one's mind be set on the good; even a toil in vain is to be chosen by him whose soul is good, while the man of base soul has no joy even in the truth.

66. 'But having seen that this "sacred tradition" is uncertain, know that that only is right which has been uttered by the trustworthy; and know that trustworthiness means the absence of faults; he who is without faults will not utter an untruth.

67. 'And as for what thou saidst to me in regard to my returning to my home, by alleging Râma and others as examples, they are no authority,--for in determining duty, how canst thou quote as authorities those who have broken their vows?

68. 'Even the sun, therefore, may fall to the earth, even the mountain Himavat may lose its firmness; but never would I return to my home as a man of the world, with no knowledge of the truth and my senses only alert for external objects.

69. 'I would enter the blazing fire, but not my house with my purpose unfulfilled.' Thus he proudly made his resolve, and rising up in accordance with it, full of disinterestedness, went his way.

70. Then the minister and the Brâhman, both full of tears, having heard his firm determination, and having followed him awhile with despondent looks, and overcome with sorrow, slowly returned of necessity to the city.

71. Through their love for the prince and their devotion to the king, they returned, and often stopped looking back; they could neither behold him on the road nor yet lose the sight of him, shining in his own splendour and beyond the reach of all others, like the sun.

72. Having placed faithful emissaries in disguise to find out the actions of him who was the supreme refuge of all, they went on with faltering steps, saying to each other, 'How shall we approach the king and see him, who is longing for his dear son?'

BUDDHA-KARITA BOOK 10

1. The prince, he of the broad and lusty chest, having thus dismissed the minister and the priest, crossed the Ganges with its speeding waves and went to Râgagriha with its beautiful palaces.

2. He reached the city distinguished by the five hills, well guarded and adorned with mountains, and supported and hallowed by auspicious sacred places [Tapoda is the name of a tîrtha in Magadha.],--like Brahman [Svayambhû.] in a holy calm going to the uppermost heaven.

3. Having heard of his majesty and strength, and his splendid beauty, surpassing all other men, the people of that region were all astonished as at him who has a bull for his sign and is immovable in his vow [Siva.].

4. On seeing him, he who was going elsewhere stood still, and he who was standing there followed him in the way; he who was walking gently and gravely ran quickly, and he who was sitting at once sprang up.

5. Some people reverenced him with their hands, others in worship saluted him with their heads, some addressed him with affectionate words,--not one went on without paying him homage.

6. Those who were wearing gay-coloured dresses were ashamed when they saw him, those who were talking on random subjects fell to silence on the road; no one indulged in an improper thought, as at the presence of Religion herself embodied.

7. In the men and the women on the highway, even though they were intent on other business, that conduct alone with the profoundest reverence seemed proper which is enjoined by the rules of royal homage; but his eyes never looked upon them.

8. His brows, his forehead, his mouth, or his eyes,--his body, his hands, his feet, or his gait,--whatever part of him any one beheld, that at once riveted his eyes.

9. Having beheld him with the beautiful circle of hair between his brows and with long eyes, with his radiant body and his hands showing a graceful membrane between the fingers,--so worthy of ruling the earth and yet wearing a

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mendicant's dress,--the Goddess of Râgagriha was herself perturbed.

10. Then Srenya [A name of Bimbisâra, see Burnouf, Introd. p. 165.], the lord of the court of the Magadhas, beheld from the outside of his palace the immense concourse of people, and asked the reason of it; and thus did a man recount it to him:

11. 'He who was thus foretold by the Brâmans, "he will either attain supreme wisdom or the empire of the earth,"--it is he, the son of the king of the Sâkyas, who is the ascetic whom the people are gazing at.'

12. The king, having heard this and perceived its meaning with his mind, thus at once spoke to that man: 'Let it be known whither he is going;' and the man, receiving the command, followed the prince.

13. With unrestless eyes, seeing only a yoke's length before him, with his voice hushed, and his walk slow and measured, he, the noblest of mendicants, went begging alms, keeping his limbs and his wandering thoughts under control.

14. Having received such alms as were offered, he retired to a lonely cascade of the mountain; and having eaten it there in the fitting manner, he ascended the mountain Pâmdava.

15. In that wood, thickly filled with lodhra trees, having its thickets resonant with the notes of the peacocks, he the sun of mankind shone, wearing his red dress, like the morning sun above the eastern mountain.

16. That royal attendant, having thus watched him there, related it all to the king Srenya; and the king, when he heard it, in his deep veneration, started himself to go thither with a modest retinue.

17. He who was like the Pâmdavas in heroism, and like a mountain in stature, ascended Pâmdava, that noblest of mountains,--a crown-wearer, of lion-like gait, a lion among men, as a maned lion ascends a mountain.

18. There he beheld the Bodhisattva, resplendent as he sat on his hams, with subdued senses, as if the mountain were moving, and he himself were a peak thereof,--like the moon rising from the top of a cloud.

19. Him, distinguished by his beauty of form and perfect tranquillity as the very creation of Religion herself,--filled with astonishment and affectionate regard the king of men approached, as Indra the self-existent (Brahman).

20. He, the chief of the courteous, having courteously drawn nigh to him, inquired as to the equilibrium of his bodily humours; and the other with equal gentleness assured the king of his health of mind and freedom from all ailments.

21. Then the king sat down on the clean surface of the rock, dark blue like an elephant's ear; and being seated, with the other's assent, he thus spoke, desiring to know his state of mind:

22. 'I have a strong friendship with thy family, come down by inheritance and well proved; since from this a desire to speak to thee, my son, has arisen in me, therefore listen to my words of affection.

23. 'When I consider thy widespread race, beginning with the sun, thy fresh youth, and thy conspicuous beauty,--whence comes this resolve of thine so out of all harmony with the rest, set wholly on a mendicant's life, not on a kingdom?

24. 'Thy limbs are worthy of red sandal-wood [Lohitakandana may mean 'saffron.'] perfumes,--they do not deserve the rough contact of red cloth; this hand is fit to protect subjects, it deserves not to hold food given by another.

25. 'If therefore, gentle youth, through thy love for thy father thou desirest not thy paternal kingdom in thy generosity,--then at any rate thy choice must not be excused,--accepting forthwith one half of my kingdom.

26. 'If thou actest thus there will be no violence shown to thine own people, and by the mere lapse of time imperial power at last flies for refuge to the tranquil mind; therefore be pleased to do me a kindness,--the prosperity of the good becomes very powerful, when aided by the good

27. 'But if from thy pride of race thou dost not now feel confidence in me, then plunge with thy arrows into countless armies, and with me as thy ally seek to conquer thy foes.

28. 'Choose thou therefore one of these ends, pursue according to rule religious merit, wealth, and pleasure; for these, love and the rest, in reverse order, are the three objects in life; when men die they pass into dissolution as far as regards this world.

29. 'That which is pleasure when it has overpowered wealth and merit, is wealth when it has conquered merit and pleasure; so too it is merit, when pleasure and wealth fall into abeyance; but all would have to be alike abandoned, if thy desired end were obtained.

30. 'Do thou therefore by pursuing the three objects of life, cause this beauty of thine to bear its fruit; they say that when the attainment of religion, wealth, and pleasure is complete in all its parts, then the end of man is complete.

31. 'Do not thou let these two brawny arms lie useless which are worthy to draw the bow; they are well fitted like Mândhâtri's to conquer the three worlds, much more the earth.

32. 'I speak this to you out of affection,--not through love of dominion or through astonishment; beholding this mendicant-dress of thine, I am filled with compassion and I shed tears.

33. 'O thou who desirest the mendicant's stage of life. enjoy pleasures now; in due time, O thou lover of religion, thou shalt practise religion;--ere old age comes on and overcomes this thy beauty, well worthy of thy illustrious race.

34. 'The old man can obtain merit by religion; old age is helpless for the enjoyment of pleasures; therefore they say that pleasures belong to the young man, wealth to the middle-aged, and religion to the old.

35. 'Youth in this present world is the enemy of religion and wealth,--since pleasures, however we guard them, are hard to hold, therefore, wherever pleasures are to be found, there they seize them.

36. 'Old age is prone to reflection, it is grave and intent on remaining quiet; it attains unimpassionedness with but little effort, unavoidably, and for very shame.

37. 'Therefore having passed through the deceptive period of youth, fickle, intent on external objects, heedless, impatient, not looking at the distance, they take breath like men who have escaped safe through a forest.

38. 'Let therefore this fickle time of youth first pass by, reckless and giddy,--our early years are the mark for pleasure, they cannot be kept from the power of the senses.

39. Or if religion is really thy one aim, then offer sacrifices,--this is thy family's immemorial custom,--climbing to highest heaven by sacrifices, even Indra, the lord of the winds, went thus to highest heaven.

40. 'With their arms pressed by golden bracelets, and their variegated diadems resplendent with the light of gems, royal sages have reached the same goal by sacrifices which great sages reached by self-mortification.'

41. Thus spoke the monarch of the Magadhas, who spoke well and strongly like Indra [Valabhid, 'the smiter of the demon Vala.']; but having heard it, the prince did not falter, (firm) like the mountain Kailâsa, having its many summits variegated (with lines of metals).

BUDDHA-KARITA BOOK 11

1. Being thus addressed by the monarch of the Magadhas, in a hostile speech with a friendly face, self-possessed, unchanged, pure by family and personal purity, the son of Suddhodana thus made answer:

2. 'This is not to be called a strange thing for thee, born as thou art in the great family whose ensign is the lion--that by thee of pure conduct, O, lover of thy friends, this line of conduct should be adopted towards him who stands as one of thy friends.

3. 'Amongst the bad a friendship, worthy of their family, ceases to continue (and fades) like prosperity among the faint-hearted; it is only the good who keep increasing the old friendship of their ancestors by a new succession of friendly acts.

4. 'But those men who act unchangingly towards their friends in reverses of fortune, I esteem in my heart as true friends; who is not the friend of the prosperous man in his times of abundance?

5. 'So those who, having obtained riches in the world, employ them for the sake of their friends and religion,--their wealth has real solidity, and when it perishes it produces no pain at the end.

6. 'This thy determination concerning me, O king, is prompted by pure generosity and friendship; I will meet thee courteously with simple friendship; I would not utter aught else in my reply.

7. 'I, having experienced the fear of old age and death, fly to this path of religion in my desire for liberation; leaving behind my dear kindred with tears in their faces,--still more then those pleasures which are the causes of evil.

8. 'I am not so afraid even of serpents nor of thunderbolts falling from heaven, nor of flames blown together by the wind, as I am afraid of these worldly objects.

9. 'These transient pleasures,--the robbers of our happiness and our wealth, and which float empty and like illusions through the world,--infatuate men's minds even when they are only hoped for,--still more when they take up their abode in the soul.

10. 'The victims of pleasure attain not to happiness even in the heaven of the gods, still less in the world of mortals; he who is athirst is never satisfied with pleasures, as the fire, the friend of the wind, with fuel.

11. 'There is no calamity in the world like pleasures,--people are devoted to them through delusion; when he once knows the truth and so fears evil, what wise man would of his own choice desire evil?

12. 'When they have obtained all the earth girdled by the sea, kings wish to conquer the other side of the great ocean: mankind are never satiated with pleasures, as the ocean with the waters that fall into it.

13. 'When it had rained a golden shower from heaven, and when he had conquered the continents and the four oceans, and had even obtained the half of Sakra's throne[1], Mândhâtri was still unsatisfied with worldly objects.

14. 'Though he had enjoyed the kingdom of the gods in heaven, when Indra had concealed himself through fear of Vritra, and though in his pride he had made the great Rishis[2] bear his litter'. Nahusha fell, unsatisfied with pleasures.

15. 'King (Purûravas) the son of Idâ, having penetrated into the furthest heaven, and brought the goddess Urvasî into his power,--when he wished in his greed to take away gold from the Rishis,--being unsatisfied with pleasures, fell into destruction.

16. 'Who would put his trust in these worldly objects, whether in heaven or in earth, unsettled as to lot or family,--which passed from Bali to Indra, and from Indra to Nahusha, and then again from Nahusha back to Indra?

17. 'Who would seek these enemies bearing the name of pleasures, by whom even those sages have been overcome, who were devoted to other pursuits, whose only clothes were rags, whose food was roots, fruits, and water, and who wore their twisted locks as long as snakes?

18. 'Those pleasures for whose sake even Ugrâyudha, armed terribly as he was with his weapon, found death at Bhîshma's hands,--is not the mere thought of them unlucky and fatal,--still more the thought of the irreligious whose lives are spent in their service?

19. 'Who that considers the paltry flavour of worldly objects,--the very height of union being only insatiety,--the blame of the virtuous, and the certain sin,--has ever drawn near this poison which is called pleasure?

20. 'When they hear of the miseries of those who are intent on pleasure and are devoted to worldly pursuits, such as agriculture and the rest, and the self-content of those who are careless of pleasure, it well befits the self-controlled to fling it away.

21. 'Success in pleasure is to be considered a misery in the man of pleasure, for he becomes intoxicated when his desired pleasures are attained; through intoxication he does what should not be done, not what should be done; and being wounded thereby he falls into a miserable end.

22. 'These pleasures which are gained and kept by toil,--which after deceiving leave you and return whence they came,--these pleasures which are but borrowed for a time, what man of self-control, if he is wise, would delight in them?

23. 'What man of self-control could find satisfaction in these pleasures which are like a torch of hay,--which excite thirst when you seek them and when you grasp them, and which they who abandon not keep only as misery?

24. 'Those men of no self-control who are bitten by them in their hearts, fall into ruin and attain not bliss,--what man of self-control could find satisfaction in these pleasures, which are like an angry, cruel serpent?

25. 'Even if they enjoy them men are not satisfied, like dogs famishing with hunger over a bone,--what man of self-control could find satisfaction in these pleasures, which are like a skeleton composed of dry bones?

26. 'What man of self-control could find satisfaction in these pleasures which are like flesh that has been flung away, and which produce misery by their being held only in common with kings, thieves, water, and fire?

27. 'What man of self-control could find satisfaction in these pleasures, which, like the senses, are destructive, and which bring calamity on every hand to those who abide in them, from the side of friends even more than from open enemies?

28. 'What man of self-control could find satisfaction in those pleasures, which are like the fruit that grows on the top of a tree,--which those who would leap up to reach fall down upon a mountain or into a forest, waters, or the ocean?

29. 'What man of self-control could find satisfaction in those pleasures, which are like snatching up a hot coal,--men never attain happiness, however they pursue them, increase them, or guard them?

30. 'What man of self-control could find satisfaction in those pleasures, which are like the enjoyments in a dream,--which are gained by their recipients after manifold pilgrimages and labours, and then perish in a moment?

31. 'What man of self-control could find satisfaction in those pleasures which are like a spear, sword, or club,--for the sake of which the Kurus, the Vrishnis and the Amdhakas, the Maithilas and the Damdakas suffered destruction?

32. 'What man of self-control could find satisfaction in those pleasures which dissolve friendships and for the sake of which the two Asuras Sumda and Upasumda perished, victims engaged in mutual enmity?

33. 'None, however their intellect is blinded with pleasure, give themselves up, as in compassion, to ravenous beasts [The text is corrupt here; probably kravyâtsu nâtmânam.]; so what man of self-control could find satisfaction in those pleasures which are disastrous and constant enemies?

34. 'He whose intellect is blinded with pleasure does pitiable things; he incurs calamities, such as death, bonds, and the like; the wretch, who is the miserable slave of hope for the sake of pleasure, well deserves the pain of death even in the world of the living.

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35. 'Deer are lured to their destruction by songs, insects for the sake of the brightness fly into the fire, the fish greedy for the flesh swallows the iron hook,--therefore worldly objects produce misery as their end.

36. 'As for the common opinion, "pleasures are enjoyments," none of them when examined are worthy of being enjoyed; fine garments and the rest are only the accessories of things,--they are to be regarded as merely the remedies for pain.

37. 'Water is desired for allaying thirst; food in the same way for removing hunger; a house for keeping off the wind, the heat of the sun, and the rain; and dress for keeping off the cold and to cover one's nakedness.

38. 'So too a bed is for removing drowsiness; a carriage for remedying the fatigue of a journey; a seat for alleviating the pain of standing; so bathing as a means for washing, health, and strength.

39. 'External objects therefore are to human beings means for remedying pain, not in themselves sources of enjoyment; what wise man would allow that he enjoys those delights which are only used as remedial?

40. 'He who, when burned with the heat of bilious fever, maintains that cold appliances are an enjoyment, when he is only engaged in alleviating pain,--he indeed might give the name of enjoyment to pleasures.

41. 'Since variableness is found in all pleasures, I cannot apply to them the name of enjoyment; the very conditions which mark pleasure, bring also in its turn pain.

42. 'Heavy garments and fragrant aloe-wood are pleasant in the cold, but an annoyance in the heat; and the moonbeams and sandal-wood are pleasant in the heat, but a pain in the cold.

43. 'Since the well-known opposite pairs, such as gain and loss and the rest, are inseparably connected with everything in this world,--therefore no man is invariably happy on the earth nor invariably wretched.

44. 'When I see how the nature of pleasure and pain are mixed, I consider royalty and slavery as the same; a king does not always smile, nor is a slave always in pain.

45. 'Since to be a king involves a wider range of command, therefore the pains of a king are great; for a king is like a peg [Cf. Isaiah 22.23, 24 (Hebrew yâhêr).],--he endures trouble for the sake of the world.

46. 'A king is unfortunate, if he places his trust in his royalty which is apt to desert and loves crooked turns; and on the other hand, if he does not trust in it, then what can be the happiness of a timid king?

47. 'And since after even conquering the whole earth, one city only can serve as a dwelling-place, and even there only one house can be inhabited, is not royalty mere labour for others?

48. 'And even in royal clothing one pair of garments is all he needs, and just enough food to keep off hunger; so only one bed, and only one seat; all a king's other distinctions are only for pride.

49. 'And if all these fruits are desired for the sake of satisfaction, I can be satisfied without a kingdom; and if a man is once satisfied in this world, are not all distinctions indistinguishable?

50. 'He then who has attained the auspicious road to happiness is not to be deceived in regard to pleasures; remembering thy professed friendship, tell me again and again, do they keep their promise?

51. 'I have not repaired to the forest through anger, nor because my diadem has been dashed down by an enemy's arrows; nor have I set my desires on loftier objects[1], that I thus refuse thy proposal.

52. 'Only he who, having once let go a malignant incensed serpent, or a blazing hay-torch all on fire, would strive again to seize it, would ever seek pleasures again after having once abandoned them.

53. 'Only he who, though seeing, would envy the blind, though free the bound, though wealthy the destitute, though sound in his reason the maniac,--only he, I say, would envy one who is devoted to worldly objects.

54. 'He who lives on alms, my good friend, is not to be pitied, having gained his end and being set on escaping the fear of old age and death; he has here the best happiness, perfect calm, and hereafter all pains are for him abolished.

55. 'But he is to be pitied who is overpowered by thirst though set in the midst of great wealth,--who attains not the happiness of calm here, while pain has to be experienced hereafter.

56. 'Thus to speak to me is well worthy of thy character, thy mode of life, and thy family; and to carry out my resolve is also befitting my character, my mode of life, and my family.

57. 'I have been wounded by the enjoyment of the world, and I have come out longing to obtain peace; I would not accept an empire free from all ill even in the third heaven, how much less amongst men?

58. 'But as for what thou saidst to me, O king, that the universal pursuit of the three objects is the supreme end of man,--and thou saidst that what I regard as the desirable is misery,--thy three objects are perishable and also unsatisfying.

59. 'But that world in which there is no old age nor fear, no birth, nor death, nor anxieties, that alone I consider the highest end of man, where there is no ever-renewed action.

60. 'And as for what thou saidst "wait till old age comes, for youth is ever subject to change;"--this want of decision is itself uncertain; for age too can be irresolute and youth can be firm.

61. 'But since Fate is so well skilled in its art as to draw the world in all its various ages into its power,--how shall the wise man, who desires tranquillity, wait for old age, when he knows not when the time of death will be?

62. 'When death stands ready like a hunter, with old age as his weapon, and diseases scattered about as his arrows, smiting down living creatures who fly like deer to the forest of destiny, what desire can there be in any one for length of life?

63. 'It well befits the youthful son or the old man or the child so to act with all promptitude that they may choose the action of the religious man whose soul is all mercy,--nay, better still, his inactivity.

64. 'And as for what thou saidst, "be diligent in sacrifices for religion, such as are worthy of thy race and bring a glorious fruit,"--honour to such sacrifices! I desire not that fruit which is sought by causing pain to others!

65. 'To kill a helpless victim through a wish for future reward,--it would be an unseemly action for a merciful-hearted good man, even if the reward of the sacrifice were eternal; but what if, after all, it is subject to decay?

66. 'And even if true religion did not consist in quite another rule of conduct, by self-restraint, moral practice and a total absence of passion,--still it would not be seemly to follow the rule of sacrifice, where the highest reward is described as attained only by slaughter.

67. 'Even that happiness which comes to a man, while he stays in this world, through the injury of another, is hateful to the wise compassionate heart; how much more if it be something beyond our sight in another life?

68. 'I am not to be lured into a course of action for future reward,--my mind does not delight, O king, in future births; these actions are uncertain and wavering in their direction, like plants beaten by the rain from a cloud.

69. 'I have come here with a wish to see next the seer Arâda who proclaims liberation; I start this very day,--happiness be to thee, O king; forgive my words which may seem harsh through their absolute freedom from passion.

70. '[This verse is obscure.] Now therefore do thou guard (the world) like Indra in heaven; guard it continually like the sun by thy excellencies; guard its best happiness here; guard the earth; guard life by the noble; guard the sons of the good; guard thy royal powers, O king; and guard thine own religion.

71. 'As in the midst of a sudden catastrophe arising from the flame of (fire), the enemy of cold, a bird, to deliver its body, betakes itself to the enemy of fire (water),--so do thou, when occasion calls, betake thyself, to deliver thy mind, to those who will destroy the enemies of thy home [perhaps 'nirvâna.']

72. The king himself, folding his hands, with a sudden longing come upon him, replied, 'Thou art obtaining thy desire without hindrance; when thou hast at last accomplished all that thou hast to do, thou shalt show hereafter thy favour towards me.'

73. Having given his firm promise to the monarch, he proceeded to the Vaisvamtara hermitage; and, after watching him with astonishment, as he wandered on in his course, the king and his courtiers returned to the mountain (of Râgagiri).

BUDDHA-KARITA BOOK 12

1. Then the moon of the Ikshvâku race turned towards the hermitage of the sage Arâda* of tranquil life,--as it were, doing honour to it by his beauty. [* Arâda holds an early form of the Sâmkhya doctrine.]

2. He drew near, on being addressed in a loud voice 'Welcome' by the kinsman of Kâlâma, as he saw him from afar.

3. They, having mutually asked after each other's health as was fitting, sat down in a clean place on two pure wooden seats.

4. The best of sages, having seen the prince seated, and as it were drinking in the sight of him with eyes opened wide in reverence, thus addressed him:

5. 'I know, gentle youth, how thou hast come forth from thy home, having severed the bond of affection, as a wild elephant its cord.

6. 'In every way thy mind is stedfast and wise, who hast come here after abandoning royal luxury like a creeper-plant with poisonous fruit.

7. 'It is no marvel that kings have retired to the forest who have grown old in years, having given up their glory to their children, like a garland left behind after being used.

8. 'But this is to me indeed a marvel that thou art come hither in life's fresh prime, set in the open field of the world's enjoyments, ere thou hast as yet tasted of their happiness.

9. 'Verily thou art a worthy vessel to receive this highest religion; having mastered it with full knowledge, cross at once over the sea of misery.

10. 'Though the doctrine is generally efficient only after a time, when the student has been thoroughly tested, thou art easy for me to examine from thy depth of character and determination.'

11. The prince, having heard these words of Arâda, was filled with great pleasure and thus made reply:

12. 'This extreme kindliness which thou showest to me, calmly passionless as thou art, makes me, imperfect as I am, seem even already to have attained perfection.

13. 'I feel at the sight of thee like one longing to see who finds a light,--like one wishing to journey, a guide,--or like one wishing to cross, a boat.

14. 'Wilt thou therefore deign to tell me that secret, if thou thinkest it should be told, whereby thy servant may be delivered from old age, death, and disease.'

15. Arâda, thus impelled by the noble nature of the prince, declared in a concise form the tenets of his doctrine:

16. 'O best of hearers, hear this our firmly-settled theory, how our mortal existence arises and how it revolves.

17. '"The evolvent" and "the evolute," birth, old age, and death,--know that this has been called the reality by us; do thou receive our words, O thou who art stedfast in thy nature.

18. 'But know, O thou who art deep in the search into the nature of things, that the five elements, egoism, intellect, and "the unmanifested" are the "evolvents;"

19. 'But know that the "evolutes" consist of intellect, external objects, the senses, and the hands, feet, voice, anus, and generative organ, and also the mind.

20. 'There is also a something which bears the name kshetragna, from its knowledge of this "field" (kshetra or the body); and those who investigate the soul call the soul kshetragna.

21. 'Kapila with his disciple became the illuminated,--such is the tradition; and he, as the illuminated, with his son is now called here Pragâpati.

22. 'That which is born and grows old and is bound and dies,--is to be known as "the manifested," and "the unmanifested" is to be distinguished by its contrariety.

23. 'Ignorance, the merit or demerit of former actions, and desire are to be known as the causes of mundane existence; he who abides in the midst of this triad does not attain to the truth of things,--

24. 'From mistake, egoism, confusion, fluctuation, indiscrimination, false means, inordinate attachment, and gravitation.

25. 'Now "mistake" acts in a contrary manner, it does wrongly what it should do, and what it should think it thinks wrongly.

26. '"I say," "I know," "I go," "I am firmly fixed," it is thus that "egoism" shows itself here, O thou who art free from all egoism.

27. 'That state of mind is called "confusion," O thou who art all unconfused, which views under one nature, massed like a lump of clay, objects that thus become confused in their nature.

28. 'That state of mind which says that this mind, intellect, and these actions are the same as "I," and that which says that all this aggregate is the same as "I,"--is called "fluctuation."

29. 'That state of mind is called "indiscrimination," O thou who art discriminating, which thinks there is no difference between the illuminated and the unwise, and between the different evolvents.

30. 'Uttering "namas" and "vashat," sprinkling water upon sacrifices, etc. with or without the recital of Vedic hymns, and such like rites,--these are declared by the wise to be "false means," O thou who art well skilled in true means.

31. 'That is called "inordinate attachment," by which the fool is entangled in external objects through his mind, speech, actions, and thoughts, O thou who hast shaken thyself free from all attachments.

32. 'The misery which a man imagines by the ideas "This is mine," "I am connected with this," is to be recognised as "gravitation,"--by this a man is borne downwards into new births.

33. 'Thus Ignorance, O ye wise, being fivefold in its character, energises towards torpor, delusion, the great delusion, and the two kinds of darkness.

34. 'Know, that among these indolence is "torpor," death and birth are "delusion," and be it clearly understood, O undeluded one, that desire is the "great delusion."

35. 'Since by it even the higher beings are deluded, therefore, O hero, is this called the "great delusion."

36. 'They define anger, O thou angerless one, as "darkness;" and despondency, O undesponding, they pronounce to be the "blind darkness."

37. 'The child, entangled in this fivefold ignorance, is effused in his different births in a world abounding with misery.

38. 'He wanders about in the world of embodied existence, thinking that I am the seer, and the hearer, and the thinker,--the effect and the cause.

39. 'Through these causes, O wise prince, the stream of "torpor" is set in motion; be pleased to consider that in the absence of the cause there is the absence of the effect.

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40. 'Let the wise man who has right views know these four things, O thou who desirest liberation, the illuminated and the unilluminated, the manifested and the unmanifested.

41. 'The soul, having once learned to distinguish these four properly, having abandoned all (ideas of) straightness or quickness [Text may be corrupt here.], attains to the immortal sphere.

42. 'For this reason the Brâmans in the world, discoursing on the supreme Brahman, practise here a rigorous course of sacred study and let other Brâmans live with them to follow it also.'

43. The prince, having heard this discourse from the seer, asked concerning the means and the final state.

44. 'Wilt thou please to explain to me how, how far, and where this life of sacred study is to be led, and the limit of this course of life [Dharma.]?'

45. Then Arâda, according to his doctrine, declared to him in another way that course of life clearly and succinctly.

46. 'The devotee, in the beginning, having left his house, and assumed the signs of the mendicant, goes on, following a rule of conduct which extends to the whole life.

47. 'Cultivating absolute content with any alms from any person, he carries out his lonely life, indifferent to all feelings, meditating on the holy books, and satisfied in himself.

48. 'Then having seen how fear arises from passion and the highest happiness from the absence of passion, he strives, by restraining all the senses, to attain to tranquillity of mind.

49. 'Then he reaches the first stage of contemplation, which is separated from desires, evil intentions and the like, and arises from discrimination and which involves reasoning [Cf. Yoga-sûtras 1, 42.].

50. 'And having obtained this ecstatic contemplation, and reasoning on various objects, the childish mind is carried away by the possession of the new unknown ecstasy.

51. 'With a tranquillity of this kind, which disdains desire or dislike, he reaches the world of Brahman, deceived by the delight.

52. 'But the wise man, knowing that these reasonings bewilder the mind, reaches a (second) stage of contemplation separate from this, which has its own pleasure and ecstasy.

53. 'And he who, carried away by this pleasure, sees no further distinction, obtains a dwelling full of light, even amongst the Âbhâsura deities.

54. 'But he who separates his mind from this pleasure and ecstasy, reaches the third stage of contemplation ecstatic but without pleasure.

55. 'Upon this stage some teachers make their stand, thinking that it is indeed liberation, since pleasure and pain have been left behind and there is no exercise of the intellect.

56. 'But he who, immersed in this ecstasy, strives not for a further distinction, obtains an ecstasy in common with the Subhakritsna deities.

57. 'But he who, having attained such a bliss desires it not but despises it, obtains the fourth stage of contemplation which is separate from all pleasure or pain.

58. 'The fruit of this contemplation which is on an equality with the Vrihatphala deities, those who investigate the great wisdom call the Vrihatphala [The great fruit.].

59. 'But rising beyond this contemplation, having seen the imperfections of all embodied souls, the wise man climbs to a yet higher wisdom in order to abolish all body.

60. 'Then, having abandoned this contemplation, being resolved to find a further distinction, he becomes as disgusted with form itself as he who knows the real is with pleasures.

61. 'First he makes use of all the apertures of his body; and next he exerts his will to experience a feeling of void space even in the solid parts [An obscure verse.].

62. 'But another wise man, having contracted his soul which is by nature extended everywhere like the ether,--as he gazes ever further on, detects a yet higher distinction.

63. 'Another one of those who are profoundly versed in the supreme Self, having abolished himself by himself, sees that nothing exists and is called a Nihilist.

64. 'Then like the Munga-reed's stalk from its sheath or the bird from its cage, the soul, escaped from the body, is declared to be "liberated."

65. 'This is that supreme Brahman, constant, eternal, and without distinctive signs; which the wise who know reality declare to be liberation.

66. 'Thus have I shown to thee the means and liberation; if thou hast understood and approved it, then act accordingly.

67. 'Gaigîshavya and Ganaka, and the aged Parâsara, by following this path, were liberated, and so were others who sought liberation.'

68. The prince having not accepted his words but having pondered them, filled with the force of his former arguments, thus made answer:

69. 'I have heard this thy doctrine, subtil and pre-eminently auspicious, but I hold that it cannot be final, because it does not teach us how to abandon this soul itself in the various bodies.

70. 'For I consider that the embodied soul, though freed from the evolutes and the evolvents, is still subject to the condition of birth and has the condition of a seed.

71. 'Even though the pure soul is declared to be "liberated," yet as long as the soul remains there can be no absolute abandonment of it.

72. 'If we abandon successively all this triad, yet "distinction" is still perceived; as long as the soul itself continues, there this triad continues in a subtil form.

73. 'It is held (by some) that this is liberation, because the "imperfections" are so attenuated, and the thinking power is inactive, and the term of existence is so prolonged;

74. 'But as for this supposed abandonment of the principle of egoism,--as long as the soul continues, there is no real abandonment of egoism.

75. 'The soul does not become free from qualities as long as it is not released from number and the rest; therefore, as long as there is no freedom from qualities, there is no liberation declared for it.

76. 'There is no real separation of the qualities and their subject; for fire cannot be conceived, apart from its form and heat.

77. 'Before the body there will be nothing embodied, so before the qualities there will be no subject; how, if it was originally free, could the soul ever become bound?

78. 'The body-knower (the soul) which is unembodied, must be either knowing or unknowing; if it is knowing, there must be some object to be known, and if there is this object, it is not liberated.

79. 'Or if the soul is declared to be unknowing, then of what use to you is this imagined soul? Even without such a soul, the existence of the absence of knowledge is notorious as, for instance, in a log of wood or a wall.

80. 'And since each successive abandonment is held to be still accompanied by qualities, I maintain that the absolute attainment of our end can only be found in the abandonment of everything.'

81. Thus did he remain unsatisfied after he had heard the doctrine of Arâda; then having decided it to be incomplete, he turned away.

82. Seeking to know the true distinction, he went to the hermitage of Udraka [or Rudraka.], but he gained no clear understanding from his treatment of the soul.

83. For the sage Udraka, having learned the inherent imperfections of the name and the thing named, took refuge in a theory beyond Nihilism, which maintained a name and a non-name.

84. And since even a name and a non-name were substrata, however subtil, he went even further still and found his restlessness set at rest in the idea that there is no named and no un-named;

85. And because the intellect rested there, not proceeding any further,--it became very subtil, and there was no such thing as un-named nor as named.

86. But because, even when it has reached this goal it yet returns again to the world, therefore the Bodhisattva, seeking something beyond, left Udraka.

87. Having quitted his hermitage, fully resolved in his purpose, and seeking final bliss, he next visited the hermitage, called a city, of the royal sage Gaya.

88. Then on the pure bank of the Nairanganâ the saint whose every effort was pure fixed his dwelling, bent as he was on a lonely habitation.

89. Five mendicants, desiring liberation, came up to him when they beheld him there, just as the objects of the senses come up to a percipient who has gained wealth and health by his previous merit.

90. Being honoured by these disciples who were dwelling in that family, as they bowed reverently with their bodies bent low in humility, as the mind is honoured by the restless senses,

91. And thinking, 'this may be the means of abolishing birth and death,' he at once commenced a series of difficult austerities by fasting.

92. For six years, vainly trying to attain merit*, he practised self-mortification, performing many rules of abstinence, hard for a man to carry out. [* This is the Tibetan reading (las•ni thob•bzhed lo drug•tu, 'wishing to obtain (the fruits of good) works, during six years.' H.W.).]

93. At the hours for eating, he, longing to cross the world whose farther shore is so difficult to reach, broke his vow with single jujube fruits, sesame seeds, and rice.

94. But the emaciation which was produced in his body by that asceticism, became positive fatness through the splendour which invested him.

95. Though thin, yet with his glory and his beauty unimpaired, he caused gladness to other eyes, as the autumnal moon in the beginning of her bright fortnight gladdens the lotuses.

96. Having only skin and bone remaining, with his fat, flesh and blood entirely wasted, yet, though diminished, he still shone with undiminished grandeur like the ocean.

97. Then the seer, having his body evidently emaciated to no purpose in a cruel self-mortification;--dreading continued existence, thus reflected in his longing to become a Buddha:

98. 'This is not the way to passionlessness, nor to perfect knowledge, nor to liberation; that was certainly the true way which I found at the root of the Gambu [The rose apple.] tree.

99. 'But that cannot be attained by one who has lost his strength,'--so resuming his care for his body, he next pondered thus, how best to increase his bodily vigour:

100. 'Wearied with hunger, thirst, and fatigue, with his mind no longer self-possessed through fatigue, how should one who is not absolutely calm reach the end which is to be attained by his mind?

101. 'True calm is properly obtained by the constant satisfaction of the senses; the mind's self-possession is only obtained by the senses being perfectly satisfied.

102. 'True meditation is produced in him whose mind is self-possessed and at rest,--to him whose thoughts are engaged in meditation the exercise of perfect contemplation begins at once.

103. 'By contemplation are obtained those conditions through which is eventually gained that supreme calm, undecaying, immortal state, which is so hard to be reached.'

104. Having thus resolved, 'this means is based upon eating food,' the wise seer of unbounded wisdom, having made up his mind to accept the continuance of life,

105. And having bathed, thin as he was, slowly came up the bank of the Nairanganâ, supported as by a hand by the trees on the shore, which bent down the ends of their branches in adoration.

106. Now at that time Nandabalâ, the daughter of the leader of the herdsmen, impelled by the gods, with a sudden joy risen in her heart, had just come near,

107. Her arm gay with a white shell, and wearing a dark blue woollen cloth, like the river Yamunâ, with its dark blue water and its wreath of foam.

108. She, having her joy increased by her faith, with her lotus-like eyes opened wide, bowed down before him and persuaded him to take some milk.

109. By partaking that food having made her obtain the full reward of her birth, he himself became capable of gaining the highest knowledge, all his six senses being now satisfied,

110. The seer, having his body now fully robust, together with his glorious fame, one beauty and one majesty being equally spread in both, shone like the ocean and the moon [Fame is often compared for its brightness to the moon.].

111. Thinking that he had returned to the world the five mendicants left him, as the five elements leave the wise soul when it is liberated.

112. Accompanied only by his own resolve, having fixed his mind on the attainment of perfect knowledge, he went to the root of an Asvattha tree [Ficus religiosa or pipul tree.], where the surface of the ground was covered with young grass.

113. Then Kâla [He is the Nâga king, Gâtaka I, 72.], the best of serpents, whose majesty was like the lord of elephants, having been awakened by the unparalleled sound of his feet, uttered this praise of the great sage, being sure that he was on the point of attaining perfect knowledge:

114. 'Inasmuch as the earth, pressed down by thy feet, O sage, resounds repeatedly, and inasmuch as thy splendour shines forth like the sun, thou shalt assuredly to-day enjoy the desired fruit.

115. 'Inasmuch as lines of birds fluttering in the sky offer thee reverential salutation, O lotus-eyed one, and inasmuch as gentle breezes blow in the sky, thou shalt certainly to-day become the Buddha.'

116. Being thus praised by the best of serpents, and having taken some pure grass from a grasscutter, he, having made his resolution, sat down to obtain perfect knowledge at the foot of the great holy tree.

117. Then he sat down on his hams in a posture, immovably firm and with his limbs gathered into a mass like a sleeping serpent's hood, exclaiming, 'I will not rise from this position on the earth until I have obtained my utmost aim.'

118. Then the dwellers in heaven burst into unequalled joy; the herds of beasts and the birds uttered no cry; the trees moved by the wind made no sound, when the holy one took his seat firm in his resolve.

BUDDHA-KARITA BOOK 13

1. When the great sage, sprung from a line of royal sages, sat down there with his soul fully resolved to obtain the highest knowledge, the whole world rejoiced; but Mâra, the enemy of the good law, was afraid.

2. He whom they call in the world Kâmadeva, the owner of the various weapons, the flower-arrowed, the lord of the course of desire,--it is he whom they also style Mâra the enemy of liberation.

3. His three sons, Confusion, Gaiety, and Pride, and his three daughters, Lust, Delight, and Thirst, asked of him the reason of his despondency, and he thus made answer unto them:

4. 'This sage, wearing the armour of resolution, and having drawn the arrow of wisdom with the barb of truth, sits yonder intending to conquer my realms,--hence is this despondency of my mind.

5. 'If he succeeds in overcoming me and proclaims to the world the path of final bliss, all this my realm will to-day become empty, as did that of the disembodied lord when he violated the rules of his station [This probably refers to the

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legend of Nimi-videha, see Vishnu Pur. IV. 5; it might be 'the king of the Videhas.' There may be also a secondary allusion to the legend of Ananga and Siva.]

6. 'While, therefore, he stands within my reach and while his spiritual eyesight is not yet attained, I will assail him to break his vow as the swollen might of a river assails a dam.'

7. Then having seized his flower-made bow and his five infatuating arrows, he drew near to the root of the Asvattha tree with his children, he the great disturber of the minds of living beings.

8. Having fixed his left hand on the end of the barb and playing with the arrow, Mâra thus addressed the calm seer as he sat on his seat, preparing to cross to the further side of the ocean of existence:

9. 'Up, up, O thou Kshatriya, afraid of death! follow thine own duty and abandon this law of liberation! and having conquered the lower worlds by thy arrows, proceed to gain the higher worlds of Indra.

10. 'That is a glorious path to travel, which has been followed by former leaders of men; this mendicant life is ill-suited for one born in the noble family of a royal sage to follow.

11. 'But if thou wilt not rise, strong in thy purpose,--then be firm if thou wilt and quit not thy resolve,--this arrow is uplifted by me,--it is the very one which was shot against Sûryaka*, the enemy of the fish. [* The sun, alluding to his amour with Vadavâ. (The lake is caled vipannamînam in Ritusamhâra I, 20.)]

12. 'So too, I think, when somewhat probed by this weapon, even the son of Idâ, the grandson of the moon, became mad; and Sâmtanu* also lost his self-control,--how much more then one of feebler powers now that the age has grown degenerate? [* probably Vikitravîrya the grandson of Samtanu, see Vishnu Pur. IV, 20]

13. 'Therefore quickly rise up and come to thyself,--for this arrow is ready, darting out its tongue, which I do not launch even against the kakravâka birds, tenderly attached as they are and well deserving the name of lovers.'

14. But when, even though thus addressed, the Sâkya saint unheeding did not change his posture, then Mâra discharged his arrow at him, setting in front of him his daughters and his sons.

15. But even when that arrow was shot he gave no heed and swerved not from his firmness; and Mâra, beholding him thus, sank down, and slowly thus spoke, full of thought:

16. 'He does not even notice that arrow by which the god Sambhu was pierced with love for the daughter of the mountain and shaken in his vow; can he be destitute of all feeling? is not this that very arrow?

17. 'He is not worthy of my flower-shaft, nor my arrow "gladdener," nor the sending of my daughter Rati (to tempt him); he deserves the alarms and rebukes and blows from all the gathered hosts of the demons.'

18 Then Mâra called to mind his own army, wishing to work the overthrow of the Sâkya saint; and his followers swarmed round, wearing different forms and carrying arrows, trees, darts, clubs, and swords in their hands;

19. Having the faces of boars, fishes, horses, asses [donkeys], and camels, of tigers, bears, lions, and elephants,--one-eyed, many-faced, three-headed,--with protuberant bellies and speckled bellies;

20. Blended with goats, with knees swollen like pots, armed with tusks and with claws, carrying headless trunks in their hands, and assuming many forms, with half-mutilated faces, and with monstrous mouths;

21. Copper-red, covered with red spots, bearing clubs in their hands, with yellow or smoke-coloured hair, with wreaths dangling down, with long pendulous ears like elephants, clothed in leather or wearing no clothes at all;

22. Having half their faces white or half their bodies green,--red and smoke-coloured, yellow and black,--with arms reaching out longer than a serpent, and with girdles jingling with rattling bells.

23. Some were as tall as palm-trees, carrying spears,--others were of the size of children with projecting teeth, others birds with the faces of rams, others with men's bodies and cats' faces;

24. With dishevelled hair, or with topknots, or half-bald, with rope-garments or with head-dress all in confusion,--with triumphant faces or frowning faces,--wasting the strength or fascinating the mind.

25. Some as they went leaped about wildly, others danced upon one another, some sported about in the sky, others went along on the tops of the trees.

26. One danced, shaking a trident, another made a crash, dragging a club, another bounded for joy like a bull, another blazed out flames from every hair.

27. Such were the troops of demons who encircled the root of the Bodhi tree on every side, eager to seize it and to destroy it, awaiting the command of their lord.

28. Beholding in the first half of the night that battle of Mâra and the bull of the Sâkya race, the heavens did not shine and the earth shook and the (ten) regions of space flashed flame and roared.

29. A wind of intense violence blew in all directions, the stars did not shine, the moon gave no light, and a deeper darkness of night spread around, and all the oceans were agitated.

30. The mountain deities [This might mean simply 'the rulers of the earth.'] and the Nâgas who honoured the Law, indignant at the attack on the saint, rolling their eyes in anger against Mâra, heaved deep sighs and opened their mouths wide.

31. But the god-sages, the Suddhâdhivâsas, being as it were absorbed in the perfect accomplishment of the good Law, felt only a pity for Mâra in their minds and through their absolute passionlessness were unruffled by anger.

32. When they saw the foot of the Bodhi tree crowded with that host of Mâra, intent on doing harm,--the sky was filled with the cry raised by all the virtuous beings who desired the world's liberation.

33. But the great sage [Buddha himself, viewing all this ab extra.] having beheld that army of Mâra thus engaged in an attack on the knower of the Law [The law of dharma.'], remained untroubled and suffered no perturbation, like a lion seated in the midst of oxen.

34. Then Mâra commanded his excited army of demons to terrify him; and forthwith that host resolved to break down his determination with their various powers.

35. Some with many tongues hanging out and shaking, with sharp-pointed savage teeth and eyes like the disk of the sun, with wide-yawning mouths and upright ears like spikes,--they stood round trying to frighten him.

36. Before these monsters standing there, so dreadful in form and disposition, the great sage remained unalarmed and untroubled, sporting with them as if they had been only rude children.

37. Then one of them, with his eyes rolling wildly, lifted up a club against him; but his arm with the club was instantly paralysed, as was Indra's of old with its thunderbolt.

38. Some, having lifted up stones and trees, found themselves unable to throw them against the sage; down they fell, with their trees and their stones, like the roots of the Vindhya shattered by the thunderbolt.

39. Others, leaping up into the sky, flung rocks, trees, and axes; these remained in the sky and did not fall down, like the many-coloured rays of the evening clouds.

40. Another hurled upon him a mass of blazing straw as big as a mountain-peak, which, as soon as it was thrown, while it hung poised in the sky, was shattered into a hundred fragments by the sage's power.

41. One, rising up like the sun in full splendour, rained down from the sky a great shower of live embers, as at the end of an aeon blazing Meru showers down the pulverised scoriae of the golden valleys.

42. But that shower of embers full of sparks, when scattered at the foot of the Bodhi tree, became a shower of red lotus-petals through the operation of the great saint's boundless charity.

43. But with all these various scorching assaults on his body and his mind, and all these missiles showered down upon him, the Sâkya saint did not in the least degree move from his posture, clasping firmly his resolution as a kinsman.

44. Then others spat out serpents from their mouths as from old decayed trunks of trees; but, as if held fast by a charm, near him they neither breathed nor discharged venom nor moved.

45. Others, having become great clouds, emitting lightning and uttering the fierce roar of thunderbolts, poured a shower of stones upon that tree,--but it turned to a pleasant shower of flowers.

46. Another set an arrow in his bow,--there it gleamed but it did not issue forth, like the anger which falls slack in the soul of an ill-tempered impotent man.

47. But five arrows shot by another stood motionless and fell not, through the saint's ruling guidance,--like the five senses of him who is well experienced in the course of worldly objects and is afraid of embodied existence.

48. Another, full of anger, rushed towards the great saint, having seized a club with a desire to smite [Crush.] him; but he fell powerless without finding an opportunity, like mankind in the presence of faults which cause failure.

49. But a woman named Meghakâlî, bearing a skull in her hand, in order to infatuate the mind of the sage, flitted about unsettled and stayed not in one spot, like the mind of the fickle student over the sacred texts.

50. Another, fixing a kindling eye, wished to burn him with the fire of his glance like a poisonous serpent; but he saw the sage and lo! he was not there, like the votary of pleasure when true happiness is pointed out to him [He had not eyes to see the object which he looked for.].

51. Another, lifting up a heavy rock, wearied himself to no purpose, having his efforts baffled,--like one who wishes to obtain by bodily fatigue that condition of supreme happiness which is only to be reached by meditation and knowledge.

52. Others, wearing the forms of hyenas and lions, uttered loudly fierce howls, which caused all beings round to quail with terror, as thinking that the heavens were smitten with a thunderbolt and were bursting.

53. Deer and elephants uttering cries of pain ran about or lay down,--in that night as if it were day screaming birds flew around disturbed in all directions.

54. But amidst all these various sounds which they made, although all living creatures were shaken, the saint trembled not nor quailed, like Garuda at the noise of crows.

55. The less the saint feared the frightful hosts of that multitude, the more did Mâra, the enemy of the righteous, continue his attacks in grief and anger.

56. Then some being of invisible shape, but of preeminent glory, standing in the heavens,--beholding Mâra thus malevolent against the seer,--addressed him in a loud voice, unruffled by enmity:

57. 'Take not on thyself, O Mâra, this vain fatigue,--throw aside thy malevolence and retire to peace [Or 'go to thy home.']; this sage cannot be shaken by thee any more than the mighty mountain Meru by the wind.

58. 'Even fire might lose its hot nature, water its fluidity, earth its steadiness, but never will he abandon his resolution, who has acquired his merit by a long course of actions through unnumbered aeons.

59. 'Such is that purpose of his, that heroic effort, that glorious strength, that compassion for all beings,--until he attains the highest wisdom, he will never rise from his seat, just as the sun does not rise, without dispelling the darkness.

60. 'One who rubs the two pieces of wood obtains the fire, one who digs the earth finds at last the water,--and to him in his perseverance there is nothing unattainable,--all things to him are reasonable and possible.

61. 'Pitying the world lying distressed amidst diseases and passions, he, the great physician, ought not to be hindered, who undergoes all his labours for the sake of the remedy knowledge.

62. 'He who toilsomely pursues the one good path, when all the world is carried away in devious tracks,--he the guide should not be disturbed, like a right informant when the caravan has lost its way.

63. 'He who is made a lamp of knowledge when all beings are lost in the great darkness,--it is not for a right-minded soul to try to quench him,--like a lamp kindled in the gloom of night.

64. 'He who, when he beholds the world drowned in the great flood of existence and unable to reach the further shore, strives to bring them safely across,--would any right-minded soul offer him wrong?

65. 'The tree of knowledge, whose roots go deep in firmness, and whose fibres are patience,--whose flowers are moral actions and whose branches are memory and thought,--and which gives out the law as its fruit,--surely when it is growing it should not be cut down.

66. 'Him whose one desire is to deliver mankind bound in soul by the fast snares of illusion,--thy wish to overthrow him is not worthy, wearied as he is for the sake of unloosing the bonds of the world.

67. 'To-day is the appointed period of all those actions which have been performed by him for the sake of knowledge,--he is now seated on this seat just as all the previous saints have sat.

68. 'This is the navel of the earth's surface, endued with all the highest glory; there is no other spot of the earth than this,--the home of contemplation, the realm of well-being.

69. 'Give not way, then, to grief but put on calm; let not thy greatness, O Mâra, be mixed with pride; it is not well to be confident,--fortune is unstable,--why dost thou accept a position on a tottering base?'

70. Having listened to his words, and having seen the unshaken firmness of the great saint, Mâra departed dispirited and broken in purpose with those very arrows by which, O world, thou art smitten in thy heart.

71. With their triumph at an end, their labour all fruitless, and all their stones, straw, and trees thrown away, that host of his fled in all directions, like some hostile army when its camp has been destroyed by the enemy.

72. When the flower-armed god [Mâra as identified with Kâmadeva, cf. ver. 2.] thus fled away vanquished with his hostile forces and the passionless sage remained victorious, having conquered all the power of darkness, the heavens shone out with the moon like a maiden with a smile, and a sweet-smelling shower of flowers fell down wet with dew.

73. When the wicked one thus fled vanquished, the different regions of the sky grew clear, the moon shone forth, showers of flowers fell down from the sky upon the earth, and the night gleamed out like a spotless maiden [or virtuous maiden.].

BUDDHA-KARITA BOOK 14

1. Then, having conquered the hosts of Mâra by his firmness and calmness, he the great master of meditation set himself to meditate, longing to know the supreme end.

2. And having attained the highest mastery in all kinds of meditation, he remembered in the first watch the continuous series of all his former births.

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3. 'In such a place I was so and so by name, and from thence I passed and came hither,' thus he remembered his thousands of births, experiencing each as it were over again.

4. And having remembered each birth and each death in all those various transmigrations, the compassionate one then felt compassion for all living beings.

5. Having wilfully rejected the good guides in this life and done all kinds of actions in various lives, this world of living beings rolls on helplessly, like a wheel.

6. As he thus remembered, to him in his strong self-control came the conviction, 'All existence is insubstantial, like the fruit of a plantain.'

7. When the second watch came, he, possessed of unequalled energy, received a pre-eminent divine sight, he the highest of all sight-gifted beings.

8. Then by that divine perfectly pure sight he beheld the whole world as in a spotless mirror.

9. As he saw the various transmigrations and rebirths of the various beings with their several lower or higher merits from their actions, compassion grew up more within him.

10. 'These living beings, under the influence of evil actions, pass into wretched worlds,--these others, under the influence of good actions, go forward in heaven.

11. 'The one, being born in a dreadful hell full of terrors, are miserably tortured, alas! by many kinds of suffering;

12. 'Some are made to drink molten iron of the colour of fire, others are lifted aloft screaming on a red-hot iron pillar;

13. 'Others are baked like flour, thrown with their heads downwards into iron jars; others are miserably burned in heaps of heated charcoal;

14. 'Some are devoured by fierce dreadful dogs with iron teeth, others by gloating crows with iron beaks and all made as it were of iron;

15. 'Some, wearied of being burned, long for cold shade; these enter like bound captives into a dark blue wood with swords for leaves.

16. 'Others having many arms are split like timber with axes, but even in that agony they do not die, being supported in their vital powers by their previous actions.

17. 'Whatever deed was done only to hinder pain with the hope that it might bring pleasure, its result is now experienced by these helpless victims as simple pain.

18. These who did something evil for the sake of pleasure and are now grievously pained,--does that old taste produce even an atom of pleasure to them now?

19. 'The wicked deed which was done by the wicked-hearted in glee,--its consequences are reaped by them in the fulness of time with cries.

20. 'If only evil doers could see the fruits of their actions, they would vomit hot blood as if they were smitten in a vital part.

21. 'And worse still than all these bodily tortures in hell seems to me the association of an intelligent man with the base.

22. 'Others also, through various actions arising from the spasmodic violence of their minds, are born miserable in the wombs of various beasts.

23. 'There the poor wretches are killed even in the sight of their kindred, for the sake of their flesh, their skin, their hair, or their teeth, or through hatred or for mere pleasure.

24. 'Even though powerless and helpless, oppressed by hunger, thirst, and fatigue, they are driven along as oxen and horses, their bodies wounded with goads.

25. 'They are driven along, when born as elephants, by weaker creatures than themselves for all their strength,--their heads tormented by the hook and their bodies kicked by foot and heel.

26. 'And with all these other miseries there is an especial misery arising from mutual enmity and from subjection to a master.

27. 'Air-dwellers are oppressed by air-dwellers, the denizens of water by the denizens of water, those that dwell on dry land are made to suffer by the dwellers on dry land in mutual hostility.

28. 'And others there are who, when born again, with their minds filled with envy, reap the miserable fruit of their actions in a world of the Pitris destitute of all light;

29. 'Having mouths as small as the eye of a needle and bellies as big as a mountain, these miserable wretches are tortured with the pains of hunger and thirst.

30. 'If a man only knew that such was the consequence of selfishness, he would always give to others even pieces of his own body like Sibi.

31. 'Rushing up filled with hope but held back by their former deeds, they try in vain to eat anything large, however impure.

32. 'Others, having found a hell in an impure lake called the womb, are born amongst men and there suffer anguish.

33. 'Others, ascetics, who have performed meritorious actions go to heaven; others, having attained widely extended empire, wander about on the earth [Heaven and earthly empire are alike transient.];

34. 'Others as Nâgas in the subterranean regions become the guardians of treasures,--they wander in the ocean of existence, receiving the fruits of their deeds.'

35. Having pondered all this, in the last watch he thus reflected, 'Alas for this whole world of living beings doomed to misery, all alike wandering astray!

36. 'They know not that all this universe, destitute of any real refuge, is born and decays through that existence which is the site of the skandhas and pain;

37. 'It dies and passes into a new state and then is born anew.' Then he reflected, 'What is that which is the necessary condition for old age and death?'

38. He saw that when there is birth, there is old age and death, then he pondered, 'What is that which is the necessary condition for a new birth?' *

39. 'He perceived that when there has been a (previous) existence [involving previous actions] there is a new birth; then he pondered, "What is that which is the necessary condition for a previous existence arising?"'

40. He perceived that where there has been the attachment to existence there arises a (previous) existence; then he pondered, 'What is that which is the necessary condition for the attachment to existence?'

41. Having ascertained this to be desire, he again meditated, and he next pondered, 'What is that which is the necessary condition for desire?'

42. He saw that desire arises where there is sensation, and he next pondered, 'What is that which is the necessary condition for sensation?'

43. He saw that sensation arises where there is contact [Sc. between the senses and their objects.], and he next pondered, 'What is that which is the necessary condition for contact?'

44. He saw that contact arises through the six organs of sense; he then pondered, 'Where do the six organs of sense arise?'

45. He reflected that these arise in the organism*, he then pondered, 'Where does the organism arise?' [* Nâmarûpa, sc. 'name and form,' i.e. the individual consisting of mind and body, as the embryo in the womb.]

46. He saw that the organism arises where there is incipient consciousness; he then pondered, 'Where does incipient consciousness arise?'

47. He reflected that incipient consciousness arises where there are the latent impressions left by former actions; and he next pondered, 'Where do the latent impressions arise?'

48. He reflected exhaustively that they arise in ignorance; thus did the great seer, the Bodhisattva, the lord of saints,

49. After reflecting, pondering, and meditating, finally determine, 'The latent impressions start into activity after they are once developed from ignorance.

50. 'Produced from the activity of the latent impressions incipient consciousness starts into action; (the activity) of the organism starts into action on having an experience of incipient consciousness;

51. 'The six organs of sense become active when produced in the organism; sensation is produced from the contact of the six organs (with their objects);

52. 'Desire starts into activity when produced from sensation; the attachment to existence springs from desire; from this attachment arises a (continued) existence;

53. 'Birth is produced where there has been a (continued) existence; and from birth arise old age, disease, and the rest; and scorched by the flame of old age and disease the world is devoured by death;

54. 'When it is thus scorched by the fire of death's anguish great pain arises; such verily is the origin of this great trunk of pain.'

55. Thus having ascertained it all, the great Being was perfectly illuminated; and having again meditated and pondered, he thus reflected,

56. 'When old age and disease are stopped, death also is stopped; and when birth is stopped, old age and disease are stopped;

57. 'When the action of existence is stopped, birth also is stopped; when the attachment to existence is stopped, the action of existence is stopped;

58. 'So too when desire is stopped, the attachment to existence is stopped; and with the stopping of sensation desire is no longer produced;

59. 'And when the contact of the six organs is stopped, sensation is no longer produced; and with the stopping of the six organs their contact (with their objects) is stopped;

60. 'And with the stopping of the organism the six organs are stopped; and with the stopping of incipient consciousness the organism is stopped;

61. 'And with the stopping of the latent impressions incipient consciousness is stopped; and with the stopping of ignorance the latent impressions have no longer any power.

62. 'Thus ignorance is declared to be the root of this great trunk of pain by all the wise; therefore it is to be stopped by those who seek liberation.

63. 'Therefore by the stopping of ignorance all the pains also of all existing beings are at once stopped and cease to act.'

64. The all-knowing Bodhisattva, the illuminated one, having thus determined, after again pondering and meditating thus came to his conclusion:

65. 'This is pain, this also is the origin of pain in the world of living beings; this also is the stopping of pain; this is that course which leads to its stopping.' So having determined he knew all as it really was.

66. Thus he, the holy one, sitting there on his seat of grass at the root of the tree, pondering by his own efforts attained at last perfect knowledge.

67. Then bursting the shell of ignorance, having gained all the various kinds of perfect intuition, he attained all the partial knowledge of alternatives which is included in perfect knowledge [perhaps wisdom and skill.].

68. He became the perfectly wise, the Bhagavat, the Arhat, the king of the Law, the Tathâgata, He who has attained the knowledge of all forms, the Lord of all science.

69. Having beheld all this, the spirits standing in heaven spoke one to another, 'Strew flowers on this All-wise Monarch of Saints.'

70. While other immortals exclaimed, who knew the course of action of the greatest among the former saints, 'Do not now strew flowers--no reason for it has been shown.'

71. Then the Buddha, mounted on a throne, up in the air to the height of seven palm-trees, addressed all those Nirmithâ Bodhisattvâh, illumining their minds,

72. 'Ho! ho! listen ye to the words of me who have now attained perfect knowledge; everything is achieved by meritorious works, therefore as long as existence lasts acquire merit.

73. 'Since I ever acted as liberal, pure-hearted, patient, skilful, devoted to meditation and wisdom,--by these meritorious works I became a Bodhisattva.

74. 'After accomplishing in due order the entire round of the preliminaries of perfect wisdom,--I have now attained that highest wisdom and I am become the All-wise Arhat and Gina.

75. 'My aspiration is thus fulfilled; this birth of mine has borne its fruit; the blessed and immortal knowledge which was attained by former Buddhas, is now mine.

76. 'As they through the good Law achieved the welfare of all beings, so also have I; all my sins are abolished, I am the destroyer of all pains.

77. 'Possessing a soul now of perfect purity, I urge all living beings to seek the abolition of worldly existence through the lamps of the Law.' Having worshipped him as he thus addressed them, those sons of the Ginas disappeared.

78. The gods then with exultation paid him worship and adoration with divine flowers; and all the world, when the great saint had become all-wise, was full of brightness.

79. Then the holy one descended and stood on his throne under the tree; there he passed seven days filled with the thought, 'I have here attained perfect wisdom.'

80. When the Bodhisattva had thus attained perfect knowledge, all beings became full of great happiness; and all the different universes were illumined by a great light.

81. The happy earth shook in six different ways like an overjoyed woman, and the Bodhisattvas, each dwelling in his own special abode, assembled and praised him.

82. 'There has arisen the greatest of all beings, the Omniscient All-wise Arhat--a lotus, unsoiled by the dust of passion, sprung up from the lake of knowledge;

83. 'A cloud bearing the water of patience, pouring forth the ambrosia of the good Law, fostering all the seeds of merit, and causing all the shoots of healing to grow;

84. 'A thunderbolt with a hundred edges, the vanquisher of Mâra, armed only with the weapon of patience; a gem fulfilling all desires, a tree of paradise, a jar of true good fortune [The bhadrakumbha was the golden jar (like a Jewish natla, a ritual handwash jar) filled with consecrated water, used especially at the inauguration of a king.], a cow that yields all that heart can wish;

85. 'A sun that destroys the darkness of delusion, a moon that takes away the scorching heat of the inherent sins of existence,--glory to thee, glory to thee, glory to thee, O Tathâgata;

86. 'Glory to thee, O Lord of the whole world, glory to thee, who hast gone through the ten (Balas*); glory to thee, O true hero amongst men, O Lord of righteousness, glory to thee!' [* The ten balas are ten kinds of spiritual knowledge peculiar to a Buddha; but 'the ten' may be the ten dharmas, see Childers.]

87. Thus having praised, honoured, and adored him, they each returned to their several homes, after making repeated reverential circumambulations, and recounting his eulogy.

88. Then the beings of the Kâmâvakara worlds, and the brilliant inhabitants of the Pure Abodes, the Brahmakâyika gods, and those sons of Mâra who favoured the side of truth [These terms are al explained in Childers' Dict. sattaloko. For the better-inclined sons of Mâra, cf. the dialogue between those of the right side and the left side before Mâra in the The Lalitavistara Sutra or The Story of Gautama Buddha 21, cf. also 23.],

89. The Paranirmitavasavarti beings, and the Nirmânaratayah; the Tushita beings, the Yâmas, the Trayastrimsad Devas, and the other rulers of worlds,

90. The deities who roam in the sky, those who roam on the earth or in forests, accompanying each their own king, came to the pavilion of the Bodhi tree,

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91. And having worshipped the Gina with forms of homage suitable to their respective positions, and having praised him with hymns adapted to their respective degrees of knowledge, they returned to their own homes.

BUDDHA-KARITA BOOK 15

1. Daily praised by all the various heavenly beings, the perfectly Wise One [Sambuddha.] thus passed that period of seven days which is designated 'the aliment of joy' * [* Prîtyâhâra; this book corresponds closely with The Lalitavistara Sutra or The Story of Gautama Buddha 24. Pratyahara or the 'withdrawal of the senses' is the 5th element among the 8 stages of Patanjali's Ashtanga Yoga, as mentioned in his classical work, Yoga Sutras of Patanjali composed in the 2nd century BC.].

2. He then passed the second week, while he was bathed with jars full of water by the heavenly beings, the Bodhisattvas and the rest.

3. Then having bathed in the four oceans and being seated on his throne, he passed the third week restraining his eyes from seeing.

4. In the fourth week, assuming many forms, he stood triumphant on his throne, having delivered a being who was ready to be converted.

5. A god named Samamtakusuma, bearing an offering of flowers, thus addressed with folded hands the great Buddha who was seated there:

6. 'What is the name, O holy one, of this meditation, engaged in which thou hast thus passed four whole weeks with joy, deeply pondering?'

7. 'This is designated, O divine being, "the array [Cf. also Lalitavistara Sutra 24.] of the aliment of great joy," like an inaugurated king, who has overcome his enemies and enjoys prosperity.'

8. Having said this, the saint possessing the ten pre-eminent powers, full of joy, continued, 'The former perfect Buddhas also did not leave the Bodhi tree.

9. 'Here the Klesas and the Mâras together with ignorance and the Âsravas have been conquered by me; and perfect wisdom has been attained able to deliver the world.

10. 'I too, resolved to follow the teaching of the former Buddhas, remained four whole weeks in the fulfilment of my inauguration.'

11. Then Mâra, utterly despondent in soul, thus addressed the Tathâgata, 'O holy one, be pleased to enter Nirvâna, thy desires are accomplished.'

12. 'I will first establish in perfect wisdom worlds as numerous as the sand, and then I will enter Nirvâna,' thus did the Buddha reply, and with a shriek Mâra went to his home.

13. Then the three daughters of Mâra, Lust, Thirst, and Delight, beholding their father with defeated face, approached the Tathâgata.

14. Lust, with a face like the moon and versed in all the arts of enchantment, tried to infatuate him by her descriptions of the pleasures of a householder's life.

15. 'Think, "If I abandon an emperor's happiness, with what paltry happiness shall I have to content myself? When success is lost, what shall I have to enjoy?"--and come and take refuge with us.

16. 'Else, in bitter repentance, thou wilt remember me hereafter, when thou art fallen.'--But he listened not to her words, closing his eyes in deep meditation like one who is sleepy.

17. Then Thirst, shameless like one distressed with thirst, thus addressed him who was free from all thirst: 'Fie, fie, thou hast abandoned thy family duties, thou hast fallen from all social obligations;

18. 'Without power no asceticism, sacrifice, or vow can be accomplished,--those great Rishis Brahman and the rest, because they were endowed with power, enjoy their present triumph.

19. 'Know me to be the power called Thirst [Sc. Desire.], and worship thirst accordingly; else I will clasp thee with all my might and fling away thy life.'

20. Motionless as one almost dead, he continued in meditation, remembering the former Buddhas; then Delight next tried to win him who was indeed hard to be won by evil deeds.

21. 'O holy one, I am Delight by name, fostering all practicable delights,--therefore making me the female mendicant's tutelary power, bring delight within thy reach.'

22. But whether flattered or threatened, whether she uttered curses or blessings, he remained absorbed in meditation, perfectly tranquil like one who has entered Nirvâna.

23. Then the three, with despondent faces, having retired together on one side, consulted with one another and came forward wearing the appearance of youthful beauty.

24. Folding their hands in reverence they thus addressed the Tathâgata, 'O holy one, receive us as religious mendicants, we are come to thy one refuge.

25. 'Having heard the fame of thy achievements, we, the daughters of Namuki, have come from the golden city, abandoning the life of a household.

26. 'We are desirous of repressing the teaching of our five hundred brothers,--we would be freed from a master, as thou thyself art freed from all passions.'

27. Having his mind continually guided by the conduct which leads to Nirvâna, and setting himself to remember the (former) Buddhas, he kept his eyes closed, absorbed in meditation.

28. Then again, having resolved on their new plan in concert, these enchantresses, assuming an older aspect, approached once more to delude him.

29. 'We have come here after wandering under the dismal avatâra of slaves,--thou art the avatâra of Buddha,--do thou establish us, mature, in the true Buddha doctrine.

30. 'We are women of older age, much to be pitied, bewildered by the fear of death,--we are therefore worthy to be established in that doctrine of Nirvâna which puts an end to all future births.'

31. These words of the enchantresses were heard by him, yet he felt no anger; but they all became the victims of old age, through the manifestation of his divine power.

32. Having beheld him plunged in meditation, immovable like the mountain Meru,--they turned away their faces and they could not retain their beauty.

33. Bending their feet, with decrepit limbs, they thus addressed their father: 'O father, do thou, the lord of the world of Desire, restore us to our own forms.'

34. His daughters were dear, but he had no power to alter the effect of the will of Buddha; then their father said to them, 'Go to the refuge which he gives.'

35. Then they in various guises, bent humbly at his feet, implored the perfect Buddha, 'Pardon our transgression, whose minds were intoxicated with youth.'

36. The teacher, that mine of Forgiveness, in silence restored them by his will; and having repeatedly worshipped and praised him they went joyfully to their home.

37. Then again Mâra, the lord of the world of Desire, lost to shame, taking the form of the head of a family, thus addressed him from the sky:

38. 'I worshipped thee long ago, foretelling that thou wouldest become a Buddha; and by my blessings thou hast to-day become Buddha Tathâgata.

39. 'As thou didst come from thine own kingdom, so now having returned as Tathâgata, with a name corresponding to the reality be a king Tathâgata.

40. 'Having gone to that royal station, do thou meditate on the three jewels, and cherish thy father and mother, and delight Yasodharâ,--

41. 'Possessed of a thousand sons, and able to deliver the world, be successively the supreme lord of every world from the Yâma heaven onwards [Mâra rules the four heavens from the Yâma to the Paranirmitavasavartin, Mahâbrahman the twenty Brahmalokas above them.].

42. 'Having become also the supreme lord of all Bodhisattvas, thou shalt attain Nirvâna; O wise seer, repair to the hermitage of Kapila in order to beget those sons.

43. 'As thou art the king of the Law, so shall thy sons also be all Tathâgatas, and all the activity and cessation of existence shall depend upon thee, O Gina.'

44. To him thus speaking the All-wise replied, Hear, O shameless one; thou art Mâra,--not the head of a clan, the upholder of the race of the Sâkyas.

45. 'A host like thee, though they came in myriads, could not harm me,--I will go to my kingdom gradually, I will bring the world to perfect happiness.

46. 'Thou art utterly vanquished, O Namuki, go back to thy own home; I will go hence to turn the wheel of the Law in Vârânasî.'

47. He, on hearing this command, saying with a deep sigh, 'Alas! I am crushed,' left him and went despondent and companionless through the sky to his home.

48. Then he, the conqueror of Mâra, rising from that throne, set forth to journey alone to the holy Vârânasî.

49. The heavens became covered with clouds when they saw the chief of saints, and the king of the Nâgas Mukilinda made a petition in reverential faith:

50. 'O holy one, thou art all-wise, there will be stormy weather for seven days,--wind, rain, and darkness,--dwell for the time in my abode.'

51. Though himself possessed of all supernatural power, the holy one thought of the world still involved in embodied existence, and sitting on that jewel-seat he remained absorbed in contemplation.

52. That king of the Nâgas there protected the Buddha, who is himself the source of all protection, from the rain, wind, and darkness, covering his body with his own hood.

53. When the seven days were past and the Nâga had paid his homage and was gone, the Gina proceeded to the bank of a river, near a forest of goat-herds [costus speciosus; Agapâlaka may here be a proper name.].

54. As the Sugata stayed there during the night, a deity, who bore the name of the Indian fig-tree, came up to him, illumining the spot where he was, and thus addressed him with folded hands:

55. 'The fig-tree was planted by me when I was born as a man, bearing the name of Buddha; and it has been fostered like the Bodhi tree in the hope of delivering myself from evil.

56. 'By the merit of that action I myself have been born in heaven; in kindness to me, O my lord, do thou dwell seven days in triumph here.'

57. 'So be it,' said the chief of all saints, the true Kalpa tree to grant the wishes of the faithful votary, and he stayed under the fig-tree, absorbed in contemplation, spreading lustre around like a full moon.

58. There he dwelt seven days; and then in a forest of Datura trees, sitting at the foot of a palm, he remained absorbed in contemplation.

59. Spending thus in different spots his weeks of meditation, day and night, the great saint, pondering and fasting, went on in his way, longing to accomplish the world's salvation.

60. Then two wealthy merchants from the land of Uttara Utkala*, named Trapusha and Bhallika, journeying with five hundred waggons, [* Northern Odisha, formerly Orissa, is an Indian state located in south-eastern coastal India which is through Ashoka's rock inscriptions better known as Kalinga. Emperor Ashoka of the Mauryan dynasty conquered Kalinga in the bloody Kalinga War in 261 BC, which was the eighth year of his reign. According to his own edicts, in that war about 100,000 people were killed, 150,000 were captured and more were affected. The resulting bloodshed and suffering in that war is said to have deeply affected Ashoka. He turned into a pacifist, embraced Buddhism, and made it a state philosophy or religion.]

61. Being freed from a sin which involved a birth as pretas, both joyfully worshipped Buddha with an offering of the three sweet substances [Sc. sugar, honey, and ghee.] and milk; and they obtained thereby auspicious blessings.

62. They obtained pieces of his nails and hairs for a Kaitya and they also received a prophecy of their future birth, and having received the additional promise, 'Ye shall also obtain a stone,' they then proceeded on their way elsewhere.

63. Then Buddha accepted alms in his bowl, offered by the goddess who dwelt in the Datura grove, and he blessed her with benedictions.

64. The Gina then blessed the four bowls as one, which were offered by the four Mahârâgas, and ate with pleasure the offering of milk.

65. Then one day the Gina ate there an Harîtakî fruit [Terminalia chebula.] which was offered to him by Sakra, and having planted the seed he caused it to grow to a tree.

66. The king of the Devas carried the news thereof joyfully to the Deva-heavens; and gods, men, and demons watered it with reverential circurnambulations.

67. On hearing the news of the Harîtakî seed, and remembering the whole history from first to last, a daughter of the gods named Bhadrikâ, who had been a cow in her former birth, came from heaven.

68. She, the daughter of the gods, smiling with her companions, thus addressed the Gina, bringing him a garment of rags, dependent from a bough:

69. 'I beg to bring to thy notice--what? O Buddha!--accept this garment of rags, by whose influence I am now a daughter of heaven named Bhadrikâ.'

70. 'By the further development of this merit thou shalt become a Bodhisattva'--uttering this blessing the Teacher accepted the rags.

71. Beholding the tattered rags, the gods, crowding in the sky, filled with woncer, and uttering cries of hi hi, flung down upon him garments of heavenly silk.

72. 'These are not fit for a religious mendicant,'--so saying, he did not accept even one of them,--only thinking in his calm apathy, 'these are fit for imperial pomp and a householder's luxury.'

73. He desired a stone slab and some water in order to wash the dirt away,--Sakra at that moment dug out a great river full of water;

74. And four stones are brought to him by the four Mahârâgas,--on one he himself sat, on another he performed the washing;

75. On another he performed the drying, and another he flung up into the sky; the stone as it flew up reached the blazing city* and astonished all the worlds.

76. After paying their worship in many ways, Trapusha and Bhallika duly raised an excellent Kaitya and they called it Silâgarbha*. [* The "Blazing City or Silâgarbha can probably identified as Sisupalgarh or Sisupalagada which is situated in Khurda District in Odisha, India and houses ruined fortifications. It is one of the largest and best preserved early historic fortifications in India, with the earliest occupation both inside and outside the later site´s northern rampart around 7th to 6th centuries BC. The temple city of Bhubaneswar stands near the ruins of Sisupalgarh, the ancient capital of the erstwhile province of Kalinga. Dhauli, near Bhubaneswar was the site of the Kalinga War (c. 262-261 BC), in which the Mauryan emperor Ashoka invaded and annexed Kalinga. One of the most complete edicts of the Mauryan Emperor, Ashoka, dating from between 272 and 236 BC,

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remains carved in rock, 8 kilometres (5.0 mi) to the southwest of the modern city.]

77. The ascetics of that neighbourhood paid their homage to the 'Three Stones' when they were made into a Kaitya, and the noble stream flowed widely known as the 'Holy River.'

78. Those who bathe and offer their worship in the holy river and reverence the Kaitya. of the three stones, become great-souled Bodhisattvas and obtain Nirvâna.

79. Then seated under a palm-tree the holy one pondered: 'The profound wisdom so hard to be understood is now known by me.

80. 'These sin-defiled worlds understand not this most excellent (Law), and the unenlightened shamelessly censure both me and my wisdom.

81. 'Shall I proclaim the Law? It is only produced by knowledge; having attained it thus in my lonely pondering, do I feel strong enough to deliver the world?'

82. Having remembered all that he had heard before, he again pondered; and resolving, 'I will explain it for the sake of delivering the world,'

83. Buddha, the chief of saints, absorbed in contemplation, shone forth, arousing the world, having emitted in the darkness of the night a light from the tuft of hair between his eyebrows.

84. When it became dawn, Brahman and the other gods, and the various rulers of the different worlds, besought Sugata to turn the wheel of the Law.

85. When the Gina by his silence uttered an assenting 'so be it,' they returned to their own abodes; and the lion of the Sâkyas also shone there, still remaining lost in contemplation.

86. Then the four divinities (of the Bodhi tree), Dharmaruki and the rest, addressed him, 'Where, O teacher of the world, will the holy one turn the wheel of the Law?'

87. 'In Vârânasî, in the Deer Park will I turn the wheel of the Law; seated in the fourth posture [Sc. the padmâsana (Yoga-sûtras II, 46), described as that in which the left foot is bent between the right leg and thigh, and the right foot is bent between the left foot and thigh.] O deities, I will deliver the world.'

88. There the holy one, the bull of the Sâkya race, pondered, 'For whom shall I first turn the wheel of the Law?'

89. The glorious one reflected that Rudraka [Udraka.] and Arâda were dead, and then he remembered those others, the five men united in a worthy society [Bhadravargîyâh, also called Pamkavargîyâh, cf. 12, 89.], who dwelt at Kâsî.

90. Then Buddha set out to go joyfully to Kâsî, manifesting as he went the manifold supernatural course of life of Magadha.

91. Having made a mendicant (whom he met) happy in the path of those who are illustrious through the Law, the glorious one went on, illumining the country which lies to the north of Gayâ.

92. (Having stayed) in the dwelling of the prince of the Nâgas, named Sudarsana, on the occurrence of night, he ate a morning meal consisting of the five kinds of ambrosia, and departed, gladdening him with his blessing.

93. Near Vanârâ [* Query Varanâ, one of the rivers from which Benares is said to derive its name,--or it might be a vilage near Vârânasî, the Anâla of the Lalitav. p. 528] he went under the shadow of a tree and there he established a poor Brâhman named Nandin in sacred knowledge.

94. In Vanârâ in a householder's dwelling he was lodged for the night; in the morning he partook of some milk and departed, having given his blessing.

95. In the village called Vumdadvira he lodged in the abode of a Yaksha named Vumda [This may be Kumda.], and in the morning after taking some milk and giving his blessing he departed.

96. Next was the garden named Rohitavastuka, and there the Nâga-king Kamandalu with his courtiers also worshipped him.

97. Having delivered various beings in every place, the compassionate saint journeyed on to Gandhapura and was worshipped there by the Yaksha Gandha.

98. When he arrived at the city Sârathi, the citizens volunteered to be charioteers in his service; thence he came to the Ganges, and he bade the ferryman cross.

99. 'Good man, convey me across the Ganges, may the seven blessings be thine.' 'I carry no one across unless he pays the fee.'

100. 'I have nothing, what shall I give?' So saying he went through the sky like the king of birds; and from that time Bimbisâra abolished the ferry-fee for all ascetics.

101. Then having entered Vârânasî, the Gina, illumining the city with his light, filled the minds of all the inhabitants of Kâsî with excessive interest.

102. In the Sankhamedhîya garden, the king of righteousness, absorbed in meditation, passed the night, gladdening like the moon all those who were astonished at his appearance.

103. The next day at the end of the second watch [thi yâmadvaye could mean at noon, courting the ahorâtra from sunrise to sunrise.], having gone his begging round collecting alms, he, the unequalled one, like Hari, proceeded to the Deer Park.

104. The five disciples united in a worthy society, when they beheld him, said to, one another, 'This is Gautama who has come hither, the ascetic who has abandoned his self-control.

105. 'He wanders about now, greedy [or irregular.], of impure soul, unstable and with his senses under no firm control, devoted to inquiries regarding the frying-pan.

106. 'We will not ask after his health, nor rise to meet him, nor address him, nor offer him a welcome, nor a seat, nor bid him enter into our dwelling.'

107. Having understood their agreement, with a smiling countenance, spreading light all around, Buddha advanced gradually nearer, holding his staff and his begging-pot.

108. Forgetful of their agreement, the five friends, under his constraining majesty, rose up like birds in their cages when scorched by fire.

109. Having taken his begging-bowl and staff, they gave him an arghya, and water for washing his feet and rinsing his mouth; and bowing reverentially they said to him, 'Honoured Sir, health to thee.'

110. 'Health in every respect is ours,--that wisdom has been attained which is so hard to be won,'--so saying, the holy one thus spoke to the five worthy associates:

111. 'But address me not as "worthy Sir," know that I am a Gina,--I have come to give the first wheel of the Law to you. Receive initiation from me,--ye shall obtain the place of Nirvâna.'

112. Then the five, pure in heart, begged leave to undertake his vow of a religious life; and the Buddha, touching their heads, received them into the mendicant order.

113. Then at the mendicants' respectful request the chief of saints bathed in the tank, and after eating ambrosia he reflected on the field of the Law.

114. Remembering that the Deer Park and the field of the Gina were there, he went joyfully with them and pointed out the sacred seats.

115. Having worshipped three seats, he desired to visit the fourth, and when the worthy disciples asked about it, the teacher thus addressed them:

116. 'These are the four seats of the Buddhas of the (present) Bhadra Age,--three Buddhas have passed therein, and I here am the fourth possessor of the ten powers.'

117. Having thus addressed them the glorious one bowed to that throne of the Law, decked with tapestries of cloth and silk, and having its stone inlaid with jewels, like a golden mountain, guarded by the kings of kings,

In the former fortnight of Âshâdha, on the day consecrated to the Regent of Jupiter, on the lunar day sacred to Vishnu, and on an auspicious conjunction, under the asterism Anurâdhâ [The seventeenth Nakshatra.], and in the muhûrta called the Victorious, in the night,--he took his stand on the throne.

118. The five worthy disciples stood in front, with joyful minds, paying their homage, and the son of Suddhodana performed that act of meditation which is called the Arouser of all worlds;

Brâhman and the other gods came surrounded by their attendants, summoned each from his own world; and Maitrîya* with the deities of the Tushita heaven came for the turning of the wheel of the Law. [* Is this the same as Maitreya, who is to be the future Buddha and who now awaits his time in the Tushita heaven.]

119. So too when the multitude of the sons of the Ginas and the Sûras gathered together from the ten directions of space, there came also the noble chief of the sons of the Ginas, named Dharmakakra [Ein Buddha der das Rad des Gesetzes in Bewegung setzt.], carrying the wheel of the Law;

With head reverentially bowed, having placed it, a mass of gold and jewels, before the Buddha and having worshipped him, he thus besought him, 'O thou lord of saints, turn the wheel of the Law as it has been done by (former) Sugatas.'

BUDDHA-KARITA BOOK 16

1. The omniscient lion of the Sâkyas then caused all the assembly, headed by those who belonged to the company of Maitrîya [Maitreya.], to turn the wheel of the Law.

2. 'Listen, O company belonging to Maitrîya [Nirata seems used here for virata.], ye who form one vast congregation,--as it was proclaimed by those past arch-saints, so is it now proclaimed by Me.

3. 'These are the two extremes, O mendicants, in the self-control of the religious ascetic,--the one which is devoted to the joys of desire, vulgar and common,

4. 'And the other which is tormented by the excessive pursuit of self-inflicted pain in the mortification of the soul's corruptions,--these are the two extremes of the religious ascetic, each devoted to that which is unworthy and useless.

5. 'These have nothing to do with true asceticism, renunciation of the world, or self-control, with true indifference or suppression of pain, or with any of the means of attaining deliverance.

6. 'They do not tend to the spiritual forms of knowledge, to wisdom, nor to Nirvâna; let him who is acquainted with the uselessness of inflicting pain and weariness on the body,

7. 'Who has lost his interest[1] in any pleasure or pain of a visible nature, or in the future, and who follows this middle Path for the good of the world,--

8. 'Let him, the Tathâgata, the teacher of the world, proclaim the good Law, beginning that manifestation of the good Law which consists of the (four) noble truths,

9. 'And let the Buddha proclaim the Path with its eight divisions. I too who am now the perfectly wise, and the Tathâgata in the world,

10. 'Will proclaim the noble Law, beginning with those sublime truths and the eightfold Path which is the means to attain perfect knowledge.

11. 'Instructing all the world I will show to it Nirvâna; those four noble truths* must be heard first and comprehended by the soul. [* dukkha (suffering, pain from wanting too much); samudaya (make yourself aware of that pain's origin; nirodha (ending by letting useless things go); magga (use the Noble Eightfold Path to train yourself in letting things go).]

12. 'That must be understood and thoroughly realised by the true students of wisdom, which has been known here by me, through the favour of all the Buddhas.

13. 'Having known the noble eightfold Path, and embraced it as realised with joy,--thus I declare to you the first means for the attainment of liberation.

14. 'Having thus commenced the noble truths, I will describe the true self-control; this noble truth is the best of all holy laws.

15. 'Walk as long as existence lasts, holding fast the noble eightfold Path,--this noble truth is the highest law for the attainment of true liberation.

16. 'Having pondered and held fast the noble eightfold Path, walk in self-control; others, not understanding this, idle talkers full of self-conceit,

17. 'Say according to their own will that merit is the cause of corporeal existence, others maintain that the soul must be preserved (after death) for its merit is the cause of liberation.

18. 'Some say that everything comes spontaneously; others that the consequence was produced before; others talk loudly that all also depends on a Divine Lord.

19. 'If merit and demerit are produced by the good and evil fortune of the soul, how is it that good fortune does not always come to all embodied beings (at last), even in the absence of merit?

20. 'How is the difference accounted for, which we see in form, riches, happiness, and the rest,--if there are no previous actions, how do good and evil arise here?

21. 'If karman is said to be the cause of our actions, who would imagine cogency in this assumption? If all the world is produced spontaneously, who then would talk of the ownership of actions?

22. 'If good is caused by good, then evil will be the cause of evil,--how then could liberation from existence be produced by difficult penances [i.e. viewed as an evil in themselves.]?

23. 'Others unwisely talk of Îsvara as a cause, how then is there not uniformity in the world if Îsvara be the uniformly acting cause?

24. 'Thus certain ignorant people, talking loudly "he is," "he is not,"--through the demerits of their false theories, are at last born wretched in the different hells.

25. 'Through the merits of good theories virtuous men, who understand noble knowledge, go to heavenly worlds, from their self-restraint as regards body, speech, and thought.

26. 'All those who are devoted to existence are tormented with the swarms of its evils, and being consumed by old age, diseases, and death, each one dies and is born again.

27. 'There are many wise men here who can discourse on the laws of coming into being; but there is not even one who knows how the cessation of being is produced.

28. 'This body composed of the five skandhas, and produced from the five elements, is all empty and without soul, and arises from the action of the chain of causation,

29. 'This chain of causation is the cause of coming into existence, and the cessation of the series thereof is the cause of the state of cessation.

30. 'He who knowing this desires to promote the good of the world, let him hold fast the chain of causation, with his mind fixed on wisdom;

31. 'Let him embrace the vow of self-denial for the sake of wisdom, and practise the four perfections [The four brahmavihârâh, sc. charity, compassion, sympathy with others' joy, and stoicism], and go through existence always doing good to all beings.

32. 'Then having become an Arhat and conquered all the wicked, even the hosts of Mâra, and attained the threefold wisdom, he shall enter Nirvâna.

33. 'Whosoever therefore has his mind indifferent and is void of all desire for any further form of existence, let him abolish one by one the several steps of the chain of causation.

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34. 'When these effects of the chain of causation are thus one by one put an end to, he at last, being free from all stain and substratum, will pass into a blissful Nirvâna.

35. 'Listen all of you for your own happiness, with your minds free from stain,--I will declare to you step by step this chain of causation.

36. 'The idea of ignorance is what gives the root to the huge poison-tree of mundane existence with its trunk of pain.

37. 'The impressions are caused by this, which produce [the acts of] the body, voice, and mind; and consciousness arises from these impressions, which produces as its development the five senses and the mind (or internal sense).

38. 'The organism [Literally: 'the name and the form,' the individual, consisting of mind and body.] which is sometimes called samgnâ or samdarsana*, springs from this; and from this arises the six organs of the senses, including mind. [* The Nâmarûpa is properly the organised body (rûpa) and the three mental skandhas, vedanâ, samgnâ, and the samskârâh, which are together called nâma.]

39. 'The association of the six organs with their objects is called "contact;" and the consciousness of these different contacts is called "sensation;"

40. 'By this is produced thirst, which is the desire of being troubled by worldly objects; "attachment to continued existence," arising from this, sets itself in action towards pleasure and the rest;

41. 'From attachment springs continued existence, which is sensual, possessing form, or formless; and from existence arises birth through a returning to various wombs.

42. 'On birth is dependent the series of old age, death, sorrow and the like; by putting a stop to ignorance and what follows from it, all these successively surcease.

43. 'This is the chain of causation, having many turns, and whose sphere of action is created by ignorance,--this is to be meditated upon by you who enjoy the calm of dwelling tranquilly in lonely woods;

'He who knows it thoroughly reaches at last to absolute tenuity; and having become thus attenuated he becomes blissfully extinct.

44. 'When you have thus learned this, in order to be freed from the bond of existence, you must cut down with all your efforts the root of pain, ignorance.

45. 'Then, being set free from the bonds of the prison-house of existence, as Arhats, possessing natures perfectly pure, you shall attain Nirvâna.'

46. Having heard this lesson preached by the chief of saints, all the mendicants comprehended the course and the cessation of embodied existence.

47. As these five ascetics listened to his words, their intellectual eye was purified for the attainment of perfect wisdom:

48. The eye of dharma was purified in six hundred millions of gods, and the eye of wisdom in eight hundred millions of Brahmans [The divine inhabitants of the Brahmalokas.].

49. The eye of dharma was purified in eighty thousand men, and even in all beings an ardour for the Law was made visible.

50. Everywhere all kinds of evil became tranquillised, and on every side an ardour for all that helps on the good Law manifested itself.

51. In the heavens everywhere the heavenly beings with troops of Apsarases uttered forth great shouts, Even so, O noble being of boundless energy!'

52. Then Maitreya addressed the holy one, 'O great mendicant, in what form has the wheel been turned by thee?'

53. Having heard this question asked by the great-souled Maitreya, the holy one looked at him and thus addressed him:

54. 'The profound subtil wheel of the Law, so hard to be seen, has been turned by me, into which the disputatious Tîrthikas cannot penetrate.

55. 'The wheel of the Law has been turned, which has no extension, no origin, no birth, no home, isolated, and free from matter;

56. 'Having many divisions, and not being without divisions, having no cause, and susceptible of no definition,--that wheel, which is described as possessing perfect equilibrium, has been proclaimed by the Buddha.

57. 'Everything subject to successive causation is like a delusion, a mirage, or a dream like the moon seen in water or an echo,--it lies stretched out on the surface, not to be extirpated, but not eternal.

58. 'The wheel of the Law has been described as that in which all false doctrines are extirpated; it is always like the pure ether, involving no doubts, ever bright.

59. 'The wheel of the Law is described as without end or middle, existing apart from "it is" or "it is not," separated from soul or soullessness.

60. 'The wheel of the Law has been here set forth, with a description according to its real nature,--as it has a limit and as it has not a limit, in its actual quantity and quality.

61. 'The wheel of the Law has been here set forth, described as possessing unique attributes, apart from the power of the eye and so too as regards the sense of hearing or smell;

62. 'Apart from the tongue, the touch, or the mind,--without soul or exertion; 'Such is this wheel of the Law which has been turned by me;

63. 'He makes wise all the ignorant,--therefore is he called the Buddha [Buddha seems here to identify himself with his Law.]; this knowledge of the laws of reality has been ascertained by me of myself,

64. 'Apart from all teaching by another, therefore is he called the self-existent,--having, all laws under his control, therefore is he called the lord of Law.

65. 'He knows what is right (naya) and wrong (anaya) in laws, therefore is he called Nâyaka; he teaches unnumbered beings as they become fit to be taught.

66. 'He has reached the furthest limit of instruction, therefore is he called Vinâyaka, from his pointing out the best of good paths to beings who have lost their way.

67. 'He has reached the furthest limit of good teaching, he is the guide to all the Law,--attracting all beings by his knowledge of all the means of conciliation;

68. 'He has passed through the forest of mundane existence, therefore is he called the Leader of the Caravan; the absolute ruler over all law, therefore he is the Gina, the lord of Law.

69. 'From his turning the wheel of the Law he is the lord of all the sovereigns of Law; the master-giver of the Law, the teacher, the master of the Law, the lord of the world;

70. 'He who has offered the sacrifice, accomplished his end, fulfilled his hope, achieved his success, the consoler, the loving regarder, the hero, the champion, the victorious one in conflict;

71. 'He has come out from all conflict, released himself and the releaser of all,--he is become the light of the world, the illuminator of the knowledge of true wisdom;

72. 'The dispeller of the darkness of ignorance, the illuminer of the great torch, the great physician, the great seer, the healer of all evils,

73. 'The extractor of the barb of evil from all those who are wounded by evil,--he who is possessed of all distinctive marks and adorned with all signs,

74. 'With his body and limbs every way perfect, of pure conduct and perfectly clear mind, possessed of the ten powers, having great fortitude, learned with all learning,

75. 'Endowed with all the independent states [Eighteen in all. See Burnouf, Lotus, pp. 648 etc.], he who has attained the great Yâna, the lord of all Dharma, the ruler, the monarch of all worlds, the sovereign,

76. 'The lord of all wisdom, the wise, the destroyer of the pride of all disputers, the omniscient, the Arhat, possessed of the perfect knowledge, the great Buddha, the lord of saints;

77. 'The victorious triumphant overthrower of the insolence and pride of the evil Mâra, the perfect Buddha, the Sugata, the wise one, he who brings the desired end to all beings,

78. 'Ever cognisant of past acts, never speaking falsely, a mine of perfect excellence and of all good qualities, the destroyer of all evil ways, the guide in all good ways,

79. 'The ruler of the world, the bearer of the world, the master of the world, the sovereign of the world, the teacher of the world, the preceptor of the world, he who brings to the world the Law, virtue, and its true end,

80. 'The fount of an ambrosia which quenches the scorching of the flame of all pain, and the powerful luminary which dries up the great ocean of all pain,

81. 'He who brings all virtue and all true wealth, the possessor of perfect excellence and all good qualities, the guide on the road of wisdom, he who shows the way to Nirvâna,

82. 'The Tathâgata, without stain, without attachment, without uncertainty.--This is the compendious declaration in the turning of the wheel of the Law.

83. 'A concise manifestation of a Tathâgata's qualities is now declared by me; for a Buddha's knowledge is endless, unlimited like the ether;

84. 'A narrator might spend a Kalpa, but the virtues of the Buddha would not come to an end,--thus by me has the multitude of the virtues of the Buddha been described.

85. 'Having heard this and welcomed it with joy go on ever in happiness; this, Sirs, is the Mahâyâna, the instrument of the Law of the perfect Buddha, which is the establisher of the welfare of all beings, set forth by all the Buddhas.

86. 'In order that this methodical arrangement of the Law may be always spread abroad, do you yourselves always proclaim it and hand it on.

87. 'Whosoever, Sirs, hears, sees, and welcomes with joy this methodical arrangement of the Law, which is a mine of happiness and prosperity, and honours it with folded hands,

88. 'Shall attain pre-eminent strength with a glorious form and limbs, and a retinue of the holy, and an intelligence of the highest reach,

89. 'And the happiness of perfect contemplation, with a deep calm[1] of uninterrupted bliss, with his senses in their highest perfection, and illuminated by unclouded knowledge.

90. 'He shall assuredly attain these eight preeminent perfections, who hears and sees this Law with a serene soul and worships it with folded hands.

91. 'Whosoever in the midst of the assembly shall gladly offer a pulpit to the high-minded teacher of the great Law,

92. 'That virtuous man shall assuredly attain the seat of the most excellent, and also the seat of a householder, and the throne of a universal monarch;

93. 'He shall also attain the throne of one of the guardian-spirits of the world, and also the firm throne of Sakra, and also the throne of the Vasavartinah gods, aye, and the supreme throne of Brahman;

94. 'And also with the permission of the Bodhisattva who is seated on the Bodhi throne he shall obtain the throne of a teacher of the good Law who has risen to perfect knowledge.

95. 'These eight seats shall the pure-souled one attain who offers joyfully a seat to him who proclaims the Law.

96. 'Whosoever with a believing heart, after examination, shall utter applause to the pious man who proclaims this carefully arranged Law;

97. 'Shall become a truthful and pure speaker, and one whose words are to be accepted,--one whose utterances are welcome and delightful, whose voice is sweet and gentle;

98. 'Having a voice like a Kalavinka bird [A kind of sparrow.], with a deep and sweet tone, having also a pure voice like Brahman's [Or 'having a voice of pure spiritual truth.], and a loud voice with a lion's sound.

99. 'He as an all-wise and truthful speaker shall obtain these eight excellences of speech, who utters applause to one who proclaims the good Law.

100. 'And whosoever, after writing this method of the Law in a book, shall set it in his house and always worship it and honour it with all reverential observances,

101. 'And uttering its praises shall hand the doctrine onward on every side, he, the very pious man, shall obtain a most excellent treasure of memory,

102. 'And a treasure of insight, and a treasure of prudence, and a treasure of good spells, and a treasure full of intelligence,

103. 'And a treasure of the highest wisdom, and the most excellent treasure of the Law, and a treasure of knowledge, the means to attain the excellences of the good Law,--

104. 'These eight treasures shall that high-minded man attain who joyfully writes this down and sets it in a sure place and always worships it.

105. 'And he who, himself holding this method of the Law in his mind, sets it going around him, shall obtain a complete supply for liberality for the good of the world,

106. 'Next, a complete supply of virtuous dispositions, a most excellent supply of sacred knowledge, a supply of perfect calmness, and that which is called spiritual insight,

107. A supply of the merit caused by the good Law, a most excellent supply of knowledge, a supply of boundless compassion, which is the means to attain the virtues of the perfect Buddha.

108. 'He, full of joy, shall obtain these eight supplies who himself holds this method of the Law in his mind and sets it going abroad.

109. 'And he who shall declare this method of the Law to others, shall have himself purified by great merit and shall be prosperous and possessed of supernatural powers.

110. 'He shall become a universal monarch, a king of kings, and even a ruler among the guardians of the world [Sc. the Mahârâgas of the first heaven], an Indra ruler of the gods [In the second Devaloka.], and even the ruler of the Yâma heaven [The third Devaloka.],

111. 'Yea, the ruler of the Tushita heaven, and the ruler of the Sunirmitâh, and the king of the Vasavartinah [These are the fourth, fifth and sixth Devalokas.], and the lord of the Brahmaloka;

112. 'Yea, Mahâbrahman, the highest of Sages, and in the end he shall even become a Buddha,--he, possessing a thoroughly pure intelligence, shall obtain these eight sublime rewards of merit.

113. 'And he who, thoroughly intent, with a believing heart, and filled with faith and devotion, shall hear this method of the Law as it is preached,

114. 'He shall have his intellect made perfectly pure, his mind calmed with boundless charity, and his soul happy with boundless compassion, and he shall be filled with boundless joy;

115. 'His soul constantly calm with universal indifference, rejoicing in the four contemplations, having reached the ecstatic state of absolute indifference, and with his senses abolished,

116. 'With the five transcendent faculties attained, and destroying the aggregate of latent impressions, he, endowed with supernatural powers, will attain the samadhi called Sûramgama.

117. 'He, having his soul pure, will attain these eight forms of absolute spotlessness; yea, wherever this method of the Law will prevail universally,

118. 'There will be no fear of any disturbance in the kingdom, no fear of evil-minded thieves, nor fear of evil beasts;

119. 'There will be no fear of plagues, famines, or wildernesses; and no alarm shall spread, caused by quarrel or war;

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120. 'There shall be no fear from the gods nor from Nâgas, Yakshas, and the like, nor shall there be anywhere any fear of any misfortune.

121. 'These eight fears shall not be found there where this Law extends; it is all briefly explained, my friends,--all that arises from holding it stedfastly.

122. 'A yet higher and most excellent merit is declared by all the Buddhas, even although all living beings were to practise complete self-restraint.

123. 'Let a man worship the Buddhas, honouring them always with faith; from that comes this preeminent merit, as is declared by the Ginas.

124. 'And whosoever joyfully worships a Pratyeka-Buddha, they shall become themselves Pratyeka-Buddhas; therefore let every one worship them.

125. 'There is pre-eminent merit from the worship of one Bodhisattva, and they shall all themselves become Bodhisattvas, let every one worship them;

126. 'Therefore there is pre-eminent merit from the worship of one Buddha,--they shall all themselves become Ginas, let every one devoutly worship them; and he too shall obtain this pre-eminent merit who hears this or causes others to hear it.

127. 'And whosoever in days when the good Law is abolished abandons love for his own body and life and proclaims day and night these good words,--pre-eminent is his merit from this.

128. 'He who wishes to worship constantly the lords of saints, the Pratyeka-Buddhas and the Arhats, let him resolutely produce in his mind the idea of true wisdom and proclaim these good words and the Law.

129. 'This jewel of all good doctrines, which is uttered by the Buddhas for the good of all beings,--even one who lives in a house will be a Tathâgata for it, where this good doctrine prevails.

130. 'He obtains a glorious and endless splendour who teaches even one word thereof; he will not miss one consonant nor the meaning who gives this Sûtra to others.

131. 'He is the best of all guides of men, no other being is like unto him; he is like a jewel, of imperishable glory, who hears this Law with a pure heart.

132. 'Therefore let those who are endowed with lofty ambitions, always hear this Law which causes transcendent merit; let them hear it and gladly welcome it and lay it up in their minds and continually worship the three jewels with faith.'

BUDDHA-KARITA BOOK 17.

1. When the heavenly beings with Brahman at their head and the Bodhisattvas intent on self-mortification heard this glorification of the Law uttered by the lion of the Sâkyas, they were desirous to hear again this which is so difficult to find, and they went to the city and worshipped him, propitiating his favour; in the dark fortnight of the month Âshadha on the lunar day sacred to Agni, with the moon in the constellation called Karna and on an auspicious day,--he, remembering the Buddha worlds and being desirous to save all creatures, set off on his journey, longing for disciples with his father at their head.

2. The associated Brâmans, accompanied by the inhabitants of Kâsî who had gone to the Deer Park, and the mendicants to the number of thirty, were rendered resplendent by the chief of saints; Kâsîkâ the harlot of Kâsî went to the heaven of the gods, after she had worshipped the Gina and attached her sons to the service of the glorious one; the conqueror of the world then made thirty rejoicing officiating priests of Kâsî his disciples, initiating them in the course of perfect wisdom; and the son of Maitrâyanî and Maitra, the preceptor of hosts of the twice-born, named Pûrna, obtained true wisdom from the chief of saints and became a noble mendicant.

3. The priest of the lord of the city Mârakata, a Brâhman named Agaya, and his son Nâlaka, well versed in sacred learning and full of answers to questions, and an ascetic named Dhriti, dwelling in the Vindhya, and an invincible Brâhman ascetic Samgayin with his disciples,--these all, dwellers in the Vindhya,--when they came to him for refuge, the chief of saints initiated as mendicants, touching them with his hand bearing the mark of a wheel; moreover the Nâga Elapatra came to the abode of the best of saints, and stood resplendent there, perfectly calm in his demeanour and worshipping him with his rosaries.

4. There was also a female ascetic of Mathurâ named Trikavyamgikâ, and a Brâhman named Vidyâkara,--their son was named Sabhya, a dweller in the district called Svetabâlârka, a wise ascetic, proud of his wisdom,--he went into the Deer Park, wearing the aspect of one perfectly illumined, and desiring the highest wisdom from the chief of mendicants; seeking from the omniscient admission to the noble life, he became renowned as the mendicant Sabhya in all assemblies.

5. The son of Lalitâprabudhâ, born after worship paid to the best of trees on the bank of the stream Varanâ,--renowned in the world as Yasoda,--wise from the besprinkling of the ambrosia of the words of the king of heaven,--remembering all former discourses which he had heard, came with his friends to the wood in the Deer Park, accompanied by his glory; and the holy one, touching his head with his hand, made him the guru of the chief Bhikshus.

6. The glorious one, named the great Buddha, proceeded with the mendicants in an auspicious company, and having manifested his triumphal march for the salvation of the world, entered the city of Kâsî. A poor Brâhman, named Svastika, a native of Vârânasî, obtained riches from heaven through the favour of the glorious one, and having received adoption as a slave in the Gina faith, became a mendicant and an Arhat at the hands of the great teacher.

7. Blessing the king of Kâsî [Kâsikâ.] Divodâsa and the citizens with gold, corn, and other riches,--taking up his abode in different places in forests, caves, mountains, he at last came in his rambles to the river Gâhnavî. The boatman who conveyed the Gina across the Ganges worshipped him and offered him milk with due services of reverence, and became a mendicant through his favour and by the Gina's command found a dwelling in the Buddha's hermitage in the grove.

8. The glorious one, after he had crossed the Ganges, went to the hermitage of Kâsyapa at Gayâ, called Uruvilva; there, having shown his supernatural power, he received as Bhikshus the Kâsyapas, Uruvilva, and others, with more than a thousand of their disciples, having endued them forthwith with all kinds of spiritual knowledge and with the power to abandon all worldly action; then accompanied by three hundred disciples Upasena at the command of his maternal uncle became an ascetic.

9. The glorious one made seven hundred ascetics enter Nirvâna who dwelt in the wood Dharma; and the lord of the Law also caused the daughters of Namdika, Sugâtâ and others, who dwelt in the village, to become the first female ascetics; and in the city of Râgageha, having enlightened in right action and in activity the king Bimbisâra, the monarch, who is to be considered as the elder-born in perfect knowledge, he made him who was the devoted follower of the Buddha, a Bodhisattva and a Sakridâgâmin.

10. In another village named Nâradya there was a Brâhman Dharmapâlin and a Brâhman woman named Sâlyâ; their seventh son named Upatishya, who had studied the entire Veda, became a Buddhist mendicant; so too there was a great pandit, a Brâhman named Dhânyâyana, who dwelt in the village Kolata, and his son;-him and the son of Sâlî named Maudgalya the great saint received as the best of Bhikshus, pre-eminent disciples.

11. Next he ordained as a mendicant the keen-witted maternal uncle of Sâliputra [Sc. Sâriputra.], Dîrghânakha by name; then travelling in the realm of Magadha, the glorious one, being honoured by the inhabitants with alms and other signs of devotion, and delivering them from evil, dwelt in the convent given by the seer Geta, attracting to himself many of the monks; and after ordaining as a mendicant a native of Mithilâ, named Ânanda, with his companions, he dwelt there a year.

12. The Brâhman named Kâsyapa, a very Kuvera for wealth, and a master in all the sciences connected with the Veda, an inhabitant of Râgageha, being pure-minded and wearing only one garment, left all his kindred and came seeking wisdom in asceticism;--when this noble youth came to the Bodhi tree and practised for six years a penance hard to carry out, then he paid worship to the chief of saints who had attained perfect knowledge, and he became the well-known Kâsyapa, the chief of ascetics, the foremost of the Arhats.

13. The saint Naradatta, dwelling on Mount Himavat, remembering the wholesome words of his maternal uncle, came to the Sugata with his disciples, and the holy one admitted them all into the order of the Gina; then a woman named Sakti, and another named Kamalâ, pre-eminent in Brâhmanical power, came to the Sugata and fell down at his feet, and then standing before him they were received by the saint, and made happy with the staff and begging-bowl.

14. Seven hundred disciples of the ascetic Rudraka, remembering the noble words of their teacher, becoming mendicants according to the doctrine of the Gina, flocked round him paying him their homage and carrying their staves; next a seer, named Raivata, joyfully uttering his praises, having finished his course of discipline, became a mendicant, full of devotion to the guru, counting gold and clay as the same, well versed in sacred spells and meditation, and able to counteract the three kinds of poisons and other fatal harms.

15. Having received as followers and disciples certain householders of Srâvastî, Pûrna and others, and given them alms-vessels,--and having made many poor wretches as rich as Kuvera, and maimed persons with all their limbs perfect, and paupers and orphans affluent,--and having proclaimed the Law, and dwelt two years in the forest Getaka delivering the suppliants, the glorious one, having taught again the saint Geta, and established the Bhikshu Pûrna, once more proceeded on his way.

16. Then the glorious one went on, protecting the merchant-caravans by the stores of his own treasures from the troops of robbers, next he went into the neighbourhood of Râgageha wandering with his begging-vessel which had been given by the merchants. In the wood called Venu, filled with Sâl trees, he ate an offering of food prepared by the enriched robbers, and he received as mendicants five hundred of them and gave them their begging-vessels and the other requisites.

17. At the invitation of Buddha's son, Suddhodana gave this message to his envoys Khandaka and Udâyin, 'Thy father and mother, some noble ladies, headed by Yasodrih, and this my young son have come in the hope of seeing thee, under the idea that thou art devoted to the world's salvation; what shall I tell them?' They two went, and reverentially saluting the Buddha in the vihâra called Venu, they told him the message with their eyes filled with tears.

18. Khandaka and Udâyin accepted his counsel, and, being delighted at the mighty power of Buddha, became great ascetics; and the great Gina took them with him and proceeded from that wood with the disciples, the mendicants, and the saints. Going on from place to place, and dwelling in each for a while and conferring deliverance and confirming the disciples, the mendicants, and the Arhats, he at last reached the wood Nigrodha, illuminating the district by his glory, shaking the earth and putting an end to misery.

19. [Several phrases are obscure in this verse.] He again stirred up his followers in the doctrine of the Buddha, and then went on with the crowds of inhabitants gathered round him, instructing his shaven mendicant-followers, as they begged alms, while the gods brought his precepts to their minds. He forbade the mendicants to enter the city and went to Râgageha himself with his own followers; and then the king who dwells apart from all doubt, the Gina, who knows at once all the history of every Bhikshu, instructed the ascetic (Udâyin) in proclaiming wisdom to others.

20. In accordance with the Gina's command that prince of ascetics, Udâyin, went to the city of Kapila; there he, the lord of all possessors of supernatural powers, instructed the king as he stood in the assembly in the boon of the eight hundred powers; and coming down from heaven he uttered to the king and his court a discourse on the four sublime truths, and the king, with his mind enlightened, having worshipped him, held intercourse with him, attended by his courtiers, offering every form of homage.

21. The monarch, rejoiced at the sight of the Gina, praised his feet, worshipping them with eight hundred presents; and the Sugata departed, and made manifest in the sky in his one person a form comprehending the universe; first as fire, then ambrosia, then the king of beasts, an elephant, the king of horses, the king of peacocks [Sikhirât might mean 'the king of flames,'], the king of birds, Maghavan, the ten rulers of the world headed by Yama, the sun, the moon, the hosts of stars, Brâhman, Vishnu, and Siva.

22. The sons of Diti, the four (Mahârâgas) with Dhritarâshtra at their head, the hosts of Yogins with the king Drumasiddha, the (heavenly) ascetics, the Vasus, the Manus; the sons of the forest, the creatures of the waters headed by the makara, the birds headed by Garuda, and all the kings in the different worlds with the lord of the Tushita heaven at their head, and those in the world of the dead the domain of Bali,--whatever is conspicuous in the universe the holy one created it all, becoming the universal one.

23. When the king had thus been instructed, the lord of saints went to the Satya heaven, and then from the sky, seated on his own throne, he proclaimed the twelvefold Law; then he restored Gautamî and Anugopâ and many other women to sight, and filled all the assembled people with joy; and established others in Nirvâna and in the Law. Then Suddhodana full of joy invited him to a feast given to the whole assembly, and he accepted it by his silence.

24. The lion of the Sâkyas, having been thus invited, went with the congregation of his followers to the place, after having shown a mighty miracle. Then the earth shook, a shower of flowers fell, the various quarters of space became illumined and a wind blew; and the heavenly beings, Brahman, Siva, Vishnu, Indra, Yama, Varuna, Kuvera, the lord of Bhûtas, the lord of the winds, Nirriti, Fire with his seven flames, and the rest, stood resting their feet on the serpent Sesha, and followed leading the gods and gandharvas in their dance in the sky.

25. Making millions of ascetics, disciples, Arhats, sages, mendicants, and fasters,--and delivering from their ills the blind, the humpbacked, the lame, the insane, the maimed as well as the destitute,--and having established many persons of the fourth caste in the true activity and inaction and in the three yânas, with the four samgrahas and the eight amgas [The eightfold path of Buddhhist morality.],--going on from place to place, delivering, and confirming the Bhikshus, in the twelfth year he went to his own city.

26. Day by day confirming the Bhikshus, and providing food for the congregation, in an auspicious moment he made a journey to Lumbinî (Buddha's place of birth in Nepal.] with the Bhikshus and the citizens, Brahman and Rudra being at their head, with great triumph and noise of musical instruments. There he saw the holy fig-tree and he stood by it remembering his birth, with a smile; and rays of light streamed from his mouth and went forth illumining the earth;

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and he uttered a discourse to the goddess of the wood, giving her the serenity of faith.

27. Having come to the Lumbinî fig-tree he spoke to Paurvikâ the daughter of Râhula, and Gopikâ the daughter of Maitra, and his own Saudhanî Kausikâ; and he uttered an affectionate discourse honouring his mother by the tank Vasatya; then speaking with Ekasâmgî the daughter of Mahâkautuka and Sautasomî in the wood Nigrodha, he received into the community some members of his own family, headed by Sundarânanda, and one hundred and seven citizens.

28. Having declared the glory of the Law of Buddha, he built a round Stûpa and gave a royal coronation to Saunu [Probably the grandson of the king.], sending him into the wood pre-eminent with the holiest saints and Kaityas, and bidding him worship the sacred relics; and having commanded Râhula, Gautamî, and the other women led by Gopikâ, with staves in their hands, as shaven ascetics, to practise the vow of fasting called ahoratra , and after that the Lakshakaitya ceremony and then the rite called Sringabheri, and that called Vasumdhârikâ.

29. The Ashtasâhasrikâ of sacred authority,--the Geya and the Gâthâ, the Nidâna and the Avadâna, and that which is called the Sûtra of the great Yâna, the Vyâkara [More properly Vyâkarana.] and the Ityukta, the Gâtaka, the work called Vaipulya, the Adbhuta and the Upadesa, and also the Udânaka as the twelfth.--Teaching (these sacred texts) and making current the Yâna for common disciples, that for Pratyeka Buddhas, and the Mahâyâna, and proclaiming them all around, accompanied by thirteen and a half bodies of mendicants, the conqueror of the world went out of the city of Kapila.

30. After displaying miracles in the city of Kapila, and having paid honour to his father, and having made Râhula and his companions Arhats, and also the Bhikshunîs with Gautamî and Gopikâ at their head, and various women of all the four castes; and having established Saunu [Or Saunava, see sloka 28.] on his imperial throne, and the people in the Gina doctrine, and having abolished poverty and darkness, and then remembering his mother, he set forth, ever worshipping Svayambhû, towards the northern region with Brahman, Vishnu, and Siva as mendicants in his train.

31. The glory of the Avadâna of the birth of the lion of the Sâkyas has thus been described by me at length and yet very concisely; it must be corrected by pandits wherever anything is omitted,--my childish speech is not to be laughed at, but to be listened to with pleasure.

Whatever virtue may have acquired from describing the king of the Law, the deliverer from mundane existence, who assumes all forms,--may it become a store of merit for the production of right activity and inactivity in others, and for the diffusion of delight among the six orders of beings [The shad gatayas, the 'six paths,' are gods, men, Asuras, etc., Pretas, brutes, and the inhabitants of the different hells.]. Thus ends the seventeenth sarga, called the Progress to Lumbinî, in the great poem made by Asvaghosha, the Buddha-karita [C adds here on the last page the following lines: 'The poem about Buddha, very difficult to obtain, was written by Amritânanda in the year indicated by a cipher, the arrows (of Kâma), and a nine [=Newâr Samvat 950, or A.D. 1830], in the dark fortnight of the month Mârgasîrsha (Nov.-Dec.) and on the day ruled by the seventh astrological house Smara. Having searched for them everywhere and not found them, four sargas have been made by me,--the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth.' The beginning of another version of these lines is given in P, but D omits them. The name of Amritânanda occurs in Râgendralâl Mitra's Nepalese Buddhist Literature as the author of three,--two in Sanskrit, the Khando*mritalatâ (p. 79), the Kalyânapamkavimsatikâ (p. 99), translated in Wilson's Works, vol. ii, and the Vîrakusâvadâna (p. 274) in Newârî. Compare Cowell and Eggeling's Catalogue, pp. 18, 24; in p. 18 he is associated with the date N.S. 916 (A.D. 1796).].

THE LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER

The Larger / Longer Mahayana Sutra
(The Larger Sutra of the Mahayana School)
Source: Sacred Books of the East, Vol 49
Translation: Friedrich Max Müller, 1894
Estimated Range of Dating: 50 B.C. - 100 A.D

(The Larger [or Longer] Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra (or Infinite Life Sutra) is one of the two Indian Mahayana sutras which describe the pure land of Amitābha. Together with the Shorter Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra, this text is highly influential in China and Japan where it is revered by the Jōdo-shū and Jōdo Shinshū congregations.

Some scholars believe that the Longer Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra was compiled in the age of the Kushan Empire in the first and second centuries by an order of Mahīśāsaka monastics who flourished in the Gandhāra region. It is likely that the longer Sukhāvatīvyūha owed greatly to the Lokottaravāda sect as well for its compilation, and in this sūtra there are many elements in common with the Mahāvastu. The earliest of these translations show traces of having been translated from the Gāndhārī language, a prakrit used in the Northwest. It is also known that manuscripts in the Kharoṣṭhī script existed in China during this period.

Traditionally the Longer Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra is believed to have been translated twelve times from the original Sanskrit into Chinese from 147 to 713 AD. Of those, only five translations are extant in the Chinese Buddhist canon. The earliest of the five translations is attributed to Zhi Qian, who came from the Kuṣāṇa kingdom to Luoyang during the decline of the Han dynasty and translated the sūtra sometime between 223 and 253 AD. This translation is known most commonly as Dà Āmítuófó Jīng, or "Larger Sūtra of the Amitābha Buddha." This translation has also been attributed to the earlier Han period Kuṣāṇa translator Lokakṣema, who arrived in Luoyang in 164 AD and translated works through 186 AD.

The most well-known version of the Longer Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra is the two-fascicle Fó Shuō Wúliángshòu Jīng, which translates to "The Buddha Speaks of the Infinite Life Sūtra." This translation is traditionally attributed to the Indian Buddhist monk Saṅghavarman (Chinese: Kāng Sēngkǎi), who translated the text in 252 AD at White Horse Temple in Luoyang, during the Three Kingdoms Period. However, the common opinion now is that it was more likely a work of the later Indian monk and translator Buddhabhadra (359-429 AD). In addition to the Chinese translations, the Longer Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra is also extant in Sanskrit.

In the Longer Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra, the Buddha begins by describing to his attendant Ānanda a past life of the buddha Amitābha. He states that in a past life, Amitābha was once a king who renounced his kingdom and became a bodhisattva monk named Dharmākara ("Dharma Storehouse"). Under the guidance of the buddha Lokeśvararāja ("World Sovereign King"), innumerable buddha-lands throughout the ten directions were revealed to him. After meditating for five eons as a bodhisattva, he then made a great series of vows to save all sentient beings, and through his great merit, created the realm of Sukhāvatī ("Ultimate Bliss"). This land of Sukhāvatī would later come to be known as a pure land in Chinese translation.

The sutra describes in great detail Sukhāvatī and its inhabitants, and how they are able to attain rebirth there. The text also provides a detailed account of the various levels and beings in the Mahāyāna Buddhist cosmology.

The sutra also contains the forty-eight vows of Amitābha to save all sentient beings. The eighteenth vow is among the most important as it forms a basic tenet of Pure Land Buddhism. This vow states that if a sentient being makes even ten recitations of the Amitābha's name (nianfo) they will attain certain rebirth into Amitābha's pure land.

Lastly the sutra shows the Buddha discoursing at length to the future buddha, Maitreya, describing the various forms of evil that Maitreya must avoid to achieve his goal of becoming a buddha as well as other admonitions and advice.)

DESCRIPTION OF SUKHÂVATÎ, THE LAND OF BLISS.

OM. Adoration to the Three Treasures! Om. Adoration to all the glorious Buddhas and Bodhisattvas! Adoration to all Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Âryas, Srâvakas, and Pratyekabuddhas, past, present, and to come, who dwell in the unlimited and endless Lokâdhatus of the ten quarters! Adoration to Amitâbha! Adoration to him whose soul is endowed with incomprehensible virtues!

Adoration to Amitâbha, to the Gina, to thee, O Muni!
I go to Sukhâvatî through thy compassion also;
To Sukhâvatî, with its groves, resplendent with gold,
The delightful, adorned with the sons of Sugata,--
I go to it, which is full of many jewels and treasures;
And the refuge of thee, the famous and wise.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 1

Thus it was heard by me. At one time the Bhagavat [The Blessed, i.e. Buddha Sâkyamuni.] dwelt in Râgagriha, on the mountain Gridhrakûta, with a large assembly of Bhikshus, with thirty-two thousands of Bhikshus, all holy (arhat), free from frailties and cares, who had performed their religious duties, whose thoughts had been thoroughly freed through perfect knowledge, with inquiring thoughts, who had broken the fetters of existence, who had obtained their desires, who had conquered, who had achieved the highest self-restraint, whose thoughts and whose knowledge were unfettered, Mahânâgas (great heroes), possessed of the six kinds of knowledge, self-controlled, meditating on the eight kinds of salvation, possessed of the powers, wise in wisdom, elders, great disciples, viz. 1. Âgnâtakaundinya, 2. Asvagit, 3. Vâshpa, 4. Mahânâman, 5. Bhadragit, 6.Yasodeva, 7. Vimala, 8. Subâhu, 9. Pûrna Maitrâyanîputra [These two names refer to one and the same person.], 10. Uruvilvâ-kâsyapa, 11. Nadî-kâsyapa, 12. Gayâ-kâsyapa, 13. Kumâra-kâsyapa, 14. Mahâ-kâsyapa, 15. Sâriputra, 16. Mahâmaudgalyâyana, 17. Mahâkaushthilya, 18. Mahâkaphila, 19. Mahâkunda, 20. Aniruddha[Frequently called Anuruddha.], 21. Nandika, 22. Kampila[4], 23. Subhûti, 24. Revata, 25. Khadiravanika, 26. Vakula, 27. Svâgata, 28. Amogharâga, 29. Pârâyanika, 30. Patka, 31. Kullapatka, 32. Nanda, 33. Râhula, and 34. the blessed Ânanda,--with these and with other elders, and great disciples, who were wise in wisdom, with the exception of one person who had still to be advanced on the path of the disciples, viz. the blessed Ânanda;--and with many noble-minded Bodhisattvas, led by Maitreya.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 2

Then the blessed Ânanda, having risen from his seat, having put his cloak on one shoulder, and knelt on the earth with his right knee, making obeisance with folded hands in the direction of the Bhagavat, spoke thus to the Bhagavat: 'Thy organs of sense, O Bhagavat, are serene, the colour of thy skin is clear, the colour of thy face bright and yellowish. As an autumn cloud is pale, clear, bright and yellowish, thus the organs of sense of the Bhagavat are serene, the colour of his face is clear, the colour of his skin bright and yellowish. And as, O Bhagavat, a piece of gold coming from the Gâmbû river, having been thrown into a furnace by a clever smith or by his apprentice, and well fashioned, when thrown on a pale cloth, looks extremely clear, bright and yellowish, thus the organs of sense of the Bhagavat are serene, the colour of his face is clear, and the colour of his skin bright and yellowish. Moreover, I do not know, O Bhagavat, that I have ever seen the organs of sense of the Tathâgata so serene, the colour of his face so clear, and the colour of his skin so bright and yellowish before now. This thought occurs to me, O Bhagavat: probably, the Tathâgata [That is, Buddha Sâkyamuni, better known as Gautama Buddha.] dwells today in the state of a Buddha, probably the Tathâgata dwells to-day in the state of a Gina, in the state of omniscience, in the state of a Mahânâga; and he contemplates the holy and fully enlightened Tathâgatas of the past, future, and present.'

After these words, the Bhagavat thus spoke to the blessed Ânanda: 'Well said! well said! Ânanda. Did the gods suggest this matter to you? or the blessed Buddhas? Or do you know this through the philosophical knowledge which you possess?

After these words the blessed Ânanda spoke thus to the Bhagavat: 'The gods, O Bhagavat, do not suggest this matter to me, nor the blessed Buddhas, but this thought occurs to me by my own philosophy alone, viz. that probably the Tathâgata dwells to-day in the state of a Buddha, probably the Tathâgata dwells to-day in the state of a Gina, in the state of omniscience, [in the state of a Mahânâga, that is a technical term for greatness.]; or he contemplates [the venerable Buddhas] of the past, future, and present.'

After these words the Bhagavat spoke thus to the blessed Ânanda: 'Well said! well said! Ânanda; excellent indeed is your question, good your philosophy, and beautiful your understanding! You, O Ânanda, have arrived for the benefit and happiness of many people, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the great body of men, for the benefit and happiness of gods and men, as you think it right to ask the Tathâgata this matter: Thus, indeed, Ânanda might pile up intellectual knowledge under immeasurable and innumerable blessed, holy, and fully enlightened Tathâgatas, and yet the knowledge of the Tathâgata would not be exceeded thereby. And why? Because, O Ânanda, one who possesses the knowledge of a Tathâgata possesses an intellectual knowledge of causes that cannot be exceeded. If the Tathâgata wished, O Ânanda, he could live for a whole kalpa (age) on one alms-gift, or for a hundred kalpas, or for a thousand kalpas, or for a hundred thousand kalpas, to a hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of kalpas [Large numbers, constantly recurring in the text. Niputa is explained as a million, kotî as ten milions.], nay, he could live beyond, and yet the organs of nature of the Tathâgata would not perish, the colour of his face would not be altered, nor would the colour of his skin be injured. And why? Because, O Ânanda, the Tathâgata has so fully obtained the Pâramitâs [The highest perfection.] which arise from Samâdhi [Deep meditation.]. The appearance of fully enlightened Buddhas is very difficult to be obtained in this world, O Ânanda. As the appearance of Audumbara-flowers is very difficult to be obtained in this world; thus, O Ânanda, the appearance of Tathâgatas who desire welfare, wish for what is beneficial, are compassionate, and have arrived at the highest compassion, is very difficult to be obtained. But, O Ânanda, it is (owing to) the grace of the Tathâgata himself that you think that the Tathâgata should be asked this question, so that there may arise in this world beings who can be teachers of all the world, for the sake of noble-minded Bodhisattvas. Therefore, O Ânanda, listen, and take it well and rightly to heart! I shall tell you.'

'Yes, O Bhagavat [The Lord, The Adored.],' so did the blessed Ânanda answer the Bhagavat.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 3

The Bhagavat then spoke to Ânanda: 'At the time, O Ânanda, which was long ago in the past, in an innumerable

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and more than innumerable, enormous, immeasurable, and incomprehensible kalpa before now,--at that time, and at that moment, there arose in the world a holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata called 1. Dîpankara. Following after Dîpankara, O Ânanda, there was a Tathâgata 2. Pratâpavat, and after him, 3. Prabhâkara, 4. Kandanagandha, 5. Sumerukalpa, 6. Kandana, 7. Vimalânana, 8. Anupalipta, 9. Vimalaprabha, 10. Nâgâbhibhû, 11. Sûryodana, 12. Girirâgaghosha, 13. Merukûta, 14. Suvarnaprabha, 15. Gyotishprabha, 16. Vaidûtryanirbhâsa, 17. Brahmaghosha, 18. Kandâbhibhû, 19. Tûryaghosha, 20. Muktakusumapratimanditaprabha, 21. Srîkûta, 22. Sâgaravarabuddhivikrîditâbhigna, 23. Varaprabha, 24. Mahâgandharâganirbhâsa, 25. Vyapagatakhilamalapratighosha, 26. Sûrakûta, 27. Ranangaha, 28. Mahâgunadharabuddhiprâptâbhigna, 29. Kandrasûryagihmîkarana, 30. Uttaptavaidûryanirbhâsa, 31. Kittadhârâbuddhisankusumitâbhyudgata, 32. Pushpâvatîvanarâgasankusumitâbhigna, 33. Pushpâkara, 34. Udakakandra, 35. Avidyândhakâravidhvamsanakara, 36. Lokendra, 37. Muktakkhatrapravâtasadrisa, 38. Tishya, 39. Dharmamativinanditarâga, 40. Simhasâgarakûtavinanditarâga, 41. Sâgaramerukandra, 42. Brahmasvaranâdâbhinandita, 43. Kusumasambhava, 44. Prâptasena, 45. Kandrabhânu, 46. Merukûta, 47. Kandraprabha, 48. Vimalanetra, 49. Girirâgaghoshesvara, 50. Kusumaprabha, 51. Kusumavrishtyabhiprakîrna, 52. Ratnakandra, 53. Padmabimbyupasobhita, 54. Kandanagandha, 55. Ratnâbhibhâsa, 56. Nimi, 57. Mahâvyûha, 58.Vyapagatakhiladosha, 59. Brahmaghosha, 60. Saptaratnâbhivrishta, 61. Mahâgunadhara, 62. Mahâtamâlapatrakandanakardama, 63. Kusumâbhigna, 64. Agnânavidhvamsana, 65. Kesarin, 66. Muktakkhatra, 67. Suvarnagarbha, 68. Vaidûryagarbha, 69. Mahâketu, 70. Dharmaketu, 71. Ratnaketu, 72. Ratnasrî, 73. Lokendra, 74. Narendra, 75. Kârunika, 76. Lokasundara, 77. Brahmaketu, 78. Dharmamati, 79. Simha, 80. Simhamati. After Simhamati, a holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata arose in the world, Lokesvararâga by name, perfect in knowledge and conduct, a Sugata, knowing the world, without a superior, charioteer of men whose passions have to be tamed, teacher of gods and men, a Buddha, a Bhagavat. And again during the time of the preaching of this holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata Lokesvararâga, O Ânanda, there was a Bhikshu, Dharmâkara by name, richly endowed with memory, with understanding, prudence, and wisdom,--richly endowed with vigour, and of noble character.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 4

'Then, O Ânanda, that Bhikshu Dharmâkara, having risen from his seat, having put his cloak on one shoulder, and knelt on the earth with his right knee, stretching forth his folded hands to where the Bhagavat Tathâgata Lokesvararâga was, and, after worshipping the Bhagavat, he, at thar very time, praised him in his presence with these Gâthâs:

1. "O thou of immeasurable light, whose knowledge is endless and incomparable; not any other light can shine here (where thou art)! The rays of the moon of Siva and of the jewel of the sun, were not bright here in the whole world.

2. "The form also is infinite in the best of beings; thus also the voice of Buddha is of infinite sound; his virtue likewise, with meditation, knowledge, strength; like unto thee there is no one in this world.

3. "The Law (dharma) is deep, wide, and subtle; the best of Buddhas is incomprehensible, like the ocean; therefore there is no further exaltation of the teacher; having left all faults, he is gone to the other shore.

4. "Then the best of Buddhas, of endless light, lights up all regions, he the king of kings; and I, having become Buddha, and a master of the Law, may I deliver mankind from old age and death!

5. "And I, on the strength of generosity, equanimity, virtue, forbearance, power, meditation and absorption, undertake here the first and best duties, and shall become a Buddha, the saviour of all beings.

6. "And I, seeking for the knowledge of the best of the Blessed Ones, shall always worship many hundred thousands of kotîs of Buddhas, endless like the sand of the Gangâ, the incomparable lords.

7. "Whatever worlds there are, similar (in number) to the sand of the Gangâ, and the endless countries which exist besides, there everywhere I shall send out light, because I have attained such power.

8. "My land is (to be) noble, the first and the best; the Bodhi-tree excellent in this world. There is incomparable happiness arising from Nirvâna, and this also I shall explain as vain.

9. "Beings come hither from the ten quarters; having arrived there they quickly show my happiness. May Buddha there teach me the truth,--I form a desire full of true strength and vigour.

10. "I, knowing the worlds of the ten quarters, possessed of absolute knowledge they also always proclaim my thought! May I, gone to Aviki hell, always abide there, but I shall never cease to practise the power of prayer! [i.e. May I remain in hell, if I cease to pray.]"

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 5

'Then, O Ânanda, that Bhikshu Dharmâkara, having praised the Bhagavat, the Tathâgata Lokesvararâga, in his presence, with those Gâthâs, spoke thus: "O Bhagavat, I wish to know the highest perfect knowledge. Again and again I raise and incline my thoughts towards the highest perfect knowledge. May therefore the Bhagavat, as a teacher, thus teach me the Law, that I may quickly know the highest perfect knowledge. May I become in the world a Tathâgata, equal to the unequalled. And may the Bhagavat proclaim those signs by which I may comprehend the perfection of all good qualities of a Buddha country."

'After this, O Ânanda, the Bhagavat Lokesvararâga, the Tathâgata, thus spoke to that Bhikshu:

"Do you by yourself, O Bhikshu, know the perfection of all excellences and good qualities of a Buddha country?"

'He said: "O Bhagavat, I could not do this, but the Bhagavat alone. Explain the perfection of the excellences and all the good qualities of Buddha countries of the other Tathâgatas, after hearing which we may fulfil every one of their signs."

'Then, O Ânanda, the Tathâgata Lokesvararâga, holy and fully enlightened, knowing the good disposition of that Bhikshu, taught for a full kotî of years the perfection of all the excellences and good qualities of Buddha countries belonging to eighty-one hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of Buddhas, together with the signs, indication, and description, desiring welfare, wishing for benefits, compassionate, full of compassion, so that there might never be an end of Buddha countries, having conceived great pity for all beings. The measure of life of that Tathâgata was full forty kalpas.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 6

'Then, O Ânanda, that Bhikshu Dharmâkara, taking the perfections of all the excellences and good qualities of those Buddha countries, of those eighty-one hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of Buddhas, and concentrating them all on one Buddha country, worshipped with his head the feet of the Bhagavat Lokesvararâga, the Tathâgata, turned respectfully round him to the right, and walked away from the presence of this Bhagavat. And afterwards, for the space of five kalpas, he thus concentrated the perfection of all the excellences and good qualities of the Buddha countries, such as had never been known before in the ten quarters of the whole world, more excellent, and more perfect than any, and composed the most excellent prayer.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 7

'Thus, O Ânanda, that Bhikshu concentrated in his mind a perfection of a Buddha country eighty-one times more immeasurable, noble, and excellent than the perfection of the eighty-one hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of Buddha countries that had been told him by the Bhagavat Lokesvararâga, the Tathâgata. And then, proceeding to where the Tathâgata was, he worshipped the feet of the Bhagavat with his head, and said: "O Bhagavat, the perfection of all the excellences and good qualities of the Buddha countries has been concentrated by me."

'After this, O Ânanda, the Tathâgata Lokesvararâga thus spoke to the Bhikshu: "Preach then, O Bhikshu;--the Tathâgata allows it. Now is the proper time, O Bhikshu. Delight the assembly, produce joy, let the lion's voice be heard, so that now and hereafter, noble-minded Bodhisattvas, hearing it, may comprehend the different subjects (or occasions) of the prayers for the perfection of the good qualities of a Buddha country."

'Then, O Ânanda, that Bhikshu Dharmâkara thus spoke at that time to the Bhagavat: "May the Bhagavat thus listen to me, to what my own prayers are, and how, after I shall have obtained the highest perfect knowledge, my own Buddha country will then be endowed with all inconceivable excellences and good qualities.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 8.

1. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine there should be either hell, brute-creation[1], the realm of departed spirits, or the body of Asuras, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

2. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine the beings who are born there should fall away (die), and fall into hell, the brute-creation, the realm of departed spirits, or into the body of Asuras, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

3. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine the beings who are born there should not all be of one colour, viz. a golden colour, then may I not obtain the hignest perfect knowledge.

4. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine there should be perceived any difference between gods and men, except when people count and tell, saying: 'These are gods and men, but only in ordinary and imperfect parlance,' then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

5. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine the beings who are born there should not be possessed of the highest Pâramitâs of miraculous power and self-control, so that they could at least in the shortest moment of one thought step over a hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of Buddha countries, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

6. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine the beings who are born there should not all be possessed of the recollection of their former births, so as at least to remember a hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of kalpas, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

7. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine the beings who are born there should not all acquire the divine eye, so as at least to be able to see a hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of worlds, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

8. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine the beings who art born there should not all acquire the divine ear, so as at least to be able to hear at the same time the good Law from a hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of Buddha countries, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

9. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine the beings who are born there should not all be skilled in the knowledge of the thoughts of other people, so as at least to be able to know the deeds and thoughts of beings belonging to a hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of Buddha countries, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

10. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine the beings who are born there should form any idea of property, even with regard to their own body, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

11. 'O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine the beings who are born there should not all be firmly established, viz. in absolute truth, till they have reached Mahâparinirvâna, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

12. "O Bhagavat, if any being should be able to count the pupils belonging to me after I have obtained the highest perfect knowledge in that Buddha country of mine, even if all beings who are contained in those three millions of spheres of worlds, after having become Pratyekabuddhas [Men ready for Buddhaship, but who decline to preach or communicate their knowledge.], should be counting for a hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of kalpas, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

13. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained the highest perfect knowledge, my light should be liable to be measured in this Buddha country of mine, even by the measure of a hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of Buddha countries, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

14. "O Bhagavat, if the measure of the life of the beings in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained the highest perfect knowledge, should be liable to be measured, excepting always by their own power of prayer, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

15. "O Bhagavat, if the measure of my life after I have obtained Bodhi (Buddha knowledge) should be limited, even by numbering a hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of kalpas, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

16. "O Bhagavat, if, for the beings in this Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, even the name of sin should exist, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

17. "O Bhagavat, if immeasurable and innumerable blessed Buddhas in immeasurable Buddha countries do not glorify my name, after I have obtained the Bodhi (knowledge); if they do not preach my fame and proclaim my praise, and utter it together, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

18. "O Bhagavat, if those beings who have directed their thought towards the highest perfect knowledge in other worlds, and who, after having heard my name, when I have obtained the Bodhi (knowledge), have meditated on me with serene thoughts; if at the moment of their death, after having approached them, surrounded by an assembly of Bhikshus, I should not stand before them, worshipped by them, that is, so that their thoughts should not be troubled, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

19. "O Bhagavat, if those beings who in immeasurable and innumerable Buddha countries, after they have heard my name, when I shall have obtained Bodhi, should direct their thought to be born in that Buddha country of mine, and should for that purpose bring their stock of merit to maturity, if these should not be born in that Buddha country, even those who have only ten times repeated the thought (of that Buddha country), barring always those beings who have committed the (five) Ânantarya sins, and who have caused an obstruction and abuse of the good Law, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

20. "O Bhagavat, if those beings, who have been born in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, should not all be bound to one birth only, before reaching the

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highest perfect knowledge, barring always the special prayers of those very noble-minded Bodhisattvas who have put on the whole armour (of the Law), who understand the welfare of all beings, who are devoted to all beings, who work for the attainment of Nirvâna of all beings, who wish to perform the duty of a Bodhisattva in all worlds, who wish to serve all Buddhas, and to bring beings, in number like grains of sand of the river Gangâ, to the highest perfect knowledge, and who besides are turned towards the higher practice, and perfect in the practice of the Samantabhadra discipline, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

21. "O Bhagavat, if the Bodhisattvas who are born in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, should not all be able, after having gone to other Buddha countries, after their one morning-meal, to worship many hundreds of Buddhas, many thousands of Buddhas, many hundred thousands of Buddhas, many kotîs of Buddhas, etc., till up to many hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of Buddhas, with objects which give every kind of pleasure, and this through the grace of the Buddha, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

22. "O Bhagavat, if those Bodhisattvas in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, should wish their stock of merit to grow in the following shapes, viz. either in gold, in silver, in jewels, in pearls, in beryls, in shells, in stones, in corals, in crystal, in amber, in red pearls, in diamond, etc., or in any one of the other jewels; or in all kinds of perfumes, in flowers, in garlands, in ointment, in incense-powder, in cloaks, in umbrellas, in flags, in banners, or in lamps; or in all kinds of dancing, singing, and music;--and if such gifts should not appear for them, from being produced as soon as thought of, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

23. "O Bhagavat, if those beings who are born in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, should not all recite the story of the Law which is accompanied by omniscience, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

24. "O Bhagavat, if the Bodhisattvas in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, should think thus: May we, remaining in this world, honour revere, esteem, and worship the blessed Buddhas in immeasurable and innumerable Buddha countries, viz. with cloaks, alms-bowls, beds, stools, refreshments, medicines, utensils, with flowers, incense, lamps, perfumes, garlands, ointment, powder, cloaks, umbrellas, flags, banners, with different kinds of dancing, singing, and music, and with showers of jewels,--and if the blessed Buddhas should not accept them, when they are produced as soon as thought of, viz. from compassion, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

25. "O Bhagavat, if the Bodhisattvas who are born in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, should not all be in possession of strength of body as strong as the diamond (or thunderbolt?) of Nârâyana, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

26. "O Bhagavat, if any being in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, should learn the limit of the beauty of (its) ornament, even if he be possessed of the divine eye, and should know (its) various beauty, saying: 'That Buddha country possesses so much beauty and so much magnificence,' then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

27. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, a Bodhisattva possessed even of a very small stock of merit, should not perceive the Bodhi-tree of noble beauty, at least a hundred yoganas in height, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

28. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, either teaching or learning should have to be made by any being, and they should not all be in possession of the perfect knowledge, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

29. "O Bhagavat, if that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, should not be so brilliant, that in it could be seen on all sides immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, incomparable, immense Buddha countries, as a round face is seen in a highly burnished round mirror, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

30. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, there should not be a hundred thousand of vases full of different sweet perfumes, made of all kinds of jewels, always smoking with incense, fit for the worship of Bodhisattvas and Tathâgatas, rising into the sky beyond gods, men, and all things, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

31. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, there should not be showers of sweet jewel-flowers, always pouring down, and if there should not be sweet-sounding music-clouds, always playing, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

32. "O Bhagavat, if the beings belonging to me, after I have obtained Bodhi, who are visible by their splendour, in immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, incomparable worlds, should not all be filled with pleasure, far beyond gods and men, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

33. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained Bodhi, the noble-minded Bodhisattvas in immeasurable, inconceivable, incomparable, immense Buddha countries on all sides, after having heard my name, should not be delivered from birth, through the merit arising from that hearing, and should not be strong in the knowledge of Dhâranîs, until they have obtained the very throne of Bodhi, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

34. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained Bodhi, women in immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, incomparable, immense Buddha countries on all sides, after having heard my name, should allow carelessness to arise, should not turn their thoughts towards Bodhi, should, when they are free from birth, not despise their female nature; and if they, being born again, should assume a second female nature, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

35. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained Bodhi, the Bodhisattvas who in immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, incomparable, immense Buddha countries round about in the ten quarters having heard my name, and having fallen down, shall worship me with prostrate reverence, should not, when performing the duty of Bodhisattvas, be honoured by the world and by the gods, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

36. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained Bodhi, the work of dyeing, sewing, drying, washing of his cloaks should have to be performed by any Bodhisattva, and they should not perceive themselves, as quick as thought, covered by newly-produced excellent cloaks, granted to them by the Tathâgata, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

37. "O Bhagavat, if the beings who are born at the same time in that Buddha country, after I have obtained Bodhi, should not obtain such happiness as that of the holy Bhikshu who is free from pain and has obtained the third meditation, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

38. "O Bhagavat, if those Bodhisattvas who are born in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, should not produce from different jewel-trees such a mass of excellent ornaments in that Buddha country, as they should wish for, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

39. "O Bhagavat, if the Bodhisattvas who are born in other Buddha countries, when they have heard my name, after I shall have obtained Bodhi, should suffer any diminution in the strength of their senses, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

40. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained Bodhi, the Bodhisattvas, from hearing my name in a place of a different Buddha country, should not obtain the Samâdhi (ecstacy) called Suvibhaktavatî, in which Samâdhi the Bodhisattvas will see immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, incomparable, immense, blessed Buddhas one moment after another; and if that Samâdhi of theirs should come to an end meanwhile, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

41. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained Bodhi, beings, having heard my name in Buddha countries different from this, should not, through the stock of merit which follows on that hearing, obtain birth in a noble family, till they arrive at Bodhi, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

42. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained Bodhi, the Bodhisattvas who live in other Buddha countries, after hearing my name, till they have reached Bodhi by the stock of merit which follows on that hearing, should not all obtain a combination of their stock of merit with the joy and gladness of their Bodhisattva life, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

43. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained Bodhi, the Bodhisattvas, as soon as they have heard my name, in other worlds, should not obtain the Samâdhi called Samantânugata, in which Bodhisattvas honour one moment after another immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, incomparable, immense, blessed Buddhas, and if that Samâdhi of theirs should come to an end before they have reached the throne of Bodhi, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

44. "O Bhagavat, if the beings who are born in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, should not hear, as quick as thought, such a teaching of the Law as they wish to hear, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

45. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained Bodhi, the Bodhisattvas in this and other Buddha countries, as soon as they have heard my name, should ever turn back from the highest perfect knowledge, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

46. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained Bodhi, and have become a Buddha-teacher, the Bodhisattvas who hear my name in Buddha countries, and obtain the first, the second, and the third degrees of endurance, as soon as they have heard my name, should turn away again from Buddha, the Law, and the Church, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge."

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 9.

'And again, O Ânanda, when he had spoken such prayers, that Bhikshu Dharmâkara, at that time, through the grace of Buddha spoke these verses:

1. "If, when I have obtained Bodhi, there should not be for me an excellent Pranidhâna of such a character, then, O Prince, O Best of beings, may I not be endowed with the ten powers, incomparable, worthy of offerings.

2. "If there should not be for me such a country, endowed with many and various mighty and divine endowments, I should gladly go to hell, suffering pain, and not be a King of treasures [Probably a Nâga king.].

3. "If, when I have approached the Bodhi throne, my name should not quickly reach the ten quarters, the broad and many endless Buddha countries, may I not be a lord of the world, endowed with power.

4. "If indeed I should delight in the enjoyments of love, being deprived of zeal, understanding and prudence, even after having reached the incomparable and blessed Bodhi, may I not be a teacher in the world, endowed with power.

5. "The lord of vast light, incomparable and infinite, has illuminated all Buddha countries in all the quarters, he has quieted passions, all sins and errors, he has quieted the fire in the walk of hell.

6. "After making his broad eye lustrous, after driving away the darkness from all men, after removing all untimely misfortunes, he led hither those who dwell in Svarga (heaven) and who shine with endless light.

7. "The splendour of sun and moon does not shine in heaven, nor the fiery splendour of the maze of jewels of the gods; the Lord overcomes all splendour, he, the bright one, who has performed his former discipline.

8. "He is the best of men, the treasure of all who suffer; there is no one like him in all the quarters. Having completed a hundred thousand of good works, he, in his assembly, raised the lion-voice of Buddha.

9. "After having worshipped former self-existing Ginas, after having performed immeasurable kotîs of vows and penances, he became in this, his best of spiritual existences, the best of beings, possessed of the full power of prayers.

10. "As the Bhagavat, the Lord, who is possessed of unlimited light of knowledge, knows the three kinds of knowledge in the world, may I also be worthy of equal offerings[1], the best of sages, the leader of men.

11. "If, O Lord, this my prayer succeeds, after I have obtained Bodhi, may this sphere of a thousand worlds tremble, and may a shower of flowers descend on the hosts of gods."

12. 'Then the earth trembled, flowers were showered down, hundreds of instruments resounded in the sky, powder of heavenly sweet sandal-wood was scattered, and there was a voice saying: "Thou wilt be a Buddha in the world."

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 10.

'That Bhikshu Dharmâkara, the noble-minded Bodhisattva, O Ânanda, was possessed of this perfection of prayers. And a few Bodhisattvas only, O Ânanda, are possessed of such a perfection of prayers. There is on this earth an appearance of a few only of such prayers. Of a few, however, existence cannot be denied.

'Then again, O Ânanda, this Bhikshu Dharmâkara having recited these peculiar prayers before the Bhagavat Lokesvararâga, the Tathâgata, and before the world including gods, Mâra, and Brahman, and before people consisting of Sramanas and Brâhmanas with gods, men, and Asuras, was established in the attainment of the true promise. And proclaiming this purity of the Buddha country, this greatness and excellency of the Buddha country, and performing the duty of a Bodhisattva, he never conceived the remotest thoughts of lust, malevolence, and cruelty, during a hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of years, immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, incomparable, measureless, immense, inexpressible; and he never conceived the idea of lust, malevolence, and cruelty, nay, he never conceived the idea of form, sound, smell, taste, and touch. He was gentle, charming indeed, and compassionate; pleasant to live with, agreeable, amiable, content, of few wishes, satisfied, retired, not evil, not foolish, not suspicious, not crooked, not wicked, not deceitful, tender, kindly speaking, always zealous, docile in the searching after the pure Law. And for the good of all beings, he recited the great prayer, showing respect to friends, teachers, masters, the Church, the Law, and Buddha, always girded for the performance of the duties of the Bodhisattva, righteous, gentle, not deceitful, not flattering, virtuous, a leader for the sake of rousing others to perform all good laws, producing by his activity the ideas of emptiness, causelessness, and purposelessness, and he was well guarded in his speech. Then, performing the duties of a Bodhisattva, after having given up all speaking which, when spoken, serves to injure one's self or others or both, he employed only such speech as served the pleasure and benefit of himself, others, or both. And he was so wise that, when entering into capitals, kingdoms, countries, towns, cities, and villages, he was always perfectly restrained with regard to all objects of sense. Performing himself the duties of the Bodhisattva without

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interruption, he walked himself in the highest perfection (pâramitâ) of liberality, and he also roused others to walk in the same. And himself walking in the highest perfections of knowledge, meditation, strength, patience, and virtue, he roused others also to walk in the same. And he has collected so large a stock of merit that, wherever he is born, there arise for him many hundreds of thousands of niyutas of kotîs of treasures from out the earth.

'By him, while he was thus performing the duties of a Bodhisattva, immeasurable and innumerable hundreds of thousands of niyutas of kotîs of beings were established in perfect enlightenment, of whom it is not easy to know the limit by means of speech. So many immeasurable and innumerable holy Buddhas were honoured, revered, esteemed, and worshipped, and enabled to touch whatever causes pleasure, such as cloaks, alms-bowls, couches, seats, refreshments, medicines, and other furniture. It is not easy to know the limit by pointing it out in words as to how many beings were established by him in the noble families of Brâhmanas, Kshatriyas, ministers, householders, and merchants. In the same manner they were established in the sovereignty of Gambûdvîpa (India), and they were established in the character of Kakravartins, Lokapâlas, Sakras, Suyâmas, Sutushitas, Sunirmitas, Vasavartins, Devarâgas, and Mahâbrahmans. So many immeasurable and innumerable Buddhas were honoured, revered, esteemed, and worshipped, and requested to turn the wheel of the Law, of whom it is not easy to know the limit by means of words.

'And he collected such virtue, that out of his mouth, while performing the duties of a Bodhisattva, during immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, incomparable, immense, measureless, inexpressible kotîs of kalpas, there breathed a sweet and more than heavenly smell of sandal-wood. From all the pores of his hair there arose the smell of lotus, and he was pleasing to everybody, gracious and beautiful, endowed with the fulness of the best bright colour. As his body was adorned with all the good signs and marks, there arose from the pores (of his hair) and from the palms of his hands all sorts of precious ornaments in the shape of all kinds of cloaks and vestments, in the shape of all kinds of flowers, incense, scents, garlands, ointments, umbrellas, flags, and banners, and in the shape of all kinds of instrumental music. And there appeared also, streaming forth from the palms of his hands, all kinds of viands and drink, food, hard and soft, and sweetmeats, and all kinds of enjoyments and pleasures. Thus then that Bhikshu Dharmâkara, O Ânanda, had obtained the command of all necessaries, after performing the duties of a Bodhisattva.'

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 11.

After this, the blessed Ânanda thus spoke to the Bhagavat: 'O Bhagavat, has that Bhikshu Dharmâkara, the noble-minded Bodhisattva, after having obtained the highest perfect knowledge, passed away, having entered Nirvâna, or has he not yet been enlightened, or is he now living and enlightened, and does he dwell now, remain, support himself, and teach the Law?'

The Bhagavat said: 'Not indeed, O Ânanda, has that Tathâgata passed away, nor has he not yet come, but the Tathâgata, the holy, after having obtained the highest perfect knowledge, dwells now, remains, supports himself, and teaches the Law, in the western quarter, in the Buddha country, distant from this world by a hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of Buddha countries, in the world which is called Sukhâvatî, being called Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, holy and fully enlightened. He is surrounded by innumerable Bodhisattvas, and worshipped by endless Srâvakas, and in possession of the endless perfection of his Buddha country.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 12.

'And his light is immeasurable, so that it is not easy to know the limit of its measure, saying, he stands illuminating so many hundreds of Buddha countries, so many thousands of Buddha countries, so many hundred thousands of Buddha countries, so many kotîs of Buddha countries, so many hundred kotîs of Buddha countries, so many thousand kotîs of Buddha countries, so many hundred thousands of kotîs of Buddha countries, so many hundred thousands of niyutas of kotîs of Buddha countries. But indeed, O Ânanda, to put it briefly, a hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of Buddha countries, equal to the sands of the river Gangâ, are always lighted up in the eastern quarter, by the light of that Bhagavat Amitâbha. Thus on every side in the southern, western, northern quarter, in the zenith and nadir, in every one of these quarters, there are a hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of Buddha countries, like the sands of the river Gangâ, always lighted up by the light of that Bhagavat Amitâbha, excepting the Buddhas, the Bhagavats, who, through the practice of their former prayers, have lighted up the world by their own light, which is a fathom in length, or by their light which is one, two, three, four, five, ten, twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty yoganas in length, or a hundred or thousand or hundred thousand yoganas in length, until their brightness reaches many hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of yoganas in length. There is not, O Ânanda, any case of likeness, by which the extent of the light of that Tathâgata Amitâbha could be understood. Hence, O Ânanda, for that reason that Tathâgata is called Amitâbha (possessed of infinite light), and he is called Amitaprabha (possessed of infinite splendour), Amitaprabhâsa (possessed of infinite brilliancy), Asamâptaprabha (whose light is never finished), Asangataprabha (whose light is not conditioned), Prabhâsikhotsrishtaprabha (whose light proceeds from flames of light), Sadivyamaniprabha, (whose light is that of heavenly jewels), Apratihatarasmirâgaprabha (whose light has the colour of unimpeded rays), Râganîyaprabha (possessed of beautiful light), Premanîyaprabha, (possessed of lovely light), Pramodanîyaprabha (possessed of delightful light), Sangamanîyaprabha (possessed of attractive light), Uposhanîyaprabha (possessed of pleasant light), Anibandhanîyaprabha (possessed of light that cannot be stopped), Ativîryaprabha, (possessed of extremely powerful light), Atulyaprabha, (possessed of incomparable light), Abhibhûyanarendrâbhûtrayendraprabha (possessed of light greater than that of the lords of men, nay, the lords of the three worlds), Srântasankayendusûryagihmîkaranaprabha (possessed of light which bends the full moon and the sun), Abhibhûyalokapâlasakra brahmasuddhâvâsa mahesvarasar vadevagihmîkaranaprabha (possessed of light which bends all the conquered gods, Mahesvara, the Suddhâvâsas, Brahman, Sakra, and the Lokapâlas).

'This splendour of the Ârya (noble) is pure, great, producing bodily pleasure, happiness of mind, producing happiness, delight, and joy for men and not-men, Kinnaras, Mahoragas, Garudas, Gandharvas, Yakshas, Nâgas, Asuras, and Devas; and producing the pleasure of beings of good disposition.

'And in this manner, O Ânanda, the Tathâgata might speak for a whole kalpa on the work of the Tathâgata Amitâbha, beginning with his light, and yet he would not be able to reach the end of the virtues of that light of that Tathâgata, neither would there be any failure of the self-confidence in the Tathâgata himself. And why? Because, O Ânanda, both these things are immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, and endless, viz. first, the greatness of the excellence of the light of that Tathâgata Amitâbha, the Bhagavat, and secondly, the unsurpassed light of the knowledge possessed by the Tathâgata (by myself).

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 13.

'And, O Ânanda, the assembly of the hearers of that Tathâgata Amitâbha is immeasurable, so that it is not easy to learn its measure, so as to be able to say, there are so many kotîs of the hearers, so many hundreds, thousands, hundred-thousands, kankaras, vimbaras, nayutas (niyutas?), ayutas, akshobhyas, vivâhas (masc.), srotas (?), ogas, so many periods, called immeasurable, innumerable, countless, incomparable, inconceivable. Now, for instance, O Ânanda, the Bhikshu Maudgalyâyana having obtained miraculous power, might, if he wished, count in one day and night, how many kinds of stars there are in the universal world. Then, let there be a hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of such men, endowed with miraculous powers, and let them do nothing else but count the first company (only) of the hearers of the Tathâgata Amitâbha, during a hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of years, and yet by them thus counting even the hundredth part would not be counted, even the thousandth, even the hundred thousandth, nay, not even so far as the minutest part, or likeness, or approach towards it would have been counted.

'Thus, for instance, O Ânanda, a man might throw out from the great ocean, which is not to be measured across by less than eighty-four thousand yoganas, one single drop of water by the sharp end of hair, which is divided a hundred times. What do you think then, Ânanda,--which would be greater, one drop of water which has been thrown up by the sharp pointed hair divided a hundred times, or the mass of water left in the great ocean?'

Ananda said: 'Even a thousand yoganas, O Bhagavat, would be a small portion of the great ocean, how much more then one drop of water thrown out by the sharp pointed hair divided a hundred times!'

Bhagavat said: 'As that one drop of water, exactly so large (so small in proportion) was the first company of the hearers. And let there be reckoning made by those Bhikshus, who are like Maudgalyâyana, counting for a hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of years, and yet, as to the mass of water left in the great ocean, it would even then have to be considered as not counted. How much more with regard to the second, third, and the rest of the companies of the hearers! Therefore the mass of hearers of the Bhagavat is endless and boundless, and receives the name of "immeasurable and innumerable."

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 14.

'And, O Ânanda, the length of the life of that Bhagavat Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, is immeasurable, so that it is not easy to know its length, so as to be able to say (that it comprises) so many hundreds of kalpas, so many thousands of kalpas, so many hundred thousands of kalpas, so many kotîs of kalpas, so many hundreds of kotîs of kalpas, so many thousands of kotîs of kalpas, so many hundred thousands of kotîs of kalpas, so many thousands of kotîs of kalpas, so many hundred thousands of niyutas of kotîs of kalpas. Therefore, O Ânanda, the limit of the measure of the life of that Bhagavat is immeasurable indeed. Therefore that Tathâgata is called Amitâyus.

'And as, O Ânanda, the rule of making known the reckoning of kalpas exists here in this world, ten kalpas have passed now since Bhagavat Amitâyus, the Tathâgata, arose and awoke to the highest perfect knowledge.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 15.

'And, O Ânanda, the world called Sukhâvatî belonging to that Bhagavat Amitâbha is prosperous, rich, good to live in, fertile, lovely, and filled with many gods and men. Then, O Ânanda, in that world there are neither hells, nor the brute creation, nor the realm of departed spirits, nor bodies of Asuras, nor untimely births. And there do not appear in this world such gems as are known in the world Sukhâvatî.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 16.

'Now, O Ânanda, that world Sukhâvatî is fragrant with several sweet-smelling scents, rich in manifold flowers and fruits, adorned with gem trees, and frequented by tribes of manifold sweet-voiced birds, which have been made by the Tathâgata (on purpose). And, O Ânanda, those gem trees are of several colours, of many colours, and of many hundred thousand colours. There are gem trees there of golden-colour, and made of gold. There are those of silver-colour, and made of silver. There are those of beryl-colour, and made of beryl. There are those of crystal-colour, and made of crystal. There are those of coral-colour, and made of coral. There are those of red pearl-colour, and made of red pearls. There are those of diamond-colour, and made of diamonds.

'There are some trees of two gems, viz. gold and silver. There are some of three gems, viz. gold, silver, and beryl. There are some of four gems, viz. gold, silver, beryl, and crystal. There are some of five gems, viz. gold, silver, beryl, crystal, and coral. There are some of six gems, viz. gold, silver, beryl, crystal, coral, and red pearls. There are some of seven gems, viz. gold, silver, beryl, crystal, coral, red pearls, and diamonds as the seventh.

'And there, O Ânanda, of the trees made of gold, the flowers, leaves, small branches, branches, trunks, and roots are made of gold, and the fruits are made of silver. Of trees made of silver, the flowers, leaves, small branches, branches, trunks, and roots are made of silver only, and the fruits are made of beryl. Of trees made of beryl, the flowers, leaves, small branches, branches, trunks, and roots are made of beryl, and the fruits are made of crystal. Of trees made of crystal, the flowers, leaves, small branches, branches, trunks, and roots are made of crystal only, and the fruits are made of coral. Of trees made of coral, the flowers, leaves, small branches, branches, trunks, and roots are made of coral only, and the fruits are made of red pearls. Of trees made of red pearls, the flowers, leaves, small branches, branches, trunks, and roots are made of red pearls only, and the fruits are made of diamonds. Of trees made of diamonds, the flowers, leaves, small branches, branches, trunks, and roots are made of diamonds only, and the fruits are made of gold.

'Of some trees, O Ânanda, the roots are made of gold, the trunks of silver, the branches of beryl, the small branches of crystal, the leaves of coral, the flowers of red pearls, and the fruits of diamonds. Of some trees, O Ânanda, the roots are made of silver, the trunks of beryl, the branches of crystal, the small branches of coral, the leaves of red pearls, the flowers of diamonds, and the fruits of gold. Of some trees, O Ânanda, the roots are made of beryl, the trunks of crystal, the branches of coral, the small branches of red pearls, the leaves of diamonds, the flowers of gold, and the fruits of silver. Of some trees, O Ânanda, the roots are made of crystal, the trunks of coral, the branches of red pearls, the small branches of diamonds, the leaves of gold, the flowers of silver, and the fruits of beryl. Of some trees, O Ânanda, the roots are made of coral, the trunks of red pearls, the branches of diamonds, the small branches of gold, the leaves of silver, the flowers of beryl, and the fruits of crystal. Of some trees, O Ânanda, the roots are made of red pearls, the trunks of diamonds, the branches of gold, the small branches of silver, the leaves of beryl, the flowers of crystal, and the fruits of coral. Of some trees, O Ânanda, the roots are made of diamonds, the trunks of gold, the branches of silver, the small branches of beryl, the leaves of crystal, the flowers of coral, and the fruits of red pearls. Of some trees, O Ânanda, the roots are made of the seven gems, the trunks of the seven gems, the branches of the seven gems, the small branches of the seven gems, the leaves of the seven gems, the flowers of the seven gems, and the fruits of the seven gems.

'And, O Ânanda, the roots, trunks, branches, small branches, leaves, flowers, and fruits of all those trees are pleasant to touch, and fragrant. And, when those (trees) are moved by the wind, a sweet and delightful sound proceeds from them, never tiring, and never disagreeable to hear. That Buddha country, O Ânanda, is always on every side surrounded by such trees made of the seven gems, by masses of

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Kadalî (banana) trees, and rows of palm-trees made of the seven gems, and entirely surrounded with golden nets, and wholly covered with lotus flowers, made of all kinds of gems.

'There are lotus flowers there, half a yogana in circumference. There are others, one yogana in circumference; and others, two, three, four, or five yoganas in circumference; nay, there are some, as much as ten yoganas in circumference. And from each gem-lotus there proceed thirty-six hundred thousand kotîs of rays of light. And from each ray of light there proceed thirty-six hundred thousand kotîs of Buddhas, with bodies of golden-colour, possessed of the thirty-two marks of great men, who go and teach the Law to beings in the immeasurable and innumerable worlds in the eastern quarter. Thus also in the southern, western, and northern quarters, above and below, in the cardinal and intermediate points, they go their way to the immeasurable and innumerable worlds and teach the Law to beings in the whole world.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 17.

'And again, O Ânanda, there are no black mountains anywhere in that Buddha country, nor anywhere jewel mountains, nor anywhere Sumerus, kings of mountains, nor anywhere Kakravâdas, great Kakravâdas, kings of mountains. And that Buddha country is level on every side, lovely, like the palm of the hand, with districts full of jewels and treasures of every kind.'

After this, the blessed Ânanda spoke thus to the Bhagavat: 'But in that case, O Bhagavat, where do the gods consisting of the companies of the four Mahârâgas who dwell on the side of the Sumeru, and where do the Trâyastrimsa gods who dwell on the top of the Sumeru, find their place?'

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Ânanda, where do these other beings find their place, who in this world dwell above the king of mountains, Sumeru, namely, the Yâmadevas, Tushitas, Nirmânaratis, Paranirmitavasavartins, Brahmakâyikas, Brahmapurohitas, Mahâbrahmans, as far as the Akanishthas?'

Ananda replied: 'O Bhagavat, the result of works and the outcome of works are inconceivable' (i.e. I do not understand it).

Bhagavat said: 'Here, you see, the result of works and the outcome of works are inconceivable. But to the blessed Buddhas the position of Buddhas is not inconceivable, while to thee the holy and miraculous power of virtuous beings, whose stock of merit has become ripened, seems inconceivable.'

Ananda said: 'I had no doubt on this, no difference of opinion, or hesitation; on the contrary, I ask only the Tathâgata about this matter in order to destroy the doubts, the differences of opinion, and the hesitations of future beings.

Bhagavat said: 'All right, Ânanda, this is what you ought to do.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 18.

'In that world Sukhâvatî, O Ânanda, there flow different kinds of rivers; there are great rivers there, one yogana in breadth; there are rivers up to twenty, thirty, forty, fifty yoganas in breadth, and up to twelve yoganas in depth. All these rivers are delightful, carrying water of different sweet odour, carrying bunches of flowers adorned with various gems, resounding with sweet voices. And, O Ânanda, there proceeds from an instrument which consists of hundred thousand kotîs of parts, which embodies heavenly music and is played by clever people, the same delightful sound which proceeds from those great rivers, the sound which is deep, unknown, incomprehensible, clear, pleasant to the ear, touching the heart, beloved, sweet, delightful, never tiring, never disagreeable, pleasant to hear, as if it always said, "Non-eternal, peaceful, unreal." Such a sound comes to be heard by these beings.

'And again, O Ânanda, the borders of those great rivers on both sides are filled with jewel trees of various scents, from which bunches of flowers, leaves, and branches of all kinds hang down. And if the beings, who are on the borders of those rivers, wish to enjoy sport full of heavenly delights, the water rises to the ankle only after they have stepped into the rivers, if they wish it to be so; or if they wish it, the water rises to their knees, to their hips, to their sides, and to their ears. And heavenly pleasures arise. Again, if the beings then wish the water to be cold, it is cold; if they wish it to be hot, it is hot; if they wish it to be hot and cold, it is hot and cold, according to their pleasure.

'And those great rivers flow along, full of water scented with the best perfumes of the Uragasâra sandal-wood, of Tagaras, Kâlânusârin (dark, fragrant sandal-wood) trees, Agarus, and heavenly Tamâlapattras; covered with flowers of the white water-lilies, and heavenly Utpalas, Padmas, Kumudas, and Pundarikas; full of delightful sounds of peacocks, sparrows, kunâlas, cuckoos, sârikas, parrots, ducks, geese, herons, cranes, swans* and others; with small islands inhabited by flocks of birds, created by the Tathâgata; adorned with fields, full of metals; with fords on which it is easy to drink, free from mud, and covered with gold dust. [* The Tibetan translation puts these birds as follows: geese, swans, cranes, ducks, kârandavas, parrots, grouse (kokilas), kunâlas, kalavinkas, and peacocks.]

And when these beings there desire, thinking what kind of wishes should be fulfilled for them, then exactly such wishes are fulfilled for them according to the Law.

'And, O Ânanda, the sound which rises from that water is delightful, and the whole Buddha country is aroused by it. And if beings, who stand on the borders of the river, wish that the sound should not come within their ear-shot, then it does not come within their ear-shot, even if they are possessed of the heavenly ear. And whatever sound a man wishes to hear, exactly that delightful sound he hears, as for instance, the sound "Buddha, Dharma (the Law), Sangha (the Church), the Pâramitâs (highest perfections), the Bhûmis (stages), the Balas (powers), Vaisâradya (perfections), Âvenikabuddhadharma (freedom from attachment), Pratisamvit (consciousness); Sûnyatâ (emptiness), Animitta (unconditioned), Apranihita (free from desire), Anabhisamskâra (not made), Agâta (not born), Anutpâda (without origin), Abhâva (not being), and Nirodha (cessation); Sânta, prasânta, and upasânta (peace); Mahâmaitrî (great love), Mahâkarunâ (great pity), Mahâmuditâ (great rejoicing), and Mahopekshâ (great forgiveness); Anutpattikadharmakshânti (resignation to consequences which have not yet arisen), and Abhishekabhûmipratilambha (attainment of the royal stage)."

'And having heard these sounds, everybody feels the highest delight and pleasure accompanied by retirement, passionlessness, quiet, cessation, law, and a stock of merit leading to the perfect knowledge.

'And, O Ânanda, there is nowhere in that Sukhâvatî world any sound of sin, obstacle, misfortune, distress, and destruction; there is nowhere any sound of pain, even the sound of perceiving what is neither pain nor pleasure is not there, O Ânanda, how much less the sound of pain. For that reason, O Ânanda, that world is called Sukhâvatî, shortly, but not in full. For, O Ânanda, the whole kalpa would come to an end, while the different causes of the pleasure of the world Sukhâvatî are being praised, and even then the end of those causes of happiness could not be reached.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 19.

'And again, O Ânanda, the beings, who have been and will be born in that world Sukhâvatî, will be endowed with such colour, strength, vigour, height and breadth, dominion, accumulation of virtue [Here the text seems corrupt.]; with such enjoyments of dress, ornaments, gardens, palaces, and pavilions; and such enjoyments of touch, taste, smell, and sound; in fact with all enjoyments and pleasures, exactly like the Paranirmitavasavartin gods.

'And again, O Ânanda, in that world Sukhâvatî, beings do not take food consisting of gross materials of gravy or molasses; but whatever food they desire, such food they perceive, as if it were taken, and become delighted in body and mind. Yet they need not put it into their mouth.

'And if, after they are satisfied, they wish different kinds of perfumes, then with these very heavenly kinds of perfumes the whole Buddha country is scented. And whosoever wishes to perceive there such perfume, every perfume of every scent of the Gandharvarâga does always reach his nose.

'And in the same manner, if they desire musical instruments, banners, flags, umbrellas, cloaks, powders, ointments, garlands, and scents, then the whole Buddha country shines with such things. If they desire cloaks of different colours and many hundred thousand colours, then with these very best cloaks the whole Buddha country shines. And the people feel themselves covered with them.

'And if they desire such ornaments, as for instance, head-ornaments, ear-ornaments, neck-ornaments, hand and foot ornaments, namely, diadems, earrings, bracelets, armlets, necklaces, chains, ear-jewels, seals, gold strings, girdles, gold nets[2], pearl nets, jewel nets, nets of bells made of gold and jewels, then they see that Buddha country shining with such ornaments adorned with many hundred thousand jewels, that are fastened to ornament-trees. And they perceive themselves to be adorned with these ornaments.

'And if they desire a palace, with colours and emblems of such and such height and width, adorned with hundred thousand gates made with different jewels, covered with different heavenly flowers, full of couches strewn with beautiful cushions, then exactly such a palace appears before them. And in these delightful palaces they dwell, play, sport, walk about, being honoured, and surrounded by seven times seven thousands of Apsarases.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 20.

'And in that world, there is no difference between gods and men, except when they are spoken of in ordinary and imperfect parlance as gods and men. And, O Ânanda, as a low man and impotent man, before the face of the mighty king, is neither bright, nor warm, nor brilliant, nor is he self-confident and radiant,--thus Sakra, king of the Devas, if before the face of the Paranirmitavasavartin gods, is neither bright, nor warm, nor brilliant, namely, with regard to his gardens, palaces, dresses, ornaments, his dominion, his perfection, his miraculous power, or his supremacy, his comprehension of the Law, and his full enjoyment of the Law. And, O Ânanda, as the Paranirmitavasavartin gods are there, thus men must be considered in the world Sukhâvatî.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 21.

'And again, O Ânanda, in that world Sukhâvatî, when the time of forenoon has come, the winds are greatly agitated and blowing everywhere in the four quarters. And they shake and drive many beautiful, graceful, and many-coloured stalks of the gem trees, which are perfumed with sweet heavenly scents, so that many hundred beautiful flowers of delightful scent fall down on the great earth, which is all full of jewels. And with these flowers that Buddha country is adorned on every side seven fathoms deep. As a clever man might spread out a flower-bed on the earth and make it even with both his hands, beautiful and charming, even thus with those flowers of various scents and colours that Buddha country is shining on every side seven fathoms deep. And these many flowers are soft, pleasant to touch, if one may use a comparison, like Kâkilindika (some kind of soft substance). If one puts one's foot on them, they sink down four inches; if one raises one's foot, they rise again four inches. When the time of the forenoon has gone again, those flowers vanish without leaving anything behind. Then that Buddha country is again clean, pleasant, beautiful, and without fading flowers. The winds blow again everywhere in the four quarters, and scatter down fresh flowers as before. And as it is in the forenoon, so it is at noon, at twilight, in the first, middle, and last watch of the night. And the beings, if touched by those winds which blow perfume with various scents, are as full of happiness as a Bhikshu (mendicant) who has obtained Nirvâna.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 22.

'And in that Buddha country, O Ânanda, no mention is ever made of the names of fire, sun, moon, planets, Nakshatras (constellations), and stars, or of blinding darkness. There is no mention even of day and night, except in the conversation of the Tathâgata. Nor is there any idea of predial property belonging to monasteries.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 23.

'And again, O Ânanda, in that world Sukhâvatî at the proper time clouds full of heavenly perfumed water pour down heavenly flowers of all colours; heavenly seven jewels, heavenly sandalwood-powder, and heavenly umbrellas, flags, and banners are poured down. And in the sky, the heavenly flowers of all colours, and heavenly canopies are held, likewise heavenly excellent umbrellas and all kinds of ornaments, heavenly musical instruments are played, and heavenly Apsarases dance.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 24.

'And again, O Ânanda, in that Buddha country whatever beings have been born, and are being born, and will be born, are always constant in absolute truth, till they have reached Nirvâna. And why is that? Because there is no room or mention there of the other two divisions (râsis), such as beings not constant or constant in falsehood.

'On this wise, O Ânanda, that world is briefly called Sukhâvatî, not at full length. Even a kalpa, O Ânanda, would come to an end, while the causes of happiness which exist in that world Sukhâvatî are being praised, and yet it would be impossible to reach the end of them.'

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 25.

Then the Bhagavat at that time spoke the following verses [The text of these verses is so corrupt that I thought it best to follow the example of the five Chinese translators, all of whom leave them out. They only repeat what was said before, that people might go on for ever praising the excellences of Sukhâvatî, yet they would never reach the end of them, and that the merit of hearing even the name of Sukhâvatî is greater that all other blessings on earth. The best thing, however, is to have faith in Gina, and to drive away all doubt. The Tibetan translator gives a translation of seven verses, but his translation also seems as obscure as the original.]:

'Thus, O Ânanda, the world Sukhâvatî is endowed with immeasurable good qualities and excellences.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 26.

'And again, O Ânanda, in the ten quarters, and in each of them, in all the Buddha countries equal in number to the sand of the Gangâ, the blessed Buddhas equal in number to the sand of the Gangâ, glorify the name of the blessed Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, they preach his fame, they proclaim his glory, they extol his virtue. And why? Because all beings who hear the name of the blessed Amitâbha, and having heard it, raise their thought with joyful longing, even for once only, will not turn away again from the highest perfect knowledge.

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LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 27.

'And before the eyes of those beings, O Ânanda, who again and again think of the Tathâgata reverently, and who make the great and unmeasured stock of good works grow, turning their thought towards Bodhi (knowledge), and who pray to be born in that world, Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, holy and fully enlightened, when the time of their death has approached, will appear, surrounded by many companies of Bhikshus and honoured by them. And then these beings, having seen the Bhagavat, their thoughts filled with joy, will, when they have died, be born in that world of Sukhâvatî. And if, O Ânanda, any son or daughter of a good family should wish--What?--How then may I see that Tathâgata Amitâbha visibly, then he must raise his thought on to the highest perfect knowledge, he must direct his thought with perseverance and excessive desire towards that Buddha country, and direct the stock of his good works towards being born there.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 28.

'But before the eyes of those who do not care much about the Tathâgata Amitâbha, and who do not vigorously increase the great and unmeasured stock of their good works, the Tathâgata Amitâbha, holy and fully enlightened, will appear, at the time of death, with the company of Bhikshus, in breadth and height and form and beauty, very like (the former), and very like (the real Tathâgata), but only created by thought. And they, through their meditation that dwells on perceiving the sight of the Tathâgata, and with unfailing memory, will, when they have died, be born in the same Buddha country.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 29.

'And again, O Ânanda, those beings who meditate on the Tathâgata by giving him the ten thoughts, and who will direct their desire towards that Buddha country, and who will feel satisfaction when the profound doctrines are being preached, and who will not fall off, nor despair, nor fail, but will meditate on that Tathâgata, if it were by one thought only, and will direct their desire toward that Buddha country, they also will see the Tathâgata Amitâbha, while they are in a dream, they will be born in the world Sukhâvatî, and will never turn away from the highest perfect knowledge.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 30.

'And, O Ânanda, after thus seeing the cause and effect, the Tathâgatas of the ten quarters, in immeasurable and innumerable worlds, glorify the name of the Tathâgata Amitâbha, preach his fame, and proclaim his praise. And again, O Ânanda, in that Buddha country, Bodhisattvas equal in number to the sand of the Gangâ approach, from the ten quarters, and in each quarter towards that Tathâgata Amitâbha, in order to see him, to bow before him, to worship him, to consult him, and likewise in order to see that company of Bodhisattvas, and the different kinds of perfection in the multitude of ornaments and excellences belonging to that Buddha country.'

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 31.

Then at that time, the Bhagavat, in order to illustrate this matter in fuller measure, recited these verses:

1. 'As there are Buddha countries equal to the sand of the river Gangâ in the eastern quarter, whence all the Bodhisattvas come to worship the Buddha, the lord Amitâyu;

2. 'And they having taken many bunches of flowers of different colours, sweetly-scented and delightful, shower them down on the best leader of men, on Amitâyu, worshipped by gods and men;--

3. 'In the same manner there are as many Buddha countries in the southern, western, and northern quarters, whence they come with the Bodhisattvas to worship the Buddha, the lord Amitâyu.

4. 'And they having taken many handfulls of scents of different colours, sweetly-scented and delightful, shower them down on the best leader of men, on Amitâyu, worshipped by gods and men.

5. 'These many Bodhisattvas having worshipped and revered the feet of Amitaprabha, and having walked round him respectfully, speak thus: "Oh, the country of Buddha shines wonderfully!"

6. 'And they cover him again with handfulls of flowers, with thoughts jubilant, with incomparable joy, and proclaim their wish before that lord: "May our country also be such as this."

7. 'And what was thrown there as handfulls of flowers arose in the form of an umbrella extending over a hundred yoganas, and the beautiful country shines and is well adorned, and flowers cover the whole body of Buddha.

8. 'These Bodhisattvas having thus honoured him, how do they act?--Delighted they pronounce this speech: "Gains by those people are well gained, by whom the name of the best man has been heard.

9. '"By us also all the gain has been well gained, because we have come to this Buddha country. See this dream-like country [Maitra, 'love,' possibly 'kindness'.] how beautiful it is, which was made by the teacher during a hundred thousand kalpas.

10. '"Look, the Buddha possessed of a mass of the best virtues shines, surrounded by Bodhisattvas. Endless is his splendour, and endless the light, and endless the life, and endless the assembly."

11. 'And the lord Amitâyu makes a smile of thirty-six niyutas of kotîs of rays, which rays having issued from the circle of his mouth light up the thousand kotîs of Buddha countries.

12. 'And all these rays having returned there again settle on the head of the lord; gods and men produce (perceive) the delight, because they have seen there this light of him.

13. 'There rises the Buddha-son, glorious, he indeed the mighty Avalokitesvara, and says: "What is the reason there, O Bhagavat, what is the cause, that thou smilest, O lord of the world?

14. '"Explain this, for thou knowest the sense, and art full of kind compassion, the deliverer of many living beings. All beings will be filled with joyful thoughts, when they have thus heard this excellent and delightful speech.

15. '"And the Bodhisattvas who have come from many worlds to Sukhâvatî in order to see the Buddha, having heard it and having perceived the great joy, will quickly inspect this country.

16. '"And beings, come to this noble country, (quickly) obtain miraculous power, divine eye and divine ear, they remember their former births, and know the highest wisdom."

17. 'Then Buddha Amitâyu preaches: "This prayer was mine formerly, so that beings having in any way whatever heard my name should for ever go to my country.

18. '"And this my excellent prayer has been fulfilled, and beings having quickly come here from many worlds into my presence, never return from here, not even for one birth."

19. 'If a Bodhisattva wishes here that his country should be such as this, and that he also should deliver many beings, through his name, through his preaching, and through his sight,

20. 'Let him quickly and with speed go to the world Sukhâvatî, and having gone near Amitaprabha, let him worship a thousand kotîs of Buddhas.

21. 'Having worshipped many kotîs of Buddhas, and having gone to many countries by means of their miraculous power, and having performed adoration in the presence of the Sugatas, they will go to Sukhâvatî with devotion.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 32.

'And again, O Ânanda, there is a Bodhi-tree belonging to Amitâyus, the Tathâgata, holy and fully enlightened. That Bodhi-tree is ten hundred yoganas in height, having petals, leaves, and branches spread over eight hundred yoganas, having a circumference near the base of the root of five hundred yoganas, always in leaf, always in flower, always in fruit, of different colours, of many hundred thousand colours, of different leaves, of different flowers, of different fruits, adorned with many beautiful ornaments, shining with precious jewels, bright like the moon, beautified with precious jewels (such as are) fastened on Sakra's head, strewn with Kintâmani [Jewels yielding every wish.] jewels, well adorned with the best jewels of the sea, more than heavenly, hung with golden strings, adorned with hundreds of gold chains, jewel-garlands, necklaces, bracelets, strings of red pearls and blue pearls, lion twists (Simhalatâ), girdles, bunches, strings of jewels, and all kinds of jewels, covered with nets of bells, nets of all kinds of jewels, nets of pearls, and nets of gold, adorned with the emblems of the dolphin, the Svastika, the Nandyâvarta, and the moon, adorned with nets of jewels and of bells, and with ornaments of gold and of all kinds of jewels, in fact adorned according to the desires of beings whatever their wishes may be.

'And again, O Ânanda, the sound and noise of that Bodhi-tree, when it is moved by the wind, reaches immeasurable worlds. And, O Ânanda, for those beings whose hearing that Bodhi-tree reaches, no disease of the ear is to be feared until they reach Bodhi (highest knowledge). And for those immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, incomparable, measureless, immense, and inexpressible beings, whose sight that Bodhi-tree reaches, no disease of the eye is to be feared until they reach Bodhi. And again, O Ânanda, for those beings who smell the scent of that Bodhi-tree, no disease of the nose is to be feared until they reach Bodhi. For those beings who taste the fruits of that Bodhi-tree, no disease of the tongue is to be feared until they reach Bodhi. For those beings who are lighted up by the light of that Bodhi-tree, no disease of the body is to be feared until they reach Bodhi. And again, O Ânanda, for those beings who meditate on that Bodhi-tree according to the Law, henceforward until they reach the Bodhi, no perplexity of their thought is to be feared. And all those beings, through the seeing of that Bodhi-tree, never turn away, namely, from the highest perfect knowledge. And they obtain three kinds of kshânti or resignation, namely, Ghoshânugâ, Anulomikî (resignation to natural consequences), and Anutpattika-dharma-kshânti (resignation to consequences which have not yet arisen), through the power of the former prayers of that same Tathâgata Amitâyus, through the service rendered by them to the former Ginas, and through the performance of the former prayers, to be well accomplished, and to be well conceived, without failure or without flaw.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 33.

'And again, O Ânanda, those Bodhisattvas who have been born, are being born, or will be born there, are all bound to one birth only [Their present birth.], and will thence indeed obtain the highest perfect knowledge; barring always the power of prayers, as in the case of those Bodhisattvas who are preaching with the voice of lions, who are girded with the noble armour (of the Law), and who are devoted to the work of helping all people to attain Parinirvâna.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 34.

'And again, O Ânanda, in that Buddha country, those who are Srâvakas are possessed of the light of a fathom, and those who are Bodhisattvas are possessed of the light of a hundred thousand kotîs of yoganas; barring always the two Bodhisattvas, by whose light that world is everywhere shining with eternal splendour.'

Then the blessed Ânanda said this to the Bhagavat: 'What are the names, O Bhagavat, of those two noble-minded Bodhisattvas?'

The Bhagavat said: 'One of them, O Ânanda, is the noble-minded Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, and the second is Mahâsthâmaprâpta by name. And, O Ânanda, these two were born there, having left this Buddha country here.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 35.

'And, O Ânanda, those Bodhisattvas who have been born in that Buddha country are all endowed with the thirty-two marks of a great man, possessed of perfect members, skilled in meditation and wisdom, clever in all kinds of wisdom, having sharp organs, having well-restrained organs, having organs of sense capable of thorough knowledge, not mean, possessed of the five kinds of strength, of patience under censure, and of endless and boundless good qualities.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 36.

'And again, O Ânanda, all those Bodhisattvas who have been born in that Buddha country are not deprived of the sight of Buddha, nor liable to fall down (to the evil states), until they reach the Bodhi. Henceforward they all will never be forgetful of their former births[1]; barring always those who are devoted to their former place, during the disturbances of the kalpas, and while the five kinds of corruption prevail, when there is the appearance of blessed Buddhas in the world, as for instance, that of me at present.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 37.

'And again, O Ânanda, all the Bodhisattvas who have been born in that Buddha country, having gone during one morning meal to the other world, worship many hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of Buddhas, as many as they like, through the favour of Buddha. They consider in many ways that they should worship (Buddhas) with such and such flowers, incense, lamps, scents, garlands, ointments, powder, cloaks, umbrellas, flags, banners, ensigns, music, concerts, and musical instruments; and, as soon as they have considered this, there arise also on their hands exactly such materials for every kind of worship. And while performing worship for those blessed Buddhas with those materials, beginning with flowers and ending with musical instruments, they lay up for themselves much immeasurable and innumerable merit. Again, if they wish that such handfulls of flowers should be produced on their hands, then such handfulls of heavenly flowers, of different colours, of many colours, of different scents, are produced on their hands as soon as thought of. They shower again and again such handfulls of flowers upon those blessed Buddhas. And the very smallest handfull of flowers, being thrown on high, appears above in the sky as an umbrella of flowers ten yoganas in circumference. And when the second has been thrown after it, the first does not fall down on the earth. There are handfulls of flowers there, which having been thrown up, appear in the sky as umbrellas of flowers twenty yoganas in circumference. There appear in the sky some flower-umbrellas, thirty, forty, or fifty yoganas in circumference, as far as a hundred thousand yoganas in circumference. Those (Bodhisattvas) there who perceive the noble pleasure and joy, and obtain the noble strength of thought, having caused a great and immeasurable and innumerable stock of good works to ripen, and having worshipped many hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of Buddhas, turn again to the world Sukhâvatî in one morning, through the favour of practising the former prayers of the same Tathâgata Amitâyus, owing to the hearing of the Law formerly given, owing to the stock of good works produced under former Ginas, owing to the perfect completion in the success of former prayers, owing to the well-ordered state of mind.

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LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 38.

'And again, O Ânanda, all those beings who have been born in that Buddha country recite the story of the Law, which is accompanied by omniscience. And for the beings in that Buddha country there exists no idea of property whatever. And all those going and walking through that Buddha country feel neither pleasure nor pain; stepping forward they have no desire, and with desire they do not step forward. They give no thought to any beings. And again, O Ânanda, for those beings who have been born in that world Sukhâvatî, there is no idea of others, no idea of self, no idea of inequality, no strife, no dispute, no opposition. Full of equanimity, of benevolent thought, of tender thought, of affectionate thought, of useful thought, of serene thought, of firm thought, of unbiassed thought, of undisturbed thought, of unagitated thought, of thought (fixed on) the practice of discipline and transcendent wisdom, having entered on knowledge which is a firm support to all thoughts, equal to the ocean in wisdom, equal to the mountain Meru in knowledge, rich in many good qualities, delighting in the music of the Bodhyangas ['Requisites for attaining the supreme knowledge of a Buddha.'--Childers, Pâli Dictionary, p. 93 b.], devoted to the music of Buddha, they discard the eye of flesh, and assume the heavenly eye. And having approached the eye of wisdom, having reached the eye of the Law, producing the eye of Buddha, showing it, lighting it, and fully exhibiting it, they attain perfect wisdom. And being bent on the equilibrium of the three elements, having subdued and calmed their thoughts, endowed with a perception of the causes of all things, clever in explanation of causes, endowed with the power of explaining the Law (or things such as they really are), clever in taking and refusing, clever in leading and not leading, clever in resting, they, being regardless of worldly stories, derive true pleasures from stories transcending the world. They are clever in examining all things, familiar with the knowledge of the cessation of the working of all things, perceiving even what cannot be seen, caring for nothing, attached to nothing, without cares, without pain, free without clinging to anything, free from impurity, of blameless behaviour, not clinging to anything, intent on the deep or profound laws, they do not sink, elevated to the entrance into the knowledge of Buddha difficult to comprehend, having obtained the path of one vehicle, free from doubt, beyond the reach of questionings, knowing the thoughts of others, free from self-confidence. Being elevated in knowledge, they are like the Sumeru; being imperturbable in thought, they are like the ocean; they surpass the light of the sun and moon, by the light of wisdom, and by the whiteness, brilliancy, purity, and beauty of their knowledge; by their light and splendour, they are like the colour of molten gold; by their patiently bearing the good and evil deeds of all beings, they are like the earth; by their cleaning and carrying off the taint of all sins, they are like water; by their burning the evil of pride in anything, they are like the king of fire; by not clinging to anything, they are like the wind; by pervading all things and yet not caring for anything, they are like the ether; by not being tainted by the whole world, they are like lotuses; by their shouting forth the Law, they are like the great cloud at the rainy season; by showering down the whole ocean of the Law, they are like the great rain; by overpowering great troops, they are like bulls; by the highest restraint of their thoughts, they are like great elephants; by being well trained, they are like noble horses; by their fearlessness, confidence, and heroism, they are like the lion, the king of beasts; by affording protection to all beings, they are like the Nyagrodha (fig-tree), the king of trees; by not being shaken by any calumniators, they are like the (Sumeru), the king of mountains; by their feeling of unlimited love, they are like the sky; by their precedence, owing to their command of the Law, and their stock of all merit, they are like the great Brahman; by their not dwelling in what they have accumulated, they are like birds; by their scattering all calumniators, they are like Garuda, king of birds; by their not being averse to our obtaining difficult things, they are like the Udumbara flowers; calm like elephants, because their senses are neither crooked nor shaken; clever in decision, full of the sweet flavour of patience; without envy, because they do not hanker after the happiness of others; wise, because in their search after the Law, never tired of discussions on the Law; like the precious beryl, through their value; (like) jewel-mines, by their sacred knowledge; sweet-sounding by the noise of the great drum of the Law, striking the great kettledrum of the Law, blowing the great trumpet-shell of the Law, raising the great banner of the Law, lighting the torch of the Law, looking for wisdom, not foolish, faultless, passionless, pure, refined, not greedy, fond of distributing, generous, open-handed, fond of distributing gifts, not stingy in giving instruction and food, not attached, without fear, without desires, wise, patient, energetic, bashful, orderly, fearless, full of knowledge, happy, pleasant to live with, obliging, enlightening the world, free from sorrow, free from taint, having left off the winking of the eye, possessing lightly acquired knowledge, strong in reasoning, strong in prayer, not crooked, not perverse; then, having accumulated a hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of lakshas [The Tibetan translation has Buddha for laksha.] of virtue, delivered from the thorns of pride, free from illusion, hatred, and passion; pure, devoted to what is pure, famous by the Gina-power, learned in the world, elevated by their purified knowledge, sons of the Gina, endowed with the vigour of thought, heroes, firm, unselfish, free from faults, unequalled, free from anger, collected, noble, heroes, bashful, energetic, possessed of memory, understanding, and prudence; sending forth the weapons of knowledge, possessed of purity, shining, free from faults and taints, endowed with memory, resting on serene knowledge. And such, O Ânanda, are the beings in that Buddha country, stated briefly. But if the Tathâgatas should describe them fully, even in a length of life that should last for a hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of kalpas, yet the end of the virtues of those good people would not be reached, and yet there would be no failure of the self-confidence of the Tathâgata. And why? Because, O Ânanda, both are indeed inconceivable and incomparable, viz. first, the virtues of those Bodhisattvas, and secondly, the unsurpassed light of knowledge of the Tathâgata.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 39.

'And now, O Ânanda, stand up, facing westward, and having taken a handful of flowers, fall down. This is the quarter where that Bhagavat Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, holy and fully enlightened, dwells, remains, supports himself, and teaches the Law, whose spotless and pure name, famed in every quarter of the whole world with its ten quarters, the blessed Buddhas, equal to (the grains of) the sand of the river Gangâ, speaking and answering again and again without stopping, extol, praise, and eulogize.'

After this, the blessed Ânanda said this to the Bhagavat: 'I wish, O Bhagavat, to see that Amitâbha, Amitaprabha, Amitâyus, the Tathâgata, holy and fully enlightened, and those noble-minded Bodhisattvas, who are possessed of a stock of merit amassed under many hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of Buddhas.'

At that moment this speech was spoken by the blessed Ânanda, and immediately that Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, holy and fully enlightened, let such a ray of light go out of the palm of his own hand, that even the most distant Buddha country was shining with the great splendour. And again at that time, whatever black mountains, or jewel-mountains, or Merus, great Merus, Mukilindas, great Mukilindas, Kakravâdas, great Kakravâdas, or erections, or pillars, trees, woods, gardens, palaces, belonging to the gods and men, exist everywhere in hundred thousand kotîs of Buddha countries; all these were pervaded and overcome by the light of that Tathâgata. And as a man, followed by another at a distance of a fathom only, would see the other man, when the sun has risen, exactly in the same manner the Bhikshus, Bhikshunîs, Upâsakas (laymen), Upâsikâs (laywomen), gods, Nâgas, Yakshas, Râkshasas, Gandharvas, Asuras, Garudas, Kinnaras, Mahoragas, men and not-men, in this Buddha country, saw at that time that Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, holy and fully enlightened, like the Sumeru, the king of mountains, elevated above all countries, surpassing all quarters, shining, warming, glittering, blazing; and they saw that great mass of Bodhisattvas, and that company of Bhikshus, viz. by the grace of Buddha, from the pureness of that light. And as this great earth might be, when all covered with water, so that no trees, no mountains, no islands, no grasses, bushes, herbs, large trees, no rivers, chasms, water-falls, would be seen, but only the one great earth which had all become an ocean, in exactly the same manner there is neither mark nor sign whatever to be seen in that Buddha courtry, except Srâvakas, spreading their light over a fathom, and those Bodhisattvas, spreading their light over a hundred thousand kotîs of yoganas. And that Bhagavat Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, holy and fully enlightened, overshadowing that mass of Srâvakas and that mass of Bodhisattvas, is seen, illuminating all quarters. Again at that time all those Bodhisattvas, Srâvakas, gods and men in that world Sukhâvatî, saw this world Sahâ and Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, holy and fully enlightened, surrounded by a holy company of Bhikshus, teaching the Law.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 40.

Then, the Bhagavat addressed the noble-minded Bodhisattva Agita, and said: 'Do you see, O Agita, the perfection of the array of ornaments and good qualities in that Buddha country; and above in the sky (places) with charming parks, charming gardens, charming rivers and lotus lakes, scattered with many precious Padmas, Utpalas, Kumudas, and Pundarîkas; and below, from the earth to the abode of the Akanishthas, the surface of the sky, covered with flowers, ornamented with wreaths of flowers, shining on the rows of many precious columns, frequented by flocks of all kinds of birds created by the Tathâgata?'

The Bodhisattva Agita said: 'I see, O Bhagavat.'

The Bhagavat said: 'Do you see again, O Agita, those flocks of immortal birds, making the whole Buddha country resound with the voice of Buddha, so that those Bodhisattvas are never without meditating on Buddha?'

Agita said: 'I see, O Bhagavat.'

The Bhagavat said: 'Do you see again, O Agita, those beings, who have ascended to the palaces which extend over a hundred thousand yoganas in the sky, walking about respectfully

Agita said: 'I see, O Bhagavat.'

The Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Agita, is there any difference between the gods called Paranirmitavasavartins, and men in the world Sukhâvatî?'

Agita said: 'I do not, O Bhagavat, perceive even one difference, so far as the men in that world of Sukhâvatî are endowed with great supernatural powers.'

The Bhagavat said: 'Do you see again, O Agita, those men dwelling within the calyx of excellent lotus-flowers in that world Sukhâvatî?'

He said: 'As gods called Trâyastrimsas or Yâmas, having entered into palaces of fifty or hundred or five hundred yoganas in extent, are playing, sporting, walking about, exactly in the same manner I see, O Bhagavat, these men dwelling within the calyx of excellent lotus-flowers in the world Sukhâvatî.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 41.

'Again there are, O Bhagavat, beings who, being born miraculously, appear sitting cross-legged in the lotus-flowers. What is there, O Bhagavat, the cause, what the reason, that some dwell within the calyx, while others, being born miraculously, appear sitting cross-legged in the lotus-flowers?'

The Bhagavat said: 'Those Bodhisattvas, O Agita, who, living in other Buddha countries, entertain doubt about being born in the world Sukhâvatî, and with that thought amass a stock of merit, for them there is the dwelling within the calyx. Those, on the contrary, who are filled with faith, and being free from doubt, amass a stock of merit in order to be born in the world Sukhâvatî, and conceive, believe, and trust in the perfect knowledge of the blessed Buddhas, they, being born miraculously, appear sitting cross-legged in the flowers of the lotus. And those noble-minded Bodhisattvas, O Agita, who, living in other Buddha countries, raise their thought in order to see Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, holy and fully enlightened, who never entertain a doubt, believe in the perfect knowledge of Buddha and in their own stock of merit, for them, being born miraculously, and appearing cross-legged, there is, in one minute, such a body as that of other beings who have been born there long before. See, O Agita, the excellent, immeasurable, unfailing, unlimited wisdom, that namely for their own benefit they are deprived during five hundred years of seeing Buddhas, seeing Bodhisattvas, hearing the Law, speaking about the Law (with others), and thus collecting a stock of merit; they are indeed deprived of the successful attainment of every stock of merit, and that through their forming ideas tainted with doubt.

'And, O Agita, there might be a dungeon belonging to an anointed Kshatriya king, inlaid entirely with gold and beryl, in which cushions, garlands, wreaths and strings are fixed, having canopies of different colours and kind, covered with silk cushions, scattered over with various flowers and blossoms, scented with excellent scents, adorned with arches, courts, windows, pinnacles, fire-places, and terraces, covered with nets of bells of the seven kinds of gems, having four angles, four pillars, four doors, four stairs; and the son of that king having been thrown into the dungeon for some misdeed is there, bound with a chain made of the Gâmbûnada gold. And suppose there is a couch prepared for him, covered with many woollen cloths, spread over with cotton and feather cushions, having Kâlinga coverings, and carpets, together with coverlids[The text is corrupt here.], red on both sides, beautiful and charming. There he might be then either sitting or resting. And there might be brought to him much food and drink, of various kinds, pure and well prepared. What do you think, O Agita, would the enjoyment be great for that prince?'

Agita said: 'Yes, it would be great, O Bhagavat.'

The Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Agita, would he even taste it there, and notice it, or would he feel any satisfaction from it?'

He said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat; but on the contrary, when he had been led away by the king and thrown into the dungeon, he would only wish for deliverance from there. He would seek for the nobles, princes, ministers, women, elders (rich merchants), householders, and lords of castles, who might deliver him from that dungeon. Moreover, O Bhagavat, there is no pleasure for that prince in that dungeon, nor is he liberated, until the king shows him favour.'

The Bhagavat said: 'Thus, O Agita, it is with those Bodhisattvas who, having fallen into doubt, amass a stock of merit, but doubt the knowledge of Buddha. They are born in that world Sukhâvatî, through the hearing of Buddha's name, and through the serenity of thought only; they do not, however, appear sitting cross-legged in the flowers of the lotus, being born miraculously, but dwell only in the calyx of the lotus-flowers. Moreover for them there exist ideas of palaces and gardens. There is no discharge, there is no phlegm or mucus, there is nothing disagreeable to the mind. But they are deprived of seeing Buddhas, hearing the Law, seeing

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Bodhisattvas, speaking about and ascertaining the Law, (gathering) any (new) stock of merit, and practising the Law, during five hundred years. Moreover they do not rejoice there or perceive satisfaction. But they wish to remove one another, and then they step out behind. And it is not known whether their exit takes place above, below, or across. See, O Agita, there might be worshippings of many hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of Buddhas during those five hundred years, and also many, immense, innumerable, immeasurable stocks of merit to be amassed. But all this they destroy by the fault of doubt. See, O Agita, to how great an injury the doubt of the Bodhisattvas leads. Therefore now, O Agita, after the Bodhisattvas without doubting have quickly raised their thoughts towards the Bodhi, in order to obtain power of conferring happiness for the benefit of all creatures, their stock of merit should be turned towards their being born in the world Sukhâvatî, where the blessed Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, holy and fully enlightened, dwells.'

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 42.

After these words, the Bodhisattva Agita thus spoke to the Bhagavat: 'O Bhagavat, will the Bodhisattvas, who have gone away from this Buddha country, or from the side of other blessed Buddhas, be born in the world Sukhâvatî?'

The Bhagavat said: 'Indeed, O Agita, seventy-two niyutas of kotîs of Bodhisattvas are gone away from this Buddha country, who will be born in the world Sukbavatt; Bodhisattvas, who will never return, thanks to the stock of merit, which they have accumulated under many hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of Buddhas. What then shall be said of those with smaller stocks of merit [What is meant is that their number is much larger.]?

1. Eighteen hundred niyutas of kotîs of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatî from the place of the Tathâgata Dushprasaha. 2. There lives in the Eastern quarter the Tathâgata named Ratnâkara. From his place ninety kotîs of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatî. 3. Twenty-two kotîs of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatî from the place of the Tathâgata Gyotishprabha. 4. Twenty-five kotîs of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatî from the place of the Tathâgata Amitaprabha. 5. Sixty kotîs of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatî from the place of the Tathâgata Lokapradîpa. 6. Sixty-four kotîs of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatî from the place of the Tathâgata Nâgâbhibhû. 7. Twenty-five kotîs of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatî from the place of the Tathâgata Viragahprabha. 8. Sixteen kotîs of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatî from the place of the Tathâgata Simha. 9. Eighteen thousand Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatî from the place of the Tathâgata Simha (sic). 10. Eighty-one niyutas of kotîs of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatî from the place of the Tathâgata Srîkûta. 11. Ten niyutas of kotîs of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatî from the place of the Tathâgata Narendrarâga. 12. Twelve thousand Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatî from the place of the Tathâgata Balâbhigna. 13. Twenty-five kotîs of Bodhisattvas[1], who have obtained strength, having gone to one place in one week of eight days, and having turned to the West during ninety hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of kalpas*, will be born in the world Sukhâvatî from the place of the Tathâgata Pushpadhvaga. [* Sanghavarman's translation of this pasage is: 'Within seven days they can take hold of the firm conditions (dharmas) practised by a noble-minded one during hundred thousand of kotîs of kalpas.' Bodhiruki's is: 'Within seven days they can cause beings to separate from their state of transmigration during hundred thousands of niyutas of kotîs.] 14. Twelve kotîs of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatî from the place of the Tathâgata Gvalanâdhipati. 15. From the place of the Tathâgata Vaisâradyaprâpta, sixty-nine kotîs of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatî, in order to see the Tathâgata Amitâbha, to bow before him, to worship him, to ask questions of him, and to consult him. For this reason, O Agita, I might proclaim during a full niyuta of kotîs of kalpas the names of those Tathâgatas, from whom the Bodhisattvas proceed in order to see that Tathâgata Amitâbha in the world Sukhâvatî, to bow before him, and to worship him, and yet the end could not be reached.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 43.

'See, O Agita, what easy gains are gained by those beings who will hear the name of the Tathâgata Amitâbha, holy and fully enlightened. Nor will those beings be of little faith [or 'following the lower Law.'], who will obtain at least one joyful thought of that Tathâgata and of this treatise of the Law. Therefore now, O Agita, I invite you, and command you to proclaim this treatise of the Law, before the world together with the gods. Having plunged into the vast universe full of fire, no one ought to turn back, if he has but once conceived the thought of going across. And why? Because kotîs of Bodhisattvas indeed, O Agita, return from the highest perfect knowledge, on account of not hearing such treatises of the Law as this. Therefore, from a wish for this treatise of the Law, a great effort should be made to hear, learn, and remember it, and to study it for the sake of fully grasping it and widely making it known. A good copy of it should be kept, after it has been copied in a book, if only during one night and day, or even during the time necessary for milking a cow. The name of Master should be given to a teacher who desires to conduct quickly innumerable beings to the state of never returning from the highest perfect knowledge, namely, in order that they may see the Buddha country of that blessed Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, and to acquire the excellent perfection of the array of good qualities peculiar to his own Buddha country.

'And, O Agita, such beings will have easily gained their gains who, having amassed a stock of merit, having performed service under former Ginas, and having been guided by Buddhas, shall hear in future, until the destruction of the good Law, such-like excellent treatises of the Law, treatises which are praised, eulogized, and approved of by all Buddhas, and convey quickly the great knowledge of omniscience. And those also who, when they have heard it, shall obtain excellent delight and pleasure, and will learn, retain, recite and grasp, and wisely preach it to others, and be delighted by its study, or, having copied it at least, will worship it, will certainly produce much good work, so that it is difficult to count it.

'Thus indeed, O Agita, I have done what a Tathâgata ought to do. It is now for you to devote yourself to it without any doubt. Do not doubt the perfect and unfailing knowledge of Buddha. Do not enter into the dungeon made of gems built up in every way. For indeed, the birth of a Buddha, O Agita, is difficult to be met with, so is the instruction in the Law, and also a timely birth[1]. O Agita, the way to gain the perfection (pâramitâ) of all stocks of merit has been proclaimed by me. Do now exert yourselves and move forward. O Agita, I grant indeed a great favour to this treatise of the Law. Be valiant so that the laws of Buddhas may not perish or disappear. Do not break the command of the Tathâgata.'

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 44.

Then at that time, the Bhagavat spoke these verses:

1. 'Such hearings of me will not be for people who have not done good; but those who are heroes and perfect, they will hear this speech.

2. 'And those by whom the Lord of the world, the enlightened and the light-giver, has been seen, and the law been heard reverentially, will obtain the highest joy.

3. 'Low people of slothful minds cannot find any delight in the laws of Buddha; those who have worshipped in the Buddha countries learn the service of the Lords of the three worlds.

4. 'As a blind man in darkness does not know the way, and much less can show it, so also he who is (only) a Srâvaka [Those who are as yet hearers only of the Law.] in the knowledge of Buddha; how then should beings who are ignorant!

5. 'The Buddha only knows the virtues of a Buddha; but not gods, Nâgas, Asuras, Yakshas, and Srâvakas (disciples); even for Anekabuddhas there is no such way, as when the knowledge of a Buddha is being manifested.

6. 'If all beings had attained bliss, knowing the highest meaning in pure wisdom, they would not in kotîs of kalpas or even in a longer time tell all the virtues of one Buddha.

7. 'Thereupon they would attain Nirvâna, preaching for many kotîs of kalpas, and yet the measure of the knowledge of a Buddha would not be reached, for such is the wonderfulness of the knowledge of the Ginas.

8. 'Therefore a learned man of an intelligent race who believes my words, after having perceived all paths of the knowledge of the Ginas, should utter speech, saying, "Buddha is wise."

9. 'Now and then a man is found, now and then a Buddha appears, knowledge of the object of faith is acquired after a long time,--therefore one should strive to acquire (the knowledge of) the object (of faith).'

10. [The tenth verse is again unintelligible, but may have meant something like tha 'those who having heard the best Laws, are joyful in remembering Sugata, are our friends in time past, and they also who wish for enlightenment.']

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 45.

And while this treatise of the Law was being delivered, twelve kotîs of niyutas of beings obtained the pure and spotless eye of the Law with regard to Laws. Twenty-four hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of beings obtained the Anâgâmin [One who is not born again, except in the Brahma world, and then may obtain Nirvâna.] reward. Eight hundred Bhikshus had their thoughts delivered from faults so as to cling no more to anything. Twenty-five kotîs of Bodhisattvas obtained resignation to things to come. And by forty hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of the human and divine race, thoughts such as had never risen before were turned toward the highest perfect knowledge, and their stocks of merit were made to grow toward their being born in the world Sukhâvatî, from a desire to see the Tathâgata, the blessed Amitâbha. And all of them having been born thcre, will in proper order be born in other worlds, as Tathâgatas, called Mangusvara (sweet-voiced). And eighty kotîs of niyutas having acquired resignation under the Tathâgata Dîpankara, never turning back again from the highest perfect knowledge, rendered perfect by the Tathâgata Amitâyus, practising the duties of former Bodhisattvas, will carry out, after they are born in the world Sukhâvatî, the duties enjoined in the former Pranidhânas (prayers).

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 46.

At that time this universe (the three millions of worlds) trembled in six ways. And various miracles were seen. On earth everything was perfect, and human and divine instruments were played, and the shout of joy was heard as far as the world of the Akanishthas.

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 47.

Thus spoke the Bhagavat enraptured, and the noble-minded Bodhisattva Agita, and the blessed Ânanda, the whole Assembly, and the world, with gods, men, spirits, mighty birds, and fairies, applauded the speech of the Bhagavat.

The praise of the beauty of the excellences of Sukhâvatî, the country of the blessed Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, the entry of the Bodhisattva on the stage of 'never returning,' the story of Amitâbha, the Mahâyânasûtra of the Description of Sukhâvatî is finished.

NOTE: On The Two Pranidhânas,

The 18th And 21st, Missing In The Text. (By The Rev. Bunyiu Nanjio, M.A.,)

In the Chinese translations of the Larger Sukhâvatî-vyûha, made by Sanghavarman, A. D. 252, and Bodhiruki, A. D. 693-713, there are altogether 48 Pranidhânas, not 46, as in the Sanskrit text. The 18th and the 21st in the translations are evidently wanting in the Sanskrit text, and the latter part of the 19th Pranidhâna in that text is the latter part of the lost 18th, according to the translations. This 18th Pranidhâna, however, is so important that it is called by Gen-ku, the teacher of Shin-ran, the founder of the Shin-shiu sect, 'the king of the Pranidhânas.'

Sanghavarman's translation of the 18th, 20th, and 21st is as follows;--

18. 'When I have obtained Buddhahood, if those beings who are in the ten quarters should believe in me with serene thoughts, and should wish to be born in my country, and should have say ten times thought of me (or repeated my name),--if they should not be born there, may I not obtain the perfect knowledge;--barring only those beings who have committed the five deadly sins, and who have spoken evil of the good Law.'

The 18th Pranidhâna in the Sanskrit text agrees with the 19th in both Chinese translations; but the 20th in these translations is somewhat shorter than the 19th in the Sanskrit text. The shorter translation is as follows:--

20. 'When I have obtained Buddhahood, if those beings who are in the ten quarters, after they have heard my name, should direct their thoughts towards my country and should plant the roots of merit (or prepare their stock of merit), and should bring them to maturity with their serene thoughts, and wish to be born in my country,--if they should not accomplish (their desire), may I not obtain the perfect knowledge.

21. 'When I have obtained Buddhahood, if gods and men in my country should not all be endowed perfectly with the thirty-two marks of the great man, may I not obtain the perfect knowledge.'

THE SMALLER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA

or The Smaller / Shorter Mahayana Sutra
(The Smaller Sutra of the Mahayana School)
Source: Sacred Books of the East, Vol 49
Translation: Friedrich Max Müller, 1894
Estimated Range of Dating: 250 B.C. - 100 A.D

(The Shorter Sukhavativyuha Sutra is one of the two Indian Mahayana sutras that describe Sukhavati, the pure land of Amitabha. This text is highly influential in East Asian Buddhism, including China, Korea, Japan, and Vietnam. This text is revered by the Jodo Shinshu, one of Japan's largest Buddhist congregations.

The original Sanskrit versions of the Shorter Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra and Longer Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra were translated into English by Luis Gomez in The Land of Bliss.

History: The Shorter Sukhavativyuha Sutra was translated from Sanskrit into Classical Chinese by Tripitaka master Kumarajiva in 402, but may have existed in India as early as the year 100 in a Prakrit.

Content: The bulk of the Shorter Sukhavativyuha Sutra, considerably shorter than other Pure Land sutras, consists of a discourse which Gautama Buddha gave at Jetavana in Śravasti to his disciple Sariputra. The talk concerned the wondrous adornments that await the righteous in the western

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pure land of Sukhavati as well as the beings that reside there, including the buddha Amitabha. The text also describes what one must do to be reborn there.

The Sukhavati even in its shortest text, is called a Mahayana-sutra, nor is there any reason why a Mahayana-sûtra should not be short. The meaning of Mahayana-sutra is simply a Sutra belonging to the Mahâyâna school, the school of the Great Boat. It was Burnouf who, in his Introduction to the History of Buddhism, tried very hard to establish a distinction between the Vaipulya or developed Sutras, and what he calls the simple Sutras. Now, the Vaipulya Sutras may all belong to the Mahayana school, but that would not prove that all the Sutras of the Mahayana school are Vaipulya or developed Sutras. The name of simple Sutra, in opposition to the Vaipulya or developed Sûtras, is not recognised by the Buddhists themselves; at least, I know no name for simple Sutras. No doubt there is a great difference between a Vaipulya Sutra, such as the Lotus of the Good Law, translated by Burnouf, and the Sûtras which Burnouf translated, for instance, from the Divyavadâna. But what Burnouf considers as the distinguishing mark of a Vaipulya Sûtra, viz. the occurrence of Bodhisattvas, as followers or the Buddha Sakyamuni, would no longer seem to be tenable, unless we classed our short Sukhavati-vyuha as a Vaipulya or developed Sutra. For this there is no authority. Our Sutra is a Mahayana Sutra, but never called a Vaipulya Sutra, and yet in this Sutra the Bodhisattvas constitute a very considerable portion among the followers or Buddha. But more than that, Amitabha, the Buddha of Sukhavati another personage whom Burnouf looks upon as peculiar to the Vaipulya Sutras, who is, in fact, one of the Dhyani-buddhas, though not called by that name in our Sutra, forms the chief object or its teaching, and is represented as known to Buddha Sakyamuni, nay, as having become a Buddha long before the Buddha Sakyamuni. The larger text of the Sukhavati-vyuha would certainly, according to Burnouf's definition, seem to fall into the category of the Vaipulya Sutras. But it is not so called in the Manuscripts.)

ADORATION TO THE OMNISCIENT!

1. Thus it was heard by me: At one time the Blessed (Bhagavat, i.e. Buddha) dwelt at Srâvastî, in the Geta-grove, in the garden of Anâthapindaka, together with a large company of Bhikshus (mendicant friars), viz. with twelve hundred and fifty Bhikshus, all of them acquainted with the five kinds of knowledge, elders, great disciples, and Arhats such as Sâriputra, the elder, Mahâmaudgalyâyana, Mahâkâsyapa, Mahâkapphina, Mahâkâtyâyana, Mahâkaushthila, Revata, Suddhipanthaka, Nanda, Ânanda, Râhula, Gavâmpati, Bharadvâga, Kâlodayin, Vakkula, and Aniruddha. He dwelt together with these and many other great disciples, and together with many noble-minded Bodhisattvas, such as Mangusrî, the prince, the Bodhisattva Agita, the Bodhisattva Gandhahastin, the Bodhisattva Nityodyukta, the Bodhisattva Anikshiptadhura. He dwelt together with them and many other noble-minded Bodhisattvas, and with Sakra, the Indra or King [Indra, the old Vedic god, has come to mean simply 'Lord'] of the Devas, and with Brahman Sahâmpati. With these and many other hundred thousand nayutas [The numbers in Buddhist literature, if they once exceed a koti or kotî, i. e. ten millions, become very vague, nor is their value always the same. Ayuta, i.e. a hundred kotîs; niyuta, i.e. a hundred ayutas; and nayuta, i.e. 1 with 22 zeros, are often confounded; nor does it matter much so far as any definite idea is concerned which such numerals convey to our mind. See Prof. H. Schubert, 'On large numbers,' in Open Court, Dec. 14, 1893.] of sons of the gods, Bhagavat dwelt at Srâvastî.

2. Then Bhagavat addressed the honoured Sâriputra and said, 'O Sâriputra, after you have passed from here over a hundred thousand kotîs of Buddha countries there is in the Western part a Buddha country, a world called Sukhâvatî (the happy country). And there a Tathâgata, called Amitâyus, an Arhat, fully enlightened, dwells now, and remains, and supports himself, and teaches the Law [Tishthati dhriyate yâpayati dharmam ka desayati. This is an idiomatic phrase, which occurs again and again in the Nepalese text of the Sukhâvatî (MS. 26 b, ll. 1, 2; 55 a, l. 2, etc.). It seems to mean, he stands there, holds himself, supports himself, and teaches the law. 'The Law' most likely refers to the 'Five Precepts', also known as 'Pancasila' or 'five rules of training' which is the most important system of morality for Buddhist and Daoist lay people.].

'Now what do you think, Sâriputra, for what reason is that world called Sukhâvatî (the happy)? In that world Sukhâvatî O Sâriputra, there is neither bodily nor mental pain for living beings. The sources of happiness are innumerable there. For that reason is that world called Sukhâvatî (the happy).

3. 'And again, O Sâriputra, that world Sukhâvatî is adorned with seven terraces, with seven rows of palm-trees, and with strings of bells. It is enclosed on every side, beautiful, brilliant with the four gems, viz. gold, silver, beryl and crystal [gold, silver, pearls gems (as sapphire, ruby), cat's eye, lapis lazuli, diamond, coral.]. With such arrays of excellences peculiar to a Buddha country is that Buddha country adorned.

4. 'And again, O Sariputra, in that world Sukhâvatî there are lotus lakes, adorned with the seven gems, viz. gold, silver, beryl, crystal, red pearls, diamonds, and corals as the seventh. They are full of water which possesses the eight good qualities [Which are: limpidity and purity, refreshing coolness, sweetness, softness, fertilising qualities, calmness, power of preventing famine, productiveness.], their waters rise as high as the fords and bathing-places, so that even crows may drink there; they are strewn with golden sand. And in these lotus-lakes there are all around on the four sides four stairs, beautiful and brilliant with the four gems, viz. gold, silver, beryl, crystal. And on every side of these lotus-lakes gem-trees are growing, beautiful and brilliant with the seven gems, viz. gold, silver, beryl, crystal, red pearls, diamonds, and corals as the seventh. And in those lotus-lakes lotus-flowers are growing, blue, blue-coloured, of blue splendour, blue to behold; yellow, yellow-coloured, of yellow splendour, yellow to behold; red, red-coloured, of red splendour, red to behold; white, white-coloured, of white splendour, white to behold; beautiful, beautifully-coloured, of beautiful splendour, beautiful to behold, and in circumference as large as the wheel of a chariot.

5. 'And again, O Sâriputra, in that Buddha country there are heavenly musical instruments always played on, and the earth is lovely and of golden colour. And in that Buddha countrya flower-rain of heavenly Mândârava blossoms pours down three times every day, and three times every night. And the beings who are born there worship before their morning meal a hundred thousand kotîs of Buddhas by going to other worlds; and having showered a hundred thousand kotîs of flowers upon each Tathagata, they return to their own world in time for the afternoon rest [The midday rest, the siesta.]. With such arrays of excellences peculiar to a Buddha country is that Buddha country adorned.

6. 'And again. O Sâriputra, there are in that Buddha country swans, curlews [Is it meant for Kuravîka, or Karavîka, a fine-voiced bird.], and peacocks. Three times every night, and three times every day, they come together and perform a concert each uttering his own note. And from them thus uttering proceeds a sound proclaiming the five virtues*, the five powers*, and the seven steps leading towards the highest knowledge*. When the men there hear that sound, remembrance of Buddha, remembrance of the Law, remembrance of the Church, rises in their mind. [* The 5 indrayas (or balayas): 1) sardhâwa (purity of faith); 2) wiraya, persevering exertion; 3) sati or smirti (the ascertainment of truth); 4) samâdhi, tranquillity; 5) pragnâwa, wisdom. The 7 bodhyangas: 1) sihi or smirti, the ascertainment of the truth by mental application; 2) dharmmawicha, the investigation of causes; 3) wirâya, persevering exertion; 4) prîti, joy; 5) passadhi, or prasrabdhi, tranquillity; 6) samâdhi, tranquillity in a higher degree, including freedom from all that disturbs either body or mind; 7) upekshâ, equanimity.]

'Now, do you think, O Sariputra, that there are beings who have entered into the nature of animals (birds, etc.)? This is not to be thought of. The very name of hells is unknown in that Buddha country, and likewise that of (descent into) animal bodies and of the realm of Yama (the four apayas). No, these tribes of birds have been made on purpose by the Tathâgata Amitâyus, and they utter the sound of the Law. With such arrays of excellences, etc.

7. 'And again, O Sariputra, when those rows of palm-trees and strings of bells in that Buddha country are moved by the wind, a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds from them. Yes, O Sâriputra, as from a heavenly musical instrument consisting of a hundred thousand kotîs of sounds, when played by Âryas, a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds, a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds from those rows of palm-trees and strings of bells moved by the wind. And when the men hear that sound, reflection on Buddha arises in them, reflection on the Law, reflection on the Church. With such arrays of excellences, etc.

8. 'Now what do you think, O Sâriputra, for what reason is that Tathâgata called Amitâyus? The length of life (âyus), O Sâriputra, of that Tathâgata and of those men there is immeasurable (amita). Therefore is that Tathagata called Amitâyus. And ten kalpas have passed, O Sariputra, since that Tathâgata awoke to perfect knowledge.

9. 'And what do you think, O Sariputra, for what reason is that Tathagata called Amitabha? The splendour (abha), O Sâriputra, of that Tathâgata is unimpeded over all Buddha countries. Therefore is that Tathagata called Amitâbha.

'And there is, O Sariputra, an innumerable assembly of disciples with that Tathâgata, purified and venerable persons, whose number it is not easy to count. With such arrays of excellences, etc.

10. 'And again, O Sariputra, of those beings also who are born in the Buddha country of the Tathâgata Amitâyus as purified Bodhisattvas, never to return again and bound by one birth only, of those Bodhisattvas also, O Sariputra, the number is not easy to count, except they are reckoned as infinite in number.

'Then again all beings, O Sariputra, ought to make fervent prayer for that Buddha country. And why? Because they come together there with such excellent men. Beings are not born in that Buddha country of the Tathâgata Amitâyus as a reward and result of good works performed in this present life.

No, whatever son or daughter of a family shall hear the name of the blessed Amitâyus, the Tathâgata, and having heard it, shall keep it in mind, and with thoughts undisturbed shall keep it in mind for one, two, three, four, five, six or seven nights,--when that son or daughter of a family comes to die, then that Amitâyus, the Tathâgata, surrounded by an assembly of disciples and followed by a host of Bodhisattvas, will stand before them at their hour of death, and they will depart this life with tranquil minds. After their death they will be born in the world Sukhâvatî in the Buddha country of the same Amitâyus, the Tathâgata. Therefore, then, O Sâriputra, having perceived this cause and effect [lit. the power of the thing. Just like in Greek-Roman as well as in Western Philosophy generally, the belief in cause and effect is very significant in Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. It is vital for developing yourself and your surroundings. In sharp contrast to that, cause and effect does not play any role in Islam but only the blind indoctrination recorded in the Koran, Sira, and Hadith. This leaves the population poor, angry and aggressive; on purpose.], I with reverence say thus, Every son and every daughter of a family ought with their whole mind to make fervent prayer for that Buddha country.

11. 'And now, O Sâriputra, as I here at present glorify that world, thus, in the East, O Sâriputra, other blessed Buddhas, led by the Tathâgata Akshobhya, the Tathâgata Merudhvaga, the Tathâgata Mahâmeru, the Tathâgata Meruprabhâsa, and the Tathâgata Mangudhvaga, equal in number to the sand of the river Gangi, comprehend their own Buddha countries in their speech, and then reveal them.

Accept this repetition of the Law, called the "Favour of all Buddhas," which magnifies their inconceivable excellences.

12. 'Thus also in the South do other blessed Buddhas, led by the Tathâgata Kandrasûryapradîpa. the Tathâgata Yasahprabha, the Tathâgata Mahârkiskandha, the Tathâgata Merupradîpa, the Tathâgata Anantavîrya, equal in number to the sand of the river Gangâ, comprehend their own Buddha countries in their speech, and then reveal them. Accept, etc.

13. 'Thus also in the West do other blessed Buddhas, led by the Tathâgata Amitâyus, the Tathâgata Amitaskandha, the Tathâgata Amitadhvaga, the Tathâgata Mahâprabha, the Tathâgata Mahcâratnaketu, the Tathâgata Suddharasmiprabha, equal in number to the sand of the river Gangâ, comprehend, etc.

14. 'Thus also in the North do other blessed Buddhas, led by the Tathâgata Mahârkiskandha, the Tathâgata Vaisvânaranirghosha, the Tathâgata Dundubhisvaranirghosha, the Tathâgata Dushpradharsha, the Tathâgata Âdityasambhava, the Tathâgata Galeniprabha (Gvalanaprabha.), the Tathâgata Prabhâkara, equal in number to the sand, etc.

15. 'Thus also in the Nadir do other blessed Buddhas, led by the Tathâgata Simha, the Tathâgata Yasas, the Tathcigata Yasahprabhâva, the Tathâgata Dharma, the Tathâgata Dharmadhara, the Tathâgata Dharmadhvaga, equal in number to the sand, etc.

16. 'Thus also in the Zenith do other blessed Buddhas, led by the Tathâgata Brahmaghosha, the Tathâgata Nakshatrarâga, the Tathâgata Indraketudhvagarâga, the Tathâgata Gandhottama, the Tathâgata Gandhaprabhâsa, the Tathâgata Mahârkiskandha, the Tathâgata Ratnakusumasampushpitagâtra, the Tathâgata Sâlendrarâga, the Tathâgata Ratnotpalasrî, the Tathâgata Sarvârthadarsa, the Tathâgata Sumerukalpa, equal in number to the sand, etc.

17. 'Now what do you think, O Sâriputra, for what reason is that repetition (treatise) of the Law called the Favour of all Buddhas? Every son or daughter of a family who shall hear the name of that repetition of the Law and retain in their memory the names of those blessed Buddhas, will be favoured by the Buddhas, and will never return again, being once in possession of the transcendent true knowledge. Therefore, then, O Sâriputra, believe, accept, and do not doubt of me and those blessed Buddhas!

'Whatever sons or daughters of a family shall make mental prayer for the Buddha country of that blessed Amitâyus, the Tathâgata, or are making it now or have made it formerly, all these will never return again, being once in possession of the transcendent true knowledge. They will be born in that Buddha country, have been born, or are being born now. Therefore, then, O Sâriputra, mental prayer is to be made for that Buddha country by faithful sons and daughters of a family.

18. 'And as I at present magnify here the inconceivable excellences of those blessed Buddhas, thus, O Sâriputra, do those blessed Buddhas magnify my own inconceivable excellences.

'A very difficult work has been done by Sâkyamuni, the sovereign of the Sâkyas. Having obtained the transcendent true knowledge in this world Sahâ, he taught the Law which all the world is reluctant to accept, during this corruption of the present kalpa, during this corruption of mankind, during

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this corruption of belief, during this corruption of life, during this corruption of passions.

19. 'This is even for me, O Sâriputra, an extremely difficult work that, having obtained the transcendent true knowledge in this world Sahâ, I taught the Law which all the world is reluctant to accept, during this corruption of mankind, of belief, of passion, of life, and of this present kalpa.'

20. Thus spoke Bhagavat joyful in his mind. And the honourable Sâriputra, and the Bhikshus and Bodhisattvas, and the whole world with the gods, men, evil spirits and genii, applauded the speech of Bhagavat.

This is the Mahâyâna Sûtra called Sukhâvatî-Vyûha.

THE VAGRAKKHEDIKA

The Diamond-Cutter or The Diamond Sutra
Source: Sacred Books of the East, Vol 49
Translation: Friedrich Max Müller, 1894
Estimated Range of Dating: c. 100-400 A.D

(In order to make this collection of Mahâyâna works more complete and useful to students in Japan I have added a translation of the Vagrakkhedikâ, which is much studied in Japan, and the Sanskrit text of which was published by me in an editio princeps--in the Anecdota Oxoniensia, 1881.

The Vagrakkhedikâ, or the Diamond-cutter, is one of the most widely read and most highly valued metaphysical treatises in Buddhist literature. In Japan the Vagrakkhedikâ and the Pragnâpâramitâ-hridaya are read chiefly by the followers of the Shin-gon sect, founded by Kô-Bô, the great disciple of the famous Hiouen-thsang, in 816 A.D. The temples of this sect in Japan amount to 12,943. Written originally in Sanskrit, it has been translated into Chinese, Tibetan, Mongol, and Mandshu. Its full title is Vagrakkhedikâ Pragnâpâramitâ i.t:. the Diamond-cutter, the perfection of wisdom, or, as it has sometimes been rendered, 'the Transcendent Wisdom.' Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio in his Catalogue of the Tripitaka, p. 1, has shown that it forms the ninth section of the Mahâpragnâ-pâramitâ-sûtra, and that it agrees with the Tibetan translation of the text in 300 slokas.

The Diamond Sūtra (Sanskrit: Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra) is a Mahāyāna (Buddhist) sūtra from the Prajñāpāramitā sutras or 'Perfection of Wisdom' genre. Translated into a variety of languages over a broad geographic range, the Diamond Sūtra is one of the most influential Mahayana sutras in East Asia, and it is particularly prominent within the Chan (or Zen) tradition, along with the Heart Sutra.

The extant copy is in the form of a scroll about 5 meters (16 ft) long. It was found among the Dunhuang manuscripts in 1900 by Daoist monk Wang Yuanlu and the archaeologist Sir Marc Aurel Stein purchased it in 1907 in the walled-up Mogao Caves near Dunhuang in northwest China from a monk guarding the caves – known as the "Caves of the Thousand Buddhas". The scroll are dated back to 11 May 868. It is, in the words of the British Library, "the earliest complete survival of a dated printed book."

Title: The Sanskrit title for the sūtra is the Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra, which may be translated roughly as the "Vajra Cutter Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra" or "The Perfection of Wisdom Text that Cuts Like a Thunderbolt". In English, shortened forms such as Diamond Sūtra and Vajra Sūtra are common. The title relies on the power of the vajra (diamond or thunderbolt, but also an abstract term for a powerful weapon) to cut things as a metaphor for the type of wisdom that cuts and shatters illusions to get to ultimate reality. The sutra is also called by the name "Triśatikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra" (300 lines Perfection of Insight sutra). The Diamond Sūtra is highly regarded in a number of Asian countries with traditions of Mahayana Buddhism.

The exact date of the composition of the Diamond Sūtra in Sanskrit is uncertain—arguments for the 2nd and 5th centuries have been made. The first Chinese translation dates to the early 5th century, but, by this point, the 4th or 5th century monks Asanga and Vasubandhu seem to have already authored authoritative commentaries on its content.

The Vajracchedika sutra was an influential work in the Mahayana Buddhist tradition. Early translations into a number of languages have been found in locations across Central and East Asia, suggesting that the text was widely studied and translated. In addition to Chinese translations, translations of the text and commentaries were made into Tibetan, and translations, elaborations, and paraphrases survive in a number of Central Asian languages.

The first translation of the Diamond Sūtra into Chinese is thought to have been made in 401 by the venerated and prolific translator Kumārajīva. Kumārajīva's translation style is distinctive, possessing a flowing smoothness that reflects his prioritization on conveying the meaning as opposed to precise literal rendering. The Kumārajīva translation has been particularly highly regarded over the centuries, and it is this version that appears on the 868 Dunhuang scroll. It is the most widely used and chanted Chinese version.

In addition to the Kumarajiva translation, a number of later translations exist. The Diamond Sūtra was again translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by Bodhiruci in 509, Paramārtha in 558, Dharmagupta (twice, in 590 and in 605~616), Xuanzang (twice, in 648 and in 660~663), and Yijing in 703.

The Chinese Buddhist scholar and monk Xuanzang visited a Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravāda monastery at Bamiyan, Afghanistan, in the 7th century. Using Xuanzang's travel accounts, modern archaeologists have identified the site of this monastery. Birchbark manuscript fragments of several Mahāyāna sūtras have been discovered at the site, including the Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra (MS 2385), and these are now part of the Schøyen Collection. This manuscript was written in the Sanskrit language, and written in an ornate form of the Gupta script. This same Sanskrit manuscript also contains the Medicine Buddha Sūtra (Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabhārāja Sūtra).

The Diamond Sūtra gave rise to a culture of artwork, sūtra veneration, and commentaries in East Asian Buddhism. By the end of the Tang Dynasty (907) in China there were over 80 commentaries written on it (only 32 survive), such as those by prominent Chinese Buddhists like Sengzhao, Xie Lingyun, Zhiyi, Jizang, Kuiji and Zongmi. Copying and recitation of the Diamond Sutra was a widespread devotional practice, and stories attributing miraculous powers to these acts are recorded in Chinese, Japanese, Tibetan, and Mongolian sources.

One of the best known commentaries is the Exegesis on the Diamond Sutra by Huineng, the Sixth Patriarch of the Chan School. The Diamond Sutra features prominently in the Platform Sutra, the religious biography of Huineng, where hearing its recitation is supposed to have triggered the enlightening insight that led Huineng to abandon his life as a woodcutter to become a Buddhist monk.

Contents

The Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā Sutra contains the discourse of the Buddha to a senior monk, Subhuti. Its major themes are anatman (not-self), the emptiness of all phenomena (though the term 'śūnyatā' itself does not appear in the text), the liberation of all beings without attachment and the importance of spreading and teaching the Diamond Sūtra itself. In his commentary on the Diamond Sūtra, Hsing Yun describes the four main points from the sūtra as giving without attachment to self, liberating beings without notions of self and other, living without attachment, and cultivating without attainment. According to Shigenori Nagamoto, the major goal of the Diamond Sūtra is: "an existential project aiming at achieving and embodying a non-discriminatory basis for knowledge" or "the emancipation from the fundamental ignorance of not knowing how to experience reality as it is."

In the sūtra, the Buddha has finished his daily walk to Sravasti with the monks to gather offerings of food, and he sits down to rest. Elder Subhūti comes forth and asks the Buddha: "How, Lord, should one who has set out on the bodhisattva path take his stand, how should he proceed, how should he control the mind?" What follows is a dialogue regarding the nature of the 'perfection of insight' (Prajñāpāramitā) and the nature of ultimate reality (which is illusory and empty). The Buddha begins by answering Subhuti by stating that he will bring all living beings to final nirvana, but that after this "no living being whatsoever has been brought to extinction". This is because a bodhisattva does not see beings through reified concepts such as 'person', 'soul' or 'self', but sees them through the lens of perfect understanding, as empty of inherent, unchanging self.

The Buddha continues his exposition with similar statements which use negation to point out the emptiness of phenomena, merit, the Dharma (Buddha's teaching), the stages of enlightenment and the Buddha himself. Japanese Buddhologist Hajime Nakamura calls this negation the "logic of not" (Sanskrit: na prthak). Further examples of the Diamond Sūtra's via negativa include statements such as:

• As far as "all dharmas" are concerned, Subhuti, all of them are dharma-less. That is why they are called "all dharmas"

• Those so-called "streams of thought", Subhuti, have been preached by the Tathagata as streamless. That is why they are called "streams of thought".

• "All beings", Subhuti, have been preached by the Tathagata as beingless. That is why they are called "all beings".

The Buddha is generally thought to be trying to help Subhūti unlearn his preconceived, limited notions of the nature of reality. Emphasizing that all phenomena are ultimately illusory, he teaches that true enlightenment cannot be grasped until one has set aside attachment to them in any form.

Another reason why the Buddha makes use of negation is that language reifies concepts and this can lead to attachment to those concepts, but true wisdom is seeing that nothing is fixed or stable, hence according to the Diamond Sūtra thoughts such as "I have obtained the state of an Arhat" or "I will bring living beings to nirvana" do not even occur in an enlightened one's mind because this would be "seizing upon a self...seizing upon a living being, seizing upon a soul, seizing upon a person." Indeed, the sutra goes on to state that anyone who says such things should not be called a bodhisattva. According to David Kalupahana the goal of the Diamond Sūtra is "one colossal attempt to avoid the extremist use of language, that is, to eliminate any ontological commitment to concepts while at the same time retaining their pragmatic value, so as not to render them totally empty of meaning." Kalupahana explains the negation of the Diamond Sūtra by seeing an initial statement as an erroneous affirmation of substance or selfhood, which is then critiqued ("'all dharmas' are dharmaless"), and then finally reconstructed ("that is why they are called 'all dharmas'") as being conventional and dependently originated. Kalupahana explains this final reconstruction as meaning: "that each concept, instead of either representing a unique entity or being an empty term, is a substitute for a human experience which is conditioned by a variety of factors. As such, it has pragmatic meaning and communicative power without being absolute in any way." According to Paul Harrison, the Diamond Sūtra's central argument here is that "all dharmas lack a self or essence, or to put it in other words, they have no core ontologically, they only appear to exist separately and independently by the power of conventional language, even though they are in fact dependently originated."

The mind of someone who practices the Prajnāpāramitā or 'perfection of insight' is then a mind free from fixed substantialist or 'self' concepts:

"However, Lord, the idea of a self will not occur to them, nor will the idea of a living being, the idea of a soul, or the idea of a person occur. Why is that? Any such idea of a self is indeed idealess, any idea of a living being, idea of a soul, or idea of a person is indeed idealess. Why is that? Because the Buddhas and Lords are free of all ideas."

Throughout the teaching, the Buddha repeats that successful memorization and elucidation of even a four-line extract of it is of incalculable merit, better than giving an entire world system filled with gifts and can bring about enlightenment. Section 26 (of the Chinese version) also ends with a four-line gatha:

All conditioned phenomena
Are like a dream, an illusion, a bubble, a shadow,
Like dew or a flash of lightning;
Thus we shall perceive them."

The colophon, at the inner end, reads: Reverently made for universal free distribution by Wang Jie on behalf of his two parents on the 15th of the 4th moon of the 9th year of Xiantong [11 May 868].)

ADORATION to the blessed Ârya-pragnâ-pâramitâ (perfection of wisdom).

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 1

Thus it was heard by me: At one time Bhagavat (the blessed Buddha) dwelt in Srâvastî, in the grove of Geta [Son of king Prasenagit.], in the garden of Anâthapindada [Another name of Sudatta, meaning, literally, he who gives food to the poor.], together with a large company of Bhikshus (mendicants), viz. with 1250 Bhikshus [Monk, nun.], with many noble-minded Bodhisattvas [Higher beings on the road to Bodhi or perfect knowledge. They are destined hereafter to become Buddhas themselves.].

Then Bhagavat having in the forenoon put on his undergarment [Putting on the robes early in the morning.], and having taken his bowl and cloak, entered the great city of Srâvastî to collect alms. Then Bhagavat, after he had gone to the great city of Srâvastî to collect alms, performed the act of eating, and having returned from his round in the afternoon, he put away his bowl and cloak, washed his feet, and sat down on the seat intended for him, crossing his legs, holding his body upright, and turning his reflection upon himself. Then many Bhikshus approached to where Bhagavat was, saluted his feet with their heads, turned three times round hira to the right, and sat down on one side.

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 2

At that time again the venerable Subhûti came to that assembly and sat down. Then rising from his seat and putting his robe over one shoulder, kneeling on the earth with his right knee, he stretched out his folded hands towards Bhagavat and said to him: 'It is wonderful, O Bhagavat, it is exceedingly wonderful, O Sugata, how much the noble-minded Bodhisattvas have been favoured with the highest favour by the Tathâgata, the holy and fully enlightened! It is wonderful how much the noble-minded Bodhisattvas have been instructed with the highest instruction by the Tathâgata, the holy and fully enlightened! How then, O Bhagavat, should the son or the daughter of a good family, after having entered on the path of the Bodhisattvas, behave, how should he advance, and how should he restrain his thoughts?'

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After the venerable Subhûti had thus spoken, Bhagavat said to him: 'Well said, well said, Subhûti! So it is, Subhûti, so it is, as you say. The noble-minded Bodhisattvas have been favoured with the highest favour by the Tathâgata, the noble-minded Bodhisattvas have been instructed with the highest instruction by the Tathâgata. Therefore, O Subhûti, listen and take it to heart, well and rightly. I shall tell you, how any one who has entered on the path of Bodhisanvas should behave, how he should advance, and how he should restrain his thoughts.' Then the venerable Subhûti answered the Bhagavat and said: 'So be it, O Bhagavat.'

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 3

Then the Bhagavat thus spoke to him: 'Any one, O Subhûti, who has entered here on the path of the Bodhisattvas must thus frame his thought: As many beings as there are in this world of beings, comprehended under the term of beings (either born of eggs, or from the womb, or from moisture, or miraculously), with form or without form, with name or without name, or neither with nor without name, as far as any known world of beings is known, all these must be delivered by me in the perfect world of Nirvâna. And yet, after I have thus delivered immeasurable beings, not one single being has been delivered. And why? If, O Subhûti, a Bodhisattva had any idea of (belief in) a being, he could not be called a Bodhisattva (one who is fit to become a Buddha). And why? Because, O Subhûti, no one is to be called a Bodhisattva, for whom there should exist the idea of a being, the idea of a living being, or the idea of a person.'

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 4

'And again, O Subhûti, a gift should not be given by a Bodhisattva, while he believes [To believe here means to depend on or ta accept as real.] in objects; a gift should not be given by him, while he believes in anything; a gift should not be given by him, while he believes in form; a gift should not be given by him, while he believes in the special qualities of sound, smell, taste, and touch. For thus, O Subhûti, should a gift be given by a noble-minded Bodhisattva, that he should not believe even in the idea of cause. And why? Because that Bodhisattva, O Subhûti, who gives a gift, without believing in anything, the measure of his stock of merit is not easy to learn.'--'What do you think, O Subhûti, is it easy to learn the measure of space in the eastern quarter?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat.'--Bhagavat said: 'In like manner, is it easy to learn the measure of space in the southern, western, northern quarters, below and above (nadir and zenith), in quarters and subquarters, in the ten quarters all round?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat.' Bhagavat said: 'In the same manner, O Subhûti, the measure of the stock of merit of a Bodhisattva, who gives a gift without believing in anything, is not easy to learn. And thus indeed, O Subhûti, should one who has entered on the path of Bodhisattvas give a gift, that he should not believe even in the idea of cause.'

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 5

'Now, what do you think, O Subhûti, should a Tathâgata be seen (known) by the possession of signs [Qualities by which he could be known.?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat, a Tathâgata is not to be seen (known) by the possession of signs. And why? Because what has been preached by the Tathâgata as the possession of signs, that is indeed the possession of no-signs.'

After this, Bhagavat spoke thus to the venerable Subhûti: 'Wherever there is, O Subhûti, the possession of signs, there is falsehood; wherever there is no possession of signs, there is no falsehood. Hence the Tathâgata is to be seen (known) from no-signs as signs.'

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 6

After this, the venerable Subhûti spoke thus to the Bhagavat: 'Forsooth, O Bhagavat, will there be any beings in the future, in the last time, in the last moment, in the last 500 years, during the time of the decay of the good Law [The Five Precepts], who, when these very words of the Sûtras are being preached, will frame a true idea [Will understand them properly.]?' The Bhagavat said: 'Do not speak thus, Subhûti. Yes, there will be some beings in the future, in the last time, in the last moment, in the last 500 years, during the decay of the good Law, who will frame a true idea when these very words are being preached.

'And again, O Subhûti, there will be noble-minded Bodhisattvas, in the future, in the last time, in the last moment, in the last 500 years, during the decay of the good Law, there will be strong and good and wise beings, who, when these very words of the Sûtras are being preached, will frame a true idea. But those noble-minded Bodhisattvas, O Subhûti, will not have served one Buddha only, and the stock of their merit will not have been accumulated under one Buddha only; on the contrary, O Subhûti, those noble-minded Bodhisattvas will have served many hundred thousands of Buddhas, and the stock of their merit will have been accumulated under many hundred thousands of Buddhas; and they, when these very words of the Sûtras are being preached, will obtain one and the same faith. They are known, O Subhûti, by the Tathâgata through his Buddha-knowledge; they are seen, O Subhûti, by the Tathâgata through his Buddha-eye; they are understood, O Subhûti, by the Tathâgata. All these, O Subhûti, will produce and will hold fast an immeasurable and innumerable stock of merit. And why? Because, O Subhûti, there does not exist in those noble-minded Bodhisattvas the idea of self, there does not exist the idea of a being, the idea of a living being, the idea of a person. Nor does there exist, O Subhûti, for these noble-minded Bodhisattvas the idea of quality (dharma), nor of no-quality. Neither does there exist, O Subhûti, any idea (samgnâ) or no-idea. And why? Because, O Subhûti, if there existed for these noble-minded Bodhisattvas the idea of quality, then they would believe in a self, they would believe in a being, they would believe in a living being, they would believe in a person. And if there existed for them the idea of no-quality, even then they would believe in a self, they would believe in a being, they would believe in a living being, they would believe in a person. And why? Because, O Subhûti, neither quality nor no-quality is to be accepted by a noble-minded Bodhisattva. Therefore this hidden saying has been preached by the Tathâgata: "By those who know the teaching of the Law, as like unto a raft, all qualities indeed must be abandoned; much more no-qualities"'

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 7

And again Bhagavat spoke thus to the venerable Subhûti: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, is there anything (dharma) that was known by the Tathâgata under the name of the highest perfect knowledge, or anything that was taught by the Tathâgata?'

After these words, the venerable Subhûti spoke thus to Bhagavat: 'As I, O Bhagavat, understand the meaning of the preaching of the Bhagavat, there is nothing that was known by the Tathâgata under the name of the highest perfect knowledge, nor is there anything that is taught by the Tathâgata. And why? Because that thing which was known or taught by the Tathâgata is incomprehensible and inexpressible. It is neither a thing nor no-thing. And why? Because the holy persons[Aryapudgala need not be Bodhisattvas, but all who have entered on the path leading to Nirvâna.] are of imperfect power.'

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 8

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, if a son or daughter of a good family filled this sphere of a million millions of worlds with the seven gems or treasures, and gave it as a gift to the holy and enlightened Tathâgatas, would that son or daughter of a good family on the strength of this produce a large stock of merit?' Subhûti said: 'Yes, O Bhagavat, yes, O Sugata, that son or daughter of a good family would on the strength of this produce a large stock of merit. And why? Because, O Bhagavat, what was preached by the Tathâgata as the stock of merit, that was preached by the Tathâgata as no-stock of merit. Therefore the Tathâgata preaches: "A stock of merit, a stock of merit indeed!"' Bhagavat said: 'And if, O Subhûti, the son or daughter of a good family should fill this sphere of a million millions of worlds with the seven treasures and should give it as a gift to the holy and enlightened Tathâgatas, and if another after taking from this treatise of the Law one Gâthâ of four lines only should fully teach others and explain it, he indeed would on the strength of this produce a larger stock of merit immeasurable and innumerable. And why? Because, O Subhûti, the highest perfect knowledge of the holy and enlightened Tathâgatas is produced from it; the blessed Buddhas are produced from it. And why? Because, O Subhûti, when the Tathâgata preached:

"The qualities of Buddha, the qualities of Buddha indeed!" they were preached by him as no-qualities of Buddha. Therefore they are called the qualities of Buddha.'

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 9

Bhagavat said: 'Now, what do you think, O Subhûti, does a Srota-âpanna think in this wise: The fruit of Srota-âpatti has been obtained by me?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat, a Srota-âpanna does not think in this wise: The fruit of Srota-âpatti has been obtained by me. And why? Because, O Bhagavat, he has not obtained any particular state (dharma). Therefore he is called a Srota-âpanna. He has not obtained any form, nor sounds, nor smells, nor tastes, nor things that can be touched. Therefore he is called a Srota-âpanna. If, O Bhagavat, a Srota-âpanna were to think in this wise: The fruit of Srota-âpatti has been obtained by me, he would believe in a self, he would believe in a being, he would believe in a living being, he would believe in a person.'

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, does a Sakridâgâmin think in this wise: The fruit of a Sakridâgâmin has been obtained by me?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat, a Sakridâgâmin does not think in this wise: The fruit of a Sakridâgâmin has been obtained by me. And why? Because he is not an individual being (dharma), who has obtained the state of a Sakridâgâmin. Therefore he is called a Sakridâgâmin.'

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, does an Anâgâmin think in this wise: The fruit of an Anâgâmin has been obtained by me?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat, an Anâgâmin does not think in this wise: The fruit of an Anâgâmin has been obtained by me. And why? Because he is not an individual being, who has obtained the state of an Anâgâmin. Therefore he is called an Anâgâmin.'

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, does an Arhat think in this wise: The fruit of an Arhat has been obtained by me?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat, an Arhat does not think in this wise: The fruit of an Arhat has been obtained by me. And why? Because he is not an individual being, who is called an Arhat. Therefore he is called an Arhat. And if, O Bhagavat, an Arhat were to think in this wise: The state of an Arhat has been obtained by me, he would believe in a self, he would believe in a being, he would believe in a living being, he would believe in a person.

'And why? I have been pointed out, O Bhagavat, by the holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata, as the foremost of those who dwell in virtue*. [* Aranâvihârin. Rana is strife, then sin, therefore arana might be peace and virtue, only the a would be short. Probably aranavihârin was formed with reference to âranya-vihârin, living in the forest, retired from the world, and in peace, just as arhan, worthy, was changed into arahan, the destroyer of sin. Beal translates, 'one who delights in the mortification of an Aranyaka (forest devotee).' De Harlez: 'chey de ceux qui ne sont plus attachés à la jouissance.']

I, O Bhagavat, am an Arhat, freed from passion. And yet, O Bhagavat, I do not think in this wise: I am an Arhat, I am freed from passion. If, O Bhagavat, I should think in this wise, that the state of an Arhat has been obtained by me, then the Tathâgata would not have truly prophesied of me, saying: "Subhûti, the son of a good family, the foremost of those dwelling in virtue, does not dwell anywhere, and therefore he is called a dweller in virtue, a dweller in virtue indeed!"'

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 10

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, is there anything (dharma) which the Tathâgata has adopted from the Tathâgata Dîpankara [A former Buddha.], the holy and fully enlightened?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat; there is not anything which the Tathâgata has adopted from the Tathâgata Dîpankara, the holy and fully enlightened.'

Bhagavat said: 'If, O Subhûti, a Bodhisattva should say: "I shall create numbers of worlds," he would say what is untrue. And why? Because, O Subhûti, when the Tathâgata preached: Numbers of worlds, numbers of worlds indeed! they were preached by him as no-numbers. Therefore they are called numbers of worlds.

'Therefore, O Subhûti, a noble-minded Bodhisattva should in this wise frame an independent mind, which is to be framed as a mind not believing in anything, not believing in form, not believing in sound, smell, taste, and anything that can be touched. Now, for instance, O Subhûti, a man might have a body and a large body, so that his size should be as large as the king of mountains, Sumeru. Do you think then, O Subhûti, that his selfhood (he himself) would be large?' Subhûti said: 'Yes, O Bhagavat, yes, O Sugata, his selfhood would be large. And why? Because, O Bhagavat, when the Tathâgata preached: "Selfhood, selfhood indeed!" it was preached by him as no-selfhood. Therefore it is called selfhood.'

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 11

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, if there were as many Gangâ rivers as there are grains of sand in the large river Gangâ, would the grains of sand be many?' Subhûti said: 'Those Gangâ rivers would indeed be many, much more the grains of sand in those Gangâ rivers.' Bhagavat said: 'I tell you, O Subhûti, I announce to you, If a woman or man were to fill with the seven treasures as many worlds as there would be grains of sand in those Gangâ rivers and present them as a gift to the holy and fully enlightened Tathâgatas--What do you think, O Subhûti, would that woman or man on the strength of this produce a large stock of merit?' Subhûti said: 'Yes, O Bhagavat, yes, O Sugata, that woman or man would on the strength of this produce a large stock of merit, immeasurable and innumerable.' Bhagavat said: 'And if, O Subhûti, a woman or man having filled so many worlds with the seven treasures should give them as a gift to the holy and enlightened Tathâgatas, and if another son or daughter of a good family, after taking from this treatise of the Law one Gâthâ of four lines only, should fully teach others and explain it, he, indeed, would on the strength of this produce a larger stock of merit, immeasurable and innumerable.'

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 12

'Then again, O Subhûti, that part of the world in which, after taking from this treatise of the Law one Gâthâ of four lines only, it should be preached or explained, would be like a Kaitya (holy shrine) for the whole world of gods, men, and spirits; what should we say then of those who learn the whole

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of this treatise of the Law to the end, who repeat it, understand it, and fully explain it to others? They, O Subhûti, will be endowed with the highest wonder [With what excites the highest wonder.]. And in that place, O Subhûti, there dwells the teacher [Sasta, often the name of Budha, Pâli sattha.], or one after another holding the place of the wise preceptor [This may refer to a succession of teachers handing down the tradition one to the other.]

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 13

After these words, the venerable Subhûti spoke thus to Bhagavat: 'O Bhagavat, how is this treatise of the Law called, and how can I learn it?' After this, Bhagavat spoke thus to the venerable Subhûti: 'This treatise of the Law, O Subhûti, is called the Pragnâ-pâramitâ (Transcendent wisdom), and you should learn it by that name. And why? Because, O Subhûti, what was preached by the Tathâgata as the Pragnâ-pâramitâ, that was preached by the Tathâgata as no-Pâramitâ. Therefore it is called the Pragnâ-pâramitâ.

'Then, what do you think, O Subhûti, is there anything (dharma) that was preached by the Tathâgata?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagvat, there is not anything that was preached by the Tathâgata.'

Bhagavat said. 'What do you think then, O Subhûti,--the dust of the earth which is found in this sphere of a million millions of worlds, is that much?' Subhûti said: 'Yes, O Bhagavat, yes, O Sugata, that dust of the earth would be much. And why? Because, O Bhagavat, what was preached by the Tathâgata as the dust of the earth, that was preached by the Tathâgata as no-dust. Therefore it is called the dust of the earth. And what was preached by the Tathâgata as the sphere of worlds, that was preached by the Tathâgata as no-sphere. Therefore it is called the sphere of worlds.'

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, is a holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata to be seen (known) by the thirty-two signs of a hero?' Subhûti said: 'No indeed, O Bhagavat; a holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata is not to be seen (known) by the thirty-two signs of a hero. And why? Because what was preached by the Tathâgata as the thirty-two signs of a hero, that was preached by the Tathâgata as no-signs. Therefore they are called the thirty-two signs of a hero.'

Bhagavat said: 'If, O Subhûti, a woman or man should day by day sacrifice his life [selfhood*]; as many times as there are grains of sand in the river Gangâ, and if he should thus sacrifice his life for as many kalpas as there are grains of sand in the river Gangâ, and if another man, after taking from this treatise of the Law one Gâthâ of four lines only, should fully teach others and explain it, he indeed would on the strength of this produce a larger stock of merit, immeasurable and innumerable.' [* Atmabhava seems to refer here to the living body, not to the spiritual Âtman, which, according to Buddha, can be got rid of by knowledge only. Buddha himself sacrificed his life again and again, and a willingness to die would probably be accepted for the deed.]

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 14

At that time, the venerable Subhûti was moved by the power of the Law, shed tears, and having wiped his tears, he thus spoke to Bhagavat: 'It is wonderful, O Bhagavat, it is exceedingly wonderful, O Sugata, how fully this teaching of the Law has been preached by the Tathâgata for the benefit of those beings who entered on the foremost path (the path that leads to Nirvâna), and who entered on the best path, from whence, O Bhagavat, knowledge has been produced in me. Never indeed, O Bhagavat, has such a teaching of the Law been heard by me before. Those Bodhisattvas, O Bhagavat, will be endowed with the highest wonder [Will possess miraculous powers, and will be admired.], who when this Sûtra is being preached hear it and will frame to themselves a true idea. And why? Because what is a true idea is not a true idea. Therefore the Tathâgata preaches: "A true idea, a true idea indeed!"

'It is no wonder to me, O Bhagavat, that I accept and believe this treatise of the Law, which has been preached. And those beings also, O Bhagavat, who will exist in the future, in the last time, in the last moment, in the last 500 years, during the time of the decay of the good Law, who will learn this treatise of the Law, O Bhagavat, remember it, recite it, understand it, and fully explain it to others, they will indeed be endowed with the highest wonder.

'But, O Bhagavat, there will not arise in them any idea of a self, any idea of a being, of a living being, or a person, nor does there exist for them any idea or no-idea. And why? Because, O Bhagavat, the idea of a self is no-idea, and the idea of a being, or a living being, or a person is no-idea. And why? Because the blessed Buddhas are freed from all ideas.'

After these words, Bhagavat thus spoke to the venerable Subhûti: 'So it is, O Subhûti, so it is. Those beings, O Subhûti, who when this Sûtra was being recited here will not be disturbed or frightened or become alarmed, will be endowed with the highest wonder. And why? Because, O Subhûti, this was preached by the Tathâgata, as the Paramapâramitâ, which is no-Pâramitâ. And, O Subhûti, what the Tathâgata preaches as the Paramapâramitâ, that was preached also by immeasurable blessed Buddhas. Therefore it is called the Paramapâramitâ.

'And, O Subhûti, the Pâramitâ or the highest perfection of endurance (kshânti) belonging to a Tathâgata, that also is no-Pâramitâ. And why? Because, O Subhûti, at the time when the king of Kalinga [The Chinese text points to Kalirâgâ. On this Kalirâgâ or Kalinripa see Lalita-vistara, p. 191.] cut my flesh from every limb, I had no idea of a self, of a being, of a living being, or of a person; I had neither an idea nor no-idea. And why? Because, O Subhûti, if I at that time had had an idea of a self, I should also have had an idea of malevolence. If I had had an idea of a being, or of a living being, or of a person, I should also have had an idea of malevolence. And why? Because, O Subhûti, I remember the past 500 births, when I was the Rishi Kshântivâdin (preacher of endurance). At that time also, I had no idea of a self, of a being, of a living being, of a person. Therefore then, O Subhûti, a noble-minded Bodhisattva, after putting aside all ideas, should raise his mind to the highest perfect knowledge. He should frame his mind so as not to believe (depend) in form, sound, smell, taste, or anything that can be touched, in something (dharma), in nothing or anything. And why? Because what is believed is not believed (not to be depended on). Therefore the Tathâgata preaches: "A gift should not be given by a Bodhisattva[1] who believes in anything, it should not be given by one who believes in form, sound, smell, taste, or anything that can be touched."

'And again, O Subhûti, a Bodhisattva should in such wise give his gift for the benefit of all beings. And why? Because, O Subhûti, the idea of a being is no-idea. And those who are thus spoken of by the Tathâgata as all beings are indeed no-beings. And why? Because, O Subhûti, a Tathâgata says what is real, says what is true, says the things as they are; a Tathâgata does not speak untruth.

'But again, O Subhûti, whatever doctrine has been perceived, taught, and meditated on by a Tathâgata, in it there is neither truth nor falsehood. And as a man who has entered the darkness would not see anything, thus a Bodhisattva is to be considered who is immersed in objects, and who being immersed in objects gives a gift. But as a man who has eyes would, when the night becomes light, and the sun has risen, see many things, thus a Bodhisattva is to be considered who is not immersed in objects, and who not being immersed in objects gives a gift.

'And again, O Subhûti, if any sons or daughters of good families will learn this treatise of the Law, will remember, recite, and understand it, and fully explain it to others, they, O Subhûti, are known by the Tathâgata through his Buddha-knowledge, they are seen, O Subhûti, by the Tathâgata through his Buddha-eye. All these beings, O Subhûti, will produce and hold fast an immeasurable and innumerable stock of merit.'

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 15

'And if, O Subhûti, a woman or man sacrificed in the morning as many lives as there are grains of sand in the river Gangâ and did the same at noon and the same in the evening, and if in this way they sacrificed their lives for a hundred thousands of niyutas of kotîs of ages, and if another, after hearing this treatise of the Law, should not oppose it, then the latter would on the strength of this produce a larger stock of merit, immeasurable and innumerable. What should we say then of him who after having written it, learns it, remembers it, understands it, and fully explains it to others?

'And again, O Subhûti, this treatise of the Law is incomprehensible and incomparable. And this treatise of the Law has been preached by the Tathâgata for the benefit of those beings who entered on the foremost path (the path that leads to Nirvâna), and who entered on the best path. And those who will learn this treatise of the Law, who will remember it, recite it, understand it, and fully explain it to others, they are known, O Subhûti, by the Tathâgata through his Buddha-knowledge, they are seen, O Subhûti, by the Tathâgata through his Buddha-eye. All these beings, O Subhûti, will be endowed with an immeasurable stock of merit, they will be endowed with an incomprehensible, incomparable, immeasurable and unmeasured stock of merit. All these beings, O Subhûti, will equally remember the Bodhi (the highest Buddha-knowledge), will recite it, and understand it. And why? Because it is not possible, O Subhûti, that this treatise of the Law should be heard by beings of little faith, by those who believe in self, in beings, in living beings, and in persons. It is impossible that this treatise of the Law should be heard by beings who have not acquired the knowledge of Bodhisattvas, or that it should be learned, remembered, recited, and understood by them. The thing is impossible.

'And again, O Subhûti, that part of the world in which this Sûtra will be propounded, will have to be honoured by the whole world of gods, men, and evil spirits, will have to be worshipped, and will become like a Kaitya (a holy sepulchre).'

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 16

And, O Subhûti, sons or daughters of a good family who will learn these very Sûtras, who will remember them. recite them, understand them, thoroughly take them to heart, and fully explain them to others, they will be overcome, they will be greatly overcome. And why? Because, O Subhûti, whatever evil deeds these beings have done in a former birth, deeds that must lead to suffering, those deeds these beings, owing to their being overcome, after they have seen the Law, will destroy, and they will obtain the knowledge of Buddha.

'I remember, O Subhûti, in the past, before innumerable and more than innumerable kalpas, there were eighty-four hundred thousands of niyutas of kotîs of Buddhas following after the venerable and fully enlightened Tathâgata Dîpankara, who were pleased by me, and after being pleased were not displeased. And if, O Subhûti, these blessed Buddhas were pleased by me, and after being pleased were not displeased, and if on the other hand people at the last time, at the last moment, in the last 500 years, during the time of the decay of the good Law, will learn these very Sûtras, remember them, recite them, understand them, and fully explain them to others, then, O Subhûti, in comparison with their stock of merit that former stock of merit will not come to one hundredth part, nay, not to one thousandth part, not to a hundred thousandth part, not to a ten millionth part, not to a hundred millionth part, not to a hundred thousand ten millionth part, not to a hundred thousands of niyutas ten millionth part. It will not bear number, nor fraction, nor counting, nor comparison, nor approach, nor analogy.

'And if, O Subhûti, I were to tell you the stock of merit of those sons or daughters of good families, and how large a stock of merit those sons or daughters of good families will produce, and hold fast at that time, people would become distracted and their thoughts would become bewildered. And again, O Subhûti, as this treatise of the Law preached by the Tathâgata is incomprehensible and incomparable, its rewards also must be expected (to be) incomprehensible.'

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 17

At that time the venerable Subhûti thus spoke to the Bhagavat: 'How should a person, after having entered on the path of the Bodhisattvas, behave, how should he advance, and how should he restrain his thoughts?' Bhagavat said: 'He who has entered on the path of the Bodhisativas should thus frame his thought: All beings must be delivered by me in the perfect world of Nirvâna; and yet after I have thus delivered these beings, no being has been delivered. And why? Because, O Subhûti, if a Bodhisattva had any idea of beings, he could not be called a Bodhisattva, and so on from the idea of a living being to the idea of a person; if he had any such idea, he could not be called a Bodhisattva. And why? Because, O Subhûti, there is no such thing (dharma) as one who has entered on the path of the Bodhisattvas.

'What do you think, O Subhûti, is there anything which the Tathâgata has adopted from the Tathâgata Dîpankara with regard to the highest perfect knowledge? 'After this, the venerable Subhûti spoke thus to the Bhagavat: 'As far as I, O Bhagavat, understand the meaning of the preaching of the Bhagavat, there is nothing which has been adopted by the Tathâgata from the holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata Dîpankara with regard to the highest perfect knowledge.' After this, Bhagavat thus spoke to the venerable Subhûti: 'So it is, Subhûti, so it is. There is not, O Subhûti, anything which has been adopted by the Tathâgata from the holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata Dîpankara with regard to the highest perfect knowledge. And if, O Subhûti, anything had been adopted by the Tathâgata, the Tathâgata Dîpankara would not have prophesied* of me, saying: "Thou, O boy, wilt be in the future the holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata called Sâkyamuni." Because then, O Subhûti, there is nothing that has been adopted by the holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata with regard to the highest perfect knowledge, therefore I was prophesied by the Tathâgata Dîpankara, saying: "Thou, boy, wilt be in the future the holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata called Sâkyamuni." [* This prophecy is supposed to have been addressed by Dîpankara to Sâkyamuni, before he had become a Buddha.]

'And why, O Subhûti, the name of Tathâgata? It expresses true suchness. And why Tathâgata, O Subhûti? It expresses that he had no origin. And why Tathâgata, O Subhûti? It expresses the destruction of all qualities. And why Tathâgata, O Subhûti? It expresses one who had no origin whatever. And why this? Because, O Subhûti, no-origin is the highest goal.

'And whosoever, O Subhûti, should say that, by the holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata, the highest perfect knowledge has been known, he would speak an untruth, and would slander me, O Subhûti, with some untruth that he has learned. And why? Because there is no such thing, O Subhûti, as has been known by the Tathâgata with regard to the highest perfect knowledge. And in that, O Subhûti, which has been known and taught by the Tathâgata, there is neither truth nor falsehood. Thetefore the Tathâgata preaches: "All things are Buddha-things." And why? Because what was preached by the Tathâgata, O Subhûti, as all things, that was

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preached as no-things; and therefore all things are called Buddha-things.

'Now, O Subhûti, a man might have a body and a large body.' The venerable Subhûti said: That man who was spoken of by the Tathâgata as a man with a body, with a large body, he, O Bhagavat, was spoken of by the Tathâgata as without a body, and therefore he is called a man with a body and with a large body.'

Bhagavat said: 'So it is, O Subhûti; and if a Bodhisattva were to say: "I shall deliver all beings," he ought not to be called a Bodhisattva. And why? Is there anything, O Subhûti, that is called a Bodhisattva?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, Bhagavat, there is nothing which is called a Bodhisattva.' Bhagavat said: 'Those who were spoken of as beings, beings indeed, O Subhûti, they were spoken of as no-beings by the Tathâgata, and therefore they are called beings. Therefore the Tathâgata says: "All beings are without self all beings are without life, without manhood, without a personality."

'If, O Subhûti, a Bodhisattva were to say: "I shall create numbers of worlds," he would say what is untrue. And why? Because, what were spoken of as numbers of worlds, numbers of worlds indeed, O Subhûti, these were spoken of as no-numbers by the Tathâgata, and therefore they are called numbers of worlds.

'A Bodhisattva, O Subhûti, who believes that all things are without self, that all things are without self, he has faith, he is called a noble-minded Bodhisattva by the holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata.'

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 18

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, has the Tathâgata the bodily eye?' Subhûti said: 'So it is, O Bhagavat, the Tathâgata has the bodily eye.'

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, has the Tathâgata the heavenly eye?' Subhûti said: 'So it is, O Bhagavat, the Tathâgata has the heavenly eye.'

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, has the Tathâgata the eye of knowledge?' Subhûti said: 'So it is, O Bhagavat, the Tathâgata has the eye of knowledge.'

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, has the Tathâgata the eye of the Law?' Subhûti said: 'So it is, O Bhagavat, the Tathâgata has the eye of the Law.'

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, has the Tathâgata the eye of Buddha?' Subhûti said: 'So it is, O Bhagavat, the Tathâgata has the eye of Buddha.'

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, as many grains of sand as there are in the great river Gangâ--were they preached by the Tathâgata as grains of sand?' Subhûti said: 'So it is, O Bhagavat, so it is, O Sugata, they were preached as grains of sand by the Tathâgata.' Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, if there were as many Gangâ rivers as there are grains of sand in the great river Gangâ; and, if there were as many worlds as there are grains of sand in these, would these worlds be many?' Subhûti said: 'So it is, O Bhagavat, so it is, O Sugata, these worlds would be many.' Bhagavat said: 'As many beings as there are in all those worlds, I know the manifold trains of thought of them all. And why? Because what was preached as the train of thoughts, the train of thoughts indeed, O Subhûti, that was preached by the Tathâgata as no-train of thoughts, and therefore it is called the train of thoughts. And why? Because, O Subhûti, a past thought is not perceived, a future thought is not perceived, and the present thought is not perceived.'

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 19

'What do you think, O Subhûti, if a son or a daughter of a good family should fill this sphere of a million millions of worlds with the seven treasures, and give it as a gift to holy and fully enlightened Buddhas, would that son or daughter of a good family produce on the strength of this a large stock of merit?' Subhûti said: 'Yes, a large one.' Bhagavat said: 'So it is, Subhûti, so it is; that son or daughter of a good family would produce on the strength of this a large stock of merit, immeasurable and innumerable. And why? Because what was preached as a stock of merit, a stock of merit indeed, O Subhûti, that was preached as no-stock of merit by the Tathâgata, and therefore it is called a stock of merit. If, O Subhûti, there existed a stock of merit, the Tathâgata would not have preached: "A stock of merit, a stock of merit indeed!"'

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 20

'What do you think then, O Subhûti, is a Tathâgata to be seen (known) by the shape of his visible body?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat, a Tathâgata is not to be seen (known) by the shape of his visible body. And why? Because, what was preached, O Bhagavat, as the shape of the visible body, the shape of the visible body indeed, that was preached by the Tathâgata as no-shape of the visible body, and therefore it is called the shape of the visible body.'

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, should a Tathâgata be seen (known) by the possession of signs?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat, a Tathâgata is not to be seen (known) by the possession of signs. And why? Because, what was preached by the Tathâgata as the possession of signs, that was preached as no-possession of signs by the Tathâgata, and therefore it is called the possession of signs.'

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 21

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, does the Tathâgata think in this wise: The Law has been taught by me?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat, does the Tathâgata think in this wise: The Law has been taught by me.' Bhagavat said: 'If a man should say that the Law has been taught by the Tathâgata, he would say what is not true; he would slander me with untruth which he has learned. And why? Because, O Subhûti, it is said the teaching of the Law, the teaching of the Law indeed. O Subhûti, there is nothing that can be perceived by the name of the teaching of the Law.'

After this, the venerable Subhûti spoke thus to the Bhagavat: 'Forsooth, O Bhagavat, will there be any beings in the future, in the last time, in the last moment, in the last 500 years, during the time of the decay of the good Law, who, when they have heard these very Laws, will believe?' Bhagavat said: 'These, O Subhûti, are neither beings nor no-beings. And why? Because, O Subhûti, those who were preached as beings, beings indeed, they were preached as no-beings by the Tathâgata, and therefore they are called beings.'

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 22

'What do you think then, O Subhûti, is there anything which has been known by the Tathâgata in the form of the highest perfect knowledge?' The venerable Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat, there is nothing, O Bhagavat, that has been known by the Tathâgata in the form of the highest perfect knowledge.' Bhagavat said: 'So it is, Subhûti, so it is. Even the smallest thing is not known or perceived there, therefore it is called the highest perfect knowledge.'

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 23

'Also, Subhûti, all is the same there, there is no difference there, and therefore it is called the highest perfect knowledge. Free from self, free from being, free from life, free from personality, that highest perfect knowledge is always the same, and thus known with all good things. And why? Because, what were preached as good things, good things indeed, O Subhûti, they were preached as no-things by the Tathâgata, and therefore they are called good things.'

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 24

'And if, O Subhûti, a woman or man, putting together as many heaps of the seven treasures as there are Sumerus, kings of mountains, in the sphere of a million millions of worlds, should give them as a gift to holy and fully enlightened Tathâgatas; and, if a son or a daughter of a good family, after taking from this treatise of the Law, this Pragnâpâramitâ, one Gâthâ of four lines only, should teach it to others, then, O Subhûti, compared with his stock of merit, the former stock of merit would not come to the one hundredth part,' etc.[1], till 'it will not bear an approach.'

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 25

'What do you think then, O Subhûti, does a Tathâgatas think in this wise: Beings have been delivered by me? You should not think so, O Subhûti. And why? Because there is no being, O Subhûti, that has been delivered by the Tathâgata. And, if there were a being, O Subhûti, that has been delivered by the Tathâgatas, then the Tathâgata would believe in self, believe in a being, believe in a living being, and believe in a person. And what is called a belief in self, O Subhûti, that is preached as no-belief by the Tathâgata. And this is learned by children and ignorant persons; and they who were preached as children and ignorant persons, O Subhûti, were preached as no-persons by the Tathâgata, and therefore they are called children and ignorant persons.'

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 26

'What do you think then, O Subhûti, is the Tathâgata to be seen (known) by the possession of signs?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat. So far as I know the meaning of the preaching of the Bhagavat, the Tathâgata is not to be seen (known) by the possession of signs.' Bhagavat said: 'Good, good, Subhûti, so it is, Subhûti; so it is, as you say; a Tathâgata is not to be seen (known) by the possession of signs. And why? Because, O Subhûti, if the Tathâgata were to be seen (known) by the possession of signs, a wheel-turning king also would be a Tathâgata [This probably refers to the auspicious signs discovered in Sâkyamuni at his birth, which left it open whether he should become a king or a Buddha.]; therefore a Tathâgata is not to be seen (known) by the possession of signs.' The venerable Subhûti spoke thus to the Bhagavat: 'As I understand the meaning of the preaching of the Bhagavat, a Tathâgata is not to be seen (known) by the possession of signs.' Then the Bhagavat at that moment preached these two Gâthâs:

They who saw me by form, and they who heard me by sound,
They engaged in false endeavours, will not see me.

A Buddha is to be seen (known) from the Law; for the Lords (Buddhas) have the Law-body;

And the nature of the Law cannot be understood, nor can it be made to be understood.

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 27

'What do you think then, O Subhûti, has the highest perfect knowledge been known by the Tathâgata through the possession of signs? You should not think so, O Subhûti. And why? Because, O Subhûti, the highest perfect knowledge would not be known by the Tathâgata through the possession of signs. Nor should anybody, O Subhûti, say to you that the destruction or annihilation of any thing is proclaimed by those who have entered on the path of the Bodhisattvas.'

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 28

'And if, O Subhûti, a son or a daughter of a good family were to fill worlds equal to the number of grains of sand of the river Gangâ with the seven treasures, and give them as a gift to holy and fully enlightened Tathâgatas; and if a Bodhisattva acquired endurance in selfless and uncreated things, then the latter will on the strength of this produce a larger stock of merit, immeasurable and innumerable.

'But, O Subhûti, a stock of merit should not be appropriated by a noble-minded Bodhisattva.' The venerable Subhûti said: 'Should a stock of merit, O Bhagavat, not be appropriated by a Bodhisattva?' Bhagavat said: 'It should be appropriated, O Subhûti; it should not be appropriated; and therefore it is said: It should be appropriated.'

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 29

'And again, O Subhûti, if anybody were to say that the Tathâgata goes, or comes, or stands, or sits, or lies down, he, O Subhûti, does not understand the meaning of my preaching. And why? Because the word Tathâgata means one who does not go to anywhere, and does not come from anywhere; and therefore he is called the Tathâgata (truly come), holy and fully enlightened.'

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 30

'And again, O Subhûti, if a son or a daughter of a good family were to take as many worlds as there are grains of earth-dust in this sphere of a million millions of worlds, and reduce them to such fine dust as can be made with immeasurable strength, like what is called a mass of the smallest atoms, do you think, O Subhûti, would that be a mass of many atoms?' Subhûti said: 'Yes, Bhagavat, yes, Sugata, that would be a mass of many atoms. And why? Because, O Bhagavat, if it were a mass of many atoms, Bhagavat would not call it a mass of many atoms. And why? Because, what was preached as a mass of many atoms by the Tathâgata, that was preached as no-mass of atoms by the Tathâgata; and therefore it is called a mass of many atoms. And what was preached by the Tathâgata as the sphere of a million millions of worlds, that was preached by the Tathâgata as no-sphere of worlds; and therefore it is called the sphere of a million millions of worlds. And why? Because, O Bhagavat, if there were a sphere of worlds, there would exist a belief in matter; and what was preached as a belief in matter by the Tathâgata, that was preached as no-belief by the Tathâgata; and therefore it is called a belief in matter.' Bhagavat said: 'And a belief in matter itself, O Subhûti, is unmentionable and inexpressible; it is neither a thing nor no-thing, and this is known by children and ignorant persons.'

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 31

'And why? Because, O Subhûti, if a man were to say that belief in self, belief in a being, belief in life, belief in personality had been preached by the Tathâgata, would he be speaking truly?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, Bhagavat, not indeed, Sugata; he would not be speaking truly. And why? Because, O Bhagavat, what was preached by the Tathâgata as a belief in self, that was preached by the Tathâgata as no-belief; therefore it is called belief in self.'

Bhagavat said: 'Thus then, O Subhûti, are all things to be perceived, to be looked upon, and to be believed by one who has entered on the path of the Bodhisattvas. And in this wise are they to be perceived, to be looked upon, and to be believed, that a man should believe neither in the idea of a thing nor in the idea of a no-thing. And why? Because, by saying: The idea of a thing, the idea of a thing indeed, it has been preached by the Tathâgata as no-idea of a thing.'

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 32

'And, O Subhûti, if a noble-minded Bodhisattva were to fill immeasurable and innumerable spheres of worlds with the seven treasures, and give them as a gift to holy and fully enlightened Tathâgatas; and if a son or a daughter of a good family, after taking from this treatise of the Law, this Pragnâpâramitâ, one Gâthâ of four lines only, should learn it, repeat it, understand it, and fully explain it to others, then the latter would on the strength of this produce a larger stock of merit, immeasurable and innumerable. And how should he

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explain it? As in the sky: Stars, darkness, a lamp, a phantom, dew, a bubble.

A dream, a flash of lightning, and a cloud--thus we should look upon the world (all that was made).

Thus he should explain; therefore it is said: He should explain.'

Thus spoke the Bhagavat enraptured. The elder Subhûti, and the friars, nuns, the faithful laymen and women, and the Bodhisattvas also, and the whole world of gods, men, evil spirits and fairies, praised the preaching of the Bhagavat.

Thus is finished the Diamond-cutter, the blessed Pragnâpâramitâ.

MEDITATION ON BUDDHA AMITABHA

or The Amitayus Meditation Sutra
Origin; China, apocryphal
Source: Sacred Books of the East, Vol 49
Chief editor: Friedrich Max Müller, Oxford, Clarendon
Translation: Junjiro Takakusu, 1894
Estimated Range of Dating: 400-800 A.D.

(The Amitayurdhyana Sutra (Chinese, Pinyin: qing zai zhe li shu ru zhong wen) is a Mahayana sutra in Pure Land Buddhism, a branch of Mahayana Buddhism. It is one of the three principle Pure Land sutras along with the Infinite Life Sutra and the Amitabha Sutra.. Amitayus is another name for the Buddha Amitabha, the preeminent figure in Pure Land Buddhism, and this sūtra focuses mainly on meditations involving complex visualisation. This is reflected in the name of the sūtra, which translates to the "Amitayus Meditation Sutra."

It is generally considered by modern scholarship to be apocryphal, a composition originally written in Chinese. No Sanskrit original has been discovered and the Sanskrit name and Sanskrit versions would thus be reverse translations. According to Paul Williams, a more accurate Sanskrit title for this text would be Amitayurbuddhānusmrti Sūtra, meaning "Amitayus Buddha-mindfulness Sutra."

Contents of the Sutra:

The doctrine of Amitâbha and his paradise Sukhâvatî seems to have acquired great popularity in China and afterwards in Japan. We need not wonder when we see how easy salvation was made by it, particularly according to the teaching of the Smaller Sukhâvatî-vyûha and the Amitâyur-dhyâna-sûtra. The text begins with a story where a prince named Ajatashatru was enticed by the villain Devadatta to murder his father, King Bimbisara, in order to ascend the throne. Ajatashatru kills his father, and nearly kills his mother, Queen Vaidehi, but after advice from his other ministers, he relented and threw his mother in prison. Lamenting her fate, Queen Vaidehi prays to Gautama Buddha for help, and he is able to visit her. Vaidehi expresses her wish to be born in Amitābha's pure land. Shakyamuni smiles, emitting light from his mouth, and goes on to tell Vaidehi how to be reborn in the Pure Land. The Buddha tells her that although she is in prison, she could still obtain liberation through the practices of Amitābha. The Buddha goes on to describe Amitābha and how one could obtain rebirth in his land of Sukhavati. This tale references historical incidents of the Haryanka dynasty of Magadha, India, and the religious tension between Gautama Buddha and his brother-in-law, Devadatta.

Attaining birth in the Pure Land: Shakyamuni explains the importance of performing certain meritorious acts in order to be reborn in the Pure Land. He then goes on to teach Vaidehi how to visualise the Pure Land, to further her efforts in attaining rebirth there. Shakyamuni describes thirteen "contemplations," or mental visualization exercises, that are to be followed in order. By deeply contemplating various aspects of the Pure Land and attempting to visualise them in detail, the aspirant draws closer to the Pure Land.

The thirteen contemplations are described in order as follows:

1. *Contemplation of the setting sun*
2. *Contemplation of an expanse of water*
3. *Contemplation of the ground in the pure land*
4. *Contemplation of trees in the pure land*
5. *Contemplation of ponds in the pure land*
6. *Contemplation of various objects in the pure land*
7. *Contemplation of the lotus throne of the Buddha*
8. *Contemplation of the image of Amitābha*
9. *Contemplation of Amitābha himself*
10. *Contemplation of Avalokiteśvara*
11. *Contemplation of Mahasthamaprapta*
12. *Contemplation of the aspirants to the pure land*
13. *Contemplation of Amitābha and the two bodhisattvas*

Nine levels of birth

In the final part of the sutra, Gautama Buddha discusses the nine levels into which those born into the Pure Land are categorized. The levels are ranked from highest to lowest as follows:

1. *The highest level of the highest grade*
2. *The middle level of the highest grade*
3. *The lowest level of the highest grade*
4. *The highest level of the middle grade*
5. *The middle level of the middle grade*
6. *The lowest level of the middle grade*
7. *The highest level of the lowest grade*
8. *The middle level of the lowest grade*
9. *The lowest level of the lowest grade*

According to the Buddha, all nine grades of human beings can achieve rebirth into the Pure Land if they contemplate Amitābha or at least call on his name. This is similar to the 48 vows made by Amitābha, according to the Infinite Life Sutra, which includes the Primal Vow.

The sutra ends with a short section describing the benefits gained by those who listened to these words of the Buddha. Vaidehi experienced "great awakening with clarity of mind and reached the insight into the non-arising of all dharmas," while her five hundred female attendants and "innumerable devas" also awakened aspiration for the highest enlightenment. Shakyamuni names the sutra, mentions benefits connected with the name of Amitabha Buddha, and exhorts all to hold the words of the sutra in their minds. Shakyamuni then returns through the air to Vulture Peak.)

AMITAYUS MEDITATION SUTRA PART 1

1. Thus it was heard by me: At one time the Buddha dwelt in Râgagriha, on the mountain Gridhrakûta, with a large assembly of Bhikshus and with thirty-two thousands of Bodhisattvas; with Mangusrî, Prince of the Law[2], at the head of the assembly.

2. At that time, in the great city of Râgagriha there was a prince, the heir-apparent, named Agâtasatru. He listened to the wicked counsel of Devadatta and other friends and forcibly arrested Bimbisâra his father, the king, and shut him up by himself in a room with seven walls, proclaiming to all the courtiers that no one should approach (the king). The chief consort of the king, Vaidehî by name, was true and faithful to her lord, the king. She supported him in this wise: having purified herself by bathing and washing, she anointed her body with honey and ghee mixed with corn-flour, and she concealed the juice of grapes in the various garlands she wore (in order to give him food without being noticed by the warder). As she stole in and made an offering to him, he was able to eat the flour and to drink the juice (of grapes). Then he called for water and rinsed his mouth. That done, the king stretched forth his folded hands towards the Mount Gridhrakûta and worshipped duly and respectfully the World-Honoured One, who at that time abode there. And he uttered the following prayer: 'Mahâyâna is my friend and relative; let him, I pray, feel compassion towards me; and come and communicate to me the eight prohibitive precepts of Buddha [According to the commentator, Shân-tâo, 'killing, stealing, adultery, lying, drinking, applying ointment, etc., music, and using ornamented chairs, etc.'].' On this, Mahâyâna at once appeared before the king, coming with a speed equal to the flight of a falcon or an eagle, and communicated to him the eight precepts.

Day after day did he come. The World-Honoured One sent also his worthy disciple Pûrna to preach the Law to the king. Thus a period of three weeks passed by. The king showed by his countenance that he was happy and contented when he had an opportunity of hearing the Law as well as of enjoying the honey and flour.

3. At that time, Agâtasatru asked the warder of the gate whether his father was yet alive. On this, the warder answered him: 'O Exalted king, the chief consort (of thy father) brought (food) and presented it to him by anointing her body with honey and flour and filling her garlands with the juice (of grapes), and the Sramanas, Mahâyâna and Pûrna, approached the king through the sky in order to preach the Law to him. It is, O king, impossible to prevent them coming.' When the prince heard this answer his indignation arose against his mother: 'My mother,' he cried, 'is, indeed, a rebel, for she was found in company with that rebel. Wicked people are those Sramanas, and it is their art of spells causing illusion and delusion that delayed the death of that wicked king for so many days.' Instantly he brandished his sharp sword, intending to slay his mother. At that moment, there intervened a minister named Kandraprabha, who was possessed of great wisdom and intelligence, and Gîva (a famous physician). They saluted the prince and remonstrated with him, saying: 'We, ministers, O Great king, heard that since the beginning of the kalpas there had been several wicked kings, even to the number of eighteen thousand, who killed their own fathers, coveting the throne of (their respective) kingdoms, as mentioned in the Sûtra of the discourse of the Veda. Yet never have we heard of a man killing his mother, though he be void of virtue. Now, if thou, O king, shouldst dare to commit such a deadly sin, thou wouldst bring a stain upon the blood of the Kshatriyas (the kingly race). We cannot even bear to hear of it. Thou art indeed a Kandâla (the lowest race); we shall not stay here with thee.' After this speech, the two great ministers retired stepping backward, each with his hand placed on his sword. Agâtasatru was then frightened, and greatly afraid of them, and asked Gîva, saying: 'Wilt thou not be friendly to me?' In reply Gîva said to him: 'Do not then, O Great king, by any means think of injuring thy mother.' On hearing this, the prince repented and sought for mercy, and at once laid down his sword and did his mother no hurt. He finally ordered the officers of the inner chambers to put the queen in a hidden palace and not to allow her to come out again.

4. When Vaidehî was thus shut up in retirement she became afflicted by sorrow and distress. She began to do homage to Buddha from afar, looking towards the Mount Gridhrakûta. She uttered the following words: 'O Tathâgata! World-Honoured One! In former times thou. hast constantly sent Ânanda to me for enquiry and consolation. I am now in sorrow. and grief. Thou, O World-Honoured One, art majestic and exalted; in no way shall I be able to see thee. Wilt thou, I pray thee, command Mahâyâna and thy honoured disciple, Ânanda, to come and have an interview with me?' After this speech, she grieved and wept, shedding tears like a shower of rain. Before she raised her head from doing homage to the distant Buddha, the World-Honoured One knew what Vaidehî was wishing in her mind, though he was on the Mount Gridhrakûta. Therefore, he instantly ordered Mahâyâna and Ânanda to go to her through the sky. Buddha himself disappeared from that mountain and appeared in the royal palace.

When the queen raised her head as she finished homage to Buddha, she saw before her the World-Honoured Buddha Sâkyamuni, whose body was purple gold in colour, sitting on a lotus-flower which consists of a hundred jewels, with Mahâyâna attending on his left, and with Ânanda on his right. Sakra (Indra), Brahman, and other gods that protect the world were seen in the midst of the sky, everywhere showering heavenly flowers with which they made offerings to Buddha in their worship. Vaidehî, at the sight of Buddha the World-Honoured One, took off her garlands and prostrated herself on the ground, crying, sobbing, and speaking to Buddha: 'O World-Honoured One! what former sin of mine has produced such a wicked son? And again, O Exalted One, from what cause and circumstances hast thou such an affinity (by blood and religion) with Devadatta (Buddha's wicked cousin and once his disciple)?'

5. 'My only prayer,' she continued, 'is this: O World-Honoured One, mayst thou preach to me in detail of all the places where there is no sorrow or trouble, and where I ought to go to be born anew. I am not satisfied with this world of depravities[1], with Gambudvîpa (India)[2], which is full of hells, full of hungry spirits (pretas), and of the brute creation. In this world of depravities, there is many an assemblage of the wicked. May I not hear, I pray, the voice of the wicked in the future; and may I not see any wicked person.

'Now I throw my five limbs down to the ground before thee, and seek for thy mercy by confessing my sins. I pray for this only that the Sun-like Buddha may instruct me how to meditate on a world wherein all actions are pure.' At that moment, the World-Honoured One flashed forth a golden ray from between his eyebrows. It extended to all the innumerable worlds of the ten quarters. On its return the ray rested on the top of Buddha's head and transformed itself into a golden pillar just like the Mount Sumeru, wherein the pure and admirable countries of the Buddhas in the ten quarters appeared all at once illuminated.

One was a country consisting of seven jewels, another was a country all full of lotus-flowers; one was like the palace of Mahesvara Deva (god Siva), another was like a mirror of crystal, with the countries in the ten quarters reflected therein: There were innumerable countries like these, resplendent, gorgeous, and delightful to look upon. All were meant for Vaidehî to see (and choose from).

Thereupon Vaidehî again spoke to Buddha: 'O World-Honoured One, although all other Buddha countries are pure and radiant with light, I should, nevertheless, wish myself to be born in the realm of Buddha Amitâyus (or Amitâbha), in the world of Highest Happiness (Sukhâvatî), Now I simply pray thee, O World-Honoured One, to teach me how to concentrate my thought so as to obtain aright vision (of that country).'

6. Thereupon the World-Honoured One gently smiled upon her, and rays of five colours issued forth out of his mouth, each ray shining as far as the head of king Bimbisâra.

At that moment, the mental vision of that exalted king was perfectly clear though he was shut up in lonely retirement, and he could see the World-Honoured One from afar. As he paid homage with his head and face, he naturally increased and advanced (in wisdom), whereby he attained to the fruition of an Anâgâmin (the third of the four grades to Nirvâna).

7. Then the World-Honoured One said: 'Now dost thou not know, O Vaidehî, that Buddha Amitâyus is not very far from here? Thou shouldst apply thy mind entirely to close meditation upon those who have already perfected the pure actions necessary for that Buddha country.

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'I now proceed to fully expound them for thee in many parables, and thereby afford all ordinary persons of the future who wish to cultivate these pure actions an opportunity of being born in the Land of Highest Happiness (Sukhâvatî) in the western quarter. Those who wish to be born in that country of Buddha have to cultivate a threefold goodness. Firstly, they should act filially towards their parents and support them; serve and respect their teachers and elders; be of compassionate mind, abstain from doing any injury, and cultivate the ten virtuous actions [i.e. observe the ten prohibitive precepts of Buddha.]. Secondly, they should take and observe the vow of seeking refuge with the Three Jewels, fulfil all moral precepts, and not lower their dignity or neglect any ceremonial observance. Thirdly, they should give their whole mind to the attainment of the Bodhi (perfect wisdom), deeply believe in (the principle of) cause and effect, study and recite (the Sûtras of) the Mahâyâna doctrine, and persuade and encourage others who pursue the same course as themselves.

'These three groups as enumerated are called the pure actions (leading to the Buddha country).' 'O Vaidehî!' Buddha continued, 'dost thou not understand now? These three classes of actions are the efficient cause of the pure actions taught by all the Buddhas of the past, present, and future.'

8. Buddha then addressed Ânanda as well as Vaidehî: 'Listen carefully, listen carefully! Ponder carefully on what you hear! I, Tathâgata, now declare the pure actions needful (for that Buddha country) for the sake of all beings hereafter, that are subject to the misery (inflicted) by the enemy, i.e. passion. Well done, O Vaidehî! Appropriate questions are those which thou hast asked! O Ânanda, do thou remember these words of me, of Buddha, and repeat them openly to many assemblies. I, Tathâgata, now teach Vaidehî and also all beings hereafter in order that they may meditate on the World of Highest Happiness (Sukhâvatî) in the western quarter.

'It is by the power of Buddha only that one can see that pure land (of Buddha) as clear as one sees the image of one's face reflected in the transparent mirror held up before one.

'When one sees the state of happiness of that country in its highest excellence, one greatly rejoices in one's heart and immediately attains a spirit of resignation prepared to endure whatever consequences may yet arise.' Buddha, turning again to Vaidehî, said: 'Thou art but an ordinary person; the quality of thy mind is feeble and inferior.

'Thou hast not as yet obtained the divine eye and canst not perceive what is at a distance. All the Buddhas, Tathâgatas have various means at their disposal and can therefore afford thee an opportunity of seeing (that Buddha country).' Then Vaidehî rejoined: 'O World-Honoured One, people such as I, can now see that land by the power of Buddha, but how shall all those beings who are to come after Buddha's Nirvâna, and who, as being depraved and devoid of good qualities, will be harassed by the five worldly sufferings--how shall they see the World of Highest Happiness of the Buddha Amitâyus?'

AMITAYUS MEDITATION SUTRA PART 2

9. Buddha then replied: 'Thou and all other beings besides ought to make it their only aim, with concentrated thought, to get a perception of the western quarter. You will ask how that perception is to be formed. I will explain it now. All beings, if not blind from birth, are uniformly possessed of sight, and they all see the setting sun. Thou shouldst sit down properly, looking in the western direction, and prepare thy thought for a close meditation on the sun; cause thy mind to be firmly fixed (on it) so as to have an unwavering perception by the exclusive application (of thy thought), and gaze upon it (more particularly) when it is about to set and looks like a suspended drum.

'After thou hast thus seen the sun, let (that image) remain clear and fixed, whether thine eyes be shut or open;--such is the perception of the sun, which is the First Meditation.

10. 'Next thou shouldst form the perception of water; gaze on the water clear and pure, and let (this image) also remain clear and fixed (afterwards); never allow thy thought to be scattered and lost.

'When thou hast thus seen the water thou shouldst form the perception of ice. As thou seest the ice shining and transparent, thou shouldst imagine the appearance of lapis lazuli.

'After that has been done, thou wilt see the ground consisting of lapis lazuli, transparent and shining both within and without. Beneath this ground of lapis lazuli there will be seen a golden banner with the seven jewels, diamonds and the rest, supporting the ground. It extends to the eight points of the compass, and thus the eight corners (of the ground) are perfectly filled up. Every side of the eight quarters consists of a hundred jewels, every jewel has a thousand rays, and every ray has eighty-four thousand colours which, when reflected in the ground of lapis lazuli, look like a thousand millions of suns, and it is difficult to see them all one by one. Over the surface of that ground of lapis lazuli there are stretched golden ropes intertwined crosswise; divisions are made by means of (strings of) seven jewels with every part clear and distinct.

'Each jewel has rays of five hundred colours which look like flowers or like the moon and stars. Lodged high up in the open sky these rays form a tower of rays, whose storeys and galleries are ten millions in number and built of a hundred jewels. Both sides of the tower have each a hundred millions of flowery banners furnished and decked with numberless musical instruments. Eight kinds of cool breezes proceed from the brilliant rays. When those musical instruments are played, they emit the sounds "suffering," "non-existence," "impermanence," and "non-self;"--such is the perception of the water, which is the Second Meditation.

11. 'When this perception has been formed, thou shouldst meditate on its (constituents) one by one and make (the images) as clear as possible, so that they may never be scattered and lost, whether thine eyes be shut or open. Except only during the time of thy sleep, thou shouldst always keep this in thy mind. One who has reached this (stage of) perception is said to have dimly seen the Land of Highest Happiness (Sukhâvatî).

'One who has obtained the Samâdhi (the state of supernatural calm) is able to see the land (of that Buddha country) clearly and distinctly: (this state) is too much to be explained fully;--such is the perception of the land, and it is the Third Meditation.

'Thou shouldst remember, O Ânanda, the Buddha words of mine, and repeat this law for attaining to the perception of the land (of the Buddha country) for the sake of the great mass of the people hereafter who may wish to be delivered from their sufferings. If anyone meditates on the land (of that Buddha country), his sins (which bind him to) births And deaths during eighty millions of kalpas shall be expiated; after the abandonment of his (preSent) body, he will assuredly be born in the pure land in the following life. The practice of this kind of meditation is called the "right meditation." If it be of another kind it is called "heretical meditation."'

12. Buddha then spoke to Ânanda and Vaidehî: 'When the perception of the land (of that Buddha country) has been gained, you should next meditate on the jewel-trees (of that country). In meditating on the jewel-trees, you should take each by itself and form a perception of the seven rows of trees; every tree is eight hundred yoganas high, and all the jewel-trees have flowers and leaves consisting of seven jewels all perfect. All flowers and leaves have colours like the colours of various jewels:--from the colour of lapis lazuli there issues a golden ray; from the colour of crystal, a saffron ray; from the colour of agate, a diamond ray; from the colour of diamond, a ray of blue pearls. Corals, amber, and all other gems are used as ornaments for illumination; nets of excellent pearls are spread over the trees, each tree is covered by seven sets of nets, and between one set and another there are five hundred millions of palaces built of excellent flowers, resembling the palace of the Lord Brahman; all heavenly children live there quite naturally; every child has a garland consisting of five hundred millions of precious gems like those that are fastened on Sakra's (Indra's) head, the rays of which shine over a hundred yoganas, just as if a hundred millions of suns and moons were united together; it is difficult to explain them in detail. That (garland) is the most excellent among all, as it is the commixture of all sorts of jewels. Rows of these jewel-trees touch one another; the leaves of the trees also join one another.

'Among the dense foliage there blossom various beautiful flowers, upon which are miraculously found fruits of seven jewels. The leaves of the trees are all exactly equal in length and in breadth, measuring twenty-five yoganas each way; every leaf has a thousand colours and a hundred different pictures on it, just like a heavenly garland. There are many excellent flowers which have the colour of Gâmbûnada gold and an appearance of fire-wheels in motion, turning between the leaves in a graceful fashion. All the fruits are produced just (as easily) as if they flowed out from the pitcher of the God Sakra. There is a magnificent ray which transforms itself into numberless jewelled canopies with banners and flags. Within these jewelled canopies the works of all the Buddhas of the Great Chiliocosm appear illuminated; the Buddha countries of the ten quarters also are manifested therein. When you have seen these trees you should also meditate on them one by one in order. In meditating on the trees, trunks, branches, leaves, flowers, and fruits, let them all be distinct and clear;--such is the perception of the trees (of that Buddha country), and it is the Fourth Meditation.

13. 'Next, you should perceive the water (of that country). The perception of the water is as follows:--'In the Land of Highest Happiness there are waters in eight lakes; the water in every lake consists of seven jewels which are soft and yielding. Deriving its source from the king of jewels that fulfils every wish[1], the water is divided into fourteen streams; every stream has the colour of seven jewels; its channel is built of gold, the bed of which consists of the sand of variegated diamonds.

'In the midst of each lake there are sixty millions of lotus-flowers, made of seven jewels; all the flowers are perfectly round and exactly equal (in circumference), being twelve yoganas. The water of jewels flows amidst the flowers and rises and falls by the stalks (of the lotus); the sound of the streaming water is melodious and pleasing, and propounds all the perfect virtues (Parâmitâs), "suffering," "non-existence," "impermanence," and "non-self;" it proclaims also the praise of the signs of perfection, and minor marks of excellence of all Buddhas. From the king of jewels that fulfils every wish, stream forth the golden-coloured rays excessively beautiful, the radiance of which transforms itself into birds possessing the colours of a hundred jewels, which sing out harmonious notes, sweet and delicious, ever praising the remembrance of Buddha, the remembrance of the Law, and the remembrance of the Church;--such is the perception of the water of eight good qualities, and it is the Fifth Meditation.

14. 'Each division of that (Buddha) country, which consists of several jewels, has also jewelled storeys and galleries to the number of five hundred millions; within each storey and gallery there are innumerable Devas engaged in playing heavenly music. There are some musical instruments that are hung up in the open sky, like the jewelled banners of heaven; they emit musical sounds without being struck, which, while resounding variously, all propound the remembrance of Buddha, of the Law and of the Church, Bhikshus, etc. When this perception is duly accomplished, one is said to have dimly seen the jewel-trees, jewel-ground, and jewel-lakes of that World of Highest Happiness (Sukhâvatî);--such is the perception formed by meditating on the general (features of that Land), and it is the Sixth Meditation.

'If one has experienced this, one has expiated the greatest sinful deeds which would (otherwise lead one) to transmigration for numberless millions of kalpas; after his death he will assuredly be born in that land.

15 [Hereafter, for brevity's sake, I take the liberty of omitting several passages which seem to be unnecessary repetitions.]. 'Listen carefully! listen carefully! Think over what you have heard! I, Buddha, am about to explain in detail the law of delivering one's self from trouble and torment. Commit this to your memory in order to explain it in detail before a great assembly.' While Buddha was uttering these words, Buddha Amitâyus stood in the midst of the sky with Bodhisattvas Mahâsthâma and Avalokitesvara, attending on his right and left respectively. There was such a bright and dazzling radiance that no one could see clearly; the brilliance was a hundred thousand times greater than that of gold (Gâmbûnada). Thereupon Vaidehî saw Buddha Amitâyus and approached the World-Honoured One, and worshipped him, touching his feet; and spoke to him as follows: 'O Exalted One! I am now able, by the power of Buddha, to see Buddha Amitâyus together with the two Bodhisattvas. But how shall all the beings of the future meditate on Buddha Amitâyus and the two Bodhisattvas?'

16. Buddha answered: 'Those who wish to meditate on that Buddha ought first to direct their thought as follows: form the perception of a lotus-flower on a ground of seven jewels, each leaf of that lotus exhibits the colours of a hundred jewels, and has eighty-four thousand veins, just like heavenly pictures; each vein possesses eighty-four thousand rays, of which each can be clearly seen. Every small leaf and flower is two hundred and fifty yoganas in length and the same measurement in breadth. Each lotus-flower possesses eighty-four thousand leaves, each leaf has the kingly pearls to the number of a hundred millions, as ornaments for illumination; each pearl shoots out a thousand rays like bright canopies. The surface of the ground is entirely covered by a mixture of seven jewels. There is a tower built of the gems which are like those that are fastened on Sakra's head. It is inlaid and decked with eighty thousand diamonds, Kimsuka jewels, Brahma-mani and excellent pearl nets.

'On that tower there are miraculously found four posts with jewelled banners; each banner looks like a hundred thousand millions of Sumeru mountains.

'The jewelled veil over these banners is like that of the celestial palace of Yama, illuminated with five hundred millions of excellent jewels, each jewel has eighty-four thousand rays, each ray has various golden colours to the number of eighty-four thousand, each golden colour covers the whole jewelled soil, it changes and is transformed at various places, every now and then exhibiting various appearances; now it becomes a diamond tower, now a pearl net, again clouds of mixed flowers, freely changing its manifestation in the ten directions it exhibits the state of Buddha;--such is the perception of the flowery throne, and it is the Seventh Meditation.'

Buddha, turning to Ânanda, said: 'These excellent flowers were created originally by the power of the prayer of Bhikshu, Dharmâkara [Vide Larger Sukhâvalî, p. 7, chapter 3.]. All who wish to exercise the remembrance of that Buddha ought first to form the perception of that flowery throne. When engaged in it one ought not to perceive vaguely, but fix the mind upon each detail separately. Leaf, jewel, ray, tower, and banner should be clear and distinct, just as one sees the image of one's own face in a mirror. When one has achieved this perception, the sins which would produce births and deaths during fifty thousand kalpas are expiated, and he is one who will most assuredly be born in the World of Highest Happiness.

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17. 'When you have perceived this, you should next perceive Buddha himself. Do you ask how? Every Buddha Tathâgata is one whose (spiritual) body is the principle of nature (Darmadhâtu-kâya), so that he may enter into the mind of any beings. Consequently, when you have perceived Buddha, it is indeed that mind of yours that possesses those thirty-two signs of perfection and eighty minor marks of excellence (which you see in Buddha). In fine, it is your mind that becomes Buddha, nay, it is your mind that is indeed Buddha. The ocean of true and universal knowledge of all the Buddhas derives its source from one's own mind and thought. Therefore you should apply your thought with an undivided attention to a careful meditation on that Buddha Tathâgata, Arhat, the Holy and Fully Enlightened One. In forming the perception of that Buddha, you should first perceive the image of that Buddha; whether your eyes be open or shut, look at an image like Gâmbûnada gold in colour, sitting on that flower (throne mentioned before).

'When you have seen the seated figure your mental vision will become clear, and you will be able to see clearly and distinctly the adornment of that Buddha country, the jewelled ground, etc. In seeing these things, let them be clear and fixed just as you see the palms of your hands. When you have passed through this experience, you should further form (a perception of) another great lotus-flower which is on the left side of Buddha, and is exactly equal in every way to the above-mentioned lotus-flower of Buddha. Still further, you should form (a perception of) another lotus-flower which is on the right side of Buddha. Perceive that an image of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara is sitting on the left-hand flowery throne, shooting forth golden rays exactly like those of Buddha. Perceive then that an image of Bodhisattva Mahâsthâma is sitting on the right-hand flowery throne.

'When these perceptions are gained the images of Buddha and the Bodhisattvas will all send forth brilliant rays, clearly lighting up all the jewel-trees with golden colour. Under every tree there are also three lotus-flowers. On every lotus-flower there is an image, either of Buddha or of a Bodhisattva; thus (the images of the Bodhisattvas and of Buddha) are found everywhere in that country. When this perception has been gained, the devotee should hear the excellent Law preached by means of a stream of water, a brilliant ray of light, several jewel-trees, ducks, geese, and swans. Whether he be wrapped in meditation or whether he has ceased from it, he should ever hear the excellent Law. What the devotee hears must be kept in memory and not be lost, when he ceases from that meditation; and it should agree with the Sûtras, for if it does not agree with the Sûtras, it is called an illusory perception, whereas if it does agree, it is called the rough perception of the World of Highest Happiness;--such is the perception of the images, and it is the Eighth Meditation.

'He who has practised this meditation is freed from the sins (which otherwise involve him in) births and deaths for innumerable millions of kalpas, and during this present life he obtains the Samâdhi due to the remembrance of Buddha.

18. 'Further, when this perception is gained, you should next proceed to meditate on the bodily marks and the light of Buddha Amitâyus.

'Thou shouldst know, O Ânanda, that the body of Buddha Amitâyus is a hundred thousand million times as bright as the colour of the Gâmbûnada gold of the heavenly abode of Yama; the height of that Buddha is six hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of yoganas innumerable as are the sands of the river Gangâ.

'The white twist of hair between the eyebrows all turning to the right, is just like the five Sumeru mountains.

'The eyes of Buddha are like the water of the four great oceans; the blue and the white are quite distinct.

'All the roots of hair of his body issue forth brilliant rays which are also like the Sumeru mountains.

'The halo of that Buddha is like a hundred millions of the Great Chiliocosms; in that halo there are Buddhas miraculously created, to the number of a million of niyutas of kotîs innumerable as the sands of the Gangâ; each of these Buddhas has for attendants a great assembly of numberless Bodhisattvas who are also miraculously created.

'Buddha Amitâyus has eighty-four thousand signs of perfection, each sign is possessed of eighty-four minor marks of excellence, each mark has eighty-four thousand rays, each ray extends so far as to shine over the worlds of the ten quarters, whereby Buddha embraces and protects all the beings who think upon him and does not exclude (anyone of them). His rays, signs, etc., are difficult to be explained in detail. But in simple meditation let the mind's eye dwell upon them.

'If you pass through this experience, you will at the same time see all the Buddhas of the ten quarters. Since you see all the Buddhas it is called the Samâdhi of the remembrance of the Buddhas.

'Those who have practised this meditation are said to have contemplated the bodies of all the Buddhas. Since they have meditated on Buddha's body, they will also see Buddha's mind. It is great compassion that is called Buddha's mind. It is by his absolute compassion that he receives all beings.

'Those who have practised this meditation will, when they die, be born in the presence of the Buddhas in another life, and obtain a spirit of resignation wherewith to face all the consequences which shall hereafter arise.

'Therefore those who have wisdom should direct their thought to the careful meditation upon that Buddha Amitâyus. Let those who meditate on Buddha Amitâyus begin with one single sign or mark--let them first meditate on the white twist of hair between the eyebrows as clearly as possible; when they have done this, the eighty-four thousand signs and marks will naturally appear before their eyes. Those who see Amitâyus will also see all the innumerable Buddhas of the ten quarters. Since they have seen all the innumerable Buddhas, they will receive the prophecy of their future destiny (to become Buddha), in the presence of all the Buddhas;--such is the perception gained by a complete meditation on all forms and bodies (of Buddha), and it is the Ninth Meditation.

19. 'When you have seen Buddha Amitâyus distinctly, you should then further meditate upon Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, whose height is eight hundred thousands of niyutas of yoganas; the colour of his body is purple gold, his head has a turban (ushnîshasiraskatâ), at the back of which there is a halo; (the circumference of) his face is a hundred thousand yoganas. In that halo, there are five hundred Buddhas miraculously transformed just like those of Sâkyamuni Buddha, each transformed Buddha is attended by five hundred transformed Bodhisattvas who are also attended by numberless gods.

'Within the circle of light emanating from his whole body, appear illuminated the various forms and marks of all beings that live in the five paths [Men, gods, hell, the departed spirits, the brute creation.] of existence.

'On the top of his head is a heavenly crown of gems like those that are fastened (on Indra's head), in which crown there is a transformed Buddha standing, twenty-five yoganas high.

'The face of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara is like Gâmbûnada gold in colour.

'The soft hair between the eyebrows has all the colours of the seven jewels, from which eighty-four kinds of rays flow out, each ray has innumerable transformed Buddhas, each of whom is attended by numberless transformed Bodhisattvas; freely changing their manifestations they fill up the worlds of the ten quarters; (the appearance) can be compared with the colour of the red lotus-flower.

'(He wears) a garland consisting of eight thousand rays, in which is seen fully reflected a state of perfect beauty. The palm of his hand has a mixed colour of five hundred lotus-flowers. His hands have ten (tips of) fingers, each tip has eighty-four thousand pictures, which are like signet-marks, each picture has eighty-four thousand colours, each colour has eighty-four thousand rays which are soft and mild and shine over all things that exist. With these jewel hands he draws and embraces all beings. When he lifts up his feet, the soles of his feet are seen to be marked with a wheel of a thousand spokes (one of the thirty-two signs) which miraculously transform themselves into five hundred million pillars of rays. When he puts his feet down to the ground, the flowers of diamonds and jewels are scattered about, and all things are simply covered by them. All the other signs of his body and the minor marks of excellence are perfect, and not at all different from those of Buddha, except the signs of having the turban on his head and the top of his head invisible, which two signs of him are inferior to those of the World-Honoured One;--such is the perception of the real form and body of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, and it is the Tenth Meditation.'

Buddha, especially addressing Ânanda, said: 'whosoever wishes to meditate on Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara must do so in the way I have explained. Those who practise this meditation will not suffer any calamity; they will utterly remove the obstacle that is raised by Karma, and will expiate the sins which would involve them in births and deaths for numberless kalpas. Even the hearing of the name of this Bodhisattva will enable one to obtain immeasurable happiness. How much more, then, will the diligent contemplation of him!

'Whosoever will meditate on Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara should first meditate on the turban of his head, and then on his heavenly crown.

'All the other signs should also be meditated on according to their order, and they should be clear and distinct just as one sees the palms of one's hands.

'Next you should meditate on Bodhisattva Mahâsthâma, whose bodily signs, height, and size are equal to those of Avalokitesvara; the circumference (lit. surface) of his halo is one hundred and twenty-five yoganas, and it shines as far as two hundred and fifty yoganas. The rays of his whole body shine over the countries of the ten quarters, they are purple gold in colour, and can be seen by all beings that are in favourable circumstances.

'If one but sees the ray that issues from a single root of the hair of this Bodhisattva, he will at the same time see the pure and excellent rays of all the innumerable Buddhas of the ten quarters.

'For this reason this Bodhisattva is named the Unlimited Light; it is with this light of wisdom that he shines over all beings and causes them to be removed from the three paths of existence (Hells, Pretas, and the brute creation), and to obtain the highest power. For the same reason this Bodhisattva is called the Bodhisattva of Great Strength (Mahâsthâma). His heavenly crown has five hundred jewel-flowers; each jewel-flower has five hundred jewel-towers; in each tower are seen manifested all the pure and excellent features of the far-stretching Buddha countries in the ten quarters. The turban on his head is like a padma- (lotus) flower; on the top of the turban there is a jewel-pitcher, which is filled with various brilliant rays fully manifesting the state of Buddha. All his other bodily signs are quite equal to those of Avalokitesvara. When this Bodhisattva walks about, all the regions of the ten quarters tremble and quake. Wherever the earth quakes there appear five hundred millions of jewel-flowers; each jewel-flower with its splendid dazzling beauty looks like the World of Highest Happiness (Sukhâvatî).

'When this Bodhisattva sits down, all the countries of seven jewels at once tremble and quake: all the incarnate (lit. divided) Amitâyus's, innumerable as the dust of the earth, and all the incarnate Bodhisattvas (Aval. and Mahâs.) who dwell in the middlemost Buddha countries (situated) between the Buddha country of the lower region (presided over) by a Buddha called the "Golden Light," and the country of the upper region (presided over) by a Buddha called the "King of Light,"--all these assemble in the World of Highest Happiness (Sukhâvatî), like gathering clouds, sit on their thrones of lotus-flowers, which fill the whole sky, and preach the excellent Law in order to deliver all the beings that are plunged in suffering;--such is the perception of the form and body of Bodhisattva Mahâsthâma, and it is the Eleventh Meditation.

'Those who practise this meditation are freed from the sins (which would otherwise involve them) in births and deaths for innumerable asankhya kalpas.

'Those who have practised this meditation do not live in an embryo state but obtain free access to the excellent and admirable countries of Buddhas. Those who have experienced this are said to have perfectly meditated upon the two Bodhisattvas Avalokitesvara and Mahâsthâma.

20. 'After thou hast had this perception, thou shouldst imagine thyself to be born in the World of Highest Happiness in the western quarter, and to be seated, cross-legged, on a lotus-flower there. Then imagine that the flower has shut thee in and has afterwards unfolded; when the flower has thus unfolded, five hundred coloured rays will shine over thy body, thine eyes will be opened so as to see the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas who fill the whole sky; thou wilt hear the sounds of waters and trees, the notes of birds, and the voices of many Buddhas preaching the excellent Law, in accordance with the twelve divisions of the scriptures. When thou hast ceased from that meditation, thou must remember the experience ever after.

'If thou hast passed through this experience thou art said to have seen the World of Highest Happiness in the realm of the Buddha Amitâyus;--this is the perception obtained by a complete meditation on that Buddha country, and is called the Twelfth Meditation.

'The innumerable incarnate bodies of Amitâyus, together with those of Aval. and Mahâs., constantly come and appear before such devotees (as above mentioned).'

21. Buddha then spoke to Ânanda and Vaidehî: 'Those who wish, by means of their serene thoughts, to be born in the western land, should first meditate on an image of the Buddha, who is sixteen cubits high*, seated on (a lotus-flower in) the water of the lake. As it was stated before the (real) body and its measurement are unlimited, incomprehensible to the ordinary mind. [* This is said to have been the height of Sâkyamuni; the cubit is Chinese, but as it varied from time to time, it is difficult to determine his real height. Spence Hardy, in his Manual of Buddhism, p. 364, says, 'Buddha is sometimes said to be twelve cubits in height, and sometimes eighteen cubits.']

'But by the efficacy of the ancient prayer of that Tathâgata, those who think of and remember him shall certainly be able to accomplish their aim.

'Even the mere perceiving of the image of that Buddha brings to one immeasurable blessings. How much more, then, will the meditating upon all the complete bodily signs of that Buddha! Buddha Amitâyus has supernatural power; since everything is at his disposal, he freely transforms himself in the regions of the ten quarters. At one time he shows himself as possessing a magnificent body, which fills the whole sky, at another he makes his body appear small, the height being only sixteen or eighteen cubits. The body he manifests is always pure gold incolour; his halo--(bright with) transformed Buddhas--and his jewel lotus-flowers are as mentioned above. The bodies of the two Bodhisattvas are the same always.

'All beings can recognise either of the two Bodhisattvas by simply glancing at the marks of their heads. These two Bodhisattvas assist Amitâyus in his work of universal salvation;--such is the meditation that forms a joint

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perception of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas, and it is the Thirteenth Meditation.'

AMITAYUS MEDITATION SUTRA PART 3

22. Buddha then spoke to Ânanda and Vaidehî: 'The beings who will be born in the highest form of the highest grade (i.e. to Buddhahood) are those, whoever they may be, who wish to be born in that country and cherish the threefold thought whereby they are at once destined to be born there. What is the threefold thought, you may ask. First, the True Thought; second, the Deep Believing Thought; third, the Desire to be born in that Pure Land by bringing one's own stock of merit to maturity. Those who have this threefold thought in perfection shall most assuredly be born into that country.

'There are also three classes of beings who are able to be born in that country. What, you may ask, are the three classes of beings? First, those who are possessed of a compassionate mind, who do no injury to any beings, and accomplish all virtuous actions according to Buddha's precepts; second, those who study and recite the Sûtras of the Mahâyâna doctrine, for instance, the Vaipulya Sûtras; third, those who practise the sixfold remembrance. These three classes of beings who wish to be born in that country by bringing (their respective stocks of merit) to maturity, will become destined to be born there if they have accomplished any of those meritorious deeds for one day or even for seven days.

'When one who has practised (these merits) is about to be born in that country, Buddha Amitâyus, together with the two Bodhisattvas Aval. and Mahâs., also numberless created Buddhas, and a hundred thousand Bhikshus and Sâvakas, with their whole retinue, and innumerable gods, together with the palaces of seven jewels, will appear before him out of regard for his diligence and courage; Aval., together with Mahâs., will offer a diamond seat to him; thereupon Amitâyus himself will send forth magnificent rays of light to shine over the dying person's body. He and many Bodhisattvas will offer their hands and welcome him, when Aval., Mahâs., and all the other Bodhisattvas will praise the glory of the man who practised the meritorious deeds, and convey an exhortation to his mind. When the new-comer, having seen these, rejoicing and leaping for joy, looks at himself, he will find his own body seated on that diamond throne; and as he follows behind Buddha he will be born into that country, in a moment. When he has been born there, he will see Buddha's form and body with every sign of perfection complete, and also the perfect forms and signs of all the Bodhisattvas; he will also see brilliant rays and jewel-forests and hear them propounding the excellent Law, and instantly be conscious of a spirit of resignation to whatever consequences may hereafter arise. Before long he will serve every one of the Buddhas who live in the regions of the ten quarters. In the presence of each of those Buddhas he will obtain successively a prophecy of his future destiny. On his return to his own land (Sukhâvatî, in which he has just been born) he will obtain countless hundreds of thousands of Dhârani formulas (mystic form of prayer);--such are those who are to be born in the highest form of the highest grade (to Buddhahood).

23. 'Next, the beings who will be born in the middle form of the highest grade are those who do not necessarily learn, remember, study, or recite those Vaipulya Sûtras, but fully understand the meaning of the truth (contained in them), and having a firm grasp of the highest truth do not speak evil of the Mahâyâna doctrine, but deeply believe in (the principle of) cause and effect; who by bringing these good qualities to maturity seek to be born in that Country of Highest Happiness. When one who has acquired these qualities is about to die, Amitâyus, surrounded by the two Bodhisattvas Aval. and Mahâs., and an innumerable retinue of dependents, will bring a seat of purple gold and approach him with words of praise, saying: "O my son in the Law! thou hast practised the Mahâyâna doctrine; thou hast understood and believed the highest truth; therefore I now come to meet and welcome thee." He and the thousand created Buddhas offer hands all at once.

'When that man looks at his own body, he will find himself seated on that purple gold seat; he will, then, stretching forth his folded hands, praise and eulogise all the Buddhas. As quick as thought he will be born in the lake of seven jewels, of that country. That purple gold seat on which he sits is like a magnificent jewel-flower, and will open after a night; the new-comer's body becomes purple gold in colour, and he will also find under his feet a lotus-flower consisting of seven jewels. Buddha and the Bodhisattvas at the same time will send forth brilliant rays to shine over the body of that person whose eyes will instantaneously be opened and become clear. According to his former usage (in the human world) he will hear all the voices that are there, preaching primary truths of the deepest significance.

'Then he will descend from that golden seat and worship Buddha with folded hands, praising and eulogising the World-Honoured One. After seven days, he will immediately attain to the state of the highest perfect knowledge (anuttarasamyaksambodhi) from which he will never fall away (avaivartya); next he will fly to all the ten regions and successively serve all the Buddhas therein; he will practise many a Samâdhi in the presence of those Buddhas. After the lapse of a lesser kalpa he will attain a spirit of resignation to whatever consequences may hereafter arise, and he will also obtain a prophecy of his future destiny in the presence of Buddhas.

24. 'Next are those who are to be born in the lowest form of the highest grade: this class of beings also believes in (the principle of) cause and effect, and without slandering the Mahâyâna doctrine, simply cherishes the thought of obtaining the highest Bodhi and by bringing this good quality to maturity seeks to be born in that Country of Highest Happiness. When a devotee of this class dies, Amitâyus, with Aval., Mahâs., and all the dependents, will offer him a golden lotus-flower; he will also miraculously create five hundred Buddhas in order to send and meet him. These five hundred created Buddhas will, all at once, offer hands and praise him, saying: "O my son in the Law! thou art pure now; as thou hast cherished the thought of obtaining the highest Bodhi, we come to meet thee." When he has seen them, he will find himself seated on that golden lotus-flower. Soon the flower will close upon him; following behind the World-Honoured One he will go to be born in the lake of seven jewels. After one day and one night the lotus-flower will unfold itself. Within seven days he may see Buddha's body, though his mind is not as yet clear enough to perceive all the signs and marks of the Buddha, which he will be able to see clearly after three weeks; then he will hear many sounds and voices preaching the excellent Law, and he himself, travelling through all the ten quarters, will worship all the Buddhas, from whom he will learn the deepest significance of the Law. After three lesser kalpas he will gain entrance to the knowledge of a hundred (divisions of) nature (satadharmavidyâdvâra) and become settled in the (first) joyful stage [There are ten stages which a Bodhisattva goes through.] (of Bodhisattva). The perception of these three classes of beings is called the meditation upon the superior class of beings, and is the Fourteenth Meditation.

25. 'The beings who will be born in the highest form of the middle grade are those who observe the five prohibitive precepts, the eight prohibitive precepts and the fasting, and practise all the moral precepts; who do not commit the five deadly sins, and who bring no blame or trouble upon any being; and who by bringing these good qualities to maturity seek to be born in the World of Highest Happiness in the western quarter. On the eve of such a person's departure from this life, Amitâyus, surrounded by Bhikshus and dependents, will appear before him, flashing forth rays of golden colour, and will preach the Law of suffering, non-existence, impermanence, and non-self. He will also praise the virtue of homelessness that can liberate one from all sufferings. At the sight of Buddha, that believer will excessively rejoice in his heart; he will soon find himself seated on a lotus-flower. Kneeling down on the ground and stretching forth his folded hands he will pay homage to Buddha. Before he raises his head he will reach that Country of Highest Happiness and be born there. Soon the lotus-flower will unfold, when he will hear sounds and voices praising and glorifying the Four Noble Truths (of suffering). He will immediately attain to the fruition of Arhatship, gain the threefold knowledge and the six supernatural faculties, and complete the eightfold emancipation.

26. 'The beings who will be born in the middle form of the middle grade are those who either observe the eight prohibitive precepts, and the fasting for one day and one night, or observe the prohibitive precept for Sramanera (a novice) for the same period, or observe the perfect moral precepts, not lowering their dignity nor neglecting any ceremonial observance for one day and one night, and by bringing their respective merits to maturity seek to be born in the Country of Highest Happiness. On the eve of departure from this life, such a believer who is possessed of this moral virtue, which he has made fragrant by cultivation during his life, will see Amitâyus, followed by all his retinue; flashing forth rays of golden colour, this Buddha will come before him and offer a lotus-flower of seven jewels.

'He will hear a voice in the sky, praising him and saying: "O son of a noble family, thou art indeed an excellent man. Out of regard for thy obedience to the teachings of all the Buddhas of the three worlds I, now, come and meet thee." Then the newcomer will see himself seated on that lotus-flower. Soon the lotus-flower will fold around him, and being in this he will be born in the jewel-lake of the World of Highest Happiness in the western quarter.

'After seven days that flower will unfold again, when the believer will open his eyes, and praise the World-Honoured One, stretching forth his folded hands. Having heard the Law, he will rejoice and obtain the fruition of a Srota-âpanna [Vide Vagrakkhedikâ, chapter 9.] (the first grade to Nirvâna).

'In the lapse of half a kalpa he will become an Arhat.

27. 'Next are the beings who will be born in the lowest form of the middle grade (to Buddhahood) If there be sons or daughters of a noble family who are filial to their parents and support them, besides exercising benevolence and compassion in the world, at their departure from this life, such persons will meet a good and learned teacher who will fully describe to them the state of happiness in that Buddha country of Amitâyus, and will also explain the forty-eight prayers of the Bhikshu Dharmâkara [Vide Larger Sukhâvatî, chapters 7, 8.]. As soon as any such person has heard these details, his life will come to an end. In a brief moment [Lit. 'In the time in which a strong man can bend his arm or stretch his bended arm.'] he will be born in the World of Highest Happiness in the western quarter.

'After seven days he will meet Aval. and Mahâs., from whom he will learn the Law and rejoice. After the lapse of a lesser kalpa he will attain to the fruition of an Arhat. The perception of these three sorts of beings is called the meditation of the middle class of beings, and is the Fifteenth Meditation.

28. 'Next are the beings who will be born in the highest form of the lowest grade. If there be anyone who commits many evil deeds, provided that he does not speak evil of the Mahâvaipulya Sûtras, he, though himself a very stupid man, and neither ashamed nor sorry for all the evil actions that he has done, yet, while dying, may meet a good and learned teacher who will recite and laud the headings and titles of the twelve divisions of the Mahâyâna scriptures. Having thus heard the names of all the Sûtras, he will be freed from the greatest sins which would involve him in births and deaths during a thousand kalpas.

'A wise man also will teach him to stretch forth his folded hands and to say, "Adoration to Buddha Amitâyus" (Namo*mitâbhâya Buddhâya, or, Namo*mitâyushe Buddhâya). Having uttered the name of the Buddha, he will be freed from the sins which would otherwise involve him in births and deaths for fifty millions of kalpas. Thereupon the Buddha will send a created Buddha, and the created Bodhisattvas Aval. and Mahâs., to approach that person with words of praise, saying: "O son of a noble family, as thou hast uttered the name of that Buddha, all thy sins have been destroyed and expiated, and therefore we now come to meet thee." After this speech the devotee will observe the rays of that created Buddha flooding his chamber with light, and while rejoicing at the sight he will depart this life. Seated on a lotus-flower he will follow that created Buddha and go to be born in the jewel-lake.

'After the lapse of seven weeks, the lotus-flower will unfold, when the great compassionate Bodhisattvas Aval. and Mahâs. will stand before him, flashing forth magnificent rays, and will preach to him the deepest meaning of the twelve divisions of the scriptures. Having heard this, he will understand and believe it, and cherish the thought of attaining the highest Bodhi. In a period of ten lesser ka1pas he will gain entrance to the knowledge of the hundred (divisions of) nature, and be able to enter upon the first (joyful) stage (of Bodhisattva). Those who have had an opportunity of hearing the name of Buddha, the name of the Law, and the name of the Church--the names of the Three Jewelscan also be born (in that country).'

29. Buddha continued: 'Next are the beings who will be born in the middle form of the lowest grade. If there be anyone who transgresses the five and the eight prohibitive precepts, and also all the perfect moral precepts; he, being himself so stupid as to steal things that belong to the whole community[1], or things that belong to a particular Bhikshu, and not be ashamed nor sorry for his impure preaching of the Law (in case of preacher), but magnify and glorify himself with many wicked deeds:--such a

[1. The text has 'sanghika things,' which is probably sanghika lâbha, i.e. 'gains of the whole community' opposed to gains of a single monk, Childers' Pâli Dictionary, s.v. sanghiko, p. 449.] sinful person deserves to fall into hell in consequence of those sins. At the time of his death, when the fires of hell approach him from all sides, he will meet a good and learned teacher who will, out of great compassion, preach the power and virtue of the ten faculties of Amitâyus and fully explain the supernatural powers and brilliant rays of that Buddha; and will further praise moral virtue, meditation, wisdom, emancipation, and the thorough knowledge that follows emancipation. After having heard this, he will be freed from his sins, which would involve him in births and deaths during eighty millions of kalpas; thereupon those violent fires of hell will transform themselves into a pure and cool wind blowing about heavenly flowers. On each of these flowers will stand a created Buddha or Bodhisattva to mtet and receive that person. In a moment he will be born in a lotus-flower growing in the lake of seven jewels. After six kalpas the lotus-flower will open, when Avalokitesvara and Mahâsthâma will soothe and encourage him with their Brahma-voices, and preach to him the Mahâyâna Sûtras of the deepest significance.

'Having heard this Law, he will instantaneously direct his thought toward the attainment of the highest Bodhi.

30. 'Lastly, the beings who will be born in the lowest form of the lowest grade. If there be anyone who commits evil deeds, and even completes the ten wicked actions, the five deadly sins* and the like; that man, being himself stupid and guilty of many crimes, deserves to fall into a miserable path of existence

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and suffer endless pains during many kalpas. [* The Five deadly sins in Buddhism are: killing your father, killing your mother, killing an arakan (arhat), killing an arhat, injuring and killing a buddha, creating schism in the Buddhist order. Committing such crimes deliver the offender (via karma) into naraka (hell).]. On the eve of death he will meet a good and learned teacher who will, soothing and encouraging him in various ways, preach to him the excellent Law and teach him the remembrance of Buddha, but, being harassed by pains, he will have no time to think of Buddha. Some good friend will then say to him: "Even if thou canst not exercise the remembrance of Buddha, thou mayst, at least, utter the name, 'Buddha Amitâyus.'" Let him do so serenely with his voice uninterrupted; let him be (continually) thinking of Buddha until he has completed ten times the thought, repeating (the formula), "Adoration to Buddha Amitâyus" (Namo*mitâyushe Buddhâya). On the strength of (his merit of) uttering Buddha's name he will, during every repetition, expiate the sins which involve him in births and deaths during eighty millions of kalpas. He will, while dying, see a golden lotus-flower like the disk of the sun appearing before his eyes; in a moment he will be born in the World of Highest Happiness. After twelve greater kalpas the lotus-flower will unfold; thereupon the Bodhisattvas Aval. and Mahâs., raising their voices in great compassion, will preach to him in detail the real state of all the elements of nature and the law of the expiation of sins.

'On hearing them he will rejoice and will immediately direct his thought toward the attainment of the Bodhi;--such are the beings who are to be born in the lowest form of the lowest grade (to Buddhahood). The perception of the above three is called the meditation of the inferior class of beings, and is the Sixteenth Meditation.'

AMITAYUS MEDITATION SUTRA PART 4

31. When Buddha had finished this speech, Vaidehî, together with her five hundred female attendants, could see, as guided by the Buddha's words, the scene of the far-stretching World of the Highest Happiness, and could also see the body of Buddha and the bodies of the two Bodhisattvas. With her mind filled with joy she praised them, saying: 'Never have I seen such a wonder!' Instantaneously she became wholly and fully enlightened, and attained a spirit of resignation, prepared to endure whatever consequences might yet arise[1]. Her five hundred female attendants too cherished the thought of obtaining the highest perfect knowledge, and sought to be born in that Buddha country.

32. The World-Honoured One predicted that they would all be born in that Buddha country, and be able to obtain the Samâdhi (the supernatural calm) of the presence of many Buddhas. All the innumerable Devas (gods) also directed their thought toward the attainment of the highest Bodhi. Thereupon Ânanda rose from his seat, approached Buddha, and spoke thus: 'O World-Honoured One, what should we call this Sûtra? And how should we receive and remember it (in the future)?'

Buddha said in his reply to Ânanda: 'O Ânanda, this Sûtra should be called the meditation on the Land of Sukhâvatî, on Buddha Amitâyus, Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, Bodhisattva Mahâsthâma, or otherwise be called "(the Sûtra on) the entire removal of the obstacle of Karma, (the means of) being born in the realm of the Buddhas." Thou shouldst take and hold it, not forgetting nor losing it. Those who practise the Samâdhi (the supernatural calm) in accordance with this Sûtra will be able to see, in the present life, Buddha Amitâyus and the two great Bodhisattvas.

'In case of a son or a daughter of a noble family, the mere hearing of the names of the Buddha and the two Bodhisattvas will expiate the sins which would involve them in births and deaths during innumerable kalpas. How much more will the remembrance (of Buddha and the Bodhisattvas)!

'Know that he who remembers that Buddha is the white lotus (pundarîka) among men, it is he whom the Bodhisattvas Avalokitesvara and Mahâsthâma consider an excellent friend. He will, sitting in the Bodhi-mandala*, be born in the abode of Buddhas.' [* Bodhi-mandala=Bodhi-manda, i.e. the Circle of Bodhi; 'the round terrace of enlightenment,' see Kern, Saddharmapundarîka, p. 155 note. This circle is the ground on which stood the Asvattha tree near which Sâkyamuni defeated the assaults of Mâra, and finally obtained Bodhi or enlightenment.]

Buddha further spoke to Ânanda: 'Thou shouldst carefully remember these words. To remember these words is to remember the name of Buddha Amitâyus.'

When Buddha concluded these words, the worthy disciples Mahâyâna, and Ânanda, Vaidehî, and the others were all enraptured with excessive Joy.

33. Thereupon the World-Honoured One came back, walking through the open sky; to the Mount Gridhrakûta. Ânanda soon after spoke before a great assembly of all the occurrences as stated above. On hearing this, all the innumerable Devas (gods), Nâgas (snakes), and Yakshas (demi-gods) were inspired with great joy; and having worshipped the Buddha they went their way.

Here ends the Sûtra of the Meditation on Buddha Amitâyus, spoken by Buddha (Sâkyamuni).

THE DHAMMAPADA

or The Path of Righteousness
or The Way of Buddha's Teachings
A Canonical Book of the Theravada Buddhists,
The Pali Canon (being the canon in the Pali language)
From The Sacred Books of the East.
Translation from Pali: Friedrich Max Müller, 1881
Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 1st centuries B.C.

(The Dhammapada [or Dharmapada in Sanskrit] is an Indian work that was composed before the Christian era. The Dhammapada contains parallels to the Sermon on the Mount concepts of turn the other cheek, the light of the world, and don't look at with lust. The Dhammapada is a collection of sayings of the Buddha in verse form and one of the most widely read and best known Buddhist scriptures. The original version of the Dhammapada is in the Khuddaka Nikaya, a division of the Pali Canon of Theravada Buddhism.

Theravada (Pali, lit. "School of the Elders") is the most commonly accepted name of Buddhism's oldest existing school. The school's adherents, termed Theravadins, have preserved their version of Gautama Buddha's teaching or Buddha Dhamma in the Pāli Canon for over a millennium. The Pali Canon is the most complete Buddhist canon surviving in a classical Indian language, Pali, which serves as the school's sacred language and lingua franca. In contrast to Mahayana and Vajrayana, Theravāda tends to be conservative in matters of doctrine (pariyatti) and monastic discipline (vinaya). One element of this conservatism is the fact that Theravāda rejects the authenticity of the Mahayana sutras (which appeared c. 1st century BC onwards).

Modern Theravada derives from the Mahavihara order, a Sri Lankan [Ceylonese] branch of the Vibhajjavada tradition, who are in turn a sect of the Indian Sthavira Nikaya. This tradition began to establish itself in Sri Lanka from the 3rd century BC onwards. It was in Sri Lanka that the Pali Canon was written down and the school's commentary literature developed. From Sri Lanka, the Theravada Mahavihara tradition subsequently spread to the rest of Southeast Asia. It is the dominant religion in Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar [Burma], Sri Lanka, and Thailand and is practiced by minorities in India, Bangladesh, China, Nepal, and Vietnam. The diaspora of all of these groups, as well as converts around the world, also embrace and practice Theravada Buddhism. In modern times, Theravada has spread to other Asian and western countries such as India, Nepal, several European countries and the United States by immigrants and converts.

The title, "Dhammapada," is a compound term composed of dhamma [or Sanskrit dharma] and pada, Generally, dhamma can refer to the Buddha's "teachings" or an "eternal truth" or "righteousness", and, at its root, pada means "foot" and thus by extension, especially in this context, means either "path" or "verse". The title is best translated as "The Path of Righteousness."

According to tradition, the Dhammapada's verses were spoken by the Buddha on various occasions. The complex models, theories, rhetorical style and sheer volume of the Buddha's teachings made it hard to understand the principles of them. In the fourth or third centuries BC., the logical teachings of Buddha were compiled into The Dhammapada. The short and cristall-clear verses in that remarkable work make the Buddhist way of life available to anyone.)

DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 1

The Twin-Verses or The Pairs (Yamaka-vaggo)

1 All that we are is the result of what we have thought: it is founded on our thoughts, it is made up of our thoughts. If a man speaks or acts with an evil thought, pain follows him, as the wheel follows the foot of the ox that draws the carriage.

2 All that we are is the result of what we have thought: it is founded on our thoughts, it is made up of our thoughts. If a man speaks or acts with a pure thought, happiness follows him, like a shadow that never leaves him.

3 "He abused me, he beat me, he defeated me, he robbed me,"--in those who harbour such thoughts hatred will never cease.

4 "He abused me, he beat me, he defeated me, he robbed me,"--in those who do not harbour such thoughts hatred will cease.

5 For hatred does not cease by hatred at any time: hatred ceases by love, this is an old rule.

6 The world does not know that we must all come to an end here;--but those who know it, their quarrels cease at once.

7 He who lives looking for pleasures only, his senses uncontrolled, immoderate in his food, idle, and weak, Mara (the tempter) will certainly overthrow him, as the wind throws down a weak tree.

8 He who lives without looking for pleasures, his senses well controlled, moderate in his food, faithful and strong, him Mara will certainly not overthrow, any more than the wind throws down a rocky mountain.

9 He who wishes to put on the yellow dress without having cleansed himself from sin, who disregards temperance and truth, is unworthy of the yellow dress.

10 But he who has cleansed himself from sin, is well grounded in all virtues, and regards also temperance and truth, he is indeed worthy of the yellow dress.

11 They who imagine truth in untruth, and see untruth in truth, never arrive at truth, but follow vain desires.

12 They who know truth in truth, and untruth in untruth, arrive at truth, and follow true desires.

13 As rain breaks through an ill-thatched house, passion will break through an unreflecting mind.

14 As rain does not break through a well-thatched house, passion will not break through a well-reflecting mind.

15 The evil-doer mourns in this world, and he mourns in the next; he mourns in both. He mourns and suffers when he sees the evil of his own work.

16 The virtuous man delights in this world, and he delights in the next; he delights in both. He delights and rejoices, when he sees the purity of his own work.

17 The evil-doer suffers in this world, and he suffers in the next; he suffers in both. He suffers when he thinks of the evil he has done; he suffers more when going on the evil path.

18 The virtuous man is happy in this world, and he is happy in the next; he is happy in both. He is happy when he thinks of the good he has done; he is still more happy when going on the good path.

19 The thoughtless man, even if he can recite a large portion (of the law), but is not a doer of it, has no share in the priesthood, but is like a cowherd counting the cows of others.

20 The follower of the law, even if he can recite only a small portion (of the law), but, having forsaken passion and hatred and foolishness, possesses true knowledge and serenity of mind, he, caring for nothing in this world or that to come, has indeed a share in the priesthood.

DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 2

On Earnestness or On Attention (Appam□da-vaggo)

21 Earnestness is the path of immortality (Nirvana), thoughtlessness the path of death. Those who are in earnest do not die, those who are thoughtless are as if dead already.

22 Those who are advanced in earnestness, having understood this clearly, delight in earnestness, and rejoice in the knowledge of the Ariyas (the elect).

23 These wise people, meditative, steady, always possessed of strong powers, attain to Nirvana, the highest happiness.

24 If an earnest person has roused himself, if he is not forgetful, if his deeds are pure, if he acts with consideration, if he restrains himself, and lives according to law,--then his glory will increase.

25 By rousing himself, by earnestness, by restraint and control, the wise man may make for himself an island which no flood can overwhelm.

26 Fools follow after vanity, men of evil wisdom. The wise man keeps earnestness as his best jewel.

27 Follow not after vanity, nor after the enjoyment of love and lust! He who is earnest and meditative, obtains ample joy.

28 When the learned man drives away vanity by earnestness, he, the wise, climbing the terraced heights of wisdom, looks down upon the fools, serene he looks upon the toiling crowd, as one that stands on a mountain looks down upon them that stand upon the plain.

29 Earnest among the thoughtless, awake among the sleepers, the wise man advances like a racer, leaving behind the hack.

30 By earnestness did Maghavan (Indra) rise to the lordship of the gods. People praise earnestness; thoughtlessness is always blamed.

31 A Bhikshu (mendicant) who delights in earnestness, who looks with fear on thoughtlessness, moves about like fire, burning all his fetters, small or large.

32 A Bhikshu (mendicant) who delights in reflection, who looks with fear on thoughtlessness, cannot fall away (from his perfect state)--he is close upon Nirvana.

DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 3

Thoughts (Citta-vaggo)

33 As a fletcher makes straight his arrow, a wise man makes straight his trembling and unsteady thought, which is difficult to guard, difficult to hold back.

34 As a fish taken from his watery home and thrown on dry ground, our thought trembles all over in order to escape the dominion of Mara (the tempter).

35 It is good to tame the mind, which is difficult to hold in and flighty, rushing wherever it listeth; a tamed mind brings happiness.

36 Let the wise man guard his thoughts, for they are difficult to perceive, very artful, and they rush wherever they list: thoughts well guarded bring happiness.

37 Those who bridle their mind which travels far, moves about alone, is without a body, and hides in the chamber (of the heart), will be free from the bonds of Mara (the tempter).

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38 If a man's thoughts are unsteady, if he does not know the true law, if his peace of mind is troubled, his knowledge will never be perfect.

39 If a man's thoughts are not dissipated, if his mind is not perplexed, if he has ceased to think of good or evil, then there is no fear for him while he is watchful.

40 Knowing that this body is (fragile) like a jar, and making this thought firm like a fortress, one should attack Mara (the tempter) with the weapon of knowledge, one should watch him when conquered, and should never rest.

41 Before long, alas! this body will lie on the earth, despised, without understanding, like a useless log.

42 Whatever a hater may do to a hater, or an enemy to an enemy, a wrongly-directed mind will do us greater mischief.

43 Not a mother, not a father will do so much, nor any other relative; a well-directed mind will do us greater service.

DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 4

Flowers (Puppha-vaggo)

44 Who shall overcome this earth, and the world of Yama (the lord of the departed), and the world of the gods? Who shall find out the plainly shown path of virtue, as a clever man finds out the (right) flower?

45 The disciple will overcome the earth, and the world of Yama, and the world of the gods. The disciple will find out the plainly shown path of virtue, as a clever man finds out the (right) flower.

46 He who knows that this body is like froth, and has learnt that it is as unsubstantial as a mirage, will break the flower-pointed arrow of Mara, and never see the king of death.

47 Death carries off a man who is gathering flowers and whose mind is distracted, as a flood carries off a sleeping village.

48 Death subdues a man who is gathering flowers, and whose mind is distracted, before he is satiated in his pleasures.

49 As the bee collects nectar and departs without injuring the flower, or its colour or scent, so let a sage dwell in his village.

50 Not the perversities of others, not their sins of commission or omission, but his own misdeeds and negligences should a sage take notice of.

51 Like a beautiful flower, full of colour, but without scent, are the fine but fruitless words of him who does not act accordingly.

52 But, like a beautiful flower, full of colour and full of scent, are the fine and fruitful words of him who acts accordingly.

53 As many kinds of wreaths can be made from a heap of flowers, so many good things may be achieved by a mortal when once he is born.

54 The scent of flowers does not travel against the wind, nor (that of) sandal-wood, or of Tagara and Mallika flowers; but the odour of good people travels even against the wind; a good man pervades every place.

55 Sandal-wood or Tagara, a lotus-flower, or a Vassiki, among these sorts of perfumes, the perfume of virtue is unsurpassed.

56 Mean is the scent that comes from Tagara and sandal-wood;--the perfume of those who possess virtue rises up to the gods as the highest.

57 Of the people who possess these virtues, who live without thoughtlessness, and who are emancipated through true knowledge, Mara, the tempter, never finds the way.

58, 59. As on a heap of rubbish cast upon the highway the lily will grow full of sweet perfume and delight, thus the disciple of the truly enlightened Buddha shines forth by his knowledge among those who are like rubbish, among the people that walk in darkness.

DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 5

The Fool (B□la-vaggo)

60 Long is the night to him who is awake; long is a mile to him who is tired; long is life to the foolish who do not know the true law.

61 If a traveller does not meet with one who is his better, or his equal, let him firmly keep to his solitary journey; there is no companionship with a fool.

62 "These sons belong to me, and this wealth belongs to me," with such thoughts a fool is tormented. He himself does not belong to himself; how much less sons and wealth?

63 The fool who knows his foolishness, is wise at least so far. But a fool who thinks himself wise, he is called a fool indeed.

64 If a fool be associated with a wise man even all his life, he will perceive the truth as little as a spoon perceives the taste of soup.

65 If an intelligent man be associated for one minute only with a wise man, he will soon perceive the truth, as the tongue perceives the taste of soup.

66 Fools of little understanding have themselves for their greatest enemies, for they do evil deeds which must bear bitter fruits.

67 That deed is not well done of which a man must repent, and the reward of which he receives crying and with a tearful face.

68 No, that deed is well done of which a man does not repent, and the reward of which he receives gladly and cheerfully.

69 As long as the evil deed done does not bear fruit, the fool thinks it is like honey; but when it ripens, then the fool suffers grief.

70 Let a fool month after month eat his food (like an ascetic) with the tip of a blade of Kusa grass, yet he is not worth the sixteenth particle of those who have well weighed the law.

71 An evil deed, like newly-drawn milk, does not turn (suddenly); smouldering, like fire covered by ashes, it follows the fool.

72 And when the evil deed, after it has become known, brings sorrow to the fool, then it destroys his bright lot, nay, it cleaves his head.

73 Let the fool wish for a false reputation, for precedence among the Bhikshus, for lordship in the convents, for worship among other people!

74 "May both the layman and he who has left the world think that this is done by me; may they be subject to me in everything which is to be done or is not to be done," thus is the mind of the fool, and his desire and pride increase.

75 "One is the road that leads to wealth, another the road that leads to Nirvana;" if the Bhikshu, the disciple of Buddha, has learnt this, he will not yearn for honour, he will strive after separation from the world.

DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 6

The Wise Man (Pandita-vaggo)

76 If you see an intelligent man who tells you where true treasures are to be found, who shows what is to be avoided, and administers reproofs, follow that wise man; it will be better, not worse, for those who follow him.

77 Let him admonish, let him teach, let him forbid what is improper!- -he will be beloved of the good, by the bad he will be hated.

78 Do not have evil-doers for friends, do not have low people for friends: have virtuous people for friends, have for friends the best of men.

79 He who drinks in the law lives happily with a serene mind: the sage rejoices always in the law, as preached by the elect (Ariyas).

80 Well-makers lead the water (wherever they like); fletchers bend the arrow; carpenters bend a log of wood; wise people fashion themselves.

81 As a solid rock is not shaken by the wind, wise people falter not amidst blame and praise.

82 Wise people, after they have listened to the laws, become serene, like a deep, smooth, and still lake.

83 Good people walk on whatever befall, the good do not prattle, longing for pleasure; whether touched by happiness or sorrow wise people never appear elated or depressed.

84 If, whether for his own sake, or for the sake of others, a man wishes neither for a son, nor for wealth, nor for lordship, and if he does not wish for his own success by unfair means, then he is good, wise, and virtuous.

85 Few are there among men who arrive at the other shore (become Arhats); the other people here run up and down the shore.

86 But those who, when the law has been well preached to them, follow the law, will pass across the dominion of death, however difficult to overcome.

87 A wise man should leave the dark state (of ordinary life), and follow the bright state (of the Bhikshu).

88 After going from his home to a homeless state, he should in his retirement look for enjoyment where there seemed to be no enjoyment. Leaving all pleasures behind, and calling nothing his own, the wise man should purge himself from all the troubles of the mind.

89 Those whose mind is well grounded in the (seven) elements of knowledge, who without clinging to anything, rejoice in freedom from attachment, whose appetites have been conquered, and who are full of light, are free (even) in this world.

DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 7

The Venerable or The Enlightened (Arahanta-vaggo)

90 There is no suffering for him who has finished his journey, and abandoned grief, who has freed himself on all sides, and thrown off all fetters.

91 They depart with their thoughts well-collected, they are not happy in their abode; like swans who have left their lake, they leave their house and home.

92 Men who have no riches, who live on recognised food, who have perceived void and unconditioned freedom (Nirvana), their path is difficult to understand, like that of birds in the air.

93 He whose appetites are stilled, who is not absorbed in enjoyment, who has perceived void and unconditioned freedom (Nirvana), his path is difficult to understand, like that of birds in the air.

94 The gods even envy him whose senses, like horses well broken in by the driver, have been subdued, who is free from pride, and free from appetites.

95 Such a one who does his duty is tolerant like the earth, like Indra's bolt; he is like a lake without mud; no new births are in store for him.

96 His thought is quiet, quiet are his word and deed, when he has obtained freedom by true knowledge, when he has thus become a quiet man.

97 The man who is free from credulity, but knows the uncreated, who has cut all ties, removed all temptations, renounced all desires, he is the greatest of men.

98 In a hamlet or in a forest, in the deep water or on the dry land, wherever venerable persons (Arhanta) dwell, that place is delightful.

99 Forests are delightful; where the world finds no delight, there the passionless will find delight, for they look not for pleasures.

DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 8

The Thousands (Sahassa-vaggo)

100 Even though a speech be a thousand (of words), but made up of senseless words, one word of sense is better, which if a man hears, he becomes quiet.

101 Even though a Gatha (poem) be a thousand (of words), but made up of senseless words, one word of a Gatha is better, which if a man hears, he becomes quiet.

102 Though a man recite a hundred Gathas made up of senseless words, one word of the law is better, which if a man hears, he becomes quiet.

103 If one man conquer in battle a thousand times thousand men, and if another conquer himself, he is the greatest of conquerors.

104, 105. One's own self conquered is better than all other people; not even a god, a Gandharva, not Mara with Brahman could change into defeat the victory of a man who has vanquished himself, and always lives under restraint.

106 If a man for a hundred years sacrifice month after month with a thousand, and if he but for one moment pay homage to a man whose soul is grounded (in true knowledge), better is that homage than sacrifice for a hundred years.

107 If a man for a hundred years worship Agni (fire) in the forest, and if he but for one moment pay homage to a man whose soul is grounded (in true knowledge), better is that homage than sacrifice for a hundred years.

108 Whatever a man sacrifice in this world as an offering or as an oblation for a whole year in order to gain merit, the whole of it is not worth a quarter (a farthing); reverence shown to the righteous is better.

109 He who always greets and constantly reveres the aged, four things will increase to him, viz. life, beauty, happiness, power.

110 But he who lives a hundred years, vicious and unrestrained, a life of one day is better if a man is virtuous and reflecting.

111 And he who lives a hundred years, ignorant and unrestrained, a life of one day is better if a man is wise and reflecting.

112 And he who lives a hundred years, idle and weak, a life of one day is better if a man has attained firm strength.

113 And he who lives a hundred years, not seeing beginning and end, a life of one day is better if a man sees beginning and end.

114 And he who lives a hundred years, not seeing the immortal place, a life of one day is better if a man sees the immortal place.

115 And he who lives a hundred years, not seeing the highest law, a life of one day is better if a man sees the highest law.

DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 9

Evil (P□pa-vaggo)

116 If a man would hasten towards the good, he should keep his thought away from evil; if a man does what is good slothfully, his mind delights in evil.

117 If a man commits a sin, let him not do it again; let him not delight in sin: pain is the outcome of evil.

118 If a man does what is good, let him do it again; let him delight in it: happiness is the outcome of good.

119 Even an evil-doer sees happiness as long as his evil deed has not ripened; but when his evil deed has ripened, then does the evil-doer see evil.

120 Even a good man sees evil days, as long as his good deed has not ripened; but when his good deed has ripened, then does the good man see happy days.

121 Let no man think lightly of evil, saying in his heart, It will not come nigh unto me. Even by the falling of water-drops a water-pot is filled; the fool becomes full of evil, even if he gather it little by little.

122 Let no man think lightly of good, saying in his heart, It will not come nigh unto me. Even by the falling of water-drops a water-pot is filled; the wise man becomes full of good, even if he gather it little by little.

123 Let a man avoid evil deeds, as a merchant, if he has few companions and carries much wealth, avoids a dangerous road; as a man who loves life avoids poison.

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124 He who has no wound on his hand, may touch poison with his hand; poison does not affect one who has no wound; nor is there evil for one who does not commit evil.

125 If a man offend a harmless, pure, and innocent person, the evil falls back upon that fool, like light dust thrown up against the wind.

126 Some people are born again; evil-doers go to hell; righteous people go to heaven; those who are free from all worldly desires attain Nirvana.

127 Not in the sky, not in the midst of the sea, not if we enter into the clefts of the mountains, is there known a spot in the whole world where a man might be freed from an evil deed.

128 Not in the sky, not in the midst of the sea, not if we enter into the clefts of the mountains, is there known a spot in the whole world where death could not overcome (the mortal).

DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 10

Violence or Punishment (Daṇḍa-vaggo)

129 All men tremble at punishment, all men fear death; remember that you are like unto them, and do not kill, nor cause slaughter.

130 All men tremble at punishment, all men love life; remember that thou art like unto them, and do not kill, nor cause slaughter.

131 He who seeking his own happiness punishes or kills beings who also long for happiness, will not find happiness after death.

132 He who seeking his own happiness does not punish or kill beings who also long for happiness, will find happiness after death.

133 Do not speak harshly to anybody; those who are spoken to will answer thee in the same way. Angry speech is painful, blows for blows will touch thee.

134 If, like a shattered metal plate (gong), thou utter not, then thou hast reached Nirvana; contention is not known to thee.

135 As a cowherd with his staff drives his cows into the stable, so do Age and Death drive the life of men.

136 A fool does not know when he commits his evil deeds: but the wicked man burns by his own deeds, as if burnt by fire.

137 He who inflicts pain on innocent and harmless persons, will soon come to one of these ten states:

138 He will have cruel suffering, loss, injury of the body, heavy affliction, or loss of mind,

139 Or a misfortune coming from the king, or a fearful accusation, or loss of relations, or destruction of treasures,

140 Or lightning-fire will burn his houses; and when his body is destroyed, the fool will go to hell.

141 Not nakedness, not platted hair, not dirt, not fasting, or lying on the earth, not rubbing with dust, not sitting motionless, can purify a mortal who has not overcome desires.

142 He who, though dressed in fine apparel, exercises tranquillity, is quiet, subdued, restrained, chaste, and has ceased to find fault with all other beings, he indeed is a Brahmana, an ascetic (sramana), a friar (bhikshu).

143 Is there in this world any man so restrained by humility that he does not mind reproof, as a well-trained horse the whip?

144 Like a well-trained horse when touched by the whip, be ye active and lively, and by faith, by virtue, by energy, by meditation, by discernment of the law you will overcome this great pain (of reproof), perfect in knowledge and in behaviour, and never forgetful.

145 Well-makers lead the water (wherever they like); fletchers bend the arrow; carpenters bend a log of wood; good people fashion themselves.

DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 11

Old Age (Jar□-vaggo)

146 How is there laughter, how is there joy, as this world is always burning? Why do you not seek a light, ye who are surrounded by darkness?

147 Look at this dressed-up lump, covered with wounds, joined together, sickly, full of many thoughts, which has no strength, no hold!

148 This body is wasted, full of sickness, and frail; this heap of corruption breaks to pieces, life indeed ends in death.

149 Those white bones, like gourds thrown away in the autumn, what pleasure is there in looking at them?

150 After a stronghold has been made of the bones, it is covered with flesh and blood, and there dwell in it old age and death, pride and deceit.

151 The brilliant chariots of kings are destroyed, the body also approaches destruction, but the virtue of good people never approaches destruction,--thus do the good say to the good.

152 A man who has learnt little, grows old like an ox; his flesh grows, but his knowledge does not grow.

153, 154. Looking for the maker of this tabernacle, I shall have to run through a course of many births, so long as I do not find (him); and painful is birth again and again. But now, maker of the tabernacle, thou hast been seen; thou shalt not make up this tabernacle again. All thy rafters are broken, thy ridge-pole is sundered; the mind, approaching the Eternal (visankhara, nirvana), has attained to the extinction of all desires.

155 Men who have not observed proper discipline, and have not gained treasure in their youth, perish like old herons in a lake without fish.

156 Men who have not observed proper discipline, and have not gained treasure in their youth, lie, like broken bows, sighing after the past.

DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 12

Self (Atta-vaggo)

157 If a man hold himself dear, let him watch himself carefully; during one at least out of the three watches a wise man should be watchful.

158 Let each man direct himself first to what is proper, then let him teach others; thus a wise man will not suffer.

159 If a man make himself as he teaches others to be, then, being himself well subdued, he may subdue (others); one's own self is indeed difficult to subdue.

160 Self is the lord of self, who else could be the lord? With self well subdued, a man finds a lord such as few can find.

161 The evil done by oneself, self-begotten, self-bred, crushes the foolish, as a diamond breaks a precious stone.

162 He whose wickedness is very great brings himself down to that state where his enemy wishes him to be, as a creeper does with the tree which it surrounds.

163 Bad deeds, and deeds hurtful to ourselves, are easy to do; what is beneficial and good, that is very difficult to do.

164 The foolish man who scorns the rule of the venerable (Arahat), of the elect (Ariya), of the virtuous, and follows false doctrine, he bears fruit to his own destruction, like the fruits of the Katthaka reed.

165 By oneself the evil is done, by oneself one suffers; by oneself evil is left undone, by oneself one is purified. Purity and impurity belong to oneself, no one can purify another.

166 Let no one forget his own duty for the sake of another's, however great; let a man, after he has discerned his own duty, be always attentive to his duty.

DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 13

The World (Loka-vaggo)

167 Do not follow the evil law! Do not live on in thoughtlessness! Do not follow false doctrine! Be not a friend of the world.

168 Rouse thyself! do not be idle! Follow the law of virtue! The virtuous rests in bliss in this world and in the next.

169 Follow the law of virtue; do not follow that of sin. The virtuous rests in bliss in this world and in the next.

170 Look upon the world as a bubble, look upon it as a mirage: the king of death does not see him who thus looks down upon the world.

171 Come, look at this glittering world, like unto a royal chariot; the foolish are immersed in it, but the wise do not touch it.

172 He who formerly was reckless and afterwards became sober, brightens up this world, like the moon when freed from clouds.

173 He whose evil deeds are covered by good deeds, brightens up this world, like the moon when freed from clouds.

174 This world is dark, few only can see here; a few only go to heaven, like birds escaped from the net.

175 The swans go on the path of the sun, they go through the ether by means of their miraculous power; the wise are led out of this world, when they have conquered Mara and his train.

176 If a man has transgressed one law, and speaks lies, and scoffs at another world, there is no evil he will not do.

177 The uncharitable do not go to the world of the gods; fools only do not praise liberality; a wise man rejoices in liberality, and through it becomes blessed in the other world.

178 Better than sovereignty over the earth, better than going to heaven, better than lordship over all worlds, is the reward of the first step in holiness.

DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 14

The Buddhas or The Awakened (Buddha-vaggo)

179 He whose conquest is not conquered again, into whose conquest no one in this world enters, by what track can you lead him, the Awakened, the Omniscient, the trackless?

180 He whom no desire with its snares and poisons can lead astray, by what track can you lead him, the Awakened, the Omniscient, the trackless?

181 Even the gods envy those who are awakened and not forgetful, who are given to meditation, who are wise, and who delight in the repose of retirement (from the world).

182 Difficult (to obtain) is the conception of men, difficult is the life of mortals, difficult is the hearing of the True Law, difficult is the birth of the Awakened (the attainment of Buddhahood).

183 Not to commit any sin, to do good, and to purify one's mind, that is the teaching of (all) the Awakened.

184 The Awakened call patience the highest penance, long-suffering the highest Nirvana; for he is not an anchorite (pravragita) who strikes others, he is not an ascetic (sramana) who insults others.

185 Not to blame, not to strike, to live restrained under the law, to be moderate in eating, to sleep and sit alone, and to dwell on the highest thoughts,--this is the teaching of the Awakened.

186 There is no satisfying lusts, even by a shower of gold pieces; he who knows that lusts have a short taste and cause pain, he is wise;

187 Even in heavenly pleasures he finds no satisfaction, the disciple who is fully awakened delights only in the destruction of all desires.

188 Men, driven by fear, go to many a refuge, to mountains and forests, to groves and sacred trees.

189 But that is not a safe refuge, that is not the best refuge; a man is not delivered from all pains after having gone to that refuge.

190 He who takes refuge with Buddha, the Law, and the Church; he who, with clear understanding, sees the four holy truths:--

191 Viz. pain, the origin of pain, the destruction of pain, and the eightfold holy way that leads to the quieting of pain;-

192 That is the safe refuge, that is the best refuge; having gone to that refuge, a man is delivered from all pain.

193 A supernatural person (a Buddha) is not easily found, he is not born everywhere. Wherever such a sage is born, that race prospers.

194 Happy is the arising of the awakened, happy is the teaching of the True Law, happy is peace in the church, happy is the devotion of those who are at peace.

195, 196. He who pays homage to those who deserve homage, whether the awakened (Buddha) or their disciples, those who have overcome the host (of evils), and crossed the flood of sorrow, he who pays homage to such as have found deliverance and know no fear, his merit can never be measured by anybody.

DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 15

Happiness (Sukha-vaggo)

197 Let us live happily then, not hating those who hate us! among men who hate us let us dwell free from hatred!

198 Let us live happily then, free from ailments among the ailing! among men who are ailing let us dwell free from ailments!

199 Let us live happily then, free from greed among the greedy! among men who are greedy let us dwell free from greed!

200 Let us live happily then, though we call nothing our own! We shall be like the bright gods, feeding on happiness!

201 Victory breeds hatred, for the conquered is unhappy. He who has given up both victory and defeat, he, the contented, is happy.

202 There is no fire like passion; there is no losing throw like hatred; there is no pain like this body; there is no happiness higher than rest.

203 Hunger is the worst of diseases, the body the greatest of pains; if one knows this truly, that is Nirvana, the highest happiness.

204 Health is the greatest of gifts, contentedness the best riches; trust is the best of relationships, Nirvana the highest happiness.

205 He who has tasted the sweetness of solitude and tranquillity, is free from fear and free from sin, while he tastes the sweetness of drinking in the law.

206 The sight of the elect (Arya) is good, to live with them is always happiness; if a man does not see fools, he will be truly happy.

207 He who walks in the company of fools suffers a long way; company with fools, as with an enemy, is always painful; company with the wise is pleasure, like meeting with kinsfolk.

208 Therefore, one ought to follow the wise, the intelligent, the learned, the much enduring, the dutiful, the elect; one ought to follow a good and wise man, as the moon follows the path of the stars.

DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 16

Pleasure or Preference (Piya-vaggo)

209 He who gives himself to vanity, and does not give himself to meditation, forgetting the real aim (of life) and grasping at pleasure, will in time envy him who has exerted himself in meditation.

210 Let no man ever look for what is pleasant, or what is unpleasant. Not to see what is pleasant is pain, and it is pain to see what is unpleasant.

211 Let, therefore, no man love anything; loss of the beloved is evil. Those who love nothing and hate nothing, have no fetters.

212 From pleasure comes grief, from pleasure comes fear; he who is free from pleasure knows neither grief nor fear.

213 From affection comes grief, from affection comes fear; he who is free from affection knows neither grief nor fear.

214 From lust comes grief, from lust comes fear; he who is free from lust knows neither grief nor fear.

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215 From love comes grief, from love comes fear; he who is free from love knows neither grief nor fear.

216 From greed comes grief, from greed comes fear; he who is free from greed knows neither grief nor fear.

217 He who possesses virtue and intelligence, who is just, speaks the truth, and does what is his own business, him the world will hold dear.

218 He in whom a desire for the Ineffable (Nirvana) has sprung up, who is satisfied in his mind, and whose thoughts are not bewildered by love, he is called urdhvamsrotas (carried upwards by the stream).

219 Kinsmen, friends, and lovers salute a man who has been long away, and returns safe from afar.

220 In like manner his good works receive him who has done good, and has gone from this world to the other;--as kinsmen receive a friend on his return.

DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 17

Anger (Kodha-vaggo)

221 Let a man leave anger, let him forsake pride, let him overcome all bondage! No sufferings befall the man who is not attached to name and form, and who calls nothing his own.

222 He who holds back rising anger like a rolling chariot, him I call a real driver; other people are but holding the reins.

223 Let a man overcome anger by love, let him overcome evil by good; let him overcome the greedy by liberality, the liar by truth!

224 Speak the truth, do not yield to anger; give, if thou art asked for little; by these three steps thou wilt go near the gods.

225 The sages who injure nobody, and who always control their body, they will go to the unchangeable place (Nirvana), where, if they have gone, they will suffer no more.

226 Those who are ever watchful, who study day and night, and who strive after Nirvana, their passions will come to an end.

227 This is an old saying, O Atula, this is not only of to-day: `They blame him who sits silent, they blame him who speaks much, they also blame him who says little; there is no one on earth who is not blamed.'

228 There never was, there never will be, nor is there now, a man who is always blamed, or a man who is always praised.

229 But he whom those who discriminate praise continually day after day, as without blemish, wise, rich in knowledge and virtue,

230 who would dare to blame him, like a coin made of gold from the Gambu river? Even the gods praise him, he is praised even by Brahman.

231 Beware of bodily anger, and control thy body! Leave the sins of the body, and with thy body practise virtue!

232 Beware of the anger of the tongue, and control thy tongue! Leave the sins of the tongue, and practise virtue with thy tongue!

233 Beware of the anger of the mind, and control thy mind! Leave the sins of the mind, and practise virtue with thy mind!

234 The wise who control their body, who control their tongue, the wise who control their mind, are indeed well controlled.

DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 18

Faults or Impurity (Mala-vaggo)

235 Thou art now like a sear leaf, the messengers of death (Yama) have come near to thee; thou standest at the door of thy departure, and thou hast no provision for thy journey.

236 Make thyself an island, work hard, be wise! When thy impurities are blown away, and thou art free from guilt, thou wilt enter into the heavenly world of the elect (Ariya).

237 Thy life has come to an end, thou art come near to death (Yama), there is no resting-place for thee on the road, and thou hast no provision for thy journey.

238 Make thyself an island, work hard, be wise! When thy impurities are blown away, and thou art free from guilt, thou wilt not enter again into birth and decay.

239 Let a wise man blow off the impurities of his self, as a smith blows off the impurities of silver one by one, little by little, and from time to time.

240 As the impurity which springs from the iron, when it springs from it, destroys it; thus do a transgressor's own works lead him to the evil path.

41 The taint of prayers is non-repetition; the taint of houses, non- repair; the taint of the body is sloth; the taint of a watchman, thoughtlessness.

242 Bad conduct is the taint of woman, greediness the taint of a benefactor; tainted are all evil ways in this world and in the next.

243 But there is a taint worse than all taints,--ignorance is the greatest taint. O mendicants! throw off that taint, and become taintless!

244 Life is easy to live for a man who is without shame, a crow hero, a mischief-maker, an insulting, bold, and wretched fellow.

245 But life is hard to live for a modest man, who always looks for what is pure, who is disinterested, quiet, spotless, and intelligent.

246 He who destroys life, who speaks untruth, who in this world takes what is not given him, who goes to another man's wife;

247 And the man who gives himself to drinking intoxicating liquors, he, even in this world, digs up his own root.

248 O man, know this, that the unrestrained are in a bad state; take care that greediness and vice do not bring thee to grief for a long time!

249 The world gives according to their faith or according to their pleasure: if a man frets about the food and the drink given to others, he will find no rest either by day or by night.

250 He in whom that feeling is destroyed, and taken out with the very root, finds rest by day and by night.

251 There is no fire like passion, there is no shark like hatred, there is no snare like folly, there is no torrent like greed.

252 The fault of others is easily perceived, but that of oneself is difficult to perceive; a man winnows his neighbour's faults like chaff, but his own fault he hides, as a cheat hides the bad die from the gambler.

253 If a man looks after the faults of others, and is always inclined to be offended, his own passions will grow, and he is far from the destruction of passions.

254 There is no path through the air, a man is not a Samana by outward acts. The world delights in vanity, the Tathagatas (the Buddhas) are free from vanity.

255 There is no path through the air, a man is not a Samana by outward acts. No creatures are eternal; but the awakened (Buddha) are never shaken.

DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 19

The Just or The Righteous (Dhammaṭṭha-vaggo)

256 A man is not just if he carries a matter by violence; no, he who distinguishes both right and wrong, who is learned and leads others,

257 not by violence, but by law and equity, and who is guarded by the law and intelligent, he is called just.

258 A man is not learned because he talks much; he who is patient, free from hatred and fear, he is called learned.

259 A man is not a supporter of the law because he talks much; even if a man has learnt little, but sees the law bodily, he is a supporter of the law, a man who never neglects the law.

260 A man is not an elder because his head is grey; his age may be ripe, but he is called `Old-in-vain.'

261 He in whom there is truth, virtue, love, restraint, moderation, he who is free from impurity and is wise, he is called an elder.

262 An envious greedy, dishonest man does not become respectable by means of much talking only, or by the beauty of his complexion.

263 He in whom all this is destroyed, and taken out with the very root, he, when freed from hatred and wise, is called respectable.

264 Not by tonsure does an undisciplined man who speaks falsehood become a Samana; can a man be a Samana who is still held captive by desire and greediness?

265 He who always quiets the evil, whether small or large, he is called a Samana (a quiet man), because he has quieted all evil.

266 A man is not a mendicant (Bhikshu) simply because he asks others for alms; he who adopts the whole law is a Bhikshu, not he who only begs.

267 He who is above good and evil, who is chaste, who with knowledge passes through the world, he indeed is called a Bhikshu.

268, 269. A man is not a Muni because he observes silence (mona, i.e. mauna), if he is foolish and ignorant; but the wise who, taking the balance, chooses the good and avoids evil, he is a Muni, and is a Muni thereby; he who in this world weighs both sides is called a Muni.

270 A man is not an elect (Ariya) because he injures living creatures; because he has pity on all living creatures, therefore is a man called Ariya.

271, 272. Not only by discipline and vows, not only by much learning, not by entering into a trance, not by sleeping alone, do I earn the happiness of release which no worldling can know. Bhikshu, be not confident as long as thou hast not attained the extinction of desires.

DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 20

he Way (Magga-vaggo)

273 The best of ways is the eightfold; the best of truths the four words; the best of virtues passionlessness; the best of men he who has eyes to see.

274 This is the way, there is no other that leads to the purifying of intelligence. Go on this way! Everything else is the deceit of Mara (the tempter).

275 If you go on this way, you will make an end of pain! The way was preached by me, when I had understood the removal of the thorns (in the flesh).

276 You yourself must make an effort. The Tathagatas (Buddhas) are only preachers. The thoughtful who enter the way are freed from the bondage of Mara.

277 `All created things perish,' he who knows and sees this becomes passive in pain; this is the way to purity.

278 `All created things are grief and pain,' he who knows and sees this becomes passive in pain; this is the way that leads to purity.

279 `All forms are unreal,' he who knows and sees this becomes passive in pain; this is the way that leads to purity.

280 He who does not rouse himself when it is time to rise, who, though young and strong, is full of sloth, whose will and thought are weak, that lazy and idle man will never find the way to knowledge.

281 Watching his speech, well restrained in mind, let a man never commit any wrong with his body! Let a man but keep these three roads of action clear, and he will achieve the way which is taught by the wise.

282 Through zeal knowledge is gotten, through lack of zeal knowledge is lost; let a man who knows this double path of gain and loss thus place himself that knowledge may grow.

283 Cut down the whole forest (of lust), not a tree only! Danger comes out of the forest (of lust). When you have cut down both the forest (of lust) and its undergrowth, then, Bhikshus, you will be rid of the forest and free!

284 So long as the love of man towards women, even the smallest, is not destroyed, so long is his mind in bondage, as the calf that drinks milk is to its mother.

285 Cut out the love of self, like an autumn lotus, with thy hand! Cherish the road of peace. Nirvana has been shown by Sugata (Buddha).

286 `Here I shall dwell in the rain, here in winter and summer,' thus the fool meditates, and does not think of his death.

287 Death comes and carries off that man, praised for his children and flocks, his mind distracted, as a flood carries off a sleeping village.

288 Sons are no help, nor a father, nor relations; there is no help from kinsfolk for one whom death has seized.

289 A wise and good man who knows the meaning of this, should quickly clear the way that leads to Nirvana.

DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 21

Miscellaneous (Pakiṇṇaka-vaggo)

290 If by leaving a small pleasure one sees a great pleasure, let a wise man leave the small pleasure, and look to the great.

291 He who, by causing pain to others, wishes to obtain pleasure for himself, he, entangled in the bonds of hatred, will never be free from hatred.

292 What ought to be done is neglected, what ought not to be done is done; the desires of unruly, thoughtless people are always increasing.

293 But they whose whole watchfulness is always directed to their body, who do not follow what ought not to be done, and who steadfastly do what ought to be done, the desires of such watchful and wise people will come to an end.

294 A true Brahmana goes scatheless, though he have killed father and mother, and two valiant kings, though he has destroyed a kingdom with all its subjects.

295 A true Brahmana goes scatheless, though he have killed father and mother, and two holy kings, and an eminent man besides.

296 The disciples of Gotama (Buddha) are always well awake, and their thoughts day and night are always set on Buddha.

297 The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their thoughts day and night are always set on the law.

298 The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their thoughts day and night are always set on the church.

299 The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their thoughts day and night are always set on their body.

300 The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their mind day and night always delights in compassion.

301 The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their mind day and night always delights in meditation.

302 It is hard to leave the world (to become a friar), it is hard to enjoy the world; hard is the monastery, painful are the houses; painful it is to dwell with equals (to share everything in common) and the itinerant mendicant is beset with pain. Therefore let no man be an itinerant mendicant and he will not be beset with pain.

303 Whatever place a faithful, virtuous, celebrated, and wealthy man chooses, there he is respected.

304 Good people shine from afar, like the snowy mountains; bad people are not seen, like arrows shot by night.

305 He alone who, without ceasing, practises the duty of sitting alone and sleeping alone, he, subduing himself, will rejoice in the destruction of all desires alone, as if living in a forest.

DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 22

The Hell or The Downward Course (Niraya-vaggo)

306 He who says what is not, goes to hell; he also who, having done a thing, says I have not done it. After death both are equal, they are men with evil deeds in the next world.

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307 Many men whose shoulders are covered with the yellow gown are ill-conditioned and unrestrained; such evil-doers by their evil deeds go to hell.

308 Better it would be to swallow a heated iron ball, like flaring fire, than that a bad unrestrained fellow should live on the charity of the land.

309 Four things does a wreckless man gain who covets his neighbour's wife,--a bad reputation, an uncomfortable bed, thirdly, punishment, and lastly, hell.

310 There is bad reputation, and the evil way (to hell), there is the short pleasure of the frightened in the arms of the frightened, and the king imposes heavy punishment; therefore let no man think of his neighbour's wife.

311 As a grass-blade, if badly grasped, cuts the arm, badly-practised asceticism leads to hell.

312 An act carelessly performed, a broken vow, and hesitating obedience to discipline, all this brings no great reward.

313 If anything is to be done, let a man do it, let him attack it vigorously! A careless pilgrim only scatters the dust of his passions more widely.

314 An evil deed is better left undone, for a man repents of it afterwards; a good deed is better done, for having done it, one does not repent.

315 Like a well-guarded frontier fort, with defences within and without, so let a man guard himself. Not a moment should escape, for they who allow the right moment to pass, suffer pain when they are in hell.

316 They who are ashamed of what they ought not to be ashamed of, and are not ashamed of what they ought to be ashamed of, such men, embracing false doctrines enter the evil path.

317 They who fear when they ought not to fear, and fear not when they ought to fear, such men, embracing false doctrines, enter the evil path.

318 They who forbid when there is nothing to be forbidden, and forbid not when there is something to be forbidden, such men, embracing false doctrines, enter the evil path.

319 They who know what is forbidden as forbidden, and what is not forbidden as not forbidden, such men, embracing the true doctrine, enter the good path.

DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 23

The Elephant (Nāga-vaggo)

320 Silently shall I endure abuse as the elephant in battle endures the arrow sent from the bow: for the world is ill-natured.

321 They lead a tamed elephant to battle, the king mounts a tamed elephant; the tamed is the best among men, he who silently endures abuse.

322 Mules are good, if tamed, and noble Sindhu horses, and elephants with large tusks; but he who tames himself is better still.

323 For with these animals does no man reach the untrodden country (Nirvana), where a tamed man goes on a tamed animal, viz. on his own well-tamed self.

324 The elephant called Dhanapalaka, his temples running with sap, and difficult to hold, does not eat a morsel when bound; the elephant longs for the elephant grove.

325 If a man becomes fat and a great eater, if he is sleepy and rolls himself about, that fool, like a hog fed on wash, is born again and again.

326 This mind of mine went formerly wandering about as it liked, as it listed, as it pleased; but I shall now hold it in thoroughly, as the rider who holds the hook holds in the furious elephant.

327 Be not thoughtless, watch your thoughts! Draw yourself out of the evil way, like an elephant sunk in mud.

328 If a man find a prudent companion who walks with him, is wise, and lives soberly, he may walk with him, overcoming all dangers, happy, but considerate.

329 If a man find no prudent companion who walks with him, is wise, and lives soberly, let him walk alone, like a king who has left his conquered country behind,--like an elephant in the forest.

330 It is better to live alone, there is no companionship with a fool; let a man walk alone, let him commit no sin, with few wishes, like an elephant in the forest.

331 If an occasion arises, friends are pleasant; enjoyment is pleasant, whatever be the cause; a good work is pleasant in the hour of death; the giving up of all grief is pleasant.

332 Pleasant in the world is the state of a mother, pleasant the state of a father, pleasant the state of a Samana, pleasant the state of a Brahmana.

333 Pleasant is virtue lasting to old age, pleasant is a faith firmly rooted; pleasant is attainment of intelligence, pleasant is avoiding of sins.

DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 24

Thirst or Craving (Taṇhā-vaggo)

334 The thirst of a thoughtless man grows like a creeper; he runs from life to life, like a monkey seeking fruit in the forest.

335 Whomsoever this fierce thirst overcomes, full of poison, in this world, his sufferings increase like the abounding Birana grass.

336 He who overcomes this fierce thirst, difficult to be conquered in this world, sufferings fall off from him, like water-drops from a lotus leaf.

337 This salutary word I tell you, `Do ye, as many as are here assembled, dig up the root of thirst, as he who wants the sweet- scented Usira root must dig up the Birana grass, that Mara (the tempter) may not crush you again and again, as the stream crushes the reeds.'

338 As a tree, even though it has been cut down, is firm so long as its root is safe, and grows again, thus, unless the feeders of thirst are destroyed, the pain (of life) will return again and again.

339 He whose thirst running towards pleasure is exceeding strong in the thirty-six channels, the waves will carry away that misguided man, viz. his desires which are set on passion.

340 The channels run everywhere, the creeper (of passion) stands sprouting; if you see the creeper springing up, cut its root by means of knowledge.

341 A creature's pleasures are extravagant and luxurious; sunk in lust and looking for pleasure, men undergo (again and again) birth and decay.

342 Men, driven on by thirst, run about like a snared hare; held in fetters and bonds, they undergo pain for a long time, again and again.

343 Men, driven on by thirst, run about like a snared hare; let therefore the mendicant drive out thirst, by striving after passionlessness for himself.

344 He who having got rid of the forest (of lust) (i.e. after having reached Nirvana) gives himself over to forest-life (i.e. to lust), and who, when removed from the forest (i.e. from lust), runs to the forest (i.e. to lust), look at that man! though free, he runs into bondage.

345 Wise people do not call that a strong fetter which is made of iron, wood, or hemp; far stronger is the care for precious stones and rings, for sons and a wife.

346 That fetter wise people call strong which drags down, yields, but is difficult to undo; after having cut this at last, people leave the world, free from cares, and leaving desires and pleasures behind.

347 Those who are slaves to passions, run down with the stream (of desires), as a spider runs down the web which he has made himself; when they have cut this, at last, wise people leave the world free from cares, leaving all affection behind.

348 Give up what is before, give up what is behind, give up what is in the middle, when thou goest to the other shore of existence; if thy mind is altogether free, thou wilt not again enter into birth and decay.

349 If a man is tossed about by doubts, full of strong passions, and yearning only for what is delightful, his thirst will grow more and more, and he will indeed make his fetters strong.

350 If a man delights in quieting doubts, and, always reflecting, dwells on what is not delightful (the impurity of the body, &c.), he certainly will remove, nay, he will cut the fetter of Mara.

351 He who has reached the consummation, who does not tremble, who is without thirst and without sin, he has broken all the thorns of life: this will be his last body.

352 He who is without thirst and without affection, who understands the words and their interpretation, who knows the order of letters (those which are before and which are after), he has received his last body, he is called the great sage, the great man.

353 `I have conquered all, I know all, in all conditions of life I am free from taint; I have left all, and through the destruction of thirst I am free; having learnt myself, whom shall I teach?'

354 The gift of the law exceeds all gifts; the sweetness of the law exceeds all sweetness; the delight in the law exceeds all delights; the extinction of thirst overcomes all pain.

355 Pleasures destroy the foolish, if they look not for the other shore; the foolish by his thirst for pleasures destroys himself, as if he were his own enemy.

356 The fields are damaged by weeds, mankind is damaged by passion: therefore a gift bestowed on the passionless brings great reward.

357 The fields are damaged by weeds, mankind is damaged by hatred: therefore a gift bestowed on those who do not hate brings great reward.

358 The fields are damaged by weeds, mankind is damaged by vanity: therefore a gift bestowed on those who are free from vanity brings great reward.

359 The fields are damaged by weeds, mankind is damaged by lust: therefore a gift bestowed on those who are free from lust brings great reward.

DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 25

The Bhikshu or The Mendicant (Bhikkhu-vaggo)

360 Restraint in the eye is good, good is restraint in the ear, in the nose restraint is good, good is restraint in the tongue.

361 In the body restraint is good, good is restraint in speech, in thought restraint is good, good is restraint in all things. A Bhikshu, restrained in all things, is freed from all pain.

362 He who controls his hand, he who controls his feet, he who controls his speech, he who is well controlled, he who delights inwardly, who is collected, who is solitary and content, him they call Bhikshu.

363 The Bhikshu who controls his mouth, who speaks wisely and calmly, who teaches the meaning and the law, his word is sweet.

364 He who dwells in the law, delights in the law, meditates on the law, follows the law, that Bhikshu will never fall away from the true law.

365 Let him not despise what he has received, nor ever envy others: a mendicant who envies others does not obtain peace of mind.

366 A Bhikshu who, though he receives little, does not despise what he has received, even the gods will praise him, if his life is pure, and if he is not slothful.

367 He who never identifies himself with name and form, and does not grieve over what is no more, he indeed is called a Bhikshu.

368 The Bhikshu who acts with kindness, who is calm in the doctrine of Buddha, will reach the quiet place (Nirvana), cessation of natural desires, and happiness.

369 O Bhikshu, empty this boat! if emptied, it will go quickly; having cut off passion and hatred thou wilt go to Nirvana.

370 Cut off the five (senses), leave the five, rise above the five. A Bhikshu, who has escaped from the five fetters, he is called Oghatinna, `saved from the flood.'

371 Meditate, O Bhikshu, and be not heedless! Do not direct thy thought to what gives pleasure that thou mayest not for thy heedlessness have to swallow the iron ball (in hell), and that thou mayest not cry out when burning, `This is pain.'

372 Without knowledge there is no meditation, without meditation there is no knowledge: he who has knowledge and meditation is near unto Nirvana.

373 A Bhikshu who has entered his empty house, and whose mind is tranquil, feels a more than human delight when he sees the law clearly.

374 As soon as he has considered the origin and destruction of the elements (khandha) of the body, he finds happiness and joy which belong to those who know the immortal (Nirvana).

375 And this is the beginning here for a wise Bhikshu: watchfulness over the senses, contentedness, restraint under the law; keep noble friends whose life is pure, and who are not slothful.

376 Let him live in charity, let him be perfect in his duties; then in the fulness of delight he will make an end of suffering.

377 As the Vassika plant sheds its withered flowers, men should shed passion and hatred, O ye Bhikshus!

378 The Bhikshu whose body and tongue and mind are quieted, who is collected, and has rejected the baits of the world, he is called quiet.

379 Rouse thyself by thyself, examine thyself by thyself, thus self- protected and attentive wilt thou live happily, O Bhikshu!

380 For self is the lord of self, self is the refuge of self; therefore curb thyself as the merchant curbs a good horse.

381 The Bhikshu, full of delight, who is calm in the doctrine of Buddha will reach the quiet place (Nirvana), cessation of natural desires, and happiness.

382 He who, even as a young Bhikshu, applies himself to the doctrine of Buddha, brightens up this world, like the moon when free from clouds.

DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 26

The Brahmana or The Arhat (Brāhmaṇa-vaggo)

383 Stop the stream valiantly, drive away the desires, O Brahmana! When you have understood the destruction of all that was made, you will understand that which was not made.

384 If the Brahmana has reached the other shore in both laws (in restraint and contemplation), all bonds vanish from him who has obtained knowledge.

385 He for whom there is neither this nor that shore, nor both, him, the fearless and unshackled, I call indeed a Brahmana.

386 He who is thoughtful, blameless, settled, dutiful, without passions, and who has attained the highest end, him I call indeed a Brahmana.

387 The sun is bright by day, the moon shines by night, the warrior is bright in his armour, the Brahmana is bright in his meditation; but Buddha, the Awakened, is bright with splendour day and night.

388 Because a man is rid of evil, therefore he is called Brahmana; because he walks quietly, therefore he is called Samana; because he has sent away his own impurities, therefore he is called Pravragita (Pabbagita, a pilgrim).

389 No one should attack a Brahmana, but no Brahmana (if attacked) should let himself fly at his aggressor! Woe to him who strikes a Brahmana, more woe to him who flies at his aggressor!

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390 It advantages a Brahmana not a little if he holds his mind back from the pleasures of life; when all wish to injure has vanished, pain will cease.

391 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who does not offend by body, word, or thought, and is controlled on these three points.

392 After a man has once understood the law as taught by the Well- awakened (Buddha), let him worship it carefully, as the Brahmana worships the sacrificial fire.

393 A man does not become a Brahmana by his platted hair, by his family, or by birth; in whom there is truth and righteousness, he is blessed, he is a Brahmana.

394 What is the use of platted hair, O fool! what of the raiment of goat-skins? Within thee there is ravening, but the outside thou makest clean.

395 The man who wears dirty raiments, who is emaciated and covered with veins, who lives alone in the forest, and meditates, him I call indeed a Brahmana.

396 I do not call a man a Brahmana because of his origin or of his mother. He is indeed arrogant, and he is wealthy: but the poor, who is free from all attachments, him I call indeed a Brahmana.

397 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who has cut all fetters, who never trembles, is independent and unshackled.

398 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who has cut the strap and the thong, the chain with all that pertains to it, who has burst the bar, and is awakened.

399 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who, though he has committed no offence, endures reproach, bonds, and stripes, who has endurance for his force, and strength for his army.

400 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who is free from anger, dutiful, virtuous, without appetite, who is subdued, and has received his last body.

401 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who does not cling to pleasures, like water on a lotus leaf, like a mustard seed on the point of a needle.

402 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who, even here, knows the end of his suffering, has put down his burden, and is unshackled.

403 Him I call indeed a Brahmana whose knowledge is deep, who possesses wisdom, who knows the right way and the wrong, and has attained the highest end.

404 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who keeps aloof both from laymen and from mendicants, who frequents no houses, and has but few desires.

405 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who finds no fault with other beings, whether feeble or strong, and does not kill nor cause slaughter.

406 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who is tolerant with the intolerant, mild with fault-finders, and free from passion among the passionate.

407 Him I call indeed a Brahmana from whom anger and hatred, pride and envy have dropt like a mustard seed from the point of a needle.

408 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who utters true speech, instructive and free from harshness, so that he offend no one.

409 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who takes nothing in the world that is not given him, be it long or short, small or large, good or bad.

410 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who fosters no desires for this world or for the next, has no inclinations, and is unshackled.

411 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who has no interests, and when he has understood (the truth), does not say How, how? and who has reached the depth of the Immortal.

412 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who in this world is above good and evil, above the bondage of both, free from grief from sin, and from impurity.

413 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who is bright like the moon, pure, serene, undisturbed, and in whom all gaiety is extinct.

414 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who has traversed this miry road, the impassable world and its vanity, who has gone through, and reached the other shore, is thoughtful, guileless, free from doubts, free from attachment, and content.

415 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who in this world, leaving all desires, travels about without a home, and in whom all concupiscence is extinct.

416 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who, leaving all longings, travels about without a home, and in whom all covetousness is extinct.

417 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who, after leaving all bondage to men, has risen above all bondage to the gods, and is free from all and every bondage.

418 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who has left what gives pleasure and what gives pain, who is cold, and free from all germs (of renewed life), the hero who has conquered all the worlds.

419 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who knows the destruction and the return of beings everywhere, who is free from bondage, welfaring (Sugata), and awakened (Buddha).

420 Him I call indeed a Brahmana whose path the gods do not know, nor spirits (Gandharvas), nor men, whose passions are extinct, and who is an Arhat (venerable).

421 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who calls nothing his own, whether it be before, behind, or between, who is poor, and free from the love of the world.

422 Him I call indeed a Brahmana, the manly, the noble, the hero, the great sage, the conqueror, the impassible, the accomplished, the awakened.

423 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who knows his former abodes, who sees heaven and hell, has reached the end of births, is perfect in knowledge, a sage, and whose perfections are all perfect.

THE LOTUS SUTRA

The Saddharma-Pundarika
Or, The Lotus Of The True Law.
Homage To All The Buddhas And Bodhisattvas.
Sacred Books of the East, Vol 21.
Translation: Johan Hendrik Caspar Kern, 1884
Estimated Range of Dating: 1st century B.C

(The Lotus Sutra [Sanskrit: Saddharma Pundarika Sutra, lit. 'Sutra on the White Lotus of the True Dharma'] is one of the most influential and venerated Buddhist Mahayana sutras. It is the main scripture on which the Tiantai, Tendai, Cheontae, and Nichiren schools of Buddhism were established. It is also influential for other East Asian Buddhist schools, such as Zen. the Lotus Sutra is undoubtedly the most famous of all Buddhist texts. For many Buddhists in East Asia since early times, the Lotus Sutra contains the final teaching of Shakyamuni Buddha — complete and sufficient for salvation.

Johan Hendrik Caspar Kern, 1884 (1833-1917), a Dutch linguist and Orientalist, translated this pretty version from Sanskrit directly into English. It was published as Sacred Books of the East, Vol 21, Hendrik Kern, 1884. In the literature, he is usually referred to as H. Kern or Hendrik Kern; a few other scholars bear the same surname.

Two central teachings of the Lotus Sutra have been very influential for Mahayana Buddhism. The first is the doctrine of the One Vehicle, which says that all Buddhist paths and practices lead to Buddhahood and so they are all merely "skillful means" (upaya) of reaching Buddhahood. The second is the idea that the lifespan of the Buddha is immeasurable and that therefore, he did not really pass on into final Nirvana (he only appeared to do so as upaya), but is still active teaching the Dharma. The title "Lotus Sutra" can be found in the following story.

In a story of chapter 11 (in Bunno Kato's translation it is chapter 12!), Manjusri (the oldest and most significant bodhisattva in Mahayana literature) praises the Naga king Sagara's daughter and says she can attain Buddhahood. The bodhisattva Prajnakuta is skeptical of this, and then the Naga princess appears. Shariputra (the Buddha's first chief disciple) says to the daughter of the dragon: "You state that ... you attained the supreme Way [the highest level of Buddhist scholarship and experience]. This thing is hard to believe ... Because the body of a women is filthy and not a vessel of the Law.... Now, the dragon's daughter possessed a precious pearl which she presented to the Buddha, and which the Buddha immediately accepted.... At that moment the entire congregation saw the dragon's daughter suddenly transformed into a male, perfect in bodhisattva-deeds [high level of righteousness and wisdom], who instantly went to the world Spotless ... where she sat on a precious lotus flower [of enlightenment], attaining Perfect Enlightenment and universally proclaiming the Wonderful Law to all living creatures in the universe [of wisdom]."

This story has an interesting parallel in the Gospel of Thomas which was found in Nag Hammadi, Egypt, in 1945; full title: The Gospel of Didimus Judas Thomas. In this Gospel of Thomas (verse 114, The Grand Bible, p. 758-760), we read: "Simon Peter said to them: Let Mary [Magdalene] go forth from among us, for women are not worthy of the life [of enlightenment]. Jesus said: Behold, I shall lead her, that I may make her male, in order that she also may become a living spirit [of righteousness and wisdom] like you males. For every woman who makes herself male shall enter into the kingdom of heaven [of wisdom]." This is one of the most remarkabe Christian texts in history because it seems to be a quote from the Buddhist Lotus Sutra.

The Chinese "Threefold Lotus Sutra" is the Chinese version of this Sutra. [See its introduction, Grand Bible, Scriptures of China; see also the Gospel of Thomas.]

Three translations of the Lotus Sutra into Chinese are extant. It was first translated into Chinese by Dharmarakṣa´s team in 286 AD in Chang'an during the Western Jin Period (265-317 AD). It was initially held that the source text was in Sanskrit, however, the view that the source text was actually in a Prakrit language has gained widespread acceptance.

This early translation by Dharmarakṣa was superseded by a translation in seven fascicles by Kumarajiva's team in 406 AD which became the standard translation in East Asian Buddhism. According to Jean-Noël Robert, Kumarajiva relied heavily on the earlier version. The Sanskrit editions are not widely used outside of academia. Kumarajiva's version is missing the Devadatta chapter which had been present in the Dharmaraksa version.

The third extant version, The Supplemented Lotus Sutra of the Wonderful Dharma (Chinese: Tian Pin Miao Fa Lian Hua Jing), in 7 volumes and 27 chapters, is a revised version of Kumarajiva's text, translated by Jnanagupta and Dharmagupta in 601 AD. This version included elements that were absent in the Kumarajiva text, including the Devadatta chapter, various verses and the concluding part of chapter 25. Later, these elements were added back to the Kumarajiva text. The Chinese Lotus Sutra has been translated into other asian languages including Uighur, Tangut, and more recently colloquial Chinese, Japanese, Vietnamese, and Korean.)

LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 1

The Way In (Introductory)

Thus have I heard. Once upon a time the Lord was staying at Ragagriha, on the Gridhrakuta mountain, with a numerous assemblage of monks, twelve hundred monks, all of them Arhats, stainless, free from depravity, self-controlled, thoroughly emancipated in thought and knowledge, of noble breed, (like unto) great elephants, having done their task, done their duty, acquitted their charge, reached the goal; in whom the ties which bound them to existence were wholly destroyed, whose minds were thoroughly emancipated by perfect knowledge, who had reached the utmost perfection in subduing all their thoughts; who were possessed of the transcendent faculties; eminent disciples, such as the venerable Agnata-Kaundinya, the venerable Asvagit, the venerable Vashpa, the venerable Mahanaman, the venerable Bhadrikal, the venerable Maha-Kasyapa, the venerable Kasyapa of Uruvilva, the venerable Kasyapa of Nadi, the venerable Kasyapa of Gaya, the venerable Sariputra, the venerable Maha-Maudgalyayana, the venerable Maha-Katyayana, the venerable Aniruddha, the venerable Revata, the venerable Kapphina, the venerable Gavampati, the venerable Pilindavatsa, the venerable Vakula, the venerable Bharadvaga, the venerable Maha-Kaushthila, the venerable Nanda (alias Mahananda), the venerable Upananda, the venerable Sundara-Nanda, the venerable Purna Maitrayaniputra, the venerable Subhuti, the venerable Rahula; with them yet other great disciples, as the venerable Ananda, still under training, and two thousand other monks, some of whom still under training, the others masters; with six thousand nuns having at their head Mahapragapati, and the nun Yasodhara, the mother of Rahula, along with her train; (further) with eighty thousand Bodhisattvas, all unable to slide back, endowed with the spells of supreme, perfect enlightenment, firmly standing in wisdom; who moved onward the never deviating wheel of the law; who had propitiated many hundred thousands of Buddhas; who under many hundred thousands of Buddhas had planted the roots of goodness, had been intimate with many hundred thousands of Buddhas, were in body and mind fully penetrated with the feeling of charity; able in communicating the wisdom of the Tathagatas; very wise, having reached the perfection of wisdom; renowned in many hundred thousands of worlds; having saved many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of beings; such as the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Mangusri, as prince royal; the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas Avalokitesvara, Mahasthamaprapta, Sarvarthanaman, Nityodyukta, Anikshiptadhura, Ratnakandra, Bhaishagyaraga, Pradanasura, Ratnakandra, Ratnaprabha, Purnakandra, Mahivikramin, Trailokavikramin, Anantavikramin, Mahapratibhana, Satatasamitabhiyukta, Dharanidhara, Akshayamati, Padmasri, Nakshatraraga, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Simha.

With them were also the sixteen virtuous men to begin with Bhadrapala, to wit, Bhadrapala, Ratnikara, Susarthavaha, Naradatta, Guhagupta, Varunadatta, Indradatta, Uttaramati, Viseshamati, Vardhamanamati, Amoghadarsin, Susamsthita, Suvikrantavikramin, Anupamamati, Suryagarbha, and Dharanidhara; besides eighty thousand Bodhisattvas, among whom the fore-mentioned were the chiefs; further Sakra, the ruler of the celestials, with twenty thousand gods, his followers, such as the god Kandra (the Moon), the god Surya (the Sun), the god Samantagandha (the Wind), the god Ratnaprabha, the god Avabhasaprabha, and others; further, the four great rulers of the cardinal points with thirty thousand gods in their train, viz. the great ruler Virudhaka, the great ruler Virupaksha, the great ruler Dhritarashtra, and the great ruler Vaisravana; the god Isvara and the god Mahesvara, each followed by thirty thousand gods; further, Brahma Sahdmpati and his twelve thousand followers, the BrahmakAyika gods, amongst whom Brahma Sikhin and Brahma Gyotishprabha, with the other twelve thousand Brahmakdyika gods; together with the eight Naga kings and many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Nigas in their train, viz. the Naga king Nanda, the Naga king Upananda, Sagara, Vasuki, Takshaka, Manasvin, Anavatapta, and Utpalaka; further, the four Kinnara kings with many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of followers, viz. the Kinnara king Druma, the Kinnara king Mahadharma, the Kinnara king

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Sudharma, and the Kinnara king Dharmadhara; besides, the four divine beings (called) Gandharvakayikas with many hundred thousand Gandharvas in their suite, viz. the Gandharva Manogna, the Gandharva Manognasvara, the Gandharva Madhura, and the Gandharva Madhurasvara; further, the four chiefs of the demons followed by many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of demons, viz. the chief of the demons Bali, Kharaskandha, Vemakitri, and Rahu; along with the four Garuda chiefs followed by many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Garudas, viz. the Garuda chiefs Mahategas, Mahakaya, Mahapurna, and Maharddhiprapta, and with Agatasatru, king of Magadha, the son of Vaidehi.

Now at that time it was that the Lord surrounded, attended, honoured, revered, venerated, worshipped by the four classes of hearers, after expounding the Dharmaparyaya called 'the Great Exposition,' a text of great development, serving to instruct Bodhisattvas and proper to all Buddhas, sat cross-legged on the seat of the law and entered upon the meditation termed 'the station of the exposition of Infinity;' his body was motionless and his mind had reached perfect tranquillity. And as soon as the Lord had entered upon his meditation, there fell a great rain of divine flowers, Mandaravasa and great Mandaravas, Mangushakas and great Mangushakas, covering the Lord and the four classes of hearers, while the whole Buddha field shook in six ways: it moved, removed, trembled, trembled from one end to the other, tossed, tossed along.

Then did those who were assembled and sitting together in that congregation, monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees, gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, as well as governors of a region, rulers of armies and rulers of four continents, all of them with their followers, gaze on the Lord in astonishment, in amazement, in ecstasy.

And at that moment there issued a ray from within the circle of hair between the eyebrows of the Lord. It extended over eighteen hundred thousand Buddha-fields in the eastern quarter, so that all those Buddha-fields appeared wholly illuminated by its radiance, down to the great hell Aviki and up to the limit of existence. And the beings in any of the six states of existence became visible, all without exception. Likewise the Lords Buddhas staying, living, and existing in those Buddha-fields became all visible, and the law preached by them could be entirely heard by all beings. And the monks, nuns, lay devotees male and female, Yogins and students of Yoga, those who had obtained the fruition (of the Paths of sanctification) and those who had not, they, too, became visible. And the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas in those Buddha-fields who plied the Bodhisattva-course with ability, due to their earnest belief in numerous and various lessons and the fundamental ideas, they, too, became all visible. Likewise the Lords Buddhas in those Buddha-fields who had reached final Nirvana became visible, all of them. And the Stupas made of jewels and containing the relics of the extinct Buddhas became all visible in those Buddha-fields.

Then rose in the mind of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya this thought: O how great a wonder does the Tathagata display! What may be the cause, what the reason of the Lord producing so great a wonder as this? And such astonishing, prodigious, inconceivable, powerful miracles now appear, although the Lord is absorbed in meditation! Why, let me inquire about this matter; who would be able here to explain it to me? He then thought: Here is Mangusri, the prince royal, who has plied his office under former Ginas and planted the roots of goodness, while worshipping many Buddhas. This Mangusri, the prince royal, must have witnessed before such signs of the former Tathagatas, those Arhats, those perfectly enlightened Buddhas; of yore he must have enjoyed the grand conversations on the law. Therefore will I inquire about this matter with Mangusri, the prince royal.

And the four classes of the audience, monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees, numerous gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, on seeing the magnificence of this great miracle of the Lord, were struck with astonishment, amazement and curiosity, and thought: Let us inquire why this magnificent miracle has been produced by the great power of the Lord.

At the same moment, at that very instant, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya knew in his mind the thoughts arising in the minds of the four classes of hearers and he spoke to Mangusri, the prince royal: What, O Mangusri, is the cause, what is the reason of this wonderful, prodigious, miraculous shine having been produced by the Lord? Look, how these eighteen thousand Buddha-fields appear variegated, extremely beautiful, directed by Tathagatas and superintended by Tathagatas.

Then it was that Maitreya, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva, addressed Mangusri, the prince royal, in the following stanzas:

1 Why, Mangusri, does this ray darted by the guide of men shine forth from between his brows? this single ray issuing from the circle of hair? and why this abundant rain of Mandaravas?

2 The gods, overjoyed, let drop Mangushakas and sandal powder, divine, fragrant, and delicious.

3 This earth is, on every side, replete with splendour, and all the four classes of the assembly are filled with delight, while the whole field shakes in six different ways, frightfully.

4 And that ray in the eastern quarter illuminates the whole of eighteen thousand Buddha-fields, simultaneously, so that those fields appear as gold-coloured.

5 (The universe) as far as the (hell) Aviki (and) the extreme limit of existence, with all beings of those fields living in any of the six states of existence, those who are leaving one state to be born in another;

6 Their various and different actions in those states have become visible; whether they are in a happy, unhappy, low, eminent, or intermediate position, all that I see from this place.

7 I see also the Buddhas, those lions of kings, revealing and showing the essence of the law, comforting many kotis of creatures and emitting sweet-sounding voices.

8 They let go forth, each in his own field, a deep, sublime, wonderful voice, while proclaiming the Buddha-laws by means of myriads of kotis of illustrations and proofs.

9 And to the ignorant creatures who are oppressed with toils and distressed in mind by birth and old age, they announce the bliss of Rest, saying: This is the end of trouble, O monks.

10 And to those who are possessed of strength and vigour and who have acquired merit by virtue or earnest belief in the Buddhas, they show the vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas, by observing this rule of the law.

11 And the other sons of the Sugata who, strivinor after superior knowledge, have constantly accomplished their various tasks, them also they admonish to enlightenment.

12 From this place, O Mangughosha, I see and hear such things and thousands of kotis of other particulars besides; I will only describe some of them.

13 I see in many fields Bodhisattvas by many thousands of kotis, like sands of the Ganges, who are producing enlightenment according to the different degree of their power.

14 There are some who charitably bestow wealth, gold, silver, gold money, pearls, jewels, conch shells, stones', coral, male and female slaves, horses, and sheep;

15 As well as litters adorned with jewels. They are spending gifts with glad hearts, developing themselves for superior enlightenment, in the hope of gaining the vehicle.

16 (Thus they think): 'The best and most excellent vehicle in the whole of the threefold world is the Buddha-vehicle magnified by the Sugatas. May I, forsooth, soon gain it after my spending such gifts.'

17 Some give carriages yoked with four horses and furnished with benches, flowers, banners, and flags; others give objects made of precious substances.

18 Some, again, give their children and wives; others their own flesh; (or) offer, when bidden, their hands and feet, striving to gain supreme enlightenment.

19 Some give their heads, others their eyes, others their dear own body, and after cheerfully bestowing their gifts they aspire to the knowledge of the Tathagatas.

20 Here and there, O Mangusri, I behold beings who have abandoned their flourishing kingdoms, harems, and continents, left all their counsellors and kinsmen,

21 And betaken themselves to the guides of the world to ask for the most excellent law, for the sake of bliss; they put on reddish-yellow robes, and shave hair and beard.

22 I see also many Bodhisattvas like monks, living in the forest, and others inhabiting the empty wilderness, engaged in reciting and reading.

23 And some Bodhisattvas I see, who, full of wisdom (or constancy), betake themselves to mountain caves, where by cultivating and meditating the Buddha-knowledge they arrive at its perception.

24 Others who have renounced all sensual desires, by purifying their own self, have cleared their sphere and obtained the five transcendent faculties, live in the wilderness, as (true) sons of the Sugata.

25 Some are standing firm, the feet put together and the hands joined in token of respect towards the leaders, and are praising joyfully the king of the leading Ginas in thousands of stanzas.

26 Some thoughtful, meek, and tranquil, who have mastered the niceties of the course of duty, question the highest of men about the law, and retain in their memory what they have learnt.

27 And I see here and there some sons of the principal Gina who, after completely developing their own self, are preaching the law to many kotis of living beings with many myriads of illustrations and reasons.

28 joyfully they proclaim the law, rousing many Bodhisattvas; after conquering the Evil One with his hosts and vehicles, they strike the drum of the law.

29 I see some sons of the Sugata, humble, calm, and quiet in conduct, living under the command of the Sugatas, and honoured by men, gods, goblins, and Titans.

30 Others, again, who have retired to woody thickets, are saving the creatures in the hells by emitting radiance from their body, and rouse them to enlightenment.

31 There are some sons of the Gina who dwell in the forest, abiding in vigour, completely renouncing sloth, and actively engaged in walking; it is by energy that they are striving for supreme enlightenment.

32 Others complete their course by keeping a constant purity and an unbroken morality like precious stones and jewels; by morality do these strive for supreme enlightenment.

33 Some sons of the Gina, whose strength consists in forbearance, patiently endure abuse, censure, and threats from proud monks. They try to attain enlightenment by dint of forbearance.

34 Further, I see Bodhisattvas, who have forsaken all wanton pleasures, shun unwise companions and delight in having intercourse with genteel men (aryas);

35 Who, with avoidance of any distraction of thoughts and with attentive mind, during thousands of kotis of years have meditated in the caves of the wilderness; these strive for enlightenment by dint of meditation.

36 Some, again, offer in presence of the Ginas and the assemblage of disciples gifts (consisting) in food hard and soft, meat and drink, medicaments for the sick, in plenty and abundance.

37 Others offer in presence of the Ginas and the assemblage of disciples hundreds of kotis of clothes, worth thousands of kotis, and garments of priceless value.

38 They bestow in presence of the Sugatas hundreds of kotis of monasteries which they have caused to be built of precious substances and sandal-wood, and which are furnished with numerous lodgings (or couches).

39 Some present the leaders of men and their disciples with neat and lovely gardens abounding with fruits and beautiful flowers, to serve as places of daily recreation,

40 When they have, with joyful feelings, made such various and splendid donations, they rouse their energy in order to obtain enlightenment; these are those who try to reach supreme enlightenment by means of charitableness.

41 Others set forth the law of quietness, by many myriads of illustrations and proofs; they preach it to thousands of kotis of living beings; these are tending to supreme enlightenment by science.

42 (There are) sons of the Sugata who try to reach enlightenment by wisdom; they understand the law of indifference and avoid acting at the antinomy (of things), unattached like birds in the sky.

43 Further, I see, O Mangughosha, many Bodhisattvas who have displayed steadiness under the rule of the departed Sugatas, and now are worshipping the relics of the Ginas.

44 I see thousands of kotis of Stupas, numerous as the sand of the Ganges, which have been raised by these sons of the Gina and now adorn kotis of grounds.

45 Those magnificent Stupas, made of seven precious substances, with their thousands of kotis of umbrellas and banners, measure in height no less than 5000 yoganas and 2000 in circumference.

46 They are always decorated with flags; a multitude of bells is constantly heard sounding; men, gods, goblins, and Titans pay their worship with flowers, perfumes, and music.

47 Such honour do the sons of the Sugata render to the relics of the Ginas, so that all directions of space are brightened as by the celestial coral trees in full blossom.

48 From this spot I behold all this; those numerous kotis of creatures; both this world and heaven covered with flowers, owing to the single ray shot forth by the Gina.

49 O how powerful is the Leader of men! how extensive and bright is his knowledge! that a single beam darted by him over the world renders visible so many thousands of fields!

50 We are astonished at seeing this sign and this wonder, so great, so incomprehensible. Explain me the matter, O Mangusvara! the sons of Buddha are anxious to know it.

51 The four classes of the congregation in joyful expectation gaze on thee, O hero, and on me; gladden (their hearts); remove their doubts; grant a revelation, O son of Sugata!

52 Why is it that the Sugata has now emitted such a light? O how great is the power of the Leader of men! O how extensive and holy is his knowledge!

53 That one ray extending from him all over the world makes visible many thousands of fields. It must be for some purpose that this great ray has been emitted.

54 Is the Lord of men to show the primordial laws which he, the Highest of men, discovered on the terrace of enlightenment? Or is he to prophesy the Bodhisattvas their future destiny?

55 There must be a weighty reason why so many thousands of fields have been rendered visible, variegated, splendid, and shining with gems, while Buddhas of infinite sight are appearing.

56 Maitreya asks the son of Gina; men, gods, goblins, and Titans, the four classes of the congregation, are eagerly awaiting what answer Mangusvara shall give in explanation.

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Whereupon Mangusri, the prince royal, addressed Maitreya, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva, and the whole assembly of Bodhisattvas (in these words): It is the intention of the Tathagata, young men of good family, to begin a grand discourse for the teaching of the law, to pour the great rain of the law, to make resound the great drum of the law, to raise the great banner of the law, to kindle the great torch of the law, to blow the great conch trumpet of the law, and to strike the great tymbal of the law. Again, it is the intention of the Tathagata, young men of good family, to make a grand exposition of the law this very day. Thus it appears to me, young men of good family, as I have witnessed a similar sign of the former Tathagatas, the Arhats, the perfectly enlightened. Those former Tathagatas, etc., they, too, emitted a lustrous ray, and I am convinced that the Tathagata is about to deliver a grand discourse for the teaching of the law and make his grand speech on the law everywhere heard, he having shown such a foretoken. And because the Tathagata, etc., wishes that this Dharmaparyaya meeting opposition in all the world be heard everywhere, therefore does he display so great a miracle and this fore-token consisting in the lustre occasioned by the emission of a ray.

I remember, young men of good family, that in the days of yore, many immeasurable, inconceivable, immense, infinite, countless Æons, more than countless Æons ago, nay, long and very long before, there was born a Tathagata called Kandrasuryapradipa, an Arhat, etc., endowed with science and conduct, a Sugata, knower of the world, an incomparable tamer of men, a teacher (and ruler) of gods and men, a Buddha and Lord. He showed the law; he revealed the duteous course which is holy at its commencement, holy in its middle, holy at the end, good in substance and form, complete and perfect, correct and pure. That is to say, to the disciples he preached the law containing the four Noble Truths, and starting from the chain of causes and effects, tending to overcome birth, decrepitude, sickness, death, sorrow, lamentation, woe, grief, despondency, and finally leading to Nirvana; and to the Bodhisattvas he preached the law connected with the six Perfections, and terminating in the knowledge of the Omniscient, after the attainment of supreme, perfect enlightenment.

[Now, young men of good family, long before the time of that Tathagata Kandrasuryapradipa, the Arhat, etc., there had appeared a Tathagata, etc., likewise called Kandrasuryapradipa, after whom, O Agita, there were twenty thousand Tathagatas, etc., all of them bearing the name of Kandrasuryapradipa, of the same lineage and family name, to wit, of Bharadvaga. All those twenty thousand Tathagatas, O Agita, from the first to the last, showed the law, revealed the course which is holy at its commencement, holy in its middle, holy at the end, etc. etc.]

The aforesaid Lord Kandrasuryapradipa, the Tathagata, etc., when a young prince and not yet having left home (to embrace the ascetic life), had eight sons, viz. the young princes Sumati, Anantamati, Ratnamati, Viseshamati, Vimatisamudghatin, Ghoshamati, and Dharmamati. These eight young princes, Agita, sons to the Lord Kandrasuryapradipa, the Tathagata, had an immense fortune. Each of them was in possession of four great continents, where they exercised the kingly sway. When they saw that the Lord had left his home to become an ascetic, and heard that he had attained supreme, perfect enlightenment, they forsook all of them the pleasures of royalty and followed the example of the Lord by resigning the world; all of them strove to reach superior enlightenment and became preachers of the law. While constantly leading a holy life, those young princes planted roots of goodness under many thousands of Buddhas.

It was at that time, Agita, that the Lord Kandrasuryapradipa, the Tathagata, etc., after expounding the Dharmaparyaya called 'the Great Exposition,' a text of great extension, serving to instruct Bodhisattvas and proper to all Buddhas, at the same moment and instant, at the same gathering of the classes of hearers, sat cross-legged on the same seat of the law, and entered upon the meditation termed 'the Station of the exposition of Infinity;' his body was motionless, and his mind had reached perfect tranquillity. And as soon as the Lord had entered upon meditation, there fell a great rain of divine flowers, Mandaravas and great Mandaravas, Mangushakas and great Mangushakas, covering the Lord and the four classes of hearers, while the whole Buddha-field shook in six ways; it moved, removed, trembled, trembled from one end to the other, tossed, tossed along.

Then did those who were assembled and sitting together at that congregation, monks, nuns, male and fe-male lay devotees, gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men and beings not human, as well as governors of a region, rulers of armies and rulers of four continents, all of them with their followers gaze on the Lord in astonishment, in amazcment, in ecstasy.

And at that moment there issued a ray from within the circle of hair between the eyebrows of the Lord. It extended over eighteen hundred thousand Buddha-fields in the eastern quarter, so that all those Buddha-fields appeared wholly illuminated by its radiance, just like the Buddha-fields do now, O Agita.

[At that juncture, Agita, there were twenty kotis of Bodhisattvas following the Lord. All hearers of the law in that assembly, on seeing how the world was illuminated by the lustre of that ray, felt astonishment, amazement, ecstasy, and curiosity.]

Now it happened, Agita, that under the rule of the aforesaid Lord there was a Bodhisattva called Varaprabha, who had eight hundred pupils. It was to this Bodhisattva Varaprabha that the Lord, on rising from his meditation, revealed the Dharmaparyaya called 'the Lotus of the True Law.' He spoke during fully sixty intermediate kalpas, always sitting on the same seat, with immovable body and tranquil mind. And the whole assembly continued sitting on the same seats, listening to the preaching of the Lord for sixty intermediate kalpas, there being not a single creature in that assembly who felt fatigue of body or mind.

As the Lord Kandrasuryapradipa, the Tathagata, etc., during sixty intermediate kalpas had been expounding the Dharmaparyaya called 'the Lotus of the True Law,' a text of great development, serving to instruct Bodhisattvas and proper to all Buddhas, he instantly announced his complete Nirvana to the world, including the gods, Maras and Brahmas, to all creatures, including ascetics, Brahmans, gods, men and demons, saying: To-day, O monks, this very night, in the middle watch, will the Tathagata, by entering the element of absolute Nirvana, become wholly extinct.

Thereupon, Agita, the Lord Kandrasuryapradipa, the Tathigata, etc., predestinated the Bodhisattva called Srigarbha to supreme, perfect enlightenment, and then spoke thus to the whole assembly: O monks, this Bodhisattva Srigarbha here shall immediately after me attain supreme, perfect enlightenment, and become Vimalanetra, the Tathagata, etc.

Thereafter, Agita, that very night, at that very watch, the Lord Kandrasuryapradipa, the Tathalgata, etc., became extinct by entering the element of absolute Nirvana. And the aforementioned Dharmaparyaya, termed 'the Lotus of the True Law,' was kept in memory by the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Varaprabha; during eighty intermediate kalpas did the Bodhisattva Varaprabha keep and reveal the commandment of the Lord who had entered Nirvana. Now it so happened, Agita, that the eight sons of the Lord Kandrasuryapradipa, Mati and the rest, were pupils to that very Bodhisattva Varaprabha. They were by him made ripe for supreme, perfect enlightenment, and in after times they saw and worshipped many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddhas, all of whom had attained supreme, perfect enlightenment, the last of them being Dipankara, the Tathalgata, etc.

Amongst those eight pupils there was one Bodhisattva who attached an extreme value to gain, honour and praise, and was fond of glory, but all the words and letters one taught him faded (from his memory), did not stick. So he got the appellation of Yasaskama. He had propitiated many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddhas by that root of goodness, and afterwards esteemed, honoured, respected, revered, venerated, worshipped them. Perhaps, Agita, thou feelest some doubt, perplexity or misgiving that in those days, at that time, there was another Bodhisvattva Mahasattva Varaprabha, preacher of the law. But do not think so. Why? because it is myself who in those days, at that time, was the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Varaprabha, preacher of the law; and that Bodhisattva named Yasaskama, the lazy one, it is thyself, Agita, who in those days, at that time, wert the Bodhisattva named Yasaskama, the lazy one.

And so, Agita, having once seen a similar foretoken of the Lord, I infer from a similar ray being emitted just now, that the Lord is about to expound the Dharmaparyaya called 'the Lotus of the True Law.'

And on that occasion, in order to treat the subject more copiously, Mangusri, the prince royal, uttered the following stanzas:

57 I remember a past period, inconceivable, illimited kalpas ago, when the highest of beings, the Gina of the name of Kandrasuryapradipa, was in existence.

58 He preached the true law, he, the leader of creatures; he educated an infinite number of kotis of beings, and roused inconceivably many Bodhisattvas to acquiring supreme Buddha-knowledge.

59 And the eight sons born to him, the leader, when he was prince royal, no sooner saw that the great sage had embraced ascetic life, than they resigned worldly pleasures and became monks.

60 And the Lord of the world proclaimed the law, and revealed to thousands of kotis of living beings the Sutra, the development, which by name is called 'the excellent Exposition of Infinity.'

61 Immediately after delivering his speech, the leader crossed his legs and entered upon the meditation of 'the excellent Exposition of the Infinite.' There on his seat of the law the eminent seer continued absorbed in meditation.

62 And there fell a celestial rain of Mandaravas, while the drums (of heaven) resounded without being struck; the gods and elves in the sky paid honour to the highest of men.

63 And simultaneously all the fields (of Buddha) began trembling. A wonder it was, a great prodigy. Then the chief emitted from between his brows one extremely beautiful ray,

64 Which moving to the eastern quarter glittered, illuminating the world all over the extent of eighteen thousand fields. It manifested the vanishing and appearing of beings.

65 Some of the fields then seemed jewelled, others showed the hue of lapis lazuli, all splendid, extremely beautiful, owing to the radiance of the ray from the leader.

66 Gods and men, as well as Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, nymphs, Kinnaras, and those occupied with serving the Sugata became visible in the spheres and paid their devotion.

67 The Buddhas also, those self-born beings, appeared of their own accord, resembling golden columns; like unto a golden disk (within lapis lazuli), they revealed the law in the midst of the assembly.

68 The disciples, indeed, are not to be counted: the disciples of Sugata are numberless. Yet the lustre of the ray renders them all visible in every field.

69 Energetic, without breach or flaw in their course, similar to gems and jewels, the sons of the leaders of men are visible in the mountain caves where tbeyare dwelling.

70 Numerous Bodhisattvas, like the sand of the Ganges, who are spending all their wealth in giving alms, who have the strength of patience, are devoted to contemplation and wise, become all of them visible by that ray.

71 Immovable, unshaken, firm in patience, devoted to contemplation, and absorbed in meditation are seen the true sons of the Sugatas while they are striving for supreme enlightenment by dint of meditation.

72 They preach the law in many spheres, and point to the true, quiet, spotless state they know. Such is the effect produced by the power of the Sugata.

73 And all the four classes of hearers on seeing the power of the mighty Kandrarkadipa were filled with joy and asked one another: How is this?

74 And soon afterwards, as the Leader of the world, worshipped by men, gods, and goblins, rose from his meditation, he addressed his son Varaprabha, the wise Bodhisattva and preacher of the law:

75 'Thou art wise, the eye and refuge of the world; thou art the trustworthy keeper of my law, and canst bear witness as to the treasure of laws which I am to lay bare to the weal of living beings.'

76 Then, after rousing and stimulating, praising and lauding many Bodhisattvas, did the Gina proclaim the supreme laws during fully sixty intermediate kalpas.

77 And whatever excellent supreme law was proclaimed by the Lord of the world while continuing sitting on the very same seat, was kept in memory by Varaprabha, the son of Gina, the preacher of the law.

78 And after the Gina and Leader had manifested the supreme law and stimulated the numerous crowd, he spoke, that day, towards the world including the gods (as follows):

79 'I have manifested the rule of the law; I have shown the nature of the law; now, O monks, it is the time of my Nirvana; this very night, in the middle watch.

80 'Be zealous and strong in persuasion; apply yourselves to my lessons; (for) the Ginas, the great seers, are but rarely met with in the lapse of myriads of kotis of Æons.'

81 The many sons of Buddha were struck with grief and filled with extreme sorrow when they heard the voice of the highest of men announcing that his Nirvana was near at hand.

82 To comfort so inconceivably many kotis of living beings the king of kings said: 'Be not afraid, O monks; after my Nirvana there shall be another Buddha.

83 'The wise Bodhisattva Srigarbha, after finishing his course in faultless knowledge, shall reach highest, supreme enlightenment, and become a Gina under the name of Vimalagranetra.'

84 That very night, in the middle watch, he met complete extinction, like a lamp when the cause (of its burning) is exhausted. His relics were distributed, and of his Stupas there was an infinite number of myriads of kotis.

85 The monks and nuns at the time being, who strove after supreme, highest enlightenment, numerous as sand of the Ganges, applied themselves to the commandment of the Sugata.

86 And the monk who then was the preacher of the law and the keeper of the law, Varaprabha, expounded for fully eighty intermediate kalpas the highest laws according to the commandment (of the Sugata).

87 He had eight hundred pupils, who all of them were by him brought to full development. They saw many kotis of Buddhas, great sages, whom they worshipped.

88 By following the regular course they became Buddhas in several spheres, and as they followed one another in immediate succession they successively foretold each other's future destiny to Buddhaship.

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89 The last of these Buddhas following one another was Dipankara. He, the supreme god of gods, honoured by crowds of sages, educated thousands of kotis of living beings.

90 Among the pupils of Varaprabha, the son of Gina, at the time of his teaching the law, was one slothful, covetous, greedy of gain and cleverness.

91 He was also excessively desirous of glory, but very fickle, so that the lessons dictated to him and his own reading faded from his memory as soon as learnt.

92 His name was Yasaskama, by which he was known everywhere. By the accumulated merit of that good action, spotted as it was,

93 He propitiated thousands of kotis of Buddhas, whom he rendered ample honour. He went through the regular course of duties and saw the present Buddha Sakyasimha.

94 He shall be the last to reach superior enlightenment and become a Lord known by the family name of Maitreya, who shall educate thousands of kotis of creatures.

95 He who then, under the rule of the extinct Sugata, was so slothful, was thyself, and it was I who then was the preacher of the law.

96 As on seeing a foretoken of this kind I recognise a sign such as I have seen manifested of yore, therefore and on that account I know,

97 That decidedly the chief of Ginas, the supreme king of the Sakyas, the All-seeing, who knows the highest truth, is about to pronounce the excellent Satra which I have heard before.

98 That very sign displayed at present is a proof of the skilfulness of the leaders; the Lion of the Sakyas is to make an exhortation, to declare the fixed nature of the law.

99 Be well prepared and well minded; join your hands: he who is affectionate and merciful to the world is going to speak, is going to pour the endless rain of the law and refresh those that are waiting for enlightenment.

100 And if some should feel doubt, uncertainty, or misgiving in any respect, then the Wise One shall remove it for his children, the Bodhisattvas here striving after enlightenment.

LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 2

On Skilfulness.

The Lord then rose with recollection and consciousness from his meditation, and forthwith addressed the venerable Sariputra: The Buddha knowledge, Sariputra, is profound, difficult to understand, difficult to comprehend. It is difficult for all disciples and Pratyekabuddhas to fathom the knowledge arrived at by the Tathagatas, etc., and that, Sariputra, because the Tathagatas have worshipped many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddhas; because they have fulfilled their course for supreme, complete enlightenment, during many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Æons; because they have wandered far, displaying energy and possessed of wonderful and marvellous properties; possessed of properties difficult to understand; because they have found out things difficult to understand.

The mystery of the Tathagatas, etc., is difficult to understand, Sariputra, because when they explain the laws (or phenomena, things) that have their causes in themselves they do so by means of skilfulness, by the display of knowledge, by arguments, reasons, fundamental ideas, interpretations, and suggestions. By a variety of skilfulness they are able to release creatures that are attached to one point or another. The Tathagatas, etc., Sariputra, have acquired the highest perfection in skilfulness and the display of knowledge; they are endowed with wonderful properties, such as the display of free and unchecked knowledge; the powers; the absence of hesitation; the independent conditions; the strength of the organs; the constituents of Bodhi; the contemplations; emancipations; meditations; the degrees of concentration of mind. The Tathagatas, etc., Sariputra, are able to expound various things and have something wonderful and marvellous. Enough, Sariputra, let it suffice to say, that the Tathagatas, etc., have something extremely wonderful, Sariputra. None but a Tathagatha, Sariputra, can impart to a Tathagata those laws which the Tathagata knows. And all laws, Sariputra, are taught by the Tathagata, and by him alone; no one but he knows all laws, what they are, how they are, like what they are, of what characteristics and of what nature they are.

And on that occasion, to set forth the same subject more copiously, the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

1 Innumerable are the great heroes in the world that embraces gods and men; the totality of creatures is unable to completely know the leaders.

2 None can know their powers and states of emancipation, their absence of hesitation and Buddha properties, such as they are.

3 Of yore have I followed in presence of kotis of Buddhas the good course which is profound, subtle, difficult to understand, and most difficult to find.

4 After pursuing that career during an inconceivable number of kotis of Æons, I have on the terrace of enlightenment discovered the fruit thereof.

5 And therefore I recognise, like the other chiefs of the world, how it is, like what it is, and what are its characteristics.

6 It is impossible to explain it; it is unutterable; nor is there such a being in the world.

7 To whom this law could be explained or who would be able to understand it when explained, with the exception of the Bodhisattvas, those who are firm in resolve.

8 As to the disciples of the Knower of the world, those who have done their duty and received praise from the Sugatas, who are freed from faults and have arrived at the last stage of bodily existence, the Gina-knowledge lies beyond their sphere.

9 If this whole sphere were full of beings like Sarisuta, and if they were to investigate with combined efforts, they would be unable to comprehend the knowledge of the Sugata.

10 Even if the ten points of space were full of sages like thee, ay, if they were full of such as the rest of my disciples,

11 And if those beings combined were to investigate the knowledge of the Sugata, they would, all together, not be able to comprehend the Buddha-knowledge in its whole immensity.

12 If the ten points of space were filled with Pratyekabuddhas, free from faults, gifted with acute faculties, and standing in the last stage of their existence, as numerous as reeds and bamboos in Ganges, with undivided attention and subtle wit, even then that (knowledge) would be beyond their ken.

13 And if combined for an endless number of myriads of kotis of Æons, they were to investigate a part only of my superior laws, they would never find out its real meaning.

14 If the ten points of space were full of Bodhisattvas who, after having don their duty under many kotis of Buddhas, investigated all things and preached many sermons, after entering a new vehicle [or rather a new career];

15 If the whole world were full of them, as of dense reeds and bamboos, without any interstices, and if all combined wre to investiage the law which the Sugata has realised;

16 If they were going on investigating for many kotis of Æons, as incalculable as the sand of the Ganges, with undivided attention and subtle wit, even then that knowledge would be beyond their understanding.

17 If such Bodhisattvas as are unable to fall back, numerous as the sand of the Ganges, were to investigate it with undivided attention, it would prove to lie beyond their ken.

18 Profound are the laws of the Buddhas, and subtle; all inscrutable and faultless. I myself know them as well as the Ginas do in the ten directions of the world.

19 Thou, Sariputra, be full of trust in what the Sugata declares. The Gina speaks no falsehood, the great Seer who has so long preached the highest truth.

20 I address all disciples here, those who have set out to reach the enlightenment of Pratyekabuddhas, those who are roused to activity at my Nirvana, and those who have been released from the series of evils.

21 It is by my superior skilfulness that I explain the law at great length to the world at large. I deliver whosoever are attached to one point or another, and show the three vehicles.

The eminent disciples in the assembly headed by Agnata-Kaundinya, the twelve hundred Arhats faultless and self-controlled, the other monks, nuns, male and femal lay devotees using the vehicle of disciples, and those who had entered the vehicle of Pratyeka-buddhas, all of them made this reflection: What may be the cause, what the reason of the Lord so extremely extolling the skilfulness of the Tathagatas? of his extolling it by saying, 'Profound is the law by me discovered;' of his extolling it by saying, 'It is difficult for all disciples and Pratyekabuddhas to understand it.' But as yet the Lord has declared no more than one kind of emancipation, and therefore we also should acquire the Buddha-laws on reaching Nirvana. We do not catch the meaning of this utterance of the Lord.

And the venerable Sariputra, who apprehended the doubt and uncertainty of the four classes of the audience and guessed their thoughts from what was passing in his own mind, himself being in doubt about the law, then said to the Lord: What, O Lord, is the cause, what the reason of the Lord so repeatedly and extremely extolling the skilfulness, knowledge, and preaching of the Tathagata? Why does he repeatedly extol it by saying, 'Profound is the law by me discovered; it is difficult to understand the mystery of the Tathagatas.' Never before have I heard from the Lord such a discourse on the law. Those four classes of the audience, O Lord, are overcome with doubt and perplexity. Therefore may the Lord be pleased to explain what the Tathagata is alluding to, when repeatedly extolling the profound law of the Tathagatas.

On that occasion the venerable Sariputra uttered the following stanzas:

22 Now first does the Sun of men utter such a speech: 'I have acquired the powers, emancipations, and numberless meditations.'

23 And thou mentionest the terrace of enlightenment without any one asking thee: thou mentionest the mystery, although no one asks thee.

24 Thou speakest unasked and laudest thine own course; thou mentionest thy having obtained knowledge and pronouncest profound words.

25 To-day a question rises in my mind and of these self-controlled, faultless beings striving after Nirvana: Why does the Gina speak in this manner?

26 Those who aspire to the enlightenment of Pratyekabuddhas, the nuns and monks, gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, and great serpents, are talking together, while looking up to the highest of men,

27 And ponder in perplexity. Give an elucidation, great Sage, to all the disciples of Sugata here assembled.

28 Myself have reached the perfection (of virtue), have been taught by the supreme Sage; still, O highest of men! even in my position I feel some doubt whether the course (of duty) shown to me shall receive its final sanction by Nirvana.

29 Let thy voice be heard, O thou whose voice resounds like an egregious kettle-drum! proclaim thy law such as it is. The legitimate sons of Gina here standing and gazing at the Gina, with joined hands;

30 As well as the gods, Nagas, goblins, Titans, numbering thousands of kotis, like sand of the of the Ganges; and those that aspire to superior enlightenment, here standing, fully eighty thousand in number;

31 Further, the kings, rulers of provinces and paramount monarchs, who have flocked thither from thousands of kotis of countries, are now standing with joined hands, and respectful, thinking: How are we to fulfil the course of duty?

The venerable Sariputra having spoken, the Lord said to him: Enough, Sariputra; it is of no use explaining this matter. Why? Because, Sariputra, the world, including the gods, would be frightened if this matter were expounded.

But the venerable Sariputra entreated the Lord a second time, saying: Let the Lord expound, let the Sugata expound this matter, for in this assembly, O Lord, there are many hundreds, many thousands, many hundred thousands, many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of living beings who have seen former Buddhas, who are intelligent, and will believe, value, and accept the words of the Lord.

The venerable Sariputra addressed the Lord with this stanza:

32 Speak clearly, O most eminent of Ginas! in this assembly there are thousands of living beings trustful, affectionate, and respectful towards the Sugata; they will understand the law by there expounded.

And the Lord said a second time to the venerable Sariputra; Enough, Sariputra; it is of no use explaining this matter for the the world, including the gods, would be frightened if this matter were expounded, and some monks might be proud and come to a heavy fall.

And on theat occasion uttered the Lord the following stanza:

33 Speak no more of it that I sould declare this law! This knowledge is too subtle, inscrutable, and there are too many unwise men who in their conceit and foolishness would scoff at the law revealed.

A third time the venerable Sariputra entreated the Lord, saying, Let the Lord expound, let the Sugata expound this matter. In this assembly, O Lord, there are many hundreds of living beings my equals, and many hundreds, many thousands, many hundred thousands, many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of other living beings more, who in former births have been brought by the Lord to full ripeness. They will believe, value, and accept what the Lord declares, which shall tend to their advantage, weal, and happiness in length of time.

On that occasion the venerable Sariputra uttered the following stanzas:

34 Explain the law, O thou most high of men! I, thine eldest son, beseech thee. Here are thousands of kotis of beings who are to believe in the law by thee revealed.

35 And those beings that in former births so long and constantly have by thee been brought to full maturity and now are all standing here with joined hands, they, too, are to believe in this law.

36 Let the Sugata, seeing the twelve hundred, my equals, and those who are striving after superior enlightenment, speak to them and produce in them an extreme joy.

When the Lord for the third time heard the entreaty of the venerable Sariputra, he spoke to him as follows: Now that thou entreatest the Tathagata a third time, Sariputra, I will answer thee. Listen then, Sariputra, take well and duly to heart what I am saying; I am going to speak.

Now it happened that the five thousand proud monks, nuns and lay devotees of both sexes in the congregatino rose from their seats and, after saluting with their heads the Lord's feet, went to leave the assembly. Owing to the principle of good which there is in pride they imagined having attained what they had not, and having understood what they had not. Therefore, thinking themselves aggrieved, they went to leave the assembly, to which the Lord by his silence showed assent.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the venerable Sariputra: My congregation, Sariputra, has been cleared from the chaff, freed from the trash; it is firmly established in the strength of faith. It is good, Sariputra, that those proud ones are gone away. Now I am going to expound the matter, Sariputra.

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'Very well, Lord,' replied the venerable Sariputra. The Lord then began and said:

It is but now and then, Sariputra, that the Tathagata preaches such a discourse on the law as this. just as but now and then is seen the blossom of the glomerous fig-tree, Sariputra, so does the Tathagata but now and then preach such a discourse on the law. Believe me, Sariputra; I speak what is real, I speak what is truthful, I speak what is right. It is difficult to understand the exposition of the mystery of the Tathagata, Sariputra; for in elucidating the law, Sariputra, I use hundred thousands of various skilful means, such as different interpretations, indications, explanations, illustrations. It is not by reasoning, Sariputra, that the law is to be found: it is beyond the pale of reasoning, and must be learnt from the Tathagata. For, Sariputra, it is for a sole object, a sole aim, verily a lofty object, a lofty aim that the Buddha, the Tathagata, etc., appears in the world. And what is that sole object, that sole aim, that lofty object, that lofty aim of the Buddha, the Tathagata, etc., appearing in the world? To show all creatures the sight of Tathagata-knowledge does the Buddha, the Tathagata, etc., appear in the world; to open the eyes of creatures for the sight of Tathagata-knowledge does the Buddha, the Tathagata, etc., appear in the world. This, O Sariputra, is the sole object, the sole aim, the sole purpose of his appearance in the world. Such then, Sariputra, is the sole object, the sole aim, the lofty object, the lofty aim of the Tathagata. And it is achieved by the Tathagata. For, Sariputra, I do show all creatures the sight of Tathagata-knowledge; I do open the eyes of creatures for the sight of Tathagata-knowledge, Sariputra; I do firmly establish the teaching of Tathagata-knowledge, Sariputra; I do lead the teaching of Tathagata-knowledge on the right path, Sariputra. By means of one sole vehicle, to wit, the Buddha-vehicle, Sariputra, do I teach creatures the law; there is no second vehicle, nor a third. This is the nature of the law, Sariputra, universally in the world, in all directions. For,Sariputra, all the Tathagatas, etc., who in times past existed in countless, innumerable spheres in all directions for the weal of many, the happiness of many, out of pity to the world, for the benefit, weal, and happiness of the great body of creatures, and who preached the law to gods and men with able means, such as several directions and indications, various arguments, reasons, illustrations, fundamental ideas, interpretations, paying regard to the dispositions of creatures whose inclinations and temperaments are so manifold, all those Buddhas and Lords, Sariputra, have preached the law to creatures by means of only one vehicle, the Buddhavehicle, which finally leads to omniscience; it is identical with showing all creatures the sight of Tathagata-knowledge; with opening the eyes of creatures for the sight of Tathagata-knowledge; with the awakening (or admonishing) by the display (or sight) of Tathagata -knowledge; with leading the teaching of Tathagata-knowledge on the right path. Such is the law they have preached to creatures. And those creatures, Sariputra, who have heard the law from the past Tathagatas, etc., have all of them reached supreme, perfect enlightenment.

And the Tathagatas, etc., who shall exist in future, Sariputra, in countless, innumerable spheres in all directions for the weal of many, the happiness of many, out of pity to the world, for the benefit, weal, and happiness of the great body of creatures, and who shall preach the law to gods and men (etc., as above till) the right path. Such is the law they shall preach to creatures. And those creatures, Sariputra, who shall hear the law from the future Tathagatas, etc., shall all of them reach supreme, perfect enlightenment.

And the Tathagatas, etc., who now at present are staying, living, existing, Sariputra, in countless, innumerable spheres in all directions, etc., and who are preaching the law to gods and men (etc., as above till) the right path. Such is the law they are preaching to creatures. And those creatures, Sariputra, who are hearing the law from the present Tathagatas, etc., shall all of them reach supreme, perfect enlightenment.

I myself also, Sariputra, am at the present period a Tathagata, etc., for the weal of many (etc., till) manifold; I myself also, Sariputra, am preaching the law to creatures (etc., till) the right path. Such is the law I preach to creatures. And those creatures, Sariputra, who now are hearing the law from me, shall all of them reach supreme, perfect enlightenment. In this sense, Sariputra, it must be understood that nowhere in the world a second vehicle is taught, far less a third.

Yet, Sariputra, when the Tathagatas, etc., happen to appear at the decay of the epoch, the decay of creatures, the decay of besetting sins, the decay of views, or the decay of lifetime; when they appear amid such signs of decay at the disturbance of the epoch; when creatures are much tainted, full of greed and poor in roots of goodness; then, Sariputra, the Tathagatas, etc., use, skilfully, to designate that one and sole Buddha-vehicle by the appellation of the threefold vehicle. Now, Sariputra, such disciples, Arhats, or Pratyekabuddhaswho do not hear their actually being called to the Buddha-vehicle by the Tathagata, who do not perceive, nor heed it, those, Sariputra, should not be acknowledged as disciples of the Tathagata, nor as Arhats, nor as Pratyekabuddhas.

Again, Sariputra, if there be some monk or nun pretending to Arhatship without an earnest vow to reach supreme, perfect enlightenment and saying, 'I am standing too high for the Buddha-vehicle, I am in my last appearance in the body before complete Nirvana,' then, Sariputra, consider such a one to be conceited. For, Sariputra, it is unfit, it is improper that a monk, a faultless Arhat, should not believe in the law which he hears from the Tathagata in his presence. I leave out of question when the Tathagata shall have reached complete Nirvana; for at that period, that time, Sariputra, when the Tathagata shall be wholly extinct, there shall be none who either knows by heart or preaches such Sutras as this. It will be under other Tathagatas, etc., that they are to be freed from doubts. In respect to these things believe my words, Sariputra, value them, take them to heart; for there is no falsehood in the Tathagatas, Sariputra. There is but one vehicle, Sariputra, and that the Buddha-vehicle.

And on that occasion to set forth this matter more copiously the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

37 No less than five thousand monks, nuns, and lay devotees of both sexes, full of unbelief and conceit,

38 Remarking this slight, went, defective in training and foolish as they were, away in order to beware of damage.

39 The Lord, who knew them to be the dregs of the congregation, exclaimed: They have no sufficient merit to hear this law.

40 My congregation is now pure, freed from chaff; the trash is removed and the pith only remains.

41 Hear from me, Sariputra, how this law has been discovered by the highest man, and how the mighty Buddhas are preaching it with many hundred proofs of skilfulness.

42 1 know the disposition and conduct, the various inclinations of kotis of living beings in this world; I know their various actions and the good they have done before.

43 Those living beings I initiate in this (law) by the aid of manifold interpretations and reasons; and by hundreds of arguments and illustrations have I, in one way or another, gladdened all creatures.

44 I utter both Sutras and stanzas; legends, Gatakas, and prodigies, besides hundreds of introductions and curious parables.

45 I show Nirvana to the ignorant with low dispositions, who have followed no course of duty under many kotis of Buddhas, are bound to continued existence and wretched.

46 The self-born one uses such means to manifest Buddha-knowledge, but he shall never say to them, Ye also are to become Buddhas.

47 Why should not the mighty one, after having waited for the right time, speak, now that he perceives the right moment is come? This is the fit opportunity, met somehow, of commencing the exposition of what really is.

48 Now the word of my commandment, as contained in nine divisions, has been published according to the varying degree of strength of creatures. Such is the device I have shown in order to introduce (creatures) to the knowledge of the giver of boons.

49 And to those in the world who have always been pure, wise, good-minded, compassionate sonsof Buddha and done their duty under many kotis of Buddhas will I make known amplified Sutras.

50 For they are endowed with such gifts of mental disposition and such advantages of a blameless outward form that I can announce to them: in future ye shall become Buddhas benevolent and compassionate.

51 Hearing which, all of them will be pervaded with delight (at the thought): We shall become Buddhas pre-eminent in the world. And I, perceiving their conduct, will again reveal amplified Sutras.

52 And those are the disciples of the Leader, who have listened to my word of command. One sinale stanza learnt or kept in memory suffices, no doubt of it, to lead all of them to enlightenment.

53 There is, indeed, but one vehicle; there is no second, nor a third anywhere in the world, apart from the case of the Purushottamas using an expedient to show that there is a diversity of vehicles.

54 The Chief of the world appears in the world to reveal the Buddha-knowledge. He has but one aim, indeed, no second; the Buddhas do not bring over (creatures) by an inferior vehicle.

55 There where the self-born one has established himself, and where the object of knowledge is, of whatever form or kind; (where) the powers, the stages of meditation, the emancipations, the perfected faculties (are); there the beings also shall be established.

56 1 should be guilty of envy, should I, after reaching the spotless eminent state of enlightenment, establish any one in the inferior vehicle. That would not beseem me.

57 There is no envy whatever in me; no jealousy, no desire, nor passion. Therefore I am the Buddha, because the world follows my teaching'.

58 When, splendidly marked with (the thirty-two) characteristics, I am illuminating this whole world, and, worshipped by many hundreds of beings, I show the (unmistakable) stamp of the nature of the law;

59 Then, Sariputra, I think thus: How will all beings by the thirty-two characteristics mark the self-born Seer, who of his own accord sheds his lustre all over the world?

60 And while I am thinking and pondering, when my wish has been fulfilled and my vow accomplished I no more reveal Buddha-knowledge

61 If, O son of Sari, I spoke to the creatures, 'Vivify in your minds the wish for enlightenment,' they would in their ignorance all go astray and never catch the meaning of my good words.

62 And considering them to be such, and that they have not accomplished their course of duty in previous existences, (I see how) they are attached and devoted to sensual pleasures, infatuated by desire and blind with delusion.

63 From lust they run into distress; they are tormented in the six states of existence and people the cemetery again and again; they are overwhelmed with misfortune, as they possess little virtue.

64 They are continually entangled in the thickets of (sectarian) theories, such as, 'It is and it is not; it is thus and it is not thus.' In trying to get a decided opinion on what is found in the sixty-two (heretical) theories they come to embrace falsehood and continue in it.

65 They are hard to correct, proud, hypocritical, crooked, malignant, ignorant, dull; hence they do not hear the good Buddha-call, not once in kotis of births.

66 To those, son of Sari, I show a device and say: Put an end to your trouble. When I perceive creatures vexed with mishap I make them see Nirvana.

67 And so do I reveal all those laws that are ever holy and correct from the very first. And the son of -Buddha who has completed his course shall once be a Gina.

68 It is but my skilfulness which prompts me to manifest three vehicles; for there is but one vehicle and one track; there is also but one instruction by the leaders.

69 Remove all doubt and uncertainty; and should there be any who feel doubts, (let them know that) the Lords of the world speak the truth; this is the only vehicle, a second there is not.

70 The former Tathagatas also, living in the past for innumerable Æons, the many thousands of Buddhas who are gone to final rest, whose number can never be counted,

71 Those highest of men have all of them revealed most holy laws by means of illustrations, reasons, and arguments, with many hundred proofs of skilfulness.

72 And all of them have manifested but one vehicle and introduced but one on earth; by one vehicle have they led to full ripeness inconceivably many thousands of kotis of beings.

73 Yet the Ginas possess various and manifold means through which the Tathagata reveals to the world, including the gods, superior enlightenment, in consideration of the inclinations and dispositions (of the different beings).

74 And all in the world who are hearing or have heard the law from the mouth of the Tathagatas, given alms, followed the moral precepts, and patiently accomplished the whole of their religious duties;

75 Who have acquitted themselves in point of zeal and meditation, with wisdom reflected on those laws, and performed several meritorious actions, have all of them reached enlightenment.

76 And such beings as were living patient, subdued, and disciplined, under the rule of the Ginas of those times, have all of them reached enlightenment.

77 Others also, who paid worship to the relics of the departed Ginas, erected many thousands of Stupas made of gems, gold, silver, or crystal,

78 Or built Stupas of emerald, cat's eye, pearls, egregious lapis lazuli, or sapphire; they have all of them reached enlightenment.

79 And those who erected Stupas from marble, sandal-wood, or eagle-wood; constructed Stupas from Deodar or a combination of different sorts of timber;

80 And who in gladness of heart built for the Ginas Stupas of bricks or clay; or caused mounds of earth to be raised in forests and wildernesses in dedication to the Ginas;

81 The little boys even, who in playing erected here and there heaps of sand with the intention of dedicating them as Stupas to the Ginas, they have all of them reached enlightenment.

82 Likewise have all who caused jewel images to be made and dedicated, adorned with the thirty-two characteristic signs, reached enlightenment.

83 Others who had images of Sugatas made of the seven precious substances, of copper or brass, have all of them reached enlightenment.

84 Those who ordered beautiful statues of Sugatas to be made of lead, iron, clay, or plaster have etc.

85 Those who made images (of the Sugatas) on painted walls, with complete limbs and the hundred holy signs,

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whether they drew them themselves or had them drawn by others, have etc.

86 Those even, whether men or boys, who during the lesson or in play, by way of amusement, made upon the walls (such) images with the nail or a piece of wood,

87 Have all of them reached enlightenment; they have become compassionate, and, by rousing many Bodhisattvas, have saved kotis of creatures.

88 Those who offered flowers and perfumes to the relics of the Tathagatas, to Stupas, a mound of earth, images of clay or drawn on a wall;

89 Who caused musical instruments, drums, conch trumpets, and noisy great drums to be played, and raised the rattle of tymbals at such places in order to celebrate the highest enlightenment;

90 Who caused sweet lutes, cymbals, tabors, small drums, reed-pipes, flutes of ekonnada or sugar-cane to be made, have all of them reached enlightenment.

91 Those who to celebrate the Sugatas made thoughts, one shall in course of time see kotis of Buddhas.

92 They have all of them reached enlightenment. By paying various kinds of worship to the relics of the Sugatas, by doing but a little for the relics, by making resound were it but a single musical instrument;

93 Or by worshipping were it but with a single flower, by drawing on a wall the images of the Sugatas, by doing worship were it even with distracted thoughts, one shall in course of time see kotis of Buddhas.

94 Those who, when in presence of a Stupa, have offered their reverential salutation, be it in a complete form or by merely joining the hands; who, were it but for a single moment, bent their head or body;

95 And who at Stupas containing relics have one single time said: Homage be to Buddha! albeit they did it with distracted thoughts, all have attained superior enlightenment.

96 The creatures who in the days of those Sugatas, whether already extinct or still in existence, have heard no more than the name of the law, have all of them reached enlightenment.

97 Many kotis of future Buddhas beyond imagination and measure shall likewise reveal this device as Ginas and supreme Lords.

98 Endless shall be the skilfulness of these leaders of the world, by which they shall educate kotis of beings to that Buddha-knowledge which is free from imperfection.

99 Never has there been any being who, after hearing the law of those (leaders), shall not become Buddha; for this is the fixed vow of the Tathagatas: Let me, by accomplishing my course of duty, lead others to enlightenment.

100 They are to expound in future days many thousand kotis of heads of the law; in their Tathagataship they shall teach the law by showing the sole vehicle before-mentioned.

101 The line of the law forms an unbroken continuity and the nature of its properties is always manifest. Knowing this, the Buddhas, the highest of men, shall reveal this single vehicle.

102 They shall reveal the stability of the law, its being subjected to fixed rules, its unshakeable perpetuity in the world, the awaking of the Buddhas on the elevated terrace of the earth, their skilfulness.

103 In all directions of space are standing Buddhas, like sand of the Ganges, honoured by gods and men; these also do, for the weal of all beings in the world, expound superior enlightenment.

104 Those Buddhas while manifesting skilfulness display various vehicles though, at the same time, indicating the one single vehicle: the supreme place of blessed rest.vious actions; with due regard to their strenuousness and vigour, as well as their inclination, the Buddhas impart their lights to them.

105 Acquainted as they are with the conduct of all mortals, with their peculiar dispositions and previous actions; with due regard to their strenuousness and vigour, as well as their inclination, the Buddhas impart their lights to them.

106 By dint of knowledge the leaders produce many illustrations, arguments, and reasons; and considering how the creatures have various inclinations they impart various directions.

107 And myself also, the leader of the chief Ginas, am now manifesting, for the weal of creatures now living, this Buddha enlightenment by thousands of kotis of various directions.

108 I reveal the law in its multifariousness with regard to the inclinations and dispositions of creatures. I use different means to rouse each according to his own character. Such is the might of my knowledge.

109 I likewise see the poor wretches, deficient in wisdom and conduct, lapsed into the mundane whirl retained in dismal places, plunged in affliction incessantly renewed.

110 Fettered as they are by desire like the yak by its tail, continually blinded by sensual pleasure, they do not seek the Buddha, the mighty one; they do not seek the law that leads to the end of pain.

111 Staying in the six states of existence, they are benumbed in their senses, stick unmoved to the low views, and suffer pain on pain. For those I feel a great compassion.

112 On the terrace of enlightenment I have remained three weeks in full, searching and pondering on such a matter, steadily looking up to the tree there (standing).

113 Keeping in view that king of trees with anunwavering gaze I walked round at its foot (thinking): This law is wonderful and lofty, whereas creatures are blind with dulness and ignorance.

114 Then it was that Brahma entreated me, and so did Indra, the four rulers of the cardinal points, Mahesvara, Isvara, and the hosts of Maruts by thousands of kotis.

115 All stood with joined hands and respectful, while myself was revolving the matter in my mind (and thought): What shall I do? At the very time that I am uttering syllables, beings are oppressed with evils.

116 In their ignorance they will not heed the law I announce, and in consequence of it they will ncur some penalty. It would be better were I never to speak. May my quiet extinction take place this very day!

117 But on remembering the former Buddhas and their skilfulness, (I thought): Nay, I also will manifest this tripartite Buddha-enlightenment.

118 When I was thus meditating on the law, the other Buddhas in all the directions of space appeared to me in their own body and raised their voice, crying 'Amen.

119 'Amen, Solitary, first Leader of the world! now that thou hast come to unsurpassed knowledge, and art meditating on the skilfulness of the leaders of the world, thou repeatest their teaching.

120 'We also, being Buddhas, will make clear the highest word, divided into three parts; for men (occasionally) have low inclinations, and might perchance from ignorance not believe (us, when we say), Ye shall become Buddhas.

121 'Hence we will rouse many Bodhisattvas by the display of skilfulness and the encouraging of the wish of obtaining fruits.'

122 And I was delighted to hear the sweet voice of the leaders of men; in the exultation of my heart I said to the blessed saints, 'The words of the eminent sages are not spoken in vain.

123 'I, too, will act according to the indications of the wise leaders of the world; having myself been born in the midst of the degradation of creatures, I have known agitation in this dreadful world.'

124 When I had come to that conviction, O son of Sari, I instantly went to Benares, where I skilfully preached the law to the five Solitaries, that law which is the base of final beatitude.

125 From that moment the wheel of my law has been moving, and the name of Nirvana made its appearance in the world, as well as the name of Arhat, of Dharma, and Sangha.

126 Many years have I preached and pointed to the stage of Nirvana, the end of wretchedness and mundane existence. Thus I used to speak at all times.

127 And when I saw, Sariputra, the children of the highest of men by many thousands of kotis, numberless, striving after the supreme, the highest enlightenment;

128 And when such as had heard the law of the Ginas, owing to the many-sidedness of (their) skilfulness, had approached me and stood before my face, all of them with joined hands, and respectful;

129 Then I conceived the idea that the time had come for me to announce the excellent law and to reveal supreme enlightenment, for which task I had been born in the world.

130 This (event) to-day will be hard to be understood by the ignorant who imagine they see here a sign, as they are proud and dull. But the Bodhisattvas, they will listen to me.

131 And I felt free from hesitation and highly cheered; putting aside all timidity, I began speaking in the assembly of the sons of Sugata, and roused them to enlightenment.

132 On beholding such worthy sons of Buddha (I said): Thy doubts also will be removed, and these twelve hundred (disciples) of mine, free from imperfections, will all of them become Buddhas.

133 Even as the nature of the law of the former mighty saints and the future Ginas is, so is my law free from any doubtfulness, and it is such as I to-day preach it to thee.

134 At certain times, at certain places, somehow do the leaders appear in the world, and after their appearance will they, whose view is boundless, at one time or another preach a similar law.

135 It is most difficult to meet with this superior law, even in myriads of kotis of Æons; very rare are the beings who will adhere to the superior law which they have heard from me.

136 Just as the blossom of the glomerous fig-tree is rare, albeit sometimes, at some places, and somehow it is met with, as something pleasant to see for everybody, as a wonder to the world including the gods;

137 (So wonderful) and far more wonderful is the law I proclaim. Any one who, on hearing a good exposition of it, shall cheerfully accept it and recite but one word of it, will have done honour to all Buddhas.

138 Give up all doubt and uncertainty in this respect; I declare that I am the king of the law (Dharmaraga); I am urging others to enlightenment, but I am here without disciples.

139 Let this mystery be for thee, Sariputra, for all disciples of mine, and for the eminent Bodhisattvas, who are to keep this mystery.

140 For the creatures, when at the period of the five depravities, are vile and bad; they are blinded by sensual desires, the fools, and never turn their minds to enlightenment.

141 (Some) beings, having heard this one and sole vehicle manifested by the Gina, will in days to come swerve from it, reject the Sutra, and go down to hell.

142 But those beings who shall be modest and pure, striving after the supreme and the highest enlightenment, to them shall I unhesitatingly set forth the endless forms of this one and sole vehicle.

143 Such is the mastership of the leaders; that is, their skilfulness. They have spoken in many mysteries; hence it is difficult to understand (them).

144 Therefore try to understand the mystery of the Buddhas, the holy masters of the world; forsake all doubt and uncertainty: you shall become Buddhas; rejoice!

LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 3

A Parable.

Then the venerable Sariputra, pleased, glad, charmed, cheerful, thrilling with delight and joy, stretched his joined hands towards the Lord, and, looking up to the Lord with a steady gaze, addressed him in this strain: I am astonished, amazed, O Lord! I am in ecstasy to hear such a call from the Lord. For when, before I had heard of this law from the Lord, I saw other Bodhisattvas, and heard that the Bodhisattvas would in future get the name of Buddhas, I felt extremely sorry, extremely vexed to be,deprived from so grand a sight as the Tathagata-knowledge. And whenever, O Lord, for my daily recreation I was visiting the caves of rocks or mountains, wood thickets, lovely gardens, rivers, and roots of trees, I always was occupied with the same and ever-reeurring thought: 'Whereas the entrance into the fixed points [Or, elements] of the law is nominally equal, we have been dismissed by the Lord with the inferior vehicle.' Instantly, however, O Lord, I felt that it was our own fault, not the Lord's. For had we regarded the Lord at the time of his giving the allsurpassing demonstration of the law, that is, the exposition of supreme, perfect enlightenment, then, O Lord, we should have become adepts in those laws. But because, without understanding the mystery of the Lord, we, at the moment of the Bodhisattvas not being assembled, heard only in a hurry, caught, meditated, minded, took to heart the first lessons pronounced ori the law, therefore, O Lord, I used to pass day and night in self-reproach. (But) to-day, O Lord, I have reached complete extinction; to-day, O Lord, I have become calm; to-day, O Lord, I am wholly come to rest; to-day, O Lord, I have reached Arhatship; to-day, O Lord, I am the Lord's eldest son, born from his law, sprung into existence by the law, made by the law, inheriting from the law, accomplished by the law. My burning has left me, O Lord, now that I have heard this wonderful law, which I had not leant before, announced by the voice from the mouth of the Lord.

And on that occasion the venerable Sariputra addressed the Lord in the following stanzas:

1 I am astonished, great Leader, I am charmed to hear this voice; I feel no doubt any more; now am I fully ripe for the superior vehicle.

2 Wonderful is the voice [Rather, call] of the Sugatas; it dispels the doubt and pain of living beings; my pain also is all gone now that I, freed from imperfections, have heard that voice (or, call).

3 When I was taking my daily recreation or was walking in woody thickets, when betaking myself to the roots of trees or to mountain caves, I indulged in no other thought but this:

4 'O how am I deluded by vain thoughts! whereas the faultless laws are, nominally, equal, shall I in future not preach the superior law in the world?

5 'The thirty-two characteristic signs have failed me, and the gold colour of the skin has vanished; all the (ten) powers and emancipations have likewise been lost. O how have I gone astray at the equal laws!

6 'The secondary signs also of the great Seers, the eighty excellent specific signs, and the eighteen uncommon properties have failed me. O how am I deluded!'

7 And when I had perceived thee, so benigh and merciful to the world, and was lonely walking to take my daily recreation, I thought: 'I am excluded from that inconceivable, unbounded knowledge!'

8 Days and nights, O Lord, I passed always thinking of the same subject; I would ask the Lord whether I had lost my rank or not.

9 In such reflections, O Chief of Ginas, I constantly passed my days and nights; and on seeing many other Bodhisattvas praised by the Leader of the world,

10 And on hearing this Buddha-law, I thought: 'To be sure, this is expounded mysteriously'; it is an inscrutable, subtle,

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and faultless science, which is announced by the Ginas on the terrace of enlightenment.'

11 Formerly I was attached to (heretical) theories, being a wandering monk and in high honour (or, of the same opinions) with the heretics; afterwards has the Lord, regarding my disposition, taught me Nirvana, to detach me from perverted views.

12 After having completely freed myself from all (heretical) views and reached the laws of void, (I conceive) that I have become extinct; yet this is not deemed to be extinction.

13 But when one becomes Buddha, a superior being, honoured by men, gods, goblins, Titans, and adorned with the thirty-two characteristic signs, then one will be completely extinct.

14 All those (former) cares have now been dispelled, since I have heard the voice. Now am I extinct, as thou announcest my destination (to Nirvana) before the world including the gods.

15 When I first heard the voice of the Lord, I had a great terror lest it might be Mara, the evil one, who on this occasion had adopted the disguise of Buddha.

16 But when the unsurpassed Buddha-wisdom had been displayed in and established with arguments, reasons, and illustrations, by myriads of kotis, then I lost all doubt about the law I heard.

17 And when thou hadst mentioned to me the thousands of kotis of Buddhas, the past Ginas who have come to final rest, and how they preached this law by firmly establishing it through skilfulness;

18 How the many future Buddhas and those who are now existing, as knowers of the real truth, shall expound or are expounding this law by hundreds of able devices;

19 And when thou wert mentioning thine own course after leaving home, how the idea of the wheel of the law presented itself to thy mind and how thou decidedst upon preaching the law;

20 Then I was convinced: This is not Mara; it is the Lord of the world, who has shown the true course; no Maras can here abide. So then my mind (for a moment) was overcome with perplexity;

21 But when the sweet, deep, and lovely voice of Buddha gladdened me, all doubts were scattered, my perplexity vanished, and I stood firm in knowledge.

22 I shall become a Tathagata, undoubtedly, worshipped in the world including the gods; I shall manifest Buddha-wisdom, mysteriously rousing many Bodhisattvas.

After this speech of the venerable Sariputra, the Lord said to him: I declare to thee, Sariputra, I announce to thee, in presence of this world including the gods, Maras, and Brahmas, in presence of this people, including ascetics and Brahmans, that thou, Sariputra, hast been by me made ripe for supreme, perfect enlightenment, in presence of twenty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddhas, and that thou, Sariputra, hast for a long time followed my commandments. Thou, Sariputra, art, by the counsel of the Bodhisattva, by the decree of the Bodhisattva, reborn here under my rule. Owing to the mighty will of the Bodhisattva thou, Sariputra, hast no recollection of thy former vow to observe the (religious) course; of the counsel of the Bodhisattva, the decree of the Bodhisattva. Thou thinkest that thou hast reached final rest. I, wishing to revive and renew in thee the knowledge of thy former vow to observe the (religious) course, will reveal to the disciples the Dharmaparyaya called 'the Lotus of the True Law,' this Suranta, etc.

Again, Sariputra, at a future period, after innumerable, inconceivable, immeasurable Æons, when thou shalt have learnt the true law of hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Tathagatas, showed devotion in various ways, and achieved the present Bodhisattva-course, thou shalt become in the world a Tathagata, etc., named Padmaprabha, endowed with science and conduct, a Sugata, a knower of the world, an unsurpassed tamer of men, a master of gods and men, a Lord Buddha.

At that time then, Sariputra, the Buddha-field of that Lord, the Tathagata Padmaprabha, to be called Viraga, will be level, pleasant, delightful, extremely beautiful to see, pure, prosperous, rich, quiet, abounding with food, replete with many races of men; it will consist of lapis lazuli, and contain a checker-board of eight compartments distinguished by gold threads, each compartment having its jewel tree always and perpetually filled with blossoms and fruits of seven precious substances.

Now that Tathagata Padmaprabha, etc., Sariputra, will preach the law by the instrumentality of three vehicles . Further, Sariputra, that Tathagata will not appear at the decay of the Æon, but preach the law by virtue of a vow.

That Æon, Sariputra, will be named Maharatnapratimandita (i. e. ornamented with magnificent jewels). Knowest thou, Sariputra, why that Æon is named Maharatnapratimandita? The Bodhisattvas of a Buddha-field, Sariputra, are called ratnas (jewels), and at that time there will be many Bodhisattvas in that sphere (called) Viraga; innumerable, incalculable, beyond computation, abstraction made from their being computed by the Tathagatas. On that account is that Æon called Maharatnapratimandita.

Now, to proceed, Sariputra, at that period the Bodhisattvas of that field will in walking step on jewel lotuses. And these Bodhisattvas will not be plying their work for the first time, they having accumulated roots of goodness and observed the course of duty under many hundred thousand Buddhas; they are praised by the Tathagatas for their zealous application to Buddha-knowledge; are perfectioned in the rites preparatory to transcendent knowledge; accomplished in the direction of all true laws; mild, thoughtful. Generally, Sariputra, will that Buddha-region teem with such Bodhisattvas.

As to the lifetime, Sariputra, of that Tathagata Padmaprabha, it will last twelve intermediate kalpas, if we leave out of account the time of his being a young prince. And the lifetime of the creatures then living will measure eight intermediate kalpas. At the expiration of twelve intermediate kalpas, Sariputra, the Tathagata Padmaprabha, after announcing the future destiny of the Bodhisattva called Dhritiparipurnan [Dhriti, perserverence, endurance. Dhritiparipurna is, full of perserverance or endurance] to superior perfect enlightenment, is to enter complete Nirvana. 'This Bodhisattva Mahasattva Dhritiparipurna, O monks, shall immediately after me come to supreme, perfect enlightenment. He shall become in the world a Tathagata named Padmavrishabhavikramin, an Arhat, etc., endowed with science and conduct, etc. etc.'

Now the Tathigata Padmavrishabhavikramin, Sariputra, will have a Buddha-field of quite the same description. The true law, Sariputra, of that Tathagata Padmavrishabhavikramin will, after his extinction, last thirty-two intermediate kalpas, and the counterfeit of his true law will last as many intermediate kalpas.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

23 Thou also, son of Sari, shalt in future be a Gina, a Tathagata named Padmaprabha, of illimited sight; thou shalt educate thousands of kotis of living beings.

24 After paying honour to many kotis of Buddhas, making strenuous efforts in the course of duty, and after having produced in thyself the ten powers, thou shalt reach supreme, perfect enlightenment.

25 Within a period inconceivable and immense there shall be an Æon rich in jewels (or, the Æon jewel-rich), and a sphere named Viraga, the pure field of the highest of men;

26 And its ground will consist of lapis lazuli, and be set off with gold threads; it will have hundreds of jewel trees, very beautiful, and covered with blossoms and fruits.

27 Bodhisattvas of good memory, able in showing the course of duty which they have been taught under hundreds of Buddhas, will come to be born in that field.

28 And the afore-mentioned Gina, then in his last bodily existence, shall, after passing the state of prince royal, renounce sensual pleasures, leave home (to become a wandering ascetic), and thereafter reach the supreme and the highest enlightenment.

29 The lifetime of that Gina will be precisely twelve intermediate kalpas, and the life of men will then last eight intermediate kalpas.

30 After the extinction of the Tathigata the true law will continue thirty-two Æons in full, for the benefit of the world, including the gods.

31 When the true law shall have come to an end, its counterfeit will stand for thirty-two intermediate kalpas. The dispersed relics of the holy one will always be honoured by men and gods.

32 Such will be the fate of that Lord. Rejoice, O son of Sari, for it is thou who shalt be that most excellent of men, so unsurpassed.

The four classes of the audience, monks, nuns, lay devotees male and female, gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men and beings not human, on hearing the announcement of the venerable Sariputra's destiny to supreme, perfect enlightenment, were so pleased, glad, charmed, thrilling with delight and joy, that they covered the Lord severally with their own robes, while Indra the chief of gods, Brahma Sahampati, besides hundred thousands of kotis of other divine beings, covered him with heavenly garments and bestrewed him with flowers of heaven, Mandaravas and great Mandaravas. High aloft they whirled celestial clothes and struck hundred thousands of celestial musical instruments and cymbals, high in the sky; and after pouring a great rain of flowers they uttered these words: The wheel of the law has been put in motion by the Lord, the first time at Benares at Rishipatana in the Deer-park; to-day has the Lord again put in motion the supreme wheel of the law.

And on that occasion those divine beings uttered the following stanzas:

33 The wheel of the law was put in motion by thee, O thou that art unrivalled in the world, at Benares, O great hero! (that wheel which is the rotation of) the rise and decay of all aggregates.

34 There it was put in motion for the first time; now, a second time, is it turned here, O Lord. Today, O Master, thou hast preached this law, which is hard to be received with faith.

35 Many laws have we heard near the Lord of the world, but never before did we hear a law like this.

36 We receive with gratitude, O great hero, the mysterious speech of the great Sages, such as this prediction regarding the self-possessed Arya Sariputra.

37 May we also become such incomparable Buddhas in the world, who by mysterious speech announce supreme Buddha-enlightenment.

38 May we also, by the good we have done in this world and in the next, and by our having propitiated the Buddha, be allowed to make a vow for Buddhaship.

Thereupon the venerable Sariputra thus spoke to the Lord: My doubt is gone, O Lord, my uncertainty is at an end on hearing from the mouth of the Lord my destiny to supreme enlightenment. But these twelve hundred self-controlled (disciples), O Lord, who have been placed by thee on the stage of Saikshas, have been thus admonished and instructed: 'My preaching of the law, O monks, comes to this, that deliverance from birth, decrepitude, disease, and death is inseparably connected with Nirvana;' and these two thousand monks, O Lord, thy disciples, both those who are still under training and adepts, who all of them are free from false views about the soul, false views about existence, false views about cessation of existence, free, in short, from all false views, who are fancying themselves to have reached the stage of Nirvana, these have fallen into uncertainty by hearing from the mouth of the Lord this law which they had not heard before. Therefore, O Lord, please speak to these monks, to dispel their uneasiness, so that the four classes of the audience, O Lord, may be relieved from their doubt and perplexity.

On this speech of the venerable Sariputra the Lord said to him the following: Have I not told thee before, Sariputra, that the Tathagata, etc., preaches the law by able devices, varying directions and indications, fundamental ideas, interpretations, with due regard to the different dispositions and inclinations of creatures whose temperaments are so various? All his preachings of the law have no other end but supreme and perfect enlightenment, for which he is rousing beings to the Bodhisattva-course. But, Sariputra, to elucidate this matter more at large, I will tell thee a parable, for men of good understanding will generally readily enough catch the meaning of what is taught under the shape of a parable.

Let us suppose the following case, Sariputra. In a certain village, town, borough, province, kingdom, or capital, there was a certain housekeeper, old, aged, decrepit, very advanced in years, rich, wealthy, opulent; he had a great house, high, spacious, built a long time ago and old, inhabited by some two, three, four, or five hundred living beings. The house had but one door, and a thatch; its terraces were tottering, the bases of its pillars rotten, the coverings and plaster of the walls loose. On a sudden the whole house was from every side put in conflagration by a mass of fire. Let us suppose that the man had many little boys, say five, or ten, or even twenty, and that he himself had come out of the house.

Now, Sariputra, that man, on seeing the house from every side wrapt in a blaze by a great mass of fire, got afraid, frightened, anxious in his mind, and made the following reflection: I myself am able to come out from the burning house through the door, quickly and safely, without being touched or scorched by that great mass of fire; but my children, those young boys, are staying in the burning house, playing, amusing, and diverting themselves with all sorts of sports. They do not perceive, nor know, nor understand, nor mind that the house is on fire, and do not get afraid. Though scorched by that great mass of fire, and affected with such a mass of pain, they do not mind the pain, nor do they conceive the idea of escaping.

The man, Sariputra, is strong, has powerful arms, and (so) he makes this reflection: I am strong, and have powerful arms; why, let me gather all my little boys and take them to my breast to effect their escape from the house. A second reflection then presented itself to his mind: This house has but one opening; the door is shut; and those boys, fickle, unsteady, and childlike as they are, will, it is to be feared, run hither and thither, and come to grief and disaster in this mass of fire. Therefore I will warn them. So resolved, he calls to the boys: Come, my children; the house is burning with a mass of fire; come, lest ye be burnt in that mass of fire, and come to grief and disaster. But the ignorant boys do not heed the words of him who is their well-wisher; they are not afraid, not alarmed, and feel no misgiving; they do not care, nor fly, nor even know nor understand the purport of the word 'burning;' on the contrary, they run hither and thither, walk about, and repeatedly look at their father; all, because they are so ignorant.

Then the man is going to reflect thus: The house is burning, is blazing by a mass of fire. It is to be feared that myself as well as my children will come to grief and disaster. Let me therefore by some skilful means get the boys out of the house. The man knows the disposition of the boys, and has a clear perception of their inclinations. Now these boys happen to

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have many and manifold toys to play with, pretty, nice, pleasant, dear, amusing, and precious. The man, knowing the disposition of the boys, says to them: My children, your toys, which are so pretty, precious, and admirable, which you are so loth to miss, which are so various and multifarious, (such as) bullock-carts, goat-carts, deer-carts, which are so pretty, nice, dear, and precious to you, have all been put by me outside the house-door for you to play with. Come, run out, leave the house; to each of you I shall give what he wants. Come soon; come out for the sake of these toys. And the boys, on hearing the names mentioned of such playthings as they like and desire, so agreeable to their taste, so pretty, dear, and delightful, quickly rush out from the burning house, with eager effort and great alacrity, one having no time to wait for the other, and pushing each other on with the cry of 'Who shall arrive first, the very first?'

The man, seeing that his children have safely and happily escaped, and knowing that they are free from danger, goes and sits down in the open air on the square of the village, his heart filled with joy and delight, released from trouble and hindrance, quite at ease. The boys go up to the place where their father is sitting, and say: 'Father, give us those toys to play with, those bullock-carts, goat-carts, and deer-carts.' Then, Sariputra, the man gives to his sons, who run swift as the wind, bullock-carts only, made of seven precious substances, provided with benches, hung with a multitude of small bells, lofty, adorned with rare and wonderful jewels, embellished with jewel wreaths, decorated with garlands of flowers, carpeted with cotton mattresses and woollen coverlets, covered with white cloth and silk, having on both sides rosy cushions, yoked with white, very fair and fleet bullocks, led by a multitude of men. To each of his children he gives several bullockcarts of one appearance and one kind, provided with flags, and swift as the wind. That man does so, Sariputra, because being rich, wealthy, and in possession of many treasures and granaries, he rightly thinks: Why should I give these boys inferior carts, all these boys being my own children, dear and precious? I have got such great vehicles, and ought to treat all the boys equally and without partiality. As I own many treasures and granaries, I could give such great vehicles to all beings, how much more then to my own children. Meanwhile the boys are mounting the vehicles with feelings of astonishment and wonder. Now, Sariputra, what is thy opinion? Has that man made himself guilty of a falsehood by first holding out to his children the prospect of three vehicles and afterwards giving to each of them the greatest vehicles only, the most magnificent vehicles?

Sariputra answered: By no means, Lord; by no means, Sugata. That is not sufficient, O Lord, to qualify the man as a speaker of falsehood, since it only was a skilful device to persuade his children to go out of the burning house and save their lives. Nay, besides recovering their very body, O Lord, they have received all those toys. If that man, O Lord, had given no single cart, even then he would not have been a speaker of falsehood, for he had previously been meditating on saving the little boys from a great mass of pain by some able device. Even in this case, O Lord, the man would not have been guilty of falsehood, and far less now that he, considering his having plenty of treasures and prompted by no other motive but the love of his children, gives to all, to coax them, vehicles of one kind, and those the greatest vehicles. That man, Lord, is not guilty of falsehood.

The venerable Siriputra having thus spoken, the Lord said to him: Very well, very well, Sariputra, quite so; it is even as thou sayest. So, too, Sariputra, the Tathagata, etc., is free from all dangers, wholly exempt from all misfortune, despondency, calamity, pain, grief, the thick enveloping dark mists of ignorance. He, the Tathagata, endowed with Buddha-knowledge, forces, absence of hesitation, uncommon properties, and mighty by magical power, is the father of the world, who has reached the highest perfection in the knowledge of skilful means, who is most merciful, long-suffering, benevolent, compassionate. He appears in this triple world, which is like a house the roof and shelter whereof are decayed, (a house) burning by a mass of misery, in order to deliver from affection, hatred, and delusion the beings subject to birth, old age, disease, death, grief, wailing, pain, melancholy, despondency, the dark enveloping mists of ignorance, in order to rouse them to supreme and perfect enlightenment. Once born, he sees how the creatures are burnt, tormented, vexed, distressed by birth, old age, disease, death, grief, wailing, pain, melancholy, despondency; how for the sake of enjoyments, and prompted by sensual desires, they severally suffer various pains. In consequence both of what in this world they are seeking and what they have acquired, they will in a future state suffer various pains, in hell, in the brute creation, in the realm of Yama; suffer such pains as poverty in the world of gods or men, union with hateful persons or things, and separation from the beloved ones. And whilst incessantly whirling in that mass of evils they are sporting, playing, diverting themselves; they do not fear, nor dread, nor are they seized with terror; they do not know, nor mind; they are not startled, do not try to escape, but are enjoying themselves in that triple world which is like unto a burning house, and run hither and thither. Though overwhelmed by that mass of evil, they do not conceive the idea that they must beware of it.

Under such circumstances, Sariputra, the Tathagata reflects thus: Verily, I am the father of these beings; I must save them from this mass of evil, and bestow on them the immense, inconceivable bliss of Buddha-knowledge, wherewith they shall sport, play, and divert themselves, wherein they shall find their rest.

Then, Sariputra, the Tathagata reflects thus: If, in the conviction of my possessing the power of knowledge and magical faculties, I manifest to these beings the knowledue, forces, and absence of hesitation of the Tathagata, without availing myself of some device, these beings will not escape. For they are attached to the pleasures of the five senses, to worldly pleasures; they will not be freed from birth, old age, disease, death, grief, wailing, pain, melancholy, despondency, by which they are burnt, tormented, vexed, distressed. Unless they are forced to leave the triple world which is like a house the shelter and roof whereof is in a blaze, how are they to get acquainted with Buddha-knowledge?

Now, Sariputra, even as that man with powerful arms, without using the strength of his arms, attracts his children out of the burning house by an able device, and afterwards gives them magnificent, great carts, so, Sariputra, the Tathagata, the Arhat, etc., possessed of knowledge and freedom from all hesitation, without using them, in order to attract the creatures out of the triple world which is like a burning house with decayed roof and shelter, shows, by his knowledge of able devices, three vehicles, viz. the vehicle of the disciples, the vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas, and the vehicle of the Bodhisattvas. By means of these three vehicles he attracts the creatures and speaks to them thus: Do not delight in this triple world, which is like a burning house, in these miserable forms, sounds, odours, flavours, and contacts. For in delighting in this triple world ye are burnt, heated, inflamed with the thirst inseparable from the pleasures of the five senses. Fly from this triple world; betake yourselves to the three vehicles: the vehicle of the disciples, the vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas, the vehicle of the Bodhisattvas. I give you my pledge for it, that I shall give you these three vehicles; make an effort to run out of this triple world. And to attract them I say: These vehicles are grand, praised by the Aryas, and provided with most pleasant things; with such you are to sport, play, and divert yourselves in a noble manner. Ye will feel the great delight of the faculties, powers, constituents of Bodhi, meditations, the (eight) degrees of emancipation, self-concentration, and the results of self-concentration, and ye will become greatly happy and cheerful.

Now, Sariputra, the beings who have become wise have faith in the Tathagata, the father of the world, and consequently apply themselves to his commandments. Amongst them there are some who, wishing to follow the dictate of an authoritative voice, apply themselves to the commandment of the Tathagata to acquire the knowledge of the four great truths, for the sake of their own complete Nirvana. These one may say to be those who, coveting the vehicle of the disciples, fly from the triple world, just as some of the boys will fly from that burning house, prompted by a desire of getting a cart yoked with deer. Other beings desirous of the science without a master, of self-restraint and tranquillity, apply themselves to the commandment of the Tatha'gata to learn to understand causes and effects, for the sake of their own complete Nirvana. These one may say to be those who, coveting the vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas, fly from the triple world, just as some of the boys fly from the burning house, prompted by the desire of getting a cart yoked with goats. Others again desirous of the knowledge of the all-knowing, the knowledge of Buddha, the knowledge of the self-born one, the science without a master, apply themselves to the commandment of the Tathagata to learn to understand the knowledge, powers, and freedom from hesitation of the Tathagata, for the sake of the common weal and happiness, out of compassion to the world, for the benefit, weal, and happiness of the world at large, both gods and men, for the sake of the complete Nirvana of all beings. These one may say to be those who, coveting the great vehicle, fly from the triple world. Therefore they are called Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas. They may be likened to those among the boys who have fled from the burning house prompted by the desire of getting a cart yoked with bullocks.

In the same manner, Sariputra, as that man, on seeing his children escaped from the burning house and knowing them safely and happily rescued and out of danger, in the consciousness of his great wealth, gives the boys one single grand cart; so, too, Sariputra, the Tathigata, the Arhat, etc., on seeing many kotis of beings recovered from the triple world, released from sorrow, fear, terror, and calamity, having escaped owing to the command of the Tathagata, delivered from all fears, calamities, and difficulties, and having reached the bliss of Nirvana, so, too, Sariputra, the Tathagata, the Arhat, etc., considering that he possesses great wealth of knowledge, power, and absence of hesitation, and that all beings are his children, leads them by no other vehicle but the Buddha-vehicle to full development. But he does not teach a particular Nirvana for each being; he causes all beings to reach complete Nirvana by means of the complete Nirvana of the Tathigata. And those beings, Sariputra, who are delivered from the triple world, to them the Tathagata gives as toys to amuse themselves with the lofty pleasures of the Aryas, the pleasures of meditation, emancipation, self-concentration, and its results; (toys) all of the same kind. Even as that man, Sariputra, cannot be said to have told a falsehood for having held out to those boys the prospect of three vehicles and given to all of them but one great vehicle, a magnificent vehicle made of seven precious substances, decorated with all sorts of ornaments, a vehicle of one kind, the most egregious of all, so, too, Sariputra, the Tathagata, the Arhat, etc., tells no falsehood when by an able device he first holds forth three vehicles and afterwards leads all to complete Nirvana by the one great vehicle. For the Tathagata, Sariputra, who is rich in treasures and storehouses of abundant knowledge, powers, and absence of hesitation, is able to teach all beings the law which is connected with the knowledge of the all-knowing. In this way, Sariputra, one has to understand how the Tatha'gata by an able device and direction shows but one vehicle, the great vehicle.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

39 A man has an old house, large, but very infirm; its terraces are decaying and the columns rotten at their bases.

40 The windows and balconies are partly ruined, the wall as well as its coverings and plaster decaying; the coping shows rents from age; the thatch is everywhere pierced with holes.

41 It is inhabited by no less than five hundred beings; containing many cells and closets filled with excrements and disgusting.

42 Its roof-rafters are wholly ruined; the walls and partitions crumbling away; kotis of vultures nestle in it, as well as doves, owls, and other birds.

43 There are in every corner dreadful snakes, most venomous and horrible; scorpions and mice of all sorts; it is the abode of very wicked creatures of every description.

44 Further, one may meet in it here and there beings not belonging to the human race. It is defiled with excrement and urine, and teeming with worms, insects, and fire-flies; it resounds from the howling of dogs and jackals.

45 In it are horrible hyenas that are wont to devour human carcasses; many dogs and jackals greedily seeking the matter of corpses.

46 Those animals weak from perpetual hunger go about in several places to feed upon their prey, and quarrelling fill the spot with their cries. Such is that most horrible house.

47 There are also very malign goblins, who violate human corpses; in several spots there are centipedes, huge snakes, and vipers.

48 Those animals creep into all corners, where they make nests to deposit their brood, which is often devoured by the goblins.

49 And when those cruel-minded goblins are satiated with feeding upon the flesh of other creatures, so that their bodies are big, then they commence sharply fighting on the spot.

50 In the wasted retreats are dreadful, malign urchins, some of them measuring one span, others one cubit or two cubits, all nimble in their movements.

51 They are in the habit of seizing dogs by the feet, throwing them upside down upon the floor, pinching their necks and using them ill.

52 There also live yelling ghosts naked, black, wan, tall, and high, who, hungry and in quest of food, are here and there emitting cries of distress.

53 Some have a mouth like a needle, others have a face like a cow's; they are of the size of men or dogs, go with entangled hair, and utter plaintive cries from want of food.

54 Those goblins, ghosts, imps, like vultures, are always looking out through the windows and loopholes, in all directions in search of food.

55 Such is that dreadful house, spacious and high, but very infirm, full of holes, frail and dreary. (Let us suppose that) it is the property of a certain man,

56 And that while he is out of doors the house is reached by a conflagration, so that on a sudden it is wrapt in a blazing mass of fire on every side.

57 The beams and rafters consumed by the fire, the columns and partitions in flame are crackling most dreadfully, whilst goblins and ghosts are yelling.

58 Vultures are driven out by hundreds; urchins withdraw with parched faces; hundreds of mischievous beasts of prey I run, scorched, on every side, crying and shouting.

59 Many poor devils move about, burnt by the fire; while burning they tear one another with the teeth, and bespatter each other with their blood.

60 Hyenas also perish there, in the act of eating one another. The excrements burn, and a loathsome stench spreads in all directions.

61 The centipedes, trying to fly, are devoured by the urchins. The ghosts, with burning hair, hover about, equally vexed with hunger and heat.

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62 In such a state is that awful house, where thousands of flames are breaking out on every side. But the man who is the master of the house looks on from without.

63 And he hears his own children, whose minds are engaged in playing with their toys, in their fondness of which they amuse themselves, as fools do in their ignorance.

64 And as he hears them he quickly steps in to save his children, lest his ignorant children might perish in the flames.

65 He tells them the defect of the house, and says: This, young man of good family, is a miserable house, a dreadful one; the various creatures in it, and this fire to boot, form a series of evils.

66 In it are snakes, mischievous goblins, urchins, and ghosts in great number; hyenas, troops of dogs and jackals, as well as vultures, seeking their prey.

67 Such beings live in this house, which, apart from the fire, is extremely dreadful, and miserable enough; and now comes to it this fire blazing on all sides.

68 The foolish boys, however, though admonished, do not mind their father's words, deluded as they are by their toys; they do not even understand him.

69 Then the man thinks: I am now in anxiety on account of my children. What is the use of my having sons if I lose them? No, they shall not perish by this fire.

70 Instantly a device occurred to his mind: These young (and ignorant) children are fond of toys, and have none just now to play with. Oh, they are so foolish!

71 He then says to them: Listen, my sons, I have carts of different sorts, yoked with deer, goats, and excellent bullocks, lofty, great, and completely furnished.

72 They are outside the house; run out, do with them what you like; for your sake have I caused them to be made. Run out all together, and rejoice to have them.

73 All the boys, on hearing of such carts, exert themselves, immediately rush out hastily, and reach, free from harm, the open air.

74 On seeing that the children have come out, the man betakes himself to the square in the centre of the village, and there from the throne he is sitting on he says: Good people, now I feel at ease.

75 These poor sons of mine, whom I have recovered with difficulty, my own dear twenty young children, were in a dreadful, wretched, horrible house, full of many animals.

76 As it was burning and wrapt in thousands of flames, they were amusing themselves in it with playing, but now I have rescued them all. Therefore I now feel most happy.

77 The children, seeing their father happy, approached him, and said: Dear father, give us, as you have promised', those nice vehicles of three kinds;

78 And make true all that you promised us in the house when saying, 'I will give you three sorts of vehicles.' Do give them; it is now the right time.

79 Now the man (as we have supposed) had a mighty treasure of gold, silver, precious stones, and pearls; he possessed bullion, numerous slaves, domestics, and vehicles of various kinds;

80 Carts made of precious substances, yoked with bullocks, most excellent, with benches and a row of tinkling bells, decorated with umbrellas and flags, and adorned with a network of gems and pearls.

81 They are embellished with gold, and artificial wreaths hanging down here and there; covered all around with excellent cloth and fine white muslin.

82 Those carts are moreover furnished with choice mattresses of fine silk, serving for cushions, and covered with choice carpets showing the images of cranes and swans, and worth thousands of kotis.

83 The carts are yoked with white bullocks, well fed, strong, of great size, very fine, who are tended by numerous persons.

84 Such excellent carts that man gives to all his sons, who, overjoyed and charmed, go and play with them in all directions.

85 In the same manner, Sariputra, I, the great Seer, am the protector and father of all beings, and all creatures who, childlike, are captivated by the pleasures of the triple world, are my sons.

86 This triple world is as dreadful as that house, overwhelmed with a number of evils, entirely inflamed on every side by a hundred different sorts of birth, old age, and disease.

87 But I, who am detached from the triple world and serene, am living in absolute retirement in a wood. This triple world is my domain, and those who in it are suffering from burning heat are my sons.

88 And I told its evils because I had resolved upon saving them, but they would not listen to me, because all of them were ignorant and their hearts attached to the pleasures of sense.

89 Then I employ an able device, and tell them of the three vehicles, so showing them the means of evading the numerous evils of the triple world which are known to me.

90 And those of my sons who adhere to me, who are mighty in the six transcendent faculties (Abhignas) and the triple science, the Pratyekabuddhas, as well as the Bodhisattvas unable to slide back;

91 And those (others) who equally are my sons, to them I just now am showing, by means of this excellent allegory, the single Buddha-vehicle. Receive it; ye shall all become Ginas.

92 It is most excellent and sweet, the most exalted in the world, that knowledge of the Buddhas, the most high among men; it is something sublime and adorable.

93 The powers, meditations, degrees of emancipation and self-concentration by many hundreds of kotis, that is the exalted vehicle in which the sons of Buddha take a never-ending delight.

94 In playing with it they pass days and nights, fortnights, months, seasons, years, intermediate kalpas, nay, thousands of kotis of kalpas.

95 This is the lofty vehicle of jewels which sundry Bodhisattvas and the disciples listening to the Sugata employ to go and sport on the terrace of enlightenment.

96 Know then, Tishya, that there is no second vehicle in this world anywhere to be found, in whatever direction thou shalt search, apart from the device (shown) by the most high among men.

97 Ye are my children, I am your father, who has removed you from pain, from the triple world, from fear and danger, when you had been burning for many kotis of Æons.

98 And I am teaching blessed rest (Nirvana), in. so far as, though you have not yet reached (final) rest, you are delivered from the trouble of the mundane whirl, provided you seek the vehicle of the Buddhas.

99 Any Bodhisattvas here present obey my Buddha-rules. Such is the skilfulness of the Gina that he disciplines many Bodhisattvas.

100 When the creatures in this world delight in low and contemptible pleasures, then the Chief of the world, who always speaks the truth, indicates pain as the (first) great truth.

101 And to those who are ignorant and too simple-minded to discover the root of that pain I lay open the way: 'Awaking of full consciousness, strong desire is the origin of pain.'

102 Always try, unattached, to suppress desire. This is my third truth, that of suppression. It is an infallible means of deliverance; for by practising this method one shall become emancipated.

103 And from what are they emancipated, Sariputra? They are emancipated from chimeras. Yet they are not wholly freed; the Chief declares that they have not yet reached (final and complete) rest in this world.

104 Why is it that I do not pronounce one to be delivered before one's having reached the highest, supreme enlightenment? (Because) such is mywill; I am the ruler of the law, who is born in this world to lead to beatitude.

105 This, Sariputra, is the closing word of my law which now at the last time I pronounce for the weal of the world including the gods. Preach it in all quarters.

106 And if some one speaks to you these words, 'I joyfully accept,' and with signs of utmost reverence receives this Sutra, thou mayst consider that man to be unable to slide back.

107 To believe in this Sutra one must have seen former Tathagatas, paid honour to them, and heard a law similar to this.

108 To believe in my supreme word one must have seen me; thou and the assembly of monks have seen all these Bodhisattvas.

109 This Sutra is apt to puzzle the ignorant, and I do not pronounce it before having penetrated to superior knowledge. Indeed, it is not within the range of the disciples, nor do the Pratyekabuddhas come to it.

110 But thou, Siriputra, hast good will, not to speak of my other disciples here. They will walk in my faith, though each cannot have his individual knowledge.

111 But do not speak of this matter to haughty persons, nor to conceited ones, nor to Yogins who are not self-restrained; for the fools, always revelling in sensual pleasures, might in their blindness scorn the law manifested.

112 Now hear the dire results when one scorns my skilfulness and the Buddha-rules for ever fixed in the world; when one, with sullen brow, scorns the vehicle.

113 Hear the destiny of those who have scorned such a Sutra like this, whether during my lifetime or after my Nirvana, or who have wronged the monks.

114 After having disappeared from amongst men, they shall dwell in the lowest hell (Aviki) during a whole kalpa, and thereafter they shall fall lower and lower, the fools, passing through repeated births for many intermediate kalpas.

115 And when they have vanished from amongst the inhabitants of hell, they shall further descend to the condition of brutes, be even as dogs and jackals, and become a sport to others.

116 Under such circumstances they shall grow blackish of colour, spotted, covered with sores, itchy; moreover, they shall be hairless and feeble, (all) those who have an aversion to my supreme enlightenment.

117 They are ever despised amongst animals; hit by clods or weapons they yell; everywhere they are threatened with sticks, and their bodies are emaciated from hunger and thirst.

118 Sometimes they become camels or asses, carrying loads, and are beaten with whips and sticks; they are constantly occupied with thoughts of eating, the fools who have scorned the Buddharule.

119 At other times they become ugly jackals, half blind and crippled; the helpless creatures are vexed by the village boys, who throw clods and weapons at them.

120 Again shooting off from that place, those fools become animals with bodies of five hundred yoganas, whirling round, dull and lazy.

121 They have no feet, and creep on the belly; to be devoured by many kotis of animals is the dreadful punishment they have to suffer for having scorned a Sutra like this.

122 And whenever they assume a human shape, they are born crippled, maimed, crooked, one-eyed, blind, dull, and low, they having no faith in my Sutra.

123 Nobody keeps their side; a putrid smell is continually issuing from their mouths; an evil spirit has entered the body of those who do not believe in this supreme enlightenment.

124 Needy, obliged to do menial labour, always in another's service, feeble, and subject to many diseases they go about in the world, unprotected.

125 The man whom they happen to serve is unwilling to give them much, and what he gives is soon lost. Such is the fruit of sinfulness.

126 Even the best-prepared medicaments, administered to them by able men, do, under those circumstances, but increase their illness, and the disease has no end.

127 Some commit thefts, affrays, assaults, or acts of hostility, whereas others commit robberies of goods; (all this) befalls the sinner.

128 Never does he behold the Lord of the world, the King of kings ruling the earth, for he is doomed to live at a wrong time, he who scorns my Buddha-rule.

129 Nor does that foolish person listen to the law; he is deaf and senseless; he never finds rest, because he has scorned this enlightenment.

130 During many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Æons equal to the sand of the Ganges he shall be dull and defective; that is the evil result from scorning this Sutra.

131 Hell is his garden (or monastery), a place of misfortune his abode; he is continually living amongst asses, hogs, jackals, and dogs.

132 And when he has assumed a human shape he is to be blind, deaf, and stupid, the servant of another, and always poor.

133 Diseases, myriads of kotis of wounds on the body, scab, itch, scurf, leprosy, blotch, a foul smell are, in that condition, his covering and apparel.

134 His sight is dim to distinguish the real. His anger appears mighty in him, and his passion is most violent; he always delights in animal wombs.

135 Were I to go on, Sariputra, for a whole Æon, enumerating the evils of him who shall scorn my Sutra, I should not come to an end.

136 And since I am fully aware of it, I command thee, Sariputra, that thou shalt not expound a Sutra like this before foolish people.

137 But those who are sensible, instructed, thoughtful, clever, and learned, who strive after the highest supreme enlightenment, to them expound its real meaning.

138 Those who have seen many kotis of Buddhas, planted immeasurably many roots of goodness, and undertaken a strong vow, to them expound its real meaning.

139 Those who, full of energy and ever kindhearted, have a long time been developing the feeling of kindness, have given up body and life, in their presence thou mayst preach this Sutra.

140 Those who show mutual love and respect, keep no intercourse with ignorant people, and are content to live in mountain caverns, to them expound this hallowed Sutra.

141 If thou see sons of Buddha who attach themselves to virtuous friends and avoid bad friends, then reveal to them this Sutra.

142 Those sons of Buddha who have not broken the moral vows, are pure like gems and jewels, and devoted to the study of the great Sutras, before those thou mayst propound this Sutra.

143 Those who are not irascible, ever sincere, full of compassion for all living beings, and respectful towards the Sugata, before those thou mayst propound this Sutra.

144 To one who in the congregation, without any hesitation and distraction of mind, speaks to expound the law, with many myriads of kotis of illustrations, thou mayst manifest this Sutra.

145 And he who, desirous of acquiring all-knowingness, respectfully lifts his joined hands to his head, or who seeks in all directions to find some monk of sacred eloquence;

146 And he who keeps (in memory) the great Ritras, while he never shows any liking for other books, nor even knows a

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single stanza from another work; to all of them thou mayst expound this sublime Sutra.

147 He who seeks such an excellent Sutra as this, and after obtaining it devoutly worships it, is like the man who wears a relic of the Tathagata he has eagerly sought for.

148 Never mind other Satras nor other books in which a profane philosophy is taught; such books are fit for the foolish; avoid them and preach this Sutra.

149 During a full Æon, Sariputra, I could speak of thousands of kotis of (connected) points, (but this suffices); thou mayst reveal this Sutra to all who are striving after the highest supreme enlightenment.

LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 4

Disposition.

As the venerable Subhuti, the venerable MahaKatyayana, the venerable Maha-Kasyapa, and the venerable Maha-Maudgalyayana heard this law unheard of before, and as from the mouth of the Lord they heard the future destiny of Sariputra to superior perfect enlightenment, they were struck with wonder, amazement, and rapture. They instantly rose from their seats and went up to the place where the Lord was sitting; after throwing their cloak over one shoulder, fixing the right knee on the ground and lifting up their joined hands before the Lord, looking up to him, their bodies bent, bent down and inclined, they addressed the Lord in this strain:

Lord, we are old, aged, advanced in years; honoured as seniors in this assemblage of monks. Worn out by old age we fancy that we have attained Nirvana; we make no efforts, O Lord, for supreme perfect enlightenment; our force and exertion are inadequate to it. Though the Lord preaches the law and has long continued sitting, and though we have attended to that preaching of the law, yet, O Lord, as we have so long been sitting and so long attended the Lord's service, our greater and minor members, as well as the joints and articulations, begin to ache. Hence, O Lord, we are unable, in spite of the Lord's preaching, to realise the fact that all is vanity (or void), purposeless (or causeless, or unconditioned), and unfixed; we have conceived no longing after the Buddha-laws, the divisions of the Buddha-fields, the sports [or display of magical phenomena] of the Bodhisattvas or Tathagatas. For by having fled out of the triple world, O Lord, we imagined having attained Nirvana, and we are decrepit from old age. Hence, O Lord, though we have exhorted other Bodhisattvas and instructed them in supreme perfect enlightenment, we have in doing so never conceived a single thought of longing. And just now, O Lord, we are hearing from the Lord that disciples also may be predestined to supreme perfect enlightenment. We are astonished and amazed, and deem it a great gain, O Lord, that to-day, on a sudden, we have heard from the Lord a voice such as we never heard before. We have acquired a magnificent jewel, O Lord, an incomparable jewel. We had not sought, nor searched, nor expected, nor required so magnificent a jewel. It has become clear to us, O Lord; it has become clear to us, O Sugata.

It is a case, O Lord, as if a certain man went away from his father and betook himself to some other place. He lives there in foreign parts for many years, twenty or thirty or forty or fifty. In course of time the one (the father) becomes a great man; the other (the son) is poor; in seeking a livelihood for the sake of food and clothing he roams in all directions and goes to some place, whereas his father removes to another country. The latter has much wealth, gold, corn, treasures, and granaries; possesses much (wrought) gold and silver, many gems, pearls, lapis lazuli, conch shells, and stones(?), corals, gold and silver; many slaves male and female, servants for menial work. and journeymen; is rich in elephants, horses, carriages, cows, and sheep. He keeps a large retinue; has his money invested in great territories, and does great things in business, money-lending, agriculture, and commerce.

In course of time, Lord, that poor man, in quest of food and clothing, roaming through villages, towns, boroughs, provinces, kingdoms, and royal capitals, reaches the place where his father, the owner of much wealth and gold, treasures and granaries, is residing. Now the poor man's father, Lord, the owner of much wealth and gold, treasures and granaries, who was residing in that town, had always and ever been thinking of the son he had lost fifty years ago, but he gave no utterance to his thoughts before others, and was only pining in himself and thinking: I am old, aged, advanced in years, and possess abundance of bullion, gold, money and corn, treasures and granaries, but have no son. It is to be feared lest death shall overtake me and all this perish unused. Repeatedly he was thinking of that son: O how happy should I be, were my son to enjoy this mass of wealth!

Meanwhile, Lord, the poor man in search of food and clothing was gradually approaching the house of the rich man, the owner of abundant bullion, gold, money and corn, treasures and granaries. And the father of the poor man happened to sit at the door of his house, surrounded and waited upon by a great crowd of Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras; he was sitting on a magnificent throne with a footstool decorated with gold and silver, while dealing with hundred thousands of kotis of gold-pieces, and fanned with a chowrie, on a spot under an extended awning inlaid with pearls and flowers and adorned with hanging garlands of jewels; sitting (in short) in great pomp. The poor man, Lord, saw his own father in such pomp sitting at the door of the house, surrounded with a great crowd of people and doing a householder's business. The poor man frightened, terrified, alarmed, seized with a feeling of horripilation all over the body, and agitated in mind, reflects thus: Unexpectedly have I here fallen in with a king or grandee. People like me have nothing to do here; let me go; in the street of the poor I am likely to find food and clothing without much difficulty. Let me no longer tarry at this place, lest I be taken to do forced labour or incur some other injury.

Thereupon, Lord, the poor man quickly departs, runs off, does not tarry from fear of a series of supposed dangers. But the rich man, sitting on the throne at the door of his mansion, has recognised his son at first sight, in consequence whereof he is content, in high spirits, charmed, delighted, filled with joy and cheerfulness. He thinks: Wonderful! he who is to enjoy this plenty of bullion, gold, money and corn, treasures and granaries, has been found! He of whom I have been thinking again and again, is here now that I am old, aged, advanced in years.

At the same time, moment, and instant, Lord, he despatches couriers, to whom he says: Go, sirs, and quickly fetch me that man. The fellows thereon all run forth in full speed and overtake the poor man, who, frightened, terrified, alarmed, seized with a feeling of horripilation all over his body, agitated in mind, utters a lamentable cry of distress, screams, and exclaims: I have given you no offence. But the fellows drag the poor man, however lamenting, violently with them. He, frightened, terrified, alarmed, seized with a feeling of horripilation all over his body, and agitated in mind, thinks by himself: I fear lest I shall be punished with capital punishment; I am lost. He faints away, and falls on the earth. His father dismayed and near despondency says to those fellows: Do not carry the man in that manner. With these words he sprinkles him with cold water without addressing him any further. For that householder knows the poor man's humble disposition I and his own elevated position; yet he feels that the man is his son.

The householder, Lord, skilfully conceals from every one that it is his son. He calls one of his servants and says to him: Go, sirrah, and tell that poor man: Go, sirrah, whither thou likest; thou art free. The servant obeys, approaches the poor man and tells him: Go, sirrah, whither thou likest; thou art free, The poor man is astonished and amazed at hearing these words; he leaves that spot and wanders to the street of the poor in search of food and clothing. In order to attract him the householder practises an able device. He employs for it two men ill-favoured and of little splendour. Go, says he, go to the man you saw in this place; hire him in your own name for a double daily fee, and order him to do work here in my house. And if he asks: What - work shall I have to do? tell him: Help us in clearing the heap of dirt. The two fellows go and seek the poor man and engage him for such work as mentioned. Thereupon the two fellows conjointly with the poor man clear the heap of dirt in the house for the daily pay they receive from the rich man, while they take up their abode in a hovel of straw in the neighbourhood of the rich man's dwelling. And that rich man beholds through a window his own son clearing the heap of dirt, at which sight he is anew struck with wonder and astonishment.

Then the householder descends from his mansion, lays off his wreath and ornaments, parts with his soft, clean, and gorgeous attire, puts on dirty raiment, takes a basket in his right hand, smears his body with dust, and goes to his son, whom he greets from afar, and thus addresses: Please, take the baskets and without delay remove the dust. By this device he manages to speak to his son, to have a talk with him and say: Do, sirrah, remain here in my service; do not go again to another place; I will give thee extra pay, and whatever thou wantest thou mayst confidently ask me, be it the price of a pot, a smaller pot, a boiler or wood, or be it the price of salt, food, or clothing. I have got an old cloak, man; if thou shouldst want it, ask me for it, I will give it. Any utensil of such sort, when thou wantest to have it, I will give thee. Be at ease, fellow; look upon me as if I were thy father, for I am older and thou art younger, and thou hast rendered me much service by clearing this heap of dirt, and as long as thou hast been in my service thou hast never shown nor art showing wickedness, crookedness, arrogance, or hypocrisy; I have discovered in thee no vice at all of such as are commonly seen in other man-servants. From henceforward thou art to me like my own son.

From that time, Lord, the householder, addresses the poor man by the name of son, and the latter feels in presence of the householder as a son to his father. In this manner, Lord, the householder affected with longing for his son employs him for the clearing of the heap of dirt during twenty years, at the end of which the poor man feels quite at ease in the mansion to go in and out, though he continues taking his abode in the hovel of straw.

After a while, Lord, the householder falls sick, and feels that the time of his death is near at hand. He says to the poor man: Come hither, man, I possess abundant bullion, gold, money and corn, treasures and granaries. I am very sick, and wish to have one upon whom to bestow (my wealth); by whom it is to be received, and with whom it is to be deposited. Accept it. For in the same manner as I am the owner of it, so art thou, but thou shalt not suffer anything of it to be wasted.

And so, Lord, the poor man accepts the abundant bullion, gold, money and corn, treasures and granaries of the rich man, but for himself he is quite indifferent to it, and requires nothing from it, not even so much as the price of a prastha of flour; he continues living in the same hovel of straw and considers himself as poor as before.

After a while, Lord, the householder perceives that his son is able to save, mature and mentally developed; that in the consciousness of his nobility he feels abashed, ashamed, disousted, when thinking of his former poverty. The time of his death approaching, he sends for the poor man, presents him to a gathering of his relations, and before the king or king's peer and in the presence of citizens and country-people makes the following speech: Hear, gentlemen! this is my own son, by me begotten. It is now fifty years that he disappeared from such and such a town. He is called so and so, and myself am called so and so. In searching after him I have from that town come hither. He is my son, I am his father. To him I leave all my revenues, and all my personal (or private) wealth shall he acknowledge (his own).

The poor man, Lord, hearing this speech was astonished and amazed; he thought by himself: Unexpectedly have I obtained this bullion, gold, money and corn, treasures and granaries.

Even so, O Lord, do we represent the sons of the Tathagata, and the Tathagata says to us: Ye are my sons, as the householder did. We were oppressed, O Lord, with three difficulties, viz. the difficulty of pain, the difficulty of conceptions, the difficulty of transition (or evolution); and in the worldly whirl we were disposed to what is low. Then have we been prompted by the Lord to ponder on the numerous inferior laws (or conditions, things) that are similar to a heap of dirt. Once directed to them we have been practising, making efforts, and seeking for nothing but Nirvana as our fee. We were content, O Lord, with the Nirvana obtained, and thought to have gained much at the hands of the Tathagata because of our having applied ourselves to these laws, practised, and made efforts. But the Lord takes no notice of us, does not mix with us, nor tell us that this treasure of the Tathagata's knowledge shall belong to us, though the Lord skilfully appoints us as heirs to this treasure of the knowledge of the Tathagata. And we, O Lord, are not (impatiently) longing to enjoy it, because we deem it a great gain already to receive from the Lord Nirvana as our fee. We preach to the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas a sublime sermon about the knowledge of the Tathagata; we explain, show, demonstrate the knowledge of the Tathagata, O Lord, without longing. For the Tathagata by his skilfulness knows our disposition, whereas we ourselves do not know, nor apprehend. It is for this very reason that the Lord just now tells us that we are to him as sons, and that he reminds us of being heirs to the Tathagata. For the case stands thus: we are as sons to the Tathagata, but low (or humble) of disposition; the Lord perceives the strength of our disposition and applies to us the denomination of Bodhisattvas; we are, however, charged with a double office in so far as in presence of Bodhisattvas we are called persons of low disposition and at the same time have to rouse them to Buddha-enlightenment. Knowing the strength of our disposition the Lord has thus spoken, and in this way, O Lord, do we say that we have obtained unexpectedly and without longing the jewel of omniscience, which we did not desire, nor seek, nor search after, nor expect, nor require; and that inasmuch as we are the sons of the Tathagata.

On that occasion the venerable Maha-Kasyapa uttered the following stanzas:

1 We are stricken with wonder, amazement, and rapture at hearing a Voice; it is the lovely voice, the leader's voice, that so unexpectedly we hear to-day.

2 In a short moment we have acquired a great heap of precious jewels such as we were not thinking of, nor requiring. All of us are astonished to hear it.

3 It is like (the history of) a young, person who, seduced by foolish people, went away from his father and wandered to another country far distant.

4 The father was sorry to perceive that his son had run away and in his sorrow roamed the country in all directions during no less than fifty years.

5 In search of his son he came to some great city, where he built a house and dwelt, blessed with all that can gratify the five senses.

6 He had plenty of bullion and gold, money and corn, conch shells, stones (?), and coral; elephants, horses, and footboys; cows, cattle, and sheep;

7 Interests, revenues, landed properties; male and female slaves and a great number of servants; was highly honoured by thousands of kolis and a constant favourite of the king's.

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8 The citizens bow to him with joined hands, as well as the villagers in the rural districts; many merchants come to him, (and) persons charged with numerous affairs.

9 In such way the man becomes wealthy, but he gets old, aged, advanced in years, and he passes days and nights always sorrowful in mind on account of his son.

10 'It is fifty years since that foolish son has run away. I have got plenty of wealth and the hour of my death draws near.'

11 Meanwhile that foolish son is wandering from village to villave, poor and miserable, seeking food and clothing.

12 When begging, he at one time gets something, another time he does not. He grows lean in his travels, the unwise boy, while his body is vitiated with scabs and itch.

13 In course of time he in his rovings reaches the town where his father is living, and comes to his father's mansion to beg for food and raiment.

14 And the wealthy, rich man happens to sit at the door on a throne under a canopy expanded in the sky and surrounded with many hundreds of living beings.

15 His trustees stand round him, some of them counting money and bullion, some writing bills, some lending money on interest.

16 The poor man, seeing the splendid mansion of the householder, thinks within himself: Where am I here? This man must be a king or a grandee.

17 Let me not incur some injury and be caught to do forced labour. With these reflections he hurried away inquiring after the road to the street of the poor.

18 The rich man on the throne is glad to see his own son, and despatches messengers with the order to fetch that poor man.

19 The messengers immediately seize the man, but he is no sooner caught than he faints away (as he thinks): These are certainly executioners who have approached me; what do I want clothing or food?

20 On seeing it, the rich, sagacious man (thinks): This ignorant and stupid person is of low disposition and will have no faith in my magnificence', nor believe that I am his father.

21 Under those circumstances he orders persons of low character, crooked, one-eyed, maimed, ill-clad, and blackish 1, to go and search that man who shall do menial work.

22 'Enter my service and cleanse the putrid heap of dirt, replete with faeces and urine; I will give thee a double salary' (are the words of the message).

23 On hearing this call the poor man comes and cleanses the said spot; be takes up his abode there in a hovel near the mansion.

24 The rich man continually observes him through the windows (and thinks): There is my son engaged in a low occupation, cleansing the heap of dirt.

25 Then he descends, takes a basket, puts on dirty garments, and goes near the man. He chides him, saying: Thou dost not perform thy work.

26 I will give thee double salary and twice more ointment for the feet; I will give thee food with salt, potherbs, and, besides, a cloak.

27 So he chides him at the time, but afterwards he wisely conciliates him (by saying): Thou dost thy work very well, indeed; thou art my son, surely; there is no doubt of it.

28 Little by little he makes the man enter the house, and employs him in his service for fully twenty years, in the course of which time he succeeds in inspiring him with confidence.

29 At the same time he lays up in the house gold, pearls, and crystal, draws up the sum total, and is always occupied in his mind with all that property.

30 The ignorant man, who is living outside the mansion, alone in a hovel, cherishes no other ideas but of poverty, and thinks to himself: Mine are no such possessions!

31 The rich man perceiving this of him (thinks): My son has arrived at the consciousness of being noble. He calls together a gathering of his friends and relatives (and says): I will give all my property to this man.

32 In the midst of the assembly where the king, burghers, citizens, and many merchantmen were present, he speaks thus: This is my son whom I lost a long time ago.

33 It is now fully fifty years-and twenty years more during which I have seen him-that he disappeared from such and such a place and that in his search I came to this place.

34 He is owner of all my property; to him I leave it all and entirely; let him do with it what he wants; I give him my whole family property.

35 And the (poor) man is struck with surprise; remembering his former poverty, his low disposition 1, and as he receives those good things of his father's and the family property, he thinks: Now am I a happy man.

36 In like manner has the leader, who knows our low disposition (or position), not declared to us: 'Ye shall become Buddhas,' but, 'Ye are, certainly, my disciples and sons.'

37 And the Lord of the world enjoins us: Teach, Kasyapa, the superior path to those that strive to attain the highest summit of enlightenment, the path by following which they are to become Buddhas.

38 Being thus ordered by the Sugata, we show the path to many Bodhisattvas of great might, by means of myriads of kolis of illustrations and proofs.

39 And by hearing us the sons of Gina realise that eminent path to attain enlightenment, and in that case receive the prediction that they are to become Buddhas in this world.

40 Such is the work we are doing strenuously, preserving this law-treasure and revealing it to the sons of Gina, in the manner of that man who had deserved the confidence of that (other man).

41 Yet, though we diffuse the Buddha-treasure we feel ourselves to be poor; we do not require the knowledge of the Gina, and yet, at the same time, we reveal it.

42 We fancy an individual [i.e. separate] Nirvana; so far, no further does our knowledge reach; nor do we ever rejoice at hearing of the divisions of Buddha-fields.

43 All these laws are faultless, unshaken, exempt from destruction and commencement; but there is no law-' in them. When we hear this, however, we cannot believe.

44 We have put aside all aspiration to superior Buddha-knowledge a long time ago; never have we devoted ourselves to it. This is the last and decisive word spoken by the Gina.

45 In this bodily existence, closing with Nirvana, we have continually accustomed our thoughts to the void; we have been released from the evils of the triple world we were suffering from, and have accomplished the command of the Gina.

46 To whom(soever) among the sons of Gina who in this world are on the road to superior enlightenment we revealed (the law), and whatever law we taught, we never had any predilection for it.

47 And the Master of the world, the Self-born one, takes no notice of us, waiting his time; he does not explain the real connection of the things, as he is testing our disposition.

48 Able in applying devices at the right time, like that rich man (he says): 'Be constant in subduing your low disposition,' and to those who are subdued he gives his wealth.

49 It is a very difficult task which the Lord of the world is performing, (a task) in which he displays his skilfulness, when he tames his sons of low disposition and thereupon imparts to them his knowledge.

50 On a sudden have we to-day been seized with surprise, just as the poor man who acquired riches; now for the first time have we obtained the fruit under the rule of Buddha, (a fruit) as excellent as faultless.

51 As we have always observed the moral precepts under the rule of the Knower of the world, we now receive the fruit of that morality which we have formerly practised.

52 Now have we obtained the egregious, hallowed, exalted, and perfect fruit of our having observed an excellent and pure spiritual life under the rule of the Leader.

53 Now, O Lord, are we disciples, and we shall proclaim supreme enlightenment everywhere, reveal the word of enlightenment, by which we are formidable disciples.

54 Now have we become Arhats, O Lord; and deserving of the worship of the world, including the gods, Maras and Brahmas, in short, of all beings.

55 Who is there, even were he to exert himself during kotis of Æons, able to thwart thee, who accomplishes in this world of mortals such difficult things as those, and others even more difficult I?

56 It would be difficult to offer resistance with hands, feet, head, shoulder, or breast, (even were one to try) during as many complete Æons as there are grains of sand in the Ganges.

57 One may charitably give food, soft and solid, clothing, drink, a place for sleeping and sitting, with clean coverlets; one may build monasteries of sandal-wood, and after furnishing them with double pieces of fine white muslin, present them;

58 One may be assiduous in giving medicines of various kinds to the sick, in honour of the Sugata; one may spend alms during as many Æons as there are grains of sand in the Ganges-even then one will not be able to offer resistance.

59 Of sublime nature, unequalled power, miraculous might, firm in the strength of patience is the Buddha; a great ruler is the Gina, free from imperfections. The ignorant cannot bear (or understand) such things as these.

60 Always returning, he preaches the law to those whose course (of life) is conditioned, he, the Lord of the law, the Lord of all the world, the great Lord, the Chief among the leaders of the world.

61 Fully aware of the circumstances (or places) of (all) beings he indicates their duties, so multifarious, and considering the variety of their dispositions he inculcates the law with thousands of arguments.

62 He, the Tathagata, who is fully aware of the course of all beings and individuals, preaches a multifarious law, while pointing to this superior enlightenment.

LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 5

On Plants.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the venerable Maha-Kasyapa and the other senior great disciples, and said: Very well, very well, Kasyapa; you have done very well to proclaim the real qualities of the Tathagata. They are the real qualities of the Tathagata, Kasyapa, but he has many more, innumerable, incalculable, the end of which it would be difficult to reach, even were one to continue enumerating them for immeasurable Æons. The Tathagata, Kasyapa, is the master of the law, the king, lord, and master of all laws. And whatever law for any case has been instituted by the Tathagata, remains unchanged. All laws, Kasyapa, have been aptly instituted by the Tathagata. In his Tathagata-wisdom he has instituted them in such a manner that all those laws finally lead to the stage of those who know all. The Tathagata also distinctly knows the meaning of all laws. The Tathagata, the Arhat, etc. is possessed of the faculty of penetrating all laws, possessed of the highest perfection of knowledge, so that he is able to decide all laws, able to display the knowledge of the allknowing, impart the knowledge of the all-knowing, and lay down (the rules of) the knowledge of the all-knowing.

It is a case, Kasyapa, similar to that of a great cloud big with rain, coming up in this wide universe over all grasses, shrubs, herbs, trees of various species and kind, families of plants of different names growing on earth, on hills, or in mountain caves, a cloud covering the wide universe to pour down its rain everywhere and at the same time. Then, Kasyapa, the grasses, shrubs, herbs, and wild trees in this universe, such as have young and tender stalks, twigs, leaves, and foliage, and such as have middle-sized stalks, twigs, leaves, and foliage, and such as have the same fully developed, all those grasses, shrubs, herbs, and wild trees, smaller and greater (other) trees will each, according to its faculty and power, suck the humid element from the water emitted by that great cloud, and by that water which, all of one essence, has been abundantly poured down by the cloud, they will each, according to its germ, acquire a regular development, growth, shooting up, and bigness; and so they will produce blossoms and fruits, and will receive, each severally, their names. Rooted in one and the same soil, all those families of plants and germs are drenched and vivified by water of one essence throughout.

In the same manner, Kasyapa, does the Tathagata, the Arhat, etc. appear in the world. Like unto a great cloud coming up, the Tathagata appears and sends forth his call to the whole world, including gods, men, and demons'. And even as a great cloud, Kasyapa, extending over the whole universe, in like manner, Kasyapa, the Tathagata, the Arhat, etc., before the face of the world, including gods, men, and demons, lifts his voice and utters these words: I am the Tathagata, O ye gods and men! the Arhat, the perfectly enlightened one; having reached the shore myself, I carry others to the shore; being free, I make free; being comforted, I comfort; being perfectly at rest, I lead others to rest. By my perfect wisdom I know both this world and the next, such as they really are. I am all-knowing, all-seeing. Come to me, ye gods and men! hear the law. I am he who indicates the path; who shows the path, as knowing the path, being acquainted with the path. Then, Kasyapa, many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of beings come to hear the law of the Tathagata; and the Tathagata, who knows the difference as to the faculties and the energy of those beings, produces various Dharmaparyayas, tells many tales, amusing, agreeable, both instructive and pleasant, tales by means of which all beings not only become pleased with the law in this present life, but also after death will reach happy states, where they are to enjoy many pleasures and hear the law. By listening to the law they will be freed from hindrances and in due course apply themselves to the law of the all-knowing, according to their faculty, power, and strength.

Even as the great cloud, Kasyapa, after expanding over the whole universe, pours out the same water and recreates by it all grasses, shrubs, herbs, and trees; even as all these grasses, shrubs, herbs, and trees, according to their faculty, power, and strength, suck in the water and thereby attain the full development assigned to their kind; in like manner, Kasyapa, is the law preached by the Tathagata, the Arhat, etc., of one and the same essence, that is to say, the essence of it is deliverance, the final aim being absence of passion, annihilation, knowledge of the all-knowing. As to that, Kasyapa, (it must be understood) that the beings who hear the law when it is preached by the Tathagata, who keep it in their memory and apply themselves to it, do not know, nor perceive, nor understand their own self. For, Kasyapa, the Tathagata only really knows who, how, and of what kind those beings are; what, how, and whereby they are meditating; what, how, and whereby they are contemplating; what, why, and whereby they are attaining. No one but the Tathagata, Kasyapa, is there present, seeing all intuitively, and seeing the state of those beings in different stages, as of the lowest, highest, and mean grasses, shrubs, herbs, and trees. I am he, Kasyapa, who, knowing the law which is of but one essence, viz. the essence of deliverance, (the law) ever peaceful, ending in Nirvana, (the law) of eternal rest, having but one stage and placed in voidness, (who knowing this) do not on a sudden reveal to all the knowledge of the all-knowing, since I pay regard to the dispositions of all beings.

You are astonished, Kasyapa, that you cannot fathom the mystery expounded by the Tathagata. It is, Kasyapa, because

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the mystery expounded by the Tathagatas, the Arhats, etc. is difficult to be understood.

And on that occasion, the more fully to explain the same subject, the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

1 I am the Dharmaraga, born in the world as the destroyer of existence. I declare the law to all beings after discriminating their dispositions.

2 Superior men of wise understanding guard the word, guard the mystery, and do not reveal it to living beings.

3 That science is difficult to be understood; the simple, if hearing it on a sudden, would be perplexed; they would in their ignorance fall out of the way and go astray.

4 I speak according to their reach and faculty; by means of various meanings I accommodate my view (or the theory).

5 It is, Kasyapa, as if a cloud rising above the horizon shrouds all space (in darkness) and covers the earth.

6 That great rain-cloud big with water, is wreathed with flashes of lightning and rouses with its thundering call all creatures.

7 By warding off the sunbeams, it cools the region; and gradually lowering so as to come in reach of hands, it begins pouring down its water all around.

8 And so, flashing on every side, it pours out an abundant mass of water equally, and refreshes this earth.

9 And all herbs which have sprung up on the face of the earth, all grasses, shrubs, forest trees, other trees small and great;

10 The various field fruits and whatever is green; all plants on hills, in caves and thickets;

11 All those grasses, shrubs, and trees are vivified by the cloud that both refreshes the thirsty earth and waters the herbs.

12 Grasses and shrubs absorb the water of one essence which issues from the cloud according to their faculty and reach.

13 And all trees, great, small, and mean, drink that water according to their growth and faculty, and grow lustily.

14 The great plants whose trunk, stalk, bark, twigs, pith, and leaves are moistened by the water from the cloud develop their blossoms and fruits.

15 They yield their products, each according to its own faculty, reach, and the particular nature of the germ; still the water emitted (from the cloud) is of but one essence.

16 In the same way, Kasyapa, the Buddha comes into the world like a rain-cloud, and, once born, he, the world's Lord, speaks and shows the real course of life.

17 And the great Seer, honoured in the world, including the gods, speaks thus: I am the Tathagata, the highest of men, the Gina; I have appeared in this world like a cloud.

18 I shall refresh all beings whose bodies are withered, who are clogged to the triple world. I shall bring to felicity those that are pining away with toils, give them pleasures and (final) rest.

19 Hearken to me, ye hosts of gods and men; approach to behold me: I am the Tathagata, the Lord, who has no superior, who appears in this world to save.

20 To thousands of kotis of living beings I preach a pure and most bright law that has but one scope, to wit, deliverance and rest.

21 I preach with ever the same voice, constantly taking enlightenment as my text. For this is equal for all; no partiality is in it, neither hatred nor affection.

22 I am inexorable, bear no love nor hatred towards any one, and proclaim the law to all creatures without distinction, to the one as well as the other.

23 Whether walking, standing, or sitting, I am exclusively occupied with this task of proclaiming the law. I never get tired of sitting on the chair I have ascended.

24 I recreate the whole world like a cloud shedding its water without distinction; I have the same feelings for respectable people as for the low; for moral persons as for the immoral;

25 For the depraved as for those who observe the rules of good conduct; for those who hold sectarian views and unsound tenets as for those whose views are sound and correct.

26 I preach the law to the inferior (in mental culture) as well as to persons of superior understanding and extraordinary faculties; inaccessible to weariness, I spread in season the rain of the law.

27 After hearing me, each according to his faculty, the several beings find their determined place in various situations, amongst gods, men, beautiful beings, amongst Indras, Brahmas, or the monarchs, rulers of the universe.

28 Hear, now, I am going to explain what is meant by those plants of different size, some of them being low in the world, others middle-sized and great.

29 Small plants are called the men who walk in the knowledge of the law, which is free from evil after the attaining of Nirvana, who possess the six transcendent faculties and the triple science.

30 Mean plants are called the men who, dwelling in mountain caverns, covet the state of a Pratyekabuddha, and whose intelligence is moderately purified.

31 Those who aspire to become leading men (thinking), I will become a Buddha, a chief of gods and men, and who practise exertion and meditation, are called the highest plants.

32 But the sons of Sugata, who sedulously practise benevolence and a peaceful conduct, who have arrived at certainty about their being leading men, these are called trees.

33 Those who move forward the wheel that never rolls back, and with manly strength stand firm in the exercise of miraculous power, releasing many kolis of beings, those are called great trees.

34 Yet it is one and the same law which is preached by the Gina, like the water emitted by the cloud is one and the same; different only are the faculties as described, just as the plants on the face of the earth.

35 By this parable thou mayst understand the skilfulness of the Tathagata, how he preaches one law, the various developments whereof may be likened to drops of rain.

36 I also pour out rain: the rain of the law by which this whole world is refreshed; and each according to his faculty takes to heart this wellspoken law that is one in its essence.

37 Even as all grasses and shrubs, as well as plants of middle size, trees and great trees at the time of rain look bright in all quarters;

38 So it is the very nature of the law to promote the everlasting weal of the world; by the law the whole world is recreated, and as the plants (when refreshed) expand their blossoms, the world does the same when refreshed.

39 The plants that in their growth remain middle-sized, are Arhats (saints) stopping when they have overcome frailties, (and) the Pratyekabuddhas who, living in woody thickets, accomplish this well-spoken law.

40 (But) the many Bodhisattvas who, thoughtful and wise, go their way all over the triple world, striving after supreme enlightenment, they continue increasing in growth like trees.

41 Those who, endowed with magical powers and being adepts in the four degrees of meditation, feel delight at hearing of complete voidness and emit thousands of rays, they are called the great trees on earth.

42 So then, Kasyapa, is the preaching of the law, like the water poured out by the cloud everywhere alike; by which plants and men(?) thrive, endless (and eternal) blossoms (are produced).

43 I reveal the law which has its cause in itself; at due time I show Buddha-enlightenment; this is my supreme skilfulness and that of all leaders of the world.

44 What I here say is true in the highest sense of the word; all my disciples attain Nirvana; by following the sublime path of enlightenment all my disciples shall become Buddhas.

And further, Kasyapa, the Tathagata, in his educating creatures, is equal (i.e. impartial) and not unequal (i. e. partial). As the light of the sun and moon, Kasyapa, shines upon all the world, upon the virtuous and the wicked, upon high and low, upon the fragrant and the ill-smelling; as their beams are sent down upon everything equally, without inequality (partiality); so, too, Kasyapa, the intellectual light of the knowledge of the omniscient, the Tathagatas, the Arhats, etc., the preaching of the true law proceeds equally in respect to all beings in the five states of existence, to all who according to their particular disposition are devoted to the great vehicle, or to the vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas, or to the vehicle of the disciples. Nor is there any deficiency or excess in the brightness of the Tathagataknowledge up to one's becoming fully acquainted with the law. There are not three vehicles, Kasyapa; there are but beings who act differently; therefore it is declared that there are three vehicles.

When the Lord had thus spoken, the venerable Maha-Kasyapa said to him: Lord, if there are not three vehicles, for what reason then is the designation of disciples (Sravakas), Buddhas, and Bodhisattvas kept up in the present times?

On this speech the Lord answered the venerable Maha-Kasyapa as follows: It is, Kasyapa, as if a potter made different vessels out of the same clay. Some of those pots are to contain sugar, others ghee, others curds and milk; others, of inferior quality, are vessels of impurity. There is no diversity in the clay used; no, the diversity of the pots is only due to the substances which are put into each of them. In like manner, Kasyapa, is there but one vehicle, viz. the Buddha-vehicle; there is no second vehicle, no third.

The Lord having thus spoken, the venerable Maha-Kasyapa said: Lord, if the beings are of different disposition, will there be for those who have left the triple world one Nirvana, or two, or three? The Lord replied: Nirvana, Kasyapa, is a consequence of understanding that all laws (things) are equal. Hence there is but one Nirvana, not two, not three. Therefore, Kasyapa, I will tell thee a parable, for men of good understanding will generally readily enough catch the meaning of what is taught under the shape of a parable.

It is a case, Kasyapa, similar to that of a certain blind-born man, who says: There are no handsome or ugly shapes; there are no men able to see handsome or ugly shapes; there exists no sun nor moon; there are no asterisms nor planets; there are no men able to see planets. But other persons say to the blind-born: There are handsome and ugly shapes; there are men able to see handsome and ugly shapes; there is a sun and moon; there are asterisms and planets; there are men able to see planets. But the blind-born does not believe them, nor accept what they say. Now there is a physician who knows all diseases. He sees that blind-born man and makes to himself this reflection: The disease of this man originates in his sinful actions in former times. All diseases possible to arise are fourfold: rheumatical, cholerical, phlegmatical, and caused by a complication of the (corrupted) humours. The physician, after thinking again and again on a means to cure the disease, makes to himself this reflection: Surely, with the drugs in common use it is impossible to cure this disease, but there are in the Himalaya, the king of mountains, four herbs, to wit: first, one called Possessed-of-all-sorts-of-colours-and-flavours; second, Delivering-from-all-diseases; third, Delivering-from-all-poisons; fourth, Procuring-happiness-to-those-standing-in-the-right-place. As the physician feels compassion for the blind-born man he contrives some device to get to the Himalaya, the king of mountains. There he goes up and down and across to search. In doing so he finds the four herbs. One he gives after chewing it with the teeth; another after pounding; another after having it mixed with another drug and boiled; another after having it mixed with a raw drug; another after piercing with a lancet somewhere a vein; another after singeing it in fire; another after combining it with various other substances so as to enter in a compound potion, food, etc. Owing to these means being applied the blindborn recovers his eyesight, and in consequence of that recovery he sees outwardly and inwardly, far and near, the shine of sun and moon, the asterisms, planets, and all phenomena. Then he says: O how foolish was I that I did not believe what they told me, nor accepted what they affirmed. Now I see all; I am delivered from my blindness and have recovered my eyesight; there is none in the world who could surpass me. And at the same moment Seers of the five transcendent faculties [the five senses], strong in the divine sight and hearing, in the knowledge of others' minds, in the memory of former abodes, in magical science and intuition, speak to the man thus: Good man, thou hast just recovered thine eyesight, nothing more, and dost not know yet anything. Whence comes this conceitedness to thee? Thou hast no wisdom, nor art thou a clever man. Further they say to him: Good man, when sitting in the interior of thy room, thou canst not see nor distinguish forms outside, nor discern which beings are animated with kind feelings and which with hostile feelings; thou canst not distinguish nor hear at the distance of five yoganas the voice of a man or the sound of a drum, conch trumpet, and the like; thou canst not even walk as far as a kos without lifting up thy feet; thou hast been produced and developed in thy mother's womb without remembering the fact; how then wouldst thou be clever, and how canst thou say: I see all? Good man, thou takest darkness for light, and takest light for darkness.

Whereupon the Seers are asked by the man: By what means and by what good work shall I acquire such wisdom and with your favour acquire those good qualities (or virtues)? And the Seers say to that man: If that be thy wish, go and live in the wilderness or take thine abode in mountain caves, to meditate on the law and cast off evil passions. So shalt thou become endowed with the virtues of an ascetic and acquire the transcendent faculties. The man catches their meaning and becomes an ascetic. Living in the wilderness, the mind intent upon one sole object, he shakes off worldly desires, and acquires the five transcendent faculties. After that acquisition he reflects thus: Formerly I did not do the right thing; hence no good accrued to me. Now, however, I can go whither my mind prompts me; formerly I was ignorant, of little understanding, in fact, a blind man.

Such, Kasyapa, is the parable I have invented to make thee understand my meaning. The moral to be drawn from it is as follows. The word 'blindborn,' Kasyapa, is a designation for the creatures staying in the whirl of the world with its six states; the creatures who do not know the true law and are heaping up the thick darkness of evil passions. Those are blind from ignorance, and in consequence of it they build up conceptions; in consequence of the latter name-and-form, and so forth, up to the genesis of this whole huge mass of evils.

So the creatures blind from ignorance remain in the whirl of life, but the Tathagata, who is out of the triple world, feels compassion, prompted by which, like a father for his dear and only son, he appears in the triple world and sees with his eye of wisdom that the creatures are revolving in the circle of the mundane whirl, and are toiling without finding the right means to escape from the rotation. And on seeing this he comes to the conclusion: Yon beings, according to the good works they have done in former states, have feeble aversions and strong attachments; (or) feeble attachments and strong aversions; some have little wisdom, others are clever; some have soundly developed views, others have unsound views. To all of them the Tathagata skilfully shows three vehicles.

The Seers in the parable, those possessing the five transcendent faculties and clear-sight, are the Bodhisattvas who produce enlightened thought, and by the acquirement of acquiescence in the eternal law awake us to supreme, perfect enlightenment.

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The great physician in the parable is the Tathagata. To the blind-born may be likened the creatures blind with infatuation. Attachment, aversion, and infatuation are likened to rheum, bile, and phlegm. The sixty-two false theories also must be looked upon as such (i. e. as doshas, 'humours and corrupted humours of the body,' 'faults and corruptions'). The four herbs are like vanity (or voidness), causelessness (or purposelessness), unfixedness, and reaching Nirvana. Just as by using different drugs different diseases are healed, so by developing the idea of vanity (or voidness), purposelessness, unfixedness, (which are) the principles of emancipation, is ignorance suppressed; the suppression of ignorance is succeeded by the suppression of conceptions (or fancies); and so forth, up to the suppression of the whole huge mass of evils. And thus one's mind will dwell no more on good nor on evil.

To the man who recovers his eyesight is likened the votary of the vehicle of the disciples and of Pratyekabuddhas. He rends the ties of evil passion in the whirl of the world; freed from those ties he is released from the triple world with its six states of existence. Therefore the votary of the vehicle of the disciples may think and speak thus: There are no more laws to be penetrated; I have reached Nirvana. Then the Tathagata preaches to him: How can he who has not penetrated all laws have reached Nirvana? The Lord rouses him to enlightenment, and the disciple, when the consciousness of enlightenment has been awakened in him, no longer stays in the mundane whirl, but at the same time has not yet reached Nirvana. As he has arrived at true insight, he looks upon this triple world in every direction as void, resembling the produce of magic, similar to a dream, a mirage, an echo. He sees that all laws (and phenomena) are unborn and undestroyed, not bound and not loose, not dark and not bright. He who views the profound laws in such a light, sees, as if he were not seeing, the whole triple world full of beings of contrary and omnifarious fancies and dispositions.

And on that occasion, in order to more amply explain the same subject, the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

45 As the rays of the sun and moon descend alike on all men, good and bad, without deficiency (in one case) or surplus (in the other);

46 So the wisdom of the Tathagata shines like the sun and moon, leading all beings without partiality.

47 As the potter, making clay vessels, produces from the same clay pots for sugar, milk, ghee, or water;

48 Some for impurities, others for curdled milk, the clay used by the artificer for the vessels being of but one sort;

49 As a vessel is made to receive all its distinguishing qualities according to the quality of the substance laid into it, so the Tathagatas, on account of the diversity of taste,

50 Mention a diversity of vehicles, though the Buddha-vehicle be the only indisputable one. He who ignores the rotation of mundane existence, has no perception of blessed rest;

51 But he who understands that all laws are void and without reality (and without individual character) penetrates the enlightenment of the perfectly enlightened Lords in its very essence.

52 One who occupies a middle position of wisdom is called a Pratyekagina (i. e. Pratyekabuddha); one lacking the insight of voidness is termed a disciple.

53 But after understanding all laws one is called a perfectly-enlightened one; such a one is assiduous in preaching the law to living beings by means of hundreds of devices.

54 It is as if some blind-born man, because he sees no sun, moon, planets, and stars, in his blind ignorance (should say): There are no visible things at all.

55 But a great physician taking compassion on the blind man, goes to the Himalaya, where (seeking) across, up and down,

56 He fetches from the mountain four plants; the herb Of-all-colours-flavours-and-cases, and others. These he intends to apply.

57 He applies them in this manner: one he gives to the blind man after chewing it, another after pounding, again another by introducing it with the point of a needle into the man's body.

58 The man having got his eyesight, sees the sun, moon, planets, and stars, and arrives at the conclusion that it was from sheer ignorance that he spoke thus as he had formerly done.

59 In the same way do people of great ignorance, blind from their birth, move in the turmoil of the world, because they do not know the wheel of causes and effects, the path of toils.

60 In the world so blinded by ignorance appears the highest of those who know all, the Tathagata, the great physician, of compassionate nature.

61 As an able teacher he shows the true law; he reveals supreme Buddha-enlightenment to him who is most advanced.

62 To those of middling wisdom the Leader preaches a middling enlightenment; again another enlightenment he recommends to him who is afraid of the mundane whirl.

63 The disciple who by his discrimination has escaped from the triple world thinks he has reached pure, blest Nirvana, but it is only by knowing all laws (and the universal laws) that the immortal Nirvana is reached.

64 In that case it is as if the great Seers, moved by compassion, said to him: Thou art mistaken; do not be proud of thy knowledge.

65 When thou art in the interior of thy room, thou canst not perceive what is going on without, fool as thou art.

66 Thou who, when staying within, dost not perceive even now what people outside are doing or not doing, how wouldst thou be wise, fool as thou art?

67 Thou art not able to hear a sound at a distance of but five yoganas, far less at a greater distance.

68 Thou canst not discern who are malevolent or benevolent towards thee. Whence then comes that pride to thee?

69 If thou hast to walk so far as a kos, thou canst not go without a beaten track; and what happened to thee when in thy mother's womb thou hast immediately forgotten.

70 In this world he is called all-knowing who possesses the five transcendent faculties, but when thou who knowest nothing pretendest to be allknowing, it is an effect of infatuation.

71 If thou art desirous of omniscience, direct thy attention to transcendent wisdom; then betake thy self to the wilderness and meditate on the pure law; by it thou shalt acquire the transcendent faculties.

72 The man catches the meaning, goes to the wilderness, meditates with the greatest attention, and, as he is endowed with good qualities, ere long acquires the five transcendent faculties.

73 Similarly all disciples fancy having reached Nirvana, but the Gina instructs them (by saying): This is a (temporary) repose, no final rest.

74 It is an artifice of the Buddhas to enunciate this dogma. There is no (real) Nirvana without all-knowingness; try to reach this.

75 The boundless knowledge of the three paths (of time), the six utmost perfections (Paramitas), voidness, the absence of purpose (or object), the absence of finiteness;

76 The idea of enlightenment and the other laws leading to Nirvana, both such as are mixed with imperfection and such as are exempt from it, such as are tranquil and comparable to ethereal space;

77 The four Brahmaviharas and the four Sangrahas, as well as the laws sanctioned by eminent sages for the education of creatures;

78 (He who knows these things) and that all phenomena have the nature of illusion and dreams, that they are pithless as the stem of the plantain, and similar to an echo;

79 And who knows that the triple world throughout is of that nature, not fast and not looge, he knows rest.

80 He who considers all laws to be alike, void, devoid of particularity and individuality, not derived from an intelligent cause; nay, who discerns that nothingness is law;

81 Such a one has great wisdom and sees the whole of the law entirely. There are no three vehicles by any means; there is but one vehicle in this world.

82 All laws (or the laws of all) are alike, equal, for all, and ever alike. Knowing this, one understands immortal blest Nirvana.

LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 6

Announcement Of Future Destiny.

After pronouncing these stanzas the Lord addressed the complete assembly of monks: I announce to you, monks, I make known to you that the monk Kasyapa, my disciple, here present, shall do homage to thirty thousand kotis of Buddhas; shall respect, honour, and worship them; and shall keep the true law of those Lords and Buddhas. In his last bodily existence in the world Avabhasa (i. e. lustre), in the age (Æon) Mahavyuha (i.e. great division) he shall be a Tathagata, an Arhat, etc. etc., by the name of Rasmiprabhasa (i.e. beaming with rays). His lifetime shall last twelve intermediate kalpas, and his true law twenty intermediate kalpas; the counterfeit of his true law shall last as many intermediate kalpas. His Buddha-field will be pure, clean, devoid of stones, grit, gravel; of pits and precipices; devoid of gutters and dirty pools; even, pretty, beautiful, and pleasant to see; consisting of lapis lazuli, adorned with jewel-trees, and looking like a checker-board with eight compartments set off with gold threads. It will be strewed with flowers, and many hundred thousand Bodhisattvas are to appear in it. As to disciples, there will be innumerable hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of them. Neither Mara the evil one, nor his host will be discoverable in it, though Mara and his followers shall afterwards be there; for they will apply themselves to receive the true law under the command of that very Lord Rasmiprabhasa.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

1 With my Buddha-eye, monks, I see that the senior Kasyapa here shall become a Buddha at a future epoch, in an incalculable Æon, after he shall have paid homage to the most high of men.

2 This Kasyapa shall see fully thirty thousand kotis of Ginas, under whom he shall lead a spiritual life for the sake of Buddha-knowledge.

3 After having paid homage to those highest of men and acquired that supreme knowledge, he shall in his last bodily existence be a Lord of the world, a matchless, great Seer.

4 And his field will be magnificent, excellent, pure, goodly, beautiful, pretty, nice, ever delightful, and set off with gold threads.

5 That field, monks, (appearing like) a board divided into eight compartments, will have several jewel-trees, one in each compartment, from which issues a delicious odour.

6 It will be adorned with plenty of flowers, and embellished with variegated blossoms; in it are no pits nor precipices; it is even, goodly, beautiful.

7 There will be found hundreds of kotis of Bodhisattvas, subdued of mind and of great; magical power, mighty keepers of Sutrantas of great extension.

8 As to disciples, faultless, princes of the law, standing in their last period of life, their number can never be known, even if one should go on counting for Æons, and that with the aid of divine knowledge.

9 He himself shall stay twelve intermediate kalpas, and his true law twenty complete Æons; the counterfeit is to continue as many Æons, in the domain of Rasmiprabhasa.

Thereupon the venerable senior Maha-Maudgalyayana, the venerable Subhuti, and the venerable Maha-Katyayana, their bodies trembling, gazed up to the Lord with unblenching eyes, and at the same moment severally uttered, in mental concert, the following stanzas :

10 O hallowed one (Arhat), great hero, Sakya-lion, most high of men! out of compassion to us speak the Buddha-word.

11 The highest of men, the Gina, he who knows the fatal term, will, as it were, sprinkle us with nectar by predicting our destiny also.

12 (It is as if) a certain man, in time of famine, comes and gets good food, but to whom, when the food is already in his hands, they say that he should wait.

13 Similarly it was with us, who after minding the lower vehicle, at the calamitous conjuncture of a bad time, were longing for Buddha-knowledge.

14 But the perfectly-enlightened great Seer has not yet favoured us with a prediction (of our destiny), as if he would say: Do not eat the food that has been put into your hand.

15 Quite so, O hero, we were longing as we heard the exalted voice (and thought): Then shall we be at rest [And felicitous, blest, beatified (nirvritra)], when we shall have received a prediction.

16 Utter a prediction, O great hero, so benevolent and merciful! let there be an end of our feeling of poverty!

And the Lord, who in his mind apprehended the thoughts arising in the minds of those great senior disciples, again addressed the complete assembly of monks: This great disciple of mine, monks, the senior Subhuti, shall likewise pay homage to thirty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddhas; shall show them respect, honour, reverence, veneration, and worship. Under them shall he lead a spiritual life and achieve enlightenment. After the performance of such duties shall he, in his last bodily existence, become a Tathagata in the world, an Arhat, etc. etc., by the name of Sasiketu [moon-signal].

His Buddha-field will be called Ratnasambhava and his epoch Ratnaprabhasa. And that Buddha-field will be even, beautiful, crystalline, variegated with jewel-trees, devoid of pits and precipices, devoid of sewers, nice, covered with flowers. And there will men have their abode in palaces (or towers) given them for their use. In it will be many disciples, innumerable, so that it would be impossible to terminate the calculation. Many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas also will be there. The lifetime of that Lord is to last twelve intermediate kalpas; his true law is to continue twenty intermediate kalpas, and its counterfeit as many. That Lord will, while standing poised in the firmament [Properly, standing as a great meteor], preach the law to the monks, and educate many thousands of Bodhisattvas and disciples.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

17 I have something to announce monks, something to make known; listen then to me: The senior Subhuti, my disciple, shall in days to come be a Buddha.

18 After having seen of most mighty Buddhas thirty myriads of kotis in full, he shall enter upon the straight course to obtain this knowledge.

19 In his last bodily existence shall the hero, possessed of the thirty-two distinctive signs, become a great Seer, similar to a column of gold, beneficial and bounteous to the world.

20 The field where that friend of the world shall save myriads of kotis of living beings will be most beautiful, pretty, and delightful to people at large.

21 In it will be many Bodhisattvas to turn the wheel that never rolls back (or never deviates); endowed with keen

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faculties they will, under that Gina, be the ornaments of the Buddha-field.

22 His disciples are so numerous as to pass calculation and measure; gifted with the six transcendent faculties, the triple science and magic power; firm in the eight emancipations.

23 His magic power, while he reveals supreme enlightenment, is inconceivable. Gods and men, as numerous as the sands of the Ganges, will always reverentially salute him with joined hands.

24 He shall stay twelve intermediate kalpas; the true law of that most high of men is to last twenty intermediate kalpas and the counterfeit of it as many.

Again the Lord addressed the complete assembly of monks: I announce to you, monks, I make known that the senior Maha-Katyayana here present, my disciple, shall pay homage to eight thousand kotis of Buddhas; shall show them respect, honour, reverence, veneration, and worship; at the expiration of those Tathagatas he shall build Stupas, a thousand yoganas in height, fifty yoganas in circumference, and consisting of seven precious substances, to wit, gold, silver, lapis lazuli, crystal, red pearl, emerald, and, seventhly, coral. Those Stupas he shall worship with flowers, incense, perfumed wreaths, ointments, powder, robes, umbrellas, banners, flags, triumphal streamers. Afterwards he shall again pay a similar homage to twenty kotis of Buddhas; show them respect, honour, reverence, veneration, and worship. Then in his last bodily existence, his last corporeal appearance, he shall be a Tathagata in the world, an Arhat, etc. etc., named Gambunada-prabhasa (i.e. gold-shine), endowed with science and conduct, etc. His Buddha-field will be thoroughly pure, even, nice, pretty, beautiful, crystalline, variegated with jeweltrees, interlaced with gold threads, strewed with flowers, free from beings of the brute creation, hell, and the host of demons, replete with numerous men and gods, adorned with many hundred thousand disciples and many hundred thousand Bodhisattvas. The measure of his lifetime shall be twelve intermediate kalpas; his true law shall continue twenty intermediate kalpas and its counterfeit as many.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

25 Listen all to me, ye monks, since I am going to utter an infallible word . Katyayana here, the senior, my disciple, shall render worship to the Leaders.

26 He shall show veneration of various kinds and in many ways to the Leaders, after whose expiration he shall build Stupas, worshipping them with flowers and perfumes.

27 In his last bodily existence he shall be a Gina, in a thoroughly pure field, and after acquiring full knowledge he shall preach to a thousand kotis of living beings.

28 He shall be a mighty Buddha and illuminator, highly honoured in this world, including the gods, under the name of Gambunada-prabhasa, and save kotis of gods and men.

29 Many Bodhisattvas as well as disciples, beyond measure and calculation, will in that field adorn the reign of that Buddha, all of them freed from existence and exempt from existence.

Again the Lord addressed the complete assembly of monks: I announce to you, monks, I make known, that the senior Maha-Maudgalyayana here present, my disciple, shall propitiate twenty-eight thousand Buddhas and pay those Lords homage of various kinds; he shall show them respect, etc., and after their expiration build Stupas consisting of seven precious substances, to wit, gold, silver, lapis lazuli, crystal, red pearl, emerald, and, seventhly, coral; (Stupas) a thousand yoganas in height and five hundred yoganas in circumference, which Stilpas he shall worship in different ways, with flowers, incense, perfumed wreaths, ointments, powder, robes, umbrellas, banners, flags, and triumphal streamers.

Afterwards he shall again pay a similar worship to twenty hundred thousand kotis of Buddhas; he shall show respect, etc., and in his last bodily existence become in the world a Tathagata, etc., named Tamalapatrakandanagandha, endowed with science and conduct, etc. The field of that Buddha will be called Manobhirama; his period Ratipratipurna. And that Buddha-field will be even, nice, pretty, beautiful, crystalline, variegated with jewel-trees, strewn with detached flowers, replete with gods and men, frequented by hundred thousands of Seers, that is to say, disciples and Bodhisattvas. The measure of his lifetime shall be twenty-four intermediate kalpas; his true law is to last forty intermediate kalpas and its counterfeit as many.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

30 The scion of the Mudgala-race, my disciple here, after leaving human existence shall see twenty thousand mighty Ginas and eight (thousand) more of these faultless beings.

31 Under them he shall follow a course of duty, trying to reach Buddha-knowledge; he shall pay homage in various ways to those Leaders and to the most high of men.

32 After keeping their true law, of wide reach and sublime, for thousands of kotis of Æons, he shall at the expiration of those, Sugatas worship their Stupas.

33 In honour of those most high Ginas, those mighty beings I so beneficial to the world, he shall erect Stupas consisting of precious substances, and decorated with triumphal streamers, worshipping them with flowers, perfumes, and the sounds of music.

34 At the period of his last bodily existence he shall, in a nice and beautiful field, be a Buddha bounteous and compassionate to the world, under the name of Tamalapatrakandanagandha.

35 The measure of that Sugata's life shall be fully twenty-four intermediate kalpas, during which he shall be assiduous in declaring the Buddha-rule to men and gods.

36 That Gina shall have many thousands of kotis of disciples, innumerable as the sands of the Ganges, gifted with the six transcendent faculties and the triple science, and possessed of magic power, under the command of that Sugata.

37 Under the reign of that Sugata there shall also appear numerous Bodhisattvas, many thousands of them, unable to slide back (or to deviate), developing zeal, of extensive knowledge and studious habits.

38 After that Gina's expiration his true law shall measure in time twenty-four intermediate kalpas in full; its counterfeit shall have the same measure.

39 These are my five mighty disciples whom I have destined to supreme enlightenment and to become in future self-born Ginas; now hear from me their course. [In this chapter only four disciples are mentioned; the fifth must be Sariputra, whose destination has been predicted before].

LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 7

Ancient Devotion.

Of yore, monks, in the past, incalculable, more than incalculable, inconceivable, immense, measureless Æons since, nay, at a period, an epoch far beyond, there appeared in the world a Tathagata, etc., named Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, endowed with science and conduct, a Sugata, etc. etc., in the sphere Sambhava (i. e. origin, genesis), in the period Maharupa. (You ask), monks, how long ago is it that the Tathagata was born? Well, suppose some man was to reduce to powder the whole mass of the earth element as much as is to be found in this whole universe; that after taking one atom of dust from this world he is to walk a thousand worlds farther in easterly direction to deposit that single atom; that after taking a second atom of dust and walking a thousand worlds farther he deposits that second atom, and proceeding in this way at last gets the whole of the earth element deposited in eastern direction. Now, monks, what do you think of it, is it possible by calculation to find the end or limit of these worlds? They answered: Certainly not, Lord; certainly not, Sugata. The Lord said: On the contrary, monks, some arithmetician or master of arithmetic might, indeed, be able by calculation to find the end or limit of the worlds, both those where the atoms have been deposited and where they have not, but it is impossible by applying the rules of arithmetic to find the limit of those hundred thousands of myriads of Æons, so long, so inconceivable, so immense is the number of Æons which have elapsed since the expiration of that Lord, the Tathagata Mahabhignagnanabhibhu. Yet, monks, I perfectly remember that Tathagata who has been extinct for so long a time, as if he had reached extinction to-day or yesterday, because of my possessing the mighty knowledge and sight of the Tathagata.

And on that occasion the Lord pronounced the following stanzas:

1 I remember the great Seer Abhignagnanabhibhu, the most high of men, who existed many kotis of Æons ago as the superior Gina of the period.

2 If, for example, some men after reducing this universe to atoms of dust took one atom to deposit it a thousand regions farther on;

3 If he deposited a second, a third atom, and so proceeded until he had done with the whole mass of dust, so that this world were empty and the mass of dust exhausted;

4 To that immense mass of the dust of these worlds, entirely reduced to atoms, I liken the number of Æons past.

5 So immense is the number of kotis of Æons past since that extinct Sugata; the whole of (existing) atoms is no (adequate) expression of it; so many are the Æons which have expired since.

6 That Leader who has expired so long ago, those disciples and Bodhisattvas, I remember all of them as if it were to-day or yesterday. Such is the knowledge of the Tathagatas.

7 So endless, monks, is the knowledge of the Tathagata; I know what has taken place many hundreds of Æons ago, by my precise and faultless memory.

To proceed, monks, the measure of the lifetime of the Tathagata Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Arhat, etc. was fifty-four hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Æons.

In the beginning when the Lord had not yet reached supreme, perfect enlightenment and had just occupied the summit of the terrace of enlightenment, he discomfited and defeated the whole host of Mara, after which he thought: I am to reach perfect enlightenment. But those laws (of perfect enlightenment) had not yet dawned upon him. He stayed on the terrace of enlightenment at the foot of the tree of enlightenment during one intermediate kalpa. He stayed there a second, a third intermediate kalpa, but did not yet attain supreme, perfect enlightenment. He remained a fourth, a fifth, a sixth, a seventh, an eighth, a ninth, a tenth intermediate kalpa on the terrace of enlightenment at the foot of the tree of enlightenment, continuing sitting cross-legged without in the meanwhile rising. He stayed, the mind motionless, the body unstirring and untrembling, but those laws had not yet dawned upon him.

Now, monks, while the Lord was just on the summit of the terrace of enlightenment, the gods of Paradise (Trayastrimsas) prepared him a magnificent royal throne, a hundred yoganas high, on occupying which the Lord attained supreme, perfect enlightenment; and no sooner had the Lord occupied the seat of enlightenment than the Brahmakayika gods scattered a rain of flowers all around the seat of enlightenment over a distance of a hundred yoganas; in the sky they let loose storms by which the flowers, withered, were swept away. From the beginning of the rain of flowers, while the Lord was sitting on the seat of enlightenment, it poured without interruption during fully ten intermediate kalpas, covering the Lord. That rain of flowers having once begun falling continued to the moment of the Lord's complete Nirvana. The angels belonging to the division of the four guardians of the cardinal points made the celestial drums of the gods resound; they made them resound without interruption in honour of the Lord who had attained the summit of the terrace of enlightenment. Thereafter, during fully ten intermediate kalpas, they made uninterruptedly resound those celestial musical instruments up to the moment of the complete extinction of the Lord.

Again, monks, after the lapse of ten intermediate kalpas the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., reached supreme, perfect enlightenment. Immediately on knowing his having become enlightened the sixteen sons born to that Lord when a prince royal, the eldest of whom was named Gnanakara-which sixteen young princes, monks, had severally toys to play with, variegated and pretty-those sixteen princes, I repeat, monks, left their toys, their amusements, and since they knew that the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., had attained supreme, perfect knowledge, went, surrounded and attended by their weeping mothers and nurses, along with the noble, rich king Kakravartin, many ministers, and hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of living beings, to the place where the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., was seated on the summit of the terrace of enlightenment. They went up to the Lord in order to honour, respect, worship, revere, and venerate him, saluted his feet with their heads, made three turns round him keeping him to the right, lifted up their joined hands, and praised the Lord, face to face, with the following stanzas:

8 Thou art the great physician, having no superior, rendered perfect in endless Æons. Thy benign wish of saving all mortals (from darkness) has to-day been fulfilled.

9 Most difficult things hast thou achieved during the ten intermediate kalpas now past; thou hast been sitting all that time without once moving thy body, hand, foot, or any other part.

10 Thy mind also was tranquil and steady, motionless, never to be shaken; thou knewest no distraction;thou art completely quiet and faultless.

11 Joy with thee! that thou so happily and safely, without any hurt, hast reached supreme enlightenment. How great a fortune is ours! we congratulate ourselves, O Lion amongst kings!

12 These unhappy creatures, vexed in all ways, deprived of eyes, as it were, and joyless, do not find the road leading to the end of toils, nor develop energy for the sake of deliverance.

13 Dangers are for a long time on the increase and the laws (or phenomena, things) are deprived of the (possession of a) celestial body; the word of the Gina is not being heard; the whole world is plunged in thick darkness.

14 But to-day (or now) hast thou, Majesty of the world, reached this hallowed, high, and faultless spot; we as well as the world are obliged to thee, and approach to seek our refuge with thee, O Protector!

When, O monks, those sixteen princes in the condition of boys, childlike and young, had with such stanzas celebrated the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., they urged the Lord to move on the wheel of the law: Preach the law, O Lord; preach the law, O Sugata, for the weal of the public, the happiness of the public, out of compassion for the world; for the benefit, weal, and happiness of the people generally, both of gods and men. And on that occasion they uttered the following stanzas:

15 Preach the law, O thou who art marked with a hundred auspicious signs, O Leader, O incomparable great Seer! thou hast attained exalted, sublime knowledge; let it shine in the world, including the gods.

16 Release us as well as these creatures; display the knowledge of the Tathagatas, that we also and, further, these beings may obtain this supreme enlightenment.

17 Thou knowest every course (of duty) and knowledge; thou knowest the (mental and moral) disposition and the

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good works done in a former state; the (natural) bent of all living beings. Move on the most exalted, sublime wheel!

Then, monks, as the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., reached supreme, perfect enlightenment, fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of spheres in each of the ten directions of space were shaken in six different ways and became illumined with a great lustre. And in the intervals between all those spheres, in the dreary places of dark gloom, where even the sun and moon, so powerful, mighty, and splendid, have no advantage of the shining power they are endowed with, have no advantage of the colour and brightness they possess, even in those places a great lustre arose instantly. And the beings who appeared in those intervals behold each other, acknowledge each other, (and exclaim): Lo, there are other beings also here appearing! lo, there are other beings also here appearing! The palaces and aerial cars of the gods in all those spheres up to the Brahma-world shook in six different ways and became illumined with a great lustre, surpassing the divine majesty of the gods. So then, monks, a great earthquake and a great, sublime lustre arose simultaneously. And the aerial cars of the Brahma-angels to the east, in these fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of spheres, began excessively to glitter, glow, and sparkle in splendo,ur and glory. And those Brahma-angels made this reflection: What may be foreboded by these aerial cars so excessively glittering, glowing, and sparkling in splendour and glory? Thereupon, monks, the Brahma-angels in the fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of spheres went all to each other's abodes and communicated the matter to one another. After that, monks, the great Brahma-angel, named Sarvasattvatratri (i.e. Saviour of all beings), addressed the numerous host of Brahma-angels in the following stanzas:

18 Our aerial cars to-day (or now) are all bristling with rays in an extraordinary degree, and blazing in beautiful splendour and brilliancy. What may be the cause of it?

19 Come, let us investigate the matter, what divine being has to-day sprung into existence, whose power, such as was never seen before, here now appears?

20 Or should it be the Buddha, the king of kings, who to-day has been born somewhere in the world, and whose birth is announced by such a token that all the points of the horizon are now blazing in splendour?

Thereupon, monks, the great Brahma-angels in the fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of spheres mounted all together their own divine aerial cars, took with them divine bags, as large as Mount Sumeru, with celestial flowers, and went through the four quarters successively until they arrived at the western quarter, where those great Brahma-angels, O monks, stationed in the western quarter, saw the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., on the summit of the exalted terrace of enlightenment, seated on the royal throne at the foot of the tree of enlightenment, surrounded and attended by gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, while his sons, the sixteen young princes, were urging him to move forward the wheel of the law. On seeing which the Brahma-angels came up to the Lord, saluted his feet with their heads, walked many hundred thousand times round him from left to right, strewing (flowers) and overwhclming both him and the tree of enlightenment, over a distance of ten yoganas, with those flower-bags as large as Mount Sumeru. After that they presented to the Lord their aerial cars (with the words): Accept, O Lord, these aerial cars out of compassion to us; use, O Sugata, those cars out of compassion to us.

On that occasion, monks, after presenting their own cars to the Lord, the Brahma-angels celebrated the Lord, face to face, with the following seasonable stanzas:

21 A (or the) wonderful, matchless Gina, so beneficial and merciful, has arisen in the world. Thou art born a protector, a ruler (and teacher), a master; to-day all quarters are blessed.

22 We have come as far as fully fifty thousand kotis of worlds from here to humbly salute the Gina by surrendering our lofty acriel cars all together.

23 We possess these variegated and bright cars, owing to previous works; accept them to oblige us, and make use of them to thine heart's content, O Knower of the world!

After the great Brahma-angels, monks, had celebrated the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., face to face, with these seasonable stanzas, they besought him, saying: May the Lord move forward the wheel of the law! May the Lord preach final rest! May the Lord release all beings! Be favourable, O Lord, to this world! Preach the law, O Lord, to this world, including gods, Maras, and Brahma-angels; to all people, including ascetics and Brahmans, gods, men, and demons! It will tend to the weal of the public, to the happiness of the public; out of mercy to the world, for the benefit and happiness of the people at large, both gods and men.

Thereupon, monks, those fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Brahma-angels addressed the Lord, with one voice, in common chorus, with the following stanza:

24 Show the law, O Lord; show it, O most high of men! Show the power of thy kindness; save the tormented beings.

25 Rare is the light of the world like the blossom of the glomerated fig-tree. Thou hast arisen, O great Hero; we pray to thee, the Tathagata.

And the Lord, O monks, silently intimated his assent to the Brahma-angels.

Somewhat later, monks, the aerial cars of the Brahma-angels in the south-eastern quarter in the fifty hundred thousand myriads of spheres began excessively to glitter, glow, and sparkle in splendour and glory. And those Brahma-angels made this reflection: What may be foreboded by these aerial cars so excessively glittering, glowing, and sparkling in splendour and glory? Thereupon, monks, the Brahma-angels in the fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of spheres went all to each other's abodes and communicated the matter to one another. After that, monks, the great Brahma-angel, named Adhimatrakarunika (i.e. exceedingly compassionate), addressed the numerous host of Brahma-angels with the following stanzas:

26 What foretoken is it we see to-day (or now), friends? Who or what is foreboded by the celestial cars shining with such uncommon glory?

27 May, perhaps, some blessed divine being have come hither, by whose power all these aerial cars are illumined?

28 Or may the Buddha, the most high of men, have appeared in this world, that by his power these celestial cars are in such a condition as we see them?

29 Let us all together go and search; no trifle can be the cause of it; such a foretoken, indeed, was never seen before.

30 Come, let us go and visit kotis of fields, along the four quarters; a Buddha will certainly now have made his appearance in this world.

Thereupon, monks, the great Brahma-angels in the fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of spheres mounted all together their own divine aerial cars, took with them divine bags, as large as Mount Sumeru, with celestial flowers, and went through the four quarters successively until they arrived at the north-western quarteir, where those great Brahma-angels, stationed in the north-western quarter, saw the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu [etc., as above till compassion to us].

On that occasion, monks, after presenting their own cars to the Lord the Brahma-angels celebrated the Lord, face to face, with the following seasonable stanzas:

31 Homage to thee, matchless great Seer, chief god of gods, whose -voice is sweet as the lark's'. Leader in the world, including the gods, I salute thee, who art so benign and bounteous to the world.

32 How wonderful, O Lord, is it that after so long a time thou appearest in the world. Eighty hundred complete Æons this world of the living was without Buddha'.

33 It was deprived of the most high of men; hell was prevailing and the celestial bodies constantly went on waning during eighty hundred complete Æons.

34 But now he has appeared, owing to our good works, who is (our) eye, refuge, resting-place, protection, father, and kinsman; he, the benign and bounteous one, the King of the law.

After the great Brahma-angels, monks, had celebrated the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., face to face, with these seasonable stanzas: they besought him: May the Lord move forward the wheel of the law! [as above till both gods and men.]

Thereupon, monks, those fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Brahma-angels addressed the Lord, with one voice, in common chorus, with the following stanzas:

35 Move forward the exalted wheel, O great ascetic! reveal the law in all directions; deliver all beings oppressed with suffering; produce amongst mortals gladness and joy!

36 Let them by hearing the law partake of enlightenment and reach divine places. Let all shake off their demon body and be peaceful, meek, and at ease.

And the Lord, O monks, silently intimated his assent to these Brahma-angels also.

Somewhat later, monks, the aerial cars of the Brahma-angels in the southern quarter [etc., as above till to one another]. After that, monks, the great Brahma-angel, named Sudharma, addressed the numerous host of Brahma-angels in stanzas:

37 It cannot be without cause or reason, friends, that to-day (or now) all these celestial cars are so brilliant; this bespeaks some portent somewhere in the world. Come, let us go and investigate the matter.

38 No such portent has appeared in hundreds of Æons past. Either some god has been born or a Buddha has arisen in this world.

Thereupon, monks, the great Brahma-angels in the fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of spheres mounted [etc., as above till compassion to us].

On that occasion, monks, after presenting their own cars to the Lord, the Brahma-angels celebrated the Lord, face to face, with the following seasonable stanza:

39 Most rare (and precious) is the sight of the Leaders. Be welcome, thou dispeller of worldly defilement. It is after a long time that thou now appearest in the world; after hundreds of complete Æons one (now) beholds thee.

40 Refresh the thirsty creatures, O Lord of the world! Now first thou art seen; it is not easy to behold thee. As rare (or precious) as the flowers of the glomerated fig-tree is thine appearance, O Lord.

41 By thy power these aerial cars of ours are so uncommonly illumined now, O Leader. To show us thy favour accept them, O thou whose look pierces everywhere!

After the great Brahma-angels, monks, had celebrated the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., face to face, with these seasonable stanzas, they besought him: May the Lord move forward the wheel of the law! [as above till gods and men.]

Thereupon, monks, those fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Brahma-angels addressed the Lord, with one voice, in common chorus, with the following stanzas:

42 Preach the law, O Lord and Leader! move forward the wheel of the law, make the drum of the law resound, and blow the conch-trumpet of the law.

43 Shed the rain of the true law over this world and proclaim the sweet-sounding, good word; manifest the law required, save myriads of kotis of beings.

And the Lord, monks, silently intimated his assent to the Brahma-angels.

Repetition; the same occurred in the south-west, in the west, in the north-west, in the north, in the north-east, in the nadir.

Then, monks, the aerial cars of the Brahma-angels in the nadir, in those fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of spheres [etc., as above till to one another]. After that, monks, the great Brahma-angel, named Sikhin, addressed the numerous host of Brahma-angels with the following stanzas:

44 What may be the cause, O friends, that our cars are so bright with splendour, colour, and light? What may be the reason of their being so exceedingly glorious?

45 We have seen nothing like this before nor heard of it from others. These (cars) are now bright with splendour and exceedingly glorious; what may be the cause of it?

46 Should it be some god who has been bestowed upon the world in recompense of good works, and whose grandeur thus comes to light? Or is perhaps a Buddha born in the world?

Thereupon, monks, the great Brahma-angels in the fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of spheres mounted all together their own divine aerial cars, took with them divine bags, as large as Mount Sumeru, with celestial flowers, and went through the four quarters successively until they arrived at the zenith, where those great Brahma-angels, stationed at the zenith, saw the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu [etc., as above till compassion to us].

On that occasion, monks, after presenting their own cars to the Lord, the Brahma-angels celebrated the Lord, face to face, with the following seasonable stanzas:

47 How goodly is the sight of the Buddhas, the mighty Lords of the world; those Buddhas who are to deliver all beings in this triple world.

48 The all-seeing Masters of the world send their looks in all directions of the horizon, and by opening the gate of immortality they make people reach the (safe) shore.

49 An inconceivable number of Æons now past were void, and all quarters wrapt in darkness, as the chief Ginas did not appear.

50 The dreary hells, the brute creation and demons were on the increase; thousands of kotis of living beings fell into the state of ghosts.

51 The heavenly bodies were on the wane; after their disappearance they entered upon evil ways; their course became wrong because they did not hear the law of the Buddhas.

52 All creatures lacked dutiful behaviour, purity, good state, and understanding; their happiness was lost, and the consciousness of happiness was gone.

53 They did not observe the rules of morality; were firmly rooted in the false law; not being led by the Lord of the world, they were precipitated into a false course.

54 Hail! thou art come at last, O Light of the world! thou, born to be bounteous towards all beings.

55 Hail! thou hast safely arrived at supreme Buddha-knowledge; we feel thankful before thee, and so does the world, including the gods.

56 By thy power, O mighty Lord, our aerial cars are glittering; to thee we present them, great Hero; deign to accept them, great Solitary.

57 Out of grace to us, O Leader, make use of them-, so that we, as well as all (other) beings, may attain supreme enlightenment.

After the great Brahma-angels, O monks, had celebrated the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., face to face, with seasonable stanzas, they besought him: May the Lord move forward the wheel of the law! [etc., as above till both gods and men.]

Thereupon, monks, those fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Brahma-angels addressed the Lord, with one voice, in common chorus, with the following two stanzas:

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58 Move forward the exalted, unsurpassed wheel! beat the drum of immortality! release all beings from hundreds of evils, and show the path of Nirvana.

59 Expound the law we pray for; show thy favour to us and this world. Let us hear thy sweet and lovely voice which thou hast exercised during thousands of kotis of Æons.

Now, monks, the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu the Tathagata, etc., being acquainted with the prayer of the hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Brahma-angels and of the sixteen princes, his sons, commenced at that juncture to turn the wheel that has three turns and twelve parts, the wheel never moved by any ascetic, Brahman, god, demon, nor by any one else. (His preaching) consisted in this: This is pain; this is the origin of pain; this is the suppression of pain; this is the treatment leading to suppression of pain. He moreover extensively set forth how the series of causes and effects is evolved, (and said): It is thus, monks. From ignorance proceed conceptions (or fancies); from conceptions (or fancies) proceeds understanding; from understanding name and form; from name and form the six senses; from the six senses proceeds contact; from contact sensation; from sensation proceeds longing; from longing proceeds striving; from striving as cause issues existence; from existence birth; from birth old age, death, mourning, lamentation, sorrow, dismay, and despondency. So originates this whole mass of misery. From the suppression of ignorance results the suppression of conceptions; from the suppression of conceptions results that of understanding; from the suppression of understanding results that of name and form; from the suppression of name and form results that of the six senses; from the suppression of the six senses results that of contact; from the suppression of contact results that of sensation; from the suppression of sensation results that of longing; from the suppression of longing results that of striving; from the suppression of striving results that of existence; from the suppression of existence results that of birth; from the suppression of birth results that of old age, death, mourning, lamentation, sorrow, dismay, and despondency. In this manner the whole mass of misery is suppressed.

And while this wheel of the law, monks, was being moved onward by the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., in presence of the world, including the gods, demons, and Brahma-angels; of the assemblage, including ascetics and Brahmans; then, at that time, on that occasion, the minds of sixty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of living beings were without effort freed from imperfections and became all possessed of the triple science, of the sixfold transcendent wisdom, of the emancipations and meditations. In due course, monks, the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., again gave a second exposition of the law; likewise a third and a fourth exposition. And at each exposition, monks, the minds of hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of beings, like the sands of the river Ganges, were without effort freed from imperfections. Afterwards, monks, the congregation of disciples of that Lord was so numerous as to surpass all calculation.

Meanwhile, monks, the sixteen princes, the youths, had, full of faith, left home to lead the vagrant life of mendicants, and had all of them become novices, clever, bright, intelligent, pious, followers of the course (of duty) under many hundred thousand Buddhas, and striving after supreme, perfect enlightenment. These sixteen novices, monks, said to the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., the following: O Lord, these many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of disciples of the Tathagata have become very mighty, very powerful, very potent, owing to the Lord's teaching of the law. Deign, O Lord, to teach us also, for mercy's sake, the law with a view to supreme, perfect enlightenment, so that we also may follow the teaching of the Tathagata. We want, O Lord, to see the knowledge of the Tathagata; the Lord can himself testify to this, for thou, O Lord, who knowest the disposition of all beings, also knowest ours.

Then, monks, on seeing that those princes, the youths, had chosen the vagrant life of mendicants and become novices, the half of the whole retinue of the king Kakravartin, to the number of eighty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of living beings, chose the vagrant life of mendicants.

Subsequently, monks, the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., viewing the prayer of those novices at the lapse of twenty thousand Æons, amply and completely revealed the Dharmaparyaya called 'the Lotus of the True Law, a text of great extent, serving to instruct Bodhisattvas and proper for all Buddhas, in presence of all the four classes of auditors.

In course of time, monks, those sixteen novices grasped, kept, and fully penetrated the Lord's teaching.

Subsequently, monks, the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., foretold those sixteen novices their future djestiny to supreme, perfect enlightenment. And while the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., was propounding the Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, the disciples as well as the sixteen novices were full of faith, and many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of beings acquired perfect certainty.

Thereupon, monks, after propounding the Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law during eight thousand Æons without interruption, the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., entered the monastery to retire for the purpose of meditation, and in that retirement, monks, the Tathagata continued in the monastery during eighty-four thousand kotis of Æons.

Now, monks, when the sixteen novices perceived that the Lord was absorbed, they sat down on the seats, the royal thrones which had been prepared for each of them, and amply expounded, during eighty-four hundred thousand myriads of kotis, the Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law to the four classes. By doing this, monks, each of those novices, as Bodhisattvas fully developed, instructed, excited, stimulated, edified, confirmed in respect to supreme, perfect enlightenment 60 x 60 hundred thousand myriads of kotis of living beings, equal to the sands of the river Ganges.

Now, monks, at the lapse of eighty-four thousand Æons the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., rose from his meditation, in possession of memory and consciousness, whereafter he went up to the seat of the law, designed for him, in order to occupy it.

As soon as the Lord had occupied the seat of the law, monks, he cast his looks over the whole circle of the audience and addressed the congregation of monks: They are wonderfully gifted, monks, they are prodigiously gifted, these sixteen novices, wise, servitors to many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddhas, observers of the course (of duty), who have received Buddha-knowledge, transmitted Buddha-knowledge, expounded Buddha-knowledge. Honour these sixteen novices, monks, again and again; and all, be they devoted to the vehicle of the disciples, the vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas, or the vehicle of the Bodhisattvas, who shall not reject nor repudiate the preaching of these young men of good family, O monks, shall quickly gain supreme, perfect enlightenment, and obtain Tathagata-knowledge.

In the sequel also, monks, have these young men of good family repeatedly revealed this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus,of the True Law under the mastership of that Lord. And the 60 x 60 hundred thousand myriads of kotis of living beings, equal to the sands of the river Ganges, who by each of the sixteen novices, the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, in the quality of Bodhisattva, had been roused to enlightenment, all those beings followed the example of the sixteen novices in choosing along with them the vagrant life of mendicants, in their several existences; they enjoyed their sight and heard the law from their mouth. They propitiated forty kotis of Buddhas, and some are doing so up to this day.

I announce to you, monks, I declare to you: Those sixteen princes, the youths, who as novices under the mastership of the Lord were interpreters of the law, have all reached supreme, perfect enlightenment, and all of them are staying, existing, living even now, in the several directions of space, in different Buddha-fields, preaching the law to many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of disciples and Bodhisattvas, to wit: In the east, monks, in the world Abhirati the Tathagata named Akshobhya, the Arhat, etc., and the Tathagata Merukuta, the Arhat, etc. In the south-east, monks, is the Tathagata Simhaghosha, etc., and the Tathagata Simhadhvaga, etc. In the south, monks, is the Tathagata named Akasapratishthita, etc., and the Tathagata named Nityaparinirvrita, etc. In the southwest, monks, is the Tathagata named Indradhvaga, etc., and the Tathagata named Brahmadhvaga, etc. In the west, monks, is the Tathagata named Amitayus, etc., and the Tathagata named Sarvalokadhatupadravodvegapratyuttirna, etc. In the north-west, monks, is the Tathagata named Tamalapatrakandanagandhabhigna, etc., and the Tathagata Merukalpa, etc. In the north, monks, is the Tathagata named Meghasvarapradipa, etc., and the Tathagata named Meghasvararaga, etc. In the north-east, monks, is the Tathagata named Sarvalokabhayagitakkhambhitatvavidhvamsanakara, the Arhat, etc., and, the sixteenth, myself, Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, the Arhat, etc., who have attained supreme, perfect enlightenment in the centre of this Saha-world.

Further, monks, those beings who have heard the law from us when we were novices, those many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of beings, numerous as the sands of the river Ganges, whom we have severally initiated in supreme, perfect enlightenment, they are up to this day standing on the stage of disciples and matured for supreme, perfect enlightenment. In regular turn they are to attain supreme, perfect enlightenment, for it is difficult, monks, to penetrate the knowledge of the Tathagatas. And which are those beings, monks, who, innumerable, incalculable like the sands of the Ganges, those hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of living beings, whom I, when I was a Bodhisattva under the mastership of that Lord, have taught the law of omniscience? Yourselves, monks, were at that time those beings.

And those who shall be my disciples in future, when I shall have attained complete Nirvana, shall learn the course (of duty) of Bodhisattvas, without conceiving the idea of their being Bodhisattvas. And, monks, all who shall have the idea of complete Nirvana, shall reach it. It should be added, monks, as I stay under different names in other worlds, they shall there be born again seeking after the knowledge of the Tathagatas, and there they shall anew hear this dogma: The complete Nirvana of the Tathagatas is but one; there is no other, no second Nirvana of the Tathagatas. Herein, monks, one has to see a device of the Tathagatas and a direction for the preaching of the law. When the Tathagata, monks, knows that the moment of his complete extinction has arrived, and sees that the assemblage is pure, strong in faith, penetrated with the law of voidness, devoted to meditation, devoted to great meditation, then, monks, the Tathagata, because the time has arrived, calls together all Bodhisattvas and all disciples to teach them thus: There is, O monks, in this world no second vehicle at all, no second Nirvana, far less a third. It is an able device of the Tathagata, monks, that on seeing creatures far advanced on the path of perdition, delighting in the low and plunged in the mud of sensual desires, the Tathagata teaches them that Nirvana to which they are attached.

By way of example, monks, suppose there is some dense forest five hundred yoganas in extent which has been reached by a great company of men. They have a guide to lead them on their journey to the Isle of Jewels, which guide, being able, clever, sagacious, well acquainted with the difficult passages of the forest, is to bring the whole company out of the forest. Meanwhile that great troop of men, tired, weary, afraid, and anxious, say: 'Verily, Master, guide, and leader, know that we are tired, weary, afraid, and anxious; let us return; this dense forest stretches so far.' The guide, who is a man of able devices, on seeing those people desirous of returning, thinks within himself: It ought not to be that these poor creatures should not reach that great Isle of Jewels. Therefore out of pity for them he makes use of an artifice. In the middle of that forest he produces a magic city more than a hundred or two hundred yoganas in extent. Thereafter he says to those men: 'Be not afraid, sirs, do not return; there you see a populous place where you may take repose and perform all you have to do; there stay in the enjoyment of happy rest. Let him who after reposing there wants to do so, proceed to the great Isle of Jewels.'

Then, monks, the men who are in the forest are struck with astonishment, and think: We are out of the forest; we have reached the place of happy rest; let us stay here. They enter that magic city, in the meaning that they have arrived at the place of their destination, that they are saved and in the enjoyment of rest. They think: We are at rest, we are refreshed'. After a while, when the guide perceives that their fatigue is gone, he causes the magic city to disappear, and says to them: 'Come, sirs, there you see the great Isle of Jewels quite near; as to this great city, it has been produced by me for no other purpose but to give you some repose.'

In the same manner, monks, is the Tathagata, the Arhat,etc., your guide, and the guide of all other beings. Indeed, monks, the Tathagata, etc., reflects thus: Great is this forest of evils which must be crossed, left, shunned. It ought not to be that these beings, after hearing the Buddha-knowledge, should suddenly turn back and not proceed to the end because they think: This Buddha-knowledge is attended with too many difficulties to be gone through to the end. Under those circumstances the Tathagata, knowing the creatures to be feeble of character, (does) as the guide (who) produces the magic city in order that those people may have repose, and after their having taken repose, he tells them that the city is one produced by magic. In the same manner, monks, the Tathagata, etc., to give a repose to the creatures, very skilfully teaches and proclaims two stages of

Nirvana, viz. the stage of the disciples and that of the Pratyekabuddhas. And, monks, when the creatures are there halting, then the Tathagata, etc., himself, pronounces these words: 'You have not accomplished your task, monks; you have not finished what you had to do. But behold, monks! the Buddha-knowledge is near; behold and be convinced: what to you (seems) Nirvana, that is not Nirvana. Nay, monks, it is an able device of the Tathagatas, etc., that they expound three vehicles.'

And in order to explain this same subject more in detail, the Lord on that occasion uttered the following stanzas:

60 The Leader of the world, Abhignagnanabhibhu, having occupied the terrace of enlightenment, continued ten complete intermediate kalpas without gaining enlightenment, though he saw the things in their very essence.

61 Then the gods, Nagas, demons, and goblins, zealous to honour the Gina, sent down a rain of flowers on the spot where the Leader awakened to enlightenment.

62 And high in the sky they beat the cymbals to worship and honour the Gina, and they were vexed that the Gina delayed so long in coming to the highest place.

63 After the lapse of ten intermediate kalpas the Lord Anabhibhu attained enlightenment; then all gods, men, serpents, and demons were glad and overjoyed.

64 The sixteen sons of the Leader of men, those heroes, being at the time young princes, rich in virtues, came along

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with thousands of kotis of living beings to honour the eminent chiefs of men.

65 And after saluting the feet of the Leader they prayed: Reveal the law and refresh us as well as this world with thy good word, O Lion amongst kings.

66 After a long time thou art seen (again) in the ten points of this world; thou appearest, great Leader, while the aerial cars of the Brahma-angels are stirring to reveal a token to living beings.

67 In the eastern quarter fifty thousand kotis of fields have been shaken, and the lofty angelic cars in them have become excessively brilliant.

68 The Brahma-angels on perceiving this foretoken went and approached the Chief of the Leaders of the world, and, covering him with flowers, presented all of them their cars to him.

69 They prayed him to move forward the wheel of the law, and celebrated him with stanzas and songs. But the king of kings was silent, (for he thought): The time has not yet arrived for me to proclaim the law.

70 Likewise in the south, west, north, the nadir, zenith, and in the intermediate points of the compass there were thousands of kotis of Brahma-angels.

71 Unremittingly covering the Lord (with flowers) they saluted the feet of the Leader, presented all their aerial cars, celebrated him, and again prayed:

72 Move forward the wheel, O thou whose sight is infinite! Rarely art thou met in (the course of) many kotis ofÆons. Display the benevolence thou hast observed in so many former generations; open the gate of immortality.

73 On hearing their prayer, he whose sight is infinite exposed the multifarious law and the four Truths, extensively. All existences (said he) spring successively from their antecedents.

74 Starting from Ignorance, the Seer proceeded to speak of death, endless woe; all those evils spring from birth. Know likewise that death is the lot of mankind.

75 No sooner had he expounded the multifarious, different, endless laws, than eighty myriads of kotis of creatures who had heard them quickly attained the stage of disciples.

76 On a second occasion the Gina expounded many laws, and beings like the sands of the Ganges became instantly purified and disciples.

77 From that moment the assembly of that Leader of the world was innumerable; no man would be able to reach the term (of its number), even were he to go on counting for myriads of kotis of Æons.

78 Those sixteen princes also, his own dear sons, who had become mendicants and novices, said to the Gina: 'Expound, O Chief, the superior law;

79 'That we may become sages, knowers of the world, such as thyself art, O supreme of all Ginas, and that all these beings may become such as thyself art, O hero, O clear-sighted one.'

80 And the Gina, considering the wish of his sons, the young princes, explained the highest superior enlightenment by means of many myriads of kotis of illustrations.

81 Demonstrating with thousands of arguments and elucidating the knowledge of transcendent wisdom, the Lord of the world indicated the veritable course (of duty) such as was followed by the wise Bodhisattvas.

82 This very Sutra of orreat extension, this good Lotus of the True Law, was by the Lord delivered in many thousands of stanzas, so numerous as to equal the sands of the Ganges.

83 After delivering this Sutra, the Gina entered the monastery for the purpose of becoming absorbed in meditation; during eighty-four complete Æons the Lord of the world continued meditating, sitting on the same seat.

84 Those novices, perceiving that the Chief remained in the monastery without coming out of it, imparted to many kotis of creatures that Buddha-knowledge, which is free from imperfections and blissful.

85 On the seats which they had made to be prepared, one for each, they expounded this very Sutra under the mastership of the Sugata of that period. A service of the same kind they render to me.

86 Innumerable as the sands of sixty thousand (rivers like the) Ganges were the beings then taught; each of the sons of the Sugata converted (or trained) endless beings.

87 After the Gina's complete Nirvana they commenced a wandering life and saw kotis of Buddhas; along with those pupils they rendered homage to the most exalted amongst men.

88 Having observed the extensive and sublime course of duty and reached enlightenment in the ten points of space, those sixteen sons of the Gina became themselves Ginas, two by two, in each point of the horizon.

89 And all those who had been their pupils became disciples of those Ginas, and gradually obtained possession of enlightenment by various means.

90 I myself was one of their number, and you have all been taught by me. Therefore you are my disciples now also, and I lead you all to enlightenment by (my) devices.

91 This is the cause dating from old, this is the motive of my expounding the law, that I lead you to superior enlightenment. This being the case, monks, you need not be afraid.

92 It is as if there were a forest dreadful, terrific, barren, without a place of refuge or shelter, replete with wild beasts, deprived of water, frightful for persons of no experience.

93 (Suppose further that) many thousand men have come to the forest, that waste track of wilderness which is fully five hundred yoganas in extent.

94 And he who is to act as their guide through that rough and horrible forest is a rich man, thoughtful, intelligent, wise, well instructed, and undaunted.

95 And those beings, numbering many kotis, feel tired, and say to the guide: 'We are tired, Master; we are not able to go on; we should like now to return.'

96 But he, the dexterous and clever guide, is searching in his mind for some apt device. Alas! he thinks, by going back these foolish men will be deprived of the possession of the jewels.

97 Therefore let me by dint of magic power now produce a great city adorned with thousands of kotis of buildings and embellished by monasteries and parks.

98 Let me produce ponds and canals; (a city) adorned with gardens and flowers, provided with walls and gates, and inhabited by an infinite number of men and women.

99 After creating that city he speaks to them in this manner: 'Do not fear, and be cheerful; you have reached a most excellent city; enter it and do your business, speedily.

100 'Be joyful and at ease; you have reached the limit of the whole forest.' It is to give them a time for repose that he speaks these words, and, in fact, they recover from their weariness.

101 As he perceives that they have sufficiently reposed, he collects them and addresses them again: 'Come, hear what I have to tell you: this city have I produced by magic'.

102 'On seeing you fatigued, I have, lest you should go back, made use of this device; now strain your energy to reach the Isle.'

103 In the same manner, monks, I am the guide, the conductor of thousands of kotis of living beings; in the same manner I see creatures toiling and unable to break the shell of the egg of evils'.

104 Then I reflect on this matter: These beings have enjoyed repose, have been tranquillised; now I will remind them of the misery of all things (and I say): 'At the stage of Arhat you shall reach your aim.'

105 At that time, when you shall have attained that state, and when I see all of you have become Arhats, then will I call you all together and explain to you how the law really is.

106 It is an artifice of the Leaders, when they, the great Seers, show three vehicles, for there is but one vehicle, no second; it is only to help (creatures) that two vehicles are spoken of.

107 Therefore I now tell you, monks: Rouse to the utmost your lofty energy for the sake of the knowledge of the all-knowing; as yet, you have not come so far as to possess complete Nirvana.

108 But when you shall have attained the knowledge of the all-knowing and the ten powers proper to Ginas, you shall become Buddhas marked by the thirty-two characteristic signs and have rest for ever.

109 Such is the teaching of the Leaders: in order to give quiet they speak of repose, (but) when they see that (the creatures) have had a repose, they, knowing this to be no final resting-place, initiate them in the knowledge of the all-knowing.

LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 8

Announcement Of The Future Destiny Of The Five Hundred Monks.

On hearing from the Lord that display of skilfulness and the instruction by means of mysterious speech; on hearing the announcement of the future destiny of the great Disciples, as well as the foregoing tale concerning ancient devotion and the leadership of the Lord, the venerable Purna, son of Maitrayani, was filled with wonder and amazement, thrilled with pure-heartedness, a feeling of delight and joy. He rose from his seat, full of delight and joy, full of great respect for the law, and while prostrating himself before the Lord's feet, made within himself the following reflection: Wonderful, O Lord; wonderful, O Sugata; it is an extremely difficult thing that the Tathagatas, etc., perform, the conforming to this world, composed of so many elements, and preaching the law to all creatures with many proofs of their skilfulness, and skilfully releasing them when attached to this or that. What could we do, O Lord, in such a case? None but the Tathagata knows our inclination and our ancient course. Then, after saluting with his head the Lord's feet, Parna went and stood apart, gazing up to the Lord with unmoved eyes and so showing his veneration.

And the Lord, regarding the mental disposition of the venerable Purna, son of Maitrayani, addressed the entire assembly of monks in this strain: Ye monks, see this disciple, Purna, son of Maitrayani, whom I have designated as the foremost of preachers in this assembly, praised for his many virtues, and who has applied himself in various ways to comprehend the true law. He is the man to excite, arouse, and stimulate the four classes of the audience; unwearied in the preaching of the law; as capable to preach the law as to oblige his fellow-followers of the course of duty. The Tathagata excepted, monks, there is none able to equal Purna, son of Maitrayani, either essentially or in accessories. Now, monks, do you suppose that he keeps my true law only? No, monks, you must not think so. For I remember, monks, that in the past, in the times of the ninety-nine Buddhas, the same Purna kept the true law under the mastership of those Buddhas. Even as he is now with me, so he has, in all periods, been the foremost of the preachers of the law; has in all periods been a consummate knower of Voidness; has in all periods acquired the (four) distinctive qualifications of an Arhat; has in all periods reached mastership in the transcendent wisdom of the Bodhisattvas. He has been a strongly convinced preacher of the law, exempt from doubt, and quite pure. Under the mastership of those Buddhas he has during his whole existence observed a spiritual life, and everywhere they termed him 'the Disciple.' By this means he has promoted the interest of innumerable, incalculable hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of beings, and brought innumerable and incalculable beings to full ripeness for supreme and perfect enlightenment. In all periods he has assisted the creatures in the function of a Buddha, and in all periods he has purified his own Buddha-field, always striving to bring creatures to ripeness. He was also, monks, the foremost among the preachers of the law under the seven Tathagatas, the first of whom is Vipasyin and the seventh myself.

And as to the Buddhas, monks, who have in future to appear in this Bhadra-kalpa, to the number of a thousand less four, under the mastership of them also shall this same Purna, son of Maitrayani, be the foremost among the preachers of the law and the keeper of the true law. Thus he shall keep the true law of innumerable and incalculable Lords and Buddhas in future, promote the interest of innumerable and incalculable beings, and bring innumerable and incalculable beings to full ripeness for supreme and perfect enlightenment. Constantly and assiduously he shall be instant in purifying his own Buddha-field and bringing creatures to ripeness. After completing such a Bodhisattva-course, at the end of innumerable, incalculable Æons, he shall reach supreme and perfect enlightenment; he shall in the world be the Tathagata called Dharmaprabhasa, an Arhat, etc., endowed with science and conduct, a Sugata, etc. He shall appear in this very Buddha-field.

Further, monks, at that time the Buddha-field spoken of will look as if formed by thousands of spheres similar to the sands of the river Ganges. It will be even, like the palm of the hand, consist of seven precious substances, be without hills, and filled with high edifices of seven precious substances. There will be cars of the gods stationed in the sky; the gods will behold men, and men will behold the gods. Moreover, monks, at that time that Buddha-field shall be exempt from places of punishment and from womankind, as all beings shall be born by apparitional birth. They shall lead a spiritual life, have ideal bodies, be self-lighting, magical, moving in the firmament, strenuous, of good memory, wise, possessed of gold-coloured bodies, and adorned with the thirty-two characteristics of a great man. And at that time, monks, the beings in that Buddha-field will have two things to feed upon, viz. the delight in the law and the delight in meditation. There will be an immense, incalculable number of hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas; all endowed with great transcendent wisdom, accomplished in the (four) distinctive qualifications of an Arhat, able in instructing creatures. He (that Buddha) will have a number of disciples, beyond all calculation, mighty in magic, powerful, masters in the meditation of the eight emancipations. So immense are the good qualities that Buddha-field will be possessed of. And that Æon shall be called Ratnavabhasa (i.e. radiant with gems), and that world Suvisuddha (i.e. very pure). His lifetime shall last immense, incalculable Æons; and after the complete extinction of that Lord Dharmaprabhasa, the Tathagata, etc., his true law shall last long, and his world shall be full of Stupas made of precious substances. Such inconceivable good qualities, monks, shall the Buddha-field of that Lord be possessed of.

So spoke the Lord, and thereafter he, the Sugata, the Master, added the following stanzas:

1 Listen to me, monks, and hear how my son has achieved his course of duty, and how he, welltrained and skilful, has observed the course of enlightenment.

2 Viewing these beings to be lowly-disposed and to be startled at the lofty vehicle, the Bodhisattvas become disciples and exercise Pratyekabuddhaship.

3 By many hundreds of able devices they bring numerous Bodhisattvas to full ripeness and declare: We are but disciples, indeed, and we are far away from the highest and supreme enlightenment.

4 It is by learning from them this course (of duty) that kotis of beings arrive at full ripeness, who (at first), lowly-disposed and somewhat lazy, in course of time all become Buddhas.

5 They follow a course in ignorance (thinking): We, disciples, are of little use, indeed! In despondency they descend

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into all places of existence (successively), and (so) clear their own field.

6 They show in their own persons that they are not free from affection, hatred, and infatuation; and on perceiving (other) beings clinging to (heretical) views, they go so far as to accommodate themselves to those views.

7 By following such a course my numerous disciples skilfully save creatures; simple people would go mad, if they were taught the whole course of life (or story).

8 Purna here, monks, my disciple, has formerly fulfilled his course (of duty) under thousands of kotis of Buddhas, he has got possession of this true law by seeking after Buddha-knowledge.

9 And at all periods has he been the foremost of the disciples, learned, a brilliant orator, free from hesitation; he has, indeed, always been able to excite to gladness and at all times ready to perform the Buddha-task.

10 He has always been accomplished in the sublime transcendent faculties and endowed with the distinctive qualifications of an Arhat; he knew the faculties and range of (other) beings, and has always preached the perfectly pure law.

11 By exposing the most eminent of true laws he has brought thousands of kotis of beings to full ripeness for this supreme, foremost vehicle, whilst purifying his own excellent field.

12 In future also he shall likewise honour thousands of kotis of Buddhas, acquire knowledge of the most eminent of good laws, and clean his own field.

13 Always free from timidity he shall preach the law with thousands of kotis of able devices, and bring many beings to full ripeness for the knowledge of the all-knowing that is free from imperfections.

14 After having paid homage to the Chiefs of men and always kept the most eminent of laws, he shall in the world be a Buddha self-born, widely renowned everywhere by the name of Dharmaprabhasa.

15 And his field shall always be very pure and always set off with seven precious substances; his Æon shall be (called) Ratnavabhasa, and his world Suvisuddha.

16 That world shall be pervaded with many thousand kotis of Bodhisattvas, accomplished masters in the great transcendent sciences, pure in every respect, and endowed with magical power.

17 At that period the Chief shall also have an assemblage of thousands of kotis of disciples, endowed with magical power, adepts at the meditation of the (eight) emancipations, and accomplished in the (four) distinctive qualifications of an Arhat.

18 And all beings in that Buddha-field shall be pure and lead a spiritual life. Springing into existence by apparitional birth, they shall all be goldcoloured and display the thirty-two characteristic signs.

19 They shall know no other food but pleasure in the law and delight in knowledge. No womankind shall be there, nor fear of the places of punishments or of dismal states.

20 Such shall be the excellent field of Purna, who is possessed of all good qualities; it shall abound with all goodly things, a small part (only) of which has here been mentioned.

Then this thought arose in the mind of those twelve hundred self-controlled (Arhats): We are struck with wonder and amazement. (How) if the Tathagata would predict to us severally our future destiny as the Lord has done to those other great disciples? And the Lord apprehending in his own mind what was going on in the minds of these great disciples addressed the venerable Maha-Kasyapa: Those twelve hundred self-controlled hearers whom I am now beholding from face to face, to all those twelve hundred self-controlled hearers, Kasyapa, I will presently foretell their destiny. Amongst them, Kasyapa, the monk Kaundinya, a great disciple, shall, after sixty-two hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddhas, become a Tathagata, an Arhat, etc., under the name of Samantaprabhasa, endowed with science and conduct, a Sugata, etc. etc.; but of those (twelve hundred), Kasyapa, five hundred shall become Tathagatas of the same name. Thereafter shall all those five hundred great disciples reach supreme and perfect enlightenment, all bearing the name of Samantaprabhasa; viz. Gaya-Kasyapa, Nadi-Kasyapa, Uruvilva.-Kasyapa, Kala, Kalodayin, Aniruddha, Kapphina, Vakkula, Kunda, Svagata, and the rest of the five hundred self-controlled (Arhats).

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

21 The scion of the Kundina family, my disciple here, shall in future be a Tathagata, a Lord of the world, after the lapse of an endless period; he shall educate hundreds of kotis of living beings.

22 After seeing many endless Buddhas, he shall in future, after the lapse of an endless period, become the Gina Samantaprabhasa, whose field shall be thoroughly pure.

23 Brilliant, gifted with the powers of a Buddha, with a voice far resounding in all quarters, waited upon by thousands of kotis of beinas, he shall preach supreme and eminent enlightenment.

24 There shall be most zealous Bodhisattvas, mounted on lofty aereal cars, and moving, meditative, pure in morals, and assiduous in doing good.

25 After hearing the law from the highest of men, they shall invariably go to other fields, to salute thousands of Buddhas and show them great honour.

26 But ere long they shall return to the field of the Leader called Prabhasa, the Tathagata. So great shall be the power of their course (of duty).

27 The measure of the lifetime of that Sugata shall be sixty thousand Æons, and, after the complete extinction of that mighty one, his true law shall remain twice as long in the world.

28 And the counterfeit of it shall continue three times as long. When the true law of that holy one shall he exhausted, men and gods shall be vexed.

29 There shall appear a complete number of five hundred Chiefs, supreme amongst men, who shall bear the same name with that Gina, Samantaprabha, and follow one another in regular succession.

30 All shall have like divisions, magical powers, Buddha-fields, and hosts (of followers). Their true law also shall be the same and stand equally long.

31 All shall have in this world, including the gods, the same voice as Samantaprabha'sa, the highest of men, such as I have mentioned before.

32 Moved by benevolence and compassion they shall in succession foretell each other's destiny, with the words: This is to be my immediate successor, and he is to command the world as I do at present.

33 Thus, Kasyapa, keep now in view I here these self-controlled (Arhats), no less than five hundred (in number), as well as my other disciples, and speak of this matter to the other disciples.

On hearing from the Lord the announcement of their own future destiny, the five hundred Arhats, contented, satisfied, in high spirits and ecstasy, filled with cheerfulness, joy, and delight, went up to the place where the Lord was sitting, reverentially saluted with their heads his feet, and spoke thus: We confess our fault, O Lord, in having continually and constantly persuaded ourselves that we had arrived at final Nirvana, as (persons who are) dull, inept, ignorant of the rules, For, O Lord, whereas we should have thoroughly penetrated the knowledge of the Tathagatas, we were content with such a trifling degree of knowledge.

It is, O Lord, as if some man having come to a friend's house got drunk or fell asleep, and that friend bound a priceless gem within his garment, with the thought: Let this gem be his. After a while, O Lord, that man rises from his seat and travels further; he goes to some other country, where he is befallen by incessant difficulties, and has great trouble to find food and clothing. By dint of great exertion he is hardly able to obtain a bit of food, with which (however) he is contented and satisfied. The old friend of that man, O Lord, who bound within the man's garment that priceless gem, happens to see him again and says: How is it, good friend, that thou hast such difficulty in seeking food and clothing, while I, in order that thou shouldst live in ease, good friend, have bound within thy garment a priceless gem, quite sufficient to fulfil all thy wishes? I have given thee that gem, my good friend, the very gem I have bound within thy garment. Still thou art deliberating: What has been bound? by whom? for what reason and purpose? It is something foolish, my good friend, to be contented, when thou hast with (so much) difficulty to procure food and clothing. Go, my good friend, betake thyself, with this gem, to some great city, exchange the gem for money, and with that money do all that can be done with money.

In the same manner, O Lord, has the Tathagata formerly, when he still followed the course of duty of a Bodhisattva, raised in us also ideas of omniscience, but we, O Lord, did not perceive, nor know it. We fancied, O Lord, that on the stage of Arhat we had reached Nirvana. We live in difficulty, O Lord, because we content ourselves with such a trifling degree of knowledge. But as our strong aspiration after the knowledge of the all-knowing has never ceased, the Tathagata teaches us the right: 'Have no such idea of Nirvana, monks; there are in your intelligence roots of goodness which of yore I have fully developed. In this you have to see an able device of mine that from the expressions used by me, in preaching the law, you fancy Nirvana to take place at this moment.' And after having taught us the right in such a way, the Lord now predicts our future destiny to supreme and perfect knowledge.

And on that occasion the five hundred self-controlled (Arhats), Agnata-Kaundinya and the rest, uttered the following stanzas:

34 We are rejoicing and delighted to hear this unsurpassed word of comfort that we are destined to the highest, supreme enlightenment. Homage be to thee, O Lord of unlimited sight!

35 We confess our fault before thee; we were so childish, nescient, ignorant that we were fully contented with a small part of Nirvana, under the mastership of the Sugata.

36 This is a case like that of a certain man who enters the house of a friend, which friend, being rich and wealthy, gives him much food, both hard and soft.

37 After satiating him with nourishment, he gives him a jewel of great value. He ties it with a knot within the upper robe and feels satisfaction at having given that jewel.

38 The other man, unaware of it, goes forth and from that place travels to another town. There he is befallen with misfortune and, as a miserable beggar, seeks his food in affliction.

39 He is contented with the pittance he gets by begging without caring for dainty food; as to that jewel, he has forgotten it; he has not the slightest remembrance of its having been tied in his upper robe.

40 Under these circumstances he is seen by his old friend who at home gave him that jewel. This friend properly reprimands him and shows him the jewel within his robe.

41 At this sight the man feels extremely happy. The value of the jewel is such that he becomes a very rich man, of great power, and in possession of all that the five senses can enjoy.

42 In the same manner, O Lord, we were unaware of our former aspiration, (the aspiration) laid in us by the Tathagata himself in previous existences from time immemorial.

43 And we were living in this world, O Lord, with dull understanding and in ignorance, under the mastership of the Sugata; for we were contented with a little of Nirvana; we required nothing higher, nor even cared for it.

44 But the Friend of the world has taught us better: 'This is no blessed Rest at all; the full knowledge of the highest men, that is blessed Rest, that is supreme beatitude.'

45 After hearing this sublime, grand, splendid, and matchless prediction, O Lord, we are greatly elated with joy, when thinking of the prediction (we shall have to make to each other) in regular succession.

LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 9

Announcement Of The Future Destiny Of Ananda, Rahula, And The Two Thousand Monks.

On that occasion the venerable Ananda made this reflection: Should we also receive a similar prediction? Thus thinking, pondering, wishing, he rose from his seat, prostrated himself at the Lord's feet and uttered the following words. And the venerable Rahula also, in whom rose the same thought and the same wish as in Ananda, prostrated himself at the Lord's feet, and uttered these words: 'Let it be our turn also, O Lord; let it be our turn also, O Sugata. The Lord is our father and procreator, our refuge and protection. For in this world, including men, gods, and demons, O Lord, we are particularly distinguished, as people say: These are the Lord's sons, the Lord's attendants; these are the keepers of the law-treasure of the Lord. Therefore, Lord, it would seem meet, were the Lord ere long to predict our destiny to supreme and perfect enlightenment.'

Two thousand other monks, and more, both such as were still under training and such as were not, likewise rose from their seats, put their upper robes upon one shoulder, stretched their joined hands towards the Lord and remained gazing up to him, all pre-occupied with the same thought, viz. of this very Buddha-knowledge: Should we also receive a prediction of our destiny to supreme and perfect enlightenment.

Then the Lord addressed the venerable Ananda in these words: Thou, Ananda, shalt in future become a Tathagata by the name of Sagaravaradharabuddhivikriditabhigna, an Arhat, etc., endowed with science and conduct, etc. After having honoured, respected, venerated, and worshipped sixty-two kotis of Buddhas, kept in memory the true law of those Buddhas and received this command, thou shalt arrive at supreme and perfect enlightenment, and bring to full ripeness for supreme, perfect enlightenment twenty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas similar to the sands of twenty Ganges. And thy Buddha-field shall consist of lapis lazuli and be superabundant. The sphere shall be named Anavanamita-vaig-ayanta and the Æon Manognasabdabhigargita. The lifetime of that Lord Sagaravaradharabuddhivikriditabhigna, the Tathagata, etc., shall measure an immense number of Æons, Æons the term of which is not to be found by calculation. So many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of incalculable Æons shall last the lifetime of that Lord. Twice as long, Ananda, after the complete extinction of that Lord, shall his true law stand, and twice as long again shall continue its counterfeit. And further, Ananda, many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddhas, similar to the sands of the river Ganges, shall in all directions of space speak the praise of that Tathagata Sagaravaradharabuddhivikriditabhigna, the Arhat, etc.

1 I announce to you, congregated monks, that Ananda-Bhadra, the keeper of my law, shall in future become a Gina, after having worshipped sixty kotis of Sugatas.

2 He shall be widely renowned by the name of Sagarabuddhidharin Abhignaprapta [These names may be translated by 'possessor of an intellect (unfathomable) as the ocean, having arrived at transcendant wisdom.'], in a beautiful, thoroughly clear field, (termed) Anavanata Vaigayanti (i. e. triumphal banner unlowered).

3 There shall be Bodhisattvas like the sands of the Ganges and even more, whom he shall bring to full ripeness; he shall

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be a Gina endowed with great (magical) power, whose word shall widely resound in all quarters of the world.

4 The duration of his life shall be immense. He shall always be benign and merciful to the world. After the complete extinction of that Gina and mighty saint [Tayin], his true law shall stand twice as long.

5 The counterfeit (shall continue) twice as long under the rule of that Gina. Then also shall beings like grains of sand of the Ganges produce in this world what is the cause of Buddha-enlightenment.

In that assembly were eight thousand Bodhisattvas who had newly entered the vehicle. To them this thought presented itself: Never before did we have such a sublime prediction to Bodhisattvas, far less to disciples. What may be the cause of it? what the motive? The Lord, who apprehended in his mind what was going on in the minds of those Bodhisattvas, addressed them in these words: Young men of good family, I and Ananda have in the same moment, the same instant conceived the idea of supreme and perfect enlightenment in the presence of the Tathagata Dharmagahanabhyudgataraga, the Arhat, etc. At that period, young men of good family, he (Ananda) constantly and assiduously applied himself to great learning, whereas I was applying myself to strenuous labour. Hence I sooner arrived at supreme and perfect enlightenment, whilst Ananda-Bhadra was the keeper of the law-treasure of the Lords Buddhas; that is to say, young men of good family, he made a vow to bring Bodhisattvas to full development.

When the venerable Ananda, heard from the Lord the announcement of his own destiny to supreme and perfect enlightenment, when he learned the good qualities of his Buddha-field and its divisions, when he heard of the vow he had made in the past, he felt pleased, exultant, ravished, joyous, filled with cheerfulness and delight. And at that juncture he remembered the true law of many hundred thousand rnyriads of kotis of Buddhas and his own vow of yore.

And on that occasion the venerable Ananda uttered the following stanzas:

6 Wonderful, boundless are the Ginas who remind us of the law preached by the extinct Ginas and mighty saints. Now I remember it as if it had happened to-day or yesterday.

7 1 am freed from all doubts; I am ready for enlightenment. Such is my skilfulness, (as) I am the servitor, and keep the true law for the sake of enlightenment.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the venerable Rahula-Bhadra in these words: Thou, Rahula, shalt be in future a Tathagata of the name of Saptaratnapadmavikrantagamin, an Arhat, etc., endowed with science and conduct, etc. After having honoured, respected, venerated, worshipped a number of Tathagata, etc., equal to the atoms of ten worlds, thou shalt always be the eldest son of those Lords Buddhas, just as thou art mine at present. And, Rahula, the measure of the lifetime of that Lord Saptaratnapadmavikrantagamin, the Tathagata, etc., and the abundance of all sorts of good qualities (belonging to him) shall be exactly the same as of the Lord Sagaravaradharabuddhivikriditabhigna, the Tathagata, etc.; likewise shall the divisions of the Buddha-field and its qualities be the same as those possessed by that Lord. And, Rahula, thou shalt be the eldest son of that Tathagata Sagaravaradharabuddhivikriditabhigna, the Arhat, etc. Afterwards thou shalt arrive at supreme and perfect enlightenment.

8 Rahula here, my own eldest son, who was born to me when I was a prince royal, he, my son, after my reaching enlightenment, is a great Seer, an heir to the law.

9 The great number of kotis of Buddhas which he shall see in future, is immense. To all these Ginas he shall be a son, striving after enlightenment.

10 Unknown is this course (of duty) to Rahula, but I know his (former) vow. He glorifies the Friend of the world (by saying): I am, forsooth, the Tathagata's son.

11 Innumerable myriads of kotis of good qualities, the measure of which is never to be found, appertain to this Rahula, my son; for it has been said: He exists by reason of enlightenment.

The Lord now again regarded those two thousand disciples, both such as were still under training and such as were not, who were looking up to him with serene, mild, placid minds. And the Lord then addressed the venerable Ananda : Seest thou, Ananda, these two thousand disciples, both such as are still under training and such as are not? I do, Lord; I do, Sugata.' The Lord proceeded: All these two thousand monks, Ananda, shall simultaneously accomplish the course of Bodhisattvas, and after honouring, respecting, venerating, worshipping Buddhas as numerous as the atoms of fifty worlds, and after acquiring the true law, they shall, in their last bodily existence, attain supreme and perfect enlightenment at the same time, the same moment, the same instant, the same juncture in all directions of space, in different worlds, each in his own Buddha-field. They shall become Tathagatas, Arhats, etc., by the name of Ratnaketuragas. Their lifetime shall last a complete Æon. The division and good qualities of their Buddha-fields shall be equal; equal also shall be the number of the congregation of their disciples and Bodhisattvas; equal also shall be their complete extinction, and their true law shall continue an equal time.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

12 These two thousand disciples, Ananda, who here are standing before me, to them, the sages, I now predict that in future they shall become Tathagatas,

13 After having paid eminent worship to the Buddhas, by means of infinite comparisons and examples, they shall, when standing in their last bodily existence, reach my extreme enlightenment.

14 They shall all, under the same name, in every direction, at the same moment and instant, and sitting at the foot of the most exalted tree, become Buddhas, after they shall have reached the knowledge.

15 All shall bear the same name of Ketus of the Ratna, by which they shall be widely famed in this world. Their excellent fields shall be equal, and equal the congregation of disciples and Bodhisattvas.

16 Strong in magic power, they shall all simultaneously, in every direction of space, reveal the law in this world and all at once become extinct; their true law shall last equally long.

And the disciples, both such as were still under training and such as were not, on hearing from the Lord, face to face, the prediction concerning each of them, were pleased, exultant, ravished, joyous, filled with cheerfulness and delight, and addressed the Lord with the following stanzas:

17 We are satisfied, O Light of the world, to hear this prediction; we are pleased, O Tathagata, as if sprinkled with nectar.

18 We have no doubt, no uncertainty that we shall become supreme amongst men; to-day we have obtained felicity, because we have heard that prediction.

LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 10

The Preacher.

The Lord then addressed the eighty thousand Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas by turning to Bhaishagyaraga as their representative. Seest thou, Bhaishagyaraga, in this assembly the many gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees, votaries of the vehicle of disciples, votaries of the vehicle of Pratyekabuddhas, and those of the vehicle of Bodhisattvas, who have heard this Dharmaparyaya from the mouth of the Tathagata? 'I do, Lord; I do, Sugata.' The Lord proceeded: Well, Bhaishagyaraga, all those Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas who in this assembly have heard, were it but a single stanza, a single verse (or word), or who even by a single rising thought have joyfully accepted this Sutra, to all of them, Bhaishagyaraga, among the four classes of my audience I predict their destiny to supreme and perfect enlightenment. And all whosoever, Bhaishagyaraga, who, after the complete extinction of the Tathagata, shall hear this Dharmaparyaya and after hearing, were it but a single stanza, joyfully accept it, even with a single rising thought, to those also, Bhaishagyaraga, be they young men or young ladies of good family, I predict their destiny to supreme and perfect enlightenment. Those young men or ladies of good family, Bhaishagyaraga, shall be worshippers of many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddhas. Those young men or ladies of good family, Bhaishagyaraga, shall have made a vow under hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Buddhas. They must be considered as being reborn amongst the people of Gambudvipa, out of compassion to all creatures. Those who shall take, read, make known, recite, copy, and after copying always keep in memory and from time to time regard were it but a single stanza of this Dharmaparyaya; who by that book shall feel veneration for the Tathagatas, treat them with the respect due to Masters, honour, revere, worship them; who shall worship that book with flowers, incense, perfumed garlands, ointment, powder, clothes, umbrellas, flags, banners, music, etc., and with acts of reverence such as bowing and joining hands; in short, Bhaishagyaraga, any young men or young ladies of good family who shall keep or joyfully accept were it but a single stanza of this Dharmaparyaya, to all of them, Bhaishagyaraga, I predict their being destined to supreme and perfect enlightenment.

Should some man or woman, Bhaishagyaraga, happen to ask: How now have those creatures to be who in future are to become Tathagatas, Arhats, etc.? then that man or woman should be referred to the example of that young man or young lady of good family. 'Whoever is able to keep, recite, or teach, were it but a single stanza of four lines, and whoever shows respect for this Dharmaparyaya, that young man or young lady of good family shall in future become' a Tathagata, etc.; be persuaded of it.' For, Bhaishagyaraga, such a young man or young lady of good family must be considered to be a Tathagata, and by the whole world, including the gods, honour should be done to such a Tathagata who keeps were it but a single stanza of this Dharmaparyaya, and far more, of course, to one who grasps, keeps, comprehends, makes known, copies, and after copying always retains in his memory this Dharmaparyaya entirely and completely, and who honours that book with flowers, incense, perfumed garlands, ointment, powder, clothes, umbrellas, flags, banners, music, joined hands, reverential bows and salutations. Such a young man or young lady of good family, Bhaishagyaraga, must be held to be accomplished in supreme and perfect enlightenment; must be held to be the like of a Tathagata, who out of compassion and for the benefit of the world, by virtue of a former vow, makes his appearance here in Gambudvipa, in order to make this Dharmaparyaya generally known. Whosoever, after leaving his own lofty conception of the law and the lofty Buddha-field occupied by him, in order to make generally known this Dharmaparyaya, after my complete Nirvana, may be deemed to have appeared in the predicament of a Tathagata, such a one, Bhaishagyaraga, be it a young man or a young lady of good family, must be held to perform the function of the Tathagata, to be a deputy of the Tathagata. As such, Bhaishagyaraga, should be acknowledged the young man or the young lady of good family, who communicates this Dharmaparyaya, after the complete Nirvana of the Tathagata, were it but in secret or by stealth or to one single creature that he communicated or told it.

Again, Bhaishagyaraga, if some creature vicious, wicked, and cruel-minded should in the (current) Age speak something injurious in the face of the Tathagata, and if some should utter a single harsh word, founded or unfounded, to those irreproachable preachers of the law and keepers of this Sutranta, whether lay devotees or clergymen, I declare that the latter sin is the graver. For, Bhaishagyaraga, such a young man or young lady of good family must be held to be adorned with the apparel of the Tathagata. He carries the Tathagata on his shoulder, Bhaishagyaraga, who after having copied this Dharmaparyaya and made a volume of it, carries it on his shoulder. Such a one, wherever he goes, must be saluted by all beings with joined hands, must be honoured, respected, worshipped, venerated, revered by gods and men with flowers, incense, perfumed garlands, ointment, powder, clothes, umbrellas, flags, banners, musical instruments, with food, soft and hard, with nourishment and drink, with vehicles, with heaps of choice and gorgeous jewels. That preacher of the law must be honoured by heaps of gorgeous jewels being presented to that preacher of the law. For it may be that by his expounding this Dharmaparyaya, were it only once, innumerable, incalculable beings who hear it shall soon become accomplished in supreme and perfect enlightenment.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

1 He who wishes to be established in Buddhahood and aspires to the knowledge of the Self-born must honour those who keep this doctrine.

2 And he who is desirous of omniscience and thinks: How shall I soonest reach it? must try to know this Sutra by heart, or at least honour one who knows it.

3 He has been sent by the Lord of the world to convert (or catechise) men, he who out of compassion for mankind recites this Sutra.

4 After giving up a good position, that great man has come hither, he who out of compassion for mankind keeps this Sutra (in memory).

5 It is by force of his position, that in the last times he is seen preaching this unsurpassed Sutra.

6 That preacher of the law must be honoured with divine and human flowers and all sorts of perfumes; be decked with divine cloth and strewed with jewels.

7 One should always reverentially salute him with joined hands, as if he were the Chief of Ginas or the Self-born, he who in these most dreadful, last days keeps this Sutra of the Extinct (Buddha).

8 One should give food, hard and soft, nourishment and drink, lodging in a convent, kotis of robes to honour the son of Gina, when he has propounded, be it but once, this Sutra.

9 He performs the task of the Tathagatas and has been sent by me to the world of men, he who in the last days shall copy, keep, or hear this Sutra.

10 The man who in wickedness of heart or with frowning brow should at any time of a whole Æon utter something injurious in my presence, commits a great sin.

11 But one who reviles and abuses those guardians of this Sutranta, when they are expounding this Sutra, I say that he commits a still greater sin.

12 The man who, striving for superior enlightenment, shall in a complete Æon praise me in my face with joined hands, with many myriads of kotis of stanzas,

13 Shall thence derive a great merit, since he has glorified me in gladness of heart. But a still greater merit shall he acquire who pronounces the praise of those (preachers).

14 One who shall during eighteen thousand kotis of Æons pay worship to those objects of veneration, with words, visible things, flavours, with divine scents and divine kinds of touch,

15 If such a one, by his paying that worship to the objects of veneration during eighteen thousand kotis of Æons, happens to hear this Sutra, were it only once, he shall obtain an amazingly great advantage.

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I announce to thee, Bhaishagyaraga, I declare to thee, that many are the Dharmaparyayas which I have propounded, am propounding, and shall propound. And among all those Dharmaparyayas, Bhaishagyaraga, it is this which is apt to meet with no acceptance with everybody, to find no belief with everybody. This, indeed, Bhaishagyaraga, is the transcendent spiritual esoteric lore of the law, preserved by the power of the Tathagatas, but never divulged; it is an article (of creed) not yet made known. By the majority of people, Bhaishagyaraga, this Dharmaparyaya is rejected during the lifetime of the Tathagata; in far higher degree such will be the case after his complete extinction.

Nevertheless, Bhaishagyaraga, one has to consider those young men or young ladies of good family to be invested with the robes of the Tathagata; to be regarded and blessed by the Tathagatas living in other worlds, that they shall have the force of individual persuasion, the force that is rooted in virtue, and the force of a pious vow. They shall dwell apart in the convents of the Tathagata, Bhaishagyaraga, and shall have their heads stroked by the hand of the Tathagata, those young men and young ladies of good family, who after the complete extinction of the Tathagata shall believe, read, write, honour this Dharmaparyaya and recite it to others.

Again, Bhaishagyaraga, on any spot of the earth where this Dharmaparyaya is expounded, preached, written, studied, or recited in chorus, on that spot, Bhaishagyaraga, one should build a Tathagata-shrine, magnificent, consisting of precious substances, high, and spacious; but it is not necessary to depose in it relics of the Tathagata. For the body of the Tathagata is, so to say, collectively deposited there. Any spot of the earth where this Dharmaparyaya is expounded or taught or recited or rehearsed in chorus or written or kept in a volume, must be honoured, respected, revered, worshipped as if it were a Stupa, with all sorts of flowers, incense, perfumes, garlands, ointment, powder, clothes, umbrellas, flags, banners, triumphal streamers, with all kinds of song, music, dancing, musical instruments, castanets, and shouts in chorus. And those, Bhaishagyaraga, who approach a Tathagata-shrine to salute or see it, must be held to be near supreme and perfect enlightenment. For, Bhaishagyaraga, there are many laymen as well as priests who observe the course of a Bodhisattva without, however, coming so far as to see, hear, write or worship this Dharmaparyaya. So long as they do not hear this Dharmaparyaya, they are not yet proficient in the course of a Bodhisattva. But those who hear this Dharmaparyaya and thereupon accept, penetrate, understand, comprehend it, are at the time near supreme, perfect enlightenment, so to say, immediately near it.

It is a case, Bhaishagyaraga, similar to that of a certain man, who in need and in quest of water, in order to get water, causes a well to be dug in an and tract of land. So long as he sees that the sand being dug out is dry and white, he thinks: the water is still far off. After some time he sees that the sand being dug out is moist, mixed with water, muddy, with trickling drops, and that the working men who are engaged in digging the well are bespattered with mire and mud. On seeing that foretoken, Bhaishagyaraga, the man will be convinced and certain that water is near. In the same manner, Bhaishagyaraga, will these Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas be far away from supreme and perfect enlightenment so long as they do not hear, nor catch, nor penetrate, nor fathom, nor mind this Dharmaparyaya. But when the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas shall hear, catch, penetrate, study, and mind this Dharmaparyaya, then, Bhaishagyaraga, they will be, so to say, immediately near supreme, perfect enlightenment. From this Dharmaparyaya, Bhaishagyaraga, will accrue to creatures supreme and perfect enlightenment. For this Dharmaparyaya contains an explanation of the highest mystery, the secret article of the law which the Tathagatas, etc., have revealed for the perfecting of the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas. Any Bodhisattva, Bhaishagyaraga, who is startled, feels anxiety, gets frightened at this Dharmaparyaya, may be held, Bhaishagyaraga, to have (but) newly entered the vehicle. If, however, a votary of the vehicle of the disciples is startled, feels anxiety, gets frightened at this Dharmaparyaya, such a person, devoted to the vehicle of the disciples, Bhaishagyaraga, may be deemed a conceited man.

Any Bodhisattva Mahasattva, Bhaishagyaraga, who after the complete extinction of the Tathagata, in the last times, the last period shall set forth this Dharmaparyaya to the four classes of hearers, should do so, Bhaishagyariga, after having entered the abode of the Tathagata, after having put on the robe of the Tathagata, and occupied the pulpit of the Tathagata. And what is the abode of the Tathagata, Bhaishagyaraga? It is the abiding in charity (or kindness) to all beings; that is the abode of the Tathagata, Bhaishagyaraga, which the young man of good family has to enter. And what is the robe of the Tathagata, Bhaishagyaraga? It is the apparel of sublime forbearance; that is the robe of the Tathagata, Bhaishagyaraga, which the young man of good family has to put on. What is the pulpit of the Tathagata, Bhaishagyaraga? It is the entering into the voidness (or complete abstraction) of all laws (or things); that is the pulpit, Bhaishagyaraga, on which the young man of good family has to sit in order to set forth this Dharmaparyaya to the four classes of hearers. A Bodhisattva ought to propound this Dharmaparyaya with unshrinking mind, before the face of the congregated Bodhisattvas, the four classes of hearers, who are striving for the vehicle of Bodhisattvas, and I, staying in another world, Bhaishagyaraga, will by means of fictious creatures make the minds of the whole congregation favourably disposed to that young man of good family, and I will send fictious monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees in order to hear the sermon of the preacher, who are unable to gainsay or contradict him. If afterwards he shall have retired to the forest, I will send thither many gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, and great serpents to hear him preach, while I, staying in another world, Bhaishagyaraga, will show my face to that young man of good family, and the words and syllables of this Dharmaparyaya which he happens to have forgotten will I again suggest to him when he repeats his lesson.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

16 Let one listen to this exalted Sutra, avoiding all distractedness; for rare is the occasion (given) for hearing it, and rare also the belief in it.

17 It is a case similar to that of a certain man who in want of water goes to dig a well in an arid tract of land, and sees how again and again only dry sand is being dug up.

18 On seeing which he thinks: the water is far off; a token of its being far off is the dry white sand which appears in digging.

19 But when he (afterwards) sees again and again the sand moist and smooth, he gets the conviction that water cannot be very far off.

20 So, too, are those men far from Buddha-knowledge who have not heard this Sutra and have failed to repeatedly meditate on it.

21 But those who have heard and oft meditated on this profound king amongst Sutras, this authoritative book for disciples,

22 Are wise and near Buddha-knowledge, even as from the moisture of sand may be inferred that water is near.

23 After entering the abode of the Gina, putting on his robe and sitting down on my seat, the preacher should, undaunted, expound this Sutra.

24 The strength of charity (or kindness) is my abode; the apparel of forbearence is my robe; and voidness (or complete abstraction) is my seat; let (the preacher) take his stand on this and preach.

25 Where clods, sticks, pikes, or abusive words and threats fall to the lot of the preacher, let him be patient, thinking of me.

26 My body has existed entire in thousands of kotis of regions; during a number of kotis of.Æons beyond comprehension I teach the law to creatures.

27 To that courageous man who shall proclaim this Sutra after my complete extinction I will also send many creations.

28 Monks, nuns, lay devotees, male and female, will honour him as well as the classes of the audience.

29 And should there be some to attack him with clods, sticks, injurious words, threats, taunts, then the creations shall defend him.

30 And when he shall stay alone, engaged in study, in a lonely place, in the forest or the hills,

31 Then will I show him my luminous body and enable him to remember the lesson he forgot.

32 While he is living lonely in the wilderness, I will send him gods and goblins in great number to keep him company.

33 Such are the advantages he is to enjoy; whether he is preaching to the four classes, or living, a solitary, in mountain caverns and studying his lesson, he will see me.

34 His readiness of speech knows no impediment; he understands the manifold requisites of exegesis; he satisfies thousands of kotis of beings because he is, so to say, inspired (or blessed) by the Buddha.

35 And the creatures who are entrusted to his care shall very soon all become Bodhisattvas, and by cultivating his intimacy they shall behold Buddhas as numerous as the sands of the Ganges.

LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 11

Apparition Of A Stupa.

Then there arose a Stupa, consisting of seven precious substances, from the place of the earth opposite the Lord, the assembly being in the middle, a Stupa five hundred yoganas in height and proportionate in circumference. After its rising, the Stupa, a meteoric phenomenon, stood in the sky sparkling, beautiful, nicely decorated with five thousand successive terraces of flowers, adorned with many thousands of arches, embellished by thousands of banners and triumphal streamers, hung with thousands of jewel-garlands and with hourplates and bells, and emitting the scent of Xanthochymus and sandal, which scent filled this whole world. Its row of umbrellas rose so far on high as to touch the abodes of the four guardians of the horizon and the gods. It consisted of seven precious substances, viz. gold, silver, lapis lazuli, Musaragalva, emerald, red coral, and Karketana-stone. This Stupa of precious substances once formed, the gods of paradise strewed and covered it with Mandarava and great Mandara flowers. And from that Stupa of precious substances there issued this voice: Excellent, excellent, Lord Sakyamuni! thou hast well expounded this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law. So it is, Lord; so it is, Sugata.

At the sight of that great Stupa of precious substances, that meteoric phenomenon in the sky, the four classes of hearers were filled with gladness delight, satisfaction and joy. Instantly they rose from their seats, stretched out their joined hands, and remained standing in that position. Then the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Mahapratibhana, perceiving the world, including gods, men, and demons, filled with curiosity, said to the Lord: O Lord, what is the cause, what is the reason of so magnificent a Stupa of precious substances appearing in the world? Who is it, O Lord, who causes that sound to go out from the magnificent Stupa of precious substances? Thus asked, the Lord spake to Mahapratibhana, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva, as follows: In this great Stupa of precious substances, Mahapratibh'ana, the proper body of the Tathagata is contained condensed; his is the Stupa; it is he who causes this sound to go out.

In the point of space below, Mahapratibhana, there are innumerable thousands of worlds. Further on is the world called Ratnavisuddha, there is the Tathagata named Prabhutaratna, the Arhat, etc. This Lord of yore made this vow: Formerly, when following the course of a Bodhisattva, I have not arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment before I had heard this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, serving for the instruction of Bodhisattvas. But from the moment that I had heard this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, I have become fully ripe for supreme, perfect enlightenment. Now, Mahapratibhana, that Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., at the juncture of time when his complete extinction was to take place, announced in presence of the world, including the gods: After my complete extinction, monks, one Stupa must be made of precious substances of this frame (or form) of the proper body of the Tathagata; the other Stupas, again, should be made in dedication (or in reference) to me. Thereupon, Mahapratibhana, the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., pronounced this blessing: Let my Stupas here, this Stupa of my proper bodily frame (or form), arise wherever in any Buddha-field in the ten directions of space, in all worlds, the Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law is propounded, and let it stand in the sky above the assembled congregation when this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law is being preached by some Lord Buddha or another, and let this Stupa of the frame (or form) of my proper body give a shout of applause to those Buddhas while preaching this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law. It is that Stupa, Mahapratibhana, of the relics of the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., which, while I was preaching this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law in this Saha-world, arose above this assembled congregation and, standing as a meteor in the sky, gave its applause.

Then said Mahapratibhana, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva, to the Lord: Show us, O Lord, through thy power the frame of the afore-mentioned Tathagata. Whereon the Lord spake to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Mahapratibhana as follows: This Lord Prabhutaratna, Mahapratibhana, has made a grave and pious vow. That vow consisted in this: When the Lords, the Buddhas, being in other Buddha-fields, shall preach this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, then let this Stupa of the frame of my proper body be near the Tathagata to hear from him this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law. And when those Lords, those Buddhas wish to uncover the frame of my proper body and show it to the four classes of hearers, let then the Tathagata-frames, made by the Tathagatas in all quarters, in different Buddha-fields, from their own proper body, and preaching the law to creatures, under different names in several Buddha-fields, let all those Tathagata-frames, made from the proper body, united together, along with this Stupa containing the frame of my own body, be opened and shown to the four classes of hearers. Therefore, Mahapratibhana, have I made many Tathagata-frames which in all quarters, in several Buddha-fields in thousands of worlds, preach the law to creatures. All those ought to be brought hither.

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Mahapratibhana said to the Lord: Then, O Lord, shall we reverentially salute all those bodily emanations of the Tathagata and created by the Tathagata.

And instantly the Lord darted from the circle of hair on his brow a ray, which was no sooner darted than the Lords, the Buddhas stationed in the east in fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of worlds, equal to the sands of the river Ganges, became all visible, and the Buddha-fields there, consisting of crystal, became visible, variegated with jewel trees, decorated with strings of fine cloth, replete with many hundred thousands of Bodhisattvas, covered with canopies, decked with a network of seven precious substances and gold. And in those fields appeared the Lords, the Buddhas, teaching with sweet and gentle voice the law to creatures; and those

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Buddha-fields seemed replete with hundred thousands of Bodhisattvas. So, too, it was in the south-east; so in the south; so in the south-west; so in the west; so in the north-west; so in the north; so in the north-east; so in the nadir; so in the zenith; so in the ten directions of space; in each direction were to be seen many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddha-fields, similar to the sands of the river Ganges, in many worlds similar to the sands of the river Ganges, Lords Buddhas in many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddha-fields.

Those Tathagatas, etc., in the ten directions of space then addressed each his own troop of Bodhisattvas: We shall have to go, young men of good family, to the Saha-world near the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., to humbly salute the Stupa of the relics of Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc. Thereupon those Lords, those Buddhas resorted with their own satellites, each with one or two, to this Saha-world. At that period this all-embracing world was adorned with jewel trees; it consisted of lapis lazuli, was covered with a network of seven precious substances and gold, smoking with the odorous incense of magnificent jewels, everywhere strewn with Mandarava and great Mandarava flowers, decorated with a network of little bells, showing a checker board divided by gold threads into eight compartments, devoid of villages, towns, boroughs, provinces, kingdoms, and royal capitals, without Kala-mountain, without the mountains Mukilinda and great Mukilinda, without a mount Sumeru, without a Kakravala (i. e. horizon) and great Kakravala (i. e. extended horizon), without other principal mountains, without great oceans, without rivers and great rivers, without bodies of gods, men, and demons, without hells, without brute creation, without a kingdom of Yama. For it must be understood that at that period all beings in any of the six states of existence in this world had been removed to other worlds, with the exception of those who were assembled at that congregation. Then it was that those Lords, those Buddhas, attended by one or two satellites, arrived at this Saha-world and went one after the other to occupy their place close to the foot of a jewel tree. Each of the jewel trees was five hundred yoganas in height, had boughs, leaves, foliage, and circumference in proportion, and was provided with blossoms and fruits. At the foot of each jewel tree stood prepared a throne, five yoganas in height, and adorned with magnificent jewels. Each Tathagata went to occupy his throne and sat on it cross-legged. And so all the Tathagatas of the whole sphere sat cross-legged at the foot of the jewel trees.

At that moment the whole sphere was replete with Tathagatas, but the beings produced from the proper body of the Lord Sakyamuni had not yet arrived, not even from a single point of the horizon. Then the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., proceeded to make room for those Tathagata-frames that were arriving one after the other. On every side in the eight directions of space (appeared) twenty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddha-fields of lapis lazuli, decked with a network of seven precious substances and gold, decorated with a fringe of little bells, strewn with Mandarava and great Mandarava flowers, covered with heavenly awnings, hung with wreaths of heavenly flowers, smoking with heavenly odorous incense. All those twenty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddha-fields were without villages, towns, boroughs, etc.; without Kala-mountain, etc.; without great oceans, etc.; without bodies of gods, etc. All those Buddha-fields were so arranged by him as to form one Buddha-field, one soil, even, lovely, set off with trees of seven precious substances, trees five hundred yoganas in height and circumference, provided with boughs, flowers, and fruits in proportion. At the foot of each tree stood prepared a throne, five yoganas in height and width, consisting of celestial gems, glittering and beautiful. The Tathagatas arriving one after the other occupied the throne near the foot of each tree, and sat cross-legged. In like manner the Tathagata Sakyamuni prepared twenty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of other worlds, in every direction of space, in order to give room to the Tathagatas who were arriving one after the other. Those twenty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of worlds in every direction of space were likewise so made by him as to be without villages, towns, etc. [as above]. They were without bodies of gods, etc. [as above]; all those beings had been removed to other worlds. These Buddha-fields also were of lapis lazuli, etc. [as above]. All those jewel trees measured five hundred yoganas, and near them were thrones, artificially made and measuring five yoganas. Then those Tathagatas sat down cross-legged, each on a throne at the foot of a jewel tree.

At that moment the Tathagatas produced by the Lord Sakyamuni, who in the east were preaching the law to creatures in hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Buddha-fields, similar to the sands of the river Ganges, all arrived from the ten points of space and sat down in the eight quarters. Thereupon thirty kotis of worlds in each direction were occupied by those Tathagatas from all the eight quarters. Then, seated on their thrones, those Tathagatas deputed their satellites into the presence of the Lord Sakyamuni, and after giving them bags with jewel flowers enjoined them thus: Go, young men of good family, to the Gridhraktila mountain, where the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., is; salute him reverentially and ask, in our name, after the state of health, well-being, lustiness, and comfort both of himself and the crowd of Bodhisattvas and disciples. Strew him with this heap of jewels and speak thus: Would the Lord Tathagata deign to open this great Stupa of jewels? It was in this manner that all those Tathagatas deputed their satellites.

And when the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, perceived that his creations, none wanting, had arrived; perceived that they were severally seated on their thrones, and perceived that the satellites of those Tathagatas, etc., were present, he, in consideration of the wish expressed by those Tathagatas, etc., rose from his seat and stood in the sky, as a meteor. And all the four classes of the assembly rose from their seats, stretched out their joined hands, and stood gazing up to the face of the Lord. The Lord then, with the right fore-finger, unlocked the middle of the great Stupa of jewels, which showed like a meteor, and so severed the two parts. Even as the double doors of a great city gate separate when the bolt is removed, so the Lord opened the great Stupa, which showed like a meteor, by unlocking it in the middle with the right fore-finger. The great Stupa of jewels had no sooner been opened than the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., was seen sitting cross-legged on his throne, with emaciated limbs and faint body, as if absorbed in abstract meditation, and he pronounced these words: Excellent, excellent, Lord Sakyamuni; thou hast well expounded this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law. I repeat, thou hast well expounded this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, Lord Sakyamuni, to the (four) classes of the assembly. I myself, Lord, have come hither to hear the Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law.

Now the four classes of the assembly, on perceiving the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., who had been extinct for many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Æons, speaking in this way, were filled with wonder and amazement. Instantly they covered the Lord Prabhataratna, the Tathagata, etc., and the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., with heaps of divine and human flowers. And then the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., ceded to the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., the half of the seat on that very throne within that same great Stupa of jewels and said: Let the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., sit down here. Whereon the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., sat down upon that half-seat together with the other Tathagata, so that both Tathagatas were seen as meteors in the sky, sitting on the throne in the middle of the great Stupa of jewels.

And in the minds of those four classes of the assembly rose this thought: We are far off from the two Tathagatas; therefore let us also, through the power of the Tathagata, rise up to the sky. As the Lord apprehended in his mind what was going on in the minds of those four classes of the assembly, he instantly, by magic power, established the four classes as meteors in the sky. Thereupon the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, addressed the four classes: Who amongst you, monks, will endeavour to expound this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law in this Saha-world? The fatal term, the time (of death), is now at hand; the Tathagata longs for complete extinction, monks, after entrusting to you this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

1 Here you see, monks, the great Seer, the extinct Chief, within the Stupa of jewels, who now has come to hear the law. Who would not call up his energy for the law's sake?

2 Albeit completely extinct for many kotis of Æons, he yet now comes to hear the law; for the law's sake he moves hither and thither; very rare (and very precious) is a law like this.

3 This Leader practised a vow when he was in a former existence; even after his complete extinction he wanders through this whole world in all ten points of space.

4 And all these (you here see) are my proper bodies, by thousands of kotis, like the sands of the Ganges; they have appeared that the law may be fulfilled I and in order to see this extinct Master.

5 After laying out for each his peculiar field, as well as having (created) all disciples, men and gods, in order to preserve the true law, as long as the reign of the law shall last,

6 I have by magic power cleared many worlds, destined as seats for those Buddhas, and transported all creatures.

7 It has (always) been my anxious care how this line of the law might be manifested. So (you see) Buddhas here in immense number staying at the foot of trees like a great multitude of lotuses.

8 Many kotis of bases of trees are brightened by the Leaders sitting on the thrones which are perpetually occupied by them and brightened as darkness is by fire.

9 A delicious fragrance spreads from the Leaders of the world over all quarters, (a fragrance) by which, when the wind is blowing, all these creatures are intoxicated.

10 Let him who after my extinction shall keep this Dharmaparyaya quickly pronounce his declaration in the presence of the Lords of the world.

11 The Seer Prabhutaratna who, though completely extinct, is awake, will hear the lion's roar of him who shall take this resolution.

12 Myself, in the second place, as well as the many Chiefs who have flocked hither by kotis, will hear that resolution from the son of Gina, who is to exert himself to expound this law.

13 And thereby shall I always be honoured as well as Prabheitaratna, the self-born Gina, who perpetually wanders through the quarters and intermediate quarters in order to hear such a law as this.

14 And these (other) Lords of the world here present, by whom this soil is so variegated and splendid, to them also will accrue ample and manifold honour from this Sutra being preached.

15 Here on this seat you see me, together with the Lord next to me, in the middle of the Stupa; likewise many other Lords of the world here present, in many hundreds of fields.

16 Ye, young men of good family, mind, for mercy's sake towards all beings, that it is a very difficult task to which the Chief urges you.

17 One might expound many thousands of Sutras, like to the sands of the Ganges, without overmuch difficulty.

18 One who after grasping the Sumeru in the fist were to hurl it a distance of kotis of fields, would do nothing very difficult.

19 Nor would it be so very difficult if one could shake this whole universe by the thumb to hurl it a distance of kotis of fields.

20 Nor would one who, after taking stand on the limit of the existing world, were to expound the law and thousands of other Sutras, do something so very difficult.

21 But to keep and preach this Sutra in the dreadful period succeeding the extinction of the Chief of the world, that is difficult.

22 To throw down the totality of ether-element after compressing it in one fist, and to leave it behind after having thrown it away, is not difficult.

23 But to copy a Sutra like this in the period after my extinction, that is difficult.

24 To collect the whole earth-element at a nail's end, cast it away, and then walk off to the Brahma-world,

25 Is not difficult, nor would it require a strength surpassing everybody's strength to do this work of difficulty.

26 Something more difficult than that will he do who in the last days after my extinction shall pronounce this Sutra, were it but a single moment.

27 It will not be difficult for him to walk in the midst of the conflagration at the (time of the) end of the world, even if he carries with him a load of hay.

28 More difficult it will be to keep this Sutra after my extinction and teach it to a single creature.

29 One may keep the eighty-four thousand divisions of the law and expound them, with the instructions and such as they have been set forth, to kotis of living beings;

30 This is not so difficult; nor is it, to train at the present time monks, and confirm my disciples in the five parts of transcendent knowledge.

31 But more difficult is it to keep this Satra, believe in it, adhere to it, or expound it again and again.

32 Even he who confirms many thousands of kotis of Arhats, blest with the possession of the six transcendent faculties (Abhignas), like sands of the Ganges,

33 Performs something not so difficult by far as the excellent man does who after my extinction shall keep my sublime law.

34 I have often, in thousands of worlds, preached the law, and to-day also I preach it with the view that Buddha-knowledge may be obtained.

35 This Sutra is declared the principal of all Sutras; he who keeps in his memory this Stitra, keeps the body of the Gina.

36 Speak, O young men of good family, while the Tathagata is (still) in your presence, who amongst you is to exert himself in later times to keep the Sutra.

37 Not only I myself shall be pleased, but the Lords of the world in general, if one would keep for a moment this Sutra so difficult to keep.

38 Such a one shall ever be praised by all the Lords of the world, famed as an eminent hero, and ouick in arrivinLy at transcendent wisdom.

39 He shall be entrusted with the leadership amongst the sons of the Tathagatas, he who, after having reached the stage of meekness, shall keep this Sutra.

40 He shall be the eye of the world, including gods and men, who shall speak this Sutra after the extinction of the Chief of men.

41 He is to be venerated by all beings, the wise man who in the last times shall preach this Sutra (were it but) a single moment.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the whole company of Bodhisattvas and the world, including gods and demons, and said: Of yore, monks, in times past I have, unwearied and without repose, sought after the Sutra of the Lotus of the True Law, during immense, immeasurable Æons; many Æons

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before I have been a king, during many thousands of Æons. Having once taken the strong resolution to arrive at supreme, perfect enlightenment, my mind did not swerve from its aim. I exerted myself to fulfil the six Perfections (Paramitas), bestowing immense alms: gold, money, gems, pearls, lapis lazuli, conch-shells, stones (?), coral, gold and silver, emerald, Musaragalva, red pearls; villages, towns, boroughs, provinces, kingdoms, royal capitals; wives, sons, daughters, slaves, male and female; elephants, horses, cars, up to the sacrifice of life and body, of limbs and members, hands, feet, head. And never did the thought of self-complacency rise in me. In those days the life of men lasted long, so that for a time of many hundred thousand years I was exercising the rule of a King of the Law for the sake of duty, not for the sake of enjoyment. After installing in government the eldest prince royal, I went in quest of the best law in the four quarters, and had promulgated with sound of bell the following proclamation: He who procures for me the best laws or points out what is useful, to him will I become a servant. At that time there lived a Seer; he told me: Noble king, there is a Sutra, called the Lotus of the True Law, which is an exposition of the best law. If thou consent to become my servant, I will teach thee that law. And I, glad, content, exulting and ravished at the words I heard from the Seer, became his pupil, and said: I will do for thee the work of a servant. And so having agreed upon becoming the servant of the Seer, I performed the duties of a servitor, such as fetching grass, fuel, water, bulbs, roots, fruit, etc. I held also the office of a doorkeeper. When I had done such kind of work at day-time, I at night kept his feet while he was lying on his couch, and never did I feel fatigue of body or mind. In such occupations I passed a full millennium.

And for the fuller elucidation of this matter the Lord on that occasion uttered the following stanzas:

42 I have a remembrance of past ages when I was Dharmika, the King of the Law, and exercised the royal sway for duty's sake, not for love's sake, in the interest of the best laws.

43 I let go out in all directions this proclamation: I will become a servant to him who shall explain Dharma. At that time there was a far-seeing Sage, a revealer of the Sutra called the True Law.

44 He said to me: If thou wish to know Dharma, become my servant; then I will explain it to thee. As I heard these words I rejoiced and carefully performed such work as a servant ought to do.

45 I never felt any bodily nor mental weariness since I had become a servant for the sake of the true law. I did my best for real truth's sake, not with a view to win honour or enjoy pleasure.

46 That king meanwhile, strenuously and without engaging in other pursuits, roamed in every direction during thousands of kotis of complete Æons without being able to obtain the Sutra called Dharma.

Now, monks, what is your opinion? that it was another who at that time, at that juncture was the king? No, you must certainly not hold that view. For it was myself, who at that time, at that juncture was the king. What then, monks, is your opinion? that it was another who at that time, at that juncture was the Seer? No, you must certainly not hold that view. For it was this Devadatta himself, the monk I, who at that time, at that juncture was the Seer. Indeed, monks, Devadatta was my good friend. By the aid of Devadatta have I accomplished the six perfect virtues (Paramitas). Noble kindness, noble compassion, noble sympathy, noble indifference, the thirty-two signs of a great man, the eighty lesser marks, the gold-coloured tinge, the ten powers, the fourfold absence of hesitation, the four articles of sociability, the eighteen uncommon properties, magical power, ability to save beings in all directions of space,-all this (have I got) after having come to Devadatta. I announce to you, monks, I declare to you: This Devadatta, the monk, shall in an age to come, after immense, innumerable Æons, become a Tathagata named Devaraga (i. e. King of the gods), an Arhat, etc., in the world Devasopana (i. e. Stairs of the gods). The lifetime of that Tathagata Devaraga, monks, shall measure twenty intermediate kalpas. He shall preach the law in extension, and beings equal to the sands of the river Ganges shall through him forsake all evils and realise Arhatship. Several beings shall also elevate their minds to Pratyekabuddhaship, whereas beings equal to the sands of the river Ganges shall elevate their minds to supreme, perfect enlightenment, and become endowed with unflinching patience. Further, monks, after the complete extinction of the Tathagata Devaragu, his true law shall stay twenty intermediate kalpas. His body shall not be seen divided into different parts (and relics); it shall remain as one mass within a Stupa of seven precious substances, which Stupa is to be sixty hundred yoganas in height and forty yoganas in extension. All, gods and men, shall do worship to it with flowers, incense, perfumed garlands, unguents, powder, clothes, umbrellas, banners, flags, and celebrate it with stanzas and songs. Those who shall turn round that Stupa from left to right or humbly salute it, shall some of them realise Arhatship, others attain Pratyekabuddhaship; others, gods and men, in immense number, shall raise their minds to supreme, perfect enlightenment, never to return.

Thereafter the Lord again addressed the assembly of monks: Whosoever in future, monks, be he a young man or a young lady of good family, shall hear this chapter of the Sutra of the Lotus of the True Law, and by doing so be relieved from doubt, become pure-minded, and put reliance on it, to such a one the door of the three states of misfortune shall be shut: he shall not fall so low as to be born in hell, among beasts, or in Yama's kingdom. When born in the Buddha-fields in the ten points of space he shall at each repeated birth hear this very Sutra, and when born amongst gods or men he shall attain an eminent rank. And in the Buddha-field where he is to be born he shall appear by metamorphosis on a lotus of seven precious substances, face to face with the Tathagata.

At that moment a Bodhisattva of the name of Pragnakuta, having come from beneath the Buddha-field of the Tathagatna, said to the Tathagata Prabhutaratna: Lord, let us resort to our own Buddha-field. But the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, said to the Bodhisattva Pragnakuta: Wait a while, young man of good family, first have a discussion with my Bodhisattva Mangusri, the prince royal, to settle some point of the law. And at the same moment, lo, Mangusri, the prince royal, rose seated on a centifolious lotus that was large as a carriage yoked with four horses, surrounded and attended by many Bodhisattvas, from the bosom of the sea, from the abode of the Naga-king Sagara (i. e. Ocean). Rising high into the sky he went through the air to the Gridhrakuta mountain to the presence of the Lord. There Mangusri, the prince royal, alighted from his lotus, reverentially saluted the feet of the Lord Sakyamuni and Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, went up to the Bodhisattva Pragnakuta and, after making the usual complimentary questions as to his health and welfare, seated himself at some distance. The Bodhisattva Pragnakuta then addressed to Mangusri, the prince royal, the following question: Mangusri, how many beings hast thou educated' during thy stay in the sea? Mangusri answered: Many, innumerable, incalculable beings have I educated, so innumerable that words cannot express it, nor thought conceive it. Wait a while, young man of good family, thou shalt presently see a token. No sooner had Mangusri, the prince royal, spoken these words than instantaneously many thousands of lotuses rose from the bosom of the sea up to the sky, and on those lotuses were seated many thousands of Bodhisattvas, who flocked through the air to the Gridhrakilla, mountain, where they stayed, appearing as meteors. All of them had been educated by Mangusri, the prince royal, to supreme, perfect enlightenment. The Bodhisattvas amongst them who had formerly striven after the great vehicle extolled the virtues of the great vehicle and the six perfect virtues (Paramitas). Such as had been disciples extolled the vehicle of disciples. But all acknowledged the voidness (or vanity) of all laws (or things), as well as the virtues of the great vehicle. Mangusri, the prince royal, said to the Bodhisattva Pragntakuta: Young man of good family, while I was staying in the bosom of the great ocean I have by all means educated creatures, and here thou seest the result. Whereupon the Bodhisattva Pragnakuta questioned Mangusri, the prince royal, in chanting the following stanzas:

47 O thou blessed one, who from thy wisdom art called the Sage, by whose power is it that thou to-day (or now) hast educated those innumerable beings? Tell it me upon my question, O thou god amongst men.

48 What law hast thou preached, or what Sutra, in showing the path of enlightenment, so that those who are there with you have conceived the idea of enlightenment? that, once having gained a safe ford', they have been decisively established in omniscience?

Mangusri answered: In the bosom of the sea I have expounded the Lotus of the True Law and no other Sutra. Pragnakuta said: That Sutra is profound, subtle, difficult to seize; no other Sutra equals it. Is there any creature able to understand this jewel of a Sutra or to arrive at supreme, perfect enlightenment? Mangusri replied: There is, young man of good family, the daughter of Sagara, the Naga-king, eight years old, very intelligent, of keen faculties, endowed with prudence in acts of body, speech, and mind, who has caught and kept all the teachings, in substance and form, of the Tathagatas, who has acquired in one moment a thousand meditations and proofs of the essence of all laws. She does not swerve from the idea of enlightenment, has great aspirations, applies to other beings the same measure as to herself; she is apt to display all virtues and is never deficient in them. With a bland smile on the face and in the bloom of an extremely handsome appearance she speaks words of kindliness and compassion. She is fit to arrive at supreme, perfect enlightenment. The Bodhisattva Praggakuta said: I have seen how the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, when he was striving after enlightenment, in the state of a Bodhisattva, performed innumerable good works', and during many Æons never slackened in his arduous task. In the whole universe there is not a single spot so small as a mustard-seed where he has not surrendered his body for the sake of creatures. Afterwards he arrived at enlightenment. Who then would believe that she should have been able to arrive at supreme, perfect knowledge in one moment?

At that very moment appeared the daughter of Sagara, the Naga-king, standing before their face. After reverentially saluting the feet of the Lord she stationed herself at some distance and uttered on that occasion the following stanzas:

49 Spotless, bright, and of unfathomable light is that ethereal body, adorned with the thirty-two characteristic signs, pervading space in all directions.

50 He is possessed of the secondary marks and praised by every being, and accessible to all, like an open market-place.

51 I have obtained enlightenment according to my wish; the Tathagata can bear witness to it; I will extensively reveal the law that releases from sufferance.

Then the venerable Sariputra said to that daughter of Sagara, the Naga-king: Thou hast conceived the idea of enlightenment, young lady of good family, without sliding back, and art gifted with immense wisdom, but supreme, perfect enlightenment is not easily won. It may happen, sister, that a woman displays an unflagging energy, performs good works for many thousands of Aeons, and fulfils the six perfect virtues (Paramitas), but as yet there is no example of her having reached Buddhaship, and that because a woman cannot occupy the five ranks, viz. 1. the rank of Brahma; 2. the rank of Indra; 3. the rank of a chief guardian of the four quarters; 4. the rank of Kakravartin; 5. the rank of a Bodhisattva incapable of sliding back .

Now the daughter of Sagara, the Naga-king, had at the time a gem which in value outweighed the whole universe. That gem the daughter of Sagara, the Naga-king, presented to the Lord, and the Lord graciously accepted it. Then the daughter of Sagara, the Naga-king, said to the Bodhisattva Pragnakuta and the senior priest Sariputra: Has the Lord readily accepted the gem I presented him or has he not? The senior priest answered: As soon as it was presented by thee, so soon it was accepted by the Lord. The daughter of Sagara, the Naga-king, replied: If I were endowed with magic power, brother Sariputra, I should sooner have arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment, and there would have been none to receive this gem.

At the same instant, before the sight of the whole world and of the senior priest Sariputra, the female sex of the daughter of Sagara, the Naga-king, disappeared; the male sex appeared and she manifested herself as a Bodhisattva, who immediately went to the South to sit down at the foot of a tree made of seven precious substances, in the world Vimala (i.e. spotless), where he showed himself enlightened and preaching the law, while filling all directions of space with the radiance of the thirtytwo characteristic signs and all secondary marks. All beings in the Saha-world beheld that Lord while he received the homage of all, gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, and was engaged in preaching the law. And the beings who heard the preaching of that Tathagata became incapable of sliding back in supreme, perfect enlightenment. And that world Vimala and this Saha-world shook in six different ways. Three thousand living beings from the congregational circle of the Lord Sakyamuni gained the acquiescence in the eternal law, whereas three hundred thousand beings obtained the prediction of their future destiny to supreme, perfect enlightenment.

Then the Bodhisattva Pragnakuta and the senior priest Sariputra were silent.

LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 12

Exertion.

Thereafter the Bodhisattva Bhaishagyaraga and the Bodhisattva Mahapratibhana, with a retinue of twenty hundred thousand Bodhisattvas, spoke before the face of the Lord the following words: Let the Lord be at ease in this respect; we will after the extinction of the Tathagata expound this Paryaya to (all) creatures, though we are aware, O Lord, that at that period there shall be malign beings, having few roots of goodness, conceited, fond of gain and honour, rooted in unholiness, difficult to tame, deprived of good will, and full of unwillingness. Nevertheless, O Lord, we will at that period read, keep, preach, write, honour, respect, venerate, worship this Sutra; with sacrifice of body and life, O Lord, we will divulge this Sutra. Let the Lord be at ease.

Thereupon five hundred monks of the assembly, both such as were under training and such as were not, said to the Lord: We also, O Lord, will exert ourselves to divulge this Dharmaparyaya, though in other worlds. Then all the disciples of the Lord, both such as were under training and such as were not, who had received from the Lord the prediction as to their (future) supreme enlightenment, all the eight thousand monks raised their joined hands towards the Lord and said: Let the Lord be at case. We also will divulge this Dharmaparyaya, after the complete extinction of the Lord, in the last days, the last period, though in other worlds. For in this Saha-world, O Lord, the creatures are conceited, possessed of few roots of goodness, always vicious in their thoughts, wicked, and naturally perverse.

Then the noble matron Gautami, the sister of the Lord's mother, along with six hundred nuns, some of them being under training, some being not, rose from her seat, raised the

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joined hands towards the Lord and remained gazing up to him. Then the Lord addressed the noble matron Gautami: Why dost thou stand so dejected, gazing up to the Tathagata? (She replied): I have not been mentioned by the Tathagata, nor have I received from him a prediction of my destiny to supreme, perfect enlightenment. (He said): But, Gautami, thou hast received a prediction with the prediction regarding the whole assembly. Indeed, Gautami, thou shalt from henceforward, before the face of thirty-eight hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddhas, be a Bodhisattva and preacher of the law. These six thousand nuns also, partly perfected in discipline, partly not, shall along with others become Bodhisattvas and preachers of the law before the face of the Tathagatas. Afterwards, when thou shalt have completed the course of a Bodhisattva, thou shalt become, under the name of Sarva sattvapri yadarsana (i. e. lovely to see for all beings), a Tathagata, an Arhat, etc., endowed with science and conduct, etc. etc. And that Tathagata Sarva sattvapri yadarsana, O Gautami, shall give a prediction by regular succession to those six thousand Bodhisattvas concerning their destiny to supreme, perfect enlightenment.

Then the nun Yasodhara, the mother of Rahula, thought thus: The Lord has not mentioned my name. And the Lord comprehending in his own mind what was going on in the mind of the nun Yasodhara said to her: I announce to thee, Yasodhara, I declare to thee: Thou also shalt before the face of ten thousand kotis of Buddhas become a Bodhisattva and preacher of the law, and after regularly completing the course of a Bodhisattva thou shalt become a Tathagata, named Rasmisatasahasraparipurnadhvaga, an Arhat, etc., endowed with science and conduct, etc. etc., in the world Bhadra; and the lifetime of that Lord Rasmisatasahasraparipirnadhvaga shall be unlimited.

When the noble matron Gautami, the nun, with her suite of six thousand nuns, and Yasodhara, the nun, with her suite of four thousand nuns, heard from the Lord their future destiny to supreme, perfect enlio,htenment, they uttered, in wonder and amazement, this stanza:

1 O Lord, thou art the trainer, thou art the leader; thou art the master of the world, including the gods; thou art the giver of comfort, thou who art worshipped by men and gods. Now, indeed, we feel satisfied.

After uttering this stanza the nuns said to the Lord: We also, O Lord, will exert ourselves to divulge this Dharmaparyaya in the last days, though in other worlds.

Thereafter the Lord looked towards the eighty hundred thousand Bodhisattvas who were gifted with magical spells and capable of moving forward the wheel that never rolls back. No sooner were those Bodhisattvas regarded by the Lord than they rose from their seats, raised their joined hands towards the Lord and reflected thus: The Lord invites us to make known the Dharmaparyaya. Agitated by that thought they asked one another: What shall we do, young men of good family, in order that this Dharmaparyaya may in future be made known as the Lord invites us to do? Thereupon those young men of good family, in consequence of their reverence for the Lord and their own pious vow in their previous course, raised a lion's roar before the Lord: We, O Lord, will in future, after the complete extinction of the Lord, go in all directions in order that creatures shall write, keep, meditate, divulge this Dharmaparyaya, by no other's power but the Lord's. And the Lord, staying in another world, shall protect, defend, and guard us.

Then the Bodhisattvas unanimously in a chorus addressed the Lord with the following stanzas:

2 Be at ease, O Lord. After thy complete extinction, in the horrible last period of the world, we will proclaim this sublime Sutra.

3 We will suffer, patiently endure, O Lord, the injuries, threats, blows and threats with sticks at the hands of foolish men.

4 At that dreadful last epoch men will be malign, crooked, wicked, dull, conceited, fancying to have come to the limit when they have not.

5 'We do not care but to live in the wilderness and wear a patched cloth; we lead a frugal life;' so will they speak to the ignorant.

6 And persons greedily attached to enjoyments will preach the law to laymen and be honoured as if they possessed the six transcendent qualities.

7 Cruel-minded and wicked men, only occupied with household cares, will enter our retreat in the forest and become our calumniators.

8 The Tirthikas, themselves bent on profit and honour, will say of us that we are so, and-shame on such monks!-they will preach their own fictions.

9 Prompted by greed of profit and honour they will compose Sutras of their own invention and then, in the midst of the assembly, accuse us of plagiarism.

10 To kings, princes, king's peers, as well as to Brahmans and commoners, and to monks of other confessions,

11 They will speak evil of us and propagate the Tirtha-doctrine. We will endure all that out of reverence for the great Seers.

12 And those fools who will not listen to us, shall (sooner or later) become enlightened, and therefore will we forbear to the last.

13 In that dreadful, most terrible period of frightful general revolution will many fiendish monks stand up as our revilers.

14 Out of respect for the Chief of the world we will bear it, however difficult it be; girded with the girdle of forbearance will I proclaim this Sutra.

15 I do not care for my body or life, O Lord, but as keepers of thine entrusted deposit we care for enlightenment.

16 The Lord himself knows that in the last pericd there are (to be) wicked monks who do not understand mysterious speech.

17 One will have to bear frowning looks, repeated disavowal (or concealment), expulsion from the monasteries, many and manifold abuses.

18 Yet mindful of the command of the Lord of the world we will in the last period undauntedly proclaim this Sutra in the midst of the congregation.

19 We will visit towns and villages everywhere, and transmit to those who care for it thine entrusted deposit, O Lord.

20 O Chief of the world, we will deliver thy message; be at ease then, tranquil and quiet, great Seer.

21 Light of the world, thou knowest the disposition of all who have flocked hither from every direction, (and thou knowest that) we speak a word of truth.

LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 13

Peaceful Life

Mangusri, the prince royal, said to the Lord: It is difficult, Lord, most difficult, what these Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas will attempt out of reverence for the Lord. How are these Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas to promulgate this Dharmaparyaya at the end of time, at the last period? Whereupon the Lord answered Mangusri, the prince royal: A Bodhisattva Mahasattva, Mangusri, he who is to promulgate this Dharmaparyaya at the end of time, at the last period, must be firm in four things. In which things? The Bodhisattva Mahasattva, Mangusri, must be firm in his conduct and proper sphere if he wishes to teach this Dharmaparyaya. And how, Mangusri, is a Bodhisattva Mahasattva firm in his conduct and proper sphere? When the Bodhisattva Mahasattva, Mangusri, is patient, meek, has reached the stage of meekness; when he is not rash, nor envious; when, moreover, Mangusri, he clings to no law whatever and sees the real character of the laws (or things); when he is refraining from investigating and discussing these laws, Mangusri; that is called the conduct of a Bodhisattva Mahasattva. And what is the proper sphere of a Bodhisattva Mahasattva, Mangusri? When the Bodhisattva Mahasattva, Mangusri, does not serve, not court, not wait upon kings; does not serve, not court, not wait upon princes; when he does not approach them; when he does not serve, not court, not wait upon persons of another sect, Karakas, Parivragakas, Agivakas, Nirgranthas [Three kinds of mendicant friars not belonging to the Buddhist, nor to the Gaina persuasion], nor persons passionately fond of fine literature; when he does not serve, not court, not wait upon adepts at worldly spells, and votaries of a worldly philosophy, nor keep any intercourse with them; when he does not go to see Kandalas, jugglers, vendors of pork, poulterers, deer-hunters, butchers, actors and dancers, wrestlers, nor resort to places whither others flock for amusement and sport; when he keeps no intercourse with them unless from time to time to preach the law to them when they come to him, and that freely; when he does not serve, not court, not wait upon monks, nuns, lay devotees, male and female, who are adherents of the vehicle of disciples, nor keep intercourse with them; when he does not come in contact with them at the place of promenade or in the monastery, unless from time to time to preach the law to them when they come to him, and even that freely. This, Mangusri, is the proper sphere of a Bodhisattva Mahasattva.

Again, Mangusri, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva does not take hold of some favourable opportunity or another to preach the law to females every now and anon, nor is he desirous of repeatedly seeing females; nor does he think it proper to visit families and then too often address a girl, virgin, or young wife, nor does he greet them too fondly in return. He does not preach the law to a hermaphrodite, keeps no intercourse with such a person, nor greets too friendly in return. He does not enter a house alone in order to receive alms, unless having the Tathagata in his thoughts. And when he happens to preach the law to females, he does not do so by passionate attachment to the law, far less by passionate attachment to a woman. When he is preaching, he does not display his row of teeth, let alone a quick emotion on his physiognomy. He addresses no novice, male or female, no nun, no monk, no young boy, no young girl, nor enters upon a conversation with them; he shows no great readiness in answering their address, nor cares to give too frequent answers. This, Mangusri, is called the first proper sphere of a Bodhisattva Mahasattva.

Further, Mangusri, a Bodhisattva Mahasattva looks upon all laws (and things) as void; he -sees them duly established, remaining unaltered, as they are in reality, not liable to be disturbed, not to be moved backward, unchangeable, existing in the highest sense of the word (or in an absolute sense), having the nature of space, escaping explanation and expression by means of common speech, not born, composed and simple, aggregated and isolated, not expressible in words, independently established, manifesting themselves owing to a perversion of perception. In this way then, Mangusri, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva constantly views all laws, and if he abides in this course, he remains in his own sphere. This, Mangusri, is the second proper sphere of a Bodhisattva Mahasattva.

And in order to expound this matter in greater detail, the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

1 The Bodhisattva who, undaunted and unabashed, wishes to set forth this Sutra in the dreadful period hereafter,

2 Must keep to his course (of duty) and proper sphere; he must be retired and pure, constantly avoid intercourse with kings and princes.

3 Nor should he keep up intercourse with king's servants, nor with Kandalas, jugglers, and Tirthikas in general.

4 He ought not to court conceited men, but catechise such as keep to the religion. He must also avoid such monks as follow the precepts of the Arhat [of the Gainas], and immoral men.

5 He must be constant in avoiding a nun who is fond of banter and chatter; he must also avoid notoriously loose female lay devotees.

6 He should shun any intercourse with such female lay devotees as seek their highest happiness in this transient world. This is called the proper conduct of a Bodhisattva.

7 But when one comes to him to question him about the law for the sake of superior enlightenment, he should, at any time, speak freely, always firm and undaunted.

8 He should have no intercourse with women and hermaphrodites; he should also shun the young wives and girls in families.

9 He must never address them to ask after their health. He must also avoid intercourse with vendors of pork and mutton.

10 With any persons who slay animals of various kind for the sake of profit, and with such as sell meat he should avoid having any intercourse.

11 He must shun the society of whoremongers, players, musicians, wrestlers, and other people of that sort.

12 He should not frequent whores, nor other sensual persons; he must avoid any exchange of civility with them.

13 And when the sage has to preach for a woman, he should not enter into an apartment with her alone, nor stay to banter.

14 When he has often to enter a village in quest of food, he must have another monk with him or constantly think of the Buddha.

15 Herewith have I shown the first sphere of proper conduct. Wise are they who, keeping this Sqtra in memory, live according to it.

16 And when one observes no law at all, low, superior or mean, composed or uncomposed, real or not real;

17 When the wise man does not remark, 'This is a woman,' nor marks,'This is a man;' when in searching he finds no laws (or things), because they have never existed;

18 This is called the observance of the Bodhisattvas in general. Now listen to me when I set forth what should be their proper sphere.

19 All laws (i.e. the laws, the things) have been declared to be non-existing, not appearing, not produced, void, immovable, everlasting; this is called the proper sphere of the wise.

20 They have been divided into existing and non-existing, real and unreal, by those who had wrong notions; other laws also, of permanency, of being produced, of birth from something already produced, are wrongly assumed.

21 Let (the Bodhisattva) be concentrated in mind, attentive, ever firm as the peak of Mount Sumeru, and in such a state (of mind) look upon all laws (and things) as having the nature of space [i.e. as being void],

22. Permanently equal to space, without essence, immovable, without substantiality. These, indeed, are the laws, all and for ever. This is called the proper sphere of the wise.

23. The monk observing this rule of conduct given by me may, after my extinction, promulgate this Sutra in the world, and shall feel no depression.

24. Let the sage first, for some time, coerce his thoughts, exercise meditation with complete absorption, and correctly perform all that is required for attaining spiritual insight, and then, after rising (from his pious meditation), preach with unquailing mind.

25. The kings of this earth and the princes who listen to the law protect him. Others also, both laymen (or burghers) and Brahmans, will be found together in his congregation.

Further, Mangusri, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva who, after the complete extinction of the Tathagata at the end of time, the last period, the last five hundred years, when the true law

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is in a state of decay, is going to propound this Dharmaparyaya, must be in a peaceful state (of mind) and then preach the law, whether he knows it by heart or has it in a book. In his sermon he will not be too prone to carping at others, not blame other preaching friars, not speak scandal nor propagate scandal. He does not mention by name other monks, adherents of the vehicle of disciples, to propagate scandal. He cherishes even no hostile feelings against them, because he is in a peaceful state. All who come, one after the other, to hear the sermon he receives with benevolence, and preaches the law to them without invidiousness. He refrains from entering upon a dispute; but if he is asked a question, he does not answer in the way of (those who follow) the vehicle of disciples; on the contrary, he answers as if he had attained Buddha-knowledge.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

26 The wise man is always at ease, and in that state he preaches the law, seated on an elevated pulpit which has been prepared for him on a clean and pretty spot.

27 He puts on a clean, nice, red robe, dyed with good colours, and a black woollen garment and a long undergarment;

28 Having duly washed his feet and rubbed his head and face with smooth ointments, he ascends the pulpit, which is provided with a footbank and covered with pieces of fine cloth of various sorts, and sits down.

29 When he is thus seated on the preacher's pulpit and all who have gathered round him are attentive, he proceeds to deliver many discourses, pleasing by variety, before monks and nuns,

30 Before male and female lay devotees, kings and princes. The wise man always (takes care to) deliver a sermon diversified in its contents and sweet, free from invidiousness.

31 If occasionally he is asked some question, even after he has commenced, he will explain the matter anew in regular order, and he will explain it in such away that his hearers gain enlightenment.

32 The wise man is indefatigable; not even the thought of fatigue will rise in him; he knows no listlessness, and so displays to the assembly the strength of charity.

33 Day and night the wise man preaches this sublime law with myriads of kotis of illustrations; he edifies and satisfies his audience without ever requiring anything.

34 Solid food, soft food, nourishment and drink, cloth, couches, robes, medicaments for the sick, all this does not occupy his thoughts, nor does he want anything from the congregation.

35 On the contrary, the wise man is always thinking: How can I and these beings become Buddhas? I will preach this true law, upon which the happiness of all beings depends, for the benefit of the world.

36 The monk who, after my extinction, shall preach in this way, without envy, shall not meet with trouble, impediment, grief or despondency.

37 Nobody shall frighten him, beat or blame him; never shall he be driven away, because he is firm in the strength of forbearance.

38 The wise man who is peaceful, so disposed as I have just said, possesses hundreds of kotis of advantages, so many that one would not be able to enumerate them in hundreds of Aeons.

Again, Mangusri, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva who lives after the extinction of the Tathagata at the end of time when the true law is in decay, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva who keeps this Sutra is not envious, not false, not deceitful; he does not speak disparagingly of other adherents of the vehicle of Bodhisattvas, nor defame, nor humble them. He does not bring forward the shortcomings of other monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees, neither of the adherents of the vehicle of disciples nor of those of the vehicle of Pratyekabuddhas. He does not say: You young men of good family, you are far off from supreme, perfect enlightenment; you give proof of not having arrived at it; you are too fickle in your doings and not capable of acquiring true knowledge. He does not in this way bring forward the shortcomings of any adherent of the vehicle of the Bodhisattvas. Nor does he show any delight in disputes about the law, or engage in disputes about the law, and he never abandons the strength of charity towards all beings. In respect to all Tathagatas he feels as if they were his fathers, and in respect to all Bodhisattvas as if they were his masters. And as to the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas in all directions of space, he is assiduous in paying homage to them by good will and respect. When he preaches the law, he preaches no less and no more than the law, without partial predilection for (any part of) the law, and he does not show greater favour to one than to another, even from love of the law.

Such, Mangusri, is the third quality with which a Bodhisattva Mahasattva is endowed who is to expound this Dharmaparyaya after the extinction of the Tathagata at the end of time when the true law is in decay; who will live at ease' and not be annoyed in the exposition of this Dharmaparyaya. And in the synod he will have allies, and he will find auditors at his sermons who will listen to this Dharmaparyaya, believe, accept, keep, read, penetrate, write it and cause it to be written, and who, after it has been written and a volume made of it, will honour, respect, esteem, and worship it.

This said the Lord, and thereafter he, the Sugata, the Master, added the following:

39 The wise man, the preacher, who wishes to expound this Sutra must absolutely renounce falsehood, pride, calumny, and envy.

40 He should never speak a disparaging word of anybody; never engage in a dispute on religious belief; never say to such as are guilty of shortcomings, You will not obtain superior knowledge.

41 He is always sincere, mild, forbearing; (as) a (true) son of Sugata he will repeatedly preach the law without any feeling of vexation.

42 'The Bodhisattvas in all directions of space, who out of compassion for creatures are moving in the world, are my teachers;' (thus thinking) the wise man respects them as his masters.

43 Cherishing the memory of the Buddhas, the supreme amongst men, he will always feel towards them as if they were his fathers, and by forsaking all idea of pride he will escape hindrance.

44 The wise man who has heard this law, should be constant in observing it. If he earnestly strives after a peaceful life, kotis of beings will surely protect him.

Further, Mangusri, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva, living at the time of destruction of the true law after the extinction of the Tathagata, who is desirous of keeping this Dharmaparyaya, should live as far as possible away from laymen and friars, and lead a life of charity. He must feel affection for all beings who are striving for enlightenment and therefore make this reflection: To be sure, they are greatly perverted in mind, those beings who do not hear, nor perceive, nor understand the skilfulness and the mystery of the Tathagata, who do not inquire for it, nor believe in it, nor even are willing to believe in it. Of course, these beings do not penetrate, nor understand this Dharmaparyaya. Nevertheless will I, who have attained this supreme, perfect knowledge, powerfully bend to it the mind of every one, whatever may be the position he occupies, and bring about that he accepts, understands, and arrives at full ripeness.

By possessing also this fourth quality, Mangusri, a Bodhisattva Mahasattva, who is to expound the law after the extinction of the Tathagata, will be unmolested, honoured, respected, esteemed, venerated by monks, nuns, and lay devotees, male and female, by kings, princes, ministers, king's officers, by citizens and country people, by Brahmans and laymen; the gods of the sky will, full of faith, follow his track to hear the law, and the angels will follow his track to protect him; whether he is in a village or in a monastery, they will approach him day and night to put questions about the law, and they will be satisfied, charmed with his explanation. For this Dharmaparyaya, Mangusri, has been blessed by all Buddhas. With the past, future, and present Tathagata, Mangusri, this Dharmaparyaya is for ever blessed. Precious in all worlds, Mangusri, is the sound, rumour, or mentioning of this Dharmaparyaya.

It is a case, Mangusri, similar to that of a king, a ruler of armies, who by force has conquered his own kingdom, whereupon other kings, his adversaries, wage war against him. That ruler of armies has soldiers of various description to fight with various enemies. As the king sees those soldiers fighting, he is delighted with their gallantry, enraptured, and in his delight and rapture he makes to his soldiers several donations, such as villages and village grounds, towns and grounds of a town; garments and head-gear; hand-ornaments, necklaces, gold threads, earrings, strings of pearls, bullion, gold, gems, pearls, lapis lazuli, conch-shells, stones (?), corals; he, moreover, gives elephants, horses, cars, foot soldiers, male and female slaves, vehicles, and litters. But to none he makes a present of his crown jewel, because that jewel only fits on the head of a king. Were the king to give away that crown jewel, then that whole royal army, consisting of four divisions, would be astonished and amazed. In the same manner, Mangusri, the Tathagata, the Arhat, etc., exercises the reign of righteousness (and of the law) in the triple world which he has conquered by the power of his arm and the power of his virtue. His triple world is assailed by Mara, the Evil One. Then the Aryas, the soldiers of the Tathagata, fight with Mara. Then, Mangusri, the king of the law, the lord of the law, expounds to the Aryas, his soldiers, whom he sees fighting, hundred thousands of Sutras in order to encourage the four classes. He gives them the city of Nirvana, the great city of the law; he allures them with that city of Nirvana, but he does not preach to them such a Dharmaparyaya as this. just as in that case, Mangusri, that king, ruler of armies, astonished at the great valour of his soldiers in battle gives them all his property, at last even his crown jewel, and just as that crown jewel has been kept by the king on his head to the last, so, Mangusri, the Tathagata, the Arhat, etc., who as the great king of the law in the triple world exercises his sway with justice, when he sees disciples and Bodhisattvas fighting against the Mara of fancies or the Mara of sinful inclinations, and when he sees that by fighting they have destroyed affection, hatred, and infatuation, overcome the triple world and conquered all Maras, is satisfied, and in his satisfaction he expounds to those noble (arya) soldiers this Dharmaparyaya which meets opposition in all the world, the unbelief of all the world, a Dharmaparyaya never before preached, never before explained. And the Tathagata bestows on all disciples the noble crown jewel, that most exalted crown jewel which brings omniscience to all. For this, Mangusri, is the supreme preaching of the Tathagatas; this is the last Dharmaparyaya of the Tathagatas; this is the most profound discourse on the law, a Dharmaparyaya meeting opposition in all the world. In the same manner, Mangusri, as that king of righteousness and ruler of armies took off the crown jewel which he had kept so long a time and gave it (at last) to the soldiers, so, Mangusri, the Tathagata now reveals this long-kept mystery of the law exceeding all others, (the mystery) which must be known by the Tathagatas.

And in order to elucidate this matter more in detail, the Lord on that occasion uttered the following stanzas:

45 Always displaying the strength of charity, always filled with compassion for all creatures, expounding this law, the Sugatas have approved this exalted Sutra.

46 The laymen, as well as the mendicant friars, and the Bodhisattvas who shall live at the end of time, must all show the strength of charity, lest those who hear the law reject it.

47 But I, when I shall have reached enlightenment and be established in Tathagataship, will initiate (others), and after having initiated disciples preach everywhere this superior enlightenment.

48 It is (a case) like that of a king, ruler of armies, who gives to his soldiers various things, gold, elephants, horses, cars, foot soldiers; he also gives towns and villages, in token of his contentment.

49 In his satisfaction he gives to some hand-ornaments, silver and gold thread; pearls, gems, conch-shells, stones (?), coral; he also gives slaves of various description.

50 But when he is struck with the incomparable daring of one amongst the soldiers, he says: Thou. hast admirably done this; and, taking off his crown, makes him a present of the jewel.

51 Likewise do I, the Buddha, the king of the law, I who have the force of patience and a large treasure of wisdom, with justice govern the whole world, benign, compassionate, and pitiful.

52 And seeing how the creatures are in trouble, I pronounce thousands of kotis of Sutrantas, when I perceive the heroism of those living beings who by pure-mindedness overcome the sinful inclinations of the world.

53 And the king of the law, the great physician, who expounds hundreds of kotis of Paryayas, when he recognises that creatures are strong, shows them this Sutra, comparable to a crown jewel.

54 This is the last Sutra proclaimed in the world, the most eminent of all my Sutras, which I have always kept and never divulged. Now I am going to make it known; listen all.

55 There are four qualities to be acquired by those who at the period after my extinction desire supreme enlightenment and perform my charge. The qualities are such as follows.

56 The wise man knows no vexation, trouble, sickness; the colour of his skin is not blackish; nor does he dwell in a miserable town.

57 The great Sage has always a pleasant look, deserves to be honoured, as if he were the Tathagata himself, and little angels shall constantly be his attendants.

58 His body can never be hurt by weapons, poison, sticks, or clods, and the mouth of the man who utters a word of abuse against him shall be closed.

59 He is a friend to all creatures in the world. He goes all over the earth as a light, dissipating the gloom of many kotis of creatures, he who keeps this Sutra after my extinction.

60 In his sleep he sees visions in the shape of Buddha; he sees monks and nuns appearing on thrones and proclaiming the many-sided law.

61 He sees in his dream gods and goblins, (numerous) as the sands of the Ganges, as well as demons and Nagas of many kinds, who lift their joined hands and to whom he expounds the eminent law.

62 He sees in his dream the Tathagata preaching the law to many kotis of beings with lovely voice, the Lord with golden colour.

63 And he stands there with joined hands glorifying the Seer, the highest of men, whilst the Gina, the great physician, is expounding the law to the four classes.

64 And he, glad to have heard the law, joyfully pays his worship, and after having soon reached the knowledge which never slides back, he obtains, in dream, magical spells.

65 And the Lord of the world, perceiving his good intention, announces to him his destiny of becoming a leader amongst men: Young man of good family (says he), thou shalt here reach in future supreme, holy knowledge.

66 Thou shalt have a large field and four classes (of hearers), even as myself, that respectfully and with joined hands shall hear from thee the vast and faultless law.

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67 Again he sees his own person occupied with meditating on the law in mountain caverns; and by meditating he attains the very nature of the law and, on obtaining complete absorption, sees the Gina.

68 And after seeing in his dream the goldcoloured one, him who displays a hundred hallowed signs, he hears the law, whereafter he preaches it in the assembly. Such is his dream.

69 And in his dream he also forsakes his whole realm, harem, and numerous kinsfolk; renouncing all pleasures he leaves home (to become an ascetic), and betakes himself to the place of the terrace of enlightenment.

70 There, seated upon a throne at the foot of a tree to seek enlightenment, he will, after the lapse of seven days, arrive at the knowledge of the Tathagatas.

71 On having reached enlightenment he will rise up from that place to move forward the faultless wheel and preach the law during an inconceivable number of thousands of kotis of Æons.

72 After having revealed perfect enlightenment and led many kotis of beings to perfect rest, he himself will be extinguished like a lamp when the oil is exhausted. So is that vision.

73 Endless, Mangughosha, are the advantages which constantly are his who at the end of time shall expound this Sutra of superior enlightenment that I have perfectly explained.

LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 14

Issuing Of Bodhisattvas From The Gaps Of The Earth.

Out of the multitude of Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas who had flocked from other worlds, Bodhisattvas eight (times) equal to the sands of the river Ganges then rose from the assembled circle. Their joined hands stretched out towards the Lord to pay him homage, they said to him: If the Lord will allow us, we also would, after the extinction of the Lord, reveal this Dharmaparyaya in this Saha-world; we would read, write, worship it, and wholly devote ourselves to that law. Therefore, O Lord, deign to grant to us also this Dharmaparyaya. And the Lord answered: Nay, young men of good family, why should you occupy yourselves with this task? I have here in this Saha-world thousands of Bodhisattvas equal to the sands of sixty Ganges rivers, forming the train of one Bodhisattva; and of such Bodhisattvas there is a number equal to the sands of sixty Ganges rivers, each of these Bodhisattvas having an equal number in their train, who at the end of time, at the last period after my extinction, shall keep, read, proclaim this Dharmaparyaya.

No sooner had the Lord uttered these words than the Saha-world burst open on every side, and from within the clefts arose many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas with gold-coloured bodies and the thirty-two characteristic signs of a great man, who had been staying in the element of ether underneath this great earth, close to this Saha-world. These then on hearing the word of the Lord came up from below the earth. Each of these Bodhisattvas had a train of thousands of Bodhisattvas similar to the sands of sixty Ganges rivers; (each had) a troop, a great troop, as teacher of a troop. Of such Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas having a troop, a great troop, as teachers of a troop, there were hundred thousands of myriads of kotis equal to the sands of sixty Ganges rivers, who emerged from the gaps of the earth in this Saha-world. Much more there were to be found of Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas having a train of Bodhisattvas similar to the sands of fifty Ganges rivers; much more there were to be found of Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas having a train of Bodhisattvas similar to the sands of forty Ganges rivers; Of 30, 20, 10, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1 Ganges river; of 1/2, 1/4, 1/6, 1/10, 1/20, 1/50, 1/100, 1/1000, 1/100,000, 1/10,000,000, 1/100 X 10,000,000, 1/1000 X 10,000,000, 1/100 X 1000 X 10,000,000, 1/100 X 1000 X 10,000 X 10,000,000 part of the river Ganges. Much more there were to be found of Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas having a train of many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas; of one koli; of one hundred thousand; of one thousand; Of 500; Of 400; Of 300; Of 200; Of 100; Of 50; Of 40; Of 30; Of 20; Of 10; Of 5, 4, 3, 2. Much more there were to be found of Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas having one follower. Much more there were to be found of Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas standing isolated. They cannot be numbered, counted, calculated, compared, known by occult science, the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas who emerged from the gaps of the earth to appear in this Saha-world. And after they had successively emerged they went up to the Stupa of precious substances which stood in the sky, where the Lord Prabhutaratna, the extinct Tathagata, was seated along with the Lord Sakyamuni on the throne. Whereafter they saluted the feet of both Tathagatas, etc., as well as the images of Tathagatas produced by the Lord Sakyamuni from his own body, who all together were seated on thrones at the foot of various jewel trees on every side in all directions, in different worlds. After these Bodhisattvas had many hundred thousand times saluted, and thereon circumambulated the Tathagatas, etc., from left to right, and celebrated them with various Bodhisattva hymns, they went and kept themselves at a little distance, the joined hands stretched out to honour the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., and the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc.

And while those Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas who had emerged from the gaps of the earth were saluting and celebrating the Tathagatas by various Bodhisattva hymns, fifty intermediate kalpas in full rolled away, during which fifty intermediate kalpas the Lord Sakyamuni remained silent, and likewise the four classes of the audience. Then the Lord produced such an effect of magical power that the four classes fancied that it had been no more than one afternoon, and they saw this Saha-world assume the appearance of hundred thousands of worlds replete with Bodhisattvas. The four Bodhisattvas Mahisattvas who were the chiefest of that great host of Bodhisattvas, viz. the Bodhisattva Mahasattva called Visishtakaritra (i.e. of eminent conduct), the Bodhisattva Mahasattva called Anantakaritra (i.e. of endless conduct), the Bodhisattva Mahasattva called Visuddhakaritra (i.e. of correct conduct), and the Bodhisattva Mahasattva called Supratishthitakaritra (i.e. of very steady conduct), these four Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas standing at the head of the great host, the great multitude of Bodhisattvas stretched out the joined hands towards the Lord and addressed him thus: Is the Lord in good health? Does he enjoy well-being and good ease? Are the creatures decorous, docile, obedient, correctly performing their task, so that they give no trouble to the Lord?

And those four Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas addressed the Lord with the two following stanzas:

1 Does the Lord of the world, the illuminator, feel at ease? Dost thou feel free from bodily disease, O Perfect One?

2 The creatures, we hope, will be decorous, docile, performing the orders of the Lord of the world, so as to give no trouble.

And the Lord answered the four Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas who were at the head of that great host, that great multitude of Bodhisattvas: So it is, young men of good family, I am in good health, well-being, and at ease. And these creatures of mine are decorous, docile, obedient, well performing what is ordered; they give no trouble when I correct them; and that, young men of good family, because these creatures, owing to their being already prepared under the ancient, perfectly enlightened Buddhas, have but to see and hear me to put trust in me, to understand and fathom the Buddha-knowledge. And those who fulfilled their duties in the stage of disciples have now been introduced by me into Buddha-knowledge and well instructed in the highest truth.

And at that time the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas uttered the following stanzas:

3 Excellent, excellent, O great Hero! we are happy to hear that those creatures are decorous, docile, well performing their duty';

4 And that they listen to thy profound knowledge, O Leader, and that after listening to it they have put trust in it and understand it.

This said, the Lord declared his approval to the four Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas who were at the head of that great host, that great multitude of Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, saying: Well done, young men of good family, well done, that you so congratulate the Tathagata.

And at that moment the following thought arose in the mind of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya and the eight hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas similar to the sands of the river Ganges: We never yet saw so great a host, so great a multitude of Bodhisattvas; we never yet heard of such a multitude, that after issuing from the gaps of the earth has stood in the presence of the Lord to honour, respect, venerate, worship him and greet him with joyful shouts. Whence have these Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas flocked hither?

Then the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya, feeling within himself doubt and perplexity, and inferring from his own thoughts those of the eight hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas similar to the sands of the river Ganges, stretched out his joined hands towards the Lord and questioned him about the matter by uttering the following stanzas:

5 Here are many thousand myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas, numberless, whom we never saw before; tell us, O supreme of men!

6 Whence and how do these mighty persons come? Whence have they come here under the form of great bodies'?

7 All are great Seers, wise and strong in memory, whose outward appearance is lovely to see; whence have they come?

8 And each of those Bodhisattvas, O Lord of the world, has an immense train, like the sands of the Ganges.

9 The train of (each) glorious Bodhisattva is equal to the sands of sixty Ganges in full. All are striving after enlightenment.

10 Of such heroes and mighty possessors of a troop the followers are equal to the sands of sixty Ganges.

11 There are others, still more numerous, with an unlimited train, like the sands of fifty, forty, and thirty Ganges;

12 Who have a train equal to the (sands of) twenty Ganges. Still more numerous are the mighty sons of Buddha, who have each a train (equal to the sands) of ten, of five Ganges.

13 Whence, O Leader, has such an assembly flocked hither?

14 There are others who have each a train of pupils and companions equal to the sands of four, three, or two Ganges.

15 There are others more numerous yet; it would be impossible to calculate their number in thousands of kotis of Æons.

16 (Equal to) a half Ganges, one third, one tenth, one twentieth, is the train of those heroes, those mighty Bodhisattvas.

17 There are yet others who are incalculable; it would be impossible to count them even in hundreds of kotis of Æons.

18 Many more yet there are, with endless trains; they have in their attendance kotis, and kotis and again kotis, and also half kotis.

19 Other great Seers again, beyond computation, very wise Bodhisattvas are seen in a respectful posture.

20 They have a thousand, a hundred, or fifty attendants; in hundreds of kotis of Æons one would not be able to count them.

21 The suite of (some of these) heroes consists of twenty, of ten, five, four, three, or two; those are countless.

22 As to those who are walking alone and come to their rest alone, they have now flocked hither in such numbers as to be beyond computation.

23 Even if one with a magic wand in his hand would try for a number of Æons equal to the sands of the Ganges to count them, he would not reach the term.

24 Where do all those noble, energetic heroes, those mighty Bodhisattvas, come from?

25 Who has taught them the law (or duty)? and by whom have they been destined to enlightenment? Whose command do they accept? Whose command do they keep?

26 Bursting forth at all points of the horizon through the whole extent of the earth they emerge, those great Sages endowed with magical faculty and wisdom.

27 This world on every side is being perforated, O Seer, by the wise Bodhisattvas, who at this time are emerging.

28 Never before have we seen anything like this. Tell us the name of this world, O Leader.

29 We have repeatedly roamed in all directions of space, but never saw these Bodhisattvas.

30 We never saw a single infant of thine, and now, on a sudden, these appear to us. Tell us their history, O Seer.

31 Hundreds, thousands, ten thousands of Bodhisattvas, all equally filled with curiosity, look up to the highest of men.

32 Explain to us, O incomparable, great hero,who knowest no bounds, where do these heroes, these wise Bodhisattvas, come from?

Meanwhile the Tathagatas, etc., who had flocked from hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of worlds, they, the creations of the Lord Sakyamuni, who were preaching the law to the beings in other worlds; who all around the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., were seated with crossed legs on magnificent jewel thrones at the foot of jewel trees in every direction of space; as well as the satellites of those Tathagatas were struck with wonder and amazement at the sight of that great host, that great multitude of Bodhisattvas emerging from the gaps of the earth and established in the element of ether, and they (the satellites) asked each their own Tathagata: Where, O Lord, do so many Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, so innumerable, so countless, come from? Whereupon those Tathagatas, etc., answered severally to their satellites: Wait awhile, young men of good family; this Bodhisattva Mahasattva here, called Maitreya, has just received from the Lord Sakyamuni a revelation about his destiny to supreme, perfect enlightenment. He has questioned the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., about the matter, and the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., is going to explain it; then you may hear.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the Bodhisattva Maitreya: Well done, Agita, well done; it is a sublime subject, Agita, about which thou questionest me. Then the Lord addressed the entire host of Bodhisattvas: Be attentive all, young men of good family - be well prepared and steady on your post, you and the entire host of Bodhisattvas; the Tathagata, the Arhat, etc., is now going to exhibit the sight of the knowledge of the Tathagata, young men of good family, the leadership of the Tathagata, the work of the Tathagata, the sport [i.e. magic display of creative power, lila, synonymous with maya.] of the Tathagata, the might of the Tathagata, the energy of the Tathagata.

And on that occasion the Lord pronounced the following stanzas:

33 Be attentive all, young men of good family; I am to utter an infallible word; refrain from disputing about it, O sages: the science of the Tathagata is beyond reasoning.

34 Be all steady and thoughtful; continue attentive all. To-day you will hear a law as yet unknown, the wonder of the Tathagatas.

35 Never have any doubt, ye sages, for I shall strengthen you, I am the Leader who speaketh infallible truth, and my knowledge is unlimited.

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36 Profound are the laws known to the Sugata, above reasoning and beyond argumentation. These laws I am going to reveal; ye, hear which and how they are.

After uttering these stanzas the Lord addressed the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya: I announce to thee, Agita, I declare to thee: These Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, Agita, so innumerable, incalculable, inconceivable, incomparable, uncountable, whom you never saw before, who just now have issued from the gaps of the earth, these Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, Agita, have I roused, excited, animated, fully developed to supreme, perfect enlightenment after my having arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment in this world. I have, moreover, fully matured, established, confirmed, instructed, perfected these young men of good family in their Bodhisattvaship. And these Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, Agita, occupy in this Saha-world the domain of the ether-element below. Only thinking of the lesson they have to study, and devoted to thoroughly comprehend it, these young men of good family have no liking for social gatherings, nor for bustling crowds; they do not put off their tasks, and are strenuous. These young men of gyood family, Agita, delight in seclusion, are fond of seclusion. These young men of good family do not dwell in the immediate vicinity of gods and men, they not being fond of bustling crowds. These young men of good family find their luxury in the pleasure of the law, and apply themselves to Buddha-knowledge.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

37 These Bodhisattvas, immense, inconceivable and beyond measure, endowed with magic power, wisdom, and learning, have progressed in knowledge for many kotis of Æons.

38 It is I who have brought them to maturity for enlightenment, and it is in my field that they have their abode; by me alone have they been brought to maturity; these Bodhisattvas are my sons.

39 All have devoted themselves to a hermit life and are assiduous in shunning places of bustle; they walk detached, these sons of mine, following my precepts in their lofty course.

40 They dwell in the domain of ether, in the lower portion of the field, those heroes who, unwearied, are striving day and night to attain superior knowledge.

41 All strenuous, of good memory, unshaken in the immense strength of their intelligence, those serene sages preach the law, all radiant, as being my sons.

42 Since the time when I reached this superior (or foremost) enlightenment, at the town of Gaya, at the foot of the tree, and put in motion the allsurpassing wheel of the law, I have brought to maturity all of them for superior enlightenment.

43 These words I here speak are faultless, really true; believe me, all of you who hear me: verily, I have reached superior enlightenment, and it is by me alone that all have been brought to maturity.

The Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya and those numerous hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas were struck with wonder, amazement, and surprise, (and thought): How is it possible that within so short a moment, within the lapse of so short a time so many Bodhisattvas, so countless, have been roused and made fully ripe to reach supreme, perfect enlightenment? Then the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya asked the Lord: How then, O Lord, has the Tathagata, after he left, when a prince royal, Kapilavastu, the town of the Sakyas, arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment on the summit of the terrace of enlightenment, not far from the town of Gaya, somewhat more than forty years since, O Lord? How then has the Lord, the Tathagata, within so short a lapse of time, been able to perform the endless task of a Tathagata, to exercise the leadership of a Tathagata, the energy of a Tathagata? How has the Tathagata, within so short a time, been able to rouse and bring to maturity for supreme, perfect enlightenment this host of Bodhisattvas, this multitude of Bodhisattvas, a multitude so great that it would be impossible to count the whole of it, even if one were to continue counting for hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Æons? These Bodhisattvas, so innumerable, O Lord, so countless, having long followed a spiritual course of life and planted roots of goodness under many hundred thousands of Buddhas, have in the course of many hundred thousands of Æons become finally ripe.

It is just as if some man, young and youthful, a young man with black hair and in the prime of youth, twenty-five years of age, would represent centenarians as his sons, and say: 'Here, young men of good family, you see my sons;' and if those centenarians would declare: 'This is the father who begot us! Now, Lord, the speech of that man would be incredible, hard to be believed by the public. It is the same case with the Tathagata, who but lately has arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment, and with these Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, so immense in number, who for many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Æons, having observed a spiritual course of life, have long since come to certainty in regard to Tathagata-knowledge; who are able to plunge in and again rise from the hundred thousand sorts of meditation'; who are adepts at the preparatories to noble transcendent wisdom, have accomplished the preparatories to noble transcendent wisdom; who are clever on the Buddha-ground, able in the (ecclesiastical) Council and in Tathagata duties; who are the wonder and admiration of the world; who are possessed of great vigour, strength, and power. And the Lord says: From the very beginning have I roused, brought to maturity, fully developed them to be fit for this Bodhisattva position. It is I who have displayed this energy and vigour after arriving at supreme, perfect enlightenment. But, O Lord, how can we have faith in the words of the Tathagata, when he says: The Tathagata speaks infallible truth? The Tathagata must know that the Bodhisattvas who have newly entered the vehicle are apt to fall into doubt on this head; after the extinction of the Tathagata those who hear this Dharmaparyaya will not accept, not believe, not trust it. Hence, O Lord, they will design acts tending to the ruin of the law. Therefore, O Lord, deign to explain us this matter, that we may be free from perplexity, and that the Bodhisattvas who in future shall hear it, be they young men of good family or young ladies, may not fall into doubt.

On that occasion the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya addressed the Lord with the following stanzas:

44 When thou wert born in Kapilavastu, the home of the Sakyas, thou didst leave it and reach enlightenment at the town of Gaya. That is a short time ago, O Lord of the world.

45 And now thou hast so great a crowd of followers, these sages who for many kotis of Æons have fulfilled their duties, stood firm in magic power, unshaken, well disciplined, accomplished in the might of wisdom;

46 These, who are untainted as the lotus is by water; who to-day have flocked hither after rending the earth, and are standing all with joined hands, respectful and strong in memory, the sons of the Master of the world.

47 How will these Bodhisattvas believe this great wonder? Expel (all) doubt, tell the cause, and show how the matter reallv is.

48 It is as if there were some man, a young man with black hair, twenty years old or somewhat more, who presented as his sons some centenarians,

49 And the latter, covered with wrinkles and grey-haired, declared the (young) man to be their father. But such (a young man) never having sons of such appearance, it would be difficult to believe, O Lord of the world, that they were sons to so young a man.

50 In the same manner, O Lord, we are unable to conceive how these numerous Bodhisattvas of good memory and excelling in wisdom, who have been well instructed during thousands of kotis of Æons;

51 Who are firm, of keen intelligence, lovely and agreeable to sight, free from hesitation in the decisions on law, praised by the Leaders of the world;

52 Who in freedom live in the wood; who unattached in the element of ether constantly display their energy, who are the sons of Sugata striving after this Buddha-ground;

53 How will this be believed when the Leader of the world shall be completely extinct? After hearing it from the Lord's own mouth we shall never more feel any doubt.

54 May Bodhisattvas never come to grief by having doubt on this head. Grant us, O Lord, a truthful account how these Bodhisattvas have been brought to maturity by thee.

LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 15

Duration Of Life Of The Tathagata.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the entire host of Bodhisattvas: Trust me, young men of good family, believe in the Tathagata speaking a veracious word. A second time the Lord addressed the Bodhisattvas: Trust me, young gentlemen of good family, believe in the Tathagata speaking a veracious word. A third and last time the Lord addressed the Bodhisattvas: Trust me, young men of good family, believe in the Tathagata speaking a veracious word. Then the entire host of Bodhisattvas with Maitreya, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva at their head, stretched out the joined hands and said to the Lord: Expound this matter, O Lord; expound it, O Sugata; we will believe in the word of the Tathagata. A second time the entire host, etc. etc. A third time the entire host, etc. etc.

The Lord, considering that the Bodhisattvas repeated their prayer up to three times, addressed them thus: Listen then, young men of good family. The force of a strong resolve which I assumed is such, young men of good family, that this world, including gods, men, and demons, acknowledges: Now has the Lord Sakyamuni, after going out from the home of the Sakyas, arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment, on the summit of the terrace of enlightenment at the town of Gaya. But, young men of good family, the truth is that many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Æons ago I have arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment. By way of example, young men of good family, let there be the atoms of earth of fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of worlds; let there exist some man who takes one of those atoms of dust and then goes in an eastern direction fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of worlds further on, there to deposit that atom of dust; let in this manner the man carry away from all those worlds the whole mass of earth, and in the same manner, and by the same act as supposed, deposit all those atoms in an eastern direction. Now, would you think, young men of good family, that any one should be able to imagine, weigh, count, or determine (the number of) those worlds? The Lord having thus spoken, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya and the entire host of Bodhisattvas replied: They are incalculable, O Lord, those worlds, countless, beyond the range of thought. Not even all the disciples and Pratyekabuddhas, O Lord, with their Arya-knowledge, will be able to imagine, weigh, count, or determine them. For us also, O Lord, who are Bodhisattvas standing on the place from whence there is no turning back, this point lies beyond the sphere of our comprehension; so innumerable, O Lord, are those worlds.

This said, the Lord spoke to those Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas as follows: I announce to you, young men of good family, I declare to you: However numerous be those worlds where that man deposits those atoms of dust and where he does not, there are not, young men of good family, in all those hundred thousands of myriads of kolis of worlds so many dust atoms as there are hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Æons since I have arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment. From the moment, young men of good family, when I began preaching the law to creatures in this Saha-world and in hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of other worlds, and (when) the other Tathagatas, Arhats, etc., such as the Tathagata Dipankara and the rest whom I have mentioned in the lapse of time (preached), (from that moment) have I, young men of good family, for the complete Nirvana of those Tathagatas, etc., created all that with the express view to skilfully preach the law. Again, young men of good family, the Tathagata, considering the different degrees of faculty and strength of succeeding generations, reveals at each (generation) his own name, reveals a state in which Nirvana has not yet been reached, and in different ways he satisfies the wants of (different) creatures through various Dharmaparyayas . This being the case, young men of good family, the Tathagata declares to the creatures, whose dispositions are so various and who possess so few roots of goodness, so many evil propensities: I am young of age, monks; having left my father's home, monks, I have lately arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment. When, however, the Tathagata, who so long ago arrived at perfect enlightenment, declares himself to have but lately arrived at perfect enlightenment, he does so in order to lead creatures to full ripeness and make them go in. Therefore have these Dharmaparyayas been revealed; and it is for the education of creatures, young men of good family, that the Tathagata has revealed all Dharmaparyayas. And, young men of good family, the word that the Tathagata delivers on behalf of the education of creatures, either under his own appearance or under another's, either on his own authority or under the mask of another, all that the Tathagata declares, all those Dharmaparyayas spoken by the Tathagata are true. There can be no question of untruth from the part of the Tathagata in this respect. For the Tathagata sees the triple world as it really is: it is not born, it dies not; it is not conceived, it springs not into existence; it moves not in a whirl, it becomes not extinct; it is not real, nor unreal; it is not existing, nor non-existing; it is not such, nor otherwise, nor false. The Tathagata sees the triple world, not as the ignorant, common people, he seeing things always present to him; indeed, to the Tathagata, in his position, no laws are concealed. In that respect any word that the Tathagata speaks is true, not false. But in order to produce the roots of goodness in the creatures, who follow different pursuits and behave according to different notions, he reveals various Dharmaparyayas with various fundamental principles. The Tathagata then, young men of good family, does what he has to do. The Tathagata who so long ago was perfectly enlightened is unlimited in the duration of his life, he is everlasting. Without being extinct, the Tathagata makes a show of extinction, on behalf of those who have to be educated. And even now, young gentlemen of good family, I have not accomplished my ancient Bodhisattvacourse, and the measure of my lifetime is not full. Nay, young men of good family, I shall yet have twice as many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Æons before the measure of my lifetime be full. I announce final extinction, young men of good family, though myself I do not become finally extinct. For in this way, young men of good family, I bring (all) creatures to maturity, lest creatures in whom goodness is not firmly rooted, who are unholy, miserable, eager of sensual pleasures, blind and obscured by the film of wrong views, should, by too often seeing me, take to thinking: 'The Tathagata is staying' and fancy that all is a child's play; (lest they) by thinking 'we are near that Tathagata' should fail to exert themselves in order to escape the triple world and not conceive how precious the Tathagata is. Hence, young men of good family, the Tathdgata skilfully utters. these words: The apparition of the Tathagatas, monks, is precious (and rare). For in the course of many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Æons creatures may happen to see a Tathagata or not to see him,. Therefore and upon that ground, young men of good family, I say: The apparition of the Tathagatas, monks, is precious (and rare). By being more and more convinced of the

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apparition of the Tathagatas being precious (or rare) they will feel surprised and sorry, and whilst not seeing the Tathagata they will get a longing to see him. The good roots developing from their earnest thought relating to the Tathagata will lastingly tend to their weal, benefit, and happiness; in consideration of which the Tathagata announces final extinction, though he himself does not become finally extinct, on behalf of the creatures who have to be educated. Such, young men of good family, is the Tathagata's manner of teaching; when the Tathagata speaks in this way, there is from his part no falsehood.

Let us suppose an analogous case, young men of good family. There is some physician, learned, intelligent, prudent, clever in allaying all sorts of diseases. That man has many sons, ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, or a hundred. The physician once being abroad, all his children incur a disease from poison or venom. Overcome with the grievous pains caused by that poison or venom which burns them they lie rolling on the ground. Their father, the physician, comes home from his journey at the time when his sons are suffering from that poison or venom. Some of them have perverted notions, others have right notions, but all suffer the same pain. On seeing their father they cheerfully greet him and say: Hail, dear father, that thou art come back in safety and welfare! Now deliver us from our evil, be it poison or venom; let us live, dear father. And the physician, seeing his sons befallen with disease, overcome with pain and rolling on the ground, prepares a great remedy, having the required colour, smell, and taste, pounds it on a stone and gives it as a potion to his sons, with these words: Take this great remedy, my sons, which has the required colour, smell, and taste. For by taking this great remedy, my sons, you shall soon be rid of this poison or venom; you shall recover and be healthy. Those amongst the children of the physician that have right notions, after seeing the colour of the remedy, after smelling the smell and tasting the flavour, quickly take it, and in consequence of it are soon totally delivered from their disease. But the sons who have perverted notions cheerfully greet their father and say: Hail, dear father, that thou art come back in safety and welfare; do heal us. So they speak, but they do not take the remedy offered, and that because, owing to the perverseness of their notions, that remedy does not please them, in colour, smell, nor taste. Then the physician reflects thus: These sons of mine must have become perverted in their notions owing to this poison or venom, as they do not take the remedy nor hail me. Therefore will I by some able device induce these sons to take this remedy. Prompted by this desire he speaks to those sons as follows: I am old, young men of good family, decrepit, advanced in years, and my term of life is near at hand; but be not sorry, young men of good family, do not feel dejected; here have I prepared a great remedy for you; if you want it, you may take it. Having thus admonished them, he skilfully betakes himself to another part of the country and lets his sick sons know that he has departed life. They are extremely sorry and bewail him extremely: So then he is dead, our father and protector; he who begat us; he, so full of bounty! now are we left without a protector. Fully aware of their being orphans and of having no refuge, they are continually plunged in sorrow, by which their perverted notions make room for right notions. They acknowledge that remedy possessed of the required colour, smell, and taste to have the required colour, smell, and taste, so that they instantly take it, and by taking it are delivered from their evil. Then, on knowing that these sons are delivered from evil, the physician shows himself again. Now, young men of good family, what is your opinion? Would any one charge that physician with falsehood on account of his using that device? No, certainly not, Lord; certainly not, Sugata. He proceeded: In the same manner, young men of good family, I have arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment since an immense, incalculable number of hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Æons, but from time to time I display such able devices to the creatures, with the view of educating them, without there being in that respect any falsehood on my part.

In order to set forth this subject more extensively the Lord on that occasion uttered the following stanzas:

1 An inconceivable number of thousands of kotis of Æons, never to be measured, is it since I reached superior (or first) enlightenment and never ceased to teach the law.

2 I roused many Bodhisattvas and established them in Buddha-knowledge. I brought myriads of kotis of beings, endless, to full ripeness in many kotis of Æons.

3 I show the place of extinction, I reveal to (all) beings a device to educate them, albeit I do not become extinct at the time, and in this very place continue preaching the law.

4 There I rule myself as well as all beings, I. But men of perverted minds, in their delusion, do not see me standing there.

5 In the opinion that my body is completely extinct, they pay worship, in many ways, to the relics, but me they see not. They feel (however) a certain aspiration by which their mind becomes right.

6 When such upright (or pious), mild, and gentle creatures leave off their bodies, then I assemble the crowd of disciples and show myself here on the Gridhrakuta.

7 And then I speak thus to them, in this very place: I was not completely extinct at that time; it was but a device of mine, monks; repeatedly am I born in the world of the living.

8 Honoured by other beings, I show them my superior enlightenment, but you would not obey my word, unless the Lord of the world enter Nirvana.

9 I see how the creatures are afflicted, but I do not show them my proper being. Let them first have an aspiration to see me; then I will reveal to them the true law.

10 Such has always been my firm resolve during an inconceivable number of thousands of kotis of Æons, and I have not left this Gridhrakuta for other abodes.

11 And when creatures behold this world and imagine that it is burning, even then my Buddhafield is teeming with gods and men.

12 They dispose of manifold amusements, kotis of pleasure gardens, palaces, and aerial cars; (this field) is embellished by hills of gems and by trees abounding with blossoms and fruits.

13 And aloft gods are striking musical instruments and pouring a rain of Mandaras by which they are covering me, the disciples and other sages who are striving after enlightenment.

14 So is my field here, everlasti.ngly; but others fancy that it is burning; in their view this world is most terrific, wretched, replete with number of woes.

15 Ay, many kotis of years they may pass without ever having mentioned my name, the law, or my congregation. That is the fruit of sinful deeds.

16 But when mild and gentle beings are born in this world of men, they immediately see me revealing the law, owing to their good works.

17 I never speak to them of the infinitude of my action. Therefore, I am, properly, existing since long, and yet declare: The Ginas are rare (or precious).

18 Such is the glorious power of my wisdom that knows no limit, and the duration of my life is as long as an endless period; I have acquired it after previously following a due course.

19 Feel no doubt concerning it, O sages, and leave off all uncertainty: the word I here pronounce is really true; my word is never false.

20 For even as that physician skilled in devices, for the sake of his sons whose notions were perverted, said that he had died although he was still alive, and even as no sensible man, would charge that physician with falsehood;

21 So am I the father of the world, the Self born, the Healer, the Protector of all creatures. Knowing them to be perverted, infatuated, and ignorant I teach final rest, myself not being at rest.

22 What reason should I have to continually manifest myself? When men become unbelieving, unwise, ignorant, careless, fond of sensual pleasures, and from thoughtlessness run into misfortune,

23 Then I, who know the course of the world, declare: I am so and so, (and consider): How can I incline them to enlightenment? how can they become partakers of the Buddha-laws?

LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 16

Of Piety.

While this exposition of the duration of the Tathagata's lifetime was being given, innumerable, countless creatures profited by it. Then the Lord addressed the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya: While this exposition of the duration of the Tathagata's lifetime was being given, Agita, sixty-eight hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas, comparable to the sands of the Ganges, have acquired the faculty to acquiesce in the law that has no origin. A thousand times more Bodhisattvas Mahisattvas have obtained Dharani [Dharani usually denotes a magic spell, a talisman. Here and there it interchanges with dharana, support, the bearing in mind, attention. The synonymous raksha embraces the meaning of talisman and protection, support. It is not easy to decide what is intended in the text]; and other Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, equal to the dust atoms of one third of a macrocosm, have by hearing this Dharmaparyaya obtained the faculty of unhampered view. Other Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas again, equal to the dust atoms of two-third parts of a macrocosm, have by hearing this Dharmaparyaya obtained the Dharani that makes hundred thousand kotis of revolutions. Again, other Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, equal to the dust atoms of a whole macrocosm, have by hearing this Dharmaparyaya moved forward the wheel that never rolls back. Some Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, equal to the dust atoms of a mean universe, have by hearing this Dharmaparyaya moved forward the wheel of spotless radiance. Other Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, equal to the dust atoms of a small universe, have by hearing this Dharmaparyaya come so far that they will reach supreme, perfect enlightenment after eight births. Other Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, equal to the dust atoms of four worlds of four continents, have by hearing this Dharmaparyaya become such as to require four births (more) before reaching supreme, perfect enlightenment. Other Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, equal to the dust atoms of three four-continental worlds, have by hearing this Dharmaparyaya become such as to require three births (more) before reaching supreme, perfect enlightenment. Other Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, equal to the dust atoms of two four-continental worlds, have by hearing this Dharmaparyaya become such as to require two births (more) before reaching supreme, perfect enlightenment. Other Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, equal to the dust atoms of one fourcontinental world, have by hearing this Dharmaparyaya become such as to require but one birth before reaching supreme, perfect enlightenment. Other Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, equal to the dust atoms of eight macrocosms consisting of three parts, have by hearing this Dharmaparyaya conceived the idea of supreme, perfect enlightenment.

No sooner had the Lord given this exposition determining the duration and periods of the law, than there fell from the upper sky a great rain of Mandarava and great Mandarava flowers that covered and overwhelmed all the hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddhas who were seated on their thrones at the foot of the jewel trees in hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of worlds. It also covered and overwhelmed the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., and the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., the latter sitting fully extinct on his throne, as well as that entire host of Bodhisattvas and the four classes of the audience. A rain of celestial powder of sandal and agallochum. trickled down from the sky, whilst higher up in the firmament the great drums resounded, without being struck, with a pleasant, sweet, and deep sound. Double pieces of fine heavenly cloth fell down by hundreds and thousands from the upper sky; necklaces, halfnecklaces, pearl necklaces, gems, jewels, noble gems, and noble jewels were seen high in the firmament, hanging down from every side in all directions of space, while all around thousands of jewel censers, containing priceless, exquisite incense, were moving of their own accord. Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas were seen holding above each Tathagata, high aloft, a row of jewel umbrellas stretching as high as the Brahma-world. So acted the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas in respect to all the innumerable hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Buddhas. Severally they celebrated these Buddhas in appropriate stanzas, sacred hymns in praise of the Buddhas.

And on that occasion the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya uttered the followino, stanzas:

1 Wonderful is the law which the Sugata has expounded, the law we never heard before; how great the majesty of the Leaders is, and how infinite the duration of their life!

2 And on hearing such a law imparted by the Sugata from face to face, thousands of kotis of creatures, the genuine sons of the Leader of the world, have been pervaded with gladness.

3 Some have reached the point of supreme enlightenment from whence there is no return, others are standing on the lower stage; some have reached the standpoint of having an unhampered view, and others have obtained thousands of kotis of Dharanis.

4 There are others, (as) atoms, who have reached supreme Buddha-knowledge. Some, again, will after eight births become Ginas seeing the infinite.

5 Among those who hear this law from the Master, some will obtain enlightenment and see the truth after four births, others after three, others after two.

6 Some among them will become all-knowing after one birth, in the next following existence. Such will be the perfect result of learning the duration of life of the Chief.

7 Innumerable, countless as the atoms of the eight fields, are the kotis of beings who by hearing this law have conceived the idea of superior enlightenment.

8 Such is the effect produced by the great Seer, when he reveals this Buddha-state that is endless and has no limit, which is as immense as the element of ether.

9 Many thousand kotis of angels, Indras, and Brahma-angels, like the sands of the Ganges, have flocked hither from thousands of kotis of distant fields and have poured a rain of Mandairavas.

10 They move in the sky like birds, and strew fragrant powder of sandal and agallochum, to cover ceremoniously the Chief of Ginas withal.

11High aloft tymbals without being struck emit sweet sounds; thousands of kotis of white cloth whirl down upon the Chiefs.

12 Thousands of kotis of jewel censers of costly incense move of their own accord on every side to honour the mighty Lord of the world.

13 Innumerable wise Bodhisattvas hold myriads of kotis of umbrellas, elevated and made of noble jewels, like chaplets, up to the Brahma-world.

14 The sons of Sugata, in their great joy, have attached beautiful triumphal streamers at the top of the banner staffs in honour of the Leaders whom they celebrate in thousands of stanzas.

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15 Such a marvellous, extraordinary, prodigious, splendid phenomenon, O Leader, is being displayed by all those beings who are gladdened by the exposition of the duration of life (of the Tathagata).

16 Grand is the matter now (occurring) in the ten points of space, and (great) the sound raised by the Leaders; thousands of kotis of living beings are refreshed and gifted with virtue for enlightenment.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya: Those beings, Agita, who during the exposition of this Dharmaparyaya in which the duration of the Tathagata's life is revealed have entertained, were it but a single thought of trust, or have put belief in it, how great a merit are they to produce, be they young men and young ladies of good family? Listen then, and mind it well, how great the merit is they shall produce. Let us suppose the case, Agita, that some young man or young lady of good family, desirous of supreme, perfect enlightenment, for eight hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Æons practises the five perfections of virtue (Paramitas), to wit, perfect charity in alms, perfect morality, perfect forbearance, perfect energy, perfect meditation-perfect wisdom being excepted; let us, on the other hand, suppose the case, Agita, that a young man or young lady of good family, on hearing this Dharmaparyaya containing the exposition of the duration of the Tathagata's life, conceives were it but a single thought of trust or puts belief in it; then that former accumulation of merit, that accumulation of good connected with the five perfections of virtue, (that accumulation) which has come to full accomplishment in eight hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Æons, does not equal one hundredth part of the accumulation of merit in the second case; it does not equal one thousandth part; it admits of no calculation, no counting, no reckoning, no comparison, no approximation, no secret teaching. One who is possessed of such an accumulation of merit, Agita, be he a young man or a young lady of good family, will not miss supreme, perfect enlightenment; no, that is not possible.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

17 Let a man who is seeking after this knowledge, superior Buddha-knowledge, undertake to practise in this world the five perfect virtues;

18 Let him, during eight thousand kotis of complete Æons, continue giving repeated alms to Buddhas and disciples;

19 Regaling Pratyekabuddhas and kotis of Bodhisattvas by giving meat, food and drink, clothing and lodging;

20 Let him build on earth refuges and monasteries of sandal-wood, and pleasant convent gardens provided with walks;

21 Let him after so bestowing gifts, various and diversified, during thousands of kotis of Æons, direct his mind to enlightenment;

22 Let him then, for the sake of Buddhaknowledge, keep unbroken the pure moral precepts which have been recommended by the perfect Buddhas and acknowledged by the wise;

23 Let him further develop the virtue of forbearance, be steady in the stage of meekness [i.e. of a monk under training.], be constant, of good memory, and patiently endure many censures;

24 Let him, moreover, for the sake of Buddha-knowledge, bear the contemptuous words of unbelievers who are rooted in pride;

25 Let him, always zealous, strenuous, studious, of good memory, without any other pre-occupation in his mind, practise meditation, during kotis of.Æons;

26 Let him, whether living in the forest or entering upon a vagrant life [i.e. a Yogin, a contemplative mystic.], go about, avoiding sloth and torpor, for kotis of Æons;

27 Let him as a philosopher, a great philosopher who finds his delight in meditation, in concentration of mind, pass eight thousand kotis of Æons;

28 Let him energetically pursue enlightenment with the thought of his reaching all-knowingness, and so arrive at the highest degree of meditation;

29 Then the merit accruing to those who practise the virtues oft described, during thousands of kotis of Æons,

30 (Is less than that of) a man or a woman who, on hearing the duration of my life, for a single moment believes in it; this merit is endless.

31 He who renouncing doubt, vacillation, and misgiving shall believe even for a short moment, shall obtain such a reward.

32 The Bodhisattvas also,who have practised those virtues during kotis of Æons, will not be startled at hearing of this inconceivably long life of mine.

33 They will bow their heads (and think): 'May I also in future become such a one and release kotis of living beings!

34 'As the Lord Sakyamuni, the Lion of the Sakya race, after he had occupied his seat on the terrace of enlightenment, raised his lion's roar;

35 'So may I in future be sitting on the terrace of enlightenment, honoured by all mortals, to teach so long a life!'

36 Those who are possessed of firmness of intention and have learnt the principles, will understand the mystery and feel no uncertaint.

Again, Agita, he who after hearing this Dharmaparyaya, which contains an exposition of the duration of the Tathagata's life, apprehends it, penetrates and understands it, will produce a yet more immeasurable accumulation of merit conducive to Buddhaknowledge; unnecessary to add that he who hears such a Dharmaparyaya as this or makes others hear it; who keeps it in memory, reads, comprehends or makes others comprehend it; who writes or has it written, collects or has it collected into a volume, honours, respects, worships it with flowers, incense, perfumed garlands, ointments, powder, cloth, umbrellas, flags, streamers, (lighted) oil lamps, ghee lamps or lamps filled with scented oil, will produce a far greater accumulation of merit conducive to Buddha-knowledge.

And, Agita, as a test whether that young man or young lady of good family who hears this exposition of the duration of the Tathagata's life most decidedly believes in it may be deemed the following. They will behold me teaching the law I here on the Gridhrakuta, surrounded by a host of Bodhisattvas, attended by a host of Bodhisattvas, in the centre of the congregation of disciples. They will behold here my Buddha-field in the Saha-world, consisting of lapis lazuli and forming a level plain; forming a chequered board of eight compartments with gold threads; set off with jewel trees. They will behold the towers that the Bodhisattvas use as their abodes. By this test, Agita, one may know if a young man or young lady of good family has a most decided belief. Moreover, Agita, I declare that a young man of good family who, after the complete extinction of the Tathagata, shall not reject, but joyfully accept this Dharmaparyaya when hearing it, that such a young man of good family also is earnest in his belief; far more one who keeps it in memory or reads it. He who after collecting this Dharmaparyaya into a volume carries it on his shoulder carries the Tathagata on his shoulder. Such a young man or young lady of good family, Agita, need make no Stupas for me, nor monasteries; need not give to the congregation of monks medicaments for the sick or (other) requisites [This agrees with the teaching of the Vedanta that Brahma-knowledge is independent of good works]. For, Agita, such a young man or young lady of good family has (spiritually) built for the worship of my relics Stupas of seven precious substances reaching up to the Brahma-world in height, and with a circumference in proportion, with the umbrellas thereto belonging, with triumphal streamers, with tinkling bells and baskets; has shown manifold marks of respect to those Stupas of relics with diverse celestial and earthly flowers, incense, perfumed garlands, ointments, powder, cloth, umbrellas, banners, flags, triumphal streamers, by various sweet, pleasant, clear-sounding tymbals and drums, by the tune, noise, sounds of musical instruments and castanets, by songs, nautch and dancing of different kinds, of many, innumerable kinds; has done those acts of worship during many, innumerable thousands of kotis of Æons. One who keeps in memory this Dharmaparyaya after my complete extinction, who reads, writes, promulgates it, Agita, shall also have built monasteries, large, spacious, extensive, made of red sandal-wood, with thirty-two pinnacles, eight stories, fit for a thousand monks, adorned with gardens and flowers, having walks furnished with lodgings, completely provided with meat, food and drink and medicaments for the sick, well equipped with all comforts. And those numerous, innumerable beings, say a hundred or a thousand or ten thousand or a koti or hundred kotis or thousand kotis or hundred thousand kotis or ten thousand times hundred thousand kotis, they must be considered to form the congregation of disciples seeing me from face to face, and must be considered as those whom I have fully blessed. He who, after my complete extinction, shall keep this Dharmaparyaya, read, promulgate, or write it, he, I repeat, Agita, need not build Stupas of relics, nor worship the congregation; not necessary to tell, Agita, that the young man or young lady of good family who, keeping this Dharmaparyaya, shall crown it by charity in alms, morality, forbearance, energy, meditation, or wisdom, will produce a much greater accumulation of merit; it is, in fact, immense, incalculable, infinite. just as the element of ether, Agita, is boundless, to the east, south, west, north, beneath, above, and in the intermediate quarters, so immense and incalculable an accumulation of merit, conducive to Buddha-knowledge, will be produced by a young man or young lady of good family who shall keep, read, write, or cause to be written, this Dharmaparyaya. He will be zealous in worshipping the Tathagata shrines; he will laud the disciples of the Tathagata, praise the hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of virtues of the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, and expound them to others; he will be accomplished in forbearance, be moral, of good character, agreeable to live with, and tolerant, modest, not jealous of others, not wrathful, not vicious in mind, of good memory, strenuous and always busy, devoted to meditation in striving after the state of a Buddha, attaching great value to abstract meditation, frequently engaging in abstract meditation, able in solving questions and in avoiding hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of questions. Any Bodhisattva Mahasattva, Agita, who, after the Tathagata's complete extinction, shall keep this Dharmaparyaya, will have the good qualities I have described. Such a young man or young lady of good family, Agita, must be considered to make for the terrace of enlightenment; that young man or young lady of good family steps towards the foot of the tree of enlightenment in order to reach enlightenment. And where that young man or young lady of good family, Agita, stands, sits, or walks, there one should make a shrine', dedicated to the Tathagata, and the world, including the gods, should say: This is a Stupa of relics of the Tathagata.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

37 An immense mass of merit, as I have repeatedly mentioned, shall be his who, after the complete extinction of the Leader of men, shall keep this Sutra.

38 He will have paid worship to me, and built Stupas of relics, made of precious substances, variegated, beautiful, and splendid;

39 In height coming up to the Brahma-world, with rows of umbrellas, great in circumference gorgeous, and decorated with triumphal streamers;

40 Resounding with the clear ring of bells, and decorated with silk bands, while jingles moved by the wind form another ornament at (the shrines of) Gina relics.

41 He will have shown great honour to them by flowers, perfumes, and ointments ; by music, clothes, and the repeated (sound of) tymbals.

42 He will have sweet musical instruments struck at those relics, and lamps with scented oil kept burning all around.

43 He who at the period of depravation shall keep and teach this Sutra, he will have paid me such an infinitely varied worship.

44 He has built many kotis of excellent monasteries of sandal-wood, with thirty-two pinnacles, and eight terraces high;

45 Provided with couches, with food hard and soft; furnished with excellent curtains, and having cells by thousands.

46 He has given hermitages and walks embellished by flower-gardens; many elegant objects of various forms and variegated.

47 He has shown manifold worship to the host of disciples in my presence, he who, after my extinction, shall keep this Sutra.

48 Let one be ever so good in disposition, much greater merit will he obtain who shall keep or write this Sutra.

49 Let a man cause this to be written and have it well put together in a volume; let him always worship the volume with flowers, garlands, ointments.

50 Let him constantly place near it a lamp filled with scented oil, along with full-blown lotuses and suitable' oblations of Michelia Champaka.

51 The man who pays such worship to the books will produce a mass of merit which is not to be measured.

52 Even as there is no measure of the element of ether, in none of the ten directions, so there is no measure of this mass of merit.

53 How much more will this be the case with one who is patient, meek, devoted, moral, studious, and addicted to meditation;

54 Who is not irascible, not treacherous, reverential towards the sanctuary, always humble towards monks, not conceited, nor neglectful;

55 Sensible and wise, not angry when he is asked a question; who, full of compassion for living beings, gives such instruction as suits them.

56 If there be such a man who (at the same time) keeps this Sutra, he will possess a mass of merit that cannot be measured.

57 If one meets such a man as here described, a keeper of this Sutra, one should do homage to him.

58 One should present him with divine flowers, cover him with divine clothes, and bow the head to salute his feet, in the conviction of his being a Tathagata.

59 And at the sight of such a man one may directly make the reflection that he is going towards the foot of the tree to arrive at superior, blessed enlightenment for the weal of all the world, including the gods.

60 And wherever such a sage is walking, standing, sitting, or lying down; wherever the hero pronounces were it but a single stanza from this Sutra;

61 There one should build a Stupa for the most high of men, a splendid, beautiful (Stupa), dedicated to the Lord Buddha, the Chief, and then worship it in manifold ways.

62 That spot of the earth has been enjoyed by myself; there have I walked myself, and there have I been sitting; where that son of Buddha has stayed, there I am.

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LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 17

INDICATION OF THE MERITORIOUSNESS OF JOYFUL ACCEPTANCE

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya said to the Lord: O Lord, one who, after hearing this Dharmaparyaya being preached, joyfully I accepts it, be that person a young man of good family or a young lady, how much merit, O Lord, will be produced by such a young man or young lady of good family?

And on that occasion the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya uttered this stanza:

1 How great will be the merit of him who, after the extinction of the great Hero, shall hear this exalted Sutra and joyfully accept it?

And the Lord said to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya: If any one, Agita, either a young man of good family or a young lady, after the complete extinction of the Tathagata, hears the preaching of this Dharmaparyaya, let it be a monk or nun, a male or female lay devotee, a man of ripe understanding or a boy or girl; if the hearer joyfully accepts it, and then after the sermon rises up to go elsewhere, to a monastery, house, forest, street, village, town, or province, with the motive and express aim to expound the law such as he has understood, such as he has heard it, and according to the measure of his power, to another person, his mother, father, kinsman, friend, acquaintance, or any other person; if the latter, after hearing, joyfully accepts, and, in consequence, communicates it to another; if the latter, after hearing, joyfully accepts, and communicates it to another; if this other, again, after hearing, joyfully accepts it, and so on in succession until a number of fifty is reached; then, Agita, the fiftieth person to hear and joyfully accept the law so heard, let it be a young man of good family or a young lady, will have acquired an accumulation of merit connected with the joyful acceptance, Agita, which I am going to indicate to thee. Listen, and take it well to heart; I will tell thee.

It is, Agita, as if the creatures existing in the four hundred thousand Asankhyeyas of worlds, in any of the six states of existence, born from an egg, from a womb, from warm humidity, or from metamorphosis, whether they have a shape or have not, be they conscious or unconscious, neither conscious nor unconscious, footless, two-footed, four-footed, or many-footed, as many beings as are contained in the world of creatures,-(as if) all those had flocked together to one place. Further, suppose some man appears, a lover of virtue, a lover of good, who gives to that whole body the pleasures, sports, amusements, and enjoyments they desire, like, and relish. He gives to each of them all Gambudvipa for his pleasures, sports, amusements, and enjoyments; gives bullion, gold, silver, gems, pearls, lapis lazuli, conches, stones (?), coral, carriages yoked with horses, with bullocks, with elephants; gives palaces and towers. In this way, Agita, that master of munificence, that great master of munificence continues spending his gifts for fully eighty years. Then, Agita, that master of munificence, that great master of munificence reflects thus: All these beings have I allowed to sport and enjoy themselves, but now they are covered with wrinkles and grey-haired, old, decrepit, eighty years of age, and near the term of their life. Let me therefore initiate them in the discipline of the law revealed by the Tathagata, and instruct them. Thereupon, Aota, the man exhorts all those beings, thereafter initiates them in the discipline of the law revealed by the Tathagata, and makes them adopt it. Those beings learn the law from him, and in one moment, one instant, one bit of time, all become Srotaapannas, obtain the fruit of the rank of Sakridagamin and of Anagamin, until they become Arhats, free from all imperfections, adepts in meditation, adepts in great meditation and in the meditation with eight emancipations. Now, what is thine opinion, Agita, will that master of munificence, that great master of munificence, on account of his doings, produce great merit, immense, incalculable merit? Whereupon the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya said in reply to the Lord: Certainly, Lord; certainly, Sugata; that person, Lord, will already produce much merit on that account, because he gives to the beings all that is necessary for happiness; how much more then if he establishes them in Arhatship!

This said, the Lord spoke to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya as follows: I announce to thee, Agita, I declare to thee; (take) on one side the master of munificence, the great master of munificence, who produces merit by supplying all beings in the four hundred thousand Asanikhyeyas of worlds with all the necessaries for happiness and by establishing them in Arhatship; (take) on the other side the person who, ranking the fiftieth in the series of the oral tradition of the law, hears, were it but a single stanza, a single word, from this Dharmaparyaya and joyfully accepts it; if (we compare) the mass of merit connected with the joyful acceptance and the mass of merit connected with the charity of the master of munificence, the great master of munificence, then the greater merit will be his who, ranking the fiftieth in the series of the oral tradition of the law, after hearing were it but a single stanza, a single word, from this Dharmaparyaya, joyfully accepts it. Against this accumulation of merit, Agita, this accumulation of roots of goodness connected with that joyful acceptance, the former accumulation of merit connected with the charity of that master of munificence, that great master of munificence, and connected with the confirmation in Arhatship, does not fetch the 1/100 part, not the 1/100,000, not the 1/10,000,000 not the 1/1000,000,000 not the 1/1000 x 10,000,000 not the 1/100,000 x 10,000,000, not the 1/100,000 x 10,000 x 10,000,000 part; it admits of no calculation, no counting, no reckoning, no comparison, no approximation, no secret teaching. So immense, incalculable, Agita, is the merit which a person, ranking the fiftieth in the series of the tradition of the law, produces by joyfully accepting, were it but a single stanza, a single word, from this Dharmaparyaya; how much more then (will) he (produce), Agita, who hears this Dharmaparyaya in my presence and then joyfully accepts it? I declare, Agita, that his accumulation of merit shall be even more immense, more incalculable.

And further, Agita, if a young man of good family or a young lady, with the design to hear this discourse on the law, goes from home to a monastery, and there hears this Dharmaparyaya for a single moment, either standing or sitting, then that person, merely by the mass of merit resulting from that action, will after the termination of his (present) life, and at the time of his second existence when he receives (another) body, become a possessor of carriages yoked with bullocks, horses, or elephants, of litters, vehicles yoked with bulls, and of celestial aerial cars. If further that same person at that preaching sits down, were it but a single moment, to hear this Dharmaparyaya, or persuades another to sit down or shares with him his seat, he will by the store of merit resulting from that action gain seats of Indra, seats of Brahma, thrones of a Kakravartin. And, Agita, if some one, a young man of good family or a young lady, says to another person: Come, friend, and hear the Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, and if that other person owing to that exhortation is persuaded to listen, were it but a single moment, then the former will by virtue of that root of goodness, consisting in that exhortation, obtain the advantage of a connection with Bodhisattvas who have acquired Dharani. He will become the reverse of dull, will get keen faculties, and have wisdom; in the course of a hundred thousand existences he will never have a fetid mouth, nor an offensive one; he will have no diseases of the tongue, nor of the mouth; he will have no black teeth, no unequal, no yellow, no ill-ranged, no broken teeth, no teeth fallen out; his lips will not be pendulous, not turned inward, not gaping, not mutilated, not loathsome; his nose will not be flat, nor wry; his face will not be long, nor wry, nor unpleasant. On the contrary, Agita, his tongue, teeth, and lips will be delicate and wellshaped; his nose long; his face perfectly round; the eyebrows well-shaped; the forehead well-formed. He will receive a very complete organ of manhood. He will have the advantage that the Tathagata renders sermons intelligible to him and soon come in connection with Lords, Buddhas. Mark, Agita, how much good is produced by one's inciting were it but a single creature; how much more then by him who reverentially hears, reverentially reads, reverentially preaches, reverentially promulgates the law!

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

2 Listen how great the merit is of one who, the fiftieth in the series (of tradition), hears a single stanza from this Sutra and with placid mind joyfully adopts it.

3 Suppose there is a man in the habit of giving alms to myriads of kotis of beings, whom I have herebefore indicated by way of comparison'; all of them he satisfies during eighty years.

4 Then seeing that old age has approached for them, that their brow is wrinkled and their head grey (he thinks): Alas, how all beings come to decay! Let me therefore admonish them by (speaking of) the law.

5 He teaches them the law here on earth and points to the state of Nirvana hereafter. 'All existences' (he says) 'are like a mirage; hasten to become disgusted with all existence.'

6 All creatures, by hearing the law from that charitable person, become at once Arhats, free from imperfections, and living their last life.

7 Much more merit than by that person will be acquired by him who through unbroken tradition shall hear were it but a single stanza and joyfully receive it. The mass of merit of the former is not even so much as a small particle of the latter's.

8 So great will be one's merit, endless, immeasurable, owing to one's hearing merely a single stanza, in regular tradition; how much more then if one hears from face to face!

9 And if somebody exhorts were it but a single creature and says: Go, hear the law, for this Sutra is rare in many myriads of kotis of Æons;

10 And if the creature so exhorted should hear the Sutra even for a moment, hark what fruit is to result from that action. He shall never have a mouth disease;

11 His tongue is never sore; his teeth shall never fall out, never be black, yellow, unequal; his lips never become loathsome;

12 His face is not wry, nor lean, nor long; his nose not flat; it is well-shaped, as well as his forehead, teeth, lips, and round face.

13 His aspect is ever pleasant to men; his mouth is never fetid, it constantly emits a smell sweet as the lotus.

14 If some wise man, to hear this Sutra, goes from his home to a monastery and there listen, were it but for a single moment, with a placid mind, hear what results from it.

15 His body is very fair; he drives with horsecarriages, that wise man, and is mounted on elevated carriages drawn by elephants and variegated with gems.

16 He possesses litters covered with ornaments and carried by numerous men. Such is the blessed fruit of his going to hear preaching.

17 Owing to the performance of that pious work he shall, when sitting in the assembly there, obtain seats of Indra, seats of Brahma, seats of kings.

LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 18

The Advantages Of A Religious Preacher.

The Lord then addressed the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Satatasamitabhiyukta (i.e. ever and constantly strenuous). Any one, young man of good family, who shall keep, read, teach, write this Dharmaparyaya or have it written, let that person be a young man of good family or a young lady, shall obtain eight hundred good qualities of the eye, twelve hundred of the ean, eight hundred of the nose, twelve hundred of the tongue, eight hundred of the body, twelve hundred of the mind. By these many hundred good qualities the whole of the six organs shall be perfect, thoroughly perfect. By means of the natural, carnal eye derived from his parents being perfect, he shall see the whole triple universe, outwardly and inwardly, with its mountains and woody thickets, down to the great hell Aviki and up to the extremity of existence. All that he shall see with his natural eye, as well as the creatures to be found in it, and he shall know the fruit of their works.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

1 Hear from me what good qualities shall belong to him who unhesitatingly and undismayed shall preach this Sutra to the congregated assembly.

2 First, then, his eye (or, organ of vision) shall possess eight hundred good qualities by which it shall be correct, clear, and untroubled.

With the carnal eye derived from his parents he shall see the whole world from within and without.

4 He shall see the Meru and Sumeru, all the horizon and other mountains, as well as the seas.

5 He, the hero, sees all, downward to the Aviki and upward to the extremity of existence. Such is his carnal eye.

6 But he has not yet got the divine eye, it having not yet been produced in him; such as here described is the range of his carnal eye.

Further, Satatasamitabhiyukta, the young man of good family or the young lady who proclaims this Dharmaparyaya and preaches it to others, is possessed of the twelve hundred good qualities of the ear. The various sounds that are uttered in the triple universe, downward to the great hell Aviki and upward to the extremity of existence, within and without, such as the sounds of horses, elephants, cows, peasants, goats. cars; the sounds of weeping and wailing; of horror, of conch-trumpets, bells, tymbals; of playing and singing; of camels, of tigers; of women, men, boys, girls; of righteousness (piety) and unrighteousness (impiety); of pleasure and pain; of ignorant men and aryas; pleasant and unpleasant sounds; sounds of gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human; of monks, disciples, Pratyekabuddhas, Bodhisattvas, and Tathagatas; as many sounds as are uttered in the triple world, within and without, all those he hears with his natural organ of hearing when perfect. Still he does not enjoy the divine ear, although he apprehends the sounds of those different creatures, understands, discerns the sounds of those different creatures, and when with his natural organ of hearing he hears the sounds of those creatures, his ear is not overpowered by any of those sounds. Such, Satatasamitabhiyukta, is the organ of hearing that the Bodhisattva Mahasattva acquires; yet he does not possess the divine ear.

Thus spoke the Lord; thereafter he, the Sugata, the Master, added:

7 The organ of hearing of such a person becomes (or, is) cleared and perfect, though as yet it be natural; by it he perceives the various sounds, without any exception, in this world.

8 He perceives the sounds of elephants, horses, cars, cows, goats, and sheep; of noisy kettle-drums, tabours, lutes, flutes, Vallaki-lutes.

9 He can hear singing, lovely and sweet, and, at the same time, is constant enough not to allow himself to be beguiled by it; he perceives the sounds of kotis of men, whatever and wherever they are speaking.

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10 He, moreover, always hears the voice of gods and Nagas; he hears the tunes, sweet and affecting, of song, as well as the voices of men and women, boys and girls.

11 He hears the cries of the denizens of mountains and glens; the tender notes of Kalavinkas, cuckoos, pea fowls, pheasants, and other birds.

12 He also (hears) the heart-rending cries of those who are suffering pains in the hells, and the yells uttered by the Spirits, vexed as they are by the difficulty to get food;

13 Likewise the different cries produced by the demons and the inhabitants of the ocean. All these sounds the preacher is able to hear from his place on earth, without being overpowered by them.

14 From where he is stationed here on the earth he also hears the different and multifarious sounds through which the inhabitants of the realm of brutes are conversing with each other.

15 He apprehends all the sounds, without any exception, whereby the numerous angels living in the Brahma-world, the Akanishthas and Abhasvaras, call one another.

16 He likewise always hears the sound which the monks on earth are raising when engaged in reading, and when preaching the law to congregations, after having taken orders under the command of the Sugatas.

17 And when the Bodhisattvas here on earth have a reading together and raise their voices in the general synods, he hears them severally.

18 The Bodhisattva who preaches this Stara shall, at one time, also hear the perfect law 2 that the Lord Buddha, the tamer of men, announces to the assemblies.

19 The numerous sounds produced by all beings in the triple world, in this field, within and without, (downward) to the Aviki and upward to the extremity of existence, are heard by him.

20 (In short), he perceives the voices of all beings, his ear being open. Being in the possession of his six senses, he will discern the different sources (of sound), and that while his organ of hearing is the natural one;

21 The divine ear is not yet operating in him; his ear continues in its natural state. Such as here told are the good qualities belonging to the wise man who shall be a keeper of this Sutra.

Further, Satatasamitabhiyukta, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva who keeps, proclaims, studies, writes this Dharmaparyaya becomes possessed of a perfect organ of smell with eight hundred good qualities. By means of that organ he smells the different smells that are found in the triple world, within and without, such as fetid smells, pleasant and unpleasant smells, the fragrance of diverse flowers, as the greatflowered jasmine, Arabian jasmine, Michelia Chainpaka, trumpet-flower; likewise the different scents of aquatic flowers, as the blue lotus, red lotus, white esculent water-lily and white lotus. He smells the odour of fruits and blossoms of various trees bearing fruits and blossoms, such as sandal, Xanthochymus, Tabernæmontana, agallochum. The manifold hundred-thousand mixtures of perfumes he smells and discerns, without moving from his standing-place. He smells the diverse smells of creatures, as elephants, horses, cows, goats, beasts, as well as the smell issuing from the body of various living beings in the condition of brutes. He perceives the smells exhaled by the body of women and men, of boys and girls. He smells, even from a distance, the odour of grass, bushes, herbs, trees. He perceives those smells such as they really are, and is not surprised nor stunned by them. Staying on this very earth he smells the odour of gods and the fragrance of celestial flowers, such as Erythrina, Bauhinia, Mandarava and great Mandarava, Mangusha and great Mangusha. He smells the perfume of the divine powders of sandal and agallochum, as well as that of the hundred-thousands of mixtures of different divine flowers. He smells the odour exhaled by the body of the gods, such as Indra, the chief of the gods, and thereby knows whether (the god) is sporting, playing, and enjoying himself in his palace Vaigayanta or is speaking the law to the gods of paradise in the assembly-hall of the gods, Sudharma, or is resorting to the pleasure-park for sport. He smells the odour proceeding from the body of the sundry other gods, as well as that proceeding from the girls and wives of the gods, from the youths and maidens amongst the gods, without being surprised or stunned by those smells. He likewise smells the odour exhaled by the bodies of all Devanikayas, Brahmakayikas, and Mahabrahmas. In the same manner he perceives the smells coming from disciples, Pratyekabuddhas, Bodhisattvas, and Tathagatas. He smells the odour arising from the seats of the Tathagatas and so discovers where those Tathagatas, Arhats, etc. abide. And by none of all those different smells is his organ of smell hindered, impaired, or vexed; and, if required, he may give an account of those smells to others without his memory being impaired by it.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

22 His organ of smell is quite correct, and he perceives the manifold and various smells, good or bad, which exist in this world;

23 The fragrance of the great-flowered jasmine, Arabian jasmine, Xanthochymus, sandal, agallochum, of several blossoms and fruits.

24 He likewise perceives the smells exhaled by men, women, boys, and girls, at a considerable distance, and by the smell he knows where they are.

25 He recognises emperors, rulers of armies, governors of provinces, as well as royal princes and ministers, and all the ladies of the harem by their (peculiar) scent.

26 It is by the odour that the Bodhisattva discovers sundry jewels of things, such as are found on the earth and such as serve as jewels for women.

27 That Bodhisattva likewise knows by the odour the various kinds of ornament that women use for their body, robes, wreaths, and ointments.

28 The wise man who keeps this exalted Sutra recognises, by the power of a good-smelling organ, a woman standing, sitting, or lying; he discovers wanton sport and magic power.

29 He perceives at once where he stands, the fragrance of scented oils, and the different odours of flowers and fruits, and thereby knows from what source the odour proceeds.

30 The discriminating man recognises by the odour the numerous sandal-trees in full blossom in the glens of the mountains, as well as all creatures dwelling there.

31 All the beings living within the compass of the horizon or dwelling in the depth of the sea or in the bosom of the earth the discriminating man knows how to distinguish from the (peculiar) smell.

32 He discerns the gods and demons, and the daughters of demons; he discovers the sports of demons and their luxury. Such, indeed, is the power of his organ of smell.

33 By the smell he tracks the abodes of the quadrupeds in the woods, lions, tigers, elephants, snakes, buffaloes, cows, gayals.

34 He infers from the odour, whether the child that women, languid from pregnancy, bear in the womb be a boy or a girl.

35 He can discern if a woman is big with a dead child; he discerns if she is subject to throes, and, further, if a woman, the pains being removed, shall be delivered of a healthy boy.

36 He guesses the various designs of men, he smells (so to say) an air of design; he finds out the odour of passionate, wicked, hypocritical, or quiet persons.

37 That Bodhisattva by the scent smells treasures hidden in the ground, money, gold, bullion, silver, chests, and metal pots.

38 Necklaces of two sorts, gems, pearls, nice priceless jewels he knows by the scent, as well as things priceless and brilliant in general.

39 That great man from his very place on earth smells the flowers here above (in the sky) with the gods, such as Mandaravas, Mangushakas, and those growing on the coral tree.

40 By the power of his organ of smell he, without leaving his stand on earth, perceives how and whose are the aerial cars, of lofty, low, and middling size, and other brilliant forms shooting (through the firmament).

41 He likewise finds out the paradise, the gods (in the hall) of Sudharma and in the most glorious palace of Vaigayanta, and the angels who there are diverting themselves.

42 He perceives, here on earth, an air of them; by the scent he knows the angels, and where each of them is acting, standing, listening, or walking.

43 That Bodhisattva tracks by the scent the houris who are decorated with many flowers, decked with wreaths and ornaments and in full attire; he knows wherever they are dallying or staying at the time.

44 By smell he apprehends the gods, Brahmas, and Brahmakayas moving on aerial cars aloft, upwards to the extremity of existence; he knows whether they are absorbed in meditation or have risen from it.

45 He perceives the Abhasvara angels falling (and shooting) and appearing, even those that he never saw before. Such is the organ of smell of the Bodhisattva who keeps this Sutra.

46 The Bodhisattva also recognises all monks under the rule of the Sugata, who are strenuously engaged in their walks and find their delight in their lessons and reading.

47 Intelligent as he is, he discerns those among the sons of Gina who are disciples and those who used to live at the foot of trees, and he knows that the monk so and so is staying in such and such a place.

48 The Bodhisattva knows by the odour whether other Bodhisattvas are of good memory, meditative, delighting in their lessons and reading, and assiduous in preaching to congregations.

49 In whatever point of space the Sugata, the great Seer, so benign and bounteous, reveals the law in the midst of the crowd of attending disciples, the Bodhisattva by the odour recognises him as the Lord of the universe.

50 Staying on earth, the Bodhisattva also perceives those beings who hear the law and rejoice at it, and the whole assembly of the Gina.

51 Such is the power of his organ of smell. Yet it is not the divine organ he possesses, but (the natural one) prior to the perfect, divine faculty of smell.

Further, Satatasamitabhiyukta, the young man of good family or the young lady who keeps, teaches, proclaims, writes this Dharmaparyaya shall have an organ of taste possessed of twelve hundred good faculties of the tongue. All flavours he takes on his tongue will yield a divine, exquisite relish. And he tastes in such a way that he is not to relish anything unpleasant; and even the unpleasant flavours that are taken on his tongue will yield a divine relish. And whatever he shall preach in the assembly, the creatures will be satisfied by it; they will be content, thoroughly content, filled with delight. A sweet, tender, agreeable, deep voice goes out from him, an amiable voice which goes to the heart, at which those creatures will be ravished and charmed; and those to whom he preaches, after having heard his sweet voice, so tender and melodious, will, even (if they are) gods, be of opinion that they ought to go and see, venerate, and serve him. And the angels and houris will be of opinion, etc. The Indras, Brahmas, and Brahmakayikas will be of opinion, etc. The Nagas and Naga girls will be of opinion, etc. The demons and their girls will be of opinion, etc. The Garudas and their girls will be of opinion, etc. The Kinnaras and their girls, the great serpents and their girls, the goblins and their girls, the imps and their girls will be of opinion that they ought to go and see, venerate, serve him, and hear his sermon, and all will show him honour, respect, esteem, worship, reverence, and veneration. Monks and nuns, male and female lay devotees will likewise be desirous of seeing him. Kings, royal pyinces, and grandees (or ministers) will also be desirous of seeing him. Kings ruling armies and emperors possessed of the seven treasures, along with the princes royal, ministers, ladies of the harem, and their retinue will be desirous of seeing him and paying him their homage. So sweet will be the speech delivered by that preacher, so truthful and according to the teaching of the Tathagata will be his words. Others also, Brahmans and laymen, citizens and peasants, will always and ever follow that preacher till the end of life. Even the disciples of the Tathagata will be desirous of seeing him; likewise the Pratyekabuddhas and the Lords Buddhas. And wherever that young man of good family or young lady shall stay, there he (or she) will preach, the face turned to the Tathagata, and he (or she) will be a worthy vessel of the Buddha-qualities. Such, so pleasant, so deep will be the voice of the law going out from him.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

52 His organ of taste is most excellent, and he will never relish anything of inferior flavour; the flavours are no sooner put on his tongue than they become divine and possessed of a divine taste.

53 He has a tender voice and delivers sweet words, pleasant to hear, agreeable, charming; in the midst of the assembly lie is used to speak with a melodious and deep voice.

54 And whosoever hears him when he is delivering a sermon with myriads of kotis of examples, feels a great joy and shows him an immense veneration.

55 The gods, Nagas, demons, and goblins always long to see him, and respectfully listen to his preaching. All those good qualities are his.

56 If he would, he might make his voice heard by the whole of this world; his voice is (so) fine, sweet, deep, tender, and winning.

57 The emperors on earth, along with their children and wives, go to him with the purpose of honouring him, and listen all the time to his sermon with joined hands.

58 He is constantly followed by goblins, crowds of Nagas, Gandharvas, imps, male and female, who honour, respect, and worship him.

59 Brahma himself becomes his obedient servant; the gods Isvara and Mahesvara, as well as Indra and the numerous heavenly nymphs, approach him.

60 And the Buddhas, benign and merciful for the world, along with their disciples, hearing his voice, protect him by showing their face, and feel satisfaction in hearing him preaching.

Further, Satatasamitabhiyukta, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva who keeps, reads, promulgates, teaches, writes this Dharmaparyaya shall have the eight hundred good qualities of the body. It will be pure, and show a hue clear as the lapis lazuli ; it will be pleasant to see for the creatures. On that perfect body he will see the whole triple universe; the beings who in the triple world disappear and appear, who are low or lofty, of good or of bad colour, in fortunate or in unfortunate condition, as well as the beings dwelling within the circular plane of the horizon and of the great horizon, on the chief mountains Meru and Sumeru, and the beings dwelling below in the Aviki and upwards to the extremity of existence; all of them he will see on his own body. The disciples, Pratyekabuddhas, Bodhisattvas, and Tathagatas dwelling in the triple universe, and the law taught by those Tathagatas and the beings serving the Tathagatas, he will see all of them on his own body, because he receives the proper body of all those beings, and that on account of the perfectness of his body.

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And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

61 His body becomes thoroughly pure, clear as if consisting of lapis lazuli; he who keeps this sublime Sutra is always a pleasant sight for (all) creatures.

62 As on the surface of a mirror an image is seen, so on his body this world. Being self-born, he sees no other beings. Such is the perfectness of his body.

63 Indeed, all beings who are in this world, men, gods, demons, goblins, the inhabitants of hell, the spirits, and the brute creation are seen reflected on that body.

64 The aerial cars of the gods up to the extremity of existence, the rocks, the ridge of the horizon, the Himalaya, Sumeru, and great Meru, all are seen on that body.

65 He also sees the Buddhas on his body, along with the disciples and other sons of Buddha; likewise the Bodhisattvas who lead a solitary life, and those who preach the law to congregations.

66 Such is the perfectness of his body, though he has not yet obtained a divine body; the natural property of his body is such.

Further, Satatasamitabhiyukta, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva who after the complete extinction of the Tathagata keeps, teaches, writes, reads this Dharmaparyaya shall have a mental organ possessed of twelve hundred good qualities of intellect. By this perfect mental organ he will, even if he hears a single stanza, recognise its various meanings. By fully comprehending the stanza he will find in it the text to preach upon for a month, for four months, nay, for a whole year. And the sermon he preaches will not fade from his memory. The popular maxims of common life, whether sayings or counsels, he will know how to reconcile with the rules of the law. Whatever creatures of this triple universe are subject to the mundane whirl, in any of the six conditions of existence, he will know their thoughts, doings, and movements. He will know and discern their motions, purposes, and aims. Though he has not yet attained the state of an Arya, his intellectual organ will be thoroughly perfect. And all he shall preach after having pondered on the interpretation of the law will be really true; he speaks what all Tathagatas have spoken, all that has been declared in the Sutras of former Ginas.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

67 His mental organ is perfect, lucid, right, and untroubled. By it he finds out the various laws, low, high, and mean.

68 On hearing the contents of a single stanza, the wise man catches the manifold significations (hidden) in it, and he is able for a month, four months, or even a year to go on expounding both its conventional and its true sense.

69 And the beings living in this world, within or without, gods, men, demons, goblins, Nagas, brutes,

70 The beings stationed in any of the six conditions of existence, all their thoughts the sage knows instantaneously. These are the advantages of keeping this Sutra.

71 He also hears the holy sound of the law which the Buddha, marked with a hundred blessed signs, preaches all over the world, and he catches what the Buddha speaks.

72 He reflects much on the supreme law, and is in the wont of constantly dilating upon it; he is never hesitating. These are the advantages of keeping this Sutra.

73 He knows the connections and knots; he discerns in all laws contrarieties; he knows the meaning and the interpretations, and expounds them according to his knowledge.

74 The Sutra which since so long a time has been expounded by the ancient Masters of the world is the law which he, never flinching, is always preaching in the assembly.

75 Such is the mental organ of him who keeps or reads this Sutra; he has not yet the knowledge of emancipation, but one that precedes it.

76 He who keeps this Sutra of the Sugata stands on the stage of a master; he may preach to all creatures and is skilful in kotis of interpretations.

LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 19

Sadaparibhuta.

The Lord then addressed the Bodhisattva Mahisattva Mahasthamaprapta. In a similar way, Mahasthamaprapta, one may infer from what has been said that he who rejects such a Dharmaparyaya as this, who abuses monks, nuns, lay devotees male or female, keeping this Sutra, insults them, treats them with false and harsh words, shall experience dire results, to such an extent as is impossible to express in words. But those that keep, read, comprehend, teach, amply expound it to others, shall experience happy results, such as I have already mentioned: they shall attain such a perfection of the eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind as just described.

In the days of yore, Mahasthamaprapta, at a past period, before incalculable Æons, nay, more than incalculable, immense, inconceivable, and even long before, there appeared in the world a Tathagata, etc., named Bhishmagargitasvararaga, endowed with science and conduct, a Sugata, etc. etc., in the Æon Vinirbhoga, in the world Mahasambhava. Now, Mahasthamaprapta, that Lord Bhishmagargitasvararaga, the Tathagata, etc., in that world Vinirbhoga, showed the law in the presence of the world, including gods, men, and demons; the law containing the four noble truths and starting from the chain of causes and efferts, tending to overcome birth, decrepitude, sickness, death, sorrow, lamentation, woe, grief, despondency, and finally leading to Nirvana, he showed to the disciples; the law connected with the six Perfections of virtue and terminating in the knowledge of the Omniscient, after the attainment of supreme, perfect enlightenment, he showed to the Bodhisattvas. The lifetime of that Lord Bhishmagargitasvararaga, the Tathagata, etc., lasted forty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Æons equal to the sands of the river Ganges. After his complete extinction his true law remained hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Æons equal to the atoms (contained) in Gambudvipa, and the counterfeit of the true law continued hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Æons equal to the dust-atoms in the four continents. When the counterfeit of the true law of the Lord Bhishmagargitasvararaga, the Tathagata, etc., after his complete extinction, had disappeared in the world Mahasambhava, Mahasthamaprapta, another Tathagata Bhishmagargitasvararaga, Arhat, etc., appeared, endowed with science and conduct. So in succession, Mahasthamaprapta, there arose in that world Mahasambhava twenty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Tathagatas, etc., called Bhishmagargitasvararaga. At the time, Mahasthamaprapta, after the complete extinction of the first Tathagata amongst all those of the name of Bhishmagargitasvararaga, Tathagata, etc., endowed with science and conduct, etc. etc., when his true law had disappeared and the counterfeit of the true law was fading; when the reign (of the law) was being oppressed by proud monks, there was a monk, a Bodhisattva Mahasattva, called Sadaparibhuta. For what reason, Mahasthamaprapta, was that Bodhisattva Mahasattva called Sadaparibhuta? It was, Mahasthamaprapta, because that Bodhisattva Mahasattva was in the habit of exclaiming to every monk or nun, male or female lay devotee, while approaching them: I do not contemn you, worthies. You deserve no contempt, for you all observe the course of duty of Bodhisattvas and are to become Tath.agatas, etc. In this way, Mahasthamaprapta, that Bodhisattva Mahasattva, when a monk, did not teach nor study; the only thing he did was, whenever he descried from afar a monk or nun, a male or female lay devotee, to approach them and exclaim: I do not contemn you, sisters. You deserve no contempt, for you all observe the course of duty of Bodhisattvas and are to become Tathagatas, etc. So, Mahasthamaprapta, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva at that time used to address every monk or nun, male or female devotee. But all were extremely irritated and angry at it, showed him their displeasure, abused and insulted him: Why does he, unasked, declare that he feels no contempt for us? just by so doing he shows a contempt for us. He renders himself contemptible by predicting our future destiny to supreme, perfect enlightenment; we do not care for what is not true. Many years, Mahasthamaprapta, went on during which that Bodhisattva Mahasattva was being abused, but he was not angry at anybody, nor felt malignity, and to those who, when he addressed them in the said manner, cast a clod or stick at him, he loudly exclaimed from afar: I do not contemn you. Those monks and nuns, male and female lay devotees, being always and ever addressed by him in that phrase gave him the (nick)name of Sadaparibhuta.

Under those circumstances, Mahasthamaprapta, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sadaparibhuta happened to hear this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law when the end of his life was impending, and the moment of dying drawing near. It was the Lord Bhishmagargitasvararaga, the Tathagata, etc., who expounded this Dharmaparyaya in twenty times twenty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of stanzas, which the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sadaparibhuta heard from a voice in the sky, when the time of his death was near at hand. On hearing that voice from the sky, without there appearing a person speaking, he grasped this Dharmaparyaya and obtained the perfections already mentioned: the perfection of sight, hearing, smell, taste, body, and mind. With the attainment of these perfections he at the same time made a vow to prolong his life for twenty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of years, and promulgated this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law. And all those proud beings, monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees to whom he had said: I do not contemn you, and who had given him the name of Sadaparibhuta, became all his followers to hear the law, after they had seen the power and strength of his sublime magic faculties, of his vow, of his readiness of wit, of his wisdom. All those and many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of other beings were by him roused to supreme, perfect enlightenment.

Afterwards, Mahasthamaprapta, that Bodhisattva Mahasattva disappeared from that place and propitiated twenty hundred kotis of Tathagatas, etc., all bearing the same name of Kandraprabhasvararaga, under all of whom he promulgated this Dharmaparyaya. By virtue of his previous root of goodness he, in course of time, propitiated twenty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Tathagatas, etc., all bearing the name of Dundubhisvararaga, and under all he obtained this very Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law and promulgated it to the four classes. By virtue of his previous root of goodness he again, in course of time, propitiated twenty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Tathagatas, etc., all bearing the name of Meghasvararaga, and under all he obtained this very Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law and promulgated it to the four classes. And under all of them he was possessed of the afore-mentioned perfectness of sight, hearing, smell, taste, body, and mind.

Now, Mahasthamaprapta, that Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sadaparibhuta, after having honoured, respected, esteemed, worshipped, venerated, revered so many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Tathagatas, and after having acted in the same way towards many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of other Buddhas, obtained under all of them this very Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, and owing to his former root of goodness having come to full development, gained supreme, perfect enlightenment. Perhaps, Mahasthamaprapta, thou wilt have some doubt, uncertainty, or misgiving, and think that he who at that time, at that juncture was the Bodhisattva Mahasattva called Sadaparibhuta was one, and he who under the rule of that Lord Bhishmagargitasvararaga, the Tathagata, etc., was generally called Sadaparibhuta by the four classes, by whom so many Tathagatas were propitiated, was another. But thou shouldst not think so. For it is myself who at that time, at that juncture was the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sadaparibhuta. Had I not formerly grasped and kept this Dharmaparyaya, Mahasthamaprapta, I should not so soon have arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment. It is because I have kept, read, preached this Dharmaparyaya (derived) from the teaching of the ancient Tathagatas, etc., Mahasthamaprapta, that I have so soon arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment. As to the hundreds of monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees, Mahasthamaprapta, to whom under that Lord the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sadaparibhuta promulgated this Dharmaparyaya by saying: I do not contemn you; you all observe the course of duty of Bodhisattvas; you are to become Tathagatas, etc., and in whom awoke a feeling of malignity towards that Bodhisattva, they in twenty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of .Æons never saw a Tathagata, nor heard the call of the law, nor the call of the assembly, and for ten thousand Æons they suffered terrible pain in the great hell Aviki. Thereafter released from the ban, they by the instrumentality of that Bodhisattva Mahasattva were all brought to full ripeness for supreme, perfect enlightenment. Perhaps, Mahasthamaprapta, thou wilt have some doubt, uncertainty, or misgiving as to who at that time, at that juncture were the persons hooting and laughing at the Bodhisattva Mahasattva. They are, in this very assembly, the five hundred Bodhisattvas headed by Bhadrapala, the five hundred nuns following Simhakandra, the five hundred lay devotees following Sugataketana,who all of them have been rendered inflexible in supreme, perfect enlightenment. So greatly useful it is to keep and preach this Dharmaparyaya, as it tends to result for Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas in supreme, perfect enlightenment. Hence, Mahasthamaprapta, the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas should, after the complete extinction of the Tathagata, constantly keep, read, and promulgate this Dharmaparyaya.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

1 I remember a past period, when king Bhishmasvara, the Gina, lived, very mighty, and revered by gods and men, the leader of men, gods, goblins, and giants.

2 At the time succeeding the complete extinction of that Gina, when the decay of the true law was far advanced, there was a monk, a Bodhisattva, called by the name of Sadaparibhuta.

3 Other monks and nuns who did not believe but in what they saw, he would approach (and say): I never am to contemn you, for you observe the course leading to supreme enlightenment.

4 It was his wont always to utter those words, which brought him but abuse and taunts from their part. At the time when his death was impending he heard this Sutra.

5 The sage, then, did not expire; he resolved upon a very long life, and promulgated this Sutra under the rule of that leader.

6 And those many (persons) who only acknowledged the evidence of sensual perception were by him brought to full ripeness for enlightenment. Then, disappearing from that place, he propitiated thousands of kotis of Buddhas.

7 Owing to the successive good actions performed by him, and to his constantly promulgating this Sutra, that son of Gina reached enlightenment. That Bodhisattva then is myself, Sakyamuni.

8 And those persons who only believed in perception by the senses, those monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees who by the sage were admonished of enlightenment,

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9 And who have seen many kotis of Buddhas, are the monks here before me,-no less than five hundred,-nuns, and female lay devotees.

10 All of them have been by me brought to complete ripeness, and after my extinction they will all, full of wisdom, keep this Sutra.

11 Not once in many, inconceivably many kotis of Æons has such a Sutra as this been heard. There are, indeed, hundreds of kotis of Buddhas, but they do not elucidate this Sutra.

12 Therefore let one who has heard this law exposed by the Self-born himself, and who has repeatedly propitiated him, promulgate this Sutra after my extinction in this world.

LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 20

Conception Of The Transcendent Power Of The Tathagatas.

Thereupon those hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas equal to the dust-atoms of a macrocosm, who had issued from the gaps of the earth, all stretched their joined hands towards the Lord, and said unto him: We, O Lord, will, after the complete extinction of the Tathagata, promulgate this Dharmaparyaya everywhere (or on every occasion) in all Buddha-fields of the Lord, wherever (or whenever) the Lord shall be completely extinct [Hence follows that Nirvana is repeatedly entered into by the Lord]. We are anxious to obtain this sublime Dharmaparyaya, O Lord, in order to keep, read, publish, and write it.

Thereupon the hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas, headed by Mangusri; the monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees living in this world; the gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, and the many Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas equal to the sands of the river Ganges, said unto the Lord: We also, O Lord, will promulgate this Dharmaparyaya after the complete extinction of the Tathagata. While standing with an invisible body in the sky, O Lord, we will send forth a voice, and plant the roots of goodness of such creatures as have not (yet) planted roots of goodness.

Then the Lord addressed the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Visishtakaritra, followed by a troop, a great troop, the master of a troop, who was the very first of those afore-mentioned Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas followed by a troop, a great troop, masters of a troop: Very well, Visishtakaritra, very well; so you should do; it is for the sake of this Dharmaparyaya that the Tathagata has brought you to ripeness.

Thereupon the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., and the wholly extinct Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., both seated on the throne in the centre of the Stupa, commenced smiling to one another, and from their opened mouths stretched out their tongues, so that with their tongues they reached the Brahma-world, and from those two tongues issued many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of rays. From each of those rays issued many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas, with gold-coloured bodies and possessed of the thirty-two characteristic signs of a great man, and seated on thrones consisting of the interior of lotuses. Those Bodhisattvas spread in all directions in hundred thousands of worlds, and while on every side stationed in the sky preached the law. Just as the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., produced a miracle of magic by his tongue, so, too, Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., and the other Tathagatas, etc., who, having flocked from hundred thousands of myriads of kolis of other worlds, were seated on thrones at the foot of jewel trees, by their tongues produced a miracle of magic.

The Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., and all those Tathagatas, etc., produced that magical effect during fully a thousand years. After the lapse of that millennium those Tathagatas, etc., pulled back their tongue, and all simultaneously, at the same moment, the same instant, made a great noise as of expectoration and of snapping the fingers, by which sounds all the hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Buddha-fields in every direction of space were moved, removed, stirred, wholly stirred, tossed, tossed forward, tossed along, and all beings in all those Buddha-fields, gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human beheld, by the power of the Buddha, from the place where they stood, this Saha-world. They beheld the hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Tathagatas seated severally on their throne at the foot of a jewel tree, and the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., and the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., wholly extinct, sitting on the throne in the centre of the Stupa of magnificent precious substances, along with the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc.; they beheld, finally, those four classes of the audience. At this sight they felt struck with wonder, amazement, and rapture. And they heard a voice from the sky calling: Worthies, beyond a distance of an immense, incalculable number of hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of worlds there is the world named Saha; there the Tathagata called Sakyamuni, the Arhat, etc., is just now revealing to the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas the Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, a Sutranta of great extent, serving to instruct Bodhisattvas, and belonging in proper to all Buddhas. Ye accept it joyfully with all your heart, and do homage to the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., and the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc.

On hearing such a voice from the sky all those beings exclaimed from the place where they stood, with joined hands: Homage to the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata. Then they threw towards the Saha-world various flowers, incense, fragrant wreaths, ointment, gold, cloth, umbrellas, flags, banners, and triumphal streamers, as well as ornaments, parures, necklaces, gems and jewels of all sorts, in order to worship the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, and this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law. Those flowers, incense, etc., and those necklaces, etc., came down upon this Saha-world, where they formed a great canopy of flowers hanging in the sky above the Tathagatas there sitting, as well as those in the hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of other worlds.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas headed by Visishtakaritra: Inconceivable, young men of good family, is the power of the Tathagatas, etc. In order to transmit this Dharmaparyaya, young men of good family, I might go on for hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Æons explaining the manifold virtues of this Dharmaparyaya through the different principles of the law, without reaching the end of those virtues. In this Dharmaparyaya I have succinctly taught all Buddha-laws (or Buddha-qualities), all the superiority, all the mystery, all the profound conditions of the Buddhas. Therefore, young men of good family, you should, after the complete extinction of the Tathagata, with reverence keep, read, promulgate, cherish, worship it. And wherever on earth, young men of good family, this Dharmaparyaya shall be made known, read, written, meditated, expounded, studied or collected into a volume, be it in a monastery or at home, in the wilderness or in a town, at the foot of a tree or in a palace, in a building or in a cavern, on that spot one should erect a shrine in dedication to the Tathagata. For such a spot must be regarded as a terrace of enlightenment; such a spot must be regarded as one where all Tathagatas etc. have arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment; on that spot have all Tathagatas moved forward the wheel of the law; on that spot one may hold that all Tathagatas have reached complete extinction.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

1 Inconceivable is the power to promote the weal of the world possessed by those who, firmly established in transcendent knowledge, by means of their unlimited sight display their magic faculty in order to gladden all living beings on earth.

2 They extend their tongue over the whole world, darting thousands of beams to the astonishment of those to whom this effect of magic is displayed and who are making for supreme enlightenment.

3 The Buddhas made a noise of expectoration and of snapping the fingers, (and by it) called the attention of the whole world, of all parts of the world in the ten directions of space.

4 Those and other miraculous qualities they display in their benevolence and compassion (with the view) that the creatures, gladly excited at the time, may (also) keep the Sutra after the complete extinction of the Sugata.

5 Even if I continued for thousands of kotis of Æons speaking the praise of those sons of Sugata who shall keep this eminent Sutra after thc extinction of the Leader of the world,

6 I should not have terminated the enumeration of their qualities; inconceivable as the qualities of infinite space are the merits of those who constantly keep this holy Sutra.

7 They behold me as well as these chiefs, and the Leader of the world now extinct; (they behold) all these numerous Bodhisattvas and the four classes.

8 Such a one now here propitiates me and all these leaders, as well as the extinct chief of Ginas and the others in every quarter.

9 The future and past Buddhas stationed in the ten points of space will all be seen and worshipped by him who keeps this Sutra.

10 He who keeps this Sutra, the veritable law, will fathom the mystery of the highest man; will soon comprehend what truth it was that was arrived at on the terrace of enlightenment.

11 The quickness of his apprehension will be unlimited; like the wind he will nowhere meet impediments; he knows the purport and interpretation of the law, he who keeps this exalted Sutra.

12 He will, after some reflection, always find out the connection of the Sutras spoken by the leaders; even after the complete extinction of the leader he will grasp the real meaning of the Sutras.

13 He resembles the moon and the sun; he illuminates all around him, and while roaming the earth in different directions he rouses many Bodhisattvas.

14 The wise Bodhisattvas who, after hearing the enumeration of such advantages, shall keep this Sutra after my complete extinction will doubtless reach enlightenment.

LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 21

Spells.

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Bhaishagyaraga rose from his seat, and having put his upper robe upon one shoulder and fixed the right knee upon the ground lifted his joined hands up to the Lord and said: How great, O Lord, is the pious merit which will be produced by a young man of good family or a young lady who keeps this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, either in memory or in a book? Whereupon the Lord said to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Bhaishagyaraga: Suppose, Bhaishagyaraga, that some man of good family or a young lady honours, respects, reveres, worships hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Tathagatas equal to the sands of eighty Ganges rivers; dost thou think, Bhaishagyaraga, that such a young man or young lady of good family will on that account produce much pious merit? The Bodhisattva Bhaishagyaraga replied: Yes, Lord; yes, Sugata. The Lord said: I announce to thee, Bhaishagyaraga, I declare to thee: any young man or young lady of good family, Bhaishagyaraga, who shall keep, read, comprehend, and in practice follow, were it but a single stanza from this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, that young man or young lady of good family, Bhaishagyarag-a, will on that account produce far more pious merit.

Then the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Bhaishagyaraga immediately said to the Lord: To those young men or young ladies of good family, O Lord, who keep this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law in their memory or in a book, we will give talismanic words for guard, defence, and protection; such as, anye manye mane mamane kitte karite same, samitavi, sante, mukte, muktatame, same avishame, samasame, gaye, kshaye, akshine, sante sani, dharani alokabhashe, pratyavekshani, nidhini, abhyantaravisishte, utkule mutkule, asade, parade, sukankshi, asamasame, buddhavilokite, dharmaparikshite, sanghanirghoshani, nirghoshani bhayabhayasodhani, mantre mantrakshayate, rutakausalye, akshaye, akshavanataya, vakule valoda, amanyataya. These words of charms and spells, O Lord, have been pronounced by reverend Buddhas (in number) equal to the sands of sixty-two Ganges rivers. All these Buddhas would be offended by any one who would attack such preachers, such keepers of the Sutranta.

The Lord expressed his approval to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Bhaishagyaraga by saying: Very well, Bhaishagyaraga, by those talismanic words being pronounced out of compassion for creatures, the common weal of creatures is promoted; their guard, defence, and protection is secured.

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Pradanasura said unto the Lord: I also, O Lord, will, for the benefit of such preachers, give them talismanic words, that no one seeking for an occasion to surprise such preachers may find the occasion, be it a demon, giant, goblin, sorcerer, imp or ghost; that none of these when seeking and spying for an occasion to surprise may find the occasion. And then the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Pradanasura instantly pronounced the following words of a spell: gvale mahagvale, ukke mukke, ade adavati, tritye trityavati, itini vitini kitini, tritti trityavati svaha. These talismanic words, O Lord, have been pronounced and approved by Tathagatas, etc. (in number) equal to the sands of the river Ganges. All those Tathagatas would be offended by any one who would attack such preachers.

Thereupon Vaisravana, one of the four rulers of the cardinal points, said unto the Lord: I also, O Lord, will pronounce talismanic words for the benefit and weal of those preachers, out of compassion to them, for their guard, defence, and protection : atte natte vanatte anade, nadi kunadi svaha .With these spells, O Lord, I shall guard those preachers over an extent of a hundred yoganas. Thus will those young men or young ladies of good family, who keep this Sutranta, be guarded, be safe.

At that meeting was present Virudhaka, another of the four rulers of the cardinal points, sitting surrounded and attended by hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Kumbhandas. He rose from his seat, put his upper robe upon one shoulder, lifted his joined hands up to the Lord, and spoke to him as follows: I also, O Lord, will pronounce talismanic words for the benefit of people at large, and to guard, defend, protect such preachers as are qualified, who keep the Sutrantas mentioned; viz. agane gane gauri gandhari kandali matangi pukkasi sankule vrusali svaha. These talismanic words, O Lord, have been pronounced by forty-two hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddhas. All those Buddhas would be offended by any one who would attack such preachers as are qualified.

Thereupon the giantesses called Lamba,Vilamba, Kutadanti, Pushpadanti, Makutadanti, Kesini, Akala, Maladhari, Kunti, Sarvasattvogahari, and Hariti, all with their children and suite went up to the place where the Lord was, and with one voice said unto him: We also, O Lord, will afford guard,

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defence, and protection to such preachers as keep this Sutranta; we will afford them safety, that no one seeking for an occasion to surprise those preachers may find the occasion. And the giantesses all simultaneously and in a chorus gave to the Lord the following words of spells: iti me, iti me, iti me, iti me, iti me; nime nime nime nime nime; ruhe ruhe ruhe ruhe ruhe; stuhe stuhe stuhe stuhe stuhe, svaha. No one shall overpower and hurt such preachers; no goblin, giant, ghost, devil, imp, sorcerer, spectre, gnome; no spirit causing epilepsy, no sorcerer of goblin race, no sorcerer of not-human race, no sorcerer of human race; no sorcerer producing tertian ague, quartian ague, quotidian ague. Even if in his dreams he has visions of women, men, boys or girls, it shall be impossible that they hurt him.

And the giantesses simultaneously and in a chorus addressed the Lord with the following stanzas:

1 His head shall be split into seven pieces, like a sprout of Symplocos Racemosa, who after hearing this spell would attack a preacher.

2 He shall go the way of parricides and matricides, who would attack a preacher.

3 He shall go the way of oil-millers and sesamum-pounders, who would attack a preacher.

4 He shall go the way of those who use false weights and measures, who would attack a preacher.

Thereafter the giantesses headed by Kunti said unto the Lord: We also, O Lord, will afford protection to such preachers; we will procure them safety; we will protect them against assault and poison. Whereupon the Lord said to those giantesses : Very well, sisters, very well; you do well in affording guard, defence, and protection to those preachers, even to such who shall keep no more than the name of this Dharmaparyaya; how much more then to those who shall keep this Dharmaparyaya wholly and entirely, or who, possessing the text of it in a volume, honour it with flowers, incense, fragrant garlands, ointment, powder, cloth, flags, banners, lamps with sesamum oil, lamps with scented oil, lamps with Kampaka-scented oil, with Varshikascented oil, with lotus-scented oil, with jasminescented oil; who by such-like manifold hundred thousand manners of worshipping shall honour, respect, revere, venerate (this Sutra), deserve to be guarded by thee and thy suite, Kunti!

And while this chapter on spells was being expounded, sixty-eight thousand living beings received the faculty of acquiescence in the law that has no origin.

LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 22

Ancient Devotion Of Bhaishagyaraga.

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna spoke to the Lord as follows: Wherefore, O Lord, does the Bodhisattva Bhaishagyaraga pursue his course in this Saha-world, while he is fully aware of the many hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of difficulties he has to meet? Let the Lord, the Tathagata, etc., deign to tell us any part of the course of duty of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Bhaishagyaraga, that by hearing it the gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, as well as the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas from other worlds here present, and these great disciples here may be content, delighted, overjoyed.

And the Lord, out of regard to that request of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, told him the following: Of yore, young man of good family, at a past epoch, at a time (as many) Æons ago as there are grains of sand in the river Ganges, there appeared in the world a Tathagata, etc., by the name of Kandravimalasuryaprabhasasri, endowed with science and conduct, a Sugata, etc. etc. Now that Tathagata, etc., Kandravimalasuryaprabhasasri had a great assembly of eighty kotis of Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas and an assembly of disciples equal to the sands of seventytwo Ganges rivers. His spiritual rule was exempt from the female sex, and his Buddha-field had no hell, no brute creation, no ghosts, no demons; it was level, neat, smooth as the palm of the hand. Its floor consisted of heavenly lapis lazuli, and it was adorned with trees of jewel and sandal-wood; inlaid with a multitude of jewels, and hung with long bands of silk, and scented by censors made of jewels. Under each jewel tree, at a distance not farther than a bowshot, was made a small jewel-house, and on the top of those small jewel-houses stood a hundred kotis of angels performing a concert of musical instruments and castanets, in order to honour the Lord Kandravimalasuryaprabhasasri, the Tathagata, etc., while that Lord was extensively expounding this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law to the great disciples and Bodhisattvas, directing himself to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana. Now, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, the lifetime of that Lord Kandravimalasuryaprabhasasri, the Tathagata, etc., lasted forty-two thousand Æons, and likewise that of the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas and great disciples. It was under the spiritual rule of that Lord that the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana applied himself to his difficult course. He wandered twelve thousand years strenuously engaged in contemplation. After the expiration of those twelve thousand years he acquired the Samadhi termed Sarvarupasandarsana (i. e. the sight or display of all forms). No sooner had he acquired that Samadhi than satisfied, glad, joyful, rejoicing, and delighted he made the following reflection: It is owing to this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law that I have acquired the Samadhi of Sarvarupasandarsana. Then he made another reflection: Let me do homage to the Lord Kandravimalasuryaprabhasasri and this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law. No sooner had he entered upon such a meditation than a great rain of Mandarava and great Mandarava flowers fell from the upper sky. A cloud of Kalanusarin sandal was formed, and a rain of Uragasara sandal poured down. And the nature of those essences was so noble that one karsha of it was worth the whole Saha-world.

After a while, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana rose from that meditation with memory and full consciousness, and reflected thus: This display of magic power is not likely to honour the Lord and Tathagata so much as the sacrifice of my own body will do. Then the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana instantly began to eat Agallochum, Olibanum, and the resin of Boswellia Thurifera, and to drink oil of Kampaka. So, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana passed twelve years in always and constantly eating those fragrant substances and drinking oil of Kampaka. After the expiration of those twelve years the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana wrapped his body in divine garments, bathed it in oil, made his (last) vow, and thereafter burnt his own body with the object to pay worship to the Tathagata and this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law. Then, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, eighty worlds equal to the sands of the river Ganges were brightened by the glare of the flames from the blazing body of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana, and the eight Lords Buddhas equal to the sands of the Ganges in those worlds all shouted their applause, (and exclaimed): Well done, well done, young man of good family, that is the real heroism which the Boddhisattvas Mahasattvas should develop; that is the real worship of the Tathagata, the real worship of the law. No worshipping with flowers, incense, fragrant wreaths, ointment, powder, cloth, umbrellas, flags, banners; no worshipping with material gifts or with Uragasara sandal equals it. This, young man of good family, is the sublimest gift, higher than the abandoning of royalty, the abandoning of beloved children and wife. Sacrificing one's own body, young man of good family, is the most distinguished, the chiefest, the best, the very best, the most sublime worship of the law. After pronouncing this speech, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, those Lords Buddhas were silent.

The body of Sarva sattvapri yadarsana continued blazing for twelve thousand years without ceasing to burn. After the expiration of those twelve thousand years the fire was extinguished. Then, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana, having paid such worship to the Tathagata, disappeared from that place, and (re)appeared under the (spiritual) reign of that very Lord Kandravimalasuryaprabhasasri, the Tathagata, etc., in the house of king Vimaladatta, by apparitional birth, and sitting crosslegged. Immediately after his appearance the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana addressed his father and mother in the following stanza :

1 This, O exalted king, is the walk in which I have acquired meditation; I have achieved a heroical feat, fulfilled a great vote by sacrificing my own dear body.

After uttering this stanza, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana said to his father and mother: Even now, father and mother, the Lord Kandravimalasuryaprabhasasri, the Tathagata, etc., is still living, existing, staying in the world, the Lord by worshipping whom I have obtained the spell of knowing all sounds and this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, consisting of eighty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of stanzas, of a hundred Niyutas [a thousand billions], of Vivaras [a hundred thousand billions], of a hundred Vivaras, which I have heard from that Lord. Therefore, father and mother, I should like to go to that Lord and worship him again. Instantaneously, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana rose seven talas [the height of a palm-tree,or a span.] high into the sky and sat cross-legged on the top of a tower of seven precious substances. So he went up to the presence of that Lord, and having approached him humbly saluted him, circumambulated him seven times from left to right, stretched the joined hands towards the Lord, and after thus paying his homage addressed him with the following stanza:

2 O thou whose face is so spotless and bright; thou, king and sage! How thy lustre sparkles in all quarters! After having anciently paid thee homage, O Sugata, I now come again to behold thee, O Lord.

Having pronounced this stanza, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana said to the Lord Kandravimalasuryaprabhasasri, the Tathagata, etc.: Thou art then still alive, Lord? Whereon the Lord Kandravimalasuryaprabhasasri, the Tathagata, etc., replied: The time of my final extinction, young man of good family, has arrived; the time of my death has arrived. Therefore, young man of good family, prepare my couch; I am going to enter complete extinction. Then, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, the Lord Kandravimalasuryaprabhasasri said to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana: I entrust to thee, young man of good family, my commandment (or mastership, rule); I entrust to thee these Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, these great disciples, this Buddha-enlightenment, this world, these jewel cars, these jewel trees, and these angels, my servitors. I entrust to thee also, young man of good family, my relics after my complete extinction. Thou shouldst pay a great worship to my relics, young man of good family, and also distribute them and build many thousands of Stupas. And, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, after the Lord Kandravimalasuryaprabhasasri, the Tathagata, etc., had given these instructions to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana he in the last watch of the night entered absolute final extinction.

Thereupon, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana, perceiving that the Lord Kandravimalasuryaprabhasasri, the Tathagata, etc., had expired, made a pyre of Uragasara sandal-wood and burnt the body of the Tathagata. When he saw that the body was burnt to ashes and the fire extinct, be took the bones and wept, cried and lamented. After having wept, cried and lamented, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana caused to be made eighty-four thousand urns of seven precious substances, deposed in them the bones of the Tathagata, founded eighty-four thousand Stupas, reaching in height to the Brahma-world, adorned with a row of umbrellas, and equipped with silk bands and bells. After founding those Stupas he made the following reflection : I have paid honour to the Tathagata-relics of the Lord Kandravimalasuryaprabhasasri, but I will pay to those relics a yet loftier and most distinguished honour. Then, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana addressed that entire assembly of Bodhisattvas, those great disciples, those gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human: Ye all, young men of good family, unanimously vow to pay worship to the relics of the Lord. Immediately after, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana, in presence of those eighty-four thousand Stupas, burnt his own arm which was marked by the one hundred auspicious signs, and so paid worship to those Stupas containing the relics of the Tathagata, during seventy-two thousand years. And while paying worship, he educated countless hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of disciples from that assembly, in consequence whereof all those Bodhisattvas acquired the Samadhi termed Sarvarupasandarsana.

Then, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, the entire assembly of Bodhisattvas and all great disciples, seeing the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana deprived of a limb, said, with tears in their eyes, weeping, crying, lamenting: The Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana, our master and instructor, is now deprived of a limb, deprived of one arm. But the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana addressed those Bodhisattvas, great disciples, and angels in the following terms: Do not, young men of good family, weep, cry, lament at the sight of my being deprived of one arm. All the Lords Buddhas who be, exist, live in the endless, limitless worlds in every direction of space, have I taken to witness. Before their face have I pronounced a vow of truth, and by that truth, by that word of truth shall I, after the sacrifice of my own arm in honour of the Tathagata, have a body of gold colour. By this truth, by this word of truth let this arm of mine become such as it was before, and let the great earth shake in six different ways, and let the angels in the sky pour down a rain of flowers. No sooner, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, had the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana made that vow of truth, than the whole triple macrocosm was shaken in six different ways , and from the sky aloft fell a great rain of flowers. The arm of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana became again as it was before, and that by the power of knowledge and by the power of pious merit belonging to that Bodhisattva Mahasattva. Perhaps, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, thou wilt have some doubt, uncertainty or misgiving, (and think) that the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana at that time, and that epoch, was another. But do not think so; for the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Bhaishagyaraga here was at that time, and that epoch, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana. So many hundred thousand myriads of kolis of difficult things, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, and sacrifices' of his body does

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this Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana accomplish. Now, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, the young man or young lady of good family striving in the Bodhisattva vehicle towards the goal and longing for supreme, perfect enlightenment, who at the Tathagata-shrines shall burn a great toe, a finger, a toe, or a whole limb, such a young man or young lady of good family, I assure thee, shall produce far more pious merit, far more than results from giving up a kingdom, sons, daughters, and wives, the whole triple world with its woods, oceans, mountains, springs, streams, tanks, wells, and gardens. And, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, the young man or young lady of good family, striving in the Bodhisattva-vehicle for the goal, who after filling with the seven precious substances this whole triple world should give it in alms to all Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, disciples, Pratyekabuddhas, that young man or young lady of good family, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, does not produce so much pious merit as a young man or young lady of good family who shall keep, were it but a single verse from this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law. I positively declare that the accumulation of merit of the latter is greater than if a person, after filling the whole triple world with the seven precious substances, bestows it in alms on all Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, disciples, or Pratyekabuddhas.

Just as the great ocean, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, surpasses all springs, streams, and tanks, so, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law surpasses all Sutras spoken by the Tathagata. just as the Sumeru, the king of mountains, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, all elevations at the cardinal points, horizon circles and great horizons, So, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law surpasses as a king all the Sutrantas spoken by the Tathagata. As the moon, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, as a luminary, takes the first rank amongst the whole of the asterisms, so, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law ranks first amongst all Sutrantas spoken by the Tathagata, though it surpasses hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of moons. As the orb of the sun, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, dispels gloomy darkness, so, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law dispels all the gloomy darkness of unholy works. As Indra, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, is the chief of the gods of paradise, so, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law is the chief of Sutrantas spoken by the Tathagata. As Brahma Sahampati, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, is the king of all Brahmakayika gods and exercises the function of a father in the Brahma world, so, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law exercises the function of a father to all beings, whether under training or past it, to all disciples, Pratyekabuddhas, and those who in the Bodhisattva-vehicle are striving for the goal. As the Srotaapanna, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, as well as the Sakridagamin, Anagamin, Arhat, and Pratyekabuddha, excels the ignorant people and the profanum vulgus, so, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, the Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law must be held to excel and surpass all Sutrantas spoken by the Tathagata; and such as shall keep this king of Sutras, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, must be held to surpass others (who do not). As a Bodhisattva is accounted superior to all disciples and Pratyekabuddhas, so, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law is accounted superior to all Sutrantas spoken by the Tathagata. Even as the Tathagata is the crowned king of the law of all disciples, Pratyekabuddhas, and Bodhisattvas, so, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, this Dharmaparyaya is a Tathagata in respect to those who in the vehicle of Bodhisattvas are striving to reach the goal. This Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, saves all beings from all fear, delivers them from all pains. It is like a tank for the thirsty, like a fire for those who suffer from cold, like a garment for the naked, like the caravan leader for the merchants, like a mother for her children, like a boat for those who ferry over, like a leech for the sick, like a lamp for those who are wrapt in darkness, like a jewel for those who want wealth, like the ocean for the rivers, like a torch for the dispelling of darkness. So, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law delivers from all evils, extirpates all diseases, releases from the narrow bonds of the mundane whirl. And he who shall hear this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, who shall write it and cause it to be written, will produce an accumulation of pious merit the term of which is not to be arrived at even by Buddha-knowledge; so great is the accumulation of pious merit that will be produced by a young man of good family or a young lady who after teaching or learning it, writing it or having it collected into a volume, shall honour, respect, venerate, worship it with flowers, incense, fragrant garlands, ointment, powder, umbrellas, flags, banners, triumphal streamers, with music, with joining of hands, with lamps burning with ghee, scented oil, Kampaka oil, jasmine oil, trumpet-flower oil, Varshika oil or double jasmine oil.

Great will be the pious merit, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, to be produced by a young man of good family or a young lady striving to reach the goal in the Bodhisattva-vehicle, who shall keep this chapter of the Ancient Devotion of Bhaishagyaraga, who shall read and learn it. And, Nakshatraraga, should a female, after hearing this Dharmaparyaya, grasp and keep it, then this existence will be her last existence as a woman. Any female, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, who in the last five hundred years of the millennium shall hear and penetrate this chapter of the Ancient Devotion of Bhaishagyaraga, will after disappearing from earth be (re)born in the world Sukhavati, where the Lord Amitayus, the Tathagata, etc., dwells, exists, lives surrounded by a host of Bodhisattvas. There will he (who formerly was a female) appear seated on a throne consisting of the interior of a lotus; no affection, no hatred, no infatuation, no pride, no envy, no wrath, no malignity will vex him. With his birth he will also receive the five transcendent faculties, as well as the acquiescence in the eternal law, and, once in possession thereof, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, he as a Bodhisattva Mahasattva will see Tathagatas equal to the sands of seventy-two rivers Ganges. So perfect will be his organ of sight that by means thereof he shall see those Lords Buddhas, which Lords Buddhas will applaud him (and say): Well done, well done, young man of good family, that after hearing this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law which has been promulgated by the spiritual proclamation of the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., thou hast studied, meditated, examined, minded it, and expounded it to other beings, other persons. This accumulation of thy pious merit, young man of good family, cannot be burnt by fire, nor swept away by water. Even a thousand Buddhas would not be able to determine this accumulation of thy pious merit, young man of good family. Thou hast subdued the opposition of the Evil One, young man of good family. Thou, young man of good family, hast victoriously emerged from the battle of mundane existence, hast crushed the enemies annoying thee. Thou, young man of good family, hast been superintended by thousands of Buddhas; thine equal, young man of good family, is not to be found in the world, including the gods, with the only exception of the Tathagata; there is no other, be he disciple, Pratyekabuddba, or Bodhisattva, able to surpass thee in pious merit, knowledge, wisdom or meditation. Such a power of knowledge, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, will be acquired by that Bodhisattva.

Any one, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, who on hearing this chapter of the ancient devotion of Bhaishagyaraga approves it, will emit from his mouth a breath sweet as of the lotus, and from his limbs a fragrance as of sandal-wood. Such temporal advantages as I have just now indicated will belong to him who approves this Dharmaparyaya. On that account then, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, I transmit to thee this chapter of the Ancient Devotion of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana, that at the end of time, the last period, in the latter half of the millennium it may have course here in Gambudvipa and not be lost; that neither Mara the Fiend, nor the celestial beings called Marakayikas, Nagas, goblins, imps may find the opportunity of hurting it. Therefore, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, I bequeath this Dharmaparyaya; it is to be like a medicament for sick and suffering creatures in Gambudvipa. No sickness shall overpower him who has heard this Dharmaparyaya, no decrepitude, no untimely death. Whenever a person striving to reach the goal in the vehicle of Bodhisattvas happens to see such a monk as keeps this Sutranta, then he should strew him with sandalpowder and blue lotuses, and reflect thus: This young man of good family is going to reach the terrace of enlightenment; he will spread the bundle of grass on the terrace of enlightenment; he will put to flight the party of Mara, blow the conch trumpet of the law, beat the drum of the law, cross the ocean of existence. Thus, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, should a young man of good family, striving to reach the goal in the vehicle of Bodhisattva, reflect when seeing a monk who keeps this Sutra, and he will acquire such advantages as have been indicated by the Tathagata.

While this chapter of the Ancient Devotion of Bhaishagyaraga was being expounded, eighty-four thousand Bodhisattvas attained the spell connected with skill in all sounds. And the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., intimated his approval (by saying): Well done, well done, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna; thou hast done well in thus questioning the Tathagata, who is endowed with such inconceivable qualities and properties.

LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 23

Gadgadasvara.

At that moment the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., darted a flash of light from the circle of hair between his eyebrows, one of the characteristic signs of a great man, by which flash of light hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Buddha-fields, equal to the sands of eighteen rivers Ganges, became illuminated. Beyond those Buddha-fields, equal, etc., is the world called Vairokanarasmipratimandita (i.e. embellished by the rays of the sun). There dwells, lives, exists the Tathagata named Kamalada lavimalanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, who, surrounded and attended by a large and immense assembly of Bodhisattvas, preached the law. Immediately the ray of light flashing from the circle of hair between the eyebrows of the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., filled the world Vairokanarasmipratimandita with a great lustre. In that world Vairokanarasmipratimandita there was a Bodhisattva Mahasattva called Gadgadasvara, who had planted roots of goodness, who had before seen similar luminous flashes emitted by many Tathagatas, etc., and who had acquired many Samadhis, such as the Samadhi Dhvagagrakeyura (i. e. bracelet at the upper end of the banner staff), Saddharma-pundarika (i. e. the Lotus of the True Law), Vimaladatta (i.e. given by Vimala), Nakshatraragavikridita (i.e. sport of the king of asterisms, the moon god), Anilambha [Of uncertain meaning], Gnanamudra (i.e. the seal of science), Kandrapradipa (i.e. moon-light), Sarvarutakausalya (i.e. skill in all sounds), Sarvapunyasamukkaya (i.e. compendium or collection of all piety), Prasadavati (i.e. the favourably-disposed lady), Riddhivikridita (i.e. sport of magic), Gnanolka (i.e. torch of knowledge), Vyuharaga (i.e. king of expansions or speculations), Vimalaprabha (i.e. spotless lustre), Vimalagarbha (i.e. of spotless interior part), Apkritsna [I.e. belonging to the mystic rite, called Apokasina in Pali], Suryavarta (i.e. sun-turn); in short, he had acquired many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Samadhis equal to the sands of the river Ganges. Now, the flash of light came down upon that Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara. Then the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara rose from his seat, put his upper robe upon one shoulder, fixed his right knee on the ground, stretched his joined hands towards the Lord Buddha, and said to the Tathagata Kamalada lavimalanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna: O Lord, I would resort to the Saha-world to see, salute, wait upon the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc.; to see and salute Mangusri, the prince royal; to see the Bodhisattvas Bhaishagyaraga, Pradanasura, Naksha traragasan kusumi tabhigna, Visishtakaritra, Vyuharaga, Bhaisha gyaraga samudgata.

Then the Lord Kamalada lavimalanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc., said to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara: On coming to the Saha-world, young man of good family, thou must not conceive a low opinion of it. That world, young man of good family, has ups and downs, consists of earth, is replete with mountains of Kala, filled with gutters. The Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., is short of stature, and so are the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, whereas thou, young man of good family, hast got a body forty-two hundred thousand yoganas high, and myself have got a body sixty-eight hundred thousand yoganas high. And, young man of good family, thou art lovely, handsome, of pleasant appearance, endowed with a full bloom of extremely fine colour, and abundantly blest with hundred thousands of holy signs. Therefore then, young man of good family, when you have come to the Saha-world, do not conceive a low opinion of the Tathagata, nor of the Bodhisattvas, nor of that Buddha-field.

Thus addressed, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara said to the Lord Kamalada lavimalanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc.: I shall do, Lord, as the Lord commands; I shall go to that Saha-world by virtue of the Lord's resolution, of the Lord's power, of the Lord's might, of the Lord's disposal, of the Lord's foresight. Whereon the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara, without leaving that Buddha-field and without leaving his seat, plunged into so deep a meditation that immediately after, on a sudden, there appeared before the Tathagata on the Gridhrakuta-mountains in the Saha-world eighty-four hundred thousand myriads of kotis of lotuses on gold stalks with silver leaves and with cups of the hue of rosy lotuses and Butea Frondosa.

On seeing the appearance of this mass of lotuses the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Mangusri, the prince royal, asked the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc.: By what cause and by whom, O Lord, have been produced these eighty-four hundred thousand myriads of kotis of lotuses on gold stalks with silver leaves and with cups of the hue of rosy lotuses and Butea Frondosa; Whereon the Lord replied to Mangusri, the prince royal: It is, Mangusri, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara, who accompanied and attended by eighty-four hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas arrives from the east, from the world Vairokanarasmipratimandita, the Buddha-field of the Lord Kamalada lavimalanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc., at this Saha-world to see, salute, wait upon me, and to hear this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law. Then Mangusri, the prince royal, said to the Lord: What mass of roots of goodness, O Lord, has that young man of good family collected, that he has deserved to obtain such a distinction? And what meditation is it, O Lord, that the Bodhisattva

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practises; Let us also learn that meditation, O Lord, and practise that meditation. And let us see that Bodhisattva, Lord; see how the colour, outward shape, character, figure, and behaviour of that Bodhisattva is. May the Lord deign to produce such a token that the Bodhisattva Mahasattva be admonished by it to come to this Saha-world.

Then the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., said to the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., who was completely extinct: Produce such a token, Lord, that the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara be admonished by it to come to this Saha-world. And the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., who was completely extinct, instantly produced a token in order to admonish the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara (and said): Come, young man of good family, to this Saha-world; Mangusri, the prince royal, will hail thy coming. And the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara, after humbly saluting the feet of the Lord Kamalada lavimalanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc., and after three times circumambulating him from left to right, vanished from the world Vairokanarasmipratimandita, along with eighty-four hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas who surrounded and followed him, and arrived at this Saha-world, among a stir of Buddhafields, a rain of lotuses, a noise of hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of musical instruments. His face showed eyes resembling blue lotuses, his body was gold-coloured, his person marked by a hundred thousand of holy signs; he sparkled with lustre, glowed with radiance, had limbs marked by the characteristic signs, and a body compact as Narayana's. Mounted on a tower made of seven precious substances, he moved through the sky to a height of seven Talas [Or spans]. There are seven regions of winds. Vayu, the god of wind or air, is nearly akin to Indra and Vishnu], surrounded by a host of Bodhisattvas, in the direction of this Saha-world, and approached the Gridhrakuta, the king of mountains. At his arrival, he alighted from the tower, and went, with a necklace of pearls worth a hundred thousands, to the place where the Lord was sitting. After humbly saluting the feet of the Lord, and circumambulating him seven times from left to right, he offered him the necklace of pearls in token of homage, whereafter he said to the Lord: The Lord Kamalada lavimalanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc., inquires after the Lord's health, welfare, and sprightliness; whether he feels free from affliction and at ease. That Lord has also charged me to ask: Is there something thou hast to suffer or allow? the humours of the body are not in an unfavourable state; thy creatures are decent in manners, tractable, and easy to be healed; their bodies are clean; They are not too passionate, I hope, not too irascible, not too unwise in their doings? They are not jealous, Lord, not envious, not ungrateful to their father and mother, not impious, not heterodox, not unsubdued in mind, not unrestrained in sexual desires; Are the creatures able to resist the Evil One; Has the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., who is completely extinct, come to the Saha-world in order to hear the law, sitting in the centre of a Stupa made of seven precious substances; And as to that, Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., the Lord Kamalada lavimalanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, inquires: Is there something that the Lord Prabhutaratna, etc., has to suffer or allow; Is the Lord Prabhutaratna, etc., to stay long; We also, O Lord, are desirous of seeing the rudimentary frame [Dhatuvigraha, the frame of the elementary parts, or the bone relics.] of that Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc. May the Lord therefore please to show us the rudimentary frame of the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc.

Then the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., said to the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., who was completely extinct: Lord, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara here wishes to see the Lord Prabutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., who is completely extinct. Whereon the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., spoke to the Bodhisattva Maliasattva Gadgadasvara in this strain: Well done, well done, young gentleman, that thou hast come hither in the desire to see the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc.; to hear this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, and see Mangusri, the prince royal.

Subsequently the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Padmasri said to the Lord: What root of goodness has the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara formerly planted; And in presence of which Tathagata; And the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., said to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Padmasri: In the days of yore, young man of good family, at a past period there appeared in the world a Tathagata called Meghadundubhisvararaga (i.e. the king of the drum-sound of the clouds), perfectly enlightened, endowed with science and conduct, a Sugata, etc., in the world Sarvabuddhasandarsana (i. e. sight or display of all Buddhas), in the Æon Priyadarsana. To that Lord Meghadundubhisvararaga the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara paid homage by making resound hundred thousands of musical instruments during twelve thousand years. He presented to him also eighty-four thousand vessels of seven precious substances. Under the preaching of the Tathagata Meghadundubhisvararaga, young man of good family, has the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara obtained such a beauty as he now displays. Perhaps, young man of good family, thou hast some doubt, uncertainty or misgiving, (and thinkest) that at that time, that epoch, there was another Bodhisattva Mahasattva called Gadgadasvara, who paid that homage to the Lord Meghadundubhisvararaga, the Tathagata, and presented him the eighty-four thousand vessels. But, young man of good family, do not think so. For it was the very same Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara, young man of good family, who paid that homage to the Lord Meghadundubhisvararaga, the Tathagata, and presented to him the eighty-four thousand vessels. So, young man of good family, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara has waited upon many Buddhas, has planted good roots under many Buddhas, and prepared the soil under each of them. And this Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara had previously seen Lords Buddhas similar to the sands of the river Ganges. Dost thou see, Padmasri, how the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara now looks; Padmasri replied: I do, Lord; I do, Sugata. The Lord said: Now, Padmasri, this Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara preaches this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law under many shapes he assumes; sometimes [or somewhere] under the shape of Brahma, sometimes under that of Indra, sometimes under that of Shiva, sometimes under that of Kubera, sometimes under that of a sovereign, sometimes under that of a duke, sometimes under that of a chief merchant, sometimes under that of a citizen, sometimes under that of a villager, sometimes under that of a Brahman. Sometimes again the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara preaches this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law under a monk's shape, sometimes under a nun's, sometimes under a male lay devotee's, sometimes under a female lay devotee's, sometimes under that of a chief merchant's wife, sometimes under that of a citizen's wife, sometimes under a boy's, sometimes under a girl's shape. With so many variations in the manner to show himself, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara preaches this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law to creatures. He has even assumed the shape of a goblin to preach this Dharmaparyaya to such as were to be converted by a goblin. To some he has preached this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law under the shape of a demon, to some under a Garuda's, to some under a Kinnara's, to some under a great serpent's shape. Even to the beings in any of the wretched states, in the hells, the brute creation, Yama's realm, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara is a supporter. Even to the creatures in the gynæceums of this Saha-world has the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara, after metamorphosing himself into a woman, preached this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law. Verily, Padmasri, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara is the supporter of the creatures living in this Saha-world. Under so many shapes, assumed at will, has the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara preached this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law to creatures. Yet, there is no diminution of wisdom, nor diminution of magic power in that good man. So many, young man of good family, are the manifestations of knowledge by which this Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara has made himself known in this Saha-world. In other worlds also, similar to the sands of the river Ganges, he preaches the law, under the shape of a Bodhisattva to such as must be converted by a Bodhisattva; under the shape of a disciple to such as must be converted by a disciple; under the shape of a Pratyekabuddha to such as must be converted by a Pratyekabuddha; under the shape of a Tathagata to such as must be converted by a Tathagata. Nay, he will show to those who must be converted by a relic of the Tathagata himself such a relic, and to those who must be converted by complete extinction he will show himself completely extinct. Such is the powerful knowledge, Padmasri, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva is possessed of.

Thereafter the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Padmasri said to the Lord: The Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara then has planted good roots, Lord. What meditation is it, Lord, whereby the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara, with unshaken firmness, has converted (or educated) so many creatures; Whereupon the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata. etc.. replied to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Padmasri: It is, young man of good family, the meditation termed Sarvarupasandarsana. By steadiness in it has the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara so immensely promoted the weal of creatures.

While this chapter of Gadgadasvara was being expounded, all the eighty-four hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas who, along with the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara, had come to the Saha-world, obtained the meditation Sarvarupasandarsana, and as to the number of Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas of this Saha-world obtaining the meditation Sarvarupasandarsana, it was beyond calculation.

Then the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara, after having paid great and ample worship to the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., and at the Stupa of relics of the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., again mounted the tower made of seven precious substances, among the stir of the fields, the rain of lotuses, the noise of hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of musical instruments [After a last effort the storm subsides], and with the eighty-four hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas surrounding and following him, returned to his own Buddha-field. At his arrival there he said to the Lord Kamalada lavimalanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc.: O Lord, I have in the Saha-world promoted the weal of creatures; I have seen and saluted the Stilpa of relics of the Lord Prabhataratna, the Tathagata, etc.; I have seen and saluted the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc.; I have seen Mangusri, the prince royal, as well as the Bodhisattva Bhaishagyaraga, who is possessed of mighty knowledge and impetuosity, and the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Pradanasura; and these eightyfour hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas have all obtained the meditation termed Sarvarupasandarsana.

And while this relation of the going and coming of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara was being delivered, forty-two thousand Bodhisattvas acquired the facultyof acquiescence in future things, and the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Padmasri acquired the meditation called the Lotus of the True Law.

LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 24

The All-Sided One, Containing A Description Of The Transformations Of Avalokitesvara.

Thereafter the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Akshayamati rose from his seat, put his upper robe upon one shoulder, stretched his joined hands towards the Lord, and said: For what reason, O Lord, is the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara called Avalokitesvara? So he asked, and the Lord answered to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Akshayamati: All the hundred thousands of myriads of kolis of creatures, young man of good family, who in this world are suffering troubles will, if they hear the name of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara, be released from that mass of troubles. Those who shall keep the name of this Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara, young man of good family, will, if they fall into a great mass of fire, be delivered therefrom by virtue of the lustre of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva. In case, young man of good family, creatures, carried off by the current of rivers, should implore the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara, all rivers will afford them a ford. In case,young man of good family, many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of creatures, sailing in a ship on the ocean, should see their bullion, gold, gems, pearls, lapis lazuli, conch shells, stones (?), corals, emeralds, Musaragalvas, read pearls (?), and other goods lost, and the ship by a vehement, untimely gale cast on the island of Giantesses, and if in that ship a single being implores Avalokitesvara, all will be saved from that island of Giantesses. For that reason, young man of good family, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara is named Avalokitesvara.

If a man given up to capital punishment implores Avalokitesvara, young man of good family, the swords of the executioners shall snap asunder. Further, young man of good family, if the whole triple chiliocosm were teeming with goblins and giants, they would by virtue of the name of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara being pronounced lose the faculty of sight in their wicked designs. If some creature, young man of good family, shall be bound in wooden or iron manacles, chains or fetters, be he guilty or innocent, then those manacles, chains or fetters shall give way as soon as the name of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara is pronounced. Such, young man of good family, is the power of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara. If this whole triple chiliocosm, young man of good family, were teeming with knaves, enemies, and robbers armed with swords, and if a merchant leader of a caravan marched with a caravan rich in jewels; if then they perceived those robbers, knaves, and enemies armed with swords, and in their anxiety and fright thought themselves helpless; if, further, that leading merchant spoke to the caravan in this strain: Be not afraid, young gentlemen, be not frightened; invoke, all of you, with one voice the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara, the giver of safety; then you shall be delivered from this danger by which you are threatened at the hands of robbers and enemies; if then the whole caravan with one voice invoked Avalokitesvara with the words: Adoration, adoration be tothe giver of safety, to Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva Mahasattva! then, by the mere act of pronouncing that name, the caravan would be released from all danger. Such, young man of good family, is the power of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara. In case creatures act under the impulse of impure passion, young man of good family, they will, after adoring the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara, be freed from passion. Those who act under the impulse of hatred will, after adoring the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara, be freed from hatred. Those who act under the impulse of infatuation will, after adoring the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara, be freed from infatuation. So mighty, young man of good family, is the

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Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara. If a woman, desirous of male offspring, young man of good family, adores the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, she shall get a son, nice, handsome, and beautiful; one possessed of the characteristics of a male child, generally beloved and winning, who has planted good roots. If a woman is desirous of getting a daughter, a nice, handsome, beautiful girl shall be born to her; one possessed of the (good) characteristics of a girl, generally beloved and winning, who has planted good roots. Such, young man of good family, is the power of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara.

Those who adore the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara will derive from it an unfailing profit. Suppose, young man of good family, (on one hand) some one adoring the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara and cherishing his name; (on the other hand) another adoring a number of Lords Buddhas equal to sixty-two times the sands of the river Ganges, cherishing their names and worshipping so many Lords Buddhas during their stay, existence, and life, by giving robes, alms-bowls, couches, medicaments for the sick; how great is then in thine opinion, young man of good family, the accumulation of pious merit which that young gentleman or young lady will produce in consequence of it? So asked, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Akshayamati said to the Lord: Great, O Lord, great, O Sugata, is the pious merit which that young gentleman or young lady will produce in consequence of it. The Lord proceeded: Now, young man of good family, the accumulation of pious merit produced by that young gentleman paying homage to so many Lords Buddhas, and the accumulation of pious merit produced by him who performs were it but a single act of adoration to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara and cherishes his name, are equal. He who adores a number of Lords Buddhas equal to sixty-two times the sands of the river Ganges and cherishes their names, and he who adores the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara and cherishes his name, have an equal accumulation of pious merit; both masses of pious merit are not easy to be destroyed even in hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Æons. So immense, young man of good family, is the pious merit resulting from cherishing the name of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara.

Again the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Akshayamati said to the Lord: How, O Lord, is it that the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara frequents this Saha-world? And how does he preach the law? Andwhich is the range of the skilfulness of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara? So asked, the Lord replied to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Akshayamati: In some worlds, young man of good family, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara preaches the law to creatures in the shape of a Buddha; in others he does so in the shape of a Bodhisattva. To some beings he shows the law in the shape of a Pratyekabuddha; to others he does so in the shape of a disciple; to others again under that of Brahma, Indra, or a Gandharva. To those who are to be converted by a goblin, he preaches the law assuming the shape of a goblin; to those who are to be converted by Isvara, he preaches the law in the shape of isvara; to those who are to be converted by Mahesvara, he preaches assuming the shape of Mahesvara. To those who are to be converted by a Kakravartin [This term is ambiguous; it means both 'the mover of the wheel', i.e. Vishnu, and 'an emperor'], he shows the law after assuming the shape of a Kakravartin; to those who are to be converted by an imp, he shows the law under the shape of an imp; to those who are to be converted by Kubera, he shows the law by appearing in the shape of Kubera; to those who are to be converted by Senapati [Ambiguous; the word denotes both 'the commander-in-chief of the army of the gods, Skanda,' and 'a commander-in-chief in general'], he preaches in the shape of Senapati ; to those who are to be converted by assuming a Brahman [the Brahman may be Brihaspati] , he preaches in the shape of a Brahman; to those who are to be converted by Vagrapani [Vagrapani is the name of one of the Dhyanibuddhas, and of certain geniuses, and an ephitet of Indra] , he preaches in the shape of Vagrapani [The function of Avalokitesvara, as it appears from these passages, agree with those of Gadgadasvara mentioned in the foregoing chapter]. With such inconceivable qualities, young man of good family, is the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara endowed. Therefore then, young man of good family, honour the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara. The Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara, young man of good family, affords safety to those who are in anxiety. On that account one calls him in this Saha-world Abhayandada (i. e. Giver of Safety).

Further, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Akshayamati said to the Lord: Shall we give a gift of piety, a decoration of piety, O Lord, to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara? The Lord replied: Do so, if thou thinkest it opportune. Then the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Akshayamati took from his neck a pearl necklace, worth a hundred thousand (gold pieces), and presented it to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara as a decoration of piety, with the words: Receive from me this decoration of piety, good man. But he would not accept it. Then the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Akshayamati said to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara: Out of compassion to us, young man of good family, accept this pearl necklace. Then the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara accepted the pearl necklace from the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Akshayamati, out of compassion to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Akshayamati and the four classes, and out of compassion to the gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men: and beings not human. Thereafter he divided (the necklace) into two parts, and offered one part to the Lord Sakyamuni, and the other to the jewel Stupa of the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., who had become completely extinct.

With such a faculty of transformation, young man of good family, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara is moving in this Saha-world.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

1 Kitradhvaga asked Akshayamati the following question: For what reason, son of Gina, is Avalokitesvara (so) called?

2 And Akshayamati, that ocean of profound insight, after considering how the matter stood, spoke to Kitradhvaga: Listen to the conduct of Avalokitesvara.

3 Hear from my indication how for numerous, inconceivable Æons he has accomplished his vote under many thousand kotis of Buddhas.

4 Hearing, seeing, regularly and constantly thinking will infallibly destroy all suffering, (mundane) existence, and grief of living beings here on earth.

5 If one be thrown into a pit of fire, by a wicked enemy with the object of killing him, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and the fire shall be quenched as if sprinkled with water.

6 If one happens to fall into the dreadful ocean, the abode of Nagas, marine monsters, and demons, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and he shall never sink down in the king of waters.

7 If a man happens to be hurled down from the brink of the Meru, by some wicked person with the object of killing him, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and he shall, sunlike, stand firm in the sky.

8 If rocks of thunderstone and thunderbolts are thrown at a man's head to kill him, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and they shall not be able to hurt one hair of the body.

9 If a man be surrounded by a host of enemies armed with swords, who have the intention of killing him, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and they shall instantaneously become kind-hearted.

10 If a man, delivered to the power of the executioners, is already standing at the place of execution, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and their swords shall go to pieces.

11 If a person happens to be fettered in shackles of wood or iron, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and the bonds shall be speedily loosened.

12 Mighty spells, witchcraft, herbs, ghosts, and spectres, pernicious to life, revert thither whence they come, when one thinks of Avalokitesvara.

13 If a man is surrounded by goblins, Nagas, demons, ghosts, or giants, who are in the habit of taking away bodily vigour, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and they shall not be able to hurt one hair of his body.

14 If a man is surrounded by fearful beasts with .sharp teeth and claws, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and they shall quickly fly in all directions.

15 If a man is surrounded by snakes malicious and frightful on account of the flames and fires (they emit), be has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and they shall quickly lose their poison.

16 If a heavy thunderbolt shoots from a cloud pregnant with lightning and thunder, one has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and the fire of heaven shall quickly, instantaneously be quenched.

17 He (Avalokitesvara) with his powerful knowledge beholds all creatures who are beset with many hundreds of troubles and afflicted by many sorrows, and thereby is a saviour in the world, including the gods.

18 As he is thoroughly practised in the power of magic, and possessed of vast knowledge and skilfulness, he shows himself' in all directions and in all regions of the world.

19 Birth, decrepitude, and disease will come to an end for those who are in the wretched states of existence, in hell, in brute creation, in the kingdom of Yama, for all beings (in general).

[Then Akshayamati in the joy of his heart uttered the following stanzas:]

20 O thou whose eyes are clear, whose eyes are kind, distinguished by wisdom and knowledge, whose eyes are full of pity and benevolence; thou so lovely by thy beautiful face and beautiful eyes!

21 Pure one, whose shine is spotless bright, whose knowledge is free from darkness, thou shining as the sun, not to be beaten away, radiant as the blaze of fire, thou spreadest in thy flying course thy lustre in the world.

22 O thou who rejoicest in kindness having its source in compassion, thou great cloud of good qualities and of benevolent mind, thou quenchest the fire that vexes living beings, thou pourest out nectar, the rain of the law.

23 In quarrel, dispute, war, battle, in any great danger one has to think of Avalokitesvara, who shall quell the wicked troop of foes.

24 One should think of Avalokitesvara, whose sound is as the cloud's and the drum's, who thunders like a rain-cloud, possesses a good voice like Brahma, (a voice) going through the whole gamut of tones.

25 Think, O think with tranquil mood of Avalokitesvara, that pure being; he is a protector, a refuge, a recourse in death, disaster, and calamity.

26 He who possesses the perfection of all virtues, and beholds all beings with compassion and benevolence, he, an ocean of virtues, Virtue itself, he, Avalokitesvara, is worthy of adoration.

27 He, so compassionate for the world, shall once become a Buddha, destroying all dangers and sorrows; I humbly bow to Avalokitesvara.

28 This universal Lord, chief of kings, who is a (rich) mine of monastic virtues, he, universally worshipped, has reached pure, supreme enlightenment, after plying his course (of duty) during many hundreds of Æons.

29 At one time standing to the right, at another to the left of the Chief Amitabha, whom he is fanning, he, by dint of meditation, like a phantom, in all regions honours the Gina.

30 In the west, where the pure world Sukhakara is situated, there the Chief Amitabha, the tamer of men, has his fixed abode.

31 There no women are to be found; there sexual intercourse is absolutely unknown; there the sons of Gina, on springing into existence by apparitional birth, are sitting in the undefiled cups of lotuses.

32 And the Chief Amitabha himself is seated on a throne in the pure and nice cup of a lotus, and shines as the Sala-king.

33 The Leader of the world, whose store of merit has been praised, has no equal in the triple world. O supreme of men, let us soon become like thee!

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Dharanindhara rose from his seat, put his upper robe upon one shoulder, fixed his right knee against the earth, stretched his joined hands towards the Lord and said: They must be possessed of not a few good roots, O Lord, who are to hear this chapter from the Dharmaparyaya about the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara and this miraculous power of transformation of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara.

And while this chapter of the All-sided One was being expounded by the Lord, eighty-four thousand living beings from that assembly felt their minds drawn to that supreme and perfect enlightenment, with which nothing else can be compared.

LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 25

Ancient Devotion.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the entire assemblage of Bodhisattvas: Of yore, young men of good family, at a past epoch, incalculable, more than incalculable Æons ago, at that time there appeared in the world a Tathagata named Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, an Arhat, etc., endowed with science and conduct, etc. etc., in the Æon Priyadarsana, in the world Vairokanarasmipratimandita. Now, there was, young men of good family, under the spiritual rule of the Tatbagata Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna a king called Subhavyaha. That king Subhavyuha, young men of good family, had a wife called Vimaladatta, and two sons, one called Vimalagarbha, the other Vimalanetra. These two boys, who possessed magical power and wisdom, applied themselves to the course of duty of Bodhisattvas, viz. to the perfect virtues (Paramitas) of alms-giving, morality, forbearance, energy, meditation, wisdom, and skilfulness; they were accomplished in benevolence, compassion, joyful sympathy and indifference, and in all the thirty-seven constituents of true knowledge. They had perfectly mastered the meditation Vimala (i.e. spotless), the meditation Nakshatraragaditya, the meditation Vimalanirbhasa, the meditation Vimalabhasa, the meditation Alankarasura, the meditation Mahategogarbha. Now at that time, that period the said Lord preached the Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law out of compassion for the beings then living and for the king Subhavyfiha. Then, young men of good family, the two young princes Vimala,crarbha and Vimalanetra went to their mother, to whom they said, after stretching their joined hands: We should like to go, mother, to the Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc., and that, mother, because the Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc., expounds, in great extension, before the world, including the gods, the Dharmaparvaya of the Lotus of the True Law. We should like to hear it. Whereupon the queen Vinialadatta said to the two young princes Vimalagarbha and Vimalanetra: Your father, young gentlemen, the king Subhavyuha, favours the Brahmans. Therefore you will not obtain the permission

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to go and see the Tathagata. Then the two young princes Vimalagarbha and Vimalanetra, stretching their joined hands, said to their mother: Though born in a family that adheres, to a false doctrine, we feel as sons to the king of the law. Then, young men of good family, the queen Vimaladatta said to the young princes: Well, young gentlemen, out of compassion for your father, the king Subhavyuha, display some miracle, that he may become favourably inclined to you, and on that account grant you the permission of going to the Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc.

Immediately the young princes Vimalagarbha and Vimalanetra rose into the atmosphere to a height of seven Tal trees and performed miracles such as are allowed by the Buddha, out of compassion for their father, the king, Subhavyuha. They prepared in the sky a couch and raised dust; there they also emitted from the lower part of their body a shower of rain, and from the upper part a mass of fire; then again they emitted from the upper part of their body a shower of rain, and from the lower part a mass of fire. While in the firmament they became now big, then small; and now small, then big. Then they vanished from the sky to come up again from the earth and reappear in the air. Such, young men of good family, were the miracles produced by the magical power of the two young princes, whereby their father, the king Subhavyuha, was converted. At the sight of the miracle produced by the magical power of the two young princes, the king Subhavyuha was content, in high spirits, ravished, rejoiced, joyful, and happy, and, the joined hands raised, he said to the boys: Who is your master, young gentlemen? whose pupils are you? And the two young princes answered the king Subhavyuha: There is, noble king, there exists and lives a Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, a Tathagata, etc.; seated on the stool of law at the foot of the tree of enlightenment; he extensively reveals the Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law to the world, including the gods. That Lord is our Master, O noble king; we are his pupils. Then, young gentlemen of good family, the king Subhavyuha said to the young princes: I will see your Master, young gentlemen; I am to go myself to the presence of that Lord.

After the two young princes had descended from the sky, young gentlemen, they went to their mother and with joined hands stretched forward said to her: Mother, we have converted our father to supreme and perfect knowledge; we have performed the office of masters towards him; therefore let us go now; we wish to enter upon the ecclesiastical life in the face of the Lord. And on that occasion, young men of good family, the young princes Vimalagarbha and Vimalanetra addressed their mother in the following two stanzas:

1 Allow us, O mother, to go forth from home and to embrace the houseless life; ay, we will become ascetics, for rare to be met with (or precious) is a Tathagata.

2 As the blossom of the glomerated fig-tree, nay, more rare is the Gina. Let us depart; we will renounce the world; the favourable moment is precious (or not often to be met with).

Vimaladatta said:

Now I grant you leave; go, my children, I give my consent. I myself will likewise renounce the world, for rare to be met with (or precious) is a Tathagata.

Having uttered these stanzas, young men of good family, the two young princes said to their parents: Pray, father and mother, you also go together with us to the Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc., in order to see, humbly salute and wait upon him, and to hear the law. For, father and mother, the appearance of a Buddha is rare to be met with as the blossom of the glomerated fig-tree, as the entering of the tortoise's neck into the hole of the yoke formed by the great ocean. The appearance of Lords Buddhas, father and mother, is rare. Hence, father and mother, it is a happy lot we have been blessed with, to have been born at the time of such a prophet. Therefore, father and mother, give us leave; we would go and become ascetics in presence of the Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc., for the seeing of a Tathagata is something rare. Such a king of the law is rarely met with; such a favourable occasion is rarely met with.

Now at that juncture, young men of good family, the eighty-four thousand women of the harem of the king Subhavyuha became worthy of being receptacles of this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law. The young prince Vimalanetra exercised himself in this Dharmaparyaya, whereas the young prince Vimalagarbha for many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Æons practised the meditation Sarvasattvapapagahana, with the object that all beings should abandon all evils. And the mother of the two young princes, the queen Vimaladatta, acknowledged the harmony between all Buddhas and all topics treated by them. Then, young men of good family, the king Subhavyuha, having been converted to the law of the Tathagata by the instrumentality of the two young princes, having been initiated and brought to full maturity in it, along with all his relations and retinue; the queen Vimaladatta with the whole crowd of women in her suite, and the two young princes, the sons of the king Subhavyuha, accompanied by forty-two thousand living beings, along with the women of the harem and the ministers, went all together and unanimously to the Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagatha, etc. On arriving at the place where the Lord was, they humbly saluted his feet, circumarnbulated him three times from left to right and took their stand at some distance.

Then, young men of good family, the Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc., perceiving the king Subhavyu'ha, who had arrived with his retinue, instructed, roused, excited, and comforted him with a sermon. And the king Subhavyuha, young men of good family, after he had been well and duly instructed, roused, excited, and comforted by the sermon of the Lord, was so content, glad, ravished, joyful, rejoiced, and delighted, that he put his diadem on the head of his younger brother and established him in the government, whereafter he himself with his sons, kinsmen, and retinue, as well as the queen Vimaladatta and her numerous train of women, the two young princes accompanied by forty-two thousand living beings went all together and unanimously forth from home to embrace the houseless life, prompted as they were by their faith in the preaching of the Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc. Having become an ascetic, the king Subhavyuha, with his retinue, remained for eighty-four thousand years applying himself to studying, meditating, and thoroughly penetrating this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law. At the end of those eighty four thousand years, young men of good family, the king Subhavyuha acquired the meditation termed Sarvagunalankaravyuha. No sooner had he acquired that meditation, than he rose seven Tals up to the sky, and while staying in the air, young men of good family, the king Subhavyuha said to the Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc.: My two sons, O Lord, are my masters, since it is owing to the miracle produced by their magical power that I have been diverted from that great heap of false doctrines, been established in the command of the Lord, brought to full ripeness in it, introduced to it, and exhorted to see the Lord. They have acted as true friends to me, O Lord, those two young princes who as sons were born in my house, certainly to remind me of my former roots of goodness.

At these words the Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc., spoke to the king Subhavyuha: It is as thou sayest, noble king. Indeed, noble king, such young men or young ladies of good family as possess roots of goodness, will in any existence, state, descent, rebirth or place I easily find true friends, who with them shall perform the task of a master , who shall admonish, introduce, fully prepare them to obtain supreme and perfect enlightenment. It is an exalted position, noble king, the office of a true friend who rouses (another) to see the Tathagata. Dost thou see these two young princes, noble king? I do, Lord; I do, Sugata, said the king. The Lord proceeded: Now, these two young gentlemen, noble king, will pay worship to sixty-five (times the number of) Tathagatas, etc., equal to the sands of the Ganges; they will keep this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, out of compassion for beings who hold false doctrines, and with the aim to produce in those beings an earnest striving after the right doctrine.

Thereupon, young men of good family, the king Subhavyuha came down from the sky, and, having raised his joined hands, said to the Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc.: Please, Lord, deign to tell me, what knowledge the Tathagata is possessed of, so that the protuberance on his head is shining; that the Lord's eyes are so clear; that between his brows the Urna (circle of hair) is shining, resembling in whiteness the moon; that in his mouth a row of equal and close-standing teeth is glittering; that the Lord has lips red as the Bimba and such beautiful eyes.

As the king Subhavyuha, young men of good family, had celebrated the Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc., by enumerating so manygood qualities and hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of other good qualities besides, he said to the Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc.: It is wonderful, O Lord, how valuable the Tathagata's teaching is, and with how many inconceivable virtues the religious discipline proclaimed by the Tathagata is attended; how beneficial the moral precepts proclaimed by the Tathdgata are. From henceforward, O Lord, we will no more be slaves to our own mind; no more be slaves to false doctrine; no more slaves to rashness; no more slaves to the sinful thoughts arising in us. Being possessed of so many good qualities, O Lord, I do not wish to go away from the presence of the Lord.

After humbly saluting the feet of the Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc., the king rose up to the sky and there stood. Thereupon the king Subhavyuha and the queen Vimaladatta from the sky, threw a pearl necklace worth a hundred thousand (gold pieces) upon the Lord; and that pearl necklace no sooner came down upon the head of the Lord than it assumed the shape of a tower with four columns, regular, well-constructed, and beautiful. On the summit of the tower appeared a couch covered with many hundred thousand pieces of fine cloth, and on the couch was seen the image of a Tathagata sitting cross-legged. Then the following thought presented itself to the kingsubbavyuha: The Buddha-knowledge must be very powerful, and the Tathagata endowed with inconceivable good qualities that this Tath agataimage shows itself on the summit of the tower, (an image) so nice, beautiful, possessed of an extreme abundance of good colours. Then the Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc., addressed the four classes (and asked): Do you see, monks, the king Subliavyuha who, standing in the sky, is emitting a lion's roar? They answered: We do, Lord. The Lord proceeded: This king Subhavyuha, monks, after having become a monk under my rule shall become a Tathagata in the world, by the name of Salendraraga, endowed with science and conduct, etc. etc., in the world Vistiritavati; his epoch shall be called AbhyudgatarAga. That Tathagata Salendraraga, monks, the Arhat, etc., shall have an immense congregation of Bodhisattvas, an immense congregation of disciples. The said world Vistirnavati shall be level as the palm of the hand, and consist of lapis lazuli. So he shall be an inconceivably great Tathagata, etc. Perhaps, young men of good family, you will have some doubt, uncertainty or misgiving (and think) that the king Subhavyuha at that time, that juncture was another. But you must not think so;for it is the very same Bodhisattva Mahasattva Padmasri here present, who at that time, that juncture was the king Subhavyuha. Perhaps, young men of good family, you will have some doubt, uncertainty or misgiving (and think) that the queen Vimaladatta at that time, that juncture was another. But you must not think so; for it is the very same Bodhisattva Mahasattva called Vairokanarasmipratimanditaraga, who at that time, that juncture was the queen Vimaladatta, and who out of compassion for the king Subhavyuha and the creatures had assumed the state of being the wife of king Subhavyuha. Perhaps, young men of good family, you will have some doubt, uncertainty or misgiving (and think) that the two young princes were others. But you must not think so; for it was Bhaishagyaraga and Bhaisha gyaraga samudgata, who at that time, that juncture were sons to the king Subhavyuha. With such inconceivable qualities, young men of good family, were the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas Bhaishagyaraga and Bhaisha gyaraga samudgata endowed, they, the two good men, having planted good roots under many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddhas. Those that shall cherish the name of these two good men shall all become worthy of receiving homage from the world, including the gods.

While this chapter on Ancient Devotion was being expounded, the spiritual insight of eighty-four thousand living beings in respect to the law was purified so as to become unclouded and spotless.

LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 26

Encouragement Of Samantabhadra.

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Samantabhadra, in the east, surrounded and followed by Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas surpassing all calculation, amid the stirring of fields, a rain of lotuses, the playing of hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of musical instruments, proceeded with the great pomp of a Bodhisattva, the great display of transformations proper to a Bodhisattva, the great magnificence of a Bodhisattva, the great power of a Bodhisattva, the great lustre of a glorious Bodhisattva, the great stately march of a Bodhisattva, the great miraculous display of a Bodhisattva, a great phantasmagorical sight of gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, who, produced by his magic, surrounded and followed him; Samantabhadra, then, the Bodhisattva, amid such inconceivable miracles worked by magic, arrived at this Saha-world. He went up to the place of the Lord on the Gridhrakuta, the king of mountains, and on approaching he humbly saluted the Lord's feet, made seven circumambulations from left to right, and said to the Lord: I have come hither, O Lord, from the field of the Lord Ratnategobhyudgata, the Tathagata, etc., as I am aware, Lord, that here in the Saha-world is taught the Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, to hear which from the mouth of the Lord Sakyamuni I have come accompanied by these hundred thousands of Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas. May the Lord deign to expound, in extension, this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law to these Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas. So addressed, the Lord said to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Samantabhadra: These Bodhisattvas, young man of good family, are, indeed, quick of understanding, but this is the Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of

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the True Law, that is to say, an unmixed truth. The Bodhisattvas exclaimed: Indeed Lord; indeed, Sugata. Then in order to confirm, in the Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, the females among the monks, nuns, and lay devotees assembled at the gathering, the Lord again spoke to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Samantabhadra: This Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, young man of good family, shall be entrusted to a female if she be possessed of four requisites, to wit: she shall stand under the superintendence of the Lords Buddhas; she shall have planted good roots; she shall keep steadily to the mass of disciplinary regulations; she shall, in order to save creatures, have the thoughts fixed on supreme and perfect enlightenment. These are the four requisites, young man of good family, a female must be possessed of, to whom this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law is to be entrusted.

Then the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Samantabhadra said to the Lord: At the end of time, at the end of the period, in the second half of the millennium, I will protect the monks who keep this Satranta; I will take care of their safety, avert blows [or punishment], and destroy poison, so that no one laying snares for those preachers may surprise them, neither Mara the Evil One, nor the sons of Mara, the angels called Marakayikas, the daughters of Mara, the followers of Mara, and all other servitors to Mara; that no gods, goblins, ghosts, imps, wizards, spectres laying snares for those preachers may surprise them. Incessantly and constantly, O Lord, will I protect such a preacher. And when a preacher who applies himself to this Dharmaparyaya shall take a walk, then, O Lord, will I mount a white elephant with six tusks, and with a train of Bodhisattvas betake myself to the place where that preacher is walking, in order to protect this Dharmaparyaya. And when that preacher, applying himself to this Dharmaparyaya, forgets, be it but a single word or syllable, then will I mount the white elephant with six tusks, show my face to that preacher, and repeat this entire Dharmaparyaya. And when the preacher has seen my proper body and heard from me this entire Dharmaparyaya, he, content, in high spirits, ravished, rejoiced, joyful, and delighted, will the more do his utmost to study this Dharmaparyaya, and immediately after beholding me he will acquire meditation and obtain spells, termed the talisman of preservation, the talisman of hundred thousand kotis, and the talisman of skill in all sounds.

Again, Lord, the monks, nuns, male or female lay devotees, who at the end of time, at the end of the period, in the second half of the millennium, shall study this Dharmaparyaya, when walking for three weeks, (or) twenty-one days, to them will I show my body, at the sight of which all beings rejoice. Mounted on that same white elephant with six tusks, and surrounded by a troop of Bodhisattvas, I shall on the twenty-first day betake myself to the place where the preachers are walking; there I shall rouse, excite, and stimulate them, and give them spells whereby those preachers shall become inviolable, so that no being, either human or not human, shall be able to surprise them, and no women able to beguile them. I will protect them, take care of their safety, avert blows, and destroy poison. I will, besides, O Lord, give those preachers words of talismanic spells, such as, Adande dandapati, dandavartani dandakusale dandasudhari dhari sudharapati, buddhapasyani dharani, avartani samvartani sanghaparikshite sanghanirghatani dharmaparikshite sarvasattvarutakausalyanugate simhavikridite. The Bodhisattva Mahasattva, whose organ of hearing is struck by these talismanic words, Lord, shall be aware that the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Samantabhadra is their ruling power.

Further, Lord, the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas to whom this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law shall be entrusted, as long as it continues having course in Gambudvipa, those preachers, Lord, should take this view: It is owing to the power and grandeur of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Samantabhadra that this Dharmaparyaya has been entrusted to us. Those creatures who shall write and keep this Sutra, O Lord, are to partake of the course of duty of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Samantabhadra; they will belong to those who have planted good roots under many Buddhas, O Lord, and whose heads are caressed by the hands of the Tathagata. Those who shall write and keep this Sutra, O Lord, will afford me pleasure. Those who shall write this Sutra, O Lord, and comprehend it, shall, when they disappear from this world, after having written it, be reborn in the company of the gods of paradise, and at that birth shall eighty-four thousand heavenly nymphs immediately come near them. Adorned with a high crown, they shall as angels dwell amongst those nymphs. Such is the mass of merit resulting from writing this Dharmaparyaya; how much greater will be the mass of merit reaped by those who recite, study, meditate, remember it! Therefore, young men of good family, one ought to honour this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, and write it with the utmost attention. He who writes it with undistracted attention shall be supported by the hands of a thousand Buddhas, and at the moment of his death he shall see another thousand of Buddhas from face to face. He shall not sink down into a state of wretchedness, and after disappearing from this world he shall enter the company of the Tushita-gods, where the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya is residing, and where, marked by the thirty-two sublime characteristics, surrounded by a host of Bodhisattvas, and waited upon by hundred thousands of myriads of kolis of heavenly nymphs he is preaching the law. Therefore, then, young men of good family, a wise young man or young lady of good family should respectfully write this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, respectfully recite it, respectfully study it, respectfully treasure it up in his (or her) mind. By writing, reciting, studying this Dharmaparyaya, and by treasuring it up in one's mind, young men of good family, one is to acquire innumerable good qualities. Hence a wise young man or young lady of good family ought to keep this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law. I myself, O Lord, will superintend this Dharmaparyaya, that through my superintendence it may here spread in Gambudvipa.

Then the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., expressed his approval to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Samantabhadra: Very well, very well, Samantabhadra. It is happy that thou art so well disposed to promote the weal and happiness of the people at large, out of compassion for the people, for the benefit, weal, and happiness of the great body of men; that thou art endowed with such inconceivable qualities, with a mind so full of compassion, with intentions so inconceivably kind, so that of thine own accord thou wilt take those preachers under thy protection. The young men of good family who shall cherish the name of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Samantabhadra may be convinced that they have seen Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc.; that they have heard this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law from the Lord Sakyamuni; that they have paid homage to the Tathagata Sakyamuni; that they have applauded the preaching of the Tathagata Sakyamuni. They will have joyfully accepted this Dharmaparyaya; the Tathagata Sakyamuni will have laid his hand upon their head, and they will have decked the Lord Sakyamuni with their robes. Those young men or young ladies of good family, Samantabhadra, must be held to have accepted the command of the Tathagata. They will have no pleasure in worldly philosophy; no persons fondly addicted to poetry will please them; no dancers, athletes, vendors of meat, mutton butchers, poulterers, pork butchers, or profligates will please them. After having heard, written, kept, or read such Stitrantas as this, they will find no delight in those persons. They must be held to be possessed of natural righteousness; they will be right-minded from themselves, possess a power to do good of their own accord, and make an agreeable impression on others. Such will be the monks who keep this Sutranta. No passionate attachment will hinder them, no hatred, no infatuation, no jealousy, no envy, no hypocrisy, no pride, no conceitedness, no mendaciousness. Those preachers, Samantabhadra, will be content with what they receive. He, Samantabhadra, who at the end of time, at the end of the period, in the second half of the millennium, sees a monk keeping this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, must think thus: This young man of good family will reach the terrace of enlightenment; this young man will conquer the troop of the wicked Mara, move forward the wheel of the law, strike the drum of the law, blow the conch trumpet of the law, spread the rain of the law, and ascend the royal throne of the law. The monks who at the end of time, at the end of the period, in the second half of the millennium, keep this Dharmaparyaya, will not be covetous, nor greedy of robes or vehicles. Those preachers will be honest, and possessed of three emancipations; they will refrain from worldly business. Such persons as lead into error monks who know this Satranta, shall be born blind; and such as openly defame them, shall have a spotted body in this very world. Those who scoff and hoot at the monks who copy this Sutranta, shall have the teeth broken and separated far from each other; disgusting lips, a flat nose, contorted hands and feet, squinting eyes; a putrid body, a body covered with stinking boils, eruptions, scabs, and itch. If one speaks an unkind word, true or not true, to such writers, readers, and keepers of this Sutranta, it must be considered a very heinous sin. Therefore then, Samantabhadra, people should, even from afar, rise from their seats before the monks who keep this Dharmaparyaya and show them the same reverence as to the Tathagata.

While this chapter of the Encouragement of Samantabhadra was being expounded, hundred thousands of kotis of Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, equal to the sands of the river Ganges, acquired the talismanic spell Avarta.

LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 27

The Era Of The Law, Dharmaparyaya.

Thereupon the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., rose from his pulpit, collected the Bodhisattvas, took their right hands with his own right hand, which had become strong by the exercise of magic, and spoke on that occasion as follows: Into your hands, young men of good family, I transfer and transmit, entrust and deposit this supreme and perfect enlightenment arrived at by me after hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of incalculable Æons. Ye, young men of good family, do your best that it may grow and spread.

A second time, a third time the Lord spoke to the host of Bodhisattvas after taking them by the right hands: Into your hands, young men of good family, I transfer and transmit, entrust and deposit this supreme and perfect enlightenment arrived at by me after hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of incalculable Æons. Receive it, young men of good family, keep, read, fathom, teach, promulgate, and preach it to all beings. I am not avaricious, young men of good family, nor narrow-minded; I am confident and willing to impart Buddha-knowledge, to impart the knowledge of the Tathagata, the knowledge of the Self-born. I am a bountiful giver, young men of good family, and ye, young men of good family, follow my example; imitate me in liberally showing this knowledge of the Tathagata, and in skilfulness, and preach this Dharmaparyaya to the young men and young ladies of good family who successively shall gather round you. And as to unbelieving persons, rouse them to accept this law. By so doing, young men of good family, you will acquit your debt to the Tathagatas.

So addressed by the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., the Bodhisattvas filled with delight and joy, and with a feeling of great respect they lowered, bent, and bowed their body towards the Lord, and, the head inclined and the joined hands stretched out, they spoke in one voice to the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., the following words: We shall do, O Lord, what the Tathagata commands; we shall fulfil the command of all Tathagatas. Let the Lord be at ease as to this, and perfectly quiet. A second time, a third time the entire host of Bodhisattvas spoke in, one voice the same words: Let the Lord be at ease as to this, and perfectly quiet. We shall do, O Lord, what the Tathagata commands us; we shall fulfil the command of all Tathagatas.

Thereupon the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., dismissed all those Tathagatas, etc., who had come to the gathering from other worlds, and wished them a happy existence, with the words: May the Tathagatas, etc., live happy. Then he restored the Stupa of precious substances of the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., to its place, and wished him also a happy existence.

Thus spoke the Lord. The incalculable, innumerable Tathagatas, etc., who had come from other worlds and were sitting on their thrones at the foot of jewel trees, as well as Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., and the whole host of Bodhisattvas headed by Visishtakaritra, the innumerable, incalculable Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas who had issued from the gaps of the earth, the great disciples, the four classes, the world, including gods, men, demons, and Gandharvas, in ecstasy applauded the words of the Lord.

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THE SACRED BOOKS OF CHINA

THE

DAO DE CHING

by Laozi (The Tao Teh King by Lao tzu)

THE

KONGZI LUN YU

(The Analects by Master Kong, Confucius)

THE MENCIUS

The Mengzi (Conversations of Master Meng)

THE SUNZI BINGFA

The Art of War by General Sunzi

THE HAN FEIZI

The Han Fei Tzu by Master Han Fei

THE THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA

The Zheng Fahua Jing by Zhu Fahu

Edited and arranged
by Lord Henfield.

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THE SACRED BOOKS OF CHINA

The first significant literature of China was created during the Zhou dynasty (c.1046–256 BC) and the Spring and Autumn period (771-476 BC). Both periods together roughly correspond with the Vedic period in India, the Neo-Assyrian Empire, and the Biblical era from King David to the Greek kingdom of Bactria at the outer sphere of influence of China and India.

The Zhou was a Chinese dynasty that followed the Shang dynasty and preceded the Qin dynasty of Emperor Qin Shi Huangdi. It was the Qin whose name "Chin" we find in almost all western languages as "China." It was the time when Aramaic speaking Hebrews turned up in India and on the caravan roads to China. They and their allies, the Persians under the leadership of King Kurush (Cyrus), gave northwestern India their Aramaic script "Karoshti" which Ashoka's grandfather Chandragupta adopted and spread in form of the Brahmi script over all of India. With these Persians and Hebrews came new ideas to the East. One of these ideas was the Golden Rule as expressed in the second half of the Ten Commandments which is known as The Five Precepts in India and China, and which itself origins from the much older Instructions of Shuruppak (c. 2600 BC).

The Zhou dynasty lasted longer than any other dynasty in Chinese history (790 years). The Spring and Autumn period was a period in Chinese history from approximately (or according to some authorities until 403 BC which corresponds roughly to the first half of the Eastern Zhou period. The period's name derives from the Spring and Autumn Annals, a chronicle of the state of Lu between 722 and 479 BC, which tradition associates with Confucius (551–479 BC).

During this period, the Zhou royal authority over the various feudal states eroded as more and more dukes and marquesses obtained de facto regional autonomy, defying the king's court in Luoyi and waging wars amongst themselves. The gradual Partition of Jin, one of the most powerful states, marked the end of the Spring and Autumn period and the beginning of the Warring States period. Most of the here presented Books of China were composed in the time between 700 BC and 400 BC. Their ideas, together with ideas from India, travelled back to the West and have influenced the Western World ever since. We find them in all sorts of Platonic, Stoic, Hebrew, and Christian texts either inside the Bible or out.

Four Books and Five Classics

"The Five Classics (Chinese: Si Shu Wu Jing)" and "Four Books" and are the authoritative books of Confucianism in China written before 300 BC. The Four Books and Five Classics are the collective name of the Four Books and the Five Classics, and they are the most important classics of Chinese Confucianism.

FIVE CLASSICS

The Five Classics (Wujing) are five pre-Qin Chinese books that form part of the traditional Confucian canon. Several of the texts were already prominent by the Warring States period. Mencius, the leading Confucian scholar of the time, regarded the Spring and Autumn Annals as being equally important as the semi-legendary chronicles of earlier periods. During the Western Han dynasty, which adopted Confucianism as its official ideology, these texts became part of the state-sponsored curriculum. It was during this period that the texts first began to be considered together as a set collection, and to be called collectively the "Five Classics". The Five Classics are:

1. The Shi Jing

is a collection of 305 poems divided into 160 folk songs, 105 festal songs sung at court ceremonies, and 40 hymns and eulogies sung at sacrifices to heroes and ancestral spirits of the royal house.

2. The Shu Jing

The Book of Documents which is a collection of documents and speeches alleged to have been written by rulers and officials of the early Zhou period and before. It is possibly the oldest Chinese narrative, and may date from the 6th century BC. It includes examples of early Chinese prose.

3. The Liji

The Book of Rites which describes ancient rites, social forms and court ceremonies. The version studied today is a re-worked version compiled by scholars in the third century BC rather than the original text, which is said to have been edited by Confucius himself.

4. Yi Jing

The Book of Changes. The Yi Jing (Wade-Giles: I Ching), usually translated as Book of Changes or Classic of Changes, is an ancient Chinese divination text and among the oldest of the Chinese classics (1000–750 BC). It provides guidance for moral decision making as informed by Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism.

5. The Chunqiu

with The Zuo Zhuan, or The Spring and Autumn Annals, is an ancient Chinese chronicle that has been one of the core Chinese classics since ancient times. Its full title is "The Chunqiu; with The Zuo Zhuan" (Wade-Giles: The Ch'un Ts'ëw with The Tso Chuen), in English that is "The Spring and Autumn Annals with The Commentary of Zuo (or: The Zuo Tradition)." This commentary is added to each single chapter. It is generally larger than the text of the Annals itself because it is very informative. A historical record of the State of Lu, Confucius's native state, 722–481 BC.

The Classic of Music *is sometimes considered the sixth classic but was lost in the Burning of the Books.*

Up to the Western Han, authors would typically list the Classics in the order Poems-Documents-Rituals-Changes-Spring and Autumn. However, from the Eastern Han the default order instead became Changes-Documents-Poems-Rituals-Spring and Autumn.

Authors and editors of later eras have also appropriated the terms "Book" and "Classic" and applied them ironically to compendia focused on patently low-brow subject matter. Examples include the Classic of Whoring (Piaojing) and Zhang Yingyu's A New Book for Foiling Swindles (Dupian Xinshu, ca. 1617), which is known colloquially as The Book of Swindles or The Classic of Swindles.

Authorship of the Classics

Traditionally, it was thought that Confucius himself had compiled or edited the texts of the Five Classics. The scholar Yao Hsin-chung allows that there are good reasons to believe that Confucian classics took shape in the hands of Confucius, but that "nothing can be taken for granted in the matter of the early versions of the classics." From the time of the Western Han dynasty, Yao continues, most Confucian scholars believed that Confucius re-collected and edited the prior works, thereby "fixing" the versions of the ancient writings which became the Classics. In the twentieth century, many Chinese scholars still held to this tradition. The New Confucian scholar, Xiong Shili (1885–1968), for instance, held that the Six Classics were the final versions "fixed up" by Confucius in his old age. Other scholars had and have different views. The Old Text School, for instance, relied on versions found in the Han dynasty which supposedly survived the Qin dynasty burning of the books but many of them held that these works had not been edited by Confucius but survived directly from the Zhou dynasty.

For quite different reasons, mainly having to do with modern textual scholarship, a greater number of twentieth century scholars both in China and in other countries hold that Confucius had nothing to do with editing the classics, much less writing them. Yao Hsin-chung reports that still other scholars hold the "pragmatic" view that the history of the Classics is a long one and that Confucius and his followers, although they did not intend to create a system of classics, "contributed to their formation." In any case, it is undisputed that for most of the last 2,000 years, Confucius was believed to have either written or edited these classics.

The most important events in the textual career of these classics were the adoption of Confucianism as state orthodoxy in the Han dynasty, which led to their preservation, and the "renaissance" of Confucianism in the Song dynasty, which led to their being made the basis of Confucian orthodoxy in the imperial examination system in the following dynasties. The Neo-Confucian sage Zhu Xi (1130–1200) fixed the texts of the Four Books and wrote commentaries whose new interpretations became accepted as being those of Confucius himself.

THE FOUR BOOKS

The Four Books (Si Shu) are a little younger than the Five Classics. The Four Books are Chinese classic texts illustrating the core value and belief systems in Confucianism. They were selected by Zhu Xi in the Song dynasty to serve as general introduction to Confucian thought, and they were, in the Ming and Qing dynasties, made the core of the official curriculum for the civil service examinations. They are:

1. Analects

A compilation of speeches by Confucius and his disciples, as well as the discussions they held. Since Confucius's time, the Analects has heavily influenced the philosophy and moral values of China and later other East Asian countries as well. The Imperial examinations, started in the Sui dynasty and eventually abolished with the founding of the Republic of China, emphasized Confucian studies and expected candidates to quote and apply the words of Confucius in their essays.

2. Great Learning

Originally one chapter in the Book of Rites. It consists of a short main text attributed to Confucius and nine commentary chapters by Zengzi, one of the disciples of Confucius. Its importance is illustrated by Zengzi's foreword that this is the gateway of learning.

It is significant because it expresses many themes of Chinese philosophy and political thinking, and has therefore been extremely influential both in classical and modern Chinese thought. Government, self-cultivation and investigation of things are linked.

3. Mencius

A collection of conversations of the scholar Mencius with kings of his time. In contrast to the sayings of Confucius, which are short and self-contained, the Mencius consists of long dialogues with extensive prose.

4. Doctrine of the Mean

Another chapter in Book of Rites, attributed to Confucius' grandson Zisi. The purpose of this small, 33-chapter book is to demonstrate the usefulness of a golden way to gain perfect virtue. It focuses on the Way (Dào) that is prescribed by a heavenly mandate not only to the ruler but to everyone. To follow these heavenly instructions by learning and teaching will automatically result in a Confucian virtue. Because Heaven has laid down what is the way to perfect virtue, it is not that difficult to follow the steps of the holy rulers of old if one only knows what is the right way.

Daoist and other Works

Important Daoist classics include the Dao De Jing, the Liezi, and the Zhuangzi. Later authors combined Daoism with Confucianism and Legalism, such as Liu An (2nd century BC), whose Huainanzi (The Philosophers of Huai-nan) also added to the fields of geography and topography.

Among the classics of military science, The Art of War by Sunzi (Sun Tzu; fl. 6th century BC) was perhaps the first to outline guidelines for effective international diplomacy. It was also the first in a tradition of Chinese military treatises, such as the Jingling Zongyao (Collection of the Most Important Military Techniques, 1044 AD) and the Huolongjing (Fire Dragon Manual, 14th century AD).

Other philosophical works include The Hanfeizi, one of the central Legalist texts and the Mohist Mozi, which taught "inclusive love" as both an ethical and social principle.

All Chinese works presented in this section could be considered as "The Bible of the Chinese" when taken together. There is one thing that the Chinese have in common with the Hebrews: the love for education. Every student in China, up to this very day, has to study these texts quite intensively in school. Particular the ethical and strategical passages have to be memorised by heart. Anyone who wants to understand the typical Chinese mind set has to bear this in mind. Confucian strictness, obedience and discipline rules in the Chinese education system are still intact while they have crumbled in western countries already decades ago. Western education reduced to a dumb laissez-faire ideology, based on individual rights to freedom only, will not just harm those western countries but send them straight into a cycle of poverty. That freedom has to be earned by one's duties toward family and society is an understanding whose lack will cost them dearly.

Translational difficulties

Most of the above mentioned books are written in Hanyu characters, a kind of hieroglyphs or logograms known as Classical Chinese, which poses a number of challenges to comprehension. As Lord Henfield's Book of Practical English notes, the Mandarin Chinese language has no singular or plural, no verb tense, no participles, no active voice or passive voice, no case, no person, no mood, no articles, no relative pronouns, no relative clause, no upper case letters nor lower case letters. In other words: Chinese and western languages (such as English, Latin, Russian, Persian, Aramaic, Arabic, Turkish, etc.) could not be further apart if they were from different planets. To make matters worse, there are no gaps between words either. So it begins already with the difficulty to determine which character belongs to which words or "meaning unit." Since there are no punctuation marks in Classical Chinese, it can be difficult to conclusively determine where one sentence ends and the next begins. Moving a full-stop a few words forward or back or inserting a comma can profoundly alter the meaning of many passages, and such divisions and meanings must be determined by the translator.

In addition, historical documents, like the Dao De Jing, exist is several different versions. Here the main rule seems to be: the older the text, the more precise it is. Younger text copies lack many grammatical particles which are preserved in the older Mawangdui and Beida texts, which permit the text to be more precise. Lastly, many passages of the Dao De Jing are deliberately vague and ambiguous. Some editors and translators argue that the received text is so corrupted (from originally being written on one-line bamboo strips linked with silk threads) that it is impossible to understand some chapters without moving sequences of characters from one place to another.

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WADE-GILES TO PINYIN CONVERSION TABLE

The here presented Chinese texts are written in two distinct romanisation systems, either in Wade-Giles or in Pinyin. Chinese languages, such as Mandarin, are written with about 50,000 Chinese characters (c. 15,000 are known by most university graduates). These characters are felt needed to represent the meaning of words. The smallest sound unit in Mandarin is not a phoneme but a syllable. Mandarin consists of maximal 413 syllables of which are only 366 in daily use (with tones about 1,000).

Over time, people have developed several different romanisation systems in order to build a link between Chinese and non-Chinese languages. Wade-Giles and Pinyin are the most popular systems: Wade–Giles is a romanisation system for Mandarin Chinese, invented in the 19th century but has been outdated when the Chinese government replaced it by Pinyin as the official Romanisation for Mandarin in 1958. However, some Chinese (abroad) and non-Chinese, still transcribe names in the Wade–Giles or other systems.

The Pinyin Romanisation (example: Dao De Jing) reflects the true pronunciation of the only 413 Mandarin Chinese syllables much more truthful than the obsolete Wade-Giles system (example: Tao Te Ching or even the ridiculous Tao Te King transcription). The 'd' in dao is spoken like a "d," never like a "t," and the 'j' in jing is spoken like the voiced "j" as in "jungle" or in "Beijing," never like a voiceless "ch" as in "chore" or even a "k" that also has been in use.

Basic knowledge of sounds: Most sounds, in particular vowels, have a sound similar to English before its "great vowel shift" or German: 'a' as 'father', 'e' as in 'then', 'i' as in 'in', 'o' as in 'on', and 'u' as in 'boot'. There are no long or short vowels in Mandarin, they are all of medium length. There are no "silent letters" either, except 'w' and 'y'. Some sound details: The Pinyin letter 'r' sounds like 'r' in "run", the 'z' sounds like 'ts', and 'zhong' sounds like 'djong' or 'djung'.

Pinyin is very regular. As for the Vowels however, the creators made the mistake to take the irregular English spelling as role model: the 'u' in 'que' or 'yuan' sounds like a German 'ü', 'wang' sounds like 'wong', 'meng' sounds like 'mong', 'peng' sounds like 'pang' ('a' as in father!). A regular phonetic spelling like in Dutch or Italian would have made Pinyin the most logical and best writing system in the world.

A feature of the Wade–Giles system is the representation of the unaspirated-aspirated stop consonant pairs using left apostrophes: p, p‘, t, t‘, k, k‘, ch, ch‘. People unfamiliar with Wade–Giles often ignore the apostrophes, sometimes omitting them when copying texts, unaware that they represent vital sound information. Pinyin addresses this issue more logically by employing a wider range of Roman letters representing voiced stops as well as unaspirated stops: b, p, d, t, g, k, j, q, zh, ch. Apostrophes are also used to represent a stop at some other place within the word to show that two vowels here are not a diphtong. Example Xi'an, speak: Si An!

Down below, we shall show you a Wade-Giles to Pinyin conversion table that covers all 366 common Mandarin syllables. It might make online search easier for you as most entries are now in Pinyin. Pinyin without tone marks is used to spell Chinese names and words in languages written with the Roman alphabet, and also in certain computer input methods to enter Chinese characters (mind that 'ü' is a typed 'v', so type 'Lv' when you need to search for Lü). (Search online for more details under "pinyin sound".)

Wade-Giles	Pinyin	Wade-Giles	Pinyin
a	**a**	ai	**ai**
an	**an**	ang	**ang**
ao	**ao**	cha	**zha**
ch'a	**cha**	chai	**zhai**
ch'ai	**chai**	chan	**zhan**
ch'an	**chan**	chang	**zhang**
ch'ang	**chang**	chao	**zhao**
ch'ao	**chao**	che	**zhe**
ch'e	**che**	chen	**zhen**
ch'en	**chen**	cheng	**zheng**
ch'eng	**cheng**	chi	**ji**
ch'i	**qi**	chia	**jia**
ch'ia	**qia**	chiang	**jiang**
ch'iang	**qiang**	chiao	**jiao**
ch'iao	**qiao**	chieh	**jie**
ch'ieh	**qie**	chien	**jian**
ch'ien	**qian**	chih	**zhi**
ch'ih	**chi**	chin	**jin**
ch'in	**qin**	ching	**jing**
ch'ing	**qing**	chiu	**jiu**
ch'iu	**qiu**	chiung	**jiong**
ch'iung	**qiong**	cho	**zhuo**
ch'o	**chuo**	chou	**zhou**
ch'ou	**chou**	chu	**zhu**
ch'u	**chu**	chü	**ju**
ch'ü	**qu**	chua	**zhua**
chuai	**zhuai**	ch'uai	**chuai**
chuan	**zhuan**	ch'uan	**chuan**
chüan	**juan**	ch'üan	**quan**
chuang	**zhuang**	ch'uang	**chuang**
chüeh	**jue**	ch'üeh	**que**
chui	**zhui**	ch'ui	**chui**
chun	**zhun**	ch'un	**chun**
chün	**jun**	ch'ün	**qun**
chung	**zhong**	ch'ung	**chong**
en	**en**	erh	**er**
fa	**fa**	fan	**fan**
fang	**fang**	fei	**fei**
fen	**fen**	feng	**feng**
fo	**fo**	fou	**fou**
fu	**fu**	ha	**ha**
hai	**hai**	han	**han**
hang	**hang**	hao	**hao**
hei	**hei**	hen	**hen**
heng	**heng**	ho	**he**
hou	**hou**	hsi	**xi**
hsia	**xia**	hsiang	**xiang**
hsiao	**xiao**	hsieh	**xie**
hsien	**xian**	hsin	**xin**
hsing	**xing**	hsiu	**xiu**
hsiung	**xiong**	hsü	**xu**
hsüan	**xuan**	hsüeh	**xue**
hsün	**xun**	hu	**hu**
hua	**hua**	huai	**huai**
huan	**huan**	huang	**huang**
hui	**hui**	hun	**hun**
hung	**hong**	huo	**huo**
i	**yi**	jan	**ran**
jang	**rang**	jao	**rao**
je	**re**	jen	**ren**
jeng	**reng**	jih	**ri**
jo	**ruo**	jou	**rou**
ju	**ru**	juan	**ruan**
jui	**rui**	jun	**run**
jung	**rong**	ka	**ga**
k'a	**ka**	kai	**gai**
k'ai	**kai**	kan	**gan**
k'an	**kan**	kang	**gang**
k'ang	**kang**	kao	**gao**
k'ao	**kao**	ken	**gen**
k'en	**ken**	keng	**geng**
k'eng	**keng**	ko	**ge**
k'o	**ke**	kou	**gou**
k'ou	**kou**	ku	**gu**
k'u	**ku**	kua	**gua**
k'ua	**kua**	kuai	**guai**
k'uai	**kuai**	kuan	**guan**
k'uan	**kuan**	kuang	**guang**
k'uang	**kuang**	kuei	**gui**
k'uei	**kui**	kun	**gun**
k'un	**kun**	kung	**gong**
k'ung	**kong**	kuo	**guo**
k'uo	**kuo**	la	**la**
lai	**lai**	lan	**lan**
lang	**lang**	lao	**lao**
le	**le**	lei	**lei**
leng	**leng**	li	**li**
liang	**liang**	liao	**liao**
lieh	**lie**	lien	**lian**
lin	**lin**	ling	**ling**
liu	**liu**	lo	**luo**
lou	**lou**	lu	**lu**
lü	**lü**	luan	**luan**
lüan	**luan**	lüeh	**lue**
lun	**lun**	lung	**long**
ma	**ma**	mai	**mai**
man	**man**	mang	**mang**
mao	**mao**	mei	**mei**
men	**men**	meng	**meng**
mi	**mi**	miao	**miao**
mieh	**mie**	mien	**mian**
min	**min**	ming	**ming**
miu	**miu**	mo	**mo**
mou	**mou**	mu	**mu**
na	**na**	nai	**nai**
nan	**nan**	nang	**nang**
nao	**nao**	nei	**nei**
nen	**nen**	neng	**neng**
ni	**ni**	niang	**niang**
niao	**niao**	nieh	**nie**
nien	**nian**	nin	**nin**
ning	**ning**	niu	**niu**
no	**nuo**	nou	**nou**
nu	**nu**	nü	**nü**
nuan	**nuan**	nüeh	**nue**
nung	**nong**	o	**e**
ou	**ou**	pa	**ba**
p'a	**pa**	pai	**bai**
p'ai	**pai**	pan	**ban**
p'an	**pan**	pang	**bang**
p'ang	**pang**	pao	**bao**
p'ao	**pao**	pei	**bei**
p'ei	**pei**	pen	**ben**
p'en	**pen**	peng	**beng**
p'eng	**peng**	pi	**bi**
p'i	**pi**	piao	**biao**
p'iao	**piao**	pieh	**bie**
p'ieh	**pie**	pien	**bian**
p'ien	**pian**	pin	**bin**
p'in	**pin**	ping	**bing**
p'ing	**ping**	po	**bo**
p'o	**po**	p'ou	**pou**
pu	**bu**	p'u	**pu**
sa	**sa**	sai	**sai**
san	**san**	sang	**sang**
sao	**sao**	se	**se**
sen	**sen**	seng	**seng**
sha	**sha**	shai	**shai**
shan	**shan**	shang	**shang**
shao	**shao**	she	**she**
shen	**shen**	sheng	**sheng**
shih	**shi**	shou	**shou**
shu	**shu**	shua	**shua**
shuai	**shuai**	shuan	**shuan**
shuang	**shuang**	shui	**shui**
shun	**shun**	shuo	**shuo**
so	**suo**	sou	**sou**
ssu	**si**	su	**su**
suan	**suan**	sui	**sui**
sun	**sun**	sung	**song**
ta	**da**	t'a	**ta**
tai	**dai**	t'ai	**tai**
tan	**dan**	t'an	**tan**
tang	**dang**	t'ang	**tang**
tao	**dao**	t'ao	**tao**
te	**de**	t'e	**te**
teng	**deng**	t'eng	**teng**
ti	**di**	t'i	**ti**
tiao	**diao**	t'iao	**tiao**
tieh	**die**	t'oeh	**tie**
tien	**dian**	t'ien	**tian**
ting	**ding**	t'ing	**ting**
tiu	**diu**	to	**duo**
t'o	**tuo**	tou	**dou**
t'ou	**tou**	tu	**du**
t'u	**tu**	tuan	**duan**
t'uan	**tuan**	tui	**dui**
t'ui	**tui**	tun	**dun**
t'un	**tun**	tung	**dong**
t'ung	**tong**	tsa	**za**
ts'a	**ca**	tsai	**zai**
ts'ai	**cai**	tsan	**zan**
ts'an	**can**	tsang	**zang**
ts'ang	**cang**	tsao	**zao**
ts'ao	**cao**	tse	**ze**
ts'e	**ce**	tsei	**zei**
tsen	**zen**	ts'en	**cen**
tseng	**zeng**	ts'eng	**ceng**
tso	**zuo**	ts'o	**cuo**
tsou	**zou**	ts'ou	**cou**
tsu	**zu**	ts'u	**cu**
tsuan	**zuan**	ts'uan	**cuan**
tsui	**zui**	ts'ui	**cui**
tsun	**zun**	ts'un	**cun**
tsung	**zong**	ts'ung	**cong**
tzu	**zi**	tz'u	**ci**
wa	**wa**	wai	**wai**
wan	**wan**	wang	**wang**
wei	**wei**	wen	**wen**
weng	**weng**	wo	**wo**
wu	**wu**	ya	**ya**
yai	**yai**	yang	**yang**
yao	**yao**	yeh	**ye**
yen	**yan**	yin	**yin**
ying	**ying**	yo	**yo**
yu	**you**	yü	**yu**
yüan	**yuan**	yüeh	**yue**
yün	**yun**	yung	**yong**

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THE SHI JING
The Shijing / The Book of Odes / The Book of Songs
The Classic of Poetry
Translation: James Legge, 1936
Estimated Range of Dating: 11th - 7th centuries B.C.

(The Shi Jing [or Shijing or Wade-Giles: Shih-ching], translated variously as the Classic of Poetry, the Book of Songs, Book of Odes or simply as the Odes or Poetry [Chinese: Shi], is the oldest existing collection of Chinese poetry, comprising 305 works dating from the 11th to 7th centuries BC. It is one of the "Five Classics" traditionally said to have been compiled by Confucius, and has been studied and memorised by scholars in China and neighbouring countries over two millennia. It is also a rich source of chengyu (four-character classical idioms) that are still a part of learned discourse and even everyday language in modern Chinese. Since the Qing dynasty, its rhyme patterns have also been analysed in the study of Old Chinese phonology.

The Name

Early references refer to the anthology as the 300 Poems (shi). The Odes first became known as a jing, or a "classic book", in the canonical sense, as part of the Han Dynasty official adoption of Confucianism as the guiding principles of Chinese society. The same word shi later became a generic term for poetry. In English, lacking an exact equivalent for the Chinese, the translation of the word shi in this regard is generally as "poem", "song", or "ode". Before its elevation as a canonical classic, the Classic of Poetry (Shi jing) was known as the Three Hundred Songs or the Songs. There were taken into this canon not for their religious or ethical contents but merely because they constitute the last (more or less complete) survivors of the oldest Chinese texts in existence. Most other books were destroyed during the endless wars the Chinese states fought against one another.

Contents

The Classic of Poetry contains the oldest chronologically authenticated Chinese poems. The majority of the Odes date to the Western Zhou period (1046–771 BC), and were drawn from around provinces and cities in the Zhongyuan area. A final section of 5 "Eulogies of Shang" purports to be ritual songs of the Shang dynasty as handed down by their descendants in the state of Song, but is generally considered quite late in date. According to the Eastern Han scholar Zheng Xuan, the latest material in the Shi Jing was the song "Tree-stump Grove" in the "Odes of Chen", dated to the middle of the Spring and Autumn period (c. 600 BC). The content of the Poetry collection can be divided into two main sections: the "Airs of the States", and the Eulogies and Hymns. List of Contents (Part name, meaning, number of items, estimated dating)

1. Guo fēng, "Airs of the States" 160 items, 8th to 7th century BC
2. Xiao ya, "Lesser Court Hymns" 74 items, 9th to 8th century BC
3. Da ya, "Major Court Hymns" 31 items 10th to 9th century BC
4. Zhou song, "Eulogies of Zhou" 31 items, 11th to 10th century BC
5. Lu song, "Eulogies of Lu" 4 items, 7th century BC
6. Shang song, "Eulogies of Shang" 5 items, 7th century BC

The "Airs of the States" are shorter lyrics in simple language that are generally ancient folk songs which record the voice of the common people. They often speak of love and courtship, longing for an absent lover, soldiers on campaign, farming and housework, and political satire and protest. On the other hand, songs in the two "Hymns" sections and the "Eulogies" section tend to be longer ritual or sacrificial songs, usually in the forms of courtly panegyrics and dynastic hymns which praise the founders of the Zhou dynasty. They also include hymns used in sacrificial rites and songs used by the aristocracy in their sacrificial ceremonies or at banquets. The "Court Hymns", contains "Lesser Court Hymns" and "Major Court Hymns". Most of the poems were used by the aristocracies to pray for good harvests each year, worship gods, and venerate their ancestors. The author of "Major Court Hymns" are nobilities who were dissatisfied with the political reality. Therefore, they wrote poems not only related to the feast, worship, and epic but also to reflect the public feelings.

Style

Whether the various Shi Jing poems were folk songs or not, they "all seem to have passed through the hands of men of letters at the royal Zhou court". In other words, they show an overall literary polish together with some general stylistic consistency. About 95% of lines in the Poetry are written in a four-syllable meter, with a slight caesura between the second and third syllables. Lines tend to occur in syntactically related couplets, with occasional parallelism, and longer poems are generally divided into similarly structured stanzas. All but six of the "Eulogies" consist of a single stanza, and the "Court Hymns" exhibit wide variation in the number of stanzas and their lengths. Almost all of the "Airs", however, consist of three stanzas, with four-line stanzas being most common. Although a few rhyming couplets occur, the standard pattern in such four-line stanzas required a rhyme between the second and fourth lines. Often the first or third lines would rhyme with these, or with each other. This style later became known as the "shi" style for much of Chinese history. In spite of the many interpretations and commentaries written generations later, The Shi Jing's influence on Chinese literature is overwhelming and undeniable. The Shi Jing not only lays the foundation for the formation of style and rules for Chinese classical poems, it is also frequently quoted in other canonical Chinese texts and has always been referred to as moral truth and lessons. It is no coincidence that the number of poems selected by Sun Zhu in 1763 for his popular 300 Tang Poems was an exact match with that of the Shi Jing.

The Text

Perhaps during the harvest, after the officials returned from their missions, the king was said to have observed them himself in an effort to understand the current condition of the common people. The well-being of the people was of special concern to the Zhou because of their ideological position that the right to rule was based on the benignity of the rulers to the people in accordance with the will of Heaven, and that this Heavenly Mandate would be withdrawn upon the failure of the ruling dynasty to ensure the prosperity of their subjects. The people's folksongs were deemed to be the best gauge of their feelings and conditions, and thus indicative of whether the nobility was ruling according to the mandate of Heaven or not, accordingly the songs were collected from the various regions, converted from their diverse regional dialects into standard literary language, and presented accompanied with music at the royal courts.

Authorship

Although the Shi Jing does not specify the names of authors in association with the contained works, both traditional commentaries and modern scholarship have put forth hypotheses on authorship. The "Golden Coffer" chapter of the Book of Documents says that the poem "Owl" in the "Odes of Bin" was written by the Duke of Zhou. Many of the songs appear to be folk songs and other compositions used in the court ceremonies of the aristocracy. Furthermore, many of the songs, based on internal evidence, appear to be written either by women, or from the perspective of a female persona. The repeated emphasis on female authorship of poetry in the Shi Jing was made much of in the process of attempting to give the poems of the women poets of the Ming-Qing period canonical status. Despite the impersonality of the poetic voice characteristic of the Songs, many of the poems are written from the perspective of various generic personalities. Various traditions concern the gathering of the compiled songs and the editorial selection from these make up the classic text of the Odes: "Royal Officials' Collecting Songs" is recorded in the Book of Han, and "Master Confucius Deletes Songs" refers to Confucius and his mention in the Records of the Grand Historian, where it says from originally some 3,000 songs and poems in a previously extant "Odes" that Confucius personally selected the "300" which he felt best conformed to traditional ritual propriety, thus producing the Classic of Poetry.

Textual history

According to tradition, the method of collection of the various Shi Jing poems involved the appointment of officials, whose duties included documenting verses current from the various states which constituting the empire. Out of these many collected pieces, also according to tradition, Confucius made a final editorial round of decisions for elimination or inclusion in the received version of the Poetry. As with all great literary works of ancient China, the Poetry has been annotated and commented on numerous times throughout history, as well as in this case providing a model to inspire future poetic works.

Compilation

The Confucian school eventually came to consider the verses of the "Airs of the States" to have been collected in the course of activities of officers dispatched by the Zhou Dynasty court, whose duties included the field collection of the songs local to the territorial states of Zhou. This territory was roughly the Yellow River Plain, Shandong, southwestern Hebei, eastern Gansu, and the Han River region. The text of the Shi Jing does not say much about history but it mentions some geographical names. A large part of China's history takes place in what is now the eastern half of China. In the centre of that area were 7 little realms called: Wei, Cao, Song, Chen, Cai, Zheng, Zhou (in a clockwise arrangement beginning with Wei in the north. Around them were another 7 larger kingdoms (clockwise again): Jin, Yan, Qi, Lu, Wu, Chu, and Qin (the origin of the name "China") in the west. Beyond these 14 realms, one or the other dynasty could stretch its arm of power far outside, down south to the borders of Thailand or Vietnam, or to the far west to Kashgar (in Xinjiang).

Confucius

The Classic of Poetry historically has a major place in the Four Books and Five Classics, the canonical works associated with Confucianism. Some pre-Qin dynasty texts, such as the Analects and a recently excavated manuscript from 300 BC entitled "Confucius' Discussion of the Odes", mention Confucius' involvement with the Classic of Poetry but Han dynasty historian Sima Qian's Records of the Grand Historian was the first work to directly attribute the work to Confucius. Subsequent Confucian tradition held that the Shi Jing collection was edited by Confucius from a larger 3,000-piece collection to its traditional 305-piece form. This claim is believed to reflect an early Chinese tendency to relate all of the Five Classics in some way or another to Confucius, who by the 1st century BC had become the model of sages and was believed to have maintained a cultural connection to the early Zhou dynasty. This view is now generally discredited, as the Zuo zhuan records that the Classic of Poetry already existed in a definitive form when Confucius was just a young child.

Impact

The Poems of the Shi Jing anthology touch and reflect on all aspects of Chinese life at the time. Some describe feelings and situations of people from different classes of society, some report events and matters of state, some depict the harmonious rule of nature. There is record of about one hundred kinds of plants and trees and ninety kinds of animals and insects in the Shi Jing. Different kinds of musical instruments, metals, arms and munitions of war, buildings, clothing, food, etc. are frequently mentioned. Given the genuine and diverse nature of the poems collected in this anthology, in addition to its literary significance, the Shi Jing is a very valuable document for those who wish to get an insight into the Chinese mind. The Five Classics, the Four Books, and some of the other books of the Grand Bible's Chinese section, are still rigorously taught at all Chinese schools from earliest childhood on.

James Legge's Translation

The here presented translation by James Legge is an excellent one as he gives the meaning as precisely as he could. Due to this achievement, however, he could not stick to the rigid Chinese rhyme patterns. The Chinese language is far more based on textual context than English. Legge's verse forms are not advantageous, therefore, the single lines of verses have been united here to coherent blocks of prose; their initial capital tetters have been retained.)

SHI JING 1. LESSONS FROM THE STATES

The country, the region sealed by the princes, and the wind, the poetry of folk songs. Those who call the wind have words because they are transformed by the wind, and their words are enough to move people. For example, things have sound because of the wind, and their sound is enough for animals. It is based on the tribute collected by various emperors to the son of heaven and the son of heaven's reception. It is based on the examination of the beauty and evil of its customs and the gains and losses of its politics. The old saying that the two south is the positive wind, so the boudoir is used to transform the country and the country into the world. In order to change the wind in the thirteen countries, they also led the music officials, saved the students at that time, prepared to observe the province, and supervised the soldiers' ears, which combined the clouds of the fifteen countries.

THE ODES OF ZHOU AND THE SOUTH

1. GUAN SUI

Guan-guan go the ospreys, On the islet in the river. The modest, retiring, virtuous, young lady: — For our prince a good mate she. Here long, there short, is the duckweed, To the left, to the right, borne about by the current. The modest, retiring, virtuous, young lady: — Waking and sleeping, he sought her. He sought her and found her not, And waking and sleeping he thought about her. Long he thought; oh! long and anxiously; On his side, on his back, he turned, and back again. Here long, there short, is the duckweed; On the left, on the right, we gather it. The modest, retiring, virtuous, young lady: — With lutes, small and large, let us give her friendly welcome. Here long, there short, is the duckweed; On the left, on the right, we cook and present it. The modest, retiring, virtuous, young lady: — With bells and drums let us show our delight in her.

2. GE TAN

How the dolichos spread itself out, Extending to the middle of the valley! Its leaves were luxuriant; The yellow birds flew about, And collected on the thickly growing trees, Their pleasant notes resounding far. How the dolichos spread itself out, Extending to the middle of the valley! Its leaves were luxuriant and dense. I cut it and I boiled it, And made both

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fine cloth and coarse, Which I will wear without getting tired of it. I have told the matron, Who will announce that I am going to see my parents. I will wash my private clothes clean, And I will rinse my robes. Which need to be rinsed, which do not? I am going back to visit my parents.

3. JUAN ER

I was gathering and gathering the mouse-ear, But could not fill my shallow basket. With a sigh for the man of my heart, I placed it there on the highway. I was ascending that rock-covered height, But my horses were too tired to breast it. I will now pour a cup from that gilded vase, Hoping I may not have to think of him long. I was ascending that lofty ridge, But my horses turned of a dark yellow. I will now take a cup from that rhinoceros' horn, Hoping I may not have long to sorrow. I was ascending that flat-topped height, But my horses became quite disabled, And my servants were also disabled. Oh! how great is my sorrow!

4. JIU MU

In the south are trees with curved drooping branches, With the doliches creepers clinging to them. To be rejoiced in is our princely lady:— May she repose in her happiness and dignity! In the south are the trees with curved drooping branches, Covered by the dolichos creepers. To be rejoiced in is our princely lady:— May she be great in her happiness and dignity! In the south are the trees with curved drooping branches, Round which the dolichos creepers twine. To be rejoiced in is our princely lady: — May she be complete in her happiness and dignity!

5. ZHONG SI

Ye locusts, winged tribes, How harmoniously you collect together! Right is it that your descendants Should be multitudinous! Ye locusts, winged tribes, How sound your wings in flight! Right is it that your descendents Should be as in unbroken trings! Ye locusts, winged tribes, How you cluster together! Right is it that your descendents Should be in swarms!

6. TAO YAO

The peach tree is young and elegant; Brilliant are its flowers. This young lady is going to her future home, And will order well her chamber and house. The peach tree is young and elegant; Abundant will be its fruits. This young lady is going to her future home, And will order well her chamber and house. The peach tree is young and elegant; Luxuriant are its leaves. This young lady is going to her future home, And will order well her family.

7. TU JU

Carefully adjusted are the rabbit nets; Clang clang go the blows on the pegs. That stalwart, martial man Might be shield and wall to his prince. Carefully adjusted are the rabbit nets, And placed where many ways meet. That stalwart, martial man Would be a good companion for his prince. Carefully adjusted are the rabbit nets, And placed in the midst of the forest. That stalwart, martial man Might be head and heart to his prince.

8. FOU YI

We gather and gather the plantains; Now we may gather them. We gather and gather the plantains; Now we have got them. We gather and gather the plantains; Now we pluck the ears. We gather and gather the plantains; Now we rub out the seeds. We gather and gather the plantains; Now we place the seeds in our skirts. We gather and gather the plantains; Now we tuck out skirts under our girdles.

9. HAN GUANG

In the south rise the trees without branches, Affording no shelter. By the Han are girls rambling about, But it is vain to solicit them. The breath of the Han Cannot be dived across; The length of the Jiang Cannot be navigated with a raft. Many are the bundles of firewood; I would cut down the thorns to form more. Those girls that are going to their future home, — I would feed their horses. The breadth of the Han Cannot be dived across; The length of the Jiang, Cannot be navigated with a raft. Many are the bundles of firewood; I would cut down the southern wood to form more. Those girls that are going to their future home, — I would feed their colts. The breadth of the Han Cannot be dived across; The length of the Jiang Cannot be navigated with a raft.

10. RU FEN

Along those raised banks of the River Ru [River Hong, provinces of Henan and Anhui, China], I cut down the branches and slender stems. While I could not see my lord, I felt as it were pangs of great hunger. Along those raised banks of the Ru, I cut down the branches and fresh twigs. I have seen my lord; He has not cast me away. The bream is showing its tail all red; The royal House is like a blazing fire. Though it be like a blazing fire, Your parents are very near.

11. LIN ZHI ZHI

The feet of the Lin: — The noble sons of our prince, Ah! they are the Lin! The forehead of the Lin: — The noble grandsons of our prince, Ah! they are the Lin! The horn of the Lin: — The noble kindred of our prince, Ah! they are the Lin!

THE ODES OF SHAO AND THE SOUTH

12. QUE CHAO

The nest is the magpie's; The dove dwells in it. This young lady is going to her future home; A hundred carriages are meeting her. The nest is the magpie's; The dove possesses it. This young lady is going to her future home; A hundred carriages are escorting her. The nest is the magpie's; The dove fills it. This young lady is going to her future home; These hundreds of carriages complete her array.

13. CAI FAN

She gathers the white southernwood, By the ponds, on the islets. She employs it, In the business of our prince. She gathers the white southernwood, Along the streams in the valleys. She employs it, In the temple of our prince. With head-dress reverently rising aloft, Early, while yet it is night, she is in the prince's temple; In her dead-dress, slowly retiring, She returns to her own apartments.

14. CAO CHONG

Yao-yao went the grass-insects, And the hoppers sprang about. While I do not see my lord, My sorrowful heart is agitated. Let me have seen him, Let me have met him, And my heart will then be stilled. I ascended that hill in the south, And gathered the turtle-foot ferns. While I do not see my lord, My sorrowful heart is very sad. Let me have seen him, Let me have met him, And my heart will then be pleased. I ascended that hill in the south, And gathered the thorn-ferns. While I do not see my lord, My sorrowful heart is wounded with grief. Let me have seen him, Let me have met him, And my heart will then be at peace.

15. CAI PING

She gathers the large duckweed, By the banks of the stream in the southern valley. She gathers the pondweed, In those pools left by the floods. She deposits what she gathers, In her square baskets and round ones She boils it, In her tripods and pans. She sets forth her preparations, Under the window in the ancestral chamber. Who superintends the business? It is this reverent young lady.

16. GAN TANG

This umbrageous sweet pear-tree; — Clip it not, hew it not down. Under it the chief of Zhou lodged. This umbrageous sweet pear-tree; — Clip it not, break not a twig of it. Under it the chief of Zhou rested. This umbrageous sweet pear-tree; — Clip it not, bend not a twig of it. Under it the chief of Zhou halted.

17. XING LU

Wet lay the dew on the path: — Might I not have walked there in the early dawn? But I said there was too much dew on the path. Who can say the sparrow has no horn? How else can it bore through my house? Who can say that you did not get me betrothed? How else could you have urged on this trial? But though you have forced me to trial, Your ceremonies for betrothal were not sufficient. Who can say that the rat has no molar teeth? How else could it bore through my wall? Who can say that you did not get me betrothed? How else could you have urged on this trial? But though you have forced me to trial, I will still not follow you.

18. GAO YANG

Those lamb-skins and sheep-skins, With their five braidings of white silk! They have retired from the court to take their their meal; Easy are they and self-possesed. Those lamb-skins and sheep-skins, With their five seams wrought with white silk! Easy are they and self-possessed; They have retired from the court to take their their meal. The seams of those lamb-skins and sheep-skins, The five joinings wrought with white silk! Easy are they and self-possessed; They have retired to take their their meal from the court.

19. YIN QI LEI

Grandly rolls the thunder, On the south of the southern hill! How was it he went away from this, Not daring to take a little rest? My noble lord! May he return! May he return! Grandly rolls the thunder, About the sides of the southern hill! How was it he went away from this, Not daring to take a little rest? My noble lord! May he return! May he return! Grandly rolls the thunder, At the foot of the southern hill! How was it he went away from this, Not remaining a little at rest? My noble lord! May he return! May he return!

20. BIAO YOU MEI

Dropping are the fruits from the plum-tree; There are but seven tenths of them left! For the gentlemen who seek me, This is the fortunate time! Dropping are the fruits from the plum-tree; There are but three tenths of them left! For the gentlemen who seek me, Now is the time. Dropt are the fruits from the plum-tree; In my shallow basket I have collected them. Would the gentlemen who seek me Only speak about it!

21. XIAO XING

Small are those starlets, Three or five of them in the east, Swiftly by night we go; In the early dawn we are with the prince. Our lot is not like hers. Small are those starlets, And there are Orion and the Pleiades. Swiftly by night we go, Carrying our coverlets and sheets. Our lot is not like hers.

22. JIANG YOU SI

The Jiang has its branches, led from it and returning to it. Our lady, when she was married, Would not employ us. She would not employ us; But afterwards she repented. The Jiang has its islets. Our lady, when she was married, Would not let us be with her. She would not let us be with her; But afterwards she repressed such feelings. The Jiang has the Tuo. Our lady, when she was married, Would not come near us She would not come near us; But she blew that feeling away, and sang.

23. YE YOU SI JUN

In the wild there is a dead antelope, And it is wrapped up with the white grass. There is a young lady with thoughts natural to the spring, And a fine gentleman would lead her astray. In the forest there are the scrubby oaks; In the wild there is a dead deer, And it is bound round with the white grass. There is a young lady like a gem. She says, Slowly; gently, gently; Do not move my handkerchief; Do not make my dog bark.

24. HE BI NONG YI

How great is that luxuriance, Those flowers of the sparrow-plum! Are they not expressive of reverence and harmony, — The carriages of the king's daughter? How great is that luxuriance, The flowers like those of the peach-tree or the plum! See the grand-daughter of the tranquillising king, And the son of the reverent marquis! What are used in angling? Silk threads formed into lines. The son of the reverent marquis, And the grand-daughter of the tranquillizing king!

25. ZOU YU

Strong and abundant grow the rushes; He discharges but one arrow at five wild boars. Ah! he is the Zou-yu! Strong and abundant grow the artemisia; He discharges but one arrow at five wild boars. Ah! he is the Zou-yu!

THE ODES OF BEI

26. BO ZHOU

It floats about, that boat of cypress wood; Yea, it floats about on the current. Disturbed am I and sleepless, As if suffering from a painful wound. It is not because I have no wine, And that I might not wander and saunder about. My mind is not a mirror; — It cannot equally receive all impressions. I, indeed, have brothers, But I cannot depend on them, I meet with their anger. My mind is not a stone; — It cannot be rolled about. My mind is not a mat; — It cannot be rolled up. My deportment has been dignified and good, With nothing wrong which can be pointed out. My anxious heart is full of trouble; I am hated by the herd of mean creatures; I meet with many distresses; I receive insults not a few. Silently I think of my case, And, starting as from sleep, I beat my breast. There are the sun and moon, — How is it that the former has become small, and not the latter? The sorrow cleaves to my heart, Like an unwashed dress. Silently I think of my case, But I cannot spread my wings and fly away.

27. LU YI

Green is the upper robe, Green with a yellow lining! The sorrow of my heart, — How can it cease? Green is the upper robe, Green the upper, and yellow the lower garment! The sorrow of my heart, — How can it be forgotten? Dyed green has been the silk; — It was you who did it. But I think of the ancients, That I may be kept from doing wrong. Linen, fine or coarse, Is cold when orn in the wind. I think of the ancients, And find what is in my heart.

28. YAN YAN

The swallows go flying about, With their wings unevenly displayed. The lady was returning to her native state, And I escorted her far into the country. I looked till I could no longer see her, And my tears fell down like rain. The swallows go flying about, Now up, now down. The lady was returning to her native state, And far did I accompany her. I looked till I could no longer see her, And long I stood and wept. The swallows go flying about; From below, from above, comes their twittering. The lady was returning to her native state, And far did I escort her to the south. I looked till I could no longer see her, And great was the grief of my heart. Lovingly confiding was lady Zhong; Truly deep was her feeling. Both gentle was she and docile, Virtuously careful of her person. In thinking of our deceased lord, She stimulated worthless me.

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29. RI YUE

O sun; O moon, Which enlightens this lower earth! Here is the man, Who treats me not according to the ancient rule. How can he get his mind settled? Would he then not regard me? O sun; O moon, Which overshadow this lower earth! Here is this man, Who will not be friendly with me. How can he get his mind settled? Would he then not respond to me? O sun; O moon, Which come forth from the east! Here is the man, With virtuous words, but really not good. How can he get his mind settled? Would he then allow me to be forgotten? O sun; o moon, From the east which come forth! O father, O mother, There is no sequel to your nourishing of me. How can he get his mind settled? Would he then respond to me, contrary to all reason?

30. ZHONG FENG

The wind blows and is fierce, He looks at me and smiles, With scornful words and dissolute, — the smile of pride. To the center of my heart I am grieved. The wind blows, with clouds of dust. Kindly he seems to be willing to come to me; But he neither goes nor comes. Long, long, do I think of him.

The wind blew, and the sky was cloudy; Before a day elapses, it is cloudy again. I awake, and cannot sleep; I think of him, and gasp. All cloudy is the darkness, And the thunder keeps muttering. I awake and cannot sleep; I think of him, and my breast is full of pain.

31. JI GU

Hear the roll of our drums! See how we leap about, using our weapons! Those do the fieldwork in the State, or fortify Cao, While we alone march to the south. We followed Sun Zizhong, Peace having been made with Chen and Song; But he did not lead us back, And our sorrowful hearts are very sad. Here we stay, here we stop; Here we lose our horses; And we seek for them, Among the trees of the forest. For life or for death, however separated, To our wives we pledged our word. We held their hands; — We were to grow old together with them. Alas for our separation! We have no prospect of life. Alas for our stipulation! We cannot make it good.

32. KAI FENG

The genial wind from the south Blows on the heart of that jujube tree, Till that heart looks tender and beautiful. What toil and pain did our mother endure! The genial wind from the south Blows on the branches of that jujube tree, Our mother is wise and good; But among us there is none good. There is the cool spring Below the city of Jun. We are seven sons, And our mother is full of pain and suffering. The beautiful yellow birds Give forth their pleasant notes. We are seven sons, And cannot compose our mother's heart.

33. XIONG ZHI

The male pheasant flies away, Lazily moving his wings. The man of my heart! — He has brought on us this separation. The pheasant has flown away, But from below, from above, comes his voice. Ah! the princely man! — He afflicts my heart. Look at that sun and moon! Long, long do I think. The way is distant; How can he come to me? All ye princely men, Know ye not his virtuous conduct? He hates none; he covets nothing; — What does he which is not good?

34. PAO YOU KU YE

The gourd has still its bitter leaves, And the crossing at the ford is deep. If deep, I will go through with my clothes on; If shallow, I will do so, holding them up. The ford is full to overflowing; There is the note of the female pheasant. The full ford will not wet the axle of my carriage; It is the pheasant calling for her mate. The wild goose, with its harmonious notes, At sunrise, with the earliest dawn, By the gentleman, who wishes to bring home his bride, Is presented before the ice is melted. The boatman keeps beckoning; And others cross with him, but I do not. thers cross with him, but I do not; — I am waiting for my friend.

35. GU FENG

Gently blows the east wind, With cloudy skies and with rain. Husband and wife should strive to be of the same mind, And not let angry feelings arise. When we gather the mustard plant and earth melons, We do not reject them because of their roots. While I do nothing contrary to my good name, I should live with you till our death. I go along the road slowly, slowly, In my inmost heart reluctant. Not far, only a little way, Did he accompany me to the threshold. Who says that the sowthistle is bitter? It is as sweet as the shepherd's purse. You feast with your new wife, Loving as brothers. The muddiness of the King appears from the Wei, But its bottom may be seen about the islets. You feast with your new wife, And think me not worth being with Do not approach my dam, Do not move my basket. My person is rejected; — What avails it to care for what may come after? Where the water was deep, I crossed it by a raft or a boat. Where it was shallow, I dived or swam across it. Whether we had plenty or not, I exerted myself to be getting. When among others there was a death, I crawled on my knees to help them. You cannot cherish me, And you even count me as an enemy. You disdain my virtues, — A pedlar's wares which do not sell. Formerly, I was afraid our means might be exhausted, And I might come with you to destitution. Now, when your means are abundant, You compare me to poison. My fine collection of vegetables, Is but a provision against the winter. Feasting with your new wife, You think of me as a provision only against your poverty. Cavalierly and angrily you treat me; You give me only pain. You do not think of the former days, And are only angry with me.

36. SHI WEI

Reduced! Reduced! Why not return? If it were not for your sake, O prince, How should we be thus exposed to the dew? Reduced! Reduced! Why not return? If it were not for your person, O prince, How should we be here in the mire?

37. MAO QIU

The dolichos on that high and sloping mound; — How wide apart are now its joints! O ye uncles, Why have ye delayed these many days? Why do they rest without stirring? It must be they expect allies. Why do they prolong the time? There must be a reason for their conduct. Our fox-furs are frayed and worn. Came our carriages not eastwards? O ye uncles, You do not sympathise with us. Fragments, and a remnant, Children of dispersion are we! O ye uncles, Notwithstanding your full robes, your ears are stopped.

38. JIAN XI

Easy and indifferent! easy and indifferent! I am ready to perform in all dances, Then when the sun is in the meridian, There in that conspicious place. With my large figure, I dance in the ducal courtyard. I am strong also as a tiger; The reins are in my grasp like ribbons. In my left hand I grasp a flute; In my right I hold a pheasant's feather. I am red as if I were rouged; The duke gives me a cup of spirits. The hazel grows on the hills, And the liquorice in the marshes. Of whom are my thoughts? Of the fine men of the west. O those fine men! Those men of the west!

39. QUAN SHUI

How the water bubbles up from that spring, And flows away to the Qi! My heart is in Wei; There is not a day I do not think of it. Admirable are those, my cousins; I will take counsel with them. When I came forth, I lodged in Ji, And we drank the cup of convoy at Ni. When a young lady goes to be married, She leaves her parents and brothers; But I would ask for my aunts, And then for my elder sister. I will go forth and lodge in Gan, And we drink the cup of convoy at Yan. I will grease the axle and fix the pin, And the returning chariot will proceed. Quickly shall we arrive in Wei; — But would not this be wrong? I think of the Feiquan, I am ever sighing about it. I think of Xu and Cao, Long, long, my heart dwells with them. Let me drive forth and travel there, To dissipate my sorrow.

40. BEI MEN

I go out at the north gate, With my heart full of sorrow. Straitened am I and poor, And no one takes knowledge of my distress. So it is! Heaven has done it; — What then shall I say? The king's business comes on me, And the affairs of our government in increasing measure. When I come home from abroad, The members of my family all emulously reproach me. So it is! Heaven has done it; — What then shall I say? The king's business is thrown on me, And the affairs of our government are left to me more and more. When I come home from abroad, The members of my family all emulously thrust at me. So it is! Heaven has done it; — What then shall I say?

41. BEI FENG

Cold blows the north wind; Thick falls the snow. Ye who love and regard me, Let us join hands and go together. Is it a time for delay? The urgency is extreme! The north wind whistles; The snow falls and drifts about. Ye who love and regard me, Let us join hands, and go away for ever. Is it a time for delay? The urgency is extreme! Nothing red is seen but foxes, Nothing black but crows. Ye who love and regard me, Let us join hands, and go together in our carriages. Is it a time for delay? The urgency is extreme!

42. JING NU

How lovely is the retiring girl! She was to await me at a corner of the wall. Loving and not seeing her, I scratch my head, and am in perplexity. How handsome is the retiring girl! She presented to me a red tube. Bright is the red tube; — I delight in the beauty of the girl. From the pasture lands she gave a shoet of the white grass, Truly elegant and rare. It is not you, O grass, that are elegant; — You are the gift of an elegant girl.

43. XIN TAI

Fresh and bright is the New Tower, On the waters of the He, wide and deep. A pleasant, genial mate she sought, And has got this vicious bloated mass! Lofty is the New Tower, On the waters of the He, flowing still. A pleasant, genial mate she sought, And has got this vicious bloated mass! It was a fish net that was set, And a goose has fallen into it. A pleasant, genial mate she sought, And she has got this hunchback.

44. ER ZI CHENG ZHOU

The two youths got into their boats, Whose shadows floated about on the water. I think longingly of them, And my heart is tossed about in uncertainty. The two youths got into their boats, Which floated away on the stream. I think longingly of them, Did they not come to harm?

THE ODES OF YONG

45. BO ZHOU

It floats about, that boat of cypress wood, There in the middle of the He. With his two tufts of hair falling over his forehead, He was my mate; And I swear that till death I will have no other. O mother, O Heaven, Why will you not understand me? It floats about, that boat of cypress wood, There by the side of the He. With his two tufts of hair falling over his forehead, He was my only one; And I swear that till death I will not do the evil thing. O mother, O Heaven, Why will you not understand me?

46. QIANG YOU CI

The tribulus grows on the wall, And cannot be brushed away. The story of the inner chamber, Cannot be told. What would have to be told, Would be the vilest of recitals. The tribulus grow on the wall, And cannot be removed. The story of the inner chamber, Cannot be particularly related. What might be particularly related Would be a long story. The tribulus grow on the wall, And cannot be bound together, and taken away. The story of the inner chamber Cannot be recited, What might be recited, Would be the most disgraceful of things.

47. JUN ZI XIE LAO

The husband's to their old age, In her headdress, and the cross-pins, with their six jewels; Easy and elegant in her movements; Stately as a mountain, majestic as a river, Well beseeming her pictured robes: — But with your want of virtue, O lady, What have you to do with these things? How rich and splendid Is her pleasant-figured robe! Her black hair in masses like clouds, No false locks does she descend to. There are her ear-plugs of jade, Her comb-pin of ivory, And her high forehead, so white. She appears like a visitant from heaven! She appears like a goddess! How rich and splendid Is her robe of state! It is worn over the finest muslin of dolichos, The more cumbrous and warm garment being removed. Clear are her eyes; fine is her forehead; Full are her temples. Ah! such a woman as this! The beauty of the country!

48. SANG ZHONG

I am going to gather the dodder, In the fields of Mei. But of whom are my thoughts? Of that beauty, the eldest of the Jiang. She made an appontment with me in Sangzhong; She will meet me in Shanggong; She will accompany me to Qishang. I am going to gather the wheat, In the north of Mei. But of whom are my thoughts? Of that beauty, the eldest of the Yi. She made an appontment with me in Sangzhong; She will meet me in Shanggong; She will accompany me to Qishang. I am going to gather the mustard plant, In the east of Mei. But of whom are my thoughts? Of that beauty, the eldest of the Yong. She made an appontment with me in Sangzhong; She will meet me in Shanggong; She will accompany me to Qishang.

49. CHUN ZI BEN BEN

Boldly faithful in their pairings are quails; Vigorously so are magpies. This man is all vicious, And I consider him my brother! Vigorously faithful in their pairings are magpies; Boldly so are quails. This woman is all vicious, And I regard her as marchioness.

50. DING ZHI FANG ZHONG

When Ding culminated at night fall, He began to build the palace at Chu. Determining its aspects by means of the sun, He built the mansion at Chu. He planted about it hazel and chesnut trees, The yi, the tong, the zi, and the varnish-tree, Which, when cut down, might afford materials for lutes. He ascended those old walls, And thense surveyed the site of Chu. He surveyed Chu and Tang, With the high hills and lofty elevations about: He descended and examined the mulberry trees; He then divined, and got a fortunate response; And thus the issue has been truly good. When the good rain had fallen, He would order his groom, By starlight, in the morning, to yoke his carriage, And would then stop among the mulberry trees and fields. But not only thus did he show what he was; — Maintaining in his heart a profound devotion to his duties, His tall horses and mares amounted to three thousand.

51. DI DONG

There is a rainbow in the east, And no one dares to point to it. When a girl goes away from her home, She separates from

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her parents and brothers. In the morning a rainbow rises in the west, And only during the morning is there rain. When a girl goes away from her home, She separates from her brothers and parents. This person Has her heart only on being married. Greatly is she untrue to herself, And does not recognise the law of her lot.

52. XIANG SHU

Look at a rat, — it has its skin; But a man should be without dignity of demeanour. If a man have no dignity of demeanour, What should he but die? Look at a rat, — it has its teeth; But a man shall be without any right deportment. If a man have not right deportment, What should he wait for but death? Look at a rat, — it has its limbs; But a man shall be without any rules of propriety. If a man observe no rules of propriety, Why does he not quickly die?

53. GAN MAO

Conspiciously rise the staffs with their ox-tails, In the distant suburbs of Jun, Ornamented with the white silk bands; There are four carriages with their good horses, That admirable gentleman, — What will he give them for this? Conspiciously rise the staffs with their falcon-banners, In the nearer suburbs of Jun, Ornamented with the white silk ribbons; There are four carriages with their good horses, That admirable gentleman, — What will he give them for this? Conspiciously rise the staffs with their feathered streamers, At the walls of Jun, Bound with the white silk cords; There are six carriages with their good horses, That admirable gentleman, — What will he give them for this?

54. ZAI CHI

I would have galloped my horses and whipt them, Returning to condole with the marquis of Wei. I would have urged them all the long way, Till I arrived at Cao. A great officer has gone, over the hills and through the rivers; But my heart is full of sorrow. You disapproved of my proposal, And I cannot return to Wei; But I regard you as in the wrong, And cannot forget my purpose. You disapproved of my purpose, But I cannot return across the streams; But I regard you as in the wrong, And cannot shut out my thoughts. I will ascend that mound with the steep side, And gather the mother-of-pearl lilies. I might, as a woman, have many thoughts, But every one of them was practicable. The people of Xu blame me, But they are all childish and hasty in their conclusions. I would have gone through the country, Amidst the wheat so luxuriant. I would have carried the case before the great State. On whom should I have relied? Who would come to the help of Wei? Ye great officers and gentlemen, The hundred plans you think ofAre not equal to the course I was going to take.

THE ODES OF WEI

55. QI AO

Look at those recesses in the banks of the Qi, With their green bamboos, so fresh and luxuriant! There is our elegant and accomplished prince, — As from the knife and the file, As from the chisel and the polisher! How grave is he and dignified! How commanding and distinguished! Our elegant and accomplished prince, — Never can he be forgotten! Look at those recesses in the banks of the Qi, With their green bamboos, so strong and luxuriant! There is our elegant and accomplished prince, — With his ear-stoppers of beautiful pebbles, And his cap, glittering as with stars between the seams! How grave is he and dignified! How commanding and distinguished! Our elegant and accomplished prince, — Never can he be forgotten! Look at those recesses in the banks of the Qi, With their green bamboos, so dense together! There is our elegant and accomplished prince, — Pure as gold and as tin, Soft and rich as a sceptre of jade! How magnanimous is he and gentle! There he is in his chariot with its two high sides! Skilful is he at quips and jokes, But how does he keep from rudeness from them!

56. KAO PAN

He has reared his hut by the stream in the valley, — That large man, so much at his ease. Alone he sleeps, and wakes, and talks. He swears he will never forgets his true joy. He has reared his hut in the bend of the mound, — That large man, with such an air of indifference. Alone he sleeps, and wakes, and sings. He swears he will never pass from the spot. He has reared his hut on the level height, — That large man, so self-collected. Alone, he sleeps and wakes, and sleeps again. He swears he will never tell of his delight.

57. SHUO REN

Large was she and tall, In her embroidered robe, with a plain single garment over it: — The daughter of the marquis of Qi. The wife of the marquis of Wei, The sister of the heir-son of Tong The sister-in-law of the marquis of Xing, The viscount of Tan also her brother-in-law. Her fingers were like the blades of the young white-grass; Her skin was like congealed ointment; Her neck was like the tree-grub; Her teeth were like melon seeds; Her forehead cicada-like; her eyebrows like the antenne of the silkworm moth; What dimples, as she artfully smiled! How lovely her eyes, with the black and white so well defined! Large was she and tall, When she halted in the cultivated suburbs. Strong looked her four horses, With the red ornaments so rich about their bits. Thus in her carriage, with its screens of pheasant feathers, she proceeded to our court. Early retire, ye great officers, And do not make the marquis fatiqued! The waters of the He, wide and deep,

Flow northwards in majestic course. The nets are dropt into them with a plashing sound, Among shoals of sturgeon, large and small, While the rushes and sedges are rank about. Splendidly adorned were her sister ladies; Martial looked the attendant officers.

58. MANG

A simple-looking lad you were, Carrying cloth to exchange it for silk. But you came not so to purchase silk; — You came to make proposals to me. I convoyed you through the Qi, As far as Dunqiu. ' It is not I, ' I said, ' who would protract the time; But you have had no good go-between. I pray you be not angry, And let autumn be the time.' I ascended that ruinous wall, To look towards Fuguan; And when I saw you not coming from it; My tears flowed in streams. When I did see you coming from Fuquan, I laughed and I spoke. You had consulted, you said, the tortoise-shell and the reeds, And there was nothing unfavourable in their response. 'Then come, ' I said, ' with your carriage, And I will remove with my goods. Before the mulberry tree has shed its leaves, How rich and glossy are they! Ah! thou dove, Eat not its fruit to excess. Ah! thou young lady, Seek no licentious pleasure with a gentleman. When a gentleman indulges in such pleasure, Something may still be said for him; When a lady does so, Nothing can be said for her. When the mulberry tree sheds its leaves, They fall yellow on the ground. Since I went with you, Three years have I eaten of your poverty; And now the full waters of the Qi, Wet the curtains of my carriage. There has been no difference in me, But you have been double in your ways. It is you, Sir, who transgress the right, Thus changeable in your conduct. For three years I was your wife, And thought nothing of my toil in your house. I rose early and went to sleep late, Not intermitting my labours for a morning. Thus on my part our contract was fulfilled, But you have behaved thus cruelly. My brothers will not know all this, And will only laugh at me. Silently I think of it, And bemoan myself. I was to grow old with you; — Old, you give me cause for sad repining. The Qi has its banks, And the marsh has its shores. In the pleasant time of my girlhood, with my hair simply gathered in a knot, Harmoniously we talked and laughed. Clearly were we sworn to good faith, And I did not think the engagement would be broken. That it would be broken I did not think, And now it must be all over!

59. ZHU GAN

With your long and tapering bamboo rods, You angle in the Qi. Do I not think of you? But I am far away, and cannot get you. The Quanyuan is on the left, And the waters of the Qi are on the right. But when a young lady goes away, and is married, She leaves her brothers and parents. The waters of the Qi are on the right And the Quanyuan is on the left. How shine the white teeth through the artful smiles! How the girdle gems move to the measured steps! The waters of the Qi flow smoothly; There are the oars of cedar and boats of pine. Might I but go there in my carriage and ramble, To dissipate my sorrow!

60. WAN LAN

There are the branches of the sparrow-gourd; — There is that lad, with the spike at his girdle. Though he carries a spike at his girdle, He does not know us. How easy and conceited is his manner, With the ends of his girdle hanging down as they do! There are the leaves of the sparrow-gourd; — There is that lad with the archer's thimble at his girdle. Though he carries an archer's thimble at his girdle, He is not superior to us. How easy and conceited is his manner, With the ends of his girdle hanging down as they do!

61. HE GUANG

Who says that the He is wide? With a bundle of reeds I can cross it. Who says that Song is distant? On tiptoe I can see it. Who says that the He is wide? It will not admit a little boat. Who says that Song is distant? It would not take a whole morning to reach it.

62. BO XI

My noble husband is now martial-like! The hero of the country! My husband, grasping his halberd, Is in the leading chariot of the king's host. Since my husband went to the east, My head has been like the flying pappus of the artemisia. It is not that I could not anoint and wash it; But for whom should I adorn myself? O for rain! O for rain! But brightly the sun comes forth. Longingly I think of my husband, Till my heart is weary, and my head aches. How shall I get the plant of forgetfulness? I would plant it on the north of my house. Longingly I think of my husband, And my heart is made to ache.

63. YOU HU

There is a fox, solitary and suspicious, At that dam over the Qi. My heart is sad; — That man has no lower garment. There is a fox, solitary and suspicious, At that deep ford of the Qi. My heart is sad; — That man has no girdle. There is a fox, solitary and suspicious, By the side there of the Qi. My heart is sad; — That man has no clothes.

64. MU GUA

There was presented to me a papaya, And I returned for it a beautiful Ju-gem; Not as a return for it, But that our friendship might be lasting. There was presented to me a peach, And I returned for it a beautiful Yao-gem; Not as a return for it, But that our friendship might be lasting. There was presented to me a plum, And I returned for it a beautiful Jiu-gem; Not as a return for it, But that our friendship might be lasting.

THE ODES OF WANG

65. SHU LI

There was the millet with its drooping heads; There was the sacrificial millet into blade. Slowly I moved about, In my heart all-agitated. Those who knew me, Said I was sad at heart. Those who did not know me, Said I was seeking for something. O distant and azure Heaven! By what man was this brought about? There was the millet with its drooping heads; There was the sacrificial millet in the ear. Slowly I moved about, My heart intoxicated, as it were, with grief. Those who knew me, Said I was sad at heart. Those who did not know me, Said I was seeking for something. O thou distant and azure Heaven! By what man was this brought about? There was the millet with its drooping heads; There was the sacrificial millet in grain. Slowly I moved about, As if there were a stoppage at my heart. Those who knew me, Said I was sad at heart. Those who did not know me, Said I was seeking for something. O thou distant and azure Heaven! By what man was this brought about?

66. JUN ZI YU YI

My husband is away on service, And I know not when he will return. Where is he now? The fowls roost in their holes in the walls; And in the evening of the day, The goats and cows come down from the hill; But my husband is away on service. How can I but keep thinking of him? My husband is away on service, Not for days merely or for months. When will he come back to me? The fowls roost on their perches; And in the evening of the day, The goats and cows come down down and home; But my husband is away on service. Oh if he be but kept from hunger and thirst!

67. JUN ZI YANG YANG

My husband looks full of satisfaction. In his left hand he holds his reed-organ, And with his right he calls me to the room. Oh the joy! My husband looks delighted. In his left hand he holds his screen of feathers, And with his right he calls me to the stage. Oh the joy!

68. YANG ZHI SHUI

The fretted waters, Do not carry on their current a bundle of firewood! Those, the members of our families, Are not with us here guarding Shen. How we think of them! How we think of them! What month shall we return home? The fretted waters, Do not carry on their current a bundle of thorns! Those, the members of our families, Are not with us here guarding Pu. How we think of them! How we think of them! What month shall we return? The fretted waters, Do not carry on their current a bundle of osiers! Those, the members of our families, Are not with us here guarding Xu. How we think of them! How we think of them! What month shall we return?

69. ZHONG GU

In the valleys grows the mother-wort, But scorched is it in the drier places. There is a woman forced to leave her husband; Sadly she sighs! Sadly she sighs! She suffers from his hard lot. In the valleys grows the mother-wort, But scorched is it where it had become long. There is a woman forced to leave her husband; Long-drawn are her groanings! Long-drawn are her groanings! She suffers from his misfortune. In the valleys grows the mother-wort, But scorched is it even in the moist places. There is a woman forced to leave her husband; Ever flow her tears! Ever flow her tears! But of what avail is her lament?

70. TU YUAN

The hare is slow and cautious; The pheasant plumps into the net. In the early part of my life, Time still passed without commotion. In the subsequent part of it, We are meeting with all these evils. I wish I might sleep and never move more. The hare is slow and cautious; The pheasant plumps into the snare. In the early part of my life, Time still passed without anything stirring. In the subsequent part of it, We are meeting with all

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these sorrows. I wish I might sleep and never move more. The hare is slow and cautious; The pheasant plumps into the trap. In the early part of my life, Time still passed without any call for our services. In the subsequent part of it, We are meeting with all these miseries. I would that I might sleep, and hear of nothing more.

71. GE LEI

Thickly they spread about, the dolichos creepers, On the borders of the He. For ever separated from my brothers, I call a stranger father. I call a stranger father, But he will not look at me. Thickly they spread about, the dolichos creepers, On the banks of the He. For ever separated from my brothers, I call a stranger mother. I call a stranger mother, But she will not recognize me. Thickly they spread about, the dolichos creepers, On the lips of the He. For ever separated from my brothers, I call a stranger elder-brother. I call a stranger elder-brother, But he will not listen to me.

72. CAI GE

There he is gathering the dolichos! A day without seeing him, Is like three months! There he is gathering the oxtail-southern-wood! A day without seeing him, Is like three seasons! There he is gathering the mugwort! A day without seeing him, Is like three years!

73. DA CHE

His great carriage rumbles along, And his robes of rank glitter like the young sedge. Do I not think of you? But I am afraid of this officer, and dare not. His great carriage moves heavily and slowly, And his robes of rank glitter like a carnation-gem. Do I not think of you? But I am afraid of this officer, and do not rush to you. While living, we may have to occupy different apartments; But when dead, we shall share the same grave. If you say that I am not sincere, By the bright sun I swear that I am.

74. QIU ZHONG YOU MA

On the mound where is the hemp, Some one is detaining Zijie. Some one is there detaining Zijie; — Would that he would come jauntily to me! On the mound where is the wheat, Some one is detaining Ziguo. Some one is there detaining Ziguo; — Would that he would come and eat with me! On the mound where are the plum trees, Some one is detaining those youths. Some one is there detaining those youths; — They will give me Jiu-stones for my girdle.

THE ODES OF ZHENG

75. ZI YI

How well do the black robes befit you! When worn out, we will make others for you. We will go to your court, And when we return from it, we will send you a feast! How good on you are the black robes! When worn out, we will make others for you. We will go to your court, And when we return from it, we will send you a feast! How easy sit the black robes on you! When worn out, we will make others for you. We will go to your court, And when we return from it, we will send you a feast!

76. JIANG ZHONG ZI

I pray you, Mr. Zhong, Do not come leaping into my hamlet; Do not break my willow trees. Do I care for them? But I fear my parents. You, O Zhong, are to be loved, But the words of my parents, Are also to be feared. I pray you, Mr. Zhong, Do not come leaping over my wall; Do not break my mulberry trees. Do I care for them? But I fear the words of my brothers. You, O Zhong, are to be loved, But the words of my brothers, Are also to be feared. I pray you, Mr. Zhong, Do not come leaping into my garden; Do not break my sandal trees. Do I care for them? But I dread the talk of people. You, O Zhong, are to be loved, But the talk of people, Is also to be feared.

77. SHU YU TIAN

Shu has gone hunting; And in the streets there are no inhabitants. Are there indeed no inhabitants? But they are not like Shu, Who is truly admirable and kind. Shu has gone to the grand chase; And in the streets there are none feasting. Are there indeed none feasting? But they are not like Shu, Who is truly admirable and good. Shu has gone into the country; And in the streets there are none driving about. Are there indeed none driving about? But they are not like Shu, Who is truly admirable and martial.

78. DA SHU YU TIAN

Shu has gone hunting, Mounted in his chariot and four. The reins are in his grasp like ribbons, While the two outside horses move with regular steps, as dancers do. Shu is at the marshy ground; — The fire flames out all at once, And with bared arms he seizes a tiger, And presents it before the duke. O Shu, try not such sport again; Beware of getting hurt. Shu has gone hunting, Mounted in his chariot with four bay horses. The two insides are two finest possible animals, And the two outsides follow them regularly as in a flying flock of wild geese. Shu is at the marshy ground; — The fire blazes up all at once, A skillful archer is Shu! A good charioteer also! Now he gives his horse the reins; now he brings them up; Now he discharges his arrows; now he follows it. Shu has gone hunting, Mounted in his chariot with four grey horses. His two insides have their heads in a line, And the two outsides come after like arms. Shu is at the marsh; — The fire spreads grandly all together. His horses move slowly; He shoots but seldom; Now he lays aside his quiver; Now he returns his bows to his case.

79. QING REN

The men of Qing are in Peng; The chariot with its team in mail ever moves about; The two spears in it, with their ornaments, rising, one above the other. So do they roam about the He. The men of Qing are in Xiao; The chariot with its team in mail looks martial; And the two spears in it, with their hooks, rise one above the other. So do they saunter about by the He. The men of Qing are in Zhou; The mailed team of the chariot prance proudly. The driver on the left wheels it about, and the spearman on the right brandishes his weapon, While the general in the middle looks pleased.

80. GAO QIU

His lambs's fur is glossy, Truly smooth and beautiful. That officer, Rests in his lot and will not change. His lambs's fur, with its cuffs of leopard-skin. Looks grandly martial and strong. That officer, In the country will ever hold to the right. How splendid is his lamb's fur! How bright are its three ornaments! That officer, Is the ornament of the country.

81. ZUN DA LU

Along the highway, I hold you by the cuff. Do not hate me; — Old intercourse should not be suddenly broken off. Along the highway, I hold you by the hand. Do not think me vile; — Old friendship should not hastily be broken off.

82. NU YUE JI MING

Says the wife, 'It is cock-crow;' Says the husband, 'It is grey dawn.' 'Rise, Sir, and look at the night, —' If the morning star be not shining. Bestir yourself, and move about, To shoot the wild ducks and geese. When your arrows and line have found them, I will dress them fitly for you. When they are dressed, we will drink together over them, And I will hope to grow old with you. Your lute in your hands, Will emits its quiet pleasant tones. When I know those whose acquaintance you wish, I will give them off the ornaments of my girdle. When I know those with whom you are cordial, I will send to them of the ornaments of my girdle. When I know those whom you love, I will repay their friendship from the ornaments of my girdle.

83. YOU NU TONG CHE

There is the lady in the carriage with him, With the countenance like the flower of the ephermeral hedge-tree. As they move about, The beautiful Ju-gems of her girdle-pendant appear. That beautiful eldest Jiang, Is truly admirable and elegant. There is the young lady walking with him, With a countenance like the ephermeral blossoms of the hedge-tree. As they move about, The gems of her girdle-pendant tinkle. Of that beautiful eldest Jiang, The virtuous fame is not to be forgotten.

84. SHAN YOU FU SU

On the mountain is the mulberry tree; In the marshes is the lotus flower. I do not see Zidu, But I see this mad fellow. On the mountain is the lofty pine; In the marshes is the psreading water-polygonum. I do not see Zichong, But I see this artful boy.

85. TUO XI

Ye withered leaves! Ye withered leaves! How the wind is blowing you away! O ye uncles, Give us the first note, and we will join in with you. Ye withered leaves! Ye withered leaves! How the wind is carrying you away! O ye uncles, Give us the first note, and we will complete the song.

86. JIAO TONG

That artful boy! He will not speak with me! But for the sake of you, Sir, Shall I make myself unable to eat? That artful boy! He will not eat with me! But for the sake of you, Sir, Shall I make myself unable to rest?

87. QIAN CHANG

If you, Sir, think kindly of me, I will hold up my lower garments, and cross the Zhen. If you do not think of me, Is there no other person to do so?You, foolish, foolish fellow! If you, Sir, think kindly of me, I will hold up my lower garments, and cross the Wei. If you do not think of me, Is there no other gentleman to do so? You, foolish, foolish fellow!

88. FENG

Full and good looking was the gentleman, Who waited for me in the lane! I repent that I did not go with him. A splendid gentleman was he, Who waited for me in the hall! I regret that I did not accompany him. Over my embroidered upper robe, I have put on a plain single garment; Over my embroidered lower robe, I have done the same. O Sir, O Sir, Have your carriage ready to take me home with you. Over my embroidered lower robe, I have put on a plain single garment; Over my embroidered upper robe, I have done the same. O Sir, O Sir, Have your carriage ready to take me home with you.

89. DONG MEN ZHI SHAN

Near the level ground at the east gate, Is the madder plant on the bank. The house is near there, But the man is very far away. By the chestnut trees at the east gate, Is a row of houses. Do I not think of you? But you do not come to me.

90. FENG YU

Cold are the wind and the rain, And shrilly crows the cock. But I have seen my husband, And should I but feel at rest? The wind whistles and the rain patters, While loudly crows the cock. But I have seen my husband, And could my ailment but be cured? Through the wind and rain all looks dark, And the cock crows without ceasing. But I have seen my husband, And how should I not rejoice?

91. ZI JIN

O you, with the blue collar, Prolonged is the anxiety of my heart. Although I do not go to you, Why do you not continue your messages to me? O you with the blue strings to your girdle-gems, Long, long do I think of you. Although I do not go to you, Why do you not come to me? How volatile are you and dissipated, By the look-out tower on the wall! One day without the sight of you, Is like three months.

92. YANG ZHI SHUI

The fretted waters, Do not carry on their current a bundle of thorns. Few are our brethren; There are only I and you. Do not believe what people say; They are deceiving you. The fretted waters, Do not carry on their current a bundle of firewood. Few are our brethren; There are only we two. Do not believe what people say; They are not to be trusted.

93. CHU QI DONG MEN

I went out at the east gate, Where the girls were in clouds. Although they are like clouds, It is not on them that my thoughts rest. She in the thin white silk, and the grey coiffure, — She is my joy! I went out by the tower on the covering wall, Where the girls were like flowering rushes. Although they are like flowering rushes, It is not of them that I think. She in the thin white silk, and the madder-dyed coiffure, —It is she that makes me happy!

94. YE YOU MAN CAO

On the moor is the creeping grass, And how heavily is it loaded with dew! There was a beautiful man, Lovely, with clear eyes and fine forehead! We met together accidentally, And so my desire was satisfied. On the moor is the creeping grass, Heavily covered with dew! There was a beautiful man, Lovely, with clear eyes and fine forehead! We met together accidentally, And he and I were happy together.

95. QIN WEI

The Qin and Wei, Now present their broad sheets of water. Ladies and gentlemen, Are carrying flowers of valerian. A lady says, 'Have you been to see?' A gentleman replies, 'I have been.' 'But let us go again to see. Beyond the Wei, The ground is large and fit for pleasure.' So the gentlemen and ladies. Make sport together, Presenting one another with small peonies. The Qin and Wei, Show their deep, clear streams. Gentlemen and ladies, Appear in crowds. A lady says, ' Have you been to see?' A gentleman replies, 'I have been.' 'But let us go again to see. Beyond the Wei, The ground is large and fit for pleasure.' So the gentlemen and ladies. Make sport together, Presenting one another with small peonies.

THE ODES OF QI

96. JI MING

'The cock has crowed; The court is full.' But it was not the cock that was crowing; — It was the sound of the blue flies. 'The east is bright; The court is crowded.' But it was not the east that was bright; — It was the light of the moon coming forth. 'The insects are flying in buzzing crowds; It would be sweet to lie by you and dream.' But the assembled officers will be going home; — Let them not hate both me and you.'

97. XUAN

How agile you are! You met me in the neighbourhood of Nao, And we pursued together tow boars of three years. You bowed to me, and said that I was active. How admirable your skill! You met me in the way to Nao, And we drove together after two males. You bowed to me, and said that I was skilful. How complete your art! You met me on the south of Nao, And we pursued together two wolves. You bowed to me, and said that I was dexterous.

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98. ZHU

He was waiting for me between the door and the screen. The strings of his ear-stoppers were of white silk, And there were appended to them beautiful Hua-stones. He was waiting for me in the open court. The strings of his ear-stoppers were of green silk, And there were appended to them beautiful Ying-stones. He was waiting for me in the hall. The strings of his ear-stoppers were of yellow silk, And there were appended to them beautiful Ying-stones.

99. DONG FANG ZHI RI

The sun is in the east, And that lovely girl, Is in my chamber. She is in my chamber; She treads in my footsteps, and comes to me. The moon is in the east, And that lovely girl, Is inside my door. She is inside my door; She treads in my footsteps, and hastens away.

100. DONG FANG WEI MING

Before the east was bright, I was putting on my clothes upside down; I was putting them on upside down, And there was one from the court calling me. Before there was a streak of dawn in the east, I was putting on my clothes upside down; I was putting them on upside down, And there was one from the court with orders for me. You fence your garden with branches of willow, And the reckless fellows stand in awe. He, however, cannot fix the time of night; If he be not too early, he is sure to be late.

101. NAN SHAN

High and large is the south hill, And a male fox is on it, solitary and suspicious. The way to Lu is easy and plain, And the daughter of Qi went by it to her husband's. Since she went to her husband's, Why do you further think of her? The five kinds of dolichos shoes are made in pairs, And the string-ends of a cap are made to match; The way to Lu is easy and plain, And the daughter of Qi travelled it. Since she travelled it, Why do you still follow her? How do we proceed in planting hemp? The acres must be dressed lengthwise and crosswise. How do we proceed in taking a wife? An announcement must first be made to our parents. Since such announcement was made, Why do you still indulge her desires? How do we proceed in splitting firewood? Without an axe it cannot be done. How do we proceed in taking a wife? Without a go-between it cannot be done. Since this was done, Why do you still allow her to go to this extreme?

102. FU TIAN

Do not try to cultivate fields too large; — The weeds will only grow luxuriantly. Do not think of winning people far away; — Your toiling heart will be grieved. Do not try to cultivate fields too large; — The weeds will only grow proudly. Do not think of winning people far away; — Your toiling heart will be distressed. How young and tender, Is the child with his two tufts of hair! When you see him after not a long time, Lo! he is wearing the cap!

103. LU LING

Ling-ling go the hounds; — Their master is admirable and kind. There go the hounds with their double rings; — Their master is admirable and good. There go the hounds with their triple rings; — Their master is admirable and able.

104. BI GOU

Worn out is the basket at the dam, And the fishes are the bream and the Guan, The daughter of Qi has returned, With a cloud of attendants. Worn out is the basket at the dam, And the fishes are the bream and the tench, The daughter of Qi has returned, With a shower of attendants. Worn out is the basket at the dam, And the fishes go in and out freely, The daughter of Qi has returned, With a stream of attendants.

105. ZAI QU

She urges on her chariot rapidly, With its screen of bamboos woven in squares, and its vermilion coloured leather. The way from Lu is easy and plain, And the daughter of Qi's started on it in the evening. Her four black horses are beautiful, And soft look their reins as they hang. The way from Lu is easy and plain, And the daughter of Qi's is delighted and complacent. The waters of the Wen flow broadly on; The travellers are numerous. The way from Lu is easy and plain, And the daughter of Qi's moves on with unconcern. The waters of the Wen sweep on; The travellers are in crowds. The way from Lu is easy and plain, And the daughter of Qi's proceeds at her ease.

106. YI JIE

Alas for him, so handsome and accomplished! How grandly tall! With what elegance in his high forehead! With what motion of his beautiful eyes! With what skill in the swift movements of his feet! With what mastery of archery! Alas for him, so famous! His beautiful eyes how clear! His manners how complete! Shooting all day at the target, And never lodging outside the bird-square! Indeed our ruler's nephew! Alas for him, so beautiful! His bright eyes and high forehead how lovely! His dancing so choice! Sure to send his arrows right through! The four all going to the same place! One able to withstand rebellion!

THE ODES OF WEI

107. GE JU

Shoes thinly woven of the dolichos fibre, May be used to walk on the hoarfrost. The delicate fingers of a bride, May be used in making clothes. His bride puts the waistband to his lower garment and the collar to his upper, And he, a wealthy man, wears them. Wealthy, he moves about quite at ease, And politely he stands aside to the left. From his girdle hangs his ivory comb-pin. It is the narrowness of his disposition, Which makes him a subject for satire.

108. FEN JU RU

There in the oozy grounds of the Fen, They gather the sorrel. That officer, Is elegant beyond measure. He is elegant beyond measure. But, perhaps, he is not what the superintendent of the ruler's carriages ought to be. There along the side of the Fen, They gather the mulberry leaves. That officer, Is elegant as a flower. He is elegant as a flower; But, perhaps, he is not what the marshaller of the carriages ought to be. There along the bend of the Fen, They gather the ox-lips. That officer, Is elegant as a gem. He is elegant as a gem; But, perhaps, he is not what the superintendent of the ruler's relations should be.

109. YUAN YOU TAO

Of the peach trees in the garden, The fruit may be used as food. My heart is grieved, And I play and sing. Those who do not know me, Say I am a scholar venting his pride. 'Those men are right; What do you mean by your words?' My heart is grieved; Who knows the cause of it? Who knows the cause of it? They know it not, because they will not think. Of the jujube trees in the garden, The fruit may be used as food. My heart is grieved, And I think I must travel about through the State. Those who do not know me, Say I am an officer going to the verge of license. 'Those men are right; What do you mean by your words?' My heart is grieved; Who knows the cause of it? Who knows the cause of it? They do not know it, because they will not think.

110. ZHI HU

I ascend that tree-clad hill, And look towards the residence of my father. My father is saying, 'Alas! my son, abroad on the public service, Morning and night never rests. May he be careful, That he may come back, and not remain there!' I ascend that bare hill, And look towards the residence of my mother. My mother is saying, 'Alas! my child, abroad on the public service, Morning and night has no sleep. May he be careful, That he may come back, and not leave his body there!' I ascend that ridge, And look towards the residence of my elder brother. My brother is saying, 'Alas! my younger brother, abroad on the public service, Morning and night must consort with his comrades. May he be careful, That he may come back, and not die!'

111. SHI MU ZHI JIAN

Among their ten acres, The mulberry-planters stand idly about. ' Come, ' says one to another, 'I will go away with you.' Beyond those ten acres, The mulberry-planters move idly about. 'Come, ' says one to another, 'I will go away with you.'

112. FA TAN

Kan-kan go his blows on the sandal trees, And he places what he hews on the river's bank, Whose waters flow clear and rippling. You sow not nor reap; — How do you get the produce of those three hundred farms? You do not follow the chase; — How do we see the badgers hanging up in your court yards? O that superior man! He would not eat the bread of idleness! Kan-kan go his blows on the wood for his spokes, And he places it by the side of the river, Whose waters flow clear and even. You sow not nor reap; — How do you get your three millions of sheaves? You do not follow the chase; — How do we see the three-year-olds hanging up in your court yards? O that superior man! He would not eat the bread of idleness! Kan-kan go his blows on the wood for his wheels, And he places it by the lip of the river, Whose waters flow clear in rippling circles. You sow not nor reap; — How do you get the paddy for your three hundred round binns? You do not follow the chase; — How do we see the quails hanging in your court yards? O that superior man! He would not eat the bread of idleness!

113. SHUO SHU

Large rats! Large rats! Do not eat our millet. Three years have we had to do with you, And you have not been willing to show any regard for us. We will leave you, And go to that happy land. Happy land! Happy land! There shall we find our place. Large rats! Large rats! Do not eat our wheat. Three years have we had to do with you, And you have not been willing to show any kindness to us. We will leave you, And go to that happy State. Happy State! Happy State! There shall we find ourselves right. Large rats! Large rats! Do not eat our springing grain! Three years have we had to do with you, And you have not been willing to think of our toil. We will leave you, And go to those happy borders. Happy borders! Happy borders! Who will there make us always to groan?

THE ODES OF TANG

114. XI SHUAI

The cricket is in the hall, And the year is drawing to a close. If we do not enjoy ourselves now, The days and months will be leaving us. But let us not go to great excess; Let us first think of the duties of our position; Let us not be wild in our love of enjoyment. The good man is anxiously thoughtful. The cricket is in the hall, And the year is passing away. If we do not enjoy ourselves now, The days and months will have gone. But let us not go to great excess; Let us first send our thoughts beyond the present; Let us not be wild in our love of enjoyment. The good man is ever diligent. The cricket is in the hall, And our carts stand unemployed. If we do not enjoy ourselves now, The days and months will have gone by. But let us not go to an excess; Let us first think of the griefs that may arise; Let us not be wild in our love of enjoyment. The good man is quiet and serene.

115. SHAN YOU SHU

On the mountains are the thorny elms, In the low, wet grounds are the white elms. You have suits of robes, But you will not wear them; You have carriages and horses, But you will not drive them. You will drop off in death, And another person will enjoy them. On the mountains is the Kao, In the low wet grounds is the Niu. You have courtyards and inner rooms, But you will not have them sprinkled or swept; You have drums and bells, But you will not have them beat or struck, You will drop off in death, And another person will possess them. On the mountains are the varnish trees, In the low wet grounds are the chestnuts. You have spirits and viands; — Why not daily play your lute? Both to give a zest to your joy, And to prolong the day? You will drop off in death, And another person will enter your chamber.

116. YANG ZHI SHUI

Amidst the fretted waters, The white rocks stand up grandly. Bringing a robe of white silk, with a vermillion collar, We will follow you to Wo. When we have seen the princely lord, Shall we not rejoice? Amidst the fretted waters, The white rocks stand glistening. Bringing a robe of white silk, with a vermillion collar, and embroidered, We will follow you to Hu. When we have seen the princely lord, What sorrow will remain to us? Amidst the fretted waters, The white rocks clearly show. We have heard your orders,

And will not dare to inform any one of them.

117. JIAO LIAO

The clusters of the pepper plant, Large and luxuriant, would fill a pint. That hero there Is large and peerless. O the pepper plant! How its shoots extend! The clusters of the pepper plant, Large and luxuriant, would fill both your hands. That hero there Is large and generous. O the pepper plant! How its shoots extend!

118. CHOU MOU

Round and round the firewood is bound; And the Three Stars appear in the sky. This evening is what evening, That I see this good man? O me! O me! That I should get a good man like this! Round and round the grass is bound; And the Three Stars are seen from the corner. This evening is what evening, That we have this unexpected meeting? Happy pair! Happy pair! That we should have this unexpected meeting! Round and round the thorns are bound; And the Three Stars are seen from the door. This evening is what evening, That I see this beauty? O me! O me! That I should see a beauty like this!

119. DI DU

There is a solitary russet pear tree, But its leaves are luxuriant. Alone I walk unbefriended; — Is it because there are no other people? But none are like the sons of one's father. O ye travellers, Why do ye not sympathise with me? Without brothers as I am, Why do ye not help me? There is a solitary russet pear tree, But its leaves are abundant. Alone I walk uncared for; — Is it that there are not other people? But none are like those of one's own surname. O ye travellers, Why do ye not sympathise with me? Without brothers as I am, Why do ye not help me?

120. GAO QIU

Lamb's fur and leopard's cuffs, You use us with unkindness. Might we not find another chief? But we stay because of your forefathers. Lamb's fur and leopard's cuffs, You use us with cruel unkindness. Might we not find another chief? But we stay from our regard to you.

121. BAO YU

Su-su go the feathers of the wild geese, As they settle on the bushy oaks. The king's affairs must not be slackly discharged,

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And so we cannot plant our sacrificial millet and millet; — What will our parents have to rely on?O thou distant and azure Heaven! When shall we be in our places again? Su-su go the wings of the wild geese, As they settle on the bushy jujube trees. The king's affairs must not be slackly discharged, And so we cannot plant our millet and sacrificial millet; — How shall our parents be supplied with food? O thou distant and azure Heaven! When shall our service have an end? Su-su go the rows of the wild geese, As they rest on the bushy mulberry trees. The king's business must not be slackly discharged, And so we cannot plant our rice and maize; — How shalll our parents get food? O thou distant and azure Heaven! When shall we get back to our ordinary lot?

122. WU YI

How can it be said that he is without robes? He has those of the seven orders; But it is better that he get those robes from you. That will secure tranquillity and good fortune. How can it be said that he is without robes? He has those of the six orders; But it is better that he get those robes from you. That will secure tranquillity and permanence.

123. YOU DI ZHI DU

There is a solitary russet pear tree, Growing on the left of the way. That princely man there! He might be willing to come to me. In the centre of my heart I love him, But how shall I supply him with drink and food? There is a solitary russet pear tree, Growing where the way makes a compass. That princely man there! He might be willing to come and ramble with me. In the centre of my heart I love him, But how shall I supply him with drink and food?

124. GE SHENG

The dolichos grows, covering the thorn trees; The convolvulus spreads all over the waste. The man of my admiration is no more here; With whom can I dwell? — I abide alone. The dolichos grows, covering the jujube trees; The convolvulus spreads all over the tombs. The man of my admiration is no more here; With whom can I dwell? — I rest alone. How beautiful was the pillow of horn! How splendid was the embroidered coverlet! The man of my admiration is no more here; — With whom can I dwell? — Alone I wait for the morning. Through the long days of summer, Through the long nights of winter shall I be alone, Till the lapse of a hundred years, When I shall go home to his abode. Through the long nights of winter, Through the long days of summer shall I be alone, Till the lapse of a hundred years, When I shall go home to his chamber.

125. CAI LING

Would you gather the liquorice, would you gather the liquorice, On the top of Shouyang? When men tell their stories, Do not readily believe them; Put them aside, put them aside. Do not readily assent to them; And, when men tell their stories, How will they find course? Would you gather the sowthistle, would you gather the sowthistle, At the foot of Shouyang? When men tell their stories, Do not readily approve them; Put them aside, put them aside. Do not readily assent to them; And, when men tell their stories, How will they find course? Would you gather the mustard plant, would you gather the mustard plant, On the east of Shouyang? When men tell their stories, Do not readily listen to them; — Put them aside, put them aside. Do not readily assent to them; And, when men tell their stories, How will they find course?

THE ODES OF QIN

126. CHE LIN

He has many carriages, giving forth their Lin-Lin; He has horses with their white foreheads. Before we can see our prince, We must get the services of eunuch. On the hill-sides are varnish trees; In the low wet grounds are chestnuts. When we have seen our prince, We sit together with him, and they play on their lutes. If now we do not take our joy, The time will pass till we are octogenarians. On the hill-sides are mulberry trees; In the low wet grounds are willows. When we have seen our prince, We sit together with him, and they play on their organs. If now we do not take our joy, The time will pass till we are no more.

127. SI TIE

His four iron-black horses are in very fine condition; The six reins are in the hand of the charioteer. The ruler's favourites, Follow him to the chase. The male animals of the season are made to present themselves, The males in season, of very large size. The ruler says, 'To the left of them; ' Then he lets go his arrows and hits. He rambles in the northern park; His four horses display their training. Light carriages, with bells at the horses' bits, Convey the long and short-mouthed dogs.

128. XIAO RONG

There is his short war carriage; — With the ridge-like end of its pole, elegantly bound in five places; With its slip rings and side straps, And the traces attached by gilt rings to the masked transverse; With its beautiful mat of tiger's skin, and its long naves; With its piebalds, and horses with white left feet. When I think of my husband thus, Looking bland and soft as a piece of jade; Living there in his blank house; It sends confusion into all the corners of my heart. His four horses are in very fine condition, And the six reins are in the hand of the charioteer. Piebald, and bay with black mane, are the insides; Yellow with black mouth, and black, are the outsides; Side by side are placed the dragon-figured shields; Gilt are the buckles for the inner reins. I think of my husband thus, Looking so mild in the cities there. What time can be fixed for his return? Oh! how I think of him! His mail-covered team moves in great harmony; There are the trident spears with their gilt ends; And the beautiful feather-figured shield; With the tiger-skin bow-case, and the carved metal ornaments on its front. The two bows are placed in the case, Bound with string to their bamboo frames. I think of my husband, When I lie down and rise up. Tranquil and serene is the good man, With his virtuous fame spread far and near.

129. JIAN JIA

The reeds and rushes are deeply green, And the white dew is turned into hoarfrost. The man of whom I think, Is somewhere about the water. I go up the stream in quest of him, But the way is difficult and long. I go down the stream in quest of him, And lo! he is right in the midst of the water. The reeds and rushes are luxuriant, And the white dew is not yet dry. The man of whom I think, Is on the margin of the water. I go up the stream in quest of him, But the way is difficult and steep. I go down the stream in quest of him, And lo! he is on the islet in the midst of the water. The reeds and rushes are abundant, And the white dew is not yet ceased. The man of whom I think, Is on the bank of the river. I go up the stream in quest of him, But the way is difficult and turns to the right. I go down the stream in quest of him, And lo! he is on the island in the midst of the water.

130. ZHONG NAN

What are there on Zhongnan? There are white firs and plum trees. Our prince has arrived at it, Wearing an embroidered robe over his fox-fur, And with his countenance rouged as with vermilion. May he prove a ruler indeed! What are there on Zhongnan? There are nooks and open glades. Our prince has arrived at it, With the symbol of distinction embroidered on his lower garment, And the gems at his girdle emitting their thinking. May long life and an endless name be his?

131. HUANG NIAO

They flit about, the yellow birds, And rest upon the jujube trees. Who followed duke Mu to the grave? Ziche Yansi. And this Yansi, Was a man above a hundred. When he came to the grave, He looked terrified and trembled. Thou azure Heaven there! Thou art destroying our good men. Could he have been redeemed, We should have given a hundred lives for him. They flit about, the yellow birds, And rest upon the mulberry trees. Who followed duke Mu to the grave? Ziche Zhongheng. And this Zhongheng, Was a match for a hundred. When he came to the grave, He looked terrified and trembled. Thou azure Heaven there! Thou art destroying our good men. Could he have been redeemed, We should have given a hundred lives for him. They flit about, the yellow birds, And rest upon the thorn trees. Who followed duke Mu to the grave? Ziche Qianhu. And this Ziche Qianhu, Could withstand a hundred men. When he came to the grave, He looked terrified and trembled. Thou azure Heaven there! Thou art destroying our good men. Could he have been redeemed, We should have given a hundred lives for him.

132. CHEN FENG

Swift flies the falcon, To the thick-wooded forest in the north. While I do not see my husband, My heart cannot forget its grief. How is it, how is it, That he forgets me so very much? On the mountain are the bushy oaks; In the low wet grounds are six elms. While I do not see my husband, My sad heart has no joy. How is it, how is it, That he forgets me so very much? On the mountain are the bushy sparrow-plums; In the low wet grounds are the high, wild pear trees. While I do not see my husband, My heart is as if intoxicated with grief. How is it, how is it, That he forgets me so very much?

133. WU YI

How shall it be said that you have no clothes? I will share my long robes with you. The king is raising his forces; I will prepare my lance and spear, And will be your comrade. How shall it be said that you have no clothes? I will share my under clothes with you. The king is raising his forces; I will prepare my spear and lance, And will take the field with you. How shall it be said that you have no clothes? I will share my lower garments with you. The king is raising his forces; I will prepare my buffcoat and sharp weapons, And will march along with you.

134. WEI YANG

I escorted my mother's nephew, To the north of the Wei, What did I present to him? Four bay horses for his carriage of state. I escorted my mother's nephew, Long, long did I think of him. What did I present to him? A precious jasper, and gems for his girdle-pendant.

135. QUAN YU

He assigned us a house large and spacious; But now at every meal there is nothing left. Alas that he could not continue as he began! He assigned us at every meal four dishes of grain; But now at every meal we do not get our fill. Alas that he could not continue as he began!

THE ODES OF CHEN

136. WAN QIU

How gay and dissipated you are, There on the top of Wanqiu! You are full of kindly affection indeed, But you have nothing to make you looked up to! How your blows on the drum resound, At the foot of Wanqiu! Be it winter, be it summer, You are holding your egret's feather! How you beat your earthen vessel, On the way to Wanqiu! Be it winter, be it summer, You are holding your egret-fan!

137. DONG MEN ZHI FEN

There are the white elms at the east gate. And the oaks on Wanqiu; The daughter of Zizhong, Dances about under them. A good morning having been chosen, For the plain in the South, She leaves twisting her hemp, And dances to it through the market-place. The morning being good for excursion, They all proceed together. 'I look on you as the flower of the thorny mallow; You give me a stalk of the pepper plant.'

138. HENG MEN

Beneath my door made of cross pieces of wood, I can rest at my leisure; By the wimpling stream from my fountain, I can joy amid my hunger. Why, in eating fish; Must we have bream from the He? Why, in taking a wife, Must we have a Jiang of Qi? Why, in eating fish; Must we have carp from the He? Why, in taking a wife, Must we have a Zi of Song?

139. DONG MEN ZHI CHI

The moat at the east gate, Is fit to steep hemp in. That beautiful, virtuous, lady, Can respond to you in songs. The moat at the east gate, Is fit to steep the boehmeria in. That beautiful, virtuous, lady, Can respond to you in discourse. The moat at the east gate, Is fit to steep the rope-rush in. That beautiful, virtuous lady, Can respond to you in conversation.

140. DONG MEN ZHI YANG

On the willows at the east gate, The leaves are very luxuria. . . . The evening was the time agreed on, And the morning star is shining bright. On the willows at the east gate, The leaves are dense. The evening was the time agreed on, And the morning star is shining bright.

141. MU MEN

At the gate to the tombs there are jujube trees; — They should be cut away with an axe. That man is not good, And the people of the State know it. They know it, but he does not give over; — Long time has it been thus with him. At the gate to the tombs there are plum trees; And there are owls collecting on them. That man is not good, And I sing this song to admonish him. I admonish him, but he will not regard me; — When he is overthrown, he will think of me.

142. FANG YOU QUE CHAO

On the embankment are magpies' nests; On the height grows the beautiful pea. Who has been imposing on the object of my admiration? — My heart is full of sorrow. The middle path of the temple is covered with its tiles; On the height is the beautiful medallion plant. Who has been imposing on the object of my admiration? — My heart is full of trouble.

143. YUE CHU

The moon comes forth in her brightness; How lovely is that beautiful lady! O to have my deep longings for her relieved! How anxious is my toiled heart! The moon comes forth in her splendour; How attractive is that beautiful lady! O to have my anxieties about her relieved! How agitated is my toiled heart! The moon comes forth and shines; How brilliant is that beautiful lady! O to have the chains of my mind relaxed! How miserable is my toiled heart!

144. ZHU LIN

What does he in Zhulin? He is going after Xianan. He is not going to Zhulin; He is going after Xianan. 'Yoke for me my team of horses; I will rest in the country about Zhu. I will drive my team of colts, And breakfast at Zhu.'

145. ZE PO

By the shores of that marsh, There are rushes and lotus plants. There is the beautiful lady; — I am tortured for her,

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but what avails it? Waking or sleeping, I do nothing; From my eyes and nose the water streams. By the shores of that marsh, There are rushes and the valerian. There is the beautiful lady; Tall and large, and elegant. Waking or sleeping, I do nothing; My inmost heart is full of grief. By the shores of that marsh, There are rushes and lotus flowers. There is the beautiful lady; Tall and large, and majestic. Waking or sleeping, I do nothing; On my side, on my back, with my face on the pillow, I lie.

THE ODES OF KUAI

146. GAO QIU

In your lamb's fur you saunter about; In your fox's fur you hold your court. How should I not think anxiously about you? My toiled heart is full of grief. In your lamb's fur you wander aimlessly about; In your fox's fur you appear in your hall. How should I not think anxiously about you? My heart is wounded with sorrow. Your lamb's fur, as if covered with ointment; Glistens when the sun comes forth. How should I not think anxiously about you? To the core of my heart I am grieved.

147. SU GUAN

If I could but see the white cap, And the earnest mourner worn to leanness! — My toiled heart is worn with grief! If I could but see the white lower dress! — My heart is wounded with sadness! I should be inclined to go and live with the wearer! If I could but see the white knee-covers! — Sorrow is knotted in my heart! I should almost feel as of one soul with the wearer!

148. XI YOU CHANG CHU

In the low wet grouds is the carambola tree; Soft and pliant are its branches, With the glossiness of tender beauty. I should rejoice to be like you, O tree, without consciousness. In the low, damp grounds is the carambola tree; Soft and delicate are its flowers, With the glossiness of its tender beauty. I should rejoice to be like you, O tree, without a family. In the low, damp grounds is the carambola tree; Soft and delicate is its fruit, With the glossiness of its tender beauty. I should rejoice to be like you, O tree, without a household.

149. FEI FENG

Not for the violence of the wind; Not for a rushing motion of a chariot; — But when I look to the road to Zhou, Am I pained to the core of my heart. Not for the whirlwind; Not for the irregular motion of a chariot; — But when I look to the road to Zhou, Am I sad to the core of my heart. Who can cook fish? I will wash his boilers for him. Who will loyally go to the west? I will cheer him with good words.

THE ODES OF CAO

150. FU YOU

The wings of the ephemera, Are robes, bright and splendid. My heart is grieved; — Would they but come and abide with me! The wings of the ephemera, Are robes, variously adorned. My heart is grieved; — Would they but come and rest with me! The ephemera bursts from its hole, With a robe of hemp like snow. My heart is grieved; — Would they but come and lodge with me!

151. HOU REN

Those officers of escort, Have their carriers of lances and halberds. But these creatures, With their three hundred red covers for the knees! — The pelican is on the dam, And will not wet his wings! These creatures, Are not equal to their dress! The pelican is on the dam, And will not wet his beak! These creatures, Do not respond to the favour they enjoy. Extensive and luxuriant is the vegetation, And up the south hill in the morning rise the vapours. Tender is she and lovely, But the young lady is suffering from hunger.

152. SHI JIU

The turtle dove is in the mulberry tree, And her young ones are seven. The virtuous man, the princely one, Is uniformly correct in his deportment. He is uniformly correct in his deportment, His heart is as if it were tied to what is correct. The turtle dove is in the mulberry tree, And her young ones are in the plum tree. The virtuous man, the princely one, Has his girdle of silk. His girdle is of silk, And his cap is of spotted deer-skin. The turtle dove is in the mulberry tree, And her young ones are in the jujube tree. The virtuous man, the princely one, Has nothing wrong in his deportment. He has nothing wrong in his deportment, And thus he rectifies the four quarters of the State. The turtle dove is in the mulberry tree, And her young ones are in the hazel tree. The virtuous man, the princely one, Rectifies the people of the State. He rectifies the people of his State:— May he continue for ten thousand years!

153. XIA QUAN

Cold come the waters down from that spring, And overflow the bushy wolf's-tail grass, Ah me! I awake and sigh, Thinking of that capital of Zhou. Cold come the waters down from that spring, And overflow the bushy southernwood, Ah me! I awake and sigh, Thinking of that capital of Zhou. Cold come the waters down from that spring, And overflow the bushy divining plants, Ah me! I awake and sigh, Thinking of that capital-city. Beautifully grew the fields of young millet, Enriched by fertilizing rains. The States had their sovereign, And there was the chief of Xun to reward their princes.

THE ODES OF BIN

154. QI YUE

In the seventh month, the Fire Star passes the meridian; In the 9th month, clothes are given out. In the days of our first month, the wind blows cold; In the days of our second, the air is cold; — Without the clothes and garments of hair, How could we get to the end of the year? In the days of our third month, they take their ploughs in hand; In the days of our fourth, they take their way to the fields. Along with my wife and children, I carry food to them in those south-lying acres. The surveyor of the fields comes, and is glad. In the seventh month, the Fire Star passes the meridian; In the ninth month, clothes are given out. With the spring days the warmth begins, And the oriole utters its song. The young women take their deep baskets, And go along the small paths, Looking for the tender leaves of the mulberry trees. As the spring days lengthen out, They gather in crowds the white southernwood. That young lady's heart is wounded with sadness, For she will soon be going with one of our princess as his wife. In the seventh month, the Fire Star passes the meridian; In the eighth month are the sedges and reeds. In the silkworm month they strip the mulberry branches of their leaves, And take their axes and hatchets, To lop off those that are distant and high; Only stripping the young trees of their leaves. In the seventh month, the shrike is heard; In the eighth month, they begin their spinning; — They make dark fabrics and yellow. Our red manufacture is very brilliant, It is for the lower robes of our young princes. In the fourth month, the Small grass is in seed. In the fifth, the cicada gives out its note. In the eighth, they reap. In the tenth, the leaves fall. n the days of our first month, they go after badgers, And take foxes and wild cats, To make furs for our young princes. In the days of our second month, they have a general hunt, And proceed to keep up the exercises of war. The boars of one year are for themselves; Those of three years are for our prince. In the fifth month, the locust moves its legs; In the sixth month, the spinner sounds its wings. In the seventh month, in the fields; In the eighth month, under the eaves; In the ninth month, about the doors; In the tenth month, the cricket Enters under our beds. Chinks are filled up, and rats are smoked out; The windows that face the north are stopped up; And the doors are plastered. 'Ah! our wives and children, 'Changing the year requires this: Enter here and dwell.' In the sixth month they eat the sparrow-plums and grapes; In the seventh, they cook the Kui and pulse, In the eighth, they knock down the dates; In the tenth, they reap the rice; And make the spirits for the spring, For the benefit of the bushy eyebrows. In the seventh month, they eat the melons; In the eighth, they cut down the bottle-gourds; In the ninth, they gather the hemp-seed; They gather the sowthistle and make firewood of the Fetid tree; To feed our husbandmen. In the ninth month, they prepare the vegetable gardens for their stacks, And in the tenth they convey the sheaves to them; The millets, both the early sown and the late, With other grain, the hemp, the pulse, and the wheat. 'O my husbandmen, Our harvest is all collected. Let us go to the town, and be at work on our houses. In the day time collect the grass, And at night twist it into ropes; Then get up quickly on our roofs; — We shall have to recommence our sowing.' In the days of our second month, they hew out the ice with harmonious blows; And in those of our third month, they convey it to the ice-houses, Which they open in those of the fourth, early in the morning, Having offered in sacrifice a lamb with scallions. In the ninth month, it is cold, with frost; In the tenth month, they sweep clean their stack-sites. The two bottles of spirits are enjoyed, And they say, 'Let us kill our lambs and sheep, And go to the hall of our prince, There raise the cup of rhinoceros horn, And wish him long life, — that he may live for ever.'

155. CHI XIAO

O owl, O owl, You have taken my young ones; — Do not also destroy my nest. With love and with toil, I nourished them. — I am to be pitied. Before the sky was dark with rain, I gathered the roots of the mulberry tree, And bound round and round my window and door. Now ye people below, Dare any of you despise my house? With my claws I tore and held. Through the rushes which I gathered, And all the materials I collected, My mouth was all sore; — I said to myself, 'I have not yet got my house complete.' My wings are all-injured; My tail is all-broken; My house is in a perilous condition; It is tossed about in the wind and rain:— I can but cry out with this note of alarm.

156. DONG SHAN

We went to the hills of the east, And long were we there without returning, When we came from the east, Down came the rain drizzlingly. When we were in the east, and it was said we should return, Our hearts were in the west and sad; But there were they preparing our clothes for us, As to serve no more in the ranks with the gags. Creeping about were the caterpillars, All over the mulberry grounds; And quietly and solitarily did we pass the night, Under our carriages. We went to the hills of the east, And long were we there without returning, When we came from the east, Down came the rain drizzlingly. The fruit of the heavenly gourd, Would be hanging about our eaves; The sowbug would be in our chambers; The spiders webs would be in our doors; Our paddocks would be deer-fields; The fitful light of the glow-worms would be all about. These thoughts made us apprehensive, And they occupied our breasts. We went to the hills of the east, And long were we there without returning, On our way back from the east, Down came the rain drizzlingly. The cranes were crying on the ant-hills; Our wives were sighing in their rooms; They had sprinkled and swept, and stuffed up all the crevices. Suddenly we arrived from the expedition, And there were the bitter gourds hanging, From the branches of the chestnut trees. Since we had seen such a sight, Three years were now elapsed. We went to the hills of the east, And long were we there without returning, On our way back from the east, Down came the rain drizzlingly. The oriole is flying about, Now here, now there, are its wings. Those young ladies are going to be married, With their bay and red horses, flecked with white. Their mothers have tied their sashes; Complete are their equipments. The new matches are admirable; — How can the reunions of the old be expressed?

157. PO FU

We broke our axes, And we splintered our hatchets; But the object of the duke of Zhou, in marching to the east, Was to put the four States to rights. His compassion for us people, Is very great. We broke our axes, And we splintered our chisels; But the object of the duke of Zhou, in marching to the east, Was to reform the four States. His compassion for us people, Is very admirable. We broke our axes, And splintered our clubs. But the object of the duke of Zhou, in marching to the east, Was to save the alliance of the four States. His compassion for us people, Is very excellent.

158. FA KE

In hewing the wood for an axe-handle, how do you proceed? Without another axe it cannot be done. In taking a wife, how do you proceed? Without a go-between it cannot be done. In hewing an axe-handle, in hewing an axe-handle, The pattern is not far off. I see the lady, And forthwith the vessels are arranged in rows.

159. JIU YU

In the net with its nine bags, Are rud and bream. We see this prince, With his grand-ducal robe and embroidered skirt. The wild geese fly only about the islets. The duke is returning; — is it not to his proper place? He was stopping with you and me but for a couple of nights. The wild geese fly about the land. The duke is returning, and will not come back here? He was lodging with you and me but for a couple of nights.

160. LANG BA

The wolf springs forward on his dewlap, Or trips back on his tail. The duke was humble, and greatly admirable, Self-composed in his red slippers. The wolf springs forward on his dewlap, Or trips back on his tail. The duke was humble, and greatly admirable, There is no flaw in his virtuous fame.

SHI JING 2. MINOR ODES OF THE KINGDOM

Elegance, righteousness and the song of righteousness. There are differences in the size of their articles, and the pre Confucian theories have positive changes. Take today's examination, zhengxiaoya, Yan's enjoyment, zhengdaya, the joy of meeting the dynasty, and the words of being disciplined. Therefore, it is either joyful and said, with all the feelings of the group, or respectful to Qizhuang, with the virtue of the first king, different CI Qi, different syllables, and determined by the Duke of Zhou. And its changes, then things may not be the same, but each with its voice. The order of time, there are those who cannot be tested.

DECADE OF LU MING

161. LU MING

With pleased sounds the deer call to one another, Eating the celery of the fields. I have here admirable guests; The lutes are struck, and the organ is blown for them; — The organ is blown till its tongues are all moving. The baskets of offerings also are presented to them. The men love me, And will show me the perfect path. With pleased sounds the deer call to one another, Eating the southernwood of the fields. I have here admirable guests; Whose virtuous fame is grandly brilliant. They show the people not to be mean; The officers have in them a pattern and model. I have good wine, Which my admirable guests drink, enjoying themselves. With pleased

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sounds the deer call to one another, Eating the salsola of the fields. I have here admirable guests; For whom are struck the lutes, large and small. The lutes, large and small, are struck, And our harmonious joy is long-continued. I have good wine, To feast and make glad the hearts of my admirable guests.

162. SI MU

My four steeds advanced without stopping; The way from Zhou was winding and tedious. Did I not have the wish to return? But the king's business was not to be slackly performed; And my heart was wounded with sadness. My four steeds advanced without stopping; They panted and snorted, the white steeds black-maned. Did I not have the wish to return? But the king's business was not to be slackly performed; And I had not leisure to kneel or to sit. The Filial doves keep flying about, Now soaring aloft, and now descending, Collecting on the bushy oaks; But the king's business was not to be slackly performed; And I had not leisure to nourish my father. The Filial doves keep flying about, Now flying, now stopping, Collecting on the bushy medlars; But the king's business was not to be slackly performed; And I had not leisure to nourish my mother. I yoked my four white steeds, black-maned; They hurried away with speed. But did I not wish to return? Therefore I make this song, Announcing my wish to nourish my mother.

163. HUANG HUANG ZHE HUA

Brilliant are the flowers, On those level heights and the low grounds. Complete and alert is the messenger, with his suite, Ever anxious lest he should not succeed. My horses are young; The six reins look as if they were moistened. I gallop them, and urge them on, Everywhere pushing my inquiries. My horses are piebald; The six reins are like silk. I gallop them, and urge them on, Everywhere seeking information and counsel. My horses are white and black-maned; The six reins look glossy. I gallop them, and urge them on, Everywhere seeking information and advice. My horses are grey; The six reins are well in hand. I gallop them, and urge them on, Everywhere seeking information and suggestions.

164. CHANG DI

The flowers of the cherry tree — Are they not gorgeously displayed? Of all the men in the world, There are none equal to brothers. On the dreaded occasions of death and burial, It is brothers who greatly sympathise. When fugitives are collected on the heights and low grounds, They are brothers who will seek one another out. There is the wagtail on the level height; — When brothers are in urgent difficulties, Friends, though they may be good, Will only heave long sighs. Brothers may quarrel inside the walls, But they will oppose insult from without, When friends, however good they may be, Will not afford help. When death and disorder are past, And there are tranquillity and rest; Although they have brothers, Some reckon them not equal to friends. Your dishes may be set in array, And you may drink to satiety; But it is when your brothers are all present, That you are harmonious and happy, with child-like joy. Loving union with wife and children, Is like the music of lutes; But it is the accord of brothers, Which makes the harmony and happiness lasting. For the ordering of your family, For your joy in yor wife and children, Examine this and study it; — Will you not find that it is truly so?

165. FA MU

On the trees go the blows ding-ding; And the birds cry out ying-ying. One issues from the dark valley, And removes to the lofty tree, While ying goes its cry, Seeking with its voice its companion. Look at the bird, Bird as it is, seeking with its voice its companion; And shall a man, Not seek to have his friends? Spiritual beings will then hearken to him; He shall have harmony and peace. Xu-xu they go, as they fell the trees. I have strained off my spirits, till they are fine, And the fatted lambs are provided, To which to invite my paternal uncles. It is better that something should keep them from coming, Than that I should not have regarded them. Oh! brightly I have sprinkled and swept my courtyard, And arranged my viands, with eight dishes of grain, along with my fatted meat, To which to invite my maternal uncles. It is better that something should keep them from coming, Than that there should be blame attaching to me. They fell down the trees along the hill-side. I have strained off my spirits in abundance; The dishes stand in rows, And none of my brethren are absent. The loss of kindly feeling among people, May arise from faults in the matter of dry provisions. If I have spirits I strain them, do I; If I have no spirits, I buy them, do I; I make the drums beat, do I; I lead on the dance, do I. Whenever we have leisure, Let us drink the sparkling spirits.

166. TIAN BAO

Heaven protects and establishes thee, With the greatest securtiy; Makes thee entirely virtuous, That thou mayest enjoy every happiness; Grants thee much increase, So that thou hast all in abundance. Heaven protects and establishes thee, It grants thee all excellence, So that thine every matter is right, And thou receivest every heavenly favour. It sends down to thee long-during happiness, Which the days are not sufficient to enjoy. Heaven protects and establishes thee, So that in every thing thou dost prosper, Like the high hills, and the mountain masses, Like the topmost ridges, and the greatest bulks; That, as the stream ever coming on, Such is thine increase. With happy auspices and purifications, thou bringest the offerings, And dost filially present them; In spring, summer, autumn, and winter, To the dukes and former kings, Who says, 'We give to thee, Myriad of years of duration unlimited.' The spirits come, And confer on thee many blessings. The people are simple and honest, Daily enjoying their meat and drink. All the black-haired race, in all their surnames, Universally practise your virtue. Like the moon advancing to the full, Like the sun ascending the heavens, Like the age of the southern hills, Never waning, never falling, Like the luxuriance of the fir and the cypress; — May such be thy succeeding line!

167. CAI WEI

Let us gather the thorn-ferns, let us gather the thorn-ferns; The thorn-ferns are now springing up. When shall we return? When shall we return? It will be late in the next year. Wife and husband will be separated, Because of the Xian-yun. We shall have no leisure to rest, Because of the Xian-yun. Let us gather the thorn-ferns, let us gather the thorn-ferns; The thorn-ferns are now tender. When shall we return? When shall we return? Our hearts are sorrowful; Our hearts are sad and sorrowful; We shall hunger, we shall thirst. While our service on guard is not finished, We can send no one home to enquire about our families. Let us gather the thorn-ferns, let us gather the thorn-ferns; The thorn-ferns are now hard. When shall we return? When shall we return? The year will be in the tenth month. But the king's business must not be slackly performed; We shall have no leisure to rest. Our sorrowing hearts are in great distress; But we shall not return from our expedition. What is that so gorgeous? It is the flowers of the cherry tree. What carriage is that? It is the carriage of our general. His war carriage is yoked; The four steeds are strong. Dare we remain inactive? In one month we shall have three victories. The four steeds are yoked, The four steeds, eager and strong; — The confidence of the general, The protection of the men. The four steeds move regularly, like wings; — There are the bow with its ivory ends, and the seal-skin quiver. Shall we not daily warn one another? The business of the Xian-yun is very urgent. At first, when we set out, The willows were fresh and green; Now, when we shall be returning, The snow will be falling in clouds. Long and tedious will be our marching; We shall hunger; we shall thirst. Our hearts are wounded with grief, And no one knows our sadness.

168. CHU CHE

We proceeded with our carriage, To those pasture grounds. 'From the place of the son of Heaven, Came an order to me to march,' said the general. So he called his carriage-officers, And told them to get the carriages all ready. 'The king's business,' said he, 'is surrounded with difficulties; We must use despatch.' We proceeded with our carriage, To that suburban region. The banner with tortoises and serpents was raised, And the ox-tails set up at the top of its staff; Did not it and the falcon banner, Fly about grandly? The general's heart was anxious and sad, And the carriage-officers appeared full of care. The king charged Nan Zhong, To go and build a wall in the disturbed region. How numerous were his chariots! How splendid his dragon, his tortoise and serpent flags! The son of Heaven had charged us, To build a wall in that northern region. Awe-inspiring was Nan Zhong; The Xian-yun were sure to be swept away! When we were marching at first, The millets were in flower. Now that we are returning, The snow falls, and the roads are all mire. The king's business was not to be slackly performed, And we had not leisure to rest. Did we not long to return? But we were in awe of the orders in the tablets. 'Yao-yao go the grass-insects, And the hoppers leap about. While we do not see our husbands, Our hearts must be full of grief. Let us but see our husbands, And our hearts will be at rest.' The awe-inspiring Nan Zhong, Is smiting the Rong of the west. The spring-days are lengthening out; The plants and trees grow full of verdure; The oriole's cry comes jie-jie; Our wives go in crowds to gather the white southernwood. With our prisoners for the question and our captive crowd, We return. Awe-inspiring is Nan zhong; The Xian-yun are pacified.

169. DI DU

Solitary stands the russet pear tree, With its fruit so bright. The king's business must not be slackly performed, And the days are prolonged with us one after another. The sun and moon are in the tenth month. My woman's heart is wounded; My soldier might have leisure to return! Solitary stands the russet pear tree, With its leaves so luxuriant. The king's business must not be slackly performed, And my heart is wounded and sad. The plants and trees are luxuriant, But my heart is sad. O that my soldier might return! I ascended that hill in the north, To gather the medlars. The king's business must not be slackly performed, And our parents are made sorrowful. His chariot of sandal wood must be damaged; His four horses must be worn out; My soldier cannot be far off. They have not packed up, they do not come; My sorrowing heart is greatly distressed. The time is past, and he is not here, To the multiplication of my sorrows. Both by the tortoise shell and the reeds have I divined, And they unite in saying he is near. My soldier is at hand!

NAN GAI
DECADE OF BAIHUA
BAI HUA

HUA SHU

170. YU LI

The fish pass into the basket, Yellow-jaws and sand-blowers. Our host has spirits, Good and abundance of them. The fish pass into the basket, Bream and tench. Our host has spirits, Abundance of them and good. The fish pass into the basket, Mud-fish and carp. Our host has spirits, Good and in quantities. The viands are abundant, And they are admirable. The viands are excellent, Both from the land and the sea. The viands are in quantities, And all in season.

YOU GENG

171. NAN YOU JIA YU

In the south is the barbel, And, in multitudes, they are taken under baskets. The host has spirits, On which his admirable quests feast with him joyfully. In the south is the barbel, And, in multitudes, they are taken with wicker nets. The host has spirits, On which his admirable quests feast with him, delighted. In the south are trees with curved drooping branches, And the sweet gourds cling to them. The host has spirits, On which his admirable quests feast with him cheerfully. The Filial doves keep flying about, Coming in multitudes. The host has spirits, On which his admirable quests feast with him again and again.

CHONG QIU

172. NAN SHAN YOU TAI

On the hills of the south is the Tai plant, On those of the north is the Lai. To be rejoiced in are ye, noble men, The foundations of the State. To be rejoiced in are ye, noble men; — May your years be myriads and without end! On the hills of the south are the mulberry trees, On those of the north are willows. To be rejoiced in are ye, noble men, The light of the State. To be rejoiced in are ye, noble men; — May your years be myriads, unlimited! On the hills of the south are medlars; On those of the north are plum trees. To be rejoiced in are ye, noble men, Parents of the people. To be rejoiced in are ye, noble men; — May your virtuous fame have no end! On the hills of the south is the Kao; On those of the north is the Niu. To be rejoiced in are ye, noble men, Have ye not the eyebrows of longevity? To be rejoiced in are ye, noble men; — May your virtuous fame be abundant! On the hills of the south is the Ju; On those of the north is the Yu. To be rejoiced in are ye, gentlemen; — Will ye not have the grey hair and wrinkled face? To be rejoiced in are ye, gentlemen; — May ye preserve and maintain your posterity!

YOU YI

173. LIAO XIAO

How long grows the southernwood, With the dew lying on it so bright! Now that I see my noble men, My heart is entirely satisfied. As we feast, we laugh and talk; — It is right they should have fame and prosperity! How long grows the southernwood, With the dew lying on it so abundantly! Now that I see my noble men, I appreciate their favour and their brightness. Their virtue is without taint of error; — May they live long, and not be forgotten! How high is the southernwood, All wet with the fallen dew! Now that I see my noble men, Grandly we feast, delighted and complacent. May their relations with their brothers be right! May they be happy in their excellent virtue to old age! How high is the southernwood, With the dew lying on it so richly! I have seen my noble men, With the ends of their reins hanging down, With the bells tinkling on their cross-boards and bits. May all happiness gather upon them.

174. ZHAN LU

Heavy lies the dew; Nothing but the sun can dry it. Happily and long into the night we drink; — Till all are drunk, there is no retiring. Heavy lies the dew; On that luxuriant grass. Happily and long into the night we drin. In the honoured apartment we complete our carousal. Heavy lies the dew; On those willows and jujube trees. Distinguished and true are my noble quests, — Every one of excellent virtue. From the Tong and the Yi, Their fruit hangs down. Happy and self-possessed are my noble quests, — Every one of them of excellent deportment.

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DECADE OF TONG GONG

175. TONG GONG

The red bows unbent, Were received and deposited. I have here an admirable quest, And with all my heart I bestow one on him. The bells and drums have been arranged in order, And all morning will I feast him. The red bows unbent, Were received and fitted on their frames. I have here an admirable quest, And with all my heart I rejoice in him. The bells and drums have been arranged in order, And all morning will I honour him. The red bows unbent, Were received and placed in their cases. I have here an admirable quest, And with all my heart I love him. The bells and drums have been arranged in order, And all morning will I pledge him.

176. JING JING ZHE E

Luxuriantly grows the aster-southernwood, In the midst of that large mound. Since we see our noble lord, We rejoice, and he shows us all courtesy. Luxuriantly grows the aster-southernwood, In the midst of that islet. Since we see our noble lord, Our hearts are full of joy. Luxuriantly grows the aster-southernwood, In the midst of that great height. We see our noble lord, And he gives us a hundred sets of cowries. It floats about, — the willow boat, Now sinking, now rising again. Since we see our noble lord, Our hearts are at rest.

177. LIU YUE

In the sixth month all was bustle and excitement. The war carriages had been made ready, With the four steeds of each, strong and eager; And the regular accountrements had been placed in the carriages. The Xian-yun were in blazing force, And thence was the urgency. The king had ordered ther expedition, To deliver the royal kingdom. Matched in strength were the four black steeds, Well trained to observe every rule. On this sixth month, We completed our accountrements. Our accountrements were completed, And we marched thirty Li every day. The king had ordered ther expedition, To help the son of Heaven. The four steeds were long, and stout, And large-headed. We smote the Xian-yun, And achieved great merit. Severely strict and careful was our leader, Discharging his military service, — Discharging his military service, And settling thereby the royal kingdom. Badly reckoned the Xian-yun, When they confidently occupied Jiao and Huo, And overran Hao and Fang, As far as to the north of the Jing. On our flags was their blazonry of birds, While their white streamers fluttered brightly. Ten large war chariots, Led the way in front. The war carriages were well made. Nicely balanced, before and behind. Their four steeds were strong, Both strong and well trained. We smote the Xian-yun, As far as Tai-yuan. For peace or for war fit is Ji-fu, A pattern to all the States. Ji-fu feasts and is glad; Great happiness is his. In returning from Hao, Distant and long had been our march. He entertains and feasts his friends, With roast turtle and minced carp. And who are there? There is Zhang Zhong, the filial and brotherly.

178. CAI QI

They were gathering the white millet, In those new fields, And in these acres brought only one year under cultivation, When Fang Shu came to take the command. His chariots were three thousand, With a host of well-disciplined warriors. Fang Shu led them on, In his carriage drawn by four piebalds, Four piebalds orderly moving. Red shone his grand carriage, With its chequered bamboo screen, and seal-skin quivers, With the hooks for the trappings of the breast-bands, and the rein-ends. They were gathering the white millet, In those new fields, And all about these villages, When Fang Shu came to take the command. His chariots were three thousand; His banners, with their blazonry of dragons, and of serpents and tortoises, fluttered gaily. Fang Shu led them on, The naves of his wheels bound with leather, and his yoke ornamented. Tinkle-tinkle went the eight bells at the horses' bits. He wore the robes conferred by the king; His red knee-covers were resplendent, And the gems of his girdle-pendant sounding. Rapid is the flight of the hawk, Soaring to the heavens, And again descending and settling in its place. Fang Shu came to take the command. His chariots were three thousand, With a host of well disciplined warriors. Fang Shu led them on. With his jinglers and drummers, He marshalled his hosts and addressed them. Intelligent and true is Fang Shu, Deep rolled the sound of his drums; With a lighter sound he led the troops back. Foolish were the savage tribes of King, Presuming to oppose our great region. Fang Shu is of great age, But full of vigour were his plans. He led his army on, Seized the chiefs for the question, and made captives of a crowd besides. Numerous were his war chariots, Numerous and in grand array, Like the clap or the roll of thunder their onset. Intelligent and true is Fang Shu. He had gone and smitten the Xian-yun, And the tribes of King came, awed by his majesty.

179. CHE GONG

Our chariots were strong, Our horses were well matched, And with four steeds for each, sleek and large, We yoked and proceeded to the east. Our hunting carriages were good, And their four steeds in fine condition. Eastwards were the grassy plains of Fu; — We yoked and went there to hunt. Of the officers in charge of the hunt, The voices resounded as they told off the men. They set up the banners, with ox-tails displayed, And we proceeded to pursue the chase in Ao. With their four-horsed chariots they came, Forming a long train, In their red knee-covers and gold-adorned slippers, Like the crowd of an occasional or a general audience. The bowstring thimbles and armlets were fitted on; The bows and arrows were adjusted to one another; The archers acted in unison, Helping us to rear a pile of game. Of the four yellow horses of each chariot, The two outsiders inclined not to either side. No error in driving was committed, And the arrows went forth like downright blows. As if at their ease, the horses neighed, Long and slow moved the line of pennons and banners; The footmen and charioteers created no alarms; The great kitchen did not claim its full complement. So did the officers conduct this expedition, Without any clamour in the noise of it. Truly a princely man is the king; Great indeed are his achievements!

180. JI RI

A lucky day was wu, And we sacrificed on it to the Ruler of horses, and prayed. Our hunting carriages were good; The team for each was in fine condition. We would ascend the greatest heights, And pursue the herds of the game. A lucky day was geng-wu. We had selected our horses; The haunts of the animals, Where the does and stags lay numerous, The grounds by the Qi and the Ju, — That was the place for the son of Heaven to hunt. We looked to the midst of the plain, Where the animals were large and abundant, Now rushing about, now waiting together, Here in threes, there in twos. We led on all our attendants, To give pleasure to the son of Heaven. We have bent our bows; We have our arrows on the string. Here is a small boar transifixed; There is a large rhinoceros killed. The spoil will be presented to the visitors and guests, Along with the cup of sweet wine.

181. HONG YAN

The wild geese are flying about; Su-su goes the rustle of their wings. There were those officers engaged on the commission. Pained were we and toiled in the open fields; All were objects of pity, But alas for those wifeless and widows! The wild geese are flying about; And they settle in the midst of the marsh. There were those officers directing the rearing of the walls; — Five thousand cubits of them arose at once. Though there was pain and toil, In the end we had rest in our dwellings. The wild geese are flying about, And melancholy is their cry of ao-ao. There were they, wise men, Who recognised our pain and toil; If they had been stupid men, They would have said we were proclaiming our insolence.

182. TING LIAO

How goes the night? It is not yet midnight. The torch is blazing in the court-yard. My princely men are arriving; — There is the tinkling of their bells. How goes the night? The night is not yet through. The torch is growing pale in the court-yard. My princely men are arriving; — There is the sound of their bells, regular and near. How goes the night? It is getting towards morning. The torch is smoking in the court-yard. My princely men are arriving; — I see their banners.

183. MIAN SHUI

In large volume, those flowing waters, Go to the court of the sea. Rapid is that flying falcon, Now soaring, now resting. Alas! among my brethren, My countrymen, my friends, No one is willing to think of the prevailing disorder; But who has not parents to suffer from it? In large volume, those flowing waters, Roll on their swollen flood. Rapid is that flying falcon, Now soaring, now rising higher. When I think of those lawless men, Now I rise up, now I walk about. The sorrow of my heart, Cannot be repressed nor forgotten. Rapid is that flying falcon, Yet he keeps along the middle of the height. The talk of the people, — Is there no means of stopping it? If my friends would reverently watch over themselves, Would slanderous speeches be made?

184. HE MING

The crane cries in the ninth pool of the marsh, And her voice is heard in the distant wilds. The fish lies in the deep, And now is by the islet. Pleasant is that garden, In which are the sandal trees; But beneath them are only withered leaves. The stones of those hills, May be made into grind-stones. The crane cries in the ninth pool of the marsh, And her voice is heard in the sky. The fish is by the islet, And now it lies hid in the deep. Pleasant is that garden, In which are the sandal trees; But beneath them is the paper-mulberry tree, The stones of those hills, May be used to polish gems.

DECADE OF QI FU

185. QI FU

Minister of war, We are the claws and teeth of the king. Why have you rolled us into this sorrow, So that we have no abiding place? Minister of war, We are the taloned soldiers of the king. Why have you rolled us into this sorrow, So that there is no end of our toils? Minister of war, You have indeed acted without discrimination. Why have you rolled us into this sorrow, So that our mothers have to do all the labour of cooking?

186. BAI JU

Let the brilliant white colt, Feed on the young growth of my vegetable garden. Tether it by the foot, tie it by the collar, To prolong this morning. So may its owner of whom I think, Spend his time here at his ease! Let the brilliant white colt, Feed on the bean sprouts of my vegetable garden. Tether it by the foot, tie it by the collar, To prolong this evening. So may its owner of whom I think, Be here, an admired quest! If you with the brilliant white colt, Would brightly come to me, You should be a duke, you should be a marquis, Enjoying yourself without end. Be on your guard against idly wandering; Deal vigorously with your thoughts of retirement. The brilliant white colt, Is there in that empty valley, With a bundle of fresh grass. Its owner is like a gem. Do not make the news of you rare as gold and gems, — Indulging your purpose to abandon me.

187. HUANG NIAO

Yellow bird, yellow bird, Do not settle on the broussonetias, Do not eat my paddy. The people of this country, Are not willing to treat me well. I will return, I will go back, Back to my country and kin. Yellow bird, yellow bird, Do not settle on the mulberry trees, Do not eat my maize. The people of this country, Will not let me come to an understanding with them. I will return, I will go back, Back to my brethren. Yellow bird, yellow bird, Do not settle on the oaks, Do not eat my grand millet. The people of this country, I cannot dwell with. I will return, I will go back, Back to my uncles.

188. WO XING QI YE

I travelled through the country, Where the Fetid tree grew luxuriant. Because of our affinity by marriage, I went to reside with you. But you do not entertain me; And I go back to my country and clan. I travelled through the country, Gathering the sheep's-foot. Because of our affinity by marriage, I came to lodge with you. But you do not entertain me; And I will return, I will go back. I travelled through the country, Gathering the pokeweed.You do not think of our old affinity, And seek to please your new relative. If indeed you are not influenced by her riches, You still are so by the difference between the new and the old.

189. SI GAN

By the graceful sweep of these banks, With the southern hill, so calm in the distance, Has the palace arisen, firm as the roots of a clump of bamboos, With its roof like the luxuriant head of a pine tree. May the brothers here, Be loving among themselves, And have no schemings against one another! Having entered into the inheritance of his ancestors, He has built his chambers, five thousand cubits of walls, With their doors to the west and to the south. Here will he reside; here will he sit; Here will he laugh; here will he talk. They bound the frames for the earth, exactly over one another; Tuo-tuo went on the pounding; — Impervious the walls to wind and rain, Offering no cranny to bird or rat. A grand dwelling is it for our noble lord. Like a man on tip-toe, in reverent expectation; Like an arrow, flying rapidly; Like a bird which has changed its feathers; Like a pheasant on flying wings; Is the hall which our noble lord will ascend. Level and smooth is the court-yard, And lofty are the pillars around it. Pleasant is the exposure of the chamber to the light, And deep and wide are its recesses; — Here will our noble lord repose. On the rush-mat below, and that of fine bamboos above it, Here may he repose in slumber!' May he sleep and awake, Saying 'Divine for me my dreams. What dreams are lucky?' They have been of bears and grisly bears; They have been of cobras and other serpents. 'The chief diviner will divine them. The bears and grisly bears, Are the auspicious intimations of sons.' The cobras and other serpents, Are the auspicious intimations of daughters. Sons shall be born to him:— They will be put to sleep on couches; They will be clothed in robes; They will have sceptres to play with; Their cry will be loud. They will be hereafter resplendent with red knee-covers, The future king, the princes of the land. Daughters shall be born to him: — They will be put to sleep on the ground; They will be clothed with wrappers; They will have tiles to play with. It will be theirs neither to do wrong nor to do good. Only about the spirits and the food will they have to think, And to cause no sorrow to their parents.

190. WU YANG

Who can say that you have no sheep? There are three hundred in each herd. Who says that you have no cattle? There are ninety, which are black-lipped. Your sheep come, Horned, but all agreeing. Your cattle come, Flapping their ears. Some are descending among the mounds; Some are drinking at the pools; Some are lying down, some are moving about. Your herdsmen come, Bearing their rain-coats and bamboo-hats, Or carrying on their backs their provisions. In

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thirties are the creatures arranged according to their colours; For your victims there is abundant provision. Your herdsmen come, With their large faggots, and smaller branches, And with their prey of birds and beasts. Your sheep come, Vigorous and strong, None injured, no infection in the herd. At the wave of the herdsman's arm, All come, all go up into the fold. Your herdsmen shall dream, — Of multitudes and then of fishes; Of the tortoise-and serpent; and then of the falcon banners. The chief diviner will divine the dreams, How the multitudes dissolving into fishes, Betoken plentiful years; How the tortoise-and-serpent dissolving into falcon banners, Betoken the increasing population of the kingdom.

191. JIE NAN SHAN

Lofty is that southern hill, With its masses of rocks! Awe-inspiring are you, O Grand master Yin, And the people all look to you! A fire burns in their grieving hearts; They do not dare to speak of you even in jest. The kingdom is verging to extinction; — How is it that you do not consider the state of things? Lofty is that southern hill, And vigorously grows the vegetation on it! Awe-inspiring are you, O Grand master Yin, But how is it that you are so unjust? Heaven is continually redoubling its afflictions; Deaths and disorder increase and multiply; No words of satisfaction come from the people; And yet you do not correct nor bemoan yourself! The Grand-master Yin, Is the foundation of our Zhou, And the balance of the State is in his hands. He should be keeping together the four quarters of the kingdom; He should be aiding the Son of Heaven, So as to preserve the people from going astray. O unpitying great Heaven, It is not right he should reduce us all to such misery! Doing nothing himself personally, The people have no confidence in him, By making no inquiry, and no trial of their services, He should not deal deceitfully with superior men. By dismissing them on the requirement of justice, Mean men would not be endangering the common weal; And his mean relatives, Would not be in offices of importance. Great Heaven, unjust, Is sending down these exhausting disorders. Great Heaven, unkind, Is sending down these great miseries. Let superior men come into office, And that would bring rest to the people's hearts. Let superior men do justly, And the animosities and angers would disappear. O unpitying, great Heaven, There is no end to the disorder! With every month it continues to grow, So that the people have no repose. I am as if intoxicated with the grief of my heart. Who holds the ordering of the kingdom? Not attending himself to the government, The issue is toil and pain to the people. I yoke my four steeds, My four steeds, long-necked. I look to the four quarters of the kingdom; Distress is everywhere; there is nowhere I can drive to. Now your evil is rampant, And I see your spears. Again you are pacified and friendly, As if you were pledging one another. From great Heaven is the injustice, And our king has no repose. Yet he will not correct his heart, And goes on to resent endeavours to rectify him. I, Jia-fu, have made this song, To lay bare the king's disorders. If you would but change your heart, And nourish the myriad States!

192. ZHENG YUE

In the first month of summer the hoar-frost abounds, And my heart is wounded with sorrow. The false calumnies of the people, Also wax greater and greater. I think how I stand alone, And the sorrow of my heart grows intense. Alas! through my anxious cares, My hidden sorrow goes on to make me ill. Ye parents who gave me birth! Was it to make me suffer this pain?Why was this time not before me? Or why was it not after me?Their good words are only from the mouth; Their bad words are only from the mouth. The sorrow of my heart becomes greater, And because of this I incur contempt. My sorrow heart is very sad; I think of my unfortunate position. The innocent people, Will all be reduced to servitude with me. Alas for me! From whom shall I henceforth get support? I see a crow which will rest, — But on whose house? Look into the middle of the forest; There are only large faggots and small branches in it. The people now amidst their perils, Look to Heaven, all dark. But let its determination be fixed, And there is none whom it will not overcome. There is the great God, — Does He hate any one? If one say of a hill that it is low, There are its ridges, and its large masses. The false calumnies of the people, — How is it that you do not repress them? You call those experienced ancients; You consult the diviner of dreams: They all say, 'We are wise; But who can distinguish the male and female crow?' We say of the heavens that they are high, But I dare not but stoop under them. We say of the earth that it is thick, But I dare not but walk daintily on it. For my freely expressing myself thus, I have reason, I have good ground. Alas for the men of this time! Why are they such cobras and efts? Look at that rugged and stony field; — Luxuriantly rises in it the springing grain! But Heaven moves and shakes me, As if it could not overcome me. They sought me at first to be a pattern to them, Eagerly as if they could not get me. Now they regard me with great animosity, And will not use my strength. My heart with its sorrow, Feels as if it were tied and bound by something. This government of the present time, — How oppressive it is! The flames, when they are blazing, May still perhaps be extinguished; But the majestic honoured capital of Zhou, Is being destroyed by Si of Bao. This issue is ever my anxious thought. Moreover, you have the embarrassment of soaking rain. Your carriage is loaded, And if you throw away your wheel-aids, Your load will be overturned, And you will be crying, 'O sir, help me!' If you do throw away your wheel-aids, Which give asistance to the spokes; And if you constantly look after the driver, You will not overturn your load, And in the end will get over the most difficult places; But you have not thought of this. The fish are in the pond, But they cannot enjoy themselves. Although they dive to the bottom, They are very clearly seen. My sorrow heart is deeply pained, When I think of the oppression in the kingdom. They have their good spirits, And their fine viands along with them. They assemble their neighbours, And their relatives are full of their praise. When I think of my solitariness, My sorrowing heart is full of distress. Mean-like, those have their houses; Abjects, they will have their moluments. But the people now have no maintenance. For Heaven is pounding them with its calamities, The rich may get through, But alas for the helpless and solitary!

193. SHI YUE ZI JIAO

At the conjunction of the sun and moon in the tenth month, On the first day of the moon, which was Xin-mao, The sun was eclipsed, A thing of very evil omen. Then the moon became small, And now the sun became small. Henceforth the lower people, Will be in a very deplorable case. The sun and moon announce evil, Not keeping to their proper paths. All through the kingdom there is no proper government, Because the good are not employed. For the moon to be eclipsed, Is but an ordinary matter. Now that the sun has been eclipsed, — How bad it is! Grandly flashes the lightning of the thunder; — There is a want of rest, a want of good. The streams all bubble up and overflow. The crags on the hill-tops fall down. High banks become valleys; Deep valleys become hills. Alas for the men of this time! How does the king not stop these things? Huang-fu is the president; Fan is the minister of instruction; Jia-bo is the chief administrator; Zhong-yun is the chief cook; Zou is the recorder of the interior; Jue is master of the house; Yu is captain of the guards; And the beautiful wife blazes, now in possession of her place. This Huang-fu, Will not acknowledge that he is acting out of season. But why does he call us to action, Without coming and consulting with us? He has removed our walls and roofs, And our fields are all either a marsh or a moor. He says, 'I am not injuring you; The laws require that thus it should be?' Huang-fu is very wise; He has built a great city for himself in Xiang. He chose three men as his ministers, All of them indeed of great wealth. He could not bring himself to leave a single minister, Who might guard our king. He also selected those who had chariots and horses, To go and reside in Xiang.' I have exerted myself to discharge my service, And do not dare to make a report of my toils. Without crime or offense of any kind, Slanderous mouths are loud against me. But the calamities of the lower people, Do not come down from Heaven. A multitide of fair words, and hatred behind the back, — The earnest, strong pursuit of this is from men. Distant far is my village, And my dissatisfaction is great. In other quarters there is ease, And I dwell here alone and sorrowful. Every body is going into retirement, And I alone dare not seek rest. The ordinances of Heaven are inexplicable, But I will not dare to follow my friends and leave my post.

194. YU WU ZHENG

Great and wide Heaven, How is it you have contracted your kindness, Sending down death and famine, Destroying all through the kingdom?Compassionate Heaven, arrayed in terrors, How is it you exercise no forethought, no care? Let alone the criminals:— They have suffered for their offences; But those who have no crime, Are indiscriminately involved in ruin. The honoured House of Zhou is nearly extinguished, And there is no means of stopping or settling the troubles. The Heads of the officers have left their places, And no one knows my toil. The three high ministers, and other great officers, Are unwilling to attend to their duties early and late. The lords of the various States, Are unwilling to appear at court morning and evening. If indeed he would turn to good, — But on the contrary he proceeds to greater evil. How is it, O great Heaven, That he will not hearken to the justest words? He is like a man going astray, Who knows not where he will proceed to. All ye officers, Let each of you reverently attend to his duties. How do ye not stand in awe of one another? Ye do not stand in awe of Heaven. War has done its work, but he withdraws not from evil; Famine has done its work, but he goes not on to good; So that I, a mere groom of the chambers, Am full of grief and in pain daily. All ye officers, Ye are unwilling to declare the truth to him. When you hear a question, you simply answer it, And when slander touches you, you withdraw. Alas that right words cannot be spoken, Which come not from the tongue only! The speakers of them are sure to suffer. Well is it for the words that can be spoken! The artful speech flows like a stream, And the speakers dwell at ease in prosperity. It may be said about taking office, That it is full of hazard and peril. By advice that he says cannot be followed, You offend against the Son of Heaven. By advice that he says will be followed, You excite the resentment of your friends. I say to you, 'Remove to the royal capital,' And ye say that you have not got houses there. Painful are my inmost thoughts, and I weep blood; — Every word I speak makes me hated; But when you formerly left to reside elsewhere, Who was it that made houses for you?

DECADE OF XIAO MIN

195. XIAO MIN

The angry terrors of Compassionate Heaven, Extend through this lower world; The king's counsels and plans are crooked and bad; — When will he stop in the course? Counsels which are good he will not follow, And those which are not good he employs, When I look at his counsels and plans, I am greatly pained. Now they agree, and now they defame one another; — The case is greatly to be deplored. If a counsel be good, They all are found opposing it. If a counsel be bad, They all are found according with it. When I look at such counsels and plans, What will they come to? Our tortoises are wearied out, And will not tell us anything about the plans. The counsellors are very many, But on that account nothing is accomplished. The speakers fill the court, But who dares to take any responsibility on himself? We are as if we consulted about a journey without taking a step in advance, And therefore did not get on on the road. Alas! our formers of plans, Do not take the ancients for their pattern, And do not regulate them by great principles. They only hearken to shallow words, And quarrel about shallow words, They are like one taking counsel with wayfarers about building a house. Which will consequently never come to completion. Although the kingdom be unsettled, There are some who are wise, and others who are not. Although the people may not be numerous, Some have perspicacity, some have counsel, Some have gravity, and some have orderliness. But we are going on like the stream flowing from a spring, And will sink together in a common ruin. They dare not without weapons attack a tiger; They dare not without a boat cross the He. They know one thing, But they only know that one. We should be apprehensive and careful, As if we were on the brink of a deep gulf, As if we were treading on thin ice.

196. XIAO WAN

Small is the cooing dove, But it flies aloft up to heaven. My heart is wounded with sorrow, And I think of our forefathers. When the dawn is breaking, and I cannot sleep, The thoughts in my breast are of our parents. Men who are grave and wise, Though they drink, are mild and masters of themselves; But those who are benighted and ignorant, Are devoted to drink, and more so daily. Be careful, each of you, of your deportment; — What Heaven confers, when once lost, is not regained. In the midst of the plain there is pulse, And the common people gather it. The mulberry insect has young ones, And the sphex carries them away. Teach and train your sons, And they will become good as you are. Look at the wagtail, Flying, and at the same time twittering. My days are advancing; Your months are going on. Rising early and going to sleep late, Do not disgrace those who gave you birth. The greenbeaks come and go, Pecking up grain about the stack-yard. Alas for the distressed and solitary, Deemed fit inmates for the prisons! With a handful of grain I go out and divine, How I may be able to become good. We must be mild, and humble, As if we were perched on trees. We must be anxious and careful, As if we were on the brink of a valley. We must be apprehensive and cautious, As if we were treading upon thin ice.

197. XIAO BIAN

With flapping wings the crows, Come back, flying all in a flock. Other people all are happy, And I only am full of misery. What is my offence against Heaven? What is my crime? My heart is sad; — What is to be done? The way to Zhou should be level and easy, But it is all overgrown with rank grass. My heart is wounded with sorrow, And I think till I feel as if pounded all over. I lie down undressed, and sigh continually; Through my grief I am growing old. My heart is sad; — It puts me in pain like a headache. Even the mulberry trees and the Zi, Must be regarded with reverence: But no one is to be looked up to like a father; No one is to be depended on like a mother. Have I not a connection with the hairs of my father? Did I not dwell in the womb of my mother? O Heaven who gave me birth! How was it at such an inauspicious time? Luxuriant grow those willows, And the cicadas on them go hui-hui. Deep looks the pool, And abundantly grow the rushes and reeds about it, But I am like a boat adrift, — Where it will go you know not. My heart is sad; — I have not leisure to lie down even undressed. The stag is running away, But his legs move slowly. The pheasant crows in the morning, Seeking his mate. I am like a ruined tree, Stript by disease of all its branches. My heart is sad; — How is it that no one knows me? Look at the hare seeking protection; — Some one will step in before and save it. One the road there is a dead man; Some one will bury him. But such is the heart of our sovereign, That there is nothing he cannot bear to do. My

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heart is sad, So that my tears are falling down. Our sovereign believes slanders, As readily as he joins in the pledge cup. Our sovereign is unkind, And does not leisurely examine into things. The tree-fellers follow the lean of the tree; The faggot-cleavers follow the direction of the grain; But he lets alone the guilty, And imputes guilt to me. There is nothing higher than a mountain; There is nothing deeper than a great spring. Our sovereign should not lightly utter his words, Lest an ear be laid close to the wall. Do not approach my dam; Do not remove my basket. My person is rejected; — Of what use is it to care for what may come after?

198. QIAO YAN

O vast and distant Heaven, Who art called our parent, That without crime or offence, I should suffer from disorders thus great! The terrors of great Heaven are excessive, But indeed I have committed no crime. The terrors of great Heaven are very excessive, But indeed I have committed no offence. Disorder then comes to the birth, When the first untruth is received. Its further increase, Is from our sovereign's believing the slanderers. If he were to be angry with them, The disorder would probably quickly be abated; If he were to show his joy in the good, The disorder would probably quickly cease. Our sovereign makes frequent covenants, And the disorders are thereby increased. He believes the scoundrels, And the disorders thereby grow into oppression. Their words are very sweet, And the disorders thereby advance. They do not discharge their duties, But only create distress to the king. Very grand is the ancestral temple; — A true sovereign made it. Wisely arranged are the great plans; — Sages determined them. What other men have in their minds, I can measure by reflection. Swiftly runs the crafty hare, But it is caught by the hound. Trees of soft wood, easily wrought, Are planted by wise men. The words of way-farers that come and go, Can be discriminated by the mind. Their easy and grand words, Only issue from their mouths. Their artful words, like organ-tongues, Show how unblushing are their faces. Who are they? They are like men who dwell on the banks of the river; And they have neither strenghth nor courage, While yet they rear the steps of disorder! With legs ulcerated and swollen, What courage can you have? You form plans great and many, But your followers about you are few.

199. HE REN SI

What man was that? His mind is full of dangerous devices. Why did he approach my dam, Without entering my gate? Of whom is he a follower? I venture to say, —of Bao. Those two follow each other in their goings; — Which of them wrought me this calamity? Why came he to my dam, Without entering to condole with me? Our former relations were different from the present, When he will have nothing to do with me. What man was it? Why came he to the path inside my gate? I heard his voice, But did not see his person. He is not ashamed before men; He does not stand in awe of Heaven. What man was it? He is like a violent wind. Why came he not from the north? Or why not from the south? Why did he approach my dam, Doing nothing but perturb my mind? You go along slowly, And yet you have not leisure to stop! You go along rapidly, And yet you have leisure to grease your wheels! If you would come to me but once! — Why am I kept in a state of expectation? If on your return you entered my house, My heart would be relieved. When on your return you do not enter it, It is hard to understand your denial. If you would come to me but once, It would set me at rest. The elder of us blew the porcelain whistle, And the younger blew the bamboo flute; I was as if strung on the same string with you. If indeed you do not understand me, Here are the three creatures for sacrifice, And I will take an oath to you. If you were an imp or a water-bow, You could not be got at. But when one with face and eyes stands opposite to another, The man can be seen through and through. I have made this good song, To probe to the utmost your veerings and turnings.

200. XIANG BO

A few elegant lines, May be made out to be shell-embroidery. Those slanderers, Have gone to great excess. A few diverging points, May be made out to be the southern Sieve. Those slanderers! Who devised their schemes for them? With babbling mouths you go about, Scheming and wishing to slander others, Butbe careful of your words; — People will yet say that you are untruthful. Clever you are, and ever changing. In your schemes and wishes to slander. They receive it now indeed, But by and by it will turn to your own hurt. The proud are delighted, And the troubled are in sorrow. O azure Heaven! O azure Heaven! Look on those proud men, Pity those troubled. Those slanderers! Who devised their schemes for them? I would take those slanderers, And throw them to wolves and tigers. If these refused to devour them, I would cast them into the north. If the north refused to receive them, I would throw them into the hands of great Heaven. The way through the willow garden, Lies near the acred height. I, the eunuch Meng-zi, Have made this poem. All ye officers, Reverently hearken to it.

201. GU FENG

Gently blows the east wind; — The wind followed by the rain. In the time of fear and dread, It was all I and you. In your time of rest and pleasure, You have turned and cast me off. Gently blows the east wind; — And the wind is followed by the tornado. In the time of fear and dread, You placed me in your breast. In your time of rest and pleasure, You have cast me off like an abandoned thing. Gently blows the east wind; — And on the rock-covered tops of the hills. There is no grass which is not dying, No tree which is not withering. You forget my great virtues, And think of my small faults.

202. LIAO E

Long and large grows the e; — It is not the e but the hao. Alas! alas! my parents, With what toil ye gave me birth! Long and large grows the e; — It is not the e but the wei. Alas! alas! my parents, With what toil and suffering ye gave me birth! When the pitcher is exhausted, It is the shame of the jar. Than to live an orphan, It would be better to have been long dead. Fatherless, who is there to rely on? Motherless, who is there to depend on? When I go abroad, I carry my grief with me; When I come home, I have no one to go to. O my father, who begat me! O my mother, who nourished me! Ye indulged me, ye fed me, Ye held me up, ye supported me, Ye looked after me, ye never left me, Out and in ye bore me in your arms. If I would return your kindness, It is like great Heaven, illimitable, Cold and bleak is the Southern hill; The rushing wind is very fierce. People all are happy; — Why am I alone thus miserable? The Southern hill is very steep; The rushing wind is blustering. People all are happy; — I alone have been unable to finish my duty.

203. DA DONG

Well loaded with millet were the dishes, And long and curved were spoons of thorn-wood. The way to Zhou was like a whetstone, And straight as an arrow. So the officers trod it, And the common people looked on it. When I look back and think of it, My tears run down in streams. In the States of the east, large and small, The looms are empty. Thin shoes of dolichos fibre, Are made to serve to walk on the hoar-frost. Slight and elegant gentlemen, Walk along that road to Zhou. Their going and coming, Makes my heart ache. Ye cold waters, issuing variously from the spring, Do not soak the firewood I have cut. Sorrowful I awake and sigh; — Alas for us toiled people! The firewood has been cut; — Would that it were conveyed home! Alas for us the toiled people! Would that we could have rest! The sons of the east, Are only summoned to service, without encouragement; While the sons of the west, Shine in splendid dresses. he sons of boatmen, Have furs of the bear and grisly bear. The sons of the poorest families, Form the officers in public employment. If we present them with spirits, They do not look on them as liquor. If we give them long girdle-pendants with their stones, They do not think them long enough. There is the milky way in heaven, Which looks down on us in light; And the three stars together are the Weaving Sisters, Passing in a day through seven stages of the sky. Although they go through their seven stages, They complete no bright work for us. Brilliant shine the Draught Oxen, But they do not serve to draw our carts. In the east there is Lucifer; In the west there is Hesperus; Long and curved is the Rabbit Net of th esky; — But they only occupy their places. In the south is the Sieve, But it is of no use to sift. In the north is the Ladle, But it lades out no liquor. In the south is the Sieve, Idly showing its mouth. In the north is the Ladle, Raising its handle in the west.

204. SI YUE

In the fourth month comes summer, And in the sixth month the heat begins to decrease. Were not my forefathers men? How can they endure that I should be thus? The autumn days become cold, And the plants all decay. Amid such distress of disorder and dispersion, Whither can I betake myself? The winter days are very fierce, And the storm blows in rapid gusts. People all are happy; Why do I alone suffer this misery? On the mountain are fine trees, — Chestnut trees and plum trees. Of their degenerating into ravening thieves, I know not the evil cause. Look at the water of that spring, Sometimes clear, sometimes muddy. I am every day coming into contact with misfortune; How can I be happy? Grandly flow the Jiang and the Han, Regulators of the southern States. Worn out as I am with service, He yet takes no notice of me. I am not an eagle nor a hawk, Which flies aloft to heaven. I am not a sturgeon, large or small, Which can dive and hide in the deep. On the hills are the turtle-foot and thorn ferns; In the marshes are the medlar and the yi. I, an officer, have made this song, To make known my plaint.

DECADE OF BEI SHAN

205. BEI SHAN

I ascend that northern hill, And gather the medlars. An officer, strong and vigorous, Morning and evening I am engaged in service. The king's business is not to be slackly performed; And my parents are left in sorrow. Under the wide heaven, All is the king's land. Within the sea-boundaries of the land, All are the king's servants. His great officers are unfair, — Making me serve thus as if I alone were worthy. My four horses never halt; The king's business allows no rest. They praise me as not yet old; They think few like me in vigour. While the backbone retains its strength, I must plan and labour in all parts of the kingdom. Some enjoy their ease and rest, And some are worn out in the service of the State; Some rest and loll upon their couches, And some never cease marching about. Some never hear a sound, And some are cruelly toiled; Some lazily roost, on their backs looking up, And some are all-bustled in the service of the king. Some indulge long in pleasure and drinking, And some are miserable, in apprehension of blame; Some, at home and abroad, pass critical remarks, And some have everything to do.

206. WU JIANG DA CHE

Do not push forward a waggon; — You will only raise the dust about yourself. Do not think of all your anxieties; — You will only make yourself ill. Do not push forward a waggon; — The dust will only blind you. Do not think of all your anxieties; — You will not emerge from imperfect views. Do not push forward a waggon; — The dust will only becloud you. Do not think of all your anxieties; — You will only weigh yourself down.

207. XIAO MING

O bright and high Heaven, Who enlightenest and rulest this lower world! I marched on this expedition to the west, As far as this wilderness of Qiu. From the first day of the second month, I have passed through the cold and the heat. My heart is sad; The poison of my lot is too bitter. I think of those at court in their offices, And my tears flow down like rain. Do I not wish to return? But I fear the net for crime. Formerly, when I set out, The sun and moon had renewed the year. When shall I return? The year is now late. I think how I am alone, While the affairs devolving on me are very many. My heart is sad; And I am toiled without any leisure. I think of those at court in their offices, Looking back to them with fond regard. Do I not wish to return? But I am afraid of reproof and anger. Formerly, when I set out, The sun and moon were giving a mild warmth. When shall I return? The affairs of government are become more urgent. It is late in the year, And we are gathering the southernwood, and reaping the beans. My heart is sad; I give myself nothing but distress. When I think of those at court in their offices, I rise and pass the night outside. Do I not wish to return? But I am afraid of the vicissitudes of things. Ah! ye gentlemen! Do not reckon on your rest being permanent. Quietly fulfil the duties of your offices, Associating with the correct and upright. So shall the Spirits hearken to you, And give you good. Ah! ye gentlemen! Do not reckon on your repose being permanent. Quietly fulfil the duties of your offices, Loving the correct and upright. So shall the Spirits hearken to you, And give you large measures of bright happiness.

208. GU ZHONG

His bells ring out jiang-jiang, While the waters of the Huai go sweeping on; Sad is my heart and wouded. The virtuous sovereigns of old, — In my heart, indeed, I cannot forget them. His drums ring out jie-jie, While the waters of the Huai rush along; My heart is sad and grieved. Of the virtuous sovereigns of old, The virtue was without flaw. His bells ring out, his large drums resound, There are the three islands in the Huai; Sad is my heart and moved. Of the virtuous sovereigns of old, The virtue was different from this. His bells ring out qin-qin; His lutes, large and small, give their notes; The tones of his organs and sounding stones are in unison. They sing the Ya and the Nan, Dancing to their flutes without error.

209. CHU CI

Thick grew the tribulus on the ground, But they cleared away its thorny bushes. Why did they this of old? That we might plant our millet and sacrificial millet; That our millet might be abundant, And our sacrificial millet luxuriant. When our barns are full, And our stacks can be counted by tens of myriads, We proceed to make spirits and prepare viands, For offerings and sacrifice; We seat the representatives of the dead, and urge them to eat:— Thus seeking to increase our bright happiness. With correct and reverent deportment, The oxen and sheep all pure, We proceed to the winter and autumnal sacrifices. Some flay the victims; some boil their flesh; Some arrange the meat; some adjust the pieces of it. The priest sacrifices inside the temple gate, And all the service is complete and brilliant. Grandly come our progenitors; Their Spirits happily enjoy the offerings; Their filial descendent receives blessing:— They will reward him with great happiness, With myriads of years, life without end. They attend to the furnaces with reverence; They prepare the trays, which are very large; — Some for the roast meat; some for the broiled. Wives presiding are still and reverent, Preparing the numerous smaller dishes. The guests and visitors, Present the cup, and drink all round. Every form is according to rule; Every smile and word are as they should be. The Spirits

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quietly come, And respond with great blessings; — Myriads of years as the fitting reward. We are very much exhausted, And have performed every ceremony without error. The able priest announces the will of the Spirits, And goes to the filial descendent to convey it. 'Fragrant has been your filial sacrifice, And the Spirits have enjoyed your spirits and viands. They confer upon you a hundred blessings; Each as it is desired, each as sure as law. You have been exact and expeditions; You have been correct and careful: They will ever confer on you the choicest favours, In myriads and tens of myriads.' The ceremonies having thus been completed, And the bells and drums having given their warning, The filial descendent goes to his place, And the able priest makes his announcement, 'The Spirits have drunk to the full.' The great representative of the dead then rises, And the bells and drums escort his withdrawal, On which the Spirits tranquilly return to their place. All the servants, and the presiding wives, Remove the trays and dishes without delay. The descendant's uncles and cousins, All repair to the private feast.

210. XIN NAN SHAN

Yes, all about that southern hill, Was made manageable by Yu. Its plains and marshes being opened up, It was made into fields by the distant descendant. We define their boundaries, we form their smaller divisions, And make the acres lie, here to the south, there to the east. The heavens over head are one arch of clouds, Snowing in multitudinous flakes. There is superadded the drizzling rain. When the land has received the moistening, Soaking influence abundantly, It produces all our kinds of grain. The boundaries and smaller divisions are nicely adjusted, And the millets yield abundant crops, The harvest of the distant descendant. We proceed to make therewith spirits and food, To supply our representatives of the dead, and our guests; — To obtain long life, extending over myriads of years. In the midst of the fields are the huts, And along the bounding divisions are gourds. The fruits is sliced and pickled, To be presented to our great ancestors, That their distant descendant may have long life, And receive the blessing of Heaven. We sacrifice first with pure spirits, And then follow with a red bull; Offering them to our ancestors. Our lord holds the knife with tinkling bells, To lay open the hair of the victim, And takes its flesh and fat. Then we present, then we offer; All round the fragrance is diffused. Complete and brilliant is the sacrificial service; Grandly come our ancestors. They will reward their descendant with great blessing, — Long life, years without end.

211. FU TIAN

Bright are those extensive fields, A tenth of whose produce is annually levied. I take the old stores, And with them feed the husbandmen, From of old we have had good years, And now I go to the south-lying acres, Where some are weeding, and some gather the earth about the roots. The millets look luxuriant; And in a spacious resting place, I collect and encourage the men of greater promise. With my vessels full of bright millet, And my pure victim-rams, We sacrificed to the Spirits of the land, and to those of the four quarters. That my fields are in such good condition, Is matter of joy to my husbandmen. With lutes, and with drums beating, We will invoke the Father of husbandry, And pray for sweet rain, To increase the produce of our millets, And to bless my men and their wives. The distant descendant comes, When their wives and children, Are bringing food to those at work in the south-lying acres. The surveyor of the fields also comes, and is glad. He takes of the food on the left and the right, And tastes whether it be good or not. The grain is well cultivated, all the acres over; Good will it be and abundant. The distant descendant has no displacency; The husbandmen are encouraged to diligence. The crops of the distant descendant, Look thick as thatch, and swelling like a carriage cover. The stacks of the distant descendant, Will stand like islands and mounds. He will seek for thousands of granaries; He will seek for myriads of carts. The millets, the paddy, and the maize, Will awake the joy of the husbandmen; And they will say, ' May he be rewarded with great happiness. With myriads of years, life without end!

212. DA TIAN

Large are the fields, and various is the work to be done. Having selected the seed, and looked after the implements, So that all preparations have been made for our labour, We take our sharp plough-shares, And commence on the south-lying acres. We sow all the kinds of grain, Which grow up straight and large, So that the wish of the distant descendant is satisfied. It ears, and the fruit lies soft in its sheath; It hardens and is of good quality; There is no wolf ' s-tail grass, nor darnel. We remove the insects that eat the heart and the leaf, And those that eat the roots and the joints. So that they shall not hurt the young plants of our fields. May the Spirit, the Father of husbandry, Lay hold of them, and put them in the blazing fire! The clouds form in dense masses, And the rain comes down slowly. May it rain first on our public fields, And then come to our private! There shall be young grain unreaped, And here some sheaves ungathered; There shall be handfuls left on the ground, And here ears untouched:— The distant descendant will come, When their wives and children, Are bringing food to those at work on the south-lying acres. The surveyor of the fields also will come and be glad. They will come and offer pure sacrifices to the Spirits of the four quarters, With their preparations of millet: Thus offering, thus sacrificing, Thus increasing our bright happiness.

213. ZHAN BI LUO YI

Look at the Luo, With its waters broad and deep. Thither has come our lord, In whom all happiness and dignity are concentrated. Red are his madder-dyed knee covers, In which he might raise his six armies. Look at the Luo, With its waters broad and deep. Thither has our lord come, The gems at his scabbard ' s mouth all-gleaming. May our lord live myriads of years, Preserving his House! Look at the Luo, With its waters broad and deep. Thither has our lord come, In whom all happiness and dignities are united. May our lord live myriads of years, Preserving his clans and States!

214. CHANG CHANG ZHE HUA

Splendid are the flowers, And the leaves are luxuriant. I see these princes, And my heart is entirely satisfied. My heart is entirely satisfied. Right is it they should have praise and prosperity! Splendid are the flowers, And deep is their yellow. I see these princes, Full of all elegance. They are full of all elegance; — Right is it they should have every blessing! Splendid are the flowers, Some yellow, some white. I see these princes, Drawn by their four white steeds, black-maned. They are drawn by their four white steeds, black-maned. And the six reins are glossy! To the left they move, to the left, And they execute the movement properly. To the right they move, to the right, And they execute the movement properly. They are possessed of the ability, And right is it their movements should indicate it.

DECADE OF SANG HU

215. SANG HU

They flit about, the green-beaks, With their variegated wings. To be rejoiced in are these princes! May they receive the blessing of Heaven! They flit about, the green-beaks, With their glancing necks. To be rejoiced in are these princes! They are screens to all the States. These screens, these buttresses, — All the chiefs will take them as a pattern. Are they not self-restrained? Are they not careful? Will they not receive much happiness? How long is that cup of rhinoceros' horn! Good are the spirits in it and soft. While it passes round, they show no pride; All blessing must come to seek them.

216. YUAN YANG

The Yellow ducks fly about, And are taken with hand-nets and spread-nets. May our sovereign live for ten thousand years, Enjoying the happiness and wealth which are his due! The Yellow ducks are on the dam, With their left wings gathered up. May our sovereign live for ten thousand years, Enjoying the happiness and wealth which are his due! The teams of steeds are in the stable, Fed with forage and grain. May our sovereign live for ten thousand years, Sustained in his happiness and wealth! The teams of steeds are in the stable, Fed with grain and forage. May our sovereign live for ten thousand years, In the comfort of his happiness and wealth!

217. KUI BIAN

Those in the leather caps, — Who are they? Since your spirits are so good, And your viands are so fine, How can they be strangers? They are your brethren, and no others. They are like the mistletoe and the dodder. Growing over the pine and the cypress. While they do not see you, O king, Their sorrowful hearts are all-unsettled. When they do see you, They begin to be happy and glad. Those in the leather caps, — Who are they? Since your spirits are so good, And your viands are all of the season. How can they be strangers? They are your brethren, all assembled. They are like the mistletoe and the dodder. Growing over the pine. While they do not see you, O king, Their hearts are full of sorrow. When they do see you, They begin to feel that things are right. There are those in the leather caps, Which they wear on their heads. Since your spirits are so good, And your viands are so]abundant, How can they be strangers?They are your brethren, and your relatives by affinity. When there is going to be a fall of snow, There is first the descent of sleet. Death and ruin may come any day, It is not long that you will see one another. Rejoice over your spirits for the present evening; O king, enjoy the feast.

218. CHE XIA

Jian-guan went the axle ends of my carriage, As I thought of the young beauty, and went to fetch her. It was not that I was hungry or thirsty, But I longed for one of such virtuous fame to come and be with me. Although no good friends be with us, We will feast and be glad. Dense is that forest in the plain, And there sit the long-tailed pheasants. In her proper season that well-grown lady, With her admirable virtue, is come to instruct me. We will feast, and I will praise her. 'I love you, and will never be weary of you.' Although I have no good spirits, We will drink what I have, and perhaps be satisfied. Although I have no good viands, We will eat what I have, and perhaps be satisfied. Although I have no virtue to impart to you, We will sing and dance. I ascend that lofty ridge, And split the branches of the oaks for firewood. I split the branches of the oaks for firewoodmid the luxuriance of their leaves. I see you whose match is seldom to be seen, And my whole heart is satisfied. The high hill is looked up to; The great road is easy to be travelled on. My four steeds advanced without stopping; The six reins made music in my hands like lute-strings. I see you my bride, To the comfort of my heart.

219. QING YING

They buzz about, the blue flies, Lighting on the fences. O happy and courteous sovereign, Do not believe slanderous speeches. They buzz about, the blue flies, Lighting on the jujube trees. The slanderous observe no limits, And throw the whole kingdom into confusion. They buzz about, the blue flies, Lighting on the hazel trees. The slanderous observe no limits, And set us two at variance.

220. BIN ZHI CHU YAN

When the guests first approach the mats, They take their places on the left and the right in an orderly manner. The dishes of bamboo and wood are arranged in rows, With the sauces and kernels displayed in them. The spirits are mild and good, And they drink, all equally reverent. The bells and drums are properly arranged; And they raise their pledge-cups with order and ease. Then the great target is set up; The bows and arrows are made ready for the shooting; The archers are matched in classes. 'Show your skill in shooting,' it is said. 'I shall hit that mark,' it is responded, 'And pray you to drink the cup.' The dancers move with their flutes to the notes of the organ and drum, While all the instruments perform in harmony. All this is done to please the meritorious ancestors, Along with the observance of all ceremonies. When all the ceremonies have been performed, Grandly and fully, 'We confer on you great blessings, ' says the representative of the dead, 'And may your descendants also be happy!' They are happy and delighted, And each of them exerts his ability. A guest draws the spirits, An attendant enters again, with a cup, And fills it, — the cup of rest. Thus are performed your seasonal ceremonies. When the guests first approach the mats, All harmonies are they and reverent. Before they have drunk too much, Their deportment is carefully observant of propriety; But when they have drunk too much, Their deportment becomes light and frivolous:— They leave their seats, and go elsewhere, They keep dancing and capering. Before they have drunk too much, Their deportment is cautious and grave:— But when they have drunk too much, Their deportment becomes indecent and rude:— Thus when they have too much, They lose all sense of orderliness. When the guests have drunk too much, They shout out and brawl. They disorder the dishes; They keep dancing in a fantastic manner. Thus when they have drunk too much, They become insensible of their errors. With their caps on one side, and like to fall off, They keep dancing the will not stop. If, when they have drunk too much, they went out, Both they and their host would be happy; But remaining after they are drunk, Is what is called doing injury to virtue. Drinking is a good institution, Only when there is good deportment in it. On every occasion of drinking, Some get drunk, and some do not. An inspector is appointed, With a recorder to assist him. But those drunkards, in their vileness, Are shamed of those who do not get drunk. These have no opportunity to speak, And prevent the others from proceeding to such great abandonment. They might say, ' Do not speak what you ought not to speak; Do not say what you have no occasion to say, If you speak, drunk as you are, We will make you produce a ram without horns. With three cups you lose your memories; — How dare you go on to more?'

221. YU ZAO

The fishes are there, there among the pondweed, Showing their large heads. The king is here, here in Hao, At ease and happy, while he drinks. The fishes are there, there among the pondweed, Showing their long tails. The king is here, here in Hao, Drinking, happy and at ease. The fishes are there, there among the pondweed, Sheltered by the rushes. The king is here, here in Hao, Dwelling in tranquillity.

222. CAI SHU

They gather the beans, they gather the beans, In their baskets, square and round. The princes are coming to court, And what gifts have I to give them?Although I have none to give them, There are the state carriages and their teams. What more have I to give them? The dark-coloured upper robes with the dragon, And the lower garments with the hatchet. Right up bubbles the water from the spring, And they gather the cress about it. The princes are coming to court, And I see their dragon flags; — Their dragon flags moving in the wind, While the sound of their bells comes hui-hui. There are the two outside horses, there are the whole teams, — Proofs that

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the princes are come. Their red covers on their knees, And their buskins below, There is no remissness in their demeanour; — Of such should the son of Heaven approve. To be rejoiced in are the princes, And the son of Heaven gives them the badges of his favour. To be rejoiced in are the princes, And their happiness and dignities are renewed and extended. On the branches of the oaks, How abundant are the leaves! To be rejoiced in are the princes, Guardians of the regions of the son of Heaven. To be rejoiced in are the princes, Around whom all the blessings collect. Discriminating and able are their attendants, Who also have followed them hither. It floats about, the boat of willow wood, Fastened by the band of the rope. To be rejoiced in are the princes, And the son of Heaven scans their merits. To be rejoiced in are the princes, And their happiness and dignities are enlarged. How joyous, how happy, Is their coming here!

223. JIAO GONG

Well fashioned is the bow adorned with horn, And swift is its recoil. Brothers and relatives by affinity, Should not be treated distantly. When you keep yours at a distance, The people all do the same with theirs. What you teach, The people all imitate. Those brothers who are good, Continue to display much generous feeling; But between brothers who are not good, Their intercourse is marked by troubles. People who have no conscience, Repine against each other, each one holding his own point of view; One gets a place, and shows no humility — Till they all come to ruin. An old horse, notwithstanding, thinks himself a colt, And has no regard to the future. It is like craving a superabundance of food, And an excess of drink. Do not teach a monkey to climb trees; — You act like adding mud to one in the mud. If the sovereign have good ways, The small people will accord with them. The snow may have fallen abundantly, But when it feels the sun's heat, it dissolves. You are not willing to discountenance those parties, And so they become more troublesome and arrogant. The snow may have fallen largely, But when it feels the sun's heat, it flows away. They become like the Man or the Mao; — This is what make me sad.

224. WAN LIU

There is a luxuriant willow tree; — Who would not wish to rest under it? But this god is very changeable; — Do not approach him. If I were to try and order his affairs, His demands afterwards would be extreme. There is a luxuriant willow tree; — Who would not wish to take shelter under it? But this god is very changeable, Do not get yourself into trouble with him. If I were to try and order his affairs, His demands on me afterwards would be beyond measure. There is a bird flying high, Even up to heaven. The heart of that man, — To what will it proceed? Why should I try to order his affairs? I should only find myself in pitiable misery.

DECADE OF DU REN SHI

225. DU REN SHI

Those officers of the old capital, With their fox-furs so yellow, Their deportment unvaryingly correct, And their speech full of elegance! —If we could go back to the old Zhou, They would be admiringly looked up by all the people. Those officers of the old capital, With their hats of Tai leaves and small black caps! — Those ladies of noble Houses. With their hair so thick and straight! — I do not see them now, And my heart is dissatisfied. Those officers of the old capital, With their ear-plugs of xiu-stones! — Those ladies of noble Houses, Each fit to be called a Yin or a Ji! — I do not see them now, And my heart grieves with indissoluble sorrow. Those officers of the old capital, With their girdles hanging elegantly down! — Those ladies of great Houses, With their side hair curving up like a scorpion's tail! — I do not see them now, If I could, I would walk along after them. Not that they purposely let their girdles hang down; — The girdles were naturally long. Not that they gave their hair that curve; — The hair had a natural curl. I do not see them now, And how do I long for them!

226. CAI LU

All the morning I gather the king-grass, And do not collect enough to fill my hands. My hair is in a wisp; — I will go home and wash it. All the morning I gather the indigo plant, And do not collect enough to fill my apron. Five days was the time agreed on; — It is the sixth, and I do not see him. When he went a hunting, I put the bow in its case for him. When he went to fish, I arranged his line for him. What did he take in angling? Bream and tench; — Bream and tench, While people looked on to see.

227. SHU MIAO

Tall and strong grows the young millet, Fattened by the genial rains. Very long was our journey to the south, But the earl of Zhou encouraged and cheered us. We carried our burdens; we pushed along our barrows; We drove our waggons; we led our oxen. When our expedition was ccomplished, We knew we should return. We went along on foot; we rode in our chariots; — Our whole host, and our battalions. When our expedition was accomplished, We knew we should return home. Severe was the work at Su, But the earl of Zhou built the city. Majestic was the march of our host; — The earl of Zhou directed it. The plains and low lands were regulated; — The springs and streams were cleared. The earl of Zhou completed his work, And the heart of the king was at rest.

228. XI SANG

In the low, wet grounds, the mulberry trees are beautiful, And their leaves are luxuriant. When I see the princely men, How great is the pleasure! In the low, wet grounds, the mulberry trees are beautiful, And their leaves are glossy. When I see the princely men, How can I be other than glad? In the low, wet grounds, the mulberry trees are beautiful, And their leaves are dark. When I see the princely men, Their virtuous fame draws them close to my heart. In my heart I love them, And why should I not say so? In the core of my heart I keep them, And never will forget them.

229. BAI HUA

The fibres from the white flowered rush, Are bound with the white grass. This man's sending me away, Makes me dwell solitary. The light and brilliant clouds, Bedew the rush and the grass. The way of Heaven is hard and difficult; — This man does nto confirm to good principle. How the water from the pools flows away to north, Flooding the rice fields! I whistle and sing with wounded heart, Thinking of that great man. They gather firewood of branches of the mulberry trees, And I burn them only in a small furnace. That great man, Does indeed toil and trouble my heart. Their drums and bells are beaten in the palace, And their sound is heard without. All-sorrowful I think of him; — He thinks of me without any regard. The marabou is on the dam; The common crane is in the forest. That great man, Does indeed toil and trouble my heart. The Yellow ducks are on the dams, With their left wings gathered up. That man is bad, Ever varying in his conduct. How thin is that slab of stone! He that stands on it is low. That man's sending me away, Makes me full of affliction.

230. MIAN MAN

There is that little oriole, Resting on a bend of the mound. The way is distant, And I am very much wearied. Give me drink, give me food; Inform me, teach me; Order one of the attending carriages, And tell them to carry me. There is that little oriole, Resting on a corner of the mound. It is not that I dare to shrink from the journey, But I am afraid of not being able to go on. Give me drink, give me food; Inform me, teach me; Order one of the attending carriages, And tell them to carry me. There is that little oriole, Resting on the side of the mound. It is not that I dare to shrink from the journey, But I am afraid of not getting to the end of it. Give me drink, give me food; Inform me, teach me; Order one of the attending carriages, And tell them to carry me.

231. HU YE

Of the gourd leaves, waving about, Some are taken and boiled; Then the superior man, from his spirits, Pours out a cup, and tastes it. There is but a single rabbit, Baked, or roasted. But the superior man, from his spirits, Fills the cup and presents it to his guests. There is but a single rabbit, Roasted, or broiled. But from the spirits of the superior man, His guests fill the cup, and present it to him. There is but a single rabbit, Roasted, or baked. But from the spirits of the superior man, His guests and he fill the cup and pledge one another.

232. JIAN JIAN ZHI SHI

Those frowning rocks, — How high they rise! Over such a distance of hills and streams, How toilsome is the march! The warrior, in charge of the expedition to the east, Has not a morning's leisure. Those frowning rocks, — How they crown the heights! Over such a distance of hills and streams, When shall we have completed our march? The warrior, in charge of the expedition to the east, Has no leisure to think how he wll withdraw. There are swine, with their legs white, All wading through streams. The moon also is in the Hyades, Which will bring still greater rain. The warrior, in charge of the expedition to the east, Has no leisure to think of anything but this.

233. TIAO ZHI HUA

The flowers of the bignonia, Are of a deep yellow. My heart is sad; I feel its wound. The flowers of the bignonia are gone, There are only its leaves all-green. If I had known it would be thus with me, I had better not have been born. The ewes have large heads; The Three stars are seen in the fish-trap. If some men can get enough to eat, Few can get their fill.

234. HE CAO BU HUANG

Every plant is yellow; Every day we march. Every man is moving about, Doing service in some quarter of the kingdom. Every plant is purple; Every man is torn from his wife. Alas for us employed on these expeditions! How are we alone dealt with as if we were not men? We are not rhinoceroses, we are not tigers, To be kept in these desolate wilds. Alas for us employed on these expeditions! Morning and night we have no leisure. The long-tailed foxes, May keep among the dark grass. And our box-carts, Keep moving along the great roads.

SHI JING 3. GREATER ODES OF THE KINGDOM

DECADE OF WEN WANG

235. WEN WANG

King Wen is on high; Oh! bright is he in heaven. Although Zhou was an old country, The favouring appointment lighted on it recently. Illustrious was the House of Zhou, And the appointment of God came at the proper season. King Wen ascends and descends, On the left and the right of God. Full of earnest activity was king Wen, And his fame is without end. The gifts of God to Zhou, Extend to the descendants of king Wen; — To the descendants of king Wen, In the direct line and the collateral branches for a hundred generations. All the officers of Zhou, Shall also be illustrious from age to age. They shall be illustrious from age to age, Zealously and reverently pursuing their plans. Admirable are the many officers, Born in this royal kingdom. The royal kingdom is able to produce them, — The suppporters of the House of Zhou. Numerous is the array of officers, And by them king Wen enjoys his repose. Profound was king Wen; Oh! continuous and bright was his feeling of reverence. Great is the appointment of Heaven! There were the descendants of the sovereigns of Shang; — The descendants of the sovereigns of Shang, Were in number more than hundreds of thousands; But when God gave the command, They became subject to Zhou. They became subject to Zhou. The appointment of Heaven is not constant. The officers of Yin, admirable and alert, Assist at the libations in our capital; — They assist at those libations, Always wearing the hatchets on their lower garment and their peculiar cap. O ye loyal ministers of the king, Ever think of your ancestor! Ever think of your ancestor, Cultivating your virtue, Always striving to accord with the will of Heaven. So shall you be seeking for much happiness. Before Yin lost the multitudes, Its kings were the assessors fo God. Look to Yin as a beacon; The great appointment is not easily preserved. The appointment is not easily preserved, Do not cause your own extinction. Display and make bright your righteousness and name, And look at the fate of Yin in the light of Heaven. The doings of High Heaven, Have neither sound nor smell. Take your pattern from king Wen, And the myriad regions will repose confidence in you.

236. DA MING

The illustration of illustrious virtue is required below, And the dread majesty is on high. Heaven is not readily to be relied on; It is not easy to be king. Yin's rightful heir to the heavenly seat, Was not permitted to possess the kingdom. Jin, the second of the princesses of Zhi, From the domain of Yin-shang, Came to be married to the prince of Zhou, And because his wife in his capital, Both she and king Ji, Were entirely virtuous. Then Da-ren became pregnant, And gave birth to our king Wen. This king Wen, Watchfully and reverently, With entire intelligence served God, And so secured the great blessing. His virtue was without deflection; And in consequence he received the allegiance of the States from all quarters. Heaven surveyed this lower world; And its appointment lighted on king Wen. In his early years, It made for him a mate; — On the north of the Qia; On the banks of the Wei. When king Wen would wive, There was the lady in a large State. In a large State was the lady, Like a fair denizen of Heaven. The ceremonies determined the auspiciousness of the union. And in person he met her on the Wei. Over it he made a bridge of boats; — The glory of the occasion was illustrious. The favouring appointment was from Heaven, Giving the throne to our king Wen, In the capital of Zhou. The lady-successor was from Xin, Its eldest daughter, who came to marry him. She was blessed to give birth to king Wu, Who was preserved, and helped, and received also the appointment, And in accordance with it smote the great Shang. The troops of Yin-shang, Were collected like a forest, And marshalled in the wilderness of Mu. We rose to the crisis; — 'God is with you,' said Shang-fu to the king, 'Have no doubts in your heart.' The wilderness of Mu spread out extensive; Bright shone the chariots of sandal; The teams of bays, black-maned and white-bellied, galloped along; The grand-master Shang-fu, Was like an eagle on the wing, Assisting king Wu, Who at one onset smote the great Shang. That morning's encounter was followed by a clear bright day.

237. MIAN

In long trains ever increasing grow the gourds. When our people first sprang, From the country about the Ju and the Qi, The ancient duke Tan-fu, Made for them kiln-like huts and caves, Ere they had yet any houses. The ancient duke Tan-fu, Came in the morning, galloping his horses, Along the banks of the western rivers, To the foot of mount Qi; And there, he and the lady Jiang, Came, and together looked out for a site on which to settle. The plain of Zhou looked beautiful and

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rich, With its violets and sowthistles sweet as dumplings. There he began with consulting his followers; There he singed the tortoise-shell, and divined.

The responses were - there to stay, and then; And they proceeded there to build their houses. He encouraged the people and settled them; Here on the left, there on the right. He divided the ground into larger tracts and smaller portions; He dug the ditches; he defined the acres; From the west to the east, There was nothing which he did not take in hand. He called his superintendent of works; He called his minister of instruction; And charged them with the building of the houses. With the line they made everything straight; They bound the frame-boards tight, so that they should rise regularly. Uprose the ancestral temple in its solemn grandeur. Crowds brought the earth in baskets They threw it with shouts into the frames; They beat it with responsive blows; They pared the walls repeatedly, and they sounded strong. Five thousand cubits of them arose together, So that the roll of the great drum did not overpower the noise of the builders. They set up the gate of the enceinte; And the gate of the enceinte stood high. They set up the court gate; And the court gate stood grand. They reared the great altar to the Spirits of the land, From which all great movements should proceed. Thus though he could nto prevent the rage of his foes, He did not let fall his own fame. The oaks and the Yu were gradually thinned, And roads for travelling were opened. The hordes of the Hun disappeared, Startled and panting. The chiefs of Yu and Rui were brought to an agreement, By king Wen's stimulating their natural virtue. Then, I may say, some came to him, previously not knowing him; And some, drawn the last by the first; And some, drawn by his rapid success; Ans some, by his defence of the weak from insult.

238. YU PU

Abundant is the growth of the yu and the pu, Supplying firewood; yea, stores of it. Elegant and dignified was our prince and king; On the right and the left they hastened to him. Elegant and dignified was our prince and king; On his left and his right they bore their half-mace libation-cups; — They bore their instruments with solemn gravity, As beseemed such eminent officers. They rush along, —those boats on the King. All the rowers labouring at their oars. The king of Zhou marched on, Followed by his six hosts. Vast is that Milky Way, Making a brilliant figure in the sky. Long years did the king of Zhou enjoy; — Did he not exert an influence upon men? Engraved and chiselled are the ornaments; Of metal and of jade is their substance. Ever active was our king, Giving law and rules to the four quarters of the kingdom.

239. ZAO LU

Look at the foot of the Han, How abundantly grow the hazel and the arrow-thorn! Easy and self-possessed was our prince, In his pursuit of dignity still easy and self-possessed! Massive is that libation-cup of jade, With the yellow liquid sparkling in it. Easy and self-possessed was our prince, The fit recipient of blessing and dignity. The hawk flies up to heaven; The fishes leap in the deep. Easy and self-possessed was our-prince; — Did he not exert an influence upon men? His clear spirits are in vessel; His red bull is ready; — To offer, to sacrifice, To increase his bright happiness. Thick grow the oaks and the yu, Which the people use for fuel. Easy and self-possessed was our prince, Cheered and encouraged by the Spirits. Luxuriant are the dolichos and other creepers, Clinging to the branches and stems, Easy and self-possessed was our prince, Seeking for happiness by no crooked ways.

240. SI QI

Pure and reverent was Da-ren, The mother of king Wen; Loving was she to Zhou Jiang; — A wife becoming the House of Zhou. Da-si inherited her excellent fame, And from her came a hundred sons. He conformed to the example of his ancestors, And their Spirits had no occasion for complaint. Their Spirits had no occasion for dissatisfaction, And his example acted on his wife, Extended to his brethren, And was felt by all the clans and States. Full of harmony was he in his palace; Full of reverence in the ancestral temple. Out of sight he still felt as under inspection; Unweariedly he maintained his virtue. Though he could not prevent some great calamities, His brightness and magnanimity were without stain. Without previous instruction he did what was right; Without admonition, he went on in the path of goodness. So, grown up men became virtuous through him, And young men made constant attainments. Our ancient prince never felt weariness, And from him were the fame and eminence of his officers.

241. HUANG YI

Great is God, Beholding this lower world in majesty. He surveyed the four quarters of the kingdom, Seeking for some one to give settlement to the people. Those two earlier dynasties, Had failed to satisfy Him with their government; So throughout the various States, He sought and considered, For one on which he might confer the rule. Hating all the great States, He turned His kind regards on the west, And there gave a settlement to king Da. King Da raised up and removed, The dead trunks, and the fallen trees. He dressed and regulated, The bushy clumps, and the tangled rows. He opened up and cleared, The tamarix trees, and the stave-trees. He hewed and thinned, The mountain-mulberry trees. God having brought about the removal thither of this intelligent ruler, The Guan hordes fled away. Heaven raised up a helpmeet for him. And the appointment he had received was made sure. God surveyed the hills, Where the oaks and yu were thinned, And paths made through the firs and cypresses. God, who had raised the State, raised up a proper ruler for it; — From the time of Da-bo and king Ju this was done. Now this king Ju, In his heart was full of brotherly duty. Full of duty to his elder brother, He gave himself the more to promote the prosperity of the country, And secured to him the glory of his act. He accepted his dignity, and did not lose it, And ere long his family possessed the whole kingdom. The king Ju, Was gifted by God with the power of judgement, So that the fame of his virtue silently grew. His virtue was highly intelligent; — Highly intelligent and of rare discrimination; Able to lead, able to rule, — To rule over this great country; Rendering a cordial submission, effecting a cordial union. When the sway came to king Wen, His virtue left nothing to be dissatisfied with. He received the blessing of God, And it was extended to his descendants. God said to king Wen, 'Be not like those who reject this and cling to that; Be not like those who are ruled by their likings and desires;' So he grandly ascended before others to the height of virtue. The people of Mi were disobedient, Daring to oppose our great country, And invaded Yuan, marching to Gung. The king rose majestic in his wrath; He marshalled his troops, To stop the invading foes; To consolidate the prosperity of Zhou; To meet the expectations of all under heaven. He remained quietly in the capital; But his troops went on from the borders of Yuan. They ascended our lofty ridges, And the enemy arrayed no forces on our hills, On our hills, small or large, Nor drank at our springs, Our springs or our pools. He then determined the finest of the plains, And settled on the south of Ju, On the side of the Wei; The centre of all the States, The resort of the lower people. God said to king Wen, 'I am pleased with your intelligent virtue, Not loudly proclaimed nor pourtrayed, Without extravagance or changeableness, Without consciousness of effort on your part, In accordance with the pattern of God.' God said to king Wen, 'Take measures against the country of your foes. Along with your brethren, Get ready your scaling ladders, And yoru engines of onfall and assault, To attack the walls of Chong.' The engines of onfall and assault were gently plied, Against the walls of Chong high and great; Captives for the question were brought in one after another; ' The left ears of the slain were taken leisurely. He sacrificed to God, and to the Father of War, Thus seeking to induce submission; And throughout the kingdom none dared to insult him. The engines of onfall and assault were vigorously plied, Against the walls of Chong very strong; He attacked it, and let loose all his forces; He extinguished its sacrifices, and made an end of its existence; And throughout the kingdom none dared to oppose him.'

242. LING TAI

When he planned the commencement of the marvellous tower, He planned it, and defined it; And the people in crowds undertook the work, And in no time completed it. When he planned the commencement, he said, 'Be not in a hurry;' But the people came as if they were his children. The king was in the marvellous park, Where the does were lying down, — The does, so sleek and fat; With the white birds glistening. The king was by the marvellous pond; — How full was it of fishes leaping about! On his posts was the toothed face-board, high and strong, With the large drums and bells. In what unison were their sounds! What joy was there in the hall with its circlet of water! In what unison sounded the drums and bells! What joy was there in the hall with its circlet of water! The lizard-skin drums rolled harmonious, As the blind musicians performed their parts.

243. XIA WU

Successors tread in the steps of their predecessors in our Zhou. For generations there had been wise kings; The three sovereigns were in heaven; And king Wu was their worthy successor in his capital. King Wu was their worthy successor in his capital, Rousing himself to seek for the hereditary virtue, Always striving to accord with the will of Heaven; And thus he secured the confidence due to a king. He secured the confidence due to a king, And became a pattern of all below him. Ever thinking how to be filial, His filial mind was the model which he supplied. Men loved him, the One man, And responded to his example with a docile virtue. Ever thinking how to be filial, He brilliantly continued the doings of his fathers. Brilliantly! and his posterity, Continuing to walk in the steps of their forefathers, For myriads of years, Will receive the blessing of Heaven. They will receive the blessing of Heaven. And from the four quarters of the kingdom will felicitations come to them. For myriads of years, Will there not be their helpers?

244. WEN WANG YOU SHENG

King Wen is famous; Yea, he is very famous. What he sought was the repose of the people; What he saw was the completion of his work. A sovereign true was king Wen! King Wen received the appointment of Heaven, And achieved his martial success. Having overthrown Chong, He fixed his capital city in Feng. A sovereign true was king Wen! He repaired the walls along the old moat: His establishing himself in Feng was according to the pattern of his forefathers, It was not that he was in haste to gratify his wishes; — It was to show the filial duty which had come down to him. A sovereign true was our royal prince! His royal merit was brightly displayed, By those walls of Feng. There were collected the sympathies of the people of the four quarters, Who regarded the royal prince as their protector. A sovereign true was our royal prince! The Feng-water flowed on to the east of the city, Through the meritorious labour of Yu. There were collected the sympathies of the people of the four quarters, Who would have the great king as their ruler. A sovereign true was the great king! In the capital of Hao he built his hall with its circlet of water; From the west to the east, From the south to the north, There was not a thought but did him homage. A sovereign true was the great king! He examined and divined, did the king, About settling in the capital of Hao. The tortoise-shell decided the site, And king Wu completed the city. A sovereign true was king Wu! By the Feng-water grows the white millet; — Did not king Wu show wisdom in his employment of officers? He would leave his plans to his descendants, And secure comfort and support to his son. A sovereign true was king Wu!

DECADE OF SHENG MIN

245. SHENG MIN

The first birth of our people, Was from Jiang Yuan. How did she give birth to our people? She had presented a pure offering and sacrificed, That her childlessness might be taken away. She then trod on a toe-print made by God, and was moved, In the large place where she rested. She became pregnant; she dwelt retired; She gave birth to, and nourished a son, Who was Hou-ji. When she had fulfilled her months, Her first-born son came forth like a lamb. There was no bursting, nor rending, No injury, no hurt; — Showing how wonderful he would be. Did not God give her the comfort? Had He not accepted her pure offering and sacrifice, So that thus easily she brought forth her son? He was placed in a narrow lane, But the sheep and oxen protected him with loving care. He was placed in a wide forest, Where he was met with by the wood-cutters. He was placed on the cold ice, And a bird screened and supported him with its wings. When the bird went away, Hou-ji began to wail. His cry was long and loud, So that his voice filled the whole way. When he was able to crawl, He looked majestic and intelligent. When he was able to feed himself, He fell to planting large beans. The beans grew luxuriantly; His rows of paddy shot up beautifully; His hemp and wheat grew strong and close; His gourds yielded abundantly. The husbandry of Hou-ji, Proceeded on the plan of helping the growth. Having cleared away the thick grass, He sowed the ground with the yellow cereals. He managed the living grain, till it was ready to burst; Then he used it as seed, and it sprang up; It grew and came into ear; It became strong and good; It hung down, every grain complete; — And thus he was appointed lord of Tai. He gave his people the beautiful grains:— The black millet, and the double-kernelled; The tall red, and the white. They planted extensively the black and the double-kernelled, Which were reaped and stacked on the ground. They planted extensively the tall red and the white, Which were carried on their shoulders and backs, Home for the sacrifices which he founded. And how as to our sacrifices to him? Some hull the grain; some take it from the mortar; Some sift it; some tread it. It is rattling in the dishes; It is distilled, and the steam floats about. We consult; we observe the rites of purification; We take southernwood and offer it with the fat; We sacrifice a ram to the Spirit of the path; We offer roast flesh and broiled:— And thus introduce the coming year. We load the stands with the offerings, The stands both of wood and of earthenware. As soon as the fragrance ascends, God, well pleased, smells the sweet savour. Fragrant is it, and in its due season! Hou-ji founded the sacrifice, And no one, we presume, has given occasion for blame or regret in regret to it, Down to the present day.

246. XING WEI

In thick patches are those rushes, springing by the way (-side); Let not the cattle and sheep trample them. Anon they will burst up; anon they will be completely formed, With their leaves soft and glossy. Closely related are brethren; — Let none be absent, let all be near. For some there are spread mats; For some there are given stools besides. The mats are spread, and a second one above; The stools are given, and there are plenty of servants. The guests are pledged, and they pledge the host in return; He rinses the cup, and the guests put theirs down. Sauces and pickles are brought in, With roast meat and broiled. Excellent provisions there are also of tripe and cheek; With singing to lutes, and with drums. The

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ornamented bows are strong, And the four arrows are all balanced. They discharge the arrows, and all hit, And the guests are arranged according to their skill. The ornamented bows are drawn full, And the four arrows are grasped in the hand. They go straight to the mark as if planted in it, And the quests are arranged by the humble propriety of their demeanour. The distant descendant presides over the feast; His sweet spirits are strong. He fills their cups from a measure, And prays for the hoary old among his quests; — That with hoary age and wrinkled back, They may lead on one another to virtue, and support one another in it; That so their old age may be blessed, And their bright happiness ever increased.

247. JI JUI

You have made us drink to the full of your spirits; You have satiated us with your kindness, May you enjoy, O our lord, myriads of years! May your bright happiness ever be increased! You have made us drink to the full of your spirits; Your viands were all set out before us. May you enjoy, O our lord, myriads of years! May your bright intelligence ever be increased! May your bright intelligence become perfect, High and brilliant, leading to a good end! That good end has now its beginning:— The personator of your ancestors announced it in his blessing. What was his announcement?' The offerings in your dishes of bamboo and wood are clean and fine. Your friends asisting at the service, Have done their part with reverent demeanour. 'Your reverent demeanour was altogether what the occasion required, And not yours only, but that also of your filial son. For such filial piety, without ceasing, There will ever be conferred blessing on you. 'What will the blessings be? That along the passages of your palace, You shall move for ten thousand years; And there will be granted to you for ever dignity and posterity.' How as to your posterity? Heaven invests you with your dignity, Yea for ten thousand years, The bright appointment is attached to your person. ' How will it be attached? There is given you a heroic wife. There is given you a heroic wife, And from her shall come the line of descendants.'

248. FU YI

The wild-ducks and widgeons are on the King; The personators of your ancestors feast and are happy. Your spirits are clear, Your viands are fragrant; The personators of your ancestors feast and drink; — Their happiness and dignity are made complete. The wild-ducks and widgeons are on the sand; The personators of the dead enjoy the feast, their appropriate tribute. Your spirits are abundant, Your viands are good; The personators of your ancestors feast and drink; — Happiness and dignity lend them their aids. The wild ducks and widgeons are on the islets; The personators of your ancestors feast and enjoy themselves. Your spirits are strained, Your viands are in slices; The personators of your ancestors feast and drink; — Happiness and dignity descend on them. The wild ducks and widgeons are where the waters meet; The personators of your ancestors feast, and are honoured. The feast is spread in the ancestral temple, The place where happiness and dignity descend. The personators of your ancestors feast and drink; — Their happiness and dignity are at the highest point. The wild ducks and widgeons are in the gorge; The personators of your ancestors rest, full of complacency. Your fine spirits are delicious, Your flesh, roast and broiled, is fragrant; The personators of your ancestors feast and drink; — No troubles shall be theirs after this.

249. JIA LE

Of our admirable, amiable, sovereign, Most illustrious is the excellent virtue. He orders rightly the people, orders rightly the officers, And receives his dignity from heaven, Which protects and helps him, and confirms his appointment, By repeated acts of renewal from heaven. So does he seek for the emoluments of dignity, and obtain all blessings, — Thousands and hundreds of thousands of descendants, Of reverent virtue and admirable character, Fit to be rulers of States, fit to be king, Erring in nothing, forgetful of nothing, Observing and following the old statutes. May they manifest all self-restraint in deportment, And their virtuous fame be without fail! Without resentments, without dislikes, May they give free course to the good among the officers, Receiving blessing without limit, And regulating all within the four quarters of the kingdom! Regulating all, and determining each point, Giving repose to his friends, All the princes and ministers, Will love the son of Heaven. Not idly occupying his office, The people will find rest in him.

250. GONG LIU

Of generous devotion to the people was duke Liu, Unable to rest or take his ease where he was, He divided and subdivided the country into fields; He stored up the produce in the fields and in barns; He tied up dried meat and grain, In bottomless bags and in sacks; — That he might hold the people together, and glorify his tribe. Then with bows and arrows all ready, With shields and spears, and axes, large and small, He commenced his march. Of generous devotion to the people was duke Liu, He had surveyed the plain where he was settled; The people were numerous and crowded; In sympathy with them, he made proclamation of his contemplated measure, And there were no perpetual sighings about it He ascended to the hill-tops; He ascended again to the plains. What was it that he carried at his girdle? Pieces of jade, and yao gems, And his ornamented scabbard with its sword. Of generous devotion to the people was duke Liu, He went there to the place of the hundred springs, And saw around him the wide plain. He ascended the ridge on the south, And looked at a large level height, A height affording space for multitudes. Here was room to dwell in; Here might booths be built for strangers; Here he told out his mind; Here he entered on deliberations. Of generous devotion to the people was duke Liu, When he had found rest on the height, With his officers all in dignified order, He caused mats to be spread, with stools upon them; And they took their places on the mats and leaned on the stools. He had sent to the herds, And taken a pig from the pen. He poured out his spirits into calabashes; And so he gave them to eat and to drink, Acknowledged by them as ruler, and honoured. Of generous devotion to the people was duke Liu, His territory being now broad and long, He determined the points of the heavens by means of the shadows; and then, ascending the ridges, He surveyed the light and the shade, Viewing also the course of the streams and springs. His armies were three troops; He measured the marshes and plains; He fixed the revenue on the system of common cultivation of the fields; He measured also the fields west of the hills; And the settlement of Bin became truly great. Of generous devotion to the people was duke Liu, Having settled in temporary lodging houses in Bin, He crossed the Wei by means of boats, And gathered whetstones and iron. When his settlement was fixed, and all boudaries defined, The people became numerous and prosperous, Occupying both sides of the Huang valley, And pushing on up that of Guo; And as the population became dense, They went on to the country beyond the Ju.

251. JIONG ZHUO

Take the pool-water from a distance; Draw it into one vessel and let it flow to another, And it may be used to stream rice or millet. How much more should the happy and courteous sovereign, Be the parent of the people! Take the pool-water from a distance; Draw it into one vessel and let it flow to another, And it may be used to wash a spirit vase. How much more should the happy and courteous sovereign, Be the centre of attraction to the people! Take the pool-water from a distance; Draw it into one vessel and let it flow to another, And it may be used for all purpose of cleansing. How much more should the happy and courteous sovereign, Be the centre of rest to the people!

252. JUAN A

Into the recesses of the large mound, Came the wind whirling from the south. There was our happy, courteous sovereign, Rambling and singing; And I took occasion to give forth my notes. 'Full of spirits you ramble; Full of satisfaction you rest. O happy and courteous sovereign, May you fulfill your years, And end them like your ancestors! 'Your territory is great and glorious, And perfectly secure. O happy and courteous sovereign, May you fulfill your years, As the host of all the Spirits! 'You have received the appointment long-ackowledged, With peace around your happiness and dignity. O happy and courteous sovereign, May you fulfill your years, With pure happiness your constant possession! 'You have helpers and supporters, Men of filial piety and of virtue, To lead you on, and act as wings to you, So that, O happy and courteous sovereign, You are a pattern to the four quarters of the kingdom. 'Full of dignity and majesty are they, Like a jade-mace in its purity, The subject of praise, the contemplation of hope. O happy and courteous sovereign, Through them the four quarters of the kingdom are guided by you. 'The male and female phoenix fly about, Their wings rustling, While they settle in their proper resting place. Many are your admirable officers, O king, Ready to be employed by you, Loving you, the son of Heaven. 'The male and female phoenix fly about, Their wings rustling, As they soar up to heaven. Many are your admirable officers, O king, Waiting for your commands, And loving the multitudes of the people. 'The male and female phoenix give out their notes, On that lofty ridge. The dryandras grow, They grow luxuriantly; And harmoniously the notes resound. 'Your carriages, O sovereign, Are many, many. Your horses, O sovereign, Are well trained and fleet. I have made my few verses, In prolongation of your song.'

253. MIN LU

The people indeed are heavily burdened, But perhaps a little ease may be got for them. Let us cherish this centre of the kingdom, To secure the repose of the four quarters of it. Let us give no indulgence to the wily and obsequious, In order to make the unconscientious careful, And to repress robbers and oppressors, Who have no fear of the clear will of Heaven. Then let us show kindness to those who are distant, And help those who are near; — Thus establishing the throne of our king. The people indeed are heavily burdened, But perhaps a little rest may be got for them. Let us cherish this centre of the kingdom, And make it a gathering-place for the people. Let us give no indulgence to the wily and obsequious, In order to make the noisy braggarts careful, And to repress robbers and oppressors; — So the people shall not have such sorrow. Do not cast away your former service, But secure the quiet of the king. The people indeed are heavily burdened, But perhaps a little relief may be got for them. Let us cherish this capital, To secure the repose of the States in the four quarters. Let us give no indulgence to the wily and obsequious, To make careful those who set no limit to themselves, And to repress robbers and oppressors; — Not allowing them to act out their evil. Then let us be reverently careful of our demeanour, To cultivate association with the virtuous. The people indeed are heavily burdened, But perhaps a little repose may be got for them. Let us cherish this centre of the kingdom, That the sorrow of the people may be dispelled. Let us give no indulgence to the wily and obsequious, In order to make the multitudes of the evil careful, And to repress robbers and oppressors, So that the right shall not be over thrown. Though you may be but as little children, Your work is vast and great. The people indeed are heavily burdened, But perhaps a little tranquillity may be got for them. Let us cherish this centre of the kingdom, That it may not everywhere suffer such wounds. Let us give no indulgence to the wily and obsequious, In order to make the parasites careful, And to repress robbers and oppressors, So that the right shall not be reversed. The king wishes to hold you as sceptres of jade, And therefore I thus strongly admonish you.

254. BAN

God has reversed His usual course of procedure, And the lower people are full of distress. The words which you utter are not right; The plans which you form are not far-reaching. As there are not sages, you think you have no guidance; You have no reality in your sincerity. Thus your plans do not reach far, And I therefore strongly admonish you. Heaven is now sending down calamities; — Do not be so complacent. Heaven is now producing such movements; — Do not be so indifferent. If your words were harmonious, The people would become untied. If your words were gentle and kind, The people would be settled. Though my duties are different from yours, I am your fellow-servant. I come to advise with you, And you hear me with contemptuous indifference. My words are about the present urgent affairs; — Do not think them matter for laughter. The ancients had a saying:— 'Consult the grass and firewood-gatherers.' Heaven is now exercising oppression; — Do not in such a way make a mock of things. An old man, I speak with entire sincerity; But you, my juniors, are full of pride. It is not that my words are those of age, But you make a joke of what is sad. But the troubles will multiply like flames, Till they are beyond help or remedy. Heaven is now displaying its anger; — Do not be either boastful or flattering. Utterly departing from all propriety of demeanour, Till good men are reduced to personators of the dead. The people now sigh and groan, And we dare not examine into the causes of their trouble. The ruin and disorder are exhausting all their means of living, And we show no kindness to our multitudes. Heaven enlightens the people, As the bamboo flute responds to the porcelain whistle; As two half maces form a whole one; As you take a thing, and bring it away in your hand, Bringing it away without any more ado. The enlightenment of the people is very easy. They have now many perversities; — Do not you set up your perversity before them. Good men are a fence; The multitudes of the people are a wall; Great States are screens; Great Families are buttresses; The cherishing of virtue secures repose; The circle of the king's Relatives is a fortified wall. We must not let the fortified wall get destroyed; We must not let him solitary be consumed with terrors. Revere the anger of Heaven, And presume not to make sport or be idle. Revere the changing moods of Heaven, And presume not to drive about at your pleasure. Great Heaven is intelligent, And is with you in all your goings. Great Heaven is clear-seeing, And is with you in your wandering and indulgences.

DECADE OF DANG

255. DANG

How vast is God, The ruler of men below! How arrayed in terrors is God, With many things irregular in His ordinations! Heaven gave birth to the multitudes of the people, But the nature it confers is not to be depended on. All are good at first, But few prove themselves to be so at the last. King Wen said, 'Alas! Alas! you sovereign of Yin-shang, That you should have such violently oppressive ministers, That you should have such extortionate exactors, That you should have them in offices, That you should have them in the conduct of affairs! Heaven made them with their insolent dispositions, But it is you who employ them, and gave them strength.' King Wen said, Alas! Alas! you sovereign of Yin-shang, You ought to employ such as are good, But you employ instead violent oppressors, who cause many dissatisfactions. They respond to you with baseless stories, And thus robbers and thieves are in your court. Thence come oaths and curses, Without limit, without end.'

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King Wen said, 'Alas! Alas! you sovereign of Yin-shang, You show a strong fierce will in the centre of the kingdom, And consider the contracting of enmities a proof of virtue. All unintelligent are you of your proper virtue, And so you have no good men behind you, nor by your side. Without any intelligence of your proper virtue, You have no good intimate adviser nor minister.' King Wen said, Alas! Alas! you sovereign of Yin-shang, It is not Heaven that flushes your face with spirits, So that you follow what is evil and imitate it. You go wrong in all your conduct; You make no distinction between the light and the darkness; But amid clamour and shouting, You turn the day into night.' King Wen said, Alas! Alas! you sovereign of Yin-shang, All around you is like the noise of cicadas, Or like the bubbling of boiling soup. Affairs, great and small, are approaching to ruin; And still you and your creatures go on in this course. Indignation is rife against you here in the Middle kingdom, And extends to the demon regions.' King Wen said, Alas! Alas! you sovereign of Yin-shang, It is not God that has caused this evil time, But it arises from Yin's not using the old ways. Although you have not old experienced men, There are still the ancient statutes and laws. But you will not listen to them, And so your great appointment is being overthrown.' King Wen said, Alas! Alas! you sovereign of Yin-shang, People have a saying, 'When a tree falls utterly, While its branches and leaves are yet uninjured, It must first have been uprooted.' The beacon of Yin is not far-distant; — It is in the age of the last sovereign of Xia.'

256. YI

An outward demeanour, cautious and grave, Is an indication of the inward virtue. People have the saying, 'There is no wise man who is not also stupid.'The stupidity of the ordinary man, Is determined by his natural defects. The stupidity of the wise man, What is most powerful is the being the man; — In all quarters of the State men are influenced by it. To an upright virtuous conduct, All in the four quarters of the State render obedient homage. With great counsels and determinate orders, With far-reaching plans and timely announcements, And with reverent care of his outward demeanour, One will become the pattern of the people. Is from his doing violence to his natural character. As for the circumstances of the present time, You are bent on error and confusion in your government. Your virtue is subverted; You are besotted by drink. Although you thus pursue nothing but pleasure, How is it you do not think of your relation to the past, And do not widely study the former kings, That you might hold fast their wise laws? Shall not those whom great Heaven does not approve of, Surely as the waters flow from a spring, Sink down together to ruin? Rise early and go to bed late, Sprinkle and sweep your court-yard; — So as to be a pattern to the people. Have in good order your chariots and horses, Your bows and arrows, and other weapons of war; — To be prepared for warlike action, To keep at a distance the hordes of the South. Perfect what concerns your officers and people; Be careful of your duties as a prince of the kingdom; — To be prepared for unforeseen dangers. Be cautious of what you say; Be reverently careful of your outward demeanour; In all things be mild and correct. A flaw in a mace of white jade, May be ground away, But for a flaw in speech, Nothing can be done. Do not speak lightly; — your words are your own:— Do not say, ' This is of little importance.' No one can hold my tongue for me; Words are not to be cast away. Every word finds its answer; Every good deed has its recompense. If you are gracious among your friends, And to the people, as if they were your children, Your descendants will continue in unbroken line, And all the people will surely be obedient to you. Looked at in friendly intercourse with superior men, You make your countenance harmonious and mild; — Anxious not to do anything wrong. Looked at in your chamber, You ought to be equally free from shame before the light which shines in. Do not say, ' This place is not public; No one can see me here.' The approaches of spiritual Beings, Cannot be calculated beforehand; But the more should they not be slighted. O prince, let your practice of virtue, Be entirely good and admirable. Watch well over your behaviour, And allow nothing wrong in your demeanour. Committing no excess, doing nothing injurious; — There are few who will not in such a case take you for their pattern. When one throws to me a peach, I return to him a plum. To look for horns on a young ram, Will only weary you, my son. The soft and elastic wood, Can be fitted with the silken string. The mild and the respectful man, Possesses the foundation of virtue. There is a wise man; — I tell him good words, And he yields to them the practice of docile virtue. There is a stupid man; — He says on the contrary that my words are not true:— So different are people's minds. Oh! my son, When you did not know what was good, and what was not good, Not only did I lead you on by the hand, But I showed the difference by appealing to affairs. Not only did I charge you face to face, But I held you by the ears. And still perhaps you do not know, Although you have held a son in your arms. If people are not self-sufficient, Who comes only to a late maturity after early instruction? Great Heaven is very intelligent, And I pass my life without pleasure. When I see you so dark and stupid, My heart is full of pain. I taught you with assiduous repetition, And you listened to me with contempt. You would nto consider me your teacher, But regarded me as troublesome. Still perhaps you do not know; — But you are very old. Oh! my son, I have told you the old ways. Hear and follow my counsels; — Then shall you have no cause for great regret. Heaven is now inflicting calamities, And is destroying the State. My illustrations are not taken from things remote; — Great Heaven makes no mistakes. If you go on to deteriorate in your virtue, You will bring the people to great distress.

257. SANG ROU

Luxuriantly is that young mulberry tree, And beneath it wide is the shade; But they will pluck its leaves till it is quite destroyed. The distress inflicted on these multitudes of the people, Is an unceasing sorrow to my heart; — My commiseration fills my breast. O thou bright and great Heaven, Shouldest thou not have compassion on us? The four steeds gallop about, eager and strong; The tortoise-and-serpent and the falcon banners fly about. Disorder grows, and no peace can be secured. Every State is being ruined; There are no black heads among the people; All are reduced to ashes, as it were, by calamity. Oh! alas! The doom of the kingdom hurries on. There is nothing to arrest the doom of the kingdom; Heaven does not nourish us. There is no place in which to stop securely; There is no place to which to go. Superior men are the bonds of the social state, Allowing no love of strife in their hearts. Who reared the steps of the dissatisfaction, Which has reached the present distress? The grief of my heart is extreme, And I dwell on the condition of our territory. I was born at an unhappy time, To meet with the severe anger of Heaven. From the west to the east, There is no quiet place of abiding. Many are the distresses I meet with; Very urgent is the trouble on our borders. You have your counsels; you employ caution; But the disorder grows and dismemberments ensue. I tell you the subjects for anxiety; I instruct you how to distinguish the orders of men. Who can hold anything hot? Must he not dip it first in water? How can you by your method bring a good state of things about? You and your advisers will sink together in ruin. The state of things is like going in the teeth of the wind, Which makes one quite breathless. Some have a mind to go forward, But they are made to think it is of no use to do so. They attach themselves to husbandry, And labour like the people instead of eating the bread of office. Their sowing and reaping are precious to them; They love this substitute for official emolument. Heaven is sending down death and disorder, And has put an end to our king. It is sending down those devourers of the grain, So that the husbandry is all in evil case. All is in peril and going to ruin; I have no strength to do anything, And think of the Power in the azure vault. Here is a good and righteous ruler, Who is looked up to by the people and by all; — He keeps his heart, and his plans are formed on mature deliberation, Searching carefully for helpers. There is one who has no such character, But reckons only to his own views to be good; — He holds only to his own thoughts, And causes the people to be distracted. Look into the middle of that forest, At the herds of deer roaming together. But here friends are insincere, And do not help one another in what is good. People have the saying, 'To go forwards or backwards is alike impracticable.' Here is a wise man; — His views and words reach to a hundred Li, There is a stupid man; — He on the contrary rejoices in his madness. It is not that I could not speak all this; — How is it I was withheld by my fear? Here is a good man, But he is not sought out nor employed. There is a hard-hearted man, And he is thought of and promoted once and again. The people in consequence desire disorder, And find emjoyment in bitter, poisonous ways. Great winds have a path; — They come from the large empty valleys. Here is a good man, Whose doings will be good. There is a man unobservant of the right, Whose goings will be according to his inward filthiness. Great winds have a path; — The covetous men try to subvert their peers. I would speak, if he would hear my words, But I can only croon them over as if I were drunk. He will not employ the good, And on the contrary causes me such distress. Ah! my friends, Is it in ignorance that I make this ode? But it may happen as in the case of a bird on the wing, Which sometimes is hit and caught. I go to do you good, But you become the more incensed against me. The unlimited disorder of the people, Is owing to those hypocrites, skilful to prevaricate. They work out the injury of the people, As if their efforts were not equal to it. The depravity of the people, Is brought about by their strenuous endeavours. That the people are unsettled, Is owing to the robbers that prey on them. Hypocritical, they say ' These men will not do;' But when their backs are turned, they show their skill in reviling the good. Although you say,' We did not do this,' I have made this song about you.

258. YUN HAN

Bright was that milky way, Shining and revolving in the sky. The king said, 'Oh! What crime is chargeable on us now, That Heaven thus sends down death and disorder? Famine comes again and again. There is no victim I have grudged; Our maces and other tokens are exhausted:— How is it that I am not heard? 'The drought is excessive; Its fervours become more and more tormenting. I have not ceased offering pure sacrifices; From the border altars I have gone to the ancestral temple. To the Powers above and below I have presented my offerings and then buried them:— There is no Spirit whom I have not honoured. Hou-ji is not equal to the occasion; God does not come to us. This wasting and ruin of our country, — Would that it fell only on me! 'The drought is excessive; And I may not try to excuse myself. I am full of terror and feel the peril, Like the clap of thunder or the roll. Of the remnant of Zhou, among the black-haired people, There will not be half a man left; Nor will God from His great heaven, Exempt even me. Shall we not mingle our fears together? The sacrifices to my ancestors will be extinguished. 'The drought is excessive; And it cannot be stopped. More fierce and fiery, It is leaving me no place. My end is near; — I have none to look up to, none to look around to. The many dukes and their ministers of the past, Give me no help. O ye parents and nearer ancestors, How can ye bear to see us thus? 'The drought is excessive; — Parched are the hills, and the streams are dried. The demon of drought exercises his oppression. As if scattering flames and fire. My heart is terrified with the heat; — My sorrowing heart is as if on fire. The many dukes and their ministers of the past, Do not hear me, O God, from Thy great heaven, Grant me the liberty to withdraw into retirement! 'The drought is excessive; — I struggle, and fear to go away. How is it I am afflicted with this drought? I cannot ascertain the cause of it. In praying for a good year I was abundantly early; I was not late in sacrificing to the Spirits of the four quarters and of the land. God in the great heaven, Does not consider me. Reverent to the intelligent Spirits, I ought not to be thus the object of their anger. 'The drought is excessive; — All is dispersion, and the bonds of government are relaxed. Reduced to extremities are the Heads of departments; Full of distress are my chief minister, The master of the horse, the commander of the guards, The chief cook, and my attendants. There is no one who has not tried to help the people; They have not refrained on the ground of being unable. I look up to the great heaven; — Why am I plunged in this sorrow? 'I look up to the great heaven, But its stars sparkle bright. My great officers and excellent men, Ye have drawn near to Heaven with reverence with all your powers. Death is approaching, But do not cast away what you have done. You are seeking not for me only, But to give rest to all our departments. I look up to the great heaven; — When shall I be favoured with repose?

259. SONG GAO

Grandly lofty are the mountains, With their large masses reaching to the heavens. From these mountains was sent down a Spirit, Who gave birth to the princes of Fu and shen. Fu and Shen, Are the support of Zhou, Screens to all the States, Diffusing their influence over the four quarters of the kingdom. Full of activity is the chief of Shen, And the king would employ him to continue the services of his fathers, With his capital in Xie, Where he should be a pattern to the States of the south. The king gave charge to the earl of Zhou, To arrange all about the residence of the chief of Shen, Where he should do what was neccessary for the regions of the south, And where his posterity might maintain his merit. The king gave charge to the chief of Shen, 'Be a pattern to the regions of the south, And by means of those people of Xie, Proceed to display your merit.' The king gave charge to the earl of Zhou, To make the statutory definition of the territory and fields of the chief of Shen. The king gave charge to the chief 's steward, To remove the members of his family to the spot. Of the services of the chief of Shen, The foundation was laid by the earl of Zhou, Who built first the walls of this city, And then completed his ancestral temple. When the temple was completed, wide and grand, The king conferred on the chief of Shen, Four noble steeds, With their hooks for the trappings of the breast-bands, glittering bright. The king sent away the chief of Shen, With its carriage of state and its team of horses. 'I have consulted about your residence, That it had best be fixed in the South. I confer on you a great sceptre, As the symbol of your dignity. Go, my uncle, And protect the country of the South.' The chief of Shen took his departure, And the king gave him a parting feast in Mei. Then the chief of Shen returned, and proceeded to the south, And found himself at last in Xie. The king had given charge to the earl of Zhou, To make the statutory division of the lands, And to lay up stores of provisions, That the progress of the chief might be accelerated. Martial-like, the chief of Shen, Entered into Xie. His footmen and charioteers were numerous, And throughout the regions of Zhou all rejoiced. 'You have got a good support:— Very distinguished is the chief of Shen, The great uncle of the king, The pattern of the officers, both civil and military.' The virtue of the chief of Shen, Is mild, and regulated, and upright. He will keep all these countries in order, And be famed throughout the kingdom. I, Ji-fu, made

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this song, An ode of great excellence, Of influence good, To present to the chief of Shen.

260. ZHENG MIN

Heaven, in giving birth to the multitudes of the people, To every faculty and relationship annexed its law. The people possess this normal nature, And they consequently love its normal virtue. Heaven beheld the ruler of Zhou, Brilliantly affecting it by his conduct below; And to maintain him, its Son, Gave birth to Zhong Shan-fu. The virtue of Zhong Shan-fu, Is mild and admirable, according as it ought to be. Good is his deportment; good his looks; The lessons of antiquity are his law; He is strenuously attentive to his deportment. In full accord with the Son of Heaven, He is employed to spread abroad his bright decrees. The king gave charge to Zhong Shan-fu:— 'Be a pattern to all the princes; Continue the services of your ancestors. You have to protect the royal person; Give out the royal decrees, and report on them. Be the king's throat and tongue; Spread his government abroad, So that in all quarters it shall be responded to.' Most dignified was the king's charge, And Zhong Shan-fu carries it into execution. In the States, the princes, be they good or bad, Are clearly distinguished by Zhong Shan-fu. Intelligent is he and wise, Protecting his own person; Never idle, day or night, In the service of the One man. The people have a saying:— 'The soft is devoured, And the hard is ejected from the mouth.' But Zhong Shan-fu, Does not devour the soft, Nor eject the powerful. He does not insult the poor or the widow; He does not fear the strong or the oppressive. The people have a saying:— 'Virtue is light as a hair, But few are able to lift it.' When I think of the matter, It is only Zhong Shan-fu that can lift it. I love him, but can do nothing to help him. Any defects in the king's duties, Are supplied by Zhong Shan-fu. Zhong Shan-fu went forth, having sacrificed to the Spirit of the road. His four steeds were strong; His men were alert; He was always anxious lest he should not be equal to his commission; His steeds went on without stopping, To the tinkling of their eight bells. The king had given charge to Zhong Shan-fu, To fortify the city there in the east. With his four steeds so strong, And their eight bells, all tinkling, Zhong Shan-fu proceeded to Qi; — And he will soon return. I, Yin Ji-fu, have made this song:— May it enter like a quiet wind, Among the constant anxieties of Zhong Shan-fu, To soothe his mind!

261. HAN YI

Very grand is the mountain of Liang, Which was made cultivable by Yu. Bright it is the way from it, Along which came the marquis of Han to receive investiture. The king himself gave the charge:— 'Continue the services of your ancestors; Let not my charge to you come to nought. Be diligent, early and late, And reverently discharge your duties; — So shall my appointment of you not change. Be a support against those princes who do not come to court, Thus assisting your sovereign.' With his four steeds, all noble, Very long, and large, The marquis of Han came to court, With the large sceptre of his rank; — He entered and appeared before the king. The king gave him, A fine dragon-flag, with its feathery ornaments; A chequered bamboo-screen, and an ornamented yoke; A dark-coloured robe with the dragons on it, and the redslippers; The hooks for the trappings of the breast-bands, and the carved frontlets; The leaning-board bound with leather, and a tiger's skin to cover it, The ends of the reins, with their metal rings. When the marquis of Han left the court, he sacrificed to the Spirit of the road; He went forth, and lodged for the night in Tu. There Xian-fu gave him the parting feast; — With a hundred vases of clear spirits. And what were the viands? Roast turtle and fresh fish. And what were the vegetables? Bamboo sprouts and pu. And what were the gifts? A carriage of state with its team. Many were the vessels of sauces and fruits; And the other princes at court joined in the feast. The marquis of Han took to himself a wife, — A niece of king Fen, The daughter of Jue-fu. The marquis of Han went to receive her. To the residence of Jue. His hundred chariots were in grand array, The eight bells of each emitting their tinkling; — Illustrious was the glory of the occasion. The virgins, her companions, followed the lady, Leisurely like a beautiful cloud. The marquis of Han looked round at them, Filling the gate with their splendour. Jue-fu is very martial, And there is no State which he had not visited. When he would select a home for Han-ji, There seemed none so pleasant as Han, Very pleasant is the territory of Han, With its large streams and meres, Full of big bream and tench; With its multitudes of deer, With its bears and grisly bears; With its wild-cats and tigers. Glad was he of so admirable a situation, And here Han-ji found rest and joy. Large is the wall of the city of Han, Built by the multitudes of Yan. As his ancestor had received charge, To preside over all the wild tribes of that quarter, The king now gave to the marquis of Han, The Qi and the Mo, Forthwith to hold the States of the north, And to preside over them as their chief; Making strong his walls, and deep his moats, Laying out his fields, regulating his revenues, Presenting his skins of the white fox, With those of the red panther and the yellow grisly bear.

262. JIANG HAN

Large was the volume of the Jiang and the Han, And the troops advanced like a flowing current. There was no resting, no idle wandering; — We were seeking for the tribes of the Huai. We had sent forth our chariots; We had displayed our falcon-banners. There was no resting, no remissness; — Against the tribes of the Huai were we marshalled. Large flowed the Jiang and the Han, And grandly martial looked the troops. The whole country had been reduced to order, And an announcement of our success had been made to be king. When the whole country was pacified, The king's State began to feel settled. There was then an end of strife, And the king's heart was composed. On the banks of the Jiang and the Han, The king had given charge to Hu of Zhou:— 'Open up the whole of the country; Make the statutory division of my lands there; Not to distress the people, nor with urgency, But making them conform to the royal state. Make the larger and the smaller divisions of hte ground, As far as the southern sea.' The king gave charge to Hu of Zhou:— 'You have everywhere diffused and carried out my orders. When Wen and Wu received their appointment, The duke of Zhou was their strong support. You do not only have a regard to me the little child, But you try to resemble that duke of Zhou. You have commenced and earnestly displayed your merit; And I will make you happy. 'I give you a large libation-cup of jade, And a jar of herb-flavoured spirits from the black millet. I have made announcement to the accomplished one, And confer on you hills, lands, and fields. In Yu-zhou shall you receive investiture, According as your ancestor received his.' Hu bowed with his head to the ground, and said, 'May the Son of Heaven live for ever!' Hu bowed with his head to the ground, And in response displayed the goodness of the king, And roused himself to maintain the fame of his ancestor. 'May the Son of Heaven live for ever! Very intelligent is the Son of Heaven; His good fame shall be without end. Let him display his civil virtues, Till they permeate all quarters of the kingdom.

263. CHANG WU

Grandly and clearly, The king gave charge to his minister, A descendant of Nan Zhong, The Grand-master Huang-fu:— 'Put my six armies in order, And get ready all my apparatus of war. Be reverent, be cautious, That we may give comfort to the States of the south.' The king said to the Head of the Yin clan, 'Give a charge to Xiu-fu, earl of Cheng, To undertake the arrangement of the ranks, And to warn all my troops. Along the bank of the Huai, We go to see the land of Xu, Not delaying our march, not occupying the territory, That the threefold labours of husbandry may proceed in order.' Full of grandeur and strength, The Son of Heaven looked majestic. Leisurely and calmly the king advanced, Not with his troops in masses, nor in broken lines. The region of Xu from stage to stage was moved; It shook and was terrified, — the region of Xu. As by the roll of thunder or its sudden crash, The region of Xu shook and was terrified. The king aroused his warlike energy, As if he were moved with anger. He advanced his tiger-like officers. Looking fierce like raging tigers. He displayed his masses along the bank of the Huai, And forthwith seized a crowd of captives. Securely kept was the country about the bank of the Huai, Occupied by the royal armies. The royal legions were numerous; Swift as if they flew on wings, Imposing as the current of the Jiang and the Han; Firm as a mountain; Rolling on like a stream; Continuous and orderly; Inscrutable, invincible; Grandly proceeding to set in order the States of Xu. The king's plans were directed in truth and sincerity, And the region of Xu came at once to terms; Its chiefs were all collected together; — Through the merit of the Son of Heaven. The country was all reduced to order; Its chiefs appeared before the king. They would not again change their minds, And the kings said, 'Let us return.'

264. ZHAN YANG

I look up to great Heaven, But it shows us no kindness. Very long have we been disquieted, And these great calamities are sent down upon us. There is nothing settled in the country; Officers and people are in distress. Through the insects from without and from within, There is no peace or limit to our misery. The net of crime is not taken up, And there is no peace nor cure for our state. Men had their ground and fields, But you have them now. Men had their people and followers, But you have violently taken them from them. Here is one who ought to be held guiltless, But you snare him in the net of crime. There is one who ought to be held guilty, But you let him escape from it. A wise man builds up the wall of a city, But a wise woman overthrows it. Admirable may be the wise woman, But she is no batter than an owl. A woman with a long tongue, Is like a stepping-stone to disorder. Disorder does not come down from heaven; — It is produced by the woman. Those from whom come no lessons, no instruction, Are women and eunuchs. They beat men down, hurtful, deceitful. Their slanders in the beginning may be falsified in the end, But they do not say that their words were very wrong; — They say, 'What evil was there in them? As if in the three times cent per cent of traffic, A superior man should have any knowledge of it; So a woman who has nothing to do with public affairs, Leaves her silk-worms and weaving. Why is it that Heaven is thus reproving you? Why is it that the Spirits are not blessing you? You neglect your great barbarian foes, And regard me with hatred. You are reagrdless of the evil omens that abound, And your demeanour is all-unseemly; Good men are going away, And the country is sure to go to ruin. Heaven is letting down its net, And many are the calamities in it. Good men are going away, And my heart is sorrowful. Heaven is letting down its net, And soon will all be caught in it. Good men are going away. And my heart is sad. Right from the spring comes the water bubbling, Revealing its depth. The sorrow of my heart, — Is it only of to-day? Why were these things not before me? Or why were they not after me? But myteriously Great Heaven, Is able to strengthen anything; Do not disgrace your great ancestors, And it will save your posterity.

265. ZHOU WEN

Compassionate Heaven is arrayed in angry terrors; Heaven is indeed sending down ruin, Afflicting us with famine, So that the people are all wandering fugitives; — In the settled regions and on the borders all is desolation. Heaven sends down its net of crime; — Devouring insects, who weary and confuse men's minds, Ignorant, oppressive, neglient, Breeders of confusion, utterly perverse:— These are the men employed to tranquilize our country. Insolent and slanderous, — The king does not know a flaw in them.

We, careful and feeling in peril, For long in unrest, Are constantly subjected to degradation. As in a year of drought, The grass not attaining to luxuriance; As water plants attached to a tree; So do I see in this country, All going to confusion. The wealth of former days, Was not like our present condition. The distress of the present, Did not previously reach this degree. Those are like coarse rice, these are like fine; — Why do you not retire of yourselves, But prolong my anxious sorrow? A pool becomes dry, — Is it not because no water comes to it from its banks? A spring becomes dry, — Is it not because no water rises in it from itself? Great is the injury all about. So that my anxious sorrow is increased. Will not calamity light on my person? Formerly when the former kings received their appointment, There were such ministers as the duke of Zhou, Who would in a day enlarge the kingdom a hundred Li; Now it is contracted in a day a hundred Li. Oh! Alas! Among the men of the present day, Are there not still some with the old virtue?

SHI JING 4. ODES OF THE TEMPLE AND THE ALTAR

[In this 4th section we have combined the three last chapters of the Shi Jing. They are: The "Eulogies of Zhou" 31 items; The "Eulogies of Lu" 4 items; and The "Eulogies of Shang" 5 items.]

Those who praise, the songs of the ancestral temple, and the so-called beauty and virtue in the grand preface also tell the gods about their success. Cover song and capacity, common ancient characters, so the preface is said in this way. Thirty one odes of the Zhou Dynasty were written by the Duke of Zhou, and there may be poems after King Kang. Lu Song four, Shang song five, because also attached to Yan by category. Where five volumes.

SACRIFICIAL ODES OF ZHOU,
DECADE OF QING MIAO
266. QING MIAO

Ah! solemn is the ancestral temple in its pure stillness. Reverent and harmonious were the distinguished assistants; Great was the number of the officers:— All assiduous followers of the virtue of king Wen. In response to him in heaven, Grandly they hurried about in the temple. Distinguished is he and honoured, And will never be wearied of among men.

267. WEI TIAN ZHI MING

The ordinances of Heaven, — How deep are they and unintermitting! And oh! how illustrious, Was the singleness of the virtue of king Wen! How does he now show his kindness? We will receive his favour, Striving to be in accord with him, our king Wen; And may his remotest descendant be abundantly the same!

268. WEI QING

Clear, and to be preserved bright, Are the statutes of king Wen. From the first sacrifice to him, Till now when they have issued in our complete State, They have been the happy omen of the fortunes of Zhou.

269. LIE WEN

Ye, brilliant and accomplished princes, Have conferred on me this appiness. Your favours to me are without limit, And my descendants will preserve the fruits of them. Be not mercenary nor extravagant in your States, And the king will honour you. Thinking of this great service, He will enlarge

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the dignity of your successors. What is most powerful is the being the man; — Its influence will be felt throughout your States. What is most distinguished is being virtuous; — It will secure the imitation of all the princes. Ah! the former kings are not forgotten!

270. TIAN ZUO

Heaven made the lofty hill, And king Da brought the country about it under cultivation. He made the commencement with it, And king Wen tranquilly carried on the work, Till that rugged mount Qi, Had level roads leading to it. May their descendants ever preserve it!

271. HAO TIAN YOU CHENG MING

Heaven made its determinate appointment, Which our two sovereigns received. King Cheng did not dare to rest idly in it. But night and day enlarged its foundations by his deep and silent virtue. How did he continue and glorify his heritage, Exerting all his heart, And so securing its tranquillity!

272. WO JIANG

I have brought my offerings, A ram and a bull. May Heaven accept them! I imitate and follow and observe the statutes of king Wen, Seeking daily to secure the tranquillity of hte kingdom. King Wen, the Blesser, Has descended on the right and accepted the offerings. Do not I, night and day, Revere the majesty of Heaven. Thus to preserve their favour?

273. SHI MAI

Now is he making a progress through the States, May Heaven accept him as its Son! Truly are the honour and succession come from it to the House of Zhou. To his movements, All respond with tremulous awe. He has attracted and given rest to all spiritual Beings, Even to the Spirits of the He, and the highest hills. Truly is the king the sovereign Lord. Brilliant and illustrious is the House of Zhou. He has regulated the positions of the princes; He has called in shields and spears; He has returned to their cases bows and arrows. I will cultivate admirable virtue, And display it throughout these great regions:— Truly will the king preserve the appointment.

274. ZHI JING

The arm of king Wu was full of strength; Irresistable was his ardour. Greatly illustrious were Cheng and Kang, Kinged by God. When we consider how Cheng and Kang, Grandly held all within the four quarters of the kingdom, How penetrating was their intelligence! The bells and drums sound in harmony; The sounding stones and flutes blend their notes; Abundant blessing is sent down. Blessing is sent down in large measure; Careful and exact is all our deportment; We have drunk, and we have eaten, to the full; Our happiness and dignity will be prolonged.

275. SI WEN

O accomplished Hou-ji, Thou didst prove thyself the correlate of Heaven; Thou didst give grain-food to our multitudes; — The immense gift of thy goodness. Thou didst confer on us the wheat and the barley, Which God appointed for the nourishment of all; And without distinction of territory or boundary, The rules of social duty were diffused throughout these great regions.

SACRIFICIAL ODES OF ZHOU,
DECADE OF CHEN GONG

276. CHEN GONG

Ah! Ah! ministers and officers, Reverently attend to your public duties. The king has given you perfect rules; — Consult about them and consider them. Ah! Ah! ye assistants, It is now the end of spring; And what have ye to seek for? Only how to manage the new fields and those of the third year. How beautiful are the wheat and the barley, Whose bright produce we shall receive! The bright and glorious God. Will in them give us a good year. Order all our men, To be provided with their spuds and hoes:— Anon we shall see the sickles at work.

277. YI XI

Oh! yes, king Cheng, Brightly brought himself near. Lead your husbandmen, To sow their various kinds of grain, Going vigorously to work on your private fields, All over the thirty Li. Attend to your ploughing, With your ten thousand men all in pairs.

278. ZHEN LU

A flock of egrets is flying, About the marsh there in the west. My visitors came, With an elegant carriage like those birds. There, [in their States], not disliked; Here, [in Zhou], never tired of; — They are sure, day and night, To penetrate their fame.

279. FENG NIAN

Abundant is the year, with much millet and much rice; And we have our high granaries, With myriads, and hundreds of thousands, and millions of measures in them; For spirits and sweet spirits, To present to our ancestors, male and female, And to supply all out ceremonies. The blessings sent down on us are of every kind.

280. YOU GU

There are the bird musicians; there are the blind musicians; In the court of the temple of Zhou. There are the music frames with their face-boards and posts, The high toothed-edge of the former, and the feathers stuck in the latter; With the drums, large and small, suspended from them; And the hand-drums and sounding-stones, the instrument to give the signal for commencing, and the stopper.

281. QIAN

Oh! in the Qi and the Ju, There are many fish in the warrens; — Sturgeons, large and snouted, Zhan, yellow-jaws, mudfish, and carp:— For offerings, for sacrifice, That our bright happiness may be increased.

282. YONG

They come full of harmony; They are here, in all gravity; — The princess assisting, While the Son of Heaven looks profound. 'While I present this noble bull, And they assist me in setting forth the sacrifice, O great and august Father, Comfort me, your filial Son! 'With penetrating wisdom thou did'st play the man, A sovereign with the gifts both of peace and war, Giving rest even to great Heaven, And ensuring prosperity to thy descendants. 'Thou comfortest me with the eyebrows of longevity; Thou makest me great with manifold blessings. I offer this sacrifice to my meritorious father, And to my accomplished mother.'

283. ZAI JIAN

They appeared before their sovereign king, To seek from him the rules they were to observe. With their dargon-emblazoned banners, flying bright, The bells on them and their front-boards tinkling, And with the rings on the ends of the reins glittering, Admirable was their majesty, and splendour. He led them to appear before his father shrined on the left, Where he discharged hisi filial duty, and presented his offerings; — That he might have granted to him long life, And ever preserve his dignity. Great and many are his blessings. They are the brilliant and accomplished princes. Who cheer him with his many sources of happiness, Enabling him to perpetuate them in their brightness as pure blessing.

284. YOU KE

The noble visitor! The noble visitor! Drawn like his ancestors by white horses! The revered and dignified, Polished members of his suite! The noble guest will stop but a night or two! The noble guest will stop but two nights or four! Give him ropes, To blind his horses. I will convoy him with a parting feast; I will comfort him in every possible way. Adorned with such great dignity, It is very natural that he should be blessed.

285. WU

Oh! great wast thou, O king Wu, Displaying the utmost strength in thy work. Truly accomplished was king Wen, Opening the path for his successors. Thou did'st receive the inheritance from him; Thou did'st vanquish Yin, and put a stop to its cruelties; — Effecting the firm establishment of thy merit.

SACRIFICIAL ODES OF ZHOU,
DECADE OF MIN YOU XIAO ZI

286. MIN YU XIAO ZI

Alas for me, who am as a little child, On whom has devolved the unsettled State! Solitary am I and full of distress. Oh! my great Father, All thy life long, thou wast filial. Thou didst think of my great grandfather, Seeing him, as it were, ascending and descending in the court. I, the little child, Day and night will be so reverent. Oh! ye great kings, As your successor, I will strive not to forget you.

287. FANG LUO

I take counsel at the beginning of my rule, How I can follow the example of my shrined father. Ah! far-reaching were his plans, And I am not yet able to carry them out. However I endeavour to reach to them, My continuation of them will still be all-deflected. I am but as a little child, Unequal to the many difficulties of the State. In his room, I will look for him to go up and come down in the court, To ascend and descend in the house. Admirable art thou, O great Father, Condescend to preserve and enlighten me.

288. JING ZHI

Let me be reverent, let me be reverent, in attending to my duties; The way of Heaven is evident, And its appointment is not easily preserved. Let me not say that It is high aloft above me. It ascends and descends about our doings; It daily inspects us wherever we are. I am [but as] a little child, Without intelligence to be reverently attractive to my duties; But by daily progress and monthly advance, I will learn to hold fast the gleams of knowledge, till I arrive at bright intelligence. Assist me to bear the burden of my position, And show me how to display a virtuous conduct.

289. XIAO BI

I condemn myself for the past, and will be on my guard against future calamity. I will have nothing to do with a wasp, To seek for myself its painful sting. At first, indeed, the thing seemed but a wren, But it took wing and became a large bird. I am unequal to the many difficulties of the kingdom; And I am placed in the midst of bitter experiences.

290. ZAI SHAN

They clear away the grass and the bushes; And the ground is laid open by their ploughs. In thousands of pairs they remove the roots, Some in the low wet lands, some along the dykes. There are the master and his eldest son; His younger sons, and all their children; Their strong helpers, and their hired servants. How the noise of their eating the viands brought to them resounds! The husbands think lovingly of their wives; The wives keep close to their husbands. Then with their sharp plough-shares, They set to work on the south-lying acres. They sow their different kinds of grain, Each seed containing in it a germ of life. In unbroken lines rises the blade, And well-nourished the stalks grow long. Luxuriant looks the young grain, And the weeders go among it in multitudes. Then come the reapers in crowds, And the grain is piled up the fields, Myriads, and hundreds of thousands, and millions of stacks; For spirits and for sweet spirits, To offer to our ancestors, male and female, And to provide for all ceremonies. Fragrant is their aroma, Enhancing the glory of the State. Like pepper is their smell, To give comfort to the aged. It is not here only that there is this abundance; It is not now only that there is such a time:— From of old it has been thus.

291. LIANG SI

Very sharp are the excellent shares, With which they set to work on the south-lying acres. They sow their different kinds of grain, Each seed containing a germ of life. There are those who come to see them, With their baskets round and square, Containing the provision of millet. With their light splint hats on their heads, They ply their hoes on the ground, Clearing away the smart-weed on the dry land and wet. These weeds being decayed, The millets grow luxuriantly. They fall rustling before the reapers. And the sheaves are set up solidly, High as a wall, United together like the teeth of a comb; And the hundred houses are opened to receive the grain. Those hundred houses being full, The wives and children have a feeling of repose. Now we kill this black-muzzled tawny bull, With his crooked horns, To imitate and hand down, To land down the observances of our ancestors.

292. SI YI

In his silken robes, clear and bright, With his cap on his head, looking so respectful, From the hall he goes to the foot of the stairs, And from the sheep to the oxen. He inspects the tripods, large and small. The good spirits are mild; There is no noise, no insolence:— An auspice, all this, of great longevity.

293. ZHUO

Oh! powerful was the king's army; But he nursed it in obedience to circumstances while the time was yet dark. When the time was clearly bright, He thereupon donned his grand armour. We have been favoured to receive, What the martial king accomplished. To deal aright with what we have inherited, We have to be sincere imitators of thy course, O king.

294. HUAN

There is peace throughout our myriad regions; There has been a succession of plentiful years:— Heaven does not weary in its favour. The martial king Wu, Maintained the confidence of his officers, And employed them all over the kingdom, So securing the establishment of his Family. Oh! glorious was he in the sight of Heaven, Which kinged him in the room of Shang.

295. LAI

King Wen laboured earnestly; — Right is it we should have received the kingdom. We will diffuse his virtue, ever cherishing the thought of him; Henceforth we will seek only the settlement of the kingdom. It was he through whom came the appointment of Zhou; Oh! let us ever cherish the thought of him.

296. BAN

Oh! great now is Zhou. We ascend the high hills, Both those that are long and narrow, and the lofty mountains; Yes, and

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we travel along the regulated He, All under the sky, Assembling those who now respond to me. Thus it is that the appointment belongs to Zhou.

PRAISE-SONGS OF LU

297. JIONG

Fat and large are the stallions, On the plains of the far-distant borders. Of those stallions, fat and large, Some are black and white-breeched; some light yellow; Some, pure black; some, bay; All, splendid carriage horses. His thoughts are without limit; — He thinks of his horses, and they are thus good. Fat and large are the stallions, On the plains of the far-distant borders. Of those stallions, fat and large, Some are piebald, green and white; others, yellow and white; Some, yellowish red; some, dapple grey; All, strong carriage horses. His thoughts are without end; — He thinks of his horses, and they are thus strong. Fat and large are the stallions, On the plains of the far-distant borders. Of those stallions, fat and large, Some are flecked as with scales; some, white and black-maned; Some, red and black-maned; some, black and white-maned; All, docile in the carriage, His thoughts never weary; — He thinks of his horses, and such they become. Fat and large are the stallions, On the plains of the far-distant borders. Of those stallions, fat and large, Some are cream-coloured; some, red and white; Some, with white hairy legs; some, with fishes' eyes; All, stout carriage horses. His thoughts are without depravity; —; He thinks of his horses, and thus serviceable are they.

298. YOU BI

Fat and strong, fat and strong, Fat and strong, are the chestnut teams. Early and late are the officers in the court, In the court, discriminating and intelligent. They are as a flock of egrets on the wing, Of egrets anon lighting on the ground. The drums emit their deep sound; They drink to the full and then dance; — Thus rejoicing together. Fat and strong, fat and strong, Fat and strong are the teams of stallions. Early and late are the officers with the prince, With the prince drinking. They are as a flock of egrets on the wing, Of egrets flying about. The drums emit their deep sound; They drink to the full and then return home; — Thus rejoicing together. Fat and strong, fat and strong, Fat and strong are the teams of iron-greys. Early and late are the officers with the prince, With the prince feasting. 'From this time forth, May the years be abundant. May our prince maintain his goodness, And transmit it to his descendants! ' — Thus they rejoice together.

299. PAN SHUI

Pleasant is the semi-circular water, And we will gather the cress about it. The marquis of Lu is coming to it, And we see his dragon-figured banner. His banner waves in the wind, And the bells of his horses tinkle harmoniously. Small and great, All follow the prince in his progress to it. Pleasant is the semi-circular water, And we will gather the pondweed in it. The marquis of Lu has come to it, With his horses looking so grand. His horses are grand. His fame is brilliant. Blandly he looks and smiles; Without any impatience he delivers his instructions. Pleasant is the semi-circular water, And we will gather the mallows about it. The marquis of Lu has come to it, And in the college he is drinking. He is drinking the good spirits; And may there be given him the old age that is seldom enjoyed! May he accord with the grand ways, So subduing to himself all the people! Very admirable is the marquis of Lu, Reverently displaying his virtue, And reverently watching over his deportment, The pattern of the people. With great qualities truly civil and martial, Brilliantly he affects his meritorious ancestors. In everything entirely filial, He seeks the blessing for himself. Very intelligent is the marquis of Lu, Making his virtue illustrious. He has made this college with its semicircle of water, And the tribes of the Huai will submit in consequence. His martial-looking, tiger leaders, Will here present the left ears of their foes. His examiners, wise as Gao-tao, Will here present their prisoners. His numerous officers, Men who have enlarged their virtuous minds, With martial energy conducting their expedition, Will drive far away those tribes of the east and south. Vigorous and grand, Without noise or display, Without having appealed to the judges, They will here present the proofs of their merit. How they draw their bows adorned with bone! How their arrows whizz forth! Their war chariots are very large! Their footmen and charioteers never weary! They have subdued the tribes of the Huai, And brought them to an unrebellious submission! Only lay your plans securely, And all the tribes of the Huai will be got! They come flying on the wing, those owls, And settle on the trees about the college; They eat the fruit of our mulberry trees, And salute us with fine notes. So awakened shall be those tribes of the Huai; They will come presenting their precious things, Their large tortoises and their elephants' teeth, And great contributions of the southern metals.

300. BI GONG

How pure and still are the solemn temples, In their strong solidity and minute completeness! Highly distinguished was Jiang Yuan, Of virtue undeflected. God regarded her with favour; And without injury or hurt, Immediately, when her months were fulfilled, She gave birth to Hou-ji. On him were conferred all blessings, — To know how the millet ripened early, and the sacrificial millet late, How first to sow pulse, and then wheat. Anon he was invested with an inferior State, And taught the people how to sow and to reap, The millet and the sacrificial millet, Rice and the black millet; Ere long all over the whole country; — Thus continuing the work of Yu. Among the descendants of Hou-ji, There was king Da, Dwelling on the south of mount Qi, Where the clipping of Shang began. In process of time Wen and Wu, Continued the work of king Da, And the purpose of Heaven was carried out in its time, In the plain of Mu. 'Have no doubts, no anxieties,' it was said]; 'God is with you.' Wu disposed of the troops of Shang; He and his men shared equally in the achievement. Then king Qing said, 'My uncle, I will set up your eldest son, And make him marquis of Lu. I will greatly enlarge your territory there, To be a help and support to the House of Zhou.' Accordingly he appointed our first duke of Lu, And make him marquis in the east, Giving him the hills and rivers, The lands and fields, and the attached States. The present descendant of the duke of Zhou, The son of duke Zhuang, With dragon-emblazoned banner attends the sacrifices, His six reins soft and pliant. In spring and autumn he does not neglect the sacrifices; His offerings are all without error. To the great and sovereign God, And to his great ancestor Hou-ji, He offers the victims, red and pure. Then enjoy, they approve, And bestow blessings in large number. The duke of Zhou, and your other great ancestors, Also bless you. In autumn comes the sacrifices of the season, But in summer the bulls for it have had their horns capped. They are the white bull and the red one; There are the bull-figured goblet in its dignity; Roast pig, minced meat, and soups; The dishes of bamboo and wood, and the large stand; And the dancers all-complete. The filial descendant will be blessed. Your ancestors will make you gloriously prosperous! They will make you long-lived and good, — To preserve this eastern region, Long possessing the State of Lu, Unwaning, unfallen, Unshaken, undisturbed! They will make your friendship with your three aged ministers, Like the hills, like the mountains! Our prince's chariots are a thousand, And in each are the vermilion tassels and the green bands of the two spears and two bows. His footmen are thirty thousand, With shells of vermillion-strings [reddish-orange strings] adorning their helmets. So numerous are his ardent followers, To deal with the tribes of the west and north, And to punish those of King and Shu, So that none of them will dare to withstand us. May the Spirits make you grandly prosperous! May they make you long-lived and wealthy! May the hoary hair and wrinkled back, Marking the aged men, be always in your employment! May they make you prosperous and great! May they grant you old age, ever vigorous, For myriads and thousands of years, With the eyebrows of longevity, and ever unharmed! The mountain of Da is lofty, Looked up to by the State of Lu. We grandly possess also Gui and Mong; And we shall extend to the limits of the east, Even the States along the sea. The tribes of the Huai will seek our alliance; — All will proffer their allegiance:— Such shall be the achievements of the marquis of Lu. He shall maintain the possession of Hu and Yi, And extend his sway to the regions of Xu, Even to the States along the sea. The tribes of the Huai, the Man, and the Mi, And those tribes still more to the south, All will proffer their allegiance:— Not one will dare not to answer to his call, Thus showing their obedience to the marquis of Lu. Heaven will give great blessing to our prince, So that with the eyebrows of longevity he shall maintain Lu. He shall possess Chang and Xu, And recover all the territory of the duke of Zhou. Then shall the marquis of Lu feast and be glad, With his admirable wife and aged mother; With his excellent ministers and all his other officers. Our region and State shall be hold, Thus receiving many blessings, To hoary hair, with a child's teeth. The pines of Cu-lei, And the cypresses of Xin-fu, Were cut down and measured, With the cubit line and the eight cubits line. The projecting beams of pine were large; The large inner apartments rose vast. Splendid look the new temples, The work of Xi-si, Very wide and large, Answering to the expectations of all the people.

SACRIFICIAL ODES OF SHANG

301. NA

How admirable! how complete! Here are set our hand-drums and drums. The drums resound harmonious and loud, To delight our meritorious ancestor. The descendant of Tang invites him with this music, That he may soothe us with the realization of our thoughts. Deep is the sound of the hand-drums and drums; Shrilly sound the flutes; All harmonious and blending together, According to the notes of the sonorous gem. Oh! majestic is the descendant of Tang; Very admirable is his music. The large bells and drums fill the ear; The various dances are grandly performed. We have admirable visitors, Who are pleased and delighted. From the old, before our time, The former men set us the example; — How to be mild and humble from morning to night, And to be reverent in discharging the service. May he regard our sacrifices in summer and autumn, Thus offered by the descendant of Tang!

302. LIE ZU

Ah! ah! our meritorious ancestor! Permanent are the blessings coming from him, Repeatedly conferred without end:— They have come to you in this place. The clear spirits are in our vessels, And there is granted to us the realization of our thoughts. There are also the well-tempered soups, Prepared beforehand, the ingredients rightly proportioned. By these offerings we invite his presence, without a word, Nor is there now any contention in any part of the service. He will bless us with the eyebrows of longevity, With the grey hair and wrinkled face, in unlimited degree. With the naves of their wheels bound with leather, and their ornamented yokes, With the eight bells at their horses' bits all tinkling, The princess come and assist at the offerings. We have received the appointment in all its greatness, And from Heaven is our prosperity sent down, Fruitful years of great abundance. Our ancestor will come and enjoy our offerings, And confer on us happiness without limit. May he regard our sacrifices in summer and winter, Thus offered by the descendant of Tang!

303. XUAN NIAO

Heaven commissioned the swallow, To descend and give birth to the father of our Shang. His descendants dwelt in the land of Yin, and became great. Then long ago God appointed the martial Tang, To regulate the boundaries throughout the four quarters. In those quarters he appointed the princes, And grandly possessed the nine regions of the kingdom. The first sovereign of Shang, Received the appointment without any element of instability in it, And it is now held by the descendant of Wu-ding. The descendant of Wu-ding, Is a martial king, equal to every emergency. Ten princes, who came with their dragon-emblazoned banners, Bear the large dishes of millet. The royal domain of a thousand Li, Is where the people rest; But there commence the boundaries that reach to the four seas. From the four seas they come to out sacrifices; They come in multitudes; — King has the He for its outer border. That Yin should have received the apppointment of Heaven was entirely right; — Its sovereign sustains all its dignities.

304. CHANG FA

Profoundly wise were the lords of Shang, And long had there appeared the omens of their dignity. When the waters of the deluge spread vast abroad, Yu arranged and divided the regions of the land, And assigned to the exterior great States their boundaries, With their borders extending all over the kingdom. Then the State of Song began to be great, And God raised up the son of its daughter, and founded the Family of Shang. The dark king exercised an effective sway. Charged with a small State, he commanded success; Charged with a large State, he commanded success. He followed his rules of conduct without error; Wherever he inspected the people, they responded to his instructions. Then came Xiang-tu, all-ardent, And all within the seas, beyond the middle region, acknowledged his restraints. The favour of God did not leave Shang, And in Tang was found the subject for its display. Tang was not born too late, And his wisdom and virtue daily advanced. Brilliant was the influence of his character on Heaven for long, And God appointed him to be model to the nine regions. He received the rank-tokens of the States, small and large, Which depended on him, like the pendants of a banner; — So did he receive the blessing of Heaven. He was neither violent nor remiss, Neither hard nor soft. Gently he spread his instructions abroad, And all dignities and riches were concentrated iin him. He received the tribute of the States, large and small, And he supported them as a strong steed does its burden; — So did he receive the favour of Heaven. He displayed everywhere his valour, Unshaken, unmoved, Unterrified, unscared:— All dignities were united in him. The martial king displayed his banner, And with reverence grasped his axe. It was like the case of a blazing fire, Which no one can repress. The root, with its three shoots, Could make no progress, no growth. The nine regions were effectually secured by him. Having smitten the princes of Wei and Gu, He dealt with the prince of Kun-wu, and with Jie of Xia. Formerly in the middle of the period before Tang, There was a time of shaking and peril, But truly did Heaven then deal with him as its son, And sent him down a minister, Namely A-heng, Who gave his assistance to the king of Shang.

305. YIN WU

Rapid was the warlike energy of our king of Yin, And vigorously did he attack Jing-Chu. Boldly he entered its dangerous passes, And brought the multitudes of King together, Till the country was reduced under complete restraint:— Such was the fitting achievement of the descendant of Tang. 'Ye people,' he said, 'of Jing-chu, Dwell in the southern part of my kingdom. Formerly, in the time of Tang the Successful, Even from the Jiang of Di, They dared not but come with their offerings; Their chiefs dared not but come to seek acknowledgment:— Such is the regular rule of

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Shang.' Heaven has given their appointments to the princes, But where their capitals had been assigned within the sphere of the labours of Yu, For the business of every year, they appeared before our king, Saying, 'Do not punish nor reprove us; We have not been remiss in our husbandry. ' When Heaven by its will is inspecting the kingdom, The lower people are to be feared. Our king showed no partiality in rewarding, no excess in punishing; He dared not to allow himself in indolence:— So was his appointment established over the States, And he made his happiness grandly secure. The capital of Shang was full of order, The model for all parts of the kingdom, Glorious was his fame; Brilliant, his energy. Long lived he and enjoyed tranquillity, And so he preserves us, his descendants. We ascended the hill of King, Where the pines and cypresses grew symmetrical. We cut them down, and conveyed them here; We reverently hewed them square. Long are the projecting beams of pine; Large are the many pillars. The temple was completed, — the tranquil abode [of his tablet].

THE SHU JING
or: The Book of Documents
or: The Shang Shu / The Classic of History
Romanisation: Pinyin
Translation: James Legge, 1865
Estimated Range of Dating: 772-476 BC.
(also called: Spring and Autumn period)

(The Book of Documents [also Shujing, Wade-Giles: Shu-king] or Classic of History, also known as the Shangshu (Esteemed Documents), is one of the Five Classics of ancient Chinese literature. It is a collection of rhetorical prose attributed to figures of ancient China, and served as the foundation of Chinese political philosophy for over 2,000 years. According to a later tradition, the Book of Documents was compiled by Confucius (551–479 BC) as a selection from a much larger group of documents, with some of the remainder being included in the Yizhoushu. However, the early history of both texts is obscure. Beginning with Confucius, writers increasingly drew on the Documents to illustrate general principles, though it seems that several different versions were in use.

The Book of Documents was the subject of one of China's oldest literary controversies, between proponents of different versions of the text. The "New Text" version was preserved from Qin Shi Huang's burning of books and burying of scholars by scholar Fu Sheng. The longer "Old Text" version was supposedly discovered in the wall of Confucius' family estate in Qufu by his descendant Kong Anguo in the late 2nd century BC, lost at the end of the Han dynasty and rediscovered in the 4th century AD. Over time, the "Old Text" version of the Documents became more widely accepted, until it was established as the imperially sanctioned edition during the early Tang dynasty. This continued until the late 17th century, when the Qing dynasty scholar Yan Ruoqu demonstrated that the additional "Old Text" chapters not contained in the "New Text" version were actually fabrications "reconstructed" in the 3rd or 4th centuries AD.

New light has been shed on the Book of Documents by the recovery between 1993 and 2008 of caches of texts written on bamboo slips from tombs of the state of Chu in Jingmen, Hubei. These texts are believed to date from the late Warring States period, around 300 BC, and thus predate the burning of the books during the Qin dynasty. The Guodian Chu Slips and the Shanghai Museum corpus include quotations of previously unknown passages of the work. The Tsinghua Bamboo Slips includes the New Text chapter "Golden Coffer", with minor textual differences, as well as several documents in the same style that are not included in the received text. The collection also includes two documents that are versions of the Old Text chapters "Common Possession of Pure Virtue" and "Charge to Yue", confirming that the "rediscovered" versions are forgeries.

Contents: In the orthodox arrangement, the work consists of 58 chapters, each with a brief preface traditionally attributed to Confucius, and also includes a preface and commentary, both purportedly by Kong Anguo. An alternative organisation, first used by Wu Cheng, includes only the New Text chapters, with the chapter prefaces collected together, but omitting the Kong preface and commentary. In addition, several chapters are divided into two or three parts in the orthodox form.

Nature of the chapters: With the exception of a few chapters of late date, the chapters are represented as records of formal speeches by kings or other important figures. Most of these speeches are of one of five types, indicated by their titles:

• Consultations (mo) between the king and his ministers (2 chapters),

• Instructions (xun) to the king from his ministers (1 chapter),

• Announcements (gao) by the king to his people (8 chapters),

• Declarations (shi) by a ruler on the occasion of a battle (6 chapters),

• Commands (ming) by the king to a specific vassal (7 chapters).

Traditional organisation: The chapters are grouped into four sections representing different eras: the semi-mythical reign of Yu the Great, and the three ancient dynasties of the Xia, Shang and Zhou. The first two sections – on Yu the Great and the Xia dynasty – contain two chapters each in the New Text version, and though they purport to record the earliest material in the Documents, from the 2nd millennium BC, most scholars believe they were written during the Warring States period. The Shang dynasty section contains five chapters, of which the first two – the "Speech of King Tang" and "Pan Geng" – recount the conquest of the Xia by the Shang and their leadership's migration to a new capital (now identified as Anyang). The bulk of the Zhou dynasty section concerns the reign of King Cheng of Zhou (r. c. 1040–1006 BC) and the kings's uncles, the Duke of Zhou and Duke of Shao. The last four New Text chapters relate to the later Western Zhou and early Spring and Autumn periods.)

(Chapters with "NT" = "New Text" are in reality the authentic texts!)

DOCUMENTS BOOK 1 - YU
(Book of Yu the Great)

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 1 - Yao dian NT
(Canon of Emperor Yao, c. 2356–2255 BC.)

1 Examining into antiquity, (we find that) the Di Yao was styled Fang-xun. He was reverential, intelligent, accomplished, and thoughtful - naturally and without effort. He was sincerely courteous, and capable of (all) complaisance. The bright (influence of these qualities) was felt through the four quarters (of the land), and reached to (heaven) above and (earth) beneath. He made the able and virtuous distinguished, and thence proceeded to the love of (all in) the nine classes of his kindred, who (thus) became harmonious. He (also) regulated and polished the people (of his domain), who all became brightly intelligent. (Finally), he united and harmonised the myriad states; and so the black-haired people were transformed. The result was (universal) concord.

2 He commanded the Xis and Hes, in reverent accordance with (their observation of) the wide heavens, to calculate and delineate (the movements and appearances of) the sun, the moon, the stars, and the zodiacal spaces, and so to deliver respectfully the seasons to be observed by the people.

He separately commanded the second brother Xi to reside at Yu-yi, in what was called the Bright Valley, and (there) respectfully to receive as a guest the rising sun, and to adjust and arrange the labours of the spring. 'The day,' (said he), 'is of the medium length, and the star is in Niao - you may thus exactly determine mid-spring. The people are dispersed (in the fields), and birds and beasts breed and copulate.'

He further commanded the third brother Xi to reside at Nan-jiao, (in what was called the Brilliant Capital). to adjust and arrange the transformations of the summer, and respectfully-to observe the exact limit (of the shadow). 'The day,' (said he), 'is at its longest, and the star is in Huo - you may thus exactly determine mid-summer. The people are more dispersed; and birds and beasts have their feathers and hair thin, and change their coats.'

He separately commanded the second brother He to reside at the west, in what was called the Dark Valley, and (there) respectfully to convoy the setting sun, and to adjust and arrange the completing labours of the autumn. 'The night' (said he), 'is of the medium length, and the star is in Xu - you may thus exactly determine mid-autumn. The people feel at ease, and birds and beasts have their coats in good condition.'

He further commanded the third brother He to reside in the northern region, in what was called the Sombre Capital, and (there) to adjust and examine the changes of the winter. 'The day,' (said he), 'is at its shortest, and the star is in Mao - you may thus exactly determine mid-winter. The people, keep in their houses, and the coats of birds and beasts are downy and thick.'

The Di said, 'Ah! you, Xis and Hes, a round year consists of three hundred, sixty, and six days. Do you, by means of the intercalary month, fix the four seasons, and complete (the period of) the year. (Thereafter), the various officers being regulated, in accordance with this, all the works (of the year) will be fully performed.'

3 The Di said, 'Who will search out (for me) a man according to the times, whom I can raise and employ?' Fang-qi said, '(Your) heir-son Zhu is highly intelligent.' The Di said, 'Alas; he is insincere and quarrelsome - can he do?'

The Di said, 'Who will search out (for me) a man equal to the exigency of my affairs?' Huan-dou said, 'Oh! the merits of the Minister of Works have just been displayed on a wide scale.' The Di said, 'Alas! when all is quiet, he talks; but when, employed, his actions turn out differently. he is respectful (only) in appearance. See! the floods assail the heavens!'

The Di said, 'Ho! (President of) the Four Mountains, destructive in their overflow are the waters of the inundation. In their vast extent they embrace the hills and overtop the great heights, threatening the heavens with their floods, so that the lower people groan and murmur 'Is there a capable man to whom I can assign the correction (of this calamity)?' All (in the court) said, 'Ah! is there not Kuan?' The Di said, 'Alas! how perverse is he! He is disobedient to orders, and tries to injure his peers.' (The President of) the Mountains said, 'Well but--. Try if he can (accomplish the work).' (Kuan) was employed accordingly.

The Di said (to him), 'Go; and be reverent!' For nine years he laboured, but the work was unaccomplished.

4 The Di said, 'Ho! (President of) the Four Mountains, I have been on the throne seventy years. You can carry out my commands - I will resign my place to you.' The Chief said, 'I have not the virtue; I should disgrace your place.' (The Di) said, 'Show me some one among the illustrious, or set forth one from among the poor and mean.' All (then) said to the Di, 'There is an unmarried man among the lower people, called Shun of Yu'. The Di said, 'Yes, I have heard of him. What have you to say about him?' The Chief said,' He is the son of a blind man. His father was obstinately unprincipled; his (step-

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)mother was insincere; his (half-) brother Xiang was arrogant. He has been able (however), by his filial piety to live in harmony with them, and to lead them gradually to self-government, so that they (no longer) proceed to great wickedness.' The Di said, 'I will try him; I will wive him, and thereby see his behaviour with my two daughters.' (Accordingly) he arranged and sent down his two daughters to the north of the Gui, to be wives in (the family of) Yu. The Di said to them, 'Be reverent!'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 2 - Shun dian NT

(Canon of Emperor Shun or Chonghua, c. 2294 and 2184 BC.)

1 Examining into antiquity, (we find that) the Di Shun was styled Chong-hua. His character was entirely conformed to (that of) the (former) Di, he was profound, wise, accomplished, and intelligent. He was mild and courteous, and truly sincere. The report of his mysterious virtue was heard on high, and he was appointed to office.

2 (Shun) carefully set forth the beauty of the five cardinal duties, and they came to be (universally) observed. Being appointed to be General Regulator, the affairs of every (official) department were arranged in their proper seasons. (Being charged) to receive (the princes) from the four quarters of the land, they were all docilely submissive. Being sent to the great plains at the foot of the mountains, notwithstanding the tempests of wind, thunder, and rain, he did not go astray. The Di said, 'Come, you Shun. I have consulted you on (all) affairs, and examined your words, and found that they can be carried into practice - (now) for three years. Do you ascend the seat of the Di.' Shun wished to decline in favour of some one more virtuous, and not to consent to be (Yao's) successor. On the first day of the first month, (however), he received (Yao's) retirement (from his duties) in the temple of the Accomplished Ancestor.

3 He examined the pearl-adorned turning sphere, with its transverse tube of jade, and reduced to a harmonious system (the movements of) the Seven Directors. Thereafter, he sacrificed specially, but with the ordinary forms, to God; sacrificed with reverent purity to the Six Honoured Ones; offered their appropriate sacrifices to the hills and rivers; and extended his worship to the host of spirits. He called in (all) the five jade-symbols of rank; and when the month was over, he gave daily audience to (the President of) the Four Mountains, and all the Pastors, (finally) returning their symbols to the various princes.

4 In the second month of the year he made a tour of inspection eastwards, as far as Dai-zong, where he presented a burnt-offering to Heaven, and sacrificed in order to the hills and rivers. Thereafter he gave audience to the princes of the east. He set in accord their seasons and months, and regulated the days; he made uniform the standard-tubes, with the measures of length and of capacity, and the steelyards, he regulated the five (classes of) ceremonies, with (the various) articles of introduction - the five symbols of jade, the three kinds of silk, the two living (animals) and the one dead one. As to the five instruments of rank, when all was over, he returned them. In the fifth month he made a similar tour southwards, as far as the mountain of the south, where he observed the same ceremonies as at Dai. In the eighth month he made a tour westwards, as far as the mountain of the west, where he did as before. In the eleventh month he made a tour northwards, as far as the mountain of the north', where he observed the same ceremonies as in the west. He (then) returned (to the capital), went to (the temple of) the Cultivated Ancestor, and sacrificed a single bull. In five years there was one tour of inspection, and there were four appearances of the princes at court. They gave a report (of their government) in words, which was clearly tested by their works. They received chariots and robes according to their merits.

5 He instituted the division (of the land) into twelve provinces, raising altars upon twelve hills in them. He (also) deepened the rivers.

6 He exhibited (to the people) the statutory punishments, enacting banishment as a mitigation of the five (great) inflictions; with the whip to be employed in the magistrates' courts, the stick to be employed in schools, and money to be received for redeemable offences. Inadvertent offences and those which could be ascribed to misfortune were to be pardoned, but those who transgressed presumptuously and repeatedly were to be punished with death. 'Let me be reverent! Let me be reverent!' (he said to himself.) 'Let compassion rule in punishment!' He banished the Minister of Works to You island; confined Huan-dou on mount Chong; drove (the chief of) San-miao (and his people) into San-wei, and kept them there; and held Gun a prisoner till death on mount Yu. These four criminals being thus dealt with, all under heaven acknowledged the justice (of Shun's administration).

7 After twenty-eight years the Di deceased, when the people mourned for him as for a parent for three years. Within the four seas all the eight kinds of instruments of music were stopped and hushed.

8 On the first day of the first month (of the) next year, Shun went to (the temple of) the Accomplished Ancestor. He deliberated with (the President of) the Four Mountains how to throw open the doors (of communication between himself and the) four (quarters of the land), and how he could see with the eyes, and hear with the ears of all. He consulted with the twelve Pastors, and said to them, 'The food!--it depends on observing the seasons. Be kind to the distant, and cultivate the ability of the near. Give honour to the virtuous, and your confidence to the good, while you discountenance the artful - so shall the barbarous tribes lead on one another to make their submission.'

9 Shun said, 'Ho! (President of) the Four Mountains, is there any one who can with vigorous service attend to all the affairs of the Di, whom I may appoint to be General Regulator, to assist me in (all) affairs, managing each department according to its nature?' All (in the court) replied, 'There is Bo-Yu, the Minister of Works.' The Di said, 'Yes. Ho! Yu, you have regulated the water and the land. In this (new office) exert yourself.' Yu did obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favour of the Minister of Agriculture, or Xie, or Gao-Yao. The Di said, 'Yes, but do you go (and undertake the duties).'

10 The Di said, 'Qi, the black-haired people are (still) suffering from famine. Do you, O prince, as Minister of Agriculture, (continue to) sow (for them) the various kinds of grain.'

11 The Di said, 'Xie, the people are (still) wanting in affection for one another, and do not docilely, observe the five orders of relationship. It is yours, as the Minister of Instruction, reverently, to set forth the lessons of duty belonging to those five orders. Do so with gentleness.'

12 The Di said, 'Gao-Yao, the barbarous tribes trouble our great land. There are (also) robbers, murderers, insurgents, and traitors. It is yours, as the Minister of Crime, to use the five punishments to deal with their offences. For the infliction of these there are the three appointed places. There are the five cases in which banishment in the appropriate places is to be resorted to, to which places, though five, three localities are assigned. Perform your duties with intelligence, and you will secure a sincere (submission).'

13 The Di said, 'Who can superintend my works, as they severally require?' All (in the court) replied, 'Is there not Chui?' The Di said, 'Yes. Ho! Chui, you must be Minister of Works.' Chui did obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favour of Shu, Qiang, or Bo-Yu. The Di said, 'Yes, but do you go (and undertake the duties). Effect a harmony (in all the departments).'

14 The Di said, 'Who can superintend, as the nature of the charge requires, the grass and trees, with the birds and beasts on my hills and in my marshes?' All (in the court) replied, 'Is there not Yi?' The Di said, 'Yes. Ho! Yi do you be my Forester.' Yi did obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favour of Zhu, Hu, Xiong, or Pi. The Di said, 'Yes, but do you go (and undertake the duties). You must manage them harmoniously.'

15 The Di said, 'Ho! (President of the) Four Mountains, is there any one able to direct my three (religious) ceremonies?' All (In the court) answered, 'Is there not Bo-yi?' The Di said, 'Yes. Ho! Bo, you must be the Arranger in the Ancestral Temple. Morning and night be reverent. Be upright, be pure.' Bo did obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favour of Kui or Long. The Di said, 'Yes, but do you go (and undertake the duties). Be reverential!'

16 The Di said, 'Kui, I appoint you to be Director of Music, and to teach our sons, so that the straightforward shall yet be mild; the gentle, dignified: the strong, not tyrannical: and the impetuous, not arrogant. Poetry is the expression of earnest thought; singing is the prolonged utterance of that expression; the notes accompany that utterance, and they are harmonized themselves by the standard tubes. (In this way) the eight different kinds of musical instruments can be adjusted so that one shall not take from or interfere with another; and spirits and men are brought into harmony.' Kui said, 'I smite the (sounding-) stone, I gently strike it, and the various animals lead on one another to dance.'

17 The Di said, 'Long, I abominate slanderous speakers and destroyers of the (right) ways, who agitate and alarm my people. I appoint you to be the Minister of Communication. Early and late give forth my orders and report to me, seeing that everything is true.'

18 The Di said, 'Ho! you, twenty and two men, be reverent; so shall you be helpful to the business (entrusted to me by) Heaven.'

19 Every three years there was an examination of merits, and after three examinations the undeserving were degraded, and the deserving advanced. (By this arrangement) the duties of all the departments were fully discharged; the (people of) San-miao (also) were discriminated and separated.

20 In the thirtieth year of his age, Shun was called to employment. Thirty years he was on the throne (with Yao). Fifty years afterwards he went on high and died.

21 (Emperor Li's land, set up a living, not classified. He is the author of "The Works", "The Nine", and "Gao Yu".)

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 3 - Da Yu mo

(Counsels of the Great Yu or Si Wenming, c. 2123 – 2025 BC.)

1 Examining into antiquity, (we find that) the Great Yu was styled Wen-ming. Having arranged and divided (the land), all to the four seas, in reverent response to the Di, he said, 'If the sovereign can realize the difficulty of his sovereignship, and the minister the difficulty of his ministry, the government will be well ordered, and the black-haired people will sedulously seek to be virtuous.'

2 The Di said, 'Yes; let this really be the case, and good words will nowhere lie hidden; no men of virtue and talents will be left neglected, away from court, and the myriad states will all enjoy repose. (But) to obtain the views of all; to give tip one's opinion and follow that of others; to keep from oppressing the helpless, and not to neglect the straitened and poor - it was only the (former) Di who could attain to this.'

3 Yi said, 'Oh! your virtue, O Di, is vast and incessant. It is sagely, spirit-like, awe-inspiring, and adorned with all accomplishments. Great Heaven regarded you with its favour, and bestowed on you its appointment. Suddenly you possessed all within the four seas, and became ruler of all under heaven.'

4 Yu said, 'Accordance with the right leads to good fortune; following what is opposed to it, to bad - the shadow and the echo.'

5 Yi said, 'Alas! be cautious! Admonish yourself to caution, when there seems to be no occasion for anxiety. Do not fail to observe the laws and ordinances. Do not find your enjoyment in idleness. Do not go to excess in pleasure. In your employment of men of worth, let none come between you and them. Put away evil without hesitation. Do not carry out plans, of (the wisdom of) which you have doubts. Study that all your purposes may be with the light of reason. Do not go against what is right, to get the praise of the people. Do not oppose the people's (wishes), to follow your own desires. (Attend to these things) without idleness or omission, and the barbarous tribes all around will come and acknowledge your sovereignty.'

6 Yu said, 'Oh! think (of these things), O Di. The virtue (of the ruler) is seen in (his) good government, and that government in the nourishing of the people. There are water, fire, metal, wood, the earth, and grain - these must be duly regulated; there are the rectification of (the people's) virtue, (the tools and other things) that supply the conveniences of life, and the securing abundant means of sustentation - these must be harmoniously attended to. When the nine services (thus indicated) have been orderly accomplished, that accomplishment will be hailed by (the people's) songs. Caution them with gentle (words), correct them with the majesty (of law), stimulate them with the songs on those nine subjects - in order that (your success) may not suffer diminution.'

7 The Di said, 'The earth has been reduced to order, and the (influences of) heaven produce their complete effect; those six magazines and three departments of (governmental) action are all truly regulated, and may be depended on for a myriad generations - this is your merit.'

8 The Di said, 'Come, you Yu. I have occupied my place for thirty and three years. I am between ninety and a hundred years old, and the laborious duties weary me. Do you, eschewing all indolence, take the leading of my people.'

9 Yu replied, 'My virtue is not equal (to the position), and the people will not repose in me. (But there is) Gao-Yao with vigorous activity sowing abroad his virtue, which has descended on the black-haired people, till they cherish him in their hearts. O Di, think of him! When I think of him, (my mind) rests on him (as the man fit for this place); when I would put him out of my thoughts, (my mind still) rests on him; when I name and speak of him, (my mind) rests on him (for this); the sincere outgoing of my thoughts about him is that he is the man. O Di, think of his merits.'

10 The Di said, 'Gao-Yao, that of these my ministers and all (my people) hardly one is found to offend against the regulations of the government is owing to your being Minister of Crime, and intelligent in the use of the five punishments, thereby assisting (the inculcation of) the five cardinal duties, with a view to the perfection of my government, and that through punishment there may come to be no punishments, but the people accord with (the path of) the Mean. (Continue to) be strenuous.'

11 Gao-Yao replied, 'Your virtue, O Di, is faultless. You condescend to your ministers with a kindly ease; you preside over the multitudes with a generous forbearance. Punishments do not extend to (the criminal's) heirs, while rewards reach to (succeeding) generations. You pardon inadvertent faults, however great, and punish purposed crimes, however small. In cases of doubtful crimes, you deal with them lightly; in cases of doubtful merit, you prefer the high estimation. Rather than put an innocent person to death, you will run the risk of irregularity and error. This life-loving virtue has penetrated the minds of the people, and this is why

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they do not render themselves liable to be punished by your officers.'

12 The Di said, 'That I am able to follow and obtain what I desire in my government, the people responding everywhere as if moved by the wind - this is your excellence.'

13 The Di said, 'Come Yu. The inundating waters filled me with dread, when you accomplished truly (all that you had represented), and completed your service - thus showing your superiority to other men. Full of toilsome earnestness in the service of the country, and sparing in your expenditure on your family, and this without being full of yourself and elated - you (again.) show your superiority to other men. You are without any prideful assumption, but no one under heaven can contest with you the palm of ability; you make no boasting, but no one under heaven can contest with you the palm of merit. I see how great is your virtue, how admirable your vast achievements. The determinate appointment of Heaven rests on your person; you must eventually ascend (the throne) of the great sovereign. The mind of man is restless, prone (to err); its affinity to what is right is small. Be discriminating, be uniform (in the pursuit of what is right), that you may sincerely hold fast the Mean, Do not listen to unsubstantiated words; do not follow plans about which you have not sought counsel. Of all who are to be loved, is not the ruler the chief? Of all who are to be feared, are not the people the chief? If the multitude were without their sovereign Head, whom should they sustain aloft? If the sovereign had not the multitude, there would be none to guard the country for him. Be reverential! Carefully maintain the throne which you are to occupy, cultivating (the virtues) that are to be desired in you. If within the four seas there be distress and poverty, your Heaven conferred revenues will come to a perpetual end. It is the mouth which sends forth what is good, and raises up war. I will not alter my words.'

14 Yu said, 'Submit the meritorious ministers one by one to the trial of divination, and let the favouring indication be followed.'

15 The Di replied, '(According to the rules for) the regulation of divination, one should first make up his mind, and afterwards refer (his judgement) to the great tortoise-shell. My mind (in this matter) was determined in the first place; I consulted and deliberated with all (my ministers and people), and they were of one accord with me. The spirits signified their assent, and the tortoise-shell and divining stalks concurred. Divination, when fortunate, should not be repeated.' Yu did obeisance with his head to the ground, and firmly declined (the place).

16 The Di said, 'You must not do so. It is you who can suitably (occupy my place).'

17 On the first morning of the first month, (Yu) received the appointment in the temple (dedicated by Shun) to the spirits of his ancestors, and took the leading of all the officers, as had been done by the Di at the commencement (of his government).

18 The Di said, 'Alas! O Yu, there is only the lord of Miao who refuses obedience; do you go and correct him.'

19 Yu on this assembled all the princes, and made a speech to the host, saying, 'Ye multitudes here arrayed, listen all of you to my orders. Stupid is this lord of Miao, ignorant, erring, and disrespectful. Despiteful and insolent to others, he thinks that all ability and virtue are with himself. A rebel to the right, he destroys (all the obligations of) virtue. Superior men are kept by him in obscurity, and mean men fill (all) the offices. The people reject him and will not protect him. Heaven is sending down calamities upon him. I therefore, along with you, my multitude of gallant men, bear the instructions (of the Di) to punish his crimes. Do you proceed with united heart and strength, so shall our enterprize be crowned with success.'

20 At the end of three decades, the people of Miao continued rebellious against the commands (issued to them), when Yi came to the help of Yu, saying, 'It is virtue that moves Heaven; there is no distance to which it does not reach. Pride brings loss, and humility receives increase - this is the way of Heaven. In the early time of the Di, when he was living by mount Li, he went into the fields, and daily cried with tears to compassionate Heaven, and to his parents, taking to himself all guilt, and charging himself with (their) wickedness. (At the same time) with respectful service he appeared before Gu-sou, looking grave and awe-struck, till Gu also became transformed by his example. Entire sincerity moves spiritual beings - how much more will it move this lord of Miao!'

21 Yu did homage to the excellent words, and said, 'Yes.' (Thereupon) he led back his army, having drawn off the troops. The Di set about diffusing on a grand scale the virtuous influences of peace - with shields and feathers they danced between the two staircases (in his courtyard). In seventy days, the lord of Miao came (and made his submission).

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 4 - Gao Yao mo NT

(Counsels of Gao-yao, Shun's Minister for Law)

1 Examining into antiquity, (we find that) Gao-Yao said, 'If (the sovereign) sincerely pursues the course of his virtue, the counsels (offered to him) will be intelligent, and the aids (of admonition that he receives) will be harmonious.'

Yu said, 'Yes, but explain yourself.'

Gao-Yao said, 'Oh! let him be careful about his personal cultivation, with thoughts that are far-reaching, and thus he will produce a generous kindness and nice observance of distinctions among the nine branches of his kindred. All the intelligent (also) will exert themselves in his service; and in this way from what is near he will reach to what is distant.'

Yu did homage to the excellent words, and said, 'Yes.'

Gao-Yao continued, 'Oh! it lies in knowing men, and giving repose to the people.'

Yu said, 'Alas! to attain to both these things might well be a difficulty even to the Di. When (the sovereign) knows men, he is wise, and can put every one into the office for which he is fit. When he gives repose to the people, his kindness is felt, and the black-haired race cherish him in their hearts. When he can be (thus) wise and kind, what occasion will he have for anxiety about a Huan-dou? what to be removing a lord of Miao? what to fear any one of fair words, insinuating appearance, and great artfulness?'

2 Gao-Yao said, 'Oh! there are in all nine virtues to be discovered in conduct, and when we say that a man possesses (any) virtue, that is as much as to say he does such and such things.'

Yu asked, 'What (are the nine virtues)?'

Gao-Yao replied, 'Affability combined with dignity; mildness combined with firmness; bluntness combined with respectfulness; aptness for government combined with reverent caution; docility combined with boldness; straightforwardness combined with gentleness; an easy negligence combined with discrimination; boldness combined with sincerity; and valour combined with righteousness. (When these qualities are) displayed, and that continuously, have we not the good (officer)? When there is a daily display of three (of these) virtues, their possessor could early and late regulate and brighten the clan (of which he was made chief). When there is a daily severe and reverent cultivation of six of them, their possessor could brilliantly conduct the affairs of the state (with which he was invested). When (such men) are all received and advanced, the possessors of those nine virtues will be employed in (the public) service. The men of a thousand and men of a hundred will be in their offices; the various ministers will emulate one another; all the officers will accomplish their duties at the proper times, observant of the five seasons (as the several elements predominate in them) - and thus their various duties will be fully accomplished. Let not (the Son of Heaven) set to the holders of states the example of indolence or dissoluteness. Let him be wary and fearful, (remembering that) in one day or two days there may occur ten thousand springs of things. Let him not have his various officers cumberers of their places. The work is Heaven's; men must act for it!

From Heaven are the (social) relationships with their several duties; we are charged with (the enforcement of) those five duties - and lo! we have the five courses of honourable conduct. From Heaven are the (social) distinctions with their several ceremonies; from us come the observances of those five ceremonies - and lo! they appear in regular practice. When (sovereign and ministers show) a common reverence and united respect for these, lo! the moral nature (of the people) is made harmonious. Heaven graciously distinguishes the virtuous - are there not the five habiliments, five decorations of them? Heaven punishes the guilty - are there not the five punishments, to be severally used for that purpose? The business of government! - ought we not to be earnest in it? ought we not to be earnest in it? Heaven hears and sees as our people hear and see; Heaven brightly approves and displays its terrors as our people brightly approve and would awe - such connexion is there between the upper and lower (worlds). How reverent ought the masters of territories to be!'

3 Gao-Yao said, 'My words are in accordance with reason, and maybe put in practice.'

Yu said, 'Yes, your words may be put in practice, and crowned with success.'

Gao-Yao added, '(As to that) I do not know, but I wish daily to be helpful. May (the government) be perfected!'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 5 - Yi Ji NT

(Yi and Ji)

1 The Di said, 'Come Yu, you also must have excellent words (to bring before me).' Yu did obeisance, and said, 'Oh! what can I say, O Di, (after Gao-Yao)? I can (only) think of maintaining a daily assiduity.' Gao-Yao said, 'Alas! will you describe it?' Yu replied, 'The inundating waters seemed to assail the heavens, and in their vast extent embraced the hills and overtopped the great mounds, so that the people were bewildered and overwhelmed. I mounted my four conveyances, and all along the hills hewed down the trees, at the same time, along with Yi, showing the multitudes how to get flesh to eat. I (also) opened passages for the streams (throughout the) nine (provinces), and conducted them to the four seas. I deepened (moreover) the channels and canals, and conducted them to the streams, sowing (grain), at the same time, along with Ji, and showing the multitudes how to procure the food of toil, (in addition to) the flesh meat. I urged them (further) to exchange what they had for what they had not, and to dispose of their accumulated stores. (In this way) all the people got grain to eat, and the myriad regions began to come under good rule.' Gao-Yao said, 'Yes, we ought to model ourselves after your excellent words.'

2 Yu said, 'Oh! carefully maintain, O Di, the throne which you occupy.' The Di replied, 'Yes;' and Yu went on, 'Find your repose in your (proper) resting-point. Attend to the springs of things; study stability; and let your assistants be the upright - then shall your movements be grandly responded to, (as if the people only) waited for your will. Thus you will brightly receive (the favour of) God - will not Heaven renew its appointment of you, and give you blessing?'

3 The Di said, 'Alas! what are ministers? - are they not (my) associates? What are associates? - are they not (my) ministers?' Yu replied, 'Yes'.

The Di went on, 'My ministers constitute my legs and arms, my ears and eyes. I wish to help and support my people - you give effect to my wishes. I wish to spread the influence (of my government) through the four quarters - you act as my agents. I wish to see the emblematic figures of the ancients - the sun, the moon, the stars, the mountain, the dragons, and the flowery fowl (the pheasant), which are depicted (on the upper garment); the temple cups, the pondweed, the flames, the grains of rice, the hatchet, and the symbol of distinction, which are embroidered (on the lower Garment) - (I wish to see all these) fully displayed in the five colours, so as to form the (ceremonial) robes - it is yours to see them clearly (for me). I wish to hear the six pitch-tubes, the five notes (determined by them), and the eight kinds of musical instruments (regulated again by these), examining thereby the virtues and defects of government, according as (the odes that) go forth (from the court, set to music), and come in (from the people), are ordered by those five notes - it is yours to hear them (for me). When I am doing wrong, it is yours to correct me; do not follow me to my face, and, when you have retired, have other remarks to make. Be reverent, ye associates, who are before and behind and on each side of me! As to all the obstinately stupid and calumniating talkers, who are found not to be doing what is right, are there not the target to exhibit (their true character), the scourge to make them recollect, and the book of remembrance? Do we not wish them to live along with us? There are also the masters (of music) to receive their compositions, (set them to music), and continually publish them (as corrected by themselves). If they become reformed they are to be received and employed; if they do not, let the terrors (of punishment) overtake them.'

Yu said, 'So far good! But let your light shine, O Di, all under heaven, even to every grassy corner of the sea-shore, and throughout the myriad regions the most worthy of the people will all (wish) to be your ministers. Then, O Di, you may advance them to office. They will set forth, and you will receive, their reports; you will make proof of them according to their merits; you will confer chariots and robes according to their services. Who will then dare not to cultivate a humble virtue? who will dare not to respond to you with reverence? If you, O Di, do not act thus, all (your ministers) together will daily proceed to a meritless character.'

4 'Be not haughty like Zhu of Dan, who found his pleasure only in indolence and dissipation, and pursued a proud oppressive course. Day and night without ceasing he was thus. He would make boats go where there was no water. He introduced licentious associates into his family. The consequence was that he brought the prosperity of his house to an end. I took warning from his course. When I married in Tu-shan, (I remained with my wife only the days) xin, ren, gui, and jia. When (my son) Qi was wailing and weeping, I did not regard him, but kept planning with all my might my labour on the land. (Then) I assisted in completing the five Tenures, extending over 5000 li; (in appointing) in the provinces twelve Tutors, and in establishing in the regions beyond, reaching to the four seas, five Presidents. These all pursue the right path, and are meritorious; but there are still (the people of) Miao, who obstinately refuse to render their service. Think of this, O Di.' The Di said, 'That my virtue is followed is the result of your meritorious services so orderly displayed. And now Gao-Yao, entering respectfully into your arrangements, is on every hand displaying the (various) punishments, as represented, with entire intelligence.'

5 Kui said, 'When the sounding-stone is tapped or struck with force, and the lutes are strongly swept or gently touched, to accompany the singing, the progenitors (of the Di) come (to the service), the guest of Yu is in his place, and all the princes show their virtue in giving place to one another. (In the court) below (the hall) there are the flutes and hand-drums, which join in at the sound of the rattle, and cease at that of the stopper, when the organ and bells take their place. (This makes) birds and beasts fall moving. When the nine parts of the service, as arranged by the Di, have all been performed, the male and female phœnix come with their measured gambolings (into the court).' Kui said, 'Oh! when I smite the (sounding-) stone, or gently strike it, the various

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animals lead on one another to dance, and all the chiefs of the official departments become truly harmonious.'

6 The Di on this made a song, saying, 'We must deal cautiously with the favouring appointment of Heaven, at every moment and in the smallest particular.' He then sang.

'When the members (work) joyfully,
The head rises (grandly);
And the duties of all the offices are fully discharged!

Gao-Yao did obeisance with his head to his hands and then to the ground, and with a loud and rapid voice said,' Think (O Di). It is your to lead on and originate things. Pay careful attention to your laws (in doing so). Be reverential! and often examine what has been accomplished (by your officers). Be reverential!' With this he continued the song,

'When the head is intelligent,
The members are good;
And all affairs will be happily performed!'

Again he continued the song,

'When the head is vexatious,
The members are idle;
And all affairs will go to ruin!'

The Di said, 'Yes, go and be reverently (attentive to your duties).'

DOCUMENTS BOOK 2 - XIA SHU
(Book of the Xia Dynasty)

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 6 - Yu Gong NT
(Tribute of Yu)

1 Yu divided the land. Following the course of the hills, he cut down the trees. He determined the highest hills and largest rivers (in the several regions).

2 With respect to Ji Zhou, he did his work at Hu-kou, and took effective measures at (the mountains) Liang and Qi. Having repaired the works on Tai-Yuan, he proceeded on to the south of (mount) Yue. He was successful with his labours on Tan-huai, and went on to the cross-flowing stream of Zhang. The soil of this province was whitish and mellow. Its contribution of revenue was the highest of the highest class, with some proportion of the second. Its fields were the average of the middle class. The (waters of the) Heng and Wei were brought to their proper channels, and Da-lu was made capable of cultivation. The wild people of the islands (brought) dresses of skins (i.e. fur dresses); keeping close on the right to the rocks of Jie, they entered the He.

3 Between the Ji and the He was Yan Zhou. The nine branches of the He were made to keep their proper channels. Lei-xia was made a marsh, in which (the waters of) the Yong and the Ju were united. The mulberry grounds were made fit for silkworms, and then (the people) came down from the heights, and occupied the grounds (below). The soil of this province was blackish and rich; the grass in it was luxuriant, and the trees grew high. Its fields were the lowest of the middle class. Its contribution of revenue was fixed at what would just be deemed the correct amount; but it was not required from it, as from the other provinces, till after it had been cultivated for thirteen years. Its articles of tribute were varnish and silk, and, in baskets, woven ornamental fabrics. They floated along the Ji and Ta, and so reached the He.

4 The sea and (mount) Dai were the boundaries of Qing Zhou. (The territory of) Yu-yi was defined; and the Wei and Zi were made to keep their (old) channels. Its soil was whitish and rich. Along the shore of the sea were wide tracts of salt land. Its fields were the lowest of the first class, and its contribution of revenue the highest of the second. Its articles of tribute were salt, fine cloth of dolichos fibre, productions of the sea of various kinds; with silk, hemp, lead, pine trees, and strange stones, from the valleys of Dai. The wild people of Lai were taught tillage and pasturage, and brought in their baskets the silk from the mountain mulberry tree. They floated along the Wen, and so reached the Ji.

5 The sea, mount Dai, and the Huai were (the boundaries of) Xu Zhou. The Huai and the Yi (rivers) were regulated. The (hills) Meng and Yu were made fit for cultivation. (The waters of) Da-ye were confined (so as to form a marsh); and (the tract of) Dong-Yuan was successfully brought under management. The soil of this province was red, clayey, and rich. Its grass and trees grew more and more bushy. Its fields were the second of the highest class; its contribution of revenue was the average of the second. Its articles of tribute were: earth of five different colours, variegated pheasants from the valleys of mount Yu, the solitary dryandra from the south of mount Yi, and the sounding-stones that (seemed to) float on the (banks of the) Si. The wild tribes about the Huai brought oyster-pearls and fish, and their baskets full of deep azure and other silken fabrics, chequered and pure white. They floated along the Huai and the Si, and so reached the He.

6 The Huai and the sea formed (the boundaries of) Yang Zhou. The (lake of) Peng-li was confined to its proper limits, and the sun-birds (the wild geese) had places to settle on. The three Jiang were led to enter the sea, and it became possible to still the marsh of Zhen. The bamboos, small and large, then spread about; the grass grew thin and long, and the trees rose high; the soil was miry. The fields of this province were the lowest of the lowest class; its contribution of revenue was the highest of the lowest class, with a proportion of the class above. Its articles of tribute were gold, silver, and copper; yao and kun stones; bamboos, small and large; (elephants') teeth, hides, feathers, hair, and timber. The wild people of the islands brought garments of grass, with silks woven in shell-patterns in their baskets. Their bundles contained small oranges and pummeloes, rendered when specially required. They followed the course of the Jiang and the sea, and so reached the Huai and the Si.

7 (Mount) Jing and the south of (mount) Heng formed (the boundaries of) Jing Zhou. The Jiang and the Han pursued their (common) course to the sea, as if they were hastening to court. The nine Jiang were brought into complete order. The Tuo and Qian (streams) were conducted by their proper channels. The land in (the marsh of) Yun (became visible), and (the marsh of) Meng was made capable of cultivation. The soil of this province was miry. Its fields were the average of the middle class; and its contribution of revenue was the lowest of the highest class. Its articles of tribute were feathers, hair, (elephants') teeth, and hides; gold, silver, and copper; chun trees, wood for bows, cedars, and cypresses; grindstones, whetstones, flint stones to make arrow-heads, and cinnabar; and the jun and lu bamboos, with the hu tree, (all good for making arrows) - of which the Three Regions were able to contribute the best specimens. The three-ribbed-rush was sent in bundles, put into cases. The baskets were filled with silken fabrics, azure and deep purple, and with strings of pearls that were not quite round. From the (country of the) nine Jiang, the great tortoise was presented when specially required (and found). They floated down the Jiang, the Tuo, the Qian, and the Han, and crossed (the country) to the Luo, whence they reached the most southern part of the He.

8 The Jing (mountain) and the He were (the boundaries of) Yu Zhou. The Yi, the Luo, the Chan, and the Jian were conducted to the He. The (marsh of) Rong-bo was confined within its proper limits. The (waters of that of) Ge were led to (the marsh of) Meng-zhu. The soil of this province was mellow; in the lower parts it was (in some places) rich, and (in others) dark and thin. Its fields were the highest of the middle class; and its contribution of revenue was the average of the highest class, with a proportion of the very highest. Its articles of tribute were varnish, hemp, fine cloth of dolichos fibre, and the boehmerea. The baskets were full of chequered silks, and of fine floss silk. Stones for polishing sounding-stones were rendered when required. They floated along the Luo, and so reached the He.

9 The south of (mount) Hua and the Blackwater, were (the boundaries of) Liang Zhou. The (hills) Min and Bo were made capable of cultivation. The Tuo and Qian streams were conducted by their proper channels. Sacrifices were offered to (the hills) Cai and Meng on the regulation (of the country about them). (The country of) the wild tribes about the He was successfully operated on. The soil of this province was greenish and light. Its fields were the highest of the lowest class; and its contribution of revenue was the average of the lowest class, with proportions of the rates immediately above and below. Its articles of tribute, were - the best gold, iron, silver, steel, flint stones to make arrow-heads, and sounding-stones; with the skins of bears, foxes, and jackals, and (nets) woven of their hair. From (the hill of) Xi-qing they came by the course of the Huan; floated along the Qian, and then crossed (the country) to the Mian; passed to the Wei, and (finally) ferried across the He.

10 The Black-water and western He were (the boundaries of) Yong Zhou. The Weak-water was conducted westwards. The Jing was led to mingle its waters with those of the Wei. The Qi and the Zhu were next led in a similar way (to the Wei), and the waters of the Feng found the same receptacle. (The mountains) Jing and Qi were sacrificed to. (Those of) Zhong-nan and Dun-we (were also regulated), and (all the way) on to Niao-shu. Successful measures could now be taken with the plains and swamps, even to (the marsh of) Zhu-ye. (The country of) San-wei was made habitable, and the (affairs of the) people of San-miao were greatly arranged. The soil of the province was yellow and mellow. Its fields were the highest of the highest class, and its contribution of revenue the lowest of the second. Its articles of tribute were the qiu jade and the lin, and (the stones called) lang-gan. Past Ji-shi they floated on to Long-men on the western He. They then met on the north of the Wei (with the tribute-bearers from other quarters) Hair-cloth and skins (were brought from) Kun-lun, Xi-zhi, and Ju-sou; the wild tribes of the West (all) coming to (submit to Yu's) arrangements.

11 (Yu) surveyed and described (the hills), beginning with Qian and Qi, and proceeding to mount Jing; then, crossing the He, Hu-kou, and Lei-shou, going on to Tai-yue. (After these came) Di-zhu and Xi-cheng, from which he went on to Wang-wu; (then there were) Tai-hang and Mount Heng, from which he proceeded to the rocks of Jie, where he reached the sea.

12 (South of the He, he surveyed) Xi-qing, Zhu-yu, and Niao-shu, going on to Tai-hua; (then) Xiong-er, Wai-fang, and Tong-pai, from which he proceeded to Pei-wei.

13 He surveyed and described Bo-zhong, going on to (the other) mount Jing; and Nei-fang, from which he went on to Da-bie.

14 (He did the same with) the south of mount Min, and went on mount Heng. Then crossing the nine Jiang, he proceeded to the plain of Fu-qian.

15 He traced the Weak-water as far as the He-li (mountains), from which its superfluous waters went away among the moving sands.

16 He traced the Black-water as far as San-wei, from which it (went away to) enter the southern sea.

17 He traced the He from Ji-shi as far as Long-men; and thence, southwards, to the north of (mount) Hua; eastward then to Di-zhu; eastward (again) to the ford of Meng; eastward (still) to the junction of the Luo; and then on to Da-pi. (From this the course was) northwards, past the Jiang-water, on to Da-lu; north from which the river was divided, and became the nine He, which united again, and formed the Meeting He, when they entered the sea.

18 From Bo-zhong he traced the Yang, which, flowing eastwards, became the Han. Farther east it became the water of Cang-lang; and after passing the three Dykes, it went on to Da-bie, southwards from which it entered the Jiang. Eastward still, and whirling on, it formed the marsh of Peng-li; and from that its eastern flow was the northern Jiang, as which it entered the sea.

19 From mount Min he traced the Jiang, which, branching off to the east, formed the Tuo; eastward again, it reached the Li, passed the nine Jiang, and went on to Dong-ling; then flowing east, and winding to the north, it joined (the Han) with its eddying movements. From that its eastern flow was the middle Jiang, as which it entered the sea.

20 He traced the Yan water, which, flowing eastward, became the Ji, and entered the He. (Thereafter) it flowed out, and became the Ying (marsh). Eastward, it issued forth on the north of Tao-qiu, and flowed farther east to (the marsh of) Ge; then it went north-east, and united with the Wen; thence it went north, and (finally) entered the sea on the east.

21 He traced the Huai from the hill of Tong-bai. Flowing east, it united with the Si and the Yi, and (still) with an eastward course entered the sea.

22 He traced the Wei from (the hill) Niao-shu-tong-xue. Flowing eastward, it united with the Feng, and eastwards again with the Jing. Farther east still, it passed the Qi and the Ju, and entered the He.

23 He traced the Luo from (the hill) Xiong-er. Flowing to the north-east, it united with the Jian and the Chan, and eastwards still with the Yi. Then on the north-east it entered the He.

24 (Thus), throughout the nine provinces a similar order was effected:--the grounds along the waters were everywhere made habitable; the hills were cleared of their superfluous wood and sacrificed to; the sources of the rivers were cleared; the marshes were well banked; and access to the capital was secured for all within the four seas. The six magazines (of material wealth) were fully attended to; the different parts of the country were subjected to an exact comparison, so that contribution of revenue could be carefully adjusted according to their resources. (The fields) were all classified with reference to the three characters of the soil; and the revenues for the Middle Region were established. He conferred lands and surnames. (He said), 'Let me set the example of a reverent attention to my virtue, and none will act contrary to my conduct.'

25 Five hundred li formed the Domain of the Sovereign. From the first hundred they brought as revenue the whole plant of the grain; from the second, the ears, with a portion of the stalk; from the third, the straw, but the people had to perform various services; from the fourth, the grain in the husk; and from the fifth, the grain cleaned.

Five hundred li (beyond) constituted the Domain of the Nobles. The first hundred li was occupied by the cities and lands of the (sovereign's) high ministers and great officers; the second, by the principalities of the barons; and the (other) three hundred, by the various other princes.

Five hundred li (still beyond) formed the Peace-securing Domain. In the first three hundred, they cultivated the lessons of learning and moral duties; in the other two, they showed the energies of war and defence.

Five hundred li (remoter still) formed the Domain of Restraint. The (first) three hundred were occupied by the tribes of the Î; the (other) two hundred, by criminals undergoing the lesser banishment.

Five hundred li (the most remote) constituted the Wild Domain. The (first) three hundred were occupied by the tribes of the Man; the (other) two hundred, by criminals undergoing the greater banishment.

26 On the east, reaching to the sea; on the west, extending to the moving sands; to the utmost limits of the north and south - his fame and influence filled up (all within) the four

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seas. Yu presented the dark-coloured symbol of his rank, and announced the completion of his work.

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 7 - Gan shi NT
(Speech at the Battle of Gan)

1 There was a great battle at Kan. (Previous to it), the king called together the six nobles, (the leaders of his six hosts),

And said, 'Ah! all ye who are engaged in my six hosts, I have a solemn announcement to make to you. The lord of Hu wildly wastes and despises the five elements (that regulate the seasons), and has idly abandoned the three acknowledged commencements of the year. On this account Heaven is about to destroy him, and bring to an end his appointment (to Hu); and I am now reverently executing the punishment appointed by Heaven. If you, (the archers) on the left, do not do your work on the left, it will be a disregard of my orders. If you, (the spearmen) on the right, do not do your work on the right, it will be a disregard of my orders. If you, charioteers, do not observe the rules for the management of your horses, it will be a disregard of my orders. You who obey my orders, shall be rewarded before (the spirits of) my ancestors; and you who disobey my orders, shall be put to death before the altar of the spirits of the land, and I will also put to death your children.'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 8 - Wu zi zhi ge
(Songs of the Five Sons)

1 Tai Kang occupied the throne like a personator of the dead. By idleness and dissipation he extinguished his virtue, till the black-haired people all wavered in their allegiance. He, however, pursued his pleasure and wanderings without any self-restraint. He went out to hunt beyond the Luo, and a hundred days elapsed without his returning. (On this) Yi, the prince of Qiong, taking advantage of the discontent of the people, resisted (his return) on (the south of) the He. The (king's) five brothers had attended their mother in following him, and were waiting for him on the north of the Luo; and (when they heard of Yi's movement), all full of dissatisfaction, they related the Cautions of the great Yu in the form of songs.

2 The first said,

'It was the lesson of our great ancestor:
The people should be cherished,
And not looked down upon.
The people are the root of a country;
The root firm, the country is tranquil.
When I look at all under heaven,
Of the simple men and simple women,
Any one may surpass me.
If the One man err repeatedly,
Should dissatisfaction be waited for till it appears?
Before it is seen, it should be guarded against.
In my dealing with the millions of the people,
I should feel as much anxiety as if I were driving six horses with rotten reins.
The ruler of men -
How should he be but reverent (of his duties)?'

3 The second said,

'It is in the Lessons:
When the palace is a wild of lust,
And the country is a wild for hunting;
When spirits are liked, and music is the delight;
When there are lofty roofs and carved walls;
The existence of any one of these things
Has never been but the prelude to ruin.'

4 The third said,

'There was the lord of Tao and Tang
Who possessed this region of Ji.
Now we have fallen from his ways,
And thrown into confusion his rules and laws;
The consequence is extinction and ruin.'

5 The fourth said,

'Brightly intelligent was our ancestor,
Sovereign of the myriad regions.
He had canons, he had patterns,
Which he transmitted to his posterity.
The standard stone and the equalising quarter
Were in the royal treasury.
Wildly have we dropt the clue he gave us,
Overturning our temple, and extinguishing our sacrifices.'

6 The fifth said,

'Oh! whither shall we turn?
The thoughts in my breast make me sad
All the people are hostile to us;
On whom can we rely?
Anxieties crowd together in our hearts;
Thick as are our faces, they are covered with blushes.
We have not been careful of our virtue;
And though we repent, we cannot over-take the past.'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 9 - Yin zheng
(Punitive Expedition on King Zhongkang of Yin)

1 When Zhong Kang commenced his reign over all within the four seas, the marquis of Yin was commissioned to take charge of the (king's) six hosts. (At this time) the Xi and He had neglected the duties of their office, and were abandoned to drink in their (private) cities; and the marquis of Yin received the king's charge to go and punish them.

He made an announcement to his hosts, saying, 'Ah! ye, all my men, there are the well-counselled instructions of the sage (founder of our dynasty), clearly verified in their power to give stability and security: "The former kings were carefully attentive to the warnings of Heaven, and their ministers observed the regular laws (of their offices). All the officers (moreover) watchfully did their duty to assist (the government), and their sovereign became entirely intelligent." Every year, in the first month of spring, the herald, with his wooden-tongued bell, goes along the roads, (proclaiming), "Ye officers able to instruct, be prepared with your admonitions. Ye workmen engaged in mechanical affairs, remonstrate on the subjects of your employments. If any of you do not attend with respect (to this requirement), the country has regular punishments for you."

'Now here are the Xi and He. They have allowed their virtue to be subverted, and are besotted by drink. They have violated the duties of their office, and left their posts. They have been the first to let the regulating of the heavenly (bodies) get into disorder, putting far from them their proper business. On the first day of the last month of autumn, the sun and moon did not meet harmoniously in Fang. The blind musicians beat their drums; the inferior officers galloped, and the common people (employed about the public offices) ran about. The Xi and the He, however, as if they were (mere) personators of the dead in their offices, heard nothing and knew nothing - so stupidly went they astray (from their duties) in the matter of the heavenly appearances, and rendered themselves liable to the death appointed by the former kings. The statutes of government say, "When they anticipated the time, let them be put to death without mercy; when (their reckoning) is behind the time, let them be put to death without mercy."

'Now I, with you all, am entrusted with the execution of the punishment appointed by Heaven. Unite your strength, all of you warriors, for the royal House. Give me your help, I pray you, reverently to carry out the dread charge of the Son of Heaven.

'When the fire blazes over the ridge of Kun, gems and stones are burned together; but if a minister of Heaven exceed in doing his duty, the consequences will be fiercer than blazing fire. While I destroy, (therefore), the chief criminals, I will not punish those who have been forced to follow them; and those who have long been stained by their filthy manners will be allowed to renovate themselves.

'Oh! when sternness overcomes compassion, things are surely conducted to a successful issue. When compassion overcomes sternness, no merit can be achieved. All ye, my warriors, exert yourselves, and take warning, (and obey my orders)!'

2-4 (Untranslated)

DOCUMENTS BOOK 3 - SHANG SHU
(Book of the Shang Dynasty, or Yin Dynasty)

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 10 - Tang shi NT
(Speech of Tang)

1 The king said, 'Come, ye multitudes of the people, listen all to my words. It is not I, the little child, who dare to undertake a rebellious enterprise; but for the many crimes of the sovereign of Xia, Heaven has given the charge to destroy him. Now, ye multitudes, you are saying, "Our prince does not compassionate us, but (is calling us) away from our husbandry to attack and punish Xia." I have indeed heard (these) words of you all; (but) the sovereign of Xia is guilty, and as I fear God, I dare not but punish him. Now you are saying, "What are the crimes of Xia to us?" The king of Xia in every way exhausts the strength of his people, and exercises oppression in the cities of Xia. His multitudes are become entirely indifferent (to his service), and feel no bond of union'(to him). They are saying, "When wilt thou, O sun, expire? We will all perish with thee." Such is the course of (the sovereign) of Xia, and now I must go (and punish him).'

2 'Assist, I pray you, me, the One man, to carry out the punishment appointed by Heaven. I will greatly reward you. On no account disbelieve me - I will not eat my words. If you do not obey the words which I have thus spoken to you, I will put your children to death with you - you shall find no forgiveness.'

3-4 (untranslated)

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 11 - Zhonghui zhi gao
(Announcement of Zhong-hui)

1 When Tang the Successful was keeping Jie in banishment in Nan-chao, he had a feeling of shame on account of his conduct, and said, 'I am afraid that in future ages men will fill their mouths with me, (as an apology for their rebellious proceedings.)'

2 On this Zhong-hui made the following announcement: 'Oh! Heaven gives birth to the people with (such) desires. that without a ruler they must fall into all disorders; and Heaven again gives birth to the man of intelligence to regulate them. The sovereign of Xia had his virtue all-obscured, and the people were (as if they had fallen) amid mire and (burning) charcoal. Heaven hereupon gifted (our) king with valour and prudence, to serve as a sign and director to the myriad regions, and to continue the old ways of Yu. You are now (only) following the proper course, honouring and obeying the appointment of Heaven. The king of Xia was an offender, falsely and calumniously alleging the sanction of supreme Heaven, to spread abroad his commands among the people. On this account God viewed him with disapprobation, caused our Shang to receive his appointment, and employed (you) to enlighten the multitudes (of the people).'

'Contemners of the worthy and parasites of the powerful, many such followers he had indeed: (but) from the first our country was to the sovereign of Xia like weeds among the springing corn, and blasted grains among the good. (Our people), great and small, were in constant apprehension, fearful though they were guilty of no crime. How much more was this the case, when our (prince's) virtues became a theme (eagerly) listened to! Our king did not approach to (dissolute) music and women; he did not seek to accumulate property and wealth. To great virtue he gave great offices, and to great merit great rewards. He employed others as if (their excellences) were his own; he was not slow to change his errors. Rightly indulgent and rightly benevolent, from the display, (of such virtue), confidence was reposed in him by the millions of the people.

'When the earl of Ge showed his enmity to the provision-carriers, the work of punishment began with Ge. When it went on in the east, the wild tribes of the west murmured; when it went on in the south, those of the north murmured: they said, "Why does he make us alone the last?" To whatever people he went, they congratulated one another in their families, saying, "We have waited for our prince; our prince is come, and we revive." The people's honouring our Shang is a thing of long existence.'

'Show favour to the able and right-principled (among the princes), and aid the virtuous; distinguish the loyal, and let the good have free course. Absorb the weak, and punish the wilfully blind; take their states from the disorderly, and deal summarily with those going to ruin. When you (thus) accelerate the end of what is (of itself) ready to perish, and strengthen what is itself strong to live, how will the states all flourish! When (a sovereign's) virtue is daily being renewed, he is cherished throughout the myriad regions; when his mind is full (only) of himself, he is abandoned by the nine branches of his kindred. Exert yourself, O king, to make your virtue (still more) illustrious, and set up (the standard of) the Mean before the people. Order your affairs by righteousness; order your heart by propriety - so shall you transmit a grand example to posterity. I have heard the saying, "He who finds instructors for himself, comes to the supreme dominion; he who says that others are not equal to himself, comes to ruin. He who likes to put questions, becomes enlarged; he who uses only his own views, becomes smaller (than he was)." Oh! he who would take care for the end must be attentive to the beginning. There is establishment for the observers of propriety, and overthrow for the blinded and wantonly indifferent. To revere and honour the path prescribed by Heaven is the way ever to preserve the favouring appointment of Heaven.'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 12 - Tāng gào
(Announcement of King Tang or Cheng Tang or Da Yi, c. 1675 – 1646 BC.)

1 When the king returned from vanquishing Xia and came to Bo, he made a grand announcement to the myriad regions.

The king said, 'Ah! ye multitudes of the myriad regions, listen clearly to the announcement of me, the One man. The great God has conferred (even) on the inferior people a moral sense, compliance with which would show their nature invariably right. To make them tranquilly pursue the course which it would indicate is the work of the sovereign.

The king of Xia extinguished his virtue, and played the tyrant, extending his oppression over you, the people of the myriad regions. Suffering from his cruel injuries, and unable to endure the wormwood and poison, you protested with one accord your innocence to the spirits of heaven and earth." The way of Heaven is to bless the good, and make the bad miserable. It sent down calamities on (the House of) Xia, to make manifest its guilt. Therefore I, the little child, charged with the decree of Heaven and its bright terrors, did not dare to forgive (the criminal). I presumed to use a dark-coloured victim-bull, and, making clear announcement to the Spiritual Sovereign in the high heavens, requested leave to deal with the ruler of Xia as a criminal. Then I sought for the great Sage, with whom I might unite my strength, to request the favour (of Heaven) for you, my multitudes. High Heaven truly showed its favour to the inferior people, and the criminal has been degraded and subjected. What Heaven appoints is without error; brilliantly (now), like the blossoming of plants and trees, the millions of the people show a true reviving.

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It is given to me, the One man, to secure the harmony and tranquillity of your states and clans and now I know not whether I may not offend against (the Powers) above and below. I am fearful and trembling, as if I were in danger of falling into a deep abyss. Throughout all the regions that enter on a new life under me, do not, (ye princes), follow lawless ways; make no approach to insolence and dissoluteness; let every one be careful to keep his statutes - that so we may receive the favour of Heaven. The good in you I will not dare to keep concealed; and for the evil in me I will not dare to forgive myself. I will examine these things in harmony with the mind of God. When guilt is found anywhere in you who occupy the myriad regions, let it rest on me, the One man. When guilt is found in me, the One man, it shall not attach to you who occupy the myriad regions. Oh! let us attain to be sincere in these things, and so we shall likewise have a (happy) consummation.'

2 (untranslated)

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 13 - Yi xun

(Instructions of Yi, Minister to King Tang of Shang)

1 In the twelfth month of the first year, on (the day) Yi-chou, Yi Yin sacrificed to the former king, and presented the heir-king reverently before (the shrine of) his grandfather. All the princes from the domain of the nobles and the royal domain were present; all the officers (also), each continuing to discharge his particular duties, were there to receive the orders of the chief minister. Yi Yin then clearly described the complete virtue of the Meritorious Ancestor for the instruction of the (young) king.

He said, 'Oh! of old the former kings of Xia cultivated earnestly their virtue, and then there were no calamities from Heaven. The spirits of the hills and rivers likewise were all in tranquillity; and the birds and beasts, the fishes and tortoises, all enjoyed their existence according to their nature. But their descendant did not follow (their example), and great Heaven sent down calamities, employing the agency of our (ruler) who was in possession of its favouring appointment. The attack (on Xia) may be traced to (the orgies in) Ming-tiao, but our (rise) began in Bo. Our king of Shang brilliantly displayed his sagely prowess; for oppression he substituted his generous gentleness; and the millions of the people gave him their hearts. Now your Majesty is entering on the inheritance of his virtue - all depends on (how) you commence your reign. To set up love, it is for you to love (your relations); to set up respect, it is for you to respect (your elders). The commencement is in the family and the state; the consummation is in (all within) the four seas.'

'Oh! the former king began with careful attention to the bonds that hold men together. He listened to expostulation, and did not seek to resist it; he conformed to (the wisdom of) the ancients; occupying the highest position, he displayed intelligence; occupying an inferior position, he displayed his loyalty; he allowed (the good qualities of) the men (whom he employed), and did not seek that they should have every talent; in the government of himself, he seemed to think that he could never (sufficiently) attain. It was thus he arrived at the possession of the myriad regions. How painstaking was he in these things! He extensively sought out wise men, who should be helpful to you, his descendant and heir. He laid down the punishments for officers, And warned those who were in authority, saying, "If you dare to have constant dancing in your palaces, and drunken singing in your chambers, that is called the fashion of sorcerers; if you dare, to set your hearts on wealth and women, and abandon yourselves to wandering about or to the chase, that is called the fashion of extravagance; if you dare to despise sage words, to resist the loyal and upright, to put far from you the aged and virtuous, and to seek the company of procacious youths, that is called the fashion of disorder. Now if a high noble or officer be addicted to one of these three fashions with their ten evil ways, his family will surely come to ruin; if the prince of a country be so addicted, his state will surely come to ruin. The minister who does not (try to) correct (such vices in the sovereign) shall be punished with branding." These rules were minutely inculcated (also) on the sons of officers and nobles in their lessons.'

'Oh! do you who now succeed to the throne, revere (these warnings) in your person. Think of them!--sacred counsels of vast importance, admirable words forcibly set forth! (The ways) of God are not invariable: on the good-doer he sends down all blessings, and on the evil-doer he sends down all miseries. Do you but be virtuous, be it in small things (or in large), and the myriad regions will have cause for rejoicing. If you be not virtuous, be it in large things (or in small), it will bring the ruin of your ancestral temple.

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 14 - Tai Jia 1

(Great Oath part 1)

1 The king, on succeeding to the throne, did not follow (the advice of) A-heng. (A-heng or) Yi Yin then made the following writing: 'The former king kept his eye continually on the bright requirements of Heaven, and so he maintained the worship of the spirits of heaven and earth, of those presiding over the land and the grain, and of those of the ancestral temple - all with a sincere reverence. Heaven took notice of his virtue, and caused its great appointment to light on him, that he should soothe and tranquillize the myriad regions. I, Yin, then gave my assistance to my sovereign in the settlement of the people; and thus it is that you, O heir-king, have received the great inheritance. I have seen it myself in Xia with its western capital, that when its rulers went through a prosperous course to the end, their ministers also did the same, and afterwards, when their successors could not attain to such a consummation, neither did their ministers. Take warning, O heir-king. Reverently use your sovereignty. If you do not play the sovereign, as the name requires, you will disgrace your grandfather.'

2 The king would not think (of these words), nor listen to them. On this Yi Yin said, 'The former king, before it was light, sought to have large and clear views, and then sat waiting for the dawn (to carry them into practice). He (also) sought on every side for men of ability and virtue, to instruct and guide his posterity. Do not frustrate his charge (to me), and bring on yourself your own overthrow. Be careful to strive after the virtue of self-restraint, and cherish far-reaching plans. Be like the forester, who, when he has adjusted the spring, goes to examine the end of the arrow, whether it be placed according to rule, and then lets I go; reverently determine your aim, and follow the ways of your grandfather. Thus I shall be delighted, and be able to show to all ages that I have discharged my trust.'

3 The king was not yet able to change (his course). Yin said (to himself), 'This is (real) unrighteousness, and is becoming by practice (a second) nature. I cannot bear to be near (so) disobedient (a person). I will build (a place) in the palace at Tong, where he can be in silence near (the grave of) the former king. This will be a lesson which will keep him from going astray all his life.' The king went (accordingly) to the palace at Tong, and dwelt during the period of mourning. In the end he became sincerely virtuous.

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 15 - Tai Jia 2

(Great Oath part 2)

5 On the first day of the twelfth month of his third year, Yi Yin escorted the young king in the royal cap and robes back to Bo. (At the same time) he made the following writing: 'Without the sovereign, the people cannot have that guidance which is necessary to (the comfort of) their lives; without the people, the sovereign would have no sway over the four quarters (of the kingdom). Great Heaven has graciously favoured the House of Shang, and granted to you, O young king, at last to become virtuous. This is indeed a blessing that will extend without limit to ten thousand generations.'

6 The king did obeisance with his face to his hands and his head to the ground, saying, 'I, the little child, was without understanding of what was virtuous, and was making myself one of the unworthy. By my desires I was setting at nought all rules of conduct, and violating by my self-indulgence all rules of propriety, and the result must have been speedy ruin to my person. Calamities sent by Heaven may be avoided, but from calamities brought on by one's self there is no escape." Heretofore I turned my back on the instructions of you, my tutor and guardian;--my beginning has been marked by incompetency. Let me still rely on your correcting and preserving virtue, keeping this in view that my end may be good!"

7 Yi Yin did obeisance with his face to his hands and his head on the ground, and said, 'To cultivate his person, and by being sincerely virtuous, bring (all) below to harmonious concord with him; this is the work of the intelligent sovereign. The former king was kind to the distressed and suffering, as if they were his children, and the people submitted to his commands - all with sincere delight. Even in the states of the neighbouring princes, (the people) said, "We are waiting for our sovereign; when our sovereign comes, we shall not suffer the punishments (that we, now do)." O king, zealously cultivate your virtue. Regard (the example of) your meritorious grandfather. At no time allow yourself in pleasure and idleness. In worshipping your ancestors, think how you can prove your filial piety; in receiving your ministers, think how you can show yourself respectful; in looking to what is distant. Try to get clear views; have your ears ever open to lessons of virtue - then shall I acknowledge (and respond to) the excellence of your majesty with an untiring (devotion to your service).

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 16 - Tai Jia 3

(Great Oath part 3)

8 Yi Yin again made an announcement to the king, saying, 'Oh! Heaven has no (partial) affection - only to those who are reverent does it show affection. The people are not constant to those whom they cherish; they cherish (only) him who is benevolent. The spirits do not always accept the sacrifices that are offered to them; they accept only the sacrifices of the sincere. A place of difficulty is the Heaven-(conferred) seat. When there are (those) virtues, good government is realized; when they are not, disorder comes. To maintain the same principles as those who secured good government will surely lead to prosperity; to pursue the courses of disorder will surely lead to ruin. He who at last, as at first, is careful as to whom and what he follows is a truly intelligent sovereign. The former king was always zealous in the reverent cultivation of his virtue, so that he was the fellow of God. Now O king, you have entered on the inheritance of his excellent line; fix your inspection on him.'

'(Your course must be) as when in ascending high you begin from where it is low, and when in travelling far you begin from where it is near. Do not slight the occupations of the people - think of their difficulties. Do not yield to a feeling of repose on your throne - think of its perils. Be careful for the end at the beginning. When you hear words that are distasteful to your mind, you must enquire whether they be not right; when you hear words that accord with your own views, you must enquire whether they be not contrary to what is right. Oh! what attainment can be made without anxious thought? what achievement can be made without earnest effort? Let the One man be greatly good, and the myriad regions will be rectified by him.'

When the sovereign does not with disputatious words throw the old rules of government into confusion, and the minister does not, for favour and gain, continue in an office whose work is done,--then the country will lastingly and surely enjoy happiness.'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 17 - Xian you yi de

(Common Possession of Pure Virtue)

1 Yi Yin, having returned the government into the hands of his sovereign, and being about to announce his retirement, set forth admonitions on the subject of virtue.

He said, 'Oh! it is difficult to rely on Heaven;--its appointments are not constant. (But if the sovereign see to it that) his virtue be constant, he will preserve his throne; if his virtue be not constant, the nine provinces will be lost by him. The king of Xia could not maintain the virtue (of his ancestors) unchanged, but contemned the spirits and oppressed the. people. Great Heaven no (longer) extended its protection to him. It looked out among the myriad regions to give its guidance to one who should receive its favouring appointment, fondly seeking (a possessor of) pure virtue; whom it might make lord of all the spirits. Then there were I, Yin, and Tang, both possessed of pure virtue, and able to satisfy the mind of Heaven. He received (in consequence) the bright favour of Heaven, so as to become possessor of the multitudes of the nine provinces, and proceeded to change Xia's commencement of the year. It was not that Heaven had any private partiality for the lord of Shang; it simply gave its favour to pure virtue. It was not that Shang sought (the allegiance of) the lower people; the people simply turned to pure virtue. Where (the sovereign's) virtue is pure, his enterprizes are all fortunate; where his virtue is wavering and uncertain, his enterprizes are all unfortunate. Good and evil do not wrongly befal men, but Heaven sends down misery or happiness according to their conduct.'

'Now, O young king, you are newly entering on your (great) appointment, you should be seeking to make new your virtue. At last, as at first, have this as your one object, so shall you make a daily renovation. Let the officers whom you employ be men of virtue and ability, and let the ministers about you be the right men. The minister, in relation to (his sovereign) above him, has to promote his virtue, and, in relation to the (people) beneath him, has to seek their good. How hard must it be (to find the proper man)! what careful attention must be required! (Thereafter) there must be harmony (cultivated with him), and a oneness (of confidence placed in him). There is no invariable model of virtue; a supreme regard to what is good gives the model of it. There is no invariable characteristic of what is good that is to be supremely regarded; it is found where there is a conformity to the uniform consciousness (in regard to what is good). (Such virtue) will make the people with their myriad surnames all say, How great are the words of the king!" and also, "How single and pure is the king's heart!" It will avail to maintain in tranquillity the rich possession of the former king, and to Secure for ever the (happy) life of the multitudes of the people.'

'Oh! (to retain a place) in the seven-shrined temple of ancestors is a sufficient witness of virtue. To be acknowledged as chief by the myriad heads of families is a sufficient evidence of one's government. The sovereign without the people has none whom he can employ; and the people without the sovereign have none whom they can serve. Do not think yourself so large as to deem others small. If ordinary men and women do not find the opportunity to give full development to their ability, the people's lord will be without the proper aids to complete his merit.'

2-8 (untranslated)

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 18 - Pan Geng 1 NT

(Pan Geng or Zi Xun, 18th king of Shang, c. 1290–1263 BC.)

1 Pan-geng wished to remove (the capital) to Yin (near Anyang), but the people would not go to dwell there. He

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therefore appealed to all the discontented, and made the following protestations. 'Our king came, and fixed on this. He did so from a deep concern for our people, and not because he would have them all die, where they cannot (now) help one another to preserve their lives. I have consulted the tortoise-shell, and obtained the reply: "This is no place for us." When the former kings had any (important) business, they gave reverent heed to the commands of Heaven. In a case like this especially they did not indulge (the wish for) constant repose - they did not abide ever in the same city. Up to this time (the capital has been) in five regions. If we do not follow (the example) of these old times, we shall be refusing to acknowledge that Heaven is making an end of our dynasty (here); how little can it be said of us that we are following the meritorious course of the former kings! As from the stump of a felled tree there are sprouts and shoots, Heaven will perpetuate its decree in our favour in this new city;--the great inheritance of the former kings will be continued and renewed, and tranquillity will be secured to the four quarters (of the kingdom).'

2 Pan-geng, in making the people aware of his views, began with those who were in (high) places, and took the constantly-recurring circumstances of former times to lay down the right law and measure (for the present emergency), saying, 'Let none of you dare to suppress the remonstrances of the poor people.' The king commanded all to come to him in the courtyard (of his palace).

3 The king spoke to this effect: 'Come, all of you; I will announce to you my instructions. Take counsel how to put away your (selfish) thoughts. Do not with haughty (disregard of me) follow after your own ease. Of old, our former kings planned like me how to employ the men of old families to share in (the labours of) government. When they wished to proclaim and announce what was to be attended to, these did not conceal the royal views; and on this account the kings greatly respected them. They did not exceed the truth (in their communications with the people), and on this account the people became greatly changed (in their views). Now, (however), you keep clamouring, and get the confidence (of the people) by alarming and shallow speeches; I do not know what you are wrangling about. (In this movement) I am not myself abandoning my proper virtue, but you conceal the goodness of my intentions, and do not stand in awe of me, the One man. I see you as clearly as one sees a fire; but I, likewise, by my undecided plans, have produced your error.

4 'When the net has its line, there is order and not confusion; and when the husbandman labours upon his fields, and reaps with all his might, there is the (abundant) harvest. If you can put away your (selfish) thoughts, and bestow real good upon the people, reaching (also) to your own relatives and friends, you may boldly venture to make your words great, and say that you have accumulated merit. But you do not fear the great evils which (through our not removing) are extending far and near; (you are like) idle husbandmen, who yield themselves to ease, and are not strong to toil and labour on their acres, so that they cannot get their crop of millets.

5 'You do not speak in a spirit of harmony and goodness to the people, and are only giving birth to bitter evils for yourselves. You play the part of destroyers and authors of calamity, of villains and traitors, to bring down misery on your own persons. You set the example of evil, and must feel its smart; what will it avail you (then) to repent? Look at the poor people - they are still able to look to one another and give expression to their remonstrances, but when they begin to speak, you are ready with your extravagant talk; how much more ought you to have me before your eyes, with whom it is to make your lives long or short! Why do you not report (their words) to me, but go about to excite one another by empty speeches, frightening and involving the multitudes in misery? When a fire is blazing in the flames so that it cannot be approached, can it still be beaten out? So, it will not be I who will be to blame, that you all cause dispeace in this way, (and must suffer the consequences).

6 'Chi Ren has said, "In men we seek those of old families; in vessels, we do not seek old ones, but new." Of old, the kings, my predecessors, and your forefathers and fathers shared together the ease and labours (of the government); how should I dare to lay undeserved afflictions on you? For generations the toils of your (fathers) have been approved, and I will not conceal your goodness. Now when I offer the great sacrifices to my predecessors, your forefathers are present to share in them. (They all observe) the happiness I confer and the sufferings I inflict, and I cannot dare to reward virtue that does not exist.

7 'I have announced to you the difficulties (of the intended movement), being bent on it, like an archer (whose only thought is to hit). Do not you despise the old and experienced, and do not make little of the helpless and young. Seek every one long continuance in this (new city), which is to be your abode; exert yourselves and put out your strength (in furthering the removal), and listen to the plans of me, the One man. I will make no distinction between men as being more distantly or more nearly related to me;--the criminal (in this matter) shall die the death, and the good-doer shall have his virtue distinguished. The prosperity of the country (ought to) come from you all. If it fail of prosperity, that must arise from me, the One man, erring in the application of punishment. Be sure, all of you, to make known this announcement. From this time forward, attend respectfully to your business; have (the duties of) your offices regularly adjusted; bring your tongues under the rule of law:--lest punishment come upon you, when repentance will be of no avail.'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 19 - Pan Gang 2 NT

8 Pan-geng arose, and (was about to) cross the He with the people, moving (to the new capital). Accordingly, he addressed himself to those of them who were (still) dissatisfied, and made a full announcement to their multitudes, to induce a sincere acquiescence (in the measure). 'They all attended, and (being charged) to take no liberties in the royal courtyard, he called them near, and said, 'Listen clearly to my words, and do not disregard my commands. Oh! of old time my royal predecessors cherished, every one and above every other thing, a respectful care of the people, who (again) upheld their sovereign with a mutual sympathy. Seldom was it that they were not superior to any (calamitous) time sent by Heaven. When great calamities came down on Yin, the former kings did not fondly remain in their place. What they did was with a view to the people's advantage, and therefore they moved (their capitals). Why do you not reflect that I, according to what I have heard of the ancient sovereigns, in my care of you and actings towards you, am only wishing to rejoice with you in a common repose? It is not that any guilt attaches to you, so that (this movement) should be like a punishment. If I call upon you to cherish this new city, it is simply in your account, and as an act of great accordance with your wishes.

9 'My present undertaking to remove with you, is to give repose and stability to the country. You, (however), have no sympathy with the anxieties of my mind; but you all keep a great reserve in declaring your minds, (when you might) respectfully think by your sincerity to move me, the One man. You only exhaust and distress yourselves. The case is like that of sailing in a boat;--if you do not cross the stream (at the proper time), you will destroy all the cargo. Your sincerity does not respond to mine, and we are in danger of going together to destruction. You, notwithstanding, will not examine the matter;--though you anger yourselves, what cure will that bring? You do not consult for a distant day, nor think of the calamity that must befal you (from not removing). You greatly encourage one another in what must prove to your sorrow. Now you have the present, but you will not have the future; what prolongation of life can you look for from above?

Now I charge you to have but one mind. Do not let wicked thoughts arise to ruin yourselves. I am afraid that men bend your persons, and pervert your minds. My measures are forecast to prolong your (lease of) life from Heaven; do I force you by the terrors of my power? My object is to support and nourish you all.

10 'I think of my ancestors, (who are now) the spiritual sovereigns; when they made your forefathers toil (on similar occasions it was only for their good), and I would be enabled in the same way greatly to nourish you and cherish you. Were I to err in my government, and remain long here, my high sovereign, (the founder of our dynasty), would send down on me great punishment for my crime, and say, "Why do you oppress my people?" If you, the myriads of the people, do not attend to the perpetuation of your lives, and cherish one mind with me, the One man, in my plans, the former kings will send down on you great punishment for your crime, and say, "Why do you not agree with our young grandson, but go on to forfeit your virtue?" When they punish you from above, you will have no way of escape.

11 'Of old, my royal predecessors made your ancestors and fathers toil (only for their good). You are equally the people whom I (wish to) cherish. But your conduct is injurious;--it is cherished in your hearts. Whereas my royal predecessors made your ancestors and fathers happy, they, your ancestors and fathers, will (now) cut you off and abandon you, and not save you from death. Here are those ministers of my government, who share with me in the offices (of the kingdom);--and yet they (only think of hoarding up) cowries and gems. Their ancestors and fathers earnestly represent (their course) to my high sovereign, saying, "Execute great punishments on our descendants." So do they advise my high sovereign to send down great calamities (on those men).'

12 'Oh! I have now told you my unchangeable purpose;--do you perpetually respect (my) great anxiety; let us not get alienated and removed from one another; share in my plans and thoughts, and think (only) of following me; let every one of you set up the true rule of conduct in his heart. If there be bad and unprincipled men, precipitously or carelessly disrespectful (to my orders), and taking advantage of this brief season to play the part of villains or traitors, I will cut off their noses, or utterly exterminate them. I will leave none of their children. I will not let them perpetuate their seed in this new city.

13 'Go! preserve and continue your lives. I will now transfer you (to the new capital), and (there) establish your families for ever.'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 20 - Pan Gang 3 NT

14 Pan-geng having completed the removal, and settled the places of residence, proceeded to adjust the several positions (of all classes at an assembly); and then he soothed and comforted the multitudes, saying to them, 'Do not play nor be idle, but exert yourselves to build (here) a great destiny (for us). Now I have disclosed my heart and belly, my reins and bowels, and fully declared to you, my people, all my mind. I will not treat any of you as offenders; and do not you (any more) help one another to be angry, and form parties to defame me, the One man.

15 'Of old, my royal predecessor, (Tang), that his merit might exceed that of those who were before him, proceeded to the hill-site. Thereby he removed our evils, and accomplished admirable good for our country. Now you, my people, were by (your position) dissipated and separated, so that you had no abiding place. (And yet) you asked why I was troubling your myriads and requiring you to remove. But God, being about to renew the virtuous service of my high ancestor, and secure the good order of our kingdom, I, with the sincere and respectful (of my ministers), felt a reverent care for the lives of the people, and have made a lasting settlement in (this) new city. I, a youth, did not neglect your counsels; I (only) used the best of them. Nor did any of you presumptuously oppose the decision of the tortoise-shell;--so we are here to enlarge our great inheritance.'

16 'Oh! ye chiefs of regions, ye heads of departments, all ye, the hundreds of officers, would that ye had a sympathy,(with my people)! I will exert myself in the choice and guiding of you; do ye think reverently of my multitudes. I will not employ those who are-fond of, enriching themselves; but will use and revere those who are vigorously, yet reverently, labouring for the lives and increase of the people, nourishing them and planning for their enduring settlement. I have now brought forward and announced to you my mind, whom I approve and whom I disallow; let none of you but reverence (my will). Do not seek to accumulate wealth and precious things, but in fostering the life of the people, seek to find your merit. Reverently display your virtue in behalf of the people. For ever maintain this one purpose in your hearts.'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 21 - Yue ming 1

(Charge to Yue of Fuxian part 1)

1 The king passed the season of sorrow in the mourning shed for three years, and when the period of mourning was over, he (still) did not speak (to give any commands). All the ministers remonstrated with him, saying, 'Oh! him who is (the first) to apprehend we pronounce intelligent, and the intelligent man is the model for others. The Son of Heaven rules over the myriad regions, and all the officers look up to and reverence him. They are the king's words which form the commands (for them). If he do not speak, the ministers have no way to receive their orders.'

2 On this the king made a writing, for their information, to the following effect: 'As it is mine to serve as the director for the four quarters (of the kingdom), I have been afraid that my virtue is not equal to (that of my predecessors), and therefore have not spoken. (But) while I was reverently and silently thinking of the (right) way, I dreamt that God gave me a good assistant who should speak for me.' He then minutely recalled the appearance (of the person whom he had seen), and caused search to be made for him everywhere by means of a picture. Yue, a builder in the wild country of Fu-yan, was found like to it. On this the king raised and made (Yue) his prime minister, keeping him (also) at his side.

3 He charged him, saying, 'Morning and evening present your instructions to aid my virtue. Suppose me a weapon of steel; I will use you for a whetstone. Suppose me crossing a great stream; I will use you for a boat with its oars. Suppose me in a year of great drought; I will use you as a copious rain. Open your mind, and enrich my mind. (Be you) like medicine, which must distress the patient, in order to cure his sickness. (Think of we) as one walking barefoot, whose feet are sure to be wounded, if he do not see the ground. Do you and your companions all cherish the same mind to assist your sovereign, that I may follow my royal predecessors, and tread in the steps of my high ancestor, to give repose to the millions of the people. Oh! respect this charge of mine; so shall you bring your work to a (good) end.'

4 Yue replied to the king, saying, 'Wood by the use of the line is made straight, and the sovereign who follows reproof is made sage. When the sovereign can (thus) make himself sage, his ministers, without being specially commanded, anticipate his orders - who would dare not to act in respectful compliance with this excellent charge of your Majesty?'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 22 - Yue ming 2

(Charge to Yue of Fuxian part 2)

5 Yue having received his charge, and taken the presidency of all the officers, he presented himself before the king, and

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said, 'Oh! intelligent kings act in reverent accordance with the ways of Heaven. The founding of states and the setting up of capitals, the appointing of sovereign kings, of dukes and other nobles, with their great officers and heads of departments, were not designed to minister to the idleness and pleasures (of one), but for the good government of the people. It is Heaven which is all-intelligent and observing - let the sage (king) take it as his pattern. Then his ministers will reverently accord with him, and the people consequently will be well governed.

'It is the mouth that gives occasion for shame; they are the coat of mail and helmet that give occasion to war. The upper robes and lower garments (for reward should not be lightly taken from) their chests; before spear and shield are used, one should examine himself. If your Majesty will be cautious in regard to these things, and, believing this about them, attain to the intelligent use of them, (your government) will in everything be excellent. Good government and bad depend on the various officers. Offices should not be given to men because they are favourites, but only to men of ability. Dignities should not be conferred on men of evil practices, but only on men of worth.

'Anxious thought about what will be best should precede your movements, which also should be taken at the time proper for them. Indulging the consciousness of being good is the way to lose that goodness; being vain of one's ability is the way to lose the merit it might produce.

'For all affairs let there be adequate preparation; with preparation there will be no calamitous issue. Do not open the door for favourites, from whom you will receive contempt. Do not be ashamed of mistakes, and (go on to) make them crimes. Let your mind rest in its proper objects, and the affairs of your government will be pure. Officiousness in sacrificing is called irreverence; and multiplying ceremonies leads to disorder. To serve the spirits acceptably (in this way) is difficult.'

6 The king said, 'Excellent! your words, O Yue, should indeed be put in practice (by me). If you were not so good in counsel, I should not have heard these rules for my conduct." Yue did obeisance with his head to the ground, and said, 'It is not the knowing that is difficult, but the doing. (But) since your Majesty truly knows this, there will not be the difficulty, and you will become really equal in complete virtue to our first king. Wherein I, Yue, refrain from speaking (what I ought to speak), the blame will rest with me.'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 23 - Yue ming 3
(Charge to Yue of Fuxian part 3)

7 The king said, 'Come, O Yue. I, the little one, first learned with Gan Pan. Afterwards I lived concealed among the rude countrymen, and then I went to (the country) inside the He, and lived there. From the He I went to Bo; and the result has been that I am unenlightened. Do you teach me what should be my aims. Be to me as the yeast and the malt in making sweet spirits, as the salt and the prunes in making agreeable soup. Use various methods to cultivate me; do not cast me away - so shall I attain to practise your instructions.'

8 Yue said, 'O king, a ruler should seek to learn much (from his ministers), with a view to establish his affairs; but to learn the lessons of the ancients is the way to attain this. That the affairs of one, not making the ancients his masters, can be perpetuated for generations, is what I have not heard. In learning there should be a humble mind and the maintenance of a constant earnestness; in such a case (the learner's) improvement will surely come. He who sincerely cherishes these things will find all truth accumulating in his person. Teaching is the half of learning; when a man's thoughts from first to last are constantly fixed on learning, his virtuous cultivation comes unperceived. Survey the perfect pattern of our first king - so shall you for ever be preserved from error. Then shall I be able reverently to meet your views, and on every side to look out for men of eminence to place in the various offices.'

9 The king said, 'Oh! Yue, that all within the four seas look up to my virtue is owing to you. As his legs and arms form the man, so does a good minister form the sage (king). Formerly, there was the first premier of our dynasty, Bao-heng, who raised up and formed its royal founder. He said, "If I cannot make my sovereign like Yao or Shun, I shall feel ashamed in my heart, as if I were beaten in the market-place." If any common man did not get (all he should desire), he said, "It is my fault." (Thus) he assisted my meritorious ancestor, so that he became equal to great Heaven. Do you give your intelligent and preserving aid to me, and let not A-heng engross all the good service to the House of Shang. The sovereign should share his government with none but worthy officers. The worthy officer should accept his support from none but the proper sovereign. May you now succeed in making your sovereign a (true) successor of the founder of his line, and in securing the lasting happiness of the people!'

10 Yue did obeisance with his head to the ground, and said, 'I will venture to respond to. and display abroad, your Majesty's excellent charge.'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 24 - Gaozong rong ri NT
(Day of the Supplementary Sacrifice to Gao Zong)

1 On the day of the supplementary sacrifice of Gao Zong, there appeared a crowing pheasant. Zu Ji said, 'To rectify this affair, the king must first be corrected.' He delivered accordingly a lesson to the king, saying, 'In its inspection of men below, Heaven's first consideration is of their righteousness, and it bestows on them (accordingly) length of years or the contrary. It is not Heaven that cuts short men's lives; they bring them to an end themselves. Some men who have not complied with virtue will yet not acknowledge their offences, and when Heaven has by evident tokens charged them to correct their conduct, they still say, "What are these things to us?" Oh! our Majesty's business is to care reverently for the people. And all (your ancestors) were the heirs of (the kingdom by the gift of Heaven; in attending to the sacrifices (to them), be not so excessive in those to your father.'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 25 - Xibo kan li NT
(Chief of the west's Conquest of Li, or
King Wen's Conquest of the State of Li)

1 The Chief of the West having subdued Li, Zu Yi was afraid, and hastened to report it to the king. He said, 'Son of Heaven, Heaven is bringing to an end the dynasty of Yin; the wisest men and the shell of the great tortoise do not presume to know anything fortunate for it. It is not that the former kings do not aid us, the men of this later time but by your dissoluteness and sport you are bringing on the end yourself. On this account Heaven has cast us off, and there are no good harvests to supply us with food. Men have no regard to their heavenly nature, and pay no obedience to the statutes (of the kingdom). (Yea), our people now all wish (the dynasty) to perish, saying, "Why does not Heaven send down its indignation? Why does not (some one with) its great appointment make his appearance? What has the present king to do with us?"'

2 The king said, 'Oh! was not my birth in accordance with the appointment of Heaven (in favour of my House)?'

3 (On this) Zu Yi returned (to his own city), and said, 'Your, crimes, which are many, are registered above, and can you still appeal to the appointment of Heaven in your favour? Yin will perish very shortly. As to all your deeds, can they but bring ruin on your country?'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 26 - Weizi NT
(Prince Weizi or Count Weizi)

1 The Count of Wei spoke to the following effect: 'Grand-Master and Junior-Master, (the House of) Yin, we may conclude, can no longer exercise rule over the four quarters (of the kingdom). The great deeds of our founder were displayed in former ages, but by our maddened indulgence in spirits, we have destroyed (the effects of) his virtue in these after-times. (The people of) Yin, small and great, are given to highway robberies, villainies, and treachery. The nobles and officers imitate one another in violating the laws, and there is no certainty that criminals will be apprehended. The smaller people (consequently) rise up, and commit violent outrages on one another. Yin is now sinking in ruin - its condition is like that of one crossing a stream, who can find neither ford nor bank. That Yin should be hurrying to ruin at the present pace!'

2 He added, 'Grand-Master and Junior-Master, we are manifesting insanity. The most venerable members of our families are withdrawn to the wilds; and you indicate no course (to be taken), but (only) tell me of the impending ruin - what is to be done?'

3 The Grand-Master made about the following reply: 'O son of our (former) king, Heaven in anger is sending down calamities, and wasting the country of Yin. Hence has arisen that mad indulgence in spirits. (The king) has no reverence for things which he ought to reverenced but does despite to the venerable aged, the men who have long been in office. The people of Yin will now steal even the pure and perfect victims devoted to the spirits of heaven and earth; and their conduct is connived at, and though they proceed to eat the victims, they suffer no punishment. (On the other hand), when I look down and survey the people of Yin, the methods by which they are governed are hateful exactions, which call forth outrages and hatred; and this without ceasing. Such crimes equally belong to all in authority, and multitudes are starving with none to whom to appeal. Now is the time of Shang's calamity; I will arise and share in its ruin. When ruin overtakes Shang, I will not be the servant (of another House). (But) I tell you, O king's son, to go away, as being the, course (for you). Formerly I injured you by what I said; if you do not (now) go away, our (sacrifices) will entirely perish. Let us rest quietly (in our several parts), and each present himself to the former kings (as having done so). I do not think of making my escape.'

DOCUMENTS BOOK 4 - ZHOU SHU
(Book of the Zhou Dynasty)

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 27 - Tai shi 1
(Great Declaration 1)

1 In the spring of the thirteenth year there was a great assembly at Meng-jin. The king said, 'Ah! ye hereditary rulers of my friendly states, and all ye my officers, managers of my affairs, hearken clearly to my declaration.

'Heaven and earth is the parent of all creatures; and of all creatures man is the most highly endowed. The sincerely intelligent (among men) becomes the great sovereign; and the great sovereign is the parent of the people. But now, Shou, the king of Shang, does not reverence Heaven above, and inflicts calamities on the people below. Abandoned to drunkenness and reckless in lust, he has dared to exercise cruel oppression. He has extended the punishment of offenders to all their relatives. He has put men into offices on the hereditary principle. He has made it his pursuit to have palaces, towers, pavilions, embankments, ponds, and all other extravagances, to the most painful injury of you, the myriads of the people. He has burned and roasted the loyal and good. He has ripped up pregnant women. Great Heaven was moved with indignation, and charged my deceased father Wen to display its terrors; but (he died) before the work was completed.

'On this account, I, Fa, the little child, have by means of you, the hereditary rulers of my friendly states, contemplated the government of Shang; but Shou has no repentant heart. He sits squatting on his heels, not serving God nor the spirits of heaven and earth, neglecting also the temple of his ancestors, and not sacrificing in it. The victims and the vessels of millet all become the prey of wicked robbers, and still he says, "The people are mine; the (heavenly) appointment is mine," never trying to correct his contemptuous mind.

'Heaven, for the help of the inferior people, made for them rulers, and made for them instructors, that they might be able to be aiding to God, and secure the tranquillity of the four quarters (of the kingdom). In regard to who are criminals and who are not, how dare I give any allowance to my own wishes?

'"Where the strength is the same, measure the virtue of the parties; where the virtue is the same, measure their righteousness." Shou has hundreds of thousands and myriads of officers, but they have hundreds of thousands and myriads of minds; I have (but) three thousand officers, but they have one mind. The iniquity of Shang is full. Heaven gives command to destroy it. If I did not obey Heaven, my iniquity would be as great.

'I, the little child, early and late am filled with apprehensions. I have received the command of my deceased father Wen; I have offered special sacrifice to God; I have performed the due services to the great earth; and I lead the multitude of you to execute the punishment appointed by Heaven. Heaven compassionates the people. What the people desire, Heaven will be found to give effect to. Do you aid me, the One man, to cleanse for ever (all within) the four seas. Now is the time! It should not be lost.'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 28 - Tai shi 2
(Great Declaration 2)

2 On (the day) Wu-wu, the king halted on the north of the He. When all the princes with their hosts were assembled, the king reviewed the hosts, and made the following declaration: 'Oh! ye multitudes of the west, hearken all to my words.

'I have heard that the good man, doing good, finds the day insufficient; and that the evil man, doing evil, also finds the day insufficient. Now Shou, the king of Shang, with strength pursues his lawless way. He has driven away the timeworn sires, and cultivates intimacies with wicked men. Dissolute, intemperate, reckless, oppressive, his ministers have become assimilated to him; and they form combinations and contract animosities, and depend on their power to exterminate one another. The innocent cry to Heaven. The odour of such a state is felt on high.

'Heaven loves the people, and the sovereign should reverently carry out (this mind of) Heaven. Jie, the sovereign of Xia, would not follow the example of Heaven, but sent forth his poisonous injuries through the states of the kingdom. Heaven therefore gave its aid to Tang the Successful, and charged him to make an end of the appointment of Xia. But the crimes of Shou exceed those of Jie. He has degraded from office the greatly good man; he has behaved with cruel tyranny to his reprover and helper. He says that with him is the appointment of Heaven; he says that a reverent care of his conduct is not worth observing; he says that sacrifice is of no use; he says that tyranny is no harm. The beacon for him to look to was not far off - it was that king of Xia. It would seem that Heaven is going by means of me to rule the people. My dreams coincide with my divinations; the auspicious omen is double. My attack on Shang must succeed.

'Shou has hundreds of thousands and millions of ordinary men, divided in heart and, divided in practice; I have of ministers, able to govern, ten men, one in heart and one in practice. Though he has his nearest relatives with him, they

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are not like my virtuous men. Heaven sees as my people see; Heaven hears as my people hear. The people are blaming me, the One man, for my delay; I must now go forward. My military prowess is displayed, and I enter his territories to take the wicked tyrant. My punishment (of evil) will be great, and more glorious than that executed by Tang. Rouse ye, my heroes! Do not think that he is not to be feared; better think that he cannot be withstood. (His) people stand in trembling awe of him, as if the horns were falling from their heads. Oh! unite your energies, unite your hearts; so shall you forthwith surely accomplish the work, to last for all ages!'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 29 - Tai shi 3

(Great Declaration 3)

3 The time was on the morrow, when the king went round his six hosts in state, and made a clear declaration to all his officers. He said, 'Oh ! my valiant men of the west, from Heaven are the illustrious courses of duty, of which the (several) requirements are quite plain. And now Shang, the king of Shang, treats with contemptuous slight the five regular (virtues), and abandons himself to wild idleness and irreverence. He has cut himself off from Heaven, and brought enmity between himself and the people. He cut through the leg-bones of those who were wading, in the morning; he cut out the heart of the worthy man. By the use of his power, killing, and murdering, he has poisoned and sickened all within the four seas. His honours and confidence are given to the villainous and bad. He has driven from him his instructors and guardians. He has thrown to the winds the statutes and penal laws. He has imprisoned and enslaved the upright officer. He neglects the sacrifices to heaven and earth. He has discontinued the offerings in the ancestral temple. He makes contrivances of wonderful device and extraordinary cunning to please his wife. God will no longer indulge him, but with a curse is sending down on him this ruin. Do ye with untiring zeal support me, the One man, reverently to execute the punishment appointed by Heaven. The ancients have said, "He who soothes us is our sovereign; he who oppresses us is our enemy." This solitary fellow Shou, having exercised great tyranny, is your perpetual enemy. (It is said again), "In planting (a man's) virtue, strive to make it great; in putting away (a man's) wickedness, strive to do it from the roots." Here I, the little child, by the powerful help of you, all my officers, will utterly exterminate your enemy. Do you, all my officers, march forward with determined boldness to sustain your prince. Where there is much merit, there shall be large reward; where you do not so advance, there shall be conspicuous disgrace.

'Oh! (the virtue of) my deceased father Wen was like the shining of the sun and moon. His brightness extended over the four quarters of the land, and shone signally in the western region. Hence it is that our Zhou has received (the allegiance of) many states. If I subdue Shou, it will not be from my prowess but from the faultless (virtue of) my deceased father Wen. If Shou subdue me, it will not be from any fault of my deceased father Wen, but because I, the little child, am not good.'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 30 - Mu shi NT

(Speech at the Battle of Muye, or Mu, where Zhou overthrew Shang.)

1 The time was the grey dawn of the day Jia-zi. On that morning the king came to the open country of Mu, in the borders of Shang, and addressed his army. In his left hand he carried a battle-axe yellow with gold, and in his right he held a white ensign, which he waved, saying, 'Far are ye come, ye men of the western regions!' He added, 'Ah! ye hereditary rulers of my friendly states; ye managers of affairs - the Ministers of Instruction, of War, and of Works; the great officers subordinate to these, and the many other officers; the master of my body-guards; the captains of thousands and captains of hundreds; and ye, O men of Yong, Shu, Qiang, Mao, Wei, Lu, Peng, and Pu, lift up your lances, join your shields, raise your spears: I have a speech to make.'

2 The king (then) said, 'The ancients have said, "The hen does not announce the morning. The crowing of a hen in the morning (indicates) the subversion of the family." Now Shou, the king of Shang, follows only the words of his wife. In his blindness he has neglected the sacrifices which he ought to offer, and makes no response (for the favours that he has received); he has also cast off his paternal and maternal relations, not treating them properly. They are only the vagabonds from all quarters, loaded with crimes, whom he honours and exalts, whom he employs and trusts, making them great officers and high nobles, so that they can tyrannise over the people, and exercise their villainies in the cities of Shang.

'Now, I, Fa, am simply executing, respectfully the punishment appointed by Heaven. In to-day's business do not advance more than six or seven steps, and then stop and adjust your ranks; my brave men, be energetic! Do not exceed four blows, five blows, six blows, or seven blows, and then stop and adjust your ranks; my brave men, be energetic! Display a martial bearing. Be like tigers and panthers, like bears and grisly bears, (here) in the borders of Shang. Do not rush on those who fly (to us in submission), but receive them to serve our western land; my brave men, be energetic! If you be not energetic (in all these matters), you will bring destruction on yourselves.'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 31 - Wu cheng

(Successful Completion of the War on Shang)

1 In the first month, the day Ren-chen immediately followed the end of the moon's waning. The next day was Gui-ji, when the king, in the morning, marched from Zhou to attack and punish Shang.

In the fourth month, at the first appearance of the moon, the king came from Shang to Feng, when he hushed all the movements of war, and proceeded to cultivate the arts of peace. He sent back his horses to the south of mount Hua, and let loose his oxen in the open country of Tao-lin, showing to all under heaven that he would not use them (again).

On the day Ding-Wei, he sacrificed in the ancestral temple of Zhou, when (the princes) of the royal domain, and of the Dian, Hou, and Wei domains, all hurried about, carrying the dishes." The third day after was Geng-xu, when he presented a burnt-offering to Heaven, and worshipped towards the hills and rivers, solemnly announcing the successful completion of the war.

After the moon began to wane, the hereditary princes of the various states, and all the officers, received their appointments from Zhou.

2 The king spoke to the following effect: 'Oh! ye host of princes, the first of our kings founded his state, and commenced (the enlargement of) its territory. Gong Liu, was able to consolidate the services of his predecessor. But it was the king Tai who laid the foundations of the royal inheritance. The king Ji was diligent for the royal House; and my deceased father, king Wen, completed his merit, and grandly received the appointment of Heaven, to soothe the regions of our great land. The great states feared his strength; the small states thought fondly of his virtue. In nine years, however, the whole kingdom was not united under his rule, and it fell to me, the little child, to carry out his will.

'Detesting the crimes of Shang, I announced to great Heaven and the sovereign Earth, to the famous hill I and the great river by which I passed, saying, "I, Fa, the principled, king of Zhou by a long descent, am about to administer a great correction to Shang. Shou, the present king of Shang, is without principle, cruel and destructive to the creatures of Heaven, injurious and tyrannical to the multitudes of the people, lord of all the vagabonds under heaven, who collect about him as fish in the deep, and beasts in the prairie. I, the little child, having obtained (the help of) virtuous men, presume reverently to comply with (the will of) God, and make an end of his disorderly ways. Our flowery, and great land, and the tribes of the south and north, equally follow and consent with me. Reverently obeying the determinate counsel of Heaven, I pursue my punitive work to the east, to give tranquillity to its men and women. They meet me with their baskets full of dark-coloured and yellow silks, thereby showing (the virtues) of us, the kings of Zhou. Heaven's favours stir them up, so that they come with their allegiance to our great state of Zhou. And now, ye spirits, grant me your aid, that I may relieve the millions of the people, and nothing turn out to your shame."'

3 On the day Wu-wu, the army crossed the ford of Meng, and on Gui-hai it was drawn up in array in the borders of Shang, waiting for the gracious decision of Heaven. On Jia-zi, at early dawn, Shou led forward his troops, (looking) like a forest, and assembled them in the wild of Mu. But they offered no opposition to our army. Those in the front inverted their spears, and attacked those behind them, till they fled; and the blood flowed till it floated the pestles of the mortars. Thus did (king Wu) once don his armour, and the kingdom was grandly settled. He overturned the (existing) rule of Shang, and made government resume its old course. He delivered the count of Qi from prison, and raised a mound over the grave of Bi-gan. He bowed forward to the cross-bar of his carriage at the gate of Shang Rong's village. He dispersed the treasures of the Stag Tower, and distributed the grain of Ju-qiao, thus conferring great gifts on all within the four seas, so that the people joyfully submitted to him.

He arranged the nobles in five orders, assigning the territories to them according to a threefold scale. He gave offices only to the worthy, and employments only to the able. He attached great importance to the people's being taught the duties of the five relations of society, and to measures for ensuring a sufficient supply of food, attention to the rites of mourning, and to sacrifices. He showed the reality of his truthfulness, and proved clearly his righteousness. He honoured virtue, and rewarded merit. Then he had only to let his robes fall down, and fold his hands, and the kingdom was orderly ruled.

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 32 - Hong fan NT

(Great Plan of the Sage Jizi to King Wu of Zhou, 1046–1043 BC.)

1 In the thirteenth year, the king went to enquire of the count of Qi, and said to him, Oh! count of Qi, Heaven, (working) unseen, secures the tranquillity of the lower people, aiding them to be in harmony with their condition. I do not know how the unvarying principles (of its method in doing so) should be set forth in due order.'

The count of Qi thereupon replied, 'I have heard that in old time Gun dammed up the inundating waters, and thereby threw into disorder the arrangement of the five elements. God was consequently roused to anger, and did not give him the Great Plan with its nine divisions, and thus the unvarying principles (of Heaven's method) were allowed to go to ruin. Gun was therefore kept a prisoner till his death, and his son Yu rose up (and entered on the same undertaking). To him Heaven gave the Great Plan with its nine divisions, and the unvarying principles (of its method) were set forth in their due order.'

2 '(Of those divisions) the first is called "the five elements;" the second, "reverent attention to the five (personal) matters;" the third, "earnest devotion to the eight (objects of) government;" the fourth, "the harmonious use of the five dividers of time;" the fifth, "the establishment and use of royal perfection;" the sixth, "the discriminating use of the three virtues;" the seventh, "the intelligent use of (the means for) the examination of doubts;" the eighth, "the thoughtful use of the various verifications;" the ninth, "the hortatory use of the five (sources of) happiness, and the awing use of the six (occasions of) Suffering."'

3 (I) 'First, of the five elements. The first is water; the second is fire; the third, wood; the fourth, metal; and the fifth, earth. (The nature of) water is to soak and descend; of fire, to blaze and ascend; of wood, to be crooked and straight; of metal, to yield and change; while (that of) earth is seen in seed-sowing and in-gathering. That which soaks and descends becomes salt; that which blazes and ascends becomes bitter; that which is crooked and straight becomes sour; that which yields and changes becomes acrid; and from seed-sowing and in-gathering comes sweetness.'

4 (II) 'Second, of the five (personal) matters. The first is the bodily demeanour; the second, speech; the third, seeing; the fourth, hearing; the fifth, thinking. (The virtue of) the bodily appearance is respectfulness; of speech, accordance (with reason); of seeing, clearness; of hearing distinctness; of thinking, perspicaciousness. The respectfulness becomes manifest in gravity; accordance (with reason), in orderliness; the clearness, in wisdom; the distinctness, in deliberation; and the perspicaciousness, in sageness.'

5 (III) 'Third, of the eight (objects of) government. The first is food; the second, wealth and articles of convenience; the third, sacrifices; the fourth, (the business of) the Minister of Works; the fifth, (that of) the Minister of Instruction; the sixth, (that of) the Minister of Crime; the seventh, the observances, to be paid to guests; the eighth, the army.'

6 (IV) 'Fourth, of the five dividers of time. The first is the year (or the planet Jupiter); the second, the moon; the third, the sun; the fourth, the stars and planets, and the zodiacal spaces; and the fifth, the calendaric calculations.'

7 (V) 'Fifth, of royal perfection. The sovereign, having established (in himself) the highest degree and pattern of excellence, concentrates in his own person the five (sources of) happiness, and proceeds to diffuse them, and give them to the multitudes of the people. Then they, on their part, embodying your perfection, will give it (back) to you, and secure the preservation of it. Among all the multitudes of the people there will be no unlawful confederacies, and among men (in office) there will be no bad and selfish combinations; let the sovereign establish in (himself) the highest degree and pattern of excellence. Among all the multitudes of the people there will be those who have ability to plan and to act, and who keep themselves (from evil) - do you keep such in mind; and there will be those who, not coming up to the highest point of excellence, yet do not involve themselves in evil - let the sovereign receive such. And when a placid satisfaction appears in their countenances, and they say, "Our love is fixed on virtue," do you then confer favours on them; those men will in this way advance to the perfection of the sovereign. Do not let him oppress the friendless and childless, nor let him fear the high and distinguished. When men (in office) have ability and administrative power, let them be made still more to cultivate their conduct; and the prosperity of the country will be promoted. All (such) right men, having a competency, will go on in goodness. If you cannot cause them to have what they love in their families, they will forthwith proceed to be guilty of crime. As to those who have not the love of virtue, although you confer favours (and emoluments) on them, they will (only) involve you in the guilt of employing the evil.

Without deflection, without unevenness,
Pursue the royal righteousness.
Without selfish likings,
Pursue the royal way.

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Without selfish dislikings,
Pursue the royal path.
Avoid deflection, avoid partiality;
Broad and long is the royal way.
Avoid partiality, avoid deflection;
Level and easy is the royal way.
Avoid perversity, avoid one-sidedness;
Correct and straight is the royal way.
(Ever) seek for this perfect excellence,
(Ever) turn to this perfect excellence.

He went on to say, 'This amplification of the royal perfection contains the unchanging (rule), and is the (great) lesson; yea, it is the lesson of God. All the multitudes of the people, instructed in this amplification of the perfect excellence, and carrying it into practice, will thereby approximate to the glory of the Son of Heaven, and say, "The Son of Heaven is the parent of the people, and so becomes the sovereign of all under the sky."'

8 (VI) 'Sixth, of the three virtues. The first is correctness and straightforwardness; the second, strong rule; and the third, mild rule. In peace and tranquillity, correctness and straightforwardness (must sway); in violence and disorder, strong rule; in harmony and order, mild rule. For the reserved and retiring there should be (the stimulus of) the strong rule; for the high(-minded) and distinguished, (the restraint of) the mild rule. It belongs only to the sovereign to confer dignities and rewards, to display the terrors of majesty, and to receive the revenues (of the kingdom). There should be no such thing as a minister's conferring dignities or rewards, displaying the terrors of majesty, or receiving the revenues. Such a thing is injurious to the clans, and fatal to the states (of the kingdom); smaller affairs are thereby managed in a one-sided and perverse manner, and the people fall into assumptions and excesses.'

9 (VII) 'Seventh, of the (means for the) examination of doubts. Officers having been chosen and appointed for divining by the tortoise-shell and the stalks of the Achillea, they are to be charged (on occasion) to execute their duties. (In doing this), they will find (the appearances of) rain, of clearing up, of cloudiness, of want of connexion, and of crossing; and the inner and outer diagrams. In all (the indications) are seven;--five given by the shell, and two by the stalks; and (by means) of these any errors (in the mind) may be traced out. These officers having been appointed, when the divination is proceeded with, three men are to interpret the indications, and the (consenting) words of two of them are to be followed. When you have doubts about any great matter, consult with your own mind; consult with your high ministers and officers; consult with the common people; consult the tortoise-shell and divining stalks. If you, the shell, the stalks, the ministers and officers, and the common people, all agree about a course, this is what is called a great concord, and the result will be the welfare of your person and good fortune to your descendants. If you, the shell, and the stalks agree, while the ministers, and officers, and the common people oppose, the result will be fortunate. If the ministers and officers, with the shell and stalks, agree, while you and the common people oppose, the result will be fortunate. If the common people, the shell, and the stalks agree, while you, with the ministers and officers, oppose, the result will be fortunate. If you and the shell agree. while the stalks, with the ministers and officers, and the common people, oppose, internal operations will be fortunate, and external undertakings unlucky. When the shell and stalks are both opposed to the views of men, there will be good fortune in being still, and active operations will be unlucky.'

10 (VIII) 'Eighth, of the various verifications. They are rain, sunshine, heat, cold, wind, and seasonableness. When the five come, all complete, and each in its proper order, (even) the various plants will be richly luxuriant. Should any one of them be either excessively abundant or excessively deficient, there will be evil. There are the favourable verifications: namely, of gravity, which is emblemed by seasonable rain; of orderliness, emblemed by seasonable sunshine; of wisdom, emblemed by seasonable heat; of deliberation, emblemed by seasonable cold; and of sageness, emblemed by seasonable wind, There are (also) the unfavourable verifications - namely, of recklessness, emblemed by constant rain; of assumption, emblemed by constant sunshine; of indolence, emblemed by constant heat; of hastiness, emblemed by constant cold; and of stupidity, emblemed by constant wind.

He went on to say, 'The king should examine the (character of the whole) year; the high ministers and officers (that of) the month; and the inferior officers (that of) the day. If, throughout the year, the month, the day, there be an unchanging seasonableness, all the grains will be matured; the measures of government will be wise, heroic men will stand forth distinguished; and in the families (of the people) there will be peace and prosperity. If, throughout the year, the month, the day, the seasonableness be interrupted, the various kinds of grain will not be matured; the measures of government will be dark and unwise; heroic men will be kept in obscurity; and in the families (of the people) there will be an absence of repose. By the common people the stars should be examined. Some stars love wind, and some love rain. The courses of the sun and moon give winter and summer. The way in which the moon follows the stars gives wind and rain.'

11 (IX) 'Ninth, of the five (sources of) happiness. The first is long life; the second, riches; the third, soundness of body and serenity of mind; the fourth, the love of virtue; and the fifth, fulfilling to the end the will (of Heaven). Of the six extreme evils, the first is misfortune shortening the life; the second, sickness; the third, distress of mind; the fourth, poverty; the fifth, wickedness; the sixth, weakness.'

12 (untranslated)

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 33 - Lü ao
(Hounds of the Western Tribesmen Lü)

1 After the conquest of Shang, the way being open to the nine tribes of the Yi and the eight of the Man, the western tribe of Lu sent as tribute some of its hounds, on which the Grand-Guardian made 'the Hounds of Lu,' by way of instruction to the king.

2 He said, 'Oh! the intelligent kings paid careful attention to their virtue, and the wild tribes on every side acknowledged subjection to them. The nearer and the more remote all presented the productions of their countries, in robes, food, and vessels for use. The kings then displayed the things thus drawn forth by their virtue, (distributing them) to the (princes of the) states of different surnames from their own, (to encourage them) not to neglect their duties. The (more) precious things and pieces of jade they distributed among their uncles in charge of states, thereby increasing their attachment (to the throne). The recipients did not despise the things, but saw in them the power of virtue.

Complete virtue allows no contemptuous familiarity. When (a ruler) treats superior men with such familiarity, he cannot get them to give him all their hearts; when he so treats inferior men, he cannot get them to put forth for him all their strength. Let him keep from being in bondage to his ears and eyes, and strive to be correct in all his measures. By trifling intercourse with men, he ruins his virtue; by finding his amusement in things (of mere pleasure), he ruins his aims. His aims should repose in what is right; he should listen to words (also) in their relation to what is right.

When he does not do what is unprofitable to the injury of what is profitable, his merit can be completed. When he does not value strange things to the contemning things that are useful, his people will be able to supply (all that he needs). (Even) dogs and horses that are not native to his country he will not keep. Fine birds and strange animals be will not nourish in his state. When he does not look on foreign things as precious, foreigners will come to him; when it is real worth that is precious to him, (his own) people near at hand will be in a state of repose.

Oh! early and late never be but earnest. If you do not attend jealously to your small actions, the result will be to affect your virtue in great matters; in raising a mound of nine fathoms, the work may be unfinished for want of one basket (of earth). If you really pursue this course (which I indicate), the people will preserve their possessions, and the throne will descend from generation to generation.'

3 (untranslated)

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 34 - Jin teng NT
(Golden or metal-bound Coffer of Zhou Gong, or Dan, the Duke Wen of Zhou and brother of King Wu)

1 Two years after the conquest of Shang, the king fell ill, and was quite disconsolate. The two (other great) dukes said, 'Let us reverently consult the tortoise-shell about the king;' but the duke of Zhou said, 'You must not so distress our former kings.' He then took the business on himself, and reared three altars of earth on the same cleared space; and having made another altar on the south of these, and facing the north, he took there his own position. Having put a round symbol of jade (on each of the three altars), and holding in his bands the lengthened symbol (of his own rank), he addressed the kings Tai, Ji, and Wen.

The (grand) historiographer had written on tablets his prayer, which was to this effect: 'A. B., your great descendant, is suffering from a severe and violent disease; if you three kings have in heaven the charge of (watching over) him, (Heaven's) great son, let me Dan be a substitute for his person. I was lovingly obedient to my father; I am possessed of many abilities and arts, which fit me to serve spiritual beings. Your great descendant, on the other hand, has not so many abilities and arts as I, and is not so capable of serving spiritual beings. And moreover he was appointed in the hall of God to extend his aid all over the kingdom, so that he might establish your descendants in this lower earth. The people of the four quarters all stand in reverent awe of him. Oh! do not let that precious Heaven-conferred appointment fall to the ground, and (all the long line of) our former kings will also have one in whom they can ever rest at our sacrifices. I will now seek for your determination (in this matter) from the great tortoise-shell. If you grant me (my request), I will take these symbols and this mace, and return and wait for your orders. If you do not grant it, I will put them by.'

The duke then divined with the three tortoise-shells, and all were favourable. He opened with a key the place where the (oracular) responses were kept, and looked at them, and they also were favourable. He said, 'According to the form (of the prognostic) the king will take no injury. I, the little child, have got the renewal of his appointment from the three kings, by whom a long futurity has been consulted for. I have now to wait for the issue. They can provide for our One man.'

When the duke returned, he placed the tablets (of the prayer) in a metal-bound coffer, and next day the king got better.

2 (Afterwards), upon the death of king Wu, (the duke's) elder brother, he of Guan, and his younger brothers, spread a baseless report through the kingdom, to the effect that the duke would do no good to the (king's) young son. On this the duke said to the two (other great) dukes, 'If I do not take the law (to these men), I shall not be able to make my report to the former kings.' He resided (accordingly) in the east for two years, when the criminals were taken (and brought to justice). Afterwards he made a poem to present to the king, and called it 'the Owl.' The King on his part did not dare to blame the duke.

In the autumn, when the grain was abundant and ripe, but before it was reaped, Heaven sent a great storm of thunder and lightning, along with wind, by which the grain was all broken down, and great trees torn up. The people were greatly terrified; and the king and great officers, all in their caps of state, proceeded to open the metal-bound coffer and examine the writings in it, where they found the words of the duke when he took on himself the business of being a substitute for king Wu. The two (great) dukes and the king asked the historiographer and all the other officers (acquainted with the transaction) about the thing, and they replied, 'It was really thus; but ah! the duke charged us that we should not presume to speak about it.'

The king held the writing in his hand, and wept, saying, 'We need not (now) go on reverently to divine. Formerly the duke was thus earnest for the royal House, but I, being a child, did not know it. Now Heaven has moved its terrors to display his virtue. That I, the little child, (now) go with my new views and feelings to meet him, is what the rules of propriety of our kingdom require.' The king then went out to the borders (to meet the duke), when Heaven sent down rain, and, by virtue of a contrary wind, the grain all rose up. The two (great) dukes gave orders to the people to take up the trees that had fallen and replace them. The year then turned out very fruitful.

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 35 - Da gao NT
(Great Announcement)

1 The king speaks to the following effect: 'Ho! I make a great announcement to you, (the princes of) the many states, and to you, the managers of my affairs. We are unpitied, and Heaven sends down calamities on our House, without the least intermission. It greatly occupies my thoughts that I, so very young, have inherited this illimitable patrimony with its destinies and domains. I cannot display wisdom and lead the people to prosperity; and how much less should I be able to reach the knowledge of the decree of Heaven!

2 'Yes, I who am but a little child am in the position of one who has to go through a deep water; I must go and seek where I can cross over. I must diffuse the elegant institutions of my predecessor and display the appointment which he received (from Heaven); so shall I not be forgetful of his great work. Nor shall I dare to restrain the majesty of Heaven in sending down its inflictions (on the criminals).

3 'The Tranquillizing king left to me the great precious tortoise-shell, to bring into connexion with me the intelligence of Heaven. I divined by it, and it told me that there would be great trouble in the region of the west and that the western people would not be still. Accordingly we have these senseless movements. Small and reduced as Yin now is, (its prince) greatly dares to take in hand its (broken) line. Though Heaven sent down its terrors (on his House), yet knowing of the evils in our kingdom, and that the people are not tranquil, he says, "I will recover (my patrimony);" and so (he wishes to) make our Zhou a border territory again. One day there was a senseless movement, and the day after, ten men of worth appeared among the people, to help me to go forward to restore tranquillity and perpetuate the plans (of my father). The great business I am engaging in will (thus) have a successful issue. I have divined (also) by the tortoise-shell, and always got a favourable response.

4 'Therefore I tell you, the princes of my friendly states, and you, the directors of departments, my officers, and the managers of my affairs; I have obtained a favourable reply to my divinations. I will go forward with you from all the states, and punish those vagabond and transported ministers of Yin. (But) you the princes of the various states, and you the various officers and managers of my affairs, all retort on me, saying, "The hardships will be great, and that the people are not quiet has its source really in the king's palace and in the mansions of the princes in that (rebellious) state. We little ones, and the old and reverend men as well, think the

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expedition ill-advised; why does your Majesty not go contrary to the divinations?"

5 I, in my youth, (also) think continually of these hardships, and say, Alas! these senseless movements will deplorably afflict the wifeless men and widows! But I am the servant of Heaven, which has assigned me this great task, and laid the hard duty on my person. I therefore, the young one, do not pity myself; and it would be right in you, the many officers, the directors of departments, and the managers of my affairs, to comfort me, saying, "Do not be distressed with sorrow. We shall surely complete the plans of your Tranquillizing father."

6 'Yes, I, the little child, dare not disregard the Charge of God. Heaven, favourable to the Tranquillizing king, gave such prosperity to our small country of Zhou. The Tranquillizing king divined and acted accordingly, and so he calmly received his (great) appointment. Now when Heaven is (evidently) aiding the people, how much more should we follow the indications of the shell! Oh! the clearly intimated will of Heaven is to be feared: it is to help my great inheritance.

7 The king says, 'You, who are the old ministers, are fully able to remember the past; you know how great was the toil of the Tranquillizing king. Where Heaven (now) shuts up (our path) and distresses us, is the place where I must accomplish my work; I dare not but do my utmost to complete the plans of the Tranquillizing king. It is on this account that I use such efforts to remove the doubts and carry forward the inclinations of the princes of my friendly states. And Heaven assists me with sincere expressions (of sympathy), which I have ascertained among the people; how dare I but aim at the completion of the work formerly begun by the Tranquillizer? Heaven, moreover, is thus toiling and distressing the people; it is as if they were suffering from disease; how dare I allow (the appointment) which my predecessor, the Tranquillizer, received, to be without its happy fulfilment?'

8 The king says, 'Formerly, at the initiation of this expedition, I spoke of its difficulties, and thought of them daily. But when a deceased father, (wishing) to build a house, had laid out the plan, if his son be unwilling to raise up the hall, how much less will he be willing to complete the roof! Or if the father had broken up the ground, and his son be unwilling to sow the seed, how much less will he be willing to reap the crop! In such a case could the father, (who had himself) been so reverently attentive (to his objects), have been willing to say, "I have a son who will not abandon his patrimony?" How dare I therefore but use all my powers to give a happy settlement to the great charge entrusted to the Tranquillizing king? If among the friends of an elder brother or a deceased father there be those who attack his son, will the elders of the people encourage (the attacker, and not (come to the) rescue?'

9 The king says, 'Oh! take heart, ye princes of the various states, and ye managers of my affairs. The enlightening of the country was from the wise, even from the ten men who obeyed and knew the charge of God, and the real assistance given by Heaven. At that time none of you presumed to change the rules (prescribed by the Tranquillizing king). And now when Heaven is sending down calamity on the country of Zhou, and the authors of these great distresses (make it appear on a grand scale as if) the inmates of a house were mutually to attack one another, you are without any knowledge that the decree of Heaven is not to be changed!

10 'I ever think and say, Heaven in destroying Yin was doing husbandman's work - how dare I but complete the work on my fields? Heaven will thereby show its favour to my predecessor, the Tranquillizer. How should I be all for the oracle of divination, and presume not to follow (your advice)? I am following the Tranquillizer, whose purpose embraced all within the limits of the land. How much more must I proceed, when the divinations are all favourable! It is on these accounts that I make this expedition in force to the east. There is no mistake about the decree of Heaven. The indications given by the tortoise-shell are all to the same effect.'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 36 - Weizi zhi ming

(Charge to the Count of Wei)

1 The king speaks to the following effect: 'Ho! eldest son of the king of Yin, examining into antiquity, (I find) that the honouring of the virtuous (belongs to their descendants) who resemble them in worth, and (I appoint) you to continue the line of the kings your ancestors, observing their ceremonies and taking care of their various relics. Come (also) as a guest to our royal House, and enjoy the prosperity of our kingdom, for ever and ever without end.

'Oh! your ancestor, Tang the Successful, was reverent and sage, (with a virtue) vast and deep. The favour and help of great Heaven lighted upon him, and he grandly received its appointment, to soothe the people by his gentleness, and remove the wicked oppressions from which they were suffering. His achievements affected his age, and his virtue was transmitted to his posterity. And you are the one who pursue and cultivate his plans; this praise has belonged to you for long. Reverently and carefully have you discharged your filial duties; gravely and respectfully you behave to spirits and to men. I admire your virtue, and pronounce it great and not to be forgotten. God will always enjoy your offerings; the people will be reverently harmonious (under your sway). I raise you therefore to the rank of high duke, to rule this eastern part of our great land.

'Be reverent. Go and diffuse abroad your instructions. Be carefully observant of your robes and (other accompaniments of) your appointment; follow and observe the proper statutes - so as to prove a bulwark to the royal House. Enlarge (the fame of) your meritorious ancestor; be a law to your people - so as for ever to preserve your dignity. (So also) shall you be a help to me, the One man; future ages will enjoy (the benefit of) your virtue; all the states will take you for a pattern; and thus you will make our dynasty of Zhou never weary of you.

Oh! go, and be prosperous. Do not disregard my charge.'

2-3 (untranslated)

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 37 - Kang gao NT

(Announcement to the Prince Kang who became 3rd king of Zhou, reigned 1020-996 BC or 1005–978 BC.)

1 [On the third month, when the moon began to wane, the duke of Zhou commenced the foundations, and proceeded to build the new great city of Lo, of the eastern states. The people from every quarter assembled in great harmony. From the Hou, Dian, Nan, Cai, and Wei domains, the various officers stimulated this harmony of the people, and introduced them to the business there was to be done for Zhou. The duke encouraged all to diligence, and made a great announcement about the performance (of the works).]

2 The king speaks to this effect: 'Head of the princes, and my younger brother, little one, Feng, it was your greatly distinguished father, the king Wen, who was able to illustrate his virtue and be careful in the use of punishments. He did not dare to treat with contempt (even) wifeless men and widows. He employed the employable, and revered the reverend; he was terrible to those who needed to be awed - so getting distinction among the people. It was thus he laid the foundations of (the sway of) our small portion of the kingdom, and the one or two (neighbouring) regions were brought under, his improving influence, until throughout our western land all placed in him their reliance. The fame, of him ascended up to the high God, and God approved. Heaven accordingly gave a grand charge to king Wen, to exterminate the great (dynasty of) Yin, and grandly receive its appointment, so that the various countries belonging to it and their peoples were brought to an orderly condition. Then your unworthy elder brother exerted himself; and thus it is that you Feng, the little one, are here in this eastern region.'

3 The king says, 'Oh! Feng, bear these things in mind. Now (your success in the management of) the people will depend on your reverently following your father Wen; do you carry out his virtuous words which you have heard, and clothe yourself with them. (Moreover), where you go, seek out among (the traces of) the former wise kings of Yin what you may use in protecting and regulating their people. (Again), you must in the remote distance study the (ways of) the old accomplished men of Shang, that you may establish your heart, and know how to instruct (the people). (Further still), you must search out besides what is to be learned of the wise kings of antiquity, and employ it in tranquillizing and protecting the people. (Finally), enlarge (your thoughts) to (the comprehension of all) heavenly (principles), and virtue will be richly displayed in your person, so that you will not render nugatory the king's charge.'

4 The king says, 'Oh! Feng, the little one, be respectfully careful, as if you were suffering from a disease. Awful though Heaven be, it yet helps the sincere. The feelings of the people can for the most part be discerned; but it is difficult to preserve (the attachment of) the lower classes. Where you go, employ all your heart. Do not seek repose, nor be fond of ease and pleasure. I have read the saying, "Dissatisfaction is caused not so much by great things, or by small things, as by (a ruler's) observance of principle or the reverse, and by his energy of conduct or the reverse."

Yes, it is yours, O little one, it is your business to enlarge the royal (influence), and to protect the people of Yin in harmony with their feelings. Thus also shall, you assist the king, consolidating the appointment of Heaven, and renovating the people.'

5 The king says, 'Oh! Feng, deal reverently and intelligently in your infliction of punishments. When men commit small crimes, which are not mischances, but purposed, they of themselves doing what is contrary to the laws intentionally, though their crimes be but small, you may not but put them to death. But in the case of great crimes, which were not purposed, but from mischance and misfortune, accidental, if the transgressors confess their guilt without reserve, you must not put them to death.'

6 The king says, 'Oh! Feng, there must be the orderly regulation (of this matter). When you show a great discrimination, subduing (men's hearts), the people will admonish one another, and strive to be obedient. (Deal firmly yet tenderly with evil), as if it were a disease in your own person, and the people will entirely put away their faults;. (Deal with them) as if you were protecting your own infants, and the people will be tranquil and orderly. It is not you, O Feng, who (can presume to) inflict a (severe) punishment or death upon a man; do not, to please yourself, so punish a man or put him to death.' Moreover, he says, 'It is not you, O Feng, who (can presume to inflict a lighter punishment), cutting off a man's nose or ears; do not, to please yourself, cause a man's nose or ears to be cut off.'

7 The king says, 'In things beyond (your immediate supervision), have laws set forth which the officers may observe, and these should be the penal laws of Yin which were rightly ordered.' He also says, 'In examining the evidence in (criminal) cases, reflect upon it for five or six days, yea, for ten days or three months. You may then boldly come to a decision in such cases.'

8 The king says, 'In setting forth the business of the laws, the punishments will be determined by (what were) the regular laws of Yin. But you must see that those punishments, and (especially) the penalty of death, be righteous. And you must not let them be warped to agree with your own inclinations, O Feng. Then shall they be entirely accordant with right, and you may say, "They are properly ordered;" yet you must say (at the same time), "Perhaps they are not yet entirely accordant with right."

Yes, though you are the little one, who has a heart like you, O Feng? My heart and my virtue are also known to you.

'All who of themselves commit crimes, robbing, stealing, practising villainy and treachery, and who kill men or violently assault them to take their property, being reckless and fearless of death - these are abhorred by all.'

9 The king says, 'O Feng, such great criminals are greatly abhorred, and how much more (detestable) are the unfilial and unbrotherly! - as the son who does not reverently discharge his duty to his father, but greatly wounds his father's heart, and the father who can (no longer) love his son, but hates him; as the younger brother who does not think of the manifest will of Heaven, and refuses to respect his elder brother, and the elder brother who does not think of the toil of their parents in bringing up their children, and is very unfriendly to his junior. If we who are charged with government do not treat parties who proceed to such wickedness as offenders, the laws (of our nature) given by Heaven to our people will be thrown into great disorder and destroyed. You must resolve to deal speedily with such according to the penal laws of king Wen, punishing them severely and not pardoning.

10 'Those who are disobedient (to natural principles) are to be thus subjected to the laws; how much more the officers employed in your state as the instructors of the youth, the heads of the official departments, and the smaller officers charged with their several commissions, when they propagate other lessons, seeking the praise of the people, not thinking (of their duty), nor using (the rules for their offices), but distressing their ruler! These lead on (the people) to wickedness, and are an abomination to me. Shall they be let alone? Do you speedily, according to what is right, put them to death.

11 'And you will be yourself ruler and president; if you cannot manage your own household, with your smaller officers, and the heads of departments in the state, but use only terror and violence, you will greatly set aside the royal charge, and be trying to regulate your state contrary to virtue. You must in everything reverence the statutes, and proceed by them to the happy rule of the people. There were the reverence of king Wen and his caution; in proceeding by them to the happy rule of the people, say, "If I could only attain to them." So will you make me, the One man, to rejoice.'

12 The king says, 'O Feng, when I think clearly of the people, I see that they should be led (by example) to happiness and tranquillity. I think of the virtue of the former wise kings of Yin, whereby they tranquillized and regulated the people, and rouse myself to make it my own. Moreover, the people now are sure to follow a leader. If one do not lead them, he cannot be said to exercise a government in their state.'

13 The king says, 'O Feng, I can not dispense with the inspection (of the ancients),;and I make this declaration to you about virtue in the use of punishments. Now the people are not quiet; they have not yet stilled their minds; notwithstanding my leading of them, they have not come to accord (with my government). I clearly consider that severe as are the inflictions of Heaven on me, I dare not murmur. The crimes (of the people), though they were not great or many, (would all be chargeable on me), and how much more shall this be said when the report of them goes up so manifestly to heaven!'

14 The king says, 'Oh! Feng, be reverent! Do not what will cause murmurings; and do not use bad counsels and uncommon ways. With the determination of sincerity, give yourself to imitate the active virtue (of the ancients). Hereby give repose to your mind, examine your virtue, send far forward your plans; and thus by your generous forbearance you will make the people repose in what is good, and I shall not have to blame you or cast you off.'

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15 The king says, 'Oh! you, Feng, the little one, (Heaven's) appointments are not unchanging." Think of this, and do not make me deprive you of your dignity. Make illustrious the charge which you have received; exalt (the instructions) which you have heard, and tranquillize and regulate the people accordingly.'

16 The king speaks to this effect: 'Go, Feng. Do not disregard the statutes you should reverence; hearken to what I have told you; so shall you among the people of Yin enjoy (your dignity), and hand it down to your posterity.'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 38 - Jiu gao NT

(Announcement about Drunkenness)

1 The king speaks to the following effect: 'Do you clearly make known my great commands in the country of Mei. When your reverent father, the king Wen, laid the foundations of our kingdom in the western region, he delivered announcements and cautions to (the princes of) the various regions, and to all his (high) officers, with their assistants, and the managers of affairs, saying, morning and evening, "At sacrifices spirits should be employed." When Heaven was sending down its favouring decree, and laying the foundations of (the eminence of) our people, (spirits) were used only at the great sacrifices. When Heaven sends down its terrors, and our people are thereby greatly disorganized and lose their virtue, this may be traced invariably to their indulgence in spirits; yea, the ruin of states, small and great, (by these terrors), has been caused invariably by their guilt in the use of spirits.

2 'King Wen admonished and instructed the young nobles, who were charged with office or in any employment, that they should not ordinarily use spirits; and throughout all the states, he required that such should drink spirits only on occasion of sacrifices, and that then virtue should preside so that there might be no drunkenness. He said, 'Let my people teach their young men that they are to love only the productions of the soil, for so will their hearts be good. Let the young also hearken wisely to the constant instructions of their fathers; and let them look at all virtuous actions, whether great or small, in the same light (with watchful heed).

3 '(Ye people of) the land of Mei, if you can employ your limbs, largely cultivating your millets, and hastening about in the service of your fathers and elders; and if, with your carts and oxen, you traffic diligently to a distance, that you may thereby filially minister to your parents; then, when your parents are happy, you may set forth your spirits clear and strong, and use them.

4 'Hearken constantly to my instructions, all ye my (high) officers and ye heads of departments, all ye, my noble chiefs; when ye have largely done your duty in ministering to your aged, and serving your ruler, ye may eat and drink freely and to satiety. And to speak of greater things: when you can maintain a constant, watchful examination of yourselves, and your conduct is in accordance with correct virtue, then may you present the offerings of sacrifice, and at the same time indulge yourselves in festivity. In such case you will indeed be ministers doing right service to your king, and Heaven likewise will approve your great virtue, so that you shall never be forgotten in the royal House.'

5 The king says, 'O Feng, in our western region, the princes of states, and the young (nobles), sons of the managers of affairs, who in former days assisted king Wen, were all able to obey his lessons, and abstain from excess in the use of spirits; and so it is that I have now received the appointment which belonged to Yin.'

6 The king says. 'O Feng, I have heard it said, that formerly the first wise king of Yin manifested a reverential awe of the bright principles of Heaven and of the lower people, acting accordingly, steadfast in his virtue, and holding fast his wisdom. From him Tang the Successful, down to Di-Yi, all completed their royal virtue and revered their chief ministers, so that their managers of affairs respectfully discharged their helping duties, and dared not to allow themselves in idleness and pleasure; how much less would they dare to indulge themselves in drinking! Moreover, in the exterior domains, (the princes of) the Hou, Dian, Nan, and Wei (states), with their presiding chiefs and in the interior domain, all the various officers, the directors of the several departments, the inferior officers and employés, the heads of great houses, and the men of distinguished name living in retirement, all eschewed indulgence in spirits. Not only did they not dare to indulge in them, but they had not leisure to do so, being occupied with helping to complete the sovereigns virtue and make it more illustrious, and helping the directors of affairs reverently to attend to his service.

7 'I have heard it said likewise, that the last successor of those kings was addicted to drink, so that no charges came from him brightly before the people, and he was (as if) reverently and unchangingly bent on doing and cherishing what provoked resentment. Greatly abandoned to extraordinary lewdness and dissipation, for pleasure's sake he sacrificed all his majesty. The people were all sorely grieved and wounded in heart; but he gave himself wildly up to drink, not thinking of restraining himself. but continuing his excess, till his mind was frenzied, and he had no fear of death. His crimes (accumulated) in the capital of Shang: and though the extinction of the dynasty (was imminent), this gave him no concern, and he wrought not that any sacrifices of fragrant virtue might ascend to Heaven. The rank odour of the people's resentments, and the drunkenness of his herd of creatures, went loudly up on high, so that Heaven sent down ruin on Yin, and showed no love for it - because of such excesses. There is not any cruel oppression of Heaven; people themselves accelerate their guilt, (and its punishment).

8 The king says, 'O Feng, I make you this long announcement, not (for the pleasure of doing so); but the ancients have said, "Let not men look into water; let them look into the glass of other people." Now that Yin has lost its appointment, ought we not to look much to it as our glass, (and learn) how to secure the repose of our time?

9 I say to you, Strenuously warn the worthy ministers of Yin, and (the princes) in the Hou, the Dian, the Nan, and the Wei domains; and still more your friends, the great Recorder and the Recorder of the Interior, and all your worthy ministers, the heads of great Houses; and still more those whom you serve, with whom you calmly discuss matters, and who carry out your measures; and still more those who are, as it were, your mates; your Minister of War who deals with the rebellious, your Minister of Instruction who is like a protector to the people, and your Minister of Works who settles the boundaries; and above all, do you strictly keep yourself from drink.

10 'If you are informed that there are companies that drink together, do not fail to apprehend them all, and send them here to Zhou, where I may put them to death. As to the ministers and officers of Yin who were led to it and became addicted to drink, it is not necessary to put them to death (at once); let them be taught for a time. If they follow these (lessons of mine), I will give them bright distinction. If they disregard my lessons, then I, the One man, will show them no pity. As they cannot change their way, they shall be classed with those who are to be put to death.'

11 The king says, 'O Feng, give constant heed to my admonitions. If you do not rightly manage the officers, the people will continue lost in drunkenness.'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 39 - Zi cai NT

(Timber of Rottlera)

1 The king says, 'O Feng, to secure a good understanding between the multitudes of his people and his ministers (on the one hand), and the great families (on the other); and (again) to secure the same between all the subjects under his charge, and the sovereign - is the part of the ruler of a state. If you regularly, in giving out your orders, say, "My instructors whom I am to follow, my Minister of Instruction, my Minister of War, and my Minister of Works; my heads of departments, and all ye, my officers, I will on no account put any to death oppressively". Let the ruler also set the example of respecting and encouraging (the people), and these will (also) proceed to respect and encourage them. Then let him go on, in dealing with villainy and treachery, with murderers and harbourers of criminals, to exercise clemency (where it can be done), and these will likewise do the same with those who have assaulted others and injured their property.

2 'When sovereigns appointed overseers (of states), they did so in order to the government of the people, and said to them, "Do not give way to violence or oppression, but go on to show reverent regard for the friendless, and find helping connexions for (destitute) women." Deal with all according to this method, and cherish them. And when sovereigns gave their injunctions to the rulers of states, and their managers of affairs, what was their charge? It was that they should lead (the people) to the enjoyment of plenty and peace. Such was the way of the kings from of old. An overseer is to eschew the use of punishments.' (The king) says, 'As in the management of a field, when the soil has been all laboriously turned up, they have to proceed by orderly arrangements to make its boundaries and water-courses; as in building a house, after all the toil on its walls. they have to plaster and thatch it; as in working with the wood of the rottlera, when the toil of the coarser and finer operations has been completed, they have to apply the paint of red and other colours; (so do you finish for me the work which I have begun in the state of Wei.)'

3 Now let your majesty say, 'The former kings diligently employed their illustrious virtue, and produced such attachment by their cherishing (of the princes), that from all the states they brought offerings, and came with brotherly affection from all quarters, and likewise showed their virtue illustrious. Do you, O sovereign, use their methods to attach (the princes), and all the states will largely come with offerings. Great Heaven having given this Middle Kingdom with its people and territories to the former kings, do you, our present sovereign, display your virtue, effecting a gentle harmony among the deluded people, leading and urging them on; so (also) will you comfort the former kings, who received the appointment (from Heaven). Yes, make these things your study. I say so simply from my wish that (your dynasty) may continue for myriads of years, and your descendants always be the protectors of the people.'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 40 - Shao gao NT

(Announcement of Duke or Earl of Shao, Ji Shi, Minister and younger brother of King Wu)

1 In the second month, on the day Yi-wei, six in the second month, on the days after full moon, the king proceeded in the morning from Zhou to Feng.

2 (Thence) the Grand Guardian went before the duke of Zhou to survey the locality (of the new capital); and in the third month, on the day Wu-shen, the third day after the first appearance of the moon on Bing-wu, he came in the morning to Luo. He divined by the tortoiseshell about the (several) localities, and having obtained favourable indications, he set about laying out the plan (of the city). On Geng-xu, the third day after, he led the people of Yin to prepare the various sites on the north of the Luo; and this work was completed on Jia-yin, the fifth day after.

3 On Yi-mao, the day following, the duke of Zhou came in the morning to Luo, and thoroughly inspected the plan of the new city. On Ding-si, the third day after, he offered two bulls as victims in the (northern and southern) suburbs; and on the morrow, Wu-wu, at the altar to the spirit of the land in the new city, he sacrificed a bull, a ram, and a boar.

4 After seven days, on Jia-zi, in the morning, from his written (specifications) he gave their several orders to the people of Yin, and to the presiding chiefs of the princes from the Hou, Dian, and Nan domains. When the people of Yin had thus received their orders, they arose and entered with vigour on their work.

5 ('When the work was drawing to a completion), the Grand-Guardian went out with the hereditary princes of the various states to bring their offerings (for the king); and when he entered again, he gave them to the duke of Zhou, saying, 'With my hands to my head and my head to the ground, I present these to his Majesty and your Grace. Announcements for the information of the multitudes of Yin must come from you, with whom is the management of affairs.' 'Oh! God (dwelling in) the great heavens has changed his decree respecting his great son and the great dynasty of Yin. Our king has received that decree. Unbounded is the happiness connected with it, and unbounded is the anxiety: Oh! how can he be other than reverent?

6 When Heaven rejected and made an end of the decree in favour of the great dynasty of Yin, there were many of its former wise kings in heaven. The king, however, who had succeeded to them, the last of his race, from the time of his entering into their appointment, proceeded in such a way as at last to keep the wise in obscurity and the vicious in office. The poor people in such a case, carrying their children and leading their wives, made their moan to Heaven. They even fled away, but were apprehended again. Oh! Heaven had compassion on the people of the four quarters; its favouring decree lighted on our earnest (founders). Let the king sedulously cultivate the virtue of reverence.

7 Examining the men of antiquity, there was the (founder of the) Xia dynasty. Heaven guided (his mind), allowed his descendants (to succeed him), and protected them. He acquainted himself with Heaven, and was obedient to it. But in process of time the decree in his favour fell to the ground. So also is it now when we examine the case of Yin. There was the same guiding (of its founder), who corrected (the errors of Xia), and (whose descendants) enjoyed the protection (of Heaven). He (also) acquainted himself with Heaven, and was obedient to it. But now the decree in favour of him has fallen to the ground. Our king has' now come to the throne in his youth; let him not slight the aged and experienced, for it may be said of them that they have studied the virtuous conduct of the ancients, and have matured their counsels in the sight of Heaven.

8 'Oh! although the king is young, yet he is the great son (of God). Let him effect a great harmony with the lower people, and that will be the blessing of the present time. Let not the king presume to be remiss in this, but continually regard and stand in awe of the perilous (uncertainty) of the people's (attachment). Let the king come here as the vice-gerent of God, and undertake (the duties of government) in this centre of the land. Dan said, "Now that this great city has been built, from henceforth he may be the mate of great Heaven, and reverently sacrifice to (the spirits) above and beneath; from henceforth he may from this central spot administer successful government." Thus shall the king enjoy the favouring regard (of Heaven) all-complete, and the government of the people will now be prosperous. Let the king first subdue to himself those who were the managers of affairs under Yin, associating them with the managers of affairs for our Zhou. This will regulate their (perverse) natures, and they will make daily advancement. Let the king make reverence the resting-place (of his mind); he must maintain the virtue of reverence.

9 'We should by all means survey the dynasties of Xia and Yin. I do not presume to know and say, "The dynasty of Xia was to enjoy the favouring decree of Heaven just for (so many) years," nor do I presume to know and say, "It could not continue longer." The fact simply was, that, for want of the virtue of reverence, the decree in its favour prematurely fell to the ground. (Similarly), I do not presume to know and say,

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"The dynasty of Yin was to enjoy the favouring decree of Heaven just for (so many) years," nor do I presume to know and say, "It could not continue longer." The fact simply was, that, for want of the virtue of reverence, the decree in its favour fell prematurely to the ground. The king has now inherited the decree - the same decree, I consider, which belonged to those two dynasties. Let him seek to inherit (the virtues of) their meritorious (sovereigns).

10 '(Let him do this especially) at this commencement of his duties. Oh! it is as on the birth of a son, when all depends on (the training of) his early life, through which he may secure his wisdom, in the future, as if it were decreed to him. Now Heaven may have decreed wisdom (to the king); it may have decreed good fortune or bad; it may have decreed a (long) course of years; we only know that now is with him the commencement of his duties. Dwelling in this new city, let the king now sedulously cultivate the virtue of reverence. When he is all-devoted to this virtue, he may pray to Heaven for a long-abiding decree in his favour.

11 'In the position of king, let him not, because of the excesses of the people in violation of the laws, presume also to rule by the violent infliction of death; when the people are regulated gently, the merit (of government) is seen. It is for him who is in the position of king to overtop all with his virtue. In this case the people will imitate him throughout the kingdom, and he will become still more illustrious. Let the king and his ministers labour with a mutual sympathy, saying, "We have received the decree of Heaven, and it shall be great as the long-continued years of Xia; yea, it shall not fail of the long-continued years of Yin." I wish the king, through (the attachment of) the lower people, to receive the long-abiding decree of Heaven.'

12 (The duke of Shao) then did obeisance with his hands to his head and his head to the ground, and said, 'I, a small minister, presume, with the king's (heretofore) hostile people and all their officers, and with his (loyal) friendly people, to maintain and receive his majesty's dread command and brilliant virtue. That the king should finally obtain the decree all-complete, and that he should become illustrious' - this I do not presume to labour for. I only bring respectfully these offerings to present to his majesty, to be used in his prayers to Heaven for its long-abiding decree.'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 41 - Luo gao NT
(Announcement concerning the city of Luoyang)

1 The duke of Zhou did obeisance with his hands to his head and his head to the ground, saying 'Herewith I report (the execution of my commission) to my son my intelligent sovereign. The king appeared as if he would not presume to be present at Heaven's founding here the appointment (of our dynasty), and fixing it, whereupon I followed the (Grand-)Guardian, and made a great survey of this eastern region, hoping to found the place where he should become the intelligent sovereign of the people. On the day Yi-mao, I came in the morning to this capital of Luo. I (first) divined by the shell concerning (the ground about) the li-water on the north of the He. I then divined concerning the east of the Jian-water, and the west of the Chan, when the (ground near the) Luo was indicated. Again I divined concerning the east of the Chan-water when the (ground near the) Luo was also indicated. I (now) send a messenger with a map, and to present the (result of the) divinations.'

2 The king did obeisance with his hands to his head and his head to the ground, saying, 'The duke did not presume not to acknowledge reverently the favour of Heaven, and has surveyed the locality where our Zhou may respond to that favour. Having settled the locality, he has sent his messenger to show me the divinations, favourable and always auspicious. We two must together sustain the responsibility. He has made provision for me (and my successors), for myriads and tens of myriads of years, there reverently to acknowledge the favour of Heaven. With my hands, to my head and my head to the ground, (I receive) his instructive words.'

3 The duke of Zhou said, 'Let the king at first employ the ceremonies of Yin, and sacrifice in the new city, doing everything in an orderly way, but without display. I will marshal all the officers to attend you from Zhou, merely saying that probably there will be business to be done (in sacrificing). Let the king instantly issue an order to the effect that the most meritorious (ministers) shall have the first place in the sacrifices; and let him also say in an order, "You, in whose behalf the above order is issued, must give me your assistance with sincere earnestness." Truly display the record of merits, for it is you who must in everything teach the officers.

My young son, can you indulge partiality? Eschew it, my young son. (If you do not), the consequence hereafter will be like a fire, which, a spark at first, blazes up, and by and by cannot be extinguished. Let your observance of the constant rules of right, and your soothing measures be like mine. Take only the officers that are in Zhou with you to the new city, and make them there join their (old) associates, with intelligent vigour establishing their merit, and with a generous largeness (of soul) completing (the public manners); so shall you obtain an endless fame.'

4 The duke said, 'Yes, young as you are, be it yours to complete (the work of your predecessors). Cultivate (the spirit of) reverence, and you will know who among the princes (sincerely) present their offerings to you, and who do not. In connexion with those offerings there are many observances. If the observances are not equal to the articles, it must be held that there is no offering. When there is no service of the will in the offerings (of the princes), all the people will then say, "We need not (be troubled about) our offerings," and affairs will be disturbed by errors and usurpations. Do you, my young son, manifest everywhere my unwearied diligence.

And listen to my instructions to you how to help the people to observe the constant rules of right. If you do not bestir yourself in these things, you will not be of long continuance. If you sincerely and fully carry out the course of your Directing father, and follow exactly my example, there will be no venturing to disregard your orders. Go, and be reverent. Henceforth I will study husbandry. There do you generously rule our people, and there is no distance from which they will not come to you.'

5 The king spoke to this effect: 'O duke, you are the enlightener and sustainer of my youth. You have set forth the great and illustrious virtues, that I, notwithstanding my youth, may display a brilliant merit like that of Wen and Wu, reverently responding to the favouring decree of Heaven; and harmonize and long preserve the people of all the regions, settling the multitudes (in Luo); and that I may give due honour to the great ceremony (of recording) the most distinguished (for their merits), regulating the order for the first places at the sacrifices, and doing everything in an orderly manner without display. But your virtue, O duke, shines brightly above and beneath, and is displayed actively throughout the four quarters. On every hand appears the deep reverence (of your virtue) in securing the establishment of order, so that you fail in nothing of the earnest lessons of Wen and Wu. It is for me, the youth, (only) to attend reverently, early and late, to the sacrifices.' The king said, 'Great, O duke, has been your merit in helping and guiding me; let it ever continue so.'

6 The king said, 'O duke, let me, the little child, return to my sovereignty in Zhou, and I charge you, O duke, to remain behind (here). Order has been initiated throughout the four quarters of the kingdom, but the ceremonies to be honoured (by general observance) have not yet been settled, and I cannot look on your service as completed. Commence on a great scale what is to be done by your remaining here, setting an example to my officers and greatly preserving the people whom Wen and Wu received; by your good government you will be a help to the whole kingdom.'

The king said, 'Remain, O duke. I will certainly go. Your services are devoutly acknowledged and reverently rejoiced in. Do not, O duke, occasion me this difficulty. I on my part will not be weary in seeking the tranquillity (of the people); do not let the example which you have afforded me be intermitted. So shall the kingdom enjoy for generations (the benefit of your virtue).'

7 The duke of Zhou did obeisance with his hands to his head and his head to the ground, saying, 'You have charged me, O king, to come here. I undertake (the charge), and will protect the people whom your accomplished grandfather, and your glorious and meritorious father, king Wu, received by the decree (of Heaven). I will enlarge the reverence which I cherish for you. (But), my son, come (frequently), and inspect this settlement. Pay great honour to (old) statutes, and to the good and wise men of Yin. Good government (here) will make you (indeed) the new sovereign of the kingdom, and an example of (royal) respectfulness to all your successors of Zhou.' (The duke) proceeded to say, 'From this time, by the government administered in this central spot, all the states will be conducted to repose; and this will be the completion of your merit, O king. I, Tan, with the numerous officers and managers of affairs, will consolidate the achievements of our predecessors, in response to (the hopes of) the people. I will afford an example of sincerity to (future ministers of) Zhou, seeking to render complete the pattern intended for the enlightenment of you, my son, and thus to carry fully out the virtue of your accomplished grandfather.'

8 (Afterwards, on the arrival of a message and gifts from the king, the duke said), '(The king) has sent messengers to admonish (the people of) Yin, and with a soothing charge to me, along with two flagons of the black-millet herb-flavoured spirits, saying, "Here is a pure sacrificial gift, which with my hands to my head and my head to the ground I offer for you to enjoy its excellence!" I dare not keep this by me, but offer it in sacrifice to king Wen and king Wu.' (In doing so, he prayed), 'May he be obedient to, and observant of your course! Let him not bring on himself any evil or illness! Let him satisfy his descendants for myriads of years with your virtue! Let (the people of) Yin enjoy prolonged (prosperity)!' (He also said to the messengers), 'The king has sent you to Yin, and we have received his well-ordered charges, (sufficient to direct us) for myriads of years, but let (the people) ever (be able to) observe the virtue cherished by my son.'

9 On the day Wu-chen, the king, being in the new city, performed the annual winter sacrifice, offering (moreover) one red bull to king Wen and another to king Wu. He then ordered a declaration to be prepared, which was done by Yi in the form of a prayer, and it simply announced the remaining behind of the duke of Zhou.

The king's guests, on occasion of the killing of the victims and offering the sacrifice, were all present. The king entered the grand apartment, and poured out the libation. He gave a charge to the duke of Zhou to remain, and Yi, the preparer of the document, made the announcement - in the twelfth month. (Thus) the duke of Zhou grandly sustained the decree which Wen and Wu had received through the space of seven years.

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 42 - Duo shi NT
(Numerous Officers)

1 In the third month, at the commencement (of the government) of the duke of Zhou in the new city of Luo, he announced (the royal will) to the officers of the Shang dynasty, saying:

'The king speaks to this effect: "Ye numerous officers who remain from the dynasty of Yin, great ruin came down on Yin from the cessation of forbearance in compassionate Heaven, and we, the lords of Zhou, received its favouring decree. We felt charged with its bright terrors, carried out the punishments which kings inflict, rightly disposed of the appointment of Yin, and finished (the work of) God. Now, ye numerous officers, it was not our small state that dared to aim at the appointment belonging to Yin. But Heaven was not with (Yin), for indeed it would not strengthen its misrule. It (therefore) helped us; did we dare to seek the throne of ourselves? God was not for (Yin), as appeared from the mind and conduct of our inferior people, in which there is the brilliant dreadfulness of Heaven."'

2 'I have heard the saying, "God leads men to tranquil security," but the sovereign of Xia would not move to such security, whereupon God sent down corrections, indicating his mind to him. (Jie), however, would not be warned by God, but proceeded to greater dissoluteness and sloth and excuses for himself. Then Heaven no longer regarded nor heard him, but disallowed his great appointment, and inflicted extreme punishment. Then it charged your founder, Tang the Successful, to set Xia aside, and by means of able men to rule the kingdom. From Tang the Successful down to Di-Yi, every sovereign sought to make his virtue illustrious, and duly attended to the sacrifices. And thus it was that, while Heaven exerted a great establishing influence, preserving and regulating the House of Yin, its sovereigns on their part were humbly careful not to lose (the favour of) God, and strove to manifest a good-doing corresponding to that of Heaven. But in these times, their successor showed himself greatly ignorant of (the ways of) Heaven, and much less could it be expected of him that he would be regardful of the earnest labours of his fathers for the country. Greatly abandoned to dissolute idleness, he gave no thought to the bright principles of Heaven, and the awfulness of the people. On this account God no longer protected him, but sent down the great ruin which we have witnessed. Heaven was not with him, because he did not make his virtue illustrious. (Indeed), with regard to the overthrow of all states, great and small, throughout the four quarters of the kingdom, in every case reasons can be given for their punishment.'

3 The king speaks to this effect: "Ye numerous officers of Yin, the case now is this, that the kings of our Zhou, from their great goodness, were charged with the work of God. There was the charge to them, 'Cut off Yin.' (They proceeded to perform it), and announced the execution of their service to God. In our affairs we have followed no double aims; ye of the royal House (of Yin) must (now simply) follow us. May I not say that you have been very lawless? I did not (want to) remove you. The thing came from your own city. When I consider also how Heaven has drawn near to Yin with so great tribulations, it must be that there was (there) what was not right."

4 'The king says, "Ho! I declare to you, ye numerous officers, it is simply on account of these things that I have removed you and settled you here in the west; it was not that I, the One man, considered it a part of my virtue to interfere with your tranquillity. The thing was from Heaven; do not offer resistance; I shall not presume to have any subsequent (charge concerning you); do not murmur against me.

5 'Ye know that your fathers of the Yin dynasty had their archives and statutes, (showing how) Yin superseded the appointment of Xia. Now, indeed, ye say further, '(The officers of) Xia were chosen and employed in the royal court (of Shang), and had their duties among the mass of its officers.' (But) I, the One man, listen only to the virtuous, and employ them; and it was with this view that I ventured to seek you in your capital of Shang (once sanctioned by) Heaven, (and removed you here to Luo.) I thereby follow (the ancient example), and have pity on you. (Your present non-

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employment) is no fault of mine - it is by the decree of Heaven."

6 'The king says, "Ye numerous officers, formerly, when I came from Yan, I greatly mitigated the penalty and spared the lives of the people of your four states. At the same time I made evident the punishment appointed by Heaven, and removed you to this distant abode, that you might be near the ministers who had served in our honoured (capital), and (learn) their much obedience."

7 'The king says, "I declare to you, ye numerous officers of Yin, now I have not put you to death, and therefore I reiterate the declaration of my charge. I have now built this great city here in Luo, considering that there was no (central) place in which to receive my guests from the four quarters, and also that you, ye numerous officers, might here with zealous activity perform the part of ministers to us, with the entire obedience (ye would learn). Ye have still here, I may say, your grounds, and May still rest in your duties and dwellings. If you can reverently obey, Heaven will favour and compassionate you. If you do not reverently obey, you shall not only not have your lands, but I will also carry to the utmost Heaven's inflictions on your persons. Now you may here dwell in your villages, and perpetuate your families; you may pursue your occupations and enjoy your years in this Luo; your children also will prosper; (all) from your being removed here."

8 The king says: 'And again he says, "Whatever I may now have spoken is on account of (my anxiety about) your residence here."'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 43 - Wu yi NT

(Against Luxurious Ease)

1 The duke of Zhou said, 'Oh! the superior man rests in this, that he will indulge in no luxurious ease. He first understands how the painful toil of sowing and reaping conducts to ease, and thus he understands how the lower people depend on this toil (for their support). I have observed among the lower people, that where the parents have diligently laboured in sowing and reaping, their sons (often) do not understand this painful toil, but abandon themselves to ease, and to village Slang, and become quite disorderly. Or where they do not do so, they (still) throw contempt on their parents, saying, "Those old people have heard nothing and know nothing."'

2 The duke of Zhou said, 'Oh! I have heard that aforetime Zhong Zong, one of the kings of Yin, was grave, humble, reverential, and timorously cautious. He measured himself with reference to the decree of Heaven, and cherished a reverent apprehension in governing the people, not daring to indulge in useless ease. It was thus that he enjoyed the throne seventy and five years. If we come to the time of Gao Zong, he toiled at first away from the court, and was among the lower people. When he came to the throne, and occupied the mourning shed, it may be said that he did not speak for three years. (Afterwards) he was (still inclined) not to speak; but when he did speak, his words were full of harmonious (wisdom). He did not dare to indulge in useless ease, but admirably and tranquilly presided over the regions of Yin, till throughout them all, small and great, there was not a single murmur. It was thus that he enjoyed the throne fifty and nine years. In the case of Zu-jia, he refused to be king unrighteously, and was at first one of the lower people. When he came to the throne, he knew on what they must depend (for their support), and was able to exercise a protecting kindness towards their masses, and did not dare to treat with contempt the wifeless men and widows. Thus it was that he enjoyed the throne thirty and three years. The kings that arose after these, from their birth enjoyed ease. Enjoying ease from their birth, they did not know the painful toil of sowing and reaping, and had not heard of the hard labours of the lower people. They sought for nothing but excessive pleasure; and so not one of them had long life. They (reigned) for ten years, for seven or eight, for five or six, or perhaps (only) for three or four.'

3 The duke of Zhou said, 'Oh! there likewise were king Tai and king Ji of our own Zhou, who were humble and reverentially cautious. King Wen dressed meanly, and gave himself to the work of tranquillization and to that of husbandry. Admirably mild and beautifully humble, he cherished and protected the inferior people, and showed a fostering kindness to the wifeless men and widows. From morning to mid-day, and from mid-day to sundown, he did not allow himself leisure to eat; thus seeking to secure the happy harmony of the myriads of the people. King Wen did not dare to go to excess in his excursions or his hunting, and from the various states he would receive only the correct amount of contribution. The appointment (of Heaven) came to him in the middle of his life, and he enjoyed the throne for fifty years.'

4 The duke of Zhou said, 'Oh! from this time forward, do you who have succeeded to the throne imitate Wen's avoiding of excess in his sight-seeing, his indulgence in ease, his excursions, his hunting; and from the myriads of the people receive only the correct amount of contribution. Do not allow yourself the leisure to say, "To-day I will indulge in pleasure." This would not be holding out a lesson to the people, nor the way to secure the favour of Heaven. Men will on the contrary be prompt to imitate you and practise evil. Become not like Shou the king of Yin, who went quite astray, and, became abandoned to drunkenness.'

5 The duke of Zhou said, 'Oh! I have heard it said that, in the case of the ancients, (their ministers) warned and admonished them, protected and loved them, taught and instructed them; and among the people there was hardly one who would impose on them by extravagant language or deceiving tricks. If you will not listen to this (and profit by it), your ministers will imitate you, and so the correct laws of the former kings, both small and great, will be changed and disordered. The people, blaming you, will disobey and rebel in their hearts; yea, they will curse you with their mouths.'

6 The duke of Zhou said, 'Oh! those kings of Yin, Zhong Zong, Gao Zong, and Zu-jia, with king Wen of our Zhou, these four men carried their knowledge into practice. If it was told them, "The lower people murmur against you and revile you," then they paid great and reverent attention to their conduct; and with reference to the faults imputed to them they said, "Our faults are really so," thus not simply shrinking from the cherishing of anger. If you will not listen to this (and profit by it), when men with extravagant language and deceptive tricks say to you, "The lower people are murmuring against you and reviling you," you will believe them. Doing this, you will not be always thinking of your princely duties, and will not cultivate a large and generous heart, You will confusedly punish the guiltless, and put the innocent to death. There will be a general murmuring, which will be concentrated upon your person.'

7 The duke of Zhou said, 'Oh! let the king, who has succeeded to the throne, make a study of these things.'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 44 - Jun shi NT

(Lord Shi or Prince Shi, that is the Duke Shao)

1 The duke of Zhou spoke to the following effect: 'Prince Shi, Heaven, unpitying, sent down ruin on Yin. Yin has lost its appointment (to the throne), which our House of Zhou has received. I do not dare, however, to say, as if I knew it, "The foundation will ever truly abide in prosperity. If Heaven aid sincerity,"Nor do I dare to say, as if I knew it, "The end will issue in our misfortunes." Oh! you have said, O prince, "It depends on ourselves." I also do not dare to rest in the favour of God, not forecasting at a distance the terrors of Heaven in the present time, when there is no murmuring or disobedience among the people; (the issue) is with men. Should our present successor to his fathers prove greatly unable to reverence (Heaven) above and (the people) below, and so bring to an end the glory of his predecessors, could we in (the retirement of) our families be ignorant of it? The favour of Heaven is not easily preserved; Heaven is difficult to be depended on. Men lose its favouring appointment, because they cannot pursue and carry out the reverence and brilliant virtue of their forefathers. Now I, Dan, the little child, am not able to make (the king) correct. I would simply conduct him to the glory of his fathers, and make him, who is my young charge, partaker of that.' He also said, 'Heaven is not to be trusted. Our course is only to seek the prolongation of the virtue of the Tranquillizing king, that Heaven may not find occasion to remove its favouring decree which king Wen received.'

2 The duke said, 'Prince Shi, I have heard that aforetime, when Tang the successful had received the appointment (to the throne), he had with him Yi Yin, making (his virtue) like that of great Heaven; that Tai Jia had (the same Yi Yin), the Bao-heng; that Tai-wu had Yi Zhi and Chen Hu, through whom (his virtue) was made to affect God, and Wu Xian who regulated the royal House; that Zu-yi had Wu Xian's son; and that Wu-ding had Gan Pan. (These ministers) carried out (their principles), and displayed (their merit), preserving and regulating the dynasty of Yin, so that, while its ceremonies lasted, (those sovereigns), when deceased, were assessors to Heaven, and its duration extended over many years. Heaven thus determinately maintained its favouring appointment, and Shang was replenished with men. The various heads of great surnames and members of the royal House, holding employments, all held fast their virtue, and showed an anxious solicitude (for the kingdom). The smaller ministers, and the guardian princes in the Hou and Dian domains, hurried about on their services. Thus did they all exert their virtue and aid their sovereign, so that whatever affairs he, the One man, had in hand, throughout the land, an entire faith was reposed in their justice as in the indications of the shell or the divining stalks.'

3 The duke said, 'Prince Shi, Heaven gives length of days to the just and the intelligent; (it was thus that those ministers) maintained and regulated the dynasty of Yin. He who came last to the throne granted by Heaven was extinguished by its terrors. Do you think of the distant future, and we shall have the decree (in favour of Zhou) made sure, and its good government will be, brilliantly exhibited in our newly-founded state.'

4 The duke said, 'Prince Shi, aforetime when God was inflicting calamity (on Yin), he encouraged anew the virtue of the Tranquillizing king, till at last the great favouring decree was concentrated in his person. (But) that king Wen was able to conciliate and unite the portion of the great kingdom which we came to possess, was owing to his having (such ministers) as his brother of Kuo, Hong Yao, San Yi-sheng, Tai Dian, and Nan-gong Kuo.'

He said further, 'But for the ability of those men to go and come in his affairs, developing his constant lessons, there would have been no benefits descending from king Wen on the people. And it also was from the determinate favour of Heaven that there were these men of firm virtue, and acting according to their knowledge of the dread majesty of Heaven, to give themselves to enlighten king Wen, and lead him forward to his high distinction and universal rule, till his fame, reached the ears of God, and he received the appointment that had been Yin's. There were still four of those men who led on king Wu to the possession of the revenues of the kingdom, and afterwards, along with him, in great reverence of the majesty of Heaven, slew all his enemies. These four men, moreover, made king Wu so illustrious that his glory overspread the kingdom, and (the people) universally and greatly proclaimed his virtue. Now with me Dan, the little child, it is as if I were floating on a great stream; With you, O Shi, let me from this time endeavour to cross it. Our young sovereign is (powerless), as if he had not yet ascended the throne. You must by no means lay the whole burden on me; and if you draw yourself up without an effort to supply my deficiencies, no good will flow to the people from our age and experience. We shall not hear the voices of the phoenixes, and how much less can it be thought that we shall be able to make (the king's virtue) equal (to Heaven)!

5 The duke said, 'Oh! consider well these things, O prince. We have received the appointment to which belongs an unlimited amount of blessing, but having great difficulties attached to it. What I announce to you are counsels of a generous largeness. I cannot allow the successor of our kings to go astray.'

6 The duke said, 'The former king laid bare his heart, and gave full charge to you, constituting you one of the guides and patterns for the people, saying, "Do you with intelligence and energy second and help the king; do you with sincerity support and convey forward the great decree. Think of the virtue of king Wen, and enter greatly into his boundless anxieties." '

7 The duke said, 'What I tell you, O prince, are my sincere. thoughts. O Shi, the Grand-Protector, if you can but reverently survey with me the decay and great disorders of Yin, and thence consider the dread majesty of Heaven (which warns) us! Am I not to be believed that I must reiterate my words? I simply say, "The establishment (of our dynasty) rests with us two." Do you agree with me? Then you (also) will say, "It rests with us two." And the favour of Heaven has come to us so largely: it should be ours to feel as if we could not sufficiently respond to it. If you can but reverently cultivate your virtue (now), and bring to light our men of eminent ability, then when you resign (your position) to some successor in a time of established security, (I will interpose no objection.)

8 'Oh! it is by the earnest service of us two that we have come to the prosperity of the present day. We must both go on, abjuring all idleness, to complete the work of king Wen, till it has grandly overspread the kingdom, and from the corners of the sea, and the sunrising, there shall not be one who is disobedient to the rule (of Zhou).'

9 The duke said, 'O prince, have I not spoken in accordance with reason in these many declarations? I am only influenced by anxiety about (the appointment of) Heaven, and about the people.'

10 The duke said, 'Oh! you know, O prince, the ways of the people, how at the beginning they can be (all we could desire); but it is the end (that is to be thought of). Act in careful accordance with this fact. Go and reverently exercise the duties of your office.'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 45 - Cai Zhong zhi ming

(Charge to Cai Zhong or Charge to Zhong of Cai; meaning Cai Zhong Hu, Hu, Elder of Cai, born Ji Hu, son of Ji Du, the first lord of Cai, 11th or 10th c. BC.)

1 When the duke, of Zhou was in the place of prime minister and directed all the officers, the (king's) uncles spread abroad an (evil) report, in consequence of which (the duke) put to death the prince of Guan in Shang; confined the prince of Cai in Guo-lin, with an attendance of seven chariots; and reduced the prince of Huo to be a private man, causing his name to be erased from the registers for three years. The son of the prince of Cai having displayed a reverent virtue, the duke of Zhou made him a high minister, and when his father died, requested a decree from the king, investing him with the country of Cai.

2 The king speaks to this effect: "My little child, Hu, you follow the virtue (of our ancestors), and have changed from the conduct (of your father); you are able to take heed to your ways; I therefore appoint you to be a marquis in the east. Go to your fief, and be reverent! In order that you may cover the faults of your father, be loyal, be filial. Urge on your steps in your own way, diligent and never idle, and so shall you hand

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down an example to your descendants. Follow the constant lessons of your grandfather king Wen, and be not, like your father, disobedient to the royal orders. Great Heaven has no partial affections; it helps only the virtuous. The people's hearts have no unchanging attachment; they cherish only the kind. Acts of goodness are different, but they contribute in common to good order. Acts of evil are different, but they contribute in common to disorder. Be cautious! In giving heed to the beginning think of the end;--the end will then be without distress. If you do not think of the end, it will be full of distress, even of the greatest. Exert yourself to achieve your proper merit. Seek to be in harmony with all your neighbours. Be a fence to the royal House. Live in amity with your brethren. Tranquillize and help the lower people. Follow the course of the Mean, and do not by aiming to be intelligent throw old statutes into confusion. Watch over what you see and hear, and do not for one-sided words deviate from the right rule. Then I, the One man, will praise you. The king says, "Oh! my little child, Hu, go, and do not idly throw away my charge."

3-4 (untranslated)

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 46 - Duo fang NT

(Numerous Regions)

1 In the fifth month, on the day Ding-hai, the king arrived from Yan, and came to (Hao), the honoured (capital of) Zhou.

2 The duke of Zhou said, 'The king speaks to the following effect: "Ho! I make an announcement to you of the four states, and the numerous (other) regions. Ye who were the officers and people of the prince of Yin, I have dealt very leniently as regards your lives, as ye all know. You kept reckoning greatly on (some) decree of Heaven, and did not keep with perpetual awe before your thoughts (the preservation of) your sacrifices.

'"God sent down correction on Xia, but the sovereign (only) increased his luxury and sloth, and would not speak kindly to the people. He showed himself dissolute and dark, and would not yield for a single day to the leadings of God - this is what you have heard. He kept reckoning on the decree of God (in his favour), and did not cultivate the means for the people's support. By great inflictions of punishment also he increased the disorder of the states of Xia. The first cause (of his evil course) was the internal misrule, which made him unfit to deal well with the multitudes. Nor did he endeavour to find and employ men whom he could respect, and who might display a generous kindness to the people; but where any of the people of Xia were covetous and fierce, he daily honoured them, and they practised cruel tortures in the cities. Heaven on this sought a (true) lord for the people, and made its. distinguished and favouring decree light on Tang the Successful, who punished and destroyed the sovereign of Xia. Heaven's refusal of its favour (to Xia) was decided. The righteous men of your numerous regions were not permitted. to continue long in their posts of enjoyment, and the many officers whom Xia's (last sovereign) honoured were unable intelligently to maintain the people in the enjoyment (of their lives), but, on the contrary, aided one another in oppressing them, till of the hundred ways of securing (prosperity) they could not promote (one).

'"In the case indeed of Tang the Successful, it was because he was the choice of your numerous regions that he superseded Xia, and became the lord of the people. He paid careful attention to the essential virtue (of a sovereign), in order to stimulate the people, and they on their part imitated him and were stimulated. From him down to Di-Yi, the sovereigns all made their virtue illustrious, and were cautious in the use of punishments; thus also exercising a stimulating influence (over the people). When they, having examined the evidence in criminal cases, put to death those chargeable with many crimes, they exercised the same influence, and they did so also when they liberated those who were not purposely guilty. But when the throne came to your (last) sovereign, he could not with (the good will of) your numerous regions continue in the enjoyment of the favouring decree of Heaven." Oh!'

3 'The king speaks to the following effect: I announce and declare to you of the numerous regions, that Heaven had no set purpose to do away with the sovereign of Xia or with the sovereign of Yin. But it was the case that your (last) ruler, being in possession of your numerous regions, abandoned himself to great excess, and reckoned on the favouring decree of Heaven, making trifling excuses for his conduct. And so in the case of the (last) sovereign of Xia; his plans of government were not of a tendency to secure his enjoyment (of the kingdom), and Heaven sent down ruin on him, and the chief of the territory (of Shang) put an end (to the line of Xia). In truth, the last sovereign of your Shang was luxurious to the extreme of luxury, while his plans of government showed neither purity nor progress, and thus Heaven sent down such ruin on him.

4 '"The wise, through not thinking, become foolish, and the foolish, by thinking, become wise. Heaven for five years waited kindly, and forbore with the descendant (of Tang), to see if he would indeed prove himself the ruler of the people; but there was nothing in him deserving to be regarded. Heaven then sought among your numerous regions, making a great impression by its terrors to stir up some one who would look (reverently) to it, but in all your regions there was not one deserving of its favouring regard. But there were the kings of our Zhou, who treated well the multitudes of the people, and were able to sustain the burden of virtuous (government). They could preside over (all services to) spirits and to Heaven. Heaven thereupon instructed us, and increased our excellence, made choice of us, and gave us the decree of Yin, to rule over your numerous regions."'

5 '"Why do I now presume to make (these) many declarations? I have dealt very leniently as regards the lives of you, the people of these four states. Why do you not show a sincere and generous obedience in your numerous regions? Why do you not aid and co-operate with the kings of our Zhou, to secure the enjoyment of Heaven's favouring decree? You now still dwell in your dwellings, and cultivate your fields; why do you not obey our kings, and consolidate the decree of Heaven? The paths which you tread are continually those of disquietude; have you in your hearts no love for yourselves? do you refuse so greatly to acquiesce in the ordinance of Heaven? do you triflingly reject that decree? do you of yourselves pursue unlawful courses, scheming (by your alleged reasons) for the approval of upright men? I simply instructed you, and published my announcement 1; with trembling awe I secured and confined (the chief criminals) - I have done so twice and for three times. But if you do not, take advantage of the leniency with which I have spared your lives, I will proceed to severe punishments, and put you to death. It is not that we, the sovereigns of Zhou, hold it virtuous to make you untranquil, but it is you yourselves who accelerate your crimes (and sufferings)."'

6 'The king says, "Oh! ho! I tell you, ye many officers of the. various regions, and you, ye many officers of Yin, now have ye been hurrying about, doing service to my overseers for five years. There are among you the inferior assistants, the chiefs, and the numerous directors, small and great - see that ye all attain to the discharge of your duties. Want of harmony (in the life) rises from (the want of it in) one's (inner) self - strive to be harmonious. Want of concord in your families (arises from the want of it in your conduct) - strive to be harmonious. When intelligence rules in your cities, then will you be proved to be attentive to your duties. Do not be afraid, I pray you, of the evil ways, (of the people); and moreover, by occupying your offices with a reverent harmony, yon will find it possible to select from your cities individuals on whose assistance you can calculate. You may thus long continue in this city of Luo, cultivating your fields. Heaven will favour and compassionate you, and we, the sovereigns of Zhou, will greatly help you, and confer rewards, selecting you to stand in-our royal court. Only be attentive to your duties, and you may rank among our great officers."

7 'The king says, "Oh! ye numerous officers, if you cannot exhort one another to pay a sincere regard to my charges, it will further show that you are unable to honour your sovereign; and all the people will (also) say, 'We will not honour him.' Thus will ye be proved slothful and perverse, greatly disobedient to the royal charges. Throughout your, numerous regions you will bring on yourselves the terrors of Heaven, and I will then inflict on you its punishments, removing you far from your country."'

8 'The king says, "I do not (wish to) make these many declarations, but it is in a spirit of awe that I lay my commands before you." He further says, "You may now make a (new) beginning. If you cannot reverently realize the harmony (which I enjoin), do not (hereafter) murmur against me."'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 47 - Li zheng NT

(Establishment of Government)

1 The duke of Zhou spoke to the following effect:'With our hands to our heads and our heads to the ground, we make our declarations to the Son of Heaven, the king who has inherited the throne.' In such manner accordingly all (the other ministers) cautioned the king, saying, 'In close attendance on your majesty there are the regular presidents, the regular ministers, and the officers of justice; the keepers of the robes (also), and the guards.'

2 The duke of Zhou spoke to the following effect:'With our hands to our heads and our heads to the ground, we make our declarations to the Son of Heaven, the king who has inherited the throne.' In such manner accordingly all (the other ministers) cautioned the king, saying, 'In close attendance on your majesty there are the regular presidents, the regular ministers, and the officers of justice; the keepers of the robes (also), and the guards.' The duke of Zhou said, 'Oh! admirable are these (officers). Few, however, know to be sufficiently anxious about them.'

3 The duke of Zhou said, 'Oh! admirable are these (officers). Few, however, know to be sufficiently anxious about them. Among the ancients who exemplified (this anxiety) there was the founder of the Xia dynasty. When his House was in its greatest strength, he sought for able men who should honour God (in the discharge of their duties). (His advisers), when they knew of men thoroughly proved. and trustworthy in the practice of the nine virtues, would then presume to inform and instruct their sovereign, saying, "With our hands to our heads and our heads to the ground, O sovereign, we would say, Let (such an one) occupy one of your high offices: Let (such an one) be one of your pastors: Let (such an one) be one of your officers. of justice. By such appointments you will fulfil your duty as sovereign. If you judge by the face only, and therefrom deem men well schooled in virtue, and appoint them, then those three positions will all be occupied by unrighteous individuals."

4 The way of Jie, however, was act to observe this precedent. Those whom he employed were cruel men; and he left no successor. After this there was Tang the Successful, who, rising to the throne, grandly administered the bright ordinances of God. He employed, to fill the three (high) positions, those who were equal to them; and those who w ere called possessors of the three kinds of ability would display that ability. He then studied them severely, and greatly imitated them, making the utmost of them in their three positions and with their three kinds of ability. The people in the cities of Shang were thereby all brought to harmony, and those in the four quarters of the kingdom were brought greatly under the influence of the virtue thus displayed. Oh! when the throne came to Shou, his character was all violence. He preferred men of severity, and who deemed cruelty a virtue, to share with him in the government of his states; and at the same time, the host of his associates, men who counted idleness a virtue, shared the offices of his court. God then sovereignly punished him, and caused us to possess the great land, enjoy the favouring decree which Shou had (afore) received, and govern all the people in their myriad realms."

5 'Then subsequently there were king Wen and king Wu, who knew well the minds of those whom they put in the three positions, and saw clearly the minds of those who had the three grades of ability. Thus they could employ them to serve God with reverence, and appointed them as presidents and chiefs of the people. In establishing their government, the three things which principally concerned them were to find the men for (high) offices, the officers of justice, and the pastors. (They had also) the guards; the keepers of the robes; their equerries; their heads of small departments; their personal attendants; their various overseers; and their treasurers. They had their governors of the larger and smaller cities assigned in the royal domain to the nobles; their men of arts; their overseers whose offices were beyond the court; their grand historiographers; and their heads of departments - all good men of constant virtue. (In the external states) there were the Minister of Instruction, the Minister of War, and the Minister of Works, with the many officers subordinate to them. Among the wild tribes, such as the Wei, the Lu, and the Zheng, in the three Bo, and at the dangerous passes, they had wardens.

6 'King Wen was able to make the minds of those in the (three high) positions his own, and so it was that he established those regular officers and superintending pastors, so that they were men of ability and virtue. He would not appear himself in the various notifications, in litigations, and in precautionary measures. There, were the officers and pastors (to attend to them), whom he (simply) taught to be obedient (to his wishes), and not to be disobedient. (Yea), as to litigations and precautionary measures, he (would seem as if he) did not presume to know about them. He was followed by king Wu, who carried out his work of settlement, and did not presume to supersede his righteous and virtuous men, but entered into his plans, and employed, as before, those men. Thus it was that they unitedly received this vast inheritance.'

7 'Oh! young son, the king, from this time forth be it ours to establish the government, appointing the (high) officers, the officers of the laws, and the pastors; be it ours clearly to know what courses are natural to these men, and then fully to employ them in the government, that they may aid us in the management of the people whom we have received, and harmoniously conduct all litigations and precautionary measures. And let us river allow others to come between us and them. (Yea), in our every word and speech, let us be thinking of (these) officers of complete virtue, to regulate the people that we have received.

8 'Oh! I, Dan, have received these excellent words of others, and tell them all to you, young son, the king. From this time forth, O accomplished son (of Wu), accomplished grandson (of Wen), do not err in regard to the litigations and precautionary measures - let the proper officers manage them.

9 'From of old to the founder of Shang, and downwards to king Wen of our Zhou, in establishing government, when they appointed (high) officers, pastors, and officers. of the laws, they settled them in their positions, And allowed them to unfold their talents; thus giving the regulation of affairs into their hands. In the kingdom, never has there been the establishment of government by the employment of artful-tongued men; (with such men), unlessoned in virtue, never can a government be distinguished in the, world. From this time forth, in establishing government, make no use of artful-tongued men, but (seek for) good officers, and get them to use all their powers in aiding the government of our country.

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10 'Now, O accomplished son (of Wu), accomplished grandson (of Wen), young son, the king, do not err in the matter of litigations; there are the officers and pastors (to attend to them). Have well arranged (also) your military accoutrements and weapons, so that you may go forth beyond the steps of Yu, and traverse all under the sky, even to beyond the seas, everywhere meeting with submission: so shall you display the bright glory of king Wen, and render more illustrious the great achievements of king Wu. Oh! from this time forth, may (our) future kings, in establishing the government, be able to employ men of constant virtue!'

11 The duke of Zhou spoke to the following effect: 'O grand historiographer, the duke of Su, the Minister of Crime, dealt reverently with all the criminal matters that came before him, and thereby perpetuated the fortunes of our kingdom. Here was an example of anxious solicitude (for future ministers), whereby they may rank with him in the ordering of the appropriate punishments.'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 48 - Zhou guan
(Officers of Zhou)

1 The king of Zhou brought the myriad regions (of the kingdom) to tranquillity; he made a tour of inspection through the Hou and Dian tenures; he punished on all sides the chiefs who had refused to appear at court; thus securing the repose of the millions of the people, and all the (princes in the) six tenures acknowledging his virtue. He then returned to the honoured capital of Zhou, and strictly regulated the officers of the administration.

2 The king said, 'It was the grand method of former times to regulate the government while there was no confusion, and to secure the country while there was no danger.' He said, 'Yao and Shun, having studied antiquity, established a hundred officers. At court, there were the General Regulator and (the President of) the Four Mountains; abroad, there were the pastors of the provinces and the princes of states. Thus the various departments of government went on harmoniously, and the myriad states all enjoyed repose. Under the dynasties of Xia and Shang, the number of officers was doubled, and they were able still to secure good government. (Those early) intelligent kings, in establishing their government, cared not so much about the number of the offices as about. the men (to occupy them). Now I, the little child, cultivate with reverence my virtue, concerned day and night about my deficiencies; I look up to (those) former dynasties, and seek to conform to them, while I instruct and direct you, my officers.'

3 'I appoint the Grand-Master, the Grand-Assistant, and the Grand-Guardian. These are the three Gong. They discourse about the principles of reason and adjust the states, harmonizing (also) and regulating the operations (in nature) of heaven and earth. These offices need not (always) be filled; there must (first) be the men for them.

'(I appoint) the junior Master, the junior Assistant, and the junior Guardian. These are called the three Gu. They assist the Gong to diffuse widely the transforming influences, and display brightly with reverence (the powers of) heaven and earth - assisting me, the One man.

'(I appoint) the Prime Minister, who presides over the ruling of the (various) regions, has the general management of all the other officers, and secures uniformity within the four seas; the Minister of Instruction, who presides over the education in the states, diffuses a knowledge of the duties belonging to the five relations of society, and trains the millions of the people to obedience; the Minister of Religion, who presides over the (sacred) ceremonies of the country, regulates the services rendered to the spirits and manes, and makes a harmony between high and low; the Minister of War, who presides over the (military) administration of the country, commands the six hosts, and secures the tranquillity of all the regions; the Minister of Crime, who presides over the prohibitions of the country, searches out the villainous and secretly wicked, and punishes oppressors and disturbers of the peace; and the Minister of Works, who presides over the land of the country, settles the four classes of the people, and secures at the proper seasons the produce of the ground.

'These six ministers with their different duties lead on their several subordinates, and set an example to the nine pastors of the provinces, enriching and perfecting the condition of the millions of the people. In six years (the lords of) the five tenures appear once at the royal court; and after a second six years, the king makes a tour of inspection in the four seasons, and examines the (various) regulations and measures at the four mountains. The princes appear before him each at the mountain of his quarter; and promotions and degradations are awarded with great intelligence.'

4 The king said, 'Oh! all ye men of virtue, my occupiers of office, pay reverent attention to your charges. Be careful in the commands you issue; for, once issued, they must be carried into effect, and cannot be retracted. Extinguish all selfish aims by your public feeling, and the people will have confidence in you, and be gladly obedient. Study antiquity as a preparation for entering on your offices. In deliberating on affairs, form your determinations by help (of such study), and your measures will be free from error. Make the regular statutes of (our own) dynasty your rule, and do not with artful speeches introduce disorder into your offices. To accumulate doubts is the way to ruin your plans; to be idle and indifferent is the way to ruin your government. Without study, you stand facing a wall, and your management of affairs will be full of trouble.

'I warn you, my high ministers and officers, that exalted merit depends on the high aim, and a patrimony is enlarged only by diligence; it is by means of bold decision that future difficulties are avoided. Pride comes, along with rank, unperceived, and extravagance in the same way with emolument. Let reverence and economy be (real) virtues with you, unaccompanied with hypocritical display. Practise them as virtues, and your minds will be at ease, and you will daily become more admirable. Practise them in hypocrisy, and your minds will be toiled, and you will daily become more stupid. In the enjoyment of favour think of peril, and never be without a cautious apprehension; he who is without such apprehension finds himself amidst what is really to be feared. Push forward the worthy, and show deference to the able; and harmony will prevail among all your officers. When they are not harmonious, the government becomes a mass of confusion. If those whom you advance be able for their offices, the ability is yours; if you advance improper men, you are not equal to your position.'

5 The king said, 'Oh! ye (charged) with the threefold business (of government) and ye great officers, I reverently attend to your departments, and conduct well the affairs under your government, so as to assist your sovereign, and secure the lasting happiness of the millions of the people - so shall there be no dissatisfaction throughout the myriad states.'

6-7 (untranslated)

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 49 - Jun-chen
(Lord Chen)

1 The king spake to the following effect: 'Jun-chen, it is you who are possessed of excellent virtue, filial and respectful. Being filial, and friendly with your brethren, you can display these qualities in the exercise of government. I appoint you to rule this eastern border. Be reverent.'

'Formerly, the duke of Zhou acted as teacher and guardian of the myriads of the people, who cherish (the remembrance of) his virtue. Go and with sedulous care enter upon his charge; act in accordance with his regular ways, and exert yourself to illustrate his lessons; so shall the people be regulated. I have heard that he said, "Perfect government has a piercing fragrance, and influences the spiritual intelligences. It is not the millet which has the piercing fragrance; it is bright virtue." Do you make this lesson of the duke of Zhou your rule, being diligent from day to day, and not presuming to indulge in luxurious ease. Ordinary men, while they have not yet seen a sage, (are full of desire) as if they should never get a sight of him; and after they have seen him, they are still unable to follow him. Be cautioned by this! You are the wind; the inferior people are the grass. In revolving the plans of your government, never hesitate to acknowledge the difficulty of the subject. Some things have to be abolished, and some new things to be enacted going out and coming in, seek the judgement of your people about them, and, when there is a general agreement, exert your own powers of reflection. When you have any good plans or counsels, enter and lay them before your sovereign in the palace. Thereafter, when you are acting abroad in accordance with them, say, "This plan or this view is all due to our sovereign." Oh! if all ministers were to act thus, how excellent would they be, and how distinguished!'

2 The king said, 'Jun-chen, do you give their full development to the great lessons of the duke of Zhou. Do not make use of your power to exercise oppression; do not make use of the laws to practise extortion. Be gentle, but with strictness of rule. Promote harmony by the display of an easy forbearance.

'When any of the people of Yin are amenable to punishment, if I say "Punish," do not you therefore punish; and if I say "Spare," do not you therefore spare. Seek the due middle course. Those who are disobedient to your government, and uninfluenced by your instructions, you will punish, remembering that the end of punishment is to make an end of punishing. Those who are inured to villainy and treachery, those who violate the regular duties of society, and those who introduce disorder into the public manners:--those three classes you will not spare, though their particular offences be but small.

'Do not cherish anger against the obstinate, and dislike them. Seek not every quality in one individual. You must have patience, and you will be successful; have forbearance, and your virtue will be great. Mark those who discharge their duties well, and also mark those who do not do so, (and distinguish them from one another.) Advance the good, to induce those who may not be so to follow (their example).

'The people are born good, and are changed by (external) things, so that they resist what their superiors command, and follow what they (themselves) love. Do you but reverently observe the statutes, and they will be found in (the way of) virtue; they will thus all be changed, and truly advance to a great degree of excellence. Then shall I, the One man, receive much happiness, and your excellent services will be famous through long ages!'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 50 - Gu ming NT
(Testamentary Charge)

1 In the fourth month, when the moon began to wane, the king was indisposed. On the day Jia-zi, he washed his hands and face; his attendants put on him his cap and robes; (and he sat up), leaning on a gem-adorned bench. He then called together the Grand-Guardian Shi, the earls of Rui and Tong, the duke of Bi, the marquis of Wei, the duke of Mao, the master of the warders, the master of the guards, the heads of the various departments, and the superintendents of affairs.

2 The king said, 'Oh! my illness has greatly increased, and it will soon be over with me. The malady comes on daily with more violence, and maintains its hold. I am afraid I may not find (another opportunity) to declare my wishes about my successor, and therefore I (now) lay my charge upon you with special instructions. The former rulers, our kings Wen and Wu, displayed in succession their equal glory, making sure provision for the support of the people, and setting forth their instructions. (The people) accorded a practical submission, without any opposition, and the influence (of their example and instructions) extended to Yin, and the great appointment (of Heaven) was secured. After them, I, the stupid one, received with reverence the dread (decree) of Heaven, and continued to keep the great instructions of Wen and Wu, not daring blindly to transgress them. Now Heaven has laid affliction on me, and it seems as if I should not again rise or be myself. Do you take clear note of these my words, and in accordance with them watch reverently over my eldest son Zhao, and greatly assist him in the difficulties of his position. Be kind to those who are far off, and help those who are near. Promote the tranquillity of the states, small and great, and encourage them (to well-doing). I think how a man has to govern himself in dignity and with decorum; do not you allow Zhao to proceed heedlessly on the impulse of improper motives.'

Immediately on receiving this charge, (the ministers and others) withdrew. The tent was then carried out into the court; and on the next day, (being) Yi-chou, the king died.

3 The Grand-Guardian then ordered Zhong Huan and Nan-Gong Mao to instruct Lu Ji, the marquis of Qi, with two shield-and-spearmen, and a hundred guards, to meet the prince Zhao outside the south gate, and conduct him to (one of) the side-apartments (near to that where the king lay), there to be as chief mourner. On the day Ding-Mao, (two days after the king's death), he ordered (the charge) to be recorded on tablets, and the forms (to be observed in publishing it). Seven days after, on Gui-you, as chief (of the west) and premier, he ordered the (proper) officers to prepare the wood (for all the requirements of the funeral).

4 The salvage men set out the screens, ornamented with figures of axes, and the tents. Between the window (and the door), facing the south, they placed the (three)fold mat of fine bamboo splints, with its striped border of white and black silk, and the usual bench adorned with different-coloured gems. In the side-space on the west, which faced the east, they placed the threefold rush mat, with its variegated border, and the usual bench adorned with beautiful shells. In the side-space on the east, which faced the west, they placed the threefold mat of fine grass, with its border of painted silk, and the usual bench carved, and adorned with gems. Before the western side-chamber, and facing the south, they placed the threefold mat of fine bamboo, with its dark mixed border, and the usual lacquered bench. (They set forth) also the five pairs of gems (or jade), and the precious things of display. There were the red knife, the great lessons, the large round-and-convex symbol of jade, and the rounded and pointed maces, all in the side-space on the west; the large piece of jade, the pieces contributed by the wild tribes of the east, the heavenly sounding-stone, and the river-plan, all in the side-space on the east; the dancing habits of Yin, the large . large tortoise-shell, and the large drum, all in the western apartment; the spear of Dui, the bow of He, and the bamboo arrows of Chui, all in the eastern apartment. The grand carriage was by the guests' steps, facing (the south); the next was by the eastern (or host' s) steps, facing (the south). The front carriage was placed before the left lobby, and the one that followed it before the right lobby.

5 Two men in brownish leather caps, and holding three-cornered halberts, stood inside the gate leading to the private apartments. Four men in caps of spotted deer-skin, holding spears with blades upturned from the base of the point, stood, one on each side of the steps east and west, and near to the platform of the hall. One man in a great officer's cap, and holding an axe, stood in the hall, (near the steps) at the east (end). One man in a great officer's cap, and holding an axe of a different pattern, stood in the hall, (near the steps) at the west end. One man in a great officer's cap, and holding a lance, stood at the front and east of the hall, close by the steps. One man in a great officer's cap, and holding a lance of a different

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pattern, stood in the corresponding place on the west. One man in a great officer's cap, and holding a pointed weapon, stood by the steps on the north side of the hall.

6 The king, in a linen cap and the variously figured, skirt, ascended by the guests' steps, followed by the high ministers, (great) officers, and princes of states, in linen caps and dark-coloured skirts. Arrived in the hall, they all took their (proper) places. The Grand-Guardian, the Grand-Historiographer, and the Minister of Religion were all in linen caps and red skirts. The Grand-Guardian bore the great mace. The Minister of Religion bore the cup and the mace-cover. These two ascended by the steps on the east. The Grand Historiographer bore, the testamentary charge. He ascended by the guests' steps (on the west), and advanced to the king with the tablets containing the charge, and said, 'Our royal sovereign, leaning on the gem-adorned bench, declared his last charge, and commanded you to continue (the observance of) the lessons, and to take the rule of the kingdom of Zhou, complying with the great laws, and securing the harmony of all under the sky, so as to respond to and display the bright instructions of Wen and Wu.'

The king twice bowed (low), and then arose, and replied, 'I am utterly insignificant and but a child, how should I be able to govern the four quarters (of the kingdom) with a corresponding reverent awe of the dread majesty of Heaven!' He then received the cup and the mace-cover. Thrice he slowly and reverently advanced with a cup of spirits (to the east of the coffin); thrice he sacrificed (to the spirit of his father); and thrice he put the cup down. The Minister of Religion said, 'It is accepted.'

The Grand-Guardian received the cup, descended the steps, and washed his hands. He then took another cup, (placed it on) a half-mace which he carried, and repeated the sacrifice. He then gave the cup to one of the attendants of the Minister of Religion, and did obeisance. The king returned the obeisance. The Grand-Guardian took a cup again, and poured out the spirits in sacrifice. He then just tasted the spirits, returned to his place, gave the cup to the attendant, and did obeisance. The king returned the obeisance. The Grand Guardian descended from the hall, after which the various (sacrificial) articles were removed, and the princes all went out at the temple gate and waited.

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 51 - Kang wang zhi gao NT
(Announcement of King Kang)

1 The king came forth and stood (in the space) within the fourth gate of the palace, when the Grand-Guardian led in the princes of the western regions by the left (half) of the gate, and the duke of Bi those of the eastern regions by the right (half). They then all caused their teams of light bay horses, with their manes and tails dyed red, to be exhibited; and, (as the king's) guests, lifted up their rank-symbols, and (the other) presents (they had brought), saying, 'We your servants, defenders (of the throne), venture to bring the productions of our territories, and lay them here.' (With these words) they all did obeisance twice, laying their heads on the ground. The king, as the righteous successor to the virtue of those who had gone before him, returned their obeisance.

2 The Grand-Guardian and the earl of Rui, with all the rest, then advanced and bowed to each other, after which they did obeisance twice, with their heads to the ground, and said, 'O Son of Heaven, we venture respectfully to declare our sentiments. Great Heaven altered its decree which the great House of Yin had received, and Wen and Wu of our Zhou grandly received the same, and carried it out, manifesting their kindly government in the western regions. His recently ascended majesty, rewarding and punishing exactly in accordance with what was right, fully established their achievements, and transmitted this happy state to his successors. Do you, O king, now be reverent. Maintain your armies in great order, and do not allow the rarely equalled appointment of our high ancestors to come to harm.'

3 The king spoke to the following effect: 'Ye princes of the various states, chiefs of the Hou, Dian, Nan, and Wei domains, I, Zhao, the One man, make an announcement in return (for your advice). The former rulers, Wen and Wu, were greatly just and enriched (the people). They did not occupy themselves to find out people's crimes. Pushing to the utmost and maintaining an entire impartiality and sincerity, they became gloriously illustrious all under heaven. Then they had officers brave as bears and grisly bears, and ministers of no double heart, who (helped them) to maintain and regulate the royal House. Thus (did they receive) the true favouring decree from God, and thus did great Heaven approve of their ways, and give them the four quarters (of the land). Then they appointed and set up principalities, and established bulwarks (to the throne), for the sake of us, their successors. Now do ye, my uncles, I pray you, consider with one another, and carry out the service which the dukes, your predecessors, rendered to my predecessors. Though your persons be distant, let your hearts be in the royal House. Enter thus into my anxieties, and act in accordance with them, so that I, the little child, may not be put to shame.'

4 The dukes and all the others, having heard this charge, bowed to one another, and hastily withdrew. The king put off his cap, and assumed again his mourning dress.

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 52 - Bi ming
(Charge to the Duke of Bi)

1 In the sixth month of his twelfth year, the day of the new moon's appearance was Geng-wu, and on Ren-shen, the third day after, the king walked in the morning from the honoured capital of Zhou to Feng, and there, with reference to the multitudes of Cheng-Zhou, gave charge to the duke of Bi to protect and regulate the eastern border.

2 The king spoke to the following effect: 'Oh! Grand-Master, it was when Wen and Wu had diffused their great virtue all under heaven, that they therefore received the appointment which Yin had enjoyed. The duke of Zhou acted as assistant to my royal predecessors, and tranquillized and established their kingdom. Cautiously did he deal with the refractory people of Yin, and removed them to the city of Luo, that they might be quietly near the royal House, and be transformed by its lessons. Six and thirty years have elapsed; the generation has been changed; and manners have altered. Through the four quarters of the land there is no occasion for anxiety, and I, the One man, enjoy repose. The prevailing ways now tend to advancement and now to degeneracy, and measures of government must be varied according to the manners (of the time). If you (now) do not manifest your approval of what is good, 'the people will not be led to stimulate themselves in it. But your virtue, O duke, is strenuous, and you are cautiously attentive to the smallest things. You have been helpful to and brightened four reigns; with deportment all correct leading on the inferior officers, so that there is not one who does not reverently take your words as a law. Your admirable merits were many (and great) in the times of my predecessors; I, the little child, have but to let my robes hang down, and fold my hands, while I look up for the complete effect (of your measures).'

3 The king said, 'Oh! Grand-Master, I now reverently charge you with the duties of the duke of Zhou. Go! Signalize the good, separating the bad from them; give tokens of your approbation in their neighbourhoods, making it ill for the evil by such distinction of the good, and thus establishing the influence and reputation (of their virtue). When the people will not obey your lessons and statutes, mark off the boundaries of their hamlets, making them fear (to do evil), and desire (to do good). Define anew the borders and frontiers, and be careful to strengthen the guard-posts through the territory, in order to secure tranquillity (within) the four seas. In measures of government to be consistent and constant, and in proclamations a combination of completeness and brevity, and valuable. There should not be the love of what is extraordinary. Among the customs of Shang was the flattery of superiors; sharp-tonguedness was the sign of worth. The remains of these manners are not yet obliterated. Do you, O duke, bear this in mind. I have heard the saying, "Families which have for generations enjoyed places of emolument seldom observe the rules of propriety. They become dissolute, and do violence to virtue, setting themselves in positive opposition to the way of Heaven. They ruin the formative principles of good; encourage extravagance and display; and tend to carry all (future ages) on the same stream with them." Now the officers of Yin had long relied on the favour which they enjoyed. In the confidence of their prideful extravagance they extinguished their (sense of) righteousness. They displayed before men the beauty of their robes - proud, licentious, arrogant, and boastful - the natural issue was that they should end in being thoroughly bad. Although their lost minds have (in a measure) been recovered, it is difficult to keep them under proper restraint. If with their property and wealth they can be brought under the influence of instruction, they may enjoy lengthened years, virtue, and righteousness! - these are the great lessons. If you do not follow in dealing with them these lessons of antiquity, wherein will you instruct them?'

4 The king said, 'Oh! Grand-Master, the security or the danger of the kingdom depends on those officers of Yin. If you are not (too) stern with them nor (too) mild, their virtue will be truly cultivated. The duke of Zhou exercised the necessary caution at the beginning (of the undertaking); Jun-chen displayed the harmony proper to the middle of it; and you, O duke, can bring it at last to a successful issue. You three princes will have been one in aim, and will have equally pursued the proper way. The penetrating power of your principles, and the good character of your measures of government, will exert an enriching influence on the character of the people, so that the wild tribes, with their coats buttoning on the left, will all find their proper support in them, and I, the little child, will long enjoy much happiness. Thus, O duke, there in Cheng-Zhou will you establish for ever the power (of Zhou), and you will have an inexhaustible fame. Your descendants will follow your perfect pattern, governing accordingly. Oh! do not say, "I am unequal to this;" but exert your mind to the utmost. Do not say, "The people are few;" but attend carefully to your business. Reverently follow the accomplished achievements of the former kings, and complete the excellence of the government of your predecessors.'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 53 - Jun Ya (or Kun Ya)
(Lord Ya)

1 The king spoke to the following effect: 'Oh! Kun-ya, your grandfather and your father, one after the other, with a true loyalty and honesty, laboured in the service of the royal House, accomplishing a merit that was recorded on the grand banner. I, the little child, have become charged by inheritance with the line of government transmitted from Wen and Wu, from Cheng and Kang; I also keep thinking of their ministers who aided them in the good government of the kingdom; the trembling anxiety of my mind makes me feel as if I were treading on a tiger's tail, or walking upon spring ice. I now give you charge to assist me; be as my limbs to me, as my heart and backbone. Continue their old service, and do not disgrace your grandfather and father. Diffuse widely (the knowledge of) the five invariable relations (of society), and reverently seek to produce a harmonious observance of the duties belonging to them among the people. If you are correct in your own person, none will dare to be but correct. The minds of the people cannot attain to the right mean (of duty); they must be guided by your attaining to it. In the heat and rains of summer, the inferior people may be described as murmuring and sighing. And so it is with them in the great cold of winter. How great are their hardships! Think of their hardships in order to seek to promote their ease; and the people will be tranquil. Oh! how great and splendid were the plans of king Wen! How greatly were they carried out by the energy of king Wu! All in principle correct, and deficient in nothing, they are for the help and guidance of us their descendants. Do you with reverence and wisdom carry out your instructions, enabling me to honour and follow the example of my (immediate) predecessors, and to respond to and display the bright decree conferred on Wen and Wu - so shall you be the mate of your by-gone fathers.'

2 The king spoke to the following effect: 'Kun-ya, do you take for your rule the lessons afforded by the courses of your excellent fathers. The good or the bad order of the people depends on this. You will thus follow the practice of your grandfather and father, and make the good government of your sovereign illustrious.'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 54 - Jiong ming
(Charge to Jiong)

1 The king spoke to the following effect: 'Bo-jiong, I come short in virtue, and have succeeded to the former kings, to occupy the great throne. I am fearful, and conscious of the peril (of my position). I rise at midnight, and think how I can avoid falling into errors. Formerly Wen and Wu were endowed with all intelligence, august and sage, while their ministers, small and great, all cherished loyalty and goodness. Their servants, charioteers, chamberlains, and followers were all men of correctness; morning and evening waiting on their sovereign's wishes, or supplying his deficiencies. (Those kings), going out and coming in, rising up and sitting down, were thus made reverent. Their every warning or command was good. The people yielded a reverent obedience, and the myriad regions were all happy. But I, the One man, am destitute of goodness, and really depend on the officers who have places about me to help my deficiencies, applying the line to my faults, and exhibiting my errors, thus correcting my bad heart, and enabling me to be the successor of my meritorious predecessors.

'Now I appoint you to be High Chamberlain, to see that all the officers in your department and my personal attendants are upright and correct, that they strive to promote the virtue of their sovereign, and together supply my deficiencies. Be careful in selecting your officers. Do not employ men of artful speech and insinuating looks, men whose likes and dislikes are ruled by mine, one-sided men and flatterers; but employ good men. When these household officers are correct, the sovereign will be correct; when they are flatterers, the sovereign will consider himself a sage. His virtue or his want of it equally depends on them. Cultivate no intimacy with flatterers, nor get them to do duty for me as my ears and eyes; they will lead their sovereign to disregard the statutes of the former kings. If you choose the men not for their personal goodness, but for the sake of their bribes, their offices will be made of no effect, your great want of reverence for your sovereign will be apparent, and I will hold you guilty.'

2 The king said, 'Oh! be reverent! Ever help your sovereign to follow the regular laws of duty (which he should exemplify).'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 55 - Lü xing NT
(Marquis Lü on Punishments)

1 In reference to the charge to the marquis of Lu: When the king had occupied the throne till he reached the age of a hundred years, he gave great consideration to the appointment of punishments, in order to deal with (the people of) the four quarters.

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2 The king said, 'According to the teachings of ancient times, Chi You was the first to produce disorder, which spread among the quiet, orderly people, till all became robbers and murderers, owl-like and yet self-complacent in their conduct, traitors and villains, snatching and filching, dissemblers and oppressors. Among the people of Miao, they did not use the power of goodness, but the restraint of punishments. They made the five punishments engines of oppression, calling them the laws. They slaughtered the innocent, and were the first also to go to excess in cutting off the nose, cutting off the ears, castration, and branding. All who became liable to those punishments were dealt with without distinction, no difference being made in favour of those who could offer some excuse. The people were gradually affected by this state of things, and became dark and disorderly. Their hearts were no more set on good faith, but they violated their oaths and covenants. The multitudes who suffered from the oppressive terrors, and were (in danger of) being murdered, declared their innocence to Heaven. God surveyed the people, and there was no fragrance of virtue arising from them, but the rank odour of their (cruel) punishments.

'The great Di compassionated the innocent multitudes that were (in danger of) being murdered, and made the oppressors feel the terrors of his majesty. He restrained and (finally) extinguished the people of Miao, so that they should not continue to future generations. Then he commissioned Zhong and Li to make an end of the communications between earth and heaven; and the descents (of spirits) ceased. From the princes down to the inferior officers, all helped with clear intelligence (the spread of) the regular principles of duty, and the solitary and widows were no longer overlooked.

3 'The great Di with an unprejudiced mind carried his enquiries low down among the people, and the solitary and widows laid before him their complaints against the Miao. He awed the people by the majesty of his virtue, and enlightened them by its brightness. He thereupon charged the three princely (ministers) to labour with compassionate anxiety in the people's behalf. Bo-yi delivered his statutes to prevent the people from rendering themselves obnoxious to punishment; Yu reduced to order the water and the land, and presided over the naming of the hills and rivers; Ji spread abroad a knowledge of agriculture, and (the people) extensively cultivated the admirable grains. When the three princes had accomplished their work, it was abundantly well with the people. The Minister of Crime exercised among them the restraint of punishment in exact adaptation to each offence, and taught them to reverence virtue. The greatest gravity and harmony in the sovereign, and the greatest intelligence in those below him, thus shining forth to all quarters (of the land), all were rendered diligent in cultivating their virtue. Hence, (if anything more were wanted), the clear adjudication of punishments effected the regulation of the people, and helped them to observe the regular duties of life. The officers who presided over criminal cases executed the law (fearlessly) against the powerful, and (faithfully) against the wealthy. They were reverent and cautious. They had no occasion to make choice of words to vindicate their conduct. The virtue of Heaven was attained to by them; from them was the determination of so great a matter as the lives (of men). In their low sphere they yet corresponded (to Heaven) and enjoyed (its favour)'.

4 The king said, 'Ah! you who direct the government and preside over criminal cases through all the land, are you not constituted the shepherds of Heaven? To whom ought you now to look as your pattern? Is it not to Bo-yi, spreading among the people his lessons to avert punishments? And from whom ought you now to take warning? Is it not from the people of Miao, who would not examine into the circumstances of criminal cases, and did not make choice of good officers that should see to the right apportioning of the five punishments, but chose the violent and bribe-snatchers, who determined and administered them, so as to oppress the innocent, until God would no longer hold them guiltless, and sent down calamity on Miao, when the people had no plea to allege in mitigation of their punishment, and their name was cut off from the world?'

5 The king said, 'Oh! lay it to heart. My uncles, and all ye, my brethren and cousins, my sons and my grandsons, listen all of you to my words, in which, it may be, you will receive a most important charge. You will only tread the path of satisfaction by being daily diligent; do not have occasion to beware of the want of diligence. Heaven, in its wish to regulate the people, allows us for a day to make use of punishments. Whether crimes have been premeditated, or are unpremeditated, depends on the parties concerned; do you (deal with them so as to) accord with the mind of Heaven, and thus serve me, the One man. Though I would put them to death, do not you therefore put them to death; though I would spare them, do not you therefore spare them. Reverently apportion the five punishments, so as fully to exhibit the three virtues. Then shall I, the One man, enjoy felicity; the people will look to you as their sure dependance; the repose of such a state will be perpetual.'

6 The king said, 'Ho! come, ye rulers of states and territories, I Will tell you how to make punishments a blessing. It is yours now to give repose to the people; what should you be most concerned about the choosing of? Should it not be the proper men? What should you deal with the most reverently? Should it not be punishments? What should you calculate the most carefully? Should it not be to whom these will reach?

'When both parties are present, (with their documents and witnesses) all complete, let the judges listen to the fivefold statements that may be made. When they have examined and fully made up their minds on those, let them adjust the case to one of the five punishments. If the five punishments do not meet it, let them adjust it to one of the five redemption-fines; and if these, again, are not sufficient for it, let them reckon it among the five cases of error.

'In (settling) the five cases of error there are evils (to be guarded against) - being warped by the influence of power, or by private grudge, or by female solicitation, or by bribes, or by applications. Any one of these things should be held equal to the crime (before the judges). Do you carefully examine, and prove yourselves equal to (every difficulty).

7 'When, in a doubtful case, the punishment of branding is forborne, the fine to be laid on instead is 600 ounces (of copper); but you must first have satisfied yourselves as to the crime. When the case would require the cutting off the nose, the fine must be double this - with the same careful determination of the crime. When the punishment would be the cutting off the feet, the fine must be 3000 ounces - with the same careful determination of the crime. When the punishment would be castration, the fine must be 3600 ounces - with the same determination. When the punishment would be death, the fine must be 6000 ounces - with the same determination. Of crimes that may be redeemed by the fine in lieu of branding there are 1000; and the same number of those that would otherwise-incur cutting off the nose. The fine in lieu of cutting off the feet extends to 500 cases; that in lieu of castration, to 300; and that in lieu of death, to 200. Altogether, set against the five punishments, there are 3000 crimes.

8 '(In the case of others not exactly defined), you must class them with the (next) higher or (next) lower offences, not admitting assumptive and disorderly pleadings, and not using obsolete laws. Examine and act lawfully, judging carefully, and proving yourselves equal (to every difficulty). Where the crime should incur one of the higher punishments, but there are mitigating circumstances, apply to it the next lower. Where it should incur one of the lower punishments, but there are aggravating circumstances, apply to it the next higher. The light and heavy fines are to be apportioned (in the same way) by the balance of circumstances. Punishments and fines should (also) be light in one age, and heavy in another. To secure uniformity in this (seeming) irregularity, there are certain relations of things (to be considered), and the essential principle (to be observed).

'The chastisement of fines is short of death, yet it will produce extreme distress. They are not (therefore) persons of artful tongues who should determine criminal cases, but really good persons, whose awards will hit the right mean. Examine carefully where there are any discrepancies in the statements; the view which you were resolved not to follow, you may see occasion to follow; with compassion and reverence settle the cases; examine carefully the penal code, and deliberate with all about it, that your decisions may be likely to hit the proper mean and be correct - whether it be the infliction of a punishment or a fine, examining carefully and mastering every difficulty. When the case is thus concluded, all parties will acknowledge the justice of the sentence; and when it is reported, the sovereign will do the same. In sending up reports of cases, they must be full and complete. If a man have been tried on two counts, his two punishments (must be recorded).'

9 The king said, 'Oh! let there be a feeling of reverence. Ye judges and princes, of the same surname with me, and of other surnames, (know all) that I speak in much fear. I think with reverence of the subject of punishment, for the end of it is to promote virtue. Now Heaven, wishing to help the people, has made us its representatives here below. Be intelligent and pure in hearing (each) side of a case. The right ordering of the people depends on the impartial hearing of the pleas on both sides - do not seek for private advantage to yourselves by means of those pleas. Gain (so) got by the decision of cases is no precious acquisition; it is an accumulation of guilt, and will be recompensed with many judgements: you should ever stand in awe of the punishment of Heaven. It is not Heaven that does not deal impartially with men, but men ruin themselves. If the punishment of Heaven were not so extreme, nowhere under the sky would the people have good government.'

10 The king said, 'Oh! ye who shall hereafter inherit (the dignities and offices of) the present time, to whom are ye to look for your models? Must it not be to those who promoted the virtue belonging to the unbiassed nature of the people? I pray you give attention to my words. The wise men (of antiquity) by their use of punishments obtained boundless fame. Everything relating to the five punishments exactly hit with them the due mean, and hence came their excellence. Receiving from your sovereigns the good multitudes, behold in the case of those men punishments made felicitous!'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 56 - Wen hou zhi ming NT

(Charge to Marquis or Duke Wen of Jin, born Chong'er, c. 697–628 BC.)

1 The king spoke to the following effect: 'Uncle Yi-he, how illustrious were Wen and Wu! Carefully did they make their virtue brilliant, till it rose brightly on high, and the fame of it was widely diffused here below. Therefore God caused his favouring decree to light upon king Wen. There were ministers also (thereafter), who aided and illustriously served their sovereigns, following and carrying out their plans, great and small, so that my fathers sat tranquilly on the throne.

'Oh! an object of pity am I, who am (but as) a little child. just as I have succeeded to the throne, Heaven has severely chastised me. Through the interruption of the (royal) bounties that ceased to descend to the inferior people, the invading barbarous tribes of the west have greatly (injured) our kingdom. Moreover, among the managers of my affairs there are none of age and experience and distinguished ability in their offices. I am (thus) unequal (to the difficulties of my position), and say to myself, "My grand-uncles and uncles, you ought to compassionate my case." Oh! if there were those who could establish their merit in behalf of me, the One man, I might long enjoy repose upon the throne.

'Uncle Yi-he, you render still more glorious your illustrious ancestor. You were the first to imitate the example of Wen and Wu, collecting (the scattered powers), and continuing (the all but broken line of) your sovereign, Your filial piety goes back to your accomplished ancestor, (and is equal to his.) You have done much to repair my (losses), and defend me in my difficulties, and of you, being such, I am full of admiration.'

2 The king said, 'Uncle Yi-he, return home, survey your multitudes, and tranquillize your state. I reward you with a jar of spirits, distilled from the black millet, and flavoured with odoriferous herbs, with a red bow, and a hundred red arrows; with a black bow, and a hundred black arrows; and with four horses. Go, my uncle. Show kindness to those that are far off, and help those who are near at hand; cherish and secure the repose of the inferior people; do not idly seek your ease; exercise an inspection and (benign) compassion in your capital (and all your borders) - thus completing your illustrious virtue.'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 57 - Fei shi NT

(Speech at the Battle of Fei, or Speech at Bi)

1 The duke said, 'Ah! ye men, make no noise, but listen to my commands. We are going (to punish) those wild tribes of the Huai and of Xu, which have risen up together. Have in good repair your buff coats and helmets; have the laces of your shields well secured;--presume not to have any of them but in perfect order. Prepare your bows and arrows; temper your lances and spears; sharpen your pointed and edged weapons;--presume not to have any of them but in good condition. We must now largely let the oxen and horses loose, and not keep them in enclosures;--(ye people), do you close your traps and fill up your pitfalls, and do not presume to injure any of the animals (so let loose). If any of them be injured, you shall be dealt with according to the regular punishments. When the horses or cattle are seeking one another, or when your followers, male or female, abscond, presume not to leave the ranks to pursue them. But let them be carefully returned. I will reward you (among the people) who return them according to their value. But if you leave your places to pursue them, or if you who find them do not restore them, you shall be dealt with according to the regular punishments. And let none of you presume to commit any robbery or detain any creature that comes in your way, to jump over enclosures and walls to steal (people's) horses or oxen, or to decoy away their servants or female attendants. If you do so, you shall be dealt with according to the regular punishments.

2 'On the day Jia-Xu I will take action against the hordes of Xu; prepare the roasted grain and other provisions, and presume not to have any deficiency. If you have, you shall suffer the severest punishment. Ye men of Lu, from the three environing territories and the three tracts beyond, be ready with your posts and planks. On Jia-Xu I will commence my intrenchments - dare not but be provided with a supply of these. (If you be not so provided), you shall be subjected to various punishments, short only of death. Ye men of Lu, from the three environing territories and the three tracts beyond, be ready with the forage, and do not dare to let it be other than abundant. (If you do), you shall suffer the severest punishment.'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 58 - Qin shi NT

(Speech of the Duke Mu of Qin, born Renhao, reigned 659–621 BC.)

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1 The duke said, 'Ah! my officers, listen to me without noise. I solemnly announce to you the most important of all sayings. (It is this which) the ancients have said, "Thus it is with all people, they mostly love their ease. In reproving others there is no difficulty, but to receive reproof, and allow it to have free course, this is difficult." The sorrow of my heart is, that the days and months have passed away, and it is not likely they will come again, (so that I might pursue a different course.)

2 'There were my old counsellors. I said, "They will not accommodate themselves to me," and I hated them. There were my new counsellors, and I would for the time give my confidence to them. So indeed it was with me; but hereafter I will take advice from the men of yellow hair, and then I shall be free from error. That good old officer! - his strength is exhausted, but I would rather have him (as my counsellor). That dashing brave officer! - his shooting and charioteering are faultless, but I would rather not wish to have him. As to men of quibbles, skilful at cunning words, and able to make the good man change his purposes, what have I to do to make much use of them?

3 'I have deeply thought and concluded. Let me have but one resolute minister, plain and sincere, without other ability, but having a straightforward mind, and possessed of generosity, regarding the talents of others as if he himself possessed them; and when he finds accomplished and sage men, loving them in his heart more than his mouth expresses, really showing himself able to bear them: such a minister would be able to preserve my descendants and people, and would indeed be a giver of benefits. But if (the minister), when he finds men of ability, be jealous and hates them; if, when he finds accomplished and sage men, he oppose them and does not allow their advancement, showing himself really not able to bear them: such a man will not be able to protect my descendants and people; and will he not be a dangerous man?

4 'The decline and fall of a state may arise from one man. The glory and tranquillity of a state may also arise from the goodness of one man.'

DAOIST SCRIPTURE

THE SAYINGS OF LAOZI
The Sayings of Lao-tzu
Romanisation: Wade-Giles
Translation: Lionel Giles 1904
Estimated Range of Dating: 5th - 3rd centuries B.C.

(Introduction

With rare modesty and intelligent self-appreciation, Confucius described himself as "a transmitter, not a maker, one who loved and believed in the ancients." This judicious estimate fairly sums up the position of China's most prominent teacher. Incalculable though his influence has been over millions of the human race, it is due rather to his sterling common sense backed by the moral strength of his character, than to any striking intellectual power or novelty in his ideas.

But some fifty years before the time of Confucius there lived another great Chinaman, who, besides being a lover of antiquity, takes high rank as a profound and original thinker. Apart from the thick crop of legend and myth which soon gathered round his name, very little is known about the life and personality of Lao Tzŭ, and even the meagre account preserved for us in the history of Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien must be looked upon with suspicion. All the alleged meetings and conversations with Confucius may safely be rejected, not only on account of chronological difficulties, but because they are exactly the sort of invention which would to likely to pass current in an early and uncritical age. We need not, however, go so far as those who impugn the very existence of Lao Tzŭ as an individual, and regard the book which passes under his name as a mere collection of scraps of ancient proverbial philosophy. Some colour, indeed, is lent to this theory by the uncertainty that attaches to the proper interpretation of the name Lao Tzŭ, which is variously explained as (1) Old Boy, because he is said to have been born with a white beard (but we may rather suspect that the story was invented to explain the name); (2) Son of Lao, this being the surname of the virgin mother who conceived him at the sight of a falling star; or (3) Old Philosopher, because of the great age at which he wrote his immortal book, the Tao Tê Ching.

The mention of this classic, or "Treatise of the Way and of Virtue" (as it may be translated for want of better English equivalents), brings us naturally to the vexed question as to whether the text which has come down to us can really be attributed to the hand of Lao Tzŭ, or whether it is not rather a garbled and unauthorised compilation of his sayings, or even the mere forgery of a later age. The Chinese themselves, it may be remarked, are almost unanimous in denying its authenticity. It has been urged that we must make allowance here for Confucian bias; but the internal evidence alone should suffice to dispel the notion, to which many eminent sinologues have clung, that the Tao Tê Ching in its present form can possibly represent the actual work of Lao Tzŭ. On the other hand, it is highly probable that much of it is substantially what he said or wrote, though carelessly collected and pieced together at random. Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien, who published his history in 91 B.C., and was consequently removed from Lao Tzŭ by a much longer period than we are from Shakespeare, tells us that the Sage wrote a book of five thousand and odd words; and, indeed, by that time the Tao Tê Ching may possibly have existed in something like its present shape. But anyone who reflects on the turbulent condition of China during the intervening centuries, and the chaotic state of primitive literature before the labours of Confucius, to say nothing of the Burning of the Books in 213 B.C., will find it hard to convince himself that Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien ever had before him the actual writings of the philosopher.

Arbitrary and confused though the arrangement of the Tao Tê Ching appears, it is possible to trace a coherent line of thought throughout the whole. And although no coiner of paradox on such an extensive scale as Lao Tzŭ could hope to achieve absolute and invariable consistency, it is easy to see that the Tao Tê Ching is something more than a mere jumble of stray aphorisms--that it is, in fact, the well-defined though rudimentary outline of a great system of transcendental and ethical philosophy. That this magnificent scheme of thought never reached its full expression in Lao Tzŭ's treatment is largely due to the fact that he was perpetually struggling to convey his ideas through the medium of a language still imperfectly developed, and forming an inadequate vehicle for abstruse philosophical conceptions. This, too, combined with an extraordinary conciseness of diction, is the cause of the obscurity which hangs over several portions of the text, and which the labours of innumerable commentators have done very little to clear away. To the wide scope thus afforded for the imagination we owe the startling discoveries, in the body of the work, of the Doctrine of the Trinity, and of the Hebrew word for Jehovah, thinly disguised in its Chinese dress. Sad to say, both of these once famous theories are now totally discredited.

The real value of the Tao Tê Ching lies not in such puerilities, but in its wealth of suggestive hints and pregnant phrases, each containing a world of thought in itself and capable of expansion into volumes. Whether Lao Tzŭ ever developed the germs of thought thrown out with such prodigality, we do not know. At any rate, no record of the development remains. And if Lao Tzŭ failed to work out his own system, the task was never satisfactorily accomplished by those who came after him. It is true that an enormous superstructure of Taoist literature has been raised upon the slender foundation of the Tao Tê Ching, but these Taoist writers soon forsook the austerity of Lao Tzŭ's way for the more attractive fields of ritual and magic. Lao Tzŭ was a Socrates who never found a Plato or an Aristotle to reap the goodly harvest he had sown; even Chuang Tzŭ, the greatest of his followers, whose exquisite literary style contrasts strangely with the rugged sentences of the Tao Tê Ching, scarcely seems to have caught the true spirit of his Master, and is apt to lose himself in the vague speculations of a dreamy mysticism.

Lao Tzŭ's work, however, was able to command attention on its own merits. It was first officially recognised as a "canon" or "classic" under the Emperor Ching Ti (B.C. 156-140) of the Han Dynasty, after which the study of Tao survived many vicissitudes, being now under a cloud, and now again in high favour at Court. One Emperor was in the habit of holding forth on the doctrines of Lao Tzŭ before his assembled ministers, and would forthwith degrade any one who stretched, yawned, or spat during his discourse. Another published an edition of the Tao Tê Ching, which is described in the preface as "the root of all things, the teacher of kings, and the most precious jewel of the public." The first Emperor of the later Chin dynasty asked if Tao was of any use in government. Chang Ch'ien-ming told him that "with Tao a corpse could govern the Empire." By successive edicts the Tao Tê Ching was made obligatory at the examination for graduates of the second degree, every one was required to possess a copy of the work, and it was cut on stone at both capitals. Later on, printed copies were distributed to all directors of education, and it was translated into the language of the Nü-chên Tartars. Finally, Kublai Khan ordered all Taoist books to be burnt, with the exception of the Tao Tê Ching, thus showing a just appreciation of the gulf separating Lao Tzŭ from the later writers on Tao.

In view of the disjointed and inartistic character of the work, and its antagonism to many of the principles of orthodox Confucianism, it is small wonder that native scholars, with true Chinese subordination of matter to form, seldom profess to hold it in great esteem; and, indeed, its qualities are not such as would strongly appeal to an essentially hard-headed and materialistic race. Yet, on reflection, it will certainly appear that the teaching of Lao Tel has not been barren of practical results. The great political lesson of laisser-faire is one that the Chinese people has well assimilated and perhaps carried to excess; it may even be said to impregnate their national life more thoroughly than any doctrine of Confucius. From two great evils of modern civilisation--the bane of over-legislation and the pest of meddlesome and overbearing officialdom--China is remarkably free; and in few other countries does the individual enjoy such absolute liberty of action. Thus, on the whole, the Chinese may be said to have adopted Lao Tzŭ's main principles of government, with no small success. It is hard to believe that a rigidly despotic Empire, encumbered with an irksome array of laws and statutes, could have remained homogeneous and intact throughout so lengthy a period. Who can doubt that the enormous bulk of China has managed to defy the disintegrating action of time by reason of its very inertness and placidity? It has been suggested that Lao Tzŭ may have reached this doctrine of non-interference by observing that the Supreme Power, Tao, governs the Universe by fixed laws, and yet leaves to man an apparently unrestricted freedom of will. Be this as it may, he was undoubtedly the first man to preach the gospel of peace and intelligent inaction, being in this, as in many other respects, far in advance of his age.

In those troublous times, when the land was torn by internecine feuds, and the spirit of militarism was rife, it is not a little remarkable to find him expressing unqualified abhorrence of war, though, to be sure, this was but the logical outcome of his system of quietism. Few can help being struck by the similarity of tone between the sayings of Lao Tzŭ and the Gospel enunciated six centuries later by the Prince of Peace. There are two famous utterances in particular which secure to Lao Tzŭ the glory of having anticipated the lofty morality of the Sermon on the Mount. The cavillers who would rank the Golden Rule of Confucius below that of Christ will find it hard to get over the fact that Lao Tzŭ said, "Requite injury with kindness," and "To the not-good I would be good in order to make them good." It was a hundred and fifty years later that Plato reached the same conclusion in the first book of the Republic.

It is interesting to observe certain points of contact between Lao Tzŭ and the early Greek philosophers. He may be compared both with Parmenides, who disparaged sense-knowledge and taught the existence of the One as opposed to the Many, and with Heraclitus, whose theory of the identity of contraries recalls some of our Sage's paradoxes. But it is

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when we come to Plato that the most striking parallels occur. It has not escaped notice that something like the Platonic doctrine of ideas is discoverable in the "forms" which Lao Tzŭ conceives as residing in Tao. But, so far as I know, no one has yet pointed out what a close likeness Tao itself bears to that curious abstraction which Plato calls the Idea of the Good. The function and attributes of this grandiose conception are not set forth quite so fully or clearly as those of Tao, but it certainly covers a great deal more than the ordinary moral connotation of our word "good."[1] It is at once the creative and sustaining Cause of the Universe, the condition of all knowledge, and the Summum Bonum or supreme object of man's desire. Being a metaphysical entity, it cannot be perceived by the eye or ear of sense, and is therefore ridiculed by the inferior man of little intelligence, while only the few can enter into close communion with it. Now, all of this might stand equally well as a description of Tao. On the other hand, the inactivity and repose which are so insisted on by the Chinese thinker as the primary characteristics of Tao, would have been less intelligible to the Greek, and seem to bring us nearer to Buddhism.

The lack of reliable information about Lao Tzŭ is very disappointing. One cannot help wishing that some of the less important details touching the life of Confucius could be exchanged for an authentic personal account, however brief, of his older contemporary. All that we know for certain is that, after having spent most of his life in the State of Chou, he set out at an advanced age towards the West, passed the frontier, and was never heard of again. Thus Lao Tzŭ's gigantic figure looms but indistinctly through the mist of ages, and to gather some idea of his personality we must be content to fall back on his own rough-hewn sentences. There is one striking passage in which he describes himself, half sarcastically and half in earnest, as a dullard and a clown compared with ordinary men, and this, he seems to indicate, is the result of his adherence to Tao. These words, evidently written in great bitterness of spirit, may have been wrung from him by a sense of his failure to convert the careless generation which would have none of the Tao he venerated as the most precious thing under heaven. In showing himself, the man of Tao, in such a disadvantageous light, his meaning was probably much the same as that of Plato in the allegory of the Cave, where he depicts the blindness and bewilderment of those who descend once more into the darkness of their prison after having contemplated the dazzling brilliance of the sun.

Lao Tzŭ's despondency would have been greater still, could he have foreseen how his pure and idealistic teaching was destined to be dragged in the mire of degrading superstition, which for centuries has made Taoism a byword of reproach. Though frequently described as one of the "three religions of China," this cult is really little more than an inextricable mass of jugglery and fraud, absorbed from various popular beliefs and other sources, including even the rival creed of Buddhism, and conducted by a body of priests recruited from the very dregs of the Empire. Such a fate, however, is less to be wondered at than deplored, seeing that the great Founder himself took no pains to establish a practicable system. He propounded lofty sentiments, and neglected the homely details without which his ideas could not bear fruit. Moreover, when all is said and done, idealism can never hope to hold its own in human affairs, until indeed the new era dawns of which Plato dreamed long ago, and this world of ours becomes ripe for the dominion of Philosopher-Kings.

Lionel Giles; 21st June, 1904.

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SAYINGS OF LAOZI CHAPTER 1

Tao in its Transcendental Aspect, and in its Physical Manifestation

The Tao which can be expressed in words is not the eternal Tao; the name which can be uttered is not its eternal name. Without a name, it is the Beginning of Heaven and Earth; with a name, it is the Mother of all things. Only one who is eternally free from earthly passions can apprehend its spiritual essence; he who is ever clogged by passions can see no more than its outer form. These two things, the spiritual and the material, though we call them by different names, in their origin are one and the same. This sameness is a mystery,--the mystery of mysteries. It is the gate of all spirituality.

How unfathomable is Tao! It seems to be the ancestral progenitor of all things. How pure and clear is Tao! It would seem to be everlasting. I know not of whom it is the offspring. It appears to have been anterior to any Sovereign Power.[1]

Tao eludes the sense of sight, and is therefore called colourless. It eludes the sense of hearing, and is therefore called soundless. It eludes the sense of touch, and is therefore called incorporeal. These three qualities cannot be apprehended, and hence they may be blended into unity.

Its upper part is not bright, and its lower part is not obscure. Ceaseless in action, it cannot be named, but returns again to nothingness. We may call it the form of the formless, the image of the imageless, the fleeting and the indeterminable. Would you go before it, you cannot see its face; would you go behind it, you cannot see its back.

The mightiest manifestations of active force flow solely from Tao.

Tao in itself is vague, impalpable,--how impalpable, how vague! Yet within it there is Form. How vague, how impalpable! Yet within it there is Substance. How profound, how obscure! Yet within it there is a Vital Principle. This principle is the Quintessence of Reality, and out of it comes Truth.

From of old until now, its name has never passed away. It watches over the beginning of all things. How do I know this about the beginning of things? Through Tao.

There is something, chaotic yet complete, which existed before Heaven and Earth. Oh, how still it is, and formless, standing alone without changing, reaching everywhere without suffering harm! It must be regarded as the Mother of the Universe. Its name I know not. To designate it, I call it Tao. Endeavouring to describe it, I call it Great. Being great, it passes on; passing on, it becomes remote; having become remote, it returns.

Therefore Tao is great; Heaven is great; Earth is great; and the Sovereign also is great. In the Universe there are four powers, of which the Sovereign is one. Man takes his law from the Earth; the Earth takes its law from Heaven; Heaven takes its law from Tao; but the law of Tao is its own spontaneity.

Tao in its unchanging aspect has no name. Small though it be in its primordial simplicity, mankind dare not claim its service. Could princes and kings hold and keep it, all creation would spontaneously pay homage. Heaven and Earth would unite in sending down sweet dew, and the people would be righteous unbidden and of their own accord.

As soon as Tao creates order, it becomes nameable. When it once has a name, men will know how to rest in it. Knowing how to rest in it, they will run no risk of harm.

Tao as it exists in the world is like the great rivers and seas which receive the streams from the valleys.

All-pervading is the Great Tao. It can be at once on the right hand and on the left. All things depend on it for life, and it rejects them not. Its task accomplished, it takes no credit. It loves and nourishes all things, but does not act as master. It is ever free from desire. We may call it small. All things return to it, yet it does not act as master. We may call it great.

The whole world will flock to him who holds the mighty form of Tao. They will come and receive no hurt, but find rest, peace, and tranquillity.

With music and dainties we may detain the passing guest. But if we open our mouths to speak of Tao, he finds it tasteless and insipid.

Not visible to the sight, not audible to the ear, in its use it is inexhaustible.

Retrogression is the movement of Tao. Weakness is the character of Tao.

All things under Heaven derive their being from Tao in the form of Existence; Tao in the form of Existence sprang from Tao in the form of Non-Existence.

Tao is a great square with no angles, a great vessel which takes long to complete, a great sound which cannot be heard, a great image with no form.

Tao lies hid and cannot be named, yet it has the power of transmuting and perfecting all things.

Tao produced Unity; Unity produced Duality; Duality produced Trinity; and Trinity produced all existing objects. These myriad objects leave darkness behind them and embrace the light, being harmonised by the breath of Vacancy.

Tao produces all things; its Virtue nourishes them; its Nature gives them form; its Force perfects them.

Hence there is not a single thing but pays homage to Tao and extols its Virtue. This homage paid to Tao, this extolling of its Virtue, is due to no command, but is always spontaneous.

Thus it is that Tao, engendering all things, nourishes them, develops them, and fosters them; perfects them, ripens them, tends them, and protects them.

Production without possession, action without self-assertion, development without domination this is its mysterious operation.

The World has a First Cause, which may be regarded as the Mother of the World. When one has the Mother, one can know the Child. He who knows the Child and still keeps the Mother, though his body perish, shall run no risk of harm.

It is the Way of Heaven not to strive, and yet it knows how to overcome; not to speak, and yet it knows how to obtain a response; it calls not, and things come of themselves; it is slow to move, but excellent in its designs.

Heaven's net is vast; though its meshes are wide, it lets nothing slip through.

The Way of Heaven is like the drawing of a bow: it brings down what is high and raises what is low. It is the Way of Heaven to take from those who have too much, and give to those who have too little. But the way of man is not so. He takes away from those who have too little, to add to his own superabundance. What man is there that can take of his own superabundance and give it to mankind? Only he who possesses Tao.

The Tao of Heaven has no favourites. It gives to all good men without distinction.

Things wax strong and then decay. This is the contrary of Tao. What is contrary to Tao soon perishes.

SAYINGS OF LAOZI CHAPTER 2

Tao as a Moral Principle, or 'Virtue'

The highest goodness is like water, for water is excellent in benefiting all things, and it does not strive. It occupies the lowest place, which men abhor. And therefore it is near akin to Tao.

When your work is done and fame has been achieved, then retire into the background; for this is the Way of Heaven.

Those who follow the Way desire not excess; and thus without excess they are for ever exempt from change.

All things alike do their work, and then we see them subside. When they have reached their bloom, each returns to its origin. Returning to their origin means rest or fulfilment of destiny. This reversion is an eternal law. To know that law is to be enlightened. Not to know it, is misery and calamity. He who knows the eternal law is liberal-minded. Being liberal-minded, he is just. Being just, he is kingly. Being kingly, he is akin to Heaven. Being akin to Heaven, he possesses Tao. Possessed of Tao, he endures for ever. Though his body perish, yet he suffers no harm.

He who acts in accordance with Tao, becomes one with Tao. He who treads the path of Virtue becomes one with Virtue. He who pursues a course of Vice becomes one with Vice. The man who is one with Tao, Tao is also glad to receive. The man who is one with Virtue, Virtue is also glad to receive. The man who is one with Vice, Vice is also glad to receive.

He who is self-approving does not shine. He who boasts has no merit. He who exalts himself does not rise high. Judged according to Tao, he is like remnants of food or a tumour on the body--an object of universal disgust. Therefore one who has Tao will not consort with such.

Perfect Virtue acquires nothing; therefore it obtains everything. Perfect Virtue does nothing, yet there is nothing which it does not effect. Perfect Charity operates without the need of anything to evoke it. Perfect Duty to one's neighbour operates, but always needs to be evoked. Perfect Ceremony operates, and calls for no outward response; nevertheless it induces respect.

Ceremonies are the outward expression of inward feelings.

If Tao perishes, then Virtue will perish; if Virtue perishes, then Charity will perish; if Charity perishes, then Duty to one's neighbour will perish; if Duty to one's neighbour perishes, then Ceremonies will perish.

Ceremonies are but the veneer of loyalty and good faith, while oft-times the source of disorder. Knowledge of externals is but a showy ornament of Tao, while oft-times the beginning of imbecility.

Therefore the truly great man takes his stand upon what is solid, and not upon what is superficial; upon what is real, and not upon what is ornamental. He rejects the latter in favour of the former.

When the superior scholar hears of Tao, he diligently practises it. When the average scholar hears of Tao, he sometimes retains it, sometimes loses it. When the inferior scholar hears of Tao, he loudly laughs at it. Were it not thus ridiculed, it would not be worthy of the name of Tao.

He who is enlightened by Tao seems wrapped in darkness. He who is advanced in Tao seems to be going back. He who walks smoothly in Tao seems to be on a rugged path.

The man of highest virtue appears lowly. He who is truly pure behaves as though he were sullied. He who has virtue in abundance behaves as though it were not enough. He who is firm in virtue seems like a skulking pretender. He who is simple and true appears unstable as water.

If Tao prevails on earth, horses will be used for purposes of agriculture. If Tao does not prevail, war-horses will be bred on the common.

If we had sufficient knowledge to walk in the Great Way, what we should most fear would be boastful display.

The Great Way is very smooth, but the people love the by-paths.

Where the palaces are very splendid, there the fields will be very waste, and the granaries very empty.

The wearing of gay embroidered robes, the carrying of sharp swords, fastidiousness in food and drink, superabundance of property and wealth:--this I call flaunting robbery; most assuredly it is not Tao.

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He who trusts to his abundance of natural virtue is like an infant newly born, whom venomous reptiles will not sting, wild beasts will not seize, birds of prey will not strike. The infant's bones are weak, its sinews are soft, yet its grasp is firm. All day long it will cry without its voice becoming hoarse. This is because the harmony of its bodily system is perfect.

Temper your sharpness, disentangle your ideas, moderate your brilliancy, live in harmony with your age. This is being in conformity with the principle of Tao. Such a man is impervious alike to favour and disgrace, to benefits and injuries, to honour and contempt. And therefore he is esteemed above all man kind.

In governing men and in serving Heaven, there is nothing like moderation. For only by moderation can there be an early return to man's normal state. This early return is the same as a great storage of Virtue. With a great storage of Virtue there is naught which may not be achieved. If there is naught which may not be achieved, then no one will know to what extent this power reaches. And if no one knows to what extent a man's power reaches, that man is fit to be the ruler of a State. Having the secret of rule, his rule shall endure. Setting the tap-root deep, and making the spreading roots firm: this is the way to ensure long life to the tree.

Tao is the sanctuary where all things find refuge, the good man's priceless treasure, the guardian and saviour of him who is not good.

Hence at the enthronement of an Emperor and the appointment of his three ducal ministers, though there be some who bear presents of costly jade and drive chariots with teams of four horses, that is not so good as sitting still and offering the gift of this Tao.

Why was it that the men of old esteemed this Tao so highly? Is it not because it may be daily sought and found, and can remit the sins of the guilty? Hence it is the most precious thing under Heaven.

All the world says that my Tao is great, but unlike other teaching. It is just because it is great that it appears unlike other teaching. If it had this likeness, long ago would its smallness have been known.

The skilful philosophers of the olden time were subtle, spiritual, profound, and penetrating. They were so deep as to be incomprehensible. Because they are hard to comprehend, I will endeavour to describe them.

Shrinking were they, like one fording a stream in winter. Cautious were they, like one who fears an attack from any quarter. Circumspect were they, like a stranger guest; self-effacing, like ice about to melt; simple, like unpolished wood; vacant, like a valley; opaque, like muddy water.

When terms are made after a great quarrel, a certain ill-feeling is bound to be left behind. How can this be made good? Therefore, having entered into an agreement, the Sage adheres to his obligations,[2] but does not exact fulfilment from others. The man who has Virtue attends to the spirit of the compact; the man without Virtue attends only to his claims.

He who tries to govern a kingdom by his sagacity is of that kingdom the despoiler; but he who does not govern by sagacity is the kingdom's blessing. He who understands these two sayings may be regarded as a pattern and a model. To keep this principle constantly before one's eyes is called Profound Virtue. Profound Virtue is unfathomable, far-reaching, paradoxical at first, but afterwards exhibiting thorough conformity with Nature.

SAYINGS OF LAOZI CHAPTER 3

The Doctrine of Inaction

The Sage occupies himself with inaction, and conveys instruction without words. Is it not by neglecting self-interest that one will be able to achieve it?

Purge yourself of your profound intelligence, and you can still be free from blemish. Cherish the people and order the kingdom, and you can still do without meddlesome action.

Who is there that can make muddy water clear? But if allowed to remain still, it will gradually become clear of itself. Who is there that can secure a state of absolute repose? But let time go on, and the state of repose will gradually arise.

Be sparing of speech, and things will come right of themselves.

A violent wind does not outlast the morning; a squall of rain does not outlast the day. Such is the course of Nature. And if Nature herself cannot sustain her efforts long, how much less can man!

Attain complete vacuity, and sedulously preserve a state of repose.

Tao is eternally inactive, and yet it leaves nothing undone. If kings and princes could but hold fast to this principle, all things would work out their own reformation. If, having reformed, they still desired to act, I would have them restrained by the simplicity of the Nameless Tao. The simplicity of the Nameless Tao brings about an absence of desire. The absence of desire gives tranquillity. And thus the Empire will rectify itself.

The softest things in the world override the hardest. That which has no substance enters where there is no crevice. Hence I know the advantage of inaction.

Conveying lessons without words, reaping profit without action,--there are few in the world who can attain to this!

Activity conquers cold, but stillness conquers heat. Purity and stillness are the correct principles for mankind.

Without going out of doors one may know the whole world; without looking out of the window, one may see the Way of Heaven. The further one travels, the less one may know. Thus it is that without moving you shall know; without looking you shall see; without doing you shall achieve.

The pursuit of book-learning brings about daily increase. The practice of Tao brings about daily loss. Repeat this loss again and again, and you arrive at inaction. Practise inaction, and there is nothing which cannot be done.

The Empire has ever been won by letting things take their course. He who must always be doing is unfit to obtain the Empire.

Keep the mouth shut, close the gateways of sense, and as long as you live you will have no trouble. Open your lips and push your affairs, and you will not be safe to the end of your days.

Practise inaction, occupy yourself with doing nothing.

Desire not to desire, and you will not value things difficult to obtain. Learn not to learn, and you will revert to a condition which mankind in general has lost.

Leave all things to take their natural course, and do not interfere.

SAYINGS OF LAOZI CHAPTER 4

Lowliness and Humility

All things in Nature work silently. They come into being and possess nothing. They fulfil their functions and make no claim.

When merit has been achieved, do not take it to yourself; for if you do not take it to yourself, it shall never be taken from you.

Follow diligently the Way in your own heart, but make no display of it to the world.

Keep behind, and you shall be put in front; keep out, and you shall be kept in.

Goodness strives not, and therefore it is not rebuked.

He that humbles himself shall be preserved entire. He that bends shall be made straight. He that is empty shall be filled. He that is worn out shall be renewed. He who has little shall succeed. He who has much shall go astray.

Therefore the Sage embraces Unity, and is a model for all under Heaven. He is free from self-display, therefore he shines forth; from self-assertion, therefore he is distinguished; from self-glorification, therefore he has merit; from self-exaltation, therefore he rises superior to all. Inasmuch as he does not strive, there is no one in the world who can strive with him.

He who, conscious of being strong, is content to be weak, he shall be the paragon of mankind. Being the paragon of mankind, Virtue will never desert him. He returns to the state of a little child.

He who, conscious of his own light, is content to be obscure,--he shall be the whole world's model. Being the whole world's model, his Virtue will never fail. He reverts to the Absolute.

He who, conscious of desert, is content to suffer disgrace,--he shall be the cynosure of mankind. Being the cynosure of mankind, his Virtue then is full. He returns to perfect simplicity.

He who is great must make humility his base. He who is high must make lowliness his foundation. Thus, princes and kings in speaking of themselves use the terms "lonely," "friendless," "of small account." Is not this making humility their base?

Thus it is that "Some things are increased by being diminished, others are diminished by being increased." What others have taught, I also teach; verily, I will make it the root of my teaching.

What makes a kingdom great is its being like a down-flowing river,---the central point towards which all the smaller streams under Heaven converge; or like the female throughout the world, who by quiescence always overcomes the male. And quiescence is a form of humility.

Therefore, if a great kingdom humbles itself before a small kingdom, it shall make that small kingdom its prize. And if a small kingdom humbles itself before a great kingdom, it shall win over that great kingdom. Thus the one humbles itself in order to attain, the other attains because it is humble. If the great kingdom has no further desire than to bring men together and to nourish them, the small kingdom will have no further desire than to enter the service of the other. But in order that both may have their desire, the great one must learn humility.

The reason why rivers and seas are able to be lords over a hundred mountain streams, is that they know how to keep below them. That is why they are able to reign over all the mountain streams.

Therefore the Sage, wishing to be above the people, must by his words put himself below them; wishing to be before the people, he must put himself behind them. In this way, though he has his place above them, the people do not feel his weight; though he has his place before them, they do not feel it as an injury. Therefore all mankind delight to exalt him, and weary of him not.

The Sage expects no recognition for what he does; he achieves merit but does not take it to himself; he does not wish to display his worth.

I have three precious things, which I hold fast and prize. The first is gentleness; the second is frugality; the third is humility, which keeps me from putting myself before others. Be gentle, and you can be bold; be frugal, and you can be liberal; avoid putting yourself before others, and you can become a leader among men.

But in the present day men cast off gentleness, and are all for being bold; they spurn frugality, and retain only extravagance; they discard humility, and aim only at being first. Therefore they shall surely perish.

Gentleness brings victory to him who attacks, and safety to him who defends. Those whom Heaven would save, it fences round with gentleness.

The best soldiers are not warlike; the best fighters do not lose their temper. The greatest conquerors are those who overcome their enemies without strife. The greatest directors of men are those who yield place to others. This is called the Virtue of not striving, the capacity for directing mankind; this is being the compeer of Heaven. It was the highest goal of the ancients.

SAYINGS OF LAOZI CHAPTER 5

Government

Not exalting worth keeps the people from rivalry. Not prizing what is hard to procure keeps the people from theft. Not to show them what they may covet is the way to keep their minds from disorder.

Therefore the Sage, when he governs, empties their minds and fills their bellies, weakens their inclinations and strengthens their bones. His constant object is to keep the people without knowledge and without desire, or to prevent those who have knowledge from daring to act. He practises inaction, and nothing remains ungoverned.

He who respects the State as his own person is fit to govern it. He who loves the State as his own body is fit to be entrusted with it.

In the highest antiquity, the people did not know that they had rulers. In the next age they loved and praised them. In the next, they feared them. In the next, they despised them.

How cautious is the Sage, how sparing of his words! When his task is accomplished and affairs are prosperous, the people all say: "We have come to be as we are, naturally and of ourselves."

If any one desires to take the Empire in hand and govern it, I see that he will not succeed. The Empire is a divine utensil which may not be roughly handled. He who meddles, mars. He who holds it by force, loses it.

Fishes must not be taken from the water: the methods of government must not be exhibited to the people.

Use uprightness in ruling a State; employ stratagems in waging war; practise non-interference in order to win the Empire. Now this is how I know what I lay down:--

As restrictions and prohibitions are multiplied in the Empire, the people grow poorer and poorer. When the people are subjected to overmuch government, the land is thrown into confusion. When the people are skilled in many cunning arts, strange are the objects of luxury that appear.

The greater the number of laws and enactments, the more thieves and robbers there will be. Therefore the Sage says: "So long as I do nothing, the people will work out their own reformation. So long as I love calm, the people will right themselves. If only I keep from meddling, the people will grow rich. If only I am free from desire, the people will come naturally back to simplicity."

If the government is sluggish and tolerant, the people will be honest and free from guile. If the government is prying and meddling, there will be constant infraction of the law. Is the government corrupt? Then uprightness becomes rare, and goodness becomes strange. Verily, mankind have been under delusion for many a day!

Govern a great nation as you would cook a small fish.[1]

If the Empire is governed according to Tao, disembodied spirits will not manifest supernatural powers. It is not that they lack supernatural power, but they will not use it to hurt mankind. Again, it is not that they are unable to hurt mankind, but they see that the Sage also does not hurt mankind. If then neither Sage nor spirits work harm, their virtue converges to one beneficent end.

In ancient times those who knew how to practise Tao did not use it to enlighten the people, but rather to keep them ignorant. The difficulty of governing the people arises from their having too much knowledge.

If the people do not fear the majesty of government, a reign of terror will ensue.

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Do not confine them within too narrow bounds; do not make their lives too weary. For if you do not weary them of life, then they will not grow weary of you.

If the people do not fear death, what good is there in using death as a deterrent? But if the people are brought up in fear of death, and we can take and execute any man who has committed a monstrous crime, who will dare to follow his example?

Now, there is always one who presides over the infliction of death. He who would take the place of the magistrate and himself inflict death, is like one who should try to do the work of a master-carpenter. And of those who try the work of a master-carpenter there are few who do not cut their own hands.

The people starve because those in authority over them devour too many taxes; that is why they starve. The people are difficult to govern because those placed over them are meddlesome; that is why they are difficult to govern. The people despise death because of their excessive labour in seeking the means of life; that is why they despise death.

A Sage has said: "He who can take upon himself the nation's shame is fit to be lord of the land. He who can take upon himself the nation's calamities is fit to be ruler over the Empire."

Were I ruler of a little State with a small population, and only ten or a hundred men available as soldiers, I would not use them. I would have the people look on death as a grievous thing, and they should not travel to distant countries. Though they might possess boats and carriages, they should have no occasion to ride in them. Though they might own weapons and armour, they should have no need to use them. I would make the people return to the use of knotted cords.[2] They should find their plain food sweet, their rough garments fine. They should be content with their homes, and happy in their simple ways. If a neighbouring State was within sight of mine--nay, if we were close enough to hear the crowing of each other's cocks and the barking of each other's dogs--the two peoples should grow old and die without there ever having been any mutual intercourse.

SAYINGS OF LAOZI CHAPTER 6

War

He who serves a ruler of men in harmony with Tao will not subdue the Empire by force of arms. Such a course is wont to bring retribution in its train.

Where troops have been quartered, brambles and thorns spring up. In the track of great armies there must follow lean years.

The good man wins a victory and then stops; he will not go on to acts of violence. Winning, he boasteth not; he will not triumph; he shows no arrogance. He wins because he cannot choose; after his victory he will not be overbearing.

Weapons, however beautiful, are instruments of ill omen, hateful to all creatures. Therefore he who has Tao will have nothing to do with them.

Where the princely man abides, the weak left hand is in honour. But he who uses weapons honours the stronger right. Weapons are instruments of ill omen; they are not the instruments of the princely man, who uses them only when he needs must. Peace and tranquillity are what he prizes. When he conquers, he is not elate. To be elate were to rejoice in the slaughter of human beings. And he who rejoices in the slaughter of human beings is not fit to work his will in the Empire.

On happy occasions, the left is favoured; on sad occasions, the right. The second in command has his place on the left, the general in chief on the right. That is to say, they are placed in the order observed at funeral rites. And, indeed, he who has exterminated a great multitude of men should bewail them with tears and lamentation. It is well that those who are victorious in battle should be placed in the order of funeral rites.

A certain military commander used to say: "I dare not act the host; I prefer to play the guest.[1] I dare not advance an inch; I prefer to retreat a foot."

There is no greater calamity than lightly engaging in war. Lightly to engage in war is to risk the loss of our treasure.[2]

When opposing warriors join in battle, he who has pity conquers.

SAYINGS OF LAOZI CHAPTER 7

Paradoxes

Among mankind, the recognition of beauty as such implies the idea of ugliness, and the recognition of good implies the idea of evil. There is the same mutual relation between existence and non-existence in the matter of creation; between difficulty and ease in the matter of accomplishing; between long and short in the matter of form; between high and low in the matter of elevation; between treble and bass in the matter of musical pitch; between before and after in the matter of priority.

Nature is not benevolent; with ruthless indifference she makes all things serve their purposes, like the straw dogs we use at sacrifices. The Sage is not benevolent: he utilises the people with the like inexorability.

The space between Heaven and Earth,--is it not like a bellows? It is empty, yet inexhaustible; when it is put in motion, more and more comes out.

Heaven and Earth are long-lasting. The reason why Heaven and Earth can last long is that they live not for themselves, and thus they are able to endure.

Thirty spokes unite in one nave; the utility of the cart depends on the hollow centre in which the axle turns. Clay is moulded into a vessel; the utility of the vessel depends on its hollow interior. Doors and windows are cut out in order to make a house; the utility of the house depends on the empty spaces.

Thus, while the existence of things may be good, it is the non-existent in them which makes them serviceable.

When the Great Tao falls into disuse, benevolence and righteousness come into vogue. When shrewdness and sagacity appear, great hypocrisy prevails. It is when the bonds of kinship are out of joint that filial piety and paternal affection begin. It is when the State is in a ferment of revolution that loyal patriots arise.

Cast off your holiness, rid yourself of sagacity, and the people will benefit an hundredfold. Discard benevolence and abolish righteousness, and the people will return to filial piety and paternal love. Renounce your scheming and abandon gain, and thieves and robbers will disappear. These three precepts mean that outward show is insufficient, and therefore they bid us be true to our proper nature;--to show simplicity, to embrace plain dealing, to reduce selfishness, to moderate desire.

A variety of colours makes man's eye blind; a diversity of sounds makes man's ear deaf; a mixture of flavours makes man's palate dull.

He who knows others is clever, but he who knows himself is enlightened. He who overcomes others is strong, but he who overcomes himself is mightier still. He is rich who knows when he has enough. He who acts with energy has strength of purpose. He who moves not from his proper place is long-lasting. He who dies, but perishes not, enjoys true longevity.

If you would contract, you must first expand. If you would weaken, you must first strengthen. If you would overthrow, you must first raise up. If you would take, you must first give. This is called the dawn of intelligence.

He who is most perfect seems to be lacking; yet his resources are never outworn. He who is most full seems vacant; yet his uses are inexhaustible.

Extreme straightness is as bad as crookedness. Extreme cleverness is as bad as folly. Extreme fluency is as bad as stammering.

Those who know do not speak; those who .speak do not know.

Abandon learning, and you will be free from trouble and distress.

Failure is the foundation of success, and the means by which it is achieved. Success is the lurking-place of failure; but who can tell when the turning-point will come?

He who acts, destroys; he who grasps, loses. Therefore the Sage does not act, and so does not destroy; he does not grasp, and so he does not lose.

Only he who does nothing for his life's sake can truly be said to value his life.

Man at his birth is tender and weak; at his death he is rigid and strong. Plants and trees when they come forth are tender and crisp; when dead, they are dry and tough. Thus rigidity and strength are the concomitants of death; softness and weakness are the concomitants of life.

Hence the warrior that is strong does not conquer; the tree that is strong is cut down. Therefore the strong and the big take the lower place; the soft and the weak take the higher place.

There is nothing in the world more soft and weak than water, yet for attacking things that are hard and strong there is nothing that surpasses it, nothing that can take its place.

The soft overcomes the hard; the weak overcomes the strong. There is no one in the world but knows this truth, and no one who can put it into practice.

Those who are wise have no wide range of learning; those who range most widely are not wise.

The Sage does not care to hoard. The more he uses for the benefit of others, the more he possesses himself. The more he gives to his fellow-men, the more he has of his own.

The truest sayings are paradoxical.

SAYINGS OF LAOZI CHAPTER 8

Miscellaneous Sayings and Precepts

By many words wit is exhausted; it is better to preserve a mean. The excellence of a dwelling is its site; the excellence of a mind is its profundity; the excellence of giving is charitableness; the excellence of speech is truthfulness; the excellence of government is order; the excellence of action is ability; the excellence of movement is timeliness.

He who grasps more than he can hold, would be better without any. If a house is crammed with treasures of gold and jade, it will be impossible to guard them all.

He who prides himself upon wealth and honour hastens his own downfall. He who strikes with a sharp point will not himself be safe for long.

He who embraces unity of soul by subordinating animal instincts to reason will be able to escape dissolution. He who strives his utmost after tenderness can become even as a little child.

If a man is clear-headed and intelligent, can he be without knowledge?

The Sage attends to the inner and not to the outer; he puts away the objective and holds to the subjective.

Between yes and yea, how small the difference! Between good and evil, how great the difference!

What the world reverences may not be treated with disrespect.

He who has not faith in others shall find no faith in them.

To see oneself is to be clear of sight. Mighty is he who conquers himself.

He who raises himself on tiptoe cannot stand firm; he who stretches his legs wide apart cannot walk.

Racing and hunting excite man's heart to madness.

The struggle for rare possessions drives a man to actions injurious to himself.

The heavy is the foundation of the light; repose is the ruler of unrest.

The wise prince in his daily course never departs from gravity and repose. Though he possess a gorgeous palace, he will dwell therein with calm indifference. How should the lord of a myriad chariots conduct himself with levity in the Empire? Levity loses men's hearts; unrest loses the throne.

The skilful traveller leaves no tracks; the skilful speaker makes no blunders; the skilful reckoner uses no tallies. He who knows how to shut uses no bolts--yet you cannot open. He who knows how to bind uses no cords--yet you cannot undo.

Among men, reject none; among things, reject nothing. This is called comprehensive intelligence.

The good man is the bad man's teacher; the bad man is the material upon which the good man works. If the one does not value his teacher, if the other does not love his material, then despite their sagacity they must go far astray. This is a mystery of great import.

As unwrought material is divided up and made into serviceable vessels, so the Sage turns his simplicity[1] to account, and thereby becomes the ruler of rulers.

The course of things is such that what was in front is now behind; what was hot is now cold; what was strong is now weak; what was complete is now in ruin. Therefore the Sage avoids excess, extravagance, and grandeur.

Which is nearer to you, fame or life? Which is more to you, life or wealth? Which is the greater malady, gain or loss?

Excessive ambitions necessarily entail great sacrifice. Much hoarding must be followed by heavy loss. He who knows when he has enough will not be put to shame. He who knows when to stop will not come to harm. Such a man can look forward to long life.

There is no sin greater than ambition; no calamity greater than discontent; no vice more sickening than covetousness. He who is content always has enough.

Do not wish to be rare like jade, or common like stone.

The Sage has no hard and fast ideas, but he shares the ideas of the people and makes them his own. Living in the world, he is apprehensive lest his heart be sullied by contact with the world. The people all fix their eyes and ears upon him. The Sage looks upon all as his children.

I have heard that he who possesses the secret of life, when travelling abroad, will not flee from rhinoceros or tiger; when entering a hostile camp, he will not equip himself with sword or buckler. The rhinoceros finds in him no place to insert its horn; the tiger has nowhere to fasten its claw; the soldier has nowhere to thrust his blade. And why? Because he has no spot where death can enter.

To see small beginnings is clearness of sight. To rest in weakness is strength.

He who knows how to plant, shall not have his plant uprooted; he who knows how to hold a thing, shall not have it taken away. Sons and grandsons will worship at his shrine, which shall endure from generation to generation.

Knowledge in harmony is called constant. Constant knowledge is called wisdom.[2] Increase of life is called felicity. The mind directing the body is called strength.

Be square without being angular. Be honest without being mean. Be upright without being punctilious. Be brilliant without being showy.

Good words shall gain you honour in the market-place, but good deeds shall gain you friends among men.

To the good I would be good; to the not-good I would also be good, in order to make them good.

With the faithful I would keep faith; with the unfaithful I would also keep faith, in order that they may become faithful.

Even if a man is bad, how can it be right to cast him off?

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Requite injury with kindness.

The difficult things of this world must once have been easy; the great things of this world must once have been small. Set about difficult things while they are still easy; do great things while they are still small. The Sage never affects to do anything great, and therefore he is able to achieve his great results.

He who always thinks things easy is sure to find them difficult. Therefore the Sage ever anticipates difficulties, and thus it is he never encounters them.

While times are quiet, it is easy to take action; ere coming troubles have cast their shadows, it is easy to lay plans.

That which is brittle is easily broken; that which is minute is easily dissipated. Take precautions before the evil appears; regulate things before disorder has begun.

The tree which needs two arms to span its girth sprang from the tiniest shoot. Yon tower, nine storeys high, rose from a little mound of earth. A journey of a thousand miles began with a single step.

A great principle cannot be divided; therefore it is that many containers cannot contain it.[3]

The Sage knows what is in him, but makes no display; he respects himself, but seeks not honour for himself.

To know, but to be as though not knowing, is the height of wisdom. Not to know, and yet to affect knowledge, is a vice. If we regard this vice as such, we shall escape it. The Sage has not this vice. It is because he regards it as a vice that he escapes it.

Use the light that is in you to revert to your natural clearness of sight. Then the loss of the body is unattended by calamity. This is called doubly enduring.

In the management of affairs, people constantly break down just when they are nearing a successful issue. If they took as much care at the end as at the beginning, they would not fail in their enterprises.

He who lightly promises is sure to keep but little faith.

He whose boldness leads him to venture, will be slain; he who is brave enough not to venture, will live. Of these two, one has the benefit, the other has the hurt. But who is it that knows the real cause of Heaven's hatred? This is why the Sage hesitates and finds it difficult to act.

The violent and stiff-necked die not by a natural death.

True words are not fine; fine words are not true.

The good are not contentious; the contentious are not good.

This is the Way of Heaven, which benefits, and injures not. This is the Way of the Sage, in whose actions there is no element of strife.

SAYINGS OF LAOZI CHAPTER 9

Lao Tzu on Himself

Alas! the barrenness of the age has not yet reached its limit. All men are radiant with happiness, as if enjoying a great feast, as if mounted on a tower in spring. I alone am still, and give as yet no sign of joy. I am like an infant which has not yet smiled, forlorn as one who has nowhere to lay his head. Other men have plenty, while I alone seem to have lost all. I am a man foolish in heart, dull and confused. Other men are full of light; I alone seem to be in darkness. Other men are alert; I alone am listless. I am unsettled as the ocean, drifting as though I had no stopping-place. All men have their usefulness; I alone am stupid and clownish. Lonely though I am and unlike other men, yet I revere the Foster-Mother, Tao.

My words are very easy to understand, very easy to put into practice; yet the world can neither understand nor practise them.

My words have a clue, my actions have an underlying principle. It is because men do not know the clue that they understand me not.

Those who know me are but few, and on that account my honour is the greater.

Thus the Sage wears coarse garments, but carries a jewel in his bosom.

THE END

THE DAO DE JING

Romanisation: Wade-Giles: The Tao Teh King

Translation By Aleister Crowley, 1918

Estimated Range of Dating: 6th - 5th century B.C.

(The Dao De Jing (Wade-Giles: Tao Te King or Tao Te Ching) is a Chinese classic text traditionally credited to the 6th-century BC sage Laozi. The Chinese character Dao literally means "way," De means "virtue", Jing as it is used here means "canon" or "great book," ergo Dao De Jing can best be translated as "Canon about the Way to Virtue."

The text's authorship, date of composition and date of compilation are debated. The oldest excavated portion dates back to the late 4th century BC, but modern scholarship dates other parts of the text as having been written—or at least compiled—later than the earliest portions of the Zhuangzi.

The Dao De Jing, along with the Zhuangzi, is a fundamental text for both philosophical and religious Daoism. It also strongly influenced other schools of Chinese philosophy and religion, including Legalism, Confucianism, and Buddhism, which was largely interpreted through the use of Taoist words and concepts when it was originally introduced to China. Many artists, including poets, painters, calligraphers, and gardeners, have used the Dao De Jing as a source of inspiration. Its influence has spread widely outside East Asia and it is among the most translated works in world literature.

Historical authenticity of the author

The Dao De Jing is ascribed to Laozi, whose historical existence has been a matter of scholarly debate. His name, which means "Old Master", has only fueled controversy on this issue.

The first reliable reference to Laozi is his "biography" in the Records of the Grand Historian (63, tr. Chan 1963:35–37), by Chinese historian Sima Qian (c. 145–86 BC), which combines three stories. In the first, Laozi was a contemporary of Confucius (551–479 BC). His surname was Li ("plum"), and his personal name was Er ("ear") or Dan ("long ear"). He was an official in the imperial archives, and wrote a book in two parts before departing to the West; at the request of the keeper of the Han-ku Pass, Yinxi, Laozi composed the Tao Te Ching. In the second story, Laozi, also a contemporary of Confucius, was Lao Laizi ("Old Come Master"), who wrote a book in 15 parts. Third, Laozi was the grand historian and astrologer Lao Dan ("Old Long-ears"), who lived during the reign (384–362 BC) of Duke Xian of Qin.

Generations of scholars have debated the historicity of Laozi and the dating of the Dao De Jing. Linguistic studies of the text's vocabulary and rhyme scheme point to a date of composition after the Shijing yet before the Zhuangzi. Legends claim variously that Laozi was "born old" and that he lived for 996 years, with twelve previous incarnations starting around the time of the Three Sovereigns before the thirteenth as Laozi. Some Western scholars have expressed doubts over Laozi's historical existence. [* One of the oldest complete Chinese books in existence that is known as Classic of Poetry, translated better as Book of Odes or Book of Songs.]*

Many Daoists venerate Laozi as Daotsu, the founder of the school of Dao, the Daode Tianjun in the Three Pure Ones, and one of the eight elders transformed from Taiji in the Chinese creation myth. The text seem to be a compilation or anthology representing multiple authors. The current text might have been compiled c. 250 BC, drawn from a wide range of texts dating back a century or two.

Principal versions

Among the many transmitted editions of the Dao De Jing text, the three primary ones are named after early commentaries. The "Yan Zun Version", which is only extant for the Te Ching, derives from a commentary attributed to Han dynasty scholar Yan Zun (fl. 80 BC – 10 AD). The "Heshang Gong Version" is named after the legendary Heshang Gong ("Riverside Sage") who supposedly lived during the reign (180–157 BC) of Emperor Wen of Han. This commentary has a preface written by Ge Xuan (164–244 AD), granduncle of Ge Hong, and scholarship dates this version to around the 3rd century AD. The "Wang Bi Version" has more verifiable origins than either of the above. Wang Bi (226–249 AD) was a famous Three Kingdoms period philosopher and commentator on the Dao De Jing and the Yi Jing.

Dao De Jing scholarship has advanced from archaeological discoveries of manuscripts, some of which are older than any of the received texts. Beginning in the 1920s and 1930s, Marc Aurel Stein and others found thousands of scrolls in the Mogao Caves near Dunhuang. They included more than 50 partial and complete "Dao De Jing" manuscripts. One written by the scribe So/Su Dan is dated 270 AD and corresponds closely with the Heshang Gong version. Another partial manuscript has the Xiang'er commentary, which had previously been lost.

Mawangdui and Guodian texts

In 1973, archaeologists discovered copies of early Chinese books, known as the Mawangdui Silk Texts, in a tomb dating from 168 BC. They included two nearly complete copies of the text, referred to as Text A and Text B. Based on calligraphic styles and imperial naming taboo avoidances, scholars believe that Text A can be dated to about the first decade and Text B to about the third decade of the 2nd century BC.

Mawangdui (lit. 'King Ma's Mound') is an archaeological site located in Changsha, China. The site consists of two saddle-shaped hills and contained the tombs of three people from the Changsha Kingdom during the western Han dynasty (206 BC – 9 AD): the Chancellor Li Cang, his wife and a male believed to have been their son. The site was excavated from 1972 to 1974. Most of the artifacts from Mawangdui are displayed at the Hunan Provincial Museum.

The three tombs were made of large cypress planks. The outside of the tombs were layered with white clay and charcoal. White clay layering originated with Chu burials, while charcoal layering was practiced during the early western Han dynasty in the Changsha area. All three tombs were topped by a pyramid made of earth that was stamped to a concrete-hard mass.

Tomb Number 1, the eastern tomb, contained the remains of a woman in her fifties. Her name was Xin Zhui (also known as Lady Dai). She was born c. 217 BC and died aged 50 in 168 BC. We found out her name because the tomb's original inventory was still intact. Of the more famous artifacts from Mawangdui were its silk funeral banners. The T-shaped silk funeral banner in the tomb of the Marquise is called the "name banner" with the written name of the deceased replaced with a portrait. The Marquise was buried in four nested, massive, airtight and lacquered coffins; the silk banner drapes the innermost of the coffins.

Xin Zhui's tomb was not only the best preserved of the three, it was in fact the very best preserved tomb from Antiquity ever found in history. Her mummified body was so well-preserved that researchers were able to perform an autopsy on her body. Her skin was soft and moist, with muscles that still allowed for her arms and legs to flex at the joints. All her organs and blood vessels were also intact, with small amounts of Type A blood being found in her veins. There was hair on her head, with a wig pinned with a hair clasp on the back of her head. There was skin on her face, and her eyelashes and nose hair still exist. The tympanic membrane of her left ear was intact, and her finger and toe prints were distinct. This preservation allowed doctors at Hunan Provincial Medical Institute to perform an autopsy on 14 December 1972. Much of what is known about Xin Zhui's lifestyle was derived from this and other examinations. More than 1,000 precious artifacts were found with Xin Zhui's body.

She suffered from a gallstone that was blocking a bile duct and that excruciating pain may have caused her to go into cardiac arrest, she died from a heart attack. Her diet was too rich in sugars and meats, and she suffered from arterial-coronary problems. Achieved was her remarkable state of good preservation by a mildly acidic and Mercury-containing liquid in which Xin Zhui's body was soaked; it instantly killed any germs. Buried with her were skeletons of various food-animals, jujubes, lotus soup, grains and a complete meal including soup, rice and meat skewers on a lacquer set. Researchers found 138 honeydew melon seeds in her stomach, implying consumption right before death. She outlived the occupants of the other two tombs.

A complete cosmetic set, lacquered pieces and finely woven silk garments with paintings are almost perfectly preserved. Her coffins were painted according to Chu customs and beliefs, with whirling clouds interwoven with mystical animals and dragons. The corpse was bound tightly in layers of silk cloth and covered with a wonderfully painted T-shaped tapestry depicting the netherworld, earth and heavens with Chinese mythological characters as well as Xin Zhui. There was also a silk painting showing a variety of exercises that researchers have called the forerunner of Tai ji. Highly regarded artifacts in particular were the lacquered wine-bowls and cosmetic boxes, which showcased the craftsmanship of the regional lacquerware industry.

Tomb Number 2, The western tomb, was the burial site of the first Marquis of Dai, Li Cang. He died in 186 BC. The Han dynasty had appointed Li Cang as the chancellor of the Kingdom of Changsha, an imperial fiefdom of Han. This tomb had been plundered several times by grave robbers who destroyed or removed its contents.

Tomb Number 3 was directly south of Tomb 1, and contained the tomb of a man in his thirties who died in 168 BC. The occupant is believed to have been a son of Li Cang and his wife Xin Zhui. This tomb contained an incredible collection of item: a silk name banner (similar to that of Tomb 1) and three maps drawn on silk: a topographic map, a military map and a prefecture map. The maps display the Hunan, Guangdong and Guangxi region and depict the political boundary between the Han dynasty and Nanyue. At the time of discovery, these were the oldest maps yet discovered in China, until 1986 when Qin State maps dating to the 4th century BC were found. And Tomb 3 contained a wealth of classical texts, such as texts on astronomy, which accurately depicted the planetary orbits for Venus, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars and Saturn and described various comets. The Mawangdui texts of the Yijing (Book of Changes) are hundreds of years earlier than those known before. The tomb also contained a rich collection of Huang-Lao Taoist texts, as well a copy of the Zhan Guo Ce. The tomb also contained various medical texts, including depictions of tao yin (qigong) exercises, as well as a historical text, the Chunqiu shiyu. These books identify the people of these three tombs as Daoists like the probably with them related Han emperors.)

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 1

The Nature Of The Tao.

1 The Tao that can be described is not the enduring and unchanging Tao. The name that can be named is not the enduring and unchanging name.

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2 Conceived of as having no name, it is the Originator of heaven and earth; (conceived of as) having a name, it is the Mother of all things.

3 Always without desire we must be found, If its deep mystery we would sound;

But if desire always within us be, Its outer fringe is all that we shall see.

4 Under these two aspects, it is really the same; but as development takes place, it receives the different names. Together we call them the Mystery. Where the Mystery is the deepest is the gate of all that is subtle and wonderful.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 2

The Energy - Source Of The Self.

1 All men know that beauty and ugliness are correlatives, as are skill and clumsiness; one implies and suggests the other.

2 So also existence and non-existence pose the one the other; so also is it with ease and difficulty, length and shortness; height and lowness. Also Musick exists through harmony of opposites; time and space depend upon contraposition.

3 By the use of this method, the sage can fulfil his will without action, and utter his word without speech.

4 All things arise without diffidence; they grow, and none interferes; they change according to their natural order, without lust of result. The work is accomplished; yet continueth in its orbit, without goal. This work is done unconsciously; this is why its energy is indefatigable.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 3

Quieting Folk.

1 To reward merit is to stir up emulation; to prize rarities is to encourage robbery; to display desirable things is to excite the disorder of covetousness.

2 Therefore, the sage governeth men by keeping their minds and their bodies at rest, contenting the one by emptiness, the other by fullness. He satisfieth their desires, thus fulfilling their wills, and making them frictionless; and he maketh them strong in body, to a similar end.

3 He delivereth them from the restlessness of knowledge and the cravings of discontent. As to those who have knowledge already, he teacheth them the way of non-action. This being assured, there is no disorder in the world.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 4

The Spring Without Source.

1 The Tao resembleth the emptiness of Space; to employ it, we must avoid creating ganglia. Oh Tao, how vast art Thou, the Abyss of Abysses, thou Holy and Secret Father of all Fatherhoods of Things!

2 Let us make our sharpness blunt; let us loosen our complexes; let us tone down our brightness to the general obscurity. Oh Tao, how still art thou, how pure, continuous One beyond Heaven!

3 This Tao hath no Father; it is beyond all other conceptions, higher than the highest.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 5

The Formula Of The Vacuum.

1 Heaven and earth proceed without motive, but casually in their order of nature, dealing with all things carelessly, like used talismans. So also the sages deal with their people, not exercising benevolence, but allowing the nature of all to move without friction.

2 The Space between heaven and earth is their breathing apparatus: Exhalation is not exhaustion, but the complement of Inhalation, and this equally of that. Speech exhausteth; guard thyself, therefore, maintaining the perfect freedom of thy nature.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 6

The Perfecting Of Form.

1 The Teh is the immortal enemy of the Tao, its feminine aspect. Heaven and Earth issued from her Gate; this Gate is the Root of their World-Sycamore. Its operation is of pure Joy and Love, and faileth never.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 7

The Concealment Of The Light.

1 Heaven and Earth are mighty in continuance, because their work is delivered from the lust of result.

2 Thus also the sage, seeking not any goal, attaineth all things; he doth not interfere in the affairs of his body, and so that body acteth without friction. It is because he meddleth not with personal aims that these come to pass with simplicity.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 8

The Nature Of Peace.

1 Admire thou the High Way of Water! Is not Water the soul of the life of things, whereby they change? Yet it seeketh its level, and abideth content in obscurity. So also it resembleth the Tao, in this Way thereof!

2 The virtue of a house is to be well-placed; of the mind, to be at ease in silence as of Space; of societies, to be well-disposed; of governments, to maintain quietude; of work, to be skillfully performed; and of all motion, to be made at the right time.

3 Also it is the virtue of a man to abide in his place without discontent; thus offendeth he no man.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 9

The Way Of Reticence.

1 Fill not a vessel, lest it spill in carrying. Meddle not with a sharpened point by feeling it constantly, or it will soon become blunted.

2 Gold and jade endanger the house of their possessor. Wealth and honors lead to arrogance and envy, and bring ruin. Is thy way famous and thy name becoming distinguished? Withdraw, thy work once done, into obscurity; this is the way of Heaven.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 10

Things Attainable.

1 When soul and body are in the bond of love, they can be kept together. By concentration on the breath it is brought to perfect elasticity, and one becomes as a babe. By purifying oneself from Samadhi one becomes whole.

2 In his dealing with individuals and with society, let him move without lust of result. In the management of his breath, let him be like the mother-bird. Let his intelligence comprehend every quarter; but let his knowledge cease.

3 Here is the Mystery of Virtue. It createth all and nourisheth all; yet it doth not adhere to them; it operateth all, but knoweth not of it, nor proclaimeth it; it directeth all, but without conscious control.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 11

The Value Of The Unexpressed.

1 The thirty spokes join in their nave, that is one; yet the wheel dependeth for use upon the hollow place for the axle. Clay is shapen to make vessels; but the contained space is what is useful. Matter is therefore of use only to mark the limits of the space which is the thing of real value.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 12

The Withdrawal From The External.

1 The five colors film over Sight; The five sounds make Hearing dull; The five flavours conceal Taste; occupation with motion and action bedevil Mind; even so the esteem of rare things begetteth covetousness and disorder.

2 The wise man seeketh therefore to content the actual needs of the people; not to excite them by the sight of luxuries. He banneth these, and concentrateth on those.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 13

The Contempt For Circumstance.

1 Favor and disgrace are equally to be shunned; honour and calamity to be alike regarded as adhering to the personality.

2 What is this which is written concerning favour and disgrace? Disgrace is the fall from favour. He then that hath favour hath fear, and its loss begetteth fear yet greater of a further fall. What is this which is written concerning honour and calamity? It is this attachment to the body which maketh calamity possible; for were one bodiless, what evil could befall him?

3 Therefore let him that regardeth himself rightly administer also a kingdom; and let him govern it who loveth it as another man loveth himself.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 14

The Shewing-Forth Of The Mystery.

1 We look at it, and see it not; though it is Omnipresent; and we name it the Root-Balance. We listen for it, and hear it not, though it is Omniscient; and we name it the Silence. We feel for it, and touch it not, though it is Omnipotent; and we name it the Concealed. These three Virtues hath it, yet we cannot describe it as consisting of them; but, mingling them aright, we apprehend the One.

2 Above, it shineth not; below, it is not dark. It moveth all continuously, without Expression, returning into Naught. It is the Form of That which is beyond Form; it is the Image of the Invisible; it is Change, and Without Limit.

3 We confront it, and see not its Face; we pursue it, and its Back is hidden from us. Ah! but apply the Tao as in old Time to the work of the present; know it as it was known in the Beginning; follow fervently the Thread of the Tao.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 15

The Appearance Of The True Nature.

1 The adepts of past ages were subtle and keen to apprehend this Mystery, and their profundity was obscurity unto men. Since then they were not known, let me declare their nature.

2 To all seeming, they were fearful as men that cross a torrent in winter flood; they were hesitating like a man in apprehension of them that are about him; they were full of awe like a guest in a great house; they were ready to disappear like ice in thaw; they were unassuming like unworked wood; they were empty as a valley; and dull as the waters of a marsh.

3 Who can clear muddy water? Stillness will accomplish this. Who can obtain rest? Let motion continue equably, and it will itself be peace.

4 The adepts of the Tao, conserving its way, seek not to be actively self-conscious. By their emptiness of Self they have no need to show their youth and perfection; to appear old and imperfect is their privilege.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 16

The Withdrawal To The Root.

1 Emptiness must be perfect, and Silence made absolute with tireless strength. All things pass through the period of action; then they return to repose. They grow, bud, blossom and fruit; then they return to the root. This return to the root is this state which we name Silence; and this Silence is Witness of their Fulfilment.

2 This cycle is the universal law. To know it is the part of intelligence; to ignore it bringeth folly of action, whereof the end is madness. To know it bringeth understanding and peace; and these lead to the identification of the Self with the Not-Self. This identification maketh man a king; and this kingliness groweth unto godhood. That godhood beareth fruit in the mastery of the Tao. Then the man, the Tao permeating him, endureth; and his bodily principles are in harmony, proof against decay, until the hour of his Change.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 17

The Purity Of The Current.

1 In the Age of Gold, the people were not conscious of their rulers; in the Age of Silver, they loved them, with songs; in the Age of Brass, they feared them; in the Age of Iron, they despised them. As the rulers lost confidence, so also did the people lose confidence in them.

2 How hesitating did they seem, the Lords of the Age of Gold, speaking with deliberation, aware of the weight of their word! Thus they accomplished all things with success; and the people deemed their well-being to be the natural course of events.

DAO DE CHING CHAPTER 18

The Decay Of Manners.

1 When men abandoned the Way of the Tao, benevolence and justice became necessary. Then also was need of wisdom and cunning, and all fell into illusion. When harmony ceased to prevail in the six spheres it was needful to govern them by manifesting Sons. When the kingdoms and races became confused, loyal ministers had to appear.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 19

Returning To The Purity Of The Current.

1 If we forgot our statesmanship and our wisdom, it would be an hundred times better for the people. If we forgot our benevolence and our justice, they would become again like sons, folk of good will. If we forget our machines and our business, there would be no knavery.

2 These new methods despised the olden Way, inventing fine names to disguise their baneness. But simplicity in the doing of the will of every man would put an end to vain ambitions and desires.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 20

The Withdrawal From The Common Way.

1 To forget learning is to end trouble. The smallest difference in words, such as "yes" and "yea", can make endless controversy for the scholar. Fearful indeed is death, since all men fear it; but the abyss of questionings, shoreless and bottomless, is worse!

2 Consider the profane man, how he preeneth, as if at feast, or gazing upon Spring from a tower! But as for me, I am as one who yawneth, without any trace of desire. I am like a babe before its first smile. I appear sad and forlorn, like a man homeless. The profane man hath his need filled, ay, and more also. For me, I seem to have lost all I had. My mind is as it were stupefied; it hath no definite shape. The profane man looketh lively and keen-witted; I alone appear blank in my mind. They seem eagerly critical; I appear careless and without perception. I seem to be as one adrift upon the sea, with no thought of an harbor. The profane have each one his definite course of action; I alone appear useless and uncomprehending, like a man from the border. Yea, thus I differ from all other men: but my jewel is the All-Mother!

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 21

The Infinite Womb.

1 The sole source of energy is the Tao. Who may declare its nature? It is beyond Sense, yet all form is hidden within it. It is beyond Sense, yet all Perceptibles are hidden within it. It is beyond Sense, yet all Perceptibles are hidden within it. It is beyond Sense, yet all Being is hidden within it. This Being excites Perception, and the Word thereof. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, its Name operateth continuously, causing all to flow in the cycle of Change, which is Love and Beauty. How do I know this? By my comprehension of the Tao.

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DAO DE JING CHAPTER 22
The Guerdon Of Modesty.
1 The part becometh the whole. The curve becometh straight; the void becometh full; the old becometh new. He who desireth little accomplisheth his Will with ease; who desireth many things becometh distracted.
2 Therefore, the sage concentrateth upon one Will, and it is as a light to the whole world. Hiding himself, he shineth; withdrawing himself, he attracteth notice; humbling himself, he is exalted; dissatisfied with himself, he gaineth force to achieve his Will. Because he striveth not, no man may contend against him.
3 That is no idle saw of the men of old; "The part becometh the whole"; it is the Canon of Perfection.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 23
The Void Of Naught.
1 To keep silence is the mark of one who is acting in full accordance with his Will. A fierce wind soon falleth; a storm-shower doth not last all day. Yet Heaven and Earth cause these; and if they fail to make violence continue, how much less can man abide in spasm of passion!
2 With him that devoteth him to Tao, the devotees of Tao are in accord; so also are the devotees of Teh, yea, even they who fail in seeking those are in accord.
3 So then his brothers in the Tao are joyful, attaining it; and his brothers in the Teh are joyful, attaining it; and they who fail in seeking these are joyful, partaking of it. But if he himself realize not the Tao with calm of confidence, then they also appear lacking in confidence.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 24
Evil Manners.
1 He who standeth a-tiptoe standeth not firm; he who maketh rigid his legs walketh ill. He who preeneth himself shineth not; he who talketh positively is vulgar; he who boastheth is refused acceptance; he who is wise in his own conceit is thought inferior. Such attitudes, to him that hath the view given by understanding the Tao, seem like garbage or like cancer, abhorrent to all. They then who follow the Way do not admit them.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 25
Images Of The Mystery.
1 Without Limit and Perfect, there is a Becoming, beyond Heaven and Earth. It hath nor motion nor Form; it is alone, it changeth not; it extendeth all ways; it hath no Adversary. It is like the All-Mother.
2 I know not its Name, but I call it the Tao. Moreover, I exert myself, and call it Vastness.
3 Vastness, the Becoming! Becoming, it flieth afar. Afar, it draweth near. Vast is this Tao; Heaven also is Vast; Earth is vast; and the Holy King is vast also. In the Universe are Four Vastnesses, and of these is the Holy King.
4 Man followeth the formula of Earth; Earth followeth that of Heaven, and Heaven that of the Tao. The formula of the Tao is its own Nature.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 26
The Nature Of Mass.
1 Mass is the fulcrum of mobility; stillness is the father of motion.
2 Therefore the sage King, though he travel afar, remaineth near his supplies. Though opportunity tempt him, he remaineth quietly in proper disposition, indifferent. Should the master of an host of chariots bear himself frivolously? If he attack without support, he loseth his base; if he become a raider, he forfeiteth his throne.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 27
Skill In The Method.
1 The experienced traveler concealeth his tracks; the clever speaker giveth no chance to the critic; the skilled mathematician useth no abacus; the ingenious safesmith baffleth the burglar without the use of bolts, and the cunning binder without ropes and knots. So also the sage, skilled in man-emancipation-craft, useth all men; understanding the value of everything, he rejecteth nothing. This is called the Occult Regimen.
2 The adept is then master to the zelator, and the zelator assisteth and honoreth the adept. Yet unless these relations were manifest, even the most intelligent observer might be perplexed as to which was which. This is called the Crown of Mystery.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 28
The Return To Simplicity.
1 Balance thy male strength with thy female weakness and thou shalt attract all things, as the ocean absorbeth all rivers; for thou shalt formulate the excellence of the Child eternal, simple, and perfect. Knowing the light, remain in the Dark. Manifest not thy Glory, but thine obscurity. Clothed in this Child-excellence eternal, thou hast attained the Return of the First State. Knowing splendour of Fame, cling to Obloquy and Infamy; then shalt thou remain as in the Valley to which flow all waters, the lodestone to fascinate all men. Yea, they shall hail in thee this Excellence, eternal, simple and perfect, of the Child.
2 The raw material, wrought into form, produceth vessels. So the sage King formulateth his Wholeness in divers Offices; and his Law is without violence or constraint.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 29
Refraining From Action.
1 He that, desiring a kingdom, exerteth himself to obtain it, will fail. A Kingdom is of the nature of spirit, and yieldeth not to activity. He who graspeth it, destroyeth it; he who gaineth it, loseth it.
2 The wheel of nature revolveth constantly; the last becometh first, and the first last; hot things grow cold, and cold things hot; weakness overcometh strength; things gained are lost anon. Hence the wise man avoideth effort, desire and sloth.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 30
A Warning Against War.
1 If a king summon to his aid a Master of the Tao, let Him not advise recourse to arms. Such action certainly bringeth the corresponding reaction.
2 Where armies are, are weeds. Bad harvests follow great hosts.
3 The good general striketh decisively, once and for all. He does not risk by overboldness. He striketh, but doth not vaunt his victory. He striketh according to strict law of necessity, not from desire of victory.
4 Things become strong and ripe, then age. This is discord with the Tao; and what is not at one with the Tao soon cometh to an end.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 31
Composing Quarrel.
1 Arms, though they be beautiful, are of ill omen, abominable to all created beings. They who have the Tao love not their use.
2 The place of honour is on the right in wartime; so thinketh the man of distinction. Sharp weapons are ill-omened, unworthy of such a man; he useth them only in necessity. He valueth peace and ease, desireth not violence of victory. To desire victory is to desire the death of men; and to desire that is to fail to propitiate the people.
3 At feasts, the left hand is the high seat; at funerals, the right. The second in command of the army leadeth the left wing, the commander-in-chief, the right wing; it is as if the battle were a rite of mourning! He that hath slain most men should weep for them most bitterly; so then the place of the victor is assigned to him with philosophical propriety.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 32
The Wisdom Of Teh.
1 The All-Tao hath no name.
2 It is That Minute Point yet the whole world dare not contend against him that hath it. Did a lord or king gain it and guard it, all men would obey him of their own accord.
3 Heaven and Earth combining under its spell, shed forth dew, extending throughout all things of its own accord, without man's interference.
4 Tao, in its phase of action, hath a name. Then men can comprehend it; when they do this, there is no more risk of wrong or ill-success.
5 As the great rivers and the oceans are to the valley streams, so is the Tao to the whole universe.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 33
The Discrimination (Viveka) Of Teh.
1 He who understandeth others understandeth Two; but he who understandeth himself understandeth One. He who conquereth others is strong; but he who conquereth himself is stronger yet. Contentment is riches; and continuous action is Will.
2 He that adapteth himself perfectly to his environment, continueth for long; he who dieth without dying, liveth for ever.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 34
The Method Of Attainment.
1 The Tao is immanent; it extendeth to the right hand as to the left.
2 All things derive from it their being; it createth them, and all comply with it. Its work is done, and it proclaimeth it not. It is the ornament of all things, yet it claimeth not fief of them; there is nothing so small that it inhabiteth not, and informeth it. All things return without knowledge of the Cause thereof; there is nothing so great that it inhabiteth not, and informeth it.
3 In this manner also may the Sage perform his Works. It is by not thrusting himself forward that he winneth to his success.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 35
The Good Will Of The Teh.
1 The whole world is drawn to him that hath the likeness of the Tao. Men flock unto him, and suffer no ill, but gain repose, find peace, enjoy all ease.
2 Sweet sounds and cates lure the traveler from his way. But the Word of the Tao; though it appear harsh and insipid, unworthy to hearken or to behold; hath his use all inexhaustible.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 36
The Hiding Of The Light.
1 In order to draw breath, first empty the lungs; to weaken another, first strengthen him; to overthrow another, first exalt him; to despoil another, first load him with gifts; this is called the Occult Regimen.
2 The soft conquereth the hard; the weak pulleth down the strong.
3 The fish that leaveth ocean is lost; the method of government must be concealed from the people.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 37
The Right Use Of Government.
1 The Tao proceedeth by its own nature, doing nothing; therefore there is no doing which it comprehendeth not.
2 If kings and princes were to govern in this manner, all things would operate aright by their own motion.
3 If this transmutation were my object, I should call it Simplicity. Simplicity hath no name nor purpose; silently and at ease all things go well.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 38
Concerning The Teh.
1 Those who possessed perfectly the powers did not manifest them, and so they preserved them. Those who possessed them imperfectly feared to lose them, and so lost them.
2 The former did nothing, nor had need to do. The latter did, and had need to do.
3 Those who possessed benevolence exercised it, and had need it; so also was it with them who possessed justice.
4 Those who possessed the conventions displayed them; and when men would not agree, they made ready to fight them.
5 Thus, when the Tao was lost, the Magick Powers appeared; then, by successive degradations, came Benevolence, Justice, Convention.
6 Now convention is the shadow of loyalty and good will, and so the herald of disorder. Yea, even Understanding is but a Blossom of the Tao, and foreshadoweth Stupidity.
7 So then the Tao-Man holdeth to Mass, and avoideth Motion; he is attached to the Root, not to the flower. He leaveth the one, and cleaveth to the other.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 39
The Law Of The Beginning.
1 These things have possessed the Tao from the beginning: Heaven, clear and shining; Earth, steady and easy; Spirits, mighty in Magick; Vehicles, overflowing with Joy; all that hath life; and the rulers of men. All these derive their essence from the Tao.
2 Without the Tao, Heaven would dissolve Earth disrupt, Spirits become impotent; Vehicles empty; living things would perish and rulers lose their power.
3 The root of grandeur is humility, and the strength of exaltation in its base. Thus rulers speak of themselves as "Fatherless," "Virtueless,' "Unworthy," proclaiming by this that their Glory is in their shame. So also the virtue of a Chariot is not any of the parts of a Chariot, if they be numbered. They do not seek to appear fine like jade, but inconspicuous like common stone.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 40
Omitting Utility.
1 The Tao proceeds by correlative curves, and its might is in weakness.
2 All things arose from the Teh, and the Teh budded from the Tao.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 41
The Identity Of The Differential.
1 The best students, learning of the Tao, set to work earnestly to practice the Way. Mediocre students now cherish it, now let it go. The worst students mock at it. Were it not thus mocked, it were unworthy to be Tao.
2 Thus spake the makers of Saws: the Tao at its brightest is obscure. Who advanceth in that Way, retireth. Its smooth Way is rough. Its summit is a valley. Its beauty is ugliness. Its wealth is poverty. Its virtue, vice. Its stability is change. Its form is without form. Its fullness is vacancy. Its utterance is silence. Its reality is illusion.
3 Nameless and imperceptible is the Tao; but it informeth and perfecteth all things.

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DAO DE JING CHAPTER 42
The Veils Of The Tao.
1 The Tao formulated the One. The One exhaled the Two. The Two were parents of the Three. The Three were parents of all things. All things pass from Obscurity to Manifestation, inspired harmoniously by the Breath of the Void.
2 Men do not like to be fatherless, virtueless, unworthy: yet rulers describe themselves by these names. Thus increase bringeth decrease to some, and decrease bringeth increase to others.
3 Others have taught thus; I consent to it. Violent men and strong die not by natural death. This fact is the foundation of my law.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 43
The Cosmic Method.
1 The softest substance hunteth down the hardest; the unsubstantial penetrateth where there is no opening. Here is the Virtue of Inertia.
2 Few are they who attain: whose speech is Silence, whose Work is Inertia.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 44
Monitorial.
1 What shall it profit a man if he gain fame or wealth, and lose his life?
2 If a man cling to fame or wealth, he risketh what is worth more.
3 Be content, not fearing disgrace. Act not, and risk not criticism. Thus live thou long, without alarm.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 45
The Overflowing Of Teh.
1 Despise thy masterpieces; thus renew the vigor of thy creation. Deem thy fullness emptiness; thus shall thy fullness never be empty. Let the straight appear crooked to thee, thy Craft clumsiness; thy Musick discord.
2 Exercise moderateth cold; stillness heat. To be pure and to keep silence, is the True Law of all that are beneath Heaven.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 46
The Withdrawal From Ambition.
1 When the Tao beareth away on Earth, men put swift horses to night-carts. When it is neglected, they breed chargers in the border marches.
2 There is no evil worse than ambition; no misery worse than discontent; no crime greater than greed. Content of mind is peace and satisfaction eternal.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 47
The Vision Of The Distant.
1 One need not pass his threshold to comprehend all that is under Heaven, nor to look out from his lattice to behold the Tao Celestial. Nay! but the farther a man goeth, the less he knoweth.
2 The sages acquired their knowledge without travel; they named all things aright without beholding them; and, acting without aim, fulfilled their Wills.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 48
Oblivion Overcoming Knowledge.
1 The scholar seeketh daily increase of knowing; the sage of Tao daily decrease of doing.
2 He decreaseth it, again and again, until he doth no act with the lust of result. Having attained this Inertia all accomplisheth itself.
3 He who attracteth to himself all that is under Heaven doth so without effort. He who maketh effort is not able to attract it.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 49
The Adaptability Of The Teh.
1 The wise man hath no fixed principle; he adapteth his mind to his environment.
2 To the good I am good, and to the evil I am good also; thus all become good. To the true I am true, and to the false I am true; thus all become true.
3 The sage appeareth hesitating to the world, because his mind is detached. Therefore the people look and listen to him, as his children; and thus doth he shepherd them.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 50
The Estimation Of Life.
1 Man cometh into life, and returneth again into death.
2 Three men in ten conserve life; three men in ten pursue death.
3 Three men also in ten desire to live, but their acts hasten their journey to the house of death. Why is this? Because of their efforts to preserve life.
4 But this I have heard. He that is wise in the economy of his life, whereof he is warden for a season, journeyeth with no need to avoid the tiger or the rhinoceros, and goeth uncorsleted among the warriors with no fear of sword or lance. The rhinoceros findeth in him no place vulnerable to its horn, the tiger to its claws, the weapon to its point. Why is this? Because there is no house of death in his whole body.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 51
The Teh As The Nurse.
1 All things proceed from the Tao, and are sustained by its forth-flowing virtue. Every one taketh form according to his nature, and is perfect, each in his particular Way. Therefore, each and every one of them glorify the Tao, and worship its forth-flowing Virtue.
2 This glorifying of the Tao, this worship of the Teh, is constantly spontaneous, and not by appointment of Law.
3 Thus the Tao buddeth them out, nurtureth them, developeth them, sustaineth them, perfecteth them, ripeneth them, upholdeth them, and reabsorbeth them.
4 It buddeth them forth, and claimeth not lordship over them; it is overseer of their changes, and boasteth not of his puissance; perfecteth them, and interfereth not with their Ways; this is called the Mystery of its Virtue.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 52
The Withdrawal Into The Silence.
1 The Tao buddeth forth all things under Heaven; it is the Mother of all.
2 Knowing the Mother, we may know her offspring. He that knoweth his Mother, and abideth in Her nature, remaineth in surety all his days.
3 With the mouth closed, and the Gates of Breath controlled, he remaineth at ease all his days. With the mouth open, and the Breath directed to outward affairs, he hath no surety all his days.
4 To perceive that Minute Point is True Vision; to maintain the Soft and Gentle is True Strength.
5 Employing harmoniously the Light Within so that it returneth to its Origin, one guardeth even one's body from evil, and keepeth Silence before all men.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 53
The Witness Of Greed.
1 Were I discovered by men, and charged with government, my first would be lest I should become proud.
2 The true Path is level and smooth; but men love by-paths.
3 They adorn their courts, but they neglect their fields, and leave their storehouses empty. They wear elaborate and embroidered robes; they gird themselves with sharp swords; they eat and drink with luxury; they heap up goods; they are thievish and vainglorious. All this is opposite to the Way of Tao.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 54
The Witness Of Wisdom.
1 If a man plant according to the Tao it will never be uprooted; if he thus gather, it will never be lost. His sons and his son's sons, one following another, shall honour the shrine of their ancestor.
2 The Tao, applied to oneself, strengtheneth the Body, to the family, bringeth wealth; to the district, prosperity; to the state, great fortune. Let it be the Law of the Kingdom, and all men will increase in virtue.
3 Thus we observe its effect in every case, as to the person, the family, the district, the state, and the kingdom.
4 How do I know that this is thus universal under Heaven? By experience.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 55
The Spell Of The Mystery.
1 He that hath the Magick powers of the Tao is like a young child. Insects will not sting him or beasts or birds of prey attack him.
2 The young child's bones are tender and its sinews are elastic, but its grasp is firm. It knoweth nothing of the Union of Man and Woman, yet its Organ may be excited. This is because of its natural perfection. It will cry all day long without becoming hoarse, because of the harmony of its being.
3 He who understandeth this harmony knoweth the mystery of the Tao, and becometh a True Sage. All devices for inflaming life, and increasing the vital Breath, by mental effort are evil and factitious.
4 Things become strong, then age. This is in discord with the Tao, and what is not at one with the Tao soon cometh to an end.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 56
The Excellence Of The Mystery.
1 Who knoweth the Tao keepeth Silence; he who babbleth knoweth it not.
2 Who knoweth it closeth his mouth and controlleth the Gates of his Breath. He will make his sharpness blunt; he will loosen his complexes; he will tone down his brightness to the general obscurity. This is called the Secret of Harmony.
3 He cannot be insulted either by familiarity or aversion; he is immune to ideas of gain or loss, of honour or disgrace; he is the true man, unequalled under Heaven.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 57
The True Influence.
1 One may govern a state by restriction; weapons may be used with skill and cunning; but one acquireth true command only by freedom, given and taken.
2 How am I aware of this? By experience that to multiply restrictive laws in the kingdom impoverisheth the people; the use of machines causeth disorder in state and race alike. The more men use skill and cunning, the more machines there are; and the more laws there are, the more felons there are.
3 A wise man has said this: I will refrain from doing, and the people will act rightly of their own accord; I will love Silence, and the people will instinctively turn to perfection; I will take no measures, and the people will enjoy true wealth; I will restrain ambition, and the people will attain simplicity.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 58
Adaptation To Environment.
1 The government that exerciseth the least care serveth the people best; that which meddleth with everybody's business worketh all manner of harm. Sorrow and joy are bedfellows; who can divine the final result of either?
2 Shall we avoid restriction? Yea; restriction distorteth nature, so that even what seemeth good in it is evil. For how long have men suffered from misunderstanding of this.
3 The wise man is foursquare, and avoideth aggression; his corners do not injure others. He moveth in a straight line and turneth not aside therefrom; he is brilliant but doth not blind with his brightness.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 59
Warding The Tao.
1 To balance our earthly nature and cultivate our heavenly nature, tread the Middle Path.
2 This Middle Path alone leadeth to the Timely Return to the True Nature. This Timely Return resulteth from the constant gathering of Magick Powers. With that Gathering cometh Control. This Control we know to be without Limit and he who knoweth the Limitless may rule the state.
3 He who possesseth the Tao continueth long. He is like a plant with well-set roots and strong stems. Thus it secureth long continuance of its life.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 60
The Duty Of Government.
1 The government of a kingdom is like the cooking of fish.
2 If the kingdom be ruled according to the Tao, the spirits of our ancestors will not manifest their Teh. These spirits have this Teh, but will not turn it against men. It is able to hurt men; so also is the Wise King; but he doth not.
3 When these powers are in accord, their Good Will produceth the Teh, endowing the people therewith.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 61
The Modesty Of The Teh.
1 A state becometh powerful when it resembleth a great river, deep-seated; to it tend all the small streams under Heaven.
2 It is as with the female, that conquereth the male by her Silence. Silence is a form of Gravity.
3 Thus a great state attracteth small states by meeting their views, and small states attract the great state by revering its eminence. In the first case this Silence gaineth supporters; in the second, favour.
4 The great state uniteth men and nurtureth them; the small state wisheth the good will of the great, and offereth service; thus each gaineth its advantage. But the great state must keep Silence.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 62
The Workings Of The Tao.
1 The Tao is the most exalted of all things. It is the ornament of the good, and the protection and purification of the evil.
2 Its words are the fountain of honour, and its deeds the engine of achievement. It is present even in evil.
3 Though the Son of Heaven were enthroned with his three Dukes appointed to serve him, and he were offered a round symbol- of-rank as great as might fill the hands, with a team of horses to follow, this gift were not to be matched against the Tao, which might be offered by the humblest of men.
4 Why did they of old time set such store by the Tao? Because he that sought it might find it, and because it was the Purification from all evil. Therefore did all men under Heaven esteem it the most exalted of all things.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 63
Forethought At The Outset.
1 Act without lust of result; work without anxiety; taste without attachment to flavour; esteem small things great and few things many; repel violence with gentleness.
2 Do great things while they are yet small, hard things while they are yet easy; for all things, how great or hard soever, have a beginning when they are little and easy. So thus

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the wise man accomplisheth the greatest tasks without undertaking anything important.

3 Who undertaketh thoughtlessly is certain to fail in attainment; who estimateth things easy findeth them hard. The wise man considereth even easy things hard, so that even hard things are easy to him. {69}

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 64

Attending To Details.

1 It is easy to grasp what is not yet in motion, to withstand what is not yet manifest, to break what is not yet compact, to disperse what is not yet coherent. Act against things before they become visible; attend to order before disorder ariseth.

2 The tree which filleth the embrace grew from a small shoot; the tower nine-storied rose from a low foundation; the ten-day journey began with a single step.

3 He who acteth worketh harm; he who graspeth findeth it a slip. The wise man acteth not, so worketh no harm; he doth not grasp, and so doth not let go. Men often ruin their affairs on the eve of success, because they are not as prudent at the end as in the beginning.

4 The wise man willeth what others do not will, and valueth not things rare. He learneth what others learn not, and gathered up what they despise. Thus he is in accord with the natural course of events, and is not overbold in action.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 65

The Purity Of The Teh.

1 They of old time that were skilled in the Tao sought not to enlighten the people, but to keep them simple.

2 The difficulty of government is the vain knowledge of the people. To use cleverness in government is to scourge the kingdom; to use simplicity is to anoint it.

3 Know these things, and make them thy law and thine example. To possess this Law is the Secret Perfection of rule. Profound and Extended is this Perfection; he that possesseth it is indeed contrary to the rest, but he attracteth them to full accordance.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 66

Putting One's Self Last.

1 The oceans and the rivers attract the streams by their skill in being lower than they; thus are they masters thereof. So the Wise Man, to be above men, speaketh lowly; and to precede them acteth with humility.

2 Thus, though he be above them, they feel no burden; nor, though he precede them, do they feel insulted.

3 So then do all men delight to honour him, and grow not weary of him. He contendeth not against any man; therefore no man is able to contend against him.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 67

The Three Jewels.

1 They say that while this Tao of mine is great, yet it is inferior. This is the proof of its greatness. If it were like anything else, its smallness would have long been known.

2 I have three jewels of price whereto I cleave; gentleness, economy, and humility.

3 That gentleness maketh me courageous, that economy generous, that humility honoured. Men of today abandon gentleness for violence, economy for extravagance, humility for pride: this is death.

4 Gentleness bringeth victory in fight; and holdeth its ground with assurance. Heaven wardeth the gentle man by that same virtue.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 68

Assimilating One's Self To Heaven.

1 He that is skilled in war maketh no fierce gestures; the most efficient fighter bewareth of anger. He who conquereth refraineth from engaging in battle; he whom men most willingly obey continueth silently with his Work. So it is said: "He is mighty who fighteth not; he ruleth who uniteth with his subjects; he shineth whose will is that of Heaven."

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 69

The Use Of The Mysterious Way.

1 A great strategist saith: "I dare not take the offensive. I prefer the defensive. I dare not advance an inch; I prefer to retreat a foot." Place therefore the army where there is no army; prepare for action where there is no engagement; strike where there is no conflict; advance against the enemy where the enemy is not.

2 There is no error so great as to engage in battle without sufficient force. To do so is to risk losing the gentleness which is beyond price. Thus when the lines actually engage, he who regretteth the necessity is the victor.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 70

The Difficulty Of Right Apprehension.

1 My words are easy to understand and to perform; but is there anyone in the world who can understand them and perform them?

2 My words derive from a creative and universal Principle, in accord with the One Law. Men, not knowing these, understand me not.

3 Few are they that understand me; therefore am I the more to be valued. The Wise Man weareth sack-cloth, but guardeth his jewel in his bosom.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 71

The Distemper Of Knowledge.

1 To know, yet to know nothing, is the highest; not to know, yet to pretend to knowledge, is a distemper.

2 Painful is this distemper; therefore we shun it. The wise man hath it not. Knowing it to be bound up with Sorrow, he putteth it away from him.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 72

Concerning Love Of Self.

1 When men fear not that which is to be feared, that which they fear cometh upon them.

2 Let them not live, without thought, the superficial life. Let them not weary of the Spring of Life!

3 By avoiding the superficial life, this weariness cometh not upon them.

4 These things the wise man knoweth, not showeth: he loveth himself, without isolating his value. He accepteth the former and rejecteth the latter.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 73

Establishing The Law Of Freedom.

1 One man, daring, is executed; another, not daring, liveth. It would seem as if the one course were profitable and the other detrimental. Yet when Heaven smiteth a man, who shall assign the cause thereof? Therefore the sage is diffident.

2 The Tao of Heaven contendeth not, yet it overcometh; it is silent, yet its need is answered; it summoneth none, but all men come to it of their free will. Its method is quietness, yet its will is efficient. Large are the meshes of Heaven's Net; wide open, yet letting none escape.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 74

A Restraint Of Misunderstanding.

1 The people have no fear of death; why then seek to awe them by the threat of death? If the people feared death and I could put to death evil-doers, who would dare to offend?

2 There is one appointed to inflict death. He who would usurp that position resembleth a hewer of wood doing the work of a carpenter. Such an one, presumptuous, will be sure to cut his own hands.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 75

The Injury Of Greed.

1 The people suffer hunger because of the weight of taxation imposed by their rulers. This is the cause of famine.

2 The people are difficult to govern because their rulers meddle with them. This is the cause of bad government.

3 The people welcome death because the toil of living is intolerable. This is why they esteem death lightly. In such a state of insecurity it is better to ignore the question of living than to set store by it.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 76

A Warning Against Rigidity.

1 At the birth of man, he is elastic and weak; at his death, rigid and unyielding. This is the common law; trees also, in their youth, are tender and supple; in their decay, hard and dry.

2 So then rigidity and hardness are the stigmata of death; elasticity and adaptability, of life.

3 He then who putteth forth strength is not victorious; even as a strong tree filleth the embrace.

4 Thus the hard and rigid have the inferior place, the soft and elastic the superior.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 77

The Way Of Heaven.

1 The Tao of Heaven is likened to the bending of a bow, whereby the high part is brought down, and the low part raised up. The extreme is diminished, and the middle increased.

2 This is the Way of Heaven, to remove excess, and to supplement insufficiency. Not so is the way of man, who taketh away from him that hath not to give to him that hath already excess.

3 Who can employ his own excess to the weal of all under Heaven? Only he that possesseth the Tao.

4 So the Wise Man acteth without lust of result; achieveth and boasteth not; he willeth not to proclaim his greatness.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 78

A Creed.

1 Nothing in the world is more elastic and yielding than water; yet it is preeminent to dissolve things rigid and resistant; there is nothing which can match it.

2 All men know that the soft overcometh the hard, and the weak conquereth the strong; but none are able to use this law in action.

3 A Wise Man hath said: "He that taketh on the burden of the state is a demigod worthy of sacrificial worship; and the true King of a people is he that undertaketh the weight of their sorrows."

4 Truth appeareth paradox.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 79

Truth In Covenant.

1 When enemies are reconciled, there is always an aftermath of illwill. How can this be useful?

2 Therefore, the Wise Man, while he keepeth his part of the record of a transaction, doth not insist on its prompt execution. He who hath the Teh considereth the situation from all sides, while he who hath it not seeketh only to benefit himself.

3 In the Tao of Heaven, there is no distinction of persons in its love; but it is for the True Man to claim it.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 80

Isolation.

1 In a little kingdom of few people it should be the order that though there were men able to do the work of ten men or five score, they should not be employed. Though the people regarded death as sorrowful, yet they should not wish to go elsewhere.

2 They should have boats and wagons, yet no necessity to travel; corslets and weapons, yet no occasion to fight.

3 For communication they should use knotted cords.

4 They should deem their food sweet, their clothes beautiful, their houses homes, their customs delightful.

5 There should be another state within view, so that its fowls and dogs should be heard; yet to old age, even to death, the people should hold no traffic with it.

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 81

The Shewing-Forth Of Simplicity.

1 True speech is not elegant; elaborate speech is not truth. Those who know do not argue; the argumentative are without knowledge. Those who have assimilated are not learned; those who are gross with learning have not assimilated.

2 The Wise Man doth not hoard. The more he giveth, the more he hath; the more he watereth, the more is he watered himself.

3 The Tao of Heaven is like an Arrow, yet it woundeth not; and the Wise Man, in all his Works, maketh no contention.

THE LIEZI

Taoist teachings from the book of Lieh Tzu
Source: Wisdom of the East
Wade-Giles: Lieh-tzu / Pinyin: Liezi
Romanisation: Wade-Giles
Translation: Lionel Giles, 1912
Estimated Range of Dating: 5th-4th centuries B.C.

(The Liezi (Wade-Giles: Lieh-tzu) is a Daoist text attributed to Lie Yukou, a c. 5th century BC philosopher. The text might have have been compiled around the 4th century AD. Lie Yukou (also: Lieqiu / Lieyukou) is considered the author of the Taoist book Liezi, which uses his honourific name Liezi (Wade-Giles: Lieh-tzu; "Master Lie"). According to tradition, Lie Yukou was born in the State of Zheng, near today's Zhengzhou, Henan Province, although there is little historical evidence of Lie Yukou as a Hundred Schools of Thought philosopher during the Warring States Period. As for his name Yukou, the Chinese character Yu means "imprison" and the character Kou means "bandit; enemy." So, Yukou means "imprisoned enemy." In other words: one of Lie Yukou's ancestors might have been a soldier who had been captured. Lie Yukou was born in the State of Zheng, near today's Zhengzhou, Henan Province. There is little historical evidence of Lie Yukou as a Hundred Schools of Thought philosopher during the Warring States period. Claims that he never existed are not convincing. His, as the biography or others and their books, were distroyed by Qin Shi Huangdi in the burning of books that he launched.

The first two references to the Liezi book are from the Former Han Dynasty. The editor Liu Xiang notes he eliminated repetitions in Liezi and rearranged it into eight chapters. The Book of Han bibliography section says it has eight chapters and concludes that since the Zhuangzi quotes Liezi, he must have lived before Zhuangzi. There is a three-century historical gap until the next evidence of the Liezi: the Jin dynasty commentary by Zhang Zhan (fl. ca. 370 AD). Zhang's preface claims his Liezi copy was transmitted down from his grandfather. All received Liezi texts derive from Zhang's version, which is divided into eight chapters (juan).

During the reign of Emperor Xuanzong of Tang, the Liezi was designated a Daoist classic, completing the trilogy with the more famous Tao Te Ching and Zhuangzi, and it was honorifically entitled the Chongxu zhenjing ("True Classic of

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Simplicity and Vacuity", that is, Classic of the Perfect Emptiness). This "Simplicity and Vacuity" is Wing-tsit Chan's translation; chongxu (literally "soar/young/simple empty/skies/modest") usually means "soar aloft, rise high; carefree, unburdened with ambition". During the reign of Emperor Zhenzong of Song, the Liezi was further honoured as the Chongxu zhide zhenjing, the "True Classic of Simplicity and Vacuity and Perfect Virtue").

The Liezi is generally considered to be the most practical of the major Taoist works, compared to the poetic narrative of Laozi and the philosophical writings of Zhuangzi. Although the Liezi has not been extensively published in the West, some passages are well known. For example, Geng-sang-zi (Zhuangzi chap. 23) gives this description of Taoist pure experience: "My body is in accord with my mind, my mind with my energies, my energies with my spirit, my spirit with Nothing. Whenever the minutest existing thing or the faintest sound affects me, whether it is far away beyond the eight borderlands, or close at hand between my eyebrows and eyelashes, I am bound to know it. However, I do not know whether I perceived it with the seven holes in my head and my four limbs, or knew it through my heart and belly and internal organs. It is simply self-knowledge." (chap. 4, tr. Graham 1990:77–78). Compare the Zhuangzi saying, "The Perfect Man uses his mind like a mirror — going after nothing, welcoming nothing, responding but not storing. Therefore he can win out over things and not hurt himself."

Contents

The eight Liezi chapters are shown below (with Chinese names and their alternative). Most Liezi chapters are named after famous figures in Chinese mythology and history. Either sage rulers like the Yellow Emperor (supposedly r. 2698?–2599 BC), King Tang of Shang (r. 1617?–1588 BC), and King Mu of Zhou (r. 1023?–983 BC); or philosophers like Confucius (551–479 BC) and Yang Zhu (fl. c. 350 BC). Chapter number, Chinese name, Other name:

1. *Tian Rui, Heaven's Gifts (Cosmogony)*
2. *Huang Di, The Yellow Emperor*
3. *Zhou Mu Wang, Dreams (King Mu of Zhou)*
4. *Zhong Ni, (Confucius)*
5. *Tang Wen, (The Questions of Tang)*
6. *Li Ming, (Effort and Destiny)*
7. *Yang Zhu (Yangzi), Egoism (Yang Zhu, Yangzi)*
8. *Shuo Fu, Causality (Explaining Conjunctions)*

Authenticity and Infuence

Liezi is known as one of the three most important texts in Taoism, together with the Tao Te Ching and Zhuangzi. Outside of Taoism, the biji genre story Yi Jian Zhi by Hong Mai borrowed the character of Yi Jian, a contemporary of the ancient mythical emperor Yu, from Liezi. Liezi scholars have long recognised that it shares many passages with other pre-Han texts like the Zhuangzi, Daodejing, and Lüshi Chunqiu. Barrett (1993:298) says opinion is "divided as to whether it is an ancient work with later interpolations or a forgery confected from ancient sources." On the one hand, the Liezi could contain a core of c. 400 BC authentic writings of Lie Yukou; on the other hand, it could be a c. 400 AD compilation forged by Zhang Zhan. The Liezi is most similar with the Zhuangzi. They share many characters and stories; Graham (1990:12) lists sixteen complete episodes plus sections from others. The Zhuangzi also mentions Liezi in four chapters and Lie Yukou in three, for example, the famous passage about Liezi's ability to ride the wind and go flying around.

Buddhism might have influenced chapters 3 and 6 in the Liezi are potentially corroborating evidence for a late date of composition; see Buddhism in China. The final two chapters have heterogeneous contents that differ from the Daoism elsewhere in the book. Chapter 7 records the Hedonist philosophy of "Yang Zhu" (Yangzi), infamous for the criticism of Mencius that he, "believed in 'every man for himself.' If he could have helped the whole world by plucking out a single hair, he would not have done it." Lie Yukou might have been a hedonist in his earlier years before he became a Daoist. The well-known scholar of Chinese philosophy, Wing-Tsit Chan (1963:309) calls the "Yang Zhu" chapter "negative Daoism" in contrast with the Daoism of Laozi, Zhuangzi, and Huainanzi that were "all positive in that each represents something new." "King Mu of Zhou" discusses sense perceptions as illusions; "Effort (or: Endeavour) and Destiny" takes a fatalistic (if not karmic) view of destiny, which goes against the traditional Daoist concept of Wuwei. Chapter 8, "Explaining Conjunctions," is primarily taken from other early sources, not only Daoist but Confucian and Mohist texts, two philosophies that opposed the philosophical Daoism this book expounds.)

LIEZI BOOK 1 - Heaven's Gifts (Cosmogony)

Our Master Lieh Tzu dwelt on a vegetable plot in the Chêng State for forty years, and no man knew him for what he was. The Prince, his Ministers, and all the State officials looked upon him as one of the common herd. A time of dearth fell upon the State, and he was preparing to migrate to Wei, when his disciples said to him: 'Now that our Master is going away without any prospect of returning, we have ventured to approach you, hoping for instruction. Are there no words from the lips of Hu-Ch'iu Tzu-lin that you can impart to us? Lieh Tzu smiled and said: 'Do you suppose that Hu Tzu dealt in words? However, I will try to repeat to you what my Master said on one occasion to Po-hun Mou-jên. [A fellow-disciple. Out of modesty, Lieh Tzu does not say that the teaching was imparted directly to himself.] I was standing by and heard his words, which ran as, follows: –

"There is a Creative Principle which is itself uncreated; there is a Principle of Change which is itself unchanging. The Uncreated is able to create life; the Unchanging is able to effect change. That which is produced cannot but continue producing; that which is evolved cannot but continue evolving. Hence there is constant production and constant evolution. The law of constant production and of constant evolution at no time ceases to operate. [The commentator says: 'That which is once involved in the destiny of living things can never be annihilated.'] So is it with the Yin and the Yang, so is it with the Four Seasons. [The Yin and the Yang are the Positive and Negative Principles of Nature, alternately predominating in day and night.] The Uncreated we may surmise to be Alone in itself. [The Supreme, the Non-Engendered — how can its reality be proved? We can only suppose that it is mysteriously One, without beginning and without end.']

The Unchanging goes to and fro, and its range is illimitable. We may surmise that it stands Alone, and that its Ways are inexhaustible."

'In the Book of the Yellow Emperor it is written: "The Spirit of the Valley dies not; it may be called the Mysterious Feminine. The issuing-point of the Mysterious Feminine must be regarded as the Root of the Universe. Subsisting to all eternity, it uses its force without effort." [The Book of the Yellow Emperor is no longer extant, but the above passage is now incorporated in the Tao Tê Ching, and attributed to Lao Tzu.]

'That, then, which engenders all things is itself unengendered; that by which all things are evolved is itself untouched by evolution. Self-engendered and self-evolved, it has in itself the elements of substance, appearance, wisdom, strength, dispersion and cessation. Yet it would be a mistake to call it by any one of these names.

The Master Lieh Tzu said: 'The inspired men of old regarded the Yin and the Yang as controlling the sum total of Heaven and Earth. But that which has substance is engendered from that which is devoid of substance; out of what then were Heaven and Earth engendered? ['They were engendered out of nothing, and came into existence of themselves.']

'Hence we say, there is a great Principle of Change, a great Origin, a great Beginning, a great Primordial Simplicity. In the great Change substance is not yet manifest. In the great Origin lies the beginning of substance. In the great Beginning, lies the beginning of material form. ['After the separation of the Yin and the Yang, when classes of objects assume their forms.'] In the great Simplicity lies the beginning of essential qualities. When substance, form and essential qualities are still indistinguishably blended together it is called Chaos. Chaos means that all things are chaotically intermixed and not yet separated from one another. The purer and lighter elements, tending upwards, made the Heavens; the grosser and heavier elements, tending downwards, made the Earth. Substance, harmoniously proportioned, became Man; and, Heaven and Earth containing thus a spiritual element, all things were evolved and produced.'

The Master Lieh Tzu said: 'The virtue of Heaven and Earth, the powers of the Sage, and the uses of the myriad things in Creation, are not perfect in every direction. It is Heaven's function to produce life and to spread a canopy over it. It is Earth's function to form material bodies and to support them. It is the Sage's function to teach others and to influence them for good. It is the function of created things to conform to their proper nature. That being so, there are things in which Earth may excel, though they lie outside the scope of Heaven; matters in which the Sage has no concern, though they afford free play to others. For it is clear that that which imparts and broods over life cannot form and support material bodies; that which forms and supports material bodies cannot teach and influence for good; one who teaches and influences for good cannot run counter to natural instincts; that which is fixed in suitable environment does not travel outside its own sphere. Therefore the Way of Heaven and Earth will be either of the Yin or of the Yang; the teaching of the Sage will be either of altruism or of righteousness; the quality of created objects will be either soft or hard. All these conform to their proper nature and cannot depart from the province assigned to them.'

On one hand, there is life, and on the other, there is that which produces life; there is form, and there is that which imparts form; there is sound, and there is that which causes sound; there is colour, and there is that which causes colour; there is taste, and there is that which causes taste.

Things that have been endowed with life die; but that which produces life itself never comes to an end. The origin of form is matter; but that which imparts form has no material existence. The genesis of sound lies in the sense of hearing; but that which causes sound is never audible to the ear. The source of colour is vision; but that which produces colour never manifests itself to the eye. The origin of taste lies in the palate; but that which causes taste is never perceived by that sense. All these phenomena are functions of the principle of Inaction. [Wu Wei, Inaction, here stands for the inert, unchanging Tao.] To be at will either bright or obscure, soft or hard, short or long, round or square, alive or dead, hot or cold, buoyant or sinking, treble or bass, present or absent, black or white, sweet or bitter, fetid or fragrant — this it is to be devoid of knowledge, yet all-knowing, destitute of power, yet all-powerful. [Such is Tao; Pinyin: Dao.]

On his journey to Wei, the Master Lieh Tzu took a meal by the roadside. His followers espied an old skull, and pulled aside the undergrowth to show it to him. Turning to his disciple Po Fêng, the Master said: 'That skull and I both know that there is no such thing as absolute life or death. ['If we regard ourselves as passing along the road of evolution, then I am alive and he is dead. But looked at from the standpoint of the Absolute, since there is no such principle as life in itself, it follows that there can be no such thing as death.']

This knowledge is better than all your methods of prolonging life, a more potent source of happiness than any other.'

In the Book of the Yellow Emperor it is written: 'When form becomes active it produces not form but shadow; when sound becomes active it produces not sound but echo.'

When Not-Being becomes active, it does not produce Not-Being but Being. Form is something that must come to an end. Heaven and Earth, then, have an end, even as we all have an end. But whether the end is complete we do not know. ['When there is conglomeration, form comes into being; when there is dispersion, it comes to an end. That is what we mortals mean by beginning and end. But although for us, in a state of conglomeration, this condensation into form constitutes a beginning, and its dispersion an end, from the standpoint of dispersion, it is void and calm that constitute the beginning, and condensation into form the end. Hence there is perpetual alternation in what constitutes beginning and end, and the underlying Truth is that there is neither any beginning nor any end at all.']

The course of evolution ends where it started, without a beginning; it finishes up where it began, in Not-Being. [A paradoxical way of stating that there is no beginning and no end.] That which has life returns again into the Lifeless; that which has form returns again into the formless. This, that I call the Lifeless, is not the original Lifelessness. This, that I call the formless, is not the original Formlessness. ['That, which is here termed the Lifeless has formerly possessed life, and subsequently passed into the extinction of death, whereas the original Lifelessness from the beginning knows neither life nor extinction.' We have here again the distinction between the unchanging life-giving Principle (Tao; Dao), which is itself without life, and the living things themselves, which are in a perpetual flux between life and death.]

That which has life must by the law of its being come to an end; and the end can no more be avoided than the living creature can help having been born. So that he who hopes to perpetuate his life or to shut out death is deceived as to his destiny.

The spiritual element in man is allotted to him by Heaven, his corporeal frame by Earth. The part that belongs to Heaven 'is ethereal and dispersive, the part that belongs to Earth is dense and tending to conglomeration. When the spirit parts from the body, each of these elements resumes its true nature. That is why disembodied spirits are called kuei, which means 'returning', that is, returning to their true dwelling-place. ['The region of the Great Void.']

The Yellow Emperor said: 'If my spirit returns through the gates whence it came, and my bones go back to the source from which they sprang, where does the Ego continue to exist?'

Between his birth and his latter end, man passes through four chief stages - infancy, adolescence, old age and death. In infancy, the vital force is concentrated, the will is undivided, and the general harmony of the system is perfect. External objects produce no injurious impression, and to the moral nature nothing can be added. In adolescence, the animal passions are wildly exuberant, the heart is filled with rising desires and preoccupations. The man is open to attack by the objects of sense, and thus his moral nature becomes enfeebled. In old age, his desires and preoccupations have lost their keenness, and the bodily frame seeks for repose. External objects no longer hold the first place in his regard. In this state, though not attaining to the perfection of infancy, he is already different from what he was in adolescence. In death, he comes to his rest, and returns to the Absolute.

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Confucius was travelling once over Mount T'ai when he caught sight of an aged man roaming in the wilds. He was clothed in a deerskin, girded with a rope, and was singing as he played on a lute. 'My friend,' said Confucius, 'what is it that makes you so happy?' The old man replied: 'I have a great deal to make me happy. God created all things, and of all His creations man is the noblest. It has fallen to my lot to be a man: that is my first ground for happiness. Then, there is a distinction between male and female, the former being rated more highly than the latter. Therefore it is better to be a male; and since I am one, I have a second ground for happiness. Furthermore, some are born who never behold the sun or the moon, and who never emerge from their swaddling-clothes. But I have already walked the earth for the space of ninety years. That is my third ground for happiness. Poverty is the normal lot of the scholar, death the appointed end for all human beings. Abiding in the normal state, and reaching at last the appointed end, what is there that should make me unhappy? ;What an excellent thing it is,' cried Confucius, 'to be able to find a source of consolation in oneself!'

Tzu Kung was tired of study, and confided his feelings to Confucius, saying: 'I yearn for rest.' Confucius replied: 'In life there is no rest.' ['To toil in anxious planning for the future, to slave in bolstering up the bodily frame — these are the businesses of life.']

'Is rest, then, nowhere to be found? 'Oh yes!' replied Confucius; 'look at all the graves in the wilds, all the vaults, all the tombs, all the funeral urns, and you may know where rest is to be found.' 'Great, indeed, is Death!' exclaimed Tzu Kung. 'It gives rest to the noble hearted, and causes the base to cower.' 'You are right,' said Confucius. 'Men feel the joy of life, but do not realize its bitterness. They feel the weariness of old age, but not its peacefulness. They think of the evils of death, but not of the repose which it confers.'

Yen Tzu said: 'How excellent was the ancients' view of death! — bringing rest to the good and subjection to the wicked. Death is the boundary-line of Virtue. [That is, Death abolishes all artificial and temporary distinctions between good and evil, which only hold good in this world of relativity.]

'The ancients spoke of the dead as kuei-jên (men who have returned). But if the dead are men who have returned, the living are men on a journey. Those who are on a journey and think not of returning have cut themselves off from their home. Should any one man cut himself off from his home, he would incur universal reprobation. But all mankind being homeless, there is none to see the error. Imagine one who leaves his native village, separates himself from all his kith and kin, dissipates his patrimony and wanders away to the four corners of the earth, never to return: — what manner of man is this? The world will surely set him down as a profligate and a vagabond. On the other hand, imagine one who clings to respectability and the things of this life, holds cleverness and capacity in high esteem, builds himself up a reputation, and plays the braggart amongst his fellow men without knowing where to stop: — what manner of man, once more, is this? The world will surely look upon him as a gentleman of great wisdom and counsel. Both of these men have lost their way, yet the world will consort with the one, and not with the other. Only the Sage knows with whom to consort and from whom to hold aloof.' ['He consorts with those who regard life and death merely as waking and sleeping, and holds aloof from those who are steeped in forgetfulness of their return.']

Yu Hsiung said: 'Evolution is never-ending. But who can perceive the secret processes of Heaven and Earth? Thus, things that are diminished here are augmented there; things that are made whole in one place suffer loss in another. Diminution and augmentation, fullness and decay are the constant accompaniments of life and death. They alternate in continuous succession, and we are not conscious of any interval. The whole body of spiritual substance progresses without a pause; the whole body of material substance suffers decay without intermission. But we do not perceive the process of completion, nor do we perceive the process of decay. Man, likewise, from birth to old age becomes something different every day in face and form, in wisdom and in conduct. His skin, his nails and his hair are continually growing and continually perishing. In infancy and childhood there is no stopping nor respite from change. Though imperceptible while it is going on, it may be verified afterwards if we wait.'

There was once a man in the Ch'i State who was so afraid the universe would collapse and fall to pieces, leaving his body without a lodgment, that he could neither sleep nor eat. Another man, pitying his distress, went to enlighten him. 'Heaven,' he said, 'is nothing more than an accumulation of ether, and there is no place where ether is not. Processes of contraction and expansion, inspiration and expiration are continually taking place up in the heavens. Why then should you be afraid of a collapse?' The man said: 'It is true that Heaven is an accumulation of ether; but the sun, the moon, and the stars — will they not fall down upon us? His informant replied: 'Sun, moon and stars are likewise only bright lights within this mass of ether. Even supposing they were to fall, they could not possibly harm us by their impact.' 'But what if the earth should fall to pieces? 'The earth,' replied the other, 'is merely an agglomeration of matter, which fills and blocks up the four comers of space. There is no part of it where matter is not. All day long there is constant treading and tramping on the surface of the earth. Why then should you be afraid of its falling to pieces? Thereupon the man was relieved of his fears and rejoiced exceedingly. And his instructor was also joyful and easy in mind. But Ch'ang Lu Tzu laughed at them both, saying: 'Rainbows, clouds and mist, wind and rain, the four seasons — these are perfected forms of accumulated ether, and go to make up the heavens. Mountains and cliffs, rivers and seas, metals and rocks, fire and timber — these are perfected forms of agglomerated matter, and constitute the earth. Knowing these facts, who can say that they will never be destroyed? Heaven and earth form only a small speck in the midst of the Void, but they are the greatest things in the sum of Being. This much is certain: even as their nature is hard to fathom, hard to understand, so they will be slow to pass away, slow to come to an end. He who fears lest they should suddenly fall to pieces is assuredly very far from the truth. He, on the other hand, who says that they will never be destroyed has also not reached the right solution. Heaven and earth must of necessity pass away, but neither will revert to destruction apart from the other. [The speaker means that though there is no immediate danger of a collapse, it is certain that our universe must obey the natural law of disintegration, and at some distant date disappear altogether. But the process of decay will be so gradual as to be imperceptible.] Who, having to face the day of disruption, would not be alarmed?

The Master Lieh Tzu heard of the discussion, and smiling said: 'He who maintains that Heaven and earth are destructible, and he who upholds the contrary, are both equally at fault. Whether they are destructible or not is something we can never know, though in both cases it will be the same for all alike. The living and the dead, the going and the coming, know nothing of each other's state. Whether destruction awaits the world or no, why should I trouble my head about it?

Mr Kuo of the Ch'i State was very rich, while Mr Hsiang of the Sung State was very poor. The latter travelled from Sung to Ch'i and asked the other for the secret of his prosperity. Mr Kuo told him. 'It is because I am a good thief,' he said. 'The first year I began to be a thief, I had just enough. The second year, I had ample. The third year, I reaped a great harvest. And, in course of time, I found myself the owner of whole villages and districts.' Mr Hsiang was overjoyed; he understood the word 'thief' in its literal sense, but he did not understand the true way of becoming a thief. Accordingly, he climbed over walls and broke into houses, grabbing everything he could see or lay hands upon. But before very long his thefts brought him into trouble, and he was stripped even of what he had previously possessed. Thinking that Mr Kuo had basely deceived him, Hsiang went to him with a bitter complaint. 'Tell me,' said Mr Kuo, 'how did you set about being a thief?' On learning from Mr Hsiang what had happened, he cried out: 'Alas and alack! You have been brought to this pass because you went the wrong way to work. Now let me put you on the right track. We all know that Heaven has its seasons, and that earth has its riches. Well, the things that I steal are the riches of Heaven and earth, each in their season — the fertilizing rain-water from the clouds, and the natural products of mountain and meadow-land. Thus I grow my grain and ripen my crops, build my walls and construct my tenements. From the dry land I steal winged and four-footed game, from the rivers I steal fish and turtles. There is nothing that I do not steal. For corn and grain, clay and wood, birds and beasts, fishes and turtles are all products of Nature. How can I claim them as mine? [It will be observed that Lieh Tzu anticipates here, in a somewhat different sense, Proudhon's famous paradox: 'La propriété c'est le vol.']

'Yet, stealing in this way from Nature, I bring on myself no retribution. But gold, jade, and precious stones, stores of grain, silk stuffs, and other kinds of property, are things accumulated by men, not bestowed upon us by Nature. So who can complain if he gets into trouble by stealing them?

Mr Hsiang, in a state of great perplexity, and fearing to be led astray a second time by Mr Kuo, went off to consult Tung Kuo, a man of learning. Tung Kuo said to him: 'Are you not already a thief in respect of your own body? You are stealing the harmony of the Yin and the Yang in order to keep alive and to maintain your bodily form. How much more, then, are you a thief with regard to external possessions! Assuredly, Heaven and earth cannot be dissociated from the myriad objects of Nature. To claim any one of these as your own betokens confusion of thought. Mr Kuo's thefts are carried out in a spirit of justice, and therefore bring no retribution. But your thefts were carried out in a spirit of self-seeking and therefore landed you in trouble. Those who take possession of property, whether public or private, are thieves. [By 'taking possession of public property', as we have seen, Lieh Tzu means utilizing the products of Nature open to all — rain and the like.] Those who abstain from taking property, public or private, are also thieves. ['For no one can help possessing a body, and no one can help acquiring some property or other which cannot be got rid of with the best will in the world. Such thefts are unconscious thefts.']

The great principle of Heaven and earth is to treat public property as such and private property as such. Knowing this principle, which of us is a thief, and at the same time which of us is not a thief?' [The object of this anecdote is to impress us with the unreality of mundane distinctions. Lieh Tzu is not much interested in the social aspect of the question. He is not an advocate of communism, nor does he rebel against the common-sense view that theft is a crime which must be punished. With him, everything is intended to lead up to the metaphysical standpoint.]

LIEZI BOOK 2 - Huang Di (The Yellow Emperor)

The Yellow Emperor sat for fifteen years on the throne, and rejoiced that the Empire looked up to him as its head. He was careful of his physical well-being, sought pleasures for his ears and eyes, and gratified his senses of smell and taste. Nevertheless, he grew melancholy in spirit, his complexion became sallow, and his sensations became dull and confused. Then, for a further period of fifteen years, he grieved that the Empire was in disorder; he summoned up all his intelligence, exhausted his resources of wisdom and strength in trying to rule the people. But, in spite of all, his face remained haggard and pale, and his sensations dull and confused. ['The practice of enlightened virtue will not succeed in establishing good government, but only disorganize the spiritual faculties.']

Then the Yellow Emperor sighed heavily and said: 'My fault is want of moderation. The misery I suffer comes from over-attention to my own self, and the troubles of the Empire from over-regulation in everything.' Thereupon, he threw up all his schemes, abandoned his ancestral palace, dismissed his attendants, removed all the hanging bells, cut down the delicacies of his cuisine, and retired to live at leisure in private apartments attached to the Court. There he fasted in heart, and brought his body under control. [Fasting in heart means freeing oneself from earthly desires, after which, says the commentator, the body will naturally be under control. Actual abstention from food or other forms of bodily mortification are not intended.]

For three months he abstained from personal intervention in government. Then he fell asleep in the daytime, and dreamed that he made a journey to the kingdom of Hua-hsu, situated I know not how many tens of thousands of miles distant from the Ch'i State. It was beyond the reach of ship or vehicle or any mortal foot. Only the soul could travel so far. [In sleep, the hun or spiritual part of the soul is supposed by the Chinese, to quit the body.]

This kingdom was without head or ruler; it simply went on of itself. Its people were without desires or cravings; they simply followed their natural instincts. They felt neither joy in life nor abhorrence of death; thus they came to no untimely ends. They felt neither attachment to self nor indifference to others; thus they were exempt from love and hatred alike. They knew neither aversion from one course nor inclination to another; hence profit and loss existed not among them. All were equally untouched by the emotions of love and sympathy, of jealousy and fear. Water had no power to drown them, nor fire to burn; cuts and blows caused them neither injury nor pain, scratching or tickling could not make them itch. They bestrode the air as though treading on solid earth; they were cradled in space as though resting in a bed. Clouds and mist obstructed not their vision, thunder-peals could not stun their ears, physical beauty disturbed not their hearts, mountains and valleys hindered not their steps. They moved about like gods.

When the Yellow Emperor awoke from his dream, he summoned his three Ministers and told them what he had seen. 'For three months,' he said, 'I have been living a life of leisure, fasting in heart, subduing my body, and casting about in my mind for the true method of nourishing my own life and regulating the lives of others. But I failed to discover the secret*. Worn out, I fell asleep and dreamed this dream. ['It is wrong to nourish one's own life, wrong to regulate those of others. No attempt to do this by the light of intelligence can be successful.'] Now I know that the Perfect Way is not to be sought through the senses. This Way I know and hold within me, yet I cannot impart it to you.' ['If the Way cannot be sought through the senses, it cannot be communicated through the senses.']

For twenty-eight years after this, there was great orderliness in the Empire, nearly equalling that in the kingdom of Hua-hsu. And when the Emperor ascended on high, the people bewailed him for two hundred years without intermission.

Lieh Tzu had Lao Shang for his teacher, and Po Kao Tzu for his friend. When he had fully mastered the system of these two philosophers, he rode home again on the wings of the wind. [See: Chuang Tzu, ch. 1: 'There was Lieh Tzu again. He could ride upon the wind, and travel whithersoever he wished, staying away as long as fifteen days.']

Yin Shêng heard of this, and became his disciple. He dwelt with Lieh Tzu for many months without visiting his own

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home. While he was with him, he begged to be initiated into his secret arts. Ten times he asked, and each time received no answer. Becoming impatient Yin Shêng announced his departure, but Lieh Tzu still gave no sign. So Yin Shêng went away, but after many months his mind was still unsettled, so he returned and became his follower once more. Lieh Tzu said to him: 'Why this incessant going and coming?' Yin Shêng replied: 'Some time ago, I sought instruction from you, Sir, but you would not tell me anything. That made me vexed with you. But now I have got rid of that feeling, and so I have come again.' Lieh Tzu said: 'Formerly, I used to think you were a man of penetration, and have you now fallen so low? Sit down, and I will tell you what I learned from my Master. After I had served him, and enjoyed the friendship of Po Kao, for the space of three years, my mind did not venture to reflect on right and my wrong, my lips did not venture to speak of profit and loss. Then, for the first time, my Master bestowed one glance upon me — and that was all. ['To be in reality entertaining the ideas of profit and loss, though without venturing to utter them, is a case of hiding one's resentment and harbouring secret passions; hence a mere glance was vouchsafed.']

'At the end of five years a change had taken place; my mind was reflecting on right and wrong, and my lips were speaking of profit and loss. Then, for the first time, my Master relaxed his countenance and smiled. ['Right and wrong, profit and loss, are the fixed principles prevailing in the world of sense. To let the mind reflect on what it will, to let the lips utter what they please, and not grudgingly bottle it up in one's breast, so that the internal and the external may become as one, is still not so good as passing beyond the bounds of self and abstaining from all manifestation. This first step, however, pleased the Master and caused him to give a smile.']

'At the end of seven years, there was another change. I let my mind reflect on what it would, but it no longer occupied itself with right and wrong. I let my lips utter whatsoever they pleased, but they no longer spoke of profit and loss. Then, at last, my Master led me in to sit on the mat beside him. ['The question is, how to bring the mind into a state of calm, in which there is no thinking or mental activity; how to keep the lips silent, with only natural inhalation and exhalation going on. If you give yourself up to mental perfection, right and wrong will cease to exist; if the lips follow their natural law they know not profit or loss. Their ways agreeing, Master and friend sat side by side with him on the same seat. That was only as it should be.']

'At the end of nine years my mind gave free rein to its reflections, my mouth free passage to its speech. Of right and wrong, profit and loss, I had no knowledge, either as touching myself or others. I knew neither that the Master was my instructor, nor that the other man was my friend. Internal and External were blended into Unity. After that, there was no distinction between eye and ear, ear and nose, nose and mouth: all were the same. My mind was frozen, my body in dissolution, my flesh and bones all melted together. I was wholly unconscious of what my body was resting on, or what was under my feet. I was borne this way and that on the wind, like dry chaff or leaves falling from a tree. In fact, I knew not whether the wind was riding on me or I on the wind. Now, you have not spent one whole season in your teacher's house, and yet you have lost patience two or three times already. Why, at this rate, the atmosphere will never support an atom of your body, and even the earth will be unequal to the weight of one of your limbs! [The only way to etherealise the body being to purge the mind of its passions.] How can you expect to walk in the void or to be charioted on the wind?'

Hearing this, Yin Shêng was deeply ashamed. He could hardly trust himself to breathe, and it was long ere he ventured to utter another word.

Mr Fan had a son named Tzu Hua, who succeeded in achieving great fame as an exponent of the black art, and the whole kingdom bowed down before him. He was in high favour with the Prince of Chin, taking no office but standing on a par with the three Ministers of State. Any one on whom he turned a partial eye was marked out for distinction; while those of whom he spoke unfavourably were forthwith banished. People thronged his hall in the same way as they went to Court. Tzu Hua used to encourage his followers to contend amongst themselves, so that the clever ones were always bullying the slow-witted, and the strong riding rough-shod over the weak. Though this resulted in blows and wounds being dealt before his eyes, he was not in the habit of troubling about it. Day and night, this sort of thing served as an amusement, and practically became a custom in the State.

One day, Ho Shêng and Tzu Po, two of Fan's leading disciples, set off on a journey and, after traversing a stretch of wild country, they put up for the night in the hut of an old peasant named Shang Ch'iu Wai. During the night, the two travellers conversed together, speaking of Tzu Hua's reputation and influence, his power over life and death, and how he could make the rich man poor and the poor man rich. Now, Shang Ch'iu Wai was living on the border of starvation. He had crept round under the window and overheard this conversation. Accordingly, he borrowed some provisions and, shouldering his basket, set off for Tzu Hua's establishment. This man's followers, however, were a worldly set, who wore silken garments and rode in high carriages and stalked about with their noses in the air. Seeing that Shang Ch'iu Wai was a weak old man, with a weather-beaten face and clothes of no particular cut, they one and all despised him. Soon he became a regular target for their insults and ridicule, being hustled about and slapped on the back and what not. Shang Ch'iu K'ai, however, never showed the least annoyance, and at last the disciples, having exhausted their wit on him in this way, grew tired of the fun. So, by way of a jest, they took the old man with them to the top of a cliff, and the word was passed round that whosoever dared to throw himself over would be rewarded with a hundred ounces of silver. There was an eager response, and Shang Ch'iu K'ai, in perfect good faith, was the first to leap over the edge. And lo! he was wafted down to earth like a bird on the wing, not a bone or muscle of his body being hurt. Mr Fan's disciples, regarding this as a lucky chance, were merely surprised, but not yet moved to great wonder. Then they pointed to a bend in the foaming river below, saying: 'There is a precious pearl at the bottom of that river, which can be had for the diving.' Ch'iu K'ai again acted on their suggestion and plunged in. And when he came out, sure enough he held a pearl in his hand.

Then, at last, the whole company began to suspect the truth, and Tzu Hua gave orders that an array of costly viands and silken raiment should be prepared; then suddenly a great fire was kindled round the pile. 'If you can walk through the midst of these flames,' he said, 'you are welcome to keep what you can get of these embroidered stuffs, be it much or little, as a reward.' Without moving a muscle of his face, Shang Ch'iu K'ai walked straight into the fire, and came back again with his garments unsoiled and his body unsinged.

Mr Fan and his disciples now realized that he was in possession of Tao, and all began to make their apologies, saying: 'We did not know, Sir, that you had Tao, and were only playing a trick on you. We insulted you, not knowing that you were a divine man. You have exposed our stupidity, our deafness and out blindness. May we venture to ask what the Great Secret is?' 'Secret I have none,' replied Shang Ch'iu K'ai. 'Even in my own mind I have no clue as to the real cause. Nevertheless, there is one point in it all which I must try to explain to you. A short time ago, Sir, two disciples of yours came and put up for the night in my hut. I heard them extolling Mr Fan's powers — how he could dispense life and death at his will, and how he was able to make the rich man poor and the poor man rich. I believed this implicitly, and as the distance was not very great I came hither. Having arrived, I unreservedly accepted as true all the statements made by your disciples, and was only afraid lest the opportunity might never come of putting them triumphantly to the proof I knew not what part of space my body occupied, nor yet where danger lurked. My mind was simply One, and material objects thus offered no resistance. That is all. But now, having discovered that your disciples were deceiving me, my inner man is thrown into a state of doubt and perplexity, while outwardly my senses of sight and hearing re-assert themselves. When I reflect that I have just had a providential escape from being drowned and burned to death, my heart within me freezes with horror, and my limbs tremble with fear. I shall never again have the courage to go near water or fire.'

From that time forth, when Mr Fan's disciples happened to meet a beggar or a poor horse-doctor on the road, so far from jeering at him, they would actually dismount and offer him a humble salute.

Tsai Wo heard this story, and told it to Confucius. 'Is this so strange to you? was the reply. 'The man of perfect faith can extend his influence to inanimate things and disembodied spirits; he can move heaven and earth, and fly to the six cardinal points without encountering any hindrance. [11 Compare the familiar passage in the Bible (Matthew 17:20).] His powers are not confined to walking in perilous places and passing through water and fire. If Shang Ch'iu K'ai, who put his faith in falsehoods, found no obstacle in external matter, how much more certainly will that be so when both parties are equally sincere! Young man, bear this in mind.' [In Shang Ch'iu K'ai's case, though he himself was sincere, his Master Fan Tzŭ Hua was merely an impostor.]

The Keeper of Animals under King Hsuan, of the Chou dynasty, had an assistant named Liang Yang, who was skilled in the management of wild birds and beasts. When he fed them in their park-enclosure, all the animals showed themselves tame and tractable, although they comprised tigers, wolves, eagles and ospreys. Male and female freely propagated their kind, and their numbers multiplied.[The difficulty of getting wild animals to breed in captivity is well known to naturalists.] The different species lived promiscuously together, yet they never clawed nor bit one another.

The King was afraid lest this man's secret should die with him, and commanded him to impart it to the Keeper. So Liang Yang appeared before the Keeper and said: 'I am only a humble servant, and have really nothing to impart. I fear his Majesty thinks I am hiding something from you. With regard to my method of feeding tigers, all I have to say is this: when yielded to, they are pleased; when opposed, they are angry. Such is the natural disposition of all living creatures. But neither their pleasure nor their anger is manifested without a cause. Both are really excited by opposition.[Anger directly, pleasure indirectly, owing to the natural reaction when the opposition is overcome.]

'In feeding tigers, then, I avoid giving them either live animals or whole carcases, lest in the former case the act of killing, in the latter the act of tearing them to pieces, should excite them to fury. Again, I time their periods of hunger and repletion, and I gain a full understanding of the causes of their anger. Tigers are of a different species from man, but, like him, they respond to those who coax them with food, and consequently the act of killing their victims tends to provoke them. This being so, I should not think of opposing them and thus provoking their anger; neither do I humour them and thus cause them to feel pleased. For this feeling of pleasure will in time be succeeded by anger, just as anger must invariably be succeeded by pleasure. Neither of these states hits the proper mean. Hence it is my aim to be neither antagonistic nor compliant, so that the animals regard me as one of themselves. Thus it happens that they walk about the park without regretting the tall forests and the broad marshes, and rest in the enclosure without yearning for the lonely mountains and the dark valleys. Such are the principles which have led to the results you see.'

There was once a man, a sailor by profession, who was very fond of sea-gulls. Every morning he went into the sea and swam about in their midst, at which times a hundred gulls and more would constantly flock about him. ['Creatures are not shy of those whom they feel to be in mental and bodily harmony with themselves.']

One day his father said to him: 'I am told that sea-gulls swim about with you in the water. I wish you would catch one or two for me to make pets of.' On the following day, the sailor went down to the sea as usual, but lo! the gulls only wheeled about in the air and would not alight.['There was disturbance in his mind, accompanied by a change in his outward demeanour; thus the birds became conscious of the fact that he was a human being. How could their instinct be deceived?']

Chao Hsiang Tzu led out a company of a hundred thousand men to hunt in the Central Mountains. Lighting the dry undergrowth, they set fire to the whole forest, and the glow of the flames was visible for a hundred miles around. Suddenly a man appeared, emerging from a rocky cliff*, and was seen to hover in the air amidst the flames and the smoke. [* That is to say, passing miraculously out of the actual stone itself.] Everybody took him for a disembodied spirit. When the fire had passed, he walked quietly out, and showed no trace of having been through the ordeal. Hsiang Tzu marvelled thereat, and detained him for the purpose of careful examination. In bodily form he was undoubtedly a man, possessing the seven channels of sense, besides which his breathing and his voice also proclaimed him a man. So the prince inquired what secret power it was that enabled him to dwell in rock and to walk through fire. 'What do you mean by rock?' replied the man; 'what do you mean by fire?' Hsiang Tzu said: 'What you just now came out of is rock; what you just now walked through is fire.' 'I know nothing of them,' replied the man.['It was this extreme feat of unconsciousness that enabled him to perform the above feats.']

The incident came to the ears of Marquis Wên of the Wei State, who spoke to Tzu Hsia about it, saying: 'What an extraordinary man this must be!' 'From what I have heard the Master say,' replied Tzu Hsia, 'the man who achieves harmony with Tao enters into close unison with external objects, and none of them has the power to harm or hinder him. Passing through solid metal or stone, walking in the midst of fire or on the surface of water — all these things become possible to him.' 'Why, my friend,' asked the Marquis, 'cannot you do all this? 'I have not yet succeeded,' said Tzu Hsia, 'in cleansing my heart of impurities and discarding Wisdom. I can only find leisure to discuss the matter in tentative fashion.' 'And why,' pursued the Marquis, 'does not the Master himself perform these feats?' 'The Master,' replied Tzu' Hsia, 'is is able to do these things, but he is also able to refrain from doing them.' Which answer hugely delighted the Marquis.

There may be similarity in understanding without similarity in outward form. There may also be similarity in form without similarity in understanding. The Sage embraces similarity of understanding and pays no regard to similarity of form. The world in general is attracted by similarity of form, but remains indifferent to similarity of understanding. Those creatures that resemble them in shape they love and consort with; those that differ from them in shape they fear and keep at a distance. The creature that has a skeleton seven feet long [The Chinese foot at that time being considerably shorter than ours.], hands differently shaped from the feet, hair on its head, and an even set of teeth in its jaws, and walks erect, is called a man. But it does not follow that a man may not have the mind of a brute. Even though this be the case, other men will still recognize him as one of their own species in virtue of his outward form. Creatures which have wings on

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the back or horns on the head, serrated teeth or extensile talons, which fly overhead or run on all fours, are called birds and beasts. But it does not follow that a bird or a beast may not have the mind of a man. Yet, even if this be so, it is nevertheless assigned to another species because of the difference in form.

P'ao Hsi, Nu Kua, Shên Nung and Hsia Hou had serpents' bodies, human faces, ox-heads and tigers' snouts. Thus, their forms were not human, yet their virtue was of the saintliest. Chieh of the Hsia dynasty, Chou of the Yin, Huan of the Lu State, and Mu of the Ch'u State, were in all external respects, as facial appearance and possession of the seven channels of sense, like unto other men; yet they had the minds of savage brutes. Howbeit, in seeking perfect understanding, men attend to the outward form alone, which will not bring them near to it.

When the Yellow Emperor fought with Yen Ti on the field of P'an-ch'uan, his vanguard was composed of bears, wolves, panthers, lynxes and tigers, while his ensign-bearers were eagles, ospreys, falcons and kites. This was forcible impressment of animals into the service of man. The Emperor Yao entrusted K'uei with the regulation of music. [K'uei was a composite being, half beast, half man, of irreproachable virtue. His son, on the other hand, is said to have had 'the heart of a pig'. He was insatiably gluttonous, covetous and quarrelsome.]

When the latter tapped the musical stone in varying cadence, all the animals danced to the sound of the music. When the Shao in its nine variations was heard on the flute, the phœnix itself flew down to assist. This was the attraction of animals by the power of music. In what, then, do the minds of birds and beasts differ from the minds of men? Their shapes and the sounds they utter are different from ours, and they know no way of communicating with us. But the wisdom and penetration of the Sage are unlimited: that is why he is able to lead then, to do his bidding. The intelligence of animals is innate, even as that of man. Their common desire is for self-preservation, but they do not borrow their knowledge from men. There is pairing between the male and the female, and mutual attachment between the mother and her young. They shun the open plain and keep to the mountainous parts; they flee the cold and make for warmth; when they settle, they gather in flocks; when they travel, they preserve a fixed order. The young ones are stationed in the middle, the stronger ones place themselves on the outside. They show one another the way to the drinking-places, and call to their fellows when there is food. In the earliest ages, they dwelt and moved about in company with man. It was not until the age of emperors and kings that they began to be afraid and broke away into scattered bands. And now, in this final period, they habitually hide and keep out of man's way so as to avoid injury at his hands. At the present day, the Chieh-shih in the far east can in many cases interpret the language of the six domestic animals, although they have probably but an imperfect understanding of it.

In remote antiquity, there were men of divine enlightenment who were perfectly acquainted with the feelings and habits of all living things, and thoroughly understood the languages of the various species. They brought them together, trained them, and admitted them to their society, exactly like human beings. . . . These sages declared that, in mind and understanding, there was no wide gulf between any of the living species endowed with blood and breath. And therefore, knowing that this was so, they omitted nothing from their course of training and instruction.

Hui Yang went to visit Prince K'ang of the Sung State. The Prince, however, stamped his foot, rasped his throat, and said angrily: 'The things I like are courage and strength. I am not fond of your good and virtuous people. What can a stranger like you have to teach me? 'I have a secret,' replied Hui Yang, 'whereby my opponent, however brave or strong, can be prevented from harming me either by thrust or by blow. Would not your Highness care to know that secret?' 'Capital!' exclaimed K'ang; 'that is certainly something I should like to hear about.' Hui Yang went on: 'To render ineffectual the stabs and blows of one's opponent is indeed to cover him with shame. But my secret is one which will make your opponent, however brave or strong, afraid to stab or to strike at all! His being afraid, however, does not always imply that he has not the will to do so. Now, my secret method operates so that even the will is absent. Not having the will to harm, however, does not necessarily connote the desire to love and to do good. But my secret is one whereby every man, woman and child in the Empire shall be inspired with the friendly desire to love and do good to one another! This is something that transcends all social distinctions, and is much better than the mere possession of courage and strength. Has your Highness no mind to acquire such a secret as this?' 'Nay,' said the Prince, 'I am anxious to learn it. What is the secret, pray?' 'Nothing else,' replied Hui Yang, 'than the teachings of Confucius and Mo Tzu. [21 Mozi (original name: Mo Di, Latin: Micius; c. 470-391 BC) A famous philosopher who flourished about 400 B.C. and propounded in his book The Mozi or Mojing, chiefly on utilitarian grounds, the doctrine of 'universal love'.]

Neither of these two men possessed any land, and yet they were princes; they held no official rank, and yet they were leaders. All the inhabitants of the Empire, old and young, used to crane their necks and stand on tiptoe to catch a glimpse of them. For it was their object to bring peace and happiness to all. Now, your Highness is lord of ten thousand chariots. [A conventional way of saying that Sung was a feudal State of the first class.] If you are sincere in your purpose, all the people within the four borders of your realm will reap the benefit, and the fame of your virtue will far exceed that of Confucius or of Mo Tzu.' [They not having enjoyed the advantage of ruling over a large State.]

The Prince of Sung found himself at loss for an answer, and Hui Yang quickly withdrew. Then the Prince turned to his courtiers and said: 'A forcible argument! This stranger has carried me away by his eloquence.'

LIEZI BOOK 3 - Dreams (King Mu of Zhou)

In the time of King Mu of Chou, there was a magician who came from a kingdom in the far west. He could pass through fire and water, penetrate metal and stone, overturn mountains and make rivers flow backwards, transplant whole towns and cities, ride on thin air without falling, encounter solid bodies without being obstructed. There was no end to the countless variety of changes and transformations which he could effect; and, besides changing the external form, he could also spirit away men's internal cares.

King Mu revered him as a god, and served him like a prince. He set aside for his use a spacious suite of apartments, regaled him with the daintiest of food, and selected a number of singing-girls for his express gratification. The magician, however, condemned the King's palace as mean, the cooking as rancid, and the concubines as too ugly to live with. So King Mu had a new building erected to please him. It was built entirely of bricks and wood, and gorgeously decorated in red and white, no skill being spared in its construction. The five royal treasuries were empty by the time that the new pavilion was complete. It stood six thousand feet high, over-topping Mount Chung-nan, and it was called Touch-the-sky Pavilion. Then the King proceeded to fill it with maidens, selected from Chêng and Wei, of the most exquisite and delicate beauty. They were anointed with fragrant perfumes, adorned with moth-eyebrows, provided with jewelled hairpins and earrings, and arrayed in the finest silks, with costly satin trains. Their faces were powdered, and their eyebrows pencilled, their girdles were studded with precious stones. All manner of sweet-scented plants filled the palace with their odours, and ravishing music of the olden time was played to the honoured guest. Every month he was presented with fresh and costly raiment; every morning he had set before him some new and delicious food.

The magician could not well refuse to take up his abode in this palace of delight. But he had not dwelt there very long before he invited the King to accompany him on a jaunt. So the King clutched the magician's sleeve, and soared up with him higher and higher into the sky, until at last they stopped, and lo! they had reached the magician's own palace. This palace was built with beams of gold and silver, and incrusted with pearls and jade. It towered high above the region of clouds and rain, and the foundations whereon it rested were unknown. It appeared like a stupendous cloud-mass to the view. The sights and sounds it offered to eye and ear, the scents and flavours which abounded there, were such as exist not within mortal ken. The King verily believed that he was in the Halls of Paradise, tenanted by God Himself, and that he was listening to the mighty music of the spheres. He gazed at his own palace on the earth below, and it seemed to him no better than a rude pile of clods and brushwood.

It seemed to the King as if his stay in this place lasted for several decades, during which he gave no thought to his own kingdom. Then the magician invited him to make another journey, and in the new region they came to, neither sun nor moon could be seen in the heavens above, nor any rivers or seas below. The King's eyes were dazed by the quality of the light, and he lost the power of vision; his ears were stunned by the sounds that assailed them, and he lost the faculty of hearing. The framework of his bones and his internal organs were thrown out of gear and refused to function. His thoughts were in a whirl, his intellect became clouded, and he begged the magician to take him back again. [This was the region of the Great Void, where all is dim and blurred, assuredly not meant to be traversed by the ordinary man. The dizziness of brain and eye was the effect produced by the Absolute.'] Thereupon, the magician gave him a shove, and the King experienced a sensation of falling through space. . . .

When he awoke to consciousness, he found himself sitting on his throne just as before, with the selfsame attendants round him. He looked at the wine in front of him, and saw that it was still full of sediment; he looked at the viands, and found that they had not yet lost their freshness. He asked where he had come from, and his attendants told him that he had only been sitting quietly there. This threw King Mu into a reverie, and it was three months before he was himself again. Then he made further inquiry, and asked the magician to explain what had happened. 'Your Majesty and I,' replied the magician, 'were only wandering about in the spirit, and, of course, our bodies never moved at all. What essential difference is there between that sky-palace we dwelt in and your Majesty's palace on earth, between the spaces we travelled through and your Majesty's own park? [Looked at from the standpoint of the Absolute, both palaces were unreal.] During your retirement from public affairs, you have been in a perpetual state of doubt as to the reality of your experience. But in a universe where changes are everlasting in progress, and fast and slow are purely relative conceptions, how can the Ideal ever be fully attained?' [The sky-palace was only some degrees finer than the King's, just as the King's palace was only some degrees finer than the hovel of a peasant. To strive for something that shall satisfy man's desires and aspirations once and for all is only labour lost. The story continues with an account of the King's marvellous journey to the West. But though he drained the cup of pleasure to the dregs, the upshot of it all was that he never truly attained to Tao. We may seek the moral in a saying of Lao Tzu: 'Without going out of doors, one may know the whole world; without looking out of window, one may see the Way of Heaven. The farther one travels, the less one may know.']

Lao Ch'êng Tzu went to learn magic from the venerable Yin Wên. After a period of three years, having obtained no communication, he humbly asked permission to go home. Yin Wên bowed, and led him into the inner apartment. There, having dismissed his attendants, he spoke to him as follows: 'Long ago, when Lao Tzu was setting out on his journey to the West, he addressed me and said: "All that has the breath of life, all that possesses bodily form, is mere illusion. The point at which creation begins, the change effected by the Dual Principles — these are called respectively Life and Death. That which underlies the manifold workings of Destiny is called Evolution; that which produces and transforms bodily substance is called Illusion. The ingenuity of the Creative Power is mysterious, and its operations are profound. In truth, it is inexhaustible and eternal. [The 'Creative Power', of course, is Tao; but how widely the conception of Tao, differs from that of a personal God may be seen from the commentator's note: 'How should the Creative Power possess a conscious mind? It is its spontaneity that constitutes the mystery. Spirit and matter eagerly come together and coalesce into perceptible forms. Following the path of evolution they proceed on their way, and before long relapse into nothingness.'] The ingenuity of that which causes material form is patent to the eye, and its operations are superficial. Therefore it arises anon, and anon it vanishes." Only one who knows that Life is really Illusion, and that Death is really Evolution, can begin to learn magic from me. You and I are both illusions. What need, then, to make a study of the subject?' [If a person wishes to make a study of illusion, in spite of the fact that his own body is an illusion, we are reduced to the absurdity of an illusion studying an illusion.']

Lao Ch'êng Tzu returned home, and for three months pondered deeply over the words of the Venerable Yin Wên. Subsequently, he had the power of appearing or disappearing at will; he could reverse the order of the four seasons, produce thunderstorms in winter and ice in summer, make flying things creep and creeping things fly. But to the end of his days he never published the secret of his art, so that it was not handed down to after generations.

The Master Lieh Tzu said: 'A dream is something that comes into contact with the mind; an external event is something that impinges on the body. Hence our feelings by day and our dreams by night are the result of contacts made by mind or body. It follows that if we can concentrate the mind in abstraction, our feelings and our dreams will vanish of themselves. Those who rely on their waking perceptions will not argue about them. Those who put faith in dreams do not understand the processes of change in the external world. [This refers to a previous passage, omitted in the present selection. Contrary to the received opinion of his own day, Lieh Tzu held that dreams were not just arbitrary manifestations portending future events, but the effects of regular antecedent causes, without any further significance. They are produced by certain processes of the mind, and if these processes can be checked (as Lieh Tzu believes they can) by means of abstraction, dreaming will also cease.]

"The pure men of old passed their waking existence in self-oblivion, and slept without dreams." How can this be dismissed as an empty phrase?'

Mr Yin of Chou was the owner of a large estate who harried his servants unmercifully, and gave them no rest from morning to night. There was one old servant in particular whose physical strength had quite left him, yet his master worked him all the harder. All day long he was groaning as he went about his work, and when night came he was reeling with fatigue and would sleep like a log. His spirit was then free to wander at will, and every night he dreamt that he was a king, enthroned in authority over the multitude, and controlling the affairs of the whole State. He took his Pleasure in palaces and belvederes, following his own fancy in everything, and his happiness was beyond compare. But when

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he awoke, he was servant once more. To some one who condoled with him on his hard lot the old man replied: 'Human life may last a hundred years, and the whole of it is equally divided into nights and days. In the daytime I am only a slave, it is true, and my misery cannot be gainsaid. But by night I am a king, and my happiness is beyond compare. So what have I to grumble at?'

Now, Mr Yin's mind was full of worldly cares, and he was always thinking with anxious solicitude about the affairs of his estate. Thus he was wearing out mind and body alike, and at night he also used to fall asleep utterly exhausted. Every night he dreamt that he was another man's servant, running about on menial business; of every description, and subjected to every possible kind of abuse and ill-treatment. He would mutter and groan in his sleep, and obtained no relief until morning came. This state of things at last resulted in a serious illness, and Mr Yin besought the advice of a friend. 'Your station in life,' his friend said, 'is a distinguished one, and you have wealth and property in abundance. In these respects you are far above the average. If at night you dream that you are a servant and exchange ease for affliction, that is only the proper balance in human destiny. What you want is that your dreams should be as pleasant as your waking moments. But that is beyond your power to compass.' On hearing what his friend said, Mr Yin lightened his servant's toil, and allowed his own mental worry to abate; whereupon his malady began to decrease in proportion.

A man was gathering fuel in the Cheng State when he fell in with a deer that had been startled from its usual haunts. He gave chase, and succeeded in killing it. He was overjoyed at his good luck; but, for fear of discovery, he hastily concealed the carcass in a dry ditch, and covered it up with brushwood. Afterwards, he forgot the spot where he had hidden the deer, and finally became convinced that the whole affair was only a dream. He told the story to people he met as he went along; and one of those who heard it, following the indications given, went and found the deer. On reaching home with his booty, this man made the following statement to his wife: 'Once upon a time,' he said, 'a wood-cutter dreamt that he had got a deer, but couldn't remember the place where he had put it. Now I have found the deer, so it appears that his dream was a true dream.' 'On the contrary.' said his wife, 'it is you who must have dreamt that you met a wood-cutter who had caught a deer. Here you have a deer, true enough. But where is the wood-cutter? it is evidently your dream that has come true.' 'I have certainly got a deer,' replied her husband; 'so what does it matter to us whether it was his dream or mine?'

Meanwhile, the wood-cutter had gone home, not at all disgusted at having lost the deer. [For he thought the whole thing must have been a dream.] But the same night, he saw in a dream the place where he had really hidden it, and he also dreamt of the man who had taken it. So, the next morning, in accordance with his dream, he went to seek him out in order to recover the deer. A quarrel ensued, and the matter was finally brought before the magistrate, who gave judgment in these terms: 'You,' he said to the wood-cutter, 'began by really killing a deer, but wrongly thought it was a dream. Then you really dreamt that you had got the deer, but wrongly took the dream to be a reality. The other man really took your deer, which he is now disputing with you. His wife, on the other hand, declares that he saw both man and deer in a dream, so that nobody can be said to have killed the deer at all. Meanwhile, here is the deer itself in court, and you had better divide it between you.'

The case was reported to the Prince of the Chêng State, who said: 'Why, the magistrate must have dreamt the whole thing himself!' The question was referred to the Prime Minister, but the latter confessed himself unable to disentangle the part that was a dream from that part that was not a dream. 'If you want to distinguish between waking and dreaming,' he said, 'only the Yellow Emperor or Confucius could help you. But both these sages are dead, and there is nobody now alive who can draw any such distinction. [Of course, it is implied that there is no real distinction between the two.] So the best thing you can do is to uphold the magistrate's decision.'

Yang-li Hua-tzu, of the Sung State, was afflicted in middle age by loss of memory. Anything he received in the morning he had forgotten by the evening, anything he gave away in the evening he had forgotten the next morning. Out-of-doors, he forgot to walk; indoors, he forgot to sit down. At any given moment, he had no recollection of what had just taken place; and a little later on, he could not even recollect what had happened then. All his family were perfectly disgusted with him. Fortune-tellers were summoned, but their divinations proved unsuccessful; Wizards were sought out, but their exorcisms were ineffectual; physicians were called in, but their remedies were of no avail. At last, a learned professor from the Lu State volunteered his services, declaring that he could effect a cure. Hua-Tzu's wife and family immediately offered him half their estate if only he would tell them how to set to work. The professor replied: 'This is a case which cannot be dealt with by means of auspices and diagrams; the evil cannot be removed by prayers and incantations, nor successfully combated by drugs and potions. What I shall try to do is to influence his mind and turn the current of his thoughts; in that way a cure is likely to be brought about.'

Accordingly, the experiment was begun. The professor exposed his patient to cold, so that he was forced to beg for clothes; subjected him to hunger, so that he was fain to ask for food; left him in darkness, so that he was obliged to search for light. Soon, he was able to report progress to the sons of the house, saying gleefully: 'The disease can be checked. But the methods I shall employ have been handed down as a secret in my family, and cannot be made known to the public. All attendants must, therefore, be kept out of the way, and I must be shut up alone with my patient.' The professor was allowed to have his way, and for the space of seven days no one knew what was going on in the sick man's chamber. Then, one fine morning, the treatment came to an end, and, wonderful to relate, the disease of so many years' standing had entirely disappeared!

No sooner had Hua-Tzu regained his senses, however, than he flew into a great rage, drove his wife out of doors, beat his sons, and, snatching up a spear, hotly pursued the professor through the town. On being arrested and asked to explain his conduct, this is what he said: 'Lately when I was steeped in forgetfulness, my senses were so benumbed that I was quite unconscious of the existence of the outer world. But now I have been brought suddenly to a perception of the events of half a lifetime. Preservation and destruction, gain and loss, sorrow and joy, love and hate have begun to throw out their myriad tentacles to invade my peace; and these emotions will, I fear, continue to keep my mind in the state of turmoil that I now experience. Oh! if I could but recapture a short moment of that blesséd oblivion!' ['If this is the sentiment of a man whose mental infirmity bears some resemblance to the Highest Principle [Tao], how much stronger will be on entering the realm of the Absolute itself!']

There was once a man who, though born in Yen, was brought up in Ch'u, and it was only in his old age that he returned to his native country. [Yen was the northernmost State of ancient China, while Ch'u was bounded by the left bank of the River Yangtsze.] On the way thither, as they were passing through the Chin State, a fellow-traveller played a practical joke on him. Pointing to the city he said: 'Here is the capital of the Yen State'; whereupon the old man flushed with excitement. Pointing out a certain shrine, he told him that it was his own village altar, and the old man heaved a deep sigh. Then he showed him a house, and said: 'This is where your ancestors lived'; and the tears welled up in his eyes. Finally, a mound was pointed out to him as the tomb where his ancestors lay buried, whereupon the old man could control himself no longer, and wept aloud. But his fellow-traveller burst into roars of laughter. 'I have been hoaxing you,' he cried; 'this is only the Chin State.' His victim was greatly mortified; and when he arrived at his journey's end, and really did see before him the city and altars of Yen, with the actual abode and tombs of his ancestors. his emotion was much less acute.

LIEZI BOOK 4 - Zhong Ni (Confucius)

A high official from Shang paid a visit to Confucius 'You are a sage, are you not?' he inquired. 'A sage!' replied Confucius. 'How could I venture to think so? I am only a man with a wide range of learning and information.' The Minister then asked: 'Were the Three Kings sages?' [The Three Kings, in this particular passage, are probably T'ang, surnamed 'The Completer' or 'The Successful', who founded the Shang dynasty, 1766 B.C., and the two founders of the Chou dynasty, Wên and Wu. The word shêng, here translated 'sage', implies a man inspired by Heaven.] 'The Three Kings,' replied Confucius, 'were great in the exercise of wisdom and courage. I do not know, however, that they were sages.' 'What of the Five Emperors? Were they not sages?' [Shao Hao, Chuan Hsü, Yao, Shun, and the Great Yü. The last-named came to the throne in 2205 BC] 'The Five Emperors excelled in the exercise of altruism and righteousness. I do not know that they were sages.' 'And the Three Sovereigns: surely they were sages?' [The Three Sovereigns always denote the legendary rulers Fu Hsi, Shên Nung and the Yellow Emperor.] 'The Three Sovereigns excelled in the virtues that were suited to their age. But whether they were sages or no I really cannot say.' ['The wide learning of Confucius, the warlike prowess of T'ang and Wu, the humility and self-abnegation of Yao, and Shun, the rude simplicity of Fu Hsi and Shên Nung, simply represent the ordinary activities of the sage who accommodates himself to the necessities of the world he lives in. They are not the qualities which make them sages. Those qualities are truly such as neither word nor deed can adequately express.']

'Why, who is there, then,' cried the Minister, much astonished, 'that is really a sage?' The expression of Confucius' countenance changed, and he replied after a pause: 'Among the people of the West a true sage dwells. He governs not, yet there is no disorder. He speaks not, yet he is naturally trusted. He makes no reforms, yet right conduct is spontaneous and universal. So great and incomprehensible is he that the people can find no name to call him by. I suspect that this man is a sage, but whether in truth he is a sage or is not a sage I do not know.' [The early Jesuit missionaries saw in the above an allusion to Jesus Christ. But (apart from other considerations) it is almost certain that the present work had taken definite shape before the Christian era. On the other hand, it is quite possible that the Sage whom Lieh Tzŭ had in mind was Shakyamuni, the sage from the Shakya clan, better known as Siddhartha Gautama Buddha.]

The Minister from Shang meditated awhile in silence. Then he said to himself: 'Confucius is making a fool of me!'

When the Master Lieh Tzu took up his abode in Nan-kuo the number of those who settled down with him was past reckoning, though one were to count them day by day. Lieh Tzu, however, continued to live in retirement, and every morning would hold discussions with them, the fame of which spread far and wide.

Nan-kuo Tzu was his next-door neighbour, but for twenty years no visit passed between them, and when they met in the street they made as though they had not seen each other. ['There was a mysterious harmony between their doctrines, and therefore they arrived at old age without having had any mutual intercourse.' Nan-kuo Tzu means simply 'the Philosopher of Nan-kuo'.]

Lieh Tzu's disciples felt convinced that there was enmity between their Master and Nan-kuo Tzu; and at last, one who had come from the Ch'u State spoke to Lieh Tzu about it, saying: 'How comes it, Sir, that you and Nan-kuo Tzu are enemies?' 'Nan-kuo Tzu,' replied the Master, 'has the appearance of fullness, but his mind is a blank. [By no means a term of disparagement, in the mouth of a Taoist.] His ears do not hear, his eyes do not see, his mouth does not speak, his mind is devoid of knowledge, his body free from agitation. What would be the object of visiting him? However, we will try, and you shall accompany me thither to see.' Accordingly, forty of the disciples went with him to call on Nan-kuo Tzu, who turned out to be a repulsive-looking creature with whom they could make no contact. [Taoist writers seem to delight in attributing ugliness and deformity to their sages, no doubt as a sort of foil or set-off to their inward grandeur.] He only gazed blankly at Lieh Tzu. Mind and body seemed not to belong together, and his guests could find no means of approach. ['The soul had subjugated the body. The mind being void of sense-impressions, the countenance remained motionless. Hence it seemed as if there were no co-operation between the two. How could they respond to external stimuli?']

Suddenly, Nan-kuo Tzu singled out the hindermost row of Lieh Tzu's disciples, and began to talk to them quite pleasantly and simply, though in the tone of a superior. ['Fraternizing with the hindmost row, he recognised no distinctions of rank or standing; meeting a sympathetic influence, and responding thereto, he did not allow his mind to be occupied with the external.']

The disciples were astonished at this, and when they got home again, all wore a puzzled expression. Their Master Lieh Tzu said to them: 'He who has reached the stage of thought is silent. He who has attained to perfect knowledge is also silent. He who uses silence in lieu of speech really does speak. He who for knowledge substitutes blankness of mind really does know. Without words and speaking not, without knowledge and knowing not, he really speaks and really knows. Saying nothing and knowing nothing, there is in reality nothing that he does not say, nothing that he does not know. This is how the matter stands, and there is nothing further to be said. Why are you thus astonished without cause?'

Lung Shu said to Wên Chih*: 'You are the master of cunning arts. I have a disease. [* 'Wên Chih lived in the time of the Six States, and acted as physician to Prince Wei of Ch'i (378-333 BC]. Another account says that he was an able physician of the Sung State in the "Spring and Autumn" period, and that he cured Prince Wen of Ch'i by making him angry, whereupon his sickness vanished.'] Can you cure it, Sir?' 'I am at your service,' replied Wên Chih. 'But please let me know first the symptoms of your disease.' 'I hold it no honour,' said Lung Shu, 'to be praised in my native village, nor do I consider it a disgrace to be decried in my native State. Gain excites in me no joy, and loss no sorrow. I look upon life in the same light as death, upon riches in the same light as poverty, upon my fellow-men as so many swine, and upon myself as I look upon my fellow-men. I dwell in my home as though it were a mere caravanserai, and regard my native district with no more feeling than I would a barbarian State. Afflicted as I am in these various ways, honours and rewards fail to rouse me, pains and penalties to overawe me, good or bad fortune to influence me, joy or grief to move me. Thus I am incapable of serving my sovereign, of associating with my friends and kinsmen, of directing my wife and children, or of controlling my servants and retainers. ['Men are controlled by external influences in so far as their minds are open to impressions of good and evil, and their bodies are sensitive to injury or the reverse. But one who is able to discern a connecting unity in the most multiform diversity will surely, in his survey of the universe, be unconscious of the differences between positive and negative.']

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What disease is this, and what remedy is there that will cure it?'

Wên Chih replied by asking Lung Shu to stand with his back to the light, while he himself faced the light and looked at him intently. 'Ah!' said he after a while, 'I see that a good square inch of your heart is hollow. You are within an ace of being a true sage. Six of the orifices in your heart are open and clear, and only the seventh is blocked up. ['It was an ancient belief that the sage had seven orifices in his heart' (the seat of the understanding).] This, however, is doubtless due to the fact that you are mistaking for a disease that which is really divine enlightenment. It is a case in which my shallow art is of no avail.'

Pu-tsê, in the Cheng State, was rich in wise men, and Tung-li in men of administrative talent. Among the vassals of Pu-tsê was a certain Po Fêng Tzu, who happened to travel through Tung-li and had a meeting with Têng Hsi. [A noted sophist of the sixth century B.C.]

The latter cast a glance at his followers, and asked them, with a smile: 'Would you like to see me have some sport with this stranger?' They understood what he would be at, and assented. Têng Hsi then turned to Po Fêng Tzu. 'Are you acquainted with the true theory of Sustentation?' he inquired. 'To receive sustenance from others, through inability to support oneself, places one in the category of dogs and swine. It is man's prerogative to give sustenance to other creatures, and to use them for his own purposes. That you and your fellows are provided with abundant food and comfortable clothing is due to us administrators. Young and old, you herd together, and are penned up like cattle destined for the shambles: in what respect are you to be distinguished from dogs and swine?'

Po Fêng Tzu made no reply, but one of his company, disregarding the rules of precedence, stepped forward and said: 'Has your Excellency never heard of the variety of craftsmen in Ch'i and Lu? Some are skilled potters and carpenters, others are clever workers in metal and leather; there are good musicians, trained scribes and accountants, military experts and men learned in the ritual of ancestor-worship. All kinds of talent are there fully represented. But without proper organization, these craftsmen cannot be usefully employed. But those who organize them lack knowledge, those who employ them lack technical ability, and therefore they make use of those who have both knowledge and ability.['Whoso possesses skill and knowledge of any particular kind is incapable of helping his prince in the direction of affairs.'] So it is really we who may be said to employ the Government administrators. What is it, then, that you are boasting about?'

Têng Hsi could think of nothing to say in reply. He glanced round at his disciples and retreated.

LIEZI BOOK 5 - The Questions of Tang

T'ang of Yin questioned Hsia Ko, saying: 'In the beginnings of antiquity, did individual things exist?' ['He suspected that there was only Chaos, and nothing more.]

'If things did not exist then,' replied Hsia Ko, 'how could they be in existence now? Or will the men of future ages be right in denying the existence of things at the present time?'

'Things in that case,' pursued T'ang, 'have no before nor after?'

Hsia Ko replied: 'To the beginning and end of things there is no precise limit. Beginning may be end, and end may be beginning. How can we conceive of any fixed period to either? [That which we call an end at the present moment may be the beginning of a new thing, and that which we call a beginning may, contrariwise, be the end of something. End and beginning succeed one another until at last they cannot be distinguished.'] But when it comes to something outside matter in space, or anterior to events in time, our knowledge fails us.'

'Then upwards and downwards and in every direction space is a finite quantity?'

Ko replied: 'I do not know.' ['It was not so much that he did not know as that it is unknowable.']

T'ang asked the question again with more insistence, and Ko said: 'If there is nothing in space, then it is infinite; if there is something, then that something must have limits. How can I tell which is true? But beyond infinity there must again exist non-infinity, and within the unlimited again that which is not unlimited*. It is this consideration — that infinity must be succeeded by non-infinity, and the unlimited by the not-unlimited — that enables me to apprehend the infinity and unlimited extent of space, but does not allow me to conceive of its being finite and limited.' [* Lieh Tzu means that in this universe of relativity there must be contraries, even to a negative. We are only brought back, however, to our starting-point, for, as the commentator points out, that which is not infinite and not unlimited really stands for that which is finite and limited.]

T'ang continued his inquiries, saying: 'What is there beyond the Four Seas?' [That is, the inhabited world as known to the Chinese.]

Ko replied: 'Just what there is here in the province of Ch'i.'

'How can you prove that?' asked T'ang.

'When travelling eastwards,' said Ko, 'I came to the land of Ying, where the inhabitants were nowise different from those in this part of the country. I inquired about the countries east of Ying, and found that they, too, were similar to their neighbour. Travelling westwards, I came to Pin, where the inhabitants were similar to our own countrymen. I inquired about the countries west of Pin, and found that they were again similar to Pin. That is how I know that the regions within the Four Seas, the Four Wildernesses and the Four Uttermost Ends of the Earth are nowise different from the country we ourselves inhabit. Thus, the lesser is always enclosed by a greater, without ever reaching an end. Heaven and earth, which enclose the myriad objects of creation, are themselves enclosed in some outer shell. ['That which contains heaven and earth is the Great Void.'] Enclosing heaven and earth and the myriad objects within them, this outer shell is infinite and immeasurable. How do we know but that there is some mightier universe in existence outside our own? That is a question to which we can give no answer.

'Heaven and earth, then, are themselves only material objects, and therefore imperfect. Hence it is that Kua of old fashioned many-coloured blocks of stone to repair the defective parts. ['Nü Kua, being a divine man, was able to refine and extract the essence of the five constituents of matter!] He cut off the legs of the Ao and used them to support the four corners of the heavens. [This Chinese 'Atlas' was a gigantic sea-turtle.] Later on, Kung Kung fought with Chuan Hsu for the throne, and, blundering in his rage against Mount Pu-chou, he snapped the pillar which connects Heaven and earth. [At the north-western comer.] That is why Heaven dips downwards to the north-west, so that sun, moon and stars travel towards that quarter. The earth, on the other hand, is now not large enough to fill up the south-east, so that all rivers and streams roll in that direction.' [An ingenious theory to account for the apparent westward revolution of the heavenly bodies, as also for the easterly trend of the great Chinese rivers.]

The two mountains T'ai-hsing and Wang-wu, which cover an area of 700 square li, and rise to an enormous altitude, originally stood in the south of the Chi district and north of Ho-yang. The Simpleton of the North Mountain, an old man of ninety, dwelt opposite these mountains, and was vexed in spirit because their northern flanks blocked the way to travellers, who had to go all the way round. So he called his family together, and broached a plan. 'Let us,' he said, 'put forth our utmost strength to clear away this obstacle, and cut right through the mountains until we come to Han-yin. What say you?' They all assented except his wife, who made objections and said: 'My goodman has not the strength to sweep away a dunghill, let alone two such mountains as T'ai-hsing and Wang-wu. Besides, where will you put all the earth and stones that you dig up?' The others replied that they would throw them on the promontory of P'o-hai. So the old man, followed by his son and grandson, sallied forth with their pickaxes, and the three of them began hewing away at the rocks, and cutting up the soil, and carting it away in baskets to the promontory of P'o-hai. A widowed woman who lived near had a little boy who, though he was only just shedding his milk teeth, came skipping along to give them what help he could. Engrossed in their toil, they never went home except once at the turn of the season.

The Wise Old Man of the River-bend burst out laughing and urged them to stop. 'Great indeed is your witlessness!' he said. 'With the poor remaining strength of your declining years you will not succeed in removing a hair's breadth of the mountain, much less the whole vast mass of rock and soil.' With a sigh, the Simpleton of the North Mountain replied: 'Surely it is you who are narrow-minded and unreasonable. You are not to be compared with the widow's son, despite his puny strength. Though I myself must die, I shall leave a son behind me, and through him a grandson. That grandson will beget sons in his turn, and those soils will also have sons and grandsons. With all this posterity, my line will not die out, while on the other hand the mountain will receive no increment or addition. Why then should I despair of levelling it to the ground at last?' The Wise Old Man of the River-bend had nothing to say in reply.

One of the serpent-brandishing deities heard of the undertaking and, fearing that it might never be finished, went and told God Almighty, who was touched by the old man's simple faith, and commanded the two sons of K'ua O to transport the mountains, one to the extreme north-east, the other to the southern comer of Yung. [In the south-west. That is, as far apart as possible. K'ua O was apparently a god of strength.]

Ever since then, the region lying between Chi in the north and Han in the south has been an unbroken plain. [Roughly, the modern province of Honan.]

Kung-hu of Lu and Ch'i-ying of Chao both fell ill at the same time, and called in the aid of the great Pien-ch'iao. [A famous physician of the fifth century B.C.] Pien-ch'iao cured them both, and when they were well again he told them that the malady they had been suffering from was one that attacked the internal organs from without, and for that reason was curable by the application of vegetable and mineral drugs. 'But,' he added, 'each of you is also the victim of a congenital disease, which has grown along with the body itself. Would you like me now to grapple with this?' They said, 'Yes'; but asked to hear his diagnosis first. Pien-ch'iao turned to Kung-hu. 'Your mental powers,' he said, 'are strong, but your willpower is weak. Hence, though fruitful in plans, you are lacking in decision. Ch'i-ying's mental powers, on the other hand, are weak, while his will-power is strong. Hence there is want of forethought, and he is placed at a disadvantage by the narrowness of his aim. Now, if I can effect an exchange of hearts between you, the good will be equally balanced in both.' [That is, Kung-hu, who has the weaker character, will get weaker brain-power to match, while Ch'i-ying, with the stronger will, receives a stronger mind to direct it. Though it may be that Ch'i-ying has the best of the bargain, each man, under the new arrangement, will at any rate be perfectly well balanced. The heart, as we have seen, was regarded as the seat of the mental faculties.]

So saying, Pien-ch'iao administered to each of them a potion of medicated wine, which threw them into a death-like trance lasting three days. [A striking proof of the knowledge and practical application of anæsthetics at a very early date.] Then, making an incision in their breasts, he took out each man's heart and placed it in the other's body, poulticing the wounds with herbs of marvellous efficacy.

When the two men regained consciousness, they looked exactly the same as before; and, taking their leave, they returned home. Only it was Kung-hu who went to Ch'i-ying's house, where Ch'i-ying's wife and children naturally did not recognize him, while Ch'i-ying went to Kung-hu's house and was not recognised either. This led to a lawsuit between the two families, and Pien-ch'iao was called in as arbitrator. On his explaining how the matter stood, peace was once more restored.

King Mu of Chou made a tour of inspection in the west. He crossed the K'un-lun range, but turned back before he reached the Yen mountains. [The place where the sun sets.'] On his return journey, before arriving in China, a certain artificer was presented to him, by name Yen Shih. King Mu received him in audience, and asked what he could do. 'I will do anything,' replied Yen Shih, 'that your Majesty may please to command. But there is a piece of work, already finished, that I should like to submit first to your Majesty's inspection.' 'Bring it with you to-morrow.' said the King, 'and we will look at it together.' So Yen Shih called again the next day, and was duly admitted to the royal presence. 'Who is that man accompanying you?' asked the King. 'That, Sire, is my own handiwork. He can sing and he can act.' The King stared at the figure in astonishment. It walked with rapid strides, moving its head up and down, so that any one would have taken it for a live human being. The artificer touched its chin, and it began singing, perfectly in tune. He touched its hand, and it started posturing, keeping perfect time. It went through any number of movements that fancy might happen to dictate. The King, looking on with his favourite concubine and the other inmates of his harem, could hardly persuade himself that it was not real.

As the performance was drawing to an end, the automaton winked his eye and made sundry advances to the ladies in attendance on the King. This, however, threw the King into a passion, and he would have put Yen Shih to death on the spot had not the latter, in mortal terror, instantly pulled the automaton to pieces to let him see what it really was. And lo! it turned out to be merely a conglomeration of leather, wood, glue and paint, variously coloured white, black, red and blue. Examining it closely, the King found all the internal organs complete — liver, gall, heart, lungs, spleen, kidneys, stomach and intestines — and, over these, again, muscles and bones and limbs with their joints, skin and teeth and hair, all of them artificial. Not a part but was fashioned with the utmost nicety and skill; and when it was put together again, the figure presented the same appearance as when first brought in. The King tried the effect of taking away the heart, and found that the mouth would no longer utter a sound; he took away the liver, and the eyes could no longer see; he took away the kidneys, and the legs lost their power of locomotion.

Now the King was delighted. Drawing a deep breath, he exclaimed: 'Can it be that human skill is really on a par with that of the Creator?' And forthwith he gave an order for two extra chariots, in which he took home with him the artificer and his handiwork.

Now, Pan Shu, with his cloud-scaling ladder, and Mo Ti, with his flying kite, thought that they had reached the limits of human achievement. ['Pan Shu made a cloud-ladder by which he could mount to the sky and assail the heights of heaven; Mo Ti made a wooden kite which would fly for three days without coming down.'] But when Yen Shih's wonderful piece of work had been brought to their knowledge, the two philosophers never again ventured to boast of their mechanical skill, and ceased to busy themselves so frequently with the square and compasses.

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Hei Luan of Wei had a secret grudge against Ch'iu Ping-chang, for which he slew him; and Lai Tan, the son of Ch'iu Ping-chang, plotted vengeance against his father's enemy. Lai Tan's spirit was very fierce, but his body was very slight. You could count the grains of rice that he ate, and he was at the mercy of every gust of wind. For all the anger in his heart, he was not strong enough to take his revenge in open fight, and he was ashamed to seek help from others. So he swore that, sword in hand, he would cut Hei Luan's throat unawares. This Hei Luan was the most ferocious character of his day, and in brute strength he was a match for a hundred men. His bones and sinews, skin and flesh were cast in superhuman mould. He would stretch out his neck to the blade or bare his breast to the arrow, but the sharp steel would bend or break, and his body show no scar from the Impact. Trusting to his native strength, he looked disdainfully upon Lai Tan as a mere fledgling.

Lai Tan had a friend Shên T'o, who said to him: 'You have a bitter feud against Hei Luan, and Hei Luan treats you with sovereign contempt. What is your plan of action?' Shedding tears, Lai Tan besought his friend's counsel. 'Well,' said Shên T'o, 'I am told that K'ung Chou of Wei has inherited, through an ancestor, a sword formerly possessed by the Yin Emperors, of such magical power that a mere boy wielding it can put to flight the embattled hosts of an entire army. Why not sue for the loan of this sword?' Acting on this advice, Lai Tan betook himself to Wei and had an interview with K'ung Chou. Following the usage of supplicants, he first went through the ceremony of handing over his wife and children, and then stated his request. 'I have three swords,' replied K'ung Chou, 'but with none of them can you kill a man. You may choose which you like. First, however, let me describe their qualities. The first sword is called "Light-absorber". It is invisible to the eye, and when you swing it you cannot tell that there is anything there. Things struck by it retain an unbroken surface, and it will pass through a man's body without his knowing it. The second is called "Shadow-receiver". If you face north and examine it at the point of dawn, when darkness melts into light, or in the evening, when day gives way to dusk, it appears misty and dim, as though there were something there, the shape of which is not discernible. Things struck by it give out a low sound, and it passes through men's bodies without causing them any pain. The third is called "Night-tempered", because in broad daylight you only see its outline and not the brightness of its blade, while at night you see not the sword itself but the dazzling light which it emits. ['Alluding to its reflecting power.'] The objects which it strikes are cleft through with a sibilant sound, but the line of cleavage closes up immediately. Pain is felt, but no blood remains on the blade.

'These three precious heirlooms have been handed down for thirteen generations, but have never been in actual use. They lie stored away in a box, the seals of which have never been broken.' 'In spite of what you tell me,' said Lai Tan, 'I should like to borrow the third sword.' K'ung Chou then returned his wife and children to him, and they fasted together for seven days. On the seventh day, in the dusk of evening, he knelt down and presented the third sword to Lai Tan, who received it with two low obeisances and went home again. ['He chose the third of the swords because it could be both handled and seen.']

Grasping his new weapon, Lai Tan now sought out his enemy, and found him lying in a drunken stupor at his window. He cut clean through his body in three places between the neck and the navel, but Hei Luan was quite unconscious of it. Thinking he was dead, Lai Tan made off as fast as he could, and happening to meet Hei Luan's son at the door, he struck at him three times with his sword. But it was like hitting the empty air. Hei Luan's son laughed and said: 'Why are you motioning to me in that silly way with your hand?' [It will be remembered that the sword was invisible in daylight.]

Realizing at last that the sword had no power to kill a man, Lai Tan heaved a sigh and returned home.

When Hei Luan recovered from the effects of his debauch, he was angry with his wife: 'What do you mean by letting me lie exposed to a draught?' he growled; 'it has given me a sore throat and aching pains in the small of my back.' 'Why,' said his son, 'I am also feeling a pain in my body, and a stiffness in my limbs. Lai Tan, you know, was here a little time ago and, meeting me at the door, made three gestures, which seem somehow to have been the cause of it. How he hates us, to be sure!' [Thus, the improper use of divine weapons only leads to discomfiture. In this allegory, Lieh Tzŭ is satirizing the blood-feud, which must have been a terrible feature of the lawless times in which he lived. The powerlessness of the magic sword to kill may symbolically represent the essential futility of the vendetta which perpetuates itself from father to son.]

LIEZI BOOK 6 - Effort and Destiny

Effort said to Destiny*: 'Your achievements are not equal to mine.' 'Pray what do you achieve in the working of things,' replied Destiny, 'that you would compare yourself with me?' 'Why,' said Effort, 'the length of man's life, his measure of success, his rank, and his wealth, are all things which I have the power to determine.' To this, Destiny made reply: 'P'êng Tsu's wisdom did not exceed that of Yao and Shun, yet he lived to the age of eight hundred. [Legendary longevity like in the Bible and the Jain scriptures] Yen Yuan's ability was not inferior to that of the average man, yet he died at the early age of thirty-two. [* I have purposely avoided the familiar modern terms, Fate and Free will, which might seem to furnish the best equivalent to li and ming. Li is the ordinary word for 'strength' or 'force,' and here indicates human effort exerted in some definite direction (the German 'streben') as opposed to the blind and unconscious workings of Nature or Tao.] The virtue of Confucius was not less than that of the feudal princes, yet he was reduced to sore straits between Ch'ên and Ts'ai. The conduct of Chou, of the Yin dynasty, did not surpass that of the Three Men of Virtue, yet he occupied a kingly throne. [Wei Tzu, Chi Tzu and Pi Kan were all relatives of Chou Hsin, by whose orders the last-named was disembowelled.] Chi Cha would not accept the overlordship of Wu, while T'ien Hêng usurped sole power in Ch'i. Po I and Shu. Ch'i starved to death at Shou-yang, while Chi Shih waxed rich at Chan-ch'in. If these results were compassed by your efforts, how is it that you allotted long life to P'êng Tsu and an untimely death to Yen Yuan; that you awarded discomfiture to the sage and success to the impious, humiliation to the wise man and high honours to the fool, poverty to the good and wealth to the wicked?' 'If, as you say,' rejoined Effort, 'I have really no control over events, is it not, then, owing to your management that things turn out as they do?' Destiny replied: 'The very name "Destiny" [Something already immutably fixed.] shows that there can be no question of management in the case. When the way is straight, I push on; when it is crooked, I put up with it. Old age and early death, failure and success, high rank and humble station, riches and poverty — all these come naturally and of themselves. How can I know anything about them? ['Being what it is, without knowing why — that is the meaning of Destiny. What room is there for management here?']

Yang Chu had a friend called Chi Liang, who fell ill. In seven days' time his illness had become very grave; medical aid was summoned, and his sons stood weeping round his bed. Chi Liang said to Yang Chu: 'Such excess of emotion shows my children to be degenerate. Will you kindly sing them something which will enlighten their minds?' Yang Chu then chanted the following words:

'How can men be aware of things outside God's ken? Over misfortune man has no control, and can look for no help from God. Have doctors and wizards this knowledge that you and I have not?'

The sons, however, did not understand, and finally called in three physicians, Dr Chiao, Dr Yu and Dr Lu. They all diagnosed his complaint; and Dr Chiao delivered his opinion first: 'The hot and cold elements of your body,' he said to Chi Liang, 'are not in harmonious accord, and the impermeable and infundibular parts are mutually disproportionate. The origin of your malady is traceable to disordered appetites, and to the dissipation of your vital essence through worry and care. Neither God nor devil is to blame. Although the illness is grave, it is amenable to treatment.' Chi Liang said: 'You are only one of the common ruck,' and speedily got rid of him. Then Dr Yu came forward and said: 'You were born with too little nervous force, and were too freely fed with mother's milk. Your illness is not one that has developed in a matter of twenty-four hours; the causes which have led up to it are of gradual growth. It is incurable.' Chi Liang replied: 'You are a good doctor,' and told them to give him some food. Lastly, Dr Lu said: 'Your illness is attributable neither to God, nor to man, nor to the agency of spirits. It was already fore-ordained in the mind of Providence when you were endowed with this bodily form at birth. What possible good can herbs and drugs do you?' 'You are a heaven-born physician indeed!' cried Chi Liang; and he sent him away laden with presents.

Not long after, his illness disappeared of itself.

Duke Ching of Ch'i was travelling across the northern flank of the Ox-mountain in the direction of the capital. Gazing at the view before him, he burst into a flood of tears, exclaiming: 'What a lovely scene! How verdant and luxuriantly wooded! To think that some day I must die and leave my kingdom, passing away like running water! If only there were no such things as death, nothing should induce me to stir from this spot.' Two of the Ministers in attendance on the Duke, taking their cue from him, also began to weep, saying: 'We, who are dependent on your Highness's bounty, whose food is of an inferior sort, who have to ride on broken-down hacks or in creaking carts — even we do not want to die. How much less our sovereign liege!'

Yen Tzu, meanwhile, was standing by, with a broad smile on his face. The Duke wiped away his tears and, looking at him, said: 'To-day I am stricken with grief on my journey, and both K'ung and Chu mingle their tears with mine. How is it that you alone can smile? Yen Tzu replied: 'If the worthy ruler were to remain in perpetual possession of his realm, Duke T'ai and Duke Huan would still be exercising their sway. If the bold ruler were to remain in perpetual possession, Duke Chuang and Duke Ling would still be ruling the land. But if all these rulers were now in possession, where would your Highness be? Why, standing in the furrowed fields, clad in coir cape and hat! [The ordinary garb of a Chinese peasant in wet weather.] Condemned to a hard life on earth, you would have had no time, I warrant, for brooding over death. Again, how did you yourself come to occupy this throne? By a series of successive reigns and removals, until at last your turn came. And are you alone going to weep and lament over this order of things? That is pure selfishness. it was the sight of these two objects — a self-centred prince and his fawning attendants — that set me quietly laughing to myself just now.'

Duke Ching felt much ashamed. Raising his goblet, he filled himself one cup, and his obsequious courtiers two cups of wine apiece.

There was once a man, Tung-mên Wu of Wei, who when his son died testified no grief. His house-steward said to him: 'The love you bore your son could hardly be equalled by that of any other parent. Why, then, do you not mourn for him now that he is dead?' 'There was a time,' replied Tung-mên Wu, 'when I had no son, yet I never had occasion to grieve on that account. Now that my son is dead, I am only in the same condition as I was before my son was born. What reason have I, then, to mourn? [There is a story of Lucius Plutarchus consoling his wife in exactly similar terms after the death of their daughter.] The husbandman takes his measures according to the season, the trader occupies himself with gain, the craftsman strives to master his art, the official pursues power. Here we have the operation of human forces. [Or 'effort'.] But the husbandman has seasons of rain and seasons of drought, the trader meets with gains and losses, the craftsman experiences both failure and success, the official finds opportunities or the reverse. Here we see the working of Destiny.

LIEZI BOOK 7 - Egoism (Yangzi; Yang Zhu)

[Yang Chu (also: Yang Zhu or Yangzi), 4th century B.C., is a heterodox thinker who taught the doctrine of egoism, as opposed to the altruism of Mo Tzu. He has left us no book. His views are taken from chapter 7 of Lieh Tzu.]

[Lionel Giles has omitted Chapter 7 because: "The seventh of these (chapters) deals exclusively with the doctrine of the egoistic philosopher Yang Chu, and has therefore been omitted altogether from the present selection." As all works in the Grand Bible are displayed in their most complete form available, we have put it in again for the sake of historicity.]

Is Life Worth Living?

A hundred years are the extreme limit of human life, an age which not one in a thousand attains. Let us take the case of a man who does. His helpless infancy and his helpless old age will together occupy nearly half the time. Pain and sickness, sorrow and misfortune, actual losses and opportunities missed, anxieties and fears, these will almost fill up the rest. He may possibly have some ten years or so to the good; but even then he will hardly enjoy a single hour of absolute serenity, undarkened by the gloom of care. What, then, can be the object of human existence? Wherein is happiness to be found?

In the appointments of wealth and luxury? Or in the enjoyment of the pleasures of sense? Alas! those will not always charm, and these may not always be enjoyed.

Then again there is the stimulus of good report, there is the restraint of law, in things we may do and in things we may not do. And thus we struggle on for a breath of fame, and scheme to be remembered after death; ever on our guard against the allurements of sense, ever on the watch over our hearts and actions. We miss whatever of real happiness is to be got out of life, never being able even for a single moment to relax the vigilance of our heed. In what do we differ, indeed, from the fettered captives of a gaol?

The men of old knew that with life they had come but for a while, and that with death they would shortly depart again. Therefore they followed the desires of their own hearts, and did not deny themselves pleasures to which they felt naturally inclined. Fame tempted them not; but led by their instincts alone, they took such enjoyments as lay in their path, not seeking for a name beyond the grave. They were thus out of the reach of censure; while as for precedence among men, or length or shortness of life, these gave them concern whatever.

A disciple asked Yang Chu, saying, "Here is a man who values his life, and loves his body so that he may escape death; is that possible?" "We know," replied Yang Chu, "that there is no one who does not die." "So that he may obtain a very long life," said the enquirer; "is that possible?" "We know," replied Yang Chu, "that no one has a very long life. Life cannot be kept by being valued, nor can the body be strengthened by being loved. Moreover, what will long life do for you? The five passions, with love and hate, are still with us, as of old. Comfort and discomfort of our four limbs are still with us, as of old. The miseries and pleasures of this life are still with us, as of old. The changes of good government and rebellion are still with us, as of old. And since these things are actually heard and seen and do alternate, even a hundred years seem too many; how much more miserable would be a still

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further prolongation of life?" To this the enquirer rejoined, "If this is so, then a short life would be better than a long one, an end which could be reached by falling on a spear or a sword, by water or by fire." "Not so," answered Yang Chu; "once you are born, regard life as a disease, and bear it, following the desires of your heart until death comes; being about to die, regard death as a disease, and bear it, following its lead until there is an end of you. Life and death should both be regarded as diseases, and both should be borne as such; why worry about slowly or quickly in these matters?"

Egoism versus Altruism

Yang Chu said, A certain man would not part with a single hair in order to benefit any one. He turned his back on his country and went into retirement, occupying himself with agriculture. The Great Yü who did not employ himself for his own advantage, became paralysed on one side. The men of old, if by losing one hair they could advantage the empire, would not give it; but all would offer the whole body, which was not wanted. If no man ever lost a single hair, and no man ever advantaged the empire, the empire would enjoy good government. An enquirer then asked Yang Chu, saying, "If by sacrificing a single hair you could help the world, would you do it?" "The world," replied Yang Chu, "could most certainly not be helped by a single hair." "But if it could," urged the enquirer, "would you do it?" To this, Yang Chu returned no answer, and the enquirer took his leave.

Self-Sacrifice

Yang Chu said, The admiration of the empire is for Shun, Yü, Chou, and Confucius; its detestation, for Chieh and Chou.

Shun was engaged in ploughing and in making pottery. His four limbs never knew a moment's rest; his palate was never tickled and his belly never full; his parents ceased to love him, and his brothers and sisters ceased to care for him. He had lived for thirty years before he asked his parents' leave to be married; and when Yao resigned the throne to him, he was already old, his mind was impaired, and his son was worthless, so he handed on the throne to Yü and dragged out a melancholy existence until the end. Here was a divine man who exhausted all the poisons of this life.

When K'un failed to reduce the waters of the flood, and was put to death, Yü (his son), ignoring the question of vengeance, took over the task and worked at it with great energy. A son was born to him, but he had no time to care for it; he even passed his own door without going into the house. He was paralysed on one side; his hands and feet became hard and horny; when he received the throne from Shun, his palace was a humble cottage, though his State regalia was magnificent; and thus he dragged out a melancholy existence until the end. Here was a divine man whose life was sorrowful and wretched.

After the death of the Martial King, his heir being a child, Duke Chou became Regent. One of the feudal nobles was aggrieved, and mutterings were heard throughout the Four States. The Duke had to stay in the east; he killed his elder brother and banished his younger brother; and then he dragged out a melancholy existence until the end. Here was a divine man whose life was full of dangers and alarms.

Confucius preached the doctrines of the rulers of old, and took service under the princes of his day. In the Sung State, the tree under which he was preaching was cut down; in the Wei State, his traces were obliterated; in the Shang and Chou States, he was reduced to want; in the Ch'en and Ts'ai States, he was in danger of his life; he had to take rank below Chi, whose chief Minister insulted him; and thus he dragged out a melancholy existence until the end. Here was a divine man whose life was all hurry, without a moment's leisure.

All these four holy men failed to get a single day's enjoyment out of life. Dead, their fame will last for ten thousand generations; but they will get no reality out of that. Though praised, they do not know it; though rewarded, they do not know it any more than if they were logs of wood or clods of clay.

Chieh inherited vast wealth and enjoyed the dignity of the throne. He had wit enough to enable him to hold in check his officials, and power enough to make himself feared within the empire. He gave himself over to the lusts of the ear and of the eye; he carried out to the uttermost every fanciful scheme, and had a glorious time until the end. Here was a divine man whose life was all pleasure and dissipation.

Chou likewise inherited great wealth, and enjoyed the dignity of the throne. His power enabled him to do anything, and he might have gratified any ambition. He indulged his passions with his concubines, spending long nights in such revelry. He did not bother about rites and ceremonies or his duties, and had a glorious time until he was slain.

These two scoundrels had every pleasure in life that they wished to have. Dead, they will be branded as fools and tyrants; but they will get no reality out of that. Though reviled, they do not know it; though praised, they do not know it; what difference is there between these two and logs of wood or clods of clay?

Those four holy men, although objects of admiration to all, suffered miseries throughout their lives and then died like everybody else. Those two scoundrels, although objects of detestation to all, enjoyed themselves throughout their lives and also died like everybody else.

LIEZI BOOK 8 - Causality (Explaining Conjunctions)

In the course of Lieh Tzu's instruction by Hu-ch'iu Tzu-lin, the latter said to him: 'You must familiarize yourself with the theory of consequents before you can talk of regulating conduct.' Lieh Tzu said: 'Will you explain what you mean by the theory of consequents?' 'Look at your shadow,' said his Master, 'and then you will know.' Lieh turned and looked at his shadow. When his body was bent, the shadow was crooked; when his body was upright, the shadow was straight. Thus it appeared that the attributes of straightness and crookedness were not inherent in the shadow, but corresponded to certain positions of the body. Likewise, contraction and extension are not inherent in the subject, but take place in obedience to external causes. Holding this theory of consequents is to be at home in the antecedent. [The Law of Causality is the foundation of all science.]

Kuan Yin spoke to the Master Lieh Tzu, saying: 'If speech is sweet, the echo will be sweet; if speech is harsh, the echo will be harsh. If the body is long, the shadow will be long; if the body is short, the shadow will be short. Reputation is like an echo, personal experiences like a shadow.

'Hence the saying: "Heed your words, and they will meet with harmonious response; heed your actions, and they will find agreeable accord." Therefore, the Sage observes the origin in order to know the issue, scrutinizes the past in order to know the future. Such is the principle whereby he attains foreknowledge.

'The standard of conduct lies with one's own self; the testing of it lies with other men. We are impelled to love those who love us, and to hate those who hate us. T'ang and Wu loved the Empire, and therefore each became King. Chieh and Chou hated the Empire, and therefore they perished. Here we have the test applied. He who does not follow Tao when standard and test are both clear may be likened to one who, when leaving a house, does not go by the door, Or, when travelling abroad, does not keep to the straight road. To seek profit in this way is surely impossible. ['No one has ever profited himself by opposing natural law.']

'You may consider the virtues of Shên Nung and Yu Yen, you may examine the books of Yu, Hsia, Shang and Chou, you may weigh the utterances of great teachers and sages, but you will find no instance of preservation or destruction, fullness or decay, which has not obeyed this supreme Law.' [Of Causality.]

Lieh Tzu learned archery and, when he was able to hit the target, he asked the opinion of Kuan Yin Tzu on his shooting. 'Do you know why you hit the target?' said Kuan Yin Tzu. 'No, I do not,' was the reply. 'Then you are not good enough yet,' rejoined Kuan Yin Tzu. Lieh Tzu withdrew and practised for three years after which he again presented himself. Kuan Yin Tzu asked, as before: 'Do you know why you hit the target?' 'Yes,' said Lieh Tzu, 'I do.' 'In that case, all is well. Hold that knowledge fast, and do not let it slip.' ['Mental and bodily equilibrium are to be sought within oneself. Once you know the causal process which makes you hit the target, you will be able to determine the operation of Destiny beforehand, and when you let fly you will make no mistake.']

The above principle does not apply only to shooting, but also to the government of a State and to personal conduct. Therefore the Sage investigates not the mere facts of preservation and destruction, but rather the causes which bring them about.

Lieh Tzu said: 'Those who excel in beauty become vain; those who excel in strength become violent. To such, it is useless to speak of Tao. He who is not yet turning grey will surely err if he but speak of Tao; how much less can he put it into practice!

'No man will confide in one who shows himself aggressive. And he in whom no man confides will remain solitary and without support. ['The arrogant and the aggressive will accept no confidences, even if they are made. Their mental attitude to others is one of distrust, and they keep their ears and eyes blocked. Who can render them assistance?']

'The wise man puts his trust in others: thus he reaches fullness of years without decay, perfection of Wisdom without bewilderment. In the government of a State, then, the hardest thing is to recognize the worth of others, not to rely upon one's own.' [If you succeed in recognizing worth, then the wise will think out plans for you, and the able will act for you. By never rejecting talent from outside, you will find the State easy to govern.']

There was once a man in Sung who carved a mulberry leaf out of jade for his prince. It took three years to complete, and it imitated Nature so exquisitely in its down, its glossiness, and its general configuration from tip to stem, that, if placed in a heap of real mulberry leaves, it could not be distinguished from them. This man was subsequently pensioned by the Sung State as a reward for his skill. Lieh Tzu, hearing of it, said: 'If it took the Creator three years to make a single leaf, there would be very few trees with leaves on them. The Sage will rely not so much on human science and skill as on the operations of Tao.'

The Master Lieh Tzu was very poor, and his face wore a hungry look. A certain stranger spoke about it to Tzu Yang, of Cheng. 'Lieh Yu-k'ou,' said he, 'is a scholar in possession of Tao. Yet here he is, living in destitution, within your Excellency's dominion. It surely cannot be that you have no liking for scholars?' Tzu Yang forthwith directed that an official allowance of grain should be sent to him. Lieh Tzu came out to receive the messengers, made two low bows and declined the gift, whereupon the messengers went away, and Lieh Tzu reentered the house. There he was confronted by his Wife, who beat her breast and cried aloud: 'I have always understood that the wife and family of a man of Tao live a life of ease and pleasure. Yet now, when his Honour sends you a present of food, on account of your starved appearance, you refuse to accept it! I suppose you will call that "destiny"!' The Master Lieh Tzu smiled and replied: 'The Minister did not know about me himself. His present of grain was made on the suggestion of another. If it had been a question of punishing me, that too would have been done at some one else's prompting. That is the reason why I did not accept the gift.'

Later on, the masses rose in actual rebellion against Tzu Yang, and slew him. [It is implied that Lieh Tzŭ's independence of spirit saved his life, inasmuch as a pensioner would have shared the fate of his patron.]

Mr Shih of Lu had two sons, one of whom was a scholar and the other a soldier. The former found in his accomplishments the means of ingratiating himself with the Marquis of Ch'i, who engaged him as tutor to the young princes. The other brother proceeded to Ch'u, and won favour with the King of that State by his military talents. The King was so well pleased that he installed him at the head of his troops. Thus both of them succeeded in enriching their family and shedding lustre on their kinsfolk.

Now, a certain Mr Mêng, the neighbour of Mr Shih, also had two sons who followed the selfsame professions but were straitened by poverty. Envying the affluence of the Shih family, Mr Mêng called at his neighbour's house, and wanted to know the secret of their rapid rise in the world. The two brothers readily gave him the desired information, whereupon the eldest son immediately set off for Ch'in, hoping that his cultural attainments would recommend him to the King of that State. But the King said: 'At the present moment all the feudal princes are struggling to outbid one another in power, and the great essential is to keep up a large army. If I tried to govern my State on the lines of benevolence and righteousness, ruin and annihilation would be the outcome! So saying, he had the unfortunate man castrated, and turned him away.

The second son, meanwhile, had gone to Wei, hoping that his military knowledge would stand him in good stead. But the Marquis of Wei said to himself — 'Mine is a weak State hedged in by powerful ones. [Wei was bounded by Chin and Ch'i on the north, Lu on the east, and Chêng on the south.] My method of preserving tranquillity is to show subservience to the larger States and to conciliate the lesser ones. If I were to rely on armed force, I could only expect utter destruction. I must not allow this man to depart unscathed, or he may find his way to some other State and be a terrible thorn in my side.' So, without more ado, he cut off his feet and sent him back to Lu.

On their return, the whole family fell to beating their breasts in despair, and uttered imprecations on Mr Shih. Mr Shih, however, said: 'Success consists in hitting off the right moment, while missing it means failure. Your method was identical with ours, only the result was different. That is not due to any flaw in the action itself, but simply because it was not well timed. Nothing, in the ordering of this world, is either at all times right or at all times wrong. What formerly passed current may nowadays be rejected; what is now rejected may by and by come into use again. The fact that a thing is in use or in disuse forms no criterion whatever of right or wrong. There is no fixed rule for seizing opportunities, hitting off the right moment, or adapting oneself to circumstances; it is all a matter of native wit. If you are deficient in that, you may possess the learning of a Confucius or the strategical gifts of a Lu Shang, and yet you will remain poor wherever you go.

The Mêng family were now in a more resigned frame of mind, and their indignation had subsided. 'Yes, you are right,' they said; 'please say no more about it.'

Duke Wên of Chin put an army into the field with the intention of attacking the Duke of Wei, whereat Tzu Ch'u threw his head back and laughed aloud. On being asked the reason of his behaviour, he replied: 'I was thinking of the experience of a neighbour of mine, who was escorting his wife on a visit to her own family. On the way, he came across a woman tending silkworms, who attracted him greatly, and he fell into conversation with her. Happening to look up, what should he see but his own wife also receiving the attentions of an admirer! It was the recollection of this incident that made me laugh.'

The Duke saw the point, and forthwith turned home with his army. Before he got back, an invading force had already

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crossed his northern frontier! ['As you behave to others, so others will behave to you. He who rides roughshod towards the accomplishment of his own desires, in the belief that it will not occur to others to do the like, will in all probability find himself circumstanced as above.']

In the Chin State, which was infested with robbers, there lived a certain Ch'i Yung, who was able to tell a robber by his face; by examining the expression of his eyes he could read his inmost thoughts. The Marquis of Chin employed him in the inspection of hundreds and thousands of robbers, and he never missed a single one. The Marquis expressed his delight to Wên Tzu of Chao, saying: 'I have a man who, singlehanded, is ridding my whole State of robbers. He saves me the necessity of employing a whole staff of police.' Wên Tzu replied: 'If your Highness relies on a detective for catching robbers, you will never get rid of them. And what is more, Ch'i Yung is certain sooner or later to meet with a violent end.'

Meanwhile, a band of robbers were plotting together. 'Ch'i Yung,' they said, 'is the enemy who is trying to exterminate us.' So one day they stole upon him in a body and murdered him. When the Marquis of Chin heard the news, he was greatly alarmed and immediately sent for Wên Tzu. 'Your prophecy has come true,' he said; 'Ch'i Yung is dead. What means can I adopt for catching robbers now?' 'In Chou,' replied Wên Tzu, 'we have a proverb: "Search not the ocean-depths for fish: calamity comes upon those who pry into hidden mysteries." If you want to be quit of robbers, the best thing your Highness can do is to promote the worthy to office. Let them instruct and enlighten their sovereign on the one hand, and reform the masses below them on the other. if once the people acquire a sense of shame, you will not find them turning into robbers.'

The Marquis then appointed Sui Hui to be Prime Minister, and all the robbers fled to the Ch'in State. [A shrewd thrust at the brigand State which eventually swallowed up all the rest. The commentator says: 'Apply cleverness to ferret out wrongdoing, and the cunning rogue will escape. Using the gift of intuition to expose crime only excites hatred in the wicked. That "sagacity is an evil" is no empty saying.']

Duke Mu of Ch'in said to Po Lo*: 'You are now advanced in years. [* A famous judge of horses, of whom Chuang Tzŭ speaks with scant respect.] Is there any member of your family whom I could employ to look for horses in your stead?' Po Lo replied: 'A good horse can be picked out by its general build and appearance. But the superlative horse — one that raises no dust and leaves no tracks — is something evanescent and fleeting, elusive as thin air. The talent of my sons lies on a lower plane altogether: they can tell a good horse when they see one, but they cannot tell a superlative horse. I have a friend, however, one Chiu-fang Kao, a hawker of fuel and vegetables, who in things appertaining to horses is nowise my inferior. Pray see him.'

Duke Mu did so, and subsequently despatched him on the quest for a steed. Three months later, he returned with the news that he had found one. 'It is now in Sha-ch'iu,' he added. 'What kind of a horse is it?' asked the Duke. 'Oh, it is a dun-coloured mare,' was the reply. However, on some one being sent to fetch it, the animal turned out to be a coal-black stallion! Much displeased, the Duke sent for Po Lo. 'That friend of yours,' he said, 'whom I commissioned to look for a horse, has made a nice mess of it. Why, he cannot even distinguish a beast's colour or sex! What on earth can he know about horses?' Po Lo heaved a sigh of satisfaction. 'Has he really got as far as that?' he cried. 'Ah, then he is worth a thousand of me put together. There is no comparison between us. What Kao keeps in view is the spiritual mechanism. In making sure of the essential, he forgets the homely details; intent on the inward qualities, he loses sight of the external. He sees what he wants to see, and not what he does not want to see. He looks at the things he ought to look at, and neglects those that need not be looked at. So clever a judge of horses is Kao, that he has it in him to judge something better than horses.'

When the horse arrived, it turned out indeed to be a superlative horse.

Mr Yu was a wealthy man of the Liang State. [Another name for the Wei State in the fourth century BC] His household was rolling in riches, and his hoards of money and silk and other valuables were quite incalculable. It was his custom to have banquets served, to the accompaniment of music, in a high upper hall overlooking the main road; there he and his friends would sit drinking their wine and amusing themselves with bouts of gambling.

One day, a party of young gallants happened to pass along the road. In the chamber above, play was going on as usual, and a lucky throw of the dice, which resulted in the capture of both fishes, evoked a loud burst of merriment from the players. [The game here alluded to was played on a board with a 'river' in the middle.] Precisely at that moment, it happened that a kite which was sailing overhead dropped the carcass of a rat in the midst of the company outside. The young men held an angry consultation on the spot: 'This Mr Yu,' they said, 'has been enjoying his wealth for many a long day, and has always treated his neighbours in the most arrogant spirit. And now, although we have never offended him, he insults us with this dead rat. If such an outrage goes unavenged, the world will look upon us as a set of poltroons. Let us summon up our utmost resolution, and combine with one accord to wipe him and his family out of existence!' The whole party signified their agreement, and when the evening of the day appointed had come, they collected, fully armed for the attack, and exterminated every member of the family. ['Pride and extravagance lead to calamity and ruin in more ways than one. Mr. Yŭ's family was destroyed, although in this particular instance he had no thought of insulting others; nevertheless, the catastrophe was due to an habitual lack of modesty and courtesy in his conduct.']

In the east of China there was a man named Yuan Ching Mu, who set off on a journey but was overcome by hunger on the way. A certain robber from Hu-fu, of the name of Ch'iu, saw him lying there, and fetched a bowl of rice-gruel in order to feed him. After swallowing three mouthfuls, Yuan Ching Mu opened his eyes and murmured, 'Who are you?' 'I am a native of Hu-fu, and my name is Ch'iu.' 'Oh misery!' cried Yuan Ching Mu, 'are not you the robber Ch'iu? What are you feeding me for? I am an honest man and cannot eat your food.' So saying, he clutched the ground with both hands, and began retching and coughing in order to bring it up again. Not succeeding, however, he fell flat on his face and expired.

Now the man from Hu-fu was a robber, no doubt, but the food he brought was not affected thereby. Because a man is a robber, to refuse to eat the food he offers you, on the ground that it is tainted with crime, is to have lost all power of discriminating between the normal and the real.

Yang Chu's younger brother, named Pu, went out one day wearing a suit of white clothes. It came on to rain, so that he had to change and came back dressed in a suit of black. His dog failed to recognize him in this garb, and rushed out at him, barking. This made Yang Pu angry, and he was going to give the dog a beating, when Yang Chu said: 'Do not beat him. You are no wiser than he. For, suppose your dog went away white and came home black, do you mean to tell me that you would not think it strange?'

Yang Chu said: 'You may do good without thinking about fame, but fame will follow in its wake. Fame makes no tryst with gain, but gain will come all the same. Gain makes no tryst with strife, but strife will certainly ensue. Therefore the superior man is very cautious about doing good.'

The good people of Han-tan were in the habit, every New Year's day, of presenting their Governor, Chien Tzu, with a number of live pigeons. This pleased the Governor very much, and he liberally rewarded the donors. To a stranger who asked the meaning of the custom, Chien Tzu explained that the release of living creatures on New Year's day was the sign of a benevolent disposition. 'But,' rejoined the stranger, 'the people, being aware of your Excellency's whim, no doubt exert themselves to catch as many pigeons as possible, and large numbers must get killed in the process. If you really wish to let the birds live, the best way would be to prohibit the people from capturing them at all. If they have to be caught first in order to be released, the kindness does not compensate for the cruelty.' Chien Tzu acknowledged that he was right.

Mr T'ien, of the Ch'i State, was holding an ancestral banquet in his hall, to which a thousand guests were bidden. As he sat in their midst, many came up to him with presents of fish and game. Eyeing them approvingly, he exclaimed with unction: 'How generous is Almighty God to man! He makes the five kinds of grain to grow, and creates the finny and the feathered tribes, especially for our benefit.' All Mr T'ien's guests applauded this sentiment to the echo; but the twelve-year-old son of a Mr Pao, regardless of seniority, came forward and said: 'You are wrong, my lord. All the living creatures of the universe stand in the same category as ourselves, and one is of no greater intrinsic value than another. It is only by reason of size, strength or cunning that some particular species gains the mastery, or that one preys upon another. None of them are produced in order to subserve the uses of others. Man catches and eats those that are fit for food, but how can it be maintained that God creates these expressly for man's use? Mosquitoes and gnats suck man's blood, and tigers and wolves devour his flesh; but we do not therefore assert that God created man expressly for the benefit of mosquitoes and gnats, or to provide food for tigers and wolves.' [In reading these words, penned before the beginning of our era, it is curious to reflect that only about fifty years ago Christian teleology used solemnly to preach this very doctrine of 'design', until Darwin arose and swept it away for ever.]

A man, having lost his axe, suspected his neighbour's son of having taken it. Certain peculiarities in his gait, his countenance and his speech, marked him out as the thief. In his actions, his movements, and in fact his whole demeanour, it was plainly written that he and no other had stolen the axe. By and by, however, while digging in a dell, the owner came across the missing implement. The next day, when he saw his neighbour's son again, he found no trace of guilt in his movements, his actions, or his general demeanour. ['The man in whose mind suspicion is at work will let himself be carried away by utterly distorted fancies, until at last he sees white as black, and detects squareness in a circle.']

There was once a man in the Ch'i State who had a burning lust for gold. Rising early one morning, he dressed and put on his hat and went down to the marketplace, where he proceeded to seize and carry off the gold from a money-changer's shop. [An ordinary thief would have gone at night, and probably naked, after smearing his body with oil.] He was arrested by the police, who were puzzled to know why he had committed the theft at a time when every body was about. 'When I was taking the gold,' he replied, 'I did not see anybody at all; what I saw was the gold, and nothing but the gold.'

THE ZHUANGZI

All Works of Master Zhuang
The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu
Translation: Burton Watson, 2000s
Estimated Range of Dating: 4th - 3rd centuries B.C.

(The Zhuangzi (historically romanised Chuang Tzu) is an ancient Chinese text from the late Warring States period (476–221 BC) which contains stories and anecdotes that exemplify the carefree nature of the ideal Taoist sage. Named for its traditional author, "Master Zhuang" (Zhuangzi), the Zhuangzi is one of the two foundational texts of Taoism, along with the Dao de Ching (Tao Te King).

The Zhuangzi consists of a large collection of anecdotes, allegories, parables, and fables, which are often humorous or irreverent. Its main themes are of spontaneity in action and of freedom from the human world and its conventions. The fables and anecdotes in the text attempt to illustrate the falseness of human distinctions between good and bad, large and small, life and death, and human and nature. While other ancient Chinese philosophers focused on moral and personal duty, Zhuangzi promoted carefree wandering and becoming one with "the Way" (Dao) by following nature.

Though primarily known as a philosophical work, the Zhuangzi is regarded as one of the greatest literary works in all of Chinese history, and has been called "the most important pre-Qin text for the study of Chinese literature". A masterpiece of both philosophical and literary skill, it has significantly influenced writers for more than 2000 years from the Han dynasty (206 BC–220 AD) to the present. Many major Chinese writers and poets in history—such as Sima Xiangru and Sima Qian during the Han dynasty, Ruan Ji and Tao Yuanming during the Six Dynasties (222–589), Li Bai during the Tang dynasty (618–907), and Su Shi and Lu You in the Song dynasty (960–1279)—were heavily influenced by the Zhuangzi.

Authorship and textual history

The Zhuangzi is named for and attributed to a man named Zhuang Zhou, usually known as "Zhuangzi"—from the Mandarin Chinese Zhuāngzǐ, meaning "Master Zhuang". Almost nothing is concretely known of Zhuangzi's life. He is generally said to have been born around 369 BC at a place called Meng in the state of Song (in present-day Henan around Shangqiu), and to have died around 301, 295, or 286 BC. He is thought to have spent time in the southern state of Chu, as well as in Linzi, the capital of the state of Qi. Sima Qian's 1st century BC Records of the Grand Historian, the first of China's 24 dynastic histories, has a biography of Zhuangzi, but most of it seems to have simply been drawn from anecdotes in the Zhuangzi itself. In the introduction to his Zhuangzi translation, the American scholar Burton Watson concluded: "Whoever Zhuang Zhou was, the writings attributed to him bear the stamp of a brilliant and original mind."

Since ancient times, the Zhuangzi's first seven chapters—the "inner chapters" (nèi piān)—have been considered to be the actual work of Zhuangzi, and most scholars agree with this view. But how many, if any, of the remaining 26 chapters—the "outer chapters" (wài piān) and "miscellaneous chapters" (zá piān)—were written by Zhuangzi has long been debated. Chinese scholars recognized as early as the Song dynasty (960–1279) that some parts of the book could not have been written by Zhuangzi himself. Today, it is generally accepted that the middle and later Zhuangzi chapters are the result of a process of "accretion and redaction" by other authors "responding to the scintillating brilliance" of the inner chapters. Despite the uncertainty over the later chapters' authorship, however, scholars have accepted all of the Zhuangzi's 33 surviving chapters as compositions dating from the 4th to 2nd centuries BC.

Details of the Zhuangzi's textual history prior to the Han dynasty (206 BC – AD 220) are largely unknown. Traces of its influence in late Warring States period (475–221 BC) philosophical texts such as the Guanzi, Han Feizi, Huainanzi, and Lüshi Chunqiu suggest that Zhuangzi's intellectual lineage was already fairly influential in the states of Qi and Chu in the 3rd century BC. In Records of the Grand Historian, Sima Qian refers to a 100,000-word Zhuangzi work and

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references several chapters that are still in the text. The Book of Han, finished in AD 111, lists a Zhuangzi in 52 chapters, which many scholars believe to be the original form of the work. Several different versions of the Zhuangzi survived into the Tang dynasty (618–907), but a shorter and more popular 33-chapter form of the book prepared by the philosopher and writer Guo Xiang around AD 300 is the source of all surviving editions.

In 742, an imperial proclamation from Emperor Xuanzong of Tang canonised the Zhuangzi as one of the Chinese classics and awarded it the honourific title True Scripture of Southern Florescence (Nánhuá zhēnjīng). However, most orthodox Chinese scholars did not consider the Zhuangzi to be a true "classic" (jing) due to its non-Confucian nature.

Manuscripts

Portions of the Zhuangzi have been discovered among bamboo slip texts from Warring States period and Han dynasty tombs, particularly at the Shuanggudui and Zhangjiashan Han bamboo texts sites. One of the slips from the Guodian bamboo texts, which date to around 300 BC, contains what appears to be a short fragment from the "Ransacking Coffers" ("Qu qie") chapter.

Many Zhuangzi fragments dating from the early Tang dynasty were discovered among the Dunhuang manuscripts in the early 20th century by the expeditions of Hungarian-British explorer Aurel Stein and French Sinologist Paul Pelliot. They collectively form about twelve chapters of Guo Xiang's version of the Zhuangzi, and are preserved mostly at the British Library and the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Among the Japanese national treasures preserved in the Kōzan-ji temple in Kyoto is a Zhuangzi manuscript from the Muromachi period (1338–1573). The manuscript has seven complete chapters from the "outer" and "miscellaneous" chapters, and is believed to be a close copy of an annotated edition written in the 7th century by the Chinese Daoist master Cheng Xuanying (fl. 630–660 BC).

Contents

The Zhuangzi consists of a large collection of anecdotes, allegories, parables, fables, and "goblet words", which are often humorous or irreverent in nature. A master of language, Zhuangzi sometimes engages in logic and reasoning, but then turns it upside down or carries the arguments to absurdity to demonstrate the limitations of human knowledge and the rational world. Zhuangzi employs hypothetical dialogues involving Confucius, Laozi (Lao Tzu), and other debaters. Some of Zhuangzi's reasoning, such as his renowned argument with his philosopher friend Huizi (Master Hui) about the joy of fish (chapter 17), have been compared to the Socratic and Platonic dialogue traditions, and Huizi's paradoxes near the end of the book have been termed "strikingly like those of Zeno of Elea".

Most Zhuangzi stories are fairly short and simple, such as "Lickety" and "Split" drilling seven holes in "Wonton" (chapter 7) or Zhuangzi being discovered sitting and drumming on a basin after his wife dies (chapter 18), although a few are longer and more complex, like the story of Master Lie and the magus (chapter 14) and the account of the Yellow Emperor's music (chapter 14). Unlike the other stories and allegories in other pre-Qin texts, the Zhuangzi is unique in that the allegories form the bulk of the text, rather than occasional features, and are always witty, emotional, and are not limited to reality.

Unlike other ancient Chinese works, whose allegories were usually based on historical legends and proverbs, most Zhuangzi stories seem to have been invented by Zhuangzi himself. Some are completely whimsical, such as the strange description of evolution from "misty spray" through a series of substances and insects to horses and humans (chapter 18), while a few other passages seem to be "sheer playful nonsense" which read like Lewis Carroll's "Jabberwocky". The Zhuangzi is full of quirky and fantastic characters, such as "Mad Stammerer", "Fancypants Scholar", "Sir Plow", and a man who fancies that his left arm will turn into a rooster, his right arm will turn into a crossbow, and his buttocks will become cartwheels.

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Themes

The stories and anecdotes of the Zhuangzi embody a unique set of principles and attitudes, including living one's life with natural spontaneity, uniting one's inner self with the cosmic "Way" (Dao), keeping oneself distant from politics and social obligations, accepting death as a natural transformation, showing appreciation and praise for things others view as useless or aimless, and stridently rejecting social values and conventional reasoning. These principles form the core ideas of philosophical Daoism. The other major philosophical schools of ancient China—such as Confucianism, Legalism, and Mohism—were all concerned with concrete social, political, or ethical reforms designed to reform people and society and thereby alleviate the problems and suffering of the world. However, Zhuangzi believed that the key to true happiness was to free oneself from the world and its standards through the Daoist principle of "inaction" (Wu wei wuwei)—action that is not based on any purposeful striving or motives for gain—and was fundamentally opposed to systems that impose order on individuals.

The Zhuangzi interprets the universe as a thing that changes spontaneously without a conscious God or will driving it, and argues that humans can achieve ultimate happiness by living equally spontaneously. It argues that because of humans' advanced cognitive abilities, they have a tendency to create artificial distinctions—such as good versus bad, large versus small, usefulness versus uselessness, and social systems like Confucianism—that remove themselves from the natural spontaneity of the universe. To illustrate the mindlessness and spontaneity he felt should characterize human action, Zhuangzi most often uses the analogy of craftsmen or artisans. As Burton Watson described, "the skilled woodcarver, the skilled butcher, the skilled swimmer does not ponder or ratiocinate on the course of action he should take; his skill has become so much a part of him that he merely acts instinctively and spontaneously and, without knowing why, achieves success." The term "wandering" (yóu) is used throughout the stories of the Zhuangzi to describe how an enlightened person "wanders through all of creation, enjoying its delights without ever becoming attached to any one part of it."

The Zhuangzi vigorously opposes formal government, which Zhuangzi seems to have felt was problematic at its foundation "because of the opposition between man and nature." The text tries to show that "as soon as government intervenes in natural affairs, it destroys all possibility of genuine happiness." It is unclear if Zhuangzi's positions amounted to a form of anarchism, as the political references in the Zhuangzi are more concerned with what government should not do, rather than what kind of government should exist.

Western scholars have long noticed that the Zhuangzi is often strongly anti-rationalist. Mohism, deriving from Zhuangzi's possible contemporary Mozi, was the most logically sophisticated school in ancient China. Whereas reason and logic became the hallmark of Ancient Greek philosophy and then the entire Western philosophical tradition, in China philosophers preferred to rely on moral persuasion and intuition. The Zhuangzi played a significant role in the traditional Chinese skepticism toward rationalism, as Zhuangzi frequently turns logical arguments upside-down to satirize and discredit them. However, Zhuangzi did not entirely abandon language and reason, but "only wished to point out that overdependence on them could limit the flexibility of thought."

Daoism, Confucianism, Buddhism

The Zhuangzi is the most influential purely literary Chinese work dating from before China's imperial unification in 221 BC. Its literary quality, imagination and creativity, and linguistic prowess were unprecedented in the period of its creation. Virtually every major Chinese writer or poet in history, from Sima Xiangru and Sima Qian during the Han dynasty, Ruan Ji and Tao Yuanming during the Six Dynasties, Li Bai during the Tang dynasty, to Su Shi and Lu You in the Song dynasty were "deeply imbued with the ideas and artistry of the Zhuangzi."

Traces of the Zhuangzi's influence in late Warring States period philosophical texts such as the Guanzi, Han Feizi, Huainanzi, and Lüshi Chunqiu suggest that Zhuangzi's intellectual lineage was already fairly influential in the states of Qi and Chu in the 3rd century BC. However, during the Qin and Han dynasties—with their state-sponsored Legalist and Confucian ideologies, respectively—the Zhuangzi does not seem to have been highly regarded. One exception is Han dynasty scholar Jia Yi's 170 BC work "Fu on the Owl" (Funiǎo fu), the earliest definitively known fu rhapsody, which does not reference the Zhuangzi by name but cites it for one-sixth of the poem.

After the collapse of the Han dynasty in AD 207 and the subsequent chaos of the Three Kingdoms period, both the Zhuangzi and Zhuang Zhou began to rise in popularity and acclaim The 3rd century AD poets Ruan Ji and Xi Kang, both members of the famous Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove, were ardent Zhuangzi admirers, and one of Ruan's essays, entitled "Discourse on Summing Up the Zhuangzi" (Dá Zhuāng lùn), is still extant. This period saw Confucianism temporarily surpassed by a revival of Daoism and old divination texts, such as the Classic of Changes (I Ching), and many early medieval Chinese poets, artists, and calligraphers were deeply influenced by the Zhuangzi.

The Zhuangzi has been called "the most important of all the Daoist writings" and its "inner chapters" embody the core ideas of philosophical Daoism. In the 4th century AD, the Zhuangzi became a major source of imagery and terminology for a new form of Daoism known as the "Highest Clarity" (Shangqing) school that was popular among the aristocracy of the Jin dynasty (266–420). Highest Clarity Daoism borrowed notable Zhuangzi terms, such as "perfected man" (zhēn rén), "Great Clarity" (Tài Qīng), and "fasting the mind" (xīn zhāi), and though they are used somewhat differently than in the Zhuangzi itself, they still show the important role the Zhuangzi played at the time.

The Zhuangzi was very influential in the adaptation of Buddhism to Chinese culture after Buddhism was first brought to China from India in the 1st century AD. Zhi Dun, China's first aristocratic Buddhist monk, wrote a prominent commentary to the Zhuangzi in the mid-4th century. The Zhuangzi also played a significant role in the formation of Chan ("Zen") Buddhism, which grew out of "a fusion of Buddhist ideology and ancient Daoist thought." Among the traits Chan/Zen Buddhism borrowed from the Zhuangzi are a distrust of language and logic, an insistence that "the Dao" can be found in everything, even dung and urine, and a fondness for dialogues based on riddles or paradigm-challenging statements known as gong'an.)

ZHUANGZI SECTION 1

Free And Easy Wandering

In The Northern Darkness there is a fish and his name is K'un.1 The K'un is so huge I do not know how many thousand li he measures. He changes and becomes a bird whose name is P'eng. The back of the P'eng measures I do not know how many thousand li across and, when he rises up and flies off, his wings are like clouds all over the sky. When the sea begins to move, this bird sets off for the southern darkness, which is the Lake of Heaven.

The Universal Harmony records various wonders, and it says: "When the P'eng journeys to the southern darkness, the waters are roiled for three thousand li. He beats the whirlwind and rises ninety thousand li, setting off on the sixth month gale." Wavering heat, bits of dust, living things blowing each other about-the sky looks very blue. Is that its real colour, or is it because it is so far away and has no end? When the bird looks down, all he sees is blue too.

If water is not piled up deep enough, it won't have the strength to bear up a big boat. Pour a cup of water into a hollow in the floor and bits of trash will sail on it like boats. But set the cup there and it will stick fast, for the water is too shallow and the boat too large. If wind is not piled up deep enough, it won't have the strength to bear up great wings. Therefore when the P'eng rises ninety thousand li, he must have the wind under him like that. Only then can he mount on the back of the wind, shoulder the blue sky, and nothing can hinder or block him. Only then can he set his eyes to the south.

The cicada and the little dove laugh at this, saying, "When we make an effort and fly up, we can get as far as the elm or the sapanwood tree, but sometimes we do not make it and just fall down on the ground. Now how is anyone going to go ninety thousand li to the south!"

If you go off to the green woods nearby, you can take along food for three meals and come back with your stomach as full as ever. If you are going a hundred li, you must grind your grain the night before; and if you are going a thousand li, you must start getting the provisions together three months in advance. What do these two creatures understand? Little understanding cannot come up to great understanding; the shortlived cannot come up to the long-lived.

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How do I know this is so? The morning mushroom knows nothing of twilight and dawn; the summer cicada knows nothing of spring and autumn. They are the short-lived. South of Ch'u there is a caterpillar which counts five hundred years as one spring and five hundred years as one autumn. Long, long ago there was a great rose of Sharon that counted eight thousand years as one spring and eight thousand years as one autumn. They are the long-lived. Yet P'eng-tsu4 alone is famous today for having lived a long time, and everybody tries to ape him. Isn't it pitiful!

Among the questions of T'ang to Ch'i we find the same thing. In the bald and barren north, there is a dark sea, the Lake of Heaven. In it is a fish which is several thousand li across, and no one knows how long. His name is K'un. There is also a bird there, named P'eng, with a back like Mount T'ai and wings like clouds filling the sky. He beats the whirlwind, leaps into the air, and rises up ninety thousand li, cutting through the clouds and mist, shouldering the blue sky, and then he turns his eyes south and prepares to journey to the southern darkness.

The little quail laughs at him, saying, "Where does he think he's going? I give a great leap and fly up, but I never get more than ten or twelve yards before I come down fluttering among the weeds and brambles. And that's the best kind of flying anyway! Where does he think he's going?" Such is the difference between big and little.

Therefore a man who has wisdom enough to fill one office effectively, good conduct enough to impress one community, virtue enough to please one ruler, or talent enough to be called into service in one state, has the same kind of self-pride as these little creatures. Sung Jung-tzu would certainly burst out laughing at such a man. The whole world could praise Sung Jung-tzu and it wouldn't make him exert himself; the whole world could condemn him and it wouldn't make him mope.

He drew a clear line between the internal and the external, and recognized the boundaries of true glory and disgrace. But that was all. As far as the world went, he did not fret and worry, but there was still ground he left unturned.

Lieh Tzu could ride the wind and go soaring around with cool and breezy skill, but after fifteen days he came back to earth. As far as the search for good fortune went, he did not fret and worry. He escaped the trouble of walking, but he still had to depend on something to get around. If he had only mounted on the truth of Heaven and Earth, ridden the changes of the six breaths, and thus wandered through the boundless, then what would he have had to depend on?

Therefore I say, the Perfect Man has no self; the Holy Man has no merit; the Sage has no fame.

Yao wanted to cede the empire to Hsu-Yu. "When the sun and moon have already come out," he said, "it's a waste of light to go on burning the torches, isn't it? When the seasonal rains are falling, it's a waste of water to go on irrigating the fields. If you took the throne, the world would be well ordered. I go on occupying it, but all I can see are my failings. I beg to turn over the world to you."

Hsu Yu said, "You govern the world and the world is already well governed. Now if I take your place, will I be doing it for a name? But name is only the guest of reality - will I be doing it so I can play the part of a guest? When the tailorbird builds her nest in the deep wood, she uses no more than one branch. When the mole drinks at the river, he takes no more than a bellyful. Go home and forget the matter, my lord.

I have no use for the rulership of the world! Though the cook may not run his kitchen properly, the priest and the impersonator of the dead at the sacrifice do not leap over the wine casks and sacrificial stands and go take his place."

Chien Wu said to Lien Shu, "I was listening to Chieh Yu's talk - big and nothing to back it up, going on and on without turning around. I was completely dumfounded at his words - no more end than the Milky Way, wild and wide of the mark, never coming near human affairs!"

"What were his words like?" asked Lien Shu.

"He said that there is a Holy Man living on faraway Ku-she Mountain, with skin like ice or snow, and gentle and shy like a young girl. He does not eat the five grains, but sucks the wind, drinks the dew, climbs up on the clouds and mist, rides a flying dragon, and wanders beyond the four seas. By concentrating his spirit, he can protect creatures from sickness and plague and make the harvest plentiful. I thought this was all insane and refused to believe it."

"You would!" said Lien Shu. "We cannot expect a blind man to appreciate beautiful patterns or a deaf man to listen to bells and drums. And blindness and deafness are not confined to the body alone - the understanding has them too, as your words just now have shown. This man, with this virtue of his, is about to embrace the ten thousand things and roll them into one. Though the age calls for reform, why should he wear himself out over the affairs of the world? There is nothing that can harm this man. Though flood waters pile up to the sky, he will not drown. Though a great drought melts metal and stone and scorches the earth and hills, he will not be burned.

From his dust and leavings alone you could mold a Yao or a Shun! Why should he consent to bother about mere things?"

A man of Sung who sold ceremonial hats made a trip to Yueh, but the Yueh people cut their hair short and tattoo their bodies and had no use for such things. Yao brought order to the people of the world and directed the government of all within the seas. But he went to see the Four Masters of the faraway Ku-she :Mountain, [and when he got home] north of the Fen. River, he was dazed and had forgot his kingdom there.

Hui Tzu10 said to Chuang Tzu, "The king of Wei gave me some seeds of a huge gourd. I planted them, and when they grew up, the fruit was big enough to hold five piculs. I tried using it for a water container, but it was so heavy I couldn't lift it. I split it in half to make dippers, but they were so large and unwieldy that I couldn't dip them into any thing. It's not that the gourds weren't fantastically big - but I decided they were no use and so I smashed them to pieces."

Chuang Tzu said, "You certainly are dense when it comes to using big things! In Sung there was a man who was skilled at making a salve to prevent chapped hands, and generation after generation his family made a living by bleaching silk in water. A traveler heard about the salve and offered to buy the prescription for a hundred measures of gold. The man called everyone to a family council. 'For generations we've been bleaching sills and we've never made more than a few measures of gold,' he said. 'Now, if we sell our secret, we can make a hundred measures in one morning. Let's let him have it!' The traveler got the salve and introduced it to the king of Wu, who was having trouble with the state of Yueh. The king put the man in charge of his troops, and that winter they fought a naval battle with the men of Yueh and gave them a bad beating.11 A portion of the conquered territory was awarded to the man as a fief. The salve had the power to prevent chapped hands in either case; but one man used it to get a fief, while the other one never got beyond silk bleaching - because they used it in different ways. Now you had a gourd big enough to hold five piculs. Why did not you think of making it into a great tub so you could go floating around the rivers and lakes, instead of worrying because it was too big and unwieldy to dip into things! Obviously you still have a lot of underbrush in your head!"

Hui Tzu said to Chuang Tzu, "I have a big tree of the kind men call shu. Its trunk is too gnarled and bumpy to apply a measuring line to, its branches too bent and twisty to match up to a compass or square. You could stand it by the road and no carpenter would look at it twice. Your words, too, are big and useless, and so everyone alike spurns them!"

Chuang Tzu said, "Maybe you have never seen a wildcat or a weasel. It crouches down and hides, watching for something to come along. It leaps and races east and west, not hesitating to go high or low-until it falls into the trap and dies in the net. Then again there is the yak, big as a cloud covering the sky. It certainly knows how to be big, though it does not know how to catch rats. Now You have this big tree and you are distressed because it's useless. Why don't you plant it in Not-Even-Anything Village, or the field of Broad-and-Boundless, relax and do nothing by its side, or lie down for a free and easy sleep under it? Axes will never shorten its life, nothing can ever harm it. If there is no use for it, how can it come to grief or pain?"

ZHUANGZI SECTION 2

Discussion On Making All Things Equal

Tzu-Ch'i Of South Wall sat leaning on his armrest, staring up at the sky and breathing - vacant and far away, as though he'd lost his companion.1 Yen Ch'eng Tzu-yu, who was standing by his side in attendance, said, "What is this? Can you really make the body like a withered tree and the mind like dead ashes? The man leaning on the armrest now is not the one who leaned on it before!"

Tzu-ch'i said, "You do well to ask the question, Yen. Now I have lost myself. Do you understand that? You hear the piping of men, but you have not heard the piping of earth. Or if you have heard the piping of earth, you have not heard the piping of Heaven!"

Tzu-yu said, " May I venture to ask what this means?"

Tzu-ch'i said, "The Great Clod belches out breath and its name is wind. So long as it does not come forth, nothing happens. But when it does, then ten thousand hollows begin crying wildly. Cannot you hear them, long drawn out? In the mountain forests that lash and sway, there are huge trees a hundred spans around with hollows and openings like noses, like mouths, like ears, like jugs, like cups, like mortars, like rifts, like ruts. They roar like waves, whistle like arrows, screech, gasp, cry, wail, moan, and howl, those in the lead calling out yeee!, those behind calling out yuuu! In a gentle

breeze they answer faintly, but in a full gale the chorus is gigantic. And when the fierce wind has passed on, then all the hollows are empty again. Have you never seen the tossing and trembling that goes on?"

Tzu-yu said, "By the piping of earth, then, you mean simply [the sound of] these hollows, and by the piping of man [the sound of] flutes and whistles. But may I ask about the piping of Heaven?"

Tzu-ch'i said, "Blowing on the ten thousand things in a different way, so that each can be itself - all take what they want for themselves, but who does the sounding?"

Great understanding is broad and unhurried; little understanding is cramped and busy. Great words are clear and limpid;3 little words are shrill and quarrelsome. In sleep, men's spirits go visiting; in waking hours, their bodies hustle. With everything they meet they become entangled. Day after day they use their minds in strife, sometimes grandiose, sometimes sly, sometimes petty. Their little fears are mean and trembly; their great fears are stunned and overwhelming. They bound off like an arrow or a crossbow pellet, certain that they are the arbiters of right and wrong. They cling to their position as though they had sworn before the gods, sure that they are holding on to victory. They fade like fall and winter - such is the way they dwindle day by day. They drown in what they do - you cannot make them turn back. They grow dark, as though sealed with seals - such are the excesses of their old age. And when their minds draw near to death, nothing can restore them to the light.

Joy, anger, grief, delight, worry, regret, fickleness, inflexibility, modesty, willfulness, candor, insolence - music from empty holes, mushrooms springing up in dampness, day and night replacing each other before us, and no one knows where they sprout from. Let it be! Let it be! [It is enough that] morning and evening we have them, and they are the means by which we live. Without them we would not exist; without us they would have nothing to take hold of. This comes close to the matter. But I do not know what makes them the way they are. It would seem as though they have some True Master, and yet I find no trace of him. He can act - that is certain. Yet I cannot see his form. He has identity but no form.

The hundred joints, the nine openings, the six organs, all come together and exist here [as my body]. But which part should I feel closest to? I should delight in all parts, you say? But there must be one I ought to favour more. If not, are they all of them mere servants? But if they are all servants, then how can they keep order among themselves? Or do they take turns being lord and servant? It would seem as though there must be some True Lord among them. But whether I succeed in discovering his identity or not, it neither adds to nor detracts from his Truth.

Once a man receives this fixed bodily form, he holds on to it, waiting for the end. Sometimes clashing with things, sometimes bending before them, he runs his course like a galloping steed, and nothing can stop him. Is he not pathetic? Sweating and laboring to the end of his days and never seeing his accomplishment, utterly exhausting himself and never knowing where to look for rest - can you help pitying him? I am not dead yet! he says, but what good is that? His body decays, his mind follows it - can you deny that this is a great sorrow? Man's life has always been a muddle like this. How could I be the only muddled one, and other men not muddled?

If a man follows the mind given him and makes it his teacher, then who can be without a teacher? Why must you comprehend the process of change and form your mind on that basis before you can have a teacher? Even an idiot has his teacher. But to fail to abide by this mind and still insist upon your rights and wrongs - this is like saying that you set off for Yueh today and got there yesterday. This is to claim that what does not exist exists. If you claim that what does not exist exists, then even the holy sage Yu couldn't understand you, much less a person like me!

Words are not just wind. Words have something to say. But if what they have to say is not fixed, then do they really say something? Or do they say nothing? People suppose that words are different from the peeps of baby birds, but is there any difference, or isn't there? What does the Way rely upon,5 that we have true and false? What do words rely upon, that we have right and wrong? How can the Way go away and not exist? How can words exist and not be acceptable? When the Way relies on little accomplishments and words rely on vain show, then we have the rights and wrongs of the Confucians and the Mo-ists. What one calls right the other calls wrong; what one calls wrong the other calls right. But if we want to right their wrongs and wrong their rights, then the best thing to use is clarity.

Everything has its "that," everything has its "this." From the point of view of "that" you cannot see it, but through understanding you can know it. So I say, "that" comes out of "this" and "this" depends on "that" - which is to say that "this" and "that" give birth to each other. But where there is birth there must be death; where there is death there must be birth. Where there is acceptability there must be unacceptability; where there is unacceptability there must be acceptability. Where there is recognition of right there must be recognition of wrong; where there is recognition of wrong there must be recognition of right. Therefore the sage does not proceed in such a way, but illuminates all in the light of Heaven.6 He too recognizes a "this," but a "this" which is also "that," a "that" which is also "this." His "that" has both a right and a wrong in it; his "this" too has both a right and a

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wrong in it. So, in fact, does he still have a "this" and "that"? Or does he in fact no longer have a "this" and "that"? A state in which "this" and "that" no longer find their opposites is called the hinge of the Way. When the hinge is fitted into the socket, it can respond endlessly. Its right then is a single endlessness and its wrong too is a single endlessness. So, I say, the best thing to use is clarity.

To use an attribute to show that attributes are not attributes is not as good as using a non-attribute to show that attributes are not attributes. To use a horse to show that a horse is not a horse is not as good as using a non-horse to show that a horse is not a horse, Heaven and earth are one attribute; the ten thousand things are one horse.

What is acceptable we call acceptable; what is unacceptable we call unacceptable. A road is made by people walking on it; things are so because they are called so. What makes them so? Making them so makes them so. What makes them not so? Making them not so makes them not so. Things all must have that which is so; things all must have that which is acceptable. There is nothing that is not so, nothing that is not acceptable.

For this reason, whether you point to a little stalk or a great pillar, a leper or the beautiful Hsi-shih, things ribald and shady or things grotesque and strange, the Way makes them all into one. Their dividedness is their completeness; their completeness is their impairment. No thing is either complete or impaired, but all are made into one again. Only the man of far reaching vision knows how to make them into one. So he has no use [for categories], but relegates all to the constant. The constant is the useful; the useful is the passable; the passable is the successful; and with success, all is accomplished. He relies upon this alone, relies upon it and does not know he is doing so. This is called the Way.

But to wear out your brain trying to make things into one without realizing that they are all the same - this is called "three in the morning." What do I mean by "three in the morning"? When the monkey trainer was handing out acorns, he said, "You get three in the morning and four at night." This made all the monkeys furious. "Well, then," he said, "you get four in the morning and three at night." The monkeys were all delighted. There was no change in the reality behind the words, and yet the monkeys responded with joy and anger. Let them, if they want to. So the sage harmonises with both right and wrong and rests in Heaven the Equalizer. This is called walking two roads.

The understanding of the men of ancient times went a long way. How far did it go? To the point where some of them believed that things have never existed - so far, to the end, where nothing can be added. Those at the next stage thought that things exist but recognized no boundaries among them. Those at the next stage thought there were boundaries but recognized no right and wrong. Because right and wrong appeared, the Way was injured, and because the Way was injured, love became complete. But do such things as completion and injury really exist, or do they not?

There is such a thing as completion and injury - Mr. Chao playing the lute is an example. There is such a thing as no completion and no injury - Mr. Chao not playing the lute is an example. Chao Wen played the lute; Music Master K'uang waved his baton; Hui Tzu leaned on his desk. The knowledge of these three was close to perfection. All were masters, and therefore their names have been handed down to later ages. Only in their likes they were different from him [the true sage]. What they liked, they tried to make clear. What he is not clear about, they tried to make clear, and so they ended in the foolishness of "hard" and "white." Their sons, too, devoted all their lives to their fathers' theories, but till their death never reached any completion. Can these men be said to have attained completion? If so, then so have all the rest of us. Or can they not be said to have attained completion? If so, then neither we nor anything else have ever attained it.

The torch of chaos and doubt - this is what the sage steers by. So he does not use things but relegates all to the constant. This is what it means to use clarity.

Now I am going to make a statement here. I do not know whether it fits into the category of other people's statements or not. But whether it fits into their category or whether it doesn't, it obviously fits into some category. So in that respect it is no different from their statements. However, let me try making my statement.

There is a beginning. There is a not yet beginning to be a beginning. There is a not yet beginning to be a not yet beginning to be a beginning. There is being. There is nonbeing. There is a not yet beginning to be nonbeing. There is a not yet beginning to be a not yet beginning to be nonbeing. Suddenly there is nonbeing. But I do not know, when it comes to nonbeing, which is really being and which is nonbeing. Now I have just said something. But I do not know whether what I have said has really said something or whether it hasn't said something.

There is nothing in the world bigger than the tip of an autumn hair, and Mount T'ai is tiny. No one has lived longer than a dead child, and P'eng-tsu died young. Heaven and earth were born at the same time I was, and the ten thousand things are one with me.

We have already become one, so how can I say anything? But I have just said that we are one, so how can I not be saying something? The one and what I said about it make two, and two and the original one make three. If we go on this way, then even the cleverest mathematician cannot tell where we'll end, much less an ordinary man. If by moving from nonbeing to being we get to three, how far will we get if we move from being to being? Better not to move, but to let things be!

The Way has never known boundaries; speech has no constancy. But because of [the recognition of a] "this," there came to be boundaries. Let me tell you what the boundaries are.

There is left, there is right, there are theories, there are debates, there are divisions, there are discriminations, there are emulations, and there are contentions. These are called the Eight Virtues. As to what is beyond the Six Realms, the sage admits its existence but does not theorize. As to what is within the Six Realms, he theorizes but does not debate. In the case of the Spring and Autumn, the record of the former kings of past ages, the sage debates but does not discriminate. So [I say] those who divide fail to divide; those who discriminate fail to discriminate. What does this mean, you ask? The sage embraces things. Ordinary men discriminate among them and parade their discriminations before others. So I say, those who discriminate fail to see.

The Great Way is not named; Great Discriminations are not spoken; Great Benevolence is not benevolent; Great Modesty is not humble; Great Daring does not attack. If the Way is made clear, it is not the Way. If discriminations are put into words, they do not suffice. If benevolence has a constant object, it cannot be universal. If modesty is fastidious, it cannot be trusted. If daring attacks, it cannot be complete. These five are all round, but they tend toward the square.

Therefore understanding that rests in what it does not understand is the finest. Who can understand discriminations that are not spoken, the Way that is not a way? If he can understand this, he may be called the Reservoir of Heaven. Pour

into it and it is never full, dip from it and it never runs dry, and yet it does not know where the supply, comes from. This

is called the Shaded Light.

So it is that long ago Yao said to Shun, "I want to attack the rulers of Tsung, K'uai, and Hsu-ao. Even as I sit on my throne, this thought nags at me. Why is this?"

Shun replied, "These three rulers are only little dwellers in the weeds and brush. Why this nagging desire? Long ago, ten suns came out all at once and the ten thousand things were all lighted up. And how much greater is virtue than these suns!"

Nieh Ch'ueh asked Wang Ni, "Do you know what all things agree in calling right?"

"How would I know that?" said Wang Ni.

"Do you know that you don't know it?"

"How would I know that?"

"Then do things know nothing?"

"How would I know that? However, suppose I try saying something. What way do I have of knowing that if I say I know something I do not really not know it? Or what way do I have of knowing that if I say I do not know something I do not really in fact know it? Now let me ask you some questions. If a man sleeps in a damp place, his back aches and he ends up half paralyzed, but is this true of a loach? If he lives in a tree, he is terrified and shakes with fright, but is this true of a

monkey? Of these three creatures, then, which one knows the proper place to live? Men eat the flesh of grass-fed and grain-fed animals, deer eat grass, centipedes find snakes tasty, and hawks and falcons relish mice. Of these four, which knows how food ought to taste? Monkeys pair with monkeys, deer go out with deer, and fish play around with fish. Men claim that Mao-ch'iang and Lady Li were beautiful, but if fish saw them they would dive to the bottom of the stream, if birds saw them they would fly away, and if deer saw them they would break into a run. Of these four, which knows how to fix the standard of beauty for the world? The way I see it, the rules of benevolence and righteousness and the paths of right and wrong are all hopelessly snarled and jumbled. How could I know anything about such discriminations?"

Nieh Ch'ueh said, "If you don't know what is profitable or harmful, then does the Perfect Man likewise know nothing of such things?"

Wang Ni replied, "The Perfect Man is godlike. Though the great swamps blaze, they cannot burn him; though the great rivers freeze, they cannot chill him; though swift lightning splits the hills and howling gales shake the sea, they cannot frighten him. A man like this rides the clouds and mist, straddles the sun and moon, and wanders beyond the four seas. Even life and death have no effect on him, much less the rules of profit and loss!"

Chu Ch'ueh-tzu said to Chang Wu-tzu, "I have heard Confucius say that the sage does not work at anything, does not pursue profit, does not dodge harm, does not enjoy being sought after, does not follow the Way, says nothing yet says something, says something yet says nothing, and wanders beyond the dust and grime. Confucius himself regarded these as wild and flippant words, though I believe they describe the working of the mysterious Way. What do you think of them?"

Chang Wu-tzu said, "Even the Yellow Emperor would be confused if he heard such words, so how could you expect Confucius to understand them? What's more, you are too hasty in your own appraisal. You see an egg and demand a crowing cock, see a crossbow pellet and demand a roast dove. I am going to try speaking some reckless words and I want you to listen to them recklessly. How will that be? The sage leans on the sun and moon, tucks the universe under his arm, merges himself with things, leaves the confusion and muddle as it is, and looks on slaves as exalted. Ordinary men strain and struggle; the sage is stupid and blockish. He takes part in ten thousand ages and achieves simplicity in oneness. For him, all the ten thousand things are what they are, and thus they enfold each other.

"How do I know that loving life is not a delusion? How do I know that in hating death I am not like a man who, having left home in his youth, has forgot the way back?

"Lady Li was the daughter of the border guard of Ai. When she was first taken captive and brought to the state of Chin, she wept until her tears drenched the collar of her robe. But later, when she went to live in the palace of the ruler, shared his couch with him, and ate the delicious meats of his table, she wondered why she had ever wept. How do I know that the dead do not wonder why they ever longed for life?

"He who dreams of drinking wine may weep when morning comes; he who dreams of weeping may in the morning go off to hunt. While he is dreaming he does not know it is a dream, and in his dream he may even try to interpret a dream. Only after he wakes does he know it was a dream. And someday there will be a great awakening when we know that this is all a great dream. Yet the stupid believe they are awake, busily and brightly assuming they understand things, calling this man ruler, that one herdsman - how dense! Confucius and you are both dreaming! And when I say you are dreaming, I am dreaming, too. Words like these will be labeled the Supreme Swindle. Yet, after ten thousand generations, a great sage may appear who will know their meaning, and it will still be as though he appeared with astonishing speed.

"Suppose you and I have had an argument. If you have beaten me instead of my beating you, then are you necessarily right and am I necessarily wrong? If I have beaten you instead of your beating me, then am I necessarily right and are you necessarily wrong? Is one of us right and the other wrong? Are both of us right or are both of us wrong? If you and I do not know the answer, then other people are bound to be even more in the dark. Whom shall we get to decide what is right? Shall we get someone who agrees with you to decide? But if he already agrees with you, how can he decide fairly? Shall we get someone who agrees with me? But if he already agrees with me, how can he decide? Shall we get someone who disagrees with both of us? But if he already disagrees with both of us, how can he decide? Shall we get someone who agrees with both of us? But if he already agrees with both of us, how can he decide? Obviously, then, neither you nor I nor anyone else can decide for each other. Shall we wait for still another person?

"But waiting for one shifting voice [to pass judgment on] another is the same as waiting for none of them. Harmonise them all with the Heavenly Equality, leave them to their endless changes, and so live out your years. What do I mean by harmonising them with the Heavenly Equality? Right is not right; so is not so. If right were really right, it would differ so clearly from not right that there would be no need for argument. If so were really so, it would differ so clearly from not so that there would be no need for argument. Forget the years; forget distinctions. Leap into the boundless and make it your home!"

Penumbra said to Shadow, "A little while ago you were walking and now you are standing still; a little while ago you were sitting and now you are standing up. Why this lack of independent action?"

Shadow said, "Do I have to wait for something before I can be like this? Does what I wait for also have to wait for something before it can be like this? Am I waiting for the scales of a snake or the wings of a cicada? How do I know why it is so? How do I know why it isn't so?"

Once Chuang Chou dreamt he was a butterfly, a butterfly flitting and fluttering around, happy with himself and doing as he pleased. He did not know he was Chuang Chou. Suddenly he woke up and there he was, solid and unmistakable Chuang Chou. But he did not know if he was Chuang Chou who had dreamt he was a butterfly, or a butterfly dreaming he was Chuang Chou. Between Chuang Chou and a butterfly there must be some distinction! This is called the Transformation of Things.

ZHUANGZI SECTION 3

The Secret Of Caring For Life.

Your Life Has A Limit but knowledge has none. If you use what is limited to pursue what has no limit, you will be in danger. If you understand this and still strive for knowledge, you will be in danger for certain! If you do good, stay away

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from fame. If you do evil, stay away from punishments. Follow the middle; go by what is constant, and you can stay in one piece, keep yourself alive, look after your parents, and live out your years.

Cook Ting was cutting up an ox for Lord Wen-hui. At every touch of his hand, every heave of his shoulder, every move of his feet, every thrust of his knee - zip! zoop! He slithered the knife along with a zing, and all was in perfect rhythm, as though he were performing the dance of the Mulberry Grove or keeping time to the Ching-shou music.

"Ah, this is marvelous!" said Lord Wen-hui. "Imagine skill reaching such heights!"

Cook Ting laid down his knife and replied, "What I care about is the Way, which goes beyond skill. When I first began cutting up oxen, all I could see was the ox itself. After three years I no longer saw the whole ox. And now - now I go at it by spirit and don't look with my eyes. Perception and understanding have come to a stop and spirit moves where it wants. I go along with the natural makeup, strike in the big hollows, guide the knife through the big openings, and follow things as they are. So I never touch the smallest ligament or tendon, much less a main joint.

"A good cook changes his knife once a year-because he cuts. A mediocre cook changes his knife once a month-because he hacks. I've had this knife of mine for nineteen years and I've cut up thousands of oxen with it, and yet the blade is as good as though it had just come from the grindstone. There are spaces between the joints, and the blade of the knife has really no thickness. If you insert what has no thickness into such spaces, then there is plenty of room - more than enough for the blade to play about it. That's why after nineteen years the blade of my knife is still as good as when it first came from the grindstone.

"However, whenever I come to a complicated place, I size up the difficulties, tell myself to watch out and be careful, keep my eyes on what I am doing, work very slowly, and move the knife with the greatest subtlety, until - flop! the whole thing comes apart like a clod of earth crumbling to the ground. I stand there holding the knife and look all around me, completely satisfied and reluctant to move on, and then I wipe off the knife and put it away."

"Excellent!" said Lord Wen-hui. "I have heard the words of Cook Ting and learned how to care for life!"

When Kung-wen Hsuan saw the Commander of the Right, he was startled and said, "What kind of man is this? How did he come to be footless? Was it Heaven? Or was it man?"

"It was Heaven, not man," said the commander. "When Heaven gave me life, it saw to it that I would be one-footed. Men's looks are given to them. So I know this was the work of Heaven and not of man. The swamp pheasant has to walk ten paces for one peck and a hundred paces for one drink, but it does not want to be kept in a cage. Though you treat it like a king, its spirit won't be content."

When Lao Tan6 died, Chin Shih went to mourn for him; but after giving three cries, he left the room.

"Weren't you a friend of the Master?" asked Lao Tzu's disciples.

"Yes."

"And you think it's all right to mourn him this way?"

"Yes," said Chin Shih. "At first I took him for a real man, but now I know he wasn't. A little while ago, when I went in to mourn, I found old men weeping for him as though they were weeping for a son, and young men weeping for him as though they were weeping for a mother. To have gathered a group like that, he must have done something to make them talk about him, though he did not ask them to talk, or make them weep for him, though he did not ask them to weep. This is to hide from Heaven, turn your back on the true state of affairs, and forget what you were born with. In the old days, this was called the crime of hiding from Heaven. Your master happened to come because it was his time, and he happened to leave because things follow along. If you are content with the time and willing to follow along, then grief and joy have no Way to enter in. In the old days, this was called being freed from the bonds of God.

"Though the grease burns out of the torch, the fire passes on, and no one knows where it ends."

ZHUANGZI SECTION 4

In The World Of Men

Yen Hui Went To See Confucius and asked permission to take a trip.

"Where are you going?"

"I am going to Wei."

"What will you do there?"

"I have heard that the ruler of Wei is very young. He acts in an independent manner, thinks little of how he rules his state, and fails to see his faults. It is nothing to him to lead his people into peril, and his dead are reckoned by swampfuls like so much grass. His people have nowhere to turn. I have heard you say, Master, 'Leave the state that is well ordered and go to the state in chaos! At the doctor's gate are many sick men.' I want to use these words as my standard, in hopes that I can restore his state to health."

"Ah," said Confucius, "you will probably go and get yourself executed, that's all. The Way does not want things mixed in with it. When it becomes a mixture, it becomes many ways; with many ways, there is a lot of bustle; and where there is a lot of bustle, there is trouble - trouble that has no remedy! The Perfect Man of ancient times made sure that he had it in himself before he tried to give it to others. When you are not even sure what you have got in yourself, how do you have time to bother about what some tyrant is doing?

"Do you know what it is that destroys virtue, and where wisdom comes from? Virtue is destroyed by fame, and wisdom comes out of wrangling. Fame is something to beat people down with, and wisdom is a device for wrangling. Both are evil weapons - not the sort of thing to bring you success. Though your virtue may be great and your good faith unassailable, if you do not understand men's spirits, though your fame may be wide and you do not strive with others, if you do not understand men's minds, but instead appear before a tyrant and force him to listen to sermons on benevolence and righteousness, measures and standards - this is simply using other men's bad points to parade your own excellence. You will be called a plaguer of others. He who plagues others will be plagued in turn. You will probably be plagued by this man.

"And suppose he is the kind who actually delights in worthy men and hates the unworthy-then why does he need you to try to make him any different? You had best keep your advice to yourself! Kings and dukes always lord it over others and fight to win the argument. You will find your eyes growing dazed, your colour changing, your mouth working to invent excuses, your attitude becoming more and more humble, until in your mind you end by supporting him. This is to pile fire on fire, to add water to water, and is called 'increasing the excessive.' If you give in at the beginning, there is no place to stop. Since your fervent advice is almost certain not to be believed, you are bound to die if you come into the presence of a tyrant.

"In ancient times Chieh put Kuan Lung-feng to death and Chou put Prince Pi Kan to death. Both Kuan Lung-feng and Prince Pi Kan were scrupulous in their conduct, bent down to comfort and aid the common people, and used their positions as ministers to oppose their superiors. Therefore their rulers, Chieh and Chou, utilized their scrupulous conduct as a means to trap them, for they were too fond of good fame. In ancient times Yao attacked Ts'ung-chih and Hsu-ao, and Yu attacked Yu-hu, and these states were left empty and unpeopled, their rulers cut down. It was because they employed their armies constantly and never ceased their search for gain. All were seekers of fame or gain - have you alone not heard of them? Even the sages cannot cope with men who are after fame or gain, much less a person like you!

"However, you must have some plan in mind. Come, tell me what it is."

Yen Hui said, "If I am grave and empty-hearted, diligent and of one mind, won't that do?"

"Goodness, how could that do? You may put on a fine outward show and seem very impressive, but you cannot avoid having an uncertain look on your face, any more than an ordinary man can.3 And then you try to gauge this man's feelings and seek to influence his mind. But with him, what is called 'the virtue that advances a little each day' would not succeed, much less a great display of virtue! He will stick fast to his position and never be converted. Though he may make outward signs of agreement, inwardly he will not give it a thought! How could such an approach succeed?"

"Well then, suppose I am inwardly direct, outwardly compliant, and do my work through the examples of antiquity? By being inwardly direct, I can be the companion of Heaven. Being a companion of Heaven, I know that the Son of Heaven and I are equally the sons of Heaven. Then why would I use my words to try to get men to praise me, or try to get them not to praise me? A man like this, people call The Child. This is what I mean by being a companion of Heaven.

"By being outwardly compliant, I can be a companion men. Lifting up the tablet, kneeling, bowing, crouching down - this is the etiquette of a minister. Everybody does it, so why should I not? If I do what other people do, they can hardly criticize me. This is what I mean by being a companion of men.

"By doing my work through the examples of antiquity, I can be the companion of ancient times. Though my words may in fact be lessons and reproaches, they belong to ancient times and not to me. In this way, though I may be blunt, I cannot he blamed. This is what I mean by being a companion of antiquity. If I go about it in this way, will it do?"

Confucius said, "Goodness, how could that do? You have too many policies and plans and you have not seen what is needed. You will probably get off without incurring any blame, yes. But that will be as far as it goes. How do you think you can actually convert him? You are still making the mind 4 your teacher!"

Yen Hui said, "I have nothing more to offer. May I ask the proper way?"

"You must fast!" said Confucius. "I will tell you what that means. Do you think it is easy to do anything while you have [a mind]? If you do, Bright Heaven will not sanction you."

Yen Hui said, "My family is poor. I have not drunk wine or eaten any strong foods for several months. So can I be considered as having fasted?"

"That is the fasting one does before a sacrifice, not the fasting of the mind."

"May- I ask what the fasting of the mind is?"

Confucius said, "Make your will one! Do not listen with your ears, listen with your mind. No, do not listen with your mind, but listen with your spirit. Listening stops with the ears, the mind stops with recognition, but spirit is empty- and waits on all things. The Way gathers in emptiness alone. Emptiness is the fasting of the mind."

Yen Hui said, "Before I heard this, I was certain that I was Hui. But now that I have heard it, there is no more Hui. Can this be called emptiness?"

"That's all there is to it," said Confucius. "Now I will tell you. You may go and play in his bird cage, but never be moved by fame. If he listens, then sing; if not, keep still. Have no gate, no opening, but make oneness your house and live with what cannot be avoided. Then you will be close to success.

"It is easy to keep from walking; the hard thing is to walk without touching the ground. It is easy to cheat when you work for men, but hard to cheat when you work for Heaven. You have heard of flying with wings, but you have never heard of flying without wings. You have heard of the knowledge that knows, but you have never heard of the knowledge that does not know. Look into that closed room, the empty chamber where brightness is born! Fortune and blessing gather where there is stillness. But if you do not keep still - this is what is called sitting but racing around. Let your ears and eyes communicate with what is inside, and put mind and knowledge on the outside. Then even gods and spirits will come to dwell, not to speak of men! This is the changing of the ten thousand things, the bond of Yu and Shun, the constant practice of Fu Hsi and Chi Ch'u. How much more should it be a rule for lesser men!"

Tzu-kao, duke of She, who was being sent on a mission to Ch'i, consulted Confucius. "The king is sending me on a very important mission. Ch'i will probably treat me with great honour but will be in no hurry to do anything more. Even a commoner cannot be forced to act, much less one of the feudal lords. I am very worried about it. You once said to me, 'In all affairs, whether large or small, there are few men who reach a happy conclusion except through the Way. If you do not succeed, you are bound to suffer from the judgment of men. If you do succeed, you are bound to suffer from the yin and yang.9 To suffer no harm whether you succeed or not - only the man who has virtue can do that.' I am a man who eats plain food that is simply cooked, so that no one ever complains of the heat in my kitchens.10 Yet this morning I received my orders from the king and by evening I am gulping ice water - do you suppose I have developed some kind of internal fever? I have not even gone to Ch'i to see what the situation is like and already I am suffering from the yin and yang. And if I do not succeed, I am bound to suffer from the judgment of men. I will have both worries. As a minister, I am not capable of carrying out this mission. But perhaps you have some advice you can give me . . ."

Confucius said, "In the world, there are two great decrees: one is fate and the other is duty." That a son should love his parents is fate-you cannot erase this from his heart. That a subject should serve his ruler is duty - there is no place he can go and be without his ruler, no place he can escape to between heaven and earth. These are called the great decrees. Therefore, to serve your parents and be content to follow them anywhere-this is the perfection of filial piety. To serve your ruler and be content to do anything for him-this is the peak of loyalty. And to serve your own mind so that sadness or joy do not sway or move it; to understand what you can do nothing about and to be content with it as with fate-this is the perfection of virtue. As a subject and a son, you are bound to find things you cannot avoid. If you act in accordance with the state of affairs and forget about yourself, then what lesiure will you have to love life and hate death? Act in this way and you will be all right.

"I want to tell you something else I have learned. In all human relations, if the two parties are living close to each other, they may form a bond through personal trust. But if they are far apart, they must use words to communicate their loyalty, and words must be transmitted by someone. To transmit words that are either pleasing to both parties or infuriating to both parties is one of the most difficult things in the world. Where both parties are pleased, there must be some exaggeration of the good points; and where both parties are angered, there must be some exaggeration of the bad points. Anything that smacks of exaggeration is irresponsible. Where there is irresponsibility, no one will trust what is said, and when that happens, the man who is transmitting the words will be in danger. Therefore the aphorism says, 'Transmit the established facts; do not transmit words of exaggeration.' If you do that, you will probably come out all right.

"When men get together to pit their strength in games of skill, they start off in a light and friendly mood, but usually

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end up in a dark and angry one, and if they go on too long they start resorting to various underhanded tricks. When men meet at some ceremony to drink, they start off in an orderly manner, but usually end up in disorder, and if they go on too long they start indulging in various irregular amusements. It is the same with all things. What starts out being sincere usually ends up being deceitful. What was simple in the beginning acquires monstrous proportions in the end.

"Words are like wind and waves; actions are a matter of gain and loss. Wind and waves are easily moved; questions of gain and loss easily lead to danger. Hence anger arises from no other cause than clever words and one-sided speeches. When animals face death, they do not care what cries they make; their breath comes in gasps and a wild fierceness is born in their hearts. [Men, too,] if you press them too hard, are bound to answer you with ill-natured hearts, though they do not know why they do so. If they themselves do not understand why they behave like this, then who knows where it will end?

"Therefore the aphorism says, 'Do not deviate from your orders; do not press for completion.' To go beyond the limit is excess; to deviate from orders or press for completion is a dangerous thing. A good completion takes a long time; a bad completion cannot be changed later. Can you afford to be careless?

"Just go along with things and let your mind move freely. Resign yourself to what cannot be avoided and nourish what is within you - this is best. What more do you have to do to fulfill your mission? Nothing is as good as following orders (obeying fate) - that's how difficult it is!"

Yen Ho, who had been appointed tutor to the crown prince, son of Duke Ling of Wei, went to consult Ch'u Po-yu. "Here is this man who by nature is lacking in virtue. If I let him go on with his unruliness I will endanger the state. If I try to impose some rule on him, I will endanger myself. He knows enough to recognize the faults of others, but he does not know his own faults. What can I do with a man like this?"

"A very good question," said Ch'u Po-yu. "Be careful, be on your guard, and make sure that you yourself are in the right! In your actions it is best to follow along with him, and in your mind it is best to harmonise with him. However, these two courses involve certain dangers. Though you follow along, you don't want to be pulled into his doings, and though you harmonise, you don't want to be drawn out too far. If in your actions you follow along to the extent of being pulled in with him, then you will be overthrown, destroyed, wiped out, and brought to your knees. If in your mind you harmonise to the extent of being drawn out, then you will be talked about, named, blamed, and condemned. If he wants to be a child, be a child with him. If he wants to follow erratic ways, follow erratic ways with him. If he wants to be reckless, be reckless with him. Understand him thoroughly, and lead him to the point where he is without fault.

"Don't you know about the praying mantis that waved its arms angrily in front of an approaching carriage, unaware that they were incapable of stopping it? Such was the high opinion it had of its talents. Be careful, be on your guard! If you offend him by parading your store of talents, you will be in danger!

"Don't you know how the tiger trainer goes about it? He does not dare give the tiger any living thing to eat for fear it will learn the taste of fury by killing it. He does not dare give it any whole thing to eat for fear it will learn the taste of fury by tearing it apart. He gauges the state of the tiger's appetite and thoroughly understands its fierce disposition. Tigers are a different breed from men, and yet you can train them to be gentle with their keepers by following along with them. The men who get killed are the ones who go against them.

"The horse lover will use a fine box to catch the dung and a giant clam shell to catch the stale. But if a mosquito or a fly lights on the horse and he slaps it at the wrong time, then the horse will break the bit, hurt its head, and bang its chest. The horse lover tries to think of everything, but his affection leads him into error. Can you afford to be careless?"

Carpenter Shih went to Ch'i and, when he got to Crooked Shaft, he saw a serrate oak standing by the village shrine. It was broad enough to shelter several thousand oxen and measured a hundred spans around, towering above the hills. The lowest branches were eighty feet from the ground, and a dozen or so of them could have been made into boats. There were so many sightseers that the place looked like a fair, but the carpenter did not even glance around and went on his way without stopping. His apprentice stood staring for a long time and then ran after Carpenter Shih and said, "Since I first took up my ax and followed you, Master, I have never seen timber as beautiful as this. But you don't even bother to look, and go right on without stopping. Why is that?"

"Forget it - say no more!" said the carpenter. "It's a worthless tree! Make boats out of it and they'd sink; make coffins and they'd rot in no time; make vessels and they'd break at once. Use it for doors and it would sweat sap like pine; use it for posts and the worms would eat them up. It's not a timber tree - there is nothing it can be used for. That's how it got to be that old!"

After Carpenter Shih had returned home, the oak tree appeared to him in a dream and said, "What are you comparing me with? Are you comparing me with those useful trees? The cherry apple, the pear, the orange, the citron, the rest of those fructiferous trees and shrubs - as soon as their fruit is ripe, they are torn apart and subjected to abuse. Their big limbs are broken off, their little limbs are yanked around. Their utility makes life miserable for them, and so they don't get to finish out the years Heaven gave them, but are cut off in mid-journey. They bring it on themselves - the pulling and tearing of the common mob. And it's the same way with all other things.

"As for me, I've been trying a long time to be of no use, and though I almost died, I've finally got it. This is of great use to me. If I had been of some use, would I ever have grown this large? Moreover you and I are both of us things. What's the point of this - things condemning things? You, a worthless man about to die-how do you know I am a worthless tree?"

When Carpenter Shih woke up, he reported his dream. His apprentice said, "If it's so intent on being of no use, what's it doing there at the village shrine?"

"Shhh! Say no more! It's only resting there. If we carp and criticize, it will merely conclude that we do not understand it. Even if it weren't at the shrine, do you suppose it would be cut down? It protects itself in a different way from ordinary people. If you try to judge it by conventional standards, you'll be way off!"

Tzu-ch'i of Nan-po was wandering around the Hill of Shang when he saw a huge tree there, different from all the rest. A thousand teams of horses could have taken shelter under it and its shade would have covered them all. Tzu-ch'i said, "What tree is this? It must certainly have some extraordinary usefulness!" But, looking up, he saw that the smaller limbs were gnarled and twisted, unfit for beams or rafters, and looking down, he saw that the trunk was pitted and rotten and could not be used for coffins. He licked one of the leaves and it blistered his mouth and made it sore. He sniffed the odour and it was enough to make a man drunk for three days. "It turns out to be a completely unusable tree," said Tzu-ch'i, "and so it has been able to grow this big. Aha ! - it is this unusableness that the Holy Man makes use of!"

The region of Ching-shih in Sung is fine for growing catalpas, cypresses, and mulberries. But those that are more than one or two arm-lengths around are cut down for people who want monkey perches; those that are three or four spans around are cut down for the ridgepoles of tall roofs;", and those that are seven or eight spans are cut down for the families of nobles or rich merchants who want side boards for coffins. So they never get to live out the years Heaven gave them, but are cut down in mid-journey by axes. This is the danger of being usable. In the Chieh sacrifice," oxen with white foreheads, pigs with turned-up snouts, and men with piles cannot be offered to the river. This is something all the shamans know, and hence they consider them inauspicious creatures. But the Holy Man for the same reason considers them highly auspicious.

There is Crippled Shu - chin stuck down in his navel, shoulders up above his head, pigtail pointing at the sky, his five organs on the top, his two thighs pressing his ribs. By sewing and washing, he gets enough to fill his mouth; by handling a winnow and sifting out the good grain, he makes enough to feed ten people. When the authorities call out the troops, he stands in the crowd waving good-by; when they get up a big work party, they pass him over because he's a chronic invalid. And when they are doling out grain to the ailing, he gets three big measures and ten bundles of firewood. With a crippled body, he's still able to look after himself and finish out the years Heaven gave him. How much better, then, if he had crippled virtue!

When Confucius visited Ch'u, Chieh Yu, the madman of Ch'u, wandered by his gate crying, "Phoenix, phoenix, how his virtue failed! The future you cannot wait for; the past you cannot pursue. When the world has the Way, the sage succeeds; when the world is without the Way, the sage survives. In times like the present, we do well to escape penalty. Good fortune is light as a feather, but nobody knows how to hold it up. Misfortune is heavy as the earth, but nobody knows how to stay out of its way. Leave off, leave off - this teaching men virtue! Dangerous, dangerous - to mark off the ground and run! Fool, fool - don't spoil my walking! I walk a crooked way - don't step on my feet. The mountain trees do

themselves harm; the grease in the torch burns itself up. The cinnamon can be eaten and so it gets cut down; the lacquer tree can be used and so it gets hacked apart. All men know the use of the useful, but nobody knows the use of the useless!"

ZHUANGZI SECTION 5

The Sign Of Virtue Complete

In Lu There Was A Man named Wang Tai who had had his foot cut off.' He had as many followers gathered around him as Confucius.

Ch'ang Chi asked Confucius, "This Wang T'ai who's lost a foot - how does he get to divide up Lu with you, Master, and make half of it his disciples? He does not stand up and teach, he does not sit down and discuss, yet they go to him empty and come home full. Does he really have some wordless teaching, some formless way of bringing the mind to completion? What sort of man is he?"

Confucius said, "This gentleman is a sage. It's just that I've been tardy and have not gone to see him yet. But if I go to him as my teacher, how much more should those who are not my equals! Why only the state of Lu? I'll bring the whole world along and we'll all become his followers!"

Ch'ang Chi said, "If he's lost a foot and is still superior to the Master, then how far above the common run of men he must be! A man like that - what unique way does he have of using his mind?"

Confucius said, "Life and death are great affairs, and yet they are no change to him. Though heaven and earth flop over and fall down, it is no loss to him. He sees clearly into what has no falsehood and does not shift with things. He takes it as fate that things should change, and he holds fast to the source."

"What do you mean by that?" asked Ch'ang Chi.

Confucius said, "If you look at them from the point of view of their differences, then there is liver and gall, Ch'u and Yueh. But if you look at them from the point of view of their sameness, then the ten thousand things are all one. A man like this does not know what his ears or eyes should approve - he lets his mind play in the harmony of virtue. As for things, he sees them as one and does not see their loss. He regards the loss of a foot as a lump of earth thrown away."

Ch'ang Chi said, "In the way he goes about it, he uses his knowledge to get at his mind, and uses his mind to get at the constant mind. Why should things gather around him?"

Confucius said, "Men do not mirror themselves in running water - they mirror themselves in still water. Only what is still can still the stillness of other things. Of those that receive life from the earth, the pine and cypress alone are best - they stay as green as ever in winter or summer. Of those that receive life from Heaven, Yao and Shun alone are best - they stand at the head of the ten thousand things. Luckily they were able to order their lives, and thereby order the lives of other things. Proof that a man is holding fast to the beginning lies in the fact of his fearlessness. A brave soldier will plunge alone into the midst of nine armies. He seeks fame and can bring himself to this. How much more, then, is possible for a man who governs Heaven and earth, stores up the ten thousand things, lets the six parts of his body2 be only a dwelling, makes ornaments of his ears and eyes, unifies the knowledge of what he knows, and in his mind never tastes death. He will soon choose the day and ascend far off. Men may become his followers, but how could he be willing to bother himself about things?"

Shen-t'u Chia, who had lost a foot, was studying under Pohun Wu-jen along with Tzu-ch'an of Cheng. Tzu-ch'an said to Shen-t'u Chia, "If I go out first, you stay behind, and if you go out first, I shall stay behind."

Next day the two of them were again sitting on the same mat in the small hall. Tzu-ch'an said to Shen-t'u Chia, "If I go out first, you stay behind, and if you go out first, I shall stay behind! Now I will go out. Are you going to stay behind or are you not? When you see a prime minister, you don't even get out of the way - do you think you are the equal of a prime minister?"

Shen-t'u Chia said, "Within the gates of the Master, is there any such thing as a prime minister? You take delight in being a prime minister and pushing people behind you. But I have heard that if the mirror is bright, no dust settles on it; if dust settles, it isn't really bright. When you live around worthy men a long time, you'll be free of faults. You regard the Master as a great man, and yet you talk like this - it's not right, is it?"

Tzu-ch'an said, "You, a man like this - and still you claim to be better than a Yao! Take a look at your virtue and see if it's not enough to give you cause to reflect!"

Shen-t'u Chia said, "People who excuse their faults and claim they did not deserve to be punished - there are lots of them. But those who don't excuse their faults and who admit they did not deserve to be spared - they are few. To know what you cannot do anything about, and to be content with it as you would with fate - only a man of virtue can do that. If you play around in front of Archer Yi's target, you are right in the way of the arrows, and if you don't get hit, it's a matter of fate. There are lots of men with two feet who laugh at me for having only one. It makes me boil with rage, but I come here to the Master's place and I feel calmed down again and go home. I do not know whether he washes me clean with goodness, or whether I come to understand things by myself. The Master and I have been friends for nineteen years and he's never once let on that he's aware I am missing a foot. Now you and I are supposed to be wandering outside the realm of forms and bodies, and you come looking for me inside it - you are at fault, are you not?"

Tzu-ch'an squirmed, changed his expression, and put a different look on his face. "Say no more about it," he said.

In Lu there was a man named Shu-shan No-Toes who had had his foot cut off. Stumping along, he went to see Confucius.

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"You weren't careful enough!" said Confucius. "Since you have already broken the law and gotten yourself into trouble like this, what do you expect to gain by coming to me now?"

No-Toes said, "I just did not understand my duty and was too careless of my body, and so I lost a foot. But I've come now because I still have something that is worth more than a foot and I want to try to hold on to it. There is nothing that heaven does not cover, nothing that earth does not bear up. I supposed, Master, that you would be like heaven and earth. How did I know you would act like this?"

"It was stupid of me," said Confucius. "Please, Sir, won't you come in? I'd like to describe to you what I have learned."

But No-Toes went out.

Confucius said, "Be diligent, my disciples! Here is No-Toes, a man who has had his foot cut off, and still he's striving to learn so he can make up for the evil of his former conduct. How much more, then, should men whose virtue is still unimpaired!"

No-Toes told the story to Lao Tan. "Confucius certainly hasn't reached the stage of a Perfect Man, has he? What does he mean coming around so obsequiously to study with you? 5 He is after the sham illusion of fame and reputation and does not know that the Perfect Man looks on these as so many handcuffs and fetters!"

Lao Tan said, "Why don't you just make him see that life and death are the same story, that acceptable and unacceptable are on a single string? Wouldn't it be well to free him from his handcuffs and fetters?"

No-Toes said, "When Heaven has punished him, how can you set him free?"

Duke Ai of Lu said to Confucius, "In Wei there was an ugly man named Ai T'ai-t'o. But when men were around him, they thought only of him and couldn't break away, and when women saw him, they ran begging to their fathers and mothers, saying, 'I'd rather be this gentleman's concubine than another man's wife!' - there were more than ten such cases and it hasn't stopped yet. No one ever heard him take the lead - he always just chimed in with other people. He wasn't in the position of a ruler where he could save men's lives, and he had no store of provisions to fill men's bellies. On top of that, he was ugly enough to astound the whole world, chimed in but never led, and knew no more than what went on right around him. And yet men and women flocked to him. He certainly must be different from other men, I thought, and I summoned him so I could have a look. Just as they said - he was ugly enough to astound the world. But he had not been with me more than a month or so when I began to realize what kind of man he was, and before the year was out, I really trusted him. There was no one in the state to act as chief minister, and I wanted to hand the government over to him. He was vague about giving an answer, evasive, as though he hoped to be let off, and I was embarrassed, but in the end I turned the state over to him. Then, before I knew it, he left me and went away. I felt completely crushed, as though I'd suffered a loss and did not have anyone left to enjoy my state with. What kind of man is he anyway?"

Confucius said, "I once went on a mission to Ch'u, and as I was going along, I saw some little pigs nursing at the body of their dead mother. After a while, they gave a start and all ran away and left her, because they could no longer see their likeness in her; she was not the same as she had been before. In loving their mother, they loved not her body but the thing that moved her body. When a man has been killed in battle and people come to bury him, he has no use for his medals. When a man has had his feet amputated, he does not care much about shoes. For both, the thing that is basic no longer exists. When women are selected to be consorts of the Son of Heaven, their nails are not pared and their ears are not pierced. When a man has just taken a wife, he is kept in posts outside [the palace] and is no longer sent on [dangerous] missions.6 If so much care is taken to keep the body whole, how much more in the case of a man whose virtue is whole? Now Ai T'ai-t'o says nothing and is trusted, accomplishes nothing and is loved, so that people want to turn over their states to him and are only afraid he won't accept. It must be that his powers are whole, though his virtue takes no form."

"What do you mean when you say his powers are whole?" asked Duke Ai.

Confucius said, "Life, death, preservation, loss, failure, success, poverty, riches, worthiness, unworthiness, slander, fame, hunger, thirst, cold, heat - these are the alternations of the world, the workings of fate. Day and night they change place before us and wisdom cannot spy out their source. Therefore, they should not be enough to destroy your harmony; they should not be allowed to enter the Spirit Storehouse. If you can harmonise and delight in them, master them and never be at a loss for joy, if you can do this day and night without break and make it be spring with everything, mingling with all and creating the moment within your own mind - this is what I call being whole in power."

"What do you mean when you say his virtue takes no form?"

"Among level things, water at rest is the most perfect, and therefore it can serve as a standard. It guards what is inside and shows no movement outside. Virtue is the establishment of perfect harmony. Though virtue takes no form, things cannot break away from it."

Some days later, Duke Ai reported his conversation to Min Tzu." "At first, when I faced south and became ruler of the realm, I tried to look after the regulation of the people and worried that they might die. I really thought I understood things perfectly. But now that I have heard the words of a Perfect Man, I am afraid there was nothing to my understanding - I was thinking too little of my own welfare and ruining the state. Confucius and I are not subject and ruler-we are friends in virtue, that's all."

Mr. Lame-Hunchback-No-Lips talked to Duke Ling of Wei, and Duke Ling was so pleased with him that when he looked at normal men he thought their necks looked too lean and skinny. Mr. Pitcher-Sized-Wen talked to Duke Huan of Ch'i, and Duke Huan was so pleased with him that when he looked at normal men he thought their necks looked too lean and skinny. Therefore, if virtue is preeminent, the body will be forgot. But when men do not forget what can be forgot, but forget what cannot be forgot - that may be called true forgetting.

So the sage has his wanderings. For him, knowledge is an offshoot, promises are glue, favours are a patching up, and skill is a peddler. The sage hatches no schemes, so what use has he for knowledge? He does no carving, so what use has he for glue? He suffers no loss, so what use has he for favours? He hawks no goods, so what use has he for peddling? These four are called Heavenly Gruel. Heavenly Gruel is the food of Heaven, and if he's already gotten food from Heaven, what use does he have for men? He has the form of a man but not the feelings of a man. Since he has the form of a man, he bands together with other men. Since he does not have the feelings of a man, right and wrong cannot get at him. Puny and small, he sticks with the rest of men. Massive and great, he perfects his Heaven alone.

Hui Tzu said to Chuang Tzu, "Can a man really be without feelings?"

Chuang Tzu: "Yes."

Hui Tzu: "But a man who has no feelings-how can you call him a man?"

Chuang Tzu: "The Way gave him a face; Heaven gave him a form - why cannot you call him a man?"

Hui Tzu: "But if you have already called him a man, how can he be without feelings?"

Chuang Tzu: "That's not what I mean by feelings. When I talk about having no feelings, I mean that a man does not allow likes or dislikes to get in and do him harm. He just lets things be the way they are and does not try to help life along."

Hui Tzu: "If he does not try to help life along, then how can he keep himself alive?"

Chuang Tzu: "The Way gave him a face; Heaven gave him a form. He does not let likes or dislikes get in and do him harm. You, now - you treat your spirit like an outsider. You wear out your energy, leaning on a tree and moaning, slumping at your desk and dozing - Heaven picked out a body for you and you use it to gibber about 'hard' and 'white'!"

ZHUANGZI SECTION 6

The Great And Venerable Teacher

He Who Knows What It Is that Heaven does, and knows what it is that man does, has reached the peak.

Knowing what it is that Heaven does, he lives with Heaven. Knowing what it is that man does, he uses the knowledge of what he knows to help out the knowledge of what he does not know, and lives out the years that Heaven gave him without being cut off midway - this is the perfection of knowledge.

However, there is a difficulty. Knowledge must wait for something before it can be applicable, and that which it waits for is never certain. How, then, can I know that what I call Heaven is not really man, and what I call man is not really Heaven? There must first be a True Man' before there can be true knowledge.

What do I mean by a True Man? The True Man of ancient times did not rebel against want, did not grow proud in plenty, and did not plan his affairs. A man like this could commit an error and not regret it, could meet with success and not make a show. A man like this could climb the high places and not be frightened, could enter the water and not get wet, could enter the fire and not get burned. His knowledge was able to climb all the way up to the Way like this.

The True Man of ancient times slept without dreaming and woke without care; he ate without savoring and his breath came from deep inside. The True Man breathes with his heels; the mass of men breathe with their throats. Crushed and bound down, they gasp out their words as though they were retching. Deep in their passions and desires, they are shallow in the workings of Heaven.

The True Man of ancient times knew nothing of loving life, knew nothing of hating death. He emerged without delight; he went back in without a fuss. He came briskly, he went briskly, and that was all. He did not forget where he began; he did not try to find out where he would end. He received something and took pleasure in it; he forgot about it and handed it back again. This is what I call not using the mind to repel the Way, not using man to help out Heaven. This is what I call the True Man.

Since he is like this, his mind forgets; his face is calm; his forehead is broad. He is chilly like autumn, balmy like spring, and his joy and anger prevail through the four seasons. He goes along with what is right for things and no one knows his limit. Therefore, when the sage calls out the troops, he may overthrow nations but he will not lose the hearts of the people. His bounty enriches ten thousand ages but he has no love for men. Therefore he who delights in bringing success to things is not a sage; he who has affections is not benevolent; he who looks for the right time is not a worthy man; he who cannot encompass both profit and loss is not a gentleman; he who thinks of conduct and fame and misleads himself is not a man of breeding; and he who destroys himself and is without truth is not a user of men. Those like Hu Pu-hsieh, Wu Kuang, Po Yi, Shu Ch'i, Chi Tzu, Hsu Yu, Chi T'o, and Shen-t'u Ti-all of them slaved in the service of other men, took joy in bringing other men joy, but could not find joy in any joy of their own.3

This was the True Man of old: his bearing was lofty and did not crumble; he appeared to lack but accepted nothing; he was dignified in his correctness but not insistent; he was vast in his emptiness but not ostentatious. Mild and cheerful, he seemed to be happy; reluctant, he could not help doing certain things; annoyed, he let it show in his face; relaxed, he rested in his virtue. Tolerant, he seemed to be part of the world; towering alone, he could be checked by nothing; withdrawn, he seemed to prefer to cut himself off; bemused, he forgot what he was going to say.

He regarded penalties as the body, rites as the wings, wisdom as what is timely, virtue as what is reasonable. Because he regarded penalties as the body, he was benign in his killing. Because he regarded rites as the wings, he got along in the world. Because he regarded wisdom as what is timely, there were things that he could not keep from doing. Because he regarded virtue as what is reasonable, he was like a man with two feet who gets to the top of the hill. And yet people really believed that he worked hard to get there.

Therefore his liking was one and his not liking was one. His being one was one and his not being one was one. In being one, he was acting as a companion of Heaven. In not being one, he was acting as a companion of man. When man and Heaven do not defeat each other, then we may be said to have the True Man.

Life and death are fated - constant as the succession of dark and dawn, a matter of Heaven. There are some things which man can do nothing about - all are a matter of the nature of creatures. If a man is willing to regard Heaven as a father and to love it, then how much more should he be willing to do for that which is even greater! If he is willing to regard the ruler as superior to himself and to die for him, then how much more should he be willing to do for the Truth!

When the springs dry up and the fish are left stranded on the ground, they spew each other with moisture and wet each other down with spit - but it would be much better if they could forget each other in the rivers and lakes. Instead of praising Yao and condemning Chieh, it would be better to forget both of them and transform yourself with the Way.

The Great Clod burdens me with form, labors me with life, eases me in old age, and rests me in death. So if I think well of my life, for the same reason I must think well of my death.

You hide your boat in the ravine and your fish net in the swamp and tell yourself that they will be safe. But in the middle of the night a strong man shoulders them and carries them off, and in your stupidity you don't know why it happened. You think you do right to hide little things in big ones, and yet they get away from you. But if you were to hide the world in the world, so that nothing could get away, this would be the final reality of the constancy of things.

You have had the audacity to take on human form and you are delighted. But the human form has ten thousand changes that never come to an end. Your joys, then, must be uncountable. Therefore, the sage wanders in the realm where things cannot get away from him, and all are preserved. He delights in early death; he delights in old age; he delights in the beginning; he delights in the end. If he can serve as a model for men, how much more so that which the ten thousand things are tied to and all changes alike wait upon!

The Way has its reality and its signs but is without action or form. You can hand it down but you cannot receive it; you can get it but you cannot see it. It is its own source, its own root. Before Heaven and earth existed it was there, firm from ancient times. It gave spirituality to the spirits and to God; it gave birth to Heaven and to earth. It exists beyond the highest point, and yet you cannot call it lofty; it exists beneath the limit of the six directions, and yet you cannot call it deep. It was born before Heaven and earth, and yet you cannot say it has been there for long; it is earlier than the earliest time, and yet you cannot call it old.

Hsi-wei got it and held up heaven and earth. Fu Hsi got it and entered into the mother of breath. The Big Dipper got it and from ancient times has never wavered. The Sun and Moon

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got it and from ancient times have never rested. K'an-p'i got it and entered K'un-lun. P'ing-i got it and wandered in the great river. Chien Wu got it and lived in the great mountain. The Yellow Emperor got it and ascended to the cloudy heavens. Chuan Hsu got it and dwelt in the Dark Palace. Yu-ch'iang got it and stood at the limit of the north. The Queen Mother of the West got it and took her seat on Shaokuang - nobody knows her beginning, nobody knows her end. P'eng-tsu got it and lived from the age of Shun to the age of the Five Dictators. Fu Yueh got it and became minister to Wu-ting, who extended his rule over the whole world; then Fu Yueh climbed up to the Eastern Governor, straddled the Winnowing Basket and the Tail, and took his place among the ranks of stars.

Nan-po Tzu-k'uei said to the Woman Crookback, "You are old in years and yet your complexion is that of a child. Why is this?"

"I have heard the Way!"

"Can the Way be learned?" asked Nan-po Tzu-k'uei.

"Goodness, how could that be? Anyway, you aren't the man to do it. Now there is Pu-liang Yi - he has the talent of a sage but not the Way of a sage, whereas I have the Way of a sage but not the talent of a sage. I thought I would try to teach him and see if I could really get anywhere near to making him a sage. It's easier to explain the Way of a sage to someone who has the talent of a sage, you know. So I began explaining and kept at him for three days, 14 and after that he was able to put the world outside himself. When he had put the world outside himself, I kept at him for seven days more, and after that he was able to put things outside himself. When he had put things outside himself, I kept at him for nine davs more, and after that he was able to put life outside himself. After he had put life outside himself, he was able to achieve the brightness of dawn, and when he had achieved the brightness of dawn, he could see his own aloneness. After he had managed to see his own aloneness, he could do away with past and present, and after he had done away with past and present, he was able to enter where there is no life and no death. That which kills life does not die; that which gives life to life does not live. This is the kind of thing it is: there is nothing it does not send off, nothing it does not welcome, nothing it does not destroy, nothing it does not complete. Its name is Peace-in-Strife. After the strife, it attains completion."

Nan-po Tzu-k'uei asked, "Where did you happen to hear this? "

"I heard it from the son of Aided-by-Ink, and Aided-by-Ink heard it from the grandson of Repeated-Recitation, and the grandson of Repeated-Recitation heard it from Seeing-Brightly, and Seeing-Brightly heard it from Whispered-Agreement, and Whispered-Agreement heard it from Waiting-for-Use, and Waiting-for-Use heard it from Exclaimed-Wonder, and Exclaimed-Wonder heard it from Dark-Obscurity, and Dark-Obscurity heard it from Participation-in-Mystery, and Participation-in-Mystery heard it from Copy-the-Source!"

Master Ssu, Master Yu, Master Li, and Master Lai were all four talking together. "Who can look upon nonbeing as his head, on life as his back, and on death as his rump?" they said. "Who knows that life and death, existence and annihilation, are all a single body? I will be his friend!"

The four men looked at each other and smiled. There was no disagreement in their hearts and so the four of them became friends.

All at once Master Yu fell ill. Master Ssu went to ask how he was. "Amazing" said Master Yu. "The Creator is making me all crookedy like this! My back sticks up like a hunchback and my vital organs are on top of me. My chin is hidden in my navel, my shoulders are up above my head, and my pigtail points at the sky. It must be some dislocation of the yin and yang!"

Yet he seemed calm at heart and unconcerned. Dragging himself haltingly to the well, he looked at his reflection and said, "My, my! So the Creator is making me all crookedy like this!"

"Do you resent it?" asked Master Ssu.

"Why no, what would I resent? If the process continues, perhaps in time he'll transform my left arm into a rooster. In that case I'll keep watch on the night. Or perhaps in time he'll transform my right arm into a crossbow pellet and I'll shoot down an owl for roasting. Or perhaps in time he'll transform my buttocks into cartwheels. Then, with my spirit for a horse, I'll climb up and go for a ride. What need will I ever have for a carriage again?

"I received life because the time had come; I will lose it because the order of things passes on. Be content with this time and dwell in this order and then neither sorrow nor joy can touch you. In ancient times this was called the 'freeing of the bound.' There are those who cannot free themselves, because they are bound by things. But nothing can ever win against Heaven - that's the way it's always been. What would I have to resent?"

Suddenly Master Lai grew ill. Gasping and wheezing, he lay at the point of death. His wife and children gathered round in a circle and began to cry. Master Li, who had come to ask how he was, said, "Shoo! Get back! Don't disturb the process of change!"

Then he leaned against the doorway and talked to Master Lai. "How marvelous the Creator is! What is he going to make of you next? Where is he going to send you? Will he make you into a rat's liver? Will he make you into a bug's arm?"

Master Lai said, "A child, obeying his father and mother, goes wherever he is told, east or west, south or north. And the yin and yang - how much more are they to a man than father or mother! Now that they have brought me to the verge of death, if I should refuse to obey them, how perverse I would be! What fault is it of theirs? The Great Clod burdens me with form, labors me with life, eases me in old age, and rests me in death. So if I think well of my life, for the same reason I must think well of my death. When a skilled smith is casting metal, if the metal should leap up and say, 'I insist upon being made into a Mo-yeh!' he would surely regard it as very inauspicious metal indeed. Now, having had the audacity to take on human form once, if I should say, 'I do not want to be anything but a man! Nothing but a man!', the Creator would surely regard me as a most inauspicious sort of person. So now I think of heaven and earth as a great furnace, and the Creator as a skilled smith. Where could he send me that would not be all right? I will go off to sleep peacefully, and then with a start I will wake up."

Master Sang-hu, Meng-tzu Fan, and Master Chin-chang, three friends, said to each other, "Who can join with others without joining with others? Who can do with others without doing with others? Who can climb up to heaven and wander in the mists, roam the infinite, and forget life forever and forever?" The three men looked at each other and smiled. There was no disagreement in their hearts and so they became friends.

After some time had passed without event, Master Sang-hu died. He had not yet been buried when Confucius, hearing of his death, sent Tzu-kung to assist at the funeral. When Tzu-kung arrived, he found one of the dead man's friends weaving frames for silkworms, while the other strummed a lute. Joining their voices, they sang this song:

Ah, Sang-hu!
Ah, Sang-hu!
You have gone back to your true form
While we remain as men, O!

Tzu-kung hastened forward and said, "May I be so bold as to ask what sort of ceremony this is - singing in the very presence of the corpse?"

The two men looked at each other and laughed. "What does this man know of the meaning of ceremony?" they said.

Tzu-kung returned and reported to Confucius what had happened. "What sort of men are they anyway?" he asked. "They pay no attention to proper behavior, disregard their personal appearance and, without so much as changing the expression on their faces, sing in the very presence of the corpse! I can think of no name for them! What sort of men are they?"

"Such men as they," said Confucius, "wander beyond the realm; men like me wander within it. Beyond and within can never meet. It was stupid of me to send you to offer condolences. Even now they have joined with the Creator as men to wander in the single breath of heaven and earth. They look upon life as a swelling tumor, a protruding wen, and upon death as the draining of a sore or the bursting of a boil. To men such as these, how could there be any question of putting life first or death last? They borrow the forms of different creatures and house them in the same body. They forget liver and gall, cast aside ears and eyes, turning and revolving, ending and beginning again, unaware of where they start or finish. Idly they roam beyond the dust and dirt; they wander free and easy in the service of inaction. Why should they fret and fuss about the ceremonies of the vulgar world and make a display for the ears and eyes of the common herd?"

Tzu-kung said, "Well then, Master, what is this 'realm' that you stick to?"

Confucius said, "I am one of those men punished by Heaven. Nevertheless, I will share with you what I have."

"Then may I ask about the realm?" said Tzu-kung.

Confucius said, "Fish thrive in water, man thrives in the Way. For those that thrive in water, dig a pond and they will find nourishment enough. For those that thrive in the Way, don't bother about them and their lives will be secure. So it is said, the fish forget each other in the rivers and lakes, and men forget each other in the arts of the Way."

Tzu-kung said, "May I ask about the singular man?"

"The singular man is singular in comparison to other men, but a companion of Heaven. So it is said, the petty man of Heaven is a gentleman among men; the gentleman among men is the petty man of Heaven."

Yen Hui said to Confucius, "When Meng-sun Ts'ai's mother died, he wailed without shedding any tears, he did not grieve in his heart, and he conducted the funeral without any look of sorrow. He fell down on these three counts, and yet he is known all over the state of Lu for the excellent way he managed the funeral. Is it really possible to gain such a reputation when there are no facts to support it? I find it very peculiar indeed!"

Confucius said, "Meng-sun did all there was to do. He was advanced beyond ordinary understanding and he would have simplified things even more, but that wasn't practical. However, there is still a lot that he simplified. Meng-sun does not know why he lives and does not know why he dies. He does not know why he should go ahead; he does not know why he should fall behind. In the process of change, he has become a thing [among other things], and he is merely waiting for some other change that he does not yet know about. Moreover, when he is changing, how does he know that he is really changing? And when he is not changing, how does he know that he hasn't already changed? You and I, now - we are dreaming and have not waked up yet. But in his case, though something may startle his body, it won't injure his mind; though something may alarm the house [his spirit lives in], his emotions will suffer no death. Meng-sun alone has waked up. Men wail and so he wails, too - that's the reason he acts like this.

"What's more, we go around telling each other, I do this, I do that - but how do we know that this 'I' we talk about has any 'I' to it? You dream you are a bird and soar up into the sky; you dream you are a fish and dive down in the pool. But now when you tell me about it, I do not know whether you are awake or whether you are dreaming. Running around accusing others is not as good as laughing, and enjoying a good laugh is not as good as going along with things. Be content to go along and forget about change and then you can enter the mysterious oneness of Heaven."

Yi Erh-tzu went to see Hsu Yu. Hsu Yu said, "What kind of assistance has Yao been giving you?"

Yi Erh-tzu said, "Yao told me, 'You must learn to practice benevolence and righteousness and to speak clearly about right and wrong!'"

"Then why come to see me?" said Hsu Yu. "Yao has already tattooed you with benevolence and righteousness and cut off your nose with right and wrong.21 Now how do you expect to go wandering in any far-away, carefree, and as-you-like-it paths?"

"That may be," said Yi Erh-tzu. "But I would like if I may to wander in a little corner of them."

"Impossible!" said Hsu Yu. "Eyes that are blind have no way to tell the loveliness of faces and features; eyes with no pupils have no way to tell the beauty of coloured and embroidered silks."

Yi Erh-tzu said, "Yes, but Wu-chuang forgot her beauty, Chu-liang forgot his strength, and the Yellow Emperor forgot his wisdom - all were content to be recast and remoulded. How do you know that the Creator will not wipe away my tattoo, stick my nose back on again, and let me ride on the process of completion and follow after you, Master?"

"Ah - we can never tell," said Hsu Y u. "I will just speak to you about the general outline. This Teacher of mine, this Teacher of mine - he passes judgment on the ten thousand things but he does not think himself righteous; his bounty extends to ten thousand generations but he does not think himself benevolent. He is older than the highest antiquity but he does not think himself long-lived; he covers heaven, bears up the earth, carves and fashions countless forms, but he does not think himself skilled. It is with him alone I wander."

Yen Hui said, "I am improving!"

Confucius said, "What do you mean by that?"

"I've forgot benevolence and righteousness!"

"That's good. But you still have not got it."

Another day, the two met again and Yen Hui said, "I am improving!"

"What do you mean by that?"

"I've forgot rites and music!"

"That's good. But you still have not got it."

Another day, the two met again and Yen Hui said, "I am improving! "

"What do you mean by that?"

"I can sit down and forget everything!"

Confucius looked very startled and said, "What do you mean, sit down and forget everything.'-"

Yen Hui said, "I smash up my limbs and body, drive out perception and intellect, cast off form, do away with understanding, and make myself identical with the Great Thoroughfare. This is what I mean by sitting down and forgetting everything."

Confucius said, "If you are identical with it, you must have no more likes! If you have been transformed, you must have no more constancy! So you really are a worthy man after all! 23 With your permission, I'd like to become your follower."

Master Yu and Master Sang were friends. Once it rained incessantly for ten days. Master Yu said to himself, Master Sang is probably having a bad time, and he wrapped up some rice and took it for his friend to eat. When he got to Master Sang's gate, he heard something like singing or crying, and someone striking a lute and saying:

Father?
Mother?

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Heaven?
Man?
It was as though the voice would not hold out and the singer were rushing to get through the words.

Master Yu went inside and said, "What do you mean - singing a song like that!"

"I was pondering what it is that has brought me to this extremity, but I couldn't find the answer. My father and mother surely wouldn't wish this poverty on me. Heaven covers all without partiality; earth bears up all without partiality - heaven and earth surely wouldn't single me out to make me poor. I try to discover who is doing it, but I cannot get the answer. Still, here I am - at the very extreme. It must be fate."

ZHUANGZI SECTION 7
Fit For Emperors And Kings

Nieh Ch'ueh Was Questioning Wang Ni. Four times he asked a question and four times Wang Ni said he did not know. Nieh Ch'ueh proceeded to hop around in great glee and went and told Master P'u-i. Master P'u-i said, "Are you just now finding that out? The clansman Yu-yu was no match for the clansman T'ai. The clansman Yu-yu still held on to benevolence and worked to win men over. He won men over all right, but he never got out into [the realm of] 'notman.' The clansman T'ai, now - he lay down peaceful and easy; he woke up wide-eyed and blank. Sometimes he thought he was a horse; sometimes he thought he was a cow. His understanding was truly trustworthy; his virtue was perfectly true. He never entered [the realm of] 'not-man.' "

Chien Wu went to see the madman Chieh Yu. Chieh Yu said, "What was Chung Shih telling you the other day?" Chien Wu said, "He told me that the ruler of men should devise his own principles, standards, ceremonies, and regulations, and then there will be no one who will fail to obey him and be transformed by them."

The madman Chieh Yu said, "This is bogus virtue! To try to govern the world like this is like trying to walk the ocean, to drill through a river, or to make a mosquito shoulder a mountain! When the sage governs, does he govern what is on the outside? He makes sure of himself first, and then he acts. He makes absolutely certain that things can do what they are supposed to do, that is all. The bird flies high in the sky where it can escape the danger of stringed arrows. The field mouse burrows deep down under the sacred hill where it won't have to worry about men digging and smoking it out. Have you got less sense than these two little creatures?"

T'ien Ken was wandering on the sunny side of Yin Mountain. When he reached the banks of the Liao River, he happened to meet a Nameless Man. He questioned the man, saying, "Please may I ask how to rule the world?"

The Nameless Man said, "Get away from me, you peasant! What kind of a dreary question is that! I am just about to set off with the Creator. And if I get bored with that, then I'll ride on the Light-and-Lissome Bird out beyond the six directions, wandering in the village of Not-Even-Anything and living in the Broad-and-Borderless field. What business5 do you have coming with this talk of governing the world and disturbing my mind?"

But T'ien Ken repeated his question. The Nameless Man said, "Let your mind wander in simplicity, blend your spirit with the vastness, follow along with things the way they are, and make no room for personal views-then the world will be governed."

Yang Tzu-chu6 went to see Lao Tan and said, "Here is a man swift as an echo, strong as a beam, with a wonderfully clear understanding of the principles of things, studying the Way without ever letting up - a man like this could compare with an enlightened king, couldn't he?"

Lao Tan said, "In comparison to the sage, a man like this is a drudging slave, a craftsman bound to his calling, wearing out his body, grieving his mind. They say it is the beautiful markings of the tiger and the leopard that call out the hunters, the nimbleness of the monkey and the ability of the dog to catch rats' that make them end up chained. A man like this - how could he compare to an enlightened king?"

Yang Tzu-chu, much taken aback, said, "May I venture to ask about the government of the enlightened king?"

Lao Tan said, "The government of the enlightened king? His achievements blanket the world but appear not to be his own doing. His transforming influence touches the ten thousand things but the people do not depend on him. With him there is no promotion or praise - he lets everything find its own enjoyment. He takes his stand on what cannot be fathomed and wanders where there is nothing at all."

In Cheng there was a shaman of the gods named Chi Hsien. He could tell whether men would live or die, survive or perish, be fortunate or unfortunate, live a long time or die young, and he would predict the year, month, week, and day as though he were a god himself. When the people of Cheng saw him, they dropped everything and ran out of his way. Lieh Tzu went to see him and was completely intoxicated. Returning, he said to Hu Tzu, "I used to think, Master, that your Way was perfect. But now I see there is something even higher!"

Hu Tzu said, "I have already showed you all the outward forms, but I have not yet showed you the substance-and do you really think you have mastered this Way of mine? There may be a flock of hens but, if there is no rooster, how can they lay fertile eggs? You take what you know of the Way and wave it in the face of the world, expecting to be believed! This is the reason men can see right through you. Try bringing your shaman along next time and letting him get a look at me."

The next day Lieh Tzu brought the shaman to see Hu Tzu. When they had left the room, the shaman said, "I am so sorry - your master is dying! There is no life left in him - he won't last the week. I saw something very strange-something like wet ashes!"

Lieh Tzu went back into the room, weeping and drenching the collar of his robe with tears, and reported this to Hu. Tzu.

Hu Tzu said, "Just now I appeared to him with the Pattern of Earth - still and silent, nothing moving, nothing standing up. He probably saw in me the Workings of Virtue Closed Off.10 Try bringing him around again."

The next day the two came to see Hu Tzu again, and when they had left the room, the shaman said to Lieh Tzu, "It certainly was lucky that your master met me! He's going to get better - he has all the signs of life! I could see the stirring of what had been closed off!"

Lieh Tzu went in and reported this to Hu Tzu.

Hu Tzu said, "Just now I appeared to him as Heaven and Earth - no name or substance to it, but still the workings, coming up from the heels. He probably saw in me the Workings of the Good One. Try bringing him again."

The next day the two came to see Hu Tzu again, and when they had left the room, the shaman said to Lieh Tzu, "Your master is never the same! I have no way to physiognomize him! If he will try to steady himself, then I will come and examine him again."

Lieh Tzu went in and reported this to Hu Tzu.

Hu Tzu said, "Just now I appeared to him as the Great Vastness Where Nothing Wins Out. He probably saw in me the Workings of the Balanced Breaths. Where the swirling waves gather there is an abyss; where the still waters gather there is an abyss; where the running waters gather there is an abyss. The abyss has nine names and I have shown him three.13 Try bringing him again."

The next day the two came to see Hu Tzu again, but before the shaman had even come to a halt before Hu Tzu, his wits left him and he fled.

"Run after him!" said Hu Tzu, but though Lieh Tzu ran after him, he could not catch up. Returning, he reported to Hu Tzu, "He's vanished! He's disappeared! I couldn't catch up with him."

Hu Tzu said, "Just now I appeared to him as Not Yet Emerged from My Source. I came at him empty, wriggling and turning, not knowing anything about 'who' or 'what,' now dipping and bending, now flowing in waves - that's why he ran away."

After this, Lieh Tzu concluded that he had never really begun to learn anything. He went home and for three years did not go out. He replaced his wife at the stove, fed the pigs as though he were feeding people, and showed no preferences in the things he did. He got rid of the carving and polishing and returned to plainness, letting his body stand alone like a clod. In the midst of entanglement he remained sealed, and in this oneness he ended his life.

Do not be an embodier of fame; do not be a storehouse of schemes; do not be an undertaker of projects; do not be a proprietor of wisdom. Embody to the fullest what has no end and wander where there is no trail. Hold on to all that you have received from Heaven but do not think you have gotten anything. Be empty, that is all. The Perfect Man uses his mind like a mirror - going after nothing, welcoming nothing, responding but not storing. Therefore he can win out over things and not hurt himself.

The emperor of the South Sea was called Shu [Brief], the emperor of the North Sea was called Hu [Sudden], and the emperor of the central region was called Hun-tun [Chaos]. Shu and Hu from time to time came together for a meeting in the territory of Hun-tun, and Hun-tun treated them very generously. Shu and Hu discussed how they could repay his kindness. "All men," they said, "have seven openings so they can see, hear, eat, and breathe. But Hun-tun alone does not have any. Let's trying boring him some!"

Every day they bored another hole, and on the seventh day Hun-tun died.

ZHUANGZI SECTION 8
Webbed Toes

Two Toes Webbed Together, a sixth finger forking off - these come from the inborn nature but are excretions as far as Virtue is concerned. Swelling tumors and protruding wens - these come from the body but are excretions as far as the inborn nature is concerned. Men overnice in the ways of benevolence and righteousness try to put these into practice, even to line them up with the five vital organs!

This is not the right approach to the Way and its Virtue. Therefore he who has two toes webbed together has grown a flap of useless flesh; he who has a sixth finger forking out of his hand has sprouted a useless digit; and he who imposes overnice ways, webs and forked fingers, upon the original form of the five vital organs will become deluded and perverse in the practice of benevolence and righteousness and overnice in the use of his hearing and sight. Thus he who is web-toed in eyesight will be confused by the five colours, bewitched by patterns and designs, by the dazzling hues of blue and yellow, of embroidery and brocade - am I wrong? So we have Li Chu.

He who is overnice in hearing will be confused by the five notes, bewitched by the six tones, by the sounds of metal and stone, strings and woodwinds, the huang-chung and ta-lu pitch pipes - am I wrong? So we have Music Master K'uang. He who is fork-fingered with benevolence will tear out the Virtue given him and stifle his inborn nature in order to seize fame and reputation, leading the world on with pipe and drum in the service of an unattainable ideal - am I wrong? So we have Tseng and Shih. He who is web-toed in argumentation will pile up bricks, knot the plumb line, apply the curve, letting his mind wander in the realm of "hard" and "white," "likeness" and "difference," huffing and puffing away, lauding his useless words - am I wrong? So we have Yang and Mo.' All these men walk a way that is overnice, web-toed, wide of the mark, fork-fingered, not that which is the True Rightness of the world.

He who holds to True Rightness does not lose the original form of his inborn nature. So for him joined things are not webbed toes, things forking off are not superfluous fingers, the long is never too much, the short is never too little. The duck's legs are short, but to stretch them out would worry him; the crane's legs are long, but to cut them down would make him sad. What is long by nature needs no cutting off; what is short by nature needs no stretching. That would be no way to get rid of worry. I wonder, then, if benevolence and righteousness are part of man's true form? Those benevolent men-how much worrying they do!

The man with two toes webbed together would weep if he tried to tear them apart; the man with a sixth finger on his hand would howl if he tried to gnaw it off. Of these two, one has more than the usual number, the other has less, but in worrying about it they are identical. Nowadays the benevolent men of the age lift up weary eyes, worrying over the ills of the world, while the men of no benevolence tear apart the original form of their inborn nature in their greed for eminence and wealth. Therefore I wonder if benevolence and righteousness are really part of man's true form? From the Three Dynasties on down, what a lot of fuss and hubbub they have made in the world!

If we must use curve and plumb line, compass and square to make something right, this means cutting away its inborn nature; if we must use cords and knots, glue and lacquer to make something firm, this means violating its natural Virtue. So the crouchings and bendings of rites and music, the smiles and beaming looks of benevolence and righteousness, which are intended to comfort the hearts of the world, in fact destroy their constant naturalness.

For in the world there can be constant naturalness. Where there is constant naturalness, things are arced not by the use of the curve, straight not by the use of the plumb line, rounded not by compasses, squared not by T squares, joined not by glue and lacquer, bound not by ropes and lines. Then all things in the world, simple and compliant, live and never know how they happen to live; all things, rude and unwitting, get what they need and never know how they happen to get it. Past and present it has been the same; nothing can do injury to this [principle]. Why then come with benevolence and righteousness, that tangle and train of glue and lacquer, ropes and lines, and try to wander in the realm of the Way and its Virtue? You will only confuse the world!

A little confusion can alter the sense of direction; a great confusion can alter the inborn nature. How do I know this is so? Ever since that man of the Yu clan began preaching benevolence and righteousness and stirring up the world, all the men in the world have dashed headlong for benevolence and righteousness. This is because benevolence and righteousness have altered their inborn nature, is it not?

Let me try explaining what I mean. From the Three Dynasties on down, everyone in the world has altered his inborn nature because of some [external] thing. The petty man? - he will risk death for the sake of profit. The knight? - will risk it for the sake of fame. The high official? - he will risk it for family; the sage? - he will risk it for the world. All these various men go about the business in a different way, and are tagged differently when it comes to fame and reputation; but in blighting their inborn nature and risking their lives for something they are the same.

The slave boy and the slave girl were out together herding their sheep, and both of them lost their flocks. Ask the slave boy how it happened: well, he had a bundle of writing slips and was reading a book. Ask the slave girl how it happened:

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well, she was playing a game of toss-and-wait-your-turn. They went about the business in different ways, but in losing their sheep they were equal. Po Yi died for reputation at the foot of Shou-yang mountain; Robber Chih died for gain on top of Eastern Mound. The two of them died different deaths, but in destroying their lives and blighting their inborn nature they were equal. Why then must we say that Po Yi was right and Robber Chih wrong?

Everyone in the world risks his life for something. If he risks it for benevolence and righteousness, then custom names him a gentleman; if he risks it for goods and wealth, then custom names him a petty man. The risking is the same, and yet we have a gentleman here, a petty man there. In destroying their lives and blighting their inborn nature, Robber Chih and Po Yi were two of a kind. How then can we pick out the gentleman from the petty man in such a case?

He who applies his nature to benevolence and righteousness may go as far with it as Tseng and Shih, but I would not call him an expert. He who applies his nature to the five flavours may go as far with it as Yu Erh,16 but I would not call him an expert. He who applies his nature to the five notes may go as far with it as Music Master K'uang, but I would not call this good hearing. He who applies his nature to the five colours may go as far with it as Li Chu, but I would not call this good eyesight. My definition of expertness has nothing to do with benevolence and righteousness; it means being expert in regard to your Virtue, that is all. My definition of expertness has nothing to do with benevolence or righteousness; it means following the true form of your inborn nature, that is all. When I speak of good hearing, I do not mean listening to others; I mean simply listening to yourself. When I speak of good eyesight, I do not mean looking at others; I mean simply looking at yourself. He who does not look at himself but looks at others, who does not get hold of himself but gets hold of others, is getting what other men have got and failing to get what he himself has got. He finds joy in what brings joy to other men, but finds no joy in what would bring joy to himself. And if he finds joy in what brings joy to other men, but finds no joy in what would bring joy to himself, then whether he is a Robber Chih or a Po Yi he is equally deluded and perverse. I have a sense of shame before the Way and its Virtue, and for that reason I do not venture to raise myself up in deeds of benevolence and righteousness, or to lower myself in deluded and perverse practices.

ZHUANGZI SECTION 9

Horses' Hoofs

Horses' Hoofs Are Made for treading frost and snow, their coats for keeping out wind and cold. To munch grass, drink from the stream, lift up their feet and gallop this is the true nature of horses. Though they might possess great terraces and fine halls, they would have no use for them.

Then along comes Po Lo.1 "I am good at handling horses!" he announces, and proceeds to singe them, shave them, pare them, brand them, bind them with martingale and crupper, tie them up in stable and stall. By this time two or three out of ten horses have died. He goes on to starve them, make them go thirsty, race them, prance them, pull them into line, force them to run side by side, in front of them the worry of bit and rein, behind them the terror of whip and crop. By this time over half the horses have died.

The potter says, "I am good at handling clay! To round it, I apply the compass; to square it, I apply the T square." The carpenter says, "I am good at handling wood! To arc it, I apply the curve; to make it straight, I apply the plumb line." But as far as inborn nature is concerned, the clay and the wood surely have no wish to be subjected to compass and square, curve and plumb line. Yet generation after generation sings out in praise, saying, "Po Lo is good at handling horses! The potter and the carpenter are good at handling clay and wood!" And the same fault is committed by the men who handle the affairs of the world!

In my opinion someone who was really good at handling the affairs of the world would not go about it like this. The people have their constant inborn nature. To weave for their clothing, to till for their food - this is the Virtue they share. They are one in it and not partisan, and it is called the Emancipation of Heaven. Therefore in a time of Perfect Virtue the gait of men is slow and ambling; their gaze is steady and mild. In such an age mountains have no paths or trails, lakes no boats or bridges. The ten thousand things live species by species, one group settled close to another. Birds and beasts form their flocks and herds, grass and trees grow to fullest height. So it happens that you can tie a cord to the birds and beasts and lead them about, or bend down the limb and peer into the nest of the crow and the magpie. In this age of Perfect Virtue men live the same as birds and beasts, group themselves side by side with the ten thousand things. Who then knows anything about "gentleman" or "petty man"? Dull and ununwitting,2 men have no wisdom; thus their Virtue does not depart from them. Dull and unwitting, they have no desire; this is called uncarved simplicity. In uncarved simplicity the people attain their true nature.3

Then along comes the sage, huffing and puffing after benevolence, reaching on tiptoe for righteousness, and the world for the first time has doubts; mooning and mouthing over his music, snipping and stitching away at his rites, and the world for the first time is divided. Thus, if the plain unwrought substance had not been blighted, how would there be any sacrificial goblets? If the white jade had not been shattered, how would there be any scepters and batons? If the Way and its Virtue had not been cast aside, how would there be any call for benevolence and righteousness? If the true form of the inborn nature had not been abandoned, how would there be any use for rites and music? If the five colours had not confused men, who would fashion patterns and hues? If the five notes had not confused them, who would try to tune things by the six tones? That the unwrought substance was blighted in order to fashion implements - this was the crime of the artisan. That the Way and its Virtue were destroyed in order to create benevolence and righteousness - this was the fault of the sage.

When horses live on the plain, they eat grass and drink from the streams. Pleased, they twine their necks together and rub; angry, they turn back to back and kick. This is all horses know how to do. But if you pile poles and yokes on them and line them up in crossbars and shafts, then they will learn to snap the crossbars, break the yoke, rip the carriage top, champ the bit, and chew the reins. Thus horses learn how to commit the worst kinds of mischief. This is the crime of Po Lo.

In the days of Ho Hsu,6 people stayed home but did not know what they were doing, walked around but did not know where they were going. Their mouths crammed with food, they were merry; drumming on their bellies, they passed the time. This was as much as they were able to do. Then the sage came along with the crouchings and bendings of rites and music, which were intended to reform the bodies of the world; with the reaching-for-a-dangled-prize of benevolence and righteousness, which was intended to comfort the hearts of the world. Then for the first time people learned to stand on tiptoe and covet knowledge, to fight to the death over profit, and there was no stopping them. This in the end was the fault of the sage.

ZHUANGZI SECTION 10

Rifling Trunks

If One Is To Guard and take precautions against thieves who rifle trunks, ransack bags, and break open boxes, then he must bind with cords and ropes and make fast with locks and hasps. This the ordinary world calls wisdom. But if a great thief comes along, he will shoulder the boxes, hoist up the trunks, sling the bags over his back, and dash off, only worrying that the cords and ropes, the locks and hasps are not fastened tightly enough. In that case, the man who earlier was called wise was in fact only piling up goods for the benefit of a great thief.

Let me try explaining what I mean. What the ordinary world calls a wise man is in fact someone who piles things up for the benefit of a great thief, is he not? And what it calls a sage is in fact someone who stands guard for the benefit of a great thief, is he not? How do I know this is so? In times past there was the state of Ch'i, its neighbouring towns within sight of each other, the cries of their dogs and chickens within hearing of each other. The area where its nets and seines were spread, where its plows and spades dug the earth, measured over two thousand li square, filling all the space within its four borders. And in the way its ancestral temples and its altars of the soil and grain were set up, its towns and villages and hamlets were governed, was there anything that did not accord with the laws of the sages? Yet one morning Viscount T'ien Ch'eng murdered the ruler of Ch'i and stole his state. And was it only the state he stole? Along with it he also stole the laws which the wisdom of the sages had devised. Thus, although Viscount T'ien Ch'eng gained the name of thief and bandit, he was able to rest as peacefully as a Yao or a Shun. The smaller states did not dare condemn him, the larger states did not dare to attack, and for twelve generations his family held possession of the state of Ch'i. Is this not a case in which a man, stealing the state of Ch'i, along with it stole the laws of the sages' wisdom and used them to guard the person of a thief and a bandit?

Let me try explaining it. What the ordinary world calls 'a man of perfect wisdom is in fact someone who piles things up for the benefit of a great thief; what the ordinary world calls a perfect sage is in fact someone who stands guard for the benefit of a great thief. How do I know this is so? In times past, Kuan Lung-feng was cut down, Pi Kan was disemboweled, Ch'ang Hung was torn apart, and Wu Tzu-hsu was left to rot. All four were worthy men, and yet they could not escape destruction.

One of Robber Chih's followers once asked Chih, "Does the thief too have a Way?"

Chih replied, "How could he get anywhere if he did not have a Way? Making shrewd guesses as to how much booty is stashed away in the room is sageliness; being the first one in is bravery; being the last one out is righteousness; knowing whether the job can be pulled off or not is wisdom; dividing up the loot fairly is benevolence. No one in the world ever succeeded in becoming a great thief if he did not have all five!"

From this we can see that the good man must acquire the Way of the sage before he can distinguish himself, and Robber Chih must acquire the Way of the sage before he can practice his profession. But good men in the world are few and bad men many, so in fact the sage brings little benefit to the world, but much harm. Thus it is said, "When the lips are gone, the teeth are cold; when the wine of Lu is thin, Han-tan is besieged." And when the sage is born, the great thief appears.

Cudgel and cane the sages and let the thieves and bandits go their way; then the world will at last be well ordered! If the stream dries up, the valley will be empty; if the hills wash away, the deep pools will be filled up. And if the sage is dead and gone, then no more great thieves will arise. The world will then be peaceful and free of fuss.

But until the sage is dead, great thieves will never cease to appear, and if you pile on more sages in hopes of bringing the world to order, you will only be piling up more profit for Robber Chih. Fashion pecks and bushels for people to measure by and they will steal by peck and bushel. Fashion scales and balances for people to weigh by and they will steal by scale and balance. Fashion tallies and seals to insure trustworthiness and people will steal with tallies and seals. Fashion benevolence and righteousness to reform people and they will steal with benevolence and righteousness. How do I know this is so? He who steals a belt buckle pays with his life; he who steals a state gets to be a feudal lord-and we all know that benevolence and righteousness are to be found at the gates of the feudal lords. Is this not a case of stealing benevolence and righteousness and the wisdom of the sages? So men go racing in the footsteps of the great thieves, aiming for the rank of feudal lord, stealing benevolence and righteousness, and taking for themselves all the profits of peck and bushel, scale and balance, tally and seal. Though you try to lure them aside with rewards of official carriages and caps of state, you cannot move them; though you threaten them with the executioner's ax, you cannot deter them. This piling up of profits for Robber Chih to the point where nothing can deter him - this is all the fault of the sage!

The saying goes, "The fish should not be taken from the deep pool; the sharp weapons of the state should not be shown to men." The sage is the sharp weapon of the world, and therefore he should not be where the world can see him.

Cut off sageliness, cast away wisdom, and then the great thieves will cease. Break the jades, crush the pearls, and petty thieves will no longer rise up. Burn the tallies, shatter the seals, and the people will be simple and guileless. Hack up the bushels, snap the balances in two, and the people will no longer wrangle. Destroy and wipe out the laws that the sage has made for the world, and at last you will find you can reason with the people.

Discard and confuse the six tones, smash and unstring the pipes and lutes, stop up the ears of the blind musician K'uang, and for the first time the people of the world will be able to hold on to their hearing. Wipe out patterns and designs, scatter the five colours, glue up the eyes of Li Chu, and for the first time the people of the world will be able to hold on to their eyesight. Destroy- and cut to pieces the curve and plumb line, throw away the compass and square, shackle the fingers of Artisan Ch'ui, and for the first time the people of the world will possess real skill. Thus it is said, "Great skill is like clumsiness." Put a stop to the ways of Tseng and Shih, gag the mouths of Yang and Mo, wipe out and reject benevolence and righteousness, and for the first time the Virtue of the world will reach the state of Mysterious Leveling."

When men hold on to their eyesight, the world will no longer be dazzled. When men hold on to their hearing, the world will no longer be wearied. When men hold on to their wisdom, the world will no longer be confused. When men hold on to their Virtue, the world will no longer go awry. Men like Tseng, Shih, Yang, Mo, Musician K'uang, Artisan Ch'ui, or Li Chu all displayed their Virtue on the outside and thereby blinded and misled the world. As methods go, this one is worthless!

Have you alone never heard of that age of Perfect Virtue?

Long ago, in the time of Yung Ch'eng, Ta T'ing, Po Huang, Chung Yang, Li Lu, Li Hsu, Hsien Yuan, Ho Hsu, Tsun Lu, Chu Jung, Fu Hsi, and Shen Nung, the people knotted cords and used them." They relished their food, admired their clothing, enjoyed their customs, and were content with their houses. Though neighbouring states were within sight of each other, and could hear the cries of each other's dogs and chickens, the people grew old and died without ever traveling beyond their own borders. At a time such as this, there was nothing but the most perfect order.

But now something has happened to make people crane their necks and stand on tiptoe. "There is a worthy man in such and such a place!" they cry and, bundling up their provisions, they dash off. At home, they abandon their parents; abroad, they shirk the service of their ruler. Their footprints form an unending trail to the borders of the other feudal lords, their carriage tracks weave back and forth a

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thousand li and more. This is the fault of men in high places who covet knowledge.

As long as men in high places covet knowledge and are without the Way, the world will be in great confusion. How do I know this is so? Knowledge enables men to fashion bows, crossbows, nets, stringed arrows, and like contraptions, but when this happens the birds flee in confusion to the sky. Knowledge enables men to fashion fishhooks, lures, seines, dragnets, trawls, and weirs, but when this happens the fish flee in confusion to the depths of the water. Knowledge enables men to fashion pitfalls, snares, cages, traps, and gins, but when this happens the beasts flee in confusion to the swamps. And the flood of rhetoric that enables men to invent wily schemes and poisonous slanders, the glib gabble of "hard" and "white," the foul fustian of "same" and "different" bewilder the understanding of common men. So the world is dulled and darkened by great confusion. The blame lies in this coveting of knowledge.

In the world everyone knows enough to pursue what he does not know, but no one knows enough to pursue what he already knows. Everyone knows enough to condemn what he takes to be no good, but no one knows enough to condemn what he has already taken to be good. This is how the great confusion comes about, blotting out the brightness of sun and moon above, searing the vigor of hills and streams below, overturning the round of the four seasons in between. There is no insect that creeps and crawls, no creature that flutters and flies that has not lost its inborn nature. So great is the confusion of the world that comes from coveting knowledge!

From the Three Dynasties on down, it has been this and nothing else-shoving aside the pure and artless people and delighting in busy, bustling flatterers; abandoning the limpidity and calm of inaction and delighting in jumbled and jangling ideas. And this jumble and jangle has for long confused the world.

ZHUANGZI SECTION 11

Let It Be, Leave It Alone

I Have Heard Of Letting the world be, of leaving it alone; I have never heard of governing the world. You let it be for fear of corrupting the inborn nature of the world; you leave it alone for fear of distracting the Virtue of the world. If the nature of the world is not corrupted, if the Virtue of the world is not distracted, why should there be any governing of the world?

Long ago, when the sage Yao governed the world, he made the world bright and gleeful; men delighted in their nature, and there was no calmness anywhere. When the tyrant Chieh governed the world, he made the world weary and vexed; men found bitterness in their nature and there was no contentment anywhere. To lack calmness, to lack contentment is to go against Virtue, and there has never been anyone in the world who could go against Virtue and survive for long.

Are men exceedingly joyful? - they will do damage to the yang element. Are men exceedingly angry? - they will do damage to the yin. And when both yang and yin are damaged, the four seasons will not come as they should, heat and cold will fail to achieve their proper harmony, and this in turn will do harm to the bodies of men. It will make men lose a proper sense of joy and anger, to be constantly shifting from place to place, to think up schemes that gain nothing, to set out on roads that reach no glorious conclusion. Then for the first time the world grows restless and aspiring, and soon afterward appear the ways of Robber Chih, Tseng, and Shih.

Then, although the whole world joins in rewarding good men, there will never be enough reward; though the whole world joins in punishing evil men, there will never be enough punishment. Huge as the world is, it cannot supply sufficient reward or punishment. From the Three Dynasties on down, there has been nothing but bustle and fuss, all over this matter of rewards and punishments. How could people have any leisure to rest in the true form of their inborn nature and fate!

Do men delight in what they see? - they are corrupted by colours. Do they delight in what they hear? - they are corrupted by sounds. Do they delight in benevolence? - they bring confusion to Virtue. Do they delight in righteousness? - they turn their backs on reason. Do they delight in rites? - they are aiding artificiality. Do they delight in music? - they are aiding dissolution. Do they delight in sageness? - they are assisting artifice. Do they delight in knowledge? - they are assisting the fault-finders. As long as the world rests in the true form of its inborn nature and fate, it makes no difference whether these eight delights exist or not. But if the world does not rest in the true form of its nature and fate, then these eight delights will begin to grow warped and crooked, jumbled and deranged, and will bring confusion to the world. And if on top of that the world begins to honour them and cherish them, then the delusion of the world will be great indeed! You say these are only a fancy that will pass in time? Yet men prepare themselves with fasts and austerities when they come to describe them, kneel solemnly on their mats when they recommend them, beat drums and sing to set them forth in .dance. What's to be done about it I am sure I do not know!

If the gentleman finds he has no other choice than to direct and look after the world, then the best course for him is inaction. As long as there is inaction, he may rest in the true form of his nature and fate. If he values his own body more than the management of the world, then he can be entrusted with the world. If he is more careful of his own body than of the management of the world, then the world can be handed over to him. If the gentleman can in truth keep from rending apart his five vital organs, from tearing out his eyesight and hearing, then he will command corpse-like stillness and dragon vision, the silence of deep pools and the voice of thunder. His spirit will move in the train of Heaven, gentle and easy in inaction, and the ten thousand things will be dust on the wind. "What leisure have I now for governing the world?" he will say.

Ts'ui Chu was questioning Lao Tan. "If you do not govern the world, then how can you improve men's minds?"

Lao Tan said, "Be careful - don't meddle with men's minds! Men's minds can be forced down or boosted up, but this downing and upping imprisons and brings death to the mind. Gentle and shy, the mind can bend the hard and strong; it can chisel and cut away, carve and polish. Its heat is that of burning fire, its coldness that of solid ice, its swiftness such that, in the time it takes to lift and lower the head, it has twice swept over the four seas and beyond. At rest, it is deep-fathomed and still; in movement, it is far-flung as the heavens, racing and galloping out of reach of all bonds. This indeed is the mind of man!"

In ancient times the Yellow Emperor first used benevolence and righteousness to meddle with the minds of men. Yao and Shun followed him and worked till there was no more down on their thighs, no more hair on their shins, trying to nourish the bodies of the men of the world. They grieved their five vital organs in the practice of benevolence and righteousness, taxed their blood and breath in the establishment of laws and standards. But still some men would not submit to their rule, and so they had to exile Huan Tou to Mount Ch'ung, drive away the San-miao tribes to the region of San-wei, and banish Kung to the Dark City.4 This shows that they could not make the world submit.

By the time the kings of the Three Dynasties appeared, the world was in great consternation indeed. On the lowest level there were men like the tyrant Chieh and Robber Chih, on the highest, men like Tseng and Shih, and the Confucianists and Mo-ists rose up all around. Then joy and anger eyed each other with suspicion, stupidity and wisdom duped each other, good and bad called one another names, falsehood and truth slandered one another, and the world sank into a decline. There was no more unity to the Great Virtue, and the inborn nature and fate shattered and fell apart. The world coveted knowledge and the hundred clans were thrown into turmoil. Then there were axes and saws to shape things, ink and plumb lines to trim them, mallets and gouges to poke holes in them, and the world, muddled and deranged, was in great confusion. The crime lay in this meddling with men's minds. So it was that worthy men crouched in hiding below the great mountains and yawning cliffs, and the lords of ten thousand chariots fretted and trembled above in their ancestral halls.

In the world today, the victims of the death penalty lie heaped together, the bearers of cangues tread on each other's heels, the sufferers of punishment are never out of each other's sight. And now come the Confucianists and Mo-ists, waving their arms, striding into the very midst of the fettered and manacled men. Ah, that then should go this far, that they should be so brazen, so lacking in any sense of shame! Who can convince me that sagely wisdom is not in fact the wedge that fastens the cangue, that benevolence and righteousness are not in fact the loop and lock of these fetters and manacles? How do I know that Tseng and Shih are not the whistling arrows that signal the approach of Chieh and Chih? Therefore I say, cut off sageness, cast away wisdom, and the world will be in perfect order.

The Yellow Emperor had ruled as Son of Heaven for nineteen years and his commands were heeded throughout the world, when he heard that Master Kuang Ch'eng was living on top of the Mountain of Emptiness and Identity. He therefore went to visit him. "I have heard that you, Sir, have mastered the Perfect Way. May I venture to ask about the essence of the Perfect Way?" he said. "I would like to get hold of the essence of Heaven and earth and use it to aid the five grains and to nourish the common people. I would also like to control the yin and yang in order to insure the growth of all living things. How may this be done?"

Master Kuang Ch'eng said, "What you say you want to learn about pertains to the true substance of things, but what you say you want to control pertains to things in their divided state. Ever since you began to govern the world, rain falls before the cloud vapours have even gathered, the plants and trees shed their leaves before they have even turned yellow, and the light of the sun and moon grows more and more sickly. Shallow and vapid, with the mind of a prattling knave - what good would it do to tell you about the Perfect Way!"

The Yellow Emperor withdrew, gave up his throne, built a solitary hut, spread a mat of white rushes, and lived for three months in retirement. Then he went once more to request an interview. Master Kuang Ch'eng was lying with his face to the south. The Yellow Emperor, approaching in humble manner, crept forward on his knees, bowed his head twice and said, "I have heard that you, Sir, have mastered the Perfect Way. I venture to ask about the governing of the body. What should I do in order to live a long life?"

Master Kuang Ch'eng sat up with a start. "Excellent, this question of yours! Come, I will tell you about the Perfect Way. The essence of the Perfect Way is deep and darkly shrouded; the extreme of the Perfect Way - is mysterious and hushed in silence. Let there be no seeing, no hearing; enfold the spirit in quietude and the body will right itself. Be still, be pure, do not labor your body, do not churn up your essence, and then you can live a long life. When the eye does not see, the ear does not hear, and the mind does not know, then your spirit will protect the body, and the body will enjoy long life. Be cautious of what is within you; block off what is outside you, for much knowledge will do you harm. Then I

will lead you up above the Great Brilliance, to the source of the Perfect Yang; I will guide you through the Dark and Mysterious Gate, to the source of the Perfect Yin. Heaven and earth have their controllers, the yin and yang their storehouses. You have only to take care and guard your own body; these other things will of themselves grow sturdy. As for myself, I guard this unity, abide in this harmony, and therefore I have kept myself alive for twelve hundred years, and never has my body suffered any decay."

The Yellow Emperor bowed twice and said, "Master Kuang Ch'eng, you have been as a Heaven to me!"

Master Kuang Ch'eng said, "Come, I will explain to you. This Thing I have been talking about is inexhaustible, and yet men all suppose that it has an end. This Thing I have been talking about is unfathomable, and yet men all suppose that it has a limit. He who attains my Way will be a Bright One on high,8 and a king in the world below. But he who fails to attain my Way, though he may see the light above him, will remain below as dust. All the hundred creatures that flourish are born out of dust and return to dust. So I will take leave of you, to enter the gate of the inexhaustible and wander in the limitless fields, to form a triad with the light of the sun and moon, to partake in the constancy of Heaven and earth. What stands before me I mingle with, what is far from me I leave in darkness. All other men may die; I alone will survive!"

Cloud Chief was traveling east and had passed the branches of the Fu-yao when he suddenly came upon Big Concealment. Big Concealment at the moment was amusing himself by slapping his thighs and hopping around like a sparrow. When Cloud Chief saw this, he stopped in bewilderment, stood dead still in his tracks, and said, "Old gentleman, who are you? What is this you are doing?"

Big Concealment, without interrupting his thigh-slapping and sparrow-hopping, replied to Cloud Chief, "Amusing myself."

"I would like to ask a question," said Cloud Chief.

"Oh dear!" said Big Concealment, for the first time raising his head and looking at Cloud Chief.

"The breath of heaven is out of harmony, the breath of earth tangles and snarls," said Cloud Chief. "The six breaths do not blend properly," the four seasons do not stay in order. Now I would like to harmonise the essences of the six breaths in order to bring nourishment to all living creatures. How should I go about it?"

Big Concealment, still thigh-slapping and sparrow-hopping, shook his head. "I have no idea! I have no idea!"

So Cloud Chief got no answer. Three years later he was again traveling east and, as he passed the fields of Sung, happened upon Big Concealment once more. Cloud Chief, overjoyed, dashed forward and presented himself, saying, "Heavenly Master, have you forgot me? Have you forgot me?" Then he bowed his head twice and begged for some instruction from Big Concealment.

Big Concealment said, "Aimless wandering does not know what it seeks; demented drifting does not know where it goes. A wanderer, idle, unbound, I view the sights of Undeception. What more do I know?"

Cloud Chief said, "I too consider myself a demented drifter, but the people follow me wherever I go and I have no choice but to think of them. It is for their sake now that I beg one word of instruction!"

Big Concealment said, "If you confuse the constant strands of Heaven and violate the true form of things, then Dark Heaven will reach no fulfillment. Instead, the beasts will scatter from their herds, the birds will cry all night, disaster will come to the grass and trees, misfortune will reach even to the insects. Ah, this is the fault of men who 'govern'!"

"Then what should I do?" said Cloud Chief.

"Ah," said Big Concealment, "you are too far gone! Up, up, stir yourself and be off!"

Cloud Chief said, "Heavenly Master, it has been hard indeed for me to meet with you - I beg one word of instruction!"

"Well, then - mind-nourishment!" said Big Concealment. "You have only to rest in inaction and things will transform themselves. Smash your form and body, spit out hearing and

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eyesight, forget you are a thing among other things, and you may join in great unity with the deep and boundless. Undo the mind, slough off spirit, be blank and soulless, and the ten thousand things one by one will return to the root - return to the root and not know why. Dark and undifferentiated chaos - to the end of life none will depart from it. But if you try to know it, you have already departed from it. Do not ask what its name is, do not try to observe its form. Things will live naturally and of themselves."

Cloud Chief said, "The Heavenly Master has favoured me with this Virtue, instructed me in this Silence. All my life I have been looking for it, and now at last I have it!" He bowed his head twice, stood up, took his leave, and went away.

The common run of men all welcome those who are like themselves and scorn those who differ from themselves. The reason they favour those who are like themselves and do not favour those who are different is that their minds are set on distinguishing themselves from the crowd. But if their minds are set on distinguishing themselves from the crowd, how is this ever going to distinguish them from the crowd? It is better to follow the crowd and be content, for, no matter how much you may know, it can never match the many talents of the crowd combined.

Here is a man who wants to take over the management of another man's state." He thinks thereby to seize all the profits enjoyed by the kings of the Three Dynasties, but fails to take note of their worries. This is to gamble with another man's state, and how long can you expect to gamble with his state and not lose it? Less than one man in ten thousand will succeed in holding on to the state; the odds in favour of losing it are more than ten thousand to one. It is sad indeed that the possessors of states do not realize this!

Now the possessor of a state possesses a great thing. Because he possesses a great thing, he cannot be regarded as a mere thing himself. He is a thing, and yet he is not a mere thing; therefore he can treat other things as mere things. He who clearly- understands that, in treating other things as mere things, he himself is no longer a mere thing-how could he be content only to govern the hundred clans of the world and do nothing more? He will move in and out of the Six Realms, wander over the Nine Continents, going alone, coming alone. He may be called a Sole Possessor, and a man who is a Sole Possessor may be said to have reached the peak of eminence.

The Great Man in his teaching is like the shadow that follows a form, the echo that follows a sound. Only when questioned does he answer, and then he pours out all his thoughts, making himself the companion of the world. He dwells in the echoless, moves in the directionless, takes by the hand you who are rushing and bustling back and forth, and proceeds to wander in the beginningless. He passes in and out of the boundless, and is ageless as the sun. His face and form16 blend with the Great Unity, the Great Unity which is selfless. Being selfless, how then can he look upon possession as possession? He who fixed his eyes on possession - he was the "gentleman" of ancient times. He who fixes his eyes on nothingness - he is the true friend of Heaven and earth.

What is lowly and yet must be used - things. What is humble and yet must be relied on - the people. What is irksome and yet must be attended to - affairs. What is sketchy and yet must be proclaimed - laws. What seems to apply only to distant relationships and yet must be observed - righteousness. What seems to apply only to intimate relationships and yet must be broadened - benevolence. What is confining and yet must be repeatedly practiced - ritual. What is already apt and yet must be heightened - Virtue. What is One and yet must be adapted - the Way. What is spiritual and yet must be put into action - Heaven.

Therefore the sage contemplates Heaven but does not assist it. He finds completion in Virtue but piles on nothing more. He goes forth in the Way but does not scheme. He accords with benevolence but does not set great store by it. He draws close to righteousness but does not labor over it. He responds to the demands of ritual and does not shun them. He disposes of affairs and makes no excuses. He brings all to order with laws and allows no confusion. He depends upon the people and does not make light of them. He relies upon things and does not throw them aside. Among things, there are none that are worth using, and yet they must be used.

He who does not clearly understand Heaven will not be pure in Virtue. He who has not mastered the Way will find himself without any acceptable path of approach. He who does not clearly understand the Way is pitiable indeed!

What is this thing called the Way? There is the Way of Heaven, and the way of man. To rest in inaction, and command respect - this is the Way of Heaven. To engage in action and become entangled in it - this is the way of man. The ruler is the Way of Heaven; his subjects are the way of man. The Way of Heaven and the way of man are far apart. This is something to consider carefully!

ZHUANGZI SECTION 12

Heaven And Earth

Heaven And Earth Are Huge, but they are alike in their transformations. The ten thousand things are numerous, but they are one in their good order. Human beings are many, but they are all subjects of the sovereign. The sovereign finds his source in Virtue, his completion in Heaven. Therefore it is said that the sovereign of dark antiquity ruled the world through inaction, through Heavenly Virtue and nothing more.

Look at words in the light of the Way - then the sovereign of the world will be upright. Look at distinctions in the light of the Way - then the duty2 of sovereign and subject will be clear. Look at abilities in the light of the Way - then the officials of the world will be well ordered. Look everywhere in the light of the Way - then the response of the ten thousand things will be complete.

Pervading Heaven and earth: that is the Way. Moving among the ten thousand things: that is Virtue. Superiors governing the men below them: that is called administration. Ability finding trained expression: that is called skill. Skill is subsumed in administration; administration in duty; duty in Virtue; Virtue in the Way; and the Way in Heaven. Therefore it is said, those who shepherded the world in ancient times were without desire and the world was satisfied, without action and the ten thousand things were transformed. They were deep and silent and the hundred clans were at rest. The Record says: "Stick to the One and the ten thousand tasks will be accomplished; achieve mindlessness and the gods and spirits will bow down."

The Master said: The Way covers and bears up the ten thousand things - vast, vast is its greatness! The gentleman must pluck out his mind! To act through inaction is called Heaven. To speak through inaction is called Virtue. To love men and bring profit to things is called benevolence. To make the unlike alike is called magnitude. To move beyond barrier and distinction is called liberality. To possess the ten thousand unlikes is called wealth. To hold fast to Virtue is called enrootment. To mature in Virtue is called establishment. To follow the Way is called completion. To see that external things do not blunt the will is called perfection. When the gentleman clearly comprehends these ten things, then how huge will be the greatness of his mind setting forth, how endless his ramblings with the ten thousand things!

Such a man will leave the gold hidden in the mountains, the pearls hidden in the depths. He will see no profit in money and goods, no enticement in eminence and wealth, no joy in long life, no grief in early death, no honour in affluence, no shame in poverty. He will not snatch the profits of a whole generation and make them his private hoard; he will not lord it over the world and think that he dwells in glory. His glory is enlightenment, [for he knows that] the ten thousand things belong to one storehouse, that life and death share the same body.

The Master said: The Way - how deep its dwelling, how pure its clearness! Without it, the bells and chiming stones will not sound. The bells and stones have voices but, unless they are struck, they will not sound. The ten thousand things - who can make them be still?

The man of kingly Virtue moves in simplicity and is ashamed to be a master of facts. He takes his stand in the original source and his understanding extends to the spirits. Therefore his Virtue is far-reaching. His mind moves forth only when some external thing has roused it. Without the Way the body can have no life, and without Virtue, life can have no clarity. To preserve the body and live out life, to establish Virtue and make clear the Way - is this not kingly Virtue? Broad and boundless, suddenly he emerges, abruptly he moves, and the ten thousand things follow him - this is what is called the man of kingly Virtue!

He sees in the darkest dark, hears where there is no sound. In the midst of darkness, he alone sees the dawn; in the midst of the soundless, he alone hears harmony. Therefore, in depth piled upon depth he can spy out the thing; in spirituality piled upon spirituality he can discover the essences So in his dealings with the ten thousand things he supplies all their wants out of total nothingness. Racing with the hour, he seeks lodging for a night, in the great, the small, the long, the short, the near, the far.7

The Yellow Emperor went wandering north of the Red Water, ascended the slopes of K'un-lun, and gazed south. When he got home, he discovered he had lost his Dark Pearl. He sent Knowledge to look for it, but Knowledge couldn't find it. He sent the keen-eyed Li Chu to look for it, but Li Chu couldn't find it. He sent Wrangling Debate to look for it, but Wrangling Debate couldn't find it. At last he tried employing Shapeless, and Shapeless found it.

The Yellow Emperor said, "How odd! - in the end it was Shapeless who was able to find it!"

Yao's teacher was Hsu Yu, Hsu! Yu's teacher was Nieh Ch'ueh, Nieh Ch'ueh's teacher was Wang Ni, and Wang Ni's teacher was P'i-i. Yao asked Hsu Yu, "Would Nieh Ch'ueh do as the counterpart of Heaven? I could get Wang Ni to ask him to take over the throne from me."

Hsu Yu said, "Watch out! You'll put the world in danger! Nieh Ch'ueh is a man of keen intelligence and superb understanding, nimble-wined and sharp. His inborn nature surpasses that of other men, and he knows how to exploit what Heaven has given him through human devices. He would do his best to prevent error, but he does not understand the source from which error arises. Make him the counterpart of Heaven? Watch - he will start leaning on men and forget about Heaven. He will put himself first and relegate others to a class apart. He will worship knowledge and chase after it with the speed of fire. He will become the servant of causes, the victim of things, looking in all four directions to see how things are faring, trying to attend to all wants, changing along with things and possessing no trace of any constancy of his own. How could he possibly do as counterpart of Heaven? However, there are clans and there are clan heads. He might do as the father of one branch, though he would never do as the father of the father of the branch. His kind are the forerunners of disorder, a disaster to the ministers facing north, a peril to the sovereign facing south!"

Yao was seeing the sights at Hua when the border guard of Hua said, "Aha - a sage! I beg to offer up prayers for the sage. They will bring the sage long life!"

Yao said, "No, thanks."

"They - will bring the sage riches!"

Yao said, "No, thanks."

"They will bring the sage many sons!"

Yao said, "No, thanks."

"Long life, riches, many sons - these are what all men desire!" said the border guard. "How is it that you alone do not desire them?"

Yao said, "Many sons mean many fears. Riches mean many troubles. Long life means many shames. These three are of no use in nourishing Virtue - therefore I decline them."

The border guard said, "At first I took you for a sage. Now I see you are a mere gentleman. When Heaven gives birth to the ten thousand people, it is certain to have jobs to assign them. If you have many sons and their jobs are assigned them, what is there to fear? If you share your riches with other men, what troubles will you have? The true sage is a quail at rest, a little fledgling at its meal, a bird in flight who leaves no trail behind. When the world has the Way, he joins in the chorus with all other things. When the world is without the Way, he nurses his Virtue and retires in leisure. And after a thousand years, should he weary of the world, he will leave it and ascend to the immortals, riding on those white clouds all the way up to the village of God. The three worries you have cited never touch him, his body is forever free of peril. How can he suffer any shame?"

The border guard turned and left. Yao followed him, saying, "Please - I would like to ask you . . ."

"Go away!" said the border guard.

When Yao ruled the world, Po-ch'eng Tzu-kao was enfeoffed as one of his noblemen. But when Yao passed the throne to Shun, and Shun passed it to Yu, Po-ch'eng Tzu-kao relinquished his title and took up farming. Yu went to see him and found him working in the fields. Yu scurried forward in the humblest manner, came to a halt, and said, "In former times when Yao ruled the world, Sir, you served as one of his noblemen. But when Yao passed the throne to Shun, and Shun passed it to me, you relinquished your title and took up farming. May I be so bold as to ask why?"

Tzu-kao said, "In former times when Yao ruled the world, he handed out no rewards and yet the people worked hard; he handed out no punishments and vet the people were cautious. Now you reward and punish, and still the people fail to do good. From now on Virtue will decay, from now on penalties will prevail. The disorder of future ages will have its beginning here! You had better be on your way now - do not interrupt my work!" Busily, busily he proceeded with his farm work, never turning to look back.

In the Great Beginning, there was nonbeing; there was no being, no name. Out of it arose One; there was One, but it had no form. Things got hold of it and came to life, and it was called Virtue. Before things had forms, they had their allotments; these were of many kinds, but not cut off from one another, and they were called fates. Out of the flow and flux, things were born, and as they grew they developed distinctive shapes; these were called forms. The forms and bodies held within them spirits, each with its own characteristics and limitations, and this was called the inborn nature. If the nature is trained, you may return to Virtue, and Virtue at its highest peak is identical with the Beginning. Being identical, you will be empty; being empty, you will be great. You may join in the cheeping and chirping and, when you have joined in the cheeping and chirping, you may join with Heaven and earth. Your joining is wild and confused, as though you were stupid, as though you were demented. This is called Dark Virtue. Rude and unwitting, you take part in the Great Submission.

Confucius said to Lao Tan, "Here's a man who works to master the Way as though he were trying to talk down an opponent making the unacceptable acceptable, the not so, so. As the rhetoricians say, he can separate 'hard' from 'white' as clearly as though they were dangling from the eaves there. Can a man like this be called a sage?"

Lao Tan said, "A man like this is a drudging slave, a craftsman bound to his calling, wearing out his body,

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grieving his mind. Because the dog can catch rats, he ends up on a leash.' Because of his nimbleness, the monkey is dragged down from the mountain forest. Ch'iu, I am going to tell you something - something you could never hear for yourself and something you would never know how to speak of. People who have heads and feet but no minds and no ears - there are mobs of them. To think that beings with bodies can all go on existing along with that which is bodiless and formless - it can never happen! A man's stops and starts, his life and death, his rises and falls - none of these can he do anything about. Yet he thinks that the mastery of them lies with man! Forget things, forget Heaven, and be called a forgetter of self. The man who has forgot self may be said to have entered Heaven."

Chiang-lu Mien went to see Chi Ch'e and said, "The ruler of Lu begged me to give him some instruction. I declined, but he wouldn't let me go and so I had no choice but to tell him something. I do not know whether what I said was right or not, but I would like to try repeating it to you. I said to the ruler of Lu, 'You must be courteous and temperate! Pick out and promote those who are loyal and public-spirited, allow no flattery or favouritism, and then who of your people will venture to be unruly?' "

Chi Ch'e heehawed with laughter. "As far as the Virtue of emperors and kings is concerned," he said, "your advice is like the praying mantis that waved its arms angrily in front of an approaching carriage - it just isn't up to the job. If the ruler of Lu went about it that way, he would simply get himself all stirred up,11 place himself on a tower or a terrace. Then things would flock around him and the crowd would turn its steps in his direction!"

Chiang-lu Mien's eyes bugged out in amazement. "I am dumfounded by your words," he said. "Nevertheless, I would like to hear how the Master would speak on this subject."

Chi Ch'e said, "When a great sage rules the world, he makes the minds of his people free and far-wandering. On this basis he fashions teachings and simplifies customs, wiping out all treason from their minds and allowing each to pursue his own will. All is done in accordance with the inborn nature, and yet the people do not know why it is like this. Proceeding in this way, what need has he either to revere the way in which Yao and Shun taught their people, or to look down on it in lofty contempt? His only desire is for unity with Virtue and the repose of the mind."

Tzu-kung traveled south to Ch'u, and on his way back through Chin, as he passed along the south bank of the Han, he saw an old man preparing his fields for planting. He had hollowed out an opening by which he entered the well and from which he emerged, lugging a pitcher, which he carried out to water the fields. Grunting and puffing, he used up a great deal of energy and produced very little result.

"There is a machine for this sort of thing," said Tzu-kung. "In one day it can water a hundred fields, demanding very little effort .and producing excellent results. Wouldn't you like one?"

The gardener raised his head and looked at Tzu-kung. "How does it work?"

"It's a contraption made by shaping a piece of wood. The back end is heavy and the front end light and it raises the water as though it were pouring it out, so fast that it seems to boil right over! It's called a well sweep."

The gardener flushed with anger and then said with a laugh, "I've heard my teacher say, where there are machines, there are bound to be machine worries; where there are machine worries, there are bound to be machine hearts. With a machine heart in your breast, you have spoiled what was pure and simple; and without the pure and simple, the life of the spirit knows no rest. Where the life of the spirit knows no rest, the Way will cease to buoy you up. It's not that I do not know about your machine - I would be ashamed to use it!"

Tzu-kung blushed with chagrin, looked down, and made no reply. After a while, the gardener said, "Who are you, anyway?"

"A disciple of Kung Ch'iu."

"Oh - then you must be one of those who broaden their learning in order to ape the sages, heaping absurd nonsense on the crowd, plucking the strings and singing sad songs all by yourself in hopes of buying fame in the world! You would do best to forget your spirit and breath, break up your body and limbs - then you might be able to get somewhere. You don't even know how to look after your own body - how do you have any time to think about looking after the world! On your way now! Don't interfere with my work!"

Tzu-kung frowned and the colour drained from his face. Dazed and rattled, he couldn't seem to pull himself together, and it was only after he had walked on for some thirty li that he began to recover.

One of his disciples said, "Who was that man just now? Why did you change your expression and lose your colour like that, Master, so that it took you all day to get back to normal?"

"I used to think there was only one real man in the world," said Tzu-kung. "I did not know there was this other one. I have heard Confucius say that in affairs you aim for what is right, and in undertakings you aim for success. To spend little effort and achieve big results - that is the Way of the sage. Now it seems that this isn't so. He who holds fast to the Way is complete in Virtue; being complete in Virtue, he is complete in body; being complete in body, he is complete in spirit; and to be complete in spirit is the Way of the sage. He is content to live among the people, to walk by their side, and never know where he is going. Witless, his purity is complete. Achievement, profit, machines, skill - they have no place in this man's mind! A man like this will not go where he has no will to go, will not do what he has no mind to do. Though the world might praise him and say he had really found something, he would look unconcerned and never turn his head; though the world might condemn him and say he had lost something, he would look serene and pay no heed. The praise and blame of the world are no loss or gain to him. He may be called a man of Complete Virtue. I - I am a man of the wind-blown waves."

When Tzu-kung got back to Lu, he reported the incident to Confucius. Confucius said, "He is one of those bogus practitioners of the arts of Mr. Chaos." He knows the first thing but does not understand the second. He looks after what is on the inside but does not look after what is on the outside. A man of true brightness and purity who can enter into simplicity, who can return to the primitive through inaction, give body to his inborn nature, and embrace his spirit, and in this way wander through the everyday world - if you had met one like that, you would have had real cause for astonishment. As for the arts of Mr. Chaos, you and I need not bother to find out about them."

Chun Mang was on his way east to the Great Valley of the sea when he happened to meet Yuan Feng by the shore of the eastern ocean.15 Yuan Feng said, "Where are you going?"

"I am going to the Great Valley."

"What will you do there?"

"The Great Valley is the sort of thing you can pour into and it never gets full, dip from and it never runs dry. I am going to wander there."

Yuan Feng said, "Don't you care about what happens to ordinary men? Please, won't you tell me about the government of the sage?"

"The government of the sage?" said Chun Mang. "Assign offices so that no abilities are overlooked, promote men so that no talents are neglected. Always know the true facts and let men do what they are best at.. When actions and words proceed properly and the world is transformed, then at a wave of the hand or a tilt of the chin all the people of the four directions will come flocking to you. This is called the government of the sage."

"May I ask about the man of Virtue?"

"The man of Virtue rests without thought, moves without plan. He has no use for right and wrong, beautiful and ugly. To share profit with all things within the four seas is his happiness, to look after their needs is his peace. Sad-faced, he's like a little child who has lost his mother. Bewildered, he's like a traveler who has lost his way. He has more than enough wealth and goods, but he does not know where they come from. He gets all he needs to eat and drink, but he does not know how he gets it. This is called the manner of the man of Virtue."

"May I ask about the man of spirit?"

"He lets his spirit ascend and mount upon the light; with his bodily form he dissolves and is gone. This is called the Illumination of Vastness. He lives out his fate, follows to the end his true form, and rests in the joy of Heaven and earth, while the ten thousand cares melt away. So all things return to their true form. This is called Muddled Darkness."

Men Wu-kuei and Ch'ih-chang Man-chi were watching the troops of King Wu.16 Ch'ih-chang Man-chi said, "He is no match for the man of the Yu clan. That's why he runs into all this trouble!"

Men Wu-kuei said, "Was the world already in good order when the man of the Yu clan came along to order it? Or was it in disorder and later he brought it to order?"

Ch'ih-chang Man-chi said, "Everybody wants to see the world well ordered. If it had been so already, what point would there have been in calling in the man of the Yu clan? The man of the Yu clan was medicine to a sore. But to wait until you go bald and then buy a wig, to wait until you get sick and then call for a doctor,, to prepare the medicine like a true filial son and present it to your loving father, wearing a grim and haggard look - this the true sage would be ashamed to do. In an age of Perfect Virtue the worthy are not honoured, the talented are not employed. Rulers are like the high branches of a tree, the people like the deer of the fields. They do what is right but they do not know that this is righteousness. They love one another but they do not know that this is benevolence. They are truehearted but do not know that this is loyalty. They are trustworthy but do not know that this is good faith. They wriggle around like insects, performing services for one another, but do not know that they are being kind. Therefore they move without leaving any trail behind, act without leaving any memory of their deeds."

When a filial son does not fawn on his parents, when a loyal minister does not flatter his lord, they are the finest of sons and ministers. He who agrees with everything his parents say and approves of everything they do is regarded by popular opinion as an unworthy son; he who agrees with everything his lord says and approves of everything his lord does is regarded by popular opinion as an unworthy minister. But in other cases men do not realize that the same principle should apply. If a man agrees with everything that popular opinion says and regards as good everything that popular opinion regards as good, he is not, as you might expect, called a sycophant and a flatterer. Are we to assume, then, that popular opinion commands more authority than one's parents, or is more to be honoured than one's lord?

Call a man a sycophant and he flushes with anger; call him a flatterer and he turns crimson with rage. Yet all his life he will continue to be a sycophant, all his life he will continue to be a flatterer. See him set forth his analogies and polish his fine phrases to draw a crowd, until the beginning and end, the root and branches of his argument no longer match! See him spread out his robes, display his bright colours, put on a solemn face in hopes of currying favour with the age - and yet he does not recognize himself as a sycophant or a flatterer. See him with his followers laying down the law on right and wrong and yet he does not recognize himself as one of the mob. This is the height of foolishness!

He who knows he is a fool is not the biggest fool; he who knows he is confused is not in the worst confusion. The man in the worst confusion will end his life without ever getting straightened out; the biggest fool will end his life without ever seeing the light. If three men are traveling along and one is confused, they will still get where they are going - because confusion is in the minority. But if two of them are confused, then they can walk until they are exhausted and never get anywhere - because confusion is in the majority. And with all the confusion in the world these days, no matter how often I point the way, it does no good. Sad, is it not?

Great music is lost on the ears of the villagers, but play them "The Breaking of the Willow" or "Bright Flowers" and they grin from ear to car. In the same way, lofty words make no impression on the minds of the mob. Superior words gain no hearing because vulgar words are in the majority. It is like the case of the two travelers tramping along in confusion and never getting where they are going. With all the confusion in the world these days, no matter how often I point the way, what good does it do? And if I know it does no good and still make myself do it, this too is a kind of confusion. So it is best to leave things alone and not force them. If I do not force things, at least I won't cause anyone any worry.

When the leper woman gives birth to a child in the dead of the night, she rushes to fetch a torch and examine it, trembling with terror lest it look like herself.

The hundred-year-old tree is hacked up to make bowls for the sacrificial wine, blue and yellow, with patterns on them, and the chips are thrown into the ditch. Compare the sacrificial bowls with the chips in the ditch and you will find them far apart in beauty and ugliness; yet they are alike in having lost their inborn nature. Robber Chih, Tseng, and Shih are far apart in deeds and righteousness, and yet they are the same in having lost their inborn nature. There are five conditions under which the inborn nature is lost. One: when the five colours confuse the eye and cause the eyesight to be unclear. Two: when the five notes confuse the ear and cause the hearing to be unclear. Three: when the five odours stimulate the nose and produce weariness and congestion in the forehead. Four: when the five flavours dull the mouth, causing the sense of taste to be impaired and lifeless. Five: when likes and dislikes unsettle the mind and cause the inborn nature to become volatile and flighty. These five are all a danger to life. And yet the followers of Yang Tzu and Mo Tzu go striding around, thinking they have really gotten hold of something. This is not what I call getting hold of something.

If what you have gotten has gotten you into trouble, then can you really be said to have gotten something? If so, then the pigeons and doves in their cage have also gotten hold of something. With likes and dislikes, sounds and colours you cripple what is on the inside; with leather caps and snipe-feathered bonnets, batons stuck in belts and sashes trailing, you cramp what is on the outside. The inside hemmed in by pickets and pegs, the outside heaped with wraps and swathes, and still you stand in this tangle of wraps and swathes and declare that you have gotten hold of something? If so, then the condemned men with their chained wrists and manacled fingers, the tiger and the leopard in their pens and prisons have also gotten hold of something!

ZHUANGZI SECTION 13

The Way Of Heaven

It Is The Way Of Heaven to keep moving and to allow no piling up - hence the ten thousand things come to completion. It is the Way of the emperor to keep moving and to allow no piling up - hence the whole world repairs to his court. It is the Way of the sage to keep moving and to allow no piling up - hence all within the seas bow to him. Comprehending Heaven, conversant with the sage, walker in the six avenues and four frontiers of the Virtue of emperors and kings - the actions of such a man come naturally; dreamily, he never lacks stillness.

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The sage is still not because he takes stillness to be good and therefore is still. The ten thousand things are insufficient to distract his mind - that is the reason he is still. Water that is still gives back a clear image of beard and eyebrows; reposing in the water level, it offers a measure to the great carpenter. And if water in stillness possesses such clarity, how much more must pure spirit. The sage's mind in stillness is the mirror of Heaven and earth, the glass of the ten thousand things.

Emptiness, stillness, limpidity, silence, inaction - these are the level of Heaven and earth, the substance of the Way and its Virtue. Therefore the emperor, the king, the sage rest in them. Resting, they may be empty; empty, they may be full; and fullness is completion. Empty, they may be still; still, they may move; moving, they may acquire. Still, they may rest in inaction; resting in inaction, they may demand success from those who are charged with activities. Resting in inaction, they may be merry; being merry, they may shun the place of care and anxiety, and the years of their life will be long.

Emptiness, stillness, limpidity, silence, inaction are the root of the ten thousand things. To understand them and face south is to become a ruler such as Yao was; to understand them and face north is to become a minister such as Shun was. To hold them in high station is the Virtue of emperors and kings, of the Son of Heaven; to hold them in lowly station is the way of the dark sage, the uncrowned king. Retire with them to a life of idle wandering and you will command first place among the recluses of the rivers and seas, the hills and forests. Come forward with them to succor the age and your success will be great, your name renowned, and the world will be united. In stillness you will be a sage, in action a king. Resting in inaction, you will be honoured; of unwrought simplicity, your beauty will be such that no one in the world may vie with you.

He who has a clear understanding of the Virtue of Heaven and earth may be called the Great Source, the Great Ancestor. He harmonises with Heaven; and by doing so he brings equitable accord to the world and harmonises with men as well. To harmonise with men is called human joy; to harmonise with Heaven is called Heavenly joy. Chuang Tzu has said, "This Teacher of mine, this Teacher of mine - he passes judgment on the ten thousand things but he does not think himself severe; his bounty extends to ten thousand generations but he does not think himself benevolent. He is older than the highest antiquity but he does not think himself long-lived; he covers heaven, bears up the earth, carves and fashions countless forms, but he does not think himself skilled." This is what is called Heavenly joy.

So it is said, for him who understands Heavenly joy, life is the working of Heaven; death is the transformation of things. In stillness, he and the yin share a single Virtue; in motion, he and the yang share a single flow. Thus he who understands Heavenly joy incurs no wrath from Heaven, no opposition from man, no entanglement from things, no blame from the spirits. So it is said, his movement is of Heaven, his stillness of earth. With his single mind in repose, he is king of the world; the spirits do not afflict him; his soul knows no weariness. His single mind reposed, the ten thousand things submit - which is to say that his emptiness and stillness reach throughout Heaven and earth and penetrate the ten thousand things. This is what is called Heavenly joy. Heavenly joy is the mind of the sage, by which he shepherds the world.

The Virtue of emperors and kings takes Heaven and earth as its ancestor, the Way and its Virtue as its master, inaction as its constant rule. With inaction, you may make the world work for you and have leisure to spare; with action, you will find yourself working for the world and never will it be enough. Therefore the men of old prized inaction.

If superiors adopt inaction and inferiors adopt inaction as well, then inferior and superior will share the same virtue, and if inferior and superior share the same virtue, there will be none to act as minister. If inferiors adopt action and superiors adopt action as well, then superior and inferior will share the same way, and if superior and inferior share the same way, there will be none to act as lord. Superiors must adopt inaction and make the world work for them; inferiors must adopt action and work for the world. This is an unvarying truth.

Therefore the kings of the world in ancient times, though their knowledge encompassed all Heaven and earth, did not of themselves lay plans; though their power of discrimination embraced the ten thousand things, they did not of themselves expound any theories; though their abilities outshone all within the four seas, they did not of themselves act. Heaven does not give birth, yet the ten thousand things are transformed; earth does not sustain, yet the ten thousand things are nourished. The emperor and the king do not act, yet the world is benefited. So it is said, nothing so spiritual as Heaven, nothing so rich as earth, nothing so great as the emperor and the king. So it is said, the Virtue of the emperor and the king is the counterpart of Heaven and earth. This is the way to mount upon Heaven and earth, to make the ten thousand things gallop, to employ the mass of men.

The source rests with the superior, the trivia with the inferior; the essential resides in the ruler, the details in his ministers. The blandishments of the three armies and the five weapons - these are the trivia of Virtue. The doling out of rewards and punishments, benefit and loss, the five penalties - these are the trivia of public instruction. Rites and laws, weights, measures, the careful comparison of forms and names - these are the trivia of good government. The tones of bell and drum, the posturings of feather and tassel - these are the trivia of music. Lamentation and coarse garments, the mourning periods of varying lengths - these are the trivia of grief. These five trivia must wait for the movement of pure spirit, for the vitality of the mind's art before they can command respect. The study of such trivia was known to antiquity but the men of old gave them no precedence.

The ruler precedes, the minister follows; the father precedes, the son follows; the older brother precedes, the younger brother follows; the senior precedes, the junior follows; the man precedes, the woman follows; the husband precedes, the wife follows. Honour and lowliness, precedence and following are part of the workings of Heaven and earth, and from them the sage draws his model.

Heaven is honourable, earth lowly - such are their ranks in spiritual enlightenment. Spring and summer precede, autumn and winter follow - such is the sequence of the four seasons. The ten thousand things change and grow, their roots and buds, each with its distinctive form, flourishing and decaying by degree, a constant flow of change and transformation. If Heaven and earth, the loftiest in spirituality, have yet their sequence of honourable and lowly, of preceder and follower, how much more must the way of man! In the ancestral temple, honour is determined by degree of kinship; in the court, by degree of nobility; in the village, by degree of seniority; in the administration of affairs, by degree of worth. This is the sequence of the Great Way.

If you speak of the Way and not of its sequence, then it is not a way; and if you speak of a way that is not a way, then how can anyone make his way by it? Therefore the men of ancient times who clearly understood the Great Way first made clear Heaven and then went on to the Way and its Virtue. Having made clear the Way and its Virtue, they went on to benevolence and righteousness. Having made clear benevolence and righteousness, they went on to the observance of duties. Having made clear the observance of duties, they went on to forms and names. Having made clear forms and names, they went on to the assignment of suitable offices. Having made clear the assignment of suitable offices, they went on to the scrutiny of performance. Having made clear the scrutiny of performance, they went on to the judgment of right and wrong. Having made clear the judgment of right and wrong, they went on to rewards and punishments. Having made clear rewards and punishments, they could be certain that stupid and wise were in their proper place, that eminent and lowly were rightly ranked, that good and worthy men as well as unworthy ones showed their true form, that all had duties suited to their abilities, that all acted in accordance with their titles. It was in this way that superiors were served, inferiors were shepherded, external things were ordered, the inner man was trained. Knowledge and scheming were unused, yet all found rest in Heaven. This was called the Great Peace, the Highest Government. Hence the book says, "There are forms and there are names." Forms and names were known to antiquity, but the men of old gave them no precedence.

Those who spoke of the Great Way in ancient times could count to five in the sequence [described above] and pick out "forms and names," or count to nine and discuss "rewards and punishments." But to jump right in and talk about "forms and names" is to lack an understanding of the source; to jump right in and talk about "rewards and punishments" is to lack an understanding of the beginning. Those who stand the Way on its head before describing it, who turn it backwards before expounding it, may be brought to order by others, but how could they be capable of bringing others to order? Those who jump right in and talk about "forms and names," "rewards and punishments," have an understanding of the tools for bringing order, but no understanding of the way to bring order. They may work for the world, but they are not worthy to make the world work for them. They are rhetoricians, scholars cramped in one corner of learning. Rites and laws, weights and measures, the careful comparison of forms and names - the men of old had all these. They are the means by which those below serve those above, not the means by which those above shepherd those below.

Long ago Shun asked Yao, "As Heaven-appointed king, how do you use your mind?"

Yao replied, "I never abuse those who have nowhere to sue, nor reject the poor people. Grieving for the dead, comforting the orphan, pitying the widow - I use my mind in these things alone."

Shun said, "Admirable, as far as admirableness goes. But not yet great."

Yao said, "Then what should I do?"

Shun said, "Heaven raised on high, Earth in peace, Sun and Moon shining, the four seasons marching - if you could be like the constant succession of day and night, the clouds which move, the rains that fall!"

"And to think I have been going to all this bustle and bother!" said Yao. "You are one who joins with Heaven; I am one who joins with man."

Heaven and earth have been called great since ancient times, have been praised in chorus by the Yellow Emperor, Yao, and Shun. The kings of the world in ancient times - what need had they for action? Heaven and earth was enough for them.

Confucius went west to deposit his works with the royal house of Chou. Tzu-lu advised him, saying, "I have heard that the Keeper of the Royal Archives is one Lao Tan, now retired and living at home. If you wish to deposit your works, you might try going to see him about it."

"Excellent!" said Confucius, and went to see Lao Tan, but Lao Tan would not give permission. Thereupon Confucius unwrapped his Twelve Classics and began expounding them. Halfway through the exposition, Lao Tan said, "This will take forever! Just let me hear the gist of the thing"

"The gist of it," said Confucius, "is benevolence and righteousness."

"May I ask if benevolence and righteousness belong to the inborn nature of man?" said Lao Tan.

"Of course," said Confucius. "If the gentleman lacks benevolence, he will get nowhere; if he lacks righteousness, he cannot even stay alive. Benevolence and righteousness are truly the inborn nature of man. What else could they be?"

Lao Tan said, "May I ask your definition of benevolence and righteousness?"

Confucius said, "To be glad and joyful in mind; to embrace universal love and be without partisanship - this is the true form of benevolence and righteousness."

Lao Tan said, "Hmm - close-except for the last part. 'Universal love' - that is a rather nebulous ideal, is it not? And to be without partisanship is already a kind of partisanship. Do you want to keep the world from losing its simplicity?

Heaven and earth hold fast to their constant ways, the sun and moon to their brightness, the stars and planets to their ranks, the birds and beasts to their flocks, the trees and shrubs to their stands. You have only to go along with Virtue in your actions, to follow the Way in your journey, and already you will be there. Why these flags of benevolence and righteousness so bravely upraised, as though you were beating a drum and searching for a lost child? Ah, you will bring confusion to the nature of man!"

Shih Ch'eng-ch'i went to see Lao Tzu. "I had heard that you were a sage," he said, "and so, without minding how long the road was, I came to beg an interview - a hundred nights along the way, feet covered with calluses, and yet I did not dare to stop and rest. Now that I see you, though, I find you are no sage at all. Rat holes heaped with leftover grain and yet you turn your little sister out of the house, an unkind act indeed! More raw and cooked food in front of you than you can ever get through, and yet you go on endlessly hoarding goods!" Lao Tzu looked blank and made no reply.

The following day, Shih Ch'eng-ch'i came to see him again and said, "Yesterday I was very sharp with you, but now I have no heart for that sort of thing. I wonder why that is?"

Lao Tzu said, "Artful wisdom, the spirit-like sage - I hope I have shuffled off categories of that sort! If you'd called me an ox, I'd have said I was an ox; if you'd called me a horse, I'd have said I was a horse. If the reality is there and you refuse to accept the name men give it, you'll only lay yourself open to double harassment. My submission is a constant submission; I do not submit because I think it time to submit."

Shih Ch'eng-ch'i backed respectfully away so that he would not tread on Lao Tzu's shadow, and then advanced once more in humble manner and asked how he should go about cultivating his person.

Lao Tzu said, "Your face is grim, your eyes are fierce, your forehead is broad, your mouth gaping, your manner overbearing, like a horse held back by a tether, watching for a chance to bolt, bounding off as though shot from a crossbow. Scrutinizing ever so carefully, crafty in wisdom, parading your arrogance - all this invites mistrust. Up in the borderlands a man like you would be taken for a thief!"

The Master said: The Way does not falter before the huge, is not forgetful of the tiny; therefore the ten thousand things are complete in it. Vast and ample, there is nothing it does not receive. Deep and profound, how can it be fathomed? Punishment and favour, benevolence and righteousness - these are trivia to the spirit, and yet who but the Perfect Man can put them in their rightful place?

When the Perfect Man rules the world, he has hold of a huge thing, does he not? - yet it is not enough to snare him in entanglement. He works the handles that control the world, but is not a party to the workings. He sees clearly into what has no falsehood and is unswayed by thoughts of gain. He ferrets out the truth of things and knows how to cling to the source. Therefore he can put Heaven and earth outside himself, forget the ten thousand things, and his spirit has no cause to be wearied. He dismisses benevolence and righteousness, rejects16 rites and music, for the mind of the Perfect Man knows where to find repose.

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Men of the world who value the Way all turn to books. But books are nothing more than words. Words have value; what is of value in words is meaning. Meaning has something it is pursuing, but the thing that it is pursuing cannot be put into words and handed down. The world values words and hands down books but, though the world values them, I do not think them worth valuing. What the world takes to be value is not real value.

What you can look at and see are forms and colours; what you can listen to and hear are names and sounds. What a pity! - that the men of the world should suppose that form and colour, name and sound are sufficient to convey the truth of a thing. It is because in the end they are not sufficient to convey truth that "those who know do not speak, those who speak do not know." But how can the world understand this!

Duke Huan was in his hall reading a book. The wheelwright P'ien, who was in the yard below chiseling a wheel, laid down his mallet and chisel, stepped up into the hall, and said to Duke Huan, "This book Your Grace is reading - may I venture to ask whose words are in it?"

"The words of the sages," said the duke.

"Are the sages still alive?"

"Dead long ago," said the duke.

"In that case, what you are reading there is nothing but the chaff and dregs of the men of old!"

"Since when does a wheelwright have permission to comment on the books I read?" said Duke Huan. "If you have some explanation, well and good. If not, it's your life!"

Wheelwright P'ien said, "I look at it from the point of view of my own work. When I chisel a wheel, if the blows of the mallet are too gentle, the chisel slides and won't take hold. But if they are too hard, it bites in and won't budge. Not too gentle, not too hard - you can get it in your hand and feel it in your mind. You cannot put it into words, and yet there is a knack to it somehow. I cannot teach it to my son, and he cannot learn it from me. So I've gone along for seventy years and at my age I am still chiseling wheels. When the men of old died, they took with them the things that couldn't be handed down. So what you are reading there must be nothing but the chaff and dregs of the men of old."

ZHUANGZI SECTION 14

The Turning Of Heaven

Does Heaven Turn? Does the earth sit still? Do sun and moon compete for a place to shine? Who masterminds all this? Who pulls the strings? Who, resting inactive himself, gives the push that makes it go this way? I wonder, is there some mechanism that works it and won't let it stop? I wonder if it just rolls and turns and cannot bring itself to a halt? Do the clouds make the rain, or does the rain make the clouds? Who puffs them up, who showers them down like this? Who, resting inactive himself, stirs up all this lascivious joy? The winds rise in the north, blowing now west, now east, whirling up to wander on high. Whose breaths and exhalations are they? Who, resting inactive himself, huffs and puffs them about like this?

The shaman Hsien beckoned and said, "Come - I will tell you. Heaven has the six directions and the five constants. When emperors and kings go along with these, there is good order; when they move contrary to these, there is disaster. With the instructions of the Nine Lo, order can be made to reign and virtue completed. The ruler will shine mirror-like over the earth below, and the world will bear him up. He may be called an August One on high."

Tang, the prime minister of Shang, asked Chuang Tzu about benevolence.

Chuang Tzu said, "Tigers and wolves - they are benevolent."

"How can you say that?"

Chuang Tzu said, "Sire and cubs warm and affectionate with one another - why do you say they are not benevolent?"

"What I am asking to hear about is perfect benevolence."

"Perfect benevolence knows no affection," said Chuang Tzu.

The prime minister said, "I have heard that where affection is lacking, there will be no love, and if there is no love, there will be no filial piety. Can you possibly say that perfect benevolence is unfilial?"

"No, no," said Chuang Tzu. "Perfect benevolence is a lofty thing - words like filial piety would never do to describe it. And what you are talking about is not something that surpasses filial piety, but something that does not even come up to it. If a traveler to the south turns to look north again when he reaches the city of Ying, he will no longer see the dark northern mountains. Why? Because they are too far away. Thus it is said, to be filial out of respect is easy; to be filial out of love is hard. To be filial out of love is easy; to forget parents is hard. To forget parents is easy; to make parents forget you is hard. To make parents forget you is easy; to forget the whole world is hard. To forget the whole world is easy; to make the whole world forget you is hard. Virtue discards Yao and Shun and rests in inaction. Its bounty enriches ten thousand ages, and yet no one in the world knows this. Why all these deep sighs, this talk of benevolence and filial piety? Filial piety, brotherliness, benevolence, righteousness, loyalty, trust, honour, integrity - for all of these you must drive yourself and make a slave of Virtue. They are not worth prizing. So it is said, Highest eminence scorns the titles of the kingdom; greatest wealth rejects the riches of the kingdom; loftiest desire ignores fame and reputation. It is the Way alone that never varies."

Ch'eng of North Gate said to the Yellow Emperor, "When Your Majesty performed the Hsien-ch'ih music in the wilds around Lake Tung-t'ing, I listened, and at first I was afraid. I listened some more and felt weary, and then I listened to the end and felt confused. Overwhelmed, speechless, I couldn't get hold of myself."

"It's not surprising you felt that way," said the emperor. "I performed it through man, tuned it to Heaven, went forward with ritual principle, and established it in Great Purity. Perfect music must first respond to the needs of man, accord with the reason of Heaven, proceed by the Five Virtues, and blend with spontaneity; only then can it bring order to the four seasons and bestow a final harmony upon the ten thousand things. Then the four seasons will rise one after the other, the ten thousand things will take their turn at living. Now flourishing, now decaying, the civil and military strains will keep them in step; now with clear notes, now with dull ones, the yin and the yang will blend all in harmony, the sounds flowing forth like light, like hibernating insects that start to wriggle again, like the crash of thunder with which I awe the world. At the end, no tail; at the beginning, no head; now dead, now alive, now flat on the ground, now up on its feet, its constancy is unending, yet there is nothing that can be counted on. That's why you felt afraid.

"Then I played it with the harmony of yin and yang, lit it with the shining of sun and moon; its notes I was able to make long or short, yielding or strong, modulating about a single unity, but bowing before no rule or constancy. In the valley they filled the valley; in the void they filled the void; plugging up the crevices, holding back the spirit, accepting things on their own terms. Its notes were clear and radiant,8 its fame high and bright. Therefore the ghosts and spirits kept to their darkness and the sun, moon, stars, and constellations marched in their orbits. I made it stop where there is an end to things, made it flow where there is no stopping. You try to fathom it but cannot understand, try to gaze at it but cannot see, try to overtake it but cannot catch up. You stand dazed before the four-directioned emptiness of the Way, or lean on your desk and moan. Your eyes fail before you can see, your strength knuckles under before you can catch up. It was nothing I could do anything about. Your body melted into the empty void, and this brought you to an idle freedom. It was this idle freedom that made you feel weary.

"Then I played it with unwearying notes and tuned it to the command of spontaneity. Therefore there seemed to be a chaos where things grow in thickets together, a maturity where nothing takes form, a universal plucking where nothing gets pulled, a clouded obscurity where there is no sound. It moved in no direction at all, rested in mysterious shadow. Some called it death, some called it life, some called it fruit, some called it flower. It flowed and scattered, and bowed before no constant tone. The world, perplexed by it, went to the sage for instruction, for the sage is the comprehender of true form and the completer of fate. When the Heavenly mechanism is not put into action and yet the five vital organs are all complete this may be called the music of Heaven. Wordless, it delights the mind. Therefore the lord of Yen sang its praises thus: 'Listen - you do not hear its sound; look - you do not see its form. It fills all Heaven and earth, enwraps all the six directions.' You wanted to hear it but had no way to go about it. That was why you felt confused.

"Music begins with fear, and because of this fear there is dread, as of a curse. Then I add the weariness, and because of the weariness there is compliance. I end it all with confusion, and because of the confusion there is stupidity. And because of the stupidity there is the Way, the Way that can be lifted up and carried around wherever you go."

When Confucius was away in the west visiting the state of Wei, Yen Yuan said to the Music Master Chin, "What do you think of my master's trip?"

Music Master Chin said, "A pity! - your master will most likely end up in trouble."

"How so?" asked Yen Yuan.

Music Master Chin said, "Before the straw dogs are presented at the sacrifice, they are stored in bamboo boxes and covered over with patterned embroidery, while the impersonator of the dead and the priest fast and practice austerities in preparation for fetching them. But after they have once been presented, then all that remains for them is to be trampled on, head and back, by passers-by; to be swept up by the grasscutters and burned. And if anyone should come along and put them back in their bamboo boxes, cover them over with patterned embroidery, and linger or lie down to sleep beneath them, he would dream no proper dreams; on the contrary, he would most certainly be visited again and again by nightmares.

"Now your master has picked up some old straw dogs that had been presented by the former kings, and has called together his disciples to linger and lie down in sleep beneath them. Therefore the people chopped down the tree on him in Sung, wiped away his footprints in Wei, and made trouble for him in Shang and Chou - such were the dreams he had. They besieged him between Ch'en and Ts'ai, and for seven days he ate no cooked food, till he hovered on the border between life and death - such were the nightmares he had.

"Nothing is as good as a boat for crossing water, nothing as good as a cart for crossing land. But though a boat will get you over water, if you try to push it across land, you may push till your dying day and hardly move it any distance at all. And are the past and present not like the water and the land, and the states of Chou and Lu not like a boat and a cart?

To hope to practice the ways of Chou in the state of Lu is like trying to push a boat over land - a great deal of work, no success, and certain danger to the person who tries it. The man who tries to do so has failed to understand the turning that has no direction, that responds to things and is never at a loss.

"Have you never seen a well sweep? Pull it, and down it comes; let go, and up it swings. It allows itself to be pulled around by men; it does not try to pull them. So it can go up and down and never get blamed by anybody.

"Thus it is that the rituals and regulations of the Three August Ones and the Five Emperors are prized not because they were uniform, but because they were capable of bringing about order. The rituals and regulations of the Three August Ones and the Five Emperors may be compared to the haw, the pear, the orange, and the citron. Their flavours are quite different, yet all are pleasing to the mouth. Rituals and regulations are something that change in response to the times. If you take a monkey and dress him in the robes of the Duke of Chou, he will bite and tear at them, not satisfied until he has divested himself of every stitch. And a glance will show that past and present are no more alike than are a monkey and the Duke of Chou!

"The beautiful Hsi-shih, troubled with heartburn, frowned at her neighbours. An ugly woman of the neighbourhood, seeing that Hsi-shih was beautiful, went home and likewise pounded her breast and frowned at her neighbours. But at the sight of her the rich men of the neighbourhood shut tight their gates and would not venture out, while the poor men grabbed their wives and children by the hand and scampered off. The woman understood that someone frowning could be beautiful, but she did not understand where the beauty of the frown came from. A pity, indeed! Your master is going to end up in trouble!"

Confucius had gone along until he was fifty-one and had still not heard the Way. Finally he went south to P'ei and called on Lao Tan. "Ah, you have come," said Lao Tan. "I've heard that you are a worthy man of the northern region. Have you found the Way?"

"Not yet," said Confucius.

"Where did you look for it?" asked Lao Tan.

"I looked for it in rules and regulations, but five years went by and still I hadn't found it."

"Where else did you look for it?" asked Lao Tan.

"I looked for it in the yin and yang, but twelve years went by and I still hadn't found it."

"It stands to reason!" said Lao Tan. "If the Way could be presented, there is no man who would not present it to his ruler. If the Way could be offered, there is no man who would not offer it to his parents. If the Way could be reported, there is no man who would not report it to his brothers. If the Way could be bequeathed, there is no man who would not bequeath it to his heirs. But it cannot - and for none other than the following reason. If there is no host on the inside to receive it, it will not stay; if there is no mark on the outside to guide it, it will not go. If what is brought forth from the inside is not received on the outside, then the sage will not bring it forth. If what is taken in from the outside is not received by a host on the inside, the sage will not entrust it."

"Fame is a public weapon - don't reach for it too often. Benevolence and righteousness are the grass huts of the former kings; you may stop in them for one night but you mustn't tarry there for long. A lengthy stay would invite many reproaches. The Perfect Man of ancient times used benevolence as a path to be borrowed, righteousness as a lodge to take shelter in. He wandered in the free and easy wastes, ate in the plain and simple fields, and strolled in the garden of no bestowal. Free and easy, he rested in inaction; plain and simple, it was not hard for him to live; bestowing nothing, he did not have to hand things out. The men of old called this the wandering of the Truth-picker.

"He who considers wealth a good thing can never bear to give up his income; he who considers eminence a good thing can never bear to give up his fame. He who has a taste for power can never bear to hand over authority to others. Holding tight to these things, such men shiver with fear; should they let them go, they would pine in sorrow. They never stop for a moment of reflection, never cease to gaze with greedy eyes - they are men punished by Heaven. Resentment and kindness, taking away and giving, reproof and instruction, life and death - these eight things are the weapons

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of the corrector. Only he who complies with the Great Change and allows no blockage will be able to use them. Therefore it is said, The corrector must be correct. If the mind cannot accept this fact, then the doors of Heaven will never open!"

Confucius called on Lao Tan and spoke to him about benevolence and righteousness. Lao Tan said, "Chaff from the winnowing fan can so blind the eye that heaven, earth, and the four directions all seem to shift place. A mosquito or a horsefly stinging your skin can keep you awake a whole night. And when benevolence and righteousness in all their fearfulness come to muddle the mind, the confusion is unimaginable. If you want to keep the world from losing its simplicity, you must move with the freedom of the wind, stand in the perfection of Virtue. Why all this huffing and puffing, as though you were carrying a big drum and searching for a lost child! The snow goose needs no daily bath to stay white; the crow needs no daily inking to stay black. Black and white in their simplicity offer no ground for argument; fame and reputation in their clamorousness19 offer no ground for envy. When the springs dry up and the fish are left stranded on the ground, they spew each other with moisture and wet each other down with spit - but it would be much better if they could forget each other in the rivers and lakes!"

When Confucius returned from his visit with Lao Tan, he did not speak for three days. His disciples said, "Master, you have seen Lao Tan - what estimation would you make of him?"

Confucius said, "At last I may say that I have seen a dragon - a dragon that coils to show his body at its best, that sprawls out to display his patterns at their best, riding on the breath of the clouds, feeding on the yin and yang. My mouth fell open and I couldn't close it; my tongue flew up and I couldn't even stammer. How could I possibly make any estimation of Lao Tan!"

Tzu-kung said, "Then is it true that the Perfect Man can command corpse-like stillness and dragon vision, the voice of thunder and the silence of deep pools; that he breaks forth into movement like Heaven and earth? If only I too could get to see him!"

In the end he went with an introduction from Confucius and called on Lao Tan. Lao Tan was about to sit down in the hall and stretch out his legs. In a small voice he said, "I've lived to see a great many years come and go. What advice is it you have for me?"

Tzu-kung said, "The Three August Ones and the Five Emperors ruled the world in ways that were not the same, though they were alike in the praise and acclaim they won. I am told, Sir, that you alone do not regard them as sages. May I ask why?"

Lao Tan said, "Young man, come a little closer! Why do you say that they ruled in ways that were not the same?"

"Yao ceded the throne to Shun, and Shun ceded it to Yu. Yu wore himself out over it, and T'ang even resorted to war. King Wen obeyed Chou and did not dare to rebel; but his son King Wu turned against Chou and refused to remain loyal. Therefore I say that they were not the same."

Lao Tan said, "Young man, come a little closer and I will tell you how the Three August Ones and the Five Emperors ruled the world. In ancient times the Yellow Emperor ruled the world by making the hearts of the people one. Therefore, if there were those among the people who did not wail at the death of their parents, the people saw nothing wrong in this. Yao ruled the world by making the hearts of the people affectionate. Therefore, if there were those among the people who decided to mourn for longer or shorter periods according to the degree of kinship of the deceased, the people saw nothing wrong in this. Shun ruled the world by making the hearts of the people rivalrous. Therefore the wives of the people became pregnant and gave birth in the tenth month as in the past, but their children were not five months old before they were able to talk, and their baby laughter had hardly rung out before they had begun to distinguish one person from another. It was then that premature death first appeared. Yu ruled the world by causing the hearts of the people to change. It was assumed that each man had a heart of his own, that recourse to arms was quite all right. Killing a thief is not a case of murder, they said; every man in the world should look out for his own kind. As a result, there was great consternation in the world, and the Confucians and Mo-ists all came forward, creating for the first time the rules of ethical behavior. But what would they say of those men who nowadays make wives of their daughters?

"I will tell you how the Three August Ones and the Five Emperors ruled the world! They called it 'ruling,' but in fact they were plunging it into the worst confusion. The 'wisdom' of the Three August Ones was such as blotted out the brightness of sun and moon above, sapped the vigor of hills and streams below, and overturned the round of the four seasons in between. Their wisdom was more fearsome than the tail of the scorpion; down to the smallest beast, not a living thing was allowed to rest in the true form of its nature and fate. And yet they considered themselves sages! Was it not shameful - their lack of shame!"

Tzu-kung, stunned and speechless, stood wondering which way to turn.

Confucius said to Lao Tan, "I have been studying the Six Classics - the Odes, the Documents, the Ritual, the Music, the Changes, and the Spring and Autumn, for what I would call a long time, and I know their contents through and through. But I have been around to seventy-two different rulers with them, expounding the ways of the former kings and making clear the path trod by the dukes of Chou and Shao, and yet not a single ruler has found anything to excite his interest. How difficult it is to persuade others, how difficult to make clear the Way!"

Lao Tzu said, "It's lucky you did not meet with a ruler who would try to govern the world as you say. The Six Classics are the old worn-out paths of the former kings - they are not the thing which walked the path. What you are expounding are simply these paths. Paths are made by shoes that walk them, they are by no means the shoes themselves!

"The white fish hawk has only to stare unblinking at its mate for fertilization to occur. With insects, the male cries on the wind above, the female cries on the wind below, and there is fertilization. The creature called the lei is both male and female and so it can fertilize itself. Inborn nature cannot be changed, fate cannot be altered, time cannot be stopped, the Way cannot be obstructed. Get hold of the Way and there is nothing that cannot be done; lose it and there is nothing that can be done."

Confucius stayed home for three months and then came to see Lao Tan once again. "I've got it," he said. "The magpie hatches its young, the fish spit out their milt, the slim-waisted wasp has its stages of transformation, and when baby brother is born, big brother howls. For a long time now I have not been taking my place as a man along with the process of change. And if I do not take my own place as a man along with the process of change, how can I hope to change other men?"

Lao Tzu said, "Good, Ch'iu - now you have got it!"

ZHUANGZI SECTION 15

Constrained In Will

To Be Constrained In Will, lofty in action, aloof from the world, apart from its customs, elevated in discourse, sullen and critical, indignation his whole concern - such is the life favoured by the scholar in his mountain valley, the man who condemns the world, the worn and haggard one who means to end it all with a plunge into the deep. To discourse on benevolence, righteousness, loyalty, and good faith, to be courteous, temperate, modest, and deferential, moral training his whole concern - such is the life favoured by the scholar who seeks to bring the world to order, the man who teaches and instructs, who at home and abroad lives for learning. To talk of great accomplishments, win a great name, define the etiquette of ruler and subject, regulate the position of superior and inferior, the ordering of the state his only concern - such is the life favoured by the scholar of court and council, the man who would honour his sovereign and strengthen his country, the bringer of accomplishment, the annexer of territory. To repair to the thickets and ponds, living idly in the wilderness, angling for fish in solitary places, inaction his only concern - such is the life favoured by the scholar of the rivers and seas, the man who withdraws from the world, the unhurried idler. To pant, to puff, to hail, to sip, to spit out

the old breath and draw in the new, practicing bear-hangings and bird-stretchings, longevity his only concern - such is the life favoured by the scholar who practices Induction, the man who nourishes his body, who hopes to live to be as old as P'eng-tsu.

But to attain loftiness without constraining the will; to achieve moral training without benevolence and righteousness, good order without accomplishments and fame, leisure without rivers and seas, long life without Induction; to lose everything and yet possess everything, at ease in the illimitable, where all good things come to attend - this is the Way of Heaven and earth, the Virtue of the sage. So it is said, Limpidity, silence, emptiness, inaction - these are the level of Heaven and earth, the substance of the Way and its Virtue. So it is said, The sage rests; with rest comes peaceful ease, with peaceful ease comes limpidity, and where there is ease and limpidity, care and worry cannot get at him, noxious airs cannot assault him. Therefore his Virtue is complete and his spirit unimpaired.

So it is said, With the sage, his life is the working of Heaven, his death the transformation of things. In stillness, he and the yin share a single Virtue; in motion, he and the yang share a single flow. He is not the bearer of good fortune, nor the initiator of bad fortune. Roused by something outside himself, only then does he respond; pressed, only then does he move; finding he has no choice, only then does he rise up. He discards knowledge and purpose and follows along with the reasonableness of Heaven. Therefore he incurs no disaster from Heaven, no entanglement from things, no opposition from man, no blame from the spirits. His life is a floating, his death a rest. He does not ponder or scheme, does not plot for the future. A man of light, he does not shine; of good faith, he keeps no promises. He sleeps without dreaming, wakes without worry. His spirit is pure and clean, his soul never wearied. In emptiness, nonbeing, and limpidity, he joins with the Virtue of Heaven.

So it is said, Grief and happiness are perversions of Virtue; joy and anger are transgressions of the Way; love and hate are offenses against Virtue. When the mind is without care or joy, this is the height of Virtue. When it is unified and unchanging, this is the height of stillness. When it grates against nothing, this is the height of emptiness. When it has no commerce with things, this is the height of limpidity. When it rebels against nothing, this is the height of purity.

So it is said, If the body is made to labor and take no rest, it will wear out; if the spiritual essence is taxed without cessation, it will grow weary, and weariness will bring exhaustion. It is the nature of water that if it is not mixed with other things, it will be clear, and if nothing stirs it, it will be level. But if it is dammed and hemmed in and not allowed to flow, then, too, it will cease to be clear. As such, it is a symbol of Heavenly Virtue. So it is said, To be pure, clean, and mixed with nothing; still, unified, and unchanging; limpid and inactive; moving with the workings of Heaven - this is the way to care for the spirit.

The man who owns a sword from Kan or Yueh lays it in a box and stores it away, not daring to use it, for to him it is the greatest of treasures. Pure spirit reaches in the four directions, flows now this way, now that - there is no place it does not extend to. Above, it brushes Heaven; below, it coils on the earth. It transforms and nurses the ten thousand things, but no one can make out its form. Its name is called One-with-Heaven. The way to purity and whiteness is to guard the spirit, this alone; guard it and never lose it, and you will become one with spirit, one with its pure essence, which communicates and mingles with the Heavenly Order. The common saying has it, "The ordinary man prizes gain, the man of integrity prizes name, the worthy man honours ambition, the sage values spiritual essence." Whiteness means there is nothing mixed in; purity means the spirit is never impaired. He who can embody purity and whiteness may be called the True Man.

ZHUANGZI SECTION 16

Mending The Inborn Nature

Those Who Set About Mending the inborn nature through vulgar learning, hoping thereby to return once more to the Beginning; those who set about muddling their desires through vulgar ways of thought, hoping thereby to attain clarity - they may be called the blind and benighted people.

The men of ancient times who practiced the Way employed tranquility to cultivate knowledge. Knowledge lived in them, yet they did nothing for its sake. So they may be said to have employed knowledge to cultivate tranquility. Knowledge and tranquility took turns cultivating each other, and harmony and order emerged from the inborn nature.

Virtue is harmony, the Way is order. When Virtue embraces all things, we have benevolence. When the Way is in all respects well ordered, we have righteousness. When righteousness is clearly understood and all things cling to it, we have loyalty. When within there is purity, fullness, and a return to true form, we have music. When good faith is expressed in face and body and there is a compliance with elegance, we have rites. But if all emphasis is placed on the conduct of rites and music, then the world will fall into disorder. The ruler, in his efforts to rectify, will draw a cloud over his own virtue, and his virtue will no longer extend to all things. And should he try to force it to extend, then things would invariably lose their inborn nature.

The men of old dwelt in the midst of crudity and chaos; side by side with the rest of the world, they attained simplicity and silence there. At that time the yin and yang were harmonious and still, ghosts and spirits worked no mischief, the four seasons kept to their proper order, the ten thousand things knew no injury, and living creatures were free from premature death. Although men had knowledge, they did not use it. This was called the Perfect Unity. At this time, no one made a move to do anything, and there was unvarying spontaneity.

The time came, however, when Virtue began to dwindle and decline, and then Sui Jen and Fu Hsi stepped forward to take charge of the world. As a result there was compliance, but no longer any unity. Virtue continued to dwindle and decline, and then Shen Nung and the Yellow Emperor stepped forward to take charge of the world. As a result, there was security, but no longer any compliance. Virtue continued to dwindle and decline, and then Yao and Shun stepped forward to take charge of the world.3 They set about in various fashions to order and transform the world, and in doing so defiled purity and shattered simplicity. The Way was pulled apart for the sake of goodness; Virtue was imperiled for the sake of conduct. After this, inborn nature was abandoned and minds were set free to roam, mind joining with mind in understanding; there was knowledge, but it could not bring stability to the world. After this, "culture" was added on, and "breadth" was piled on top. "Culture" destroyed the substantial, "breadth" drowned the mind, and after this the

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people began to be confused and disordered. They had no way to revert to the true form of their inborn nature or to return once more to the Beginning.

From this we may see that the world has lost the Way, and the Way has lost the world; the world and the Way have lost each other. What means does a man of the Way have to go forward in the world? What means does the world have to go forward in the Way? The Way cannot go forward in the world, and the world cannot go forward in the Way. So, although the sage does not retire to dwell in the midst of the mountain forest, his Virtue is already hidden. It is already hidden, and therefore he does not need to hide it himself.

The so-called scholars in hiding of ancient times did not conceal their bodies and refuse to let them be seen; they did not shut in their words and refuse to let them out; they did not stow away their knowledge and refuse to share it. But the fate of the times was too much awry. If the fate of the times had been with them and they could have done great deeds in the world, then they would have returned to Unity and left no trace behind. But the fate of the times was against them and brought them only great hardship in the world, and therefore they deepened their roots, rested in perfection, and waited. This was the way they kept themselves alive.

Those in ancient times who wished to keep themselves alive did not use eloquence to ornament their knowledge. They did not use their knowledge to make trouble for the world; they did not use their knowledge to make trouble for Virtue. Loftily they kept to their places and returned to their inborn nature. Having done that, what more was there for them to do? The way has no use for petty conduct; Virtue has no use for petty understanding. Petty understanding injures Virtue; petty conduct injures the Way. Therefore it is said, Rectify yourself, that is all. When joy is complete, this is called the fulfillment of ambition.

When the men of ancient times spoke of the fulfillment of ambition, they did not mean fine carriages and caps. They meant simply that joy was so complete that it could not be made greater. Nowadays, however, when men speak of the fulfillment of ambition, they mean fine carriages and caps. But carriages and caps affect the body alone, not the inborn nature and fate. Such things from time to time may happen to come your way. When they come, you cannot keep them from arriving, but when they depart you cannot stop them from going. Therefore carriages and caps are no excuse for becoming puffed up with pride, and hardship and poverty are no excuse for fawning on the vulgar. You should find the same joy in one condition as in the other and thereby be free of care, that is all. But now, when the things that happened along take their leave, you cease to be joyful. From this point of view, though you have joy, it will always be fated for destruction. Therefore it is said, Those who destroy themselves in things and lose their inborn nature in the vulgar may be called the upside-down people.

ZHUANGZI SECTION 17

Autumn Floods

The Time Of The Autumn Floods came and the hundred streams poured into the Yellow River. Its racing current swelled to such proportions that, looking from bank to bank or island to island, it was impossible to distinguish a horse from a cow. Then the Lord of the River1 was beside himself with joy, believing that all the beauty in the world belonged to him alone. Following the current, he journeyed east until at last he reached the North Sea. Looking east, he could see no end to the water.

The Lord of the River began to wag his head and roll his eyes. Peering far off in the direction of Jo, he sighed and said, "The common saying has it, 'He has heard the Way a mere hundred times but he thinks he's better than anyone else.' It applies to me. In the past, I heard men belittling the learning of Confucius and making light of the righteousness of Po Yi, though I never believed them. Now, however, I have seen your unfathomable vastness. If I hadn't come to your gate, I would have been in danger. I would forever have been laughed at by the masters of the Great Method!"

Jo of the North Sea said, "You cannot discuss the ocean with a well frog - he's limited by the space he lives in. You cannot discuss ice with a summer insect - he's bound to a single season. You cannot discuss the Way with a cramped scholar - he's shackled by his doctrines. Now you have come out beyond your banks and borders and have seen the great sea - so you realize your own pettiness. From now on it will be possible to talk to you about the Great Principle.

"Of all the waters of the world, none is as great as the sea. Ten thousand streams flow into it - I have never heard of a time when they stopped - and yet it is never full. The water leaks away at Wei-lu - I have never heard of a time when it did not - and yet the sea is never empty. Spring or autumn, it never changes. Flood or drought, it takes no notice. It is so much greater than the streams of the Yangtze or the Yellow River that it is impossible to measure the difference. But I have never for this reason prided myself on it. I take my place with heaven and earth and receive breath from the yin and yang. I sit here between heaven and earth as a little stone or a little tree sits on a huge mountain. Since I can see my own smallness, what reason would I have to pride myself?

"Compare the area within the four seas with all that is between heaven and earth - is it not like one little anthill in a vast marsh? Compare the Middle Kingdom with the area within the four seas - is it not like one tiny grain in a great storehouse? When we refer to the things of creation, we speak of them as numbering ten thousand - and man is only one of them. We talk of the Nine Provinces where men are most numerous, and yet of the whole area where grain and foods are grown and where boats and carts pass back and forth, man occupies only one fraction.6 Compared to the ten thousand things, is he not like one little hair on the body of a horse? What the Five Emperors passed along, what the Three Kings fought over, what the benevolent man grieves about, what the responsible man labors over - all is no more than this! Po Yi gained a reputation by giving it up; Confucius passed himself off as learned because he talked about it. But in priding themselves in this way, were they not like you a moment ago priding yourself on your flood waters?"

"Well then," said the Lord of the River, "if I recognize the hugeness of heaven and earth and the smallness of the tip of a hair, will that do?"

"No indeed!" said Jo of the North Sea. "There is no end to the weighing of things, no stop to time, no constancy to the division of lots, no fixed rule to beginning and end. Therefore great wisdom observes both far and near, and for that reason recognizes small without considering it paltry, recognizes large without considering it unwieldy, for it knows that there is no end to the weighing of things. It has a clear understanding of past and present, and for that reason it spends a long time without finding it tedious, a short time without fretting at its shortness, for it knows that time has no stop. It perceives the nature of fullness and emptiness, and for that reason it does not delight if it acquires something nor worry if it loses it, for it knows that there is no constancy to the division of lots. It comprehends the Level Road, and for that reason it does not rejoice in life nor look on death as a calamity, for it knows that no fixed rule can be assigned to beginning and end.

"Calculate what man knows and it cannot compare to what he does not know. Calculate the time he is alive and it cannot compare to the time before he was born. Yet man takes something so small and tries to exhaust the dimensions of something so large! Hence he is muddled and confused and can never get anywhere. Looking at it this way, how do we know that the tip of a hair can be singled out as the measure of the smallest thing possible? Or how do we know that heaven and earth can fully encompass the dimensions of the largest thing possible?"

The Lord of the River said, "Men who debate such matters these days all claim that the minutest thing has no form and the largest thing cannot be encompassed. Is this a true statement?"

Jo of the North Sea said, "If from the standpoint of the minute we look at what is large, we cannot see to the end. If from the standpoint of what is large we look at what is minute, we cannot distinguish it clearly. The minute is the smallest of the small, the gigantic is the largest of the large, and it is therefore convenient to distinguish between them. But this is merely a matter of circumstance. Before we can speak of coarse or fine, however, there must be some form. If a thing has no form, then numbers cannot express its dimensions, and if it cannot be encompassed, then numbers cannot express its size. We can use words to talk about the coarseness of things and we can use our minds to visualize the fineness of things. But what words cannot describe and the mind cannot succeed in visualizing - this has nothing to do with coarseness or fineness.

"Therefore the Great Man in his actions will not harm others, but he makes no show of benevolence or charity. He will not move for the sake of profit, but he does not despise the porter at the gate. He will not wrangle for goods or wealth, but he makes no show of refusing or relinquishing them. He will not enlist the help of others in his work, but he makes no show of being self-supporting, and he does not despise the greedy and base. His actions differ from those of the mob, but he makes no show of uniqueness or eccentricity. He is content to stay behind with the crowd, but he does not despise those who run forward to flatter and fawn. All the titles and stipends of the age are not enough to stir him to exertion; all its penalties and censures are not enough to make him feel shame. He knows that no line can be drawn between right and wrong, no border can be fixed between great and small. I have heard it said, 'The Man of the Way wins no fame, the highest virtue8 wins no gain, the Great Man has no self.' To the most perfect degree, he goes along with what has been allotted to him."

The Lord of the River said, "Whether they are external to things or internal, I do not understand how we come to have these distinctions of noble and mean or of great and small."

Jo of the North Sea said, "From the point of view of the Way, things have no nobility or meanness. From the point of view of things themselves, each regards itself as noble and other things as mean. From the point of view of common opinion, nobility and meanness are not determined by the individual himself.

"From the point of view of differences, if we regard a thing as big because there is a certain bigness to it, then among all the ten thousand things there are none that are not big. If we regard a thing as small because there is a certain smallness to it, then among the ten thousand things there are none that are not small. If we know that heaven and earth are tiny grains and the tip of a hair is a range of mountains, then we have perceived the law of difference.

"From the point of view of function, if we regard a thing as useful because there is a certain usefulness to it, then among all the ten thousand things there are none that are not useful. If we regard a thing as useless because there is a certain uselessness to it, then among the ten thousand things there are none that are not useless. If we know that east and west are mutually opposed but that one cannot do without the other, then we can estimate the degree of function.

"From the point of view of preference, if we regard a thing as right because there is a certain right to it, then among the ten thousand things there are none that are not right. If we regard a thing as wrong because there is a certain wrong to it, then among the ten thousand things there are none that are not wrong. If we know that Yao and Chieh each thought himself right and condemned the other as wrong, then we may understand how there are preferences in behavior.

"In ancient times Yao abdicated in favour of Shun and Shun ruled as emperor; K'uai abdicated in favour of Chih and Chih was destroyed. T'ang and Wu fought and became kings; Duke Po fought and was wiped out. Looking at it this way, we see that struggling or giving way, behaving like a Yao or like a Chieh, may be at one time noble and at another time mean. It is impossible to establish any constant rule.

"A beam or pillar can be used to batter down a city wall, but it is no good for stopping up a little hole - this refers to a difference in function. Thoroughbreds like Ch'i-chi and Hua-liu could gallop a thousand li in one day, but when it came to catching rats they were no match for the wildcat or the weasel - this refers to a difference in skill. The horned owl catches fleas at night and can spot the tip of a hair, but when daylight comes, no matter how wide it opens its eyes, it cannot see a mound or a hill - this refers to a difference in nature. Now do you say, that you are going to make Right your master and do away with Wrong, or make Order your master and do away with Disorder? If you do, then you have not understood the principle of heaven and earth or the nature of the ten thousand things. This is like saying that you are going to make Heaven your master and do away with Earth, or make Yin your master and do away with Yang. Obviously it is impossible. If men persist in talking this way without stop, they must be either fools or deceivers!

"Emperors and kings have different ways of ceding their thrones; the Three Dynasties had different rules of succession. Those who went against the times and flouted custom were called usurpers; those who went with the times and followed custom were called companions of righteousness. Be quiet, be quiet, O Lord of the River! How could you understand anything about the gateway of nobility and meanness or the house of great and small?"

"Well then," said the Lord of the River, "what should I do and what should I not do? How am I to know in the end what to accept and what to reject, what to abide by and what to discard?"

Jo of the North Sea said, "From the point of view of the Way, what is noble or what is mean? These are merely what are called endless changes. Do not hobble your will, or you will be departing far from the Way! What is few, or what is many? These are merely what are called boundless turnings.11 Do not strive to unify your actions, or you will be at sixes and sevens with the Way! Be stern like the ruler of a state - he grants no private favour. Be benign and impartial like the god of the soil at the sacrifice - he grants no private blessing. Be broad and expansive like the endlessness of the four directions – they have nothing which bounds or hedges them. Embrace the ten thousand things universally - how could there be one you should give special support to? This is called being without bent. When the ten thousand things are unified and equal, then which is short and which is long?

"The Way is without beginning or end, but things have their life and death - you cannot rely upon their fulfillment. One moment empty, the next moment full - you cannot depend upon their form. The years cannot be held off; time cannot be stopped. Decay, growth, fullness, and emptiness end and then begin again. It is thus that we must describe the plan of the Great Meaning and discuss the principles of the ten thousand things. The life of things is a gallop, a headlong dash - with every movement they alter, with every moment they shift. What should you do and what should you not do? Everything will change of itself, that is certain!"

"If that is so," said the Lord of the River, "then what is there valuable about the Way?"

Jo of the North Sea said, "He who understands the Way is certain to have command of basic principles. He who has

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command of basic principles is certain to know how to deal with circumstances. And, he who knows how to deal with circumstances will not allow things to do him harm. When a man has perfect virtue, fire cannot burn him, water cannot drown him, cold and heat cannot afflict him, birds and beasts cannot injure him. I do not say that he makes light of these things. I mean that he distinguishes between safety and danger, contents himself with fortune or misfortune, and is cautious in his comings and goings. Therefore nothing can harm him.

"Hence it is said: the Heavenly is on the inside, the human is on the outside. Virtue resides in the Heavenly. Understand the actions of Heaven and man, base yourself upon Heaven, take vour stand in virtue, and then, although you hasten or hold back, bend or stretch, you may return to the essential and speak of the ultimate."

"What do you mean by the Heavenly and the human?"

Jo of the North Sea said, "Horses and oxen have four feet - this is what I mean by the Heavenly. Putting a halter on the horse's head, piercing the ox's nose - this is what I mean by the human. So I say: do not let what is human wipe out what is Heavenly; do not let what is purposeful wipe out what is fated; do not let [the desire for] gain lead you after fame. Be cautious, guard it, and do not lose it - this is what I mean by returning to the True."

The K'uei envies the millepede, the millepede envies the snake, the snake envies the wind, the wind envies the eye, and the eye envies the mind.

The K'uei said to the millepede, "I have this one leg that I hop along on, though I make little progress. Now how in the world do you manage to work all those ten thousand legs of yours?"

The millepede said, "You don't understand. Have not you ever watched a man spit? He just gives a hawk and out it comes, some drops as big as pearls, some as fine as mist, raining down in a jumble of countless particles. Now all I do is put in motion the heavenly mechanism in me - I am not aware of how the thing works."

The millepede said to the snake, "I have all these legs that I move along on, but I cannot seem to keep up with you who have no legs. How is that?"

The snake said, "It's just the heavenly mechanism moving me along - how can I change the way I am? What would I do with legs if I had them?"

The snake said to the wind, "I move my backbone and ribs and manage to get along, though I still have some kind of body. But now you come whirling up from the North Sea and go whirling off to the South Sea, and you don't seem to have any body. How is that?"

The wind said, "It's true that I whirl up from the North Sea and whirl off to the South Sea. But if you hold up a finger against me you have defeated me, and if you trample on me you have likewise defeated me. On the other hand, I can break down big trees and blow over great houses - this is a talent that I alone have. So I take all the mass of little defeats and make them into a Great Victory. To make a Great Victory - only the sage is capable of that!"

When Confucius was passing through K'uang, the men of Sung surrounded him with several encirclements of troops, but he went right on playing his lute and singing without a stop." Tzu Lu went in to see him and said, "Master, how can you be so carefree?"

Confucius said, "Come, I will explain to you. For a long time I have tried to stay out of the way of hardship. That I have not managed to escape it is due to fate. For a long time I have tried to achieve success. That I have not been able to do so is due to the times. If it happens to be the age of a Yao or a Shun, then there are no men in the world who face hardship - but this is not because their wisdom saves them. If it happens to be the age of a Chieh or a Chou, then there are no men in the world who achieve success - but this is not because their wisdom fails them. It is time and circumstance that make it so.

"To travel across the water without shrinking from the sea serpent or the dragon - this is the courage of the fisherman. To travel over land without shrinking from the rhinoceros or the tiger - this is the courage of the hunter. To see the bare blades clashing before him and to look upon death as though it were life - this is the courage of the man of ardour.15 To understand that hardship is a matter of fate, that success is a matter of the times, and to face great difficulty without fear - this is the courage of the sage. Be content with it, Tzu Lu. My fate has been decided for me."

Shortly afterwards the leader of the armed men came forward and apologized. "We thought you were Yang Huo and that was why we surrounded you. Now that we see you aren't, we beg to take leave and withdraw."

Kung-sun Lung said to Prince Mou of Wei,16 "When I was young I studied the Way of the former kings, and when I grew older I came to understand the conduct of benevolence and righteousness. I reconciled difference and sameness, distinguished hardness and whiteness, and proved that not so was so, that the unacceptable was acceptable. I confounded the wisdom of the hundred schools and demolished the arguments of a host of speakers. I believed that I had attained the highest degree of accomplishment. But now I have heard the words of Chuang Tzu and I am bewildered by their strangeness. I do not know whether my arguments are not as good as his, or whether I am no match for him in understanding. I find now that I cannot even open my beak. May I ask what you advise?"

Prince Mou leaned on his armrest and gave a great sigh, and then he looked up at the sky and laughed, saying, "Have not you ever heard about the frog in the caved-in well? He said to the great turtle of the Eastern Sea, 'What fun I have! I come out and hop around the railing of the well, or I go back in and take a rest in the wall where a tile has fallen out. When I dive into the water, I let it hold me up under the armpits and support my chin, and when I slip about in the mud, I bury my feet in it and let it come up over my ankles. I look around at the mosquito larvae and the crabs and polliwogs and I see that none of them can match me. To have complete command of the water of one whole valley and to monopolize all the joys of a caved-in well-this is the best there is! Why don't you come some time and see for yourself?'

"But before the great turtle of the Eastern Sea had even gotten his left foot in the well his right knee was already wedged fast. He backed out and withdrew a little, and then began to describe the sea. 'A distance of a thousand li cannot indicate its greatness; a depth of a thousand fathoms cannot express how deep it is. In the time of Yu there were floods for nine years out of ten, and yet its waters never rose. In the time of T'ang there were droughts for seven years out of eight, and yet its shores never receded. Never to alter or shift, whether for an instant or an eternity; never to advance or recede, whether the quantity of water flowing in is great or small - this is the great delight of the Eastern Sea!'

"When the frog in the caved-in well heard this, he was dumfounded with surprise, crestfallen, and completely at a loss. Now your knowledge cannot even define the borders of right and wrong and still you try to use it to see through the words of Chuang Tzu - this is like trying to make a mosquito carry a mountain on its back or a pill bug race across the Yellow River. You will never be up to the task!

"He whose understanding cannot grasp these minute and subtle words, but is only fit to win some temporary gain - is he not like the frog in the caved-in well? Chuang Tzu, now - at this very moment he is treading the Yellow Springs17 or leaping up to the vast blue. To him there is no north or south - in utter freedom he dissolves himself in the four directions and drowns himself in the unfathomable. To him there is no east or west - he begins in the Dark Obscurity and returns to the Great Thoroughfare. Now you come niggling along and try to spy him out or fix some name to him, but this is like using a tube to scan the sky or an awl to measure the depth of the earth - the instrument is too small, is it not? You'd better be on your way! Or perhaps you have never heard about the young boy of Shou-ling who went to learn the Han-tan Walk. He hadn't mastered what the Han-tan people had to teach him when he forgot his old way of walking, so that he had to crawl all the way back home. Now if you don't get on your way, you are likely to forget what you knew before and be out of a job!"

Kung-sun Lung's mouth fell open and wouldn't stay closed. His tongue stuck to the roof of his mouth and wouldn't come down. In the end he broke into a run and fled.

Once, when Chuang Tzu was fishing in the P'u River, the king of Ch'u sent two officials to go and announce to him: "I would like to trouble you with the administration of my realm."

Chuang Tzu held on to the fishing pole and, without turning his head, said, "I have heard that there is a sacred tortoise in Ch'u that has been dead for three thousand years. The king keeps it wrapped in cloth and boxed, and stores it in the ancestral temple. Now would this tortoise rather be dead and have its bones left behind and honoured? Or would it rather be alive and dragging its tail in the mud?"

"It would rather be alive and dragging its tail in the mud," said the two officials.

Chuang Tzu said, "Go away! I'll drag my tail in the mud!"

When Hui Tzu was prime minister of Liang, Chuang Tzu set off to visit him. Someone said to Hui Tzu, "Chuang Tzu is coming because he wants to replace you as prime minister!" With this Hui Tzu was filled with alarm and searched all over the state for three days and three nights trying to find Chuang Tzu. Chuang Tzu then came to see him and said, "In the south there is a bird called the Yuan-ch'u - I wonder if you have ever heard of it? The Yuan-ch'u rises up from the South Sea and flies to the North Sea, and it will rest on nothing but the Wu-t'ung tree, eat nothing but the fruit of the Lien, and drink only from springs of sweet water. Once there was an owl who had gotten hold of a half-rotten old rat, and as the Yuan-ch'u passed by, it raised its head, looked up at the Yuan-ch'u, and said, 'Shoo!' Now that you have this Liang state of yours, are you trying to shoo me?"

Chuang Tzu and Hui Tzu were strolling along the dam of the Hao River when Chuang Tzu said, "See how the minnows come out and dart around where they please! That's what fish really enjoy!"

Hui Tzu said, "You are not a fish - how do you know what fish enjoy?"

Chuang Tzu said, "You are not I, so how do you know I do not know what fish enjoy?"

Hui Tzu said, "I am not you, so I certainly don't know what you know. On the other hand, you are certainly not a fish - so that still proves you don't know what fish enjoy!"

Chuang Tzu said, "Let's go back to your original question, please. You asked me how I know what fish enjoy - so you already knew I knew it when you asked the question. I know it by standing here beside the Hao."

ZHUANGZI SECTION 18

Perfect Happiness

Is There Such A Thing as perfect happiness in the world or isn't there? Is there some way to keep yourself alive or isn't there? What to do, what to rely on, what to avoid, what to stick by, what to follow, what to leave alone, what to find happiness in, what to hate?

This is what the world honours: wealth, eminence, long life, a good name. This is what the world finds happiness in: a life of ease, rich food, fine clothes, beautiful sights, sweet sounds. This is what it looks down on: poverty, meanness, early death, a bad name. This is what it finds bitter: a life that knows no rest, a mouth that gets no rich food, no fine clothes for the body, no beautiful sights for the eye, no sweet sounds for the ear.

People who cannot get these things fret a great deal and are afraid - this is a stupid way to treat the body. People who are rich wear themselves out rushing around on business, piling up more wealth than they could ever use - this is a superficial way to treat the body. People who are eminent spend night and day scheming and wondering if they are doing right - this is a shoddy way to treat the body. Man lives his life in company with worry, and if he lives a long while, till he's dull and doddering, then he has spent that much time worrying instead of dying, a bitter lot indeed! This is a callous way to treat the body.

Men of ardour are regarded by the world as good, but their goodness does not succeed in keeping them alive. So I do not know whether their goodness is really good or not. Perhaps I think it is good - but not good enough to save their lives. Perhaps I think it is no good - but still good enough to save the lives of others. So I say, if your loyal advice isn't heeded, give way and do not wrangle. Tzu-hsu wrangled and lost his body. But if he had not wrangled, he would not have made a name. Is there really such a thing as goodness or isn't there?

What ordinary people do and what they find happiness in - I do not know whether such happiness is in the end really happiness or not. I look at what ordinary people find happiness in, what they all make a mad dash for, racing around as though they could not stop - they all say they are happy with it. I am not happy with it and I am not unhappy with it. In the end is there really happiness or is it not there?

I take inaction to be true happiness, but ordinary people think it is a bitter thing. I say: perfect happiness knows no happiness, perfect praise knows no praise. The world cannot decide what is right and what is wrong. And yet inaction can decide this. Perfect happiness, keeping alive - only inaction gets you close to this!

Let me try putting it this way. The inaction of Heaven is its purity, the inaction of earth is its peace. So the two inactions combine and all things are transformed and brought to birth. Wonderfully, mysteriously, there is no place they come out of. Mysteriously, wonderfully, they have no sign. Each thing minds its business and all grow up out of inaction. So I say, Heaven and earth do nothing and there is nothing that is not done. Among men, who can get hold of this inaction?

Chuang Tzu's wife died. When Hui Tzu went to convey his condolences, he found Chuang Tzu sitting with his legs sprawled out, pounding on a tub and singing. "You lived with her, she brought up your children and grew old," said Hui Tzu. "It should be enough simply not to weep at her death. But pounding on a tub and singing - this is going too far, is it not?"

Chuang Tzu said, "You are wrong. When she first died, do you think I did not grieve like anyone else? But I looked back to her beginning and the time before she was born. Not only the time before she was born, but the time before she had a body. Not only the time before she had a body, but the time before she had a spirit. In the midst of the jumble of wonder and mystery a change took place and she had a spirit. Another change and she had a body. Another change and she was born. Now there is been another change and she's dead. It's just like the progression of the four seasons, spring, summer, fall, winter.

"Now she is going to lie down peacefully in a vast room. If I were to follow after her bawling and sobbing, it would show that I do not understand anything about fate. So I stopped."

Uncle Lack-Limb and Uncle Lame-Gait were seeing the sights at Dark Lord Hill and the wastes of K'un-lun, the place where the Yellow Emperor rested.3. Suddenly a willow sprouted out of Uncle Lame-Gait's left elbow.4 He looked very startled and seemed to be annoyed.

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"Do you resent it?" said Uncle Lack-Limb.

"No-what is there to resent?" said Uncle Lame-Gait. "To live is to borrow. And if we borrow to live, then life must be a pile of trash. Life and death are day and night. You and I came to watch the process of change, and now change has caught up with me. Why would I have anything to resent?"

When Chuang Tzu went to Ch'u, he saw an old skull, all dry and parched. He poked it with his carriage whip and then asked, "Sir, were you greedy for life and forgetful of reason, and so came to this? Was your state overthrown and did you bow beneath the ax, and so came to this? Did you do some evil deed and were you ashamed to bring disgrace upon your parents and family, and so came to this? Was it through the pangs of cold and hunger that you came to this? Or did your springs and autumns pile up until they brought you to this?"

When he had finished speaking, he dragged the skull over and, using it for a pillow, lay down to sleep.

In the middle of the night, the skull came to him in a dream and said, "You chatter like a rhetorician and all your words betray the entanglements of a living man. The dead know nothing of these! Would you like to hear a lecture on the dead?"

"Indeed," said Chuang Tzu.

The skull said, "Among the dead there are no rulers above, no subjects below, and no chores of the four seasons. With nothing to do, our springs and autumns are as endless as heaven and earth. A king facing south on his throne could have no more happiness than this!"

Chuang Tzu couldn't believe this and said, "If I got the Arbiter of Fate to give you a body again, make you some bones and flesh, return you to your parents and family and your old home and friends, you would want that, wouldn't you?"

The skull frowned severely, wrinkling up its brow. "Why would I throw away more happiness than that of a king on a throne and take on the troubles of a human being again?" it said.

When Yen Yuan went east to Ch'i, Confucius had a very worried look on his face.5 Tzu-kung got off his mat and asked, "May I be so bold as to inquire why the Master has such a worried expression now that Hui has gone east to Ch'i?"

"Excellent-this question of yours," said Confucius. "Kuan Tzu6 had a saying that I much approve of: 'Small bags won't hold big things; short well ropes won't dip up deep water.' In the same way I believe that fate has certain forms and the body certain appropriate uses. You cannot add to or take away from these. I am afraid that when Hui gets to Ch'i he will start telling the marquis of Ch'i about the ways of Yao, Shun, and the Yellow Emperor, and then will go on to speak about Sui Jen and Shen Nung. The marquis will then look for similar greatness within himself and fail to find it. Failing to find it, he will become distraught, and when a man becomes distraught, he kills.

"Have not you heard this story? Once a sea bird alighted in the suburbs of the Lu capital. The marquis of Lu escorted it to the ancestral temple, where he entertained it, performing the Nine Shao music for it to listen to and presenting it with the meat of the T'ai-lao sacrifice to feast on. But the bird only looked dazed and forlorn, refusing to eat a single slice of meat or drink a cup of wine, and in three days it was dead. This is to try to nourish a bird with what would nourish you instead of what would nourish a bird. If you want to nourish a bird with what nourishes a bird, then you should let it roost in the deep forest, play among the banks and islands, float on the rivers and lakes, eat mudfish and minnows, follow the rest of the flock in flight and rest, and live any way it chooses. A bird hates to hear even the sound of human voices, much less all that hubbub and to-do. Try performing the Hsien-ch'ih and Nine Shao music in the wilds around Lake Tung-t'ing when the birds hear it they will fly off, when the animals hear it they will run away, when the fish hear it they will dive to the bottom. Only the people who hear it will gather around to listen. Fish live in water and thrive, but if men tried to live in water they would die. Creatures differ because they have different likes and dislikes. Therefore the former sages never required the same ability from all creatures or made them all do the same thing. Names should stop when they have expressed reality, concepts of right should be founded on what is suitable. This is what it means to have command of reason, and good fortune to support you."

Lieh Tzu was on a trip and was eating by the roadside when he saw a hundred-year-old skull. Pulling away the weeds and pointing his finger, he said, "Only you and I know that you have never died and you have never lived. Are you really unhappy? Am I really enjoying myself?"

The seeds of things have mysterious workings. In the water they become Break Vine, on the edges of the water they become Frog's Robe. If they sprout on the slopes they become Hill Slippers. If Hill Slippers get rich soil, they turn into Crow's Feet. The roots of Crow's Feet turn into maggots and their leaves turn into butterflies. Before long the butterflies are transformed and turn into insects that live under the stove; they look like snakes and their name is Ch'u-t'o. After a thousand days, the Ch'u-t'o insects become birds called Dried Leftover Bones. The saliva of the Dried Leftover Bones becomes Ssu-mi bugs and the Ssu-mi bugs become Vinegar Eaters. I-lo bugs are born from the Vinegar Eaters, and Huang-shuang bugs from Chiu-yu bugs. Chiu-yu bugs are born from Mou-jui bugs and Mou-jui bugs are born from Rot Grubs and Rot Grubs are born from Sheep's Groom. Sheep's Groom couples with bamboo that has not sprouted for a long while and produces Green Peace plants. Green Peace plants produce leopards and leopards produce horses and horses produce men. Men in time return again to the mysterious workings. So all creatures come out of the mysterious workings and go back into them again.

ZHUANGZI SECTION 19

Mastering Life

He Who Has Mastered the true nature of life does not labor over what life cannot do. He who has mastered the true nature of fate does not labor over what knowledge cannot change. He who wants to nourish his body must first of all turn to things. And yet it is possible to have more than enough things and for the body still to go unnourished. He who has life must first of all see to it that it does not leave the body. And yet it is possible for life never to leave the body and still fail to be preserved. The coming of life cannot be fended off, its departure cannot be stopped. How pitiful the men of the world, who think that simply nourishing the body is enough to preserve life! But if nourishing the body is in the end not enough to preserve life, then why is what the world does worth doing? It may not be worth doing, and yet it cannot be left undone - this is unavoidable.

He who wants to avoid doing anything for his body had best abandon the world. By abandoning the world, he can be without entanglements. Being without entanglements, he can be upright and calm. Being upright and calm, he can be born again with others. Being born again, he can come close [to the Way].

But why is abandoning the affairs of the world worth while, and why is forgetting life worth while? If you abandon the affairs of the world, your body will be without toil. If you forget life, your vitality will be unimpaired. With your body complete and your vitality made whole again, you may become one with Heaven. Heaven and earth are the father and mother of the ten thousand things. They join to become a body; they part to become a beginning. When the body and vitality are without flaw, this is called being able to shift. Vitality added to vitality, you return to become the Helper of Heaven.

Master Lieh Tzu said to the Barrier Keeper Yin, "The Perfect Man can walk under water without choking, can tread on fire without being burned, and can travel above the ten thousand things without being frightened. May I ask how he manages this?"

The Barrier Keeper Yin replied, "This is because he guards the pure breath - it has nothing to do with wisdom, skill, determination, or courage. Sit down and I will tell you about it. All that have faces, forms, voices, colours - these are all mere things. How could one thing and another thing be far removed from each other? And how could any one of them be worth considering as a predecessor? They are forms, colours - nothing more. But things have their creation in what has no form, and their conclusion in what has no change. If a man can get hold of this and exhaust it fully, then how can things stand in his way? He may rest within the bounds that know no excess, hide within the borders that know no source, wander where the ten thousand things have their end and beginning, unify his nature, nourish his breath, unite his virtue, and thereby communicate with that which creates all things. A man like this guards what belongs to Heaven and keeps it whole. His spirit has no flaw, so how can things enter in and get at him?

"When a drunken man falls from a carriage, though the carriage may be going very fast, he won't be killed. He has bones and joints the same as other men, and yet he is not injured as they would be, because his spirit is whole. He did not know he was riding, and he does not know he has fallen out. Life and death, alarm and terror do not enter his breast, and so he can bang against things without fear of injury. If he can keep himself whole like this by means of wine, how much more can he keep himself whole by means of Heaven! The sage hides himself in Heaven - hence there is nothing that can do him harm.

"A man seeking revenge does not go so far as to smash the sword of his enemy; a man, no matter how hot-tempered, does not rail at the tile that happens to fall on him. To know that all things in the world are equal and the same-this is the only way to eliminate the chaos of attack and battle and the harshness of punishment and execution!

"Do not try to develop what is natural to man; develop what is natural to Heaven. He who develops Heaven benefits life; he who develops man injures life. Do not reject what is of Heaven, do not neglect what is of man, and the people will be close to the attainment of Truth."

When Confucius was on his way to Ch'u, he passed through a forest where he saw a hunchback catching cicadas with a sticky pole as easily as though he were grabbing them with his hand.

Confucius said, "What skill you have! Is there a special way to this?"

"I have a way," said the hunchback. "For the first five or six months I practice balancing two balls on top of each other on the end of the pole and, if they don't fall off, I know I will lose very few cicadas. Then I balance three balls and, if they don't fall off, I know I'll lose only one cicada in ten. Then I balance five balls and, if they don't fall off, I know it will be as easy as grabbing them with my hand. I hold my body like a stiff tree trunk and use my arm like an old dry limb. No matter how huge heaven and earth, or how numerous the ten thousand things, I am aware of nothing but cicada wings. Not wavering, not tipping, not letting any of the other ten thousand things take the place of those cicada wings - how can I help but succeed?"

Confucius turned to his disciples and said, "He keeps his will undivided and concentrates his spirit - that would serve to describe our hunchback gentleman here, would it not?"

Yen Yuan said to Confucius, "I once crossed the gulf at Goblet Deeps and the ferryman handled the boat with supernatural skill. I asked him, 'Can a person learn how to handle a boat?' and he replied, 'Certainly. A good swimmer will in no time get the knack of it. And, if a man can swim under water, he may never have seen a boat before and still he'll know how to handle it!' I asked him what he meant by that, but he wouldn't tell me. May I venture to ask you what it means?"

Confucius said, "A good swimmer will in no time get the knack of it - that means he's forgot the water. If a man can swim under water, he may never have seen a boat before and still he will know how to handle it - that's because he sees the water as so much dry land, and regards the capsizing of a boat as he would the overturning of a cart. The ten thousand things may all be capsising and backsliding at the same time right in front of him and it cannot get at him and affect what's inside - so where could he go and not be at ease?

"When you are betting for tiles in an archery contest, you shoot with skill. When you are betting for fancy belt buckles, you worry about your aim. And when you are betting for real gold, you are a nervous wreck. Your skill is the same in all three cases - but because one prize means more to you than another, you let outside considerations weigh on your mind. He who looks too hard at the outside gets clumsy on the inside."

T'ien K'ai-chih went to see Duke Wei of Chou. Duke Wei said, "I hear that Chu Hsien is studying how to live. You are a friend of his - what have you heard from him on the subject?"

T'ien K'ai-chih said, "I merely wield a broom and tend his gate and garden - how should I have heard anything from the Master?"

Duke Wei said, "Do not be modest, Master T'ien. I am anxious to hear about it."

T'ien K'ai-chih said, "I have heard the Master say, 'He who is good at nourishing life is like a herder of sheep - he watches for stragglers and whips them up.' "

"What does that mean?" asked Duke Wei.

T'ien K'ai-chih said, "In Lu there was Shan Pao - he lived among the cliffs, drank only water, and did not go after gain like other people. He went along like that for seventy years and still had the complexion of a little child. Unfortunately, he met a hungry tiger who killed him and ate him up. Then there was Chang Yi - there wasn't one of the great families and fancy mansions that he did not rush off to visit. He went along like that for forty years, and then he developed an internal fever, fell ill, and died. Shan Pao looked after what was on the inside and the tiger ate up his outside. Chang Yi looked after what was on the outside and the sickness attacked him from the inside. Both these men failed to give a lash to the stragglers."

Confucius has said, "Don't go in and hide; don't come out and shine; stand stock-still in the middle." He who can follow these three rules is sure to be called the finest. When people are setting out on a dangerous road, if they hear that one traveler in a party of ten has been murdered, then fathers and sons, elder and younger brothers will warn each other to be careful and will not venture out until they have a large escort of armed men. That's wise of them, isn't it? But when it comes to what people really ought to be worried about - the time when they are lying in bed or sitting around eating and drinking - then they don't have sense enough to take warning. That's a mistake!"

The Invocator of the Ancestors, dressed in his black, square-cut robes, peered into the pigpen and said, "Why should you object to dying? I am going to fatten you for three months, practice austerities for ten days, fast for three days, spread the white rushes, and lay your shoulders and rump on the carved sacrificial stand - you'll go along with that, won't you? True, if I were planning things from the point of view of a pig, I'd say it would be better to eat chaff and bran and stay right there in the pen. But if I were planning for myself, I'd say that if I could be honoured as a high official while I lived, and get to ride in a fine hearse and lie among the feathers and

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trappings when I died, I'd go along with that. Speaking for the pig, I would give such a life a flat refusal, but speaking for myself, I would certainly accept. I wonder why I look at things differently from a pig?"

Duke Huan was hunting in a marsh, with Kuan Chung as his carriage driver, when he saw a ghost. The duke grasped Kuan Chung's hand and said, "Father Chung, what do you see?"

"I do not see anything," replied Kuan Chung.

When the duke returned home, he fell into a stupor, grew ill, and for several days did not go out.

A gentleman of Ch'i named Huang-tzu Kao-ao said, "Your Grace, you are doing this injury to yourself! How could a ghost have the power to injure you! If the vital breath that is stored up in a man becomes dispersed and does not return, then he suffers a deficiency. If it ascends and fails to descend again, it causes him to be chronically irritable. If it descends and does not ascend again, it causes him to be chronically forgetful. And if it neither ascends nor descends, but gathers in the middle of the body in the region of the heart, then he becomes ill."

Duke Huan said, "But do ghosts really exist?"

"Indeed they do. There is the Li on the hearth and the Chi in the stove. The heap of clutter and trash just inside the gate is where the Lei-t'ing lives. In the northeast corner the Pei-a and Kuei-lung leap about, and the northwest corner is where the I-yang lives. In the water is the Kang-hsiang; on the hills, the Hsin; in the mountains, the K'uei;6 in the meadows, the P'ang-huang; and in the marshes, the Wei-t'o."

The duke said, "May I ask what a Wei-t'o looks like?"

Huang-tzu said, "The Wei-t'o is as big as a wheel hub, as tall as a carriage shaft, has a purple robe and a vermilion hat and, as creatures go, is very ugly. When it hears the sound of thunder or a carriage, it grabs its head and stands up. Any one who sees it will soon become a dictator."

Duke Huan's face lit up and he said with a laugh, "That must have been what I saw!" Then he straightened his robe and hat and sat up on the mat with Huang-tzu, and before the day was over, though he did not notice it, his illness went away.

Chi Hsing-tzu was training gamecocks for the king. After ten days the king asked if they were ready.

"Not yet. They are too haughty and rely on their nerve."

Another ten days and the king asked again.

"Not yet. They still respond to noises and movements."

Another ten days and the king asked again.

"Not yet. They still look around fiercely and are full of spirit."

Another ten days and the king asked again.

"They are close enough. Another cock can crow and they show no sign of change. Look at them from a distance and you'd think they were made of wood. Their virtue is complete. Other cocks won't dare face them, but will turn and run."

Confucius was seeing the sights at Lu-liang, where the water falls from a height of thirty fathoms and races and boils along for forty li, so swift that no fish or other water creature can swim in it. He saw a man dive into the water and, supposing that the man was in some kind of trouble and intended to end his life, he ordered his disciples to line up on the bank and pull the man out. But after the man had gone a couple of hundred paces, he came out of the water and began strolling along the base of the embankment, his hair streaming down, singing a song. Confucius ran after him and said, "At first I thought you were a ghost, but now I see you are a man. May I ask if you have some special way of staying afloat in the water?"

"I have no way. I began with what I was used to, grew up with my nature, and let things come to completion with fate. I go under with the swirls and come out with the eddies, following along the way the water goes and never thinking about myself. That's how I can stay afloat."

Confucius said, "What do you mean by saying that you began with what you were used to, grew up with your nature, and let things come to completion with fate?"

"I was born on the dry land and felt safe on the dry land - that was what I was used to. I grew up with the water and felt safe in the water - that was my nature. I do not know why I do what I do - that's fate."

Woodworker Ch'ing7 carved a piece of wood and made a bell stand, and when it was finished, everyone who saw it marveled, for it seemed to be the work of gods or spirits. When the marquis of Lu saw it, he asked, "What art is it you have?"

Ch'ing replied, "I am only a craftsman - how would I have any art? There is one thing, however. When I am going to make a bell stand, I never let it wear out my energy. I always fast in order to still my mind. When I have fasted for three days, I no longer have any thought of congratulations or rewards, of titles or stipends. When I have fasted for five days, I no longer have any thought of praise or blame, of skill or clumsiness. And when I have fasted for seven days, I am so still that I forget I have four limbs and a form and body. By that time, the ruler and his court no longer exist for me. My skill is concentrated and all outside distractions fade away. After that, I go into the mountain forest and examine the Heavenly nature of the trees. If I find one of superlative form, and I can see a bell stand there, I put my hand to the job of carving; if not, I let it go. This way I am simply matching up 'Heaven' with 'Heaven.' 8 That's probably the reason that people wonder if the results were not made by spirits."

Tung-yeh Chi was displaying his carriage driving before Duke Chuang. He drove back and forth as straight as a measuring line and wheeled to left and right as neat as a compassdrawn curve. Duke Chuang concluded that even Tsao Fu could do no better, and ordered him to make a hundred circuits and then return to the palace. Yen Ho happened along at the moment and went in to see the duke. "Tung-yeh Chi's horses are going to break down," he said. The duke was silent and gave no answer. In a little while Tung-yeh Chi returned, his horses having in fact broken down. The duke asked Yen Ho, "How did you know that was going to happen?" Yen Ho said, "The strength of the horses was all gone and still he was asking them to go on - that's why I said they would break down."

Artisan Ch'ui could draw as true as a compass or a T square because his fingers changed along with things and he did not let his mind get in the way. Therefore his Spirit Tower remained unified and unobstructed.

You forget your feet when the shoes are comfortable. You forget your waist when the belt is comfortable. Understanding forgets right and wrong when the mind is comfortable. There is no change in what is inside, no following what is outside, when the adjustment to events is comfortable. You begin with what is comfortable and never experience what is uncomfortable when you know the comfort of forgetting what is comfortable.

A certain Sun Hsiu appeared at the gate of Master Pien Ch'ing-tzu to pay him a call. "When I was living in the village," he said, "no one ever said I lacked good conduct. When I faced difficulty, no one ever said I lacked courage. Yet when I worked the fields, it never seemed to be a good year for crops, and when I served the ruler, it never seemed to be a good time for advancement. So I am an outcast from the villages, an exile from the towns. What crime have I committed against Heaven? Why should I meet this fate?"

Master Pien said, "Have you never heard how the Perfect Man conducts himself? He forgets his liver and gall and thinks no more about his eyes and ears. Vague and aimless, he wanders beyond the dirt and dust; free and easy, tending to nothing is his job. This is what is called 'doing but not looking for any thanks, bringing up but not bossing.' Now you show off your wisdom in order to astound the ignorant, work at your good conduct in order to distinguish yourself from the disreputable, going around bright and shining as though you were carrying the sun and moon in your hand! You have managed to keep your body in one piece, you have all the ordinary nine openings, you have not been struck down midway by blindness or deafness, lameness or deformity - compared to a lot of people, you are a lucky man. How do you have any time to go around complaining against Heaven? Be on your way!"

After Master Sun had left, Master Pien went back into the house, sat down for a while, and then looked up to heaven and sighed. One of his disciples asked, "Why does my teacher sigh?"

Master Pien said, "Just now Sun Hsiu came to see me, and I described to him the virtue of the Perfect Man. I am afraid he was very startled and may end up in a complete muddle."

"Surely not," said the disciple. "Was what Master Sun said right and what my teacher said wrong? If so, then wrong can certainly never make a muddle out of right. Or was what Master Sun said wrong and what my teacher said right? If so, then he must already have been in a muddle when he came here, so what's the harm?"

"You don't understand," said Master Pien. "Once long ago a bird alighted in the suburbs of the Lu capital. The ruler of Lu was delighted with it, had a T'ai-lao sacrifice prepared for it to feast on, and the Nine Shao music performed for its enjoyment. But the bird immediately began to look unhappy and dazed, and did not dare to eat or drink. This is what is called trying to nourish a bird with what would nourish you. If you want to nourish a bird with what will nourish a bird, you had best let it roost in the deep forest, float on the rivers and lakes, and live on snakes-then it can feel at ease.

"Now Sun Hsiu is a man of ignorance and little learning. For me to describe to him the virtue of the Perfect Man is like taking a mouse for a ride in a carriage or trying to delight a quail with the music of bells and drums. How could he help but be startled?"

ZHUANGZI SECTION 20

The Mountain Tree

Chuang Tzu Was Walking in the mountains when he saw a huge tree, its branches and leaves thick and lush. A woodcutter paused by its side but made no move to cut it down. When Chuang Tzu asked the reason, he replied, "There is nothing it could be used for!" Chuang Tzu said, "Because of its worthlessness, this tree is able to live out the years Heaven gave it."

Down from the mountain, the Master stopped for a night at the house of an old friend. The friend, delighted, ordered his son to kill a goose and prepare it. "One of the geese can cackle and the other cannot," said the son. "May I ask, please, which I should kill?"

"Kill the one that cannot cackle," said the host.

The next day Chuang Tzu's disciples questioned him. "Yesterday there was a tree on the mountain that gets to live out the years Heaven gave it because of its worthlessness. Now there is our host's goose that gets killed because of its worthlessness. What position would you take in such a case, Master?"

Chuang Tzu laughed and said, "I would probably take a position halfway between worth and worthlessness. But halfway between worth and worthlessness, though it might seem to be a good place, really is not - you will never get away from trouble there. It would be very different, though, if you were to climb up on the Way and its Virtue and go drifting and wandering, neither praised nor damned, now a dragon, now a snake, shifting with the times, never willing to hold to one course only. Now up, now down, taking harmony for your measure, drifting and wandering with the ancestor of the ten thousand things, treating things as things but not letting them treat you as a thing - then how could you get into any trouble? This is the rule, the method of Shen Nung and the Yellow Emperor.

"But now, what with the forms of the ten thousand things and the codes of ethics handed down from man to man, matters don't proceed in this fashion. Things join only to part, reach completion only to crumble. If sharp-edged, they are blunted; if high-stationed, they are overthrown;1 if ambitious, they are foiled. Wise, they are schemed against; stupid, they are swindled. What is there, then, that can be counted on? Only one thing, alas! - remember this, my students - only the realm of the Way and its Virtue!"

I-liao from south of the Market called upon the marquis of Lu.2 The marquis had a very worried look on his face. "Why such a worried look?" asked the Master from south of the Market.

The marquis of Lu said, "I study the way of the former kings, I do my best to carry on the achievements of the former rulers, I respect the spirits, honour worthy men, draw close to them, follow their advice, and never for an instant leave their side. And yet I cannot seem to avoid disaster. That's why I am so worried."

The Master from south of the Market said, "Your technique for avoiding disaster is a very superficial one. The sleek-furred fox and the elegantly spotted leopard dwell in the mountain forest and crouch in the cliffside caves - such is

their quietude. They go abroad by night but lurk at home by day - such is their caution. Though hunger, thirst, and hardship press them, they steal forth only one by one to seek food by the rivers and lakes - such is their forethought .3 And yet they cannot seem to escape the disaster of nets and traps. Where is the blame? Their fur is their undoing. And this state of Lu-is it not your coat of fur? So I would ask you to strip away your form, rid yourself of this fur, wash clean your mind, be done with desire, and wander in the peopleless fields.

"In Nan-yueh there is a city and its name is The Land of Virtue Established. Its people are foolish and naive, few in thoughts of self, scant in desires. They know how to make, but not how to lay away; they give, but look for nothing in return. They do not know what accords with right, they do not know what conforms to ritual. Uncouth, uncaring, they move recklessly - and this way they tread the path of the Great Method. Their birth brings rejoicing, their death a fine funeral. So I would ask you to discard your state, break away from its customs, and, with the Way as your helper, journey there."

The ruler of Lu said, "The road there is long and perilous. Moreover, there are rivers and mountains between and I have no boat or carriage. What can I do?"

The Master from south of the Market said, "Be without imperiousness, be without conventionality - let this be your carriage."

But the ruler of Lu said, "The road is dark and long and there are no people there. Who will be my companion on the way? When I have no rations, when I have nothing to eat, how will I be able to reach my destination?"

The Master from south of the Market said, "Make few your needs, lessen your desires, and then you may get along even without rations. You will ford the rivers and drift out upon the sea. Gaze all you may - you cannot see its farther shore; journey on and on - you will never find where it ends. Those who came to see you off will all turn back from the shore and go home, while you move ever farther into the distance.

"He who possesses men will know hardship; he who is possessed by men will know care. Therefore Yao neither possessed men nor allowed himself to be possessed by them. So I ask you to rid yourself of hardship, to cast off your cares, and to wander alone with the Way to the Land of Great Silence.

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"If a man, having lashed two hulls together, is crossing a river, and an empty boat happens along and bumps into him, no matter how hot-tempered the man may be, he will not get angry. But if there should be someone in the other boat, then he will shout out to haul this way or veer that. If his first shout is unheeded, he will shout again, and if that is not heard, he will shout a third time, this time with a torrent of curses following. In the first instance, he wasn't angry; now in the second he is. Earlier he faced emptiness, now he faces occupancy. If a man could succeed in making himself empty, and in that way wander through the world, then who could do him harm?"

Pei-kung She was collecting taxes for Duke Ling of Wei in order to make a set of bells. He built a platform outside the gate of the outer wall, and in the space of three months the bells were completed, both the upper and lower tiers. Prince Ch'ing-chi, observing this, asked, "What art is it you wield?"

Pei-kung She replied, "In the midst of Unity, how should I venture to 'wield' anything? I have heard it said, When carving and polishing are done, then return to plainness. Dull, I am without understanding; placid, I dawdle and drift. Mysteriously, wonderfully, I bid farewell to what goes, I greet what comes; for what comes cannot be denied, and what goes cannot be detained. I follow the rude and violent, trail after the meek and bending, letting each come to its own end. So I can collect taxes from morning to night and meet not the slightest rebuff. How much more would this be true, then, of a man who had hold of the Great Road?"

Confucius was besieged between Ch'en and Ts'ai, and for seven days he ate no cooked food. T'ai-kung Jen went to offer his sympathy. "It looks as if you are going to die," he said.

"It does indeed."

"Do you hate the thought of dying?"

"I certainly do!"

Jen said, "Then let me try telling you about a way to keep from dying. In the eastern sea there is a bird and its name is Listless. It flutters and flounces but seems to be quite helpless. It must be boosted and pulled before it can get into the air, pushed and shoved before it can get back to its nest. It never dares to be the first to advance, never dares to be the last to retreat. At feeding time, it never ventures to take the first bite, but picks only at the leftovers. So, when it flies in file, it never gets pushed aside, nor do other creatures such as men ever do it any harm. In this way it escapes disaster.

"The straight-trunked tree is the first to be felled; the well of sweet water is the first to run dry. And you, now – you show off your wisdom in order to astound the ignorant, work at your good conduct in order to distinguish yourself from the disreputable, going around bright and shining as though you were carrying the sun and moon in your hand! That's why you cannot escape!

'I have heard the Man of Great Completion say: 'Boasts are a sign of no success; success once won faces overthrow; fame once won faces ruin.' Who can rid himself of success and fame, return and join the common run of men? His Way flows abroad, but he does not rest in brightness; his Virtue' moves, but he does not dwell in fame. Vacant, addled, he seems close to madness. Wiping out his footprints, sloughing off his power, he does not work for success or fame. So he has no cause to blame other men, nor other men to blame him. The Perfect Man wants no repute. Why then do you delight in it so?"

"Excellent!" exclaimed Confucius. Then he said good-bye to his friends and associates, dismissed his disciples, and retired to the great swamp, wearing furs and coarse cloth and living on acorns and chestnuts. He could walk among the animals without alarming their herds, walk among the birds without alarming their flocks. If even the birds and beasts did not resent him, how much less would men!

Confucius said to Master Sang-hu, "Twice I have been driven out of Lu. The people chopped down a tree on me in Sung, wiped away my footprints in Wei, made trouble for me in Shang and Chou, and besieged me between Ch'en and Ts'ai -so many calamities have I encountered. My kinfolk and associates drift farther and farther away, my friends and followers one after the other take leave. Why is this?"

Master Sang-hu said, "Have you never heard about Lin Hui, the man who fled from Chia" He threw away his jade disc worth a thousand measures of gold, strapped his little baby on his back, and hurried off. Someone said to him, 'Did you think of it in terms of money? Surely a little baby isn't worth much money! Or were you thinking of the bother? But a little baby is a great deal of bother! Why then throw away a jade disc worth a thousand measures of gold and hurry off with a little baby on your back?'

"Lin Hui replied, 'The jade disc and I were joined by profit, but the child and I were brought together by Heaven. Things joined by profit, when pressed by misfortune and danger, will cast each other aside; but things brought together by Heaven, when pressed by misfortune and danger, will cling to one another. To cling to each other and to cast each other aside are far apart indeed!'

"The friendship of a gentleman, they say, is insipid as water; that of a petty man, sweet as rich wine. But the insipidity of the gentleman leads to affection, while the sweetness of the petty man leads to revulsion. Those with no particular reason for joining together will for no particular reason part."

Confucius said, "I will do my best to honour your instructions!" Then, with leisurely steps and a free and easy manner, he returned home. He abandoned his studies, gave away his books, and his disciples no longer came to bow in obeisance before him, but their affection for him was greater than it had ever been before.

Another day Master Sang-hu likewise said, "When Shun was about to die, he carefully8' instructed Yu in these words: 'Mark what I say! In the case of the body, it is best to let it go along with things. In the case of the emotions, it is best to let them follow where they will. By going along with things, you avoid becoming separated from them. By letting the emotions follow as they will, you avoid fatigue. And when there is no separation or fatigue, then you need not seek any outward adornment or depend upon the body. And when you no longer seek outward adornment or depend upon the body, you have in fact ceased to depend upon any material thing.' ".

Chuang Tzu put on his robe of coarse cloth with the patches on it, tied his shoes with hemp to keep them from falling apart, and went to call upon the king of Wei. "My goodness, Sir, you certainly are in distress!" said the king of Wei.

Chuang Tzu said, "I am poor, but I am not in distress! When a man possesses the Way and its Virtue but cannot put them into practice, then he is in distress. When his clothes are shabby and his shoes worn through, then he is poor, but he is not in distress. This is what they call being born at the wrong time. Has Your Majesty never observed the bounding monkeys? If they can reach the tall cedars, the catalpas, or the camphor trees, they will swing and sway from their limbs, frolic and lord it in their midst, and even the famous archers Yi or P'eng Meng could not take accurate aim at them. But when they find themselves among prickly mulberries, brambles, hawthorns, or spiny citrons, they must move with caution, glancing from side to side, quivering and quaking with fear. It is not that their bones and sinews have suddenly become stiff and lost their suppleness. It is simply that the monkeys find themselves in a difficult and disadvantageous position where they cannot exercise their abilities to the full. And now if I should live under a benighted ruler and among traitorous ministers and still hope to escape distress, what hope would there be of doing so? Pi Kan had his heart cut out - there is the proof of the matter!"

Confucius was in trouble between Ch'en and Ts'ai, and for seven days he ate no cooked food. His left hand propped against a withered tree, his right beating time on a withered limb, he sang the air of the lord of Yen. The rapping of the limb provided an accompaniment, but it was without any fixed rhythm; there was melody, but none that fitted the usual tonal categories of kung or chueh. The drumming on the tree, the voice of the singer had a pathos to them that would strike a man's heart.

Yen Hui, standing with hands folded respectfully across his chest, turned his eyes and looked inquiringly at Confucius. Confucius, fearful that Yen Hui's respect for him was too great, that his love for him was too tender, said to him, "Hui! It is easy to be indifferent to the afflictions of Heaven, but hard to be indifferent to the benefits of man. No beginning but has its end, and man and Heaven are one. Who is it, then, who sings this song now?"

Hui said, "May I venture to ask what you mean when you say it is easy to be indifferent to the afflictions of Heaven?"

Confucius said, "Hunger, thirst, cold, heat, barriers and blind alleys that will not let you pass - these are the workings of Heaven and earth, the shifts of ever-turning things. This is what is called traveling side by side with the others. He who serves as a minister does not dare to abandon his lord. And if he is thus faithful to the way of a true minister, how much more would he be if he were to attend upon Heaven!"

"And what do you mean when you say that it is hard to be indifferent to the benefits of man?"

Confucius replied, "A man sets out on a career, and soon he is advancing in all four directions at once. Titles and stipends come raining down on him without end, but these are merely material profits and have nothing to do with the man himself. As for me, my fate lies elsewhere. A gentleman will not pilfer, a worthy man will not steal. What business would I have, then, trying to acquire such things? So it is said, There is no bird wiser than the swallow. If its eyes do not light upon a suitable spot, it will not give a second look. If it happens to drop the food it had in its beak, it will let it go and fly on its way. It is wary of men, and yet it lives among them, finding its protection along with men in the village altars of the soil and grain."

"And what do you mean by saying, 'No beginning but has its end'?"

Confucius said, "There is a being who transforms the ten thousand things, yet we do not know how he works these changes. How do we know what is an end? How do we know what is a beginning? The only thing for us to do is just to wait!"

"And what do you mean by saving, 'man and Heaven are one'?"

Confucius said, "Man exists because of Heaven, and Heaven too exists because of Heaven. But man cannot cause Heaven to exist; this is because of [the limitations of] his inborn nature. The sage, calm and placid, embodies change and so comes to his end."

Chuang Chou was wandering in the park at Tiao-ling when he saw a peculiar kind of magpie that came flying along from the south. It had a wingspread of seven feet and its eyes were a good inch in diameter. It brushed against Chuang Chou's forehead and then settled down in a grove of chestnut trees. "What kind of bird is that!" exclaimed Chuang Chou. "Its wings are enormous but they get it nowhere; its eyes are huge but it cannot even see where it's going!" Then he hitched up his robe, strode forward, cocked his crossbow and prepared to take aim. As he did so, he spied a cicada that had found a lovely spot of shade and had forgot all about [the possibility of danger to] its body. Behind it, a praying mantis, stretching forth its claws, prepared to snatch the cicada, and it too had forgot about its own form as it eyed its prize. The peculiar magpie was close behind, ready to make off with the praying mantis, forgetting its own true self as it fixed its eyes on the prospect of gain. Chuang Chou, shuddering at the sight, said, "Ah! - things do nothing but make trouble for each other - one creature calling down disaster on another!" He threw down his crossbow, turned about, and hurried from the park, but the park keeper [taking him for a poacher] raced after him with shouts of accusation.

Chuang Chou returned home and for three months looked unhappy." Lin Chu in the course of tending to his master's needs, questioned him, saying, "Master, why is it that you are so unhappy these days?"

Chuang Chou said, "In clinging to outward form I have forgot my own body. Staring at muddy water, I have been misled into taking it for a clear pool. Moreover, I have heard my Master say, 'When you go among the vulgar, follow their rules!' I went wandering at Tiao-ling and forgot my body. A peculiar magpie brushed against my forehead, wandered off to the chestnut grove, and there forgot its true self. And the keeper of the chestnut grove, to my great shame, took me for a trespasser! That is why I am unhappy."

Yang Tzu, on his way to Sung, stopped for the night at an inn. The innkeeper had two concubines, one beautiful, the other ugly. But the ugly one was treated as a lady of rank, while the beautiful one was treated as a menial. When Yang Tzu asked the reason, a young boy of the inn replied, "The beautiful one is only too aware of her beauty, and so we do not think of her as beautiful. The ugly one is only too aware of her ugliness, and so we do not think of her as ugly."

Yang Tzu said, "Remember that, my students! If you act worthily but rid yourself of the awareness that you are acting worthily, then where can you go that you will not be loved?"

ZHUANGZI SECTION 21

T'ien Tzu-Fang

T'ien Tzu-Fang Was Sitting in attendance on Marquis Wen of Wei. When he repeatedly praised one Ch'i Kung, Marquis Wen asked, "Is Ch'i Kung your teacher?"

"No," replied Tzu-fang. "He comes from the same neighbourhood as I do. Discussing the Way with him, I've found he often hits the mark - that's why I praise him."

"Have you no teacher then?" asked Marquis Wen.

"I have," said Tzu-fang.

"Who is your teacher?"

"Master Shun from east of the Wall," said Tzu-fang.

"Then why have you never praised him?" asked Marquis Wen.

Tzu-fang said, "He's the kind of man who is True - the face of a human being, the emptiness of Heaven. He follows along and keeps tight hold of the True; pure, he can encompass all things. If men do not have the Way, he has only to put on a straight face and they are enlightened; he causes men's intentions to melt away. But how could any of this be worth praising!"

Tzu-fang retired from the room and Marquis Wen, stupefied, sat for the rest of the day in silence. Then he called to the ministers who stood in attendance on him and said, "How far away he is - the gentleman of Complete Virtue! I used to think that the words of the wisdom of the sages and the practices of benevolence and righteousness were the highest ideal. But now that I have heard about Tzu-fang's teacher, my body has fallen apart and I feel no inclination to move; my mouth is manacled and I feel no inclination to speak. These things that I have been studying are so many clay dolls2 - nothing more! This state of Wei is in truth only a burden to me!"

Wen-po Hsueh-tzu, journeying to Ch'i, stopped along the way in the state of Lu.3 A man of Lu requested an interview with him, but Wen-po Hsueh-tzu said, "No indeed! I have heard of the gentlemen of these middle states - enlightened on the subject of ritual principles but stupid in their understanding of men's hearts. I have no wish to see any such person."

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He arrived at his destination in Ch'i, and on his way home had stopped again in Lu when the man once more requested an interview. Wen-po Hsueh-tzu said, "In the past he made an attempt to see me, and now he's trying again. He undoubtedly has some means by which he hopes to 'save' me!"

He went out to receive the visitor and returned to his own rooms with a sigh. The following day, he received the visitor once more, and once more returned with a sigh. His groom said, "Every time you receive this visitor you come back sighing. Why is that?"

"I told you before, did not I? These men of the middle states are enlightened in ritual principles but stupid in the understanding of men's hearts. Yesterday, when this man came to see me, his advancings and retirings were as precise as though marked by compass or T square. In looks and bearing he was now a dragon, now a tiger. He remonstrated with me as though he were my son, offered me guidance as though he were my father! That is why I sighed."

Confucius also went for an interview with Wen-po Hsueh-tzu but returned without having spoken a word. Tzu-lu said, "You have been wanting to see 'Yen-po Hsueh-tzu for a long time. Now you had the chance to see him, why did not you say anything?"

Confucius said, "With that kind of man, one glance tells you that the Way is there before you. What room does that leave for any possibility of speech?"

Yen Yuan said to Confucius, "Master, when you walk, I walk; when you trot, I trot; when you gallop, I gallop. But when you break into the kind of dash that leaves even the dust behind, all I can do is stare after you in amazement!"

"Hui, what are you talking about?" asked the Master.

"When you walk, I walk - that is, I can speak just as you speak. When you trot, I trot - that is, I can make discriminations just as you do. When you gallop, I gallop - that is, I can expound the Way just as you do. But when you break into the kind of dash that leaves even the dust behind and all I can do is stare after you in amazement - by that I mean that you do not have to speak to be trusted, that you are catholic and not partisan,' that although you lack the regalia of high office the people still congregate before you, and with all this, you do not know why it is so."

"Ah," said. Confucius, "we had best look into this! There is no grief greater than the death of the mind - beside it, the death of the body is a minor matter. The sun rises out of the east, sets at the end of the west, and each one of the ten thousand things moves side by side with it. Creatures that have eyes and feet must wait for it before their success is complete. Its rising means they may go on living, its setting means they perish. For all the ten thousand things it is thus. They must wait for something before they can die, wait for something before they can live. Having once received this fixed bodily form, I will hold on to it, unchanging, in this way waiting for the end. I move after the model of other things, day and night without break, but I do not know what the end will be. Mild, genial, my bodily form takes shape. I understand my fate but I cannot fathom what has gone before it. This is the way I proceed, day after day.

"I have gone through life linked arm in arm with you, yet now you fail [to understand me]-is this not sad? You see in me, I suppose, the part that can be seen - but that part is already over and gone. For you to come looking for it, thinking it still exists, is like looking for a horse after the horsefair is over.5 I serve you best when I have utterly forgot you, and you likewise serve me best when you have utterly forgot me. But even so, why should you repine? Even if you forget the old me, I will still possess something that will not be forgot!" 6

Confucius went to call on Lao Tan. Lao Tan had just finished washing his hair and had spread it over his shoulders to dry. Utterly motionless, he did not even seem to be human. Confucius, hidden from sight,7 stood waiting, and then after some time presented himself and exclaimed, "Did my eves play tricks on me, or was that really true? A moment ago, Sir, your form and body seemed stiff as an old dead tree, as though you had forgot things, taken leave of men, and were standing in solitude itself!"

Lao Tan said, "I was letting my mind wander in the Beginning of things."

"What does that mean?" asked Confucius.

"The mind may wear itself out but can never understand it; the mouth may gape but can never describe it. Nevertheless, I will try explaining it to you in rough outline.

"Perfect Yin is stern and frigid; Perfect Yang is bright and glittering. The sternness and frigidity come forth from heaven, the brightness and glitter emerge from the earth; the two mingle, penetrate, come together, harmonise, and all things are born therefrom. Perhaps someone manipulates the cords that draw it all together, but no one has ever seen his form. Decay, growth, fullness, emptiness, now murky, now bright, the sun shifting, the moon changing phase - day after day these things proceed, yet no one has seen him bringing them about. Life has its sproutings, death its destination, end and beginning tail one another in unbroken round, and no one has ever heard of their coming to a stop. If it is not as I have described it, then who else could the Ancestor of all this be?"

Confucius said, "May I ask what it means to wander in such a place?"

Lao Tan said, "It means to attain Perfect Beauty and Perfect Happiness. He who attains Perfect Beauty and wanders in Perfect Happiness may be called the Perfect Man."

Confucius said, "I would like to hear by what means this may be accomplished."

"Beasts that feed on grass do not fret over a change of pasture; creatures that live in water do not fret over a change of stream. They accept the minor shift as long as the all-important constant is not lost. [Be like them] and joy, anger, grief, and happiness can never enter your breast. In this world, the ten thousand things come together in One, and if you can find that One and become identical with it, then your four limbs and hundred joints will become dust and sweepings; life and death, beginning and end will be mere day and night, and nothing whatever can confound you - certainly not the trifles of gain or loss, good or bad fortune!

"A man will discard the servants who wait upon him as though they were so much earth or mud, for he knows that his own person is of more worth than the servants who tend it. Worth lies within yourself and no external shift will cause it to be lost. And since the ten thousand transformations continue without even the beginning of an end, how could they be enough to bring anxiety to your mind? He who practices the Way understands all this."

Confucius said, "Your virtue, Sir, is the very counterpart of Heaven and earth, and yet even you must employ these perfect teachings in order to cultivate your mind. Who, then, even among the fine gentlemen of the past, could have avoided such labors?"

"Not so!" said Lao Tan. "The murmuring of the water is its natural talent, not something that it does deliberately. The Perfect Man stands in the same relationship in virtue. Without cultivating it, he possesses it to such an extent that things cannot draw away from him. It is as natural as the height of heaven, the depth of the earth, the brightness of sun and moon. What is there to be cultivated?"

When Confucius emerged from the interview, he reported what had passed to Yen Hui, saying, "As far as the Way is concerned, I was a mere gnat in the vinegar jar! If the Master hadn't taken off the lid for me, I would never have understood the Great Integrity of Heaven and earth!"

Chuang Tzu went to see Duke Ai of Lu. Duke Ai said, "We have a great many Confucians here in the state of Lu, but there seem to be very few men who study your methods, Sir!"

"There are few Confucians in the state of Lu!" said Chuang Tzu.

"But the whole state of Lu is dressed in Confucian garb!" said Duke Ai. "How can you say they are few?"

"I have heard," said Chuang Tzu, "that the Confucians wear round caps on their heads to show that they understand the cycles of heaven, that they walk about in square shoes to show that they understand the shape of the earth, and that they tie ornaments in the shape of a broken disc at their girdles in order to show that, when the time comes for decisive action, they must 'make the break.' But a gentleman may embrace a doctrine without necessarily wearing the garb that goes with it, and he may wear the garb without necessarily comprehending the doctrine. If Your Grace does not believe this is so, then why not try issuing an order to the state proclaiming: 'All those who wear the garb without practicing the doctrine that goes with it will be sentenced to death!' "

Duke Ai did in fact issue such an order, and within five days there was no one in the state of Lu who dared wear Confucian garb. Only one old man came in Confucian dress and stood in front of the duke's gate. The duke at once summoned him and questioned him on affairs of state and, though the discussion took a thousand turnings and ten thousand shifts, the old man was never at a loss for words. Chuang Tzu said, "In the whole state of Lu, then, there is only one man who is a real Confucian. How can you say there are a great many of them? "

Po-li Hsi did not let title and stipend get inside his mind. He fed the cattle and the cattle grew fat, and this fact made Duke Mu of Ch'in forget Po-li Hsi's lowly position and turn over the government to him. Shun, the man of the Yu clan, did not let life and death get inside his mind. So he was able to influence others.

Lord Wan of Sung wanted to have some pictures painted. The crowd of court clerks all gathered in his presence, received their drawing panels,12 and took their places in line, licking their brushes, mixing their inks, so many of them that there were more outside the room than inside it. There was one clerk who arrived late, sauntering in without the slightest haste. When he received his drawing panel, he did not look for a place in line, but went straight to his own quarters. The ruler sent someone to see what he was doing, and it was found that he had taken off his robes, stretched out his legs, and was sitting there naked. "Very good," said the ruler. "This is a true artist!"

King Wen was seeing the sights at Tsang when he spied an old man fishing. Yet his fishing wasn't really fishing. He did not fish as though he were fishing for anything, but as though it were his constant occupation to fish. King Wen wanted to summon him and hand over the government to him, but he was afraid that the high officials and his uncles and brothers would be uneasy. He thought perhaps he had better forget the matter and let it rest, and yet he couldn't bear to deprive the hundred clans of such a Heaven-sent opportunity. At dawn the next day he therefore reported to his ministers, saying, "Last night I dreamt I saw a fine man, dark-complexioned and bearded, mounted on a dappled horse that had red hoofs on one side. He commanded me, saying, 'Hand over your rule to the old man of Tsang - then perhaps the ills of the people may be cured!' "

The ministers, awe-struck, said, "It was the king, your late father!"

"Then perhaps we should divine to see what ought to be done," said King Wen.

"It is the command of your late father!" said the ministers. "Your Majesty must have no second thoughts. What need is there for divination?"

In the end, therefore, the king had the old man of Tsang escorted to the capital and handed over the government to him, but the regular precedents and laws remained unchanged, and not a single new order was issued.

At the end of three years, King Wen made an inspection tour of the state. He found that the local officials had smashed their gate bars and disbanded their cliques, that the heads of government bureaus achieved no special distinction, and that persons entering the four borders from other states no longer ventured to bring their own measuring cups and bushels with them. The local officials had smashed their gate bars and disbanded their cliques because they had learned to identify with their superiors. The heads of government bureaus achieved no special distinction because they looked on all tasks as being of equal distinction. Persons entering the four borders from other states no longer ventured to bring their own measuring cups and bushels with them because the feudal lords had ceased to distrust the local measures.

King Wen thereupon concluded that he had found a Great Teacher and, facing north as a sign of respect, he asked, "Could these methods of government be extended to the whole world?"

But the old man of Tsang looked blank and gave no answer, evasively mumbling some excuse; and when orders went out the next morning to make the attempt, the old man ran away the very same night and was never heard of again.

Yen Yuan questioned Confucius about this story, saying, "King Wen did not amount to very much after all, did he! And why did he have to resort to that business about the dream?"

"Quiet!" said Confucius. "No more talk from you! King Wen was perfection itself - how can there be any room for carping and criticism! The dream - that was just a way of getting out of a moment's difficulty."

Lieh Yu-k'ou was demonstrating his archery to Po-hun Wu-jen. He drew the bow as far as it would go, placed a cup of water on his elbow, and let fly. One arrow had no sooner left his thumb ring than a second was resting in readiness beside his arm guard, and all the while he stood like a statue.16 Po-hun Wu-jen said, "This is the archery of an archer, not the archery of a nonarcher! Try climbing up a high mountain with me, scrambling over the steep rocks to the very, brink of an eight-hundred-foot chasm - then we'll see what kind of shooting you can do!"

Accordingly they proceeded to climb a high mountain, scrambling over the steep rocks to the brink of an eight-hundred-foot chasm. There Po-hun Wu-jen, turning his back to the chasm, walked backwards until his feet projected halfway off the edge of the cliff, bowed to Lieh Yu-k'ou, and invited him to come forward and join him. But Lieh Yu-k'ou cowered on the ground, sweat pouring down all the way to his heels. Po-hun Wu-jen said, "The Perfect Man may stare at the blue heavens above, dive into the Yellow Springs below, ramble to the end of the eight directions, yet his spirit and bearing undergo no change. And here you are in this cringing, eye-batting state of mind - if you tried to take aim now, you would be in certain peril!"

Chien Wu said to Sun-shu Ao, "Three times you have become premier, yet you did not seem to glory in it. Three times you were dismissed from the post, but you never looked glum over it. At first I doubted that this was really true, but now I stand before your very nose and see how calm and unconcerned you are. Do you have some unique way of using your mind?"

Sun-shu Ao replied, "How am I any better than other men? I considered that the coming of such an honour could not be fended off, and that its departure could not be prevented. As far as I was concerned, the question of profit or loss did not rest with me, and so I had no reason to put on a glum expression, that was all. How am I any better than other men? Moreover, I am not really certain whether the glory resides in the premiership or in me. If it resides in the premiership, then it means nothing to me. And if it resides in me, then it means nothing to the premiership. Now I am about to go for an idle stroll, to go gawking in the four directions. What leisure do I

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have to worry about who holds an eminent position and who a humble one?"

Confucius, hearing of the incident, said, "He was a True Man of old, the kind that the wise cannot argue with, the beautiful cannot seduce, the violent cannot intimidate; even Fu Hsi or the Yellow Emperor could not have befriended him. Life and death are great affairs, and yet they are no change to him - how much less to him are things like titles and stipends! With such a man, his spirit may soar over Mount T'ai without hindrance, may plunge into the deepest springs without getting wet, may occupy the meanest, most humble position without distress. He fills all Heaven and earth; and the more he gives to others, the more he has for himself."

The king of Ch'u was sitting with the lord of Fan. After a little while, three of the king of Ch'u's attendants reported that the state of Fan had been destroyed. The lord of Fan said, "The destruction of Fan is not enough to make me lose what I am intent on preserving. And if the destruction of Fan is not enough to make me lose what I preserve, then the preservation of Ch'u is not enough to make it preserve what it ought to preserve. Looking at it this way, then, Fan has not yet begun to be destroyed, and Ch'u has not yet begun to be preserved!"

ZHUANGZI SECTION 22

Knowledge Wandered North

Knowledge Wandered North to the banks of the Black Waters, climbed the Knoll of Hidden Heights, and there by chance came upon Do-Nothing-Say-Nothing. Knowledge said to Do-Nothing-Say-Nothing, "There are some things I should like to ask you. What sort of pondering, what sort of cogitation does it take to know the Way? What sort of surroundings, what sort of practices does it take to find rest in the Way? What sort of path, what sort of procedure will get me to the Way?"

Three questions he asked, but Do-Nothing-Say-Nothing did not answer. It wasn't that he just did not answer - he did not know how to answer!

Knowledge, failing to get any answer, returned to the White Waters of the south, climbed the summit of Dubiety Dismissed, and there caught sight of Wild-and-Witless. Knowledge put the same questions to Wild-and-Witless. "Ah - I know!" said Wild-and-Witless. "And I am going to tell you." But just as he was about to say something, he forgot what it was he was about to say.

Knowledge, failing to get any answer, returned to the imperial palace, where he was received in audience by the Yellow Emperor, and posed his questions. The Yellow Emperor said, "Only when there is no pondering and no cogitation will you get to know the Way. Only when you have no surroundings and follow no practices will you find rest in the Way. Only when there is no path and no procedure can you get to the Way."

Knowledge said to the Yellow Emperor, "You and I know, but those other two that I asked did not know. Which of us is right, I wonder?"

The Yellow Emperor said, "Do-Nothing-Say-Nothing - he's the one who is truly right. Wild-and-Witless appears to be so. But you and I in the end are nowhere near it. Those who know do not speak; those who speak do not know. Therefore the sage practices the teaching that has no words.I The Way cannot be brought to light; its virtue cannot be forced to come. But benevolence - you can put that into practice; you can discourse on righteousness, you can dupe one another with rites. So it is said, When the Way was lost, then there was virtue; when virtue was lost, then there was benevolence; when benevolence was lost, then there was righteousness; when righteousness was lost, then there were rites. Rites are the frills of the Way and the forerunners of disorder. So it is said, He who practices the Way does less every day, does less and goes on doing less, until he reaches the point where he does nothing, does nothing and yet there is nothing that is not done." Now that we've already become 'things,' if we want to return again to the Root, I am afraid we'll have a hard time of it! The Great Man - he's the only one who might find it easy.

"Life is the companion of death, death is the beginning of life. Who understands their workings? Man's life is a coming-together of breath. If it comes together, there is life; if it scatters, there is death. And if life and death are companions to each other, then what is there for us to be anxious about?

"The ten thousand things are really one. We look on some as beautiful because they are rare or unearthly; we look on others as ugly because they are foul and rotten. But the foul and rotten may turn into the rare and unearthly, and the rare and unearthly may turn into the foul and rotten. So it is said, You have only to comprehend the one breath that is the world. The sage never ceases to value oneness."

Knowledge said to the Yellow Emperor, "I asked Do-Nothing-Say-Nothing and he did not reply to me. It wasn't that he merely did not reply to me - he did not know how to reply to me. I asked Wild-and-Witless and he was about to explain to me, though he did not explain anything. It wasn't that he wouldn't explain to me - but when he was about to explain, he forgot what it was. Now I have asked you and you know the answer. Why then do you say that you are nowhere near being right?"

The Yellow Emperor said, "Do-Nothing-Say-Nothing is the one who is truly right - because he does not know. Wild-and-Witless appears to be so - because he forgets. But you and I in the end are nowhere near it - because we know."

Wild-and-Witless heard of the incident and concluded that the Yellow Emperor knew what he was talking about.

Heaven and earth have their great beauties but do not speak of them; the four seasons have their clear-marked regularity but do not discuss it; the ten thousand things have their principles of growth but do not expound them. The sage seeks out the beauties of Heaven and earth and masters the principles of the ten thousand things. Thus it is that the Perfect Man does not act, the Great Sage does not move - they have perceived [the Way of] Heaven and earth, we may say. This Way, whose spiritual brightness is of the greatest purity, joins with others in a hundred transformations. Already things are living or dead, round or square; no one can comprehend their source, yet here are the ten thousand things in all their stir and bustle, just as they have been since ancient times. Things as vast as the Six Realms have never passed beyond the border [of the Way]; things as tiny as an autumn hair must wait for it to achieve bodily form. There is nothing in the world that does not bob and sink, to the end of its days lacking fixity. The yin and yang, the four seasons follow one another in succession, each keeping to its proper place. Dark and hidden, [the Way] seems not to exist and yet it is there; lush and unbounded, it possesses no form but only spirit; the ten thousand things are shepherded by it, though they do not understand it - this is what is called the Source, the Root. This is what may be perceived in Heaven.

Nieh Ch'ueh asked P'i-i about the Way. P'i-i said, "Straighten up your body, unify your vision, and the harmony of Heaven will come to you. Call in your knowledge, unify your bearing, and the spirits will come to dwell with you. Virtue will be your beauty, the Way will be your home, and, stupid as a newborn calf, you will not try to find out the reason why."

Before he had finished speaking, however, Nieh Ch'ueh fell sound asleep. P'i-i, immensely pleased, left and walked away, singing this song:

Body like a withered corpse,
mind like dead ashes,
true in the realness of knowledge,
not one to go searching for reasons,
dim dim, dark dark,
mindless, you cannot consult with him:
what kind of man is this

Shun asked Ch'eng, "Is it possible to gain possession of the Way?"

"You don't even have possession of your own body - how could you possibly gain possession of the Way!"

"If I do not have possession of my own body, then who does?" said Shun.

"It is a form lent you by Heaven and earth. You do not have possession of life - it is a .harmony lent by Heaven and earth. You do not have possession of your inborn nature and fate they are contingencies lent by Heaven and earth. You do not have possession of your sons and grandsons - they are castoff skins lent by Heaven and earth. So it is best to walk without knowing where you are going, stay home without knowing what you are guarding, eat without knowing what you are tasting. All is the work of the Powerful Yang in the world. How then could it be possible to gain possession of anything?"

Confucius said to Lao Tan, "Today you seem to have a moment of leisure - may I venture to ask about the Perfect Way?"

Lao Tan said, "You must fast and practice austerities, cleanse and purge your mind, wash and purify your inner spirit, destroy and do away with your knowledge. The Way is abstruse and difficult to describe. But I will try to give you a rough outline of it.

"The bright and shining is born out of deep darkness; the ordered is born out of formlessness; pure spirit is born out of the Way. The body is born originally from this purity, and the ten thousand things give bodily form to one another through the process of birth. Therefore those with nine openings in the body are born from the womb; those with eight openings are born from eggs. [In the case of the Way] there is no trace of its coming, no limit to its going. Gateless, room-less, it is airy and open as the highways of the four directions. He who follows along with it will be strong in his four limbs, keen and penetrating in intellect, sharp-eared, bright-eyed, wielding his mind without wearying it, responding to things without prejudice. Heaven cannot help but be high, earth cannot help but be broad, the sun and moon cannot help but revolve, the ten thousand things cannot help but flourish. Is this not the Way?

"Breadth of learning does not necessarily mean knowledge; eloquence does not necessarily mean wisdom - therefore the sage rids himself of these things. That which can be increased without showing any sign of increase; that which can be diminished without suffering any diminution - that is what the sage holds fast to. Deep, unfathomable, it is like the sea; tall and craggy, it ends only, to begin again, transporting and weighing the ten thousand things without ever failing them. The 'Way of the gentleman' [which you preach] is mere superficiality, is it not? But what the ten thousand things all look to for sustenance, what never fails them - is this not the real Way?

"Here is a man of the Middle Kingdom, neither yin nor yang, living between heaven and earth. For a brief time only, he will be a man, and then he will return to the Ancestor. Look at him from the standpoint of the Source and his life is a mere gathering together of breath. And whether he dies young or lives to a great old age, the two fates will scarcely differ - a matter of a few moments, you might say. How, then, is it worth deciding that Yao is good and Chieh is bad?

"The fruits of trees and vines have their patterns and principles. Human relationships too, difficult as they are, have their relative order and precedence. The sage, encountering them, does not go against them; passing beyond, he does not cling to them. To respond to them in a spirit of harmony - this is virtue; to respond to them in a spirit of fellowship - this is the Way. Thus it is that emperors have raised themselves up and kings have climbed to power.

"Man's life between heaven and earth is like the passing of a white colt glimpsed through a crack in the wall-whoosh!-and that's the end. Overflowing, starting forth, there is nothing that does not come out; gliding away, slipping into silence, there is nothing that does not go back in. Having been transformed, things find themselves alive; another transformation and they are dead. Living things grieve over it, mankind mourns. But it is like the untying of the Heaven-lent bow-bag, the unloading of the Heaven-lent satchel - a yielding, a mild mutation, and the soul and spirit are on their way, the body following after, on at last to the Great Return.

"The formless moves to the realm of form; the formed moves back to the realm of formlessness. This all men alike understand. But it is not something to be reached by striving. The common run of men all alike debate how to reach it. But those who have reached it do not debate, and those who debate have not reached it. Those who peer with bright eyes will never catch sight of it. Eloquence is not as good as silence. The Way cannot be heard; to listen for it is not as good as plugging up your ears. This is called the Great Acquisition."

Master Tung-kuo8 asked Chuang Tzu, "This thing called the Way - where does it exist?"

Chuang Tzu said, "There is no place it does not exist."

"Come," said Master Tung-kuo, "you must be more specific!"

"It is in the ant."

"As low a thing as that?"

"It is in the panic grass."

"But that's lower still!"

"It is in the tiles and shards."

"How can it be so low?"

"It is in the piss and shit!"

Master Tung-kuo made no reply.

Chuang Tzu said, "Sir, your questions simply don't get at the substance of the matter. When Inspector Huo asked the superintendent of the market how to test the fatness of a pig by pressing it with the foot, he was told that the lower down on the pig you press, the nearer you come to the truth. But you must not expect to find the Way in any particular place - there is no thing that escapes its presence! Such is the Perfect Way, and so too are the truly great words. 'Complete,' 'universal,' 'all-inclusive' - these three are different words with the same meaning. All point to a single reality.

"Why don't you try wandering with me to the Palace of Not-Even-Anything - identity and concord will be the basis of our discussions and they will never come to an end, never reach exhaustion. Why not join with me in inaction, in tranquil quietude, in hushed purity, in harmony and leisure? Already my will is vacant and blank. I go nowhere and don't know how far I've gotten. I go and come and don't know where to stop. I've already been there and back, and I do not know when the journey is done. I ramble and relax in unbordered vastness; Great Knowledge enters in, and I do not know where it will ever end.

"That which treats things as things is not limited by things. Things have their limits - the so-called limits of things. The unlimited moves to the realm of limits; the limited moves to the unlimited realm. We speak of the filling and emptying, the withering and decay of things. [The Way] makes them full and empty without itself filling or emptying; it makes them wither and decay without itself withering or decaying. It establishes root and branch but knows no root and branch itself; it determines when to store up or scatter but knows no storing or scattering itself."

Ah Ho-kan and Shen Nung were studying together under Old Lung Chi. Shen Nung sat leaning on his armrest, the door shut, taking his daily nap, when at midday Ah Ho-kan threw open the door, entered and announced, "Old Lung is dead!"

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Shen Nung, still leaning on the armrest, reached for his staff and jumped to his feet. Then he dropped the staff with a clatter and began to laugh, saying, " My Heaven-sent Master - he knew how cramped and mean, how arrogant and willful I am, and so he abandoned me and died. My Master went off and died without ever giving me any wild words to open up my mind!"

Yen Kang-tiao, hearing of the incident, said, "He who embodies the Way has all the gentlemen of the world flocking to him. As far as the Way goes, Old Lung hadn't gotten hold of a piece as big as the tip of an autumn hair, hadn't found his way into one ten-thousandth of it - but even he knew enough to keep his wild words stored away and to die with them unspoken. How much more so, then, in the case of a man who embodies the Way! Look for it but it has no form, listen but it has no voice. Those who discourse upon it with other men speak of it as dark and mysterious. The Way that is discoursed upon is not the Way at all! "

At this point, Grand Puritv asked No-End, "Do you understand the Way?"

"I do not understand it," said No-End.

Then he asked No-Action, and No-Action said, "I understand the Way."

"You say you understand the Way - is there some trick to it.

"There is."

"What's the trick?"

No-Action said, "I understand that the Way can exalt things and can humble them; that it can bind them together and can cause them to disperse. This is the trick by which I understand the Way.'

Grand Purity, having received these various answers, went and questioned No-Beginning, saying, "If this is how it is, then between No-End's declaration that he does not understand, and No-Action's declaration that he does, which is right and which is wrong?"

No-Beginning said, "Not to understand is profound; to understand is shallow. Not to understand is to be on the inside; to understand is to be on the outside."

Thereupon Grand Purity gazed up and sighed, saying, "Not to understand is to understand? To understand is not to understand? Who understands the understanding that does not understand?"

No-Beginning said, "The Way cannot be heard; heard, it is not the Way. The Way cannot be seen; seen, it is not the Way. The Way cannot be described; described, it is not the Way. That which gives form to the formed is itself formless - can you understand that? There is no name that fits the Way."

No-Beginning continued, "He who, when asked about the Way, gives an answer does not understand the Way; and he who asked about the Way has not really heard the Way explained. The Way is not to be asked about, and even if it is asked about, there can be no answer. To ask about what cannot be asked about is to ask for the sky. To answer what cannot be answered is to try to split hairs. If the hair-splitter waits for the sky-asker, then neither will ever perceive the time and space that surround them on the outside, or understand the Great Beginning that is within. Such men can never trek across the K'un-lun, can never wander in the Great Void!"

Bright Dazzlement asked Non-Existence, "Sir, do you exist or do you not exist?" Unable to obtain any answer, Bright Dazzlement stared intently at the other's face and form - all was vacuity and blankness. He stared all day but could see nothing, listened but could hear no sound, stretched out his hand but grasped nothing. "Perfect!" exclaimed Bright Dazzlement. "Who can reach such perfection? I can conceive of the existence of nonexistence, but not of the nonexistence of nonexistence. Yet this man has reached the stage of the nonexistence of nonexistence.14 How could I ever reach such perfection!"

The grand marshal's buckle maker was eighty years old, yet he had not lost the tiniest part of his old dexterity. The grand marshal said, "What skill you have! Is there a special way to this?"

"I have a way. From the time I was twenty I have loved to forge buckles. I never look at other things - if it's not a buckle, I do not bother to examine it."

Using this method of deliberately not using other things, he was able over the years to get some use out of it. And how much greater would a man be if, by the same method, he reached the point where there was nothing that he did not use! All things would come to depend on him.

Jan Ch'iu asked Confucius, "Is it possible to know anything about the time before Heaven and earth existed?"

Confucius said, "It is - the past is the present."

Jan Ch'iu, failing to receive any further answer, retired. The following day he went to see Confucius again and said, "Yesterday I asked if it were possible to know anything about the time before Heaven and earth existed, and you, Master, replied, 'It is - the past is the present.' Yesterday that seemed quite clear to me, but today it seems very obscure. May I venture to ask what this means?"

Confucius said, "Yesterday it was clear because your spirit took the lead in receiving my words. Today, if it seems obscure, it is because you are searching for it with something other than spirit, are you not? There is no past and no present, no beginning and no end. Sons and grandsons existed before sons and grandsons existed - may we make such a statement?"

Jan Ch'iu had not replied when Confucius said, "Stop! - don't answer! Do not use life to give life to death. Do not use death to bring death to life." Do life and death depend upon each other? Both have that in them which makes them a single body. There is that which was born before Heaven and earth, but is it a thing? That which treats things as things is not a thing. Things that come forth can never precede all other things, because there were already things existing then; and before that, too, there were already things existing - so on without end. The sage's love of mankind, which never comes to an end, is modeled on this principle."

Yen Yuan said to Confucius, "Master, I have heard you say that there should be no going after anything, no welcoming anything. May I venture to ask how one may wander in such realms?"

Confucius said, "The men of old changed on the outside but not on the inside. The men of today change on the inside but not on the outside. He who changes along with things is identical with him who does not change. Where is there change? Where is there no change? Where is there any friction with others? Never will he treat others with arrogance. But Hsi-wei had his park, the Yellow Emperor his garden, Shun his palace, T'ang and Wu their halls.18 And among gentlemen there were those like the Confucians and Mo-ists who became 'teachers.' As a result, people began using their 'rights' and 'wrongs' to push each other around. And how much worse are the men of today!

"The sage lives with things but does no harm to them, and he who does no harm to things cannot in turn be harmed by them. Only he who does no harm is qualified to join with other men in 'going after' or 'welcoming.'

"The mountains and forests, the hills and fields fill us with overflowing delight and we are joyful. Our joy has not ended when grief comes trailing it. We have no way to bar the arrival of grief and joy, no way to prevent them from departing. Alas, the men of this world are no more than travelers, stopping now at this inn, now at that, all of them run by 'things.' They know the things they happen to encounter, but not those that they have never encountered. They know how to do the things they can do, but they cannot do the things they don't know how to do. Not to know, not to be able to do - from these mankind can never escape. And yet there are those who struggle to escape from the inescapable - can you help but pity them? Perfect speech is the abandonment of speech; perfect action is the abandonment of action. To be limited to understanding only what is understood - this is shallow indeed!"

ZHUANGZI SECTION 23

Keng- Sang Ch'u

Among The Attendants of Lao Tan was one Keng-sang Ch'u, who had mastered a portion of the Way of Lao Tan, and with it went north to live among the Mountains of Zigzag. His servants with their bright and knowing looks he discharged; his concubines with their tender and solicitous ways he put far away from him. Instead he shared his house with drabs and dowdies, and employed the idle and indolent to wait on him. He had been living there three years when Zigzag began to enjoy bountiful harvests, and the people of Zigzag said to one another, "When Master Keng-sang first came among us, we were highly suspicious of him. But now, if we figure by the day, there never seems to be enough, but if we figure by the year, there is always some left over! It might just be that he's a sage! Why don't we make him our impersonator of the dead and pray to him, turn over to him our altars of the soil and grain?"

When Master Keng-sang heard this, he faced south with a look of displeasure. His disciples thought this strange, but Master Keng-sang said, "Why should you wonder that I am displeased? When the breath of spring comes forth, the hundred grasses begin to grow, and later, when autumn visits them, their ten thousand fruits swell and ripen. Yet how could spring and autumn do other than they do? - the Way of Heaven has already set them in motion. I have heard that the Perfect Man dwells corpse-like in his little four-walled room, leaving the hundred clans to their uncouth and uncaring ways, not knowing where they are going, where they are headed. But now these petty people of Zigzag in their officious and busy-body fashion want to bring their sacrificial stands and platters and make me one of their 'worthies'! Am I to be held up as a model for men? That is why, remembering the words of Lao Tan, I am so displeased!"

"But there is no need for that!" said his disciples. "In a ditch eight or sixteen feet wide the really big fish does not even have room to turn around, yet the minnows and loaches think it ample. On a knoll no more than five or ten paces in height the really big animal does not even have room to hide, yet the wily foxes think it ideal. Moreover, to honour the worthy and assign office to the able, according them precedence and conferring benefits on them - this has been the custom from the ancient days of the sages Yao and Shun. How much more so, then, should it be the custom among the common people of Zigzag. Why not go ahead and heed their demands, Master?"

Master Keng-sang said, "Come nearer, my little ones! A beast large enough to gulp down a carriage, if he sets off alone and leaves the mountains, cannot escape the perils of net and snare; a fish large enough to swallow a boat, if he is tossed up by the waves and left stranded, is bound to fall victim to ants and crickets. Therefore birds and beasts don't mind how high they climb to escape danger, fish and turtles don't mind how deep they dive. So the man who would preserve his body and life must think only of how to hide himself away, not minding how remote or secluded the spot may be.

"And as for those two you mentioned -Yao and Shun - how are they worthy to be singled out for praise? With their nice distinctions they are like a man who goes around willfully poking holes in people's walls and fences and planting weeds and brambles in them, like a man who picks out which hairs of his head he intends to comb before combing it, who counts the grains of rice before he cooks them. Such bustle and officiousness - how can it be of any use in saving the age? Promote men of worth and the people begin trampling over each other; employ men of knowledge and the people begin filching from each other. Such procedures will do nothing to make the people ingenuous. Instead the people will only grow more diligent in their pursuit of gain, till there are sons who kill their fathers, ministers who kill their lords, men who filch at high noon, who bore holes through walls in broad daylight. I tell you, the source of all great confusion will invariably be found to lie right there with Yao and Shun! And a thousand generations later, it will still be with us. A thousand generations later - mark my word - there will be men who will eat each other up!"

Nan-Jung Chu straightened up on his mat with a perplexed look and said, "A man like myself who's already on in years - what sort of studies is he to undertake in order to attain this state you speak of?"

Master Keng-sang said, "Keep the body whole, cling fast to life! Do not fall prey to the fidget and fuss of thoughts and scheming. If you do this for three years, then you can attain the state I have spoken of."

Nan-Jung Chu said, "The eyes are part of the body - I have never thought them anything else - yet the blind man cannot see with his. The ears are part of the body - I have never thought them anything else - yet the deaf man cannot hear with his. The mind is part of the body - I have never thought it anything else - yet the madman cannot comprehend with his. The body too must be part of the body - surely they are intimately connected. Yet - is it because something intervenes? - I try to seek my body, but I cannot find it. Now you tell me, 'Keep the body whole, cling fast to life! Do not fall prey to the fidget and fuss of thoughts and scheming.' As hard as I try to understand your explanation of the Way, I am afraid your words penetrate no farther than my ears."

"I've said all I can say," exclaimed Master Keng-sang. "The saying goes, mud daubers have no power to transform caterpillars.5 The little hens of Yueh cannot hatch goose eggs, though the larger hens of Lu can do it well enough. It isn't that one kind of hen isn't just as henlike as the other. One can and the other cannot because their talents just naturally differ in size. Now I am afraid my talents are not sufficient to bring about any transformation in you. Why don't you go south and visit Lao Tzu? "

Nan-Jung Chu packed up his provisions and journeyed for seven days and seven nights until he came to Lao Tzu's place. Lao Tzu said, "Did you come from Keng-sang Ch'u's place?"

"Yes Sir," said Nan-Jung Chu.

"Why did you come with all this crowd of people?" asked Lao Tzu.

Nan-Jung Chu, astonished, turned to look behind him.

"Don't you know what I mean?" asked Lao Tzu.

Nan-Jung Chu hung his head in shame and then, looking up with a sigh, said, "Now I've even forgot the right answer to that, so naturally I cannot ask any questions of my own."

"What does that mean?" asked Lao Tzu.

"If I say I do not know, then people call me an utter fool," said Nan-Jung Chu. "But if I say I do know, then on the contrary I bring worry on myself. If I am not benevolent, I harm others; but if I am benevolent, then on the contrary I make trouble for myself. If I am not righteous, I do injury to others; but if I am righteous, then on the contrary I distress myself. How can I possibly escape from this state of affairs? It is these three dilemmas that are harassing me, and so, through Keng-sang Chu's introduction, I have come to beg an explanation."

Lao Tzu said, "A moment ago, when I looked at the space between your eyebrows and eyelashes, I could tell what kind of person you are. And now what you have said confirms it. You are confused and crestfallen, as though you had lost your father and mother and were setting off with a pole to fish for them in the sea. You are a lost man - hesitant and unsure, you want to return to your true form and inborn nature but you have no way to go about it - a pitiful sight indeed!"

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Nan-jung Chu asked to be allowed to repair to his quarters. There he tried to cultivate his good qualities and rid himself of his bad ones; and after ten days of making himself miserable, he went to see Lao Tzu again. Lao Tzu said, "You have been very diligent in your washing and purifying - as I can see from your scrubbed and shining look. But there is still something smoldering away inside you - it would seem that there are bad things there yet. When outside things trip you up and you cannot snare and seize them, then bar the inside gate. When inside things trip you up and you cannot bind and seize them, then bar the outside gate. If both outside and inside things trip you up, then even the Way and its virtue themselves cannot keep you going - much less one who is a mere follower of the Way in his actions."

Nan-Jung Chu said, "When a villager gets sick and his neighbours ask him how he feels, if he is able to describe his illness, it means he can still recognize his illness as an illness - and so he isn't all that ill. But now if I were to ask about the Great Way, it would be like drinking medicine that made me sicker than before. What I would like to ask about is simply the basic rule of life-preservation, that is all."

Lao Tzu said, "Ah - the basic rule of life-preservation. Can you embrace the One? Can you keep from losing it? Can you, without tortoise shell or divining stalks, foretell fortune and misfortune? Do you know where to stop, do you know where to leave off? Do you know how to disregard it in others and instead look for it in yourself? Can you be brisk and unflagging? Can you be rude and unwitting? Can you be a little baby? The baby howls all day, yet its throat never gets hoarse - harmony at its height! The baby makes fists all day, yet its fingers never get cramped - virtue is all it holds to. The baby stares all day without blinking its eyes - it has no preferences in the world of externals. To move without knowing where you are going, to sit at home without knowing what you are doing, traipsing and trailing about with other things, riding along with them on the same wave - this is the basic rule of life-preservation, this and nothing more."

Nan-Jung Chu said, "Then is this all there is to the virtue of the Perfect Man?"

"Oh, no! This is merely what is called the freeing of the icebound, the thawing of the frozen. Can you do it? The Perfect Man joins with others in seeking his food from the earth, his pleasures in Heaven. But he does not become embroiled with them in questions of people and things, profit and loss. He does not join them in their shady doings, he does not join them in their plots, he does not join them in their projects. Brisk and unflagging, he goes; rude and unwitting, he comes. This is what is called the basic rule of life-preservation."

"Then is this the highest stage?"

"Not yet! Just a moment ago I said to you, 'Can you be a baby?' The baby acts without knowing what it is doing, moves without knowing where it is going. Its body is like the limb of a withered tree, its mind like dead ashes. Since it is so, no bad fortune will ever touch it, and no good fortune will come to it either. And if it is free from good and bad fortune, then what human suffering can it undergo?"

He whose inner being rests in the Great Serenity will send forth a Heavenly light. But though he sends forth a Heavenly light, men will see him as a man and things will see him as a thing. When a man has trained himself to this degree, then for the first time he achieves constancy. Because he possesses constancy, men will come to lodge with him and Heaven will be his helper. Those whom men come to lodge with may be called the people of Heaven; those whom Heaven aids may be called the sons of Heaven.

Learning means learning what cannot be learned; practicing means practicing what cannot be practiced; discriminating means discriminating what cannot be discriminated. Understanding that rests in what it cannot understand is the finest. If you do not attain this goal, then Heaven the Equalizer will destroy you.

Utilize the bounty of things and let them nourish your body; withdraw into thoughtlessness and in this way give life to your mind; be reverent of what is within and extend this same reverence to others. If you do these things and yet are visited by ten thousand evils, then all are Heaven-sent and not the work of man. They should not be enough to destroy your composure; they must not be allowed to enter the Spirit Tower. The Spirit Tower has its guardian, but unless it understands who its guardian is, it cannot be guarded.

If you do not perceive the sincerity within yourself and yet try to move forth, each movement will miss the mark. If outside concerns enter and are not expelled, each movement will only add failure to failure. He who does what is not good in clear and open view will be seized and punished by men. He who does what is not good in the shadow of darkness will be seized and punished by ghosts. Only he who clearly understands both men and ghosts will be able to walk alone."

He who concentrates upon the internal does deeds that bring no fame. He who concentrates upon the external sets his mind upon the hoarding of goods. He who does deeds that bring no fame is forever the possessor of light. He who sets his mind upon the hoarding of goods is a mere merchant. To other men's eyes he seems to be straining on tiptoe in his greed, yet he thinks himself a splendid fellow. If a man goes along with things to the end, then things will come to him. But if he sets up barriers against things, then he cannot find room enough even for himself, much less for others. He who can find no room for others lacks fellow feeling, and to him who lacks fellow feeling, all men are strangers. There is no weapon more deadly than the will - even Mo-yeh is inferior to it. There are no enemies greater than the yin and yang - because nowhere between heaven and earth can you escape from them. It is not that the yin and yang deliberately do you evil - it is your own mind that makes them act so.

The Way permeates all things. Their dividedness is their completeness, their completeness is their impairment. What is hateful about this state of dividedness is that men take their dividedness and seek to supplement it; and what is hateful about attempts to supplement it is that they are a mere supplementation of what men already have. So they go forth and forget to return - they act as though they had seen a ghost. They go forth and claim to have gotten something - what they have gotten is the thing called death. They are wiped out and choked off - already a kind of ghost themselves. Only when that which has form learns to imitate the formless will it find serenity.

It comes out from no source, it goes back in through no aperture. It has reality yet no place where it resides; it has duration yet no beginning or end. Something emerges, though through no aperture - this refers to the fact that it has reality. It has reality yet there is no place where it resides - this refers to the dimension of space. It has duration but no beginning or end - this refers to the dimension of time. There is life, there is death, there is a coming out, there is a going back in - yet in the coming out and going back its form is never seen. This is called the Heavenly Gate. The Heavenly Gate is nonbeing. The ten thousand things come forth from nonbeing. Being cannot create being out of being; inevitably it must come forth from nonbeing. Nonbeing is absolute nonbeing, and it is here that the sage hides himself.

The understanding of the men of ancient times went a long way. How far did it go? To the point where some of them believed that things have never existed - so far, to the end, where nothing can be added. Those at the next stage thought that things exist. They looked upon life as a loss, upon death as a return - thus they had already entered the state of dividedness. Those at the next stage said, "In the beginning there was nonbeing. Later there was life, and when there was life suddenly there was death. We look upon nonbeing as the head, on life as the body, on death as the rump. Who knows that being and nonbeing, life and death are a single way? I will be his friend!"

These three groups, while differing in their viewpoint, belong to the same royal clan; though, as in the case of the Chao and Ching families,. whose names indicate their line of succession, and that of the Ch'i! family, whose name derives from its fief, they are not identical.

Out of the murk, things come to life. With cunning you declare, "We must analyze this!" You try putting your analysis in words, though it is not something to be put into words. You cannot, however, attain understanding. At the winter sacrifice, you can point to the tripe or the hoof of the sacrificial ox, which can be considered separate things, and yet in a sense cannot be considered separate. A man who goes to look at a house will walk all around the chambers and ancestral shrines, but he will also go to inspect the privies. And so for this reason you launch into your analysis.

Let me try describing this analysis of yours. It takes life as its basis and knowledge as its teacher, and from there proceeds to assign "right" and "wrong." So in the end we have "names" and "realities," and accordingly each man considers himself to be their arbiter. In his efforts to make other men appreciate his devotion to duty, for example, he will go so far as to accept death as his reward for devotion. To such men, he who is useful is considered wise, he who is of no use is considered stupid. He who is successful wins renown; he who runs into trouble is heaped with shame. Analyzers - that is what the men of today are! They are like the cicada and the little dove, who agreed because they were two of a kind.

If you step on a stranger's foot in the market place, you apologize at length for your carelessness. If you step on your older brother's foot, you give him an affectionate pat, and if you step on your parent's foot, you know you are already forgiven. So it is said, Perfect ritual makes no distinction of persons; perfect righteousness takes no account of things; perfect knowledge does not scheme; perfect benevolence knows no affection; perfect trust dispenses with gold.

Wipe out the delusions of the will, undo the snares of the heart, rid yourself of the entanglements to virtue; open up the roadblocks in the Way. Eminence and wealth, recognition and authority, fame and profit - these six are the delusions of the will. Appearances and carriage, complexion and features, temperament and attitude - these six are the snares of the heart. Loathing and desire, joy and anger, grief and happiness - these six are the entanglements of virtue. Rejecting and accepting, taking and giving, knowledge and ability - these six are the roadblocks of the Way. When these four sixes no longer seethe within the breast, then you will achieve uprightness; being upright, you will be still; being still, you will be enlightened; being enlightened, you will be empty; and being empty, you will do nothing, and yet there will be nothing that is not done.

The Way is virtue's idol. Life is virtue's light. The inborn nature is the substance of life. The inborn nature in motion is called action. Action which has become artificial is called loss. Understanding reaches out, understanding plots. But the understanding of that which is not to be understood is a childlike stare. Action which is done because one cannot do otherwise is called virtue. Action in which there is nothing other than self is called good order. In definition the two seem to be opposites but in reality they agree.

Archer Yi was skilled at hitting the smallest target but clumsy in not preventing people from praising him for it. The sage is skilled in what pertains to Heaven but clumsy in what pertains to man. To be skilled in Heavenly affairs and good at human ones as well - only the Complete Man can encompass that. Only bugs can be bugs because only bugs can abide by Heaven. The Complete Man hates Heaven, and hates the Heavenly in man. How much more, then, does he hate the "I" who distinguishes between Heaven and man.

If a single sparrow came within Archer Yi's range, he was sure to bring it down - impressive shooting. But he might have made the whole world into a cage, and then the sparrows would have had no place to flee to. That was the way it was when T'ang caged Yi Yin by making him a cook and Duke Mu caged Po-li Hsi for the price of five ram skins. But if you hope to get a man, you must cage him with what he likes or you will never succeed.

The man who has had his feet cut off in punishment discards his fancy clothes - because praise and blame no longer touch him. The chained convict climbs the highest peak without fear - because he has abandoned all thought of life and death. These two are submissive and unashamed because they have forgot other men, and by forgetting other men they have become men of Heaven. Therefore you may treat such men with respect and they will not be pleased; you may treat them with contumely and they will not be angry. Only because they are one with the Heavenly Harmony can then be like this.

If he who bursts out in anger is not really angry, then his anger is an outburst of nonanger. If he who launches into action is not really acting, then his action is a launching into inaction. He who wishes to be still must calm his energies; he who wishes to be spiritual must compose his mind; he who in his actions wishes to hit the mark must go along with what he cannot help doing. Those things that you cannot help doing - they represent the Way of the sage.

ZHUANGZI SECTION 24

Hsu Wu-Kuei

Through Nu Shang, the recluse Hsu Wu-kuei obtained an interview with Marquis Wu of Wei. Marquis Wu greeted him with words of comfort, saying, "Sir, you are not well. I suppose that the hardships of life in the mountain forests have become too much for you, and so at last you have consented to come and visit me."

"I am the one who should be comforting you!" said Hsu Wu-kuei. "What reason have you to comfort me? If you try to fulfill all your appetites and desires and indulge your likes and dislikes, then you bring affliction to the true form of your inborn nature and fate. And if you try to deny your appetites and desires and forcibly change your likes and dislikes, then you bring affliction to your ears and eyes. It is my place to comfort you - what reason have you to comfort me!"

Marquis Wu, looking very put out, made no reply.

After a little while, Hsu Wu-kuei said, "Let me try telling you about the way I judge dogs. A dog of the lowest quality thinks only of catching its fill of prey - that is, it has the nature of a wildcat. One of middling quality seems always to be looking up at the sun. But one of the highest quality acts as though it had lost its own identity. And I am even better at judging horses than I am at judging dogs. When I judge a horse, if he can gallop as straight as a plumb line, arc as neat as a curve, turn as square as a T square, and round as true as a compass, then I should say he was a horse for the kingdom to boast of. But not a horse for the whole world to boast of. A horse the whole world can boast of - his talents are already complete. He seems dazed, he seems lost, he seems to have become unaware of his own identity, and in this way he overtakes, passes, and leaves the others behind in the dust. You cannot tell where he's gone to!"

Marquis Wu, greatly pleased, burst out laughing.

When Hsu Wu-kuei emerged from the interview, Nu Shang said, "Sir, may I ask what you were talking to our ruler about? When I talk to him, I talk to him back and forth about the Odes and Documents, about ritual and music; and then I talk to him up and down about the Golden Tablets and the Six Bow-cases. I have made proposals that led to outstanding success in more cases than can be counted, and yet he never so much as bared his teeth in a smile. Now what were you talking

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to him about that you managed to delight him in this fashion?"

Hsu Wu-kuei said, "I was merely explaining to him how I judge dogs and horses, that was all."

"Was that all?" said Nu Shang.

"Have not you ever heard about the men who are exiled to Yueh?" said Hsu Wu-kuei. "A few days after they have left their homelands, they are delighted if they come across an old acquaintance. When a few weeks or a month have passed, they are delighted if they come across someone they had known by sight when they were at home. And by the time a year has passed, they are delighted if they come across someone who even looks as though he might be a countryman. The longer they are away from their countrymen, the more deeply they long for them - isn't that it? A man who has fled into the wilderness, where goosefoot and woodbine tangle the little trails of the polecat and the weasel, and has lived there in emptiness and isolation for a long time, will be delighted if he hears so much as the rustle of a human footfall. And how much more so if he hears his own brothers and kin chattering and laughing at his side! It has been a long time, I think, since one who speaks like a True Man has sat chattering and laughing at our ruler's side."

Hsu Wu-kuei was received in audience by Marquis Wu. "Sir," said Marquis Wu, "for a long time now you have lived in your mountain forest, eating acorns and chestnuts, getting along on wild leeks and scallions, and scorning me completely. Now is it old age, or perhaps a longing for the taste of meat and wine, that has brought you here? Or perhaps you have come to bring blessing to my altars of the soil and grain."

Hsu Wu-kuei said, "I was born to poverty and lowliness and have never ventured to eat or drink any of your wine or meat, my lord. I have come in order to comfort you."

"What?" said the ruler. "Why should you comfort me?"

"I want to bring comfort to your spirit and body."

"What do you mean by that?" asked Marquis Wu.

Hsi! Wu-kuei said, "Heaven and earth provide nourishment for all things alike. To have ascended to a high position cannot be considered an advantage; to live in lowliness cannot be considered a handicap. Now you, as sole ruler of this land of ten thousand chariots, may tax the resources of the entire populace of your realm in nourishing the appetites of your ears and eyes, your nose and mouth. But the spirit will not permit such a way of life. The spirit loves harmony and hates licentiousness. Licentiousness is a kind of sickness, and that is why I have come to offer my comfort. I just wonder, my lord, how aware you are of your own sickness."

Marquis Wu said, "I have in fact been hoping to see you for a long time, Sir. I would like to cherish my people, practice righteousness, and lay down the weapons of war - how would that do?"

"It won't!" said Hsu Wu-kuei "To cherish the people is to open the way to harming them! To practice righteousness and lay down your weapons is to sow the seeds for more weapon-wielding! If you go at it this way, I am afraid you will never succeed. All attempts to create something admirable are the weapons of evil. You may think you are practising benevolence and righteousness, but in effect you will be creating a kind of artificiality. Where a model exists, copies will be made of it; where success has been gained, boasting follows; where debate exists, there will be outbreaks of hostility. On the other hand, it will not do, my lord, to have files of marching soldiers filling the whole area within your fortress towers, or ranks of cavalry drawn up before the Palace of the Black Altar. Do not store in your heart what is contrary to your interests. Do not try to outdo others in skill. Do not try to overcome others by stratagems. Do not try to conquer others in battle. If you kill the officials and people of another ruler and annex his lands, using them to nourish your personal desires and your spirit, then I cannot say which contender is the better fighter, and to which the real victory belongs! If you must do something, cultivate the sincerity which is in your breast and use it to respond without opposition to the true form of Heaven and earth. Then the people will have won their reprieve from death. What need will there be for you to resort to this 'laying down of weapons'?"

The Yellow Emperor set out to visit Great Clod at Chi!-tz'u Mountain.5 Fang Ming was his carriage driver, while Ch'ang Yu rode at his right side; Chang Jo and Hsi P'eng led the horses and K'un Hun and Ku Chi followed behind the carriage. By the time they reached the wilds of Hsiang-ch'eng, all seven sages had lost their way and could find no one to ask directions from. Just then they happened upon a young boy herding horses, and asked him for directions. "Do you know the way to Chu-tz'u Mountain?" they inquired.

"Yes."

"And do you know where Great Clod is to be found?"

"Yes."

"What an astonishing young man!" said the Yellow Emperor. "You not only know the way to Chu-tz'u Mountain, but you even know where Great Clod is to be found! Do you mind if I ask you about how to govern the empire?"

"Governing the empire just means doing what I am doing here, does not it?" said the young boy. "What is there special about it? When I was little, I used to go wandering within the Six Realms, but in time I contracted a disease that blurred my eyesight. An elderly gentleman advised me to mount on the chariot of the sun and go wandering in the wilds of Hsiang-ch'eng, and now my illness is getting a little better. Soon I can go wandering once more, this time beyond the Six Realms. Governing the empire just means doing what I am doing - I do not see why it has to be anything special."

"It's true that the governing of the empire is not something that need concern you, Sir," said the Yellow Emperor. "Nevertheless, I would like to ask you how it should be done."

The young boy made excuses, but when the Yellow Emperor repeated his request, the boy said, "Governing the empire I suppose is not much different from herding horses. Get rid of whatever is harmful to the horses - that's all."

The Yellow Emperor, addressing the boy as "Heavenly Master," bowed twice, touching his head to the ground, and retired.

The wise man is not happy without the modulations of idea and thought; the rhetorician is not happy without the progression of argument and rebuttal; the examiner is not happy without the tasks of interrogation and intimidation. All are penned in by these things. Men who attract the attention of the age win glory at court; men who hit it off well with the people shine in public office; men of strength and sinew welcome hardship; men of bravery and daring are spurred on by peril; men of arms and armour delight in combat; men of haggard hermit looks reach out for fame; men of laws and regulations long for broader legislation; men of ritual and instruction revere appearances; men of benevolence and righteousness value human relationships. The farmer is not content if he does not have his work in the fields and weed patches; the merchant is not content if he does not have his affairs at the market place and wellside. The common people work hardest when they have their sunup to sundown occupations; the hundred artisans are most vigorous when they are exercising their skills with tools and machines. If his goods and coin do not pile up, the greedy man frets; if his might and authority do not increase, the ambitious man grieves. Servants to circumstance and things, they delight in change, and if the moment comes when they can put their talents to use, then they cannot keep from acting. In this way they all follow along with the turning years, letting themselves be changed by things.6 Driving their bodies and natures on and on, they drown in the ten thousand things, and to the end of their days never turn back. Pitiful, are they not?

Chuang Tzu said, "If an archer, without taking aim at the mark, just happens to hit it, and we dub him a skilled archer, then everyone in the world can be an Archer Yi - all right?"

"All right," said Hui Tzu.

Chuang Tzu said, "If there is no publicly accepted 'right' in the world, but each person takes right to be what he himself thinks is right, then everyone in the world can be a Yao -all right?"

"All right," said Hui Tzu.

Chuang Tzu said, "Well then, here are the four schools of the Confucians, Mo, Yang, and Ping, and with your own that makes five. Now which of you is in fact right? Or is it perhaps like the case of Lu Chu? His disciple said to him, 'Master, I have grasped your Way. I can build a fire under the caldron in winter and make ice in summer.' 'But that is simply using the yang to attract the yang, and the yin to attract the yin,' said Lu Chu. 'That is not what I call the Way! I will show you my Way!' Thereupon he tuned two lutes, placed one in the hall, and the other in an inner room. When he struck the kung note on one lute, the kung on the other lute sounded; when he struck the chueh note, the other chueh sounded - the pitch of the two instruments was in perfect accord. Then he changed the tuning of one string so that it no longer corresponded to any of the five notes. When he plucked this string, it set all the twenty-five strings of the other instrument to jangling. But he was still using sounds to produce his effect; in this case it just happened to be the note that governs the other notes. Now is this the way it is in your case?"

Hui Tzu said, "The followers of Confucius, Mo, Yang, and Ping often engage with me in debate, each of us trying to overwhelm the others with phrases and to silence them with shouts - but so far they have never proved me wrong. So what do you make of that?"

Chuang Tzu said, "A man of Ch'i sold his own son into service in Sung, having dubbed him Gatekeeper and maimed him; but when he acquired any bells or chimes, he wrapped them up carefully to prevent breakage. Another man went looking for a lost son, but was unwilling to go any farther than the border in his search - there are men as mixed up as this, you know. Or like the man of Ch'u who had been maimed and sold into service as a gatekeeper and who, in the middle of the night, when no one else was around, picked a fight with the boatman. Though he did not actually arouse any criticism, what he did was enough to create the grounds for a nasty grudge."

Chuang Tzu was accompanying a funeral when he passed by the grave of Hui Tzu. Turning to his attendants, he said, "There was once a plasterer who, if he got a speck of mud on the tip of his nose no thicker than a fly's wing, would get his friend Carpenter Shih to slice it off for him. Carpenter Shih, whirling his hatchet with a noise like the wind, would accept the assignment and proceed to slice, removing every bit of mud without injury to the nose, while the plasterer just stood there completely unperturbed. Lord Yuan of Sung, hearing of this feat, summoned Carpenter Shih and said, 'Could you try performing it for me?' But Carpenter Shih replied, 'It's true that I was once able to slice like that - but the material I worked on has been dead these many years.' Since you died, Master Hui, I have had no material to work on. There is no one I can talk to any more."

When Kuan Chung fell ill, Duke Huan went to inquire how he was. "Father Chung," he said, "you are very ill. If - can I help but say it? - if your illness should become critical, then to whom could I entrust the affairs of the state?"

Kuan Chung said, "To whom would Your Grace like to entrust them?"

"Pao Shu-ya," said the duke.

"That will never do! He is a fine man, a man of honesty and integrity. But he will have nothing to do with those who are not like himself. And if he once hears of someone's error, he won't forget it to the end of his days. If he were given charge of the state, he would be sure to tangle with you on the higher level and rile the people below him. It would be no time at all before he did something you considered unpardonable."

"Well then, who will do?" asked the duke.

"If I must give an answer, then I would say that Hsi P'eng will do. He forgets those in high places and does not abandon those in low ones. He is ashamed that he himself is not like the Yellow Emperor, and pities those who are not like himself. He who shares his virtue with others is called a sage; he who shares his talents with others is called a worthy man. If he uses his worth in an attempt to oversee others,. then he will never win their support; but if he uses it to humble himself before others, then he will never fail to win their support. With such a man, there are things within the state that he does not bother to hear about, things within the family that he does not bother to look after. If I must give an answer, I would say that Hsi P'eng will do."

The king of Wu, boating on the Yangtze, stopped to climb a mountain noted for its monkeys. When the pack of monkeys saw him, they dropped what they were doing in terror and scampered off to hide in the deep brush. But there was one monkey who, lounging about nonchalantly, picking at things, scratching, decided to display his skill to the king. When the king shot at him, he snatched hold of the flying arrows with the greatest nimbleness and speed. The king thereupon ordered his attendants to hurry forward and join in the shooting, and the monkey was soon captured and killed. The king turned to his friend Yen Pu-i and said, "This monkey, flouting its skill, trusting to its tricks, deliberately displayed its contempt for me - so it met with this end. Take warning from it! Ah - you must never let your expression show arrogance toward others! "

When Yen Pu-i returned, he put himself under the instruction of Tung Wu, learning to wipe the expression from his face, to discard delight, to excuse himself from renown - and at the end of three years everyone in the state was praising him.

Tzu-ch'i of Nan-po sat leaning on his armrest, staring up at the sky and breathing. Yen Ch'eng-tzu entered and said, "Master, you surpass all other things! Can you really make the body like a withered tree and the mind like dead ashes?"

"Once I lived in a mountain cave. At that time, T'ien Ho came to pay me one visit and the people of the state of Ch'i congratulated him three times. I must have had hold of something in order for him to find out who I was; I must have been peddling something in order for him to come and buy. If I had not had hold of something, then how would he have been able to find out who I was? If I had not been peddling something, then how would he have been able to buy? Ah, how I pitied those men who destroy themselves! Then again, I pitied those who pity others; and again, I pitied those who pity those who pity others. But all that was long ago."

When Confucius visited Ch'u, the king of Ch'u ordered a toast. Sun-shu Ao came forward and stood with the wine goblet, while I-liao from south of the Market took some of the wine and poured a libation, saying, "[You have the wisdom of] the men of old, have you not? On this occasion perhaps you would speak to us about it."

Confucius said, "I have heard of the speech that is not spoken, though I have never tried to speak about it. Shall I

take this occasion to speak about it now? I-liao from south of the Market juggled a set of balls and the trouble between the two houses was resolved. Sun-shu Ao rested comfortably, waving his feather fan, and the men of Ying put away their arms. I wish I had a beak three feet long!"

These were men who followed what is called the Way that is not a way, and this exchange of theirs is what is called the debate that is not spoken. Therefore, when virtue is resolved

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in the unity of the Way and words come to rest at the place where understanding no longer understands, we have perfection. The unity of the Way is something that virtue can never master;18 what understanding does not understand is something that debate can never encompass. To apply names in the manner of the Confucians and Mo-ists is to invite evil. The sea does not refuse the rivers that come flowing eastward into it - it is the perfection of greatness. The sage embraces all heaven and earth, and his bounty extends to the whole world, yet no one knows who he is or what family he belongs to. For this reason, in life he holds no titles, in death he receives no posthumous names. Realities do not gather about him, names do not stick to him - this is what is called the Great Man.

A dog is not considered superior merely because it is good at barking; a man is not considered worthy merely because he is good at speaking. Much less, then, is he to be considered great. That which has become great does not think it worth trying to become great, much less to become virtuous. Nothing possesses a larger measure of greatness than Heaven and earth, yet when have they ever gone in search of greatness? He who understands what it means to possess greatness does not seek, does not lose, does not reject, and does not change himself for the sake of things. He returns to himself and finds the inexhaustible; he follows antiquity and discovers the imperishable - this is the sincerity of the Great Man.

Tzu-ch'i had eight sons and, lining them up in front of him, he summoned Chiu-fang Yin and said, "Please physiognomize my sons for me and tell me which one is destined for good fortune."

Chiu-fang Yin replied, "K'un - he is the one who will be fortunate."

Tzu-ch'i, both astonished and pleased, said, "How so?"

"K'un will eat the same food as the lord of a kingdom, and will continue to do so to the end of his days."

Tears sprang from Tzu-ch'i's eyes, and in great dejection he said, "Why should my boy be brought to this extreme?"

"He who eats the same food as the ruler of a kingdom will bring bounty to all his three sets of relatives, not to mention his own father and mother," said Chiu-fang Yin. "Yet now when you hear of this, Sir, you burst out crying - this will only drive the blessing away! The son is auspicious enough, but the father is decidedly inauspicious!"

Tzu-ch'i said, "Yin, what would you know about this sort of thing! You say K'un will be fortunate – but you are speaking solely of the meat and wine that are to affect his nose and mouth. How could you understand where such things come from! Suppose, although I have never been a shepherd, a flock of ewes were suddenly to appear in the southwest corner of my grounds; or that, although I have no taste for hunting, a covey of quail should suddenly appear in the southeast corner - if this were not to be considered peculiar, then what would be? When my son and I go wandering, we wander through Heaven and earth. He and I seek our delight in Heaven and our food from the earth. He and I do not engage in any undertakings, do not engage in any plots, do not engage in any peculiarities. He and I ride on the sincerity of Heaven and earth and do not allow things to set us at odds with it. He and I stroll and saunter in unity, but never do we try to do what is appropriate to the occasion. Now you tell me of this vulgar and worldly 'reward' that is to come to him. As a rule, where there is some peculiar manifestation, there must invariably have been some peculiar deed to call it forth. But surely this cannot be due to any fault of my son and me - it must be inflicted by Heaven. It is for this reason that I weep!"

Not long afterwards, Tzu-ch'i sent his son K'un on an errand to the state of Yen, and along the way he was seized by bandits. They considered that he would be difficult to sell as a slave in his present state, but that if they cut off his feet they could dispose of him easily. Accordingly they cut off his feet and sold him in the state of Ch'i. As it happened, he was made gatekeeper of the inner chamber in the palace of Duke K'ang, and so was able to eat meat until the end of his days.

Nieh Ch'ueh happened to meet Hsi! Yu. "Where are you going?" he asked.

"I am running away from Yao."

"Why is that?"

"Because Yao is so earnestly and everlastingly benevolent! I am afraid he'll make himself the laughing stock of the world. In later ages men may even end up eating each other because of him! There is nothing difficult about attracting the people. Love them and they will feel affection for you, benefit them and they will flock to you, praise them and they will do their best, do something they dislike and they will scatter. Love and benefit are the products of benevolence and righteousness. There are few men who will renounce benevolence and righteousness, but many who will seek to benefit by them. To practice benevolence and righteousness in such a fashion is at best a form of insincerity, at worst a deliberate lending of weapons to the evil 22 and rapacious. Moreover, to have one man laying down decisions and regulations for the 'benefit' of the world is like trying to take in everything at a single glance. Yao understands that the worthy man can benefit the world, but he does not understand that he can also ruin the world. Only a man who has gotten outside the realm of 'worthiness' can understand that!"

There are the smug-and-satisfied, there are the precariously perched, and there are the bent-with-burdens. What I call the smug-and-satisfied are those who, having learned the words of one master, put on a smug and satisfied look, privately much pleased with themselves, considering that what they've gotten is quite sufficient, and not even realizing that they have not begun to get anything at all. These are what I call the smug-and-satisfied.

What I call the precariously perched are like the lice on a pig. They pick out a place where the bristles are long and sparse and call it their spacious mansion, their ample park; or a place in some corner of the hams or hoofs, between the nipples, or down around the haunches, and call it their house of repose, their place of profit. They do not know that one morning the butcher will give a swipe of his arm, spread out the grass, light up the fire, and that they will be roasted to a crisp along with the pig. Their advancement in the world is subject to such limitations as this, and their retirement from it is subject to similar limitations. This is what I call the precariously perched.

What I call the bent-with-burdens are those like Shun. The mutton does not long for the ants; it is the ants who long for the mutton. Mutton has a rank odour, and Shun must have done rank deeds for the hundred clans to have delighted in him so. Therefore, though he changed his residence three times, each place he lived in turned into a city, and by the time he reached the wilderness of Teng, he had a hundred thousand households with him. Yao heard of the worthiness of Shun and raised him up from the barren plains, saying, "May I hope that you will come and bestow your bounty upon us?" When Shun was raised up from the barren plains, he was already well along in years and his hearing and eyesight were failing, and yet he was not able to go home and rest. This is what I call the bent-with-burdens.

Therefore the Holy Man hates to see the crowd arriving, and if it does arrive, he does not try to be friendly with it; not being friendly with it, he naturally does nothing to benefit it. So he makes sure that there is nothing he is very close to, and nothing he is very distant with. Embracing virtue, infused with harmony, he follows along with the world - this is what is called the True Man. He leaves wisdom to the ants, takes his cue from the fishes, leaves willfulness to the mutton.

Use the eye to look at the eye, the ear to listen to the ear, and the mind to restore the mind. Do this and your levelness will be as though measured with the line, your transformations will be a form of compliance. The True Man of ancient times used Heaven to deal with man; he did not use man to work his way into Heaven. The True Man of ancient times got it and lived, lost it and died; got it and died, lost it and lived. Medicines will serve as an example. There are monkshood, balloonflower, cockscomb, and chinaroot; each has a time when it is the sovereign remedy, though the individual cases are too numerous to describe.

Kou-chien, with his three thousand men in armour and shield, took up his position at K'uai-chi; at that time Chung alone was able to understand how a perishing state can be saved, but he alone did not understand how the body may be brought to grief. Therefore it is said, The owl's eyes have their special aptness, the stork's legs have their proper proportions; to try to cut away anything would make the creatures sad.

It is said, When the wind passes over it, the river loses something; when the sun passes over it, it loses something. But even if we asked the wind and sun to remain constantly over the river, the river would not regard this as the beginning of any real trouble for itself - it relies upon the springs that feed it and goes on its way. The water sticks close by the land, the shadow sticks close by the form, things stick close by things. Therefore keen sight may be a danger to the eye, sharp hearing may be a danger to the ear, and the pursuit of thought may be a danger to the mind. All the faculties that are stored up in man are a potential source of danger, and if this danger becomes real and is not averted, misfortunes will go on piling up in increasing number. A return to the original condition takes effort, its accomplishment takes time. And yet men look upon these faculties as their treasures - is it not sad? Therefore we have this endless destruction of states and slaughter of the people - because no one knows enough to ask about This!

The foot treads a very small area of the ground, but although the area is small, the foot must rely upon the support of the untrod ground all around before it can go forward in confidence. The understanding of man is paltry, but although it is paltry, it must rely upon all those things that it does not understand before it can understand what is meant by Heaven. To understand the Great Unity, to understand the Great Yin, to understand the Great Eye, to understand the Great Equality, to understand the Great Method, to understand the Great Trust, to understand the Great Serenity - this is perfection. With the Great Unity you may penetrate it; with the Great Yin, unknot it; with the Great Eye, see it; with the Great Equality, follow it; with the Great Method, embody it; with the Great Trust, reach it; with the Great Serenity, hold it fast.

End with what is Heavenly, follow what is bright, hide in what is pivotal, begin in what is objective - then your comprehension will seem like noncomprehension, your understanding will seem like no understanding; not understanding it, you will later understand it. Your questions about it cannot have a limit, and yet they cannot not have a limit. Vague and slippery, there is yet some reality there. Past and present, it does not alter - nothing can do it injury. We may say that there is one great goal, may we not? Why not inquire about it? Why act in such perplexity? If we use the unperplexed to dispel perplexity and return to unperplexity, this will be the greatest unperplexity.

ZHUANGZI SECTION 25

Tse-Yang

When Tse-Yang Was Traveling In Ch'u, Yi Chieh spoke to the king of Ch'u about him, but gave up and went home without having persuaded the king to grant Tse-yang an interview. Tse-yang went to see Wang Kuo and said, "Sir, I wonder if you would mention me to the king."

Wang Kuo replied, "I would not be as good at that as Kung Yueh-hsiu."

Tse-yang said, "Kung Yueh-hsiu? What does he do?"

"In winter he spears turtles by the river, in summer he loafs around the mountains, and if anyone comes along and asks him about it, he says, 'This is my house!' Now since Yi Chieh was unable to persuade the king, what could I do? - I am not even a match for Yi Chieh. Yi Chieh is the kind of man who has understanding, though he lacks real virtue. He is not permissive with himself, but puts his whole spirit into pleasing his friends. He has always been dazzled and misled by wealth and eminence - so he is not the kind to help others out with virtue, but instead will help them out with harm. A man who is chilled will think spring has come if he piles on enough clothes; a man suffering from the heat will think winter has returned if he finds a cool breeze. Now the king of Ch'u is the kind of man who is majestic and stern in bearing, and if offended he is as unforgiving as a tiger. No one but a gross flatterer or a man of the most perfect virtue can hope to talk him into anything.

"The true sage, now - living in hardship, he can make his family forget their poverty; living in affluence, he can make kings and dukes forget their titles and stipends and humble themselves before him. His approach to things is to go along with them and be merry; his approach to men is to take pleasure in the progress of others and to hold on to what is his own. So there may be times when, without saying a word, he induces harmony in others; just standing alongside others, he can cause them to change, until the proper relationship between father and son has found its way into every home. He does it all in a spirit of unity and effortlessness - so far is he removed from the hearts of men. This is why I say you should wait for Kung Yueh-hsiu."

The sage penetrates bafflement and complication, rounding all into a single body, yet he does not know why - it is his inborn nature. He returns to fate and acts accordingly, using Heaven as his teacher, and men follow after, pinning labels on him. But if he worried about how much he knew and his actions were never constant for so much as a year or a season then how could he ever find a stopping place?

When people are born with good looks, you may hand them a mirror, but if you don't tell them, they will never know that they are better looking than others. Whether they know it or don't know it, whether they are told of it or are not told of it, however, their delightful good looks remain unchanged to the end, and others can go on endlessly admiring them - it is a matter of inborn nature. The sage loves other men, and men accordingly pin labels on him, but if they do not tell him, then he will never know that he loves other men. Whether he knows it or does not know it, whether he is told of it or is not told of it, however, his love for men remains unchanged to the end, and others can find endless security in it - it is a matter of inborn nature.

The old homeland, the old city - just to gaze at it from afar is to feel a flush of joy. Even when its hills and mounds are a tangle of weeds and brush, and nine out of ten of the ones you knew have gone to lie under them, still you feel joyful. How much more so, then, when you see those you used to see, when you hear the voices you used to hear - they stand out like eighty-foot towers among the crowd.

Mr. Jen-hsiang held on to the empty socket and followed along to completion. Joining with things, he knew no end, no beginning, no year, no season. And because he changed day by day with things, he was one with the man who never changes - so why should he ever try to stop doing this? He who tries to make Heaven his teacher will never get Heaven to teach him - he will end up following blindly along with all other things, and then no matter how he goes about it, what can he do? The sage has never begun to think of Heaven, has never begun to think of man, has never begun to think of a beginning, has never begun to think of things. He moves in company with the age, never halting; wherever he moves he finds completion and

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no impediment. Others try to keep up with him, but what can they do?

T'ang got hold of the groom and guardsman Teng Heng and had him be his tutor. He followed him and treated him as a teacher, but was not confined by him - so he could follow

along to completion, becoming as a result a mere holder of titles. This is called making yourself superfluous, a method by which two manifestations can be attained.8 Confucius' injunction "Be done with schemes!"- you could let that be your tutor as well. Or Mr. Yung-ch'eng's saying, "Be done with days and there will be no more years! No inside, no outside."

King Ying of Wei made a treaty with Marquis T'ien Mou of Ch'i, but Marquis T'ien Mou violated it. King Ying, enraged, was about to send a man to assassinate him. Kung-sun Yen, the minister of war, heard of this and was filled with shame. "You are the ruler of a state of ten thousand chariots," he said to the king, "and yet you would send a commoner to carry out your revenge! I beg to be given command of two hundred thousand armoured troops so that I may attack him for you, make prisoners of his people, and lead away his horses and cattle. I will make him burn with anger so fierce that it will break out on his back. Then I will storm his capital, and when T'ien Chi tries to run away, I will strike him in the back and break his spine!"

Chi Tzu, hearing this, was filled with shame and said, "If one sets out to build an eighty-foot wall, and then, when it is already seven-tenths finished, deliberately pulls it down, the convict laborers who built it will look upon it as a bitter waste. Now for seven years we have not had to call out the troops, and this peace has been the foundation of your sovereignty. Kung-sun Yen is a troublemaker - his advice must not be heeded!"

Hua Tzu, hearing this, was filled with disgust and said, "He who is so quick to say 'Attack Ch'i!' is a troublemaker, and he who is so quick to say 'Don't attack Ch'i!' is a troublemaker! And he who says that those who are for and against the attack are both troublemakers is a troublemaker, too!"

"Then what should I do?" said the ruler.

"Just try to find the Way, that's all."

Hui Tzu, hearing this, introduced Tai Chin-jen to the ruler. Tai Chin-jen said, "There is a creature called the snail - does Your Majesty know it?"

"Yes."

"On top of its left horn is a kingdom called Buffet, and on top of its right horn is a kingdom called Maul. At times they quarrel over territory and go to war, strewing the field with corpses by the ten thousand, the victor pursuing the vanquished for half a month before returning home."

"Pooh!" said the ruler. "What kind of empty talk is this?"

"But Your Majesty will perhaps allow me to show you the truth in it. Do you believe that there is a limit to the four directions, to up and down?"

"They have no limits," said the ruler.

"And do you know that when the mind has wandered in these limitless reaches and returns to the lands we know and travel, they seem so small it is not certain whether they even exist or not?"

"Yes," said the ruler.

"And among these lands we know and travel is the state of Wei, and within the state of Wei is the city of Liang, and within the city of Liang is Your Majesty. Is there any difference between you and the ruler of Maul?"

"No difference," said the king.

After the visitor left, the king sat stupefied, as though lost to the world. The interview over, Hui Tzu appeared before him. "That visitor of ours is a Great Man," said the king.

"The sages themselves are unworthy of comparison with him!" Hui Tzu said, "Blow on a flute and you get a nice shrill note; but blow on the ring of your sword hilt and all you get is a feeble wheeze. People are inclined to praise the sages Yao and Shun, but if you started expounding on Yao and Shun in the presence of Tai Chin-jen, it would sound like one little wheeze!"

When Confucius was traveling to the capital of Ch'u, he stopped for the night at a tavern at Ant Knoll. Next door a crowd of husbands and wives, menservants and maidservants had climbed up to the rooftop [to watch]. Tzu-lu said, "Who are all those people milling around?"

"They are the servants of a sage," said Confucius. "He has buried himself among the people, hidden himself among the fields. His reputation fades away but his determination knows no end. Though his mouth speaks, his mind has never spoken. Perhaps he finds himself at odds with the age and in his heart disdains to go along with it. He is one who has 'drowned in the midst of dry land.' I would guess that it is I-liao from south of the Market."

" May I go next door and call him over?" asked Tzu-lu.

"Let it be!" said Confucius. "He knows that I am out to make a name for myself, and he knows I am on my way to the capital of Ch'u. .He is sure to assume that I am trying to get the king of Ch'u to give me a position and will accordingly take me for a sycophant. A man like that is ashamed even to hear the words of a sycophant, much less appear in person before him! What makes you think he is still at home anyway?"

Tzu-lu went next door to have a look and found the house deserted.

The border guard of Chang-wu said to Tzu-lao,16 "In running the government you mustn't be slipshod; in ordering the people you mustn't be slapdash! In the past I used to grow grain. I plowed in a slipshod way and got a slipshod crop in return. I weeded in a slapdash way and got a slapdash crop in return. The following year I changed my methods, plowing deeper than before and raking with great care - the grain grew thick and luxuriant, and I had all I wanted to eat for the whole year!"

Chuang Tzu, hearing of this, said, "People of today, when they come to ordering their bodies and regulating their minds, too often do it in a manner like that which the border guard described. They turn their backs on the Heavenly part, deviate from the inborn nature, destroy the true form, and annihilate the spirit, just to be doing what the crowd is doing. So he who is slipshod with his inborn nature will find the evils of desire and hate affecting his inborn nature like weeds and rushes. When they first sprout up, he thinks they will be a comfort to the body, but in time they end by stifling the inborn nature. Side by side they begin to break out and ooze forth, not on just one part of the body but all over. Festering ulcers and boils, internal fevers and pus-filled urine - these are the results!"

Po Chu having studied under Lao Tan, said, "I would like permission to go wandering about the world."

"Let it be!" said Lao Tan. "The world is right here."

When Po Chi! repeated his request, Lao Tan said, "Where will you go first?"

"I will begin with Ch'i." When he arrived in Ch'i, he saw the body of a criminal who had been executed. Pushing and dragging until he had it laid out in proper position, he took off his formal robes and covered it with them, wailing to Heaven and crying out, "Alas, alas! The world is in dire misfortune, and you have been quicker than the rest of us to encounter it. 'Thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not murder!' they say. But when glory and disgrace have once been defined, you will see suffering; when goods and wealth have once been gathered together, you will see wrangling. To define something that brings suffering to men, to gather together what sets them to wrangling, inflicting misery and weariness upon them, never granting them a time of rest, and yet to hope somehow that they will not end up like this - how could it be possible?

"The gentlemen of old attributed what success they had to the people and what failure they had to themselves, attributed what was upright to the people and what was askew to themselves. Therefore, if there was something wrong with the body of even a single being, they would retire and take the blame upon themselves. But that is not the way it is done today. They make things obscure and then blame people for not understanding; they enlarge the difficulties and then punish people for not being able to cope with them; they pile on responsibilities and then penalize people for not being able to fulfill them; they make the journey longer and then chastise people for not reaching the end of it. When the knowledge and strength of the people are exhausted, they will begin to piece them out with artifice, and when day by day the amount of artifice in the world increases, how can men keep from resorting to artifice? A lack of strength invites artifice, a lack of knowledge invites deceit, a lack of goods invites theft. But these thefts and robberies - who in fact deserves the blame for them?"

Ch'u Po-yu has been going along for sixty years and has changed sixty times. There was not a single instance in which what he called right in the beginning he did not in the end reject and call wrong. So now there is no telling whether what he calls right at the moment is not in fact what he called wrong during the past fifty-nine years. The ten thousand things have their life, yet no one sees its roots; they have their comings forth, yet no one sees the gate. Men all pay homage to what understanding understands, but no one understands enough to rely upon what understanding does not understand and thereby come to understand. Can we call this anything but great perplexity? Let it be, let it be! There is no place you can escape it. This is what is called saying both "that is so" and "is that so?"

Confucius said to the Grand Historiographers Ta T'ao, Po Ch'ang-ch'ien, and Hsi Wei, "Duke Ling of Wei drank wine and wallowed in pleasure, paying no heed to the government of the state; he went hunting and gaming with nets and stringed arrows, ignoring his obligations to the other feudal lords. How then does he come to be called Duke Ling? "

Ta T'ao said, "It fitted the facts."

Po Ch'ang-ch'ien said, "Duke Ling had three wives with whom he would bathe in the same tub. But when Shih Ch'iu appeared in his presence to offer a gift of cloth, the duke would accept it in person and respectfully attend Shih Ch'iu. He was so depraved as to bathe with his wives, and yet so correct in his behavior before a worthy man - this is why he was titled Duke Ling."

Hsi Wei said, "When Duke Ling died, we divined to see if he should be buried in the family graveyard, but the omens were unfavourable. Then we divined to see if he should be buried at Sand Hill and the omens were favourable. Digging down several fathoms, we found a stone coffin and, when we had washed and examined it, we discovered an inscription which said: 'You cannot depend upon your heirs - Duke Ling will seize this plot for his own burial.' So it appears that Duke Ling had already been titled Ling for a long long time. How could these two here know enough to understand this!"

Little Understanding said to Great Impartial Accord, "What is meant by the term 'community words'?"

Great Impartial Accord said, " 'Community words' refers to the combining of ten surnames and a hundred given names into a single social unit.23 Differences are combined into a sameness; samenesses are broken up into differences. Now we may point to each of the hundred parts of a horse's body and never come up with a 'horse' - yet here is the horse, tethered right before our eyes. So we take the hundred parts and set up the term 'horse.' Thus it is that hills and mountains pile up one little layer on another to reach loftiness; the Yangtze and the Yellow River combine stream after stream to achieve magnitude; and the Great Man combines and brings together things to attain generality. Therefore, when things enter his mind from the outside, there is a host to receive them but not to cling to them; and when things come forth from his mind, there is a mark to guide them but not to constrain them. The four seasons each differ in breath, but Heaven shows no partiality among them, and therefore the year comes to completion. The five government bureaus differ in function, but the ruler shows no partiality among them, and therefore the state is well ordered. In both civil and military affairs, the Great Man shows no partiality, and therefore his virtue is complete. The ten thousand things differ in principle, but the Way shows no partiality among them, and therefore they may achieve namelessness. 28 Being nameless, they are without action; without action, yet there is nothing they do not do.

"The seasons have their end and beginning, the ages their changes and transformations. Bad fortune and good, tripping and tumbling, come now with what repels you, now with what you welcome. Set in your own opinion, at odds with others, now you judge things to be upright, now you judge them to be warped. But if you could only be like the great swamp, which finds accommodation for a hundred different timbers, or take your model from the great mountain, whose trees and rocks share a common groundwork! This is what is

meant by the term 'community words.'"

Little Understanding said, "Well, then, if we call these [general concepts] the Way, will that be sufficient?"

"Oh, no," said Great Impartial Accord. "If we calculate the number of things that exist, the count certainly does not stop at ten thousand. Yet we set a limit and speak of the 'ten thousand things' - because we select a number that is large and agree to apply it to them. In the same way, heaven and earth are forms which are large, the yin and yang are breaths which are large, and the Way is the generality that embraces them. If from the point of view of largeness we agree to apply [the name 'Way'] to it, then there is no objection. But if, having established this name, we go on and try to compare it to the reality, then it will be like trying to compare a dog to a horse - the distance between them is impossibly far."

Little Understanding said, "Here within the four directions and the six realms, where do the ten thousand things spring from when they come into being?"

Great Impartial Accord said, "The yin and yang shine on each other, maim each other, heal each other; the four seasons succeed each other, give birth to each other, slaughter each other. Desire and hatred, rejection and acceptance thereupon rise up in succession; the pairing of halves between male and female thereupon becomes a regular occurrence. Security and danger trade places with each other, bad and good fortune give birth to each other, tense times and relaxed ones buffet one another, gathering-together and scattering bring it all to completion. These names and realities can be recorded, their details and minute parts can be noted. The principle of following one another in orderly succession, the property of moving in alternation, turning back when they have reached the limit, beginning again when they have ended - these are inherent in things. But that which words can adequately describe, that which understanding can reach to, extends only as far as the level of 'things,' no farther. The man who looks to the Way does not try to track down what has disappeared, does not try to trace the source of what springs up. This is the point at which debate comes to a stop."

Little Understanding said, "Chi Chen's contention that 'nothing does it' and Chieh Tzu's contention that 'something makes it like this' - of the views of these two schools, which correctly describes the truth of the matter and which is one-sided in its understanding of principles?"

Great Impartial Accord said, "Chickens squawk, dogs bark - this is something men understand. But no matter how great their understanding, they cannot explain in words how the chicken and the dog have come to be what they are, nor can they imagine in their minds what they will become in the

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future. You may pick apart and analyze till you have reached what is so minute that it is without form, what is so large that it cannot be encompassed. But whether you say that 'nothing does it' or that 'something makes it like this,' you have not yet escaped from the realm of 'things,' and so in the end you fall into error. If 'something makes it like this,' then it is real; if 'nothing does it,' then it is unreal. While there are names and realities, you are in the presence of things. When there are no names and realities, you exist in the absence of things. You can talk about it, you can think about it; but the more you talk about it, the farther away you get from it.

"Before they are born, things cannot decline to be born; already dead, they cannot refuse to go. Death and life are not far apart, though the principle that underlies them cannot be seen. 'Nothing does it,' 'something makes it like this' - these are speculations born out of doubt. I look for the roots of the past, but they extend back and back without end. I search for the termination of the future, but it never stops coming at me. Without end, without stop, it is the absence of words, which shares the same principle with things themselves. But 'nothing does it,' 'something makes it like this' - these are the commencement of words and they begin and end along with things.

"The Way cannot be thought of as being, nor can it be thought of as nonbeing. In calling it the Way we are only adopting a temporary expedient. 'Nothing does it,' 'something makes it like this' - these occupy a mere corner of the realm of things. What connection could they have with the Great Method? If you talk in a worthy manner, you can talk all day long and all of it will pertain to the Way. But if you talk in an unworthy manner, you can talk all day long and all of it will pertain to mere things. The perfection of the Way and things - neither words nor silence are worthy of expressing it. Not to talk, not to be silent - this is the highest form of debate."

ZHUANGZI SECTION 26

External Things

External Things Cannot be counted on. Hence Lung-feng was executed, Pi Kan was sentenced to death, Prince Chi feigned madness, E Lai was killed, and Chieh and Chou were overthrown. There is no ruler who does not want his ministers to be loyal. But loyal ministers are not always trusted. Hence Wu Yun was thrown into the Yangtze and Ch'ang Hung died in Shu, where the people stored away his blood, and after three years it was transformed into green jade. There is no parent who does not want his son to be filial. But filial sons are not always loved. Hence Hsiao-chi grieved and Tseng Shen sorrowed.

When wood rubs against wood, flames spring up. When metal remains by the side of fire, it melts and flows away. When the yin and yang go awry, then heaven and earth see astounding sights. Then we hear the crash and roll of thunder, and fire comes in the midst of rain and burns up the great pagoda tree. Delight and sorrow are there to trap man on either side so that he has no escape. Fearful and trembling, he can reach no completion. His mind is as though trussed and suspended between heaven and earth, bewildered and lost in delusion. Profit and loss rub against each other and light the countless fires that burn up the inner harmony of the mass of men. The moon cannot put out the fire, so that in time all is consumed and the Way comes to an end.

Chuang Chou's family was very poor and so he went to borrow some grain from the marquis of Chien-ho. The marquis said, "Why, of course. I'll soon be getting the tribute money from my fief, and when I do, I'll be glad to lend you three hundred pieces of gold. Will that be all right?"

Chuang Chou flushed with anger and said, "As I was coming here yesterday, I heard someone calling me on the road. I turned around and saw that there was a perch in the carriage rut. I said to him, 'Come, perch - what are you doing here?' He replied, 'I am a Wave Official of the Eastern Sea. Couldn't you give me a dipperful of water, so I can stay alive?' I said to him, 'Why, of course. I am just about to start south to visit the kings of Wu and Yueh. I'll change the course of the West River and send it in your direction. Will that be all right?' The perch flushed with anger and said, 'I've lost my element! I have nowhere to go! If you can get me a dipper of water, I'll be able to stay alive. But if you give me an answer like that, then you'd best look for me in the dried fish store!' "

Prince Jen made an enormous fishhook with a huge line, baited it with fifty bullocks, settled himself on top of Mount K'uai-chi, and cast with his pole into the eastern sea. Morning after morning he dropped the hook, but for a whole year he got nothing. At last a huge fish swallowed the bait . and dived down, dragging the enormous hook. It plunged to the bottom in a fierce charge, rose up and shook its dorsal fins, until the white waves were like mountains and the sea waters lashed and churned. The noise was like that of gods and demons and it spread terror for a thousand li. When Prince Jen had landed his fish, he cut it up and dried it, and from Chih-ho east, from Ts'ang-wu north, there was no one who did not get his fill. Since then the men of later generations who have piddling talents and a penchant for odd stories all astound each other by repeating the tale.

Now if you shoulder your pole and line, march to the ditches and gullies, and watch for minnows and perch, then you'll have a hard time ever landing a big fish. If you parade your little theories and fish for the post of district. magistrate, you will be far from the Great Understanding. So if a man has never heard of the style of Prince Jen, he's a long way from being able to join with the men who run the world.

The Confucians rob graves in accordance with the Odes and ritual. The big Confucian announces to his underlings: "The east grows light! How is the matter proceeding?"

The little Confucians say: "We have not got the graveclothes off him yet but there is a pearl in his mouth! Just as the Ode says:

Green, green the grain
Growing on grave mound slopes;
If in life you gave no alms
In death how do you deserve a pearl?"

They push back his sidelocks, press down his beard, and then one of them pries into his chin with a little metal gimlet and gently pulls apart the jaws so as not to injure the pearl in his mouth.

A disciple of Lao Lai-tzu6 was out gathering firewood when he happened to meet Confucius. He returned and reported, "There is a man over there with a long body and short legs, his back a little humped and his ears set way back, who looks as though he were trying to attend to everything within the four seas. I do not know who it can be."

Lao Lai-tzu said, "That's Kung Ch'iu. Tell him to come over here!"

When Confucius arrived, Lao Lai-tzu said, "Ch'iu, get rid of your proud bearing and that knowing look on your face and you can become a gentleman!"

Confucius bowed and stepped back a little, a startled and changed expression on his face, and then asked, "Do you think I can make any progress in my labors?"

Lao Lai-tzu said, "You cannot bear to watch the sufferings of one age, and so you go and make trouble for ten thousand ages to come! ' Are you just naturally a boor? Or do you not have the sense to understand the situation? You take pride in practicing charity and making people happy - the shame of it will follow you all your days! These are the actions, the 'progress' of mediocre men - men who pull each other around with fame, drag each other into secret schemes, join together to praise Yao and condemn Chieh, when the best thing would be to forget them both and put a stop to praise! What is contrary cannot fail to be injured, what moves [when it should not] cannot fail to be wrong. The sage is hesitant and reluctant to begin an affair, and so he always ends in success. But what good are these actions of yours? They end in nothing but a boast!"

Lord Yuan of Sung one night dreamed he saw a man with disheveled hair who peered in at the side door of his chamber and said, "I come from the Tsai-lu Deeps. I was on my way as envoy from the Clear Yangtze to the court of the Lord of the Yellow River when a fisherman named Yu Chu caught me!"

When Lord Yuan woke up, he ordered his men to divine the meaning, and they replied, "This is a sacred turtle." "Is there a fisherman named Yu Chu?" he asked, and his attendants replied, "There is." "Order Yu Chu to come to court!"

he said.

The next day Yu Chu appeared at court and the ruler said, "What kind of fish have you caught recently?"

Yu Chu replied, "I caught a white turtle in my net. It's five feet around."

"Present your turtle!" ordered the ruler. When the turtle was brought, the ruler could not decide whether to kill it or let it live and, being in doubt, he consulted his diviners, who replied, "Kill the turtle and divine with it - it will bring good luck." Accordingly the turtle was stripped of its shell, and of seventy-two holes drilled in it for prognostication, not one failed to yield a true answer.

Confucius said, "The sacred turtle could appear to Lord Yuan in a dream but it could not escape from Yu Chu's net. It knew enough to give correct answers to seventy-two queries but it couldn't escape the disaster of having its belly ripped open. So it is that knowledge has its limitations, and spirituality has that which it can do nothing about. Even the most perfect wisdom can be outwitted by ten thousand schemers. Fish do not [know enough to] fear a net, but only to fear pelicans. Discard little wisdom and great wisdom will become clear. Discard goodness and goodness will come of itself. The little child learns to speak, though it has no learned teachers - because it lives with those who know how to speak."

Hui Tzu said to Chuang Tzu, "Your words are useless!"

Chuang Tzu said, "A man has to understand the useless before you can talk to him about the useful. The earth is certainly vast and broad, though a man uses no more of it than the area he puts his feet on. If, however, you were to dig away all the earth from around his feet until you reached the Yellow Springs, then would the man still be able to make use of it?"

"No, it would be useless," said Hui Tzu.

"It is obvious, then," said Chuang Tzu, "that the useless has its use."

Chuang. Tzu said, "If you have the capacity to wander, how can you keep from wandering? But if you do not have the capacity to wander, how can you wander? A will that takes refuge in conformity, behavior that is aloof and eccentric - neither of these, alas, is compatible with perfect wisdom and solid virtue. You stumble and fall but fail to turn back; you race on like fire and do not look behind you. But though you may be one time a ruler, another time a subject, this is merely a matter of the times. Such distinctions change with the age and you cannot call either one or the other lowly. Therefore I say, the Perfect Man is never a stickler in his actions.

"To admire antiquity and despise the present - this is the fashion of scholars. And if one is to look at the present age after the fashion of Hsi-wei, then who can be without prejudice? Only the Perfect Man can wander in the world without taking sides, can follow along with men without losing himself. His teachings are not to be learned, and one who understands his meaning has no need for him.

"The eye that is penetrating sees clearly, the ear that is penetrating hears clearly, the nose that is penetrating distinguishes odours, the mouth that is penetrating distinguishes flavours, the mind that is penetrating has understanding, and the understanding that is penetrating has virtue. In all things, the Way does not want to be obstructed, for if there is obstruction, there is choking; if the choking does not cease, there is disorder; and disorder harms the life of all creatures.

"All things that have consciousness depend upon breath. But if they do not get their fill of breath, it is not the fault of Heaven. Heaven opens up the passages and supplies them day and night without stop. But man on the contrary blocks up the holes. The cavity of the body is a many-storied vault; the mind has its Heavenly wanderings. But if the chambers are not large and roomy, then wife and mother-in-law will fall to quarreling. If the mind does not have its Heavenly wanderings, then the six apertures of sensation will defeat each other.

"The great forests, the hills and mountains excel man in the fact that their growth is irrepressible. [In man] virtue spills over into a concern for fame, and a concern for fame spills over into a love of show. Schemes are laid in time of crisis; wisdom is born from contention; obstinacy comes from sticking to a position; government affairs are arranged for the convenience of the mob. In spring, when the seasonable rains and sunshine come, the grass and trees spring to life, and the sickles and hoes are for the first time prepared for use. At that time, over half the grass and trees that had been pushed over begin to grow again, though no one knows why.

"Stillness and silence can benefit the ailing, massage can give relief to the aged, and rest and quiet can put a stop to agitation. But these are remedies which the troubled and weary man has recourse to. The man who is at ease does not need them and has never bothered to ask about them. The Holy Man does not bother to ask what methods the sage uses to reform the world. The sage does not bother to ask what methods the worthy man uses to reform the age. The worthy man does not bother to ask what methods the gentleman uses to reform the state. The gentleman does not bother to ask what methods the petty man uses to get along with the times.

"There was a man of Yen Gate who, on the death of his parents, won praise by starving and disfiguring himself, and was rewarded with the post of Official Teacher. The other people of the village likewise starved and disfigured themselves, and over half of them died. Yao offered the empire to Hsu Yu and Hsu Yu fled from him. T'ang offered it to Wu Kuang and Wu Kuang railed at him. When Chi T'o heard of this, he took his disciples and went off to sit by the K'uan River, where the feudal lords went to console him for three years. Shen-t'u Ti for the same reason jumped into the Yellow River.

"The fish trap exists because of the fish; once you have gotten the fish, you can forget the trap. The rabbit snare exists because of the rabbit; once you have gotten the rabbit, you can forget the snare. Words exist because of meaning; once you have got the meaning, you can forget the words. Where can I find a man who has forgot words so I can have a word with him?"

ZHUANGZI SECTION 27

Imputed Words

Imputed Words Make up nine tenths of it; repeated words make up seven tenths of it; goblet words come forth day after day, harmonising things in the Heavenly Equality.

These imputed words which make up nine tenths of it are like persons brought in from outside for the purpose of exposition. A father does not act as go-between for his own son because the praises of the father would not be as effective as the praises of an outsider. It is the fault of other men, not mine [that I must resort to such a device, for if I were to speak in my own words], then men would respond only to what agrees with their own views and reject what does not, would pronounce "right" what agrees with their own views and "wrong" what does not.

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These repeated words which make up seven tenths of it are intended to put an end to argument. They can do this because they are the words of the elders. If, however, one is ahead of others in age but does not have a grasp of the warp and woof, the root and branch of things, that is commensurate with his years, then he is not really ahead of others. An old man who is not in some way ahead of others has not grasped the Way of man, and if he has not grasped the Way of man, he deserves to be looked on as a mere stale remnant of the past.

With these goblet words that come forth day after day, I harmonise all things in the Heavenly Equality, leave them to their endless changes, and so live out my years. As long as I do not say anything about them, they are a unity. But the unity and what I say about it have ceased to be a unity; what I say and the unity have ceased to be a unity. Therefore I say, we must have no-words! With words that are no-words, you may speak all your life long and you will never have said anything. Or you may go through your whole life without speaking them, in which case you will never have stopped speaking.

There is that which makes things acceptable, there is that which makes things unacceptable; there is that which makes things so, there is that which makes things not so. What makes them so? Making them so makes them so. What makes them not so? Making them not so makes them not so. What makes them acceptable? Making them acceptable makes them acceptable. What makes them not acceptable? Making them not acceptable makes them not acceptable. Things all must have that which is so; things all must have that which is acceptable. There is nothing that is not so, nothing that is not acceptable. If there were no goblet words coming forth day after day to harmonise all by the Heavenly Equality, then how could I survive for long?

The ten thousand things all come from the same seed, and with their different forms they give place to one another. Beginning and end are part of a single ring and no one can comprehend its principle. This is called Heaven the Equalizer, which is the same as the Heavenly Equality.

Chuang Tzu said to Hui Tzu, "Confucius has been going along for sixty years and he has changed sixty times. What at the beginning he used to call right he has ended up calling wrong. So now there is no telling whether what he calls right at the moment is not in fact what he called wrong during the past fifty-nine years."

Hui Tzu said, "Confucius keeps working away at it, trying to make knowledge serve him."

"Oh, no-Confucius has given all that up," said Chuang Tzu. "It's just that he never talks about it. Confucius said, 'We receive our talents from the Great Source and, with the spirit hidden within us,' we live.' [As for you, you] sing on key, you talk by the rules, you line up 'profit' and 'righteousness' before us, but your 'likes' and 'dislikes,' your 'rights' and 'wrongs' are merely something that command lip service from others, that's all. If you could make men pay service with their minds and never dare stand up in defiance - this would settle things for the world so they would stay settled. But let it be, let it be! As for me, what hope have I of ever catching up with Confucius?"

Tseng Tzu twice held office, each time with a change of hearts "The first time, when I was taking care of my parents, I received a salary of only three fu of grain and yet my heart was happy," he said. "The second time I received a salary of three thousand chung, but I no longer had them to take care of and my heart was sad."

One of the disciples asked Confucius, "May we say that someone like Tseng Shen has escaped the crime of entanglement?"

"But he was already entangled! If he hadn't been entangled, how could he have had any cause for sorrow? He would have regarded three fu or three thousand chung as so many sparrows or mosquitoes passing in front of him!"

Yen Ch'eng Tzu-yu said to Tzu-ch'i of East Wall, "When I began listening to your words, the first year I was a bumpkin; the second I followed along; the third I worked into it; the fourth I was just another thing; the fifth it began to come; the sixth the spirits descended to me; the seventh the Heavenly part was complete; the eighth I did not understand death and did not understand life; and with the ninth I reached the Great Mystery.

"When the living start doing things, they are dead. When they strive for public causes because private ones mean death, they are following a path. But what lives in the light is following no path at all.' What is the result then? How can there be any place that is fitting? How can there be any place that isn't fitting? Heaven has its cycles and numbers, earth its flats and slopes8 - yet why should I seek to comprehend them? No one knows when they will end - how then can we say that they are fated to die? No one knows when they began - how then can we say that they are not fated to die? There seems to be something that responds - how then can we say there are no spirits? There seems to be something that does not respond - how then can we say that spirits do exist?"

Penumbra said to Shadow, "A little while ago you were looking down and now you are looking up, a little while ago your hair was bound up and now it's hanging loose, a little while ago you were sitting and now you are standing up, a little while ago you were walking and now you are still - why is this?"

Shadow said, "Quibble, quibble! Why bother asking about such things? I do them but I do not know why. I am the shell of the cicada, the skin of the snake - something that seems to be but isn't. In firelight or sunlight I draw together, in darkness or night I disappear. But do you suppose I have to wait around for those things? (And how much less so in the case of that which waits for nothing!) If those things come, then I come with them; if they go, then I go with them; if they come with the Powerful Yang, then I come with the Powerful Yang. But this Powerful Yang - why ask questions about it?"

Yang Tzu-chu went south to P'ei, and when he got to Liang, he went out to the edge of the city to greet Lao Tan, who had been traveling west to Chin, and escort him in. Lao Tzu stood in the middle of the road, looked up to heaven, and sighed, saying, "At first I thought that you could be taught, but now I see it's hopeless!"

Yang Tzu-chu made no reply, but when they reached the inn, he fetched a basin of water, a towel, and a comb and, taking off his shoes outside the door of the room, came crawling forward on his knees and said, "Earlier I had hoped to ask you, Sir, what you meant by your remark, but I saw that you were occupied and did not dare to. Now that you have a free moment, may I ask where my fault lies?"

Lao Tzu said, "High and mighty, proud and haughty - who could stand to live with you! The greatest purity looks like shame, abundant virtue seems to be insufficient."

When Yang Tzu-chu first arrived at the inn, the people in the inn came out to greet him. The innkeeper stood ready with a mat, his wife with towel and comb, while the other guests moved politely off their mats and those who had been warming themselves at the stove stepped aside. But when Yang returned from his interview with Lao Tzu, the people at the inn tried to push him right off his own mat.

ZHUANGZI SECTION 28

Giving Away A Throne

Yao Wanted To Cede The Empire to Hsu Yu, but Hsu Yu refused to accept it. Then he tried to give it to Tzu-chou Chih-fu. Tzu-chou Chih-fu said, "Make me the Son of Heaven? - that would be all right, I suppose. But I happen to have a deep-seated and worrisome illness which I am just now trying to put in order. So I have no time to put the empire in order." The empire is a thing of supreme importance, yet he would not allow it to harm his life. How much less, then, any other thing! Only he who has no use for the empire is fit to be entrusted with it.

Shun wanted to cede the empire to Tzu-chou Chih-po, but Tzu-chou Chih-po said, "I happen to have a deep-seated and worrisome illness which I am just now trying to put in order. So I have no time to put the empire in order." The empire is a great vessel, yet he would not exchange his life for it. This is how the possessor of the Way differs from the vulgar man.

Shun tried to cede the empire to Shan Ch'uan, but Shan Ch'uan said, "I stand in the midst of space and time. Winter days I dress in skins and furs, summer days, in vine-cloth and hemp. In spring I plow and plant - this gives my body the labor and exercise it needs; in fall I harvest and store away - this gives my form the leisure and sustenance it needs. When the sun comes up, I work; when the sun goes down, I rest. I wander free and easy between heaven and earth, and my mind has found all that it could wish for. What use would I have for the empire? What a pity that you don't understand me!" In the end he would not accept, but went away, entering deep into the mountains, and no one ever knew where he had gone.

Shun wanted to cede the empire to his friend, the farmer of Stone Door. The farmer of Stone Door said, "Such vigor and vitality you have, My Lord! You are a gentleman of perseverance and strength!" Then, surmising that Shun's virtue would hardly amount to very much, he lifted his wife upon his back, took his son by the hand, and disappeared among the islands of the sea, never to return to the end of his days.

When the Great King Tan-fu was living in Pin, the Ti tribes attacked his territory. He offered them skins and silks, but they refused them; he offered them dogs and horses, but they refused them; he offered them pearls and jades, but they refused them. What the men of the Ti tribes were after was his land. The Great King Tan-fu said, "To live among the older brothers and send the younger brothers to their death; to live among the fathers and send the sons to their death - this I cannot bear! My people, be diligent and remain where you are. What difference does it make whether you are subjects of mine or of the men of Ti? I have heard it said, one must not injure that which he is nourishing for the sake of that by which he nourishes it." 3 Then, using his riding whip as a cane, he departed, but his people, leading one another, followed after him, and in time founded a new state at the foot of Mount Ch'i.

The Great King Tan-fu may be said to have known how to respect life. He who knows how to respect life, though he may be rich and honoured, will not allow the means of nourishing life to injure his person. Though he may be poor and humble, he will not allow concerns of profit to entangle his body. The men of the present age, if they occupy high office and are honoured with titles, all think only of how serious a matter it would be to lose them. Eyes fixed on profit, they make light of the risk to their lives. Are they not deluded indeed?

The men of Yueh three times in succession assassinated their ruler. Prince Sou, fearful for his life, fled to the Cinnabar Cave, and the state of Yueh was left without a ruler. The men of Yueh, searching for Prince Sou and failing to find him, trailed him to the Cinnabar Cave, but he refused to come forth. They smoked him out with mugwort and placed him in the royal carriage. As Prince Sou took hold of the strap and pulled himself up into the carriage, he turned his face to heaven and cried, "To be a ruler! A ruler! Could I alone not have been spared this?" It was not that he hated to become their ruler; he hated the perils that go with being a ruler. Prince Sou, we may say, was the kind who would not allow the state to bring injury to his life. This, in fact, was precisely why the people of Yueh wanted to obtain him for their ruler.

The states of Han and Wei were fighting over a piece of territory. Master Hua Tzu went to see Marquis Chao-hsi, the ruler of Han. Marquis Chao-hsi had a worried look on his face. Master Hua Tzu said, "Suppose the men of the empire were to draw up a written agreement and place it before you, and the inscription read: 'Seize this with your left hand and you will lose your right hand; seize it with your right hand and you will lose your left; yet he who seizes this will invariably gain possession of the empire.' Would you be willing to seize it?"

"I would not!" said Marquis Chao-hsi.

"Very good!" exclaimed Master Hua Tzu. "From this I can see that your two hands are more important to you than the empire. And of course your body as a whole is a great deal more important than your two hands, while the state of Han is a great deal less important than the empire as a whole. Moreover, this piece of territory that you are fighting over is a great deal less important than the state of Han as a whole. And yet you make yourself miserable and endanger your life, worrying and fretting because you cannot get possession of it!"

"Excellent!" said Marquis Chao-hsi. "Many men have given me advice, but I have never been privileged to hear words such as these!" Master Hua Tzu, we may say, understood the difference between important and unimportant things.

The ruler of Lu, having heard that Yen Ho was a man who had attained the Way, sent a messenger with gifts to open up relations with him. Yen Ho was in his humble, back-alley home, wearing a robe of coarse hemp and feeding a cow, when the messenger from the ruler of Lu arrived, and he came to the door in person. "Is this the home of Yen Ho?" asked the messenger. "Yes, this is Ho's house," said Yen Ho. The messenger then presented his gifts, but Yen Ho said, "I am afraid you must have gotten your instructions mixed up. You'll surely be blamed if you give these to the wrong person, so you'd better check once more." The messenger returned, checked his instructions, and then went looking for Yen Ho a second time, but he was never able to find him. Men like Yen Ho truly despise wealth and honour.

Hence it is said, The Truth of the Way lies in looking out for oneself; its fringes and leftovers consist in managing the state and its great families; its offal and weeds consist in governing the empire. The accomplishments of emperors and kings are superfluous affairs as far as the sage is concerned, not the means by which to keep the body whole and to care for life. Yet how many gentlemen of the vulgar world today endanger themselves and throw away their lives in the pursuit of mere things! How can you help pitying them? Whenever the sage makes a move, you may be certain that he has looked carefully to see where he is going and what he is about. Now suppose there were a man here who took the priceless pearl of the Marquis of Sui and used it as a pellet to shoot at a sparrow a thousand yards up in the air - the world would certainly laugh at him. Why? Because that which he is using is of such great value, and that which he is trying to acquire is so trifling. And life - surely it is of greater value than the pearl of the Marquis of Sui!

Master Lieh Tzu was living in poverty and his face had a hungry look. A visitor mentioned this to Tzu-yang, the prime minister of Cheng, saying, "Lieh Yu-k'ou appears to be a gentleman who has attained the Way. Here he is living in Your Excellency's state, and in utter poverty! It would almost seem that Your Excellency has no fondness for such gentlemen, does it not?"

Tzu-yang immediately ordered his officials to dispatch a gift of grain. Master Lieh Tzu received the messenger, bowed twice, and refused the gift. When the messenger had left and Master Lieh Tzu had gone back into his house, his wife, filled with bitterness, beat her breast and said, "I have heard that the wives and children of men who have attained the Way all live in ease and happiness - but here we are with our hungry looks! His Excellency, realizing his error, has sent the Master something to eat, but the Master refuses to accept it - I suppose this is what they call Fate!"

Master Lieh Tzu laughed and said, "His Excellency does not know me personally - he sent me the grain simply because of what someone had told him. And someday he could just as

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well condemn me to punishment, again simply because of what someone told him. That's why I refused to accept."

In the end, as it happened, rebellion broke out among the people of Cheng and Tzu-yang was murdered.

When King Chao of Ch'u was driven from his state, the sheep butcher Yueh fled at the same time and followed King Chao into exile.4 When King Chao regained control of the state, he set about rewarding his followers, but when it came the turn of the sheep butcher Yueh, Yueh said, "His Majesty lost control of the state, and I lost my job as sheep butcher. Now His Majesty has regained the state, and I have also gotten back my sheep-butchering job. So my 'title and stipend' have already been restored to me. Why should there be any talk of a reward?"

"Force him to take it!" ordered the king.

But the sheep butcher Yueh said, "The fact that His Majesty lost the kingdom was no fault of mine - therefore I would not venture to accept any punishment for it. And the fact that His Majesty has regained the kingdom is no accomplishment of mine - therefore I would not venture to accept any reward for it."

"Bring him into my presence!" ordered the king.

But the sheep butcher Yueh said, "According to the laws of the state of Ch'u, a man must have received weighty awards and accomplished great deeds before he may be granted an audience with the ruler. Now I was not wise enough to save the state, nor brave enough to die in combat with the invaders. When the armies of Wu entered the city of Ying, I was afraid of the dangers ahead and so I ran away from the invaders. I did not purposely follow after His Majesty. Now His Majesty wishes to disregard the laws and break the precedents by granting me an audience. But, in view of the facts, that would not win me any kind of reputation in the world!"

The king said to Tzu-ch'i, his minister of war, "The sheep butcher Yueh is a man of mean and humble position, and yet his pronouncements on righteousness are lofty indeed! I want you to promote him to one of the 'three banner' offices."

When told of this, the sheep butcher Yueh said, "I am fully aware that the 'three banner' rank is a far more exalted place than a sheep butcher's stall, and that a stipend of ten thousand chung is more wealth than I will ever acquire slaughtering sheep. But how could I, merely out of greed for title and stipend, allow my ruler to gain a reputation for irresponsibly handing out such favours? I dare not accept. Please let me go back to my sheep butcher's stall." And in the end he refused to accept the position.

Yuan Hsien lived in the state of Lu, in a tiny house that was hardly more than four walls. It was thatched with growing weeds, had a broken door made of woven brambles and branches of mulberry for the doorposts; jars with the bottoms out, hung with pieces of coarse cloth for protection from the weather, served as windows for its two rooms.6 The roof leaked and the floor was damp, but Yuan Hsien sat up in dignified manner, played his lute, and sang. Tzu-kung, wearing an inner robe of royal blue and an outer one of white, and riding in a grand carriage whose top was too tall to get through the entrance to the lane, came to call on Yuan Hsien. Yuan Hsien, wearing a bark cap and slippers with no heels, and carrying a goosefoot staff, came to the gate to greet him.

"Goodness!" exclaimed Tzu-kung. "What distress you are in, Sir!"

Yuan Hsien replied, "I have heard that if one lacks wealth, that is called poverty; and if one studies but cannot put into practice what he has learned, that is called distress. I am poor, but I am not in distress!"

Tzu-kung backed off a few paces with a look of embarrassment. Yuan Hsien laughed and said, "To act out of worldly ambition, to band with others in cliquish friendships, to study in order to show off to others, to teach in order to please one's own pride, to mask one's evil deeds behind benevolence and righteousness, to deck oneself out with carriages and horses - I could never bear to do such things!"

Tseng Tzu lived in the state of Wei, wearing a robe of quilted hemp with the outside worn through, his face blotchy and swollen, his hands and feet hard and callused. He would go three days without lighting a fire, ten years without making himself a new suit of clothes. If he tried to straighten his cap, the chin strap would break; if he pulled together his lapels, his elbows poked through the sleeves; if he stepped into his shoes, his heels broke out at the back. Yet, shuffling along, he would sing the sacrificial hymns of Shang in a voice that filled heaven and earth, as though it issued from a bell or a chiming stone. The Son of Heaven could not get him for his minister; the feudal lords could not get him for their friend. Hence he who nourishes his will forgets about his bodily form; he who nourishes his bodily form forgets about questions of gain; and he who arrives at the Way forgets about his mind.

Confucius said to Yen Hui, "Come here, Hui. Your family is poor and your position very lowly. Why don't you become an official?"

Yen Hui replied, "I have no desire to become an official. I have fifty mou of farmland outside the outer wall," which is enough to provide me with porridge and gruel, and I have ten mou of farmland inside the outer wall, which is enough to keep me in silk and hemp. Playing my lute gives me enjoyment enough, studying the Way of the Master gives me happiness enough. I have no desire to become an official."

Confucius' face took on a sheepish expression and he said, "Excellent, Hui - this determination of yours! I have heard that he who knows what is enough will not let himself be entangled by thoughts of gain; that he who really understands how to find satisfaction will not be afraid of other kinds of loss; and that he who practices the cultivation of what is within him will not be ashamed because he holds no position in society. I have been preaching these ideas for a long time, but now for the first time I see them realized in you, Hui. This is what I have gained."

Prince Mou of Wei, who was living in Chung-shan, said to Chan Tzu, "My body is here beside these rivers and seas, but my mind is still back there beside the palace towers of Wei. What should I do about it?"

"Attach more importance to life!" said Chan Tzu. "He who regards life as important will think lightly of material gain."

"I know that's what I should do," said Prince Mou. "But I cannot overcome my inclinations."

"If you cannot overcome your inclinations, then follow them!" said Chan Tzu.

"But won't that do harm to the spirit?"

"If you cannot overcome your inclinations and yet you try to force yourself not to follow them, this is to do a double injury to yourself. Men who do such double injury to themselves are never found in the ranks of the long-lived!"

Wei Mou was a prince of a state of ten thousand chariots, and it was more difficult for him to retire and live among the cliffs and caves than for an ordinary person. Although he did not attain the Way, we may say that he had the will to do so.

Confucius was in distress between Ch'en and Ts'ai. For seven days he ate no properly cooked food, but only a soup of greens without any grain in it. His face became drawn with fatigue, but he sat in his room playing the lute and singing. Yen Hui was outside picking vegetables, and Tzu-lu and Tzu-kung were talking with him. "Our Master was twice driven out of Lu," they said. "They wiped out his footprints in Wei, chopped down a tree on him in Sung, made trouble for him in Shang and Chou, and are now besieging him here at Ch'en and Ts'ai. Anyone who kills him will be pardoned of all guilt, and anyone who wishes to abuse him is free to do so. Yet he keeps playing and singing, strumming the lute without ever letting the sound die away. Can a gentleman really be as shameless as all this?"

Yen Hui, having no answer, went in and reported what they had said to Confucius. Confucius pushed aside his lute, heaved a great sigh, and said, "Those two are picayune men! Call them in here - I'll talk to them."

When Tzu-lu and Tzu-kung had entered the room, Tzu-lu said, "I guess you could say that all of us are really blocked in this time."

Confucius said, "What kind of talk is that! When the gentleman gets through to the Way, this is called 'getting through.' When he is blocked off from the Way, this is called 'being blocked.' Now I embrace the way of benevolence and righteousness, and with it encounter the perils of an age of disorder. Where is there any 'being blocked' about this? So I examine what is within me and am never blocked off from the Way. I face the difficulties ahead and do not lose its Virtue. When the cold days come and the frost and snow have fallen, then I understand how the pine and the cypress flourish. These perils here in Ch'en and Ts'ai are a blessing to me!" Confucius then turned complacently back to his lute and began to play and sing again. Tzu-lu excitedly snatched up a shield and began to dance, while Tzu-kung said, "I did not realize that Heaven is so far above, earth so far below!"

The men of ancient times who had attained the Way were happy if they were blocked in, and happy if they could get through. It was not the fact that they were blocked or not that made them happy. As long as you have really gotten hold of the Way, then being blocked or getting through are no more than the orderly alternation of cold and heat, of wind and rain. Therefore Hsu Yu enjoyed himself on the sunny side of the Ying River, and Kung Po found what he wanted on top of a hill.

Shun wanted to cede the empire to his friend, a man from the north named Wu-tse. Wu-tse said, "What a peculiar man this ruler of ours is! First he lived among the fields and ditches, then he went wandering about the gate of Yao. Not content to let it rest at that, he now wants to take his disgraceful doings and dump them all over me. I would be ashamed even to see him!" Thereupon he threw himself into the deeps at Ch'ingling.

When T'ang was about to attack Chieh, he went to Pien Sui for help in plotting the strategy. "It's nothing I'd know anything about!" said Pien Sui.

"Who would be good?" asked T'ang.

"I do not know."

T'ang then went to Wu Kuang and asked for help. "It's nothing I'd know anything about!" said Wu Kuang.

"Who would be good?" asked T'ang.

"I do not know."

"How about Yi Yin?" asked T'ang.

"A man of violence and force, willing to put up with disgrace - I know nothing else about him."

In the end T'ang went to Yi Yin and together they plotted the attack. Having overthrown Chieh, T'ang then offered to cede the throne to Pien Sui, Pien Sui refused, saying, "When you were plotting to attack Chieh, you came to me for advice - so you must have thought I was capable of treason. Now you have defeated Chieh and want to cede the throne to me - so you must think I am avaricious. I was born into this world of disorder, and now a man with no understanding of the Way twice comes and tries to slop his disgraceful doings all over me! I cannot bear to go on listening to such proposals again and again!" Thereupon he threw himself into the Ch'ou River and drowned.

T'ang tried to cede the throne to Wu Kuang, saying, "The wise man does the plotting, the military man the seizing, and the benevolent man the occupying - such was the way of antiquity. Now why will you not accept the position?"

But Wu Kuang refused, saying, "To depose your sovereign is no act of righteousness; to slaughter the people is no act of benevolence; to inflict trouble on other men and enjoy the benefits yourself is no act of integrity. I have heard it said, If the man is without righteousness, do not take his money; if the world is without the Way, do not tread its soil. And you expect me to accept such a position of honour? I cannot bear the sight of you any longer!" Thereupon he loaded a stone onto his back and drowned himself in the Lu River.

Long ago, when the Chou dynasty first came to power, there were two gentlemen who lived in Ku-chu named Po Yi and Shu Ch'i. They said to one another, "We hear that in the western region there is a man who seems to possess the Way. Let us try going to look for him." When they reached the sunny side of Mount Ch'i, King Wu, hearing of them, sent his younger brother Tan to meet them. He offered to draw up a pact with them, saying, "You will be granted wealth of the second order and offices of the first rank, the pact to be sealed in blood and buried."

The two men looked at each other and laughed, saying, "Hah - how peculiar! This is certainly not what we would call the Way! In ancient times, when Shen Nung held possession of the empire, he performed the seasonal sacrifices with the utmost reverence, but he did not pray for blessings. In his dealings with men, he was loyal and trustworthy and observed perfect order, but he did not seek anything from them. He delighted in ruling for the sake of ruling, he delighted in bringing order for the sake of order. He did not use other men's failures to bring about his own success; he did not use other men's degradation to lift himself up. Just because he happened along at a lucky time, he did not try to turn it to his own profit. Now the Chou, observing that the Yin has fallen into disorder, suddenly makes a show of its rule, honouring those who know how to scheme, handing out bribes,17 relying on weapons to maintain its might, offering sacrifices and drawing up pacts to impress men with its good faith, lauding its achievements in order to seize gain - this is simply to push aside disorder and replace it with violence!

"We have heard that the gentlemen of old, if they happened upon a well-ordered age, did not run away from public office; but if they encountered an age of disorder, they did not try to hold on to office at any cost. Now the world is in darkness and the virtue of the Chou in decline.18 Rather than remain side by side with the Chou and defile our bodies, it would be better to run away and thus protect the purity of our conduct!" The two gentlemen thereupon went north as far as Mount Shou-yang, where they eventually died of starvation.

Men such as Po Yi and Shu Ch'i will have nothing to do with wealth and eminence if they can possibly avoid it. To be lofty in principle and meticulous in conduct, delighting in one's will alone without stooping to serve the world-such was the ideal of these two gentlemen.

ZHUANGZI SECTION 29

Robber Chih

Confucius Was A Friend of Liu-hsia Chi, who had a younger brother known as Robber Chih. Robber Chih, with a band of nine thousand followers, rampaged back and forth across the empire, assaulting and terrorizing the feudal lords, tunneling into houses, prying open doors,1 herding off men's horses and cattle, seizing their wives and daughters. Greedy for gain, he forgot his kin, gave not a look to father or mother, elder or younger brother, and performed no sacrifices to his ancestors. Whenever he approached a city, if it was that of a great state, the inhabitants manned their walls; if that of a small state, they fled into their strongholds. The ten thousand people all lived in dread of him.

Confucius said to Liu-hsia Chi, "One who is a father must be able to lay down the law to his son, and one who is an elder brother must be able to teach his younger brother. If a father cannot lay down the law to his son and an elder brother cannot teach his younger brother, then the relationship between father and son and elder and younger brother loses all value. Now here you are, Sir, one of the most talented gentlemen of the age, and your younger brother is Robber

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Chih, a menace to the world, and you seem unable to teach him any better! If I may say so, I blush for you. I would therefore like to go on your behalf and try to persuade him to change his ways."

Liu-hsia Chi said, "You have remarked, Sir, that a father must be able to lay down the law to his son, and an elder brother must be able to teach his younger brother. But if the son will not listen when his father lays down the law, or if the younger brother refuses to heed his elder brother's teachings, then even with eloquence such as yours, what is there to be done? Moreover, Chih is a man with a mind like a jetting fountain, a will like a blast of wind, with strength enough to fend off any enemy, and cunning enough to gloss over any evil. If you go along with his way of thinking, he is delighted, but if you go against him, he becomes furious, and it is nothing to him to curse people in the vilest language. You must not go near him!"

But Confucius paid no attention, and with Yen Hui as his carriage driver, and Tzu-kung on his right, he went off to visit Robber Chih. Robber Chih was just at that time resting with his band of followers on the sunny side of Mount T'ai and enjoying a late afternoon snack of minced human livers. Confucius stepped down from the carriage and went forward till he saw the officer in charge of receiving guests. "I am Kung Ch'iu, a native of Lu, and I have heard that your General is a man of lofty principles," he said, respectfully bowing twice to the officer. The officer then entered and relayed the message. When Robber Chih heard this, he flew into a great rage. His eyes blazed like shining stars and his hair stood on end and bristled beneath his cap. "This must be none other than that crafty hypocrite Kung Ch'iu from the state of Lu! Well, tell him this for me. You make up your stories, invent your phrases, babbling absurd eulogies of kings Wen and Wu. Topped with a cap like a branching tree, wearing a girdle made from the ribs of a dead cow, you pour out your flood of words, your fallacious theories. You eat without ever plowing, clothe yourself without ever weaving. Wagging your lips, clacking your tongue, you invent any kind of 'right' or 'wrong' that suits you, leading astray the rulers of the world, keeping the scholars of the world from returning to the Source, capriciously setting up ideals of 'filial piety' and 'brotherliness,' all the time hoping to worm your way into favour with the lords of the fiefs or the rich and eminent! Your crimes are huge, your offenses grave. You had better run home as fast as you can, because if you don't, I will take your liver and add it to this afternoon's menu!"

Confucius sent in word again, saying, "I have the good fortune to know your brother Chi, and therefore I beg to be allowed to gaze from a distance at your feet beneath the curtain."

When the officer relayed this message, Robber Chih said, "Let him come forward." Confucius came scurrying forward, declined the mat that was set out for him, stepped back a few paces, and bowed twice to Robber Chih. Robber Chih, still in a great rage, sat with both legs sprawled out, leaning on his sword, his eyes glaring. In a voice like the roar of a nursing tigress, he said, "Ch'iu, come forward! If what you have to say pleases my fancy, you live. If it rubs me the wrong way, you die!"

Confucius said, "I have heard that in all the world there are three kinds of virtue. To grow up to be big and tall, with matchless good looks, so that everyone, young or old, eminent or humble, delights in you - this is the highest kind of virtue. To have wisdom that encompasses heaven and earth, to be able to speak eloquently on all subjects - this is middling virtue. To be brave and fierce, resolute and determined, gathering a band of followers around you - this is the lowest kind of virtue. Any man who possesses even one of these virtues is worthy to face south and call himself the Lonely One.4 And now here you are, General, with all three of them! You tower eight feet two inches in height, radiance streams from your face and eyes, your lips are like gleaming cinnabar, your teeth like ranged seashells, your voice attuned to the huang-chung pitch pipe - and yet your only title is 'Robber Chih.' If I may say so, General, this. is disgraceful - a real pity indeed! But if you have a mind to listen to my proposal, then I beg to be allowed to go as your envoy south to Wu and Yueh, north to Ch'i and Lu, east to Sung and Wei, and west to Chin and Ch'u, persuading them to create for you a great walled state several hundred li in size, to establish a town of several hundred thousand households, and to honour you as one of the feudal lords. Then you may make a new beginning with the world, lay down your weapons and disperse your followers, gather together and cherish your brothers and kinsmen, and join with them in sacrifices to your ancestors. This would be the act of a sage, a gentleman of true talent, and the fondest wish of the world."

Robber Chih, furious as ever, said, "Ch'iu, come forward! Those who can be swayed with offers of gain or reformed by a babble of words are mere idiots, simpletons, the commonest sort of men! The fact that I am big and tall, and so handsome that everyone delights to look at me - this is a virtue inherited from my father and mother. Even without your praises, do you think I would be unaware of it? Moreover, I have heard that those who are fond of praising men to their faces are also fond of damning them behind their backs.

"Now you tell me about this great walled state, this multitude of people, trying to sway me with offers of gain, to lead me by the nose like any common fool. But how long do you think I could keep possession of it? There is no walled state larger than the empire itself, and yet, though Yao and Shun possessed the empire, their heirs were left with less land than it takes to stick the point of an awl into. T'ang and Wu set themselves up as Son of Heaven, yet in ages after, their dynasties were cut off and wiped out. Was this not because the gains they had acquired were so great?

"Moreover, I have heard that in ancient times the birds and beasts were many and the people few. Therefore the people all nested in the trees in order to escape danger, during the day gathering acorns and chestnuts, at sundown climbing backup to sleep in their trees. Hence they were called the people of the Nest-builder. In ancient times the people knew nothing about wearing clothes. In summer they heaped up great piles of firewood, in winter they burned them to keep warm. Hence they were called 'the people who know how to stay alive.' In the age of Shen Nung, the people lay down peaceful and easy, woke up wide-eyed and blank. They knew their mothers but not their fathers, and lived side by side with the elk and the deer. They plowed for their food, wove for their clothing, and had no thought in their hearts of harming one another. This was Perfect Virtue at its height!

"But the Yellow Emperor could not attain such virtue. He fought with Ch'ih Yu in the field of Cho-lu, until the blood flowed for a hundred li.' Yao and Shun came to the throne, setting up a host of officials; T'ang banished his sovereign Chieh; King Wu murdered his sovereign Chou; and from this time on the strong oppressed the weak, the many abused the few. From T'ang and Wu until the present, all have been no more than a pack of rebels and wrongdoers. And now you come cultivating the ways of kings Wen and Wu, utilizing all the eloquence in the world in order to teach these things to later generations! In your flowing robes and loose-tied sash, you speak your deceits and act out your hypocrisies, confusing and leading astray the rulers of the world, hoping thereby to lay your hands on wealth and eminence. There is no worse robber than you! I do not know why, if the world calls me Robber Chih, it does not call you Robber Ch'iu!

"With your honeyed words you persuaded Tzu-lu to become your follower, to doff his jaunty cap, unbuckle his long sword, and receive instruction from you, so that all the world said, Wung Ch'iu knows how to suppress violence and put a stop to evil.' But in the end Tzu-lu tried to kill the ruler of Wei, bungled the job, and they pickled his corpse and hung it up on the eastern gate of Wei. This was how little effect your teachings had on him! 6 You call yourself a gentleman of talent, a sage? Twice they drove you out of Lu; they wiped out your footprints in Wei, made trouble for you in Ch'i, and besieged you at Ch'en and Ts'ai - no place in the empire will have you around! You gave instruction to Tzu-lu and pickling was the disaster it brought him. You cannot look out for yourself to begin with, or for others either - so how can this 'Way' of yours be worth anything?

"There is no one, more highly esteemed by the world than the Yellow Emperor, and yet even the Yellow Emperor could not preserve his virtue intact, but fought on the field of Cho-lu until the blood flowed for a hundred li. Yao was a merciless father, Shun was an unfilial son, Yu was half paralyzed, T'ang banished his sovereign Chieh, King Wu attacked his sovereign Chou, and King Wen was imprisoned at Yu-li.7 All these seven men8 are held in high esteem by the world, and yet a close look shows that all of them for the sake of gain brought confusion to the Truth within them, that they forcibly turned against their true form and inborn nature. For doing so, they deserve the greatest shame!

"When the world talks of worthy gentlemen, we hear 'Po Yi and Shu Ch'i.' Yet Po Yi and Shu Ch'i declined the rulership of the state of Ku-chu and instead went and starved to death on Shou-yang Mountain, with no one to bury their bones and flesh. Pao Chiao made a great show of his conduct and condemned the world; he wrapped his arms around a tree and stood there till he died. Shen-t'u Ti offered a remonstrance that was unheeded; he loaded a stone onto his back and threw himself into a river, where the fish and turtles feasted on him. Chieh Tzu-t'ui was a model of fealty, going so far as to cut a piece of flesh from his thigh to feed his lord, Duke Wen. But later, when Duke Wen overlooked him, he went off in a rage, wrapped his arms around a tree, and burned to death.9 Wei Sheng made an engagement to meet a girl under a bridge. The girl failed to appear and the water began to rise, but, instead of leaving, he wrapped his arms around the pillar of the bridge and died. These six men were no different from a flayed dog, a pig sacrificed to the flood, a beggar with his alms-gourd in his hand. All were ensnared by thoughts of reputation and looked lightly on death, failing to remember the Source or to cherish the years that fate had given them.

"When the world talks about loyal ministers, we are told that there were none to surpass Prince Pi Kan and Wu Tzu-hsu. Yet Wu Tzu-hsu sank into the river and Pi Kan had his heart cut out. These two men are called loyal ministers by the world, and yet they ended up as the laughingstock of the empire. Looking at all these men, from the first I mentioned down to Wu Tzu-hsu and Pi Kan, it is obvious that none is worth respecting.

"Now in this sermon of yours, Ch'iu, if you tell me about the affairs of ghosts, then I have no way of judging what you say. But if you tell me about the affairs of men - and it is no more than what you have said so far - then I've heard it all already!

"And now I am going to tell you something - about man's true form. His eyes yearn to see colours, his ears to hear sound, his mouth to taste flavours, his will and spirit to achieve fulfillment. A man of the greatest longevity will live a hundred years; one of middling longevity, eighty years; and one of the least longevity, sixty years. Take away the time lost in nursing illnesses, mourning the dead, worry and anxiety, and in this life there are no more than four or five days in a month when a man can open his mouth and laugh. Heaven and earth are unending, but man has his time of death. Take this time-bound toy, put it down in these unending spaces, and whoosh! - it is over as quickly as the passing of a swift horse glimpsed through a crack in the wall! No man who is incapable of gratifying his desires and cherishing the years fate has given him can be called a master of the Way. What you have been telling me - I reject every bit of it! Quick, now - be on your way. I want no more of your talk. This 'Way' you tell me about is inane and inadequate, a fraudulent, crafty, vain, hypocritical affair, not the sort of thing that is capable of preserving the Truth within. How can it be worth discussing!"

Confucius bowed twice and scurried away. Outside the gate, he climbed into his carriage and fumbled three times in an attempt to grasp the reins, his eyes blank and unseeing, his face the colour of dead ashes. Leaning on the crossbar, head bent down, he could not seem to summon up any spirit at all.

Returning to Lu, he had arrived just outside the eastern gate of the capital when he happened to meet Liu-hsia Chi. "I have not so much as caught sight of you for the past several days," said Liu-hsia Chi, "and your carriage and horses look as though they've been out on the road - it couldn't be that you went to see my brother Chih, could it?"

Confucius looked up to heaven, sighed, and said, "I did."

"And he was enraged by your views, just as I said he would be?" said Liu-hsia Chi.

"He was," said Confucius. "You might say that I gave myself the burning moxa treatment when I wasn't even sick. I went rushing off to pat the tiger's head and plait its whiskers - and very nearly did not manage to escape from its jaws!"

Tzu-chang said to Man Kou-te, "Why don't you think more about your conduct? 11 No distinguished conduct means no trust; no trust means no official position; no official position means no gain. So if it's reputation you have your eye on or gain you are scheming for, then righteous conduct is the real key. And if you set aside considerations of reputation and gain and return to the true nature of the heart, then, too, I would say that you ought not to let a single day pass without taking thought for your conduct."

Man Kou-te said, "Those who are shameless get rich, those who are widely trusted become famous. The really big reputation and gain seem to go to men who are shameless and trusted. So if your eyes are set on reputation and you scheme for gain, then trust is the real key. And if you set aside considerations of reputation and gain and return to the heart, then in your conduct I think you ought to hold fast to the Heaven within you." 12

Tzu-chang said, "In ancient times the tyrants Chieh and Chou enjoyed the honour of being Son of Heaven and possessed all the wealth of the empire. Yet now if you say to a mere slave or groom, 'Your conduct is like that of a Chieh or Chou,' he will look shamefaced and in his heart will not acquiesce to such charges, for even a petty man despises the names of Chieh and Chou. Confucius and Mo Ti, on the other hand, were impoverished commoners. Yet now if you say to the highest minister of state, 'Your conduct is like that of Confucius or Mo Ti,' he will flush and alter his expression and protest that he is not worthy of such praise, for a gentleman sincerely honours their names. Therefore, to wield the power of a Son of Heaven does not necessarily mean to be honoured, and to be poor and a commoner does not necessarily mean to be despised. The difference between being honoured and being despised lies in the goodness or badness of one's conduct."

Man Kou-te said, "The petty thief is imprisoned but the big thief becomes a feudal lord, and we all know that righteous gentlemen are to be found at the gates of the feudal lords. In ancient times, Hsiao-po, Duke Huan of Ch'i, murdered his elder brother and took his sister-in-law for a wife, and yet Kuan Chung was willing to become his minister. Ch'ang, Viscount T'ien Ch'eng, murdered his sovereign and stole his state, and yet Confucius was willing to receive gifts from him.13 In pronouncement they condemned them, but in practice they bowed before them. Think how this contradiction between the facts of word and deed must have troubled their breasts! Could the two help but clash? So the

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book says, Who is bad? Who is good? The successful man becomes the head, the unsuccessful man becomes the tail."

"But," said Tzu-chang, "if you take no thought for conduct, then there cease to be any ethical ties between near and distant kin, any fitting distinctions between noble and humble, any proper order between elder and younger. How is one to maintain the distinctions decreed by the five moral principles and the six social relationships?"

Man Kou-te said, "Yao killed his eldest son, Shun exiled his mother's younger brother - does this indicate any ethical ties between near and distant kin? T'ang banished his sovereign Chieh, King Wu killed his sovereign Chou - does this indicate any fitting distinctions between noble and humble? King Chi received the inheritance, the Duke of Chou killed his elder brother - does this indicate any proper order between elder and younger? 14 The Confucians with their hypocritical speeches, the Mo-ists with their talk of universal love - do these indicate any attempt to maintain the distinctions decreed by the five moral principles and the six social relationships? Now your thoughts are all for reputation, mine all for gain, but neither reputation nor gain, in actual fact, accord with reason or reflect any true understanding of the Way. The other day, when we referred the matter to Wu Yueh for arbitration, he gave this answer: 15

" 'The petty man will die for riches, the gentleman will die for reputation. In the manner in which they alter their true form and change their inborn nature, they differ. But in so far as they throw away what is already theirs and are willing to die for something that is not theirs, they are identical. So it is said, Do not be a petty man - return to and obey the Heaven within you; do not be a gentleman - follow the reason of Heaven. Crooked or straight, pursue to the limit the Heaven in you. Turn your face to the four directions, ebb and flow with the seasons. Right or wrong, hold fast to the round centre upon which all turns, in solitude bring your will to completion, ramble in the company of the Way. Do not strive to make your conduct consistent,16 do not try to perfect your righteousness, or you will lose what you already have. Do not race after riches, do not risk your life for success, or you will let slip the Heaven within you. Pi Kan's heart was cut out, Wu Tzu-hsu's eyes were plucked from their sockets - loyalty brought them this misfortune. Honest Kung informed on his father, Wei Sheng died by drowning - trustworthiness was their curse. Pao Chiao stood there till he dried up; Shen Tzu would not defend himself - integrity did them this injury. Confucius did not see his mother, K'uang Tzu did not see his father - righteousness was their mistake." These are the tales handed down from ages past, retold by the ages that follow. They show us that the gentleman who is determined to be upright in word and consistent in conduct will as a result bow before disaster, will encounter affliction.' "

Never-Enough said to Sense-of-Harmony, "After all, there are no men who do not strive for reputation and seek gain. If you are rich, people flock to you; flocking to you, they bow and scrape; and when they bow and scrape, this shows they honour you. To have men bowing and scraping, offering you honour - this is the way to insure length of years, ease to the body, joy to the will. And now you alone have no mind for these things. Is it lack of understanding? Or is it that you know their worth but just have not the strength to work for them? Are you, then, deliberately striving 'to be upright and never forgetful'?"

Sense-of-Harmony said, "You and your type look at those who were born at the same time and who dwell in the same community and you decide that you are gentlemen who are far removed from the common lot, who are superior to the times. This shows that you have no guiding principle by which to survey the ages of past and present, the distinctions between right and wrong. Instead you join with the vulgar in changing as the world changes, setting aside what is most valuable, discarding what is most worthy of honour, thinking that there is something that has to be done, declaring that this is the way to insure length of years, ease to the body, joy to the will - but you are far from the mark indeed! The agitation of grief and sorrow, the solace of contentment and joy - these bring no enlightenment to the body. The shock of fear and terror, the elation of happiness and delight - these bring no enlightenment to the mind. You know you are doing what there is to do, but you don't know why there should be things to do. This way, you might possess all the honour of the Son of Heaven, all the wealth of the empire, and yet never escape from disaster."

"But," said Never-Enough, "there is no advantage which riches cannot bring to a man - the ultimate in beauty, the heights of power, things that the Perfect Man cannot attain to, that the worthy man can never acquire. They buy the strength and daring of other men that make one awesome and powerful; they purchase the knowledge and schemes of other men that make one wise and well-informed; they borrow the virtue of other men that make one a man of worth and goodness. With no kingdom to reign over, the rich man commands as much respect as a ruler or a father. Beautiful sounds and colours, rich flavours, power and authority - a man need not send his mind to school before it will delight in them, need not train his body before it will find peace in them. What to desire, what to hate, what to seek, what to avoid - no one needs a teacher in these matters; they pertain to the inborn nature of man. Don't think this applies only to me. Where is there a man in the whole world who would be willing to give them up?"

Sense-of-Harmony said, "When the wise man goes about doing something, he always moves for the sake of the hundred clans and does not violate the rules. Thus, if there is enough, he does not scramble for more. Having no reason to, he seeks nothing. But if there is not enough, he seeks, scrambling in all four directions, yet he does not think of himself as greedy. If there is a surplus, he gives it away. He can discard the whole empire and yet not think of himself as high-minded. Greed or high-mindedness in fact have nothing to do with standards imposed from the outside - they represent a turning within to observe the rules that are found there. So a man may wield all the power of a Son of Heaven and yet not use his high position to lord it over others; he may possess all the wealth in the empire and yet not exploit his riches to make a mock of others. He calculates the risk, thinks of what may be contrary and harmful to his inborn nature. Therefore he may decline what is offered him, but not because he hopes for reputation and praise. Yao and Shun ruled as emperors and there was harmony - but not because they sought to bring benevolence to the world; they would not have let 'goodness' injure their lives. Shan Ch'uan and Hsu Yu had the opportunity to become emperors and declined, but not because they wished to make an empty gesture of refusal; they would not have let such matters bring harm to themselves. All these men sought what was to their advantage and declined what was harmful. The world praises them as worthies, and it is all right if they enjoy such repute - but they were not striving for any reputation or praise."

"But in order to maintain a reputation like theirs," said Never-Enough, "one must punish the body and give up everything sweet, skimp and save merely to keep life going - in which case one is no different from a man who goes on year after year in sickness and trouble, never allowed to die!"

Sense-of-Harmony said, "A just measure brings fortune, an excess brings harm - this is so of all things, but much more so in the case of wealth. The ears of the rich man are regaled with sounds of bell and drum, flute and pipe; his mouth is treated to the flavour of grass- and grain-fed animals, of rich wine, until his desires are aroused and he has forgot all about his proper business - this may be called disorder. Mired and drowned by swelling passions, he is like a man who carries a heavy load up the slope of a hill - this may be called suffering. Greedy for riches, he brings illness on himself; greedy for power, he drives himself to exhaustion. In the quietude of his home, he sinks into languor; body sleek and well-nourished, he is puffed up with passion - this may be called disease. In his desire for wealth, his search for gain, he crams his rooms to overflowing, as it were, and does not know how to escape, yet he lusts for more and cannot desist - this may be called shame. More wealth piled up than he could ever use, yet he is covetous and will not leave off, crowding his mind with care and fatigue, grasping for more and more with never a stop - this may be called worry. At home he is suspicious of the inroads of pilferers and inordinate demanders; abroad he is terrified of the attacks of bandits and robbers. At home he surrounds himself with towers and moats; abroad he dares not walk alone - this may be called terror. These six - disorder, suffering, disease, shame, worry, and terror - are the greatest evils in the world. Yet all are forgot and he does not know enough to keep watch out for them. And once disaster has come, then, though he seeks with all his inborn nature and exhausts all his wealth in hopes of returning even for one day to the untroubled times, he can never do so.

"Therefore he who sets his eyes on reputation will find that it is nowhere to be seen; he who seeks for gain will find that it is not to be gotten. To entrap the mind and the body in a scramble for such things - is this not delusion indeed?"

ZHUANGZI SECTION 30

Discoursing On Swords

In Ancient Times King Wen of Chao was fond of swords. Expert swordsmen flocked to his gate, and over three thousand of them were supported as guests in his household, day and night engaging in bouts in his presence till the dead and wounded numbered more than a hundred men a year. Yet the king's delight never seemed to wane and things went on in this way for three years, while the state sank into decline and the other feudal lords conspired against it.

The crown prince K'uei, distressed at this, summoned his retainers about him and said, "I will bestow a thousand pieces of gold upon any man who can reason with the king and make him give up these sword fights!"

"Chuang Tzu is the one who can do it," said his retainers.

The crown prince thereupon sent an envoy with a thousand pieces of gold to present to Chuang Tzu, but Chuang Tzu refused to accept the gift. Instead he accompanied the envoy on his return and went to call on the crown prince. "What instructions do you have for me, that you present me with a thousand pieces of gold?" he asked.

"I had heard, Sir," said the crown prince, "that you are an enlightened sage, and I wished in all due respect to offer this thousand in gold as a gift to your attendants. But if you refuse to accept it, then I dare say no more about the matter."

Chuang Tzu said, "I have heard that the crown prince wishes to employ me because he hopes I can rid the king of this passion of his. Now if, in attempting to persuade His Majesty, I should arouse his anger and fail to satisfy your hopes, then I would be sentenced to execution. In that case, what use could I make of the gold? And if I should be able to persuade His Majesty and satisfy your hopes, then what could I ask for in the whole kingdom of Chao that would not be granted me?"

"The trouble is," said the crown prince, "that my father, the king, refuses to see anyone but swordsmen."

"Fine!" said Chuang Tzu. "I am quite able to handle a sword."

"But the kind of swordsmen my father receives," said the crown prince, "all have tousled heads and bristling beards, wear slouching caps tied with plain, coarse tassels, and robes that are cut short behind; they glare fiercely and have difficulty getting out their words. Men like that he is delighted with! Now, Sir, if you should insist upon going to see him in scholarly garb, the whole affair would go completely wrong from the start."

"Then allow me to get together the garb of a swordsman," said Chuang Tzu. After three days, he had his swordsman's costume ready and went to call on the crown prince. The crown prince and he then went to see the king. The king, drawing his sword, waited with bare blade in hand. Chuang Tzu entered the door of the hall with unhurried steps, looked at the king but made no bow.

The king said, "Now that you have gotten the crown prince to prepare the way for you, what kind of instruction is it you intend to give me?"

"I have heard that Your Majesty is fond of swords, and so I have come with my sword to present myself before you."

"And what sort of authority does your sword command?" asked the king.

"My sword cuts down one man every ten paces, and for a thousand li it never ceases its flailing!"

The king, greatly pleased, exclaimed, "You must have no rival in the whole world!"

Chuang Tzu said, "The wielder of the sword makes a display of emptiness, draws one out with hopes of advantage, is behind-time in setting out, but beforehand in arriving. May I be allowed to try what I can do?"

The king said, "You may leave now, Sir, and go to your quarters to await my command. When I am ready to hold the bout, I will request your presence again."

The king then spent seven days testing the skill of his swordsmen. Over sixty were wounded or died in the process, leaving five or six survivors who were ordered to present themselves with their swords outside the king's hall. Then the king sent for Chuang Tzu, saying, "Today let us see what happens when you cross swords with these gentlemen."

Chuang Tzu said, "It is what I have long wished for."

"What weapon will you use, Sir," asked the king, "a long sword or a short one?"

"I am prepared to use any type at all. It happens that I have three swords - Your Majesty has only to indicate which you wish me to use. If I may, I will first explain them, and then put them to the test."

"Let me hear about your three swords," said the king.

"There is the sword of the Son of Heaven, the sword of the feudal lord, and the sword of the commoner."

"What is the sword of the Son of Heaven like?" asked the king.

"The sword of the Son of Heaven? The Valley of Yen and the Stone Wall are its point, Ch'i and Tai its blade, Chin and Wey its spine, Chou and Sung its sword guard, Han and Wei its hilt.' The four barbarian tribes enwrap it, the four seasons enfold it, the seas of Po surround it, the mountains of Ch'ang girdle it. The five elements govern it, the demands of punishment and favour direct it. It is brought forth in accordance with the yin and yang, held in readiness in spring and summer, wielded in autumn and winter. Thrust it forward and there is nothing that will stand before it; raise it on high and there is nothing above it; press it down and there is nothing beneath it; whirl it about and there is nothing surrounding it. Above, it cleaves the drifting clouds; below, it severs the sinews of the earth. When this sword is once put to use, the feudal lords return to their former obedience and the whole world submits. This is the sword of the Son of Heaven."

King Wen, dumfounded, appeared to be at an utter loss. Then he said, "What is the sword of the feudal lord like?"

"The sword of the feudal lord? It has wise and brave men for its point, men of purity and integrity for its blade, men of worth and goodness for its spine, men of loyalty and sageliness for its swordguard, heroes and prodigies for its hilt. This sword too, thrust forward, meets nothing before it; raised, it encounters nothing above; pressed down, it encounters nothing beneath it; whirled about, it meets

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nothing surrounding it. Above, it takes its model from the roundness of heaven, following along with the three luminous bodies of the sky. Below, it takes its model from the squareness of earth, following along with the four seasons. In the middle realm, it brings harmony to the wills of the people and peace to the four directions. This sword, once put into use, is like the crash of a thunderbolt: none within the four borders of the state will fail to bow down in submission, none will fail to heed and obey the commands of the ruler. This is the sword of the feudal lord."

The king said, "What is the sword of the commoner like?"

"The sword of the commoner? It is used by men with tousled heads and bristling beards, with slouching caps tied with plain, coarse tassels and robes cut short behind, who glare fiercely and speak with great difficulty, who slash at one another in Your Majesty's presence. Above, it lops off heads and necks; below, it splits open livers and lungs. Those who wield this sword of the commoner are no different from fighting cocks - any morning their lives may be cut off. They are of no use in the administration of the state.

"Now Your Majesty occupies the position of a Son of Heaven, and yet you show this fondness for the sword of the commoner. If I may be so bold, I think it rather unworthy of you!

The king thereupon led Chuang Tzu up into his hall, where the royal butler came forward with trays of food, but the king merely paced round and round the room.

"Your Majesty should seat yourself at ease and calm your spirits," said Chuang Tzu., "The affair of the sword is all over and finished!"

After this, King Wen did not emerge from his palace for three months, and his swordsmen all committed suicide in their quarters.

ZHUANGZI SECTION 31

The Old Fisherman

Confucius, After Strolling through the Black Curtain Forest, sat down to rest on the Apricot Altar. While his disciples turned to their books, he strummed his lute and sang. He had not gotten halfway through the piece he was playing when an old fisherman appeared, stepped out of his boat, and came forward. His beard and eyebrows were pure white, his hair hung down over his shoulders, and his sleeves flapped at his sides. He walked up the embankment, stopped when he reached the higher ground, rested his left hand on his knee, propped his chin with his right, and listened until the piece was ended. Then he beckoned to Tzu-kung and Tzu-lu, both of whom came forward at his call. The stranger pointed to Confucius and said, "What does he do?"

"He is a gentleman of Lu," replied Tzu-lu.

The stranger then asked what family he belonged to, and Tzu-lu replied, "The K'ung family."

"This man of the K'ung family," said the stranger, "what's his occupation?"

Tzu-lu was still framing his reply when Tzu-kung answered, "This man of the K'ung family in his inborn nature adheres to loyalty and good faith, in his person practices benevolence and righteousness; he brings a beautiful order to rites and music and selects what is proper in human relationships. Above, he pays allegiance to the sovereign of the age; below, he transforms the ordinary people through education, and in this way brings profit to the world. Such is the occupation of this man of the Kung family!"

"Does he have any territory that he rules over?" asked the stranger, pursuing the inquiry.

"No," said Tzu-kung. "Is he the counselor to some king or feudal lord?"

"No," said Tzu-kung.

The stranger then laughed and turned to go, saying as he walked away, "As far as benevolence goes, he is benevolent all right. But I am afraid he will not escape unharmed. To weary the mind and wear out the body, putting the Truth in peril like this - alas, I am afraid he is separated from the Great Way by a vast distance indeed!"

Tzu-kung returned and reported to Confucius what had happened. Confucius pushed aside his lute, rose to his feet and said, "Perhaps this man is a sage!" Then he started down the embankment after him, reaching the edge of the lake just as the fisherman was about to take up his punting pole and drag his boat into the water. Glancing back and catching sight of Confucius, he turned and stood facing him. Confucius hastily stepped back a few paces, bowed twice, and then came forward.

"What do you want?" asked the stranger.

"A moment ago, Sir," said Confucius, "you made a few cryptic remarks and then left. Unworthy as I am, I am afraid I do not understand what they mean. If I might be permitted to wait upon you with all due humility and be favoured with the sound of your august words, my ignorance might in time be remedied."

"Goodness!" exclaimed the stranger. "Your love of learning is great indeed!" 2

Confucius bowed twice and then, straightening up, said, "Ever since childhood I have cultivated learning, until at last I have reached the age of sixty-nine. But I have never yet succeeded in hearing the Perfect Teaching. Dare I do anything, then, but wait with an open mind?"

"Creatures follow their own kind, a voice will answer to the voice that is like itself," said the stranger; "this has been the rule of Heaven since time began. With your permission, therefore, I will set aside for the moment my own ways and try applying myself to the things that you are concerned about.3 What you are concerned about are the affairs of men. The Son of Heaven, the feudal lords, the high ministers, the common people - when these four are of themselves upright, this is the most admirable state of order. But if they depart from their proper stations, there is no greater disorder. When officials attend to their duties and men worry about their undertakings, there is no overstepping of the mark.

"Fields gone to waste, rooms unroofed, clothing and food that are not enough, taxes and labor services that you cannot keep up with, wives and concubines never in harmony, senior and junior out of order - these are the worries of the common man. Ability that does not suffice for the task, official business that does not go right, conduct that is not spotless and pure, underlings who are lazy and slipshod, success and praise that never come your way, titles and stipends that you cannot hold on to - these are the worries of the high minister. A court lacking in loyal ministers, a state and its great families in darkness and disorder, craftsmen and artisans who have no skill, articles of tribute that won't pass the test, inferior ranking at the spring and autumn levees at court, failure to ingratiate himself with the Son of Heaven - these are the worries of a feudal lord.

The yin and rang out of harmony, cold and heat so untimely that they bring injury to all things, feudal lords violent and unruly, wantonly attacking one another till they all but destroy the common people, rites and music improperly performed, funds and resources that are forever giving out, human relationships that are not ordered as they should be, the hundred clans contumacious and depraved - these are the worries of the Son of Heaven and his chancellors. Now on the higher level you do not hold the position of a ruler, a feudal lord, or a chancellor, and on the lower level you have not been assigned to the office of a high minister with its tasks and duties. Yet you presume to 'bring a beautiful order to rites and music, to select what is proper in human relationships,' and in this way to 'transform the ordinary people.' This is undertaking rather a lot, is it not?

"Moreover, there are eight faults that men may possess, and four evils that beset their undertakings - you must not fail to examine these carefully. To do what it is not your business to do is called officiousness. To rush forward when no one has nodded in your direction is called obsequiousness. To echo a man's opinions and try to draw him out in speech is called sycophancy. To speak without regard for what is right or wrong is called flattery. To delight in talking about other men's failings is called calumny. To break up friendships and set kinfolk at odds is called maliciousness. To praise falsely and hypocritically so as to cause injury and evil to others is called wickedness. Without thought for right or wrong, to try to face in two directions at once so as to steal a glimpse of the other party's wishes is called treachery. These eight faults inflict chaos on others and injury on the possessor. A gentleman will not befriend the man who possesses them, an enlightened ruler will not have him for his minister.

"As for the four evils which I spoke of, to be fond of plunging into great undertakings, altering and departing from the old accepted ways, hoping thereby to enhance your merit and fame - this is called avidity. To insist that you know it all, that everything be done your way, snatching from others and appropriating for your own use - this is called avarice. To see your errors but refuse to change, to listen to remonstrance but go on behaving worse than before - this is called obstinacy. When men agree with you, to commend them; when they disagree with you, to refuse to see any goodness in them even when it is there - this is called bigotry. These are the four evils. If you do away with the eight faults and avoid committing the four evils, then and only then will you become capable of being taught!"

Confucius looked chagrined and gave a sigh. Then he bowed twice, straightened up, and said, "Twice I have been exiled from Lu; they wiped away my footprints in Wei, chopped down a tree on me in Sung, and besieged me between Ch'en and Ts'ai. I am aware of no error of my own, and yet why did I fall victim to these four persecutions?"

A pained expression came over the stranger's face and he said, "How hard it is to make you understand! Once there was a man who was afraid of his shadow and who hated his footprints, and so he tried to get way from them by running. But the more he lifted his feet and put them down again, the more footprints he made. And no matter how fast he ran, his shadow never left him, and so, thinking that he was still going too slowly, he ran faster and faster without a stop until his strength gave out and he fell down dead. He did not understand that by lolling in the shade he could have gotten rid of his shadow and by resting in quietude he could have put an end to his footprints. How could he have been so stupid!

"Now you scrutinize the realm of benevolence and righteousness, examine the borders of sameness and difference, observe the alternations of stillness and movement, lay down the rules for giving and receiving, regulate the emotions of love and hate, harmonise the seasons of joy and anger - and yet you barely manage to escape harm. If you were diligent in improving yourself, careful to hold fast to the Truth, and would hand over external things to other men, you could avoid these entanglements. But now, without improving yourself, you make demands on others - that is surely no way to go about the thing, is it?"

Confucius looked shamefaced and said, "Please, may I ask what you mean by 'the Truth'?"

The stranger said, "By 'the Truth' I mean purity and sincerity in their highest degree. He who lacks purity and sincerity cannot move others. Therefore he who forces himself to lament, though he may sound sad, will awaken no grief. He who forces himself to be angry, though he may sound fierce, will arouse no awe. And he who forces himself to be affectionate, though he may smile, will create no air of harmony. True sadness need make no sound to awaken grief; true anger need not show itself to arouse awe; true affection need not smile to create harmony. When a man has the Truth within himself, his spirit may move among external things. That is why the Truth is to be prized!

"It may be applied to human relationships in the following ways. In the service of parents, it is love and filial piety; in the service of the ruler, it is loyalty and integrity; in festive wine drinking, it is merriment and joy; in periods of mourning, it is sadness and grief. In loyalty and integrity, service is the important thing; in festive drinking, merriment is the important thing; in periods of mourning, grief is the important thing; in the service of parents, their comfort is the important thing. In seeking to perform the finest kind of service, one does not always try to go about it in the same way. In assuring comfort in the serving of one's parents, one does not question the means to be employed. In seeking the merriment that comes with festive drinking, one does not fuss over what cups and dishes are to be selected. In expressing the grief that is appropriate to periods of mourning, one does not quibble over the exact ritual to be followed.

"Rites are something created by the vulgar men of the world; the Truth is that which is received from Heaven. By nature it is the way it is and cannot be changed. Therefore the sage patterns himself on Heaven, prizes the Truth, and does not allow himself to be cramped by the vulgar. The stupid man does the opposite of this. He is unable to pattern himself on Heaven and instead frets over human concerns. He does not know enough to prize the Truth but instead, plodding along with the crowd, he allows himself to be changed by vulgar ways, and so is never content. Alas, that you fell into the slough of human hypocrisy at such an early age, and have been so late in hearing of the Great Way! "

Confucius once more bowed twice, straightened up, and said, "Now that I have succeeded in meeting you, it would seem as though Heaven has blessed me. If, Master, you would not consider it a disgrace for one like myself to enter the ranks of those who wait upon you, and to be taught by you in person, then may I be so bold as to inquire where your lodgings are? I would like to be allowed to go there, receive instruction, and at last learn the Great Way!"

The stranger replied, "I have heard it said, If it is someone you can go with, then go with him to the very end of the mysterious Way; but if it is someone you cannot go with, someone who does not understand the Way, then take care and have nothing to do with him - only then may you avoid danger to yourself. Keep working at it! Now I will leave you, I will leave you." So saying, he poled away in his boat, threading a path through the reeds.

Yen Yuan brought the carriage around, Tzu-lu held out the strap for pulling oneself up, but Confucius, without turning in their direction, waited until the ripples on the water were stilled and he could no longer hear the sound of the pole before he ventured to mount.

Tzu-lu, following by the side of the carriage, said, "I have been permitted to serve you for a long time, Master, but I have never seen you encounter anyone who filled you with such awe. The rulers of ten thousand chariots, the lords of a thousand chariots, when they receive you, invariably seat you on the same level as themselves and treat you with the etiquette due to an equal, and still you maintain a stiff and haughty air. But now this old fisherman, pole in hand, presents himself in front of you, and you double up at the waist, as bent as a chiming-stone,4 and bow every time you reply to his words - this is going too far, isn't it? Your disciples all are wondering about it. Why should a fisherman deserve such treatment?"

Confucius leaned forward on the crossbar, sighed, and said, "You certainly are hard to change! All this time you have been immersed in the study of ritual principles and you still have not gotten rid of your mean and servile ways of thinking. Come closer and I will explain to you. To meet an elder and fail to treat him with respect is a breach of etiquette. To see a worthy man and fail to honour him is to lack benevolence. If

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the fisherman were not a Perfect Man, he would not be able to make other men humble themselves before him. And if men, in humbling themselves before him, lack purity of intention, then they will never attain the Truth. As a result, they will go on forever bringing injury upon themselves. Alas! There is no greater misfortune than for a man to lack benevolence. And yet you alone dare to invite such misfortune!

"Moreover, the Way is the path by which the ten thousand things proceed. All things that lose it, die; all that get it, live. To go against it in one's undertakings is to fail; to comply with it is to succeed. Hence, wherever the Way is to be found, the sage will pay homage there. As far as the Way is concerned, this old fisherman may certainly be said to possess it. How, then, would I dare fail to show respect to him!"

ZHUANGZI SECTION 32

Lieh Yu-K'ou

Lieh Yu-K'ou Was Going to Ch'i, but halfway there he turned around and came home. By chance he met Po-hun Wu-jen. "What made you turn around and come back?" asked Po-hun Wu-jen.

"I was scared."

"Why were you scared?"

"I stopped to eat at ten soup stalls along the way, and at five of them they served me soup ahead of everybody else!"

"What was so scary about that?" said Po-hun Wu-jen.

"If you cannot dispel the sincerity inside you, it oozes out of the body and forms a radiance that, once outside, overpowers men's minds and makes them careless of how they treat their own superiors and old people. And it's from this kind of confusion that trouble comes. The soup sellers have nothing but their broths to peddle and their margin of gain cannot be very large. If people with such skimpy profits and so little power still treat me like this, then what would it be like with the ruler of Ch'i, the lord of a state of ten thousand chariots? Body wearied by the burden of such a state, wisdom exhausted in its administration, he would want to shift his affairs onto me and make me work out some solution - that was what scared me!"

"You sized it up very well," said Po-hun Wu-jen. "But even if you stay at home, people are going to flock around you."

Not long afterwards, Po-hun Wu-jen went to Lieh Tzu's house and found the area outside his door littered with shoes. He stood gazing north, staff held straight up, chin wrinkled where it rested on it. After standing there a while, he went away without a word. The servant in charge of receiving guests went in and reported this to Lieh Tzu. Lieh Tzu snatched up his shoes and ran barefoot after him, overtaking him at the gate. "Now that you have come all this way, don't you have any 'medicine' to give me?"

"It's no use. I told you from the beginning that people would come flocking around you, and here they are flocking around you. It's not that you are able to make them come to you - it's that you are unable to keep them from coming. But what good is it to you? If you move other people and make them happy, you must be showing them something unusual in yourself. And if you move others, you invariably upset your own basic nature, in which case there is nothing more to be said. These men you wander around with - none will give you any good advice. All they have are petty words, the kind that poison a man. No one understands, no one comprehends - so who can give any help to anyone else? The clever man wears himself out, the wise man worries. But the man of no ability has nothing he seeks. He eats his fill and wanders idly about. Drifting like an unmoored boat, emptily and idly he wanders along."

There was a man from Cheng named Huan who, after three years of reciting and memorizing texts at a place called Ch'iu-shih, finally became a Confucian scholar. As the Yellow River spreads its moisture for nine li along its banks, so Huan's affluence spread to his three sets of relatives. He saw to it that his younger brother Ti became a Mo-ist, and the Confucian and the Mo-ist debated with each other, but their father always took sides with the younger brother. Ten years of this, and Huan committed suicide. Appearing to his father in a dream, he said, "It was I who made it possible for your son to become a Mo-ist. Why don't you try taking a look at my grave - I have become the berries on the catalpa and the cypress there!"

When the Creator rewards a man, he does not reward what is man-made in the man but what is Heaven-made. It was what was in the younger brother that made him a Mo-ist. Yet there are those like Huan who think they are different from others and even despise their own kin. Like men from Ch'i drinking at a well, they try to elbow each other away.6 So it is said, In the world today, we have nothing but Huans - they all think that they alone are right. But the man who truly possesses Virtue is not even aware of it, much less the man who possesses the Way. In ancient times it was said of men like Huan that they had committed the crime of hiding from Heaven.

The sage rests where there is rest and does not try to rest where there is no rest. The common run of men try to rest where there is no rest and do not rest where rest is to be found.

Chuang Tzu said, To know the Way is easy; to keep from speaking about it is hard. To know and not to speak - this gets you to the Heavenly part. To know and to speak - this gets you to the human part. Men in the old days looked out for the Heavenly, not the human.

Chu-p'ing Man studied the art of butchering dragons under Crippled Yi. It cost him all the thousand pieces of gold he had in his house, and after three years he'd mastered the art, but there was no one who could use his services.

The sage looks at the inevitable and decides that it is not inevitable - therefore he has no recourse to arms. The common man looks at what is not inevitable and decides that it is inevitable - therefore he has frequent recourse to arms. He who turns to arms is always seeking something. He who trusts to arms is lost.

The understanding of the little man never gets beyond gifts and wrappings, letters and calling cards. He wastes his spirit on the shallow and trivial, and yet wants to be the savior of both the world and the Way, to blend both form and emptiness in the Great Unity. Such a man will blunder and go astray in time and space; his body entangled, he will never come to know the Great Beginning. But he who is a Perfect Man lets his spirit return to the Beginningless, to lie down in pleasant slumber in the Village of Not-Anything-At-All; like water he flows through the Formless, or trickles forth from the Great Purity. How pitiful - you whose understanding can be encompassed in a hair-tip, who know nothing of the Great Tranquility!

A man of Sung, one Ts'ao Shang, was sent by the king of Sung as envoy to the state of Ch'in. On his departure, he was assigned no more than four or five carriages, but the king of Ch'in, greatly taken with him, bestowed on him an additional hundred carriages. When he returned to Sung, he went to see Chuang Tzu and said, "Living in poor alleyways and cramped lanes, skimping, starving, weaving one's own sandals, with withered neck and sallow face - that sort of thing I am no good at. But winning instant recognition from the ruler of a state of ten thousand chariots and returning with a hundred of them in one's retinue - that's where I excel!"

Chuang Tzu said, "When the king of Ch'in falls ill, he calls for his doctors. The doctor who lances a boil or drains an abscess receives one carriage in payment, but the one who licks his piles for him gets five carriages. The lower down the area to be treated, the larger the number of carriages. From the large number of carriages you have got, I take it you must have been treating his piles. Get out!"

Duke AI of Lu said to Yen Ho, "If I were to make Confucius my pillar and stanchion, do you think it would improve the health of the state?"

"Beware - that way lies danger! Confucius will deck things out in feathers and paint, and conduct his affairs with flowery phrases, mistaking side issues for the crux. He is willing to distort his inborn nature in order to make himself a model for the people, not even realizing that he is acting in bad faith. He takes everything to heart, submits all to the judgment of the spirit - how could such a man be worth putting in charge of the people? Does he meet with your approval? Would you like to provide for his support? It would be a mistake, but you may do it if you like. Yet one who would induce the people to turn their backs on reality and study hypocrisy is hardly fit to be made a model for the people. If we are to take thought for later ages, it would be best to drop the scheme.

"Governing is a difficult thing. To dispense favours to men without ever forgetting that you are doing so - this is not Heaven's way of giving. Even merchants and peddlers are unwilling to be ranked with such a person; and although their occupations may seem to rank them with him, in their hearts they will never acquiesce to such a ranking. External punishments are administered by implements of metal and wood; internal punishments are inflicted by frenzy and excess. When the petty man meets with external punishments, the implements of metal and wood bear down on him; when he incurs internal punishment, the yin and yang eat him up.8 To escape both external and internal punishment - only the True Man is capable of this."

Confucius said, "The mind of man is more perilous than mountains or rivers, harder to understand than Heaven. Heaven at least has its fixed times of spring and fall, winter and summer, daybreak and dusk. But man is thick-skinned and hides his true form deep within. Thus he may have an earnest face and yet be supercilious; he may seem to have superior qualities and yet be worthless. He may appear to be going about things in a scatter-brained way and yet know exactly what he is doing. Seeming to be firm, he may in fact be lax; seeming to be mild, he may in fact be ruthless. Therefore those who flock to righteousness like thirsty men to water may later flee from it as though from fire.

"For this reason the gentleman will employ a man on a distant mission and observe his degree of loyalty, will employ him close at hand and observe his degree of respect. He will hand him troublesome affairs and observe how well he manages them, will suddenly ask his advice and observe how wisely he answers. He will exact some difficult promise from him and see how well he keeps it, turn over funds to him and see with what benevolence he dispenses them, inform him of the danger he is in and note how faithful he is to his duties. He will get him drunk with wine and observe how well he handles himself, place him in mixed company and see what effect beauty has upon him. By applying these nine tests, you may determine who is the unworthy man."

Cheng K'ao-fu - when he received his first appointment to office, he bowed his head; when he received his second appointment, he bent his back; when he received his third appointment, he hunched far over; hugging the wall, he scurried along. Who would dare to ignore his example? But the ordinary man - on receiving his first appointment, he begins to strut; on receiving his second appointment, he does a dance in his carriage; on receiving his third appointment, he addresses his father's brothers by their personal names. What a difference from the ways of Yao and Hsu Yu!

There is no greater evil than for the mind to be aware of virtue, and to act as though it were a pair of eyes. For when it starts acting like a pair of eyes, it will peer out from within, and when it peers out from within, it is ruined. There are five types of dangerous virtue, of which inner virtue is the worst.10 What do I mean by inner virtue? He who possesses inner virtue will think himself always in the right, and denigrate those who do not do as he does. There are eight extremes that bring a man trouble, three conditions necessary for advancement, and six respositories of punishment.11 Beauty, a fine beard, a tall stature, brawn, strength, style, bravery, decisiveness - when a man has all these to a degree that surpasses others, they will bring him trouble. Tagging along with things, bobbing and weaving, cringing and fawning - if a man can do all three of these in a way that others do not, then he will succeed in advancing. Wisdom and knowledge, and the outward recognition they involve; bravery and decisiveness, and the numerous resentments they arouse; benevolence and righteousness, and all the responsibilities they involve - these six are what will bring you punishment. He who has mastered the true form of life is a giant; he who has mastered understanding is petty. He who has mastered the Great Fate follows along; he who has mastered the little fates must take what happens to come his way.

There was a man who had an audience with the king of Sung and received from him a gift of ten carriages. With his ten carriages, he went bragging and strutting to Chuang Tzu. Chuang Tzu said, "There is a poor family down by the river who make their living by weaving articles out of mugwort. The son was diving in the deepest part of the river and came upon a pearl worth a thousand pieces of gold. His father said to him, 'Bring a rock and smash it to bits! A pearl worth a thousand in gold could only have come from under the chin of the Black Dragon who lives at the bottom of the ninefold deeps. To be able to get the pearl, you must have happened along when he was asleep. If the Black Dragon had been awake, do you think there'd have been so much as a shred of you left?' Now the state of Sung is deeper than the ninefold deeps, and the king of Sung more truculent than the Black Dragon. In order to get these carriages, you must have happened along when he was asleep. If the king of Sung had been awake, you'd have ended up in little pieces!"

Someone sent gifts to Chuang Tzu with an invitation to office. Chuang Tzu replied to the messenger in these words: "Have you ever seen a sacrificial ox? They deck him out in embroidery and trimmings, gorge him on grass and beanstalks. But when at last they lead him off into the great ancestral temple, then, although he might wish he could become a lonely calf once more, is it possible?"

When Chuang Tzu was about to die, his disciples expressed a desire to give him a sumptuous burial. Chuang Tzu said, "I will have heaven and earth for my coffin and coffin shell, the sun and moon for my pair of jade discs, the stars and constellations for my pearls and beads, and the ten thousand things for my parting gifts. The furnishings for my funeral are already prepared - what is there to add?"

"But we're afraid the crows and kites will eat you, Master!" said his disciples.

Chuang Tzu said, "Above ground I shall be eaten by crows and kites, below ground I shall be eaten by mole crickets and ants. Would it not be rather bigoted to deprive one group in order to supply the other?

"If you use unfairness to achieve fairness, your fairness will be unfair. If you use a lack of proof to establish proofs, your proofs will be proofless. The bright-eyed man is no more than the servant of things, but the man of spirit knows how to find real proofs. The bright-eyed is no match for the man of spirit - from long ago this has been the case. Yet the fool trusts to what he can see and immerses himself in the human. All his accomplishments are beside the point - pitiful, isn't it!"

ZHUANGZI SECTION 33

The World

Many Are The Men in the world who apply themselves to doctrines and policies, and each believes he has something that cannot be improved upon. What in ancient times was called the "art of the Way' - where does it exist? I say, there is no

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place it does not exist. But, you ask, where does holiness descend from, where does enlightenment emerge from? The sage gives them birth, the king completes them, and all have their source in the One. He who does not depart from the Ancestor is called the Heavenly Man; he who does not depart from the Pure is called the Holy Man; he who does not depart from the True is called the Perfect Man.

To make Heaven his source, Virtue his root, and the Way his gate, revealing himself through change and transformation - one who does this is called a Sage.

To make benevolence his standard of kindness, righteousness his model of reason, ritual his guide to conduct, and music his source of harmony, serene in mercy and benevolence - one who does this is called a gentleman.

To employ laws to determine functions, names to indicate rank, comparisons to discover actual performance, investigations to arrive at decisions, checking them off, one, two, three, four, and in this way to assign the hundred officials to their ranks; to keep a constant eye on administrative affairs, give first thought to food and clothing, keep in mind the need to produce and grow, to shepherd and store away, to provide for the old and the weak, the orphan and the widow, so that all are properly nourished - these are the principles whereby the people are ordered.

How thorough were the men of ancient times!-companions of holiness and enlightenment, pure as Heaven and earth, caretakers of the ten thousand things, harmonisers of the world, their bounty extended to the hundred clans. They had a clear understanding of basic policies and paid attention even to petty regulations - in the six avenues and the four frontiers, in what was great or small, coarse or fine, there was no place they did not move.

The wisdom that was embodied in their policies and regulations is in many cases still reflected in the old laws and records of the historiographers handed down over the ages. As to that which is recorded in the Book of Odes and Book of Documents, the Ritual and the Music, there are many gentlemen of Tsou and Lu, scholars of sash and official rank, who have an understanding of it. The Book of Odes describes the will; the Book of Documents describes events; the Ritual speaks of conduct; the Music speaks of harmony; the Book of Changes describes the yin and yang; the Spring and Autumn Annals describes titles and functions.

These various policies are scattered throughout the world and are propounded in the Middle Kingdom, the scholars of the hundred schools from time to time taking up one or the other in their praises and preachings. But the world is in great disorder, the worthies and sages lack clarity of vision, and the Way and its Virtue are no longer One. So the world too often seizes upon one of its aspects, examines it, and pronounces it good. But it is like the case of the ear, the eye, the nose, and the mouth: each has its own kind of understanding, but their functions are not interchangeable. In the same way, the various skills of the hundred schools all have their strong points, and at times each may be of use. But none is wholly sufficient, none is universal. The scholar cramped in one corner of learning tries to judge the beauty of Heaven and earth, to pry into the principles of the ten thousand things, to scrutinize the perfection of the ancients, but seldom is he able to encompass the true beauty of Heaven and earth, to describe the true face of holy brightness. Therefore the Way that is sagely within and kingly without has fallen into darkness and is no longer clearly perceived, has become shrouded and no longer shines forth. The men of the world all follow their own desires and make these their "doctrine." How sad! - the hundred schools going on and on instead of turning back, fated never to join again. The scholars of later ages have unfortunately never perceived the purity of Heaven and earth, the great body of the ancients, and "the art of the Way" in time comes to be rent and torn apart by the world.

To teach no extravagance to later ages, to leave the ten thousand things unadorned, to shun any glorification of rules and regulations, instead applying ink and measuring line to the correction of one's own conduct, thus aiding the world in time of crisis - there were those in ancient times who believed that the "art of the Way" lay in these things. Mo Ti and Ch'in Hua-li heard of their views and delighted in them, but they followed them to excess and were too assiduous in applying them to themselves.

Mo Tzu wrote a piece "Against Music," and another entitled "Moderation in Expenditure," declaring there was to be no singing in life, no mourning in death.3 With a boundless love and a desire to insure universal benefit, he condemned warfare, and there was no place in his teachings for anger. Again, he was fond of learning and broad in knowledge, and in this respect did not differ from others. His views, however, were not always in accordance with those of the former kings, for he denounced the rites and music of antiquity. The Yellow Emperor had his Hsien-ch'ih music, Yao his Ta-chung, Shun his Ta-shao, Yu his Ta-hsia, T'ang his Ta-huo, and King Wen the music of the Pi-yung, while King Wu and the Duke of Chou fashioned the Wu music. The mourning rites of antiquity prescribed the ceremonies appropriate for eminent and humble, the different regulations for superior and inferior. The inner and outer coffins of the Son of Heaven were to consist of seven layers; those of the feudal lords, five layers; those of the high ministers, three layers; those of the officials, two layers. Yet Mo Tzu alone declares there is to be no singing in life, no mourning in death. A coffin of paulownia wood three inches thick, with no outer shell - this is his rule, his ideal. If he teaches men in this fashion, then I fear he has no love for them; and if he adopts such practices for his own burial, then he surely has no love for himself! I do not mean to discredit his teachings entirely; and yet men want to sing and he says, "No singing!"; they want to wail and he says, "No wailing!" - one wonders if he is in fact human at all. A life that is all toil, a death shoddily disposed of - it is a way that goes too much against us. To make men anxious, to make them sorrowful - such practices are hard to carry out, and I fear they cannot be regarded as the Way of the Sage. They are contrary to the hearts of the world, and the world cannot endure them. Though Mo Tzu himself may be capable of such endurance, how can the rest of the world do likewise? Departing so far from the ways of the world, they must be far removed indeed from those of the true king.

Mo Tzu defends his teachings by saying, "In ancient times, when Yu dammed the flood waters and opened up the courses of the Yangtze and the Yellow River so that they flowed through the lands of the four barbarians and the nine provinces, joining with the three hundred famous rivers,4 their three thousand tributaries, and the little streams too numerous to count - at that time Yu in person carried the basket and wielded the spade, gathering together and mingling the rivers of the world, till there was no down left on his calves, no hair on his shins; the drenching rains washed his locks, the sharp winds combed them, while he worked to establish the ten thousand states. Yu was a great sage, yet with his own body he labored for the world in such fashion!" So it is that many of the Mo-ists of later ages dress in skins and coarse cloth, wear wooden clogs or hempen sandals, never resting day or night, driving themselves on to the bitterest exertions. "If we cannot do the same," they say, "then we are not following the way of Yu, and are unworthy to be called Mo-ists!"

The disciples of Hsiang-li Ch'in, the followers of Wu Hou, and the Mo-ists of the south such as K'u Huo, Chi Ch'ih, Teng Ling-tzu, and their like all recite the Mo-ist canon, and yet they quarrel and disagree in their interpretations, calling each other "Mo-ist factionalists." In their discussions of "hard" and "white," "difference" and "sameness," they attack back and forth; in their disquisitions on the incompatibility of "odd" and "even" they exchange volleys of refutation. They regard the Grand Master of their sect as a sage, each sect trying to make its Grand Master the recognised head of the school in hopes that his authority will be acknowledged by later ages, but down to the present the dispute remains unresolved.

Mo Ti and Ch'in Ku-li were all right in their ideas but wrong in their practices, with the result that the Mo-ists of later ages have felt obliged to subject themselves to hardship "till there is no down left on their calves, no hair on their shins" - their only thought being to outdo one another. Such efforts represent the height of confusion, the lowest degree of order. Nevertheless, Mo Tzu was one who had a true love for the world. He failed to achieve all he aimed for, yet, wasted and worn with exhaustion, he never ceased trying. He was indeed a gentleman of ability!

To be unsnared by vulgar ways, to make no vain show of material things, to bring no hardship on others, to avoid offending the mob, to seek peace and security for the world, preservation of the people's lives, full provender for others as well as oneself, and to rest content when these aims are fulfilled, in this way bringing purity to the heart - there were those in ancient times who believed that the "art of the Way" lay in these things. Sung Chien' and Yin Wen heard of their views and delighted in them. They fashioned caps in the shape of Mount Hua to be their mark of distinction. In dealing with the ten thousand things, they took the "defining of boundaries" to be their starting point;10 they preached liberality of mind," which they called "the mind's activity," hoping thereby to bring men together in the joy of harmony, to insure concord within the four seas. Their chief task lay, they felt, in the effort to establish these ideals. They regarded it as no shame to suffer insult, but sought to put an end to strife among the people, to outlaw aggression, to abolish the use of arms, and to rescue the world from warfare. With these aims they walked the whole world over, trying to persuade those above them and to teach those below, and though the world refused to listen, they clamored all the louder and would not give up, until men said, "High and low are sick of the sight of them, and still they demand to be seen!"

Nevertheless, they took too much thought for others and too little for themselves. "Just give us five pints of rice and that will be enough," they said, though at that rate I fear these teachers did not get their fill. Though their own disciples went hungry, however, they never forgot the rest of the world, but continued day and night without stop, saying, "We are determined to make certain that all men can live!" How lofty their aims, these saviors of the world! Again they said, "The gentleman does not examine others with too harsh an eye; he does not need material things in which to dress himself." If a particular line of inquiry seemed to bring no benefit to the world, they thought it better to abandon it than to seek an understanding of it. To outlaw aggression and abolish the use of arms - these were their external aims. To lessen the desires and weaken the emotions - these were their internal aims. Whether their approach was large-scaled or small, detailed or gross, these were the goals they sought - these and nothing more.

Public-spirited and not partisan, even-minded and not given to favouritism, vacant-eyed, with none for a master, trailing after things without a second thought, giving not a glance to schemes, not a moment of speculation to knowledge, choosing neither this thing nor that, but going along with all of them - there were those in ancient times who believed that the "art of the Way" lay in such things. P'eng Meng, T'ien P'ien, and Shen Tao heard of their views and delighted in them. The Way, they believed, lay in making the ten thousand things equal. "Heaven is capable of sheltering but not of bearing up," they said. "Earth is capable of bearing up but not of sheltering. The Great Way is capable of embracing all things but not of discriminating among them." From this they deduced that each of the ten thousand things has that which is acceptable in it and that which is not acceptable. Therefore they, said, "To choose is to forgo universality; to compare things is to fail to reach the goal. The Way has nothing that is left out of it."

For this reason Shen Tao discarded knowledge, did away with self, followed what he could not help but follow, acquiescent and unmeddling where things were concerned, taking this to be the principle of the Way. "To know is not to know," he said, and so he despised knowledge and worked to destroy and slough it off. Listless and lackadaisical, he accepted no responsibilities, but laughed at the world for honouring worthy men. Casual and uninhibited, he did nothing to distinguish himself, but disparaged the great sages of the world. Lopping off corners, chiseling away the rough places, he went tumbling and turning along with things. He put aside both right and wrong and somehow managed to stay out of trouble. With nothing to learn from knowledge or scheming, no comprehension of what comes before or after, he merely rested where he was and that was all. Pushed, he would finally begin to move; dragged, he would at last start on his way. He revolved like a whirlwind, spun like a feather, went round and round like a grindstone, keeping himself whole and free from condemnation. Without error, whether in motion or at rest, never once was he guilty of any fault. Why was this? Because a creature that is without knowledge does not face the perils that come from trying to set oneself up, the entanglements that come from relying upon knowledge. In motion or in stillness, he never departs from reason - in this way he lives out his years without winning praise. Therefore Shen Tao said, "Let me become like those creatures without knowledge, that is enough. Such creatures have no use for the worthies or the sages. Clod-like, they never lose the Way." The great and eminent men would get together and laugh at him, saying, "The teachings of Shen Tao are not rules for the living but ideals for a dead man. No wonder he is looked on as peculiar!"

T'ien P'ien was a similar case. He studied under P'eng Meng and learned what it means not to compare things. P'eng Meng's teacher used to say, "In ancient times the men of the Way reached the point where they regarded nothing as right and nothing as wrong - that was all." But such ways are mute and muffled - how can they be captured in words? P'eng Meng and T'ien P'ien always went contrary to other men and were seldom heeded. They could not seem to avoid lopping away at the corners. What they called the Way was not the true Way, and, when they said a thing was right, they could not avoid raising the possibility that it might be wrong.18' P'eng Meng, T'ien P'ien, and Shen Tao did not really understand the Way, though all had at one time heard something of what it was like.

To regard the source as pure and the things that emerge from it as coarse, to look upon accumulation as insufficiency; dwelling alone, peaceful and placid, in spiritual brightness there were those in ancient times who believed that the "art of the Way" lay in these things. The Barrier Keeper Yin and Lao Tan heard of their views and delighted in them.19 They expounded them in terms of constant nonbeing and being, and headed their doctrine with the concept of the Great Unity. Gentle weakness and humble self-effacement are its outer marks; emptiness, void, and the noninjury of the ten thousand things are its essence.

The Barrier Keeper Yin said, "When a man does not dwell in self, then things will of themselves reveal their forms to him. His movement is like that of water, his stillness like that of a mirror, his responses like those of an echo. Blank-eyed, he seems to be lost; motionless, he has the limpidity of water. Because he is one with it, he achieves harmony; should he

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reach out for it, he would lose it. Never does he go ahead of other men, but always follows in their wake."

Lao Tan said, "Know the male but cling to the female; become the ravine of the world. Know the pure but cling to dishonour; become the valley of the world." Others all grasp what is in front; he alone grasped what is behind. He said, "Take to yourself the filth of the world." Others all grasp what is full; he alone grasped what is empty. He never stored away - therefore he had more than enough; he had heaps and heaps of more than enough! In his movement he was easygoing and did not wear himself out. Dwelling in inaction, he scoffed at skill. Others all seek good fortune; he alone kept himself whole by becoming twisted. He said, "Let us somehow or other avoid incurring blame!" He took profundity to be the root and frugality to be the guideline. He said, "What is brittle will be broken, what is sharp will be blunted." He was always generous and permissive with things and inflicted no pain on others - this may be called the highest achievement.

The Barrier Keeper Yin and Lao Tan - with their breadth and stature, they indeed were the True Men of old!

Blank, boundless, and without form; transforming, changing, never constant: are we dead? are we alive? do we stand side by side with Heaven and earth? do we move in the company of spiritual brightness? absent-minded, where are we going? forgetful, where are we headed for? The ten thousand things ranged all around us, not one of them is worthy to be singled out as our destination - there were those in ancient times who believed that the "art of the Way" lay in these things. Chuang Chou heard of their views and delighted in them. He expounded them in odd and outlandish terms, in brash and bombastic language, in unbound and unbordered phrases, abandoning himself to the times without partisanship, not looking at things from one angle only. He believed that the world was drowned in turbidness and that it was impossible to address it in sober language. So he used "goblet words" to pour out endless changes, "repeated words" to give a ring of truth, and "imputed words" to impart greater breadth. He came and went alone with the pure spirit of Heaven and earth, yet he did not view the ten thousand things with arrogant eyes. He did not scold over "right" and "wrong," but lived with the age and its vulgarity. Though his writings are a string of queer beads and baubles, they roll and rattle and do no one any harm. Though his words seem to be at sixes and sevens, yet among the sham and waggery there are things worth observing, for they are crammed with truths that never come to an end.

Above he wandered with the Creator, below he made friends with those who have gotten outside of life and death, who know nothing of beginning or end. As for the Source, his grasp of it was broad, expansive, and penetrating; profound, liberal, and unimpeded. As for the Ancestor, he may be said to have tuned and accommodated himself to it and to have risen on it to the greatest heights. Nevertheless, in responding to change and expounding on the world of things, he set forth principles that will never cease to be valid, an approach that can never be shuffled off. Veiled and arcane, he is one who has never been completely comprehended.

Hui Shih was a man of many devices and his writings would fill five carriages. But his doctrines were jumbled and perverse and his words wide of the mark. His way of dealing with things may be seen from these sayings:

The largest thing has nothing beyond it; it is called the One of largeness. The smallest thing has nothing within it; it is called the One of smallness.

That which has no thickness cannot be piled up; yet it is a thousand li in dimension.

Heaven is as low as earth; mountains and marshes are on the same level.

The sun at noon is the sun setting. The thing born is the thing dying.

Great similarities are different from little similarities; these are called the little similarities and differences. The ten thousand things are all similar and are all different; these are called the great similarities and differences.

The southern region has no limit and yet has a limit.

I set off for Yueh today and came there yesterday.

Linked rings can be separated.

I know the centre of the world: it is north of Yen and south of Yueh.

Let love embrace the ten thousand things; Heaven and earth are a single body.

With savings such as these, Hui Shih tried to introduce a more magnanimous view of the world and to enlighten the rhetoricians. The rhetoricians of the world happily joined in with the following sayings:

An egg has feathers.

A chicken has three legs.

Ying contains the whole world.

A dog can be considered a sheep.

Horses lay eggs.

Toads have tails.

Fire is not hot.

Mountains come out of the mouth.

Wheels never touch the ground.

Eyes do not see.

Pointing to it never gets to it; if it got to it, there would be no separation.

The tortoise is longer than the snake.

T squares are not right-angled; compasses cannot make circles.

Holes for chisel handles do not surround the handles.

The flying bird's shadow never moves.

No matter how swift the barbed arrow, there are times when it is neither moving nor at rest.

A dog is not a canine.

A yellow horse and a black cow make three.

White dogs are black.

The orphan colt never had a mother.

Take a pole one foot long, cut away half of it every day, and at the end of ten thousand generations there will still be some left.

Such were the sayings which the rhetoricians used in answer to Hui Shih, rambling on without stop till the end of their days. Huan Tuan and Kung-sun Lung were among such rhetoricians. Dazzling men's minds, unsettling their views, they could outdo others in talking, but could not make them submit in their minds - such were the limitations of the rhetoricians.

Hui Shih day after day used all the knowledge he had in his debates with others, deliberately thinking up ways to astonish the rhetoricians of the world - the examples above will illustrate this. Nevertheless, Hui Shih's manner of speaking showed that he considered himself the ablest man alive. "Heaven and earth - perhaps they are greater!" he used to declare. All he knew how to do was play the hero; he had no real art.

In the south there was an eccentric named Huang Liao who asked why Heaven and earth do not collapse and crumble, or what makes the wind and rain, the thunder and lightning. Hui Shih, undaunted, undertook to answer him; without stopping to think, he began to reply, touching upon every one of the ten thousand things in his peroration, expounding on and on without stop in multitudes of words that never ended. But still it was not enough, and so he began to add on his astonishing assertions. Whatever contradicted other men's views he declared to be the truth, hoping to win a reputation for outwitting others. This was why he never got along with ordinary people. Weak in inner virtue, strong in his concern for external things, he walked a road that was crooked indeed! If we examine Hui Shih's accomplishments from the point of view of the Way of Heaven and earth, they seem like the exertions of a mosquito or a gnat - of what use are they to other things? True, he still deserves to be regarded as the founder of one school, though I say, if he had only shown greater respect for the Way, he would have come nearer being right. Hui Shih, however, could not seem to find any tranquillity for himself in such an approach. Instead he went on tirelessly separating and analyzing the ten thousand things, and in the end was known only for his skill in exposition. What a pity - that Hui Shih abused and dissipated his talents without ever really achieving anything! Chasing after the ten thousand things, never turning back, he was like one who tries to shout an echo into silence or to prove that form can outrun shadow. How sad!

CONFUCIAN WORKS

THE LUN YU
The Analects Of Confucius (The Selected Sayings)
Literary Collections of Confucius (of Kongfuzi)
Romanisation: Wade-Giles
Translation: James Legge, 1899
Estimated Range of Dating: 5th - 4th centuries B.C.

(The Analects (Chinese: Lunyu; "Selected Sayings"), also known as the Analects of Confucius, is an ancient Chinese book composed of a large collection of sayings and ideas attributed to the Chinese philosopher Confucius and his contemporaries, traditionally believed to have been compiled and written by Confucius's followers. It is believed to have been written during the Warring States period (475–221 BC), and it achieved its final form during the mid-Han dynasty (206 BC–220 AD). By the early Han dynasty the Analects was considered merely a "commentary" on the Five Classics, but the status of the Analects grew to be one of the central texts of Confucianism by the end of that dynasty. During the late Song dynasty (960–1279 AD) the importance of the Analects as a philosophy work was raised above that of the older Five Classics, and it was recognized as one of the "Four Books". The Analects has been one of the most widely-read and studied books in China for the last 2,000 years, and continues to have a substantial influence on Chinese and East Asian thought and values today.

The Analects as the embodiment of Confucian ideas (from Confucianism) the way of life propagated by Confucius in the 6th–5th century BC and followed by the Chinese people for more than two millennia. Although transformed over time, it is still the substance of learning, the source of values, and the social code of the Chinese. Its influence has also extended to other countries, particularly Korea, Japan, and Vietnam.

Confucianism, a Western term that has no counterpart in Chinese, is a worldview, a social ethic, a political ideology, a scholarly tradition, and a way of life. Sometimes viewed as a philosophy and sometimes as a religion, Confucianism may be understood as an all-encompassing way of thinking and living that entails ancestor reverence and a profound human-centred religiousness. East Asians may profess themselves to be Shintoists, Daoists, Buddhists, Muslims, or Christians, but, by announcing their religious affiliations, seldom do they cease to be Confucians.

Although often grouped with the major historical religions, Confucianism differs from them by not being an organised religion. Nonetheless, it spread to other East Asian countries under the influence of Chinese literate culture and has exerted a profound influence on spiritual and political life. Both the theory and practice of Confucianism have indelibly marked the patterns of government, society, education, and family of East Asia. Although it is an exaggeration to characterize traditional Chinese life and culture as Confucian, Confucian ethical values have for well over 2,000 years served as the source of inspiration as well as the court of appeal for human interaction between individuals, communities, and nations in the Sinitic world.

Confucius' Strong Emphasis on Ethics

Confucius believed that the welfare of a country depended on the moral cultivation of its people, beginning from the nation's leadership. He believed that individuals could begin to cultivate an all-encompassing sense of virtue through ren, and that the most basic step to cultivating ren was devotion to one's parents and older siblings. He taught that one's individual desires do not need to be suppressed, but that people should be educated to reconcile their desires via rituals and forms of propriety, through which people could demonstrate their respect for others and their responsible roles in society. Confucius taught that a ruler's sense of virtue was his primary prerequisite for leadership. His primary goal in educating his students was to produce ethically well-cultivated men who would carry themselves with gravity, speak correctly, and demonstrate consummate integrity in all things.

One of the deepest teachings of Confucius may have been the superiority of personal exemplification over explicit rules of behaviour. His moral teachings emphasised self-cultivation, emulation of moral exemplars, and the attainment of skilled judgment rather than knowledge of rules. Confucian ethics may, therefore, be considered a type of virtue ethics. His teachings rarely rely on reasoned argument, and ethical ideals and methods are conveyed indirectly, through allusion, innuendo, and even tautology. His teachings require examination and context to be understood. One of his teachings was a variant of the Golden Rule, sometimes called the "Silver Rule" owing to its negative form: "What you do not wish for yourself, do not do to others."

Zi Gong [a disciple] asked: "Is there any one word that could guide a person throughout life?" The Master replied: "How about 'reciprocity'! Never impose on others what you would not choose for yourself." Analects 15:24, tr. David Hinton

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Often overlooked in Confucian ethics are the virtues to the self: sincerity and the cultivation of knowledge. Virtuous action towards others begins with virtuous and sincere thought, which begins with knowledge. A virtuous disposition without knowledge is susceptible to corruption, and virtuous action without sincerity is not true righteousness. Cultivating knowledge and sincerity is also important for one's own sake; the superior person loves learning for the sake of learning and righteousness for the sake of righteousness.

The Confucian theory of ethics (as exemplified in li) is based on three important conceptual aspects of life: 1. ceremonies associated with sacrifice to ancestors and deities of various types, 2. social and political institutions, and 3. the etiquette of daily behaviour. Confucius stressed the development of li through the actions of sage leaders in human history. His discussions of li seem to redefine the term to refer to all actions committed by a person to build the ideal society, rather than those simply conforming with canonical standards of ceremony.

In the early Confucian tradition, li was doing the proper thing at the proper time; balancing between maintaining existing norms to perpetuate an ethical social fabric, and violating them in order to accomplish ethical good. Training in the li of past sages, cultivates in people virtues that include ethical judgment about when li must be adapted in light of situational contexts. In Confucianism, the concept of li is closely related to yi, which is based upon the idea of reciprocity. Yi can be translated as righteousness, though it may simply mean what is ethically best to do in a certain context. The term contrasts with action done out of self-interest. While pursuing one's own self-interest is not necessarily bad, one would be a better, more righteous person if one's life was based upon following a path designed to enhance the greater good. Thus an outcome of yi is doing the right thing for the right reason.

Just as action according to li should be adapted to conform to the aspiration of adhering to yi, so yi is linked to the core value of ren. Ren consists of five basic virtues: seriousness, generosity, sincerity, diligence and kindness. Ren is the virtue of perfectly fulfilling one's responsibilities toward others, most often translated as "benevolence," "Goodness," or "humaneness"; other translations that have been put forth include "authoritativeness" and "selflessness." Confucius's moral system was based upon empathy and understanding others, rather than divinely ordained rules. To develop one's spontaneous responses of ren so that these could guide action intuitively was even better than living by the rules of yi. Confucius asserts that virtue is a mean between extremes. For example, the properly generous person gives the right amount—not too much and not too little.

Social Morality and Ethics

The order coming from Heaven preserves the world, and has to be followed by humanity finding a "middle way" between yin and yang, the forces in each new configuration of reality. Social harmony or morality is identified as patriarchy, which is expressed in the worship of ancestors and deified progenitors in the male line, at ancestral shrines.

Confucian ethical codes are described as humanistic and it is no surprise that they sound like in Platonism and Stoicism. They may be practiced by all the members of a society. Confucian ethics is characterised by the promotion of virtues, encompassed by the "Five Constants" (Wuchang) which are: 1. Benevolence (Ren), humaneness); 2. Righteousness and Justice (Yi); 3. Proper Rite (Li); 4. Knowledge (Zhi); 5. Integrity (Xin). These are accompanied by the classical Four Virtues (Sizi, of which one of them is part of the Five Constants): 1. Righteousness (Yi); 2. Loyalty (Zhong); 3. Continence / Fidelity (Jie); 4 Filial Piety (Xiào). However there are still many other virtues, such as Honesty (cheng), Kindness and Forgiveness (shù), Honesty and Cleanness (lian), Shame, Sense of Right and Wrong (chi), Bravery (yong), Kindness / Gentleness (wen), Goodness / Kind-heartedness (liang), Respect / Reverence (gong), Economy (jian), Modesty (ràng). All of these virtues were practised in ancient Greece and Rome too.

The Concept of God

Tian, a key concept in Chinese thought, refers to the God of Heaven, the Pole Star and the skies and stars orbiting around it, all nature and its laws (that is, "all things") which come from God in Heaven. Confucius used the term in a mystical way. He wrote in the Analects (7:23) that Tian gave him life, and that Tian watched and judged (6:28; 9:12). In 9:5 Confucius says that a person may know the movements of the Tian, and this provides with the sense of having a special place in the universe. To a Hebrew or Christian, it all may sound familiar. In 17:19 Confucius says that Tian spoke to him, though not in words. Tian is similar to what Daoists meant by Dao: "the way things are" or "the laws of the world." God may be understood as Creator and personal god or it may not. Chinese have thought about God just as others did but with a significant difference: they were never that dogmatic. A Chinese therefore may well be a believer in Confucian principles and doctrines, and they also can be a follower of Dao, Buddha, and Christ at the same time; however, they do not likely follow Mohammed as Islam is, through its violent doctrines, considered unharmonious and therefore incompatible with Chinese principles and virtues.

Confucius and Education

The story of Confucianism does not begin with Confucius. Nor was Confucius the founder of Confucianism in the sense that Buddha was the founder of Buddhism and Christ the founder of Christianity. Rather Confucius considered himself a transmitter who consciously tried to reanimate the old in order to attain the new. He proposed revitalising the meaning of the past by advocating a ritualised life. Confucius' love of antiquity was motivated by his strong desire to understand why certain life forms and institutions, such as reverence for ancestors, human-centred religious practices, and mourning ceremonies, had survived for centuries. His journey into the past was a search for roots, which he perceived as grounded in humanity's deepest needs for belonging and communicating. He had faith in the cumulative power of culture. The fact that traditional ways had lost vitality did not, for him, diminish their potential for regeneration in the future. In fact, Confucius' sense of history was so strong that he saw himself as a conservationist responsible for the continuity of the cultural values and the social norms that had worked so well for the idealised civilisation of the Western Zhou dynasty.

Kongfuzi, or Kongzi, c. 551-479 BC (in Latin called Confucius) was China's most famous teacher, philosopher, and political theorist, whose ideas have influenced the civilisation of East Asia. In the old-fashioned Wade-Giles romanisation the name is rendered as K'ung-fu-tzu, or K'ung-tzu. His original name was Kongqiu, his literary name Zhongni. Confucius was born in Qufu in the small feudal state of Lu in what is now Shandong province, which was noted for its preservation of the traditions of ritual and music of the Zhou civilisation. His family name was Kong and his personal name Qiu, but he is referred to as either Kongzi or Kongfuzi (Master Kong) throughout Chinese history. The adjectival "Confucian," derived from the Latin Confucius, is not a meaningful term in Chinese, nor is the term Confucianism, which is a European word from the 17th century

Confucius's ancestors were probably members of the aristocracy who had become virtual poverty-stricken commoners by the time of his birth. His father died when Confucius was only three years old. Instructed first by his mother, Confucius then distinguished himself as an indefatigable learner in his teens. He recalled toward the end of his life that at age 15 his heart was set upon learning. A historical account notes that, even though he was already known as an informed young scholar, he felt it appropriate to inquire about everything while visiting the Grand Temple.

Confucius's life, in contrast to his tremendous importance, seems starkly undramatic, or, as a Chinese expression has it, it seems "plain and real." The plainness and reality of Confucius's life, however, underlines that his humanity was not revealed truth but an expression of self-cultivation, of the ability of human effort to shape its own destiny. The faith in the possibility of ordinary human beings to become awe-inspiring sages and worthies is deeply rooted in the Confucian heritage, and the insistence that human beings are teachable, improvable, and perfectible through personal and communal endeavour is typically Confucian.

Confucius had served in minor government posts managing stables and keeping books for granaries before he married a woman of similar background when he was 19. It is not known who Confucius's teachers were, but he made a conscientious effort to find the right masters to teach him, among other things, ritual and music. His mastery of the six arts—ritual, music, archery, charioteering, calligraphy, and arithmetic—and his familiarity with the classical traditions, notably poetry and history, enabled him to start a brilliant teaching career in his 30s.

Confucius is known as the first teacher in China who wanted to make education broadly available and who was instrumental in establishing the art of teaching as a vocation, indeed as a way of life. Before Confucius, aristocratic families had hired tutors to educate their sons in specific arts, and government officials had instructed their subordinates in the necessary techniques, but he was the first person to devote his whole life to learning and teaching for the purpose of transforming and improving society. He believed that all human beings could benefit from self-cultivation. He inaugurated a humanities program for potential leaders, opened the doors of education to all, and defined learning not merely as the acquisition of knowledge but also as character building.

For Confucius the primary function of education was to provide the proper way of training exemplary persons (junzi), a process that involved constant self-improvement and continuous social interaction. Although he emphatically noted that learning was "for the sake of the self" (the end of which was self-knowledge and self-realization), he found public service integral to true education. Confucius confronted learned hermits who challenged the validity of his desire to serve the world; he resisted the temptation to "herd with birds and animals," to live apart from the human community, and opted to try to transform the world from within. For decades Confucius tried to be actively involved in politics, wishing to put his humanist ideas into practice through governmental channels.

In his late 40s and early 50s Confucius served first as a magistrate, then as an assistant minister of public works, and eventually as minister of justice in the state of Lu. It is likely that he accompanied King Lu as his chief minister on one of the diplomatic missions. Confucius's political career was, however, short-lived. His loyalty to the king alienated him from the power holders of the time, the large Ji families, and his moral rectitude did not sit well with the king's inner circle, who enraptured the king with sensuous delight. At 56, when he realized that his superiors were uninterested in his policies, Confucius left the country in an attempt to find another feudal state to which he could render his service. Despite his political frustration he was accompanied by an expanding circle of students during this self-imposed exile of almost 12 years. His reputation as a man of vision and mission spread. A guardian of a border post once characterized him as the "wooden tongue for a bell" of the age, sounding heaven's prophetic note to awaken the people (Analects, 3:24). Indeed, Confucius was perceived as the heroic conscience who knew realistically that he might not succeed but, fired by a righteous passion, continuously did the best he could. At the age of 67 he returned home to teach and to preserve his cherished classical traditions by writing and editing. He died in 479 BC, at the age of 73. According to the Records of the Historian, 72 of his students mastered the "six arts," and those who claimed to be his followers numbered 3,000.

The Four Sages

The Four Sages, Assessors, or Correlates (Chinese: Si Pei) are four eminent Chinese philosophers in the Confucian tradition. They are traditionally accorded a kind of sainthood and their spirit tablets are prominently placed in Confucian temples, two upon the east and two upon the west side of the Hall of the Great Completion (Dacheng Dian). The Four Sages are: 1. Yan Hui, Confucius's favourite disciple; 2. Zengzi or Zeng Shen, another disciple of Confucius and author of the Great Learning; 3. Zisi or Kong Ji, Confucius's grandson, student of Zengzi, and author of the Doctrine of the Mean; 4. Mencius or Master Meng, student of Zisi and author of the Mencius. Within a traditional Confucian temple, Yan Hui's tablet is placed first to the east of Confucius. The families of the descendants of the Four Sages still hold hereditary offices in the Republic of China (Taiwan) such as the Sacrificial Official to Confucius, "Sacrificial Official to Mencius", "Sacrificial Official to Zengzi", and "Sacrificial Official to Yan Hui". They use generation poems for their names given to them by the Ming and Qing Emperors. The members of the Kong family are also alive and well.

The Twelve Philosophers or Wise Ones

The Twelve Philosophers or Wise Ones (Chinese: Shi'er Zhe) are 12 eminent philosophers in the Chinese Confucian tradition. They are traditionally accounted a kind of sainthood and their spirit tablets are prominently placed in Confucian temples, six upon the east and six upon the west side of the Hall of the Great Completion (Dacheng Dian). The Twelve Philosophers are Min Sun (Ziqian), Ran Yong (Zhonggong), Duanmu Ci (Zigong), Zhong You (Zilu), Bu Shang (Zixia), You Ruo (Ziruo), Zai Yu (Ziwo), Ran Geng (Boniu), Ran Qiu (Ziyou), Yan Yan (Ziyou), Zhuansun Shi (Zizhang) – all disciples of Confucius – and Zhu Xi, who established Neo-Confucianism during the Song dynasty. Sacrifices to the philosophers were first offered in the 6th year of the Kaiyuan era of Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang dynasty, 720 AD.

Confucius' Disciples

According to Sima Qian (c.145-86 BC), the famous Han historian and author of the Records of the Grand Historian, Confucius said: "The disciples who received my instructions, and could themselves comprehend them, were seventy-seven individuals. They were all scholars of extraordinary ability." It was traditionally believed that Confucius had three thousand students, but that only 72 mastered what he taught. The following is a list of students who have been identified as Confucius's followers. Very little is known of most of Confucius's students, but some of them are mentioned in the Analects of Confucius. Many of their biographies are recorded in the Sima Qian's Shiji. The Six Arts were practiced by the 72 disciples.

Here a list of all known disciples; most of them were famous teachers or authors in their own right:

1. Yan Hui (Ziyuan); 2. Min Sun (Ziqian); 3. Ran Geng (Boniu);

4. Ran Yong (Zhonggong); 5. Ran Qiu (Ziyou); 6. Zhong You (Zilu); 7. Zai Yu (Ziwo); 8. Duanmu Ci (Zigong); 9. Yan Yan (Ziyou); 10. Bu Shang (Zixia); 11. Zeng Shen (Ziyu); 13.

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Tantai Mieming (Ziyu); 14. Fu Buqi (Zijian); 15. Yuan Xian (Zisi); 16. Gongye Chang (Zichang); 17. Nangong Kuo (Zirong); 18. Gongxi Ai (Iici); 19. Zeng Dian (Xi); 20. Yan Wuyou (Lu); 21. Shang Qu (Zimu); 22. Gao Chai (Zigao); 23. Qidiao Kai (Zikai); 24. Gongbo Liao (Zizhou); 25. Sima Geng (Niu); 26. Fan Xu (Zichi); 27. You Ruo (Ziruo); 28. Gongxi Chi (Zihua); 29. Wuma Shi (Ziqi); 30. Liang Zhan (Shuyu); 31. Yan Xing (Ziliu); 32. Ran Ru (Zilu); 33. Cao Xu (Zixun); 34. Bo Qian (Zixi); 35. Gongsun Long (Zishi).

Less known disciples

Sima Qian here observes: 'Of the 35 disciples which precede, we have some details. Their age and other particulars are found in the Books and Records. It is not so, however, in regard to the 52 which follow.' List: 36. Ran Ji (Zi-chan; Ji-chan; Zi-da); 37. Gongzu Gouzi (Zi; Zi-zhi); 38. Qin Zu (Zi-nan); 39. Qidiao Chi (Zi-lian); 40. Yan Gao (Zi-jiao); 41. Qidiao Dufu (Cong; Zi-you; Zi-qi; Zi-wen); 42. Zeng Sichi (Zi-tu: Zi-cong); 43. Shang Zhai (Zi-ji; Zi-xiu); 44. Shi Zuo (Zhi; Zi; Zi-shu; Zi-ming); 45. Ren Buji (Xuan); 46. Gongliang Ru (Zi-zheng); 47. Hou (Shi; Chu; Qian; Zi-li; Li-chi); 48. Qin Ran (Kai); 49. Gongxia Shou (Sheng; Zi-sheng); 50. Xi Yongdian (Dian; Zi-xi; Zi-jie; Zi-qie); 51. Gong Jianding (Gong Yu; Zi-zhong); 52. Yan Zu (Xiang; Zi-xiang); 53. Jiao (Wu; Wudan; Zi-jia); 54. Zhu (Gou; Jing-qiang; Jing; Zi-qiang; Zi-jie; Zi-mang); 55. Han (Zai; Zai-fu Hei; Zi-hei; Zi-suo; Zi-su); 56. Qin Shang (Zi-pei; Pei-zi; Bu-zi); 57. Shen Dang (Zhou); 58. Yan Zhipo (Zi-shu; Shu);

59. Yong Qi (Zi-qi; Zi-yan); 60. Xian Chang (Zi-qi; Zi-hong);

61. Zuo Renying (Ying]; Xing; Zi-xing); 62. Yan Zhi (En; Zi-si);

63: Zhang Guo (Zi-tu); 64. Qin Fei; (Zi-zhi); 65. Shi Zhichang (Zi-hang; Chang); 66. Yan Kuai (Zi-sheng); 67. Bu Shusheng (Zi-che); 68. Yuan Kang (Zi-ji; Yuan Kang-ji); 69. Yue Ke (Xin; Zi-sheng); 70. Lian Jie (Yong; Zi-yung; Zi-cao); 71. Shuzhung Hui (Kuai; Zi-qi); 72. Yan He; (Ran); 73. Di Hei (Zhe; Zi-zhe; Zhe-zhi); 74. Kui (Bang; Sun; Zi-lian; Zi-yin); 75. Kong Zhong (Zi-mie); 76. Gongxi Yuru (Yu; Zi-shang); 77. Gongxi Dian (Zi-shang); 78. Qin Zhang (Lao; Zi-kai); 79. Chan Kang (Zi-kang; Zi-qin); 80. Xian Dan (Dan-fu; Fang; Zi-xiang)

The three preceding names are given in the 'Narratives of the School.' The research of scholars has added about 20 others:

81. Lin Fang (Zi-qiu), 82. Zhu Yuan (Bo-yu); 83. Shen Chang; 84. Shen Tang (See No. 57.); 85. Mu Pi; 86. Zuo Qiuming (Zuoqiu Ming).

The Historical Context

The scholarly tradition envisioned by Confucius can be traced to the sage-kings of antiquity. Although the earliest dynasty confirmed by archaeology is the Shang dynasty (18th–12th century BC), the historical period that Confucius claimed as relevant was much earlier. Confucius may have initiated a cultural process known in the West as Confucianism, but he and those who followed him considered themselves part of a tradition, later identified by Chinese historians as the rujia, "scholarly tradition," that had its origins two millennia previously, when the legendary sages Yao and Shun created a civilised world through moral persuasion.

Confucius' hero was Zhougong, or the Duke of Zhou (d. 1094 BC), who was said to have helped consolidate, expand, and refine the "feudal" ritual system. This elaborate system of mutual dependence was based on blood ties, marriage alliances, and old covenants as well as on newly negotiated contracts. The appeal to cultural values and social norms for the maintenance of interstate as well as domestic order was predicated on a shared political vision, namely, that authority lies in universal kingship, heavily invested with ethical and religious power by the "mandate of heaven" (tianming), and that social solidarity is achieved not by legal constraint but by ritual observance. Its implementation enabled the Western Zhou dynasty to survive in relative peace and prosperity for more than five centuries.

Inspired by the statesmanship of Zhougong, Confucius harboured a lifelong dream to be in a position to emulate the duke by putting into practice the political ideas that he had learned from the ancient sages and worthies. Although Confucius never realised his political dream, his conception of politics as moral persuasion became more and more influential.

The concept of "heaven" (tian), unique in Zhou cosmology, was compatible with that of the Lord on High (Shangdi) in the Shang dynasty. Lord on High may have referred to the ancestral progenitor of the Shang royal lineage, but heaven to the Zhou kings, although also ancestral, was a more generalised anthropomorphic god. The Zhou belief in the mandate of heaven (the functional equivalent of the will of the Lord on High) differed from the divine right of kings in that there was no guarantee that the descendants of the Zhou royal house would be entrusted with kingship, for, as written in the Shujing ("Classic of History"), "heaven sees as the people see [and] hears as the people hear"; thus the virtues of the kings were essential for the maintenance of their power and authority. This emphasis on benevolent rulership, expressed in numerous bronze inscriptions, was both a reaction to the collapse of the Shang dynasty and an affirmation of a deep-rooted worldview.

Partly because of the vitality of the feudal ritual system and partly because of the strength of the royal household itself, the Zhou kings were able to control their kingdom for several centuries. In 771 BC, however, they were forced to move their capital eastward to present-day Luoyang to avoid barbarian attacks from Central Asia. Real power thereafter passed into the hands of feudal lords. Since the surviving line of the Zhou kings continued to be recognized in name, they still managed to exercise some measure of symbolic control. By Confucius' time, however, the feudal ritual system had been so fundamentally undermined that the political crises also precipitated a profound sense of moral decline: the centre of symbolic control could no longer hold the kingdom, which had devolved from centuries of civil war into 14 feudal states.

Confucius' response was to address himself to the issue of learning to be human. In so doing he attempted to redefine and revitalize the institutions that for centuries had been vital to political stability and social order: the family, the school, the local community, the state, and the kingdom. Confucius did not accept the status quo, which held that wealth and power spoke the loudest. He felt that virtue, both as a personal quality and as a requirement for leadership, was essential for individual dignity, communal solidarity, and political order.

The Analects as the embodiment of Confucian ideas

The Lunyu (Analects), the most revered sacred scripture in the Confucian tradition, was probably compiled by the succeeding generations of Confucius' disciples. Based primarily on the Master's sayings, preserved in both oral and written transmissions, it captures the Confucian spirit in form and content in the same way that the Platonic dialogues embody Socratic pedagogy.

The Analects has often been viewed by the critical modern reader as a collection of unrelated reflections randomly put together. This impression may have resulted from the unfortunate perception of Confucius as a mere commonsense moralizer who gave practical advice to students in everyday situations. If readers approach the Analects as a communal memory, a literary device on the part of those who considered themselves beneficiaries of the Confucian Way to continue the Master's memory and to transmit his form of life as a living tradition, they come close to why it has been so revered in China for centuries. Interchanges with various historical figures and his disciples are used to show Confucius in thought and action, not as an isolated individual but as the centre of relationships. Actually the sayings of the Analects reveal Confucius' personality—his ambitions, his fears, his joys, his commitments, and above all his self-knowledge.

The purpose, then, in compiling these distilled statements centring on Confucius seems not to have been to present an argument or to record an event but to offer an invitation to readers to take part in an ongoing conversation. Through the Analects Confucians for centuries learned to reenact the awe-inspiring ritual of participating in a conversation with Confucius.)

ANALECTS CHAPTER 1. HSIO R.

1 The Master said, "Is it not pleasant to learn with a constant perseverance and application?

"Is it not delightful to have friends coming from distant quarters?

"Is he not a man of complete virtue, who feels no discomposure though men may take no note of him?"

2 The philosopher Yu said, "They are few who, being filial and fraternal, are fond of offending against their superiors. There have been none, who, not liking to offend against their superiors, have been fond of stirring up confusion.

"The superior man bends his attention to what is radical. That being established, all practical courses naturally grow up. Filial piety and fraternal submission!—are they not the root of all benevolent actions?"

3 The Master said, "Fine words and an insinuating appearance are seldom associated with true virtue."

4 The philosopher Tsang said, "I daily examine myself on three points:—whether, in transacting business for others, I may have been not faithful;—whether, in intercourse with friends, I may have been not sincere;—whether I may have not mastered and practised the instructions of my teacher."

5 The Master said, To rule a country of a thousand chariots, there must be reverent attention to business, and sincerity; economy in expenditure, and love for men; and the employment of the people at the proper seasons."

6 The Master said, "A youth, when at home, should be filial, and, abroad, respectful to his elders. He should be earnest and truthful. He should overflow in love to all, and cultivate the friendship of the good. When he has time and opportunity, after the performance of these things, he should employ them in polite studies."

7 Tsze-hsia said, "If a man withdraws his mind from the love of beauty, and applies it as sincerely to the love of the virtuous; if, in serving his parents, he can exert his utmost strength; if, in serving his prince, he can devote his life; if, in his intercourse with his friends, his words are sincere:—although men say that he has not learned, I will certainly say that he has."

8 The Master said, "If the scholar be not grave, he will not call forth any veneration, and his learning will not be solid.

"Hold faithfulness and sincerity as first principles.

"Have no friends not equal to yourself.

"When you have faults, do not fear to abandon them."

9 The philosopher Tsang said, "Let there be a careful attention to perform the funeral rites to parents, and let them be followed when long gone with the ceremonies of sacrifice;—then the virtue of the people will resume its proper excellence."

10 Tsze-ch'in asked Tsze-kung, saying, "When our master comes to any country, he does not fail to learn all about its government. Does he ask his information? or is it given to him?"

Tsze-kung said, "Our master is benign, upright, courteous, temperate, and complaisant, and thus he gets his information. The master's mode of asking information!—is it not different from that of other men?"

11 The Master said, "While a man's father is alive, look at the bent of his will; when his father is dead, look at his conduct. If for three years he does not alter from the way of his father, he may be called filial."

12 The philosopher Yu said, "In practising the rules of propriety, a natural ease is to be prized. In the ways prescribed by the ancient kings, this is the excellent quality, and in things small and great we follow them.

"Yet it is not to be observed in all cases. If one, knowing how such ease should be prized, manifests it, without regulating it by the rules of propriety, this likewise is not to be done."

13 The philosopher Yu said, "When agreements are made according to what is right, what is spoken can be made good. When respect is shown according to what is proper, one keeps far from shame and disgrace. When the parties upon whom a man leans are proper persons to be intimate with, he can make them his guides and masters."

14 The Master said, "He who aims to be a man of complete virtue in his food does not seek to gratify his appetite, nor in his dwelling place does he seek the appliances of ease; he is earnest in what he is doing, and careful in his speech; he frequents the company of men of principle that he may be rectified:—such a person may be said indeed to love to learn."

15 Tsze-kung said, "What do you pronounce concerning the poor man who yet does not flatter, and the rich man who is not proud?" The Master replied, "They will do; but they are not equal to him, who, though poor, is yet cheerful, and to him, who, though rich, loves the rules of propriety."

Tsze-kung replied, "It is said in the Book of Poetry, 'As you cut and then file, as you carve and then polish.'—The meaning is the same, I apprehend, as that which you have just expressed."

The Master said, "With one like Ts'ze, I can begin to talk about the odes. I told him one point, and he knew its proper sequence."

16 The Master said, "I will not be afflicted at men's not knowing me; I will be afflicted that I do not know men."

ANALECTS CHAPTER 2. WEI CHANG.

1 The Master said, "He who exercises government by means of his virtue may be compared to the north polar star, which keeps its place and all the stars turn towards it."

2 The Master said, "In the Book of Poetry are three hundred pieces, but the design of them all may be embraced in one sentence—'Having no depraved thoughts.'"

3 The Master said, "If the people be led by laws, and uniformity sought to be given them by punishments, they will try to avoid the punishment, but have no sense of shame.

"If they be led by virtue, and uniformity sought to be given them by the rules of propriety, they will have the sense of shame, and moreover will become good."

4 The Master said, "At fifteen, I had my mind bent on learning.

"At thirty, I stood firm.

"At forty, I had no doubts.

"At fifty, I knew the decrees of Heaven.

"At sixty, my ear was an obedient organ for the reception of truth.

"At seventy, I could follow what my heart desired, without transgressing what was right."

5 Mang I asked what filial piety was. The Master said, "It is not being disobedient."

Soon after, as Fan Ch'ih was driving him, the Master told him, saying, "Mang-sun asked me what filial piety was, and I answered him,—'not being disobedient.'"

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Fan Ch'ih said, "What did you mean?" The Master replied, "That parents, when alive, be served according to propriety; that, when dead, they should be buried according to propriety; and that they should be sacrificed to according to propriety."

6 Mang Wu asked what filial piety was. The Master said, "Parents are anxious lest their children should be sick."

7 Tsze-yu asked what filial piety was. The Master said, "The filial piety of now-a-days means the support of one's parents. But dogs and horses likewise are able to do something in the way of support;—without reverence, what is there to distinguish the one support given from the other?"

8 Tsze-hsia asked what filial piety was. The Master said, "The difficulty is with the countenance. If, when their elders have any troublesome affairs, the young take the toil of them, and if, when the young have wine and food, they set them before their elders, is this to be considered filial piety?"

9 The Master said, "I have talked with Hui for a whole day, and he has not made any objection to anything I said;—as if he were stupid. He has retired, and I have examined his conduct when away from me, and found him able to illustrate my teachings. Hui!—He is not stupid."

10 The Master said, "See what a man does.

"Mark his motives.

"Examine in what things he rests.

"How can a man conceal his character?

How can a man conceal his character?"

11 The Master said, "If a man keeps cherishing his old knowledge, so as continually to be acquiring new, he may be a teacher of others."

12 The Master said, "The accomplished scholar is not a utensil."

13 Tsze-kung asked what constituted the superior man. The Master said, "He acts before he speaks, and afterwards speaks according to his actions."

14 The Master said, "The superior man is catholic and no partisan. The mean man is partisan and not catholic."

15 The Master said, "Learning without thought is labour lost; thought without learning is perilous."

16 The Master said, "The study of strange doctrines is injurious indeed!"

17 The Master said, "Yu, shall I teach you what knowledge is? When you know a thing, to hold that you know it; and when you do not know a thing, to allow that you do not know it;—this is knowledge."

18 Tsze-chang was learning with a view to official emolument.

The Master said, "Hear much and put aside the points of which you stand in doubt, while you speak cautiously at the same time of the others:—then you will afford few occasions for blame. See much and put aside the things which seem perilous, while you are cautious at the same time in carrying the others into practice:—then you will have few occasions for repentance. When one gives few occasions for blame in his words, and few occasions for repentance in his conduct, he is in the way to get emolument."

19 The Duke Ai asked, saying, "What should be done in order to secure the submission of the people?" Confucius replied, "Advance the upright and set aside the crooked, then the people will submit. Advance the crooked and set aside the upright, then the people will not submit."

20 Chi K'ang asked how to cause the people to reverence their ruler, to be faithful to him, and to go on to nerve themselves to virtue. The Master said, "Let him preside over them with gravity;—then they will reverence him. Let him be filial and kind to all;—then they will be faithful to him. Let him advance the good and teach the incompetent;—then they will eagerly seek to be virtuous."

21 Some one addressed Confucius, saying, "Sir, why are you not engaged in the government?"

The Master said, "What does the Shu-ching say of filial piety?—'You are filial, you discharge your brotherly duties. These qualities are displayed in government.' This then also constitutes the exercise of government. Why must there be that—making one be in the government?"

22 The Master said, "I do not know how a man without truthfulness is to get on. How can a large carriage be made to go without the cross-bar for yoking the oxen to, or a small carriage without the arrangement for yoking the horses?"

23 Tsze-chang asked whether the affairs of ten ages after could be known.

Confucius said, "The Yin dynasty followed the regulations of the Hsia: wherein it took from or added to them may be known. The Chau dynasty has followed the regulations of Yin: wherein it took from or added to them may be known. Some other may follow the Chau, but though it should be at the distance of a hundred ages, its affairs may be known."

24 The Master said, "For a man to sacrifice to a spirit which does not belong to him is flattery.

"To see what is right and not to do it is want of courage."

ANALECTS CHAPTER 3. PA YIH.

1 Confucius said of the head of the Chi family, who had eight rows of pantomimes in his area, "If he can bear to do this, what may he not bear to do?"

2 The three families used the yung ode, while the vessels were being removed, at the conclusion of the sacrifice. The Master said, "'Assisting are the princes;—the son of heaven looks profound and grave:'—what application can these words have in the hall of the three families?"

3 The Master said, "If a man be without the virtues proper to humanity, what has he to do with the rites of propriety? If a man be without the virtues proper to humanity, what has he to do with music?"

4 Lin Fang asked what was the first thing to be attended to in ceremonies.

The Master said, "A great question indeed!

"In festive ceremonies, it is better to be sparing than extravagant. In the ceremonies of mourning, it is better that there be deep sorrow than a minute attention to observances."

5 The Master said, "The rude tribes of the east and north have their princes, and are not like the States of our great land which are without them."

6 The chief of the Chi family was about to sacrifice to the T'ai mountain. The Master said to Zan Yu, "Can you not save him from this?" He answered, "I cannot." Confucius said, "Alas! will you say that the T'ai mountain is not so discerning as Lin Fang?"

7 The Master said, "The student of virtue has no contentions. If it be said he cannot avoid them, shall this be in archery? But he bows complaisantly to his competitors; thus he ascends the hall, descends, and exacts the forfeit of drinking. In his contention, he is still the Chun-tsze."

8 Tsze-hsia asked, saying, "What is the meaning of the passage—'The pretty dimples of her artful smile! The well-defined black and white of her eye! The plain ground for the colours?'"

The Master said, "The business of laying on the colours follows (the preparation of) the plain ground."

"Ceremonies then are a subsequent thing?" The Master said, "It is Shang who can bring out my meaning. Now I can begin to talk about the odes with him."

9 The Master said, "I could describe the ceremonies of the Hsia dynasty, but Chi cannot sufficiently attest my words. I could describe the ceremonies of the Yin dynasty, but Sung cannot sufficiently attest my words. (They cannot do so) because of the insufficiency of their records and wise men. If those were sufficient, I could adduce them in support of my words."

10 The Master said, "At the great sacrifice, after the pouring out of the libation, I have no wish to look on."

11 Some one asked the meaning of the great sacrifice. The Master said, "I do not know. He who knew its meaning would find it as easy to govern the kingdom as to look on this;—pointing to his palm.

12 He sacrificed to the dead, as if they were present. He sacrificed to the spirits, as if the spirits were present.

The Master said, "I consider my not being present at the sacrifice, as if I did not sacrifice."

13 Wang-sun Chia asked, saying, "What is the meaning of the saying, 'It is better to pay court to the furnace than to the south-west corner?'"

The Master said, "Not so. He who offends against Heaven has none to whom he can pray."

14 The Master said, "Chau had the advantage of viewing the two past dynasties. How complete and elegant are its regulations! I follow Chau."

15 The Master, when he entered the grand temple, asked about everything. Some one said, "Who will say that the son of the man of Tsau knows the rules of propriety! He has entered the grand temple and asks about everything." The Master heard the remark, and said, "This is a rule of propriety."

16 The Master said, "In archery it is not going through the leather which is the principal thing;—because people's strength is not equal. This was the old way."

17 Tsze-kung wished to do away with the offering of a sheep connected with the inauguration of the first day of each month.

The Master said, "Ts'ze, you love the sheep; I love the ceremony."

18 The Master said, "The full observance of the rules of propriety in serving one's prince is accounted by people to be flattery."

19 The Duke Ting asked how a prince should employ his ministers, and how ministers should serve their prince. Confucius replied, "A prince should employ his minister according to according to the rules of propriety; ministers should serve their prince with faithfulness."

20 The Master said, "The Kwan Tsu is expressive of enjoyment without being licentious, and of grief without being hurtfully excessive."

21 The Duke Ai asked Tsai Wo about the altars of the spirits of the land. Tsai Wo replied, "The Hsia sovereign planted the pine tree about them; the men of the Yin planted the cypress; and the men of the Chau planted the chestnut tree, meaning thereby to cause the people to be in awe."

When the Master heard it, he said, "Things that are done, it is needless to speak about; things that have had their course, it is needless to remonstrate about; things that are past, it is needless to blame."

22 The Master said, "Small indeed was the capacity of Kwan Chung!"

Some one said, "Was Kwan Chung parsimonious?" "Kwan," was the reply, "had the San Kwei, and his officers performed no double duties; how can he be considered parsimonious?"

"Then, did Kwan Chung know the rules of propriety?" The Master said, "The princes of States have a screen intercepting the view at their gates. Kwan had likewise a screen at his gate. The princes of States on any friendly meeting between two of them, had a stand on which to place their inverted cups. Kwan had also such a stand. If Kwan knew the rules of propriety, who does not know them?"

23 The Master instructing the grand music-master of Lu said, "How to play music may be known. At the commencement of the piece, all the parts should sound together. As it proceeds, they should be in harmony while severally distinct and flowing without break, and thus on to the conclusion."

24 The border warden at Yi requested to be introduced to the Master, saying, "When men of superior virtue have come to this, I have never been denied the privilege of seeing them." The followers of the sage introduced him, and when he came out from the interview, he said, "My friends, why are you distressed by your master's loss of office? The kingdom has long been without the principles of truth and right; Heaven is going to use your master as a bell with its wooden tongue."

25 The Master said of the Shao that it was perfectly beautiful and also perfectly good. He said of the Wu that it was perfectly beautiful but not perfectly good.

26 The Master said, "High station filled without indulgent generosity; ceremonies performed without reverence; mourning conducted without sorrow;—wherewith should I contemplate such ways?"

ANALECTS CHAPTER 4. LE JIN.

1 The Master said, "It is virtuous manners which constitute the excellence of a neighbourhood. If a man in selecting a residence, do not fix on one where such prevail, how can he be wise?"

2 The Master said, "Those who are without virtue cannot abide long either in a condition of poverty and hardship, or in a condition of enjoyment. The virtuous rest in virtue; the wise desire virtue."

3 The Master said, "It is only the (truly) virtuous man, who can love, or who can hate, others."

4 The Master said, "If the will be set on virtue, there will be no practice of wickedness."

5 The Master said, "Riches and honours are what men desire. If it cannot be obtained in the proper way, they should not be held. Poverty and meanness are what men dislike. If it cannot be avoided in the proper way, they should not be avoided.

"If a superior man abandon virtue, how can he fulfil the requirements of that name?

"The superior man does not, even for the space of a single meal, act contrary to virtue. In moments of haste, he cleaves to it. In seasons of danger, he cleaves to it."

6 The Master said, "I have not seen a person who loved virtue, or one who hated what was not virtuous. He who loved virtue, would esteem nothing above it. He who hated what is not virtuous, would practise virtue in such a way that he would not allow anything that is not virtuous to approach his person.

"Is any one able for one day to apply his strength to virtue? I have not seen the case in which his strength would be insufficient.

"Should there possibly be any such case, I have not seen it."

7 The Master said, "The faults of men are characteristic of the class to which they belong. By observing a man's faults, it may be known that he is virtuous."

8 The Master said, "If a man in the morning hear the right way, he may die in the evening without regret."

9 The Master said, "A scholar, whose mind is set on truth, and who is ashamed of bad clothes and bad food, is not fit to be discoursed with."

10 The Master said, "The superior man, in the world, does not set his mind either for anything, or against anything; what is right he will follow."

11 The Master said, "The superior man thinks of virtue; the small man thinks of comfort. The superior man thinks of the sanctions of law; the small man thinks of favours which he may receive."

12 The Master said: "He who acts with a constant view to his own advantage will be much murmured against."

13 The Master said, "Is a prince is able to govern his kingdom with the complaisance proper to the rules of propriety, what difficulty will he have? If he cannot govern it with that complaisance, what has he to do with the rules of propriety?"

14 The Master said, "A man should say, I am not concerned that I have no place, I am concerned how I may fit myself for

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one. I am not concerned that I am not known, I seek to be worthy to be known."

15 The Master said, "Shan, my doctrine is that of an all-pervading unity." The disciple Tsang replied, "Yes."

The Master went out, and the other disciples asked, saying, "What do his words mean?" Tsang said, "The doctrine of our master is to be true to the principles of our nature and the benevolent exercise of them to others,—this and nothing more."

16 The Master said, "The mind of the superior man is conversant with righteousness; the mind of the mean man is conversant with gain."

17 The Master said, "When we see men of worth, we should think of equalling them; when we see men of a contrary character, we should turn inwards and examine ourselves."

18 The Master said, "In serving his parents, a son may remonstrate with them, but gently; when he sees that they do not incline to follow his advice, he shows an increased degree of reverence, but does not abandon his purpose; and should they punish him, he does not allow himself to murmur."

19 The Master said, "While his parents are alive, the son may not go abroad to a distance. If he does go abroad, he must have a fixed place to which he goes."

20 The Master said, "If the son for three years does not alter from the way of his father, he may be called filial."

21 The Master said, "The years of parents may by no means not be kept in the memory, as an occasion at once for joy and for fear."

22 The Master said, "The reason why the ancients did not readily give utterance to their words, was that they feared lest their actions should not come up to them."

23 The Master said, "The cautious seldom err."

24 The Master said, "The superior man wishes to be slow in his speech and earnest in his conduct."

25 The Master said, "Virtue is not left to stand alone. He who practises it will have neighbours."

26 Tsze-yu said, "In serving a prince, frequent remonstrances lead to disgrace. Between friends, frequent reproofs make the friendship distant."

ANALECTS CHAPTER 5. KUNG-YE CH'ANG.

1 The Master said of Kung-ye Ch'ang that he might be wived; although he was put in bonds, he had not been guilty of any crime. Accordingly, he gave him his own daughter to wife.

Of Nan Yung he said that if the country were well governed he would not be out of office, and if it were ill-governed, he would escape punishment and disgrace. He gave him the daughter of his own elder brother to wife.

2 The Master said of Tsze-chien, "Of superior virtue indeed is such a man! If there were not virtuous men in Lu, how could this man have acquired this character?"

3 Tsze-kung asked, "What do you say of me, Ts'ze? The Master said, "You are a utensil." "What utensil?" "A gemmed sacrificial utensil."

4 Some one said, "Yung is truly virtuous, but he is not ready with his tongue."

The Master said, "What is the good of being ready with the tongue? They who encounter men with smartnesses of speech for the most part procure themselves hatred. I know not whether he be truly virtuous, but why should he show readiness of the tongue?"

5 The Master was wishing Ch'i-tiao K'ai to enter on official employment. He replied, "I am not yet able to rest in the assurance of THIS." The Master was pleased.

6 The Master said, "My doctrines make no way. I will get upon a raft, and float about on the sea. He that will accompany me will be Yu, I dare say." Tsze-lu hearing this was glad, upon which the Master said, "Yu is fonder of daring than I am. He does not exercise his judgement upon matters."

7 Mang Wu asked about Tsze-lu, whether he was perfectly virtuous. The Master said, "I do not know."

He asked again, when the Master replied, "In a kingdom of a thousand chariots, Yu might be employed to manage the military levies, but I do not know whether he be perfectly virtuous."

"And what do you say of Ch'iu?" The Master replied, "In a city of a thousand families, or a clan of a hundred chariots, Ch'iu might be employed as governor, but I do not know whether he is perfectly virtuous."

"What do you say of Ch'ih?" The Master replied, "With his sash girt and standing in a court, Ch'ih might be employed to converse with the visitors and guests, but I do not know whether he is perfectly virtuous."

8 The Master said to Tsze-kung, "Which do you consider superior, yourself or Hui?"

Tsze-kung replied, "How dare I compare myself with Hui? Hui hears one point and knows all about a subject; I hear one point, and know a second."

The Master said, "You are not equal to him. I grant you, you are not equal to him."

9 Tsai Yu being asleep during the daytime, the Master said, "Rotten wood cannot be carved; a wall of dirty earth will not receive the trowel. This Yu!—what is the use of my reproving him?"

The Master said, "At first, my way with men was to hear their words, and give them credit for their conduct. Now my way is to hear their words, and look at their conduct. It is from Yu that I have learned to make this change."

10 The Master said, "I have not seen a firm and unbending man." Some one replied, "There is Shan Ch'ang." "Ch'ang," said the Master, "is under the influence of his passions; how can he be pronounced firm and unbending?"

11 Tsze-kung said, "What I do not wish men to do to me, I also wish not to do to men." The Master said, "Ts'ze, you have not attained to that."

12 Tsze-kung said, "The Master's personal displays of his principles and ordinary descriptions of them may be heard. His discourses about man's nature, and the way of Heaven, cannot be heard."

13 When Tsze-lu heard anything, if he had not yet succeeded in carrying it into practice, he was only afraid lest he should hear something else.

14 Tsze-kung asked, saying, "On what ground did Kung-wan get that title of Wan?" The Master said, "He was of an active nature and yet fond of learning, and he was not ashamed to ask and learn of his inferiors!—On these grounds he has been styled Wan."

15 The Master said of Tsze-ch'an that he had four of the characteristics of a superior man:—in his conduct of himself, he was humble; in serving his superiors, he was respectful; in nourishing the people, he was kind; in ordering the people, he was just."

16 The Master said, "Yen P'ing knew well how to maintain friendly intercourse. The acquaintance might be long, but he showed the same respect as at first."

17 The Master said, "Tsang Wan kept a large tortoise in a house, on the capitals of the pillars of which he had hills made, and with representations of duckweed on the small pillars above the beams supporting the rafters.—Of what sort was his wisdom?"

18 Tsze-chang asked, saying, "The minister Tsze-wan thrice took office, and manifested no joy in his countenance. Thrice he retired from office, and manifested no displeasure. He made it a point to inform the new minister of the way in which he had conducted the government;—what do you say of him?" The Master replied. "He was loyal." "Was he perfectly virtuous?" "I do not know. How can he be pronounced perfectly virtuous?"

Tsze-chang proceeded, "When the officer Ch'ui killed the prince of Ch'i, Ch'an Wan, though he was the owner of forty horses, abandoned them and left the country. Coming to another State, he said, 'They are here like our great officer, Ch'ui,' and left it. He came to a second State, and with the same observation left it also;—what do you say of him?" The Master replied, "He was pure." "Was he perfectly virtuous?" "I do not know. How can he be pronounced perfectly virtuous?"

19 Chi Wan thought thrice, and then acted. When the Master was informed of it, he said, "Twice may do."

20 The Master said, "When good order prevailed in his country, Ning Wu acted the part of a wise man. When his country was in disorder, he acted the part of a stupid man. Others may equal his wisdom, but they cannot equal his stupidity."

21 When the Master was in Ch'an, he said, "Let me return! Let me return! The little children of my school are ambitious and too hasty. They are accomplished and complete so far, but they do not know how to restrict and shape themselves."

22 The Master said, "Po-i and Shu-ch'i did not keep the former wickednesses of men in mind, and hence the resentments directed towards them were few."

23 The Master said, "Who says of Wei-shang Kao that he is upright? One begged some vinegar of him, and he begged it of a neighbour and gave it to the man."

24 The Master said, "Fine words, an insinuating appearance, and excessive respect;—Tso Ch'iu-ming was ashamed of them. I also am ashamed of them. To conceal resentment against a person, and appear friendly with him;—Tso Ch'iu-ming was ashamed of such conduct. I also am ashamed of it."

25 Yen Yuan and Chi Lu being by his side, the Master said to them, "Come, let each of you tell his wishes."

Tsze-lu said, "I should like, having chariots and horses, and light fur dresses, to share them with my friends, and though they should spoil them, I would not be displeased."

Yen Yuan said, "I should like not to boast of my excellence, nor to make a display of my meritorious deeds."

Tsze-lu then said, "I should like, sir, to hear your wishes." The Master said, "They are, in regard to the aged, to give them rest; in regard to friends, to show them sincerity; in regard to the young, to treat them tenderly."

26 The Master said, "It is all over! I have not yet seen one who could perceive his faults, and inwardly accuse himself."

27 The Master said, "In a hamlet of ten families, there may be found one honourable and sincere as I am, but not so fond of learning."

ANALECTS CHAPTER 6. YUNG YEY.

1 The Master said, "There is Yung!—He might occupy the place of a prince."

Chung-kung asked about Tsze-sang Po-tsze. The Master said, "He may pass. He does not mind small matters."

Chung-kung said, "If a man cherish in himself a reverential feeling of the necessity of attention to business, though he may be easy in small matters in his government of the people, that may be allowed. But if he cherish in himself that easy feeling, and also carry it out in his practice, is not such an easy mode of procedure excessive?"

The Master said, "Yung's words are right."

2 The Duke Ai asked which of the disciples loved to learn. Confucius replied to him, "There was Yen Hui; he loved to learn. He did not transfer his anger; he did not repeat a fault. Unfortunately, his appointed time was short and he died; and now there is not such another. I have not yet heard of any one who loves to learn as he did."

3 Tsze-hwa being employed on a mission to Ch'i, the disciple Zan requested grain for his mother. The Master said, "Give her a fu." Yen requested more. "Give her an yu," said the Master. Yen gave her five ping.

The Master said, "When Ch'ih was proceeding to Ch'i, he had fat horses to his carriage, and wore light furs. I have heard that a superior man helps the distressed, but does not add to the wealth of the rich."

Yuan Sze being made governor of his town by the Master, he gave him nine hundred measures of grain, but Sze declined them.

The Master said, "Do not decline them. May you not give them away in the neighbourhoods, hamlets, towns, and villages?"

4 The Master, speaking of Chung-kung, said, "If the calf of a brindled cow be red and horned, although men may not wish to use it, would the spirits of the mountains and rivers put it aside?"

5 The Master said, "Such was Hui that for three months there would be nothing in his mind contrary to perfect virtue. The others may attain to this on some days or in some months, but nothing more."

6 Chi K'ang asked about Chung-yu, whether he was fit to be employed as an officer of government. The Master said, "Yu is a man of decision; what difficulty would he find in being an officer of government?" K'ang asked, "Is Ts'ze fit to be employed as an officer of government?" and was answered, "Ts'ze is a man of intelligence; what difficulty would he find in being an officer of government?" And to the same question about Ch'iu the Master gave the same reply, saying, "Ch'iu is a man of various ability."

7 The chief of the Chi family sent to ask Min Tsze-ch'ien to be governor of Pi. Min Tsze-ch'ien said, "Decline the offer for me politely. If any one come again to me with a second invitation, I shall be obliged to go and live on the banks of the Wan."

8 Po-niu being ill, the Master went to ask for him. He took hold of his hand through the window, and said, "It is killing him. It is the appointment of Heaven, alas! That such a man should have such a sickness! That such a man should have such a sickness!"

9 The Master said, "Admirable indeed was the virtue of Hui! With a single bamboo dish of rice, a single gourd dish of drink, and living in his mean narrow lane, while others could not have endured the distress, he did not allow his joy to be affected by it. Admirable indeed was the virtue of Hui!"

10 Yen Ch'iu said, "It is not that I do not delight in your doctrines, but my strength is insufficient." The Master said, "Those whose strength is insufficient give over in the middle of the way but now you limit yourself."

11 The Master said to Tsze-hsia, "Do you be a scholar after the style of the superior man, and not after that of the mean man."

12 Tsze-yu being governor of Wu-ch'ang, the Master said to him, "Have you got good men there?" He answered, "There is Tan-t'ai Mieh-ming, who never in walking takes a short cut, and never comes to my office, excepting on public business."

13 The Master said, "Mang Chih-fan does not boast of his merit. Being in the rear on an occasion of flight, when they were about to enter the gate, he whipped up his horse, saying, 'It is not that I dare to be last. My horse would not advance.'"

14 The Master said, "Without the specious speech of the litanist T'o and the beauty of the prince Chao of Sung, it is difficult to escape in the present age."

15 The Master said, "Who can go out but by the door? How is it that men will not walk according to these ways?"

16 The Master said, "Where the solid qualities are in excess of accomplishments, we have rusticity; where the accomplishments are in excess of the solid qualities, we have the manners of a clerk. When the accomplishments and solid qualities are equally blended, we then have the man of virtue."

17 The Master said, "Man is born for uprightness. If a man lose his uprightness, and yet live, his escape from death is the effect of mere good fortune."

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18 The Master said, "They who know the truth are not equal to those who love it, and they who love it are not equal to those who delight in it."

19 The Master said, "To those whose talents are above mediocrity, the highest subjects may be announced. To those who are below mediocrity, the highest subjects may not be announced."

20 Fan Ch'ih asked what constituted wisdom. The Master said, "To give one's self earnestly to the duties due to men, and, while respecting spiritual beings, to keep aloof from them, may be called wisdom." He asked about perfect virtue. The Master said, "The man of virtue makes the difficulty to be overcome his first business, and success only a subsequent consideration;—this may be called perfect virtue."

21 The Master said, "The wise find pleasure in water; the virtuous find pleasure in hills. The wise are active; the virtuous are tranquil. The wise are joyful; the virtuous are long-lived."

22 The Master said, "Ch'i, by one change, would come to the State of Lu. Lu, by one change, would come to a State where true principles predominated."

23 The Master said, "A cornered vessel without corners.—A strange cornered vessel! A strange cornered vessel!"

24 Tsai Wo asked, saying, "A benevolent man, though it be told him,—"There is a man in the well" will go in after him, I suppose." Confucius said, "Why should he do so?" A superior man may be made to go to the well, but he cannot be made to go down into it. He may be imposed upon, but he cannot be fooled."

25 The Master said, "The superior man, extensively studying all learning, and keeping himself under the restraint of the rules of propriety, may thus likewise not overstep what is right."

26 The Master having visited Nan-tsze, Tsze-lu was displeased, on which the Master swore, saying, "Wherein I have done improperly, may Heaven reject me, may Heaven reject me!"

27 The Master said, "Perfect is the virtue which is according to the Constant Mean! Rare for a long time has been its practise among the people."

28 Tsze-kung said, "Suppose the case of a man extensively conferring benefits on the people, and able to assist all, what would you say of him? Might he be called perfectly virtuous?" The Master said, "Why speak only of virtue in connexion with him? Must he not have the qualities of a sage? Even Yao and Shun were still solicitous about this.

"Now the man of perfect virtue, wishing to be established himself, seeks also to establish others; wishing to be enlarged himself, he seeks also to enlarge others.

"To be able to judge of others by what is nigh in ourselves;—this may be called the art of virtue."

ANALECTS CHAPTER 7. SHU R.

1 The Master said, "A transmitter and not a maker, believing in and loving the ancients, I venture to compare myself with our old P'ang."

2 The Master said, "The silent treasuring up of knowledge; learning without satiety; and instructing others without being wearied:—which one of these things belongs to me?"

3 The Master said, "The leaving virtue without proper cultivation; the not thoroughly discussing what is learned; not being able to move towards righteousness of which a knowledge is gained; and not being able to change what is not good:—these are the things which occasion me solicitude."

4 When the Master was unoccupied with business, his manner was easy, and he looked pleased.

5 The Master said, "Extreme is my decay. For a long time, I have not dreamed, as I was wont to do, that I saw the duke of Chau."

6 The Master said, "Let the will be set on the path of duty.

"Let every attainment in what is good be firmly grasped.

"Let perfect virtue be accorded with.

"Let relaxation and enjoyment be found in the polite arts."

7 The Master said, "From the man bringing his bundle of dried flesh for my teaching upwards, I have never refused instruction to any one."

8 The Master said, "I do not open up the truth to one who is not eager to get knowledge, nor help out any one who is not anxious to explain himself. When I have presented one corner of a subject to any one, and he cannot from it learn the other three, I do not repeat my lesson."

9 When the Master was eating by the side of a mourner, he never ate to the full.

He did not sing on the same day in which he had been weeping.

10 The Master said to Yen Yuan, "When called to office, to undertake its duties; when not so called, to lie retired;—it is only I and you who have attained to this."

Tsze-lu said, "If you had the conduct of the armies of a great State, whom would you have to act with you?"

The Master said, "I would not have him to act with me, who will unarmed attack a tiger, or cross a river without a boat, dying without any regret. My associate must be the man who proceeds to action full of solicitude, who is fond of adjusting his plans, and then carries them into execution."

11 The Master said, "If the search for riches is sure to be successful, though I should become a groom with whip in hand to get them, I will do so. As the search may not be successful, I will follow after that which I love."

12 The things in reference to which the Master exercised the greatest caution were —fasting, war, and sickness.

13 When the Master was in Ch'i, he heard the Shao, and for three months did not know the taste of flesh. "I did not think" he said, "that music could have been made so excellent as this."

14 Yen Yu said, "Is our Master for the ruler of Wei?" Tsze-kung said, "Oh! I will ask him."

He went in accordingly, and said, "What sort of men were Po-i and Shu-ch'i?" "They were ancient worthies," said the Master. "Did they have any repinings because of their course?" The Master again replied, "They sought to act virtuously, and they did so; what was there for them to repine about?" On this, Tsze-kung went out and said, "Our Master is not for him."

15 The Master said, "With coarse rice to eat, with water to drink, and my bended arm for a pillow;—I have still joy in the midst of these things. Riches and honours acquired by unrighteousness, are to me as a floating cloud."

16 The Master said, "If some years were added to my life, I would give fifty to the study of the Yi, and then I might come to be without great faults."

17 The Master's frequent themes of discourse were—the Odes, the History, and the maintenance of the Rules of Propriety. On all these he frequently discoursed.

18 The Duke of Sheh asked Tsze-lu about Confucius, and Tsze-lu did not answer him.

The Master said, "Why did you not say to him,—He is simply a man, who in his eager pursuit (of knowledge) forgets his food, who in the joy of its attainment forgets his sorrows, and who does not perceive that old age is coming on?"

19 The Master said, "I am not one who was born in the possession of knowledge; I am one who is fond of antiquity, and earnest in seeking it there."

20 The subjects on which the Master did not talk, were—extraordinary things, feats of strength, disorder, and spiritual beings.

21 The Master said, "When I walk along with two others, they may serve me as my teachers. I will select their good qualities and follow them, their bad qualities and avoid them."

22 The Master said, "Heaven produced the virtue that is in me. Hwan T'ui—what can he do to me?"

23 The Master said, "Do you think, my disciples, that I have any concealments? I conceal nothing from you. There is nothing which I do that is not shown to you, my disciples;—that is my way."

24 There were four things which the Master taught,—letters, ethics, devotion of soul, and truthfulness.

25 The Master said, "A sage it is not mine to see; could I see a man of real talent and virtue, that would satisfy me."

The Master said, "A good man it is not mine to see; could I see a man possessed of constancy, that would satisfy me.

"Having not and yet affecting to have, empty and yet affecting to be full, straitened and yet affecting to be at ease:—it is difficult with such characteristics to have constancy."

26 The Master angled,—but did not use a net. He shot,—but not at birds perching.

27 The Master said, "There may be those who act without knowing why. I do not do so. Hearing much and selecting what is good and following it; seeing much and keeping it in memory:—this is the second style of knowledge."

28 It was difficult to talk (profitably and reputably) with the people of Hu-hsiang, and a lad of that place having had an interview with the Master, the disciples doubted.

The Master said, "I admit people's approach to me without committing myself as to what they may do when they have retired. Why must one be so severe? If a man purify himself to wait upon me, I receive him so purified, without guaranteeing his past conduct."

29 The Master said, "Is virtue a thing remote? I wish to be virtuous, and lo! virtue is at hand."

30 The minister of crime of Ch'an asked whether the duke Chao knew propriety, and Confucius said, "He knew propriety."

Confucius having retired, the minister bowed to Wu-ma Ch'i to come forward, and said, "I have heard that the superior man is not a partisan. May the superior man be a partisan also? The prince married a daughter of the house of Wu, of the same surname with himself, and called her,—'The elder Tsze of Wu.' If the prince knew propriety, who does not know it?"

Wu-ma Ch'i reported these remarks, and the Master said, "I am fortunate! If I have any errors, people are sure to know them."

31 When the Master was in company with a person who was singing, if he sang well, he would make him repeat the song, while he accompanied it with his own voice.

32 The Master said, "In letters I am perhaps equal to other men, but the character of the superior man, carrying out in his conduct what he professes, is what I have not yet attained to."

33 The Master said, "The sage and the man of perfect virtue;—how dare I rank myself with them? It may simply be said of me, that I strive to become such without satiety, and teach others without weariness." Kung-hsi Hwa said, "This is just what we, the disciples, cannot imitate you in."

34 The Master being very sick, Tsze-lu asked leave to pray for him. He said, "May such a thing be done?" Tsze-lu replied, "It may. In the Eulogies it is said, 'Prayer has been made for thee to the spirits of the upper and lower worlds.'" The Master said, "My praying has been for a long time."

35 The Master said, "Extravagance leads to insubordination, and parsimony to meanness. It is better to be mean than to be insubordinate."

36 The Master said, "The superior man is satisfied and composed; the mean man is always full of distress."

37 The Master was mild, and yet dignified; majestic, and yet not fierce; respectful, and yet easy.

ANALECTS CHAPTER 8. T'AI-PO.

1 The Master said, "T'ai-po may be said to have reached the highest point of virtuous action. Thrice he declined the kingdom, and the people in ignorance of his motives could not express their approbation of his conduct."

2 The Master said, "Respectfulness, without the rules of propriety, becomes laborious bustle; carefulness, without the rules of propriety, becomes timidity; boldness, without the rules of propriety, becomes insubordination; straightforwardness, without the rules of propriety, becomes rudeness.

"When those who are in high stations perform well all their duties to their relations, the people are aroused to virtue. When old friends are not neglected by them, the people are preserved from meanness."

3 The philosopher Tsang being ill, he called to him the disciples of his school, and said, "Uncover my feet, uncover my hands. It is said in the Book of Poetry, 'We should be apprehensive and cautious, as if on the brink of a deep gulf, as if treading on thin ice,' and so have I been. Now and hereafter, I know my escape from all injury to my person, O ye, my little children."

4 The philosopher Tsang being ill, Meng Chang went to ask how he was.

Tsang said to him, "When a bird is about to die, its notes are mournful; when a man is about to die, his words are good.

"There are three principles of conduct which the man of high rank should consider specially important:—that in his deportment and manner he keep from violence and heedlessness; that in regulating his countenance he keep near to sincerity; and that in his words and tones he keep far from lowness and impropriety. As to such matters as attending to the sacrificial vessels, there are the proper officers for them."

5 The philosopher Tsang said, "Gifted with ability, and yet putting questions to those who were not so; possessed of much, and yet putting questions to those possessed of little; having, as though he had not; full, and yet counting himself as empty; offended against, and yet entering into no altercation; formerly I had a friend who pursued this style of conduct."

6 The philosopher Tsang said, "Suppose that there is an individual who can be entrusted with the charge of a young orphan prince, and can be commissioned with authority over a state of a hundred li, and whom no emergency however great can drive from his principles:—is such a man a superior man? He is a superior man indeed."

7 The philosopher Tsang said, "The officer may not be without breadth of mind and vigorous endurance. His burden is heavy and his course is long.

"Perfect virtue is the burden which he considers it is his to sustain;—is it not heavy? Only with death does his course stop;—is it not long?

8 The Master said, "It is by the Odes that the mind is aroused.

"It is by the Rules of Propriety that the character is established.

"It is from Music that the finish is received."

9 The Master said, "The people may be made to follow a path of action, but they may not be made to understand it."

10 The Master said, "The man who is fond of daring and is dissatisfied with poverty, will proceed to insubordination. So will the man who is not virtuous, when you carry your dislike of him to an extreme."

11 The Master said, "Though a man have abilities as admirable as those of the Duke of Chau, yet if he be proud and niggardly, those other things are really not worth being looked at."

12 The Master said, "It is not easy to find a man who has learned for three years without coming to be good."

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13 The Master said, "With sincere faith he unites the love of learning; holding firm to death, he is perfecting the excellence of his course.

"Such an one will not enter a tottering State, nor dwell in a disorganized one. When right principles of government prevail in the kingdom, he will show himself; when they are prostrated, he will keep concealed.

"When a country is well-governed, poverty and a mean condition are things to be ashamed of. When a country is ill-governed, riches and honour are things to be ashamed of."

14 The Master said, "He who is not in any particular office, has nothing to do with plans for the administration of its duties."

15 The Master said, "When the music master Chih first entered on his office, the finish of the Kwan Tsu was magnificent;—how it filled the ears!"

16 The Master said, "Ardent and yet not upright; stupid and yet not attentive; simple and yet not sincere:—such persons I do not understand."

17 The Master said, "Learn as if you could not reach your object, and were always fearing also lest you should lose it."

18 The Master said, "How majestic was the manner in which Shun and Yu held possession of the empire, as if it were nothing to them!"

19 The Master said, "Great indeed was Yao as a sovereign! How majestic was he! It is only Heaven that is grand, and only Yao corresponded to it. How vast was his virtue! The people could find no name for it.

"How majestic was he in the works which he accomplished! How glorious in the elegant regulations which he instituted!"

20 Shun had five ministers, and the empire was well-governed.

King Wu said, "I have ten able ministers."

Confucius said, "Is not the saying that talents are difficult to find, true? Only when the dynasties of T'ang and Yu met, were they more abundant than in this of Chau, yet there was a woman among them. The able ministers were no more than nine men.

"King Wan possessed two of the three parts of the empire, and with those he served the dynasty of Yin. The virtue of the house of Chau may be said to have reached the highest point indeed."

21 The Master said, "I can find no flaw in the character of Yu. He used himself coarse food and drink, but displayed the utmost filial piety towards the spirits. His ordinary garments were poor, but he displayed the utmost elegance in his sacrificial cap and apron. He lived in a low mean house, but expended all his strength on the ditches and water-channels. I can find nothing like a flaw in Yu."

ANALECTS CHAPTER 9. TSZE HAN.

1 The subjects of which the Master seldom spoke were—profitableness, and also the appointments of Heaven, and perfect virtue.

2 A man of the village of Ta-hsiang said, "Great indeed is the philosopher K'ung! His learning is extensive, and yet he does not render his name famous by any particular thing."

The Master heard the observation, and said to his disciples, "What shall I practise? Shall I practise charioteering, or shall I practise archery? I will practise charioteering."

3 The Master said, "The linen cap is that prescribed by the rules of ceremony, but now a silk one is worn. It is economical, and I follow the common practice.

"The rules of ceremony prescribe the bowing below the hall, but now the practice is to bow only after ascending it. That is arrogant. I continue to bow below the hall, though I oppose the common practice."

4 There were four things from which the Master was entirely free. He had no foregone conclusions, no arbitrary predeterminations, no obstinacy, and no egoism.

5 The Master was put in fear in K'wang.

He said, "After the death of King Wan, was not the cause of truth lodged here in me?

"If Heaven had wished to let this cause of truth perish, then I, a future mortal, should not have got such a relation to that cause. While Heaven does not let the cause of truth perish, what can the people of K'wang do to me?"

6 A high officer asked Tsze-kung, saying, "May we not say that your Master is a sage? How various is his ability!"

Tsze-kung said, "Certainly Heaven has endowed him unlimitedly. He is about a sage. And, moreover, his ability is various."

The Master heard of the conversation and said, "Does the high officer know me? When I was young, my condition was low, and therefore I acquired my ability in many things, but they were mean matters. Must the superior man have such variety of ability? He does not need variety of ability."

Lao said, "The Master said, 'Having no official employment, I acquired many arts.'"

7 The Master said, "Am I indeed possessed of knowledge? I am not knowing. But if a mean person, who appears quite empty-like, ask anything of me, I set it forth from one end to the other, and exhaust it."

8 The Master said, "The fang bird does not come; the river sends forth no map:—it is all over with me!"

9 When the Master saw a person in a mourning dress, or any one with the cap and upper and lower garments of full dress, or a blind person, on observing them approaching, though they were younger than himself, he would rise up, and if he had to pass by them, he would do so hastily.

10 Yen Yuan, in admiration of the Master's doctrines, sighed and said, "I looked up to them, and they seemed to become more high; I tried to penetrate them, and they seemed to become more firm; I looked at them before me, and suddenly they seemed to be behind.

"The Master, by orderly method, skilfully leads men on. He enlarged my mind with learning, and taught me the restraints of propriety.

"When I wish to give over the study of his doctrines, I cannot do so, and having exerted all my ability, there seems something to stand right up before me; but though I wish to follow and lay hold of it, I really find no way to do so."

11 The Master being very ill, Tsze-lu wished the disciples to act as ministers to him.

During a remission of his illness, he said, "Long has the conduct of Yu been deceitful! By pretending to have ministers when I have them not, whom should I impose upon? Should I impose upon Heaven?

"Moreover, than that I should die in the hands of ministers, is it not better that I should die in the hands of you, my disciples? And though I may not get a great burial, shall I die upon the road?"

12 Tsze-kung said, "There is a beautiful gem here. Should I lay it up in a case and keep it? or should I seek for a good price and sell it?" The Master said, "Sell it! Sell it! But I would wait for one to offer the price."

13 The Master was wishing to go and live among the nine wild tribes of the east.

Some one said, "They are rude. How can you do such a thing?" The Master said, "If a superior man dwelt among them, what rudeness would there be?"

14 The Master said, "I returned from Wei to Lu, and then the music was reformed, and the pieces in the Royal songs and Praise songs all found their proper places."

15 The Master said, "Abroad, to serve the high ministers and nobles; at home, to serve one's father and elder brothers; in all duties to the dead, not to dare not to exert one's self; and not to be overcome of wine:—which one of these things do I attain to?"

16 The Master standing by a stream, said, "It passes on just like this, not ceasing day or night!"

17 The Master said, "I have not seen one who loves virtue as he loves beauty."

18 The Master said, "The prosecution of learning may be compared to what may happen in raising a mound. If there want but one basket of earth to complete the work, and I stop, the stopping is my own work. It may be compared to throwing down the earth on the level ground. Though but one basketful is thrown at a time, the advancing with it is my own going forward."

19 The Master said, "Never flagging when I set forth anything to him;—ah! that is Hui."

20 The Master said of Yen Yuan, "Alas! I saw his constant advance. I never saw him stop in his progress."

21 The Master said, "There are cases in which the blade springs, but the plant does not go on to flower! There are cases where it flowers, but no fruit is subsequently produced!"

22 The Master said, "A youth is to be regarded with respect. How do we know that his future will not be equal to our present? If he reach the age of forty or fifty, and has not made himself heard of, then indeed he will not be worth being regarded with respect."

23 The Master said, "Can men refuse to assent to the words of strict admonition? But it is reforming the conduct because of them which is valuable. Can men refuse to be pleased with words of gentle advice? But it is unfolding their aim which is valuable. If a man be pleased with these words, but does not unfold their aim, and assents to those, but does not reform his conduct, I can really do nothing with him."

24 The Master said, "Hold faithfulness and sincerity as first principles. Have no friends not equal to yourself. When you have faults, do not fear to abandon them."

25 The Master said, "The commander of the forces of a large state may be carried off, but the will of even a common man cannot be taken from him."

26 The Master said, "Dressed himself in a tattered robe quilted with hemp, yet standing by the side of men dressed in furs, and not ashamed;—ah! it is Yu who is equal to this!

"'He dislikes none, he covets nothing;—what can he do but what is good!'"

Tsze-lu kept continually repeating these words of the ode, when the Master said, "Those things are by no means sufficient to constitute (perfect) excellence."

27 The Master said, "When the year becomes cold, then we know how the pine and the cypress are the last to lose their leaves."

28 The Master said, "The wise are free from perplexities; the virtuous from anxiety; and the bold from fear."

29 The Master said, "There are some with whom we may study in common, but we shall find them unable to go along with us to principles. Perhaps we may go on with them to principles, but we shall find them unable to get established in those along with us. Or if we may get so established along with them, we shall find them unable to weigh occurring events along with us."

30 How the flowers of the aspen-plum flutter and turn! Do I not think of you? But your house is distant.

The Master said, "It is the want of thought about it. How is it distant?"

ANALECTS CHAPTER 10. HEANG TANG.

1 Confucius, in his village, looked simple and sincere, and as if he were not able to speak.

When he was in the prince's ancestorial temple, or in the court, he spoke minutely on every point, but cautiously.

2 When he was waiting at court, in speaking with the great officers of the lower grade, he spake freely, but in a straightforward manner; in speaking with those of the higher grade, he did so blandly, but precisely.

When the ruler was present, his manner displayed respectful uneasiness; it was grave, but self-possessed.

3 When the prince called him to employ him in the reception of a visitor, his countenance appeared to change, and his legs to move forward with difficulty.

He inclined himself to the other officers among whom he stood, moving his left or right arm, as their position required, but keeping the skirts of his robe before and behind evenly adjusted.

He hastened forward, with his arms like the wings of a bird.

When the guest had retired, he would report to the prince, "The visitor is not turning round any more."

4 When he entered the palace gate, he seemed to bend his body, as if it were not sufficient to admit him.

When he was standing, he did not occupy the middle of the gate-way; when he passed in or out, he did not tread upon the threshold.

When he was passing the vacant place of the prince, his countenance appeared to change, and his legs to bend under him, and his words came as if he hardly had breath to utter them.

He ascended the reception hall, holding up his robe with both his hands, and his body bent; holding in his breath also, as if he dared not breathe.

When he came out from the audience, as soon as he had descended one step, he began to relax his countenance, and had a satisfied look. When he had got to the bottom of the steps, he advanced rapidly to his place, with his arms like wings, and on occupying it, his manner still showed respectful uneasiness.

5 When he was carrying the scepter of his ruler, he seemed to bend his body, as if he were not able to bear its weight. He did not hold it higher than the position of the hands in making a bow, nor lower than their position in giving anything to another. His countenance seemed to change, and look apprehensive, and he dragged his feet along as if they were held by something to the ground.

In presenting the presents with which he was charged, he wore a placid appearance.

At his private audience, he looked highly pleased.

6 The superior man did not use a deep purple, or a puce colour, in the ornaments of his dress.

Even in his undress, he did not wear anything of a red or reddish colour.

In warm weather, he had a single garment either of coarse or fine texture, but he wore it displayed over an inner garment.

Over lamb's fur he wore a garment of black; over fawn's fur one of white; and over fox's fur one of yellow.

The fur robe of his undress was long, with the right sleeve short.

He required his sleeping dress to be half as long again as his body.

When staying at home, he used thick furs of the fox or the badger.

When he put off mourning, he wore all the appendages of the girdle.

His under-garment, except when it was required to be of the curtain shape, was made of silk cut narrow above and wide below.

He did not wear lamb's fur or a black cap, on a visit of condolence.

On the first day of the month he put on his court robes, and presented himself at court.

7 When fasting, he thought it necessary to have his clothes brightly clean and made of linen cloth.

When fasting, he thought it necessary to change his food, and also to change the place where he commonly sat in the apartment.

8 He did not dislike to have his rice finely cleaned, nor to have his minced meat cut quite small.

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He did not eat rice which had been injured by heat or damp and turned sour, nor fish or flesh which was gone. He did not eat what was discoloured, or what was of a bad flavour, nor anything which was ill-cooked, or was not in season.

He did not eat meat which was not cut properly, nor what was served without its proper sauce.

Though there might be a large quantity of meat, he would not allow what he took to exceed the due proportion for the rice. It was only in wine that he laid down no limit for himself, but he did not allow himself to be confused by it.

He did not partake of wine and dried meat bought in the market.

He was never without ginger when he ate.

He did not eat much.

When he had been assisting at the prince's sacrifice, he did not keep the flesh which he received overnight. The flesh of his family sacrifice he did not keep over three days. If kept over three days, people could not eat it.

When eating, he did not converse. When in bed, he did not speak.

Although his food might be coarse rice and vegetable soup, he would offer a little of it in sacrifice with a grave, respectful air.

9 If his mat was not straight, he did not sit on it.

10 When the villagers were drinking together, on those who carried staffs going out, he went out immediately after.

When the villagers were going through their ceremonies to drive away pestilential influences, he put on his court robes and stood on the eastern steps.

11 When he was sending complimentary inquiries to any one in another State, he bowed twice as he escorted the messenger away.

Chi K'ang having sent him a present of physic, he bowed and received it, saying, "I do not know it. I dare not taste it."

12 The stable being burned down, when he was at court, on his return he said, "Has any man been hurt?" He did not ask about the horses.

13 When the prince sent him a gift of cooked meat, he would adjust his mat, first taste it, and then give it away to others. When the prince sent him a gift of undressed meat, he would have it cooked, and offer it to the spirits of his ancestors. When the prince sent him a gift of a living animal, he would keep it alive.

When he was in attendance on the prince and joining in the entertainment, the prince only sacrificed. He first tasted everything.

When he was ill and the prince came to visit him, he had his head to the east, made his court robes be spread over him, and drew his girdle across them.

When the prince's order called him, without waiting for his carriage to be yoked, he went at once.

14 When he entered the ancestral temple of the State, he asked about everything.

15 When any of his friends died, if he had no relations who could be depended on for the necessary offices, he would say, "I will bury him."

When a friend sent him a present, though it might be a carriage and horses, he did not bow.

The only present for which he bowed was that of the flesh of sacrifice.

16 In bed, he did not lie like a corpse. At home, he did not put on any formal deportment.

When he saw any one in a mourning dress, though it might be an acquaintance, he would change countenance; when he saw any one wearing the cap of full dress, or a blind person, though he might be in his undress, he would salute them in a ceremonious manner.

To any person in mourning he bowed forward to the crossbar of his carriage; he bowed in the same way to any one bearing the tables of population.

When he was at an entertainment where there was an abundance of provisions set before him, he would change countenance and rise up.

On a sudden clap of thunder, or a violent wind, he would change countenance.

17 When he was about to mount his carriage, he would stand straight, holding the cord.

When he was in the carriage, he did not turn his head quite round, he did not talk hastily, he did not point with his hands.

18 Seeing the countenance, it instantly rises. It flies round, and by and by settles.

The Master said, "There is the hen-pheasant on the hill bridge. At its season! At its season!" Tsze-lu made a motion to it. Thrice it smelt him and then rose..

ANALECTS CHAPTER 11. HSIEN TSIN.

1 The Master said, "The men of former times, in the matters of ceremonies and music were rustics, it is said, while the men of these latter times, in ceremonies and music, are accomplished gentlemen.

"If I have occasion to use those things, I follow the men of former times."

2 The Master said, "Of those who were with me in Ch'an and Ts'ai, there are none to be found to enter my door."

Distinguished for their virtuous principles and practice, there were Yen Yuan, Min Tsze-ch'ien, Zan Po-niu, and Chung-kung; for their ability in speech, Tsai Wo and Tsze-kung; for their administrative talents, Zan Yu and Chi Lu; for their literary acquirements, Tsze-yu and Tsze-hsia.

3 The Master said, "Hui gives me no assistance. There is nothing that I say in which he does not delight."

4 The Master said, "Filial indeed is Min Tsze-ch'ien! Other people say nothing of him different from the report of his parents and brothers."

5 Nan Yung was frequently repeating the lines about a white scepter stone. Confucius gave him the daughter of his elder brother to wife.

6 Chi K'ang asked which of the disciples loved to learn. Confucius replied to him, "There was Yen Hui; he loved to learn. Unfortunately his appointed time was short, and he died. Now there is no one who loves to learn, as he did."

7 When Yen Yuan died, Yen Lu begged the carriage of the Master to sell and get an outer shell for his son's coffin.

The Master said, "Every one calls his son his son, whether he has talents or has not talents. There was Li; when he died, he had a coffin but no outer shell. I would not walk on foot to get a shell for him, because, having followed in the rear of the great officers, it was not proper that I should walk on foot."

8 When Yen Yuan died, the Master said, "Alas! Heaven is destroying me! Heaven is destroying me!"

9 When Yen Yuan died, the Master bewailed him exceedingly, and the disciples who were with him said, "Master, your grief is excessive?"

"Is it excessive?" said he.

"If I am not to mourn bitterly for this man, for whom should I mourn?"

10 When Yen Yuan died, the disciples wished to give him a great funeral, and the Master said, "You may not do so."

The disciples did bury him in great style.

The Master said, "Hui behaved towards me as his father. I have not been able to treat him as my son. The fault is not mine; it belongs to you, O disciples."

11 Chi Lu asked about serving the spirits of the dead. The Master said, "While you are not able to serve men, how can you serve their spirits?" Chi Lu added, "I venture to ask about death?" He was answered, "While you do not know life, how can you know about death?"

12 The disciple Min was standing by his side, looking bland and precise; Tsze-lu, looking bold and soldierly; Zan Yu and Tsze-kung, with a free and straightforward manner. The Master was pleased.

He said, "Yu, there!—he will not die a natural death."

13 Some parties in Lu were going to take down and rebuild the Long Treasury.

Min Tsze-ch'ien said, "Suppose it were to be repaired after its old style;—why must it be altered and made anew?"

The Master said, "This man seldom speaks; when he does, he is sure to hit the point."

14 The Master said, "What has the lute of Yu to do in my door?"

The other disciples began not to respect Tsze-lu. The Master said, "Yu has ascended to the hall, though he has not yet passed into the inner apartments."

15 Tsze-kung asked which of the two, Shih or Shang, was the superior. The Master said, "Shih goes beyond the due mean, and Shang does not come up to it."

"Then," said Tsze-kung, "the superiority is with Shih, I suppose."

The Master said, "To go beyond is as wrong as to fall short."

16 The head of the Chi family was richer than the duke of Chau had been, and yet Ch'iu collected his imposts for him, and increased his wealth.

The Master said, "He is no disciple of mine. My little children, beat the drum and assail him."

17 Ch'ai is simple.

Shan is dull.

Shih is specious.

Yu is coarse.

18 The Master said, "There is Hui! He has nearly attained to perfect virtue. He is often in want.

"Ts'ze does not acquiesce in the appointments of Heaven, and his goods are increased by him. Yet his judgements are often correct."

19 Tsze-chang asked what were the characteristics of the good man. The Master said, "He does not tread in the footsteps of others, but moreover, he does not enter the chamber of the sage."

20 The Master said, "If, because a man's discourse appears solid and sincere, we allow him to be a good man, is he really a superior man? or is his gravity only in appearance?"

21 Tsze-lu asked whether he should immediately carry into practice what he heard. The Master said, "There are your father and elder brothers to be consulted;—why should you act on that principle of immediately carrying into practice what you hear?" Zan Yu asked the same, whether he should immediately carry into practice what he heard, and the Master answered, "Immediately carry into practice what you hear." Kung-hsi Hwa said, "Yu asked whether he should carry immediately into practice what he heard, and you said, 'There are your father and elder brothers to be consulted.' Ch'iu asked whether he should immediately carry into practice what he heard, and you said, 'Carry it immediately into practice.' I, Ch'ih, am perplexed, and venture to ask you for an explanation." The Master said, "Ch'iu is retiring and slow; therefore, I urged him forward. Yu has more than his own share of energy; therefore I kept him back."

22 The Master was put in fear in K'wang and Yen Yuan fell behind. The Master, on his rejoining him, said, "I thought you had died." Hui replied, "While you were alive, how should I presume to die?"

23 Chi Tsze-zan asked whether Chung Yu and Zan Ch'iu could be called great ministers.

The Master said, "I thought you would ask about some extraordinary individuals, and you only ask about Yu and Ch'iu!

"What is called a great minister, is one who serves his prince according to what is right, and when he finds he cannot do so, retires.

"Now, as to Yu and Ch'iu, they may be called ordinary ministers."

Tsze-zan said, "Then they will always follow their chief;—will they?"

The Master said, "In an act of parricide or regicide, they would not follow him."

24 Tsze-lu got Tsze-kao appointed governor of Pi.

The Master said, "You are injuring a man's son."

Tsze-lu said, "There are (there) common people and officers; there are the altars of the spirits of the land and grain. Why must one read books before he can be considered to have learned?"

The Master said, "It is on this account that I hate your glib-tongued people."

25 Tsze-lu, Tsang Hsi, Zan Yu, and Kung-hsi Hwa were sitting by the Master.

He said to them, "Though I am a day or so older than you, do not think of that.

"From day to day you are saying, 'We are not known.' If some ruler were to know you, what would you like to do?"

Tsze-lu hastily and lightly replied, "Suppose the case of a State of ten thousand chariots; let it be straitened between other large States; let it be suffering from invading armies; and to this let there be added a famine in corn and in all vegetables:—if I were intrusted with the government of it, in three years" time I could make the people to be bold, and to recognise the rules of righteous conduct." The Master smiled at him.

Turning to Yen Yu, he said, "Ch'iu, what are your wishes?" Ch'iu replied, "Suppose a state of sixty or seventy li square, or one of fifty or sixty, and let me have the government of it;—in three years" time, I could make plenty to abound among the people. As to teaching them the principles of propriety, and music, I must wait for the rise of a superior man to do that."

"What are your wishes, Ch'ih," said the Master next to Kung-hsi Hwa. Ch'ih replied, "I do not say that my ability extends to these things, but I should wish to learn them. At the services of the ancestral temple, and at the audiences of the princes with the sovereign, I should like, dressed in the dark square-made robe and the black linen cap, to act as a small assistant."

Last of all, the Master asked Tsang Hsi, "Tien, what are your wishes?" Tien, pausing as he was playing on his lute, while it was yet twanging, laid the instrument aside, and rose. "My wishes," he said, "are different from the cherished purposes of these three gentlemen." "What harm is there in that?" said the Master; "do you also, as well as they, speak out your wishes." Tien then said, "In this, the last month of spring, with the dress of the season all complete, along with five or six young men who have assumed the cap, and six or seven boys, I would wash in the I, enjoy the breeze among the rain altars, and return home singing." The Master heaved a sigh and said, "I give my approval to Tien."

The three others having gone out, Tsang Hsi remained behind, and said, "What do you think of the words of these three friends?" The Master replied, "They simply told each one his wishes."

Hsi pursued, "Master, why did you smile at Yu?"

He was answered, "The management of a State demands the rules of propriety. His words were not humble; therefore I smiled at him."

Hsi again said, "But was it not a State which Ch'iu proposed for himself?" The reply was, "Yes; did you ever see a territory of sixty or seventy li or one of fifty or sixty, which was not a State?"

Once more, Hsi inquired, "And was it not a State which Ch'ih proposed for himself?" The Master again replied, "Yes; who but princes have to do with ancestral temples, and with audiences but the sovereign? If Ch'ih were to be a small assistant in these services, who could be a great one?

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ANALECTS CHAPTER 12. YEN YUAN.

1 Yen Yuan asked about perfect virtue. The Master said, "To subdue one's self and return to propriety, is perfect virtue. If a man can for one day subdue himself and return to propriety, all under heaven will ascribe perfect virtue to him. Is the practice of perfect virtue from a man himself, or is it from others?"

Yen Yuan said, "I beg to ask the steps of that process." The Master replied, "Look not at what is contrary to propriety; listen not to what is contrary to propriety; speak not what is contrary to propriety; make no movement which is contrary to propriety." Yen Yuan then said, "Though I am deficient in intelligence and vigour, I will make it my business to practise this lesson."

2 Chung-kung asked about perfect virtue. The Master said, "It is, when you go abroad, to behave to every one as if you were receiving a great guest; to employ the people as if you were assisting at a great sacrifice; not to do to others as you would not wish done to yourself; to have no murmuring against you in the country, and none in the family." Chung-kung said, "Though I am deficient in intelligence and vigour, I will make it my business to practise this lesson."

3 Sze-ma Niu asked about perfect virtue.

The Master said, "The man of perfect virtue is cautious and slow in his speech."

"Cautious and slow in his speech!" said Niu;—"is this what is meant by perfect virtue?" The Master said, "When a man feels the difficulty of doing, can he be other than cautious and slow in speaking?"

4 Sze-ma Niu asked about the superior man. The Master said, "The superior man has neither anxiety nor fear."

"Being without anxiety or fear!" said Nui;—"does this constitute what we call the superior man?"

The Master said, "When internal examination discovers nothing wrong, what is there to be anxious about, what is there to fear?"

5 Sze-ma Niu, full of anxiety, said, "Other men all have their brothers, I only have not."

Tsze-hsia said to him, "There is the following saying which I have heard:—

"'Death and life have their determined appointment; riches and honours depend upon Heaven.'

"Let the superior man never fail reverentially to order his own conduct, and let him be respectful to others and observant of propriety:—then all within the four seas will be his brothers. What has the superior man to do with being distressed because he has no brothers?"

6 Tsze-chang asked what constituted intelligence. The Master said, "He with whom neither slander that gradually soaks into the mind, nor statements that startle like a wound in the flesh, are successful, may be called intelligent indeed. Yea, he with whom neither soaking slander, nor startling statements, are successful, may be called farseeing."

7 Tsze-kung asked about government. The Master said, "The requisites of government are that there be sufficiency of food, sufficiency of military equipment, and the confidence of the people in their ruler."

Tsze-kung said, "If it cannot be helped, and one of these must be dispensed with, which of the three should be foregone first?" "The military equipment," said the Master.

Tsze-kung again asked, "If it cannot be helped, and one of the remaining two must be dispensed with, which of them should be foregone?" The Master answered, "Part with the food. From of old, death has been the lot of all men; but if the people have no faith in their rulers, there is no standing for the state."

8 Chi Tsze-ch'ang said, "In a superior man it is only the substantial qualities which are wanted;—why should we seek for ornamental accomplishments?"

Tsze-kung said, "Alas! Your words, sir, show you to be a superior man, but four horses cannot overtake the tongue.

Ornament is as substance; substance is as ornament. The hide of a tiger or a leopard stripped of its hair, is like the hide of a dog or a goat stripped of its hair."

9 The Duke Ai inquired of Yu Zo, saying, "The year is one of scarcity, and the returns for expenditure are not sufficient;—what is to be done?"

Yu Zo replied to him, "Why not simply tithe the people?"

"With two tenths, said the duke, "I find it not enough;—how could I do with that system of one tenth?"

Yu Zo answered, "If the people have plenty, their prince will not be left to want alone. If the people are in want, their prince cannot enjoy plenty alone."

10 Tsze-chang having asked how virtue was to be exalted, and delusions to be discovered, the Master said, "Hold faithfulness and sincerity as first principles, and be moving continually to what is right;—this is the way to exalt one's virtue.

"You love a man and wish him to live; you hate him and wish him to die. Having wished him to live, you also wish him to die. This is a case of delusion.

"'It may not be on account of her being rich, yet you come to make a difference.'"

11 The Duke Ching, of Ch'i, asked Confucius about government.

Confucius replied, "There is government, when the prince is prince, and the minister is minister; when the father is father, and the son is son."

"Good!" said the duke; "if, indeed; the prince be not prince, the minister not minister, the father not father, and the son not son, although I have my revenue, can I enjoy it?"

12 The Master said, "Ah! it is Yu, who could with half a word settle litigations!"

Tsze-lu never slept over a promise.

13 The Master said, "In hearing litigations, I am like any other body. What is necessary, however, is to cause the people to have no litigations."

14 Tsze-chang asked about government. The Master said, "The art of governing is to keep its affairs before the mind without weariness, and to practise them with undeviating consistency."

15 The Master said, "By extensively studying all learning, and keeping himself under the restraint of the rules of propriety, one may thus likewise not err from what is right."

16 The Master said, "The superior man seeks to perfect the admirable qualities of men, and does not seek to perfect their bad qualities. The mean man does the opposite of this."

17 Chi K'ang asked Confucius about government. Confucius replied, "To govern means to rectify. If you lead on the people with correctness, who will dare not to be correct?"

18 Chi K'ang, distressed about the number of thieves in the state, inquired of Confucius how to do away with them. Confucius said, "If you, sir, were not covetous, although you should reward them to do it, they would not steal."

19 Chi K'ang asked Confucius about government, saying, "What do you say to killing the unprincipled for the good of the principled?" Confucius replied, "Sir, in carrying on your government, why should you use killing at all? Let your evinced desires be for what is good, and the people will be good. The relation between superiors and inferiors, is like that between the wind and the grass. The grass must bend, when the wind blows across it."

20 Tsze-chang asked, "What must the officer be, who may be said to be distinguished?"

The Master said, "What is it you call being distinguished?"

Tsze-chang replied, "It is to be heard of through the State, to be heard of throughout his clan."

The Master said, "That is notoriety, not distinction.

"Now the man of distinction is solid and straightforward, and loves righteousness. He examines people's words, and looks at their countenances. He is anxious to humble himself to others. Such a man will be distinguished in the country; he will be distinguished in his clan.

"As to the man of notoriety, he assumes the appearance of virtue, but his actions are opposed to it, and he rests in this character without any doubts about himself. Such a man will be heard of in the country; he will be heard of in the clan."

21 Fan Ch'ih rambling with the Master under the trees about the rain altars, said, "I venture to ask how to exalt virtue, to correct cherished evil, and to discover delusions."

The Master said, "Truly a good question!

"If doing what is to be done be made the first business, and success a secondary consideration;—is not this the way to exalt virtue? To assail one's own wickedness and not assail that of others;—is not this the way to correct cherished evil? For a morning's anger to disregard one's own life, and involve that of his parents;—is not this a case of delusion?"

22 Fan Ch'ih asked about benevolence. The Master said, "It is to love all men." He asked about knowledge. The Master said, "It is to know all men."

Fan Ch'ih did not immediately understand these answers.

The Master said, "Employ the upright and put aside all the crooked;—in this way the crooked can be made to be upright."

Fan Ch'ih retired, and, seeing Tsze-hsia, he said to him, "A Little while ago, I had an interview with our Master, and asked him about knowledge. He said, "Employ the upright, and put aside all the crooked;—in this way, the crooked will be made to be upright." What did he mean?"

Tsze-hsia said, "Truly rich is his saying!

"Shun, being in possession of the kingdom, selected from among all the people, and employed Kao-yao, on which all who were devoid of virtue disappeared. T'ang, being in possession of the kingdom, selected from among all the people, and employed I Yin, and all who were devoid of virtue disappeared."

23 Tsze-kung asked about friendship. The Master said, "Faithfully admonish your friend, and skillfully lead him on. If you find him impracticable, stop. Do not disgrace yourself."

24 The philosopher Tsang said, "The superior man on grounds of culture meets with his friends, and by their friendship helps his virtue."

ANALECTS CHAPTER 13. TSZE-LU.

1 Tsze-lu asked about government. The Master said, "Go before the people with your example, and be laborious in their affairs."

He requested further instruction, and was answered, "Be not weary (in these things)."

2 Chung-kung, being chief minister to the Head of the Chi family, asked about government. The Master said, "Employ first the services of your various officers, pardon small faults, and raise to office men of virtue and talents."

Chung-kung said, "How shall I know the men of virtue and talent, so that I may raise them to office?" He was answered, "Raise to office those whom you know. As to those whom you do not know, will others neglect them?"

3 Tsze-lu said, "The ruler of Wei has been waiting for you, in order with you to administer the government. What will you consider the first thing to be done?"

The Master replied, "What is necessary is to rectify names."

"So, indeed!" said Tsze-lu. "You are wide of the mark! Why must there be such rectification?"

The Master said, "How uncultivated you are, Yu! A superior man, in regard to what he does not know, shows a cautious reserve.

"If names be not correct, language is not in accordance with the truth of things. If language be not in accordance with the truth of things, affairs cannot be carried on to success.

"When affairs cannot be carried on to success, proprieties and music will not flourish. When proprieties and music do not flourish, punishments will not be properly awarded. When punishments are not properly awarded, the people do not know how to move hand or foot.

"Therefore a superior man considers it necessary that the names he uses may be spoken appropriately, and also that what he speaks may be carried out appropriately. What the superior man requires, is just that in his words there may be nothing incorrect."

4 Fan Ch'ih requested to be taught husbandry. The Master said, "I am not so good for that as an old husbandman." He requested also to be taught gardening, and was answered, "I am not so good for that as an old gardener."

Fan Ch'ih having gone out, the Master said, "A small man, indeed, is Fan Hsu!

If a superior love propriety, the people will not dare not to be reverent. If he love righteousness, the people will not dare not to submit to his example. If he love good faith, the people will not dare not to be sincere. Now, when these things obtain, the people from all quarters will come to him, bearing their children on their backs;—what need has he of a knowledge of husbandry?"

5 The Master said, "Though a man may be able to recite the three hundred odes, yet if, when intrusted with a governmental charge, he knows not how to act, or if, when sent to any quarter on a mission, he cannot give his replies unassisted, notwithstanding the extent of his learning, of what practical use is it?"

6 The Master said, "When a prince's personal conduct is correct, his government is effective without the issuing of orders. If his personal conduct is not correct, he may issue orders, but they will not be followed."

7 The Master said, "The governments of Lu and Wei are brothers."

8 The Master said of Ching, a scion of the ducal family of Wei, that he knew the economy of a family well. When he began to have means, he said, "Ha! here is a collection!" When they were a little increased, he said, "Ha! this is complete!" When he had become rich, he said, "Ha! this is admirable!"

9 When the Master went to Wei, Zan Yu acted as driver of his carriage.

The Master observed, "How numerous are the people!"

Yu said, "Since they are thus numerous, what more shall be done for them?" "Enrich them," was the reply.

"And when they have been enriched, what more shall be done?" The Master said, "Teach them."

10 The Master said, "If there were (any of the princes) who would employ me, in the course of twelve months, I should have done something considerable. In three years, the government would be perfected."

11 The Master said, "'If good men were to govern a country in succession for a hundred years, they would be able to transform the violently bad, and dispense with capital punishments.' True indeed is this saying!"

12 The Master said, "If a truly royal ruler were to arise, it would still require a generation, and then virtue would prevail."

13 The Master said, "If a minister make his own conduct correct, what difficulty will he have in assisting in government? If he cannot rectify himself, what has he to do with rectifying others?"

14 The disciple Zan returning from the court, the Master said to him, "How are you so late?" He replied, "We had government business." The Master said, "It must have been family affairs. If there had been government business, though I am not now in office, I should have been consulted about it."

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15 The Duke Ting asked whether there was a single sentence which could make a country prosperous. Confucius replied, "Such an effect cannot be expected from one sentence.

"There is a saying, however, which people have—'To be a prince is difficult; to be a minister is not easy.'

"If a ruler knows this,—the difficulty of being a prince,—may there not be expected from this one sentence the prosperity of his country?"

The duke then said, "Is there a single sentence which can ruin a country?" Confucius replied, "Such an effect as that cannot be expected from one sentence. There is, however, the saying which people have—'I have no pleasure in being a prince, but only in that no one can offer any opposition to what I say!'

"If a ruler's words be good, is it not also good that no one oppose them? But if they are not good, and no one opposes them, may there not be expected from this one sentence the ruin of his country?"

16 The Duke of Sheh asked about government.

The Master said, "Good government obtains, when those who are near are made happy, and those who are far off are attracted."

17 Tsze-hsia, being governor of Chu-fu, asked about government. The Master said, "Do not be desirous to have things done quickly; do not look at small advantages. Desire to have things done quickly prevents their being done thoroughly. Looking at small advantages prevents great affairs from being accomplished."

18 The Duke of Sheh informed Confucius, saying, "Among us here there are those who may be styled upright in their conduct. If their father have stolen a sheep, they will bear witness to the fact."

Confucius said, "Among us, in our part of the country, those who are upright are different from this. The father conceals the misconduct of the son, and the son conceals the misconduct of the father. Uprightness is to be found in this."

19 Fan Ch'ih asked about perfect virtue. The Master said, "It is, in retirement, to be sedately grave; in the management of business, to be reverently attentive; in intercourse with others, to be strictly sincere. Though a man go among rude, uncultivated tribes, these qualities may not be neglected."

20 Tsze-kung asked, saying, "What qualities must a man possess to entitle him to be called an officer? The Master said, "He who in his conduct of himself maintains a sense of shame, and when sent to any quarter will not disgrace his prince's commission, deserves to be called an officer."

Tsze-kung pursued, "I venture to ask who may be placed in the next lower rank?" And he was told, "He whom the circle of his relatives pronounce to be filial, whom his fellow-villagers and neighbours pronounce to be fraternal."

Again the disciple asked, "I venture to ask about the class still next in order." The Master said, "They are determined to be sincere in what they say, and to carry out what they do. They are obstinate little men. Yet perhaps they may make the next class."

Tsze-kung finally inquired, "Of what sort are those of the present day, who engage in government?" The Master said "Pooh! they are so many pecks and hampers, not worth being taken into account."

21 The Master said, "Since I cannot get men pursuing the due medium, to whom I might communicate my instructions, I must find the ardent and the cautiously-decided. The ardent will advance and lay hold of truth; the cautiously-decided will keep themselves from what is wrong."

22 The Master said, "The people of the south have a saying—'A man without constancy cannot be either a wizard or a doctor.' Good!

"Inconstant in his virtue, he will be visited with disgrace."

The Master said, "This arises simply from not attending to the prognostication."

23 The Master said, "The superior man is affable, but not adulatory; the mean man is adulatory, but not affable."

24 Tsze-kung asked, saying, "What do you say of a man who is loved by all the people of his neighbourhood?" The Master replied, "We may not for that accord our approval of him." "And what do you say of him who is hated by all the people of his neighbourhood?" The Master said, "We may not for that conclude that he is bad. It is better than either of these cases that the good in the neighbourhood love him, and the bad hate him."

25 The Master said, "The superior man is easy to serve and difficult to please. If you try to please him in any way which is not accordant with right, he will not be pleased. But in his employment of men, he uses them according to their capacity. The mean man is difficult to serve, and easy to please. If you try to please him, though it be in a way which is not accordant with right, he may be pleased. But in his employment of men, he wishes them to be equal to everything."

26 The Master said, "The superior man has a dignified ease without pride. The mean man has pride without a dignified ease."

27 The Master said, "The firm, the enduring, the simple, and the modest are near to virtue."

28 Tsze-lu asked, saying, "What qualities must a man possess to entitle him to be called a scholar?" The Master said, "He must be thus,—earnest, urgent, and bland:—among his friends, earnest and urgent; among his brethren, bland."

29 The Master said, "Let a good man teach the people seven years, and they may then likewise be employed in war."

30 The Master said, "To lead an uninstructed people to war, is to throw them away."

ANALECTS CHAPTER 14. HSIEN WAN.

1 Hsien asked what was shameful. The Master said, "When good government prevails in a state, to be thinking only of salary; and, when bad government prevails, to be thinking, in the same way, only of salary;—this is shameful."

2 "When the love of superiority, boasting, resentments, and covetousness are repressed, this may be deemed perfect virtue."

The Master said, "This may be regarded as the achievement of what is difficult. But I do not know that it is to be deemed perfect virtue."

3 The Master said, "The scholar who cherishes the love of comfort is not fit to be deemed a scholar."

4 The Master said, "When good government prevails in a state, language may be lofty and bold, and actions the same. When bad government prevails, the actions may be lofty and bold, but the language may be with some reserve."

5 The Master said, "The virtuous will be sure to speak correctly, but those whose speech is good may not always be virtuous. Men of principle are sure to be bold, but those who are bold may not always be men of principle."

6 Nan-kung Kwo, submitting an inquiry to Confucius, said, "I was skillful at archery, and Ao could move a boat along upon the land, but neither of them died a natural death. Yu and Chi personally wrought at the toils of husbandry, and they became possessors of the kingdom." The Master made no reply; but when Nan-kung Kwo went out, he said, "A superior man indeed is this! An esteemer of virtue indeed is this!"

7 The Master said, "Superior men, and yet not always virtuous, there have been, alas! But there never has been a mean man, and, at the same time, virtuous."

8 The Master said, "Can there be love which does not lead to strictness with its object? Can there be loyalty which does not lead to the instruction of its object?"

9 The Master said, "In preparing the governmental notifications, P'i Shan first made the rough draught; Shi-shu examined and discussed its contents; Tsze-yu, the manager of Foreign intercourse, then polished the style; and, finally, Tsze-ch'an of Tung-li gave it the proper elegance and finish."

10 Some one asked about Tsze-ch'an. The Master said, "He was a kind man."

He asked about Tsze-hsi. The Master said, "That man! That man!"

He asked about Kwan Chung. "For him," said the Master, "the city of Pien, with three hundred families, was taken from the chief of the Po family, who did not utter a murmuring word, though, to the end of his life, he had only coarse rice to eat."

11 The Master said, "To be poor without murmuring is difficult. To be rich without being proud is easy."

12 The Master said, "Mang Kung-ch'o is more than fit to be chief officer in the families of Chao and Wei, but he is not fit to be great officer to either of the States Tang or Hsieh."

13 Tsze-lu asked what constituted a complete man. The Master said, "Suppose a man with the knowledge of Tsang Wu-chung, the freedom from covetousness of Kung-ch'o, the bravery of Chwang of Pien, and the varied talents of Zan Ch'iu; add to these the accomplishments of the rules of propriety and music:—such a one might be reckoned a complete man."

He then added, "But what is the necessity for a complete man of the present day to have all these things? The man, who in the view of gain, thinks of righteousness; who in the view of danger is prepared to give up his life; and who does not forget an old agreement however far back it extends:—such a man may be reckoned a complete man."

14 The Master asked Kung-ming Chia about Kung-shu Wan, saying, "Is it true that your master speaks not, laughs not, and takes not?"

Kung-ming Chia replied, "This has arisen from the reporters going beyond the truth.—My master speaks when it is the time to speak, and so men do not get tired of his speaking. He laughs when there is occasion to be joyful, and so men do not get tired of his laughing. He takes when it is consistent with righteousness to do so, and so men do not get tired of his taking." The Master said, "So! But is it so with him?"

15 The Master said, "Tsang Wu-chung, keeping possession of Fang, asked of the duke of Lu to appoint a successor to him in his family. Although it may be said that he was not using force with his sovereign, I believe he was."

16 The Master said, "The duke Wan of Tsin was crafty and not upright. The duke Hwan of Ch'i was upright and not crafty."

17 Tsze-lu said, "The Duke Hwan caused his brother Chiu to be killed, when Shao Hu died with his master, but Kwan Chung did not die. May not I say that he was wanting in virtue?"

The Master said, "The Duke Hwan assembled all the princes together, and that not with weapons of war and chariots:—it was all through the influence of Kwan Chung. Whose beneficence was like his? Whose beneficence was like his?"

18 Tsze-kung said, "Kwan Chung, I apprehend, was wanting in virtue. When the Duke Hwan caused his brother Chiu to be killed, Kwan Chung was not able to die with him. Moreover, he became prime minister to Hwan."

The Master said, "Kwan Chung acted as prime minister to the Duke Hwan, made him leader of all the princes, and united and rectified the whole kingdom. Down to the present day, the people enjoy the gifts which he conferred. But for Kwan Chung, we should now be wearing our hair unbound, and the lappets of our coats buttoning on the left side.

"Will you require from him the small fidelity of common men and common women, who would commit suicide in a stream or ditch, no one knowing anything about them?"

19 The great officer, Hsien, who had been family-minister to Kung-shu Wan, ascended to the prince's court in company with Wan.

The Master, having heard of it, said, "He deserved to be considered wan (the accomplished)."

20 The Master was speaking about the unprincipled course of the duke Ling of Wei, when Ch'i K'ang said, "Since he is of such a character, how is it he does not lose his State?"

Confucius said, "The Chung-shu Yu has the superintendence of his guests and of strangers; the litanist, T'o, has the management of his ancestral temple; and Wang-sun Chia has the direction of the army and forces:—with such officers as these, how should he lose his State?"

21 The Master said, "He who speaks without modesty will find it difficult to make his words good."

22 Chan Ch'ang murdered the Duke Chien of Ch'i.

Confucius bathed, went to court, and informed the duke Ai, saying, "Chan Hang has slain his sovereign. I beg that you will undertake to punish him."

The duke said, "Inform the chiefs of the three families of it."

Confucius retired, and said, "Following in the rear of the great officers, I did not dare not to represent such a matter, and my prince says, 'Inform the chiefs of the three families of it.'"

He went to the chiefs, and informed them, but they would not act. Confucius then said, "Following in the rear of the great officers, I did not dare not to represent such a matter."

23 Tsze-lu asked how a ruler should be served. The Master said, "Do not impose on him, and, moreover, withstand him to his face."

24 The Master said, "The progress of the superior man is upwards; the progress of the mean man is downwards."

25 The Master said, "In ancient times, men learned with a view to their own improvement. Now-a-days, men learn with a view to the approbation of others."

26 Chu Po-yu sent a messenger with friendly inquiries to Confucius.

Confucius sat with him, and questioned him. "What," said he, "is your master engaged in?" The messenger replied, "My master is anxious to make his faults few, but he has not yet succeeded." He then went out, and the Master said, "A messenger indeed! A messenger indeed!"

27 The Master said, "He who is not in any particular office, has nothing to do with plans for the administration of its duties."

28 The philosopher Tsang said, "The superior man, in his thoughts, does not go out of his place."

29 The Master said, "The superior man is modest in his speech, but exceeds in his actions."

30 The Master said, "The way of the superior man is threefold, but I am not equal to it. Virtuous, he is free from anxieties; wise, he is free from perplexities; bold, he is free from fear.

Tsze-kung said, "Master, that is what you yourself say."

31 Tsze-kung was in the habit of comparing men together. The Master said, "Tsze must have reached a high pitch of excellence! Now, I have not leisure for this."

32 The Master said, "I will not be concerned at men's not knowing me; I will be concerned at my own want of ability."

33 The Master said, "He who does not anticipate attempts to deceive him, nor think beforehand of his not being believed, and yet apprehends these things readily (when they occur);—is he not a man of superior worth?"

34 Wei-shang Mau said to Confucius, "Ch'iu, how is it that you keep roosting about? Is it not that you are an insinuating talker?"

Confucius said, "I do not dare to play the part of such a talker, but I hate obstinacy."

35 The Master said, "A horse is called a ch'i, not because of its strength, but because of its other good qualities."

36 Some one said, "What do you say concerning the principle that injury should be recompensed with kindness?"

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The Master said, "With what then will you recompense kindness?

"Recompense injury with justice, and recompense kindness with kindness."

37 The Master said, "Alas! there is no one that knows me."

Tsze-kung said, "What do you mean by thus saying—that no one knows you?" The Master replied, "I do not murmur against

Heaven. I do not grumble against men. My studies lie low, and my penetration rises high. But there is Heaven;—that knows me!"

38 The Kung-po Liao, having slandered Tsze-lu to Chi-sun, Tsze-fu Ching-po informed Confucius of it, saying, "Our master is certainly being led astray by the Kung-po Liao, but I have still power enough left to cut Liao off, and expose his corpse in the market and in the court."

The Master said, "If my principles are to advance, it is so ordered. If they are to fall to the ground, it is so ordered. What can the Kung-po Liao do where such ordering is concerned?"

39 The Master said, "Some men of worth retire from the world.

Some retire from particular states.

Some retire because of disrespectful looks.

Some retire because of contradictory language."

40 The Master said, "Those who have done this are seven men."

41 Tsze-lu happening to pass the night in Shih-man, the gatekeeper said to him, "Whom do you come from?" Tsze-lu said, "From Mr. K'ung." "It is he,—is it not?"—said the other, "who knows the impracticable nature of the times and yet will be doing in them."

42 The Master was playing, one day, on a musical stone in Wei, when a man, carrying a straw basket, passed the door of the house where Confucius was, and said, "His heart is full who so beats the musical stone."

A little while after, he added, "How contemptible is the one-ideaed obstinacy those sounds display! When one is taken no notice of, he has simply at once to give over his wish for public employment. 'Deep water must be crossed with the clothes on; shallow water may be crossed with the clothes held up.'"

The Master said, "How determined is he in his purpose! But this is not difficult!"

43 Tsze-chang said, "What is meant when the Shu says that Kao-tsung, while observing the usual imperial mourning, was for three years without speaking?"

The Master said, "Why must Kao-tsung be referred to as an example of this? The ancients all did so. When the sovereign died, the officers all attended to their several duties, taking instructions from the prime minister for three years."

44 The Master said, "When rulers love to observe the rules of propriety, the people respond readily to the calls on them for service."

45 Tsze-lu asked what constituted the superior man. The Master said, "The cultivation of himself in reverential carefulness." "And is this all?" said Tsze-lu. "He cultivates himself so as to give rest to others," was the reply. "And is this all?" again asked Tsze-lu. The Master said, "He cultivates himself so as to give rest to all the people. He cultivates himself so as to give rest to all the people:—even Yao and Shun were still solicitous about this."

46 Yuan Zang was squatting on his heels, and so waited the approach of the Master, who said to him, "In youth not humble as befits a junior; in manhood, doing nothing worthy of being handed down; and living on to old age:—this is to be a pest." With this he hit him on the shank with his staff.

47 A youth of the village of Ch'ueh was employed by Confucius to carry the messages between him and his visitors. Some one asked about him, saying, "I suppose he has made great progress."

The Master said, "I observe that he is fond of occupying the seat of a full-grown man; I observe that he walks shoulder to shoulder with his elders. He is not one who is seeking to make progress in learning. He wishes quickly to become a man."

ANALECTS CHAPTER 15. WEI LING KUNG.

1 The Duke Ling of Wei asked Confucius about tactics. Confucius replied, "I have heard all about sacrificial vessels, but I have not learned military matters." On this, he took his departure the next day.

When he was in Chan, their provisions were exhausted, and his followers became so ill that they were unable to rise.

Tsze-lu, with evident dissatisfaction, said, "Has the superior man likewise to endure in this way?" The Master said, "The superior man may indeed have to endure want, but the mean man, when he is in want, gives way to unbridled license."

2 The Master said, "Ts'ze, you think, I suppose, that I am one who learns many things and keeps them in memory?"

Tsze-kung replied, "Yes,—but perhaps it is not so?"

"No," was the answer; "I seek a unity all-pervading."

3 The Master said, "Yu, those who know virtue are few."

4 The Master said, "May not Shun be instanced as having governed efficiently without exertion? What did he do? He did nothing but gravely and reverently occupy his royal seat."

5 Tsze-chang asked how a man should conduct himself, so as to be everywhere appreciated.

The Master said, "Let his words be sincere and truthful, and his actions honourable and careful;—such conduct may be practised among the rude tribes of the South or the North. If his words be not sincere and truthful and his actions not honourable and careful, will he, with such conduct, be appreciated, even in his neighbourhood?

"When he is standing, let him see those two things, as it were, fronting him. When he is in a carriage, let him see them attached to the yoke. Then may he subsequently carry them into practice."

Tsze-chang wrote these counsels on the end of his sash.

6 The Master said, "Truly straightforward was the historiographer Yu. When good government prevailed in his State, he was like an arrow. When bad government prevailed, he was like an arrow.

A superior man indeed is Chu Po-yu! When good government prevails in his state, he is to be found in office. When bad government prevails, he can roll his principles up, and keep them in his breast."

7 The Master said, "When a man may be spoken with, not to speak to him is to err in reference to the man. When a man may not be spoken with, to speak to him is to err in reference to our words. The wise err neither in regard to their man nor to their words."

8 The Master said, "The determined scholar and the man of virtue will not seek to live at the expense of injuring their virtue. They will even sacrifice their lives to preserve their virtue complete."

9 Tsze-kung asked about the practice of virtue. The Master said, "The mechanic, who wishes to do his work well, must first sharpen his tools. When you are living in any state, take service with the most worthy among its great officers, and make friends of the most virtuous among its scholars."

10 Yen Yuan asked how the government of a country should be administered.

The Master said, "Follow the seasons of Hsia.

"Ride in the state carriage of Yin.

"Wear the ceremonial cap of Chau.

"Let the music be the Shao with its pantomimes.

Banish the songs of Chang, and keep far from specious talkers. The songs of Chang are licentious; specious talkers are dangerous."

11 The Master said, "If a man take no thought about what is distant, he will find sorrow near at hand."

12 The Master said, "It is all over! I have not seen one who loves virtue as he loves beauty."

13 The Master said, "Was not Tsang Wan like one who had stolen his situation? He knew the virtue and the talents of Hui of Liu-hsia, and yet did not procure that he should stand with him in court."

14 The Master said, "He who requires much from himself and little from others, will keep himself from being the object of resentment."

15 The Master said, "When a man is not in the habit of saying—'What shall I think of this? What shall I think of this?' I can indeed do nothing with him!"

16 The Master said, "When a number of people are together, for a whole day, without their conversation turning on righteousness, and when they are fond of carrying out the suggestions of a small shrewdness;—theirs is indeed a hard case."

17 The Master said, "The superior man in everything considers righteousness to be essential. He performs it according to the rules of propriety. He brings it forth in humility. He completes it with sincerity. This is indeed a superior man."

18 The Master said, "The superior man is distressed by his want of ability. He is not distressed by men's not knowing him."

19 The Master said, "The superior man dislikes the thought of his name not being mentioned after his death."

20 The Master said, "What the superior man seeks, is in himself. What the mean man seeks, is in others."

21 The Master said, "The superior man is dignified, but does not wrangle. He is sociable, but not a partizan."

22 The Master said, "The superior man does not promote a man simply on account of his words, nor does he put aside good words because of the man."

23 Tsze-kung asked, saying, "Is there one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one's life?" The Master said, "Is not reciprocity such a word? What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others."

24 The Master said, "In my dealings with men, whose evil do I blame, whose goodness do I praise, beyond what is proper? If I do sometimes exceed in praise, there must be ground for it in my examination of the individual.

"This people supplied the ground why the three dynasties pursued the path of straightforwardness."

25 The Master said, "Even in my early days, a historiographer would leave a blank in his text, and he who had a horse would lend him to another to ride. Now, alas! there are no such things."

26 The Master said, "Specious words confound virtue. Want of forbearance in small matters confounds great plans."

27 The Master said, "When the multitude hate a man, it is necessary to examine into the case. When the multitude like a man, it is necessary to examine into the case."

28 The Master said, "A man can enlarge the principles which he follows; those principles do not enlarge the man."

29 The Master said, "To have faults and not to reform them,—this, indeed, should be pronounced having faults."

30 The Master said, "I have been the whole day without eating, and the whole night without sleeping:—occupied with thinking. It was of no use. The better plan is to learn."

31 The Master said, "The object of the superior man is truth. Food is not his object. There is plowing;—even in that there is sometimes want. So with learning;—emolument may be found in it. The superior man is anxious lest he should not get truth; he is not anxious lest poverty should come upon him."

32 The Master said, "When a man's knowledge is sufficient to attain, and his virtue is not sufficient to enable him to hold, whatever he may have gained, he will lose again.

"When his knowledge is sufficient to attain, and he has virtue enough to hold fast, if he cannot govern with dignity, the people will not respect him.

"When his knowledge is sufficient to attain, and he has virtue enough to hold fast; when he governs also with dignity, yet if he try to move the people contrary to the rules of propriety:—full excellence is not reached."

33 The Master said, "The superior man cannot be known in little matters; but he may be intrusted with great concerns. The small man may not be intrusted with great concerns, but he may be known in little matters."

34 The Master said, "Virtue is more to man than either water or fire. I have seen men die from treading on water and fire, but I have never seen a man die from treading the course of virtue."

35 The Master said, "Let every man consider virtue as what devolves on himself. He may not yield the performance of it even to his teacher."

36 The Master said, "The superior man is correctly firm, and not firm merely."

37 The Master said, "A minister, in serving his prince, reverently discharges his duties, and makes his emolument a secondary consideration."

38 The Master said, "In teaching there should be no distinction of classes."

39 The Master said, "Those whose courses are different cannot lay plans for one another."

40 The Master said, "In language it is simply required that it convey the meaning."

41 The Music-master, Mien, having called upon him, when they came to the steps, the Master said, "Here are the steps." When they came to the mat for the guest to sit upon, he said, "Here is the mat." When all were seated, the Master informed him, saying, "So and so is here; so and so is here."

The Music-master, Mien, having gone out, Tsze-chang asked, saying. "Is it the rule to tell those things to the Music-master?"

The Master said, "Yes. This is certainly the rule for those who lead the blind."

ANALECTS CHAPTER 16. KE SHE.

1 The head of the Chi family was going to attack Chwan-yu.

Zan Yu and Chi-lu had an interview with Confucius, and said, "Our chief, Chi, is going to commence operations against Chwan-yu."

Confucius said, "Ch'iu, is it not you who are in fault here?

"Now, in regard to Chwan-yu, long ago, a former king appointed its ruler to preside over the sacrifices to the eastern Mang; moreover, it is in the midst of the territory of our State; and its ruler is a minister in direct connexion with the sovereign:—What has your chief to do with attacking it?"

Zan Yu said, "Our master wishes the thing; neither of us two ministers wishes it."

Confucius said, "Ch'iu, there are the words of Chau Zan,—'When he can put forth his ability, he takes his place in the ranks of office; when he finds himself unable to do so, he retires from it. How can he be used as a guide to a blind man, who does not support him when tottering, nor raise him up when fallen?'

"And further, you speak wrongly. When a tiger or rhinoceros escapes from his cage; when a tortoise or piece of jade is injured in its repository:—whose is the fault?"

Zan Yu said, "But at present, Chwan-yu is strong and near to Pi; if our chief do not now take it, it will hereafter be a sorrow to his descendants."

Confucius said. "Ch'iu, the superior man hates that declining to say—'I want such and such a thing,' and framing explanations for the conduct.

"I have heard that rulers of States and chiefs of families are not troubled lest their people should be few, but are troubled

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lest they should not keep their several places; that they are not troubled with fears of poverty, but are troubled with fears of a want of contented repose among the people in their several places. For when the people keep their several places, there will be no poverty; when harmony prevails, there will be no scarcity of people; and when there is such a contented repose, there will be no rebellious upsettings.

"So it is.—Therefore, if remoter people are not submissive, all the influences of civil culture and virtue are to be cultivated to attract them to be so; and when they have been so attracted, they must be made contented and tranquil.

"Now, here are you, Yu and Ch'iu, assisting your chief. Remoter people are not submissive, and, with your help, he cannot attract them to him. In his own territory there are divisions and downfalls, leavings and separations, and, with your help, he cannot preserve it.

"And yet he is planning these hostile movements within the State.—I am afraid that the sorrow of the Chi-sun family will not be on account of Chwan-yu, but will be found within the screen of their own court."

2. Confucius said, "When good government prevails in the empire, ceremonies, music, and punitive military expeditions proceed from the son of Heaven. When bad government prevails in the empire, ceremonies, music, and punitive military expeditions proceed from the princes. When these things proceed from the princes, as a rule, the cases will be few in which they do not lose their power in ten generations. When they proceed from the Great officers of the princes, as a rule, the cases will be few in which they do not lose their power in five generations. When the subsidiary ministers of the great officers hold in their grasp the orders of the state, as a rule, the cases will be few in which they do not lose their power in three generations.

"When right principles prevail in the kingdom, government will not be in the hands of the Great officers.

"When right principles prevail in the kingdom, there will be no discussions among the common people."

3 Confucius said, "The revenue of the state has left the ducal House now for five generations. The government has been in the hands of the Great officers for four generations. On this account, the descendants of the three Hwan are much reduced."

4 Confucius said, "There are three friendships which are advantageous, and three which are injurious. Friendship with the upright; friendship with the sincere; and friendship with the man of much observation:—these are advantageous. Friendship with the man of specious airs; friendship with the insinuatingly soft; and friendship with the glib-tongued:—these are injurious."

5 Confucius said, "There are three things men find enjoyment in which are advantageous, and three things they find enjoyment in which are injurious. To find enjoyment in the discriminating study of ceremonies and music; to find enjoyment in speaking of the goodness of others; to find enjoyment in having many worthy friends:—these are advantageous. To find enjoyment in extravagant pleasures; to find enjoyment in idleness and sauntering; to find enjoyment in the pleasures of feasting:—these are injurious."

6 Confucius said, "There are three errors to which they who stand in the presence of a man of virtue and station are liable. They may speak when it does not come to them to speak;—this is called rashness. They may not speak when it comes to them to speak;—this is called concealment. They may speak without looking at the countenance of their superior;—this is called blindness."

7 Confucius said, "There are three things which the superior man guards against. In youth, when the physical powers are not yet settled, he guards against lust. When he is strong and the physical powers are full of vigor, he guards against quarrelsomeness. When he is old, and the animal powers are decayed, he guards against covetousness."

8 Confucius said, "There are three things of which the superior man stands in awe. He stands in awe of the ordinances of Heaven. He stands in awe of great men. He stands in awe of the words of sages.

"The mean man does not know the ordinances of Heaven, and consequently does not stand in awe of them. He is disrespectful to great men. He makes sport of the words of sages."

9 Confucius said, "Those who are born with the possession of knowledge are the highest class of men. Those who learn, and so, readily, get possession of knowledge, are the next.

Those who are dull and stupid, and yet compass the learning, are another class next to these. As to those who are dull and stupid and yet do not learn;—they are the lowest of the people."

10 Confucius said, "The superior man has nine things which are subjects with him of thoughtful consideration. In regard to the use of his eyes, he is anxious to see clearly. In regard to the use of his ears, he is anxious to hear distinctly. In regard to his countenance, he is anxious that it should be benign. In regard to his demeanor, he is anxious that it should be respectful. In regard to his speech, he is anxious that it should be sincere. In regard to his doing of business, he is anxious that it should be reverently careful. In regard to what he doubts about, he is anxious to question others. When he is angry, he thinks of the difficulties (his anger may involve him in). When he sees gain to be got, he thinks of righteousness."

11 Confucius said, "Contemplating good, and pursuing it, as if they could not reach it; contemplating evil, and shrinking from it, as they would from thrusting the hand into boiling water:—I have seen such men, as I have heard such words.

"Living in retirement to study their aims, and practising righteousness to carry out their principles:—I have heard these words, but I have not seen such men."

12 The duke Ching of Ch'i had a thousand teams, each of four horses, but on the day of his death, the people did not praise him for a single virtue. Po-i and Shu-ch'i died of hunger at the foot of the Shau-yang mountain, and the people, down to the present time, praise them.

"Is not that saying illustrated by this?"

13 Ch'an K'ang asked Po-yu, saying, "Have you heard any lessons from your father different from what we have all heard?"

Po-yu replied, "No. He was standing alone once, when I passed below the hall with hasty steps, and said to me, 'Have you learned the Odes?' On my replying 'Not yet,' he added, 'If you do not learn the Odes, you will not be fit to converse with.' I retired and studied the Odes.

"Another day, he was in the same way standing alone, when I passed by below the hall with hasty steps, and said to me, "Have you learned the rules of Propriety?" On my replying "Not yet," he added, "If you do not learn the rules of Propriety, your character cannot be established." I then retired, and learned the rules of Propriety.

"I have heard only these two things from him."

Ch'ang K'ang retired, and, quite delighted, said, "I asked one thing, and I have got three things. I have heard about the Odes. I have heard about the rules of Propriety. I have also heard that the superior man maintains a distant reserve towards his son."

14 The wife of the prince of a state is called by him fu zan. She calls herself hsiao t'ung. The people of the State call her chun fu zan, and, to the people of other States, they call her k'wa hsiao chun. The people of other states also call her chun fu zan.

ANALECTS CHAPTER 17. YANG HO.

1 Yang Ho wished to see Confucius, but Confucius would not go to see him. On this, he sent a present of a pig to Confucius, who, having chosen a time when Ho was not at home, went to pay his respects for the gift. He met him, however, on the way.

Ho said to Confucius, "Come, let me speak with you." He then asked, "Can he be called benevolent who keeps his jewel in his bosom, and leaves his country to confusion?" Confucius replied, "No." "Can he be called wise, who is anxious to be engaged in public employment, and yet is constantly losing the opportunity of being so?" Confucius again said, "No." "The days and months are passing away; the years do not wait for us." Confucius said, "Right; I will go into office."

2 The Master said, "By nature, men are nearly alike; by practice, they get to be wide apart."

3 The Master said, "There are only the wise of the highest class, and the stupid of the lowest class, who cannot be changed."

4 The Master, having come to Wu-ch'ang, heard there the sound of stringed instruments and singing.

Well pleased and smiling, he said, "Why use an ox knife to kill a fowl?"

Tsze-yu replied, "Formerly, Master, I heard you say,—'When the man of high station is well instructed, he loves men; when the man of low station is well instructed, he is easily ruled.'"

The Master said, "My disciples, Yen's words are right. What I said was only in sport."

5 Kung-shan Fu-zao, when he was holding Pi, and in an attitude of rebellion, invited the Master to visit him, who was rather inclined to go.

Tsze-lu was displeased, and said, "Indeed, you cannot go! Why must you think of going to see Kung-shan?"

The Master said, "Can it be without some reason that he has invited me? If any one employ me, may I not make an eastern Chau?"

6 Tsze-chang asked Confucius about perfect virtue. Confucius said, "To be able to practise five things everywhere under heaven constitutes perfect virtue." He begged to ask what they were, and was told, "Gravity, generosity of soul, sincerity, earnestness, and kindness. If you are grave, you will not be treated with disrespect. If you are generous, you will win all. If you are sincere, people will repose trust in you. If you are earnest, you will accomplish much. If you are kind, this will enable you to employ the services of others.

7 Pi Hsi inviting him to visit him, the Master was inclined to go.

Tsze-lu said, "Master, formerly I have heard you say, 'When a man in his own person is guilty of doing evil, a superior man will not associate with him.' Pi Hsi is in rebellion, holding possession of Chung-mau; if you go to him, what shall be said?"

The Master said, "Yes, I did use these words. But is it not said, that, if a thing be really hard, it may be ground without being made thin? Is it not said, that, if a thing be really white, it may be steeped in a dark fluid without being made black?

"Am I a bitter gourd! How can I be hung up out of the way of being eaten?"

8 The Master said, "Yu, have you heard the six words to which are attached six becloudings?" Yu replied, "I have not."

"Sit down, and I will tell them to you.

"There is the love of being benevolent without the love of learning;—the beclouding here leads to a foolish simplicity. There is the love of knowing without the love of learning;—the beclouding here leads to dissipation of mind. There is the love of being sincere without the love of learning;—the beclouding here leads to an injurious disregard of consequences. There is the love of straightforwardness without the love of learning;—the beclouding here leads to rudeness. There is the love of boldness without the love of learning;—the beclouding here leads to insubordination. There is the love of firmness without the love of learning;—the beclouding here leads to extravagant conduct."

9 The Master said, "My children, why do you not study the Book of Poetry?

"The Odes serve to stimulate the mind.

"They may be used for purposes of self-contemplation.

"They teach the art of sociability.

"They show how to regulate feelings of resentment.

"From them you learn the more immediate duty of serving one's father, and the remoter one of serving one's prince.

"From them we become largely acquainted with the names of birds, beasts, and plants."

10 The Master said to Po-yu, "Do you give yourself to the Chau-nan and the Shao-nan. The man who has not studied the Chau-nan and the Shao-nan, is like one who stands with his face right against a wall. Is he not so?"

11 The Master said, "'It is according to the rules of propriety,' they say.—'It is according to the rules of propriety,' they say. Are gems and silk all that is meant by propriety? 'It is music,' they say.—'It is music,' they say. Are bells and drums all that is meant by music?"

12 The Master said, "He who puts on an appearance of stern firmness, while inwardly he is weak, is like one of the small, mean people;—yea, is he not like the thief who breaks through, or climbs over, a wall?"

13 The Master said, "Your good, careful people of the villages are the thieves of virtue."

14 The Master said, "To tell, as we go along, what we have heard on the way, is to cast away our virtue."

15 The Master said, "There are those mean creatures! How impossible it is along with them to serve one's prince!

"While they have not got their aims, their anxiety is how to get them. When they have got them, their anxiety is lest they should lose them.

"When they are anxious lest such things should be lost, there is nothing to which they will not proceed."

16 The Master said, "Anciently, men had three failings, which now perhaps are not to be found.

"The high-mindedness of antiquity showed itself in a disregard of small things; the high-mindedness of the present day shows itself in wild license. The stern dignity of antiquity showed itself in grave reserve; the stern dignity of the present day shows itself in quarrelsome perverseness. The stupidity of antiquity showed itself in straightforwardness; the stupidity of the present day shows itself in sheer deceit."

17 The Master said, "Fine words and an insinuating appearance are seldom associated with virtue."

18 The Master said, "I hate the manner in which purple takes away the luster of vermilion. I hate the way in which the songs of Chang confound the music of the Ya. I hate those who with their sharp mouths overthrow kingdoms and families."

19 The Master said, "I would prefer not speaking."

Tsze-kung said, "If you, Master, do not speak, what shall we, your disciples, have to record?"

The Master said, "Does Heaven speak? The four seasons pursue their courses, and all things are continually being produced, but does Heaven say anything?"

20 Zu Pei wished to see Confucius, but Confucius declined, on the ground of being sick, to see him. When the bearer of this message went out at the door, (the Master) took his lute and sang to it, in order that Pei might hear him.

21 Tsai Wo asked about the three years" mourning for parents, saying that one year was long enough.

"If the superior man," said he, "abstains for three years from the observances of propriety, those observances will be quite lost. If for three years he abstains from music, music will be ruined.

"Within a year the old grain is exhausted, and the new grain has sprung up, and, in procuring fire by friction, we go through all the changes of wood for that purpose. After a complete year, the mourning may stop."

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The Master said, "If you were, after a year, to eat good rice, and wear embroidered clothes, would you feel at ease?" "I should," replied Wo.

The Master said, "If you can feel at ease, do it. But a superior man, during the whole period of mourning, does not enjoy pleasant food which he may eat, nor derive pleasure from music which he may hear. He also does not feel at ease, if he is comfortably lodged. Therefore he does not do what you propose. But now you feel at ease and may do it."

Tsai Wo then went out, and the Master said, "This shows Yu's want of virtue. It is not till a child is three years old that it is allowed to leave the arms of its parents. And the three years" mourning is universally observed throughout the empire. Did Yu enjoy the three years" love of his parents?"

22 The Master said, "Hard is it to deal with him, who will stuff himself with food the whole day, without applying his mind to anything good! Are there not gamesters and chess players? To be one of these would still be better than doing nothing at all."

23 Tsze-lu said, "Does the superior man esteem valour?" The Master said, "The superior man holds righteousness to be of highest importance. A man in a superior situation, having valour without righteousness, will be guilty of insubordination; one of the lower people having valour without righteousness, will commit robbery."

24 Tsze-kung said, "Has the superior man his hatreds also?" The Master said, "He has his hatreds. He hates those who proclaim the evil of others. He hates the man who, being in a low station, slanders his superiors. He hates those who have valour merely, and are unobservant of propriety. He hates those who are forward and determined, and, at the same time, of contracted understanding."

The Master then inquired, "Ts'ze, have you also your hatreds?" Tsze-kung replied, "I hate those who pry out matters, and ascribe the knowledge to their wisdom. I hate those who are only not modest, and think that they are valourous. I hate those who make known secrets, and think that they are straightforward."

25 The Master said, "Of all people, girls and servants are the most difficult to behave to. If you are familiar with them, they lose their humility. If you maintain a reserve towards them, they are discontented."

26 The Master said, "When a man at forty is the object of dislike, he will always continue what he is."

ANALECTS CHAPTER 18. WEI TSZE.

1 The Viscount of Wei withdrew from the court. The Viscount of Chi became a slave to Chau. Pi-kan remonstrated with him and died.

Confucius said, "The Yin dynasty possessed these three men of virtue."

2 Hui of Liu-hsia being chief criminal judge, was thrice dismissed from his office. Some one said to him, "Is it not yet time for you, sir, to leave this?" He replied, "Serving men in an upright way, where shall I go to, and not experience such a thrice-repeated dismissal? If I choose to serve men in a crooked way, what necessity is there for me to leave the country of my parents?"

3 The duke Ching of Ch'i, with reference to the manner in which he should treat Confucius, said, "I cannot treat him as I would the chief of the Chi family. I will treat him in a manner between that accorded to the chief of the Chi, and that given to the chief of the Mang family." He also said, "I am old; I cannot use his doctrines." Confucius took his departure.

4 The people of Ch'i sent to Lu a present of female musicians, which Chi Hwan received, and for three days no court was held. Confucius took his departure.

5 The madman of Ch'u, Chieh-yu, passed by Confucius, singing and saying, "o fang! o fang! How is your virtue degenerated! As to the past, reproof is useless; but the future may still be provided against. Give up your vain pursuit. Give up your vain pursuit. Peril awaits those who now engage in affairs of government."

Confucius alighted and wished to converse with him, but Chieh-yu hastened away, so that he could not talk with him.

6 Ch'ang-tsu and Chieh-ni were at work in the field together, when Confucius passed by them, and sent Tsze-lu to inquire for the ford.

Ch'ang-tsu said, "Who is he that holds the reins in the carriage there?" Tsze-lu told him, "It is K'ung Ch'iu." "Is it not K'ung Ch'iu of Lu?" asked he. "Yes," was the reply, to which the other rejoined, "He knows the ford."

Tsze-lu then inquired of Chieh-ni, who said to him, "Who are you, sir?" He answered, "I am Chung Yu." "Are you not the disciple of K'ung Ch'iu of Lu?" asked the other. "I am," replied he, and then Chieh-ni said to him, "Disorder, like a swelling flood, spreads over the whole empire, and who is he that will change its state for you? Than follow one who merely withdraws from this one and that one, had you not better follow those who have withdrawn from the world altogether?" With this he fell to covering up the seed, and proceeded with his work, without stopping.

Tsze-lu went and reported their remarks, when the Master observed with a sigh, "It is impossible to associate with birds and beasts, as if they were the same with us. If I associate not with these people,—with mankind,—with whom shall I associate? If right principles prevailed through the empire, there would be no use for me to change its state."

7 Tsze-lu, following the Master, happened to fall behind, when he met an old man, carrying across his shoulder on a staff a basket for weeds. Tsze-lu said to him, "Have you seen my master, sir!" The old man replied, "Your four limbs are unaccustomed to toil; you cannot distinguish the five kinds of grain:—who is your master?" With this, he planted his staff in the ground, and proceeded to weed.

Tsze-lu joined his hands across his breast, and stood before him.

The old man kept Tsze-lu to pass the night in his house, killed a fowl, prepared millet, and feasted him. He also introduced to him his two sons.

Next day, Tsze-lu went on his way, and reported his adventure. The Master said, "He is a recluse," and sent Tsze-lu back to see him again, but when he got to the place, the old man was gone.

Tsze-lu then said to the family, "Not to take office is not righteous. If the relations between old and young may not be neglected, how is it that he sets aside the duties that should be observed between sovereign and minister? Wishing to maintain his personal purity, he allows that great relation to come to confusion. A superior man takes office, and performs the righteous duties belonging to it. As to the failure of right principles to make progress, he is aware of that."

8 The men who have retired to privacy from the world have been Po-i, Shu-ch'i, Yu-chung, I-yi, Chu-chang, Hui of Liu-hsia, and Shao-lien.

The Master said, "Refusing to surrender their wills, or to submit to any taint in their persons;—such, I think, were Po-i and Shu-ch'i.

"It may be said of Hui of Liu-hsia, and of Shao-lien, that they surrendered their wills, and submitted to taint in their persons, but their words corresponded with reason, and their actions were such as men are anxious to see. This is all that is to be remarked in them.

"It may be said of Yu-chung and I-yi, that, while they hid themselves in their seclusion, they gave a license to their words; but, in their persons, they succeeded in preserving their purity, and, in their retirement, they acted according to the exigency of the times.

"I am different from all these. I have no course for which I am predetermined, and no course against which I am predetermined."

9 The grand music master, Chih, went to Ch'i.Kan, the master of the band at the second meal, went to Ch'u. Liao, the band master at the third meal, went to Ts'ai. Chueh, the band master at the fourth meal, went to Ch'in.

Fang-shu, the drum master, withdrew to the north of the river.

Wu, the master of the hand drum, withdrew to the Han.

Yang, the assistant music master, and Hsiang, master of the musical stone, withdrew to an island in the sea.

10. The duke of Chau addressed his son, the duke of Lu, saying, "The virtuous prince does not neglect his relations. He does not cause the great ministers to repine at his not employing them. Without some great cause, he does not dismiss from their offices the members of old families. He does not seek in one man talents for every employment."

11. To Chau belonged the eight officers, Po-ta, Po-kwo, Chung-tu, Chung-hwu, Shu-ya, Shu-hsia, Chi-sui, and Chi-kwa.

ANALECTS CHAPTER 19. TSZE-CHANG.

1 Tsze-chang said, "The scholar, trained for public duty, seeing threatening danger, is prepared to sacrifice his life. When the opportunity of gain is presented to him, he thinks of righteousness. In sacrificing, his thoughts are reverential. In mourning, his thoughts are about the grief which he should feel. Such a man commands our approbation indeed."

2 Tsze-chang said, "When a man holds fast to virtue, but without seeking to enlarge it, and believes right principles, but without firm sincerity, what account can be made of his existence or non-existence?"

3 The disciples of Tsze-hsia asked Tsze-chang about the principles that should characterize mutual intercourse. Tsze-chang asked, "What does Tsze-hsia say on the subject?" They replied, "Tsze-hsia says:—'Associate with those who can advantage you. Put away from you those who cannot do so.'" Tsze-chang observed, "This is different from what I have learned. The superior man honours the talented and virtuous, and bears with all. He praises the good, and pities the incompetent. Am I possessed of great talents and virtue?—who is there among men whom I will not bear with? Am I devoid of talents and virtue?—men will put me away from them. What have we to do with the putting away of others?"

4 Tsze-hsia said, "Even in inferior studies and employments there is something worth being looked at; but if it be attempted to carry them out to what is remote, there is a danger of their proving inapplicable. Therefore, the superior man does not practise them."

5 Tsze-hsia said, "He, who from day to day recognises what he has not yet, and from month to month does not forget what he has attained to, may be said indeed to love to learn."

6 Tsze-hsia said, "There are learning extensively, and having a firm and sincere aim; inquiring with earnestness, and reflecting with self-application:—virtue is in such a course."

7 Tsze-hsia said, "Mechanics have their shops to dwell in, in order to accomplish their works. The superior man learns, in order to reach to the utmost of his principles."

8 Tsze-hsia said, "The mean man is sure to gloss his faults."

9 Tsze-hsia said, "The superior man undergoes three changes. Looked at from a distance, he appears stern; when approached, he is mild; when he is heard to speak, his language is firm and decided."

10 Tsze-hsia said, "The superior man, having obtained their confidence, may then impose labours on his people. If he have not gained their confidence, they will think that he is oppressing them. Having obtained the confidence of his prince, one may then remonstrate with him. If he have not gained his confidence, the prince will think that he is vilifying him."

11 Tsze-hsia said, "When a person does not transgress the boundary line in the great virtues, he may pass and repass it in the small virtues."

12 Tsze-yu said, "The disciples and followers of Tsze-hsia, in sprinkling and sweeping the ground, in answering and replying, in advancing and receding, are sufficiently accomplished. But these are only the branches of learning, and they are left ignorant of what is essential.—How can they be acknowledged as sufficiently taught?"

Tsze-hsia heard of the remark and said, "Alas! Yen Yu is wrong. According to the way of the superior man in teaching, what departments are there which he considers of prime importance, and delivers? what are there which he considers of secondary importance, and allows himself to be idle about? But as in the case of plants, which are assorted according to their classes, so he deals with his disciples. How can the way of a superior man be such as to make fools of any of them? Is it not the sage alone, who can unite in one the beginning and the consummation of learning?"

13 Tsze-hsia said, "The officer, having discharged all his duties, should devote his leisure to learning. The student, having completed his learning, should apply himself to be an officer."

14 Tsze-hsia said, "Mourning, having been carried to the utmost degree of grief, should stop with that."

15 Tsze-hsia said, "My friend Chang can do things which are hard to be done, but yet he is not perfectly virtuous."

16 The philosopher Tsang said, "How imposing is the manner of Chang! It is difficult along with him to practise virtue."

17 The philosopher Tsang said, "I heard this from our Master:—'Men may not have shown what is in them to the full extent, and yet they will be found to do so, on occasion of mourning for their parents.'"

18 The philosopher Tsang said, "I have heard this from our Master:—'The filial piety of Mang Chwang, in other matters, was what other men are competent to, but, as seen in his not changing the ministers of his father, nor his father's mode of government, it is difficult to be attained to.'"

19 The chief of the Mang family having appointed Yang Fu to be chief criminal judge, the latter consulted the philosopher Tsang. Tsang said, "The rulers have failed in their duties, and the people consequently have been disorganised, for a long time. When you have found out the truth of any accusation, be grieved for and pity them, and do not feel joy at your own ability."

20 Tsze-kung said, "Chau's wickedness was not so great as that name implies. Therefore, the superior man hates to dwell in a low-lying situation, where all the evil of the world will flow in upon him."

21 Tsze-kung said, "The faults of the superior man are like the eclipses of the sun and moon. He has his faults, and all men see them; he changes again, and all men look up to him."

22 Kung-sun Ch'ao of Wei asked Tsze-kung, saying, "From whom did Chung-ni get his learning?"

Tsze-kung replied, "The doctrines of Wan and Wu have not yet fallen to the ground. They are to be found among men. Men of talents and virtue remember the greater principles of them, and others, not possessing such talents and virtue, remember the smaller. Thus, all possess the doctrines of Wan and Wu. Where could our Master go that he should not have an opportunity of learning them? And yet what necessity was there for his having a regular master?"

23 Shu-sun Wu-shu observed to the great officers in the court, saying, "Tsze-kung is superior to Chung-ni."

Tsze-fu Ching-po reported the observation to Tsze-kung, who said, "Let me use the comparison of a house and its encompassing wall. My wall only reaches to the shoulders. One may peep over it, and see whatever is valuable in the apartments.

"The wall of my Master is several fathoms high. If one do not find the door and enter by it, he cannot see the ancestral temple with its beauties, nor all the officers in their rich array.

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"But I may assume that they are few who find the door. Was not the observation of the chief only what might have been expected?"

24 Shu-sun Wu-shu having spoken revilingly of Chung-ni, Tsze-kung said, "It is of no use doing so. Chung-ni cannot be reviled. The talents and virtue of other men are hillocks and mounds which may be stepped over. Chung-ni is the sun or moon, which it is not possible to step over. Although a man may wish to cut himself off from the sage, what harm can he do to the sun or moon? He only shows that he does not know his own capacity.

25 Ch'an Tsze-ch'in, addressing Tsze-kung, said, "You are too modest. How can Chung-ni be said to be superior to you?"

Tsze-kung said to him, "For one word a man is often deemed to be wise, and for one word he is often deemed to be foolish. We ought to be careful indeed in what we say.

"Our Master cannot be attained to, just in the same way as the heavens cannot be gone up to by the steps of a stair.

"Were our Master in the position of the ruler of a State or the chief of a Family, we should find verified the description which has been given of a sage's rule:—he would plant the people, and forthwith they would be established; he would lead them on, and forthwith they would follow him; he would make them happy, and forthwith multitudes would resort to his dominions; he would stimulate them, and forthwith they would be harmonious. While he lived, he would be glorious. When he died, he would be bitterly lamented. How is it possible for him to be attained to?"

ANALECTS CHAPTER 20. YAO YUEH.

1 Yao said, "Oh! you, Shun, the Heaven-determined order of succession now rests in your person. Sincerely hold fast the due Mean. If there shall be distress and want within the four seas, the Heavenly revenue will come to a perpetual end."

Shun also used the same language in giving charge to Yu.

T'ang said, "I the child Li, presume to use a dark-coloured victim, and presume to announce to Thee, O most great and sovereign God, that the sinner I dare not pardon, and thy ministers, O God, I do not keep in obscurity. The examination of them is by thy mind, O God. If, in my person, I commit offences, they are not to be attributed to you, the people of the myriad regions. If you in the myriad regions commit offences, these offences must rest on my person."

Chau conferred great gifts, and the good were enriched.

"Although he has his near relatives, they are not equal to my virtuous men. The people are throwing blame upon me, the One man."

He carefully attended to the weights and measures, examined the body of the laws, restored the discarded officers, and the good government of the kingdom took its course.

He revived States that had been extinguished, restored families whose line of succession had been broken, and called to office those who had retired into obscurity, so that throughout the kingdom the hearts of the people turned towards him.

What he attached chief importance to, were the food of the people, the duties of mourning, and sacrifices.

By his generosity, he won all. By his sincerity, he made the people repose trust in him. By his earnest activity, his achievements were great. By his justice, all were delighted.

2 Tsze-chang asked Confucius, saying, "In what way should a person in authority act in order that he may conduct government properly?" The Master replied, "Let him honour the five excellent, and banish away the four bad, things;—then may he conduct government properly." Tsze-chang said, "What are meant by the five excellent things?" The Master said, "When the person in authority is beneficent without great expenditure; when he lays tasks on the people without their repining; when he pursues what he desires without being covetous; when he maintains a dignified ease without being proud; when he is majestic without being fierce."

Tsze-chang said, "What is meant by being beneficent without great expenditure?" The Master replied, "When the person in authority makes more beneficial to the people the things from which they naturally derive benefit;—is not this being beneficent without great expenditure? When he chooses the labours which are proper, and makes them labour on them, who will repine? When his desires are set on benevolent government, and he secures it, who will accuse him of covetousness? Whether he has to do with many people or few, or with things great or small, he does not dare to indicate any disrespect;—is not this to maintain a dignified ease without any pride? He adjusts his clothes and cap, and throws a dignity into his looks, so that, thus dignified, he is looked at with awe;—is not this to be majestic without being fierce?"

Tsze-chang then asked, "What are meant by the four bad things?" The Master said, "To put the people to death without having instructed them;—this is called cruelty. To require from them, suddenly, the full tale of work, without having given them warning;—this is called oppression. To issue orders as if without urgency, at first, and, when the time comes, to insist on them with severity;—this is called injury. And, generally, in the giving pay or rewards to men, to do it in a stingy way;—this is called acting the part of a mere official."

3 The Master said, "Without recognising the ordinances of Heaven, it is impossible to be a superior man.

"Without an acquaintance with the rules of Propriety, it is impossible for the character to be established.

"Without knowing the force of words, it is impossible to know men."

THE LI JI

or: Li Ki / The Classic Of Rites
Precepts and rules of Confucius
Source: "Sacred Books of the East,
Volumes 27 and 28, Ppart 4: The Li Ki",
Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Romanisation: Pinyin
Translation: James Legge, 1885
Estimated Rage of Dating: 500-300 BC.

(The Book of Rites or Liji is a collection of texts describing the social forms, administration, and ceremonial rites of the Zhou dynasty as they were understood in the Warring States and the early Han periods. As a core text of the Confucian canon, it is also known as the Classic of Rites or Lijing, which some scholars believe was the original title before it was changed by Dai Sheng. The Book of Rites is of varied and uncertain origin and date, lacking the overall structure found in the other "rites" texts. Some sections consist of precepts and details of the life and teachings of Confucius.

Quite some rules and commandments bear similarities to texts that we know from the Bible or other religious books. However, there are two distinct differences: first, God or gods (including the taught fear towards them) play no role; second, the rules, precepts or commandments were not "commanded" or dictated to the people by brute force like in most western Asian und European societies. The basis of these precepts is education and therefore understanding their message.

Li literally means "rites" but in practice it means "rules of conduct". Confucius felt that li should emphasise the spirit of piety and respect for others through rules of conduct and ceremonies. He insisted that a standard of conduct that focused on traditional forms would be a way to ease human relationship in politics or private. The ideas of li were thought to become closely associated with human nature, ethics, and social order as the population integrated li into their lives. Li is beneficial to society because it guides people to recognise and fulfill their responsibilities toward others. And this aim is almost identical to the philosophy that stands behind most Bible texts.

Following the decision of the Yuan dynasty (followed by the Ming and Qing) to make the Five Classics and the Four Books the orthodox texts of the Confucian traditions, they were the standard textbooks for the state civil examination, from 1313 to 1905, which every educated person had to study intensively. Consequently, the Book of Rites and two of its by-products have been large integral parts of the Chinese beliefs for many centuries.

In 213 BC, Qin Shi huang-di launched the "Burning of the Books" and many of the Confucian classics were destroyed. However, the Qin dynasty collapsed within the decade: Confucian scholars who had memorised the classics or hid written copies recompiled them in the early Han dynasty. The Book of Rites was said to have been fully reconstructed. Only the chapter "Record of Music" (Yueji) survives in fragments. Scholars have attempted to refine the reconstructions. According to the Book of Sui, Dai De reworked the text in the 1st century BC, reducing the original 214 books to 85, and his nephew Dai Sheng reduced this to 46 books. To this three were added towards the end of the Han dynasty, bringing the total to 49.

In 1993, archeologists excavated several "Warring States Period" (c. 480 - 221 BC) tombs in a village called Guodian (Jingmen city, Hubei), near the ancient capital of Chu. Tomb 1 is believed to be the tomb of the tutor of the crown prince of the state of Chu, and has been dated to ca. 300 BC. Inside the tomb were some 800 bamboo slips inscribed in the Chu script. Among them were the very earliest manuscript passages of the famous Daode Jing and also "Black Robes" (Zi Yi), a chapter from the Li Ji.)

LI JI CHAPTER 1 Qu Li 1

Summary of the Rules of Propriety Part 1

1 The Summary of the Rules of Propriety says: Always and in everything let there be reverence; with the deportment grave as when one is thinking (deeply), and with speech composed and definite. This will make the people tranquil.

2 Pride should not be allowed to grow; the desires should not be indulged; the will should not be gratified to the full; pleasure should not be carried to excess.

3 Men of talents and virtue can be familiar with others and yet respect them; can stand in awe of others and yet love them. They love others and yet acknowledge the evil that is in them. They accumulate (wealth) and yet are able to part with it (to help the needy); they rest in what gives them satisfaction and yet can seek satisfaction elsewhere (when it is desirable to do so). When you find wealth within your reach, do not (try to) get it by improper means; when you meet with calamity, do not (try to) escape from it by improper means. Do not seek for victory in small contentions; do not seek for more than your proper share. Do not positively affirm what you have doubts about; and (when you have no doubts), do not let what you say appear (simply) as your own view.

4 If a man be sitting, let him do so as a personator of the deceased; if he be standing, let him do so (reverently), as in sacrificing.

5 In (observing) the rules of propriety, what is right (for the time and in the circumstances) should be followed. In discharging a mission (to another state), its customs are to be observed.

6 They are the rules of propriety, that furnish the means of determining (the observances towards) relatives, as near and remote; of settling points which may cause suspicion or doubt; of distinguishing where there should be agreement, and where difference; and of making clear what is right and what is wrong.

7 According to those rules, one should not (seek to) please others in an improper way, nor be lavish of his words. According to them, one does not go beyond the definite measure, nor encroach on or despise others, nor is fond of (presuming) familiarities. To cultivate one's person and fulfil one's words is called good conduct. When the conduct is (thus) ordered, and the words are accordant with the (right) course, we have the substance of the rules of propriety. I have heard that it is in accordance with those rules that one should be chosen by others (as their model); I have not heard of his choosing them (to take him as such). I have heard in the same way of (scholars) coming to learn; I have not heard of (the master) going to teach.

8 The course (of duty), virtue, benevolence, and righteousness cannot be fully carried out without the rules of propriety; nor are training and oral lessons for the rectification of manners complete; nor can the clearing up of quarrels and discriminating in disputes be accomplished; nor can (the duties between) ruler and minister, high and low, father and son, elder brother and younger, be determined; nor can students for office and (other) learners, in serving their masters, have an attachment for them; nor can majesty and dignity be shown in assigning the different places at court, in the government of the armies, and in discharging the duties of office so as to secure the operation of the laws; nor can there be the (proper) sincerity and gravity in presenting the offerings to spiritual Beings on occasions of supplication, thanksgiving, and the various sacrifices. Therefore the superior man is respectful and reverent, assiduous in his duties and not going beyond them, retiring and yielding - thus illustrating (the principle of) propriety.

9 The parrot can speak, and yet is nothing more than a bird; the ape can speak, and yet is nothing more than a beast. Here now is a man who observes no rules of propriety; is not his heart that of a beast? But if (men were as) beasts, and without (the principle of) propriety, father and son might have the same mate. Therefore, when the sages arose, they framed the rules of propriety in order to teach men, and cause them, by their possession of them, to make a distinction between themselves and brutes.

10 In the highest antiquity they prized (simply conferring) good; in the time next to this, giving and repaying was the thing attended to. And what the rules of propriety value is that reciprocity. If I give a gift and nothing comes in return, that is contrary to propriety; if the thing comes to me, and I give nothing in return, that also is contrary to propriety. If a man observe the rules of propriety, he is in a condition of security; if he do not, he is in one of danger. Hence there is the saying, 'The rules of propriety should by no means be left unlearned.'

11 Propriety is seen in humbling one's self and giving honour to others. Even porters and pedlers are sure to display this giving honour (in some cases); how much more should the rich and noble do so (in all)! When the rich and noble know to love propriety, they do not become proud nor dissolute. When the poor and mean know to love propriety, their minds do not become cowardly.

12 When one is ten years old, we call him a boy; he goes (out) to school. When he is twenty, we call him a youth; he is capped. When he is thirty, we say, 'He is at his maturity;' he has a wife. When he is forty, we say, 'He is in his vigour;' he is employed in office. When he is fifty, we say, 'He is getting grey;' he can discharge all the duties of an officer. When he is sixty, we say, 'He is getting old;' he gives directions and instructions. When he is seventy, we say, 'He is old;' he delegates his duties to others. At eighty or ninety, we say of him, 'He is very old.' When he is seven, we say that he is an object of pitying love. Such a child and one who is very old, though they may be chargeable with crime, are not subjected to punishment. At a hundred, he is called a centenarian, and has to be fed.

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13 A great officer, when he is seventy, should resign (his charge of) affairs. If he be not allowed to resign, there must be given him a stool and staff. When travelling on service, he must have the attendance of his wife; and when going to any other state, he will ride in an easy carriage. (In another state) he will, style himself 'the old man;' in his own state, he will call himself by his name. When from another they ask (about his state), he must tell them of its (old) institutions.

14 In going to take counsel with an elder, one must carry a stool and a staff with him (for the elder's use). When the elder asks a question, to reply without acknowledging one's incompetency and (trying to) decline answering, is contrary to propriety.

15 For all sons it is the rule: In winter, to warm (the bed for their parents), and to cool it in summer; in the evening, to adjust everything (for their repose), and to inquire (about their health) in the morning; and, when with their companions, not to quarrel.

16 Whenever a son, having received the three (first) gifts (of the ruler), declines (to use) the carriage and horses, the people of the hamlets and smaller districts, and of the larger districts and neighbourhoods, will proclaim him filial; his brothers and relatives, both by consanguinity and affinity, will proclaim him loving; his friends who are fellow-officers will proclaim him virtuous; and his friends who are his associates will proclaim him true. When he sees an intimate friend of his father, not to presume to go forward to him without being told to do so; nor to retire without being told; nor to address him without being questioned - this is the conduct of a filial son.

17 A son, when he is going abroad, must inform (his parents where he is going); when he returns, he must present himself before them. Where he travels must be in some fixed (region); what he engages in must be some (reputable) occupation. In ordinary conversation (with his parents), he does not use the term 'old' (with reference to them). He should serve one twice as old as himself as he serves his father, one ten years older than himself as an elder brother; with one five years older he should walk shoulder to shoulder, but (a little) behind him. When five are sitting together, the eldest must have a different mat (by himself).

18 A son should not occupy the south-west corner of the apartment, nor sit in the middle of the mat (which he occupies alone), nor walk in the middle of the road, nor stand in the middle of the doorway. He should not take the part of regulating the (quantity of) rice and other viands at an entertainment. He should not act as personator of the dead at sacrifice. He should be (as if he were) hearing (his parents) when there is no voice from them, and as seeing them when they are not actually there. He should not ascend a height, nor approach the verge of a depth; he should not indulge in reckless reviling or derisive laughing.

19 A filial son will not do things in the dark, nor attempt hazardous undertakings, fearing lest he disgrace his parents. While his parents are alive, he will not promise a friend to die (with or for him), nor will he have wealth that he calls his own.

20 A son, while his parents are alive, will not wear a cap or (other) article of dress, with a white border. An orphan son, taking his father's place, will not wear a cap or (other article of) dress with a variegated border.

21 A boy should never he allowed to see an instance of deceit. A lad should not wear a jacket of fur nor the skirt. He must stand straight and square, and not incline his head in hearing. When an elder is holding him with the hand, he should hold the elder's hand with both his hands. When the elder has shifted his sword to his back and is speaking to him with the side of his face bent, down, he should cover his mouth with his hand in answering.

22 When he is following his teacher, he should not quit the road to speak with another person. When he meets his teacher on the road, he should hasten forward to him, and stand with his hands joined across his breast. If the teacher speak to him, he will answer; if he do not, he will retire with hasty steps.

23 When, following an elder, they ascend a level height, he must keep his face towards the quarter to which the elder is looking.

24 When one has ascended the wall of a city, he should not point, nor callout.

25 When he intends to go to a lodging-house, let it not be with the feeling that he must get whatever he asks for. When about to go up to the hall (of a house), he must raise his voice. When outside the door there are two (pairs of) shoes, if voices be heard, he enters; if voices be not heard, he will not enter. When about to enter the door, he must keep his eyes cast down. As he enters, he should (keep his hands raised as high as if he were) bearing the bar of the door. In looking down or up, he should not turn (his head). If the door were open, he should leave it open; if it were shut, he should shut it again. If there be others (about) to enter after him, while he (turns to) shut the door, let him not do so hastily. Let him not tread on the shoes (left outside the door), nor stride across the mat (in going to take his seat); but let him hold up his dress, and move hastily to his corner (of the mat). (When seated), he must be careful in answering or assenting.

26 A great officer or (other) officer should go out or in at the ruler's doors, on the right of the middle post, without treading on the threshold.

27 Whenever (a host has received and) is entering with a guest, at every door he should give place to him. When the guest arrives at the innermost door (or that leading to the feast-room), the host will ask to be allowed to enter first and arrange the mats. Having done this, he will come out to receive the guest, who will refuse firmly (to enter first). The host having made a low bow to him, they will enter (together). When they have entered the door, the host moves to the right, and the guest to the left, the former going to the steps on the east, and the latter to those on the west. If the guest be of the lower rank, he goes to the steps of the host (as if to follow him up them). The host firmly declines this, and he returns to the other steps on the west. They then offer to each other the precedence in going up, but the host commences first, followed (immediately) by the other. They bring their feet together on every step, thus ascending by successive paces. He who ascends by the steps on the cast should move his right foot first, and the other at the western steps his left foot.

28 Outside the curtain or screen (a visitor) should not walk with the formal hasty steps, nor above in the hall, nor when carrying the symbol of jade. Above, in the raised hall, the foot-prints should be alongside each other, but below it free and separate. In the apartment the elbows should not be held out like wings in bowing. When two (equals) are sitting side by side, they do not have their elbows extended crosswise. One should not kneel in handing anything to a (superior) standing, nor stand in handing it to him sitting.

29 In all cases of (a lad's) carrying away the dirt that has been swept up from the presence of an elder, it is the rule that he (place) the brush on the basket, keeping his sleeve before it as he retires. The dust is not allowed to reach the elder, because he carries the basket with its mouth turned towards himself. He carries the (elder's) mat in his arms like the cross-beam of a shadoof. If it be a mat to sit on, he will ask in what direction (the elder) is going to turn his face; if it be to sleep on, in what direction he is going to turn his feet. If a mat face the south or the north, the seat on the west is accounted that of honour; if it face the east or the west, the seat on the south.

30 Except in the case of guests who are there (simply) to eat and drink, in spreading the mats a space of ten cubits should be left between them. When the host kneels to adjust the mats (of a visitor), the other should kneel and keep hold of them, declining (the honour). When the visitor (wishes to) remove one or more, the host should firmly decline to permit him to do so. When the visitor steps on his mats, (the host) takes his seat. If the host have not put some question, the visitor should not begin the conversation.

31 When (a pupil) is about to go to his mat, he should not look discomposed. With his two hands he should hold up his lower garment, so that the bottom of it may be a cubit from the ground. His clothes should not hang loosely about him, nor should there be any hurried movements of his feet. If any writing or tablets of his master, or his lute or cithern be in the way, he should kneel down and remove them, taking care not to disarrange them. When sitting and doing nothing, he should keep quite at the back (of his mat); when eating, quite at the front of it. He should sit quietly and keep a watch on his countenance. If there be any subject on which the elder has not touched, let him not introduce it irregularly. Let him keep his deportment correct, and listen respectfully. Let him not appropriate (to himself) the words (of others), nor (repeat them) as (the echo does the) thunder. If he must (adduce proofs), let them be from antiquity, with an appeal to the ancient kings.

32 When sitting by his side, and the teacher puts a question, (the learner) should not reply till (the other) has finished. When requesting (instruction) on the subject of his studies, (the learner) should rise; when requesting further information, he should rise. When his father calls, (a youth) should not (merely) answer 'yes,' nor when his teacher calls. He should, with (a respectful) 'yes,' immediately rise (and go to them).

33 When one is sitting in attendance on another whom he honours and reveres, he should not allow any part of his mat to keep them apart, nor will he rise when he sees others (come in) of the same rank as himself. When the torches come, he should rise; and also when the viands come in, or a visitor of superior rank. The torches should not (be allowed to burn) till their ends can be seen. Before an honoured visitor we should not shout (even) at a dog. When declining any food, one should not spit.

34 When one is sitting in attendance on another of superior character or rank, and that other yawns or stretches himself, or lays hold of his staff or shoes, or looks towards the sun to see if it be early or late, he should ask to be allowed to leave. In the same position, if the superior man put a question on a new subject, he should rise up in giving his reply. Similarly, if there come some one saying (to the superior man), 'I wish, when you have a little leisure, to report to you,' he should withdraw to the left or right and wait.

35 Do not listen with the head inclined on one side, nor answer with a loud sharp voice, nor look with a dissolute leer, nor keep the body in a slouching position. Do not saunter about with a haughty gait, nor stand with one foot raised. Do not sit with your knees wide apart, nor sleep on your face. Have your hair gathered up, and do not use any false hair. Let not the cap be laid aside; nor the chest be bared, (even) when one is toiling hard; nor let the lower garment be held up (even) in hot weather.

36 When (going to) sit in attendance on an elder, (a visitor) should not go up to the hall with his shoes on, nor should he presume to take them off in front of the Steps. (When any single visitor is leaving), he will go to his shoes, kneel down and take them up, and then move to one side. (When the visitors retire in a body) with their faces towards the elder, (they stand) by the shoes, which they then, kneeling, remove (some distance), and, stooping down, put on.

37 When two men are sitting or standing together, do not join them as a third. When two are standing together, another should not pass between them.

38 Male and female should not sit together (in the same apartment), nor have the same stand or rack for their clothes, nor use the same towel or comb, nor let their hands touch in giving and receiving. A sister-in-law and brother-in-law do not interchange inquiries (about each other). None of the concubines in a house should be employed to wash the lower garment (of a son). Outside affairs should not be talked of inside the threshold (of the women's apartments), nor inside (or women's) affairs outside it.

39 When a young lady is promised in marriage, she wears the strings (hanging down to her neck); and unless there be some great occasion, no (male) enters the door of her apartment. When a married aunt, or sister, or daughter returns home (on a visit), no brother (of the family) should sit with her on the same mat or eat with her from the same dish. (Even) the father and daughter should not occupy the same mat.

40 Male and female, without the intervention of the matchmaker, do not know each other's name. Unless the marriage presents have been received, there should be no communication nor affection between them. Hence the day and month (of the marriage) should be announced to the ruler, and to the spirits (of ancestors) with purification and fasting; and (the bridegroom) should make a feast, and invite (his friends) in the district and neighbourhood, and his fellow-officers - thus giving its due importance to the separate position (of male and female).

41 One must not marry a wife of the same surname with himself. Hence, in buying a concubine, if he do not know her surname, he must consult the tortoise-shell about it. With the son of a widow, unless he be of acknowledged distinction, one should not associate himself as a friend.

42 When one congratulates (a friend) on his marrying, his messenger says, 'So and So has sent me. Having heard that you are having guests, he has sent me with this present.'

43 Goods and wealth are not to be expected from the poor in their discharge of the rules of propriety; nor the display of sinews and strength from the old.

44 In giving a name to a son, it should not be that of a state, nor of a day or a month, nor of any hidden ailment, nor of a hill or river. Sons and daughters should have their (relative) ages distinguished. A son at twenty is capped, and receives his appellation. Before his father a son should be called by his name, and before his ruler a minister. When a daughter is promised in marriage, she assumes the hair-pin, and receives her appellation.

45 The rules for bringing in the dishes for an entertainment are the following: The meat cooked on the bones is set on the left, and the sliced meat on the right; the rice is placed on the left of the parties on the mat, and the soup on their right; the minced and roasted meat are put outside (the chops and sliced meat), and the pickles and sauces inside; the onions and steamed onions succeed to these, and the drink and syrups are on the right. When slices of dried and spiced meat are put down, where they are folded is turned to the left, and the ends of them to the right.

46 If a guest be of lower rank (than his entertainer), he should take up the rice, rise and decline (the honour he is receiving). The host then rises and refuses to allow the guest (to retire). After this the guest will resume his seat. When the host leads on the guests to present an offering (to the father of cookery), they will begin with the dishes which were first brought in. Going on from the meat cooked on the bones they will offer of all (the other dishes). After they have eaten three times, the host will lead on the guests to take of the sliced meat, from which they will go on to all the other dishes. A guest should not rinse his mouth with spirits till the host has gone over all the dishes.

47 When (a youth) is in attendance on an elder at a meal, if the host give anything to him with his own hand, he should bow to him and eat it. If he do not so give him anything, he should eat without bowing. When eating with others from the same dishes, one should not try to eat (hastily) to satiety.

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When eating with them from the same dish of rice, one should not have to wash his hands.

48 Do not roll the rice into a ball; do not bolt down the various dishes; do not swill down (the soup). Do not make a noise in eating; do not crunch the bones with the teeth; do not put back fish you have been eating; do not throw the bones to the dogs; do not snatch (at what you want). Do not spread out the rice (to cool); do not use chopsticks in eating millet. Do not (try to) gulp down soup with vegetables in it, nor add condiments to it; do not keep picking the-teeth, nor swill down the sauces. If a guest add condiments, the host will apologise for not having had the soup prepared better. If he swill down the sauces, the host will apologise for his poverty. Meat that is wet (and soft) may be divided with the teeth, but dried flesh cannot be so dealt with. Do not bolt roast meat in large pieces. When they have done eating, the guests will kneel in front (of the mat), and (begin to) remove the (dishes) of rice and sauces to give them to the attendants. The host will then rise and decline this service from the guests, who will resume their seats.

49 If a youth is in attendance on, and drinking with, an elder, when the (cup of) spirits is brought to him, he rises, bows, and (goes to) receive it at the place where the spirit-vase is kept. The elder refuses (to allow him to do so), when he returns to the mat, and (is prepared) to drink. The elder (meantime) lifts (his cup); but until he has emptied it, the other does not presume to drink his.

50 When an elder offers a gift, neither a youth, nor one of mean condition, presumes to decline it. When a fruit is given by the ruler and in his presence, if there be a kernel in it, (the receiver) should place it in his bosom. When one is attending the ruler at a meal, and the ruler gives him anything that is left, if it be in a vessel that can be easily scoured, he does not transfer it (to another of his own); but from any other vessel he should so transfer it.

51 Portions of (such) food should not be used as offerings (to the departed). A father should not use them in offering even to a (deceased) son, nor a husband in offering to a (deceased) wife.

52 When one is attending an elder and (called to) share with him (at a feast), though the viands may be double (what is necessary), he should not (seek) to decline them. If he take his seat (only) as the companion of another (for whom it has been prepared), he should not decline them.

53 If the soup be made with vegetables, chopsticks should be used; but not if there be no vegetables.

54 He who pares a melon for the son of Heaven should divide it into four parts and then into eight, and cover them with a napkin of fine linen. For the ruler of a state, he should divide it into four parts, and cover them with a coarse napkin. To a great officer he should (present the four parts) uncovered. An inferior officer should receive it (simply) with the stalk cut away. A common man will deal with it with his teeth.

55 When his father or mother is ill, (a young man) who has been capped should not use his comb, nor walk with his elbows stuck out, nor speak on idle topics, nor take his lute or cithern in hand. He should not eat of (different) meats till his taste is changed, nor drink till his looks are changed'. He should not laugh so as to show his teeth, nor be angry till he breaks forth in reviling. When the illness is gone, he may resume his former habits.

56 He who is sad and anxious should sit with his mat spread apart from others; he who is mourning (for a death) should sit on a single mat.

57 When heavy rains have fallen, one should not present fish or tortoises (to a superior). He who is presenting a bird should turn its head on one side; if it be a tame bird, this need not be done. He who is presenting a carriage and horses should carry in his hand (to the hall) the whip, and strap for mounting by. He who is presenting a suit of mail should carry the helmet (to the hall). He who is presenting a staff should hold it by its end. He who is presenting a captive should hold him by the right sleeve. He who is presenting grain unhulled should carry with him the left side of the account (of the quantity); if the hull be off, he should carry with him a measure-drum. He who is presenting cooked food, should carry with him the sauce and pickles for it. He who is presenting fields and tenements should carry with him the writings about them, and give them up (to the superior).

58 In every case of giving a bow to another, if it be bent, the (string of) sinew should be kept upwards; but if unbent, the horn. (The giver) should with his right hand grasp the end of the bow, and keep his left under the middle of the back. The (parties, without regard to their rank as) high and low, (bow to each other) till the napkins (at their girdles) hang down (to the ground). If the host (wish to) bow (still lower), the other moves on one side to avoid the salutation. The host then takes the bow, standing on the left of the other. Putting his hand under that of the visitor, he lays hold of the middle of the back, having his face in the same direction as the other; and thus he receives (the bow).

59 He who is giving a sword should do so with the hilt on his left side. He who is giving a spear with one hook should do so with the metal end of the shaft in front, and the sharp edge behind. He who is presenting one with two hooks, or one with a single hook and two sharp points, should do so with the blunt shaft in front. He who is giving a stool or a staff should (first) wipe it. He who is presenting a horse or a sheep should lead it with his right hand. He who is presenting a dog should lead it with his left hand. He who is carrying a bird (as his present of introduction) should do so with the head to the left. For the ornamental covering of a lamb or a goose, an embroidered cloth should be used. He who receives a pearl or a piece of jade should do so with both his hands. He who receives a bow or a sword should do so (having his hands covered) with his sleeves. He who has drunk from a cup of jade should not (go on to) shake it out. Whenever friendly messages are about to be sent, with the present of a sword or bow, or of (fruit, flesh, and other things, wrapped in) matting of rushes, with grass mats, and in baskets, round and square, (the messenger) has these things (carried with him, when he goes) to receive his commission, and deports himself as when he will be discharging it.

60 Whenever one is charged with a mission by his ruler, after he has received from him his orders, and (heard all) he has to say, he should not remain over the night in his house. When a message from the ruler comes (to a minister), the latter should go out and bow (to the bearer), in acknowledgment of the honour of it. When the messenger is about to return, (the other) must bow to him (again), and escort him outside the gate. If (a minister) send a message to his ruler, he must wear his court-robes when he communicates it to the bearer; and on his return, he must descend from the hall, to receive (the ruler's) commands.

61 To acquire extensive information and remember retentively, while (at the same time) he is modest; to do earnestly what is good, and not become weary in so doing - these are the characteristics of him whom we call the superior man. A superior man does not accept everything by which another would express his joy in him, or his devotion to him; and thus he preserves their friendly intercourse unbroken.

62 A rule of propriety says, 'A superior man may carry his grandson in his arms, but not his son.' This tells us that a grandson may be the personator of his deceased grandfather (at sacrifices), but a son cannot be so of his father. When a great officer or (other) officer sees one who is to personate the dead (on his way to the ancestral temple), he should dismount from his carriage to him. The ruler himself, when he recognises him, should do the same. The personator (at the same time) must bow forward to the cross-bar. In mounting the carriage, he must use a stool.

63 One who is fasting (in preparation for a sacrifice) should neither listen to music nor condole with mourners.

64 According to the rules for the period of mourning (for a father), (a son) should not emaciate himself till the bones appear, nor let his seeing and hearing be affected (by his privations). He should not go up to, nor descend from, the hail by the steps on the east (which his father used), nor go in or out by the path right opposite to the (centre of the) gate. According to the same rules, if he have a scab on his head, he should wash it; if he have a sore on his body, he should bathe it. If he be ill, he should drink spirits, and eat flesh, returning to his former (abstinence) when he is better. If he make himself unable to perform his mourning duties, that is like being unkind and unfilial. If he be fifty, he should not allow himself to be reduced (by his abstinence) very much; and, if he be sixty, not at all. At seventy, he will only wear the unhemmed dress of sackcloth, and will drink and eat flesh, and occupy (the usual apartment) inside (his house).

65 Intercourse with the living (will be continued) in the future; intercourse with the dead (friend) was a thing of the past. He who knows the living should send (a message of) condolence; and he who knew the dead (a message also of his) grief. He who knows the living, and did not know the dead, will send his condolence without (that expression of) his grief; he who knew the dead, and does not know the living, will send the (expression of) grief, but not go on to condole.

66 He who is condoling with one who has mourning rites in band, and is not able to assist him with a gift, should put no question about his expenditure. He who is enquiring after another that is ill, and is not able to send (anything to him), should not ask what he would like. He who sees (a traveller), and is not able to lodge him, should not ask where he is stopping. He who would confer something on another should not say, 'Come and take it;' he who would give something (to a smaller man), should not ask him what he would like.

67 When one goes to a burying-ground, he should not get up on any of the graves. When assisting at an interment, one should (join in) holding the rope attached to the coffin. In a house of mourning, one should not laugh. In order to bow to another, one should leave his own place. When one sees at a distance a coffin with the corpse in it, he should not sing. When he enters among the mourners, he should not keep his arms stuck out. When eating (with others), he should not sigh. When there are mourning rites in his neighbourhood, one should not accompany his pestle with his voice. When there is a body shrouded and coffined in his village, one should not sing in the lanes. When going to a burying-ground, one should not sing, nor on the same day when he has wailed (with mourners). When accompanying a funeral, one should not take a by-path. When taking part in the act of interment, one should not (try to) avoid mud or pools. When presenting himself at any mourning rite, one should have a sad countenance. When holding the rope, one should not laugh, When present on an occasion of joy, one should not sigh. When wearing his coat of mail and helmet, one's countenance should say, 'Who dares meddle with me?' Hence the superior man is careful to maintain the proper expression of his countenance before others.

68 Where the ruler of a state lays hold of the cross-bar, and bends forward to it, a great officer will descend from his carriage. Where a great officer lays bold of the bar and bends forward, another officer will descend. The rules of ceremony do not go down to the common people. The penal statutes do not go up to great officers. Men who have suffered punishment should not (be allowed to) be by the side of the ruler.

69 A fighting chariot has no cross-board to assist its occupants in bowing; in a war chariot the banner is fully displayed; in a chariot of peace it is kept folded round the pole. A recorder should carry with him in his carriage his implements for writing; his, subordinates the (recorded) words (of former covenants and other documents). When there is water in front, the flag with the green bird on it should be displayed. When there is (a cloud of) dust in front, that with the screaming kites. For chariots and horsemen, that with wild geese in flight. For a body of troops, that with a tiger's (skin). For a beast of prey, that with a leopard's (skin). On the march the (banner with the) Red Bird should be in front; that with the Dark Warrior behind; that with the Azure Dragon on the left; and that with the White Tiger on the right; that with the Pointer of the Northern Bushel should be reared aloft (in the centre of the host) - all to excite and direct the fury (of the troops). There are rules for advancing and retreating; there are the various arrangements on the left and the right, each with its (proper) officer to look after it.

70 With the enemy who has slain his father, one should not live under the same heaven. With the enemy who has slain his brother, one should never have his sword to seek (to deal vengeance). With the enemy who has slain his intimate friend, one should not live in the same state (without seeking to slay him).

71 Many ramparts in the country round and near (a capital) are a disgrace to its high ministers and great officers. Where the wide and open country is greatly neglected and uncultivated, it is a disgrace to the officers (in charge of it).

72 When taking part in a sacrifice, one should not show indifference. When sacrificial robes are worn out, they should be burnt: sacrificial vessels in the same condition should be buried, as should the tortoise-shell and divining stalks, and a victim that has died. All who take part with the ruler in a sacrifice must themselves remove the stands (of their offerings).

73 When the ceremony of wailing is over, a son should no longer speak of his deceased father by his name. The rules do not require the avoiding of names merely similar in sound to those not to be spoken. When (a parent had) a double name, the avoiding of either term (used singly) is not required. While his parents (are alive), and a son is able to serve them, he should not utter the names of his grandparents; when he can no longer serve his parents (through their death), he need not avoid the names of his grandparents. Names that would not be spoken (in his own family) need not be avoided (by a great officer) before his ruler; in the great officer's, however, the names proper to be suppressed by the ruler should not be spoken. In (reading) the books of poetry and history, there need be no avoiding of names, nor in writing compositions. In the ancestral temple there is no such avoiding. Even in his presence, a minister need not avoid the names improper to be spoken by the ruler's wife. The names to be avoided by a wife need not be unspoken outside the door of the harem. The names of parties for whom mourning is worn (only) nine months or five months are not avoided. When one is crossing the boundaries (of a state), he should ask what are its prohibitory laws; when he has fairly entered it, he should ask about its customs; before entering the door (of a house), he should ask about the names to be avoided in it.

74 External undertakings should be commenced on the odd days, and internal on the even. In all cases of divining about a day, whether by the tortoise-shell or the stalks, if it be beyond the decade, it is said, 'on such and such a distant day,' and if within the decade, 'on such and such a near day.' For matters of mourning a distant day is preferred; for festive matters a near day. It is said, 'For the day we depend on thee, O great Tortoise-shell, which dost give the regular indications; we depend on you, O great Divining Stalks, which give the regular indications.' Divination by the shell or the stalks should not go beyond three times. The shell and the stalks should not be both used on the same subject. Divination by the shell is called bu; by the stalks, shi. The two were the methods by which the ancient sage kings made the people believe in seasons and days, revere spiritual beings, stand in

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awe of their laws and orders; the methods (also) by which they made them determine their perplexities and settle their misgivings. Hence it is said, 'If you doubted, and have consulted the stalks, you need not (any longer) think that you will do wrong. If the day (be clearly indicated), boldly do on it (what you desire to do).'

75 When the ruler's carriage is about to have the horses put to it, the driver should stand before them, whip in hand. When they are yoked, he will inspect the linch pin, and report that the carriage is ready. (Coming out again), he should shake the dust from his clothes, and mount on the right side, taking hold of the second strap he should (then) kneel in the carriage. Holding his whip, and taking the reins separately, he will drive the horses on five paces, and then stop. When the ruler comes out and approaches the carriage, the driver should take all the reins in one hand, and (with the other) hand the strap to him. The attendants should then retire out of the way. They should follow quickly as the carriage drives on. When it reaches the great gate, the ruler will lay his hand on that of the driver (that he may drive gently), and, looking round, will order the warrior for the seat on the right to come into the carriage. In passing through the gates (of a city) or village, and crossing the water-channels, the pace must be reduced to a walk.

76 In all cases it is the rule for the driver to hand the strap (to the person about to mount the carriage). If the driver be of lower rank (than himself) that other receives it. If this be not the case, he should not do so. If the driver be of the lower rank, the other should (still) lay his own hand on his (as if to stop him). If this be not the case (and the driver will insist on handing it), the other should take hold of the strap below (the driver's hand). A guest's carriage does not enter the great gate; a woman does not stand up in her carriage; dogs and horses are not taken up to the hall.

77 Hence, the ruler bows forward to his cross-board to (an old man of) yellow hair; he dismounts (and walks on foot) past the places of his high nobles (in the audience court). He does not gallop the horses of his carriage in the capital; and should bow forward on entering a village. When called by the ruler's order, though through a man of low rank, a great officer, or (other) officer, must meet him in person. A man in armour does not bow, he makes an obeisance indeed, but it is a restrained obeisance. When the carriage of a deceased ruler is following at his interment, the place on the left should be vacant. When (any of his ministers on other occasions) are riding in (any of) the ruler's carriages, they do not presume to leave the seat on the left vacant, but he who occupies it should bend forward to the cross-board. A charioteer driving a woman should keep his left hand advanced (with the reins in it), and his right hand behind him. When driving the ruler of a state, (the charioteer) should have his right hand advanced, with the left kept behind and the head bent down.

78 The ruler of a state should not ride in a one-wheeled carriage. In his carriage one should not cough loudly, nor point with his hand in an irregular way. Standing (in his carriage) one should look (forward only) to the distance of five revolutions of the wheels. Bending forward, he should (do so only till he) sees the tails of the horses. He should not turn his head round beyond the (line of the) naves. In the (streets of the) capital one should touch the horses gently with the brush-end of the switch. He should not urge them to their speed. The dust should not fly beyond the ruts. The ruler of a state should bend towards the cross-board when he meets a sacrificial victim, and dismount (in passing) the ancestral temple. A great officer or (other) officer should descend (when he comes to) the ruler's gate, and bend forward to the ruler's horses. (A minister) riding in one of the ruler's carriages must wear his court robes. He should have the whip in the carriage with him, (but not use it). He should not presume to have the strap handed to him. In his place on the left, he should bow forward to the cross-board. (An officer) walking the ruler's horses should do so in the middle of the road. It he trample on their forage, he should be punished, and also if he look at their teeth, (and go on to calculate their age).

LI JI CHAPTER 2 Qu Li 2

Summary of the Rules of Propriety Part 2

79 When a thing is carried with both hands, it should be held on a level with the heart; when with one hand, on a level with the girdle. An article belonging to the son of Heaven should be held higher than the heart; one belonging to a ruler of a state, on a level with it; one belonging to a Great officer, lower than it; and one belonging to an (inferior) officer should be carried lower still.

80 When one is holding an article belonging to his lord, though it may be light, he should seem unable to sustain it. In the case of a piece of silk, or a rank-symbol of jade, square or round, he should keep his left hand over it. He should not lift his feet in walking, but trail his heels like the wheels of a carriage.

81 (A minister) should stand (with his back) curved in the manner of a sounding-stone, and his girdle-pendants hanging down. Where his lord has his pendants hanging at his side, his should be hanging down in front; where his lord has them hanging in front, his should descend to the ground. When one is holding any symbol of jade (to present it), if it be on a mat, he leaves it so exposed; if there be no mat, he covers it with (the sleeve of) his outer robe.

82 The ruler of a state should not call by their names his highest ministers, nor the two noble ladies of her surname, who accompanied his wife to the harem. A Great officer should not call in that way an officer who had been employed by his father, nor the niece and younger sister of his wife (members of his harem). (Another) officer should not call by name the steward of his family, nor his principal concubine. The son of a Great officer (of the king, himself equal to) a ruler, should not presume to speak of himself as 'I, the little son. The son of a Great officer or (other) officer (of a state) should not presume to speak of himself as 'I, the inheriting son, so-and-so.' They should not so presume to speak of themselves as their heir-sons do.

83 When his ruler wishes an officer to take a place at an archery (meeting), and he is unable to do so, he should decline on the ground of being, ill, and say, 'I, so-and-so, am suffering from carrying firewood.'

84 When one, in attendance on a superior man, replies to a question without looking round to see (if any other be going to answer), this is contrary to rule.

85 A superior man, in his practice of ceremonies (in another state), should not seek to change his (old) customs. His ceremonies in sacrifice, his dress during the period of mourning, and his positions in the wailing and weeping, will all be according to the fashions of-his former (state). He will carefully study its rules, and carry them exactly into practice. (But) if he (or his descendants) have been away from the state for three generations, and if his dignity and emoluments be (still) reckoned to him (or his representative) at the court, and his outgoings and incomings are announced to the state, and if his brothers or cousins and other members of his house be still there, he should (continue to) send back word about himself to the representative of his ancestor. (Even) after the three generations, if his dignity and emoluments be not reckoned to him in the court, and his outgoings and incomings are (no longer) announced in the state, it is only on the day of his elevation (to official rank) that he should follow the ways of his new state.

86 A superior man, when left an orphan, will not change his name. Nor will he in such a case, if he suddenly become noble, frame an honorary title for his father. When occupied with the duties of mourning and before the interment of (a parent), (a son) should study the ceremonies of mourning, and after the interment, those of sacrifice. When the mourning is over, let him resume his usual ways, and study the pieces of music. When occupied with the duties of mourning, one should not speak of music. When sacrificing, one should not speak of what is inauspicious. In the ruler's court, parties should not speak of wives and daughters.

87 For one to have to dust his (collection of) written tablets, or adjust them before the ruler, is a punishable offence; to have the divining stalks turned upside down or the tortoiseshell turned on one side, before him, is also a punishable offence. One should not enter the ruler's gate, (carrying with him) a tortoise-shell or divining stalks, a stool or a staff, mats or (sun-)shades, or having his upper and lower garments both of white or in a single robe of fine or coarse hempen cloth. Nor should he do so in rush sandals, or with the skirts of his lower garment tucked in at his waist, or in the cap worn in the shorter periods of mourning. Nor, unless announcement of it has been made (and permission given), can one take in the square tablets with the written (lists of articles for a funeral), or the frayed sackcloth, or the coffin and its furniture. Public affairs should not be privately discussed.

88 When a superior man, (high in rank), is about to engage in building, the ancestral temple should have his first attention, the stables and arsenal the next, and the residences the last. In all preparations of things by (the head of) a clan, the vessels of sacrifice should have the first place; the victims supplied from his revenue, the next; and the vessels for use at meals, the last. Those who have no revenue from lands do not provide vessels for sacrifice. Those who have such revenue first prepare their sacrificial dresses. A superior man,. though poor, will not sell his vessels of sacrifice; though suffering from cold, he will not wear his sacrificial robes; in building a house, he will not cut down the trees on his grave-mounds.

89 A Great or other officer, leaving his state, should not take his vessels of sacrifice with him across the boundary. The former will leave his vessels for the time with another Great officer, and the latter his with another officer. A Great or other officer, leaving his state, on crossing the boundary, should prepare a place for an altar, and wail there, looking in the direction of the state. He should wear his upper garment and lower, and his cap, all of white; remove his (ornamental) collar, wear shoes of untanned leather, have a covering of white (dog's-fur) for his cross-board, and leave his horses manes undressed. He should not trim his nails or beard, nor make an offering at his (spare) meals. He should not say to any one that he is not chargeable with guilt, nor have any of his women approach him. After three months he will return to his usual dress.

90 When a Great or other officer has an interview with the ruler of the state (to whom he has been sent), if the ruler be condoling with him on the toils of his journey, he should withdraw on one side to avoid (the honour), and then bow twice with his head to the ground. If the ruler meet him (outside the gate) and bow to him, he should withdraw on one side to avoid (the honour), and not presume to return the bow. When Great or other officers are having interviews with one another, though they may not be equal in rank, if the host reverence (the greater worth of) the guest, he should first bow to him; and if the guest reverence the (greater worth of the) host, he should first bow. In all cases but visits of condolence on occasion of a death, and seeing the ruler of one's state, the parties should be sure to return the bow, each of the other.

91 When a Great officer has an interview with the ruler of (another) state, the ruler should bow in acknowledgment of the honour (of the message he brings); when an officer has an interview with a Great officer (of that state), the latter should bow to him in the same way. When two meet for the first time in their own state, (on the return of one from some mission), the other, as host, should bow in acknowledgment (of the service). A ruler does not bow to a (simple) officer; but if it be one of a different state, he should bow to his bow. A Great officer should return the bow of any one of his officers, however mean may be his rank. Males and females do (? not) bow to one another.

92 The ruler of a state, in the spring hunting, will not surround a marshy thicket, nor will Great officers try to surprise a whole herd, nor will (other) officers take young animals or eggs.

93 In bad years, when the grain of the season is not coming to maturity, the ruler at his meals will not make the (usual) offering of the lungs, nor will his horses be fed on grain. His special road will not be kept clean and swept, nor when at sacrifices will his musical instruments be suspended on their stands. Great officers will not eat the large grained millet; and (other) officers will not have music (even) at their drinking.

94 Without some (sad) cause, a ruler will not let the gems (pendent from his girdle) leave his person, nor a Great officer remove his music-stand, nor an (inferior) officer his lutes.

95 When an officer presents anything to the ruler of his state, and another day the ruler asks him, 'Where did you get that?' he will bow twice with his head to the ground, and afterwards reply.

96 When a Great officer wishes to go beyond the boundaries (of the state) on private business, he must ask leave, and on his return must present some offering. An (inferior) officer in similar circumstances, must (also) ask leave, and when he comes back, must announce his return. If the ruler condole with them on their toils, they should bow. if he ask about their journey, they should bow, and afterwards reply. When the ruler of a state (is proposing to) leave it, they should (try to) stop him, saying, 'Why are you leaving the altars of the spirits of the land and grain?' (In the similar case of) a Great officer they should say, 'Why are you leaving your ancestral temple?' In that of an (inferior) officer, they should say, 'Why are you leaving the graves (of your ancestors)?' A ruler should die for his altars; a Great officer, with the host (he commands); an inferior officer, for his charge.

97 As ruling over all, under the sky, (the king) is called 'The son of Heaven.' As receiving at court the feudal princes, assigning (to all) their different offices, giving out (the laws and ordinances of) the government, and employing the services of the able, he styles himself, 'I, the one man.' When he ascends by the eastern steps, and presides at a sacrifice, if it be personal to himself and his family, his style is, 'I, so-and-so, the filial king;' if it be external to himself, 'I, so-and-so, the inheriting king.' When he visits the feudal princes, and sends to make announcement (of his presence) to the spirits (of their hills and streams), it is said, 'Here is he, so-and-so, who is king by (the grace of) Heaven.' His death is announced in the words, 'The king by (the grace of) Heaven has fallen.' In calling back (his spirit), they say, 'Return, O son of Heaven.' When announcement is made (to all the states) of the mourning for him, it is said, 'The king by (the grace of) Heaven has gone far on high.' When his place is given to him in the ancestral temple, and his spirit-tablet is set up, he is styled on it, 'the god.' The son of Heaven, while he has not left off his mourning, calls himself, 'I, the little child.' While alive, he is so styled; and if he die (during that time), he continues to be so designated.

98 The son of Heaven has his queen, his helpmates, his women of family, and his ladies of honour. (These) constituted his wife and concubines.

99 The son of Heaven appoints the officers of Heaven's institution, the precedence among them belonging to the six grandees: the Grand-governor; the Grand-minister of the ancestral temple; the Grand-historiographer; the Grand-minister of prayers; the Grand-minister of justice; and the Grand-divine. These are the guardians and superintendents of the six departments of the statutes.

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100 The five (administrative) officers of the son of Heaven are: the minister of instruction; the minister of war; the minister of works; the minister of offices; and the minister of crime. These preside over the multitude in (each of) their five charges.

101 The six treasuries of the son of Heaven are under the charge of the superintendent of the land; the superintendent of the woods; the superintendent of the waters; the superintendent of the grass; the superintendent of articles of employment; and the superintendent of wares. These preside over the six departments of their charges.

102 The six manufactures of the son of Heaven are under the care of (the superintendents of) the workers in earth; the workers in metal; the workers in stone; the workers in wood; the workers in (the skins of) animals; and the workers in twigs. These preside over the six departments of stores. When the five officers give in their contributions, they are said to 'present their offerings.'

103 Chief among the five officers are the presidents, to whom belong the oversight of quarters (of the kingdom). In any message from them transmitted to the son of Heaven, they are styled 'ministers of the son of Heaven.' If they are of the same surname as he, he styles them 'paternal uncles;' if of a different surname, 'maternal uncles.' To the feudal princes, they designate themselves, 'the ancients of the son of Heaven.' Outside (their own states), they are styled 'duke;' in their states, 'ruler.'

104 The head prince in each of the nine provinces, on entering the state of the son of Heaven, is styled 'pastor.' If he be of the same surname as himself, the son of Heaven calls him 'my paternal uncle;' if he be of a different surname, 'my maternal uncle.' Outside (his own state) he is called 'marquis'; in it, 'ruler,' The (chiefs) among (the wild tribes of) the Yi on the east, the Di on the north, the Rong on the west, and the Man on the south, however great (their territories), are called 'counts.' In his own territories each one calls himself. 'the unworthy one;' outside them, 'the king's ancient.' Any of the princelets of their various tracts, on entering the state of the son of Heaven, is styled, 'Such and such a person.' Outside it he is called 'count,' and calls himself 'the solitary.'

105 When the son of Heaven stands with his back to the screen with axe-head figures on it, and the princes present themselves before him with their faces to the north, this is called kin (the autumnal audience). When he stands at the (usual) point (of reception) between the door and the screen, and the dukes have their faces towards the east, and the feudal princes theirs towards the west, this is called Chao (the spring audience).

106 When feudal princes see one another at a place and time not agreed on beforehand, the interview is called 'a meeting.' When they do so in some open place agreed on beforehand, it is called 'an assembly.' When one prince sends a great officer to ask about another, it is called 'a message of friendly inquiry.' When there is a binding to mutual faith, it is called 'a solemn declaration.' When they use a victim, it is called 'a covenant.'

107 When a feudal prince is about to be introduced to the son of Heaven, he is announced as 'your subject so-and-so, prince of such-and-such a state.' He speaks of himself to the people as 'the man of little virtue.' If he be in mourning (for his father), he is styled 'the rightful eldest son, an orphan;' if he be taking part at a sacrifice in his ancestral temple, 'the filial son, the prince of such-and-such a state, the prince so-and-so.' If it be another sacrifice elsewhere, the style is, 'so-and-so, prince of such-and-such a state, the distant descendant.' His death is described by the character hong (disappeared). In calling back (his spirit), they say, 'Return, sir so-and-so.' When he has been interred and (his son) is presented to the son of Heaven, the interview, (though special), is said to be 'of the same kind as the usual interviews.' The honorary title given to him is (also) said to be 'after the usual fashion.' When one prince sends a message to another, the messenger speaks of himself as 'the ancient of my poor ruler.'

108 The demeanour of the son of Heaven should be characterised by majesty; of the princes, by gravity; of the Great officers, by a regulated composure; of (inferior) officers, by an easy alertness; and of the common people, by simplicity and humility.

109 The partner of the son of Heaven is called 'the queen;' of a feudal prince, 'the helpmate;' of a Great officer, 'the attendant;' of an (inferior) officer, 'the serving woman;' and of a common man ' 'the mate.'

110 A duke and (one of) the feudal princes had their helpmate, and their honourable women, (which) were their mates and concubines. The helpmate called herself, before the son of Heaven, 'the aged servant;' and before the prince (of another state), 'the small and unworthy ruler.' To her own ruler she called herself 'the small maid.' From the honourable women downwards (each member of the harem) called herself 'your handmaid.' To their parents, sons and daughters called themselves by their names.

111 A Great officer any of the states, entering the state of the son Heaven, was called 'the officer of such-and-such state)' and styled himself 'your subsidiary minister.' Outside (his own state), he was called 'sir;' and in that state, 'the ancient of our poor ruler.' A messenger (to any state) called himself 'so-and-so.'

112 The son of Heaven should not be spoken of as 'going out (of his state).' A feudal prince should not be called by his name, while alive. (When either of these things is done), it is because the superior man will not show regard for wickedness. A prince who loses his territory is named, and also one who extinguishes (another state ruled by) lords of the same surname as himself.

113 According to the rules of propriety for a minister, he should not remonstrate with his ruler openly. If he have thrice remonstrated and is still not listened to, he should leave (his service). In the service of his parents by a son, if he have thrice remonstrated and is still not listened to, he should follow (his remonstrance) with loud crying and tears.

114 When a ruler is ill, and has to drink medicine, the minister first tastes it. When a parent is ill, and has to drink medicine, the son first tastes it. The physic of a doctor in whose family medicine has not been practised for three generations at least, should not be taken.

115 In comparing (different) men, we can only do so when their (circumstances and conditions) are of the same class.

116 When one asks about the years of the son of Heaven, the reply should be: 'I have heard that he has begun to wear a robe so many feet long.' When one asks about the years of the ruler of a state, if he be grown up, the reply should be: 'He is able to attend to the services in the ancestral temple, and at the altars of the spirits of the land and grain'; and if he be still young, 'He is not yet able to attend to the services in the ancestral temple, and at the altars of the spirits of the land and grain.' To a question about the son of a Great officer, the reply, if he be grown up, should be: 'He is able to drive;' and, if he be still young, 'He is not yet able to drive.' To a question about the son of an (ordinary) officer, the reply, if he be grown up, should be: 'He can manage the conveying of a salutation or a message;' and, if he be still young, 'He cannot yet manage such a thing.' To a question about the son of a common man, the reply, if he be grown up, should be: 'He is able to carry (a bundle of) firewood;' and, if he be still young, 'He is not yet able to carry (such a bundle).'

117 When one asks about the wealth of the ruler of a state, the reply should be given by telling the extent of his territory, and the productions of its hills and lakes. To a similar question about a Great officer, it should be said, 'He has the lands allotted to him, and is supported by the labour (of his people). He needs not to borrow the vessels or dresses for his sacrificial occasions.' To the same question about an (ordinary) officer, the reply should be by giving the number of his carriages; and to one about a common man, by telling the number of the animals that he keeps.

118 The son of Heaven sacrifices (or presents oblations) to Heaven and Earth; to the (spirits presiding over the) four quarters; to (the spirits of) the hills and rivers; and offers the five sacrifices of the house, all in the course of the year. The feudal princes present oblations, each to (the spirit pre-siding over) his own quarter; to (the spirits of) its hills and rivers; and offer the five sacrifices of the house,-all in the course of the year. Great officers present the oblations of the five sacrifices of the house, all in the course of the year. (Other) officers present oblations to their ancestors.

119 There should be no presuming to resume any sacrifice which has been abolished (by proper authority), nor to abolish any which has been so established. A sacrifice which it is not proper to offer, and which yet is offered, is called a licentious sacrifice. A licentious sacrifice brings no blessing. The son of Heaven uses an ox of one colour, pure and unmixed; a feudal prince, a fatted ox; a Great officer, an ox selected for the occasion; an (ordinary) officer, a sheep or a pig. The son of an inferior member of the harem cannot offer the sacrifice (to his grandfather or father); if (for some reason) he have to do so, he must report it to the honoured son, (the head of the family).

120 According to the rules for all sacrifices in the ancestral temple, the ox is called 'the creature with the large foot;' the pig, 'the hard bristles;' a sucking-pig, 'the fatling;' a sheep, 'the soft hair;' a cock, 'the loud voice;' a dog, 'the soup offering;' a pheasant, 'the wide toes;' a hare, 'the clear seer;' the stalks of dried flesh, 'the exactly cut oblations;' dried fish, 'the well-considered oblation;' fresh fish, 'the straight oblation.' Water is called 'the pure cleanser;' spirits, 'the clear cup;' millet, 'the fragrant mass;' the large-grained millet, 'the fragrant (grain);' the sacrificial millet, 'the bright grain;' paddy, 'the admirable vegetable;' scallions, 'the rich roots;' salt, 'the saline, briny substance;' jade, 'the admirable jade;' and silks, 'the exact silks.'

121 The death of the son of Heaven is expressed by beng (has fallen); of a feudal prince, by hong (has crashed); of a Great officer, by Zu (has ended); of an (ordinary) officer, by Bu Lu (is now unsalaried); and of a common man, by si (has deceased). (The corpse) on the couch is called shi (the laid-out), when it is put into the coffin, that is called jiu (being in the long home). (The death of) a winged fowl is expressed by jiang (has fallen down); that of a quadruped, by zi (is disorganised). Death from an enemy in fight is called bing (is slain by the sword).

122 In sacrificing to them, a grandfather is called 'the sovereign grandfather;' a grandmother,' the sovereign grandmother;' a father, 'the sovereign father;' a mother, 'the sovereign mother; a husband, 'the sovereign pattern.' While (they are) alive, the names of father (fu), mother (mu), and wife (qi) are used; when they are dead, those of 'the completed one (kao),' 'the corresponding one (bi),' and 'the honoured one (pin).' Death in old age is called 'a finished course (zu);' an early death, 'being unsalaried (bu lu).'

123 The son of Heaven does not look at a person above his collar or below his girdle; the ruler of a state looks at him a little lower (than the collar); a Great officer, on a line with his heart; and an ordinary officer, not from beyond a distance of five paces. In all cases looks directed above to the face denote pride, and below the girdle grief; directed askance, they denote villainy.

124 When the ruler orders (any special business) from a Great officer or (other) officer, he should assiduously discharge it; in their offices speaking (only) of the official business; in the treasury, of treasury business; in the arsenals, of arsenal business; and in the court, of court business.

125 At court there should be no speaking about dogs and horses. When the audience is over, and one looks about him, if he be not attracted by some strange thing, he must have strange thoughts in his mind. When one keeps looking about him after the business of the court is over, a superior man will pronounce him uncultivated. At court the conversation should be according to the rules of propriety; every question should be so proposed, and every answer so returned.

126 For great entertainments there should be no consulting the tortoise-shell, and no great display of wealth.

127 By way of presents of introduction, the son of Heaven uses spirits of black millet; feudal princes, their symbols of jade; a high minister, a lamb; a Great officer, a goose; an (ordinary) officer, a pheasant; a common man, a duck. Lads should bring their article, and withdraw. In the open country, in the army, they do not use such presents; a tassel from a horse's breast, an archer's armlet, or an arrow may serve the purpose. For such presents women use the fruits of the hovenia dulcis, or of the hazel tree, strings of dried meat, jujube dates, and chestnuts.

128 In presenting a daughter for (the harem of) the son of Heaven it is said, 'This is to complete the providers of sons for you;' for that of the ruler of a state, 'This is to complete the providers of your spirits and sauces;' for that of a Great officer, 'This is to complete the number of those who sprinkle and sweep for you.'

LI JI CHAPTER 3 Tan Gong 1

Tangong Part 1

1 At the mourning rites for Gong-yi Zhong-zi, Tan Gong (was there), wearing the mourning cincture for the head, Zhong-zi had passed over his grandson, and appointed one of his (younger) sons as his successor (and head of the family). Tan Gong said (to himself), 'How is this? I never heard of such a thing;' and he hurried to Zi-fu Bo-zi at the right of the door, and said, ' How is it that Zhong-zi passed over his grandson, and made a (younger) son his successor?' Bo-zi replied, 'Zhong-zi perhaps has done in this, like others, according to the way of antiquity. Anciently, king Wen passed over his eldest son Yi-kao, and appointed king Wu; and the count of Wei passed over his grandson Tu, and made Yan, his (own) younger brother, his successor. Zhong-zi perhaps did also in this according to the way of antiquity.' Zi-you asked Confucius (about the matter), and he said, 'Nay, (the rule is to) appoint the grandson.'

2 In serving his father, (a son) should conceal (his faults), and not openly or strongly remonstrate with him about them; should in every possible way wait on and nourish him, without being tied to definite rules; should serve him laboriously till his death, and then complete the mourning for him for three' years. In serving his ruler, (a minister), should remonstrate with him openly and strongly (about his faults), and make no concealment (of them); should in every possible way wait on and nourish him, but according to definite rules; should serve him laboriously till his death, and should then wear mourning for him according to rule for three years. In serving his master, (a learner) should have nothing to do with openly reproving him or with concealing (his faults); should in every possible way wait upon and serve him, without being tied to definite rules; should serve him laboriously till his death, and mourn for him in heart for three years.

3 Ji Wu-zi had built a house, at the bottom of the western steps of which was the grave of the Du family. (The head of that) asked leave to bury (some member of his house) in it, and leave was granted to him to do so. (Accordingly) he entered the house (with the coffin), but did not dare to wail (in the usual fashion). Wu-zi said to him, 'To bury in the same grave was not the way of antiquity. It was begun by the duke of Zhou, and has not been changed since. I have granted you

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the great thing, and why should I not grant the less?' (With this) he ordered him to wail.

4 When Zi-shang's mother died, and he did not perform any mourning rites for her, the disciples of (his father) Zi-si asked him, saying, 'Did your predecessor, the superior man, observe mourning for his divorced mother?' 'Yes,' was the reply. (And the disciples went on), 'Why do you not make Bai also observe the mourning rites (for his mother)?' Zi-si said, 'My progenitor, a superior man, never failed in pursuing the right path. When a generous course was possible, he took it and behaved generously; and when it was proper to restrain his generosity, he restrained it. But how can I attain to that? While she was my wife, she was Bai's mother; but when she ceased to be my wife, she was no longer his mother.' It was in this way that the Kong family came not to observe mourning for a divorced mother; the practice began from Zi-si.

5 Confucius said, 'When (the mourner) bows to (the visitor), and then lays his forehead to the ground, this shows the predominance of courtesy. When he lays his forehead to the ground, and then bows (to his visitor), this shows the extreme degree of his sorrow. In the three years' mourning, I follow the extreme (demonstration).'

6 When Confucius had succeeded in burying (his mother) in the same grave (with his father) at Fang, he said, 'I have heard that the ancients made graves (only), and raised no mound over them. But I am a man, who will be (travelling) east, west, south, and north. I cannot do without something by which I can remember (the place).' On this, he (resolved to) raise a mound (over the grave) four feet high.

He then first returned, leaving the disciples behind. A great rain came on; and when they rejoined him, he asked them what had made them so late. 'The earth slipped,' they said, 'from the grave at Fang.' They told him this thrice without his giving them any answer. He then wept freely, and said, 'I have heard that the ancients did not need to repair their graves.'

7 Confucius was wailing for Zi-lu in his courtyard. When any came to condole with him, he bowed to them. When the wailing was over, he made the messenger come in, and asked him all about (Zi-lu's death). 'They have made him into pickle,' said the messenger; and forthwith Confucius ordered the pickle (in the house) to be thrown away.

8 Zeng-zi said, 'When the grass is old on the grave of a friend, we no (longer) wall for him.'

9 Zi-si said, 'On the third day of mourning, when the body is put into the coffin, (a son) should exercise sincerity and good faith in regard to everything that is placed with it, so that there shall be no occasion for repentance. In the third month when the body is interred, he should do the same in regard to everything that is placed with the coffin in the grave, and for the same reason. Three years are considered as the extreme limit of mourning; but though (his parents) are out of sight, a son does not forget them. Hence a superior man will have a lifelong grief, but not one morning's trouble (from without); and thus on the anniversary of a parent's death, he does not listen to music.'

10 Confucius, being quite young when he was left fatherless, did not know (his father's) grave. (Afterwards) he had (his mother's) body coffined in the street of Wu-fu. Those who saw it all thought that it was to be interred there, so carefully was (everything done), but it was (only) the coffining. By inquiring of the mother of Man-fu of Zou, he succeeded in burying it in the same grave (with his father) at Fang.

11 When there are mourning rites in the neighbourhood, one should not accompany his pestle with his voice. When there is a body shrouded and coffined in his village, one should not sing in the lanes. For a mourning cap the ends of the ties should not hang down.

12 (In the time of Shun) of Yu they used earthenware coffins; under the sovereigns of Xia, they surrounded these with an enclosure of bricks. The people of Yin used wooden coffins, the outer and inner. They of Zhou added the surrounding curtains and the feathery ornaments. The people of Zhou buried those who died between 16 and 19 in the coffins of Yin; those who died between 12 and 15 or between 8 and 11 in the brick enclosures of Xia; and those who died (still younger), for whom no mourning is worn, in the earthenware enclosures of the time of the lord of Yu.

13 Under the sovereigns of Xia they preferred what was black. On great occasions (of mourning), for preparing the body and putting it into the coffin, they used the dusk; for the business of war, they used black horses in their chariots; and the victims which they used were black. Under the Yin dynasty they preferred what was white. On occasions of mourning, for coffining the body, they used the midday; for the business of war they used white horses; and their victims were white. Under the Zhou dynasty they preferred what was red. On occasions of mourning, they coffined the body at sunrise; for the business of war they used red horses, with black manes and tails; and their victims were red.

14 When the mother of duke Mu of Lu died, he sent to ask Zeng-zi what (ceremonies) he should observe. Zeng-zi said, 'I have heard from my father that the sorrow declared in the weeping and wailing, the feelings expressed in the robe of sackcloth with even or with frayed edges, and the food of rice made thick or in congee, extend from the son of Heaven to all. But the tent-like covering (for the coffin) is of (linen) cloth in Wei, and of silk in Lu.'

15 Duke Xian of Jin, intending to put to death his heir-son Shen-sheng, another son, Chong-er, said to the latter, 'Why should you not tell what is in your mind to the duke?' The heir-son said, 'I cannot do so. The ruler is happy with the lady Ji of Li. I should (only) wound his heart.' 'Then,' continued the other, 'Why not go away?' The heir son replied, 'I cannot do so. The ruler says that I wish to murder him. Is there any state where the (sacredness) of a father is not recognised? Where should I go to obviate this charge?' (At the same time) he sent a man to take leave (for him) of Hu Tu, with the message, 'I was wrong in not thinking (more) of your words, my old friend, and that neglect is occasioning my death. Though I do not presume to grudge dying, yet our ruler is old, and his (favourite) son is (quite) young. Many difficulties are threatening the state, and you, old Sir, do not come forth (from your retirement), and consult for (the good of) our ruler. If you will come forth and do this, I will die (with the feeling that I) have received a (great) favour from you.' He (then) bowed twice, laying his head to the ground, after which he died (by his own hand). On this account he became (known in history as)'the Reverential Heir-son'.'

16 There was a man of Lu, who, after performing in the morning the ceremony which introduced the 25th month of his mourning, began to sing in the evening. Zi-lu laughed at him, (but) the Master said, 'You, will you never have done with your finding fault with people? The mourning for three years is indeed long.' When Zi-lu went out, the Master said, 'Would he still have had to wait long? In another month (he might have sung, and) it would have been well.'

17 Duke Zhuang of Lu fought a battle with the men of Song at Sheng-qiu. Xian Ben-fu was driving, and Bu Guo was spearman on the right. The horses got frightened, and the carriage was broken, so that the duke fell down. They handed the strap of a relief chariot (that drove up) to him, when he said, 'I did not consult the tortoise-shell (about the movement).' Xiun Ben-fu said, 'On no other occasion did such a disaster occur; that it has occurred to-day is owing to my want of courage. Forthwith he died (in the fight). When the groom was bathing the horses, a random arrow was found (in one of them), sticking in the flesh under the flank; and (on learning this), the duke said, 'It was not his fault; and he conferred on him an honorary name. The practice of giving such names to (ordinary) officers began from this.

18 Zeng-zi was lying in his chamber very ill. Yue-zheng Zi-chun was sitting by the side of the couch; Zeng Yuan and Zeng Shen were sitting at (their father's) feet; and there was a lad sitting in a corner holding a torch, who said, 'How beautifully coloured and bright! Is it not the mat of a Great officer?' Zi-chun (tried to) stop him, but Zeng-zi had heard him, and in a tone of alarm called him, when he repeated what he had said. 'Yes,' said Zeng-zi, 'it was the gift of Ji-sun, and I have not been able to change it. Get up, Yuan, and change the mat.' Zang Yuan said, 'Your illness is extreme. It cannot now be changed. If you happily survive till the morning, I will ask your leave and reverently change it! Zeng-zi said, 'Your love of me is not equal to his. A superior man loves another on grounds of virtue; a little man's love of another is seen in his indulgence of him. What do I seek for? I want for nothing but to die in the correct way.' They then raised him up, and changed the mat. When he was replaced on the new one, before he could compose himself, he expired.

19 When (a father) has just died, (the son) should appear quite overcome, and as if he were at his wits' end; when the corpse has been put into the coffin, he should cast quick and sorrowful glances around, as if he were seeking for something and could not find it; when the interment has taken place, he should look alarmed and. restless, as if he were looking for some one who does not arrive; at the end of the first year's mourning, he should look sad and disappointed; and at the end of the second year's, he should have a vague and unreliant look.

20 The practice in Zhu-lou of calling the (spirits of the dead) back with arrows took its rise from the battle of Sheng-xing. That in Lu of the women making their visits of condolence (simply) with a band of sackcloth round their hair took its rise from the defeat at Yi-tai.

21 At the mourning for her mother-in-law, the Master instructed (his niece), the wife of Nan-gong Jiang, about the way in which she should tie up her hair with sackcloth, saying, 'Do not make it very high, nor very broad. Have the hair-pin of hazel-wood, and the hair-knots (hanging down) eight inches.'

22 Meng Xian-zi, after the service which ended the mourning rites, had his instruments of music hung on their stands,. but did not use them; and when he might have approached the inmates of his harem, he did not enter it. The Master said, 'Xian-zi is a degree above other men.'

23 Confucius, after the service at the close of the one year's mourning, in five days more (began to) handle his lute, but brought no perfect sounds from it; in ten days he played on the organ and sang to it.

24 You-zi, it appears, after the service of the same period of mourning, wore shoes of (white) silk, and had ribbons of (white) silk for his cap-strings.

25 There are three deaths on which no condolence should be offered: from cowardice; from being crushed (through heedlessness); and from drowning.

26 When Zi-lu might have ended his mourning for his eldest sister, he still did not do so. Confucius said to him, 'Why do you not leave off your mourning?' He replied, 'I have but few brothers, and I cannot bear to do so.' Confucius said, 'When the ancient kings framed their rules, (they might have said that) they could not bear (to cease mourning) even for (ordinary) men on the roads.' When Zi-lu heard this, he forthwith left off his mourning.

27 Tai-gong was invested with his state, (and had his capital) in Ying-qiu; but for five generations (his descendants, the marquises of Qi) were all taken back and buried in Zhou. A superior man has said, 'For music, we use that of him from whom we sprang; in ceremonies, we do not forget him to whom we trace our root.' The ancients had a saying, that a fox, when dying, adjusts its head in the direction of the mound (where it was whelped); manifesting thereby (how it shares in the feeling of) humanity.

28 When the mother of Bo-Yu died, he kept on wailing for her after the year. Confucius heard him, and said, 'Who is it that is thus wailing?' The disciples said, 'It is Li.' The Master said, 'Ah! (such a demonstration) is excessive.' When Bo-Yu heard it, he forthwith gave up wailing.

29 Shun was buried in the wilderness of Cang-wu, and it would thus appear that the three ladies of his harem were not buried in the same grave with him. Ji Wu-zi said, 'Burying (husband and wife) in the same grave appears to have originated with the duke of Zhou.'

30 At the mourning rites for Zeng-zi, his body was washed in the cook-room.

31 During the mourning for nine months one should suspend his (musical) studies. Some one has said, 'It is permissible during that time to croon over the words (of the pieces).'

32 When Zi-zhang was ill, he called (his son), Shen-xiang, and addressed him, saying, 'We speak of the end of a superior man, and of the death of a small man. I am to-day, perhaps, drawing near to my end (as a superior man).'

33 Zeng-zi said, 'May not what remains in the cupboard suffice to set down (as the offerings) by (the corpse of) one who has just died?'

34 Zeng-zi said, 'Not to have places (for wailing) in cases of the five months' mourning is a rule which sprang from the ways in small lanes.' When Zi-si wailed for his sister-in-law, he made such places, and his wife took the lead in the stamping. When Shen-xiang wailed for Yan-si, he also did the same.

35 Anciently, (all) caps were (made) with the seams going up and down them; now the (mourning cap) is made with the seams going round. Hence to have the mourning cap different from that worn on felicitous occasions is not the way of antiquity.

36 Zeng-zi said to Zi-si, 'Ji, when I was engaged in the mourning for my parents, no water or other liquid entered my mouth for seven days.' Zi-si said, 'With regard to the rules of ceremony framed by the ancient kings, those who would go beyond them should stoop down to them, and those who do not reach them should stand on tip-toe to do so. Hence, when a superior man is engaged in mourning for his parents, no water or other liquid enters his mouth for three days, and with the aid of his staff he is still able to rise.'

37 Zeng-zi said, 'If, in cases coming under the five months' mourning, none be worn when the death is not heard of till after the lapse of that time, then when brethren are far apart there would be no wearing of mourning for them at all; and would this be right?'

38 On the mourning rites for Bo-gao, before the messenger from Confucius could arrive, Ran-zi had taken it on him, as his substitute, to present a parcel of silks and a team of four horses. Confucius said, 'Strange! He has only made me fail in showing my sincerity in the case of Bo-gao.'

39 Bo-gao died in Wei, and news of the event was sent to Confucius. He said, 'Where shall I wail for him? For brethren, I wail in the ancestral temple; for a friend of my father, outside the gate of the temple; for a teacher, in my chamber; for a friend, outside the door of the chamber; for an acquaintance, in the open country, (some distance off). (To wail) in the open country would in this case be too slight (an expression of grief), and to do so in the bed-chamber would be too great a one. But it was by Ci that he was introduced to me. I will wail for him in Ci's.' Accordingly he ordered Zi-gong to act as presiding mourner on the occasion, saying to him, 'Bow to those who come because you have a wailing in your house, but do not bow to those who come (simply) because they knew Bo-gao.'

40 Zeng-zi said, 'When one during his mourning rites falls ill, and has to eat meat and drink spirits, there must be added the strengthening flavours from vegetables and trees;' meaning thereby ginger and cinnamon.

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41 When Zi-xia was mourning for his son, he lost his eyesight. Zeng-zi went to condole with him, and said, 'I have heard that when a friend loses his eyesight, we should wail for him.' Thereupon he wailed, and Zi-xia also wailed, and said, 'O Heaven, and I have no guilt!' Zeng-zi was angry, and said, 'Shang, how can you say that you have no guilt? I and you served the Master between the Zhu and the Si'; and (after his death) you retired, and grew old in the neighbourhood of the Western He, where you made the people compare you with the Master. This was one offence. When you mourned for your parents, you did so in such a way that the people heard nothing of it. This was a second offence. When you mourned for your son, you did it in such a way that you have lost your eyesight. This is a third offence. And how do you say that you have no guilt?' Zi-xia threw down his staff, and bowed, saying, 'I was wrong, I was wrong. It is a long time since I left the herd, and lived apart here.'

42 When a man stops during the daytime in his inner (chamber), it is allowable to come and ask about his illness. When he stops outside during the night, it is allowable to come and condole with him. Hence a superior man, except for some great cause, does not pass the night outside (his chamber); and unless he is carrying out a fast or is ill, he does not day and night stop inside.

43 When Gao Zi-gao was engaged with the mourning for his parents, his tears flowed (silently) like blood for three years, and he never (laughed) so as to show his teeth. Superior men considered that he did a difficult thing.

44 It is better not to wear mourning at all than not to have it of the proper materials and fashion. When wearing the sackcloth with the edges even (for a mother), one should not sit unevenly or to one side, nor should he do any toilsome labour, (even) in the nine months' mourning.

45 When Confucius went to Wei, he found the mourning rites going on for a man with whom he had formerly lodged. Entering the house, he wailed for him bitterly; and when he came out, he told Zi-gong to take out the outside horses of his carriage, and present them as his gift. Zi-gong said, 'At the mourning for any of your disciples, you have never taken out those horses (for such a purpose); is it not excessive to do so for a man with whom you (merely) lodged?' The Master said, 'I entered a little ago, and wailed for him; and I found (the mourner) so dissolved in grief that my tears flowed (with his). I should hate it, if those tears were not (properly) followed. Do it, my child.'

46 When Confucius was in Wei, there was (a son) following his (father's) coffin to the grave. After Confucius had looked at him, he said, 'How admirably did he manage this mourning rite! He is fit to be a pattern. Remember it, my little children.' Zi-gong said, 'What did you, Master, see in him so admirable?' 'He went,' was the reply, 'as if he were full of eager affection. He came back (looking) as if he were in doubt.' 'Would it not have been better, if he had come back hastily, to present the offering of repose?' The Master said, 'Remember it, my children. I have not been able to attain to it.'

47 At the mourning rites for Yan Yuan, some of the flesh of the sacrifice at the end of (? two) years was sent to Confucius, who went out and received it, On re-entering he played on his lute, and afterwards ate it.

48 Confucius was standing (once) with his disciples, having his hands joined across his breast, and the right hand uppermost. They also all placed their right hands uppermost. He said to them, 'You do so from your wish to imitate me, but I place my hands so, because I am mourning for an elder sister.' On this they all placed their left hands uppermost (according to the usual fashion).

49 Confucius rose early (one day), and with his hands behind him, and trailing his staff, moved slowly about near the door, singing, "The great mountain must crumble; The strong beam must break; The wise man must wither away like a plant.' Having thus sung, he entered and sat down opposite the door. Zi-gong had heard him, and said, 'If the great mountain crumble, to what shall I look up? If the strong beam break, (on what shall I lean)? If the wise man wither like a plant, whom, shall I imitate? The Master, I am afraid, is going to be ill.' He then hastened into the house. The Master said, Ci, what makes you so late? Under the sovereigns of Xia, the body was dressed and coffined at the top of the steps on the east, so that it was where the deceased used to go up (as master of the house). The people of Yin performed the same ceremony between the two pillars, so that the steps for the host were on one side of the corpse, and those for the guest on the other. The people of Zhou perform it at the top of the western steps, treating the deceased as if he were a guest. I am a man (descended from the house) of Yin, and last night I dreamt that I was sitting with the offerings to the dead by my side between the two pillars. Intelligent kings do not arise; and what one under heaven s able to take me as his Master? I apprehend I am about to die.' With this he took to his bed, was ill for seven days, and died.

50 At the mourning rites for Confucius, the disciples were in perplexity as to what dress they should wear. Zi-gong said, 'Formerly, when the Master was mourning for Yan Yuan, he acted in other respects as if he were mourning for a son, but wore no mourning dress. He did the same in the case of Zi-lu. Let us mourn for the Master, as if we were mourning for a father, but wear no mourning dress.'

51 At the mourning for Confucius, Gong-xi Chi made the ornaments of commemoration. As the adornments of the coffin, there were the wall-like curtains, the fan-like screens, and the cords at its sides, after the manner of Zhou. There were the flags with their toothed edges, after the manner of Yin; and there were the flag-staffs bound with white silk, and long streamers pendent from them, after the manner of Xia.

52 At the mourning for Zi-zhang, Gong-ming made the ornaments of commemoration. There was a tent-like pall, made of plain silk of a carnation colour, with clusters of ants at the four corners, (as if he had been) an officer of Yin.

53 Zi-xia asked Confucius, saying, 'How should (a son) conduct himself with reference to the man who has killed his father or mother?' The Master said, 'He should sleep on straw, with his shield for a pillow; he should not take office; he must be determined not to live with the slayer under the same heaven. If he meet with him in the market-place or the court, he should not have to go back for his weapon, but (instantly) fight with him.' 'Allow me to ask,' said (the other), 'how one should do with reference to the man who has slain his brother?' 'He may take office,' was the reply, 'but not in the same state with the slayer; if he be sent on a mission by his ruler's orders, though he may then meet with the man, he should not fight with him.' 'And how should one do,' continued Zi-xia, 'in the case of a man who has slain one of his paternal cousins?' Confucius said, 'He should not take the lead (in the avenging). If he whom it chiefly concerns is able to do that, he should support him from behind, with his weapon in his hand.'

54 At the mourning rites for Confucius, his disciples all wore their head-bands of sackcloth, when they went out. For one of their own number, they wore them in the house (when condoling), but not when they went out.

55 Keeping (the ground about) their graves clear of grass was not a practice of antiquity.

56 Zi-lu said, 'I heard the Master say that in the rites of mourning, exceeding grief with deficient rites is better than little demonstration of grief with superabounding rites; and that in those of sacrifice, exceeding reverence with deficient rites is better than an excess of rites with but little reverence.'

57 Zeng-zi having gone on a visit of condolence to Fu-Xia, the chief mourner had already presented the sacrifice of departure, and removed the offerings. He caused the bier, however, to be pushed back to its former place, and made the women come down (again), after which (the visitor) went through his ceremony. The disciples who accompanied Zeng-zi asked him if this proceeding were according to rule, and he said, 'The sacrifice at starting is an unimportant matter, And why might he not bring (the bier) back, and 'let it rest (for a while)?' The disciples further asked the same question of Zi-you, who said, 'The rice and precious shell are put into the mouth of the corpse under the window (of the western chamber); the slighter dressing is done inside the door, and the more complete one at (the top of) the eastern steps; the coffining takes place at the guests' place; the sacrifice at starting in the courtyard; and the interment at the grave. The proceedings go on in this way to what is more remote, and hence in the details of mourning there is a constant advance and no receding.' When Zeng-zi heard of this reply, he said, 'This is a much better account than I gave of the going forth to offer the sacrifice of departure.'

58 Zeng-zi went an a visit of condolence, wearing his fur robe over the silk one, while Zi-you went, wearing the silk one over his fur. Zeng-zi, pointing to him, and calling the attention of others, said, 'That man has the reputation of being well versed in ceremonies, how is it that he comes to condole with his silk robe displayed over his fur one?' (By-and-by), when the chief mourner had finished the slighter dressing of the corpse, he bared his breast and tied up his hair with sackcloth, on which Zi-you hastened out, and (soon) came back, wearing his fur robe over the silk, and with a girdle of sackcloth. Zeng-zi on this said, 'I was wrong, I was wrong. That man was right.'

59 When Zi-xia was introduced (to the Master) after he had put off the mourning (for his parents), a lute was given to him. He tried to tune it, but could hardly do so; he touched it, but brought no melody from it. He rose up and said, 'I have not yet forgotten my grief. The ancient kings framed the rules of ceremony, and I dare not go beyond them?' When a lute was given to Zi-zhang in the same circumstances, he tried to tune it, and easily did so; he touched it, and brought melody from it. He rose up and said, 'The ancient kings framed the rules of ceremony, and I do not dare not to come up to them.'

60 At the mourning rites for Hui-zi, who had been minister of Crime, Zi-you (went to condole), wearing for him a robe of sackcloth, and a headband made of the product of the male plant. Wen-zi (the brother of Hui-zi), wishing to decline the honour, said, 'You condescended to be the associate of my younger brother, and now further condescend to wear this mourning; I venture to decline the honour.' Zi-you said, 'It is in, rule;' on which Wen-zi returned and continued his wailing. Zi-you then hastened and took his place among the officers (of the family); but Wen-zi also declined this honour, and said, 'You condescended to be the associate of my younger brother, and now further condescend to wear for him this mourning, and to come and take part in the mourning rites I venture to decline the honour.' Zi-you said, 'I beg firmly to request you to allow me (to remain here).' Wen-zi then returned, and supporting the rightful son to take his position with his face to the south, said, 'You condescended to be the associate of my younger brother, and now you further condescend to wear this mourning for him, and to come and take part in the rites; dare Hu but return to his (proper) place?' Zi-you on this hastened to take his position among the guests'.

61 At the mourning rites for the general Wen-zi, when the first year's mourning was at an end, there came a man from Yue on a visit of condolence. The chief mourner, wearing the long robe (assumed on the completion of the first year's mourning), and the cap worn before that, wailed for him in the ancestral temple, with the tears running from his eyes and the rheum from his nose. Zi-you saw it, and said, 'The son of the general Wen is not far from being (a master of ceremonies). In his observances at this time, for which there is no special rule, his proceeding is correct.'

62 The giving of the name in childhood, of the designation at the capping, of the title of elder uncle or younger uncle at fifty, and of the honorary title after death, was the practice of the Zhou dynasty.

63 The wearing of the sackcloth head-bands and girdles, to express the real (feeling of the heart); the digging a hole in the middle of the apartment (over which) to wash (the corpse); taking down the (tiles of the) furnace, and placing them at the feet (of it); and at the interment pulling down (part of the wall on the west of the door of) the ancestral temple, so as to pass by the upper side (of the altar to the spirit) of the way, and issue by the great gate - these were the practices of the Yin dynasty, and the learners (in the school of Confucius) followed them.

64 When the mother of Zi-liu died, (his younger brother) Zi-shi asked for the means (to provide what was necessary for the mourning rites). Zi-liu said, 'How shall we get them?' 'Let us sell (the concubines), the mothers of our half-brothers,' said the other. 'How can we sell the mothers of other men to bury our mother?' was the reply; 'that cannot be done.' After the burial, Zi-shi wished to take what remained of the money and other things contributed towards their expenses, to provide sacrificial vessels; but Zi-liu said, 'Neither can that be done. I have heard that a superior man will not enrich his family by means of his mourning. Let us distribute it among the poor of our brethren.'

65 A superior man said, 'He who has given counsel to another about his army should die with it when it is defeated. He who has given counsel about the country or its capital should perish with it when it comes into peril.'

66 Gong-shu Wen-zi ascended the mound of Xia, with, Qu Bo-Yu following him. Wen-zi said, 'How pleasant is this mound! I should like to be buried here when I die.' Qu Bo-Yu said, 'You may find pleasure in such a thought, but allow me (to go home) before (you say any more about it)

67 There was a man of Bian who wept like a child on the death of his mother. Confucius said, 'This is grief indeed, but it would be difficult to continue it. Now the rules of ceremony require to be handed down, and to be perpetuated. Hence the wailing and leaping are subject to fixed regulations.'

68 When the mother of Shu-sun Wu-shu died, and the slighter dressing had been completed, the bearers went out at the door (of the apartment) with the corpse. When he had himself gone out at the door, he bared his arms, throwing down also his cap, and binding his hair with sackcloth, Zi-you said (in derision), 'He knows the rules!'

69 (When a ruler was ill), the high chamberlain supported him on the right, and the assigner of positions at audiences did so on the left. When he died these two officers lifted (the corpse).

70 There are the husband of a maternal cousin and the wife of a maternal uncle; that these two should wear mourning for each other has not been said by any superior man. Some one says, 'If they have eaten together from the same fireplace, the three months' mourning should be worn.'

71 It is desirable that affairs of mourning should be gone about with urgency, and festive affairs in a leisurely way. Hence, though affairs of mourning require urgency, they should not go beyond the prescribed rules; and though festive affairs may be delayed, they should not be transacted negligently. Hurry therefore (in the former) becomes rudeness, and too much ease (in the latter) shows a small man. The superior man will conduct himself in them as they severally require.

72 A superior man is ashamed to prepare (beforehand) all that he may require in discharging his mourning rites. What can be made in one or two days, he does not prepare (beforehand). The mourning worn for the son of a brother should be the same as for one's own son: the object being to bring him still nearer to one's self. An elder brother's wife and his younger brother do not wear mourning for each other: the

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object being to maintain the distance between them. Slight mourning is worn for an aunt, and an elder or younger sister, (when they have been married); the reason being that there are those who received them from us, and will render to them the full measure of observance. When (the Master) was eating by the side of one who had mourning rites in hand, he never ate to the full.

73 Zeng-zi was standing with (another) visitor by the side of the door (of their house of entertainment), when a companion (of the other) came hurrying out. 'Where are you going?' said Zeng-zi; and the man replied, 'My father is dead, and I am going to wail for him in the lane.' 'Return to your apartment,' was the reply, 'and wail for him there.' (The man did so), and Zeng-zi made him a visit of condolence, standing with his face to the north.

74 Confucius said, 'In dealing with the dead, if we treat them as if they were entirely dead, that would show a want of affection, and should not be done; or, if we treat them as if they were entirely alive, that would show a want of wisdom, and should not be done. On this account the vessels of bamboo (used in connexion with the burial of the dead) are not fit for actual use; those of earthenware cannot be used to wash in; those of wood are incapable of being carved; the lutes are strung, but not evenly; the pandean pipes are complete, but not in tune; the bells and musical stones are there, but they have no stands. They are called vessels to the eye of fancy; that is, (the dead) are thus treated as if they were spiritual intelligences.'

75 You-zi asked Zeng-zi if he had ever questioned the Master about (an officer's) losing his place. 'I heard from him,' was the reply, 'that the officer in such a case should wish to become poor quickly, (just as) we should wish to decay away quickly when we have died.' You-zi said, 'These are not the words of a superior man.' 'I heard them from the Master,' returned Zeng-zi. You-zi repeated that they were not the words of a superior man, and the other affirmed that both he and Zi-you had heard them. 'Yes, yes,' said You-zi, 'but the Master must have spoken them with a special reference.'

Zeng-zi reported You-zi's words to Zi-you, who said, 'How very like his words are to those of the Master! Formerly, when the Master was staying in Song, he saw that Huan, the minister of War, had been for three years having a stone coffin made for himself without its being finished, and said, "What extravagance! It would be better that when dead he should quickly decay away." It was with reference to Hwan, the minister of War, that he said, "We should wish to decay away quickly when we die." When Nan-gong Jing-shu returned (to the state), he made it a point to carry his treasures with him in his carriage when he went to court, on which the Master said, "Such an amount of property! It would have been better for him, when he lost his office, to make haste to become poor." It was with reference to Nan-gong Jing-shu that he said that we should work to become poor quickly, when we have lost office.'"

Zeng-zi reported these words of Zi-you to You-zi, who said, 'Yes, I did say that these were not the words of the Master.' When the other asked him how he knew it, he said, 'The Master made an ordinance in Zhong-Du that the inner coffin should be four inches thick, and the outer five. By this I knew that he did not wish that the dead should decay away quickly. And formerly, when he had lost the office of minister of Crime in Lu, and was about to go to Jing, he first sent Zi-xia there, and afterwards Ran You. By this, I knew that he did not wish to become poor quickly.'

76 When Zhuang-zi of Chen died, announcement of the event was sent to Lu. They did not want to wail for him there, but duke Mu called Xian-zi, and consulted him. He said, 'In old times, no messages from Great officers, not even such as were accompanied by a bundle of pieces of dried meat, went out beyond the boundaries of their states. Though it had been wished to wail for them, how could it have been done? Nowadays the Great officers share in the measures of government throughout the middle states. Though it may be wished not to wail for one, how can it be avoided? I have heard, moreover, that there are two grounds for the wailing; one from love, and one from fear.' The duke said, 'Very well; but how is the thing to be managed in this case?' Xian-zi said, 'I would ask you to wail for him in the temple of (a family of) a different surname;' and hereon the duke and he wailed for Zhuang-zi in (the temple of) the Xian family.

77 Zhong Xian said to Zeng-zi, 'Under the sovereigns of the Xia dynasty, they used (at burials) the vessels which were such only to the eye of fancy, intimating to the people that (the dead) had no knowledge. Under the Yin they used the (ordinary) sacrificial vessels, intimating to the people that (the dead) had knowledge. Under the Zhou we use both, intimating to the people that the thing is doubtful.' Zeng-zi replied, 'It is not so! It is not so! What are vessels (only) to the eye of fancy are for the shades (of the departed); the vessels of sacrifice are those of men; how should those ancients have treated their parents as if they were dead?'

78 An elder brother of Gong-shu Mu, by the same mother but a different father, having died, he asked Zi-you (whether he should go into mourning for him), and was answered, 'Perhaps you should do so for the period of nine months.' A brother, similarly related to Di Yi, having died, he consulted Zi-xia in the same way, and was answered, 'I have not heard anything about it before, but the people of Lu wear the one year's mourning in such a case.' Di Yi did so, and the present practice of wearing that mourning arose from his question'.

79 When Zi-si's mother died in Wei, Liu Ruo said to him, 'You, Sir, are the descendant of a sage. From all quarters they look to you for an example in ceremonies; let me advise you to be careful in the matter.' Zi-si said, 'Of what have I to be careful? I have heard that when there are certain ceremonies to be observed, and he has not the necessary means for them, a superior man does not observe them', and that neither does he do so, when there are the ceremonies, and he has the means, but the time is not suitable; of what have I to be careful?'

80 Xian-zi Suo said, 'I have heard that the ancients made no diminution (in the degrees of mourning on any other ground); but mourned for every one above and below them according to his relationship. Thus Wen, the earl of Teng, wore the year's mourning for Meng-hu, who was his uncle, and the same for Meng Pi, whose uncle he was.'

81 Hou Mu said, 'I heard Xian-zi say about the rites of mourning, that (a son) should certainly think deeply and long about them all, and that (for instance) in buying the coffin he should see that, inside and outside, it be (equally) well completed. When I die, let it be so also with me.'

82 Zeng-zi said, 'Until the corpse has its ornaments put on it, they curtain off the hall; and after the slighter dressing the curtain is removed.' Gong-liang-zi said, 'Husband and wife are at first all in confusion, and therefore the hall is curtained off. After the slighter dressing, the curtain is removed.'

83 With regard to the offerings to the dead at the time of the slighter dressing, Zi-you said that they should be placed on the east (of the corpse). Zeng-zi said, 'They should be placed on the west, on the mat there at the time of the dressing.' The placing the offerings on the west at the time of the slighter dressing was an error of the later times of Lu.

84 Xuan-zi said, 'To have the mourning robe of coarse dolichos cloth, and the lower garment of fine linen with a wide texture, was not (the way of) antiquity.'

85 When Zi-pu died, the wailers called out his name Mie. Zi-gao said, 'So rude and uncultivated are they!' On this they changed their style.

86 At the mourning rites for the mother of Du Qiao no one was employed in the house to assist (the son in the ceremonies), which was accounted a careless omission.

87 The Master said, 'As soon as a death occurs, (the members of the family) should change their lambskin furs and dark-coloured caps, though they may do nothing more.' The Master did not pay a visit of condolence in these articles of dress.

88 Zi-you asked about the articles to be provided for the mourning rites, and the Master said, 'They should be according to the means of the family.' Zi-you urged, 'How can a family that has means and one that has not have things done in the same way?' The master replied, 'Where there are means, let there be no exceeding the prescribed rites. If there be a want of means, let the body be lightly covered from head to foot, and forthwith buried, the coffin being simply let down by means of ropes. Who in such a case will blame the procedure?'

89 Ben, superintendent of officers' registries, informed Zi-you of his wish to dress his dead on the couch. 'You may,' said Zi-you. When Xian-zi heard of this, he said, 'How arrogant is the old gentleman! He takes it on himself to allow men in what is the proper rule.'

90 At the burial of his wife, duke Xiang of Song placed (in the grave) a hundred jars of vinegar and pickles. Zeng-zi said, 'They are called "vessels only to the eye of fancy," and yet he filled them!'

91 After the mourning rites for Meng Xian-zi, the chief minister of his family made his subordinates return their money-offerings to all the donors. The Master said that such a thing was allowable.

92 About the reading of the list of the material contributions (towards the service of a funeral), Zeng-zi said, 'It is not an ancient practice; it is a second announcement (to the departed)!'

93 When Cheng-zi Gao was lying ill, Qing went in to see him, and asked his (parting) commands, saying, 'Your disease, Sir, is severe. If it should go on to be the great illness, what are we to do?' Zi-gao said, 'I have heard that in life we should be of use to others, and in death should do them no harm. Although I may have been of no use to others during my life, shall I do them any harm by my death? When I am dead, choose a piece of barren ground, and bury me there.'

94 Zi-xia asked the Master (how one should deport himself) during the mourning for the ruler's mother or wife, (and the reply was), 'In sitting and stopping with others, in his conversation, and when eating and drinking, he should appear to be at ease.

95 When a stranger-visitor arrived, and had nowhere to lodge, the Master would say, 'While he is alive, let him lodge with me. Should he die, I will see to his coffining.'

96 Guo-zi gao said, 'Burying means hiding away; and that hiding (of the body) is from a wish that men should not see it. Hence there are the clothes sufficient for an elegant covering; the coffin all round about the clothes; the shell all round about the coffin; and the earth all round about the shell. And shall we farther raise a mound over the grave and plant it with trees?'

97 At the mourning for Confucius, there came a man from Yan to see (what was done), and lodged at Zi-xia's. Zi-xia said to him, 'If it had been for the sage's conducting a burial, (there would have been something worthy to see); but what is there to see in our burying of the sage? Formerly the Master made some remarks to me, saying, "I have seen some mounds made like a raised hall; others like a dyke on a river's bank; others like the roof of a large house; and others in the shape of an axe-head." We have followed the axe-shape, making what is called the horse-mane mound. In one day we thrice shifted the frame-boards, and completed the mound. I hope we have carried out the wish of the Master.'

98 Women (in mourning) do not (change) the girdle made of dolichos fibre.

99 When new offerings (of grain or fruits) are presented (beside the body in the coffin), they should be (abundant), like the offerings on the first day of the moon.

100 When the interment has taken place, everyone should make a change in his mourning dress.

101 The gutters of the tent-like frame over the coffin should be like the double gutters of a house.

102 When a ruler succeeds to his state, he makes his coffin, and thereafter varnishes it once a year, keeping it deposited away.

103 Calling the departed back; plugging the teeth open; keeping the feet straight; filling the mouth; dressing the corpse; and curtaining the hall: these things are set about together.

104 The uncles and elder cousins give their charges to those who are to communicate the death (to friends). The (soul of a deceased) ruler is called back in his smaller chambers, and the large chamber; in the smaller ancestral temples and in the great one: and at the gate leading to the court of the external audience, and in the suburbs all round.

105 Why do they leave the offerings of the mourning rites uncovered? May they do so with the flesh of sacrifice?

106 When the coffining has taken place, in ten days after, provision should be made for the materials (for the shell), and for the vessels to the eye of fancy.

107 The morning offerings should be set forth (beside the body) at sunrise; the evening when the sun is about to set.

108 In mourning for a parent, there is no restriction to (set) times for wailing. If one be sent on a mission, he must announce his return (to the spirits of his departed).

109 After the twelfth month of mourning, the (inner) garment should be of white silk, with a yellow lining, and having the collar and the edges of the cuffs of a light purple. The waist-band should be of dolichos cloth; the shoes of hempen string, without the usual ornaments at the points; and the ear-plugs of horn. The lining of the deer's-fur (for winter) should be made broader and with longer cuffs, and a robe of thin silk may be worn over it.

110 When (a parent's) corpse has been coffined, if the son hear of mourning going on for a cousin at a distance, he must go (to condole), though the relationship would only require the three months' mourning. If the mourning be for a neighbour, who is not a relative, he does not go. At (the mourning) for an acquaintance, he must pay visits of condolence to all his brethren, though they might not have lived with him.

111 The coffin of the son of Heaven is fourfold. The hides of a water-buffalo and a rhinoceros, overlapping each other, (form the first), three inches in thickness. Then there is a coffin of yi wood, and there are two of the Rottlera. The four are all complete enclosures. The bands for the (composite) coffin are (five); two straight, and three cross; with a double wedge under each band (where it is on the edge). The shell is of cypress wood, in pieces six cubits long, from the trunk near the root.

112 When the son of Heaven is wailing for a feudal prince, he wears the bird's-(head) cap, a headband of sackcloth, and black robes. Some one says, 'He employs an officer to wail for him.' While so engaged, he has no music at his meals.

113 When the son of Heaven is put into his coffin it is surrounded with boards plastered over, and (rests on the hearse), on whose shafts are painted dragons, so as to form a (kind of) shell. Then over the coffin is placed a pall with the axe-heads figured on it. This being done, it forms a plastered house. Such is the rule for (the coffining of) the son of Heaven.

114 It is only at the mourning rites for the son of Heaven that the feudal princes are arranged for the wailing according to their different surnames.

115 Duke Ai of Lu eulogised Kong Qiu in the words, 'Heaven has not left the old man, and there is no one to assist me in my place. Oh! Alas! Ni-fu!'

116 When a state had lost a large tract of territory with its cities, the highest and other ministers, and the Great and

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other officers, all wailed in the grand ancestral temple, in mourning caps, for three days; and the ruler (for the same time) had no full meal with music. Some one says, 'The ruler has his full meals and music, but wails at the altar to the spirit of the land.'

117 Confucius disliked those who wailed in the open fields.

118 (A son) who has not been in office should not presume to give away anything belonging to the family. If he should have to do so, he ought to have the order of his father or elder brother for the act.

119 When the (ordinary) officers are all entered, then (the chief mourner and all the others) fall to their leaping, morning and evening.

120 After the service on the conclusion of the twenty-fourth month of mourning, the plain white cap is assumed. In that month the service on leaving off mourning is performed, and after another month (the mourners) may take to their music.

121 The ruler may confer on any officer the small curtain (as a pall for his father's coffin).

LI JI CHAPTER 4 Tan Gong 2

Tangong Part 2

122 At the funeral of a ruler's eldest son by his acknowledged wife, who has died under age, there are three (small) carriages (with the flesh of sacrifice to be put in the grave). At that of an eldest son by one of his concubines, dying under age, there is one such carriage; as at the funeral of the eldest rightful son of a Great officer in the same circumstances.

123 At the mourning rites for a feudal lord, his chief officers who had received their appointments. directly from him, carried their staffs.

124 When a Great officer of a state was about to be buried, its ruler (went to) condole with (his son) in the hall where the coffin was. When it was being taken out, he ordered some one to draw the (bier-carriage) for him. This moved on for three paces and stopped; in all for three times; afterwhich the ruler retired. The same proceeding was gone through, when the bier entered the ancestral temple, and also at the place of (special) grief.

125 Men of fifty, who had no carriage, did not make visits of condolence beyond the boundaries (of their states).

126 When Ji Wu-zi was lying ill in his chamber, Jiao Gu entered and appeared before him without taking off the mourning with its even edges (which he happened to wear). 'This practice,' said he, 'has nearly fallen into disuse. But it is only at the gate of the ruler that an officer should take off such mourning as I have on.' Wu-zi replied, 'Is it not good that you should act thus? A superior man illustrates the smallest points (of propriety).' At the mourning rites for Wu-zi, Zeng Dian leant against his gate and sang.

127 If a Great officer pay a visit of condolence (to an ordinary officer), and he arrive when (the latter) is occupied with the business of the occasion, an apology is made (for not coming to the gate to receive him). When one has paid a visit of condolence, he should not on the same day show manifestations of joy. A wife should not go beyond the boundaries of the state on a visit of condolence. On the day when he has made a visit of condolence, one should not drink spirits nor eat flesh. When one pays a visit of condolence, and the arrangements for the funeral are going on, he should take hold of the ropes (attached to the car). Those who follow to the grave should take hold of those attached to the coffin. During the mourning rites, if the ruler send a message of condolence, there must be some one to acknowledge it, by bowing to the messenger. A friend, or neighbour, or even a temporary resident in the house, may perform the duty. The message is announced in the words: 'Our unworthy ruler wishes to take part in your sad business.' The chief mourner responds: 'We acknowledge your presence with his message.' When a ruler meets a bier on the way, he must send some one to present his condolences (to the chief mourner).

128 At the mourning rites for a Great officer, a son by an inferior wife should not receive the condolences.

129 On the death of his wife's brother who was the successor of their father, (the husband) should wail for him in (the court of) the principal chamber. He should appoint his (own) son to preside (on the occasion). With breast unbared and wearing the cincture instead of the cap, he wails and leaps. When he enters on the right side of the gate, he should make some one stand outside it, to inform comers of the occasion of the wailing; and those who were intimate (with the deceased) will enter and wail. If his own father be in the house, the wailing should take place (before) his wife's chamber. If (the deceased) were not the successor of his father, the wailing should take place before a different chamber.

130 If a man have the coffin of a parent in his hall, and hear of mourning going on for a cousin of the same surname at a distance, he wails for him in a side apartment. If there be no such apartment, he should wail in the court on the right of the gate. If the deceased's body be in the same state, he should go to the place, and wail for him there.

131 When Zi-zhang died, Zeng-zi was in mourning for his mother, and went in his mourning dress to wail for him. Some one said, 'That dress of sackcloth with its even edges is not proper for a visit of condolence.' Zeng-zi replied, 'Am I condoling (with the living)?'

132 At the mourning rites for You Ruo, duke Dao came to condole. Zi-you received him, and introduced him by (the steps on) the left.

133 When the news was sent from Qi of the mourning for the king's daughter who had been married to the marquis, duke Zhuang of Lu wore the nine months' mourning for her. Some have said, 'She was married from Lu; therefore he wore the same mourning for her as for a sister of his own.' Others have said, 'She was his mother's mother, and therefore he wore it.'

134 At the mourning rites for duke Xian of Jin, duke Mu of Qin sent a messenger to present his condolences to Xian's son Chong-er (who was then an exile), and to add this message: 'I have heard that a time like this is specially adapted to the losing of a state, or the gaining of a state. Though you, my son, are quiet here, in sorrow and in mourning, your exile should not be allowed to continue long, and the opportunity should not be lost. Think of it and take your measures, my young son.' Chong-er reported the words to his maternal uncle Fan, who said,' My son, decline the proffer. An exile as you are, nothing precious remains to you; but a loving regard for your father is to be considered precious. How shall the death of a father be told? And if you take advantage of it to seek your own profit, who under heaven will be able to give a good account of your conduct? Decline the proffer, my son.

On this the prince replied to his visitor: 'The ruler has kindly (sent you) to condole with his exiled servant. My person in banishment, and my father dead, so that I cannot take any share in the sad services of wailing and weeping for him; this has awakened the sympathy of the ruler. But how shall the death of a father be described? Shall I presume (on occasion of it) to think of any other thing, and prove myself unworthy of your ruler's righteous regard?' With this he laid his head to the ground, but did not bow (to the visitor); wailed and then arose, and after he had risen did not enter into any private conversation with him.

Zi-xian reported the execution of his commission to duke Mu, who said, 'Truly virtuous is this prince Chong-er. In laying his forehead on the ground and not bowing (to the messenger), he acknowledged that he was not his father's successor, and therefore he did not complete the giving of thanks. In wailing before he rose, he showed how he loved his father. In having no private conversation after he arose, he showed how he put from him the thought of gain.'

135 The keeping the curtain up before the coffin with the corpse in it was not a custom of antiquity. It originated with the wailing of Jing Jiang for Mu-bo.

136 The rites of mourning are the extreme expression of grief and sorrow. The graduated reduction of that expression in accordance with the natural changes (of time and feeling) was made by the superior men, mindful of those to whom we owe our being.

137 Calling (the soul) back is the way in which love receives its consummation, and has in it the mind which is expressed by prayer. The looking for it to return from the dark region is a way of seeking for it among the spiritual beings. The turning the face to the north springs from the idea of its being in the dark region.

138 Bowing to the (condoling) visitor, and laying the forehead on the ground are the most painful demonstrations of grief and sorrow. The laying the forehead in the ground is the greatest expression of the pain (from the bereavement).

139 Filling the mouth with rice uncooked and fine shells arises from a feeling which cannot bear that it should be empty. The idea is not that of giving food; and therefore these fine things are used.

140 The inscription forms a banner to the eye of fancy. Because (the person of) the deceased, can no longer be distinguished, therefore (the son) by this flag maintains the remembrance of him. From his love for him he makes this record. His reverence for him finds in this its utmost expression. The first tablet for the spirit (with this inscription on it) serves the same purpose as that (subsequently) placed in the temple, at the conclusion of the mourning rites. Under the Yin dynasty the former was still kept. Under the Zhou, it was removed.

141 The offerings to the unburied dead are placed in plain unornamented vessels, because the hearts of the living are full of unaffected sorrow. It is only in the sacrifices (subsequent to the interment), that the principal mourner does his utmost (in the way of ornament). Does he know that the spirit will enjoy (his offerings)? He is guided only by his pure and reverent heart.

142 Beating the breast (by the women), and leaping (by the men) are extreme expressions of grief. But the number of such acts is limited. There are graduated rules for them.

143 Baring the shoulders and binding up the hair (with the band of sackcloth) are changes, (showing) the excited feeling which is a change in the grief. The removal of the (usual) ornaments and elegancies (of dress) has manifold expression, but this baring of the shoulders and the sackcloth band are the chief. But now the shoulders are quite bared, and anon they are covered (with a thin garment) - marking gradations in the grief.

144 At the interment they used the cap of plain white (silk), and the headband of dolichos fibre; thinking these more suitable for their intercourse with (the departed) now in their spirit-state. The feeling of reverence had now arisen. The people of Zhou use the bian cap at interments; those of Yin used the xu.

145 The gruel of the chief mourner (the son), the presiding wife, and the steward of the family (of a Great officer) is taken by them at the order of the ruler lest they should get ill.

146 On returning (from the grave) to wail, (the son) should ascend the hall (of the ancestral temple) - returning to the place where (the deceased) performed his rites. The presiding wife should enter the chamber - returning to the place where he received his nourishment.

147 Condolences should be presented (to the son) when he returns (from the grave) and is wailing, at which time his grief is at its height. He has returned, and (his father) is not to be seen; he feels that he has lost him. (His grief is) then most intense. Under the Yin, they presented condolences immediately at the grave; under the Zhou, when the son had returned and was wailing. Confucius said, 'Yin was too blunt; I follow Zhou.'

148 To bury on the north (of the city), and with the head (of the dead) turned to the north, was the common practice of the three dynasties - because (the dead) go to the dark region.

149 When the coffin has been let down into the grave, the chief mourner presents the (ruler's) gifts (to the dead in the grave), and the officer of prayer (returns beforehand) to give notice of the sacrifice of repose to him who is to personate the departed.

150 When he has returned and wailed, the chief mourner with the (proper) officer inspects the victim. (In the meantime other) officers have set out a stool and mat with the necessary offerings on the left of the grave. They return, and at midday the sacrifice of repose is offered.

151 The sacrifice is offered on the day of interment; they cannot bear that the departed should be left a single day (without a place to rest in). On that day the offerings, (previously) set forth (by the coffin), are exchanged for the sacrifice of repose. The (continuous) wailing is ended, and they say, 'The business is finished.' On that day the sacrifices of mourning were exchanged for one of joy. The next day the service of placing the spirit-tablet of the departed next to that of his grandfather was performed. The change to an auspicious sacrifice took place on that day, and the placing the tablet in its place on the day succeeding - (the son) was unable to bear that (the spirit of the departed) should be a single day without a resting-place.

152 Under the Yin, the tablet was put in its place on the change of the mourning at the end of twelve months; under the Zhou, when the (continuous) wailing was over. Confucius approved the practice of Yin.

153 When a ruler went to the mourning rites for a minister, he took with him a sorcerer with a peach-wand, an officer of prayer with his reed-(brush), and a lance-bearer, disliking (the presence of death), and to make his appearance different from (what it was at any affair of) life. In the mourning rites it is death that is dealt with, and the ancient kings felt it difficult to speak of this.

154 The ceremony in the mourning rites of (the coffined corpse) appearing in the court (of the ancestral temple) is in accordance with the filial heart of the deceased. He is (supposed to be) grieved at leaving his chamber, and therefore he is brought to the temple of his fathers, and then (the coffin) goes on its way. Under the Yin, the body was thus presented and then coffined in the temple; under the Zhou the interment followed immediately after its presentation (in the coffin).

155 Confucius said, 'He who made the vessels which are so (only) in imagination, knew the principles underlying the mourning rites. They were complete (to all appearance), and yet could not be used. Alas! if for the dead they had used the vessels of the living, would there not have been a danger of this leading to the interment of the living with the dead?' They were called 'vessels in imagination,' (the dead) being thus treated as spiritual intelligences, From of old there were the carriages of clay and the figures of straw, in accordance with the idea in these vessels in imagination. Confucius said that the making of the straw figures was good, and that the making of the (wooden) automaton was not benevolent. Was there not a danger of its leading to the use of (living) men?

156 Duke Mu asked Zi-si whether it was the way of antiquity for a retired officer still to wear the mourning for his old ruler. 'Princes of old,' was the reply, 'advanced men and dismissed them equally according to the rules of propriety; and hence there was that rule about still wearing mourning for the old ruler. But nowadays princes advance men as if they were going to take them on their knees, and dismiss them as if they were going to push them into an abyss. Is it not good if (men so treated) do not head rebellion? How should there be the observance of that rule about still wearing mourning (for old rulers)?'

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157 At the mourning rites for duke Dao. Ji Zhao-zi asked Meng Jing-zi what they should eat (to show their grief) for the ruler. Jing-zi replied, 'To eat gruel is the general rule for all the kingdom.' (The other said), 'It is known throughout the four quarters that we three ministers have not been able to live in harmony with the ducal house. I could by an effort make myself emaciated; but would it not make men doubt whether I was doing so in sincerity? I will eat rice as usual.'

158 When Si-tu Jing-zi of Wei died, Zi-xia made a visit of condolence (to his house); and, though the chief mourner had not completed the slight dressing (of the corpse), he went in the headband and robe of mourning. Zi-you paid a similar visit; and, when the chief mourner had completed the slight dressing, he went out, put on the bands, returned and wailed. Zi-xia said to him, 'Did you ever hear (that) that (was the proper method to observe)? I heard the Master say,' was the reply, 'that until the chief mourner had changed his dress, one should not assume the mourning bands'.'

159 Zeng-zi said, 'Yan-zi may be said to have known well the rules of propriety;-he was humble and reverent! You Ruo said, 'Yan-zi wore the same (robe of) fox-fur for thirty years. (At the burial of his father), he had only one small carriage (with the offerings to be put into the grave); and he returned immediately from the grave (without showing the usual attentions to his guests). The ruler of a state has seven bundles of the offerings, and seven such small carriages for them; a Great officer has five bundles of the offerings, and five such small carriages. How can it be said that Yan-zi knew propriety?' Zeng-zi replied, 'When a state is not well governed, the superior man is ashamed to observe all ceremonies to the full. Where there is extravagance in the administration of the state, he shows an example of economy. If the administration be economical, he shows an example of (the strict) observance' of all rules.'

160 On the death of the mother of Guo Zhao-zi, he asked Zi-zhang, saying, 'At the interment, when (all) are at the grave, what should be the places of the men and of the women?' Zi-zhang said, 'At the mourning rites for Si-tu Jing-zi, when the Master directed the ceremonies, the men stood with their faces to the west and the women stood with theirs to the east.' 'Ah!' said the other, 'that will not do;' adding, 'All will be here to see these mourning rites of mine. Do you take the sole charge of them. Let the guests be the guests, while I (alone) act as the host. Let the women take their places behind the men, and all have their faces towards the west.'

161 At the mourning for Mu-bo (her husband), Jing Jiang wailed for him in the daytime, and at that for Wen-bo (her son), she wailed for him both in the daytime and the night. Confucius said, 'She knows the rules of propriety.'

162 At the mourning for Wen-bo, Jing Jiang (once) put her hand on the couch (where his body lay), and without wailing said, 'Formerly, when I had this son, I thought that he would be a man of worth. (But) I never went with him to the court (to see his conduct there); and now that he is dead, of all his friends, the other ministers, there is no one that has shed tears for him, while the members of his harem all wail till they lose their voices. This son must have committed many lapses in his observance of the rules of propriety!'

163 When the mother of Ji Kang-zi died, (her body was laid out with) her private clothes displayed. Jing Jiang (Kang-zi's grand-uncle's wife) said, 'A wife does not dare to see her husband's parents without the ornament (of her upper robes); and there will be the guests from all quarters coming; why are her under-clothes displayed here?' With this she ordered them to be removed.

164 You-zi and Zi-you were standing together when they saw (a mourner) giving all a child's demonstrations of affection. You-zi said, 'I have never understood this leaping in mourning, and have long wished to do away with it. The sincere feeling (of sorrow) which appears here is right, (and should be sufficient).' Zi-you replied, 'In the rules of propriety, there are some intended to lessen the (display of) feeling, and there are others which purposely introduce things (to excite it). To give direct vent to the feeling and act it out as by a short cut is the way of the rude Rong and Di. The method of the rules is not so. When a man rejoices, he looks pleased; when pleased, he thereon sings; when singing, he sways himself about; swaying himself about, he proceeds to dancing; from dancing, he gets into a state of wild excitement; that excitement goes on to distress; distress expresses itself in sighing; sighing is followed by beating the breast; and beating the breast by leaping. The observances to regulate all this are what are called the rules of propriety. When a man dies, there arises a feeling of disgust (at the corpse). Its impotency goes on to make us revolt from it. On this account, there is the wrapping it in the shroud, and there are the curtains, plumes (and other ornaments of the coffin), to preserve men from that feeling of disgust. Immediately after death, the dried flesh and pickled meats are set out (by the side of the corpse), When the interment is about to take place, there are the things sent and offered (at the grave); and after the interment, there is the food presented (in the sacrifices of repose). The dead have never been seen to partake of these things. But from the highest ages to the present they have never been neglected - all to cause men not to revolt (from their dead). Thus it is that what you blame in the rules of propriety is really nothing that is wrong in them.'

165 Wu made an incursion into Chen, destroying the (places of) sacrifice, and putting to death those who were suffering from a pestilence (which prevailed). When the army retired, and had left the territory, Pi, the Grand-administrator of Chen, was sent to the army (of Wu). Fu Chai (king of Wu) said to his internuncius, 'This fellow has much to say. Let us ask him a question.' (Then, turning to the visitor), he said, 'A campaign must have a name. What name do men give to this expedition?' The Grand-administrator said, 'Anciently, armies in their incursions and attacks did not hew down (trees about the) places of sacrifice; did not slay sufferers from pestilence; did not make captives of those whose hair was turning. But now, have not you in this campaign slain the sufferers from pestilence? Do they not call it the sick-killing expedition?' The king rejoined, ' If we give back your territory, and return our captives, what will you call it?' The reply was, 'O ruler and king, you came and punished the offences of our poor state. If the result of the campaign be that you now compassionate and forgive it, will the campaign be without its (proper) name?'

166 Yan Ding deported himself skilfully during his mourning. Immediately after the death (of his father), he looked grave and restless, as if he were seeking for something, and could not find it. When the coffining had taken place, he looked expectant, as if he were following some one and could not get up with him. After the interment he looked sad, and as if, not getting his father to return (with him), he would wait for him.

167 Zi-zhang asked, saying, 'The Book of History says, that Gao Zong for three-years did not speak; and that when he did his words were received with joy. Was it so?' Zhong-ni replied, 'Why should it not have been so? Anciently, on the demise of the son of Heaven, the king, his heir, left everything to the chief minister for three years.'

168 When Zhi Dao-zi died, before he was buried, duke Ping was (one day) drinking along with the music-master Kuang and Li Diao. The bells struck up; and when Du Kuai, who was coming in from outside, heard them, he said, 'Where is the music?' Being told that it was in the (principal) apartment, he entered it; and having ascended the steps one by one, he poured out a cup of spirits, and said, 'Kuang, drink this.' He then poured out another, and said, Diao, drink this.' He poured out a third cup; and kneeling in the hall, with his face to the north, he drank it himself, went down the steps, and hurried out. Duke Ping called him in again, and said, 'Kuai, just now I thought you had something in mind to enlighten me about, and therefore I did not speak to you. Why did you give the cup to Kuang?' 'On the days (Jia-)zi and (Ji-)mao,' was the reply, 'there should be no music; and now Zhi Dao-zi is (in his coffin) in his hall, and this should be a great zi or mao day. Kuang is the grand music-master, and did not remind you of this. It was on this account that I made him drink.'

'And why did you give a cup to Diao?' Du Kuai said, 'Diao is your lordship's favourite officer; and for this drinking and eating he forgot the fault you were committing. It was on this account I made him drink.'

'And why did you drink a cup yourself?' Kuai replied, 'I am (only) the cook; and neglecting my (proper work of) supplying you with knives and spoons, I also presumed to take my part in showing my knowledge of what should be prohibited. It was on this account that I drank a cup myself.'

Duke Ping said,' I also have been in fault. Pour out a cup and give it to me.' Du Kuai then rinsed the cup, and presented it. The duke said to the attendants, 'When I die, you must take care that this cup is not lost.' Down to the present day, (at feasts in Sin), when the cups have been presented all round, they then raise up this cup, and say, 'It is that which Du presented.'

169 When Gong-shu Wen-zi died, his son Shu begged the ruler (of the state) to fix his honorary title, saying, 'The sun and moon have brought the time - we are about to bury him. I beg that you will fix the title, for which we shall change his name.' The ruler said, 'Formerly when our state of Wei was suffering from a severe famine, your father had gruel made, and gave it to the famishing - was not this a roof of how kind he was? Moreover, in a time of trouble, he protected me at the risk of his own life - was not this a proof of how faithful he was? And while he administered the government of Wei, he so maintained the regulations for the different classes, and conducted its intercourse with the neighbouring states all round, that its altars sustained no disgrace - was not this a proof of how accomplished he was? Therefore let us call him "The Faithful, Kind, and Accomplished."'

170 Shi Tai-gong died, leaving no son by his wife proper, and six sons by concubines. The tortoise-shell being consulted as to which of them should be the father's successor, it was said that by their bathing and wearing of their girdle-pendants the indication would be given. Five of them accordingly bathed and put on the girdle-pendants with their gems. Shi Qi-zi, however, said, 'Whoever, being engaged with the mourning rites for a parent, bathed his head or his body, and put on his girdle-pendants?' and he declined to do either, and this was considered to be the indication. The people of Wei considered that the tortoise-shell had shown a (true) knowledge.

171 Chen Zi-ju having died in Wei, his wife and the principal officer of the family consulted together about burying some living persons (to follow him). When they had decided to do so, (his brother), Chen Zi-kang arrived, and they informed him about their plan, saying, 'When the master was ill, (he was far away) and there was no provision for his nourishment in the lower world; let us bury some persons alive (to supply it).' Zi-kang said, 'To bury living persons (for the sake of the dead) is contrary to what is proper. Nevertheless, in the event of his being ill, and requiring to be nourished, who are so fit for that purpose as his wife and steward? If the thing can be done without, I wish it to be so. If it cannot be done without, I wish you two to be the parties for it.' On this the proposal was not carried into effect.

172 Zi-lu said, 'Alas for the poor! While (their parents) are alive, they have not the means to nourish them; and when they are dead, they have not the means to perform the mourning rites for them.' Confucius said, 'Bean soup, and water to drink, while the parents are made happy, may be pronounced filial piety. If (a son) can only wrap the body round from head to foot, and inter it immediately, without a shell, that being all which his means allow, he may be said to discharge (all) the rites of mourning.'

173 Duke Xian of Wei having (been obliged to) flee from the state, when he returned, and had reached the suburbs (of the capital), he was about to grant certain towns and lands to those who had attended him in his exile before entering. Liu Zhuang said, 'If all had (remained at home) to guard the altars for you, who would have been able to follow you with halter and bridle? And if all had followed you, who would have guarded the altars? Your lordship has now returned to the state, and will -it not be wrong for you to show a partial feeling?' The intended allotment did not take place.

174 There was the grand historiographer of Wei, called Liu Zhuang, lying ill. The duke said, 'If the illness prove fatal, though I may be engaged at the time in sacrificing, you must let me know.' (It happened accordingly, and, on hearing the news), the duke bowed twice, laying his head to the ground, and begged permission from the personator of the dead, saying, 'There was the minister Liu Zhuang, not a minister of mine (merely), but a minister of the altars of the state. I have heard that he is dead, and beg leave to go (to his house).' On this, without putting off his robes, he went; and on the occasion presented them as his contribution (to the mourning rites). He also gave the deceased the towns of Qiu-shi and Xian-fan-shi by a writing of assignment which was put into the coffin, containing the words: 'For the myriads of his descendants, to hold from generation to generation without change.'

175 When Chan Gan-xi was lying ill, he assembled his brethren, and charged his son Zun-ji, saying, 'When I am dead, you must make my coffin large, and make my two concubines lie in it with me, one on each side.' When he died, his son said, 'To bury the living with the dead is contrary to propriety; how much more must it be so to bury them in the same coffin!' Accordingly he did not put the two ladies to death.

176 Gong Sui died in Chui; and on the next day, which was Ren-Wu, the sacrifice of the previous day was notwithstanding repeated (in the capital of Lu.). When the pantomimes entered, however, they put away their flutes. Zhong-ni said, 'It was contrary to rule. When a high minister dies, the sacrifice of the day before should not be repeated.'

177 When the mother of Ji Kang-zi died, Gong-shu Ruo was still young. After the dressing, Ban asked leave to let the coffin down into the grave by a mechanical contrivance. They were about to accede, when Gong-jian Jia said, 'No. According to the early practice in Lu, the ducal house used (for this purpose) the arrangement looking like large stone pillars, and the three families that like large wooden columns. Ban, you would, in the case of another man's mother, make trial of your ingenuity - could you not in the case of your own mother do so? Would that distress you? Bah!' They did not allow him to carry out his plan.

178 During the fight at Lang, Gong-shu Yu-ren saw (many of) the men, carrying their clubs on their shoulders, entering behind the shelter of the small wall, and said, 'Although the services required of them are distressing, and the burdens laid on them heavy, (they ought to fight): but though our superiors do not form (good) plans, it is not right that soldiers should not be prepared to die. This is what I say.' On this along with Wang, a youth, (the son) of a neighbour, he went forward, and both of them met their death. The people of Lu wished to bury the lad Wang not as one who had died prematurely, and asked Zhong-ni about the point. He said, 'As he was able to bear his shield and spear in the defence of our altars, may you not do as you wish, and bury him as one who has not died prematurely?'

179 When Zi-lu was going away from Lu, he said to Yan Yuan, 'What have you to send me away with?' 'I have heard,'

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was the reply, 'that, when one is leaving his state, he wails at the graves (of his fathers), and then takes his journey, while on his return to it, he does not wail, but goes to look at the graves, and (then) enters (the city).' He then said to Zi-lu, 'And what have you to leave with me here?' 'I have heard,' was the reply, 'that, when you pass by a grave, you should bow forward to the cross-bar, and, when you pass a place of sacrifice, you should dismount.'

180 Shang Yang, director of Works (in the state of Chu), and Chen Qi-ji were pursuing the army of Wu, and came up with it. The latter said to Shang Yang, 'It is the king's' business. It will be well for you to take your bow in hand.' He did so, and Qi-ji told him to shoot, which he did, killing a man, and returning immediately the bow to its case. They came up with the enemy again, and being told as before to shoot, he killed other two men; whenever he killed a man, he covered his eyes. Then stopping the chariot, he said, 'I have no place at the audiences; nor do I take part in the feasts. The death of three men will be sufficient for me to report.' Confucius said, 'Amidst his killing of men, he was still observant of the rules of propriety.'

181 The princes were engaged in an invasion of Qin, when duke Huan of Cao died at their meeting. The others asked leave to (see) the plugging of his teeth with the jade, and they were made to enshroud (his corpse).

182 Duke Xiang being in attendance at the court of Jing, king Kang died. The people of Jing said to him, 'We must beg you to cover (the corpse with your gift of a robe).' The men of Lu (who were with him) said, 'The thing is contrary to propriety.' They of Jing, however, obliged him to do what they asked; and he first employed a sorcerer with his reed-brush to brush (and purify) the bier. The people of Jing then regretted what they had done'.

183 At the mourning rites for duke Cheng of Teng, Zi-shu Jing-shu was sent (from Lu) on a mission of condolence, and to present a letter (from duke Ai), Zi-fu Hui-bo being assistant-commissioner. When they arrived at the suburbs (of the capital of Teng), because it was the anniversary of the death, of Yi-bo, (Hui-bo's uncle), Jing-shu hesitated to enter the city. Hui-bo, however, said, 'We are on government business, and should not for the private affair of my uncle's (death) neglect the duke's affairs.' They forthwith entered.

184 Duke Ai sent a message of condolence to Kuai Shang, and the messenger met him (on the way to the grave). They withdrew to the way-side, where Kuai drew the figure of his house, (with the coffin in it), and there received the condolences. Zeng-zi said, Kuai Shang's knowledge of the rules of ceremony was not equal to that of the wife of Qi Liang. When duke Zhuang fell on Ju by surprise at Thui, Qi Liang met his death. His wife met his bier on the way, and wailed for him bitterly. Duke Zhuang sent a person to convey his condolences to her; but she said, 'If his lordship's officer had been guilty of any offence, then his body should have been exposed in the court or the market-place, and his wife and concubines apprehended. If he were not chargeable with any offence, there is the poor cottage of his father. This is not the place where the ruler should demean himself to send me a message.'

185 At the mourning rites for his young son Dun, duke Ai wished to employ the (elm-juice) sprinklers, and asked You Ruo about the matter. You Ruo said that it might be done, for his three ministers even used them. Yan Liu said, 'For the son of Heaven dragons are painted on (the shafts of) the funeral carriage, and the boards surrounding the coffin, like the shell, have a covering over them. For the feudal princes there is a similar carriage (without the painted dragons), and the covering above. (In both cases) they prepare the elm-juice, and therefore employ sprinklers. The three ministers, not employing (such a carriage), and yet employing the sprinklers, thus appropriate a ceremony which is not suitable for them; and why should your lordship imitate them?'

186 After the death of the mother of (his son, who became) duke Dao, duke Ai wore for her the one year's mourning with its unfrayed edges. You Ruo asked him, if it was in rules for him to wear that mourning for a concubine. 'Can I help it?' replied the duke. 'The people of Lu will have it that she, was my wife.'

187 When Ji Zi-gao buried his wife, some injury was done to the standing corn, which Shen-xiang told him of, begging him to make the damage good. Zi-gao said, 'The Meng has not blamed me for this, and my friends have not cast me off. I am here the commandant of the city. To buy (in this manner a right of) way in order to bury (my dead) would be a precedent difficult to follow.'

188 When one receives no salary for the official duties which he performs, and what the ruler sends to him is called 'an offering,' while the messenger charged with it uses the style of our unworthy ruler;' if such an one leave the state, and afterwards the ruler dies, he does not wear mourning for him.

189 At the sacrifice of Repose a personator of the dead is appointed, and a stool, with a mat and viands on it, is placed (for him). When the wailing is over, the name of the deceased is avoided. The service of him as living is over, and that for him in his ghostly state has begun. When the wailing is over, the cook, with a bell having a wooden clapper, issues an order throughout the palace, saying, 'Give up disusing the names of the former rulers, and henceforth disuse (only) the name of him who is newly deceased.' This was done from the door leading to the chambers to the outer gate.

190 When a name was composed of two characters they were not avoided when used singly. The name of the Master's mother was Zheng-zai. When he used Zai, he did not at the same time use Zheng; nor Zai, when he used Zheng.

191 When any sad disaster occurred to an army, (the ruler) in plain white robes wailed for it outside the Ku gate. A carriage conveying the news of such disaster carried no cover for buff-coats nor case for bows.

192 When the (shrine-)apartment of his father was burned, (the ruler) wailed for it three days. Hence it is said, 'The new temple took fire;' and also, 'There was a wailing for three days.'

193 In passing by the side of mount Tai, Confucius came on a woman who was wailing bitterly by a grave. The Master bowed forward to the cross-bar, and hastened to her; and then sent Zi-lu to question her. 'Your wailing,' said he, 'is altogether like that of one who has suffered sorrow upon sorrow.' She replied, ' It is so. Formerly, my husband's father was killed here by a tiger. My husband was also killed (by another), and now my son has died in the same way.' The Master said, 'Why do you not leave the place?' The answer was, 'There is no oppressive government here.' The Master then said (to the disciples), 'Remember this, my little children. Oppressive government is more terrible than tigers.'

194 In Lu there was one Zhou Feng, to whom duke Ai went, carrying an introductory present, and requesting an interview, which, however, the other refused. The duke said, 'I must give it up then.' And he sent a messenger with the following questions: '(Shun), the lord of Yu, had not shown his good faith, to the people, and yet they put confidence in him. The sovereign of Xia had not shown his reverence for the people, and yet the people revered him - what shall I exhibit that I may obtain such things from the people?' The reply was: 'Ruins and graves express no mournfulness to the people, and yet the people mourn (amidst them). The altars of the spirits of the land and grain and the ancestral temples express no reverence to the people, and yet the people revere them. The kings of Yin made their solemn proclamations, and yet the people began to rebel; those of Zhou made their covenants, and the people began to distrust them. If there be not the heart observant of righteousness, self-consecration, good faith, sincerity, and guilelessness, though a ruler may try to knit the people firmly to him, will not all bonds between them be dissolved?'

195 While mourning (for a father), one should not be concerned about (the discomfort of) his own resting-place, nor, in emaciating himself, should he do so to the endangering of his life. He should not be concerned about his own resting-place; he has to be concerned that (his father's spirit-tablet) is not (yet) in the temple. He should not endanger his life, lest (his father) should thereby have no posterity.

196 Ji-zi of Yan-ling had gone to Qi; and his eldest son having died, on the way back (to Wu), he buried him between Ying and Bo. Confucius (afterwards) said, 'Ji-zi was the one man in Wu most versed in the rules of propriety, so I went and saw his manner of interment. The grave was not so deep as to reach the water-springs. The grave-clothes were such as (the deceased) had ordinarily worn. After the interment, he raised a mound over the grave of dimensions sufficient to cover it, and high enough for the hand to be easily placed on it. When the mound was completed, he bared his left arm; and, moving to the right, he went round it thrice, crying out, "That the bones and flesh should return again to the earth is what is appointed. But the soul in its energy can go everywhere; it can go everywhere." And with this he went on his way.' Confucius (also) said, 'Was not Ji-zi of Yan-ling's observance of the rules of ceremony in accordance with (the idea of them)?'

197 At the mourning rites for the duke Kao of Zhu-lou, the ruler of Xu sent Rong Ju with a message of condolence, and with the articles to fill the mouth of the deceased. 'My unworthy ruler,' said he, 'hath sent me to kneel and put the jade for a marquis which he has presented into your (deceased) ruler's mouth. Please allow me to kneel and do so.' The officers of Ju replied, 'When any of the princes has deigned to send or come to our poor city, the observances have been kept according to their nature, whether simple and easy, or troublesome and more difficult; but such a blending of the easy and troublesome as in your case, we have not known.' Rong Ju replied, 'I have heard that in the service of his ruler one should not forget that ruler, nor be oblivious of his ancestral (rules). Formerly, our ruler, king Ju, in his warlike operations towards the west, in which he crossed the He, everywhere used this style of speech. I am a plain, blunt man, and do not presume to forget his example.'

198 When the mother of Zi-si died in Wei, and news of the event was brought to him, he wailed in the ancestral temple. His disciples came to him. and said, 'Your mother is dead, after marrying into another family; why do you wail for her in the temple of the Kong family?' He replied, 'I am wrong, I am wrong.' And thereon he wailed in one of the smaller apartments of his house.

199 When the son of Heaven died, three days afterwards, the officers of prayer were the first to assume mourning. In five days the heads of official departments did so; in seven days both males and females throughout the royal domain; and in three months all in the kingdom. The foresters examined the trees about the various altars, and cut down those which they thought suitable for the coffins and shell, If these did not come up to what was required, the sacrifices were abolished, and the men had their throats cut.

200 During a great dearth in Qi, Qian Ao had food prepared on the roads, to wait the approach of hungry people and give to them. (One day), there came a famished man, looking as if he could hardly see, his face covered with his sleeve, and dragging his feet together. Qian Ao, carrying with his left hand some rice, and holding some drink with the other, said to him, 'Poor man! come and eat.' The man, opening his eyes with a stare, and looking at him, said, 'It was because I would not eat "Poor man come here's" food, that I am come to this state.' Qian Ao immediately apologised for his words, but the man after all would not take the food and died. When Zeng-zi heard the circumstances, he said, 'Was it not a small matter? When the other expressed his pity as he did, the man might have gone away. When he apologised, the man might have taken the food.'

201 In the time of duke Ding of Zhu-lou, there occurred the case of a man killing his father. The officers reported it; when the duke, with an appearance of dismay, left his mat and said, 'This is the crime of unworthy me!' He added, 'I have learned how to decide on such a charge. When a minister kills his ruler, all who are in office with him should kill him without mercy. When a son kills his father, all who are in the house with him should kill him without mercy. The man should be killed; his house should be destroyed; the whole place should be laid under water and reduced to a swamp. And his ruler should let a month elapse before he raises a cup to his lips.'

202 (The ruler of) Jin having congratulated Wen-zi on the completion of his residence, the Great officers of the state went to the house-warming. Zhang Lao said, 'How elegant it is, and lofty! How elegant and splendid! Here will you have your songs! Here will you have your wailings! Here will you assemble the representatives of the great families of the state!' Wen-zi replied, 'If I can have my songs here, and my wailings, and assemble here the representatives of the great families of the state, (it will be enough). I will then (only) seek to preserve my waist and neck to follow the former Great officers of my family to the Nine Plains.' He then bowed twice, laying his head also on the ground. A superior man will say (of the two), that the one was skilful in the expression of his praise and the other in his prayer.

203 The dog kept by Zhong-ni having died, he employed Zi-gong to bury it, saying, 'I have heard that a worn-out curtain should not be thrown away, but may be used to bury a horse in; and that a worn-out umbrella should not be thrown away, but may be used to bury a dog in. I am poor and have no umbrella. In putting the dog into the grave, you can use my mat; and do not let its head get buried in the earth. When one of the horses of the ruler's carriage dies, it is buried in a curtain (in good condition).'

204 When the mother of Ji-sun died, duke Ai paid a visit of condolence to him. (Soon after), Zeng-zi and Zi-gong arrived for the same purpose; but the porter declined to admit them, because the ruler was present. On this they went into the stable, and adjusted their dress more fully. (Shortly) they entered the house, Zi-gong going first. The porter said to him, 'I have already announced your arrival;' and when Zeng-zi followed, he moved on one side for him. They passed on to the inner place for the droppings from the roof, the Great officers all moving out of their way, and the duke descending a step and bowing to them. A superior man has said about the case, 'So it is when the toilet is complete! Immediately its influence extends far.'

205 A man-at-arms at the Yang gate (of the capital of Song) having died, Zi-han, the superintendent of Works, went to (his house), and wailed for him bitterly. The men of Jin who were in Song as spies returned, and reported the thing to the marquis of Jin, saying, 'A man-at-arms at the Yang gate having died, Zi-han wailed for him bitterly, and the people were pleased; (Song), we apprehend, cannot be attacked (with success).' When Confucius heard of the circumstances, he said, 'Skilfully did those men do their duty as spies in Song. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "If there was any mourning among the people, I did my utmost to help them." Though there had been other enemies besides Jin, what state under the sky could have withstood one (in the condition of Song)?'

206 At the mourning rites for duke Zhuang of Lu, when the interment was over, (the new ruler) did not enter the outer gate with his girdle of dolichos cloth. The ordinary and Great officers, when they had finished their wailing, also did not enter in their sackcloth.

207 There was an old acquaintance of Confucius, called Yuan Zang. When his mother died, the Master assisted him in

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preparing the shell for the coffin. Yuan (then) got up on the wood, and said, 'It is long since I sang to anything;' and (with this he struck the wood), singing: 'It is marked like a wild cat's head; It is(smooth) as a young lady's hand which you hold.' The Master, however, made as if he did not hear, and passed by him. The disciples who were with him said, 'Can you not have done with him?' 'I have heard,' was the reply, 'that relations should not forget their relationship, nor old acquaintances their friendship,'

208 Zhao Wen-zi and Shu-Yu were looking about them at the Nine Plains, when Wen-zi said, 'If these dead could arise, with whom would I associate myself?' Shu-Yu asked, 'Would it be with Yang Chu-fu?' 'He managed by his course,' was the reply, 'to concentrate in himself all the power of Jin, and yet he did not die a natural death. His wisdom does not deserve to be commended.' 'Would it be with uncle Fan?' Wen-zi said, 'When he saw gain in prospect, he did not think of his ruler; his virtue does not deserve to be commended. I think I would follow Wu-zi of Sui. While seeking the advantage of his ruler, he did not forget himself; and while consulting for his own advantage, he was not forgetful of his friends.' The people of Jin thought that Wen-zi knew men. He carried himself in a retiring way, as if he could not bear even his clothes. His speech was low and stuttering, as if he could not get his words out. The officers whom he advanced to responsible charges in the depositories of Jin were more than seventy. During his life, he had no contentions with any of them about gain, and when dying he required nothing from them for his sons.

209 Shu-zhong Pi instructed (his son) Zi-liu (in the rules of ceremony); and when he died, Zi-liu's wife, who was a plain, blunt woman, wore for him the one year's mourning and the headband with its two ends tied together. (Pi's brother), Shu-zhong Yan spoke to Zi-liu about it, and requested that she should wear the three months' mourning and the simple headband; saying, 'Formerly, when I was mourning for my aunts and sisters, I wore this mourning, and no one forbade it.' When he withdrew, however, (Zi-liu) made his wife wear the three months' mourning and the simple headband.

210 There was a man of Cheng, who did not go into mourning on the death of his elder brother. Hearing, however, that Zi-gao was about to become governor of the city, he forthwith did so. The people of Cheng said, 'The silkworm spins its cocoons, but the crab supplies the box for them; the bee has its cap, but the cicada supplies the strings for it. His elder brother died, but it was Zi-gao who made the mourning for him.'

211 When Yue-zheng Zi-chun's mother died, he was five days without eating. He then said, 'I am sorry for it. Since in the case of my mother's death, I could not eat according to my feelings, on what occasion shall I be able to do so?'

212 In a year of drought duke Mu called to him Xian-zi, and asked him about it. 'Heaven,' said he, 'has not sent down rain for a long time. I wish to expose a deformed person in the sun (to move its pity), what do you say to my doing so?' 'Heaven, indeed,' was the reply, 'does not send down rain; but would it not be an improper act of cruelty, on that account to expose the diseased son of some one in the sun?' 'Well then,' (said the duke), 'I wish to expose in the sun a witch; what do you say to that?' Xian-zi said, 'Heaven, indeed, does not send down rain; but would it not be wide of the mark to hope anything from (the suffering of) a foolish woman, and by means of that to seek for rain?' 'What do you say then to my moving the marketplace elsewhere?' The answer was, 'When the son of Heaven dies, the market is held in the lanes for seven days; and it is held in them for three days, when the ruler of a state dies. It will perhaps be a proper measure to move it there on account of the present distress.'

213 Confucius said, 'The people of Wei, in burying husband and wife together (in the same grave and shell), leave a space between the coffins. The people of Lu, in doing the same, place them together - which is the better way.

LI JI CHAPTER 5 Wang Zhi

Royal Regulations

1 According to the regulations of emolument and rank framed by the kings, there were the duke; the marquis; the earl; the count; and the baron - in all, five gradations (of rank). There were (also), in the feudal states, Great officers of the highest grade - the ministers; and Great officers of the lowest grade; officers of the highest, the middle, and the lowest grades - in all, five gradations (of office).

2 The territory of the son of Heaven amounted to 1000 li square; that of a duke or marquis to 500 li square; that of an earl to 79 li square; and that of a count or baron to 50 li square. (Lords) who could not number 50 li square, were not admitted directly to (the audiences of) the son of Heaven. Their territories were called 'attached,' being joined to those of one of the other princes. The territory assigned to each of the ducal ministers of the son of Heaven was equal to that of a duke or marquis; that of each of his high ministers was equal to that of an earl; that of his Great officers to the territory of a count or baron; and that of his officers of the chief grade to an attached territory.

3 According to the regulations, the fields of the husbandmen were in portions of a hundred acres. According to the different qualities of those acres, when they were of the highest quality, a farmer supported nine individuals; where they were of the next, eight; and so on, seven, six, and five. The pay of the common people, who were employed in government offices, was regulated in harmony with these distinctions among the husbandmen.

4 The officers of the lowest grade in the feudal states had an emolument equal to that of the husbandmen whose fields were of the highest quality; equal to what they would have made by tilling the fields. Those of the middle grade had double that of the lowest grade; and those of the highest grade double that of the middle. A Great officer of the lowest grade had double that of an officer of the highest. A high minister had four times that of a Great officer; and the ruler had ten times that of a high minister. In a state of the second class, the emolument of a minister was three times that of a Great officer; and that of the ruler ten times that of a minister. In small states, a high minister had twice as much as a Great officer; and the ruler ten times as much as a minister.

5 The highest minister, in a state of the second class, ranked with the one of the middle grade in a great state; the second, with the one of the lowest grade; and the lowest, with a Great officer of the highest grade. The highest minister in a small state ranked with the lowest of a great state; the second, with the highest Great officer of the other; and the lowest, with one of the lower grade. Where there were officers of the middle grade and of the lowest, the number in each was three times that in the grade above it.

6 Of the nine provinces embracing all within, the four seas, a province was 1000 li square, and there were established in it 30 states of 100 li (square) each.; 60 of 70 li; 120 of 50 li - in all, 210 states. The famous hills and great meres were not included in the investitures. The rest of the ground formed attached territories and unoccupied lands of the eight provinces (apart from that which formed the royal domain), each contained (the above) 210 states. Within the domain of the son of Heaven there were 9 states of 100 li square; 21 of 70 li; and 63 of 50 li - in all, 93 states. The famous hills and great meres were not assigned. The rest of the ground served to endow the officers, and to form unoccupied lands. In all, in the nine provinces, there were 1773 states, not counting in (the lands of) the officers of the chief grade of the son of Heaven, nor the attached territories in the feudal states.

7 (The contributions from) the first hundred li (square) of the son of Heaven served to supply (the needs of) the (various) public offices; (those from the rest of) the thousand li were for his own special use. Beyond his thousand li, chiefs of regions were appointed. Five states formed a union, which had a President. Ten formed a combination, which had a Leader. Thirty formed a confederation, which had a Director. Two hundred and ten formed a province, which had a Chief. In the eight provinces there were eight Chiefs, fifty-six Directors, one hundred and sixty-eight Leaders, and three hundred and thirty-six Presidents. The eight Chiefs, with those under them, were all under the two Ancients of the son of Heaven. They divided all under the sky between them, one having charge of the regions on the left and the other of those on the right, and were called the two (Great) Chiefs. All within the thousand li (of the royal domain) was called the Tien (or field Tenure). Outside that domain there were the Cai (or service territories) and the Liu (or territory for banished persons).

8 The son of Heaven had three dukes, nine high ministers, twenty-seven Great officers, and eighty-one officers of the chief grade. In a great state there were three high ministers, all appointed by the son of Heaven; five Great officers of the lower grade; and twenty-seven officers of the highest grade. In a state of the second class there were three high ministers, two appointed by the son of Heaven and one by the ruler; five Great officers of the lower grade; and twenty-seven officers of the highest grade. In a small state there were two high ministers, both appointed by the ruler; five, Great officers of the lower grade; and twenty-seven officers of the highest grade.

9 The son of Heaven employed his Great officers as the Three Inspectors - to inspect the states under the Chiefs of Regions. For each state there were three Inspectors.

10 Within the domain of the son of Heaven the princes enjoyed their allowances; outside it they had their inheritances.

11 According to the regulations, any one of the three ducal ministers might wear one additional symbol of distinction - that of the descending dragon. But if such an addition were made (to his eight symbols), it must be by special grant. There were only nine symbols (in all). The ruler of a state of the second class wore only seven of them, and the ruler of a small state only five. The high minister of a great state could not wear more than three of the symbols, and the ministers below him only two. The high ministers of a small state, and Great officers of the lowest class, wore only one.

12 The rule was that the abilities of all put into offices over the people should first be discussed. After they had been discussed with discrimination, the men were employed. When they had been (proved) in the conduct of affairs, their rank was assigned; and when their position was (thus) fixed, they received salary. It was in the court that rank was conferred, the (already existing) officers being (thus) associated in the act. It was in the market-place that punishment was inflicted; the multitude being (thus) associated in casting the criminals off. hence, neither the ruler, nor (the head of)a clan, would keep a criminal who had been punished about; him; a Great officer would not maintain him; nor would an officer, meeting him on the road, speak to him. Such men were sent away to one of the four quarters, according to the sentence on each. They were not allowed to have anything to do with affairs of government, to show that there was no object in allowing them to live.

13 In their relation to the son of Heaven, the feudal princes were required to send every year a minor mission to the court, and every three years a greater mission; once in five years they had to appear there in person.

14 The son of Heaven, every five years, made a tour of Inspection through the fiefs. In the second month of the year, he visited those on the East, going to the honoured mountain of Tai. There he burnt a (great) pile of wood, and announced his arrival to Heaven; and with looks directed to them, sacrificed to the hills and rivers. He gave audience to the princes; inquired out those who were 100 years old, and went to see them: ordered the Grand music-master to bring him the poems (current in the different states), that he might see the manners of the people; ordered the superintendents of markets to present (lists of prices), that he might see what the people liked and disliked, and whether they were set on extravagance and loved what was bad; he ordered the superintendent of rites to examine the seasons and months, and fix the days, and to make uniform the standard tubes, the various ceremonies, the (instruments of) music, all measures, and (the fashions of) clothes. (Whatever was wrong in these) was rectified.

Where any of the spirits of the hills and rivers had been unattended to, it was held to be an act of irreverence, and the irreverent ruler was deprived of a part of his territory. Where there had been neglect of the proper order in the observances of the ancestral temple, it was held to show a want of filial piety and the rank of the unfilial ruler was reduced. Where any ceremony had been altered, or any instrument of music changed, it was held to be an instance of disobedience, and the disobedient ruler was banished. Where the statutory measures and the (fashion of) clothes had been changed, it was held to be rebellion, and the rebellious ruler was taken off. The ruler who had done good service for the people, and shown them an example of virtue, received an addition to his territory and rank.

In the seventh month, (the son of Heaven) continued his tour, going to the south, to the mountain of that quarter, observing the same ceremonies as in the east. In the eighth month, he went on to the west, to the mountain of that quarter, observing the same ceremonies as in the south. In the eleventh month, he went on to the north, to the mountain of that quarter, observing the same ceremonies as in the west. (When all was done), he returned (to the capital), repaired (to the ancestral temple) and offered a bull in each of the fanes, from that of his (high) ancestor to that of his father.

15 When the son of Heaven was about to go forth, he sacrificed specially, but with the usual forms, to God, offered the Yi sacrifice at the altar of the earth, and the Zao in the fane of his father. When one of the feudal princes was about to go forth, he offered the Yi sacrifice to the spirits of the land, and the Zao in the fane of his father.

16 When the son of Heaven received the feudal princes, and there was no special affair on hand, it was (simply) called an audience. They examined their ceremonies, rectified their punishments, and made uniform what they considered virtuous; thus giving honour to the son of Heaven.

17 When the son of Heaven gave (an instrument of) music to a duke or marquis, the presentation was preceded by a note from the signal box; when giving one to an earl, count, or baron, the presentation was preceded by shaking the hand-drum.

18 When the bow and arrows were conferred on a prince, he could proceed to execute the royal justice. When the hatchet and battle-axe were conferred, he could proceed to inflict death. When a large libation-cup was conferred, he could make the spirits from the black millet for himself. When this cup was not conferred, he had to depend for those spirits (as a gift) from the son of Heaven.

19 When the son of Heaven ordered a prince to institute instruction, he proceeded to build his schools; the children's, to the south of his palace, on the left of it; that for adults, in the suburbs. (The college of) the son of Heaven was called (the palace of) Bright Harmony, (and had a circlet of water). (That of) the princes was called the Palace with its semicircle of water.

20 When the son of Heaven was about to go forth on a punitive expedition, he sacrificed specially, but with the usual forms, to God; offered the Yi sacrifice at the altar of the Earth, and the Za in the fane of his father. He offered sacrifice also to the Father of War (on arriving) at the state which was the

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object of the expedition. He had received his charge from his ancestors, and the complete (plan) for the execution of it in the college. He went forth accordingly, and seized the criminals; and on his return he set forth in the college his offerings, and announced (to his ancestors) how he had questioned (his prisoners), and cut off the ears (of the slain).

21 When the son of Heaven and the princes had no (special) business in hand, they had three huntings in the year. The first object in them was to supply the sacrificial dishes with dried flesh; the second, to provide for guests and visitors; and the third, to supply the ruler's kitchen. Not to hunt when there was no (special) business in the way was deemed an act of irreverence. To hunt without observing the rules (for hunting) was deemed cruelty to the creatures of Heaven. The son of Heaven did not entirely surround (the hunting ground); and a feudal prince did not take a (whole) herd by surprise. When the son of Heaven had done killing, his large flag was lowered; and when the princes had done, their smaller flag. When the Great officers had done, the auxiliary carriages were stopped; and after this, the common people fell a hunting (for themselves).

22 When the otter sacrificed its fish, the foresters entered the meres and dams. When the wolf sacrificed its prey, the hunting commenced. When the dove changed into a hawk, they set their nets, large and small. When the plants and trees began to drop their leaves, they entered the hills and forests (with the axe). Until the insects had all withdrawn into their burrows, they did not fire the fields. They did not take fawns nor eggs. They did not kill pregnant animals, nor those which had not attained to their full growth. They did not throw down nests.

23 The chief minister determined the expenditure of the states, and it was the rule that he should do so at the close of the year. When the five kinds of grain had all been gathered in, he then determined the expenditure - according to the size of each territory, as large or small, and the returns of the year, as abundant or poor. On the average of thirty years he determined the expenditure, regulating the outgoing by the income. A tenth of the (year's) expenditure was for sacrifices. During the three years of the mourning rites (for parents), the king did not sacrifice (in person), excepting to Heaven, Earth, and the Spirits of the land and grain; and when he went to transact any business, the ropes (for his chariot) were made of hemp (and not of silk). A tithe of three years, expenditure was allowed for the rites of mourning. When there was not sufficient for the rites of sacrifice and mourning, it was owing to lavish waste; when there was more than enough, the state was described as affluent. In sacrifices there should be no extravagance in good years, and no niggardliness in bad.

24 If in a state there was not accumulated (a surplus) sufficient for nine years, its condition was called one of insufficiency; if there was not enough for six years, one of urgency. If there was not a surplus sufficient for three years, the state could not continue. The husbandry of three years was held to give an overplus of food sufficient for one year; that of nine years, an overplus sufficient for three years. Going through thirty years (in this way), though there might be bad years, drought, and inundations, the people would have no lack or be reduced to (eating merely) vegetables, and then the son of Heaven would every day have full meals and music at them.

25 The son of Heaven was encoffined on the seventh day (after his death), and interred in the seventh month. The prince of a state was encoffined on the fifth day, and interred in the fifth month. A Great officer, (other) officers, and the common people were encoffined on the third day, and interred in the third month. The mourning rites of three years (for parents) extended from the son of Heaven to all. The common people let the coffin down into the grave by ropes, and did not suspend the interment because of rain. They raised no mound, nor planted trees over the grave. That no other business should interfere with the rites of mourning was a thing extending from the son of Heaven to the common people. In the mourning rites they followed (the rank of) the dead; in sacrificing to them, that of the living. A son by a concubine did not (preside at) the sacrifices.

26 (The ancestral temple of) the son of Heaven embraced seven fanes (or smaller temples); three on the left and three on the right, and that of his great ancestor (fronting the south) - in all, seven. (The temple of) the prince of a state embraced five such fanes: those of two on the left, and two on the right, and that of his great ancestor - in all, five. Great officers had three fanes: one on the left, one on the right, and that of his great ancestor - in all, three. Other officers had (only) one. The common people presented their offerings in their (principal) apartment.

27 The sacrifices in the ancestral temples of the son of Heaven and the feudal princes were that of spring, called Yue; that of summer, called Di; that of autumn, called Chang; and that of winter, called Zheng.

28 The son of Heaven sacrificed to Heaven and Earth; the princes of the states, to the (spirits of the) land and grain; Great officers offered the five sacrifices (of the house). The son of Heaven sacrificed to all the famous hills and great streams under the sky, the five mountains receiving (sacrificial) honours like the honours paid (at court) to the three ducal ministers, and the four rivers honours like those paid to the princes of states; the princes sacrificed to the famous hills and great streams which were in their own territories.

29 The son of Heaven and the feudal lords sacrificed to the ancient princes who had no successors to preside over the sacrifices to them, and whose possessions now formed part of the royal domain or of their respective states.

30 The son of Heaven offered the spring sacrifice apart and by itself alone, but his sacrifices of all the other seasons were conducted on a greater scale in the fane of the high ancestor. The princes of the states who offered the spring sacrifice omitted that of the summer; those who offered that of the summer omitted that of the autumn; those who sacrificed in autumn did not do so in winter; and those who sacrificed in winter did not do so in spring. In spring they offered the sacrifice of the season by itself apart; in summer, in the fane of the high ancestor; in autumn and winter both the sacrifices were there associated together.

31 In sacrificing at the altars to the spirits of the land and grain, the son of Heaven used in each case a bull, a ram, and a boar; the princes, (only) a ram and a boar. Great and other officers, at the sacrifices in their ancestral temples, if they had lands, sacrificed an animal; and, if they had no lands, they only presented fruits. The common people, in the spring, presented scallions; in summer, wheat; in autumn, millet; and in winter, rice unhulled. The scallions were set forth with eggs; the wheat with fish; the millet with a sucking-pig; and the rice with a goose.

32 Of the bulls used in sacrificing to Heaven and Earth, the horns were (not larger than) a cocoon or a chestnut. Those of the one used in the ancestral temple could be grasped with the hand; those of the ox used for (feasting) guests were a foot long. Without sufficient cause, a prince did not kill an ox, nor a Great officer a sheep, nor another officer a dog or a pig, nor a common person eat delicate food. The various provisions (at a feast) did not go beyond the sacrificial victims killed; the private, clothes were not superior to the robes of sacrifice; the house and its apartments did not surpass the ancestral temple.

33 Anciently, the public fields were cultivated by the united labours of the farmers around them, from the produce of whose private fields nothing was levied. A rent was charged for the stances in the marketplaces, but wares were not taxed. Travellers were examined at the different passes, but no duties were levied from them. Into the forests and plains at the foot of mountains the people went without hindrance at the proper seasons. None of the produce was levied from the fields assigned to the younger sons of a family, nor from the holy fields. Only three days' labour was required (by the state) from the people in the course of a year. Fields and residences in the hamlets, (when once assigned), could not be sold. Ground set apart for graves could not be sought (for any other purpose).

34 The minister of Works with his (various) instruments measured the ground for the settlements of the people. About the hills and rivers, the oozy ground and the meres, he determined the periods of the four seasons. He measured the distances of one spot from another, and commenced his operations in employing the labour of the people. In all his employment of them, he imposed (only) the tasks of old men (on the able-bodied), and gave (to the old) the food-allowance of the able-bodied.

35 In all their settlements, the bodily capacities of the people are sure to be according to the sky and earthly influences, as cold or hot, dry or moist. Where the valleys are wide and the rivers large, the ground was differently laid out; and the people born in them had different customs. Their temperaments, as hard or soft, light or grave, slow or rapid, were made uniform by different measures; their preferences as to flavours were differently harmonised; their implements were differently made; their clothes were differently fashioned, but always suitably. Their training was varied, without changing their customs; and the governmental arrangements were uniform, without changing the suitability (in each case).

36 The people of those five regions - the Middle states, and the Rong, Yi, (and other wild tribes round them) - had all their several natures, which they could not be made to alter. The tribes on the east were called Yi. They had their hair unbound, and tattooed their bodies. Some of them ate their food without its being cooked. Those on the south were called Man. They tattooed their foreheads, and had their feet turned in towards each other. Some of them (also) ate their food without its being cooked. Those on the west were called Rong. They had their hair unbound, and wore skins. Some of them did not eat grain-food. Those on the north were called Di. They wore skins of animals and birds, and dwelt in caves. Some of them also did not eat grain-food. The people of the Middle states, and of those Man, Rong, and Di, all had their dwellings, where they lived at ease; their flavours which they preferred; the clothes suitable for them; their proper implements for use; and their vessels which they prepared in abundance. In those five regions, the languages of the people were not mutually intelligible, and their likings and desires were different. To make what was in their minds apprehended, and to communicate their likings and desires, (there were officers) - in the east, called transmitters; in the south, representationists; in the west, Di-dis; and in the north, interpreters.

37 In settling the people, the ground was measured for the formation of towns, and then measured again in smaller portions for the allotments of the people. When the division of the ground, the cities, and the allotments were thus fixed in adaptation to one another, so that there was no ground unoccupied, and none of the people left to wander about idle, economical arrangements were made about food; and its proper business appointed for each season. Then the people had rest in their dwellings, did joy fully what they had to do, exhorted one another to labour, honoured their rulers, and loved their superiors. This having been secured, there ensued the institution of schools.

38 The minister of Instruction defined and set forth the six ceremonial observances: to direct and control the nature of the people; clearly illustrated the seven lessons (of morality) to stimulate their virtue; inculcated uniformity in the eight objects of government, to guard against all excess; taught the sameness of the course (of duty) and virtue, to assimilate manners; nourished the aged, to secure the completion of filial piety; showed pity to orphans and solitaries, to reach those who had been bereaved; exalted men of talents and worth, to give honour to virtue; and dealt summarily with the unworthy, to discountenance wickedness.

He commanded that, throughout the districts, there should be marked and pointed out to him those who were disobedient to his lessons. (This having been done), the aged men were all assembled in the school, and on a good day archery was practised and places were given according to merit. (At the same time) there was a feast, when places were given according to age. The Grand minister of Instruction conducted thither the eminent scholars of the state and along with them superintended the business. If those (who had been reported to him) did not (now) change, he gave orders that they who were noted as continuing disobedient in the districts on the left should be removed to those on the right, and those noted on the right to the districts on the left. Then another examination was held in the same way, and those who had not changed were removed to the nearest outlying territory. Still continuing unchanged, they were removed, after a similar trial, to the more distant territory. There they were again examined and tried, and if still found defective, they were cast out to a remote region, and for all their lives excluded from distinction.

Orders were given that, throughout the districts, the youths who were decided on as of promising ability should have their names passed up to the minister of Instruction, when they were called 'select scholars.' He then decided which of them gave still greater promise, and promoted them to the (great) college, where they were called 'eminent scholars.' Those who were brought to the notice of the minister were exempted from services in the districts; and those who were promoted to the (great) school, from all services under his own department, and (by and by) were called 'complete scholars.'

39 The (board for) the direction of Music gave all honour to its four subjects of instruction, and arranged the lessons in them, following closely the poems, histories, ceremonies, and music of the former kings, in order to complete its scholars. The spring and autumn were devoted to teaching the ceremonies and music; the winter and summer to the poems and histories. The eldest son of the king and his other sons, the eldest sons of all the feudal princes, the sons, by their wives proper, of the high ministers, Great officers, and officers of the highest grade, and the eminent and select scholars from (all) the states, all repaired (to their instruction), entering the schools according to their years.

40 When the time drew near for their quitting the college, the smaller and greater assistants, and the inferior director of the board, put down those who had not attended to their instructions, and reported them to the Grand director, who in turn reported them to the king. The king ordered the three ducal ministers, his nine (other) ministers, the Great officers, and the (other) officers, all to enter the school (and hold an examination). If this did not produce the necessary change; the king in person inspected the school; and if this also failed, for three days he took no full meal nor had music, after which the (culprits) were cast but to the remote regions. Sending them to those of the west was called 'a (temporary) expulsion;' to the east, 'a temporary exile.' But all their lives they were excluded from distinction.

41 The Grand director of Music, having fully considered who were the most promising of the 'completed scholars,' reported them to the king, after which they were advanced to be under the minister of War, and called 'scholars ready for employment.'

42 The minister of War gave discriminating consideration (to the scholars thus submitted to him), with a view to determine the offices for which their abilities fitted them. He then reported his decisions concerning the best and ablest of them to the king, to have that judgement fixed. When it was,

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they were put into offices. After they had discharged the duties of these, rank was given them; and, their positions being thus fixed, they received salary.

43 When a Great officer was dismissed as incompetent from his duties, be was not (again) employed in any office to the end of his life. At his death, he was buried as an (ordinary) officer.

44 If any expedition of war were contemplated, orders were given to the Grand minister of Instruction to teach the scholars the management of the chariot and the wearing of the coat of mail.

45 In the case of all who professed any particular art, respect was had to their strength. If they were to go to a distant quarter, they had to display their arms and legs, and their skill in archery and charioteering was tested. All who professed particular arts for the service of their superiors, such as prayermakers, writers, archers, carriage-drivers, doctors, diviners, and artizans - all who professed particular arts for the service of their superiors, were not allowed to practise any other thing, or to change their offices; and when they left their districts, they did not take rank with officers. Those who did service in families (also), when they left their districts, did not take rank with officers.

46 The minister of Crime adapted the punishments (to the offences for which they were inflicted), and made the laws clear in order to deal with criminal charges and litigations. He required the three references as to its justice (before the infliction of a capital punishment). If a party had the intention, but there were not evidence of the deed, the charge was not listened to. Where a case appeared as doubtful, it was lightly dealt with; where it might be pardoned, it was (still) gravely considered.

47 In all determining on the application of any of the five punishments, it was required to decide according to the judgement of Heaven. Inadvertent and redeemable offences were determined by (the circumstances of) each particular case. When hearing a case requiring the application of any of the five punishments, (the judge) was required to have respect to the affection between father and son, or the righteousness between ruler and minister (which might have been in the mind of the defendant), to balance his own judgement. He must consider the gravity or lightness (of the offence), and carefully try to fathom the capacity (of the offender) as shallow or deep, to determine the exact character (of his guilt). He must exert his intelligence to the utmost, and give the fullest play to his generous and loving feeling, to arrive at his final judgement, If the criminal charge appeared to him doubtful, he was to take the multitude into consultation with him; and if they also doubted, he was to pardon the defendant. At the same time he was to examine analogous cases, great and small, and then give his decision.

48 The evidence in a criminal case having thus been all taken and judgement given, the clerk reported it all to the director (of the district), who heard it and reported it to the Grand minister of Crime. He also heard it in the outer court, and then reported it to the king, who ordered the three ducal ministers, with the minister and director, again to hear it. When they had (once more) reported it to the king, he considered it with the three mitigating conditions, and then only determined the punishment.

49 In all inflictions of punishments and fines, even light offenders (that were not doubtful) were not forgiven. Punishment may be compared to the body. The body is a complete thing; when once completed, there cannot be any subsequent change in it. Hence the wise man will do his utmost (in deciding on all these inflictions).

50 Splitting words so as to break (the force of) the laws; confounding names so as to change what had been definitely settled; practising corrupt ways so as to throw government into confusion: all guilty of these things were put to death. Using licentious music; strange garments; wonderful contrivances and extraordinary implements, thus raising doubts among the multitudes: all who used or formed such things were put to death. Those who were persistent in hypocritical conduct and disputatious in hypocritical speeches; who studied what was wrong, and went on to do so more and more, and whoever increasingly followed what was wrong so as to bewilder the multitudes: these were put to death. Those who gave false reports about (appearances of) spirits, about seasons and days, about consultings of the tortoise-shell and stalks, so as to perplex the multitudes: these were put to death. These four classes were taken off, and no defence listened to.

51 All who had charge of the prohibitions for the regulation of the multitudes did not forgive transgressions of them. Those who had rank-tokens, the long or the round, and gilt libation-cups were not allowed to sell them in the market-places; nor were any allowed to sell robes or chariots, the gift of the king; or vessels of an ancestral temple; or victims for sacrifice; or instruments of war; or vessels which were not according to the prescribed measurements; or chariots of war which were not according to the same; or cloth or silk, fine or coarse, not according to the prescribed quality, or broader or narrower than the proper rule; or of the illegitimate colours, confusing those that were correct; or cloth, embroidered or figured; or vessels made with pearls or jade; or clothes, or food, or drink, (in any way extravagant); or grain which was not in season, or fruit which was unripe; or wood which was not fit for the axe; or birds, beasts, fishes, or reptiles, which were not fit to be killed. At the frontier gates, those in charge of the prohibitions, examined travellers, forbidding such as wore strange clothes, and taking note of such as spoke a strange language.

52 The Grand recorder had the superintendence of ceremonies. He was in charge of the tablets of record, and brought before the king what (names) were to be avoided', and what days were unfavourable (for the doing of particular affairs)'. The son of Heaven received his admonitions with reverence.

53 (The office of) the accountants prepared the complete accounts of the year to be submitted to the son of Heaven which were reverently received by the chief minister. The Grand director of Music, the Grand minister of Crime, and the (chief) superintendent of the markets, these three officers, followed with the completed accounts of their departments to be submitted to the son of Heaven. The Grand minister of Instruction, the Grand minister of War, and the Grand minister of Works, reverently received the completed accounts of their several departments from their various subordinates, and examined them, then presenting them to the son of Heaven. Those subordinates then reverently received them after being so examined and adjudicated on. This being done, the aged were feasted and the royal sympathy shown to the husbandmen. The business of the year was concluded, and the expenditure of the states was determined.

54 In nourishing the aged, Shun, the lord of Yu, used the ceremonies of the drinking entertainment; the sovereigns of Xia, those at entertainments (after) a reverent sacrifice or offering; the men of Yin, those of a (substantial) feast; and the men of Zhou cultivated and used all the three.

55 Those of fifty years received their nourishment in the schools of the districts; those of sixty, theirs in the (smaller school of the) state; and those of seventy, theirs in the college. This rule extended to the feudal states. An old man of eighty made his acknowledgment for the ruler's message, by kneeling once and bringing his head twice to the ground. The blind did the same. An old man of ninety employed another to receive (the message and gift for him).

56 For those of fifty the grain was (fine and) different from that used by younger men). For those of sixty, flesh was kept in store. For those of seventy, there was a second service of savoury meat. For those of eighty, there was a constant supply of delicacies. For those of ninety, food and drink were never out of their chambers. Wherever they wandered (to another place), it was required that savoury meat and drink should follow them.

57 After sixty, the coffin and other things for the mourning rites were seen to be in readiness, (once) in the year; after seventy, once in the season; after eighty, once in the month; and after ninety; every day they were kept in good repair. But the bandages, sheet, and coverlets and cases (for the corpse) were prepared after death.

58 At fifty, one begins to decay; at sixty, he does not feel satisfied unless he eats flesh; at seventy, he does not feel warm unless he wears silk; at eighty, he does not feel warm unless there be some one (to sleep) with him; and at ninety, he does not feel warm even with that.

59 At fifty, one kept his staff always in his hand in his family; at sixty, in his district; at seventy, in the city; at eighty, (an officer) did so in the court. If the son of Heaven wished to put questions to (all officer) of ninety, he went to his house, and had rich food carried after him.

60 At seventy, an officer did not wait till the court was over before he retired; at eighty, he reported every month (to the ruler's messenger) that he was still alive; at ninety; he (had delicate food sent) regularly to him every day.

61 At fifty, a common man was not employed in services requiring strength; at sixty, he was discharged from bearing arms along with others; at seventy, he was exempted from the business of receiving guests and visitors; and at eighty, he was free from the abstinences and other rites of mourning.

62 When one was fifty, he received the rank (of a Great officer); at sixty, he did not go in person to the college; at seventy, he retired from the service of the government; and in mourning, he used only the dress of sackcloth (without adopting the privations of the mourning rites).

63 Shun, the lord of Yu, nourished the aged (who had retired from the service) of the state in (the school called) the higher xiang, and the aged of the common people (and officers who had not obtained rank) in (the school called) the lower xiang. The sovereigns of Xia nourished the former in (the school called) the xu on the east, and the latter in (that called) the xu on the west. The men of Yin nourished the former in the school of the right, and the latter in that of the left. The men of Zhou entertained the former in (the school called) the eastern jiao, and the latter in (what corresponded to) the xiang of Yu. This was in the suburb of the capital on the west.

64 The lord of Yu wore the huang cap in sacrificing (in the ancestral temple), and the white robes in nourishing the aged. The sovereigns of Xia used the shou cap in sacrificing, and the upper and lower dark garments of undress in nourishing the aged. During the Yin, they used the xu cap in sacrificing, and the tipper and lower garments, both of white thin silk, in nourishing the aged. During the Zhou dynasty, they used the mien cap in sacrificing, and the dark-coloured upper and lower garments in nourishing the aged.

65 The kings of the three dynasties, in nourishing the old, always had the years of those connected with them brought to their notice. Where (an officer) was eighty, one of his sons was free from all duties of government service; where he was ninety, all the members of his family were set free from them. In cases of parties who were disabled or ill, and where the attendance of others was required to wait upon them, one man was discharged from those duties (for the purpose). Parties mourning for their parents had a discharge for three years. Those mourning for one year or nine months had a discharge for three months. Where an officer was about to move to another state, he was discharged from service for three months beforehand. When one came from another state, he was not required to take active service for around year.

66 One who, while quite young, lost his father was called an orphan; an old man who had lost his sons was called a solitary. An old man who had lost his wife was called a pitiable (widower); an old woman who had lost her husband was called a poor (widow). These four classes were the most forlorn of Heaven's people, and had none to whom to tell their wants; they all received regular allowances.

67 The dumb, the deaf, the lame, such as had lost a member, pigmies, and mechanics, were all fed according to what work they were able to do.

68 On the roads, men took the right side and women the left; carriages kept in the middle. A man kept behind another who had a father's years; he followed one who might be his elder brother more closely, but still keeping behind, as geese fly after one another in a row. Friends did not pass by one another, when going the same way. (In the case of an old and a young man, carrying burdens,) both were borne by the younger; and if the two were too heavy for one, he took the heavier. A man with grey hair was not allowed to carry anything, though he might do it with one hand. An officer of superior rank, of the age of sixty or seventy, did not walk on foot. A common man, at that age, did not go without flesh to eat.

69 A Great officer, having land of his own, was not permitted to borrow the vessels for sacrifice; nor to make vessels for his own private use before he had made those for sacrifice.

70 A space of one li square contained fields amounting to 900 mu. Ten li square were equal to 100 spaces of one li square, and contained 90,000 mu. A hundred li square were equal to 100 spaces of ten li square, and contained 9,000,999 mu. A thousand li square were equal to 100 spaces of 100 li square, and contained 900,000,000 mu.

71 From mount Heng to the southernmost point of the He was hardly 1000 li. From that point to the Jiang was hardly 1000 li. From the Kiang to mount Heng in the south was more than 1000 li. From the He on the east to the eastern sea was more than 1000 li. From the He on the east to the same river on the west was hardly 1000 li; and from that to the Moving Sands was more than 1000 li. (The kingdom) did not pass the Moving Sands on the west, nor mount Heng on the south. On the east it did not pass the eastern sea, nor on the north did it pass (the other) mount Heng. All within the four seas, taking the length with the breadth, made up a space Of 3000 li square, and contained eighty trillions of mu.

72 A space of 100 li square contained ground to the amount of 9,000,000 mu. Hills and mounds, forests and thickets, rivers and marshes, ditches and canals, city walls and suburbs., houses, roads, and lanes took up one third of it, leaving 6,000,000 mu.

73 Anciently, according to the cubit of Zhou, eight cubits formed a pace. Now, according to the same, six cubits and four inches make a pace. One hundred ancient mu were equal to 146 of the present day and thirty paces. One hundred ancient li were equal to 121 of the present day, sixty paces, four cubits, two inches and two-tenths.

74 A space of 1000 li square contained 100 spaces of 100 li square each. In this were constituted thirty states of 100 li square, leaving what would have been enough for other seventy of the same size. There were also constituted sixty states Of 70 li square, twenty-nine of 100 li square, and forty spaces of 10 li square; leaving enough for forty states of 100 li square, and sixty spaces of 10 li square. There were also constituted a hundred and twenty states of 50 li square, and thirty of 100 li square, leaving enough for ten of the same size, and sixty spaces of 10 li square. The famous hills and great meres were not included in the fiefs; and what remained was assigned for attached territories and unoccupied lands. Those unappropriated lands were taken to reward any of the princes of acknowledged merit, and what was cut off from some others (because of their demerit) became unappropriated land.

75 The territory of the son of Heaven, amounting to 1000 li square, contained 100 spaces of 100 li square each. There were

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constituted nine appanages of 100 li square, leaving ninety-one spaces of the same size. There were also constituted twenty-one appanages of 70 li square, ten of 100 li, and twenty-nine spaces of 10 li square; leaving enough for eighty of 100 li square, and seventy-one of 10 li There were further constituted sixty-three appanages of 50 li square, fifteen of 100 li, and seventy-five spaces of 10 li, while there still remained enough for sixty-four appanages of 100 li square, and ninety-six spaces of 10 li each.

76 The officers of the lowest grade in the feudal states received salary sufficient to feed nine individuals; those of the second grade, enough to feed eighteen; and those of the highest, enough for thirty-six. A Great officer could feed 72 individuals; a minister, 288; and the ruler, 2880. In a state of the second class, a minister could feed 216; and the ruler, 2160. A minister of a small state could feed 144 individuals; and the ruler, 1440. In a state of the second class, the minister who was appointed by its ruler received the same emolument as the minister of a small state.

77 The Great officers of the son of Heaven acted as 'the three inspectors.' When they were inspecting a state, their salary was equal to one of its ministers, and their rank was that of a ruler of a: state of the second class. Their salaries were derived from the territories under the chiefs of regions.

78 The (appointed) heir-sons of the feudal princes inherited their states. Great officers (in the royal domain) did not inherit their rank. They were employed as their ability and character were recognised, and received rank as their merit was proved. Till their rank was conferred (by the king), (the princes) were in the position of his officers of the chief grade, and so they ruled their states, The Great officers of the states did not inherit their rank and emoluments.

79 The six ceremonial observances were: capping; marrying; mourning rites; sacrifices; feasts; and interviews. The seven lessons (of morality) were: (the duties between) father and son; elder brother and younger; husband and wife; ruler and minister; old and young; friend and friend; host and guest. The eight objects of government were:-food and drink; clothes; business (or, the profession); maintenance of distinctions; measures of length; measures of capacity; and definitely assigned rules.

LI JI CHAPTER 6 Yue Ling

Proceedings of Government in the Different Months

1 In the first month of spring the sun is in Shi, the star culminating at dusk being Shen, and that culminating at dawn Wei. Its days are jia and yi. Its divine ruler is Dai Hao, and the (attending) spirit is Gou-mang. Its creatures are the scaly. Its musical note is Jiao, and its pitch-tube is the Dai Cu. Its number is eight; its take is sour; its smell is rank. Its sacrifice is that at the door, and of the parts of the victim the spleen has the foremost place.

2 The east winds resolve the cold. Creatures that have been torpid during the winter begin to move. The fishes rise up to the ice. Otters sacrifice fish. The wild geese make their appearance.

3 The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the left of the Qing Yang (Fane); rides in the carriage with the phoenix (bells), drawn by the azure-dragon (horses), and carrying the green flag; wears the green robes, and the (pieces of) green jade (on his cap and at his girdle pendant). He eats wheat and mutton. The vessels which he uses are slightly carved, (to resemble) the shooting forth (of plants).

4 In this month there takes place the inauguration of spring. Three days before this ceremony, the Grand recorder informs the son of Heaven, saying, 'On such and such a day is the inauguration of the spring. The energies of the season are fully seen in wood. On this the son of Heaven devotes himself to self-purification, and on the day he leads in person the three ducal ministers, his nine high ministers, the feudal princes (who are at court), and his Great officers, to meet the spring in the eastern suburb; and on their return, he rewards them all in the court. He charges his assistants to disseminate (lessons of) virtue, and harmonise the governmental orders, to give effect to the expressions of his satisfaction and bestow his favours; down to the millions of the people. Those expressions and gifts thereupon proceed, every one in proper (degree and direction). He also orders the Grand recorder to guard the statutes and maintain the laws, and (especially) to observe the motions in the heavens of the sun and moon, and of the zodiacal stars in which the conjunctions of these bodies take place, so that there should be no error as to where they rest and what they pass over; that there should be no failure in the record of all these things, according to the regular practice of early times.

5 In this month the son of Heaven on the first (hsin) day prays to God for a good year; and afterwards, the day of the first conjunction of the sun and moon having been chosen, with the handle and share of the plough in the carriage, placed between the man-at-arms who is its third occupant and the driver, he conducts his three ducal ministers, his nine high ministers, the feudal princes and his Great officers, all with their own hands to plough the field of God. The son of Heaven turns up three furrows, each of the ducal ministers five, and the other ministers and feudal princes nine. When they return, he takes in his hand a cup in the great chamber, all the others being in attendance on him and the Great officers, and says, 'Drink this cup of comfort after your toil.'

6 In this month the vapours of heaven descend and those of the earth ascend. Heaven and earth are in harmonious co-operation. All plants bud and grow. The king gives orders to set forward the business of husbandry. The inspectors of the fields are ordered to reside in the lands having an eastward exposure, and (see that) all repair the marches and divisions (of the o-round), and mark out clearly the paths and ditches. They must skilfully survey the mounds and rising grounds, the slopes and defiles, the plains and marshes, determining what the different lands are suitable for, and where the different grains will grow best. They must thus instruct and lead on the people, themselves also engaging in the tasks. The business of the fields being thus ordered, the guiding line is first put in requisition, and the husbandry is carried on without error.

7 In this month orders are given to the chief director of Music to enter the college, and practise the dances (with his pupils). The canons of sacrifice are examined and set forth, and orders are given to sacrifice to the hills and forests, the streams and meres, care being taken not to use any female victims. Prohibitions are issued against cutting down trees. Nests should not be thrown down; unformed insects should not be killed, nor creatures in the Womb, nor very young creatures, nor birds just taking to the wing, nor fawns, nor should eggs be destroyed. No congregating of multitudes should be allowed, and no setting about the rearing of fortifications and walls. Skeletons should be covered up, and bones with the flesh attached to them buried.

8 In this month no warlike operations should be undertaken; the undertaking of such is sure to be followed by calamities from Heaven. The not undertaking warlike operations means that they should not commence on our side. No change in the ways of heaven is allowed; nor any extinction of the principles of earth; nor any confounding of the bonds of men.

9 If in the first month of spring the governmental proceedings proper to summer were carried out, the rain would fall unseasonably, plants and trees would decay prematurely, and the states would be kept in continual fear. If the proceedings proper to autumn were carried out, there would be great pestilence among the people; boisterous winds would work their violence; rain would descend in torrents; orach, fescue, darnel, and southernwood would grow up together. If the proceedings proper to winter were carried out, pools of water would produce their destructive effects, snow and frost would prove very injurious, and the first sown seeds would not enter the ground.

10 In the second month of spring, the sun is in Kui, the star culminating at dusk being Hu, and that culminating at dawn Jian-xing. Its days are jia and yi. Its divine ruler is Dai Hao, the attending spirit is Gou-mang. Its creatures are the scaly. Its musical note is Jiao, and its pitch-tube is the Jia Zhong. Its number is eight; its taste is sour; its smell is rank. Its sacrifice is that at the door, and of the parts of the victim the spleen has the foremost place.

11 The rain begins to fall. The peach tree begins to blossom. The oriole sings. Hawks are transformed into doves.

12 The son of Heaven occupies the Qing Yang Grand Fane; rides in the carriage with the phoenix bells, drawn by the azure dragon-(horses), and bearing the green flag. He is dressed in the green robes, and wears the azure gems. He eats wheat and mutton. The vessels which he uses are slightly carved, (to resemble) the bursting forth (of nature).

13 In this month, they keep both the young buds and those more advanced from being disturbed; they nourish both the young animals and those not fully grown; they especially watch over all orphans. The fortunate day is chosen, and orders are given to the people to sacrifice at their altars to the spirits of the ground. Orders are given to the (proper) officers to examine the prisons; to remove fetters and handcuffs; that there shall be no unregulated infliction of the bastinado; and that efforts shall be made to stop criminal actions and litigations.

14 In this month the swallow makes its appearance. On the day of its arrival, the son of Heaven sacrifices to the first match-maker with a bull, a ram, and a boar. He goes to do so in person, with his queen and help-mates, attended by his nine ladies of honour. Peculiar courtesy is shown to those whom he has (lately) approached. Bow-cases have been brought, and a bow and arrows are given to each before (the altar of) the first match-maker.

15 In this month day and night are equal. Thunder utters its voice, and the lightning begins to be seen. Insects in their burrows are all in motion, opening their doors and beginning to come forth. Three days before the thunder, a bell with a wooden tongue is sounded, to give notice to all the people. 'The thunder,' it is said, 'is about to utter its voice. If any of you be not careful of your behaviour, you shall bring forth children incomplete; there are sure to be evils and calamities.' At the equinox they make uniform the measures of length and capacity; the weight of 30 catties, the steelyard, and the weight of 120 catties. They correct the peck and bushel, the steelyard weights and the bushel-scraper.

16 In this month few of the husbandmen remain in their houses in the towns. They repair, however, their gates and doors, both of wood and wattles; and put their sleeping apartments and temples all in good repair. No great labours, which would interfere with the work of husbandry, should be undertaken.

17 In this month (the fishermen) should not let the streams and meres run dry, nor drain off all the water from the dams and ponds, (in order to catch all the fish), nor should (the hunters) fire the hills and forests. The son of Heaven at this time offers a lamb (to the ruler of cold), and opens the (reservoirs of) ice. Before (using it generally), they offer some in their principal apartment or in the ancestral temple. On the first ting day orders are given to the chief director of Music to exhibit the civil dances and unfold the offerings of vegetables (to the inventor of music). The son of Heaven, at the head of the three ducal ministers, his nine high ministers, the feudal princes (at court), and his Great officers, goes in person to see the ceremony. On the second ting day orders are given again to the same chief to enter the college, and practise music (with his pupils).

18 In this month at the (smaller) services of supplication they do not use victims. They use offerings of jade, square and round, and instead (of victims) skins and pieces of silk.

19 If in this second month of spring the governmental proceedings proper to autumn were observed, there would be great floods, in the states; cold airs would be constantly coming; and plundering attacks would be frequent. If those of winter were observed, the warm and genial airs would be insufficient; the wheat would not ripen; and raids and strifes would be rife among the people. If those of summer were observed, there would be great droughts among the people; the hot airs would come too early; and caterpillars and other insects would harm the grain.

20 In the last month of spring, the sun is in Wei, the constellation culminating at dusk being Qi xing, and that culminating at dawn Qian-niu. Its days are jia and yi. Its divine ruler is Dai Hao, and the attending spirit is Gou-mang. Its creatures are the scaly. Its musical note is the Jiao, and its pitch-tube is the Gu Xian. Its number is eight. Its taste is sour. Its smell is rank. Its sacrifice is that at the door, and of the parts of the victim the spleen has the foremost place.

21 The Elaeococca begins to flower. Moles are transformed into quails. Rainbows begin to appear. Duckweed begins to grow.

22 The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the right of the Qing Yang (Fane); rides in the carriage with the phoenix bells, drawn by the azure dragon-(horses), and bearing the green flag. He is dressed in the green robes, and wears the azure gems. He eats wheat and mutton. The vessels which he uses are slightly carved, (to resemble) the bursting forth (of nature).

23 In this month the son of Heaven presents robes yellow as the young leaves of the mulberry tree to the ancient divine ruler (and his queen). Orders are given to the officer in charge of the boats to turn a boat bottom up. Five times he does so, and five times he turns it back again, after which he reports that it is ready for the son of Heaven, who then gets into it for the first time (this spring). He offers a snouted sturgeon (which he has caught) in the rear apartment of the ancestral temple, and also prays that the wheat may yield its produce.

24 In this month the influences of life and growth are fully developed; and the warm and genial airs diffuse themselves. The crooked shoots are all put forth, and the buds are unfolded. Things do not admit of being restrained. The son of Heaven spreads his goodness abroad, and carries out his kindly promptings. He gives orders to the proper officers to distribute from his granaries and vaults, giving their contents to the poor and friendless, and to relieve the needy and destitute; and to open his treasuries and storehouses, and to send abroad through all the nation the silks and other articles for presents, thus stimulating the princes of states to encourage the resort to them of famous scholars and show courtesy to men of ability and virtue.

25 In this month, he charges the superintendents of works, saying, 'The rains of the season will be coming down, and the waters beneath will be swelling up. Go in order over the states and visit the towns, inspecting everywhere the low and level grounds. Put the dykes and dams in good repair, clear the ditches and larger channels, and open all paths, allowing no obstruction to exist.' The nets used in hunting animals and birds, hand nets, archers' disguises, and injurious baits should not (in this month) issue from (any of) the nine gates.

26 In this month orders are given to the foresters throughout the country not to allow the cutting down of the mulberry trees and silk-worm oaks. About these the cooing doves clap their wings, and the crested birds light on them . The trays and baskets with the stands (for the worms and cocoons) are got ready. The queen, after vigil and fasting, goes in person to the eastern fields to work on the mulberry trees. She orders the wives and younger women (of the palace) not to wear their ornamental dresses, and to suspend their

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woman's-work, thus stimulating them to attend to their business with the worms. When this has been completed, she apportions the cocoons, weighs out (afterwards) the silk, on which they go to work, to supply the robes for the solstitial and other great religious services, and for use in the ancestral temple. Not one is allowed to be idle.

27 In this month orders are given to the chiefs of works, to charge the workmen of their various departments to inspect the materials in the five storehouses: those of iron and other metals; of skins and hides and sinews; of horn and ivory; of feathers, arrows and wood (for bows); and of grease, glue, cinnabar, and varnish. (They are to see) that all these things be good. The workmen then labour at their several tasks. (The chiefs) inspect their work, and daily give them their orders. They must not produce anything contrary to what the time requires; nor can they practise a licentious ingenuity, which would dissipate the minds of their superiors.

28 In the end of this month a fortunate day is chosen for a grand concert of music. The son of Heaven, at the head of the three ducal ministers, the nine high ministers, the feudal princes (at court), and his great officers, goes in person to witness it.

29 In this month they collect the large, heavy bulls, and fiery stallions, and send them forth to the females in the pasture grounds. They number and make a list of the animals fit for victims, with the foals and calves. Orders are given for the ceremonies against pestilence throughout the city; at the nine gates (also) animals are torn in pieces in deprecation (of the danger): to secure the full development of the (healthy) airs of the spring.

30 If, in this last month of spring, the governmental proceedings proper to winter were observed, cold airs would constantly be prevailing; all plants and trees would decay; and in the states there would be great terrors. If those proper to summer were observed, many of the people would suffer from pestilential diseases; the seasonable rains would not fall; and no produce would be derived from the mountains and heights. If those proper to autumn were observed, the sky would be full of moisture and gloom; excessive rains would fall early; and warlike movements would be everywhere arising.

31 In the first month of summer, the sun is in Bi; the constellation culminating at dusk being Yi, and that culminating at dawn Wu-nu. Its days are bing and ding. Its divine ruler is Yan Di, and the (attending) spirit is Gu-rong. Its creatures are the feathered. Its musical note is Zhi, and its pitch-tube is the Zhong Lu. Its number is seven. Its taste is acrid. Its smell is that of things burning. Its sacrifice is that at the furnace; and of the parts of the victim the lungs have the foremost place.

32 The green frogs croak. Earth-worms come forth. The royal melons grow. The sow-thistle is in seed.

33 The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the left of the Ming Tang (Grand Fane); rides in the vermilion carriage, drawn by the red horses with black tails, and bearing the red flag. He is dressed in the red robes, and wears the carnation jade. He eats beans and fowls. The vessels which he uses are tall, (to resemble) the large growth (of things).

34 In this month there takes place the inauguration of summer. Three days before this ceremony, the Grand recorder informs the son of Heaven, saying, 'On such-and-such a day is the inauguration of summer. The energies of the season are most fully seen in fire.' On this the son of Heaven devotes himself to self-purification; and on the day, at the head of the three ducal ministers, the nine high ministers, and his Great officers, he proceeds to meet the summer in the southern suburbs. On their return, rewards are distributed. He grants to the feudal princes (an increase of) territory. Congratulations and gifts proceed, and all are joyful and pleased. Orders are also given to the chief master of music to teach the practice of ceremonies and music together. Orders are given to the Grand Peace-maintainer to recommend men of eminence, allow the worthy and good to have free course and bring forward the tall and large. His conferring of rank and regulation of emolument must be in accordance with the position (of the individual).

35 In this month what is long should be encouraged to grow longer, and what is high to grow higher. There should be no injuring or overthrowing of anything; no commencing of works in earth; no sending forth of great multitudes (on expeditions); no cutting down of large trees.

36 In this month the son of Heaven begins to wear thin dolichos cloth. Orders are given to the foresters throughout the country to go forth over the fields and plains, and, for the son of Heaven, to encourage the husbandmen, and stimulate them to work, and not let the season slip by unimproved. Orders are (also) given to the minister of Instruction to travel in order through the districts to the borders, charging the husbandmen to work vigorously, and not to rest in the towns.

37 In this month they chase away wild animals to prevent them from doing harm to any of the (growing) grain; but they should not have a great hunting. When the husbandmen present (the first-fruits of) their wheat, the son of Heaven tastes it along with some pork, first offering a portion in the apartment behind (the hall of the) ancestral temple.

38 In this month they collect and store up the various medicinal herbs. Delicate herbs (now) die; it is the harvest time (even) of the wheat. They decide cases for which the punishments are light; they make short work of small crimes, and liberate those who are in prison for slight offences. When the work with the silk-worms is over, the queen presents her cocoons; and the tithe-tax of cocoons generally is collected, according to the number of mulberry trees; for noble and mean, for old and young there is one law. The object is with such cocoons to provide materials for the robes to be used at the sacrifices in the suburbs and in the ancestral temple.

39 In this month the son of Heaven (entertains his ministers and princes) with strong drink and with (much) observance of ceremony and with music.

40 If, in this first month of summer, the proceedings proper to autumn were observed, pitiless rains would be frequent; the five esculent plants would not grow large, and in all the borders people would have to enter the places of shelter. If those proper to winter were observed, all plants and trees would wither early, and afterwards, there would be great floods, destroying city and suburban walls. If those proper to spring were observed, there would be the calamity of locusts, violent winds would come, and plants in flower would not go on to seed.

41 In the second month of summer the sun is in the eastern Jing, the constellation culminating at dusk being Kang, and that culminating at dawn Wei. Its days are ping and ting. Its divine ruler is Yan Di, and the (attending) spirit is Gu-rong. Its creatures are the feathered. Its musical note is Zhi, and its pitch-tube is Rui Bin. Its number is seven. Its taste is acrid. Its smell is that of things burning. Its sacrifice is that at the furnace; and of the parts of the victim the lungs have the foremost place.

42 The (period of) slighter heat arrives; the praying mantis is produced; the shrike begins to give its notes; the mocking-bird ceases to sing.

43 The son of Heaven occupies the Ming Tang Grand Fane; rides in the vermilion carriage, drawn by the red horses with black tails, and bearing the red flag. He is dressed in the red robes, and wears the carnation gems. He eats beans and fowls. The vessels which he uses are tall, (to resemble) the large growth (of things). They encourage the (continued) growth of what is strong and beautiful.

44 In this month orders are given to the music-masters to put in repair the hand-drums, smaller drums, and large drums; to adjust the lutes, large and small, the double flutes, and the pan-pipes; to teach the holding of the shields, pole-axes, lances, and plumes; to tune the organs, large and small, with their pipes and tongues; and to put in order the bells, sonorous stones, the instrument to give the symbol for commencing, and the stopper. Orders are given to the (proper) officers to pray for the people and offer sacrifice to the (spirits of the) hills, streams, and all springs. (After that) comes the great summer sacrifice for rain to God, when all the instruments of music are employed. Then orders are given throughout all the districts to sacrifice to the various princes, high ministers, and officers who benefited the people; praying that there may be a good harvest of grain. The husbandmen present (the first-fruits of) their millet.

45 In this month the son of Heaven partakes of it along with pullets, and with cherries set forth beside them, first offering a portion in the apartment behind the ancestral temple. The people are forbidden to cut down the indigo plant to use it in dyeing, or to burn wood for charcoal, or to bleach cloth in the sun. The gates of cities and villages should not be shut, nor should vexatious inquiries be instituted at the barrier gates or in the markets. Leniency should be shown to prisoners charged (even) with great crimes, and their allowance of food be increased. Impregnated mares are collected in herds by themselves, and the fiery stallions are tied up. The rules for the rearing of horses are given out.

46 In this month the longest day arrives. The influences in nature of darkness and decay and those 'Of brightness and growth struggle together; the tendencies to death and life are divided. Superior men give themselves to vigil and fasting. They keep retired in their houses, avoid all violent exercise, restrain their indulgence in music and beautiful sights, eschew the society of their wives, make their diet spare, use no piquant condiments, keep their desires under rule, and maintain their spirits free from excitement. The various magistrates keep things quiet and inflict no punishments - to bring about that state of settled quiet in which the influence of darkness and decay shall obtain its full development. Deer shed their horns. Cicadas begin to sing. The midsummer herb is produced. The tree hibiscus flowers.

47 In this month fires should not be lighted (out of doors) in the southern regions (of the country). People may live in buildings high and bright. They may enjoy distant prospects. They may ascend hills and heights. They may occupy towers and lofty pavilions.

48 If, in the second month of summer, the governmental proceedings of winter were observed, hail and told would injure the grain; the roads would not be passable; and violent assaults of war would come. If the proceedings proper to spring were observed, the grains would be late in ripening; all kinds of locusts would continually be appearing; and there would be famine in the states. If those proper to autumn were observed, herbs and plants would drop their leaves; fruits would ripen prematurely; and the people would be consumed by pestilence.

49 In the third month of summer the sun is in Liu, the constellation culminating at dusk being huo, and that culminating at dawn Kui. Its days are bing and ding. Its divine ruler is Yan Di, and the (assisting) spirit is Gu-rong. Its creatures are the feathered. Its musical note is Zhi, and its pitch-tube is Lin Zhong. Its number is seven. Its taste is acrid. Its smell is that of things burning. Its sacrifice is that at the furnace; and of the parts of the victim the lungs have the foremost place.

50 Gentle winds begin to blow. The cricket takes its place in the walls. (Young) hawks learn to practise (the ways of their parents). Decaying grass becomes fire-flies.

51 The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the right of the Ming Thang (Fane); rides in the vermilion carriage, drawn by the red horses with black tails, and bearing the red flag. He is dressed in the red robes, and wears the carnation gems. He eats beans and fowls. The vessels which he uses are tall, (to resemble) the large growth (of things). Orders are given to the master of the Fishermen to attack the alligator, to take the gavial, to present the tortoise, and to take the great turtle. Orders are given to the superintendent of the Meres to collect and send in the rushes available for use.

52 In this month orders are given to the four inspectors to make a great collection over all the districts of the different kinds of fodder to nourish the sacrificial victims; and to require all the people to do their utmost towards this end - to supply what is necessary for (the worship of) God (who dwells in) the great Heaven, and for the spirits of the famous hills, great streams, and four quarters, and for the sacrifices to the Intelligences of the ancestral temple, and at the altars to the spirits of the land and grain; that prayer may be made for blessing to the people.

53 In this month orders are given by the officers of women's (work), on the subject of dyeing. (They are to see) that the white and black, the black and green, the green and carnation, the carnation and white be all according to the ancient rules, without error or change; and that their black, yellow, azure, and carnation be all genuine and good, without any presumptuous attempts at imposition. These furnish the materials for the robes used at the sacrifices in the suburbs and the ancestral temple; for flags and their ornaments; and for marking the different degrees of rank as high or low.

54 In this month the trees are luxuriant; and orders are given to the foresters to go among the hills and examine the trees, and see that the people do not cut any down or lop their branches. There should not be any work in earth, (now) undertaken; nor any assembling of the princes of the states; nor any military movements, causing general excitement. There should be no undertaking of (such) great affairs, which will disturb the nourishing growth that is proceeding, nor any issuing of orders to be hereafter carried into effect. All these things will interfere with the business of husbandry, (which is specially dear to) the Spirits. The floods are now great and overflow the roads; husbandry (dear to) the Spirits has to take in hand its various tasks. The curse of Heaven will come on the undertaking of great affairs (at this time).

55 In this month the ground lies steaming and wet beneath the heats, for great rains are (also) continually coming. They burn the grass lying cut upon the ground and bring the water over it. This is as effectual to kill the roots as hot water would be; and the grass thus serves to manure the fields of grain and hemp, and to fatten the ground which has been but just marked out for cultivation.

56 If, in the last month of summer, the governmental proceedings proper to spring were observed, the produce of grain would be scanty and fail; in the states there would be many colds and coughs; and the people would remove to other places. If the proceedings proper to autumn were observed, even the high grounds would be flooded; the grain that had been sown would not ripen; and there would be many miscarriages among women. If those proper to winter were observed, the winds and cold would come out of season; the hawks and falcons would prematurely attack their prey; and all along the four borders people would enter their places of shelter.

57 Right in the middle (between. Heaven and Earth, and the other elements) is earth. Its days are Wu and ji. Its divine ruler is Huang Di, and the (attending) spirit is Hou-tu. Its creature is that without any natural covering but the skin. Its musical note is Gong, and its pitch-tube gives the gong note from the tube Huang Zhong. Its number is five. Its taste is sweet. Its smell is fragrant. Its sacrifice is that of the middle court; and of the parts of the victim the heart has the foremost place.

58 The son of Heaven occupies the Grand apartment of the Grand fane; rides in the great carriage drawn by the yellow horses with black tails, and bearing the yellow flag; is clothed in the yellow robes, and wears the yellow gems. He eats

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panicled millet and beef. The vessels which he uses are round, (and made to resemble) the capacity (of the earth).

59 In the first month of autumn, the sun is in Yi the constellation culminating at dusk being Jian-xing, and that culminating at dawn Bi. Its days are geng and xin. Its divine ruler is Shao Hao, and the (attending) spirit is Ru-shou. Its creatures are the hairy. Its musical note is Shang; its pitch-tube is Yi Ze. Its number is nine. Its taste is bitter. Its smell is rank. Its sacrifice is that at the gate; and of the parts of the victim the liver has the foremost place.

60 Cool winds come; the white dew descends the cicada of the cold chirps. (Young) hawks at this time sacrifice birds, as the first step they take to killing (and eating) them.

61 The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the left of the Zong-zhang (Fane); rides in the war chariot, drawn by the white horses with black manes, and bearing the white flag. He is clothed in the white robes, and wears the white jade. He eats hemp-seeds and dog's flesh. The vessels which he uses are rectangular, and going on to be deep.

62 In this month there takes place the inauguration of autumn. Three days before the ceremony) the Grand recorder informs the son of Heaven, saying, 'On such-and-such a day is the inauguration of the autumn. The character of the season is fully seen in metal.' On this the son of Heaven devotes himself to self-adjustment; and on the day he leads in person the three ducal ministers, the nine high ministers, the princes of states (at court), and his Great officers, to meet the autumn in the western suburb, and on their return he rewards the general-in-chief, and the military officers in the court. The son of Heaven also orders the leaders and commanders to choose men and sharpen weapons, to select and exercise those of distinguished merit, and to give their entire trust only to men whose services have been proved - thereby to correct all unrighteousness. (He instructs them also) to make enquiries about and punish the oppressive and insolent - thereby making it clear whom he loves and whom he hates, and giving effect to (the wishes of) the people, even the most distant from court.

63 In this month orders are given to the proper officers to revise the laws and ordinances, to put the prisons in good repair, to provide handcuffs and fetters, to repress and stop villainy, to maintain a watch against crime and wickedness, and to do their endeavour to capture criminals. Orders are (also) given to the managers (of prisons) to look at wounds, examine sores, inspect broken members, and judge particularly of dislocations. The determination of cases, both criminal and civil, must be correct and just. Heaven and earth now begin to be severe; there should be no excess in copying that severity, or in the opposite indulgence.

64 In this month the husbandmen present their grain. The son of Heaven tastes it, while still new, first offering some in the apartment at the back of the ancestral temple. Orders are given to all the officers to begin their collecting and storing the contributions (from the husbandmen); to finish the embankments and dykes; to look to the dams and fillings up in preparation for the floods, and also to refit all houses; to strengthen walls and enclosures; and to repair city and suburban walls.

65 In this month there should be no investing of princes, and no appointment of great ministers. There should be no dismemberment of any territory, no sending out on any great commission, and no issuing of great presents.

66 If, in this first month of autumn, the proceedings of government proper to winter were observed, then the dark and gloomy influence (of nature) would greatly prevail; the shelly insects would destroy the grain; and warlike operations would be called for. If the proceedings proper to spring were observed, there would be droughts in the states; the bright and growing influence would return; and the five kinds of grain would not yield their fruit. If the proceedings proper to summer were observed, there would be many calamities from fire in the states; the cold and the heat would be subject to no rule; and there would be many fevers among the people.

67 In the second month of autumn the sun is in Jiao, the constellation culminating at dusk being Qian-niu, and that culminating at dawn Zi-xi. Its days are geng and xin. Its divine ruler is Shao Hao, and the (attending) spirit is Ru-shou. Its insects are the hairy. Its musical note is Shang, and its pitch-tube is Nan Lu. Its number is nine. Its taste is bitter. Its smell is rank. Its sacrifice is that of the gate; and of the parts of the victim the liver has the foremost place.

68 Sudden and violent winds come. The wild geese arrive. The swallows return (whence they came). Tribes of birds store up provisions (for the future).

69 The son of Heaven occupies the Zong-zhang Grand Fane; rides in the war chariot, drawn by the white horses with black manes, and bearing the white flag. He is clothed in the white robes, and wears the white gems. He eats hemp-seed and dog's flesh. The vessels which he uses are rectangular or cornered, and rather deep.

70 In this month they take especial care of the decaying and old; give them stools and staves, and distribute supplies of congee for food. Orders are given to the superintendent of robes to have ready the upper and lower dresses with their various ornaments. For the figures and embroidery on them there are fixed patterns. Their size, length, and dimensions must all be according to the old examples. For the caps and girdles (also) there are regular rules. Orders are given to the proper officers to revise with strict accuracy (the laws about) the various punishments. Beheading and (the other) capital executions must be according to (the crimes) without excess or defect. Excess or defect out of such proportion will bring on itself the judgement (of Heaven).

71 In this month orders are given to the officers of slaughter and prayer to go round among the victims for sacrifice, seeing that they are entire and complete, examining their fodder and grain, inspecting their condition as fat or thin, and judging of their looks. They must arrange them according to their classes. In measuring their size, and looking at the length (of their horns), they must have them according to the (assigned) measures. When all these points are as they ought to be, God will accept the sacrifices. The son of Heaven performs the ceremonies against pestilence, to secure development for the (healthy) airs of autumn. He eats the hemp-seed (which is now presented) along with dog's flesh, first offering some in the apartment at the back of the ancestral temple.

72 In this month it is allowable to rear city and suburban walls, to establish cities and towns, to dig underground passages and grain-pits, and to repair granaries, round and square. Orders are given to the proper officers to be urgent with the people, and (to finish) receiving their contributions and storing them. They should do their best to accumulate (large) stores of vegetables and other things. They should (also) stimulate the wheat-sowing. (The husbandmen) should not be allowed to miss the proper time for the operation. Any who do so shall be punished without fail.

73 In this month day and night are equal. The thunder begins to restrain its voice. Insects stop up the entrances to their burrows. The influence to decay and death gradually increases. That of brightness and growth daily diminishes. The waters begin to dry up. At the equinox, they make uniform the measures of length and capacity; equalise the steel-yards and their weights; rectify the weights of 30 and 120 catties; and adjust the pecks and bushels.

74 In this month they regulate and reduce the charges at the frontier gates and in the markets, to encourage the resort of both regular and travelling traders, and the receipt of goods and money; for the convenience of the business of the people. When merchants and others collect from all quarters, and come from the most distant parts, then the resources (of the government) do not fail. There is no want of means for its use; and all things proceed prosperously. In commencing great undertakings, there should be no opposition to the great periods (for them) as defined (by the motion of the sun). They must be conformed to the times (as thereby marked out), and particular attention paid to the nature of each.

75 If in this second month of autumn the proceedings proper to spring were observed, the autumnal rains would not fall; plants and trees would blossom; and in the states there would be alarms. If those proper to summer were observed, there would be droughts in the states; insects would not retire to their burrows; and the five grains would begin to grow again. If those proper to winter were observed, calamities springing from (unseasonable) winds would be constantly arising; the thunder now silent would be heard before its time; and plants and trees would die prematurely.

76 In the last month of autumn the sun is in Fang, the constellation culminating at dusk being Xu, and that culminating at dawn Liu. Its days are geng and xin. Its divine ruler is Shao Hao, and the (attending) spirit is Ru-shou. Its creatures are the hairy. Its musical note is Shang, and its pitch-tube is Wu Yi. Its number is nine. Its taste is bitter. Its smell is rank. Its sacrifice is that at the gate; and of the parts of the victim the liver has the foremost place.

77 The wild geese come, (and abide) like guests. Small birds enter the great water and become mollusks. Chrysanthemums show their yellow flowers. The chai sacrifice larger animals, and kill (and devour) the smaller.

78 The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the right of the Zong-zhang (Fane); rides in the war chariot, drawn by the white horses with black manes, and bearing the white flags; is dressed in the white robes, and wears the white jade. He eats hemp-seeds and dog's flesh. The vessels which he uses are rectangular, cornered, and rather deep.

79 In this month the orders are renewed and strictly enjoined, charging the various, officers (to see) that noble and mean all exert themselves in the work of ingathering, in harmony with the storing of heaven and earth. They must not allow anything to remain out in the fields. Orders are also given to the chief minister, after the fruits of husbandry have all been gathered in, to take in hand the registers of the produce of the different grains (from all the country), and to store up the produce that has been gathered from the acres of God in the granary of the spirits; doing this with the utmost reverence and correctness.

80 In this month the hoar-frost begins to fall; and all labours cease (for a season). Orders are given to the proper officers, saying, 'The cold airs are all coming, and the people will not be able to endure them. Let all enter within their houses (for a time).' On the first ting day orders are given to the chief Director of music to enter the college, and to practise (with his pupils) on the wind instruments.

81 In this month an announcement is made to the son of Heaven that the victims for the great sacrifice to God, and the autumnal sacrifice in the ancestral temple' are fit and ready. The princes of the states are assembled, and orders given to the officers of the various districts (in the royal domain). They receive the first days of the months for the coming year, and the laws for the taxation of the people by the princes, both light and heavy, and the amount of the regular contribution to the government, which is determined by the distance of the territories and the nature of their several productions. The object of this is to provide what is necessary for the suburban sacrifices and those in the ancestral temple. No private considerations are allowed to have place in this.

82 In this month the son of Heaven, by means of hunting, teaches how to use the five weapons of war, and the rules for the management of horses. Orders are given to the charioteers and the seven (classes of) grooms to see to the yoking of the several teams, to set up in the carriages the flags and various banners, to assign the carriages according to the rank (of those who were to occupy them), and to arrange and set up the screens outside (the royal tent). The minister of Instruction, with his baton stuck in his girdle, addresses all before him with his face to the north. Then the son of Heaven, in his martial ornaments, with his bow in one hand, and the arrows under the armpit of the other, proceeds to hunt. (Finally), he gives orders to the superintendent of Sacrifices, to offer some of the captured game to (the spirits of) the four quarters.

83 In this month the plants and trees become yellow and their leaves fall, on which the branches are cut down to make charcoal. Insects in their burrows all try to push deeper, and from within plaster up the entrances. In accordance with (the season), they hurry on the decision and punishment of criminal cases, wishing not to leave them any longer undealt with. They call in emoluments that have been assigned incorrectly, and minister to those whose means are insufficient for their wants.

84 In this month the son of Heaven eats dog's flesh and rice, first presenting some in the apartment at the back of the ancestral temple.

85 If, in this last month of autumn, the proceedings proper to summer were observed, there would be great floods in the states; the winter stores would be injured and damaged; there would be many colds and catarrhs among the people. If those proper to winter were observed, there would be many thieves and robbers in the states; the borders would be unquiet; and portions of territory would be torn from the rest. If those proper to spring were observed, the warm airs would come; the energies of the people would be relaxed and languid; and the troops would be kept moving about.

86 In the first month of winter the sun is in Wei, the constellation culminating at dusk being Wei, and the constellation culminating at dawn Qi-xing. Its days are the ren and gui. Its divine ruler is Zhuan-xu, and the (attending) spirit is Xuan-ming. Its creatures are the shell-covered. Its musical note is Yu, and its pitch-tube is Ying Zhong. Its number is six. Its taste is salt. Its smell is that of things that are rotten. Its sacrifice is that at (the altar of) the path, and among the parts of the victim the kidneys have the foremost place.

87 Water begins to congeal. The earth begins to be penetrated by the cold. Pheasants enter the great water and become large mollusks. Rainbows are hidden and do not appear.

88 The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the left of the Xuan Tang (Fane); rides in the dark-coloured carriage, drawn by the iron black horses, and bearing the dark-coloured flag; is dressed in the black robes, and wears the dark-coloured jade. He eats millet and sucking-pig. The vessels which he uses are large and rather deep.

89 In this month there takes place the inauguration of winter. Three days before this ceremony, the Grand recorder informs the son of Heaven, saying, 'On such-and-such a day is the inauguration of winter. The character of the season is fully seen in water.' On this the son of Heaven devotes himself to self-adjustment; and on the day of the inauguration he leads in person the three ducal ministers, the nine high ministers, and his Great officers to meet the winter in the northern suburbs. On his return he rewards (the descendants of) those who died in the service (of the kingdom), and shows his compassion to orphans and widows.

90 In this month orders are given to the Grand recorder to smear with blood the tortoise-shells and divining stalks', and by interpreting the indications of the former and examining the figures formed by the latter, to determine the good and evil of their intimations. (In this way) all flattery and partizanship in the interpretation of them (will become clear), and the crime of their operators be brought home. No concealment or deceit will be allowed.

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91 In this month the son of Heaven sets the example of wearing furs. Orders are issued to the proper officers in the words: 'The airs of heaven are ascended on high, and those of earth have descended beneath. There is no intercommunion of heaven and earth. All is shut up and winter is completely formed.' Orders are given to all the officers to cover up carefully the stores (of their departments). The minister of Instruction is also ordered to go round (among the people and see) that they have formed their stores, and that nothing is left ungathered. The city and suburban walls are put in good repair; the gates of towns and villages are looked after; bolts and nuts are put to rights; locks and keys are carefully attended to; the field-boundaries are strengthened; the frontiers are well secured; important defiles are thoroughly defended; passes and bridges are carefully seen after; and narrow ways and cross-paths are shut up. The rules for mourning are revised; the distinctions of the upper and lower garments are defined; the thickness of the inner and outer coffins is decided on; with the size, height and other dimensions of graves. The measures for all these things are assigned, with the degrees and differences in them according to rank.

92 In this month orders are given to the chief Director of works to prepare a memorial on the work of the artificers; setting forth especially the sacrificial vessels with the measures and capacity (of them and all others), and seeing that there be no licentious ingenuity in the workmanship which might introduce an element of dissipation into the minds of superiors; and making the suitability of the article the first consideration. Every article should have its maker's name engraved on it, for the determination of its, genuineness. When the production is not what it ought to be, the artificer should be held guilty and an end be thus put to deception.

93 In this month there is the great festivity when they drink together, and each of the stands bears half its animal roasted. The son of Heaven prays for (a blessing on) the coming year to the Honoured ones of heaven; sacrifices with an ox, a ram, and a boar at the public altar to the spirits of the land, and at the gates of towns and villages; offers the sacrifice three days after the winter solstice with the spoils of the chase to all ancestors, and at the five (household) sacrifices; thus cheering the husbandmen and helping them to rest from their toils. The son of Heaven orders his leaders and commanders to give instruction on military operations, and to exercise (the soldiers) in archery and chariot-driving, and in trials of strength.

94 In this month orders are given to the superintendent of waters and the master of fishermen to collect the revenues from rivers, springs, ponds, and meres, taking care not to encroach in any way on any among the myriads of the people, so as to awaken a feeling of dissatisfaction in them against the son of Heaven. If they do this, they shall be punished for their guilt without forgiveness.

95 If, in the first month of winter, the proceedings of government proper to spring were observed, the cold that shuts up all beneath it would not do so tightly; the vapours of the earth would rise up and go abroad; many of the people would wander away and disappear. If those proper to summer were observed, there would be many violent winds in the states; winter itself would not be cold; and insects would come forth again from their burrows. If those proper to autumn were observed, the snow and hoarfrost would come unseasonably; small military affairs would constantly be arising; and incursions and loss of territory would occur.

96 In the second month of winter the sun is in Dou, the constellation culminating at dusk being the eastern Bi, and that culminating at dawn Zhen. Its days are ren and gui. Its divine ruler is Zhuan-xu, and the (attending) spirit is Xuan-ming. Its creatures are the shell-covered. Its musical note is Yu, and its pitch-tube is Huang Zhong. Its number is six. Its taste is salt. Its smell is that of things that are rotten. Its sacrifice is that at (the altar of) the path, and of the parts of the victim the kidneys have the foremost place.

97 The ice becomes more strong. The earth begins to crack or split. The night bird ceases to sing. Tigers begin to pair.

98 The son of Heaven occupies the Grand Fane Xuan Tang; rides in the dark-coloured carriage, drawn by the iron black horses, and bearing the dark-coloured flag. He is dressed in the black robes, and wears the dark-coloured gems of jade. He eats millet and sucking-pig. The vessels which he uses are large and rather deep. All things relating to the dead are revised and regulated. Orders are given to the proper officer to the following effect: 'There should nothing be done in works of earth; care should be taken not to expose anything that is covered, nor to throw open apartments and houses, and rouse the masses to action; that all may be kept securely shut up. (Otherwise) the genial influences of earth will find vent, which might be called a throwing open of the house of heaven and earth. In this case all insects would die; and the people be sure to fall ill from Pestilence, and various losses would ensue.' This charge is said to be giving full development to the (idea of the) month.

99 In this month orders are given to the Director of the eunuchs to issue afresh the orders for the palace, to examine all the doors, inner and outer, and look carefully after all the apartments. They must be kept strictly shut. All woman's-work must be diminished, and none of an extravagant nature permitted. Though noble and nearly related friends should come to visit the inmates, they must all be excluded. Orders are given to the Grand superintendent of the preparation of liquors to see that the rice and other glutinous grains are all complete; that the leaven-cakes are in season; that the soaking and heating are cleanly conducted; that the water be fragrant; that the vessels of pottery be good; and that the regulation of the fire be right. These six things have all to be attended to, and the Grand superintendent has the inspection of them, to secure that there be no error or mistake. The son of Heaven issues orders to the proper officers to pray and sacrifice to (the spirits presiding over) the four seas, the great rivers (with their) famous sources, the deep tarns, and the meres, (all) wells and springs.

100 In this month, if the husbandmen have any productions in the fields, which they have not stored or collected, or if there be any horses, oxen or other animals, which have been left at large, any one may take, them without its being inquired into. If there be those who are able to take from, the hills and forests, marshes and meres. edible fruits, or to capture game by hunting, the wardens and foresters should give them the necessary information and guidance. If there be among them those who encroach on or rob the others, they should be punished without fail.

101 In this month the shortest day arrives. The principle of darkness and decay (in nature) struggles with that of brightness and growth. The elements of life begin to move. Superior men give themselves to self-adjustment and fasting. They keep retired in their houses. They wish to be at rest in their persons; put away all indulgence in music and beautiful sights; repress their various desires; give repose to their bodies and all mental excitements. They wish all affairs to be quiet, while they wait for the settlement of those principles of darkness and decay, and brightness and growth. Rice begins to grow. The broom-sedge rises up vigorously. Worms curl. The moose-deer shed their horns. The springs of water are (all) in movement. When the shortest day has arrived, they fell trees, and carry away bamboos, (especially) the small species suitable for arrows.

102 In this month, offices in which there is no business may be closed, and vessels for which there is no use may be removed. They plaster (and repair) the pillars and gateways (of the palace), and the courtyard (within), and also doors and other gateways; rebuilding (also all) prisons, to co-operate with the tendency of nature to shut up and secure (the genial influences at this season).

103 If in this second month of winter the proceedings of government proper to summer were observed, there would be droughts in the states; vapours and fogs would shed abroad their gloom, and thunder would utter its voice. If those proper to autumn were observed, the weather would be rainy and slushy; melons and gourds would not attain their full growth; and there would be great wars in the states. If those proper to spring were observed, locusts would work their harm; the springs would all become dry; and many of the people would suffer from leprosy and foul ulcers.

104 In the third month of winter the sun is in Wu-nu, the constellation culminating at dusk being Lou, and that culminating at dawn Di. Its days are ren and gui. Its divine ruler is Zhuan-xu, and the (attendant) spirit is Xuan-ming. Its creatures are the shell-covered. Its musical note is Yu, and its pitch-tube is Da Lu. Its number is six. Its taste is salt. Its smell is that of things that are rotten. Its sacrifice is that at (the altar of) the path; and the part of the victim occupying the foremost place is the kidneys.

105 The wild geese go northwards. The magpie begins to build. The (cock) pheasant crows. Hens hatch.

106 The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the right of the Xuan Tang (Fane); rides in the dark-coloured carriage, drawn by the iron-black horses, and bearing the dark-coloured flag. He is dressed in the black robes, and wears the dark-coloured gems of jade. He eats millet and sucking-pig. The vessels which he uses are large and rather deep. He issues orders to the proper officers to institute on a great scale all ceremonies against pestilence, to have (animals) torn in pieces on all sides, and (then) to send forth the ox of earth, to escort away the (injurious) airs of the cold. Birds of prey fly high and rapidly. They now offer sacrifices all round to (the spirits of) the hills and rivers, to the great ministers of the (ancient) deified sovereigns, and to the spirits of heaven (and earth).

107 In this month orders are given to the master of the Fishermen to commence the fishers' work. The son of Heaven goes in person (to look on). He partakes of the fish caught, first presenting some in the apartment at the back of the ancestral temple. The ice is now abundant: thick and strong to the bottom of the waters and meres. Orders are given to collect it, which is done, and it is carried into (the ice-houses). Orders are given to make announcement to the people to bring forth their seed of the five grains. The husbandmen are ordered to reckon up the pairs which they can furnish for the ploughing; to repair the handles and shares of their ploughs; and to provide all the other instruments for the fields. Orders are given to the chief director of Music to institute a grand concert of wind instruments; and with this (the music of the year) is, closed. Orders are given to the four Inspectors to collect and arrange the faggots to supply the wood and torches for the suburban sacrifices, those in the ancestral temple, and all others.

108 In this month the sun has gone through all his mansions; the moon has completed the number of her conjunctions; the stars return to (their places) in the heavens. The exact length (of the year) is nearly completed, and the year will soon begin again. (It is said), 'Attend to the business of your husbandmen. Let them not be employed on anything else.' The son of Heaven, along with his ducal and other high ministers and his Great officers, revises the statutes for the states, and discusses the proceedings of the different seasons; to be prepared with what is suitable for the ensuing year. Orders are given to the Grand recorder to make a list of the princes of the states according to the positions severally assigned to them, and of the victims required from them to supply the offerings for the worship of God dwelling in the great heaven, and at the altars of (the spirits of) the land and grain. Orders were also given to the states ruled by princes of the royal surname to supply the fodder and grain for the (victims used in the worship of the) ancestral temple. Orders are given, moreover, to the chief minister to make a list of (the appanages of) the various high ministers and Great officers, with the amount of the land assigned to the common people, and assess them with the victims which they are to contribute to furnish for the sacrifices to (the spirits presiding over) the hills, forests, and famous streams. All the people under the sky, within the nine provinces, must, without exception, do their utmost to contribute to the sacrifices:-to God dwelling in the great heaven; at the altars of the (spirits of the) land and grain; in the ancestral temple and the apartment at the back of it; and of the hills, forests, and famous streams.

109 If, in the last month of winter, the governmental proceedings proper to autumn were observed, the white dews would descend too early; the shelly creatures would appear in monstrous forms; throughout the four borders people would have to seek their places of shelter. If those proper to spring were observed, women with child and young children would suffer many disasters; throughout the states there would be many cases of obstinate disease; fate would appear to be adverse. If those proper to summer were observed, floods would work their ruin in the states; the seasonable snow would not fall, the ice would melt, and the cold disappear.

LI JI CHAPTER 7 Zeng Zi Wen

Questions of Zengzi

1 Zeng-zi asked, 'If a ruler dies and a son and heir is born (immediately after), what course should be adopted?'

Confucius said, 'The high nobles, Great officers and (other) officers, following the chief (minister), who takes charge of the government for the time, (should collect) at the south of the western steps, with their faces towards the north. (Then) the Grand officer of prayer, in his court robes and cap, bearing in his hands a bundle of rolls of silk, will go up to the topmost step, and (there), without ascending the hall, will order the wailing to cease. Mournfully clearing his voice three times, he will make announcement (to the spirit of the deceased ruler), saying, "The son of such and such a lady has been born. I venture to announce the fact." He will then go up, and place the silks on a stool on the east of the body in the coffin, wail, and descend. All the relatives of the deceased who are there (at the mourning), the high nobles, the Great and other officers, (with the women) in the apartments, all will wail, but without the leaping. When this burst of sorrow is over, they will return to their (proper) places, and proceed forthwith to set forth the mourning offerings to the dead. The minor minister will ascend, and take away the bundle of silks. On the third day, all the relatives, high nobles, Great and other officers, should take their places as before, with their faces to the north. The Grand minister, the Grand master of the ancestral temple, and the Grand officer of prayer, should all be in their court-robes and caps. The master for the child will carry the child in his arms on a mat of sackcloth. The officer of prayer will precede, followed by the child, and the minister and master of the temple will come after. Thus they will enter the door (of the apartment where the coffin is), when the wailers will cease. The child has been brought up by the western steps, and is held in front of the coffin with his face to the north, while the officer of prayer stands at the south-east corner of it. Mournfully clearing his voice three times, he will say, "So and So, the son of such and such a lady, and we, his servants, who follow him, presume to appear before you." The boy is (then made) to do obeisance, with his forehead on the ground, and to wail. The officer of prayer, the minister, the officer of the temple, all the relatives, the high nobles, with the Great and other officers, will wail and leap, leaping three times with each burst of grief. (Those who had gone up to the hall then) descend, and go back to their proper places on the east; where all bare the left arm and shoulder. The son (in the arms of his bearer is made) to leap,

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and (the women) in the apartments also leap. Thrice they will do so, leaping three times each time. (The bearer for the son) will cover up his sackcloth, walk with a staff, (ascend and) set forth the offerings by the dead, and then quit the scene. The Grand minister will charge the officer of prayer and the recorder to announce the name all round, at the five altars of the house, and at those (to the spirits) of the hills and streams.'

2 Zeng-zi asked, 'If the son and heir have been born after the burial (of the) ruler, what course should be followed?'

Confucius said, 'The Grand minister and the Grand master of the ancestral temple will follow the Grand officer of prayer, and announce the fact before the spirit tablet (of the deceased ruler). Three months after they will give the name in the same place, and announce it all round', and also at the altars to (the spirits of) the land and grain, in the ancestral temple, and (at the altars of) the hills and streams.'

3 Confucius said, 'When princes of states are about to go to the (court of the) son of Heaven, they must announce (their departure) before (the shrine of) their grandfather, and lay their offerings in that of their father. They then put on the court cap, and go forth to hold their own court. (At this) they charge the officer of prayer and the recorder to announce (their departure) to the (spirits of the) land and grain, in the ancestral temple, and at the (altars of the) hills and rivers. They then give (the business of) the state in charge to the five (subordinate) officers, and take their journey, presenting the offerings to the spirits of the road as they set forth. All the announcements should be completed in five days. To go beyond this in making them is contrary to rule. In every one of them they use a victim and silks. On the return (of the princes) there are the same observances. When princes of states are about to visit one another, they must announce (their departure) before the shrine of their father. They will then put on their court robes, and go forth to hold their own court. (At this) they charge the officer of prayer and the recorder to announce (their departure) at the five shrines in the ancestral temple, and at the altars of the hills and rivers which they will pass. They then give (the business of) the state in charge to the five officers, and take their journey, presenting the offerings to the spirits of the road as they set forth. When they return, they will announce (the fact) in person to their grandfather and father, and will charge the officer of prayer and the recorder to make announcement of it at the altars where they announced (their departure). (When this has been done), they enter and give audience in the court.'

4 Zeng-zi asked, 'If the funerals of both parents take place together, what course is adopted? Which is first and which last?'

Confucius said, 'The rule is that the burying of the less important (mother) should have the precedence, and that of the more important (father) follow, while the offerings to them are set down in the opposite order. From the opening of the apartment and conveying out the coffin (of the mother) till its interment no offerings are put down; when the coffin is on the route to the grave, there is no wailing at the regular place for that ceremony. When they return from this interment, they set down the offerings (to the father), and afterwards announce (to his spirit) when the removal of his coffin will take place, and proceed to arrange for the interment. It is the rule that the sacrifice of repose should first be offered to the more important (father), and afterwards to the less important (mother).

5 Coufucius said, 'The eldest son, even though seventy, should never be without a wife to take her part in presiding at the funeral rites. If there be no such eldest son, the rites may be performed without a presiding wife.'

6 Zeng-zi asked, 'It has been proposed to invest a son with the cap, and the investors have arrived, and after exchanging bows and courtesies (with the master of the house), have entered. If then news should come that the death of some relative has occurred, for whom a year's mourning or that of nine months must be worn, what should be done?'

Confucius said, 'If the death has taken place within (the circle of the same surname), the ceremony should be given up; but if without (that circle), it will go on, but the sweet wine will not be presented to the youth. The viands will be removed and the place swept, after which he will go to his proper position and wail. If the investors have not yet arrived, the capping will be given up (for the time). If the arrangements for the capping have been made, but before the day arrives, an occasion for the one year's mourning, or for that of nine months, or five months, have arrived, the youth shall be capped in his mourning dress.'

'When all mourning is over, may a son continue to wear the cap which he has hitherto worn?'

Confucius said, 'When the son of Heaven gives to the (young) prince of a state or a Great officer his robes and the cap proper to each in the grand ancestral temple, the youth on his return home- will set forth his offering (in his own ancestral temple), wearing the robes that have been given to him, and here he will drink the cup of capping (as if) offered by his father, without the cup of wine at the ceremony. When a son is (thus) capped after his father's death, he is considered to be properly capped; he will sweep the ground, and sacrifice at his father's shrine. This being done, he will present himself before his uncles, and then offer the proper courtesies to the investors.'

7 Zeng-zi asked, 'Under what circumstances is it that at sacrifice they do not carry out the practice of all drinking to one another?'

Confucius said, 'I have heard that at the close of the one year's mourning, the principal concerned in it sacrifices in his inner garment of soft silk, and there is not that drinking all round. The cup is set down beside the guests, but they do not take it up. This is the rule. Formerly duke Zhao of Lu, while in that silken garment, took the cup and sent it all round, but it was against the rule; and duke Xiao, at the end of the second year's mourning, put down the cup presented to him, and did not send it all round, but this also was against the rule.'

8 Zeng-zi asked, 'In a case (of the) mourning for nine months, can (the principal) take part in contributing to the offerings (to the dead of others)?'

Confucius said, 'Why speak only of (the mourning for) nine months? In all cases from (the mourning for) three years downwards, it may be done. This is the rule.'

Zeng-zi said, 'Would not this be making the mourning of little importance, and attaching (undue) importance to mutual helpfulness?'

Confucius said, 'This is not what I mean. When there is mourning for the son of Heaven or the prince of a state, (all) who wear the sackcloth with the jagged edges (will contribute to) the offerings. At the mourning of a Great officer, (all) who wear the sackcloth with the even edges will do so. At the mourner of an ordinary officer, his associates and friends will do so. If all these be not sufficient, they may receive contributions from all who should mourn for nine months downwards; and if these be still insufficient, they will repeat the process.'

9 Zeng-zi asked, 'In a case of the mourning for five months, may (the principal) take part in the other sacrifices (of mourning)?'

Confucius said, 'Why speak only of the mourning for five months? In all cases from the mourning for three years downwards, (the principals) take part in those sacrifices.'

Zeng-zi said, 'Would not this be making the mourning of little importance, and giving (undue) importance to the sacrifices?'

Confucius said, 'In the mourning sacrifices for the son of Heaven and the prince of a state, none but those who wear the sackcloth with the jagged edges take part in them. In those for a Great officer, they who wear the sackcloth with the even edges do so. In those for another officer, if the participants be insufficient, they add to them from their brethren who should wear mourning for nine months downwards.'

10 Zeng-zi asked, 'When acquaintances are in mourning, may they participate in one another's sacrifices?'

Confucius said, 'When wearing the three months' mourning, one has no occasion to sacrifice (in his own ancestral temple), and how should he assist another man (out of his own line)?'

11 Zeng-zi asked, 'When one has put off his mourning, may he take part in contributing to the offerings (for the dead of another)?'

Confucius said, 'To take part in the offerings (to another's dead), on putting off one's own sackcloth, is contrary to the rule. Possibly, he may perform the part of assisting him in receiving visitors.'

12Zeng-zi asked, 'According to the rules for marriages, the presents have been received and a fortunate day has been fixed; if then the father or mother of the young lady die, what course should be adopted?'

Confucius said, 'The son-in-law will send some one to condole; and if it be his father or mother that has died, the family of the lady will in the same way send some to present their condolences. If the father have died, (the messenger) will name the (other) father (as having sent him); if the mother, he will name the (other) mother. If both parents be dead (on both sides), he will name the oldest uncle and his wife. When the son-in-law has buried (his dead), his oldest uncle will offer a release from the engagement to the lady, saying, "My son, being occupied with the mourning for his father or mother, and not having obtained the right to be reckoned among your brethren, has employed me to offer a release from the engagement." (In this case) it is the rule for the lady to agree to the message and not presume to (insist on) the marriage (taking place immediately). When the son-in-law has concluded his mourning, the parents of the lady will send and request (the fulfilment of the engagement). The son-in-law will not (immediately come to) carry her (to his house), but afterwards she will be married to him; this is the rule. If it be the father or mother of the lady who died, the son-in-law will follow a similar course.'

13 Zeng-zi asked, 'The son-in-law has met the lady in person, and she is on the way with him:--if (then) his father or mother die, what course should be adopted?'

Confucius said, 'The lady will change her dress; and in the long linen robe, with 'the cincture of white silk round her hair, will hasten to be present at the mourning rites. If, while she is on the way, it be her own father or mother who dies, she will return.'

'If the son-in-law have met the lady in person, and before she has arrived at his house, there occur a death requiring the year's or the nine months' mourning, what course should be adopted?'

Confucius said, 'Before the gentleman enters, he will change his dress in a place outside. The lady will enter and change her dress in a place inside. They will then go to the proper positions and wail.'

14 Zeng-zi asked, 'When the mourning is ended, will they not resume the marriage ceremonies?'

Confucius said, 'It is the rule, that when the time of sacrifice has been allowed to pass by, it is not then offered. Why in this case should they go back to what must have taken place previously?'

15 Confucius said, 'The family that has married a daughter away, does not extinguish its candles for three nights, thinking of the separation that has taken place. The family that has received the (new) wife for three days has no music; thinking her bridegroom is now in the place of his parents. After three months she presents herself in the ancestral temple, and is styled "The new wife that has come." A day is chosen for her to sacrifice at the shrine of her father-in-law; expressing the idea of her being (now) the established wife.'

16 Zeng-zi asked, 'If the lady die before she has presented herself in the ancestral temple, what course should be adopted?'

Confucius said, '(Her coffin) should not be removed to the ancestral temple, nor should (her tablet) be placed next to that of her mother-in-law. The husband should not carry the staff; nor wear the shoes of straw; nor have a (special) place (for wailing). She should be taken back, and buried among her kindred of her own family - showing that she had not become the established wife.'

17 Zeng-zi asked, 'The fortunate day has been fixed for taking the lady (to her new home), and she dies (in the meantime) - what should be done?'

Confucius said, 'The son-in-law will come to condole, wearing the one year's mourning, which he will lay aside when the interment has taken place. If it be the husband who dies, a similar course will be followed on the other side.'

18 Zeng-zi asked, 'Is it according to rule "that at the mourning rites there should be two (performing the part of) the orphan son (and heir, receiving visitors), or that at a temple-shrine there should be two spirit-tablets?'

Confucius said, 'In heaven there are not two suns; in a country there are not two kings; in the seasonal sacrifices, and those to Heaven and Earth, there are not two who occupy the highest place of honour. I do not know that what you ask about is according to rule. Formerly duke Huan of Qi, going frequently to war, made fictitious tablets and took them with him on his expeditions, depositing them on his return in the ancestral temple. The practice of having two tablets in a temple-shrine originated from duke Huan. As to two (playing the part of the) orphan son, it may be thus explained: Formerly, on occasion of a visit to Lu by duke Ling of Wei, the mourning rites of Ji Huan-zi were in progress. The ruler of Wei requested leave to offer his condolences. Duke Ai (of Lu), declined (the ceremony), but could not enforce his refusal. He therefore acted as the principal (mourner), and the visitor came in to condole with him. Kang-zi stood on the right of the gate with his face to the north. The duke, after the usual bows and courtesies, ascended by the steps on the east with his face towards the west. The visitor ascended by those on the west, and paid his condolences. The duke bowed ceremoniously to him, and then rose up and wailed, while Kang-zi bowed with his forehead to the ground, in the position where he was. The superintending officers made no attempt to put the thing to rights. The having two now acting as the orphan son arose from the error of Ji Kang-zi.'

19 Zeng-zi asked, 'Anciently when an army went on an expedition, was it not first necessary to carry with it the spirit-tablets that had been removed from their shrines?'

Confucius said, 'When the son of Heaven went on his tours of Inspection, he took (one of) those tablets along with him, conveying it in the carriage of Reverence, thus intimating how it was felt necessary to have with him that object of honour. The practice now-a-days of taking the tablets of the seven temple-shrines along with them on an expedition is an error. No shrine in all the seven (of the king), or in the five of the prince of a state, ought to be (left) empty. A shrine can only be so left without its tablet, when the son of Heaven has died, or the prince of a state deceased, or left his state, or when all the tablets are brought together at the united sacrifice, in the shrine-temple of the highest ancestor. I heard the following statement from Lao Dan: "On the death of the son of Heaven, or of the prince of a state, it is the rule that the officer of prayer should take the tablets from all the other shrines and deposit them in that of the high ancestor, When the wailing was over, and the business (of placing the tablet of the deceased in its shrine) was completed, then every other tablet was restored to its shrine. When a ruler abandoned his

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state, it was the rule that the Grand minister should take the tablets from all the shrines and follow him. When there was the united sacrifice in the shrine of the high ancestor, the officer of prayer met (and received) the tablets from the four shrines. When they were taken from their shrines or carried back to them all were required to keep out of the way." So said Lao Dan.'

20 Zeng-zi asked, 'Anciently, when they marched on an expedition, and carried no displaced tablets with them, what did they make their chief consideration?'

Confucius said, 'They made the instructions from the tablet their chief consideration.'

'What does that mean?' asked the other.

Confucius said, 'When the son of Heaven or the prince of a state was about to go forth, he would, with gifts of silk, skins, and jade-tokens, announce his purpose at the shrines of his grandfather and father. He then took those gifts with him, conveying them on the march in the carriage of Reverence. At every stage (of the march), he would place offerings of food by them, and afterwards occupy the station. On returning, they would make announcement (at the same shrines), and when they had set forth (again) their offerings, they would collect the silk and jade, and bury them between the steps (leading) up to the fane of the high ancestor; after which they left the temple. This was how they made the instructions they received their chief consideration.'

21 Zi-you asked, 'Is it the rule to mourn for a foster-mother as for a mother?'

Confucius said, 'It is not the rule. Anciently, outside the palace, a boy had his master, and at home his foster-mother; they were those whom the ruler employed to teach his son;-what ground should these be for wearing mourning for them? Formerly duke Zhao of Lu having lost his mother when he was little, had a foster-mother, who was good; and when she died, he could not bear (not) to mourn for her, and wished to do so. The proper officer on hearing of it, said, "According to the ancient rule, there is no mourning for a foster-mother. If you wear this mourning, you will act contrary to that ancient rule, and introduce confusion into the laws of the state. If you will after all do it, then we will put it on record, and transmit the act to the future; will not that be undesirable?" The duke said, "Anciently the son of Heaven, when unoccupied and at ease, wore the soft inner garment, assumed after the year's mourning, and the cap." The duke could not bear not to wear mourning, and on this he mourned for his foster-mother in this garb. The mourning for a foster-mother originated with duke Zhao of Lu.'

22 Zeng-zi asked, 'The princes are assembled in a body to appear before the son of Heaven; they have entered the gate, but are not able to go through with the rites (of audience); how many occurrences will make these be discontinued?'

Confucius said, 'Four.' 'May I ask what they are?' said the other. The reply was:--'The grand ancestral temple taking fire; an eclipse of the sun; funeral rites of the queen; their robes all unsightly through soaking rain. If, when the princes are all there, an eclipse of the sun take place, they follow the son of Heaven to save it; each one dressed in the colour of his quarter, and with the weapon proper to it. If there be a fire in the grand ancestral temple, they follow him to extinguish it without those robes and weapons.

23 Zeng-zi said, 'Princes are visiting one another. (The strangers) have entered the gate after the customary bowings and courtesies, but they are not able to go through with the rites (of audience);how many occurrences will make these be discontinued?'

Confucius said, 'Six;' and, in answer to the question as to what they were, replied: 'The death of the son of Heaven; the grand ancestral temple taking fire; an eclipse of the sun; the funeral rites of the queen or of the princess of the state; and their robes all unsightly through soaking rain.'

24 Zeng-zi said, 'At the seasonal sacrifices of the son of Heaven, at those to Heaven and Earth, and at (any of) the five sacrifices of the house, after the vessels, round and square, with their contents have been set forth, if there occur the death of the son of Heaven or mourning rites for the queen, what should be done?'

Confucius, said, 'The sacrifice should be stopped.' The other asked, 'If, during the sacrifice, there occur an eclipse of the sun, or the grand ancestral temple take fire ' what should be done?' The reply was, 'The steps of the sacrifice should be hurried on. If the victim have arrived, but has not yet been slain, the sacrifice should be discontinued. When the son of Heaven has died and is not yet coffined, the sacrifices of the house are not offered. When he is coffined, they are resumed; but at any one of them the representative of the dead takes (only) three mouthfuls (of the food), and is not urged (to take more). He is then presented with a cup, but does not respond by presenting another, and there is an end (of the ceremony). From the removal of the coffin to the return (from the burial) and the subsequent wailing, those sacrifices (again) cease. After the burial they are offered, but when the officer of prayer has finished the cup presented to him, they stop.'

25 Zeng-zi asked, 'At the sacrifices to the spirits of the land and grain proper to the feudal princes, if, after the stands and vessels, with their contents, have been arranged, news arrive of the death of the son of Heaven or of the mourning rites for his queen, or if the ruler die or there be mourning rites for his consort, what should be done?'

Confucius said, 'The sacrifice should be discontinued. From the ruler's death to the coffining, and from the removal of the coffin to the return (from the burial) and the (subsequent) wailing, they will follow the example set by the son of Heaven.'

26 Zeng-zi asked, 'At the sacrifices of a Great officer, when the tripods and stands have been arranged, and the dishes of bamboo and wood, with their contents, have been set forth, but they are not able to go through with the rites, how many occurrences will cause them to be discontinued?'

Confucius said, 'Nine;' and when asked what they were, he added: 'The death of the son of Heaven; funeral rites for his queen; the death of the ruler (of the state); funeral rites for his consort; the ruler's grand ancestral temple taking fire; an eclipse of the sun; (a call to) the three years' mourning; to that of one year; or to that of nine months. In all these cases the sacrifice should be given up. If the mourning be merely for relatives by affinity, from all degrees of it up to the twelve months, the sacrifice will go on. At one where the mourning is worn for twelve months, the representative of the dead, after entering, will take (only) three mouthfuls (of the food), and not be urged to take (any more). He will be presented with a cup, but will not respond by presenting one in return, and there will be an end (of the ceremony). Where the mourning is for nine months, after he has presented the responsive cup, the thing will end. Where it is for five or for three months, it will not end till all the observances in the apartment are gone through. What distinguishes the proceedings of an ordinary officer is, that he does not sacrifice when wearing the three months' mourning. He sacrifices, however, if the dead to whom he does so had no relationship with him requiring him to wear mourning.'

27 Zeng-zi asked, 'May one, wearing the three years' mourning for a parent, go to condole with others?'

Confucius said, 'On the completion of the first of the three years, one should not be seen standing with others, or going along in a crowd. With a superior man the use of ceremonies is to give proper and elegant expression to the feelings. Would it not be an empty form to go and condole and wail with others, while wearing the three years' mourning?'

28 Zeng-zi asked, 'If a Great officer or ordinary officer be in mourning for a parent he may put it off; and if he be in mourning for his ruler, under what conditions will he put that off?'

Confucius said, 'If he have the mourning for his ruler on his person, he will not venture to wear any private mourning; what putting off can there be? In this case, even if the time be passed (for any observances which the private mourning would require), he will not put it off. When the mourning for the ruler is put off, he will then perform the great sacrifices (of his private mourning). This is the rule.'

Zeng-zi asked, 'But is it allowable thus to give up all the mourning rites for a parent through this keeping on of the mourning (for a ruler)?'

Confucius said, 'According to the ceremonies as determined by the ancient kings, it is the rule that, when the time has passed (for the observance of any ceremony), there should be no attempt to perform it. It is not that one could not keep from not putting off the mourning; but the evil would be in his going beyond the definite statute. Therefore it is that a superior man does not offer a sacrifice, when the proper time for doing so has passed.'

29 Zeng-zi said, 'If, when the ruler has died, and is now lying in his coffin, the minister be called to the funeral rites for his father or mother, what course will he pursue?'

Confucius said, 'He should go home and remain there; going indeed to the ruler's for the great services (to the departed), but not for those of every morning and evening.'

Zeng-zi asked, 'If, when they have begun to remove the coffin, the minister be called to the funeral rites for his father or mother, how should he do?'

Confucius said, 'He should go home and wail, and then return and accompany the funeral of the ruler.'

'If,' said Zeng-zi, 'before the ruler has been coffined, a minister be called to the funeral rites for his father or mother, what should be his course?'

Confucius said, 'He should go home, and have the deceased put into the coffin, returning (then) to the ruler's. On occasion of the great services, he will go home, but not for those of every morning and evening. In the case of a Great officer, the chief servant of the household will attend to matters'; in the case of an ordinary officer, a son or grandson. When there are the great services at the ruler's, the wife of the Great officer will also go there, but not for those of every morning and evening.'

30 One in a low position should not pronounce the eulogy of another in a high, nor a younger man that of one older than himself. In the case of the son of Heaven, they refer to Heaven as giving his eulogy. It is not the rule for princes of states to deliver the eulogy of one another.

31 Zeng-zi asked, 'When a ruler goes across the boundary of his own state, he takes with him his inner coffin as a precaution for the preparations against the three years'(mourning rites) for him. If he die (abroad), what are the proceedings on his being brought back?'

Confucius said, 'The clothes to be put on him after the coffining having been provided, the son in the linen cap, with the sackcloth band round it, wearing coarse sackcloth and the shoes of straw, and carrying a staff, will enter by the opening made in the wall of the apartment for the coffin, having ascended by the western steps. If the slighter dressing (preparatory to the coffining) have still (to be made), the son will follow the bier without a cap, enter by the gate, and ascend by the steps on the east. There is one and the same rule for a ruler, a Great officer, and an ordinary officer.'

32 Zeng-zi asked, 'If one is occupied in drawing (the carriage with the bier on it) at the funeral rites of his ruler, and is then called to the funeral rites of his father or mother, what should he do?'

Confucius said, 'He should complete what he is engaged in; and when the coffin has been let down into the grave, return home, without waiting for the departure of the (ruler's) son.'

33 Zeng-zi asked, 'If one, occupied with the, funeral rites of a parent, has (assisted in) drawing the bier to the path (to the grave), and there hear of the death of his ruler, what should he do?'

Confucius said, 'He should complete the burial; and, when the coffin has been let down, he should change his dress, and go to (the ruler's).'

34 Zeng-zi asked, 'If the eldest son by the proper wife be (only) an officer, and a son by a secondary wife be a Great officer, how will the latter proceed in his sacrificing?'

Confucius said, 'He will sacrifice, with the victims belonging to his higher rank, in the house of the eldest son., The officer of prayer will say, "So and So, the filial son, in behalf of So and So, the attendant son, presents his regular offering." If the eldest son, now the head of the family, be residing, in consequence of some charge of guilt, in another state, and a son by a secondary wife be a Great officer, when (the latter) is offering a sacrifice (for the other), the officer of prayer will say, "So and So, the filial son, employs the attendant son, So and So, to perform for him the regular service." (In this case, however), the principal in this vicarious service will not conduct the sacrifice so as to see that the spirit of the deceased is satisfied to the full; nor send the cup round among all who are present, nor receive the blessing (at the close); nor lay on the ground the portions of the sacrifice as thank-offerings; nor have with him (the wife of the elder brother) who should appear before the spirit-tablet of her mother-in-law, the wife of the deceased. He will put down the cup before the (principal) guests, but they will put it down (in another place), and not send it round. He will not send to them portions of the flesh. In his address to the guests (at the beginning of the service), he will say, "My honoured brother, the honoured son (of our father), being in another state, has employed me, So and So, to make announcement to you."'

35 Zeng-zi asked, 'If the eldest son have gone and is in another state, while a son by a secondary wife, and without rank, remains at home, may the latter offer the sacrifice?'

Confucius said, 'Yes, certainly.' 'And how will he sacrifice?' 'He will rear an altar in front of the (family-)grave, and there he will sacrifice at the different seasons. If the oldest son die, he will announce the event at the grave, and afterwards sacrifice in the house, calling himself, however, only by his name, and abstaining from the epithet "filial." This abstinence will cease after his death.' The disciples of Zi-you, in the case of sons by inferior wives sacrificing, held that this practice was in accordance with what was right. Those of them who sacrifice now-a-days do not ground their practice on this principle of right;--they have no truthful ground for their sacrifices.

36 Zeng-zi asked, 'Is it necessary that there should be a representative of the dead in sacrifice? or may he be dispensed with as when the satisfying offerings are made to the dead?'

Confucius said, 'In sacrificing to a full-grown man for whom there have been the funeral rites, there must be such a representative, who should be a grandson; and if the grandson be too young, some one, must be employed to carry him in his arms. If there be no grandson, some one of the same surname should be selected for the occasion. In sacrificing to one who has died prematurely, there are (only) the satisfying offerings, for he was not full-grown. To sacrifice to a full-grown man, for whom there have been the funeral rites without a representative, would be to treat him as if he had died prematurely.'

37 Confucius said, 'There is the offering of satisfaction made in the dark chamber, and that made in the brighter place.'

Zeng-zi answered with a question, 'But to one who has died prematurely there is not made a complete sacrifice; what do you mean by speaking of two satisfying offerings, the dark and the bright?'

Confucius said, 'When the oldest son, who would take the father's place, dies prematurely, no brother by an inferior wife can be his successor. At the auspicious sacrifice to him', there

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is a single bullock; but the service being to one who died prematurely, there is no presentation (of the lungs), no stand with the heart and tongue, no dark-coloured spirits, no announcement of the nourishment being completed. This is what is called the dark satisfying offering. In regard to all others who have died prematurely and have left no offspring, the sacrifice is offered to them in the house of the oldest son, where the apartment is most light, with the vases in the chamber on the east. This is what is called the bright satisfying offering.'

38 Zeng-zi asked, 'At a burial, when the bier has been drawn to the path (leading to the place), if there happen an eclipse of the sun, is any change made or not?'

Confucius said, 'Formerly, along with Lao Dan, I was assisting at a burial in the village of Xiang, and when we had got to the path, the sun was eclipsed. Lao Dan said to me, "Qiu, let the bier be stopped on the left of the road; and then let us wail and wait till the eclipse pass away. When it is light again, we will proceed." He said that this was the rule. When we had returned and completed the burial, I said to him, "In the progress of a bier there should be no returning. When there is an eclipse of the sun, we do not know whether it will pass away quickly or not, would it not have been better to go on?" Lao Dan said, "When the prince of a state is going to the court of the son of Heaven, he travels while he can see the sun. At sun-down he halts, and presents his offerings (to the spirit of the way). When a Great officer is on a mission, he travels while he can see the sun, and at sun-down he halts. Now a bier does not set forth in the early morning, nor does it rest anywhere at night; but those who travel by star-light are only criminals and those who are hastening to the funeral rites of a parent. When there is an eclipse of the sun, how do we know that we shall not see the stars? And moreover, a superior man, in his performance of rites, will not expose his relatives to the risk of distress or evil." This is what I heard from Lao Dan.'

39 Zeng-zi asked, 'In the case of one dying where he is stopping, when discharging a mission for his ruler, the rules say that, (if he die) in a government hotel his spirit shall be recalled; but not, (if he die) in a private one. But to whatever state a commissioner may be sent, the lodging which may be assigned to him by the proper officer becomes a public hotel;--what is the meaning of his spirit not being recalled, (if he die) in a private one?'

Confucius said, 'You have asked well. The houses of a high minister, a Great officer, or an ordinary officer, may be called private hotels. The government hotel, and any other which the government may appoint, may be called a public hotel. In this you have the meaning of that saying that the spirit is recalled at a public hotel.'

40 Zeng-zi asked, 'Children dying prematurely, between eight and eleven, should be buried in the garden in a brick grave, and carried thither on a contrivance serving the purpose of a carriage, the place being near; but now if the grave is chosen at a distance, what do you say about their being buried there?'

Confucius said, 'I have heard this account from Lao Dan: "Formerly," he said, "the recorder Yi had a son who died thus prematurely, and the grave was distant. The duke of Shao said to him, 'Why not shroud and coffin him in your palace?' The recorder said, 'Dare I do so?' The duke of Shao spoke about it to the duke of Zhou, who said, 'Why may it not be done?' and the recorder did it. The practice of coffins for boys who have died so prematurely, and shrouding them, began with the recorder Yi."

41 Zeng-zi asked, 'A minister or a Great officer is about to act the part of a personator of the dead for his ruler; If, when he has received (orders) to pass the night in solemn vigil, there occur in his own family an occasion for him to wear the robe of hemmed sackcloth, what should he do?'

Confucius said, 'The rule is for him to leave (his house) and lodge in a state hotel, and wait till (the ruler's) business is accomplished.'

42 Confucius said, 'When one who has represented the dead comes forth in the (officer's) leathern cap, or the (Great officer's) tasseled cap (which he has worn), ministers, Great officers, and other officers, all will descend from their carriages (when his passes). He will bow forward to them, and he will also have a forerunner (to notify his approach).'

43 Zi-xia asked, 'There is such a thing as no longer declining military service, after the wailing in the three years I mourning has come to an end. Is this the rule? or was it at first required by the officers (of the state)?'

Confucius said, 'Under the sovereigns of Xia, as soon as the coffining in the three year's mourning was completed, they resigned all their public duties. Under Yin they did so as soon as the interment was over. Is not this the meaning of what we find in the record, that "the ruler does not take from men their affection to their parents, nor do men take from their parents their filial duty?"'

Zi-xia asked, 'Is then not declining military service (during mourning) to be condemned?'

'Confucius said, 'I heard from Lao Dan that duke Bo-Qin engaged once in such service, when there was occasion for it; but I do, not know if I should allow it in those who seek (by it) their own advantage during the period of the three years' mourning.'

LI JI CHAPTER 8 Wen Wang Shi Zi

King Wen as Son and Heir

1 Thus did king Wen act when he was eldest son and heir: Thrice a day he made a visit in due form to king Ji. When the cock first crowed he dressed himself, and going to the outside of the bedroom, asked one of the servants of the interior who was in attendance how the king was and if he were well. When told that he was well, the prince was glad. At midday he repeated the visit in the same way; and so he did again in the evening. If the king were not so well as usual, the servant would tell the prince, and then his sorrow appeared in his countenance, and his walk was affected and disturbed. When king Ji took his food again, Wen recovered his former appearance. When the food went up (to the king), he would examine it and see if it were cold and hot as it ought to be. When it came down, he asked of what dishes the king had eaten. He gave orders to the cook that none of the dishes should go up again, and withdrew on receiving the cook's assurance accordingly.

2 King Wu acted according to the example (of Wen), not presuming to go (in anything) beyond it. When king Wen was ill, Wu nursed him without taking off his cap or girdle. When king Wen took a meal, he also took a meal; and when king Wen took a second, he did the same. It was not till after twelve days that he intermitted his attentions.

3 King Wen said to Wu, 'What have you been dreaming?' 'I dreamt,' was the reply, 'that God gave me nine ling.' 'And what do you think was the meaning?' King Wu said, 'There are nine states in the west - may it not mean that you will yet bring them all under your happy sway?' Wen said, 'That was not the meaning. Anciently they called a year ling. The age is also called ling. I am 100; and you are 90. I give you three years.' King Wen was 97 when he died, and king Wu was 93.

4 King Cheng, being quite young, could not perform his part at the eastern steps. The duke of Zhou acted as regent, trod those steps, and administered the government. He illustrated the rules for the behaviour of a young heir in his treatment of Bo-Qin, that king Cheng might thereby know the courses to be pursued by father and son, ruler and minister, old and young. When he committed an error, the duke punished Bo-Qin. This was the way in which he showed king Cheng his duty as the son and heir. So much on the way in which king Wen acted as son and heir.

5 In teaching the heir-sons (of the king and feudal princes), and young men (chosen from their aptitude) for 'learning', the subjects were different at different seasons. In spring and summer they were taught the use of the shield and spear; in autumn and winter that of the feather and flute - all in the eastern school. The inferior directors of music taught the use of the shield aided by the great assistants. The flute masters taught the use of the spear, aided by the subdirectors, while the assistants regulated by the drum (the chanting of) the Nan. In spring they recited (the pieces), and in summer they played on the guitar, being taught by the grand master in the Hall of the Blind. In autumn they learned ceremonies, being instructed by the masters of ceremonies. In winter they read the book of History, being instructed by the guardians of it. Ceremonies were taught in the Hall of the Blind; the book in the upper school.

6 All the rules about sacrificial offerings and at the nourishing of the old begging them to speak (their wise counsels) and the conversation at general reunions, were taught by the lower directors of Music in the eastern school. The Grand director of Music taught how to brandish the shield and axe. He also delivered the graduated rules relating to conversations and the charges about begging the old to speak. The Grand perfecter (of Instruction) discussed all about (these matters) in the eastern school. Whenever a pupil was sitting with the Grand completer (of Instruction), there was required to be between them the width of three mats. He might put questions to him; and when he had finished, sit back on the mat near to the wall. While the instructor had not finished all he had to say on any one point, he did not ask about another.

7 In all the schools, the officer (in charge), in spring set forth offerings to the master who first, taught (the subjects); and in autumn and winter he did the same. In every case of the first establishment of a school the offerings must be set forth to the earlier sages and the earlier teachers; and in the doing of this, pieces of silk must be used. In all the cases of setting forth the offerings, it was required to have the accompaniments (of dancing and singing). When there were any events of engrossing interest in a state (at the time), these were omitted. When there was the accompaniment of music on a great scale, they proceeded immediately to feast the aged.

8 At all examinations in the suburban schools, the rule was to select the best and mark out the most talented. The pupils might be advanced for their virtue, or commended for something they had accomplished, or distinguished for their eloquence. Those who had studied minor arts were encouraged and told to expect a second examination. If they (then) had one of the three things (above mentioned), they were advanced to a higher grade, according to their several orders, and were styled 'Men of the schools.' They were (still, however,) kept out of the royal college, and could not receive the cup from the vase restricted to the superior students.

9 On the first establishment of schools (in any state), when the instruments of music were completed, offerings of silk were set forth; and afterwards those of vegetables. But there was no dancing and (consequently) no giving out of the spears and other things used in it. They simply retired and received visitors in the eastern school. Only one cup was passed round. The ceremony might pass without (parade of) attendants or conversation. (All these things) belonged to the education of the young princes.

10 In the education of the crown princes adopted by the founders of the three dynasties the subjects were the rules of propriety and music. Music served to give the interior cultivation; the rules served to give the external cultivation. The two, operating reciprocally within, had their outward manifestation, and the result was a peaceful serenity, reverence of inward feeling and mild elegance of manners. The Grand tutor and the assistant tutor were appointed for their training, to make them acquainted with the duties of father and son, and of ruler and minister. The former made himself perfectly master of those duties in order to exhibit them; the latter guided the princes to observe the virtuous ways of the other and fully instructed him about them. The Grand tutor went before them, and the assistant came after them. In the palace was the guardian, outside it was the master; and thus by this training and instruction the virtue (of the princes) was completed. The master taught them by means of occurring things, and made them understand what was virtuous. The guardian watched over their persons, and was as a stay and wings to them, leading them in the right way. The history says, 'Under the dynasties of Yu, Xia, Shang, and Zhou, there were the master, the guardian, the Yi, and the Cheng, and there were appointed the four aides and the three ducal ministers. That these offices should all be filled was not so necessary as that there should be the men for them' - showing how the object was to employ the able.

11 When we speak of 'a superior man' we intend chiefly his virtue. The virtue perfect and his instructions honoured; his instructions honoured and the (various) officers correct; the officers correct and order maintained in the state: these things give the ideal of a ruler.

12 Zhong-ni said, 'Formerly, when the duke of Zhou was administering the government, he did so while he (continued to) go up by the eastern steps. He (also) set forth the rules for a crown prince in (his dealing with) Bo-Qin, and it was thus that he secured the excellence of king Cheng. I have heard it said, "A minister will sacrifice himself to benefit his ruler, and how much more will he swerve from the ordinary course to secure his excellence!" This was what the duke of Zhou did with ease and unconcern. Therefore he who knows how to show himself what a son should be can afterwards show himself what a father should be; he who knows how to show himself what a minister should be can afterwards show himself what a ruler should be; he who knows how to serve others can afterwards employ them. King Cheng, being quite young, could not discharge the duties of the government. He had no means of learning how to show himself what the crown prince should be. On this account the rules for a crown prince were exhibited in (the treatment of) Bo-Qin, and he was made to live with the young king that the latter might thus understand all that was right between father and son, ruler and minister, elders and youngers.'

13 Take the case of the sovereign and his son and heir. Looked at from the standpoint of affection, the former is father; from that of honour, he is ruler. If the son can give the affection due to the father, and the honour due to the ruler, hereafter he 'will (be fit to) be the lord of all under the sky. On this account the training of crown princes ought to be most carefully attended to. It is only in the case of the crown prince that by the doing of one thing three excellent things are realised; and it is with reference to his taking his place in the schools according to his age that this is spoken. Thus it is that when he takes his place in them in this way, the people observing it, one will say, 'He is to be our ruler, how is it that he gives place to us in the matter of years?' and it will be replied, 'While his father is alive, it is the rule that he should do so.' Thus all will understand the right course as between father and son. A second will make the same remark, and put the same question; and it will be replied, 'While the ruler is alive, it is the rule that he should do so;' and thus all will understand the righteousness that should obtain between ruler and minister. To a third putting the same question it will be said, 'He is giving to his elders what is due to their age;' and thus all will understand the observances that should rule between young and old. Therefore, while his father is alive, he is but a son; and, while his ruler is alive, he may be called merely a minister. Occupying aright the position of son and Minister is the way in which he shows the honour due to a ruler and the affection due to a father. He is thus taught the duties between father and son, between ruler and minister,

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between old and young; and when he has become master of all these, the state will be well governed. The saying, 'Music's Director the foundation lays; The Master this doth to perfection raise. Let him but once the great and good be taught, And all the states are to correctness brought,' finds its application in the case of the heir-son. So much for the duke of Zhou's going up by the eastern steps.

14 The Shu-zi, who had the direction of the (other) members of the royal and princely families, inculcated on them filial piety and fraternal duty, harmony and friendship, and kindly consideration; illustrating the righteousness that should prevail between father and son, and the order to be observed between elders and juniors.

15 When they appeared at court, if it were at a reception in the innermost (courtyard of the palace), they took their places, facing the east, those of the most honourable rank among them, as ministers, being to the north (of the others); but they were arranged according to their age. If it were a reception in the outer (and second courtyard), they were arranged according to their offices; (as in the former case), by the superintendents of the official lists.

16 When they were in the ancestral temple, they took their places as at the reception in the outer (and second courtyard); and the superintendent of the temple assigned his business to each according to rank and office. In their ascending (to the hall), partaking of what had been left (by the personator of the dead), presenting (the cup to him), and receiving it (from him), the eldest son by the wife took the precedence. The proceedings were regulated by the Shu-zi. Although one might have received three of the gifts of distinction, he did not take precedence of an uncle or elder cousin.

17 At the funeral rites for rulers, they were arranged according to the character of their mourning-dress in the fineness or coarseness of the material. In case of such rites among themselves, the same order was observed, the principal mourner, however, always taking precedence of all others.

18 If the ruler were feasting with his kindred, then all of a different kindred were received as guests. The cook acted as master of the ceremonies. The ruler took place among his uncles and cousins according to age. Each generation of kindred took a lower place as it was a degree removed from the parent-stem.

19 When with the army, the kindred guarded the spirit-tablets that had been brought from their shrines. If any public duties called the ruler beyond the limits of the state, those officers of the kindred employed the members of it, who had not other duties, to guard the ancestral temple and the apartments of the palace, the eldest sons by the proper wives guarding the temple of the Grand ancestor; the various uncles, the most honoured temple-shrines and apartments; the other sons and grandsons, the inferior shrines and apartments.

20 All descended from any of the five rulers to whom the temple-shrines were dedicated, even those who were now classed among the common people, were required to announce the events of capping and marriage, so long as the temple-shrine of the (Grand ancestor) had not been removed. Their deaths had to be announced; and also their sacrifices during the period of mourning. In the relations of the kindred among themselves, the proper officers punished any neglect of the regulations for condoling and not condoling, leaving off and not leaving off the cap (in mourning). There were the correct rules for the mourning gifts of articles, money, robes, and jade to put into the mouth (of the deceased).

21 When one of the ruler's kindred was found guilty of a capital offence, he was hanged by some one of the foresters' department. If the punishment for his offence were corporal infliction or dismemberment, it was also handed over to the same department. No one of the ruler's kindred was punished with castration. When the trial was concluded, the proper officer reported the sentence to the ruler. If the penalty were death, he would say, 'The offence of So and So is a capital crime.' If the penalty were less, he would say, 'The offence of So and So has received a lighter sentence.' The ruler would say', 'Let the sentence be remitted for another;' and the officer would say, 'That is the sentence.' This was repeated till the third time, when the officer would make no answer, but hurry off and put the execution into the hands of the appointed forester. Still the ruler would send some one after him, and say, 'Yes, but grant forgiveness,' to which there would be the reply, 'It is too late.' When the execution was reported to the ruler, he put on white clothes, and did not have a full meal or music, thus changing his usual habits. Though the kinsman might be within the degree for which there should be mourning rites, the ruler did not wear mourning, but wailed for him himself (in some family of a different surname).

22 That the rulers kindred appeared at the reception in the innermost (court) showed how (the ruler) would honour the relatives of his own surname. That they took places according to their age, even those among them of high rank, showed the relation to be maintained between father and son. That they took places at the reception in the outer court according to their offices, showed how (the ruler) would show that they formed one body with (the officers of) other surnames.

23 Their taking their places in the ancestral temple according to rank served to exalt the sense of virtue. That the superintendent of the temple assigned to them their several services according to their offices was a tribute of honour to worth. That the eldest son by the proper wife was employed to ascend, take precedence in partaking of what had been left, and in receiving the cup, was to do honour to their ancestor.

24 That the distinctions at the funeral rites were arranged according to the fineness or coarseness of their mourning robes was not to take from any one the degree of his relationship.

25 The ruler, when feasting with his kindred, took his place among them according to age, and thus development was given to filial piety and fraternal duty. That each generation took a lower place as it was removed a degree from the parent-stem showed the graduation of affection among relatives.

26 The guard maintained during war over the spirit-tablets in the army showed the deep sense of filial piety and love. When the eldest son by the proper wife guarded the temple of the Grand ancestor, honour was done to the temple by the most honoured, and the rule as between ruler and minister was exhibited. When the uncles guarded the most honoured shrines and apartments, and the cousins those that were inferior, the principles of subordination and deference were displayed.

27 That the descendants of the five rulers, to whom the temple-shrines were dedicated, were required, so long as the shrine of the Grand ancestor had not been removed, to announce their cappings and marriages, and their death was also required to be announced, showed how kinship was to be kept in mind. While the kinship was yet maintained, that some were classed among the common people showed how mean position followed on want of ability. The reverent observance of condoling, wailing, and of presenting contributions to the funeral rites in articles and money, Was the way taken to maintain harmony and friendliness.

28 Anciently, when the duties of these officers of the royal or princely kindred were well discharged, there was a constant model for the regions and states; and when this model was maintained, all knew to what to direct their views and aims.

29 When any of the ruler's kindred were guilty of offences, notwithstanding their kinship, they were not allowed to transgress with impunity, but the proper officers had their methods of dealing with them - this showed the regard cherished for the people. That the offender was punished in secret, and not associated with common people, showed (the ruler's) concern for his brethren. That he offered no condolence, wore no mourning, and wailed for the criminal in the temple of a different surname, showed how he kept aloof from him as having disgraced their ancestors. That he wore white, occupied a chamber outside, and did not listen to music, was a private mourning for him, and showed how the feeling of kinship was not extinguished. That one of the ruler's kindred was not subjected to castration, showed how he shrank from cutting off the perpetuation of their family.

30 When the son of Heaven was about to visit the college, the drum was beaten at early dawn to arouse all (the students). When all were come together, the son of Heaven then arrived and ordered the proper officers to discharge their business, proceeding in the regular order, and sacrificing to the former masters and former Sages. When they reported to him that everything had been done, he then began to go to the nourishing (of the aged). Proceeding to the school on the east, he unfolded and set forth the offerings to the aged of former times, and immediately afterwards arranged the mats and places for the three (classes of the) old, and the five (classes of the) experienced, for all the aged (indeed who were present). He (then) went to look at the food and examine the liquor. When the delicacies for the nourishment of the aged were all ready, he caused the song to be raised (as a signal for the aged to come). After this he retired and thus it was that he provided for (the aged) his filial nourishment. When (the aged) had returned (to their seats after partaking of the feast), the musicians went up and sang the Qing Miao, after which there was conversation to bring out fully its meaning. They spoke of the duties between father and son, ruler and minister, elders and juniors. This union (of the conversation) with the highest description of virtue in the piece constituted the greatest feature of the ceremony. Below (in the court-yard), the flute-players played the tune of the Xiang, while the Da-wu was danced, all uniting in the grand concert according to their parts, giving full development to the spirit (of the music), and stimulating the sense of virtue. The positions of ruler and minister, and the gradations of noble and mean were correctly exhibited, and the respective duties of high and low took their proper course. The officers having announced that the music was over, the king then charged the dukes, marquises, earls, counts, and barons, with all the officers, saying, 'Return, and nourish the aged and the young in your eastern schools.' Thus did he end (the ceremony) with (the manifestation of) benevolence.

31 The above statements show how the sage (sovereign) bore in mind the various steps (of this ceremony). He anxiously thought of it as its greatness deserved; his love for the aged was blended with reverence; he carried the thing through with attention to propriety; he adorned it with his filial nourishing; he connected with it the exhibition of the legitimate distinctions (of rank); and concluded it with (the manifestation of) benevolence. In this way the ancients, in the exhibition of this one ceremony, made all know how complete was their virtue. Among them, when they undertook any great affair, they were sure to carry it through carefully from beginning to end, so that it was impossible for any not to understand them. As it is said in the Yue Ming', 'The thoughts from first to last should be fixed on (this) learning.'

32 The Record of (king Wen's) son and heir says, 'Morning and evening he went to the outside of the door of the great chamber, and asked the attendant of the interior whether his father were well, and how he was. If told that he was well, his joy appeared in his countenance. If his father were not so well, the attendant would tell him so, and then his sorrow and anxiety appeared, and his demeanour was disturbed. When the attendant told him that his father was better, he resumed his former appearance. Morning and evening when the food went up, he would examine it and see if it were hot or cold as it ought to be. When it came down, he asked what his father had eaten. He made it a point to know what viands went in, and to give his orders to the cook; and then he retired. If the attendant reported that his father was ill, then he himself fasted and waited on him in his dark-coloured dress. He inspected with reverence the food prepared by the cook, and tasted himself the medicine for the patient. If his father ate well of the food, then he was able to eat. If his father ate but little, then he could not take a full meal. When his father had recovered, then he resumed his former ways.'

LI JI CHAPTER 9 Li Yun

The Conveyance of Rites

(or: Ceremonial usages; their origins, development, and intention)

1 Formerly Zhong-ni was present as one of the guests at the Ji sacrifice; and when it was over, he went out and walked backwards and forwards on the terrace over the gate of Proclamations, looking sad and sighing. What made him sigh was the state of Lu. Yan Yan was by his side, and said to him, 'Master, what are you sighing about?' Confucius replied, 'I never saw the practice of the Grand course, and the eminent men of the three dynasties; but I have my object (in harmony with theirs). When the Grand course was pursued, a public and common spirit ruled all under the sky; they chose men of talents, virtue, and ability; their words were sincere, and what they cultivated was harmony. Thus men did not love their parents only, nor treat as children only their own sons. A competent provision was secured for the aged till their death, employment for the able-bodied, and the means of growing up to the young. They showed kindness and compassion to widows, orphans, childless men, and those who were disabled by disease, so that they were all sufficiently maintained. Males had their proper work, and females had their homes. (They accumulated) articles (of value), disliking that they should be thrown away upon the ground, but not wishing to keep them for their own gratification. (They laboured) with their strength, disliking that it should not be exerted, but not exerting it (only) with a view to their own advantage. In this way (selfish) schemings were repressed and found no development. Robbers, filchers, and rebellious traitors did not show themselves, and hence the outer doors remained open, and were not shut. This was (the period of) what we call the Grand Union.

2 'Now that the Grand course has fallen into disuse and obscurity, the kingdom is a family inheritance. Every one loves (above all others) his own parents and cherishes (as) children (only) his own sons. People accumulate articles and exert their strength for their own advantage. Great men imagine it is the rule that their states should descend in their own families. Their object is to make the walls of their cities and suburbs strong and their ditches and moats secure. The rules of propriety and of what is right are regarded as the threads by which they seek to maintain in its correctness the relation between ruler and minister; in its generous regard that between father and son; in its harmony that between elder brother and younger; and in a community of sentiment that between husband and wife; and in accordance with them they frame buildings and measures; lay out the fields and hamlets (for the dwellings of the husbandmen); adjudge the superiority to men of valour and knowledge; and regulate their achievements with a view to their own advantage. Thus it is that (selfish) schemes and enterprises are constantly taking their rise, and recourse is had to arms; and thus it was (also) that Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu, king Cheng, and the duke of Zhou obtained their distinction. Of these six great men every one was very attentive to the rules of propriety, thus to secure the display of righteousness, the realisation of sincerity, the exhibition of errors, the exemplification of benevolence, and the discussion of courtesy, showing the people all the normal virtues. Any rulers who did not follow this course were driven away by those who possessed power and position,

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and all regarded them as pests. This is the period of what we call Small Tranquillity.'

3 Yan Yan again asked, 'Are the rules of Propriety indeed of such urgent importance?' Confucius said, 'It was by those rules that the ancient kings sought to represent the ways of Heaven, and to regulate the feelings of men. Therefore he who neglects or violates them may be (spoken of) as dead, and he who observes them, as alive. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Look at a rat-how small its limbs and fine! Then mark the course that scorns the proper line. Propriety's neglect may well provoke; A wish the man would quickly court death's stroke." Therefore those rules are rooted in heaven, have their correspondencies in earth, and are applicable to spiritual beings. They extend to funeral rites, sacrifices, archery, chariot-driving, capping, marriage, audiences, and friendly missions. Thus the sages made known these rules, and it became possible for the kingdom, with its states and clans, to reach its correct condition.'

4 Yan Yan again asked, 'May I be allowed to hear, Master, the full account that you would give of these rules?' Confucius said, 'I wished to see the ways of Xia, and for that purpose went to Qi. But it was not able to attest my words, though I found there "The seasons of Xia." I wished to see the ways of Yin, and for that purpose went to Song. But it was not able to attest my words, though I found there "The Kun Qian." In this way I got to see the meanings in the Kun Qian, and the different steps in the seasons of Xia.

5 'At the first use of ceremonies, they began with meat and drink. They roasted millet and pieces of pork; they excavated the ground in the form of a jar, and scooped the water from it with their two hands; they fashioned a handle of clay, and struck with it an earthen drum. (Simple as these arrangements were), they yet seemed to be able to express by them their reverence for Spiritual Beings. (By-and-by), when one died, they went upon the housetop, and called out his name in a prolonged note, saying, "Come back, So and So." After this they filled the mouth (of the dead) with uncooked rice, and (set forth as offerings to him) packets of raw flesh. Thus they looked up to heaven (whither the spirit was gone), and buried (the body) in the earth. The body and the animal soul go downwards; and the intelligent spirit is on high. Thus (also) the dead are placed with their heads to the north, while the living look towards the south. In all these matters the earliest practice is followed.

6 'Formerly the ancient kings had no houses. In winter they lived in caves which they had excavated, and in summer in nests which they had framed. They knew not yet the transforming power of fire, but ate the fruits of plants and trees, and the flesh of birds and beasts, drinking their blood, and swallowing (also) the hair and feathers. They knew not yet the use of flax and silk, but clothed themselves with feathers and skins. The later sages then arose, and men (learned) to take advantage of the benefits of fire. They moulded the metals and fashioned clay, so as to rear towers with structures on them, and houses with windows and doors. They toasted, grilled, boiled, and roasted. They produced must and sauces. They dealt with the flax and silk so as to form linen and silken fabrics. They were thus able to nourish the living, and to make offerings to the dead; to serve the spirits of the departed and God. In all these things we follow the example of that early time.

7 'Thus it is that the dark-coloured liquor is in the apartment (where the representative of the dead is entertained); that the vessel of must is near its (entrance) door; that the reddish liquor is in the hall; and the clear, in the (court) below. The victims (also) are displayed, and the tripods and stands are prepared. The lutes and citherns are put in their places, with the flutes, sonorous stones, bells, and drums. The prayers (of the principal in the sacrifice to the spirits) and the benedictions (of the representatives of the departed) are carefully framed. The object of all the ceremonies is to bring down the spirits from above, even their ancestors; serving (also) to rectify the relations between ruler and ministers; to maintain the generous feeling between father and son, and the harmony between elder and younger brother; to adjust the relations between high and low; and to give their proper places to husband and wife. The whole may be said to secure the blessing of Heaven.

8 'They proceed to their invocations, using in each the appropriate terms. The dark-coloured liquor is employed in (every) sacrifice. The blood with the hair and feathers (of the victim) is presented. The flesh, uncooked, is set forth on the stands. The bones with the flesh on them are sodden; and rush mats and coarse cloth are placed underneath and over the vases and cups. The robes of dyed silk are put on. The must and clarified liquor are presented. The flesh, roasted and grilled, is brought forward. The ruler and his wife take alternate parts in presenting these offerings, all being done to please the souls of the departed, and constituting a union (of the living) with the disembodied and unseen. These services having been completed, they retire, and cook again all that was insufficiently done. The dogs, pigs, bullocks, and sheep are dismembered. The shorter dishes (round and square), the taller ones of bamboo and wood, and the soup vessels are all filled. There are the prayers which express the filial piety (of the worshipper), and the benediction announcing the favour (of his ancestors). This may be called the greatest omen of prosperity; and in this the ceremony obtains its grand completion.'

9 Confucius said, 'Ah! Alas! I look at the ways of Zhou. (The kings) You and Li corrupted them indeed, but if I leave Lu, where shall I go (to find them better)? The border sacrifice of Lu, (however,) and (the association with it of) the founder of the line (of Zhou) is contrary to propriety - how have (the institutions of) the duke of Zhou fallen into decay! At the border sacrifice in Qi, Yu was the assessor, and at that in Song, Xie; but these were observances of the sons of Heaven, preserved (in those states by their descendants). The rule is that (only) the son of Heaven sacrifices to heaven and earth, and the princes of states sacrifice at the altars to the spirits of the land and grain.'

10 When no change is presumptuously made from the constant practice from the oldest times between the prayer and blessing (at the beginning of the sacrifice), and the benediction (at the end of it), we have what might be called a great and happy service. For the words of prayer and blessing and those of benediction to be kept hidden away by the officers of prayer of the ancestral temple, and the sorcerers and recorders, is a violation of the rules of propriety. This may be called keeping a state in darkness. (The use of) the zhan cup (of Xia) and the jia cup (of Yin), and (the pledging in them) between the representative of the dead and the ruler are contrary to propriety; these things constitute 'a usurping ruler.' (For ministers and Great officers to) keep the cap with pendents and the leathern cap, or military weapons, in their own houses is contrary to propriety. To do so constitutes 'restraint of the ruler.' For Great officers to maintain a full staff of employees, to have so many sacrificial vessels that they do not need to borrow any; and have singers and musical instruments all complete, is contrary to propriety. For them to do so leads to 'disorder in a state'.

11 Thus, one sustaining office under the ruler is called a minister, and one sustaining office under the head of a clan is called a servant. Either of these, who is in mourning for a parent, or has newly married, is not sent on any mission for a year. To enter court in decayed robes, or to live promiscuously with his servants, taking place among them according to age:--all these things are contrary to propriety. Where we have them, we have what is called 'ruler and minister sharing the state.' Thus, the son of Heaven has his domain that he may settle there his sons and grandsons; and the feudal princes have their states; and Great officers their appanages that they may do the same for theirs. This constitutes 'the statutory arrangement.' Thus, when the son of Heaven goes to visit a feudal prince, the rule is that he shall lodge in the ancestral temple, and that he do not enter it without having with him all the rules to be observed. If he act otherwise, we have an instance of 'The son of Heaven perverting the laws, and throwing the regulations into confusion.' A prince, unless it be to ask about the sick or to condole with a mourner, does not enter the house of a minister. If he act otherwise, we have the case of 'ruler and minister playing with each other.'

12 Therefore, ceremonies form a great instrument in the hands of a ruler. It is by them that he resolves what is doubtful and brings to light what is abstruse; that he conducts his intercourse with spiritual beings, examines all statutory arrangements, and distinguishes benevolence from righteousness; it is by them, in short, that government is rightly ordered, and his own tranquillity secured. When government is not correct, the ruler's seat is insecure. When the ruler's seat is insecure, the great ministers revolt, and smaller ones begin pilfering. Punishments (then) are made severe, and manners deteriorate. Thus the laws become irregular; and when the laws are irregular, the rules of ceremony uncertain. When these are uncertain, officers do not perform their duties; and when punishments become severe, and manners deteriorate, the people do not turn (to what is right). We have that condition which may be described as 'an infirm state.'

13 In this way government is the means by which the ruler keeps and protects his person, and therefore it must have a fundamental connection with Heaven. This uses a variety of ways in sending down the intimations of Its will. As learned from the altars of the land, these are (receptivity and docility) imparted to the earth. As learned from the ancestral temple, they are benevolence and righteousness. As learned from the altars of the hills and streams, they are movement and activity. As learned from the five sacrifices of the house, they are the statutes (of their various spirits). It is in this way that the sage rulers made provision for the safe keeping of their persons.

14 Hence the sage forms a ternion with Heaven and Earth, and stands side by side with spiritual beings, in order to the right ordering of government. Taking his place on the ground of the principles inherent in them, he devised ceremonies in their order; calling them to the happy exercise of that in which they find pleasure, he secured the success of the government of the people. Heaven produces the seasons. Earth produces all the sources of wealth. Man is begotten by his father, and instructed by his teacher. The ruler correctly uses these four agencies, and therefore he stands in the place where there is no error.

15 Hence the ruler is he to whose brightness men look; he does not seek to brighten men. The ruler is he whom men support; he does not seek to support men. The ruler is he whom men serve; he does not seek to serve men. If the ruler were to seek to brighten men, he would fall into errors. If he were to seek to nourish men, he would be unequal to the task. If he were to seek to serve men, he would be giving up his position. Therefore the people imitate the ruler, and we have their self-government; they nourish their ruler, and they find their security in doing so; they serve the ruler, and find their distinction in doing so. Thus it is by the universal application of the rules of propriety, that the lot and duty (of different classes) are fixed; thus it is that men (acting contrary to those rules,) would all have to account death a boon, and life an evil.

16 Therefore (the ruler), making use of the wisdom of others, will put away the cunning to which that wisdom might lead him; using their courage, he will (in the same way) put away passion; and using their benevolence, he will put away covetousness.

17 Therefore, when calamity comes on a state, for the ruler to die for its altars is to be regarded as right; but for a Great officer to die for the ancestral temple is to be regarded as a change (of the duty required from him).

18 Therefore when it is said that (the ruler being) a sage can look on all under the sky as one family, and on all in the Middle states as one man, this does not mean that he will do so on premeditation and purpose. He must know men's feelings, lay open to them what they consider right, show clearly to them what is advantageous, and comprehend what are their calamities. Being so furnished, he is then able to effect the thing. What are the feelings of men? They are joy, anger, sadness, fear, love, disliking, and liking. These seven feelings belong to men without their learning them. What are 'the things which men consider right?' Kindness on the part of the father, and filial duty on that of the son; gentleness on the part of the elder brother, and obedience on that of the younger; righteousness on the part of the husband, and submission on that of the wife; kindness on the part of elders, and deference on that of juniors; with benevolence on the part of the ruler, and loyalty on that of the minister - these ten are the things which men consider to be right. Truthfulness in speech and the cultivation of harmony constitute what are called 'the things advantageous to men.' Quarrels, plundering, and murders are 'the things disastrous to men.' Hence, when a sage (ruler) would regulate the seven feelings of men, cultivate the ten virtues that are right; promote truthfulness of speech, and the maintenance of harmony; show his value for kindly consideration and complaisant courtesy; and put away quarrelling and plundering, if he neglect the rules of propriety, how shall he succeed?

19 The things which men greatly desire are comprehended in meat and drink and sexual pleasure; those which they greatly dislike are comprehended in death, exile, poverty, and suffering. Thus liking and disliking are the great elements in men's minds. But men keep them hidden in their minds, where they cannot be fathomed or measured. The good and the bad of them being in their minds, and no outward manifestation of them being visible, if it be wished to determine these qualities in one uniform way, how can it be done without the use of the rules of propriety (implied in the ceremonial usages)?

20 Man is (the product of) the attributes of Heaven and Earth, (by) the interaction of the dual forces of nature, the union of the animal and intelligent (souls), and the finest subtile matter of the five elements. Heaven exercises the control of the strong and light force, and hangs out the sun and stars. Earth exercises the control of the dark and weaker force, and gives vent to it in the hills and streams. The five elements are distributed through the four seasons, and it is by their harmonious action that the moon is produced, which therefore keeps waxing for fifteen days and waning for fifteen. The five elements in their movements alternately displace and exhaust one another. Each one of them, in the revolving course of the twelve months of the four seasons, comes to be in its turn the fundamental one for the time. The five notes of harmony, with their six upper musical accords, and the twelve pitch-tubes, come each, in their revolutions among themselves, to be the first note of the scale. The five flavours, with the six condiments, and the twelve articles of diet, come each one, in their revolutions (in the course of the year), to give its character to the food. The five colours, with the six elegant figures, which they form on the two robes, come each one, in their revolutions among themselves, to give the character of the dress that is worn. Therefore Man is the heart and mind of Heaven and Earth, and the visible embodiment of the five elements. He lives in the enjoyment of all flavours, the discriminating of all notes (of harmony), and the enrobing of all colours.

21 Thus it was that when the sages would make rules (for men), they felt it necessary to find the origin (of all things) in heaven and earth; to make the two forces (of nature) the

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commencement (of all); to use the four seasons as the handle (of their arrangements); to adopt the sun and stars as the recorders (of time), the moon as the measurer (of work to be done), the spirits breathing (in nature) as associates, the five elements as giving substance (to things), rules of propriety and righteousness as (their) instruments, the feelings of men as the field (to be cultivated), and the four intelligent creatures as domestic animals (to be reared).

22 The origin of all things being found in heaven and earth, they could be taken in hand, one after the other. The commencement of these being found in the two forces (of nature), their character and tendencies could be observed. The four seasons being used as a handle, (the people) could be stimulated to the business (of each). The sun and stars being constituted the measures of time, that business could be laid out in order. The moon being taken as the measure (of work to be done), that work could be accomplished successfully. The spirits breathing (in nature) being considered as associates, what is done will be maintained permanently. The five elements being considered as giving substance (to things), what has been done could be repeated. Rules of propriety and righteousness being viewed as the instruments, whatever was done would be completed. The feelings of men being the field to be cultivated, men would look up (to the sages) as to their lords. The four intelligent creatures being made to become domestic animals, there would be constant sources of food and drink.

23 What were the four intelligent creatures? They were the Qi-lin, the phoenix, the tortoise, and the dragon. When the dragon becomes a domestic animal, (all other) fishes and the sturgeon do not lie hidden from men (in the mud). When the phoenix becomes so, the birds do not fly from them in terror. When the Qi-lin does so, the beasts do not scamper away. When the tortoise does so, the feelings of men take no erroneous course.

24 The ancient kings made use of the stalks and the tortoise-shell; arranged their sacrifices; buried their offerings of silk; recited their words of supplication and benediction; and made their statutes and measures. In this way arose the ceremonial usages of the states, the official departments with their administrators, each separate business with its own duties, and the rules of ceremony in their orderly arrangements.

25 Thus it was that the ancient kings were troubled lest the ceremonial usages should not be generally understood by all below them. They therefore sacrificed to God in the suburb (of the capital), and thus the place of heaven was established. They sacrificed at the altar of the earth inside the capital, and thus they intimated the benefits derived from the earth. Their sacrifices in the ancestral temple gave their fundamental place to the sentiments of humanity. Those at the altars of the hills and streams served to mark their intercourse with the spirits breathing (in nature). Their five sacrifices (of the house) were a recognition of the various business which was to be done. For the same reason, there are the officers of prayer in the ancestral temple; the three ducal ministers in the court; and the three classes of old men in the college. In front of the king there were the sorcerers, and behind him the recorders; the diviners by the tortoise-shell and by the stalks, the blind musicians and their helpers were all on his left and right. He himself was in the centre. His mind had nothing to do, but to maintain what was entirely correct.

26 By means of the ceremonies performed in the suburb, all the spirits receive their offices. By means of those performed at the altar of the earth, all the things yielded (by the earth) receive their fullest development. By means of those in the ancestral temple, the services of filial duty and of kindly affection come to be discharged. By means of those at the five sacrifices of the house, the laws and rules of life are correctly exhibited. Hence when the ideas in these sacrifices in the suburb, at the altar of the earth, in the ancestral temple, at the altars of the hills and streams, and of the five sacrifices of the house are fully apprehended, the ceremonies used are found to be lodged in them.

27 From all this it follows that rules of ceremony must be traced to their origin in the Grand Unity. This separated and became heaven and earth. It revolved and became the dual force (in nature). It changed and became the four seasons. It was distributed and became the breathings (thrilling in the universal frame). Its (lessons) transmitted (to men) are called its orders; the law and authority of them is in Heaven. While the rules of ceremony have their origin in heaven, the movement of them reaches to earth. The distribution of them extends to all the business (of life). They change with the seasons; they agree in reference to the (variations of) lot and condition. In regard to man, they serve to nurture (his nature). They are practised by means of offerings, acts of strength, words and postures of courtesy, in eating and drinking, in the observances of capping, marriage, mourning, sacrificing, archery, chariot-driving, audiences, and friendly missions.

28 Thus propriety and righteousness are the great elements for man's (character); it is by means of them that his speech is the expression of truth and his intercourse (with others) the promotion of harmony; they are (like) the union of the cuticle and cutis, and the binding together of the muscles and bones in strengthening (the body). They constitute the great methods by which we nourish the living, bury the dead, and serve the spirits of the departed. They supply the channels by which we can apprehend the ways of Heaven and act as the feelings of men require. It was on this account that the sages knew that the rules of ceremony could not be dispensed with, while the ruin of states, the destruction of families, and the perishing of individuals are always preceded by their abandonment of the rules of propriety.

29 Therefore the rules of propriety are for man what the yeast is for liquor. The superior man by (his use of them) becomes better and greater. The small man by his neglect of them becomes meaner and worse. Therefore the sage kings cultivated and fashioned the lever of righteousness and the ordering of ceremonial usages, in order to regulate the feelings of men. Those feelings were the field (to be cultivated by) the sage kings. They fashioned the rules of ceremony to plough it. They set forth the principles of righteousness with which to plant it. They instituted the lessons of the school to weed it. They made love the fundamental subject by which to gather all its fruits, and they employed the training in music to give repose (to the minds of learners). Thus, rules of ceremony are the embodied expression of what is right. If an observance stand the test of being judged by the standard of what is right, although it may not have been among the usages of the ancient kings, it may be adopted on the ground of its being right. (The idea of) right makes the distinction between things, and serves to regulate (the manifestation of) humanity. When it is found in anything and its relation to humanity has been discussed, the possessor of it will be strong. Humanity is the root of right, and the embodying of deferential consideration. The possessor of it is honoured.

30 Therefore to govern a state without the rules of propriety would be to plough a field without a share. To make those rules without laying their foundation in right would be to plough the ground and not sow the seed. To think to practise the right without enforcing it in the school would be to sow the seed and not weed the plants. To enforce the lessons in the schools, and insist on their agreement with humanity, would be to weed and not to reap. To insist on the agreement of the lessons with humanity, and not give repose to (the minds of) the learners by music, would be to reap, and not eat (the product). To supply the repose of music and not proceed to the result of deferential consideration would be to eat the product and get no fattening from it.

31 When the four limbs are all well proportioned, and the skin is smooth and full, the individual is in good condition. When there is generous affection between father and son, harmony between brothers, and happy union between husband and wife, the family is in good condition. When the great ministers are observant of the laws, the smaller ministers pure, officers and their duties kept in their regular relations and the ruler and his ministers are correctly helpful to one another, the state is in good condition. When the son of Heaven moves in his virtue as a chariot, with music as his driver, while all the princes conduct their mutual intercourse according to the rules of propriety, the Great officers maintain the order between them according to the laws, inferior officers complete one another by their good faith, and the common people guard one another with a spirit of harmony, all under the sky is in good condition. All this produces what we call (the state of) great mutual consideration (and harmony).

32 This great mutual consideration and harmony would ensure the constant nourishment of the living, the burial of the dead, and the service of the spirits (of the departed). However greatly things might accumulate, there would be no entanglement among them. They would move on together without error, and the smallest matters would proceed without failure. However deep some might be, they would be comprehended. However thick and close their array, there would be spaces between them. They would follow one another without coming into contact. They would move about without doing any hurt to one another. This would be the perfection of such a state of mutual harmony. Therefore the clear understanding of this state will lead to the securing of safety in the midst of danger. Hence the different usages of ceremony, and the maintenance of them in their relative proportions as many or few, are means of keeping hold of the feelings of men, and of uniting (high and low, and saving them from) peril.

33 The sage kings showed their sense of this state of harmony in the following way: They did not make the occupants of the hills (remove and) live by the streams, nor the occupants of the islands (remove and live) in the plains; and thus the (people) complained of no hardship. They used water, fire, metal, wood, and the different articles of food and drink, each in its proper season. They promoted the marriages of men and women, and distributed rank and office, according to the years and virtues of the parties. They employed the people with due regard to their duties and wishes. Thus it was that there were no plagues of flood, drought, or insects, and the people did not suffer from bad grass or famine, from untimely deaths or irregular births. On account of all this heaven did not grudge its methods; earth did not grudge its treasures; men did not grudge (the regulation of) their feelings. Heaven sent down its fattening dews; earth sent forth its springs of sweet wine; hills produced implements and chariots; the Ho sent forth the horse with the map (on, his back)'. Phoenixes and Qi-lins were among the trees of the suburbs, tortoises and dragons in the ponds of the palaces, while the other birds and beasts could be seen at a glance in their nests and breeding places. All this resulted from no other cause but that the ancient kings were able to fashion their ceremonial usages so as to convey the underlying ideas of right, and embody their truthfulness so as to secure the universal and mutual harmony. This was the realisation of it.

LI JI CHAPTER 10 Li Qi

Implements of Rites

(or: Rites in the formation of character)

1 The rules of propriety serve as instruments to form men's characters, and they are therefore prepared on a great scale. Being so, the value of them is very high. They remove from a man all perversity, and increase what is beautiful in his nature. They make him correct, when employed in the ordering of himself; they ensure for him free course, when employed towards others. They are to him what their outer coating is to bamboos, and what its heart is to a pine or cypress. These two are the best of all the productions of the (vegetable) world. They endure through all the four seasons, without altering a branch or changing a leaf. The superior man observes these rules of propriety, so that all in a wider circle are harmonious with him, and those in his narrower circle have no dissatisfactions with him. Men acknowledge and are affected by his goodness, and spirits enjoy his virtue.

2 The rules as instituted by the ancient kings had their radical element and their outward and elegant form. A true heart and good faith are their radical element. The characteristics of each according to the idea of what is right in it are its outward and elegant form: Without the radical element, they could not have been established; without the elegant form, they could not have been put in practice.

3 The things used in performing the rites should be suitable to the season, taken from the resources supplied by the ground, in accordance with (the requirements of) the spirits, and agreeable to the minds of men;-according to the characteristics of all things. Thus each season has its productions, each soil its appropriate produce, each sense its peculiar power, and each thing its advantageousness. Therefore what any season does not produce, what any soil does not nourish, will not be used by a superior man in performing his rites, nor be enjoyed by the spirits. If mountaineers were to (seek to) use fish and turtles in their rites, or the dwellers near lakes, deer and pigs, the superior man would say of them that they did not know (the nature of) those usages. Therefore it is necessary to take the established revenues of a state as the great rule for its ceremonial (expenditure). Important for the determination of this is the size of its territory. The amount of the offerings (also) should have regard to the character of the year as good or bad. In this way, though the harvest of a year may be very defective, the masses will not be afraid, and the ceremonies as appointed by the superiors will be economically regulated.

4 In judging of rites the time should be the great consideration. (Their relation to) natural duties, their material substance, their appropriateness to circumstances, and their proportioning are all secondary. Yao's resignation of the throne to Shun, and Shun's resignation of it to Yu; Tang's dethronement of Jie; and the overthrow of Zhou by Wen and Wu - all these are to be judged of by the time. As the Book of Poetry says, "It was not that he was in haste to gratify his wishes; It was to show the filial duty that had come down to him.'" The sacrifices to heaven and earth; the services of the ancestral temple; the courses for father and son; and the righteousness between ruler and minister - these are to be judged of as natural duties. The services at the altars of the land and grain and of the hills and streams; and the sacrifices to spirits - these are to be judged of by the material substance of the offerings. The use of the funeral rites and sacrifices; and the reciprocities of host and guest - these are to be judged of by their appropriateness to circumstances. Sacrificing with a lamb and a sucking pig, by the multitude of officers, when yet there was enough; and sacrificing with an ox, a ram, and a boar, when yet there was nothing to spare - in these we have an instance of the proportioning. The princes set great store by the tortoise, and consider their jade-tokens as the insignia of their rank, while the (chiefs of) clans have not the tortoises that are so precious, nor the jade-tokens to keep (by themselves), nor the towered gateways - these (also) are instances of the proportioning.

5 In some ceremonial usages the multitude of things formed the mark of distinction, The son of Heaven had 7 shrines in his ancestral temple; the prince of a state, 5; Great officers, 3; and other officers, 1. The dishes of the son of Heaven on stands were 26; of a duke, 16; of another prince, 12; of a Great officer of the upper class, 8; of one of the lower class, 6, To a prince there were given 7 attendants and 7 oxen; and to a

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Great officer, 5 of each, The son of Heaven sat on 5 mats placed over one another; a prince, on 3; and a Great officer, on 2. When the son of Heaven died, he was buried after 7 months, in a fivefold coffin, with 8 plumes; a prince was buried after 5 months, in a threefold coffin, with 6 plumes; a Great officer after 3 months, in a twofold coffin, with 4 Plumes. In these cases, the multitude of things was the mark of distinction.

6 In other usages, the paucity of things formed the mark of distinction. To the son of Heaven there were given no attendants, and he sacrificed to Heaven with a single victim; when he visited the princes (on his tours of inspection), he was feasted with a single bullock. When princes went to the courts of one another, fragrant spirits were used in libations, and there were no dishes on stands, either of wood or bamboo. At friendly missions by Great officers, the ceremonial offerings were slices of dried meat and pickles. The son of Heaven declared himself satisfied after 1 dish; a prince, after 2; a Great officer and other officers, after 3; while no limit was set to the eating of people who lived by their labour. (The horses of) the Great carriage had 1 ornamental tassel at their breast-bands; those of the other carriages had 7 (pieces of) jade for rank-tokens; and libation cups were presented singly; as also the tiger-shaped and yellow cups. In sacrificing to spirits a single mat was used; when princes were giving audience to their ministers, they (bowed to) the Great officers one by one, but to all the other officers together. In these cases the fewness of the things formed the mark of distinction.

7 In others, greatness of size formed the mark. The dimensions of palaces and apartments; the measurements of dishes and (other) articles; the thickness of the inner and outer coffins; the greatness of eminences and mounds - these were cases in which the greatness of size was the mark.

8 In others, smallness of size formed the mark. At the sacrifices of the ancestral temple, the highest in rank presented a cup (of spirits to the representative of the dead), and the low, a san (containing five times as much): (at some other sacrifices), the honourable took a zhi (containing 3 cups), and the low a horn (containing 4). (At the feasts of viscounts and barons), when the vase went round 5 times, outside the door was the earthenware fou (of supply), and inside, the hu; while the ruler's vase was an earthenware wu - these were cases in which the smallness of size was the mark of distinction.

9 In others, the height formed the mark of distinction. The hall of the son of Heaven was ascended by 9 steps; that of a prince, by 7; that of a Great officer, by 5; and that of an ordinary officer, by 3. The son of Heaven and the princes had (also) the towered gateway. In these cases height was the mark.

10 In others, the lowness formed the mark. In sacrificing, the highest reverence was not shown on the raised altar, but on the ground beneath, which, had been swept. The vases of the son of Heaven and the princes were set on a tray without feet; those of Great and other officers on one with feet (3 inches high). In these cases the lowness was the mark of distinction.

11 In others, ornament formed the mark. The son of Heaven wore his upper robe with the dragons figured on it; princes, the lower robe with the axes' embroidered on it; Great officers, their lower robe with the symbol of distinction; and other officers, the dark-coloured upper robe, and the lower one red. The cap of the son of Heaven had 12 pendents of jade beads set on strings hanging-down of red and green silk; that of princes, 9; that of Great officers of the highest grade, 7; and if they were of the lowest grade, 5; and that of other officers, 3 - in these cases the ornament was the mark of distinction.

12 In others, plainness formed the mark. Acts of the greatest reverence admit of no ornament. The relatives of a father do not put themselves into postures (like other visitors). The Grand jade-token has no engraving on it. The Grand soup has no condiments. The Grand carriage is plain, and the mats in it are of rushes. The goblet with the victim-ox carved on it is covered with a plain white cloth. The ladle is made of white-veined wood. These are cases in which plainness is the mark.

13 Confucius said, 'Ceremonial usages should be most carefully considered.' This is the meaning of the remark that 'while usages are different, the relations between them as many or few should be maintained.' His words had reference to the proportioning of rites.

14 That in the instituting of rites the multitude of things was considered a mark of distinction, arose from the minds (of the framers) being directed outwards. The energy (of nature) shoots forth and is displayed everywhere in all things, with a great discriminating control over their vast multitude. In such a case, how could they keep from making multitude a mark of distinction in rites? Hence the superior men, (the framers), rejoiced in displaying (their discrimination).

15 But that in (the instituting of) rites the paucity of things was (also) considered a mark of distinction, arose from the minds (of the framers) being directed inwards. Extreme as is the energy (of nature) in production, it is exquisite and minute. When we look at all the things under the sky, they do not seem to be in proportion to that energy, In such a case, how could they keep from considering paucity a mark of distinction? Hence the superior men, (the framers), watched carefully over the solitude (of their own thoughts).

16 The ancient sages (thus) gave honour to what was internal, and sought pleasure in what was external; found a mark of distinction in paucity, and one of what was admirable in multitude; and therefore in the ceremonial usages instituted by the ancient kings we should look neither for multitude nor for paucity, but for the due relative proportion. Therefore, when a man of rank uses a large victim in sacrifice, we say he acts according to propriety, but when an ordinary officer does so, we say be commits an act of usurpation. Guan Zhong had his sacrificial dishes of grain carved, and red bands to his cap; fashioned hills on the capitals of his pillars, and pondweed on the small pillars above the beams - the superior man considered it wild extravagance. Yan Ping-zhong, in sacrificing to his father, used a sucking-pig which did not fill the dish, and went to court in an (old) washed robe and cap - the superior man considered it was niggardliness. Therefore the superior man thinks it necessary to use the utmost care in his practice of ceremonies. They are the bond that holds the multitudes together; and if the bond be removed, those multitude's fall into confusion. Confucius said, 'If I fight, I overcome; when I sacrifice, I receive blessing.' He said so, because he had the right way (of doing everything).

17 A superior man will say, 'The object in sacrifices is not to pray; the time of them should not be hastened on; a great apparatus is not required at them; ornamental matters are not to be approved; the victims need not be fat and large; a profusion of the other offerings is not to be admired.' Confucius said, 'How can it be said that Zang Wen-zhong was acquainted with the rules of propriety? When Xia Fu-Qi went right in the teeth of sacrificial order, he did not stop him, (nor could he prevent) his burning a pile of firewood in sacrificing to the spirit of the furnace. Now that sacrifice is paid to an old wife. The materials for it might be contained in a tub, and the vase is the (common) wine-jar.'

18 The rules of propriety may be compared to the human body. When the parts of one's body are not complete, the beholder' will call him 'An imperfect man;' and so a rule which has been made unsuitably may be denominated 'incomplete.' Some ceremonies are great, and some small; some are manifest, and some minute. The great should not be diminished, nor the small increased. The manifest should not be hidden, nor the minute made great. But while the important rules are 300, and the smaller rules 3000, the result to which they all lead is one and the same. No one can enter an apartment but by the door.

19 A superior man in his observance of the rules, where he does his utmost and uses the greatest care, is extreme in his reverence and the manifestation of sincerity. Where they excite admiration and an elegant attractiveness, there is still that manifestation of sincerity. A superior man, in his consideration of the rules, finds those which are carried directly into practice; those in which one has to bend and make some modification; those which are regular and the same for all classes; those which are diminished in a certain order; those in which (a kind of) transplantation takes place, and (the ceremony) is distributed; those in which individuals are pushed forward and take part in the rules of a higher grade; those in which there are ornamental imitations (of natural objects); those in which the ornamental imitations are not carried out so fully; and those where appropriation (of higher observances) is not deemed usurpation.

20 The usages of the three dynasties had one and the same object, and the people all observed them. In such matters as colour, whether it should be white or dark, Xia instituted and Yin adopted (its choice, or did not do so).

21 Under the Zhou dynasty the representatives of the dead sat. Their monitors and cup-suppliers observed no regular rules, The usages were the same as those of Yin, and the underlying principle was one. Under the Xia dynasty, the personators had stood till the sacrifice was ended, (whereas) under Yin they sat. Under Zhou, when the cup went round among all, there were six personators'. Zeng-zi said, 'The usages of Zhou might be compared to those of a subscription club.'

22 A superior man will say, 'The usages of ceremony that come closest to our human feelings are not those of the highest sacrifices; (as may be seen in) the blood of the border sacrifice; the raw flesh in the great offering to all the royal ancestors of the ancestral temple; the sodden flesh, where the spirits are presented thrice; and the roast meat, where they are presented once.'

23 And so those usages were not devised by superior men in order to give expression to their feelings. There was a beginning of them from (the oldest times); as when (two princes) have an interview, there are seven attendants to wait on them and direct them. Without these the interview would be too plain and dull. They reach (the ancestral temple) after the visitor has thrice declined the welcome of the host, and the host has thrice tried to give precedence to the other. Without these courtesies the interview would be too hurried and abrupt. In the same way, when in Lu they were about to perform the service to God (in the suburb), they felt it necessary first to have a service in the college with its semicircular pool. When they were about in Jin to sacrifice to the He, they would first do so to the pool of Wu. When in Qi they were about to sacrifice to mount Tai, they would do so first in the forest of Pei. Moreover, the keeping the victims (for the altar of Heaven) for three months (in the stable); the abstinence (of the worshippers) for seven days; and the vigil of three days:-all showed the extreme degree of (preparatory) care (for the service). The ritual arrangements, further, of the reception (of guests) and communication between them and the host, and for assisting and guiding the steps of the (blind) musicians, showed the extreme degree of kindly (provision).

24 In ceremonial usages we should go back to the root of them (in the mind), and maintain the old (arrangements of them), not forgetting what they were at first. Hence there is no (need to be) calling attention to the demonstrations expressive of grief; and those which (more particularly) belong to the court are accompanied by music. There is the use of sweet spirits, and the value set on water; there is the use of the (ordinary) knife, and the honour expressed by that furnished with (small) bells; there is the comfort afforded by the rush and fine bamboo mats, and the (special) employment of those which are made of straw. Therefore the ancient kings in their institution of the rules of propriety had a ruling idea, and thus it is that they were capable of being transmitted, and might be learned, however many they were.

25 The superior man will say, 'If a man do not have in himself the distinctions (embodied in ceremonies), he will contemplate that embodiment without any intelligent discrimination; if he wish to exercise that discrimination, and not follow the guidance of the rules, he will not succeed in his object. Hence if his practice of ceremonies be not according to the rules, men will not respect them; and if his words be not according to those rules, men will not believe them. Accordingly it is said, "The rules of ceremony are the highest expression of (the truth of) things."'

26 Hence it was that in old times, when the ancient kings instituted ceremonies, they conveyed their idea by means of the qualities of the articles and observances which they employed. In their great undertakings, they were sure to act in accordance with the seasons; in their doings morning and evening, they imitated the sun and moon; in what required a high situation, they took advantage of mounds and hillocks, and in what required a low situation, of the (banks of the) rivers and lakes. Hence each season has its rains and benefits, and those wise men sought to make use of them with intelligence with all the earnestness they could command. The ancient kings valued (men's) possession of virtue, honoured those who pursued the right course, and employed those who displayed ability. They selected men of talents and virtue, and appointed them. They assembled the whole of them and solemnly addressed them.

27 Then in accordance with (the height of) heaven they did service to Heaven, in accordance with (the lower position of) earth they did service to Earth; taking advantage of the famous hills they ascended them, and announced to Heaven the good government (of the princes). When thus at the felicitous spot (chosen for their capitals) they presented their offerings to God in the suburb and announced to Heaven (the general good government from the famous hills), the phoenix descended, and tortoises and dragons made their appearance. When they presented their offerings to God in the suburb the winds and rains were duly regulated, and the cold and heat came each in its proper time, so that the sage (king) had only to stand with his face to the south, and order prevailed all under the sky.

28 The courses of the heavenly (bodies) supply the most perfect lessons, and the sages possessed the highest degree of virtue. Above, in the hall of the ancestral temple, there was the jar, with clouds and hills represented on it on the east, and that with the victim represented on it on the west. Below the hall the larger drums were suspended on the west, and the smaller drums answering to them on the east. The ruler appeared at the (top of the) steps on the east; his wife was in the apartment on the west. The great luminary makes his appearance in the east; the moon makes her appearance in the west. Such are the different ways in which the processes of darkness and light are distributed in nature, and such are the arrangements for the positions (corresponding thereto) of husband and wife. The ruler fills his cup from the jar with an elephant represented on it; his wife fills hers from that with clouds and hills. With such reciprocation do the ceremonies proceed above, while the music responds in the same way below - there is the perfection of harmony.

29 It is the object of ceremonies to go back to the circumstances from which they sprang, and of music to express pleasure in the results which first gave occasion to it. Thus it was that the ancient kings, in their institution of ceremonies, sought to express their regulation of circumstances, and, in their cultivation of music, to express the aims they had in mind. Hence by an examination of their ceremonies and music, the conditions of order and disorder in which they originated can be known. Qu Bo-Yu said, 'A wise man, by his intelligence, from the sight of any article, knows the skill of the artificer,

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and from the contemplation of an action knows the wisdom of its performer.' Hence there is the saying, 'The superior man watches over the manner in which he maintains his intercourse with other men.'

30 Within the ancestral temple reverence prevailed. The ruler himself led the victim forward, while the Great officers assisted and followed, bearing the offerings of silk. The ruler himself cut out (the liver) for (the preliminary) offering, while his wife bore the dish in which it should be presented. The ruler himself cut up the victim, while his wife presented the spirits. The high ministers and Great officers followed the ruler; their wives followed his wife. How grave and still was their reverence! How were they absorbed in their sincerity! How earnest was their wish that their offerings should be accepted! The arrival of the victim was announced (to the spirits) in the courtyard; on the presentation of the blood and the flesh with the hair on it, announcement was made in the chamber; on the presentation of the soup and boiled meat, in the hall. The announcement was made thrice, each time in a different place; indicating how they were seeking for the spirits, and had not yet found them. When the sacrifice was set forth in the hall, it was repeated next day outside (the gate of the temple); and hence arose the saying, ' Are they there? Are they here?'

31 One offering of the cup showed the simplicity of the service; three offerings served to ornament it; five, to mark discriminating care; and seven, to show (the reverence for) the spirits.

32 Was not the great quinquennial sacrifice a service belonging to the king? The three animal victims, the fish, and flesh, were the richest tributes for the palate from all within the four seas and the nine provinces. The fruits and grain presented in the high dishes of wood and bamboo were the product of the harmonious influences of the four seasons, The tribute of metal showed the harmonious submission (of the princes). The rolls of silk with the round pieces of jade placed on them showed the honour they rendered to virtue. The tortoise was placed in front of all the other offerings, because of its knowledge of the future; the tribute of metal succeeded to it, showing the (hold it has on) human feelings. The vermilion, the varnish, the silk, the floss, the large bamboos and the smaller for arrows - the articles which all the states contribute; with the other uncommon articles, which each state contributed according to its resources, even to those from the remote regions - (these followed the former). When the Visitors left they were escorted with the music of the Si Xia. All these things showed how important was the sacrifice.

33 In the sacrifice to God in the suburb, we have the utmost expression of reverence. In the sacrifices of the ancestral temple, we have the utmost expression of humanity. In the rites of mourning, we have the utmost expression of leal-heartedness. In the preparation of the robes and vessels for the dead, we have the utmost expression of affection. In the use of gifts and offerings between host and guest, we have the utmost expression of what is right. Therefore when the superior man would see the ways of humanity and righteousness, he finds them rooted in these ceremonial usages.

34 A superior man has said, 'What is sweet may be tempered; what is white may be coloured. So the man who is right in heart and sincere can learn the (meaning of the) rites.' The rites should not be perfunctorily performed by the man who is not right in heart and sincere. Hence it is all important (in the performance of them) to get the proper men.

35 Confucius said, 'One may repeat the three hundred odes, and not be fit to offer the sacrifice where there is (but) one offering of the cup. He may offer that sacrifice, and not be fit to join in a great sacrifice. He may join in such a sacrifice, and not be fit to offer a great sacrifice to the hills. He may perform that fully, and yet not be able to join in the sacrifice to God, Let no one lightly discuss the subject of rites.'

36 When Zi-lu was steward to the House of Ji, its chief had been accustomed to commence his sacrifices before it was light, and when the day was insufficient for them, to continue them by torchlight. All engaged in them, however strong they might appear, and however reverent they might be, were worn out and tired. The officers limped and leaned, wherever they could, in performing their parts, and the want of reverence was great. Afterwards, when Zi-lu took the direction of them, the sacrifices proceeded differently. For the services in the chamber, he had parties communicating outside and inside the door; and for those in the hall, he had parties communicating at the steps. As soon as it was light, the services began, and by the time of the evening audience all were ready to retire. When Confucius heard of this management, he said, 'Who will say that this You does not understand ceremonies?'

LI JI CHAPTER 11 Jiao Te Sheng

Single Victim At The Border Sacrifices

1 At the border sacrifices a single victim was used, and at the altars to (the spirits of) the land and grain there was (the full complement of) three Victims. When the son of Heaven went on his inspecting tours to the princes, the viands of the feast to him were composed of a (single) calf; and when they visited him, the rites with which he received them showed the three regular animals. (The feasting of him in such a manner) was to do honour to the idea of sincerity. Therefore if the animal happened to be pregnant, the son of Heaven did not eat of it, nor did he use such a victim in sacrificing to God.

2 The horses of the Grand carriage had one ornamental tassel at the breast; those of the carriages that preceded had three; and those of the carriages that followed had five. There were the blood at the border sacrifice; the raw flesh in the great offering of the ancestral temple; the sodden flesh where spirits are presented thrice; and the roast meat where they are presented once:--these were expressive of the greatest reverence, but the taste was not valued; what was held in honour was the scent of the air. When the princes appeared as guests, they were presented with herb-flavoured spirits, because of their fragrance; at the great entertainment to them the value was given to (the preliminary) pieces of flesh prepared with cinnamon and nothing more.

3 At a great feast (to the ruler of another state), the ruler (who was the host) received the cup seated on his three mats. (On occasion of a visit through a minister or Great officer) when the cup was thrice presented, the ruler received it on a single mat:--so did he descend from the privilege of his more honourable rank, and assume the lower distinction (of his visitor).

4 In feasting (the orphaned young in spring) and at the vernal sacrifice in the ancestral temple they had music; but in feeding (the aged) and at the autumnal sacrifice they had no music:-these were based in the developing and receding influences (prevalent in nature). All drinking serves to nourish the developing influence; all eating to nourish the receding influence. Hence came the different character of the vernal and autumnal sacrifices; the feasting the orphaned young in spring, and the feeding the aged in autumn:-the idea was the same. But in the feeding and at the autumnal sacrifice there was no music. Drinking serves to nourish the developing influence and therefore is accompanied with music. Eating serves to nourish the receding influence, and therefore is not accompanied with music. All modulation of sound partakes of the character of development.

5 The number of tripods and meat-stands was odd, and that of the tall dishes of wood and bamboo was even; this also was based in the numbers belonging to the developing and receding influences. The stands were filled with the products of the water and the land. They did not dare to use for them things of extraordinary flavours or to attach a value to the multitude and variety of their contents, and it was thus that they maintained their intercourse with spiritual intelligences.

6 When the guests had entered the great door, the music struck up the Si Xia, showing the blended ease and respect (of the king). (While feasting), at the end of (every) cup the music stopped (for a moment), a practice of which Confucius often indicated his admiration. When the last cup had been put down, the performers ascended the hall, and sang;--exhibiting the virtues (of host and guests). The singers were (in the hall) above, and the organists were (in the court) below;--the honour being thus given to the human voice. Music comes from the expanding influence (that operates in nature); ceremonies from the contracting. When the two are in harmony, all things obtain (their full development).

7 There were no fixed rules for the various articles of tribute. They were the different products of the different territories according to their several suitabilities, and were regulated by their distances (from the royal domain). The tortoises were placed in front of all the other offerings - because (the shell) gave the knowledge of the future. The bells succeeded to them - because of their harmony, they were a symbol of the union of feeling that should prevail'. Then there were the skins of tigers and leopards - emblems of the fierce energy with which insubordination would be repressed; and there were the bundles of silks with disks of jade on them, showing how (the princes) came to (admire and experience) the virtue (of the king).

8 The use of a hundred torches in his courtyard began with duke Huan of Qi. The playing of the Si Xia (at receptions) of Great officers began with Zhao Wen-zi.

9 When appearing at another court, for a Great officer to have a private audience was contrary to propriety. If he were there as a commissioner, bearing his own prince's token of rank, this served as his credentials. That he did not dare to seek a private audience showed the reverence of his loyalty. What had he to do with the tribute-offerings in the court of the other prince that he should seek a private audience? The minister of a prince had no intercourse outside his own state, thereby showing how he did not dare to serve two rulers.

10 For a Great officer to receive his ruler to an entertainment was contrary to propriety. For a ruler to put to death a Great officer who had violently exercised his power was (held) an act of righteousness; and it was first seen in the case of the three Huan. The son of Heaven did not observe any of the rules for a visitor or guest - no one could presume to be his host. When a ruler visited one of his ministers, he went up to the hall by the steps proper to the master - the minister did not presume in such a case to consider the house to be his own. According to the rules for audiences, the son of Heaven did not go down from the hall and meet the princes. To descend from the hall and meet the princes, was an error on the part of the son of Heaven, which began with king Yi, and was afterwards observed.

11 For the princes to suspend (their drums and bells) in four rows like the walls of an apartment (after the fashion of the king), and to use a white bull in sacrificing; to strike the sonorous jade; to use the red shields with their metal fronts and the cap with descending tassels in dancing the Da-Wu; and to ride in the grand chariot - these were usages which they usurped. The towered gateway with the screen across the path, and the stand to receive the emptied cups; the axes embroidered on the inner garment with its vermilion colour - these were usurpations of the Great officers. Thus, when the son of Heaven was small and weak, the princes pushed their usurpations; and when the Great officers were strong, the princes were oppressed by them, In this state (those officers) gave honour to one another as if they had been of (high) degree; had interviews with one another and made offerings; and bribed one another for their individual benefit: and thus all usages of ceremony were thrown into disorder. It was not lawful for the princes to sacrifice to the king to whom they traced their ancestry, nor for the Great officers to do so to the rulers from whom they sprang. The practice of having a temple to such rulers in their private families, was contrary to propriety. It originated with the three Huan.

12 The son of Heaven preserved the descendants of (the sovereigns of) the two (previous) dynasties, still honouring the worth (of their founders). But this honouring the (ancient) worthies did not extend beyond the two dynasties.

13 Princes did not employ as ministers refugee rulers. Hence anciently refugee rulers left no son who continued their title.

14 A ruler stood with his face towards the south, to show that he would be (in his sphere) what the influence of light and heat was (in nature). His ministers stood with their faces to the north, in response to him.

15 The minister of a Great officer did not bow his face to the ground before him, not from any honour paid to the minister, but that the officer might avoid receiving the homage which he had paid himself to the ruler.

16 When a Great officer was presenting (anything to his ruler), he did not do so in his own person; when the ruler was making him a gift, he did not go to bow in acknowledgment to him: that the ruler might not (have the trouble of) responding to him.

17 When the villagers were driving away pestilential influences, Confucius would stand at the top of his eastern steps, in his court robes, to keep the spirits (of his departed) undisturbed in their shrines.

18 Confucius said, 'The practice of archery to the notes of music (is difficult). How shall the archer listen, and how shall he shoot, (that the two things shall be in harmony)?'

19 Confucius said, 'When an officer is required to shoot, if he be not able, he declines on the ground of being ill, with reference to the bow suspended at the left of the door (at his birth).'

20 Confucius said, 'There are three days' fasting on hand., If one fast for the first day, he should still be afraid of not being (sufficiently) reverent. What are we to think of it, if on the second day he beat his drums?'

21 Confucius said, 'The repetition of the sacrifice next day inside the Ku gate; the searching for the spirits in the eastern quarter; and the holding the market in the morning in the western quarter - these all are errors.'

22 At the She, they sacrificed to (the spirits of) the land, and on the tablet rested the power of the darker and retiring influence of nature. The ruler stands (in sacrificing) with his face to the south at the foot of the wall on the north, responding to the idea of that influence as coming from the north. A jia day is used (for the sacrifice), to employ a commencing day (in the Cycle). The great She altar of the son of Heaven was open to receive the hoarfrost, dew, wind, and rain, and allow the influences of heaven and earth to have full development upon it. For this reason the She altar of a state that had perished was roofed in, so that it was not touched by the brightness and warmth of Heaven. The altar (of Yin) at Bo had an opening in the wall on the north, so that the dim and cold (moon) might shine into it. In the sacrifice at the She altars they dealt with the earth as if it were a spirit. The earth supported all things, while heaven hung out its brilliant signs. They derived their material resources from the earth; they derived rules (for their courses of labour) from the heavens. Thus they were led to give honour to heaven and their affection to the earth, and therefore they taught the people to render a good return (to the earth). (The Heads of) families provided (for the sacrifice to it) at the altar in the open court (of their houses); in the kingdom and the states they did so at the She altars; showing how it was the source (of their prosperity). When there was a sacrifice at the She altar of a village, some one went out to it from every house. When there was such a sacrifice in preparation for a hunt, the men of the state all engaged in it. When there was such a sacrifice, from the towns, small and large, they contributed their vessels of rice, thereby expressing their gratitude to the source (of their

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prosperity) and going back in their thoughts to the beginning (of all being).

23 In the last month of spring, the fire star having appeared, they set fire to (the grass and brushwood). When this was done, they reviewed the chariots and men, numbering the companies, of a hundred and of five. Then the ruler in person addressed them in front of the She altar, and proceeded to exercise their squadrons, now wheeling to the left, now wheeling to the right, now making them lie down, now making them rise up; and observing how they practised these evolutions. When the game came in sight and the desire of capturing it was exerted, (he watched) to see that (the hunters) did not break any of the rules (for their proceedings). It was thus sought to bring their wills into subjection, and make them not pursue the animals (in an irregular way). In this way such men conquered in fight, and such sacrificing obtained blessing.

24 The son of Heaven, in his tours (of Inspection) to the four quarters (of the kingdom), as the first thing (on his arrival at each) reared the pile of wood (and set fire to it). At the (Great) border sacrifice, he welcomed the arrival of the longest day. It was a great act of thanksgiving to Heaven, and the sun was the chief object considered in it'. The space marked off for it was in the southern suburb - the place most open to the brightness and warmth (of the heavenly influence). The sacrifice was offered on the ground which had been swept for the purpose;--to mark the simplicity (of the ceremony). The vessels used were of earthenware and of gourds - to emblem the natural (productive power of) heaven and earth. The place was the suburb, and therefore the sacrifice was called the suburban or border. The victim was red, that being the colour preferred by the (Zhou) dynasty; and it was a calf - to show the estimation of simple sincerity. For (all) sacrifices in the border they used a xin day; because when Zhou first offered the border sacrifice, it was the longest day, and its name began with xin. When divining about the border sacrifice, (the king) received the reply in the fane of his (great) ancestor, and the tortoise-shell was operated on in that of his father; honour being thus done to his ancestor, and affection shown to his father. On the day of divination, he stood by the lake, and listened himself to the declarations and orders which were delivered, showing an example of receiving lessons and reproof. (The officers) having communicated to him the orders (to be issued), he gives warning notice of them to all the officers (of a different surname from himself), inside the Ku gate (of the palace), and to those of the same surname, in the Grand temple.

On the day of the sacrifice, the king in his skin cap waits for the news that all is ready, showing the people how they ought to venerate their superiors. Those who were engaged in mourning rites did not wail nor venture to put on their mourning dress. (The people) watered and swept the road, and turned it up afresh with the spade; at (the top of) the fields in the neighbourhood they kept torches burning - thus without special orders complying with (the wish of) the king. On that day, the king assumed the robe with the ascending dragons on it as an emblem of the heavens. He wore the cap with the pendants of jade-pearls, to the number of twelve, which is the number of heaven. He rode in the plain carriage, because of its simplicity. From the flag hung twelve pendants, and on it was the emblazonry of dragons, and the figures of the sun and moon, in imitation of the heavens. Heaven hangs out its brilliant figures, and the sages imitated them. This border sacrifice is the illustration of the way of Heaven. If there appeared anything infelicitous about the victim intended for God, it was used for that intended for Ji. That intended for God required to be kept in its clean stall for three months. That intended for Ji simply required to be perfect in its parts. This was the way in which they made a distinction between the spirits of Heaven and the manes of a man. All things originate from Heaven; man originates from his (great) ancestor. This is the reason why Ji was associated with God (at this sacrifice). In the sacrifices at the border there was an expression of gratitude to the source (of their prosperity and a going back in their thoughts to the beginning of (all being).

25 The great ji sacrifice of the son of Heaven consisted of eight (sacrifices). This sacrifice was first instituted by Yin Qi. (The word) ji expresses the idea of searching out. In the twelfth month of a year, they brought together (some of) all the productions (of the harvest), and sought out (the authors of them) to present them to them as offerings. In the ji sacrifice, the principal object contemplated was the Father of Husbandry. They also presented offerings to (ancient) superintendents of husbandry, and to the (discoverers of the) various grains, to express thanks for the crops which had been reaped. They presented offerings (also) to the (representatives of the ancient inventors of the overseers of the) husbandmen, and of the buildings marking out the boundaries of the fields, and of the birds and beasts. The service showed the highest sentiments of benevolence and of righteousness. The ancient wise men had appointed all these agencies, and it was felt necessary to make this return to them. They met the (representatives of the) cats, because they devoured the rats and mice (which injured the fruits) of the fields, and (those of) the tigers, because they devoured the (wild) boars (which destroyed them). They met them and made offerings to them. They offered also to (the ancient Inventors of) the dykes and water-channels;--(all these were) provisions for the husbandry. They said, 'May the ground no sliding show, Water in its channels flow, Insects to keep quiet know; Only in the fens weeds grow!' They presented their offerings in skin caps and white robes;-in white robes to escort the closing year (to its grave). They wore sashes of dolychos cloth, and carried staffs of hazel, as being reduced forms of mourning. In the ji were expressed the highest sentiments of benevolence and righteousness. (After this) they proceeded to sacrifice in yellow robes and yellow caps, releasing the field-labourers from the toils (of the year). Countrymen wore yellow hats, which were made of straw.

26 The Great Netter was the officer who had the management for the son of Heaven of his birds and (captured) beasts, and to his department belonged (all such creatures) sent by the princes as tribute. (Those who brought them) wore hats of straw or bamboo splints, appearing, by way of honour to it, in that country dress. The Netter declined the deer and women (which they brought), and announced to the visitors the message (of the king) to this effect, that they might warn the princes with it: 'He who loves hunting and women, Brings his state to ruin.' The son of Heaven planted gourds and flowering plants; not such things as might be reaped and stored.

27 The ji with its eight sacrifices served to record (the condition of the people) throughout all the quarters (of the country). If in any quarter the year had not been good, it did not contribute to those services, out of a careful regard to the resources of the people. Where the labours of a good year had been successfully completed, they took part in them, to give them pleasure and satisfaction. Alt the harvest having by this time been gathered, the people had nothing to do but to rest, and therefore after the ji wise (rulers) commenced no new work.

28 The pickled contents of the ordinary dishes were water-plants produced by the harmonious powers (of nature); the brine used with them was from productions of the land. The additional dishes contained productions of the land with the brine from productions of the water. The things in the dishes on stands were from both the water and land'. They did not venture to use in them the flavours of ordinary domestic use, but variety was considered admirable. It was in this way that they sought to have communion with the spirits; it was not intended to imitate the flavours of food.

29 The things set before the ancient kings served as food, but did not minister to the pleasures of the palate. The dragon-robe, the tasseled cap, and the great carriage served for display, but did not awaken a fondness for their use. The various dances displayed the gravity of the performers, but did not awaken the emotion of delight. The ancestral temple produced the impression of majesty, but did not dispose one to rest in it. Its vessels might be employed (for their purposes in it), but could not be conveniently used for any other. The idea which leads to intercourse with spiritual Beings is not interchangeable with that which finds its realisation in rest and pleasure.

30 Admirable as are the spirits and sweet spirits, a higher value is attached to the dark spirit and the bright water,--in order to honour that which is the source of the five flavours. Beautiful as is the elegant embroidery of robes, a higher value is set on plain, coarse cloth, going back to the commencement of woman's work. Inviting as is the rest afforded by the mats of fine rushes and bamboos, the preference is given to the coarse ones of reeds and straw, distinguishing the (character of the service in which they were employed). The Grand soup is unseasoned,-in honour of its simplicity. The Grand symbols of jade have no engraving on them, in admiration of their simple plainness. There is the beauty of the red varnish and carved border (of a carriage), but (the king) rides in a plain one, doing honour to its plainness. In all these things it is simply the idea of the simplicity that is the occasion of the preference and honour. In. maintaining intercourse with spiritual and intelligent Beings, there should be nothing like an extreme desire for rest and ease in our personal gratification. It is this which makes the above usages suitable for their purpose.

31 The number of the tripods and meat-stands was odd, but that of the tall dishes of wood and bamboo was even, having regard to the numbers belonging to the developing and receding influences of nature. The vase with the yellow eyes was the most valued of all, and contained the spirit with the fragrant herbs. Yellow is the colour (of earth) which occupies the central places. In the eye the energy (of nature) appears most purely and brilliantly. Thus the spirit to be poured out is in that cup, the (emblem of the) centre, and (the symbol of) what is Most pure and bright appears outside.

32 When Sacrificing to Heaven, the earth is swept, and the sacrifice presented on the ground, from a regard to the simplicity of such an unartificial altar. Admirable as are the vinegar and pickles, suet boiled and produced through evaporation is preferred, to do honour to the natural product of heaven. An ordinary knife might be employed (to kill the victim), but that fitted with bells is preferred, giving honour to the idea thereby indicated; there is the harmony of sound, and then the cutting work is done.

33 As to the meaning of (the ceremony of) capping: The cap used for the first act of the service was of black cloth, the cap of the highest antiquity. It was originally of (white) cloth, but the colour when it was used in fasting was dyed black. As to its strings, Confucius said, 'I have not heard anything about them.' This cap, after it had been once put upon (the young man), might be disused.

The son by the wife proper was capped by the eastern stairs (appropriate to the use of the master), to show how he was in their line of succession to him. The father handed him a cup in the guests' place (without receiving one in return). The capping showed that he had reached maturity. The using of three caps was to give greater importance (to the ceremony), and show its object more clearly. The giving the name of maturity in connexion with the ceremony was to show the reverence due to that name.

The wei-mao was the fashion of Zhou; the zhang-fu, that of Yin; and the mu-zhui, that of the sovereigns of Xia. Zhou used the bian; Yin, the xu; and Xia, the shou. The three dynasties all used the skin cap, with the skirt-of-white gathered up at the waist.

There were no observances peculiar to the capping (in the families) of Great officers, though there were (peculiar) marriage ceremonies. Anciently a man was fifty when he took the rank of a Great officer; how should there have been peculiar ceremonies at his cappings? The peculiar ceremonies at the cappings as used by the princes arose in the end of the Xia dynasty.

The eldest son of the son of Heaven by his proper queen (was capped only as) an ordinary officer. There was nowhere such a thing as being born noble. Princes received their appointments on the hereditary principle, (to teach them) to imitate the virtue of their predecessors. Men received office and rank according to the degree of their virtue. There was the conferring of an honourable designation after death; but that is a modern institution. Anciently, there was no rank on birth, and no honorary title after death.

34 That which is most important in ceremonies is to understand the idea intended in them. While the idea is missed, the number of things and observances in them may be correctly exhibited, as that is the business of the officers of prayer and the recorders. Hence that may all be exhibited, but it is difficult to know the idea. The knowledge of that idea, and the reverent maintenance of it was the way by which the sons of Heaven secured the good government of the kingdom.

35 By the united action of heaven and earth all things spring up. Thus the ceremony of marriage is the beginning of a (line that shall last for a) myriad ages. The parties are of different surnames; thus those who are distant are brought together, and the separation (to be maintained between those who are of the same surname) is emphasised. There must be sincerity in the marriage presents; and all communications (to the woman) must be good. She should be admonished to be upright and sincere. Faithfulness is requisite in all service of others, and faithfulness is (specially) the virtue of a wife. Once mated with her husband, all her life she will not change (her feeling of duty to him) and hence, when the husband dies she will not marry (again).

The gentleman went in person to meet the bride, the man taking the initiative and not the woman, according to the idea that regulates the relation between the strong and the weak (in all nature). It is according to this same idea that heaven takes precedence of earth, and the ruler of the subject. Presents are interchanged before (the parties) see each other; this reverence serving to illustrate the distinction (that should be observed between man and woman). When this distinction (between husband and wife) is exhibited, affection comes to prevail between father and son. When there is this affection, the idea of righteousness arises in the mind, and to this idea of righteousness succeeds (the observance of) ceremonies. Through those ceremonies there ensues universal repose. The absence of such distinction and righteousness is characteristic of the way of beasts. The bridegroom himself stands by (the carriage of the bride), and hands to her the strap (to assist her in mounting), showing his affection. Having that affection, he seeks to bring her near to him. It was by such reverence and affection for their wives that the ancient kings obtained the kingdom. In passing out from the great gate (of her father's house), he precedes, and she follows, and with this the right relation between husband and wife commences. The woman follows (and obeys) the man:-in her youth, she follows her father and elder brother; when married, she follows her husband; when her husband is dead, she follows her son. 'Man' denotes supporter. A man by his wisdom should (be able to) lead others.

The dark-coloured cap, and the (preceding) fasting and vigil, (with which the bridegroom meets the bride, makes the ceremony like the service of) spiritual beings, and (the meeting of) the bright and developing and receding influences (in nature). The result of it will be to give the lord for the

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altars to the spirits of the land and grain, and the successors of the forefathers of the past - is not the utmost reverence appropriate in it? Husband and wife ate, together of the same victim, thus declaring that they were of the same rank. Hence while the wife had (herself) no rank, she was held to be of the rank of her husband, and she took her seat according to the position belonging to him.

The old rule at sacrifices was to have the vessels (only) of earthenware and gourds; and when the kings of the three dynasties instituted the (partaking of the) victim, those were the vessels employed. On the day after the marriage, the wife, having washed her hands, prepared and presented (a sucking-pig) to her husband's parents; and when they had done eating, she ate what was left - as a mark of their special regard. They descended from the hall by the steps on the west, while she did so by those on the east - so was she established in the wife's (or mistress's) place.

At the marriage ceremony, they did not employ music, having reference to the feeling of solitariness and darkness (natural to the separation from parents). Music expresses the energy of the bright and expanding influence. There was no congratulation on marriage;-it indicates how (one generation of) men succeeds to another.

36 At the sacrifices in the time of the lord of Yu the smell was thought most important. There were the offerings of blood, of raw flesh, and of sodden flesh;--all these were employed for the sake of the smell. Under the Yin, sound was thought most important. Before there was any smell or flavour, the music was made to resound clearly. It was not till there had been three performances of it that they went out to meet (and bring in) the victim. The noise of the music was a summons addressed to all between heaven and earth. Under the Zhou, a pungent odour was thought most important. In libations they employed the smell of millet-spirits in which fragrant herbs had been infused. The fragrance, partaking of the nature of the receding influence, penetrates to the deep springs below. The libations were poured from cups with long handles of jade, (as if) to employ (also) the smell of the mineral. After the liquor was poured, they met (and brought in) the victim, having first diffused the smell into the unseen realm. Artemisia along with millet and rice having then been burned (with the fat of the victim), the fragrance penetrates through all the building. It was for this reason that, after the cup had been put down, they burnt the fat with the southernwood and millet and rice. So careful were they on all occasions of sacrifice. The intelligent spirit returns to heaven the body and the animal soul return to the earth; and hence arose the idea of seeking (for the deceased) in sacrifice in the unseen darkness and in the bright region above. Under the Yin, they first sought for them in the bright region; under Zhou, they first sought for them in the dark.

37 They informed the officer of prayer in the apartment; they seated the representative of the departed in the hall; they killed the victim in the courtyard. The head of the victim was taken up to the apartment. This was at the regular sacrifice, when the officer of prayer addressed himself to the spirit-tablet of the departed. If it were (merely) the offering of search, the minister of prayer takes his place at the inside of the gate of the temple. They knew not whether the spirit were here, or whether it were there, or far off, away from all men. Might not that offering inside the gate be said to be a searching for the spirit in its distant place?

38 That service at the gate was expressive of the energy of the search. The stand with the heart and tongue of the victim (set forth before the personator) was expressive of reverence. (The wish of the principal) for wealth (to those assisting him) included all happiness. The (presentation of the) head was (intended as) a direct (communication with the departed). The presence (of the representative) was that the spirit might enjoy (the offerings). The blessing (pronounced by him) was for long continuance, and comprehensive. The personator (seemed) to display (the departed).

39 The (examination of the) hair and the (taking of the) blood was an announcement that the victim was complete within and without. This announcement showed the value set on its being perfect'. The offering of the blood was because of the breath which is contained in it. They offered (specially) the lungs,, the liver, and the heart, doing honour to those parts as the home of the breath.

40 In offering the millet and the glutinous millet, they presented the lungs along with it. In offering the various prepared liquors, they presented the bright water;--in both cases acknowledging their obligations to the dark and receding influence (in nature). In taking the fat of the inwards and burning it, and in taking the head up (to the hall), they made their acknowledgments to the bright and active influence.

41 In the bright water and the clear liquor the thing valued was their newness. All clarifying is a sort of making new. The water was called 'bright' because the principal in the service had purified it.

42 When the ruler bowed twice with his head to the ground, and, with breast bared, himself applied the knife, this expressed his extreme reverence. Yes, his extreme reverence, for there was submission in it. The bowing showed his submission; the laying the head on the ground did that emphatically; and the baring his breast was the greatest (outward) exhibition of the feeling.

43 When the sacrificer styled himself 'the filial son,' or 'the filial grandson,' he did so (in all cases) according to the meaning of the name. When he styled himself 'So and So, the distant descendant,' that style was used of (the ruler of) a state or (the Head of) a clan. (Though) there were the assistants at the service, the principal himself gave every demonstration of reverence and performed all his admirable service without yielding anything to any one.

44 The flesh of the victim might be presented raw and as a whole, or cut up in pieces, or sodden, or thoroughly cooked; but how could they know whether the spirit enjoyed it? The sacrificer simply showed his reverence to the utmost of his power.

45 When the representative of the departed had made the libation with the zhi cup, or the horn, (the sacrificer) was told (to bow to him) and put him at ease. Anciently, the representative stood when nothing was being done; when anything was being done, he sat. He personated the spirit; the officer of prayer was the medium of communication between him and the sacrificer.

46 In straining the new liquor for the cup, they used the white (mao) grass and obtained a clear cup. The liquor beginning to clear itself was further clarified by means of pure liquor. The juice obtained by boiling aromatics (with the extract of millet) was clarified by mingling with it the liquor which had begun to clear itself:-in the same way as old and strong spirits are qualified by the brilliantly pure liquor or that which has begun to clear itself.

47 Sacrifices were for the purpose of prayer, or of thanksgiving, or of deprecation.

48 The dark-coloured robes worn during vigil and purification had reference to the occupation of the thoughts with the dark and unseen. Hence after the three days of purification, the superior man was sure (to seem) to see those to whom his sacrifice was to be offered.

LI JI CHAPTER 12 Nei Ze

Pattern of the Family

1 The sovereign and king orders the chief minister to send down his (lessons of) virtue to the millions of the people.

2 Sons, in serving their parents, on the first crowing of the cock, should all wash their hands and rinse their mouths, comb their hair, draw over it the covering of silk, fix this with the hair-pin, bind the hair at the roots with the fillet, brush the dust from that which is left free, and then put on their caps, leaving the ends of the strings hanging down. They should then put on their squarely made black jackets, knee-covers, and girdles, fixing in the last their tablets. From the left and right of the girdle they should hang their articles for use: on the left side, the duster and handkerchief, the knife and whetstone, the small spike, and the metal speculum for getting fire from the sun; on the right, the archer's thimble. for the thumb and the armlet, the tube for writing instruments, the knife-case, the larger spike, and the borer for getting fire from wood. They should put on their leggings, and adjust their shoe-strings.

3 Sons' wives should serve their parents-in-law as they served their own. At the first crowing of the cock, they should wash their hands, and rinse their mouths; comb their hair, draw over it the covering of silk, fix this with the hair-pin, and tie the hair at the roots with the fillet. They should then put on the jacket, and over it the sash. On the left side they should hang the duster and handkerchief, the knife and whetstone, the small spike, and the metal speculum to get fire with; and on the right, the needle-case, thread, and floss, all bestowed in the satchel, the great spike, and the borer to get fire with from wood. They will also fasten on their necklaces, and adjust their shoe-strings.

4 Thus dressed, they should go to their parents and parents-in-law. On getting to where they are, with bated breath and gentle voice, they should ask if their clothes are (too) warm or (too) cold, whether they are ill or pained, or uncomfortable in any part; and if they be so, they should proceed reverently to stroke and scratch the place. They should in the same way, going before or following after, help and support their parents in quitting or entering (the apartment). In bringing in the basin for them to wash, the younger will carry the stand and the elder the water; they will beg to be allowed to pour out the water, and when the washing is concluded, they Will hand the towel. They will ask whether they want anything, and then respectfully bring it. All this they will do with an appearance of pleasure to make their parents feel at ease. (They should bring) gruel, thick or thin, spirits or must, soup with vegetables, beans, wheat, spinach, rice, millet, maize, and glutinous millet - whatever they wish, in fact; with dates, chestnuts, sugar and honey, to sweeten their dishes; with the ordinary or the large-leaved violets, leaves of elm-trees, fresh or dry, and the most soothing rice-water to lubricate them; and with fat and oil to enrich them. The parents will be sure to taste them, and when they have done so, the young people should withdraw.

5 Youths who have not yet been capped, and maidens who have not yet assumed the hair-pin, at the first crowing of the cock, should wash their hands, rinse their mouths, comb their hair, draw over it the covering of silk, brush the dust from that which is left free, bind it up in the shape of a horn, and put on their necklaces. They should all bang at their girdles the ornamental (bags of) perfume; and as soon as it is daybreak, they should (go to) pay their respects (to their parents) and ask what they will eat and drink. If they have eaten already, they should retire; if they have not eaten, they will (remain to) assist their elder (brothers and sisters) and see what has been prepared.

6 All charged with the care of the inner and outer parts (of the house), at the first crowing of the cock, should wash their hands and mouths, gather up their pillows and fine mats, sprinkle and sweep out the apartments, hall, and courtyard, and spread the mats, each doing his proper work.

7 The children go earlier to bed, and get up later, according to their pleasure. There is no fixed time for their meals.

8 From the time that sons receive an official appointment, they and their father occupy different parts of their residence. But at the dawn, the son will pay his respects, and express his affection by (the offer of) pleasant delicacies. At sunrise he will retire, and he and his father will attend to their different duties. At sundown, the son will pay his evening visit in the same way.

9 When the parents wish to sit (anywhere), the sons and their wives should carry their mats, and ask in what direction they shall lay them. When they wish to lie down, the eldest among them should carry the mats, and ask where they wish to place their feet, while the youngest will carry a (small) bench for them to lean on while they stretch out their legs. (At the same time) an attendant will place a stool by them. They should take up the mat on which they had been lying and the fine mat over it, bang up the coverlet, put the pillow in its case, and roll up the fine mat and put it in its cover.

10 Sons and their wives should not move the clothes, coverlets, fine mats, or undermats, pillows, and stools of their parents; they should reverently regard their staffs and shoes, but not presume to approach them; they should not presume to use their vessels for grain, liquor, and water, unless some of the contents be left in them; nor to eat or drink any of their ordinary food or drink, unless in the same case.

11 While the parents are both alive, at their regular meals, morning and evening, the (eldest) son and his wife will encourage them to eat everything, and what is left after all, they will themselves eat. When the father is dead, and the mother still alive, the eldest son should wait upon her at her meals; and the wives of the other sons will do with what is left as in the former case. The children should have the sweet, soft', and unctuous things that are left.

12 When with their parents, sons and their wives, when ordered to do anything, should immediately respond and reverently proceed to do it, In going forwards or backwards, or turning round, they should be careful and grave; while going out or coming in, while bowing or walking, they should not presume to eructate, sneeze, or cough, to yawn or stretch themselves, to stand on one foot, or to lean against anything, or to look askance. They should not dare to spit or snivel, nor, if it be cold, to put on more clothes, nor, if they itch anywhere, to scratch themselves. Unless for reverent attention to something, they should not presume to unbare their shoulders or chest. Unless it be in wading, they should not hold up their clothes. Of their private dress and coverlet, they should not display the inside.

13 They should not allow the spittle or snivel of their parents to be seen. They should ask leave to rinse away any dirt on their caps or girdles, and to wash their clothes that are dirty with lye that has been prepared for the purpose; and to stitch together, with needle and thread, any rent. Every five days they should prepare tepid water, and ask them to take a bath, and every three days prepare water for them to wash their heads. If in the meantime their faces appear dirty, they should heat the wafer in which the rice has been cleaned, and ask them to wash with it; if their feet be dirty, they should prepare hot water, and ask them to wash them with it. Elders in serving their youngers, and the low in serving the noble, should all observe these rules.

14 The men should not speak of what belongs to the inside (of the house), nor the women of what belongs to the outside. Except at sacrifices and funeral rites, they should not hand vessels to one another. In all other cases when they have occasion to give and receive anything, the woman should receive it in a basket. If she have no basket, they should both sit down, and the other put the thing on the ground, and she then take it up. Outside or inside, they should not go to the same well, nor to, the same bathing-house. They should not share the same mat in lying down; they should not ask or borrow anything from one another; they should not wear similar upper or lower garments. Things spoken inside should not go out, words spoken outside should not come in.

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15 When a man goes into the interior of the house, he should not whistle nor point. If he have occasion to move in the night, he should, use a light; and if he have no light, he should not stir. When a woman goes out at the door, she must keep her face covered. She should walk at night (only) with a light; and if she have no light, she should not stir. On the road, a man should take the right side, and a woman the left.

16 Sons and sons' wives, who are filial and reverential, when they receive an order from their parents should not refuse, nor be dilatory, to execute it. When (their parents) give them anything to eat or drink, which they do not like, they will notwithstanding taste it and wait (for their further orders); when they give them clothes, which are not to their mind, they will put them on, and wait (in the same way). If (their parents) give them anything to do, and then employ another to take their place, although they do not like the arrangement, they will in the meantime give it into his hands and let him do it, doing it again, if it be not done well.

17 When the sons and their wives are engaged with laborious tasks, although (their parents) very much love them, yet they should let them go on with them for the time;--it is better that they take other occasions frequently to give them ease. When sons and their wives have not been filial and reverential, (the parents) should not be angry and resentful with them, but endeavour to instruct them. If they will not receive instruction, they should then be angry with them. If that anger do no good, they can then drive out the son, and send the wife away, yet not publicly showing why they have so treated them.

18 If a parent have a fault, (the son) should with bated breath, and bland aspect, and gentle voice, admonish him. If the admonition do not take effect, he will be the more reverential and the more filial; and when the father seems pleased, he will repeat the admonition. If he should be displeased with this, rather than allow him to commit an offence against any one in the neighbourhood or countryside, (the son) should strongly remonstrate. If the parent be angry and (more) displeased, and beat him till the blood flows, he should not presume to be angry and resentful, but be (still) more reverential and more filial.

19 If parents have a boy born (to the father) by a handmaid, or the son or grandson of one of his concubines, of whom they are very fond, their sons should after their death, not allow their regard for him to decay so long as they live.

20 If a son have two concubines, one of whom is loved by his parents, while he himself loves the other, yet he should not dare to make this one equal to the former whom his parents love, in dress, or food, or the duties which she discharges, nor should he lessen his attentions to her after their death. If he very much approves of his wife, and his parents do not like her, he should divorce her'. If he do not approve of his wife, and his parents say, 'she serves us well,' he should behave to her in all respects as his wife, without fail even to the end of her life.

21 Although his parents be dead, when a son is inclined to do what is good, he should think that he will thereby transmit the good name of his parents, and carry his wish into effect. When he is inclined to do what is not good, he should think that he will thereby bring disgrace on the name of his parents, and in no wise carry his wish into effect.

22 When her father-in-law is dead, her mother-in-law takes the place of the old lady; but the wife of the eldest son, on all occasions of sacrificing and receiving guests. must ask her directions in everything, while the other sons' wives must ask directions from her. When her parents-in-law employ the eldest son's wife, she should not be dilatory, unfriendly, or unpolite to the wives of his brothers (for their not helping her). When the parents-in-law employ any of them, they should not presume to consider themselves on an equality with the other; walking side by side with her, or giving their orders in the same way, or sitting in the same position as she.

23 No daughter-in-law, without being told to go to her own apartment, should venture to withdraw from that (of her parents-in-law). Whatever she is about to do, she should ask leave from them. A son and his wife should have no private goods, nor animals, nor vessels; they should not presume to borrow from, or give anything to, another person. If any one give the wife an article of food or dress, a piece of cloth or silk, a handkerchief for her girdle, an iris or orchid, she should receive and offer it to her parents-in-law. If they accept it, she will be glad as if she were receiving it afresh. If they return it to her, she should decline it, and if they do not allow her to do so, she will take it as if it were a second gift, and lay it by to wait till they may want it. If she want to give it to some of her own cousins, she must ask leave to do so, and that being granted, she will give it.

24 Eldest cousins in the legitimate line of descent and their brothers should do reverent service to the son, who is the representative chief of the family and his wife. Though they may be richer and higher in official rank than he, they should not presume to enter his house with (the demonstrations of) their wealth and dignity. Although they may have in attendance many chariots and footmen, these should stop outside, and they enter it in more simple style with a few followers.

25 If to any of the younger cousins there have been given vessels, robes, furs, coverlets, carriages and horses, he must offer the best of them (to his chief), and then use those that are inferior to this himself. If what he should thus offer be not proper for the chief, he will not presume to enter with it at his gate, not daring to appear with his wealth and dignity, to be above him who is the head of all the clan with its uncles and elder cousins. A wealthy cousin should prepare two victims, and present the better of them to his chief. He and his wife should together, after self-purification, reverently assist at his sacrifice in the ancestral temple. When the business of that is over, they may venture to offer their own private sacrifice.

26 Of grain food, there were millet - the glutinous rice, rice, maize, the white millet, and the yellow maize, cut when ripe, or when green.

27 Of prepared meats, there were beef soup, mutton soup, pork soup, and roast beef; pickle, slices of beef, pickle and minced beef; roast mutton, slices of mutton, pickle, and roast pork; pickle, slices of pork, mustard sauce, and minced fish; pheasant, hare, quail, and partridge.

28 Of drinks, there was must in two vessels, one strained, the other unstrained, made of rice, of millet, or of maize. In some cases, thin preparations were used as beverages, as millet gruel, pickle, with water syrup of prunes.

29 Of steeped rice; clear wine and white.

30 Of confections, there were dried cakes, and rice-flour scones.

31 For relishes, snail-juice and a condiment of the broad-leaved water-squash were used with pheasant soup; a condiment of wheat with soups of dried slices and of fowl; broken glutinous rice with dog soup and hare soup; the rice-balls mixed with these soups had no smart-weed in them.

32 A sucking-pig was stewed, wrapped up in sonchus leaves and stuffed with smart-weed; a fowl, with the same stuffing, and along with pickle sauce; a fish, with the same stuffing and egg sauce; a tortoise, with the same stuffing and pickle sauce.

33 For meat spiced and dried they placed the brine of ants; for soup made of sliced meat, that of hare; for a ragout of elk, that of fish; for minced fish, mustard sauce; for raw elk flesh, pickle sauce; for preserved peaches and plums, egg-like suet.

34 All condiments for grain food were of a character corresponding to the spring; for soup, to the summer; for sauces, to the autumn; and for beverages, to the winter.

35 In all attempering ingredients, sour predominated in the spring; bitter, in the summer; acrid, in the autumn; and salt, in the winter - with the due proportioning of the unctuous and sweet.

36 The glutinous rice (was thought) to suit beef; millet, to suit mutton; glutinous millet, to suit pork; maize, to suit dog; wheat, to suit goose; and the broad-leaved squash, to suit fish.

37 Lamb and sucking-pig were thought to be good in spring, fried with odorous (beef) suet; dried pheasant and fish, in summer, fried with the strong-smelling suet (of dog); veal and fawn, in autumn, fried with strong suet (of fowl); fresh fish and goose,' in winter, fried with the frouzy suet (of goat).

38 There were dried beef, and dried stalks of deer's flesh, of wild pig's, of elk's, and of the muntjac's. Elk's flesh, deer's, wild pig's, and muntjac's, was (also eaten uncooked; and) cut in large leaflike slices. Pheasants and hares were (made into soup) with the duckweed. There were sparrows and finches, partridges, cicadas, bees, lichens, small chestnuts, the water-caltrops, the hovenia dulcis, the zizyphus, chestnuts, hazel-nuts, persimmons, cucumbers, peaches, plums, ballaces, almonds, haws, pears, ginger, and cinnamon.

39 If a Great officer, at his ordinary meals, had mince, he did not have, at the same time, dried slices of meat; and if he had the latter, he did not have the former. An ordinary officer did not have two kinds of soup, or sliced flesh. (But) old men of the common people, did not eat their meat alone without accompaniments.

40 Mince was made in spring, with onions; in autumn, with the mustard plant. Sucking-pig was used in spring, with scallions; in autumn, with smartweed. With lard they used onions; with fat, chives. With the three victim-animals they used pepper, and employed pickle as an accompaniment. For wild animals' flesh they used plums. In quail soup, fowl soup, and with the curlew, the condiment was smartweed. Bream and tench were steamed; pullets, roasted; and pheasants, (boiled), with fragrant herbs and no smart-weed.

41 Things not eaten were the turtle, when hatching; the intestines of the wolf, which were removed, as also the kidneys of the dog; the straight spine of the wild cat; the rump of the hare; the head of the fox; the brains of the sucking-pig; the yi-like bowels of fish; and the perforated openings of the turtle.

42 (Bones and sinews) were taken from the flesh; the scales were scraped from fish; dates were made to appear as new; chestnuts were selected; peaches were made smooth; k? and pears had the insects drilled out of them.

43 When an ox lowed at night, its flesh was (considered) to be rank; that of a sheep, whose long hair showed a tendency to, get matted, to be frouzy; that of a dog which was uneasy and with (the inside of) its thighs red, to be coarse; that of birds when moulting and with their voices hoarse, to be fetid; that of pigs, when they looked upwards and closed their eyes, to be measly; that of a horse, black along the spine and with piebald fore-legs, to smell unpleasantly. A pullet, whose tail could not be grasped by the hand, was not eaten, nor the rump of a tame goose, nor the ribs of a swan or owl, nor the rump of a tame duck, nor the liver of a I fowl, nor the kidneys of a wild goose, nor the gizzard of the wild goose without the hind-toe, nor the stomach of the deer.

44 Flesh cut small was made into mince; cut into slices it was made into hash. Some say that the flesh of elks, deer, and fish was pickled; that of muntjacs also, being cut in small pieces; that of fowls and wild pigs, in larger pieces; of hares, the stomach was pickled. Onions and scallions were mixed with the brine to soften the meat.

45 Soup and boiled grain were used by all, from the princes down to the common people, without distinction of degree.

46 Great officers did not regularly have savoury meat, but when seventy they had their cupboards. The cupboards of the son of Heaven were five on the right (of the dining hall), and five on the left; those of dukes, marquises, and earls were five, all in one room; those of Great officers three (in a side chamber), and other officers had one on their buffet.

47 In nourishing the aged, (Shun), the lord of Yu, used the ceremonies of a drinking entertainment; the sovereigns of Xia, those (at entertainments after) a reverent sacrifice or offering; the men of Yin, those of a (substantial) feast; and the men of Zhou cultivated and used all the three. Those of fifty years were entertained in the schools of the districts; those of sixty, in the school of the capital; and those of seventy, in the college. This rule extended to the feudal states. An old man of eighty made his acknowledgment for the ruler's invitation by kneeling once and bringing his head to the ground twice. The blind did the same. An old man of ninety employed another to receive (the message and gift for him). For those of fifty, the grain was (fine and) different (from that used by younger men). For those of sixty, there was meat kept in store (from the day before). For those of seventy, there was a second service of savoury meat. Those of eighty were supplied regularly with delicacies. For those of ninety, food and drink were never out of their chambers; wherever they wandered, it was deemed right that savoury meat and drink should follow them. After sixty (the coffin and other things for the funeral) were seen to be in readiness (once) a year; after seventy, once a season; after eighty, once a month; and after ninety, they were every day kept in good repair. The bandages, however, the sheet, the larger coverlets, and the cases were prepared after death. At fifty, one was supposed to begin to decay; at sixty, not to feel satisfied unless he had flesh to eat. At seventy, he was thought to require silk in order to make him feel warm; at eighty, to need some one (to sleep) with him, to keep him warm; and at ninety, not to feel warm even with that. At fifty, one kept his staff in his hand in the family; at sixty, in his district; at seventy, in the city; at eighty, (an officer) did so in the court. If the son of Heaven wished to put questions to (an officer of) ninety, he went to his house, and had rich food carried after him. At seventy, (an officer) did not wait till the court was over (before he retired). At eighty, he reported every month (to the ruler's messenger) that he was still alive; at ninety, he had (delicate food) sent to him regularly every day. At fifty, one was not employed in services requiring strength; at sixty, he was discharged from bearing arms along with others; at seventy, he was exempted from the business of receiving guests and visitors; at eighty, he was free from the abstinences and other rites of mourning. When one received at fifty the rank (of a Great officer), at sixty he did not go in person to the school. At seventy he resigned office; and then and afterwards, in mourning he used only the unhemmed dress of sackcloth (without adopting the privations of the mourning rites).

The kings of the three dynasties, in nourishing the old, always caused the members of families who were advanced in years to be brought to their notice. Where an officer was eighty, one of his friends was free from all service of government; where he was ninety, all the members of his family were exempted from them. So also it was in the case of the blind. (Shun), the lord of Yu, entertained the aged (who had retired from the service) of the state in (the school called) the higher xiang, and the aged of the common people in (the school called) the lower xiang. The sovereigns of the line of Xia entertained the former in (the school called) the xu on the east, and the latter in (that called) the xu on the west. The men of Yin entertained the former in the School of the Right, and the latter in that of the Left. The men of Zhou entertained the former in the jiao on the east, and the latter in the Yu xiang. This was in the suburb of the capital on the west. The lord of Yu wore the huan cap in sacrificing (in the ancestral temple), and the white robes in entertaining the aged. The sovereigns of Xia sacrificed in the shin cap, and entertained the aged in the dark garments of undress. Those of Yin sacrificed in the xu cap, and entertained in the garments of white thin silk. Those of Zhou sacrificed in the mian cap, and entertained the aged in the dark upper garment (and the lower white one).

48 Zeng-zi said, 'A filial son, in nourishing his aged, (seeks to) make their hearts glad, and not to go against their wishes;

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to promote their comfort in their bed-chambers and the whole house; and with leal heart to supply them with their food and drink:--such is the filial son to the end of life. By "the end of life," I mean not the end of parents' lives, but the end of his own life. Thus what his parents loved he will love, and what they reverenced he will reverence. He will do so even in regard to all their dogs and horses, and how much more in regard to the men (whom they valued)!'

49 In all their nourishment of the aged, (the object of) the five Dis was to imitate (their virtue), while the kings of the three dynasties also begged them to speak (their lessons). The five Dis taking them as models, sought to nourish their bodily vigour, and did not beg them to speak; but what good lessons they did speak were taken down by the faithful recorders. The three (lines of) kings also took them as models, and after nourishing their age begged them to speak. If they (seemed to) diminish the ceremonies (of entertainment), they all had their faithful recorders as well (to narrate their virtue).

50 For the Rich Fry, they put the pickled meat fried over rice that had been grown on a dry soil, and then enriched it with melted fat. This was called the Rich Fry. For the Similar Fry, they put the pickled meat fried over the millet grains, and enriched it with melted fat. This was called the Similar Fry.

51 For the Bake, they took a sucking-pig or a (young) ram, and having cut it open and removed the entrails, filled the belly with dates. They then wrapped it round with straw and reeds, which they plastered with clay, and baked it. When the clay was all dry, they broke it off. Having washed their hands for the manipulation, they removed the crackling and macerated it along with rice-flour, so as to form a kind of gruel which they added to the pig. They then fried the whole in such a quantity of melted fat as to cover it. Having prepared a large pan of hot water, they placed in it a small tripod, which was filled with fragrant herbs, and the slices of the creature which was being prepared. They took care that the hot water did not cover this tripod, but kept up the fire without intermission for three days and nights. After this, the whole was served up with the addition of pickled meat and vinegar.

52 For the Pounded Delicacy, they took the flesh of ox, sheep, elk, deer and muntjac, a part of that which lay along the spine, the same in quantity of each, and beat it now as it lay flat, and then turning it on its side; after that they extracted all the nerves. (Next), when it was sufficiently cooked, they brought it (from the pan), took away the outside crust, and softened the meat (by the addition of pickle and vinegar).

53 For the Steeped Delicacy, they took the beef, which was required to be that of a newly killed animal, and cut it into small pieces, taking care to obliterate all the lines in it. It was then steeped from one morning to the next in good wine, when it was eaten with pickle, vinegar, or the juice of prunes.

54 To make the Grill, they beat the beef and removed the skinny parts. They then laid it on a frame of reeds, sprinkled on it pieces of cinnamon and ginger, and added salt. It could be eaten thus when dried. Mutton was treated in the same way as beef, and also the flesh of elk, deer, and muntjac. If they wished the flesh wet, they added water and fried it with pickled meat. If they wished it dry, they ate it as eaten (at first).

55 For the (Soup) Balls, they took equal quantities of beef, mutton and pork, and cut them small. Then they took grains of rice, which they mixed with the finely cut meat, two parts of rice to one of meat, and formed cakes or balls, which they fried.

56 For the Liver and Fat, they took a dog's liver, and wrapped it round with its own fat. They then wet it and roasted it, and took it in this condition and scorched it. No smartweed was mixed with the fat. They took the grains of rice and steeped. them in prepared rice-water. They then cut small the fat from a wolfs breast, and with it and the grains of rice made a fry.

57 The observances of propriety commence with a careful attention to the relations between husband and wife. They built the mansion and its apartments, distinguishing between the exterior and interior parts. The men occupied the exterior; the women the interior. The mansion was deep, and the doors were strong, guarded by porter and eunuch. The men did not enter the interior; the women did not come out into the exterior.

58 Males and females did not use the same stand or rack for their clothes. The wife did not presume to hang up anything on the pegs or stand of her husband; nor to put anything in his boxes or satchels; nor to share his bathing-house. When her husband had gone out (from their apartment), she put his pillow in its case, rolled up his upper and under mats, put them in their covers, and laid. them away in their proper receptacles. The young served the old; the low served the noble;-also in this way.

59 As between husband and wife, it was not until they were seventy, that they deposited these things in the same place without separation. Hence though a concubine were old, until she had completed her fiftieth year, it was the rule that she should be with the husband (once) in five days. When she was to do so, she purified herself, rinsed her mouth and washed, carefully adjusted her dress, combed her hair, drew over it the covering of silk, fixed her hair-pins, tied up the hair in the shape of a horn, brushed the dust from the rest of her hair, put on her necklace, and adjusted her shoe-strings. Even a favourite concubine was required in dress and diet to come after her superior. If the wife were not with the husband, a concubine waiting on him, would not venture to remain the whole night.

60 When a wife was about to have a child, and the month of her confinement had arrived, she occupied one of the side apartments, where her husband sent twice a day to ask for her. If he were moved and came himself to ask about her, she did not presume to see him, but made her governess dress herself and reply to him. When the child was born, the husband again sent twice a day to inquire for her. He fasted now, and did not enter the door of the side apartment. If the child were a boy, a bow was placed on the left of the door; and if a girl, a handkerchief on the right of it. After three days the child began to be carried, and some archery was practised for a boy, but not for a girl.

61 When a son and heir to the ruler of a state was born, and information of the fact was carried to him, he made arrangements to receive him at a feast where the three animals should all be provided; and the cook took in hand the (necessary) preparations. On the third day the tortoise-shell was consulted for a good man to carry the child; and he who was the lucky choice, kept a vigil over night, and then in his court robes, received him in his arms outside the chamber. The master of the archers then took a bow of mulberry wood, and six arrows of the wild rubus, and shot towards heaven, earth, and the four cardinal points. After this the nurse received the child and carried it in her arms. The cook (at the same time) gave (a cup of) sweet wine to the man who had carried the child, and presented him with a bundle of silks, and the tortoise-shell was again employed to determine the wife of an officer, or the concubine of a Great officer, who should be nurse.

62 In all cases of receiving a son, a day was chosen; and if it were the eldest son of the king, the three animals were killed (for the occasion). For the son of a common man, a sucking-pig was killed; for the son of an officer, a single pig; for the son of a Great officer, the two smaller animals; and for the son of the ruler of a state, all the three. If it were not the eldest son, the provision was diminished in every case one degree.

63 A special apartment was prepared in the palace for the child, and from all the concubines and other likely individuals there was sought one distinguished for her generosity of mind, her gentle kindness, her mild integrity, her respectful bearing, her carefulness and freedom from talkativeness, who should be appointed the boy's teacher; one was next chosen who should be his indulgent mother, and a third who should be his guardian mother. These all lived in his apartment, which others did not enter unless on some (special) business.

64 At the end of the third month a day was chosen for shaving off the hair of the child, excepting certain portions - the horn-like tufts of a boy, and the circlet on the crown of a girl. If another fashion were adopted, a portion was left on the left of the boy's head, and on the right of the girl's. On that day the wife with the son appeared before the father. If they were of noble families, they were both in full dress. From the commissioned officer downwards, all rinsed their mouths and washed their heads. Husband and wife rose early, bathed and dressed as for the feast of the first day of the month. The husband entered the door, going up by the steps on the east, and stood at the top of them with his face to the west. The wife with the boy in her arms came forth from her room and stood beneath the lintel with her face to the east.

65 The governess then went forward and said for the lady, 'The mother, So and So, ventures to-day reverently to present to you the child!' The husband replied, 'Reverently (teach him to) follow the right way.' He then took hold of the right hand of his son, and named him with the smile and voice of a child. The wife responded, 'We will remember. May your words be fulfilled!' She then turned to the left, and delivered the child to his teacher, who on her part told the name all round to the wives of the relatives of all ranks who were present. The wife forthwith proceeded to the (festal) chamber.

66 The husband informed his principal officer of the name, and he in turn informed all the (young) males (of the same surname) of it. A record was made to the effect--' In such a year, in such, a month, on such a day, So and So was born,' and deposited. The officer also informed the secretaries of the hamlets, who made out two copies of it. One of these was deposited in the office of the village, and the other was presented to the secretary of the larger circuit, who showed it to the chief of the circuit; he again ordered it to be deposited in the office of the circuit. The husband meanwhile had gone into (the festal chamber), and a feast was celebrated with the ceremonies of that with which a wife first entertains her parents-in-law.

67 When an heir-son has been born, the ruler washed his head and whole bo?y, and put on his court robes. His wife did the same, and then they both took their station at the top of the stairs on the east with their faces towards the west. One of the ladies of quality, with the child in her arms ascended by the steps on the west. The ruler then named the child; and (the lady) went down with it.

68 A (second) son or any other son by the wife proper was presented in the outer chamber, when (the ruler) laid his hand on its head, and with gentle voice named it. The other observances were as before, but without any words.

69 In naming a son, the name should not be that of a day or a month or of any state, or of any hidden ailment. Sons of Great and other officers must not be called by the same name as the heir-son of the ruler.

70 When a concubine was about to have a child, and the month of her confinement had arrived, the husband sent once a day to ask for her. When the son was born:, at the end of three months, she washed her mouth and feet, adjusted herself early in the morning and appeared in the inner chamber (belonging to the wife proper). There she was received with the ceremonies of her first entrance into the harem. When the husband had eaten, a special portion of what was left was given to her by herself; and forthwith she entered on her duties of attendance.

71 When the child of an inferior member of the ruler's harem was about to be born, the mother went to one of the side apartments, and at the end of three months, having washed her head and person, and put on her court robes, she appeared before the ruler. (One of) her waiting women (also) appeared with the child in her arms. If (the mother) was one to whom the ruler had given special favours, he himself named the son. In the case of such children generally, an officer was employed to name them.

72 Among the common people who had no side chambers, when the month of confinement was come, the husband left his bed-chamber, and occupied a common apartment. In his inquiries for his wife, however, and on his son's being presented to him, there was no difference (from the observances that have been detailed).

73 In all cases though the father is alive, the grandson is presented to the grandfather, who also names him. The ceremonies are the same as when the son is presented to the father; but there is no (interchange of) words (between the mother and him).

74 The nurse of the ruler's boy quitted the palace after three years, and, when she appeared before the ruler, was rewarded for her toilsome work. The son of a Great officer had a nurse. The wife of an ordinary officer nourished her child herself.

75 The son of a commissioned officer and others above him on to the Great officer was presented (to the father once) in ten days. The eldest son of a ruler was presented to him before he had eaten, when he took him by the right hand; his second or any other son by the wife proper was presented after he had eaten, when he laid his hand on his head.

76 When the child was able to take its own food, it was taught to use the right hand. When it was able to speak, a boy (was taught to) respond boldly and clearly; a girl, submissively and low. The former was fitted with a girdle of leather; the latter, with one of silk.

77 At six years, they were taught the numbers and the names of the cardinal points; at the age of seven, boys and girls did not occupy the same mat nor eat together; at eight, when going out or coming in at a gate or door, and going to their mats to eat and drink, they were required to follow their elders:--the teaching of yielding to others was now begun; at nine, they were taught how to number the days.

78 At ten, the boy went to a master outside, and stayed with him (even) over the night. He learned the (different classes of) characters and calculation; he did not wear his jacket or trousers of silk; in his manners he followed his early lessons; morning and evening he learned the behaviour of a youth; he would ask to be exercised in (reading) the tablets, and in the forms of polite conversation.

79 At thirteen, he learned music, and to repeat the odes, and to dance the ko (of the duke of Zhou). When a full-grown lad, he danced the xiang (of king Wu). He learned archery and chariot-driving. At twenty, he was capped, and first learned the (different classes of) ceremonies, and might wear furs and silk. He danced the da xia (of Yu) and attended sedulously to filial and fraternal duties. He might become very learned, but did not teach others - (his object being still) to receive and not to give out.

80 At thirty, he had a wife, and began to attend to the business proper to a man. He extended his learning without confining it to particular subjects. He was deferential to his friends, having regard to the aims (which they displayed). At forty, he was first appointed to office; and according to the business of it brought out his plans and communicated his thoughts. If the ways (which he proposed) were suitable, he followed them out; if they were not, he abandoned them. At fifty, he was appointed a Great officer, and laboured in the administration of his department. At seventy, he retired from his duties. In all salutations of males, the upper place was given to the left hand.

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81 A girl at the age of ten ceased to go out (from the women's apartments). Her governess taught her (the arts of pleasing speech and manners, to be docile and obedient, to handle the hempen fibres, to deal with the cocoons, to weave silks and form fillets, to learn (all) woman's work, how to furnish garments, to watch the sacrifices, to supply the liquors and sauces, to fill the various stands and dishes with pickles and brine, and to assist in setting forth the appurtenances for the ceremonies.

82 At fifteen, she assumed the hair-pin; at twenty, she was married, or, if there were occasion (for the delay), at twenty-three. If there were the betrothal rites, she became a wife; and if she went without these, a concubine. In all salutations of females, the upper place was given to the right hand.

LI JI CHAPTER 13 Yu Zao

Jade-Bead Pendants of the Royal Cap

1 The son of Heaven, when sacrificing, wore (the cap) with the twelve long pendants of beads of jade hanging down from its top before and behind, and the robe embroidered with dragons. When saluting the appearance of the sun outside the eastern gate, he wore the dark-coloured square-cut robes; and (also) when listening to the notification of the first day of the month outside the southern gate. If the month were intercalary, he caused the left leaf of the door to be shut, and stood in the middle of that (which remained open). He wore the skin cap at the daily audience in the court, after which he proceeded to take the morning meal in it. At midday he partook of what was left in the morning. He had music at his meals. Every day a sheep and a pig were killed and cooked; and on the first day of the month an ox in addition. There were five beverages: water, which was the principal; rice-water, spirits, must, and millet-water. When he had done eating, he remained at ease in the dark-coloured square-cut robes. His actions were written down by the recorder of the Left, and his utterances by the recorder of the Right. The blind musician in attendance judged whether the music were too high or too low. If the year were not good and fruitful, the son of Heaven wore white and plain robes, rode in the Plain and unadorned carriage, and had no music at his meals.

2 The princes of states, in sacrificing, wore their dark-coloured square-cut robes. At court-audiences (of the king), they wore the cap of the next inferior degree of rank to their own. They wore the skin-cap, when listening to the notification of the first day of the month in the Grand temples; and their court robes when holding their daily audience in the inner court-yard. (Their ministers and officers) entered (the palace) as soon as they could distinguish the dawning light, and the ruler came out daily (to the first court, inside the Khu gate), and received them. (After this audience), he retired, and went to the great chamber, there to listen to their proposals about the measures of government. He employed men to see whether the Great officers (were all withdrawn); and when they had left, he repaired to the smaller chamber, and put off his (court) robes. He resumed his court robes, when he was about to eat. There was a single animal, with three (other) dishes of meat, the lungs forming the sacrificial offering. In the evening he wore the long robe in one piece, and offered some of the flesh of the animal. On the first day of the moon, a sheep and a pig were killed, and there were five (other) dishes of meat, and four of grain. On Zi and Mao days there were only the glutinous rice and vegetable soup. His wife used the same kitchen as the ruler.

3 Without some cause for it, a ruler did not kill an ox, nor a Great officer a sheep, nor a lower officer a pig or a dog. A superior man had his shambles and kitchen at a distance (from the) house; he did not tread wherever there was such a thing as blood or (tainted) air.

4 When the eighth month came without rain, the ruler did not have full meals nor music. If the year were not abundant, he wore linen, and stuck in his girdle the tablet of an officer. Duties were not levied at the barrier-gates and dams; the prohibitions of the hills and meres were enforced, but no contributions were required (from hunters and fishermen). No earthworks were undertaken, and Great officers did not make (any new) carriages for themselves.

5 The officer of divination by the tortoise-shell fixed the shell (to be used); the recorder applied the ink; and the ruler determined the figures (produced by the fire).

6 The cross-board in front of the ruler was covered with lambskin, edged with tiger's fur; for his sacred carriage and court-carriage a Great officer had a covering of deer skin, edged with leopard's fur; as also had an ordinary officer for his sacred carriage.

7 The regular place for a gentleman was exactly opposite the door, (facing the light). He slept with his head to the east. When there came violent wind, or rapid thunder, or a great rain, he changed (countenance). It was the rule for him then, even in the night, to get up, dress himself, put on his cap, and take his seat. He washed his hands five times a day. He used millet-water in washing his head, and maize-water in washing his face. For his hair (when wet) he used a comb of white-grained wood, and an ivory comb for it when dry. (After his toilet), there were brought to him the (usual) cup and some delicacy; and the musicians came up and sang. In bathing he used two towels; a fine one for the upper part (of his body), and a coarser for the lower part. When he got out of the tub, he stepped on a straw mat; and having next washed his feet with hot water, he stepped on the rush one. Then in his (bathing) robe of cloth, he dried his body (again), and put on his shoes; and a drink was then brought into him. When he had arranged to go to the ruler's, he passed the night in vigil and fasting, occupying an apartment outside his usual one. After he had washed his head and bathed, his secretary brought him the ivory tablet, on which were written his thoughts (which he should communicate to the ruler), and how he should respond to orders (that he might receive). When he was dressed he practised deportment and listened to the sounds of the gems (at his girdle pendant). When he went forth, he bowed to all in his own private court elegantly, and proceeded to mount his carriage (to go to the ruler's) in brilliant style.

8 The son of Heaven carried in his girdle the ting tablet, showing how exact and correct he should be in his relations with all under heaven. The feudal lords had the shu, rounded at the top and straight at the bottom, showing how they should give place to the son of Heaven. The tablet of the Great officers was rounded both at the top and the bottom; showing how they should be prepared to give place in all positions.

9 When a minister is sitting in attendance on his ruler, the rule was that he should occupy a mat somewhat behind him on one side. If he did not occupy such a mat, he had to draw the one assigned to him back and keep aloof from the ruler's kindred who were near him. One did not take his place on his mat from the front, to avoid seeming to step over it, When seated and unoccupied he did not take up the-whole of the mat by at least a cubit. If he were to read any writings or to eat, he sat forward to the edge. The dishes were put down a cubit from the mat.

10 If food were given (to a visitor), and the ruler proceeded to treat him as a guest, he would order him to present the offering, and the visitor would do so. If he took the precedence in eating, he would take a little of all the viands, drink a mouthful, and wait (for the ruler to eat). If there were one in attendance to taste the viands, he would wait till the ruler ate, and then eat himself After this eating, he would drink (a mouthful), and wait (again).

11 If the ruler ordered him to partake of the delicacies, he took of that which was nearest to him. If he were told to take of all, he took of whatever he liked. In all cases, in tasting of what was some way off, they began with what was near. (The visitor) did not dare to add the liquid to his rice till the ruler had touched the corners of his mouth with his hands and put them down. When the ruler had done eating, he also took of the rice in this fashion, repeating the process three times. When the ruler had the things removed, he took his rice and sauces, and went out and gave them to his attendants.

12 Whenever pressed (by his host) to eat, one should not eat largely; when eating at another's, one should not eat to satiety. It was only of the water and sauces that some was not put down as an offering; they were accounted too trivial for such a purpose.

13 If the ruler gave a cup (of drink) to an officer, he crossed over from his mat, bowed twice, laid his head to the ground and received it. Resuming his place, he poured a portion of it as an offering, drank it off, and waited. When the ruler had finished his cup, he then returned his empty. The rule for a superior man in drinking (with the ruler) was this:--When he received the first cup, he wore a grave look; when he received the second, he looked pleased and respectful. With this the ceremony stopped. At the third cup, he looked self-possessed and prepared to withdraw. Having withdrawn, he knelt down and took his shoes, retired out of the ruler's (sight) and put them on. Kneeling on his left knee, he put on the right shoe; kneeling on the right knee, he put on the left one.

14 At festive entertainments, of all the vases that with the dark-coloured liquor (of water) was considered the most honourable; and only the ruler sat with his face towards it. For the uncultivated people in the country districts, the vases all contained prepared liquors. Great officers had the vase on one side of them upon a tray without feet; other officers had it in a similar position on a tray with feet.

15 At the ceremony of capping, the first cap put on was one of black linen. The use of this extended from the feudal lords downwards. It might, after having been thus employed, be put away or disused. The dark-coloured cap, with red strings and tassels descending to the breast, was used at the capping of the son of Heaven. The cap of black linen, with strings and tassels of various colours, was used at the capping of a feudal prince. A dark-coloured cap with scarlet strings and tassels was worn by a feudal lord, when fasting. A dark-coloured cap with gray strings and tassels was worn by officers when similarly engaged. A cap of white silk with the border or roll of a dark colour was worn (? at his capping) by a son or grandson (when in a certain stage of mourning). A similar cap with a plain white edging, was worn after the sacrifice at the end of the year's mourning. (The same cap) with strings hanging down five inches, served to mark the idle and listless officer. A dark-coloured cap with the roll round it of white silk was worn by one excluded from the ranks of his compeers. The cap worn in private, with the roll or border attached to it, was used by all from the son of Heaven downwards. When business called them, the strings were tied and their ends allowed to hang down. At fifty, one did not accompany a funeral with his sackcloth hanging loose. When his parents were dead, (a son) did not have his hair dressed in tufts (any more). With the large white (cap) they did not use strings hanging down. The purple strings with the dark-coloured cap began with duke Huan of Lu.

16 In the morning they wore the dark-coloured square-cut dress; in the evening, the long dress in one piece. That dress at the waist was thrice the width of the sleeve; and at the bottom twice as wide as at the waist. It was gathered in at each side (of the body). The sleeve could be turned back to the elbow. The outer or under garment joined on to the sleeve and covered a cubit of it. The collar was 2 inches wide; the cuff, a cubit and 2 inches long; the border, 1.5 inch broad. To wear silk under or inside linen was contrary to rule.

17 An ordinary officer did not wear anything woven of silk that had been first dyed. One who had left the service of his ruler wore no two articles of different colours. If the upper garment were of one of the correct colours, the lower garment was of the (corresponding) intermediate one.

18 One did not enter the ruler's gate without the proper colours in his dress; nor in a single robe of grass-cloth, fine or coarse; nor with his fur robe either displayed outside, or entirely covered.

19 A garment wadded with new floss was called jian; with old, pao. One unlined was called jiong; one lined, but not wadded, die.

20 The use of thin white silk in court-robes began with Ji Kang-zi. Confucius said, 'For the audience they use the (regular) court-robes, which are put on after the announcement of the first day of the month (in the temple).' He (also) said, 'When good order does not prevail in the states and clans, (the officers) should not use the full dress (as prescribed).'

21 Only a ruler wore the chequered fur robes in addressing (his troops or the multitudes), and at the autumnal hunts, (For him) to wear the Great fur robe was contrary to ancient practice. When a ruler wore the robe of white fox-fur, he wore one of embroidered silk over it to display. When (the guards on) the right of the ruler wore tigers' fur, those on the left wore wolves' fur. An (ordinary) officer did not wear the fur of the white fox.

22 Great and other officers wore the fur of the blue fox, with sleeves of leopard's fur, and over it a jacket of dark-coloured silk to display it; which fawn's fur they used cuffs of the black wild dog, with a jacket of bluish yellow silk, to display it; with lamb's fur, ornaments of leopard's fur, and a jacket of black silk to display it; with fox-fur, a jacket of yellow silk to display it. A jacket of embroidered silk with fox-fur was worn by the feudal lords.

23 With dog's fur or sheep's fur, they did not wear any jacket of silk over it. Where there was no ornamentation, they did not use the jacket. The wearing the jacket was to show its beauty. When condoling, they kept the jacket covered, and did now show all its ornamental character; in the presence of the ruler, they showed all this. The covering of the dress was to hide its beauty. Hence, personators of the deceased covered their jackets of silk. Officers holding a piece of jade or a tortoise-shell (to present it) covered it; but if they had no (such official) business in hand, they displayed the silken garment, and did not presume to cover it.

24 For his memorandum-tablet, the son of Heaven used a piece of sonorous jade; the prince of a state, a piece of ivory; a Great officer, a piece of bamboo, ornamented with fishbone; ordinary officers might use bamboo, adorned with ivory at the bottom. When appearing before the son of Heaven, and at trials of archery, there was no such thing as being without this tablet. It was contrary to rule to enter the Grand temple without it. During the five months' mourning, it was not laid aside. When engaged in the performance of some business, and wearing the cincture, one laid it aside. When he had put it in his girdle, the bearer of it was required to wash his hands; but afterwards, though he had something to do in the court, he did not wash them (again). When one had occasion to point to or draw anything before the ruler, he used the tablet. When he went before him and received a charge, he wrote it down on it. For all these purposes the tablet was used, and therefore it was ornamental. The tablet was 2 cubits and 6 inches long. Its width at the middle was 3 inches; and it tapered away to 2.5 inches (at the ends).

25 The knee-covers of a ruler were of vermilion colour; those of a Great officer, white; and of another officer, purple - all of leather; and might be rounded, slanting, and straight. Those of the son of Heaven were straight (and pointed at all the corners); of the prince of a state, square both at bottom and top; of a Great officer, square at the bottom, with the corners at the top rounded off; and of another officer, straight both at bottom and top.

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26 The width of these covers was 2 cubits at bottom, and 1 at top. Their length was 3 cubits. On each side of (what was called) the neck were 5 inches, reaching to the shoulders or corners. From the shoulders to the leathern band were 2 inches.

27 An officer who had received his first commission wore a cover of reddish-purple, with a black supporter for his girdle-pendant. One who had received the second commission wore a scarlet cover, (also) with a black supporter for the pendant; and one who had received the third commission, a scarlet cover, with an onion-green supporter for the pendant.

28 The son of Heaven wore a girdle of plain white silk, with vermilion lining, and ornamented ends. (A ruler) wore a plain white girdle of silk, with ornamented ends; a Great officer, a similar girdle, with the ends hanging down; an ordinary officer, one of dyed silk, with the edges tucked in, and the ends hanging down; a scholar waiting to be employed, one of embroidered silk; and young lads, one of white silk.

29 The cords that formed the loops and buttons were 3 inches long, equal to the breadth of the girdle. The rule for the length of the sash (descending from the girdle) was, that, for an officer, it should be 3 cubits; for one discharging a special service, 2.5. Zi-you said, 'Divide all below the girdle into three parts, and the sash will be equal to two of them., The sash, the knee-covers, and the ties are all of equal length.'

30 The great girdle of a Great officer was 4 inches (wide). In variegated girdles, the colours for a ruler were vermilion and green; for a Great officer, cerulean and yellow; for an (ordinary) officer, a black border Of 2 inches, and this, when carried round the body a second time, appeared to be 4 inches. On all girdles which were tucked in there was no needlework.

31 The queen wore a robe with white pheasants embroidered on it; (a prince's) wife, one with green pheasants. (The wife of a count or baron) who had received a degree of honour from the ruler wore a pheasant cut out in silk on her robe; (the wife of the Great officer of a count or baron), who had received two degrees, wore a robe of fresh yellow; (the wife of a Great officer), who had received one degree, a robe of white; and the wife of an ordinary officer, a robe of black. Only the ladies of honour received their degree of appointment, when they presented their cocoons. The others all wore the dresses proper to them as the wives of their husbands.

32 All officers in attendance on the ruler let the sash hang down till their feet seemed to tread on the lower edge (of their skirt). Their chins projected like-the eaves of a house, and their hands were clasped before them low down. Their eyes were directed downwards, and their ears were higher than the eyes. They saw (the ruler) from his girdle up to his collar. They listened to him with their ears turned to the left.

33 When the ruler called (an officer) to his presence, he might send three tokens. If two of them came to him, he ran (to answer the message); if (only) one, he yet walked quickly. If in his office, he did not wait for his shoes; if he were outside elsewhere, he did not wait for his carriage.

34 When an officer received a visit from a Great officer, he did not venture to bow (when he went) to meet him; but be did so when escorting him on his departure. When he went to visit one of higher rank than himself, he first bowed (at the gate) and then went into his presence. If the other bowed to him in replying, he hurried on one side to avoid (the honour).

35 When an officer was speaking before the ruler, if he had occasion to speak of a Great officer who was dead, he called him by his posthumous epithet, or by the designation of his maturity; if of an officer (who was similarly dead), he called him by his name. When speaking with a Great officer, he mentioned officers by their name, and (other) Great officers by their designation. In speaking at a Great officer's, he avoided using the name of the (former) ruler, but not that of any of his own dead. At all sacrifices and in the ancestral temple, there was no avoiding of names. In school there was no avoiding of any character in the text.

36 Anciently, men of rank did not fail to wear their girdle-pendants with their precious stones, those on the right giving the notes Zhi and Jiao, and those on the left Gong and Yu.

37 When the king or ruler was walking quickly to the court of audience, he did so to the music of the Cai Qi; when walking more quickly (back to the reception-hall), they played the Si Xia. When turning round, he made a complete circle; when turning in another direction, he did so at a right angle. When advancing, he inclined forward a little; he held himself up straight; and in all these movements, the pieces of jade emitted their tinklings. So also the man of rank, when in his carriage, heard the harmonious sounds of its bells; and, when walking, those of his pendant jade-stones; and in this way evil and depraved thoughts found no entrance into his mind.

38 When the ruler was present, (his son and heir) did not wear the pendant of jade-stones. He tied it up on the left of his girdle, and left free the pendant (of useful things) on the right. When seated at ease, he wore the (jade) pendant; but in court, he tied it up. In fasting and vigil they wore it, but the strings were turned round, and fastened at the girdle. They wore then the purple knee-covers.

39 All wore the jade-stone pendant at the girdle, excepting during the mourning rites. (At the end of the middle string) in it was the tooth-like piece, colliding with the others. A man of rank was never without this pendant, excepting for some sufficient reason; he regarded the pieces of jade as emblematic of the virtues (which he should cultivate). The son of Heaven had his pendant composed of beads of white jade, hung on dark-coloured strings; a duke or marquis, his of jade-beads of hill-azure, on vermilion strings; a Great officer, his of beads of aqua-marine, on black strings; an heir-son, his of beads of Yu jade, on variegated strings; an ordinary officer, his of beads of jade-like quartz, on orange-coloured strings. Confucius wore at his pendant balls of ivory, five inches (round), on gray strings.

40 According to the regulations for (the dress of) a lad, his upper garment was of black linen, with an embroidered edging. His sash was embroidered, and (also) the strings for the button-loops (of his girdle). With such a string he bound up his hair. The embroidered border and strings were all red. When the ends of fastening strings reached to the girdle, if they had any toilsome business to do, they put them aside. If they were running, they thrust them in the breast. A lad did not wear furs, nor silk, nor the ornamental points on his shoes. He did not wear the three months' mourning. He did not wear the hempen band, when receiving any orders. When he had nothing to do (in mourning rites), he stood on the north of the principal mourner, with his face to the south. When going to see a teacher, he followed in the suite of others, and entered his apartment.

41 When one was sitting at a meal with another older than himself, or of a different (and higher) rank, he was the last to put down the offering, but the first to taste the food. When the guest put down the offering, the host apologised, saying that the food was not worthy of such a tribute. When the guest was enjoying the viands, the host apologised for their being scanty and poor. When the host himself put down the pickle (for the guest), the guest himself removed it. When the members of a household ate together, not being host and guests, one of them removed the dishes; and the same was done When a company had eaten together. At all festival meals, the women (of the house) did not remove the dishes.

42 When eating dates, peaches, or plums, they did not cast the stones away (on the ground). They put down the first slice of a melon as an offering, ate the other slices, and threw away the part by which they held it. When others were eating fruits with a man of rank, they ate them after him; cooked viands they ate before him. At meetings of rejoicing, if there were not some gift from the ruler, they did not congratulate one another; at meetings of sorrow, ...

43 When Confucius was eating with (the head of) the Ji family, he made no attempt to decline anything, but finished his meal with the rice and liquid added to it, without eating any of the flesh.

44 When the ruler sent (to an officer) the gift of a carriage and horses, he used them in going to give thanks for them. When the gift was of clothes, he wore them on the same occasion. (In the case of similar gifts to a commissioner from the king), until his (own) ruler had given him orders to use them, he did not dare at once to do so. When the ruler's gift reached him, he bowed his head to the ground with his two hands also, laying one of them over the other. A gift of liquor and flesh did not require the second expression of thanks (by the visit). Whenever a gift was conferred on a man of rank, nothing was given to a small man on the same day.

45 In all cases of presenting offerings to a ruler, a Great officer sent his steward with them, and an. ordinary officer went with them himself. In both cases they did obeisance twice, with their heads to the ground as they sent the things away; and again the steward and the officer did the same at the ruler's. If the offerings were of prepared food for the ruler, there were the accompaniments of ginger and other pungent vegetables, of a peach-wood and a sedge-broom. A Great officer dispensed with the broom, and the officer with the pungent vegetables. (The bearers) went in with all the articles to the cook. The Great officer did not go in person to make obeisance, lest the ruler should come to respond to him.

46 When a Great officer went (next day) to do obeisance for the ruler's gift, he retired after performing the ceremony. An officer, (doing the same), waited to receive the ruler's acknowledgment (of his visit), and then retired, bowing again as he did so; but (the ruler) did not respond to his obeisance. When a Great officer gave anything in person to an ordinary officer, the latter bowed on receiving it; and also went to his house to repeat the obeisance. He did not, however, wear the clothes (which might have been the gift), in going to make that obeisance. In interchanges between) equals, if (the recipient) were in the house (when the gift arrived), he went and made his obeisance in the house (of the donor).

47 When any one presented an offering to his superior in rank, he did not dare to say directly that it was for him. An ordinary officer did not presume to receive the congratulations of a Great officer; but a Great officer of the lowest grade did so from one of the highest. When one was exchanging courtesies with another, if his father were alive, he would appeal to his authority; if the other gave him a gift, he would say, in making obeisance for it, that he did so for his father.

48 If the ceremony were not very great, the (beauty of the) dress was not concealed. In accordance with this, when the great robe of fur was worn, it was without the appendage of one of thin silk to display it, and when (the king) rode in the grand carriage, he did not bend forward to the cross-bar (to show his reverence for any one beyond the service he was engaged on).

49 When a father's summons came to him, a son reverently obeyed it without any delay. Whatever work he had in hand, he laid aside. He ejected the meat that was in his mouth, and ran, not contenting himself with a measured, though rapid pace. When his parents were old and he had gone away, he did not go to a second place, nor delay his return beyond the time agreed on; when they were ailing, his looks and manner appeared troubled - these were less-important observances of a filial son.

50 When his father died, he could not (bear to) read his books - the touch of his hand seemed still to be on them. When his mother died, he could not (bear to) drink from the cups and bowls that she had used - the breath of her mouth seemed still to be on them.

51 When a ruler, (visiting another ruler), was about to enter the gate, the attendant dusted the low post (at the middle of the threshold). The Great officers stood midway between the side-posts and this short post (behind their respective rulers). An officer, acting as an attendant, brushed the side-posts. (A Great officer) on a mission from another court, did not enter at the middle of (either half of) the gate, nor tread on the threshold. If he were come on public business, he entered on the west of the short post; if on his own business, on the east of it.

52 A ruler and a representative of the dead brought their feet together step by step when they walked; a Great officer stepped along, one foot after the other; an ordinary officer kept the length of his foot between his steps. In walking slowly, they all observed these rules. In walking rapidly, while they wished to push on (and did so), they were not allowed to alter the motion either of hands or feet. In turning their feet inwards or outwards, they did not lift them up, and the edge of the lower garment dragged along, like the water of a stream. In walking on the mats it was the same. When walking erect, (the body was yet bent, and) the chin projected like the eaves of a house, and their advance was straight as an arrow. When walking rapidly, the body had the appearance of rising constantly with an elevation of the feet. When carrying a tortoise-shell or (a symbol of) jade, they raised their toes and trailed their heels, presenting an appearance of carefulness.

53 In walking (on the road), the carriage of the body was straight and smart; in the ancestral temple, it was reverent and grave; in the court, it was exact and easy. The carriage of a man of rank was easy, but somewhat slow; grave and reserved, when he saw any one whom he wished to honour. He did not move his feet lightly, nor his hands irreverently. His eyes looked straightforward, and his mouth was kept quiet and composed. No sound from him broke the stillness, and his head was carried upright. His breath came without panting or stoppage, and his standing gave (the beholder) an impression of virtue. His looks were grave, and he sat like a personator of the dead. When at leisure and at ease, and in conversation, he looked mild and bland.

54 At all sacrifices, the bearing and appearance (of the worshippers) made it appear as if they saw those to whom they were sacrificing. When engaged with the mourning rites, they had a wearied look, and an aspect of sorrow and unrest. Their eyes looked startled and dim, and their speech was drawling and low. The carriage of a martialist was bold and daring; his speech had a tone of decision and command; his face was stern and determined; and his eyes were clear and bright. He stood with an appearance of lowliness, but with no indication of subserviency. His head rose straight up from the centre of the neck. He stood (firm) as a mountain, and his movements were well timed. His body was well filled with the volume of his breath, which came forth powerfully like that of nature. His complexion showed (the beauty and strength of) a piece of jade.

55 When they spoke of themselves, the style of the son of Heaven was, 'I, the One man;' a chief of regions described himself as 'The strong minister of the son of Heaven;' the relation of a feudal lord expressed itself by 'So and So, the guardian of such and such a territory.' If the fief were on the borders, he used the style, 'So and So, the minister in such and such a screen.' Among his equals and those below him, he called himself 'The man of little virtue.' The ruler of a small state called himself 'The orphan.' The officer who answered for him (at a higher court) also styled him so. A Great officer of the highest grade (at his own court), called himself 'Your inferior minister;' (at another court), his attendant who answered for him, described him as 'The ancient of our poor ruler.' A Great officer of the lowest grade (at his own court), called himself by his name; (at another court), his attendant described him as 'Our unworthy Great officer.' The son and

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heir of a feudal prince (at his own court), called himself by his name; (at another court), his attendant described him as 'The rightful son of our unworthy ruler.' A ruler's son (by an inferior lady) called himself 'Your minister, the shoot from the stock.' An (ordinary) officer styled himself 'Your minister, the fleet courier;' to a Great officer, he described himself as 'The outside commoner.' When a Great officer went on a mission about private affairs, a man of his private establishment went with him as his spokesman, and called him by his name. When an officer belonging to the ruler's establishment acted (at another court for a Great officer), he spoke of him as 'Our unworthy Great officer,' or 'The ancient of our unworthy ruler.' When a Great officer went on any mission, it was the rule that he should have such an officer from the ruler's establishment with, to answer for him.

LI JI CHAPTER 14 Ming Tang Wei

Places in the Hall of Distinction

1 Formerly, when the duke of Zhou gave audience to the feudal princes in their several places in the Hall of Distinction, the son of Heaven stood with his back to the axe-embroidered screen, and his face towards the south. The three dukes were in front of the steps, in the middle, with their faces to the north, inclining to the east as the most honourable position. The places of the marquises were at the east of the eastern steps, with their faces to the west, inclining to the north as the most honourable position. The lords of the earldoms were at the west of the western steps, with their faces to the east, inclining also and for the same reason to the north. The counts were on the east of the gate, with their faces to the north, inclining to the east as the more honourable position. The barons were on the west of the gate, with their faces to the north, inclining also and for the same reason to the east. The chiefs of the nine Yi were outside the eastern door, with their faces to the west, inclining to the north as the position of honour; those of the eight Rong were outside the door on the south, with their faces to the north, inclining for the same reason to the cast; those of the six Zung were outside the door on the west, with their faces to the east, inclining for the same reason to the south; and those of the five Di were outside the door on the north, with their faces to the south, inclining for the same reason to the east. The chiefs of the nine Cai were outside the Ying gate, with their faces to the north, inclining to the east as the position of honour for them; those of the four Sai (also) came, who had only once in their time to announce their arrival (at the court). These were the places of the lords in the Hall of Distinction (when they appeared before) the duke of Zhou. The Hall of Distinction was so called, because in it the rank of the princes was clearly shown as high or low.

2 Formerly, when Zhou of Yin was throwing the whole kingdom into confusion, he made dried slices of (the flesh of) the marquis of Gui, and used them in feasting the princes. On this account the duke of Zhou assisted king Wu in attacking Zhou. When king Wu died, king Cheng being young and weak, the duke took the seat of the son of Heaven, and governed the kingdom. During six years he gave audience to all the princes in the Hall of Distinction; instituted ceremonies, made his instruments of music, gave out his (standard) weights and measures, and there was a grand submission throughout the kingdom. In the seventh year, he resigned the government to king Cheng; and he, in consideration of the duke's services to the kingdom, invested him with (the territory about) Qu-fu, seven hundred li square, and sending forth a thousand chariots of war. He (also) gave charge that (the princes of) Lu, from generation to generation, should sacrifice to the duke of Zhou with the ceremonies and music proper at a sacrifice by the son of Heaven.

3 Thus it was that the rulers of Lu, in the first month of spring, rode in a grand carriage, displaying the banner, suspended from its bow-like arm, with the twelve streamers, and having the sun and moon emblazoned on it, to sacrifice to God in the suburb of their metropolis, associating Hou Ji as his assessor in the service - according to the ceremonies used by the son of Heaven.

4 In the last month of summer, the sixth month, they used the ceremonies of the great sacrifice in sacrificing to the duke of Zhou in the great ancestral temple, employing for the victim to him a white bull. The cups were those with the figure of a victim bull, of an elephant, and of hills and clouds; that for the fragrant spirits was the one with gilt eyes on it. For libations they used the cup of jade with the handle made of a long rank-symbol. The dishes with the offerings were on stands of wood, adorned with jade and carved. The cups for the personator were of jade carved in the same way. There were also the plain cups and those of horn, adorned with round pieces of jade; and for the meat-stands, they used those with four feet and the cross-binders. (The singers) went up to the hall (or stage), and sang the Qing Miao; (in the court) below, (the pantomimes) performed the Xiang dance, to the accompaniment of the wind instruments. With their red shields and jade-adorned axes, and in their caps with pendants, they danced to the music of the Da Wu; in their skin caps, and large white skirts gathered at the waist, and jacket of silk, they danced the Da Xia. There (were also) the Mei, or music of the wild tribes of the East; and the Ren, or music of those of the South. The introduction of these two in the grand temple was to signalise the distinction of Lu all over the kingdom.

5 The ruler, in his dragon-figured robe and cap with pendants, stood at the eastern steps; and his wife, in her head-dress and embroidered robe, stood in her room. The ruler, with shoulder bared, met the victim at the gate; his wife brought in the stands for the dishes. The ministers and Great officers assisted the ruler; their wives assisted his wife. Each one discharged the duty proper to him or her. Any officer who neglected his duty was severely punished; and throughout the kingdom there was a great acknowledgment of, and submission to, (the worth of the duke of Zhou).

6 In Lu they offered also the sacrifices of summer, autumn, and winter (in the ancestral temple); with those at the altars of the land and grain in spring, and that at the autumnal hunt, going on to the great sacrifice of thanksgiving at the end of the year - all (after the pattern of) the sacrifices of the son of Heaven.

7 The grand temple of Lu corresponded to the Hall of Distinction of the son of Heaven, the Ku gate of the (marquis's palace) to the Gao (or outer) gate of the king's, and the Zhi gate to the Ying.

8 They shook the bell with the wooden clapper in the court as was done in the royal court, in announcing governmental orders.

9 The capitals of the pillars with hills carved on them, and the pond-weed carving on the small pillars above the beams; the second storey and the great beams projecting under the eaves; the polished pillars and the windows opposite to one another; the earthen stand on which the cups, after being used, were placed; the high stand on which the jade tokens were displayed aloft; and the slightly carved screen - all these were ornaments of the temple of the son of Heaven.

10 The princes of Lu had, as carriages, that of Shun, the lord of Yu, furnished with bells; that of the sovereign of Xia, with its carved front; the Great carriage (of wood), or that of Yin; and the carriage (adorned with jade), or that of Zhou.

11 They had, as flags or banners, that of Shun, the lord of Yu; the yak's tail of the sovereign of Xia; the great white flag of Yin; and the corresponding red one of Zhou.

12 They had the white horses of the sovereign of Xia, with their black manes; the white horses of Yin, with their black heads; and the bay horses of Zhou, with red manes.

13 The sovereigns of Xia preferred black victims; those of Yin, white; and those of Zhou, victims which were red and strong.

14 Of jugs for liquor, they had the earthenware jug of the lord of Yu; the jug of Xia, with clouds and hills figured on it; the ko of Yin, with no base, which rested directly on the ground; and the jugs of Zhou, with a victim-bull or an elephant on them.

15 For bowls or cups they had the zhan of Xia; the jia of Yin; and the jia of Zhou.

16 For libations they had the jug of Xia, with a cock on it; the jia of Yin; and that of Zhou, with gilt eyes on it.

17 For ladles they had that of Xia, with the handle ending in a dragon's head; that of Yin, slightly carved all over; and that of Zhou, with the handle like plaited rushes.

18 They had the earthen drum, with clods for the drumstick and the reed pipe, producing the music of Yi-zhi; the pillow-like bundles of chaff, which were struck; the sounding stone of jade; the instruments rubbed or struck, (to regulate the commencement and close of the music); the great lute and great cithern; the medium lute and little citherns: the musical instruments of the four dynasties.

19 The temple of the duke of Lu was maintained from generation to generation like that of (king) Wen (in the capital of Zhou), and the temple of duke Wu in the same way like that of (king) Wu.

20 They had the xiang school of the lord of Yu, in connexion with which were kept the stores of (sacrificial) rice; the xu school of the sovereign of Xia; the school of Yin, in which the blind were honoured; and the college of Zhou, with its semicircle of water.

21 They had the tripods of Chong and Guan; the great jade hemisphere; and the tortoise-shell of Feng-fu - all articles (properly) belonging to the son of Heaven. They (also) had the lance of Yue; and the great bow - military weapons of the son of Heaven.

22 They had the drum of Xia supported on four legs; that of Yin supported on a single pillar; the drums of Zhou, pendent from a stand; the peal of bells of Sui; the differently toned qing (sonorous stones) of Shu; and the organ of nu-wa, with its tongues.

23 They had the music-stand of Xia, with its face-board and posts, on which dragons were carved; that of Yin, with the high-toothed face-board; and that of Zhou, with its round ornaments of jade, and feathers (hung from the corners).

24 They had the two dui of the lord of Yu for holding the grain at sacrifices; the four lian of Xia; the six hu of Yin; and the eight gui of Zhou.

25 They had for stands on which to set forth the flesh of the victims, the kuan of Shun; the gui of Xia; the ju of Yin; and the room-like stand of Zhou.

26 For the tall supports of the dishes, they used those of Xia of unadorned wood; those of Yin, adorned with jade; and those of Zhou, with feathers carved on them.

27 They had the plain leather knee-covers of Shun; those of Xia, with hills represented on them; those of Yin, with flames; and those of Zhou, with dragons.

28 They used for their sacrificial offerings to the father of Cookery, like the lord of Yu, (portions of) the head; like the sovereigns of Xia, (portions of) the heart; as they did under Yin, (portions of) the liver; and as they did under Zhou, (portions of) the lungs.

29 They used the bright water preferred by Xia; the unfermented liquor preferred by Yin; and the completed liquor preferred by Zhou.

30 They used the names of the 50 officers of the lord of Yu; of the 100 of thc sovereigns of Xia; of the 200 of Yin; and of the 300 Of Zhou.

31 At their funerals they used the feathery ornaments of the lord of Yu; the wrappings of white silk (about the flag-staffs) of the sovereigns of Xia; (the flags) with their toothed edges of Yin; and the round pieces of jade and plumes Of Zhou.

32 Lu thus used the robes, vessels and officers of all the four dynasties, and so it observed the royal ceremonies. It long transmitted them everywhere. Its rulers and ministers never killed one another, Its rites, music, punishments, laws, governmental proceedings, manners and customs never changed. Throughout the kingdom it was considered the state which exhibited the right ways; and therefore dependence was placed on it in the matters of ceremonies and music.

LI JI CHAPTER 15 Sang Fu Xiao Ji

Record of Smaller Matters in the Dress of Mourning

1 When wearing the unhemmed sackcloth for a father, the son tied up his hair with a hempen (band), and also when wearing it for a mother. When he exchanged this band for the cincture (in the case of mourning for his mother), this was made of linen cloth. (A wife), when wearing the (one year's mourning) of sackcloth with the edges even, had the girdle (of the same), and the inferior hair-pin (of hazel-wood), and wore these to the end of the mourning.

2 Ordinarily men wore the cap, and women the hair-pin; in mourning men wore the cincture, and women the same after the female fashion. The idea was (simply) to maintain in this way a distinction between them.

3 The dark-coloured staff was of bamboo; that paired and fashioned at the end was of eleococca wood.

4 When the grandfather was dead, and afterwards the grandson had to go into mourning for his grandmother, he, being the representative of the family (through the death of his father), did so for three years.

5 The eldest son at the mourning rites for his father or mother, (before bowing to a visitor who had come to condole with him), first laid his forehead to the ground (as an expression of his sorrow). When a Great officer came to condole (with an ordinary officer), though it might be (only) in a case of the three months' mourning (the latter first) laid his forehead to the ground. A wife, at the rites for her husband or eldest son, bowed her head to the ground before she saluted a visitor; but in mourning for others, she did not do so.

6 The man employed to preside at the mourning rites was required to be of the same surname (as the deceased parent); the wife so employed, of a different surname.

7 The son who was his father's successor as now head of the family did not wear mourning for his mother who had been divorced.

8 In counting kindred and the mourning to be worn of them, the three closest degrees become expanded into five, and those five again into nine. The mourning diminished as the degrees ascended or descended, and the collateral branches also were correspondingly less mourned for; and the mourning for kindred thus came to an end.

9 At the great royal sacrifice to all ancestors, the first place was given to him from whom the founder of the line sprang, and that founder had the place of assessor to him. There came thus to be established four ancestral shrines. In the case of a son by another than the queen coming to be king, the same course was observed.

10 When a son other than the eldest became the ancestor of a branch of the same line, his successor was its Honoured Head, and he who followed him (in the line) was its smaller Honoured Head. After five generations there was a change again of the Honoured Head; but all in continuation of the High Ancestor. Hence the removal of the ancestor took place high up (in the line), and the change of the Honoured Head low down (in it). Because they honoured the ancestor, they reverenced the Honoured Head; their reverencing the Honoured Head was the way in which they expressed the honour which they paid to the ancestor and his immediate successor.

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11 That any other son but the eldest did not sacrifice to his grandfather showed that (only he was in the direct line from) the Honoured Head (of their branch of the family). So, no son but he wore the (three years) unhemmed sackcloth for his eldest son, because the eldest son of no other continued (the direct line) of the grandfather and father. None of the other sons sacrificed to a son (of his own) who had died prematurely, or one who had left no posterity. (The tablet of) such an one was placed along with that of his grandfather, and shared in the offerings made to him. Nor could any of them sacrifice to their father; showing that (the eldest son was the representative of) the Honoured Head.

12 In the distinctions of the mourning for the kindred who are the nearest, the honoured ones to whom honour is paid, the elders who are venerated for their age, and as the different tributes to males and females; there are seen the greatest manifestations of the course which is right for men.

13 Where mourning would be worn from one's relation with another for parties simply on the ground of that affinity, when that other was dead, the mourning ceased. Where it would have been worn for them on the ground of consanguinity, even though that other were dead, it was still worn. When a concubine had followed a ruler's wife to the harem, and the wife came to be divorced, the concubine, (following her out of the harem), did not wear mourning for her son.

14 According to the rules, no one but the king offered the united sacrifice to all ancestors.

15 The heir-son of the king or a feudal lord did not diminish the mourning for the parents of his wife. For his wife he wore the mourning which the eldest and rightful son of a Great officer did for his.

16 When the father was an officer, and the son came to be king or a feudal prince, the father was sacrificed to with the rites of a king or a lord; but the personator wore the dress of an officer. When the father had been the son of Heaven, or a feudal lord, and the son was (only) an officer, the father was sacrificed to with the rites of an officer, but his personator wore only the dress of an officer.

17 If a wife were divorced while wearing the mourning for her father or mother-in-law, she put it off. If the thing took place while she was wearing the mourning for her own parents, and before she had completed the first year's mourning, she continued to wear it for the three years; but if that term had been completed, she did not resume the mourning. If she were called back before the completion of the year, she wore it to the end of that term; but if that term had been completed before she was called back, she went on wearing it to the regular term of mourning for parents.

18 The mourning which lasted for two complete years was held to be for three years; and that which lasted for one complete year for two years. The mourning for nine months and that for seven months was held to be for three seasons; that for five months for two; and that for three months for one. Hence the sacrifice at the end of the completed year was according to the prescribed rule; but the putting off the mourning (or a part of it) then was the course (prompted by natural feeling). The sacrifice was not on account of the putting off of the mourning.

19 When the interment for some reason did not take place till after the three years, it was the rule that the two sacrifices (proper at the end of the first and second years) should then be offered. Between them, but not all at the same time, the mourning was put off.

20 If a relative who had himself to wear only the nine months' mourning for the deceased took the direction of the mourning rites in the case of any who must continue their mourning for three years, it was the rule that he should offer for them the two annual terminal sacrifices. If one who was merely a friend took that direction, he only offered the sacrifice of Repose, and that at the placing of the tablet in the shrine.

21 When the concubine of an officer had a son, he wore the three months' mourning for her. If she had no son, he did not do so.

22 When one had been born in another state, and had had no intercourse with his grand-uncles and aunts, uncles and cousins, and his father, on hearing of the death of any of them, proceeded to wear mourning, he did not do so. If one did not (through being abroad) hear of the death of his ruler's father or mother, wife or eldest son, till the ruler had put off his mourning, he did not proceed to wear any. If it were a case, however, where the mourning was reduced to that of three months, he wore it.

23 Small servants in attendance on the ruler, who had followed him abroad, when he assumed mourning (on his return, for relatives who had died when he was away), also put it on. Other and (higher officers in his train) also did so; but if the proper term for the mourning in the case were past, they did not do so. (Those who had remained at home), though the ruler could not know of their doing so, had worn the (regular) mourning.

24 The presiding mourner, after the sacrifice of Repose, did not carry his staff in proceeding to his apartment; after the placing of the tablet of the deceased (in the shrine of the grandfather), he did not carry it in going up to the hall.

25 The son of another lady of the harem, who had been adopted as the child of the (childless) wife of the ruler, when that wife died, did not go into mourning for her kindred.

26 The sash was shorter than the headband, by one-fifth of the length of the latter. The staff was of the same length as the sash.

27 For the ruler's eldest son a concubine wore mourning for the same time as his wife, (the son's mother).

28 In putting off the mourning attire, they commenced with what was considered most important. In changing it, they commenced with what was considered least important.

29 When there was not the regular occasion for it, they did not open the door of the temple. All wailed in the (mourning) shed (at other times).

30 In calling the dead back, and writing the inscription to be exhibited over the coffin, the language was the same for all, from the son of Heaven to the ordinary officer. A man was called by his name. For a wife they wrote her surname, and her place among her sisters. If they did not know her surname, they wrote the branch-name of her family.

31 The girdle of dolychos cloth assumed with the unhemmed sackcloth at the end of the wailing, and the hempen girdle worn when one (first) put on the hemmed sackcloth (of one year's mourning), were of the same size. The girdle of dolychos cloth assumed (as a change) in the hemmed sackcloth mourning, and that of hempen cloth at the (beginning of the) nine months' mourning, were of the same size. When the occasion for assuming the girdle of the lighter mourning occurred, a man wore both it and the other together.

32 An early interment was followed by an early sacrifice of repose. But they did not end their wailing till the three months were completed.

33 When the mourning rites for both parents occurred at the same time, the sacrifices of repose and of the enshrining of the tablet, for the (mother) who was buried first, did not take place till after the burial of the father. The sackcloth worn at her interment was the unhemmed and jagged.

34 A Great officer reduced the period of mourning for a son by a concubine; but his grandson, the son of that son, did not reduce his mourning for his father. A Great officer did not preside at the mourning rites for an (ordinary) officer.

35 For the parents of his nurse a man did not wear mourning.

36 When the husband had become the successor and representative of some other man than his own father, his wife wore the nine months' mourning for his parents-in-law.

37 When the tablet of an ordinary officer was placed in the shrine of his grandfather who had been a Great officer, the victim due to him (as an officer) was changed (for that due to a Great officer).

38 A son who had not lived with his step-father did not wear mourning for him. They must have lived together and both be without sons to preside at their mourning rites; and (the stepfather moreover) must have shared his resources with the son, and enabled him to sacrifice to his grandfather and father, (in order to his wearing mourning for him);--under these conditions they were said to live together. If they had sons to preside at the mourning rites for them, they lived apart.

39 When people wailed for a friend, they did so outside the door of the principal apartment, on the left of it, with their faces towards the south.

40 When one was buried in a grave already occupied, there was no divination about the site in the second case.

41 The tablet of an ordinary officer or of a Great officer could not be placed in the shrine of a grandfather who had been the lord of a state; it was placed in that of a brother of the grandfather who had been an (ordinary) officer or a Great officer, The tablet of his wife was placed by the tablet of that brother's wife, and that of his concubine by the tablet of that brother's concubine. If there had been no such concubine, it was placed by the tablet of that brother's grandfather; for in all such places respect was had to the rules concerning the relative positions assigned to the tablets of father and son. The tablet of a feudal lord could not be placed in the shrine of the son of Heaven (from whom he was born or descended); but that of the son of Heaven, of a feudal lord, or of a Great officer, could be placed in the shrine of an (ordinary) officer (from whom he was descended).

42 For his mother's mother, who had been the wife proper of her father, if his mother were dead, a son did not wear mourning.

43 The son who was the lineal Head of his new branch of the surname, even though his mother were alive, (his father being dead), completed the full period of mourning for his wife.

44 A concubine's son who had been reared by another, might act as son to that other; and she might be any concubine of his father or of his grandfather.

45 The mourning went on to the than ceremony for a parent, a wife, and the eldest son.

46 To a nursing mother, or any concubine who was a mother, sacrifice was not maintained for a second generation.

47 When a grown-up youth had been capped, and died, though his death could not be considered premature; and a (young) wife, after having worn the hair-pin, (died), though neither could her death be said to be premature; yet, (if they died childless), those who would have presided at their rites, if they had died prematurely, wore the mourning for them which they would then have done.

48 If an interment were delayed by circumstances for a long time, he who was presiding over the mourning rites was the only one who did not put off his mourning. The others having worn the hempen (band) for the number of months (proper in their relation to the deceased), put off their mourning, and made an end of it.

49 The hair-pin of the arrow-bamboo was worn by an unmarried daughter for her father to the end of the three years' mourning.

50 That in which those who wore the sackcloth with even edges for three months, and those who wore (it) for all the nine months' mourning agreed, was the shoes made of strings (of hemp).

51 When the time was come for the sacrifice at the end of the first year's mourning, they consulted the divining stalks about the day for it, and the individual who was to act as personator of the deceased. They looked that everything was clean, and that all wore the proper girdle, carried their staffs, and had on the shoes of hempen-string. When the officers charged with this announced that all was ready, (the son) laid aside his staff, and assisted at the divinations for the day and for the personator. The officers having announced that these were over, he resumed his staff, bowed to the guests (who had arrived in the meantime), and escorted them away. At the sacrifice for the end of the second year, (the son) wore his auspicious (court) robes, and divined about the personator.

52 The son of a concubine, living in the same house with his father, did not observe the sacrifice at the end of the mourning for his mother. Nor did such a son carry his staff in proceeding to his place for wailing. As the father did not preside at the mourning rites for the son of a concubine, that son's son might carry his staff in going to his place for wailing. Even while the father was present, the son of a concubine, in mourning for his wife, might carry his staff in going to that place.

53 When a feudal prince went to condole on the death of a minister of another state, (being himself there on a visit), the ruler of that state received him and acted as the presiding mourner.

54 The rule was that he should wear the skin cap and the starched sackcloth. Though the deceased on account of whom he paid his condolences had been interred, the presiding mourner wore the mourning cincture. If he had not yet assumed the full mourning dress, the visitor also did not wear that starched sackcloth.

55 One who was ministering to another who was ill did not do so in the mourning clothes (which he might be wearing); and (if the patient died), he might go on to preside at the mourning rites for him. But if another relative, who had not ministered to the deceased in his illness, came in to preside at the rites for him, he did not change the mourning which he might be wearing. In ministering to one more honourable than himself, the rule required a person to change the mourning he might be wearing, but not if the other were of lower position.

56 If there had been no concubine of her husband's grandmother by whose tablet that of a deceased concubine might be placed, it might be placed by that of the grandmother, the victim offered on the occasion being changed.

57 In the mourning rites for a wife, at the sacrifices of repose and on the ending of the wailing, her husband or son presided; when her tablet was put in its place, her father-in-law presided.

58 An ordinary officer did not take the place of presiding at the mourning rites for a Great officer. It was only when he was the direct descendant of the Honoured Head of their branch of the surname that he could do so.

59 If a cousin arrived from another state to take part in the rites, before the presiding mourner had put off his mourning, the latter received him in the part of host, but without the mourning cincture.

60 The course pursued in displaying the articles, vessels to the eye of fancy, to be put into the grave, was this - If they were (too) many as displayed, a portion of them might be put into the grave; if they were comparatively few as displayed, they might all be put into it.

61 Parties hurrying to the mourning rites for a brother or cousin (whose burial had taken place) first went to the grave and afterwards to the house, selecting places at which to perform their wailing. If the deceased had (only) been an acquaintance, they (first) wailed in the apartment (where the coffin had been), and afterwards went to the grave.

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62 A father at the mourning rites for any of his other sons did not pass the night in the shed outside (the middle door, as for his eldest son by his wife).

63 The brothers and cousins of a feudal prince wore the unhemmed sackcloth (in mourning for him).

64 In the five months' mourning for one who had died in the lowest stage of immaturity, the sash was of bleached hemp from which the roots were not cut away. These were turned back and tucked in.

65 When the tablet of a wife was to be placed by that of her husband's grandmother, if there were three (who could be so denominated), it was placed by that of her who' was the mother of her husband's father.

66 In the case of a wife dying while her husband was a Great officer, and his ceasing, after her death, to be of that rank; if his tablet were placed (on his death) by that of his wife, the victim on the occasion was not changed (from that due to an ordinary officer). But if her husband (who had been an officer) became a Great officer after her death, then the victim at the placing of his tablet by hers was that due to a Great officer.

67 A son who was or would be his fathers successor did not wear mourning for his divorced mother. He did not wear such mourning, because one engaged in mourning rites could not offer sacrifice.

68 When a wife did not preside at the mourning rites and yet carried the staff, it was when her mother-in-law was alive, and she did so for her husband. A mother carried the eleococca staff with its end cut square for the oldest son. A daughter, who was still in her apartment unmarried, carried a staff for her father or mother. If the relative superintending the rites did not carry the staff, then this one child did so.

69 In the mourning for three months and five months, at the sacrifice of repose and the ending of the wailing, they wore the mourning cincture. After the interment, if they did not immediately go to perform the sacrifice of repose, they all, even the presiding mourner, wore their caps; but when they came to the sacrifice of repose, they all assumed the cincture. When they had put off the mourning for a relative, on the arrival of his interment, they resumed it; and when they came to the sacrifice of repose and the ending of the wailing, they put on the cincture. If they did not immediately perform the sacrifice, they put it off. When they had been burying at a distance, and were returning to wail, they put on their caps. On arriving at the suburbs, they put on the cincture, and came back to wail.

70 If the ruler came to condole with mourners, though it might not be the time for wearing the cincture, even the president of the rites assumed it, and did not allow the ends of his hempen girdle to hang loose. Even in the case of a visit from the ruler of another state, they assumed the cincture. The relatives all did so.

71 When they put off the mourning for one who had died prematurely, the rule was that at the (accompanying sacrifice, the dress should be dark-coloured. When they put off the mourning for one fully grown, they wore their court robes, with the cap of white, plain, silk.

72 A son, who had hurried to the mourning rites of his father (from a distance), bound up his hair in the raised hall, bared his chest, descended to the court, and there performed his leaping. (The leaping over, he reascended), covered his chest, and put on his sash in an apartment on the east. If the rites were for his mother, he did not bind up his hair. He bared his chest, however, in the hall, descended to the court, and went through his leaping. (Reascending then), he covered his chest, and put on the cincture in the apartment on the east. In the girdle (or the cincture), he proceeded to the appointed place, and completed the leaping. He then went out from the door (of the coffin-room), and went to (the mourning shed). The wailing commencing at death had by this time ceased. In three days he wailed five times, and thrice bared his chest for the leaping.

73 When an eldest son and his wife could not take the place hereafter of his parents, then, (in the event of her death), her mother-in-law wore for her (only) the five months' mourning.

LI JI CHAPTER 16 Da Zhuan

Great Treatise

1 According to the rules, only the king offered the united sacrifice to all ancestors. The chief place was then given to him from whom the founder of the line sprang, and that founder had the place of assessor to him. The sacrifices of the princes of states reached to their highest ancestor. Great officers and other officers, who had performed great services, when these were examined (and approved) by the ruler, were able to carry their sacrifices up to their high ancestor.

2 The field of Mu-ye was the great achievement of king Wu. When he withdrew after the victory, he reared a burning pile to God; prayed at the altar of the earth; and set forth his offerings in the house of Mu. He then led all the princes of the kingdom, bearing his offerings in their various stands, and hurrying about, and carried the title of king back to Tai who was Dan-fu, Ji-li, and king Wen who was Chang - he would not approach his honourable ancestors with their former humbler titles.

3 Thus he regulated the services to be rendered to his father and grandfather before him - giving honour to the most honourable. He regulated the places to be given to his sons and grandsons below him - showing his affection to his kindred. He regulated (also) the observances for the collateral branches of his cousins;-associating all their members in the feasting. He defined their places according to their order of descent; and his every distinction was in harmony with what was proper and right. In this way the procedure of human duty was made complete.

4 When a sage sovereign stood with his face to the south, and all the affairs of the kingdom came before him, there were five things which for the time claimed his first care, and the people were not reckoned among them. The first was the regulating what was due to his kindred (as above) the second, the reward of merit; the third, the promotion of worth; the fourth, the employment of ability; and the fifth, the maintenance of a loving vigilance. When these five things were all fully realised, the people had all their necessities satisfied, all that they wanted supplied. If one of them were defective, the people could not complete their lives in comfort. It was necessary for a sage on the throne of government to begin with the (above) procedure of human duty.

5 The appointment of the measures of weight, length, and capacity; the fixing the elegancies (of ceremony); the changing the commencement of the year and month; alterations in the colour of dress; differences of flags and their blazonry; changes in vessels and weapons, and distinctions in dress: these were things, changes in which could be enjoined on the people. But no changes could be enjoined upon them in what concerned affection for kin, the honour paid to the honourable, the respect due to the aged, and the different positions and functions of male and female.

6 Members of the same surname were united together in the various ramifications of their kinship, under the Heads of their different branches. Those of a different surname had their mutual relations regulated principally by the names assigned to them. Those names being clearly set forth, the different positions of males and females were determined. When the husband belonged to the class of fathers [or uncles], the wife was placed in that of mothers [or aunts]; when he belonged to the class of sons [or cousins], the wife was placed in that of (junior) wives. Since the wife of a younger brother was (thus) styled (junior) wife, could the wife of his elder brother be at the same time styled mother [or aunt]? The name or appellation is of the greatest importance in the regulation of the family - was not anxious care required in the declaration of it?

7 For parties four generations removed from the same common ancestor the mourning was reduced to that worn for three months, and this was the limit of wearing the hempen cloth. If the generations were five, the shoulders were bared and the cincture assumed; and in this way the mourning within the circle of the same was gradually reduced. After the sixth generation the bond of kinship was held to be at an end. As the branch-surnames which arose separated the members of them from their relatives of a former time, and the kinship disappeared as time went on, (so far as wearing mourning was concerned), could marriage be contracted between parties (so wide apart)? But there was that original surname tying all the members together without distinction, and the maintenance of the connexion by means of the common feast - while there were these conditions, there could be no intermarriage, even after a hundred generations. Such was the rule of Zhou.

8 The considerations which regulated the mourning worn were six - first., the nearness of the kinship; second, the honour due to the honourable; third, the names (as expressing the position in the relative circle); fourth, the cases of women still unmarried in the paternal home, and of those who had married and left it; fifth, age; and sixth, affinity, and external relationship.

9 Of the considerations of affinity and external relationship there were six cases - those arising from inter-relationship; those in which there was no inter-relationship; those where mourning should be worn, and yet was not, those where it should not be worn, and yet was; those where it should be deep, and yet was light; and those where it should be light, and yet was deep.

10 Where the starting-point was affection, it began from the father. Going up from him by degrees it reached to the (high) ancestor, and was said to diminish. Where the starting-point was the consideration of what is right, it began with the ancestor. Coming down by natural degrees from him, it reached to the father, and was said to increase. In the diminution and the increase, the considerations of affection and right acted thus.

11 It was the way for the ruler to assemble and feast all the members of his kindred. None of them could, because of their mutual kinship, claim a nearer kinship with him than what was expressed by the places (assigned to them).

12 Any son but the eldest, (though all sons of the wife proper), did not sacrifice to his grandfather,--to show there was the Honoured Head (who should do so). Nor could he wear mourning for his eldest son for three years, because he was not the continuator of his grandfather.

13 When any other son but the eldest became an ancestor of a line, he who succeeded him became the Honoured Head (of the branch); and his successor again became the smaller Head.

14 There was the great Honoured Head whose tablet was not removed for a hundred generations. There were the (smaller) Honoured Heads whose tablets were removed after five generations. He whose tablet was not removed for a hundred generations was the successor and representative of the other than the eldest son (who became an ancestor of a line); and he was so honoured (by the members of his line) because he continued the (High) ancestor from whom (both) he and they sprang; this was why his tablet was not removed for a hundred generations. He who honoured the continuator of the High ancestor was he whose tablet was removed after five generations. They honoured the Ancestor, and therefore they reverenced the Head. The reverence showed the significance of that honour.

15 There might be cases in which there was a smaller Honoured Head, and no Greater Head (of a branch family); cases in which there was a Greater Honoured Head, and no smaller Head; and cases in which there was an Honoured Head, with none to honour him. All these might exist in the instance of the son of the ruler of a state. The course to be adopted for the headship of such a son was this; that the ruler,. himself the proper representative of former rulers, should for all his half-brothers who were officers and Great officers appoint a full brother, also an officer or a Great officer, to be the Honoured Head. Such was the regular course.

16 When the kinship was no longer counted, there was no further wearing of mourning. The kinship was the bond of connexion (expressed in the degree of mourning).

17 Where the starting-point was in affection, it began with the father, and ascended by steps to the ancestor. Where it was in a consideration of what was right, it began with the ancestor, and descended in natural order to the deceased father. Thus the course of humanity (in this matter of mourning) was all comprehended in the love for kindred.

18 From the affection for parents came the honouring of ancestors; from the honouring of the ancestor came the respect and attention shown to the Heads (of the family branches). By that respect and attention to those Heads all the members of the kindred were kept together. Through their being kept together came the dignity of the ancestral temple. From that dignity arose the importance attached to the altars of the land and grain. From that importance there ensued the love of all the (people with their) hundred surnames. From that love came the right administration of punishments and penalties. Through that administration the people had the feeling of repose. Through that restfulness all resources for expenditure became, sufficient. Through the sufficiency of these, what all desired was realised. The realisation led to all courteous usages and good customs; and from these, in fine, came all happiness and enjoyment - affording an illustration of what is said in the ode - 'Glory and honour follow Wen's great name, And ne'er will men be weary of his fame.'

LI JI CHAPTER 17 Shao Yi

Smaller Rules of Demeanour

1 I have heard (the following things): When one wished to see for the first time another of character and position, his language was, 'so and so, earnestly wish my name to be reported to the officer of communication.' He could not go up the steps directly to the host. If the visitor were of equal rank with the host, he said, 'I, so and so, earnestly wish to see him.' If he were an infrequent visitor, he asked his name to be reported. If he were a frequent visitor, he added, 'this morning or evening.' If he were blind, he asked his name to be reported. If it were on an occasion of mourning, the visitor said he had come as a servant and helper; if he were a youth, that he had come to perform whatever might be required of him. If the visit were at the mourning rites for a ruler or high minister, the language was, 'I am come to be employed by the chief minister of the household.'

2 When a ruler was about to go out of his own state, if a minister were presenting to him money or pieces of jade, or any other article, the language was, 'I present this to the officer for the expenses of his horses.' To an equal in a similar case it was said, 'This is presented for the use of your followers.' When a minister contributed a shroud to his ruler, he said, 'I send this laid-aside garment to the valuers.' An equal, sending such a gift to another equal, simply said, 'a shroud.' Relatives, such as brothers, did not go in with the shrouds which they presented. When a minister was contributing articles or their value to his ruler who had mourning rites on hand for the previous ruler, he said, 'I present these products of my fields to the officers.'

3 A carriage and horses presented for a funeral, entered the gate of the ancestral temple. Contributions of money and horses with the accompanying presents of silk, the white flag (of a mourning carriage) and war chariots, did not enter the gate of the temple. When the hearer of the contribution had delivered his message, he knelt down and left the things on the

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ground. The officer of communication took them up. The presiding mourner did not himself receive them.

4 When the receiver stood, the giver stood; neither knelt. Parties of a straightforward character might, perhaps, do so. When (the guest was) first entering, and it was proper to give the precedence to him, the officer of communication said (to the host), 'Give precedence.' When they proceeded to their mats, he said to them, 'Yes; be seated.' When the leaves of the door were opened, only one man could take off his shoes inside the door. If there were already an honourable and elderly visitor, parties coming later could not do so.

5 When asking about the various dishes of a feast, they said, 'Have you enjoyed such and such a dish?' When asking one another about their (various) courses and accomplishments they said, 'Have you practised such and such a course? Are you skilful at such and such an accomplishment?' (A man sought to) give no occasion for doubt about himself, nor to pass his judgement on the articles of others. He did not desire the (possessions of) great families, nor speak injuriously of the things which they valued.

6 Sweeping in general was called sao. Sweeping up in front of a mat was called fan. In sweeping a mat they did not use a common broom. The sweeper held the dust-pan with its tongue towards himself.

7 There was no divining twice about the same thing with a double mind. In asking about what had been referred to the tortoise-shell or the stalks, two things were to be considered, whether the thing asked, about were right, and what was the diviner's own mind. On the matter of right he might be questioned, but not on what was in his own mind.

8 When others more honourable and older than one's self took precedence of him, he did not presume to ask their age. When they came to feast with him, he did not send to them any (formal) message. When he met them on the road, if they saw him, he went up to them, but did not ask to know where they were going. At funeral rites for them, he waited to observe the movements (of the presiding mourner), and did not offer his special condolences. When seated by them, he did not, unless ordered to do so, produce his lutes. He did not draw lines on the ground; that would have been an improper use of his hand. He did not use a fan. If they were asleep, and he had any message to communicate to them, he knelt in doing so.

9 At the game of archery, the inferior carried his four arrows in his hand. At that of throwing darts, he carried the four together in his breast. If he conquered, he washed the cup and gave it to the other, asking him to drink. If he were defeated, the elder went through the same process with him. They did not use the (large) horn; they did not remove the (figure of a) horse (for marking the numbers).

10 When holding the reins of the ruler's horses, the driver knelt. He wore his sword on his right side with his back to the best strap for the ruler. When handing this to him, he faced him and then drew the strap towards the cross-bar. He used the second or inferior strap to help himself in mounting. He then took the reins in hand, and began to move on.

11 One asked permission to appear at court, but not to withdraw. One was said to withdraw from court; to return home from a feast or a ramble; to close the toils of a campaign.

12 When sitting by a person of rank, if he began to yawn and stretch himself, to turn round his tablet, to play with the head of his sword, to move his shoes about, or to ask about the time of day, one might ask leave to retire.

13 For one who wished to serve his ruler, the rule was first to measure his abilities and duties, and then enter on the responsibilities; he did not enter on these, and then measure those. There was the same rule for all who begged or borrowed from others, or sought to engage in their service. In this way superiors had no ground for offence, and inferiors; avoided all risk of guilt. They did not spy into privacies nor form intimacies on matters aside from their proper business. They did not speak of old affairs, nor wear an appearance of being in sport.

14 One in the position of a minister and inferior might remonstrate (with his ruler), but not speak ill of him; might withdraw (from the state), but not (remain and) hate (its Head); might praise him, but not flatter; might remonstrate, but not give himself haughty airs (when his advice was followed). (If the ruler were) idle and indifferent, he might arouse and assist him; if (the government) were going to wreck, he might sweep it away, and institute a new one. Such a minister would be pronounced as doing service for the altars (of the state).

15 Do not commence or abandon anything hastily. Do not take liberties with or weary spiritual Beings. Do not try to defend or cover over what was wrong in the past, or to, fathom what has not yet arrived. A scholar should constantly pursue what is virtuous, and amuse himself with the accomplishments. A workman should follow the rules (of his art), and amuse himself with the discussion (of their application). One should not think about the clothes and elegant articles (of others), nor try to make good in himself what is doubtful in words (which he has heard). The style prized in conversation required that it should be grave and distinct. The demeanour prized in the court required that it should be well regulated and urbane; that at sacrifices was to be grave, with an appearance of anxiety. The horses of the chariot were to be well-paced and matched. The beauty of their bells was that they intimated dignity and harmony.

16 To a question about the age of a ruler's son, if he were grown up, it was said, 'He is able to attend to the business of the altars.' If he were still young, it was said, 'He is able to drive' or 'He is not yet able to drive.' To the same question about a Great officer's son, if he were grown up, it was said, 'He is able to take his part in music;' if still young, it was said, 'He is able to take lessons from the music-master,' or 'He is not yet able to do so.' To the same question about the son of an ordinary officer, if he were grown up, it was said, 'He is able to guide the plough;' if he were still young, it was said, 'He is able to carry firewood,' or 'He is not yet able to do so.'

17 When carrying a symbol of jade, a tortoiseshell, or the divining stalks, one did not walk hastily. Nor did he do so in the raised hall, or on a city wall. In a war chariot he did not bow forward to the cross-bar. A man in his mail did not try to bow.

18 A wife, on festive occasions, even though it were on receiving a gift from the ruler, (only) made a curtsy. When seated as a personatrix (of the deceased grandmother of her husband), she did not bow with her head to her hands, but made the curtsy. When presiding at the mourning rites, she did not bow with her head to her hands lowered to the ground. (After the sacrifice of repose), her head-band was of dolychos cloth, and her girdle of hempen.

19 When taking meat from a stand or putting meat on it, they did not kneel. An empty vessel was carried (with the same care) as a full one, and an empty apartment entered (with the same reverence) as if there were people in it. At all sacrifices, whether in the apartment or in the hall, they did not have their feet bare. At a feast they might. Till they had offered a portion in the temple, they did not eat of a new crop.

20 In the case of a charioteer and the gentleman whom he was driving, when the latter mounted or descended, the other handed him the strap. When the driver first mounted, he bowed towards the cross-bar. When the gentleman descended to walk, (he also descended), but (immediately) returned to the carriage and stood. The riders in an attendant carriage (to court or temple), bowed forward to the bar, but not if it were to battle or hunt. Of such attendant carriages, the ruler of a state had seven; a Great officer of the highest grade, five; and one of the lowest grade, three. People did not speak of the age of the horses or of the carriages of those who possessed such attendant carriages; nor did they put a value on the dress, or sword, or horses of a gentleman whom they saw before them.

21 In giving to an inferior or offering to a superior, four pots of spirits, a bundle of dried meat, and a dog, (the messenger) put down the liquor, and carried (only) the dried meat in his hand, when discharging his commission, but he also said that he was the bearer of four pots of spirits, a bundle of dried meat, and a dog. In presenting a tripod of flesh, he carried (one piece) in his hand. In presenting birds, if there were more than a couple, he carried a couple in his hand, leaving the others outside. The dog was held by a rope. A watch dog or a hunting dog was given to the officer who was the medium of communication; and on receiving it, he asked its name. An ox was held by the tether, and a horse by the bridle. They were both kept on the right of him who led them; but a prisoner or captive, who was being presented, was kept on the left.

22 In presenting a carriage, the strap was taken off and carried in the hand of the messenger. In presenting a coat of mail, if there were other things to be carried before it, the messenger bore them. If there were no such things, he took off its covering, and bore the helmet in his hands. In the case of a vessel, he carried its cover. In the case of a bow, with his left hand he stript off the case, and took hold of the middle of the back. In the case of a sword, he opened the cover of its case, and placed it underneath. Then he put into the case a silken cloth, on which he placed the sword.

23 Official tablets; writings; stalks of dried flesh; parcels wrapped in reeds; bows; cushions; mats; pillows; stools; spikes; staffs; lutes, large and small; sharp-edged lances in sheaths; divining stalks; and flutes - these all were borne with the left hand upwards. Of sharp-pointed weapons, the point was kept behind, and the ring presented; of sharp-edged weapons, the handle was presented. In the case of all sharp-pointed and sharp-edged weapons, the point was turned away in handing them to others.

24 When leaving the city, in mounting a war-chariot, the weapon was carried with the point in front; when returning and entering it again, the end. The left was the place for the general and officers of an army; the right, for the soldiers.

25 For visitors and guests the principal thing was a courteous humility; at sacrifices, reverence; at mourning rites, sorrow; at meetings and reunions, an active interest. In the operations of war, the dangers had to be thought of. One concealed his own feelings in order to judge the better of those of others.

26 When feasting with a man of superior rank and character, the guest first tasted the dishes and then stopt. He should not bolt the food, nor swill down the liquor. He should take small and frequent mouthfuls. While chewing quickly, he did not make faces with his mouth. When he proceeded to remove the dishes, and the host declined that service from him, he stopt.

27 The cup with which the guest was pledged was placed on the left; those which had been drunk (by the others) on the right. Those of the guest's attendant, of the host himself, and of the host's assistant - these all were placed on the right. In putting down a boiled fish to be eaten, the tail was laid in front. In winter it was placed with the fat belly on the right; in summer with the back. The slices offered in sacrifice (to the father of the fish-diet were thus more easily cut). All condiments were taken up with the right (hand), and were therefore placed on the left. He who received the presents offered (to the ruler) was on his left; he who transmitted his words, on the right. A cup was poured out for the driver of a personator of the dead as for the driver of the ruler. In the carriage, and holding the on the right and left (to the father of charioteering), and then drank off the cup.

28 Of all viands which were placed on the stands, the offering was put down inside the stand.

29 A gentleman did not eat the entrails of grain-fed animals.

30 A boy ran, but did not walk quickly with measured steps. When he took up his cup, he knelt in offering (some of the contents) in sacrifice, and then stood up and drank (the rest). Before rinsing a cup, they washed their hands. In separating the lungs of oxen and sheep, they did not cut out the central portion of them; when viands were served up with sauce, they did not add condiments to it.

31 In selecting an onion or scallion for a gentleman, they cut off both the root and top.

32 When the head was presented among the viands, the snout was put forward, to be used as the offering.

33 He who set forth the jugs considered the left of the cup-bearer to be the place for the topmost one. The jugs and jars were placed with their spouts towards the arranger. The drinkers at the ceremonies of washing the head and cupping, in presence of the stand with the divided victims on it, did not kneel. Before the common cup had gone round, they did not taste the viands.

34 The flesh of oxen, sheep, and fish was cut small, and made into mince. 'That of elks and deer was pickled; that of the wild pig was hashed: these were all sliced, but not cut small. The flesh of the muntjac was alone pickled, and that of fowls and hares, being sliced and cut small. Onions and shalots were sliced, and added to the brine to soften the meat. When the pieces of the divided body were on the stand, in taking one of them to offer and in returning it, they did not kneel. So it was when they made an offering of roast meat. If the offerer, however, were a personator of the dead, he knelt.

35 When a man had his robes on his person, and did not know their names (or the meaning of their names), he was ignorant indeed.

36 If one came late and yet arrived before the torches were lighted, it was announced to him that the guests were all there, and who they were. The same things were intimated to a blind musician by the one who bid him. At a drinking entertainment, when the host carried a light, or bore a torch before them, the guests rise and decline the honour done to them. On this he gave the torch to a torchbearer, who did not move from his place, nor say a word, nor sing.

37 When one was carrying in water or liquor and food to a superior or elder, the rule was not to breathe on it; and if a question was asked, to turn the mouth on one side.

38 When one conducted sacrifice for another (and was sending to others the flesh of the victim), the message was, 'Herewith (the flesh of) blessing.' When sending of the flesh of his own sacrifice to a superior man, the party simply announced what it was. If it were flesh of the sacrifice on placing the tablet of the deceased in the temple, or at the close of the first year's mourning, the fact was announced. The principal mourner spread out the portions, and gave them to. his messenger on the south of the eastern steps, bowing twice, and laying his head to the ground as he sent him away; when he returned and reported the execution of his commission, the mourner again bowed twice and laid his head to the ground. If the sacrifice were a great one, consisting of the three victims, then the portion sent was the left quarter of the ox, divided-into nine pieces from the shoulder. If the sacrifice were the smaller, the portion sent was the left quarter, divided into seven pieces. If there were but a single pig, the portion was the left quarter, divided into five portions.

LI JI CHAPTER 18 Xue Ji

Record on the Subject of Education

1 When a ruler is concerned that his measures should be in accordance with law, and seeks for the (assistance of the) good and upright, this is sufficient to secure him a considerable reputation, but not to move the multitudes. When he cultivates the society of the worthy, and tries to embody the views of those who are remote (from the court), this is

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sufficient to move the multitudes, but not to transform the people. If he wish to transform the people and to perfect their manners and customs, must he not start from the lessons of the school?

2 The jade uncut will not form a vessel for use; and if men do not learn, they do not know the way (in which they should go). On this account the ancient kings, when establishing states and governing the people, made instruction and schools a primary object; as it is said in the Charge to Yue, 'The thoughts from first to last should be fixed on learning.'

3 However fine the viands be, if one do not eat, he does not know their taste; however perfect the course may be, if one do not learn it, be does not know its goodness. Therefore when he learns, one knows his own deficiencies; when he teaches, he knows the difficulties of learning. After he knows his deficiencies, one is able to turn round and examine himself; after he knows the difficulties, he is able to stimulate himself to effort. Hence it is said, 'Teaching and learning help each other;' as it is said in the Charge to Yueh, 'Teaching is the half of learning.'

4 According to the system of ancient teaching, for the families of (a hamlet) there was the village school; for a neighbourhood there was the xiang; for the larger districts there was the xu; and in the capitals there was the college. Every year some entered the college, and every second year there was a comparative examination. In the first year it was seen whether they could read the texts intelligently, and what was the meaning of each; in the third year, whether they were reverently attentive to their work, and what companionship was most pleasant to them; in the fifth year, how they extended their studies and sought the company of their teachers; in the seventh year, how they could discuss the subjects of their studies and select their friends. They were now said to have made some small attainments. In the ninth year, when they knew the different classes of subjects and had gained a general intelligence, were firmly established and would not fall back, they were said to have made grand attainments. After this the training was sufficient to transform the people, and to change (anything bad in) manners and customs. Those who lived near at hand submitted with delight, and those who were far off thought (of the teaching) with longing desire. Such was the method of the Great learning; as is said in the Record, 'The little ant continually exercises the art (of amassing).'

5 At the commencement of the teaching in the Great college, (the masters) in their skin caps presented the offerings of vegetables (to the ancient sages), to show their pupils the principle of reverence for them; and made them sing (at the same time) the (first) three pieces of the Minor Odes of the Kingdom, as their first lesson in the duties of officers. When they entered the college, the drum was beaten and the satchels were produced, that they might begin their work reverently. The cane and the thorns were there to secure in them a proper awe. It was not till the time for the summer sacrifice was divined for, that the testing examination was held;--to give composure to their minds. They were continually under inspection, but not spoken to,--to keep their minds undisturbed. They listened, but they did not ask questions; and they could not transgress the order of study (imposed on them). These seven things were the chief regulations in the teaching. As it is expressed in the Record, 'In all learning, for him who would in be an officer the first thing is (the knowledge of) business; for scholars the first thing is the directing of the mind.'

6 In the system of teaching at the Great college, every season had its appropriate subject; and when the pupils withdrew, and gave up their lessons (for the day), they were required to continue their study at home. If a student do not learn (at college) to play in tune, he cannot quietly enjoy his lutes; if he do not learn extensively the figures of poetry, he cannot quietly enjoy the odes; if he do not learn the varieties of dress, he cannot quietly take part in the different ceremonies; if he do not acquire the various accomplishments, he cannot take delight in learning. Therefore a student of talents and virtue pursues his studies, withdrawn in college from all besides, and devoted to their cultivation, or occupied with them when retired from it, and enjoying himself. Having attained to this, he rests quietly in his studies and seeks the company of his teachers; he finds pleasure in his friends, and has all confidence in their course. Although he should be separated from his teachers and helpers, he will not act contrary to the course; as it is said in the Charge to Yueh, 'Maintain a reverent humility, and strive to be constantly earnest. In such a case the cultivation will surely come.'

7 According to the system of teaching now-a-days, (the masters) hum over the tablets which they see before them, multiplying their questions. They speak of the learners' making rapid advances, and pay no regard to their reposing (in what they have acquired). In what they lay on their learners they are not sincere, nor do they put forth all their ability in teaching them. What they inculcate is contrary to what is right, and the learners are disappointed in what they seek for. In such a case, the latter are distressed by their studies and hate their masters; they are embittered by the difficulties, and do not find any advantage from their (labour). They may seem to finish their work, but they quickly give up its lessons. That no results are seen from their instructions:-is it not owing to these defects?

8 The rules aimed at in the Great college were the prevention of evil before it was manifested; the timeliness of instruction just when it was required; the suitability of the lessons in adaptation to circumstances; and the good influence of example to parties observing one another. It was from these four things that the teaching was so effectual and flourishing. Prohibition of evil after it has been manifested meets with opposition, and is not successful. Instruction given after the time for it is past is done with toil, and carried out with difficulty. The communication of lessons in an undiscriminating manner and without suitability produces injury and disorder, and fails in its object. Learning alone and without friends makes one feel solitary and uncultivated, with but little information. Friendships of festivity lead to opposition to one's master. Friendships with the dissolute lead to the neglect of one's learning. These six things all tend to make teaching vain.

9 When a superior man knows the causes which make instruction successful, and those which make it of no effect, he can become a teacher of others. Thus in his teaching, he leads and does not drag; he strengthens and does not discourage; he opens the way but does not conduct to the end (without the learner's own efforts). Leading and not dragging produces harmony. Strengthening and not discouraging makes attainment easy. Opening the way and not conducting to the end makes (the learner) thoughtful. He who produces such harmony, easy attainment, and thoughtfulness may be pronounced a skilful teacher.

10 Among learners there are four defects with which the teacher must make himself acquainted. Some err in the multitude of their studies; some, in their fewness; some, in the feeling of ease (with which they proceed); and some, in the readiness with which they stop. These four defects arise from the difference of their minds. When a teacher knows the character of his mind, he can save the learner from the defect to which he is liable. Teaching should be directed to develop that in which the pupil excels, and correct the defects to which he is prone. The good singer makes men (able) to continue his notes, and (so) the good teacher makes them able to carry out his ideas. His words are brief, but far-reaching; unpretentious, but deep; with few illustrations, but instructive. In this way he may be said to perpetuate his ideas.

11 When a man of talents and virtue knows the difficulty (on the one hand) and the facility (on the other) in the attainment of learning, and knows (also) the good and the bad qualities (of his pupils), he can vary his methods of teaching. When he can vary his methods of teaching, he can be a master indeed. When he can be a teacher indeed, he can be the Head (of an official department). When he can be such a Head, he can be the Ruler (of a state). Hence it is from the teacher indeed, that one learns to be a ruler, and the choice of a teacher demands the greatest care; as it is said in the Record, 'The three kings and the four dynasties were what they were by their teachers.'

12 In pursuing the course of learning, the difficulty is in securing the proper reverence for the master. When that is done, the course (which he inculcates) is regarded with honour. When that is done, the people know how to respect learning. Thus it is that there are two among his subjects whom the ruler does not treat as subjects. When one is personating (his ancestor), he does not treat him as such, nor does he treat his master as such. According to the rules of the Great college, the master, though communicating anything to the son of Heaven, did not stand with his face to the north. This was the way in which honour was done to him.

13 The skilful learner, while the master seems indifferent, yet makes double the attainments of another, and in the sequel ascribes the merit (to the master). The unskilful learner, while the master is diligent with him, yet makes (only) half the attainments (of the former), and in the sequel is dissatisfied with the master. The skilful questioner is like a workman addressing himself to deal with a hard tree. First he attacks the easy parts, and then the knotty. After a long time, the pupil and master talk together, and the subject is explained. The unskilful questioner takes the opposite course. The master who skilfully waits to be questioned, may be compared to a bell when it is struck. Struck with a small hammer, it gives a small sound. Struck with a great one, it gives a great sound. But let it be struck leisurely and properly, and it gives out all the sound of which it is capable. He who is not skilful in replying to questions is the opposite of this. This all describes the method of making progress in learning.

14 He who gives (only) the learning supplied by his memory in conversations is not fit to be a master. Is it not necessary that he should hear the questions (of his pupils)? Yes, but if they are not able to put questions, he should put subjects before them. If he do so, and then they do not show any knowledge of the subjects, he may let them alone.

15 The son of a good founder is sure to learn how to make a fur-robe. The son of a good maker of bows is sure to learn how to make a sieve. Those who first yoke a (young) horse place it behind, with the carriage going on in front of it. The superior man who examines these cases can by them instruct himself in (the method of) learning.

16 The ancients in prosecuting their learning compared different' things and traced the analogies between them. The drum has no special relation to any of the musical notes; but without it they cannot be harmonised. Water has no particular relation to any of the five colours; but without it they cannot be displayed. Learning has no particular relation to any of the five senses; but without it they cannot be regulated. A teacher has no special relation to the five degrees of mourning; but without his help they cannot be worn as they ought to be.

17 A wise man has said, 'The Great virtue need not be confined to one office; Great power of method need not be restricted to the production of one article; Great truth need not be limited to the confirmation of oaths; Great seasonableness accomplishes all things, and each in its proper time.' By examining these four cases, we are taught to direct our aims to what is fundamental.

LI JI CHAPTER 19 Yue Ji

Record on the Subject of Music

1 All the modulations of the voice arise from the mind, and the various affections of the mind are produced by things (external to it). The affections thus produced are manifested in the sounds that are uttered. Changes are produced by the way in which those sounds respond to one another; and those changes constitute what we call the modulations of the voice. The combination' of those modulated sounds, so as to give pleasure, and the (direction in harmony with them of the) shields and axes, and of the plumes and ox-tails, constitutes what we call music.

2 Music is (thus) the production of the modulations of the voice, and its source is in the affections of the mind as it is influenced by (external) things. When the mind is moved to sorrow, the sound is sharp and fading away; when it is moved to pleasure, the sound is slow and gentle; when it is moved to joy, the sound is exclamatory and soon disappears; when it is moved to anger, the sound is coarse and fierce; when it is moved to reverence, the sound is straightforward, with an indication of humility; when it is moved to love, the sound is harmonious and soft. These six peculiarities of sound are not natural'; they indicate the impressions produced by (external) things. On this account the ancient kings were watchful in regard to the things by which the mind was affected. And so (they instituted) ceremonies to direct men's aims aright; music to give harmony to their voices; laws to unify their conduct; and punishments to guard against their tendencies to evil. The end to which ceremonies, music, punishments, and laws conduct is one; they are the instruments by which the minds of the people are assimilated, and good order in government is made to appear.

3 All modulations of the voice spring from the minds of men. When the feelings are moved within, they are manifested in the sounds of the voice; and when those sounds are combined so as to form compositions, we have what are called airs. Hence, the airs of an age of good order indicate composure and enjoyment. The airs of an age of disorder indicate dissatisfaction and anger, and its government is perversely bad. The airs of a state going to ruin are expressive of sorrow and (troubled) thought.

4 There is an interaction between the words and airs (of the people) and the character of their government. (The note) gong represents the ruler; shang, the ministers; jiao, the people; zhi, affairs; and yu, things. If there be no disorder or irregularity in these five notes, there will be no want of harmony in the state. If gong be irregular, (the air) is wild and broken; the ruler of the state is haughty. If shang be irregular, (the air) is jerky; the offices of the state are decayed. If jiao be irregular, (the air) expresses anxiety; the people are dissatisfied. If zhi be irregular, (the air) expresses sorrow; affairs are strained. If yu be irregular, (the air) is expressive of impending ruin; the resources (of the state) are exhausted. If the five notes are all irregular, and injuriously interfere with one another, they indicate a state of insolent disorder; and the state where this is the case will at no distant day meet with extinction and ruin.

The airs of Zheng and Wei were those of an age of disorder, showing that those states were near such an abandoned condition. The airs near the river Pu, at the mulberry forest, were those of a state going to ruin. The government (of Wei) was in a state of dissipation, and the people were unsettled, calumniating their superiors, and pursuing their private aims beyond the possibility of restraint.

5 All modulations of sound take their rise from the mind of man; and music is the intercommunication of them in their relations and differences. Hence, even beasts know sound, but not its modulations, and the masses of the common people know the modulations, but they do not know music. It is only the superior man who can (really) know music. On this account we must discriminate sounds in order to know the airs; the airs in order to know the music; and the music in

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order to know (the character of) the government. Having attained to this, we are fully provided with the methods of good order. Hence with him who does not know the sounds we cannot speak about the airs, and with him who does not know the airs we cannot speak about the music. The knowledge of music leads to the subtle springs that underlie the rules of ceremony. He who has apprehended both ceremonies and music may be pronounced to be a possessor of virtue. Virtue means realisation (in one's self).

6 Hence the greatest achievements of music were not in the perfection of the airs; the (efficacy) of the ceremonies in the sacrificial offerings was not in the exquisiteness of the flavours. In the lute's for the Qing Miao the strings were of red (boiled) silk, and the holes were wide apart; one lute began, and (only) three others joined it; there was much melody not brought out. In the ceremonies of the great sacrifices, the dark-coloured liquor took precedence, and on the stands were uncooked fish, while the grand soup had no condiments: there was much flavour left undeveloped. Thus we see that the ancient kings, in their institution of ceremonies and music, did not seek how fully they could satisfy the desires of the appetite and of the ears and eyes; but they intended to teach the people to regulate their likings and dislikings, and to bring them back to the normal course of humanity.

7 It belongs to the nature of man, as from Heaven, to be still at his birth. His activity shows itself as he is acted on by external things, and developes the desires incident to his nature. Things come to him more and more, and his knowledge is increased. Then arise the manifestations of liking and disliking. When these are not regulated by anything within, and growing knowledge leads more astray without, he cannot come back to himself, and his Heavenly principle is extinguished.

8 Now there is no end of the things by which man is affected; and when his likings and dislikings are not subject to regulation (from within), he is changed into the nature of things as they come before him; that is, he stifles the voice of Heavenly principle within, and gives the utmost indulgence to the desires by which men may be possessed. On this we have the rebellious and deceitful heart, with licentious and violent disorder. The strong press upon the weak; the many are cruel to the few; the knowing impose upon the dull; the bold make it bitter for the timid; the diseased are not nursed; the old and young, orphans and solitaries are neglected - such is the great disorder that ensues.

9 Therefore the ancient kings, when they instituted their ceremonies and music, regulated them by consideration of the requirements of humanity. By the sackcloth worn for parents, the wailings, and the weepings, they defined the terms of the mourning rites. By the bells, drums, shields, and axes, they introduced harmony into their seasons of rest and enjoyment. By marriage, capping, and the assumption of the hair-pin, they maintained the separation that should exist between male and female. By the archery gatherings in the districts, and the feastings at the meetings of princes, they provided for the correct maintenance of friendly intercourse. Ceremonies afforded the defined expression for the (affections of the) people's minds; music secured the harmonious utterance of their voices; the laws of government were designed to promote the performance (of the ceremonies and music); and punishments, to guard against the violation of them. When ceremonies, music, laws, and punishments had everywhere full course, without irregularity or collision, the method of kingly rule was complete.

10 Similarity and union are the aim of music; difference and distinction, that of ceremony. From union comes mutual affection; from difference, mutual respect. Where music prevails, we find a weak coalescence; where ceremony prevails, a tendency to separation. It is the business of the two to blend people's feelings and give elegance to their outward manifestations. Through the perception of right produced by ceremony, came the degrees of the noble and the mean; through the union of culture arising from music, harmony between high and low. By the exhibition of what was to be liked and what was to be disliked, a distinction was made between the worthy and unworthy. When violence was prevented by punishments, and the worthy were raised to rank, the operation of government was made impartial. Then came benevolence in the love (of the people), and righteousness in the correction (of their errors); and in this way good government held its course.

11 Music comes from within, and ceremonies from without. Music, coming from within, produces the stillness (of the mind); ceremonies, coming from without, produce the elegancies (of manner). The highest style of music is sure to be distinguished by its ease; the highest style of elegance, by its undemonstrativeness. Let music attain its full results, and there would be no dissatisfactions (in the mind); let ceremony do so, and there would be no quarrels. When bowings and courtesies marked the government of the kingdom, there would be what might be described as music and ceremony indeed. Violent oppression of the people would not arise; the princes would appear submissively at court as guests; there would be no occasion for the weapons of war, and no employment of the five punishments; the common people would have no distresses, and the son of Heaven no need to be angry - such a state of things would be an universal music. When the son of Heaven could secure affection between father and son, could illustrate the orderly relation between old and young, and make mutual respect prevail all within the four seas, then indeed would ceremony (be seen) as power.

12 In music of the grandest style there is the same harmony that prevails between heaven and earth; in ceremonies of the grandest form there is the same graduation that exists between heaven and earth. Through the harmony, things do not fail (to fulfil their ends); through the graduation we have the sacrifices to heaven and those to earth. In the visible sphere there are ceremonies and music; in the invisible, the spiritual agencies. These things being so, in all within the four seas, there must be mutual respect and love. The occasions and forms of ceremonies are different, but it is the same feeling of respect (which they express). The styles of musical pieces are different, but it is the same feeling of love (which they promote). The essential nature of ceremonies and music being the same, the intelligent kings, one after another, continued them as they found them. The occasions and forms were according to the times when they were made; the names agreed with the merit which they commemorated.

13 Hence the bell, the drum, the flute, and the sounding-stone; the plume, the fife, the shield, and the axe are the instruments of music; the curvings and stretchings (of the body), the bending down and lifting up (of the head); and the evolutions and numbers (of the performers), with the slowness or rapidity (of their movements), are its elegant accompaniments. The dishes, round and square, the stands, the standing dishes, the prescribed rules and their elegant variations, are the instruments of ceremonies; the ascending and descending, the positions high and low, the wheelings about, and the changing of robes, are their elegant accompaniments. Therefore they who knew the essential nature of ceremonies and music could frame them; and they who had learned their elegant accompaniments could hand them down. The framers may be pronounced sage; the transmitters, intelligent. Intelligence and sagehood are other names for transmitting and inventing.

14 Music is an echo of the harmony between heaven and earth; ceremonies reflect the orderly distinctions (in the operations of) heaven and earth. From that harmony all things receive their being; to those orderly distinctions they owe the differences between them. Music has its origin from heaven; ceremonies take their form from the appearances of earth. If the imitation of those appearances were carried to excess, confusion (of ceremonies) would appear; if the framing of music were carried to excess, it would be too vehement. Let there be an intelligent understanding of the nature and interaction of (heaven and earth), and there will be the ability to practise well both ceremonies and music.

15 The blending together without any mutual injuriousness (of the sentiments and the airs on the different instruments) forms the essence of music; and the exhilaration of joy and the glow of affection are its business. Exactitude and correctness, without any inflection or deviation, form the substance of ceremonies, while gravity, respectfulness, and a humble consideration are the rules for their discharge. As to the employment of instruments of metal and stone in connexion with these ceremonies and this music, the manifestation of them by the voice and its modulations, the use of them in the ancestral temple, and at the altars to the spirits of the land and grain, and in sacrificing to (the spirits of) the hills and streams, and to the general spiritual agencies (in nature) - these are (external demonstrations), natural even to the people.

16 When the ancient kings had accomplished their undertakings, they made their music (to commemorate them); when they had established their government, they framed their ceremonies. The excellence of their music was according to the greatness of their undertakings; and the completeness of their ceremonies was according to the comprehensiveness of their government. The dances with shields and axes did not belong to the most excellent music, nor did the sacrifices with cooked flesh mark the highest ceremonies. The times of the five Dis were different, and therefore they did not each adopt the music of his predecessor. The three kings belonged to different ages, and so they did not each follow the ceremonies of his predecessor. Music carried to an extreme degree leads to sorrow, and coarseness in ceremonies indicates something one-sided. To make the grandest music, which should bring with it no element of sorrow, and frame the completest ceremonies which yet should show no one-sidedness, could be the work only of the great sage.

17 There are heaven above and earth below, and between them are distributed all the (various) beings with their different (natures and qualities) - in accordance with this proceeded the framing of ceremonies. (The influences of) heaven and earth flow forth and never cease; and by their united action (the phenomena of) production and change ensue - in accordance with this music arose. The processes of growth in spring, and of maturing in summer (suggest the idea of) benevolence; those of in-gathering in autumn and of storing in winter, suggest righteousness. Benevolence is akin to music, and righteousness to ceremonies. Harmony is the thing principally sought in music - it therein follows heaven, and manifests the spirit-like expansive influence characteristic of it. Normal distinction is the thing aimed at in ceremonies - they therein follow earth, and exhibit the spirit-like retractive influence characteristic of it. Hence the sages made music in response to heaven, and framed ceremonies in correspondence with earth. In the wisdom and-completeness of their ceremonies and music we see the directing power of heaven and earth.

18 The relation between ruler and minister was determined from a consideration of heaven (conceived of as) honourable, and earth (conceived of as) mean. The positions of noble and mean were fixed with a reference to the heights and depths displayed by the surface (of the earth). The regularity with which movement and repose follow each other (in the course of nature) led to the consideration of affairs as small and great. The different quarters (of the heavens) are grouped together, and the things (of the earth) are distinguished by their separate characteristics; and this gave rise to (the conception of) natures and their attributes and functions. In heaven there are formed its visible signs, and earth produces its (endless variety of) things; and thus it was that ceremonies were framed after the distinction, between heaven and earth.

19 The breath or influence of earth ascends on high, and that of heaven descends below. These in their repressive and expansive powers come into mutual contact, and heaven and earth act on each other. (The susceptibilities of nature) are roused by the thunder, excited by the wind and rain, moved by the four seasons, and warmed by the sun and moon; and all the processes of change and growth vigorously proceed. Thus it was that music was framed to indicate the harmonious action of heaven and earth.

20 If these processes took place out of season, there would be no vigorous life; and if no distinction were observed between males and females, disorder would arise and grow - such is the nature of the (different qualities of) heaven and earth. When we think of ceremonies and music, how they reach to the height of heaven and embrace the earth; how there are in them the phenomena of retrogression and expansion, and a communication with the spirit-like (operations of nature), we must pronounce their height the highest, their reach the farthest, their depth the most profound, and their breadth the greatest. Music appeared in the Grand Beginning (of all things), and ceremonies had their place on the completion of them. Their manifestation, being ceaseless, gives (the idea of) heaven; and again, being motionless, gives (the idea of) earth. Through the movement and repose (of their interaction) come all things between heaven and earth. Hence the sages simply spoke of ceremonies and music.

21 Anciently, Shun made the lute with five strings, and used it in singing the Nan Feng. Kui was the first who composed (the pieces of) music to be employed by the feudal lords as an expression of (the royal) approbation of them.

22 Thus the employment of music by the son of Heaven was intended to reward the most virtuous among the feudal lords. When their virtue was very great, and their instructions were honoured, and all the cereals ripened in their season, then they were rewarded by (being permitted) the use of the music. Hence, those of them whose toils in the government of the people were conspicuous, had their rows of pantomimes extended far; and those of them who had been indifferent to the government of the people had those rows made short. On seeing their pantomimes, one knew what was (the degree of) their virtue, (just as) on hearing their posthumous designations, we know what had been (the character of) their conduct.

23 The Da Zhang expressed the brilliance of its author's virtue; the Xian Chi, the completeness (of its author's); the Shao showed how (its author) continued (the virtue of his predecessor); the Xia, the greatness (of its author's virtue); the music of Yin and Zhou embraced every admirable quality.

24 In the interaction of heaven and earth, if cold and heat do not come at the proper seasons, illnesses arise (among the people); if wind and rain do not come in their due proportions, famine ensues. The instructions (of their superiors) are the people's cold and heat; if they are not what the time requires, an injury is done to society. The affairs (of their superiors) are the people's wind and rain; if they are not properly regulated, they have no success. In accordance with this, the object of the ancient kings in their practice of music was to bring their government into harmony with those laws (of heaven and earth). If it was good, then the conduct (of the people) was like the virtue (of their superiors).

25 The feast on grain-fed animals, with the adjunct of drinking, was not intended to produce evil, and yet cases of litigation are more numerous in consequence of it - it is the excessive drinking which produces the evil. Therefore the former kings framed the rules to regulate the drinking. Where there is (but) one presentation of the cup (at one time), guest and host may bow to each other a hundred times, and drink

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together all the day without getting drunk. This was the way in which those kings provided against evil consequences. Such feasts served for the enjoyment of the parties at them. The music was intended to illustrate virtue; the ceremonies to restrain excess.

26 Hence the former kings, on occasions of great sorrow, had their rules according to which they expressed their grief; and on occasions of great happiness, they had their rules by which they expressed their pleasure. The manifestations, whether of grief or joy, were all bounded by the limits of these rules. In music the sages found pleasure, and (saw that) it could be used to make the hearts of the people good. Because of the deep influence which it exerts on a man, and the change which it produces in manners and customs, the ancient kings appointed it as one of the subjects of instruction.

27 Now, in the nature of men there are both the energy of their physical powers and the intelligence of the mind; but for their (affections of) grief, pleasure, joy, and anger there are no invariable rules. They are moved according to the external objects which excite them, and then there ensues the manifestation of the various faculties of the mind. Hence, when a (ruler's) aims are small, notes that quickly die away characterise the music, and the people's thoughts are sad; when he is generous, harmonious, and of a placid and easy temper, the notes are varied and elegant, with frequent changes, and the people are satisfied and pleased; when he is coarse, violent, and excitable, the notes, vehement at first and distinct in the end, are full and bold throughout the piece, and the people are resolute and daring; when he is pure and straightforward, strong and correct, the notes are grave and expressive of sincerity, and the people are self-controlled and respectful; when he is magnanimous, placid, and kind, the notes are natural, full, and harmonious, and the people are affectionate and loving; when he is careless, disorderly, perverse, and dissipated, the notes are tedious and ill-regulated, and the people proceed to excesses and disorder.

28 Therefore the ancient kings in framing their music, laid its foundations in the feelings and nature of men; they examined (the notes) by the measures (for the length and quality of each); and adapted it to express the meaning of the ceremonies (in which it was to be used). They (thus) brought it into harmony with the energy that produces life, and to give expression to the performance of the five regular constituents of moral worth. They made it indicate that energy in its Yang or phase of vigour, without any dissipation of its power, and also in its Yin or phase of remission, without the vanishing of its power. The strong phase showed no excess like that of anger, and the weak no shrinking like that of pusillanimity. These four characteristics blended harmoniously in the minds of men, and were similarly manifested in their conduct. Each occupied quietly in its proper place, and one did not interfere injuriously with another. After this they established schools for (teaching their music), and different grades for the learners. They marked most fully the divisions of the pieces, and condensed into small compass the parts and variations giving beauty and elegance, in order to regulate and increase the inward virtue (of the learners). They gave laws for the great and small notes according to their names, and harmonised the order of the beginning and the end, to represent the doing of things. Thus they made the underlying principles of the relations between the near and distant relatives, the noble and mean, the old and young, males and females, all to appear manifestly in the music. Hence it is said that 'in music we must endeavour to see its depths.'

29 When the soil is worn out, the grass and trees on it do. not grow well. When water is often troubled, the fish and tortoises in it do not become large. When the energy (of nature) is decayed, its production of things does not proceed freely. In an age of disorder, ceremonies are forgotten and neglected, and music becomes licentious. In such a case the notes are melancholy but without gravity, or joyous without repose. There is remissness (in ceremonies) and the violation of them is easy. One falls into such a state of dissoluteness that he forgets the virtue properly belonging to his nature. In great matters he is capable of treachery and villainy; in small matters he becomes greedy and covetous. There is a diminution in him of the enduring, genial forces of nature, and an extinction of the virtue of satisfaction and harmony. On this account the Superior man despises such (a style of music and ceremonies).

30 Whenever notes that are evil and depraved affect men, a corresponding evil spirit responds to them (from within); and when this evil spirit accomplishes its manifestations, licentious music is the result. Whenever notes that are correct affect men, a corresponding correct spirit responds to them (from within); and when this correct spirit accomplishes its manifestations, harmonious music is the result. The initiating cause and the result correspond to each other. The round and the deflected, the crooked and the straight, have each its own category; and such is the character of all things, that they affect one another severally according to their class. Hence the superior man returns to the (good) affections (proper to his nature) in order to bring his will into harmony with them, and compares the different qualities (of actions) in order to perfect his conduct. Notes that are evil and depraved, and sights leading to disorder, and licentiousness, are not allowed to affect his ears or eyes. Licentious music and corrupted ceremonies are not admitted into the mind to affect its powers. The spirit of idleness, indifference, depravity, and perversity finds no exhibition in his person. And thus he makes his ears, eyes, nose, and mouth, the apprehensions of his mind, and the movements of all the parts of his body, all follow the course that is correct, and do that which is right.

31 After this there ensues the manifestation (of the inward thoughts) by the modulations of note and tone, the elegant accompaniments of the lutes, small and large, the movements with the shield and battleaxe, the ornaments of the plumes and ox-tails, and the concluding with the pipes and flutes. All this has the effect of exhibiting the brilliance of complete virtue, stirring up the harmonious action of the four (seasonal) energies; and displaying the true natures and qualities of all things. Hence in the fine and distinct notes we have an image of heaven; in the ample and grand, an image of earth; in their beginning and ending, an image of the four seasons; in the wheelings and revolutions (of the pantomimes), an image of the wind and rain. (The five notes, like) the five colours, form a complete and elegant whole, without any confusion. (The eight instruments of different materials, like) the eight winds, follow the musical accords, without any irregular deviation. The lengths of all the different notes have their definite measurements, without any uncertainty. The small and the great complete one another. The end leads on to the beginning, and the beginning to the end. The key notes and those harmonising with them, the sharp and the bass, succeed one another in their regular order. Therefore, when the music has full course, the different relations are clearly defined by it; the perceptions of the ears and eyes become sharp and distinct; the action of the blood and physical energies is harmonious and calm; (bad) influences are removed, and manners changed; and all under heaven there is entire repose.

32 Hence we have the saying, 'Where there is music there is joy.' Superior men rejoice in attaining to the course (which they wish to pursue); and smaller men in obtaining the things which they desire. When the objects of desire are regulated by a consideration of the course to be pursued, there is joy without any disorder. When those objects lead to the forgetfulness of that course, there is delusion, and no joy.

33 It is for this purpose that the superior man returns to the (good) affections (proper to his nature), in order to bring his will into harmony with them, and makes extensive use of music in order to perfect his instructions. When the music has free course, the people direct themselves to the quarter (to which they should proceed), and we can see (the power of) his virtue. Virtue is the strong stein of (man's) nature, and music is the blossoming of virtue. Metal, stone, silk, and bamboo are (the materials of which) the instruments of music (are made). Poetry gives expression to the thoughts; singing prolongs the notes (of the voice); pantomimic movements put the body into action (in harmony with the sentiments). These three things originate in the mind, and the instruments of the music accompany them. In this way the affections (from which comes the music) are deeply seated, and the elegant display of them is brilliant. All the energies (of the nature) are abundantly employed, and their transforming power is mysterious and spirit-like. A harmonious conformity (to virtue) is realised within, and the blossoming display of it is conspicuous without, for in music, more than other things, there should be nothing that is pretentious or hypocritical.

34 Music springs from the movement of the mind; the notes are the manifestation of the music; the elegant colours and various parts are the ornaments of the notes. The superior man puts its fundamental cause in movement, makes its manifesting notes into music, and regulates its ornaments.

35 Thus they first strike the drum to warn (the performers) to be in readiness, and (the pantomimes) take three steps to show the nature of the dance. This is done a second time and they begin to move forward; and when they have completed their evolutions, they return and dress their ranks. However rapid their movements may be, there is nothing violent in them; however mysterious they may be, they are not beyond the power of being understood. One, studying them alone, finds pleasure in the object of them, and does not tire in his endeavours to understand them. When he has fully understood them, he does not keep what he desires to himself. Thus the affections (of joy) are displayed; the (ideal) of righteousness is established; and when the music is ended, the (due) honour has been paid to virtue. Superior men by it nourish their love of what is good; small men in it hear the (correction of) their errors. Hence it is said, that 'for the courses to be pursued by men the influence of music is great.'

36 In music we have the outcome and bestowal (of what its framers felt); in ceremonies a return (for what their performers had received). Music expresses the delight in what produces it, and ceremonies lead the mind back to (the favours) which originate them. Music displays the virtue (of the framer); ceremonies are a return of the feelings (which led to them), as carrying the mind back to what originated them.

37 What is called 'a Grand carriage' is one which is (the gift) of the son of Heaven; the flag with dragons, and a nine-scolloped border, was the banner (conferred by) the son of Heaven; that with the azure and black edging exhibited the precious tortoises, and was (also the gift of) the son of Heaven; and when these were followed by herds of oxen and sheep, they were the gifts bestowed on the feudal lords.

38 In music we have the expression of feelings which do not admit of any change; in ceremonies that of principles which do not admit of any alteration. Music embraces what all equally share; ceremony distinguishes the things in which men differ. Hence the theory of music and ceremonies embraces the whole nature of man.

39 To go to the very root (of our feelings) and know the changes (which they undergo) is the province of music; to display sincerity and put away all that is hypocritical is the grand law of ceremonies. Ceremonies and music resemble the nature of Heaven and Earth, penetrate to the virtues of the spiritual Intelligences, bring down the spirits from above, and raise up those whose seat is below. They give a sort of substantial embodiment of what is most subtle as well as material, and regulate the duties between father and son, ruler and subject.

40 Therefore, when the Great man uses and exhibits his ceremonies and music, Heaven and Earth will in response to him display their brilliant influences. They will act in happy union, and the energies (of nature), now expanding, now contracting, will proceed harmoniously. The genial airs from above and the responsive action below will overspread and nourish all things. Then plants and trees will grow luxuriantly; curling sprouts and buds will expand; the feathered and winged tribes will be active; horns and antlers will grow; insects will come to the light and revive; birds will breed and brood; the hairy tribes will mate and bring forth; the mammalia will have no abortions, and no eggs will be broken or addled - and all will have to be ascribed to the power of music.

41 When we speak of music we do not mean the notes emitted by the Guang Zhong, Da Lu, (and the other musical pipes), the stringed instruments and the singing, or the (brandishing of the) shields and axes. These are but the small accessories of the music; and hence lads act as the pantomimes. (In the same way), the spreading of the mats, the disposing of the vases, and the arranging of the stands and dishes, with the movements in ascending and descending, are but the small accessories of ceremonies; and hence there are the (smaller) officers who direct them. The music-masters decide on the tunes and the pieces of poetry; and hence they have their places with their stringed instruments, and their faces directed to the north. The prayer-officers of the ancestral temple decide on the various ceremonies in it, and hence they keep behind the representatives of the deceased. Those who direct the mourning rites after the manner of the Shang dynasty, have their places (for the same reason) behind the presiding mourner. It is for this reason that the practice of virtue is held to be of superior worth, and the practice of any art of inferior; that complete virtue takes the first place, and the doing of anything, (however ingenious, only) the second. Therefore the ancient kings had their distinctions of superior and inferior, of first and last; and so they could frame their music and ceremonies for the whole kingdom.

42 The marquis Wen of Wei asked Zi-xia, saying, 'When in my square-cut dark robes and cap I listen to the ancient music, I am only afraid that I shall go to sleep. When I listen to the music of Kang and Wei, I do not feel tired; let me ask why I should feel so differently under the old and the new music.'

Zi-xia replied, 'In the old music, (the performers) advance and retire all together; the music is harmonious, correct, and in large volume; the stringed instruments (above) and those made from gourd shells with the organs and their metal tongues (below), are all kept waiting for the striking of the drum. The music first strikes up at the sound of the drum; and when it ends, it is at the sound of the cymbals. The close of each part of the performance is regulated by the Xiang, and the rapidity of the motions by the Ya. In (all) this the superior man speaks of, and follows, the way of antiquity. The character is cultivated; the family is regulated; and peace and order are secured throughout the kingdom. This is the manner of the ancient music.

'But now, in the new music, (the performers) advance and retire without any regular order; the music is corrupt to excess; there is no end to its vileness. Among the players there are dwarfs like monkeys, while boys and girls are mixed together, and there is no distinction between father and son. Such music can never be talked about, and cannot be said to be after the manner of antiquity. This is the fashion of the new music. What you ask about is music; and what you like is sound. Now music and sound are akin, but they are not the same.'

The marquis asked him to explain, and Zi-xia replied, 'In antiquity, Heaven and Earth acted according to their several natures, and the four seasons were what they ought to be. The people were virtuous, and all the cereals produced abundantly. There were no fevers or other diseases, and no apparitions or

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other prodigies. This was what we call "the period of great order." After this arose the sages, and set forth the duties between father and son, and between ruler and subject, for the guidance of society. When these guiding rules were thus correctly adjusted, all under heaven, there was a great tranquillity; after which they framed with exactness the six accords (upper and lower), and gave harmony to the five notes (of the scale), and the singing to the lutes of the odes and praise-songs; constituting what we call "the virtuous airs." Such virtuous airs constituted what we call "Music," as is declared in the Book of Poetry (III, i, ode 7, 4), 'Silently grew the fame of his virtue, His virtue was highly intelligent; Highly intelligent, and of rare discrimination; Able to lead, able to rule, To rule over this great country, Rendering a cordial submission, effecting a cordial union. When (the sway) came to king Wen, His virtue left nothing to be dissatisfied with. He received the blessing of God, And it was extended to his descendants." May I not say that what you love are the vile airs?'

The marquis said, "Let me ask where the vile airs come from?' Zi-xia replied, 'The airs of Zheng go to a wild excess, and debauch the mind; those of Song tell of slothful indulgence and women, and drown the mind; those of Wei are vehement and rapid, and perplex the mind; and those of Qi are violent and depraved, and make the mind arrogant. The airs of those four states all stimulate libidinous desire, and are injurious to virtue;--they should therefore not be used at sacrifices. It is said in the Book of Poetry (IV, i [Part ii], ode 5), "In solemn unison (the instruments) give forth their notes; Our ancestors will hearken to them." That solemn unison denotes the grave reverence and harmony of their notes - with reverence, blended with harmony, what is there that cannot be done?

'A ruler has only to be careful of what he likes and dislikes. What the ruler likes, his ministers will practise; and what superiors do, their inferiors follow. This is the sentiment in the Book of Poetry (III, ii, ode 10, 6), "To lead the people is very easy." Seeing this, and after (the repose of the people was secured), the sages made hand-drums and drums, the stopper and the starter, the earthen whistle and the bamboo flute - the six instruments which produced the sounds of their virtuous airs. After these came the bell, the sounding-stone, the organ with thirty-six pipes, and the large lute, to be played in harmony with them; the shields, axes, ox-tails, and plumes, brandished by the pantomimes in time and tune. These they employed at the sacrifices in the temple of the former kings, at festivals in offering and receiving the pledge cup; in arranging the services of officers (in the temple) according to the rank due to each, as noble or mean, and in showing to future ages how they observed the order due to rank and to age.

'The bells give out a clanging sound as a signal. The signal is recognised by all, and that recognition produces a martial enthusiasm. When the ruler hears the sound of the bell, he thinks of his officers of war. The sounding-stones give out a tinkling sound, as a summons to the exercise of discrimination. That discrimination may lead to the encountering of death. When the ruler hears the sounding-stone, he thinks of his officers who die in defence of his frontiers. The stringed instruments give out a melancholy sound, which produces the thought of purity and fidelity, and awakens the determination of the mind. When the ruler hears the sound of the lute and cithern, he thinks of his officers who are bent on righteousness. The instruments of bamboo give out a sound like that of overflowing waters, which suggests the idea of an assembly, the object of which is to collect the multitudes together. When the ruler hears the sound of his organs, pipes, and flutes, he thinks of his officers who gather the people together. The drums and tambours give out their loud volume of sound, which excites the idea of movement, and tends to the advancing of the host. When the ruler hears the sounds of his drums and tambours, he thinks of his leaders and commanders. When a superior man thus hears his musical instruments, he does not hear only the sounds which they emit. There are associated ideas which accompany these.'

43 Bin-mou Jia was sitting with Confucius. Confucius talked with him about music, and said, 'At (the performance of) the Wu, how is it that the preliminary warning (of the drum) continues so long?' The answer was, 'To show (the king's) anxiety that all his multitudes should be of one mind with him.'

'How is it that (when the performance has commenced) the singers drawl their notes so long, and the pantomimes move about till they perspire?' The answer was, 'To show his apprehension that some (princes) might not come up in time for the engagement.'

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'How is it that the violent movement of the arms and stamping fiercely with the feet begin so soon?' The answer was, 'To show that the time for the engagement had arrived.'

'How is it that, (in the performance of the Wu,) the pantomimes kneel on the ground with the right knee, while the left is kept up?' The answer was, 'There should be no kneeling in the Wu.'

'How is it that the words of the singers go on to speak eagerly of Shang?' The answer was, 'There should be no such sounds in the Wu.'

'But if there should be no such sound in the Wu, where does it come from?' The answer was, 'The officers (of the music) failed to hand it down correctly. If they did not do so, the aim of king Wu would have been reckless and wrong.' The Master said, 'Yes, what I heard from Chang Hong was to the same effect as what you now say.'

44 Bin-mao Jia rose up, left his mat, and addressed Confucius, saying, 'On the long-continued warning (of the drum) in the Wu, I have heard your instructions; but let me ask how it is that after that first delay there is another, and that a long one?'

The Master said, 'Sit down, and I will tell you. Music is a representation of accomplished facts. The pantomimes stand with their shields, each erect and firm as a hill, representing the attitude of king Wu. The violent movements of the arms and fierce stamping represent the enthusiasm of Tai-gong. The kneeling of all at the conclusion of the performance represents the government (of peace, instituted) by (the dukes of) Zhou and Shao. Moreover, the pantomimes in the first movement proceed towards the north (to imitate the marching of king Wu against Shang); in the second, they show the extinction of Shang; in the third, they show the return march to the south; in the fourth, they show the laying out of the Southern states; in the fifth, they show how (the dukes of) Zhou and Shao were severally put in charge of the states on the left and right; in the sixth, they again unite at the point of starting to offer their homage to the son of Heaven. Two men, one on each side of the performers, excite them with bells, and four times they stop and strike and thrust, showing the great awe with which (king Wu) inspired the Middle states. Their advancing with these men on each side shows his eagerness to complete his helpful undertaking. The performers standing long together show how he waited for the arrival of the princes.

'And have you alone not heard the accounts of Mu-ye? King Wu, after the victory over Yin, proceeded to (the capital of) Shang; and before he descended from his chariot he invested the descendants of Huang Di with Ji; those of the Di Yao with Zhu; and those of the Di Shun with Chen. When he had descended from it, he invested the descendant of the sovereign of Xia with Qi; appointed the descendants of Yin to Song; raised a mound over the grave of the king's son, Bi-gan; released the count of Ji from his imprisonment, and employed him to restore to their places the officers who were acquainted with the ceremonial usages of Shang. The common people were relieved from (the pressure) of the (bad) government which they had endured, and the emoluments of the multitude of (smaller) officers were doubled. (The king then) crossed the He, and proceeded to the West. His horses were set free on the south of mount Hua, not to be yoked again. His oxen were dispersed in the wild of the Peach forest, not to be put to the carriages again. His chariots and coats of mail were smeared with blood, and despatched to his arsenals, not to be used again. The shields and spears were turned upside down and conveyed away, wrapped in tiger skins, which were styled "the appointed cases." The leaders and commanders were then constituted feudal lords; and it was known throughout the kingdom that king Wu would have recourse to weapons of war no more. The army having been disbanded (the king commanded) a practice of archery at the colleges in the suburbs. At the college on the left (or east) they shot to the music of the Li-shou; at that on the right (or west) they shot to the music of the Zou-yu; and (from this time) the archery which consisted in going through (so many) buffcoats ceased. They wore (only) their civil robes and caps, with their ivory tokens of rank stuck in their girdles; and the officers of the guard put off their swords. (The king) offered sacrifice in the Hall of Distinction, and the people learned to be filial. He gave audiences at court, and the feudal lords knew how they ought to demean themselves. He ploughed in the field set apart for that purpose, and the lords learned what should be the object of reverence to them (in their states), These five things constituted great lessons for the whole kingdom.'

In feasting the three (classes of the) old and the five (classes of the) experienced in the Great college, he himself (the son of Heaven) had his breast bared and cut up the animals. He (also) presented to them the condiments and the cups. He wore the royal cap, and stood with a shield before him. In this way he taught the lords their brotherly duties. In this manner the ways of Zhou penetrated everywhere, and the interaction of ceremonies and music was established - is it not right that in the performance of the Wu there should be that gradual and long-continuing action?'

45 A superior man says: 'Ceremonies and music should not for a moment be neglected by any one. When one has mastered completely (the principles of) music, and regulates his heart and mind accordingly, the natural, correct, gentle, and honest heart is easily developed, and with this development of the heart comes joy. This joy goes on to a feeling of repose. This repose is long-continued. The man in this constant repose becomes (a sort of) Heaven. Heaven-like, (his action) is spirit-like. Heaven-like, he is believed without the use of words. Spirit-like, he is regarded with awe, without any display of rage. So it is, when one by his mastering of music regulates his mind and heart. When one has mastered completely (the principle of) ceremonies so as to regulate his person accordingly, he becomes grave and reverential. Grave and reverential, he comes to be regarded with awe. If the heart be for a moment without the feeling of harmony and joy, meanness and deceitfulness enter it. If the outward demeanour be for a moment without gravity and respectfulness, indifference and rudeness show themselves.

'Therefore the sphere in which music acts is the interior of man, and that of ceremonies is his exterior. The result of music is a perfect harmony, and that of ceremonies a perfect observance (of propriety). When one's inner man is (thus) harmonious, and his outer man thus docile, the people behold his countenance and do not strive with him; they look to his demeanour, and no feeling of indifference or rudeness arises in them. Thus it is that when virtue shines and acts within (a superior), the people are sure to accept (his rule), and hearken to him; and when the principles (of propriety) are displayed in his conduct, the people are sure (in the same way) to accept and obey him. Hence it is said, "Carry out perfectly ceremonies and music, and give them their outward manifestation and application, and under heaven nothing difficult to manage will appear."'

46 Music springs from the inward movements (of the soul); ceremonies appear in the outward movements (of the body). Hence it is the rule to make ceremonies as few and brief as possible, and to give to music its fullest development. This rule for ceremonies leads to the forward exhibition of them, and therein their beauty resides; that for music leads to the introspective consideration of it, and therein its beauty resides. If ceremonies demanding this condensation were not performed with this forward exhibition of them, they would almost disappear altogether; if music, demanding this full development, were not accompanied with this introspection, it would produce a dissipation of the mind. Thus it is that to every ceremony there is its proper response, and for music there is its introspection. When ceremonies are responded to, there arises pleasure; and when music is accompanied with the right introspection, there arises the (feeling of) repose. The responses of ceremony and the introspection of music spring from one and the same idea, and have one and the same object.

47 Now music produces pleasure - what the nature of man cannot be without. That pleasure must arise from the modulation of the sounds, and have its embodiment in the movements (of the body) - such is the rule of humanity. These modulations and movements are the changes required by the nature, and they are found complete in music. Thus men will not be without the ministration of pleasure, and pleasure will not be without its embodiment, but if that embodiment be not suitably conducted, it is impossible that disorder should not arise. The ancient kings, feeling that they would feel ashamed (in the event of such disorder arising), appointed the tunes and words of the Ya and the Sung to guide (in the music), so that its notes should give sufficient pleasure, without any intermixture of what was bad, while the words should afford sufficient material for consideration without causing weariness; and the bends and straight courses, the swell and diminution, the sharp angles, and soft melody throughout all its parts, should be sufficient to stir up in the minds of the hearers what was good in them, without inducing any looseness of thought or depraved air to be suggested. Such was the plan of the ancient kings when they framed their music.

48 Therefore in the ancestral temple, rulers and ministers, high and low, listen together to the music, and all is harmony and reverence; at the district and village meetings of the heads of clans, old and young listen together to it, and all is harmony and deference. Within the gate of the family, fathers and sons, brothers and cousins, listen together to it, and all is harmony and affection. Thus in music there is a careful discrimination (of the voices) to blend them in unison so as to bring out their harmony; there is a union of the (various) instruments to give ornamental effect to its different parts; and these parts are combined and performed so as to complete its elegance. In this way fathers and sons, rulers and subjects are united in harmony, and the people of the .myriad states are associated in love. Such was the method of the ancient kings when they framed their music.

49 In listening to the singing of the Ya and the Song, the aims and thoughts receive an expansion. From the manner in which the shields and axes are held and brandished, and from the movements of the body in the practice with them, now turned up, now bent down, now retiring, now stretching forward, the carriage of the person receives gravity. From the way in which (the pantomimes) move to their several places, and adapt themselves to the several parts (of the performance), the arrangement of their ranks is made correct, and their order in advancing and re tiring is secured. In this way music becomes the lesson of Heaven and Earth, the regulator of true harmony, and what the nature of man cannot dispense with. It was by music that the ancient kings gave elegant expression to

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their joy; by their armies and axes that they gave the same to their anger. Hence their joy and anger always received their appropriate response. When they were joyful, all under heaven were joyful with them; when they were angry, the oppressive and disorderly feared them. In the ways of the ancient kings, ceremonies and music may be said to have attained perfection.

50 (Once), when Zi-gong had an interview with the music-master Yi, he asked him, saying, 'I have heard that in the music and words belonging to it there is that which is specially appropriate to every man; what songs are specially appropriate to me?' The other replied, 'I am but a poor musician, and am not worthy to be asked what songs are appropriate for particular individuals; allow me to repeat to you what I have heard, and you can select for yourself (what is appropriate to you). The generous and calm, the mild and correct, should sing the Sung; the magnanimous and calm, and those of wide penetration and sincere, the Da Ya (Major Odes of the Kingdom); the courteous and self-restraining, the lovers of the rules of propriety, the Xiao Ya (Minor Odes of the Kingdom); the correct, upright, and calm, the discriminating and humble, the Fang, (Airs of the States); the determinedly upright, but yet gentle and loving, the Shang; and the mild and honest, but yet capable of decision, the Qi. The object of this singing is for one to make himself right, and then to display his virtue. When he has thus put himself in a condition to act, Heaven and Earth respond to him, the four seasons revolve in harmony with him, the stars and constellations observe their proper laws, and all things are nourished and thrive.

'What are called the Shang were the airs and words transmitted from the five Dis; and having been remembered by the people of Shang, we call them the Shang. What are called the Qi were transmitted from the three dynasties; and having been remembered by the people of Qi, we call them the Qi. He who is versed in the airs of the Shang will generally be found to manifest decision in the conduct of affairs. He who is versed in the airs of the Qi, when he is attracted by the prospect of profit, will yet give place to others. To manifest decision in the conduct of affairs is bravery; to give. place to others in the prospect of gain is righteousness. Who, without singing these songs, can assure himself that he will always preserve such bravery and righteousness? In singing, the high notes rise as if they were borne aloft; the low descend as if they were falling to the ground; the turns resemble a thing broken off; and the finale resembles the breaking) of a willow tree; emphatical notes seem made by the square; quavers are like the hook (of a spear); and those prolonged on the same key are like pearls strung together. Hence, singing means the prolonged expression of the words; there is the utterance of the words, and when the simple utterance is not sufficient, the prolonged expression of them. When that prolonged expression is not sufficient, there come the sigh and exclamation. When these are insufficient, unconsciously there come the motions of the hands and the stamping of the feet.' (Such was the answer to) Zi-gong's question about music.

LI JI CHAPTER 20 Za Ji 1

Miscellaneous Records Part 1

1 When a feudal lord was on the march and died in his lodging, they called back his soul in the same way as in his state. If he died on the road, (one) got up on the nave of the left wheel of the chariot in which he had been riding, and called it, waving the pennon of his flag. (For the carriage with the bier) there was a pall, and attached to it a fringe made of black cloth, like a lower garment, serving as a curtain (to the temporary coffin), and the whole was made into a sort of house by a covering of white brocade. With this they travelled (back to his state), and on arriving at the gate of the temple, without removing the (curtain) wall, they entered and went straight to the place where the coffining was to take place. The pall was removed at the outside of the door.

2 When a Great officer or an ordinary officer died on the road, (one) got up on the left end of the nave of his carriage, and called back his soul, waving his pennon. If he died in his lodging, they called the soul back in the same manner as if he had died in his house. In the case of a Great officer they made a pall of cloth, and so proceeded homewards. On arriving at the house, they removed the pall, took the (temporary) coffin on a handbarrow, entered the gate, and proceeding to the eastern steps, there halted and removed the barrow, after which they took the body up the steps, right to the place where it was to be coffined. The pall-house made over the body of an ordinary officer was made of the phragmites rush; and the fringe for a curtain below of the typha.

3 In every announcement of a death to the ruler it was said, 'Your lordship's minister, so and so, has died. When the announcement was from a parent, a wife, or an eldest son, it was said, 'Your lordship's minister, my -----, has died.' In an announcement of the death of a ruler to the ruler of another state, it was said, 'My unworthy ruler has ceased to receive his emoluments. I venture to announce it to your officers.' If the announcement were about the death of his wife, it was said, 'The inferior partner of my poor ruler has ceased to receive her emoluments.' On the death of a ruler's eldest son, the announcement ran, 'The heir-Son of my unworthy ruler, so and so, has died.'

4 When an announcement of the death of a Great officer was sent to another of the same grade, in the same state, it was said, 'So and so has ceased to receive his emoluments.' The same terms were employed when the announcement was to an ordinary officer. When it was sent to the ruler of another state, it ran, 'Your lordship's outside minister, my poor Great officer, so and so, has died.' If it were to one of equal degree (in the other state), it was said, 'Sir, your outside servant, our poor Great officer, has ceased to receive his emoluments, and I am sent here to inform you.' If it were to an ordinary officer, the announcement was made in the same terms. In the announcement of the death of an ordinary officer to the same parties, it was made in the same-style, only that 'So and so has died,' was employed in all the cases.

5 A Great officer had his place in the lodgings about the palace, till the end of the mourning rites (for a ruler), while another officer returned to his home on the completion of a year. An ordinary officer had his place in the same lodgings. A Great officer occupied the mourning shed; another officer, the unplastered apartment.

6 In the mourning for a cousin, either paternal or maternal, who had not attained to the rank of a Great officer, a Great officer wore the mourning appropriate for an ordinary officer; and an ordinary officer, in mourning similarly for a cousin on either side who had been a Great officer, wore the same mourning. The son of a Great officer by his wife proper wore the mourning appropriate for a Great officer. The son of a Great officer by any other member of his harem, who was himself a Great officer wore for his father or mother the mourning of a Great officer; but his Place was only the same as that of a son by the proper wife who was not a Great officer.

7 When the son of an ordinary officer had become a Great officer, his parents could not preside at his mourning rites. They made his son do so; and if he had no son, they appointed some one to perform that part, and be the representative of the deceased.

8 When they were divining by the tortoise-shell about the grave and the day of interment of a Great officer, the officer superintending (the operation) wore an upper robe of sackcloth, with (strips of) coarser cloth (across the chest), and a girdle of the same and the usual mourning shoes. His cap was of black material, without any fringe. The diviner wore a skin cap. If the stalks were employed, then the manipulator wore a cap of plain silk, and the long robe. The reader of the result wore his court robes.

9 At the mourning rites for a Great officer preparatory to the interment, the horses were brought out. The man who brought them wailed, stamped, and went out. After this (the son) folded up the offerings, and read the list (of the gifts that had been sent).

10 At the mourning rites for a Great officer, one from the department of the chief superintendent of the ancestral temple assisted (the presiding mourner), and one from that of the assistant superintendent put the question to the tortoise-shell, which was then manipulated in the proper form by the diviner.

11 In calling back the soul of a feudal lord, they used the robe which had first been conferred on him, with the cap and corresponding robes, varying according to the order of his nobility. (In calling back the soul of) a friends wife, they used the black upper robe with a purple border, or that with pheasants embroidered on it in various colours; both of them lined with white crape. (In calling back that of) the wife of a high noble, they used the upper robe of light green, worn on her first appointment to that position, and lined with white crape; (in calling back that of the wife of) a Great officer of the lowest grade, the upper robe of plain white. (The souls of other wives were called back) by parties with the same robe as in the case of an ordinary officer. In the calling back, they stood (with their faces to the north), inclining to the west.

12 To the pall over the coffin of a Great officer there was not attached the (curtain of) yellow silk with pheasants on it, descending below the (bamboo) catch for water.

13 The tablet of a grandson who had been a Great officer was placed in the shrine of his grandfather who had (only) been an officer; but not if he had only been an officer, and the grandfather a Great officer. In that case, the tablet was placed in the shrine of a brother of the grandfather (who had only been an officer). If there were no such brother, (it was placed in the shrine of their high ancestor), according to the regular order of relationship. Even if his grand-parents were alive, it was so.

14 The tablet of a) wife was placed after that of the wife (of the principal of the shrine), in which her husband's tablet was placed. If there had been no such wife, it was placed in the shrine of the wife of the high ancestor, according to the regular order of relationship. The (tablet of a) concubine was placed in the shrine of her husband's grandmother (concubine). If there had been no such concubine, then (it was placed in that of the concubine of the high ancestor) according to the regular order of relationship.

15 The tablet of an unmarried son was placed in the shrine of his grandfather, and was used at sacrifices. That of an unmarried daughter was placed in the shrine of her grandmother, but was not used at sacrifices. The (tablet of) the son of a ruler was placed in the shrine of (one of) the sons (of his grandfather), that grandfather having also been a ruler.

16 When a ruler died, his eldest son was simply styled son (for that year), but he was treated (by other rulers) as the ruler.

17 If one, after wearing for a year the mourning and cap proper to the three years for a parent, met with the death of a relative for whom he had to wear the mourning of nine months, he changed it for the hempen-cloth proper to the nine months; but he did not change the staff and shoes.

18 In mourning for a parent, (after a year) the sackcloth of the nine months' mourning is preferred; but if there occurred the placing in its shrine of the tablet of a brother who had died prematurely, the cap and other mourning worn during that first year was worn in doing so. The youth who had died prematurely was called 'The Bright Lad,' and (the mourner said), 'My so and so,' without naming him. This was treating him with reference to his being in the spirit-state.

19 In the case of brothers living in different houses, when one first heard of the death of another, he might reply to the messenger simply with a wail. His first step then was to put on the sackcloth, and the girdle with dishevelled edges. If, before he had put on the sackcloth, he hurried off to the mourning rites, and the presiding mourner had not yet adjusted his head-band and girdle, in the case of the deceased being one for whom he had to mourn for five months, he completed that term along with the presiding mourner. If nine months were due to the deceased, he included the time that had elapsed since he assumed the sackcloth and girdle.

20 The master, presiding at the mourning rites for a concubine, himself conducted the placing of her tablet (in its proper shrine). At the sacrifices at the end of the first and second years, he employed her son to preside at them. The sacrifice at her offering did not take place in the principal apartment.

21 A ruler did not stroke the corpse of a servant or a concubine.

22 Even after the wife of a ruler was dead, the concubines of the harem wore mourning for her relatives. If one of them took her place (and acted as mistress of the establishment), she did not wear mourning for the relatives.

23 If one heard of the mourning rites for a cousin for whom he had to wear mourning for nine months or more, when he looked in the direction of the place where those rites were going on, he wailed. If he were going to accompany the funeral to the grave, but did not get to the house in time, though he met the presiding mourner returning, he himself went on to the grave. The president at the mourning rites for a cousin, though the relationship might not have been near, also presented the sacrifice of Repose.

24 On all occasions of mourning, if, before the mourning robes had all been completed, any one arrived to offer condolences, (the president) took the proper place, wailed, bowed to the visitor, and leaped.

25 At the wailing for a Great officer, another of the same rank, wore the conical cap, with a sackcloth band round it. He wore the same also when engaged with the coffining. If he had on the cap of dolichos-cloth in mourning for his own wife or son, and were called away to the lighter mourning for a distant relative, he put on the conical cap and band.

26 In wailing for an eldest son, he carried a staff, but not for that son's son; he went without it to the place of wailing. (An eldest son), going to wail for his wife, if his parents were alive, did not carry a staff, nor bow so as to lay his forehead on the ground. If (only) his mother were alive, he did not lay his forehead to the ground. Where such a prostration should have taken place, as in the case of one who brought a gift with his condolence, an ordinary bow was made.

27 An officer who had left a feudal prince and gone into the service of a Great officer did not on the lord's death return and wear mourning for him; nor did one who had left a Great officer to serve a prince, return to mourn on the death of the former.

28 The strings of the mourning cap served to distinguish it from one used on a festive occasion. The silk cap worn after a year's mourning, and belonging to that for three years, had such strings, and the seam of it was on the right. That worn in the mourning of five months, and a still shorter time, was seamed on the left. The cap of the shortest mourning had a tassel of reddish silk. The ends of the girdle in the mourning of nine months and upward hung loose.

29 Court robes were made with fifteen skeins 1200 threads in the warp. Half that number made the coarse cloth for the shortest mourning, which then was glazed by being steeped with ashes.

30 In sending presents to one another for the use of the dead, the princes of the states sent their carriages of the second class with caps and robes. They did not send their carriages of the first class, nor the robes which they had themselves received (from the king).

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31 The number of small carriages sent to the grave was according to that of the parcels of flesh to be Conveyed. Each one had a pall of coarse cloth. All round were ornamental figures. These parcels were placed at the four corners of the coffin. (Sometimes) rice was sent, but You-zi said that such an offering was contrary to rule. The food put down (by the dead) in mourning was only dried meat and pickled.

32 At the sacrifices (after the sacrifice of Repose), the mourner styled himself 'The filial son,' or 'The filial grandson;' at the previous rites, 'The grieving son,' or 'The grieving grandson.'

33 In the square upper garment of the mourner and the sackcloth over it, and in the carriage in which he rode to the grave, there was no difference of degree.

34 The white cap of high antiquity and the cap of black cloth were both without any ornamental fringe. The azure-coloured and that of white silk with turned-up rim had such a fringe.

35 A Great officer wore the cap with the square top when assisting at a sacrifice of his ruler; but that of skin when sacrificing at his own shrines. An ordinary officer used the latter in his ruler's temple, and the cap (of dark cloth) in his own. As an officer wore the skin cap, when going in person to meet his bride, he might also use it at his own shrines.

36 The mortar for the fragrant herbs, in making sacrificial spirits, was made of cypress wood, and the pestle of dryandria. The ladle (for lifting out the flesh) was of mulberry wood, three, some say five, cubits long. The scoop used in addition was of mulberry, three cubits long, with its handle and end carved.

37 The girdle over the shroud used for a prince or a Great officer was of five colours; that used for another officer, only of two.

38 The must put into the grave was made from the malt of rice. There were the jars (for it and other liquids), the baskets (for the millet), and the boxes (in which these were placed). These were placed outside the covering of the coffin; and then the tray for the mats was put in.

39 The spirit-tablet which had been set up over the coffin was buried after the sacrifice of Repose.

40 The mourning rites for all wives were according to the rank of their husbands.

41 Visitors who had arrived during the slighter dressing of the corpse, the more complete dressing, or the opening (the enclosure where the coffin was), were all saluted and bowed to (after these operations were finished).

42 At the wailing morning and evening, the coffin was not screened from view. When the bier had been removed, the curtain was no more suspended.

43 When the ruler came to condole, after the carriage with its coffin (had reached the gate of the temple), the presiding mourner bowed towards him with his face towards the east, and moving to the right of the gate, leaped there, with his face towards the north. Going outside, he waited till the ruler took his departure and bade him go back, after which he put down (by the bier the gifts which the ruler had brought).

44 When Zi-gao was fully dressed after his death, first, there were the upper and lower garments both wadded with floss silk, and over them a suit of black with a purple border below; next, there was a. suit of white made square and straight, (the suit belonging to) the skin cap; next, that belonging to the skin cap like the colour of a sparrow's head; and next, (that belonging to) the dark-coloured cap, with the square top. Zeng-zi said, 'In such a dressing there should be nothing of woman's dress.'

45 When an officer died on some commission, upon which he had gone for his ruler, if the death took place in a public hotel, they called his soul back; if in a private hotel, they did not do so. By a public hotel was meant a ruler's palace, or some other building, erected by him, and by a private hotel, the house of a noble, a Great officer, or an officer below that rank.

46 On the death of a ruler, there is the leaping for him for seven days in succession; and on that of a Great officer, it lasts for five days. The women take their share in this expression of grief at intervals, between the presiding mourner and his visitors. On the death of an ordinary officer, it lasts for three days; the women taking their part in the same way.

47 In dressing the corpse of a ruler, there is first put on it the upper robe with the dragon; next, a dark-coloured square-cut suit; next, his court-robes; next, the white lower garment with gathers; next, a purple-coloured lower garment; next, a sparrow-head skin cap; next, the dark-coloured cap with the square top; next, the robe given on his first investiture; next, a girdle of red and green; over which was laid out the great girdle.

48 At the slight dressing of the corpse the son (or the presiding mourner) wore the band of sackcloth about his head. Rulers, Great officers, and ordinary officers agreed in this.

49 When the ruler came to see the great dressing of the corpse, as he was ascending to the hall, the Shang priest spread the mat (afresh), and proceeded to the dressing.

50 The gifts (for the dead, and to be placed in the grave), contributed by the people of Lu, consisted of three rolls of dark-coloured silk, and two of light red, but they were (only) a cubit in width, and completing the length of (one) roll.

51 When one came (from another ruler) with a message of condolence, he took his place outside, on the west of the gate, with his face to the east. The chief officer attending him was on the south-east of him, with his face to the north, inclining to the west, and west from the gate. The orphan mourner, with his face to the west, gave his instructions to the officer waiting on him, who then went to the visitor and said, 'My orphaned master has sent me to ask why you have given yourself this trouble,' to which the visitor replies, 'Our ruler has sent me to ask for your master in his trouble.' With this reply the officer returned to the mourner and reported it, returning and saying, 'My orphaned master is waiting for you.' On this the visitor advanced. The mourning host then went up to the reception hall by the steps on the east, and the visitor by those on the west. The latter, with his face to the east, communicated his message, saying, 'Our ruler has heard of the bereavement you have sustained, and has sent me to ask for you in your sorrows.' The mourning son then bowed to him, kneeling with his forehead to the ground. The messenger then descended the steps, and returned to his place.

52 The attendant charged with the jade for the mouth of the deceased, and holding it in his hands flat round piece of jade communicated his instructions, saying, 'Our ruler has sent me with the gem for the mouth.' The officer in waiting went in and reported the message, then returning and saying, 'Our orphaned master is waiting for you.' The bearer of the gem then advanced, ascended the steps, and communicated his message. The son bowed to him, with his forehead to the ground. The bearer then knelt, and placed the gem on the south-east of the coffin, upon a phragmites mat; but if the interment had taken place, on a typha mat. After this, he descended the steps, and returned to his place, The major-domo, in his court robes, but still wearing his mourning shoes, then ascended the western steps, and kneeling with his face to the west, took up the piece of jade, and descending by the same steps, went towards the east (to deposit it in the proper place).

53 The officer charged with the grave-clothes said, 'Our ruler has sent me with the grave-clothes.' The officer in waiting, having gone in and reported, returned and said, 'Our orphaned master is waiting for you.' Then the other took up first the cap with the square top and robes, with his left hand holding the neck of the upper garment, and with his right the waist. He advanced, went up to the hall, and communicated his message, saying, 'Our ruler has sent me with the grave-clothes.' The son bowed to him, with his forehead to the ground; and when the bearer laid down the things on the east of the coffin, he then went down, and received the skin cap of the sparrow's-head colour, with the clothes belonging to it inside the gate, under the eaves. These he presented with the same forms; then the skin cap and clothes which he received in the middle of the courtyard; then the court robes; then the dark-coloured, square-cut garments, which he received at the foot of the steps on the west. When all these presentations were made, five men from the department of the major-domo took the things up, and going down the steps on the west, went away with them to the-east. They all took them up with their faces towards the west.

54 The chief of the attendants (of the messenger) had charge of the carriage and horses, and with a long symbol of jade in his hand communicated his message, saying, 'Our ruler has sent me to present the carriage and horses.' The officer in waiting went in and informed the presiding mourner, and returned with the message, 'The orphan, so and so, is waiting for you.' The attendant then had the team of yellow horses and the grand carriage exhibited in the central courtyard, with the front to the north; and with the symbol in hand he communicated his message. His grooms were all below, on the west of the carriage. The son bowed to him, with his forehead to the ground. He then knelt, and placed his symbol in the corner, on the southeast of the coffin. The major-domo then took the symbol up, and proceeded with it to the east.

55 The message was always delivered with the face turned towards the coffin, and the son always bowed to the attendant charged with it, with his forehead down to the ground. The attendant then knelt with his face to the west, and deposited his gift (or its representative). The major-domo and his employees ascended by the steps on the west to take these up, and did so with their faces towards the west, descending (again) by the same steps. The attendant charged with the carriage and horses went out, and returned to his place outside the gate.

56 The chief visitor then, (wishing) to perform the ceremony of wailing, said, 'My ruler, being engaged in the services of his own ancestral temple, could not come and take part in your rites, and has sent me, so and so, his old servant, to assist in holding the rope.' The officer in waiting (reported his request), and returned with the message, 'The orphan, so and so, is waiting for you.' The messenger then entered and took his place on the right of the gate. His attendants all followed him, and stood on his left, on the east. The superintendent of ceremonies introduced the visitor, and went up on the hall, and received his ruler's instructions, then descending and saying, ' The orphan ventures to decline the honour which you propose, and begs you to return to your place.' The messenger, however, replied. 'My ruler charged me that I should not demean myself as a visitor or guest, and I venture to decline doing as you request.' The other then reported this reply, and returned, and told the messenger that the orphan firmly declined the honour which he proposed, and repeated the request that he would return to his place. The messenger repeated his reply, saying that he also firmly declined (to return to his place). The same message from the mourner was repeated, and the same reply to it, (after which) the mourner said, 'Since he thus firmly declines what I request, I will venture respectfully to comply with his wish.'

57 The messenger then stood on the west of the gate, and his attendants on his left, facing the west. The orphaned mourner descended by the steps on the east, and bowed to him, after which they both ascended and wailed, each of them leaping three times in response to each other. The messenger then went out, escorted by the mourner outside of the gate, who then bowed to him, with his forehead down to the ground.

58 When the ruler of a state had mourning rites in hand for a parent, (any officer who was mourning for a parent) did not dare to receive visits of condolence (from another state).

59 The female relatives of the exterior kept in their apartments; the servants spread the mats; the officer of prayer, who used the Shang forms, spread out the girdle, sash, and upper coverings; the officers washed their hands, standing on the north of the vessel; they then removed the corpse to the place where it was to be dressed. When the dressing was finished, the major-domo reported it. The son then leant on the coffin and leaped. The wife with her face to the east, also leant on it, kneeling; and then she got up and leaped.

60 There are three things in the mourning rites for an officer which agree with those used on the death of the son of Heaven - the torches kept burning all night (when the coffin is to be conveyed to the grave); the employment of men to draw the carriage; and the keeping of the road free from all travellers on it.

LI JI CHAPTER 21 Za Ji 2

Miscellaneous Records Part 2

61 When a man was wearing mourning for his father, if his mother died before the period was completed, he put off the mourning for his father (and assumed that proper for his mother). He put on, however, the proper dress when sacrificial services required it; but when they were over, he returned to the mourning (for his mother).

62 When occasion occurred for wearing the mourning for uncles or cousins, if it arrived during the period of mourning for a parent, then the previous mourning was not laid aside, save when the sacrificial services in these cases required it to be so; and when they were finished, the mourning for a parent was resumed.

63 If during the three years' mourning (there occurred also another three years' mourning for the eldest son), then after the coarser girdle of the Jiong hemp had been assumed in the latter case, the sacrifices at the end of the first or second year's mourning for a parent might be proceeded with.

64 When a grandfather had died, and his grandson also died before the sacrifices at the end of the first or second year had been performed, (his spirit-tablet) was still placed next to the grandfather's.

65 When a mourner, while the coffin was in the house, heard of the death of another relative at a distance, he went to another apartment and wailed for him. (Next day), he entered where the coffin was, and put down the offerings (to the deceased), after which he went out, changed his clothes, went to the other apartment, and repeated the ceremony of the day before.

66 When a Great officer or another officer was about to take part in a sacrifice at his ruler's, if, after the inspection of the washing of the vessels to be used, his father or mother died, he still went to the sacrifice; but took his place in a different apartment. After the sacrifice he put off his (sacrificial) dress, went outside the gate of the palace, wailed, and returned to his own house. In other respects he acted as he would have done in hurrying to the mourning rites. If the parent's death took place before the inspection of the washing, he sent a messenger to inform the ruler of his position; and when he returned, proceeded to wail (for his deceased parent). When the death that occurred was that of an uncle, aunt, or cousin, if he had received the previous notice to fast, he went to the sacrifice; and when it was over, he went out at the ruler's gate, put off his (sacrificial) dress, and returned to his own house. In other respects he acted as if he had been hurrying to the mourning rites. If the deceased relative lived under the same roof with him, he took up his residence in other apartments.

67 Zeng-zi asked, 'When a high minister or Great officer is about to act the part of the personator of the dead at a sacrifice by his ruler, and has received instructions to pass the night previous in solemn vigil, if there occur in his own family occasion for him to wear the robe of hemmed sackcloth, what is he to do?' Confucius said, 'The rule is for him to leave his

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own house, and lodge in the ruler's palace till the service (for the ruler) is accomplished.

68 Confucius said, 'When the personator of the dead comes forth in his leathern cap, or that with the square top, ministers, Great officers, and other officers, all should descend from their carriages when he passes. He should bow forward to them, and he should (also) have people going before him (to notify his approach, that people may get out of the way).

69 During the mourning rites for a parent, when the occasion for one of the sacrifices was at hand, if a death occurred in the family of a brother or cousin, the sacrifice was postponed till the burial of the dead had taken place. If the cousin or brother were an inmate of the same palace with himself, although the death were that of a servant or concubine, the party postponed his sacrifice in this way, At the sacrifice the mourner went up and descended the steps with only one foot on each, all assisting him, doing the same. They did so even for the sacrifice of Repose, and to put the spirit-tablet in its place.

70 From the feudal rulers down to all officers, at the sacrifice at the end of the first year's mourning for a parent, when the chief mourner took the cup offered to him by the chief among the visitors, he raised it to his teeth, while the visitors, brothers, and cousins all sipped the cups presented to them. After the sacrifice at the end of the second year, the chief mourner might sip his cup, while all the visitors, brothers, and cousins might drink off their cups.

71 The attendants at the sacrifices during the funeral rites give notice to the visitors to present the offerings, of which, however, they did not afterwards partake.

72 Zi-gong asked about the rites of mourning (for parents), and the Master said, 'Reverence is the most important thing; grief is next to it; and emaciation is the last. The face should wear the appearance of the inward feeling, and the demeanour and carriage should be in accordance with the dress.' He begged to ask about the mourning for a brother, and the Master said, 'The rites of mourning for a brother are to be found in the tablets where they are written.'

73 A superior man will not interfere with the mourning of other men to diminish it, nor will he do so with his own mourning.

74 Confucius said, 'Shao-lian and Da-lian demeaned themselves skilfully during their mourning (for their parents). During the (first) three days they were alert; for the (first) three months they manifested no weariness; for the (first) year they were full of grief; for the (whole) three years they were sorrowful. (And yet) they belonged to one of the rude tribes on the East'.

75 During the three years of mourning (for his father), a son might speak, but did not discourse; might reply, but did not ask questions. In the shed or the unplastered apartment he sat (alone), nobody with him. While occupying that apartment, unless there were some occasion for him to appear before his mother, he did not enter the door (of the house). On all occasions of wearing the sackcloth with its edges even, he occupied the unplastered apartment, and not the shed. To occupy the shed was the severest form in mourning.

76 The grief in mourning for a wife was like that for an uncle or aunt; that for a father's sister or one's own sister was like that for a cousin; that for any of the three classes of minors dying prematurely was as if they had been full-grown.

77 The mourning for parents is taken away at the end of three years, but only its external symbols; the mourning for brothers (at the end of one year), (and also) internally.

78 The period of mourning for ruler's mother or wife is the same as that for brothers. But (beyond) what appears in the countenance is this, that (in the latter case) the mourners do not eat and drink (as usual).

79 After a man has put off the mourning (for his father), if, when walking along the road, he sees one like (his father), his eyes look startled. If he hear one with the same name, his heart is agitated. In condoling with mourners on occasion of a death, and inquiring for one who is ill, there will be something in his face and distressed manner different from other men. He who is thus affected is fit to wear 'the three years' mourning. So far as other mourning is concerned, he may walk right on (without anything) having such an effect on him.

80 The sacrifice at the end of the second year is signalized by the principal mourner putting off his mourning dress. The evening (before), he announces the time for it, and puts on his court robes, which he then wears at the sacrifice.

81 Zi-you said, 'After the sacrifice at the end of the second year, although the mourner should not wear the cap of white silk, (occasions may occur when) he must do so. Afterwards he resumes the proper dress.'

82 At the mourning rites of an officer, if, when he had bared his breast, a Great officer arrived (on a visit of condolence), although he might be engaged in the leaping, he put a stop to it, and went to salute and bow to him. Returning then, he resumed his leaping and completed it, after which he readjusted his dress and covered his breast. In the case of a visit from another officer, he went on with his leaping, completed it, readjusted his upper dress, and then went to salute and bow to him, without having occasion to resume and complete the leaping.

83 At the sacrifice of Repose for a Great officer of the highest grade, there were offered a boar and a ram; at the conclusion of the wailing, and at the placing of his spirit-tablet, there was, in addition, the bull. On the similar occasions for a Great officer of the lowest grade, there was in the first case a single victim, and in the others the boar and the ram.

84 In consulting the tortoise-shell about the burial and sacrifice of Repose, the style of the petition was as follows - A son or grandson spoke of himself as 'the sorrowing,' (when divining about his father or grandfather); a husband (divining about his wife) said, 'So and so for so and so;' an elder brother about a younger brother, simply said, 'So and so;' a younger brother about an elder brother said, 'For my elder brother, so and so.'

85 Anciently, noble and mean all carried staffs. (On one occasion) Shu-sun Wu-shu, when going to court, saw a wheelwright put his staff through the nave of a wheel, and turn it round. After this (it was made a rule that) only men of rank should carry a staff.

86 The custom of making a hole in the napkin (covering the face of the dead) by which to introduce what was put into the mouth, was begun by Gong yang Jia.

87 What were the grave-clothes (contributed to the dead)? The object of them was to cover the body. From the enshrouding to the slighter dressing, they were not put on, and the figure of the body was seen. Therefore the corpse was first enshrouded, and afterwards came the grave-clothes.

88 Someone asked Zeng-zi, 'After sending away to the grave the offerings to the dead, we wrap up what up remains; is this not like a man, after partaking of a meal, wrapping-what is left (to take with him)? Does a gentleman do such a thing? Zeng-zi said, 'Have you not seen what is done at a great feast? At a great feast, given by a Great officer, after all have partaken, he rolls up what is left on the stands for the three animals, and sends it to the lodgings of his guests. When a son treats his parents in this way as his (honoured) guests, it is an expression of his grief (for their loss). Have you, Sir, not seen what is done at a great feast?' Excepting at men's funeral rites, do they make such inquiries and present such gifts as they then do?

89 At the three years' mourning, the mourner bows to his visitors in the manner appropriate to the occasion; at the mourning of a shorter period, he salutes them in the usual way.

90 During the three years' mourning, if any one sent wine or flesh to the mourner, be received it after declining it thrice; he received it in his sackcloth and band. If it came from the ruler with a message from him, he did not presume to decline it; he received it and presented it (in his ancestral temple). One occupied with such mourning did not send any gift, but when men sent gifts to him he received them. When engaged in the mourning rites for an uncle, cousin, or brother, and others of a shorter period, after the wailing was concluded, he might send gifts to others.

91 Xian-zi said, 'The pain occasioned by the mourning for three years is like that of beheading; that arising from the one year's mourning, is like the stab from a sharp weapon.'

92 During the one year's mourning, in the eleventh month, they put on the dress of silk, which was called lian; in the thirteenth month they offered the xiang sacrifice, and in the same month that called tan - which concluded the mourning. During the mourning for three years, even though they had occasion to assume the dress proper for the nine months' mourning, they did not go to condole (with the other mourners). From the feudal lords down to all officers, if they had occasion to dress and go to wail (for a relative newly deceased), they did so in the dress proper to the mourning for him, After putting on the lian silk, they paid visits of condolence.

93 When one was occupied with the nine months' mourning, if the burial had been performed, he might go and condole with another mourner, retiring after he had wailed without waiting for any other part of the mourner's proceedings. During the mourning for one year, if before the burial one went to condole with another in the same district, he withdrew after he had wailed, without waiting for the rest of the proceedings. If condoling during the mourning for nine months, he waited to see the other proceedings, but did not take part in them. During the mourning for five months or three months, he waited to assist at the other proceedings, but did not take part in the (principal) ceremony.

94 When one (was condoling with) another whom he had been accustomed to pass with a hasty step, (at the interment of his dead relative), he retired when the bier had passed out from the gate of the temple. If they had been on bowing terms, he retired when they had reached the station for wailing. If they had been in the habit of exchanging inquiries, he retired after-the coffin was let down into the grave. if they had attended court together, he went back to the house with the other, and wailed with him. If they were intimate friends, he did not retire till after the sacrifice of Repose, and the placing of the spirit tablet of the deceased in the shrine. Condoling friends did not (merely) follow the principal mourner. Those who were forty (or less) held the ropes when the coffin was let down into the grave. Those of the same district who were fifty followed him back to the house and wailed; and those who were forty waited till the grave was filled up.

95 During mourning, though the food might be bad, the mourner was required to satisfy his hunger with it. If for hunger he had to neglect anything, this was contrary to the rules. If he through satiety forgot his sorrow, that also was contrary to the rules. It was a distress to the wise men (who made the rules) to think that a mourner should not see or hear distinctly; should not walk correctly or be unconscious of his occasion for sorrow; and therefore (they enjoined) that a mourner, when ill, should drink wine and eat flesh; that people of fifty should do nothing to bring on emaciation; that at sixty they should not be emaciated; that at seventy they should drink liquor and eat flesh - all these rules were intended as preventives against death.

96 If one, while in mourning, was invited by another to eat with him, he did not go while wearing the nine months' mourning or that of a shorter period; if the burial had taken place, he might go to another party's house. If that other party belonged to his relative circle, and wished him to eat with him, he might do so; if he did not belong to that circle, he did not eat with him. While wearing the mourning of nine months, one might eat vegetables and fruits, and drink water and congee, using no salt or cream. If he could not eat dry provisions, he might use salt or cream with them.

97 Confucius said, 'If a man have a sore on his body, he should bathe. If he have a wound on his head, he should wash it. If he be ill, he should drink liquor and eat flesh. A superior man will not emaciate himself so as to be ill. If one die from such emaciation, a superior man will say of him that he has failed in the duty of a son.'

98 Excepting when following the carriage with the bier to the grave, and returning from it, one was not seen on the road with the mourning cap, which was used instead of the ordinary one.

99 During the course of mourning, from that worn for five months and more, the mourner did not wash his head or bathe, excepting for the sacrifice of Repose, the placing the spirit-tablet in the shrine, the assuming the dress of lian silk, and the sacrifice at the end of a year.

100 During mourning rites, when the sackcloth with the edges even was worn, after the burial, if one asked an interview with the mourner, he saw him, but he himself did not ask to see any person. He might do so when wearing the mourning of five months. When wearing that for nine months, he did not carry the introductory present in his hand (when seeking an interview). It was only when wearing the mourning for a parent that the mourner did not avoid seeing any one, (even) while the teats were running from him.

101 A man while wearing the mourning for three years might execute any orders of government after the sacrifice at the end of a year. One mourning for a year, might do so when the wailing was ended; one mourning for nine months, after the burial; one mourning for five months or three, after the encoffining and dressing.

102 Zeng Shen asked Zeng-zi, saying, 'In wailing for a parent, should one do so always in the same voice?' The answer was, 'When a child has lost its mother on the road, is it possible for it to think about the regular and proper voice?'

103 After the wailing was ended, there commenced the avoiding of certain names. (An officer) did not use the name of his (paternal) grandfather or grandmother, of his father's brothers or uncles; of his father's aunts or sisters. Father and son agreed in avoiding all these names. The names avoided by his mother the son avoided in the house. Those avoided by his wife he did not use when at. her side. If among them there were names which had been borne by his own paternal great-grandfather or great-grand-uncles, he avoided them (in all places).

104 When the time for capping a young man came during the time of the mourning rites, though they were those for a parent, the ceremony might be performed. After being capped in the proper place, the subject went in, wailed and leaped,--three times each bout, and then came out again.

105 At the end of the nine months' mourning, it was allowable to cap a son or to marry a daughter. A father at the end of the five months' mourning, might cap a son, or marry a daughter, or take a wife (for a son). Although one himself were occupied with the five months' mourning, yet when he had ended the wailing, he might be capped, or take a wife. If it were the five months' mourning for one who had died in the lowest degree of immaturity, he could not do so.

106 Whenever one wore the cap of skin with a sackcloth band (in paying a visit of condolence), his upper garment of mourning had the large sleeves.

107 When the father was wearing mourning, a son, who lived in the same house with him, kept away from all music. When the mother was wearing it, the son might listen to music, but not play himself. When a wife was wearing it, the son, (her husband), did not play music by her side. When an occasion for the nine months' mourning was about to occur,

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the lute and cithern were laid aside. If it were only an occasion for the five months' mourning, music was not stopped.

108 When an aunt or sister died (leaving no son), if her husband (also) were dead, and there were no brother or cousin in his relative circle, some other of her husband's more distant relatives was employed to preside at her mourning rites. None of a wife's relatives, however near, could preside at them. If no distant relative even of her husband could be found, then a neighbour, on the east or the west, was employed. If no such person (suitable) could be found, then the head man of the neighbourhood presided. Some say, 'One (of her relatives) might preside, but her tablet was placed by that of the (proper) relative of her husband.'

109 The girdle was not used along with the sackcloth band. That band could not be used by one who carried in his hand his jade-token; nor could it be used along with a dress of various colours.

110 On occasions of prohibitions issued by the state (in connexion with the great sacrifices), the wailing ceased; as to the offerings deposited by the coffin, morning and evening, and the repairing to their proper positions, mourners proceeded as usual.

111 A lad, when wailing, did not sob or quaver; did not leap; did not carry a staff; did not wear the straw sandals; and did not occupy the mourning shed.

112 Confucius said, 'For grand-aunts the mourning with the edges even is worn, but the feet in leaping are not lifted from the ground. For aunts and sisters the mourning for nine months is worn, but the feet in leaping are lifted from the ground. If a man understands these things, will he not (always) follow, the right forms of ceremonies? Will he not do so?'

113 When the mother of Yi Liu died, his assistants in the rites stood on his left; when Yi Liu died, they stood on his right. The practice of the assistants (at funeral rites) giving their aid on the right, originated from the case of Yi Liu.

114 The mouth of the son of Heaven was stuffed after death with nine shells; that of a feudal lord, with seven; that of a Great officer, with five; and that of an ordinary officer, with three.

115 An officer was interred after three months, and the same month the wailing was ended. A Great officer was interred (also) after three months, and after five months the wailing was ended. A prince was interred after five months, and after seven the wailing was ended. For an officer the sacrifice of Repose was offered three times; for a Great officer, five times; and for a feudal prince, seven times.

116 A feudal lord sent a messenger to offer his condolences; and after that, his contributions for the mouth, the grave-clothes, and the carriage. All these things were transacted on the same day, and in the order thus indicated.

117 When a high minister or Great officer was ill, the ruler inquired about him many times. When an ordinary officer was ill, he inquired about him once. When a Great officer or high minister was buried, the ruler did not eat flesh; when the wailing was finished, he did not have music. When an officer was encoffined, he did not have music.

118 After they had gone up, and made the bier ready, in the case of the burial of a feudal lord, there were 500 men to draw the ropes. At each of the four ropes they were all gagged. The minister of War superintended the clappers; eight men with these walking on each side of the bier. The chief artizan, carrying a shade of feathers, guided the progress (of the procession). At the burial of a Great officer, after they had gone up and made the bier ready, 300 men drew the ropes; four men with their clappers walked on each side of the bier; and its progress was guided (by the chief artizan) with a reed of white grass in his hand.

119 Confucius said, 'Guan Zhong had carving on the square vessels for holding the grain of his offerings, and red ornaments for his cap; he set up a screen where he lodged on the way, and had a stand of earth on which the cups he had used, in giving a feast, were replaced; he had hills carved on the capitals of his pillars, and. pondweed on the lower pillars supporting the rafters'. He was a worthy Great officer, but made it difficult for his superiors (to distinguish themselves from him). Yan Ping-zhong, in sacrificing to his father and other progenitors, used only the shoulders of a pig, not large enough to cover the dish. He was a worthy Great officer, but made it difficult for his inferiors (to distinguish themselves from him). A superior man will not encroach on (the observances of) those above him, nor put difficulties in the way of those below him.'

120 Excepting on the death of her father or mother, the wife (of a feudal lord) did not cross the boundaries of the state to pay a visit of condolence. On that occasion she did so, and went back to her original home, where she used the ceremonies of condolence proper to a feudal lord, and she was treated as one. When she arrived, she entered by the women's gate, and went up (to the reception hall) by steps at the side (of the principal steps), the ruler receiving her at the top of the steps on the east. The other ceremonies were the same as those of a guest who hastened to attend the funeral rites.

121 A sister-in-law did not lay the soothing hand on the corpse of her brother-in-law; and vice versa.

122 There are three things that occasion sorrow to a superior man (who is devoted to learning) - If there be any subject of which he has not heard, and he cannot get to hear of it; if he hear of it, and cannot get to learn it; if he have learned it, and cannot get to carry it out in practice. There are five things that occasion shame to a superior man (who is engaged in governmental duties) - If he occupy an office, and have not well described its duties; if he describe its duties well, but do not carry them into practice; if he have got his office, and lost it again; if he be charged with the care of a large territory, and the people be not correspondingly numerous; if another, in a charge like his own, have more merit than he.

123 Confucius said, 'In bad years they used in their carriages their poorest horses, and in their sacrifices the victims lowest (in the classes belonging to them).'

124 At the mourning rites for Xu You, duke Ai sent Ru Bei to Confucius to learn the rites proper at the mourning for the officer. Those rites were thus committed at that time to writing.

125 Zi-gong having gone to see the agricultural sacrifice at the end of the year, Confucius said to him, 'Ci, did it give you pleasure?' The answer was, 'The people of the whole state appeared to be mad; I do not know in what I could find pleasure.' The Master said, 'For their hundred days' labour in the field, (the husbandmen) receive this one day's enjoyment (from the state);--this is what you do not understand. (Even) Wen and Wu could not keep a bow (in good condition), if it were always drawn and never relaxed; nor did they leave it always relaxed and never drawn. To keep it now strung and now unstrung was the way of Wen and Wu.'

126 Meng Xian-zi said, 'If in the first month at the (winter) solstice it be allowable to offer the (border) sacrifice to God, in the seventh month, at the summer solstice, we may offer the sacrifice in the temple of the ancestor (of our ruling House).' Accordingly Xian-zi offered that sacrifice to all the progenitors (of the line of Lu) in the seventh month'.

127 The practice of not obtaining from the son of Heaven the confirmation of her dignity for the wife (of the ruler of Lu) began with duke Zhao.

128 The mourning of a ruler and his wife were regulated by the same rules for the ladies of his family married in other states and for those married in his own.

129 When the stables of Confucius were burned, and the friends of his district came (to offer their condolences) on account of the fire, he bowed once to the ordinary officers, and twice to the Greater officers - according to the rule on occasions of mutual condolence.

130 Confucius said, 'Guan Zhong selected two men from among (certain) thieves with whom he was dealing, and appointed them to offices in the state, saying, "They were led astray by bad men with whom they had associated, but they are proper men themselves." When he died, duke Huan made these two wear mourning for him. The practice of old servants of a Great officer wearing mourning for him, thus arose from Guan Zhong. But these two men only mourned for him by the duke's orders.'

131 When an officer, in a mistake, used a name to his ruler which should be avoided, he rose to his feet. If he were speaking to any one who had the name that should be avoided with the ruler, he called him by the name given to him on his maturity.

132 A Great officer took no part in any seditious movements within his state, and did not try to avoid calamities coming from without.

133 The treatise on the duties of the Chief Internuncius says, 'The length of the long symbol of rank was for a duke, nine inches; for a marquis or earl, seven; for a count or baron, five. The width in each case was three inches; and the thickness, half an inch. They tapered to the point for one inch and a half. They were all of jade. The mats for them were made with three different colours, (two rows of each,) six in all.'

134 Duke Ai asked Zi-gao, 'When did members of your family first begin to be in office?' The answer was, 'My ancestor held a small office under duke Wen.'

135 When a temple was completed, they proceeded to consecrate it with the following ceremony - The officer of prayer, the cook, and the butcher, all wore the cap of leather of the colour of a sparrow's head, and the dark-coloured dress with the purple border. The butcher rubbed the sheep clean, the officer of prayer blessed it, and the cook with his face to the north took it to the pillar and placed it on the south-east of it. Then the butcher took it in his arms, went up on the roof at the middle point between the east and west, and with his face to the south stabbed it, so that the blood ran down in front; and then he descended. At the gate of the temple, and of each of the two side apartments, they used a fowl, one at the gate of each (going up as before and stabbing them). The hair and feathers about the ears were first pulled out under the roof (before the victims were killed). When the fowls were cut at the gates of the temple, and the apartments on each side of it, officers stood, opposite to each gate on the north. When the thing was over, the officer of prayer announced that it was so, and they all retired, after which he announced it to the ruler, saying, 'The blood-consecration has been performed.' This announcement was made at the door of the back apartment of the temple, inside which the ruler stood in his court-robes, looking towards the south. This concluded the ceremony, and all withdrew.

136 When the great apartment (of the palace) was completed, it was inaugurated (by a feast), but there was no shedding of blood. The consecration by blood of the temple building was the method taken to show how intercourse with the spirits was sought. All the more distinguished vessels of the ancestral temple were consecrated, when completed, by the blood of a young boar.

137 When a feudal lord sent his wife away, she proceeded on her journey to her own state, and was received there with the observances due to a lord's wife. The messenger, accompanying her, then discharged his commission, saying, 'My poor ruler, from his want of ability, was not able to follow her, and take part in the services at your altars and in your ancestral temple. He has, therefore, sent me, so and so, and I venture to inform your officer appointed for the purpose of what he has done.' The officer presiding (on the occasion) replied, 'My poor ruler in his former communication did not lay (her defects) before you, and he does not presume to do anything but respectfully receive your lord's message.' The officers in attendance on the commissioner then set forth the various articles sent with the other the lady on her marriage, and those on side received them.

138 When the wife went away from her husband, she sent a messenger and took leave of him, saying, 'So and so, through her want of ability, is not able to keep on supplying the vessels of grain for your sacrifices, and has sent me, so and so, to, presume to announce this to your attendants.' The principal party (on the other side) replied, 'My son, in his inferiority, does not presume to avoid you punishing him, and dares not but respectfully receive your orders.' The messenger then retired, the principal party bowing to him, and escorting him. If the father-in-law were alive, then he named him self; if he were dead, an elder brother of the husband acted for him, and the message was given as from him; if there were no elder brother, then it ran as from the husband himself. The message, as given above, was) 'The son of me, so and so, in his inferiority.' (At the other end of the transaction), if the lady were an aunt, an elder sister, or a younger, she was mentioned as such.

139 Confucius said, 'When I was at a meal at Shao-shi's, I ate to the full. He entertained me courteously, according to the rules. When I was about to offer some in sacrifice, he got up and wished to stop me, saying, "My poor food is not worth being offered in sacrifice." When I was about to take the concluding portions, he got up and wished to stop me, saying, "I would not injure you with my poor provisions."

140 A bundle of silk (in a marriage treaty) contained live double rolls, each double roll being forty cubits in length.

141 At the (first) interview of a wife with her father and mother-in-law, (her husband's) unmarried aunts and sisters all stood below the reception hall, with their faces towards the west, the north being the place of honour. After this interview, she visited all the married uncles of her husband, each in his own apartment.

142 Although not engaged to be married, the rule was for a young lady to wear the hair-pin - she was thus treated with the honours of maturity. The (principal) wife managed the ceremony. When she was unoccupied and at ease, she wore her hair without the pin, on each side of her head.

143 The apron (of the full robes) was three cubits long, two cubits wide at the bottom, and one at the top. The border at the top extended five inches; and that at the sides was of leather the colour of a sparrow's head, six inches wide, terminating five inches from the bottom. The borders at top and bottom were of white silk, embroidered with the five colours.

LI JI CHAPTER 22 Sang Da Ji

Greater Record of Mourning Rites

1 When the illness was extreme, all about the establishment was swept clean, inside and out. In the case of a ruler or Great officer, the stands, with the martial instruments suspended from them, were removed; in that of an officer, his lute and cithern. The sufferer lay with his head to the east, under the window on the north. His couch was removed (and he was laid on the ground). The clothes ordinarily worn at home were removed, and new clothes substituted for them. (In moving the body) one person took hold of each limb. Males and females changed their dress. Some fine floss was put (on the mouth and nostrils), to make sure that the breath was gone. A man was not permitted to die in the hands of the women, or a woman in the hands of the men.

2 A ruler and his wife both died in the Great chamber, a Great officer and his acknowledged wife in the Proper chamber; the not yet acknowledged wife of a high minister, in an inferior chamber, but the corpse was then removed to the higher chamber. The wives of officers died in their chambers.

3 At (the ceremony of) calling back the soul, if (the deceased were a lord on whose territory) there were forests and copses, the forester arranged the steps (by which to go up on the roof);

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and if there were no forests, one of the salvage men (employed about the court in menial offices) did so. An officer of low rank performed the ceremony. All who did so employed some of the court robes (of the deceased) - for a ruler, the robe with the descending dragon; for the wife, that with the descending pheasant; for a Great officer, the dark robe and red skirt; for his recognised wife, the robe of fresh yellow; for an officer, that worn with the cap of deep purple leather; and for his wife, the dark dress with the red border. In all cases they ascended from the east wing to the middle of the roof, where the footing was perilous. Facing the north, they gave three loud calls for the deceased, after which they rolled up the garment they had employed, and cast it down in front, where the curator of the robes received it, and then they themselves descended by the wing on the north-west. If the deceased were a visitor, and in a public lodging, his soul was called back; if the lodging were private, it was not called back. If he were in the open country, one got up on the left end of the nave of the carriage in which he had been riding, and called it back.

4 The garment which had been used in calling the soul back was not employed to cover the corpse, nor in dressing it. In calling back the soul of a wife, the upper robe with the purple border in which she had been married was not employed. In all cases of calling back the soul, a man was called by his name, and a woman by her designation. Nothing but the wailing preceded the calling the soul back. After that calling they did what was requisite on an occasion of death.

5 Immediately after death, the principal mourners sobbed; brothers and cousins (of the deceased) wailed; his female relatives wailed and leaped.

6 When the dead body (of a ruler) had been placed properly (beneath the window with the head to the south), his son sat (or knelt) on the east; his ministers, Great officers, uncles, cousins, their sons and grandsons, stood (also) on the east; the multitude of ordinary officers, who had the charge of the different departments, wailed below the hall, facing the north. His wife knelt on the west; the wives, aunts, sisters, their daughters and grand-daughters, whose husbands were of the same surname as he, stood (behind her) on the west; and the wives, his relatives of the same surname, whose position had been confirmed in their relation to their husbands, at the head of all the others married similarly to husbands of other surnames, wailed above in the hall, facing the north.

7 At the mourning rites (immediately after death) of a Great officer, the (son), presiding, knelt on the east, and the wife, presiding, on the west. The husbands and wives (among the relations) whose positions had been officially confirmed, sat (or knelt); others who had not that confirmation, stood. At the rites for a deceased officer, the son presiding, uncles, brothers, and cousins, with their sons and grandsons, all sat (or knelt) on the east; the wife presiding, aunts, sisters, and cousins, with their female children and grandchildren, all sat (or knelt) on the west. Whenever they wailed by the corpse in the apartment, the presiding mourner did so, holding up the shroud with his two hands at the same time.

8 At the mourning rites of a ruler, before the slighter dressing was completed, the principal mourner came out to receive the visit of a refugee ruler, or a visitor from another state. At those for a Great officer, at the same period, he came out to receive a message from his ruler. At those for an ordinary officer, also at the same period, he came out to receive a Great officer, if he were not engaged in the dressing.

9 Whenever the presiding mourner went forth (to meet visitors), he had his feet bare, his skirt tucked under his girdle, and his hands across his chest over his heart. Having gone down by the steps on the west, if a ruler, he bowed to a refugee ruler, or a minister commissioned from another state, each in his proper place. When a message from his ruler came to a Great officer, he came to the outside of the door of the apartment (where the dead was), to receive the messenger who had ascended to the hall and communicated his instructions. (They then went down together), and the mourner bowed to the messenger below. When a Great officer came himself to condole with an ordinary officer, the latter wailed along with him, but did not meet him outside the gate.

10 The wife of a ruler went out (of her apartment) on a visit from the wife of a refugee ruler. The confirmed wife (of a Great officer) went out (in the same way) on the arrival of a message from the ruler's wife. The wife of an officer, if not engaged in the dressing, (also) went out to receive the confirmed wife (of a Great officer).

11 At the slighter dressing, the presiding mourner took his place inside the door (on the east of it), and the presiding wife had her face to the east. When the dressing was ended, both of them made as if they leant on the body, and leaped. The mourner unbared his breast, took off the tufts of juvenility, and bound up his hair with sackcloth. The wife knotted up her hair, and put on her sackcloth girdle in her room.

12 When the curtain (which screened the body) was removed, the men and women carried it and put it down in the hall, (the eldest son) going down the step's and bowing (to the visitors).

13 The (young) ruler (who was mourning) bowed to refugee lords, and to ministers, commissioners from other states. Great officers and other officers bowed to ministers and Great officers in their respective places. In the case of (the three grades of) officers, they received three side bows, one for each grade. The ruler's wife also bowed to the wife of a refugee lord, above in the hall. With regard to the wives of Great officers and of other officers, she bowed specially to each whose position had received the official appointment; to the others she gave a general bow - all above in the hall.

14 When the mourner had gone to his own place (after bowing to his visitors), he closed the robe which was drawn on one side, covering his breast, put on his girdle and head-band, and leapt. When the mourning was for his mother, he went to his place, and tied up his hair, after which he put down the offerings by the body. The visitors who had come to condole, covered their fur robes, put the roll at the back of their caps, assumed their girdles and head-bands, and leapt in correspondence with the mourner.

15 At the funeral rites for a ruler, the chief forester supplied wood and horns; the chief of the salvage-men supplied the vases for water; the chief of the slaughtering department supplied boilers; and (an officer from the department of) the minister of War (saw to the) hanging of these. Thus they secured the succession of wailers. Some of those in the department took their part in the wailing. If they did not hang up the vases, and the Great officers were sufficient to take the wailing in turns, then they did not use those others. In the hall of the ruler there were two lights above and two below; for that of a Great officer, one above and two below; for that of an ordinary officer, one above and one below.

16 When the guests went out, the curtain was removed.

17 When they were wailing the corpse above in the hall, the principal mourner was at the east; visitors coming from without, took their place at the west, and the women stood facing the south.

18 The wife (presiding), in receiving guests and escorting them, did not go down from the hall with them. If she did go down (as with the wife of the ruler), she bowed to her, but did not wail. If the son (presiding), had occasion to go outside the door of the apartment, and saw the guest (whom he so went to meet), he did not wail. When there was no female to preside, a son did so, and bowed to the female visitors inside the door of the apartment. If there were no son to preside, a daughter did so, and bowed to the male visitors at the foot of the steps on the east. If the son were a child, then he was carried in his sackcloth in the arms, and his bearer bowed for him. If the successor of the deceased were not present, and wag a man of rank, an apology was made to the guests; if he were not a man of rank, some other one bowed to them for him. If he were anywhere in the state, they waited for him; if he had gone beyond it, the encoffining and burial might go on. The funeral rites might proceed without the presence of the successor of the deceased, but not without one to preside over them.

19 At the mourning rites for a ruler, on the third day his son and his wife assumed the staff. On the fifth day, when the corpse was put into the coffin, his daughters who had become the wives of Great officers were allowed to use it. His (eldest) son and Great officers used it outside the door of the apartment (where the coffin was); inside the door they carried it in their hands (but did not use it). The wife and his daughters, the wives of Great officers, used the staff in their rooms; when they went to their places (in the apartment where the coffin was), people were employed to hold it for them. When a message came from the king, (the son presiding) put away his staff; when one came from the ruler of another state, he only held it in his hand. When attending to any consultation of the tortoise-shell about the corpse, he put away his staff. A Great officer, in the place of the ruler, carried his staff in his hand; at another Great officer's, he used it.

20 At the mourning rites for a Great officer, on the morning of the third day, when the body was put into the coffin, his son presiding, his wife presiding, and the steward of the House, all assumed the staff. On a message from the ruler, the (new) Great officer put away his staff; on a message from another Great officer, he carried it in his hand. His wife, on a message from the wife of the ruler, put her staff away; on a message from the confirmed wife (of another Great officer), she gave it to some one to hold for her.

21 At the mourning rites for an officer, the body on the second day was put into the coffin. On the morning of the third day, the presiding mourner assumed the staff, and his wife also. The same observances as in the rites fur a Great officer were observed on messages arriving from the ruler or his wife, or from a Great officer and his confirmed wife.

22 All the sons assumed the staff, but only the eldest son used it when they were going to their places (in the apartment where the coffin was). Great officers and other officers, when wailing by the coffin, used the staff; when wailing by the bier, they carried it in their hands. When the staff (used in mourning) was thrown away, it was broken and thrown away in secret.

23 As soon as death took place, the corpse was transferred to the couch, and covered with a large sheet. The clothes in which the deceased had died were removed. A servant plugged the mouth open with the spoon of horn; and to keep the feet from contracting, an easy stool was employed. These observances were the same for a ruler, a Great officer, and an ordinary officer.

24 The servant in charge of the apartments drew the water, and without removing the well-rope from the bucket gathered it up, and carried the whole up to the top of the steps. There, without going on the hall, he gave it to the attendants in waiting on the body. These then went in to wash the corpse, four lower servants holding up the sheet, and two performing the washing; having put the water in basins, to which they took it with ladles. In washing they used napkins of fine linen, and in drying the body the ordinary bathing clothes. Another servant then pared the nails of the feet, after which they threw away the rest of the water into the pit. At the funeral rites for a mother (or other female), the female attendants in waiting in the inner room held up the sheet and washed the body.

25 The servant in charge of the apartments, having drawn water and given it to the attendants in waiting on the body, these prepared the wash for the head, above in the hall - for a ruler, made from maize-water; for a Great officer, from that of the glutinous millet; and for an ordinary officer, that from maize-water. After this, some of the forester's department made a sort of furnace at the foot of the wall on the west; and the potter brought out a large boiler, in which the servant in charge of the apartments should boil the water. The servants of the forester's department brought the fuel which he had removed from the crypt in the north-west of the apartment, now converted into a shrine, to use for that purpose. When the water was heated, he gave it to the attendants, who proceeded to wash the head, and poured the water into an earthenware basin, using the napkin as on ordinary occasions to dry the head. Another servant then clipped the nails of the fingers, and wiped the beard. The water was then thrown into the pit.

26 For a ruler they put down a large vessel, full of ice; for a Great officer, a middle-sized one, full of ice; and for an ordinary officer, only one of earthenware, without any ice in it. Over these they placed the couch with a single sheet and pillow on it; another couch on which the jade should be put into the mouth; and another still, where the fuller dressing should be done. Then the corpse was removed to a couch in the hall, on which was a pillow and mat. The same forms were observed for a ruler, a Great officer, and an ordinary officer.

27 At the mourning rites for a ruler, his (eldest) son, Great officers, his other sons and all the (other) officers (employed about the court), ate nothing for three days, but confined themselves to gruel. (Afterwards) for their consumption they received in the morning a handful of rice, and another in the evening; which they ate without any observance of stated times. Officers (at a distance) were restricted to coarse rice and water for their drink, without regard to any stated times. The wife (of the new ruler), the confirmed wives (of the Great officers), and all the members of their harems, had coarse rice and drank water, having no regard in their eating to stated times.

28 At the mourning rites for a Great officer, the presiding mourner, the steward, and grandsons, all were confined to gruel. All the inferior officers were restricted to coarse rice, and water to drink. Wives and concubines took coarse rice, and water to drink. At the rites for an ordinary officer the same rules were observed.

29 After the burial, the presiding mourner had (only) coarse rice and water to drink; he did not eat vegetables or fruits. His wife observed the same rule. So it was in the case of rulers, Great officers, and other officers. After the change of mourning, towards the end of the year, they ate vegetables and fruit; and after the subsequent sacrifice, they ate flesh. They took their gruel in bowls, and did not wash their bands (before doing so). When they took their rice from the basket, they washed their hands. They ate their vegetables along with pickles and sauces. When they first ate flesh, it was dry flesh; when they first drank liquor, it was that newly made.

30 During the mourning of a year, on three occasions they abstained from eating. When eating coarse rice, with water to drink, they did not eat vegetables or fruits. After the burial, at the end of three months, they ate flesh and drank liquor. When the year's mourning was ended, they did not eat flesh nor drink liquor. When the father was alive, in the mourning of nine months, the rules were the same as in that for a year, on account of the mother or of the wife. Though they ate flesh and drank liquor, they could not take the enjoyment of these things in company with others.

31 During the mourning for five months, and that for three months, it was allowable to abstain from eating once or twice. Between the coffining and burial, when eating flesh and drinking liquor, they did not take the enjoyment of these things in company with others. While mourning for an aunt, the confirmed wife of an uncle, one's old ruler, or the head of a clan, they ate flesh and drank liquor. If a mourner could not eat the gruel, he might eat soup of vegetables. If he were ill, he might eat flesh and drink liquor. At fifty, one did not go

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through all the observances of mourning. At seventy, he simply wore the sackcloth on his person.

32 After the burial, if his ruler feasted a mourner, he partook of the viands; if a Great officer or a friend of his father did so, he partook in the same way. He, did not even decline the grain and flesh that might be set before him, but wine and new wine he declined.

33 The slighter dressing was performed inside the door of the apartment where the body was; the fuller dressing (at the top of) the steps (leading up to the reception hall) on the east. The body of a ruler was laid on a mat of fine bamboo; of a Great officer, on one of typha grass; and of an ordinary officer, on one of phragmites grass. At the slighter dressing one band of cloth was laid straight, and, there were three bands laid cross-wise. The sheet for a ruler's body was embroidered; for a Great officer's, white; for an ordinary officer's, black - each had one sheet. There were nineteen suits of clothes; those for the ruler, displayed in the corridor on the east; and those for a Great officer, or a common officer, inside the apartments - all with their collars towards the west, those in the north being the best. The sash and sheet were not reckoned among them.

34 At the fuller dressing there were three bands of cloth laid straight, and five laid cross-wise. There were (also) strings of cloth, and two sheets - equally for a ruler, a Great officer, and a common officer. The clothes for a ruler consisted of one hundred suits, displayed in the courtyard, having their collars towards the north, those on the west being the best; those of a Great officer were fifty suits, displayed in the corridor on the east, having the collars towards the west, those on the south being the best; those of a common officer were thirty suits, displayed also in the corridor on the east, with their collars towards the west, the best on the south. The bands and strings were of the same quality as the court robes. One strip of the band-cloth was divided into three, but at the ends was not further divided. The sheets were made of five pieces, without strings or buttons.

35 Among the clothes at the slighter dressing, the sacrificial robes were not placed below the others. For the ruler no clothes were used that were presented. For a Great officer and a common officer, the sacrificial (and other) robes belonging to the principal mourner were all used, and then they used those contributed by their relatives; but these were not displayed along with the others. At the slighter dressing, for a ruler, a Great officer, and a common officer, they used wadded upper robes and sheets. At the greater dressing, the number of sacrificial (and other) robes put on a ruler, a Great officer, or another officer', was not definitely fixed; but the upper robes and sheets for a ruler had only a thin lining, (instead of being wadded); for a Great officer and a common officer, they were as at the slighter dressing.

36 The long robe worn in private had a shorter one placed over it; it was not displayed alone. It was the rule that with the upper garment the lower one should also be shown. So only could they be called a suit.

37 All who set forth the clothes took them from the chests in which they had been deposited; and those who received. the clothes brought (as contributions) placed them in (similar) chests. In going up to the hall and descending from it, they did so by the steps on the west. They displayed the clothes without rumpling them. They did not admit any that were not correct; nor any of fine or coarse dolychos fibre or of coarse flax.

38 All engaged in dressing the corpse had their arms bared; those who moved it into the coffin, had their breasts covered. At the funeral rites for a ruler, the Great officer of prayer performed the dressing, assisted by all the members of his department; at those for a Great officer, the same officer stood by, and saw all the others dress the body; at those of a common officer, the members of that department stood by, while other officers (his friends) performed the dressing.

39 At both the dressings the sacrificial robes were not placed below the others. They were all placed with the lappel to lie on the left side. The bands were tied firmly, and not in a bow-knot.

40 The rule was that the dressers should wail, when they had completed their work. But in the case of an officer, as the dressing was performed by those who had served in office along with him, they, after the work was done, omitted a meal. In all cases the dressers were six.

41 The body cases (used before the dressing) were made - for a ruler, the upper one embroidered, and the lower one striped black and white, with seven strings on the open side; for a Great officer, the upper one dark blue, and the lower one striped black and white, with five tie-strings on the side; for a common officer, the upper one black, and the lower one red, with three tie-strings at the side. The upper case came down to the end of the hands, and the lower case was three feet long. At the smaller dressing and afterwards, they used coverlets laid on the body (instead of these cases), their size being the same as that of the cases.

42 When the great dressing of a ruler's body was about to commence, his son, with the sackcloth band about his cap, went to his place at the (south) end of the (eastern) corridor, while the ministers and Great officers took theirs at the corner of the hall, with the pillar on their west, their faces to the north, and their row ascending to the east. The uncles, brothers, and cousins were below the hall, with their faces to the north, The (son's) wife, and other wives whose position had been confirmed were on the west of the body, with their faces to other states the east. The female relations from the other states were in their apartments with their faces to the south. Inferior officers spread the mats. The Shang officers of prayer spread the strings, the coverlet, and clothes. The officers had their hands over the vessels. They then lifted the corpse and removed it to the place for the dressing. When the dressing was finished, the superintendent announced the fact. The son then (seemed to) lean on it, and leaped while his wife did the same, with her face to the east.

43 At the mourning rites of a Great officer, they were about to proceed to the great dressing, and the tie-strings, coverlets, and clothes had all been spread out, the ruler arrived, and was met by (the son), the principal mourner. The son entered before him, (and stood) at the right of the gate, outside which the exorcist stopped. The ruler having put down the vegetables (as an offering to the spirit of the gate), and the blesser entered preceding him, entered and went up to the hall. He then repaired to his place at the end of the corridor, while the ministers, and Great officers took theirs at the corner of the hall on the west of the pillar, looking to the north, their row ascending to the east. The presiding mourner was outside the apartment (where the corpse was), facing the south. His wife presiding was on the west of the body, facing the east. When they had moved the corpse, and finished the dressing, the steward reported that they had done so, and the presiding mourner went down below the hall, with his face to the north. There the ruler laid on him the soothing hand, and he bowed with his forehead, to the ground. The ruler signified to him to go up, and lean on the body, and also requested his wife, presiding, to lean on it.

44 At the mourning rites for a common officer, when they were about to proceed to the great dressing, the ruler was not present. In other respects the observances were the same as in the case of a Great officer.

45 They also leaped at the spreading out of the ties and strings; of the sheet; of the clothes; at the moving of the corpse; at the putting on of the clothes; of the coverlet; and of the adjusting of the ties and bands.

46 The ruler laid his hand on the body of a Great officer, and on that of the most honourable ladies of his own harem. A Great officer laid his hand on the body of the steward of his house, and on that of his niece and the sister of his wife, who had accompanied her to the harem. The ruler and a Great officer leant closely with their breasts over the bodies of their parents, wives, and eldest sons, but not over those of their other sons. A common officer, however, did so also to all his other sons. If a son by a concubine had a son, the parents did not perform this ceremony over him. When it was performed, the parents did it first, and then the wife and son. A ruler laid his hand on the body of a minister; parents, while bending over that of a son, also took hold of his hand. A son bent over his parents, bringing his breast near to theirs. A wife seemed as if she would place her two arms beneath the bodies of her parents-in-law; while they (simply) laid their hands on her. A wife made as if she would cling to her husband's body; while the husband held her hand as he did that of a brother or cousin. When others brought the breast near the body of a corpse, they avoided the point at which the ruler had touched it. After every such mark of sorrow, the mourner rose up and leaped.

47 At the mourning rites for a parent, (the son) occupied the slanting shed, unplastered; slept on straw, with a clod of earth for his pillow. He spoke of nothing but what related to the rites. A ruler enclosed this hut; but Great and common officers left it exposed. After the burial, the inclined posts were set up on lintels, and the hut was plastered, but not on the outside which could be seen. Rulers, Great and common officers, all had it enclosed. All the other sons, but the eldest by the proper wife, even before the burial had huts made for themselves in out-of-the-way places.

48 After the burial, the son would stand with others. If a ruler, he would speak of the king's affairs, but not of those of his own state. If a Great officer, or a common officer, he would speak of the ruler's affairs, but not of those of his own clan or family.

49 When the ruler was buried, the royal ordinances came into the state. After the wailing was finished, the new ruler engaged in the king's affairs. When a Great officer or a common officer was buried, the ordinances of the state came to his family. After the wailing was finished, while continuing the sackcloth band round his cap, and the girdle, he might don his armour and go into the field.

50 After the mourning was changed at the end of a year, (the sons) occupied the unplastered apartment, and did not occupy one along with others. Then the ruler consulted about the government of the state; and Great officers and common officers about the affairs of their clan and families. After the sacrifice at the end of two years, the ground of the apartment was made of a dark green, and the walls were whitened. After this, they no longer wailed outside; and after the sacrifice at the end of twenty-seven months, they did not do so inside; for, after it, music began to be heard.

51 After that sacrifice, at the end of twenty-seven months, (the son) attended to all his duties; and after the felicitous sacrifice (of re-arranging the tablets in his ancestral temple), he returned to his (usual) chamber. At the one year's mourning, he occupied the hut; and when it was completed, the occasions on which he did not seek the nuptial chamber were:-when his father was alive, and he had been wearing the hemmed sackcloth of a year for his mother or his wife, and when he had been wearing the cloth mourning of nine months; on these occasions, for three months he did not seek the intercourse of the inner chamber. A wife did not occupy the hut, nor sleep on the straw. At the mourning for her father or mother, when she had changed the mourning at the end of a year, she returned to her husband; when the mourning was that of nine months, she returned after the burial.

52 At the mourning rites for a duke (of the royal domain), his Great officers continued till the change of mourning at the end of a year, and then returned to their own residences. A common officer returned at the conclusion of the wailing.

53 At the mourning rites for their parents, (the other sons who were) Great officers or common officers, returned to their own residences after the change of the mourning at the end of the year; but on the first day of the month and at full moon, and on the return of the death-day, they came back and wailed in the house of him who was now the Head of their family. At the mourning for uncles and cousins, they returned to their own residences at the conclusion of the wailing.

54 A father did not take up his quarters (during the mourning) at a son's, nor an elder brother at a younger's.

55 At the mourning rites for a Great officer or his acknowledged wife, a ruler (went to see) the greater dressing; but if he wished to show special favour, he attended the slighter dressing. The ruler, in the case of an acknowledged wife, married to a Great officer of a different surname from his own, arrived after the lid was put on the coffin. He went to an officer's, when the body was put into the coffin.; but if he wanted to show special favour, he attended at the greater dressing. The ruler's wife, at the mourning for a (Great officer's) acknowledged wife, attended at the greater dressing; but if she wished to show special favour, at the slighter. In the case of his other wives, if she wished to show special favour, she attended at the greater dressing in the case of a Great officer's acknowledged wife, who was of a different surname from her own, she appeared after the coffining had taken place.

56 When the ruler went to a Great officer's or a common officer's, after the coffining had taken place, he sent word beforehand of his coming. The chief mourner provided all the offerings to be set down for the dead in the fullest measure, and waited outside the gate, till he saw the heads of the horses. He then led the way in by the right side of the gate. The exorcist stopped outside, and the blesser took his place, and preceded the ruler, who put down the offerings of vegetables (for the spirit of the gate) inside it. The blesser then preceded him up the eastern steps, and took his place with his back to the wall, facing the south. The ruler took his place at (thc top of) the steps; two men with spears standing before him, and two behind. The officer of reception then advanced. The chief mourner bowed, laying his forehead to the ground. The ruler then said what he had to say; looked towards the blesser and leaped. The chief mourner then (also) leaped.

57 If the visit were paid to a Great officer, the offerings might at this point be put down by the coffin. If it were to a common officer, he went out to wait outside the gate. Being requested to return and put down the offerings, he did so. When this was done, he preceded the ruler, and waited for him outside the gate. When the ruler retired, the chief mourner escorted him outside the gate, and bowed to him, with his forehead to the ground.

58 When a Great officer was ill, the ruler thrice inquired for him; and when his body was coffined, visited (his son) thrice. When a common officer was ill, he inquired for him once; and when his body was coffined, visited (his son) once. When the ruler came to condole (after the coffining), the (son) put on again the clothes he had worn at the coffining.

59 When the ruler's wife went lo condole at a Great officer's or a common officer's, the chief mourner went out to meet her outside the gate, and, when he saw her horses heads, went in before her by the right side of the gate. She then entered, went up to the hall, and took her place. The wife presiding went down by the steps on the west, and bowed with her head to the ground below (the hall). The ruler's wife looked towards her eldest son (who had accompanied her), and leaped. The offerings were put down according to the rules for them on the visit of the ruler. When she retired, the wife presiding went with her to the inside of the door of the apartment, and bowed to her with her head to the ground. The chief mourner escorted her to the outside of the great gate, but did not bow.

60 When a Great officer came to the mourning rites of one of his officers to whom he stood in the relation of ruler, the officer did not meet him outside the gate. He entered and took

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his place below the hall. The chief mourner (stood on the south of his place), with his face to the north, though the general rule for chief mourners was to face the south. The wife took her place in the room. If, at this juncture, there came a message from the ruler of the state, or one from a confirmed (Great) officer or his confirmed wife, or visitors from, the neighbouring states, the Great officer-ruler, having the chief mourner behind him, performed the bow of ceremony to each visitor.

61 When a ruler, on a visit of condolence, saw the bier for the corpse, he leaped. If a ruler had not given notice beforehand of his coining to a Great officer or a common officer, and he had not prepared the various offerings to be put down by the coffin on the occasion, when the ruler withdrew, the rule was that they should then be put down.

62 The largest (or outermost) coffin of the ruler of a state was eight inches thick; the next, six inches; and the innermost, four inches. The larger coffin of a Great officer of the highest grade was eight inches thick; and the inner, six inches; for one of the lowest grade, the dimensions were six inches and four. The coffin of a common officer was six inches thick. The (inner) coffin of a ruler was lined with red (silk), fixed in its place with nails of various metals; that of a Great officer with (silk of a) dark blue, fixed with nails of ox-bone; that of a common officer was lined, but had no nails. The lid of a ruler's coffin was varnished, with three double wedges (at the edges) over which were three bands; that of a Great officer's was (also) varnished, with two double wedges and two bands; that of a common officer was not varnished, but it had two double wedges and two bands.

63 The accumulated hair and nails of a ruler and Great officer were placed in bags at the four corners of the coffin; those of an officer were buried (without being put in the coffin). The coffin of a ruler was placed upon a bier, which was surrounded with high stakes, inclined over it till, when all was finished and plastered, there was the appearance of a house. That of a Great officer, having been covered with a pall, was placed in the did not western corridor and staked, but the plastering did not reach all over the coffin. That of a common officer was placed so that the double wedges could be seen; above that it was plastered. All were screened.

64 Of scorched grain there were put by the coffin of a ruler eight baskets, containing four different kinds; by that of a Great officer, six baskets, containing three kinds; by that of a common officer, four baskets, containing two kinds. Besides these, there were (dried) fish and flesh.

65 Ornamenting the coffin (on its way to the grave), there were for a ruler - the curtains with dragons (figured on them), and over them three gutter-Spouts; the fluttering ornaments (with pheasants figured on them and the ends of the curtains); above (on the sloping roof of the catafalque) were figures of axe-heads, of the symbol of discrimination, thrice repeated, and of flames, thrice repeated. These occupied the pall-like roof of white silk, as embroidery, and above it was the false covering attached to it by six purple ties, and rising up with ornaments in five, colours and five rows of shells. There were (at the corners) two streamers of feathers, suspended from a frame with the axes on it; two from another, bearing the symbol of discrimination; two from another, variously figured; all the frames on staffs, showing jade-symbols at the top. Fishes were made as if leaping at the ends of the gutters, The whole of the catafalque was kept together by six supports rising from the coffin, and wound round with purple silk, and six sustaining ropes, also purple, (drawn through the curtains).

66 For the catafalque of a Great officer there were painted curtains, with two gutter-spouts (above them); there were not the fluttering ornaments; above (on the sloping roof) there were flames painted, thrice repeated; and three symbols of discrimination, These formed the pall-like roof, and there were two purple ties, and two of deep blue. At the very top there were ornaments in three colours, and three rows of shells. There were two feather-streamers from a frame with axes, and two from a painted frame; all the frames on staffs with plumage at the tops. Figures of fishes were made at the ends of the gutters. The front supports of a Great officer's catafalque were purple, and those behind deep blue. So also were the sustaining ropes.

67 For the catafalque of a common officer, the curtains were of (plain) linen, and there was the sloping roof. There was (but) one gutter-spout. There were the fluttering pheasants on the bands. The purple ties were two, and the black also two. At the very top the ornaments were of three colours, and there was only one row of shells. The streamers of feathers from a painted frame were two, the staffs of which had plumage at their tops. The front supports of the catafalque were purple, and those behind black. The sustaining ropes were purple.

68 In burying the coffin of a ruler, they used a bier, four ropes, and two pillars. Those guiding the course of the coffin carried the shade with pendent feathers. In burying a Great officer, they used two ropes and two pillars. Those who guided the coffin used a reed of white grass. In burying a common officer, they used a carriage of the state. They employed two ropes and no post. As soon as they left the residence, those who directed the coffin used the shade of merit.

69 In letting down the coffin into the grave, they removed the ropes from the posts, and pulled at them with their. backs to the posts. For a ruler's coffin, they also used levers, and for a Great officer's or a common officer's, ropes attached to the sides of the coffin. Orders were given that they should not cry out in letting down that of the ruler. They let it down as guided by the sound of a drum. in letting down a Great officer's, they were commanded not to wail. In letting down a common officer's, those who began to wail stopped one another.

70 The outer shell of the coffin of a ruler was of pine; of a Great officer, of cypress; of another officer, of various kinds of wood. The surface between the coffin and shell of a ruler was sufficient to contain a music stopper; in the case of the coffin and shell of a Great officer, a vase for water; in that of the coffin and shell of a common officer, a jar of liquor. In the rites of a ruler, the shell was lined, and there were baskets of yu; in those of a Great officer, the shell was not lined; in those of a common officer, there were no baskets of yu.

LI JI CHAPTER 23 Ji Fa

Law of Sacrifices

1 According to the law of sacrifices, (Shun), the sovereign of the line of Yu, at the great associate sacrifice, gave the place of honour to Huang Di, and at the border sacrifice made Ku the correlate of Heaven; he sacrificed (also) to Zhuan-xu as his ancestor (on the throne) and to Yao as his honoured predecessor. The sovereigns of Xia, at the corresponding sacrifice, gave the place of honour also to Huang Di, and made Gun the correlate at the border sacrifice; they sacrificed to Zhuan-xu as their ancestor, and to Yu as their honoured predecessor. Under Yin, they gave the place of honour to Ku, and made Ming the correlate at the border sacrifice; they sacrificed to Xie as their ancestor, and to Tang as their honoured predecessor. Under Zhou they gave the place of honour to Ku, and made Ji the correlate at the border sacrifice, they sacrificed to king Wen as their ancestor, and to king Wu as their honoured predecessor.

2 With a blazing pile of wood on the Grand altar they sacrificed to Heaven; by burying (the victim) in the Grand mound, they sacrificed to the Earth. (In both cases) they used a red victim. By burying a sheep and a pig at the (altar of) Great brightness, they sacrificed to the seasons. (With similar) victims they sacrificed to (the spirits of cold and heat, at the pit and the altar, using prayers of deprecation and petition; to the sun, at the (altar called the) royal palace; to the moon, at the (pit called the) light of the night; to the stars at the honoured place of gloom; to (the spirits of) flood and drought at the honoured altar of rain; to the (spirits of the) four quarters at the place of the four pits and altars; mountains, forests, streams, valleys, hills, and mounds, which are able to produce clouds, and occasion winds and rain, were all regarded as (dominated by) spirits. He by whom all under the sky was held sacrificed to all spirits. The princes of states sacrificed to those which were in their own territories; to those which were not in their territories, they did not sacrifice.

3 Generally speaking, all born between heaven and earth were said to have their allotted times; the death of all creatures is spoken of as their dissolution; but man when dead is said to be in the ghostly state. There was no change in regard to these points in the five dynasties. What, the seven dynasties made changes in, were the assessors at the Great associate and the border sacrifices, and the parties sacrificed to in the ancestral temple; they made no other changes.

4 The sovereigns, coming to the possession of the kingdom, divided the land and established the feudal principalities; they assigned (great) cities (to their nobles), and smaller towns (to their chiefs); they made ancestral temples, and the arrangements for altering the order of the spirit-tablets; they raised altars, and they cleared the ground around them for the performance of their sacrifices. In all these arrangements they made provision for the sacrifices according to the nearer or more remote kinship, and for the assignment of lands of greater or less amount.

Thus the king made for himself seven ancestral temples, with a raised altar and the surrounding area for each. The temples were-his father's; his grandfather's; his great-grandfather's; his great-great-grandfather's; and the temple of his (high) ancestor. At all of these a sacrifice was offered every month. The temples of the more remote ancestors formed the receptacles for the tablets as they were displaced; they were two, and at these only the seasonal sacrifices were offered. For the removed tablet of one more remote, an altar was raised and its corresponding area; and on occasions of prayer at this altar and area, a sacrifice was offered, but if there were no prayer, there was no sacrifice. In the case of one still more remote, (there was no sacrifice); he was left in his ghostly state.

A feudal prince made for himself five ancestral temples, with an altar and a cleared area about it for each. The temples were--his father's; his grandfather's; and his great-grandfather's; in all of which a sacrifice was offered every month. In the temples of the great-great-grandfather, and that of the (high) ancestor only, the seasonal sacrifices were offered. For one beyond the high ancestor a special altar was raised, and for one still more remote, an area was prepared. If there were prayer at these, a sacrifice was offered; but if there were no prayer, there was no sacrifice. In the case of one still more remote, (there was no service); he was left in his ghostly state.

A Great officer made for himself three ancestral temples and two altars. The temples were-his father's; his grandfather's; and his great-grandfather's. In this only the seasonal sacrifices were offered. To the great-great-grandfather and the (high) ancestor there were no temples. If there were occasion for prayer to them, altars were raised, and sacrifices offered on them. An ancestor still more remote was left in his ghostly state.

An officer of the highest grade had two ancestral temples and one altar; the temples of his father and grandfather, at which only the seasonal sacrifices were presented. There was no temple for his great-grandfather. If there were occasion to pray to him, an altar was raised, and a sacrifice offered to him. Ancestors more remote were left in their ghostly state.

An officer in charge merely of one department had one ancestral temple; that, namely, of his father. There was no temple for his grandfather, but he was sacrificed to (in the father's temple.) Ancestors beyond the grandfather were left in their ghostly state.

The mass of ordinary officers and the common people had no ancestral temple. Their dead were left in their ghostly state, (to have offerings presented to them in the back apartment, as occasion required).

5 The king, for all the people, erected an altar to (the spirit of) the ground, called the Grand altar, and one for himself, called the Royal altar. A feudal prince, for all his people, erected one called the altar of the state, and one for himself called the altar of the prince. Great officers and all below them in association erected such an altar, called the Appointed altar.

6 The king, for all the people, appointed (seven altars for) the seven sacrifices - one to the superintendent of the lot; one in the central court, for the admission of light and the rain from the roofs; one at the gates of the city wall; one in the roads leading from the city; one for the discontented ghosts of kings who had died without posterity; one for the guardian of the door; and one for the guardian of the furnace. He also had seven corresponding altars for himself.

A feudal prince, for his state, appointed (five altars for) the five sacrifices - one for the superintendent of the lot; one in the central court, for the admission of light and rain; one at the gates of the city wall; one in the roads leading from the city; one for the discontented ghosts of princes who had died without posterity. He also had five corresponding altars for himself.

A Great officer appointed (three altars for) the three sacrifice - one for the discontented ghosts of his predecessors who had died without posterity; one at the gates of his city; and one on the roads leading from it.

An officer of the first grade appointed (two altars for) the two sacrifices - one at the gates; and one on the roads (outside the gates).

Other officers and the common people had one (altar and one) sacrifice. Some raised one altar for the guardian of the door; and others, one for the guardian of the furnace.

7 The king, carrying down (his favour), sacrificed to five classes of those who had died prematurely - namely, to the rightful eldest sons (of former kings); to rightful grandsons; to rightful great-grandsons; to rightful great-great-grandsons; and to the rightful sons of these last.

A feudal prince, carrying down (his favour), sacrificed to three classes; a Great officer similarly to two; another officer of the first grade and the common people sacrificed only to the son who had died prematurely.

8 According to the institutes of the sage kings about sacrifices, sacrifice should be offered to him who had given (good) laws to the people to him who had laboured to the death in the discharge of his duties; to him who had strengthened the state by his laborious toil; to him who had boldly and successfully met great calamities; and to him who had warded off great evils. Such were the following - Nong, the son of the lord of Li-shan, who possessed the kingdom, and showed how to cultivate all the cereals; and Ji (the progenitor) of Zhou, who continued his work after the decay of Xia, and was sacrificed to under the name of Ji; Hou-tu, a son of the line of Gong-gong, that swayed the nine provinces, who was able to reduce them all to order, and was sacrificed to as the spirit of the ground; the Di Ku, who could define all the zodiacal stars, and exhibit their times to the people; Yao, who rewarded (the worthy), made the penal laws impartial, and the end of whose course was distinguished by his righteousness; Shun, who, toiling amid all his affairs, died in the country (far from his capital); Yu, (the son of) Gun, who was kept a prisoner till death for trying to dam up the waters of the flood, while Yu completed the work, and atoned for his father's failure; Huang Di, who gave everything its right name,

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thereby showing the people how to avail themselves of its qualities; Zhuan-xu, who completed this work of Huang Di; Xie, who was minister of Instruction, and perfected the (condition and manners of the) people; Ming, who, through his attention to the duties of his office, died in the waters; Thang, who ruled the people with a benignant sway and cut off their oppressor; and king Wen, who by his peaceful rule, and king Wu, who by his martial achievements, delivered the people from their afflictions. All these rendered distinguished services to the people. As to the sun and moon, the stars and constellations, the people look up to them, while mountains, forests, streams, valleys, hills, and mountains supply them with the materials for use which they require. Only men and things of this character were admitted into the sacrificial canon.

LI JI CHAPTER 24 Ji YI

Meaning of Sacrifices

1 Sacrifices should not be frequently repeated. Such frequency is indicative of importunateness; and importunateness is inconsistent with reverence. Nor should they be at distant intervals. Such infrequency is indicative of indifference; and indifference leads to forgetting them altogether. Therefore the superior man, in harmony with the course of Heaven, offers the sacrifices of spring and autumn. When he treads on the dew which has descended as hoar-frost he cannot help a feeling of sadness, which arises in his mind, and cannot be ascribed to the cold. In spring, when he treads on the ground, wet with the rains and dews that have fallen heavily, he cannot avoid being moved by a feeling as if he were seeing his departed friends. We meet the approach of our friends with music, and escort them away with sadness, and hence at the sacrifice in spring we use music, but not at the sacrifice in autumn.

2 The severest vigil and purification is maintained and carried on inwardly; while a looser vigil is maintained externally. During the days of such vigil, the mourner thinks of his departed, how and where they sat, how they smiled and spoke, what were their aims and views, what they delighted in, and what things they desired and enjoyed. On the third day of such exercise he will see those for whom it is employed.

3 On the day of sacrifice, when he enters the apartment (of the temple), he will seem to see (the deceased) in the place (where his spirit-tablet is). After he has moved about (and performed his operations), and is leaving at the door, he will seem to be arrested by hearing the sound of his movements, and will sigh as he seems to hear the sound of his sighing.

4 Thus the filial piety taught by the ancient kings required that the eyes of the son should not forget the looks (of his parents), nor his ears their voices; and that he should retain the memory of their aims, likings, and wishes. As he gave full play to his love, they seemed to live again; and to his reverence, they seemed to stand out before him. So seeming to live and stand out, so unforgotten by him, how could his sacrifices be without the accompaniment of reverence?

The superior man, while (his parents) are alive, reverently nourishes them; and, when-they are dead, he reverently sacrifices to them; his (chief) thought is how to the end of life not to disgrace them. The saying that the superior man mourns all his life for his parents has reference to the recurrence of the day of their death. That he does not do his ordinary work on that day does not mean that it would be unpropitious to do so; it means that on that day his thoughts are occupied with them, and he does not dare to occupy himself as on other days with his private and personal affairs.

5 It is only the sage who can sacrifice to God, and (only) the filial son who can sacrifice to his parents. Sacrificing means directing one's self to, The son directs his thoughts (to his parents), and then he can offer his sacrifice (so that they shall enjoy it). Hence the filial son approaches the personator of the departed without having occasion to blush; the ruler leads the victim forward, while his wife puts down the bowls; the ruler presents the offerings to the personator, while his wife sets forth the various dishes; his ministers and Great officers assist the ruler, while their acknowledged wives assist his wife. How well sustained was their reverence! How complete was the expression of their loyal devotion! How earnest was their wish that the departed should enjoy the service!

6 King Wen, in sacrificing, served the dead as if he were serving the living. He thought of them dead as if he did not wish to live (any longer himself). On the recurrence of their death-day, he was sad; in calling his father by the name elsewhere forbidden, he looked as if he saw him. So sincere was he in sacrificing that he looked as if he saw the things which his father loved, and the pleased expression of his face - such was king Wen! The lines of the ode (II, v, ode 2), 'When early dawn unseals my eyes, Before my mind my parents rise,' might be applied to king Wen. On the day after the sacrifice, when the day broke, he did not sleep, but hastened to repeat it; and after it was finished, he still thought of his parents. On the day of sacrifice his joy and sorrow were blended together. He could not but rejoice in the opportunity of offering the sacrifice; and when it was over, he could not but be sad.

7 At the autumnal sacrifice, when Zhong-ni advanced, bearing the offerings, his general appearance was indicative of simple sincerity, but his steps were short and oft repeated. When the sacrifice was over, Zi-gong questioned him, saying, 'Your account of sacrificing was that it should be marked by the dignity and intense absorption of all engaged in it; and now how is it that in your sacrificing there has been no such dignity and absorption?'

The Master said, 'That dignity of demeanour should belong to those who are only distantly connected (with him who is sacrificed to), and that absorbed demeanour to one whose thoughts are turned in on himself (lest he should make any mistake). But how should such demeanour consist with communion with the spirits (sacrificed to)? How should such unity and absorption be seen in my sacrifice? (At the sacrifices of the king and rulers) there is the return of the personator to his apartment, and the offering of food to him there; there are the performances of the music, and the setting forth of the stands with the victims on them; there are the ordering of the various ceremonies and the music; and there is the complete array of the officers for all the services. When they are engaged in the maintenance of that dignity and absorption in their duties, how can they be lost in their abandonment to intercourse with the spiritual presences? Should words be understood only in one way? Each saying has its own appropriate application.'

8 When a filial son is about to sacrifice, he is anxious that all preparations should be made beforehand; and when the time arrives, that everything necessary should be found complete; and then, with a mind free from all pre-occupation, he should address himself to the performance of his sacrifice. The temple and its apartments having been repaired, the walls and roofs having been put in order, and all the assisting officers having been provided, husband and wife, after vigil and footing, bathe their heads and persons, and array themselves in full dress. In coming in with the things which they carry, how grave and still are they! how absorbed in what they do! as if they were not able to sustain their weight, as if they would let them fall - Is not theirs the highest filial reverence? He sets forth the stands with the victims on them; arranges all the ceremonies and music; provides the officers for, the various ministries. These aid in sustaining and bringing in the things, and thus he declares his mind and wish, and in his lost abstraction of mind seeks to have communion with the dead in their spiritual state, if peradventure they will enjoy his offerings, if peradventure they will do so. Such is the aim of the filial son (in his sacrifices)!

9 The filial son, in sacrificing, seems never able to exhaust his earnest purpose, his sincerity, and reverence. He observes every rule, without transgression or short-coming. His reverence appears in his movements of advancing and retiring, as if he were hearing the orders (of his parents), or as if they were perhaps directing him.

10 What the sacrifice of a filial son should be can be known. While he is standing waiting for the service to commence, he should be reverent, with his body somewhat bent; while he is. engaged in carrying forward the service, he should be reverent, with an expression of pleasure; when he is presenting the offerings, he should be reverent, with an expression of desire. He should then retire and stand, as if he were about to receive orders; when he has removed the offerings and (finally) retires, the expression of reverent gravity should continue to be worn on his face. Such is the sacrifice of a filial son. To stand without any inclination of the body would show insensibility; to carry the service forward without an expression of pleasure would show indifference; to present the offerings without an expression of desire (that they may be enjoyed) would show a want of love; to retire and stand without seeming to expect to receive orders would show pride; to retire and stand, after the removal of the offerings, without an expression of reverent gravity would show a forgetfulness of the parent to whom he owes his being. A sacrifice so conducted would be wanting in its proper characteristics.

11 A filial son, cherishing a deep love for his parents, is sure to have a bland air; having a bland air, he will have a look of pleasure; having a look of pleasure, his demeanour will be mild and compliant. A filial son will move as if he were carrying a jade symbol, or bearing a full vessel. Still and grave, absorbed in what he is doing, he will seem as if he were unable to sustain the burden, and in danger of letting it fall. A severe gravity and austere manner are not proper to the service of parents;--such is the manner of a full-grown man.

12 There were five things by means of which the ancient kings secured the good government of the whole kingdom - the honour which they paid to the virtuous; to the noble; and to the old; the reverence which they showed to the aged; and their kindness to the young. It was by these five things that they maintained the stability of the kingdom. Why did they give honour to the virtuous? Because of their approximation to the course of duty. They did so to the noble because of their approximation to the position of the ruler; and to the old because of their approximation to that of parents. They showed reverence to the aged, because of their approximation to the position of elder brothers; and kindness to the young, because of their approximation to the position of sons.

13 Therefore he who is perfectly filial approximates to be king, and he who is perfectly fraternal approximates to being presiding chieftain. He who is perfectly filial approximates to being king, for even the son of Heaven had the father (whom he must revere); and he who is perfectly fraternal approximates to being presiding chieftain, for even a feudal lord had his elder brothers (or cousins), (whom he must obey). The observance of the lessons of the ancient kings, without admitting any change in them, was the way by which they united and kept together the kingdom with its states and families.

14 The Master said, 'The laying the foundation of all love in the love of parents teaches people concord. The laying the foundation of (all) reverence in the reverence of elders teaches the people obedience. When taught loving harmony, the people set the (proper) value on their parents; when taught to reverence their superiors, the people set the (Proper) value in obeying the orders given to them. Filial piety in the service of parents, and obedience in the discharge of orders can be displayed throughout the kingdom, and they will everywhere take effect.

15 At the time of the border sacrifice to Heaven, those who are engaged in funeral rites do not dare to wail, and those who are wearing mourning do not dare to enter the gate of the capital - this is the highest expression of reverence.

16 On the day of sacrifice, the ruler led the victim forward, along with and assisted by his son on the opposite side; while the Great officers followed in order. When they had entered the gate of the temple, they fastened the victim to the stone pillar. The ministers and Great officers then bared their arms, and proceeded to inspect the hair, paying particular attention to that of the ears. They then with the knife with the bells attached to it, cut it open, took out the fat about the inwards, and withdrew (for a time). Afterwards they offered some of the flesh boiled, and some raw, then (finally) withdrawing. There was the highest reverence about everything.

17 The sacrifice in the suburb of the capital was the great expression of gratitude to Heaven, and it was specially addressed to the sun, with which the moon was associated. The sovereigns of Xia presented it in the dark. Under the Yin dynasty they did so at noon. Under the Zhou they sacrificed all the day, especially at daybreak, and towards evening. They sacrificed to the sun on the altar, and to the moon in the hollow - to mark the distinction between (the) gloom (of the one) and (the) brightness (of the other), and to show the difference between the high and the low. They sacrificed to the sun in the east, and to the moon in the west - to mark the distinction between (the) forthcoming (of the former) and (the) withdrawing (of the latter), and to show the correctness of their (relative) position. The sun comes forth from the east, and the moon appears in the west; the darkness and the light are now long, now short; when the one ends, the other begins, in regular succession - thus producing the harmony of all under the sky.

18 The rites to be observed by all under heaven were intended to promote the return (of the mind) to the beginning (= Creator of all); to promote (the honouring of) spiritual Beings; to promote the harmonious use (of all resources and appliances) of government; to promote righteousness; and to promote humility. They promote the return to the beginning, securing the due consideration, of their originator. They promote (the honouring) of spiritual Beings, securing the giving honour to superiors. They promote the (proper) use of all resources, thereby establishing the regulations (for the well-being of) the people. They promote righteousness, and thus there are no oppositions and conflictings between high and low. They promote humility, in order to prevent occasions of strife. Let these five things be united through the rites for the regulation of all under heaven, and though there may be some extravagant and perverse who are not kept in order, they will be few.

19 Zai Wo said, 'I have heard the names Gui and Shen, but I do not know what they mean.' The Master said, 'The (intelligent) spirit is of the shen nature, and shows that in fullest measure; the animal soul is of the gui nature, and shows that in fullest measure. It is the union of gui and shen that forms the highest exhibition of doctrine. All the living must die, and dying, return to the ground; this is what is called kwei. The bones and flesh, moulder below, and, hidden away, become the earth of the fields. But the spirit issues forth, and is displayed on high in a condition of glorious brightness. The vapours and odours which produce a feeling of sadness, (and arise from the decay of their substance), are the subtle essences of all things, and (also) a manifestation of the shan nature. On the ground of these subtle essences of things, with an extreme decision and inventiveness, (the sages) framed distinctly (the names of) kwei and shan, to constitute a pattern for the black-haired race; and all the multitudes were filled with awe, and the myriads of the people constrained to submission.'

20 'The sages did not consider these (names) to be sufficient, and therefore. they built temples with their (different) apartments, and framed their rules for ancestors who were

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always to be honoured, and those whose tablets should be removed;--thus making a distinction for nearer and more distant kinship, and for ancestors the remote and the recent, and teaching the people to go back to their oldest fathers, and retrace their beginnings, not forgetting those to whom they owed their being. In consequence of this the multitude submitted to their lessons, and listened to them with a quicker readiness. These two elements (of the human constitution) having been established (with the two names), two ceremonies were framed in accordance with them. They appointed the service of the morning, when the fat of the inwards was burned so as to bring out its fragrance, and this was mixed with the blaze of dried southern-wood. This served as a tribute to the (intelligent) spirit, and taught all to go back to their originating ancestors. They (also) presented millet and rice, and offered the delicacies of the liver, lungs, head, and heart, along with two bowls (of liquor) and odoriferous spirits. This served as a tribute to the animal soul, and taught the people to love one another, and high and low to cultivate good feeling between them - such was the effect of those ceremonies.

21 'The superior man, going back to his ancient fathers, and returning to the authors of his being, does not forget those to whom he owes his life, and therefore he calls forth all his reverence, gives free vent to his feelings, and exhausts his strength in discharging the above service;-as a tribute of gratitude to his parents he dares not but do his utmost.' Thus it was that anciently the, son of Heaven had his field of a thousand acres, in which he himself held the plough, wearing the square-topped cap with red ties. The feudal princes also had their field of a hundred acres, in which they did the same, wearing the same cap with green ties. They did this in the service of Heaven, Earth, the Spirits of the land and grain, and their ancient fathers, to supply the new wine, cream, and vessels of grain. In this way did they procure these things - it was a great expression of their reverence.

22 Anciently, the son of Heaven and the feudal lords had their officers who attended to their animals; and at the proper seasons, after vigil and fasting, they washed their heads, bathed, and visited them in person, taking from them for victims those which were spotless and perfect - it was a great expression of their reverence. The ruler ordered the oxen to be brought before him, and inspected them; he chose them by their hair, divined whether it would be fortunate to use them, and if the response were favourable, he had them cared for. In his skin cap, and the white skirt gathered up at the waist, on the first day and at the middle of the month, he inspected them. Thus did he do his utmost - it was the height of filial piety.

23 Anciently, the son of Heaven and the feudal lords had their own mulberry trees and silkworms' house; the latter built near a river, ten cubits in height, the surrounding walls being topped with thorns, and the gates closed on the outside. In the early morning of a very bright day, the ruler, in his skin cap and the white skirt, divined for the most auspicious of the honourable ladies in the three palaces of his wife, who were then employed to take the silkworms into the house. They washed the seeds in the stream, gathered the leaves from the mulberry trees, and dried them in the wind to feed the worms. When the (silkworm) year was ended, the honourable ladies had finished their work with the insects, and carried the cocoons to show them to the ruler. They then presented them to his wife, who said, 'Will not these supply the materials for the ruler's robes?' She forthwith received them, wearing her head-dress and the robe with pheasants on it, and afterwards caused a sheep and a pig to be killed and cooked to treat (the ladies). This probably was the ancient custom at the presentation of the cocoons. Afterwards, on a good day, the wife rinsed some of them thrice in a vessel, beginning to unwind them, and then distributed them to the auspicious and honourable ladies of her three palaces to (complete) the unwinding. They then dyed the thread red and green, azure and yellow, to make the variously coloured figures on robes. When the robes were finished, the ruler wore them in sacrificing to the former kings and dukes; all displayed the greatest reverence.

24 The superior man says, 'Ceremonies and music should not for a moment be neglected by any one. When one has mastered (the principles of) music, and regulates his heart and mind accordingly, the natural, correct, gentle, and honest heart is easily developed, and with this development of the heart comes joy. This joy goes on to a feeling of repose. This repose is long continued. The man in this constant repose becomes (a sort of) heaven. Heaven-like, his action is spirit-like. Heaven-like, he is believed, though he do not speak. Spirit-like, he is regarded with awe, though he display no rage. So it is when one by his mastering of music regulates his mind and heart. When one has mastered (the principle of) ceremonies, and regulates his person accordingly, he becomes grave and reverential. Grave and reverential, he is regarded with awe. If the heart be for a moment without the feeling of harmony and joy, meanness and deceitfulness enter it. If the outward demeanour be for a moment without gravity and reverentialness, indifference and rudeness show themselves.

'Therefore the sphere in which music acts is the interior of man, and that of ceremonies is his exterior. The result of music is a perfect harmony, and that of ceremonies is a perfect observance (of propriety). When one's inner man is thus harmonious, and his outer man thus docile, the people behold his countenance and do not strive with him; they look to his demeanour, and no feeling of indifference or rudeness arises in them. Thus it is that when virtue shines and moves within (a superior), the people are sure to accept (his rule) and hearken to him; and when the principles (of propriety) are displayed in his conduct, the people are all sure to accept (his rule) and obey him. Therefore it is said, 'Let ceremonies and music have their course till all under heaven is filled with them; then give them their manifestation and application, and nothing difficult to manage will appear.'

'Music affects the inward movements (of the soul); ceremonies appear in the outward movements (of the body). Hence it is the rule to make ceremonies as few and brief as possible, and to give to music its fullest development. This leads to the forward exhibition of ceremonies, and therein their beauty resides; and to the introspective consideration of music, and therein its beauty resides. If ceremonies, demanding this condensation, did not receive this forward exhibition of them, they would almost disappear altogether; if music, demanding this full development, were not accompanied with the introspection, it would produce a dissipation of the mind. Thus it is that to every ceremony there is its proper response, and for music there is this introspection. When ceremonies are responded to, there arises pleasure, and when music is accompanied with the right introspection, there arises repose. The response of ceremony and the introspection of music spring from one and the same idea, and have one and the same object.'

25 Zeng-zi said, 'There are three degrees of filial piety. The highest is the honouring of our parents; the second is the not disgracing them; and the lowest is the being able to support them.' (His disciple), Gong-ming Yi, said, 'Can you, master, be considered (an example of a) filial son?' Zeng-zi replied, 'What words are these? What words are these? What the superior man calls filial piety requires the anticipation of our parents' wishes, the carrying out of their aims and their instruction in the path (of duty). I am simply one who supports his parents; how can I be considered filial?'

26 Zeng-zi said, 'The body is that which has been transmitted to us by our parents; dare any one allow himself to be irreverent in the employment of their legacy? If a man in his own house and privacy be not grave, he is not filial; if in serving his ruler, he be not loyal, he is not filial; if in discharging the duties of office, he be not reverent, he is not filial; if with friends he be not sincere, he is not filial; if on the field of battle he be not brave, he is not filial. If he fail in these five things, the evil (of the disgrace) will reach his parents; dare he but reverently attend to them?'

To prepare the fragrant flesh and grain which he has cooked, tasting and then presenting them before his parents, is not filial piety; it is only nourishing them. He whom the superior man pronounces filial is he whom (all) the people of (his) state praise, saying with admiration, 'Happy are the parents who have such a son as this!' - that indeed is what can be called being filial. The fundamental lesson for all is filial piety. The practice of it is seen in the support (of parents). One may be able to support them; the difficulty is in doing so with the proper reverence. One may attain to that reverence; the difficulty is to do so without self-constraint. That freedom from constraint may be realised; the difficulty is to maintain it to the end. When his parents are dead, and the son carefully watches over his actions, so that a bad name, (involving) his parents, shall not be handed down, he may be said to be able to maintain his piety to the end. True love is the love of this; true propriety is the doing of this; true righteousness is the rightness of this; true sincerity is being sincere in this; true strength is being strong in this joy springs from conformity to this; punishments spring from the violation of this.

27 Zeng-zi said, 'Set up filial piety, and it will fill the space from earth to heaven; spread it out, and it will extend over all the ground to the four seas;' hand it down to future ages, and from morning to evening it will be observed; push it on to the eastern sea, the western sea, the southern sea, and the northern sea, and it will be (everywhere) the law for men, and their obedience to it will be uniform. There will be a fulfilment of the words of the ode (III, i, ode 10, 6), "From west to east, from south to north, There was no unsubmissive thought."

28 Zeng-zi said, 'Trees are felled and animals killed, (only) at the proper seasons. The Master said, "To fell a single tree, or kill a single animal, not at the proper season, is contrary to filial piety."' There are three degrees of filial piety - the least, seen in the employment of one's strength (in the service of parents); the second, seen in the endurance of toil (for them); and the greatest, seen in its never failing. Thinking of the gentleness and love (of parents) and forgetting our toils (for them) may be called the employment of strength. Honouring benevolences and resting with the feeling of repose in righteousness may be called the endurance of toil; the wide dispensation of benefits and the providing of all things (necessary for the people) may be called the piety that does not fail. When his parents love him, to rejoice, and not allow himself to forget them; when they hate him, to fear and yet feel no resentment; when they have faults, to remonstrate with them, and yet not withstand them; when they are dead, to ask (the help only of) the good to obtain the grain with which to sacrifice to them - this is what is called the completion (by a son) of his proper services.

29 The disciple Yue-zheng Chun injured his foot in descending from his hall, and for some months was not able to go out. Even after this he still wore a look of sorrow, and (one of the) disciples of the school said to him, 'Your foot, master, is better; and though for some months you could not go out, why should you still wear a look of sorrow?' Yue-zheng Chun replied, 'It is a good question which you ask! It is a good question which you ask! I heard from Zang-dze what he had heard the Master say, that of all that Heaven produces and Earth nourishes, there is none so great as man. His parents give birth to his person all complete, and to return it, to them all complete may be called filial duty. When no member has been mutilated and no disgrace done to any part of the person, it may be called complete; and hence a superior man does not dare to take the slightest step in forgetfulness of his filial duty. But now I forgot the way of that, and therefore I wear the look of sorrow. (A son) should not forget his parents in a single lifting up of his feet, nor in the utterance of a single word. He should not forget his parents in a single lifting up of his feet, and therefore he will walk in the highway and not take a by-path, he will use a boat and not attempt to wade through a stream - not daring, with the body left him by his parents, to go in the way of peril. He should not forget his parents in the utterance of a single word, and therefore an evil word will not issue from his mouth, and an angry word will not come back to his person. Not to disgrace his person and not to cause shame to his parents may be called filial duty.'

30 Anciently, the sovereigns of the line of Yu honoured virtue, and highly esteemed age; the sovereigns of Xia honoured rank, and highly esteemed age; under Yin they honoured riches, and highly esteemed age; under Zhou, they honoured kinship, and highly esteemed age. Yu, Xia, Yin, and Zhou produced the greatest kings that have appeared under Heaven, and there was not one of them who neglected age. For long has honour been paid to years under the sky; to pay it is next to the service of parents.

31 Therefore, at court among parties of the same rank, the highest place was given to the oldest. Men of seventy years carried their staffs at the court. When the ruler questioned one of them, he made him sit on a mat. One of eighty years did not wait out the audience, and when the ruler would question him he went to his house. Thus the submission of a younger brother (and juniors generally) was recognised at the court.

32 A junior walking with one older (than himself), if they were walking shoulder to shoulder, yet it was not on the same line. If he did not keep transversely (a little behind), he followed the other. When they saw an old man, people in carriages or walking got out of his way. Men, where the white were mingling with their black hairs, did not carry burdens on the roads. Thus the submission of juniors was recognised on the public ways. Residents in the country took their places according to their age, and the old and poor were not neglected, nor did the strong come into collision with the weak, or members of a numerous clan do violence to those of a smaller. Thus the submission of juniors was recognised in the country districts and hamlets.

33 According to the ancient rule, men of fifty years were not required to serve in hunting expeditions; and in the distribution of the game, a larger share was given to the more aged. Thus the submission of juniors was recognised in the arrangements for the hunts. In the tens and fives of the army and its detachments, where the rank was the same, places were given according to age. Thus the submission of juniors was recognised in the army.

34 The display of filial and fraternal duty in the court; the practice of them on the road; their reaching to the districts and hamlets; their extension to the huntings; and the cultivation of them in the army, (have thus been described). All would have died for them under the constraint of righteousness, and not dared to violate them.

35 The sacrifice in the Hall of Distinction served to inculcate filial duty on the feudal lords; the feasting of the three classes of the old and five classes of the experienced in the Great college served to inculcate brotherly submission on those princes; the sacrifices to the worthies of former times in the western school served to inculcate virtue on them; the (king's) ploughing in the field set apart for him, served to teach them the duty of nourishing (the people); their appearances at court in spring and autumn served to inculcate on them their duty as subjects or ministers. Those five institutions were the great lessons for the kingdom.

36 When feasting the three classes of the old and five classes of the experienced, the son of Heaven bared his arm, cut up the bodies of the victims, and handed round the condiments; he also presented the cup with which they rinsed their mouths,

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wearing the square-topped cap, and carrying a shield. It was thus he inculcated brotherly submission on the princes. It was thus that in the country and villages regard was paid to age, that the old and poor were not neglected, that the strong did not attack the weak, and that the members of a numerous clan did hot oppress those of a smaller - these things came from the Great college. The son of Heaven appointed the four schools; and when his eldest son entered one of them, he took his place according to his age.

37 When the son of Heaven was on a tour of inspection, the princes (of each quarter) met him on their borders. The son of Heaven first visited those who were a hundred years old. If there were those of eighty or ninety, on the way to the east, he, though going to the west, did not dare to pass by (without seeing them); and so, if their route was to the west, and his to the west. If he wished to speak of matters of government, he, though ruler, might go to them.

38 Those who had received the first degree of office took places according to age (at meetings) in the country and villages; those who had received the second, took places in the same way (at meetings) of all the members of their relatives. Those who had received the third degree did not pay the same regard to age. But at meetings of all the members of a clan no one dared to take precedence of one who was seventy years old. Those who were seventy, did not go to court unless for some great cause. When they did so for such a cause, the ruler would bow and give place to them, afterwards going on to the parties possessed of rank.

39 Whatever good was possessed by the son of Heaven, he humbly ascribed the merit of it to Heaven; whatever good was possessed by a feudal lord, he ascribed it to the son of Heaven; whatever good was possessed by a minister or Great officer, he attributed it to the prince of his state; whatever good was possessed by an officer or a common man, he assigned the ground of it to his parents, and the preservation of it to his elders. Emolument, rank, felicitations, and rewards were (all) transacted in the ancestral temple; and it was thus that they showed (the spirit of) submissive deference.

40 Anciently, the sages, having determined the phenomena of heaven and earth in their states of rest and activity, made them the basis of the Yi (and divining by it). The diviner held the tortoise-shell in his arms, with his face towards the south, while the son of Heaven, in his dragon-robe and square-topped cap, stood with his face to the north. The latter, however intelligent might be his mind, felt it necessary to set forth and obtain a decision on what his object was;-showing that he did not dare to take his own way, and giving honour to Heaven (as the supreme Decider). What was good in him (or in his views) he ascribed to others; what was wrong, to himself; thus teaching not to boast, and giving honour to men of talents and virtue.

41 When a filial son was about to sacrifice; the rule was that he should have his mind well adjusted and grave, to fit him for giving to all matters their full consideration, for providing the robes and other things, for repairing the temple and its fanes, and for regulating everything. When the day of sacrifice arrived, the rule was that his countenance should be mild, and his movements show an anxious dread, as if he feared his love were not sufficient. When he put down his offerings, it was required that his demeanour should be mild, and his body bent, as if (his parents) would speak (to him) and had not yet done so; when the officers assisting had all gone out, he stood lowly and still, though correct and straight, as if he were about to lose the sight (of his parents). After the sacrifice, he looked pleased and expectant, as if they would again enter. In this way his ingenuousness and goodness were never absent from his person; his ears and eyes were never withdrawn from what was in his heart; the exercises of his thoughts never left his parents. What was bound up in his heart was manifested in his countenance; and he was continually examining himself;-such was the mind of the filial son.

42 The sites for the altars to the spirits of the land and grain were on the right; that for the ancestral temple on the left.

LI JI CHAPTER 25 Ji Tong

A Summary Account of Sacrifices

1 Of all the methods for the good ordering of men, there is none more urgent than the use of ceremonies. Ceremonies are of five kinds, and there is none of them more important than sacrifices. Sacrifice is not a thing coming to a man from without; it issues from within him, and has its birth in his heart. When the heart is deeply moved, expression is given to it by ceremonies; and hence, only men of ability and virtue can give complete exhibition to the idea of sacrifice.

2 The sacrifices of such men have their own blessing;--not indeed what the world calls blessing. Blessing here means perfection;-it is the name given to the complete and natural discharge of all duties. When nothing is left incomplete or improperly discharged;--this is what we call perfection, implying the doing everything that should be done in one's internal self, and externally the performance of everything according to the proper method. There is a fundamental agreement between a loyal subject in his service of his ruler and a filial son in his service of his parents. In the supernal sphere there is a compliance with (what is due to) the repose and expansion of the energies of nature; in the external sphere, a compliance with (what is due) to rulers and elders; in the internal sphere, the filial service of parents;--all this constitutes what is called perfection. It is only the able and virtuous man who can attain to this perfection; and can sacrifice when he has attained to it. Hence in the sacrifices of such a man he brings into exercise all sincerity and good faith, with all right-heartedness and reverence; he offers the (proper) things; accompanies them with the (proper) rites; employs the soothing of music; does everything suitably to the season. Thus intelligently does he offer his sacrifices, without seeking for anything to be gained by them - such is the heart and mind of a filial son.

3 It is by sacrifice that the nourishment of parents is followed up and filial duty to them Perpetuated. The filial heart is a storehouse (of all filial duties). Compliance with everything that can mark his course, and be no violation of the relation (between parent and child) - the keeping of this is why we call it a storehouse. Therefore in three ways is a filial son's service of his parents shown - while they are alive, by nourishing them; when they are dead, by all the rites of mourning; and when the mourning is over by sacrificing to them. In his nourishing them we see his natural obedience; in his funeral rites we see his sorrow; in his sacrifices we see his reverence and observance of the (proper) seasons. In these three ways we see the practice of a filial son.

4 When a son had done everything (for his sacrifices) that he could do himself, he proceeded to seek assistance from abroad; and this came through the rites of marriage. Hence the language of a ruler, when about to marry a wife, was - 'I beg you, O ruler, to give me your elegant daughter, to share this small state with my poor self, to do service in the ancestral temple, and at the altars to (the spirits of) the land and grain.' This underlay his seeking for that assistance (from abroad). In sacrificing, husband and wife had their several duties which they personally attended to; and on this account there was the array of officials belonging to the exterior and interior departments (of the palace). When these officers were complete, all things necessary (for the service) were made ready - small things, such as the sourcrout of water plants and pickles from the produce of dry grounds; and fine things, such as the stands for the bodies of the three victims, and the supplies for the eight dishes. Strange insects and the fruits of plants and trees, produced under the best influences of light and shade, were all made ready. Whatever heaven produces, whatever earth developes in its growth;--all were then exhibited in the greatest abundance. Everything was there from without, and internally there was the utmost effort of the will - such was the spirit in sacrificing.

5 For this reason, also, the son of Heaven himself guided the plough in the southern suburb, to provide the grain for the sacrificial vessels; and the queen looked after her silkworms in the northern suburb, to provide the cap and robes of silk. The princes of the states guided the plough in their eastern suburb, also to provide the grain for the sacrificial vessels, and their wives looked after their silkworms in the northern suburb, to provide the cap and robes of silk. This was not because the son of Heaven and the princes had not men to plough for them, or 'because the queen and the princes' wives had not women to tend the silkworms for them; it was to give the exhibition of their personal sincerity. Such sincerity was what is called doing their utmost; and such doing of their utmost was what is called reverence. When they had reverently done their utmost, they could serve the spiritual Intelligences--such was the way of sacrificing.

6 When the time came for offering a sacrifice, the man wisely gave himself to the work of purification. That purification meant the production of uniformity (in all the thoughts);-it was the giving uniformity to all that was not uniform, till a uniform direction of the thoughts was realised. Hence a superior man, unless for a great occasion, and unless he were animated by a great reverence, did not attempt this purification. While it was not attained, he did not take precautions against the influence of (outward) things, nor did he cease from all (internal) desires. But when he was about to attempt it, he guarded against all things of an evil nature, and suppressed all his desires, His ears did not listen to music;--as it is said in the Record, 'People occupied with purification have no music,' meaning that they did not venture to allow its dissipation of their minds. He allowed no vain thoughts in his heart, but kept them in a strict adherence to what was right. He allowed no reckless movement of his hands or feet, but kept them firmly in the way of propriety. Thus the superior man, in his purification, devotes himself to carrying to its utmost extent his refined and intelligent virtue.

7 Therefore there was the looser ordering of the mind for seven days, to bring it to a state of fixed determination; and the complete ordering of it for three days, to effect the uniformity of all the thoughts. That determination is what is called purification; the final attainment is when the highest degree of refined intelligence is reached. After this it was possible to enter into communion with the spiritual Intelligences. Moreover, on the eleventh day, before that appointed for the sacrifice, the governor of the palace gave warning notice to the wife of the ruler, and she also conducted that looser ordering of her thoughts for seven days, and that more complete ordering of them for three. The ruler accomplished his purification in the outer apartment, and the wife her purification in the inner. After this they met in the grand temple.

8 The ruler, in the dark-coloured square-topped cap, stood at the top of the steps on the east; his wife in her head-dress and pheasant-embroidered robe stood in the eastern chamber. The ruler from his mace-handled libation-cup poured out the fragrant spirit before the personator of the dead; and the great minister in charge of the temple with his halfmace-handled cup poured the second libation (for the wife). When the victim was introduced, the ruler held it by the rope; the ministers and Great officers followed; other officers carried the dried grass (to lay on the ground when it should be killed); the wives of the ruler's surname followed the wife with the basins; she presented the purified liquid; the ruler held in his hand the knife with bells; he prepared the lungs (to be offered to the personator); and his wife put them on the dishes and presented them. All this shows what is meant in saying that husband and wife had their parts which they personally performed.

9 When they went in for the dance, the ruler, holding his shield and axe, went to the place for the performance. He took his station at the head of those on the east, and in his square-topped cap,, carrying his shield, he led on all his officers, to give pleasure to the august personator of the dead. Hence the son of Heaven in his sacrifices (gave expression to) the joy of all in the kingdom. (In the same way) the feudal princes at their sacrifices (gave expression to) the joy of all within their territories. In their square-topped caps, and carrying their shields, they led on all their officers, to give joy to the august personators - with the idea of showing the joy of all within their territories.

10 At a sacrifice there were three things specially important. Of the offerings there was none more important than the libation; of the music there was none more important than the singing in the hall. above; of the pantomimic evolutions there was none more important than that representing (king) Wu's (army) on the night (before his battle). Such was the practice of the Zhou dynasty. All the three things were designed to increase the aim of the superior man by the use of these external representations. Hence their movements in advancing and retreating were regulated by (the degree of) that aim. If it were less intense, they were lighter; if it were more intense, they were more vehement. If the aim were less intense, and they sought to make the outward representation more vehement, even a sage could not have accomplished this. Therefore the superior man, in sacrificing, exerted himself to the utmost in order to give clear expression to these more important things. He conducted everything according to the rules of ceremony, thereby giving prominent exhibition to them, and displaying them to the august personator - Such was the method of the sages.

11 At sacrifices there are the provisions that are left. The dealing with these is the least important thing in sacrifices, but it is necessary to take knowledge of it. Hence there is the saying of antiquity, 'The end must be attended to even as the beginning:'--there is an illustration of it in these leavings. Hence it was the remark of a superior man of antiquity, that 'The personator also eats what the spirits have left;--it is a device of kindness, in which may be seen (the method of) government.' Hence, when the personator rose, the ruler and his three ministers partook of what he had left. When the ruler had risen, the six Great officers partook;-the officers partook of what the ruler had left. When the Great officers rose, the eight officers partook - the lower in rank ate what the higher had left. When these officers rose, each one took what was before him and went out, and placed it (in the court) below the hall, when all the inferior attendants entered and removed it - the inferior class ate what the superior had left.

12 Every change in the disposal of these relics was marked by an increase in the number (of those who partook of them); and thus there was marked the distinction between the degrees of the noble and the mean, and a representation given of the dispensation of benefits (by the sovereign). Hence by means of the four vessels of millet there is shown the cultivation of this in the ancestral temple, which becomes thereby a representation of all comprised within the confines (of the state). What is done at sacrifices afforded the greatest example of the dispensation of favours. Hence when the superior possessed the greatest blessing, acts of favour were sure to descend from him to those below him, the only difference being that he enjoyed the blessing first, and those below him afterwards;--there was no such thing as the superior's accumulating a great amount for himself, while the people below him might be suffering from cold and want. Therefore when the superior enjoyed his great blessing, even private individuals waited till the stream should flow down, knowing that his favours would surely come to them. This was shown by what was done with the relics at sacrifices, and hence came

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the saying that 'By the dealing with these was seen (the method of) government.'

13 Sacrifice is the greatest of all things. Its apparatus of things employed in it is complete, but that completeness springs from all being in accordance with the requirements (of nature and reason) is it not this which enables us to find in it the basis of all the lessons of the sages? Therefore those lessons, in the external sphere, inculcated the honouring of the ruler and of elders, and, in the internal sphere, filial piety towards parents. Hence, when there was an intelligent ruler above, all his ministers submitted to and followed him. When he reverently sacrificed in his ancestral temple, and at the altars to the (spirits of the) land and grain, his sons and grandsons were filially obedient. He did all his duty in his own walk, and was correct in his righteousness; and thence grew up the lessons (of all duty).

14 Therefore a superior man, in the service of his ruler, should find (guidance for) all his personal conduct. What does not satisfy him in (the behaviour of) his superiors, he will not show in his employment of those below himself; and what he dislikes in the behaviour of those below him, he will not show in the service of his superiors. To disapprove of anything in another, and do the same himself, is contrary to the rule of instruction. Therefore the superior in the inculcation of his lessons, ought to proceed from the foundation (of all duty). This will show him pursuing the greatest method of what is natural and right in the highest degree; and is not this what is seen in sacrifice? Hence we have the saying that 'The first and greatest teaching is to be found in sacrifice.'

15 In sacrifice there is a recognition of what belongs to ten relationships. There are seen in it the method of serving spiritual Beings; the righteousness between ruler and subject; the relation between father and son; the degrees of the noble and mean; the distance gradually increasing between relatives; the bestowment of rank and reward; the separate duties of husband and wife; impartiality in government affairs; the order to be observed between old and young; and the boundaries of high and low. These are what are called the (different duties in the) ten relationships.

16 The spreading of the mat and placing on it a stool to serve for two, was intended as a resting-place for the united spirits (of husband and wife). The instruction to the blesser in the apartment and the going out to the inside of the gate, was the method pursued in (seeking) communion with the spirits.

17 The ruler went to meet the victim, but not to meet the representative of the dead;-to avoid misconstruction. While the representative was outside the gate of the temple, he was to be regarded only as a subject; inside the temple, he had the full character of a ruler. While the ruler was outside the gate of the temple, he was there the ruler; when he entered that gate (on the occasion of the sacrifice), he had the full character of a subject, or a son. Hence his not going forth (to meet the representative) made clear the right distinction between the ruler and subject.

18 According to the rule in sacrifices, a grandson acted as the representative of his grandfather. Though employed to act the part of representative, yet he was only the son of the sacrificer. When his father, with his face to the north, served him, he made clear how it is the way of a son to serve his father. Thus (sacrifice) illustrated the relation of father and son.

19 When the representative had drunk the fifth cup, the ruler washed the cup of jade, and presented it to the ministers. When he had drunk the seventh cup, that of green jasper was presented to the Great officers. When he had drunk the ninth cup, the plain one varnished was presented to the ordinary officers, and all who were taking part in the service. In all the classes the cup passed from one to another, according to age; and thus were shown the degrees of rank as more honourable and lower.

20 At the sacrifice the parties taking part in it were arranged on the left and right, according to their order of descent from the common ancestor, and thus the distinction was maintained between the order of fathers and sons, the near and the distant, the older and the younger, the more nearly related and the more distantly, and there, was no confusion. Therefore at the services in the grand ancestral temple, all in the two lines of descent were present, and no one failed to receive his proper place in their common relationship. This was what was called (showing) the distance gradually increasing between relatives.

21 Anciently the intelligent rulers conferred rank on the virtuous, and emoluments on the meritorious; and the rule was that this should take place in the Grand temple, to show that they did not dare to do it on their own private motion. Therefore, on the day of sacrifice, after the first presenting (of the cup to the representative), the ruler descended and stood on the south of the steps on the east, with his face to the south, while those who were to receive their appointments stood facing the north. The recorder was on the right of the ruler, holding the tablets on which the appointments were written. He read these, and (each man) bowed twice, with his head to the ground, received the writing, returned (home), and presented it in his (own) ancestral temple - such was the way in which rank and reward were given.

22 The ruler, in the dragon robe and square-topped cap, stood at the top of the steps on the east, while his wife in her head-dress and pheasant-embroidered robe, stood in the chamber on the east. When the wife presented and put down the dishes or, stands, she held them by the foot; (the officer) who held the vessels with new wine, presented them to her, holding them by the bottom; when the representative of the dead was handing, the cup to the wife, he held it by, the handle, and she gave it to him by the foot; when husband and wife were giving and receiving, the one did not touch the place where the other had held the article; in passing the pledge cup, they changed the cups - so was the distinction to be maintained between husband and wife shown.

23 In all arrangements with the stands, the chief attention was given to the bones. Some bones were considered nobler, and some meaner. Under the Yin they preferred the thigh bone; and under the Zhou, the shoulder bone. Generally, the bones in front were thought nobler than those behind. The stands served to illustrate the rule in sacrifices of showing favours. Hence the nobler, guests received the nobler bones, and the lower, the less noble; the nobler did not receive very much, and the lower were not left without any - impartiality was thus shown. With impartiality of favours, government proceeded freely; with the free proceeding of government, undertakings were accomplished; with the accomplishment of undertakings, merit was established. It is necessary that the way in which merit is established should be known. The stands served to show the rule for the impartial bestowment of favours. So did the skilful administrators of government proceed, and hence it is said that (sacrifices showed the principle of) impartiality in the business of government.

24 Whenever they came to the (general) circulation of the cup, those whose place was on the left stood in one row, and also those whose place was on the right. The members of each row had places according to their age; and in the same way were arranged all the assistants at the service. This was what was called (exhibiting) the order of the old and young.

25 At sacrifices there were portions given to the skinners, cooks, assistants, feather-wavers, and doorkeepers,--showing how favours should descend to the lowest. Only a virtuous ruler, however, could do this; having intelligence sufficient to perceive (the wisdom of) it, and benevolence equal to the bestowment of it. Apportioning means bestowing; they were able to bestow what was left on those below them. Skinners were the meanest of those who looked after the buff-coats; cooks' assistants, the meanest of those who looked after the flesh; feather-wavers, the meanest of those who had to do with the music; door-keepers, those who looked after the doors; for anciently they did not employ men who had suffered dismemberment to keep the doors. These four classes of keepers were the meanest of the servants; and the representative of the dead was the most honoured of all. When the most honoured, at the close of the sacrifice, did not forget those who were the most mean, but took what was left and bestowed it on them, (it may be seen how) with an intelligent ruler above, there would not be any of the people within his territory who suffered from cold and want. This is what was meant by saying that sacrifices show the relation between high and low.

26 For the sacrifices (in the ancestral temple) there were the four seasons. That in spring was called yue; that in summer, di; that in autumn, chang; and that in winter, zheng. The yue and di expressed the idea in the bright and expanding (course of nature); the chang and zheng, that in the sombre and contracting (course). The di showed the former in its fullest development, and the chang showed the latter in the same. Hence it is said, 'There is nothing more important than the di and chang.' Anciently, at the di sacrifice, they conferred rank, and bestowed robes - acting according to the idea in the bright and expanding (course); and at the khang they gave out fields and homesteads, and issued the rules of autumn-work - acting according to the idea in the sombre and contracting (course). Hence it is said in the Record, 'On the day of the chang sacrifice they gave forth (the stores of) the ruler's house;' showing how rewards (were then given). When the plants were cut down, the punishment of branding might be inflicted. Before the rules of autumn-work were issued, the people did not dare to cut down the grass. Hence it is said that 'the ideas in the di and chang are great, and lie at the, foundation of the government of a state; and should by all means be known.' It is for the ruler to know clearly those ideas, and for the minister to be able to execute (what they require). The ruler who does not know the ideas is not complete, and the minister who cannot carry them into execution is not complete.

27 Now the idea serves to direct and help the aim, and leads to the manifestation of all virtue. Hence he whose virtue is the completest, has the largest aims; and he whose aims are the largest, has the clearest idea. He whose idea is the clearest, will be most reverent in his sacrifices. When the sacrifices (of a state) are reverent, none of the sons and grandsons within its borders will dare to be irreverent. Then the superior man, when he has a sacrifice, will feel it necessary to preside at it in person. if there be a (sufficient) reason for it, he may commit the performance of it to another. But when committing the performance to another, the ruler will not fail (to think) of its meaning, because he understands the ideas in it. He whose virtue is slight, has but a small aim. He who is in doubts as to the idea in it, and will yet seek to be reverent in his sacrifice, will find it impossible to be so; and how can he, who sacrifices without reverence, be the parent of his people?

28 The tripods (at the sacrifices) had inscriptions on them. The maker of an inscription named himself, and took occasion to praise and set forth the excellent qualities of his ancestors, and clearly exhibit them to future generations. Those ancestors must have had good qualities and also bad. But the idea of an inscription is to make mention of the good qualifies and not of the bad - such is the heart of a filial descendant; and it is only the man of ability and virtue who can attain to it.

29 The inscriber discourses about and panegyrises the virtues and goodness of his ancestors, their merits and zeal, their services and toils, the congratulations and rewards (given to them), their fame recognised by all under heaven; and in the discussion of these things on his spiritual vessels, he "makes himself famous; and thus he sacrifices to his ancestors. In the celebration of his ancestors he exalts his filial piety. That he himself appears after them is natural. And in the clear showing (of all this) to future generations, he is giving instruction.

30 By the one panegyric of an inscription benefit accrues to the ancestors, to their descendant and to others after them. Hence when a superior man looks at an inscription, while he admires those whom it praises, he also admires him who made it. That maker had intelligence to see (the excellences of his ancestors), virtue to associate himself with them, and wisdom to take advantage (of his position);-he may be pronounced a man of ability and virtue. Such worth without boasting may be pronounced courteous respect.

31 Thus the inscription on the tripod of Kong Kui of Wei was: 'In the sixth month, on the day ding-hai, the duke went to the Grand Temple, and said, "My young uncle, your ancestor Zhuang Shu assisted duke Cheng, who ordered him to follow him in his difficulties on the south of the Han, and afterwards to come to him in his palace (of imprisonment) in the honoured capital of Zhou; and all these hurried journeyings he endured without wearying of them. From him came the helper of duke Xian, who charged your (later) ancestor Zhuang Shu to continue the service of his ancestor. Your deceased father Wen Shu cherished and stimulated in himself the old desires and aims, roused and led on the admirable officers, and showed his own great personal interest in the state of Wei. His labours for our ducal house never wearied early or late, so that the people all testified how good he was." The duke further said, "My young uncle, I give you (this tripod with) its inscription. Carry on and out the services of your father." Kui bowed with his head to the ground, and said, "In response to the distinction (you have conferred upon me) I will take your great and important charge, and I will put it on the vases and tripods of my winter sacrifice."' Such was the inscription on the tripod of Kong Kui of Wei.

32 In this way the superior men of antiquity panegyrised the excellent qualities of their ancestors, and clearly exhibited them to future generations, thereby having the opportunity to introduce their own personality and magnify their states. If descendants who maintain their ancestral temples and the altars to the spirits of the land and grain, praised their ancestors for good qualities which they did not possess, that was falsehood; if they did not take knowledge of the good qualities which they did possess, that showed their want of intelligence; if they knew them and did not transmit them (by their inscriptions), that showed a want of virtue - these are three things of which a superior man should have been ashamed.

33 Anciently, Dan, duke of Zhou, did most meritorious service for the kingdom. After his death the kings Cheng and Kang, bearing in mind all his admirable work, and wishing to honour Lu, granted to its lords the right of offering the greatest sacrifices - those in the borders of their capital to Heaven and Earth, in the wider sphere of sacrifice; and the great summer and autumnal sacrifices in the ancestral temple of the state. At those great summer and autumnal sacrifices, on the hall above, they sang the Qing Miao, and in the courtyard below it they danced the Xiang to the flute; they carried red shields and axes adorned with jade in performing the Da Wu dance; and this was the music employed by the son of Heaven. (Those kings) in acknowledgment of the great merit of the duke of Zhou, allowed (the use of those sacrifices and this music) to the (marquis of) Lu. His descendants have continued it, and down to the present day it is not abolished, thereby showing clearly the virtue of the lords of Zhou and magnifying their state.

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LI JI CHAPTER 26 Jing Jie

Different Teaching of the Different Kings

1 Confucius said, 'When you enter any state you can know what subjects (its people) have been taught. If they show themselves men who are mild and gentle, sincere and good, they have been taught from the Book of Poetry. If they have a wide comprehension (of things), and know what is remote and old, they have been taught from the Book of History. If they be large-hearted and generous, bland and honest, they have been taught from the Book of Music. If they be pure and still, refined and subtle, they have been taught from the Yi. If they be courteous and modest, grave and respectful, they have been taught from the Book of Rites and Ceremonies. If they suitably adapt their language to the things of which they speak, they have been taught from the Chun Qiu. Hence the failing that may arise in connexion with the study of the Poems is a stupid simplicity; that in connexion. with the History is duplicity; that in connexion with Music is extravagance; that in connexion with the Yi is the violation (of reason); that in connexion with the practice of Rites and Ceremonies is fussiness; and that in connexion with the Chun Qiu is insubordination.

2 'If they show themselves men who are mild and gentle, sincere and good, and yet free from that simple stupidity, their comprehension of the Book of Poetry is deep. If they have a wide comprehension (of things), and know what is remote and old, and yet are free from duplicity, their understanding of the Book of History is deep. If they are large-hearted and generous, bland and honest, and yet have no tendency to extravagance, their knowledge of Music is deep. If they are pure and still, refined and subtle, and yet do not violate (reason), they have made great attainments in the Yi. If they are courteous and modest, grave and reverent, and yet not fussy, their acquaintance with the Book of Rites and Ceremonies is deep. If they suitably adapt their language to the things of which they speak, and yet have no disposition to be insubordinate, their knowledge of the Chun Qiu is deep.'

3 The son of Heaven forms a ternion with heaven and earth. Hence, in power of his goodness he is their correlate, and his benefits extend at once to all things. His brilliancy is equal to that of the sun and moon, and enlightens all within the four seas, not excepting anything, however minute and small. In the audiences at his court everything is done according to the orderly procedure of benevolence, wisdom, propriety, and righteousness. At his entertainments he listens to the singing of the Odes of the Kingdom and the Odes of the Temple and Altar. When he walks, there are the notes from his girdle pendant. When he rides in his chariot, there are the harmonious sounds of the bells attached to his horses. When he is in private at ease, there is the observance of the rules of propriety. When he advances or retires, he does so according to rule and measure. All the officers fulfil their duties rightly, and all affairs are carried on with order. It is as described in the Book of Poetry (I, xiv, 3), 'That virtuous man, the princely one, Has nothing wrong in his deportment; He has nothing wrong in his deportment, And thus he rectifies the four quarters of the state.'

4 When (a ruler) issues his notices and gives forth his orders, and the people are pleased, we have what may be called the condition of harmony. When superiors and inferiors love one another, we have the condition of benevolence. When the people get what they desire without seeking for it, we have the condition of confidence. When all things in the operations of heaven and earth that might be injurious are taken out of the way, we have the condition of rightness. Rightness and confidence, harmony and benevolence are the instruments of the presiding chieftain and the king. If anyone wishes to govern the people, and does not employ these instruments, he will not be successful.

5 In the right government of a state, the Rules of Propriety serve the same purpose as the steelyard in determining what is light and what is heavy; or as the carpenter's line in determining what is crooked and what is straight; or as the circle and square in determining what is square and what is round. Hence, if the weights of the steel-yard be true, there can be no imposition in the matter of weight; if the line be truly applied, there can be no imposition in the evenness of a surface; if the square and compass be truly employed, there can be no imposition in the shape of a figure. When a superior man (conducts, the government of his state) with a discriminating attention to these rules, he cannot be imposed on by traitors and impostors.

6 Hence he who has an exalted idea of the rules, and guides his conduct by them, is called by us a mannerly gentleman, and be who has no such exalted idea and does not guide his conduct by the rules, is called by us one of the unmannerly people. These rules (set forth) the way of reverence and courtesy; and therefore when the services in the ancestral temple are performed according to them, there is reverence; when they are observed in the court, the noble and the mean have their proper positions; when the family is regulated by them, there is affection between father and son, and harmony among brothers; and when they are honoured in the country districts and villages, there is the proper order between old and young. There is the verification of what was said by Confucius, 'For giving security to superiors and good government Of the people, there is nothing more excellent than the Rules of Propriety.'

7 The ceremonies at the court audiences of the different seasons were intended to illustrate the righteous relations between ruler and subject; those of friendly messages and inquiries, to secure mutual honour and respect between the feudal princes; those of mourning and sacrifice, to illustrate the kindly feelings of ministers and sons; those of social meetings in the country districts, to show the order that should prevail between young and old; and those of marriage, to exhibit the separation that should be maintained between males and females. Those ceremonies prevent the rise of disorder and confusion, and are like the embankments which prevent the overflow of water. He who thinks the old embankments useless and destroys them is sure to suffer from the desolation caused by overflowing water; and he who should consider the old rules of propriety useless and abolish them would be sure to suffer from the calamities of disorder.

8 Thus if the ceremonies of marriage were discontinued, the path of husband and wife would be embittered, and there would be many offences of licentiousness and depravity. If the drinking ceremonies at country feasts were discontinued, the order between old and young would be neglected, and quarrelsome litigations would be numerous. If the ceremonies of mourning and sacrifice were discontinued, the kindly feeling of officers and sons would become small; there would be numerous cases in which there was a revolt from the observances due to the dead, and an oblivion of (those due) to the living. If the ceremonies of friendly messages and court attendances were discontinued, the positions of ruler and subject would fall into disuse, the conduct of the feudal princes would be evil, and the ruin wrought by rebellion, encroachment, and oppression would ensue.

9 Therefore the instructive and transforming power of ceremonies is subtile; they stop depravity before it has taken form, causing men daily to move towards what is good, and keep themselves farther apart from guilt, without being themselves conscious of it. It was on this account that the ancient kings set so high a value upon them. This sentiment is found in the words of the Yi, 'The superior man is careful at the commencement; a mistake, then, of a hair's breadth, will lead to an error of a thousand 1i.'

LI JI CHAPTER 27 Ai Gong Wen

Questions of Duke Ai

1 Duke Ai asked Confucius, saying, 'What do you say about the great rites? How is it that superior men, in speaking about them, ascribe so much honour to them?' Confucius said, 'I, Qiu, am a small man, and unequal to a knowledge of the rites.' 'By no means,' said the ruler. 'Tell me what you think, my Master.' Then Confucius replied, 'According to what I have heard, of all things by which the people live the rites are the greatest. Without them they would have no means of regulating the services paid to the spirits of heaven and earth; without them they would have no means of distinguishing the positions proper to father and son, to high and low, to old and young; without them they would have no means of maintaining the separate character of the intimate relations between male and female, father and son, elder brother and younger, and conducting the intercourse between the contracting families in a marriage, and the frequency or infrequency (of the reciprocities between friends). These are the grounds on which superior men have honoured and reverenced (the rites) as they did. Thereafter, (having this view of the rites), they taught them to the people, on the ground of their ability (to practise them), not disregarding their general principles or the limitations (that circumstances impose in particular cases). When their object had been accomplished (so far), they proceeded to give rules for the engraving (of the ceremonial vessels), and the embroidering in various colours (of the robes), in order to secure the transmission (of the rites). Having obtained the concurrence (of the people in these things), they proceeded to tell them the different periods of mourning; to provide the full amount of tripods and stands; to lay down the (offerings of) pork and dried meats; to maintain in good order their ancestral temples; and then at the different seasons of the year reverently to present their sacrifices; and to arrange thereat, in order, the different branches and members of their kindred. Meanwhile (they themselves) were content to live economically, to have nothing fine about their dress; to have their houses low and poor; to eschew much carving about their carriages; to use their vessels without carving or graving; and to have the plainest diet, in order to share all their advantages in common with the people. In this manner did the superior men of antiquity practise the rites.'

2 The duke said, 'How is it that the superior men of the present day do not practise them (in this way).' Confucius said, 'The superior men of the present day are never satisfied in their fondness for wealth, and never wearied in the extravagance of their conduct. They are wild, idle, arrogant, and insolent. They determinedly exhaust the (resources of the) people, put themselves in opposition to the multitude, and seek to overthrow those who are pursuing the right way. They seek to get whatever they desire, without reference to right or reason. The former using of the people was according to the ancient rules; the using of them now-a-days is according to later rules. The superior men of the present day do not practise the rites (as they ought to be practised).'

3 Confucius was sitting beside duke Ai, when the latter said, 'I venture to ask, according to the nature of men, which is the greatest thing (to be attended to in dealing with them).' Confucius looked startled, changed countenance, and replied, 'That your lordship should put this question is a good thing for the people. How should your servant dare but express his opinion on it?' Accordingly he proceeded, and said, 'According to the nature of men, government is the greatest thing for them.'

4 The duke said, 'I venture to ask what is meant by the practice of government.' Confucius replied, 'Government is rectification. When the ruler is correct himself, all the people will follow his government. What the ruler does is what the people follow. How should they follow what he does not do?'

5 The duke said, 'I venture to ask how this practice of government is to be effected?' Confucius replied, 'Husband and wife have their separate functions; between father and son there should be affection; between ruler and minister there should be a strict adherence to their several parts. If these three relations be correctly discharged, all other things will follow.'

6 The duke said, 'Although I cannot, in my unworthiness, count myself as having attained, I should like to hear how these three things which you have mentioned can be rightly secured. May I hear it from you?' Confucius replied, 'With the ancients in their practice of government the love of men was the great point; in their regulation of this love of men, the rules of ceremony was the great point; in their regulation of those rules, reverence was the great point. For of the extreme manifestation of reverence we find the greatest illustration in the great (rite of) marriage. Yes, in the great (rite of) marriage there is the extreme manifestation of respect; and when one took place, the bridegroom in his square-topped cap went in person to meet the bride;--thus showing his affection for her. It was his doing this himself that was the demonstration of his affection. Thus it is that the superior man commences with respect as the basis of love. To neglect respect is to leave affection unprovided for. Without loving there can be no real union; and without respect the love will not be correct. Yes, love and respect lie at the foundation of government.'

7 The duke said, 'I wish that I could say I agree with you, but for the bridegroom in his square-topped cap to go in person to meet the bride - is it not making too much (of the ceremony)?' Confucius looked startled, changed countenance, and said, '(Such a marriage) is the union of (the representatives of) two different surnames in friendship and love, in order to continue the posterity of the former sages, and to furnish those who shall preside at the sacrifices to heaven and earth, at those in the ancestral temple, and at those at the altars to the spirits of the land and grain - how can your lordship say that the ceremony is made too great?'

8 The duke said, 'I am stupid. But if I were not stupid, how should I have heard what you have just said? I wish to question you, but cannot find the proper words (to do so); I beg you to go on a little further.' Confucius said, 'If there were not the united action of heaven and earth, the world of things would not grow. By means of the grand rite of marriage, the generations of men are continued through myriads of ages. How can your lordship say that the ceremony in question is too great?'

He immediately added, 'In their own peculiar sphere, (this marriage) serves for the regulation of the ceremonies of the ancestral temple, and is sufficient to supply the correlates to the spiritual Intelligences of heaven and earth; in the (wider) sphere abroad, it serves for the regulation of the ceremonies of the court, and is sufficient to establish the respect of those below him to him who is above them all. If there be ground for shame on account of (a deficiency of) resources, this is sufficient to stimulate and secure them; if there be ground for shame on account of the condition of the states, this is sufficient to revive and renew them. Ceremonies are the first thing to be attended to in the practice of government. Yes, (this) ceremony (of marriage) lies at the foundation of government!'

Confucius continued, 'Anciently, under the government of the intelligent kings of the three dynasties, it was required of a man to show respect to his wife and son. When the path (of right government) was pursued, the wife was the hostess of the (deceased) parents - could any husband dare not to show her respect? And the son was the descendant of those parents - could any father dare not to show him respect? The superior man's respect is universal. Wherein it appears the greatest is in his respect for himself. He is in his person a branch from his parents - can any son but have this self-respect? If he is not able to respect his own person, he is wounding his parents. If he wound his parents, he is wounding his own root; and when

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the root is wounded, the branches will follow it in its dying. These three things are an image of what is true with the whole people (in the body politic). One's own person reaches to the persons of others; one's own son to the sons of others; one's own wife to the wives of others. If a ruler do these things, the spirit of his conduct will reach to all under the sky. If the course of the great king be thus, all the states and families will be docilely obedient.'

9 The duke said, 'I venture to ask what is meant by "respecting one's self."' Confucius replied, 'When a man who is over others transgresses in his words, the people will fashion their speech accordingly; when he transgresses in his actions, the people will make him their model. If in his words he do not go beyond what should be said, nor in his actions what should be a model, then the people, without being commanded, will reverence and honour him. When this obtains, he can be said to have respected his person. Having succeeded in respecting his person, he will (at the same time) be able to do all that can be done for his parents.'

10 The duke said, 'I venture to ask what is meant by doing all that can be done for one's parents?' Confucius replied, 'Jun-zi is the completest name for a man; when the people apply the name to him, they say (in effect) that he is the son of a Jun-zi; and thus he makes his parents (?father) to be a Jun-zi. This is what I intend by saying that he does all that can be done for his parents.'

Confucius forthwith added, 'In the practice of government in antiquity, the love of men was the great point. If (a ruler) be not able to love men he cannot possess his own person; unable to possess his own person, he cannot enjoy in quiet his land; unable to enjoy in quiet his land, he cannot rejoice in Heaven; unable to rejoice in Heaven, he cannot do all that can be done for his person.'

11 The duke said, 'I venture to ask what is meant by "doing all that could be done for one's person."' Confucius replied, 'It is keeping from all transgression of what is due in all the sphere beyond one's self.'

12 The duke said, 'I venture to ask what it is that the superior man values in the way of Heaven.' Confucius replied, 'He values its unceasingness. There is, for instance, the succession and sequence of the sun and moon from the east and west - that is the way of Heaven. There is the long continuance of its progress without interruption - that is the way of Heaven. There is its making (all) things complete without doing anything - that is the way of Heaven. There is their brilliancy when they have been completed - that is the way of Heaven.'

13 The duke said, 'I am very stupid, unintelligent also, and occupied with many things; do you, Sir, help me that I may keep this lesson in my mind.' Confucius looked grave, moved a little from his mat, and replied, 'A man of all-comprehensive virtue does not transgress what is due from him in all the sphere beyond himself, and it is the same with a filial son. Therefore a son of all-comprehensive virtue serves his parents as he serves Heaven, and serves Heaven as he serves his parents.' Hence a filial son does all that can be done for his person.'

14 The duke said, 'I have heard your (excellent) words;--how is it that I shall hereafter not be able to keep from the guilt (of transgressing)?' Confucius answered, 'That your lordship gives expression to such words is a happiness to me.'

LI JI CHAPTER 28 Zhongni Yan Ju

Zhongni at Home at Ease

1 Zhong-ni 'being at home at ease,' with Zi-zhang, Zi-gong, and Yan You by him, their conversation went on from general matters to the subject of ceremonies. The Master said, 'Sit down, you three, and I will discourse to you about ceremonies, so that you may rightly employ them everywhere and in all circumstances.' Zi-gong crossed over (Zi-zhang's) mat, and replied, 'Allow me to ask what you mean.' The Master said, 'Respect shown without observing the rules of propriety is called vulgarity; courtesy without observing those rules is called forwardness; and boldness without observing them is called violence.' The Master added, 'Forwardness takes away from gentleness and benevolence.'

2 The Master said, 'Shi, you err by excess, and Shang by defect.' Zi-chan might be regarded as a mother of the people. He could feed them, but he could not teach them'. Zi-gong (again) crossed the mat, and replied, 'Allow me to ask by what means it is possible to secure this due mean.' The Master said, 'By means of the ceremonial rules; by the rules. Yes, it is those rules which define and determine the due mean.'

3 Zi-gong having retired, Yan You advanced, and said, 'May I be allowed to ask whether the rules of ceremony do not serve to control what is bad, and to complete what is good?' The Master said, 'They do.' 'Very well, and how do they do it?' The Master said, 'The idea in the border sacrifices to Heaven and Earth is that they should give expression to the loving feeling towards the spirits; the ceremonies of the autumnal and summer services in the ancestral temple give expression to the loving feeling towards all in the circle of the kindred; the ceremony of putting down food (by the deceased) serves to express the loving feeling towards those who are dead and for whom they are mourning; the ceremonies of the archery fetes and the drinking at them express the loving feeling towards all in the district and neighbourhood; the ceremonies of festal entertainments express the loving feeling towards visitors and guests.'

The Master said, 'An intelligent understanding of the idea in the border sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, and of the ceremonies of the autumnal and summer services, would make the government of a state as easy as to point to one's palm. Therefore let the ceremonial rules be observed:-in the ordinary life at home, and there will be the (right) distinction between young and old; inside the door of the female apartments, and there will be harmony among the three branches of kin; at court, and there will be the right ordering of office and rank; in the different hunting expeditions, and skill in war will be acquired; in the army and its battalions, and military operations will be successful. In this way, houses and their apartments will be made of the proper dimensions; measures and tripods will have their proper figure; food will have the flavour proper to its season; music will be according to the rules for it; carriages will have their proper form; spirits will receive their proper offerings; the different periods of mourning will have their proper expression of sorrow; discussions will be conducted by those who from their position should take part in them; officers will have their proper business and functions; the business of government will be properly distributed and applied. (The duty) laid on (each) person being discharged in the matter before him (according to these rules), all his movements, and every movement will be what they ought to be.'

4 The Master said, 'What is (the object of) the ceremonial rules? It is just the ordering of affairs. The wise man who has affairs to attend to must have the right method of ordering them. (He who should attempt) to regulate a state without those rules would be like a blind man with no one to lead him; groping about, how could he find his way? Or he would be like one searching all night in a dark room without a light; how could he see anything? If one have not the ceremonial rules, he would not (know how to) dispose of his hands and feet, or how to apply his ears and eyes; and his advancing and retiring, his bowings and giving place would be without any definite rules. Hence, when the rules are thus neglected - in the ordinary life at home, then the right distinction between old and young will be lost; in the female apartments, then the harmony among the three branches of kin will be lost; in the court, then the order of office and rank will be lost; in the different hunting expeditions, then the prescribed methods of military tactics will be lost; in the army and its battalions, then the arrangements that secure success in war will be lost. (Also), houses and apartments will want their proper dimensions; measures and tripods will want their proper figure; food will want its seasonal flavour; music will want its proper parts; carriages will want their proper forms; Spirits will want their proper offerings; the different periods of mourning will want their proper expression of sorrow; discussions will not be conducted by the proper men for them; officers will not have their proper business; the affairs of government will fail to be properly distributed and applied; and (in the duties) laid on (each) person to be discharged in the matters before him, all his movements, every movement, will fail to be what they ought to be. In this condition of things it will be impossible to put one's self at the head of the multitudes, and secure harmony among them.'

5 The Master said, 'Listen attentively, you three, while I discourse to you. Regarding the ceremonial rules, there are still nine things (to be described), and four of them belong to the Grand festive entertainments. When you know these, though your lot may lie among the channeled fields, if you carry them into practice, you will become wise as sages. When one ruler is visiting another, they bow to each other, each courteously declining to take the precedence, and then enter the gate. As soon as they have done so, the instruments of music, suspended from their frames, strike up. They then bow and give place to each other again, and ascend to the hall; and when they have gone up, the music stops. In the court below, the dances Xiang and Wu are performed to the music of the flute, and that of Xia proceeds in due order with (the brandishing of feathers and) fifes. (After this), the stands with their offerings are set out, the various ceremonies and musical performances go on in regular order, and the array of officers provided discharge their functions. In this way the superior man perceives the loving regard (which directs the entertainment). They move forward in perfect circles; they return and form again the squares. The bells of the equipages are tuned to the Cai-qi; when the guest goes out they sing the Yong; when the things are being taken away, they sing the Zhen-yu; and thus the superior man (sees that) there is not a single thing for which there is not its proper ceremonial usage. The striking up of the instruments of metal, when they enter the gate, serves to indicate their good feeling; the singing of the Qing Miao, when they have gone up to the hall, shows the virtue (they should cultivate); the performance of the Xiang to the flute in the court below, reminds them of the events (of history). Thus the superior men of antiquity did not need to set forth their views to one another in words; it was enough for them to show them in their music and ceremonies.

6 The Master said, 'Ceremonial usages are (the prescriptions of) reason; music is the definite limitation(of harmony). The superior man makes no movement without (a ground of) reason, and does nothing without its definite limitation. He who is not versed in the odes will err in his employment of the usages, and he who is not versed in music will be but an indifferent employer of them. He whose virtue is slender will vainly perform the usages.'

7 The Master said, 'The determinate measures are according to the rules; and the embellishments of them are also so; but the carrying them into practice depends on the men.'

8 Zi-gong crossed over the mat and replied, 'Allow me to ask whether even Kui was ignorant (of the ceremonial usages)?' The Master said, 'Was he not one of the ancients? Yes, he was one of them. To be versed in the ceremonial usages, and not versed in music, we call being poorly furnished. To be versed in music and not versed in the usages, we call being one-sided. Now Kui was noted for his acquaintance with music, and not for his acquaintance with ceremonies, and therefore his name has been transmitted with that account of him (which your question implies). But he was one of the men of antiquity.'

9 Zi-gong asked about government. The Master said, 'Shi, did I not instruct you on that subject before? The superior man who is well acquainted with ceremonial usages and music has only to take and apply them (in order to practise government).' Zi-zhang again put the question, and the Master said, 'Shi, do you think that the stools and mats must be set forth, the hall ascended and descended, the cups filled and offered, the pledge-cup presented and returned, before we can speak of ceremonial usages? Do you think that there must be the movements of the performers in taking up their positions, the brandishing of the plumes and fifes, the sounding of the bells and drums before we can speak of music? To speak and to carry into execution what you have spoken is ceremony; to act and to give and receive pleasure from what you do is music. The ruler who vigorously pursues these two things may well stand with his face to the south, for thus will great peace and order be secured all under heaven; the feudal lords will come to his court; all things will obtain their proper development and character; and no single officer will dare to shrink from the discharge of his functions. Where such ceremony prevails, all government is well ordered; where it is neglected, all falls into disorder and confusion. A house made by a good (though unassisted) eye will yet have the corner of honour, and the steps on the east for the host to ascend by; every mat have its upper and lower end; every chariot have its right side and left; walkers follow one another, and those who stand observe a certain order - such were the right rules of antiquity. If an apartment were made without the corner of honour and the steps on the east, there would be confusion in the hall and apartment. If mats had not their upper and lower ends, there would be confusion among the occupants of them; if carriages were made without their left side and right, there would be confusion in their seats; if people did not follow one another in walking, there would be confusion on the roads; if people observed no order in standing, there would be disorder in the places they occupy. Anciently the sage Dis and intelligent kings and the feudal lords, in making a distinction between noble and mean, old and young, remote and near, male and female, outside and inside, did not presume to allow any to transgress the regular rule they had to observe, but all proceeded in the path which has been indicated.' When the three disciples had heard these words from the Master, they saw clearly as if a film had been removed from their eyes.

LI JI CHAPTER 29 Kongzi Xian Ju

Confucius at Home at Leisure

1 Confucius being at home at leisure, with Zi-xia by his side, the latter said, 'With reference to the lines in the Book of Poetry (III, ii, ode 8, 1), "The happy and courteous sovereign, is the father and mother of the people;" I beg to ask what the sovereign must be, who can be called "the parent of the people."' Confucius said, 'Ah! the parent of the people! He must have penetrated to the fundamental principles of ceremonies and music, till he has reached the five extreme points to which they conduct, and the three that have no positive existence, and be able to exhibit these all under heaven; and when evil is impending in any part of the kingdom, he must have a foreknowledge of it - such an one is he whom we denominate 'the parent of the people.'

2 Zi-xia said, 'I have thus heard (your explanation) of the name "parent of the people;" allow me to ask what "the five extreme points" (that you mention) mean.' Confucius said, 'The furthest aim of the mind has also its furthest expression in the Book of Poetry. The furthest expression of the Book of Poetry has also its furthest embodiment in the ceremonial usages. The furthest embodiment in the ceremonial usages has also its furthest indication in music. The furthest indication of music has also its furthest indication in the voice of sorrow. Sorrow and joy produce, each the other; and thus it is that when we look with the directest vision of the eyes at (these

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extreme points) we cannot see them, and when we have bent our ears with the utmost tension we cannot hear them. The mind and spirit must embrace all within heaven and earth - these are what we denominate "the five extreme points."'

3 Zi-xia said, 'I have heard your explanation of "the five extreme points;" allow me to ask what "the three points that have no positive existence" mean.' Confucius said, 'The music that has no sound; ceremonial usages that have no embodiment; the mourning that has no garb - these are what we denominate "the three points that have no positive existence." Zi-xia said, 'I have heard what you have said on those three negations; allow me to ask in which of the odes we find the nearest expression of them.' Confucius said, 'There is that (IV, ii, ode 1, 6), "Night and day he enlarged its foundations by his deep and silent virtue" - there is music without sound. And that (I, iii, ode 1, 3), "My deportment has been dignified and good, Without anything wrong that can be pointed out" - there is the ceremony that has no embodiment. And that (I, iii, ode 10, 4), "When among any of the people there was a death, I crawled on my knees to help them" - there is the mourning that has no garb.'

4 Zi-xia said, 'Your words are great, admirable, and complete. Do they exhaust all that can be said on the subject? Is there nothing more?' Confucius said, 'How should it be so? When a superior man practises these things, there still arise five other points.' Zi-xia said, 'How is that?' Confucius said, 'When there is that music without sound, there is no movement of the spirit or will in opposition to it. When there is that ceremony without embodiment, all the demeanour is calm and gentle. When there is that mourning without garb, there is an inward reciprocity, and great pitifulness. When there is that music without sound, the spirit and will are mastered. When there is that ceremony without embodiment, all the demeanour is marked by courtesy. When there is that mourning without garb, it reaches to all in all quarters. When there is that music without sound, the spirit and will are followed. When there is that ceremony without embodiment, high and low are harmonious and united. When there is that mourning without garb, it goes on to nourish all regions. When there is that music without sound, it is daily heard in all the four quarters of the kingdom. When there is that ceremony without embodiment, there is a daily progress and a monthly advance. When there is that mourning, without garb, the virtue (of him who shows it) becomes pure and very bright. When there is that music without sound, all spirits and wills are roused by it. When there is that ceremony without embodiment, its influence extends to all within the four seas. When there is that mourning without garb, it extends to future generations.'

5 Zi-xia said, '(It is said that) the virtue of the kings (who founded the) three dynasties was equal to that of heaven and earth; allow me to ask of what nature that virtue was which could be said to put its possessors on an equality with heaven and earth.' Confucius said, 'They reverently displayed the Three Impartialities, while they comforted all beneath the sky under the toils which they imposed.'

Zi-xia said, 'Allow me to ask what you call the "Three Impartialities."' Confucius said, 'Heaven overspreads all without partiality; Earth sustains and contains all without partiality; the Sun and Moon shine on all without partiality. Reverently displaying these three characteristics and thereby comforting all under heaven under the toils which they imposed, is what is called "the Three Impartialities." It is said in the Book of Poetry (IV, iii, ode 4, 3), "God in His favour Tang's House would not leave, And then Tang rose that favour to receive. Tang's birth was not from Xie too far removed, His sagely reverence daily greater proved. For long to Heaven his brilliant influence rose, And while his acts the fear of God disclose, God Tang as model fit for the nine regions chose" - such was the virtue of Tang.

'To Heaven belong the four seasons, spring, autumn, winter, summer, with wind, rain, hoar-frost, and dew;--(in the action) of all and each of these there is a lesson. Earth contains the mysterious energy (of nature). That mysterious energy (produces) the wind and thunder-clap. By the wind and thunder-clap the (seeds of) forms are carried abroad, and the various things show the appearance of life - in all and each of these things there is a lesson. When the personal character is pure and bright, the spirit and mind are like those of a spiritual being. When what such an one desires is about to come, there are sure to be premonitions of it in advance, (as when) Heaven sends down the seasonable rains, and the hills produce the clouds. As it is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 5, 1), "How grand and high, with hugest bulk, arise. Those southern hills whose summits touch the skies! Down from them came a Spirit to the earth, And to the sires of Fu and Shan gave birth. In those two states our Zhou a bulwark has, O'er which the southern foemen dare not pass, And all its states they screen, and through them spread. Lessons of virtue, by themselves displayed" - such was the virtue of (kings) Wen and Wu. As to the kings (who founded) the three dynasties, it was necessary that they should be preceded by the fame of their forefathers. As it is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 8, 6), "Very intelligent were the sons of Heaven, Their good fame was without end" - such was the virtue of (the founders) of the three dynasties. (And again), "He displayed his civil virtues, And they permeated all parts of the kingdom" - such was the virtue of king Tai.' Zi-xia rose up with a sudden joy, and, standing with his back to the wall, said, 'Your disciple dares not but receive (your instructions) with reverence.'

LI JI CHAPTER 30 Fang Ji

Record of the Dykes

1 According to what the Masters said, the ways laid down by the superior men may be compared to dykes, the object of which is to conserve that in which the people may be deficient; and though they may be on a great scale, the people will yet pass over them. Therefore the superior men framed rules of ceremony for the conservation of virtue; punishments to serve as a barrier against licentiousness; and declared the allotments (of Heaven), as a barrier against evil desires.

2 The Master said, 'The small man, when poor, feels the pinch of his straitened circumstances; and when rich, is liable to become proud. Under the pinch of that poverty he may proceed to steal; and when proud, he may proceed to deeds of disorder. The rules of propriety recognise these feelings of men, and lay down definite regulations for them, to serve as dykes for the people. Hence the sages dealt with riches and honours, so that riches should not have power to make men proud; that poverty should not induce that feeling of being pinched; and that men in positions of honour should not be intractable to those above them. In this way the causes of disorder would more and more disappear.'

3 The Master said, 'Under heaven the cases are few in which the poor yet find enjoyment', the rich yet love the rules of propriety, and a family that is numerous (and strong) yet remains quiet and at peace. As it is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 3, 11), "The people desire disorder, And find enjoyment in bitter, poisonous ways." Hence it was made the rule that no state should have more than 1000 chariots, no chief city's wall more than 100 embrasures, no family, however rich, more than 100 chariots. These regulations were intended for the protection of the people, and yet some of the lords of states rebelled against them.'

4 The Master said, 'It is by the rules of ceremony that what is doubtful is displayed, and what is minute is distinguished, that they may serve as dykes for the people. Thus it is that there are the grades of the noble and the mean, the distinctions of dress, the different places at court; and so the people (are taught to) give place to one another.'

5 The Master said, 'There are not two suns in the sky, nor two kings in a territory, nor two masters in a family, nor two superiors of equal honour; and the people are shown how the distinction between ruler and subject should be maintained. The Chun Qiu does not mention the funeral rites for the kings of Chu and Yue. According to the rules, the ruler of a state is not spoken of as "Heaven's," and a Great officer is not spoken of as "a ruler" - lest the people should be led astray. It is said in the ode, "Look at (that bird) which in the night calls out for the morning." Even this is still occasion for being dissatisfied with it.'

6 The Master said, 'A ruler does not ride in the same carriage with those of the same surname with himself; and when riding with those of a different surname, he wears a different dress - to show the people that they should avoid what may give rise to suspicion. This was intended to guard the people (from incurring suspicion), and yet they found that there were those of the same surname who murdered their ruler.'

7 The Master said, 'The superior man will decline a position of high honour, but not one that is mean; and riches, but not poverty. In this way confusion and disorder will more and more disappear. 'Hence the superior man, rather than have his emoluments superior to his worth, will have his worth superior to his emoluments.'

8 The Master said, 'In the matter of a cup of liquor and a dish of meat, one may forego his claim and receive that which is less than his due; and yet the people will try to obtain more than is due to their years. When one's mat has been spread for him in a high place, he may move and take his seat on a lower; and yet the people will try to occupy the place due to rank. From the high place due to him at court one may in his humility move to a meaner place; and yet the people shall be intrusive even in the presence of the ruler. As it is said in the Book of Poetry (II, vii, ode 9, 4), "When men in disputations fine, To hear their consciences refuse, Then 'gainst each other they repine, And each maintains his special views. If one a place of rank obtain, And scorn humility to show, The others view him with disdain, And, wrangling, all to ruin go."'

9 The Master said, 'The superior man exalts others and abases himself; he gives the first place to others and takes the last himself - and thus the people are taught to be humble and yielding. Thus when he is speaking of the ruler of another state, he calls him "The Ruler;" but when mentioning his own ruler, he calls him "Our ruler of little virtue."'

10 The Master said, 'When advantages and rewards are given to the dead first, and to the living afterwards, the people will not act contrarily to the (character of) the dead. When (the ruler) places those who are exiles (from and for their state) first, and those who remain in it last, the people may be trusted with (the most arduous duties). It is said in the Book of Poetry (1, iii, ode 3, 4), "In thinking of our deceased lord, She stimulated worthless me." When this dyke is set up for the people, will they still act contrarily to the dead and have to bewail their lot, with none to whom to appeal?'

11 The Master said, 'When the ruler of a state, with its clans, thinks much of the men and little of the emoluments (which he bestows on them), the people give place readily (to those men). When he thinks much of their ability, and little of the chariots (with which he rewards them), the people address themselves to elegant arts. Hence a superior man keeps his speech under control, while the small man is forward to speak.'

12 The Master said, 'If superiors consider and are guided by the words of the people, the people receive their gifts or commands as if they were from Heaven. If superiors pay no regard to the words of the people, the people put themselves in opposition to them. When inferiors do not receive the gifts of their superiors as if they were from Heaven, there ensues violent disorder. Hence, when the superior exhibits his confidence and courtesy in the government of the people, then the usages of the people in response to him are very great. It is said in the Book of Poetry (3:2, ode 10, 3), "Remember what in days of old they spake, With grass and fuel-gatherers counsel take."'

13 The Master said, 'If (the ruler) ascribe what is good to others, and what is wrong to himself, the people will not contend (among themselves). If he ascribe what is good to others, and what is wrong to himself, dissatisfactions will more and more disappear. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, v, ode 4, 2), "You had consulted the tortoise-shell; you had consulted the stalks; In their responses there was nothing unfavourable."'

14 The Master said, 'If (the ruler) ascribe what is good to others and what is wrong to himself, the people will yield to others (the credit of) what is good in them. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, i, ode 10, 7), "He examined and divined, did the king, About settling in the capital of Hao. The tortoise-shell decided the site, And king Wu completed the city."'

15 The Master said, 'If (ministers) ascribe what is good to their ruler and what is wrong to themselves, the people will become loyal. It is said in the Book of History (V, xxi, 6), '"When you have any good plans or counsels, enter and lay them before your ruler in the court; and thereafter, when you are acting abroad in accordance with them, say, 'This plan, or this view, is all due to the virtue of our ruler!' Oh! in this way how good and distinguished will you be!"'

16 The Master said, 'If (a ruler, being a son,) ascribe what is good to his father, and what is wrong to himself, the people will become filial. It is said in "The Great Declaration," "If I subdue Zhou, it will not be my prowess, but the faultless virtue of my deceased father Wen. If Zhou subdues me, it will not be from any fault of my deceased father Wen, but because I, who am as a little child, am not good"' (Shu, V, i, sect. 3, 6).

17 The Master said "A superior man will forget and not make much of the errors of his father, and will show his reverence for his excellence. It is said in the Lun Yu (I, xi), "He who for three years does not change from the way of his father, may be pronounced filial;" and in the Gao Zong (Shu, III, viii, i) it is said, "For three years he kept without speaking; when he did speak, they were delighted."'

18 The Master said, 'To obey (his parents') commands without angry (complaint); to remonstrate with them gently without being weary; and not to murmur against them, though they punish him, may be pronounced filial piety. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, ii, ode 3, 5), "Your filial son was unceasing in his service."'

19 The Master said, 'To cultivate harmony with all the kindred of parents may be pronounced filial! It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, vii, ode 9, 3), "Brethren whose virtue stands the test, By bad example still unchanged, Their generous feelings manifest, Nor grow among themselves estranged. But if their virtue weakly fails, The evil influence to withstand, Then selfishness o'er love prevails, And troubles rise on every hand."'

20 The Master said, '(A son) may ride in the chariot of an intimate friend of his father, but he should not wear his robes. By this (rule) the superior man widens (the sphere of) his filial duty.'

21 The Master said, 'Small men are all able to support their parents. If the superior man do not also reverence them, how is his supporting to be distinguished (from theirs)?'

22 The Master said, 'Father and son should not be in the same (official) position - to magnify the reverence (due to the father). It is said in the Book of History (Shu, III, v, sect. 1, 3), "If the sovereign do not show himself the sovereign, he disgraces his ancestors."'

23 The Master said, 'Before his parents (a son) should not speak of himself as old; he may speak of the duty due to parents, but not of the gentle kindness due from them; inside the female apartments he may sport, but should not sigh. By

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these (rules) the superior man would protect the people (from evil), and still they are found slight in their acknowledgment of filial duty, and prompt in their appreciation of gentle kindness.'

24 The Master said, 'When they who are over the people show at their courts their respect for the old, the people become filial.'

25 The Master said, 'The (use of) the representatives of the deceased at sacrifices, and of one who presides (at the services) in the ancestral temple, was intended to show the people that they had still those whom they should serve. The repairing of the ancestral temple and the reverential performance of the sacrifices were intended to teach the people to follow their dead with their filial duty. These things should guard the people (from evil), and still they are prone to forget their parents.'

26 The Master said, 'When (it is wished to) show respect (to guests), the vessels of sacrifice are used. Thus it is that the superior man will not in the poverty of his viands neglect the rules of ceremony, nor in their abundance and excellence make those rules disappear. Hence, according to the rules of feasting, when the host gives in person anything to a guest, the guest offers a portion in sacrifice, but he does not do so with what the host does not himself give him. Therefore, when there is no ceremony in the gift, however admirable it may be, the superior man does not partake of it. It is said in the Yi, "The ox slain in sacrifice by the neighbour on the east is not equal to the spare spring sacrifice of the neighbour on the west, (whose sincerity) receives the blessing." It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, ii, ode 3, 1), "You have made us drink to the full of your spirits, You have satiated us with your virtue." But though in this way the people are admonished, they will still keep striving after profit, and forget righteousness.'

27 The Master said, 'There are the seven days of fasting, and the three days of vigil and adjustment of the thoughts; there is the appointment of the one man to act as the personator of the dead, in passing whom it is required to adopt a hurried pace - all to teach reverence (for the departed).' The sweet liquor is in the apartment (where the personator is); the reddish in the hall; and the clear in the court below - all to teach the people not to go to excess in being greedy. The personator drinks three cups, and all the guests drink one - teaching the people that there must be the distinction of high and low. The ruler takes the opportunity of the spirits and flesh of his sacrifice to assemble all the members of his kindred - teaching the people to cultivate harmony. Thus it is that on the hall above they look at what is done in the apartment, and in the court below at what is done by those in the hall (for their pattern); as it is said in the Book of Poetry (II. vi, ode 5, 3), 'Every form is according to rule; Every smile and word is as it should be.'

28 The Master said, 'The giving place to a visitor at every stage of his advancing (from the entrance gate), according to the rules for visitors; and the repetition of the ceremonies, according to the mourning rites, in an ever-increasing distance from the apartment of the corpse; the washing of the corpse over the pit in the centre of the open court; the putting the rice into the mouth under the window; the slighter dressing of the corpse inside the door of the apartment; the greater dressing at the top of the steps on the east; the coffining in the place for guests; the sacrifice on taking the road (with the coffin) in the courtyard; and the interment in the grave - these were intended to teach the people how the element of distance enters into the usages. Under the Yin dynasty they condoled with the mourners at the grave; they do so under Zhou in the house - showing the people that they should not neglect the custom.'

29 The Master said, '(These services in connexion with) death are the last duties which the people have to pay (to their departed). I follow Zhou in them. They were intended to serve as guards to the people (to keep them from error). Among the princes, however, there still were those who did not attend the burials of other princes, and take part in them.'

30 The Master said, 'The going up to the hall by the steps for the guests, and receiving the condolences sent to him in the guests' place, are designed to teach the filial to continue their filial duty even to the dead. Until the mourning rites are finished, a son is not styled "Ruler" - showing the people that there ought to be no contention (between father and son). Hence in the Chun Qiu of Lu, recording deaths in Qin, it is said, "(Li Ke) killed Xi-qi, the son of his ruler, and his ruler Zhuo - "a barrier was thus raised to prevent the people (from doing such deeds). And yet there were sons who still murdered their fathers.'

31 The Master said, 'Filial duty may be transferred to the service of the ruler, and brotherly submission to the service of elders - showing the people that they ought not to be double-minded. Hence a superior man, while his ruler is alive, should not take counsel about taking office (in another state). It is only on the day of his consulting the tortoise-shell (about such a thing) that he will mention two rulers.' The mourning for a father lasts for three years, and that for a ruler the same time - showing the people that they must not doubt (about the duty which they owe to their ruler). While his parents are alive, a son should not dare to consider his wealth as his own, nor to hold any of it as for his own private use - showing the people how they should look on the relation between high and low. Hence the son of Heaven cannot be received with the ceremonies of a guest anywhere within the four seas, and no one can presume to be his host. Hence, also, when a ruler goes to a minister's (mansion) he goes up to the hall by the (host's) steps on the east and proceeds to the place (of honour) in the hall: showing the people that they should not dare to consider their houses their own. While his parents are alive, the gifts presented to a son should not extend to a carriage and its team - showing the people that they should not dare to monopolise (any honours). All these usages were intended to keep the people from transgressing their proper bounds; and yet there are those who forget their parents, and are double-minded to their ruler.'

32 The Master said, 'The ceremony takes place before the silks (offered in connexion with it) are presented - this is intended to teach the people to make the doing of their duties the first thing, and their salaries an after consideration. If money be sought first and the usages of propriety last, then the people will be set on gain: if the mere feeling be acted on, without any expressions (of courtesy and deference), there will be contentions among the people. Hence the superior man, when presents are brought to him, if he cannot see him who offers them, does not look at the presents. It is said in the Yi, "He reaps without having ploughed that he may reap; he gathers the produce of the third year's field without having cultivated them the first year; there will be evil." In this way it is sought to guard the people, and yet there are of them who value their emoluments and set little store by their practice.'

33 The Master said, 'The superior man does not take all the profit that he might do, but leaves some for the people. It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, vi, ode 8, 3), "There shall be handfuls left on the ground, And ears here and there left untouched; For the benefit of the widow." Hence, when a superior man is in office (and enjoys its emoluments), he does not go in for farming; if he hunts, he does not (also) fish; he eats the (fruits of the) season, and is not eager for delicacies; if a Great officer, he does not sit on sheepskins; if a lower officer, he does not sit on dogskins. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, iii, ode 10, 1), "When we gather the mustard-plant and earth-melons, We do not reject them because of their roots. While I do nothing contrary to my good name, I should live with you till our death." In this way it was intended to guard the people against loving wrong; and still some forget righteousness and struggle for gain, even to their own ruin.'

34 The Master said, 'The ceremonial usages serve as dykes to the people against bad excesses (to which they are prone). They display the separation which should be maintained (between the sexes), that there may be no occasion for suspicion, and the relations of the people be well defined. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, viii, ode vi, 3, 4), How do we proceed in hewing an axe-handle? Without another axe it cannot be done. How do we proceed in taking a wife? Without a go-between it cannot be done. How do we proceed in planting hemp? The acres must be dressed length-wise and crosswise. How do we proceed in taking a wife? Announcement must first be made to our parents." In this way it was intended to guard the people (against doing wrong), and still there are some (women) among them, who offer themselves (to the male).'

35 The Master said, 'A man in taking a wife does not take one of the same surname with himself - to show broadly the distinction (to be maintained between man and wife). Hence, when a man is buying a concubine, if he do not know her surname, he consults the tortoise-shell about it. In this way it was intended to preserve the people (from going wrong in the matter); and yet the Chun Qiu of Lu still suppresses the surname of duke Zhao's wife, simply saying "Wu," and the record of her death is "Meng (the elder) Zi died."'

36 The Master said, 'According to the rules, male and female do not give the cup to one another, excepting at sacrifice. This was intended to guard the people against (undue freedom of intercourse); and yet the marquis of Yang killed the marquis of Mu, and stole away his wife. Therefore the presence of the wife at the grand entertainments was disallowed.'

37 The Master said, 'With the son of a widow one does not have interviews - this would seem to be an obstacle to friendship, but a superior man will keep apart from intercourse in such a case, in order to avoid (suspicion). Hence, in the intercourse of friends, if the master of the house be not in, a visitor, unless there is some great cause, does not enter the door. This was intended to preserve the people (from all appearance of evil); and yet there are of them who pay more regard to beauty than to virtue.'

38 The Master said, 'The love of virtue should be like the love of beauty (from an inward constraint). Princes of states should not be like fishers for beauty (in the families) below them. Hence the superior man keeps aloof from beauty, in order to constitute a rule for the people. Thus male and female, in giving and receiving, do not allow their hands to touch; in driving his wife in a carriage, a husband advances his left hand; when a young aunt, a sister, or a daughter has been married, and returns (to her father's house), no male can sit on the same mat with her; a widow should not wail at night; when a wife is ill, in asking for her, the nature of her illness should not be mentioned:-in this way it was sought to keep the people (from irregular connexions); and yet there are those who become licentious, and introduce disorder and confusion among their kindred.'

39 The Master said, 'According to the rules of marriage, the son-in-law should go in person to meet the bride. When he is introduced to her father and mother, they bring her forward, and give her to him' - being afraid things should go contrary to what is right. In this way a dyke is raised in the interest of the people; and yet there are cases in which the wife will not go (to her husband's).'

LI JI CHAPTER 31 Zhong Yong

or: Doctrine of the Mean
or The State of Equilibrium and Harmony
(by Zisi, also known as Kong Ji 483—402BC,
the only grandson of Confucius)

1 What Heaven has conferred is called The Nature; an accordance with this nature is called The Path of duty; the regulation of this path is called Instruction. The path may not be left for an instant. If it could be left, it would not be the path. On this account, the superior man does not wait till he sees things, to be cautious, nor till he hears things, to be apprehensive. There is nothing more visible than what is secret, and nothing more manifest than what is minute. Therefore the superior man is watchful over himself, when he is alone. While there are no stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy, the mind may be said to be in the state of Equilibrium. When those feelings have been stirred, and they act in their due degree, there ensues what may be called the state of Harmony. This Equilibrium is the great root from which grow all the human actings in the world, and this Harmony is the universal path which they all should pursue. Let the states of equilibrium and harmony exist in perfection, and a happy order will prevail throughout heaven and earth, and all things will be nourished and flourish.

2 Zhong-ni said, "The superior man embodies the course of the Mean; the mean man acts contrary to the course of the Mean. The superior man's embodying the course of the Mean is because he is a superior man, and so always maintains the Mean. The mean man's acting contrary to the course of the Mean is because he is a mean man, and has no caution."

3 The Master said, "Perfect is the virtue which is according to the Mean! Rare have they long been among the people, who could practice it!"

4 The Master said, "I know how it is that the path of the Mean is not walked in: The knowing go beyond it, and the stupid do not come up to it. I know how it is that the path of the Mean is not understood: The men of talents and virtue go beyond it, and the worthless do not come up to it. There is no body but eats and drinks. But they are few who can distinguish flavors."

5 The Master said, "Alas! How is the path of the Mean untrodden!"

6 The Master said, "There was Shun: He indeed was greatly wise! Shun loved to question others, and to study their words, though they might be shallow. He concealed what was bad in them and displayed what was good. He took hold of their two extremes, determined the Mean, and employed it in his government of the people. It was by this that he was Shun!"

7 The Master said "Men all say, 'We are wise'; but being driven forward and taken in a net, a trap, or a pitfall, they know not how to escape. Men all say, 'We are wise'; but happening to choose the course of the Mean, they are not able to keep it for a round month."

8 The Master said "This was the manner of Hui: he made choice of the Mean, and whenever he got hold of what was good, he clasped it firmly, as if wearing it on his breast, and did not lose it."

9 The Master said, "The kingdom, its states, and its families, may be perfectly ruled; dignities and emoluments may be declined; naked weapons may be trampled under the feet; but the course of the Mean cannot be attained to."

10 Zi-lu asked about energy. The Master said, "Do you mean the energy of the South, the energy of the North, or the energy which you should cultivate yourself? To show forbearance and gentleness in teaching others; and not to revenge unreasonable conduct - this is the energy of southern regions, and the good man makes it his study. To lie under arms; and meet death without regret - this is the energy of northern regions, and the forceful make it their study. Therefore, the superior man cultivates a friendly harmony, without being weak. How firm is he in his energy! He stands erect in the middle, without inclining to either side. How firm is he in his energy! When good principles prevail in the government of his country, he does not change from what he was in retirement. How firm is he in his energy! When bad principles prevail in the country, he maintains his course to death without changing. How firm is he in his energy!"

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11 The Master said, "To live in obscurity, and yet practice wonders, in order to be mentioned with honor in future ages:- this is what I do not do. The good man tries to proceed according to the right path, but when he has gone halfway, he abandons it:-I am not able so to stop. The superior man accords with the course of the Mean. Though he may be all unknown, unregarded by the world, he feels no regret. It is only the sage who is able for this.

12 The way which the superior man pursues, reaches wide and far, and yet is secret. Common men and women, however ignorant, may intermeddle with the knowledge of it; yet in its utmost reaches, there is that which even the sage does not know. Common men and women, however much below the ordinary standard of character, can carry it into practice; yet in its utmost reaches, there is that which even the sage is not able to carry into practice. Great as heaven and earth are, men still find some things in them with which to be dissatisfied. Thus it is that, were the superior man to speak of his way in all its greatness, nothing in the world would be found able to embrace it, and were he to speak of it in its minuteness, nothing in the world would be found able to split it. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "The hawk flies up to heaven; the fishes leap in the deep." This expresses how this way is seen above and below. The way of the superior man may be found, in its simple elements, in the intercourse of common men and women; but in its utmost reaches, it shines brightly through heaven and earth.

13 The Master said "The path is not far from man. When men try to pursue a course, which is far from the common indications of consciousness, this course cannot be considered The Path. In the Book of Poetry, it is said, 'In hewing an ax handle, in hewing an ax handle, the pattern is not far off. We grasp one ax handle to hew the other; and yet, if we look askance from the one to the other, we may consider them as apart. Therefore, the superior man governs men, according to their nature, with what is proper to them, and as soon as they change what is wrong, he stops. When one cultivates to the utmost the principles of his nature, and exercises them on the principle of reciprocity, he is not far from the path. What you do not like when done to yourself, do not do to others. In the way of the superior man there are four things, to not one of which have I as yet attained.-To serve my father, as I would require my son to serve me: to this I have not attained; to serve my prince as I would require my minister to serve me: to this I have not attained; to serve my elder brother as I would require my younger brother to serve me: to this I have not attained; to set the example in behaving to a friend, as I would require him to behave to me: to this I have not attained. Earnest in practicing the ordinary virtues, and careful in speaking about them, if, in his practice, he has anything defective, the superior man dares not but exert himself; and if, in his words, he has any excess, he dares not allow himself such license. Thus his words have respect to his actions, and his actions have respect to his words; is it not just an entire sincerity which marks the superior man?

14 The superior man does what is proper to the station in which he is; he does not desire to go beyond this. In a position of wealth and honor, he does what is proper to a position of wealth and honor. In a poor and low position, he does what is proper to a poor and low position. Situated among barbarous tribes, he does what is proper to a situation among barbarous tribes. In a position of sorrow and difficulty, he does what is proper to a position of sorrow and difficulty. The superior man can find himself in no situation in which he is not himself. In a high situation, he does not treat with contempt his inferiors. In a low situation, he does not court the favor of his superiors. He rectifies himself, and seeks for nothing from others, so that he has no dissatisfactions. He does not murmur against Heaven, nor grumble against men. Thus it is that the superior man is quiet and calm, waiting for the appointments of Heaven, while the mean man walks in dangerous paths, looking for lucky occurrences.

15 The Master said, "In archery we have something like the way of the superior man. When the archer misses the center of the target, he turns round and seeks for the cause of his failure in himself. The way of the superior man may be compared to what takes place in traveling, when to go to a distance we must first traverse the space that is near, and in ascending a height, when we must begin from the lower ground. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Happy union with wife and children is like the music of lutes and harps. When there is concord among brethren, the harmony is delightful and enduring. Thus may you regulate your family, and enjoy the pleasure of your wife and children." The Master said, "In such a state of things, parents have entire complacence!"

16 The Master said, "How abundantly do spiritual beings display the powers that belong to them! We look for them, but do not see them; we listen to, but do not hear them; yet they enter into all things, and there is nothing without them. They cause all the people in the kingdom to fast and purify themselves, and array themselves in their richest dresses, in order to attend at their sacrifices. Then, like overflowing water, they seem to be over the heads, and on the right and left of their worshippers. It is said in the Book of Poetry, 'The approaches of the spirits, you cannot surmise; and can you treat them with indifference?' Such is the manifestness of what is minute! Such is the impossibility of repressing the outgoings of sincerity!"

17 The Master said, "How greatly filial was Shun! His virtue was that of a sage; his dignity was the throne; his riches were all within the four seas. He offered his sacrifices in his ancestral temple, and his descendants preserved the sacrifices to himself. Therefore having such great virtue, it could not but be that he should obtain the throne, that he should obtain those riches, that he should obtain his fame, that he should attain to his long life. Thus it is that Heaven, in the production of things, is sure to be bountiful to them, according to their qualities. Hence the tree that is flourishing, it nourishes, while that which is ready to fall, it overthrows. In the Book of Poetry, it is said, 'The admirable amiable prince displayed conspicuously his excelling virtue, adjusting his people, and adjusting his officers. Therefore, he received from Heaven his emoluments of dignity. It protected him, assisted him, decreed him the throne; sending from Heaven these favors, as it were repeatedly.' We may say therefore that he who is greatly virtuous will be sure to receive the appointment of Heaven."

18 The Master said, "It is only King Wen of whom it can be said that he had no cause for grief! His father was King Ji, and his son was King Wu. His father laid the foundations of his dignity, and his son transmitted it. King Wu continued the enterprise of King Tai, King Ji, and King Wen. He once buckled on his armor, and got possession of the kingdom. He did not lose the distinguished personal reputation which he had throughout the kingdom. His dignity was the royal throne. His riches were the possession of all within the four seas. He offered his sacrifices in his ancestral temple, and his descendants maintained the sacrifices to himself. It was in his old age that King Wu received the appointment to the throne, and the duke of Zhou completed the virtuous course of Wen and Wu. He carried up the title of king to Tai and Ji, and sacrificed to all the former dukes above them with the royal ceremonies. And this rule he extended to the princes of the kingdom, the great officers, the scholars, and the common people. If the father were a great officer and the son a scholar, then the burial was that due to a great officer, and the sacrifice that due to a scholar. If the father were a scholar and the son a great officer, then the burial was that due to a scholar, and the sacrifice that due to a great officer. The one year's mourning was made to extend only to the great officers, but the three years' mourning extended to the Son of Heaven. In the mourning for a father or mother, he allowed no difference between the noble and the mean.

19 The Master said, "How far-extending was the filial piety of King Wu and the duke of Zhou! Now filial piety is seen in the skillful carrying out of the wishes of our forefathers, and the skillful carrying forward of their undertakings. In spring and autumn, they repaired and beautified the temple halls of their fathers, set forth their ancestral vessels, displayed their various robes, and presented the offerings of the several seasons. By means of the ceremonies of the ancestral temple, they distinguished the royal kindred according to their order of descent. By ordering the parties present according to their rank, they distinguished the more noble and the less. By the arrangement of the services, they made a distinction of talents and worth. In the ceremony of general pledging, the inferiors presented the cup to their superiors, and thus something was given the lowest to do. At the concluding feast, places were given according to the hair, and thus was made the distinction of years. They occupied the places of their forefathers, practiced their ceremonies, and performed their music. They reverenced those whom they honored, and loved those whom they regarded with affection. Thus they served the dead as they would have served them alive; they served the departed as they would have served them had they been continued among them - the height of filial piety. By the ceremonies of the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth they served God, and by the ceremonies of the ancestral temple they sacrificed to their ancestors. He who understands the ceremonies of the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, and the meaning of the several sacrifices to ancestors, would find the government of a kingdom as easy as to look into his palm!"

20 The Duke Ai asked about government. The Master said, "The government of Wen and Wu is displayed in the records - the tablets of wood and bamboo. Let there be the men and the government will flourish; but without the men, their government decays and ceases. With the right men the growth of government is rapid, just as vegetation is rapid in the earth; and, moreover, their government might be called an easily-growing rush. Therefore the administration of government lies in getting proper men. Such men are to be got by means of the ruler's own character. That character is to be cultivated by his treading in the ways of duty. And the treading those ways of duty is to be cultivated by the cherishing of benevolence. Benevolence is the characteristic element of humanity, and the great exercise of it is in loving relatives. Righteousness is the accordance of actions with what is right, and the great exercise of it is in honoring the worthy. The decreasing measures of the love due to relatives, and the steps in the honour due to the worthy, are produced by the principle of propriety. When those in inferior situations do not possess the confidence of their superiors, they cannot retain the government of the people. Hence the sovereign may not neglect the cultivation of his own character. Wishing to cultivate his character, he may not neglect to serve his parents. In order to serve his parents, he may not neglect to acquire knowledge of men. In order to know men, he may not dispense with a knowledge of Heaven. The duties of universal obligation are five and the virtues wherewith they are practiced are three. The duties are those between sovereign and minister, between father and son, between husband and wife, between elder brother and younger, and those belonging to the intercourse of friends. Those five are the duties of universal obligation. Knowledge, magnanimity, and energy, these three, are the virtues universally binding. And the means by which they carry the duties into practice is singleness. Some are born with the knowledge of those duties; some know them by study; and some acquire the knowledge after a painful feeling of their ignorance. But the knowledge being possessed, it comes to the same thing. Some practice them with a natural ease; some from a desire for their advantages; and some by strenuous effort. But the achievement being made, it comes to the same thing."

21 The Master said, "To be fond of learning is to be near to knowledge. To practice with vigor is to be near to magnanimity. To possess the feeling of shame is to be near to energy. He who knows these three things knows how to cultivate his own character. Knowing how to cultivate his own character, he knows how to govern other men. Knowing how to govern other men, he knows how to govern the kingdom with all its states and families. All who have the government of the kingdom with its states and families have nine standard rules to follow;-viz., the cultivation of their own characters; the honoring of men of virtue and talents; affection towards their relatives; respect towards the great ministers; kind and considerate treatment of the whole body of officers; dealing with the mass of the people as children; encouraging the resort of all classes of artisans; indulgent treatment of men from a distance; and the kindly cherishing of the princes of the states. By the ruler's cultivation of his own character, the duties of universal obligation are set forth. By honoring men of virtue and talents, he is preserved from errors of judgement. By showing affection to his relatives, there is no grumbling nor resentment among his uncles and brethren. By respecting the great ministers, he is kept from errors in the practice of government. By kind and considerate treatment of the whole body of officers, they are led to make the most grateful return for his courtesies. By dealing with the mass of the people as his children, they are led to exhort one another to what is good. By encouraging the resort of an classes of artisans, his resources for expenditure are rendered ample. By indulgent treatment of men from a distance, they are brought to resort to him from all quarters. And by kindly cherishing the princes of the states, the whole kingdom is brought to revere him. Self-adjustment and purification, with careful regulation of his dress, and the not making a movement contrary to the rules of propriety this is the way for a ruler to cultivate his person. Discarding slanderers, and keeping himself from the seductions of beauty; making light of riches, and giving honor to virtue-this is the way for him to encourage men of worth and talents. Giving them places of honor and large emolument. and sharing with them in their likes and dislikes-this is the way for him to encourage his relatives to love him. Giving them numerous officers to discharge their orders and commissions:-this is the way for him to encourage the great ministers. According to them a generous confidence, and making their emoluments large:-this is the way to encourage the body of officers. Employing them only at the proper times, and making the imposts light:-this is the way to encourage the people. By daily examinations and monthly trials, and by making their rations in accordance with their labors:-this is the way to encourage the classes of artisans. To escort them on their departure and meet them on their coming; to commend the good among them, and show compassion to the incompetent:-this is the way to treat indulgently men from a distance. To restore families whose line of succession has been broken, and to revive states that have been extinguished; to reduce to order states that are in confusion, and support those which are in peril; to have fixed times for their own reception at court, and the reception of their envoys; to send them away after liberal treatment, and welcome their coming with small contributions: this is the way to cherish the princes of the states. All who have the government of the kingdom with its states and families have the above nine standard rules. And the means by which they are carried into practice is singleness.

22 "In all things success depends on previous preparation, and without such previous preparation there is sure to be failure. If what is to be spoken be previously determined, there will be no stumbling. If affairs be previously determined, there will be no difficulty with them. If one's actions have been previously determined, there will be no sorrow in connection

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with them. If principles of conduct have been previously determined, the practice of them will be inexhaustible. When those in inferior situations do not obtain the confidence of the sovereign, they cannot succeed in governing the people. There is a way to obtain the confidence of the sovereign;-if one is not trusted by his friends, he will not get the confidence of his sovereign. There is a way to being trusted by one's friends;-if one is not obedient to his parents, he will not be true to friends. There is a way to being obedient to one's parents;-if one, on turning his thoughts in upon himself, finds a want of sincerity, he will not be obedient to his parents. There is a way to the attainment of sincerity in one's self; -if a man do not understand what is good, he will not attain sincerity in himself. Sincerity is the way of Heaven. The attainment of sincerity is the way of men. He who possesses sincerity is he who, without an effort, hits what is right, and apprehends, without the exercise of thought;-he is the sage who naturally and easily embodies the right way. He who attains to sincerity is he who chooses what is good, and firmly holds it fast. To this attainment there are requisite the extensive study of what is good, accurate inquiry about it, careful reflection on it, the clear discrimination of it, and the earnest practice of it. The superior man, while there is anything he has not studied, or while in what he has studied there is anything he cannot understand, will not intermit his labor. While there is anything he has not inquired about, or anything in what he has inquired about which he does not know, he will not intermit his labor. While there is anything which he has not reflected on, or anything in what he has reflected on which he does not apprehend, he will not intermit his labor. While there is anything which he has not discriminated or his discrimination is not clear, he will not intermit his labor. If there be anything which he has not practiced, or his practice fails in earnestness, he will not intermit his labor. If another man succeed by one effort, he will use a hundred efforts. If another man succeed by ten efforts, he will use a thousand. Let a man proceed in this way, and, though dull, he will surely become intelligent; though weak, he will surely become strong."

23 When we have intelligence resulting from sincerity, this condition is to be ascribed to nature; when we have sincerity resulting from intelligence, this condition is to be ascribed to instruction. But given the sincerity, and there shall be the intelligence; given the intelligence, and there shall be the sincerity. It is only he who is possessed of the most complete sincerity that can exist under heaven, who can give its full development to his nature. Able to give its full development to his own nature, he can do the same to the nature of other men. Able to give its full development to the nature of other men, he can give their full development to the natures of animals and things. Able to give their full development to the natures of creatures and things, he can assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth. Able to assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth, he may with Heaven and Earth form a ternion.

24 Next to the above is he who cultivates to the utmost the shoots of goodness in him. From those he can attain to the possession of sincerity. This sincerity becomes apparent. From being apparent, it becomes manifest. From being manifest, it becomes brilliant. Brilliant, it affects others. Affecting others, they are changed by it. Changed by it, they are transformed. It is only he who is possessed of the most complete sincerity that can exist under heaven, who can transform.

25 It is characteristic of the most entire sincerity to be able to foreknow. When a nation or family is about to flourish, there are sure to be happy omens; and when it is about to perish, there are sure to be unlucky omens. Such events are seen in the milfoil and tortoise, and affect the movements of the four limbs. When calamity or happiness is about to come, the good shall certainly be foreknown by him, and the evil also. Therefore the individual possessed of the most complete sincerity is like a spirit.

26 Sincerity is that whereby self-completion is effected, and its way is that by which man must direct himself. Sincerity is the end and beginning of things; without sincerity there would be nothing. On this account, the superior man regards the attainment of sincerity as the most excellent thing. The possessor of sincerity does not merely accomplish the self-completion of himself. With this quality he completes other men and things also. The completing himself shows his perfect virtue. The completing other men and things shows his knowledge. But these are virtues belonging to the nature, and this is the way by which a union is effected of the external and internal. Therefore, whenever he-the entirely sincere man-employs them,-that is, these virtues, their action will be right. Hence to entire sincerity there belongs ceaselessness. Not ceasing, it continues long. Continuing long, it evidences itself. Evidencing itself, it reaches far. Reaching far, it becomes large and substantial. Large and substantial, it becomes high and brilliant. Large and substantial;-this is how it contains all things. High and brilliant;-this is how it overspreads all things. Reaching far and continuing long;-this is how it perfects all things. So large and substantial, the individual possessing it is the co-equal of Earth. So high and brilliant, it makes him the co-equal of Heaven. So far-reaching and long-continuing, it makes him infinite. Such being its nature, without any display, it becomes manifested; without any movement, it produces changes; and without any effort, it accomplishes its ends.

27 The way of Heaven and Earth may be completely declared in one sentence. They are without any doubleness, and so they produce things in a manner that is unfathomable. The way of Heaven and Earth is large and substantial, high and brilliant, far-reaching and long-enduring. The Heaven now before us is only this bright shining spot; but when viewed in its inexhaustible extent, the sun, moon, stars, and constellations of the zodiac, are suspended in it, and all things are overspread by it. The earth before us is but a handful of soil; but when regarded in its breadth and thickness, it sustains mountains like the Hwa and the Yo, without feeling their weight, and contains the rivers and seas, without their leaking away. The mountain now before us appears only a stone; but when contemplated in all the vastness of its size, we see how the grass and trees are produced on it, and birds and beasts dwell on it, and precious things which men treasure up are found on it. The water now before us appears but a ladleful; yet extending our view to its unfathomable depths, the largest tortoises, iguanas, iguanodons, dragons, fishes, and turtles, are produced in it, articles of value and sources of wealth abound in it. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "The ordinances of Heaven, how profound are they and unceasing!" The meaning is, that it is thus that Heaven is Heaven. And again, "How illustrious was it, the singleness of the virtue of King Wen!" indicating that it was thus that King Wen was what he was. Singleness likewise is unceasing.

28 How great is the path proper to the Sage! Like overflowing water, it sends forth and nourishes all things, and rises up to the height of heaven. All-complete is its greatness! It embraces the three hundred rules of ceremony, and the three thousand rules of demeanor. It waits for the proper man, and then it is trodden. Hence it is said, "Only by perfect virtue can the perfect path, in all its courses, be made a fact." Therefore, the superior man honors his virtuous nature, and maintains constant inquiry and study, seeking to carry it out to its breadth and greatness, so as to omit none of the more exquisite and minute points which it embraces, and to raise it to its greatest height and brilliancy, so as to pursue the course of the Mean. He cherishes his old knowledge, and is continually acquiring new. He exerts an honest, generous earnestness, in the esteem and practice of all propriety. Thus, when occupying a high situation he is not proud, and in a low situation he is not insubordinate. When the kingdom is well governed, he is sure by his words to rise; and when it is ill governed, he is sure by his silence to command forbearance to himself. Is not this what we find in the Book of Poetry,-"Intelligent is he and prudent, and so preserves his person?"

29 The Master said, Let a man who is ignorant be fond of using his own judgement; let a man without rank be fond of assuming a directing power to himself; let a man who is living in the present age go back to the ways of antiquity;-on the persons of all who act thus calamities will be sure to come. To no one but the Son of Heaven does it belong to order ceremonies, to fix the measures, and to determine the written characters. Now over the kingdom, carriages have all wheels, of the-same size; all writing is with the same characters; and for conduct there are the same rules. One may occupy the throne, but if he have not the proper virtue, he may not dare to make ceremonies or music. One may have the virtue, but if he do not occupy the throne, he may not presume to make ceremonies or music.

30 The Master said, "I may describe the ceremonies of the Xia dynasty, but Qi cannot sufficiently attest my words. I have learned the ceremonies of the Yin dynasty, and in Song they still continue. I have learned the ceremonies of Zhou, which are now used, and I follow Zhou." He who attains to the sovereignty of the kingdom, having those three important things, shall be able to effect that there shall be few errors under his government. However excellent may have been the regulations of those of former times, they cannot be attested. Not being attested, they cannot command credence, and not being credited, the people would not follow them. However excellent might be the regulations made by one in an inferior situation, he is not in a position to be honored. Unhonored, he cannot command credence, and not being credited, the people would not follow his rules. Therefore the institutions of the Ruler are rooted in his own character and conduct, and sufficient attestation of them is given by the masses of the people. He examines them by comparison with those of the three kings, and finds them without mistake. He sets them up before Heaven and Earth, and finds nothing in them contrary to their mode of operation. He presents himself with them before spiritual beings, and no doubts about them arise. He is prepared to wait for the rise of a sage a hundred ages after, and has no misgivings. His presenting himself with his institutions before spiritual beings, without any doubts arising about them, shows that he knows Heaven. His being prepared, without any misgivings, to wait for the rise of a sage a hundred ages after, shows that he knows men. Such being the case, the movements of such a ruler, illustrating his institutions, constitute an example to the world for ages. His acts are for ages a law to the kingdom. His words are for ages a lesson to the kingdom. Those who are far from him look longingly for him; and those who are near him are never wearied with him. It is said in the Book of Poetry,-"Not disliked there, not tired of here, from day to day and night tonight, will they perpetuate their praise." Never has there been a ruler, who did not realize this description, that obtained an early renown throughout the kingdom.

31 Zhong-ni handed down the doctrines of Yao and Shun, as if they had been his ancestors, and elegantly displayed the regulations of Wen and Wu taking them as his model. Above, he harmonized with the times of Heaven, and below, he was conformed to the water and land. He may be compared to Heaven and Earth in their supporting and containing, their overshadowing and curtaining, all things. He may be compared to the four seasons in their alternating progress, and to the sun and moon in their successive shining. All things are nourished together without their injuring one another. The courses of the seasons, and of the sun and moon, are pursued without any collision among them. The smaller energies are like river currents; the greater energies are seen in mighty transformations. It is this which makes heaven and earth so great.

32 It is only he, possessed of all sagely qualities that can exist under heaven, who shows himself quick in apprehension, clear in discernment, of far-reaching intelligence, and all-embracing knowledge, fitted to exercise rule; magnanimous, generous, benign, and mild, fitted to exercise forbearance; impulsive, energetic, firm, and enduring, fitted to maintain a firm hold; self-adjusted, grave, never swerving from the Mean, and correct, fitted to command reverence; accomplished, distinctive, concentrative, and searching, fitted to exercise discrimination. All-embracing is he and vast, deep and active as a fountain, sending forth in their due season his virtues. All-embracing and vast, he is like Heaven. Deep and active as a fountain, he is like the abyss. He is seen, and the people all reverence him; he speaks, and the people all believe him; he acts, and the people all are pleased with him. Therefore his fame overspreads the Middle Kingdom, and extends to all barbarous tribes. Wherever ships and carriages reach; wherever the strength of man penetrates; wherever the heavens overshadow and the earth sustains; wherever the sun and moon shine; wherever frosts and dews fall:-all who have blood and breath unfeignedly honor and love him. Hence it is said, "He is the equal of Heaven."

33 It is only the individual possessed of the most entire sincerity that can exist under Heaven, who can adjust the great invariable relations of mankind, establish the great fundamental virtues of humanity, and know the transforming and nurturing operations of Heaven and Earth;-shall this individual have any being or anything beyond himself on which he depends? Call him man in his ideal, how earnest is he! Call him an abyss, how deep is he! Call him Heaven, how vast is he! Who can know him, but he who is indeed quick in apprehension, clear in discernment, of far-reaching intelligence, and all-embracing knowledge, possessing all Heavenly virtue?

It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Over her embroidered robe she puts a plain single garment," intimating a dislike to the display of the elegance of the former. Just so, it is the way of the superior man to prefer the concealment of his virtue, while it daily becomes more illustrious, and it is the way of the mean man to seek notoriety, while he daily goes more and more to ruin. It is characteristic of the superior man, appearing insipid, yet never to produce satiety; while showing a simple negligence, yet to have his accomplishments recognized; while seemingly plain, yet to be discriminating. He knows how what is distant lies in what is near. He knows where the wind proceeds from. He knows how what is minute becomes manifested. Such a one, we may be sure, will enter into virtue.

It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Although the fish sink and lie at the bottom, it is still quite clearly seen." Therefore the superior man examines his heart, that there may be nothing wrong there, and that he may have no cause for dissatisfaction with himself. That wherein the superior man cannot be equaled is simply this,-his work which other men cannot see.

It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Looked at in your apartment, be there free from shame as being exposed to the light of Heaven." Therefore, the superior man, even when he is not moving, has a feeling of reverence, and while he speaks not, he has the feeling of truthfulness.

It is said in the Book of Poetry, "In silence is the offering presented, and the spirit approached to; there is not the slightest contention." Therefore the superior man does not use rewards, and the people are stimulated to virtue. He does not show anger, and the people are awed more than by hatchets and battle-axes.

It is said in the Book of Poetry, "What needs no display is virtue. All the princes imitate it." Therefore, the superior man being sincere and reverential, the whole world is conducted to a state of happy tranquility.

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It is said in the Book of Poetry, "I regard with pleasure your brilliant virtue, making no great display of itself in sounds and appearances." The Master said, "Among the appliances to transform the people, sound and appearances are but trivial influences. It is said in another ode, 'His Virtue is light as a hair.' Still, a hair will admit of comparison as to its size. 'The doings of the supreme Heaven have neither sound nor smell. 'That is perfect virtue."

LI JI CHAPTER 32 Biao Ji

Record on Example

1 These were the words of the Master - 'Let us return.' The superior man, in obscurity, yet makes himself manifest; without giving himself any airs, his gravity is acknowledged; without the exercise of severity, he inspires awe; without using words, he is believed.

2 The Master said, 'The superior man takes no erroneous step before men, nor errs in the expression of his countenance, nor in the language of his speech. Therefore his demeanour induces awe, his countenance induces fear, and his words produce confidence. It is said in The Punishments of Fu (The Shu, V, xxvii, ii): "They were all reverence and caution. They had no occasion to make choice of words in reference to their conduct."'

3 The Master said, 'The dress and the one worn over it do not take the place, the one of the other, it being intimated to the people thereby that they should not trouble or interfere with one another.'

4 The Master said, 'When a sacrifice has come to the point of greatest reverence, it should not be immediately followed by music. When the discussion of affairs at court has reached its utmost nicety, it should not be immediately followed by an idle indifference.'

5 The Master said, 'The superior man is careful (in small things), and thereby escapes calamity. His generous largeness cannot be kept in obscurity. His courtesy keeps shame at a distance.'

6 The Master said, 'The superior man, by his gravity and reverence, becomes every day stronger (for good); while indifference and want of restraint lead to a daily deterioration. The superior man does not allow any irregularity in his person, even for a single day - how should he be like (a small man) who will not end his days (in honour)?'

7 The Master said, 'Vigil and fasting are required (as a preparation) for serving the spirits (in sacrifice); the day and month in which to appear before the ruler are chosen beforehand - these observances were appointed lest the people should look on these things without reverence.'

8 The Master said, '(The small man) is familiar and insolent. He may bring death on himself (by being so), and yet he stands in no fear'.'

9 The Master said, 'Without the interchange of the formal messages, there can be no reception of one party by another; without the presenting of the ceremonial (gifts), there can be no interview (with a superior) - these rules were made that the people might not take troublesome liberties with one another! It is said in the Yi, "When he shows (the sincerity that marks) the first recourse to divination, I instruct him. If he apply a second and third time, that is troublesome, and I do not instruct the troublesome."'

10 These were the words of the Master:'(Humanity, of which the characteristic is) Benevolence, is the Pattern for all under Heaven; Righteousness is the Law for all under Heaven; and the Reciprocations (of ceremony) are for the Profit of all under Heaven.'

11 The Master said, 'When kindness is returned for kindness, the people are stimulated (to be kind). When injury is returned for injury, the people are warned (to refrain from wrong-doing). It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 26) - "Answers to every word will leap, Good deeds their recompense shall reap." It is said in the Tai Jia (Shu, V, v, sect. 2, 2), "Without the sovereign, the people cannot enjoy repose with one another; without the people, the sovereign would have none to rule over in the four quarters (of the kingdom)."'

12 The Master said, 'They who return kindness for injury are such as have a regard for their own persons. They who return injury for kindness are men to be punished and put to death.'

13 The Master said, 'Under heaven there is, only a man (here and there) who loves what is proper to humanity without some personal object in the matter, or who hates what is contrary to humanity without being apprehensive (of some evil). Therefore the superior man reasons about the path to be trodden from the standpoint of himself, and lays down his laws from the (capabilities of the) people.'

14 The Master said, '(The virtues of) humanity appear in three ways. (In some cases) the work of humanity is done, but under the influence of different feelings. In these, the (true character of the) humanity cannot be known; but where there is some abnormal manifestation of it, in those the true character can be known. Those to whom it really belongs practise it easily and naturally; the wise practise it for the sake of the advantage which it brings; and those who fear the guilt of transgression practise it by constraint. Humanity is the right hand; pursuing the right path is the left. Humanity comprehends the (whole) man; the path pursued is the exhibition of righteousness. Those whose humanity is large, while their exhibition of righteousness is slight, are loved and not honoured. Those whose righteousness is large and their humanity slight are honoured and not loved. There is the perfect path, the righteous path, and the calculated path. The perfect path conducts to sovereignty; the righteous path, to chieftaincy; and the calculated path, to freedom from error and failure.

15 These were the words of the Master - 'Of humanity there are various degrees; righteousness is now long, now short, now great, now small. Where there is a deep and compassionate sympathy in the heart, we have humanity evidenced in the love of others; where there is the following of (old) examples, and vigorous endeavour, we have the employment of humanity for the occasion. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, i, ode 10, 6), "Where the Fang-water flows, Is the white millet grown. So his men Wu employed, And his merit was shown! To his sons he would leave His wise plans and his throne And our Wu was a sovereign true." That was a humanity extending to many generations. In the Lessons from the States it is said (I, iii, ode 10, 3), "Person slighted, life all blighted, What can the future prove?" That was a humanity extending (only) to the end of the speaker's life.'

16 The Master said, 'Humanity is like a heavy vessel, and like a long road. He who tries to lift the vessel cannot sustain its weight; he who travels the road cannot accomplish all its distance. There is nothing that has so many different degrees as (the course of) humanity; and thus he who tries to nerve himself to it finds it a difficult task. Therefore when the superior man measures men with the scale of righteousness, he finds it difficult to discover the men (whom he seeks); when he looks at men and compares them with one another, he knows who among them are the more worthy.'

17 The Master said, 'It is only one man (here and there) under heaven, who with his heart of hearts naturally rests in humanity. It is said in the Da Ya, or Major Odes of the Kingdom (III, iii, ode 6, 6), "Virtue is very light, Light as a hair, yet few can bear The burden of its weight. 'Tis so; but Zhong Shan, as I think, Needs not from virtue's weight to shrink That other men defies. Aid from my love his strength rejects. (if the king's measures have defects, What's needed he supplies)." In the Xiao Ya, or Minor Odes of the Kingdom, it is said (II, vii, ode 4, 5), "To the high hills I looked; The great way I pursued."'

18 The Master said, 'So did the poets love (the exhibition of) humanity. (They teach us how) one should pursue the path of it, not giving over in the way, forgetting his age, taking no thought that the years before him will not be sufficient (for his task), urging on his course with earnestness from day to day, and only giving up when he sinks in death.'

19 The Master said, 'Long has the attainment of a perfect humanity been difficult among men! all men err in what they love - and hence it is easy to apologise for the errors of those who are seeking this humanity.'

20 The Master said, 'Courtesy is near to propriety; economy is near to humanity; good faith is near to the truth of things. When one with respect and humility practises these (virtues), though he may fall into errors, they will not be very great. Where there is courtesy, the errors are few; where there is truth, there can be good faith; where there is economy, the exercise of forbearance is easy - will not failure be rare in the case of those who practise these things? It is said in the Book of Poetry (III. iii, ode 2, 9), "Mildness and reverence base supply For virtue's structure, broad and high."

21 The Master said, 'Long has the attainment of perfect humanity been difficult among men; it is only the superior man who is able to reach it. Therefore the superior man does not distress men by requiring from them that which (only) he himself can do, nor put them to shame because of what they cannot do. Hence the sage, in laying down rules for conduct, does not make himself the rule, but gives them his instructions so that they shall be able to stimulate themselves to endeavour, and have the feeling of shame if they do not put them in practice. (He enjoins) the rules of ceremony to regulate the conduct; good faith to bind it on them; right demeanour to set it off; costume to distinguish it; and friendship to perfect it - he desires in this way to produce a uniformity of the people. It is said in the Xiao Ya (V, ode 5, 3), "Shall they unblushing break man's law? Shall they not stand of Heaven in awe?"

'Therefore, when a superior man puts on the dress (of his rank), he sets it off by the demeanour of a superior man. That demeanour he sets off with the language of a superior man; and that language he makes good by the virtues of a superior man. Hence the superior man is ashamed to wear the robes, and not have the demeanour; ashamed to have the demeanour, and not the style of speech; ashamed to have the style of speech, and not the virtues; ashamed to have the virtues, and not the conduct proper to them. Thus it is that when the superior man has on his sackcloth and other mourning, his countenance wears an air of sorrow; when he wears the square-cut dress and square-topped cap, his countenance wears an air of respect; and when he wears his mail-coat and helmet, his countenance says that he is not to be meddled with. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, xiv, ode 2, 2), "Like pelicans, upon the dam Which stand, and there their pouches cram, Unwet the while their wings, Are those who their rich dress display. But no befitting service pay, Intent on meanest things."'

22 These were the words of the Master - 'What the superior man calls righteousness is, that noble and mean all have the services which they discharge throughout the kingdom. The son of Heaven himself ploughs the ground for the rice with which to fill the vessels, and the black millet from which to distil the spirit to be mixed with fragrant herbs, for the services of God, and in the same way the feudal lords are diligent in discharging their services to the son of Heaven.'

23 The Master said, 'In serving (the ruler) his superior, (an officer) from his position has great opportunity to protect the people; but when he does not allow himself to have any thought of acting as the ruler of them, this shows a high degree of humanity. Therefore, the superior man is courteous and economical, seeking to exercise his benevolence, and sincere and humble in order to practise his sense of propriety. He does not himself seta high value on his services; he does not himself assert the honour due to his person. He is not ambitious of (high) position, and is very moderate in his desires. He gives place willingly to men of ability and virtue. He abases himself and gives honour to others. He is careful and in fear of doing what is not right. His desire in all this is to serve his ruler. If he succeed in doing so (and obtaining his ruler's approbation), he feels that he has done right; if he do not so succeed, he still feels that he has done right - prepared to accept the will of Heaven concerning himself.

It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, i, ode 5, 6), "How the creepers close twine Round the branches and stems! Self-possession and ease Robed our prince as with gems. Happiness increased unsought, Nor by crooked ways was bought." Might not this have been said of Shun, Yu, king Wen, or the duke of Zhou, who had the great virtues (necessary) to govern the people, and yet were (only) careful to serve their rulers? It is said again in the same Book of Poetry (III, i, ode 2, 3), "This our king Wen in all his way Did watchful reverence display, With clearest wisdom serving God, Who, pleased to see the course he trod, Him with great favour crowned. His virtue no deflection knew, But always to the right was true. The states beheld, and all approved. With loyal ardour stirred and moved, Wen as their head they owned."'

24 The Master said, 'The practice of the ancient kings in conferring honorary posthumous names was to do honour to the fame (of the individuals); but they limited themselves to one excellence (in the character) - they would have been ashamed if the name had been beyond the actions (of the life). An accordance with this the superior man does not himself magnify his doings, nor himself exalt his merit, seeking to be within the truth; actions of an extraordinary character he does not aim at, but seeks to occupy himself only with what is substantial and good. He displays prominently the good qualities of others, and celebrates their merits, seeking to place himself below them in the scale of worth. Therefore, although the superior man abases himself, yet the people respect and honour him.'

25 The Master said, 'The meritorious services of Hou Ji were the greatest of all under Heaven; could his hands and feet be described as those of an ordinary man? But all which he desired was that his doings should be superior to his name, and therefore he said of himself that he was simply "a man useful to others."

26 These were the words of the Master - 'Difficult is it to attain to what is called the perfect humanity of the superior man! It is said in the Book of Poetry, "The happy and courteous prince Is the father and mother of his people." Happy, he (yet) vigorously teaches them; courteous, he makes them pleased and restful. With all their happiness, there is no wild extravagance; with all their observance of ceremonial usages, there is the feeling of affection. Notwithstanding his awing gravity, they are restful; notwithstanding his son-like gentleness, they are respectful. Thus he causes them to honour him as their father, and love him as their mother. There must be all this before he is the father and mother of his people. Could any one who was not possessed of perfect virtue be able to accomplish this?

'Here now is the affection of a father for his sons - he loves the worthy among them, and places on a lower level those who do not show ability; but that of a mother for them is such, that while she loves the worthy, she pities those who do not show ability - the mother deals with them on the ground of affection and not of showing them honour; the father, on the ground of showing them honour and not of affection. (So we may say of) water and the people, that it manifests affection to them, but does not give them honour; of fire, that it gives them honour, but does not manifest affection; of the ground, that it manifests affection, but does not give honour; of Heaven, that it gives them honour, but does not manifest affection; of the nature conferred on them, that it manifests affection, but does not give them honour; and of the manes of

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their departed, that they give honour, but do not manifest affection.'

27 The Master said, 'Under the Xia dynasty it was the way to give honour to the nature conferred on men; they served the manes of the departed, and respected Spiritual Beings, keeping them at a distance, while they brought the people near, and made them loyal; they put first the (attraction) of emolument, and last the terrors of power; first rewards, and then punishments; showing their affection (for the people), but not giving them honour. The bad effect on the people was, that they became stupid and ignorant, proud and clownish, and uncultivated, without any accomplishments. Under the Yin dynasty, they honoured Spiritual Beings, and led the people on to serve them; they put first the service of their manes, and last the usages of ceremony; first punishments, and then rewards; giving honour (to the people), but not showing affection for them. The bad effect on the people was, that they became turbulent and were restless, striving to surpass one another without any sense of shame. Under the Zhou dynasty, they honoured the ceremonial usages, and set a high value on bestowing (favours); they served the manes and respected Spiritual Beings, yet keeping them at a distance; they brought the people near, and made them loyal; in rewarding and punishing they used the various distinctions and arrangements of rank; showing affection (for the people), but not giving them honour. The bad effects on the people were, that they became fond of gain and crafty; were all for accomplishments, and shameless; injured one another, and had their moral sense obscured.'

28 The Master said, 'It was the method of the Xia dynasty not to trouble (the people) with many notices; it did not require everything from the people, nor (indeed) look to them for great things; and they did not weary of the affection (between them and their rulers). Under the Yin dynasty, they did not trouble (the people) with ceremonies, and yet they required everything from them. Under the Zhou dynasty, they were rigorous with the people, and not troublesome in the services to the spirits; but they did all that could be done in the way of awards, conferring rank, punishments, and penalties.'

29 The Master said, 'Under the methods of (the dynasties of the line of) Yu and Xia, there were few dissatisfactions among the people. The methods of Yin and Zhou were not equal to the correction of their errors.'

30 The Master said, 'The plain and simple ways of (the dynasties of the line of) Yu and Xia, and the multiplied forms of Yin and Zhou were both extreme. The forms of Yu and Xia did not neutralise their simplicity, nor was there sufficient simplicity under Yin and Zhou to neutralise their forms.'

31 These were the words of the Master - 'Although in subsequent ages there arose (distinguished sovereigns), yet none of them succeeded in equalling the Di of (the line of) Yu. He ruled over all under heaven, but, while he lived, he had not a selfish thought, and when he died, he did not make his son great (with the inheritance). He treated the people as his sons, as if he had been their father and mother. He had a deep and compassionate sympathy for them (like their mother); he instructed them in loyalty and what was profitable (like their father). While he showed his affection for them, he also gave them honour; in his natural restfulness, he was reverent; in the terrors of his majesty, he yet was loving; with all his riches, he was yet observant of the rules of propriety; and his kindness was yet (rightly) distributed. The superior men who stood in connexion with him gave honour to benevolence, and stood in awe of righteousness; were ashamed of lavish expenditure, and set little store by their accumulation of substance; loyal, but not coming into collision with their sovereign; righteous, and yet deferential to him; accomplished, and yet restful; generous, and yet discriminating. It is said in Fu on Punishments, "He sought to awe the people by his virtue, and all were filled with dread; he proceeded to enlighten them by his virtue, and all were enlightened." Who but the Di of (the line of) Yu could have been able to do this?' (Shu, V, xxvii, 7.)

32 These were the words of the Master - '(A minister) in the service of his ruler will first offer his words of counsel, and (when they are accepted), he will bow and voluntarily offer his person to make good his sincerity. Hence, whatever service a ruler requires from his minister, the minister will die in support of his words. In this way the salary which he receives is not obtained on false pretences, and the things for which he can be blamed will be more and more few.'

33 The Master said, 'In the service of a ruler, when great words are spoken to (and accepted by) him, great advantages (to the state) may be expected from them; and when words of small importance are presented to him, only small advantages are to be looked for. Therefore a superior man will not for words of small importance receive great emolument, nor for words of great importance small emolument. It is said in the Yi, "He does not enjoy his revenues in his own family, (but at court); there will be good fortune."'

34 The Master said, 'In the service of a ruler, (a minister) should not descend to subjects beneath him, nor set a high value on speeches, nor accept an introduction from improper individuals. It is said in the Xiao Ya (II, vi, ode 3, 4), "Your duties quietly fulfil, And hold the upright in esteem, With friendship fast; So shall the Spirits hear your cry, You virtuous make, and good supply In measure vast."'

35 The Master said, 'In the service of a ruler, for (a minister) whose place is remote from (the court), to remonstrate is an act of sycophancy; for one whose place is near the ruler, not to remonstrate is to hold his office idly for the sake of gain.'

36 The Master said, 'Ministers near (the ruler) should (seek to) preserve the harmony (of his virtues). The chief minister should maintain correctness in all the departments. Great ministers should be concerned about all parts (of the kingdom).'

37 The Master said, 'In the service of a ruler there should be the wish to remonstrate, but no wish to set forth (his faults). It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, viii, ode 4, 4), "I cherish those men in my heart; Might not my words my love impart? No - if the words were once but spoken, The charm of love might then be broken. The men shall dwell within my heart, Nor thence with lapse of time depart."'

38 The Master said, 'In the service of a ruler, when it is difficult to advance and easy to retire, there is a proper order maintained in the occupancy of places (according to the character of their holders). If it were easy to advance and difficult to retire, there would be confusion. Hence a superior (visitor) advances (only) after he has been thrice bowed to, while he retires after one salutation on taking leave; and thus confusion is prevented.'

39 The Master said, 'In the service of a ruler, if (an officer), after thrice leaving the court (on his advice being rejected), do not cross the borders (of the state), he is remaining for the sake of the profit and emolument. Although men say that he is not trying to force (his ruler), I will not believe them.'

40 The Master said, 'In the service of a ruler, (an officer) should be careful at the beginning, and respectful to the end.'

41 The Master said, 'In the service of a ruler, one may be in a high position or a low, rich or poor, to live or to die (according to the will of the ruler), but he should not allow himself to be led to do anything contrary to order or right.'

42 The Master said, 'In the service of a ruler, if it be in the army, (an officer) should not (try to) avoid labour and danger; if it be at court he should not refuse a mean office. To occupy a post and not perform its business is contrary to order and right. Hence, when a ruler employs him on any duty, if it suit his own mind, he thinks carefully of what it requires, and does it; if it do not suit his own mind, he thinks the more carefully of what it requires, and does it. When his work is done, he retires from Office - such is an officer who well discharges his duty. It is said in the Yi (vol. xvi, p. 96), "He does not serve either king or feudal lord, but in a lofty spirit prefers (to attend to) his own affairs."'

43 The Master said, 'It is only the son of Heaven who receives his appointment from Heaven; officers receive their appointments from the ruler. Therefore if the ruler's orders be conformed (to the mind of Heaven), his orders to his ministers are also conformed to it; but if his orders be contrary (to that mind), his orders to them are also contrary to it. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, iv, ode 5, 2), "How strong the magpies, battling fierce, Each one to keep his mate! How bold the quails together rush, Upon the same debate! This woman, with no trait that's good, Is stained by vicious crime, Yet her I hail as marchioness - Alas! woe worth the time!"'

44 The Master said, 'The superior man does not consider that his words (alone) show fully what a man is. Hence when right ways prevail in the kingdom, the branches and leaves (from the stem) of right conduct appear; but when there are not right ways in the kingdom, the branches and leaves of (mere) words appear. In accordance with this, when a superior man is by the side of one occupied with the mourning rites, and cannot contribute to assist him in his expenditure, he does not ask him what it is; when he is by the side of one who is ill, and cannot supply him with food, he does not ask what he would like; when he has a visitor for whom he cannot provide a lodging, he does not ask where he is staying. Hence the intercourse of a superior man may be compared to water, and that of a small man, to sweet wine. The superior man seems insipid, but he helps to perfection; the small man seems sweet, but he leads to ruin. It is said in the Xiao Ya (II, v, ode 4, 3), "He trusts the rogues that lie and sneak, And make things worse; Their duties shirked, their words so meek Prove but a curse."'

45 The Master said, 'The superior man does not confine himself to praising men with his words; and so the people prove loyal to him. Thus, when he asks about men who are suffering from cold, he clothes them; or men who are suffering from want, he feeds them; and when he praises a man's good qualities, he (goes on to) confer rank on him. It is said in the Lessons from the States (I, xiv, ode 1, 3), "I grieve; would they but lodge with me!"'

46 The Master said, 'Dissatisfaction and calamity will come to him whose lip-kindness is not followed by the corresponding deeds. Therefore the superior man will rather incur the resentment arising from his refusal than the charge of promising (and then not fulfilling). It is said in the Lessons from the States (V, ode 4, 6), "I wildly go; I'll never know Its smiles and chat again, To me you clearly swore the faith, Which now to break you're fain. Could I foresee so false you'd be? And now regrets are vain."'

47 The Master said, 'The superior man is not affectionate to others with his countenance (merely) as if, while cold in feeling, he could assume the appearance of affection. That belongs to the small man, and stamps him as no better than the thief who makes a hole in the wall.'

48 The Master said, 'What is required in feeling is sincerity; in words, that they be susceptible of proof.'

49 These were the words of the Master - 'The ancient and intelligent kings of the three dynasties all served the Spiritual Intelligences of heaven and earth, but invariably used the tortoise-shell and divining stalks. They did not presume to employ their own private judgement in the service of God. In this way they did not transgress in the matter of the day or month, for they did not act contrary to the result of the divination. The tortoise and the shell were not consulted in succession on the same point. For the great (sacrificial) services there were (fixed) seasons and days; for the smaller services these were not fixed. They fixed them by divination (near the time). (In divining) about external affairs they used the odd days; and for internal affairs, the even. They did not go against the (intimations of the) tortoise-shell and stalks.'

50 The Master said, 'With the victims perfect, the proper ceremonies and music, and the vessels of grain, (they sacrificed); and thus no injury was received from the Spiritual Powers, and the people had no occasion for dissatisfaction.'

51 The Master said, 'The sacrifices of Hou Ji were easily provided. His language was reverential; his desires were restricted; and the blessings received extended down to his descendants. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, ii, ode 1, 8), "Hou Ji founded the sacrifice; No one has failed in it, Down to the present day."'

52 The Master said, 'The shell and stalks employed by the great men must be held in awe and reverence. But the son of Heaven does not divine by the stalks. While the princes are keeping guard in their states, they divine by the stalks. When the son of Heaven is on the road (travelling), he (also) divines by the stalks. In any other state but their own they do not divine by the stalks. They consult the tortoise-shell about the chambers and apartments of the houses (where they lodge). The son of Heaven does not so consult the tortoise-shell he stays always in the grand ancestral temples.'

53 The Master said, 'The men of rank, on occasions of special respect, use their sacrificial vessels. On this account they do not fail to observe the set seasons and days, and do not act contrary to the intimations of the shell and stalks; thus seeking to serve with reverence the ruler and their superiors. In this way superiors are not troublesome to the people, and the people do not take liberties with their superiors.'

LI JI CHAPTER 33 Zi Yi

Black Robes

1 These were the words of the Master: 'When the superior is easily served, his inferiors are easily known, and in this case punishments are not numerous (in the state).'

2 The Master said, 'When (the superior) loves the worthy as (the people of old loved him of) the black robes (Shi, I, vii, ode 1), and hates the bad as Xiang-bo (hated them; II, v, ode 6), then without the frequent conferring of rank the people are stimulated to be good, and without the use of punishments they are all obedient to his orders. It is said in the Da Ya (III, i, ode 1, 7), "From Wen your pattern you must draw, And all the states will own your law."'

3 The Master said, 'If the people be taught by lessons of virtue, and uniformity sought to be given to them by the rules of ceremony, their minds will go on to be good. If they be taught by the laws, and uniformity be sought to be given to them by punishments, their minds will be thinking of how they can escape (the punishment; Analects, II, iii). Hence, when the ruler of the people loves them as his sons, they feel to him as a parent; when he binds them to himself by his good faith, they do not turn away from him; when he presides over them with courtesy, their hearts are docile to him. It is said in the Punishments of Fu (Shu, V, xxvii, 3), "Among the people of Miao they did not use orders simply, but the restraints of punishment. They made the five punishments engines of oppression, calling them the laws." In this way their people became bad, and (their rulers) were cut off for ever (from the land).'

4 The Master said, 'Inferiors, in serving their superiors, do not follow what they command, but what they do. When a ruler loves anything, those below him are sure to do so much more. Therefore the superior should by all means be careful in what he likes and dislikes. This will make him an example to the people.'

5 The Master said, 'When Yu had been on the throne three years, the humanity of the common people was in accordance with his - was it necessary that all (at court) should be perfectly virtuous? It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, v, ode 7, 1), "Awe-inspiring are you, O (Grand-)Master Yin, And the people all look up to you." It is said in the Punishments of Fu (V, xxvii, 13), "I, the One man, will have felicity, and the

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millions of the people will look to you as their sure dependence." It is said in the Da Ya (III, i, ode 9, 3), "King Wu secured the people's faith, And gave to all the law."'

6 The Master said, 'When superiors are fond of showing their humanity, inferiors strive to outstrip one another in their practice of it. Therefore those who preside over the people should cherish the clearest aims and give the most correct lessons, honouring the requirement of their humanity by loving the people as their sons; then the people will use their utmost efforts with themselves to please their superiors. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 2, 2), "Where from true virtue actions spring, All their obedient homage bring."'

7 The Master said, 'The kings words are (at first) as, threads of silk; but when given forth, they become as cords. Or they are (at first) as cords; but when given forth, they become as ropes. Therefore the great man does not take the lead in idle speaking. The superior does not speak words which may be spoken indeed but should not be embodied in deeds; nor does he do actions which may be done in deed but should not be expressed in words. When this is the case, the words of the people can be carried into action without risk, and their actions can be spoken of without risk. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 2, 8), "Keep on your acts a watchful eye, That you may scrutiny defy."'

8 The Master said, 'The superior man leads men on (to good) by his words, and keeps them (from evil) by (the example of) his conduct. Hence, in speaking, he must reflect on what may be the end of his words, and examine whether there may not be some error in his conduct; and then the people will be attentive to their words, and circumspect in their conduct. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 2, 5), "Be circumspect in all you say, And reverent bearing still display." It is said in the Da Ya (III, i, ode 1, 4), "Deep were Wen's thoughts, unstained his ways; His reverence lit its trembling rays."'

9 The Master said, 'When the heads of the people use no (improper) variations in their dress, and their manners are always easy and unconstrained, and they seek thus to give uniformity to the people, the virtue of the people does become uniform. It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, viii, ode i, i), "In the old capital they stood, With yellow fox-furs plain; Their manners all correct and good, Speech free from vulgar stain. Could we go back to Zhou's old days, All would look up to them with praise."'

10 The Master said, 'When (the ruler) above can be known by men looking at him, and (his ministers) below can have their doings related and remembered, then the ruler has no occasion to doubt his ministers, and the ministers are not led astray by their ruler. The Announcement of Yin says (Shu, IV, vi, 3), "There were I, Yin, and Tang; both possessed the same pure virtue." It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, xiv, ode 3, 3), "In soul so steadfast is that princely man, Whose course for fault or flaw we vainly scan."'

11 The Master said, 'When the holders of states and clans give distinction to the righteous and make it painful for the bad, thus showing the people the excellence (they should cultivate), then the feelings of the people do not swerve (to what is evil). It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, vi, ode 3, 5), "Your duties quietly fulfil, And hold the upright in esteem, With earnest love."'

12 The Master said, "when the highest among men has doubts and perplexities, the common people go astray. When (the ministers) below him are difficult to be understood, the toil of the ruler is prolonged. Therefore when the ruler exhibits clearly what he loves, and thus shows the people the style of manners (they should aim at), and is watchful against what he dislikes, and thereby guards the people against the excesses (of which they are in danger), then they do not go astray. When the ministers are exemplary in their conduct, and do not set a value on (fine) speeches; when they do not try to lead (the ruler) to what is unattainable, and do not trouble him with what cannot be (fully) known, then he is not toiled. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, ii, ode 10, i), "Reversed is now the providence of God; The lower people groan beneath their load." It is said in the Xiao Ya (II, v, ode 4, 4), "They do not discharge their duties, But only cause distress to the king."'

13 The Master said, 'When (the measures of) government do not take effect, and the lessons of the ruler do not accomplish their object, (it is because) the giving of rank and emoluments is unfit to stimulate the people to good, and (the infliction of) punishments and penalties is unfit to make them ashamed (of evil). Therefore (the ruler) above must not be careless in punishing, nor lightly confer rank. It is said in the Announcement to the Prince of Kang (Shu, V, ix, 8), "Deal reverently and understandingly in your infliction of punishments;" and in the Punishments of Fu (Shu, V, xxvii, 12), "He spreads abroad his lessons to avert punishments."'

14 The Master said, 'When the great ministers are not on terms of friendly intimacy (with the ruler), and the common people consequently are not restful, this is because the loyalty (of the ministers) and the respect (of the ruler) are not sufficient, and the riches and rank conferred (on the former) are excessive. (The consequence is, that) the great ministers do not discharge their functions of government, and the ministers closer (to the ruler) form parties against them. Therefore the great ministers should by all means be treated with respect; they are examples to the people; and ministers nearer (to the ruler) should by all means be careful - they direct the way of the people. Let not the ruler consult with inferior officers about greater, nor with those who are from a distance about those who are near to him, nor with those who are beyond the court about those who belong to it. If he act thus, the great ministers will not be dissatisfied; the ministers closer to him will not be indignant; and those who are more remote will not be kept in obscurity. The duke of She in his dying charge said, "Do not by little counsels ruin great enterprises; do not for the sake of a favourite concubine provoke queen Zhuang; do not for the sake of a favourite officer provoke your grave officers - the Great officers or high ministers."'

15 The Master said, 'If the great man be not in affectionate sympathy with (his officers) whom he considers worthy, but give his confidence to others whom he despises, the people in consequence will not feel attached to him, and the lessons which he gives them will be troublesome (and ineffective). It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, ii, ode 8), "As if I were hidden they sought me at first, At court for a pattern to shine; 'Tis with hatred intense they now bend their scowls, And my services curtly decline." It is said in the Jun-chen (Shu, V, xxiv, 4), "While they have not seen a sage, (they are full of desire) as if they could not get a sight of him; but after they have seen him, they are still unable to follow him."'

16 The Master said, 'A small man is drowned in the water; a superior man is drowned or ruined by his mouth; the great man suffers his ruin from the people - all suffer from what they have played and taken liberties with. Water is near to men, and yet it drowns them. Its nature makes it easy to play with, but dangerous to approach - men are easily drowned in it. The mouth is loquacious and troublesome; for words once uttered there is hardly a place of repentance - men are easily ruined by it. The people, restricted in their humanity, have vulgar and rude minds; they should be respected, and should not be treated with contempt - men are easily ruined by them. Therefore the superior man should by all means be careful in his dealings with them. It is said in the Tai Jia (Shu, III, v, sect. 1, 5, 7), "Do not frustrate the charge to me, and bring on yourself your own overthrow. Be like the forester, who, when he has adjusted the string, goes to examine the end of the arrow, whether it be placed according to rule, and then lets go." It is said in the Charge to Yue (III, viii, Sect. 2, 4), "It is the mouth which gives occasion to shame; they are the coat of mail and helmet which give occasion to war. The upper robes and lower garments (for reward) should not be taken (lightly from) their chests; before spear and shield are used, one should examine himself." It is said in the Tai Jia (Shu, III, v, sect. 2, 3), "Calamities sent by Heaven may be avoided; but from those brought on by one's self there is no escape." It is said in the Announcement of Yin (Shu, III, v, sect. 1, 3), "I have seen it myself in Xia with its western capital, that when its sovereigns went through a prosperous course to the end, their ministers also did the same."'

17 The Master said, 'To the people the ruler is as their heart; to the ruler the people are as his body. When the heart is composed, the body is at ease; when the heart is reverent, the body is respectful; when the heart loves anything, the body is sure to rest in it. (So), when the ruler loves anything, the people are sure to desire it. The body is the complement of the heart, and a wound in it makes the heart also suffer. So the ruler is preserved by the people, and perishes also through the people. It is said in an ode, "Once we had that former premier, His words were wise and pure; The states and clans by him were at rest, The chief cities and towns by him were well regulated, All the people by him enjoyed their life. Who (now) holds the ordering of the kingdom? Not himself attending to the government, The issue is toil and pain to the people." It is said in, the Jun-ya (Shu, V, xxv, 5), "In the heat and rain of summer days the inferior people may be described as murmuring and sighing. And so it may be said of them in the great cold of winter."'

18 The Master said, 'In the service by an inferior of his superior, if his personal character be not correct, his words will not be believed; and in this case their views will not be the same, and the conduct (of the superior) will not correspond (to the advice given to him).'

19 The Master said, 'Words should be capable of proof by instances, and conduct should be conformed to rule; when the case is so, a man's aim cannot be taken from him while he is alive, nor can his good name be taken away when he is dead. Therefore the superior man, having heard much, verifies it by inquiry, and firmly holds fast (what is proved); he remembers much, verifies it by inquiry, and makes it his own; when he knows it exactly, he carries the substance of it into practice. It is said in the Jun-chen (Shu, V, xxi, 5), "Going out and coming in, seek the judgement of the people about things, till you find a general agreement upon them." It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, xiv, ode 3, i), "The virtuous man, the princely one, Is uniformly correct in his deportment."'

20 The Master said, 'It is only the superior man who can love what is correct, while to the small man what is correct is as poison. Therefore the friends of the superior man have the definite aims which they pursue, and the definite courses which they hate. In consequence, those who are near at hand have no perplexities of thought about him, and those who are far off, no doubts. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, i, ode 1, 1), "For our prince a good mate."'

21 The Master said, 'When a man on light grounds breaks off his friendship with the poor and mean, and only on great grounds with the rich and noble, his love of worth cannot be great, nor does his hatred of evil clearly appear. Though men may say that he is not influenced by (the love of) gain, I do not believe them. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, ii, ode 3, 4), "And all the friends assisting you Behave with reverent mien."'

22 The Master said, 'The superior man will not voluntarily remain to share in private acts of kindness not offered on grounds of virtue. In the Book of Poetry it is said (II, i, ode 1, 1), "They love me, and my mind will teach How duty's highest aim to reach."'

23 The Master said, 'If there be a carriage (before you), you are sure (by-and-by) to see the cross-board (in front); if there be a garment, you are sure (in the same way) to see (the traces of) its being worn; if one speaks, you are sure to hear his voice; if one does anything, you are sure to see the result. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, i, ode 2, 2), "I will wear them without being weary of them."'

24 The Master said, 'When one says anything, and immediately proceeds to act it out, his words cannot embellish it; and when one does anything, and immediately proceeds to describe it, the action cannot be embellished. Hence the superior man saying little, and acting to prove the sincerity of his words, the people cannot make the excellence of their deeds greater than it is, nor diminish the amount of their badness. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 2, 5), "A flaw in mace of white jade may By patient toil be ground away; But for a flaw we make in speech, What can be done? 'Tis past our reach." It is said in the Xiao Ya (II, iii, ode 5, 8), "Well does our lord become his place, And high the deeds his reign have crowned." It is said to the Prince Shi (Shu, V, xvi, 11), "Aforetime, when God beheld the virtue of king Wen in the fields of Zhou, he made the great decree light on his person."'

25 The Master said, 'The people of the south have a saying that "A man without constancy cannot be a diviner either with the tortoise-shell or the stalks." This was probably a saying handed down from antiquity. If such a man cannot know the tortoise-shell and stalks, how much less can he know other men? It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, v, ode 1, 3), "Our tortoise-shells are wearied out, And will not tell us anything about the plans." The Charge to Yue says (Shu, IV, Viii, sect. 2, 5, 11), "Dignities should not be conferred on men of evil practices. (If they be), how can the people set themselves to correct their ways? If this be sought merely by sacrifices, it will be disrespectful (to the spirits). When affairs come to be troublesome, there ensues disorder; when the spirits are served so, difficulties ensue." It is said in the Yi, "When one does not continuously maintain his virtue, some will impute it to him as a disgrace - (in the position indicated in the Hexagram.) When one does maintain his virtue continuously (in the other position indicated), this will be fortunate in a wife, but in a husband evil."'

LI JI CHAPTER 34 Ben Sang

Rules on Hurrying to Mourning Rites

1 According to the rules for hurrying to attend the mourning rites, when one first heard that the mourning rites for a relative were going on, he wailed as he answered the messenger, and gave full vent to his sorrow. Having asked all the particulars, he wailed again, with a similar burst of grief, and immediately arranged to go (to the place). He went 100 li a day, not travelling in the night. Only when the rites were those for a father or a mother did he travel while he could yet see the stars, and rested when he (again) saw them. If it was impossible for him to go (at once), he assumed the mourning dress, and then went (as soon as he could). When he had passed through be state (where he was), and reached its frontier, he stopped and wailed, giving full vent to his sorrow. He avoided wailing in the market-place and when near the court. He looked towards the frontier of his own state when he wailed.

2 When he came to the house, he entered the gate at the left side of it, (passed through the court), and ascended to the hall by the steps on the west. He knelt on the east of the coffin, with his face to the west, and wailed, giving full vent to his grief. He (then) tied up his hair in a knot, bared his arms, and went down from the hall, proceeding to his place on the east, where he wailed towards the west. Having completed the leaping, he covered his arms and put on his sash of sackcloth in the corridor on the east; and after tucking up the ends of his sash, he returned to his place. He bowed to the visitors, leaping with them, and escorted them (to the gate), returning

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(afterwards) to his place. When other visitors arrived, he bowed to them, leaped with them, and escorted them - all in the same way. (After this), all the principal mourners, with their cousins, went out at the gate, stopping there while they wailed. The gate was then closed, and the director told them to go to the mourning shed.

3 At the next wailing, the day after, they tied up their hair, bared their arms, and went through the leaping. At the third wailing next day, they again tied up their hair, bared their arms, and went through the leaping. On these three days, the finishing the mourning dress, bowing to and escorting the visitors, took place as in the first case.

4 If he who has hurried to be present at the rites were not the presiding mourner on the occasion, then that presiding mourner, instead of him, bowed to the visitors and escorted them.

5 When one hurried to the rites, even where they were less than those for a mother or father, which required the wearing of sackcloth, with even edge or frayed, he entered the gate at the left side of it, and stood in the middle of the court-yard with his face to the north, wailing and giving full vent to his sorrow. He put on the cincture for the head and the sackcloth girdle in the corridor on the east, and repaired to his place, where he bared his arms. Then he wailed along with the presiding mourner, and went through the leaping. For the wailing on the second day and the third, they wore the cincture and bared the arms. If there were visitors, the presiding mourner bowed to them on their arrival, and escorted them. The husbands and wives (of the family) waited for him at the wailing-places for every morning and evening, without making any change.

6 When one hurries to the mourning rites for a mother, he wails with his face to the west, giving full vent to his sorrow. He then ties up his hair, bares his arms, descends from the hall, and goes to his station on the east, where, with his face to the west, he wails and goes through the leaping. After that, he covers his arms and puts on the cincture and sash in the corridor on the east. He bows to the visitors, and escorts them (to the gate) in the same way as if he had hurried to the rites for his father. At the wailing on the day after, he does not tie up his hair.

7 When a wife hurried to the mourning rites, she went up to the hall by the (side) steps on the east, and knelt on the east of the coffin with, her face to the west. There she wailed, giving full vent to her grief. Having put on the lower cincture on the east, she went to the station (for wailing), and there leaped alternately with the presiding mourner.

8 When one, hurrying to the mourning rites, did not arrive while the coffin with the body was still in the house, he first went to the grave; and there kneeling with his face to the north, he wailed, giving full vent to his sorrow. The principal mourners have been waiting for him (at the grave), and have taken their stations - the men on the left of it, and the wives on the right. Having gone through the leaping, and given full expression to his sorrow, he tied up his hair, and went to the station of the principal mourners on the east. In his headband of sackcloth, and sash with the ends tucked up, he wailed and went through the leaping. He then bowed to the visitors, and returned to his station, going (again) through the leaping, after which the director announced that the business was over. He then put on the cap, and returned to the house. There he entered at the left side of the door, and, with his face to the north, wailed and gave full vent to his sorrow. He then tied up his hair, bared his arms, and went through the leaping. Going to his station on the east, he bowed to the visitors, and went through the leaping. When the visitors went out, the presiding mourner bowed to them, and escorted them. When other visitors afterwards arrived, he bowed to them, went through the leaping, and escorted them in the same way. All the principal mourners and their cousins went out at the gate, wailed there and stopped, when the directors instructed them to go to the shed. At the wailing next day, he bound up his hair and went through the leaping. At the third wailing, he did the same. On the third day he completed his mourning dress (as was required). After the fifth wailing, the director announced that the business was over.

9 Wherein the usages at the rites for a mother differed from those at the rites for a father, was that there was but one tying up of the hair. After that the cincture was worn to the end of the business. In other respects the usages were the same as at the rites for a father.

10 At the rites for other relations, after those for the mother or father, the mourner who did not arrive while the coffin was in the house, first went to the grave, and there wailed with his face to the west, giving full vent to his sorrow. He then put on the cincture and hempen sash, and went to his station on the east, where he wailed with the presiding mourner, and went through the leaping. After this he covered his arms; and if there were visitors, the presiding mourner bowed to them and escorted them away. If any other visitors afterwards came, he bowed to them, as in the former case, and the director announced that the business was over. Immediately after he put on the cap, and returned to the house. Entering at the left side of the door, he wailed with his face to the north, giving full vent to his sorrow. He then put on the cincture, bared his arms, and went through the leaping. Going then to the station on the east, he bowed to the visitors, and went through the leaping again. When the visitors went out, the presiding mourner bowed to them and escorted them. At the wailing next day, he wore the cincture, bared his arms, and went through the leaping. At the third wailing he did the same. On the third day, he put on his mourning-garb; and at the fifth wailing, the director announced that the business was over.

11 When one heard of the mourning rites, and it was impossible in his circumstances to hurry to be present at them, he wailed and gave full vent to his grief. He then asked the particulars, and (on hearing them) wailed again, and gave full vent to his grief. He then made a place (for his mourning) .where he was, tied up his hair, bared his arms, and went through the leaping. Having covered his arms, and put on the higher cincture and his sash with the ends tucked up, he went (back) to his place. After bowing to (any visitors that arrived), he returned to the place, and went through the leaping. When the visitors went out, he, as the presiding mourner, bowed to them, and escorted them outside the gate, returning then to his station. If any other visitors came afterwards, he bowed to them and went through the leaping, then escorting them as before. At the wailing next day, he tied up his hair, bared his arms, and went through the leaping. At the third wailing he did the same. On the third day, he put on his mourning-garb, wailed, bowed to his visitors, and escorted them as before.

12 If one returned home after the mourning rites had been completed, he went to the grave, and there wailed and went through the leaping. On the east of it, he tied up his hair, bared his arms, put on the cincture for the head, bowed to the visitors, and went (again) through the leaping. Having escorted the visitors, he returned to his place, and again wailed, giving full vent to his grief With this he put off his mourning. In the house he did not wail. The principal mourner, in his treatment of him, made no change in his dress; and though he wailed with him (at the grave), he did not leap.

13 Wherein at other observances than those for the death of a mother or father, the usages (of such a mourner) differed from the above, were in the cincture for the head and the hempen sash.

14 In all cases where one made a place for his mourning away from home, if it were not on occasion of the death of a parent, but for some relative of the classes not so nearly related, he went to the station, and wailed, giving full vent to his sorrow. Having put on the cincture for the head and the girdle on the east, he came back to the station, bared his arms, and went through the leaping. He then covered his arms, bowed to the visitors, went back to the station, wailed, and went through the leaping. (After this), he escorted the guests away, and came back to the station, when the director told him to go to the shed. When the fifth wailing was ended, on the third day, the presiding mourner came forth and escorted the visitors away. All the principal mourners and their cousins went out at the gate, wailed, and stopped there. The director announced to them that the business was ended. He put on his full mourning-garb, and bowed to the visitors.

15 If the home were far distant from the place which an absent mourner has selected (for his wailing), they completed all their arrangements about dress before they went to it.

16 One hurrying to mourning rites, if they were for a parent, wailed when he looked towards the district (where they had lived); if they were for a relation for whom nine months' mourning was due, he wailed when he could see the gate of his house; if for one to whom five months' mourning was due, he wailed when he got to the door; if for one to whom but three months' mourning was due, he wailed when he took his station.

17 For one of his father's relations for whom he did not need to go into mourning a man wailed in the ancestral temple; for one of his mother or wife's relatives, in the back chamber of the temple; for his teacher, outside the gate of the temple; for a friend, outside the door of the back-chamber; for an acquaintance, in the open country, having pitched a tent for the occasion. Some say the wailing for a mother's relation was in the temple.

18 In all cases where a station was selected, away from the house of mourning, for paying funeral rites, no offerings were put down (for the departed).

19 For the son of Heaven they wailed nine days; for a feudal prince, seven; for a high minister and Great officer, five; for another officer, three.

20 A Great officer, in wailing for the ruler of his state, did not presume to bow to the visitors.

21 Ministers in other states, when they selected a station for their wailing, did not presume to bow to the visitors.

22 Officers, of the same surname with a feudal prince, but who were serving in other states, also made a place at which to wail for him (on his death).

23 In all cases where one made a place at a distance at which to wail, he bared his arms only once.

24 In condoling with the relations of an acquaintance after he has been buried, one first wailed in his house, and afterwards went to the grave, in both cases accompanying the wailing with the leaping. He alternated his leaping with that of the presiding mourner, keeping his face towards the north.

25 At all mourning rites in a household, if the father were alive, he acted as presiding mourner; if he were dead, and brothers lived together in the house, each presided at the mourning for one of his own family-circle. If two brothers were equally related to the deceased for whom rites were necessary, the eldest presided at those rites; if they were not equally related, the one most nearly so presided.

26 When one heard of the death of a brother or cousin at a distance, but the news did not arrive till the time which his own mourning for him would have taken had expired, he (notwithstanding) put on the mourning cincture, bared his arms, and went through the leaping. He bowed to his visitors, however, with the left hand uppermost.

27 The only case in which a place was chosen in which to wail for one for whom mourning was not worn, was the death of a sister-in-law, the wife of an elder brother. For a female member of the family who had married, and for whom therefore mourning was not worn, the hempen sash was assumed.

28 When one had hurried to the mourning rites, and a Great officer came to condole with him, he bared his arms, and bowed to him. When he had gone through the leaping, he covered his arms. In the case of a similar visit from an ordinary officer, he covered his arms, and then bowed to him.

LI JI CHAPTER 35 Wen Sang

Questions About Mourning Rites

1 Immediately after his father's death, the son put off his cap, and kept his hair, with the pin in it, in the bag (of silk); went barefoot, with the skirt of his dress tucked up under his girdle; and wailed with his hands across his breast. In the bitterness of his grief, and the distress and pain of his thoughts, his kidneys were injured, his liver dried up, and his lungs scorched, while water or other liquid did not enter his mouth, and for three days fire was not kindled (to cook anything for him). On this account the neighbours prepared for him gruel and rice-water, which were his (only) meat and drink. The internal grief and sorrow produced a change in his outward appearance; and with the severe pain in his heart, his mouth could not relish any savoury food, nor his body find ease in anything pleasant.

2 On the third day there was the slighter dressing of the corpse. While the body was on the couch it was called the corpse; when it was put into the coffin, it was called jiu. At the moving of the corpse, and lifting up of the coffin, (the son) wailed and leaped, times without number. Such was the bitterness of his heart, and the pain of his thoughts, so did his grief and sorrow fill his mind and agitate his spirit, that he bared his arms and leaped, seeking by the movement of his limbs to obtain some comfort to his heart and relief to his spirit. The women could not bare their arms, and therefore they (merely) pushed out the breast, and smote upon their hearts, moving their feet with a sliding, hopping motion, and with a constant, heavy sound, like the crumbling away of a wall. The expression of grief, sorrow, and deep-seated pain was extreme; hence it is said, 'With beating of the breast and movement of the feet, did they sorrowfully accompany the body; so they escorted it away, and so did they come back to meet its essential part.'

3 When the mourners went, accompanying the coffin to the grave, they looked forward, with an expression of eagerness, as if they were following some one, and unable to get up to him. When returning to wail, they looked disconcerted, as if they were seeking some one whom they could not find. Hence, when escorting (the coffin), they appeared full of affectionate desire; when returning, they appeared full of perplexity. They had sought the (deceased), and could not find him; they entered the gate, and did not see him; they went up to the hall, and still did not see him; they entered his chamber, and still did not see him; he was gone; he was dead; they should see him again nevermore. Therefore they wailed, wept, beat their breasts, and leaped, giving full vent to their sorrow, before they ceased. Their minds were disappointed, pained, fluttered, and indignant. They could do nothing more with their wills; they could do nothing but continue sad.

4 In presenting the sacrifice of repose in the to his parent ancestral temple, the son offered it in his disembodied state, hoping that his shade would peradventure return (and enjoy it). When he came back to the house from completing the grave, he did not venture to occupy his chamber, but dwelt in the mourning shed, lamenting that his parent was now outside. He slept on the rushes, with a clod for his pillow, lamenting that his parent was in the ground. Therefore he wailed and wept, without regard to time; he endured the toil and grief for three years. His heart of loving thoughts showed the mind of the filial son, and was the real expression of his human feelings.

5 Some one may ask, 'Why does the dressing not commence till three days after death?' and the answer is - When his

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parent is dead, the filial son is sad and sorrowful, and his mind is full of trouble. He crawls about and bewails his loss, as if the dead might come back to life; how can he hurriedly take (the corpse) and proceed to dress it? Therefore, when it is said that the dressing does not begin till after three days, the meaning is, that (the son) is waiting that time to see if (his father) will come to life. When after three days there is no such return, the father is not alive, and the heart of the filial son is still more downcast. (During this space, moreover), the means of the family can be calculated, and the clothes that are necessary can be provided and made accordingly; the relations and connexions who live at a distance can also arrive. Therefore the sages decided in the case that three days should be allowed, and the rule was made accordingly.

6 Some one may ask, 'How is it that one with the cap on does not bare his arms, and show the naked body?' and the answer is - The cap is the most honourable article of dress, and cannot be worn where the body is bared, and the flesh exposed. Therefore the cincture for the head is worn instead of the cap, (when the arms are bared). And so, when a bald man does not wear the cincture, and a hunchback does not bare his arms, and a lame man does not leap, it is not that they do not feel sad, but they have an infirmity which prevents them from fully discharging the usages. Hence it is said that in the rites of mourning it is the sorrow that is the principal thing. When a daughter wails, weeps, and is sad, beats her breast, and wounds her heart; and when a son wails, weeps, is sad, and bows down till his forehead touches the ground, without regard to elegance of demeanour, this may be accepted as the highest expression of sorrow.

7 Some one may ask, 'What is the idea in the cincture?' and the reply is - The cincture is what is worn while uncapped. The Rule says, 'Boys do not wear even the three months' mourning; it is only when the family has devolved on one that he does so.' The cincture, we may suppose, was what was worn in the three months' mourning (by a boy). If he had come to be the representative of the family, he wore the cincture, and carried the staff.

8 Some one may ask, 'What is meant by using the staff?' and the answer is - The staff of bamboo and that of elaeococcus wood have the same meaning. Hence, for a father they used the black staff of bamboo; and for a mother, the square-cut staff, an elaeococcus branch.

9 Some one may say, What is meant by using the staff?' and the answer is - When a filial son mourns for a parent, he wails and weeps without regard to the number of times; his endurances are hard for three years; his body becomes ill and his limbs emaciated; and so he uses a staff to support his infirmity. Thus, while his father is alive he does not dare to use a staff, because his honoured father is still living. Walking in the hall, he does not use the staff - refraining from doing so in the place where his honoured father is. Nor does he walk hastily in the hall - to show that he is not hurried. Such is the mind of the filial son, the real expression of human feeling, the proper method of propriety and righteousness. It does not come down from heaven, it does not come forth from the earth; it is simply the expression of the human feelings.

LI JI CHAPTER 36 Fu Wen

Subjects For Questioning About the Mourning Dress

1 The Directory for Mourning says, 'There are cases in which parties wear deep mourning, while those, in consequence of their connexion with whom they assume it, wear only light.' Such is the mourning for her husband's mother by the wife of the son of a ruler (by a concubine). There are cases in which parties wear light mourning, while those, in consequence of their connexion with whom they assume it, wear deep mourning.' Such is the mourning of a husband for the father or mother of his wife. There are cases in which parties wear mourning, while those, in consequence of their connexion with whom they have a relation with the deceased, wear none.' Such is the case of the wife of a ruler's son with the cousins of her husband on the female side. There are cases in which parties wear no mourning, while those, in consequence of their connexion with whom they have a relation with the deceased, do wear mourning.' Such is the case of a ruler's son with regard to the father and mother of his wife.'

2 The Directory of Mourning says, 'When his mother has been divorced, the son wears mourning for the relatives of the wife whom his father has taken in his mother's place.' When his mother has died (without being divorced), a son wears mourning for her relatives. Wearing mourning for his own mother's relatives, he does not do so for those of the step-mother, whom his father may have taken in her place.

3 After the sacrifice at the end of the first year, during the three years' rites, and after the interment has taken place, during those of one year (occurring at the same time), the mourner puts on the old sash of dolychos cloth, and the headband of the one year's mourning, wearing (at the same time) the sackcloth of the mourning for nine months. The same thing is done (after the interment) during the nine months' mourning. No change is made (after the interment) during the five months' mourning. Where they wore the sash with the roots of hemp wrought into the cloth, they changed it for the dolychos cloth of the three years' mourning.

4 After the sacrifice at the end of a year, if there occurred an occasion for using the hempen sash with the roots cut off, (the mourner) put on the proper band along with the higher cincture. When the cincture was no longer worn, he put off the band. When it was proper to use the band, the rule was to wear it; and when the occasion for it was over, it was put off.

5 In the mourning for five months they did not change the cap worn for the sacrifice at the end of a year. If there were occasion to wear the cincture, then they employed the band proper for the mourning of three months or five months; still keeping on the first dolychos sash. The linen of the three months' mourning did not make it necessary to change the dolychos cloth of the five months; nor the linen of the five months to change the dolychos cloth of the nine months. Where the roots were woven with the cloth, they made a change.

6 On occasion of mourning for a minor, if he were of the highest grade or the middle, they changed the dolychos cloth of the three years' mourning, assuming it when they had completed the months of these intervening rites. This was done not because of the value set on the linen, but because no change was made at the conclusion of the wailing. They did not observe this rule on the death of a minor of the third or lowest grade.

7 The ruler of a state mourned for the son of Heaven for the three years. His wife observed the rule of a lady of her husband's house who had gone to her own married home in mourning for the ruler. The heir-son of a ruler did not wear mourning for the son of Heaven.

8 A ruler acted as presiding mourner at the mourning rites for his wife, his eldest son, and that son's wife.

9 The eldest son of a Great officer, by his proper wife, wore the mourning of an ordinary officer for the ruler, and for the ruler's wife and eldest son.

10 When the mother of a ruler had not been the wife (of the former ruler), the body of the ministers did not wear mourning (on her death). Only the officers of the harem, the charioteer and the man-at-arms who sat on the left, followed the example of the ruler, wearing the same mourning as he did.

11 For a high minister or Great officer, during the mourning rites for him, the ruler wore in his place the coarse glazed linen, and also when he went out (on business not connected with the rites). If it were on business connected with them, he wore also the skin-cap and the band round it. Great officers dressed in the same way for one another. At the mourning rites for their wives, they wore the same dress, when they were going to be present at those rites; if they went out (on other business), they did not wear it.

12 In all cases of going to see others, the visitor being in mourning for his parents did not put off his headband. Even when he was going to the ruler's court, he did not put it off; it was only at the ruler's gate that (in certain circumstances) he put off his sackcloth. The Directory of Mourning says, 'A superior man will not take away from others their mourning rites;' and so it was deemed wrong to put off this mourning. The Directory of Mourning says, 'Crimes are many, but the punishments are only five. The occasions for mourning are many, but there are only five varieties of the mourning dress. The occasions must be arranged, according as they are classed in the upper grade or in the lower.'

LI JI CHAPTER 37 Jian Zhuan

Treatise on Subsidiary Points in Mourning Usages

1 The Directory for Mourning says, 'There are cases in which parties wear deep mourning, while those, in consequence of their connexion with whom they assume it, wear only light.' Such is the mourning for her husband's mother by the wife of the son of a ruler (by a concubine). There are cases in which parties wear light mourning, while those, in consequence of their connexion with whom they assume it, wear deep mourning.' Such is the mourning of a husband for the father or mother of his wife. There are cases in which parties wear mourning, while those, in consequence of their connexion with whom they have a relation with the deceased, wear none.' Such is the case of the wife of a ruler's son with the cousins of her husband on the female side. There are cases in which parties wear no mourning, while those, in consequence of their connexion with whom they have a relation with the deceased, do wear mourning.' Such is the case of a ruler's son with regard to the father and mother of his wife.'

2 The Directory of Mourning says, 'When his mother has been divorced, the son wears mourning for the relatives of the wife whom his father has taken in his mother's place.' When his mother has died (without being divorced), a son wears mourning for her relatives. Wearing mourning for his own mother's relatives, he does not do so for those of the step-mother, whom his father may have taken in her place.

3 After the sacrifice at the end of the first year, during the three years' rites, and after the interment has taken place, during those of one year (occurring at the same time), the mourner puts on the old sash of dolychos cloth, and the headband of the one year's mourning, wearing (at the same time) the sackcloth of the mourning for nine months. The same thing is done (after the interment) during the nine months' mourning. No change is made (after the interment) during the five months' mourning. Where they wore the sash with the roots of hemp wrought into the cloth, they changed it for the dolychos cloth of the three years' mourning.

4 After the sacrifice at the end of a year, if there occurred an occasion for using the hempen sash with the roots cut off, (the mourner) put on the proper band along with the higher cincture. When the cincture was no longer worn, he put off the band. When it was proper to use the band, the rule was to wear it; and when the occasion for it was over, it was put off.

5 In the mourning for five months they did not change the cap worn for the sacrifice at the end of a year. If there were occasion to wear the cincture, then they employed the band proper for the mourning of three months or five months; still keeping on the first dolychos sash. The linen of the three months' mourning did not make it necessary to change the dolychos cloth of the five months; nor the linen of the five months to change the dolychos cloth of the nine months. Where the roots were woven with the cloth, they made a change.

6 On occasion of mourning for a minor, if he were of the highest grade or the middle, they changed the dolychos cloth of the three years' mourning, assuming it when they had completed the months of these intervening rites. This was done not because of the value set on the linen, but because no change was made at the conclusion of the wailing. They did not observe this rule on the death of a minor of the third or lowest grade.

7 The ruler of a state mourned for the son of Heaven for the three years. His wife observed the rule of a lady of her husband's house who had gone to her own married home in mourning for the ruler. The heir-son of a ruler did not wear mourning for the son of Heaven.

8 A ruler acted as presiding mourner at the mourning rites for his wife, his eldest son, and that son's wife.

9 The eldest son of a Great officer, by his proper wife, wore the mourning of an ordinary officer for the ruler, and for the ruler's wife and eldest son.

10 When the mother of a ruler had not been the wife (of the former ruler), the body of the ministers did not wear mourning (on her death). Only the officers of the harem, the charioteer and the man-at-arms who sat on the left, followed the example of the ruler, wearing the same mourning as he did.

11 For a high minister or Great officer, (during the mourning rites for him), the ruler wore in his place the coarse glazed linen, and also when he went out (on business not connected with the rites). If it were on business connected with them, he wore also the skin-cap and the band round it. Great officers dressed in the same way for one another. At the mourning rites for their wives, they wore the same dress, when they were going to be present at those rites; if they went out (on other business), they did not wear it.

12 In all cases of going to see others, the visitor (being in mourning for his parents) did not put off his headband. Even when he was going to the ruler's court, he did not put it off; it was only at the ruler's gate that (in certain circumstances) he put off his sackcloth. The Directory of Mourning says, 'A superior man will not take away from others their mourning rites;' and so it was deemed wrong to put off this mourning. The Directory of Mourning says, 'Crimes are many, but the punishments are only five. The occasions for mourning are many, but there are only five varieties of the mourning dress. The occasions must be arranged, according as they are classed in the upper grade or in the lower.'

LI JI CHAPTER 38 San Nian Wen

Questions About the Mourning for Three Years

1 What purposes do the mourning rites for three years serve? The different rules for the mourning rites were established in harmony with (men's) feelings. By means of them the differences in the social relations are set forth, and the distinctions shown of kindred as nearer or more distant, and of ranks as more noble or less. They do not admit of being diminished or added to; and are therefore called 'The unchanging rules.'

2 The greater a wound is, the longer it remains; and the more pain it gives, the more slowly is it healed. The mourning of three years, being appointed with its various forms in harmony with the feelings (produced by the occasion of it), was intended to mark the greatest degree of grief. The sackcloth with jagged edges, the dark colour of the sackcloth and the staff, the shed reared against the wall, the gruel, the sleeping on straw, and the clod of earth for a pillow - these all were intended to set forth the extremity of the grief. The mourning of the three years came really to an end with (the close of) the twenty-fifth month. The sorrow and pain were not yet ended, and the longing loving thoughts were not yet forgotten; but in the termination of the mourning dress in this way, was it not shown that there should be an end to the duties rendered to the dead, and that the time was come for the resumption of their duties to the living?

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3 All living creatures between heaven and earth, being endowed with blood and breath, have a certain amount of knowledge. Possessing that amount of knowledge, there is not one of them but knows to love its species. Take the larger birds and beasts - when one of them has lost its mate, after a month or a season, it is sure to return and go about their old haunts. It turns round and round, utters its cries, now moves, now stops, and looks quite embarrassed and uncertain in its movements, before it can leave the place. Even the smaller birds, such as swallows and sparrows, chatter and cry for a little before they can leave the place. But among all creatures that have blood and breath, there is none which has intelligence equal to man; and hence the feeling of man on the death of his kindred remains unexhausted even till death.

4 Will any one follow the example of those men who are under the influence of their depraved lusts? In that case, when a kinsman dies in the morning, he will forget him by the evening. But if we follow the course of such men, we shall find that they are not equal to the birds and beasts. How can they live with their kindred, and not fall into all disorders? Will he rather follow the example of the superior man who attends to all the methods by which the feeling of grief is set forth? In that case, the twenty-five months, after which the mourning of three years comes to an end, will seem to pass as quickly as a carriage drawn by four horses is whirled past a crevice. And if we continue to indulge the feeling, it will prove to be inexhaustible. Therefore the ancient kings determined the proper medium for mourning, and appointed its definite terms. As soon as it was sufficient for the elegant expression of the varied feeling, it was to be laid aside.

5 This being the case, how is it that in certain cases the mourning lasts only for a year? The answer is, that in the case of the nearest kindred, there is a break in it at the end of a year. How is that? The answer is - The interaction of heaven and earth has run its round; and the four seasons have gone through their changes. All things between heaven and earth begin their processes anew. The rules of mourning are intended to resemble this. Then how is it that there are three years' mourning (for a parent)? The answer is - From the wish to make it greater and more impressive, the time is doubled, and so embraces two round years. What about the mourning for nine months' and the shorter periods? The answer is - It is to prevent such mourning from reaching (the longer periods).

6 Therefore the three years should be considered as the highest expression of grief in mourning; the three months, and five months, as the lowest; while the year and the nine months are between them. Heaven above gives an example; earth beneath, a law; and man between, a pattern. The harmony and unity that should characterise men living in their kinships are hereby completely shown. Thus it is that in the mourning of three years the highest forms that vary and adorn the ways of men are displayed. Yes, this is what is called the richest exhibition (of human feelings). In this the hundred kings (of all the dynasties) agree, and ancient and modern customs are one and the same. But whence it came is not known. Confucius said, "A son, three years after his birth, ceases to be carried in the arms of his parents. The mourning of three years is the universal rule of all under heaven."

LI JI CHAPTER 39 Shen Yi

Long Dress in One Piece

1 Anciently the long dress had definite measurements, so as to satisfy the requirements of the compass and square, the line, the balance, and the steelyard. It was not made so short as to show any of the skin, nor so long as to touch the ground. The outside pieces of the skirt joined, and were hooked together at the side; (the width of) the seam at the waist was half that at the bottom (of the skirt). The sleeve was joined to the body of the dress at the arm-pit, so as to allow the freest movement of the elbow-joint; the length of the lower part admitted of the cuffs being turned back to the elbow. The sash was put on where there were no bones, so as not to interfere with the action of the thighs below or of the ribs above.

2 In the making (of the garment) twelve strips (of the cloth) were used, to correspond to the twelve months. The sleeve was made round, as if fashioned by a disk. The opening at the neck was square, as if made by means of that instrument so named. The cord-like (seam) at the back descended to the ankles, as if it had been a straight line. The edge at the bottom was like the steelyard of a balance, made perfectly even.

3 In this way through the rounded sleeves the arms could be lifted up in walking (for the purpose of salutation) in the most elegant form. The cord-like seam of the back and the square-shaped collar about the neck in front, served to admonish (the wearer) how his government should be correct and his righteousness on the square. It is said in the Yi, 'The movement indicated by the second line in Kun, divided, is "from the straight (line) to the square."' The even edge at the bottom, like the steelyard and balance, admonished him to keep his will at rest, and his heart even and calm.

4 These five rules being observed in the making (of the dress), the sages wore it. In its squareness and roundness they saw its warning against selfishness; in its line-like straightness they saw its admonition to be correct, and in its balance-like evenness they saw its lesson of impartiality. Therefore the ancient kings attached a high value to it; it could be worn in the discharge of both their civil and military duties; in it they could receive visitors and regulate the cohorts of their armies. It was complete, but not extravagant; it ranked in the second class of good dresses.

5 For ornament, while his parents and grandparents were alive, (a son) wore the dress with its border embroidered. If (only) his parents were alive, the ornamental border was blue. In the case of an orphan son, the border was white. The border round the mouth of the sleeves and all the edges of the dress was an inch and a half wide.

LI JI CHAPTER 40 Tou Hu

Game of Pitch-Pot

1 According to the rules for Pitch-pot, the host carries the arrows in both his hands put together; the superintendent of the archery carries in the same way the stand on which the tallies were placed; and an attendant holds in his hand the pot. The host entreats (one of the guests), saying, 'I have here these crooked arrows, and this pot with its wry mouth; but we beg you to amuse yourself with them.' The guest says, 'I have partaken, Sir, of your excellent drink and admirable viands; allow me to decline this further proposal for my pleasure.' The host rejoins, 'It is not worth the while for you to decline these poor arrows and pot; let me earnestly beg you to try them.' The guest repeats his refusal, saying, 'I have partaken (of your entertainment), and you would still further have me enjoy myself;--I venture firmly to decline.' The host again says, "It is not worth the while for you to decline these poor arrows and pot; let me earnestly beg you to try them,' and then the guest says, 'I have firmly declined what you request, but you will not allow me to refuse;--I venture respectfully to obey you.' The guest then bows twice, and signifies that he will receive (the arrows). The host wheels round, saying, 'Let me get out of the way;' and then at the top of the steps on the east, he bows to the guest and gives him the arrows. The guest wheels round, and says, 'Let me get out of the way.'

2 (The host) having bowed, and received the arrows for himself, advances to the space between the two pillars. He then retires, and returns to his station, motioning also to the guest to go to his mat (for pitching from). The superintendent of the archery comes forward, and measures the distance of the pot (from the mats), which should be a space of the length of two and a half arrows. He then returns to his station, sets forth the stand for the tallies, and with his face to the east, takes eight counters and stands up. He asks the guest to pitch, saying, 'When the arrow goes straight in, it is reckoned an entry. If you throw a second (without waiting for your opponent to pitch), it is not reckoned.' The victor gives the vanquished a cup to drink; and when the cups of decision have been dispatched, the superintendent begs to set up what he calls 'a horse' for the victor. If he set up one horse, then a second, and finally a third, he begs to congratulate the thrower on the number of his horses. He asks the host to pitch in the same way, and with the same words. He orders the cithern-players to strike up 'The Fox's Head,' with the same interval between (each repetition of the tune), and the director of the music answers, 'Yes.'

3 When the superintendent announces to them on the left and right that the arrows are all used up, he requests them to pitch again. When an arrow enters, he kneels, and puts down a counter. The partners of the guest are on the right, and those of the host on the left. When they have done pitching, he takes up the counters, and says, 'They have done pitching, both on the left and right; allow me to take the numbers.' He then takes the numbers two by two, and leaves the single counters. After this he takes the single counters, and gives the announcement, saying, "Such and such a side has the better by so many doubles, or naming the number of the singles.' If they are equal, he says, 'Left and right are equal.'

4 He then orders the cups to be filled, saying, 'Let the cup go round,' and the cup-bearer (of the successful side) replies, 'Yes.' Those who have to drink all kneel, and raising their cups with both hands, say, 'We 'receive what you give us to drink.' The victors (also) kneel and say, 'We beg respectfully to refresh you.' When this cup has gone round, according to rule, (the superintendent) asks leave to exhibit the 'horses' (of the victorious side). Each 'horse' stands for so many counters. (He who has only) one 'horse' gives it to him who has two, to congratulate him (on his superiority). The usage in congratulating (the most successful) is to say, 'Your three "horses" are all here; allow me to congratulate you on their number.' The guests and host all express their assent. The customary cup goes round, and the superintendent asks leave to remove the 'horses.'

5 The number of the counters varies according to the place in which they kneel (when playing the game). (Each round is with 4 arrows.) (If the game be in) the chamber, there are 5 sets of these; if in the hall, 7; if in the courtyard, 9. The counters are 1 cubit 2 inches long. The neck of the pot is 7 inches long; its belly, 5; and its mouth is 2 1/2 inches in diameter. It contains a peck and 5 pints. It is filled with small beans, to prevent the arrows from leaping out. It is distant from the mats of the players, the length of 2 1/2 arrows. The arrows are made of mulberry wood, or from the zizyphus, without the bark being removed.

6 In Lu, the young people taking part in the game were admonished in these words, 'Do not be rude; do not be haughty; do not stand awry; do not talk about irrelevant matters; for those who stand awry, or speak about irrelevant matters, there is the regular (penal) cap.' A similar admonition in Xie was to this effect - 'Do not be rude; do not be haughty; do not stand awry; do not speak about irrelevant matters. Those who do any of these things must pay the penalty.'

7 [This appears to be a representation of the progress of a game by means of small circles and squares. The circles indicating blows on a small drum called phi, and the squares blows on the larger drum (gu) - according, we may suppose, to certain events in the game. The 'drum' marks are followed by what are called 'halves' or semis.]

8 The superintendent of the archery, the overseer of the courtyard, and the capped officers who stood by, all belonged to the party of the guest. The musicians and the boys who acted as attendants, all belonged to the party of the host.

LI JI CHAPTER 41 Ru Xing

Conduct of the Scholar

1 Duke Ai of Lu asked Confucius, saying, 'Is not the dress, Master, which you wear that of the scholar?' Confucius replied, 'When I was little, I lived in Lu, and wore the garment with large sleeves; when I was grown up, I lived in Song, and was then capped with the kang-fu cap. I have heard that the studies of the scholar are extensive, but his dress is that of the state from which he sprang. I do not know any dress of the scholar.'

2 The duke said, 'Allow me to ask what is the conduct of the scholar.' Confucius replied, 'If I were to enumerate the points in it summarily, I could not touch upon them all; if I were to go into details on each, it would take a long time. You would have changed all your attendants-in-waiting before I had concluded.' The duke-ordered a mat to be placed for him.

3 Confucius took his place by his side. He then said, 'The scholar has a precious gem placed upon its mat, with which he is waiting to receive an invitation (from some ruler); early and late he studies with energy, waiting to be questioned. He carries in his bosom leal-heartedness and good faith, waiting to be raised (to office); he is vigorous in all his doings, waiting to be chosen (to employment): so does he establish his character and prepare himself (for the future).

4 'The scholar's garments and cap are all fitting and becoming; he is careful in his undertakings and doings: in declining great compliments he might seem to be rude, and in regard to small compliments, hypocritical; in great matters he has an air of dignity, and in small matters, of modesty; he seems to have a difficulty in advancing, but retires with ease and readiness; and he has a shrinking appearance, as if wanting in power - such is he in his external appearance.

5 'The scholar, wherever he resides, ordinarily or only for a time, is grave as if he were apprehensive of difficulties; when seated or on foot, he is courteous and respectful; in speaking, his object is, first of all, to be sincere; in acting, he wishes to be exact and correct; on the road, he does not strive about the most difficult or easiest places; in winter and summer, he does not strive about the temperature, the light and shade; he guards against death that he may be in waiting (for whatever he may be called to); he attends well to his person that he maybe ready for action - such are his preparations and precautions for the future.

6 'The scholar does not consider gold and jade to be precious treasures, but leal-heartedness and good faith; he does not desire lands and territory, but considers the establishment of righteousness as his domain; he does not desire a great accumulation of wealth, but looks on many accomplishments as his riches; it is difficult to win him, but easy to pay him; it is easy to pay him, but difficult to retain him. As he will not show himself when the time is not proper for him to do so, is it not difficult to win him? As he will have no fellowship with what is not righteous, is it not difficult to retain him? As he must first do the work, and then take the pay, is it not easy to pay him?--such are the conditions of his close association with others.

7 'Though there may be offered to the scholar valuable articles and wealth, and though it be tried to enervate him with delights and pleasures, he sees those advantages without doing anything contrary to his sense of righteousness; though a multitude may attempt to force him (from his standpoint), and his way be stopped by force of arms, he will look death in the face without changing the principles (which) be maintains; (he would face) birds and beasts of prey with their talons and wings, without regard to their fierceness; he would undertake to raise the heaviest tripod, without regard to his strength; he has no occasion to regret what he has done in the past, nor to make preparations for what may come to him in the future; he does not repeat any error of speech; any rumours against him he does not pursue up to their source; he does not allow his dignity to be interrupted; he does not dread to practise

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(beforehand) the counsels (which he gives) - such are the things in which he stands out and apart from other men.

8 'With the scholar friendly relations may be cultivated, but no attempt must be made to constrain him; near association with him can be sought, but cannot be forced on him; he may be killed, but he cannot be disgraced; in his dwelling he will not be extravagant; in his eating and drinking he will not be luxurious; he may be gently admonished of his errors and failings, but he should not have them enumerated to him to his face - such is his boldness and determination.

9 'The scholar considers leal-heartedness and good faith to be his coat-of-mail and helmet; propriety and righteousness to be his shield and buckler; he walks along, bearing aloft over his head benevolence; he dwells, holding righteousness in his arms before him; the government may be violently oppressive, but he does not change his course - such is the way in which he maintains himself.

10 'The scholar may have a house in only a mu of ground - a poor dwelling each of whose (surrounding) walls is (only) ten paces long, with an outer door of thorns and bamboos, and openings in the wall, long and pointed; within, the inner door stopped up by brushwood, and little round windows like the mouth of a jar; the inmates may have to exchange garments when they go out; they may have to make one day's food serve for two days; if the ruler respond to him, he does not dare to have any hesitation (in accepting office); if he do not respond, he does not have recourse to flattery - such is he in the matter of taking office, (however small).

11 'The scholar lives and has his associations with men of the present day, but the men of antiquity are the subjects of his study. Following their (principles and example) in the present age, he will become a pattern in future ages. If it should be that his own age does not understand and encourage him, that those above him do not bring him, and those below him do not push him, forward, or even that calumniators and flatterers band together to put him in danger, his person may be placed in peril, but his aim cannot be taken from him. Though danger may threaten him in his undertakings and wherever he is, he will still pursue his aim, and never forget the afflictions of the people, (which he would relieve) - such is the anxiety which he cherishes.

12 'The scholar learns extensively, but never allows his researches to come to an end; he does what he does with all his might, but is never weary; he may be living unnoticed, but does not give way to licentiousness; he may be having free course in his acknowledged position, but is not hampered (by it); in his practice of ceremonial usages he shows the value which he sets on a natural ease; in the excellence of his leal-heartedness and good faith, he acts under the law of a benignant playfulness; he shows his fond regard for men of virtue and ability, and yet is forbearing and kind to all; he (is like a potter who) breaks his square (mould), and his tiles are found to fit together - such is the largeness and generosity of his spirit.

13 'The scholar recommends members of his own family to public employment, without shrinking from doing so, because of their kinship, and proposes others beyond it, without regard to their being at enmity with him; he estimates men's merits, and takes into consideration all their services, selecting those of virtue and ability, and putting them forward, without expecting any recompense from them; the ruler thus gets what he wishes, and if benefit results to the state, the scholar does not seek riches or honours for himself - such is he in promoting the employment of the worthy and bringing forward the able.

14 'The scholar when he hears what is good, tells it to his friends, and when he sees what is good, shows it to them; in the view of rank and position, he gives the precedence to them over himself; if they encounter calamities and hardships, he is prepared to die with them; if they are long (in getting advancement), he waits for them; if they are far off, he brings them together with himself - such is he in the employment and promotion of his friends.

15 'The scholar keeps his person free from stain, and continually bathes and refreshes his virtue; he sets forth what he has to say (to his superior by way of admonition), but remains himself in the back-ground, trying thus quietly to correct him; if his superior do not acknowledge (his advice), he more proudly and clearly makes his views known, but still does not press them urgently; he does not go among those who are low to make himself out to be high, nor place himself among those who have little (wisdom) to make himself out to have much; in a time of good government, he does not think little (of what he himself can do); in a time of disorder, he does not allow his course to be obstructed; he does not (hastily) agree with those who think like himself, nor condemn those who think differently - so does he stand out alone among others and take his own solitary course.

16 'The scholar sometimes will not take the high office of being a minister of the son of Heaven, nor the lower office of serving the prince of a state; he is watchful over himself in his retirement, and values a generous enlargement of mind, while at the same time he is bold and resolute in his intercourse with others; he learns extensively that he may know whatever should be done; he makes himself acquainted with elegant accomplishments, and thus smoothes and polishes all his corners and angles; although the offer were made to share a state with him, it would be no more to him than the small weights of a balance; he will not take a ministry, he will not take an office - such are the rules and conduct he prescribes to himself.

17 'The scholar has those with whom he agrees in aim, and pursues the same objects, with whom he cultivates the same course, and that by the same methods; when they stand on the same level with him, he rejoices in them; if their standing be below his, he does not tire of them; if for long he has not seen them, and hears rumours to their prejudice, he does not believe them; his actions are rooted in correctness, and his standing in what is right; if they proceed in the same direction with him, he goes forward with them, if not in the same direction, he withdraws from them - so is he in his intercourse with his friends.

18 'Gentleness and goodness are the roots of humanity; respect and attention are the ground on which it stands; generosity and large-mindedness are the manifestation of it; humility and courtesy are the ability of it; the rules of ceremony are the demonstration of it; speech is the ornament of it; singing and music are the harmony of it; sharing and distribution are the giving of it. The scholar possesses all these qualities in union and has them, and still he will not venture to claim a perfect humanity on account of them - such is the honour (he feels for its ideal), and the humility (with which) he declines it (for himself).

19 'The scholar is not cast down, or cut from his root, by poverty and mean condition; he is not elated or exhausted by riches and noble condition; he feels no disgrace that rulers and kings (may try to inflict); he is above the bonds that elders and superiors (may try to impose); and superior officers cannot distress him. Hence he is styled a scholar. Those to whom the multitude now-a-days give that name have no title to it, and they constantly employ it to one another as a term of reproach.'

20 When Confucius came (from his wanderings to Lu) to his own house, duke Ai gave him a (public) lodging. When the duke heard these words, he became more sincere in his speech, and more righteous in his conduct. He said, 'To the end of my days I will not presume to make a jest of the name of scholar.'

LI JI CHAPTER 42 Da Xue

Great Learning

by Zengzi (505–435 BC), disciple of Confucius

1 What the Great Learning teaches, is to illustrate illustrious virtue; to renovate the people; and to rest in the highest excellence. The point where to rest being known, the object of pursuit is then determined; and, that being determined, a calm unperturbedness may be attained to. To that calmness there will succeed a tranquil repose. In that repose there may be careful deliberation, and that deliberation will be followed by the attainment of the desired end. Things have their root and their branches. Affairs have their end and their beginning. To know what is first and what is last will lead near to what is taught in the Great Learning.

2 The ancients who wished to illustrate illustrious virtue throughout the kingdom, first ordered well their own states. Wishing to order well their states, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their persons. Wishing to cultivate their persons, they first rectified their hearts. Wishing to rectify their hearts, they first sought to be sincere in their thoughts. Wishing to be sincere in their thoughts, they first extended to the utmost their knowledge. Such extension of knowledge lay in the investigation of things. Things being investigated, knowledge became complete. Their knowledge being complete, their thoughts were sincere. Their thoughts being sincere, their hearts were then rectified. Their hearts being rectified, their persons were cultivated. Their persons being cultivated, their families were regulated. Their families being regulated, their states were rightly governed. Their states being rightly governed, the whole kingdom was made tranquil and happy. From the Son of Heaven down to the mass of the people, all must consider the cultivation of the person the root of everything besides. It cannot be, when the root is neglected, that what should spring from it will be well ordered. It never has been the case that what was of great importance has been slightly cared for, and, at the same time, that what was of slight importance has been greatly cared for.

3 What is meant by "making the thoughts sincere." is the allowing no self-deception, as when we hate a bad smell, and as when we love what is beautiful. This is called self-enjoyment. Therefore, the superior man must be watchful over himself when he is alone. There is no evil to which the mean man, dwelling retired, will not proceed, but when he sees a superior man, he instantly tries to disguise himself, concealing his evil, and displaying what is good. The other beholds him, as if he saw his heart and reins;-of what use is his disguise? This is an instance of the saying -"What truly is within will be manifested without." Therefore, the superior man must be watchful over himself when he is alone. The disciple Zeng said, "What ten eyes behold, what ten hands point to, is to be regarded with reverence!" Riches adorn a house, and virtue adorns the person. The mind is expanded, and the body is at ease. Therefore, the superior man must make his thoughts sincere.

4 In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "Look at that winding course of the Qi, with the green bamboos so luxuriant! Here is our elegant and accomplished prince! As we cut and then file; as we chisel and then grind: so has he cultivated himself. How grave is he and dignified! How majestic and distinguished! Our elegant and accomplished prince never can be forgotten." That expression-"As we cut and then file," the work of learning. "As we chisel and then grind," indicates that of self-culture. "How grave is he and dignified!" indicates the feeling of cautious reverence. "How commanding and distinguished! indicates an awe-inspiring deportment. "Our elegant and accomplished prince never can be forgotten," indicates how, when virtue is complete and excellence extreme, the people cannot forget them. In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "Ah! the former kings are not forgotten." Future princes deem worthy what they deemed worthy, and love what they loved. The common people delight in what delighted them, and are benefited by their beneficial arrangements. It is on this account that the former kings, after they have quitted the world, are not forgotten.

5 In the Announcement to Kang, it is said, "He was able to make his virtue illustrious." In the Tai Jia, it is said, "He contemplated and studied the illustrious decrees of Heaven." In the Canon of the emperor (Yao), it is said, "He was able to make illustrious his lofty virtue." These passages all show how those sovereigns made themselves illustrious.

6 On the bathing tub of Tang, the following words were engraved: "If you can one day renovate yourself, do so from day to day. Yea, let there be daily renovation." In the Announcement to Kang, it is said, "To stir up the new people." In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "Although Zhou was an ancient state the ordinance which lighted on it was new." Therefore, the superior man in everything uses his utmost endeavors.

7 In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "The royal domain of a thousand li is where the people rest." In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "The twittering yellow bird rests on a corner of the mound." The Master said, "When it rests, it knows where to rest. Is it possible that a man should not be equal to this bird?" In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "Profound was King Wen. With how bright and unceasing a feeling of reverence did he regard his resting places!" As a sovereign, he rested in benevolence. As a minister, he rested in reverence. As a son, he rested in filial piety. As a father, he rested in kindness. In communication with his subjects, he rested in good faith.

8 The Master said, "In hearing litigations, I am like any other body. What is necessary is to cause the people to have no litigations." So, those who are devoid of principle find it impossible to carry out their speeches, and a great awe would be struck into men's minds;-this is called knowing the root.

9 What is meant by, "The cultivation of the person depends on rectifying the mind may be thus illustrated:-If a man be under the influence of passion he will be incorrect in his conduct. He will be the same, if he is under the influence of terror, or under the influence of fond regard, or under that of sorrow and distress. When the mind is not present, we look and do not see; we hear and do not understand; we eat and do not know the taste of what we eat. This is what is meant by saying that the cultivation of the person depends on the rectifying of the mind.

10 What is meant by "The regulation of one's family depends on the cultivation of his person is this:-men are partial where they feel affection and love; partial where they despise and dislike; partial where they stand in awe and reverence; partial where they feel sorrow and compassion; partial where they are arrogant and rude. Thus it is that there are few men in the world who love and at the same time know the bad qualities of the object of their love, or who hate and yet know the excellences of the object of their hatred. Hence it is said, in the common adage,"A man does not know the wickedness of his son; he does not know the richness of his growing corn." This is what is meant by saying that if the person be not cultivated, a man cannot regulate his family.

11 What is meant by "In order rightly to govern the state, it is necessary first to regulate the family," is this: It is not possible for one to teach others, while he cannot teach his own family. Therefore, the ruler, without going beyond his family, completes the lessons for the state. There is filial piety - therewith the sovereign should be served. There is fraternal submission - therewith elders and superiors should be served. There is kindness - therewith the multitude should be treated. In the Announcement to Kang, it is said, "Act as if you were watching over an infant." If a mother is really anxious about it, though she may not hit exactly the wants of her infant, she will not be far from doing so. There never has been a girl who learned to bring up a child, that she might afterwards marry. From the loving example of one family a whole state becomes loving, and from its courtesies the whole state becomes courteous while, from the ambition and perverseness of the

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One man, the whole state may be led to rebellious disorder;-such is the nature of the influence. This verifies the saying, "Affairs may be ruined by a single sentence; a kingdom may be settled by its One man." Yao and Shun led on the kingdom with benevolence and the people followed them. Chieh and Chau led on the kingdom with violence, and people followed them. The orders which these issued were contrary to the practices which they loved, and so the people did not follow them. On this account, the ruler must himself be possessed of the good qualities, and then he may require them in the people. He must not have the bad qualities in himself, and then he may require that they shall not be in the people. Never has there been a man, who, not having reference to his own character and wishes in dealing with others, was able effectually to instruct them. Thus we see how the government of the state depends on the regulation of the family.

In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "That peach tree, so delicate and elegant! How luxuriant is its foliage! This girl is going to her husband's house. She will rightly order her household." Let the household be rightly ordered, and then the people of the state may be taught. In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "They can discharge their duties to their elder brothers. They can discharge their duties to their younger brothers." Let the ruler discharge his duties to his elder and younger brothers, and then he may teach the people of the state. In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "In his deportment there is nothing wrong; he rectifies all the people of the state." Yes; when the ruler, as a father, a son, and a brother, is a model, then the people imitate him. This is what is meant by saying, "The government of his kingdom depends on his regulation of the family."

12 What is meant by "The making the whole kingdom peaceful and happy depends on the government of his state," this: When the sovereign behaves to his aged, as the aged should be behaved to, the people become filial; when the sovereign behaves to his elders, as the elders should be behaved to, the people learn brotherly submission; when the sovereign treats compassionately the young and helpless, the people do the same. Thus the ruler has a principle with which, as with a measuring square, he may regulate his conduct. What a man dislikes in his superiors, let him not display in the treatment of his inferiors; what he dislikes in inferiors, let him not display in the service of his superiors; what he hates in those who are before him, let him not therewith precede those who are behind him; what he hates in those who are behind him, let him not bestow on the left; what he hates to receive on the left, let him not bestow on the right:-this is what is called "The principle with which, as with a measuring square, to regulate one's conduct." In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "How much to be rejoiced in are these princes, the parents of the people!" When a prince loves what the people love, and hates what the people hate, then is he what is called the parent of the people. In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "Lofty is that southern hill, with its rugged masses of rocks! Greatly distinguished are you, O grand-teacher Yin, the people all look up to you. "Rulers of states may not neglect to be careful. If they deviate to a mean selfishness, they will be a disgrace in the kingdom.

13 In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "Before the sovereigns of the Yin dynasty had lost the hearts of the people, they could appear before God. Take warning from the house of Yin. The great decree is not easily preserved." This shows that, by gaining the people, the kingdom is gained, and, by losing the people, the kingdom is lost. On this account, the ruler will first take pains about his own virtue. Possessing virtue will give him the people. Possessing the people will give the territory. Possessing the territory will give him its wealth. Possessing the wealth, he will have resources for expenditure. Virtue is the root; wealth is the result. If he make the root his secondary object, and the result his primary, he will only wrangle with his people, and teach them rapine. Hence, the accumulation of wealth is the way to scatter the people; and the letting it be scattered among them is the way to collect the people. And hence, the ruler's words going forth contrary to right, will come back to him in the same way, and wealth, gotten by improper ways, will take its departure by the same. In the Announcement to Kang, it is said, "The decree indeed may not always rest on us"; that is, goodness obtains the decree, and the want of goodness loses it. In the Book of Chu, it is said, "The kingdom of Chu does not consider that to be valuable. It values, instead, its good men." Duke Wen's uncle, Fan, said, "Our fugitive does not account that to be precious. What he considers precious is the affection due to his parent."

14 In the Declaration of the Duke of Qin, it is said, "Let me have but one minister, plain and sincere, not pretending to other abilities, but with a simple, upright, mind; and possessed of generosity, regarding the talents of others as though he himself possessed them, and, where he finds accomplished and perspicacious men, loving them in his heart more than his mouth expresses, and really showing himself able to bear them and employ them:-such a minister will be able to preserve my sons and grandsons and black-haired people, and benefits likewise to the kingdom may well be looked for from him. But if it be his character, when he finds men of ability, to be jealous and hate them; and, when he finds accomplished and perspicacious men, to oppose them and not allow their advancement, showing himself really not able to bear them: such a minister will not be able to protect my sons and grandsons and people; and may he not also be pronounced dangerous to the state?" It is only the truly virtuous man who can send away such a man and banish him, driving him out among the barbarous tribes around, determined not to dwell along with him in the Middle Kingdom. This is in accordance with the saying, "It is only the truly virtuous man who can love or who can hate others." To see men of worth and not be able to raise them to office; to raise them to office, but not to do so quickly:-this is disrespectful. To see bad men and not be able to remove them; to remove them, but not to do so to a distance:-this is weakness. To love those whom men hate, and to hate those whom men love;-this is to outrage the natural feeling of men. Calamities cannot fail to come down on him who does so. Thus we see that the sovereign has a great course to pursue. He must show entire self-devotion and sincerity to attain it, and by pride and extravagance he will fail of it.

15 There is a great course also for the production of wealth. Let the producers be many and the consumers few. Let there be activity in the production, and economy in the expenditure. Then the wealth will always be sufficient. The virtuous ruler, by means of his wealth, makes himself more distinguished. The vicious ruler accumulates wealth, at the expense of his life. Never has there been a case of the sovereign loving benevolence, and the people not loving righteousness. Never has there been a case where the people have loved righteousness, and the affairs of the sovereign have not been carried to completion. And never has there been a case where the wealth in such a state, collected in the treasuries and arsenals, did not continue in the sovereign's possession.

16 The officer Meng Xian said, "He who keeps horses and a carriage does not look after fowls and pigs. The family which keeps its stores of ice does not rear cattle or sheep. So, the house which possesses a hundred chariots should not keep a minister to look out for imposts that he may lay them on the people. Than to have such a minister, it were better for that house to have one who should rob it of its revenues." This is in accordance with the saying:-"In a state, pecuniary gain is not to be considered to be prosperity, but its prosperity will be found in righteousness." When he who presides over a state or a family makes his revenues his chief business, he must be under the influence of some small, mean man. He may consider this man to be good; but when such a person is employed in the administration of a state or family, calamities from Heaven, and injuries from men, will befall it together, and, though a good man may take his place, he will not be able to remedy the evil. This illustrates again the saying, "In a state, gain is not to be considered prosperity, but its prosperity will be found in righteousness."

LI JI CHAPTER 43 Guan Yi

Meaning of the Ceremony of Capping

1 Generally speaking, that which makes man man is the meaning of his ceremonial usages. The first indications of that meaning appear in the correct arrangement of the bodily carriage, the harmonious adjustment of the countenance, and in the natural ordering of the speech. When the bodily carriage is well arranged, the countenance harmoniously adjusted, and speech naturally ordered, the meaning of the ceremonial usages becomes complete, and serves to render correct the relation between ruler and subject, to give expression to the affection between father and son, and to establish harmony between seniors and juniors. When the relation between ruler and subject is made correct, affection secured between father and son, and harmony shown between seniors and juniors, then the meaning of those usages is established. Hence after the capping has taken place, provision is made for every other article of dress. With the complete provision of the dress, the bodily carriage becomes (fully) correct, the harmonious expression of the countenance is made perfect, and the speech is all conformed to its purposes. Hence it is said that in capping we have the first indications of (the meaning of the) ceremonial usages. It was on this account that the sage kings of antiquity made so much as they did of the capping.

2 Anciently, when about to proceed to the ceremony of capping, they divined for the day by the stalks, and also for the guests (who should be present). In this way did they manifest the value which they attached to capping. Attaching such a value to it, they made the ceremony very important. They made the ceremony so important, showing how they considered it to lie at the foundation of the state's (prosperity). Hence (also) the capping took place at the top of the eastern steps, (appropriate to the use of the Master) - to show that the son would (in due time) take his place. (The father) handed him a (special) cup in the guests' place. Three caps were used in the ceremony, each successive one more honourable, and giving the more importance to his coming of age. When the capping was over, he received the name of his maturity. So was it shown that he was now a full-grown man. He presented himself before his mother, and his mother bowed to him; he did the same before his brothers and cousins, and they bowed to him - he was a man grown, and so they exchanged courtesies with him. In the dark-coloured cap, and the dark-coloured square-cut robes, he put down his gift of introduction before the ruler, and then proceeded with the proper gifts to present himself to the high ministers and Great officers, and to the old gentlemen of the country - appearing before them as a man grown.

3 Treating him (now) as a grown-up man, they would require from him all the observances of a full-grown man. Doing so, they would require from him the performance of all the duties of a son, a younger brother, a subject, and a junior. But when these four duties or services were required from him, was it not right that the ceremony by which he was placed in such a position should be considered important?

4 Thus when the discharge of filial and fraternal duties, of loyal service, and of deferential submission was established, he could indeed be regarded as a (full-grown) man. When he could be regarded as such, he could be employed to govern other men. It was on this account that the sage kings attached such an importance to the ceremony, and therefore it was said, that in capping we have the introduction to all the ceremonial usages, and that it is the most important of the festive services.

LI JI CHAPTER 44 Hun Yi

Meaning of the Marriage Ceremony

1 The ceremony of marriage was intended to be a bond of love between two (families of different) surnames, with a view, in its retrospective character, to secure the services in the ancestral temple, and in its prospective character, to secure the continuance of the family line. Therefore the superior men, (the ancient rulers), set a great value upon it. Hence, in regard to the various (introductory) ceremonies,--the proposal with its accompanying gift; the inquiries about the (lady's) name; the intimation of the approving divination; the receiving the special offerings; and the request to fix the day - these all were received by the principal party (on the lady's side), as he rested on his mat or leaning-stool in the ancestral temple, (When they arrived), he met the messenger, and greeted him outside the gate, giving place to him as he entered, after which they ascended to the hall. Thus were the instructions received in the ancestral temple, and in this way was the ceremony respected, and watched over, while its importance was exhibited and care taken that all its details should be correct.

2 The father gave himself the special cup to his son, and ordered him to go and meet the bride; it being proper that the male should take the first step (in all the arrangements). The son, having received the order, proceeded to meet his bride. Her father, who had been resting on his mat and leaning-stool in the temple, met him outside the gate and received him with a bow, and then the son-in-law entered, carrying a wild goose. After the (customary) bows and yieldings of precedence, they went up to the hall, when the bridegroom bowed twice and put down the wild goose. Then and in this way he received the bride from her parents. After this they went down, and he went out and took the reins of the horses of her carriage, which he drove for three revolutions of the wheels, having handed the strap to assist her in mounting. He then went before, and waited outside his gate, When she arrived, he bowed to her as she entered. They ate together of the same animal, and joined in sipping from the cups made of the same melon; thus showing that they now formed one body, were of equal rank, and pledged to mutual affection.

3 The respect, the caution, the importance, the attention to secure correctness in all the details, and then (the pledge of) mutual affection - these were the great points in the ceremony, and served to establish the distinction to be observed between man and woman, and the righteousness to be maintained between husband and wife. From the distinction between man and woman came the righteousness between husband and wife. From that righteousness came the affection between father and son; and from that affection, the rectitude between ruler and minister. Whence it is said, 'The ceremony of marriage is the root of the other ceremonial observances.'

4 Ceremonies might be said to commence with the capping; to have their root in marriage; to be most important in the rites of mourning and sacrifice; to confer the greatest honour in audiences at the royal court and in the interchange of visits at the feudal courts; and to be most promotive of harmony in the country festivals and celebrations of archery. These were the greatest occasions of ceremony, and the principal points in them.

5 Rising early the morning after marriage, the young wife washed her head and bathed her person, and waited to be presented (to her husband's parents), which was done by the directrix, as soon as it was bright day. She appeared before them, bearing a basket with dates, chestnuts, and slices of dried spiced meat. The directrix set before her a cup of sweet liquor, and she offered in sacrifice some of the dried meat and also of the liquor, thus performing the ceremony which declared her their son's wife. The father and mother-in-law then entered their apartment, where she set before them a single dressed pig - thus showing the obedient duty of (their

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son's) wife. Next day, the parents united in entertaining the young wife, and when the ceremonies of their severally pledging her in a single cup, and her pledging them in return, had been performed, they descended by the steps on the west, and she by those on the east - thus showing that she would take the mother's place in the family.

6 Thus the ceremony establishing the young wife in her position; followed by that showing her obedient service (of her husband's parents); and both succeeded by that showing how she now occupied the position of continuing the family line - all served to impress her with a sense of the deferential duty proper to her. When she was thus deferential, she was obedient to her parents-in-law, and harmonious with all the occupants of the women's apartments; she was the fitting partner of her husband, and could carry on all the work in silk and linen, making cloth and silken fabrics, and maintaining a watchful care over the various stores and depositories (of the household). In this way when the deferential obedience of the wife was complete, the internal harmony was secured; and when the internal harmony was secured, the long continuance of the family could be calculated on. Therefore the ancient kings attached such importance (to the marriage ceremonies).

7 Therefore, anciently, for three months before the marriage of a young lady, if the temple of the high ancestor (of her surname) were still standing (and she had admission to it), she was taught in it, as the public hall (of the members of her surname); if it were no longer standing (for her), she was taught in the public hall of the Head of that branch of the surname to which she belonged - she was taught there the virtue, the speech, the carriage, and the work of a wife. When the teaching was accomplished, she offered a sacrifice (to the ancestor), using fish for the victim, and soups made of duckweed and pondweed. So was she trained to the obedience of a wife.

8 Anciently, the queen of the son of Heaven divided the harem into six palace-halls, (occupied) by the 3 ladies called fu-ren, the 9 bin, the 27 shi-fu, and the 81 yu-qi. These were instructed in the domestic and private rule which should prevail throughout the kingdom, and how the deferential obedience of the wife should be illustrated; and thus internal harmony was everywhere secured, and families were regulated. (In the same way) the son of Heaven established six official departments, in which were distributed the 3 gong, the 9 qing, the 27 da fu, and the 81 shi of the highest grade. These were instructed in all that concerned the public and external government of the kingdom, and how the lessons for the man should be illustrated; and thus harmony was secured in all external affairs, and the states were properly governed. It is therefore said, 'From the son of Heaven there were learned the lessons for men; and from the queen, the obedience proper to women.' The son of Heaven directed the course to be pursued by the masculine energies, and the queen regulated the virtues to be cultivated by the feminine receptivities. The son of Heaven guided in all that affected the external administration (of affairs); and the queen, in all that concerned the internal regulation (of the family). The teachings (of the one) and the obedience (inculcated by the other) perfected the manners and ways (of the people); abroad and at home harmony and natural order prevailed; the states and the families were ruled according to their requirements - this was what is called 'the condition of complete virtue.'

9 Therefore when the lessons for men are not cultivated, the masculine phenomena in nature do not proceed regularly;-as seen in the heavens, we have the sun eclipsed. When the obedience proper to women is not cultivated, the feminine phenomena in nature do not proceed regularly;-as seen in the heavens, we have the moon eclipsed. Hence on an eclipse of the sun, the son of Heaven put on plain white robes, and proceeded to repair what was wrong in the duties of the six official departments, purifying everything that belonged to the masculine sphere throughout the kingdom; and on an eclipse of the moon, the queen dressed herself in plain white robes, and proceeded to repair what was wrong in the duties of the six palace-halls, purifying everything that belonged to the feminine sphere throughout the kingdom. The son of Heaven is to the queen what the sun is to the moon, or the masculine energy of nature to the feminine. They are necessary to each other, and by their interdependence they fulfil their functions.

LI JI CHAPTER 45 Xiang Yin Jiu Yi

Meaning of the Drinking Festivity in the Districts

1 The meaning of the drinking in the country districts may be thus described - The president on the occasion bows to the (coming) guest as he receives him outside the college gate. They enter and thrice salute each other till they come to the steps. There each thrice yields the precedence to the other, and then they ascend. In this way they carry to the utmost their mutual demonstrations of honour and humility. (The host) washes his hands, rinses the cup, and raises it - to give the highest idea of purity. They bow on the guest's arrival; they bow as (the cup) is washed; they bow when the cup is received, and when it is presented (in return); they bow when the drinking it is over - in this way carrying to the utmost their mutual respect.

2 Such giving of honour, such humility, such purity, and such respect belonged to the intercourse of superior men with others. When they gave honour and showed humility, no contentions arose. When they maintained purity and respect, no indifference or rudeness arose. When there was no rudeness or contention, quarrels and disputations were kept at a distance. When men did not quarrel nor dispute, there came no evils of violence or disorder. It was thus that superior men escaped suffering calamity from other men; and therefore the sages instituted the observances in this ceremony to secure such a result.

3 The chief of the district with the accomplished and virtuous men belonging to it had the vessel of liquor placed between the room (on the east), and the door (leading to the apartments on the west), host and guests sharing it between them. The vessel contained the dark-coloured liquor (of pure water) - showing the value, they attached to its simplicity. The viands came forth from the room on the east - being supplied by the host. All washing, took place (in the courtyard) opposite the eastern wing - showing how the host purified himself and made himself ready to serve the guests.

4 The principal guest and the host represented heaven and earth; the attendants of the guest and host respectively represented the forces inherent in nature in their contracting and expanding operations; the three (heads of the) guests (in their threefold division) represented the three (great) luminaries; the precedence thrice yielded (to the guest) represented the three days when the moon is invisible till it begins to reappear; the seating of the parties present (all round or) on the four sides represented the four seasons.

5 The snell and icy wind that blows between heaven and earth begins in the south-west and is strongest in the north-west. This is the wind that represents the most commanding severity of heaven and earth;--the wind of their righteous justice. The warm and genial wind (that blows between) heaven and earth begins in the north-east and is strongest in the south-east. This is the wind that represents the abundant virtue of heaven and earth - the wind of their benevolence. The host, wishing to do honour to his guest, assigns him his seat on the north-west, and that of his attendant on the south-west, that he may there (most conveniently) assist him. The guest (represents) the treatment of others according to justice, and therefore his seat is on the north-west; the host (represents) the treatment of others according to benevolence and a genial kindness, and therefore his seat is on the southeast, and his attendant is seated on the north-east, that he may there (most conveniently) assist him.

6 That intercourse according to benevolence and righteousness being established, so as to show the respective duties of host and guest, and the number of stands and dishes being properly fixed;--all this must be the result of sage intelligence. That intelligence established the arrangements, and each one being carried through with respect, it became a ceremonial usage. That usage proceeding to mark and embody the distinction between old and young, it became a virtue. Virtue is that which is the characteristic of the person. Therefore we have the saying, 'In the learning of antiquity, the methods by which they pursued the course adopted were intended to put men in possession of their proper virtue.' On this account the sages employed their powers (on its lessons).

7 When the guest offers in sacrifice some of the things that have been set before him, and some of the liquor, he showed how he respected (the host) for his courtesy; when he proceeded to take some of the lungs in his teeth, he thereby tasted (the host's) courtesy; when he then sipped some of the liquor, that was his last step in acknowledgment thereof. This last act was done at the end of his mat, showing that the mat was spread straight before him, not only for the purpose of eating and drinking, but also for the performance of the (proper) rites. In this was shown how it was the ceremony that was valued, while the wealth was made little account of. Finally, when the host filled their cups from the horn, they drained them at the top of the western steps;--showing how the mat was set not (merely) for the purpose of eating and drinking, and how the idea was that of giving to the ceremony the first place, and to wealth the last. But when the ceremony has the first place, and wealth the last, the people become respectful and yielding, and are not contentious with one another.

8 At the ceremony of drinking in the country districts, those who were sixty years old sat, and those who were (only fifty) stood, and were in waiting to receive any orders and perform any services - thus illustrating the honour which should be paid to elders. Before those who were sixty, three dishes were placed; before those of seventy, four; before those of eighty, five; before those of ninety, six - thus illustrating how the aged should be cherished and nourished. When the people knew to honour their elders and nourish their aged, then at home they could practise filial piety and fraternal duty. Filial and fraternal at home and abroad, honouring elders and nourishing the aged, then their education was complete, and this led to the peace and tranquillity of the state. What the superior man calls filial piety, does not require that (every) family should be visited and as members daily taught; if (the people) be assembled at the archery meetings in the districts, and taught the usages at the district-drinkings, their conduct is brought to be filial and fraternal.

9 Confucius said, 'When I look on at the festivity in the country districts, I know how easily the Royal way may obtain free course.

10 'The host in person invites the principal guest and his attendant, and all the other guests follow them of themselves. When they arrive outside the gate, he bows (and welcomes) the chief guest and his attendant, and all the others enter of themselves. In this way the distinction between the noble and the mean is exhibited.

11 'With the interchange of three bows (the host and guest) arrive at the steps; and after precedence has been thrice yielded to him, the guest ascends. In bowing to him (on the hall), (the host) presents to him the cup, and receives the cup from him in return. The usages between them, now declining, now yielding, the one to the other, are numerous; but the attention paid to the assistant is less. As to the crowd of guests, they ascend, and receive the cup. Kneeling down they offer some of it in sacrifice; they rise and drink it; and without pledging the host in the return-cup, they descend. In this way the proper distinction is made between the different parties by the multitude or paucity of the observances paid to them.

12 'The musicians enter, ascend the hall, and sing the three pieces which complete their performance, after which the host offers to them the cup. The organists enter, and (below the hall) play three tunes, which complete their part of the performance, after which the host offers to them (also) the cup. Then they sing and play alternately other three pieces and tunes; and also thrice again they sing and play in concert. When this is finished, the musicians announce that the music is over, and go out. At the same time a person (as instructed by the host) takes up the horn, and one is appointed to superintend the drinking, and see that it proceeds correctly. From this we know how they could be harmonious and joyful, without being disorderly.

13 'The principal guest pledges the host, the host pledges the attendants, the attendants pledge all the guests. Young and old pledge one another according to their age, and the cup circulates on to the keepers of the vases and the cup-washers. From this we know how they could practise brotherly deference to their elders without omitting any one.

14 'Descending (after this), they take off their shoes; ascending again, and taking their seats, they take their cups without any limit as to number. But the regulations of the drinking do not allow them to neglect the duties either of the morning or evening. When the guests go out, the host bows to each as he escorts him away. The regulations and forms are observed to the end; and from this we know how they could enjoy the feast without turbulence or confusion.

15 'The distinction between the noble and mean thus exhibited; the discrimination in the multitude or paucity of the observances to different parties; the harmony and joy without disorder; the brotherly deference to elders without omitting any; the happy feasting without turbulence or confusion;--the observance of these five things is sufficient to secure the rectification of the person, and the tranquillity of the state. When that one state is tranquil, all under heaven will be the same. Therefore I say that when I look on at the festivity in the country districts, I know how easily the Royal Way may obtain free course.'

16 According to the meaning attached to the festivity of drinking in the country districts, the principal guest was made to represent heaven; the host, to represent earth; their attendants respectively to represent the sun and moon; and the three head guests (according to the threefold division of them) to represent the three (great) luminaries. This was the form which the festivity received on its institution in antiquity: the presiding idea was found in heaven and earth; the regulation of that was found in the sun and moon; and the three luminaries were introduced as a third feature. (The whole represented) the fundamental principles in the conduct of government and instruction.

17 The dogs were boiled on the eastern side (of the courtyard) - in reverential acknowledgment of the fact that the vivifying and expanding power in nature issues from the east. The washings took place at the eastern steps, and the water was kept on the east of the washing-place;--in reverential acknowledgment of the fact that heaven and earth have placed the sea on the left. The vessel contained the dark-coloured liquid - teaching the people not to forget the original practice (at ceremonies).

18 The rule was that the (principal) guest should face the south. The quarter of the east suggests the idea of the spring, the name of which (also) denotes the appearance of insects beginning to move - (there is then at work that mysterious) intelligence which gives birth to all things. The quarter of the south suggests the idea of the summer, the name of which (also) denotes what is great - what nourishes things, encourages their growth, and makes them great is benevolence. The quarter of the west suggests the idea of the autumn, the name

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of which also denotes gathering or collecting - the fruits of the earth are gathered at this season, suggesting the idea of justice in discriminating and guarding. The quarter of the north suggests the idea of winter, the name of which denotes also what is kept within - and the being within leads us to think of being stored up. On this account, when the son of Heaven stands up, he keeps (the quarter of the life-giving) intelligence on his left hand, faces (the quarter of) benevolence, has that of justice on his right hand, and that of depositing behind him.

19 It was the rule that his attendants should face the east; thus (making) the principal guest to be the chief (party) at the festivity. It was the rule that the host should be in the eastern quarter. The eastern quarter suggests the idea of spring, the name of which (also) denotes the appearance of insects beginning to move, and (it is spring) which produces all things. The host makes the festivity; that is, he produces all things.

20 The moon, after three days, completes the period of its dark disk. Three months complete a season. Therefore in this ceremony precedence is thrice yielded to the guest, and in establishing a state three high ministers must be appointed. That the guests are in three divisions, each with its head or leader, indicated the fundamental principles in the administration of government and instruction, and was the third great feature of the ceremony.

LI JI CHAPTER 46 She Yi

Meaning of the Ceremony of Archery

1 Anciently it was the rule for the feudal lords, when they would practise archery, first to celebrate the ceremony of the Banquet, and for the Great officers and ordinary officers, when they would shoot, first to celebrate the ceremony of the Drinking in the country districts. The ceremony of the Banquet served to illustrate the relation between ruler and subject; that of the District-drinking, to illustrate the distinction between seniors and juniors.

2 The archers, in advancing, retiring, and all their movements, were required to observe the rules. With minds correct, and straight carriage of the body, they were to hold their bows and arrows skilfully and firmly; and when they did so, they might be expected to hit the mark. In this way (from their archery) their characters could be seen.

3 To regulate (the discharging of the arrows), there was, in the case of the son of Heaven, the playing of the Zou-yu; in the case of the feudal lords, that of the Li-shou; in the case of the dignitaries, the Great officers, that of the Cai-pin; and in the case of officers, that of the Cai-fan. The Zou-yu is expressive of joy that every office is (rightly) filled; the Li-shou is expressive of the joy at audiences of the court; the Cai-pin is expressive of the joy in observing the laws (which have been learned); and the Cai-fan is expressive of the joy in being free from all failures in duty. Therefore the son of Heaven regulated his shooting by keeping in his mind the right feeling of all officers; a feudal prince, by keeping in his mind the times of his appearing before the son of Heaven; a dignitary, being a Great officer, by keeping in his mind the observing of the laws (which he had learned); and an officer, by keeping in his mind that he must not fail in the duties of his office. In this way, when they clearly understood the meaning of those regulating measures, and were thus able to avoid all failure in their services, they were successful in their undertakings, and their character and conduct were established. When their characters were established, no such evils as oppression and disorder occurred; and when their undertakings were successful, the states were tranquil and happy. Hence it is said that 'the archery served to show the completeness of (the archer's) virtue.'

4 Therefore, anciently, the son of Heaven chose the feudal lords, the dignitaries who were Great officers, and the officers, from their skill in archery. Archery is specially the business of males, and there were added to it the embellishments of ceremonies and music. Hence among the things which may afford the most complete illustration of ceremonies and music, and the frequent performance of which may serve to establish virtue and good conduct, there is nothing equal to archery: and therefore the ancient kings paid much attention to it.

5 Therefore, anciently, according to the royal institutes, the feudal princes annually presented the officers who had charge of their tribute to the son of Heaven, who made trial of them in the archery-hall. Those of them whose bodily carriage was in conformity with the rules, and whose shooting was in agreement with the music, and who hit the mark most frequently, were allowed to take part at the sacrifices. When his officers had frequently that privilege, their ruler was congratulated; if they frequently failed to obtain it, he was reprimanded. If a prince were frequently so congratulated, he received an increase to his territory; if he were frequently so reprimanded, part of his territory was taken from him. Hence came the saying, 'The archers shoot in the interest of their princes.' Thus, in the states, the rulers and their officers devoted themselves to archery, and the practice in connexion with it of the ceremonies and music. But when, rulers and officers practise ceremonies and music, never has it been known that such practice led to their banishment or ruin.

6 Hence it is said in the ode now lost, 'The long-descended lord Presents your cups of grace. His chiefs and noble men Appear, all in their place; Small officers and Great, Not one will keep away. See them before their prince, All in their full array. They feast, and then they shoot, Happy and praised to boot.' The lines show how when rulers and their officers earnestly devoted themselves together to archery, and the practice in connexion with it of ceremonies and music, they were happy and got renown. It was on this account that the son of Heaven instituted the custom, and the feudal lords diligently attended to it. This was the way in which the son of Heaven cherished the princes, and had no need of weapons of war (in dealing with them); it furnished (also) to the princes an instrument with which they trained themselves to rectitude.

7 Once, when Confucius was conducting an archery meeting in a vegetable garden at Kio-hsiang, the lookers-on surrounded it like a wall. When the proceedings reached the point when a Master of the Horse should be appointed, he directed Zi-Lu to take his bow and arrows, and go out to introduce those who wished to shoot, and to say, 'The general of a defeated army, the Great officer of a ruler-less state, and any one who (has schemed to be) the successor and heir of another, will not be allowed to enter, but the rest may all enter.' On this, one half went away, and the other half entered. After this, (wishing to send the cup round among all the company), he further directed Gong-wang Qiu and Xu Dian to raise the horns of liquor, and make proclamation. Then Gong-wang Qiu raised his horn, and said, 'Are the young and strong (here) observant of their filial and fraternal duties? Are the old and men of eighty (here) such as love propriety, not following licentious customs, and resolved to maintain their characters to death? If so, they may occupy the position of guests.' On this, one half (of those who had entered) went away, and the other half remained. Xu Dian next raised his horn, and proclaimed, 'Are you fond of learning without being tired? are you fond of the rules of propriety, and unswerving in your adherence to them? Do those of you who are eighty, ninety, or one hundred, expound the way (of virtue) Without confusion or error? If so, you can occupy the position of visitors.' Thereupon hardly any remained.

8 To shoot means to draw out to the end, and some say to lodge in the exact point. That drawing out to the end means every one unfolding his own idea; hence, with the mind even-balanced and the body correctly poised, (the archer) holds his bow and arrow skilfully and firmly. When he so holds them, he will hit the mark. Hence it is said, 'The father (shoots) at the father-mark; the son, at the son-mark; the ruler, at the ruler-mark; the subject, at the subject-mark.' Thus the archer shoots at the mark of his (ideal) self; and so the Great archery of the son of Heaven is called shooting at (the mark of) the feudal prince. 'Shooting at the mark of the feudal prince' was shooting to prove himself a prince. He who hit the mark was permitted to be, that is, retain his rank as) a prince; he who did not hit the mark was not permitted to retain his rank as a prince.

9 When the son of Heaven was about to sacrifice, the rule was that he should celebrate the archery at the pool, which name suggested the idea of selecting the officers (by their shooting). After the archery at the pool came that in the archery hall. Those who hit the mark were permitted to take part in the sacrifice; and those who failed were not permitted to do so. (The ruler of those) who did not receive the permission was reprimanded, and had part of his territory taken from him. The ruler of those who were permitted was congratulated, and received an addition to his territory. The advancement appeared in the rank; the disapprobation, in the (loss of) territory.

10 Hence, when a son is born, a bow of mulberry wood, and six arrows of the wild raspberry plant (are placed on the left of the door) for the purpose of shooting at heaven, earth, and the four cardinal points. Heaven, earth, and the four points denote the spheres wherein the business of a man lies. The young man must first give his mind to what is to be his business, and then he may venture to receive emolument, that is, the provision for his food.

11 Archery suggests to us the way of benevolence. (The archer) seeks to be correct in himself, and then discharges his arrow. If it miss the mark, he is not angry with the one who has surpassed himself, but turns round and seeks (for the cause of failure) in himself. Confucius said, 'The student of virtue has no contentions. If it be said that he cannot avoid them, shall this be in archery? (But) he bows complaisantly to his competitor, ascends (the hall), descends (again), and exacts the forfeit of drinking. In his contention, he is still the superior man.'

12 Confucius said, 'How difficult it is to shoot! How difficult it is to listen (to the music)! To shoot exactly in harmony with the note (given) by the music, and to shoot without missing the bull's-eye on the target - it is only the archer of superior virtue who can do this! How shall a man of inferior character be able to hit the mark?

13 It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, viii, ode 6, 1), '"Now shoot," he says, "and show your skill." The other answers, "Shoot I will, And hit the mark;--and when you miss, Pray you the penal cup to kiss."' 'To pray' is to ask. The archer seeks to hit that he may decline the cup. The liquor in the cup is designed (properly) to nourish the aged, or the sick. When the archer seeks to hit that he may decline the cup, that is declining what should serve to nourish (those that need it).

LI JI CHAPTER 47 Yan Yi

Meaning of the Banquet

1 Anciently, among the officers of the kings of Zhou, there was one called the shu-dze. He was charged with the care of the sons of the feudal lords, the high dignitaries who were the Great officers, and (other) officers,--the eldest sons who occupied the next place to their fathers. He managed (the issuing) to them of (all) cautions and orders; superintended their instruction in all they had to learn and (the art of self-)government; arranged them in their different classes; and saw that they occupied their correct positions. If there were any grand solemnity (being transacted) in the kingdom, he conducted them-these sons of the state-and placed them under the eldest son, the heir-apparent, who made what use of them he thought fit. If any military operations were being undertaken, he provided for them their carriages and coats of mail, assembled for them the companies of a hundred men and of five men (of which they should have charge), and appointed their inferior officers, thus training them in the art of war - they were not under the jurisdiction of the minister of War. In all (other) governmental business of the state, these sons of it were left free, their fathers' eldest sons, without public occupation, and were made to attend to the cultivation of virtuous ways. In spring, (the shu-dze) assembled them in the college; and in autumn, in the archery (hall), that he might examine into their proficiency, and advanced or degraded them accordingly.

2 The meaning of the ceremony of the banquet at the feudal courts (may be thus described):-The ruler stood on the south-east of (his own) steps on the east, having his face towards the south, fronting the ministers or dignitaries who were nearest to him. They and all the (other) Great officers came forward a little, taking each his proper station. The ruler's mat is placed at the top of the eastern steps - there is the station of the host. The ruler alone goes up and stands on his mat; with his face to the west he stands there by himself - showing that no one presumes to place himself on a par with him.

3 Guests and host having been arranged, according to the rules for the ceremony of drinking in the country districts, (the ruler) makes his chief cook act for him in presenting (the cup) - a minister may not presume to take on himself any usage proper to the ruler. None of the (three) kung and no high minister has the place of a guest; but the Great officers are among the guests,-because of the doubts that might arise, and to show the jealousy (which such great men in that position might create). When the guests have entered to the middle of the courtyard, the ruler descends a step and bows to them - thus courteously receiving them.

4 The ruler sends the cup round among the guests in order; and when he has given a special cup to any, they all descend, and bow twice, laying at the same time their heads to the ground; after which they ascend, and complete their bowing - thus showing the observance due from subjects. The ruler responds to them, for every act of courtesy must be responded to - illustrating the observances due from the ruler and superiors. When ministers and inferiors do their utmost to perform service for the state, the ruler must recompense them with rank and emoluments. Hence all officers and inferiors endeavour with their utmost strength and ability to establish their merit, and thus the state is kept in tranquillity, and the ruler's mind is at rest. (The principle) that every act of courtesy must be responded to, showed that rulers do not receive anything from their inferiors without sufficient ground for doing so. The ruler must illustrate the path of rectitude in his conduct of the people; and when the people follow that path and do good service (for the state), then he may take from them a tenth part (of their revenues). In this way he has enough, and his subjects do not suffer want. Thus harmony and affection prevail between high and low, and they have no mutual dissatisfactions. Such harmony and rest are the result of the ceremonial usages. This is the great idea in the relation between ruler and subject, between high and low - hence it is said that the object of the banquet was to illustrate the idea of justice between ruler and subject.

5 The mats were arranged so that the dignitaries of smaller rank occupied the place next (in honour) to those of higher; the Great officers, the place next to the lower dignitaries. The officers and sons of concubines (also) took their places below in their regular order. The cup being presented to the ruler, he begins the general pledging, and offers the cup to the high dignitaries. They continue the ceremony, and offer the cup to the Great officers, who offer it in turn to the (other) officers, and these finally offer it to the sons of concubines. The stands and dishes, with the flesh of the animals, and the savoury viands, were all proportioned to the differences of rank in the

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guests:-and thus the distinction was shown between the noble and the mean.

LI JI CHAPTER 48 Pin Yi

Meaning of Interchange of Missions twixt Different Courts

1 According to the ceremonies in missions, a duke of the highest grade sent seven attendants with (his representative); a marquis or earl, five; and a count or baron, three. The difference in number served to show the difference in rank of their principals.

2 The messages between the visitor and the host were passed through all the attendants, from one to another. A superior man, where he wishes to do honour, will not venture to communicate directly and in person. This was a high tribute of respect.

3 The message was transmitted only after the messenger had thrice declined to receive (the courtesies offered to him at the gate); he entered the gate of the ancestral temple after thrice in the same way trying to avoid doing so; thrice he exchanged bows with his conductor before they arrived at the steps; and thrice he yielded the precedence offered to him before he ascended the hall - so did he carry to the utmost his giving of honour and yielding courtesy.

4 The ruler sent an officer to meet the messenger at the border of the state, and a Great officer to offer him the customary presents and congratulations (after the toils of the journey) in the suburb (near the capital); he himself met him and bowed to him inside the great gate, and then received him in the ancestral temple; with his face to the north he bowed to him when the presents (which he brought) were presented, and bowed again (when his message was delivered), in acknowledgment of its condescension - in this way did he (on his part) testify his respect.

5 Respectfulness and yielding courtesy mark the intercourse of superior men with one another. Hence, when the feudal lords received one another with such respectfulness and yielding courtesy, they would not attack or encroach on one another.

6 A high minister is employed as principal usher for the messenger, a Great officer as the next, and (ordinary) officers acted as their attendants. (When he had delivered his message), the ruler himself showed him courtesy, (and presented to him the cup of new liquor). He had his private interviews (with the dignitaries and Great officers of the court), and also with the ruler. (After this), supplies of animals, slaughtered and living, were sent (to his hotel). (When he was about to take his departure), the jade-symbols (by which he was accredited) were returned to him, and the return gifts (of silk and other things) presented at the same time. He had been entertained and feasted. All these observances served to illustrate the idea underlying the relations between ruler and minister in receiving visitors and guests.

7 Therefore it was a statute made by the son of Heaven for the feudal lords, that every year they should interchange a small mission, and every three years a great one - thus stimulating one another to the exercise of courtesy. If the messenger committed any error in the exchange of his mission, the ruler, his host, did not personally entertain and feast him - thereby making him ashamed, and stimulating him. When the princes thus stimulated one another to the observance of the ceremonial usages, they did not make any attacks on one another, and in their states there was no oppression or encroachment. In this way the son of Heaven cherished and nourished them; there was no occasion for any appeal to arms, and they were furnished with an instrument to maintain themselves in rectitude.

8 The commissioners carried with them their jade-symbols, the sceptre and half-sceptre - showing the importance of the ceremony. On the completion of their mission, these were returned to them - showing the small importance to be attached to their value, and the great importance of the ceremony. When the princes thus stimulated one another, to set light by the value of the articles, and recognise the importance of the ceremony, the people learned to be yielding and courteous.

9 The prince of the state to which the mission was sent treated his guests in this way - Till their departure from their coming, they were supplied from the three stores (provided for such purposes). Living animals were sent to them at their lodging. A provision of five sets of the three animals for slaughter was made inside. Thirty loads of rice, the same number of grain with the straw, and twice as many of fodder and firewood were provided outside. There were five pairs of birds that went in flocks every day. All the attendants had cattle supplied to them for their food. There was one meal (a day in the court), and two (spare) entertainments (in the temple). The banquets and occasional bounties were without any definite number. With such generosity was the importance of the ceremony indicated.

10 They could not always be so profuse as this in antiquity in the use of their wealth; but their employment of it thus liberally (in connexion with these missions) showed how they were prepared to devote it to the maintenance of the ceremonies. When they expended it as they did on the ceremonies, then in the states ruler and minister did not encroach on one another's rights and possessions, and different states did not attack one another. It was on this account that the kings made their statute about these missions, and the feudal lords did their utmost to fulfil it.

11 The archery in connexion with these missions was a very great institution. With the early dawn they commenced it, and it was nearly midday before the whole of the ceremonies were concluded - it required men of great vigour and strength to go through with it. And further, when such men were about to engage in it, though the liquor might be clear and they were thirsty, they did not venture to drink of it; though the stalks of flesh were dry (and ready to their hand), and they were hungry, they did not venture to eat of them; at the close of the day, when they were tired, they continued to maintain a grave and correct deportment. So they carried out all the details of the ceremonies; so they maintained correctly the relation between ruler and subject, affection between father and son, and harmony between seniors and juniors. All this it is difficult for the generality of men to do, but it was done by those superior men; and on this account they were called men possessed of great ability in action. The ascribing to them such ability in action implied their possession of the sense of righteousness; and their possession of that sense implied that they were valiant and daring. The most valuable quality in a man who is bold and daring is that he can thereby establish his sense of righteousness; the most valuable quality in him who establishes that sense is that he can thereby show his great ability in action; the most valuable quality in him who has that ability is that he can carry all ceremonies into practice. In this way, the most valuable quality in valiant daring is that its possessor dares to carry into practice the rules of ceremony and righteousness. It follows from this that such men, bold and daring, full of vigour and strength, when the kingdom was at peace, employed their gifts in the exercise of propriety and righteousness; and, when there was trouble in the kingdom, employed them in the battle-field and in gaining victory. When they employed them to conquer in battle, no enemies could resist them; when they employed them in the exercise of propriety and righteousness, then obedience and good order prevailed. No enemies abroad, and obedience and good order at home - this was called the perfect condition for a state. But when men, so endowed, did not use their valour and strength in the service of propriety and righteousness, and to secure victory, but in strifes and contentions, then they were styled men of turbulence or disorder. Punishments were put in requisition throughout the kingdom, and the (first) use of them was to deal with those same men, and take them off. In this way (again), the people became obedient and there was good order, and the state was tranquil and happy.

12 Zi-gong asked Confucius, saying, 'Allow me to ask the reason why the superior man sets a high value on jade, and but little on soapstone? Is it because jade is rare, and the soapstone plentiful?' Confucius replied, 'It is not because the soapstone is plentiful that he thinks but little of it, and because jade is rare that he sets a high value on it. Anciently superior men found the likeness of all excellent qualities in jade. Soft, smooth, and glossy, it appeared to them like benevolence; fine, compact, and strong - like intelligence; angular, but not sharp and cutting - like righteousness; hanging down (in beads) as if it would fall to the ground - like (the humility of) propriety; when struck, yielding a note, clear and prolonged, yet terminating abruptly - like music; its flaws not concealing its beauty, nor its beauty concealing its flaws - like loyalty; with an internal radiance issuing from it on every side - like good faith; bright as a brilliant rainbow - like heaven; exquisite and mysterious, appearing in the hills and streams - like the earth; standing out conspicuous in the symbols of rank - like virtue; esteemed by all under the sky, - like the path of truth and duty. As is said in the ode (I, xi, ode 3, 1), "Such my lord's car. He rises in my mind, Lovely and bland, like jade of richest kind."

LI JI CHAPTER 49 Sang Fu Si Zhi

Four Principles Underlying the Dress of Mourning

1 All ceremonial usages looked at in their great characteristics are the embodiment of (the ideas suggested by) heaven and earth; take their laws from the (changes of the) four seasons; imitate the (operation of the) contracting and developing movements in nature; and are conformed to the feelings of men. It is on this account that they are called the Rules of Propriety; and when any one finds fault with them, he only shows his ignorance of their origin.

2 Those usages are different in their applications to felicitous and unfortunate occurrences; in which they should not come into collision with one another - this is derived from (their pattern as given by) the contracting and developing movements in nature.

3 The mourning dress has its four definite fashions and styles, the changes in which are always according to what is right - this is derived from the (changes of the) four seasons. Now, affection predominates; now, nice distinctions; now, defined regulations; and now, the consideration of circumstances - all these are derived from the human feelings. In affection we have benevolence; in nice distinctions, righteousness; in defined regulations, propriety; and in the consideration of circumstances, knowledge. Benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and knowledge - these make up the characteristic attributes of humanity.

4 Where the affection has been great, the mourning worn is deep. On this account the sackcloth with jagged edges is worn for the father for three years - the regulation is determined by affection.

5 In the regulation (of the mourning) within the family circle, the, affection throws the duty of public righteousness into the shade. In the regulation (of that which is) beyond that circle, the duty of public righteousness cuts the mourning of affection short. The service due to a father is employed in serving a ruler, and the reverence is the same for both - this is the greatest instance of (the conviction of the duty of) righteousness, in all the esteem shown to nobility and the honour done to the honourable. Hence the sackcloth with jagged edges is worn (also) for the ruler for three years - the regulation is determined by righteousness.

6 The eating after three days; the washing the head after three months; the sacrifice and change of dress at the end of the first year; the not carrying the emaciation to such an extent as to affect life - these regulations were to avoid doing harm to the living (by the mourning) for the dead. Not protracting the mourning rites beyond three years; not mending even the coarsest sackcloth; making no addition to the mound (raised at first) over the grave; fixing the day for the sacrifice at the end of the second year; playing (at first, on the conclusion of the rites) on a plain, unvarnished lute - all these things were to make the people aware of the termination (of the several rites), and constituted the defined regulations.

7 The service due to a father is employed in serving a mother, and the love is the same for both. But in the sky there are not two suns, nor in a land two kings, nor in a state two rulers, nor in a family two equally honourable - one (principle) regulates (all) these conditions. Hence, while the father is alive, the sackcloth with even edges is worn (for a mother), (and only) for a year - showing that there are not (in the family) two equally honourable.

8 What is meant by the use of the staff? It is (a symbol of) rank. On the third day it is given to the son; on the fifth day, to Great officers; and on the seventh day, to ordinary officers - at the mourning rites for a ruler. Some say that it is given to them as the presiding mourners; and others, that it is to support them in their distress. A daughter (not yet fully grown) and a son (while but a lad), do not carry a staff - (being supposed) not to be capable of (extreme) distress. When all the array of officers is complete, and all things are provided, and (the mourner) cannot speak (his directions), and things must (still) proceed, he is assisted to rise. If he be able to speak, and things will proceed (as he directs), he rises by the help of the staff. Where (the mourner) has himself to take part in what is to be done, he will have his face grimed (as if black with sorrow). Women who are bald do not use the coiffure; hunchbacks do not unbare their arms; the lame do not leap; and the old and ill do not give up the use of liquor and flesh. All these are cases regulated by the consideration of circumstances.

9 After the occurrence of the death, the (wailing for) three days, which left no leisure for anything else; the not taking off (the headband or girdle) for three months; the grief and lamentation for a whole year; and the sorrow on to the three years: (in all these things) there was a gradual diminution of the (manifestation of) affection. The sages, in accordance with that diminution of the natural feeling, made their various definite regulations. It was on this account that the mourning rites were limited to three years. The worthiest were not permitted to go beyond this period, nor those who were inferior to them to fall short of it. This was the proper and invariable time for those rites, what the (sage) kings always carried into practice.

10 When it is said in "The Shu" (Part IV, Book VIII, i, 1), that Gao Zung, while occupying the mourning shed, for three years did not speak, this expresses approval of that sovereign. But the kings all observed this rule; why is the approval only expressed in connexion with him? It may be replied, 'This Gao Zong was Wu Ding.' Wu Ding was a worthy sovereign of Yin. He had come to the throne in the due order of succession, and was thus loving and good in his observance of the mourning rites. At this time Yin, which had been decaying, revived again; ceremonial usages, which had been neglected, came again into use. On this account the approval of him was expressed, and therefore it was recorded in the Shu, and he was styled Gao (The Exalted), and designated Gao Zong (The Exalted and Honoured Sovereign). (The rule was that), during the three years' mourning, a ruler should not speak; and that the Shu says, 'Gao Zong, while he occupied the mourning shed, for the three years did not speak,' was an illustration of this. When it is said (in the Xiao Jing, chapter 18th), 'They speak, but without elegance of phrase,' the reference is to ministers and inferior officers.

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11 According to the usages, when wearing the sackcloth with jagged edges for a father, a son indicated that he heard what was said to him, but did not reply in words; when wearing that with even edges (for a mother), he replied, but did not speak (of anything else); when wearing the mourning of nine months, he might speak (of other things), but did not enter into any discussion; when wearing that of five months, or of three, he might discuss, but did not show pleasure in doing so. At the mourning rites for a parent, (the son) wore the cap of sackcloth, with strings of cords, and sandals of straw; after the third day, he (began to) take gruel; after the third month, he washed his head; at the end of the year, in the thirteenth month, he put on the mourning silk and cap proper after the first year; and when the three years were completed, he offered the auspicious sacrifice.

12 When one has completed these three regulated periods, the most animated with the sentiment of benevolence (or humanity) can perceive the affection underlying the usages; he who has (most) knowledge can perceive the nice distinctions pervading them; and he who has (most) strength can perceive the (force of) will (required for their discharge). The propriety that regulates them, and the righteousness that maintains their correctness, may be examined by filial sons, deferential younger brothers, and pure-minded virgins.

THE XIAO JING

or: The Hsiao Ching / The Classic of Filial Piety
From: The Sacred Books of the East:
The Texts of Confucianism, Vol. 3, Part 1:
The Shu King, The Religious Portions
of the Shih King, The Hsiao King
2nd edition, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899, p. 465-488.
Romanisation: Pinyin
Translation: James Legge, 1899
Estimated Range of Dating: 4th century B.C.

(The Classic of Filial Piety, also known by its Chinese name as the Xiaojing, is a Confucian classic treatise giving advice on filial piety: that is, how to behave towards a senior such as a father, an elder brother, or a ruler. The text was most likely composed during the late Warring States period in about the 4th century BC. It claims to be a conversation between Confucius (Kongfuzi, Kongzi) and his student Zengzi. The text was widely used during the Han and later dynasties to teach young children basic moral messages as they learnt to read. It is not known who actually wrote the document. The 12th-century author named He Yin claimed that The Classic of Filial Piety was not made by Zengzi himself.

As the title suggests, the text elaborates on filial piety, which is a core Confucian value. The text argues that if a person loves and serves their parents then they will do the same for their rulers, leading to a harmonious society. The Classic of Filial Piety occupied an important position in classical education as one of the most popular foundational texts through to late imperial China. The text was used in elementary and moral education together with the Analects, Elementary Learning, and the Biographies of Exemplary Women. Study of the text was also mentioned in epitaphs as an indication of a person's good character. It was a practice to read aloud the text when mourning one's parents. The text was also important politically, partly because filial piety was both a means of demonstrating moral virtue and entering officialdom for those with family connections to the imperial court. The text was important in Neo-Confucianism which is a moral, ethical, and metaphysical Chinese philosophy influenced by Confucianism, and originated with Han Yu and Li Ao (772–841 AD) in the Tang Dynasty, and became prominent during the Song and Ming dynasties under the formulations of Zhu Xi.)

FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 1

The Scope and Meaning of the Treatise

Once, when Zhong Ni (another name for "Kong Zi", Confucius, the Master) was unoccupied, and his disciple Zeng (a disciple of Confucius) was sitting by in attendance on him, the Master said, "The ancient kings had a perfect virtue and all-embracing rule of conduct, through which they were in accord with all under heaven. By the practice of it the people were brought to live in peace and harmony, and there was no ill-will between superiors and inferiors. Do you know what it was?"

Zeng rose from his mat and said, "How should I, Shen, who am so devoid of intelligence, be able to know this?"

The Master said, "It was filial piety. Now filial piety is the root of "all virtue" (meaning: the five virtuous principles, the constituents of humanity: benevolence, righteousness, propriety, knowledge, and fidelity), and the stem out of which grows all moral teaching. Sit down again, and I will explain the subject to you. Our bodies—to every hair and bit of skin—are received by us from our parents, and we must not presume to injure or wound them. This is the beginning of filial piety. When we have established our character by the practice of the filial course, so as to make our name famous in future ages and thereby glorify our parents, this is the end of filial piety. It commences with the service of parents; it proceeds to the service of the ruler; it is completed by the establishment of character.

"It is said in the Major Odes of the Kingdom: Ever think of your ancestor, Cultivating your virtue."

FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 2

Filial Piety in the Son of Heaven

The Master said, "He who loves his parents will not dare to incur the risk of being hated by any man, and he who reveres his parents will not dare (to incur the risk of) being contemned by any man. When the love and reverence of the Son of Heaven are thus carried to the utmost in the service of his parents, the lessons of his virtue affect all the people, and he becomes a pattern to all within the four seas. This is the filial piety of the Son of Heaven.

"It is said in the "Marquis of Fu" on Punishments: The One man will have felicity, and the millions of the people will depend on what ensures his happiness."

FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 3

Filial Piety in the Princes of States

"Above others, and yet free from pride, they dwell on high, without peril. Adhering to economy and carefully observant of the rules and laws, they are full, without overflowing. To dwell on high without peril is the way long to preserve nobility; to be full without overflowing is the way long to preserve riches. When their riches and nobility do not leave their persons, then they are able to preserve the altars of their land and grain, and to secure the harmony of their people and men in office*. This is the filial piety of the princes of states.

"It is said in the Book of Poetry: Be apprehensive, be cautious, As if on the brink of a deep abyss, As if treading on thin ice."

(* Notes: The king had a great altar to the spirit (or spirits) presiding over the land. The color of the earth in the center of it was yellow; that on each of its four sides differed according to the colors assigned to the four quarters of the sky. A portion of this earth was cut away and formed the nucleus of a corresponding altar in each feudal state, according to their position relative to the capital. The prince of the state had the prerogative of sacrificing there. A similar rule prevailed for the altars to the spirits presiding over the grain. So long as a family ruled in a state, so long its chief offered those sacrifices; and the extinction of the sacrifices was an emphatic way of describing the ruin and extinction of the ruling house.)

FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER4

Filial Piety in High Ministers and Great Officers

"They do not presume to wear robes other than those appointed by the laws of the ancient kings, nor to speak words other than those sanctioned by their speech, nor to exhibit conduct other than that exemplified by their virtuous ways. Thus none of their words being contrary to those sanctions, and none of their actions contrary to the right way, from their mouths there comes no exceptionable speech, and in their conduct there are found no exceptionable actions. Their words may fill all under heaven, and no error of speech will be found in them. Their actions may fill all under heaven, and no dissatisfaction or dislike will be awakened by them. When these three things—(their robes, their words, and their conduct)—are all complete as they should be, they can then preserve their ancestral temples*. This is the filial piety of high ministers and great officers.

"It is said in the Book of Poetry: He is never idle, day or night, In the service of the One man."

(* Notes: Their ancestral temples were to the ministers and grand officers what the altars of their land and grain were to the feudal lords. Every great officer had three temples or shrines, in which he sacrificed to the first chief of his family or clan, to his grandfather, and to his father. While these remained, the family remained, and its honors were prepetuated.)

FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 5

Filial Piety in Inferior Officers

"As they serve their fathers, so they serve their mothers, and they love them equally. As they serve their fathers, so they serve their rulers, and they reverence them equally. Hence love is what is chiefly rendered to the mother, and reverence is what is chiefly rendered to the ruler, while both of these things are given to the father. Therefore when they serve their ruler with filial piety, they are loyal; when they serve their superiors with reverence, they are obedient. Not failing in this loyalty and obedience in serving those above them, they are then able to preserve their emoluments and positions, and to maintain their sacrifices (These officers had their 'positions' or places, and their pay. They had also their sacrifices, but such as were private or personal to themselves.). This is the filial piety of inferior officers*.

"It is said in the Book of Poetry: Rising early and going to sleep late, Do not disgrace those who gave you birth."

(* Notes: not 'scholar,' a more modern meaning of shi. The shi of feudal China were the younger sons of the higher classes, and men that by their ability were rising out of the lower, and who were all in inferior situations and looking forward to offices of trust in the service of the royal court or of their several states. When the feudal system had passed away, the class of 'scholars' gradually took their place.)

FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 6

Filial Piety in the Common People

"They follow the course of heaven (in the revolving seasons); they distinguish the advantages afforded by (different) soils; they are careful of their conduct and economical in their expenditure—in order to nourish their parents. This is the filial piety of the common people.

"Therefore from the Son of Heaven down to the common people, there never has been one whose filial piety was without its beginning and end on whom calamity did not come." (Notes: This chapter is the end of what Zhu Xi regarded as the only portion of the Xiao that came directly from Confucius. The chapters that follow lack the sequence of the foregoing.)

FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 7

Filial Piety in Relation to the Three Powers (Heaven, Earth, Man)

The disciple Zeng said, "Immense indeed is the greatness of filial piety!" The Master replied, "Yes, filial piety is the constant (method) of Heaven, the righteousness of Earth, and the practical duty of Man. Heaven and earth invariably pursue the course (that may be thus described), and the people take it as their pattern. (The ancient kings) imitated the brilliant luminaries of heaven and acted in accordance with the (varying) advantages afforded by earth, so that they were in accord with all under heaven, and in consequence their teachings, without being severe, were successful, and their government, without being rigorous, secured perfect order.

"The ancient kings, seeing how their teachings could transform the people, set before them therefore an example of the most extended love, and none of the people neglected their parents. They set forth to them (the nature of) virtue and righteousness, and the people roused themselves to the practice of them. They went before them with reverence and yielding courtesy, and the people had no contentions. They led them on by the rules of propriety and by music, and the people were harmonious and benignant. They showed them what they loved and what they disliked, and the people understood their prohibitions.

"It is said in the Book of Poetry: Awe-inspiring are you, O Grand-Master Yin, And the people all look up to you."

FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 8

Filial Piety in Government

The Master said, "Anciently, when the intelligent kings by means of filial piety ruled all under heaven, they did not dare to receive with disrespect the ministers of small states. How much less would they do so to the dukes, marquises, counts, and barons! Thus it was that they got (the princes of) the myriad states with joyful hearts (to assist them) in the (sacrificial) services to their royal predecessors.

"The rulers of states did not dare to slight wifeless men and widows. How much less would they slight their officers and the people! Thus it was that they got all their people with joyful hearts (to assist them) in serving the rulers, their predecessors.

"The heads of clans did not dare to slight their servants and concubines. How much less would they slight their wives and sons! Thus it was that they got their men with joyful hearts (to assist them) in the service of their parents.

"In such a state of things, while alive, parents reposed in (the glory of) their sons, and, when sacrificed to, their disembodied spirits enjoyed their offerings. Therefore for all under heaven peace and harmony prevailed; disasters and calamities did not occur; misfortunes and rebellions did not arise.

"It is said in the Book of Poetry: To an upright, virtuous conduct All in the four quarters of the state render obedient homage."

FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 9

The Government of the Sages (i.e., the sovereigns of antiquity)

The disciple Zeng said, "I venture to ask whether in the virtue of the sages there was not something greater than filial piety." The Master replied, "Of all creatures with their different natures produced by Heaven and Earth, man is the noblest. Of all the actions of man there is none greater than filial piety. In filial piety there is nothing greater than the reverential awe of one's father. In the reverential awe shown to one's father there is nothing greater than the making him the correlate of Heaven*. The duke of Zhou was the man who first did this. "Formerly the duke of Zhou at the border altar sacrificed to Hou Ji as the correlate of Heaven, and in the Brilliant Hall he honored king Wen and sacrificed to him as

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the correlate of God. The consequence was that from all the states within the four seas, every (prince) came in the discharge of his duty to assist in those sacrifices. In the virtue of the sages what besides was there greater than filial piety?

"Now the feeling of affection grows up at the parents' knees, and as (the duty of) nourishing those parents is exercised, the affection daily merges in awe. The sages proceeded from the (feeling of) awe to teach (the duties of) reverence, and from that of affection to teach those of love. The teachings of the sages, without being severe, were successful, and their government, without being rigorous, was effective. What they proceeded from was the root of filial piety implanted by Heaven.

"The relation and duties between father and son, (thus belonging to) the Heaven-conferred nature, contain in them the principle of righteousness between ruler and subject. The son derives his life from his parents, and no greater gift could possibly be transmitted. His ruler and parent (in one), his father deals with him accordingly, and no generosity could be greater than this. Hence, he who does not love his parents, but loves other men, is called a rebel against virtue, and he who does not revere his parents, but reveres other men, is called a rebel against propriety. When the ruler himself thus acts contrary to (the principles) which should place him in accord with all men, he presents nothing for the people to imitate. He has nothing to do with what is good, but entirely and only with what is injurious to virtue. Though he may get his will, and be above others, the superior man does not give him his approval.

"It is not so with the superior man. He speaks, having thought whether the words should be spoken; he acts, having thought whether his actions are sure to give pleasure. His virtue and righteousness are such as will be honored; what he initiates and does is fit to be imitated; his deportment is worthy of contemplation; his movements in advancing or retiring are all according to the proper rule. In this way does he present himself to the people, who both revere and love him, imitate and become like him. Thus he is able to make his teaching of virtue successful, and his government and orders to be carried into effect.

"It is said in the Book of Poetry: The virtuous man, the princely one, Has nothing wrong in his deportment."

(* pei tian = correlate of heaven. This phrase is used with reference to the virtue of a sovereign, making him as it were the mate of God, ruling on earth as God rules above, and with reference to the honors paid to a departed sovereign, when he is associated with God in the great sacrificial services. In the next paragraph, 'correlate of God' renders pei shang di.)

FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 10

An Orderly Description of the Acts of Filial Piety

The Master said, "The service which a filial son does to his parents is as follows: In his general conduct to them, he manifests the utmost reverence. In his nourishing of them, his endeavor is to give them the utmost pleasure. When they are ill, he feels the greatest anxiety. In mourning for them (dead), he exhibits every demonstration of grief. In sacrificing to them, he displays the utmost solemnity. When a son is complete in these five things, (he may be pronounced) able to serve his parents.

"He who (thus) serves his parents, in a high situation will be free from pride, in a low situation will be free from insubordination, and among his equals will not be quarrelsome. In a high situation pride leads to ruin; in a low situation insubordination leads to punishment; among equals quarrelsomeness leads to the wielding of weapons. If those three things be not put away, though a son every day contribute beef, mutton, and pork to nourish his parents, he is not filial."

FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 11

Filial Piety in Relation to the Five Punishments

The Master said, "There are three thousand offenses against which the five punishments are directed,1 and there is not one of them greater than being unfilial.

"When constraint is put upon a ruler, that is the disowning of his superiority. When the authority of the sages is disallowed, that is the disowning of (all) law. When filial piety is put aside, that is the disowning of the principle of affection. These (three things) pave the way to anarchy."

FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 12

Amplification of "The All-embracing Rule of Conduct" in Chapter I

The Master said, "For teaching the people to be affectionate and loving, there is nothing better than filial piety. For teaching them (the observance of) propriety and submissiveness, there is nothing better than fraternal duty. For changing their manners and altering their customs, there is nothing better than music. For securing the repose of superiors and the good order of the people, there is nothing better than the rules of propriety.

"The rules of propriety are simply (the development of) the principle of reverence. Therefore the reverence paid to a father makes (all) sons pleased. The reverence paid to an elder brother makes (all) younger brothers pleased. The reverence paid to a ruler makes (all) subjects pleased. The reverence paid to the One man makes thousands and myriads of men pleased. The reverence is paid to a few, and the pleasure extends to many. This is what is meant by an 'All-embracing Rule of Conduct.'"

FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 13

Amplification of 'the Perfect Virtue' in Chapter I

The Master said, "The teaching of filial piety by the superior man1 does not require that he should go to family after family and daily see the members of each. His teaching of filial piety is a tribute of reverence to all the fathers under heaven. His teaching of fraternal submission is a tribute of reverence to all the elder brothers under heaven. His teaching of the duty of a subject is a tribute of reverence to all the rulers under heaven.

"It is said in the Book of Poetry: The happy and courteous sovereign Is the parent of the people.

"If it were not a perfect virtue, how could it be recognized as in accordance with their nature by the people so extensively as this?"

FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER14

XIV Amplification of "Making our Name Famous" in Chapter I

The Master said, "The filial piety with which the superior man serves his parents may be transferred as loyalty to the ruler. The fraternal duty with which he serves his elder brother may be transferred as submissive deference to elders. His regulation of his family may be transferred as good government in any official position. Therefore, when his conduct is thus successful in his inner (private) circle, his name will be established (and transmitted) to future generations."

FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 15

XV Filial Piety in Relation to Reproof and Remonstrance

The disciple Zeng said, "I have heard your instructions on the affection of love, on respect and reverence, on giving repose to (the minds of) our parents, and on making our names famous. I would venture to ask if (simple) obedience to the orders of one's father can be pronounced filial piety."

The Master replied, "What words are these! What words are these! Anciently, if the Son of Heaven had seven ministers who would remonstrate with him, although he had not right methods of government, he would not lose his possession of the kingdom. If the prince of a state had five such ministers, though his measures might be equally wrong, he would not lose his state. If a great officer had three, he would not, in a similar case, lose (the headship of) his clan. If an inferior officer had a friend who would remonstrate with him, a good name would not cease to be connected with his character. And the father who had a son that would remonstrate with him would not sink into the gulf of unrighteous deeds. Therefore when a case of unrighteous conduct is concerned, a son must by no means keep from remonstrating with his father, nor a minister from remonstrating with his ruler. Hence, since remonstrance is required in the case of unrighteous conduct, how can (simple) obedience to the orders of a father be accounted filial piety?"1

FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 16

XVI The Influence of Filial Piety and the Response to It

The Master said, "Anciently, the intelligent kings served their fathers with filial piety, and therefore they served Heaven with intelligence. They served their mothers with filial piety, and therefore they served Earth with discrimination. They pursued the right course with reference to their own seniors and juniors, and therefore they secured the regulation of the relations between superiors and inferiors throughout the kingdom. When Heaven and Earth were served with intelligence and discrimination, the spiritual intelligences displayed their retributive power (The "spiritual intelligences" here are Heaven and Earth conceived of as spiritual beings.).

"Therefore even the Son of Heaven must have some whom he honors; that is, he has his uncles of his surname. He must have some to whom he concedes the precedence; that is, he has his cousins, who bear the same surname and are older than himself. In the ancestral temple he manifests the utmost reverence, showing that he does not forget his parents. He cultivates his person and is careful of his conduct, fearing lest he should disgrace his predecessors. When in the ancestral temple he exhibits the utmost reverence, the spirits of the departed manifest themselves. Perfect filial piety and fraternal duty reach to (and move) the spiritual intelligences and diffuse their light on all within the four seas. They penetrate everywhere.

"It is said in the Book of Poetry: From the west to the east, From the south to the north, There was not a thought but did him homage."

FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 17

The Service of the Ruler

The Master said, "The superior man1 serves his ruler in such a way that, when at court in his presence, his thought is how to discharge his loyal duty to the utmost, and when he retires from it, his thought is how to amend his errors. He carries out with deference the measures springing from his excellent qualities and rectifies him (only) to save him from what are evil. Hence, as the superior and inferior, they are able to have an affection for each other.

"It is said in the Book of Poetry: In my heart I love him, And why should I not say so? In the core of my heart I keep him, And never will forget him."

FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 18

Filial Piety in Mourning for Parents

The Master said, "When a filial son is mourning for a parent, he wails, but not with a prolonged sobbing. In the movements of ceremony he pays no attention to his appearance. His words are without elegance of phrase. He cannot bear to wear fine clothes. When he hears music, he feels no delight. When he eats a delicacy, he is not conscious of its flavor. Such is the nature of grief and sorrow.

"After three days he may partake of food, for thus the people are taught that the living should not be injured on account of the dead, and that emaciation must not be carried to the extinction of life. Such is the rule of the sages. The period of mourning does not go beyond three years, to show the people that it must have an end.

"An inner and outer coffin are made; the grave-clothes also are put on, and the shroud; and (the body) is lifted (into the coffin). The sacrificial vessels, round and square, are (regularly) set forth, and (the sight of them) fills (the mourners) with (fresh) distress. The women beat their breasts, and the men stamp with their feet, wailing and weeping, while they sorrowfully escort the coffin to the grave. They consult the tortoise-shell to determine the grave and the ground about it, and there they lay the body in peace. They prepare the ancestral temple (to receive the tablet of the departed), and there they present offerings to the disembodied spirit. In spring and autumn they offer sacrifices, thinking of the deceased as the seasons come round.

"The services of love and reverence to parents when alive, and those of grief and sorrow to them when dead: these completely discharge the fundamental duty of living men. The righteous claims of life and death are all satisfied, and the filial son's service of his parents is completed."

THE MENGZI

The Works of Master Meng, or: Meng-tzu / Mencius
From: Sacred Books of the East, Vol 28
Romanisation: Pinyin
Translation: James Legge, 1861
Estimated Range of Dating: 350-300 BC.

(The Mencius (Chinese: Mengzi) is a collection of anecdotes and conversations of the Confucian thinker and philosopher Mencius on topics in moral and political philosophy, often between Mencius and the rulers of the various Warring States. Mencius was a disciple of one of the students of Zisi, a grandson of Confucius, and the Mencius records his travels and audiences with the various rulers of the Warring States period, his students, and his other contemporaries. A number of linguistic and textual clues suggest that the text was not written by Mencius himself but by his disciples, probably during the late 4th century BC.

The Mencius comprises 14 chapters, or more precisely 7 double chapters (Liang Hui Wang 1, 2; Gong Sun Chou 1, 2; Teng Wen Gong 1, 2; Li Lou 1, 2; Wan Zhang 1, 2; Gaozi 1, 2; Jin Xin 1, 2.), with alternating short sayings and extensive dialogues on specific philosophical arguments. Its fundamental positions, such as Mencius' famous argument in chapter 6A that human nature is inherently good, are usually presented as conversations between Mencius and contemporaneous thinkers, while arguments on specific issues usually appear in records of his advice and counsel to various rulers. His argument that inborn potential tends towards virtue contrasts with the position of contemporary figure Yang Zhu who argued that that human nature is motivated by self interest.

The Mencius was one of the most important texts of early Confucianism, and represents a notable advance over the Analects of Confucius (Lunyu) in terms of sophistication of argument. Notwithstanding its early importance to Confucianism, the Mencius was not canonised as one of the Chinese Classics until over 1,000 years later in Song dynasty Neo-Confucianism.

Mencius (Mengzi or Meng-tzu; 372–289 BC or 385–303 or 302 BC) was a Chinese philosopher who has often been described as the "second Sage", that is after only Confucius himself.

Mencius, also known by his birth name Meng Ke, was born in the State of Zou, now forming the territory of the county-

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level city of Zoucheng (originally Zouxian), Shandong Province, only thirty kilometres (eighteen miles) south of Qufu, Confucius's birthplace.

He was an itinerant Chinese philosopher and sage, and one of the principal interpreters of Confucianism. Supposedly, he was a pupil of Confucius's grandson, Zisi. Like Confucius, according to legend, he travelled throughout China for forty years to offer advice to rulers for reform.[4] During the Warring States period (403–221 BC), Mencius served as an official and scholar at the Jixia Academy in the State of Qi (1046 BC to 221 BC) from 319 to 312 BC. He expressed his filial devotion when he took three years leave of absence from his official duties for Qi to mourn his mother's death. Disappointed at his failure to effect changes in his contemporary world, he retired from public life.

Mencius emphasised the significance of the common citizens in the state. While Confucianism generally regards rulers highly, he argued that it is acceptable for the subjects to overthrow or even kill a ruler who ignores the people's needs and rules harshly. This is because a ruler who does not rule justly is no longer a true ruler. Speaking of the overthrow of the wicked King Zhou of Shang, Mencius said, "I have merely heard of killing a villain Zhou, but I have not heard of murdering [him as] the ruler."

This saying should not be taken as an instigation to violence against authorities but as an application of Confucian philosophy to society. Confucianism requires a clarification of what may be reasonably expected in any given relationship. All relationships should be beneficial, but each has its own principle or inner logic. A Ruler must justify his position by acting benevolently before he can expect reciprocation from the people. In this view, a King is like a steward. Mencius's argument that unjust rulers may be overthrown is reminiscent of Socrates's argument in Book I of Plato's Republic. Plato (Platon) lived at the same time (428/427 or 424/423 – 348/347 BC).)

MENGZI CHAPTER 1 Liang Hui Wang 1

1 Mencius went to see king Hui of Liang. The king said, 'Venerable sir, since you have not counted it far to come here, a distance of a thousand li, may I presume that you are provided with counsels to profit my kingdom?'

Mencius replied, 'Why must your Majesty use that word "profit?" What I am provided with, are counsels to benevolence and righteousness, and these are my only topics. 'If your Majesty say, "What is to be done to profit my kingdom?" the great officers will say, "What is to be done to profit our families?" and the inferior officers and the common people will say, "What is to be done to profit our persons?" Superiors and inferiors will try to snatch this profit the one from the other, and the kingdom will be endangered. In the kingdom of ten thousand chariots, the murderer of his sovereign shall be the chief of a family of a thousand chariots. In the kingdom of a thousand chariots, the murderer of his prince shall be the chief of a family of a hundred chariots. To have a thousand in ten thousand, and a hundred in a thousand, cannot be said not to be a large allotment, but if righteousness be put last, and profit be put first, they will not be satisfied without snatching all. There never has been a benevolent man who neglected his parents. There never has been a righteous man who made his sovereign an after consideration. Let your Majesty also say, "Benevolence and righteousness, and let these be your only themes." Why must you use that word - "profit?".'

2 Mencius, another day, saw King Hui of Liang. The king went and stood with him by a pond, and, looking round at the large geese and deer, said, 'Do wise and good princes also find pleasure in these things?'

Mencius replied, 'Being wise and good, they have pleasure in these things. If they are not wise and good, though they have these things, they do not find pleasure. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "He measured out and commenced his marvellous tower; He measured it out and planned it. The people addressed themselves to it, And in less than a day completed it. When he measured and began it, he said to them - Be not so earnest: But the multitudes came as if they had been his children. The king was in his marvellous park; The does reposed about, The does so sleek and fat: And the white birds came glistening. The king was by his marvellous pond; How full was it of fishes leaping about!" King Wen used the strength of the people to make his tower and his pond, and yet the people rejoiced to do the work, calling the tower "the marvellous tower," calling the pond "the marvellous pond," and rejoicing that he had his large deer, his fishes, and turtles. The ancients caused the people to have pleasure as well as themselves, and therefore they could enjoy it. In the Declaration of Tang it is said, "O sun, when wilt thou expire? We will die together with thee." The people wished for Jie's death, though they should die with him. Although he had towers, ponds, birds, and animals, how could he have pleasure alone?'

3 King Hui of Liang said, 'Small as my virtue is, in the government of my kingdom, I do indeed exert my mind to the utmost. If the year be bad on the inside of the river, I remove as many of the people as I can to the east of the river, and convey grain to the country in the inside. When the year is bad on the east of the river, I act on the same plan. On examining the government of the neighbouring kingdoms, I do not find that there is any prince who exerts his mind as I do. And yet the people of the neighbouring kingdoms do not decrease, nor do my people increase. How is this?'

Mencius replied, 'Your majesty is fond of war - let me take an illustration from war. The soldiers move forward to the sound of the drums; and after their weapons have been crossed, on one side they throw away their coats of mail, trail their arms behind them, and run. Some run a hundred paces and stop; some run fifty paces and stop. What would you think if those who run fifty paces were to laugh at those who run a hundred paces?'

The king said, 'They should not do so. Though they did not run a hundred paces, yet they also ran away.'

'Since your Majesty knows this,' replied Mencius, 'you need not hope that your people will become more numerous than those of the neighbouring kingdoms. If the seasons of husbandry be not interfered with, the grain will be more than can be eaten. If close nets are not allowed to enter the pools and ponds, the fishes and turtles will be more than can be consumed. If the axes and bills enter the hills and forests only at the proper time, the wood will be more than can be used. When the grain and fish and turtles are more than can be eaten, and there is more wood than can be used, this enables the people to nourish their living and mourn for their dead, without any feeling against any. This condition, in which the people nourish their living and bury their dead without any feeling against any, is the first step of royal government. Let mulberry trees be planted about the homesteads with their five mu, and persons of fifty years may be clothed with silk. In keeping fowls, pigs, dogs, and swine, let not their times of breeding be neglected, and persons of seventy years may eat flesh. Let there not be taken away the time that is proper for the cultivation of the farm with its hundred mu, and the family of several mouths that is supported by it shall not suffer from hunger. Let careful attention be paid to education in schools, inculcating in it especially the filial and fraternal duties, and grey-haired men will not be seen upon the roads, carrying burdens on their backs or on their heads. It never has been that the ruler of a State, where such results were seen - persons of seventy wearing silk and eating flesh, and the black-haired people suffering neither from hunger nor cold - did not attain to the royal dignity.'

'Your dogs and swine eat the food of men, and you do not make any restrictive arrangements. There are people dying from famine on the roads, and you do not issue the stores of your granaries for them. When people die, you say, "It is not owing to me; it is owing to the year." In what does this differ from stabbing a man and killing him, and then saying - "It was not I; it was the weapon?" Let your Majesty cease to lay the blame on the year, and instantly from all the nation the people will come to you.'

4 King Hui of Liang said, 'I wish quietly to receive your instructions.'

Mencius replied, 'Is there any difference between killing a man with a stick and with a sword ?'

The king said, 'There is no difference!'

'Is there any difference between doing it with a sword and with the style of government?'

'There is no difference,' was the reply.

Mencius then said, 'In your kitchen there is fat meat; in your stables there are fat horses. But your people have the look of hunger, and on the wilds there are those who have died of famine. This is leading on beasts to devour men. Beasts devour one another, and men hate them for doing so. When a prince, being the parent of his people, administers his government so as to be chargeable with leading on beasts to devour men, where is his parental relation to the people? Zhong Ni said, 'Was he not without posterity who first made wooden images to bury with the dead? So he said, because that man made the semblances of men, and used them for that purpose - what shall be thought of him who causes his people to die of hunger?'

5 King Hui of Liang said, 'There was not in the nation a stronger State than Jin, as you, venerable Sir, know. But since it descended to me, on the east we have been defeated by Qi, and then my eldest son perished; on the west we have lost seven hundred li of territory to Qin; and on the south we have sustained disgrace at the hands of Chu. I have brought shame on my departed predecessors, and wish on their account to wipe it away, once for all. What course is to be pursued to accomplish this?'

Mencius replied, 'With a territory which is only a hundred li square, it is possible to attain to the royal dignity. If Your Majesty will indeed dispense a benevolent government to the people, being sparing in the use of punishments and fines, and making the taxes and levies light, so causing that the fields shall be ploughed deep, and the weeding of them be carefully attended to, and that the strong-bodied, during their days of leisure, shall cultivate their filial piety, fraternal respectfulness, sincerity, and truthfulness, serving thereby, at home, their fathers and elder brothers, and, abroad, their elders and superiors, you will then have a people who can be employed, with sticks which they have prepared, to oppose the strong mail and sharp weapons of the troops of Qin and Chu. The rulers of those States rob their people of their time, so that they cannot plough and weed their fields, in order to support their parents. Their parents suffer from cold and hunger. Brothers, wives, and children are separated and scattered abroad. Those rulers, as it were, drive their people into pit-falls, or drown them. Your Majesty will go to punish them. In such a case, who will oppose your Majesty? In accordance with this is the saying, "The benevolent has no enemy." I beg your Majesty not to doubt what I say.'

6 Mencius went to see the king Xiang of Liang. On coming out from the interview, he said to some persons, 'When I looked at him from a distance, he did not appear like a sovereign; when I drew near to him, I saw nothing venerable about him. Abruptly he asked me, "How can the kingdom be settled?" I replied, "It will be settled by being united under one sway."

'"Who can so unite it?" I replied, "He who has no pleasure in killing men can so unite it."'

'"Who can give it to him?" I replied, " All the people of the nation will unanimously give it to him. Does your Majesty understand the way of the growing grain? During the seventh and eighth months, when drought prevails, the plants become dry. Then the clouds collect densely in the heavens, they send down torrents of rain, and the grain erects itself, as if by a shoot. When it does so, who can keep it back? Now among the shepherds of men throughout the nation, there is not one who does not find pleasure in killing men. If there were one who did not find pleasure in killing men, all the people in the nation would look towards him with outstretched necks. Such being indeed the case, the people would flock to him, as water flows downwards with a rush, which no one can repress."'

7 The king Xuan of Qi asked, saying, 'May I be informed by you of the transactions of Huan of Qi, and Wen of Jin?'

Mencius replied, 'There were none of the disciples of Zhong Ni who spoke about the affairs of Huan and Wen, and therefore they have not been transmitted to these after-ages - your servant has not heard them. If you will have me speak, let it be about royal government.'

The king said, 'What virtue must there be in order to attain to royal sway?'

Mencius answered, 'The love and protection of the people; with this there is no power which can prevent a ruler from attaining to it.'

The king asked again, 'Is such an one as I competent to love and protect the people?'

Mencius said, 'Yes.'

'How do you know that I am competent for that?'

'I heard the following incident from Hu He: "The king," said he, "was sitting aloft in the hall, when a man appeared, leading an ox past the lower part of it. The king saw him, and asked, Where is the ox going? The man replied, We are going to consecrate a bell with its blood. The king said, Let it go. I cannot bear its frightened appearance, as if it were an innocent person going to the place of death. The man answered, Shall we then omit the consecration of the bell ? The king said, How can that be omitted? Change it for a sheep." I do not know whether this incident really occurred.'

The king replied, 'It did,' and then Mencius said, 'The heart seen in this is sufficient to carry you to the royal sway. The people all supposed that your Majesty grudged the animal, but your servant knows surely, that it was your Majesty's not being able to bear the sight, which made you do as you did.'

The king said, 'You are right. And yet there really was an appearance of what the people condemned. But though Qi be a small and narrow State, how should I grudge one ox? Indeed it was because I could not bear its frightened appearance, as if it were an innocent person going to the place of death, that therefore I changed it for a sheep.'

Mencius pursued, 'Let not your Majesty deem it strange that the people should think you were grudging the animal. When you changed a large one for a small, how should they know the true reason? If you felt pained by its being led without guilt to the place of death, what was there to choose between an ox and a sheep?

The king laughed and said, 'What really was my mind in the matter? I did not grudge the expense of it, and changed it for a sheep! There was reason in the people's saying that I grudged it.'

'There is no harm in their saying so,' said Mencius. 'Your conduct was an artifice of benevolence. You saw the ox, and had not seen the sheep. So is the superior man affected towards animals, that, having seen them alive, he cannot bear to see them die; having heard their dying cries, he cannot bear to eat their flesh. Therefore he keeps away from his slaughter-house and cook-room.'

The king was pleased, and said, 'It is said in the Book of Poetry, "The minds of others, I am able by reflection to measure;" - this is verified, my Master, in your discovery of my motive. I indeed did the thing, but when I turned my thoughts inward, and examined into it, I could not discover

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my own mind. When you, Master, spoke those words, the movements of compassion began to work in my mind. How is it that this heart has in it what is equal to the royal sway?'

Mencius replied, 'Suppose a man were to make this statement to your Majesty: "My strength is sufficient to lift three thousand catties, but it is not sufficient to lift one feather; my eyesight is sharp enough to examine the point of an autumn hair, but I do not see a waggon-load of faggots;" would your Majesty allow what he said?'

'No,' was the answer, on which Mencius proceeded, 'Now here is kindness sufficient to reach to animals, and no benefits are extended from it to the people. How is this? Is an exception to be made here? The truth is, the feather is not lifted , because strength is not used; the waggon-load of firewood is not seen, because the eyesight is not used; and the people are not loved and protected, because kindness is not employed. Therefore your Majesty's not exercising the royal sway, is because you do not do it, not because you are not able to do it.'

The king asked, 'How may the difference between the not doing a thing, and the not being able to do it, be represented?

Mencius replied,'In such a thing as taking the Tai mountain under your arm, and leaping over the north sea with it, if you say to people "I am not able to do it," that is a real case of not being able. In such a matter as breaking off a branch from a tree at the order of a superior, if you say to people "I am not able to do it," that is a case of not doing it, it is not a case of not being able to do it. Therefore your Majesty's not exercising the royal sway, is not such a case as that of taking the Tai mountain under your arm, and leaping over the north sea with it. Your Majesty's not exercising the royal sway is a case like that of breaking off a branch from a tree. Treat with the reverence due to age the elders in your own family, so that the elders in the families of others shall be similarly treated; treat with the kindness due to youth the young in your own family, so that the young in the families of others shall be similarly treated - do this, and the kingdom may be made to go round in your palm. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "His example affected his wife. It reached to his brothers, and his family of the State was governed by it." The language shows how king Wen simply took his kindly heart, and exercised it towards those parties. Therefore the carrying out his kindness of heart by a prince will suffice for the love and protection of all within the four seas, and if he do not carry it out, he will not be able to protect his wife and children. The way in which the ancients came greatly to surpass other men, was no other but this - simply that they knew well how to carry out, so as to affect others, what they themselves did. Now your kindness is sufficient to reach to animals, and no benefits are extended from it to reach the people. How is this? Is an exception to be made here? By weighing, we know what things are light, and what heavy. By measuring, we know what things are long, and what short. The relations of all things may be thus determined, and it is of the greatest importance to estimate the motions of the mind. I beg your Majesty to measure it. You collect your equipments of war, endanger your soldiers and officers, and excite the resentment of the other princes - do these things cause you pleasure in your mind?'

The king replied, 'No. How should I derive pleasure from these things? My object in them is to seek for what I greatly desire.'

Mencius said, 'May I hear from you what it is that you greatly desire?' The king laughed and did not speak.

Mencius resumed, 'Are you led to desire it, because you have not enough of rich and sweet food for your mouth? Or because you have not enough of light and warm clothing for your body? Or because you have not enough of beautifully coloured objects to delight your eyes? Or because you have not voices and tones enough to please your ears? Or because you have not enough of attendants and favourites to stand before you and receive your orders? Your Majesty's various officers are sufficient to supply you with those things. How can your Majesty be led to entertain such a desire on account of them?'

'No,' said the king; 'my desire is not on account of them.'

Mencius added, 'Then, what your Majesty greatly desires may be known. You wish to enlarge your territories, to have Qin and Chu wait at your court, to rule the Middle Kingdom, and to attract to you the barbarous tribes that surround it. But doing what you do to seek for what you desire is like climbing a tree to seek for fish.'

The king said, 'Is it so bad as that?'

'It is even worse,' was the reply. 'If you climb a tree to seek for fish, although you do not get the fish, you will not suffer any subsequent calamity. But doing what you do to seek for what you desire, doing it moreover with all your heart, you will assuredly afterwards meet with calamities.'

The king asked, 'May I hear from you the proof of that?'

Mencius said, 'If the people of Zou should fight with the people of Chu, which of them does your Majesty think would conquer?'

'The people of Chu would conquer.'

'Yes - and so it is certain that a small country cannot contend with a great, that few cannot contend with many, that the weak cannot contend with the strong. The territory within the four seas embraces nine divisions, each of a thousand li square. All Qi together is but one of them. If with one part you try to subdue the other eight, what is the difference between that and Zou's contending with Chu? For, with such a desire, you must turn back to the proper course for its attainment. Now if your Majesty will institute a government whose action shall be benevolent, this will cause all the officers in the kingdom to wish to stand in your Majesty's court, and all the farmers to wish to plough in your Majesty's fields, and all the merchants, both travelling and stationary, to wish to store their goods in your Majesty's market-places, and all travelling strangers to wish to make their tours on your Majesty's roads, and all throughout the kingdom who feel aggrieved by their rulers to wish to come and complain to your Majesty. And when they are so bent, who will be able to keep them back?'

The king said, 'I am stupid, and not able to advance to this. I wish you, my Master, to assist my intentions. Teach me clearly; although I am deficient in intelligence and vigour, I will essay and try to carry your instructions into effect.'

Mencius replied, 'They are only men of education, who, without a certain livelihood, are able to maintain a fixed heart. As to the people, if they have not a certain livelihood, it follows that they will not have a fixed heart. And if they have not a fixed heart, there is nothing which they will not do, in the way of self-abandonment, of moral deflection, of depravity, and of wild license. When they thus have been involved in crime, to follow them up and punish them - this is to entrap the people. How can such a thing as entrapping the people be done under the rule of a benevolent man? Therefore an intelligent ruler will regulate the livelihood of the people, so as to make sure that, for those above them, they shall have sufficient wherewith to serve their parents, and, for those below them, sufficient wherewith to support their wives and children; that in good years they shall always be abundantly satisfied, and that in bad years they shall escape the danger of perishing. After this he may urge them, and they will proceed to what is good, for in this case the people will follow after it with ease. Now, the livelihood of the people is so regulated, that, above, they have not sufficient wherewith to serve their parents, and, below, they have not sufficient wherewith to support their wives and children. Notwithstanding good years, their lives are continually embittered, and, in bad years, they do not escape perishing. In such circumstances they only try to save themselves from death, and are afraid they will not succeed. What leisure have they to cultivate propriety and righteousness? If your Majesty wishes to effect this regulation of the livelihood of the people, why not turn to that which is the essential step to it? Let mulberry-trees be planted about the homesteads with their five mu, and persons of fifty years may be clothed with silk. In keeping fowls, pigs, dogs, and swine, let not their times of breeding be neglected, and persons of seventy years may eat flesh. Let there not be taken away the time that is proper for the cultivation of the farm with its hundred mu, and the family of eight mouths that is supported by it shall not suffer from hunger. Let careful attention be paid to education in schools, the inculcation in it especially of the filial and fraternal duties, and grey-haired men will not be seen upon the roads, carrying burdens on their backs or on their heads. It never has been that the ruler of a State where such results were seen, the old wearing silk and eating flesh, and the black-haired people suffering neither from hunger nor cold, did not attain to the royal dignity.'

MENGZI CHAPTER 2 Liang Hui Wang 2

8 Zhuang Bao, seeing Mencius, said to him, 'I had an interview with the king. His Majesty told me that he loved music, and I was not prepared with anything to reply to him. What do you pronounce about that love of music?'

Mencius replied, 'If the king's love of music were very great, the kingdom of Qi would be near to a state of good government!'

Another day, Mencius, having an interview with the king, said, 'Your Majesty, I have heard, told the officer Zhuang, that you love music - was it so?' The king changed colour, and said, 'I am unable to love the music of the ancient sovereigns; I only love the music that suits the manners of the present age.'

Mencius said, 'If your Majesty's love of music were very great, Qi would be near to a state of good government! The music of the present day is just like the music of antiquity, as regards effecting that.' The king said, 'May I hear from you the proof of that?'

Mencius asked, 'Which is the more pleasant - to enjoy music by yourself alone, or to enjoy it with others?' 'To enjoy it with others,' was the reply.

'And which is the more pleasant - to enjoy music with a few, or to enjoy it with many?' 'To enjoy it with many.'

Mencius proceeded, 'Your servant begs to explain what I have said about music to your Majesty. Now, your Majesty is having music here. The people hear the noise of your bells and drums, and the notes of your fifes and pipes, and they all, with aching heads, knit their brows, and say to one another, "That's how our king likes his music! But why does he reduce us to this extremity of distress? Fathers and sons cannot see one another. Elder brothers and younger brothers, wives and children, are separated and scattered abroad." Now, your Majesty is hunting here. The people hear the noise of your carriages and horses, and see the beauty of your plumes and streamers, and they all, with aching heads, knit their brows, and say to one another, "That's how our king likes his hunting! But why does he reduce us to this extremity of distress? Fathers and sons cannot see one another. Elder brothers and younger brothers, wives and children, are separated and scattered abroad." Their feeling thus is from no other reason but that you do not allow the people to have pleasure as well as yourself.

'Now, your Majesty is having music here. The people hear the noise of your bells and drums, and the notes of your fifes and pipes, and they all, delighted, and with joyful looks, say to one another, "That sounds as if our king were free from all sickness! If he were not, how could he enjoy this music?" Now, your Majesty is hunting here. The people hear the noise of your carriages and horses, and see the beauty of your plumes and streamers, and they all, delighted, and with joyful looks, say to one another, "That looks as if our king were free from all sickness! If he were not, how could he enjoy this hunting?" Their feeling thus is from no other reason but that you cause them to have their pleasure as you have yours. If your Majesty now will make pleasure a thing common to the people and yourself, the royal sway awaits you.'

9 The king Xuan of Qi asked, 'Was it so, that the park of king Wen contained seventy square li?'

Mencius replied, 'It is so in the records.'

'Was it so large as that?' exclaimed the king.

'The people,' said Mencius, 'still looked on it as small.'

The king added, 'My park contains only forty square li, and the people still look on it as large. How is this?'

'The park of king Wen,' was the reply, 'contained seventy square li, but the grass-cutters and fuel-gatherers had the privilege of entrance into it; so also had the catchers of pheasants and hares. He shared it with the people, and was it not with reason that they looked on it as small? When I first arrived at the borders of your kingdom, I inquired about the great prohibitory regulations, before I would venture to enter it; and I heard, that inside the barrier-gates there was a park of forty square lî, and that he who killed a deer in it, was held guilty of the same crime as if he had killed a man. Thus those forty square li are a pitfall in the middle of the kingdom. Is it not with reason that the people look upon them as large?'

10 The king Xuan of Qi asked, saying, 'Is there any way to regulate one's maintenance of intercourse with neighbouring kingdoms?'

Mencius replied, 'There is. But it requires a perfectly virtuous prince to be able, with a great country, to serve a small one - as, for instance, Tang served Ge, and king Wen served the Kun barbarians. And it requires a wise prince to be able, with a small country, to serve a large one - as the king Tai served the Xun Yu, and Gou Jian served Wu. He who with a areat State serves a small one, delights in Heaven. He who with a small State serves a large one, stands in awe of Heaven. He who delights in Heaven, will affect with his love and protection the whole kingdom. He who stands in awe of Heaven, will affect with his love and protection his own kingdom. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "I fear the Majesty of Heaven, and will thus preserve its favouring decree."'

The king said,'A great saying! But I have an infirmity - I love valour.'

I beg your Majesty,' was the reply, 'not to love small valour. If a man brandishes his sword, looks fiercely, and says, "How dare he withstand me?" - this is the valour of a common man, who can be the opponent only of a single individual. I beg your Majesty to greaten it. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "The king blazed with anger, And he marshalled his hosts, To stop the march to Chu, To consolidate the prosperity of Zhou, To meet the expectations of the nation." This was the valour of king Wen. King Wen, in one burst of his anger, gave repose to all the people of the kingdom. In the Book of History it is said, "Heaven having produced the inferior people, made for them rulers and teachers, with the purpose that they should be assisting to God, and therefore distinguished them throughout the four quarters of the land. Whoever are offenders, and whoever are innocent, here am I to deal with them. How dare any under heaven give indulgence to their refractory wills?" There was one man pursuing a violent and disorderly course in the kingdom, and king Wu was ashamed of it. This was the valour of king Wu. He also, by one display of his anger, gave repose to all the people of the kingdom. Let now your Majesty also, in one burst of anger, give repose to all the people of the kingdom. The people are only afraid that your Majesty does not love valour.'

11 The king Xuan of Qi had an interview with Mencius in the Snow palace, and said to him, 'Do men of talents and worth likewise find pleasure in these things?'

Mencius replied, 'They do; and if people generally are not able to enjoy themselves, they condemn their superiors. For them, when they cannot enjoy themselves, to condemn their superiors is wrong, but when the superiors of the people do not make enjoyment a thing common to the people and

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themselves, they also do wrong. When a ruler rejoices in the joy of his people, they also rejoice in his joy; when he grieves at the sorrow of his people, they also grieve at his sorrow. A sympathy of joy will pervade the kingdom; a sympathy of sorrow will do the same - in such a state of things, it cannot be but that the ruler attain to the royal dignity.

'Formerly, the duke Jing of Qi asked the minister Yan, saying, "I wish to pay a visit of inspection to Zhuan Fu, and Chao Wu, and then to bend my course southward along the shore, till I come to Lang Xie. What shall I do that my tour may be fit to be compared with the visits of inspection made by the ancient sovereigns?" The minister Yan replied, "An excellent inquiry! When the Son of Heaven visited the princes, it was called a tour of inspection, that is, be surveyed the States under their care. When the princes attended at the court of the Son of Heaven, it was called a report of office, that is, they reported their administration of their offices. Thus, neither of the proceedings was without a purpose. And moreover, in the spring they examined the ploughing, and supplied any deficiency of seed; in the autumn they examined the reaping, and supplied any deficiency of yield. There is the saying of the Xia dynasty - If our king do not take his ramble, what will become of our happiness? If our king do not make his excursion, what will become of our help? That ramble, and that excursion, were a pattern to the princes. Now, the state of things is different. A host marches in attendance on the ruler, and stores of provisions are consumed. The hungry are deprived of their food, and there is no rest for those who are called to toil. Maledictions are uttered by one to another with eyes askance, and the people proceed to the commission of wickedness. Thus the royal ordinances are violated, and the people are oppressed, and the supplies of food and drink flow away like water. The rulers yield themselves to the current, or they urge their way against it; they are wild; they are utterly lost - these things proceed to the grief of the inferior princes. Descending along with the current, and forgetting to return, is what I call yielding to it. Pressing up against it, and forgetting to return, is what I call urging their way against it. Pursuing the chase without satiety is what I call being wild. Delighting in wine without satiety is what I call being lost. The ancient sovereigns had no pleasures to which they gave themselves as on the flowing stream; no doings which might be so characterized as wild and lost. It is for you, my prince, to pursue your course." The duke Ching was pleased. He issued a proclamation throughout his State, and went out and occupied a shed in the borders. From that time he began to open his granaries to supply the wants of the people, and calling the Grand music-master, he said to him "Make for me music to suit a prince and his minister pleased with each other." And it was then that the Zheng Zhao and Jiao Zhao were made, in the words to which it was said, "Is it a fault to restrain one's prince?" He who restrains his prince loves his prince.'

12 The king Xuan of Qi said, 'People all tell me to pull down and remove the Hall of Distinction. Shall I pull it down, or stop the movement for that object?'

Mencius replied, 'The Hall of Distinction is a Hall appropriate to the sovereigns. If your Majesty wishes to practise the true royal government, then do not pull it down.'

The king said, 'May I hear from you what the true royal government is?'

'Formerly,' was the reply, 'king Wen's government of Qi was as follows: The husbandmen cultivated for the government one-ninth of the land; the descendants of officers were salaried; at the passes and in the markets, strangers were inspected, but goods were not taxed: there were no prohibitions respecting the ponds and weirs; the wives and children of criminals were not involved in their guilt. There were the old and wifeless, or widowers; the old and husbandless, or widows; the old and childless, or solitaries; the young and fatherless, or orphans - these four classes are the most destitute of the people, and have none to whom they can tell their wants, and king Wen, in the institution of his government with its benevolent action, made them the first objects of his regard, as it is said in the Book of Poetry, "The rich may get through life well; But alas! for the miserable and solitary!"'

The king said, 'O excellent words!'

Mencius said, 'Since your Majesty deems them excellent, why do you not practise them?'

'I have an infirmity,' said the king; 'I am fond of wealth.'

The reply was, 'Formerly, Gong Liu was fond of wealth. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "He reared his ricks, and filled his granaries, He tied up dried provisions and grain, In bottomless bags, and sacks, That he might gather his people together, and glorify his State. With bows and arrows all-displayed, With shields, and spears, and battle-axes, large and small, He commenced his march." In this way those who remained in their old seat had their ricks and granaries, and those who marched had their bags of provisions. It was not till after this that he thought he could begin his march. If your Majesty loves wealth, give the people power to gratify the same feeling, and what difficulty will there be in your attaining the royal sway?'

The king said, 'I have an infirmity; I am fond of beauty.'

The reply was, 'Formerly, king Tai was fond of beauty, and loved his wife. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Gu Gong Tan Fu, Came in the morning, galloping his horse, By the banks of the western waters, As far as the foot of Qi hill, Along with the lady of Jiang; They came and together chose the site for their settlement." At that time, in the seclusion of the house, there were no dissatisfied women, and abroad, there were no unmarried men. If your Majesty loves beauty, let the people be able to gratify the same feeling, and what difficulty will there be in your attaining the royal sway?'

13 Mencius said to the king Xuan of Qi, 'Suppose that one of your Majesty's ministers were to entrust his wife and children to the care of his friend, while he himself went into Chu to travel, and that, on his return, he should find that the friend had let his wife and children suffer from cold and hunger - how ought he to deal with him?'

The king said, 'He should cast him off.'

Mencius proceeded, 'Suppose that the chief criminal judge could not regulate the officers under him, how would you deal with him?'

The king said, 'Dismiss him.'

Mencius again said, 'If within the four borders of your kingdom there is not good government, what is to be done?'

The king looked to the right and left, and spoke of other matters.

14 Mencius, having an interview with the king Xuan of Qi, said to him, 'When men speak of "an ancient kingdom," it is not meant thereby that it has lofty trees in it, but that it has ministers sprung from families which have been noted in it for generations. Your Majesty has no intimate ministers even. Those whom you advanced yesterday are gone to-day, and you do not know it.'

The king said, 'How shall I know that they have not ability, and so avoid employing them at all?'

The reply was, 'The ruler of a State advances to office men of talents and virtue only as a matter of necessity. Since he will thereby cause the low to overstep the honourable, and distant to overstep his near relatives, ought he to do so but with caution? When all those about you say, "This is a man of talents and worth," you may not therefore believe it. When your great officers all say, "This is a man of talents and virtue," neither may you for that believe it. When all the people say, "This is a man of talents and virtue," then examine into the case, and when you find that the man is such, employ him. When all those about you say, "This man won't do," don't listen to them. When all your great officers say, "This man won't do," don't listen to them. When the people all sav, "This man won't do," then examine into the case, and when you find that the man won't do, send him away. When all those about you say, "This man deserves death," don't listen to them. When all your great officers say, "This man deserves death," don't listen to them. When the people all say, "This man deserves death," then inquire into the case, and when you see that the man deserves death, put him to death. In accordance with this we have the saying, "The people killed him." You must act in this way in order to be the parent of the people.'

15 The king Xuan of Qi asked, saying, 'Was it so, that Tang banished Jie, and that king Wu smote Zhou?'

Mencius replied, 'It is so in the records.'

The king said, 'May a minister then put his sovereign to death?'

Mencius said, 'He who outrages the benevolence proper to his nature, is called a robber; he who outrages righteousness, is called a ruffian. The robber and ruffian we call a mere fellow. I have heard of the cutting off of the fellow Zhou, but I have not heard of the putting a sovereign to death, in his case.'

16 Mencius, having an interview with the king Xuan of Qi, said to him, 'If you are going to build a large mansion, you will surely cause the Master of the workmen to look out for large trees, and when he has found such large trees, you will be glad, thinking that they will answer for the intended object. Should the workmen hew them so as to make them too small, then your Majesty will be angry, thinking that they will not answer for the purpose. Now, a man spends his youth in learning the principles of right government, and, being grown up to vigour, he wishes to put them in practice; if your Majesty says to him, "For the present put aside what you have learned, and follow me," what shall we say? Here now you have a gem unwrought, in the stone. Although it may be worth 240,000 taels, you will surely employ a lapidary to cut and polish it. But when you come to the government of the State, then you say, "For the present put aside what you have learned, and follow me." How is it that you herein act so differently from your conduct in calling in the lapidary to cut the gem?'

17 The people of Qi attacked Yan, and conquered it. The king Xuan asked, saying, 'Some tell me not to take possession of it for myself, and some tell me to take possession of it. For a kingdom of ten thousand chariots, attacking another of ten thousand chariots, to complete the conquest of it in fifty days, is an achievement beyond mere human strength. If I do not take possession of it, calamities from Heaven will surely come upon me. What do you say to my taking possession of it?'

Mencius replied, 'If the people of Yan will be pleased with your taking possession of it, then do so. Among the ancients there was one who acted on this principle, namely king Wu. If the people of Yan will not be pleased with your taking possession of it, then do not do so. Among the ancients there was one who acted on this principle, namely king Wen. When, with all the strength of your country of ten thousand chariots, you attacked another country of ten thousand chariots, and the people brought baskets of rice and vessels of congee, to meet your Majesty's host, was there any other reason for this but that they hoped to escape out of fire and water? If you make the water more deep and the fire more fierce, they will in like manner make another revolution.'

18 The people of Qi, having smitten Yan, took possession of it, and upon this, the princes of the various States deliberated together, and resolved to deliver Yan from their power. The king Xuan said to Mencius, 'The princes have formed many plans to attack me - how shall I prepare myself for them?'

Mencius replied, 'I have heard of one who with seventy li exercised all the functions of government throughout the kingdom. That was Tang. I have never heard of a prince with a thousand li standing in fear of others. It is said in the Book of History, As soon as Tang began his work of executing justice, he commenced with Ge. The whole kingdom had confidence in him. When he pursued his work in the east, the rude tribes on the west murmured. So did those on the north, when he was engaged in the south. Their cry was "Why does he put us last?" Thus, the people looked to him, as we look in a time of great drought to the clouds and rainbows. The frequenters of the markets stopped not. The husbandmen made no change in their operations. While he punished their rulers, he consoled the people. His progress was like the falling of opportune rain, and the people were delighted. It is said again in the Book of History, "We have waited for our prince long; the prince's coming will be our reviving!"

'Now the ruler of Yan was tyrannizing over his people, and your Majesty went and punished him. The people supposed that you were going to deliver them out of the water and the fire, and brought baskets of rice and vessels of congee, to meet your Majesty's host. But you have slain their fathers and elder brothers, and put their sons and younger brothers in confinement. You have pulled down the ancestral temple of the State, and are removing to Qi its precious vessels. How can such a course be deemed proper? The rest of the kingdom is indeed jealously afraid of the strength of Qi; and now, when with a doubled territory you do not put in practice a benevolent government - it is this which sets the arms of the kingdom in in motion. If your Majesty will make haste to issue an ordinance, restoring your captives, old and young, stopping the removal of the precious vessels, and saying that, after consulting with the people of Yen, you will appoint them a ruler, and withdraw from the country - in this way you may still be able to stop the threatened attack.'

19 There had been a brush between Zou and Lu, when the duke Mu asked Mencius, saying,'Of my officers there were killed thirty-three men, and none of the people would die in their defence. Though I sentenced them to death for their conduct, it is impossible to put such a multitude to death. If I do not put them to death, then there is the crime unpunished of their looking angrily on at the death of their officers, and not saving them. How is the exigency of the case to be met?'

Mencius replied, 'In calamitous years and years of famine, the old and weak of your people, who have been found lying in the ditches and water-channels, and the able-bodied who have been scattered about to the four quarters, have amounted to several thousands. All the while, your granaries, 0 prince, have been stored with grain, and your treasuries and arsenals have been full, and not one of your officers has told you of the distress. Thus negligent have the superiors in your State been, and cruel to their inferiors. The philosopher Zeng said, "Beware, beware. What proceeds from you, will return to you again." Now at length the people have paid back the conduct of their officers to them. Do not you, 0 prince, blame them. If you will put in practice a benevolent government, this people will love you and all above them, and will die for their officers.'

20 The duke Wen of Teng asked Mencius, saying, 'Teng is a small kingdom, and lies between Qi and Chu. Shall I serve Qi? Or shall I serve Chu?'

Mencius replied, 'This plan which you propose is beyond me. If you will have me counsel you, there is one thing I can suggest. Dig deeper your moats; build higher your walls; guard them as well as your people. In case of attack, be prepared to die in your defence, and have the people so that they will not leave you - this is a proper course.'

21 The duke Wen of Teng asked Mencius, saying, 'The people of Qi are going to fortify Xue. The movement occasions me great alarm. What is the proper course for me to take in the case?'

Mencius replied, 'Formerly, when king Tai dwelt in Bin, the barbarians of the north were continually making incursions

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upon it. He therefore left it, went to the foot of mount Qi, and there took up his residence. He did not take that situation, as having selected it. It was a matter of necessity with him. If you do good, among your descendants, in after generations, there shall be one who will attain to the royal dignity. A prince lays the foundation of the inheritance, and hands down the beginning which he has made, doing what may be continued by his successors. As to the accomplishment of the great result, that is with Heaven. What is that Qi to you, 0 prince? Be strong to do good. That is all your business.'

22 The duke Wen of Teng asked Mencius, saying, 'Teng is a small State. Though I do my utmost to serve those large kingdoms on either side of it, we cannot escape suffering from them. What course shall I take that we may do so?'

Mencius replied, 'Formerly, when king Tai dwelt in Bin, the barbarians of the north were constantly making incursions upon it. He served them with skins and silks, and still he suffered from them. He served them with dogs and horses, and still he suffered from them. He served them with pearls and gems, and still he suffered from them. Seeing this, he assembled the old men, and announced to them, saying, "What the barbarians want is my territory. I have heard this - that a ruler does not injure his people with that wherewith he nourishes them. My children, why should you be troubled about having no prince? I will leave this." Accordingly, he left Bin, crossed the mountain Liang, built a town at the foot of mount Qi, and dwelt there. The people of Pin said, "He is a benevolent man. We must not lose him." Those who followed him looked like crowds hastening to market. On the other hand, some say, "The kingdom is a thing to be kept from generation to generation. One individual cannot undertake to dispose of it in his own person. Let him be prepared to die for it. Let him not quit it." I ask you, prince, to make your election between these two courses.'

23 The duke Ping of Lu was about to leave his palace, when his favourite, one Zang Cang, made a request to him, saying, 'On other days, when you have gone out, you have given instructions to the officers as to where you were going. But now, the horses have been put to the carriage, and the officers do not yet know where you are going. I venture to ask.' The duke said, 'I am going to see the scholar Meng.' 'How is this?' said the other. 'That you demean yourself, prince, in paying the honour of the first visit to a common man, is, I suppose, because you think that he is a man of talents and virtue. By such men the rules of ceremonial proprieties and right are observed. But on the occasion of this Meng's second mourning, his observances exceeded those of the former. Do not go to see him, my prince.' The duke said, 'I will not.'

The officer Yue Zheng entered the court, and had an audience. He said, 'Prince, why have you not gone to see Meng Ke?' the duke said, 'One told me that, on the occasion of the scholar Meng's second mourning, his observances exceeded those of the former. It is on that account that I have not gone to see him.' 'How is this!' answered Yue Zheng. 'By what you call "exceeding," you mean, I suppose, that, on the first occasion, he used the rites appropriate to a scholar, and, on the second, those appropriate to a great officer; that he first used three tripods, and afterwards five tripods.' The duke said, 'No; I refer to the greater excellence of the coffin, the shell, the grave-clothes, and the shroud.' Yo-chAng said, 'That cannot be called "exceeding." That was the difference between being poor and being rich.'

After this, Yue Zheng saw Mencius, and said to him, 'I told the prince about you, and he was consequently coming to see you, when one of his favourites, named Zang Cang, stopped him, and therefore he did not come according to his purpose.' Mencius said, 'A man's advancement is effected, it may be, by others, and the stopping him is, it may be, from the efforts of others. But to advance a man or to stop his advance is really beyond the power of other men. My not finding in the prince of Lu a ruler who would confide in me, and put my counsels into practice, is from Heaven. How could that scion of the Zang family cause me not to find the ruler that would suit me?'

MENGZI CHAPTER 3 Gong Sun Chou 1

1 Gong Sun Chou asked Mencius, saying, 'Master, if you were to obtain the ordering of the government in Qi, could you promise yourself to accomplish anew such results as those realized by Guan Zhong and Yan?'

Mencius said, 'You are indeed a true man of Qi. You know about Guan Zhong and Yan, and nothing more. Some one asked Zeng Xi, saying, "Sir, to which do you give the superiority, to yourself or to Zi Lu?" Zeng Zi looked uneasy, and said, "He was an object of veneration to my grandfather." "Then," pursued the other, "Do you give the superiority to yourself or to Guan Zhong?" Zeng Zi, flushed with anger and displeased, said, "How dare you compare me with Guan Zhong? Considering how entirely Guan Zhong possessed the confidence of his prince, how long he enjoyed the direction of the government of the State, and how low, after all, was what he accomplished - how is it that you liken me to him?" Thus,' concluded Mencius, 'Zeng Xi would not play Guan Zhong, and is it what you desire for me that I should do so?'

Gong Sun Chou said, 'Guan Zhong raised his prince to be the leader of all the other princes, and Yan made his prince illustrious, and do you still think it would not be enough for you to do what they did?'

Mencius answered, 'To raise Qi to the royal dignity would be as easy as it is to turn round the hand.'

'So!' returned the other. 'The perplexity of your disciple is hereby very much increased. There was king Wen, moreover, with all the virtue which belonged to him; and who did not die till he had reached a hundred years - and still his influence had not penetrated throughout the kingdom. It required king Wu and the duke of Zhou to continue his course, before that influence greatly prevailed. Now you say that the royal dignity might be so easily obtained - is king Wen then not a sufficient object for imitation?'

Mencius said, 'How can king Wen be matched? From Tang to Wu Ding there had appeared six or seven worthy and sage sovereigns. The kingdom had been attached to Yin for a long time, and this length of time made a change difficult. Wu Ding had all the princes coming to his court, and possessed the kingdom as if it had been a thing which he moved round in his palm. Then, Zhou was removed from Wu Ding by no great interval of time. There were still remaining some of the ancient families and of the old manners, of the influence also which had emanated from the earlier sovereigns, and of their good government. Moreover, there were the viscount of Wei and his second son, their Royal Highnesses Bi Gan and the viscount of Qi, and Jiao Ge, all men of ability and virtue, who gave their joint assistance to Zhou in his government. In consequence of these things, it took a long time for him to lose the throne. There was not a foot of ground which he did not possess. There was not one of all the people who was not his subject. So it was on his side, and king Wen at his beginning had only a territory of one hundred square li. On all these accounts, it was difficult for him immediately to attain to the royal dignity. The people of Qi have a saying - "A man may have wisdom and discernment, but that is not like embracing the favourable opportunity. A man may have instruments of husbandry, but that is not like waiting for the farming seasons."

The present time is one in which the royal dignity may be easily attained. In the flourishing periods of the Xia, Yin, and Zhou dynasties, the royal domain did not exceed a thousand li, and Qi embraces so much territory. Cocks crow and dogs bark to one another, all the way to the four borders of the State - so Qi possesses the people. No change is needed for the enlarging of its territory; no change is needed for the collecting of a population. If its ruler will put in practice a benevolent government, no power will be able to prevent his becoming sovereign. Moreover, never was there a time farther removed than the present from the rise of a true sovereign: never was there a time when the sufferings of the people from tyrannical government were more intense than the present. The hungry readily partake of any food, and the thirsty of any drink. Confucius said, "The flowing progress of virtue is more rapid than the transmission of royal orders by stages and couriers." At the present time, in a country of ten thousand chariots, let benevolent government be put in practice, and the people will be delighted with it, as if they were relieved from hanging by the heels. With half the merit of the ancients, double their achievements is sure to be realized. It is only at this time that such could be the case.'

2 Gong Sun Chou asked Mencius, saying, 'Master, if you were to be appointed a high noble and the prime minister of Qi, so as to be able to carry your principles into practice, though you should thereupon raise the ruler to the headship of all the other princes, or even to the royal dignity, it would not be to be wondered at. In such a position would your mind be perturbed or not?'

Mencius replied, 'No. At forty, I attained to an unperturbed mind.'

Chou said, 'Since it is so with you, my Master, you are far beyond Meng Ben.'

'The mere attainment,' said Mencius, 'is not difficult. The scholar Gao had attained to an unperturbed mind at an earlier period of life than I did.'

Chou asked, 'Is there any way to an unperturbed mind?'

The answer was, 'Yes. Bei Gong You had this way of nourishing his valour: He did not flinch from any strokes at his body. He did not turn his eyes aside from any thrusts at them. He considered that the slightest push from any one was the same as if he were beaten before the crowds in the market-place, and that what he would not receive from a common man in his loose large garments of hair, neither should he receive from a prince of ten thousand chariots. He viewed stabbing a prince of ten thousand chariots just as stabbing a fellow dressed in cloth of hair. He feared not any of all the princes. A bad word addressed to him be always returned. Meng Shi She had this way of nourishing his valour: He said, "I look upon not conquering and conquering in the same way. To measure the enemy and then advance; to calculate the chances of victory and then engage - this is to stand in awe of the opposing force. How can I make certain of conquering? I can only rise superior to all fear." Meng Shi She resembled the philosopher Zeng. Bei Gong You resembled Zi Xia. I do not know to the valour of which of the two the superiority should be ascribed, but yet Meng Shi She attended to what was of the greater importance. Formerly, the philosopher Zeng said to Zi Xiang, "Do you love valour? I heard an account of great valour from the Master. It speaks thus: 'If, on self-examination, I find that I am not upright, shall I not be in fear even of a poor man in his loose garments of hair-cloth? If, on self-examination, I find that I am upright, I will go forward against thousands and tens of thousands.' Yet, what Meng Shi She maintained, being merely his physical energy, was after all inferior to what the philosopher Zeng maintained, which was indeed of the most importance.'

Gong Sun Chou said, 'May I venture to ask an explanation from you, Master, of how you maintain an unperturbed mind, and how the philosopher Gao does the same?'

Mencius answered, 'Gao says, "What is not attained in words is not to be sought for in the mind; what produces dissatisfaction in the mind, is not to be helped by passion-effort." This last, when there is unrest in the mind, not to seek for relief from passion-effort, may be conceded. But not to seek in the mind for what is not attained in words cannot be conceded. The will is the leader of the passion-nature. The passion-nature pervades and animates the body. The will is first and chief, and the passion-nature is subordinate to it. Therefore I say, Maintain firm the will, and do no violence to the passion-nature.'

Chou observed, 'Since you say "The will is chief, and the passion-nature is subordinate," how do you also say, "Maintain firm the will, and do no violence to the passion-nature?"'

Mencius replied, 'When it is the will alone which is active, it moves the passion-nature. When it is the passion-nature alone which is active, it moves the will. For instance now, in the case of a man falling or running, that is from the passion-nature, and yet it moves the mind.'

'I venture to ask,' said Chou again, 'wherein you, Master, surpass Gao.'

Mencius told him, 'I understand words. I am skilful in nourishing my vast, flowing passion-nature.'

Chou pursued, 'I venture to ask what you mean by your vast, flowing passion-nature!'

The reply was, 'It is difficult to describe it. This is the passion-nature: It is exceedingly great, and exceedingly strong. Being nourished by rectitude, and sustaining no injury, it fills up all between heaven and earth. This is the passion-nature: It is the mate and assistant of righteousness and reason. Without it, man is in a state of starvation. It is produced by the accumulation of righteous deeds; it is not to be obtained by incidental acts of righteousness. If the mind does not feel complacency in the conduct, the nature becomes starved. I therefore said, "Gao has never understood righteousness, because he makes it something external." There must be the constant practice of this righteousness, but without the object of thereby nourishing the passion-nature. Let not the mind forget its work, but let there be no assisting the growth of that nature. Let us not be like the man of Song. There was a man of Song, who was grieved that his growing corn was not longer, and so he pulled it up. Having done this, he returned home, looking very stupid, and said to his people, "I am tired to-day. I have been helping the corn to grow long." His son ran to look at it, and found the corn all withered. There are few in the world, who do not deal with their passion-nature, as if they were assisting the corn to grow long. Some indeed consider it of no benefit to them, and let it alone - they do not weed their corn. They who assist it to grow long, pull out their corn. What they do is not only of no benefit to the nature, but it also injures it.'

Gong Sun Chou further asked, 'What do you mean by saying that you understand whatever words you hear?'

Mencius replied, 'When words are one-sided, I know how the mind of the speaker is clouded over. When words are extravagant, I know how the mind is fallen and sunk. When words are all-depraved, I know how the mind has departed from principle. When words are evasive, I know how the mind is at its wit's end. These evils growing in the mind, do injury to government, and, displayed in the government, are hurtful to the conduct of affairs. When a Sage shall again arise, he will certainly follow my words.'

On this Chou observed, 'Zai Wo and Zi Gong were skilful in speaking. Ran Niu, the disciple Min, and Yan Yuan, while their words were good, were distinguished for their virtuous conduct. Confucius united the qualities of the disciples in himself, but still he said, "In the matter of speeches, I am not competent." Then, Master, have you attained to be a Sage?'

Mencius said, 'Oh! what words are these? Formerly Zi Gong asked Confucius, saying, "Master, are you a Sage?" Confucius answered him, "A Sage is what I cannot rise to. I learn without satiety, and teach without being tired." Zi Gong said, "You learn without satiety - that shows your wisdom. You teach without being tired - that shows your benevolence. Benevolent and wise - Master, you ARE a Sage." Now, since Confucius would not allow himself to be regarded as a Sage, what words were those?'

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Chou said, 'Formerly, I once heard this: Zi Xia, Zi You, and Zi Zhang had each one member of the Sage. Ran Niu, the disciple Min, and Yan Yuan had all the members, but in small proportions. I venture to ask, With which of these are you pleased to rank yourself?'

Mencius replied, 'Let us drop speaking about these, if you please.'

Chou then asked, 'What do you say of Bo Yi and Yi Yin?'

'Their ways were different from mine,' said Mencius. 'Not to serve a prince whom he did not esteem, nor command a people whom he did not approve; in a time of good government to take office, and on the occurrence of confusion to retire - this was the way of Bo Yi. To say "Whom may I not serve? My serving him makes him my ruler. What people may I not command? My commanding them makes them my people." In a time of good government to take office, and when disorder prevailed, also to take office - that was the way of Yi Yin. When it was proper to go into office, then to go into it; when it was proper to keep retired from office, then to keep retired from it; when it was proper to continue in it long, then to continue in it long - when it was proper to withdraw from it quickly, then to withdraw quickly - that was the way of Confucius. These were all sages of antiquity, and I have not attained to do what they did. But what I wish to do is to learn to be like Confucius.'

Chou said, 'Comparing Bo Yi and Yi Yin with Confucius, are they to be placed in the same rank?'

Mencius replied, 'No. Since there were living men until now, there never was another Confucius.'

Chou said, 'Then, did they have any points of agreement with him?'

The reply was, 'Yes. If they had been sovereigns over a hundred li of territory, they would, all of them, have brought all the princes to attend in their court, and have obtained the throne. And none of them, in order to obtain the throne, would have committed one act of unrighteousness, or put to death one innocent person. In those things they agreed with him.'

Chou said, 'I venture to ask wherein he differed from them.'

Mencius replied, 'Zai Wo, Zi Gong, and You Ruo had wisdom sufficient to know the sage. Even had they been ranking themselves low, they would not have demeaned themselves to flatter their favourite. Now, Zai Wo said, "According to my view of our Master, he was far superior to Yao and Shun." Zi Gong said, "By viewing the ceremonial ordinances of a prince, we know the character of his government. By hearing his music, we know the character of his virtue. After the lapse of a hundred ages I can arrange, according to their merits, the kings of a hundred ages - not one of them can escape me. From the birth of mankind till now, there has never been another like our Master." You Ruo said, "Is it only among men that it is so? There is the Qi-lin among quadrupeds, the Feng-huang among birds, the Tai mountain among mounds and ant-hills, and rivers and seas among rain-pools. Though different in degree, they are the same in kind. So the sages among mankind are also the same in kind. But they stand out from their fellows, and rise above the level, and from the birth of mankind till now, there never has been one so complete as Confucius.'"

3 Mencius said, 'He who, using force, makes a pretence to benevolence is the leader of the princes. A leader of the princes requires a large kingdom. He who, using virtue, practises benevolence is the sovereign of the kingdom. To become the sovereign of the kingdom, a prince need not wait for a large kingdom. Tang did it with only seventy li, and king Wen with only a hundred. When one by force subdues men, they do not submit to him in heart. They submit, because their strength is not adequate to resist. When one subdues men by virtue, in their hearts' core they are pleased, and sincerely submit, as was the case with the seventy disciples in their submission to Confucius. What is said in the Book of Poetry, "From the west, from the east, From the south, from the north, There was not one who thought of refusing submission," is an illustration of this.'

4 Mencius said, 'Benevolence brings glory to a prince, and the opposite of it brings disgrace. For the princes of the present day to hate disgrace and yet to live complacently doing what is not benevolent, is like hating moisture and yet living in a low situation. If a prince hates disgrace, the best course for him to pursue, is to esteem virtue and honour virtuous scholars, giving the worthiest among them places of dignity, and the able offices of trust. When throughout his kingdom there is leisure and rest from external troubles, let him, taking advantage of such a season, clearly digest the principles of his government with its legal sanctions, and then even great kingdoms will be constrained to stand in awe of him. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Before the heavens were dark with rain, I gathered the bark from the roots of the mulberry trees, And wove it closely to form the window and door of my nest; Now, I thought, ye people below, Perhaps ye will not dare to insult me." Confucius said, "Did not he who made this ode understand the way of governing?" If a prince is able rightly to govern his kingdom, who will dare to insult him? But now the princes take advantage of the time when throughout their kingdoms there is leisure and rest from external troubles, to abandon themselves to pleasure and indolent indifference - they in fact seek for calamities for themselves. Calamity and happiness in all cases are men's own seeking. This is illustrated by what is said in the Book of Poetry - Be always studious to be in harmony with the ordinances of God, So you will certainly get for yourself much happiness;" and by the passage of the Tai Jia, "When Heaven sends down calamities, it is still possible to escape from them; when we occasion the calamities ourselves, it is not possible any longer to live."'

5 Mencius said, 'If a ruler give honour to men of talents and virtue and employ the able, so that offices shall all be filled by individuals of distinction and mark - then all the scholars of the kingdom will be pleased, and wish to stand in his court. If, in the market-place of his capital, he levy a ground-rent on the shops but do not tax the goods, or enforce the proper regulations without levying a ground-rent - then all the traders of the kingdom will be pleased, and wish to store their goods in his market-place. If, at his frontier-passes, there be an inspection of persons, but no taxes charged on goods or other articles, then all the travellers of the kingdom will be pleased, and wish to make their tours on his roads. If he require that the husbandmen give their mutual aid to cultivate the public feld, and exact no other taxes from them - then all the husbandmen of the kingdom will be pleased, and wish to plough in his fields. If from the occupiers of the shops in his market-place he do not exact the fine of the individual idler, or of the hamlet's quota of cloth, then all the people of the kingdom will be pleased, and wish to come and be his people. If a ruler can truly practise these five things, then the people in the neighbouring kingdoms will look up to him as a parent. From the first birth of mankind till now, never has any one led children to attack their parent, and succeeded in his design. Thus, such a ruler will not have an enemy in all the kingdom, and he who has no enemy in the kingdom is the minister of Heaven. Never has there been a ruler in such a case who did not attain to the royal dignity.'

6 Mencius said, 'All men have a mind which cannot bear to see the sufferings of others. 'The ancient kings had this commiserating mind, and they, as a matter of course, had likewise a commiserating government. When with a commiserating mind was practised a commiserating government, to rule the kingdom was as easy a matter as to make anything go round in the palm. When I say that all men have a mind which cannot bear to see the sufferings of others, my meaning may be illustrated thus: even now-a-days, if men suddenly see a child about to fall into a well, they will without exception experience a feeling of alarm and distress. They will feel so, not as a ground on which they may gain the favour of the child's parents, nor as a ground on which they may seek the praise of their neighbours and friends, nor from a dislike to the reputation of having been unmoved by such a thing. From this case we may perceive that the feeling of commiseration is essential to man, that the feeling of shame and dislike is essential to man, that the feeling of modesty and complaisance is essential to man, and that the feeling of approving and disapproving is essential to man. The feeling of commiseration is the principle of benevolence. The feeling of shame and dislike is the principle of righteousness. The feeling of modesty and complaisance is the principle of propriety. The feeling of approving and disapproving is the principle of knowledge. Men have these four principles just as they have their four limbs. When men, having these four principles, yet say of themselves that they cannot develop them, they play the thief with themselves, and he who says of his prince that he cannot develop them plays the thief with his prince. Since all men have these four principles in themselves, let them know to give them all their development and completion, and the issue will be like that of fire which has begun to burn, or that of a spring which has begun to find vent. Let them have their complete development, and they will suffice to love and protect all within the four seas. Let them be denied that development, and they will not suffice for a man to serve his parents with.'

7 Mencius said, 'Is the arrow-maker less benevolent than the maker of armour of defence? And yet, the arrow-maker's only fear is lest men should not be hurt, and the armour-maker's only fear is lest men should be hurt. So it is with the priest and the coffin-maker. The choice of a profession, therefore, is a thing in which great caution is required. Confucius said, "It is virtuous manners which constitute the excellence of a neighbourhood. If a man, in selecting a residence, do not fix on one where such prevail, how can he be wise?" Now, benevolence is the most honourable dignity conferred by Heaven, and the quiet home in which man should awell. Since no one can hinder us from being so, if yet we are not benevolent - this is being not wise. From the want of benevolence and the want of wisdom will ensue the entire absence of propriety and righteousness;-- he who is in such a case must be the servant of other men. To be the servant of men and yet ashamed of such servitude, is like a bowmaker's being ashamed to make bows, or an arrow-maker's being ashamed to make arrows. If he be ashamed of his case, his best course is to practise benevolence. The man who would be benevolent is like the archer. The archer adjusts himself and then shoots. If he misses, he does not murmur against those who surpass himself. He simply turns round and seeks the cause of his failure in himself.'

8 Mencius said, 'When any one told Zi Lu that he had a fault, he rejoiced. When Yu heard good words, he bowed to the speaker. The great Shun had a still greater delight in what was good. He regarded virtue as the common property of himself and others, giving up his own way to follow that of others, and delighting to learn from others to practise what was good. From the time when he ploughed and sowed, exercised the potter's art, and was a fisherman, to the time when he became emperor, he was continually learning from others. To take example from others to practise virtue, is to help them in the same practice. Therefore, there is no attribute of the superior man greater than his helping men to practise virtue.'

9 Mencius said, 'Bo Yi would not serve a prince whom he did not approve, nor associate with a friend whom he did not esteem. He would not stand in a bad prince's court, nor speak with a bad man. To stand in a bad prince's court, or to speak with a bad man, would have been to him the same as to sit with his court robes and court cap amid mire and ashes. Pursuing the examination of his dislike to what was evil, we find that he thought it necessary, if he happened to be standing with a villager whose cap was not rightly adjusted, to leave him with a high air, as if he were going to be defiled. Therefore, although some of the princes made application to him with very proper messages, he would not receive their gifts. He would not receive their gifts, counting it inconsistent with his purity to go to them. Hui of Liu Xia was not ashamed to serve an impure prince, nor did he think it low to be an inferior officer. When advanced to employment, he did not conceal his virtue, but made it a point to carry out his principles. When neglected and left without office, he did not murmur. When straitened by poverty, he did not grieve. Accordingly, he had a saying,"You are you, and I am I. Although you stand by my side with breast and aims bare, or with your body naked, how can you defile me?" Therefore, self-possessed, he companied with men indifferently, at the same time not losing himself. When he wished to leave, if pressed to remain in office, he would remain. He would remain in office, when pressed to do so, not counting it required by his purity to go away.'

Mencius said, 'Bo Yi was narrow-minded, and Hui of Liu Xia was wanting in self-respect. The superior man will not manifest either narrow-mindedness, or the want of self-respect.'

MENGZI CHAPTER 4 Gong Sun Chou 2

10 Mencius said, 'Opportunities of time vouchsafed by Heaven are not equal to advantages of situation afforded by the Earth, and advantages of situation afforded by the Earth are not equal to the union arising from the accord of Men. There is a city, with an inner wall of three li in circumference, and an outer wall of seven. The enemy surround and attack it, but they are not able to take it. Now, to surround and attack it, there must have been vouchsafed to them by Heaven the opportunity of time, and in such case their not taking it is because opportunities of time vouchsafed by Heaven are not equal to advantages of situation afforded by the Earth. There is a city, whose walls are distinguished for their height, and whose moats are distinguished for their depth, where the arms of its defenders, offensive and defensive, are distinguished for their strength and sharpness, and the stores of rice and other grain are very large. Yet it is obliged to be given up and abandoned. This is because advantages of situation afforded by the Earth are not equal to the union arising from the accord of Men. In accordance with these principles it is said, "A people is bounded in, not by the limits of dykes and borders; a State is secured, not by the strengths of mountains and rivers; the kingdom is overawed, not by the sharpness and strength of arms." He who finds the proper course has many to assist him. He who loses the proper course has few to assist him. When this - the being assisted by few - reaches its extreme point, his own relations revolt from the prince. When the being assisted by many reaches its highest point, the whole kingdom becomes obedient to the prince. When one to whom the whole kingdom is prepared to be obedient, attacks those from whom their own relations revolt, what must be the result? Therefore, the true ruler will prefer not to fight; but if he do fight, he must overcome.'

11 As Mencius was about to go to court to see the king, the king sent a person to him with this message: 'I was wishing to come and see you. But I have got a cold, and may not expose myself to the wind. In the morning I will hold my court. I do not know whether you will give me the opportunity of seeing you then.' Mencius replied, 'Unfortunately, I am unwell, and not able to go to the court.'

Next day, he went out to pay a visit of condolence to some one of the Dong Guo family, when Gong Sun Chou said to him, 'Yesterday, you declined going to the court on the ground of being unwell, and to-day you are going to pay a

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visit of condolence. May this not be regarded as improper?' 'Yesterday,' said Mencius, 'I was unwell; to-day, I am better - why should I not pay this visit?'

In the mean time, the king sent a messenger to inquire about his sickness, and also a physician. Meng Zhong replied to them, 'Yesterday, when the king's order came, he was feeling a little unwell, and could not go to the court. To-day he was a little better, and hastened to go to court. I do not know whether he can have reached it by this time or not.' Having said this, he sent several men to look for Mencius on the way, and say to him, 'I beg that, before you return home, you will go to the court.'

On this, Mencius felt himself compelled to go to Jing Chou's, and there stop the night. Mr. Jing said to him, 'In the family, there is the relation of father and son; abroad, there is the relation of prince and minister. These are the two great relations among men. Between father and son the ruling principle is kindness. Between prince and minister the ruling principle is respect. I have seen the respect of the king to you, Sir, but I have not seen in what way you show respect to him.'

Mencius replied, 'Oh! what words are these? Among the people of Qi there is no one who speaks to the king about benevolence and righteousness. Are they thus silent because they do not think that benevolence and righteousness are admirable? No, but in their hearts they say, "This man is not fit to be spoken with about benevolence and righteousness." Thus they manifest a disrespect than which there can be none greater. I do not dare to set forth before the king any but the ways of Yao and Shun. There is therefore no man of Qi who respects the king so much as I do.'

Mr. Jing said, 'Not so. That was not what I meant. In the Book of Rites it is said, "When a father calls, the answer must be without a moment's hesitation. When the prince's order calls, the carriage must not be waited for." You were certainly going to the court, but when you heard the king's order, then you did not carry your purpose out. This does seem as if it were not in accordance with that rule of propriety.'

Mencius answered him, 'How can you give that meaning to my conduct? The philosopher Zeng said, "The wealth of Jin and Chu cannot be equalled. Let their rulers have their wealth - I have my benevolence. Let them have their nobility - I have my righteousness. Wherein should I be dissatisfied as inferior to them?" Now shall we say that these sentiments are not right? Seeing that the philosopher Zeng spoke them, there is in them, I apprehend, a real principle. In the kingdom there are three things universally acknowledged to be honourable. Nobility is one of them; age is one of them; virtue is one of them. In courts, nobility holds the first place of the three; in villages, age holds the first place; and for helping one's generation and presiding over the people, the other two are not equal to virtue. How can the possession of only one of these be presumed on to despise one who possesses the other two? Therefore a prince who is to accomplish great deeds will certainly have ministers whom he does not call to go to him. When he wishes to consult with them, he goes to them. The prince who does not honour the virtuous, and delight in their ways of doing, to this extent, is not worth having to do with. Accordingly, there was the behaviour of Tang to Yi Yin: he first learned of him, and then employed him as his minister; and so without difficulty he became sovereign. There was the behaviour of the duke Huan to Guan Zhong: he first learned of him, and then employed him as his minister; and so without difficulty he became chief of all the princes. Now throughout the kingdom, the territories of the princes are of equal extent, and in their achievements they are on a level. Not one of them is able to exceed the others. This is from no other reason, but that they love to make ministers of those whom they teach, and do not love to make ministers of those by whom they might be taught. So did Tang behave to Yi Yin, and the duke Huan to Guan Zhong, that they would not venture to call them to go to them. If Guan Zhong might not be called to him by his prince, how much less may he be called, who would not play the part of Guan Zhong!'

12 Chen Zhen asked Mencius, saying, 'Formerly, when you were in Qi, the king sent you a present Of 2,400 taels of fine silver, and you refused to accept it. When you were in Song, 1,680 taels were sent to you, which you accepted; and when you were in Xue, 1,200 taels were sent, which you likewise accepted. If your declining to accept the gift in the first case was right, your accepting it in the latter cases was wrong. If your accepting it in the latter cases was right, your declining to do so in the first case was wrong. You must accept, Master, one of these alternatives.'

Mencius said, 'I did right in all the cases. When I was in Song, I was about to take a long journey. Travellers must be provided with what is necessary for their expenses. The prince's message was, 'A present against travelling-expenses." Why should I have declined the gift? When I was in Xue, I was apprehensive for my safety, and taking measures for my protection. The message was, "I have heard that you are taking measures to protect yourself, and send this to help you in procuring arms." Why should I have declined the gift? But when I was in Qi, I had no occasion for money. To send a man a gift when he has no occasion for it, is to bribe him. How is it possible that a superior man should be taken with a bribe?'

13 Mencius having gone to Ping Lu, addressed the governor of it, saying, 'If one of your spearmen should lose his place in the ranks three times in one day, would you, Sir, put him to death or not?'

'I would not wait for three times to do so,' was the reply.

Mencius said, 'Well then, you, Sir, have likewise lost your place in the ranks many times. In bad calamitous years, and years of famine, the old and feeble of your people, who have been found lying in the ditches and water-channels, and the able-bodied, who have been scattered about to the four quarters, have amounted to several thousand.'

The governor replied, 'That is a state of things in which it does not belong to me Ju Xin to act.'

'Here,' said Mencius, 'is a man who receives charge of the cattle and sheep of another, and undertakes to feed them for him - of course he must search for pasture-ground and grass for them. If, after searching for those, he cannot find them, will he return his charge to the owner? or will he stand by and see them die?'

'Herein,' said the officer, 'I am guilty.'

Another day, Mencius had an audience of the king, and said to him, 'Of the governors of your Majesty's cities I am acquainted with five, but the only one of them who knows his faults is Kong Ju Xin.' He then repeated the conversation to the king, who said, 'In this matter, I am the guilty one.'

14 Mencius said to Qi Wa, 'There seemed to be reason in your declining the governorship of Ling Qiu, and requesting to be appointed chief criminal judge, because the latter office would afford you the opportunity of speaking your views. Now several months have elapsed, and have you yet found nothing of which you might speak?'

On this, Qi Wa remonstrated on some matter with the king, and, his counsel not being taken, resigned his office and went away. The people of Qi said, 'In the course which he marked out for Qi Wa he did well, but we do not know as to the course which he pursues for himself.'

His disciple Gong Du told him these remarks. Mencius said, 'I have heard that he who is in charge of an office, when he is prevented from fulfilling its duties, ought to take his departure, and that he on whom is the responsibility of giving his opinion, when he finds his words unattended to, ought to do the same. But I am in charge of no office; on me devolves no duty of speaking out my opinion - may not I therefore act freely and without any constraint, either in going forward or in retiring?'

15 Mencius, occupying the position of a high dignitary in Qi, went on a mission of condolence to Teng. The king also sent Wang Huan, the governor of Gai, as assistant-commissioner. Wang Huan, morning and evening, waited upon Mencius, who, during all the way to Teng and back, never spoke to him about the business of their mission.

Gong Sun Chou said to Mencius, 'The position of a high dignitary of Qi is not a small one; the road from Qi to Teng is not short. How was it that during all the way there and back, you never spoke to Huan about the matters of your mission?'

Mencius replied, 'There were the proper officers who attended to them. What occasion had I to speak to him about them?'

16 Mencius went from Qi to Lu to bury his mother. On his return to Qi, he stopped at Ying, where

Chong Yu begged to put a question to him, and said, 'Formerly, in ignorance of my incompetency, you employed me to superintend the making of the coffin. As you were then pressed by the urgency of the business, I did not venture to put any question to you. Now, however, I wish to take the liberty to submit the matter. The wood of the coffin, it appeared to me, was too good.'

Mencius replied, 'Anciently, there was no rule for the size of either the inner or the outer coffin. In middle antiquity, the inner coffin was made seven inches thick, and the outer one the same. This was done by all, from the sovereign to the common people, and not simply for the beauty of the appearance, but because they thus satisfied the natural feelings of their hearts. If prevented by statutory regulations from making their coffins in this way, men cannot have the feeling of pleasure. If they have not the money to make them in this way, they cannot have the feeling of pleasure. When they were not prevented, and had the money, the ancients all used this style. Why should I alone not do so? And moreover, is there no satisfaction to the natural feelings of a man, in preventing the earth from getting near to the bodies of his dead? I have heard that the superior man will not for all the world be niggardly to his parents.'

17 Shen Tong, on his own impulse, asked Mencius, saying, 'May Yan be smitten?'

Mencius replied, 'It may. Zi Kuai had no right to give Yan to another man, and Zi Zhi had no right to receive Yan from Zi Kuai. Suppose there were an officer here, with whom you, Sir, were pleased, and that, without informing the king, you were privately to give to him your salary and rank; and suppose that this officer, also without the king's orders, were privately to receive them from you - would such a transaction be allowable? And where is the difference between the case of Yan and this?'

The people of Qi smote Yan. Some one asked Mencius, saying, 'Is it really the case that you advised Qi to smite Yan?'

He replied, 'No. Shen Tong asked me whether Yan might be smitten, and I answered him, "It may." They accordingly went and smote it. If he had asked me, "Who may smite it?" I would have answered him, "He who is the minister of Heaven may smite it." Suppose the case of a murderer, and that one asks me, "May this man be put to death?" I will answer him, "He may." If he ask me, "Who may put him to death?" I will answer him, "The chief criminal judge may put him to death." But now with one Yan to smite another Yan - how should I have advised this?'

18 The people of Yan having rebelled, the king of Qi said, 'I feel very much ashamed when I think of Mencius.'

Chen Jia said to him, 'Let not your Majesty be grieved. Whether does your Majesty consider yourself or Zhou Gong the more benevolent and wise?'

The king replied, 'Oh! what words are those?'

'The duke of Zhou,' said Jia, 'appointed Guan Shu to oversee the heir of Yin, but Guan Shu with the power of the Yin State rebelled. If knowing that this would happen he appointed Guan Shu, he was deficient in benevolence. If he appointed him, not knowing that it would happen, he was deficient in knowledge. If the duke of Zhou was not completely benevolent and wise, how much less can your Majesty be expected to be so! I beg to go and see Mencius, and relieve your Majesty from that feeling.'

Chen Jia accordingly saw Mencius, and asked him, saying, 'What kind of man was the duke of Zhou?'

'An ancient sage,' was the reply.

'Is it the fact, that he appointed Guan Shu to oversee the heir of Yin, and that Guan Shu with the State of Yin rebelled?'

'It is.'

'Did the duke of Zhou know that he would rebel, and purposely appoint him to that office?'

Mencius said, 'He did not know.'

'Then, though a sage, he still fell into error?'

'The duke of Zhou,' answered Mencius, 'was the younger brother. Guan Shu was his elder brother. Was not the error of Zhou Gong in accordance with what is right? Moreover, when the superior men of old had errors, they reformed them. The superior men of the present time, when they have errors, persist in them. The errors of the superior men of old were like eclipses of the sun and moon. All the people witnessed them, and when they had reformed them, all the people looked up to them with their former admiration. But do the superior men of the present day only persist in their errors? They go on to apologize for them likewise.'

19 Mencius gave up his office, and made arrangements for returning to his native State. The king came to visit him, and said, 'Formerly, I wished to see you, but in vain. Then, I got the opportunity of being by your side, and all my court joyed exceedingly along with me. Now again you abandon me, and are returning home. I do not know if hereafter I may expect to have another opportunity of seeing you.' Mencius replied, 'I dare not request permission to visit you at any particular time, but, indeed, it is what I desire.'

Another day, the king said to the officer Shi, 'I wish to give Mencius a house, somewhere in the middle of the kingdom, and to support his disciples with an allowance of 10,000 zhong, that all the officers and the people may have such an example to reverence and imitate. Had you not better tell him this for me?'

Shi took advantage to convey this message by means of the disciple Chen, who reported his words to Mencius. Mencius said, 'Yes; but how should the officer Shi know that the thing could not be? Suppose that I wanted to be rich, having formerly declined 100,000 zhong, would my now accepting 10,000 be the conduct of one desiring riches? Ji Sun said, "A strange man was Zi Shu Yi. He pushed himself into the service of government. His prince declining to employ him, he had to retire indeed, but he again schemed that his son or younger brother should be made a high officer. Who indeed is there of men but wishes for riches and honour? But he only, among the seekers of these, tried to monopolize the conspicuous mound. "Of old time, the market-dealers exchanged the articles which they had for others which they had not, and simply had certain officers to keep order among them. It happened that there was a mean fellow, who made it a point to look out for a conspicuous mound, and get up upon it. Thence he looked right and left, to catch in his net the whole gain of the market. The people all thought his conduct mean, and therefore they proceeded to lay a tax upon his wares. The taxing of traders took its rise from this mean fellow."'

20 Mencius, having taken his leave of Qi, was passing the night in Zhou.

A person who wished to detain him on behalf of the king, came and sat down, and began to speak to him. Mencius gave him no answer, but leant upon his stool and slept. The visitor was displeased, and said, 'I passed the night in careful vigil, before I would venture to speak to you, and you, Master, sleep

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and do not listen to me. Allow me to request that I may not again presume to see you.'

Mencius replied, 'Sit down, and I will explain the case clearly to you. Formerly, if the duke Mou had not kept a person by the side of Zi Si, he could not have induced Zi Si to remain with him. If Xie Liu and Shen Xiang had not had a remembrancer by the side of the duke Mou, he would not have been able to make them feel at home and remain with him. You anxiously form plans with reference to me, but you do not treat me as Zi Si was treated. Is it you, Sir, who cut me? Or is it I who cut you?

21 When Mencius had left Qi, Yin Shi spoke about him to others, saying, 'If he did not know that the king could not be made a Tang or a Wu, that showed his want of intelligence. If he knew that he could not be made such, and came notwithstanding, that shows he was seeking his own benefit. He came a thousand li to wait on the king; because he did not find in him a ruler to suit him, he took his leave, but how dilatory and lingering was his departure, stopping three nights before he quitted Zhou! I am dissatisfied on account of this.'

The disciple Gao informed Mencius of these remarks. Mencius said, 'How should Yin Shi know me! When I came a thousand li to wait on the king, it was what I desired to do. When I went away because I did not find in him a ruler to suit me, was that what I desired to do? I felt myself constrained to do it. When I stopped three nights before I quitted Zhou, in my own mind I still considered my departure speedy. I was hoping that the king might change. If the king had changed, he would certainly have recalled me. When I quitted Zhou, and the king had not sent after me, then, and not till then, was my mind resolutely bent on returning to Cao. But, notwithstanding that, how can it be said that I give up the king? The king, after all, is one who may be made to do what is good. If he were to use me, would it be for the happiness of the people of Qi only ? It would be for the happiness of the people of the whole kingdom. I am hoping that the king will change. I am daily hoping for this. Am I like one of your little-minded people? They will remonstrate with their prince, and on their remonstrance not being accepted, they get angry; and, with their passion displayed in their countenance, they take their leave, and travel with all their strength for a whole day, before they will stop for the night.'

When Yin Shi heard this explanation, he said, 'I am indeed a small man.'

22 When Mencius left Qi, Chong Yu questioned him upon the way, saying, 'Master, you look like one who carries an air of dissatisfaction in his countenance. But formerly I heard you say, "The superior man does not murmur against Heaven, nor grudge against men."'

Mencius said, 'That was one time, and this is another. It is a rule that a true royal sovereign should arise in the course of five hundred years, and that during that time there should be men illustrious in their generation. From the commencement of the Zhou dynasty till now, more than seven hundred years have elapsed. Judging numerically, the date is past. Examining the character of the present time, we might expect the rise of such individuals in it. But Heaven does not yet wish that the kingdom should enjoy tranquillity and good order. If it wished this, who is there besides me to bring it about? How should I be otherwise than dissatisfied?'

23 When Mencius left Qi, he dwelt in Xiu.

There Gong Sun Chou asked him, saying, 'Was it the way of the ancients to hold office without receiving salary?'

Mencius replied, 'No; when I first saw the king in Chong, it was my intention, on retiring from the interview, to go away. Because I did not wish to change this intention, I declined to receive any salary. Immediately after, there came orders for the collection of troops, when it would have been improper for me to beg permission to leave. But to remain so long in Qi was not my purpose.'

MENGZI CHAPTER 5 Teng Wen Gong 1

1 When the prince, afterwards duke Wen of Teng, had to go to Chu, he went by way of Song, and visited Mencius. Mencius discoursed to him how the nature of man is good, and when speaking, always made laudatory reference to Yao and Shun.

When the prince was returning from Chu, he again visited Mencius. Mencius said to him, 'Prince, do you doubt my words? The path is one, and only one. Cheng Gan said to duke Jing of Qi, "They were men. I am a man. Why should I stand in awe of them?" Yan Yuan said, "What kind of man was Shun? What kind of man am I? He who exerts himself will also become such as he was." Gong Ming Yi said, "King Wen is my teacher. How should the duke of Zhou deceive me by those words?" Now, Teng, taking its length with its breadth, will amount, I suppose, to fifty li. It is small, but still sufficient to make a good State. It is said in the Book of History, "If medicine do not raise a commotion in the patient, his disease will not be cured by it."'

2 When the duke Ding of Teng died, the prince said to Ran You, 'Formerly, Mencius spoke with me in Song, and in my mind I have never forgotten his words. Now, alas! this great duty to my father devolves upon me; I wish to send you to ask the advice of Mencius, and then to proceed to its various services'

Ran You accordingly proceeded to Zou, and consulted Mencius. Mencius said, 'Is this not good? In discharging the funeral duties to parents, men indeed feel constrained to do their utmost. The philosopher Zeng said, "When parents are alive, they should be served according to propriety; when they are dead, they should be buried according to propriety; and they should be sacrificed to according to propriety - this may be called filial piety." The ceremonies to be observed by the princes I have not learned, but I have heard these points: that the three years' mourning, the garment of coarse cloth with its lower edge even, and the eating of congee, were equally prescribed by the three dynasties, and binding on all, from the sovereign to the mass of the people.'

Ran You reported the execution of his commission, and the prince determined that the three years' mourning should be observed. His aged relatives, and the body of the officers, did not wish that it should be so, and said, 'The former princes of Lu, that kingdom which we honour, have, none of them, observed this practice, neither have any of our own former princes observed it. For you to act contrary to their example is not proper. Moreover, the History says, "In the observances of mourning and sacrifice, ancestors are to be followed," meaning that they received those things from a proper source to hand them down.' The prince said again to Ran You, 'Hitherto, I have not given myself to the pursuit of learning, but have found my pleasure in horsemanship and sword-exercise, and now I don't come up to the wishes of my aged relatives and the officers. I am afraid I may not be able to discharge my duty in the great business that I have entered on; do you again consult Mencius for me.'

On this, Ran You went again to Zou, and consulted Mencius. Mencius said, 'It is so, but he may not seek a remedy in others, but only in himself. Confucius said, "When a prince dies, his successor entrusts the administration to the prime minister. He sips the congee. His face is of a deep black. He approaches the place of mourning, and weeps. Of all the officers and inferior ministers there is not one who will presume not to join in the lamentation, he setting them this example. What the superior loves, his inferiors will be found to love exceedingly. The relation between superiors and inferiors is like that between the wind and grass. The grass must bend when the wind blows upon it." The business depends on the prince.'

Ran You returned with this answer to his commission, and the prince said, 'It is so. The matter does indeed depend on me.' So for five months he dwelt in the shed, without issuing an order or a caution. All the officers and his relatives said, 'He may be said to understand the ceremonies.' When the time of interment arrived, they came from all quarters of the State to witness it. Those who had come from other States to condole with him, were greatly pleased with the deep dejection of his countenance and the mournfulness of his wailing and weeping.

3 The duke Wen of Teng asked Mencius about the proper way of governing a kingdom. Mencius said, 'The business of the people may not be remissly attended to. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "In the day-light go and gather the grass, And at night twist your ropes; Then get up quickly on the roofs; Soon must we begin sowing again the grain." The way of the people is this: If they have a certain livelihood, they will have a fixed heart; if they have not a certain livelihood, they have not a fixed heart. If they have not a fixed heart, there is nothing which they will not do in the way of self-abandonment, of moral deflection, of depravity, and of wild license. When they have thus been involved in crime, to follow them up and punish them - this is to entrap the people. How can such a thing as entrapping the people be done under the rule of a benevolent man? Therefore, a ruler who is endowed with talents and virtue will be gravely complaisant and economical, showing a respectful politeness to his ministers, and taking from the people only in accordance with regulated limits. Yang Hu said, "He who seeks to be rich will not be benevolent. He who wishes to be benevolent will not be rich."

'The sovereign of the Xia dynasty enacted the fifty mu allotment, and the payment of a tax. The founder of the Yin enacted the seventy mu allotment, and the system of mutual aid. The founder of the Zhou enacted the hundred mu allotment, and the share system. In reality, what was paid in all these was a tithe. The share system means mutual division. The aid system means mutual dependence. Long said, "For regulating the lands, there is no better system than that of mutual aid, and none which is not better than that of taxing. By the tax system, the regular amount was fixed by taking the average of several years. In good years, when the grain lies about in abundance, much might be taken without its being oppressive, and the actual exaction would be small. But in bad years, the produce being not sufficient to repay the manuring of the fields, this system still requires the taking of the full amount. When the parent of the people causes the people to wear looks of distress, and, after the whole year's toil, yet not to be able to nourish their parents, so that they proceed to borrowing to increase their means, till the old people and children are found lying in the ditches and water-channels - where, in such a case, is his parental relation to the people?" As to the system of hereditary salaries, that is already observed in Teng. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "May the rain come down on our public field, And then upon our private fields!" It is only in the system of mutual aid that there is a public field, and from this passage we perceive that even in the Zhou dynasty this system has been recognised.

'Establish Xiang, Xu, Xue, and Xiao, all those educational institutions, for the instruction of the people. The name Xiang indicates nourishing as its object; Xiao, indicates teaching; and Xu indicates archery. By the Xia dynasty the name Xiao was used; by the Yin, that of Xu; and by the Zhou, that of Xiang. As to the Xue, they belonged to the three dynasties, and by that name. The object of them all is to illustrate the human relations. When those are thus illustrated by superiors, kindly feeling will prevail among the inferior people below. Should a real sovereign arise, he will certainly come and take an example from you; and thus you will be the teacher of the true sovereign. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Although Zhou was an old country, It received a new destiny." That is said with reference to king Wen. Do you practise those things with vigour, and you also will by them make new your kingdom.'

The duke afterwards sent Bi Zhan to consult Mencius about the nine-squares system of dividing the land. Mencius said to him, 'Since your prince, wishing to put in practice a benevolent government, has made choice of you and put you into this employment, you must exert yourself to the utmost. Now, the first thing towards a benevolent government must be to lay down the boundaries. If the boundaries be not defined correctly, the division of the land into squares will not be equal, and the produce available for salaries will not be evenly distributed. On this account, oppressive rulers and impure ministers are sure to neglect this defining of the boundaries. When the boundaries have been defined correctly, the division of the fields and the regulation of allowances may be determined by you, sitting at your ease. Although the territory of Teng is narrow and small, yet there must be in it men of a superior grade, and there must be in it country-men. If there were not men of a superior grade, there would be none to rule the country-men. If there were not country-men, there would be none to support the men of superior grade. I would ask you, in the remoter districts, observing the nine-squares division, to reserve one division to be cultivated on the system of mutual aid, and in the more central parts of the kingdom, to make the people pay for themselves a tenth part of their produce. From the highest officers down to the lowest, each one must have his holy field, consisting of fifty mu. Let the supernumerary males have their twenty-five mu. On occasions of death, or removal from one dwelling to another, there will be no quitting the district. In the fields of a district, those who belong to the same nine squares render all friendly offices to one another in their going out and coming in, aid one another in keeping watch and ward, and sustain one another in sickness. Thus the people are brought to live in affection and harmony. A square li covers nine squares of land, which nine squares contain nine hundred mu. The central square is the public field, and eight families, each having its private hundred mu, cultivate in common the public field. And not till the public work is finished, may they presume to attend to their private affairs. This is the way by which the country-men are distinguished from those of a superior grade. Those are the great outlines of the system. Happily to modify and adapt it depends on the prince and you.'

4 There came from Chu to Teng one Xu Xing, who gave out that he acted according to the words of Shen Nong. Coming right to his gate, he addressed the duke Wen, saying, 'A man of a distant region, I have heard that you, Prince, are practising a benevolent government, and I wish to receive a site for a house, and to become one of your people.' The duke Wen gave him a dwelling-place. His disciples, amounting to several tens, all wore clothes of haircloth, and made sandals of hemp and wove mats for a living.

At the same time, Chen Xiang, a disciple of Chen Liang, and his younger brother, Xin, with their plough-handles and shares on their backs, came from Song to Teng, saying, 'We have heard that you, Prince, are putting into practice the government of the ancient sages, showing that you are likewise a sage. We wish to become the subjects of a sage.' When Chen Xiang saw Xu Xing, he was greatly pleased with him, and, abandoning entirely whatever he had learned, became his disciple.

Having an interview with Mencius, he related to him with approbation the words of Xu Xing to the following effect: 'The prince of Teng is indeed a worthy prince. He has not yet heard, however, the real doctrines of antiquity. Now, wise and able princes should cultivate the ground equally and along with their people, and eat the fruit of their labour. They should prepare their own meals, morning and evening, while at the same time they carry on their government. But now, the prince of T'ang has his granaries, treasuries, and arsenals, which is an oppressing of the people to nourish himself. How can he be deemed a real worthy prince?'

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Mencius said,'I suppose that Xu Xing sows grain and eats the produce. Is it not so?' 'It is so,' was the answer.

'I suppose also he weaves cloth, and wears his own manufacture. Is it not so?' 'No. Xu wears clothes of haircloth.'

'Does he wear a cap?' 'He wears a cap.'

'What kind of cap?' 'A plain cap.'

'Is it woven by himself?' 'No. He gets it in exchange for grain.'

'Why does Xu not weave it himself?' 'That would injure his husbandry.'

'Does Xu cook his food in boilers and earthenware pans, and does he plough with an iron share?' 'Yes.'

'Does he make those articles himself?' 'No. He gets them in exchange for grain.'

Mencius then said, 'The getting those various articles in exchange for grain, is not oppressive to the potter and the founder, and the potter and the founder in their turn, in exchanging their various articles for grain, are not oppressive to the husbandman. How should such a thing be supposed? And moreover, why does not Xu act the potter and founder, supplying himself with the articles which he uses solely from his own establishment? Why does he go confusedly dealing and exchanging with the handicraftsmen? Why does he not spare himself so much trouble?' Chen Xiang replied, 'The business of the handicraftsman can by no means be carried on along with the business of husbandry.'

Mencius resumed, 'Then, is it the government of the kingdom which alone can be carried on along with the practice of husbandry? Great men have their proper business, and little men have their proper business. Moreover, in the case of any single individual, whatever articles he can require are ready to his hand, being produced by the various handicraftsmen - if he must first make them for his own use, this way of doing would keep all the people running about upon the roads. Hence, there is the saying, "Some labour with their minds, and some labour with their strength. Those who labour with their minds govern others; those who labour with their strength are governed by others. Those who are governed by others support them; those who govern others are supported by them." This is a principle universally recognised.

'In the time of Yao, when the world had not yet been perfectly reduced to order, the vast waters, flowing out of their channels, made a universal inundation. Vegetation was luxuriant, and birds and beasts swarmed. The various kinds of grain could not be grown. The birds and beasts pressed upon men. The paths marked by the feet of beasts and prints of birds crossed one another throughout the Middle Kingdom. To Yao alone this caused anxious sorrow. He raised Shun to office, and measures to regulate the disorder were set forth. Shun committed to Yi the direction of the fire to be employed, and Yi set fire to, and consumed, the forests and vegetation on the mountains and in the marshes, so that the birds and beasts fled away to hide themselves. Yu separated the nine streams, cleared the courses of the Ji and Ta, and led them all to the sea. He opened a vent also for the Ru and Han, and regulated the course of the Huai and Si, so that they all flowed into the Jiang. When this was done, it became possible for the people of the Middle Kingdom to cultivate the ground and get food for themselves. During that time, Yu was eight years away from his home, and though he thrice passed the door of it, he did not enter. Although he had wished to cultivate the ground, could he have done so? The Minister of Agriculture taught the people to sow and reap, cultivating the five kinds of grain. When the five kinds of grain were brought to maturity, the people all obtained a subsistence. But men possess a moral nature; and if they are well fed, warmly clad, and comfortably lodged, without being taught at the same time, they become almost like the beasts. This was a subject of anxious solicitude to the sage Shun, and he appointed Xie to be the Minister of Instruction, to teach the relations of humanity: how, between father and son, there should be affection; between sovereign and minister, righteousness; between husband and wife, attention to their separate functions; between old and young, a proper order; and between friends, fidelity. The high meritorious sovereign said to him, "Encourage them; lead them on; rectify them; straighten them; help them; give them wings - thus causing them to become possessors of themselves. Then follow this up by stimulating them, and conferring benefits on them." When the sages were exercising their solicitude for the people in this way, had they leisure to cultivate the ground?

'What Yao felt giving him anxiety was the not getting Shun. What Shun felt giving him anxiety was the not getting Yu and Gao Yao. But he whose anxiety is about his hundred mu not being properly cultivated, is a mere husbandman. The imparting by a man to others of his wealth, is called "kindness." The teaching others what is good, is called "the exercise of fidelity." The finding a man who shall benefit the kingdom, is called "benevolence." Hence to give the throne to another man would be easy; to find a man who shall benefit the kingdom is difficult. Confucius said, "Great indeed was Yao as a sovereign. It is only Heaven that is great, and only Yao corresponded to it. How vast was his virtue! The people could find no name for it. Princely indeed was Shun! How majestic was he, having possession of the kingdom, and yet seeming as if it were nothing to him!" In their governing the kingdom, were there no subjects on which Yao and Shun employed their minds? There were subjects, only they did not employ their minds on the cultivation of the ground.

'I have heard of men using the doctrines of our great land to change barbarians, but I have never yet heard of any being changed by barbarians. Chen Liang was a native of Chu. Pleased with the doctrines of Zhou Gong and Zhong Ni, he came northwards to the Middle Kingdom and studied them. Among the scholars of the northern regions, there was perhaps no one who excelled him. He was what you call a scholar of high and distinguished qualities. You and your brother followed him some tens of years, and when your master died, you forthwith turned away from him. Formerly, when Confucius died, after three vears had elapsed, his disciples collected their baggage, and prepared to return to their several homes. But on entering to take their leave of Zi Gong, as they looked towards one another, they wailed, till they all lost their voices. After this they returned to their homes, but Zi Gong went back, and built a house for himself on the altar-ground, where he lived alone other three years, before he returned home. On another occasion, Zi Xia, Zi Zhang, and Zi You, thinking that You Ruo resembled the sage, wished to render to him the same observances which they had rendered to Confucius. They tried to force the disciple Zeng to join with them, but he said, "This may not be done. What has been washed in the waters of the Jiang and Han, and bleached in the autumn sun - how glistening is it! Nothing can be added to it." Now here is this shrike-tongued barbarian of the south, whose doctrines are not those of the ancient kings. You turn away from your master and become his disciple. Your conduct is different indeed from that of the philosopher Zeng. I have heard of birds leaving dark valleys to remove to lofty trees, but I have not heard of their descending from lofty trees to enter into dark valleys. In the Praise-songs of Lu it is said, "He smote the barbarians of the west and the north, He punished Jing and Shu." Thus Zhou Gong would be sure to smite them, and you become their disciple again; it appears that your change is not good.'

Chen Xiang said, 'If Xu's doctrines were followed, then there would not be two prices in the market, nor any deceit in the kingdom. If a boy of five cubits were sent to the market, no one would impose on him; linen and silk of the same length would be of the same price. So it would be with bundles of hemp and silk, being of the same weight; with the different kinds of grain, being the same in quantity; and with shoes which were of the same size.' Mencius replied, 'It is the nature of things to be of unequal quality. Some are twice, some five times, some ten times, some a hundred times, some a thousand times, some ten thousand times as valuable as others. If you reduce them all to the same standard, that must throw the kingdom into confusion. If large shoes and small shoes were of the same price, who would make them? For people to follow the doctrines of Xu, would be for them to lead one another on to practise deceit. How can they avail for the government of a State?'

5 The Mohist, Yi Zhi, sought, through Xu Bi, to see Mencius. Mencius said, 'I indeed wish to see him, but at present I am still unwell. When I am better, I will myself go and see him. He need not come here again.'

Next day, Yi Zhi again sought to see Mencius. Mencius said, 'To-day I am able to see him. But if I do not correct his errors, the true principles will not be fully evident. Let me first correct him. I have heard that this Yi is a Mohist. Now Mo considers that in the regulation of funeral matters a spare simplicity should be the rule. Yi thinks with Mo's doctrines to change the customs of the kingdom - how does he regard them as if they were wrong, and not honour them? Notwithstanding his views, Yi buried his parents in a sumptuous manner, and so he served them in the way which his doctrines discountenance.'

The disciple Xu informed Yi of these remarks. Yi said, 'Even according to the principles of the learned, we find that the ancients acted towards the people "as if they were watching over an infant." What does this expression mean? To me it sounds that we are to love all without difference of degree; but the manifestation of love must begin with our parents.'

Xu reported this reply to Mencius, who said, 'Now, does Yi really think that a man's affection for the child of his brother is merely like his affection for the infant of a neighbour? What is to be approved in that expression is simply this: that if an infant crawling about is likely to fall into a well, it is no crime in the infant. Moreover, Heaven gives birth to creatures in such a way that they have one root, and Yi makes them to have two roots. This is the cause of his error. And, in the most ancient times, there were some who did not inter their parents. When their parents died, they took them up and threw them into some water-channel. Afterwards, when passing by them, they saw foxes and wild-cats devouring them, and flies and gnats biting at them. The perspiration started out upon their foreheads, and they looked away, unable to bear the sight. It was not on account of other people that this perspiration flowed. The emotions of their hearts affected their faces and eyes, and instantly they went home, and came back with baskets and spades and covered the bodies. If the covering them thus was indeed right, you may see that the filial son and virtuous man, in interring in a handsome manner their parents, act according to a proper rule.'

The disciple Xu informed Yi of what Mencius had said. Yi was thoughtful for a short time, and then said, 'He has instructed me.'

MENGZI CHAPTER 6 Teng Wen Gong 2

6 Chen Dai said to Mencius, 'In not going to wait upon any of the princes, you seem to me to be standing on a small point. If now you were once to wait upon them, the result might be so great that you would make one of them sovereign, or, if smaller, that you would make one of them chief of all the other princes. Moreover, the History says, "By bending only one cubit, you make eight cubits straight." It appears to me like a thing which might be done.'

Mencius said, 'Formerly, the duke Jing of Qi, once when he was hunting, called his forester to him by a flag. The forester would not come, and the duke was going to kill him. With reference to this incident, Confucius said, "The determined officer never forgets that his end may be in a ditch or a stream; the brave officer never forgets that he may lose his head." What was it in the forester that Confucius thus approved? He approved his not going to the duke, when summoned by the article which was not appropriate to him. If one go to see the princes without waiting to be invited, what can be thought of him? Moreover, that sentence, "By bending only one cubit, you make eight cubits straight," is spoken with reference to the gain that may be got. If gain be the object, then, if it can be got by bending eight cubits to make one cubit straight, may we likewise do that? Formerly, the officer Zhao Jian made Wang Liang act as charioteer for his favourite Xi, when, in the course of a whole day, they did not get a single bird. The favourite Xi reported this result, saying, "He is the poorest charioteer in the world." Some one told this to Wang Liang, who said, "I beg leave to try again." By dint of pressing, this was accorded to him, when in one morning they got ten birds. The favourite, reporting this result, said, "He is the best charioteer in the world." Jian said, "I will make him always drive your chariot for you." When he told Wang Liang so, however, Liang refused, saying, "I drove for him, strictly observing the proper rules for driving, and in the whole day he did not get one bird. I drove for him so as deceitfully to intercept the birds, and in one morning he got ten. It is said in the Book of Poetry, 'There is no failure in the management of their horses; The arrows are discharged surely, like the blows of an axe.' I am not accustomed to drive for a mean man. I beg leave to decline the office." Thus this charioteer even was ashamed to bend improperly to the will of such an archer. Though, by bending to it, they would have caught birds and animals sufficient to form a hill, he would not do so. If I were to bend my principles and follow those princes, of what kind would my conduct be? And you are wrong. Never has a man who has bent himself been able to make others straight.'

7 Jing Chun said to Mencius, 'Are not Gong Sun Yan and Zhang Yi really great men? Let them once be angry, and all the princes are afraid. Let them live quietly, and the flames of trouble are extinguished throughout the kingdom.'

Mencius said, 'How can such men be great men? Have you not read the Ritual Usages? "At the capping of a young man, his father admonishes him. At the marrying away of a young woman, her mother admonishes her, accompanying her to the door on her leaving, and cautioning her with these words, 'You are going to your home. You must be respectful; you must be careful. Do not disobey your husband.'" Thus, to look upon compliance as their correct course is the rule for women. To dwell in the wide house of the world, to stand in the correct seat of the world, and to walk in the great path of the world; when he obtains his desire for office, to practise his principles for the good of the people; and when that desire is disappointed, to practise them alone; to be above the power of riches and honours to make dissipated, of poverty and mean condition to make swerve from principle, and of power and force to make bend - these characteristics constitute the great man.'

8 Zhou Xiao asked Mencius, saying, 'Did superior men of old time take office?'

Mencius replied, 'They did. The Record says, "If Confucius was three months without being employed by some ruler, he looked anxious and unhappy. When he passed from the boundary of a State, he was sure to carry with him his proper gift of introduction." Gong Ming Yi said, "Among the ancients, if an officer was three months unemployed by a ruler, he was condoled with."'

Xiao said, 'Did not this condoling, on being three months unemployed by a ruler, show a too great urgency?'

Mencius answered, 'The loss of his place to an officer is like the loss of his State to a prince. It is said in the Book of Rites, "A prince ploughs himself, and is assisted by the people, to

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supply the millet for sacrifice. His wife keeps silkworms, and unwinds their cocoons, to make the garments for sacrifice." If the victims be not perfect, the millet not pure, and the dress not complete, he does not presume to sacrifice. "And the scholar who, out of office, has no holy field, in the same way, does not sacrifice. The victims for slaughter, the vessels, and the garments, not being all complete, he does not presume to sacrifice, and then neither may he dare to feel happy." Is there not here sufficient ground also for condolence?'

Xiao again asked, 'What was the meaning of Confucius's always carrying his proper gift of introduction with him, when he passed over the boundaries of the State where he had been?'

'An officer's being in office,' was the reply, 'is like the ploughing of a husbandman. Does a husbandman part with his plough, because he goes from one State to another?'

Xiao pursued, 'The kingdom of Jin is one, as well as others, of official employments, but I have not heard of anyone being thus earnest about being in office. If there should be this urge why does a superior man make any difficulty about taking it?'

Mencius answered, 'When a son is born, what is desired for him is that he may have a wife; when a daughter is born, what is desired for her is that she may have a husband. This feeling of the parents is possessed by all men. If the young people, without waiting for the orders of their parents, and the arrangements of the go-betweens, shall bore holes to steal a sight of each other, or get over the wall to be with each other, then their parents and all other people will despise them. The ancients did indeed always desire to be in office, but they also hated being so by any improper way. To seek office by an improper way is of a class with young people's boring holes.'

9 Peng Geng asked Mencius, saying, 'Is it not an extravagant procedure to go from one prince to another and live upon them, followed by several tens of carriages, and attended by several hundred men?'

Mencius replied, 'If there be not a proper ground for taking it, a single bamboo-cup of rice may not be received from a man. If there be such a proper ground, then Shun's receiving the kingdom from Yao is not to be considered excessive. Do you think it was excessive?'

Geng said, 'No. But for a scholar performing no service to receive his support notwithstanding is improper.'

Mencius answered, 'If you do not have an intercommunication of the productions of labour, and an interchange of men's services, so that one from his overplus may supply the deficiency of another, then husbandmen will have a superfluity of grain, and women will have a superfluity of cloth. If you have such an interchange, carpenters and carriage-wrights may all get their food from you. Here now is a man, who, at home, is filial, and abroad, respectful to his elders; who watches over the principles of the ancient kings, awaiting the rise of future learners - and yet you will refuse to support him. How is it that you give honour to the carpenter and carriage-wright, and slight him who practises benevolence and righteousness?'

Peng Geng said, 'The aim of the carpenter and carriagewright is by their trades to seek for a living. Is it also the aim of the superior man in his practice of principles thereby to seek for a living?'

'What have you to do,' returned Mencius, 'with his purpose? He is of service to you. He deserves to be supported, and should be supported. And let me ask - Do you remunerate a man's intention, or do you remunerate his service.'

To this Kang replied, 'I remunerate his intention.'

Mencius said, 'There is a man here, who breaks your tiles, and draws unsightly figures on your walls - his purpose may be thereby to seek for his living, but will you indeed remunerate him?'

'No,' said Geng.

Mencius then concluded, 'That being the case, it is not the purpose which you remunerate, but the work done.'

10 Wan Zhang asked Mencius, saying, 'Sung is a small State. Its ruler is now setting about to practise the true royal government, and Qi and Chu hate and attack him. What in this case is to be done?'

Mencius replied, 'When Tang dwelt in Bo, he adjoined to the State of Ge, the chief of which was living in a dissolute state and neglecting his proper sacrifices. Tang sent messengers to inquire why he did not sacrifice. He replied, "I have no means of supplying the necessary victims." On this, Tang caused oxen and sheep to be sent to him, but he ate them, and still continued not to sacrifice. Tang again sent messengers to ask him the same question as before, when he replied, "I have no means of obtaining the necessary millet." On this, Tang sent the mass of the people of Bo to go and till the ground for him, while the old and feeble carried their food to them. The chief of Ge led his people to intercept those who were thus charged with wine, cooked rice, millet, and paddy, and took their stores from them, while they killed those who refused to give them up. There was a boy who had some millet and flesh for the labourers, who was thus slain and robbed. What is said in the Book of History, "The chief of Ge behaved as an enemy to the provision-carriers," has reference to this. Because of his murder of this boy, Tang proceeded to punish him. All within the four seas said, "It is not because he desires the riches of the kingdom, but to avenge a common man and woman." When Tang began his work of executing justice, he commenced with Ge, and though he made eleven punitive expeditions, he had not an enemy in the kingdom. When he pursued his work in the east, the rude tribes in the west murmured. So did those on the north, when he was engaged in the south. Their cry was "Why does he make us last." Thus, the people's longing for him was like their longing for rain in a time of great drought. The frequenters of the markets stopped not. Those engaged in weeding in the fields made no change in their operations. While he punished their rulers, he consoled the people. His progress was like the falling of opportune rain, and the people were delighted. It is said in the Book of History, "We have waited for our prince. When our prince comes, we may escape from the punishments under which we suffer." There being some who would not become the subjects of Zhou, king Wu proceeded to punish them on the east. He gave tranquillity to their people, who welcomed him with baskets full of their black and yellow silks, saying "From henceforth we shall serve the sovereign of our dynasty of Zhou, that we may be made happy by him." So they joined themselves, as subjects, to the great city of Zhou. Thus, the men of station of Shang took baskets full of black and yellow silks to meet the men of station of Zhou, and the lower classes of the one met those of the other with baskets of rice and vessels of congee. Wu saved the people from the midst of fire and water, seizing only their oppressors, and destroying them.' In the Great Declaration it is said, "My power shall be put forth, and, invading the territories of Shang, I will seize the oppressor. I will put him to death to punish him - so shall the greatness of my work appear, more glorious than that of Tang." Song is not, as you say, practising true royal government, and so forth. If it were practising royal government, all within the four seas would be lifting up their heads, and looking for its prince, wishing to have him for their sovereign. Great as Qi and Chu are, what would there be to fear from them?'

11 Mencius said to Dai Bu Sheng, 'I see that you are desiring your king to be virtuous, and will plainly tell you how he may be made so. Suppose that there is a great officer of Chu here, who wishes his son to learn the speech of Qi. Will he in that case employ a man of Qi as his tutor, or a man of Chu?'

'He will employ a man of Qi to teach him,' said Bu Sheng.

Mencius went on, 'If but one man of Qi be teaching him, and there be a multitude of men of Chu continually shouting out about him, although his father beat him every day, wishing him to learn the speech of Qi, it will be impossible for him to do so. But in the same way, if he were to be taken and placed for several years in Zhuang or Yue, though his father should beat him, wishing him to speak the language of Chu, it would be impossible for him to do so. You supposed that Xue Ju Zhou was a scholar of virtue, and you have got him placed in attendance on the king. Suppose that all in attendance on the king, old and young, high and low, were Xue Ju Zhous, whom would the king have to do evil with? And suppose that all in attendance on the king, old and young, high and low, are not Xue Ju Zhous, whom will the king gave to do good with? What can one Xue Ju Zhou do alone for the king of Song?'

12 Gong Sun Chou asked Mencius, saying, 'What is the point of righteousness involved in your not going to see the princes?'

Mencius replied, 'Among the ancients, if one had not seen a minister in a State, he did not go to see the sovereign. Duan Gan Mu leaped over his wall to avoid the prince. Xie Liu shut his door, and would not admit the prince. These two, however, carried their scrupulosity to excess. When a prince is urgent, it is not improper to see him. Yang Huo wished to get Confucius to go to see him, but disliked doing so by any want of propriety. As it is the rule, therefore, that when a great officer sends a gift to a scholar, if the latter be not at home to receive it, he must go to the officer's to pay his respects, Yang Huo watched when Confucius was out, and sent him a roasted pig. Confucius, in his turn, watched when Huo was out, and went to pay his respects to him. At that time, Yang Huo had taken the initiative - how could Confucius decline going to see him? Zengzi said, "They who shrug up their shoulders, and laugh in a flattering way, toil harder than the summer labourer in the fields." Zi Lu said, "There are those who talk with people with whom they have no great community of feeling. If you look at their countenances, they are full of blushes. I do not desire to know such persons." By considering these remarks, the spirit which the superior man nourishes may be known.'

13 Dai Ying Zhi said to Mencius, 'I am not able at present and immediately to do with the levying of a tithe only, and abolishing the duties charged at the passes and in the markets. With your leave I will lighten, however, both the tax and the duties, until next year, and will then make an end of them. What do you think of such a course?'

Mencius said, 'Here is a man, who every day appropriates some of his neighbour's strayed fowls. Some one says to him, "Such is not the way of a good man;" and he replies, "With your leave I will diminish my appropriations, and will take only one fowl a month, until next year, when I will make an end of the practice." If you know that the thing is unrighteous, then use all despatch in putting an end to it - why wait till next year?'

14 The disciple Gong Du said to Mencius, 'Master, the people beyond our school all speak of you as being fond of disputing. I venture to ask whether it be so.'

Mencius replied, 'Indeed, I am not fond of disputing, but I am compelled to do it. A long time has elapsed since this world of men received its being, and there has been along its history now a period of good order, and now a period of confusion. In the time of Yao, the waters, flowing out of their channels, inundated the Middle Kingdom. Snakes and dragons occupied it, and the people had no place where they could settle themselves. In the low grounds they made nests for themselves on the trees or raised platforms, and in the high grounds they made caves. It is said in the Book of History, "The waters in their wild course warned me." Those "waters in their wild course" were the waters of the great inundation. Shun employed Yu to reduce the waters to order. Yu dug open their obstructed channels, and conducted them to the sea. He drove away the snakes and dragons, and forced them into the grassy marshes. On this, the waters pursued their course through the country, even the waters of the Jiang, the Huai, the He, and the Han, and the dangers and obstructions which they had occasioned were removed. The birds and beasts which had injured the people also disappeared, and after this men found the plains available for them, and occupied them.

'After the death of Yao and Shun, the principles that mark sages fell into decay. Oppressive sovereigns arose one after another, who pulled down houses to make ponds and lakes, so that the people knew not where they could rest in quiet; they threw fields out of cultivation to form gardens and parks, so that the people could not get clothes and food. Afterwards, corrupt speakings and oppressive deeds became more rife; gardens and parks, ponds and lakes, thickets and marshes became more numerous, and birds and beasts swarmed. By the time of the tyrant Zhou, the kingdom was again in a state of great confusion. Zhou Gong assisted king Wu, and destroyed Zhou. He smote Yan, and after three years put its sovereign to death. He drove Fei Lian to a corner by the sea, and slew him. The States which he extinguished amounted to fifty. He drove far away also the tigers, leopards, rhinoceroses, and elephants - and all the people was greatly delighted. It is said in the Book of History, "Great and splendid were the plans of king Wen! Greatly were they carried out by the energy of king Wu! They are for the assistance and instruction of us who are of an after day. They are all in principle correct, and deficient in nothing."

'Again the world fell into decay, and principles faded away. Perverse speakings and oppressive deeds waxed rife again. There were instances of ministers who murdered their sovereigns, and of sons who murdered their fathers. Confucius was afraid, and made the "Spring and Autumn." What the "Spring and Autumn" contains are matters proper to the sovereign. On this account Confucius said, "Yes! It is the Spring and Autumn which will make men know me, and it is the Spring and Autumn which will make men condemn me."

'Once more, sage sovereigns cease to arise, and the princes of the States give the reins to their lusts. Unemployed scholars indulge in unreasonable discussions. The words of Yang Zhu and Mo Di fill the country. If you listen to people's discourses throughout it, you will find that they have adopted the views either of Yang or of Mo. Now, Yang's principle is "each one for himself," which does not acknowledge the claims of the sovereign. Mo's principle is "to love all equally," which does not acknowledge the peculiar affection due to a father. But to acknowledge neither king nor father is to be in the state of a beast. Gong Meng Yi said, "In their kitchens, there is fat meat. In their stables, there are fat horses. But their people have the look of hunger, and on the wilds there are those who have died of famine. This is leading on beasts to devour men." If the principles of Yang and Mo be not stopped, and the principles of Confucius not set forth, then those perverse speakings will delude the people, and stop up the path of benevolence and righteousness. When benevolence and righteousness are stopped up, beasts will be led on to devour men, and men will devour one another. I am alarmed by these things, and address myself to the defence of the doctrines of the former sages, and to oppose Yang and Mo. I drive away their licentious expressions, so that such perverse speakers may not be able to show themselves. Their delusions spring up in men's minds, and do injury to their practice of affairs. Shown in their practice of affairs, they are pernicious to their government. When sages shall rise up again, they will not change my words.

'In former times, Yu repressed the vast waters of the inundation, and the country was reduced to order. Zhou Gong's achievements extended even to the barbarous tribes of the east and north, and he drove away all ferocious animals, and the people enjoyed repose. Confucius completed the "Spring and Autumn," and rebellious ministers and villainous sons were struck with terror. It is said in the Book of Poetry,

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"He smote the barbarians of the west and the north; He punished Jing and Shu; And no one dared to resist us." These father-deniers and king-deniers would have been smitten by Zhou Gong. I also wish to rectify men's hearts, and to put an end to those perverse doctrines, to oppose their one-sided actions and banish away their licentious expressions - and thus to carry on the work of the three sages. Do I do so because I am fond of disputing? I am compelled to do it. Whoever is able to oppose Yang and Mo is a disciple of the sages.'

15 Kuang Zhang said to Mencius, 'Is not Chen Zhong a man of true self-denying purity? He was living in Wu Ling, and for three days was without food, till he could neither hear nor see. Over a well there grew a plum-tree, the fruit of which had been more than half eaten by worms. He crawled to it, and tried to eat some of the fruit, when, after swallowing three mouthfuls, he recovered his sight and hearing.'

Mencius replied, 'Among the scholars of Qi, I must regard Zhong as the thumb among the fingers. But still, where is the self-denying purity he pretends to? To carry out the principles which he holds, one must become an earthworm, for so only can it be done. Now, an earthworm eats the dry mould above, and drinks the yellow spring below. Was the house in which Zhong dwells built by a Bo Yi? or was it built by a robber like Zhi? Was the millet which he eats planted by a Bo Yi? or was it planted by a robber like Zhi? These are things which cannot be known.'

'But,' said Zhang, 'what does that matter? He himself weaves sandals of hemp, and his wife twists and dresses threads of hemp to sell or exchange them.'

Mencius rejoined, 'Zhong belongs to an ancient and noble family of Qi. His elder brother Dai received from Gai a revenue of 10,000 zhong, but he considered his brother's emolument to be unrighteous, and would not eat of it, and in the same way he considered his brother's house to be unrighteous, and would not dwell in it. Avoiding his brother and leaving his mother, he went and dwelt in Wu Ling. One day afterwards, he returned to their house, when it happened that some one sent his brother a present of a live goose. He, knitting his eyebrows, said, "What are you going to use that cackling thing for?" By-and-by his mother killed the goose, and gave him some of it to eat. Just then his brother came into the house, and said, "It is the flesh of that cackling thing," upon which he went out and vomited it. Thus, what his mother gave him he would not eat, but what his wife gives him he eats. He will not dwell in his brother's house, but he dwells in Wu Ling. How can he in such circumstances complete the style of life which he professes? With such principles as Zhong holds, a man must be an earthworm, and then he can carry them out.'

MENGZI CHAPTER 7 Li Lou 1

1 Mencius said, 'The power of vision of Li Lou, and skill of hand of Gong Shu, without the compass and square, could not form squares and circles. The acute ear of the music-master Kuang, without the pitch-tubes, could not determine correctly the five notes. The principles of Yao and Shun, without a benevolent government, could not secure the tranquil order of the kingdom. There are now princes who have benevolent hearts and a reputation for benevolence, while yet the people do not receive any benefits from them, nor will they leave any example to future ages - all because they do not put into practice the ways of the ancient kings.

'Hence we have the saying: "Virtue alone is not sufficient for the exercise of government; laws alone cannot carry themselves into practice." It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Without transgression, without forgetfulness, Following the ancient statutes." Never has any one fallen into error, who followed the laws of the ancient kings. When the sages had used the vigour of their eyes, they called in to their aid the compass, the square, the level, and the line, to make things square, round, level, and straight: the use of the instruments is inexhaustible. When they had used their power of hearing to the utmost, they called in the pitch-tubes to their aid to determine the five notes - the use of those tubes is inexhaustible. When they had exerted to the utmost the thoughts of their hearts, they called in to their aid a government that could not endure to witness the sufferings of men - and their benevolence overspread the kingdom.

'Hence we have the saying: "To raise a thing high, we must begin from the top of a mound or a hill; to dig to a great depth, we must commence in the low ground of a stream or a marsh." Can he be pronounced wise, who, in the exercise of government, does not proceed according to the ways of the former kings? Therefore only the benevolent ought to be in high stations. When a man destitute of benevolence is in a high station, he thereby disseminates his wickedness among all below him. When the prince has no principles by which he examines his administration, and his ministers have no laws by which they keep themselves in the discharge of their duties, then in the court obedience is not paid to principle, and in the office obedience is not paid to rule. Superiors violate the laws of righteousness, and inferiors violate the penal laws. It is only by a fortunate chance that a State in such a case is preserved.

'Therefore it is said, "It is not the exterior and interior walls being incomplete, and the supply of weapons offensive and defensive not being large, which constitutes the calamity of a kingdom. It is not the cultivable area not being extended, and stores and wealth not being accumulated, which occasions the ruin of a State." When superiors do not observe the rules of propriety, and inferiors do not learn, then seditious people spring up, and that State will perish in no time. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "When such an overthrow of Zhou is being produced by Heaven, Be not ye so much at your ease!" " At your ease;" - that is, dilatory. And so dilatory may those officers be deemed, who serve their prince without righteousness, who take office and retire from it without regard to propriety, and who in their words disown the ways of the ancient kings. Therefore it is said, "To urge one's sovereign to difficult achievements may be called showing respect for him. To set before him what is good and repress his perversities may be called showing reverence for him. He who does not do these things, saying to himself, My sovereign is incompetent to this, may be said to play the thief with him."'

2 Mencius said, 'The compass and square produce perfect circles and squares. By the sages, the human relations are perfectly exhibited. He who as a sovereign would perfectly discharge the duties of a sovereign, and he who as a minister would perfectly discharge the duties of a minister, have only to imitate - the one Yao, and the other Shun. He who does not serve his sovereign as Shun served Yao, does not respect his sovereign; and he who does not rule his people as Yao ruled his, injures his people. Confucius said, "There are but two courses, which can be pursued, that of virtue and its opposite." A ruler who carries the oppression of his people to the highest pitch, will himself be slain, and his kingdom will perish. If one stop short of the highest pitch, his life will notwithstanding be in danger, and his kingdom will be weakened. He will be styled "The Dark," or "The Cruel," and though he may have filial sons and affectionate grandsons, they will not be able in a hundred generations to change the designation. This is what is intended in the words of the Book of Poetry, "The beacon of Yin is not remote, It is in the time of the (last) sovereign of Xia."'

3 Mencius said, 'It was by benevolence that the three dynasties gained the throne, and by not being benevolent that they lost it. It is by the same means that the decaying and flourishing, the preservation and perishing, of States are determined. If the sovereign be not benevolent, he cannot preserve the throne from passing from him. If the Head of a State be not benevolent, he cannot preserve his rule. If a high noble or great officer be not benevolent, he cannot preserve his ancestral temple. If a scholar or common man be not benevolent, be cannot preserve his four limbs. Now they hate death and ruin, and yet delight in being not benevolent - this is like hating to be drunk, and yet being strong to drink wine!'

4 Mencius said, 'If a man love others, and no responsive attachment is shown to him, let him turn inwards and examine his own benevolence. If he is trying to rule others, and his government is unsuccessful, let him turn inwards and examine his wisdom. If he treats others politely, and they do not return his politeness, let him turn inwards and examine his own feeling of respect. When we do not, by what we do, realise what we desire, we must turn inwards, and examine ourselves in every point. When a man's person is correct, the whole kingdom will turn to him with recognition and submission. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Be always studious to be in harmony with the ordinances of God, And you will obtain much happiness."'

5 Mencius said, 'People have this common saying, "The kingdom, the State, the family." The root of the kingdom is in the State. The root of the State is in the family. The root of the family is in the person of its Head.'

6 Mencius said, 'The administration of government is not difficult - it lies in not offending the great families. He whom the great families affect, will be affected by the whole State; and he whom any one State affects, will be affected by the whole kingdom. When this is the case, such an one's virtue and teachings will spread over all within the four seas like the rush of water.'

7 Mencius said, 'When right government prevails in the kingdom, princes of little virtue are submissive to those of great, and those of little worth to those of great. When bad government prevails in the kingdom, princes of small power are submissive to those of great, and the weak to the strong. Both these cases are the rule of Heaven. They who accord with Heaven are preserved, and they who rebel against Heaven perish. The duke Jing of Qi said, "Not to be able to command others, and at the same time to refuse to receive their commands, is to cut one's self off from all intercourse with others." His tears flowed forth while he gave his daughter to be married to the prince of Wu.

'Now the small States imitate the large, and yet are ashamed to receive their commands. This is like a scholar's being ashamed to receive the commands of his master. For a prince who is ashamed of this, the best plan is to imitate king Wen. Let one imitate king Wen, and in five years, if his State be large, or in seven years, if it be small, he will be sure to give laws to the kingdom. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "The descendants of the sovereigns of the Shang dynasty, Are in number more than hundreds of thousands, But, God having passed His decree, They are all submissive to Zhou. They are submissive to Zhou, Because the decree of Heaven is not unchanging. The officers of Yin, admirable and alert, Pour out the libations, and assist in the capital of Zhou." Confucius said, "As against so benevolent a sovereign, they could not be deemed a multitude." Thus, if the prince of a state love benevolence, he will have no opponent in all the kingdom. Now they wish to have no opponent in all the kingdom, but they do not seek to attain this by being benevolent. This is like a man laying hold of a heated substance, and not having first dipped it in water. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Who can take up a heated substance, Without first dipping it (in water)?"'

8 Mencius said, 'How is it possible to speak with those princes who are not benevolent? Their perils they count safety, their calamities they count profitable, and they have pleasure in the things by which they perish. If it were possible to talk with them who so violate benevolence, how could we have such destruction of States and ruin of Families? There was a boy singing, "When the water of the Cang Lang is clear, It does to wash the strings of my cap; When the water of the Cang Lang is muddy, It does to wash my feet." Confucius said, "Hear what he sings, my children. When clear, then he will wash his cap-strings; and when muddy, he will wash his feet with it. This different application is brought by the water on itself." A man must first despise himself, and then others will despise him. A family must first destroy itself, and then others will destroy it. A State must first smite itself, and then others will smite it. This is illustrated in the passage of the Tai Jia, "When Heaven sends down calamities, it is still possible to escape them. When we occasion the calamities ourselves, it is not possible any longer to live."'

9 Mencius said, 'Jie and Zhou's losing the throne, arose from their losing the people, and to lose the people means to lose their hearts. There is a way to get the kingdom: get the people, and the kingdom is got. There is a way to get the people: get their hearts, and the people are got. There is a way to get their hearts: it is simply to collect for them what they like, and not to lay on them what they dislike. The people turn to a benevolent rule as water flows downwards, and as wild beasts fly to the wilderness. Accordingly, as the otter aids the deep waters, driving the fish into them, and the hawk aids the thickets, driving the little birds to them, so Jie and Zhou aided Tang and Wu, driving the people to them. If among the present rulers of the kingdom, there were one who loved benevolence, all the other princes would aid him, by driving the people to him. Although he wished not to become sovereign, he could not avoid becoming so. The case of one of the present princes wishing to become sovereign is like the having to seek for mugwort three years old, to cure a seven years' sickness. If it have not been kept in store, the patient may all his life not get it. If the princes do not set their wills on benevolence, all their days will be in sorrow and disgrace, and they will be involved in death and ruin. This is illustrated by what is said in the Book of Poetry, "How otherwise can you improve the kingdom? You will only with it go to ruin."'

10 Mencius said, 'With those who do violence to themselves, it is impossible to speak. With those who throw themselves away, it is impossible to do anything. To disown in his conversation propriety and righteousness, is what we mean by doing violence to one's self. To say "I am not able to dwell in benevolence or pursue the path of righteousness," is what we mean by throwing one's self away. Benevolence is the tranquil habitation of man, and righteousness is his straight path. Alas for them, who leave the tranquil dwelling empty and do not reside in it, and who abandon the right path and do not pursue it?'

11 Mencius said, 'The path of duty lies in what is near, and men seek for it in what is remote. The work of duty lies in what is easy, and men seek for it in what is difficult. If each man would love his parents and show the due respect to his elders, the whole land would enjoy tranquillity.'

12 Mencius said, 'When those occupying inferior situations do not obtain the confidence of the sovereign, they cannot succeed in governing the people. There is a way to obtain the confidence of the sovereign: if one is not trusted by his friends, he will not obtain the confidence of his sovereign. There is a way of being trusted by one's friends: if one do not serve his parents so as to make them pleased, he will not be trusted by his friends. There is a way to make one's parents pleased: if one, on turning his thoughts inwards, finds a want of sincerity, he will not give pleasure to his parents. There is a way to the attainment of sincerity in one's self: if a man do not understand what is good, he will not attain sincerity in himself. Therefore, sincerity is the way of Heaven. To think how to be sincere is the way of man. Never has there been one possessed of complete sincerity, who did not move others. Never has there been one who had not sincerity who was able to move others.'

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13 Mencius said, 'Bo Yi, that he might avoid Zhou, was dwelling on the coast of the northern sea. When he heard of the rise of king Wen, he roused himself, and said, "Why should I not go and follow him? I have heard that the chief of the West knows well how to nourish the old." Tai Gong, that he might avoid Zhou, was dwelling on the coast of the eastern sea. When he heard of the rise of king Wen, he roused himself, and said, "Why should I not go and follow him? I have heard that the chief of the West knows well how to nourish the old." Those two old men were the greatest old men of the kingdom. When they came to follow king Wen, it was the fathers of the kingdom coming to follow him. When the fathers of the kingdom joined him, how could the sons go to any other? Were any of the princes to practise the government of king Wen, within seven years he would be sure to be giving laws to the kingdom.'

14 Mencius said, 'Qiu acted as chief officer to the head of the Ji family, whose evil ways he was unable to change, while he exacted from the people double the grain formerly paid. Confucius said, "He is no disciple of mine. Little children, beat the drum and assail him." Looking at the subject from this case, we perceive that when a prince was not practising benevolent government, all his ministers who enriched him were rejected by Confucius - how much more would he have rejected those who are vehement to fight for their prince! When contentions about territory are the ground on which they fight, they slaughter men till the fields are filled with them. When some struggle for a city is the ground on which they fight, they slaughter men till the city is filled with them. This is what is called "leading on the land to devour human flesh." Death is not enough for such a crime. Therefore, those who are skilful to fight should suffer the highest punishment. Next to them should be punished those who unite some princes in leagues against others; and next to them, those who take in grassy commons, imposing the cultivation of the ground on the people.'

15 Mencius said, 'Of all the parts of a man's body there is none more excellent than the pupil of the eye. The pupil cannot be used to hide a man's wickedness. If within the breast all be correct, the pupil is bright. If within the breast all be not correct, the pupil is dull. Listen to a man's words and look at the pupil of his eye. How can a man conceal his character?'

16 Mencius said, 'The respectful do not despise others. The economical do not plunder others. The prince who treats men with despite and plunders them, is only afraid that they may not prove obedient to him - how can he be regarded as respectful or economical? How can respectfulness and economy be made out of tones of the voice, and a smiling manner?'

17 Chun Yu Kun said, 'Is it the rule that males and females shall not allow their hands to touch in giving or receiving anything?'

Mencius replied, 'It is the rule.'

Kun asked, 'If a man's sister-in-law be drowning, shall he rescue her with his hand?'

Mencius said, 'He who would not so rescue the drowning woman is a wolf. For males and females not to allow their hands to touch in giving and receiving is the general rule; when a sister-in-law is drowning, to rescue her with the hand is a peculiar exigency.'

Kun said, 'The whole kingdom is drowning. How strange it is that you will not rescue it!'

Mencius answered, 'A drowning kingdom must be rescued with right principles, as a drowning sister-in-law has to be rescued with the hand. Do you wish me to rescue the kingdom with my hand?'

18 Gong Sun Chou said, 'Why is it that the superior man does not himself teach his son?'

Mencius replied, 'The circumstances of the case forbid its being done. The teacher must inculcate what is correct. When he inculcates what is correct, and his lessons are not practised, he follows them up with being angry. When he follows them up with being angry, then, contrary to what should be, he is offended with his son. At the same time, the pupil says, 'My master inculcates on me what is correct, and he himself does not proceed in a correct path." The result of this is, that father and son are offended with each other. When father and son come to be offended with each other, the case is evil. The ancients exchanged sons, and one taught the son of another. Between father and son, there should be no reproving admonitions to what is good. Such reproofs lead to alienation, and than alienation there is nothing more inauspicious.'

19 Mencius said, 'Of services, which is the greatest? The service of parents is the greatest. Of charges, which is the greatest ? The charge of one's self is the greatest. That those who do not fail to keep themselves are able to serve their parents is what I have heard. But I have never heard of any, who, having failed to keep themselves, were able notwithstanding to serve their parents. There are many services, but the service of parents is the root of all others. There are many charges, but the charge of one's self is the root of all others. The philosopher Zeng, in nourishing Zeng Xi, was always sure to have wine and flesh provided. And when they were being removed, he would ask respectfully to whom he should give what was left. If his father asked whether there was anything left, he was sure to say, "There is." After the death of Zeng Xi, when Zeng Yuan came to nourish Zengzi, he was always sure to have wine and flesh provided. But when the things were being removed, he did not ask to whom he should give what was left, and if his father asked whether there was anything left, he would answer "No;" - intending to bring them in again. This was what is called "nourishing the mouth and body." We may call Zengzi's practice "nourishing the will." To serve one's parents as Zengzi served his, may be accepted as filial piety.'

20 Mencius said, 'It is not enough to remonstrate with a sovereign on account of the mal-employment of ministers, nor to blame errors of government. It is only the great man who can rectify what is wrong in the sovereign's mind. Let the prince be benevolent, and all his acts will be benevolent. Let the prince be righteous, and all his acts will be righteous. Let the prince be correct, and everything will be correct. Once rectify the ruler, and the kingdom will be firmly settled.'

21 Mencius said, 'There are cases of praise which could not be expected, and of reproach when the parties have been seeking to be perfect.'

22 Mencius said, 'Men's being ready with their tongues arises simply from their not having been reproved.'

23 Mencius said, 'The evil of men is that they like to be teachers of others.'

24 The disciple Yue Zheng went in the train of Zi Ao to Qi. He came to see Mencius, who said to him, 'Are you also come to see me?' Yue Zheng replied, 'Master, why do you speak such words?' 'How many days have you been here?' asked Mencius. 'I came yesterday.' 'Yesterday! Is it not with reason then that I thus speak?' 'My lodging-house was not arranged.' 'Have you heard that a scholar's lodging-house must be arranged before he visit his elder?' Yue Zheng said, 'I have done wrong.'

25 Mencius, addressing the disciple Yue Zheng, said to him, 'Your coming here in the train of Zi Ao was only because of the food and the drink. I could not have thought that you, having learned the doctrine of the ancients, would have acted with a view to eating and drinking.'

26 Mencius said, 'There are three things which are unfilial, and to have no posterity is the greatest of them. Shun married without informing his parents because of this, lest he should have no posterity. Superior men consider that his doing so was the same as if he had informed them.'

27 Mencius said, 'The richest fruit of benevolence is this: the service of one's parents. The richest fruit of righteousness is this: the obeying one's elder brothers. The richest fruit of wisdom is this: the knowing those two things, and not departing from them. The richest fruit of propriety is this: the ordering and adorning those two things. The richest fruit of music is this: the rejoicing in those two things. When they are rejoiced in, they grow. Growing, how can they be repressed? When they come to this state that they cannot be repressed, then unconsciously the feet begin to dance and the hands to move.'

28 Mencius said, 'Suppose the case of the whole kingdom turning in great delight to an individual to submit to him. To regard the whole kingdom thus turning to him in great delight but as a bundle of grass - only Shun was capable of this. He considered that if one could not get the hearts of his parents he could not be considered a man, and that if he could not get to an entire accord with his parents, he could not be considered a son. By Shun's completely fulfilling everything by which a parent could be served, Gu Sou was brought to find delight in what was good. When Gu Sou was brought to find that delight, the whole kingdom was transformed. When Gu Sou was brought to find that delight, all fathers and sons in the kingdom were established in their respective duties. This is called great filial piety.'

MENGZI CHAPTER 8 Li Lou 2

29 Mencius said, 'Shun was born in Zhu Feng, removed to Fu Xia, and died in Ming Tiao - a man near the wild tribes on the east. King Wen was born in Zhou by mount Qi, and died in Bi Ying - a man near the wild tribes on the west. Those regions were distant from one another more than a thousand li, and the age of the one sage was posterior to that of the other more than a thousand years. But when they got their wish, and carried their principles into practice throughout the Middle Kingdom, it was like uniting the two halves of a seal. When we examine those sages, both the earlier and the later, their principles are found to be the same.'

30 When Zi Chan was chief minister of the State of Zheng, he would convey people across the Zhen and Wei in his own carriage. Mencius said, 'It was kind, but showed that he did not understand the practice of government. When in the eleventh month of the year the foot-bridges are completed, and the carriage-bridges in the twelfth month, the people have not the trouble of wading. Let a governor conduct his rule on principles of equal justice, and, when he goes abroad, he may cause people to be removed out of his path. But how can he convey everybody across the rivers? It follows that if a governor will try to please everybody, he will find the days not sufficient for his work.'

31 Mencius said to the king Xuan of Qi, 'When the prince regards his ministers as his hands and feet, his ministers regard their prince as their belly and heart; when he regards them as his dogs and horses, they regard him as another man; when he regards them as the ground or as grass, they regard him as a robber and an enemy.'

The king said, 'According to the rules of propriety, a minister wears mourning when he has left the service of a prince. How must a prince behave that his old ministers may thus go into mourning?'

Mencius replied,'The admonitions of a minister having been followed, and his advice listened to, so that blessings have descended on the people, if for some cause he leaves the country, the prince sends an escort to conduct him beyond the boundaries. He also anticipates with recommendatory intimations his arrival in the country to which he is proceeding. When he has been gone three years and does not return, only then at length does he take back his fields and residence. This treatment is what is called a "thrice-repeated display of consideration." When a prince acts thus, mourning will be worn on leaving his service. Now-a-days, the remonstrances of a minister are not followed, and his advice is not listened to, so that no blessings descend on the people. When for any cause he leaves the country, the prince tries to seize him and hold him a prisoner. He also pushes him to extremity in the country to which he has gone, and on the very day of his departure, takes back his fields and residence. This treatment shows him to be what we call "a robber and an enemy." What mourning can be worn for a robber and an enemy?'

32 Mencius said, 'When scholars are put to death without any crime, the great officers may leave the country. When the people are slaughtered without any crime, the scholars may remove.'

33 Mencius said, 'If the sovereign be benevolent, all will be benevolent. If the sovereign be righteous, all will be righteous.'

34 Mencius said, 'Acts of propriety which are not really proper, and acts of righteousness which are not really righteous, the great man does not do.'

35 Mencius said, 'Those who keep the Mean, train up those who do not, and those who have abilities, train up those who have not, and hence men rejoice in having fathers and elder brothers who are possessed of virtue and talent. If they who keep the Mean spurn those who do not, and they who have abilities spurn those who have not, then the space between them - those so gifted and the ungifted - will not admit an inch.'

36 Mencius said, 'Men must be decided on what they will NOT do, and then they are able to act with vigour in what they ought to do.'

37 Mencius said, 'What future misery have they and ought they to endure, who talk of what is not good in others!'

38 Mencius said, 'Zhong Ni did not do extraordinary things.'

39 Mencius said,'The great man does not think beforehand of his words that they may be sincere, nor of his actions that they may be resolute - he simply speaks and does what is right.'

40 Mencius said, 'The great man is he who does not lose his child's-heart.'

41 Mencius said, 'The nourishment of parents when living is not sufficient to be accounted the great thing. It is only in the performing their obsequies when dead that we have what can be considered the great thing.'

42 Mencius said, 'The superior man makes his advances in what he is learning with deep earnestness and by the proper course, wishing to get hold of it as in himself. Having got hold of it in himself, he abides in it calmly and firmly. Abiding in it calmly and firmly, he reposes a deep reliance on it. Reposing a deep reliance on it, he seizes it on the left and right, meeting everywhere with it as a fountain from which things flow. It is on this account that the superior man wishes to get hold of what he is learning as in himself.'

43 Mencius said, 'In learning extensively and discussing minutely what is learned, the object of the superior man is that he may be able to go back and set forth in brief what is essential.'

44 Mencius said, 'Never has he who would by his excellence subdue men been able to subdue them. Let a prince seek by his excellence to nourish men, and he will be able to subdue the whole kingdom. It is impossible that any one should become ruler of the people to whom they have not yielded the subjection of the heart.'

45 Mencius said, 'Words which are not true are inauspicious, and the words which are most truly obnoxious to the name of inauspicious, are those which throw into the shade men of talents and virtue.'

46 The disciple Xu said, 'Zhong Ni often praised water, saying, "0 water! 0 water!" What did he find in water to praise?'

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Mencius replied, 'There is a spring of water; how it gushes out! It rests not day nor night. It fills up every hole, and then advances, flowing onto the four seas. Such is water having a spring! It was this which he found in it to praise. But suppose that the water has no spring. In the seventh and eighth when the rain falls abundantly, the channels in the fields are all filled, but their being dried up again may be expected in a short time. So a superior man is ashamed of a reputation beyond his merits.'

47 Mencius said, 'That whereby man differs from the lower animals is but small. The mass of people cast it away, while superior men preserve it. Shun clearly understood the multitude of things, and closely observed the relations of humanity. He walked along the path of benevolence and righteousness; he did not need to pursue benevolence and righteousness.'

48 Mencius said, 'Yu hated the pleasant wine, and loved good words. Tang held fast the Mean, and employed men of talents and virtue without regard to where they came from. King Wen looked on the people as he would on a man who was wounded, and he looked towards the right path as if he could not see it. King Wu did not slight the near, and did not forget the distant. The duke of Zhou desired to unite in himself the virtues of those kings, those founders of the three dynasties, that he might display in his practice the four things which they did. If he saw any thing in them not suited to his time, he looked up and thought about it, from daytime into the night, and when he was fortunate enough to master the difficulty, he sat waiting for the morning.'

49 Mencius said, 'The traces of sovereign rule were extinguished, and the royal odes ceased to be made. When those odes ceased to be made, then the Chun Qiu was produced. The Sheng of Jin, the Tao Wu of Chu, and the Chun Qiu of Lu were books of the same character. The subject of the Chun Qiu was the affairs of Huan of Qi and Wen of Jin, and its style was the historical. Confucius said, "Its righteous decisions I ventured to make."'

50 Mencius said, 'The influence of a sovereign sage terminates in the fifth generation. The influence of a mere sage does the same. Although I could not be a disciple of Confucius himself, I have endeavoured to cultivate my virtue by means of others who were.'

51 Mencius said, 'When it appears proper to take a thing, and afterwards not proper, to take it is contrary to moderation. When it appears proper to give a thing and afterwards not proper, to give it is contrary to kindness. When it appears proper to sacrifice one's life, and afterwards not proper, to sacrifice it is contrary to bravery.'

52 Pang Meng learned archery of Yi. When he had acquired completely all the science of Yi, he thought that in all the kingdom only Yi was superior to himself, and so he slew him. Mencius said, 'In this case Yi also was to blame. Gong Meng Yi indeed said, "It would appear as if he were not to be blamed," but he thereby only meant that his blame was slight. How can he be held without any blame? The people of Chang sent Zi Zhuo Ru to make a stealthy attack on Wei, which sent Yu Gong Zhi to pursue him. Zi Zhuo Ru said, "To-day I feel unwell, so that I cannot hold my bow. I am a dead man!" At the same time he asked his driver, "Who is it that is pursuing me?" The driver said, "It is Yu Gong Si," on which, he exclaimed, "I shall live." The driver said, "Yu Gong Si is the best archer of Wei, what do you mean by saying 'I shall live?'" Yu replied, "Yu Gong Si learned archery from Yin Gong Tuo, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin Gong Tuo is an upright man, and the friends of his selection must be upright also." When Yu Gong Si came up, he said, "Master, why are you not holding your bow?" Yu answered him, "To-day I am feeling unwell, and cannot hold my bow." On this Si said, "I learned archery from Yin Gong Tuo, who again learned it from you. I cannot bear to injure you with your own science. The business of to-day, however, is the prince's business, which I dare not neglect." He then took his arrows, knocked off their steel points against the carriage-wheel, discharged four of them, and returned.

53 Mencius said, 'If the lady Xi had been covered with a filthy head-dress, all people would have stopped their noses in passing her. Though a man may be wicked, yet if he adjust his thoughts, fast, and bathe, he may sacrifice to God.'

54 Mencius said, 'All who speak about the natures of things, have in fact only their phenomena to reason from, and the value of a phenomenon is in its being natural. What I dislike in your wise men is their boring out their conclusions. If those wise men would only act as Yu did when he conveyed away the waters, there would be nothing to dislike in their wisdom. The manner in which Yu conveyed away the waters was by doing what gave him no trouble. If your wise men would also do that which gave them no trouble, their knowledge would also be great. There is heaven so high; there are the stars so distant. If we have investigated their phenomena, we may, while sitting in our places, go back to the solstice of a thousand years ago.'

55 The officer Gong Hang having on hand the funeral of one of his sons, the Master of the Right went to condole with him. When this noble entered the door, some called him to them and spoke with him, and some went to his place and spoke with him. Mencius did not speak with him, so that he was displeased, and said, 'All the gentlemen have spoken with me. There is only Mencius who does not speak to me, thereby slighting me.'

Mencius having heard of this remark, said, 'According to the prescribed rules, in the court, individuals may not change their places to speak with one another, nor may they pass from their ranks to bow to one another. I was wishing to observe this rule, and Zi Ao understands it that I was slighting him - is not this strange?'

56 Mencius said, 'That whereby the superior man is distinguished from other men is what he preserves in his heart - namely, benevolence and propriety. The benevolent man loves others. The man of propriety shows respect to others. He who loves others is constantly loved by them. He who respects others is constantly respected by them. Here is a man, who treats me in a perverse and unreasonable manner. The superior man in such a case will turn round upon himself, "I must have been wanting in benevolence; I must have been wanting in propriety - how should this have happened to me?" He examines himself, and is specially benevolent. He turns round upon himself, and is specially observant of propriety. The perversity and unreasonableness of the other, however, are still the same. The superior man will again turn round on himself, "I must have been failing to do my utmost." He turns round upon himself, and proceeds to do his utmost, but still the perversity and unreasonableness of the other are repeated. On this the superior man says, "This is a man utterly lost indeed! Since he conducts himself so, what is there to choose between him and a brute? Why should I go to contend with a brute?" Thus it is that the superior man has a life-long anxiety and not one morning's calamity. As to what is matter of anxiety to him, that indeed be has. He says, "Shun was a man, and I also am a man. But Shun became an example to all the kingdom, and his conduct was worthy to be handed down to after ages, while I am nothing better than a villager." This indeed is the proper matter of anxiety to him. And in what way is he anxious about it? Just that he maybe like Shun: then only will he stop. As to what the superior man would feel to be a calamity, there is no such thing. He does nothing which is not according to propriety. If there should befall him one morning's calamity, the superior man does not account it a calamity.'

57 Yu and Ji, in an age when the world was being brought back to order, thrice passed their doors without entering them. Confucius praised them. The disciple Yan, in an age of disorder, dwelt in a mean narrow lane, having his single bamboo-cup of rice, and his single gourd-dish of water; other men could not have endured the distress, but he did not allow his joy to be affected by it. Confucius praised him. Mencius said, 'Yu, Ji, and Yan Hui agreed in the principle of their conduct. Yu thought that if any one in the kingdom were drowned, it was as if he drowned him. Ji thought that if any one in the kingdom suffered hunger, it was as if he famished him. It was on this account that they were so earnest. If Yu and Ji, and Yanzi, had exchanged places, each would have done what the other did. Here now in the same apartment with you are people fighting - you ought to part them. Though you part them with your cap simply tied over your unbound hair, your conduct will be allowable. If the fighting be only in the village or neighbourhood, if you go to put an end to it with your cap tied over your hair unbound, you will be in error. Although you should shut your door in such a case, your conduct would be allowable.'

58 The disciple Gong Du said, 'Throughout the whole kingdom everybody pronounces Kuang Zhang unfilial. But you, Master, keep company with him, and moreover treat him with politeness. I venture to ask why you do so.'

Mencius replied, 'There are five things which are pronounced in the common usage of the age to be unfilial. The first is laziness in the use of one's four limbs, without attending to the nourishment of his parents. The second is gambling and chess-playing, and being fond of wine, without attending to the nourishment of his parents. The third is being fond of goods and money, and selfishly attached to his wife and children, without attending to the nourishment of his parents. The fourth is following the desires of one's ears and eyes, so as to bring his parents to disgrace. The fifth is being fond of bravery, fighting and quarrelling so as to endanger his parents. Is Zhang guilty of any one of these things? Now between Zhang and his father there arose disagreement, he, the son, reproving his father, to urge him to what was good. To urge one another to what is good by reproofs is the way of friends. But such urging between father and son is the greatest injury to the kindness, which should prevail between them. Moreover, did not Zhang wish to have in his family the relationships of husband and wife, child and mother? But because he had offended his father, and was not permitted to approach him, he sent away his wife, and drove forth his son, and all his life receives no cherishing attention from them. He settled it in his mind that if he did not act in this way, his would be one of the greatest of crimes. Such and nothing more is the case of Zhang.'

59 When the philosopher Zeng dwelt in Wu Cheng, there came a band from Yue to plunder it. Someone said to him, 'The plunderers are coming - why not leave this?' Zeng on this left the city, saying to the man in charge of the house, 'Do not lodge any persons in my house, lest they break and injure the plants and trees.' When the plunderers withdrew, he sent word to him, saying, 'Repair the walls of my house. I am about to return.' When the plunderers retired, the philosopher Zeng returned accordingly. His disciples said, 'Since our master was treated with so much sincerity and respect, for him to be the first to go away on the arrival of the plunderers, so as to be observed by the people, and then to return on their retiring, appears to us to be improper.' Shen You Xing said, 'You do not understand this matter. Formerly, when Shen You was exposed to the outbreak of the grass-carriers, there were seventy disciples in our master's following, and none of them took part in the matter.'

When Zi Si was living in Wei, there came a band from Qi to plunder. Some one said to him, 'The plunderers are coming - why not leave this?' Zi Si said, 'If I go away, whom will the prince have to guard the State with?'

Mencius said, 'The philosophers Zeng and Zi Si agreed in the principle of their conduct. Zeng was a teacher - in the place of a father or elder brother. Zi Si was a minister - in a meaner place. If the philosophers Zeng and Zi Si had exchanged places the one would have done what the other did.'

60 The officer Chu said to Mencius, 'Master, the king sent persons to spy out whether you were really different from other men.'

Mencius said, 'How should I be different from other men? Yao and Shun were just the same as other men.'

61 A man of Qi had a wife and a concubine, and lived together with them in his house. When their husband went out, he would get himself well filled with wine and flesh, and then return, and, on his wife's asking him with whom he ate and drank, they were sure to be all wealthy and honourable people. The wife informed the concubine, saying, 'When our good man goes out, he is sure to come back having partaken plentifully of wine and flesh. I asked with whom he ate and drank, and they are all, it seems, wealthy and honourable people. And yet no people of distinction ever come here. I will spy out where our good man goes.'

Accordingly, she got up early in the morning, and privately followed wherever her husband went. Throughout the whole city, there was no one who stood or talked with him. At last, he came to those who were sacrificing among the tombs beyond the outer wall on the east, and begged what they had over. Not being satisfied, he looked about, and went to another party - and this was the way in which he got himself satiated. His wife returned, and informed the concubine, saying, 'It was to our husband that we looked up in hopeful contemplation, with whom our lot is cast for life - and now these are his ways!' On this, along with the concubine she reviled their husband, and they wept together in the middle hall. In the meantime the husband, knowing nothing of all this, came in with a jaunty air, carrying himself proudly to his wife and concubine.

In the view of a superior man, as to the ways by which men seek for riches, honours, gain, and advancement, there are few of their wives and concubines who would not be ashamed and weep together on account of them.

MENGZI CHAPTER 9 Wan Zhang 1

1 Wan Zhang asked Mencius, saying, 'When Shun went into the fields, he cried out and wept towards the pitying heavens. Why did he cry out and weep?'

Mencius replied, 'He was dissatisfied, and full of earnest desire.'

Wan Zhang said, 'When his parents love him, a son rejoices and forgets them not. When his parents hate him, though they punish him, he does not murmur. Was Shun then murmuring against his parents?'

Mencius answered, 'Chang Xi asked Gong Ming Gao, saying, "As to Shun's going into the fields, I have received your instructions, but I do not know about his weeping and crying out to the pitying heavens and to his parents." Gong Ming Gao answered him, "You do not understand that matter." Now, Gong Ming Gao supposed that the heart of the filial son could not be so free of sorrow. Shun would say, "I exert my strength to cultivate the fields, but I am thereby only discharging my office as a son. What can there be in me that my parents do not love me?" The Di caused his own children, nine sons and two daughters, the various officers, oxen and sheep, storehouses and granaries, all to be prepared, to serve Shun amid the channelled fields. Of the scholars of the kingdom there were multitudes who flocked to him. The sovereign designed that Shun should superintend the kingdom along with him, and then to transfer it to him entirely. But because his parents were not in accord with him, he felt like a poor man who has nowhere to turn to. To be delighted in by all the scholars of the kingdom, is what men desire, but it was not sufficient to remove the sorrow of Shun. The possession of beauty is what men desire, and Shun had for his wives the two

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daughters of the Di, but this was not sufficient to remove his sorrow. Riches are what men desire, and the kingdom was the rich property of Shun, but this was not sufficient to remove his sorrow. Honours are what men desire, and Shun had the dignity of being sovereign, but this was not sufficient to remove his sorrow. The reason why the being the object of men's delight, with the possession of beauty, riches, and honours were not sufficient to remove his sorrow, was that it could be removed only by his getting his parents to be in accord with him. The desire of the child is towards his father and mother. When he becomes conscious of the attractions of beauty, his desire is towards young and beautiful women. When he comes to have a wife and children, his desire is towards them. When he obtains office, his desire is towards his sovereign - if he cannot get the regard of his sovereign, he burns within. But the man of great filial piety, to the end of his life, has his desire towards his parents. In the great Shun I see the case of one whose desire at fifty year's was towards them.'

2 Wan Zhang asked Mencius, saying, 'It is said in the Book of Poetry, "In marrying a wife, how ought a man to proceed? He must inform his parents." If the rule be indeed as here expressed, no man ought to have illustrated it so well as Shun. How was it that Shun's marriage took place without his informing his parents?'

Mencius replied, 'If he had informed them, he would not have been able to marry. That male and female should dwell together, is the greatest of human relations. If Shun had informed his parents, he must have made void this greatest of human relations, thereby incurring their resentment. On this account, he did not inform them!'

Wan Zhang said, 'As to Shun's marrying without informing his parents, I have heard your instructions; but how was it that the Di Yao gave him his daughters as wives without informing Shun's parents?'

Mencius said, 'The Di also knew that if he informed them, he could not marry his daughters to him.'

Wan Zhang said, 'His parents set Shun to repair a granary, to which, the ladder having been removed, Gu Sou set fire. They also made him dig a well. He got out, but they, not knowing that, proceeded to cover him up. Xiang said, "Of the scheme to cover up the city-forming prince, the merit is all mine. Let my parents have his oxen and sheep. Let them have his storehouses and granaries. His shield and spear shall be mine. His lute shall be mine. His bow shall be mine. His two wives I shall make attend for me to my bed." Xiang then went away into Shun's palace, and there was Shun on his couch playing on his lute. Xiang said, "I am come simply because I was thinking anxiously about you." At the same time, he blushed deeply. Shun said to him, "There are all my officers - do you undertake the government of them for me." I do not know whether Shun was ignorant of Xiang's wishing to kill him.'

Mencius answered, 'How could he be ignorant of that? But when Xiang was sorrowful, he was also sorrowful; when Xiang was joyful, he was also joyful.'

Zhang said, 'In that case, then, did not Shun rejoice hypocritically?'

Mencius replied, 'No. Formerly, some one sent a present of a live fish to Zi Chan of Zhang. Zi Chan ordered his pond-keeper to keep it in the pond, but that officer cooked it, and reported the execution of his commission, saying, "When I first let it go, it embarrassed. In a little while, it seemed to be somewhat at ease, then it swam away joyfully." Zi Chan observed, "It had got into its element! It had got into its element!" The pond-keeper then went out and said, "Who calls Zi Chan a wise man? After I had cooked and eaten the fish, he says, "It had got into its element! It had got into its element!" Thus a superior man may be imposed on by what seems to be as it ought to be, but he cannot be entrapped by what is contrary to right principle. Xiang came in the way in which the love of his elder brother would have made him come; therefore Shun sincerely believed him, and rejoiced. What hypocrisy was there?'

3 Wan Zhang said, 'Xiang made it his daily business to slay Shun. When Shun was made sovereign, how was it that he only banished him?'

Mencius said, 'He raised him to be a prince. Some supposed that it was banishing him?'

Wan Zhang said, 'Shun banished the superintendent of works to You Zhou; he sent away Huan Dou to the mountain Chong; he slew the prince of San Miao in San Wei; and he imprisoned Gun on the mountain Yu. When the crimes of those four were thus punished, the whole kingdom acquiesced - it was a cutting off of men who were destitute of benevolence. But Xiang was of all men the most destitute of benevolence, and Shun raised him to be the prince of You Bei - of what crimes had the people of You Bei been guilty? Does a benevolent man really act thus? In the case of other men, he cut them off; in the case of his brother, he raised him to be a prince.'

Mencius replied, 'A benevolent man does not lay up anger, nor cherish resentment against his brother, but only regards him with affection and love. Regarding him with affection, he wishes him to be honourable: regarding him with love, he wishes him to be rich. The appointment of Xiang to be the prince of You Bei was to enrich and ennoble him. If while Shun himself was sovereign, his brother had been a common man, could he have been said to regard him with affection and love?'

Wan Zhang said, 'I venture to ask what you mean by saying that some supposed that it was a banishing of Xiang?'

Mencius replied, 'Xiang could do nothing in his State. The Son of Heaven appointed an officer to administer its government, and to pay over its revenues to him. This treatment of him led to its being said that he was banished. How indeed could he be allowed the means of oppressing the people? Nevertheless, Shun wished to be continually seeing him, and by this arrangement, he came incessantly to court, as is signified in that expression: "He did not wait for the rendering of tribute, or affairs of government, to receive the prince of You Bei.

4 Xian Qiu Meng asked Mencius, saying, 'There is the saying, "A scholar of complete virtue may not be employed as a minister by his sovereign, nor treated as a son by his father. Shun stood with his face to the south, and Yao, at the head of all the princes, appeared before him at court with his face to the north. Gu Sou also did the same. When Shun saw Gu Sou, his countenance became discomposed. Confucius said, At this time, in what a perilous condition was the kingdom! Its state was indeed unsettled." - I do not know whether what is here said really took place.'

Mencius replied, 'No. These are not the words of a superior man. They are the sayings of an uncultivated person of the east of Qi. When Yao was old, Shun was associated with him in the government. It is said in the Canon of Yao, "After twenty and eight years, the Highly Meritorious one deceased. The people acted as if they were mourning for a father or mother for three years, and up to the borders of the four seas every sound of music was hushed." Confucius said, "There are not two suns in the sky, nor two sovereigns over the people." Shun having been sovereign, and, moreover, leading on all the princes to observe the three years' mourning for Yao, there would have been in this case two sovereigns.'

Xian Qiu Meng said, 'On the point of Shun's not treating Yao as a minister, I have received your instructions. But it is said in the Book of Poetry, Under the whole heaven, Every spot is the sovereign's ground; To the borders of the land, Every individual is the sovereign's minister;" - and Shun had become sovereign. I venture to ask how it was that Gu Sou was not one of his ministers.'

Mencius answered, 'That ode is not to be understood in that way - it speaks of being laboriously engaged in the sovereign's business, so as not to be able to nourish one's parents, as if the author said, "This is all the sovereign's business, and how is it that I alone am supposed to have ability, and am made to toil in it?" Therefore, those who explain the odes, may not insist on one term so as to do violence to a sentence, nor on a sentence so as to do violence to the general scope. They must try with their thoughts to meet that scope, and then we shall apprehend it. If we simply take single sentences, there is that in the ode called "The Milky Way," - "Of the black-haired people of the remnant of Zhou, There is not half a one left." If it had been really as thus expressed, then not an individual of the people of Zhou was left. Of all which a filial son can attain to, there is nothing greater than his honouring his parents. And of what can be attained to in the honouring one's parents, there is nothing greater than the nourishing them with the whole kingdom. Gu Sou was the father of the sovereign - this was the height of honour. Shun nourished him with the whole kingdom - this was the height of nourishing. In this was verified the sentiment in the Book of Poetry, "Ever cherishing filial thoughts, Those filial thoughts became an example to after ages." It is said in the Book of History, "Reverently performing his duties, he waited on Gu Sou, and was full of veneration and awe. Gu Sou also believed him and conformed to virtue." This is the true case of the scholar of complete virtue not being treated as a son by his father.'

5 Wan Zhang said, 'Was it the case that Yao gave the throne to Shun?'

Mencius said, 'No. The sovereign cannot give the throne to another.'

'Yes - but Shun had the throne. Who gave it to him?'

'Heaven gave it to him,' was the answer.

'" Heaven gave it to him:" - did Heaven confer its appointment on him with specific injunctions?'

Mencius replied, 'No. Heaven does not speak. It simply showed its will by his personal conduct and his conduct of affairs.'

"It showed its will by his personal conduct and his conduct of affairs" - how was this?'

Mencius's answer was, 'The sovereign can present a man to Heaven, but he cannot make Heaven give that man the throne. A prince can present a man to the sovereign, but he cannot cause the sovereign to make that man a prince. A great officer can present a man to his prince, but he cannot cause the prince to make that man a great officer. Yao presented Shun to Heaven, and Heaven accepted him. He presented him to the people, and the people accepted him. Therefore I say, "Heaven does not speak. It simply indicated its will by his personal conduct and his conduct of affairs."'

Zhang said, 'I presume to ask how it was that Yao presented Shun to Heaven, and Heaven accepted him; and that he exhibited him to the people, and the people accepted him.'

Mencius replied, 'He caused him to preside over the sacrifices, and all the spirits were well pleased with them; thus Heaven accepted him. He caused him to preside over the conduct of affairs, and affairs were well administered, so that the people reposed under him; thus the people accepted him. Heaven gave the throne to him. The people gave it to him. Therefore I said, "The sovereign cannot give the throne to another. Shun assisted Yao in the government for twenty and eight years - this was more than man could have done, and was from Heaven. After the death of Yao, when the three years' mourning was completed, Shun withdrew from the son of Yao to the south of South river. The princes of the kingdom, however, repairing to court, went not to the son of Yao, but they went to Shun. Litigants went not to the son of Yao, but they went to Shun. Singers sang not the son of Yao, but they sang Shun. Therefore I said, "Heaven gave him the throne." It was after these things that he went to the Middle Kingdom, and occupied the seat of the Son of Heaven. If he had, before these things, taken up his residence in the palace of Yao, and had applied pressure to the son of Yao, it would have been an act of usurpation, and not the gift of Heaven. This sentiment is expressed in the words of The Great Declaration: "Heaven sees according as my people see; Heaven hears according as my people hear."'

6 Wan Zhang asked Mencius, saying, 'People say, "When the disposal of the kingdom came to Yu, his virtue was inferior to that of Yao and Shun, and he transmitted it not to the worthiest but to his son." Was it so?'

Mencius replied, 'No; it was not so. When Heaven gave the kingdom to the worthiest, it was given to the worthiest. When Heaven gave it to the son of the preceding sovereign, it was given to him. Shun presented Yu to Heaven. Seventeen years elapsed, and Shun died. When the three years' mourning was expired, Yu withdrew from the son of Shun to Yang Cheng. The people of the kingdom followed him just as after the death of Yao, instead of following his son, they had followed Shun. Yu presented Yi to Heaven. Seven years elapsed, and Yu died. When the three years' mourning was expired, Yi withdrew from the son of Yu to the north of mount Qi. The princes, repairing to court, went not to Yi, but they went to Qi. Litigants did not go to Yi, but they went to Qi, saying, "He is the son of our sovereign;" the singers did not sing Yi, but they sang Qi, saying, "He is the son of our sovereign. That Dan Zhu was not equal to his father, and Shun's son not equal to his; that Shun assisted Yao, and Yu assisted Shun, for many years, conferring benefits on the people for a long time; that thus the length of time during which Shun, Yu, and Yi assisted in the government was so different; that Qi was able, as a man of talents and virtue, reverently to pursue the same course as Yu; that Yi assisted Yu only for a few years, and had not long conferred benefits on the people; that the periods of service of the three were so different; and that the sons were one superior, and the other superior - all this was from Heaven, and what could not be brought about by man. That which is done without man's doing is from Heaven. That which happens without man's causing is from the ordinance of Heaven. In the case of a private individual obtaining the throne, there must be in him virtue equal to that of Shun or Yu; and moreover there must be the presenting of him to Heaven by the preceding sovereign. It was on this account that Confucius did not obtain the throne. When the kingdom is possessed by natural succession, the sovereign who is displaced by Heaven must be like Jie or Zhou. It was on this account that Yi, Yi Yin, and Zhou Gong did not obtain the throne. Yi Yin assisted Tang so that he became sovereign over the kingdom. After the demise of Tang, Tai Ding having died before he could be appointed sovereign, Wai Bing reigned two years, and Zhong Ren four. Tai Jia was then turning upside down the statutes of Tang, when Yi Yin placed him in Tong for three years. There Tai Jia repented of his errors, was contrite, and reformed himself. In Tong be came to dwell in benevolence and walk in righteousness, during those threee years, listening to the lessons given to him by Yi Yin. Then Yi Yin again returned with him to Bo. Zhou Gong not getting the throne was like the case of Yi and the throne of Xia, or like that of Yi Yin and the throne of Yin. Confucius said, "Tang and Yu resigned the throne to their worthy ministers. The sovereign of Xia and those of Yin and Zhou transmitted it to their sons. The principle of righteousness was the same in all the cases."'

7 Wan Zhang asked Mencius, saying, 'People say that Yi Yin sought an introduction to Tang by his knowledge of cookery. Was it so?'

Mencius replied, 'No, it was not so. Yi Yin was a farmer in the lands of the prince of Xin, delighting in the principles of Yao and Shun. In any matter contrary to the righteousness which they prescribed, or contrary to their principles, though he had been offered the throne, he would not have regarded it;

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though there had been yoked for him a thousand teams of horses, he would not have looked at them. In any matter contrary to the righteousness which they prescribed, or contrary to their principles, he would neither have given nor taken a single straw. Tang sent persons with presents of silk to entreat him to enter his service. With an air of indifference and self-satisfaction he said, "What can I do with those silks with which Tang invites me? Is it not best for me to abide in the channelled fields, and so delight myself with the principles of Yao and Shun?" Tang thrice sent messengers to invite him. After this, with the Zhange of resolution displayed in his countenance, he spoke in a different style, "Instead of abiding in the channelled fields and thereby delighting myself with the principles of Yao and Shun, had I not better make this prince a prince like Yao or Shun, and this people like the people of Yao or Shun? Had I not better in my own person see these things for myself? "Heaven's plan in the production of mankind is this: that they who are first informed should instruct those who are later in being informed, and they who first apprehend principles should instruct those who are slower to do so. I am one of Heaven's people who have first apprehended; I will take these principles and instruct this people in them. If I do not instruct them, who will do so?" He thought that among all the people of the kingdom, even the private men and women, if there were any who did not enjoy such benefits as Yao and Shun conferred, it was as if he himself pushed them into a ditch. He took upon himself the heavy charge of the kingdom in this way, and therefore he went to Tang, and pressed upon him the subject of attacking Xia and saving the people. I have not heard of one who bent himself, and at the same time made others straight; how much less could one disgrace himself, and thereby rectify the whole kingdom? The actions of the sages have been different. Some have kept remote from court, and some have drawn near to it; some have left their offices, and some have not done so - that to which those different courses all agree is simply the keeping of their persons pure. I have heard that Yi Yin sought an introduction to Tang by the doctrines of Yao and Shun. I have not heard that he did so by his knowledge of cookery. In the "Instructions of Yi," it is said, "Heaven destroying Jie commenced attacking him in the palace of Mu. I commenced in Bo."'

8 Wan Zhang asked Mencius, saying, 'Some say that Confucius, when he was in Wei, lived with the ulcer-doctor, and when he was in Qi, with the attendant, Qi Huan; was it so?'

Mencius replied, 'No; it was not so. Those are the inventions of men fond of strange things. When he was in Wei, he lived with Yan Chou You. The wives of the officer Mi and Zi Lu were sisters, and Mi told Zi Lu, "If Confucius will lodge with me, he may attain to the dignity of a high noble of Wei." Zi Lu informed Confucius of this, and he said, "That is as ordered by Heaven." Confucius went into office according to propriety, and retired from it according to righteousness. In regard to his obtaining office or not obtaining it, he said, "That is as ordered." But if he had lodged with the attendant Qi Huan, that would neither have been according to righteousness, nor any ordering of Heaven. When Confucius, being dissatisfied in Lu and Wei, had left those States, he met with the attempt of Hwan, the Master of the Horse, of Song, to intercept and kill him. He assumed, however, the dress of a common man, and passed by Song. At that time, though he was in circumstances of distress, he lodged with the city-master Chang, who was then a minister of Zhou, the marquis of Chen. I have heard that the characters of ministers about court may be discerned from those whom they entertain, and those of stranger officers, from those with whom they lodge. If Confucius had lodged with the ulcer-doctor, and with the attendant Qi Huan, how could he have been Confucius?'

9 Wan Zhang asked Mencius, 'Some say that Bai Li Xi sold himself to a cattle-keeper of Jin for the skins of five rams, and fed his oxen, in order to find an introduction to the duke Mu of Qin - was this the case?'

Mencius said, 'No; it was not so. This story was invented by men fond of strange things. Bai Li Xi was a man of Yu. The people of Jin, by the inducement of a round piece of jade from Chui Ji, and four horses of the Qu breed, borrowed a passage through Yu to attack Guo. On that occasion, Gong Zhi Qi remonstrated against granting their request, and Bai Li Xi did not remonstrate. When he knew that the duke of Yu was not to be remonstrated with, and, leaving that State, went to Qin, he had reached the age of seventy. If by that time he did not know that it would be a mean thing to seek an introduction to the duke Mu of Qin by feeding oxen, could he be called wise? But not remonstrating where it was of no use to remonstrate, could he be said not to be wise? Knowing that the duke of Yu would be ruined, and leaving him before that event, he cannot be said not to have been wise. Being then advanced in Qin, he knew that the duke Mu was one with whom he would enjoy a field for action, and became minister to him; could he, acting thus, be said not to be wise? Having become chief minister of Qin, he made his prince distinguished throughout the kingdom, and worthy of being handed down to future ages; could he have done this, if he had not been a man of talents and virtue? As to selling himself in order to accomplish all the aims of his prince, even a villager who had a regard for himself would not do such a thing; and shall we say that a man of talents and virtue did it?'

MENGZI CHAPTER 10 Wan Zhang 2

10 Mencius said, 'Bo Yi would not allow his eyes to look on a bad sight, nor his ears to listen to a bad sound. He would not serve a prince whom he did not approve, nor command a people whom he did not esteem. In a time of good government he took office, and on the occurrence of confusion he retired. He could not bear to dwell either in a court from which a lawless government emanated, or among lawless people. He considered his being in the same place with a villager, as if he were to sit amid mud and coals with his court robes and court cap. In the time of Zhou he dwelt on the shores of the North sea, waiting the purification of the kingdom. Therefore when men now hear the character of Bo Yi, the corrupt become pure, and the weak acquire determination.

'Yi Yin said, "Whom may I not serve? My serving him makes him my sovereign. What people may I not command? My commanding them makes them my people." In a time of good government he took office, and when confusion prevailed, he also took office. He said, "Heaven's plan in the production of mankind is this: that they who are first informed should instruct those who are later in being informed, and they who first apprehend principles should instruct those who are slower in doing so. I am the one of Heaven's people who has first apprehended; I will take these principles and instruct the people in them." He thought that among all the people of the kingdom, even the common men and women, if there were any who did not share in the enjoyment of such benefits as Yao and Shun conferred, it was as if he himself pushed them into a ditch - for he took upon himself the heavy charge of the kingdom.

'Hui of Liu Xia was not ashamed to serve an impure prince, nor did he think it low to be an inferior officer. When advanced to employment, he did not conceal his virtue, but made it a point to carry out his principles. When dismissed and left without office, he did not murmur. When straitened by poverty, he did not grieve. When thrown into the company of village people, he was quite at ease and could not bear to leave them. He had a saying, "You are you, and I am I. Although you stand by my side with breast and arms bare, or with your body naked, how can you defile me?" Therefore when men now hear the character of Hui of Liu Xia, the mean become generous, and the niggardly become liberal.

'When Confucius was leaving Qi, he strained off with his hand the water in which his rice was being rinsed, took the rice, and went away. When he left Lu, he said, "I will set out by-and-by" - it was right he should leave the country of his parents in this way. When it was proper to go away quickly, he did so; when it was proper to delay, he did so; when it was proper to keep in retirement, he did so; when it was proper to go into office, he did so - this was Confucius.'

Mencius said,'Bo Yi among the sages was the pure one; Yi Yin was the one most inclined to take office; Hui of Liu Xia was the accommodating one; and Confucius was the timeous one. In Confucius we have what is called a complete concert. A complete concert is when the large bell proclaims the commencement of the music, and the ringing stone proclaims its close. The metal sound commences the blended harmony of all the instruments, and the winding up with the stone terminates that blended harmony. The commencing that harmony is the work of wisdom. The terminating it is the work of sageness. As a comparison for wisdom, we may liken it to skill, and as a comparison for sageness, we may liken it to strength - as in the case of shooting at a mark a hundred paces distant. That you reach it is owing to your strength, but that you hit the mark is not owing to your strength.'

11 Bei Gong Qi asked Mencius, saying, 'What was the arrangement of dignities and emoluments determined by the House of Zhou?'

Mencius replied, 'The particulars of that arrangement cannot be learned, for the princes, disliking them as injurious to themselves, have all made away with the records of them. Still I have learned the general outline of them. The Son of Heaven constituted one dignity; the Gong one; the Hou one; the Bai one; and the Zi and the Nan each one of equal rank - altogether making five degrees of rank. The Ruler again constituted one dignity; the Chief Minister one; the Great Officers one; the Scholars of the First Class one; those of the Middle Class one; and those of the Lowest Class one - altogether making six degrees of dignity.

'To the Son of Heaven there was allotted a territory of a thousand li square. A Gong and a Hou had each a hundred li square. A Bai had seventy li, and a Zi and a Nan had each fifty li. The assignments altogether were of four amounts. Where the territory did not amount to fifty li, the chief could not have access himself to the Son of Heaven. His land was attached to some Hou-ship, and was called a Fu Yong. The Chief ministers of the Son of Heaven received an amount of territory equal to that of a Hou; a Great officer received as much as a Bai; and a scholar of the first class as much as a Zi or a Nan.

'In a great State, where the territory was a hundred li square, the ruler had ten times as much income as his Chief ministers; a Chief minister four times as much as a Great officer; a Great officer twice as much as a scholar of the first class; a scholar of the first class twice as much as one of the middle; a scholar of the middle class twice as much as one of the lowest; the scholars of the lowest class, and such of the common people as were employed about the government offices, had for their emolument as much as was equal to what they would have made by tilling the fields. In a State of the next order, where the territory was seventy li square, the ruler had ten times as much revenue as his Chief minister; a Chief minister three times as much as a Great officer; a Great officer twice as much as a scholar of the first class; a scholar of the first class twice as much as one of the middle; a scholar of the middle class twice as much as one of the lowest; the scholars of the lowest class, and such of the common people as were employed about the government offices, had for their emolument as much as was equal to what they would have made by tilling the fields. In a small State, where the territory was fifty li square, the ruler had ten times as much revenue as his Chief minister; a Chief minister had twice as much as a Great officer; a Great officer twice as much as a scholar of the highest class; a scholar of the highest class twice as much as one of the middle; a scholar of the middle class twice as much as one of the lowest; scholars of the lowest class, and such of the common people as were employed about the government offices, had the same emolument - as much, namely, as was equal to what they would have made by tilling the fields. As to those who tilled the fields, each husbandman received a hundred mu. When those mu were manured, the best husbandmen of the highest class supported nine individuals, and those ranking next to them supported eight. The best husbandmen of the second class supported seven individuals, and those ranking next to them supported six; while husbandmen of the lowest class only supported five. The salaries of the common people who were employed about the government offices were regulated according to these differences.'

12 Wan Chang asked Mencius, saying, 'I venture to ask the principles of friendship.'

Mencius replied, 'Friendship should be maintained without any presumption on the ground of one's superior age, or station, or the circumstances of his relatives. Friendship with a man is friendship with his virtue, and does not admit of assumptions of superiority. There was Meng Xian, chief of a family of a hundred chariots. He had five friends, namely, Yue Zheng Qiu, Mu Zhong, and three others whose names I have forgotten. With those five men Xian maintained a friendship, because they thought nothing about his family. If they had thought about his family, he would not have maintained his friendship with them. Not only has the chief of a family of a hundred chariots acted thus. The same thing was exemplified by the sovereign of a small State. The duke Hui of Bi said, "I treat Zi Si as my Teacher, and Yan Ban as my Friend. As to Wang Shun and Chang Xi, they serve me." Not only has the sovereign of a small State acted thus. The same thing has been exemplified by the sovereign of a large State. There was the duke Ping of Jin with Hai Tang - when Tang told him to come into his house, he came; when he told him to be seated, he sat; when he told him to eat, he ate. There might only be coarse rice and soup of vegetables, but he always ate his fill, not daring to do otherwise. Here, however, he stopped, and went no farther. He did not call him to share any of Heaven's places, or to govern any of Heaven's offices, or to partake of any of Heaven's emoluments. His conduct was but a scholar's honouring virtue and talents, not the honouring them proper to a king or a duke. Shun went up to court and saw the sovereign, who lodged him as his son-in-law in the second palace. The sovereign also enjoyed there Shun's hospitality. Alternately he was host and guest. Here was the sovereign maintaining friendship with a private man. Respect shown by inferiors to superiors is called giving to the noble the observance due to rank. Respect shown by superiors to inferiors is called giving honour to talents and virtue. The rightness in each case is the same.'

13 Wan Zhang asked Mencius, saying, 'I venture to ask what feeling of the mind is expressed in the presents of friendship?'

Mencius replied, 'The feeling of respect.'

'How is it,' pursued Zhang, 'that the declining a present is accounted disrespectful?'

The answer was, 'When one of honourable rank presents a gift, to say in the mind, "Was the way in which he got this righteous or not? I must know this before I can receive it" - this is deemed disrespectful, and therefore presents are not declined.'

Wan Zhang asked again, 'When one does not take on him in so many express words to refuse the gift, but having declined it in his heart, saying, "It was taken by him unrighteously from the people," and then assigns some other reason for not receiving it - is not this a proper course?'

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Mencius said, 'When the donor offers it on a ground of reason, and his manner of doing so is according to propriety; in such a case Confucius would have received it.'

Wan Zhang said, 'Here now is one who stops and robs people outside the gates of the city. He offers his gift on a ground of reason, and does so in a manner according to propriety - would the reception of it so acquired by robbery be proper?'

Mencius replied, 'It would not be proper. In "The Announcement to Kang" it is said, "When men kill others, and roll over their bodies to take their property, being reckless and fearless of death, among all the people there are none but detest them" - thus, such characters are to be put to death, without waiting to give them warning. Yin received this rule from Xia and Zhou received it from Yin. It cannot be questioned, and to the present day is clearly acknowledged. How can the grift of a robber be received?'

Zhang said, 'The princes of the present day take from their people just as a robber despoils his victim. Yet if they put a good face of propriety on their gifts, then the superior man receives them. I venture to ask how you explain this.'

Mencius answered, 'Do you think that, if there should arise a truly royal sovereign, he would collect the princes of the present day, and put them all to death? Or would he admonish them, and then, on their not changing their ways, put them to death? Indeed, to call every one who takes what does not properly belong to him a robber, is pushing a point of resemblance to the utmost, and insisting on the most refined idea of righteousness. When Confucius was in office in Lu, the people struggled together for the game taken in hunting, and he also did the same. If that struggling for the captured game was proper, how much more may the gifts of the princes be received!'

Zhang urged, 'Then are we to suppose that when Confucius held office, it was not with the view to carry his doctrines into practice?'

'It was with that view,' Mencius replied,

And Zhang rejoined, 'If the practice of his doctrines was his business, what had he to do with that struggling for the captured game?'

Mencius said, 'Confucius first rectified his vessels of sacrifice according to the registers, and did not fill them so rectified with food gathered from every quarter.'

'But why did he not go away?'

'He wished to make a trial of carrying his doctrines into practice. When that trial was sufficient to show that they could be practised and they were still not practised, then he went away, and thus it was that he never completed in any State a residence of three years. Confucius took office when he saw that the practice of his doctrines was likely; he took office when his reception was proper; he took office when he was supported by the State. In the case of his relation to Qi Huan, he took office, seeing that the practice of his doctrines was likely. With the duke Ling of Wei he took office, because his reception was proper. With the duke Xiao of Wei he took office, because he was maintained by the State.'

14 Mencius said, 'Office is not sought on account of poverty, yet there are times when one seeks office on that account. Marriage is not entered into for the sake of being attended to by the wife, yet there are times when one marries on that account. He who takes office on account of his poverty must decline an honourable situation and occupy a low one; he must decline riches and prefer to be poor. What office will be in harmony with this declining an honourable situation and occupying a low one, this declining riches and preferring to be poor? Such an one as that of guarding the gates, or beating the watchman's stick. Confucius was once keeper of stores, and he then said, "My calculations must be all right. That is all I have to care about." He was once in charge of the public fields, and he then said, "The oxen and sheep must be fat and strong, and superior. That is all I have to care about." When one is in a low situation, to speak of high matters is a crime. When a scholar stands in a prince's court, and his principles are not carried into practice, it is a shame to him.'

15 Wan Zhang said, 'What is the reason that a scholar does not accept a stated support from a prince?'

Mencius replied, 'He does not presume to do so. When a prince loses his State, and then accepts a stated support from another prince, this is in accordance with propriety. But for a scholar to accept such support from any of the princes is not in accordance with propriety.'

Wan Zhang said, 'If the prince send him a present of grain, for instance, does he accept it?'

'He accepts it,' answered Mencius.

'On what principle of righteousness does he accept it?'

'Why, the prince ought to assist the people in their necessities.'

Zhang pursued, 'Why is it that the scholar will thus accept the prince's help, but will not accept his pay?'

The answer was, 'He does not presume to do so.'

'I venture to ask why he does not presume to do so.'

'Even the keepers of the gates, with their watchmen's sticks, have their regular offices for which they can take their support from the prince. He who without a regular office should receive the pay of the prince must be deemed disrespectful.'

Zhang asked, 'If the prince sends a scholar a present, he accepts it; I do not know whether this present may be constantly repeated.'

Mencius answered, 'There was the conduct of the duke Mu to Zi Si. He made frequent inquiries after Zi Si's health, and sent him frequent presents of cooked meat. Zi Si was displeased; and at length, having motioned to the messenger to go outside the great door, he bowed his head to the ground with his face to the north, did obeisance twice, and declined the gift, saying, "From this time forth I shall know that the prince supports me as a dog or a horse." And so from that time a servant was no more sent with the presents. When a prince professes to be pleased with a man of talents and virtue, and can neither promote him to office, nor support him in the proper way, can he be said to be pleased with him?'

Zhang said, 'I venture to ask how the sovereign of a State, when he wishes to support a superior man, must proceed, that he may be said to do so in the proper way?'

Mencius answered, 'At first, the present must be offered with the prince's commission, and the scholar, making obeisance twice with his head bowed to the ground, will receive it. But after this the storekeeper will continue to send grain, and the master of the kitchen to send meat, presenting it as if without the prince's express commission. Zi Si considered that the meat from the prince's caldron, giving him the annoyance of constantly doing obeisance, was not the way to support a superior man. There was Yao's conduct to Shun: He caused his nine sons to serve him, and gave him his two daughters in marriage; he caused the various officers, oxen and sheep, storehouses and granaries, all to be prepared to support Shun amid the channelled fields, and then he raised him to the most exalted situation. From this we have the expression, "The honouring of virtue and talents proper to a king or a duke."'

16 Wan Zhang said, 'I venture to ask what principle of righteousness is involved in a scholar's not going to see the princes?'

Mencius replied, 'A scholar residing in the city is called "a minister of the market-place and well," and one residing in the country is called "a minister of the grass and plants." In both cases he is a common man, and it is the rule of propriety that common men, who have not presented the introductory present and become ministers, should not presume to have interviews with the prince.'

Wan Zhang said, 'If a common man is called to perform any service, he goes and performs it; how is it that a scholar, when the prince, wishing to see him, calls him to his presence, refuses to go?'

Mencius replied, 'It is right to go and perform the service; it would not be right to go and see the prince. And,' added Mencius, 'on what account is it that the prince wishes to see the scholar?'

'Because of his extensive information, or because of his talents and virtue,' was the reply.

'If because of his extensive information,' said Mencius, 'such a person is a teacher, and the sovereign would not call him - how much less may any of the princes do so? If because of his talents and virtue, then I have not heard of any one wishing to see a person with those qualities, and calling him to his presence. During the frequent interviews of the duke Mu with Zi Si, he one day said to him, "Anciently, princes of a thousand chariots have yet been on terms of friendship with scholars - what do you think of such an intercourse?" Zi Si was displeased, and said, "The ancients have said, 'The scholar should be served:' how should they have merely said that he should be made a friend of?" When Zi Si was thus displeased, did he not say within himself, "With regard to our stations, you are sovereign, and I am subject. How can I presume to be on terms of friendship with my sovereign! With regard to our virtue, you ought to make me your master. How can you be on terms of friendship with me?" Thus, when a ruler of a thousand chariots sought to be on terms of friendship with a scholar, he could not obtain his wish - how much less could he call him to his presence! The duke Ching of Qi, once, when he was hunting, called his forester to him by a flag. The forester would not come, and the duke was going to kill him. With reference to this incident, Confucius said, "The determined officer never forgets that his end may be in a ditch or a stream; the brave officer never forgets that he may lose his head." What was it in the forester that Confucius thus approved? He approved his not going to the duke, when summoned by the article which was not appropriate to him.'

Zhang said, 'May I ask with what a forester should be summoned?'

Mencius replied, 'With a skin cap. A common man should be summoned with a plain banner; a scholar who has taken office, with one having dragons embroidered on it; and a Great officer, with one having feathers suspended from the top of the staff. When the forester was summoned with the article appropriate to the summoning of a Great officer, he would have died rather than presume to go. If a common man were summoned with the article appropriate to the summoning of a scholar, how could he presume to go? How much more may we expect this refusal to go, when a man of talents and virtue is summoned in a way which is inappropriate to his character! When a prince wishes to see a man of talents and virtue, and does not take the proper course to get his wish, it is as if he wished him to enter his palace, and shut the door against him. Now, righteousness is the way, and propriety is the door, but it is only the superior man who can follow this way, and go out and in by this door. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "The way to Zhou is level like a whetstone, And straight as an arrow. The officers tread it, And the lower people see it."'

Wan Zhang said, 'When Confucius received the prince's message calling him, he went without waiting for his carriage. Doing so, did Confucius do wrong?'

Mencius replied, 'Confucius was in office, and had to observe its appropriate duties. And moreover, he was summoned on the business of his office.'

17 Mencius said to Wan Zhang, 'The scholar whose virtue is most distinguished in a village shall make friends of all the virtuous scholars in the village. The scholar whose virtue is most distinguished throughout a State shall make friends of all the virtuous scholars of that State. The scholar whose virtue is most distinguished throughout the kingdom shall make friends of all the virtuous scholars of the kingdom. When a scholar feels that his friendship with all the virtuous scholars of the kingdom is not sufficient to satisfy him, he proceeds to ascend to consider the men of antiquity. He repeats their poems, and reads their books, and as he does not know what they were as men, to ascertain this, he considers their history. This is to ascend and make friends of the men of antiquity.'

18 The king Xuan of Qi asked about the office of high ministers. Mencius said, 'Which high ministers is your Majesty asking about?'

'Are there differences among them?' inquired the king.

'There are' was the reply. 'There are the high ministers who are noble and relatives of the prince, and there are those who are of a different surname.'

The king said, 'I beg to ask about the high ministers who are noble and relatives of the prince.'

Mencius answered, 'If the prince have great faults, they ought to remonstrate with him, and if he do not listen to them after they have done so again and again, they ought to dethrone him.'

The king on this looked moved, and changed countenance. Mencius said, 'Let not your Majesty be offended. You asked me, and I dare not answer but according to truth.'

The king's countenance became composed, and he then begged to ask about high ministers who were of a different surname from the prince. Mencius said, 'When the prince has faults, they ought to remonstrate with him; and if he do not listen to them after they have done this again and again, they ought to leave the State.'

MENGZI CHAPTER 11 Gaozi 1

1 The philosopher Gao said, 'Man's nature is like the qi-willow , and righteousness is like a cup or a bowl. The fashioning benevolence and righteousness out of man's nature is like the making cups and bowls from the qi-willow.'

Mencius replied, 'Can you, leaving untouched the nature of the willow, make with it cups and bowls? You must do violence and injury to the willow, before you can make cups and bowls with it. If you must do violence and injury to the willow in order to make cups and bowls with it, on your principles you must in the same way do violence and injury to humanity in order to fashion from it benevolence and righteousness! Your words, alas! would certainly lead all men on to reckon benevolence and righteousness to be calamities.'

2 The philosopher Gao said, 'Man's nature is like water whirling round in a corner. Open a passage for it to the east, and it will flow to the east; open a passage for it to the west, and it will flow to the west. Man's nature is indifferent to good and evil, just as the water is indifferent to the east and west.'

Mencius replied, 'Water indeed will flow indifferently to the east or west, but will it flow indifferently up or down? The tendency of man's nature to good is like the tendency of water to flow downwards. There are none but have this tendency to good, just as all water flows downwards. Now by striking water and causing it to leap up, you may make it go over your forehead, and, by damming and leading it you may force it up a hill - but are such movements according to the nature of water? It is the force applied which causes them. When men are made to do what is not good, their nature is dealt with in this way.'

3 The philosopher Gao said, 'Life is what we call nature!'

Mencius asked him, 'Do you say that by nature you mean life, just as you say that white is white?' 'Yes, I do,' was the reply.

Mencius added, 'Is the whiteness of a white feather like that of white snow, and the whiteness of white snow like that of white jade?' Gao again said 'Yes.'

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'Very well,' pursued Mencius. 'Is the nature of a dog like the nature of an ox, and the nature of an ox like the nature of a man?'

4 The philosopher Gao said, 'To enjoy food and delight in colours is nature. Benevolence is internal and not external; righteousness is external and not internal.'

Mencius asked him, 'What is the ground of your saying that benevolence is internal and righteousness external?'

He replied, 'There is a man older than I, and I give honour to his age. It is not that there is first in me a principle of such reverence to age. It is just as when there is a white man, and I consider him white; according as he is so externally to me. On this account, I pronounce of righteousness that it is external.'

Mencius said, 'There is no difference between our pronouncing a white horse to be white and our pronouncing a white man to be white. But is there no difference between the regard with which we acknowledge the age of an old horse and that with which we acknowledge the age of an old man? And what is it which is called righteousness? The fact of a man's being old? Or the fact of our giving honour to his age?'

Gao said, 'There is my younger brother; I love him. But the younger brother of a man of Qin I do not love: that is, the feeling is determined by myself, and therefore I say that benevolence is internal. On the other hand, I give honour to an old man of Chu, and I also give honour to an old man of my own people: that is, the feeling is determined by the age, and therefore I say that righteousness is external.'

Mencius answered him, 'Our enjoyment of meat roasted by a man of Qin does not differ from our enjoyment of meat roasted by ourselves. Thus, what you insist on takes place also in the case of such things, and will you say likewise that our enjoyment of a roast is external?'

5 The disciple Meng Ji asked Gong Du, saying, 'On what ground is it said that righteousness is internal?' Gong Du replied, 'We therein act out our feeling of respect, and therefore it is said to be internal.'

The other objected, 'Suppose the case of a villager older than your elder brother by one year, to which of them would you show the greater respect?' 'To my brother,' was the reply.

'But for which of them would you first pour out wine at a feast?' 'For the villager.'

Meng Ji argued, 'Now your feeling of reverence rests on the one, and now the honour due to age is rendered to the other - this is certainly determined by what is without, and does not proceed from within.'

Gong Du was unable to reply, and told the conversation to Mencius. Mencius said, 'You should ask him, "Which do you respect most, your uncle, or your younger brother?" He will answer, "My uncle." Ask him again, "If your younger brother be personating a dead ancestor, to which do you show the greater respect, to him or to your uncle?" He will say, "To my younger brother." You can go on, "But where is the respect due, as you said, to your uncle?" He will reply to this, "I show the respect to my younger brother, because of the position which he occupies," and you can likewise say, "So my respect to the villager is because of the position which he occupies. Ordinarily, my respect is rendered to my elder brother; for a brief season, on occasion, it is rendered to the villager."'

Meng Ji heard this and observed, 'When respect is due to my uncle, I respect him, and when respect is due to my younger brother, I respect him; the thing is certainly determined by what is without, and does not proceed from within.'

Gong Du replied, 'In winter we drink things hot, in summer we drink things cold; and so, on your principle, eating and drinking also depend on what is external!'

6 The disciple Gong Du said, 'The philosopher Gao says, "Man's nature is neither good nor bad." Some say, "Man's nature may be made to practise good, and it may be made to practise evil, and accordingly, under Wen and Wu, the people loved what was good, while under Yu and Li, they loved what was cruel." Some say, "The nature of some is good, and the nature of others is bad. Hence it was that under such a sovereign as Yao there yet appeared Xiang; that with such a father as Gu Sou there yet appeared Shun; and that with Zhou for their sovereign, and the son of their elder brother besides, there were found Qi, the viscount of Wei, and the prince Bi Gan. And now you say, "The nature is good." Then are all those wrong?'

Mencius said, 'From the feelings proper to it, it is constituted for the practice of what is good. This is what I mean in saying that the nature is good. If men do what is not good, the blame cannot be imputed to their natural powers. The feeling of commiseration belongs to all men; so does that of shame and dislike; and that of reverence and respect; and that of approving and disapproving. The feeling of commiseration implies the principle of benevolence; that of shame and dislike, the principle of righteousness; that of reverence and respect, the principle of propriety; and that of approving and disapproving, the principle of knowledge. Benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and knowledge are not infused into us from without. We are certainly furnished with them. And a different view is simply owing to want of reflection. Hence it is said, "Seek and you will find them. Neglect and you will lose them." Men differ from one another in regard to them - some as much again as others, some five times as much, and some to an incalculable amount - it is because they cannot carry out fully their natural powers. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Heaven in producing mankind, Gave them their various faculties and relations with their specific laws. These are the invariable rules of nature for all to hold, And all love this admirable virtue." Confucius said, "The maker of this ode knew indeed the principle of our nature!" We may thus see that every faculty and relation must have its law, and since there are invariable rules for all to hold, they consequently love this admirable virtue.'

7 Mencius said, 'In good years the children of the people are most of them good, while in bad years the most of them abandon themselves to evil. It is not owing to any difference of their natural powers conferred by Heaven that they are thus different. The abandonment is owing to the circumstances through which they allow their minds to be ensnared and drowned in evil. There now is barley. Let it be sown and covered up; the ground being the same, and the time of sowing likewise the same, it grows rapidly up, and, when the full time is come, it is all found to be ripe. Although there may be inequalities of produce, that is owing to the difference of the soil, as rich or poor, to the unequal nourishment afforded by the rains and dews, and to the different ways in which man has performed his business in reference to it. Thus all things which are the same in kind are like to one another; why should we doubt in regard to man, as if he were a solitary exception to this? The sage and we are the same in kind. In accordance with this the scholar Long said, "If a man make hempen sandals without knowing the size of people's feet, yet I know that he will not make them like baskets." Sandals are all like one another, because all men's feet are like one another. So with the mouth and flavours - all mouths have the same relishes. Yi Ya only apprehended before me what my mouth relishes. Suppose that his mouth in its relish for flavours differed from that of other men, as is the case with dogs or horses which are not the same in kind with us, why should all men be found following Yi Ya in their relishes? In the matter of tastes all the people model themselves after Yi Ya; that is, the mouths of all men are like one another. And so also it is with the ear. In the matter of sounds, the whole people model themselves after the music-master Kuang; that is, the ears of all men are like one another. And so also it is with the eye. In the case of Zi Du, there is no man but would recognise that he was beautiful. Any one who would not recognise the beauty of Zi Du must have no eyes. Therefore I say, Men's mouths agree in having the same relishes; their ears agree in enjoying the same sounds; their eyes agree in recognising the same beauty - shall their minds alone be without that which the similarly approve? What is it then of which they similarly approve? It is, I say, the principles of our nature, and the determinations of righteousness. The sages only apprehended before me that of which my mind approves along with other men. Therefore the principles of our nature and the determinations of righteousness are agreeable to my mind, just as the flesh of grass and grain-fed animals is agreeable to my mouth.'

8 Mencius said, 'The trees of the Niu mountain were once beautiful. Being situated, however, in the borders of a large State, they were hewn down with axes and bills - and could they retain their beauty? Still through the activity of the vegetative life day and night, and the nourishing influence of the rain and dew, they were not without buds and sprouts springing forth, but then came the cattle and goats and browsed upon them. To these things is owing the bare and stripped appearance of the mountain, and when people now see it, they think it was never finely wooded. But is this the nature of the mountain? And so also of what properly belongs to man; shall it be said that the mind of any man was without benevolence and righteousness? The way in which a man loses his proper goodness of mind is like the way in which the trees are denuded by axes and bills. Hewn down day after day, can it - the mind - retain its beauty? But there is a development of its life day and night, and in the calm air of the morning, just between night and day, the mind feels in a degree those desires and aversions which are proper to humanity, but the feeling is not strong, and it is fettered and destroyed by what takes place during the day. This fettering taking place again and again, the restorative influence of the night is not sufficient to preserve the proper goodness of the mind; and when this proves insufficient for that purpose, the nature becomes not much different from that of the irrational animals, and when people now see it, they think that it never had those powers which I assert. But does this condition represent the feelings proper to humanity? Therefore, if it receive its proper nourishment, there is nothing which will not grow. If it lose its proper nourishment, there is nothing which will not decay away. Confucius said, "Hold it fast, and it remains with you. Let it go, and you lose it. Its outgoing and incoming cannot be defined as to time or place." It is the mind of which this is said!'

9 Mencius said, 'It is not to be wondered at that the king is not wise! Suppose the case of the most easily growing thing in the world; if you let it have one day's genial heat, and then expose it for ten days to cold, it will not be able to grow. It is but seldom that I have an audience of the king, and when I retire, there come all those who act upon him like the cold. Though I succeed in bringing out some buds of goodness, of what avail is it? Now chess-playing is but a small art, but without his whole mind being given, and his will bent, to it, a man cannot succeed at it. Chess Qiu is the best chess-player in all the kingdom. Suppose that he is teaching two men to play. The one gives to the subject his whole mind and bends to it all his will, doing nothing but listening to Chess Qiu. The other, although he seems to be listening to him, has his whole mind running on a swan which he thinks is approaching, and wishes to bend his bow, adjust the string to the arrow, and shoot it. Although he is learning along with the other, he does not come up to him. Why? Because his intelligence is not equal? Not so.'

10 Mencius said, 'I like fish, and I also like bear's paws. If I cannot have the two together, I will let the fish go, and take the bear's paws. So, I like life, and I also like righteousness. If I cannot keep the two together, I will let life go, and choose righteousness. I like life indeed, but there is that which I like more than life, and therefore, I will not seek to possess it by any improper ways. I dislike death indeed, but there is that which I dislike more than death, and therefore there are occasions when I will not avoid danger. If among the things which man likes there were nothing which he liked more than life, why should he not use every means by which he could preserve it? If among the things which man dislikes there were nothing which he disliked more than death, why should he not do everything by which he could avoid danger? There are cases when men by a certain course might preserve life, and they do not employ it; when by certain things they might avoid danger, and they will not do them. Therefore, men have that which they like more than life, and that which they dislike more than death. They are not men of distinguished talents and virtue only who have this mental nature. All men have it; what belongs to such men is simply that they do not lose it. Here are a small basket of rice and a platter of soup, and the case is one in which the getting them will preserve life, and the want of them will be death; if they are offered with an insulting voice, even a tramper will not receive them, or if you first tread upon them, even a beggar will not stoop to take them. And yet a man will accept of ten thousand zhong, without any consideration of propriety or righteousness. What can the ten thousand chung add to him? When he takes them, is it not that he may obtain beautiful mansions, that he may secure the services of wives and concubines, or that the poor and needy of his acquaintance may be helped by him? In the former case the offered bounty was not received, though it would have saved from death, and now the emolument is taken for the sake of beautiful mansions. The bounty that would have preserved from death was not received, and the emolument is taken to get the service of wives and concubines. The bounty that would have saved from death was not received, and the emolument is taken that one's poor and needy acquaintance may be helped by him. Was it then not possible likewise to decline this? This is a case of what is called "Losing the proper nature of one's mind."'

11 Mencius said, 'Benevolence is man's mind, and righteousness is man's path. How lamentable is it to neglect the path and not pursue it, to lose this mind and not know to seek it again! When men's fowls and dogs are lost, they know to seek for them again, but they lose their mind, and do not know to seek for it. The great end of learning is nothing else but to seek for the lost mind.'

12 Mencius said, 'Here is a man whose fourth finger is bent and cannot be stretched out straight. It is not painful, nor does it incommode his business, and yet if there be any one who can make it straight, he will not think the way from Qin to Chu far to go to him; because his finger is not like the finger of other people. When a man's finger is not like those of other people, he knows to feel dissatisfied, but if his mind be not like that of other people, he does not know to feel dissatisfaction. This is called "Ignorance of the relative importance of things."'

13 Mencius said, 'Anybody who wishes to cultivate the tong or the zi, which may be grasped with both hands, perhaps with one, knows by what means to nourish them. In the case of their own persons, men do not know by what means to nourish them. Is it to be supposed that their regard of their own persons is inferior to their regard for a tong or zi? Their want of reflection is extreme.'

14 Mencius said, 'There is no part of himself which a man does not love, and as he loves all, so he must nourish all. There is not an inch of skin which he does not love, and so there is not an inch of skin which he will not nourish. For examining whether his way of nourishing be good or not, what other rule is there but this, that he determine by reflecting on himself where it should be applied? Some parts of the body are noble, and some ignoble; some great, and some small. The great must not be injured for the small, nor the noble for the ignoble. He who nourishes the little belonging to him is a little man, and he who nourishes the great is a great man. Here is a plantation-keeper, who neglects his wu and jia, and cultivates his sour jujube-trees; he

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is a poor plantation-keeper. He who nourishes one of his fingers, neglecting his shoulders or his back, without knowing that he is doing so, is a man who resembles a hurried wolf. A man who only eats and drinks is counted mean by others; because he nourishes what is little to the neglect of what is great. If a man, fond of his eating and drinking, were not to neglect what is of more importance, how should his mouth and belly be considered as no more than an inch of skin?'

15 The disciple Gong Du said, 'All are equally men, but some are great men, and some are little men - how is this?'

Mencius replied, 'Those who follow that part of themselves which is great are great men; those who follow that part which is little are little men.'

Gong Du pursued, 'All are equally men, but some follow that part of themselves which is great, and some follow that part which is little - how is this?'

Mencius answered, 'The senses of hearing and seeing do not think, and are obscured by external things. When one thing comes into contact with another, as a matter of course it leads it away. To the mind belongs the office of thinking. By thinking, it gets the right view of things; by neglecting to think, it fails to do this. These - the senses and the mind - are what Heaven has given to us. Let a man first stand fast in the supremacy of the nobler part of his constitution, and the inferior part will not be able to take it from him. It is simply this which makes the great man.'

16 Mencius said, 'There is a nobility of Heaven, and there is a nobility of man. Benevolence, righteousness, self-consecration, and fidelity, with unwearied joy in these virtues; these constitute the nobility of Heaven. To be a gong, a qing, or a da fu; this constitutes the nobility of man. The men of antiquity cultivated their nobility of Heaven, and the nobility of man came to them in its train. The men of the present day cultivate their nobility of Heaven in order to seek for the nobility of man, and when they have obtained that, they throw away the other - their delusion is extreme. The issue is simply this, that they must lose that nobility of man as well.'

17 Mencius said, 'To desire to be honoured is the common mind of men. And all men have in themselves that which is truly honourable. Only they do not think of it. The honour which men confer is not good honour. Those whom Zhao the Great ennobles he can make mean again. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "He has filled us with his wine, He has satiated us with his goodness." "Satiated us with his goodness," that is, satiated us with benevolence and righteousness, and he who is so satiated, consequently, does not wish for the fat meat and fine millet of men. A good reputation and far-reaching praise fall to him, and he does not desire the elegant embroidered garments of men.'

18 Mencius said, 'Benevolence subdues its opposite just as water subdues fire. Those, however, who now-a-days practise benevolence do it as if with one cup of water they could save a whole waggon-load of fuel which was on fire, and when the flames were not extinguished, were to say that water cannot subdue fire. This conduct, moreover, greatly encourages those who are not benevolent. The final issue will simply be this: the loss of that small amount of benevolence.'

19 Mencius said, 'Of all seeds the best are the five kinds of grain, yet if they be not ripe, they are not equal to the ti or the bai. So, the value of benevolence depends entirely on its being brought to maturity.'

20 Mencius said, 'Yi, in teaching men to shoot, made it a rule to draw the bow to the full, and his pupils also did the same. A master-workman, in teaching others, uses the compass and square, and his pupils do the same.'

MENGZI CHAPTER 12 Gaozi 2

21 A man of Ren asked the disciple Wu Lu, saying, 'Is an observance of the rules of propriety in regard to eating, or eating merely, the more important?' The answer was, 'The observance of the rules of propriety is the more important.'

'Is the gratifying the appetite of sex, or the doing so only according to the rules of propriety, the more important?' The answer again was, 'The observance of the rules of propriety in the matter is the more important.'

The man pursued, 'If the result of eating only according to the rules of propriety will be death by starvation, while by disregarding those rules we may get food, must they still be observed in such a case? If according to the rule that he shall go in person to meet his wife a man cannot get married, while by disregarding that rule he may get married, must he still observe the rule in such a case?'

Wu Lu was unable to reply to these questions, and the next day he went to Zou, and told them to Mencius. Mencius said, 'What difficulty is there in answering these inquiries? If you do not adjust them at their lower extremities, but only put their tops on a level, a piece of wood an inch square may be made to be higher than the pointed peak of a high building. Gold is heavier than feathers; but does that saying have reference, on the one hand, to a single clasp of gold, and, on the other, to a waggon-load of feathers? If you take a case where the eating is of the utmost importance and the observing the rules of propriety is of little importance, and compare the things together, why stop with saying merely that the eating is more important? So, taking the case where the gratifying the appetite of sex is of the utmost importance and the observing the rules of propriety is of little importance, why stop with merely saying that the gratifying the appetite is the more important? Go and answer him thus, "If, by twisting your elder brother's arm, and snatching from him what he is eating, you can get food for yourself, while, if you do not do so, you will not get anything to eat, will you so twist his arm? If by getting over your neighbour's wall, and dragging away his virgin daughter, you can get a wife, while if you do not do so, you will not be able to get a wife, will you so drag her away?"'

22 Jiao of Cao asked Mencius, saying, 'It is said, "All men may be Yaos and Shuns;"-- is it so?'

Mencius replied, It is.'

Jiao went on, 'I have heard that king Wen was ten cubits high, and Tang nine. Now I am nine cubits four inches in height. But I can do nothing but eat my millet. What am I to do to realize that saying?'

Mencius answered him, 'What has this - the question of size - to do with the matter? It all lies simply in acting as such. Here is a man, whose strength was not equal to lift a duckling - he was then a man of no strength. But to-day he says, "I can lift 3,000 catties' weight," and he is a man of strength. And so, he who can lift the weight which Wu Huo lifted is just another Wu Huo. Why should a man make a want of ability the subject of his grief? It is only that he will not do the thing. To walk slowly, keeping behind his elders, is to perform the part of a younger. To walk quickly and precede his elders, is to violate the duty of a younger brother. Now, is it what a man cannot do - to walk slowly? It is what he does not do. The course of Yao and Shun was simply that of filial piety and fraternal duty. Wear the clothes of Yao, repeat the words of Yao, and do the actions of Yao, and you will just be a Yao. And, if you wear the clothes of Jie, repeat the words of Jie, and do the actions of Jie, you will just be a Jie.

Jiao said, 'I shall be having an interview with the prince of Zou, and can ask him to let me have a house to lodge in. I wish to remain here, and receive instruction at your gate.'

Mencius replied, 'The way of truth is like a great road. It is not difficult to know it. The evil is only that men will not seek it. Do you go home and search for it, and you will have abundance of teachers.'

23 Gong Sun Chou asked about an opinion of the scholar Gao, saying, 'Gao observed, "The Xiao Pan is the ode of a little man."'

Mencius asked, 'Why did he say so?'

'Because of the murmuring which it expresses,' was the reply.

Mencius answered, 'How stupid was that old Gao in dealing with the ode! There is a man here, and a native of Yue bends his bow to shoot him. I will advise him not to do so, but speaking calmly and smilingly; for no other reason but that he is not related to me. But if my own brother be bending his bow to shoot the man, then I will advise him not to do so, weeping and crying the while; for no other reason than that he is related to me. The dissatisfaction expressed in the Xiao Pan is the working of relative affection, and that affection shows benevolence. Stupid indeed was old Gao's criticism on the ode.'

Chou then said, 'How is it that there is no dissatisfaction expressed in the Kai Feng?'

Mencius replied, 'The parent's fault referred to in the Kai Feng is small; that referred to in the Xiao Pan is great. Where the parent's fault was great, not to have murmured on account of it would have increased the want of natural affection. Where the parent's fault was small, to have murmured on account of it would have been to act like water which frets and foams about a stone that interrupts its course. To increase the want of natural affection would have been unfilial, and to fret and foam in such a manner would also have been unfilial. Confucius said, "Shun was indeed perfectly filial! And yet, when he was fifty, he was full of longing desire about his parents."'

24 Song Keng being about to go to Chu, Mencius met him in Shi Qiu. 'Master, where are you going?' asked Mencius.

Keng replied, 'I have heard that Qin and Chu are fighting together, and I am going to see the king of Chu and persuade him to cease hostilities. If he shall not be pleased with my advice, I shall go to see the king of Qin, and persuade him in the same way. Of the two kings I shall surely find that I can succeed with one of them.'

Mencius said, 'I will not venture to ask about the particulars, but I should like to hear the scope of your plan. What course will you take to try to persuade them?'

Keng answered, 'I will tell them how unprofitable their course is to them.'

'Master,' said Mencius, 'your aim is great, but your argument is not good. If you, starting from the point of profit, offer your persuasive counsels to the kings of Qin and Chu, and if those kings are pleased with the consideration of profit so as to stop the movements of their armies, then all belonging to those armies will rejoice in the cessation of war, and find their pleasure in the pursuit of profit. Ministers will serve their sovereign for the profit of which they cherish the thought; sons will serve their fathers, and younger brothers will serve their elder brothers, from the same consideration - and the issue will be, that, abandoning benevolence and righteousness, sovereign and minister, father and son, younger brother and elder, will carry on all their intercourse with this thought of profit cherished in their breasts. But never has there been such a state of society, without ruin being the result of it. If you, starting from the ground of benevolence and righteousness, offer your counsels to the kings of Qin and Chu, and if those kings are pleased with the consideration of benevolence and righteousness so as to stop the operations of their armies, then all belonging to those armies will rejoice in the stopping from war, and find their pleasure in benevolence and righteousness. Ministers will serve their sovereign, cherishing the principles of benevolence and righteousness; sons will serve their fathers, and younger brothers will serve their elder brothers, in the same way - and so, sovereign and minister, father and son, elder brother and younger, abandoning the thought of profit, will cherish the principles of benevolence and righteousness, and carry on all their intercourse upon them. But never has there been such a state of society, without the State where it prevailed rising to the royal sway. Why must you use that word "profit."'

25 When Mencius was residing in Zou, the younger brother of the chief of Ren, who was guardian of Ren at the time, paid his respects to him by a present of silks, which Mencius received, not going to acknowledge it. When he was sojourning in Ping Lu, Chu, who was prime minister of the State, sent him a similar present, which he received in the same way. Subsequently, going from Zou to Ren, he visited the guardian; but when he went from Ping Lu to the capital of Qi, he did not visit the minister Chu. The disciple Wu Lu was glad, and said, 'I have got an opportunity to obtain some instruction.' He asked accordingly, 'Master, when you went to Ren, you visited the chief's brother; and when you went to Qi, you did not visit Chu. Was it not because he is only the minister?'

Mencius replied, 'No. It is said in the Book of History, "In presenting an offering to a superior, most depends on the demonstrations of respect. If those demonstrations are not equal to the things offeredred, we say there is no offering, that is, there is no act of the will presenting the offering." This is because the things so offered do not constitute an offering to a superior.'

Wu Lu was pleased, and when some one asked him what Mencius meant, he said, 'The younger of Ren could not go to Zou, but the minister Chu might have gone to Ping Lu.'

26 Chun Yu Kun said, 'He who makes fame and meritorious services his first objects, acts with a regard to others. He who makes them only secondary objects, acts with a regard to himself. You, master, were ranked among the three chief ministers of the State, but before your fame and services had reached either to the prince or the people, you have left your place. Is this indeed the way of the benevolent?'

Mencius replied, 'There was Bo Yi - he abode in an inferior situation, and would not, with his virtue, serve a degenerate prince. There was Yi Yin - he five times went to Tang, and five times went to Jie. There was Hui of Liu Xia - he did not disdain to serve a vile prince, nor did he decline a small office. The courses pursued by those three worthies were different, but their aim was one. And what was their one aim? We must answer "To be perfectly virtuous." And so it is simply after this that superior men strive. Why must they all pursue the same course?'

Kun pursued, 'In the time of the duke Mu of Lu, the government was in the hands of Gong Yi, while Zi Liu and Zi Si were ministers. And yet, the dismemberment of Lu then increased exceedingly. Such was the case, a specimen how your men of virtue are of no advantage to a kingdom!' Mencius said, 'The prince of Yu did not use Bai Li Xi, and thereby lost his State. The duke Mu of Qin used him, and became chief of all the princes. Ruin is the consequence of not employing men of virtue and talents - how can it rest with dismemberment merely?'

Kun urged again, 'Formerly, when Wang Bao dwelt on the Qi, the people on the west of the Yellow River all became skilful at singing in his abrupt manner. When Mian Ju lived in Gao Tang, the people in the parts of Qi on the west became skilful at singing in his prolonged manner. The wives of Hua Zhou and Qi Liang bewailed their husbands so skilfully, that they changed the manners of the State. When there is the gift within, it manifests itself without. I have never seen the man who could do the deeds of a worthy, and did not realize the work of one. Therefore there are now no men of talents and virtue. If there were, I should know them.'

Mencius answered, 'When Confucius was chief minister of Justice in Lu, the prince came not to follow his counsels. Soon after there was the solstitial sacrifice, and when a part of the flesh presented in sacrifice was not sent to him, he went away even without taking off his cap of ceremony. Those who did not know him supposed it was on account of the flesh. Those who knew him supposed that it was on account of the neglect of the usual ceremony. The fact was, that Confucius wanted to

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go away on occasion of some small offence, not wishing to do so without some apparent cause. All men cannot be expected to understand the conduct of a superior man.'

27 Mencius said, 'The five chiefs of the princes were sinners against the three kings. The princes of the present day are sinners against the five chiefs. The Great officers of the present day are sinners against the princes. The sovereign visited the princes, which was called "A tour of Inspection." The princes attended at the court of the sovereign, which was called "Giving a report of office." It was a custom in the spring to examine the ploughing, and supply any deficiency of seed; and in autumn to examine the reaping, and assist where there was a deficiency of the crop. When the sovereign entered the boundaries of a State, if the new ground was being reclaimed, and the old fields well cultivated; if the old were nourished and the worthy honoured; and if men of distinguished talents were placed in office: then the prince was rewarded - rewarded with an addition to his territory. On the other hand, if, on entering a State, the ground was found left wild or overrun with weeds; if the old were neglected and the worthy unhonoured; and if the offices were filled with hard taxgatherers: then the prince was reprimanded. If a prince once omitted his attendance at court, he was punished by degradation of rank; if he did so a second time, he was deprived of a portion of his territory; if he did so a third time, the royal forces were set in motion, and he was removed from his government. Thus the sovereign commanded the punishment, but did not himself inflict it, while the princes inflicted the punishment, but did not command it. The five chiefs, however, dragged the princes to punish other princes, and hence I say that they were sinners against the three kings.

'Of the five chiefs the most powerful was the duke Huan. At the assembly of the princes in Kui Qiu, he bound the victim and placed the writing upon it, but did not slay it to smear their mouths with the blood. The first injunction in their agreement was, "Slay the unfilial; change not the son who has been appointed heir; exalt not a concubine to be the wife." The second was, "Honour the worthy, and maintain the talented, to give distinction to the virtuous." The third was, "Respect the old, and be kind to the young. Be not forgetful of strangers and travellers." The fourth was, "Let not offices be hereditary, nor let officers be pluralists. In the selection of officers let the object be to get the proper men. Let not a ruler take it on himself to put to death a Great officer." The fifth was, "Follow no crooked policy in making embankments. Impose no restrictions on the sale of grain. Let there be no promotions without first announcing them to the sovereign." It was then said, "All we who have united in this agreement shall hereafter maintain amicable relations." The princes of the present day all violate these five prohibitions, and therefore I say that the princes of the present day are sinners against the five chiefs.

'The crime of him who connives at, and aids, the wickedness of his prince is small, but the crime of him who anticipates and excites that wickedness is great. The officers of the present day all go to meet their sovereigns' wickedness, and therefore I say that the Great officers of the present day are sinners against the princes.'

28 The prince of Lu wanted to make the minister Shen commander of his army. Mencius said, 'To employ an uninstructed people in war may be said to be destroying the people. A destroyer of the people would not have been tolerated in the times of Yao and Shun. Though by a single battle you should subdue Qi, and get possession of Nan Yang, the thing ought not to be done.'

Shen changed countenance, and said in displeasure, 'This is what I, Gu Li, do not understand.'

Mencius said, 'I will lay the case plainly before you. The territory appropriated to the sovereign is 1,000 li square. Without a thousand li, he would not have sufficient for his entertainment of the princes. The territory appropriated to a Hou is 100 li square. Without 100 li, he would not have sufficient wherewith to observe the statutes kept in his ancestral temple. When Zhou Gong was invested with the principalily of Lu, it was a hundred li square. The territory was indeed enough, but it was not more than 100 li. When Tai Gong was invested with the principality of Qi, it was 100 li square. The territory was indeed enough, but it was not more than 100 li. Now Lu is five times 100 li square. If a true royal ruler were to arise, whether do you think that Lu would be diminished or increased by him? If it were merely taking the place from the one State to give it to the other, a benevolent man would not do it; how much less will he do so, when the end is to be sought by the slaughter of men! The way in which a superior man serves his prince contemplates simply the leading him in the right path, and directing his mind to benevolence.'

29 Mencius said, 'Those who now-a-days serve their sovereigns say, "We can for our sovereign enlarge the limits of the cultivated ground, and fill his treasuries and arsenals." Such persons are now-a-days called "Good ministers," but anciently they were called "Robbers of the people." If a sovereign follows not the right way, nor has his mind bent on benevolence, to seek to enrich him is to enrich a Jie. Or they will say, "We can for our sovereign form alliances with other States, so that our battles must be successful." Such persons are now-a-days called "Good ministers," but anciently they were called "Robbers of the people." If a sovereign follows not the right way, nor has his mind directed to benevolence, to seek to enrich him is to enrich a Jie. Although a prince, pursuing the path of the present day, and not changing its practices, were to have the throne given to him, he could not retain it for a single morning.'

30 Bai Gui said, 'I want to take a twentieth of the produce only as the tax. What do you think of it?'

Mencius said, 'Your way would be that of the Mo. In a country of ten thousand families, would it do to have only one potter?'

Gui replied, 'No. The vessels would not be enough to use.'

Mencius went on, 'In Mo all the five kinds of grain are not grown; it only produces the millet. There are no fortified cities, no edifices, no ancestral temples, no ceremonies of sacrifice; there are no princes requiring presents and entertainments; there is no system of officers with their various subordinates. On these accounts a tax of one-twentieth of the produce is sufficient there. But now it is the Middle Kingdom that we live in. To banish the relationships of men, and have no superior men - how can such a state of things be thought of? With but few potters a kingdom cannot subsist; how much less can it subsist without men of a higher rank than others? If we wish to make the taxation lighter than the system of Yao and Shun, we shall just have a great Mo and a small Mo. If we wish to make it heavier, we shall just have the great Jie and the small Jie.'

31 Bai Gui said, 'My management of the waters is superior to that of Yu.'

Mencius replied, 'You are wrong, Sir. Yu's regulation of the waters was according to the laws of water. He therefore made the four seas their receptacle, while you make the neighbouring States their receptacle. Water flowing out of its channels is called an inundation. Inundating waters are a vast waste of water, and what a benevolent man detests. You are wrong, my good Sir.'

32 Mencius said, 'If a scholar have not faith, how shall he take a firm hold of things?'

33 The prince of Lu wanting to commit the administration of his government to the disciple Yue Zheng,

Mencius said, 'When I heard of it, I was so glad that I could not sleep.'

Gong Sun Chou asked, 'Is Yue Zheng a man of vigour?' and was answered, 'No.'

'Is he wise in council?' 'No.'

'Is he possessed of much information?' 'No.'

'What then made you so glad that you could not sleep?' 'He is a man who loves what is good.'

'Is the love of what is good sufficient?' 'The love of what is good is more than a sufficient qualification for the government of the kingdom; how much more is it so for the State of Lu! If a minister love what is good, all within the four seas will count 1000 li but a small distance, and will come and lay their good thoughts before him. If he do not love what is good, men will say, "How self-conceited he looks? He is sayinq to himself, I know it." The language and looks of that self-conceit will keep men off at a distance of 1,000 li. When good men stop 1,000 li off, calumniators, flatterers, and sycophants will make their appearance. When a minister lives among calumniators, flatterers, and sycophants, though he may wish the State to be well governed, is it possible for it to be so?'

34 The disciple Chen said, 'What were the principles on which superior men of old took office?'

Mencius replied, 'There were three cases in which they accepted office, and three in which they left it. If received with the utmost respect and all polite observances, and they could say to themselves that the prince would carry their words into practice, then they took office with him. Afterwards, although there might be no remission in the polite demeanour of the prince, if their words were not carried into practice, they would leave him. The second case was that in which, though the prince could not be expected at once to carry their words into practice, yet being received by him with the utmost respect, they took office with him. But afterwards, if there was a remission in his polite demeanour, they would leave him. The last case was that of the superior man who had nothing to eat, either morning or evening, and was so famished that he could not move out of his door. If the prince, on hearing of his state, said, "I must fail in the great point, that of carrying his doctrines into practice, neither am I able to follow his words, but I am ashamed to allow him to die of want in my country;" the assistance offered in such a case might be received, but not beyond what was sufficient to avert death.'

35 Mencius said, 'Shun rose from among the channelled fields. Fu Yue was called to office from the midst of his building frames; Jiao Ge from his fish and salt; Guan Yi Wu from the hands of his gaoler; Sun Shu Ao from his hiding by the sea-shore; and Bai Li Xi from the market-place. Thus, when Heaven is about to confer a great office on any man, it first exercises his mind with suffering, and his sinews and bones with toil. It exposes his body to hunger, and subjects him to extreme poverty. It confounds his undertakings. By all these methods it stimulates his mind, hardens his nature, and supplies his incompetencies. Men for the most part err, and are afterwards able to reform. They are distressed in mind and perplexed in their thoughts, and then they arise to vigorous reformation. When things have been evidenced in men's looks, and set forth in their words, then they understand them. If a prince have not about his court families attached to the laws and worthy counsellors, and if abroad there are not hostile States or other external calamities, his kingdom will generally come to ruin. From these things we see how life springs from sorrow and calamity, and death from ease and pleasure.'

36 Mencius said, 'There are many arts in teaching. I refuse, as inconsistent with my character, to teach a man, but I am only thereby still teaching him.'

MENGZI CHAPTER 13 Jin Xin 1

1 Mencius said, 'He who has exhausted all his mental constitution knows his nature. Knowing his nature, he knows Heaven. To preserve one's mental constitution, and nourish one's nature, is the way to serve Heaven. When neither a premature death nor long life causes a man any double-mindedness, but he waits in the cultivation of his personal character for whatever issue; this is the way in which he establishes his Heaven-ordained being.'

2 Mencius said, 'There is an appointment for everything. A man should receive submissively what may be correctly ascribed thereto. Therefore, he who has the true idea of what is Heaven's appointment will not stand beneath a precipitous wall. Death sustained in the discharge of one's duties may correctly be ascribed to the appointment of Heaven. Death under handcuffs and fetters cannot correctly be so ascribed.'

3 Mencius said, 'When we get by our seeking and lose by our neglecting - in that case seeking is of use to getting, and the things sought for are those which are in ourselves. When the seeking is according to the proper course, and the getting is only as appointed - in that case the seeking is of no use to getting, and the things sought are without ourselves.'

4 Mencius said, 'All things are already complete in us. There is no greater delight than to be conscious of sincerity on self-examination. If one acts with a vigorous effort at the law of reciprocity, when he seeks for the realization of perfect virtue, nothing can be closer than his approximation to it.'

5 Mencius said, 'To act without understanding, and to do so habitually without examination, pursuing the proper path all the life without knowing its nature - this is the way of multitudes.'

6 Mencius said, 'A man may not be without shame. When one is ashamed of having been without shame, he will afterwards not have occasion to be ashamed.'

7 Mencius said, 'The sense of shame is to a man of great importance. Those who form contrivances and versatile schemes distinguished for their artfulness, do not allow their sense of shame to come into action. When one differs from other men in not having this sense of shame, what will he have in common with them?'

8 Mencius said, 'The able and virtuous monarchs of antiquity loved virtue and forgot their power. And shall an exception be made of the able and virtuous scholars of antiquity, that they did not do the same? They delighted in their own principles, and were oblivious of the power of princes. Therefore, if kings and dukes did not show the utmost respect, and observe all forms of ceremony, they were not permitted to come frequently and visit them. If they thus found it not in their power to pay them frequent visits, how much less could they get to employ them as ministers?'

9 Mencius said to Song Gou Jian, 'Are you fond, Sir, of travelling to the different courts? I will tell you about such travelling. If a prince acknowledge you and follow your counsels, be perfectly satisfied. If no one do so, be the same.'

Gou Jian said, 'What is to be done to secure this perfect satisfaction?'

Mencius replied, 'Honour virtue and delight in righteousness, and so you may always be perfectly satisfied. Therefore, a scholar, though poor, does not let go his righteousness; though prosperous, he does not leave his own path. Poor and not letting righteousness go - it is thus that the scholar holds possession of himself. Prosperous and not leaving the proper path - it is thus that the expectations of the people from him are not disappointed. When the men of antiquity realized their wishes, benefits were conferred by them on the people. If they did not realize their wishes, they cultivated their personal character, and became illustrious in the world. If poor, they attended to their own virtue in solitude; if advanced to dignity, they made the whole kingdom virtuous as well.'

10 Mencius said, 'The mass of men wait for a king Wen, and then they will receive a rousing impulse. Scholars distinguished from the mass, without a king Wan, rouse themselves.'

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11 Mencius said, 'Add to a man the families of Han and Wei. If he then look upon himself without being elated, he is far beyond the mass of men.'

12 Mencius said, 'Let the people be employed in the way which is intended to secure their ease, and though they be toiled, they will not murmur. Let them be put to death in the way which is intended to preserve their lives, and though they die, they will not murmur at him who puts them to death.'

13 Mencius said, 'Under a chief, leading all the princes, the people look brisk and cheerful. Under a true sovereign, they have an air of deep contentment. Though he slay them, they do not murmur. When he benefits them, they do not think of his merit. From day to day they make progress towards what is good, without knowing who makes them do so. Wherever the superior man passes through, transformation follows; wherever he abides, his influence is of a spiritual nature. It flows abroad, above and beneath, like that of Heaven and Earth. How can it be said that he mends society but in a small way!'

14 Mencius said, 'Kindly words do not enter so deeply into men as a reputation for kindness. Good government does not lay hold of the people so much as good instructions. Good government is feared by the people, while good instructions are loved by them. Good government gets the people's wealth, while good instructions get their hearts.'

15 Mencius said, 'The ability possessed by men without having been acquired by learning is intuitive ability, and the knowledge possessed by them without the exercise of thought is their intuitive knowledge. Children carried in the arms all know to love their parents, and when they are grown a little, they all know to love their elder brothers. Filial affection for parents is the working of benevolence. Respect for elders is the working of righteousness. There is no other reason for those feelings - they belong to all under heaven.'

16 Mencius said, 'When Shun was living amid the deep retired mountains, dwelling with the trees and rocks, and wandering among the deer and swine, the difference between him and the rude inhabitants of those remote hills appeared very small. But when he heard a single good word, or saw a single good action, he was like a stream or a river bursting its banks, and flowing out in an irresistible flood.'

17 Mencius said, 'Let a man not do what his own sense of righteousness tells him not to do, and let him not desire what his sense of righteousness tells him not to desire - to act thus is all he has to do.'

18 Mencius said, 'Men who are possessed of intelligent virtue and prudence in affairs will generally be found to have been in sickness and troubles. They are the friendless minister and concubine's son, who keep their hearts under a sense of peril, and use deep precautions against calamity. On this account they become distinguished for their intelligence.'

19 Mencius said, 'There are persons who serve the prince; they serve the prince, that is, for the sake of his countenance and favour. There are ministers who seek the tranquillity of the State, and find their pleasure in securing that tranquillity. There are those who are the people of Heaven. They, judging that, if they were in office, they could carry out their principles, throughout the kingdom, proceed so to carry them out. There are those who are great men. They rectify themselves and others are rectified.'

20 Mencius said, 'The superior man has three things in which he delights, and to be ruler over the kingdom is not one of them. That his father and mother are both alive, and that the condition of his brothers affords no cause for anxiety; this is one delight. That, when looking up, he has no occasion for shame before Heaven, and, below, he has no occasion to blush before men; this is a second delight. That he can get from the whole kingdom the most talented individuals, and teach and nourish them; this is the third delight. The superior man has three things in which he delights, and to be ruler over the kingdom is not one of them.'

21 Mencius said, 'Wide territory and a numerous people are desired by the superior man, but what he delights in is not here. To stand in the centre of the kingdom, and tranquillize the people within the four seas - the superior man delights in this, but the highest enjoyment of his nature is not here. What belongs by his nature to the superior man cannot be increased by the largeness of his sphere of action, nor diminished by his dwelling in poverty and retirement - for this reason that it is determinately apportioned to him by Heaven. What belongs by his nature to the superior man are benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and knowledge. These are rooted in his heart; their growth and manifestation are a mild harmony appearing in the countenance, a rich fullness in the back, and the character imparted to the four limbs. Those limbs understand to arrange themselves, without being told.'

22 Mencius said, 'Bo Yi, that he might avoid Zhou, was dwelling on the coast of the northern sea when he heard of the rise of king Wen. He roused himself and said, "Why should I not go and follow him? I have heard that the chief of the West knows well how to nourish the old." Tai Gong, to avoid Zhou, was dwelling on the coast of the eastern sea. When he heard of the rise of king Wen, he said, "Why should I not go and follow him? I have heard that the chief if the West knows well how to nourish the old." If there were a prince in the kingdom, who knew well how to nourish the old, all men of virtue would feel that he was the proper object for them to gather to. Around the homestead with its five mau, the space beneath the walls was planted with mulberry trees, with which the women nourished silkworms, and thus the old were able to have silk to wear. Each family had five brood hens and two brood sows, which were kept to their breeding seasons, and thus the old were able to have flesh to eat. The husbandmen cultivated their farms of 100 mu, and thus their families of eight mouths were secured against want. The expression, "The chief of the West knows well how to nourish the old," refers to his regulation of the fields and dwellings, his teaching them to plant the mulberry and nourish those animals, and his instructing the wives and children, so as to make them nourish their aged. At fifty, warmth cannot be maintained without silks, and at seventy flesh is necessary to satisfy the appetite. Persons not kept warm nor supplied with food are said to be starved and famished, but among the people of king Wen, there were no aged who were starved or famished. This is the meaning of the expression in question.'

23 Mencius said, 'Let it be seen to that their fields of grain and hemp are well cultivated, and make the taxes on them light - so the people may be made rich. Let it be seen to that the people use their resources of food seasonably, and expend their wealth only on the prescribed ceremonies - so their wealth will be more than can be consumed. The people cannot live without water and fire, yet if you knock at a man's door in the dusk of the evening, and ask for water and fire, there is no man who will not give them, such is the abundance of these things. A sage governs the kingdom so as to cause pulse and grain to be as abundant as water and fire. When pulse and grain are as abundant as water and fire, how shall the people be other than virtuous?'

24 Mencius said, 'Confucius ascended the eastern hill, and Lu appeared to him small. He ascended the Tai mountain, and all beneath the heavens appeared to him small. So he who has contemplated the sea, finds it difficult to think anything of other waters, and he who has wandered in the gate of the sage, finds it difficult to think anything of the words of others. There is an art in the contemplation of water. It is necessary to look at it as foaming in waves. The sun and moon being possessed of brilliancy, their light admitted even through an orifice illuminates. Flowing water is a thing which does not proceed till it has filled the hollows in its course. The student who has set his mind on the doctrines of the sage, does not advance to them but by completing one lesson after another.'

25 Mencius said, 'He who rises at cock-crowing and addresses himself earnestly to the practice of virtue, is a disciple of Shun. He who rises at cock-crowing, and addresses himself earnestly to the pursuit of gain, is a disciple of Zhi. If you want to know what separates Shun from Zhi, it is simply this: the interval between the thought of gain and the thought of virtue.'

26 Mencius said, 'The principle of the philosopher Yang was "Each one for himself." Though he might have benefited the whole kingdom by plucking out a single hair, he would not have done it. The philosopher Mo loves all equally. If by rubbing smooth his whole body from the crown to the heel, he could have benefited the kingdom, he would have done it. Zi Mo holds a medium between these. By holding that medium, he is nearer the right. But by holding it without leaving room for the exigency of circumstances, it becomes like their holding their one point. The reason why I hate that holding to one point is the injury it does to the way of right principle. It takes up one point and disregards a hundred others.'

27 Mencius said, 'The hungry think any food sweet, and the thirsty think the same of any drink, and thus they do not get the right taste of what they eat and drink. The hunger and thirst, in fact, injure their palate. And is it only the mouth and belly which are injured by hunger and thirst? Men's minds are also injured by them. If a man can prevent the evils of hunger and thirst from being any evils to his mind, he need not have any sorrow about not being equal to other men.'

28 Mencius said, 'Hui of Liu Xia would not for the three highest offices of State have changed his firm purpose of life.'

29 Mencius said, 'A man with definite aims to be accomplished may be compared to one digging a well. To dig the well to a depth of seventy-two cubits, and stop without reaching the spring, is after all throwing away the well.'

30 Mencius said, 'Benevolence and righteousness were natural to Yao and Shun. Tang and Wu made them their own. The five chiefs of the princes feigned them. Having borrowed them long and not returned them, how could it be known they did not own them?'

31 Gong Sun Chou said, 'Yi Yin said, "I cannot be near and see him so disobedient to reason," and therewith he banished Tai Jia to Tong. The people were much pleased. When Tai Jia became virtuous, he brought him back, and the people were again much pleased. When worthies are ministers, may they indeed banish their sovereigns in this way when they are not virtuous?'

Mencius replied, 'If they have the same purpose as Yi Yin, they may. If they have not the same purpose, it would be usurpation.'

32 Gong Sun Chou said, 'It is said, in the Book of Poetry, "He will not eat the bread of idleness!" How is it that we see superior men eating without labouring?'

Mencius replied, 'When a superior man resides in a country, if its sovereign employ his counsels, he comes to tranquillity, wealth and glory. If the young in it follow his instructions, they become filial, obedient to their elders, true-hearted, and faithful. What greater example can there be than this of not eating the bread of idleness?'

33 The king's son, Dian, asked Mencius, saying, 'What is the business of the unemployed scholar?'

Mencius replied, 'To exalt his aim.'

Tien asked again, 'What do you mean by exalting the aim?'

The answer was, 'Setting it simply on benevolence and righteousness. He thinks how to put a single innocent person to death is contrary to benevolence; how to take what one has not a right to is contrary to righteousness; that one's dwelling should be benevolence; and one's path should be righteousness. Where else should he dwell? What other path should he pursue? When benevolence is the dwelling-place of the heart, and righteousness the path of the life, the business of a great man is complete.'

34 Mencius said, 'Supposing that the kingdom of Qi were offered, contrary to righteousness, to Chen Zhong, he would not receive it, and all people believe in him, as a man of the highest worth. But this is only the righteousness which declines a dish of rice or a plate of soup. A man can have no greater crimes than to disown his parents and relatives, and the relations of sovereign and minister, superiors and inferiors. How can it be allowed to give a man credit for the great excellences because he possesses a small one?'

35 Tao Ying asked, saying, 'Shun being sovereign, and Gao Yao chief minister of justice, if Gu Sou had murdered a man, what would have been done in the case?'

Mencius said, 'Gao Yao would simply have apprehended him.'

'But would not Shun have forbidden such a thing?'

'Indeed, how could Shun have forbidden it? Gao Yao had received the law from a proper source.'

'In that case what would Shun have done?'

'Shun would have regarded abandoning the kingdom as throwing away a worn-out sandal. He would privately have taken his father on his back, and retired into concealment, living some where along the sea-coast. There he would have been all his life, cheerful and happy, forgetting the kingdom.'

36 Mencius, going from Fan to Qi, saw the king of Qi's son at a distance, and said with a deep sigh, 'One's position alters the air, just as the nurture affects the body. Great is the influence of position! Are we not all men's sons in this respect?'

Mencius said, 'The residence, the carriages and horses, and the dress of the king's son, are mostly the same as those of other men. That he looks so is occasioned by his position. How much more should a peculiar air distinguish him whose position is in the wide house of the world! 'When the prince of Lu went to Song, he called out at the Die Shi gate, and the keeper said, "This is not our prince. How is it that his voice is so like that of our prince?" This was occasioned by nothing but the correspondence of their positions.'

37 Mencius said, 'To feed a scholar and not love him, is to treat him as a pig. To love him and not respect him, is to keep him as a domestic animal. Honouring and respecting are what exist before any offering of gifts. If there be honouring and respecting without the reality of them, a superior man may not be retained by such empty demonstrations.'

38 Mencius said, 'The bodily organs with their functions belong to our Heaven-conferred nature. But a man must be a sage before he can satisfy the design of his bodily organization.'

39 The king Xuan of Qi wanted to shorten the period of mourning. Gong Sun Chou said, 'To have one whole year's mourning is better than doing away with it altogether.'

Mencius said, 'That is just as if there were one twisting the arm of his elder brother, and you were merely to say to him "Gently, gently, if you please." Your only course should be to teach such an one filial piety and fraternal duty.'

At that time, the mother of one of the king's sons had died, and his tutor asked for him that he might be allowed to observe a few months' mourning. Gong Sun Chou asked, 'What do you say of this?'

Mencius replied, 'This is a case where the party wishes to complete the whole period, but finds it impossible to do so. The addition of even a single day is better than not mourning at all. I spoke of the case where there was no hindrance, and the party neglected the thing itself.'

40 Mencius said, 'There are five ways in which the superior man effects his teaching. There are some on whom his influence descends like seasonable rain. There are some whose virtue he perfects, and some of whose talents he assists the development. There are some whose inquiries he answers. There are some who privately cultivate and correct themselves.

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These five ways are the methods in which the superior man effects his teaching.'

41 Gong Sun Chou said, 'Lofty are your principles and admirable, but to learn them may well be likened to ascending the heavens - something which cannot be reached. Why not adapt your teaching so as to cause learners to consider them attainable, and so daily exert themselves!'

Mencius said, 'A great artificer does not, for the sake of a stupid workman, alter or do away with the marking-line. Yi did not, for the sake of a stupid archer, charge his rule for drawing the bow. The superior man draws the bow, but does not discharge the arrow, having seemed to leap with it to the mark; and he there stands exactly in the middle of the path. Those who are able, follow him.'

42 Mencius said, 'When right principles prevail throughout the kingdom, one's principles must appear along with one's person. When right principles disappear from the kingdom, one's person must vanish along with one's principles. I have not heard of one's principles being dependent for their manifestation on other men.'

43 The disciple Gong Du said, 'When Geng of Tang made his appearance in your school, it seemed proper that a polite consideration should be paid to him, and yet you did not answer him. Why was that?'

Mencius replied, 'I do not answer him who questions me presuming on his nobility, nor him who presumes on his talents, nor him who presumes on his age, nor him who presumes on services performed to me, nor him who presumes on old acquaintance. Two of those things were chargeable on Geng of Tang.'

44 Mencius said, 'He who stops short where stopping is acknowledged to be not allowable, will stop short in everything. He who behaves shabbily to those whom he ought to treat well, will behave shabbily to all. He who advances with precipitation will retire with speed.'

45 Mencius said, 'In regard to inferior creatures, the superior man is kind to them, but not loving. In regard to people generally, he is loving to them, but not affectionate. He is affectionate to his parents, and lovingly disposed to people generally. He is lovingly disposed to people generally, and kind to creatures.'

46 Mencius said, 'The wise embrace all knowledge, but they are most earnest about what is of the greatest importance. The benevolent embrace all in their love, but what they consider of the greatest importance is to cultivate an earnest affection for the virtuous. Even the wisdom of Yao and Shun did not extend to everything, but they attended earnestly to what was important. Their benevolence did not show itself in acts of kindness to every man, but they earnestly cultivated an affection for the virtuous. Not to be able to keep the three years' mourning, and to be very particular about that of three months, or that of five months; to eat immoderately and swill down the soup, and at the same time to inquire about the precept not to tear the meat with the teeth; such things show what I call an ignorance of what is most important.

MENGZI CHAPTER 14 Jin Xin 2

47 Mencius said, 'The opposite indeed of benevolent was the king Hui of Liang! The benevolent, beginning with what they care for, proceed to what they do not care for. Those who are the opposite of benevolent, beginning with what they do not care for, proceed to what they care for.'

Gong Sun Chou said, 'What do you mean?'

Mencius answered, 'The king Hui of Liang, for the matter of territory, tore and destroyed his people, leading them to battle. Sustaining a great defeat, he would engage again, and afraid lest they should not be able to secure the victory, urged his son whom he loved till he sacrificed him with them. This is what I call "beginning with what they do not care for, and proceeding to what they care for."'

48 Mencius said, 'In the "Spring and Autumn" there are no righteous wars. Instances indeed there are of one war better than another. "Correction" is when the supreme authority punishes its subjects by force of arms. Hostile States do not correct one another.'

49 Mencius said, 'It would be better to be without the Book of History than to give entire credit to it. In the "Completion of the War," I select two or three passages only, which I believe. "The benevolent man has no enemy under heaven. When the prince the most benevolent was engaged against him who was the most the opposite, how could the blood of the people have flowed till it floated the pestles of the mortars?"'

50 Mencius said, 'There are men who say "I am skilful at marshalling troops, I am skilful at conducting a battle!" They are great criminals. If the ruler of a State love benevolence, he will have no enemy in the kingdom. When Tang was executing his work of correction in the south, the rude tribes on the north murmured. When he was executing it in the east, the rude tribes on the west murmured. Their cry was "Why does he make us last?" When king Wu punished Yin, he had only three hundred chariots of war, and three thousand life-guards. The king said, "Do not fear. Let me give you repose. I am no enemy to the people!" On this, they bowed their heads to the earth, like the horns of animals falling off. "Royal correction" is but another word for rectifying. Each State wishing itself to be corrected, what need is there for fighting?"

51 Mencius said, 'A carpenter or a carriage-maker may give a man the circle and square, but cannot make him skilful in the use of them.'

52 Mencius said, 'Shun's manner of eating his parched grain and herbs was as if he were to be doing so all his life. When he became sovereign, and had the embroidered robes to wear, the lute to play, and the two daughters of Yao to wait on him, he was as if those things belonged to him as a matter of course.'

53 Mencius said, 'From this time forth I know the heavy consequences of killing a man's near relations. When a man kills another's father, that other will kill his father; when a man kills another's elder brother, that other will kill his elder brother. So he does not himself indeed do the act, but there is only an interval between him and it.'

54 Mencius said, 'Anciently, the establishment of the frontier-gates was to guard against violence. Nowadays, it is to exercise violence.'

55 Mencius said, 'If a man himself do not walk in the right path, it will not be walked in even by his wife and children. If he order men according to what is not the right way, he will not be able to get the obedience of even his wife and children.'

56 Mencius said, 'A bad year cannot prove the cause of death to him whose stores of gain are large; an age of corruption cannot confound him whose equipment of virtue is complete.'

57 Mencius said, 'A man who loves fame may be able to decline a State of a thousand chariots; but if he be not really the man to do such a thing, it will appear in his countenance, in the matter of a dish of rice or a platter of soup.'

58 Mencius said, 'If men of virtue and ability be not confided in, a State will become empty and void. Without the rules of propriety and distinctions of right, the high and the low will be thrown into confusion. Without the great principles of government and their various business, there will not be wealth sufficient for the expenditure.'

59 Mencius said, 'There are instances of individuals without benevolence, who have got possession of a single State, but there has been no instance of the throne's being got by one without benevolence.'

60 Mencius said, 'The people are the most important element in a nation; the spirits of the land and grain are the next; the sovereign is the lightest. Therefore to gain the peasantry is the way to become sovereign; to gain the sovereign is the way to become a prince of a State; to gain the prince of a State is the way to become a great officer. When a prince endangers the altars of the spirits of the land and grain, he is changed, and another appointed in his place. When the sacrificial victims have been perfect, the millet in its vessels all pure, and the sacrifices offered at their proper seasons, if yet there ensue drought, or the waters overflow, the spirits of the land and grain are changed, and others appointed in their place.'

61 Mencius said, 'A sage is the teacher of a hundred generations - this is true of Bo Yi and Hui of Liu Xia. Therefore when men now bear the character of Bo Yi, the corrupt become pure, and the weak acquire determination. When they hear the character of Hui of Liu Xia, the mean become generous, and the niggardly become liberal. Those two made themselves distinguished a hundred generations ago, and after a hundred generations, those who hear of them, are all aroused in this manner. Could such effects be produced by them, if they had not been sages? And how much more did they affect those who were in contiguity with them, and felt their inspiring influence!'

62 Mencius said, 'Benevolence is the distinguishing characteristic of man. As embodied in man's conduct, it is called the path of duty.'

63 Mencius said, 'When Confucius was leaving Lu, he said, "I will set out by-and-by;" - this was the way in which to leave the State of his parents. When he was leaving Qi, he strained off with his hand the water in which his rice was being rinsed, took the rice, and went away - this was the way in which to leave a strange State.'

64 Mencius said, 'The reason why the superior man was reduced to straits between Chen and Cai was because neither the princes of the time nor their ministers sympathized or communicated with him.'

65 Mo Qi said, 'Greatly am I from anything to depend upon from the mouths of men.'

Mencius observed, 'There is no harm in that. Scholars are more exposed than others to suffer from the mouths of men. It is said, in the Book of Poetry, "My heart is disquieted and grieved, I am hated by the crowd of mean creatures." This might have been said by Confucius. And again, "Though he did not remove their wrath, He did not let fall his own fame." This might be said of king Wen.'

66 Mencius said, 'Anciently, men of virtue and talents by means of their own enlightenment made others enlightened. Nowadays, it is tried, while they are themselves in darkness, and by means of that darkness, to make others enlightened.'

67 Mencius said to the disciple Gao, 'There are the footpaths along the hills; if suddenly they be used, they become roads; and if, as suddenly they are not used, the wild grass fills them up. Now, the wild grass fills up your mind.'

68 The disciple Gao said, 'The music of Yu was better than that of king Wen.'

Mencius observed, 'On what ground do you say so?'

And the other replied, 'Because at the pivot the knob of Yu's bells is nearly worn through.'

Mencius said, 'How can that be a sufficient proof? Are the ruts at the gate of a city made by a single two-horsed chariot?'

69 When Qi was suffering from famine, Chen Zhen said to Mencius, 'The people are all thinking that you, Master, will again ask that the granary of Tang be opened for them. I apprehend you will not do so a second time.'

Mencius said, 'To do it would be to act like Feng Fu. There was a man of that name in Jin, famous for his skill in seizing tigers. Afterwards he became a scholar of reputation, and going once out to the wild country, he found the people all in pursuit of a tiger. The tiger took refuge in a corner of a hill, where no one dared to attack him, but when they saw Feng Fu, they ran and met him. Feng Fu immediately bared his arms, and descended from the carriage. The multitude were pleased with him, but those who were scholars laughed at him.'

70 Mencius said, 'For the mouth to desire sweet tastes, the eye to desire beautiful colours, the ear to desire pleasant sounds, the nose to desire fragrant odours, and the four limbs to desire ease and rest - these things are natural. But there is the appointment of Heaven in connexion with them, and the superior man does not say of his pursuit of them, "It is my nature." The exercise of love between father and son, the observance of righteousness between sovereign and minister, the rules of ceremony between guest and host, the display of knowledge in recognising the talented, and the fulfilling the heavenly course by the sage - these are the appointment of Heaven. But there is an adaptation of our nature for them. The superior man does not say, in reference to them, "It is the appointment of Heaven."'

71 Hao Sheng Bu Hai asked, saying, 'What sort of man is Yue Zheng?'

Mencius replied, 'He is a good man, a real man.'

'What do you mean by "A good man," "A real man?"'

The reply was, 'A man who commands our liking is what is called a good man. He whose goodness is part of himself is what is called real man. He whose goodness has been filled up is what is called beautiful man. He whose completed goodness is brightly displayed is what is called a great man. When this great man exercises a transforming influence, he is what is called a sage. When the sage is beyond our knowledge, he is what is called a spirit-man. Yue Zheng is between the two first characters, and below the four last.'

72 Mencius said, 'Those who are fleeing from the errors of Mo naturally turn to Yang, and those who are fleeing from the errors of Yang naturally turn to orthodoxy. When they so turn, they should at once and simply be received. Those who nowadays dispute with the followers of Yang and Mo do so as if they were pursuing a stray pig, the leg of which, after they have got it to enter the pen, they proceed to tie.'

73 Mencius said, 'There are the exactions of hempen-cloth and silk, of grain, and of personal service. The prince requires but one of these at once, deferring the other two. If he require two of them at once, then the people die of hunger. If he require the three at once, then fathers and sons are separated.'

74 Mencius said, 'The precious things of a prince are three: the territory, the people, the government and its business. If one value as most precious pearls and jade, calamity is sure to befall him.'

75 Pen Cheng Kuo having obtained an official situation in Qi, Mencius said, 'He is a dead man, that Pen Cheng Kuo!'

Pen Cheng Kuo being put to death, the disciples asked, saying, 'How did you know, Master, that he would meet with death?'

Mencius replied, 'He was a man, who had a little ability, but had not learned the great doctrines of the superior man. He was just qualified to bring death upon himself, but for nothing more.'

76 When Mencius went to Teng, he was lodged in the Upper palace. A sandal in the process of making had been placed there in a window, and when the keeper of the place came to look for it, he could not find it. On this, some one asked Mencius, saying, 'Is it thus that your followers pilfer?'

Mencius replied, 'Do you think that they came here to pilfer the sandal?'

The man said, 'I apprehend not. But you, Master, having arranged to give lessons, do not go back to inquire into the past, and you do not reject those who come to you. If they come with the mind to learn, you receive them without any more ado.'

77 Mencius said, 'All men have some things which they cannot bear; extend that feeling to what they can bear, and benevolence will be the result. All men have some things which they will not do; extend that feeling to the things which they do, and righteousness will be the result. If a man can give full development to the feeling which makes him shrink from

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injuring others, his benevolence will be more than can be called into practice. If he can give full development to the feeling which refuses to break through, or jump over, a wall, his righteousness will be more than can be called into practice. If he can give full development to the real feeling of dislike with which he receives the salutation, "Thou," "Thou," he will act righteously in all places and circumstances. When a scholar speaks what he ought not to speak, by guile of speech seeking to gain some end; and when he does not speak what he ought to speak, by guile of silence seeking to gain some end; both these cases are of a piece with breaking through a neighbour's wall.'

78 Mencius said, 'Words which are simple, while their meaning is far-reaching, are good words. Principles which, as held, are compendious, while their application is extensive, are good principles. The words of the superior man do not go below the girdle, but great principles are contained in them. The principle which the superior man holds is that of personal cultivation, but the kingdom is thereby tranquillized. The disease of men is this: that they neglect their own fields, and go to weed the fields of others, and that what they require from others is great, while what they lay upon themselves is light.'

79 Mencius said, 'Yao and Shun were what they were by nature; Tang and Wu were so by returning to natural virtue. When all the movements, in the countenance and every turn of the body, are exactly what is proper, that shows the extreme degree of the complete virtue. Weeping for the dead should be from real sorrow, and not because of the living. The regular path of virtue is to be pursued without any bend, and from no view to emolument. The words should all be necessarily sincere, not with any desire to do what is right. The superior man performs the law of right, and thereby waits simply for what has been appointed.'

80 Mencius said, 'Those who give counsel to the great should despise them, and not look at their pomp and display. Halls several times eight cubits high, with beams projecting several cubits; these, if my wishes were to be realized, I would not have. Food spread before me over ten cubits square, and attendants and concubines to the amount of hundreds; these, though my wishes were realized, I would not have. Pleasure and wine, and the dash of hunting, with thousands of chariots following after me; these, though my wishes were realized, I would not have. What they esteem are what I would have nothing to do with; what I esteem are the rules of the ancients. Why should I stand in awe of them?'

81 Mencius said, 'To nourish the mind there is nothing better than to make the desires few. Here is a man whose desires are few - in some things he may not be able to keep his heart, but they will be few. Here is a man whose desires are many - in some things he may be able to keep his heart, but they will be few.'

82 Mencius said, 'Zeng Xi was fond of sheep-dates, and his son, the philosopher Zeng, could not bear to eat sheep-dates.' Gong Sun Chou asked, saying, 'Which is best, minced meat and broiled meat, or sheep-dates?'

Mencius said, 'Mince and broiled meat, to be sure.'

Gong Sun Chou went on, 'Then why did the philosopher Zeng eat mince and broiled meat, and would not eat sheep-dates?'

Mencius answered, 'For mince and broiled meat there is a common liking, while that for sheep-dates was peculiar. We avoid the name, but do not avoid the surname. The surname is common; the name is peculiar.'

83 Wan Zhang asked, saying, 'Confucius, when he was in Chen, said: "Let me return. The scholars of my school are ambitious, but hasty. They are for advancing and seizing their object, but cannot forget their early ways." Why did Confucius, when he was in Chen, think of the ambitious scholars of Lu?'

Mencius replied, 'Confucius not getting men pursuing the true medium, to whom he might communicate his instructions, determined to take the ardent and the cautiously-decided. The ardent would advance to seize their object; the cautiously-decided would keep themselves from certain things. It is not to be thought that Confucius did not wish to get men pursuing the true medium, but being unable to assure himself of finding such, he therefore thought of the next class.'

'I venture to ask what sort of men they were who could be styled "The ambitious?"'

'Such,' replied Mencius, 'as Qin Zhang, Zeng Xi, and Mu Pi, were those whom Confucius styled "ambitious."'

'Why were they styled "ambitious?"'

The reply was, 'Their aim led them to talk magniloquently, saying, "The ancients!" "The ancients!" But their actions, where we fairly compare them with their words, did not correspond with them. When he found also that he could not get such as were thus ambitious, he wanted to get scholars who would consider anything impure as beneath them. Those were the cautiously-decided, a class next to the former.' Zhang pursued his questioning, 'Confucius said, "They are only your good careful people of the villages at whom I feel no indignation, when they pass my door without entering my house. Your good careful people of the villages are the thieves of virtue."'

'What sort of people were they who could be styled "Your good careful people of the villages?"'

Mencius replied, 'They are those who say, "Why are they so magniloquent? Their words have not respect to their actions and their actions have not respect to their words, but they say, "The ancients! The ancients! Why do they act so peculiarly, and are so cold and distant? Born in this age, we should be of this age, to be good is all that is needed." Eunuch-like, flattering their generation - such are your good careful men of the villages.'

Wan Zhang said, 'Their whole village styles those men good and careful. In all their conduct they are so. How was it that Confucius considered them the thieves of virtue?'

Mencius replied, 'If you would blame them, you find nothing to allege. If you would criticise them, you have nothing to criticise. They agree with the current customs. They consent with an impure age. Their principles have a semblance of right-heartedness and truth. Their conduct has a semblance of disinterestedness and purity. All men are pleased with them, and they think themselves right, so that it is impossible to proceed with them to the principles of Yao and Shun. On this account they are called "The thieves of virtue." Confucius said, "I hate a semblance which is not the reality. I hate the darnel, lest it be confounded with the corn. I hate glib-tonguedness, lest it be confounded with righteousness. I hate sharpness of tongue, lest it be confounded with sincerity. I hate the music of Chang, lest it be confounded with the true music. I hate the reddish blue, lest it be confounded with vermilion. I hate your good careful men of the villages, lest they be confounded with the truly virtuous." The superior man seeks simply to bring back the unchanging standard, and, that being correct, the masses are roused to virtue. When they are so aroused, forthwith perversities and glossed wickedness disappear.'

84 Mencius said, 'From Yao and Shun down to Tang were 500 years and more. As to Yu and Gao Yao, they saw those earliest sages, and so knew their doctrines, while Tang heard their doctrines as transmitted, and so knew them. From Tang to king Wen were 500 years and more. As to Yi Yin, and Lai Zhu, they saw Tang and knew his doctrines, while king Wen heard them as transmitted, and so knew them. From king Wen to Confucius were 500 years and more. As to Tai Gong Wang and San Yi Sheng, they saw Wen, and so knew his doctrines, while Confucius heard them as transmitted, and so knew them. From Confucius downwards until now, there are only 100 years and somewhat more. The distance in time from the sage is so far from being remote, and so very near at hand was the sage's residence. In these circumstances, is there no one to transmit his doctrines? Yea, is there no one to do so?'

THE ZHONG YONG

The Constant Mean / The Doctrine of the Mean
Author: Kong Ji, grandson of Confucius
Translation A: James Legge, 1861
Translation B: A. Charles Muller, 1991
Estimated Range of Dating: 5th century B.C.

(The Doctrine of the Mean or Zhongyong or Zhong Yong is both a doctrine of Confucianism and also the title of one of the Four Books of Confucian philosophy. The text is attributed to Zisi (Kong Ji), the only grandson of Confucius (Kong Zi). It was published as a chapter in the Classic of Rites.

The phrase "doctrine of the mean" first occurs in Book VI, verse 29 of the Analects of Confucius: "The Master [Confucius] said, The virtue embodied in the doctrine of the Mean is of the highest order. But it has long been rare among people"— Analects, 6:29 (Burton Watson tr.)

The Analects never expands on what this term means, but Zisi's text, The Doctrine of the Mean, explores its meaning in detail, as well as how to apply it to one's life. The text was adopted into the canon of the Neo-Confucian movement, as compiled by Zhu Xi.

While Burton Watson translated Zhōngyōng as Doctrine of the Mean, other English-language translators have rendered it differently. James Legge called it Constant Mean. Pierre Ryckmans (aka Simon Leys) Middle Way, while Arthur Waley chose Middle Use. Ezra Pound's attempts include Unswerving Pivot, and Unwobbling Pivot. Roger T. Ames and David L. Hall titled their 2001 translation Focusing the Familiar.

Authorship

The authorship of The Doctrine of the Mean is controversial. Traditionally, authorship of the treatise (which was actually a chapter from Liji, one of the Five Classics of antiquity) was attributed to Zisi (Kong Ji / Tzu Ssu / Zi Si), a grandson of Confucius and disciple of Zeng Shen; however, this was first questioned by Qing dynasty scholar Cui Shu (1740—1816). According to some modern scholars parts of it may have been written or edited by Confucians during the (transition from the Qin to) Han Dynasties. However, it is widely agreed that the book presents the ethical core of Confucian teachings.[1][2][3]

(Others seem to attribute it to Confucius himself.)

Interpretation

The Doctrine of the Mean is a text rich with symbolism and guidance to perfecting oneself. The mean is also described as the "unswerving pivot" or zhongyong. Zhong means bent neither one way or another, and yong represents unchanging. In James Legge's translation of the text, the goal of the mean is to maintain balance and harmony from directing the mind to a state of constant equilibrium. The person who follows the mean is on a path of duty and must never leave it. A superior person is cautious, a gentle teacher and shows no contempt for his or her inferiors. S/he always does what is natural according to her or his status in the world. Even common men and women can carry the mean into their practices, as long as they do not exceed their natural order.

The Doctrine of the Mean represents moderation, rectitude, objectivity, sincerity, honesty and propriety. The guiding principle is that one should never act in excess. The Doctrine of the Mean is divided into three parts:

- *The Axis – Confucian Metaphysics*
- *The Process – Politics*
- *The Perfect Word/Sincerity – Ethics*

Guidelines

Doctrine of the Mean proposed three guidelines—Self-watchfulness, Leniency and Sincerity—for how to pursue the Doctrine of the Mean, and one who follows these guidelines can be called a respectable person:

"Zhong-ni said, 'The respectable person embodies the course of the Mean; the average person acts contrary to the course of the Mean."

Self-watchfulness

This guideline requires self-education, self-questioning and self-discipline during the process of self-cultivation. This principle was exposited in the first chapter of Doctrine of the Mean:

"The respectable person does not wait till he sees things to be cautious, nor till he hears things to be apprehensive. There is nothing more visible than what is secret, and nothing more manifest than what is minute. Therefore the superior person is watchful over himself, when he is alone."

Leniency

This guideline requires understanding, concern and tolerance towards one another. Leniency was exposited in the 13th chapter: "When one cultivates to the utmost the principles of his nature, and exercises them on the principle of reciprocity, he is not far from the path. What you do not like when done to yourself, do not do to others."

In this chapter, Confucius explained this guideline with four examples: "to serve my father, as I would require my son to serve me", " to serve my prince as I would require my minister to serve me", "to serve my elder brother as I would require my younger brother to serve me", "to set the example in behaving to a friend, as I would require him to behave to me."

Sincerity

Sincerity contributes to a close connection between Heaven and human. This guideline was exposited in the 23rd chapter: "It is only he who is possessed of the most complete sincerity that can exist under heaven, who can give its full development to his nature. Able to give its full development to his own nature, he can do the same to the nature of other men. Able to give its full development to the nature of other men, he can give their full development to the natures of animals and things. Able to give their full development to the natures of creatures and things, he can assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth. Able to assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth, he may with Heaven and Earth form a ternion."

In Chinese society

In China prior to the twentieth century the Doctrine of the Mean was integrated into the education system statewide. Also, one of the prerequisites for employment in the imperial government was the study and understanding of the Four Classics, included in this is the Doctrine of the Mean. The imperial state wanted to reinforce the three bonds of society; between the parent and child, husband and wife, and ruler and subject. This was believed to emphasize a peaceful home and an orderly state.

Recently in China, the New Confucians revisited the Classics, because of its strong foundation in the educational system. Using the Doctrine of the Mean has become a useful source for New Confucians due to the similarities in the terminology and expression used by them and found within the text. This is further reinforced by the support from ancient sages and worthies who prefer education systems more closely linked to traditional Confucian thought.

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Disputes

Chiang Kai-shek and Sun Yat-sen both analyzed the doctrine.

Mao Zedong, the founding father of the People's Republic of China, viewed Doctrine of the Mean as a mutation of eclecticism, which draws upon multiple theories, styles, or ideas to gain complementary insights into a subject.

According to Mao's comment on Ai Siqi's analysis of Doctrine of the Mean, Doctrine of the Mean is an eclecticism which simultaneously opposes the abolishment of exploitation and excessive exploitation. According to Mao, Doctrine of the Mean failed to realize that something deserves absolute negation, and in compromise, Doctrine of the Mean prevented China from progress.

In his comment, Mao said that Doctrine of the Mean also goes against dialectics as it stops qualitative change by emphasizing maintaining balance and harmony.

Lu Xun, a leading figure of modern Chinese literature, saw Doctrine of the Mean as major contributing factor of the abject ethnic stereotype in modern China, believing it prevented reform from happening.

In his speech Silent China, Lu Xun said that Chinese likes the reconcilable and the compromised. "For example, people will not allow you to add a window to a dark room, but when you threaten to uncover the roof, they would compromise to the idea of adding a window. Without a radical proposal pushing them, Chinese won't permit even the mildest reform."

Translation and study

Andrew H. Plaks wrote the essay "The mean, nature and self-realization. European translations of the Zhongyong", which was published in De l'un au multiple: Traductions du chinois vers les langues européenes. In his essay Plaks argues that since the text of the Doctrine of the Mean is "too easy", this factor is, as paraphrased by Joshua A. Fogel, an author of a book review for the De l'un au multiple book The Journal of Asian Studies, a "major impediment" to translation.[13]

The Tsinghua bamboo slips feature the text "Bao xun" (保訓) which shares the topos of centrality with the Zhongyong.)

ZHONG YONG, TRANSLATION A
(by James Legge, 1861)

ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 1.

The sum of the whole work.

1. What Heaven has conferred is called THE NATURE; an accordance with this nature is called THE PATH of duty; the regulation of this path is called INSTRUCTION.

2. The path may not be left for an instant. If it could be left, it would not be the path. On this account, the superior man does not wait till he sees things, to be cautious, nor till he hears things, to be apprehensive.

3. There is nothing more visible than what is secret, and nothing more manifest than what is minute. Therefore the superior man is watchful over himself, when he is alone.

4. While there are no stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy, the mind may be said to be in the state of EQUILIBRIUM. When those feelings have been stirred, and they act in their due degree, there ensues what may be called the state of HARMONY. This EQUILIBRIUM is the great root from which grow all the human actings in the world, and this HARMONY is the universal path which they all should pursue.

5. Let the states of equilibrium and harmony exist in perfection, and a happy order will prevail throughout heaven and earth, and all things will be nourished and flourish.

ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 2.

Only the superior man can follow the Mean; the mean man is always violating it.

1. Chung-nî said, "The superior man embodies the course of the Mean; the mean man acts contrary to the course of the Mean.

2. "The superior man's embodying the course of the Mean is because he is a superior man, and so always maintains the Mean. The mean man's acting contrary to the course of the Mean is because he is a mean man, and has no caution."

ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 3.

The rarity, long existing in Confucius's time, of the practice of the Mean.

The Master said, "Perfect is the virtue which is according to the Mean! Rare have they long been among the people, who could practice it!

ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 4.

How it was that few were able to practice the Mean.

1. The Master said, "I know how it is that the path of the Mean is not walked in:-- The knowing go beyond it, and the stupid do not come up to it. I know how it is that the path of the Mean is not understood:-- The men of talents and virtue go beyond it, and the worthless do not come up to it.

2. "There is no body but eats and drinks. But they are few who can distinguish flavours."

ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 5.

The Master said, "Alas! How is the path of the Mean untrodden!"

ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 6.

How Shun pursued the course of the Mean.

The Master said, "There was Shun:-- He indeed was greatly wise! Shun loved to question others, and to study their words, though they might be shallow. He concealed what was bad in them and displayed what was good. He took hold of their two extremes, determined the Mean, and employed it in his government of the people. It was by this that he was Shun!"

ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 7.

Their contrary conduct shows men's ignorance of the course and nature of the Mean.

The Master said "Men all say, 'We are wise;' but being driven forward and taken in a net, a trap, or a pitfall, they know not how to escape. Men all say, 'We are wise;' but happening to choose the course of the Mean, they are not able to keep it for a round month."

ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 8.

How Hûi held fast the course of the Mean.

The Master said "This was the manner of Hûi:-- he made choice of the Mean, and whenever he got hold of what was good, he clasped it firmly, as if wearing it on his breast, and did not lose it."

ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 9.

The difficulty of attaining to the course of the Mean.

The Master said, "The kingdom, its States, and its families, may be perfectly ruled; dignities and emoluments may be declined; naked weapons may be trampled under the feet;-- but the course of the Mean cannot be attained to."

ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 10.

On energy in its relation to the Mean.

1. Tsze-lû asked about energy.

2. The Master said, "Do you mean the energy of the South, the energy of the North, or the energy which you should cultivate yourself?

3. "To show forbearance and gentleness in teaching others; and not to revenge unreasonable conduct:-- this is the energy of Southern regions, and the good man makes it his study.

4. "To lie under arms; and meet death without regret:-- this is the energy of Northern regions, and the forceful make it their study.

5. "Therefore, the superior man cultivates a friendly harmony, without being weak.-- How firm is he in his energy! He stands erect in the middle, without inclining to either side.-- How firm is he in his energy! When good principles prevail in the government of his country, he does not change from what he was in retirement.-- How firm is he in his energy! When bad principles prevail in the country, he maintains his course to death without changing.-- How firm is he in his energy!"

ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 11.

Only the sage man can come up to the requirements of the Mean.

1. The Master said, "To live in obscurity, and yet practice wonders, in order to be mentioned with honor in future ages:-- this is what I do not do.

2. "The good man tries to proceed according to the right path, but when he has gone halfway, he abandons it:-- I am not able so to stop.

3. "The superior man accords with the course of the Mean. Though he may be all unknown, unregarded by the world, he feels no regret.-- It is only the sage who is able for this."

ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 12.

The course of the Mean reaches far and wide, but yet is secret.

1. The way which the superior man pursues, reaches wide and far, and yet is secret.

2. Common men and women, however ignorant, may intermeddle with the knowledge of it; yet in its utmost reaches, there is that which even the sage does not know. Common men and women, however much below the ordinary standard of character, can carry it into practice; yet in its utmost reaches, there is that which even the sage is not able to carry into practice. Great as heaven and earth are, men still find some things in them with which to be dissatisfied. Thus it is that, were the superior man to speak of his way in all its greatness, nothing in the world would be found able to embrace it, and were he to speak of it in its minuteness, nothing in the world would be found able to split it.

3. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "The hawk flies up to heaven; the fishes leap in the deep." This expresses how this way is seen above and below.

4. The way of the superior man may be found, in its simple elements, in the intercourse of common men and women; but in its utmost reaches, it shines brightly through heaven and earth.

ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 13.

The path of the Mean is not far to seek. Each man has the law of it in himself, and it is to be pursued with earnest sincerity.

1. The Master said "The path is not far from man. When men try to pursue a course, which is far from the common indications of consciousness, this course cannot be considered THE PATH.

2. "In the Book of Poetry, it is said, 'In hewing an ax-handle, in hewing an ax-handle, the pattern is not far off.' We grasp one ax handle to hew the other; and yet, if we look askance from the one to the other, we may consider them as apart. Therefore, the superior man governs men, according to their nature, with what is proper to them, and as soon as they change what is wrong, he stops.

3. "When one cultivates to the utmost the principles of his nature, and exercises them on the principle of reciprocity, he is not far from the path. What you do not like when done to yourself, do not do to others.

4. "In the way of the superior man there are four things, to not one of which have I as yet attained.-- To serve my father, as I would require my son to serve me: to this I have not attained; to serve my prince, as I would require my minister to serve me: to this I have not attained; to serve my elder brother, as I would require my younger brother to serve me: to this I have not attained; to set the example in behaving to a friend, as I would require him to behave to me: to this I have not attained. Earnest in practicing the ordinary virtues, and careful in speaking about them, if, in his practice, he has anything defective, the superior man dares not but exert himself; and if, in his words, he has any excess, he dares not allow himself such license. Thus his words have respect to his actions, and his actions have respect to his words; is it not just an entire sincerity which marks the superior man?"

ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 14.

How the superior man, in every varying situation, pursues the Mean, doing what is right, and finding his rule in himself.

1. The superior man does what is proper to the station in which he is; he does not desire to go beyond this.

2. In a position of wealth and honor, he does what is proper to a position of wealth and honor. In a poor and low position, he does what is proper to a poor and low position. Situated among barbarous tribes, he does what is proper to a situation among barbarous tribes. In a position of sorrow and difficulty, he does what is proper to a position of sorrow and difficulty. The superior man can find himself in no situation in which he is not himself.

3. In a high situation, he does not treat with contempt his inferiors. In a low situation, he does not court the favor of his superiors. He rectifies himself, and seeks for nothing from others, so that he has no dissatisfactions. He does not murmur against Heaven, nor grumble against men.

4. Thus it is that the superior man is quiet and calm, waiting for the appointments of Heaven, while the mean man walks in dangerous paths, looking for lucky occurrences.

5. The Master said, "In archery we have something like the way of the superior man. When the archer misses the center of the target, he turns round and seeks for the cause of his failure in himself."

ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 15.

In the practice of the Mean there is an orderly advance from step to step.

1. The way of the superior man may be compared to what takes place in traveling, when to go to a distance we must first traverse the space that is near, and in ascending a height, when we must begin from the lower ground.

2. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Happy union with wife and children is like the music of lutes and harps. When there is concord among brethren, the harmony is delightful and enduring. Thus may you regulate your family, and enjoy the pleasure of your wife and children."

3. The Master said, "In such a state of things, parents have entire complacence!"

ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 16.

An illustration, from the operation and influence of spiritual beings, of the way of the Mean.

1. The Master said, "How abundantly do spiritual beings display the powers that belong to them!

2. "We look for them, but do not see them; we listen to, but do not hear them; yet they enter into all things, and there is nothing without them.

3. "They cause all the people in the kingdom to fast and purify themselves, and array themselves in their richest dresses, in order to attend at their sacrifices. Then, like overflowing water, they seem to be over the heads, and on the right and left of their worshippers.

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4. "It is said in the Book of Poetry, 'The approaches of the spirits, you cannot surmise;-- and can you treat them with indifference?'

5. "Such is the manifestness of what is minute! Such is the impossibility of repressing the outgoings of sincerity!"

Chapter 17.

The virtue of filial piety, exemplified in Shun as carried to the highest point, and rewarded by Heaven.

1. The Master said, "How greatly filial was Shun! His virtue was that of a sage; his dignity was the throne; his riches were all within the four seas. He offered his sacrifices in his ancestral temple, and his descendants preserved the sacrifices to himself.

2. "Therefore having such great virtue, it could not but be that he should obtain the throne, that he should obtain those riches, that he should obtain his fame, that he should attain to his long life.

3. "Thus it is that Heaven, in the production of things, is sure to be bountiful to them, according to their qualities. Hence the tree that is flourishing, it nourishes, while that which is ready to fall, it overthrows.

4. "In the Book of Poetry, it is said, 'The admirable, amiable prince displayed conspicuously his excelling virtue, adjusting his people, and adjusting his officers. Therefore, he received from Heaven his emoluments of dignity. It protected him, assisted him, decreed him the throne; sending from Heaven these favors, as it were repeatedly.'

5. "We may say therefore that he who is greatly virtuous will be sure to receive the appointment of Heaven."

ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 18.

On king Wan, king Wû and the duke of Châu.

1. The Master said, "It is only king Wan of whom it can be said that he had no cause for grief! His father was king Chî, and his son was king Wû. His father laid the foundations of his dignity, and his son transmitted it.

2. "King Wû continued the enterprise of king T'âi, king Chî, and king Wan. He once buckled on his armor, and got possession of the kingdom. He did not lose the distinguished personal reputation which he had throughout the kingdom. His dignity was the royal throne. His riches were the possession of all within the four seas. He offered his sacrifices in his ancestral temple, and his descendants maintained the sacrifices to himself.

3. "It was in his old age that king Wû received the appointment to the throne, and the duke of Châu completed the virtuous course of Wan and Wû. He carried up the title of king to T'âi and Chî, and sacrificed to all the former dukes above them with the royal ceremonies. And this rule he extended to the princes of the kingdom, the great officers, the scholars, and the common people. If the father were a great officer and the son a scholar, then the burial was that due to a great officer, and the sacrifice that due to a scholar. If the father were a scholar and the son a great officer, then the burial was that due to a scholar, and the sacrifice that due to a great officer. The one year's mourning was made to extend only to the great officers, but the three years' mourning extended to the Son of Heaven. In the mourning for a father or mother, he allowed no difference between the noble and the mean.

ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 19.

The far-reaching filial piety of king Wû, and of the duke of Châu.

1. The Master said, "How far-extending was the filial piety of king Wû and the duke of Châu!

2. "Now filial piety is seen in the skillful carrying out of the wishes of our forefathers, and the skillful carrying forward of their undertakings.

3. "In spring and autumn, they repaired and beautified the temple halls of their fathers, set forth their ancestral vessels, displayed their various robes, and presented the offerings of the several seasons.

4. "By means of the ceremonies of the ancestral temple, they distinguished the royal kindred according to their order of descent. By ordering the parties present according to their rank, they distinguished the more noble and the less. By the arrangement of the services, they made a distinction of talents and worth. In the ceremony of general pledging, the inferiors presented the cup to their superiors, and thus something was given the lowest to do. At the concluding feast, places were given according to the hair, and thus was made the distinction of years.

5. "They occupied the places of their forefathers, practiced their ceremonies, and performed their music. They reverenced those whom they honored, and loved those whom they regarded with affection. Thus they served the dead as they would have served them alive; they served the departed as they would have served them had they been continued among them.

6. "By the ceremonies of the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth they served God, and by the ceremonies of the ancestral temple they sacrificed to their ancestors. He who understands the ceremonies of the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, and the meaning of the several sacrifices to ancestors, would find the government of a kingdom as easy as to look into his palm!"

ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 20.

On government: showing principally how it depends on the character of the officers administering it, and how that depends on the character of the sovereign himself.

1. The duke Âi asked about government.

2. The Master said, "The government of Wan and Wû is displayed in the records,-- the tablets of wood and bamboo. Let there be the men and the government will flourish; but without the men, their government decays and ceases.

3. "With the right men the growth of government is rapid, just as vegetation is rapid in the earth; and, moreover, their government might be called an easily-growing rush.

4. "Therefore the administration of government lies in getting proper men. Such men are to be got by means of the ruler's own character. That character is to be cultivated by his treading in the ways of duty. And the treading those ways of duty is to be cultivated by the cherishing of benevolence.

5. "Benevolence is the characteristic element of humanity, and the great exercise of it is in loving relatives. Righteousness is the accordance of actions with what is right, and the great exercise of it is in honoring the worthy. The decreasing measures of the love due to relatives, and the steps in the honor due to the worthy, are produced by the principle of propriety.

6. "When those in inferior situations do not possess the confidence of their superiors, they cannot retain the government of the people.

7. "Hence the sovereign may not neglect the cultivation of his own character. Wishing to cultivate his character, he may not neglect to serve his parents. In order to serve his parents, he may not neglect to acquire knowledge of men. In order to know men, he may not dispense with a knowledge of Heaven.

8. "The duties of universal obligation are five, and the virtues wherewith they are practiced are three. The duties are those between sovereign and minister, between father and son, between husband and wife, between elder brother and younger, and those belonging to the intercourse of friends. Those five are the duties of universal obligation. Knowledge, magnanimity, and energy, these three, are the virtues universally binding. And the means by which they carry the duties into practice is singleness.

9. "Some are born with the knowledge of those duties; some know them by study; and some acquire the knowledge after a painful feeling of their ignorance. But the knowledge being possessed, it comes to the same thing. Some practice them with a natural ease; some from a desire for their advantages; and some by strenuous effort. But the achievement being made, it comes to the same thing."

10. The Master said, "To be fond of learning is to be near to knowledge. To practice with vigor is to be near to magnanimity. To possess the feeling of shame is to be near to energy.

11. "He who knows these three things knows how to cultivate his own character. Knowing how to cultivate his own character, he knows how to govern other men. Knowing how to govern other men, he knows how to govern the kingdom with all its states and families.

12. "All who have the government of the kingdom with its States and families have nine standard rules to follow;-- viz. the cultivation of their own characters; the honoring of men of virtue and talents; affection towards their relatives; respect towards the great ministers; kind and considerate treatment of the whole body of officers; dealing with the mass of the people as children; encouraging the resort of all classes of artisans; indulgent treatment of men from a distance; and the kindly cherishing of the princes of the States.

13. "By the ruler's cultivation of his own character, the duties of universal obligation are set forth. By honoring men of virtue and talents, he is preserved from errors of judgment. By showing affection to his relatives, there is no grumbling nor resentment among his uncles and brethren. By respecting the great ministers, he is kept from errors in the practice of government. By kind and considerate treatment of the whole body of officers, they are led to make the most grateful return for his courtesies. By dealing with the mass of the people as his children, they are led to exhort one another to what is good. By encouraging the resort of all classes of artisans, his resources for expenditure are rendered ample. By indulgent treatment of men from a distance, they are brought to resort to him from all quarters. And by kindly cherishing the princes of the states, the whole kingdom is brought to revere him.

14. "Self-adjustment and purification, with careful regulation of his dress, and the not making a movement contrary to the rules of propriety:-- this is the way for a ruler to cultivate his person. Discarding slanderers, and keeping himself from the seductions of beauty; making light of riches, and giving honor to virtue:-- this is the way for him to encourage men of worth and talents. Giving them places of honor and large emolument. and sharing with them in their likes and dislikes:-- this is the way for him to encourage his relatives to love him. Giving them numerous officers to discharge their orders and commissions:-- this is the way for him to encourage the great ministers. According to them a generous confidence, and making their emoluments large:-- this is the way to encourage the body of officers. Employing them only at the proper times, and making the imposts light:-- this is the way to encourage the people. By daily examinations and monthly trials, and by making their rations in accordance with their labors:-- this is the way to encourage the classes of artisans. To escort them on their departure and meet them on their coming; to commend the good among them, and show compassion to the incompetent:-- this is the way to treat indulgently men from a distance. To restore families whose line of succession has been broken, and to revive states that have been extinguished; to reduce to order States that are in confusion, and support those which are in peril; to have fixed times for their own reception at court, and the reception of their envoys; to send them away after liberal treatment, and welcome their coming with small contributions:-- this is the way to cherish the princes of the States.

15. "All who have the government of the kingdom with its States and families have the above nine standard rules. And the means by which they are carried into practice is singleness.

16. "In all things success depends on previous preparation, and without such previous preparation there is sure to be failure. If what is to be spoken be previously determined, there will be no stumbling. If affairs be previously determined, there will be no difficulty with them. If one's actions have been previously determined, there will be no sorrow in connection with them. If principles of conduct have been previously determined, the practice of them will be inexhaustible.

17. "When those in inferior situations do not obtain the confidence of the sovereign, they cannot succeed in governing the people. There is a way to obtain the confidence of the sovereign;-- if one is not trusted by his friends, he will not get the confidence of his sovereign. There is a way to being trusted by one's friends;-- if one is not obedient to his parents, he will not be true to friends. There is a way to being obedient to one's parents;-- if one, on turning his thoughts in upon himself, finds a want of sincerity, he will not be obedient to his parents. There is a way to the attainment of sincerity in one's self;-- if a man do not understand what is good, he will not attain sincerity in himself.

18. "Sincerity is the way of Heaven. The attainment of sincerity is the way of men. He who possesses sincerity is he who, without an effort, hits what is right, and apprehends, without the exercise of thought;-- he is the sage who naturally and easily embodies the right way. He who attains to sincerity is he who chooses what is good, and firmly holds it fast.

19. "To this attainment there are requisite the extensive study of what is good, accurate inquiry about it, careful reflection on it, the clear discrimination of it, and the earnest practice of it.

20. "The superior man, while there is anything he has not studied, or while in what he has studied there is anything he cannot understand, Will not intermit his labor. While there is anything he has not inquired about, or anything in what he has inquired about which he does not know, he will not intermit his labor. While there is anything which he has not reflected on, or anything in what he has reflected on which he does not apprehend, he will not intermit his labor. While there is anything which he has not discriminated or his discrimination is not clear, he will not intermit his labor. If there be anything which he has not practiced, or his practice fails in earnestness, he will not intermit his labor. If another man succeed by one effort, he will use a hundred efforts. If another man succeed by ten efforts, he will use a thousand.

21. "Let a man proceed in this way, and, though dull, he will surely become intelligent; though weak, he will surely become strong."

ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 21.

The reciprocal connection of sincerity and intelligence.

When we have intelligence resulting from sincerity, this condition is to be ascribed to nature; when we have sincerity resulting from intelligence, this condition is to be ascribed to instruction. But given the sincerity, and there shall be the intelligence; given the intelligence, and there shall be the sincerity.

ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 22.

The results of sincerity; and how the possessor of it forms a ternion with Heaven and Earth.

It is only he who is possessed of the most complete sincerity that can exist under heaven, who can give its fun development to his nature. Able to give its full development to his own nature, he can do the same to the nature of other men. Able to give its full development to the nature of other men, he can give their full development to the natures of animals and things. Able to give their full development to the natures of creatures and things, he can assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth. Able to assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth, he may with Heaven and Earth form a ternion.

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ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 23.

The way of man;-- the development of perfect sincerity in those not naturally possessed of it.

Next to the above is he who cultivates to the utmost the shoots of goodness in him. From those he can attain to the possession of sincerity. This sincerity becomes apparent. From being apparent, it becomes manifest. From being manifest, it becomes brilliant. Brilliant, it affects others. Affecting others, they are changed by it. Changed by it, they are transformed. It is only he who is possessed of the most complete sincerity that can exist under heaven, who can transform.

ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 24.

That entire sincerity can foreknow.

It is characteristic of the most entire sincerity to be able to foreknow. When a nation or family is about to flourish, there are sure to be happy omens; and when it is about to perish, there are sure to be unlucky omens. Such events are seen in the milfoil and tortoise, and affect the movements of the four limbs. When calamity or happiness is about to come, the good shall certainly be foreknown by him, and the evil also. Therefore the individual possessed of the most complete sincerity is like a spirit.

ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 25.

How from sincerity comes self-completion, and the completion of others and of things.

1. Sincerity is that whereby self-completion is effected, and its way is that by which man must direct himself.

2. Sincerity is the end and beginning of things; without sincerity there would be nothing. On this account, the superior man regards the attainment of sincerity as the most excellent thing.

3. The possessor of sincerity does not merely accomplish the self-completion of himself. With this quality he completes other men and things also. The completing himself shows his perfect virtue. The completing other men and things shows his knowledge. But these are virtues belonging to the nature, and this is the way by which a union is effected of the external and internal. Therefore, whenever he -- the entirely sincere man -- employs them,-- that is, these virtues,-- their action will be right.

ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 26.

A parallel between the Sage possessed of entire sincerity, and Heaven and Earth, showing that the same qualities belong to them.

1. Hence to entire sincerity there belongs ceaselessness.

2. Not ceasing, it continues long. Continuing long, it evidences itself.

3. Evidencing itself, it reaches far. Reaching far, it becomes large and substantial. Large and substantial, it becomes high and brilliant.

4. Large and substantial;-- this is how it contains all things. High and brilliant;-- this is how it overspreads all things. Reaching far and continuing long;-- this is how it perfects all things.

5. So large and substantial, the individual possessing it is the co-equal of Earth. So high and brilliant, it makes him the co-equal of Heaven. So far-reaching and long-continuing, it makes him infinite.

6. Such being its nature, without any display, it becomes manifested; without any movement, it produces changes; and without any effort, it accomplishes its ends.

7. The way of Heaven and Earth may be completely declared in one sentence.-- They are without any doubleness, and so they produce things in a manner that is unfathomable.

8. The way of Heaven and Earth is large and substantial, high and brilliant, far-reaching and long-enduring.

9. The Heaven now before us is only this bright shining spot; but when viewed in its inexhaustible extent, the sun, moon, stars, and constellations of the zodiac, are suspended in it, and all things are overspread by it. The earth before us is but a handful of soil; but when regarded in its breadth and thickness, it sustains mountains like the Hwâ and the Yo, without feeling their weight, and contains the rivers and seas, without their leaking away. The mountain now before us appears only a stone; but when contemplated in all the vastness of its size, we see how the grass and trees are produced on it, and birds and beasts dwell on it, and precious things which men treasure up are found on it. The water now before us appears but a ladleful; yet extending our view to its unfathomable depths, the largest tortoises, iguanas, iguanodons, dragons, fishes, and turtles, are produced in it, articles of value and sources of wealth abound in it.

10. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "The ordinances of Heaven, how profound are they and unceasing!" The meaning is, that it is thus that Heaven is Heaven. And again, "How illustrious was it, the singleness of the virtue of king Wan!" indicating that it was thus that king Wan was what he was. Singleness likewise is unceasing.

ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 27.

The glorious path of the Sage; and how the superior man endeavors to attain to it.

1. How great is the path proper to the Sage!

2. Like overflowing water, it sends forth and nourishes all things, and rises up to the height of heaven.

3. All-complete is its greatness! It embraces the three hundred rules of ceremony, and the three thousand rules of demeanor.

4. It waits for the proper man, and then it is trodden.

5. Hence it is said, "Only by perfect virtue can the perfect path, in all its courses, be made a fact."

6. Therefore, the superior man honors his virtuous nature, and maintains constant inquiry and study, seeking to carry it out to its breadth and greatness, so as to omit none of the more exquisite and minute points which it embraces, and to raise it to its greatest height and brilliancy, so as to pursue the course of the Mean. He cherishes his old knowledge, and is continually acquiring new. He exerts an honest, generous earnestness, in the esteem and practice of all propriety.

7. Thus, when occupying a high situation he is not proud, and in a low situation he is not insubordinate. When the kingdom is well governed, he is sure by his words to rise; and when it is ill governed, he is sure by his silence to command forbearance to himself. Is not this what we find in the Book of Poetry,-- "Intelligent is he and prudent, and so preserves his person?"

ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 28.

An illustration of the sentence in the last chapter-- "In a low situation he is not insubordinate."

1. The Master said, "Let a man who is ignorant be fond of using his own judgment; let a man without rank be fond of assuming a directing power to himself; let a man who is living in the present age go back to the ways of antiquity;-- on the persons of all who act thus calamities will be sure to come."

2. To no one but the Son of Heaven does it belong to order ceremonies, to fix the measures, and to determine the written characters.

3. Now over the kingdom, carriages have all wheels, of the-same size; all writing is with the same characters; and for conduct there are the same rules.

4. One may occupy the throne, but if he have not the proper virtue, he may not dare to make ceremonies or music. One may have the virtue, but if he do not occupy the throne, he may not presume to make ceremonies or music.

5. The Master said, "I may describe the ceremonies of the Hsiâ dynasty, but Chî cannot sufficiently attest my words. I have learned the ceremonies of the Yin dynasty, and in Sung they still continue. I have learned the ceremonies of Châu, which are now used, and I follow Châu."

ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 29.

An illustration of the sentence in the twenty-seventh chapter-- "When he occupies a high station he is not proud;" or rather, the Sage and his institutions seen in their effect and issue.

1. He who attains to the sovereignty of the kingdom, having those three important things, shall be able to effect that there shall be few errors under his government.

2. However excellent may have been the regulations of those of former times, they cannot be attested. Not being attested, they cannot command credence, and not being credited, the people would not follow them. However excellent might be the regulations made by one in an inferior situation, he is not in a position to be honored. Unhonored, he cannot command credence, and not being credited, the people would not follow his rules.

3. Therefore the institutions of the Ruler are rooted in his own character and conduct, and sufficient attestation of them is given by the masses of the people. He examines them by comparison with those of the three kings, and finds them without mistake. He sets them up before Heaven and Earth, and finds nothing in them contrary to their mode of operation. He presents himself with them before spiritual beings, and no doubts about them arise. He is prepared to wait for the rise of a sage a hundred ages after, and has no misgivings.

4. His presenting himself with his institutions before spiritual beings, without any doubts arising about them, shows that he knows Heaven. His being prepared, without any misgivings, to wait for the rise of a sage a hundred ages after, shows that he knows men.

5. Such being the case, the movements of such a ruler, illustrating his institutions, constitute an example to the world for ages. His acts are for ages a law to the kingdom. His words are for ages a lesson to the kingdom. Those who are far from him, look longingly for him; and those who are near him, are never wearied with him.

6. It is said in the Book of Poetry,-- "Not disliked there, not tired of here, from day to day and night to night, will they perpetuate their praise." Never has there been a ruler, who did not realize this description, that obtained an early renown throughout the kingdom.

ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 30.

The eulogium of Confucius, as the beau-ideal of the perfectly sincere man, the Sage, making a ternion with Heaven and Earth.

1. Chung-nî handed down the doctrines of Yâo and Shun, as if they had been his ancestors, and elegantly displayed the regulations of Wan and Wû, taking them as his model. Above, he harmonized with the times of Heaven, and below, he was conformed to the water and land.

2. He may be compared to Heaven and Earth in their supporting and containing, their overshadowing and curtaining, all things. He may be compared to the four seasons in their alternating progress, and to the sun and moon in their successive shining.

3. All things are nourished together without their injuring one another. The courses of the seasons, and of the sun and moon, are pursued without any collision among them. The smaller energies are like river currents; the greater energies are seen in mighty transformations. It is this which makes heaven and earth so great.

ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 31.

The eulogium on Confucius continued.

1. It is only he, possessed of all sagely qualities that can exist under heaven, who shows himself quick in apprehension, clear in discernment, of far-reaching intelligence, and all-embracing knowledge, fitted to exercise rule; magnanimous, generous, benign, and mild, fitted to exercise forbearance; impulsive, energetic, firm, and enduring, fitted to maintain a firm hold; self-adjusted, grave, never swerving from the Mean, and correct, fitted to command reverence; accomplished, distinctive, concentrative, and searching, fitted to exercise discrimination.

2. All-embracing is he and vast, deep and active as a fountain, sending forth in their due season his virtues.

3. All-embracing and vast, he is like Heaven. Deep and active as a fountain, he is like the abyss. He is seen, and the people all reverence him; he speaks, and the people all believe him; he acts, and the people all are pleased with him.

4. Therefore his fame overspreads the Middle Kingdom, and extends to all barbarous tribes. Wherever ships and carriages reach; wherever the strength of man penetrates; wherever the heavens overshadow and the earth sustains; wherever the sun and moon shine; wherever frosts and dews fall:-- all who have blood and breath unfeignedly honor and love him. Hence it is said,-- "He is the equal of Heaven."

ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 32.

The eulogium of Confucius concluded.

1. It is only the individual possessed of the most entire sincerity that can exist under Heaven, who can adjust the great invariable relations of mankind, establish the great fundamental virtues of humanity, and know the transforming and nurturing operations of Heaven and Earth;-- shall this individual have any being or anything beyond himself on which he depends?

2. Call him man in his ideal, how earnest is he! Call him an abyss, how deep is he! Call him Heaven, how vast is he!

3. Who can know him, but he who is indeed quick in apprehension, clear in discernment, of far-reaching intelligence, and all-embracing knowledge, possessing all Heavenly virtue?

ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 33.

The commencement and the completion of a virtuous course.

1. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Over her embroidered robe she puts a plain single garment," intimating a dislike to the display of the elegance of the former. Just so, it is the way of the superior man to prefer the concealment of his virtue, while it daily becomes more illustrious, and it is the way of the mean man to seek notoriety, while he daily goes more and more to ruin. It is characteristic of the superior man, appearing insipid, yet never to produce satiety; while showing a simple negligence, yet to have his accomplishments recognized; while seemingly plain, yet to be discriminating. He knows how what is distant lies in what is near. He knows where the wind proceeds from. He knows how what is minute becomes manifested. Such a one, we may be sure, will enter into virtue.

2. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Although the fish sink and lie at the bottom, it is still quite clearly seen." Therefore the superior man examines his heart, that there may be nothing wrong there, and that he may have no cause for dissatisfaction with himself. That wherein the superior man cannot be equalled is simply this,-- his work which other men cannot see.

3. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Looked at in your apartment, be there free from shame as being exposed to the light of heaven." Therefore, the superior man, even when he is not moving, has a feeling of reverence, and while he speaks not, he has the feeling of truthfulness.

4. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "In silence is the offering presented, and the spirit approached to; there is not the slightest contention." Therefore the superior man does not

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use rewards, and the people are stimulated to virtue. He does not show anger, and the people are awed more than by hatchets and battle-axes.

5. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "What needs no display is virtue. All the princes imitate it." Therefore, the superior man being sincere and reverential, the whole world is conducted to a state of happy tranquility.

6. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "I regard with pleasure your brilliant virtue, making no great display of itself in sounds and appearances." The Master said, "Among the appliances to transform the people, sound and appearances are but trivial influences. It is said in another ode, 'His Virtue is light as a hair.' Still, a hair will admit of comparison as to its size. 'The doings of the supreme Heaven have neither sound nor smell.'-- That is perfect virtue."

TRANSLATION B: (by A. Charles Muller, 1991)

Contents:

A. The Text

B. The Commentary

A. The Text

1. What Heaven confers is called "nature." Accordance with this nature is called the Way. Cultivating the Way is called "education."

That which is called Way cannot be separated from for an instant. What can be separated from is not the Way. Therefore the Noble Man is cautious in the place where he is not seen, and apprehensive in the place where he is not heard.

Nothing is more visible than the hidden, and nothing is more apparent than the subtle. Therefore the Noble Man is cautious when he is alone.

When joy, anger, sorrow and pleasure have not yet arisen, it is called the Mean (centredness, equilibrium). When they arise to their appropriate levels, it is called "harmony". The Mean is the great root of all-under-heaven. "Harmony" is the penetration of the Way through all-under-heaven. When the Mean and Harmony are actualized, Heaven and Earth are in their proper positions, and the myriad things are nourished.

B. The Commentary

2. Confucius said: "The Noble Man actualizes the mean; the petty man goes against it. The Noble Man actualizes the mean because he is always with it; the inferior man's non-actualization is due to his heedlessness."

3. How far-reaching the mean is! That is why those who are able to keep it for long are few.

4. Confucius said: "I know why the Way is not practiced. The intelligent go beyond it and the dull do not reach it. I know why the Way is not disclosed. The 'good' go beyond it and the unworthy do not reach it. There is no one who does not eat or drink, but there are few who really have 'taste.'"

5. Confucius said: "What a pity! The way is not followed."

6. Confucius said: "(Emperor) Shun was so wise! He liked to question people and delighted in listening to everyday speech. He would cover people's bad points and showcase their goodness. He snatched up their excesses and facilitated their balanced nature for the benefit of all. It was in this way that Shun made himself into what he was."

7. Confucius said: "Everybody says 'I know,' but they are driven forward, becoming ensnared in traps and falling into pits without knowing how to avoid them. Everybody says 'I know,' but in intending the actualization of the mean, they are not able to stay with it for a full month."

8. Confucius said: "(Yan) Hui was the kind of person who grasped the mean in such a way that, attaining to a certain goodness, he would cleave to it firmly and never lose it."

9. Confucius said: "You might be able to put in order the whole country, kingdoms and clans; decline rank and merit-pay and tread on bare swords, yet still be incapable of actualizing the mean."

[Comment] The performance of phenomenal wonders cannot be compared with the accomplishment of actualizing the mean.

10. Zilu asked about strength. Confucius said: "Do you mean the strength of the South, the strength of the North, or the strength of self-mastery? To be broadminded and gentle in teaching and not rashly punish wrongdoing is the strength of the South. The Noble Man abides in this. To be able to make a bed of weapons and armor and die without grief—this is the strength of the North. The forceful are at home in this."

"Therefore the Noble Man is easygoing without getting sloppy. How correct his strength is! He stands in the center without leaning to either side. How correct his strength is! When the Way is manifest in the land, he is unwavering in his support of it. How correct his strength is! When the Way is not manifest in the land, he will not sell himself out, even until death. How correct his strength is!"

11. Confucius said: "When you study the occult and perform miracles, later generations always talk about it. This I won't do."

"As a Noble Man, to go according to the Way and abandon it half way—this I certainly cannot do."

"Then there is the Noble Man, who depends on his actualization of the mean, hides himself from the world such that he is unseen and unknown, and has no regrets about it. Only a sage can do this."

The Way of the Noble Man functions everywhere, yet is inconspicuous. Average men and women, even if ignorant, know something of it; yet even the sage cannot know it completely. Average men and women, even though lacking in ability are able to practice to some extent; yet even the sage cannot practice it perfectly.

As vast as the universe is, people still have dissatisfaction. When the Noble Man calls it "vast," he means it is too large to be grasped. When he speaks of its smallness, he means that it is something that cannot be further broken down.

The Book of Odes says: "The hawk flies high in the sky; the fish dances in the deep." This means that its height and its depth are both observable. The Way of the Noble Man starts with the common people, but in its absoluteness, it is observed throughout the universe.

13. Confucius said: "The Way is not something separate from man. If you practice a Way that is apart from man, this cannot the Way. The Book of Odes says:"

Carving axe handles
One after another
They differ little from the original sample
Taking one to carve another.
When you compare them,
There are still differences.

Therefore the Noble Man treats people as human beings, and once they have corrected themselves, he lets them be. Being sincere and fair to all, though this is different from the Way, it are not far from it. This means "not doing to others what you don't want done to yourself." There are four general ways that this can be characterized, one of which I (Confucius) have been able to fully practice:

(1) Treating my father as I expect my son to treat me.

(2) Treating my ruler as I expect my ministers to treat me.

(3) Treating my older brothers as I expect my younger brothers to treat me.

(4) Treating my friends as I expect my friends to treat me.

In the putting into practice of virtue or the taking care of speech, if there is somewhere where I am deficient, I certainly endeavor further. If there is excess, I do not dare to merely expend it. His words reflecting his actions, his actions reflecting his words—how can this Noble Man not be sincere through and through?

14. The Noble Man acts accepting his own situation. He does not hope to be somewhere else. When he is in a position of fame and fortune, he acts within fame and fortune. When in a position of poverty and low status, he acts within poverty and low status. When dwelling with uncultured tribes, he acts as if he is with uncultured tribes. When he is in stress and difficulty, he acts from within stress and difficulty. There is no place where the Noble Man is not completely himself.

When in a high position, he does not step on those below him. When in a low position, he does not drag down those above him. Correcting yourself and not expecting things from others, you will not create resentments. You will not resent Heaven above, nor blame men below.

The Noble Man abides in change and awaits his destiny. The inferior man practices manipulation and prays for luck.

The Master said: "Practicing archery is like practicing to be a Noble Man. When you miss the bulls-eye, you look for the error in yourself."

15. The Way of the Noble Man can be compared to traveling: To go far, you must start from close by. It can be compared to climbing: To go high, you must start from down low. The Book of Odes says:

The Happy union with wife and children
Is like the music of lutes and harps
When siblings all get along
The harmony is entrancing.
So make your household good
And enjoy your wife and children.

The Master said: "Husband and wife should follow each other."

16. Confucius said: "The overabundance of the power of spiritual beings is truly amazing! Looking for them, they cannot be seen. Listening for them, they cannot be heard. There is nothing that they do not embody. They cause the people of the world to fast for purification, and wear beautiful clothes in order to participate at the sacrifices. They are overflowing, seeming to be above, seeming to be on the left and on the right. The Book of Odes says: 'Trying to investigate the spirits, we cannot reach them. How could we possibly grasp them with our thoughts?' The manifestation of the subtle and the inconcealability of sincerity is like this.'"

17. What a good son was Shun (the sage emperor)! His virtue was that of a sage, he was venerated as an emperor. His wealth included everything within the four seas. He is sacrificed to in the ancestral temple, and his sons and grandsons have preserved his name. Therefore we can say that the greatly virtuous always attain their appropriate position, always receive their proper reward, always get their recognition and are always long-lived.

We can also know that Heaven develops each thing according to its preparation. Thus, Heaven nourishes the growing sprout, and throws down the leaning tree. The Book of Odes says:

Joyful is the Prince
With the power of his own correctness
He harmonized those far and near
He received his reward from Heaven
Who protected him, helped him
And gave him the mandate
Which he in turn enhanced.

Thus, the greatly virtuous always receive the Mandate of Heaven.

18. Confucius said: "The only one who didn't suffer from grief was King Wen, since his father was King Chi and his son was King Wu. His father set him up and his son continued his ways. King Wu merely extended what had been handed down from Kings Tai, Ji and Wen. Once he put on his armor, he took control of the whole realm and he never failed to live up to the great reputation the people accorded to him. He was respected as an emperor; his wealth included all within the four seas. The ancestral halls make offerings to him, and his sons and grandsons have preserved his name."

King Wu received the Mandate of Heaven late in life. The Duke of Zhou consummated the virtue of Wen and Wu. Following in the ways of Kings T'ai and Chi, he sacrificed to the former princes with the ceremony proper to an emperor, and spread this ceremony to all the nobles, ministers, officers and the common people. If the father was a minister and the son an officer, then the funeral ceremony would be for a minister, and the sacrifices for an officer. If the father was an officer and the son was a minister, he would be buried as an officer and sacrificed to as a minister. The one year's mourning applied up to the ministers, but the three-year mourning applied up the emperor. In the mourning for parents, there was no distinction according to class.

19. Confucius said: "How completely King Wu and the Duke of Zhou actualized their filial piety! Through filial piety, they correctly passed down the wills of their forefathers and correctly transmitted their works. In spring and autumn, they cleaned the ancestral temple, laid out the sacrificial vessels, dressed up in the ceremonial outfit and prepared the seasonal foods."

Using the ritual of the ancestral temple, they ordered the ancestral lineages.

By rank, they distinguished high and low classes; by works, they distinguished goodness.

By having the lower classes offer the toast to the upper classes, they kept the lower classes involved.

By hair color, they distinguished seniority. Each taking their positions, they carried out the ritual, played the music, respected the venerable, loved their relatives. They served the dead as if they were alive, and they served those not present as if they were there. Herein they brought filial piety to its highest level.

They used the Winter and Summer festival to make offerings to the Lord-on-High, and used the rituals on the ancestral temple to make offerings to the ancestors. He who could completely disclose the meaning of the Winter and Summer sacrifices, and the great Imperial sacrifice, could govern the country as easily as if he were pointing to the palm of his hand.

20. The Duke of Ai asked about government. Confucius said: "The records of the governments of Wen and Wu are on the ancient tablets. When they had the right people, the government functioned, and when they didn't have the right people, government failed. When people are right, the government flourishes; when the ground is right, plants flourish; the governments of Wen and Wu flourished like fast-growing weeds."

Therefore, the skillful handling of government is contingent upon having the right people. You attract the right people by your own character. You cultivate your character through the Way and you manifest the Way by means of ren. ren is "humanity" [There is a pun here, since "humanity" is also pronounced ren. Thus, in Chinese, this phrase says "ren is ren".] and its most obvious function is in love for relatives. "Justice" means "setting things right" and its most obvious function is in venerating the Good. The differing levels in loving relatives and venerating the good are expressed through propriety.

Thus, if your rank is low, and you do not have the support of those in power, you cannot hope to have an influence on government. Therefore the Noble Man cannot but cultivate his character.

Wanting to cultivate his character, he cannot do it without serving his parents. Wanting to serve his parents, he cannot do it without understanding others. Wanting to understand others, he cannot do it without understanding Heaven.

There are five pervasive relationships in this world, which are carried out in three ways. The relationships are those between ruler and minister, father and son, husband and wife,

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older brother and younger brother, and between friends. The three ways of practice are wisdom, ren and courage, but they are practiced in unison.

Some are born knowing it; some know it by learning and some have to struggle to know it. Nonetheless, the knowledge is the same.

Some practice it by being comfortable within it; some practice it by benefitting from it; and some have to struggle to practice it. But when the practice is perfected, it is the same.

Confucius said: "Loving study, you approach wisdom; loving energetic practice, you approach ren. Understanding shame, you approach courage. If you understand these three, you know how to polish your character; knowing how to polish your character, you know how to handle others; knowing how to handle others, you know how to govern a state or clan."

In general, in the handling of the realm, a state or a clan, there are nine basic patterns of treatment. These are: polishing your own character; venerating the Good; caring for your relatives; respecting the high ministers; making the lower ministers feel like they have a significant role; treating the common people as your children; making the artisans feel welcome; treating foreign guests gently and embracing the nobles.

Polishing your character, you set up your own Way. Venerating the Good, you are not deluded. Caring for your relatives, then your fathers, elder and younger brothers will not resent you. Respecting the high ministers, you will not make foolish mistakes. Making the lower ministers feel like they are part of it, they will regard propriety with seriousness. Treating the common people as your children, they will work hard. Making the artisans feel welcome, there will be plenty of commerce. Being gentle to guests from afar, people will flock to you from all directions. If you embrace the nobility, the people will have a healthy fear of them.

Fasting in ceremonial dress, not acting against the norms of propriety; this is how you polish your character. Letting go of slander, freeing yourself from lust, disregarding wealth and prizing virtue: This is how you promote goodness. Respecting their rank, paying them well, going along with their likes and dislikes: this is the way to take care of your relatives. Giving them enough officers to dole out their responsibilities: this is the way to encourage the high ministers. To reward well trustworthiness and loyalty: this is the way to encourage the lower officers. Employing the people around their own farming schedules and taxing them lightly: this is the way to encourage the people. Daily and monthly examining their works and giving merit where due: this is the way to encourage the artisans. Sending out envoys to meet foreign visitors and bestowing kindness and pity on the handicapped: this is the way to be gentle to visitors from afar. To renew their broken lineages, restore their vanquished states, quell their rebellions and protect them from danger; giving them rich presents and expecting little in return: this is how you embrace the nobles.

While altogether there are this nine patterns of treatment, there is a single way to carry out all of them.

In all affairs, if you plan ahead you can be successful, and if you don't plan ahead, you will fail. If you are prepared before you speak, you won't be tongue-tied. If you are prepared before you begin a job, you won't have complications. If you are prepared before you act, you won't have to be sorry. If you are prepared before teaching, you won't run out of material.

Again, if you are in a position of low rank, and you have no influence above, you will have no way of governing people. Even though there is a way of influencing superiors, if your friends don't trust you, you won't be able to influence superiors. Even though there is a way of gaining the trust of your friends, if you have discord with your relatives, you will not be trusted by your friends. Even though there is a way of having harmony with your relatives, if your character is not sincere, you will have discord with your relatives. Even though there is a way to make your character sincere, if you have not awakened to your goodness, you will not be able to make your character sincere.

Sincerity is the Way of Heaven. Making oneself sincere is the Way of Man. If you can be perfectly sincere without effort, without concern regarding its attainment, and walk embracing the Middle Way, you are a sage.

If you are working at making yourself sincere, you must find your goodness and hold fast to it. You must study it broadly, investigate it in detail, deliberate on it carefully, discern it clearly and practice it universally. Where there is a lack in your understanding, or your study has not yet reached the point where it is effective, don't just leave it. When there is something you have investigated, or investigated but not understood, don't just leave it. When there is something that you have considered, or have considered but have not fully grasped, just don't leave it. When there is something that you have not yet discerned, or discerned but not yet clarified, don't just leave it. When there is something you have not yet practiced, or have practiced, but not yet universally, don't just leave it.

If someone else gets it in one try, I will try one hundred times. If someone else gets it in ten tries, I will try one thousand times. If you are able to follow this Way, then even if you are stupid, you will become enlightened. Even if you are weak, you will become strong.

21. The enlightenment that comes from sincerity is our own nature. The sincerity that comes from enlightenment is called "education." If you are sincere you will be enlightened. If you are enlightened, you will be sincere.

22. Only the perfectly sincere person can actualize his own essence. Actualizing his own essence, he can fully actualize the essence of others. Fully actualizing the essence of others, he can fully actualize the essence of all things. Being able to fully actualize the essence of all things, he can assist Heaven and Earth in their transformation and sustenance. Able to assist in Heaven and Earth's transformation and sustenance, he forms a trinity with Heaven and Earth.

23. Those of the next level straighten out their own twistedness. Being straightened they can possess sincerity. Having sincerity, they can give form to their character. Their character having form, their sincerity becomes manifest. Being manifest it is luminous, being luminous it can function. Functioning, it changes; changing, it transforms. Only the most fully actualized sincerity is able to transform people and things.

24. Once you are in the Path of fully actualized sincerity, you have foreknowledge of things. When a nation or clan is about to rise up, there are always omens of their fortune. When a nation or clan is about to fall, there are always omens of their misfortune. It can be seen in the milfoil stalks [Used in Yijing divination.], tortoise shells* and in the movements of the body. [* An ancient method of divination where tortoise shells were heated over a fire until they cracked. The cracks were read according to their patterns to diagnose a situation.] When good or evil fortune is imminent, the perfectly sincere person will know without obstruction. With fully actualized sincerity, you are like a god.

25. Sincerity is just "perfecting" and the Way is just "following." Sincerity is the beginning and end of all things. Without sincerity there is nothing. Thus the Noble Man values the process of "becoming-sincere." But sincerity is not "just-perfecting;" it also means "perfecting all things." To perfect yourself, you need ren. To perfect others, you need wisdom. The virtue of our nature is that it is none other than the Way by which inner and outer are merged. Thus we can always use it to set things right.

26. Therefore, fully actualized sincerity is ceaseless. Ceaseless, it is eternal. Eternal, it is apparent. Apparent, it is far-reaching. Far-reaching, it is vast and deep. Vast and deep, it is high and bright. Since it is vast and deep, it can support all things. Since it is high and bright, it can cover all things. Since it is far-reaching and long-lasting, it can accomplish all things. Vastness and depth refer to the Earth. Highness and brightness refer to Heaven. Far-reaching and long-lasting refer to limitlessness. In this way, it is manifest without being seen, it changes without moving, and accomplishes without effort.

The Way of Heaven and Earth can be perfectly expressed in a single phrase: "Its appearance as things is not repeated; therefore its production of things is unfathomable." The Way of Heaven and Earth is vast and deep, high and bright, far-reaching and long-lasting. Now, Heaven is made of many single lights. But they are infinite; the sun, moon and stars are all suspended in it, and it covers the myriad things.

The Earth is but a collection of numerous handfuls of dirt. But it is vast and deep. It supports Mt. Hua and Mt. Yue without feeling their weight; it contains the seas and rivers without spilling a drop. It supports all things.

The mountains are made of many small stones. But they become high and broad. Plants and trees grow on them, the birds and beasts live on them, and rare gems are stored within them.

The waters are mere collections of many teaspoons. But their depth is unfathomable. Tortoises, alligators, dragons, fish and turtles live there, and all sorts of gems grow there.

The Book of Odes says:

The Mandate of the Heavenly Principle
Has no end to its depth.

This is why we call Heaven, "Heaven."

It also says:

Was it not apparent,
The purity of King Wen's virtue?

This is how Wen made his own character—unceasing in purity.

27. How great is the Way of the sage! Superabundant, it develops all things, extending up to Heaven. How excellent it is! It embraces the three hundred rules of ceremony, and the three thousand rules of conduct; it waits for the right person and then functions. Hence it is said: "If you do not perfect your virtue, the perfect Way cannot be actualized." Therefore the Noble Man esteems his virtuous nature and follows the path of inquiry, extending himself in breadth and greatness, penetrating all subtleties, penetrating its height and brilliance, following the course of the actualization of the Mean. He reviews the old and learns the new, thickening his character through the valorization of propriety.

Therefore he abides in a position of power without arrogance, and abides in a low position without being rebellious. When the government is just, he can speak and be praised. When the government is wicked, he can conceal himself by silence. The Book of Odes says:

His intelligence and wit
Were his protection.

Does this not reflect the same meaning?

28. Confucius said: "To be ignorant and like to act as you will; to be of low rank and ignore all the rules; to be living in the present and be following the norms of the past: all these will bring you trouble."

If you are not the emperor, you cannot determine the rules of propriety, set weights and measures, or create ideographs. In the present realm, carriages have the same axle-widths, documents are written with the same characters and people follow the same norms of conduct.

But even if you are emperor, if you lack virtue, you cannot presume to create ritual or music. And even if you possess sufficient virtue, but you are not in the position of emperor, you cannot presume to create ritual or music.

Confucius said: "I can describe the Xia rituals, but the documents from Qi cannot verify it. I have learned the Yin rituals, and they are still preserved in the Song. I have learned the Zhou rituals, which are still in use. I follow the Zhou."

29. In ruling the realm there are three essentials through which one can lessen his mistakes. [At this point in the text, one would expect a clear enumeration of three essential points. But following this are only a set of two, followed by a set of four. James Legge and Wing-tsit Chan, following Zhuxi, say that these three essentials should be the ceremonies, regulations and formation of ideographs mentioned in the prior passage. This judgment may be questioned, since in Confucian texts, errors in rulership are generally shortcomings in the personal character or errors in judgment on moral issues. Since these are three essentials of rulership, we might look to the end of section 20 above, which says: "Loving study, you approach wisdom; loving energetic practice, you approach ren. Understanding shame, you approach courage. If you understand these three, you know how to polish your character; knowing how to polish your character, you know how to handle others; knowing how to handle others, you know how to govern a state or clan."]

If you are in a position of rank, even if you are good, if your goodness is not evident, you will not be trusted. Not being trusted, the people will not follow you. If you lack rank, then you will not be respected. Lacking respect, you will not be trusted. Without trust the people will not follow you. [This is another passage which seems to be deficient in the necessary contextual background for solid interpretation. But again, I must differ with Zhuxi's interpretation which reads shang 上 as "former times" and its antonym xia 下 as "low position." Since shang and xia are so clearly contrasted here in consecutive sentences, it seems much more sensible and natural to read them as antonyms. Furthermore, though to read shang as "formerly" or "antiquity" may be possible in Classical Chinese, we rarely see it used in that way in the Analects, Great Learning or Doctrine of the Mean. The two terms almost always mean "superior" or "above" and "inferior" or "below," usually in terms of societal rank, or level of personal enlightenment.]

Therefore in the Noble Man's practice of his Way, he starts with himself and then manifests his character to all the people, such that when he contemplates the ways of the three former sage-kings, he cannot feel any shame. He is established between Heaven and Earth without any discord. He presents himself before the spirits of his ancestors without doubting. He waits for a hundred generations for a sage to appear without confusion.

If you can present yourself to the ancestral spirits without doubting, you know Heaven. If you can wait a hundred generations for the appearance of a sage, you know human beings. Therefore, the people regard the movement of the Noble Man as the Way of the world. They regard his actions as the norm of the world. They regard his words as the pattern for the world. When they are away from him, they long for him. When they are near him, they never get tired of him. The Book of Odes says:

When he is away, he is not hated.
When he is here, he is not disliked.
In every situation, from morning to night,
Their praise of him is unceasing.

There has never been a Noble Man who gained rapid recognition from the world and who was not like this.

30. Confucius transmitted the legacy of (sage-emperors) Yao and Shun and modeled his character on that of (sage-kings) Wen and Wu. He was ruled by the Heavenly seasons from above, and combined the Earth and Waters below. He was like Heaven and Earth, which have nothing they do not support, and nothing they do not cover. His function was like the revolution of the four seasons, the alternation of sun and moon. He nourishes the myriad things and they grow up

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together without harming each other, and they follow their courses simultaneously without interfering with each other. His smaller power is like the rivers and streams. His great power is seen in deep transformations. This is why Heaven and Earth are called "great."

31. Only the perfect sage of the realm possesses the acumen, sharpness and insight necessary for overseeing things, and at the same time has enough generosity, open-mindedness, warmth and flexibility to accept everything. He also has enough energy, strength, firmness and gumption to maintain what he has and enough self-awareness, gravity, centeredness and correctness to be respected and enough refinement, principle, depth and analytical ability to discriminate.

Extremely vast, unfathomably deep—he uses his abilities according to the situation. As vast as Heaven, as deep as an abyss, when he shows himself, there are none who do not respect him. When he speaks, there are none who do not believe him. When he acts, there are not who do not appreciate him. Therefore you can hear his name overflowing from the central kingdoms out to the uncivilized regions. Wherever boats and wagons go, wherever human power can reach to; in every place supported by the Earth; those places illuminated by the sun and moon; wherever dew and frost fall; wherever there are breathing beings, there are none who do not respect him and cherish him. Therefore he is associated with "Heaven."

32. Only that person who has fully actualized sincerity is able to adjust the strings of the Great Net of the World; is able to establish himself in the Great Root of the World; is able to understand the transformations and the nurturing of Heaven and Earth. So sincere is his ren; so unfathomable is his depth; so vast is his spaciousness.

Who is able to understand this, but one who has the firm, acute, luminous sagely intelligence—who is permeated with Heavenly Virtue?

33. The Book of Odes says:

She covered her brocade gown
With a plain robe.

She did not want to show off her finery. Therefore the Noble Man acts in a way such that he conceals himself, yet every day gains in luminosity. The inferior man shows himself and every day loses luminosity. The Way of the Noble Man is tasteless, yet you never get sick of it. Simple, yet refined; warm-hearted, yet principled. He knows the closeness of the distant, knows the origin of customs. He knows the manifestation of the subtle and can enter into virtue.

The Book of Odes says:

Though the fish dive to the bottom
They can be seen.

Hence the Noble Man, finding no perversity within himself, has no evil in his intentions. Those things that the Noble Man is unable to attain to are exactly the things that others cannot perceive.

The Book of Odes says:

While in your own room,
You should not be ashamed if it were
Opened to the world.

Therefore the Noble Man does not move, and yet is respected. He does not speak, and yet is believed.

The Book of Odes says:

Make your offerings without words,
And there will never be any disagreement.

Therefore the Noble Man receives no awards, yet the people promote him. He is not angry, yet they are more in awe of him than they are of lethal weapons.

The Book of Odes says:

Only if you don't show it
Can you develop virtue.
All the princes are constrained by this.

Therefore the Noble Man, through his generosity and courtesy, pacifies the realm.

The Book of Odes says:

I cherish shining virtue
Not big noises and flashy colors.

Confucius said: "In terms of transforming people, sounds and appearances don't amount to much. The Book of Odes says:"

Virtue is as light as a hair,
Yet even a hair possesses the great principles.

In the functions of Supreme Heaven, there are no sounds or smells.

It is "perfect."

THE SUNZI BINGFA

The Art of War / The Sunzi or The Sun Tzu
Romanisation: Pinyin (the name Sunzi), Wade-Giles (text)
Translation: Lionel Giles, 1910
Estimated Range of Dating: 520-496 B.C.

(The Art of War (Chinese: Sunzi Bingfa) is an ancient Chinese text on warfare an political strategy. It was written by General Sun Wu (better known as Sunzi or Sun Tzu, which means "Master Sun," 544-496 BC), a high-ranking strategist and Daoist philosopher. The text contains 13 chapters. Each chapter covers one aspect of strategy. The book was written over 2,500 years ago on bamboo slats that were sewn together. The Art of War was one of the earliest books on strategy. It remains one of the best known and most influential books ever written. The book was widely copied in the ancient world. At first it was written on bamboo slats that were sewn together. Politicians, scholars, military and any other kind of leaders use it as a guide. Translations of the book were first read in Japan and Korea.

Changing the rules

When Sunzi first wrote The Art of War, it was not the first book on military tactics. He quotes from The Book of Military Administration by Chun Cheng. The quote is limited to the use of signal flags and drums to move soldiers. Chun cheng's book has not survived to the present day so little is known of what else was in it. But books of that time were based on rules of warfare that all sides followed. War was the sport of rich noblemen. The rules were based on chivalry. Sun Tzu refused to see war as a sport. He used Daoist principles and applied them to warfare. In doing this he changed the rules of war. Unlike generals who enjoyed long campaigns, he understood war was serious. Sunzi believed that once a war started, the goal was to defeat the enemy. Sunzi was unconventional in that he did not follow the prevailing wisdom of his time. Other generals were simply unprepared for Sunzi's tactics. Sunzi mastered the art of being unpredictable in warfare.

Authorship

Around the 12th century, some scholars began to doubt the historical existence of Sunzi, primarily on the grounds that he is not mentioned in the historical classic The Commentary of Zuo Zhuan, which mentions most of the notable figures from the Spring and Autumn period. The name "Sun Wu" does not appear in any text prior to the Records of the Grand Historian.

The prominent strategist, poet, and warlord Cao Cao in the early 3rd century AD authored the earliest known commentary to the Art of War. Cao's preface makes clear that he edited the text and removed certain passages, but the extent of his changes were unclear historically. The Art of War appears throughout the bibliographical catalogs of the Chinese dynastic histories, but listings of its divisions and size varied widely.

In 1972, the Yinqueshan Han slips were discovered in two Han dynasty (206 BC – AD 220) tombs near the city of Linyi in Shandong Province. Among the many bamboo slip writings contained in the tombs, which had been sealed around 134 and 118 BC, respectively were two separate texts, one attributed to "Sunzi", corresponding to the received text, and another attributed to Sun Bin, which explains and expands upon the earlier The Art of War by Sunzi. The Sun Bin text's material overlaps with much of the "Sunzi" text, and the two may be "a single, continuously developing intellectual tradition united under the Sun name". This discovery showed that much of the historical confusion was due to the fact that there were two texts that could have been referred to as "Master Sun's Art of War", not one. The content of the earlier text is about one-third of the chapters of the modern The Art of War, and their text matches very closely. It is now generally accepted that the earlier The Art of War was completed sometime between 500 and 450 BC. For almost 1,500 years it was the lead text in an anthology that would be formalised as the Seven Military Classics by Emperor Shenzong of Song in 1080. The Art of War remains the most influential strategy text in East Asia. It has a profound influence on Eastern and Western military thinking, business tactics, legal strategy and beyond.

Translations

The oldest copy from Japan dates to the 8th century. It was translated into French in 1772 by a Jesuit named Jean Joseph Marie Amiot. The first translation into English was published by Lionel Giles in 1910 The Art of War was first translated into Russian in 1950. Due to the Russian knowledge of French culture is it probable they had copies in French much earlier. It is used today by business schools and militaries worldwide.

Influence

In situations where a smaller weaker force is faced with a stronger larger force, Sunzi's tactics very often proved to be successful. It was read by politicians, scholars and military leaders. Many business books have applied the lessons taken from the book to office politics and corporate strategy. Many Japanese companies make the book required reading for their key executives. The book is also popular among Western business circles citing its utilitarian value regarding management practices. Many entrepreneurs and executives have turned to it for inspiration and advice on how to succeed in competitive business situations. The book has also been applied to the field of education.

Contents

The Art of War is divided into 13 chapters (or pian); the collection is referred to as being one zhuan ("whole" or alternatively "chronicle").

1 Detailed Calculations And Planning
2 Waging War
3 Strategic Offensive
4 Tactical Disposition Of The Army
5 Strategic Power Of The Forces
6 Weaknesses And Strengths
7 Military Manoeuvres
8 The Nine Variations And Adaptability
9 Movement And Development Of Troops
10 Situational Positioning In The Terrain
11 The Nine Battlegrounds
12 Attacking With Fire
13 Intelligence And Espionage

Chapter summary

*1 **Detailed Calculations and Planning** explores the five fundamental factors (the Way, seasons, terrain, leadership, and management) and seven elements that determine the outcomes of military engagements. By thinking, assessing and comparing these points, a commander can calculate his chances of victory. Habitual deviation from these calculations will ensure failure via improper action. The text stresses that war is a very grave matter for the state and must not be commenced without due consideration.*

*2 **Waging War** explains how to understand the economy of warfare and how success requires winning decisive engagements quickly. This section advises that successful military campaigns require limiting the cost of competition and conflict.*

*3 **Strategic Offensive** defines the source of strength as unity, not size, and discusses the five factors that are needed to succeed in any war. In order of importance, these critical factors are: Attack, Strategy, Alliances, Army and Cities.*

*4 **Tactical Disposition of the Army** explains the importance of defending existing positions until a commander is capable of advancing from those positions in safety. It teaches commanders the importance of recognizing strategic opportunities, and teaches not to create opportunities for the enemy.*

5 Strategic Power of the Forces explains the use of creativity and timing in building an army's momentum.

*6 **Weaknesses and Strengths** explains how an army's opportunities come from the openings in the environment caused by the relative weakness of the enemy and how to respond to changes in the fluid battlefield over a given area.*

*7 **Military Manoeuvres** explains the dangers of direct conflict and how to win those confrontations when they are forced upon the commander.*

*8 **The Nine Variations and Adaptability** focuses on the need for flexibility in an army's responses. It explains how to respond to shifting circumstances successfully.*

*9 **Movement and Development of Troops** describes the different situations in which an army finds itself as it moves through new enemy territories, and how to respond to these situations. Much of this section focuses on evaluating the intentions of others.*

*10 **Situational Positioning in the Terrain** looks at the three general areas of resistance (distance, dangers and barriers) and the six types of ground positions that arise from them. Each of these six field positions offers certain advantages and disadvantages.*

*11 **The Nine Battlegrounds** describes the nine common situations (or stages) in a campaign, from scattering to deadly, and the specific focus that a commander will need in order to successfully navigate them.*

*12 **Attacking with Fire** explains the general use of weapons and the specific use of the environment as a weapon. This section examines the five targets for attack, the five types of environmental attack and the appropriate responses to such attacks.*

*13 **Intelligence and Espionage** focuses on the importance of developing good information sources, and specifies the five types of intelligence sources and how to best manage each of them.)*

THE ARTICLES OF SUNZI

SUNZI SECTION 1
Detailed Calculations And Planning

The words of Sun the Master:—

To all nations War is a great matter. Upon the army death or life depend: it is the means of the existence or destruction of the State.

Therefore it must be diligently studied.

Now, in war, besides stratagem and the situation, there are five indispensable matters. The first is called The Way; the second, Heaven; the third, Earth; the fourth, the Leader; the fifth, Law.

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The Way or the proper conduct of man. If the ruling authority be upright, the people are united: fearless of danger, their lives are at the service of their Lord.

Heaven. Yin and Yang; heat and cold; time and season.

Earth. Distance; nature; extent; strategic position.

The Leader. Intelligence; truth; benevolence; courage and strictness.

Law. Partition and ordering of troops.

These things must be known by the leader: to know them is to conquer; to know them not is to be defeated.

Further, with regard to these and the following seven matters, the condition of the enemy must be compared with our own.

The seven matters are:—

The virtue of the prince; the ability of the general; natural advantages; the discipline of the armies; the strength of the soldiers; training of the soldiers; justice both in reward and punishment.

Knowing these things, I can foretell the victor.

If a general under me fight according to my plans, he always conquers, and I continue to employ him; if he differ from my plans, he will be defeated and dismissed from my service.

Wherefore, with regard to the foregoing, considering that with us lies the advantage, and the generals agreeing, we create a situation which promises victory; but as the moment and method cannot be fixed beforehand, the plan must be modified according to circumstances.

War is a thing of pretence: therefore, when capable of action, we pretend disability; when near to the enemy, we pretend to be far; when far away, we pretend to be near.

Allure the enemy by giving him a small advantage. Confuse and capture him. If there be defects, give an appearance of perfection, and awe the enemy. Pretend to be strong, and so cause the enemy to avoid you. Make him angry, and confuse his plans. Pretend to be inferior, and cause him to despise you. If he have superabundance of strength, tire him out; if united, make divisions in his camp. Attack weak points, and appear in unexpected places.

These are the secrets of the successful strategist, therefore they must not be made known beforehand.

At the reckoning in the Sanctuary before fighting, victory is to the side that excels in the foregoing matters. They that have many of these will conquer; they that have few will not conquer; hopeless, indeed, are they that have none.

If the condition of both sides with regard to these matters be known, I can foretell the victor.

SUNZI SECTION 2

Waging War

Sun the Master said:—

Now the requirements of war are such that we need a thousand light chariots with four horses each; a thousand leather-covered chariots, and one hundred thousand armoured men; and we must send supplies to distant fields. Wherefore the cost at home and in the field, the entertainment of guests, glue and lacquer for repairs, and necessities for the upkeep of waggons and armour are such that in one day a thousand pieces of gold are spent. With that amount a force of one hundred thousand men can be raised:—you have the instruments of victory.

But, even if victorious, let the operations long continue, and the soldiers' ardour decreases, the weapons become worn, and, if a siege be undertaken, strength disappears.

Again, if the war last long, the country's means do not suffice. Then, when the soldiers are worn out, weapons blunted, strength gone and funds spent, neighbouring princes arise and attack that weakened country. At such a time the wisest man cannot mend the matter.

For, while quick accomplishment has been known to give the victory to the unskilful, the skilful general has never gained advantage from lengthy operations.

In fact, there never has been a country which has benefited from a prolonged war.

He who does not know the evils of war will not reap advantage thereby. He who is skilful in war does not make a second levy, does not load his supply waggons thrice.

War material and arms we obtain from home, but food sufficient for the army's needs can be taken from the enemy.

The cost of supplying the army in distant fields is the chief drain on the resources of a state: if the war be distant, the citizens are impoverished.

In the neighbourhood of an army prices are high, and so the money of the soldiers and followers is used up. Likewise the state funds are exhausted, and frequent levies must be made; the strength of the army is dissipated, money is spent, the citizen's home swept bare: in all, seven-tenths of his income is forfeited. Again, as regards State property, chariots are broken, horses worn out, armour and helmet, arrow and bow, spear, shield, pike and fighting tower, waggon and oxen used and gone, so that six-tenths of the Government's income is spent.

Therefore the intelligent general strives to feed on the enemy; one bale of the enemy's rice counts as twenty from our own waggons; one bundle of the enemy's forage is better than twenty of our own.

Incitement must be given to vanquish the enemy.

They who take advantage of the enemy should be rewarded.

They who are the first to lay their hands on more than ten of the enemy's chariots should be rewarded; the enemy's standard on the chariots exchanged for our own; the captured chariots mixed with our own chariots and taken into use.

The accompanying warriors must be treated well, so that, while the enemy is beaten, our side increases in strength.

Now the object of war is victory; not lengthy operations, even skilfully conducted.

The good general is the lord of the people's lives, the guardian of the country's welfare.

SUNZI SECTION 3

Strategic Offensive

Sun the Master said:—

Now by the laws of war, better than defeating a country by fire and the sword, is to take it without strife.

Better to capture the enemy's army intact than to overcome it after fierce resistance.

Better to capture the "Lu," the "Tsu" or the "Wu" whole, than to destroy them in battle.

To fight and conquer one hundred times is not the perfection of attainment, for the supreme art is to subdue the enemy without fighting.

Wherefore the most skilful warrior outwits the enemy by superior stratagem; the next in merit prevents the enemy from uniting his forces; next to him is he who engages the enemy's army; while to besiege his citadel is the worst expedient.

A siege should not be undertaken if it can possibly be avoided. For, before a siege can be commenced, three months are required for the construction of stages, battering-rams and siege engines; then a further three months are required in front of the citadel, in order to make the "Chuyin." Wherefore the general is angered, his patience exhausted, his men surge like ants against the ramparts before the time is ripe, and one-third of them are killed to no purpose. Such are the misfortunes that sieges entail.

Therefore the master of war causes the enemy's forces to yield, but without fighting; he captures his fortress, but without besieging it; and without lengthy fighting takes the enemy's kingdom. Without tarnishing his weapons he gains the complete advantage.

This is the assault by stratagem.

By the rules of war, if ten times as strong as the enemy, surround him; with five times his strength, attack; with double his numbers, divide. If equal in strength, exert to the utmost, and fight; if inferior in numbers, manœuvre and await the opportunity; if altogether inferior, offer no chance of battle. A determined stand by inferior numbers does but lead to their capture.

The warrior is the country's support. If his aid be entire, the country is of necessity strong; if it be at all deficient, then is the country weak.

Now a prince may embarrass his army in three ways, namely:— Ignorant that the army in the field should not advance, to order it to go forward; or, ignorant that the army should not retreat, order it to retire.

This is to tie the army as with a string.

Ignorant of military affairs, to rule the armies in the same way as the state.

This is to perplex the soldiers.

Ignorant of the situation of the army, to settle its dispositions.

This is to fill the soldiers with distrust.

If the army be perplexed and distrustful, then dangers from neighbouring princes arise. The army is confounded, and offered up to the enemy.

There are five occasions when victory can be foretold:—

When the general knows the time to fight and when not to fight; or understands when to employ large or small numbers; when government and people are of one mind; when the state is prepared, and chooses the enemy's unguarded moment for attack; when the general possesses ability, and is not interfered with by his prince.

These five things are the heralds of victory.

It has been said aforetime that he who knows both sides has nothing to fear in a hundred fights; he who is ignorant of the enemy, and fixes his eyes only on his own side, conquers, and the next time is defeated; he who not only is ignorant of the enemy, but also of his own resources, is invariably defeated.

SUNZI SECTION 4

Tactical Disposition Of The Army

Sun the Master said:—

The ancient masters of war first made their armies invincible, then waited until the adversary could with certainty be defeated.

The causes of defeat come from within; victory is born in the enemy's camp.

Skilful soldiers make defeat impossible, and further render the enemy incapable of victory.

But, as it is written, the conditions necessary for victory may be present, but they cannot always be obtained.

If victory be unattainable, we stand on the defensive; if victory be sure, we attack.

Deficiency compels defence; super-abundance permits attack.

The skilful in defence crouch, hidden in the deepest shades; the skilful in attack push to the topmost heaven.

If these precepts be observed, victory is certain.

A victory, even if popularly proclaimed as such by the common folk, may not be a true success. To win in fight, and for the kingdom to say, "Well done," does not mark the summit of attainment. To lift an autumn fleece[6] is no proof of strength; the eyes that only see the sun and moon are not the eagle's; to hear the thunder is no great thing.

As has been said aforetime, the able warrior gains the victory without desperate and bloody engagements, and wins thereby no reputation for wisdom or brave deeds. To fight is to win, for he attacks only when the enemy has sown the seeds of defeat.

Moreover, the skilful soldier in a secure position does not let pass the moment when the enemy should be attacked.

The army that conquers makes certain of victory, and then seeks battle.

The army destined to defeat, fights, trusting that chance may bring success to its arms.

The skilful leader is steadfast in the "Way"; upholds the Law, and thereby controls the issue.

Touching the laws of war, it is said: first, the rule; second, the measure; third, the tables; fourth, the scales; fifth, the foretelling of victory.

For the rule is the survey of land; the measure tells the amount of that land's produce; the tables its population; from the scales their weight or quality is made known; and then can we calculate victory or defeat.

The army that conquers as against the army destined to defeat, is as a beam against a feather in the scales. The attack of conquering forces is as the outburst of long-pent-up waters into sunken valleys.

Such are the orders of battle.

SUNZI SECTION 5

Strategic Power Of The Forces

Sun the Master said:—

The control of large numbers is possible, and like unto that of small numbers, if we subdivide them.

By means of drum, bell and flag, the direction of large forces in battle is possible, and like unto the direction of small forces.

By the skilful interchange of normal and abnormal manœuvres are the armies certainly preserved from defeat.

The enemy is crushed, like the fall of a grindstone upon an egg, by knowledge of his strength and weakness, and by the employment of truth and artifice.

Moreover, in battle the enemy is engaged with the normal and defeated by the abnormal force.[8]

The abnormal force, skilfully handled, is like the heaven and earth, eternal; as the tides and the flow of rivers, unceasing; like the sun and moon, for ever interchanging; coming and passing, as the seasons.

There are five notes; but by combinations, innumerable harmonies are produced. There are but five colours; but if we mix them, the shades are infinite. There are five tastes, but if we mix them there are more flavours than the palate can distinguish.

In war there are but two forces, the normal and the abnormal; but they are capable of infinite variation. Their mutual interchange is like a wheel, having neither beginning or end. They are a mystery that none can penetrate.

As the rush of rock-shouldering torrents, so is the spirit of the troops.

Like the well-judged flight of the falcon, in a flash crushing its quarry, so should the stroke be timed.

Wherefore the spirit of the good fighter is terrifying, his occasions sudden; like the stretched cross-bow, whose string is released at the touch of the trigger.

In the maze and tumult of the battle, there is no confusion; in the thick of action the battle array is impenetrable.

If discipline be perfect, disorder can be simulated; if truly bold, we can feign fear; if really strong, we can feign weakness.

We simulate disorder by subdivision; fear, by spirit; weakness, by battle formation.

We set the enemy in motion by adopting different formations to which he must conform.

If we offer the enemy a point of advantage, he will certainly take it: we give him an advantage, set him in motion and then fall upon him.

Wherefore the good fighter seeks victory from spirit, and does not depend entirely upon the skill of his men. He is careful in his choice, and leaves the rest to battle force; yet, when an opening or advantage shows, he pushes it to its limits.

As a log or rock which, motionless on flat ground, yet moves with ever-increasing force when set on an incline, so await the opportunity, and so act when the opportunity arrives.

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If the general be skilful, the spirit of his troops is as the impetus of a round stone rolled from the top of a high mountain.

SUNZI SECTION 6
Weaknesses And Strengths

Sun the Master said:—

To be the first in the field, and there to await the enemy, is to husband strength.

To be late, and hurrying to advance to meet the foe, is exhausting.

The good fighter contrives to make the enemy approach; he does not allow himself to be beguiled by the enemy.

By offering an apparent advantage, he induces the enemy to take up a position that will cause his defeat; he plants obstructions to dissuade him from acting in such a way as to threaten his own dispositions.

If the enemy be at rest in comfortable quarters, harass him; if he be living in plenty, cut off his supplies; if sitting composedly awaiting attack, cause him to move.

This may be done by appearing where the enemy is not, and assaulting unexpected points.

If we go where the enemy is not, we may go a thousand leagues without exhaustion.

If we attack those positions which the enemy has not defended, we invariably take them: but on the defence we must be strong, even where we are not likely to be attacked.

Against those skilful in attack, the enemy does not know where to defend: against those skilful in defence, the enemy does not know where to attack.

Now the secrets of the art of offence are not to be easily apprehended, as a certain shape or noise can be understood, of the senses; but when these secrets are once learnt, the enemy is mastered.

We attack, and the enemy cannot resist, because we attack his insufficiency; we retire, and the enemy cannot pursue, because we retire too quickly.

Again, when we are anxious to fight, but the enemy is serenely secure behind high walls and deep moats; we attack some such other place that he must certainly come out to relieve.

When we do not want to fight, we occupy an unfortified line; and prevent the enemy from attacking by keeping him in suspense.

By making feints, and causing the enemy to be uncertain as to our movements, we unite, whilst he must divide.

We become one body; the enemy being separated into ten parts. We attack the divided ten with the united one. We are many, the enemy is few, and in superiority of numbers there is economy of strength.

The place selected for attack must be kept secret. If the enemy know not where he will be attacked, he must prepare in every quarter, and so be everywhere weak.

If the enemy strengthen his front, he must weaken his rear; if he strengthen his right, his left is weakened; and if he strengthen his left, his right is weakened.

Everywhere to make preparations, is to be everywhere weak. The enemy is weakened by his extended preparations, and we gain in strength.

Having decided on the place and day of attack, though the enemy be a hundred leagues away, we can defeat him.

If the ground and occasion be not known, the front cannot help the rear; the left cannot support the right, nor the right the left, nor the rear the front. For on occasion, the parts of the army are two score leagues apart, while a distance of four or five leagues is comparatively close.

The soldiers of Wu are less than the soldiers of Yueh; but as superiority in numbers does not of necessity bring victory, I say, then, that we may obtain the victory.

If the enemy be many in number, prevent him from taking advantage of his superiority, and ascertain his plan of operations. Provoke the enemy and discover the state of his troops; feint and discover the strength of his position. Flap the wings, and unmask his sufficiency or insufficiency. By constant feints and excursions, we may produce on the enemy an impression of intangibility, which neither spies nor art can dispel.

The general makes his plans in accordance with the dispositions of the enemy, and puts his hosts in motion; but the multitude cannot appreciate the general's intention; they see the signs of victory, but they cannot discover the means.

If a victory be gained by a certain stratagem, do not repeat it. Vary the stratagem according to circumstances.

An army may be likened to water.

Water leaves dry the high places, and seeks the hollows. An army turns from strength and attacks emptiness.

The flow of water is regulated by the shape of the ground; victory is gained by acting in accordance with the state of the enemy.

The shape of water is indeterminate; likewise the spirit of war is not fixed.

The leader who changes his tactics in accordance with his adversary, and thereby controls the issue, may be called the God of war.

Among the five elements there is no settled precedence; the four seasons come and go; the days are long and short; and the moon waxes and wanes. So in war there is no fixity.

SUNZI SECTION 7
Military Manoeuvres

Sun the Master said:—

For the most part, military procedure is as follows:—

The general receives orders from his lord; assembles and settles harmony among the forces, and takes the field.

There is nothing more difficult than Battle Tactics. Their difficulty lies in the calculation of time and distance, and the reversal of misfortune.

To make the enemy take a circuitous route by a show of gain, and then, whilst starting after him, to arrive before him, is to be a master of the art of manœuvre.

The operations of an army may reap advantage; the wrangles of a multitude are fraught with peril.

Employing our whole force at one time in order to gain advantage over the enemy, we may not have time enough to gain our object. If we push on with a portion of the force only, the transport is lost. Discarding helmet and armour; stopping neither day nor night; marching double distance; doing double work; and finally contending with the enemy at a distance of a hundred leagues: results in the loss of the general. Since the strong men arrive first, and the tired drop in rear, only one-tenth of the forces is available.

A forced march of fifty leagues to secure an advantage may result in failure to the leader of the vanguard, for only half his men will arrive.

After a forced march of thirty leagues to secure an advantage, only two-thirds of the army will be available.

Further, a lack of ammunition, of supplies, or of stores, may lead to disaster.

The ruler who is ignorant of the designs of neighbouring princes, cannot treat with them.

He who is ignorant of mountain and forest, defile and marsh, cannot lead an army.

He who does not employ a guide, cannot gain advantage from the ground.

Disguise your movements; await a favourable opportunity; divide or unite according to circumstance.

Let your attack be swift as the wind; your march calm like the forest; your occupation devastating as fire. In defence, as a mountain rest firm; like darkness impenetrable to the enemy. Let your movements be swift as the lightning.

Let as many as possible take part in the plunder: distribute the profit from the captured territory.

So he who understands the crooked and the straight way conquers.

These are the methods of Battle Tactics.

According to the ancient books on war, the drum and bell are used, because the voice does not carry; the flag is used to assist the sight. The use of bell, drum, banner and flag is to attract the united attention of eye and ear.

When all are united, the strong are not left to go forward alone, the cowardly are not free to retreat unrestricted. In this way can a multitude be used.

Therefore in night fighting, beacons and drums are largely used; in day fighting, a great number of banners and flags and the enemy's eyes and ears are confounded.

We thus awe his army, and defeat his general's ambition.

In the morning the spirits are keen; at midday there is a laziness; in the evening a desire to return. Wherefore, he who uses his soldiers well, avoids the time when the spirits are keen; but attacks the enemy when he is languid or seeking his camp.

Thus should the nature of energy be turned to account.

To oppose confusion with order, clamour with quiet, is to have the heart under control.

To await an enemy from a distance, to oppose hunger with satiety, rest with fatigue, is the way to husband strength.

Do not attack where lines of banners wave, nor the serried ranks of battle spread, but patiently await your time.

Do not attack an enemy on high ground, nor one who has high ground at his back. Do not pursue an enemy who is imitating flight; do not attack a spirited enemy.

If the enemy offer an allurement, do not take it.

Do not interfere with an enemy who has struck camp, and is about to retire. When surrounding an enemy, allow him an outlet. Do not press a desperate enemy.

These are the methods of employing troops.

SUNZI SECTION 8
The Nine Variations And Adaptability

Sun the Master said:—

In general, the procedure of war is:—the Leader, having received orders from his lord, assembles the armies.

Do not camp on marshy or low-lying ground; enter into friendly relations with neighbouring states; do not linger in a far country; use stratagem in mountainous and wooded country; on death ground, fight.

There are always roads that must be avoided; forces that must not be attacked; castles that must not be besieged; ground that must not be chosen for encounter; orders from the lord that must not be obeyed.

The general who knows the Nine Changes understands the use of troops; on the contrary, he who does not understand them, can make no use of his topographical knowledge.

In the management of armies, if the art of the Nine Changes be understood, a knowledge of the Five Advantages is of no avail.

The wise man considers well both advantage and disadvantage. He sees a way out of adversity, and on the day of victory to danger is not blind.

In reducing an enemy to submission, inflict all possible damage upon him; make him undertake useless adventures; also make neighbouring rulers move as you would desire them by tempting them with gain.

Wherefore in the conduct of war do not depend on the enemy's not coming, but rely on your own preparations; do not count on the enemy not attacking your fortress, but leave nothing undefended.

Generals must be on their guard against these five dangerous faults:—

Blind impetuosity, which leads to death.

Over-cautiousness, which leads to capture.

Quick temper, which brings insult.

A too rigid propriety, which invites disgrace.

Over-regard for the troops, which causes inconvenience.

These five faults in the leader are disastrous in war. The overthrow of the army and the slaughter of the general arise from them. Therefore they must be carefully considered.

SUNZI SECTION 9
Movement And Development Of Troops

Sun the Master said:—

Touching the disposal of troops and observation of the enemy in relation to mountain warfare:—

Cross mountains and camp in valleys, selecting positions of safety.

Place the army on high ground, and avoid an enemy in high places.

In relation to water:—

After crossing waters, pass on immediately to a distance. When the enemy is crossing a stream, do not meet and engage him in the waters, but strike when half his force has passed over. Do not advance on an enemy near water, but place the army on high ground, and in safety.

Do not fight when the enemy is between the army and the source of the river.

With regard to marshes:—

Cross salty marshes quickly; do not linger near them.

If by chance compelled to fight in the neighbourhood of a marsh, seek a place where there is water and grass, and trees in plenty in the rear.

In open country place the army in a convenient place with rising ground in the right rear; so that while in front lies death, behind there is safety.

Such is war in flat country.

Huangti, by observing these things, gained the victory over four Princes.

As a rule, the soldiers prefer high ground to low. They prefer sunny places to those the sun does not reach.

If the health of the troops be considered, and they are encamped on high and sunny ground, diseases will be avoided, and victory made certain.

If there be rising ground, encamp on its sunny side and in front of it; for thereby the soldiers are benefited, and the ground used to our advantage.

If, owing to rains in the upper reaches, the river become turbulent, do not cross until the waters have quieted.

Steep and impassable valleys; well-like places; confined places; tangled impenetrable ground; swamps and bogs; narrow passages with pitfalls:—quickly pass from these, and approach them not. Cause the enemy to approach near to them, but keep yourself from these places; face them, so that the enemy has them in his rear.

If there be near to the army, precipices, ponds, meres, reeds and rushes, or thick forests and trees, search them thoroughly. These are places where the enemy is likely to be in ambush.

When the enemy is close, but quiet, he is strong in reliance on natural defences.

If the enemy challenge to fight from afar, he wishes you to advance.

If the enemy be encamped in open country, it is with some special object in view.

Movement among the trees shows that the enemy is advancing. Broken branches and trodden grass, as of the passing of a large host, must be regarded with suspicion.

The rising of birds shows an ambush.

Startled beasts show that the enemy is stealthily approaching from several sides.

High, straight spurts of dust betoken that chariots are coming.

Long, low masses of dust show the coming of infantry.

Here and there, thin and high columns of dust are signs that firewood and fodder are being collected.

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Small clouds of dust moving to and fro are signs that the enemy is preparing to encamp for a short time.

Busy preparations and smooth words show that the enemy is about to advance to attack.

Big words, and the spurring forward of horsemen, are signs that the enemy is about to retire.

An advance of the light chariots to the flanks of the camp is a sign that the enemy is coming forth to fight.

Without consultation, suddenly to desire an armistice, is a mark of ulterior design.

The passing to and fro of messengers, and the forming up of troops, show that the enemy has some movement on foot.

An advance, followed by sudden retirement, is a lure to attack.

When the enemy use their weapons to rest upon, they are hungry.

If the drawers of water drink at the river, the enemy is suffering from thirst.

Disregard of booty that lies ready at hand is a sign of exhaustion.

The clustering of birds round a position shows that it is unoccupied.

Voices calling in the night betoken alarm.

Disorder in the army is a sign that the general is disregarded.

A changing about of flags and banners is a sign that the army is unsettled.

If the officers be angry, it is because the soldiers are tired, and slow to obey.

The killing of horses for food shows that the enemy is short of provisions.

When the cooking-pots are hung up on the wall and the soldiers turn not in again, the enemy is at an end of his resources.

Exceeding graciousness and familiarity on the part of the general show that he has lost the confidence of the soldiers.

Frequent rewards show that discipline is at an end.

Frequent punishments are a sign that the general is in difficulties.

The general who first blusters, and then is obsequious, is without perception.

He who offers apologies and hostages is anxious for a truce.

When both sides, eager for a fight, face each other for a considerable time, neither advancing nor retiring, the occasion requires the utmost vigilance and circumspection.

Numbers are no certain mark of strength.

Even if incapable of a headlong assault, if the forces be united, and the enemy's condition ascertained, victory is possible.

He who without taking thought makes light of the enemy is certain to be captured.

If a general who is strange to the troops punish them, they cease to obey him. If they are not obedient, they cannot be usefully employed.

If the troops know the general, but are not affected by his punishments, they are useless.

By humane treatment we obtain obedience; authority brings uniformity. Thus we obtain victory.

If the people have been trained in obedience from the beginning, they respect their leader's commands.

If the people be not early trained to obedience, they do not respect their leader's commands.

Orders are always obeyed, if general and soldiers are in sympathy.

SUNZI SECTION 10

Movement And Development Of Troops

Sun the Master said:—

With regard to the different natures of ground there are:—

Open ground; broken ground; suspended ground; defiles; precipices; far countries.

Open ground is that where either side has liberty of movement: be quick to occupy any high ground in the neighbourhood and consider well the line of supplies.

Broken ground. Advance is easy, but retreat from it is difficult. Here, if the enemy be not prepared, we may win: but should he be prepared, and defeat us, and retreat be impossible, then there is disaster.

Suspended ground. The side that takes the initiative is under a disadvantage. Here, if the enemy offer some allurement, we should not advance: but rather, by feigning retreat, wait until he has put forth half his force. Then we may attack him with advantage.

Defiles, make haste to occupy; garrison strongly and await the enemy. Should the enemy be before you, and in strength, do not engage him; but if there be unoccupied points, attack him.

In precipitous ground quickly occupy a position on a sunny height, and await the enemy. If the enemy be before you, withdraw and do not attack him.

If distant from the enemy, and the forces be equal, to take the initiative is disadvantageous.

Now, these are the six kinds of ground. It is the duty of generals to study them.

Again, there are six calamities among the troops, arising, not from defect of ground, or lack of opportunity, but from the general's incapacity.

These are: repulse, relaxation, distress, disorganisation, confusion and rout.

If troops be sent to attack an enemy of equal quality, but ten times their number, they retire discomfited.

Strong soldiers with weak officers cause relaxation.

Able officers with feeble soldiers cause distress.

Enraged senior officers, who fall upon the enemy without orders, and obey not the general because he does not recognise their abilities, produce disorganisation.

Weak and amiable generals, whose directions and leadership are vague, whose officers' and men's duties are not fixed, and whose dispositions are contradictory, produce confusion.

Generals, who are unable to estimate the enemy, who oppose small numbers to large, weakness to strength, and who do not put picked men in the van of the army, cause it to be routed.

These six things lead to defeat. It is the duty of the general to study them carefully.

Ground is the handmaid of victory.

Ability to estimate the enemy, and plan the victory; an eye for steepness, command and distances: these are the qualities of the good general.

Whosoever knows these things, conquers; he who understands them not, is defeated.

If victory be certain from the military standpoint, fight, even if the lord forbid.

If defeat be certain from the military standpoint, do not fight, even though the lord commands it.

The general who advances, from no thought of his own glory, or retires, regardless of punishment; but only strives for the people's welfare, and his lord's advantage, is a treasure to the state.

The good general cares for his soldiers, and lovingly treats them as his children; as a consequence they follow him through deep valleys, and are beside him in death.

Nevertheless, over-care for the soldiers may cause disobedience; over-attention may make them unserviceable; over-indulgence may produce disorder: they become like spoilt children, and cannot be used.

He who is confident of his own men, but is ignorant that the enemy should not be attacked, has no certainty of victory.

He who knows that the enemy may be attacked with advantage, but knows not his own men, has no certainty of victory.

Confidence in the troops, right judgement when to attack the enemy, but ignorance of the ground, bring uncertain victory.

The wise soldier, once in motion, does not waver, and is never at a loss.

As has been said: "Know thyself; know the enemy; fear not for victory."

Also, if the season and the opportunity be realised, and the ground known, complete victory is certain.

SUNZI SECTION 11

The Nine Battlegrounds

Sun the Master said:—

In respect to the conduct of war there are:—

Distracting ground; disturbing ground; ground of contention; intersecting ground; path-ridden ground; deeply-involved ground; difficult ground; enclosed ground; death ground.

At all times, when the prince fights in his own territory, it is called distracting[13] ground.

That ground a short way inside the enemy's border is called disturbing ground.

Ground giving advantage to whichever side is in possession, is called ground of contention.

Ground to which either side has access, is called intersecting ground.

Ground between three provinces first possession of which enables the peoples of the earth to be controlled, is called path-ridden ground.

The interior of the enemy's country with many of his fortified towns in rear, is called deeply-involved ground.

Mountain and forest, precipices, ravines, marsh and swamp, all places where passage is hard, are called difficult ground.

A narrow entrance and winding outlet, where a small number can oppose a large force, is called enclosed ground.

That ground where delay means disaster, is called death ground.

Wherefore, do not fight on distracting ground; do not linger on disturbing ground.

If the enemy be in possession of disputed ground, do not attack.

In intersecting ground, do not interrupt the highways.

At the crossing of highways, cultivate intercourse.

When deeply involved, levy and store up the enemy's property.

Quickly depart from difficult ground.

On enclosed ground, use stratagem.

On death ground, fight.

The skilful fighters of old were at pains to disconnect the enemy's front and rear; they cut asunder small and large forces of the enemy; prevented mutual help between his officers and men; spread mistrust between high and low. They scattered the enemy, and prevented him from concentrating; if his soldiers were assembled, they were without unity.

If there be a chance of victory, move; if there be no chance of success, stand fast.

If I were asked how a powerful and united force of the enemy should be met, I would say: lay hands on what the enemy cherishes and he will conform to our desires.

In war, above all, speed sustains the spirit of the troops. Strike before the enemy is ready; and attack his unpreparedness from an unexpected quarter.

With regard to war in foreign lands. When strangers in a far country the soldiers are united and are proof against defeat. Plunder fertile plains so that the army is fed; be careful of the health of the soldiers; do not tire them uselessly; unite their minds; store up strength; plan well and secretly. If there be no refuge the soldiers will not fly from death.

If there be no alternative but death, the soldiers exert themselves to the utmost.

In desperate places, soldiers lose the sense of fear.

If there be no place of refuge, there will be no wavering.

If deeply involved in the enemy's country, there is unity.

If it be unavoidable, the soldiers will fight their hardest. Even without warnings they are vigilant; they comply without insistence; without stipulations they are tractable; without explicit instructions they will trust the general and obey him.

Prohibit the discussion of signs and omens, and remove the soldiers' doubts; then to the moment of death they will be undistracted.

Riches are denied the soldiers, not because money is a bad thing; old age is forbidden them, but not because long life is evil. Hardships and danger are the proper lot of the soldier.

When the order for attack is given, the collars of those who are sitting may be wet with tears; tears may roll down the cheeks of those reclining; yet these men, in a desperate place, will fight with the courage of Chu and Kuei.

Soldiers should be used like the snakes on Mt. Chang; which, if you hit on the head, the tail will strike you; if you hit the tail, the head will strike you; if you strike its middle, head and tail will strike you together.

Should any one ask me whether men can be made to move like these snakes, I say, yes. The men of Wu and Yueh hate each other; yet, if they cross a river in the same boat and a storm overtake them, they help each other like the two hands.

The horses may be tied, and the chariot wheels sunk in the mud; but that does not prevent flight.

Universal courage and unity depend on good management.

The best results from both the weak and strong are obtained by a proper use of the ground.

The skilful warrior can lead his army, as a man leads another by the hand, because he places it in a desperate position.

The general should be calm, inscrutable, just and prudent. He should keep his officers and men in ignorance of his plans, and inform no one of any changes or fresh departures. By changing his camps, and taking devious and unexpected routes, his plans cannot be guessed.

As one taking away the ladder from under those mounted upon the roof, so acts the general when his men are assembled to fight. He penetrates into the heart of the enemy's country and then divulges his plans. He drives the army hither and thither like a flock of sheep, knowing not whither they go.

Therefore the general should assemble the armies, and place them in a desperate position.

The different natures of the Nine Grounds; the suiting of the means to the occasion; the hearts of men: these are things that must be studied.

When deep in the interior of a hostile country, there is cohesion; if only on the borders, there is distraction. To leave home and cross the borders is to be free from interference.

On distracting ground, unite the soldiers' minds.

On disturbing ground, keep together.

On disputed ground, try to take the enemy in rear.

On intersecting ground, look well to the defences.

On path-ridden ground, cultivate intercourse.

On deeply-involved ground be careful of supplies.

On difficult ground, do not linger.

On enclosed ground, close the path of escape.

On death ground, show the soldiers that there is no chance of survival.

It is the nature of soldiers to defend when surrounded, to fight with energy when compelled thereto, to pursue the enemy if he retreat.

He cannot treat with other rulers who knows not their ambitions.

He who knows not mountain and forest; cliffs; ravines; lakes and marshes; cannot conduct an army.

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He who does not use guides, cannot take advantage of the ground.

He who has not a complete knowledge of the Nine Grounds, cannot gain military dominion.

The great general, when attacking a powerful nation, prevents the enemy from concentrating his hosts.

He overawes the enemy so that other states cannot join against him.

He does not struggle for the favour of other states; nor is he careful of their rights. He has confidence in himself, and awes the enemy.

Therefore he easily takes the fortress, or reduces the country to subjection.

In the bestowal of rewards, or in his orders, he is not bound by ancient rule.

He manages his forces as though they were one man.

Orders should direct the soldiers; but while what is advantageous should be made known, what is disadvantageous should be concealed.

If the forces be plunged into danger, there is survival; from death ground there is retrieval; for the force in danger gains the victory.

Discover the enemy's intentions by conforming to his movements. When these are discovered, then, with one stroke, the general may be killed, even though he be one hundred leagues distant.

When war is declared, close the barriers; destroy passports; prevent the passage of the enemy's spies; conduct the business of the government with vigilance.

Take immediate advantage of the enemy's weakness; discover what he most values, and plan to seize it.

Shape your plans according to rule, and the circumstances of the enemy.

At first behave with the discretion of a maiden; then, when the enemy gives an opening, dart in like a rabbit.

The enemy cannot defend himself.

SUNZI SECTION 12
Attacking With Fire

Sun the Master said:—

There are five ways of attack by fire:

The first is called barrack burning; the second, commissariat burning; the third, equipment burning; the fourth, store burning; the fifth, the company burning.

The moment for the fire assault must be suitable. Further, appliances must always be kept at hand.

There is a time and day proper for the setting and carrying out of the fire assault; namely: such time as the weather is dry; and a day when the moon is in the quarters[Pg 68] of the stars Chi, Pi, I, Chen: for these are days of wind.

Regard well the developments that will certainly arise from the fire, and act upon them. When fire breaks out inside the enemy's camp, thrust upon him with all speed from without; but if his soldiers be quiet, wait, and do not attack.

When the fire is at its height, attack or not, as opportunity may arise.

If the opportunity be favourable, set fire to the enemy's camp, and do not wait for it to break out from within.

When fire breaks out on the windward side, do not attack from the leeward.

Wind that rises in the day lasts long. Wind that rises in the night time quickly passes away.

The peculiarities of the five burnings must be known, and the calendar studied, and, if the attack is to be assisted, the fire must be unquenchable.

If water is to assist the attack, the flood must be overwhelming.

Water may isolate or divide the enemy; fire may consume his camp; but unless victory or possession be obtained, the enemy quickly recovers, and misfortunes arise. The war drags on, and money is spent.

Let the enlightened lord consider well; and the good general keep the main object in view. If no advantage is to be gained thereby, do not move; without prospect of victory, do not use the soldiers; do not fight unless the state be in danger.

War should not be undertaken because the lord is in a moment of passion. The general must not fight because there is anger in his heart.

Do not make war unless victory may be gained thereby; if there be prospect of victory, move; if there be no prospect, do not move.

For passion may change to gladness, anger passes away; but a country, once overturned, cannot be restored; the dead cannot be brought to life.

Wherefore it is written, the enlightened lord is circumspect, and the good general takes heed; then is the state secure, and the army victorious in battle.

SUNZI SECTION 13
Intelligence And Espionage

Sun the Master said:—

Calling 100,000 men to arms, and transporting them a hundred leagues, is such an undertaking that in one day 1,000 taels of the citizens' and nobles' money are spent; commotions arise within and without the state; carriers fall down exhausted on the line of march of the army; and the occupations of 700,000[14] homes are upset.

Again, for years the armies may face each other; yet the issue may depend on a single day's victory.

Wherefore, by grudging slight expense in titles and salaries to spies, to remain in ignorance of the enemy's circumstances, is to be without humanity. Such a person is no general; he is no assistance to his lord; he is no master of victory.

The enlightened ruler and the wise general who act, win, and are distinguished beyond the common, are informed beforehand.

This knowledge is not to be got by calling on gods and demons; nor does it come of past experience nor calculation. It is through men that knowledge of the enemy is gained.

Now the five kinds of spies are these: village spies, inner spies, converted spies, death spies, living spies.

If these five means be employed simultaneously, none can discover their working. This is called the Mysterious Thread: it is the Lord's Treasure.

Village spies are such people of the country as give information.

Inner spies are those of the enemy's officials employed by us.

Converted spies are those of the enemy's spies in our pay.

Death spies are sent to misinform the enemy, and to spread false reports through our spies already in the enemy's lines.

Living spies return to report.

In connection with the armies, spies should be treated with the greatest kindness; and in dealing out reward, they should receive the most generous treatment. All matters relating to spies are secret.

Without infinite capacity in the general, the employment of spies is impossible. Their treatment requires benevolence and uprightness. Except they be observed with the closest attention, the truth will not be obtained from them.

Wonderful indeed is the power of spies.

There is no occasion when they cannot be used.

If a secret matter be spoken of before the time is ripe, the spy who told the matter, and the man who repeated the same, should be put to death.

If desirous of attacking an army; of besieging a fortress; or of killing a certain person; first of all, learn the names of the general in charge; of his right-hand men; of those who introduce visitors to the Presence; of the gate keeper and the sentries. Then set the spies to watch them.

Seek out the enemy's spies who come to spy on us; give them money; cause them to be lodged and cared for; and convert them to the service. Through them we are enabled to obtain spies among the enemy's villagers and officials.

By means of the converted spy, we can construct a false story for the death spy to carry to the enemy.

It is through the converted spy that we are able to use the five varieties, to their utmost advantage; therefore he must be liberally treated.

In ancient times the rise to power of the province of Yin was due to Ichih, who was sent to the country of Hsia. Likewise during the foundation of the state of Chu, Luya lived among the people of Shang.

Wherefore, intelligent rulers and wise generals use the cleverest men as spies, and invariably acquire great merit. The spy is a necessity to the army. Upon him the movement of the army depends.

GENERAL WU QI'S WUZI

The Wuzi or The Wutzu by General Wu Qi
Romanisation: Pinyin (the name Wuzi), Wade-Giles (text)
Translation: Lionel Giles, 1910
Estimated Range of Dating: 5th - 4th centuries B.C.

(The Wuzi or Wutzu is a classic Chinese work on military strategy attributed to General Wu Qi. It is considered one of China's Seven Military Classics. It is said there were two books on the art of war by Wu Qi, but one was lost, hence leaving the Wuzi as the only existing book carrying Wu Qi's military thoughts. The oldest Wuzi edition that survives dates to the Song Dynasty (960–1279). Historical references indicate that the Wuzi was very famous and popular in both the Warring States period and in the Han dynasty. In addition to strategic/tactical studies and the philosophy of war, the Wuzi pays significant attention to the logistical achievement of war preparedness.

The Seven Military Classics were seven important military texts of ancient China, which also included General Sunzi's The Art of War. Due to failures in the wars against the Muslims and the Mongols, the texts were canonised under this name during the 11th century AD. From the time of the Song dynasty, they were included in most military reference books. Imperial officers were required reading them to gain promotion, like the requirement for all bureaucrats to learn and know the work of Confucius.

- *Jiang Ziya (Taigong)'s Six Secret Teachings*
- *The Methods of the Sima (also: Sima Rangju Art of War)*
- *General Sunzi's The Art of War*
- *General Wu Qi's The Wuzi*
- *Wei Liaozi*
- *Three Strategies of General Huang Shigong*
- *Questions & Replies between Tang Taizong & Li Weigong*

Authorship

Because of the lack of surviving copies, there is no consensus among modern scholars concerning the latest date of the Wuzi's final composition. The philosophical content of the work mainly consists of a synthesis between Confucianism and Legalism. The work attempts to resolve a humanistic (Confucian) concern for moral values and benevolent government with an administrative (Legalist) need for strict, predictable rewards and punishments. The attempted synthesis between Confucian and Legalist values is common to other military treatises dated more conclusively to the mid-Warring States period. The core of the work is nominally assumed to have been composed around Wu Qi's lifetime (440–381 BC). Due to the lack of archaeological evidence, there is no consensus among modern scholars concerning the exact date that The Wuzi was composed, and if or when it was last modified. A work known as Wuzi was one of the most widely referenced books on military strategy among the records that existed in the Warring States period. (Notable contemporary records mentioning the Wuzi are the Spring and Autumn Annals and the Han Feizi.) Sima Qian, in his Shiji, equates the popularity of the Wuzi, in both the Warring States and the Han dynasty, with that of Sun Tzu's Art of War. There is evidence that, in the Warring States, two different texts titled "Wuzi" existed, but (at least) one of them has been lost.

General Wu Qi

Wu Qi (Wade–Giles: Wu Ch'i, 440–381 BC) was a Chinese military leader, Legalist philosopher, and politician in the Warring States period. Born in the State of Wey, he was skilled in leading armies and military strategy. He had served in the states of Lu and Wei (not to be confused with Wèi, currently spelled as Wey as in previous note). In the state of Wei he commanded many great battles and was appointed Xihe Shou (Mayor of Xihe county). Xihe was the area between the Yellow and Luo Rivers that Wei had just taken from Qin. Later, after he became estranged from the lord of Wei and was forced into exile, General Wu Qi went to the State of Chu where he was appointed Prime minister by King Dao of Chu. His reforms made Chu a strong state at that time. The reforms he instituted enraged the old nobility of Chu and he was killed after the death of King Dao.

Wu's reforms, which started around 389 BC, were generally aimed at changing the corrupt and inefficient government. The nobility and officialdom were terribly corrupt and the government was burdened with the costs of paying them and a horde of other minor officials. Wu first lowered the annual salary of Chu officials, then dismissed officials who were useless or incompetent. He also eliminated hereditary privileges after three generations. The money saved by cutting costs was used to create and train a more professional army.

Another of Wu's actions was to move all the nobles to the borders on the frontier, away from the capital, in order to reduce their power and at the same time populate those areas, making them more useful to the state government. He is also credited with devising a set of building codes in Ying, in order to make the city look less "barbaric", and more in line with 'civilised' Chinese architectural aesthetics.

Although his reforms soon started to make Chu a powerful country, the nobles and Daoists of Chu hated him. Nobles accused him of trying to change the old ways, and even managed to find fault with the building codes. Daoists accused him of being a "warmonger" and an "admirer of force and weaponry", even going as far as to say that he was "a threat to humanity". He was accused of not returning for the mourning period of his mother's death and for murdering his own wife (who was the daughter of a noble from the rival state of Qi) in order to gain trust from the ruler of the state of Lu. There is no definitive evidence to the truth of these accusations, and it is possible they were manufactured by Wu Qi's political enemies to slander him.

In the wake of Wu Qi's reforms, Chu's prowess was quickly manifest: Chu defeated the Yue state in the south and the Wei in the north, dealing with each in quick succession. However, King Dao died that same year. The old nobles plotted to assassinate Wu Qi at King Dao's funeral, where he would be separated from the army. Wu Qi spotted the assassins armed with bows, and rushed to the side of King Dao's body. He was killed, but many arrows struck the dead King. The new King Su, furious at his father's body being mutilated, ordered all nobles involved to be executed, along with their families.

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Arrangement

The present text of the Wuzi consists of six sections, each focusing on a critical aspect of military affairs: Planning for the State; Evaluating the Enemy; Controlling the Army; the Tao of the General; Responding to Change; and, Stimulating the Officers. Although each chapter is less concentrated than the traditional topic headings would suggest, they depict the subject matter and general scope of the book as a whole. As a young man, Wu Qi spent a formative three years as a student of Confucianism. After gaining several years of administrative experience, he came to believe that, in order for benevolence and righteousness to survive in his time, military strength and preparation were necessary. Without a strong military to defend the just, he believed that Confucian virtues would disappear, and evil would dominate the world. Because of his emphasis on the importance of the military for safeguarding civil rights and liberty, the author of the Wuzi states that commanders must be selected carefully, ideally from those possessing courage and who excelled in military arts, but who also possessed good civil administration skills, and who displayed Confucian virtues, particularly those of wisdom and self-control.)

THE WUZI - INTRODUCTION

Now Wu, albeit clothed in the raiment of a scholar, was a man skilled in the art of war.

And Wen, Lord of Wei, came unto him and said:—

"I am a man of peace, caring not for military affairs."

And Wu said:—

"Your actions are witnesses of your mind; why do your words say not what is in your heart?

"You do prepare and dress hides and leather through the four seasons, ornamenting them with red lacquer and the figures of panthers and elephants; which give not warmth in winter, neither in summer, coolness. Moreover, you make halberds, 24 feet long, and pikes 12 feet long, and leather (covered) chariots so large as to fill up the gateways, wheels with ornament, and naves capped with leather. Now, these are neither beautiful to the eye nor light in the chase; I know not for what use my lord makes these things.

"But, although provided with these instruments of war, if the leader be not competent, a brooding hen might as well strike a badger, or a dog with young challenge the tiger: the spirit of encounter may be present, but there is no end but death.

"In ancient times, the Prince Chengsang cultivated virtue, and put away military things, and his kingdom fell.

"The Prince Yuhu put his trust in numbers, and delighted in war and was driven from the throne.

"Therefore the enlightened ruler should ponder over these things; encourage learning and virtue in the kingdom, and be prepared against war from without.

"To hesitate before the enemy is not a cause for righteousness; remorse for the fallen is not true humanity."

And when Lord Wen heard these words, he himself spread a seat, and his wife offered up a cup, and Wu was appointed general before the altar.

Now, in the defence of Hsihe against different states there were fought seventy-six great fights, of which sixty-four were complete victories, and the remainder undecided. And the kingdom grew and stretched 1,000 leagues on every side, which was all due to the virtue of Wu.

WUZI SECTION 1

The Government Of A Country

And Wu the Master said:—

The mighty rulers of old first trained their retainers, and then extended their regard to their outlying feudatories.

There are four discords:—

Discord in the state: then never make war.

Discord in the army: then do not strike camp.

Discord in the camp: then do not advance to attack.

Discord in the battle array: then seek not to decide the issue.

Therefore, wise rulers who would employ their subjects in great endeavours, should first establish harmony among them.

Lend not a ready ear to human counsellors, but lay the matter before the altar; seek inside the turtle,[19] and consider well the time and season. Then, if all be well, commit ourselves to the undertaking.

If the people know that their lord is careful of their lives, and laments their death beyond all else; then, in the time of danger, the soldiers advance, and, advancing, find glory in death; and in survival after retreat, dishonour.

The Master said:—

The Way must follow the only true path: righteousness lies at the root of achievement and merit.

The object of stratagem is to avoid loss and gain advantage.

The object of government is to guard enterprise and to preserve the state.

If conduct depart from the Way, and the undertaking accord not with righteousness, then disaster befalls the mighty.

Therefore, wise men maintain order by keeping in the Way, and governing with righteousness; they move with discretion, and with benevolence they make the people amenable.

If these four virtues be practised, there is prosperity; if they be neglected, there is decay.

For, when Lord Tang of Cheng defeated Lord Chieh, the people of Hsia rejoiced, and when Wu of Chou defeated Lord Chou, the people of Yin were not discomfited. And this was because it was ordained by Providence and human desire.

The Master said:—

In the government of a country and command of an army, the inculcation of propriety, stimulation of righteousness, and the promotion of a sense of shame are required.

When men possess a sense of shame, they will attack with resolution when in strength, and when few in number defend to the last.

But while victory is easy in attack, it is difficult in defence.

Now, of the fighting races below heaven; those who gained five victories have been worn out; those who have won four victories have been impoverished; three victories have given dominion; two victories have founded a kingdom; and upon one victory an empire has been established.

For those who have gained power on earth by many victories are few; and those who have lost it, many.

The Master said:—

The causes of war are five:—

First, ambition; second, profit; third, overburdened hate; fourth, internal disorder; fifth, famine.

Again, the natures of war are five:—

First, a righteous war; second, a war of might; third, a war of revenge; fourth, a war of tyranny; fifth, an unrighteous war.

The prevention of tyranny and the restoration of order is just; to strike in reliance on numbers is oppression; to raise the standard for reasons of anger is a war of revenge; to quit propriety, and seize advantage is tyranny; when the state is disordered and the people worn out, to harbour designs, and set a multitude in motion, is a war of unrighteousness.

There is a way of overcoming each of these five.

Righteousness is overcome by propriety; might by humanity; revenge by words; tyranny by deception; unrighteousness by strategy.

Lord Wen asked and said:—

"I would know the way to control an army, to measure men, and make the country strong."

Wu answered and said:—

"The enlightened rulers of antiquity respected propriety between sovereign and people; established etiquette between high and low; settled officials and citizens in close accord; gave instruction in accordance with custom; selected men of ability, and thereby provided against what should come to pass.

"In ancient times, Prince Huan of Chi assembled 50,000 men at arms, and became chief among the princes; Prince Wen of Chin put 40,000 mighty men in the van, and gained his ambition; Prince Mu of Chin gathered together 30,000 invincibles, and subdued his neighbouring foes. Wherefore, the princes of powerful states must consider their people, and assemble the valiant and spirited men by companies.

"Those who delight to attack, and to display their valour and fealty should be formed in companies.

"Those skilful in scaling heights, or covering long distances, and who are quick and light of foot must be collected in companies.

"Retainers who have lost their rank, and who are desirous of displaying their prowess before their superiors should be gathered into companies.

"Those who have abandoned a castle, or deserted their trust, and are desirous of atoning for their misconduct, should be collected and formed into companies.

"These five bodies form the flower of the army. With 3,000 of such troops, if they issue from within, an encompassing enemy can be burst asunder; if they enter from without, a castle can be overthrown."

Lord Wen asked and said:—

"I desire to know how to fix the battle array, render defence secure, and attack with certainty of victory."

Wu answered and said:—

"To see with the eye is better than ready words. Yet, I say, if the wise men be put in authority and the ignorant in low places, then the army is already arranged.

"If the people be free from anxiety about their estates, and love their officials, then defence is already secure.

"If all the lieges be proud of their lord, and think ill of neighbouring states, then is the battle already won."

The Lord Wen once assembled a number of his subjects to discuss affairs of state: and none could equal him in wisdom, and when he left the council chamber his face was pleased.

Then Wu advanced and said:—

In ancient times, Lord Chuang of Chu once consulted with his lieges, and none were like unto him in wisdom; and when the Lord left the council chamber his countenance was troubled. Then the Duke Shen asked and said: "Why is my Lord troubled?" And he answered: "I have heard that the world is never without sages, and that in every country there are wise men; that good advisers are the foundation of an empire; and friends of dominion. Now, if I, lacking wisdom, have no equal among the multitude of my officers, dangerous indeed is the state of Chu. It grieves me that whereas Prince Chuang of Chu was troubled in a like case my Lord should be pleased."

And hearing this Lord Wen was inwardly troubled.

2 Estimation Of The Enemy

And Lord Wen said to Wu:—

"Chin threatens us on the west; Chu surrounds us on the south; Chao presses us in the north; Chi watches us in the east; Yen stops our rear, and Han is posted in our front. Thus, the armies of six nations encompass us on every side, and our condition is very unpropitious. Canst thou relieve my anxiety?"

Wu answered and said:—

"The path of safety of a state lies first of all in vigilance. Now my Lord has already taken warning, wherefore misfortunes are yet distant.

"Let me state the habits of these six countries. The forces of Chi are weighty but without solidity; the soldiers of Chin are scattered, and fight each of his own accord: the army of Chu is well ordered, but cannot endure: the soldiers of Yen[Pg 86] defend well, but are without dash: the armies of the three Chins are well governed, but cannot be used.

"The nature of Chi is stubborn and the country rich, but prince and officials are proud and luxurious, and neglectful of the common people; government is loose and rewards not impartial; in one camp there are two minds; the front is heavy, but the rear is light. Therefore it is ponderous without stability. To attack it, the force must be divided into three parts, and, by threatening it on three sides, its front can be broken.

"The nature of Chin is strong, the country rugged, and the government firm; rewards and punishments just, the people indomitable, and all have the fighting spirit; wherefore, when separated, each fights of his own accord.

"To defeat this people, they must first be tempted by gain to leave their cause, so that the soldiers, greedy of profit, desert their general: then, taking advantage of their disobedience, their scattered forces can be chased, ambushes laid, favourable opportunities taken, and their general captured.

"The nature of Chu is weak, its territory wide, the government weak, and the people exhausted; the troops are well ordered but of short endurance.

"The way to defeat them is to assault their camp, throw it into confusion and crush their spirit, advance softly, and retire quickly; tire them out, avoid a serious encounter, and they may be defeated.

"The nature of Yen is straightforward; its people are cautious, loving courage and righteousness, and without guile; wherefore they defend but are not daring.

"The way to defeat them is to draw close and press them; tease them and pass to a distance; move quickly, and appear in the rear, thus causing bewilderment to their officers and fear in their ranks. Our chariots and horsemen will act with circumspection and avoid encounter. Thus their general can be captured.

"The three Chins are the middle king[Pg 88]dom: their nature is peaceful and their rule just. Their people are tired of war; their troops are trained, but their leaders are despised; pay is small, and the soldiers lack the spirit of sacrifice, thus they are well governed but cannot be used.

"The way to defeat them is to threaten them from afar. If a multitude attack—defend; if they retreat—pursue, and tire them out.

"In every army there are mighty warriors with strength to lift the Censer, swifter of foot than the war horse; who can take the enemy's standard, or slay his general. If such men be selected, and set apart, cared for and honoured, they are the life of the army.

"Those who use the five arms with skill, who are clever, strong and quick, and careless of the enemy, should be given rank and decoration, and used to decide the victory. Their parents and families should be cared for, encouraged by rewards, and kept in fear of punishment. These men consolidate the battle array; their presence causes endurance.

"If these men be well selected, double their number can be defeated."

And Lord Wen said:—

"It is good!"

Wu the Master said:—

"In the estimation of the enemy there are eight cases when, without consulting the oracles, he may be attacked.

"First, an enemy who, in great wind and cold, has risen early, started forth across ice and rivers, and braved stress and hardships.

"Second, an enemy who, in the height of summer, and in great heat, has risen early, has travelled incessantly, is hungry and without water, and is striving to reach a distance.

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"Third, an enemy who has been encamped long in one place, who is without provisions, when the farmers are vexed and indignant, who has suffered frequent calamities, and whose officers are unable to establish confidence.

"Fourth, when the enemy's funds are exhausted, fuel and fodder scarce; when the heavens have been overcast by long continued rain; when there is the desire to loot, but no place to loot withal.

"Fifth, when their numbers are few; when water is scarce; when men and horses are scourged by pestilence, and from no quarter is succour at hand.

"Sixth, when night falls, and the way is yet far; when officers and men are worn out and fearful, weary and without food, and have laid aside their armour and are resting.

"Seventh, when the general's authority is weak, the officials false, and the soldiers unsettled; when their army has been alarmed, and no help is forthcoming.

"Eighth, when the battle formation is not yet fixed, or camp pitched; when climbing a hill, or passing through a difficult place; when half is hidden and half exposed.

"An enemy in these situations may be smitten without hesitation.

"There are six enemies, that, without consulting oracles, should be avoided.

"First, wide and vast territories, and a large and rich population.

"Second, where the officials care for the people, and bestow bountiful favours and rewards.

"Third, where rewards are well deserved, punishment accurately apportioned, and operations undertaken only when the time is fitting.

"Fourth, where merit is recognised and given rank, wise men appointed, and ability employed.

"Fifth, where the troops are many and their weapons excellent.

"Sixth, when help is at hand on every side, or from a powerful ally.

"For, if the enemy excel in the foregoing, he must be avoided without hesitation. As it is written, if it be judged good, advance; if it be known to be difficult, retreat."

And Lord Wen asked and said:—

"I desire to know how the interior of the enemy can be known from his outer appearance; the form of his camp by observing his advance, and how victory may be determined?"

And Wu answered and said:—

"If the coming of the enemy be reckless like roaring waters, his banners and pennons disordered, and horses and men frequently looking behind, then ten can be struck with one. Panic will certainly seize them.

"Before the various princes have assembled, before harmony has been established between lord and lieges, before ditches have been dug, or regulations established, and the army is alarmed; wishing to advance, but unable; wishing to retreat, but unable: then the force can strike twice their numbers, and in a hundred fights there is no fear of retreat."

Lord Wen asked:—

"How can the enemy be certainly defeated?"

Wu answered and said:—

"Make certain of the enemy's real condition and quickly strike his weak point; strike an enemy who has just arrived from afar, before his ranks are arranged; or one who has eaten and has not completed his dispositions; or an enemy who is hurrying about, or is busily occupied; or has not made favourable use of the ground, or has let pass the opportunity; or one who has come a long distance, and those in rear are late and have not rested.

"Strike an enemy who is half across waters; or who is on a difficult or narrow road; or whose flags and banners are in confusion; or who is frequently changing position; or whose general is not in accord with the soldiers; or who is fearful.

"All such should be assaulted by the picked men; and the remainder of the army should be divided, and follow after them. They may be attacked at once without hesitation."

3 Control Of The Army

Lord Wen said:—

"What is of first importance in operations of war?"

Wu answered and said:—

"Lightness, of which there are four[Pg 94] natures, Weight, of which there are two natures, and Confidence must be clearly comprehended."

And Wen said:—

"What are these?"

And Wu answered:—

"If the way be easy, the horses are light of foot; if the horses be light of foot, the chariots travel freely; if the chariots travel easily, men can ride in them without difficulty; if the men be free to move, the fight prospers. If the difficult and easy ways be known, the horses are lightened; if the horses be fed at proper intervals, the chariots are swift; if there be plenty of oil on the axles of the chariots, the riders are quickly conveyed; if the spears be sharp and the armour strong, the men make the fight easy.

"Large rewards in advance, heavy punishment in retreat, and impartiality in their bestowal are required.

"He who well understands these things is the master of victory."

And Lord Wen asked and said:—

"By what means can the army gain the victory?"

And Wu answered:—

"The foundation of victory is good government."

Again, Wen asked and said:—

"Is it not determined by numbers?"

And Wu replied:—

"If laws and orders be not clear; if rewards and punishments be not just; if the bell be sounded and they halt not, or drum be beaten and men do not advance; even if there be a hundred thousand men at arms, they are of no avail.

"Where there is order, then there is propriety at rest, and dignity in motion; none can withstand the attack, and retreat forbids pursuit; motion is regulated, and movements to right and left are made in answer to the signal; if the ranks be cut asunder, formation is preserved; if scattered, they are maintained; in fortune or in danger, there is unity; if a number be collected, they cannot be separated; they may be used but not wearied; in[Pg 96] whatever situation they are placed, nothing under heaven can withstand them. The army may be called a father and his children."

And Wu said:—

"In marching, movements and halts must be properly adjusted, suitable occasions for rationing not missed; the strength of men and horses not exhausted. If these three things be observed, the commands of the superior can be carried out; if the commands of the superior be carried out, order is maintained. If advances and halts be without method, victualling unsuitable, horses and men tired and weary—neither unsaddled or housed—it is because the orders cannot be obeyed; if the orders be set aside, there is disorder in the camp, and in battle—defeat."

Wu the Master said:—

"On that depository of corpses, the battlefield, if there be certain expectation of death, there is life; if there be happy expectation of life, there is death. The good general is like unto one sitting in a leaking ship, or lying under a burning roof; the wisest man cannot contrive against him; the strongest man cannot destroy his composure; and the enemy's onslaught can be withstood. For procrastination is the greatest enemy of the general; disasters to the army are born of indecision."

Wu the Master said:—

"Men meet their death from lack of ability or unskilfulness. Wherefore training is the first requirement of war. One man with a knowledge of war can teach ten; ten men skilled in war can teach one hundred; one hundred can teach one thousand; one thousand can teach ten thousand; and ten thousand men can train an army.

"An enemy from a distance should be awaited, and struck at short range; an enemy that is tired should be met in good order; hunger should be opposed by full bellies; the battle formation should be round or square, the men should kneel or stand; go or remain; move to the right or left; advance or retire; concentrate or disperse; close or extend when the signal is given.

"All these changes must be learnt, and the weapons distributed. This is the business of the general."

Wu the Master said:—

"In the teaching of war, spears are given to the short; bows and catapults to the tall; banners and standards to the strong; the bell and drum to the bold; fodder and provisions to the feeble; the arrangement of the plan to the wise. Men of the same district should be united; and groups and squads should help each other. At one beat of the drum the ranks are put in order; at two beats of the drum, formation will be made; at three beats of the drum, food will be issued; at four beats of the drum, the men will prepare to march; at five beats of the drum, ranks will be formed; when the drums beat together, then the standards will be raised."

And Lord Wen asked and said:—

"What is the way of marching and halting an army?"

And Wu answered:—

"Natural ovens and dragons' heads should be avoided. Natural ovens are the mouths of large valleys. Dragons' heads are the extremities of large mountains. The green dragons (banners) should be placed on the left, and the white tigers on the right; the red sparrows in front; the snakes and tortoises behind; the pole star (standard) above; and the soldiers will look to the standard.

"When going forth to battle, the direction of the wind must be studied; if blowing in the direction of the enemy, the soldiers will be assembled and follow the wind; if a head wind, the position will be strengthened, and a wait made for the wind to change."

And Lord Wen asked and said:—

"In what way should horses be treated?"

And Wu answered and said:—

"The places where they are kept should be made comfortable; fodder should be suitable and timely. In winter their stables should be warmed, and in summer sheltered from the heat; their coats clipped, their[Pg 100] feet carefully pared, their attention directed so that they be not alarmed, their paces regulated, and their going and halting trained; horses and men should be in accord, and then the horses can be used. The harness, the saddle, bit, bridle, and reins must be strong; if the horse be without vice at the beginning, he can be used to the end; if the horse be hungry it is good; if his belly be full, his value decreases; if the sun be falling and the way still long, dismount frequently. For it is proper that the men be worked, but the horses must be used with discretion, so that they may be prepared should the enemy suddenly attack us.

"If these things be well known, then there is free passage under heaven."

4 Qualities Of The General

Wu the Master said:—

"The leader of the army is one who is master of both arms and letters. He who is both brave and tender can be entrusted with troops.

"In the popular estimation of generals, courage alone is regarded; nevertheless, courage is but one of the qualifications of the leader. Courage is heedless in encounter; and rash encounter, which is ignorant of the consequences, cannot be called good.

"There are five matters which leaders must carefully consider.

"First, reason; second, preparation; third, determination; fourth, vigilance; fifth, simplicity.

"With reason, a multitude can be controlled like a small number.

"Preparedness sees an enemy outside the gate.

"Determination before the enemy has no thought of life.

"Even after a victory, vigilance behaves as before the first encounter.

"Simplicity ensures few regulations, and preserves order.

"When the leader receives his orders, he forthwith departs. Not until the enemy has been vanquished does he speak of return. This is the duty of the general.

"Wherefore, from the day of departure of the army, the general seeks glory in death, and dreams not of return in dishonour."

Wu the Master said:—

"In war there are four important influences.

"First, spirit; second, ground; third, opportunity; fourth, force.

"The military value of the nation's forces—of one hundred times ten thousand fighting men—depends upon the personality of one man alone; this is called the influence of spirit.

"When the road is steep and narrow, when there are famous mountains and fastnesses where ten men can defend and one thousand cannot pass them by; such is the influence of ground.

"When spies have been skilfully sown, and mounted men pass to and from the enemy's camp, so that his masses are divided, his sovereign and ministers vexed with each other, and superiors and inferiors mutually censorious; this is the moment of opportunity.

"When the linch-pins are secure, the oars and sweeps ready for use in the boats, the armed men trained for war, and the horses exercised, we have what is called the influence of force.

"He who understands these four matters has the qualifications of a general. Furthermore, dignity, virtue, benevolence, courage, are needed to lead the troops, to calm the multitude, to put fear in the enemy, to remove doubts. When orders are issued, the subordinates do not defy them. Wheresoever the army is, that place the enemy avoids. If these four virtues be present, the country is strong; if they be not present, the country is overthrown.

"Of such is the good general."

Wu the Master said:—

"The use of drums and bells is to attract the ear; of flags, standards, and banners to strike the eye; of laws and penalties to put fear in the heart.

"To attract the ear the sound must be clear; to strike the eye the colours must be bright. The heart is awed by punishment, therefore punishment must be strict.

"If these three matters be not ordered, the state may, peradventure, be preserved, but defeat by the enemy is certain. Therefore, as it has been said (if these three things be present), there is no departing from the commands of the general; when he orders, there is no going back from death."

Wu the Master said:—

"The secret of war is, first, to know who is the enemy's general, and to judge his ability. If our plans depend on his dispositions, then success will be achieved without toil.

"If their general be stupid, and heedlessly trustful, he may be enticed by fraud; if he be avaricious and careless of his fame, he may be bribed with gifts. If he make unconsidered movements without plan, he should be tired out and placed in difficulties. If the superiors be wealthy and proud, and the inferiors avaricious and resentful, they should be set against each other. An enemy that is undetermined, now advancing

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and then retreating, whose soldiers have nought wherein to put their trust, should be alarmed, and put to flight.

"When an enemy thinks lightly of the general, and desires to return home, the easy roads should be blocked, and the difficult and narrow roads opened; await their coming and capture them.

"If their advance be easy and retreat difficult, await their coming and then advance against them.

"If their advance be difficult and retreat easy, then press and strike them.

"An army that is camped in marshy ground, where there are no water-courses, and long and frequent rains, should be inundated.

"An army that is camped in wild marshes, covered with dark and overhanging grass and brambles, and swept by frequent high winds, should be overthrown by fire.

"An army that has halted long without moving; whose general and soldiers have grown careless, and neglect precautions, should be approached by stealth, and taken by surprise."

Lord Wen asked, saying:—

"If the two armies be facing each other, and the name of the enemy's general unknown, in what manner can we discover it?"

And Wu answered and said:—

"A brave man of low degree, lightly but well equipped, should be employed. He should think only of flight and naught of advantage. Then, if he observe the enemy's pursuit, if there be first a halt and then an advance, order is established. If we retreat and the enemy pursue, but pretend not to be able to overtake us, see an advantage but pretend not to be aware of it, then their general may be called a wise general, and conflict with him must be avoided. If their army be full of uproar; their banners and standards disordered, their soldiers going about or remaining of their own accord, some in line, others in column; if such an enemy be eager to pursue, and see an advantage which they are desperate to seize, then their general is a fool: even if there be a host, they may be taken."

5 Suiting The Occasion

Lord Wen asked and said:—

"If strong chariots, good horses, strong and valiant soldiers suddenly meet the enemy, and are thrown into confusion, and ranks broken, what should be done?"

And Wu answered and said:—

"In general, the method of fighting is to effect order in daylight by means of flags and banners, pennons and batons; at night by gongs and drums, whistles and flutes. If a signal be made to the left, the troops move to the left; if to the right, they move to the right. Advance is made at the sound of the drum; halt at the sound of the gong; one blast of the whistle is for advance, two for the rally. If those who disobey be cut down, the forces are subject to authority. If officers and soldiers carry out orders, a superior enemy cannot exist; no position is impregnable in the attack."

Lord Wen asked and said:—

"What is to be done if the enemy be many and we be few?"

And Wu answered and said:—

"Avoid such an enemy on open ground, and meet him in the narrow way; for, as it is written, if 1 is to stand against 1,000, there is naught better than a pass; if 10 are to hold against 100, there is nothing better than a steep place; if 1,000 are to strike 10,000, there is nothing better than a difficult place. If a small force, with beat of gong and drum, suddenly arise in a narrow way, even a host will be upset. Wherefore it is written: 'He who has a multitude seeks the plain, and he who has few seeks the narrow way.'"

And Lord Wen asked and said:—

"A mighty host, strong and courageous, which is on the defence with a mountain behind, a precipice between, high ground on the right, and a river on the left, with deep moats, and high walls, and which has artillery; whose retreat is like the removal of a mountain, advance like the hurricane, and whose supplies are in abundance, is an enemy against whom long defence is difficult. In effect, what should be done in such a case?"

And Wu answered and said:—

"This indeed is a great question, whose issue depends, not upon the might of chariot and horse, but upon the schemes of a wise man.

"Let 1,000 chariots and 10,000 horse, well equipped and with foot-men added to them, be divided into five armies, and a road allotted to each army.

"Then if there be five armies, and each army take a different road, the enemy will be puzzled, and know not in what quarter to be prepared. If the enemy's defence be strong and united, send envoys quickly to him to discover his intention. If he listen to our advices, he will strike camp and withdraw. But, if he listen not to our advice, but strikes down the messenger, and burns his papers, then divide and attack from five quarters. If victorious, do not pursue; if defeated, flee to a distance. If feigning retreat, proceed slowly, and, if the enemy approach, strike swiftly.

"One army will hold the enemy in front, with another cut his rear, two more with gags in their mouths will attack his weak point, whether on the right or on the left. If five armies thus make alternate onslaughts, success is certain.

"This is the way to strike strength."

And Lord Wen asked and said:—

"If the enemy draw near and encompass us, and we would retreat, but there is no way, and in our multitude there is fear, what should be done?"

And Wu answered and said:—

"In such a case, if we be many and they be few, divide and fall upon them; if the enemy be many and we be few, use stratagem and act according to opportunity; and if opportunities be untiringly seized, even if the enemy be many, he will be reduced to subjection."

Lord Wen asked and said:—

"If, in a narrow valley with steep places on either side, the enemy be met, and they are many and we are few, what should be done?"

And Wu answered and said:—

"If they be met among hills, woods, in deep mountains, or wide fens, advance quickly, retire swiftly, and hesitate not. If the enemy be suddenly met among high mountains or deep valleys, be the first to strike the drum and fall upon them. Let bow and cross bow advance; shoot and capture; observe the state of their ranks; and, if there be confusion, do not hesitate to strike."

Lord Wen asked and said:—

"If the enemy be suddenly met in a narrow place with high mountains on either side, and advance and retreat are alike impossible, what should be done in such a case?"

And Wu answered and said:—

"This is called War in valleys where numbers are of no avail. The ablest officers should be collected, and set against the enemy. Men light of foot and well armed should be placed in front; the chariots divided; the horsemen drawn up, and placed in ambush on four sides, with many leagues between, and without showing their weapons. Then, the enemy will certainly make his defence firm, and neither advance or retreat. Whereupon, the standards will be raised, and the ranks of banners shown, the mountains left, and camp pitched in the plain.

"The enemy will then be fearful, and should be challenged by chariot and horse, and allowed no rest.

"This is the method of fighting in valleys."

And Lord Wen asked and said:—

"If the enemy be met in a marsh where the water is out, so that the wheels of the chariots sink in, and the shafts be covered, and the chariots and horsemen overcome by the waters, when there are no boats or oars, and it is impossible either to advance or retreat, what should be done in such a case?"

And Wu answered and said:—

"This is called water fighting. Chariots and horsemen cannot be used, and they must be put for a time on one side. Go up to the top of a high place, and look out to the four quarters. Then the state of the waters will certainly be seen; their extent, and the deep places and shallows fully ascertained. Then, by stratagem, the enemy may be defeated.

"If the enemy should cross the waters he should be engaged when half over."

And Lord Wen asked and said:—

"If there has been long continued rain so that the horses sink, and the chariots cannot move; if the enemy appear from four quarters, and the forces are frightened, what is the course in such a case?"

And Wu answered and said:—

"When wet and overcast, the chariots should halt; when fine and dry, they should arise. Seek height, and avoid low places; drive the strong chariots, and choose well the road on which to advance or halt. If the enemy suddenly arise, immediately pursue them."

Lord Wen asked and said:—

"If our fields and pastures be suddenly pillaged, and our oxen and sheep taken, what should be done?"

And Wu answered and said:—

"Lawless enemies that arise are to be feared; defend well and do not reply. When, at sunset, they seek to withdraw, they will certainly be overladen and fearful. Striving to return quickly to their homes, connection will be lost. Then if they be pursued and attacked, they can be overthrown."

Wu the Master said:—

"The way of attacking the enemy and investing his castle is as follows:—

"When the outlying buildings have been taken, and the assaulting parties enter the innermost sanctuary, make use of the enemy's officials, and take charge of their weapons. Let the army on no account fell trees or enter dwellings, cut the crops, slay the six domestic animals, or burn the barns; and show the people that there is no cruel desire. Those who wish to surrender, should be received and freed from anxiety."

6 Encouragement Of The Troops

And Lord Wen asked and said:—

"If punishment be just and reward impartial, is victory thereby gained?"

And Wu answered and said:—

"I cannot speak of all the things that concern justice and impartiality, but on these alone dependence cannot be placed.

"If the people hear the word of command, or listen to the order with rejoicing; if, when the army be raised, and a multitude assembled, they go forth gladly to the fight; if, in the tumult of the fight, when blade crosses blade, the soldiers gladly die; upon these three things can the lord of the people place his trust."

And Lord Wen said:—

"How can this be brought about?"

And Wu answered and said:—

"Seek out merit, advance and reward it, and encourage those without fame."

Accordingly Lord Wen set seats in the garden of the palace in three rows, and made a feast unto his chief retainers. In the first row were set those of chief merit, and on the table were placed the best meats and precious utensils. Those of medium merit were set in the middle row, and the utensils on the table were fewer in number. Those without merit were set in the last row, and utensils of no value were put before them. And when the feast was over, and they had all departed, the parents, wives, and children of those with merit were given presents outside the gates of the palace according to their degree.

Further, messengers were sent yearly with gifts to condole with the parents of those who had lost a son in the service of the state, and to show that they were had in remembrance.

And after this was carried out for three years, the people of Chin gathered an army, and came as far as the Western River. And when the soldiers of Wei heard this, without waiting for orders, they armed themselves and fell upon them; and they that went forth were 10,000 in number.

And Lord Wen called Wu and said:—

"The words that you spoke unto me, have they not indeed been carried out?"

And Wu answered and said:—

"I have heard that there are men, great and small; souls, grand and feeble.

"As a trial, let 50,000 men, without merit, be collected, and placed under my command against the country of Chin. If we fail, the state will be the laughing-stock among the princes, and its power under heaven will be lost. If a desperate robber be hidden in a wide plain, and 1,000 men be pursuing him, their glances will be furtive like the owl, looking backward like the wolf, for they are in fear of harm from a sudden onslaught.

"One desperate man can put fear in the hearts of a thousand. Now, if this host of 50,000 men become as a desperate thief, and are led against Chin, there is nought to fear."

On hearing these words Lord Wen agreed, and adding further 500 chariots and 3,000 horse, the hosts of Chin were overthrown, all being due to the encouragement of the troops.

On the day before the battle Wu gave orders to the forces, saying:—

"The army will attack the enemy's chariots, horse and foot, in accordance with our commands. If the chariots do not capture the enemy's chariots, or the horse those of the enemy's, or the foot the enemy's footmen, even if their army be overthrown, no merit will be gained."

Therefore on the day of the battle, the orders were simple, and fear of Wei shook the heavens.

HAN FEIZI

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(The Han Feizi is an ancient Chinese text attributed to foundational political philosopher, "Master" Han Fei. It comprises a selection of essays in the "Legalist" tradition on theories of state power, synthesising the methodologies of his predecessors. Its 55 chapters, most of which date to the Warring States period mid-3rd century BC, are the only such text to survive intact. Easily one of the most important philosophical classics in ancient China, it touches on administration, diplomacy, war and economics, and is also valuable for its abundance of anecdotes about pre-Qin China.

Han Fei's writings were very influential on the future first emperor of China, Qin Shi Huang. After the early demise of the Qin dynasty, Han Fei's philosophy was officially vilified by the following Han Dynasty. Despite its outcast status throughout the history of imperial China, his political theory continued to heavily influence every dynasty thereafter, and the Confucian ideal of a rule without laws was never again realized. Shu Han's chancellor Zhuge Liang demanded emperor Liu Shan read the Han Feizi for learning the way of ruling.

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Though differing considerably in style, the coherency of the essays lend themselves to the possibility that they were written by Han Fei himself, and are generally considered more philosophically engaging than the Book of Lord Shang.

Han Fei (c. 280 – 233 BC), also known as Han Fei Zi, was a Chinese philosopher of the Legalist school during the Warring States period, and a prince of the state of Han.

Han Fei is often considered to be the greatest representative of "Chinese Legalism" for his eponymous work the Han Feizi, synthesising the methods of his predecessors. Han Fei's ideas are sometimes compared with Niccolò Machiavelli and his book is considered by some to be superior to the "Il Principe" of Niccolò Machiavelli both in content and in writing style.

His writings were very influential on the future first emperor of China, Qin Shi Huang, and were implemented into the state structure of the empire. However, after the early demise of the Qin dynasty, the philosophy of Legalism became officially vilified by the following Han Dynasty. Despite its outcast status throughout the history of imperial China, Han Fei's political theory and the concept of Legalism as a whole continued to heavily influence every dynasty thereafter, and the Confucian ideal of a rule without laws was never to be realised. Shu Han's chancellor Zhuge Liang demanded emperor Liu Shan read the Han Feizi for learning the way of ruling.

Han borrowed Shang Yang's emphasis on laws, Shen Buhai's emphasis on administrative technique, and Shen Dao's ideas on authority and prophecy, emphasising that the autocrat will be able to achieve firm control over the state with the mastering of his predecessors' methodologies: his position of power (Shi), technique (Shu), and law (Fa). He stressed the importance of the concept of Xing-Ming (holding actual outcome accountable to speech), coupled with the system of the "Two Handles" (punishment and reward), as well as Wu wei (non-exertion).

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 1.

The First Interview with the King of Ch'in: A Memorial

Thy servant has heard: "Who knows not but speaks, is not wise. Who knows but speaks not, is not loyal. Any minister, if not loyal, must be condemned to death. If what he speaks be not true, he must be condemned to death, too." However, thy servant begs to speak all he has heard and entreats Your Majesty to convict him of whatever crime.

Thy servant has heard, All-under-Heaven are forming the Perpendicular Union by uniting with Chao in the centre, Yen in the north, and Wey in the south, confederating with Ching, securing the good-will of Ch'i, and also conjoining Han, with a view to facing the west and thereby forcibly causing Ch'in difficulties. At such a measure thy servant is laughing within himself. While there are in the world three causes of ruin, the allies exemplify all of them. If they are said to be exemplifying all the causes of ruin, it is because of their conspiracy against Ch'in! About the causes of ruin, thy servant has heard the saying, "A misgoverned country attacking a well-governed country will go to ruin; a wicked country attacking an upright country will go to ruin; and a country defying the course of nature, when it attacks a country following the course of nature, will go to ruin."

At present, the treasuries and armouries of the allies are not full; their granaries and storehouses are empty. With all their gentry and commoners enlisted, there can be massed troops counting by hundreds of thousands. Among them, those who would bow their heads, wear feather head-dresses, assume the office of commanders, with a decisive forethought to die fighting, number more than one thousand. While they all avow their determination to die, in case of emergency, even pulled by naked blades in the front and pushed by axes and anvils from behind, they would run backward and never fight to the death. Not that the gentry and commoners cannot fight to the death, but that their superiors are not capable of making them do so. For rewards are not bestowed as promised; nor are punishments inflicted as announced. Since reward and punishment are of no faith, their gentry and commoners would never fight to the death.

Now Ch'in issues verbal commands and written orders and carries out rewards and punishments accordingly, both men of merit and of no merit are clearly distinguished from each other. Therefore, though the people have never seen any bandits since they left their parents' bosoms and lapels, once the news of hostilities reaches their ears, everywhere are found men tapping their feet and baring their arms to rush against sharp blades and step upon the charcoal of burning furnaces with a decisive forethought to die fighting. Verily in time of crisis readiness to die and resolution to live are not the same. Yet the people of Ch'in alone dare all hazards in the cause of their country, for they respect courageous death. Indeed, one man resolved to die a courageous death can overcome ten enemies afraid of death, ten brave men can overcome one hundred coward enemies, one hundred brave men can overcome one thousand coward enemies, one thousand brave men can overcome ten thousand coward enemies, and ten thousand brave men can subdue All-underHeaven.

In these days, Ch'in has a territory, which, if the wider places are cut off to fill up the narrower places, extends over several thousand square li, plus a famous army counting by tens of thousands. In regard to the rewards and punishments carried out by her commands and orders as well as the advantages and disadvantages presented by her topographical features, no other country in All-under-Heaven can be compared to her. On coping with the world in the light of such gains, she can accomplish more than the conquest of All-under-Heaven and can easily hold them at her feet. Thus, Ch'in in warfare has never failed to win, in attack has never failed to take, and whatever has stood in her way she has never failed to smash, having opened up a vast land stretching several thousand li. This has been her great achievement.

However, of late, so dull are her weapons and armour growing, so ill are her gentry and commoners becoming, so scanty are her savings and hoardings become, so fallow are her fields and arable lands resting, so empty are her granaries and storehouses, that her neighbouring feudal lords do not obey her and the title of Hegemonic Ruler is not as yet secured. For such there is no other reason than this: Her State counsellors, all in all, do not exert their spirit of loyalty.

Thy servant dares to speak:—

In times gone by, Ch'i in the south routed Ching, in the east routed Sung, in the west subdued Ch'in, in the north routed Yen, and in the centre put Han and Wey to use. Thus, with vast territory and strong soldiers she won in warfare and took in attack, thus becoming able to enforce her edicts and decrees throughout All-under-Heaven. Of Ch'i, the limpid Chi Stream and the muddy Yellow River sufficed to make boundaries; the long walls and the large dikes sufficed to make frontiers. Therefore, in five successive wars was Ch'i victorious. Later, because of only one war she failed to win, Ch'i was reduced to impotency. From this viewpoint it is clear that warfare is always a life-or-death question to the ruler of ten thousand chariots.

Besides, thy servant has heard the saying: "On removing traces, leave no root, and be no neighbour to any catastrophe. There shall then survive no catastrophe." Well, Ch'in in the war with the Chings routed them by long odds and made such a surprise attack upon the city of Ying and the districts of Tung-ting, Wu-tu, and Chiang-nan, that the ruler and ministers of Ching had a narrow escape and sought refuge eastward under the protection of Ch'en. At that moment, if with her forces Ch'in closely pursued the Chings, the Ching State could be taken. After the state was taken, the people would become covetable and the territory fruitful to Ch'in, so that in the east Ch'in could thereby weaken Ch'i and Yen and in the centre devastate the Three Chins. If so, at one stroke she could secure the title of Hegemonic Ruler and lay all the neighbouring feudal lords under tribute. Instead, her State counsellors led the troops in retreat and, what was worse, made peace with the Chings, allowed them to recover the ruined country, gather the scattered masses, reinstate the Spirits of Land and Grain on the Altar, and rebuild their ancestral shrines, and let them lead All-underHeaven to face the west and cause Ch'in difficulties. This, no doubt, was the first time the way to Hegemony was lost.

Another time, when All-under-Heaven formed a wicked alliance and entrenched their forces at the foot of Mount Hua, His Majesty by virtue of his own edicts ordered the army to rout them. The soldiers marched as far as the outer walls of Liang. The city of Liang, after being besieged for several tens of days, could be captured. Were Liang captured, the Wey State might fall. Should Wey be taken, the friendly contact between Chao and Ching would come to an end. If the friendly contact between Chao and Ching ceased, Chao would fall into peril. Should Chao fall into peril, Ching would become helpless. So that in the east Ch'in could weaken Ch'i and Yen and in the centre hold down the Three Chins, at one stroke she could secure the title of Hegemonic Ruler and lay all her neighbouring feudal lords under tribute. Instead, her State counsellors led the troops in retreat, and, what was worse, made peace with the Weys, allowed them to recover the ruined country, gather the scattered masses, reinstate the Spirits of Land and Grain on the Altar, and rebuild their ancestral shrines, and let them lead All-underHeaven to face the west and cause Ch'in difficulties. This, no doubt, was the second time the way to Hegemony was lost.

In the days of old, Marquis Hsiang, while governing Ch'in, used the soldiers of one country to perform meritorious services for two. As a result, the soldiers of Ch'in were life-long exposed afield; gentry and commoners were tired and ill at home; while His Majesty never secured the title of Hegemonic Ruler. This, no doubt, was the third time the way to Hegemony was lost.

The Chao Clan, indeed, holds the central state inhabited by heterogeneous populations. Their people are frivolous and hard to rule, their rewards and punishments are of no faith, their topographical features are not advantageous, and their superiors are unable to exert the people's best. Assuredly these are symptoms of a doomed state. Yet, not concerned about the welfare of the masses, they dared to mobilize their gentry and commoners, entrenched their forces in the suburbs of Ch'ang-p'ing, and thereby contested with Ch'in the districts of Shang-tang in Han. Thereupon His Majesty by virtue of his own edicts ordered the army to rout them and captured Wu-an. At that moment, among the Chaos, high and low were not mutually attached; the noble and the humble had no faith in each other. Naturally Han-tan could not hold out long. Should Ch'in take Han-tan, occupy Shan-tung and Ho-chien, and lead her troops on the march westward to fall upon Hsiu-wu, cross the Yangch'ang Ascent and subject Tai and Shang-tang, then without a single cuirass used and without any gentry or commoners afflicted the thirty-six counties of Tai plus the seventeen counties of Shang-tang would all become Ch'in's possessions. After Tai and Shang-tang had fallen into the hands of Ch'in without fighting, Tung-yang and Ho-wai would also without fighting fall into the hands of Ch'i while the territory to the north of Central Hills and the River Hu-to into the hands of Yen. In consequence Chao would give way. Without Chao, Han would fall. Without Han, neither Ching nor Wey could stand by itself. If Ching and Wey could not stand alone, then at one effort Ch'in could break Han, encroach upon Wey, and capture Ching whereby to weaken Ch'i and Yen in the east, and break up the White Horse Ford whereby to flood the Wey Clan. As a result, the Three Chins would fall; the Unionists would fail; and His Majesty might with clothes dropped and hands folded wait for All-under-Heaven to give way and easily secure the title of Hegemonic Ruler. Instead, the state counsellors led the troops in retreat, and, what was worse, made peace with the Chaos. Thus, notwithstanding the intelligence of His Majesty and the strength of the Ch'in soldiers, the plan for Hegemony was discarded; no inch of territory but insults by a doomed state was gained; which was altogether due to the incompetence of the state counsellors.

Indeed, Chao doomed to ruin did not go to ruin; Ch'in deserving Hegemony did not attain Hegemony. This was the first reason why All-under-Heaven came to penetrate the ability of Ch'in's state counsellors. Again, when Ch'in marched out all her officers and soldiers to launch a fresh attack upon Han-tan, her men failed to take that city, threw away their armour and crossbows, withdrew, and shivered. This was the second reason why All-under-Heaven came to penetrate the strength of Ch'in. Meanwhile, they drew out in retreat and held their breath in the suburbs of Li-hsia, whereupon His Majesty arrived with newly gathered forces. They then started new engagements but could not win. As their supplies stopped coming along, they had to leave the front line. This was the third reason why All-under Heaven came to penetrate the strength of Ch'in. Thus, in the past, they penetrated the ability of Ch'in's State counsellors at home and wore out her military strength abroad. From this viewpoint thy servant believes that the Union of All-underHeaven has practically had no obstacle. Now that, inside Ch'in, armour and weapons are growing dull, gentry and commoners are falling ill, savings and hoardings are becoming scanty, and fields and arable lands are resting fallow, granaries and storehouses are standing empty; outside Ch'in, All-under-Heaven are very firmly allied against her, would to Your Majesty that there be concerns of mind about such a crisis!

Besides, thy servant has heard the saying: "Be alarmed and trembling and act more carefully day after day. If thou act carefully in due manner, thou mayest hold All-under-Heaven under thy sway." How to prove this? Well, in days of yore, Chow, being the Son of Heaven, commanded hundreds of thousands of troops of All-under-Heaven, with the left flank of his army draining the Rivulet Ch'i and the right flank draining the Rivulet Huan till the water of the Ch'i was used up and the water of the Huan ran no longer. Thereby he intended to cause King Wu of Chou difficulties. Commanding only three thousand troops all clad in white armour, King Wu in one day's battle broke up the state of Chow, took him prisoner, occupied his territory, and subdued his subjects; whereas none in the world ever grieved over the event. Likewise, Earl Chih once led the forces of three countries to attack Viscount Hsiang of Chao at Chin-yang. By cutting down the Chin Stream and thereby inundating the city for three months, he brought the city to the verge of downfall. Thereupon Viscount Hsiang bored a tortoise-shell, counted bamboo slips, divined by casting lots with them, and found omens on the shell foretelling the gains and losses, whereby he chose the country he should surrender to. Meanwhile, he sent out his envoy named Chang Meng-t'an, who wormed through the water and stole out of the city. He turned down the covenant Earl Chih had made with the other two countries and won the forces of the latter to his views. With their aid he fell upon Earl Chih, took him prisoner, and restored to Viscount Hsiang the original territory.

In these days, Ch'in has a territory, which, if the wider places are cut off to fill up the narrower places, extends over several thousand square li, plus a famous army counting by hundreds of thousands. In regard to the rewards and punishments carried out by her commands and orders as well as the advantages and disadvantages presented by her topographical features, no other country in All-under-Heaven

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can be compared to her. On coping with the world in the light of such gains, she can conquer and hold All-underHeaven at her feet. Therefore thy servant has in the face of the death-penalty prayed to have an audience of Your Majesty and speak of the right way whereby to break up the Perpendicular Union of All-under-Heaven, to take Chao and ruin Han, to subject Ching and Wey, to befriend Ch'i and Yen, in order thereby to secure the title of Hegemonic Ruler and lay all the neighbouring feudal lords under tribute. May Your Majesty therefore lend ear to this memorial! Should at one effort the Perpendicular Union not be broken, Chao not taken, Han not ruined, Ching and Wey not subjected, Ch'i and Yen not befriended, the title of Hegemonic Ruler not secured, and all the neighbouring feudal lords not laid under tribute, would Your Majesty behead thy servant as a warning to the whole country on a charge of disloyal counsel to the sovereign?

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 2.

On the Preservation of Han: Issue Between Han Fei and Li Ssu

Han Fei Tzu's Memorial to the King of Ch'in:—

"Han has served Ch'in for upwards of thirty years. To Ch'in she has formed a shielding barrier in case of war and made a restful carpet in time of peace. Thus, whenever Ch'in sends out crack troops to conquer new territory and Han follows at her heels, Han incurs hatred from All-under-Heaven, but every achievement belongs to Ch'in.

"Further, since Han pays tribute and renders services to Ch'in, she does not differ from a district or county of Ch'in. Of late, however, thy servant has in secret heard of the scheme of Your Majesty's ministers to raise an army to invade Han. Verily it is the Chaos that have been recruiting officers and soldiers and supporting the advocates of the Perpendicular Union with a view to uniting the troops of All-under-Heaven. And, with the clear understanding that unless Ch'in be weakened, the feudal lords would eventually see their ancestral shrines ruined, they plan to turn west and accomplish their task. This is not such a scheme as could be devised in the brief space of one day. Now supposing Ch'in left the impending harm Chao has been causing and spurned Han so trustworthy a vassal as a eunuch, then Allunder-Heaven would accordingly find reason for the scheme of the Chaos.

"Verily Han is a small country. To stand the pressure by All-under-Heaven from the four directions, the sovereign has to bear disgrace and the ministers have to undergo hardships, high and low having thus for years shared griefs with each other in mending garrisons, in making provision against strong foes, in keeping hoardings and savings, and in building walls and moats, in order to solidify their defence works. Therefore, though Ch'in starts invading Han now, she may be unable to take her in a year. Should Ch'in withdraw after taking only a city, she would fall into contempt by All-under-Heaven, who might in their turn crush her soldiers. Again, should Han rebel, Wey would join her and Chao would look to Ch'i for safety. If so, Ch'in will eventually supply Chao with the strength of Han and Wey and let Ch'i unite all these powers to solidify the Perpendicular Union and thereby struggle for supremacy with Ch'in. The result would be Chao's fortune and Ch'in's misfortune, come what might.

"Indeed, if Ch'in on going forward to raid Chao cannot take and on turning backward to attack Han cannot win, her troops, however invulnerable, will become tired of field operations abroad and her transport corps will fall short of supplies from home. Then, if Ch'in masses her distressed and weakened troops to cope with the twenty thousand chariots of Ch'i and Chao, the result will not go in accordance with the original plan to destroy Han. Thus, if everything be done according to the scheme of Your Majesty's ministers, Ch'in will infallibly become the anvil of the forces of All-under-Heaven, wherefore even though Your Majesty's reign may last as long as metals and rocks, there never will come the day to bring the world under one rule.

"Now, it is the stupid suggestion of thy humble servant to send an envoy to Ching and, by bribing the ministers in charge of her state affairs with precious presents, convince them of the reasons why Chao has been conspiring against Ch'in, and at the same time send a hostage to Wey to make her feel at ease, and then to fall upon Chao. Consequently, Chao will not make any serious trouble in spite of her confederation with Ch'i. After the removal of the difficulties with these two countries, Ch'i and Chao, the problem of Han can be solved by means of an official despatch. Likewise, if we can at one effort doom the two countries to ruin, Ching and Wey will voluntarily surrender themselves to us.

"Hence the saying: 'Weapons are dangerous implements, and should not be employed at random.' For illustration, Ch'in in vying with Chao has to challenge Ch'i and simultaneously break off with Han while she is as yet unsuccessful in winning the good-will of Ching and Wey, so that once she fails to win in a single combat, she will certainly suffer a tremendous adversity. Verily schemes are means whereby affairs are settled and therefore should be carefully scrutinized.

"The turning-point of Ch'in, whether towards strength or towards weakness, will come to pass within this year. It is, indeed, a long time since Chao began to plot with other feudal lords against Ch'in. It will be a castastrophe to be defeated by the feudal lords in the first engagement with them. Again, it is a great risk to devise such a scheme as would excite the feudal lords' suspicion. Exposing these two carelessnesses to the world is not the right way to display our strength before the feudal lords. Therefore, with due reverence may thy humble servant pray Your Majesty to ponder over such eventualities and foresee that should the expedition against Han be utilized by the Perpendicular Unionists, it would be too late to regret the consequences?"

Li Ssu's Memorial to the King of Ch'in:—

"Under His Majesty's edict the memorial submitted by the envoy from Han, in which he maintained that Han should not be taken, was handed down to thy servant, Ssu. Thy servant, Ssu, however, considers the viewpoint presented therein extremely fallacious.

"What stomach and heart diseases are to man, that is Han to Ch'in. The man having stomach and heart diseases ordinarily only feels like standing in the mud which is sticky and cannot be brushed off; but as soon as he starts running fast, the trouble becomes serious. Similarly, Han, though she pays homage to Ch'in, is a constant menace to Ch'in. At the news of any kind of hostilities she cannot be trusted. Vying with Chao, Ch'in has sent Ching Su to Ch'i. Nobody is yet able to foretell the outcome. From thy servant's viewpoint, it remains uncertain whether the friendship of Ch'i and Chao will be broken by the mission of Ching Su. Should it remain unbroken, Ch'in would have to exert all her forces to cope with the twenty thousand chariots. To be sure, Han has yielded not to Ch'in's kindness but to her strength. As soon as we move our forces against Ch'i and Chao, Han will make trouble as stomach and heart diseases do. Besides, if Han and Ching have any conspiracy against Ch'in and other feudal lords respond o it, Ch'in is then bound to encounter another humiliation as met at the fort of Mount Yao.

"Fei came here most probably with the intention to elevate his own position in the Han Government by demonstrating his ability to save the Han State. By means of eloquent speeches and beautiful phrases he embellishes lies and falsifies plots in order thereby to fish for advantages from Ch'in and watch Your Majesty's mind on behalf of Han. Indeed, if the friendship of Ch'in and Han becomes intimate, Fei will be esteemed; which is his self-seeking scheme. Having found Fei in his memorial twisting so many beguiling contentions and showing his sophistic ability to the utmost, thy servant is afraid lest Your Majesty should be bewildered by his eloquence and listen to his crooked viewpoint and consequently neglect the consideration of the actual conditions.

"Now thy servant has devised a stupid scheme as follows: Suppose Ch'in sends out troops without announcing the object of the expedition. Then the ministers in charge of Han's state affairs will consider serving Ch'in a good policy. Then thy servant will ask for Your Majesty's permission to interview the King of Han and make him come to visit Your Majesty. When he comes, Your Majesty retains him and never sends him away, but, instead, summons a few important ministers from the Han Government and make bargains with them. In consequence we will be able to encroach upon Han farther inside. After that, if Your Majesty similarly orders Meng Wu to despatch the garrisons of the eastern districts to guard against enemy troops along the border without announcing their objective, the Ch'is will fear surprise invasion and accept the proposal of Ching Su. As a result, before our forces march outside the boundary, we will capture Han while Ch'i will yield to our pressure. As soon as such news spreads among the feudal lords, the Chao Clan will be struck with terror while the Chings will be in doubt how to act and eventually decide to remain loyal to Ch'in. If the Chings make no move at all, Wey will not be sufficient to cause worries, so that we will be able to encroach upon the territories of the feudal lords in the way silkworms eat mulberry-leaves and cope with the forces of Chao. May Your Majesty ponder deliberately over the scheme of thy stupid servant with no hesitation?"

Ch'in accordingly sent Ssu to the court of Han. Li Ssu went to interview the King of Han, but could not have an audience of him. Therefore he sent in a memorial saying:—

"Of old, when Ch'in and Han combined their forces and united their purposes to refrain from invading each other, nobody in the whole world dared to aggress. Such a situation lasted for several generations. Some time ago, when the five feudal lords sent a joint-expedition against Han, Ch'in sent out troops to rescue her. Han being a central state, her territory scarcely stretches a thousand li. Thanks to the traditional policy she has pursued from generation to generation to serve Ch'in, she has been able to occupy an equal position among the feudal lords in All-under-Heaven.

"Another time, however, when the five feudal lords launched a joint-attack upon Ch'in, Han in her turn joined them and stood at the front of the allied line to meet the forces of Ch'in beneath the Pass of the Armour Gorge. With their armies worn out and their strength exhausted, the feudal lords were compelled to cease hostilities. When Tu Ts'ang was Premier of Ch'in, he mobilised soldiers and despatched generals to revenge the wrong of the allies and attacked Ching first. The Chancellor of Ching, feeling uneasy about it, said: 'Han at first regarded Ch'in as unjust and yet kept fraternal terms with Ch'in in order jointly to menace the rest of the world. Then she betrayed Ch'in and took the lead of the allied forces in storming the Pass. Thus, centrally located, Han is so fickle that nobody knows what she is going to do next.' Thereupon the allies ceded to Ch'in ten cities from the best districts of Han as an apology for their wrong and thereby ceased hostilities.

"Thus, ever since Han turned against Ch'in, the country has been oppressed, her territory invaded, and her army weakened, till the present day. The reason therefor is: Her rulers have been listening to the flippant theories of wicked ministers but have never considered actual conditions. Even if the wicked ministers be put to death, it would be impossible for Han to recover her former strength.

"At present, Chao is massing officers and soldiers with Ch'in as target. Therefore, she has sent envoys to Han to borrow the way through the country on the pretext of attacking Ch'in. Indeed, in her campaign against Ch'in she will naturally invade Han first and Ch'in next. Besides, thy servant has heard: 'When the lips are gone, the teeth are cold.' Verily Ch'in and Han have to share the same hazard. And such an eventuality is now visible enough.

"Formerly, when Wey was about to despatch troops to attack Han, Ch'in ordered guards to escort her good-will envoys to Han. Now thy servant, Ssu, is sent here by the King of Ch'in, he is not granted an audience. Therefore, he is afraid the present chamberlains of Your Majesty have inherited the scheme of the former wicked ministers and might once more cause Han territorial losses. If thy servant, Ssu, is granted no audience while here and has to go home to report to His Majesty the King of Ch'in on his mission, the relations between Ch'in and Han will certainly be severed. On this mission Ssu came to present the good-will of His Majesty the King of Ch'in to the court of Han and hopes to make the best plan for Your Majesty; which in no wise constitutes sufficient reason for Your Majesty's according thy humble servant such a cold reception as this. Thy servant, Ssu, has petitioned for an audience only to present his stupid counsels inside the court and then to be chopped into inches to death outside the court. Thereon may Your Majesty deliberate!

"Now supposing Your Majesty executed thy servant in Han, it would not do Your Majesty any good. Moreover, since Your Majesty turns no ear to thy servant's counsels, there will be fostered the seed of catastrophes. For once Ch'in marches her troops out without stopping, Han will then feel concern for the safety of her Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain. After thy servant, Ssu, has had his corpse exposed in the market-place in the capital of Han, though Your Majesty might begin to think about thy servant's stupid but loyal counsels, it would be impossible to prevent disaster. After the frontiers have been raided and only the defence work of the capital is held and when the sounds of drums and bells are filling up the ears, though Your Majesty might then apply the counsels of thy servant, Ssu, it will be too late.

"Moreover, though the limits of Han's military strength are generally known throughout the world, she is now betraying Ch'in. Indeed, if cities are evacuated and troops defeated, rebels among the rear forces will infallibly raid the capital. When the capital falls, the civilians will scatter. When the civilians scatter, no more troops can be recruited. Even though the capital might be well defended, yet Ch'in would send out all her men to besiege the only city of Your Majesty. When its communication with the outside world is cut off, it will be impossible to accomplish any scheme, till the situation becomes unsavable. As the consideration of the whole situation by the chamberlains is not thorough, may Your Majesty deliberate on it carefully!

"If what thy servant, Ssu, has said contains anything that does not coincide with actual facts, may Your Majesty allow him to complete his memorial before the throne! After that it will not be too late to put him to death through official censure. The King of Ch'in neither indulges in drinking and eating nor amuses himself with travelling and sight-seeing, but is whole-heartedly scheming against Chao. Therefore he has sent thy servant, Ssu, here to speak on his behalf. Thy servant has petitioned for a personal interview because he feels he must parley with Your Majesty on matters of urgent importance.

"Now, if Your Majesty grants no audience to thy servant, the faith of Han never will be proved. Verily Ch'in will cease the campaign against Chao and move the army against Han. May Your Majesty, therefore, kindly ponder over the matter again and again and grant thy servant a definite answer?"

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HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 3.

On the Difficulty in Speaking: A Memorial

Thy servant, Fei, is by no means diffident of speaking. As to why he has to hesitate in speaking: if his speeches are compliant and harmonious, magnificent and orderly, he is then regarded as ostentatious and insincere; if his speeches are sincere and courteous, straightforward and careful, he is then regarded as awkward and unsystematic; if his speeches are widely cited and subtly composed, frequently illustrated and continuously analogized, he is then regarded as empty and unpractical; if his speeches summarize minute points and present general ideas, being thus plain and concise, he is then regarded as simple and not discerning; if his speeches are very personally observing and well-versed in the inner nature of mankind, he is then regarded as self-assuming and self-conceited; if his speeches are erudite and profound, he is then regarded as boastful but useless; if his speeches touch the details of house-keeping and estimate each item in terms of numerals, he is then regarded as vulgar; if his speeches are too much concerned with worldly affairs and not offensive in wording, he is then regarded as a coward and a flatterer; if his speeches are far from commonplace and contrary to human experience, he is then regarded as fantastic; if his speeches are witty and eloquent and full of rhetorical excellences, he is then regarded as flippant; if he discards all literary forms of expression and speaks solely of the naked facts, he is then regarded as rustic; and should he quote the Books of Poetry and History from time to time and act on the teachings of the former sages, he is then regarded as a book chantor. These things explain the reason why thy servant, Fei, is diffident in speaking and worried about speaking.

Therefore, weights and measures, however accurate, are not always adopted; doctrines and principles, however perfect, are not always practised. Should His Majesty disbelieve the minister who speaks to the throne, the minister would be found guilty of a blunder or condemned to death.

For example, Tzu-hsü schemed well but was killed by the King of Wu; Chung-ni taught well but was detained by the Ruler of K'uang; and Kuan I-wu was really worthy but was taken prisoner by the Ruler of Lu. Not that these three statesmen were not worthy, but that the three rulers were not intelligent.

In remote antiquity, when T'ang was the sanest and I Yin the wisest of the age, though the wisest attempted to persuade the sanest, yet he was not welcomed even after seventy times of persuasion, till he had to handle pans and bowls and become a cook in order thereby to approach him and become familiar with him. In consequence T'ang came to know his worthiness and took him into service. Hence the saying: "Though the wisest man wants to persuade the sanest man, he is not necessarily welcomed upon his first arrival." Such was the case of I Yin's persuading T'ang. Again the saying: "Though the wise man wants to persuade the fool, he is not necessarily listened to." Such was the case of King Wen's persuading Chow.

Thus, just as King Wen attempted to persuade Chow and was put in jail, Marquis Ih was broiled; Marquis Chiu's corpse was dried; Pi-kan had his heart cut open; and Earl Mei's corpse was pickled.

Furthermore, I-wu was bound with chains. Ts'ao Ch'i absconded to Ch'en. Pai-li Tzu begged on his way to the capital of Ch'in. Fu Yüeh was sold into slavery from place to place. Sun Tzu had his feet cut off in Wey. Wu Ch'i wiped off his tears at Dike Gate, lamented over the impending cession of the Western River Districts to Ch'in, and was dismembered in Ch'u. Kung-shu Tso spoke of a man fit to be a pillar of the state but was regarded as unreasonable, so that Kung-sun Yang absconded to Ch'in. Kuan Lung-p'eng was executed. Ch'ang Hung had his intestines chopped into pieces. Yin Tzu was thrown into a trap among brambles. The Minister of War, Tzu-ch'i, was killed and his corpse was floated on the Yang-Tzu River. T'ien Ming was stoned to death. Mi Tzu-chien and Hsi-men Pao quarrelled with nobody but were killed. Tung An-yü was killed and his corpse was exposed in the market-place. Tsai Yü had to suffer the disaster caused by T'ien Ch'ang. Fan Chü had his ribs broken in Wey.

These tens of men were all benevolent, worthy, loyal, and upright persons in the world and followers of the right way and true path of life. Unfortunately they met such unreasonable, violent, stupid, and crooked masters, and lost their lives in the long run.

Then, why could these worthies and sages escape death penalties and evade disgrace? It was because of the difficulty in persuading fools. Hence every gentleman has to remain diffident of speaking. Even the best speech displeases the ear and upsets the heart, and can be appreciated only by worthy and sage rulers. May Your Majesty therefore ponder over this memorial of thy servant!

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 4.

On Favourite Vassals: A Memorial

Favourite vassals, if too intimate with the ruler, would cause him personal danger. Ministers, if too powerful, would overturn the august position of the sovereign. Wives and concubines, if without distinction of rank, would cause legitimate sons dangers. Brothers, if not subservient to the ruler, would endanger the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain.

Thy servant has heard: "The ruler of one thousand chariots, if not on his guard, would find close by him vassals of one hundred chariots aiming to shake his authority and upset his country. The ruler of ten thousand chariots, if not on his guard, would find close by him vassals of one thousand chariots aiming to shake his authority and upset his country." That being so, wicked ministers can multiply while the sway of the sovereign declines. Therefore, the territorial expansion of the feudal lords leads to the damnation of the Son of Heaven; the extraordinary wealth of ministers leads to the downfall of the ruler. Hence generals and ministers who would leave the sovereign's interests behind and prosper the welfare of their own families instead, should be ousted by the ruler of men.

Nothing is more valuable than the royal person, more honourable than the throne, more powerful than the authority of the sovereign, and more august than the position of the ruler. These four excellences are not obtained from outside nor secured from anybody else, but are deliberated in the ruler's own mind and acquired thereby. Hence the saying: "The lord of men, if unable to exercise his equipment with the four excellences, is bound to end his life in exile." This the ruler of men must keep firmly in mind.

Of old, the ruin of Chow and the fall of Chou were both due to the territorial expansion of the feudal lords; the partition of Chin as well as the usurpation of Ch'i was due to the extraordinary wealth of ministers. So were the regicides in Yen and Sung, indeed. Thus, whether in the cases of Yin and Chou or in the cases of Chin and Ch'i, or in the modern cases of Yen and Sung, the same reason never failed to hold true.

For this reason, the intelligent ruler, in keeping officials in service, exhausts their abilities with laws and corrects their errors with measures. Hence no release from the death penalty, no remission of punishment. Both release from the death penalty and remission of punishment, being called "authority-losing" on the part of the ruler, mark the fall of the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain into danger as well as the shifting of the state under the "deflected authority" of the wicked ministers.

Therefore, no minister, however large his bounty may be, should be allowed to include the capital city in his private fief; nor should he be allowed, however numerous his adherents and supporters may be, to subject officers and soldiers as personal vassals. Accordingly, no official, while serving the state, should be allowed to have any private governmental office. While in the army, nobody should be allowed to cultivate personal friendships. No official should be allowed to make any loan from the public treasury to individual families. This is the way the intelligent ruler should forbid wicked practices.

For the same reason, no minister should be allowed to have a four-horsed chariot as personal escort nor should he be allowed to carry any kind of weapons. If anyone, being neither a public courier nor a herald of urgent messages, transport implements of war from place to place, he should be condemned to death without mercy. This is the way the intelligent ruler should provide against accidents.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 5.

The Tao of the Sovereign

Tao is the beginning of the myriad things, the standard of right and wrong. That being so, the intelligent ruler, by holding to the beginning, knows the source of everything, and, by keeping to the standard, knows the origin of good and evil. Therefore, by virtue of resting empty and reposed, he waits for the course of nature to enforce itself so that all names will be defined of themselves and all affairs will be settled of themselves. Empty, he knows the essence of fullness: reposed, he becomes the corrector of motion. Who utters a word creates himself a name; who has an affair creates himself a form. Compare forms and names and see if they are identical. Then the ruler will find nothing to worry about as everything is reduced to its reality.

Hence the saying: "The ruler must not reveal his wants. For, if he reveals his wants, the ministers will polish their manners accordingly. The ruler must not reveal his views. For, if he reveals his views, the ministers will display their hues differently." Hence another saying: "If the like and hate of the ruler be concealed, the true hearts of the ministers will be revealed. If the experience and wisdom of the ruler be discarded, the ministers will take precautions." Accordingly, the ruler, wise as he is, should not bother but let everything find its proper place; worthy as he is, should not be self-assumed but observe closely the ministers' motivating factors of conduct; and, courageous as he is, should not be enraged but let every minister display his prowess. So, leave the ruler's wisdom, then you will find the ministers' intelligence; leave the ruler's worthiness, then you will find the ministers' merits; and leave the ruler's courage, then you will find the ministers' strength. In such cases, ministers will attend to their duties, magistrates will have definite work routine, and everybody will be employed according to his special ability. Such a course of government is called "constant and immutable".

Hence the saying: "So quiet, it rests without footing; so vacant, it cannot be located." Thus, the intelligent ruler does nothing, but his ministers tremble all the more. It is the Tao of the intelligent ruler that he makes the wise men exhaust their mental energy and makes his decisions thereby without being himself at his wits' end; that he makes the worthy men exert their talents and appoints them to office accordingly without being himself at the end of his ability; and that in case of merits the ruler gains the renown and in case of demerit the ministers face the blame so that the ruler is never at the end of his reputation. Therefore, the ruler, even though not worthy, becomes the master of the worthies; and, even though not wise, becomes the corrector of the wise men. It is the ministers who do the toil; it is the ruler who gets the spoil. This is the everlasting principle of the worthy sovereign.

Tao exists in invisibility; its function, in unintelligibility. Be empty and reposed and have nothing to do-Then from the dark see defects in the light. See but never be seen. Hear but never be heard. Know but never be known. If you hear any word uttered, do not change it nor move it but compare it with the deed and see if word and deed coincide with each other. Place every official with a censor. Do not let them speak to each other. Then everything will be exerted to the utmost. Cover tracks and conceal sources. Then the ministers cannot trace origins. Leave your wisdom and cease your ability. Then your subordinates cannot guess at your limitations.

Keep your decision and identify it with the words and deeds of your subordinates. Cautiously take the handles and hold them fast. Uproot others' want of them, smash others' thought of them, and do not let anybody covet them. If the ruler is not cautious of the locking or if he does not keep the gate in good repair, the tiger will come into existence. If the ruler does not take precautions for his sway or if he does not cover his realities, the traitor will make his appearance. Who murders the sovereign and takes his place and finds the whole people side in awe with him, is called a tiger. Again, who serves the country by the sovereign's side and watches for his secret faults with villainous motives, is called a traitor. Scatter his partisans, arrest his supporters, lock up the gate, and deprive him of all assistance. Then there will be no tiger in the country. Be too great to be measured, be too profound to be surveyed, identify norms and names, scrutinize laws and manners, and chastise those doing as they please. Then there will be no traitor in the country.

For these reasons, the lord of men always has to face five kinds of delusion: delusion by ministers impeding the sovereign, delusion by ministers controlling public resources and revenues, delusion by ministers issuing decrees at random, delusion by ministers distributing personal favours, and delusion by ministers feeding dependents. When ministers impede the sovereign, the sovereign loses his viewpoint. When they control public resources and revenues, he loses his advantages. When they issue decrees at random, he loses his ruling authority. When they distribute personal favours, he loses his name. When they feed their dependents, he loses his supporters. All their doings as such should be based on the initiative of the lord of men and should not be started by the ministers at their pleasure.

The Tao of the lord of men regards tranquillity and humility as treasures. Without handling anything himself, he can tell skilfulness from unskilfulness; without his own concerns of mind, he can tell good from bad luck. Therefore, without uttering any word himself, he finds a good reply given; without exerting his own effort, he finds his task accomplished. Whenever a reply is given to his question, he holds to its covenant. Whenever any task is accomplished, he holds to its result. And out of coincidence and discrepancy between the consequences of tasks accomplished and the covenants of words uttered reward and punishment are born. Therefore, when a minister utters a word, the ruler should according to the word assign him a task to accomplish, and according to the result of the accomplishment call the task to account. If the result corresponds with the task and the task with the word, the minister should be rewarded. If the result corresponds not with the task and the task not with the word, he should be censured. It is in accordance with the Tao of the intelligent ruler that every minister should utter no word that corresponds not with its proper task.

For this reason, the intelligent ruler, in bestowing rewards, is as benign as the seasonable rain that the masses profit by his graces; in inflicting punishments, he is so terrific like the loud thunder that even divines and sages cannot atone for their crimes. Thus the intelligent ruler neglects no reward and remits no punishment. For, if reward is neglected, ministers of merit will relax their duties; if punishment is remitted, villainous ministers will become liable to misconduct. Therefore, men of real merit, however distant and humble, must be rewarded; those of real demerit, however near and dear, must be censured. If both the reward of the distant and humble and the censure of the near and dear are infallible, the

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distant and humble will not go idle while the near and dear will not turn arrogant.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 6.

Having Regulations: A Memorial

No country is permanently strong. Nor is any country permanently weak. If conformers to law are strong, the country is strong; if conformers to law are weak, the country is weak.

King Chuang of Ching annexed as many states as twenty-six and extended his territory as far as three thousand li. As soon as King Chuang passed away from the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain, Ching decayed accordingly. Duke Huan of Ch'i annexed as many states as thirty and extended his territory as far as three thousand li. As soon as Duke Huan passed away from the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain, Ch'i decayed accordingly. King Hsiang of Yen took the Yellow River as state-boundary on the south, established the capital at Chi, doubled the defence works at Cho and Fang-ch'eng, smashed the Ch'i State, and subdued the Central Hills State, in such wise that whoever was a friend of Yen was respected and whoever was not a friend of Yen was despised. As soon as King Hsiang passed away from the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain, Yen decayed accordingly. King An-li of Wey attacked Yen, rescued Chao, took the land to the east of the Yellow River, and completely conquered both T'ao and Wei. Then he mobilised his troops into Ch'i and took the city of P'ing-lu to be his holiday resort. Then he attacked Han, took Kuan, won the battle by the Ch'i River. Then in the engagement at Chü-yang he drove the worn-out troops of Ching into retreat. Finally in the engagement at Shang-ts'ai and Chao-ling he routed the Ching troops. In this manner he sent out his expeditionary forces in the four directions throughout All-under-Heaven and spread his influence all over the countries of crowns and girdles. 6 Following the death of King An-li, Wey decayed accordingly.

Thus, as long as King Chuang of Ching and Duke Huan of Ch'i were alive, Ching and Ch'i could remain hegemonic; as long as King Hsiang of Yen and King An-li of Wey were alive, Yen and Wey remained strong. Now their countries all fell into decay, because their ministers and magistrates all followed the path to chaos and never sought for the way to order. Though their countries were chaotic, they cast aside the state laws and schemed for nothing but their own outside interests. This was the same as to suppress a fire by carrying firewood on the back. Consequently confusion and weakness turned from bad to worse.

Therefore, at present, any ruler able to expel private crookedness and uphold public law, finds the people safe and the state in order; and any ruler able to expunge private action and act on public law, finds his army strong and his enemy weak. So, find out men following the discipline of laws and regulations, and place them above the body of officials. Then the sovereign can not be deceived by anybody with fraud and falsehood. Find out men able to weigh different situations, and put them in charge of distant affairs. Then the sovereign cannot be deceived by anybody in matters of world politics.

Now supposing promotions were made because of mere reputations, then ministers would be estranged from the sovereign and all officials would associate for treasonable purposes. Supposing officials were appointed on account of their partisanship, then the people would strive to cultivate friendships and never seek employment in accordance with the law. Thus, if the government lack able men, the state will fall into confusion. If rewards are bestowed according to mere reputation, and punishments are inflicted according to mere defamation, then men who love rewards and hate punishments will discard the law of the public and practise self-seeking tricks and associate for wicked purposes. If ministers forget the interest of the sovereign, make friends with outside people, and thereby promote their adherents, then their inferiors will be in low spirits to serve the sovereign. Their friends are many; their adherents, numerous. When they form juntas in and out, then though they have great faults, their ways of disguise will be innumerable.

For such reasons, loyal ministers, innocent as they are, are always facing danger and the death penalty, whereas wicked ministers, though of no merit, always enjoy security and prosperity. Should loyal ministers meet danger and death without committing any crime, good ministers would withdraw. Should wicked ministers enjoy security and prosperity without rendering any meritorious service, villainous ministers would advance. This is the beginning of decay.

Were such the case, all officials would discard legalism, practising favouritism and despising public law. They would frequent the gates of the residences of cunning men, but never once would they visit the court of the sovereign. For one hundred times they would ponder the interests of private families, but never once would they scheme for the state welfare of the sovereign. Thus, their subordinates, however numerous, are not for glorifying the ruler; the officials, however well selected, are not for serving the country. If so, the sovereign would have the mere name of the lord of men but in reality he simply commits himself to the care of the houses of the various ministers. Hence thy servant says: "The court of a decaying state has no man."

That the court has no man does not imply the emptiness of the court. It means that private families strive to benefit one another but never seek to enhance the state welfare; that high officials strive to honour one another but never seek to honour the ruler; and that petty officials spend their salaries in cultivating personal friendships but never attend to their official duties. The reason therefore is: The sovereign never makes his decisions in accordance with the law but always trusts in his subordinates for whatever they do.

Therefore, the intelligent sovereign makes the law select men and makes no arbitrary promotion himself. He makes the law measure merits and makes no arbitrary regulation himself. In consequence, able men cannot be obscured, bad characters cannot be disguised; falsely praised fellows cannot be advanced, wrongly defamed people cannot be degraded. Accordingly, between ruler and minister distinction becomes clear and order is attained. Thus it suffices only if the sovereign can scrutinize laws.

The wise man, on ministering to a ruler, faces the north and swears an oath of his office, pledging "not to have two minds, never to reject any low commission in the court, and never to reject any hard job in the military camp, but to follow the instructions of his superior, to obey the law of the sovereign and empty his mind so as to wait for the royal decrees to come, and to have no dispute about them". Therefore, though he has a mouth of his own, he never speaks for his own advantage; though he has eyes of his own, he never sees for his private interest. Both his mouth and eyes are kept under his superior's control. In other words, who ministers to a ruler may be likened to the hand that is able to care for the head upward and for the feet downward, never fails to relieve them from extremes of cold and heat, and never fails to strike away even the Mo-yeh Sword when it is near the body. Similarly, the intelligent ruler never employs worthy and clever ministers or wise and able men for any selfish purpose. Therefore, the people do not cross the village border to make friends and have no relatives living one hundred li away; high and low do not trespass against each other; the fool and the wise, each being content with his own lot, keep the scale and stand in perfect balance. Such is the crowning phase of order, indeed!

Now, those who make light of rank and bounties, resign from their offices and desert their posts with ease, and thereby choose their masters, thy servant does not call upright. Those who falsify theories, disobey laws, defy the sovereign, and make forcible remonstrances, thy servant does not call loyal. Those who bestow favours, distribute profits, win the hearts of inferiors, and thereby make names, thy servant does not call benevolent. Those who leave the world, retire from active life, and thereby reprove the sovereign, thy servant does not call righteous. Those who serve abroad as envoys to other feudal lords, exhaust the strength of the native country, and wait for the moment of crisis to molest the sovereign, saying, "the inter-state friendship, unless thy servant be in charge of it, cannot become intimate; the inter-state enmity, unless thy servant be in charge of it, cannot be appeased," and thereby aim to win the sovereign's confidence, to be trusted with state affairs, and to increase their influence by lowering the name of the sovereign and benefit their own families by hampering the resources of the country, thy servant does not call wise. These examples are common practices prevailing in the dangerous age, which the law of the early kings would weed out.

The law of the early kings said: "Every minister shall not exercise his authority nor shall he scheme for his own advantage but shall follow His Majesty's instructions. He shall not do evil but shall follow His Majesty's path." Thus, in antiquity the people of an orderly age abode by the public law, discarded all self-seeking tricks, devoted their attention and united their actions to wait for employment by their superiors.

Indeed, the lord of men, if he has to inspect all officials himself, finds the day not long enough and his energy not great enough. Moreover, if the superior uses his eyes, the inferior ornaments his looks; if the superior uses his ears, the inferior ornaments his voice; and, if the superior uses his mind, the inferior twists his sentences. Regarding these three faculties as insufficient, the early kings left aside their own talents and relied on laws and numbers and acted carefully on the principles of reward and punishment. Thus, what the early kings did was to the purpose of political order. Their laws, however simplified, were not violated. Despite the autocratic rule within the four seas, the cunning could not apply their fabrications; the deceitful could not practise their plausibilities; and the wicked found no means to resort to, so that, though as far away from His Majesty as beyond a thousand li, they dared not change their words, and though as near by His Majesty as the courtiers, they dared not cover the good and disguise the wrong. The officials in the court, high and low, never trespassed against each other nor did they ever override their posts. Accordingly the sovereign's administrative routine did not take up all his time while each day afforded enough leisure. Such was due to the way the ruler trusted to his position.

Indeed, the minister trespasses against the sovereign in the court as in the lie of the land. Leading forward step by step, he makes the lord of men forget the starting-point until he turns from east to west and is not conscious of the change. To guard against such misleadings, the early kings set up the south-pointing needle to ascertain the directions of sun-rise and sun-set. Thus, every intelligent ruler ordered his ministers never to realize their wishes outside the realm of law and never to bestow their favours inside the realm of law—in short, never to commit any unlawful act. As strict laws are means to forbid extra-judicial action and exterminate selfishness and severe penalties are means to execute decrees and censure inferiors, legal authority should not be deputed to anybody and legal control should not be held behind the same gate. Should legal authority and control be kept in common by both ruler and minister, all varieties of wickedness would come into existence. If law is of no faith, its enforcement by the ruler is absurd. If penalty is not definite, culprits cannot be overcome. Hence the saying: "The skilful carpenter, though able to mark the inked string with his surveying eyes and calculating mind, always takes compasses and squares as measures before his marking; the great genius, though able to accomplish his task with swift move, always takes the law of the early kings as the ruler before his accomplishment." Thus, if the inked string is straight, crooked timbers will be shaved; if the water-level is even, high gnarls will be planed down. Similarly, if weights and balances are well hung up, what is too heavy will be decreased and what is too light will be increased; once pecks and bushels are established, what is too much will be decreased and what is too little will be increased.

Hence to govern the state by law is to praise the right and blame the wrong.

The law does not fawn on the noble; the string does not yield to the crooked. Whatever the law applies to, the wise cannot reject nor can the brave defy. Punishment for fault never skips ministers, reward for good never misses commoners. Therefore, to correct the faults of the high, to rebuke the vices of the low, to suppress disorders, to decide against mistakes, to subdue the arrogant, to straighten the crooked, and to unify the folkways of the masses, nothing could match the law. To warn the officials and overawe the people, to rebuke obscenity and danger, and to forbid falsehood and deceit, nothing could match penalty. If penalty is severe, the noble cannot discriminate against the humble. If law is definite, the superiors are esteemed and not violated. If the superiors are not violated, the sovereign will become strong and able to maintain the proper course of government. Such was the reason why the early kings esteemed legalism and handed it down to posterity. Should the lord of men discard law and practise selfishness, high and low would have no distinction.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 7.

The Two Handles

The means whereby the intelligent ruler controls his ministers are two handles only. The two handles are chastisement and commendation. What are meant by chastisement and commendation? To inflict death or torture upon culprits, is called chastisement; to bestow encouragements or rewards on men of merit, is called commendation.

Ministers are afraid of censure and punishment but fond of encouragement and reward. Therefore, if the lord of men uses the handles of chastisement and commendation, all ministers will dread his severity and turn to his liberality. The villainous ministers of the age are different. To men they hate they would by securing the handle of chastisement from the sovereign ascribe crimes; on men they love they would by securing the handle of commendation from the sovereign bestow rewards. Now supposing the lord of men placed the authority of punishment and the profit of reward not in his hands but let the ministers administer the affairs of reward and punishment instead, then everybody in the country would fear the ministers and slight the ruler, and turn to the ministers and away from the ruler. This is the calamity of the ruler's loss of the handles of chastisement and commendation.

As illustration, that which enables the tiger to subject the dog, is his claws and fangs. Supposing the tiger cast aside its claws and fangs and let the dog use them, the tiger would in turn be subjected by the dog. The lord of men controls his ministers by means of chastisement and commendation. Now supposing the ruler of men cast aside the handles of chastisement and commendation and let the ministers use them, the ruler would in turn be controlled by the ministers.

Thus, T'ien Ch'ang petitioned for rank and bounties, which he in his turn conferred upon the body of officials, and enlarged pecks and bushels, by virtue of which he distributed alms among the hundred surnames. In other words, Duke Chien lost the handle of commendation, which T'ien Ch'ang set to use. In the long run Duke Chien was murdered. Likewise, Tzu-han once said to the Ruler of Sung: "Indeed, rewards and charities being what the people like, may Your Highness bestow them! Slaughter and punishments being

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what the people dislike, may thy servant beg leave to enforce them?" Thenceforth, the Ruler of Sung lost the handle of chastisement, which Tzu-han set to use. Hence followed the molestation of the Ruler of Sung. Inasmuch as T'ien Ch'ang used only the handle of commendation, Duke Chien was murdered; inasmuch as Tzu-han used only the handle of chastisement, the Ruler of Sung was molested. Therefore, if any minister of the present age uses both the handles of chastisement and commendation, the danger of his ruler will be more serious than that of Duke Chien and the Ruler of Sung. For this reason, every sovereign molested, murdered, deluded, or deceived, because he had lost the handles of chastisement and commendation and let the ministers use them, invited danger and ruin accordingly.

The lord of men, whenever he wants to suppress culprits, must see norm accord with name and word never differ from task. 8 Whenever a minister utters a word, the ruler should in accordance with his word assign him a task to accomplish, and in accordance with the task call the work to account. If the work corresponds with the task, and the task corresponds with the word, he should be rewarded. On the contrary, if the work is not equivalent to the task, and the task not equivalent to the word, he should be punished. Accordingly, any minister whose word is big but whose work is small should be punished. Not that the work is small, but that the work is not equivalent to the name. Again, any minister whose word is small but whose work is big should also be punished. Not that big work is not desirable but that the discrepancy between the work and the name is worse than the accomplishment of the big work. Hence the minister should be punished.

Once in by-gone days, Marquis Chao of Han was drunk and fell into a nap. The crown-keeper, seeing the ruler exposed to cold, put a coat over him. When the Marquis awoke, he was glad and asked the attendants, "Who put more clothes on my body?" "The crown-keeper did," they replied. Then the Marquis found the coat-keeper guilty and put the crown-keeper to death. He punished the coat-keeper for the neglect of his duty, and the crown-keeper for the overriding of his post. Not that the Marquis was not afraid of catching cold but that he thought their trespassing the assigned duties was worse than his catching cold.

Thus, when an intelligent ruler keeps ministers in service, no minister is allowed either to override his post and get merits thereby nor to utter any word not equivalent to a fact. Whoever overrides his post is put to death; whoever makes a word not equivalent to a fact is punished. If everyone has to do his official duty, and if whatever he says has to be earnest, then the ministers cannot associate for treasonable purposes.

The lord of men has two difficulties to face: If he appoints only worthy men to office, ministers will on the pretence of worthiness attempt to deceive their ruler; if he makes arbitrary promotions of officials, the state affairs will always be menaced. Similarly, if the lord of men loves worthiness, ministers will gloss over their defects in order to meet the ruler's need. In consequence, no minister will show his true heart. If no minister shows his true heart, the lord of men will find no way to tell the worthy from the unworthy.

For instance, because the King of Yüeh liked brave men, the people made light of death; because King Ling of Ch'u liked slender waists, the country became full of starvelings; because Duke Huan of Ch'i was by nature jealous and fond of women, Shu Tiao castrated himself in order to administer the harem; because Duke Huan liked different tastes, Yi-ya steamed the head of his son and served Duke Huan with the rare taste; because Tzu-k'uai of Yen liked worthies, Tzu-chih pretended that he would not accept the state.

Therefore, if the ruler reveals his hate, ministers will conceal their motives; if the ruler reveals his likes, ministers will pretend to talent; and if the ruler reveals his wants, ministers will have the opportunity to disguise their feelings and attitudes.

That was the reason why Tzu-chih, by pretending to worthiness, usurped the ruler's throne; and why Shu Tiao and Yi-ya, by complying with their ruler's wants, molested their ruler. Thus Tzu-k'uai died in consequence of a civil war and Duke Huan was left unburied until worms from his corpse crawled outdoors. What was the cause of these incidents? It was nothing but the calamity of the rulers' revelation of true hearts to ministers. Every minister in his heart of hearts does not necessarily love the ruler. If he does, it is for the sake of his own great advantage.

In these days, if the lord of men neither covers his feelings nor conceals his motives, and if he lets ministers have a chance to molest their master, the ministers will have no difficulty in following the examples of Tzu-chih and T'iench'ang. Hence the saying: "If the ruler's likes and hate be concealed, the ministers' true hearts will be revealed. If the ministers reveal their true hearts, the ruler never will be deluded."

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 8.

Wielding the Sceptre

Heaven has its destiny; human beings have their destiny, too. Indeed, anything smelling good and tasting soft, be it rich wine or fat meat, is delicious to the mouth, but it causes the body illness. The beauty having delicate skin and pretty white teeth pleases feeling but exhausts energy. Hence avoid excesses and extremes. Then you will suffer no harm.

The sceptre should never be shown. For its inner nature is non-assertion. The state affairs may be scattered in the four directions but the key to their administration is in the centre. The sage holding this key in hand, people from the four directions come to render him meritorious services. He remains empty and waits for their services, and they will exert their abilities by themselves. With the conditions of the four seas clearly in mind, he can see the Yang by means of the Yin. After appointing attendants on his right and left, he can open the gate and meet anybody. He can go onward with the two handles without making any change. To apply them without cessation is said to be acting on the right way of government.

Indeed, everything has its function; every material has its utility. When everybody works according to his special qualification, both superior and inferior will not have to do anything. Let roosters herald the dawn and let cats watch for rats. When everything exercises its special qualification, the ruler will not have to do anything. If the ruler has to exert any special skill of his own, it means that affairs are not going right. If he is conceited and fond of displaying his ability, he will be deceived by the inferiors. If he is sagacious and lenient, the inferiors will take advantage of his capacity. If superior and inferior exchange their roles, the state never will be in order.

The way to assume oneness starts from the study of terminology. When names are rectified, things will be settled; when names are distorted, things will shift around. Therefore, the sage holds oneness in hand and rests in tranquillity, letting names appoint themselves to tasks and affairs settle themselves. If he does not show off his sagacity, the inferiors will reveal their earnestness and uprightness. He then appoints them to office in accordance with their words, and thus lets them choose their tasks. He confers upon them powers in accordance with their needs and thus lets them raise their ranks. Thus, he rectifies their names first, then works with them, and finally makes them accomplish the tasks. Therefore, he promotes them through the examination of names. When the name is not clear, he seeks for its connotation by tracing its form. After the form and the name are compared and identified, he puts the product into use. If both form and name have to be true, the inferiors will have to reveal their true hearts, too. Carefully attend to your duties, wait for decrees from heaven to come, and never miss the key to government. Then you will become a sage.

The way of the sage is to discard his own wisdom and talent. If his own wisdom and talent are not discarded, it will be hard for him to keep a constant principle of government. When the people exert wisdom and talent, they will suffer disasters; when the sovereign exerts them, the state will be in danger and on the decline. So, conform to the way of heaven, act on the principle of human life, and then consider, compare, and investigate them. Where there is an ending, there is always a beginning. Be empty and reposed, keep behind others, and never assert yourself before anybody else. For the calamity of the ruler originates in self-assertion. Nevertheless, though you have faith in the inferiors' words, you must not listen to them blindly. Then the myriad people will uniformly obey you.

Indeed, Tao is so magnificent as to have no form. Teh is evidently systematic and so extensive as to permeate all lives. When it functions proportionately, the myriad things are formed, though it does not add to their security. Thus Tao is omnipresent in all events. So, follow and preserve its decrees and live and die at the right time. Compare the names of different things, and trace the common source of the principles underlying them.

Hence the saying: "Tao does not identify itself with anything but itself. Teh does not identify itself with the Yin and the Yang. The balance does not identify itself with lightness and heaviness. The inked string does not identify itself with ingress and egress. The reed-organ does not identify itself with dryness and wetness. The ruler does not identify himself with the ministers." These six are effects of Tao.

Tao is never a pair. Hence it is called one. Therefore, the intelligent ruler esteems singleness, the characteristic feature of Tao. Accordingly, ruler and minister do not follow the same path. When the minister presents any word to the throne, the ruler holds to the name and the minister must work out the form. When form and name are compared and found identical, superior and inferior will have peace and harmony.

In general, the right way to listen to the ministers is to take what they utter as the measure of what they harvest. The ruler investigates their names so as to determine their offices, and clarify their duties so as to distinguish between different varieties of work. The right way to hear different utterances is to look drunken. Never start moving your own lips and teeth before the subordinates do. The longer I keep quiet, the sooner others move their lips and teeth. As they themselves move their lips and teeth, I can thereby understand their real intentions. Right and wrong words coming to the fore in such fashion, the ruler does not have to join issue with them.

To remain empty and tranquil and practise inaction is the real status of Tao. To compare, refer, and analogize things, is the form of affairs. Thus you sometime compare them and analogize them to other things and sometime refer them to and accord them with the condition of emptiness. When the root and trunk of a tree never change, motion and rest will cause no loss of its original status. Make the inferiors feel uneasy. Improve their actions by practising inaction. When you like them, affairs will multiply; when you hate them, resentment will appear. So, discard both like and hate and make your empty mind the abode of Tao.

If the ruler does not share the supreme authority with the ministers, the people will regard this as a great blessing. The ruler should never discuss matters of right and wrong with the ministers but let them carry on the discussion themselves. If he locks the inner bar and sees the courtyard from inside the room, then just as differences by inches and feet would come to the fore, so will all ministers know their proper places. Who deserves reward, will be properly rewarded; who deserves punishment, will be properly punished. If everybody pays for whatever he does, and if good and evil visit him without fail, who would dare to distrust the law? Once compasses and squares are established and one angle is made right, the other three angles will come out one after another.

If the sovereign is not mysterious, the ministers will find opportunity to take. For, if his task is improper, they will change their routine of work. To behave as high as heaven and as thick as earth is the way to dissolve all worries. To do as heaven and earth do is the way to dismiss all discriminations between strangers and relatives. Whoever can model himself upon heaven and earth is called a sage.

To govern the interior of the court you may appoint men to office but should never take kindly to them. To govern the exterior of the court you may put one man in charge of one office but should never allow him to act arbitrarily. If things are so, how can anybody shake the ruler's authority or gain any undue power? If there are numerous men frequenting the gates of the high officials' residences, it will cause the ruler anxieties. At the height of political order no minister can surmise what is in the ruler's mind. If the ruler closely accords form with name, the people will attend to their daily business. To leave this key and seek anything else is to fall into serious bewilderment. This will eventually increase the number of cunning people and fill the ruler's right and left with wicked ministers. Hence the saying: "Never ennoble anybody in such wise that he may molest you; and never trust anybody so exclusively that you lose the capital and the state to him."

If the calf is larger than the thigh, it is hard to run fast. As soon as the sovereign ceases being mysterious, the tiger will follow him from behind. If he takes no notice of it, the tiger will behave like a dog. At this moment, if the sovereign does not stop it, the false dog will increase its partisans. The tigers will form a party and murder the mother. If the sovereign has no ministers loyal to him, what kind of a state has he? Yet as soon as the sovereign begins to enforce laws, even tigers will become meek; as soon as he sets himself to inflict penalties, even the largest tiger will become tame. Laws and penalties being of faith, tigers will turn into ordinary human beings and revert to their due status.

Any ruler wishing to give peace to the state must disperse the partisans of powerful ministers. If he does not disperse their partisans, they will enlarge their parties. Any ruler wishing to maintain order in his country must adjust the distribution of his gifts. If he does not adjust the distribution of his gifts, rapacious men will seek for extraordinary profits. To grant them requests will then be the same as to lend axes to enemies. It is not right to lend out such things. For they will be used for assaulting the ruler.

The Yellow Emperor made the saying: "Superior and inferior wage one hundred battles a day." The inferior conceals his tricks which he uses in testing the superior; the superior manipulates rules and measures in splitting the influences of the inferior. Therefore the institution of rules and measures is the sovereign's treasure, the possession of partisans and adherents is the minister's treasure. Such being the situation, if the minister does not murder the ruler, it is because his partisans and adherents are not yet sufficient. Therefore, if the superior loses one or two inches, the inferior will gain eight or sixteen feet. The ruler in possession of a state never enlarges the capital. The minister following the true path never empowers his own family. The ruler following the right way never empowers any minister. Because, once empowered and enriched, the inferior will attempt to supplant the superior. So, guard against dangers and be afraid of eventualities. Install the crown prince quickly. Then many troubles find no way to appear.

To detect culprits inside the court and guard against crooks outside it, the ruler must personally hold his rules and measures. Make the powerful wane and the powerless wax. Both waning and waxing should have limitations. Never allow the people to form juntas and thereby deceive their superiors with one accord. Make the powerful wane like the moon, and the powerless wax like the heat of the bored fire. Simplify orders and dignify censures. Make the application of

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penal laws definite. Never loosen your bow; otherwise, you will find two males in one nest. Where there are two males in one nest, there the fighting will continue at sixes and sevens. When wolves are in the stable, sheep never will flourish. When two masters are in one house, nothing can be accomplished. When both man and wife manage the household, children will not know whom to obey.

The ruler of men should often stretch the tree but never allow its branches to flourish. Luxuriant branches will cover the gates of public buildings, till private houses become full, public halls empty, and the sovereign deluded. So, stretch out the tree often but never allow any branch to grow outward. Any branch that grows outward will molest the position of the sovereign. Again, stretch out the tree often but never allow any branch to grow larger than the stem. When the branches are large and the stem is small, the tree will be unable to endure spring winds. When the tree cannot endure spring winds, the branches will damage its kernel. Similarly, when illegitimate sons are many, the heir apparent will have worries and anxieties. The only way to check them is to stretch out the tree often and never let its branches flourish. If the tree is stretched out often, partisans and adherents of the wicked ministers will disperse. When the roots and the stem are dug up, the tree is no longer alive. Fill up the foaming fountain with mud and never let the water clear. Search the bosoms of ministers and take away their powers. The sovereign should exercise such powers himself with the speed of the lightning and with the dignity of the thunder.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 9.

Eight Villainies

In general there are eight ways whereby ministers are led to commit villainy:—

The first is said to be "through the bribery of sharers of the same bed". What is meant by "through the bribery of sharers of the same bed"? In reply I say: By graceful ladies, beloved concubines, feminine courtiers, and pretty lads, the lord of men is bewildered. Counting on the sovereign's pleasant rest from governmental work and taking advantage of his being drunken and satiated, the sharers of the same bed would get from him what they want. This is the way to secure unfailing grants. Therefore, ministers bribe them in secret with gold and jewelry and thereby make them bewilder the sovereign. This is said to be "through the bribery of sharers of the same bed".

The second is said to be "through the bribery of bystanders". What is meant by "through the bribery of bystanders"? In reply I say: Actors, jokers, and clowns as well as attendants and courtiers would say, "At your service, at your service," before the sovereign has given any order, and say, "Yes, yes," before he has commanded them to do anything, thus taking orders ahead of his words and looking at his facial expressions and judging his needs by his colour in order thereby to render him service before he makes up his mind. Such people advance and withdraw en bloc, respond and reply with one accord, thus identifying their deeds and unifying their words so as to move the sovereign's mind. Therefore, ministers bribe them in secret with gold, jewelry, curios, and the like, and commit unlawful acts to their advantage and thereby make them beguile the sovereign. This is said to be "through the bribery of bystanders".

The third is said to be "through the entertainment of uncles and brothers". What is meant by "through the entertainment of uncles and brothers"? In reply I say: Sons by concubines are much loved by the sovereign; prime ministers and court officials are consulted by the sovereign. All such people exert their energies and exchange their ideas while the sovereign always listens to them. Ministers, accordingly, entertain concubines and their sons with music and beauties, and win the hearts of prime ministers and court officials with twisted words and sentences. Then through them they make promises and submit projects to the throne, so that when the tasks are accomplished, their ranks are raised, their bounties increased, and their minds thereby satisfied. In this way they make them violate the sovereign. This is said to be "through the entertainment of uncles and brothers".

The fourth is said to be "through fostering calamities". What is meant by "through fostering calamities"? In reply I say: The sovereign enjoys beautifying his palatial buildings, terraces, and pools, and decorating boys, girls, dogs, and horses, so as to amuse his mind. This will eventually bring him calamities. Therefore, ministers exhaust the energy of the people to beautify palatial buildings, terraces, and pools, and increase exactions and taxation for decorating boys, girls, dogs, and horses, and thereby amuse the sovereign and disturb his mind, thus following his wants and harvesting their own advantages thereby. This is said to be "through fostering calamities".

The fifth is said to be "through buying up vagabonds". What is meant by "through buying up vagabonds"? In reply I say: Ministers distribute money out of public revenues to please the masses of people and bestow small favours to win the hearts of the hundred surnames, and thereby make everybody, whether in the court or in the market-place, praise them, and, by deluding the sovereign in this manner, get what they want. This is said to be "through buying up vagabonds".

The sixth is said to be "through the employment of fluent and convincing speakers". What is meant by "through the employment of fluent and convincing speakers"? In reply I say: The sovereign, with all avenues to news blockaded, rarely hears any disputes and discussions and is therefore apt to change his mind by eloquent persuaders. Accordingly, ministers find eloquent speakers from among the subjects of other feudal lords and feed able persuaders in the country, then make them speak about their self-seeking designs with skilfully polished words and fluent and convincing phrases, show the sovereign the direction of advantages and powers, overawe him with the location of calamities and disadvantages, manipulate all kinds of false sayings, and thereby deprave him. This is said to be "through the employment of fluent and convincing speakers".

The seventh is said to be "through the arrogation of authority and strength". What is meant by "through the arrogation of authority and strength"? In reply I say: The ruler of men maintains his authority and strength by keeping all officials and the hundred surnames on his side. Whatever he considers good is regarded as good by the officials and the people; whatever he never considers good is not regarded as good by the officials and the people. Ministers then gather bold swordsmen and desperate rascals to display their authority and make it known that whoever sides with them always gains and whoever does not side with them is bound to die, and thereby overawe the officials and the people and practise selfishness. This is said to be "through the arrogation of authority and strength".

The eighth is said to be "through the accumulation of support from the four directions". What is meant by "through the accumulation of support from the four directions"? In reply I say: The ruler of men, if his country is small, has to serve big powers, and, if his army is weak, has to fear strong armies. Any request by a big power the small country always has to accept; any demand by a strong army the weak army always has to obey. Accordingly, ministers raise exactions and taxations, exhaust public treasuries and armouries, empty the provisions of the country, and thereby serve big powers and utilise their influence to mislead the ruler. In serious cases, they would even send for foreign troops to assemble in the border-lands while they restrain their sovereign inside the country. Otherwise, they would invite special envoys from enemy states to molest their ruler and thereby overawe him. This is said to be "through the accumulation of support from the four directions".

These eight in general are the ways whereby ministers are led to commit villainy and the sovereigns of the present age are deluded, molested, and deprived of their possessions. Therefore, every sovereign should not fail to study them carefully.

The intelligent ruler, as regards women, may enjoy their beauty but ought not to follow their entreaties and comply with their requests.

As regards those near him, though he enjoys their presence, he must always call their words to account and never let them utter any uncalled-for opinion.

As regards uncles, brothers, and chief vassals, the ruler, on adopting their words, ought to hold them liable to penalties in case of failure and appoint them to office in case of success but never give them any arbitrary promotion.

On seeking pleasures and enjoying curios, the ruler ought to have a definite personnel in charge of them and allow nobody to bring such objects in and out at pleasure and thereby let the ministers anticipate the sovereign's want.

In regard to favour-distribution, it ought to be done on the initiative of the ruler to open the emergency treasury and public storehouses and benefit the people. No minister should be allowed to bestow personal favours.

Regarding persuasions and discussions, the ruler must ascertain the abilities of men reputed to be good and testify to the defects of those reputed to be bad, but never allow the ministers to speak to one another about them.

As regards bold and strong men, the ruler should neither neglect reward for merit on the battle-field nor remit punishment for boldness in the village quarrel, and allow no minister to give them money in private.

With respect to the requests made by other feudal lords, if they are lawful, grant them; if they are unlawful, spurn them.

The so-called doomed ruler is not one who no longer has a state but one who has a state but not in his grip. If he lets his ministers control the home affairs through the support they receive from abroad, the ruler of men will be doomed to ruin. Granting that to obey big powers is to save one's own country from ruin, the ruin will in case of obedience come faster than in the case of disobedience. Hence never obey them. As soon as the ministers realize that the ruler will not obey, they will not make friends abroad with other feudal lords. As soon as the feudal lords realize that he will not obey, they will not trust that any of his ministers can befool him.

The reason why the intelligent ruler establishes posts, offices, ranks, and bounties, is to promote the worthy and encourage the men of merit. Hence the saying: "The worthy get large bounties and take charge of high offices; the men of merit have honourable rank and receive big rewards." The sovereign appoints the worthy to office by estimating their abilities, and bestows bounties according to the various merits. For this reason worthies do not disguise their abilities in serving the sovereign; and men of merit rejoice in advancing their careers. As a result, tasks are accomplished and merits achieved.

That is not so nowadays. There is neither any discrimination between the worthy and the unworthy nor any distinction between men of merit and of no merit. Anybody esteemed by the feudal lords is taken into service. Any request made by the courtiers is granted. Uncles and brothers as well as chief vassals ask for ranks and bounties from the sovereign and sell them off to their inferiors and thereby accumulate money and advantages and support their personal dependents. Therefore, men who have much money and many advantages purchase offices in order to become noble, and those who have friendships with the courtiers ask for grants in order to uplift their social prestige. In consequence, officials and officers who have rendered the country meritorious services are lost sight of, and the shift of posts and offices runs off the legitimate track. For this reason, everybody in governmental service overrides his post, cultivates friendship with foreign powers, neglects his duties, and covets money in every way, with the result that worthies are disheartened and will no longer exert their efforts while men of merit idle their time away and give up their careers. Such is the atmosphere of a decaying country, indeed!

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 10.

Ten Faults

Of the ten faults:—

The first is to practise loyalty in small ways, which betrays loyalty in big ways.

The second is to esteem small advantages, which hampers big advantages.

The third is to force personal bias, assert oneself, and behave discourteously before feudal lords, which leads to self-destruction.

The fourth is to neglect political counsels and indulge in the five musical notes, which plunges one into misery.

The fifth is to keep covetous and self-opinionated and rejoice in nothing but gain, which is the root of state-ruin and self-destruction.

The sixth is to indulge in women singers and neglect state affairs, which forecasts the catastrophe of state-ruin.

The seventh is to leave home for distant travels and ignore remonstrances, which is the surest way to endanger one's august position at home.

The eighth is to commit faults, turn no ear to loyal ministers, and enforce one's own opinions, which destroys one's high reputation and causes people to laugh at one.

The ninth is not to consolidate the forces within one's boundaries but to rely on feudal lords abroad, which causes the country the calamity of dismemberment.

The tenth is to insult big powers despite the smallness of one's own country and take no advice from remonstrants, which paves the way to the extermination of one's posterity.

What is meant by "practising small loyalty"?

Once King Kung of Ch'u and Duke Li of Chin fought at Yen-ling. The Ch'u troops suffered a defeat. King Kung was wounded in the eye. During the bloody battle Tzu-fan, High Commissioner of the Army, was thirsty and wanted something to drink. His attendant, Shu Yang-ko, brought a cup of wine and presented it to him. "Fie! Get away!" exclaimed Tzu-fan. "It's wine." "No, it isn't wine," replied Yang-ko. Tzu-fan, accordingly, took the cup and drank the wine. Habitually fond of wine, he found it so delicious that he could not keep it from his mouth till he became drunk. When the fighting was over, King Kung wanted to have another battle and sent for the High Commissioner of the Army, Tzu-fan. The High Commissioner of the Army, Tzu-fan, gave a pain in the heart as excuse for his absence from the conference. Thereupon King Kung rode in a carriage and went to make a personal call. As soon as he entered the tent of the Commissioner, he smelt wine and turned back right away, saying: "In to-day's battle, I, the King, was wounded. The only person I have looked to for help is the High Commissioner of the Army. Now that the High Commissioner of the Army is drunken in this manner, he is certainly ruining the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain of the Ch'u State and feeling no concern for the welfare of my subjects. I, the King, have no reason to have him with me on the battle-field any longer." So he turned his forces homeward and retreated. He then beheaded Tzu-fan as an expiatory punishment for his disgrace of the King. Thus, the presentation of wine by Shu Yang-ko was not meant to revenge himself on Tzu-fan, but his mind that loved him with loyalty was just enough to put him to death. Hence the saying: "To practise loyalty in small ways betrays loyalty in big ways."

What is meant by "esteeming small advantages"?

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Of old, when Duke Hsien of Chin thought of borrowing the way through Yü to invade Kuo, Hsün Hsi said: "If we bribe the Duke of Yü with the jade from Ch'ui-chi and the team of the Ch'ü breed, he will certainly let us have the way." "The jade from Ch'ui-chi," said the Duke, "was the treasure bequeathed by the late ruler. The team of the Ch'ü breed horses is my best possession. Should they accept our present but refuse us the way, what could we do then?" "If they refuse us the way," said Hsün Hsi in reply, "they never will accept our present. If they accept our present and lend us the way, it will be the same as to take the treasure from the inner treasury and keep it in the outer one or to lead the horses out of the inner stable and put them into the outer one. May Your Highness have no worry about it!" "Very well," the Duke said, and he then sent Hsün Hsi off to bribe the Duke of Yü with the jade from Ch'ui-chi and the team of the Ch'ü breed and thereby ask for the way though the country.

The Duke of Yü, regarding the jade and the horses as inordinate advantages, thought of granting the request. Against this idea Kung Chi-ch'i remonstrated with him, saying: "Your Highness should not grant the request. Indeed, Yü has Kuo as neighbour just as the carriage has its wheels. Just as the wheels depend on the carriage, so does the carriage depend on the wheels. Such is the relationship between Yü and Kuo. Suppose we lend Chin the way. Then, if Kuo falls at dawn, Yü will follow at dusk. It is therefore impossible. May Your Highness never grant the request!" The Duke of Yü would not listen to this advice, and he let Chin have the way.

Three years elapsed after his attack on Kuo, his conquest of the country, and victorious return to his home-land, when Hsün Hsi in turn raised armies to invade Yü and also conquered it. When Hsün Hsi led the horses homeward, brought the jade along, and reported the result of the campaign to Duke Hsien. With delight Duke Hsien said: "The jade is as it was before, but the teeth of the horses have grown somewhat longer."

Thus the Duke of Yü saw his army driven into peril and his country dismembered. Why? It was because of his love of small advantages and unconcern about its harmfulness. Hence the saying: "To esteem small advantages hampers large advantages."

What is meant by "enforcing personal bias"?

In by-gone days, when King Ling of Ch'u called an inter-state conference at Shen, as the Crown Prince of Sung arrived late, he arrested him and put him into jail. Further, he insulted the Ruler of Hsü and detained Ch'ing Feng of Ch'i. Against these outrageous acts a certain middle chamberlain remonstrated with the King, saying: "In holding a conference of the feudal lords nobody should break the inter-state etiquette. For it involves a death-orlife turning-point to every country. In antiquity, after Chieh held the conference at Yu-jung, Yu-min revolted; after Chow gave a spring hunting party on the Li Hills, the Eastern Barbarians revolted; and after King Yu organized the T'ai-shih League, the Western and Northern Barbarians revolted. All such incidents were due to the breach of etiquette. May Your Majesty think the matter over!" To this counsel the ruler never listened, but enforced his own opinions instead.

Before ten years elapsed, King Ling made a tour to the south, where the officials molested him. As a result, King Ling starved to death by the Dry Brook. Hence the saying: "To enforce personal bias and assert oneself leads to self-destruction."

What is meant by "indulging in the five musical notes"?

In by-gone days, when Duke Ling of Wei on his way to Chin arrived by the P'u Water, he loosened his carriage, released the horses, and set up a pavilion for sojourning Towards midnight he heard somebody playing a novel piece of music and was thereby greatly pleased. In the morning he sent men out to find the musician in the vicinity, but all came back with the report that he could not be found. Thereupon, the Duke summoned Musician Chüan and said to him: "There was somebody playing strange music last night. I have just sent men out to find the musician in the vicinity, but all reported that they had been unable to find him. It might be the performance by some devil or spirit. Would you, therefore, listen to it and copy it for me?" "At your service," replied Musician Chüan. So he sat still at night and played the harp to copy the music. Next day Musician Chüan gave his report to the Duke, saying: "Thy servant got it but he is still lacking in practice. Let us stay here another night and thy servant will practise it." "Certainly," said Duke Ling. So they spent another night there. By the following day he had mastered it, wherefore they left for Chin.

Duke P'ing of Chin entertained them with a wine feast on the Shih-i Tower. When the drinking was at its height, Duke Ling stood up and said: "There is a novel piece of music. May I have the honour to show it?" "Fine," replied Duke P'ing. Thereupon Duke Ling summoned Musician Chüan and ordered him to sit beside Musician K'uang, hold the harp, and play it. Before the performance was finished, Musician K'uang held down his hands and stopped the music, saying, "This is a state-ruining piece of music, which should not be performed to its end." "Where does this music come from? Do you know?" asked Duke P'ing. "This was composed by Musician Yen," replied Musician K'uang, "and presented to King Chow. It was a piece of frivolous music. When King Wu attacked Chow, Musician Yen ran eastward as far as the P'u Water, where he drowned himself. Therefore, this music has been heard only by the P'u Water. At any rate, whoever hears this music performed, is bound to see his native soil dismembered. Its performance, therefore, should not be completed." "What amuses me in particular is music," remarked Duke P'ing. "Let him finish the performance." Musician Chüan, accordingly, performed the piece to its end. "What is the name of this tune?" Duke P'ing asked Musician K'uang. "It is the so-called 'pure sibilant tune'," replied Musician K'uang.

"Is the pure sibilant tune the saddest among all?" asked the Duke further. "No," replied Musician K'uang, "it is not as sad as the pure lingual tune." "Is it possible to hear the pure lingual tune?" asked the Duke still further. "No," replied Musician K'uang. "In antiquity, those who heard the pure lingual tune were all rulers of virtue and justice. Now, as Your Highness's virtue is still shallow, Your Highness as yet does not deserve to hear it." "Music amusing me in particular, let me hear it?" asked the Duke insistently. Thereby Musician K'uang was forced to hold up the harp and play it. Following the performance of the first part, there came from the south black cranes, two times eight, and assembled at the end of the ridge of the gallery roof. After the performance of the second part, they lined up themselves in a row. When the third part was performed, they raised their necks to sing and stretched their wings to dance. Among the notes the pitches of kung and shang echoed in heaven. Thereby Duke P'ing was much pleased and the audience were all amused.

Meanwhile, Duke P'ing held a cup of wine and rose to drink with the expression of his wish for the health and happiness of Musician K'uang. When he took his seat again, he asked, "Is there no tune sadder than the pure lingual tune?" "It is not as sad as the pure dental tune," replied Musician K'uang. "Is it then possible to hear the pure dental tune?" asked Duke P'ing. "No," replied Musician K'uang. "In by-gone days the Yellow Emperor once called a meeting of devils and spirits at the top of the Western T'ai Mountain, he rode in a divine carriage pulled by dragons, with Pi-fang keeping pace with the linchpin, Ch'ih-yu marching in the front, Earl Wind sweeping the dirt, Master Rain sprinkling water on the road, tigers and wolves leading in the front, devils and spirits following from behind, rising serpents rolling on the ground, and male and female phoenixes flying over the top. There in such a splendid manner he met the devils and spirits, where he composed the pure dental tune. Now, as Your Highness's virtue is still shallow, Your Highness does not as yet deserve to hear it. If Your Highness does hear it, thy servant is afraid lest there should be a mishap!" "Being weighed down with years and amused by music in particular," said Duke P'ing, "let me hear the tune performed?" Thereby Musician K'uang was forced to play it. Following the performance of the first part, there arose dark clouds from the north-western direction. After the performance of the second part, there came a hurricane and then a downpour followed, tearing the tents and curtains, breaking the bowls and cups, and sweeping down the tiles of the gallery. The audience all dispersed while Duke P'ing, much terrified, had to hide himself in a gallery room. Thenceforth the Chin State continually had dry weather and suffered a barren land for three years, until finally Duke P'ing himself caught a mortal disease. Hence the saying: "To neglect political counsels and enjoy the five musical notes drives one to misery."

What is meant by "keeping covetous and self-opinionated"?

Of old, Earl Chih Yao led his allies, Chao, Han, and Wey, to attack Fan and Chung-hang and destroyed them. After his victorious return, he rested his soldiers for several years. Then he sent men to demand land from Han. When Viscount K'ang of Han decided not to give it, Tuan Kuei opposed him, saying: "We must not fail to comply with the demand. Earl Chih, indeed, is by nature fond of gain, self-conceited and opinionated. Now that he has sent his men to demand land from us, if we do not give it, he will certainly turn his troops against Han. Suppose Your Highness comply with the demand. For, if we give, he will become over-familiar with this practice and will also demand land from other countries, any of which might fail to obey him. In case any other country fails to obey, Earl Chih will certainly impose military pressure upon her. Then Han will evade the crisis and wait for the change of the whole situation." "Right," said Viscount K'ang, and then ordered messengers to cede a county of ten thousand families to Earl Chih. Thereby Earl Chih was pleased.

Likewise, he sent men to demand land from Wey. When Viscount Hsüan of Wey decided not to give it, Chao Chia protested against the idea, saying: "When he demanded land from Han, Han complied with the demand. Now he is demanding land from Wey, if Wey does not give it, it will mean that Wey counts on its own strength and purposely antagonizes Earl Chih. In case we do not give it, he will certainly move his soldiers against Wey. We had better give it." "Right," said Viscount Hsüan, and then ordered messengers to cede a county of ten thousand families to Earl Chih.

Earl Chih finally sent men to Chao to demand the districts of Ts'ai and Kao-lang. As Viscount Hsiang of Chao refused to give them, Earl Chih formed a secret alliance with Han and Wey on purpose to invade Chao.

Thereupon Viscount Hsiang summoned Chang Meng-t'an and said to him: "Indeed, Earl Chih is by nature kind to people in appearance but is in reality unkind to everybody. For three times he has sent good-will envoys to Han and Wey, but I have not received any word from him. No doubt, he will move his troops against me. Where can I live in security then?" "Well, Tung An-yü, an able minister of Viscount Chien, governed Chin-yang very well," replied Chang Meng-t'an, "and Yin To followed his steps so closely that the surviving influences of his teachings are still effective in the locality. Suppose Your Highness were to decide to live nowhere but in Ching-yang." "Right," said the Viscount.

Then he summoned Yen-ling Yü and ordered him to lead the infantry, chariots, and cavalry to Chin-yang first, while he followed after. Upon his arrival he set himself to inspect the city-walls and the provisions stored by the five offices, and found the walls not in good repair, no grain hoarded in the storehouses, no money saved in the treasury, no armour and weapons in the armoury, and the whole city unprepared for defence measures. Feeling rather uneasy, Viscount Hsiang summoned Chang Meng-t'an and said to him: "I have inspected the city-walls as well as the provisions stored by the five offices and found nothing well prepared and equipped. How can I cope with the enemy?" "Thy servant has heard," said Chang Meng-t'an, "the sage during his governorship preserved resources among the people and not in the treasury nor in the armoury. He endeavoured to improve his teachings but did not repair the city-walls. Suppose Your Highness issue an emergency decree, requesting the people to keep enough food for three years and put any surplus amount of grain into the public storehouses, to keep enough expenses for three years and put any surplus amount of money into the state treasury, and to send all leisured men out of their families to repair the city-walls." In the evening the Viscount issued the decree. On the following day, the storehouses became unable to hold any more grain, the treasury unable to hold any more money, and the armoury unable to take in any more armour and weapons. In the course of five days the city-walls were well repaired and all provisions for defence measures were ready.

Then the Viscount summoned Chang Meng-t'an and asked: "Though our city-walls are now in good repair, provisions for defence measures are now ready, money and grain are now sufficient, and armour and weapons are now more than enough, yet what can I do without arrows?" In reply Chang Meng-t'an said: "As thy servant has heard, when Tung Tzu was governing Chin-yang, the fences of the Public Hall all had on their outer enclosures bush-clovers and thorny reeds, whose height nowadays reaches ten feet. Suppose Your Highness take them out and use them. There will then be more than enough arrows." Meanwhile, the Viscount had the reeds and the bushes taken out, had them tried, and found their stiffness not even surpassed by the strength of the stems of fragrant bamboos.

Soon afterwards the Viscount asked: "I have enough arrows, but what can I do without metal?" In reply Chang Meng-t'an said: "Thy servant has heard that when Tung Tzu was governing Chin-yang, the drawing rooms of the Public Hall and the Public Dormitory all had columns and pedestals made of refined copper. Suppose Your Highness were to get them out and use them." So the Viscount had them taken out and got more than enough metal.

No sooner than the commands and orders were established and provisions for defence measures were completed, the armies of the three enemy countries actually arrived.

Immediately after their arrival they fell on the city-walls of Chin-yang and started fighting. Yet, despite three months' engagement, they could not take the city; wherefore they spread out their troops and besieged it, and led the water of the river outside Chin-yang to inundate it. For three years they besieged the city of Chin-yang. In the meantime, the people inside had to make nests for living and hang up their pans for cooking. When money and foodstuffs were near exhaustion and officers and officials were worn out, Viscount Hsiang said to Chang Meng-t'an: "The provisions are scanty, the resources used up, and officers and officials worn out. I am afraid we shall not be able to hold out. If I want to surrender the city, to which country shall I surrender?" In reply Chang Meng-t'an said: "Thy servant has heard, 'If a wise man cannot rescue a doomed city from ruin and protect an endangered object against dangers, there is then no use esteeming wisdom.' Suppose Your Highness were to leave aside such an idea and let thy servant worm through the water and steal out to see the Rulers of Han and Wey."

When Chang Meng-t'an saw the Rulers of Han and Wey, he said: "Thy servant has heard, 'When the lips are gone, the teeth are cold.' Now that Earl Chih has led Your Highnesses to invade Chao, Chao is on the verge of destruction. After the

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fall of Chao, you both will fall next." "We know that is very likely to happen," said the two rulers, "but as Earl Chih is by nature suspicious of everybody and rarely kind to anybody, once he discloses our scheme, his devastation will befall us at once. What can we do then?" "The scheme coming out from the mouths of both of Your Highnesses," said Chang Meng-t'an, "slips only into thy servant's ears. Nobody else will ever know it." Accordingly, the two rulers promised Chang Meng-t'an the revolt of the two armies against Earl Chih and fixed a date. That night they sent Chang Meng-t'an off into Chin-yang to report their plot to Viscount Hsiang. Frightened and pleased at the same time, Viscount Hsiang welcomed Meng-t'an and repeated salutations to him.

The two rulers, after having sent Chang Meng-t'an away with the promise, called on Earl Chih. On leaving they met Chih Kuo outside the gate of the commander's headquarters. Wondering at their looks, Chih Kuo went in to see Earl Chih and said to him: "The two lords in their facial expressions reveal their oncoming insurrection." "How?" asked the Earl. "They were in high spirits," replied Chih Kuo, "and walked with mincing steps. 36 Their attitude was no longer as prudent as before. Your Highness had better take drastic measures in advance." "The covenant I made with the two lords is very solemn," remarked the Earl. "Should Chao be smashed, its territory would be divided into three portions. Therefore, I have kept intimate terms with them. They will never deceive me. Moreover, it is three years since the allied forces were entrenched around Chin-yang. Now that we will take the city in no time and enjoy the spoils, how comes it that they have different minds? It won't be possible. Better discard the idea and never worry about it. Also never let it come out of your mouth again." Next morning the two rulers again called on the Earl, went out, and once more met Chih Kuo at the gate of the commander's headquarters. Chih Kuo then went in to see the Earl and asked, "Did Your Highness pass my words to the two lords?" "How do you know?" asked the Earl. "I know because this morning after they had called on Your Highness, when they were going out and saw thy servant, their looks shifted and their eyes gazed at thy servant. Doubtless, they are plotting an insurrection. Your Highness had better kill them." "Leave them alone," said the Earl, "and never again talk about them." "No," said Chih Kuo, "you should not leave them alone. You must kill them. If you won't kill them, then cultivate your friendship with them." "How to cultivate my friendship with them?" asked the Earl. In reply Chih Kuo said: "The counsellor of Viscount Hsüan of Wey is Chao Chia and the counsellor of Viscount K'ang of Han is Tuan Kuei. Both are equally able to shift the policies of their masters. Suppose Your Highness promise their masters to enfeoff the two counsellors, each with a county of ten thousand families, after Chao is taken. In that case the two lords will have no reason to change their minds." "Upon the break-up of Chao," said Earl Chih, "I will have to divide the territory into three portions, and if in addition I have to enfeoff the two counsellors each with a county of ten thousand families, then what I get will be little. That won't do." Finding his advice not taken, Chih Kuo went away and changed his kinsmen into the Fu Clan.

On the appointed night the Chao Clan killed the enemy garrisons of the dikes and led the water to inundate the army of Earl Chih. Earl Chih's troops on keeping the water out fell into confusion. Meanwhile, Han and Wey launched a surprise attack from both sides while Viscount Hsiang led his forces to raid the front. They defeated Earl Chih's troops by long odds and captured Earl Chih. Earl Chih died, his forces were crushed, his country was divided into three, and he became a laughing-stock of the whole world. Hence the saying: "To keep covetous and self-opinionated fosters the root of self-destruction."

What is meant by "indulging in women singers"?

Of old, when Yu Yü was sent by the King of Jung to pay a courtesy visit to the court of Ch'in, Duke Mu asked him, saying: "I have heard about the right way of government but have not yet been able to witness it. I would like to know how and why the intelligent rulers of antiquity won and lost their states." In reply Yu Yü said: "Thy servant happens to have studied it carefully and found that by reason of their frugality they won their states, and by reason of their extravagance they lost their states." "I am at least worthy of asking you, an honourable scholar, about the right way of government. Yet how comes it that you put 'frugality' in your reply to my question?" asked Duke Mu. "Thy servant has heard," replied Yu Yü, "Yao, while ruling All-under-Heaven, ate from earthen plates and drank from earthen bowls. Within his dominion which extended as far as Chiao-chih in the south and Yu-tu in the north and in the east and the west as far as the horizons of sun-rise and moon-rise, sun-set and moon-set, everybody obeyed him willingly. When Yao gave up the rule over All-under-Heaven, Yü Shun accepted it. Thereupon Shun started making new table-wares. He hewed trees from the mountains and cut them into small pieces, which he first whittled, sawed, and smoothed away the traces of the axe, then lacquered them with varnish and ink, and finally transported them to the palace. Of the wood he made table-wares. Therefore, he was regarded by the feudal lords as far more extravagant than his predecessor. And the states that refused to obey him were thirteen. When Shun gave up the rule over All-under-Heaven and bequeathed it to Yü, Yü made sacrificial wares, which he varnished black outside and painted red inside. He had cushions made of pieces of thin, plain silk; mats made of water-oats and hemmed for decoration; cups and decanters embellished with pretty colours; and casks and basins made with ornaments. The extravagance having thus turned from bad to worse, the feudal states that disobeyed were thirty-three. On the downfall of the Hsia-hou Clan the Yins took the reins of government. They then constructed big vehicles and made nine pennants. Their table-wares were carved; cups and decanters were engraved; the walls of the palace were painted white and the courtyard, chalky; and cushions and mats had beautiful designs on them. Such extravagance exceeding that of the predecessors, the states that disobeyed were fifty-three. Thus, the more arts of elegance and refinement the ruling class knew, the less were those willing to obey. Hence thy servant says: 'Frugality is the right way.' "

After Yu Yü had gone out, the Duke summoned the Officer of the Censorate Liao and said to him: "I have heard that the presence of a sage in a neighbouring country is a constant threat to the enemy countries adjacent to it. Now Yu Yü is a sage, I am worrying about it. What shall I do?" In reply the Officer of the Censorate Liao said: "As thy servant has heard, the dwelling of the King of Jung is so rustic and so remote that he has never heard the music of the Central Land. Suppose Your Highness present him with women singers, disturb his state affairs thereby, then ask him to postpone the date of Yu Yü's return, and thereby keep off Yu Yü's remonstration. After the discord between ruler and minister appears, we can start plotting against their state." "Right," the Duke said, and then ordered the Officer of the Censorate Liao to take the present of sixteen women singers to the King of Jung and thereby ask him to postpone the date of Yu Yü's return. The request was granted by the King of Jung, who was greatly delighted at seeing the women singers. Thenceforth he set up wine feasts, held drinking parties, and spent every day in hearing music. He continued the same throughout the year, till half of his oxen and horses died off. When Yu Yü came back, he remonstrated with the King of Jung against such misconduct, but the King of Jung would not listen. At last Yu Yü left for Ch'in. Duke Mu of Ch'in welcomed him, appointed him Assistant Premier and asked him about the military strength and topographical features of the land of Jung. Having secured enough information, he mobilized his army and attacked the country. In consequence he annexed twelve states and extended his territory one thousand li farther. Hence the saying: "To indulge in women singers and neglect the state affairs forecasts the catastrophe of state-ruin."

What is meant by "leaving home for distant travels"?

Once upon a time, while Viscount T'ien Ch'eng was travelling on the sea and amusing himself, he gave a verbal order to all high officials, saying, "Whoever talks about going home shall be put to death." Thereupon Yen Cho-chü remarked: "Your Highness is now travelling on the sea and amusing himself. What can be done in case ministers at home plot against the state? Though you are now enjoying yourself, what will you have when back home?" In reply Viscount T'ien Ch'eng said: "I have already issued the order, saying, 'Whoever talks about going home shall be put to death.' Now that you should have disobeyed my order!" So he took up a lance to assail him. "Remember in by-gone days," said Yen Cho-chü, "Chieh killed Kuan Lung-p'eng and Chow killed Prince Pi-kan. Now, though Your Highness kills thy servant and thus makes him the third martyr in the cause of loyalty, be sure that thy servant has spoken in the interests of the whole country and not for himself." So saying, he stretched his neck forward and added, "May Your Highness strike!" At once the ruler threw away the lance and urged his carriage to hurry home. Three days after his arrival home, he heard about some people planning to prevent Viscount T'ien Ch'eng from re-entering the state capital. Thanks to Yen Cho-chü's effort, Viscount T'ien Ch'eng finally had the Ch'i State in his grip. Hence the saying: "To leave home for distant travels and ignore remonstrants is the surest way to endanger one's august position at home."

What is meant by "committing faults and turn no ear to loyal ministers"?

In by-gone days, Duke Huan of Ch'i called the feudal lords to meet nine times, brought All-under-Heaven under one rule, and became the first of the Five Hegemonic Rulers. And Kuan Chung assisted him. When Kuan Chung became aged and unable to attend to his duties, he retired to live at his home. One day Duke Huan went to call on him and asked: "Uncle Chung is ill at home. If by any unlucky chance you should not be up and doing again, to whom should the state affairs be entrusted?" In reply Kuan Chung said: "Thy servant is old and hardly worth consulting. Nevertheless, thy servant has heard, 'Nobody knows the ministers better than the ruler does just as nobody knows the sons better than the father does.' Suppose Your Highness select one according to his judgement."

"How about Pao Shu-ya?" asked the Duke. "No." replied Kuan Chung. "For Pao Shu-ya is by nature rigorous, self-opinionated, and stubborn-minded. Rigorous, he is likely to be violent towards the people. Self-opinionated, he cannot win the hearts of the people. If he is stubborn-minded, nobody is willing to work under him and all are not afraid of him. Therefore he is not the right kind of assistant to the Hegemonic Ruler."

"Then how about Shu Tiao?" asked the Duke. "No," replied Kuan Chung. "Such is human nature, indeed, that everybody loves his own body. Now because Your Highness was habitually jealous and fond of women, Shu Tiao castrated himself for the single purpose of administering the harem. If he could not love his own body, how would he be able to love his master?"

"Then how about Prince K'ai-fang of Wei?" asked the Duke. "No," replied Kuan Chung. "The distance between Ch'i and Wei is not more than ten days' walk. Yet K'ai-fang in order to serve Your Highness and meet his needs never went home for fifteen years to see his parents. Such is against human nature. If he could not hold his parents in affectionate esteem, how would he be so able to hold his master?"

"Well, then, how about Yi-ya?" asked the Duke. "No," replied Kuan Chung. "Indeed, Yi-ya was in charge of the tastes of Your Highness's diet, and, finding that what Your Highness had never tasted was human flesh only, he steamed the head of his son and presented his master with the rare taste. This is what Your Highness remembers. Nevertheless, such is human nature that everybody loves his own son. Now that he steamed his own son to make food for his master, if he could not even love his own son, how would he be able to love his master?"

"Well, then, who will be the right man?" asked the Duke. "Hsi P'eng is he," replied Kuan Chung. "For he is habitually steadfast in mind and upright towards people and has few wants but many credits. Indeed, steadfast in mind, he can offer an example to others; upright towards people, he can be appointed to important office; having few wants, he will be able to subject the masses; and having many credits, he will be able to make friends with the neighbouring states. A man like this is the right kind of assistant to the Hegemonic Ruler. Suppose Your Highness employ him." "Certainly," said the Duke.

More than one year later, Kuan Chung died, but the Duke did not employ Hsi P'eng but passed the reins of government to Shu Tiao. Shu Tiao had handled the state affairs for three years already, when Duke Huan travelled southward to T'ang-fu. Thereupon Shu Tiao, leading Yi-ya, Prince K'ai-fang of Wei, and the chief vassals, launched a rebellion. In consequence, Duke Huan died of thirst and hunger in heavily-guarded confinement inside the bed chamber by the south gate. There his dead body lay uncovered for three months, until worms crawled outdoors.

But why was it that Duke Huan was at last murdered by his ministers, deprived of his high reputation, and laughed at by All-under-Heaven, although his armies had marched everywhere in the world and he had become the first Hegemonic Ruler himself? It was because of his fault in turning no ear to Kuan Chung. Hence the saying: "To commit faults, turn no ear to loyal ministers, and enforce one's own opinions, destroys one's high reputation and sets people to laugh at one."

What is meant by "not consolidating the forces within one's boundaries"?

Of old, when Ch'in was attacking Yi-yang, the Han Clan was in imminent danger. Thereupon Kung-chung P'eng said to the Ruler of Han: "Our allies are not reliable. Is it not the best policy to make peace with Ch'in through Chang Yi's good offices? Suppose we bribe Ch'in with a famous city and join her in her southward campaign against Ch'u. This will appease our trouble with Ch'in and defeat her friendship with Ch'u." "Good," the Ruler said, and then ordered Kung-chung to set out westward to make peace with Ch'in.

When the King of Ch'u heard about this scheme, he felt uneasy, summoned Ch'en Chen, and said to him: "P'eng of Han is going westward to make peace with Ch'in. What shall we do?" In reply Ch'en Chen said: "Ch'in, after receiving one city from Han, will mobilize her best-trained soldiers, and will turn the combined forces of Ch'in and Han southward against Ch'u. This is what the King of Ch'in has sought in his prayer at his ancestral shrine. No doubt, they will do Ch'u harm. Suppose Your Majesty quickly send out a good-will envoy to present the Ruler of Han with many chariots and precious gifts and say: 'My country, small as it is, has already mobilized all her forces. I am hoping your great country will display high morale before the Ch'in invaders, and accordingly expects you to send a delegation to our border to watch our mobilization.' "

Han actually sent a delegation to Ch'u. The King of Ch'u, accordingly, despatched chariots and cavalry and lined them up along the northern road. Then he told the Han delegation to inform the Ruler of Han that his troops were about to cross

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the border and enter the territory of Han. The delegation brought back the message to the Ruler of Han, who was thereby greatly pleased and stopped Kung-chung from going westward. "No, I should not stop going westward," said Kung-chung. "For Ch'in is harassing us in reality while Ch'u is rescuing us only in name. To listen to the empty words of Ch'u and make light of the real disaster which Ch'in is causing, is the outset of endangering the country." The Ruler of Han would not take Kung-chung's advice, wherefore Kung-chung was angry, went home, and for ten days never visited the court.

The situation at Yi-yang became more and more threatening, when the Ruler of Han despatched envoys to press for reinforcements from Ch'u. One envoy followed on the heels of another so closely that their hats and canopies were almost within one another's sight; but all in vain. Yi-yang was finally taken and the Ruler of Han became a laughing-stock of the feudal lords. Hence the saying: "Not to consolidate the forces within one's boundaries but to rely on other feudal lords causes the country the calamity of dismemberment."

What is meant by "insulting big powers despite the smallness of one's own state"?

In by-gone days, when Prince Ch'ung-erh of Chin was living in exile, he once passed through the Ts'ao State. The Ruler of Ts'ao made him take off his sleeves and upper coat and looked at him. Hsi Fu-chi and Shu Chan then attended in the front. The latter said to the Ruler of Ts'ao: "As far as thy servant can see, the Prince of Chin is not an ordinary man. Your Highness has handled him without mittens. Should he ever get the opportunity to return to his native country and raise armies, he might cause Ts'ao a great harm. Suppose Your Highness kill him now." The Ruler of Ts'ao took no notice, however.

Hsi Fu-chi went home, feeling unhappy. So his wife asked him: "Your Excellency has just come home from outdoors but has some unpleasant colour on the face. Why?" In reply Hsi Fu-chi said: "As I have heard, 'When the ruler has good luck, it will not visit me; but when he has bad luck, it will befall me.' To-day His Highness summoned the Prince of Chin and accorded him very discourteous treatment. I was attending before him. Therefore I have felt unhappy." "As far as I can see," said his wife, "the Prince of Chin will be a ruler of ten thousand chariots, and his followers will be ministers to the ruler of ten thousand chariots. Now that he has been destitute and forced to seek refuge in foreign countries and is passing through Ts'ao and Ts'ao is treating him so impolitely, if he ever returns to his native country, he will, no doubt, punish all breakers of etiquette, and then Ts'ao will be the first victim. Why don't you yourself now treat him differently?" "Certainly, I will," replied Fu-chi. He, accordingly, put gold in pots, covered them with food, placed jades upon them, and at night sent men to present them to the Prince. Seeing the messengers, the Prince repeated his salutations and accepted the food but declined the jades.

From Ts'ao the Prince entered Ch'u, and from Ch'u entered Ch'in. After he had stayed in Ch'in for three years, Duke Mu of Ch'in one day summoned all ministers for consultation, saying: "That in by-gone days Duke Hsien of Chin kept intimate friendship with me, every feudal lord has heard. Unfortunately Duke Hsien passed away from the body of officials. It is nearly ten years since. His successors so far have been no good. I am therefore afraid lest this state of continuous chaos should leave their ancestral shrine deserted and deprive their Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain of regular offerings. To make no decision to restore order to the country is not the way to maintain my intimate friendship with them. I am therefore thinking of supporting Ch'ung-erh and installing him on the throne of Chin. How do you think?" "Fine," replied all the ministers. Thereupon the Duke raised an army of five hundred leather-covered chariots, two thousand good horsemen, and fifty thousand foot-soldiers, to help Ch'ungerh enter Chin and establish him as Ruler of Chin.

After having been on the throne for three years, Ch'ungerh raised an army and fell upon Ts'ao. He, accordingly, ordered his men to say to the Ruler of Ts'ao, "Seize Shu Chan and send him outside the city. His Highness will kill him as an expiatory punishment for his insult of His Highness." He also ordered his men to say to Hsi Fu-chi, "My troops are storming the city. I understand very well that formerly you never meant to offend me. Put a sign on the gate of your residential quarters. I will issue a decree, ordering the troops not to trespass on it." The people of Ts'ao, hearing about this, brought their relatives into Hsi Fu-chi's residential quarters, where upwards of seven hundred families had safety. This was the effect of his respectfulness to the Prince.

Thus, Ts'ao was a small state pressed between Chin and Ch'u. Its ruler was in constant danger as piled eggs are, but he accorded the Prince of Chin such a discourteous reception. This was the reason why his posterity was wiped out. Hence the saying: "To insult big powers despite the smallness of one's own country and take no advice from remonstrants paves the way to the extinction of one's posterity."

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 11.

Solitary Indignation

Men well versed in the principles of tact are always farseeing and clearly observing. For, if not clearly observing, they cannot discern selfishness. Men able to uphold the law are always decisive and straightforward. For, if not straightforward, they cannot correct crookedness.

Ministers who attend to their duties in conformity to orders and fulfil their posts in accordance with laws, are not called "heavy-handed men". The heavy-handed men would without any order act on their will, benefit themselves by breaking the law, help their families by consuming state resources, and have enough power to manipulate their ruler. Such are the so-called "heavy-handed men".

Men well versed in the principles of tact, being clearly observing, if listened to and taken into service by the ruler, will discern the secret motives of the heavy-handed men. Men able to uphold the law, being straightforward, if listened to and taken into service by the ruler, will correct the crooked deeds of the heavy-handed men. In short, if these types of men are taken into service, noble and powerful ministers will infallibly fall off the inked string. This is the reason why they and the authorities in charge of the state affairs are bad enemies and unable to coexist.

If the authorities concerned take all matters of the state into their own hands, then everybody, whether outside or inside the court, will be bound to become their tool. Thus, unless through their good offices, feudal lords from abroad cannot accomplish any negotiation, wherefore even enemy states praise them; unless through their good offices, no official in governmental service can advance his career, wherefore the body of officials becomes their tool; unless through their good offices, the courtiers cannot approach the sovereign, wherefore the courtiers conceal their vices; and, unless through their good offices, the allowances of scholars will decrease and the treatment accorded them will deteriorate, wherefore the learned men speak well of them. These four assistances are means whereby wicked ministers embellish themselves.

The heavy-handed men cannot be so loyal to the sovereign as to recommend their enemies and the lord of men cannot rise above their four assistances in such wise as to discern the right types of ministers. Therefore, the more deluded the sovereign is, the more powerful the chief vassals become.

In general, the authorities concerned, in relation to the lord of men, are rarely not trusted and beloved, and, moreover, are his old acquaintances and long time intimates. To please the sovereign's mind by sharing the same likes and hates with him, is, of course, their beaten way of self-elevation. Their posts and ranks are noble and powerful; their friends and partisans are numerous; and the whole country praises them with one accord. Contrary to these, upholders of law and tact, when they want to approach the Throne, have neither the relationship of the trusted and beloved nor the favour of the long acquaintances and old intimates, and, what is still worse, intend to reform the biased mind of the lord of men with lectures on law and tact; which altogether is opposed to the taste of the lord of men. Naturally they have to acquiesce in a low and humble status and, having no partisans, live in solitude and singleness.

Indeed, the strange and distant, when contesting with the near and dear, have no reason to win; newcomers and travellers, when contesting with long acquaintances and old intimates, have no reason to win; opponents of the sovereign's opinion, when contesting with his supporters of the same taste, have no reason to win; the humble and powerless, when contesting with the noble and powerful, have no reason to win; and a single mouth, when contesting with the whole country, has no reason to win. Confronted with these five handicaps, upholders of law and tact, though they wait for a number of years, are still unable to see the sovereign. On the contrary, the authorities concerned, possessed of the advantages of five winnings, speak freely to the Throne at any time. If so, how can upholders of law and tact distinguish themselves and when can the lord of men realize his own mistakes?

Being thus hopelessly handicapped in their equipment and rendered incompatible with the authorities by force of circumstances, how can upholders of law and tact avoid dangers? Those who can be falsely accused of criminal offences are censured with state laws; those who cannot be indicted as criminals are ended by private swordsmen. For this reason, those who clarify the principles of law and tact but act contrary to the sovereign's taste, if not executed through official censure, are infallibly dispatched by private swordsmen.

However, friends and partisans who form juntas on purpose to delude the sovereign and twist their words so as to benefit themselves, always win the confidence of the heavy-handed men. Accordingly, those who can be accorded the pretext of meritorious services are ennobled with official rank; those who cannot be accorded any good reputation are empowered through foreign influences. For this reason, men who delude the sovereign and frequent the gates of private mansions, if not celebrated for official rank, are always empowered through foreign influence.

In these days, the lord of men, without investigating evidence and witness, inflicts censure and punishment upon upholders of law and tact, and, without waiting for meritorious services to appear, confers rank and bounties upon friends and partisans of the authorities. If so, how can the upholders of law and tact risk their lives in presenting their ideas to the Throne, and how would the wicked ministers discard their private advantages and withdraw themselves from office? Therefore, the more humbled the sovereign is, the more ennobled are the private clans.

Indeed, the Yüeh State was rich and her army was strong. Yet the sovereign of every Central State, knowing that she was useless to him, would say: "She is not within the reach of my control." Take for example a state at present. However extensive the territory and however numerous the people, if the lord of men is deluded and the chief vassals have all powers to themselves, that state is the same as Yüeh. If the ruler only perceives no resemblance of his state to Yüeh but fails to perceive no resemblance of the state out of his control to the state under his control, he never thoroughly understands what resemblance is.

People speak of the fall of Ch'i. Not that the land and cities fell to pieces, but that the Lü Clan failed to rule while the T'ien Clan assumed the ruling power. They speak of the fall of Chin. Not that the land and cities fell to pieces, but that the Chi Clan failed to rule while the Six Nobles had all powers to themselves. To-day, if chief vassals have the ruling power in their grip and decide on all state policies by themselves and the sovereign does not know how to recover his prerogatives, it is because the lord of men is not intelligent. Whoever catches the same diseases as dead people did, cannot survive; whoever shows the same symptoms as ruined states did, cannot exist. Therefore, the present followers of the footsteps of Ch'i and Chin, even though they want to secure and preserve their states, will find it to be an unattainable task.

In general, the difficulty in enacting law and tact is met not only by rulers of ten thousand chariots but also by rulers of one thousand chariots. As the attendants of the lord of men are not necessarily intelligent, if in estimating new personnel he first takes counsel from men whom he considers wise and then discusses their words with his attendants, he is talking about wise men to fools. As the attendants of the lord of men are not necessarily worthy, if in estimating new personnel he first pays respect to men whom he considers worthy and then discusses their deeds with his attendants, he is talking about worthies to ruffians. If wise men have to submit their plans for fools' approval and worthies have to see their deeds estimated by ruffians, men of worthiness and wisdom will feel ashamed and the ruler's conclusions will be full of fallacies.

Among the sovereign's subjects aspiring to official honours, refined men would keep their characters clean, and wise men would advance their careers by improving their eloquence. They cannot please anybody with bribes. Counting on their cleanness and eloquence, they are unable to join governmental service by bending the law. Consequently, refined and intelligent men would neither bribe the attendants nor comply with private requests.

The attendants of the lord of men are not as upright in conduct as Poh-i. If they fail to get what they want and receive the bribes they expect, then the refined and intelligent men's merits of cleanness and eloquence will come to naught while words of slander and false accusation will ensue instead. When merits of eloquence are restricted by the courtiers and virtues of cleanness are estimated by slanderers, then refined and intelligent magistrates will be deposed while the sagacity of the lord of men will be debarred. When the ruler estimates wisdom and virtue not according to meritorious services and judges crimes and faults not through the processes of investigation and testimony but simply listens to the words of the courtiers and attendants, then incapable men will fill up the court and stupid and corrupt magistrates will occupy all posts.

The threat to the ruler of ten thousand chariots is the chief vassals' being too powerful. The threat to the ruler of one thousand chariots is the attendants' being too much trusted. Both these threats, indeed, are common to every lord of men. Moreover, whether ministers commit major offences or the lord of men has serious faults, ruler and minister always have mutually different interests. How is this known? In reply I say: "The sovereign is interested in appointing able men to office; the minister is interested in securing employment with no competent abilities. The sovereign is interested in awarding rank and bounties for distinguished services; the minister is interested in obtaining wealth and honour without merit. The sovereign is interested in having heroic men exerting their abilities; the minister is interested in having their friends and partisans effect self-seeking purposes. Accordingly, when the land of the state is dismembered, private families are enriched; when the sovereign is degraded, chief vassals are empowered. In consequence, when the sovereign loses his influence, ministers gain the rule over the state; when the sovereign changes his title into that of a feudatory vassal, the prime

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minister splits tallies into halves. These are the reasons why ministers attempt to beguile the ruler and further their private interests."

Thus, if the sovereign ever changes the circumstances, not even two or three out of ten chief vassals of the present age can remain in favour with him. What is the reason therefor? It is because crimes committed by ministers are serious.

Ministers guilty of major offences must have deceived their sovereign. Such crimes deserve the death penalty. The wise men, far-seeing and afraid of death, never will obey the heavy-handed men. Similarly, the worthies, anxious to cultivate their personal integrity and ashamed of joining the wicked ministers in deceiving the sovereign, never will obey the chief vassals. That being so, the adherents and dependents of the authorities concerned, if not stupid and ignorant of the impending calamity, must be corrupt and mind no wickedness.

The chief vassals, holding such stupid and corrupt men under control, co-operate with them in deceiving the sovereign from above and collect spoils from below. Their friends and partisans exploit the masses of the people, associate for treasonable purposes, bewilder the sovereign by unifying their words, and disturb the gentry and commoners by breaking the law. In so doing they incline the state towards danger and dismemberment and the sovereign towards hardship and disgrace. Such is a major offence. When ministers are guilty of such a major offence and the sovereign never suppresses them, he is then committing a serious fault. Should the sovereign commit such a serious fault and ministers commit such a major offence, to prevent the state from going to ruin would be impossible.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 12.

Difficulties in the Way of Persuation

1. —Difficulties in the way of persuasion, generally speaking, are not difficulties in my knowledge with which I persuade the ruler, nor are they difficulties in my skill of argumentation which enables me to make my ideas clear, nor are they difficulties in my courage to exert my abilities without reserve. As a whole, the difficulties in the way of persuasion lie in my knowing the heart of the persuaded in order thereby to fit my wording into it.

If the persuaded strives after high fame while you persuade him of big profit, you will be considered low-bred, accorded mean treatment, and shunned from afar. If the persuaded strives after big profit while you persuade him of high fame, you will be considered mindless and ignorant of worldly affairs and will never be accepted. If the persuaded strives after big profit in secret but openly seeks for high fame while you persuade him of high fame, you will be accepted in name but kept distant in fact; and, if you persuade him of big profit, your word will be adopted in secret but your person will be left out openly. These points should be carefully deliberated.

Indeed, affairs succeed if kept secret and fail if divulged. Though you never intend to expose the ruler's secrets, yet if you happen to speak of anything he wants to conceal, you are then in danger. When the ruler embarks openly on an enterprise but plans thereby to accomplish a different task, if the persuader knows not only its motive but also its purpose, he is then in danger. When the persuader has devised an extraordinary scheme which suits the ruler, if another wise man finds it out by inferring it from other sources and divulges the secret to the world, the ruler will think he has divulged the secret, wherefore he is in danger. If the persuader exhausts all his wisdom before his master's favour becomes thick, then though his persuasion prevails and has merits, his fruitful services will be forgotten with ease. If his persuasion takes no effect and has demerits, he will fall under suspicion. In such a case he is in danger. Supposing the ruler had an aptitude for certain faults and the persuader spoke plainly on propriety and righteousness and thereby challenged his vices, he would be in danger. If the ruler has taken a scheme from somebody else, which he assumes to be his own work, and the persuader happens to know the whole secret, he is in danger. Whoever forcibly persuades the ruler to do what he cannot do and not to do what he cannot stop doing, is in danger.

Therefore, if you talk about great men to him, he thinks you are intimating his defects. If you talk about small men to him, he thinks you are showing off your superiority. If you discuss an object of his love, he thinks you are expecting a special favour from it. If you discuss an object of his hate, he thinks you are testing his temper. If you simplify your discussion, he thinks you are unwise and will spurn you. If your discussion is lucidly wayward and extensively refined, he thinks you are superficial and flippant. If you omit details and present generalizations only, he thinks you are cowardly and incomplete. If you trace the principles of facts and use wide illustrations, he thinks you are rustic and arrogant. These are difficulties in the way of persuasion, which every persuader should know.

2. —In general, the business of the persuader is to embellish the pride and obliterate the shame of the persuaded. If he has any private urgent need, you ought to encourage him with the cause of public justice. If the persuaded has a mean intention but cannot help it, you ought to praise its excellent points and minimize its harmfulness to the public. If he has a high ambition in mind but his real ability falls short of the mark, you ought to enumerate its mistakes, disclose its disadvantages, and esteem his suspension from realizing it. If he aspires to the pride of wisdom and talent, you ought to enumerate different species of the same genus with reference to every object of knowledge and thereby supply him with abundant information and let him derive ideas from you but pretend to ignorance of his derivation so as to elevate his wisdom.

If you want the persuaded to adopt your suggestion to cultivate inter-state friendship, you ought to explain it in the light of a glorious cause and intimate its accord with his private interest. If you want to describe things dangerous and injurious to the state welfare, you ought to enumerate the reproaches and slanders against them first and then intimate their discord with his private interest.

Praise those men doing the same things as he does. Esteem the tasks under the same scheme as his tasks are. In regard to men having the same faults as he has, be sure to defend their harmlessness. In regard to men having met the same failures as he met, be sure to bring out their incurring no loss. If he makes much of his own strength, do not bring in any difficult task that impedes him. If he thinks his own decisions brave, do not point out their unlawfulness; that angers him. If he thinks his own scheme wise, do not recall his past failures which embarrass him. When your meaning is not offensive and your wording is not flippant, you are then under way to use all your wisdom and eloquence to persuade anybody. In this way you can become near and dear to him, avoid all suspicion, and exert your speech to the utmost.

I Yin had to work as a cook and Pai-li Hsi had to go as a captive, both aiming thereby to approach their masters. These two men were sages. Still they could not help lowering themselves to such a humble level in order to introduce themselves to notice. Now take me as cook or captive. If you find it possible to take advice from me, carry out my suggestion, and thereby save the world, it is no shame to an able man.

Indeed, as days multiply in the long course of time and favour with the ruler grows well-grounded, when you are no longer suspected of devising schemes profoundly and not convicted in joining issue with the ruler on any point, then you may frankly weigh the relative advantages and disadvantages of the trend of the times and thereby forecast your meritorious services and straightly point out what is right and what is wrong in the course of government and thereby assert yourself. If ruler and minister stand together in such relationship, it is due to the success of persuasion.

3. —In by-gone days, Duke Wu of Cheng, thinking of invading Hu, married his daughter to the Ruler of Hu and thereby pleased his mind. Then he asked his ministers, "I am thinking of starting a military campaign. Which country should be invaded?" In reply High Officer Kuan Ch'i-Ssu said, "Hu should be invaded." Angered thereby, Duke Wu executed him saying: "Hu is a sister state. Why do you suggest invading her?" Hearing about this, the Ruler of Hu thought Cheng was friendly to him and so took no precaution against her invasion. Meanwhile, the Chengs made a surprise attack upon Hu and took the country.

There was in Sung a rich man. Once it rained and his mud fence collapsed. Thereupon his son said: "If the fence is not immediately rebuilt, burglars might come." So also did the father of his neighbours say to him. On the evening of that day he incurred a great loss of money. Thereafter his family had high regard for his son's wisdom but suspected the father of the neighbours.

Now, what these two men said came out equally true. Yet, the one in the serious case met the death penalty while the other in the minor case incurred suspicion. Not that they had difficulties in getting knowledge, but that they had difficulties in using their knowledge.

Therefore, Jao Ch'ao, after his words had proved true, became a sage in Chin but was executed in Ch'in. This is what every persuader should carefully deliberate.

In by-gone days, Mi Tzu-hsia was in favour with the Ruler of Wei. According to the Law of the Wei State, "whoever in secret rides in the Ruler's coach shall have his feet cut off." Once Mi Tzu-hsia's mother fell ill. Somebody, hearing about this, sent a message to Mi Tzu late at night. Thereupon Mi Tzu on the pretence of the Ruler's order rode in the Ruler's coach. At the news of this, the Ruler regarded his act as worthy, saying: "How dutiful he is! For his mother's sake he even forgot that he was committing a crime making him liable to lose his feet." Another day, when taking a stroll with the Ruler in an orchard, he ate a peach. It being so sweet, he did not finish it, but gave the Ruler the remaining half to eat. So, the Ruler said: "You love me so much indeed, that you would even forget your own saliva taste and let me eat the rest of the peach." When the colour of Mi Tzu faded, the Ruler's love for him slackened. Once he happened to offend the Ruler, the Ruler said: "This fellow once rode in my coach under pretence of my order and another time gave me a half-eaten peach." The deeds of Mi Tzu had themselves never changed. Yet he was at first regarded as worthy and later found guilty because his master's love turned into hate.

Therefore, if anybody stands in his master's favour, his wisdom will function well and his intimacy with him will grow; once he incurs the master's hatred, his wisdom will stop functioning and his relationship with him will become more and more distant. For this reason, whoever attempts remonstration, persuasion, explanation, and discussion, before the Throne, must carefully observe the sovereign's feelings of love and hate before he starts persuading him. Indeed, when the dragon moves like a worm, man can tame it, play with it, and ride on its back. However, there are below its throat inverted scales, each one foot in diameter. These scales would kill anyone touching them. So does the lord of men have inverted scales. Any persuader able to avoid touching the inverted scales of the lord of men must be very near to the mastery of the art of persuasion.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 13.

The Difficulty of Pien Ho

Once a man of Ch'u, named Pien Ho, came by an uncut jade in the Ch'u Hills. He brought it home and submitted it as a present to King Wu. Thereupon King Wu had a jeweller give an opinion of it. "It is an ordinary stone," said the jeweller. The King, regarding Ho as a liar, had his left foot cut off. Upon King Wu's death, King Wen ascended the throne, when Ho again submitted it as a present to King Wen. King Wen also had a jeweller give an opinion of it. Again he said, "It is an ordinary stone." The King, also regarding Ho as a liar, had his right foot cut off.

When King Wen died and King Ch'eng ascended the throne, Ho, carrying the uncut jade in his arms, cried at the foot of the Ching Hills. After three days and three nights his tears were all exhausted and blood flowed out. At this news the King sent men out to ask him the reason, saying, "Throughout All-under-Heaven men whose feet were cut off are many. Why should you be crying so bitterly?" "I am lamenting not the loss of my feet," said Ho in reply, "but for the calling a precious gem an ordinary stone and for their dubbing an honest man a liar. This is the reason why I am lamenting." Meanwhile, the King had a jeweller polish up the jade and got the treasure out at last. So it was designated "the Jade of Pien Ho".

Indeed, pearls and gems are what the lord of men wants badly. Though Ho presented the uncut jade to the Throne, before it was made beautiful, he was never a harm to His Majesty. Nevertheless, it was only after both his feet had been cut off that the treasure was acknowledged. That to establish an opinion of a treasure should be so difficult!

To-day, the lord of men feels the need of law and tact not necessarily as badly as he wants the Jade of Pien Ho, whereas he has to suppress the self-seeking wickedness of all officials, gentry, and commoners. That being so, upholders of the right way of government are not punished because they have not as yet presented the uncut jade of emperors and kings to the Throne.

If the sovereign uses tact, then neither the chief vassals can fix the state policies at their will, nor will the courtiers dare to sell off any personal favour. If the magistrate enforces the law, then vagabonds have to turn to tillage while itinerants have to stop talking about warfare. If so, law and tact offer a drawback to the officials, gentry, and commoners. Therefore, unless the lord of men can rise against the chief vassals' protests, above the vagabonds' slanders, and exclusively follow the dicta of the true path, upholders of law and tact, even though driven to the verge of death, will never see the true path acknowledged.

In by-gone days, Wu Ch'i taught King Tao of Ch'u a state policy for Ch'u, saying: "When chief vassals are too powerful and enfeoffed retainers too numerous, the body of officials will intimidate the ruler and oppress the people, which is the way to impoverish the state and weaken the army. Therefore, better confiscate the ranks and bounties of the enfeoffed retainers after the third generation of their successors, reduce the salaries and allowances of the magistrates, and eliminate such superfluous offices as of no urgent need, in order thereby to maintain well-chosen and well-trained warriors." King Tao, after enforcing this policy for a year, passed away, whereupon Wu Ch'i was dismembered in Ch'u.

Lord Shang taught Duke Hsiao of Ch'in to organize groups of ten and five families, and establish the system of denunciation of crime and joint responsibility for offence, to burn the Books of Poetry and History and thereby make laws and orders clear, to bar the requests of private families and thereby encourage services to public offices, to prohibit idlers from purchasing official posts, and to celebrate farmers and warriors. The theory was carried into effect by Duke Hsiao with the immediate result that the sovereign thereby became glorious and secure and the state thereby became rich and strong. Eighteen years later the Duke passed away, whereupon Lord Shang was torn to pieces by chariots in Ch'in.

Ch'u, not employing Wu Ch'i, was dismembered and disturbed; Ch'in, practising the Law of Lord Shang, became rich and strong. Though the two philosophers' words turned

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out true, yet how came it that Ch'u dismembered Wu Ch'i and Ch'in tore Lord Shang to pieces by chariots? It was because the chief vassals had regarded law as annoyance and the masses had resented order. Now that in the present age the chief vassals' covetousness of power and the masses' content with disorder are more vivid than the conditions that once prevailed in Ch'u and Ch'in, if the lord of men does not have the same aptitude for counsels as King Tao and Duke Hsiao had, then how can upholders of law and tact run the risk of the two philosophers to make their principles of law and tact clear? This is the reason why the age is chaotic and has no Hegemonic Ruler.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 14.

Ministers Apt to Betray, Molest, or Murder the Ruler

Wicked ministers, in general, all think of following the mind of the lord of men in order to attain the status of enjoying the sovereign's confidence and favour. For this reason, whatever the sovereign likes they praise accordingly; whatever the sovereign hates they blame accordingly. On the whole, such is the general nature of mankind that people regard each other as right if their matters of acceptance and rejection are in common, and as wrong if their matters of acceptance and rejection are diverse. Now that what the ministers praise is what the lord of men regards as right, this is called "acceptance in common"; since what the ministers blame is what the sovereign regards as wrong, this is called "rejection in common". Indeed, people who have their matters of acceptance and rejection in common and offend each other, are never heard of. That is the way the ministers win the sovereign's confidence and favour.

Indeed, if wicked ministers can take advantage of the status of enjoying the sovereign's confidence and favour to blame, praise, promote, and degrade the officials, it is because the lord of men has neither the tact and measure to keep them under control nor the procedures of comparison and verification to judge them. Worse than this, because in the past they held every judgement in common with him, he would believe in any word they now utter. This is the reason why favourite ministers can deceive the sovereign and accomplish self-seeking tasks. In consequence, the sovereign is always deluded and the ministers are always powerful. Such ministers are called "lord-manipulating vassals".

If the state has "lord-manipulating vassals", then no official will be able to exert his wisdom and strength and thereby express his spirit of loyalty nor will any magistrate be able to uphold the law and thereby accomplish his merits. How to explain this? Indeed, to choose safety and profit and leave danger and trouble, this is human nature. Now, if men who, being ministers to a ruler, apply their forces to accomplish their merits and exert their wisdom to express their spirit of loyalty, eventually plunge themselves into misery, incline their families towards poverty, and entangle their fathers and sons in their own troubles, and if those who delude the sovereign for the sake of wicked profits and serve nobles and vassals with bribes of cash and commodities, always glorify themselves, enrich their families, and benefit their fathers and sons, then how can people leave the way to safety and profit and choose the place of danger and trouble? Should there be such a fault in the government of the state, it is clear that it would be impossible for the superior to expect the inferior to do no wickedness and the magistrates to uphold the law.

For this reason, as soon as the attendants come to know the impossibility of seeking safety by remaining honest and faithful, they will certainly say: "When we serve the superior honestly and faithfully and increase our meritorious services, to seek safety is as hopeless as to distinguish between black and white colours with blind eyes. When by following the true path and the right tact we serve the superior, practise righteous principles, and never covet wealth and nobility, to seek safety is the same as to discriminate between flat and sharp notes with deaf ears, which is still more hopeless. If neither road leads to safety, why should we not associate for the purpose of deluding the sovereign, committing villainy, and thereby pleasing the heavy-handed men?" Such people will no longer regard the intentions of the lord of men.

Likewise, as soon as officials of all posts come to know the impossibility of seeking safety by playing square and upright, they will certainly say: "When we serve the superior cleanly and incorruptibly, to seek safety is as hopeless as to make squares and circles without the carpenter's compasses and squares. If we hold office by observing the law and not forming juntos, to seek safety is the same as to scratch the head with the foot, which is still more hopeless. If neither road leads to safety, why should we not discard the law, practise selfishness, and thereby please the heavy-handed men?" Such people will no longer regard the laws of the sovereign.

Such being the case, those who work for the heavy-handed men by practising selfishness are many; those who serve the ruler by observing the law are few. For this reason, the sovereign stands in isolation above while the ministers form juntos below. This was the very reason why T'ien Ch'eng finally murdered Duke Chien.

Indeed, tactful men, when ministering to a ruler, would enforce theories of regulations and measures to clarify the law of the sovereign and harass wicked ministers in order to glorify the sovereign and tranquillize the state. Accordingly, as soon as theories of regulations and measures are enforced, reward and punishment will infallibly become applicable. The lord of men will then earnestly illustrate the tact of the sage but never have to follow the commonplaces of the world. He will decide between right and wrong according to the relation between name and fact and scrutinize words and phrases by means of comparison and verification.

For this reason, attendants and courtiers, as soon as they come to know the impossibility of seeking safety by means of falsehood and deceit, will certainly say: "If we do not stop wicked deeds and apply our strength and exert our wisdom to serve the sovereign, but merely associate with one another for treasonable purposes and make arbitrary blame and praise so as to seek safety, it is as hopeless as to expect to live by falling into an abyss of immeasurable depth with a weight of thirty thousand catties carried on the back."

Likewise, officials of all posts, as soon as they come to know the impossibility of seeking safety by coveting wicked profits, will certainly say: "If we do not obey the law by keeping ourselves pure, incorruptible, square, and upright, but simply want to secure wicked profits by bending the law with the greedy and corrupt minds, it is as hopeless as to expect to live by going up to the top of a high hill and then falling down into the bottom of a deep ravine."

If the road to safety and danger is so clear, then how can the attendants beguile the sovereign with empty words? And how dare the officials exploit the masses covetously? Accordingly, ministers able to express their spirit of loyalty are never put out of sight; inferiors able to attend to their duties never show resentment. That was the way Kuan Chung governed Ch'i and Lord Shang strengthened Ch'in.

From such a viewpoint, I can see that the sage in governing the state pursues the policy of making the people inevitably do him good 13 but never relies on their doing him good with love. For to rely on the people's doing him good with love is dangerous, but to rely on their inevitability to do him good is safe.

To be sure, ruler and minister having no blood kinship, if able to seek safety by following the right and straight way, the minister will apply all his strength to serve the sovereign; if unable to seek safety by following the right and straight way, he will practise selfishness and thereby violate the superior. Knowing this well, the intelligent sovereign simply establishes the system of advantages and disadvantages and thereby shows the world what is right and what is wrong.

Certainly for this reason, though the lord of men neither teaches the officials with his own mouth nor finds the culprits and ruffians with his own eyes, yet the state is always orderly. The lord of men does not have to possess such eyes as those of Li Lou in order to be bright, nor does he have to possess such ears as those of Musician K'uang in order to be acute. If he does not trust to measures but relies on his eyes alone for his brightness, then what he sees will be little. For it is not the technique to avoid delusion. If he does not count on his august position but relies on his own ears alone for his acuteness, then what he hears will be little enough. For it is not the way to avoid deception. The intelligent sovereign would make All-under-Heaven inevitably see and hear on his behalf. Therefore, though his person is confined in the innermost court, his brightness illumines everything within the four seas. If nobody in All-under-Heaven can delude or deceive him, what is the reason therefor? It is because the roads to darkness and chaos have crumbled while the faculties of acuteness and brightness have appeared.

Therefore, who can hold his august position skilfully, finds his state in safety; who does not know how to utilize his august position, finds his state in danger. For illustration, in by-gone days it was the custom in Ch'in for both ruler and minister to discard state laws and uphold private creeds, wherefore the country was disorderly, the army weak, and the sovereign ignoble. Thereupon Lord Shang persuaded Duke Hsiao of Ch'in to alter the law and renovate the custom by making public justice clear, rewarding the denouncers of culprits, discouraging secondary callings, and encouraging primary works. In those days the people of Ch'in were used to the beaten track that men guilty of crimes could be pardoned and men of no merit could be honoured. Therefore, they were very apt to violate the new law. In the meantime, however, the censure of offenders against the new law became strict and definite; the reward of the denouncers of culprits became big and of faith. Hence no culprit was missed. Men sentenced to punishment became many. The people grumbled and resented it. Criminal offences were heard every day. Lending no ear to all these, Duke Hsiao enforced the Law of Lord Shang to the utmost, until at last the people came to know that men guilty of crimes would infallibly be censured and informers against culprits became many. Hence the people dared not violate the law and penalty could be inflicted on nobody. Therefore, the state became orderly, the army strong, the territory extensive, and the sovereign honourable. The cause of all these was nothing other than heavy punishment for sheltering criminals and big rewards for denouncing culprits. Such was also the way to make All-under-Heaven see and hear on the ruler's own behalf.

The law and craft of the best government are thus clear enough. Yet scholars in the world never understand them.

Further, all stupid scholars in the world do not know the actual conditions of order and chaos but chatter nonsense and chant too many hackneyed old books to disturb the government of the present age. Though their wisdom and thought are not sufficient to avoid pitfalls, they dare to absurdly reproach the upholders of tact. Whoever listens to their words, will incur danger. Whoever employs their schemes, will invite confusion. Such is the greatest height of stupidity as well as the greatest extreme of calamity. Though they gain fame for discussion and persuasion just as the upholders of tact do, yet in reality the former are as far apart from the latter as a distance of thousands of li. That is to say, the similarity is nominal but the difference is actual.

Indeed, what the stupid scholars in the world are to the upholders of tact, that is the ant-hill to the big mound. They are very different from each other. The sage is the one who scrutinizes the facts of right and wrong and investigates the conditions of order and chaos. Therefore, when governing the state he rectifies laws clearly and establishes penalties severely in order to rescue all living beings from chaos, rid All-under-Heaven of misfortune, prohibit the strong from exploiting the weak and the many from oppressing the few, enable the old and the infirm to die in peace and the young and the orphan to grow freely, and see to it that the frontiers be not invaded, that ruler and minister be intimate with each other, that father and son support each other, and that there be no worry about being killed in war or taken prisoner. Such is one of the greatest achievements. Yet the stupid men do not understand it and condemn it as misgovernment.

Of course, the stupid men want order but dislike the true path to order. They all hate danger but welcome the way to danger. How do I know this? Indeed, severe penalty and heavy conviction are hated by the people, but by them the state is governed. Mercy and pity on the hundred surnames and mitigation of penalty and punishment are welcomed by the people, but by them the state is endangered. The sage who makes laws in the state is always acting contrary to the prevailing opinions of the age, but is in accord with Tao and Teh. Who understands Tao and Teh, will agree with the principles of justice but disagree with the commonplaces of the world. Who does not understand Tao and Teh, will disagree with the principles of justice but agree with the commonplaces of the world. If throughout All-under-Heaven those who understand Tao and Teh are few, then the principles of justice will generally be disapproved.

If the upholders of law and tact, being located in an unrighteous position, accorded slanders by everybody, and addicted to the words of the age, want to face the severe Son of Heaven and seek safety, is it not hard for them to hope for any success? This is the reason why every wise man to the end of his life never becomes celebrated in the world.

Lord Ch'un-shen, younger brother of King Chuang of Ch'u, had a beloved concubine named Yü. The son born by his wedded wife was named Chia. Yü first wanted the Lord to desert his lawful wife. So she injured herself. She, showing the injuries to the Lord, shed tears and said: "To be able to become Your Excellency's concubine, is very fortunate, indeed. However, to please madame is not the way to serve the master; to please the master is not the way to serve madame. Being unworthy myself and not able enough to please two lords, thy servant will eventually by force of circumstances displease both. Therefore, instead of dying at the madame's place, I prefer to be allowed to kill myself in front of Your Excellency. After allowing thy servant to kill herself, if Your Excellency favours anybody else among the maid attendants, will Your Excellency be more considerate than now and never become a laughingstock of people?" The Lord, accordingly, took the falsehood of his concubine Yü as true, and deserted his lawful wife.

Yü next wanted to kill Chia and make her own son the heir apparent instead. So she tore the lining of her own petticoat. Showing the torn clothes to the Lord, she shed tears and said: "It is a long time since Yü became able to enjoy Your Excellency's favour, which Chia has known of course. Just a while ago, he thought of taking liberties with Yü by force. Yü struggled with him, till he tore her clothes. No other impious act committed by a son could be worse than this!" Enraged thereby, the Lord killed Chia. Thus, the wife was deserted because of the falsehood of the concubine Yü and the son was killed because of the same.

From this I can see that even the father's love of the son can be demolished and damaged. Now that the mutual relationship of ruler and minister does not involve the kinship of father and son and the slanderous words of the officials are not so simple as those coming out only from the single mouth of a concubine, no wonder worthies and sages are slaughtered and executed! This was the very reason why Lord Shang was

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torn to pieces by chariots in Ch'in and Wu Ch'i was dismembered in Ch'u.

In general, ministers, when guilty of crimes, never want to be censured, but, when of no merit, all want to be honoured and celebrated. However, the sage, when governing the state, never bestows rewards on men of no merit but definitely inflicts censures on culprits. If so, the characters of the upholders of tact and measure are certainly disgusting to the attendants and wicked ministers. Accordingly, nobody but an intelligent sovereign can take advice from them.

Scholars of the present age in counselling the lord of men do not say, "Make use of the august and commanding position and thereby harass the wicked and villainous ministers," but all say, "Practise nothing but benevolence, righteousness, favour, and love!" Accordingly, rulers of the present age have praised the names of benevolent and righteous men but have never examined their realities, so that in serious cases they have ruined their states and lost their lives and in minor cases they have seen their territories dismembered and their ranks relegated. How to explain this? Indeed, to give alms to the poor and destitute is what the world calls a benevolent and righteous act; to take pity on the hundred surnames and hesitate to inflict censure and punishment on culprits is what the world calls an act of favour and love. To be sure, when the ruler gives alms to the poor and destitute, men of no merit will also be rewarded; when he hesitates to inflict censure and punishment upon culprits, then ruffians never will be suppressed. If men of no merit in the country are rewarded, the people will neither face enemies and cut heads off on the battlefield nor will they devote their strength to farming and working at home, but all will use articles and money as bribe to serve the rich and noble, accomplish private virtues, and make personal names, in order that they may thereby get high posts and big bounties. In consequence, wicked and self-seeking ministers become many and violent and outrageous fellows gain the upper hand. Under such circumstances, what but ruin can befall the state?

Indeed, severe penalty is what the people fear, heavy punishment is what the people hate. Accordingly, the wise man promulgates what they fear in order to forbid the practice of wickedness and establishes what they hate in order to prevent villainous acts. For this reason the state is safe and no outrage happens. From this I know very well that benevolence, righteousness, love, and favour, are not worth adopting while severe penalty and heavy punishment can maintain the state in order.

Without the severity of the whip and the facility of the bridle, even Tsao-fu could not drive the horse; without the rule of the compasses and squares and the tip of the inked string, even Wang Erh could not draw squares and circles; and without the position of authority and power and the law of reward and punishment, even Yao and Shun could not keep the state in order. Now that rulers of the present age thoughtlessly discard heavy punishment and severe censure and practise love and favour, to realize the achievement of the Hegemonic Ruler is also hopeless.

Therefore, the skilful sovereign makes rewards clear and displays advantages to encourage the people and make them get rewards for meritorious services but no prize for any act of benevolence and righteousness. He makes penalties severe and punishments heavy to restrain the people and make them get censure for criminal offences but no pardon by love and grace. Therefore, men of no merit never long for any reward and those guilty of crimes never look for an amnesty.

If you have a solid carriage and a good horse, you can go over slopes and cliffs on land; if you embark in a safe boat and hold its easy helm in hand, you can get over the hazards of streams and rivers on water. Similarly, if you have the measures of law and tact in your grip and carry heavy punishment and severe censure into effect, you will be able to accomplish the achievement of the Hegemonic Ruler. Now, to have law and tact, reward and punishment, in governing the state, is the same as to have a solid carriage and a good horse in travelling on land and have a fast boat and an easy helm in travelling on water. Whoever has them in his grip will eventually accomplish his purpose.

Yi Yin mastered them, wherefore T'ang became supreme; Kuan Chung mastered them, wherefore Ch'i became hegemonic; and Lord Shang mastered them, wherefore Ch'in became a powerful state. These three men all understood the statecraft of supremacy and hegemony clearly and observed the measures for order and strength closely and were never restrained by worldly and popular sayings. Thus, meeting the demands of the intelligent sovereigns of their times, they emerged from the status of wearers of hemp cloth to the posts of High Official and Prime Minister. When holding office and governing the state, they actually accomplished the task in honouring their masters and extending their territories. Such persons are called "ministers worthy of respect".

T'ang, because he got Yi Yin, rose from one hundred square li of territory to become the Son of Heaven. Duke Huan, because he got Kuan Chung, became the first Hegemonic Ruler, called nine meetings of the feudal lords, and brought All-under-Heaven under one rule. Because Duke Hsiao got Lord Shang, his territory was extended and his army was strengthened. Therefore, whoever has loyal ministers, has no worry over enemy states outside and no anxiety about rebellious ministers inside, enjoying permanent peace in All-under-Heaven and handing down his name to posterity. Such ministers are the so-called loyal ministers.

Take the case of Yü Jang. When ministering to Earl Chih, he could not counsel the lord of men and make him clearly understand the principles of law and tact, rule and measure, so as to avoid disasters, nor could he lead and control his masses so as to keep the state in safety. When Viscount Hsiang had killed Earl Chih, Yü Jang branded his face and cut off his nose, thus destroying his facial features in order to avenge Earl Chih on Viscount Hsiang. In this wise, though he earned the reputation for destroying his features and sacrificing his life for the cause of the lord of men, yet in reality he rendered Earl Chih not even such a bit of benefit as the tips of autumn spikelets. Such a man is what I look down upon, whereas rulers of the present age regard him as loyal and exalt him. In antiquity, there were men named Poh-i and Shu-ch'i. When King Wu offered to transfer All-under-Heaven to them, both declined it and starved to death on the Shou-yang Mound. Ministers like them, neither afraid of heavy censure nor fond of big rewards, cannot be prohibited by punishment, nor can they be encouraged by reward. They are called "ministers of no account". They are what I make light of and cast aside, but are what rulers of the present age think much of and seek out.

There is a proverb saying, "Even the leper feels pity for the king." It is not a reverent saying. Nevertheless, since in antiquity there was no empty proverb, everybody should consider it carefully. It speaks for such sovereigns as are liable to molestation or murder.

If the lord of men does not have law and tact to control his ministers, then though he is still on the green margin of his life and has excellent talents, chief vassals will, as usual, gain influence, administer all state affairs at their will, and make all decisions on their own authority, everybody working to his own advantage. Fearing lest uncles and brothers of the sovereign or some heroic men should exercise the authority of the lord of men to suppress and censure them, they would depose worthy, full-grown rulers and set up young, weak ones on the throne, or set aside lawful heirs and place unlawful ones in their stead.

Hence it is recorded in the Spring and Autumn Annals: "Prince Wei of Ch'u was once on his way to visit the court of Cheng. Before he crossed the state border, he heard about His Majesty's illness and therefore turned homeward. When he went in to inquire after the King's illness, he strangled His Majesty to death with the ribbons of his hat, and finally established himself on the throne. The wife of Ts'ui Chu of Ch'i was beautiful. Duke Chuang formed a liaison with her and frequented the house of the Ts'ui Clan. One day, when Duke Chuang went again, a dependent of Ts'ui Tzu, named Chia Chü, led the followers of Ts'ui Tzu and attacked the Duke. The Duke rushed into a room and suggested dividing the state with him, but Ts'ui Tzu would not grant the request. The Duke then asked permission to kill himself in the ancestral shrine, but again Ts'ui Tzu would not listen to the request. So the Duke started to run away. When he was going across the mud fence on the north of the compound, Chia Chü shot him with an arrow and hit his thigh. The Duke fell down upon the ground, where Ts'ui Tzu's followers cut the Duke with lances and killed him. Thereupon his younger brother was installed on the throne as Duke Ching."

As witnessed in recent times, no sooner had Li Tai come into power in Chao, than he starved the Father Sovereign for one hundred days till he died; no sooner had Nao Ch'ih come into power in Ch'i, than he pulled out the sinews of King Min and hanged him on the beam of the ancestral shrine where he died after one night.

Therefore, the leper, despite the boils and swellings all over his body, as compared with rulers of the Spring and Autumn Period, never suffers such miseries as neck-strangling and thigh-shooting, and, as compared with rulers of recent times, never suffers such miseries as starvation to death and sinew-pulling. Thus, the mental agony and physical pain of the rulers molested and murdered certainly exceed those of the leper. From this viewpoint, though the leper feels pity for the king, there is good reason for it.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 15.

Portents of Ruin

1. As a rule, if the state of the lord of men is small but the fiefs of private families are big, or if the ruler's sceptre is insignificant but the ministers are powerful, then ruin is possible.

2. If the ruler neglects laws and prohibitions, indulges in plans and ideas, disregards the defence works within the boundaries and relies on foreign friendship and support, then ruin is possible.

3. If all officials indulge in studies, sons of the family are fond of debate, peddlars and shopkeepers hide money in foreign countries, and poor people suffer miseries at home, then ruin is possible.

4. If the ruler is fond of palatial decorations, raised kiosks, and embanked pools, is immersed in pleasures of having chariots, clothes, and curios, and thereby tires out the hundred surnames and exhausts public wealth, then ruin is possible.

5. If the ruler believes in date-selecting, worships devils and deities, believes in divination and lot-casting, and likes fetes and celebrations, then ruin is possible.

6. If the ruler takes advice only from ministers of high rank, refrains from comparing different opinions and testifying to the truth, and uses only one man as a channel of information, then ruin is possible.

7. If posts and offices can be sought through influential personages and rank and bounties can be obtained by means of bribes, then ruin is possible.

8. If the ruler, being easy-going, accomplishes nothing, being tender-hearted, lacking in decision, and, wavering between acceptance and rejection, has no settled opinion, then ruin is possible.

9. If the ruler is greedy, insatiable, attracted to profit, and fond of gain, then ruin is possible.

10. If the ruler enjoys inflicting unjust punishment and does not uphold the law, likes debate and persuasion but never sees to their practicability, and indulges in style and wordiness but never considers their effect, then ruin is possible.

11. If the ruler is shallow-brained and easily penetrated, reveals everything but conceals nothing, and cannot keep any secret but communicates the words of one minister to another, then ruin is possible.

12. If the ruler is stubborn-minded, uncompromising, and apt to dispute every remonstrance and fond of surpassing everybody else, and never thinks of the welfare of the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain but sticks to self-confidence without due consideration, then ruin is possible.

13. The ruler who relies on friendship and support from distant countries, makes light of his relations with close neighbours, counts on the aid from big powers, and provokes surrounding countries, is liable to ruin.

14. If foreign travellers and residents, whose property and families are abroad, take seats in the state council and interfere in civil affairs, then ruin is possible.

15. If the people have no confidence in the premier and the inferiors do not obey the superiors while the sovereign loves and trusts the premier and cannot depose him, then ruin is possible.

16. If the ruler does not take able men of the country into service but searches after foreign gentlemen, and if he does not make tests according to meritorious services but would appoint and dismiss officials according to their mere reputations till foreign residents are exalted and ennobled to surpass his old acquaintances, then ruin is possible.

17. If the ruler disregards the matter of legitimacy and lets bastards rival legitimate sons, or if the sovereign dies before he inaugurates the crown prince, then ruin is possible.

18. If the ruler is boastful but never regretful, makes much of himself despite the disorder prevailing in his country, and insults the neighbouring enemies without estimating the resources within the boundaries, then ruin is possible.

19. If the state is small but the ruler will not acquiesce in a humble status; if his forces are scanty but he never fears strong foes; if he has no manners and insults big neighbours; or if he is greedy and obstinate but unskilful in diplomacy; then ruin is possible.

20. If, after the inauguration of the crown prince, the ruler take in a woman from a strong enemy state, the crown prince will be endangered and the ministers will be worried. Then ruin is possible.

21. If the ruler is timid and weak in self-defence and his mind is paralysed by the signs of future events; or if he knows what to decide on but dare not take any drastic measure; then ruin is possible.

22. If the exiled ruler is abroad but the country sets up a new ruler, or if before the heir apparent taken abroad as hostage returns, the ruler changes his successor, then the state will divide. And the state divided against itself is liable to ruin.

23. If the ruler keeps near and dear to the chief vassals whom he has disheartened and disgraced or stands close by the petty men whom he has punished, then he will make them bear anger and feel shame. If he goes on doing this, rebels are bound to appear. When rebels appear, ruin is possible.

24. If chief vassals rival each other in power and uncles and brothers are many and powerful, and if they form juntas inside and receive support from abroad and thereby dispute state affairs and struggle for supreme influence, then ruin is possible.

25. If words of maids and concubines are followed and the wisdom of favourites is used, and the ruler repeats committing unlawful acts regardless of the grievances and resentments inside and outside the court, then ruin is possible.

26. If the ruler is contemptuous to chief vassals and impolite to uncles and brothers, overworks the hundred surnames, and slaughters innocent people, then ruin is possible.

27. If the ruler is fond of twisting laws by virtue of his wisdom, mixes public with private affairs from time to time,

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alters laws and prohibitions at random, and issues commands and orders frequently, then ruin is possible.

28. If the terrian has no stronghold, the city-walls are in bad repair, the state has no savings and hoardings, resources and provisions are scarce, and no preparations are made for defence and attack, but the ruler dares to attack and invade other countries imprudently, then ruin is possible.

29. If the royal seed is short-lived, new sovereigns succeed to each other continuously, babies become rulers, and chief vassals have all the ruling authority to themselves and recruit partisans from among foreign residents and maintain inter-state friendship by frequently ceding territories, then ruin is possible.

30. If the crown prince is esteemed and celebrated, has numerous dependents and protégés, develops friendships with big powers, and exercises his authority and influence from his early years, then ruin is possible.

31. If the ruler is narrow-minded, quick-tempered, imprudent, easily affected, and, when provoked, becomes blind with rage, then ruin is possible.

32. If the sovereign is easily provoked and fond of resorting to arms and neglects agricultural and military training but ventures warfare and invasion heedlessly, then ruin is possible.

33. If nobles are jealous of one another, chief vassals are prosperous, seeking support from enemy states and harassing the hundred surnames at home so as to attack their wrongdoers, but the lord of men never censures them, then ruin is possible.

34. If the ruler is unworthy but his half-brothers are worthy; if the heir apparent is powerless and the bastard surpasses him; or if the magistrates are weak and the people are fierce; then the state will be seized with a panic. And a panic-stricken state is liable to ruin.

35. If the ruler conceals his anger, which he would never reveal, suspends a criminal case, which he never would censure, and thereby makes the officials hate him in secret and increases their worries and fears, and if he never comes to know the situation even after a long time, then ruin is possible.

36. If the commander in the front line has too much power, the governor on the frontier has too much nobility, and if they have the ruling authority to themselves, issue orders at their own will and do just as they wish without asking permission of the ruler, then ruin is possible.

37. If the queen is adulterous, the sovereign's mother is corrupt, attendants inside and outside the court intercommunicate, and male and female have no distinction, such a régime is called "bi-regal". Any country having two rulers is liable to ruin.

38. If the queen is humble but the concubine is noble, the heir apparent is low but the bastard is high, the prime minister is despised but the court usher is esteemed, then disobedience will appear in and out of the court. If disobedience appears in and out of the court, the state is liable to ruin.

39. If chief vassals are very powerful, have many strong partisans, obstruct the sovereign's decisions, and administer all state affairs on their own authority, then ruin is possible.

40. If vassals of private families are employed but descendants of military officers are rejected, men who do good to their village communities are promoted but those who render distinguished services to their official posts are discarded, self-seeking deeds are esteemed but public-spirited works are scorned, then ruin is possible.

41. If the state treasury is empty but the chief vassals have plenty of money, native subjects are poor but foreign residents are rich, farmers and warriors have hard times but people engaged in secondary professions are benefited, then ruin is possible.

42. The ruler who sees a great advantage but does not advance towards it, hears the outset of a calamity but does not provide against it, thus neglecting preparations for attack and defence and striving to embellish himself with the practice of benevolence and righteousness, is liable to ruin.

43. If the ruler does not practise the filial piety of the lord of men but yearns after the filial piety of the commoner, does not regard the welfare of the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain but obeys the orders of the dowager queen, and if he allows women to administer the state affairs and eunuchs to meddle with politics, then ruin is possible.

44. If words are eloquent but not legal, the mind is sagacious but not tactful, the sovereign is versatile but performs his duties not in accordance with laws and regulations, then ruin is possible.

45. If new ministers advance when old officials withdraw, the unworthy meddle with politics when the virtuous pass out of the limelight, and men of no merit are esteemed when hard-working people are disdained, then the people left behind will resent it. If the people left behind resent it, ruin is possible.

46. If the bounties and allowances of uncles and brothers exceed their merits, their badges and uniforms override their grades, and their residences and provisions are too extravagant, and if the lord of men never restrains them, then ministers will become insatiable. If ministers are insatiable, then ruin is possible.

47. If the ruler's sons-in-law and grandsons live behind the same hamlet gate with the commoners and behave unruly and arrogantly towards their neighbours, then ruin is possible.

Thus, portents of ruin do not imply certainty of ruin but liability to ruin.

Indeed, two Yaos cannot rule side by side, nor can two Chiehs 15 ruin each other. The secrets of rule or ruin lie in the inclination towards order or chaos, strength or weakness.

It is true, the tree breaks down because 16 of vermin, the fence gives way on account of cracks. Yet, despite the vermin, if no sudden gale blows, the tree will not break down; despite the cracks, if no heavy rain falls, the fence does not give way.

If the sovereign of ten thousand chariots can exercise tact and enforce law and thereby function as gale and rain to rulers having portents of ruin, his annexation of Allunder-Heaven will have no difficulty.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 16.

Three Precautions

The lord of men has three precautions to take. If the three precautions are complete, the state will be safe and he will be prosperous; if the three precautions are not complete, the state will fall into danger and his life will become precarious.

What are meant by the "three precautions"?

Whenever ministers memorialise the Throne the faults of the authorities in power, the mistakes of the personnel in charge of state affairs, and the actual conditions of the officials, if the lord of men, instead of keeping the secret, divulges it to courtiers and favourite vassals and thereby makes ministers, who want to speak to the Throne, please the courtiers and favourite vassals before they submit any instance to the lord of men, then frank and straightforward speakers will not be able to have an audience of the ruler and loyal and honest men will be kept farther and farther aloof.

If the ruler does not by himself benefit the men he loves but would benefit them only after the courtiers have praised them, and if he does not by himself hurt the men he hates but would hurt them only after the courtiers have blamed them, then the lord of men will lose his prestige, and his ruling authority will fall into the hands of his attendants.

If the ruler dislikes the toil of governing the state by himself and lets the ministers group together and administer state affairs, and if in so doing he passes his handles and shifts his position to chief vassals and places the power over life and property in their hands, then his prerogative will be infringed.

These are called "the three precautions unaccomplished". If the three precautions remain incomplete, the situation portends molestation and regicide.

In general, there are three kinds of molestation: Molestation through the formation of juntas, molestation through the dictation of state policies, and molestation through the application of penal laws.

If ministers who hold the honour of chief vassals have the key to the state government in their grip for patronizing the officials and make the administration of foreign and home affairs necessarily go through their approval; and, though there are worthy and upright personages, if people disobeying them always have bad luck and those obeying them always have good luck; then no official would dare to be loyal to the sovereign and worry about state welfare and thereby dispute the advantages and disadvantages of the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain. If the lord of men, however worthy, cannot devise plans by himself, and if there are ministers who dare not be loyal to the sovereign, then the state must be doomed to ruin. It is then called "a state without ministers". However, a state without ministers does not imply the scarcity of royal guards and the lack of ministers in the court. It really means a state whose ministers hold to their bounties, nourish their friends, practise their private ways of life, and never exert their spirit of loyalty to the public. Such is called "molestation through the formation of juntas".

Again, suppose chief vassals distribute private favours, have all powers to themselves, overawe the country by pretending to have influence abroad, follow the like and hate of the sovereign with his forced interpretation of the signs of fortune and misfortune, advantages and disadvantages. And suppose the lord of men listens to them and upholds their policies even by humiliating himself and neglecting state welfare. Then, when the policies fail, the sovereign has to share the consequent disasters with them; when the policies succeed, they take all credit to themselves. Finally, if all the government employees unite their minds and identify their words to speak of their virtues, then though others speak of their vices to the Throne, the sovereign never will believe. Such is called "molestation through the dictation of state policies".

Finally, in matters of court and jail administration as well as prohibition and punishment, if ministers have powers to themselves, their act as such is called "molestation through the application of penal laws".

In short, if the three precautions are not complete, the three molestations will arise; if the three precautions are complete, the three molestations will stop. If the sovereign succeeds in stopping and debarring these three molestations, he will attain supremacy.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 17.

Guarding Against the Interior

The difficulty of the lord of men lies in his confidence in men. Confiding in men, he is restrained by men.

Ministers, in relation to the ruler, have no kinship, but, solely because constrained by force of circumstances, serve him. Therefore, those who minister to a ruler, always watch the mental condition of their master without stopping even for a moment; whereas the lord of men remains idle and arrogant over them. This is the reason why the world sees cases of ruler-molestation and regicide.

If the lord of men has much confidence in his son, then wicked ministers will utilize his son to accomplish their selfish purposes. For illustration, Li Tai, while assisting the King of Chao, starved the Father Sovereign.

If the lord of men has much confidence in his spouse, then wicked ministers will utilize his spouse to accomplish their selfish purposes. For illustration, Actor Shih, while assisting Princess Li, murdered Shen-sheng and placed Hsi-ch'i in his stead.

Indeed, even the spouse who is so near and the son who is so dear to the sovereign are not trustworthy, much less can anybody else be trustworthy.

Besides, whether he be a ruler of ten thousand chariots or a ruler of one thousand chariots, the queen, the concubine, or the crown prince, even though he be the legitimate son, might hope for his early death.

How do I know it is so? Indeed, man and wife, having no kinship between them, are intimate when mutually in love and distant when not in love. Hence the saying: "If the mother is loved, the son is held in the arms." If so, the contrary must run like this: "If the mother is unloved, the son is cast aside." Men fifty years old are as fond of women as usual, but women only thirty years old are falling off in beauty. If women falling off in beauty have to serve men still fond of the fair sex, then they will be neglected and their sons will doubt if they will remain heirs of their fathers. This is the reason why queens, princesses, and concubines crave the death of the rulers.

It is only when the mother is the queen dowager and the son is the sovereign that decrees never fail to prevail and prohibitions never fail to function. Then she finds as much pleasure between man and woman as at the time when the late ruler was still alive, and under no suspicion can she have all the powers of the ruler of ten thousand chariots to herself. For such a reason, poisoning with wine and hanging in secret are practised.

Hence it is said in T'ao-wu's Spring and Autumn Annals: "Of the lords of men, those who died of illness were not even half of those that died." If the ruler is ignorant of such a danger, seeds of disorder will multiply. Hence the saying: "If those who will profit by the ruler's death are numerous, then the lord of men is in danger."

Thus, Wang Liang liked horses, and Kou-chien, King of Yüeh, liked able-bodied men, merely for driving and fighting purposes. The physician sucks patients' cuts and holds their blood in his mouth, not because he is intimate with them like a blood relation, but because he expects profits from them. Likewise, when the cartwright finishes making carriages, he wants people to be rich and noble; when the carpenter finishes making coffins, he wants people to die early. Not that the cartwright is benevolent and the carpenter is cruel, but that unless people are noble, the carriages will not sell, and unless people die, the coffins will not be bought. Thus, the carpenter's motive is not a hatred for anybody but his profits are due to people's death. For the same reason, when the clique of the queen, the princess, the concubine, or the crown prince, is formed, they want the ruler to die early. For, unless the ruler die, their positions will not be powerful. Their motive is not a hatred for the ruler, but their profits are dependent on the ruler's death. Therefore the lord of men must specially mind those who will profit by his death.

For illustration, though the sun and the moon are surrounded by haloes, the causes of their eclipses are inside themselves. Similarly, though the ruler guards against what he hates, the causes of his calamity consist in what he loves.

For this reason, the intelligent sovereign would neither carry out any untenable task, nor eat any inordinate food, but would listen from all round and observe everybody closely in order thereby to scrutinize the faults of the interior and the exterior, and reflect on pros and cons so as to know the line of demarcation between different factions, compare the results of testimony, and thereby hold every utterance responsible for an equivalent fact, hold the consequent in correspondence with the antecedent, govern the masses in accordance with the law, and gather causes of different affairs for comparison and observation; so that nobody shall receive any undue reward and overstep the limits of his duties, and that every murderer shall be sentenced to proper penalty and no convict shall be pardoned. If so, there will be left no room for wicked and villainous persons to accomplish their self-seeking purposes.

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If compulsory labour service is frequent, the people will feel afflicted; if the people are afflicted, powerful and influential men will appear to the fore; if powerful and influential men make their appearance, exemptions will multiply; and if exemptions multiply, the nobles will, by accepting bribes from the people exempted from labour service, become wealthy. To afflict the people and thereby enrich the nobles and to vacate the august position and let ministers utilize it, is not a permanent advantage to the world. Hence the saying: "If compulsory labour service is rare, the people will feel safe; if the people are safe, the ministers will gain no extra power; if the ministers have no extra power, powerful and influential men will be extinguished; and if powerful and influential men disappear, all credit will be due to the sovereign."

Now, take for illustration the truism that water overpowers fire. Yet, when a tripod-kettle goes between them, then the water will be heated and boiled till it dries up over the fire while the fire can flame with vigour and continue burning beneath the water. Indeed, the fact that government forbids wickedness is still clearer than this. Yet, when ministers who ought to uphold the law play the part of the tripod-kettle by standing between ruler and subject, then the law, however clear in the sovereign's mind, has already lost its reason to forbid wickedness.

According to the sayings handed down from remote antiquity, as recorded in the Spring and Autumn Annals, whoever violates the law, launches an insurrection, and thereby commits high treason, comes from among the high and noble ministers. Yet what laws and orders guard against and penalties censure is always among the low and humble. That being so, the people give up all hope of salvation and find nobody to petition for relief. The chief vassals form juntas, obscure the ruler en bloc, and maintain their intimate relationship in secret but pretend in the open to mutual hatred in order to prove their unselfishness, and work as the ears and eyes of one another in order to watch for the sovereign's unguarded moments. Thus, surrounded and deluded, the lord of men has no way to get news from outside and retains the sovereign's title but not the reality while ministers have all laws to themselves and carry them into effect at their discretion. Of such a ruler the Sons of Heaven of Chou were good examples. In short, if the power and influence of the Throne is deputed to any minister in particular, high and low will displace their posts; which amounts to saying that no minister should be allowed to utilize the power and influence of the ruler.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 18.

Facing the South

The fault of the lord of men is: After having entrusted certain ministers with the state affairs, he guards against them with ministers not entrusted. His reason for so doing is that the non-entrusted and the entrusted will become enemies. Contrary to his expectation, the sovereign will fall under the spell of the non-entrusted. In consequence, the ministers with whom he is now guarding against the entrusted, are mostly those whom he used to guard against. If the lord of men cannot make the law clear and thereby restrain the power of chief vassals, there will be no other way to win confidence from the petty officials.

If the lord of men casts the law aside and guards against ministers with ministers, then those who love one another will associate for wicked purposes and speak well of one another while those who hate one another will form cliques and speak ill of one another. When blame and praise are crossing each other, the sovereign will fall into bewilderment and confusion.

Those who minister to a ruler, unless they have good reputations and make frequent requests, cannot advance their careers; unless they act contrary to the law and take all powers to themselves, they cannot uplift their prestige; and, unless they pretend to loyalty and faithfulness, they cannot rid themselves of prohibitions. These three ways are means of deluding the sovereign and destroying the law.

The lord of men, when employing ministers, should not allow them, however wise and able they may be, to act contrary to the law and take all powers to themselves; should not allow them, however worthy and virtuous they may be, to claim any priority among the men of merit and take precedence of the hard-working people; and should not discard the law and refrain from restricting them, however loyal and faithful they may be. Such a ruler is called an illustrator of the law.

The lord of men is sometimes tempted to tasks and sometimes deluded by words; wherefore both tasks and words need due consideration.

Ministers who imprudently propose tasks, usually underestimate the expenditure and thereby deceive the sovereign with the proposition. Deluded thereby, the sovereign does not carefully consider the tasks but thinks much of the ministers. If so, they will in turn restrain the sovereign with the enterprises. Such is called "temptation to tasks". The ruler once tempted to tasks will be harassed by worries.

If the proposition purports a small task but the actual expenses are enormous, then, though meritorious services are performed, the proposition is not one of faith. If the ministers whose propositions are of no faith are found guilty, and if the tasks, though they provide results, get no reward, nobody would dare to twist his words to blind the sovereign. The way to be a sovereign is to make the ministers' previous words never deviate from their subsequent sayings and the subsequent never deviate from the previous and to find them guilty in case of any deviation, although the tasks may have provided results. This is called "skilfully employing subordinates".

The minister, when he devises a project for his master and fears disapproval, will make out a case and declare such a warning as, "Whoever criticizes the project of this task is jealous of the projector." Suppose the lord of men, keeping it in secret, never consults any other minister. The rest of the ministers, frightened by the premonition, dare not criticize the project. If these two sets of circumstances prevail, loyal ministers will not be accepted but well-reputed ministers will be employed exclusively. Such is called "delusion by words". The ruler once deluded by words will be restrained by ministers.

The right way to be the sovereign is to make all ministers understand the reasons why they are blamed for giving opinions and why they are blamed for not giving opinions. If they utter words that have neither beginning nor ending or an argument that has no proof, then they are blamed for giving opinions. If they attempt to evade responsibilities by not giving any opinion so as to maintain their high posts, then they are blamed for not giving opinions.

The lord of men in keeping ministers in service ought to know the motive and purpose of every speaker in order to hold his words responsible for an equivalent fact, and ask the non-speakers to decide between the pros and cons of the proposition so as to hold them accountable for the result of the work. If so, nobody will dare to give any arbitrary opinions nor to keep silent. Because both speaking and silence equally involve accountabilities.

When the lord of men wants to accomplish a task, if he does not understand its beginning and ending so as to clarify the object of his desire, and then if he attempts to accomplish it, his work will gain no advantage but will incur disadvantage instead. If he understands this principle, he will trust to reason and get rid of avarice. The accomplishment of every task has its proper course. If its income is estimated to be big and its outgo is estimated to be small, the project is practicable.

Such is not the case with the deluded sovereign. For he estimates the income but never estimates the outgo. As a result, even though the outgo is twice as much as the income, he never notices the harm. Thus in name he gains but in fact he loses. If such is the case, the achievement will be little while the harm is great.

In general, an achievement implies a big income and a small outgo. Only in such a case can it be called an achievement. Now that much waste incurs no crime and little gain is a merit, ministers naturally waste enormous expenses and perform small merits. As small merits are performed, so the sovereign suffers losses.

Those who do not know the right way to political order, always say, "Never change ancient traditions, never remove existing institutions." Change or no change, the sage does not mind. For he aims only at the rectification of government. Whether or not ancient traditions should be changed, whether or not existing institutions should be removed, all depends upon the question whether or not such traditions and such institutions are still useful for present-day political purposes.

If Yi Yin had made no reform on behalf of Yin and T'aikung Wang had made no reform on behalf of Chou, neither T'ang nor Wu could become King. If Kuan Chung had made no reform on behalf of Ch'i and Kuo Yen had made no reform on behalf of Chin, neither Duke Huan nor Duke Wen could have become hegemonic.

Generally speaking, men hesitate to change ancient traditions because they are diffident about affecting the peace of the people. Indeed, not to change ancient traditions is to inherit the traces of disorder; to accord with the mind of the people is to tolerate villainous deeds. If the people are stupid and ignorant of disorder and the superior is weak-spirited and unable to reform traditions and institutions, it is a failure in the process of government.

The lord of men must be intelligent enough to know the true path to order and severe enough to carry out his orders without reserve. Therefore, though he has to act contrary to the mind of the people, he should by all means establish an orderly government.

The basis of this argument is found in the "External and Internal Affairs" by Lord Shang, who had iron spears and heavy shields around him whenever going out to provide against accidents. Likewise, when Kuo Yen began to assume the reins of government, Duke Wen had an official bodyguard. When Kuan Chung began to assume the reins of government, Duke Huan had an armoured carriage. Thus they all took precautions against mobs.

For the same reason, in dealing with stupid and idle people, if one worries himself about small expenses, then he is forgetting big profits. For instance, Yin Hu, bullied and slandered, was very afraid of even small changes and lost his permanent advantage in consequence. Likewise, the salesman of Tsou was not a carrier, but he was accustomed to chaotic conditions and chary of living in an orderly world. Therefore, the man of Cheng could not go home. . . .

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 19.

On Pretentions and Heresies: A Memorial

It was Chao that, after boring the tortoise-shell, counting the bamboo slips, and finding the omen saying, "Great luck," attacked Yen. It was Yen that, after boring the tortoise-shell, counting the bamboo slips, and finding the omen saying, "Great luck," attacked Chao. Chü Hsin, when serving Yen, rendered no meritorious service, till the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain fell into danger. Tsou Yen, when serving Yen, rendered no meritorious service, till the course of the state policy came to a deadlock. Chao was first successful in Yen and later successful in Ch'i. Though her state once fell into confusion, yet she always held her prestige high and assumed herself adequate to rival Ch'in on an equal footing. It was not because Chao's tortoiseshell was effective and Yen's tortoise-shell was deceptive.

Chao once again bored the tortoise-shell, counted the bamboo slips, and invaded Yen in the north with a view to resisting Ch'in by molesting Yen. The omen said, "Great luck." No sooner had her army marched out through Ta-liang in Wey than Ch'in began to invade Shang-tang in Chao. When her troops reached Li in Yen, she had lost six cities to Ch'in. When they reached Yang-ch'eng in Yen, Ch'in had taken Yeh in Chao. When P'ang Yüan turned Chao's army southward, practically all the strongholds of Chao had fallen into Ch'in's hands.

Thy servant, therefore, says: Chao's tortoise-shell, even though not able to foresee the outcome of her campaign in Yen, should have been able to foretell the victory of Ch'in's invasion at hand. Ch'in, believing in the great luck of the expedition, expanded her territory in fact and rescued Yen in the good cause. Chao, believing in the great luck of the campaign, had her soil dismembered and her forces humiliated, till the sovereign, unable to realise his ambition, passed away. Again, this was not because Ch'in's tortoise-shell was effective and Chao's tortoise-shell was deceptive.

At the outset of the founding of the state, Wey faced the east for several years and completely conquered both T'ao and Wei. Then she turned westward for several years to cope with Ch'in and, as a result, lost land to Ch'in. This was not because such lucky stars as Feng-lung (the star of the god of thundering), Wu-hsing (the constellation having five stars around a circle), T'ai-yi (the star of a heavenly god), Wang-hsiang (the star commanding the motion of Wu-hsing), She-ti (a double-star located in the constellation of Bootes), Liu-shen (stars of six gods), Wu-kua (five stars clustering in a certain constellation), T'ien-ho (the Milky Way), Yin-ch'iang (a star portending warfare and disturbance), and Sui-hsing (Jupiter), were for so many years in the direction of Ch'in and to the west of Wey; nor was it because such unlucky stars as T'ien-ch'üeh (the star of the god of lightning), Hu-ni (four stars in a certain constellation whose arc was said to be irregular), Hsing-hsing (Venus), Yung-hui (Mars, which ancient Chinese like ancient Greeks regarded as the god of war), and K'uei-t'ai (the constellation having sixteen stars resembling a person striding), were for so many years in the direction of Wey and to the east of Ch'in. Hence the saying: "Tortoise-shells, bamboo slips, devils, and deities, are not qualified to guarantee victory; nor are the directions of the stars, whether right or left, front or back, qualified to decide the outcome of war." If so, to believe in them is more stupid than anything else.

In ancient times, the early kings exerted their forces to renovate the people and doubled their efforts to clarify the law. As the law was made clear, loyal subjects were encouraged. As punishment was made definite, wicked subjects were suppressed. It was Ch'in whose loyal subjects were encouraged and wicked ones were suppressed and whose territory was expanded and sovereign was glorified. It was the states to the east of Mount Hua whose officials formed factions, associated for selfish purposes and thereby obscured the right way of government and committed crookedness in secret, and whose territories were dismembered and sovereigns humiliated. That disorderly and weak states go to ruin, is known to everybody. That orderly and strong states attain supremacy has been the beaten track since antiquity.

Kou-chien, King of Yüeh, believed in the Ta-p'eng Tortoise and waged a war with Wu, but did not win, till finally he had to surrender himself as vassal and went personally to serve the King of Wu. Upon his return, he threw away the tortoise, clarified the law, and renovated the people, with a view to giving Wu his revenge. In the end Fu-ch'a, King of Wu, was

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taken captive. Therefore, whoever believes in devils and deities, neglects the law.

Similarly, whoever relies on other feudal lords, endangers his native soil. For instance, Ts'ao, relying on Ch'i, turned a deaf ear to Sung, so that when Ch'i attacked Ching, Sung destroyed Ts'ao. Hsing, relying on Wu, took no advice from Ch'i, so that when Yüeh invaded Wu, Ch'i destroyed Hsing. Hsü, relying on Ching, would not listen to Wey, so that when Ching attacked Sung, Wey destroyed Hsü. Cheng, relying on Wey, would not listen to Han, so that when Wey attacked Ching, Han destroyed Cheng.

To-day, Han, being a small state, is relying upon big powers. Her sovereign, paying little attention to the law, takes every word from Ch'in. The above-mentioned small states, having relied upon Wey, Ch'i, Ching, and Wu for support, went to ruin one after another. Thus reliance on others is not sufficient to extend the native soil. Yet Han never looks at these instances. Again, when Ching attacked Wey, she sent her troops to Wey's allies, Hsü and Yen. When Ch'i attacked Jen and Hu and dismembered Wey's territory, the combined forces of the allies were not even sufficient to preserve Cheng. Yet Han takes no notice of these instances. All these states, indeed, never clarified laws and prohibitions in order to govern their peoples, but relied on foreign powers entirely, and thereby drove their Altars of the Spirits of Land and Grain to extinction.

Thy servant, therefore, says: If measures for political order are clarified, the state, though small in size, will become rich. If reward and punishment are dignified and of faith, the people, though small in number, will become strong. If reward and punishment follow no regulations, the state, however large in size, will have weak soldiers. For the soil is no longer its territory, the people no longer its subjects. Without territory and people, even Yao and Shun never could reign supreme nor could the three dynasties (Hsia, Yin, and Chou) ever become strong.

Moreover, when the sovereign gives indiscriminately, ministers take inconsiderately. Those who discard legal rules, praise the early kings, and thereby illustrate the achievements of the ancients, are entrusted by the ruler with the state affairs. Thy servant, therefore, says: Such an act is to hope for ancient achievements and reward modern men with ancient rewards. In consequence, the sovereign gives wrongly, ministers take idly. If the sovereign gives wrongly, then ministers will expect undue rewards; if ministers take idly, meritorious services will not be held in high esteem. If men of no merit receive rewards, the state exchequer will run low and the people will resent it; if the state exchequer runs low and the people resent it, then nobody will apply his strength to his duties. Therefore, who over-uses reward loses the people; who over-uses penalty cannot hold the people in awe. If reward is not sufficient to encourage, and penalty is not sufficient to prohibit the people, then the state, however large in size, will fall into danger.

Hence the saying: "Who knows few things, should not be allowed to scheme for enterprises; who practises loyalty in small ways, should not be allowed to take charge of judicial administration."

Once King Kung of Ching and Duke Li of Chin fought at Yen-ling. The Ching troops suffered a defeat. King Kung was wounded. During the bloody battle, Tzu-fan, High Commissioner of the Army, was thirsty and wanted some drink. His attendant, Shu Yang-ko, brought a cup of wine and presented it to him. "Get away!" exclaimed Tzu-fan. "It's wine." "No," replied Yang-ko. Tzu-fan, accordingly, took it and drank it. Habitually fond of wine, Tzu-fan felt it so delicious that he could not keep it off his mouth till he became drunk and lay down asleep. Thinking of having another battle, and fixing the stratagems therefor, King Kung sent for Tzu-fan, but Tzu-fan gave heart-aching as excuse for his absence from the conference. Thereupon, King Kung rode in a carriage and went to see him. As soon as he entered the tent, he smelt wine and turned back right away, saying: "In to-day's battle, I, the King, was wounded at my eye. The only person I have looked to for help is the High Commissioner of the Army. Now that the High Commissioner of the Army is so drunk, he is certainly ruining the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain of the Ching State and feeling no concern for the welfare of my subjects. I, the King, have no reason to have him with me on the battle-field any longer." So he ceased hostilities and retreated. He then beheaded Tzu-fan as an expiatory punishment for his disgrace of His Majesty. Hence the saying: "The presentation of wine by Shu Yang-ko was not out of any malice against Tzu-fan, but his mind that really loved him with loyalty was only enough to put him to death." This is to practise loyalty in small ways and thereby betray loyalty in big ways. Hence the saying: "Small loyalty is the betrayer of big loyalty." Thus, if the ruler puts men loyal in small ways in charge of judicial administration, they will pardon criminal offences. To pardon culprits and thereby love them, is to enjoy temporary peace with the inferiors, whereas it stands in the way of governing the people.

At the time when Wey was clarifying and establishing laws and upholding mandates without fail, men of merit were infallibly rewarded; men guilty of crimes were infallibly censured; her strength was sufficient to rectify All-underHeaven and her authority prevailed among the neighbours on the four sides. As soon as laws came to be neglected and rewards became arbitrary, the state was dismembered day after day. Similarly, at the time when Chao was enacting state laws and training a big army, she had a large population and a strong army and extended her territory into Ch'i and Yen. As soon as the state laws came to be neglected and the personnel in charge of the state affairs became weak, the state was dismembered day after day. Again, at the time when Yen was upholding the law and scrutinizing official decisions in detail, to the east she seized counties from the Ch'i State and to the south occupied the whole territory of Central Hills. When the upholders of the law died, the official decisions became useless, the attendants disputed with each other, and public opinion had to follow the lead of the inferiors; then the army became weak, the soil was dismembered, and the state fell under the spell of the surrounding enemies. Hence the saying: "Who clarifies the law, is strong; who neglects the law, is weak." The causes of strength and weakness are so vivid. Yet sovereigns of this age never attempt to foster the cause of strength. No wonder their states are doomed to ruin.

There is an ancient proverb saying: "The family that has a definite occupation, does not have to starve in time of famine; the state that has definite laws, does not go to ruin in case of emergency." Indeed, if the ruler discards definite laws and follows private opinions, then ministers will pretend to wisdom and ability; if ministers pretend to wisdom and ability, then laws and prohibitions will not hold good. In other words, when arbitrary opinions prevail, the way of governing the state dwindles. Therefore, the right way to govern the state is to remove the injurers of the law. In that case, there will be neither bewilderment by pretensions to wisdom and ability nor deception by pretensions to name and fame.

Of yore, Shun ordered officials to drain the Great Deluge. One official set himself to work before the order came, and accomplished merit. However, Shun executed him. Once Yü received the feudal lords in audience in the vicinity of Kuei-chi. As the Ruler of Fang-feng arrived late, Yü beheaded him. From this viewpoint it is clear that if those who went ahead of orders were executed and those who lagged behind orders were beheaded, the ancients must have held conformity to orders in high esteem.

For illustration, if the mirror keeps clean and has no obstacle, then the beautiful and the ugly can be compared; if the balance keeps right and has no obstacle, then the light and the heavy can be weighed. Indeed, when you shake the mirror, the mirror cannot keep clear; when you shake the balance, the balance cannot keep even. The same is true of the law. Therefore, the early kings took Tao as the constant standard, and the law as the basis of government. For, if the basis is orderly, the name is exalted; if the basis is confused, the name is extinguished. In general, wisdom, ability, cleverness, and erudition, if properly employed, take effect; otherwise, all come to nought. Therefore, though wisdom and ability are exerted, if the exertion is not proper, the right way of government cannot be communicated to people. Indeed, the true path and the law are absolutely reliable, wisdom and ability are liable to errors. Similarly, to hang up the balance and know the plane, and to turn round the compasses and know the circle, is an absolutely reliable way.

The intelligent sovereign makes the people conform to the law and thereby knows the true path; wherefore with ease he harvests meritorious results. To discard the compasses and trust to skilfulness, and to discard the law and trust to wisdom, leads to bewilderment and confusion. The violent sovereign lets the people pretend to wisdom but does not know the true path; wherefore in spite of his toil he gets no credit. If the sovereign discards laws and prohibitions and imprudently grants requests and audiences, then ministers will obtain posts from the sovereign for sale and accept pay from their inferiors. For this reason, profits go to private families and authority rests with ministers. In consequence, the people have no mind to exert their strength to serve the sovereign but merely strive to develop friendships with their superiors. If the people are fond of developing friendships with their superiors, then goods and cash will flow upwards and proficient speakers will be taken into service. Should that be the case, men of merit would decrease, wicked ministers would advance, and talented ministers would withdraw, till the sovereign falls into bewilderment and does not know what to do, and the masses flock together but do not know whom to obey. This is the fault of discarding laws and prohibitions, leaving merits and services behind, exalting names and reputations, and granting requests and audiences.

The law-breakers, on the whole, always set fabrications and make excuses in order thereby to seek intimate contact with the sovereign, and would also speak about events of rare occurrence in the world. This is the reason why the outrageous rulers and violent sovereigns are bewildered, and why able ministers and worthy counsellors are violated. For instance, ministers who praise Yi Yin and Kuan Chung for their rendering meritorious services and their being taken into service, will have sufficient reason to act against the law and pretend to wisdom; those who praise Pi-kan and Tzu-hsü for their being loyal but killed, will have sufficient citations to display hasty persuasions and forcible remonstrations. Indeed, if they now praise worthy and intelligent rulers such as the masters of Yi Yin and Kuan Chung and then blame outrageous and violent sovereigns such as the masters of Pi-kan and Tzu-hsü, then their forced analogies are not worth taking. Such men must be suppressed. The ruler makes laws so as to establish the standard of right. Yet most ministers of to-day exalt their private wisdom. Those who condemn the law as wrong, regard heretic creeds as wise and establish their own standards of conduct beyond the boundary of the law. To suppress such crooks, is the duty of the sovereign.

It is the duty of the sovereign to make clear the distinction between public and private interests, enact laws and statutes openly, and forbid private favours. Indeed, to enforce whatever is ordered and stop whatever is prohibited, is the public justice of the lord of men. To practise personal faith to friends, and not to be encouraged by any reward nor to be discouraged by any punishment, is the private righteousness of ministers. Wherever private righteousness prevails, there is disorder; wherever public justice obtains, there is order. Hence the necessity of distinction between public and private interests.

Every minister cherishes both selfish motive and public justice. To refine his personality, improve his integrity, practise public creeds, and behave unselfish in office, is the public justice of the minister. To corrupt his conduct, follow his desires, secure his personal interests, and benefit his own family, is the selfish motive of the minister. If the intelligent sovereign is on the Throne, every minister will discard his selfish motive and practise public justice. If the violent sovereign is on the Throne, every minister will cast public justice aside and act on his selfish motive. Thus, ruler and minister have different frames of mind.

The ruler keeps the minister in service with a calculating mind. So does the minister with a calculating mind serve the ruler. As both ruler and minister are equally calculating, each for himself, the minister never cares to injure his body and benefit the state, nor does the ruler want to injure the state and benefit the minister. By nature the minister would regard the injury of himself as unprofitable. By nature the ruler would think the injury of the state as merciless. In short, ruler and minister work together, each with a calculating mind.

In the face of a crisis, the minister may sacrifice his life, exert his wisdom, and apply his strength. He would do so only on account of the law.

Therefore, the early kings, in order to encourage ministers, made rewards clear, and, in order to overawe them, made penalties severe. For, when rewards and penalties were clarified, the people would risk their lives in the cause of their native soil; when the people were resolved to risk their lives, the army would become strong and the sovereign would be honoured. When reward and penalty were not clearly enacted, men of no merit would expect undue rewards; when men found guilty were pardoned by grace, the army would become weak and the sovereign would become ignoble. Therefore, the early kings and their worthy counsellors applied their strength and exerted their wisdom to make laws clear and penalties severe. Hence the saying: "That public and private interests must be clearly distinguished and laws and prohibitions must be carefully enacted, the early kings already understood."

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 20.

Commentaries on Lao Tzu's Teachings

Chapter 38. Discourse on Virtue

Superior virtue is unvirtue. Therefore it has virtue. Inferior virtue never loses sight of virtue. Therefore it has no virtue.

Superior virtue is non-assertion and without pretension. Inferior virtue asserts and makes pretensions.

Superior benevolence acts but makes no pretensions. Superior righteousness acts and makes pretensions.

Superior propriety acts and when no one responds to it, it stretches its arm and enforces its rules.

Thus one leaves Tao and then Teh appears. One leaves Virtue and then Benevolence appears. One leaves Benevolence and then Righteousness appears. One leaves Righteousness and then Propriety appears. The rules of Propriety are the semblance of loyalty and faith, and the beginning of disorder.

Foreknowledge is the flower of Tao, but of ignorance the beginning.

Therefore a great sportsman abides by the solid and dwells not in the superficial. He abides in the fruit and dwells not in the flower.

Therefore he discards the latter and chooses the former.

Virtue is internal. Acquirement is external. "Superior virtue is unvirtue" means that the mind does not indulge in external things. If the mind does not indulge in external things, the personality will become perfect. The personality that is perfect is called "acquirement". In other words, acquirement is the acquirement of the personality. In general, virtue begins with non-assertion, develops with non-wanting,

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rests secure with non-thinking, and solidifies with non-using. If it acts and wants, it becomes restless; if restless, it is not perfect. If put into use and thought about, it does not solidify; if it does not solidify, it cannot work successfully. If it is not perfect and cannot work successfully, it will become self-assertive virtue. If it becomes self-assertive virtue, it is non-virtue. Contrary to this, if unvirtue, it has virtue. Hence the saying: "Superior virtue is unvirtue. Therefore it has virtue."

The reason why men value non-assertion and nonthinking as emptiness is that by remaining empty one's will is ruled by nothing. Verily, tactless people purposely regard non-assertion and non-thinking as emptiness. To be sure, those who purposely regard non-assertion and non-thinking as emptiness, never forget emptiness in their minds. They are thus ruled by the will to emptiness. By "emptiness" is meant the status of the will not ruled by anything. To be ruled by the pursuit of emptiness is ipso facto not emptiness. When he who rests empty does not assert, he does not regard non-assertion as having a constant way. If he does not regard non-assertion as having a constant way, he is then empty. If he is empty, his virtue flourishes. The virtue that flourishes is called "superior virtue". Hence the saying: "Superior virtue is non-assertion and without pretension."

By "benevolence" is meant the love of men in a pleasant mood in one's innermost heart. It is to rejoice in the good luck of others and to lament on their bad luck. It is born of the sense of sheer necessity, but not of the want of reward. Hence the saying: "Superior benevolence acts but makes no pretensions."

"Righteousness" covers the manners of ruler and minister, superior and inferior, the distinction between father and son, high and low, the contact between intimate acquaintances, between friends, and the difference between the close and the distant, the internal and the external. The minister ought to serve the ruler aright; the inferior ought to comfort the superior aright. The son ought to serve the father aright; the low ought to respect the high aright. Intimate acquaintances and good friends ought to help each other aright. The close ought to be taken in while the distant ought to be kept off. In short, "righteousness" implies whatever is done aright. Anything right ought to be done aright. Hence the saying: "Superior righteousness acts and makes pretensions."

"Propriety" refers to the mode in which one's feelings are expressed. It is concerned with the cultural embellishments of all righteous acts, such as the mutual relations of ruler and minister, father and son. It is the way whereby high and low, worthy and unworthy, are differentiated. For instance, when one pines after someone else but cannot make himself understood, he runs fast towards the person and bows low in front of him so as to express his attachment to that person. Similarly, when one loves someone from one's innermost heart and cannot make himself known, he uses pleasing words and beautiful phrases to convince the person loved. Thus, propriety is the outer embellishment whereby the inner heart is understood. Hence "propriety" refers to the mode in which one's feelings are expressed.

In general, when a man responds to external things, he does not know that the response reveals the propriety of his personality. The masses of the people practise propriety only to show respect for others, wherefore propriety is now cordial and again simple. The superior man practises propriety on purpose to cultivate his personality. Since it is practised on purpose to cultivate his personality, it is intrinsic in mind and forms superior propriety. Since superior propriety is intrinsic in mind and popular propriety changes from time to time, they do not respond to each other. Since they do not respond to each other, hence the saying: "Superior propriety acts and no one responds to it."

Though the masses of the people change propriety from time to time, yet the saintly man is always courteous and respectful, practising the rules of propriety which bind him hand and foot. In so doing he never slackens. Hence the saying: "Superior virtue stretches its arm and enforces its rules."

Tao accumulates; accumulation accomplishes an achievement; and Teh is the achievement of Tao. Achievement solidifies; solidity shines; and Jen is the shining of Teh. Shine has gloss; gloss has function; and Ih is the function of Jen. Function has propriety; propriety has embellishment; and Li is the embellishment of Ih. Hence the saying: "One leaves Tao and then Teh appears. One leaves Virtue and then Benevolence appears. One leaves Benevolence and then Righteousness appears. One leaves Righteousness and then Propriety appears."

Propriety is the mode expressive of feelings. Embellishment is the decoration of qualities. Indeed, the superior man takes the inner feelings but leaves the outer looks, likes the inner qualities but hates the outer decorations. Who judges inner feelings by outer looks, finds the feelings bad. Who judges inner qualities by outer decorations, finds the inner qualities rotten. How can I prove this? The jade of Pien Ho was not decorated with the five bright colours. The bead of Marquis Sui was not decorated with yellow gold. Their qualities are so good that nothing is fit to decorate them. Verily, anything that functions only after being decorated must have poor qualities. For this reason, between father and son propriety is simple and not brilliant. Hence the saying: "Propriety is superficial semblance only."

In general, things that do not flourish together are Yin and Yang. Principles that mutually take and give are threat and favour. What is substantial in reality but simple in appearance, is the propriety between father and son. From this viewpoint I can see that whoever observes complicated rules of propriety is rotten in his innermost heart. Nevertheless, to observe the rules of propriety is to comply with the naïve minds of people. The masses of the people, when observing the rules of propriety, rejoice imprudently if others respond, and resent it with blame if not. Now that the observers of the rules of propriety with a view to complying with the naïve minds of people are given the opportunity to blame each other, how can there be no dispute? Where there is dispute, there is disorder. Hence the saying: "The rules of propriety are the semblance of loyalty and faith, and the beginning of disorder."

To act before affairs take place and move before principles are clear, is called foreknowledge. The foreknower makes arbitrary guesses with no special cause. How can I prove this? Once upon a time, Chan Ho was seated and his disciples were waiting upon him. When an ox mooed outside the gate, the disciples said, "It is a black ox but white is on its forehead." In response to this, Chan Ho said, "True, it is a black ox but the white is on its horns." Accordingly, they sent men out to investigate it and found the ox was black and its horns were wrapped with white cloth. To bewilder the minds of the masses with the accomplished tact of Chan Tzu is almost as brilliant as any gay flower. Hence the saying: "Foreknowledge is the flower of Reason."

Supposing by way of trial we discarded the foresight of Chan Tzu and sent out an ignorant boy less than five feet tall to investigate it, then he would know the ox was black and its horns were wrapped with white cloth, too. Thus, with the foresight of Chan Tzu, who had afflicted his mind and exhausted his energy in order to attain it, was accomplished this same merit which an ignorant boy below five feet tall can do. Therefore, it is said to be "the beginning of ignorance". Hence the saying: "Foreknowledge is the flower of Reason, but of ignorance the beginning."

"A great sportsman" is so called because his wisdom is great. To "abide by the solid and dwell not in the superficial", as is said, means to act upon inner feelings and realities and leave aside outer rules of propriety and appearance. To "abide in the fruit and dwell not in the flower", as is said, means to follow causes and principles and make no arbitrary guesses. To "discard the latter and choose the former", as is said, means to discard outer manners and arbitrary guesses, and adapt causes, principles, inner feelings, and realities. Hence the saying: "He discards the former and chooses the latter."

Chapter 58. Adaptation to Change

Whose government is unostentatious, quite unostentatious, his people will be prosperous, quite prosperous. Whose government is prying, quite prying, his people will be needy, quite needy.

Misery, alas! is what happiness rests upon. Happiness, alas! is what misery is hidden in. But who foresees the catastrophe? It will not be prevented.

What is ordinary becomes again extraordinary. What is good becomes again unpropitious. This bewilders people, and it happens constantly since times immemorial.

Therefore the saintly man is square but not sharp, strict but not obnoxious, upright but not restraining, bright but not dazzling.

Man encountered by misery feels afraid in mind. If he feels afraid in mind, his motives of conduct will become straight. If his motives of conduct are straight, his thinking processes will become careful. If his thinking processes are careful, he will attain principles of affairs. If his motives of conduct are straight, he will meet no misery. If he meets no misery, he will live a life as decreed by heaven. If he attains principles of affairs, he will accomplish meritorious works. If he can live a life as decreed by heaven, his life will be perfect and long. If he accomplishes meritorious works, he will be wealthy and noble. Who is perfect, long-lived, wealthy, and noble, is called happy. Thus, happiness originates in the possession of misery. Hence the saying: "Misery, alas! is what happiness rests upon" for accomplishing its merit.

When one has happiness, wealth and nobility come to him. As soon as wealth and nobility come to him, his clothes and food become good. As soon as his clothes and food become good, an arrogant attitude appears. When an arrogant attitude appears, his conduct will become wicked and his action unreasonable. If his conduct is wicked, he will come to an untimely end. If his action is unreasonable, he will accomplish nothing. Indeed, to meet the disaster of premature death without making a reputation for achievement, is a great misery. Thus, misery originates in the possession of happiness. Hence the saying: "Happiness, alas! is what misery is hidden in."

Indeed, those who administer affairs by following reason and principle never fail to accomplish tasks. Those who never fail to accomplish tasks, can attain the honour and influence of the Son of Heaven for their best or at least easily secure the rewards and bounties of ministers and generals. Indeed, those who discard reason and principle and make arbitrary motions, though they have the honour and influence of the Son of Heaven and the feudal lords on the one hand and possess ten times the wealth of I Tun and T'ao Chu, will eventually lose their subjects and ruin their financial resources. The masses of the people who discard reason imprudently and make arbitrary motions easily, do not know that the cycle of misery and happiness is so great and profound and the way is so wide and long. Hence Lao Tzu taught men by saying: "Who foresees the catastrophe?"

Everybody wants wealth, nobility, health, and longevity. Yet none can evade the disaster of poverty, lowliness, death, or untimely end. To have the want in mind for wealth, nobility, health, and longevity, and meet poverty, lowliness, death, or untimely end, in the long run, means the inability to reach what one wants to reach. In general, who misses the way he seeks and walks at random, is said to be bewildered. If bewildered, he cannot reach the place he wants to reach. Now the masses of the people cannot reach the place they want to reach. Hence the saying of "bewilderment".

That the masses of the people cannot reach the place they want to reach, has been true since the opening of heaven and earth till the present. Hence the saying: "The people have been bewildered from time immemorial."

By "square" is implied the correspondence of the internal with the external, the agreement of word with deed. By "strictness" is implied the determination to die in the cause of fidelity, to take matters of property and money easy. By "uprightness" is implied the sense of duty to stand by the just, the frame of mind to be impartial. By "brightness" is implied the honour of official rank and the excellence of clothes and fur garments. Now, the upholders of the right way of life, though earnest in mind and adaptable outside, neither slander the defamed nor debase the fallen. Though determined to die a martyr to fidelity and not be covetous of money, they neither insult the fickle nor put the greedy to shame. Though righteous and impartial, they neither spurn the wicked nor accuse the selfish. Though their influence is great and their clothes excellent, they neither show off before the humble nor look down upon the poor. What is the cause of this? Well, suppose those who have lost the way are willing to listen to able man and ask knowers of the way. Then they will not be bewildered. Now, the masses of the people want successes but meet failures because they were born ignorant of reason and principle and are still unwilling to ask the knowers and listen to the able. The masses of the people being thus not willing to ask the knowers and listen to the able, if saintly men reproach their misery and failure, they show resentment. The masses are many, the saintly men are few. That the few cannot prevail upon the many, is natural. Now, to make enemies of All-under-Heaven habitually is not the way to keep oneself intact and enjoy a long life. For this reason, the saintly men follow the four standards of conduct and exalt them in solitude. Hence the saying: "The saintly man is square but not sharp, strict but not obnoxious, upright but not restraining, bright but not dazzling."

Chapter 59. The Way to Maintain Order in the State

For governing the people and obeying heaven nothing is better than frugality.

Now consider that frugality is said to come from early practice.

By early practice it is said that we can accumulate an abundance of virtue. If one accumulates an abundance of virtue, then there is nothing that cannot be overcome.

If nothing cannot be overcome, then no one knows his limit. If no one knows his limit, one can have possession of the state.

Who has possession of the state's mother, may last and abide.

This is called the possession of deep roots and of a staunch stem. To long life and to everlasting activity, this is the way.

Sharpness and brightness, intuition and wisdom, are endowed by heaven. Motion and repose, thinking and worry, are enacted by man. Man by virtue of natural brightness sees, by virtue of natural sharpness hears, and thinks and worries owing to natural intelligence. Therefore, if he sees too much, his eyes will not be bright. If he hears too much, his ears will not be sharp. And if his thinking and worry go beyond the limits, his wisdom and knowledge will be confused. The eyes, if not bright, cannot tell the black from the white colour. The ears, if not sharp, cannot distinguish between voiceless and voiced sounds. And wisdom and knowledge, if confused, cannot discriminate the gaining from the losing game. The eyes unable to tell the black from the white colour are said to be blind. The ears unable to distinguish between voiceless and voiced sounds are said to be deaf. And the mind unable to discriminate the gaining from the losing game is said to be insane. Blind, one cannot escape dangers whether by day or night. Deaf, one cannot perceive the damage caused by thunder. And insane, one cannot evade the calamities of the violation of laws and decrees prevailing among his fellow men. Therefore, government of the people, as is said in Lao Tzu's text, should suit the degree of motion and repose and save the

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trouble of thinking and worry. The so-called obedience to heaven means not to reach the limits of sharpness and brightness nor to exhaust the functions of wisdom and knowledge. If anybody ventures such extremity and exhaustion, he will have to use too much of his mental energy. If he uses too much of his mental energy, then disasters from blindness, deafness, and insanity will befall him. Hence the need of frugality. Who is frugal, loves his mental energy and saves his wisdom and knowledge. Hence the saying: "For governing the people and obeying heaven, nothing is better than frugality."

The masses of the people, when using their mental energy, are in a great hurry. If in a great hurry, they waste too much of their energy. To waste too much energy is said to be extravagant. The saintly man, when using his mental energy, is reposed. Reposed, he consumes little energy. To consume a small amount of energy is said to be frugal. Frugality, called a tact, originates in reason and principle. The ability to be frugal, indeed, is due to obedience to reason and conformity to principle. The masses of the people, though caught by troubles and overtaken by disasters, are still not aware of the need of retirement and would not follow reason and principle. The saintly man even before he sees the signs of misery and disaster is already humble-minded and follows reason and principle. This is said to be early practice. Hence the saying: "Now consider that frugality is said to come from early practice."

Who knows how to govern the people, thinks and worries in repose. Who knows how to obey heaven, keeps his sense-organs humble. If one thinks and worries in repose, his old virtue will not go out. If he keeps his sense-organs humble, the spirit of peace will come in every day. Hence the saying: "Accumulate an abundance of virtue."

Indeed, who can make the old virtue not go out and the spirit of peace come in every day, is a man of early practice. Hence the saying: "By early practice it is said that we can accumulate an abundance of virtue."

After one accumulates virtue, one's mind becomes tranquil. After one's mind becomes tranquil, one's spirit of peace becomes abundant. After one's spirit of peace becomes abundant, one becomes able to scheme well. After one becomes able to scheme well, one becomes able to control everything. If able to control everything, one can easily overcome enemies in warfare. If one can easily overcome enemies in warfare, his reputation will spread all over the world. Since the reputation spreads all over the world, hence the saying: "There is nothing that cannot be overcome."

To find nothing invulnerable results from the accumulation of an abundance of virtue. Hence the saying: "If one accumulates an abundance of virtue, then there is nothing that cannot be overcome."

If one can easily overcome his enemies in warfare, he will be able to annex All-under-Heaven. If his reputation spreads all over the world, the people will obey him. Thus, when going forward, he can annex All-under-Heaven; when turning backward, he finds the people obedient to him. If his tact is profound, the masses of the people cannot perceive its beginning and ending. Inasmuch as the people cannot perceive its beginning and ending, no one knows his limit. Hence the saying: "If nothing cannot be overcome, then no one knows his limit."

In general, who first has the state and then loses it, and who first has the body and then drives it to misery, cannot be called able to have possession of the state and keep the safety of the body. Indeed, who can have possession of the state, must be able to keep the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain in security; who can keep the safety of the body, must be able to live through the period of life as decreed by heaven. Such a man can be called able to have possession of the state and keep the safety of the body. Indeed, who can have possession of his state and keep the safety of the body, always holds fast to Tao. If he holds fast to Tao, his wisdom is deep. If his wisdom is deep, his comprehension is far and wide. If his comprehension is far and wide, then the masses of the people cannot know its limit. It is only by realizing the true path that one can prevent people from seeing the limits of one's own affairs. Who can prevent people from seeing the limits of his own affairs, can keep the safety of his body and have possession of his state. Hence the saying: "If no one knows his limit, one can have possession of the state."

As to the so-called "possession of the state's mother", the mother is Tao. Tao appears in the craft whereby the state is possessed. As one has possession of the craft whereby the state is possessed, he is said to have possession of the state's mother. Indeed, Tao moves along with the world, so that it lasts long in building life and abides forever in keeping bounty. Hence the saying: "Who has possession of the state's mother may last and abide." Trees have both widespread roots and straight roots. The straight 36 root is what is called "stem" 37 in the text. By means of the stem the tree builds up its life; by means of the widespread roots the tree keeps up its life. Now, virtue is the means whereby man builds up his life; bounty is the means whereby man keeps up his life. Who establishes himself upon principle, maintains his bounty long. Hence the saying: "Deepen the roots." Who realizes the true path, lasts long in the course of life. Hence the saying: "Staunch the stem." If the stem is staunched, the life will be long. If the roots are deepened, the activity will last for ever. Hence the saying: "To deepen the roots and staunch the stem is the way to long life and everlasting activity."

Chapter 60. How to Be in Office

Govern a big country as you would fry small fish: (neither gut nor scale them).

If with Tao All-under-Heaven is managed, even its ghosts will not haunt. Not only will its ghosts not haunt, but its gods will not harm the people. Not only will its gods not harm the people, but neither will its sages harm the people. Since neither will do harm, therefore their virtues will be combined.

The craftsman, if he frequently changes his work, will lose his accomplishment. The workman, if he frequently shifts his occupation, will lose his accomplishment, too. If one man loses half-a-day's accomplishment every day, in ten days he will lose five men's accomplishment. If ten thousand men each lose half-a-day's accomplishment every day, in ten days they will lose fifty thousand men's accomplishment. If so, the more numerous those who frequently change their works are, the greater losses they will incur. Likewise, if laws and decrees are altered, advantages and disadvantages will become different. If advantages and disadvantages are different, the duties of the people will change. Change of duties is said to be change of works. Therefore, by reasoning I can see that if tasks are big and many and are frequently shifted, then few of them can be accomplished; that if anybody keeps a great vessel and moves it too often, it will incur many damages; that if, when frying small fish, you poke them around too often, you will ruin the cooking; and that if, when governing a big country, you alter laws and decrees too often, the people will suffer hardships. Therefore, the ruler who follows the proper course of government, values emptiness and tranquillity and takes the alteration of the law seriously. Hence the saying: "Govern a big country 38 as you would fry small fish."

People when ill hold physicians in esteem, and, when miserable, hold ghosts in awe. When the sage is on the throne, the people will have fewer desires. When the people have fewer desires, their blood and spirit will become orderly and their behaviour and conduct reasonable. If blood and spirit are orderly and behaviour and conduct reasonable, there will be fewer disasters. Indeed, those who suffer no trouble of boils and piles inside and incur no misery of punishment and censure outside, hold ghosts in great contempt. Hence the saying: "If with Tao Allunder-Heaven is managed, even its ghosts will not haunt."

The people of an orderly age and ghosts and gods do not harm each other. Hence the saying: "Not only will its ghosts not haunt, but its gods will not harm the people."

If ghosts fall upon sick persons, it is then said that ghosts harm men. If men drive ghosts away, it is then said that men harm ghosts. If the people violate laws and decrees, it is then said that the people harm the sovereign. If the sovereign punishes and chastises the people, it is then said that the sovereign harms the people. If the people do not violate the law, then the sovereign does not have to apply any penalty, either. If the superior does not apply any penalty, it is then said that the sovereign does not harm the people. Hence the saying: "Not only will its gods not harm the people, but neither will its sages harm the people."

The sovereign and the people do not ruin each other while men and ghosts do not harm each other. Hence the saying: "Neither will do harm."

If the people dare not violate the law, then the sovereign does not have to apply penalties on the one hand nor does he have to work to the advantage of his own investments on the other. If the sovereign neither has to apply penalties nor has to work to the advantage of his own investments, the people will multiply and prosper. When the people are multiplying and prospering, their savings and hoardings will flourish. To have a people who multiply and prosper and whose savings and hoardings flourish, is called to have possession of virtue. The so-called cursed person is one whose soul is gone and whose mind is perturbed. If his mind is perturbed, he has no virtue. If ghosts did not fall upon the man, his soul would not go away. If the soul did not go away, his mind would not be perturbed. To have the mind not perturbed is called to have possession of virtue. Therefore, if the sovereign encourages savings and hoardings and ghosts do not disturb their minds, then all virtue will go to the people. Hence the saying: "Since neither will do harm, therefore their virtues will be combined." This means that the virtues of high and low flourish and in both cases are combined into the well-being of the people.

The ruler who upholds Tao incurs no hatred from the neighbouring enemies outside and bestows beneficence upon the people at home. Verily, who incurs no hatred from the neighbouring enemies, observes the rules of etiquette when dealing with the feudal lords; who bestows beneficence upon the people, emphasises primary works when administering the people's affairs. If he treats the feudal lords according to the rules of etiquette, then warfare will rarely take place. If he administers the people's affairs by emphasising their primary works, then indulgence in pleasures and extravagant livelihood will stop. Now, horses in general are greatly useful because they carry armour and weapons and facilitate indulgence in pleasures and extravagant livelihood. However, inasmuch as the ruler who upholds the true path rarely employs armour and weapons and forbids indulgence in pleasures and extravagant livelihood, the sovereign does not have to use horses in warfare and drive them back and forth and the masses of the people never have to employ horses for transporting luxuries between distant places. What they devote their strength to, is farms and fields only. If they devote their strength to farms and fields, they have to haul dung for fertilizing the land and water for irrigating it. Hence the saying: "When All-under-Heaven follows Tao, race-horses are reserved for hauling dung."

On the contrary, if the ruler of men does not uphold Tao, at home he will misgovern the people and abroad he will offend the neighbouring states. If he misgoverns the people, the people will lose their property; if he offend the neighbouring states, warfare will frequently take place. If the people lose their property, the cattle will decrease; if warfare takes place frequently, officers and soldiers will be exhausted. If cattle decrease, war horses will become few; if officers and soldiers are exhausted, the army will be jeopardised. If war horses are few, then even mares will have to appear on the battle-field; if the army is jeopardised, then even courtiers will have to march to the front line. After all, horses are of great use to troops, and "suburb" means "neighbourhood at hand". Since they have to replenish the army with mares 46 and courtiers, hence the saying: "When All-under-Heaven does not follow Tao, war horses are bred in the suburbs."

When a man has wild desires, his inferences become confused. When his inferences are confused, his desire becomes intense. When his desire is intense, the crooked mind rules supreme. When the crooked mind rules supreme, affairs go straight to a deadlock. When affairs go straight to a deadlock, disasters take place. From this viewpoint it is clear that disasters are due to the crooked mind, which is in its turn due to submission to desire. As regards submission to desire, the positive kind would lead obedient citizens to villainy, the negative kind would lead good persons to misery. When culprits appear, the ruler will be violated and weakened. When misery comes, most people will be harmed. Thus, all sorts of submission to desire either violate and weaken the ruler or harm the people. To violate and weaken the ruler and harm the people is, indeed, a great crime. Hence the saying: "No greater crime than submitting to desire."

Therefore the saintly men are never attracted to the five colours nor do they indulge in music; the intelligent ruler treats lightly amusement in curios and rids himself of indulgence in beauties. By nature man has neither wool nor feather. If he wears no clothes at all, he cannot resist cold. Above he does not belong to the heavens. Below he is not stuck to the earth. And the stomach and intestines are what he takes as roots of his life. Unless he eat, he cannot live. Therefore he cannot avoid having an avaricious mind. The avaricious mind, unless banished, would cause one worries. Therefore, the saintly men, if they have sufficient clothes to resist cold and sufficient food to fill their empty stomachs, have no worry at all. The same is not true of the ordinary man. Whether they are feudal lords or only worth a thousand pieces of gold, their worry about what they want to get is never shaken off. It is possible for convicts to receive special pardons; and it happens occasionally that criminals sentenced to death live on for some time. Since the worry of those who know no sufficiency is life-long and inevitable, hence the saying: "No greater misery than not knowing sufficiency."

Therefore, if avarice is intense, it causes worry. If one worries, he falls ill. If he falls ill, his intelligence declines. If his intelligence declines, he loses the ability to measure and calculate. If he loses the ability to measure and calculate, his action becomes absurd. If his action is absurd, then misery will befall him. If misery befalls him, the illness will turn from bad to worse inside his body. If the illness turns from bad to worse inside his body, he feels pain. If misery hangs over him from without, he feels distressed. The pain and distress that ply out and in 54 would hurt the invalid seriously. Hurt seriously, the invalid retires and finds fault with himself. It is due to the avaricious mind that he retires and finds fault with himself. Hence the saying: "No greater fault than avarice."

Tao is the way of everything, the form of every principle. Principles are the lines that complete things. Tao is the cause of the completion of everything. Hence the saying: "It is Tao that rules everything."

Things have their respective principles and therefore cannot trespass against each other. Inasmuch as things have their respective principles and therefore cannot trespass against each other, principles are determinants of things and everything has a unique principle. Inasmuch as everything has its unique principle and Tao disciplines the principles of all things, everything has to go through the process of transformation. Inasmuch as everything has to go through the

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process of transformation, it has no fixed frame. Since everything has no fixed frame, the course of life and death depends upon Tao, the wisdom of the myriad kinds conforms to it, and the rise and fall of the myriad affairs is due to it. Heaven can be high because of it, earth can hold everything because of it, the Polar Star can have its majesty because of it, the sun and the moon can make constant illumination because of it, the five constant elements can keep their positions constant because of it, all the stars can keep their orbits right because of it, the four seasons can control their diverse expressions because of it, Hsien-yüan could rule over the four directions at his discretion because of it, Master Red Pine could live as long as heaven and earth because of it, and sages can compose essays and elaborate institutions because of it. It was manifested in the wisdom of Yao and Shunm in the rampancy of Chieh-yü, in the destruction of Chieh and Chow, and in the prosperity of T'ang and Wu. Near as you might suppose it to be, it travels to the four poles of the world. Far as you might suppose it to be, it always abides by the side of everybody. Dim as you might suppose it to be, its gleam is glittering. Bright as you might suppose it to be, its body is obscure. By its achievement heaven and earth are formed. By its harmony thundering is transformed. Thus everything in the world owes it its formation. By nature the inner reality of Tao is neither restrained nor embodied. It is either soft or weak according as the occasion is, and is always in correspondence with principles. Because of it everything dies. Thanks to it everything lives. Because of it every affair fails. Thanks to it every affair succeeds. Tao can be compared to water. Who is drowning, dies as he drinks too much of it. Who is thirsty lives on as he drinks a proper amount of it. Again, it can be compared to a sword or a spear. If the stupid man uses it for wreaking his grudge upon others, calamities will happen. If the saintly man uses it for punishing the outrageous, good luck will ensue. Thus, people die of it, live owing to it, fail because of it, and succeed on account of it.

Men rarely see living elephants. As they come by the skeleton of a dead elephant, they imagine its living according to its features. Therefore it comes to pass that whatever people use for imagining the real is called "image". Though Tao cannot be heard and seen, the saintly man imagines its real features in the light of its present effects. Hence the saying: "It is the form of the formless, the image of the imageless."

Chapter 1. Understanding Tao

The Tao that can be traced as a way is not the eternal Tao. The name that can be defined as a name is not the eternal name. What has no name is the beginning of heaven and earth. What has a name is the mother of the myriad things. Therefore it is said:

"He who desireless is found
The spiritual of the world will sound.
But he who by desire is bound
Sees the mere shell of things around."

These two things are the same in source but different in name. Their sameness is called a mystery. Indeed, it is the mystery of mysteries. Of all subtleties it is the gate.

In general, principles are what distinguish the square from the round, the short from the long, the coarse from the fine, and the hard from the brittle. Accordingly, it is only after principles become definite that things can attain Tao. Thus, definite principles include those of existence and extinction, of life and death, and of rise and fall. Indeed, anything that first exists and next goes to ruin, now lives and then dies, and prospers at the beginning and declines afterward, cannot be said to be eternal. Only that which begins with the creation of heaven and earth and neither dies nor declines till heaven and earth disappear can be said to be eternal. What is eternal has neither a changing location nor a definite principle and is not inherent in an eternal place. Therefore the eternal cannot be traced as a way. The saintly man, looking at its mysterious emptiness and dwelling upon its universal course, forcibly gave it the name Tao. Only thereafter it can be talked about. Hence the saying: "The Tao that can be traced as a way is not the eternal Tao."

Chapter 50. The Estimation of Life

Appear in birth, disappear in death.

There are thirteen dependencies of life; there are thirteen dependencies of death. On thirteen avenues men that live pass into the realm of death.

Now, what is the reason? It is because they live life's intensity.

Yea, I understand that one who takes good care of life, when travelling on land, will not fall a prey to the bison or the tiger. When going among soldiers, he need not fear arms and weapons. The bison finds no place wherein to insert its horns. The tiger finds no place wherein to put his claws. Weapons find no place wherein to thrust their blades. What is the reason? It is because he does not belong to the realm of death.

Man begins in birth and ends in death. To begin is called to appear; to end, to disappear. Hence the saying: "Appear in birth, disappear in death."

The human body is composed of three hundred and sixty joints with four limbs and nine passages as its important equipment. Four limbs plus nine passages are thirteen in number. The motion and the repose of all these thirteen depend upon life. As they depend upon life, they are said to be "dependencies". Hence the saying: "There are thirteen dependencies of life."

As regards death, the thirteen equipments revert to their original status, and all depend upon death. Therefore, the dependencies of death are also thirteen. Hence the saying: "There are thirteen dependencies of life; there are thirteen dependencies of death."

On the whole, people who live by living life's intensity, move all the time. When motion is exerted, they incur losses. If motion does not stop, losses will occur incessantly. If losses occur incessantly, life will come to an end. Life's coming to an end is called "death". That is to say, the thirteen equipments are all avenues to pass into the realm of death. Hence the saying: "People move to live in the realm of life. But motion includes all avenues to the realm of death which are also thirteen in number."

Therefore, the saintly man saves mental energy and esteems the status of repose. Otherwise, conditions would become much worse than the harm of bisons and tigers. True, bisons and tigers have lairs and their motion and repose come on certain occasions. If you keep away from their lairs and avoid the occasions of their activities, then you will be able to evade their harm. However, as people know bisons and tigers have horns and claws but do not know everything else has horns and claws, they cannot evade the harm of the myriad things. How can this be proved? Well, when seasonal rain is falling in torrents and wide fields are lonesome and quiet, if you cross mountains and rivers at dusk or at dawn, the claws and horns of wind and dew will harm you. When serving the superior, if you are not loyal or violate prohibitions and decrees imprudently, the claws and horns of penal law will harm you. When living in the village, if you take no caution but show hatred and love at random, the claws and horns of dispute and quarrel will harm you. If you satiate your appetites without limitation and never regulate your motion and repose, the claws and horns of piles and boils will harm you. If you are habitually fond of applying your self-seeking wisdom and discarding rational principles, the claws and horns of nets and traps will harm you. Thus, while bisons and tigers have lairs and the myriad harms have causes, only if you can keep away from the lairs and stop the causes, will you be able to evade their harms.

In general, weapons and armour are for providing against harm. Who clings firmly to life, though serving in the ranks, has no mind of grudge and dispute. Without the mind of grudge and dispute, he finds no place wherein to use the provisions against harm. This not only refers to the troops in the wilderness. But it is also concerned with the saintly man who has no mind to harm anybody when making his way through the world. If he has no mind to harm anybody, he will find no harm from anybody. If he finds no harm from anybody, he need not guard against anybody. Hence the saying: "When travelling on land, he will not fall a prey to the bison or the tiger." Likewise, he does not have to depend on the provisions against harm when walking through the world. Hence the saying: "When going among soldiers, he need not fear arms and weapons." Since he can thus keep away from all kinds of harm, hence the saying: "The bison finds no place wherein to insert its horns. The tiger finds no place wherein to put his claws. Weapons find no place wherein to thrust their blades."

It is the rational principle of heaven and earth that man takes no precaution against any kind of harm and never is harmed. As he merges in the course of heaven and earth, hence the saying: "He does not belong to the realm of death." Inasmuch as he moves and does not belong to the realm of death, he is said to be taking good care of life.

Chapter 67. The Three Treasures

All-under-Heaven call me great; but I resemble the unlikely. Now a man is great only because he resembles the unlikely. Did he resemble the likely, how lasting, indeed, would his mediocrity be!

Indeed, I have three treasures which I cherish and treasure. The first is called compassion. The second is called frugality. The third is called not daring to come to the front of All-under-Heaven.

The compassionate can be brave; the frugal can be magnificent; those who dare not come to the front of All-under-Heaven can become perfect as chief vessels.

Now, if people discard compassion and are brave; if they discard frugality and are magnificent; if they discard modesty and are ambitious, they will surely die.

Indeed, the compassionate will in attack be victorious, and in defence firm. Heaven when about to save one will with compassion protect him.

Who loves his child, is compassionate to the child. Who clings firmly to life, is compassionate to himself. Who values successful accomplishment, is compassionate to tasks. The compassionate mother, regarding her infant child, always strives to establish the child's well-being. If she strives to establish the child's well-being, she will endeavour to rid the child of calamities. If she endeavours to rid the child of calamities, her reflection and consideration become thorough. If her reflection and consideration are thorough, she will attain the principles of affairs. If she attains the principles of affairs, she will certainly accomplish her purposes. If she is certain of accomplishing her purposes, she will not hesitate in her action. To make no hesitation is called "bravery". Now, the saintly man deals with the myriad affairs exactly in the same way as the compassionate mother considers the well-being of her child. Therefore, he finds reason for determined action. If he has reason for determined action, he will not hesitate in transacting affairs either. Thus, to make no hesitation is called "bravery"; unhesitating action is due to compassion. Hence the saying: "The compassionate can be brave."

The Duke of Chou said: "If it does not freeze hard in winter days, grass and trees will not flourish in spring and summer." Thus, even heaven and earth can neither always be extravagant nor always be frugal. How much less can mankind be so? Therefore, the myriad things must have prosperity and decline, the myriad affairs must have their rise and fall, the state must have civil and military institutions, and government must have reward and punishment. For this reason, if wise men frugally spend their money, their families will become rich; if the saintly man treasures his mind, his energy will become abundant; and if the ruler of men emphasizes the usefulness of his soldiers for military purposes, his subjects will become numerous. If the subjects are numerous, the state will become magnificent. From all these facts there can be inferred the saying: "The frugal can be magnificent."

In general, anything that has a form can be easily cut and easily trimmed. How can I prove this? Well, if the thing has form, it has length; if it has length, it has size; if it has size, it has a shape; if it has a shape, it has solidity; if it has solidity, it has weight; and if it has weight, it has colour. Now, length, size, shape, solidity, weight, and colour are called principles. As these are fixed, the thing can be easily cut. Therefore, if you present discussions first in the government and draw your conclusion from them later, then thoughtful and planful personages will know the right decision to make. Likewise, supposing you wanted to construct squares and circles and followed the compasses and squares, then the accomplishment of any task would take its shape. As with everything following the compasses and squares, thinkers and speakers must inspect and follow the compasses and squares. The saintly man thoroughly follows the compasses and squares of the myriad things. Hence the saying: "They dare not come to the front of All-under-Heaven."

Thus, if one dare not come to the front of All-underHeaven, then everything will be done, every achievement will be accomplished, and his theory will prevail all over the world. Then, even though he wants not to attain to high office in government, is it possible? To attain to high office in government is called to become perfect as chief vessels. Hence the saying: "Those who dare not come to the front of All-under-Heaven can become perfect as chief vessels."

Who is compassionate to his children, dare not stop giving them clothes and food. Who is compassionate to himself, dare not go astray from laws and regulations. Who is compassionate to squares and circles, dare not discard the compasses and squares. For the same reason, if one in the face of warfare is compassionate to the rank and file, he will overcome his enemies in attack; if compassionate to war implements, he will make the city-walls hard and firm. Hence the saying: "The compassionate will in attack be victorious, and in defence firm."

Indeed, who can perfect himself and thoroughly follow the principles of the myriad things, will eventually live a heavenly life. A heavenly life refers to the right way of human nature. The true path of All-under-Heaven leads to the welfare of living beings. If it is protected with compassion, everything will be successful. Then it is called "treasure". Hence the saying: "I have three treasures which I cherish and treasure."

Chapter 53. Gaining Insight

If I have ever so little knowledge, I shall walk in the Grand Course. It is but expansion that I must fear.

The Grand Course is very plain, but people are fond of by-paths.

When the palace is very splendid, the fields are very weedy and the granaries very empty.

To wear ornaments and gay clothes, to carry sharp swords, to be excessive in drinking and eating, to have a redundance of costly articles, this is the pride of robbers.

Surely, this is non-Course.

The so-called Grand Course in the text is the orthodox way. The so-called hypocrisy is the heretical way. The so-called by-paths are beautiful decorations. And beautiful decorations are part of the heretical way. If the palace is splendid, litigations will become numerous. If litigations multiply, fields will run waste. If the fields run waste, treasuries and storehouses will become empty. If treasuries and storehouses are empty, the country will become poor. If the country is poor, the folkways will become frivolous and extravagant. If the folkways are

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frivolous and extravagant, professions for earning clothes and food will stop. If professions for earning clothes and food stop, the people will have to pretend to genius and embellish falsehood. If the people pretend to genius and embellish falsehood, they will use ornaments and gay clothes. To use ornaments and gay clothes is called "wearing ornaments and gay clothes".

If litigations are numerous, granaries and storehouses are empty, and certain people practise frivolity and extravagance as folkways, then the state will be injured as though pierced through by sharp swords. Hence the saying of "carrying sharp swords". Again, those who pretend to wisdom and genius till they injure the state, their own families are always rich. Since the private families are always rich, hence the saying of "having a redundance of costly articles". If there are such crooks in the state, then even stupid people will infallibly follow the example. If they follow the bad example, then small robbers will appear. From this viewpoint I can see that wherever great culprits start, there follow small robbers; whenever great culprits sing, then join the small robbers.

Indeed, the Yü is the head of all musical instruments. Therefore, once the Yü takes the lead, then follow bells and harps; once the Yü sounds, then join all other instruments. Similarly, wherever great culprits start, there sing common people; wherever common people sing, there join small burglars. Hence, to wear ornaments and gay clothes, to carry sharp swords, to be excessive in drinking and eating, and to have a redundance of costly articles, this is the Yü of robbers.

Chapter 54. Cultivating the Observing Ability

"What is well planted is not uprooted;

What is well preserved cannot be looted!"

By sons and grandsons the sacrificial celebrations shall not cease.

Who cultivates it in his person, his virtue is genuine.

Who cultivates it in his family, his virtue is overflowing.

Who cultivates it in his village, his virtue is lasting.

Who cultivates it in his country, his virtue is abundant.

Who cultivates it in All-under-Heaven, his virtue is universal.

Therefore,

By one's person one looks at persons.

By one's family one looks at families.

By one's village one looks at villages.

By one's country one looks at countries.

By one's All-under-Heaven one looks at All-underHeaven.

How do I know that All-under-Heaven is such? Through IT.

Men, whether stupid or intelligent, either accept or reject things. If reposed and secure, they would know the causes of misfortune and good luck. Excited by likes and dislikes and beguiled by obscene objects, they become different and perturbed. The reason for this is that they are attracted to external things and perturbed by likes and tastes. In fact, repose involves the meaning of accepting likes and rejecting dislikes; security purports the estimation of misfortune and good luck. Now, they are changed by likes and tastes and attracted to external things. Since they are attracted to external things and thereby led astray, hence the saying of "being uprooted". Such is not the case with the saintly man, however. Once he sets up his principle of acceptance and rejection, then though he sees things he likes, he is never attracted to them. Not to be attracted to them is said to "be not uprooted". Once he sets up the basis of devotion, then though there may be things that he likes, his mind is never thereby moved. Not to be moved is said to "be not looted".

Sons and grandsons act upon this Tao and thereby maintain the ancestral halls. The indestructibility of the ancestral halls means "the everlasting duration of the sacrificial celebrations".

To accumulate energy is virtue to oneself. To accumulate property is virtue to one's family. To tranquillize the people is virtue to the village, to the state, and to All-under-Heaven. Since one refines his personality and external things cannot perturb his mind, hence the saying: "Who cultivates it in his person, his virtue is genuine." By "genuineness" is meant "firmness of prudence".

Who manages his family affairs, his decision is never moved by useless things. If this is so, his resources will be overflowing. Hence the saying: "Who cultivates it in his family, his virtue is overflowing."

If the squire of the village acts upon this principle, then homes that have abundance will multiply. Hence the saying: "Who cultivates it in his village, his virtue lasts long and spreads wide."

If the governor of the country acts upon this principle, then villages that have virtue will multiply. Hence the saying: "Who cultivates it in his country, his virtue is abundant."

If the ruler of All-under-Heaven acts upon this principle, then the livelihood of the people will always receive his beneficence. Hence the saying: "Who cultivates it in All-under-Heaven, his virtue is universal."

If the self-cultivator differentiates the superior man from the small man by means of this principle, and if the squire of the village, the governor of the country, and the ruler of All-under-Heaven, all follow this principle in making a comprehensive survey of their respective gains and losses, there can be no single mistake in a myriad cases. Hence the saying: "By one's person one looks at persons. By one's family one looks at families. By one's village one looks at villages. By one's country one looks at countries. By one's All-under-Heaven one looks at All-under-Heaven. How do I know that All-under-Heaven is such? Through IT."

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 21.

Illustrations of Lao Tzu's Teachings

Chapter 46. Moderation of Desire

When All-under-Heaven follows Tao, there is no emergency, tranquillity increases daily, and couriers are not employed. Hence the saying: "Race-horses are reserved for hauling dung."

When All-under-Heaven does not follow Tao, there is constant warfare, and self-defence against each other lasts for years without stopping, till the troops cannot return home, even though armour and helmets bring about lice and moths and swallows and sparrows nest in the tents of the generals. Hence the saying: "War horses are bred in the suburb."

Once a man of Ti presented to Duke Wen of Chin fox furs with thin haired tails and leopard fur with black spots. Accepting the guest's presents, Duke Wen heaved a sigh, saying, "Because of the beauty of their skin, these animals became the victims of a chastisement." Indeed, the ruler of a state who fell a victim to a chastisement because of his popularity, was King Yen of Hsü; those who fell victims to chastisements because of their cities and territories, were Yü and Kuo. Hence the saying: "No greater crime than submitting to desire."

Earl Chih, having annexed the fiefs of Fan and Chung-hang, attacked Chao incessantly. Meanwhile, as Han and Wey betrayed him, his army was defeated at Chin-yang, he was killed to the east of Kao-liang, his territory was partitioned, and his skull was lacquered and made into a liquor vessel. Hence the saying: "No greater misery than not knowing sufficiency."

The Ruler of Yü wanted the team of the Ch'ü breed and the Jade from Ch'ui-chi and took no advice from Kung Chi-Ch'i. In consequence his state went to ruin and he himself to death. Hence the saying: "No greater fault than avarice."

Any country, if able to preserve itself, is fair, and, if able to attain hegemony, is excellent. Anybody, if able to live on, is fair, and, if wealthy and noble, is excellent. Therefore, if not self-destructive, the state will not go to ruin and the self will not be killed. Hence the saying: "Who knows sufficiency's sufficiency is always sufficient."

Chapter 54. Cultivating of the Observing Ability

King Chuang of Ch'u, after winning the war with Chin, held a hunt at Ho-yung. Upon his return, he gave a reward to Sun-shu Ao. However, Sun-shu Ao asked for the sandy and stony land by the Han River. According to the Law of the Ch'u State, allotments to feudal nobles should be confiscated after two generations, but only Sun-shu Ao's fief was left intact. The reason why his fief was not confiscated was because the land was sterile. Accordingly, sacrifices at his family shrine lasted for nine generations unbroken. Hence the saying: "What is well planted is not uprooted; what is well preserved cannot be looted. For by sons and grandsons the sacrificial celebrations shall not cease." Thus was the case with Sun-shu Ao.

Chapter 26. The Virtue of Gravity

The heavy is of the light the root, and rest is motion's master.

Therefore the superior man in his daily walk does not depart from gravity. Although he may have magnificent sights, he calmly sits with liberated mind.

But how is it when the ruler of ten thousand chariots in his personal conduct is too light for All-under-Heaven? If he is too light, he will lose his vassals. If he is too restless, he will lose the throne.

If the ruler has the reins of government in his grip, he is said to be "heavy". If the ruler does not depart from his seat, he is said to be "resting". If heavy, he can control the light. If resting, he can subdue the moving. Hence the saying: "The heavy is of the light the root, and rest is motion's master. Therefore the superior man in his daily work does not depart from gravity."

The state is the gravity of the ruler of men. The Father Sovereign while still alive alienated the state. In other words, he departed from gravity. Therefore, though he enjoyed himself at Tai and Yün-chung, he had already slipped the Chao State off his grip. Thus, the Father Sovereign, having been a sovereign of ten thousand chariots, became in his personal conduct too light for All-underHeaven. To lose one's own position is said to be "light" and to depart from one's seat is said to be "moving". Therefore, the Father Sovereign was imprisoned alive and eventually put to an end. Hence the saying: "If he is too light, he will lose his vassals. If he is too restless, he will lose the throne." This was the case with the Father Sovereign.

Chapter 36. The Revelation of Secrets

When you are about to contract anything, you would first expand it. When you are about to weaken anything, you would first strengthen it. When you are about to set down anything, you would first set it up. When you are about to take, you would give.

This is a revelation of the secrets whereby the soft conquer the hard and the weak the strong.

As the fish should not escape from the deep, so should the state's sharp tools not be shown to anybody.

The position that is influential is the deep to the ruler of men. Who rules men, his position must be more influential than the ministers' position. Once lost, it would not be recovered. After Duke Chien lost it to T'ien Ch'eng and the Duke of Chin lost it to the Six Nobles, their states went to ruin and they were put to death. Hence the saying: "The fish should not escape from the deep."

True, reward and punishment are the state's sharp tools. If held in the hands of the ruler, they control the ministers. If held in the hands of the ministers, they control the ruler. If the ruler shows the tool of reward, the ministers will minimize it and thereby distribute private favours. If the ruler shows the tool of punishment, the ministers will aggravate it and thereby overawe the people. Since if the ruler of men shows the tool of reward, the ministers will abuse his position, and if he shows the tool of punishment, they will utilise his authority, hence the saying: "The state's sharp tools should not be shown to anybody."

The King of Yüeh, after surrendering himself to Wu, showed its ruler how to invade Ch'i with a view to exhausting its strength. The troops of Wu, having defeated Ch'i's men at the Mugwort Mound, expanded their forces from the Chiang and the Ch'i and displayed their strength at the Yellow Pool. As a result, it became possible for the King of Yüeh to rout Wu's men at Lake Five. Hence the saying: "When you are about to weaken anything, you would strengthen it."

When Duke Hsien of Chin was about to raid Yü, he presented to them a jade and a team of horses. When Earl Chih was about to raid Ch'ou-yu, he presented to them grand chariots. Hence the saying: "When you are about to take, you would give."

To carry out a plan before it takes shape and thereby accomplish a great achievement in All-under-Heaven, is "a revelation of secrets". To be small and weak but willing to keep humble, is the way "the weak conquer the strong".

Chapter 63. Considering Beginnings

Assert non-assertion.

Practise non-practice.

Taste the tasteless.

Make great the small.

Make much the little.

Requite hatred with virtue.

Contemplate a difficulty when it is easy. Manage a great thing when it is small.

The most difficult undertakings in All-under-Heavennecessarily originate while easy, and the greatest undertakings in All-under-Heaven necessarily originate while small.

Therefore, the saintly man to the end does not venture to play the great, and thus he can accomplish his greatness.

Rash promises surely lack faith, and many easy things surely involve in many difficulties.

Therefore, the saintly man regards everything as difficult, and thus to the end encounters no difficulties.

What has a form, always begins its greatness from smallness. What endures a long time, always begins its abundance from scarcity. Hence the saying: "The most difficult undertakings in All-under-Heaven necessarily originate while easy, and the greatest undertakings in All-under-Heaven necessarily originate while small." Therefore, who wants to control anything, starts when it is small. Hence the saying: "Contemplate a difficulty when it is easy. Manage a great thing when it is small."

A dike ten thousand feet long begins its crumbling with holes made by ants; a room one hundred feet square begins its burning with sparks of fire leaping through cracks of chimneys. For the same reason, Pai Kuei on inspecting the dikes blocked up all holes; old man on suppressing fire plastered all cracks. Therefore, Pai Kuei met no disaster of any flood and old man met no fire disaster. Both were thus good examples of taking precautions against things when they are easy in order to avoid difficulties and paying attention to things when they are small in order to prevent their greatness.

Pien Ch'iao once had an interview with Duke Huan of Ch'i. After standing for a while, Pien Ch'iao said: "Your Highness has a disease in the capillary tubes. If not treated now, it might go deep." "I have no disease," replied Marquis Huan. After Pien Ch'iao went out, Marquis Huan remarked: "Physicians are fond of treating healthy men so as to display their attainments."

Ten days later, Pien Ch'iao again had an interview and said: "The disease of Your Highness is in the flesh and skin. If not treated now, it will go still deeper." To this advice Marquis Huan made no reply. Pien Ch'iao went out. Marquis Huan was again displeased.

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After ten more days, Pien Ch'iao had another interview and said: "The disease of Your Highness is in the stomach and intestines. If not treated now, it will go still deeper." Again Marquis Huan made no reply to the advice. Pien Ch'iao went out. Marquis Huan was again displeased.

After ten more days, Pien Ch'iao, looking at Marquis Huan, turned back and ran away. The Marquis sent men out to ask him. "Diseases that are in the capillary tubes," said Pien Ch'iao, "can be reached by hot water or flat irons. Those in the flesh and skin can be reached by metal or stone needles. Those in the stomach and intestines can be reached by well-boiled drugs. But after they penetrate the bones and marrow, the patients are at the mercy of the Commissioner of Life wherefore nothing can be done. Now that the disease of His Highness is in his bones and marrow, thy servant has no more advice to give."

In the course of five more days, Marquis Huan began to feel pain in his body, and so sent men out to look for Pien Ch'iao, who, however, had already gone to the Ch'in State. Thus ended the life of Marquis Huan.

For this reason, good physicians, when treating diseases, attack them when they are still in the capillary tubes. This means that they manage things when they are small. Hence, the saintly man begins to attend to things when it is early enough.

Chapter 64. Mind the Minute

What is still at rest is easily kept quiet. What has not as yet appeared is easily prevented. What is still feeble is easily broken. What is still minute is easily dispersed.

Treat things before they come into existence. Regulate things before disorder begins. The stout tree has originated from a tiny rootlet. A tower of nine stories is raised by heaping up bricks of clay. A thousand li's journey begins with a foot.

He that makes mars. He that grasps loses.

The saintly man does not make; therefore he loses not. The people on undertaking an enterprise are always near completion, and yet they fail.

Remain careful to the end as in the beginning and you will not fail in your enterprise.

Therefore the saintly man desires to be desireless, and does not prize articles difficult to obtain. He learns to be not learned, and reverts to what multitudes of people pass by.

He assists the myriad things in their natural development, but he does not venture to interfere.

Of yore, when Prince of Chin, Ch'ung-erh, was living in exile, once he passed through the Cheng State. The Ruler of Cheng behaved impolitely to him. Against the manner Shu Chan remonstrated with him, saying: "He is a worthy prince. May Your Highness treat him with great courtesy and thereby place him under an obligation!" To this counsel the Ruler of Cheng never listened. Therefore Shu Chan again admonished him, saying: "If your Highness does not treat him with great courtesy, the best way is to put him to death and let no calamity appear in the future." Again the Ruler of Cheng never listened. After the Prince's return to the Chin State, he raised an army and sent an expedition against Cheng, routing them by long odds and taking eight cities from them.

When Duke Hsien of Chin with the Jade from Ch'ui-chi as present was going to borrow the way through Yü, to attack Kuo, High Officer Kung Chi-ch'i admonished the Ruler of Yü, saying: "The request should not be granted. When the lips are gone, the teeth are cold. Yü and Kuo ought to rescue each other, not because they want to place each other under any obligation, but because if Chin destroys Kuo to-day, to-morrow Yü will follow on its heels to ruin." The Ruler of Yü, taking no advice from him, accepted the jade and lent them the way. After taking Kuo, Chin withdrew and destroyed Yü in turn.

Thus, these two ministers both strove to suppress troubles when they were still in capillary tubes, but both their rulers failed to adopt their counsels. Thus, Shu Chan and Kung Chi-ch'i were the Pien Ch'iao of Cheng and Yü, to whose words both their rulers paid no heed. As a result, Cheng was routed and Yü destroyed. Hence the saying: "What is still at rest is easily kept quiet. What has not as yet appeared is easily prevented."

Chapter 52. Returning to the Origin

When All-under-Heaven takes its beginning, Tao becomes the mother of All-under-Heaven.

As one knows his mother, so she in turn knows her child; as she quickens her child, so he in turn keeps to his mother, and to the end of life he is not in danger. Who closes his mouth, and shuts his sense-gates, in the end of life he will encounter no trouble; but who opens his mouth and meddles with affairs, in the end of life he cannot be saved.

Who beholds smallness is called enlightened. Who preserves tenderness is called strong. Who uses Tao's light and return home to its enlightenment does not surrender his person to perdition. This is called practising the eternal.

Of old, Chow made chop-sticks of ivory. Thereby was the Viscount of Chi frightened. He thought: "Ivory chop-sticks would not be used with earthen-wares but with cups made of jade or of rhinoceros horns. Further, ivory chop-sticks and jade cups would not go with the soup made of beans and coarse greens but with the meat of longhaired buffaloes and unborn leopards. Again, eaters of the meat of long-haired buffaloes and unborn leopards would not wear short hemp clothes and eat in a thatched house but would put on nine layers of embroidered dresses and move to live in magnificent mansions and on lofty terraces. Afraid of the ending, I cannot help trembling with fear at the beginning."

In the course of five years, Chow made piles of meat in the form of flower-beds, raised roasting pillars, walked upon mounds of distiller's grains, and looked over pools of wine. In consequence ended the life of Chow. Thus, by beholding the ivory chop-sticks, the Viscount of Chi foreknew the impending catastrophe of All-under-Heaven. Hence the saying: "Who beholds smallness is called enlightened."

Kou-chien, after surrendering himself to Wu, held shield and spear and became a front guard of the horses of King Wu. Therefore, he became able to kill Fu-ch'a at Ku-su. Likewise, King Wen was insulted at the Jade Gate, but his facial colour showed no change. In the long run, King Wu took Chow prisoner at the Pastoral Field. Hence the saying: "Who preserves tenderness is called strong."

Chapter 57. The Disease of Knowledge

To know the unknowable, that is elevating. Not to know the knowable, that is sickness.

Only by becoming sick of sickness can we be without sickness.

The saintly man is not sick. Because he is sick of sickness, therefore he is not sick.

The King of Yüeh could become hegemonic because he was not sick of surrender. King Wu could become supreme because he was not sick of insult. Hence the saying: "The saintly man is not sick. As he is not sick, he can get rid of sickness."

Chapter 64. Mind the Minute

Once a countryman of Sung came by a jade stone, which he presented to Tzu-han. This Tzu-han refused to accept. "It is a treasure," remarked the countryman, "and should become a gentleman's possession but not for a rustic's use." In reply Tzu-han said: "You regard the jade as treasure, I regard the refusal to accept the jade as treasure." Thus, the countryman desired the possession of the jade, but Tzu-han did not desire it. Hence the saying: "The saintly man desires to be desireless, and does not prize articles difficult to get."

Once Wang Shou carried books on his back when travelling, and met Hsü Feng in Chou. To him Hsü Feng said: "Any task is an act; action arises from the needs of the time; and time has no permanent tasks. Books contain sayings; sayings arise from knowledge; and a well-informed person does not have to keep books around. Now, why should you carry them around?" Hearing this, Wang Shou burned the books and danced with joy. For the same reason, well-informed persons do not teach with sayings and intelligent persons do not fill cases with books. This is what the world passes by, and Wang Shou reverted to it. In other words, he learned to be not learned. Hence the saying: "He learns to be not learned and reverts to what multitudes of people pass by."

Indeed, everything has a definite shape. It should accordingly be put to use. Accordingly, one should follow its shape. Therefore, if reposed, one should stand on Teh; if moving, he should act on Tao.

Once a man of Sung made for the ruler mulberry leaves of ivory. It took him three years to complete them. Having stems and branches, wide and narrow, and tiny buds and colourful gloss, they were scattered amidst real mulberry leaves and showed no difference from them. After all, this man was on account of his skilfulness endowed with a bounty in the Sung State.

When Lieh Tzu heard this, he said: "Supposing heaven and earth made a leaf in three years, then things that have leaves would be few." Therefore, if you do not count on the natural resources of heaven and earth but look to one man for everything, or if you do not follow the course of reason and principle but learn from the wisdom of one man, it is the same as to make a single leaf in three years. For this reason, farming in winter, even the Master of Grains would not be able to turn out good crops; but rich harvests in years of abundance even bondmen and bondmaids could not spoil. Thus, if you depend on the power of one man, even the Master of Grains would not be sufficient; but if you follow the course of nature, then bondmen and bondmaids would be plenty. Hence the saying: "He assists the myriad things in their natural development, but he does not venture to interfere."

Chapter 47.

Viewing the Distant

"Without passing out of the door
The Course of All-under-Heaven I prognosticate.
Without peeping through the window
The Way of Heaven I contemplate.
The farther one goes,
The less one knows."

Therefore the saintly man does not travel, and yet he has knowledge. He does not see things, and yet he defines them. He does not labour, and yet he completes.

Holes are the doors and windows of the spirit. The ears and the eyes are exhausted by sounds and colours. Mental energy is exhausted by outer attractions. As a result, there is no master inside the body. If there is no master inside the body, then though all kinds of good and bad luck pile like hills and mountains, there is no way to know them. Hence the saying: "Without passing out of the door the Course of All-under-Heaven I prognosticate. Without peeping through the window the Way of Heaven I contemplate." This amounts to saying that the spirit never goes astray from its real abode.

Once upon a time Viscount Hsiang of Chao learned driving from Prince Yü-ch'i. All at once he started racing with Yü-ch'i. He changed his horses three times, but thrice he lagged behind. Thereupon Viscount Hsiang said: "You teach me how to drive, but the course is not as yet completed." "The course is completed," said Yü-ch'i in reply, "but the fault lies in the way it is applied. In general, what is important in driving is to fix the bodies of the horses firmly to the carriage and the mind of the driver to the horses. Then one can drive fast and far. Now, Your Highness, whenever behind, wants to get ahead of thy servant, and, whenever ahead, is afraid of lagging behind thy servant. To be sure, when one runs a race with others on the same road, he is either ahead of or behind others. Whether ahead or behind, if the mind of Your Highness is always concentrated on thy servant, how can Your Highness keep the horses under control? This was the reason why Your Highness lagged behind."

When Prince Pai Sheng was planning a rebellion, once after the office hour in the government he held his cane upside down and leaned on it. The tip of the cane, being so sharp, pierced through his chin. Therefrom blood flowed down upon the ground but he never noticed it. At the news of this accident, the Chengs said: "When he forgot the pain on his chin, for what was it forgotten at all?" Hence the saying: "The farther one goes, the less one knows." This amounts to saying that if one's intelligence hits everything afar, what is missed will be at hand. Therefore, the saintly man has no definite destination, but can know both far and near. Hence the saying: "He does not travel, and yet he has knowledge." He can see both far and near. Hence the saying: "He does not see things, and yet he defines them." He inaugurates works in accordance with the times, accomplishes merits by means of resources, and employs the utilities of the myriad things to get profits out of them. Hence the saying: "He does not labour, and yet he completes."

Chapter 41. Sameness in Difference

When a superior scholar hears of Tao, he endeavours to practise it.

When an average scholar hears of Tao, he will sometimes practise it and sometimes lose it.

When an inferior scholar hears of Tao, he will greatly ridicule it. Were it not thus ridiculed, it would as Tao be insufficient.

Therefore the poet says:

"The Tao-enlightened seem dark and black,
The Tao-advanced seem going back,
The Tao-straight-levelled seem rugged and slack.
"The high in virtue resembles a vale,
The purely white in shame must quail,
The staunchest virtue seems to fail.
"The solidest virtue seems not alert,
The purest chastity seems pervert,
The greatest square will rightness desert.
"The largest vessel becomes complete slowly,
The loudest sound is heard rarely,
The greatest form has no shape concrete."

Tao so long as it remains latent is unnameable. Yet Tao alone is good for imparting and completing.

King Chuang, for three years after he took the reins of government, issued no decree and formulated no policy. Therefore, one day the Right Commissioner of the Army, when attending on the Throne, made before the King an intimation, saying: "There is a bird which has perched or a hill-top in the south. For three years it has neither fluttered nor flown nor sung but kept silent without making any sound. What is the name of that bird?" In reply the King said: "For three years it has not fluttered in order thereby to grow its wings and feathers, and has neither flown nor sung in order thereby to look at the conditions of the people. Though it has not flown, yet once it starts flying, it will soar high up into the sky. Though it has not sung, yet once it starts singing, it will surprise everybody. Leave it as it has been. I, the King, understand what you mean."

In the course of half a year, the King began to administer the state affairs himself, abolishing ten things, establishing nine things, censuring five chief vassals, and appointing six hitherto unknown personages to office, with the immediate result that the state became very orderly. In the meantime he raised an army to punish Ch'i and defeated them at Hsü-chou. Then he triumphed over Chin at Ho-yung and called a conference of the feudal lords in Sung, till he attained Hegemony in All-under-Heaven. Thus, King Chuang never did good in a small way, wherefore he accomplished a great

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achievement. Hence the saying: "The largest vessel becomes complete slowly, the loudest sound is rarely heard."

Chapter 33. The Virtue of Discrimination

One who knows others is clever, but one who knows himself is englightened.

One who conquers others is powerful, but one who conquers himself is mighty.

One who knows contentment is rich and one who pushes with vigour has will.

One who loses not his place endures.

One who may die but will not perish, has life everlasting.

When King Chuang of Ch'u was thinking of attacking Yüeh, Chuang Tzu admonished him, asking: "For what reason is Your Majesty going to attack Yüeh?" "It is because its government is disorderly and its army weak," replied the King. "Thy servant is afraid," said Chuang Tzu, "Your Majesty's wisdom is like eyes able to see over one hundred steps away but unable to see their own eyelashes. Since Your Majesty's troops were defeated by Ch'in and Chin, Ch'u has lost a territory of several hundred li. This proves the weakness of her army. Again, Chuang Ch'iao has dared robberies within the boundaries of the state, but no magistrate has been able to stop him. This proves the disorder of her government. Thus, Your Majesty has been suffering not less weakness and disorder than Yüeh and yet wants to attack Yüeh. This proves that Your Majesty's wisdom is like the eyes." Thereupon the King gave up the plan. Therefore, the difficulty of knowledge lies not in knowing others but in knowing oneself. Hence the saying: "One who knows himself is enlightened."

Once, when Tzu-hsia saw Tseng Tzu, Tseng Tzu asked, "Why have you become so stout?" "Because I have been victorious in warfare," replied Tzu-hsia. "What do you mean by that?" asked Tseng Tzu. In reply Tzu-hsia said: "Whenever I went in and saw the virtue of the early kings I rejoiced in it. Whenever I went out and saw the pleasure of the rich and noble I rejoiced in it, too. These two conflicting attractions waged a war within my breast. When victory and defeat still hung in the balance, I was thin. Since the virtue of the early kings won the war, I have become stout." Therefore the difficulty of volition lies not in conquering others but in conquering oneself. Hence the saying: "One who conquers himself is mighty."

Chapter 27. The Function of Skill

"Good Travellers leave no trace nor track,
Good speakers show no fault nor lack,
Good counters need no counting rack.
"Good lockers bolting bars need not,
Yet none their locks can loose.
Good binders need no string nor knot,
Yet none unties their noose."

Therefore the saintly man is always a good saviour of man, for there are no outcast people. He is always a good saviour of things, for there are no outcast things. This is called applied enlightenment.

Thus the good man does not respect multitudes of men. The bad man respects the people's wealth. Who does not esteem multitudes nor is charmed by their wealth, though his knowledge be greatly confused, he must be recognized as profoundly mysterious.

Of old, there were carved jade plates in Chou. Once Chow sent Chiao Li to get them, but King Wen would not give them away. Later, Fei Chung came for them, whereupon King Wen gave them out. It was because Chiao Li was worthy and Fei Chung was not a follower of Tao. Inasmuch as Chou disliked to see any worthy man advancing his career under King Chow, King Wen gave Fei Chung the plates. King Wen raised T'ai-kung Wang from the bank of the Wei River because he held him in high esteem, and presented Fei Chung with the jade plates because he loved his usefulness. Hence the saying: "Who does not esteem multitudes nor is charmed by their wealth, though his knowledge be greatly confused, he must be recognized as profoundly mysterious."

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 22.

Collected Persuasions, The Upper Series

T'ang had already subjugated Chieh. Fearing lest All-under-Heaven should speak of him as covetous, he transferred the rule over All-under-Heaven to Wu Kuang. Again, fearing lest Wu Kuang should accept the throne, he sent men to persuade Wu Kuang that T'ang having killed the ruler wanted to pass the bad reputation to him and so transferred the rule over All-under-Heaven to him. In consequence, Wu Kuang plunged into a river.

King Wu of Ch'in ordered Kan Mu to choose the post he wanted, Grand Chamberlain or Minister of Foreign Affairs. Meng Mao said to him: "Your Excellency had better choose the post of Grand Chamberlain. What Your Excellency excels in is the office of an envoy. Though Your Excellency holds the post of Grand Chamberlain, yet His Majesty will appoint you envoy in the hour of need. Then Your Excellency while holding the seal of the Grand Chamberlain in hand will be Minister of Foreign Affairs. In other words, Your Excellency will hold an additional post."

Tzu-yü once introduced Confucius to the Prime Minister of Shang. Confucius went out. Tzu-yü went in and asked for the Premier's opinion of the visitor. In reply the Prime Minister said: "After I have seen Confucius, you look as small as lice and fleas to me. Now I am going to introduce him to His Highness." Afraid that Confucius might be held in high esteem by the ruler, Tzu-yü persuaded the Prime Minister that after seeing Confucius, the ruler might also consider him as small as lice and fleas. The Prime Minister, accordingly, never saw Confucius again.

King Hui of Wey called a conference of the feudal lords at Chiu-li with a view to restoring the supreme authority to the Son of Heaven. Thereupon P'eng Hsi said to the Ruler of Cheng: "Your Highness had better not listen to him. Big powers dislike the existence of the Son of Heaven. Smaller states profit by it. If Your Highness sides with the big powers and does not listen to him, then how can the Wey State together with smaller ones restore the supreme authority to the Son of Heaven?"

When the Chins were attacking Hsing, Duke Huan of Ch'i thought of rescuing it. Thereupon Pao Shu said: "Too early. Hsing is not yet going to ruin. Chin is not yet exhausted. If Chin is not exhausted, Ch'i cannot become very influential. Moreover, the merit of supporting a state in danger is not as great as the virtue of reviving a ruined one. Your Highness had better rescue it later so as to exhaust Chin! The result will be advantageous in fact. If we wait till Hsing is ruined and then revive it, it will be beautiful in name." Duke Huan, accordingly, stopped sending reinforcements to Hsing.

When Tzu-hsü was making his escape, a frontier patrol caught him. Tzu-hsü said: "The authorities want me because they think I have a beautiful pearl. Now I have already lost it. But I will say that you have seized and swallowed it." Thereupon the patrol released him.

Ch'ing Feng had caused a civil war in Ch'i and was thinking of seeking refuge in Yüeh. His relatives said: "Chin is near. Why won't you go to Chin?" "Yüeh is far," replied Ch'ing Feng, "and so is good for seeking safety." "If your rebellious nature can be changed," said the relatives, "it is all right to stay in Chin; if it cannot be changed, though you go far away to Yüeh, will you be safe there?"

When Earl Chih demanded territory from Viscount Hsüan of Wey, the latter thought of not giving. "Why is Your Highness not going to give?" asked Jen Chang. "For no reason," replied Viscount Hsüan, "he is demanding land from us. Therefore I am not going to give." "If he demands territory from us without any reason," said Jen Chang, "other neighbouring countries will be afraid of the same demand. If his greed grows insatiable, All-under-Heaven will worry about it. If Your Highness gives him land now, he will become arrogant and slight his enemies and the neighbouring countries will out of common fear consolidate their friendship. If mutually friendly troops cope with the country slighting its enemies, the life of Earl Chih will not last long. It is said in the Book of Chou, 'When about to conquer anybody, be sure to assist him; when about to take, be sure to give.' Your Highness had better give and make Earl Chih arrogant. Besides, why should Your Highness hesitate to scheme for the Chih Clan with the rest of the world instead of making ourselves alone the target of the Chihs?" "Right," replied the Viscount, and, accordingly, gave out a fief of ten thousand families. Thereby Earl Chih was greatly pleased. Then he also demanded territory from Chao. The Chaos refused to give, wherefore he besieged Chin-yang. It came to pass that Han and Wey revolted outside while the Chaos responded to them from inside the city. Thus in the long run the Chihs were destroyed.

Once Duke K'ang of Ch'in built a tower taking three years. In the meantime, the Chings raised an army and were about to attack Ch'i. Thereupon Jen Wang said to the Duke: "Famine calls in invaders, pestilence calls in invaders, compulsory labour service calls in invaders, civil war calls in invaders. For three years Your Highness has been building the tower. Now the Chings are raising an army and are about to attack Ch'i, thy servant is afraid they will fight Ch'i in name but raid Ch'in in fact. Better take precautions against their invasion." Accordingly, Ch'in made military preparations on its eastern border, wherefore the Chings actually halted their expedition.

Once Ch'i attacked Sung. Sung sent Ts'ang-sun Tzu to ask for reinforcements from Ching. The King of Ching, greatly pleased, promised him reinforcements in a very encouraging manner. However, Ts'ang-sun Tzu looked worried during his return trip. Therefore the coachman asked: "The request for reinforcements has been just granted, but why does Your Excellency look worried?" In reply Ts'ang-sun Tzu said: "Sung is small while Ch'i is big. To rescue small Sung and thereby offend big Ch'i, it is what everybody worries about. Yet the King of Ching was so willing to give us help. He must thereby mean to stiffen our resistance. For if we offer stubborn resistance, Ch'i will be exhausted, which will eventually be to the advantage of Ching." So saying, Ts'ang-sun Tzu returned. Meanwhile, the Ch'is took five cities from Sung, but Ching's reinforcements did not come at all.

Once Marquis Wen of Wey wanted to borrow the way through Chao to attack Central Hills. Marquis Shu of Chao at first thought of not letting him have the way. Thereupon Chao K'e said: "Your Highness is mistaken. Suppose Wey attack Central Hills and does not win, Wey will then cease hostilities. Should she cease hostilities, she will fall into contempt while Chao will thereby increase her own prestige. Even though Wey succeeds in taking Central Hills, she will not be able to maintain her rule over the new territory across Chao. This will eventually mean that Wey uses her troops but Chao gains their conquered territory. Therefore, be sure to grant their request in a very encouraging manner! As soon as they come to know that Your Highness is going to profit thereby, they will stop the expedition. Therefore better let them have the way and show that we are obliged to do so."

Ch'ih-i Tzu-p'i was working for Viscount T'ien Ch'eng. When Viscount T'ien Ch'eng left Ch'i and was making an escape to Yen, Ch'ih-i Tzu-p'i carried his pass along and followed him. Upon their arrival at Hope Town Tzu-p'i said: "Has Your Highness ever heard the story of the snakes in a dry swamp? As the swamp was drying up and the snakes had to move away, the small snake said to the big one: 'If you go in the front and I follow from behind, men will think it is nothing but the migration of snakes, and some of them might kill you. Better let our mouths hold each other. And will you carry me on your back while we are moving onward? Then men will regard me as ruler of spirits.' Accordingly, they held each other's mouths and one carried the other. When they were moving across the public avenue in this manner, everybody avoided them, saying, 'It's the ruler of spirits.' Now that Your Highness is handsome while I am homely, if Your Highness appears to be my guest of honour, I would be taken for a ruler of one thousand chariots; if Your Highness appears to be my servant, I would be taken for a noble serving under a ruler of ten thousand chariots. Suppose Your Highness be my retainer." Viscount Ch'eng, accordingly, carried the pass along and followed him to an inn. The inn-keeper actually entertained them with great hospitality and presented them with wine and meat.

Once a man of Wen went to Chou, but the Chous would not admit any alien. "An alien?" asked a Chou official. "No, a native" was the reply. The official then asked him about the alley he was living in, but he did not know. Therefore he put him under arrest. The Ruler of Chou then sent men to ask him, "You are not a native of Chou, but why did you say you were not an alien?" In reply the man said: "Since thy servant was a child, he has been reciting the poem saying:

Where'er their arch the heavens expand,
The king can claim the land below.
Within the seabounds of the land,
At his summons come or go.

Now that Your Majesty is the Son of Heaven, thy servant is one of his subjects. Then can thy servant be both a subject and an alien to His Majesty? So, thy servant said he was a native." Thereupon the Ruler ordered him to be released.

King Hsüan of Han once asked Chiu Liu: "I, the King, want to appoint to office both Kung Chung and Kung Shu. Will it be safe?" "No, it will not be safe," replied Chiu Liu. "As Chin employed the Six Nobles, the state was eventually partitioned; as Duke Chien employed both Ti'en Ch'eng and Kan Chih, he was murdered in the long run; and as Wey employed both Hsi-shou and Chang Yi, all the territory to the west of the Yellow River was lost as a result. Now suppose Your Majesty employ both of them. Then the more powerful one will form his own faction inside while the less powerful one will count on foreign influence. Among the body of officials, if there are some forming factions inside and thereby acting arrogantly towards the sovereign and some others cultivating friendships with foreign states and thereby causing territorial dismemberment, then Your Majesty's state will be jeopardized."

Once upon a time, Shao Chi-mei was drunk and asleep and lost his fur garment. The Ruler of Sung asked, "Is drunkenness sufficient to lose a fur garment?" In reply he said: "Because of drunkenness Chieh lost his rule over All-under-Heaven. So does the 'Announcement to K'ang' read: 'Do not indulge in wine.' To indulge in wine means to drink wine habitually. The Son of Heaven, if he becomes a habitual drinker, will lose his rule over All-underHeaven. An ordinary man, if he becomes a habitual drinker, will lose his life."

Kuan Chung and Hsi P'eng accompanied Duke Huan in the expedition against Ku-chu. When spring was gone and winter came again, they went astray and lost the way. Thereupon Kuan Chung said: "The wisdom of old horses is trustworthy." So they let old horses go of themselves and followed them from behind, till they found the way. As they went onward, there was no water in the mountains. Thereupon Hsi P'eng said: "Ants live on the sunny side of the mountain in winter and on the shady side in summer. Wherever there is an ant-hill one inch high, there is always water underneath it." So they dug the ground and found water. Thus, Kuan Chung despite his saintliness and Hsi P'eng despite his intelligence never hesitated to learn from old horses and ants what they did not know. Men of to-day, however low their mentality may be,

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never think of learning from the wisdom of saintly men. Is it not a great fault?

Once upon a time, somebody presented the elixir of life to the King of Ching. The court usher held it in his hand and entered the palace. There the guard asked him, "May I eat it?" "Of course" was the reply. The guard, accordingly, took it away from the usher and ate it. Enraged thereby, the King sentenced him to death. The guard then sent men to persuade the King, saying: "Thy servant asked the usher. The usher said I might eat it. Therefore thy servant ate it. This means that thy servant is innocent and the usher is the one to blame. Further, the guest is supposed to have presented the elixir of life. Now, if Your Majesty puts thy servant to death after thy servant ate it, then the elixir must be a mortal drug. This will testify his deception of Your Majesty. Indeed, to put thy innocent servant to death and thereby prove somebody else's deception of Your Majesty is not as good as to release thy servant." Hearing this, the King refrained from killing him.

T'ien Ssu once deceived the Ruler of Tsou, wherefore the Ruler of Tsou was about to send men to kill him. Fearing the penalty, T'ien Ssu appealed to Hui Tzu for help. Hui Tzu, accordingly, interviewed the Ruler of Tsou, saying: "Now suppose someone look at Your Highness with one eye shut, what will Your Highness do to him?" "I will put him to death," replied the Ruler. "Yet the blind man shuts both his eyes. Why don't you kill him?" asked Hui Tzu. "It is because by nature he cannot help shutting his eyes," replied the Ruler. "Well, T'ien Ssu deceived the Ruler of Ch'i in the east," said Hui Tzu, "and in the south deceived the King of Ching. Ssu habitually deceives people just as the blind man has to shut both his eyes. Why should Your Highness show resentment at him in particular?" Hearing this, the Ruler of Tsou refrained from killing him.

Duke Mu of Lu sent out the various princes to take up office at the court of Chin and the court of Ching. Thereupon Li Chü said: "Suppose we employ men from Yüeh to rescue our drowning sons. Then though the Yüehs are good swimmers, our sons' lives would not be saved. Suppose a fire burst out and we fetch water from the sea. Then though the water of the sea is abundant, the fire would not go into extinction. Thus, distant water cannot put out a fire at hand. Now, though Chin and Ching are strong, Ch'i is a close neighbour. Should Lu worry that Chin and Ching might not come in time to rescue Lu in case of conflict with Ch'i?"

Yen Sui was not on good terms with the Ruler of Chou, wherefore the Ruler of Chou worried. So Feng Chü said: "Yen Sui is Premier of the Han State, but the Ruler holds Han K'uei in high respect. The best is to assassinate Han K'uei. Then the Ruler of Han would hold the Yen Clan responsible for the act."

Chang Ch'ien, Premier of Han, was ill and about to die. Kung-ch'eng Wu-cheng took thirty taels of gold along in his bosom and inquired after his health. In the course of one month the Ruler of Han went himself to ask Chang Ch'ien: "If the Premier passes away, who else should take his place?" In reply Chang Ch'ien said: "Wu-cheng upholds the law and reveres the superior. However, he is not as good as Prince Shih-wo in winning the hearts of the people." Chang Ch'ien died. The Ruler, accordingly, appointed Wu-cheng Prime Minister.

Yo Yang commanded the Wey forces in attacking Central Hills, when his son was in that country. The Ruler of Central Hills steamed his son and sent him the soup. Yo Yang, then seated beneath the tent, supped the soup and drank up the whole plateful. Marquis Wen said to Tu Shih-chan: "Yo Yang on account of His Highness ate the flesh of his son." In response to this Tu Shih-chan said: "Even his own son he ate. Who else then would he not eat?" When Yo Yang came back from the campaign in Central Hills, Marquis Wen rewarded him for his meritorious service but suspected his mind.

Meng Sun went out hunting and got a fawn. He then ordered Ch'in Hsi-pa to bring it home. On the way the mother deer followed along and kept crying. Unable to bear that, Ch'in Hsi-pa gave the fawn back to its mother, when Meng Sun arrived and asked for the fawn. In reply Hsi-pa said: "Unable to bear the mother's crying, I gave it back to her." Enraged thereby, Meng Sun dismissed him. In the course of three months, he recalled him and appointed him tutor of his son. Out of wonder his coachman asked, "Why did Your Excellency blame him before and has now called him back to be tutor of the young master?" "If he could not bear the ruin of a fawn," replied Meng Sun, "how would he bear the ruin of my son?"

Hence the saying: "Skilful deception is not as good as unskilful sincerity." For instance, Yo Yang despite his merit incurred suspicion while Ch'in Hsi-pa despite his demerit increased his credit.

Tseng Ts'ung Tzu was good in judging swords. The Ruler of Wei had ill will towards the King of Wu. Therefore Tseng Ts'ung Tzu said to him: "The King of Wu is fond of swords. Thy servant is good in judging swords. May thy servant go to judge swords for the King of Wu, and, when drawing out a sword to show him, thrust him with it and thereby avenge Your Highness?" In reply the Ruler of Wei said: "Your action is right to your own advantage but not for any public cause. Now that Wu is strong and rich while Wei is weak and poor, if you go at all, you would, I am afraid, be employed by the King of Wu to do the same to me." So saying, he dismissed him.

When Chow made chop-sticks of ivory, the Viscount of Chi was frightened. He thought: "Ivory chop-sticks would not be put on earthen-wares but on cups made of jade or of rhinoceros horns. Further, jade cups and ivory chop-sticks would not go with the soup made of beans and coarse greens, but with the meat of long-haired buffaloes and unborn leopards. Again, eaters of the meat of longhaired buffaloes and unborn leopards would not wear short hemp clothes and live in a thatched house but would put on nine layers of embroidered dresses and move to live on lofty terraces and in magnificent mansions. Thus, if their demands go onward at this rate, even All-under-Heaven will not be sufficient." The saintly man by seeing the obscure knew the manifest, and by seeing the origin knew the outcome. Therefore, on seeing the ivory chop-sticks made, he was thereby frightened and knew that eventually even All-under-Heaven would not be sufficient.

Duke Tan of Chou, having vanquished Yin, was about to attack Shang-kai, when Duke Chia of Hsin said to him: "Big states are hard to attack, small ones are easy to subjugate. The best is to subjugate small states and thereby intimidate big ones." Accordingly, they fell upon the Nine Barbarians with the result that Shang-kai submitted also.

Chow indulged in over-night drinking and through the pleasure forgot the date of the day. He asked his attendants about the date. None of them knew. So he sent men to ask the Viscount of Chi. Thereupon the Viscount of Chi said to his followers: "Now that he who is the Lord of All-under-Heaven finds everybody in the whole country forget the date of the day, All-under-Heaven must be in danger. Since nobody in the country is aware of the date and I alone am aware of it, I must be in danger, too." So saying, he refused to tell the date by pretending to drunkenness and ignorance of it.

Once upon a time, a man of Lu, who was a good maker of sandals, and whose wife was a good weaver of gloss-silk, was about to migrate to Yüeh. Thereupon someone said, "You are bound to become poor there!" "Why?" asked the man. "Because sandals are for the feet to wear, but the Yüehs go bare-footed. Gloss-silk is for making crowns, but the Yüehs dishevel their hair. With your skill unemployed in that country, how can you help becoming poor?"

Ch'en Hsü was held in esteem by the King of Wey. Hui Tzu said to him: "Be sure to keep on good terms with the attendants. Indeed, the aspen, whether planted sidewise or upside down or from a branch broken off, grows just the same. However, suppose ten men plant ten aspens and only one man pulls them out. Then there will grow no aspen. Now, ten men planting trees so easy to grow cannot overcome only one person pulling them out. Why? It is because it is hard to plant them but easy to pull them out. Similarly, though Your Excellency is skilful in establishing himself with the favour of the King, if those who want to oust Your Excellency are many, Your Excellency will be in danger."

Chi Sun of Lu had recently murdered the Ruler, while Wu Ch'i was still serving him. Thereupon someone said to Wu Ch'i: "Indeed, a dead person who has just died still has living blood. But living blood will turn into dead blood, dead blood into ashes, and ashes into earth. When it is earth, nothing can be done about it. Now, Chi Sun still has living blood. Might it be possible to foreknow what he will become?" Hearing this, Wu Ch'i left for Chin.

Once, when Hsi Ssu-mi visited Viscount T'ien Ch'eng, Viscount T'ien Ch'eng took him to a tower to look out over the four directions. In three directions they could admire far-reaching views, but when they looked out over the south, they saw the trees of Hsi Tzu's residence in the way. Thereat Viscount T'ien Ch'eng as well as Hsi Ssu-mi made no remark. Upon his return to his residence Hsi Tzu ordered servants to hew down the trees. No sooner had the axes made several cuts than Hsi Tzu stopped them. "Why does Your Excellency change his mind so suddenly?" asked the house servants. In reply Hsi Tzu said: "The ancients had a proverb saying, 'Who knows the fish in the abyss is unlucky.' Indeed, Viscount T'ien is about to launch an extraordinary affair. If I show him that I know its minute details, I will be jeopardized. Not hewing down the trees will constitute no offence; knowing what he never utters in word will amount to a serious offence." So they stopped hewing down the trees.

Once Yang Tzu passed through Sung and stayed in an inn. The inn had two waitresses. The ugly one of them was esteemed but the beautiful one was despised. Therefore Yang Tzu asked the reason. In reply the old inn-keeper said: "The beautiful one thinks so much of her own beauty, but I never notice her being so beautiful. The ugly one is so conscious of her own ugliness, but I never notice her being so ugly." Thereupon Yang Tzu said to his disciples: "Who practises worthiness and abandons the aptitude for self-esteem, would be praised wherever he goes."

Once a man of Wei on giving a daughter in marriage taught her, saying: "Be sure to accumulate your own savings because it is usual for a married woman to be divorced and it is unusually lucky if she can succeed in making a new home." The daughter, accordingly, accumulated her own savings in secret. In consequence, her mother-in-law, regarding her as extraordinarily self-seeking, divorced her. Upon her return her possession was twice as much as her dowry. The father not only never blamed himself for having given his daughter a wrong precept but even considered the way he had increased his wealth astute. In these days, office-hunters when appointed to posts would do the same as the daughter given in marriage.

Lu Tan thrice persuaded the Ruler of Central Hills, but his advice was never taken. So he spent fifty taels to gain the good-will of the attendants. Then he went to have another audience, when the Ruler, before speaking one word to him, invited him to a banquet. When Lu Tan went out, he did not return to his lodging place but left Central Hills at once. Out of wonder his coachman asked him: "The Ruler of Central Hills only began to show Your Excellency courtesies during the last interview, but why should Your Excellency leave so soon?" In reply he said: "Indeed, just as he showed courtesies to me in accordance with people's words, he would charge me with crimes in accordance with people's words, too." True, before they went out of the state border, the heir apparent slandered him, saying that he had come to spy for Chao. The Ruler of Central Hills, accordingly, searched for him and found him guilty.

Earl T'ien Ting loved warriors and scholars and thereby kept his Ruler in safety; the Duke of White loved warriors and scholars and thereby threw Ching into confusion. Their loving warriors and scholars was the same, but the motives behind the action were different. Again, Kung-sun Chi cut off his feet and thereby recommended Pai-li Hsi; Shu Tiao castrated himself and thereby ingratiated himself with Duke Huan. Their punishing themselves was the same, but the motives behind their self-punishment were different. Therefore, Hui Tzu said: "An insane person is running eastward and a pursuer is running eastward, too. Their running eastward is the same, but the motives behind their running eastward are different." Hence the saying: "Men doing the same thing ought to be differentiated in motive."

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 23.

Collected Persuasions, The Lower Series

Pai-lo once taught two men how to select horses that kick habitually. Later, he went with them to Viscount Chien's stable to inspect the horses. One of the men pulled out a kicking horse. The other man went near behind the horse and patted its flank three times, but the horse never kicked. Therefore, the man who had pulled out the horse thought he had been wrong in the way of selection. Yet the other man said: "You were not wrong in the way of selection. The shoulders of this horse are short but its laps are swollen. The horse that kicks habitually has to raise the hindlegs and lay its whole weight upon the forelegs. Yet swollen laps are not dependable. So the hind legs cannot be raised. You were skilful in selecting kicking horses but not in observing the swollen laps." Verily, everything has the supporter of its weight. However, that the forelegs have swollen laps and therefore cannot support its whole weight, is known only by intelligent men. Hui Tzu said: "Suppose the monkey was put into a cage, it would turn as clumsy as the pig." For the same reason, as long as the position is not convenient, nobody can exert his ability.

Viscount Wen, a general of the Wei State, once called on Tseng Tsu . Tseng Tzu did not stand up but asked him to take a seat while he set himself on a seat of honour. Later, Viscount Wen said to his coachman: "Tseng Tzu is rustic. If he thinks I am a gentleman, why should he pay me no respect? If he thinks I am a rascal, why should he offend a rascal? That Tseng Tzu has never been humiliated is good luck."

A kind of bird called "little cuckoo" has a heavy head and a curved tail. On drinking water from the river, it is bound to be overturned. Therefore, another bird has to hold its feather upward and let it drink. Similarly, men who fall short of drinking ought to find support for their own feather.

Eels are like snakes, silkworms like caterpillars. Men are frightened at the sight of snakes and shocked at the sight of caterpillars. However, fishermen would hold eels in hand and women would pick up silkworms. Thus, where there is profit, there everyone turns as brave as Meng Pen and Chuan Chu.

Pai-lo taught men whom he disliked how to select swift race-horses and taught men whom he liked how to select inferior horses, because swift race-horses being few and far between would yield slow profits while inferior horses being sold every day would bring about quick profits. That swift race-horses yield profits is as casual as the use of vulgar words in a refined style mentioned in the Book of Chou.

Huan He said: "The first step of sculpture is to make the nose large and the eyes small. Because the nose, if too large, can be made small, but, if too small, cannot be enlarged; and the eyes, if too small, can be enlarged, but, if too large, cannot be made small. The same is true with the beginning of any enterprise. If made recoverable at any time, it seldom fails.

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Marquis Ch'ung and Wu-lai knew that they would not be chastised by Chow but never foresaw that King Wu would destroy them. Pi-kan and Tzu-hsü knew that their masters would go to ruin but never knew the impending death of themselves. Hence the saying: "Marquis Ch'ung and Wu-lai knew the mind of their master but not the course of events while Pi-kan and Tzu-hsü knew the course of events but not the minds of their masters. The saintly man knowing both is always secure."

The Prime Minister of Sung was powerful and in charge of all important decisions. When Chi Tzu was about to visit the Ruler of Sung, Liang Tzu heard about it and said to him: "During the interview, are you sure the Prime Minister will be present? Otherwise, you might not be able to evade disasters." Chi Tzu, accordingly, persuaded the Ruler of the need of taking care of his health and leaving the state affairs in the hands of able vassals.

Yang Chu's younger brother, Yang Pu, once wore white clothes and went out. As it started raining, he took off the white clothes and put on black ones. Upon his return, his dog, unable to recognize him, barked at him. Yang Pu became very angry and was about to beat it, when Yang Chu said: "Don't beat the dog. You will do the same, too. Supposing the dog went out white and came back black, wouldn't you feel strange?"

Hui Tzu said: "If Hou Yi put the thimble on his right thumb, held the middle of the edge with his left hand, drew the bow, and then released the string, then even men of Yüeh would contentiously go to hold the target for him. But when a small child draws the bow, then even the compassionate mother will run into the house and shut the door." Hence the saying: "If certain of no miss, even men of Yüeh would not doubt Hou Yi. If not certain of no miss, even the compassionate mother will escape her small child."

Duke Huan of Ch'i once asked Kuan Chung if there was any limit of wealth. In reply Kuan Chung said: "Where there is no more water, there is the limit of water. Where there is content with wealth, there lies the limit of wealth. If one cannot stop with his content, it is because he forgets the limit of wealth."

In Sung there was a rich merchant named Chien Chih Tzu. Once, when he was competing with other people for buying an uncut jade quoted at one hundred taels of gold, he pretended to drop it and thereby break it by mistake. As a result, he had to pay one hundred taels of gold for the damage. Then he repaired the breakage and sold it for twenty thousand taels. Thus, affairs are started and are sometimes ruined. People must have considered it wise not to have started the competition at the moment when the merchant had to pay the damages.

Once there was a man who owing to his skilfulness in driving wanted to see the King of Ching. All coachmen became jealous of him. Therefore, he said, "Thy servant when driving can catch deer." So he was granted an audience. When the King himself drove, he could not catch any deer. Then the man drove and caught them. The King praised his driving, when he told the King about the coachmen's jealousy of him.

When Ching ordered Kung-sun Ch'ao to lead the expeditionary forces against Ch'en, his father-in-law saw him off, saying, "Chin is strong. Be sure to take precautions against their reinforcements." "Why should Father worry?" said Kung-sun Ch'ao. "I will rout the Chins on your behalf." "All right," said his father-in-law. "Then I will build a hut outside the south gate of the capital of Ch'en and wait there for mournful news." "Why do you say that?" asked Ch'ao. "I have to laugh," replied the old man, "at the thought that if it is so easy to scheme for the ruin of enemies as you suppose, why should Kou-chien alone have to endure ten years' hardships in secret and solitude?"

Yao transferred the rule over All-under-Heaven to Hsü Yu. But Hsü Yu ran away. When he stayed in a farmer's house, the farmer put his fur hat out of the guest's sight. Indeed, the farmer put his hat out of the sight of Hsü Yu who had even declined the rule over All-under-Heaven because he never knew of Hsü Yu.

Once three lice were biting a pig and disputing with one another. Another louse, passing by them, asked, "What are you disputing about?" "We are fighting for fat places," replied the three lice. "If you fellows do not worry about the arrival of the mid-winter festival and the burning of the miscanthus, what else should you worry about?" So saying, the last louse joined the three in biting the body of the pig and ate as much as they wanted. In the meantime, the pig became very thin, wherefore people did not kill it at the time of the festival.

There is a kind of worm called "tapeworm", which has two mouths. Once they quarrelled for food and bit each other, till they killed each other. All ministers who quarrel about public affairs and thereby ruin the state, are all like tapeworms.

If buildings are painted white and furniture cleansed with water, then there is cleanliness. The same is true of human conduct and personality. If there is left no room for further painting and cleansing, then faults must be few.

When Prince Chiu was about to cause a rebellion, Duke Huan of Ch'i sent spies to watch him. They came back with the report that Prince Chiu, inasmuch as he never rejoiced when laughing and never saw when looking at a thing, would certainly cause a rebellion. Hearing this, Duke Huan made the Lus kill him.

Kung-sun Hung bobbed his hair and became a cavalier of the King of Yüeh. To sever his relationship with him, Kung-sun Hsi sent someone to tell him, "I and you will no longer be brothers." In reply Kung-sun Hung said: "I have my hair cut off. You might have your neck cut off while serving in the army under somebody else. What do I have to say to you then?" True, in the battle south of Chou, Kung-sun Hsi was killed.

A man who lived next-door to a rascal thought of selling off his estate and thereby keeping away from him. Thereupon someone said to him, "His string of wickedness will soon be full. Better wait for a while." "I am afraid he is going to do something against me for filling his measure of wickedness," was the reply. So saying, the man left for elsewhere. Hence the saying: "No hesitation on the verge of danger."

Confucius once asked his disciples, "Who can tell me the way Tzu-hsi made his name?" "Tz'u can," replied Tzu-kung, "and hopes nobody will doubt it. Tzu-hsi said: 'Be broad-minded, never be enticed by profit, and keep the people upright. By nature the people follow certain constant principles, considering crookedness crooked and straightness straight.' " "Yet Tzu-hsi could not evade a disastrous end," remarked Confucius. "During the rebellion of the Duke of White he was killed. Hence the saying: 'Who pretends to straightness in conduct, is crooked in desire.' "

Viscount Wen of Chung-hang of Chin, while living in exile, once passed through a county town, when his followers said: "The squire of this place is an old acquaintance of Your Excellency. Why does Your Excellency not stay in his house and wait for the carriage coming from behind?" In reply Viscount Wen said: "I used to love music, when this man presented me with an automatic harp. When I liked girdle ornaments, he presented me with a jade bracelet. In this way, he aggravated my indulgences. Who ingratiated himself with me by using such articles as presents, will ingratiate himself with others by using me as a present too." So saying, he left the place. Meanwhile, the man actually retained Viscount Wen's two carriages that arrived later and presented them to his ruler.

Chou Ts'ao once said to Kung T'a, "Will you tell the King of Ch'i that if His Majesty helps me attain to high office in Wey with Ch'i's influence I will in return make Wey serve Ch'i?" "No," replied Kung T'a. "Your request will show him your being powerless in Wey. I am sure the King of Ch'i would not help any powerless man in Wey and thereby incur hatred from the powerful men in the country. Therefore, you had better say, 'Whatever His Majesty wants, thy servant will make Wey do accordingly.' Then the King of Ch'i would think you are powerful in Wey and support you. In this way, after you become influential in Ch'i, you will gain influence in Wey with Ch'i's support."

Pai Kuei once said to the Premier of Sung: "As soon as your master grows up, he will administer the state affairs himself, and you will have nothing to do. Now your master is young and fond of making a name. Better make the Ching State congratulate him on his filial piety. Then your master never will deprive you of your post and will pay high respects to you and you will always hold high office in Sung."

Kuan Chung and Pao Shu said to each other: "The Ruler who is extremely outrageous, is bound to lose the State. Among all the princes in the Ch'i State, the one worth supporting must be Prince Hsiao-pai, if not Prince Chiu. Let each of us serve one of them and the one who succeeds first recommend the other." So saying, Kuan Chung served Prince Chiu and Pao Shu served Hsiao-pai. In the meantime, the Ruler was actually assassinated by his subjects. Hsiao-pai entered the capital first and proclaimed himself Ruler. The Lus arrested Kuan Chung and sent him to Ch'i. Thereupon Pao Shu spoke to the Throne about him and made him Prime Minister of Ch'i. Hence the proverb saying: "The magician makes good prayers for people but cannot pray for keeping himself away from evil spirits; Surgeon Ch'in was skilful in curing diseases but unable to treat himself with the needle." Similarly, despite his own wisdom, Kuan Chung had to rely on Pao Shu for help. This is exactly the same as what a vulgar proverb says, "The slave sells fur coats but does not buy them, the scholar praises his eloquent speeches but does not believe in them."

The King of Ching attacked Wu. Wu sent Chü Wei and Chüeh Yung to entertain Ching's troops with presents. The Commander of the Ching Army said, "Arrest them and kill them for painting the festive drum with their blood." Then he asked, "Did you divine your fortunes before you started coming here?" "Yes, we did." "Good luck?" "Of course, good luck." "Now, we are going to kill you and paint our festive drum with your blood. Why?" "That is the reason why the omen is good," replied the two men. "Wu sent us here to test Your Excellency. If Your Excellency is serious, they will dig deep trenches and build high ramparts; if not, they will relax their preparations. Now that Your Excellency kills thy servants, the Wus will take strict precautions against your attack. Moreover, the state's divination was not for one or two men. Verily, if it is not called lucky to have one subject killed and thereby preserve the whole state, what is? Again, dead persons never feel. If so, there is no use painting the drum with the blood of thy servants. If dead persons can feel and know, thy servants will make the drum stop sounding during the battle." Accordingly, the Chings did not kill them.

Earl Chih was about to attack the Ch'ou-yu State, and found the path too hazardous to go through. Thereupon he cast large bells and offered to present them to the Ruler of Ch'ou-yu. The Ruler of Ch'ou-yu, greatly pleased thereby, thought of clearing up the path for accepting the bells. "No," said Ch'ih-chang Wan-chi, "he is acting in the way a small state pays respects to a big power. Now that a big state is sending us such a present, soldiers will certainly follow it. Do not accept it." To this counsel the Ruler of Ch'ouyu would not listen but accepted the bells in the long run. Therefore, Ch'ih-chang Wan-chi cut the naves of his carriage short enough for the narrow road and drove away to the Ch'i State. Seven months afterwards Ch'ou-yu was destroyed.

Yüeh having already vanquished Wu asked for reinforcements from Ching in order to attack Chin. Thereupon the Left Court Historiographer Yi Hsiang said to the King of Ching: "Indeed, Yüeh on smashing Wu had able officers killed, brave soldiers extinguished, and heavily-armed warriors wounded. Now they are asking for reinforcements from us to attack Chin and showing us that they are not exhausted. We had better raise an army to partition Wu with them." "Good," said the King of Ching, and, accordingly, raised an army and pursued the Yüehs. Enraged thereby, the King of Yüeh thought of attacking the Chings. "No," said the High Officer Chung. "Our able officers are practically all gone and heavily-armed warriors wounded. If we fight them, we will not win. Better bribe them." Accordingly, the King ceded as bribe to Ching the land of five hundred li on the shady side of the Dew Mountains.

Ching attacked Ch'en. But Wu went to rescue it. There was only thirty li between the opposing armies. After having been rainy for ten days, the weather began to clear up at night. Thereupon the Left Court Historiographer Yi Hsiang said to Tzu-ch'i: "It has been raining for ten days. The Wus must have assembled piles of armour and a number of troops. To-night they would come. Better make preparations against their raid." Accordingly, they pitched their camps. Before the camps were completed, the Wus actually arrived, but, seeing the camps of the Chings, they withdrew. "The Wus have made a round trip of sixty li," remarked the Left Court Historiographer. "By this time their officers must be resting, and their soldiers eating. If we go thirty li and attack them, we will certainly be able to defeat them." Accordingly, they pursued them and routed Wu's troops by long odds.

When Han and Chao were menacing each other, the Viscount of Han asked for reinforcements from Wey, saying, "We hope you will lend us troops to attack Chao." In reply Marquis Wen of Wey said, "Wey and Chao are brothers. I cannot listen to you." Likewise, when Chao asked for reinforcements from Wey to attack Han, Marquis Wen of Wey said, "Wey and Han are brothers. I dare not listen to you." Receiving no reinforcements, both countries were angry and withdrew. After they found out that Marquis Wen had intended to patch up a peace between them, both paid visits to the Court of Wey.

Ch'i attacked Lu and demanded the tripod made in Ch'an. Lu sent them a forged one. "It's a forged one," said the Ch'is. "It's a real one," said the Lus. "Then bring Yo-cheng Tzu-ch'un here to look at it," said the Ch'is. "We will listen to what he is going to say." Thereupon the Ruler of Lu asked Yo-cheng Tzu-ch'un to take his side. "Why did you not send them the real one?" asked Yo-cheng Tzu-ch'un. "Because I love it," replied the Ruler. "I love my own reputation, too," replied Yo-cheng.

When Han Chiu proclaimed himself Ruler and everything was not as yet stabilized, his younger brother was in Chou. The Court of Chou wanted to support him but feared the Hans might not accept him. Thereupon Ch'i-mu Hui said: "The best is to send him back with one hundred chariots. If the people accept him, we will say that the chariots are precautions against emergencies. If they refuse to accept him, we will say that we are delivering their traitor to them."

When the Lord of Ch'ing-kuo was about to build city walls around Hsüeh, many of his guests remonstrated against the plan. The Lord of Ch'ing-kuo, therefore, told the usher not to convey their messages to him. However, there came a man from Ch'i who requested an interview, saying, "Thy servant begs to speak only three words. If he utters more than three words, he will be willing to be steamed to death." The Lord of Ch'ing-kuo, therefore, granted him an audience. The visitor ran forward and said, "Big sea fish," and then ran away. "May I know its meaning?" asked the Lord of Ch'ing-kuo. "Thy servant dare not regard dying as joking," said the visitor. "Be kind enough to explain its meaning to me," insisted the Lord of Ch'ing-kuo. In reply the visitor said: "Has Your Highness ever heard about the big fish? Neither the net

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can stop it nor the string arrow can catch it. When it jumps at random and gets out of water, then even ants would make fun of it. Now, what the Ch'i State is to Your Excellency, that is the sea to the big fish. As long as Your Excellency remains powerful in Ch'i, why should he care about Hsüeh? Yet once you lose power in Ch'i, then though the city walls of Hsüeh are as high as heaven, you will labour in vain." "Right," said the Lord of Ch'ing-kuo, and, accordingly, never built walls around Hsüeh.

The younger brother of the King of Ching was in Ch'in. When Ch'in refused to send him home, a certain lieutenant spoke to the King, "May Your Majesty finance thy servant with one hundred taels of gold. Then thy servant will be able to make Prince Wu come home." Accordingly, he took one hundred taels of gold along and went to Chin. There he called on Shu-hsiang and said: "The younger brother of the King of Ching is in Ch'in but Ch'in would not let him go home. Therefore His Majesty with one hundred taels of gold as present begs Your Excellency to help his brother go home." Having accepted the money, Shu-hsiang went to see Duke P'ing of Chin and said: "It is now time to construct walls around the Pot Hill." "Why?" asked Duke P'ing. In reply he said: "The younger brother of the King of Ching is in Ch'in but Ch'in refuses to send him home. This means that Ch'in has hatred for Ching. Therefore, Ch'in will certainly not dare to protest against our construction of walls around the Pot Hill. If they do, then we will tell them that if they let the younger brother of the King of Ching go home, we will not build the walls. In case they let Prince Wu go home, we will place the Chings under obligation to us. In case they refuse to send him home, they will execute their wicked plan and therefore certainly not dare to protest against our construction of the walls around the Pot Hill." "Right," said the Duke, and, accordingly, started building walls around the Pot Hill and told the Duke of Ch'in that if he would send the younger brother of the King of Ching home, the Chins would not build the walls. In accordance with the demand Ch'in sent Prince Wu back to Ching. Thereat the King of Ching was greatly pleased, and presented Chin with two thousand taels of fused gold.

Ho-lü attacked Ying and in the fighting won three battles. Then he asked Tzu-hsü, "May we turn back now?" In reply Tzu-hsü said: "Who wants to drown anybody and stops after giving him one drink, cannot drown him to death. Even to keep giving him water, is not as quick as to follow the force of circumstances and sink him."

A man of Cheng had a son. On going to take up his official post, he said to the family folks, "Be sure to repair the broken places on the mud fence. Otherwise, bad men might come in to steal things." Some dweller in the same alley also said, "Keep the fence in good repair!" Actually a thief broke into the house. The family, therefore, considered the young man wise but suspected that the dweller in the same alley who had warned them was the thief.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 24.

Observing Deeds

Men of antiquity, because their eyes stopped short of self-seeing, used mirrors to look at their faces; because their wisdom stopped short of self-knowing, they took Tao to rectify their characters. The mirror had no guilt of making scars seen; Tao had no demerit of making faults clear. Without the mirror, the eyes had no other means to rectify the whiskers and eyebrows; without Tao, the person had no other way to know infatuation and bewilderment. For the same reason, Hsi-men Pao, being quick-tempered, purposely wore hide on his feet to make himself slow; Tung An-yü, being slow-minded, wore bowstrings on his feet to make himself quick. Therefore, the ruler who supplies scarcity with abundance and supplements shortness with length is called "an intelligent sovereign".

There are in All-under-Heaven three truths: First, that even wise men find unattainable tasks; second, that even strong men find immovable objects; and third, that even brave men find invincible opponents.

For instance, though you have the wisdom of Yao but have no support of the masses of the people, you cannot accomplish any great achievement; though you have the physical force of Wu Huo but have no help from other people, you cannot raise yourself; and though you have the strength of Meng Pen and Hsia Yü and uphold neither law nor tact, you cannot triumph for ever. Therefore, certain positions are untenable; certain tasks, unattainable. Thus, Wu Huo found a thousand chün light but his own body heavy. Not that his body was heavier than a thousand chün, but that position would not facilitate his raising his own body. In the same way, Li Chu found it easy to see across one hundred steps but difficult to see his own eyelashes. Not that one hundred steps were near and eyelashes far, but that the way of nature would not permit him to see his own eyelashes. For such reasons, the intelligent sovereign neither reproaches Wu Huo for his inability to raise himself nor embarrasses Li Chu with his inability to see himself. Yet he counts on favourable circumstances and seeks for the easiest way, so that he exerts small effort and accomplishes both an achievement and a reputation.

Times wax and wane; affairs help and harm; and things come into existence and go into extinction. As the lord of men has these three objects to face, if he expresses the colours of joy and anger, "personages of gold and stone" will be estranged while the wise and shrewd will explore the depth of the ruler's mentality. Therefore, the intelligent sovereign observes people's deeds but never lets people observe his own motives.

Now that you understand the inability of Yao to accomplish the rule by himself, the inability of Wu Huo to raise his own body by himself, and the inability of Meng Pen and Hsia Yü to triumph by themselves, if you uphold law and tact, then the course of observing deeds will be completed.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 25.

Safety and Danger

The means of safety have seven varieties; the ways to danger, six.

Of the means of safety:—

The first is said to be "reward and punishment in accordance with right and wrong".

The second is said to be "fortune and misfortune in accordance with good and evil".

The third is said to be "life and death in accordance with laws and institutions".

The fourth is said to be "discrimination between the worthy and unworthy but not between the loved and the hated".

The fifth is said to be "discrimination between the stupid and the wise but not between the blamed and the praised".

The sixth is to "have feet and inches but let nobody guess the ruler's mind".

The seventh is to "have good faith but no falsehood".

Of the ways to danger:—

The first is to "make cuts within the string".

The second is to "make breaks beyond the string".

The third is to "profit by people's danger".

The fourth is to "rejoice in people's disaster".

The fifth is to "endanger people's safety".

The sixth is "not to keep intimate with the loved nor to keep the hated at a distance".

In cases like the above-mentioned, people will lose the reason to rejoice in life and forget the reason to take death seriously. If people do not rejoice in life, the lord of men will not be held in high esteem; if people do not take death seriously, orders will not take effect.

Let All-under-Heaven devote their wisdom and talent to the refinement of manners and looks and exert their strength to the observance of yard and weight, so that when you move, you triumph, and, when you rest, you are safe. When governing the world, make men rejoice in life in doing good and make them love their bodies too much to do evil. Then small men will decrease and superior men will increase. Consequently, the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain will stand for ever and the country will be safe for aye. In a rushing carriage there is no need of Chung-ni; beneath a wrecked ship there is no use of Po-i. So are commands and orders the ship and carriage of the state. In time of safety, intelligent and upright men are born; in case of danger, there arise disputants and rustics. Therefore, keeping the state safe is like having food when hungry and clothes when cold, not by will but by nature. The early kings left principles of government on bamboo slips and pieces of cloth. Their course of government being proper, subsequent ages followed them. In the present age, to make people discard clothes and food when they are hungry and cold, even Meng Pen and Hsia Yü cannot execute such an order. Whoever discards the way of nature, though his course of government is proper, cannot hold well. Wherever even strong and brave men cannot execute orders, there the superiors cannot be safe. When the insatiable superiors blame the exhausted inferiors, the latter will always give "No more" as reply. When they give "No more" as reply, they slight the law. The law is what the state is governed by. If it is slighted, neither merit will be rendered nor name will be made.

They say that, of old, Pien Ch'iao, when treating serious diseases, pierced through bones with knives. So does the sage on rescuing the state out of danger offend the ruler's ear with loyal words. After the bone has been pierced through, the body suffers a little pain but the person secures a permanent benefit. After the ear has been offended, the mind feels somewhat thwarted but the state secures a permanent advantage. Therefore, seriously ill persons gain by enduring pains; stubborn-minded rulers have good luck only through ear-offending words. If patients could endure the pain, Pien Ch'iao could exert his skill. If the ruler's ear could be offended, Tzu-hsü would not have ended in failure. Thus, pain-enduring and ear-offending are means to longevity and security. Naturally, when one was ill but could not endure pain, he would miss Pien Ch'iao's skill; when one is in danger but does not want to have his ear offended, he will miss the sage's counsels. Were such the case, no permanent benefit would continue nor would any glorious fame last long.

If the lord of men does not cultivate himself with Yao as example but requests every minister to imitate Tzu-hsü, he is then doing the same as expecting the Yins to be as loyal as Pi Kan. If everybody could be as loyal as Pi Kan, the ruler would neither lose the throne nor ruin himself. As the ruler does not weigh the ministers' powers despite the existence of rapacious ministers like T'ien Ch'eng but expects everybody to be as loyal as Pi Kan, the state can never have a moment of safety.

If the example of Yao and Shun is set aside and that of Chieh and Chow is followed instead, then the people can neither rejoice in their own merits nor worry over their own defects. If they lose their merits, the country will accomplish nothing; if they stick to the defects, they will not rejoice in life. If the authorities having accomplished nothing attempt to rule the people not rejoicing in life, they will not succeed in unifying the people. Should such be the case, the superiors would have no way to employ the inferiors while the inferiors would find no reason to serve the superiors.

Safety and danger rest with right and wrong but not with strength and weakness. Existence and extinction depend upon substantiality and superficiality, but not on big and small numbers. For example, Ch'i was a state of ten thousand chariots, but her name and her reality were not mutually equivalent. The ruler had superficial powers inside the state and paved no gap between name and reality. Therefore, ministers could deprive the sovereign of the throne. Again, Chieh was the Son of Heaven but saw no distinction between right and wrong, rewarded men of no merit, took slanderers into service, respected hypocrites as noble, censured innocent men, ordered men born humpbacked to have their backs cut open, approved falsehood, and disapproved inborn reason. In consequence, a small country could vanquish his big one.

The intelligent sovereign consolidates internal forces and therefore encounters no external failure. Who fails within his reach, is bound to fail at a distance. For instance, the Chous on supplanting the Yins learned by the latter's failures in the court. Should the Yins have made no mistake in their court, even for an autumn down the Chous would not dare to hope from them. How much less would they dare to shift their throne?

The Tao of the intelligent sovereign is true to the law, and his law is true to the mind. Therefore, when standing close by it, he acts on the law; when going away from it, he thinks of it in the mind. Thus, Yao made no covenant as binding as glue and varnish with his age, but his Tao prevailed. Shun left no territory sufficient to set a gimlet on with subsequent ages, but his Teh is bearing fruit. Who can trace his Tao to remote antiquity and leave his Teh to the myriad subsequent ages, is called "an enlightened sovereign".

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 26.

The Way to Maintain the State

When a sage-king makes laws, he makes rewards sufficient to encourage the good, his authority sufficient to subjugate the violent, and his preparation sufficient to accomplish a task. Ministers of an orderly age, who have rendered the country many meritorious services, hold high posts. Those who have exerted their strength, receive big rewards. Those who have exerted the spirit of loyalty, establish names. If good, they live on as flowers and insects do in spring; if bad, they die out as flowers and insects do in autumn. Therefore, the people strive to apply all their forces and rejoice in exerting the spirit of loyalty. This is said to have high and low living in harmony. As high and low are living in harmony, users of forces exert their strength to the observance of yard and weight and strive to play the role of Jen P'i; warriors march out at the risk of their lives and hope to accomplish the merits of Meng Pen and Hsia Yü; and upholders of the true path all cherish the mind of gold and stone to die in the cause of fidelity as Tzu-hsü did. If the users of forces are as strong as Jen P'i and fight as bravely as Pen and Yü while cherishing the mind of gold and stone, then the ruler of men can sleep without worries and his preparations for the maintenance of the state are already complete.

In by-gone days, the good maintainers of the state forbade what they considered light with what they considered heavy, and stopped what they considered easy with what they considered hard. Therefore, both gentlemen and rustics were equally upright. Robber Che and Tseng Ts'an and Shih Ch'iu were equally honest. How do I know this? Indeed, the greedy robber does not go to the ravine to snatch gold. For, if he goes to the ravine to snatch gold, he will not be safe. Similarly, Pen and Yü, without estimating their opponents' strength, would have gained no fame for bravery; Robber Che, without calculating the possibilities of success, would have gained no booty.

When the intelligent sovereign enacts prohibitions, even Pen and Yü are restrained by what they cannot vanquish and Robber Che is afflicted with what he cannot take. Therefore, if the ruler can forbid with what Pen and Yü cannot transgress and maintain what Robber Che cannot take, the violent will become prudent; the brave, respectful; and the wicked, upright. Then All-under-Heaven will become just and fair and the common people will become right-spirited.

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Once the lord of men leaves the law and loses the hearts of the people, he will fear lest Po-i should take anything away, and will not escape such calamities as are caused by T'ien Ch'eng and Robber Che. Why? Because the present world has not a single man as upright as Po-i but the age is full of culprits. That is the reason why laws, weights, and measures are made. If weights and measures are of faith, Po-i loses no reason to be right and Robber Che cannot do wrong. If laws are distinct and clear, the worthy cannot over-run the unworthy, the strong cannot outrage the weak, and the many cannot violate the few. If the ruler commits All-under-Heaven to the care of the Law of Yao, honest men never miss their due posts and wicked men never seek any godsend. If the arrow of Hou Yi is entrusted with a thousand taels of gold, Po-i cannot lose and Robber Che dare not take. As Yao was too clever to miss the culprits, All-under-Heaven had no wickedness. As Yi was too skilful to miss the mark, the thousand taels of gold would not be lost. Thus, wicked men could not live long, and Robber Che would stop.

Should such be the case, among the pictures there would be inserted no worthy like Tsai Yü and enumerated no rapacious ministers like the Six Nobles; among the books there would be recorded no personage like Tzu-hsü and described no tyrant like Fu-ch'a; the tactics of Sun Wu and Wu Ch'i would be abandoned; and Robber Che's malice would give way. Then the lord of men might enjoy sound sleep inside the jade palace with no trouble of glaring his eyes and grinding his teeth with anger and turning his ear with anxiety; while the ministers might drop their clothes and fold their hands in an iron-walled city with no calamity of seeing their arms clutched, their lips shut tight, and hearing sighs and griefs.

To subdue the tiger not by means of the cage, to suppress the culprit not by means of the law, or to impede the liar not by means of the tally, would be a worry to Pen and Yü and a difficulty to Yao and Shun. Therefore, to construct a cage is not to provide against rats but to enable the weak and timid to subdue the tiger; to establish laws is not to provide against Tseng Ts'an and Shih Ch'iu but to enable the average sovereign to prohibit Robber Che; and to make tallies is not to guard against Wei Sheng but to make the masses never deceive one another. Thus, the right way is not to rely on Pi Kan's martyrdom in the cause of fidelity nor to count on the rapacious minister's committing no deception, but to rely on the ability of the timid to subdue the tiger and appropriate the facilities of the average sovereign to maintain the state. In the present age, who schemes loyally for the sovereign and accumulates virtue for All-underHeaven, finds no advantage more permanent than this! If so, the ruler of men will see no figure of a doomed state and the loyal ministers will cherish no image of a ruined personality. As the ruler knows how to honour ranks and make rewards definite, he can make people apply their strength to the observance of yard and weight, die in the cause of their official duties, understand the real desire of Pen and Yü not to choose the death penalty before a peaceful life, and scrutinize the covetous acts of Robber Che so as not to ruin their characters for the sake of money. Then the way to maintain the state is completely paved.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 27.

How to Use Men: Problems of Personnel Administration

They say the ancients who were skilful in personnel administration always conformed to the way of heaven, accorded with the nature of man, and clarified the principles of reward and punishment. As they conformed to the way of heaven, they expended few efforts, but harvested fruitful results. As they accorded with the nature of man, penal acts were simplified, but orders took effect. As they clarified the principles of reward and punishment, Po-i and Robber Che were never mixed up. That being so, white and black were clearly distinguished from each other.

Ministers of an orderly state render meritorious service to the country so as to fulfil their official duties, manifest their talents in office so as to obtain promotions, and devote their strength to the observance of yard and weight so as to manage affairs. As all officials have due abilities, are competent for their duties, and do not covet any additional post; and as they have no ulterior motive in mind and shift no responsibility of any of their additional offices to the ruler; inside there occurs no uprising from hidden resentment nor does such a disaster as caused by the Lord of Ma-fu happen outside.

The intelligent ruler allows no offices to meddle with each other, wherefore no dispute can happen; no personage to hold an additional post, wherefore everybody's talented skill can improve; and nobody to share the same meritorious service with anybody else, wherefore no rivalry can ensue. When rivalry and dispute cease and talents and specialities grow, the strong and the weak will not struggle for power, ice and charcoal will not mix their features, and All-underHeaven will not be able to harm one another. Such is the height of order.

Casting law and tact aside and trusting to personal judgements, even Yao could not rectify a state. Discarding compasses and squares and trusting to optional measures, even Hsi Chung could not make a single wheel. Giving rulers up and thereby attempting to make shortness and length even, even Wang Erh could not point out the middle. Supposing an average sovereign abode by law and tact and an unskilful carpenter used compasses, squares, and rulers, certainly there would be no mistake in a myriad cases. Who rules men, if he casts aside what the wise and the skilful fall short of and maintains what the average and the unskilful never fail in, can then exert the forces of the people to the utmost and accomplish his achievement and reputation.

The intelligent sovereign offers rewards that may be earned and establishes punishments that should be avoided. Accordingly, worthies are encouraged by rewards and never meet Tzu-hsü's disaster; unworthy people commit few crimes and never see the humpback being cut open; blind people walk on the plain and never come across any deep ravine; stupid people keep silent and never fall into hazards. Should such be the case, the affection between superior and inferior would be well founded. The ancients said, "It is hard to know the mind. It is hard to balance joy and anger." Therefore, the sovereign uses bulletins to show the eye, instructions to tell the ear, and laws to rectify the mind. If the ruler of men discards these three easy measures and practises the sole difficult policy of mind-reading, then anger will be accumulated by the superior and resentment would be accumulated by the inferior. When accumulators of anger are governing accumulators of resentment, both will be in danger.

The bulletins of the intelligent sovereign being so easy to see, his promises keep. His teachings being so easy to understand, his words function. His laws being so easy to observe, his orders take effect. When these three things are well founded and the superiors have no self-seeking mind, the inferiors will obey the law and maintain order; will look at the bulletin and move; will follow the inked string and break; and will follow the flat pins and sew. In such a case, superiors will incur no bad name for selfishness and arrogance nor will inferiors receive any blame for stupidity and awkwardness. Hence the ruler is enlightened and rarely angry while the people are loyal and rarely guilty.

They say, "To manage an affair and have no worry, even Yao would be unable." Yet the world is always full of affairs. The ruler of men, unless generous in conferring titles and bounties and easy in rewarding people of merit with riches and honours, is not worth helping in saving his jeopardized state. Therefore, the intelligent sovereign encourages men of integrity and bashfulness and invites men of benevolence and righteousness. Of yore, Chieh Tzu-t'ui had neither rank nor bounty but followed Duke Wen in the cause of righteousness, and, being unable to bear the thirst of the Duke's mouth and the hunger of his stomach, sliced off his own flesh to feed his master in the cause of benevolence. Henceforth the lords of men have cited his virtue and books and pictures have quoted his name.

Generally speaking, the lord of men rejoices in making the people exert their strength for public causes and suffers by the usurpation of his authority by self-seeking ministers. The minister feels content when receiving appointment to office and overburdened when taking charge of two responsibilities at one time. The intelligent sovereign, therefore, abolishes what the ministers suffer and establishes what the lord of men rejoices in. Such an advantage to both superior and inferior is surpassed by nothing else. Contrary to this, if the ruler fails to observe closely the interiors of private residences, handles important affairs with slight concerns of mind, inflicts severe censure for minor offences, resents small faults for a long time, habitually teases people for amusement's sake and frequently requites trouble-makers with favours, it is the same as to cut off the arm and replace it with a jewel one. Hence the world encounters calamities of dethronement.

If the lord of men institutes difficult requirements and convicts anybody whosoever falls short of the mark, then secret resentment will appear. If the minister disuses his merit and has to attend to a difficult work, then hidden resentment will grow. If toil and pain are not removed and worry and grief are not appeased; if the ruler, when glad, praises small men and rewards both the worthy and the unworthy, and, when angry, blames superior men and thereby makes Po-i and Robber Che equally disgraced, then there will be ministers rebelling against the sovereign.

Supposing the King of Yen hated his people at home but loved the Lus abroad, then Yen would not serve him nor would Lu obey him. The Yens, as hated, would not exert their strength to render him meritorious services; while the Lus, though delighted, would never forget the death-or-life question and thereby become intimate with the sovereign of another state. In such a case, the ministers would fall into discord; the lord of men, into isolation. The country in which ministers in discord serve the sovereign left in isolation, is said to be in a great danger.

Supposing you discarded the mark and target and shot blindly, then though you hit it, you would not thereby be skilful. Similarly, supposing you cast laws and institutions aside and got angry blindly, then, though you slaughter many, the culprits would not be afraid of you. If the crime is committed by "A" but the consequent disaster befalls "B", then hidden resentment will grow. Therefore, in the state of the highest order there are reward and punishment but neither joy nor anger. For the same reason, the sage enacts all kinds of penal law; whereas, though he sentences criminals to death, he is neither malicious nor cruel. Hence the culprits yield to his justice.

Wherever the shot arrow hits the mark and reward and punishment correspond with the tallies of merits and demerits, there Yao can come to life again and Yi can reappear. In such an orderly country, superiors will encounter no catastrophe as met by the Yins and the Hsias; inferiors will suffer no disaster as met by Pi-kan; the ruler can sleep without worries; ministers can rejoice in their daily work; Tao will spread all over heaven and earth; and Teh will last throughout a myriad generations.

Indeed, if the lord of men, instead of paving cracks and gaps, works hard on painting the surface with red and white clay, be sure swift rain and sudden gale will tumble the house down. Likewise, if he does not escape the impending disaster as near as the eyebrows and eyelashes but yearns after the manner of the death of Pen and Yü; if he takes no heed of the imminent trouble within the enclosure but solidifies the iron castles in remote frontiers; and if he does not adopt the schemes of the worthies near by him but cultivates friendships with the states of ten thousand chariots a thousand li away; then once the whirlwind arises, Pen and Yü will not be in time to rescue him nor will foreign friends arrive in time, till the catastrophe will be surpassed by none. In the present age, whoever gives loyal counsels to the sovereign, should neither make the King of Yen like the Lus, nor make the modern age yearn after the worthies of antiquity, nor expect the Yüehs to rescue the drowning persons in the Central States. Should such be the case, superior and inferior would be mutually affectionate, great achievement would be accomplished at home, and good reputation would be established abroad.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 28.

Achievement and Reputation

The factors of the intelligent ruler's success in accomplishing achievement and establishing reputation are four: The first is said to be "the time of heaven"; the second, "the hearts of the people"; the third, "technical ability"; and the fourth, "influential status."

Without the time of heaven, even ten Yaos cannot in winter grow a single ear of grain. Acting contrary to the hearts of the people, even Pen and Yü cannot make them exert their forces to the utmost. Therefore, when grains gain the favour of the time of heaven, they grow of themselves with no need of special care; when the ruler wins the hearts of the people, he elevates himself without being raised. When one relies on his technical ability, he hastens by himself without being hurried. When one occupies an influential status, his name is made without being commended.

Like water flowing and like the ship floating, the ruler follows the course of nature and enacts boundless decrees. Hence he is called "an enlightened sovereign".

Indeed, the possessor of talent who has no position, even though he is worthy, cannot control the unworthy. For illustration, when a foot of timber is placed on the top of a high mountain, it overlooks the ravine a thousand fathoms below. Not that the timber is long, but that its position is high. Chieh, while the Son of Heaven, could rule over All-under-Heaven. Not that he was worthy but that his position was influential. Yao, while a commoner, could not rectify three families. Not that he was unworthy but that his position was low. A weight of one thousand chün, if aboard a ship, floats; but the utmost farthing, if overboard, sinks. Not that one thousand chün is light and the utmost farthing is heavy, but that the former has a favourable position while the latter has none. Therefore, the short thing can by its location overlook the tall one; the unworthy man can by his position rule over the worthy.

The lord of men, because supported by All-under-Heaven with united forces, is safe; because upheld by the masses of the people with united hearts, he is glorious. The minister, because he maintains his merit and exerts his ability, is loyal. If a glorious sovereign rules loyal ministers, everybody in the state can live a long and enjoyable life and accomplish achievement and reputation. Name and reality will support each other and will be accomplished. Form and shadow will coincide with each other and stand together. Hence sovereign and minister have the same desire but different functions.

The anxiety of the lord of men comes from the absence of minister's responses to his call. Hence the saying: "Nobody can clap with one hand, however fast he moves it." The anxiety of the minister lies in the inability to secure a full-time routine of work. Hence the saying: "The right hand drawing a circle and the left hand drawing a square at the same time cannot both succeed." Hence the saying again: "In the state at the height of order the ruler is like the drumstick and the minister like the drum; the technique is like the carriage and the task like the horse." Therefore, men having surplus strength respond easily to calls; techniques having excessive skill are convenient to tasks. On the contrary, if those who

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accomplish achievements are not sufficiently strong; if those who are near and dear to the ruler are not sufficiently faithful; if those who have made names are not sufficiently influential; if only those who work within the ruler's reach become intimate; and if those who are stationed far away are not familiar; such will instance the discrepancy between name and fact. If the position of a sage like Yao and Shun in virtue and like Po-i in conduct is not supported by the world, his achievement will not be accomplished and his reputation will not be established.

Therefore, the ancients who could secure both achievement and reputation, were all assisted by the multitudes with forces, the near supporting them in earnest, the distant praising them with names, and the honourable supporting them with influences. Such being the case, their achievements as magnificent as Mountain T'ai have stood permanently in the country and their reputations as glorious as the sun and the moon have shone upon heaven and earth for ever and ever. It was in such wise that Yao faced the south and maintained his reputation and Shun faced the north and accomplished his achievement.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 29.

The Principal Features of Legalism

The ancients who completed the principal features of legalism, looked upon heaven and earth, surveyed rivers and oceans, and followed mountains and ravines; wherefore they ruled as the sun and the moon shine, worked as the four seasons rotate, and benefited the world in the way clouds spread and winds move.

They never burdened their mind with avarice nor did they ever burden themselves with selfishness, but they entrusted law and tact with the settlement of order and the suppression of chaos, depended upon reward and punishment for praising the right and blaming the wrong, assigned all measures of lightness and heaviness to yard and weight. They never acted contrary to the course of heaven, never hurt the feeling and reason of mankind, never blew off any hair to find small scars, never washed off any dirt to investigate anything hard to know, never drew the inked string off the line and never pushed the inked string inside the line, and was neither severe beyond the boundary of law nor lenient within the boundary of law; but observed acknowledged principles and followed self-existent standards. Thus, disaster and fortune were based on rational principles and legal regulations, but not on love and hate; the responsibility for prosperity and humility rested with nobody but oneself.

Therefore, in the age at the height of safety law is like the morning dew, pure and simple but not yet dispersed. There is no resentment in the mind nor is there any quarrelsome word from the mouth. Carriages and horses, accordingly, are not worn out on the road; flags and banners are never confused on the big swamps; the myriad people do not lose lives among bandits and weapons; courageous warriors do not see their longevities determined by flags and streamers; excellent men are not reputed in pictures and books nor are their merits recorded on plates and vases; and documents of annals are left empty. Hence the saying: "No benefit is more permanent than simplicity, no fortune is more perpetual than security."

Supposing Carpenter Stone kept the longevity of one thousand years, had his scythes, watched his compasses and squares, and stretched his inked string, for the purpose of rectifying Mountain T'ai and supposing Pen and Yü girdled the Kan-chiang Sword to unify the myriad people, then though skill is exerted to the utmost extent and though longevity is prolonged to the utmost limit, Mountain T'ai would not be rectified and the people would not be unified. Hence the saying: "The ancient shepherds of All-underHeaven never ordered Carpenter Stone to exert his skill and thereby break the shape of Mountain T'ai nor did they instruct Pen and Yü to exercise all their authorities and thereby harm the inborn nature of the myriad people."

If in accordance with Tao, the law is successfully enforced, the superior man will rejoice and the great culprit will give way. Placid, serene, and leisurely, the enlightened ruler should in accordance with the decree of heaven maintain the principal features of legalism. Therefore, he makes the people commit no crime of going astray from law and the fish suffer no disaster by losing water. Consequently, nothing in All-under-Heaven will be unattainable.

If the superior is not as great as heaven, he never will be able to protect all inferiors; if his mind is not as firm as earth, he never will be able to support all objects. Mountain T'ai, seeing no difference between desirable and undesirable clouds, can maintain its height; rivers and oceans, making no discrimination against small tributaries, can accomplish their abundance. Likewise, great men, patterning after the features of heaven and earth, find the myriad things well provided, and, applying their mind to the observation of mountains and oceans, find the country rich. The superior shows no harm from anger to anybody, the inferior throws no calamity of hidden resentment at anybody. Thus, high and low both live on friendly terms and take Tao as the standard of value. Consequently, permanent advantages are piled up and great merits accomplished. So is a name made in a lifetime. So is the benefaction left to posterity. Such is the height of order.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 30.

Inner Congeries of Sayings, The Upper Series: Seven Tacts

There are seven tacts which the sovereign ought to employ, and six minutiæ which he ought to penetrate.

Of the seven tacts, the first is said to be "comparing and inspecting all available different theories"; the second, "making punishment definite and authority clear"; the third, "bestowing rewards faithfully and everybody exert his ability"; the fourth, "listening to all sides of every story and holding every speaker responsible for it"; the fifth, "issuing spurious edicts and making pretentious appointments"; the sixth, "inquiring into cases by manipulating different information"; and the seventh, "inverting words and reversing tasks."

These seven are what the sovereign ought to employ.

1. Comparing Different Views

If the sovereign does not compare what he sees and hears, he will never get at the real. If his hearing has any particular passage to come through at all, he will be deluded by ministers. The saying is based on the clown's dream of a cooking stove and on Duke Ai's saying that his mind became bewildered because of no advisory council. For further illustration, the man of Ch'i claimed to have seen the Earl of the River, Hui Tzu remarked that the ruler had lost half the brains in the country. Its contrary is instanced by the starvation of Shu Sun by Shu Niu and the interpretation of Ching's customary law by Chiang Yi. Duke Ssu wanted political order, but, not knowing any special kind of statecraft, merely made the ministers hostile to one another. For the same reason, the intelligent sovereign would infer the need of guarding against rapacious ministers from the reason for piling iron bars on the walls of the room as measures against stray arrows, and judge the existence of an impending calamity in the market-place from the allegation of facts by three men.

2. Making Punishment Definite

If the ruler is too compassionate, the law will never prevail. If the authority is too weak, the inferior will offend the superior. For this reason, if penalties are not definite, prohibitions and decrees will take no effect. The saying is based on Tung Tzu's tour to the Stony Country and Tzuch'an's instruction to Yu Chi. For further illustration, Chung-ni talked about the function of frost, the Law of Yin punished anybody throwing ashes into the streets, the highway guards left Yo Ch'ih, and Kung-sun Yang strictly censured minor offences. On the contrary, the gold-dust in the Clear Water was not kept safe, the fire at the Product Swamp was not suppressed. Ch'eng Huan thought that extreme benevolence would weaken the Ch'i State; Pu P'i thought that compassion and beneficence would ruin the King of Wey. Kuan Chung, knowing the necessity of making prohibitions strict, extended jurisdiction over dead persons. Duke Ssu, knowing the necessity of making punishment definite, bought back a labour fugitive.

3. Bestowing Reward and Honour

If reward and honour are insufficient and faithless, the inferior would not obey. If reward and honour are great and of faith, the inferior will make light of death. The saying is based on Viscount Wen's saying, "The inferior turn to great reward and high honour just like the wild deer going to luxuriant grass." For further illustration, the King of Yüeh set fire to the palace building, Wu Ch'i leaned the shaft of a carriage outside the city-gate, Li K'uei judged lawsuits on the basis of the litigants' shooting abilities, and the people of Ch'ung-men in Sung would on account of reward and honour reduce themselves to death. Kou-chien, knowing the utility of reward and honour, saluted an angry frog; Marquis Chao, knowing the utility of reward and honour, stored up old trousers. Big reward, indeed, makes everybody as brave as Meng Pen and Chuan Chu. Women daring to pick up silkworms and fishermen daring to grasp eels, both testify to the utility of reward and honour.

4. Listening to All Sides of Every Story

If the ruler listens straight to one project alone, he cannot distinguish between the stupid and the intelligent. If he holds every projector responsible, ministers cannot confound their abilities. The saying is based on the demand of the Cheng territory by Wey and on the playing of the Yü instrument. Its opposite is instanced by Shen Tzu's employment of Chao Shao and Han Ta to test the opinion of the Ruler of Han. For further instance, Prince Ch'ih suggested the cession of the territory east of the Yellow River; Marquis Ying proposed to loosen the garrison at Shang-tang.

5. Making Pretentious Appointments

If someone has frequent audience with his superior and is accorded a long reception but not appointed to any office, then villainous men will disperse in his presence like deer in all directions. If the superior sends men out to find anything other than what is in question, the inferior would not dare to sell private favours. Therefore, P'ang Ching recalled the sheriff, Tai Huan ordered men to find out if there was any covered wagon, the Sovereign of Chou purposely lost jade bodkins, and the Premier of Shang spoke about ox dung.

6. Manipulating Different Information

If you make inquiries by manipulating different information, then even unknown details will come to the fore. If you know everything of something, then all the hidden will be seen in a different light. The saying is based on Marquis Chao's holding one of his nails in his fist. For further illustration, when the knowledge of the conditions outside the south gate became definite, conditions going on in the other three directions were found out, too. The Sovereign of Chou looked for crooked canes, wherefore the officials became afraid of him thereafter. Pu P'i employed a petty official as detective. Hsi-men Pao pretended to have lost the linchpin of his carriage.

7. Inverting Words

Invert words and reverse affairs, and thereby cross-examine the suspect. Then you will get at the reality of culprits. Thus, Shan-yang purposely slandered Chiu Shu, Nao Ch'ih fabricated an envoy from Ch'in, the Ch'is wanted to create disturbances, Tzu-chih lied about the white horse, Tzu-ch'an separated the litigants, and Duke Ssu purposely made his men go through the pass of the city.

So much above for the canons.

Annotations to Canon I:—

At the time of Duke Ling of Wei, Mi Tzu-hsia was in favour with him, and administered all public affairs in the Wei State. One day, the clown, while interviewing the Duke, said, "The dream of thy servant has materialized, indeed." "What did you dream?" asked the Duke. "Thy servant dreamt that a cooking stove stood in lieu of Your Highness," replied the clown. "What? As I understand," said the Duke in anger, "who sees the lord of men in dreaming dreams the sun. Why did you see a cooking stove in your dream of His Highness?" In reply the dwarf said: "Indeed, the sun shines upon everything under heaven while nothing can cover it; the ruler of men reigns all over the country while nobody can delude him. Accordingly, who sees the lord of men in dreaming, dreams the sun. In the case of a cooking stove, however, if one person stands before it, then nobody from behind can see. Now, supposing someone were standing before Your Highness, would it not be possible for thy servant to dream of a cooking stove?"

Once Duke Ai of Lu asked Confucius, saying, "In spite of the popular proverb, 'Getting bewildered because of no advisory council,' why is it that in administering the state affairs the more I consult with the body of officials the more disorderly the state becomes?" In reply Confucius said: "When the enlightened sovereign asks ministers about state affairs, one minister might know while another might not know. In that case, the enlightened sovereign can preside over a conference while the ministers earnestly discuss the affairs before him. Now that every official utters every word in accord with the opinion of Chi Sun and the whole State of Lu falls under the sway of one and the same bias, even though Your Highness consults with everybody within the state boundaries, the state cannot help becoming disorderly."

According to a different source: When Yen Ying Tzu visited the court of Lu, Duke Ai asked, "In spite of the common saying, 'Getting bewildered because of not having three persons to consult with,' why is it that Lu cannot help becoming disorderly, although I consult with the whole nation?" In reply Yen Tzu said: "The ancient saying, 'Getting bewildered because of not having three persons to consult with,' means that as one person may miss the point while the other two may get at it, three persons are sufficient to form an advisory council. Hence the saying, 'Getting bewildered because of not having three persons to consult with.' Now that the officials throughout the Lu State, numbering hundreds and thousands, all talk in accordance with the private bias of the Chi Clan, though the number of persons is not small, yet what they say is the opinion of one man. Then how can there be three?"

Once somebody of Ch'i said to the King of Ch'i: "The Earl of the River is a great god. Why may Your Majesty not try to meet with him? May thy servant enable Your Majesty to meet with him!" Thereupon he built an altar on the middle of the flood and stood with the King upon it. In the meantime, there was a big fish making motions. "That is the Earl of the River!" said the man.

Chang Yi wanted to attack Ch'i and Ching with the allied forces of Ch'in, Han, and Wey, while Hui Shih wanted to halt the war by befriending Ch'i and Ching. The two opened a debate. The officials and the chamberlains all spoke in favour of Chang Tzu, pointing out the advantage of attacking Ch'i and Ching, while nobody spoke in favour of Hui Tzu. The King actually followed Chang Tzu's advice, considering Hui

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Tzu's proposal impracticable. After the expedition against Ch'i and Ching had been successfully carried out, Hui Tzu went into the court to have an audience, when the King said: "Sir, you should not have said anything at all. The expedition against Ch'i and Ching actually turned out to our advantage. And the whole nation had so expected." Thereupon Hui Tzu said: "May Your Majesty not refrain from deliberating upon the whole situation! Indeed, the expedition against Ch'i and Ching turned out to our advantage. And so had the whole nation expected. How numerous wise men were! If the expedition against Ch'i and Ching turned out to our disadvantage while the whole nation had expected the advantage, then how numerous must stupid men have been? After all, every scheme is a doubt from the outset. Who really doubts at all, usually considers every scheme half practicable and half impracticable. Now that all brains of the nation took the practicable side, it means that Your Majesty lost half the brains, namely, the brains of the negative side. The sovereign intimidated by wicked ministers is, as a rule, a loser of half the brains in the country."

When Shu Sun was Premier of Lu, he was influential and in charge of all state affairs. His favourite, named Shu Niu, also abused his orders. Shu Sun had a son named Jen. Jealous of Jen, Shu Niu wanted to kill him. Accordingly, he went with Jen to visit the inner court of the Ruler of Lu. The Ruler of Lu bestowed upon him a jade ring. Jen, making a deep bow, accepted it. But he dared not hang it on his girdle and so told Shu Niu to secure Shu Sun's permission beforehand. Deceiving him, Shu Sun said: "I have already secured his permission for you to wear it." Therefore Jen wore it on his girdle. Shu Niu then purposely said to Shu Sun, "Why does Your Excellency not present Jen to the Ruler?" "Why is the boy worth presenting?" said Shu Sun. "As a matter of fact, Jen has already had several interviews with the Ruler," said Shu Niu. "The Ruler bestowed upon him a jade ring, which he has already started wearing." Thereupon Shu Sun summoned Jen and found him actually wearing it on his girdle. Angered thereby, Shu Sun killed Jen.

Jen's elder brother was named Ping. Shu Niu was also jealous of him and wanted to kill him. So he cast a bell for Ping. When the bell was ready, Ping dared not toll it and so told Shu Niu to secure Shu Sun's permission beforehand. Instead of securing the permission for him, Shu Niu again deceived him and said: "I have already secured his permission for you to toll it." Therefore Ping tolled it. Hearing this, Shu Sun said, "Without securing my permission Ping tolled the bell at his own pleasure." Angered thereby, he banished Ping. Ping ran out and escaped to Ch'i. One year later, Shu Niu on behalf of Ping apologized to Shu Sun. Shu Sun then ordered Shu Niu to recall Ping. Without recalling Ping, Shu Niu in his report said, "I have already summoned Ping, but he is very angry and will not come." Shu Sun, enraged thereby, ordered men to kill him. After the death of the two sons, Shu Sun fell ill, wherefore Shu Niu alone took care of him, discharged the attendants, and would not let anybody else in, saying, "Shu Sun does not want to hear anybody's noise." As a result, Shu Sun ate nothing and starved to death. When Shu Sun was already dead, Shu Niu intentionally held no funeral service, but moved his private storages and treasure boxes, emptied them, and ran away to Ch'i. Indeed, if anybody listens to the words of a trusted crook and in consequence father and son are put to death, it is the calamity of not comparing different views.

When Chiang Yi was sent by the King of Wey as envoy to Ching, he said to the King of Ching: "After entering the boundaries of Your Majesty, thy servant heard that, according to the customary law of your honourable kingdom, a gentleman should neither obscure anybody else's virtue nor expose anybody else's vice. Do you really have such a customary law?" "Certainly, we do!" replied the King. "If so, did the Duke of White's rebellion involve no danger at all? If you uphold such a customary law, then vicious ministers will be pardoned for committing capital crimes."

Duke Ssu of Wei had confidence in Ju Erh and loved Princess Shih. Fearing lest both should delude him because of his confidence and love, he purposely ennobled Po Yi to rival Ju Erh and favoured Princess Wey to counteract Princess Shih and said, "This is to make one compare himself or herself with the other." Duke Ssu knew the need of suffering no delusion but never got at the right technique. Indeed, if the sovereign does not allow the humble to criticize the noble and the inferior to denounce the superior, but always expects the powers of high and low to balance, then ministers on equal footing will dare to conspire with each other. In so doing he will increase the number of delusive and deceitful officials. Thus was begun the delusion of Duke Ssu.

Indeed, if arrows come from a certain direction, then pile iron bars in that direction to guard against them. If arrows come from unknown directions, then make an iron-walled room to guard against all of them. If one guards against them this way, his body will receive no injury. Therefore, in the way one guards against all arrows and receives no injury, the ruler should stand in opposition to all ministers and thereby encounter no culprit.

When P'ang Kung together with the Crown Prince was going to Han-tan as hostage, he said to the King of Wey: "Now, if someone says there in the market-place is a tiger, will Your Majesty believe it?" "No, I will not believe it," replied the King. "Then, if two men say there in the marketplace is a tiger, will Your Majesty believe it?" "No, I will not believe it," was another reply. "If three men say there in the market-place is a tiger, will Your Majesty believe it?" "I will believe it," affirmed the King finally. Thereupon P'ang Kung said: "That there is no tiger in the market-place is clear enough, indeed. Nevertheless, because three men allege the presence of a tiger, the tiger comes into existence. Now that Han-tan is far more distant from the Wey State than the market-place is from the court and those who criticize thy servant are more than three men, may Your Majesty deliberate over the mission of thy servant!" As expected, when P'ang Kung returned from Han-tan, he could not secure an admission into the city.

Annotations to Canon 2:—

Tung An-yü, Magistrate of the Upper Land in the Chao State, once toured the mountains in the Stony Country. Seeing there a deep gorge with steep sides like high walls, one hundred fathoms deep at least, he asked the villagers in the surrounding vicinities, "Has anybody ever walked into this gorge?" "Nobody," replied they. "Then has any child or baby or any blind or deaf man or any insane or unconscious person ever walked into it?" "No," they replied similarly. "Then has any ox or horse or dog or pig ever walked into it?" "No," was again the reply. Thereat Tung An-yü heaved a deep sigh, saying: "Lo! I have acquired the ability to govern the people. Only if I make my law grant no pardon just like the walk into the gorge always leading to death, then nobody dare to violate it. And everything will be well governed."

Tzu-ch'an, Premier of Cheng, when ill and about to die, said to Yu Chi: "After my death you will certainly be appointed Premier of Cheng. Then be sure to handle the people with severity. Indeed, fire appears severe, wherefore men rarely get burned; water appears tender, wherefore men often get drowned. You must not forget to make your penalties severe and do not immerse yourself in tenderness." After Tzu-ch'an's death, however, Yu Chi could not bear applying severe penalties. Meanwhile, young men in Cheng followed one another in becoming robbers and established themselves on the Bushy Tail Swamp ready to menace Cheng at any time. Thereupon Yu Chi led chariots and cavalrymen and fought with them. After a combat lasting a whole day and a whole night, he finally was barely able to overcome them. Taking a heavy breath, Yu Chi sighed and said: "Could I have practised my master's instruction early, I would not have come to regret to this point!"

Duke Ai of Lu once asked Chung-ni: "There is the record in the Spring and Autumn Annals that in winter during the month of January frost does not kill grass. Why was there made such a record?" In reply Chung-ni said: "This is to say that what ought to be killed was not killed. Indeed, frost should kill grass but never kills it. Peach- and plum-trees bear fruits in winter. If heaven loses its proper course, even grass and trees will violate and transgress it. How much more would the people do so if the ruler of men loses his true path?"

The Law of Yin would punish anybody throwing ashes into the streets. This Tzu-kung regarded as too severe and so asked Chung-ni about it. "They knew the right way of government," replied Chung-ni. "Indeed, ashes thrown into the streets would blow into the eyes of the passers-by and obscure their sight. And if anybody obscures the sight of others, he would irritate them. When irritated, they start quarrelling. On quarrelling, each side would mobilize their three clans to slaughter the other. It means that throwing ashes into the streets leads to the mutual onslaught between the three clans of both sides. Therefore it is right to punish any offender. Indeed, heavy punishment is disliked by the people, but throwing no ashes is easy to them. To make the people do easy things and not ignore their dislike is the right way of government."

According to a different source: According to the Law of Yin, whoever threw ashes on the public road should have his hands cut off. Tzu-kung said: "The crime of ash-throwing is light but the punishment of hand-cutting is heavy. Why were the ancients so cruel?" In reply Confucius said: "Not to throw ashes is easy but to have hands cut off is disliked. The ancients considered it easy to enforce the easy and prevent the disliked. Therefore they enacted the law."

Yo Ch'ih, Premier of Central Hills, when appointed envoy to Chao, took one hundred chariots along and selected the wise and able men among his guests to be his highway guards. On the way they became disorderly. "Gentlemen," said Yo Ch'ih, "I regarded you as wise and appointed you highway guards. Now that you are creating a commotion on the way, what is the reason?" The guests, accordingly, resigned from their posts and went away, saying: "Your Excellency does not know the right way of government. Indeed, it needs prestige to keep people obedient and it needs profit to encourage them. Therefore good government is possible. Now, thy servants are Your Excellency's junior guests. Indeed, to employ the junior in disciplining the senior and the low in governing the high and thereby become unable to exercise the authorities of reward and punishment to control the subordinates, is the cause of confusion. Suppose you employ your subordinates on trial, appoint the good ones ministers, and behead those not good. Then how could there be disorder?"

The Law of Kung-sun Yang took minor offences seriously. Major offences are hard for men to commit while small faults are easy for men to remove. To make men get rid of easy faults and not ignore difficult offences is the right way of government. Indeed, when small faults never appear, big offences will not come into existence. For this reason, men committed no crime and disorder did not appear.

According to a different source: Kung-sun Yang said, "In applying penalties, take light ones seriously because if light penalties are not applied, heavy ones will not come at all. This is said to be getting rid of penalties by means of penalties."

In the southern part of Ching the bottom of the Clear Water produced gold-dust. Many men in secret dug out gold-dust. In accordance with the prohibition law, a number of gold-diggers were caught and stoned to death in the market-place. Then the authorities built walls to bar the water from the people. Still people never stopped stealing gold-dust. Indeed, no chastisement is severer than stoning to death in the market-place. That people never stopped stealing gold-dust was because the culprits were not always caught. In this connection, supposing someone said, "I will give you the reign over All-under-Heaven and put you to death," then even a mediocre man would not accept the offer. Indeed, the reign over All-under-Heaven is a great advantage, but he would not accept it as he knew he would be put to death. Therefore, if not always caught, people never stop stealing gold-dust despite the danger of being stoned to death. But if they are certain of being put to death, then they dare not accept even the reign over All-under-Heaven.

The Lus once set fire to the Product Swamp. As the northern winds appeared, the fire spread southward. Fearing lest the state capital might be burned, Duke Ai trembled and personally directed the masses in suppressing the fire. Meanwhile, he found nobody around, all having gone to hunt animals and leaving the fire unsuppressed. Thereupon he summoned Chung-ni and asked him about it. "Indeed, hunting animals," said Chung-ni, "is a pleasure and incurs no punishment. But putting out the fire is a hardship and promises no reward. That is the reason why the fire is not put out." "Right," remarked Duke Ai. "It is untimely, however, to offer rewards just in time of emergency like this," added Chung-ni. "If Your Highness has to reward all the participants in the suppression of the fire, then even the whole state wealth is not enough for rewarding them. Suppose we enforce the policy of punishment for the time being." "Good," said Duke Ai. Thereupon Chung-ni issued the order that absence in the suppression of the fire should be sentenced to the same punishment as surrender to or escape from enemies and hunting animals should be sentenced to the same punishment as trespass upon the inner court of the palace. In consequence, the fire was put out before the order spread all over.

Ch'eng Huan said to the King of Ch'i, "Your Majesty is too benevolent but too lenient to bear censuring people." "Isn't it a good name to be too benevolent and too lenient to bear censuring people?" asked the King. In reply Ch'eng Huan said: "It is good to ministers but not what the lord of men ought to do. Indeed, ministers must be benevolent in order to be trustworthy, and must be lenient to people in order to be accessible. If not benevolent, he is not trustworthy; if not lenient to people, he is not accessible." "If so, to whom am I too benevolent and to whom am I too lenient?" asked the King. In reply Ch'eng Huan said: "Your Majesty is too benevolent to the Duke of Hsüeh and too lenient to the various T'iens. If Your Majesty is too benevolent to the Duke of Hsüeh, then chief vassals will show no respect for order. If Your Majesty is too lenient to the T'iens, then uncles and brothers will violate the law. If chief vassals show no respect for order, the army will become weak abroad. If uncles and brothers violate the law, then at home the government will fall into disorder. To have the army weakened abroad and the government disordered at home, this is the fundamental factor ruining the state."

King Hui of Wey said to Pu P'i, "When you hear His Majesty's voice, how does it sound to you?" "Thy servant hears the compassion and beneficence of Your Majesty," was the reply. "Then to what extent will my achievement progress?" asked the King in great delight. "To the extent of ruin," was the reply. "To be compassionate and beneficent is to practise good deeds. Why should such a practice lead to ruin?" wondered the King. In reply Pu P'i said: "To be sure, compassion means leniency; beneficence, fondness of giving favours. If lenient, Your Majesty will not censure those who have faults; if fond of giving favours, Your Majesty will bestow rewards without waiting for merits to appear. If men guilty of faults are not punished and those of no merit are rewarded, isn't ruin the possible outcome?"

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The people of the Ch'i State would hold expensive funeral rites, till cloth and silk fabrics were exhausted by clothes and covers, and wood and lumber by inner and outer coffin-walls. Worried over this, Duke Huan said to Kuan Chung: "If the people exhaust cloth this way, nothing will be left for national wealth. If they exhaust wood this way, nothing will be left for military defence. And yet the people will hold expensive funeral rites and never stop How can prohibition be effected?" In reply Kuan Chung said, "If people do anything at all, it is done for profit if not for repute." Thereupon he issued the order that if the thickness of both inner and outer coffin-walls were to go beyond legal limits, the corpse should be cut into pieces and the mourning relatives should be held guilty. Indeed, to cut the corpse into pieces would create no repute; to hold guilty the mourning relatives would produce no profit. Why should the people continue holding expensive funeral rites then?

At the time of Duke Ssu of Wei, once a labour convict escaped to the Wey State and there took care of the illness of the queen of King Hsiang. When Duke Ssu of Wei heard about this, he sent men out and offered fifty taels of gold for the purchase money of the fugitive. The men went back and forth five times, but the King of Wey refused to surrender the convict. Thereupon Duke Ssu decided to exchange the City of Tso-shih for the man. Against this decision all the officials and attendants remonstrated with the King, asking whether it should be practicable to exchange a city for a labour fugitive. "You, gentlemen, do not understand my reason," explained the Ruler. "Indeed, government must be concerned even with small affairs so that no serious disturbance can take place. If the law does not stand firm and censure is not definite, there is no use in keeping ten Tso-shihs. If the law stands firm and censure is definite, there is no harm even by losing ten Tso-shihs." Hearing about this, the King of Wey said, "When one sovereign wants to govern well, if another does not listen to him, it is sinister." Accordingly, he sent off the fugitive in a cart and surrendered him free of charge.

Annotations to Canon 3:—

The King of Ch'i once asked Viscount Wen how to govern a state well. In reply Viscount Wen said: "Indeed, reward and punishment as means of political control are sharp weapons. Your Majesty should have them in your grip and never show them to anybody else. For ministers turn to reward and honour like wild deer going to luxuriant grass."

The King of Yüeh once asked High Official Chung, "I want to attack Wu. Is it practicable?" "Certainly practicable," replied Chung. "Our rewards are liberal and of faith; our punishments are strict and definite. If Your Majesty wants to know the effect of reward and punishment, why should Your Majesty hesitate to try setting fire to the palace building?" Thereupon fire was set to the palace building, whereas nobody would come to put the fire out. Accordingly, an order was issued that "those who die in the suppression of the fire shall be rewarded like men killed by enemies in war, those who are not killed in the suppression of the fire shall be rewarded like men victorious over enemies in war, and those who do not take part in putting the fire out shall be held guilty as men surrendering to or escaping from enemies". In consequence, men who painted their bodies with mud and put on wet clothes and rushed at the fire numbered three thousands from the left and three thousands from the right. In this way the King knew the circumstances assuring victory.

When Wu Ch'i was Governor of the Western River District under Marquis Wu of Wey, Ch'in had a small castle standing close by the state border. Wu Ch'i wanted to attack it, for if it were not got rid of, it would remain a serious harm to the farmers in the neighbourhood. Yet, to get rid of it, he could not enlist sufficient armed troops. Thereupon he leaned the shaft of a carriage outside the north gate and ordered that anybody able to remove the shaft to the outside of the south gate should be awarded a first-class field and a first-class residence. Yet nobody dared to remove it. As soon as somebody removed it, he was rewarded according to the order. All at once Wu Ch'i placed one picul of red beans outside the east gate and ordered that anybody able to remove it to the outside of the west gate should be rewarded similarly. This time men struggled to remove it. Thereupon he issued the order, "On storming the castle to-morrow, the foremost to rush into it shall be appointed High Officer in the State and awarded a first-class field and a first-class residence." Then men as expected struggled for precedence to rush into the castle, so that they stormed it and took it in a forenoon.

When Li K'uei was Governor of the Upper Land under Marquis Wen of Wey, he wanted every man to shoot well. So he issued the order that men involved in any unsettled legal dispute should be ordered to shoot the target, and those who hit the target should win the suit and those who missed it should lose it. As soon as the order was issued, everybody started to practise archery day and night and never stopped. When they came to war with the Ch'ins, they imposed a crushing defeat upon the enemy inasmuch as every one of them was a good archer.

Once a slum-dweller of Ch'ung-men in Sung, by observing funeral rites, injured his health and became very thin. Regarding him as filially pious to his parents, the sovereign raised him and appointed him Master of Official Rites. In the following year more than ten men died of physical injury by observing funeral rites. Now, sons observe funeral rites for their parents because they love them. Even then the sons can be encouraged with rewards. How much more can ordinary people be encouraged by the ruler and superior?

The King of Yüeh schemed to attack Wu. As he wanted everybody to make light of death in war, once when he went out and saw an angry frog, he saluted it accordingly. "Why should Your Majesty pay it such respects?" asked his attendants. "Because it possesses a courageous spirit," replied the King. Starting from the following year every year there were more than ten men who begged to offer their heads to the King. From this viewpoint it is clear that honour is sufficient to drive anybody to death.

According to a different source: King Kou-chïen of Yüeh once saw an angry frog and saluted it, when the coachman asked, "Why does Your Majesty salute it?" In reply the King said, "A frog having a courageous spirit as such does deserve my salute!" Hearing this, both gentry and commons said: "The spirited frog was saluted by the King, to say nothing of the gentry and commons who are brave." That year there were men who cut off their heads to death and offered their heads to the King. Therefore, the King of Yüeh in order to wage a successful war of revenge against Wu experimented on his instructions. When he set fire to a tower and beat the drum, the people rushed at the fire because reward was due to the fire; when he faced a river and beat the drum, the people rushed at the water because reward was due to the water; and when on the war front, the people had their heads cut off and stomachs chopped open with no frightened mind because reward was due to combat. If so, it goes without saying that to promote the wise in accordance with the law reward would be even more useful than on those occasions.

Marquis Chao of Han once ordered men to store up old trousers. The attendants remarked: "Your Highness is rather unkind, not giving old trousers to servants around but storing them up." "The reason is not what you, gentlemen, know," said Marquis Chao in response. "I have heard that an enlightened sovereign, though fond of frowning and smiling, always frowns because there is something to frown at and smiles because there is something to smile at. Now, trousers are not as simple as sneers and smiles, nay, they are very different from the latter. I must wait for men of merit and therefore store up the trousers and never give them away.

Eels resemble snakes, silkworms resemble moths. When men see snakes, they are frightened; when they see moths, their hair stands up. Nevertheless, women pick up silkworms and fishermen grasp eels. Thus, where there lies profit, people forget their dislike and all become as brave as Meng Pen and Chuan Chu.

Annotations to Canon 4:—

The King of Wey once said to the King of Cheng: "In origin Cheng and Liang were one state and later separated from each other. We hope we will recover Cheng and annex it to Liang." Worried over this, the Ruler of Cheng summoned all the ministers and consulted with them about the measures against Wey. "It is very easy to cope with Wey," said a prince of Cheng to the Ruler of Cheng. "May Your Majesty tell the Weys that if Cheng is regarded as a former part of Wey and can now be annexed at all, our humble kingdom would like to annex Liang to Cheng, too." Hearing this, the King of Wey gave up the threatening plan.

King Hsüan of Ch'i ordered men to play the Yü instrument and always had three hundred men in the orchestra. Thereupon private gentlemen from the southern suburbs of the capital asked to play the same music for the King. Delighted at them, the King fed several hundreds of them. Upon the death of King Hsüan, King Min ascended the throne and wanted to listen to each one of them. The men went away. One day Marquis Chao of Han remarked, "The Yü players are so numerous that I cannot by any means tell the good ones." In reply T'ien Yen said, "By listening to them each by each."

Chao sent men out to ask for reinforcements from Han through the good office of Shen Tzu in order thereby to attack Wey. Shen Tzu wanted to speak to the Ruler of Han but was afraid lest His Highness should suspect him of accepting bribes from foreign authorities. Yet if he did not do so, he feared lest he should incur hatred from Chao. Thereupon he sent Chao Shao and Han Ta to see the moves and looks of His Highness before he started speaking. Thus at home he could foretell the opinion of Marquis Chao and abroad could render meritorious service to Chao.

When the allied forces of the three states arrived at the Armour Gorge, the King of Ch'in said to Lou Yüan, "The allied forces of the three states have entered deep into our line. I, the King, am thinking of ceding the territory east of the Yellow River to them and thereby sue for peace. How is the idea?" In reply the latter said: "Indeed, to cede the territory east of the River is a great cost, but to rescue our country from a calamity is a great merit. Nevertheless, to make any decision as such is the duty of the royal uncles and brothers. Why does Your Majesty not summon Prince Ch'ih for consultation?" The King, accordingly, sent for Prince Ch'ih and told him the dilemma. In reply the Prince said: "It will involve a regret either to sue for peace or not to sue for peace. Supposing Your Majesty now ceded the territory east of the River and the allies turned homeward, Your Majesty would certainly say, 'The allies from the beginning intended to withdraw. Why should we have given them three cities purposely?' Supposing Your Majesty refused to sue for peace, then the allies would enter the Armour Gorge and seize our whole country in a panic. Then Your Majesty will certainly regret a great deal, saying, 'That is because we would not cede the three cities to them.' Therefore, thy servant says, 'Your Majesty will regret either suing for peace or not suing for peace.' " "If I have to regret either way at all," said the King, "I prefer to lose the three cities and regret therefor. As it will involve no danger but regret, I decide to sue for peace."

Marquis Ying said to the King of Ch'in: "Your Majesty already conquered the districts of Yüan-yeh, Lan-t'ien, and Yang-hsia, held under control the land within the River boundaries, and dominated the affairs of Liang and Cheng. But because Chao has not yet been subdued, Your Majesty has not yet attained supremacy over All-under-Heaven. Now, to loosen the garrison at Shang-tang is to give up our hold of one district only. But if we thereby march our main column toward Tung-yang, then Han-tan, capital of Chao, will become as precarious as a flea in the mouth while Your Majesty will be able to fold his hands and reign over Allunder-Heaven. Later, subdue the Chaos with troops. However, Shang-tang has peace and joy, and is very wealthy. Thy servant is, therefore, afraid that though he proposes to loosen the garrison there, Your Majesty might not listen. Then what else can be done?" "Certainly, the garrison there shall be loosened," said the King.

Annotations to Canon 5:—

P'ang Ching, a prefect, sent tradesmen out on a mission. Suddenly he recalled the sheriff from among them, stood with him for awhile, gave him no special instruction and sent him off finally. The tradesmen thought the prefect and the sheriff had had some private talk and therefore would not confide in the sheriff. On the way they dared not commit any villainy.

Tai Huan, Premier of Sung, at night sent men out and said to them, "For several nights I have heard somebody riding in a covered wagon going to the residence of Li Shih. Carefully find that out for me?" The servants came back with the report that they had seen no covered wagon but somebody bringing a bamboo chest as present and speaking with Li Shih, and that after a while Li Shih accepted the chest.

The Sovereign of Chou lost jade bodkins and ordered officials to search for them. For three days they could not find them. The Sovereign of Chou then ordered men to look for them and found them inside the room of some private house. "Now I know the officials do not attend to their duties," remarked the Sovereign of Chou. "Searching for the jade bodkins for three days, they could not find them. The men I ordered to look for them found them out within one day, however." Thereafter the officials became very afraid of him, thinking His Majesty was divine and enlightened.

The Prime Minister of Shang once sent a petty official out, and asked him upon his return what he had seen in the market-place. "Nothing," replied the official. "Yet you must have seen something. What was that?" asked the Premier insistently. "There were outside the south gate of the market-place a number of ox carts, through which one could barely walk," replied the official. Accordingly, the Premier instructed the messenger not to tell anybody else what he had asked about. Then he summoned the mayor, blamed him, and asked him why there was so much ox dung outside the gate of the marketplace. Greatly astonished at the quickness of the Premier's information, the mayor trembled and became afraid of his wide knowledge.

Annotations to Canon 6:—

Marquis Chao of Han once held his nails in his fist, pretending to have lost one of his nails, and was very anxious to find it. One of his attendants purposely cut off one of his nails and presented it to His Highness. Thereby Marquis Chao comprehended the insincerity of the attendant.

Marquis Chao of Han sent horsemen out into the local districts. When the servants came back to report, he asked them what they had seen. "Nothing," replied they. "Yet you must have seen something. What was that?" asked Marquis Chao insistently. "There were outside the south gate yellow calves eating rice plants on the left-hand side of the road." Accordingly, Marquis Chao instructed the servants not to divulge what he had asked about. Then he issued the order to the effect "that while seedlings are growing, oxen and horses be excluded from the rice fields; that since despite the order the magistrates have neglected their duties, till a great

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number of oxen and horses have entered the fields of people, the inspectors quickly count the number of them and report to the authorities; and that if they fail in the matter, their punishment be doubled". Thereupon the inspectors counted all the cattle in the rice fields in three directions and reported to the superior authorities. "Not yet finished," remarked Marquis Chao. So they went out again to investigate the case and found the yellow calves outside the south gate. Thereafter the magistrates, thinking Marquis Chao was clear-sighted, all trembled for fear of his sagacity and dared not commit any wrong.

The Sovereign of Chou issued an order to look for crooked canes. The officials sought after them for several days but could not find any. The Sovereign of Chou sent men out in secret to look for them and found them within one day. Thereupon he said to the officials: "Now I know the officials do not attend to their duties. It is very easy to find crooked canes, but the officials could not find any. I ordered men to look for them and found them within one day. How can you be called 'loyal'? " The officials all trembled for fear of his sagacity, thinking His Majesty was divine and enlightened.

When Po P'i was a prefect, his coachman was unclean and had a beloved concubine. So he employed a petty official to pretend to love her in order thereby to detect the secret affairs of the coachman.

Hsi-men Pao, Prefect of Yah, once pretended to have lost the linchpin of his carriage and therefore ordered officials to look for it. As they could not find it, he sent out men to search for it and found it inside the room of some private house.

Annotations to Canon 7:—

When the Lord of Shan-yang heard about the King's suspicion of him, he purposely slandered Chiu Shu, a favourite of the King, in order thereby to know the truth through Chiu Shu's reaction.

When Nao Ch'ih heard about the hatred of the King of Ch'i for him, he fabricated an envoy from Ch'in in order thereby to know the truth.

Some Ch'is wanted to create disturbances and were afraid the King might know their conspiracy beforehand. So they pretended to drive away their favourites and let the King know of it, and thereby dispensed with all suspicion.

Once Tzu-chih, Premier of Yen, while seated indoors, asked deceptively, "What was it that just ran outdoors? A white horse?" All his attendants said they had seen nothing running outdoors. Meanwhile, someone ran out after it and came back with the report that there had been a white horse. Thereby Tzu-chih came to know the insincerity and unfaithfulness of the attendant.

Once there were litigants. Tzu-ch'an separated them and never allowed them to speak to each other. Then he inverted their words and told each the other's arguments and thereby found the vital facts involved in the case.

Duke Ssu of Wei once sent men out to go through the pass as travellers. There the officers made them serious trouble, wherefore they bribed the officers with gold. The officers, accordingly, released them. Later, Duke Ssu said to the officers, "At a certain time there came certain travellers to go through the pass. Since they gave you gold, you sent them away, did you?" Thereby the officers were frightened and thought Duke Ssu was clear-minded.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 31. Inner Congeries of Sayings, The Lower Series: Six Minutiae

Of the six minutiae, the first is said to be "authority left in the hands of the inferior"; the second, "difference of ministers in interest from the ruler and their consequent dependence upon foreign support"; the third, "resort to disguise and falsification"; the fourth, "antinomies in matters of advantage and harm"; the fifth, "mutual confusions in position and domestic dissentions for supremacy"; and the sixth, "manipulation of dismissal and appointment of officials by enemy states." These six are what the sovereign ought to consider carefully.

1. On Authority and Position

Authority and position should not be lent to anybody else. If the sovereign loses one, the minister would turn that into one hundred. Thus, if the minister can borrow power and position from the ruler, his strength would multiply. Should his strength multiply, then men in and out of the court would be utilized by him. If men in and out of the court are utilized by him, then the lord of men would be deluded. The saying is based in Lao Tan's discussion on the loss of fish. For further illustration, a man became wealthy simply after one evening's talk with his influential friend, and an attendant gained prestige because his master had given him a hairbrush. Its contrary is found in Hsü T'ong's remonstration with Duke Li, in Chou Hou's unification of the attendants' sayings, and in the Yen man's bathing in dung.

2. On the Difference in Interest

Ruler and minister differ in interest. Therefore, ministers are never loyal. As soon as the minister's interest stands up, the sovereign's interest goes to ruin. Thus wicked ministers would exterminate their opponents at home by sending for enemy troops and bewilder their lord by enumerating foreign affairs. As long as their private interest is accomplished, they never mind any disaster to the state. An instance is found in the husband's and wife's prayer in Wei. For further illustration, Tai Hsieh discussed the danger of allowing sons and brothers to take up office in the courts of foreign states, the Three Huan families attacked Duke Chao, Kung-shu conspired secretly with the army of Ch'i, Chieh Huang sent for troops from Han, Premier P'i persuaded High Official Chung of his personal interest, Ta-ch'eng Wu taught Shen Pu-hai the way to their mutual advantage, Ssu-ma Hsi divulged secret news to the King of Chao, Lü Ts'ang induced Ch'in and Ch'u to invade his native soil; Sung Shih wrote Wei Chün a personal letter; and Pai Kuei taught Pao Ch'ien the way to their mutual advantage.

3. On Disguise and Falsification

Matters of falsification and disguise make the lord of men miss what he ought to censure and make the ministers accomplish their private interests. Thus, the gate-men poured water but I-she was censured; the Lord of Chi-yang forged the King's order but his two enemies paid for the crime; Ssu-ma Hsi killed Yuan Ch'ien but Chi Hsin was censured; Cheng Hsiu said the new court ladies disliked the bad smell of His Majesty's breath and the newcomers had their noses cut off; Fei Wu-chi told Ch'i Yüan to parade weapons but the magistrate censured the latter; Ch'en Hsü killed Chang Shou but Hsi-shou had to run into exile; and, similarly, when the silo was burned, the King of Central Hills held the innocent prince guilty, and when the old literatus was killed, the Lord of Chi-yang rewarded the assassin.

4. On the Existence of Opposites

If any event happens and has any advantage at all, the sovereign must master it. If it has any disadvantage, he must discern the opposite. For this reason, the enlightened sovereign, in estimating the welfare of the country, would reflect on the advantage when the state has any disadvantage; when the minister has any disadvantage, he would deliberate upon its opposite. The saying is based on the appointment of Ch'en Hsü to premiership upon the arrival of the Ch'u troops, and on the rise of the price of millet seed because of the granary-keeper's dishonesty. Thus, Chao Hsi-hsü arrested the reed-seller; Marquis Chao-hsi blamed the second cook; Duke Wen found hairs around the roast meat; and Marquis Hsiang offered to proclaim the Ruler of Ch'i Eastern Emperor.

5. On Mutual Confusions in Position

The situation of mutual confusions in position causes disturbances. Therefore, the enlightened sovereign takes precautions against it. For this reason, Li-chi of Chin killed Shen-sheng; the Mistress of Cheng used poisonous drugs; Chou Hsü of Wei murdered his Ruler, Yüan; Prince Ken occupied Eastern Chou; Prince Chih enjoyed His Majesty's exceeding favour, wherefore Shang-ch'en actually caused a disturbance; Yen Sui and Han K'uei rivalled each other, wherefore Duke Ai encountered rebels; T'ien Ch'ang and Kan Chih, Tai Huan and Huang Hsi, were enemies, wherefore Duke Chien of Ch'i and the Ruler of Sung were respectively murdered. The saying is based on Hu T'u's talk on the two kinds of fondness on the part of the sovereign and on Cheng Chao's reply that the heir apparent was not yet born.

6. On Dismissal and Appointment

What one state works after is to observe secretly the on-going affairs in its enemy states and take advantage of their weaknesses. If the lord of men is not alert, enemies will dismiss or appoint his men. Thus King Wen financed Fei Chung; the King of Ch'in worried over the envoy from Ch'u; Li Chü got rid of Chung-ni; and Kan Hsiang obstructed Kan Mu. For the same reason, Tzu-hsü spread rumours wherefore Tzu-ch'ang was taken into service; beauties were accepted, wherefore Yü and Kuo went to ruin; a letter was falsified, wherefore Ch'ang Hung was executed; and chicken and pig sacrifices were offered, wherefore all able men of K'uai were exterminated.

Regarding matters of confusion and suspicion and of dismissal and appointment, the enlightened sovereign exterminates them at home but propagates them abroad. Financing the poor and supporting the weak in the enemy states is called "inter-palatial assaults". If the system of three units and basic fives is adopted inside, while observations and informations function outside, then what can the enemy do? The saying is based on the Ch'in clown's secret report to Ruler Hui-wen. For further illustration, Hsiang Tz'u foretold his master the enemies' stratagem to fall upon Yeh, and Duke Ssu bestowed a new mat upon the prefect . . .

So much above for the canons.

Annotations to Canon 1:—

High authority is the pool of the lord of men. Ministers are the fish swimming in high authority. Just as the fish once lost outside the pool cannot be recovered, so can the high authority of the lord of men once lost to the ministers not be recovered. The ancient found it difficult to say explicitly, and therefore used the metaphor of the fish swimming in the pool. Now, reward and punishment are sharp weapons. By handling them the ruler controls ministers. By appropriating them ministers delude the sovereign. Therefore, if the ruler let ministers see any reward before he bestows it upon anybody, ministers would sell it as a personal favour; if the ruler let ministers see any punishment before he inflicts it upon anybody, ministers would use it as a personal threat. Hence the saying: "The weapons of the state should not be shown to anybody."

The Lord of Ching-kuo, Premier of Ch'i, once talked with an old acquaintance in an evening, whereupon the old acquaintance became wealthy. Another time he gave one of his attendants a hairbrush, wherefore the attendant gained prestige. Indeed, having an evening's talk and making a present of a hairbrush constitute very little resources. Nevertheless, they are sufficient to enrich men. How much more can authority and position left in the hands of officials do?

At the time of Duke Li of Chin, the Six Nobles were very powerful. Therefore, Hsü T'ong and Ch'ang Yü-ch'iao remonstrated with him, saying: "When chief vassals are powerful and influential, they rival the sovereign, cause disputes in state affairs, and, by accepting bribes from foreign powers, forming cliques at home, and violating the law of the state, intimidate the sovereign, wherefore the state is always endangered." "Right," said the Duke, and accordingly, wiped out three Nobles. Again, Hsü T'ong and Ch'ang Yü-chiao remonstrated with him, saying: "Indeed, to punish certain and not all of the men guilty of the same crime is to make the survivors resent and watch for a chance." In response the Duke said: "In one morning I exterminated three of the Six Nobles. I cannot bear exterminating all of them." "Your Highness cannot bear exterminating them, but they will bear causing Your Highness harm,"' said Ch'ang Yü-ch'iao. To this the Duke would not listen. In the course of three months, the remaining Nobles started a rebellion, and finally killed Duke Li and partitioned his territory.

Chou Hou, Premier of Ching, was influential and dictated to all state affairs. Suspecting him, the King of Ching asked the attendants about his rampancy. In reply all of them said "Nothing!" as though the reply came out from one mouth.

A man of Yen was easily bewildered and therefore would bathe in dogs' dung. The wife of the man of Yen was intimate with a bachelor. Once, when her husband came home early from outside, the fellow happened to be going out from the home. "Who is the visitor"? asked the husband. "No visitor at all," replied the wife, Then he asked the servants, who all said "None!" as though the reply came from one mouth. "You certainly became insane." So saying, his wife bathed him in dogs' dung.

According to a different source: A man of Yen, named Li Chi, would go far away. His wife was intimate with a bachelor. One day he suddenly came home while the fellow was in. Over this his wife worried, so her woman servant said to her: "Let the young gentleman go naked and with his hairs dispersed rush straight out through the door. Then all of us will pretend to have been nothing." Thereupon the young fellow followed the plan and ran out fast through the door. "Who is that man?" asked Chi. "Nobody," replied everyone in the house. "Have I seen a ghost?" "Certainly." "What shall I do then?" "Get the dung of the five animals and bathe in it." "All right," said Chi. So he bathed in the dung. According to another different source he bathed in hot orchid water.

Annotations to Canon 2:—

Among the Weis, there were a man and his wife who once during their prayer said as benediction, "Give us no misery but one hundred rolls of cloth." "Why is the benediction so simple?" wondered the husband. "What? If it be more elaborate than this, then you might be thinking of buying a concubine thereby," replied the wife.

The King of Ching wanted the various princes to take up office in the courts of the neighbouring states. "It is impracticable," said Tai He. "Why? If I, the King, allow them to take up official posts in the neighbouring states the neighbouring states would certainly treat them well," said the King. "The princes sent out are well received," remarked Tai He, "However, when well treated, they become partisans of the states that treat them well. If so, such a policy is simply to induce the princes to the betrayal of their native land to foreign powers, and therefore is disadvantageous to Your Majesty."

The clans of Meng Sun, Shu Sun, and Chi Sun, united their strength and molested Duke Chao, till they usurped his state and managed all public affairs at their pleasure. At first, when the Three Huans were bearing down upon the Duke, Duke Chao attacked the Chi Sun Clan. Therefore, the Meng Sun Clan and the Shu Sun Clan consulted with each other as to whether they should rescue the would-be victim. The coachman of the Shu Sun Clan said: "I am just a domestic servant. How can I understand public affairs? Whether Chi

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Sun remains in existence or goes into extinction, neither will gain me anything." The rest said: "If Chi Sun is gone, Shu Sun will certainly pass out too. Let us rescue them." So they broke through the north-western corner and went in. When the Meng Sun Clan saw the flag of Shu Sun going in, they also ran to the rescue. The Three Huans thus became one. Duke Chao could not overcome them but sought refuge in Chi'i and died at Ch'ien-hou.

Kung-shu was Premier of Han and, furthermore, was on good terms with Ch'i. Kung-chung was highly trusted by the King. Kung-shu was afraid lest the King should appoint Kung-chung premier. Therefore, he made Ch'i and Han form an alliance for attacking Wey. And, by conspiring secretly with the army of Ch'i inside the city of Cheng, capital of Han, and thereby intimidating his master, he made his own position secure and consolidated the alliance of the two states.

Chieh Huang was minister to the King of Wey but was on good terms with Han. Accordingly, he sent for troops from Han and made them attack Wey. Then he purposely offered to sue for peace on behalf of His Majesty in order thereby to elevate his own position.

The King of Yüeh attacked the King of Wu. The King of Wu apologized and offered submission. When the King of Yüeh was thinking of forgiving him, Fan Li and High Official Chung said: "No, it is impracticable. Formerly Heaven presented Yüeh to Wu but Wu refused the present. Now if we let Fu-ch'a go home, we will incur a similar calamity from Heaven. As Heaven is now presenting Wu to Yüeh, we ought to repeat bows and accept the present. Never forgive him." Thereupon Premier P'i of Wu wrote to High Official Chung, saying: "When wild hares are exhausted, tame dogs would be cooked; when enemy states are destroyed, state councillors would be ruined. High Official, why would you not release Wu and keep Yüeh in worry?" When High Official Chung received the letter, he read it, heaved a deep sigh, and said, "Put the messenger to death. The Yüeh State and my life are the same."

Ta-ch'eng Wu served Chao and said to Shen Pu-hai in Han: "Sir, if you would elevate my position in Chao with the influence of Han, I should elevate your position in Han with the influence of Chao. In this way you will extend your sphere of influence twice as large as Han while I will extend mine twice as large as Chao."

Ssu-ma Hsi, minister to the ruler of Central Hills, was on good terms with Chao and therefore always reported in secret to the King of Chao the stratagems of Central Hills.

Lü Ts'ang, minister to the King of Wey, was on good terms with Ch'in and Ching. Once he gave Ch'in and Ching a secret hint and made them attack Wey. Then he offered to sue for peace in order thereby to make his own position secure.

Sung Shih was a general of Wey: Wei Chün, a general of Ching. When the two States took up arms against each other, both were commanders of their respective armies. Then Sung Shih wrote Wei Chün a personal letter, saying: "The two armies are opposing each other. The two flags are facing each other. Let there be no fighting. After fighting both will certainly not remain in coexistence. The present crisis is a personal feud between the two sovereigns. You and I have no private hatred. Being good to each other, we should avoid fighting each other."

Pai Kuei was Premier of Wey; Pao Ch'ien, Premier of Han. The former said to the latter: "If you assist me in Wey with the influence of Han while I support you in Han with the influence of Wey, then I will always remain in power in Wey while you in Han."

Annotation to Canon 3:—

One of the Middle Officers of Ch'i, named I-she, once had a drinking feast with the King. Greatly drunk, he went out and leaned on the gate of the lobby. Thereupon the cut-footed gate-man asked, "Has Your Excellency not any intention of giving the remaining drops of wine to thy humble servant?" In reply I-she scolded him, saying, "Get away! How dare a penalized man ask for wine from his superior?" The cut-footed man ran away. As soon as I-she left the cut-footed man purposely poured water below the eaves of the lobby gate in the manner of urination. Next day, when the King went out, he rebuked it and asked, "Who passed water here?" In reply the cut-footed man said: "Thy servant has seen nobody. However, yesterday Middle Officer I-she stood here. The King, therefore, blamed I-she and killed him.

The King of Wey had two ministers who were not on good terms with the Lord of Chi-yang. Once the Lord of Chi-yang purposely made his men falsify the King's order to scheme to attack himself. Thereupon the King sent out men to ask the Lord of Chi-yang, "Who bears you a grudge?" "Thy servant is not at feud with anybody," replied the Lord, "but he has not been on good terms with two of your Majesty's ministers. Still that displeasure should not have come to this!" The King then asked the attendants about it, and all said, "Of course!" The King, accordingly, censured the two ministers.

Chi Hsin and Yuan Ch'ien were at feud with each other. Ssu-ma Hsi came recently to bad terms with Chi Hsin, and so secretly ordered men to assassinate Yuan Ch'ien. The ruler of Central Hills, thinking Chi Hsin was the contriver of the murder, held him guilty.

The King of Ching had a favourite concubine named Cheng Hsiu. As the King newly got a beautiful girl, Cheng Hsiu purposely told her, "The King was very fond of seeing people covering their mouths with hands. Be sure to cover your mouth when you go near to the King." When the beautiful girl went in to have an audience with the King, she, accordingly, covered her mouth. The King asked the reason therefor. "She has already talked about the bad odour of Your Majesty," replied Cheng Hsiu. One day, the King, Cheng Hsiu, and the beautiful girl, all three took seats in a carriage, Hsiu told the coachman to carry out the order definitely and immediately as soon as the King said any word. When the beautiful girl came up very near to the King, she covered her mouth several times. Displeased, the King became very angry, saying, "Cut off her nose!" when the coachman drew out his sword and cut off the beautiful girl's nose.

According to a different source: Once the King of Wey presented the King of Ching a beauty. The King of Ching was greatly pleased by her. His royal concubine, Cheng Hsiu, knowing the King loved her with pleasure, also loved her with pleasure even more than the King did, and among clothes and ornaments selected whatever she wanted and gave them to her. "Madame, knowing I love the new lady, loves her with pleasure even more than I do," remarked the King. "This is the way the dutiful son should support his parents, and loyal subjects should serve the ruler." Knowing the King never thought she was jealous, the royal concubine purposely told the new lady, "The King loves you very much but dislikes your nose. When you see the King, always cover your nose with hands. Then the King will forever love you." Thereafter the new lady followed the advice, and, every time she saw the King, would cover her nose. So the King asked his royal concubine, "Why does the new lady always cover her nose every time she sees me?" "How can I know?" said the royal concubine. The King kept asking her insistently. "Just a while ago," said she in reply, "I heard her saying she disliked to smell the odour of Your Majesty." "Cut off her nose," said the King in anger. As the royal consort had instructed the coachman to carry out any order definitely as soon as the King said any word, the coachman, accordingly drew out his sword and cut off the beauty's nose.

Fei Wu-chi was a courtier of the Magistrate of Ching. Ch'i Yüan newly came to serve the magistrate. The magistrate liked him very much. Therefore, Wu-chi said to the magistrate, "Your Excellency likes Yüan so much. Why does Your Excellency not hold a wine feast at his home sometime?" "Good," said the magistrate, and ordered Wu-chi to prepare a wine feast at the home of Ch'i Yüan. Then Wu-chi told Yüan, "The Magistrate is very militant and fond of weapons. You should be cautious and respectful and quickly parade weapons beneath the hall and in the courtyard." So did Yüan accordingly. When the Magistrate arrived, he was greatly surprised, asking, "What is all this about?" "Your Excellency, be sure to leave here," replied Wu-chi, "as we do not know what is going to happen." Enraged thereby, the Magistrate took up arms, censured Ch'i Yüan, and finally put him to death.

Hsi Shou and Chang Shou were at feud with each other. Ch'en Hsü newly came on bad terms with Hsi Shou, and so made men assassinate Chang Shou. The King of Wey, thinking Hsi Shou was the contriver of the assassination, censured him.

There was in the Central Hills State a humble prince, whose horse was very skinny and carriage terribly worn-out. Some of the chamberlains who had a private hatred for him made a request on his behalf to the King, saying: "The prince is very poor. His horse is very thin. Why does Your Majesty not increase the food supplies for his horse?" The King did not grant the request. The chamberlain, therefore, secretly set fire to the silo at night. The King, thinking the humble prince was the contriver of the arson, censured him.

There was in Wey an old literatus who was not on good terms with the Lord of Chi-yang. One of the guests of the Lord had private hatred for the old literatus and so purposely assaulted the old literatus and killed him. Considering it a distinguished service to the Lord of Chi-yang, he said: "Thy servant killed him because he had been at feud with Your Excellency." Hearing this, the Lord of Chi-yang, without investigating his motive, rewarded him.

According to a different source: The Lord of Chi-yang had a petty official who was not noticed by his master but wanted to win his special favour. Once upon a time, the Ch'i State sent an old literatus out to dig herbs in the Horse Pear Mountain. In order to render the master some meritorious service, the petty official of Chi-yang went in to see the Lord and said: "Ch'i sent an old literatus out to dig herbs in the Horse Pear Mountain. In name he is digging herbs but in fact he is spying the country of Your Highness. If Your Highness does not kill him, he will implicate the Lord of Chi-yang in the plot against Ch'i. May thy servant then beg to despatch him?" "You may do so," replied the Lord. On the following day the petty official found the old literatus on the shady side of the city-walls and pierced him. At last the Lord admitted him into his confidence.

Annotations to Canon 4:—

Ch'en Hsü, minister to the King of Wey, was on good terms with the King of Ching. Once he induced Ching to attack Wey. Then he concluded the peace terms on behalf of the King of Wey. He, accordingly, became Premier of Wey through the influence of Ching.

At the time of Marquis Chao of Han seeds of millet continued expensive and farmers scarcely had any of it. Therefore Marquis Chao sent men to inspect the state granary. They found the granary-keeper had been stealing millet seeds and smuggling a big amount to foreign countries.

When Chao Hsi-hsü was in official service in Ching, once someone set fire to the openings of the state storehouses and silos but it was not known who he was. Thereupon Chao Hsi-hsü ordered officials to arrest sellers of reeds and examine them, and found out they were actually the incendiaries.

At the time of Marquis Chao-hsi, one day when the cook brought in the meal, the soup had pieces of raw liver in it. Therefore, the Marquis sent for the second cook, blamed him, and asked, "Why did you put pieces of raw liver in the soup for me?" Bowing his head to the ground, the cook admitted his capital crime and confessed that he had thereby intended to get rid of the chief cook.

According to a different source: Once when Marquis Hsi was going to take a bath, the hot water had pebbles in it. Marquis Hsi then asked the attendants if anybody would take up the vacancy upon the dismissal of the bath-boy. "Certainly," replied the attendants. "Bring him here," said Marquis Hsi. Then he questioned the man why he had put pebbles in the hot water. In reply the man said: "If the bath-boy is dismissed, thy servant will be able to take his place. Therefore, thy servant put pebbles in the hot water."

At the time of Duke Wen, one day when the cook brought in roast meat, it was twisted with hairs. So Duke Wen sent for the cook and asked him: "Do you intend to choke me to death? Why did you twist the roast meat with hairs?" The cook bowed his head to the ground, repeated salutations, begged for pardon, and said: "Thy servant has committed three capital crimes: He held the grindstone and whetted the knife till the knife became as sharp as the Kan-chiang sword. In cutting the meat it tore the meat but the hairs did not tear. This is the first crime of which thy servant is guilty. Then he held the awl and pierced through the meat chop but failed to see the hairs, which is the second crime. Finally, he kept the charcoal burning in the cooking stove so that all the meat became red and was roasted and well done, but the hairs were not burned at all, which is the third crime. Could there be nobody inside the hall who has been jealous of thy servant?" "You are right," the Duke said, and then summoned all the subordinates inside and questioned them. Among them he actually found out the true culprit, whom he put to death.

According to a different source: Once upon a time, when Duke P'ing entertained guests at a wine feast, a petty official brought in roast meat which was twisted with hairs. Duke P'ing sprang to his feet and was going to kill the cook and allowed nobody to disobey his order. The cook cried to heaven and said: "Alas! Thy servant has committed three crimes, and how does he not know the death penalty for them himself?" "What do you mean by saying that?" asked Duke P'ing. In reply the cook said: "The knife of thy servant is so sharp that bones can be cut just as grass is blown down by winds, and yet hairs were not cut, which is the first capital crime thy servant is guilty of. Roasted with mulberry charcoal, the meat became red and then white but the hairs were not burned, which is thy servant's second capital crime. When the meat was roasted and well done, thy servant repeated moving his eyelashes and looked at it carefully, but the hairs twisting the roast meat were not seen, which is thy servant's third capital crime. Does it seem that there is somebody inside the hall who hates thy servant? If so, is it not too early to kill thy servant so abruptly?"

When Marquis Hsiang was Premier of Ch'in, Ch'i was powerful. Marquis Hsiang wanted to proclaim the Ruler of Ch'in emperor, which Ch'i refused to recognize. Then he offered to proclaim the Ruler of Ch'i eastern emperor. Thereby he became able to proclaim the Ruler of Ch'in emperor.

Annotations to Canon 5:—

At the same time of Duke Hsien of Chin, Li-chi enjoyed the same privileges as the real duchess. She wanted her son, Hsi-ch'i, to replace the heir apparent, Shen-sheng, and therefore slandered Shen-sheng before the Ruler and had him put to death. Finally she succeeded in setting up Hsi-ch'i as heir apparent.

The Ruler of Cheng had already installed an heir apparent, whereas his beloved beautiful girl wanted him to take her son for the heir apparent. Fearing this, his wife used poisonous drugs, betrayed the Ruler, and put him to death.

Chou Hsü of Wei was influential in Wei and behaved like the Ruler. The body of officials and the masses of people were

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all afraid of his position and influence. Eventually Chou Hsü murdered the Ruler and usurped the reins of government.

Prince Chao was heir apparent of Chou. His younger brother, Prince Ken, was in special favour with the ruler. Upon the death of the royal father, Ken occupied Eastern Chou, rose in rebellion and partitioned the original territory into two states.

King Ch'eng of Ch'u proclaimed Shang-ch'eng heir apparent. Later, he wanted to take Prince Chih. Therefore, Shang-ch'en caused a disturbance, and finally attacked and murdered King Ch'eng.

According to a different source: King Ch'eng proclaimed Shang-ch'en heir apparent. Later, he wanted to set up Prince Chih. Shang-ch'en heard about this but was not yet sure of it. So he said to his tutor, P'an Chung, "How can we be sure of the real situation?" "Invite Chiang Yü to dinner and show him no respect," said Pan Chung. The Crown Prince followed the advice. Provoked thereby, Chiang Yü said: "You brute! No wonder your royal father wants to set you down and set Chih up as heir apparent." "It's true," said Shang-ch'en. "Will you be able to serve Chih?" asked P'an Chung. "No, not able." "Then will you be able to take shelter under the feudal lords?" "No, not able," "Well, then are you able to start a rebellion?" "Certainly able." Thereupon they raised all the armed soldiers in the barracks around his court and attacked King Ch'eng. King Ch'eng asked permission to eat a bear's paw and then die. Refused permission, he finally committed suicide.

Han Kuei was Premier to Marquis Ai of Han. Yen Sui was highly regarded by the Ruler. So the two abhorred each other. One day, Yen Sui ordered men to assassinate Han Kuei at the court. Han Kuei ran towards His Highness and held him in his arms. At last the assassins pierced through Han Kuei and also through Marquis Ai.

T'ien Heng was Premier of Ch'i. Kan Chih was highly regarded by Duke Chien. The two hated each other and were about to kill each other. T'ien Heng, by distributing private favours among the masses of people, took over the country, and finally killed Duke Chien and usurped the reins of government.

Tai Huan was Prime Minister of Sung. Huang Hsi was highly regarded by the Ruler. The two disputed in affairs and abhorred each other. In the long run Huang Hsi killed the Ruler of Sung and usurped the reins of government.

Hu Tu once said: "If the ruler of a state has a favourite inside, the heir apparent is jeopardised; if he has a favourite outside, the premier is jeopardized."

The Ruler of Cheng once asked Cheng Chao, "How is the Crown Prince?" "The Crown Prince is not yet born," was the reply. "The Crown Prince has already been set up," said the Ruler, "but you said, 'He is not yet born.' Why?" In reply Cheng Chao said: "Although the Crown Prince has been set up, yet Your Highness loves women and never stops. Supposing any of the beloved gave birth to a son, Your Highness would love him, too. Should Your Highness love him, Your Highness would certainly want to proclaim him heir apparent. Thy servant, therefore, said, "The Crown Prince is not yet born.' "

Annotations of Canon 6:—

King Wen financed Fei Chung, made him stay around Chow, and told him to admonish Chow and disturb his mind.

The King of Ching once sent an envoy to Ch'in. The King of Ch'in showed him great courtesies. Later, he said: "If any enemy state has worthies it causes us worries. Now that the envoy of the King of Ching is very worthy, I am worried over it." Then the body of officials advised him, saying: "Win the envoy of the King of Ching to our side with the worthiness and saintliness of Your Majesty and with the resources and generosity of our country. Why does Your Majesty not cultivate deep friendship with him and pretend to keep him in Your Majesty's service? Then, if Ching thinks he is rendering service to foreign states, they will infallibly censure him."

When Chung-ni was governing the Lu State, no one would pick up things dropped on the road. Over this Duke Ching of Ch'i worried. Therefore, Li Chü said to Duke Ching: "To get rid of Chung-ni is as easy as to blow off a hair. Why does Your Highness not invite him to office with big emolument and high position and present Duke Ai girl musicians so as to make him self-conceited and bewilder his ideas? When Duke Ai is rejoicing in new pleasures, he will certainly neglect governmental affairs, and Chung-ni will certainly remonstrate with him. If Chung-ni makes any remonstrance at all, he will certainly be slighted in Lu." "Good," said Duke Ching, and then ordered Li Chü to present girl musicians, twice eight in number, to Duke Ai. Enjoying their dance and music, Duke Ai actually neglected governmental affairs. Chung-ni remonstrated with him, but he would not listen. So Chung-ni left him and went to Ch'u.

The King of Ch'u said to Kan Hsiang: "I want to support Kan Mu with Ch'u's influence and make him premier of Ch'i Is this practicable?" "Impracticable," was the reply. "Why impracticable?" asked the King. In reply Kan Hsiang said: "Kan Mu when young studied under Master Shih Chü. Shih Chü, while gate-man of Shang-ts'ai, neither served his master well nor provided his family well, wherefore he was known throughout All-under-Heaven to be offensive and cruel. Nevertheless, Kan Mu served him with obedience. King Hui is enlightened, Chang Yi is discriminating. Kan Mu has served them and has been appointed to ten successive offices but has committed no fault whatever. This shows Kan Mu's worthiness." Then the King asked, "To find a worthy for the premiership of the enemy state is not practicable. Why?" In reply Kan Hsiang said: "Formerly Your Majesty sent out Shao Hua to Yüeh and in five years could ruin Yüeh. The reason therefore was that Yüeh was then misgoverned while Ch'u was well governed. In the past Your Majesty knew what to do with Yüeh but now forgets what to do with Ch'in. Is he not very quick to forget things?" "Well, if so, then what shall we do about it?" asked the King. "We may as well make Kung Li Premier of Ch'in." "Why is it practicable to make Kung Li Premier?" asked the King. "Kung Li in his youth," replied Hsiang, "was loved and favoured, and grew up to be a noble and an official. Wearing beautiful clothes embroidered with precious stones, holding fragrant grass in his mouth and keeping jade armlets around his hands, he attends to his public duties at the court. Furthermore, he thinks he can gain by a misgovernment of Ch'in."

Wu was invading Ching. Tzu-hsü then sent men out to spread rumours in Ching that if Tzu-ch'i, were taken into service by Ching, Wu would attack Ching, but if Tzu-ch'ang were taken into service, she would leave them free. When the Chings heard about these words, they took Tzu-ch'ang into service and dismissed Tzu-ch'i from his office. The Wus then fell upon them and triumphed over them.

Duke Hsien of Chin wanted to invade Yü and Kuo and therefore made a present of the team of the Chü breed, the jade of Ch'ui-chi, and girl musicians, twice eight in number, in order thereby to bewilder the ideas of their rulers and disturb their governmental affairs.

When Shu Hsiang was slandering Ch'ang Hung, he falsified a letter from Ch'ang Hung in which the latter said to him: "Will you please on my behalf speak to the Ruler of Chin that it is now time to carry out the agreement I made with His Highness and ask him why he has not promptly sent troops here?" Then he pretended to drop the letter at the court of the Ruler of Chou and left immediately. The Ruler of Chou, regarding Ch'ang Hung as a betrayer of Chou, censured him and put him to death.

When Duke Huan of Cheng was about to raid K'uai, he asked about the able men, worthy ministers, eloquent, intelligent scholars, and daring, gallant warriors, recorded all their names, selected the good fields of K'uai as bribes to them, and wrote down the posts and ranks reserved for them. He then constructed an altar compound outside the city-walls, buried the written documents there, and smeared the sacrificial vessels with the blood of chickens and piglings as though there they had taken an oath together. The Ruler of K'uai, regarding this as a civil disturbance, killed all his worthy subjects. Meanwhile, Duke Huan raided K'uai all of a sudden and took it.

A certain clown at the Court of Ch'in was on good terms with the King of Ching. Besides he was secretly on good terms with the attendants of the King of Ching and at home was highly trusted by the Ruler Hui-wen. Whenever Ching had any stratagem, the clown would hear about it before anybody else did and reported it to the Ruler Hui-wen.

Hsiang Tzu, Magistrate of Yeh, was secretly on good terms with the attendants of the King of Chao. Whenever the King of Chao schemed to raid Yeh, Hsiang Tzu always heard about it and forewarned the King of Wey. As the King of Wey always took precautions against any sudden attack, Chao had to stop her expedition every time.

At the time of Duke Ssu of Wei, detectives by his side were ordered to watch the prefect. Once the prefect opened up his mattress and found the mat seriously torn. That day, when Duke Ssu went home, he ordered men to give the prefect a new mat and said: "His Highness has heard you just opened your mattress and found the mat seriously torn. So he is bestowing upon you this new mat." Greatly astonished thereby, the prefect thought the Duke was superhuman.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 32.

Outer Congeries of Sayings, The Upper Left Series

(1) The enlightened sovereign's way of government is like the remark Yu-jo gave Mi Tzu. The stupid sovereign, in listening to words, admires their eloquence, and, in observing deeds, reveres their unworldliness. In consequence, it becomes the way of the officials, gentry and commoners, to utter roundabout and high-sounding words and attempt in personal conduct to rise above the worldly fact. The saying is based on T'ien Chiu's reply to the King of Ching. For further illustration, Mo Tzu constructed the wooden kite and the Singer Kuei built the war palace. Indeed, drugged wine and useful advice are what wise men and enlightened sovereigns ought to appreciate in particular.

(2) If the lord of men, in listening to words, does not take function and utility as objective, dialecticians will present such absurd discussions as the Stories of the Bramble Thorn and the White Horse. If there is no aim and mark concerned, then every archer will become as skilful as Yi. The lord of men inclined towards theories is always like the King of Yen attempting to learn the way to immortality. Those men proficient in argumentation are all like the Chengs contending for seniority in age. Therefore, words that are too minute to be scrutinized and too ineffable to be carried out are not the need of honour. Thus, for instance, Chi Liang, Hui Shih, Sung Hsing, and Mo Ti, were like the painter of the whip. As their theories, being roundabout, profound, magnificent, and exaggerating, were not practical; Wey Mou and Chan Ho when the former was dealing with the latter, were both like devils and demons inasmuch as their deeds, being frequently unnatural, difficult, stubborn, and angular, were unpractical; and Wu Kuang, Pien Sui, Pao Chiao, Chieh Tzu-t'ui, and T'ien Chung, were all like hard gourds. Moreover, Yü Ch'ing impressed the carpenter with reasons, wherefore the house fell to pieces; Fan Chü brought the bow-maker to his wits' end, wherefore the bows broke to pieces. For this reason, to seek for truth one must trust to practical means.

(3) Indeed, when two persons work together, they blame each other for losses and hope for gains from each other; when one works for himself, the affair proceeds well. Thus, even father and son sometime blame and scold each other. The employer of workmen, provides them with delicious soup. The saying is based on Duke Wen's declaration of enemies' faults before he opened any attack upon Sung and on Kou-chien's mention of the Ju-huang Tower built by Wu. For further illustration, Duke Huan concealed his anger at Ts'ai and attacked Ch'u. Wu Ch'i wanted his subordinate officer's earliest recovery and so sucked his boil. Moreover, the loose and panegyric poems composed by the early kings as well as the precepts inscribed on bells and tripods are all like the footprint left by the Father Sovereign of Chao on Mountain Fan-wu and the backgammon made by King Chao of Ch'in on the Hua Mountain. However, what the early kings expected was material profit what they employed was physical strength. That Duke Wen quoted the proverb about the shrine-builders was to ascertain his self-excuse. Supposing one listened to the scholars and made glorious and exaggerating quotations from the early kings, might not the whole thing be unsuitable to the present age? Yet conditions as such cannot be reformed! This is just like the man from the Prefecture of Cheng getting a yoke, the man of Wei shooting stringed arrows, the wife of Po Tzu purposely making new trousers like old ones, the youngster attending on the elder men drinking. After all, when the early kings' words are of little use, people of the present world think they are very useful; when they are very useful, people of the present world think they are of little use. They cannot always tell which are really very useful and which are not so. The basis of the saying is found in the Sung man's understanding of an ancient book and in the Liang man's reading of an ancient record. Thus, whenever the early kings wrote down any word as the man of Ying did in his letter to the Premier of Yen, most people of posterity revere it in the way the Premier of Yen interpreted the meaning of the word. Indeed, whoever does not suit means of political control to actual state affairs but takes advice solely from the words of the early kings instead, is like the man going home from the shoe market to get the measurements of his feet.

(4) Wherever lies profit, there people go; wherever fame is offered, there officers die. Therefore, if any meritorious service goes beyond the limits of the law and reward is bestowed therefore, then the superior cannot gain any profit from the inferior; if fame goes beyond the limits of the law and honour accompanies it, then officers will strive after their own fame but never will cultivate any fame for the ruler. For this reason, after Chung-chang and Hsü-i had been appointed to office, the people of Chung-mou deserted their fields and farms and those who pursued the literary studies numbered half the population of the fief. Similarly, because Duke P'ing, in spite of the soreness of his calves and the numbness of his legs, dared not leave his seat when Shu Hsiang was having an audience with him, men of Chin who resigned from official posts and yearned after Shu Hsiang occupied one-third of the size of the country. These three personages, when their words were in accordance with the law, were merely subjects loyal to the government, and, when their deeds were suitable to affairs, were simply people obedient to orders. Yet the tributes paid them by both their Rulers were too great. If their words went beyond the limits of the law and their deeds were far from meritorious, then they were people slipping out of the inked string. In that case why should both their Rulers have paid them any tribute at all? If they did, they missed the point of propriety. Moreover, private scholars pursuing studies, when the state is at peace, never exert their physical strength, and, once an emergency comes, never don armour. If revered, they neglect the work of farming and fighting; if not revered, they injure the law of the sovereign. When the state is in security, they are ennobled and celebrated; when the state is in danger, they are as cowardly as Ch'ü Kung. Such being the case, what can the lord of men gain out of the private scholars pursuing

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studies? Therefore, the enlightened sovereign would take into consideration Li Tz'u's report of the Central Hills State.

(5) It is said in the Book of Poetry, "In him, himself inert, the people put no trust." Of this precept a Grand Tutor persuaded a feudal lord to wear no purple clothes. In illustration of it the cases of Duke Chien of Cheng and Duke Hsiang of Sung can be cited. It charges every ruler with the duty of honouring and esteeming, farming and fighting. Indeed, who distinguishes between high and low, does not hold subordinates responsible for successful outcome, but merely makes himself an example to the inferior, does the same as Duke Ching when he left the carriage and ran on foot, King Chao read the code and fell down asleep, and a certain ruler covered with his hands his worn-out plain clothes. Kung Ch'iu, not knowing this, said that the ruler was like a basin. The Ruler of Tsou, not knowing this, humiliated himself before doing anything else. The way of the enlightened sovereign is the same as Shu Hsiang distributing bounties and as Marquis Chao granting nobody any request.

(6) If small faith is well accomplished, great faith will naturally be established. Therefore, the enlightened sovereign accumulates faith. If reward and punishment are of no faith, then prohibitions and orders cannot prevail. The basis of the saying is found in Duke Wen's attack on Yüan and in Chi Cheng's rescue of the starvelings. For the same reason, Wu Ch'i waited for his old friend till he came to dine with him; Marquis Wen met the men of Yü at the appointed time before he started hunting. Therefore, the enlightened sovereign would value faith in the way Tseng Tzu killed a pig. The calamity of breaking faith is illustrated by King Li's beating the alarm drum and by Li Kuei's deceiving the guards of both gates.

So much for the canons.

Annotations to Canon 1:—

Mi Tzu Chien governed San-fu. Once Yu-jo saw him and asked him. "Why have you become so thin?" In reply Mi Tzu said: "His Highness, not knowing my inferiority and unworthiness, appointed me Governor of San-fu. The official duties are urgent. My mind is always worried over them. Therefore I have become thin." Thereupon Yu-jo remarked: "In bygone days Shun played the five-stringed guitar and sang the South Wind Poem but All-underHeaven was well governed. Now that San-fu is so tiny and you have worried about governing it, what can be done with All-under-Heaven? Thus, if you have the right craft to rule the country, then even though you remain seated in the hall of the palace and retain the charming complexion of a girl, there will be no harm to political order. But if you have no tact to rule the country, then even though your body becomes exhausted and skinny, still there will not be help to political order."

The King of Ch'u once said to T'ien Chiu: "Mo Tzu was a celebrity for learning. What he personally practised is agreeable but his sayings are mostly not eloquent. Why?" In reply T'ien Chiu said: "Formerly when the Earl of Ch'in married his daughter to the prince of Chin, he embellished her dowry by adding seventy beautifully dressed maids to it. Upon their arrival in Chin, the Chins loved the concubines but slighted the princess. This may be said to be good in marrying out the concubines but cannot be said to be good in marrying out the daughter. Once upon a time a man of Ch'u was selling pearls in Cheng. For the pearls he made magnolia boxes, which he perfumed with cassia spice, bound with beads, decorated them with red gems, and filled harmoniously with the kingfisher's feather. In the long run people in Cheng bought the caskets but returned the pearls. This may be said to be good in selling caskets but cannot be said to be good in trading pearls. Now, the itinerants of the present world all speak with the words of eloquent persuasiveness and literary phrasing. In consequence the lord of men reads the literature with exceeding interest but forgets its utility. The teachings of Mo Tzu convey the principles of the early kings and theorize the words of the saintly men and thereby propagate ideas among people. If he made his phrasing eloquent, people might, it was feared, harbour the literature but forget the utility, that is to say, he might injure the utility with the literature. That would be doing exactly the same thing as the man of Ch'u trading pearls and the Earl of Ch'in marrying out his daughter. Therefore, the sayings of Mo Tzu were mostly not eloquent."

Mo Tzu once constructed a wooden kite, which it took him three years to complete. After flying for one day, it broke. His disciples said: "The master's skill is so excellent as to make the wooden kite fly." Mo Tzu said: "I am not as skilful as the maker of the cross-bar for yoking the oxen. He uses a piece of wood eight inches or one foot long and spends less time than one morning while the bar can pull the burden of thirty piculs, has the strength for going a long way, and lasts for a number of years. Now, in constructing a wooden kite, it took me three years to complete it, which broke after one day's flying." Hearing about this, Hui Tzu said, "Mo Tzu was exceedingly skilful, considering the construction of the cross-bar skilful and the construction of the wooden kite clumsy."

The King of Sung was at feud with Ch'i. When he was building the war palace, the Singer Kuei led the chorus of the workmen. As a result, the passers-by stopped to see them while the builders never felt tired. Hearing about this, the King summoned Kuei and rewarded him therefor. Thereupon Kuei said, "Thy servant's master Hsieh Chi, sings better than thy servant does." The King, accordingly, summoned Hsieh Chi and ordered him to sing. As a result, the passers-by never stopped while the builders perceived their own weariness. "Now that the passers-by do not know what is going on while the builders perceive their own weariness, he sings not as well as Kuei. What is the reason?" asked the King. In reply Kuei said, "Suppose Your Majesty measure the respective results. Kuei by his singing had only four panel boards done while Hsieh Chi had eight. As regards the solidity of the walls, they can pierce five inches through Kuei's work but only two inches through Hsieh Chi's work."

Indeed, good drugs are bitter to the mouth, but intelligent people are willing to take them because they know the drugs after being taken will cure their diseases. Loyal words are unpleasant to the ears, but the enlightened sovereign listens to them, because he knows they will bring about successful results.

Annotations to Canon 2:—

Once a man of Sung asked permission to engrave a female ape on the edge of a bramble thorn for the King of Yen. According to him, the King must remain purified for three months before he could see it. The King, accordingly, supported him with the emolument of three chariots. Thereupon the smith who attended on the King said to him: "Thy servant has heard, 'No lord of men can remain purified for ten days without having a drinking feast in the meantime.' Now that the Sung man knows the inability of Your Majesty to remain purified long enough in order to see a useless object, he purposely set three months as the period of purification. As a rule, the instruments of engravers and carvers must always be smaller than their objects. Being a smith himself, thy servant finds no way to make him any instrument for carving. It is an unattainable object. May Your Majesty deliberate on the matter!" Accordingly, the King arrested and questioned the man of Sung, found out his falsehood, and put him to death. The smith again said to the King, "If the state has no weights and measures to regulate things, itinerants would present mostly such absurd discussions as the Bramble Thorn Story."

According to a different source: Once the King of Yen was recruiting skilful artists, when a man of Wei asked permission to engrave a female ape on the edge of a bramble thorn. Delighted, the King of Yen supported him with the emolument of five chariots. Then the King asked "May I, the King, for trial see the ape on the bramble thorn engraved by my honourable guest?" "If the lord of men wants to see it," replied the guest, "he must be absent from his harem and abstain from wine and meat for half a year. Then, when the rain clears up and the sun shines again, he will be able to see the female ape in a dark shady place." In consequence, the King of Yen purposely supported the man of Wei but could not see his female ape. In the meantime a smith famous for making kitchen utensils in Cheng said to the King of Yen: "Thy servant is a carver. Every tiny object to be carved must have a carving knife, and the carving instrument is always larger than the object to be carved. Now that the edge of the bramble thorn is too small even for the tip of an awl, it must be extraordinarily difficult to handle the edge of the bramble thorn. Suppose Your Majesty try to see the awl of the guest. Then either his ability or inability will be known." "Good," the King said, and then asked the man of Wei, "What kind of an instrument does my honour-able guest use in carving the female ape on the bramble thorn?" "An awl," "I want to see it," said the King. "May thy servant go back to his lodging place and get it?" So saying, the guest ran away.

Ni Yüeh was a skilful dialectician among the Sungs. Maintaining the argument that "the white horse is not the horse," he overcame the debaters beneath the Grain Gate of the capital of Ch'i. Once when he rode a white horse and came to a pass, he had to pay the horse-tax for the white horse. Thus, on playing with empty terms, he could triumph over the whole country, but on investigating facts and examining features he could not deceive anybody.

Indeed, suppose you sharpen an arrow, draw the bow, and shoot the arrow, then though you close your eyes and shoot at random, the pointed head of the arrow is bound to hit the tip of an autumn spikelet. However, unless you can hit the same spot again, you cannot be called a skilful archer. For you have no constant aim and mark. Now if the target were five inches in diameter and the arrow were shot from a distance of one hundred steps, then nobody other than Yi and Feng Meng could with certainty hit the mark every time. For there would then be a constant aim and mark. Therefore, in the presence of a constant aim and mark the straight hit by Hou Yi and Feng Meng at a target five inches in diameter is regarded as skilful; whereas in the absence of a constant aim and mark the wild hit at the tip of an autumn spikelet is regarded as awkward. For the same reason, if the sovereign has no fixed standard and makes responses to any speaker, then the itinerants will talk too much nonsense; whereas if he establishes a fixed standard and holds any speaker to it, then even intelligent men will be afraid of making mistakes and dare not speak at random. Now, the lord of men, in listening to suggestions, does not consider them under a fixed standard but simply approves of their eloquence, does not measure them with their meritorious services but plainly honours their virtuous deeds, and does not take any concern in a constant aim amd mark. This is the reason why the lord of men is always deceived and the itinerants are for ever supported.

Once a traveller taught the King of Yen the way to immortality. The King then sent men to learn it. Before the men sent to learn completed their study, the traveller died. Enraged thereby, the King chastized the students. Thus, the King did not know that he himself had been deceived by the traveller, but censured the students for their tardiness. Indeed, to believe in an unattainable thing and chastize innocent subjects is the calamity of thoughtlessness. Moreover, what a man cares for is nothing other than his own self. If he could not make himself immortal, how could he make the King live for ever?

Once there were men of Cheng contending for seniority in age. One man said, "My age is the same as Yao's." Another man said, "I am as old as the elder brother of the Yellow Emperor." They brought the dispute to the court, but the judge could not make any decision. Finally he ruled that the one who was the last to stop arguing won the case.

Once a traveller, who painted the whip for the Ruler of Chou, spent three years to complete it. When the Ruler saw it, it looked exactly like a plainly varnished whip. Thereby the Ruler of Chou was enraged. Then the painter of the whip said, "Build a wall twenty feet high and a window eight feet long. Place the whip upon it at sunrise and then look at it." The Ruler of Chou, accordingly, looked at the features of the whip in the way he had been instructed and found them all turning into dragons, serpents, birds, beasts, carriages, and horses, and the forms of myriad other things all present. Thereat he was greatly pleased. The work done to this whip certainly was delicate and difficult. Yet its utility was the same as that of any plainly varnished whip.

Once upon a time there was a traveller drawing for the King of Ch'i. "What is the hardest thing to draw?" asked the King. "Dogs and horses are the hardest." "Then what is the easiest?" "Devils and demons are the easiest. Indeed, dogs and horses are what people know and see at dawn and dusk in front of them. To draw them no distortion is permissible. Therefore they are the hardest. On the contrary, devils and demons have no shapes and are not seen in front of anybody, therefore it is easy to draw them."

In Ch'i there was a retired scholar named T'ien Chung. Once a man of Sung named Ch'ü Ku saw him and said: "Ku has heard about the principle of the respected master not to depend upon people for his food supplies. Now, Ku has a way of planting the gourd, whose fruits are as hard as stones and are solid but not hollow inside. Therefore, he is presenting them to the master." Then Chung said: "Indeed, gourds are valuable because they can serve as vessels. Now that they are solid and not hollow, they cannot serve up anything. If they are as hard as stones, they cannot be split for emptying out. I have no use for these gourds." "If so, Ku will throw them away." Now that T'ien Chun not depending upon people for food supplies was also of no use to the country of people, he was like the hard gourds.

Yü Ch'ing was building a house, and said to the carpenter, "This house will be too high." Then the carpenter said: "This is a new house, its plaster being wet and its beams supporting the eaves still unseasoned. Indeed the wet plaster is heavy and the unseasoned beams are curved. With curved beams supporting wet plaster, the house ought to become low enough." "That will not be so," said Yü Ch'ing. "After a number of days, the plaster will be dry and the beams will be seasoned. When dry, the plaster will be light; when seasoned, the beams will be straight. With straight beams supporting dry plaster, the house will be still higher." Thereby the carpenter gave in and did the building in the way Yü Ch'ing wanted, but the house collapsed.

According to a different source: Yü Ch'ing was going to build a house, when the carpenter said: "The wood is unseasoned and the plaster is wet. Indeed, when unseasoned, the wood is curved; when wet, the plaster is heavy. With curved wood supporting heavy plaster, the house, though it may be completed now, will certainly collapse as time goes on." In response to this Yü Ch'ing said: "When dry, the wood will become straight; when dry the plaster will become light. Suppose the wood and the plaster are really dry now. Then they will become lighter and straighter day by day and will never collapse even after a long period of time." Thereby the carpenter gave in and did the building in the way Yü Ch'ing wanted. In the meantime following the completion, the house actually collapsed.

Fan Chü said: "The bow breaks always towards the end and never at the beginning. To be sure, the bow-maker first draws

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the bow, leaves it in the stand for thirty days, then puts the string on it, and after one day shoots arrows with it. Thereby he makes it tender at the beginning and tough towards the ending. How can the bow not break? Chü's way of making bows is not the same—namely, to leave the bow in the stand for one day, then put the string on it, and after thirty days shoot arrows with it. Thereby I make it tough at the beginning and tender towards the ending." At his wits' end, the bow-maker made bows in the way Fan Chü wanted. The bows broke to pieces.

The sayings of Fan Chü and Yü Ch'ing are all eloquent in structure and excellent in diction to the realities of things. Yet the lord of men is always delighted at such sayings and never suppresses them. This is the cause of his failure. Indeed, not to seek for the merits in attaining order and strength but to covet the voices in making eloquent speeches and beautiful compositions, is to reject the experts in statecraft and trust to such laymen as would break houses and bows. Therefore, the lord of men in administering state affairs is always not as skilful as the carpenter in building houses and the craftsman in making bows. However, the experts are driven to their wits' end by Fan Chü and Yü Ch'ing. Because of the futility of empty phrases the latter triumph. Because of the immutability of practical things the former are driven at bay. The lord of men makes much of useless eloquent speeches and makes light of immutable propositions. This is the cause of disorder. In the present world there are always men who would imitate Fan Chü and Yü Ch'ing, but the lord of men is uncreasingly delighted with them. This is to revere such types of men as the house- and bow-makers and look at the technical experts as carpenters or craftsmen. As the carpenter and the craftsman could not exert their technical skill, the house collapsed and the bow broke. Likewise, as the experts in statecraft cannot carry out their policy, the state is disorderly and the sovereign is jeopardized.

To be sure, children, when they play together, take soft earth as cooked rice, muddy water as soup, and wood shavings as slices of meat. However, at dusk they would go home for supper because dust rice and mud soup can be played with but cannot be eaten. Indeed, tributes to the legacy of remote antiquity, are appreciative and eloquent but superficial; and admiration of the early kings for their benevolence and righteousness, cannot rectify the course of the state. Therefore, they can be played with but cannot be used as instruments of government, either. Indeed, those who have longed after benevolence and righteousness and become weak and disorderly are the Three Chins. The one who has never longed but has become orderly and strong is Ch'in. However, she has not yet become an empire because her government is not yet perfect.

Annotations to Canon 3:—

If one receives no good care in his childhood from his parents, when he grows up, as a son he shows resentment at them. Though the son grows to be a big and strong man, his provisions for his parents are rather scanty. Then the parents become angry and reprimand him. Now, father and son are the closest relatives. Yet they either reprimand or show resentment at each other simply because they are driven together by force of circumstances and neither can accomplish his self-seeking purpose.

Indeed, in the case of workmen selling their services in sowing seeds and tilling farms, the master would at the expense of his housekeeping give them delicious food and by appropriating cash and cloth make payments for their services. Not that they love the hired workmen, but that, they say, by so doing they can make the workmen till the land deeper and pick the weed more carefully. The hired workmen, by exerting their physical strength, speedily pick the weed and till the land, and, by using their skill, rectify the boundaries between different tracts of ground and the dykes separating different fields. Not that they love their master, but that, they say, by their so doing the soup will be delicious and both cash and cloth will be paid to them. Thus, the master's provisions and the workmen's services supplement each other as if between them there were the compassion of father and son. However, their minds are well disposed to act for each other because they cherish self-seeking motives respectively. Therefore, when men deal with each other in managing affairs and rendering services, if their motive is hope for gain, then even with a native from Yüeh, it will be easy to remain harmonious. If the motive is fear of harm, then even father and son will become estranged and show resentment toward each other.

Duke Wen attacked Sung but made a declaration beforehand, saying: "I have heard the Ruler of Sung follows no right way of government, insulting seniors and elders, making unfair distribution of alms, and issuing faithless precepts and ordinances. Therefore, I am coming to punish him on behalf of the people."

Yüeh was attacking Wu. The King of Yüeh made a declaration beforehand, saying: "I have heard the King of Wu built the Ju-huang Tower and dug the Deep Spring Pool, wearing out the hundred surnames and wasting the money and resources of the country and thereby exhausting the strength of the people. Therefore, I am coming to punish him on behalf of the people."

A princess of Ts'ai became a concubine of Duke Huan. One day Duke Huan and she went on a boat. She moved the boat at random. Much frightened, Duke Huan stopped her but she kept on doing it. Enraged, he divorced her. Soon he recalled her. But the Ts'ais replied that they had married her out elsewhere. Thereat Duke Huan became very angry and thought of attacking Ts'ai. Uncle Chung, accordingly, admonished him, saying: "Indeed, the trouble due to the play between sleeping partners makes no sufficient cause for attacking their country. Otherwise, the achievement of Hegemony cannot be expected. Please do not take this as a wise plan." Duke Huan would not listen. So Uncle Chung said: "Suppose Your Highness cannot help attacking Ts'ai. Well, for three years Ch'u has not brought thorny reeds as tribute to the Son of Heaven. Your Highness had better raise an army and attack Ch'u on behalf of the Son of Heaven. After Ch'u is subdued, turn back and raid Ts'ai and say to the world, 'when His Highness was attacking Ch'u on behalf of the Son of Heaven, Ts'ai never followed him with reinforcements. Therefore His Highness is destroying it.' This will be righteous in name and profitable in fact. In consequence, Your Highness will have the name of punishing the disobedient on behalf of the Son of Heaven and the fact of taking revenge."

Wu Ch'i commanded Wey's forces in attacking Central Hills. Among his soldiers someone became sick of boils. Therefore, Wu Ch'i knelt down himself and sucked the pus out of the boil. The mother of the wounded soldier was standing by and crying. People then asked her, "The general is so kind to your son. Why should you keep crying?" In reply she said: "Wu Ch'i sucked the pus out of his father's wound and his father later died fighting. Now the son will die fighting, too. I am, therefore, crying."

The Father Sovereign of Chao once ordered masons to use a scaling ladder, thereby climb Mountain Fan-wu, and on the summit engrave a human footprint three feet wide and five feet long, and inscribe it, "The Father Sovereign once strolled here."

King Chao of Ch'in ordered masons to use a scaling ladder, thereby climb the Hua Mountain, on the summit construct a backgammon board with the kernels of pines and cypresses and arrows eight feet long and chess pieces eight inches long, and inscribe on the board, "King Chao once played backgammon with a heavenly god here."

Duke Wen on the way to his homeland reached the Yellow River, where he ordered all bamboo and wooden vessels for food to be thrown into the river, the sheets and mats to be thrown into the river, the men whose hands and feet are thick and chapped and those whose faces and eyes were black or dark to follow from behind. Hearing about this, Uncle Fan wept all night. So Duke Wen asked him, "I have been exiled for twenty years till now when I am barely able to return to my native soil. Hearing about this, Uncle Fan is not delighted but crying all the time. Does it mean that he does not want His Highness to return to his native country?" In reply Fan said: "The bamboo and wooden vessels have been used for serving food but Your Highness is going to throw them away. The sheets and mats have been used for making beddings but Your Highness is going to give them up. The men whose hands and feet are thick and chapped and faces and eyes are black or dark have rendered meritorious services but Your Highness is going to keep them following from behind. Now thy servant happens to be among the group following from behind. Unable to bear the sadness, I am crying. Moreover, thy servant in order to enable Your Highness to return to his native country committed misrepresentations many times. Of this even thy servant never approves. How much less would Your Highness?" So saying, he repeated bowing and took his leave. Stopping him from leaving, Duke Wen said: "There is a proverb saying, 'Builders of the shire take off their clothes when installing the image in it but wear their black hats straight when commemorating the enshrined spirit.' Now, with me you have recovered the country but you are not going to govern the country with me. This is the same as though you installed the image in the shrine with me but would not commernorate the enshrined spirit with me." So saying, he untied the horse attached to the left of the yoke of his carriage and swore by the River to repeal the order.

Once a man of the Prefecture of Cheng, named Po Tzu, asked his wife to make a pair of trousers. "How would you like to have your trousers made this time?" asked the wife. "Like my old trousers," replied the husband. Accordingly the wife tore the new trousers and made them look like the old ones.

Once a man of the Prefecture of Cheng came by a yoke but did not know its name. So he asked somebody else, "What thing is this?" "It is a yoke," was the reply. Suddenly he found a yoke again and asked, "What thing is this?" "It is a yoke," was again the reply. Thereby the man was enraged and said, "You called the former one a yoke and are again calling the present one a yoke. Why so many? Aren't you deceiving me?" So saying, he started quarrelling with the man.

A man of Wei intended to shoot arrows with strings tied to them. When a bird came, he beckoned to the bird with the ball of string. The bird was frightened. He did not shoot.

Once the wife of Po Tzu, a man of the Prefecture of Cheng, went to the market, bought turtles, and was bringing them home. Passing by the Ying Water, she thought the turtles were thirsty, let them go drinking, and lost her turtles.

Once upon a time a youngster was attending an elder man drinking wine. But every time the elder took a drink, he would himself drink, too.

According to a different source: A man of Lu wanted to learn etiquette. He saw elder people drinking wine and spitting it out whenever unable to finish it. So he followed them in spitting wine out.

According to another different source: A youngster of Sung wanted to learn etiquette. Once at a feast he saw elder people drinking a toast and not leaving a single drop. So he started finishing the whole cup though not drinking a toast.

It is said in an ancient book, "Gird yourself, belt yourself!" A man of Sung, who once ran across this passage, doubled his sash and girdled himself with it accordingly. "Why do you do that?" asked someone else. "The ancient book saying so, so must I do," was the reply.

It is said in an ancient record, "Already engraved and already carved, it reverts to its naiveté." A man of Liang, who once ran across this passage, would talk about learning in his daily action and quote facts from the writing in illustration of his theory. Everyday he would do the same, till he lost the genuineness of his nature. Thereupon someone else asked him, "Why do you do that?" "The ancient record saying so, so must I do," was the reply.

A man of Ying once wrote a letter to the Prime Minister of Yen. He wrote the letter at night. When the light was not bright, he, accordingly, said to the candle-holder, "Raise the candle!" So saying he wrote down by mistake the words, "Raise the candle," although raising candles was not the gist of the letter. However, the Prime Minister of Yen on receiving the letter was glad and said: "To raise the candle means to exalt the bright. To exalt the bright means to elevate the worthy and appoint them to office." Therefore, the Premier of Yen spoke to the King about the policy of appointing the worthy to office, which the King was very glad to carry into effect. In consequence, the state became orderly. As regards the problem of political order, they did attain political order. But it was not the gist of the letter! Thus, scholars of the present world mostly resemble the Premier of Yen in interpreting the meaning of words.

Once a man of Cheng wanted to buy a pair of shoes for himself. He measured his feet first and left measurements on his seat. He arrived at the market-place, but had forgotten to take the measurements along. Though he had already found the shoes for himself, he said, "I have forgotten to take the measurements along. Let me go home to get them here." When he came back again, the market was closed, however. He could not get the shoes after all. "Why didn't you try the shoes with your own feet?" asked people. "I have confidence in the measurements but not in my own feet," was the reply.

Annotations to Canon 4:—

Wang Teng, Magistrate of Chung-mou, once in his proposition to Lord Hsiang of Chao said: "Chung-mou has scholars named Chung-chang and Hsü-i, whose personal appearances are very refined and whose learning is very erudite. Why does Your Highness not take them into service?" In reply Lord Hsiang said: "You go to find them. I will appoint them Middle Officials." Thereupon the Premier remonstrated with him, saying, "The post of the Middle Official is an important rank in Chin. Now, appointment of men of no merit to office is not in accordance with the constitution of Chin. Your Highness has only heard about them but not yet seen them, isn't it so?" "When I took Teng into service," replied the Lord, "I saw him after having heard about him. The men he has recommended I will see after I have heard about them, too. This is the way to use others as my own ears and eyes without cease." Thus, Wang Teng in one day recommended two Middle Officials to interview the Lord, who bestowed upon them fields and residences. In consequence, the people of Chung-mou, who stopped tilling fields and mowing grass, sold their houses and farms, and pursued literary studies, numbered half the population of the fief.

Shu Hsiang sat by Duke P'ing and reported to him on different affairs. Though the calves of Duke P'ing became sore and the legs numb, yet he only turned his muscles around but dared not leave his seat. Hearing about this, everybody in the Chin State said: "Shu Hsiang is a worthy. Duke P'ing respected him so much that during the interview he only turned his muscles around but dared not leave his seat." In consequence, men in the Chin State who resigned from official posts and yearned after Shu Hsiang occupied one-third the size of the country.

A man of Cheng, named Ch'ü Kung, whenever he heard enemies were coming, would fear lest he himself should die at their hands and also fear lest he himself should be captured alive by them.

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The Father Sovereign of Chao sent Li Tz'u to inspect Central Hills and see whether or not the country could be attacked. Upon his return Tz'u reported that the country could be attacked and that if His Majesty did not strike early enough, he would lag behind Ch'i and Yen. "Why can the country be attacked?" asked the Father Sovereign. In reply Li Tz'u said: "It is because the Ruler is fond of celebrating retired scholars in rocky caves. For tens of times, he pulled down his carriage-cover and offered seats in his carriage when meeting scholars from destitute village gates or narrow alleys. The times that he paid such courtesies to scholars wearing hemp clothes as if they were his equals, numbers hundreds." "According to your description and estimation," remarked the Father Sovereign, "he is a worthy ruler. Why then can the country be attacked?" "That is not so," replied Tz'u, "because if the Ruler is fond of celebrating retired scholars from rocky caves and employs them in the court, then warriors will neglect their duties at the camps; if the superior esteems learned men, condescends to country scholars, and employs them in the court, then farmers will relax their efforts in the fields. If the warriors neglect their duties at the camps, the army becomes weak: if the farmers relax their efforts in the fields, the state becomes poor. With the army weakened by enemies and the state impoverished at home, no country ever evades destruction. Isn't it then practicable to attack such a country?" "Right." So saying, the Father Sovereign raised an army, attacked Central Hills, and finally destroyed the country.

Annotations to Canon 5:—

Duke Huan of Ch'i was fond of wearing purple clothes, till everybody in the country wore purple clothes, too. At that time, nobody could get one purple thread at the cost of five plain white threads. Worried over this, Duke Huan said to Kuan Chung, "I am fond of wearing purple clothes, but purple clothes are very expensive. The hundred surnames in the country like to wear purple clothes continually. What should I do about that?" "If Your Highness wants to stop them," replied Kuan Chung, "why doesn't he for a time not wear any purple clothes at all, and tell the attendants, 'His Highness dislikes the bad odour of purple clothes'." "All right," said the Duke. Thenceforth, whenever any attendant in purple clothes came in, the Duke would say, "Get away a little! I dislike the bad odour of purple clothes." Accordingly, that day no courtier wore purple clothes; next day nobody in the state capital wore purple clothes; and by the third day nobody within the state boundaries wore purple clothes.

According to a different source: The King of Ch'i was fond of wearing purple clothes. So were the people of Ch'i. As a result, in the Ch'i State with the cost of five plain white threads nobody could buy a purple one. Over the expensiveness of purple clothes, the King of Ch'i worried. Thereupon the Grand Tutor said to the King: "It is said in the Book of Poetry, 'In him, himself inert, the people put no trust.' Now, if Your Majesty wants the people to wear no purple clothes, let Your Majesty take off purple clothes himself and then go to the court, and, when any officials wearing purple clothes come in, tell him, 'Get away farther! I dislike the bad odour!" In consequence, that day no courtier wore purple clothes; in a month nobody in the state capital wore purple clothes; and in a year nobody within the state boundaries wore purple clothes.

Duke Chien of Cheng once said to Tzu-ch'an: "Our country is small and pressed between Ching and Chin. Now that the city-walls of the capital are not in good repair and weapons and armour are not well prepared, we cannot provide against eventualities." "Thy servant has already shut the outer foes far off," said Tzu-Ch'an, "and already made the inner defences firm. Though the country is small, yet thy servant does not think it is in danger. May Your Highness not worry over it?" Therefore, Duke Chien had no worry in his life.

According to another source: Tzu-ch'an was Premier of Cheng. Once Duke Chien said to him: "If drinking wine is no joy, sacrifical vessels are not large, and bells, drums, Yü instruments, and se harps do not sound, I must be responsible therefor. If political affairs are not unified, the state is not stabilized, the hundred surnames do not keep order, and farmers and warriors do not live in peace and harmony, you must similarly be responsible therefor. You have your official duties, I have my own, too. Let each of us attend to his duties." Tzu-ch'an withdrew and administered the state affairs for five years, till the country had neither thieves nor robbers, no one would pick up things dropped on the road, peaches and dates hanging over the street were not picked off, and such tiny things as gimlets and knives dropped on the road were promptly returned to their owners within three days. The same continued for three years and the people never suffered starvation.

Duke Hsiang of Sung fought with the Ch'us in the Cho River Gorge. When the Sung forces had already formed in line, the Ch'u troops had not yet finished their lines. Thereupon the Right Minister of War, Kou Ch'iang, ran forward and advised the Duke, saying: "As the Ch'us are numerous and the Sungs are few, let us attack them when they are half crossing the River and not yet in line. They will certainly be defeated." "I have heard," said Duke Hsiang, "the gentleman would not wound the wounded, not capture men having two kinds of hair, not push people into danger, not drive people to bay, and not beat the drum towards enemies not yet in line. Now, the Ch'u troops have not completed their lines. If we attack them, we act against righteousness. Let them finish crossing the River and complete their lines. Then beat the drum and lead the army." "Your Highness does not love the people of Sung in leaving the confidential supporters in precariousness solely for the sake of righteousness." "If you do not return to your line," said the Duke, "I will enforce the martial law." The Right Minister returned to his line, when the Ch'u troops had already formed in line and established their positions. Then the Duke beat the drum. The Sung forces suffered a crushing defeat. The Duke was wounded in the thigh and died in three days. This is the calamity of yearning after benevolence and righteousness. Indeed, to expect the lord of men to do everything himself as a good example and the people to obey him and follow his example afterwards is to make the lord of men till the land and thereby acquire his food supplies and bear arms and line up with the soldiers before the people are willing to till and fight. If so, is the sovereign not facing too much danger and are the subjects not enjoying too much security?

Once, when Duke Ching of Ch'i travelled to the Small Sea, a courier rushed from inside the capital to have an audience with him, and said, "Premier Yen Yin is very ill and about to die, and is afraid Your Highness might arrive after his death." Duke Ching quickly rose from his seat, when another courier came. "Quickly prepare the carriage of the good horse, Fan-chieh," said Duke Ching, "and order Coachman Han Ch'ü to drive it." After setting out a few hundred steps, he thought the coachman was not fast enough, took the reins away from his hands, and drove the carriage in his place. After another few hundred steps, he thought the horse would not go farther, and alighted from the carriage, and ran on foot. Thus, in spite of the speed of Fan-chieh and the skill of Coachman Han Ch'ü Duke Ching thought it the best to get off the carriage and run on foot.

King Chao of Wey wanted to have a hand in the official routine and said to the Lord of Meng-ch'ang, "I, the King, want to have a hand in the official routine." "If Your Majesty wants to go through the official routine," said the Lord, "why does he not for trial learn and read the legal code?" King Chao, accordingly, started reading the code. After reading ten and some bamboo slips, he fell asleep. "I am unable to read this code," said the King. After all, if the ruler does not hold the august position and supreme handles firmly in hand but wants to perform the duties which the ministers ought to perform, is it not reasonable that he falls asleep in so doing?

Confucius said: "The ruler of men is like the basin, the people like water. If the basin is square, the water is square; if the basin is round, the water is round."

The ruler of Tsou was fond of wearing long fringes. So were all his attendants. In consequence, fringes became very expensive. Worried over this, he asked the attendants about it. In reply they said: "As Your Highness is fond of wearing them, most of the hundred surnames wear them too. Therefore, they are expensive!" Accordingly, the Ruler cut off his fringes himself and went out. As a result, nobody in the country would wear long fringes any more. Thus, the Ruler, unable to issue orders to regulate the style of the clothing of the hundred surnames and thereby prohibit them from wearing long fringes, cut off his own fringes and went out to show his example to the people. In this way he exercised his authority over the people through self-humiliation.

Shu Hsiang in distributing emoluments bestowed more for the more meritorious and less for the less meritorious.

Marquis Chao of Han once said to Shen Tzu, "Laws and rules are not easy to enforce." "The law is such a principle," said Shen Tzu, "that men of merit are given rewards and able personages are taken into office. Now, Your Highness establishes laws and rules but grants the attendants' requests. This is the cause of the difficulty in enforcing laws and rules." "From now onward," said Marquis Chao, "I know how to enforce laws, and will not grant anybody any request." One day Shen Tzu begged the Marquis to appoint his elder cousin to an official post. In regard to his request, Marquis Chao said: "This is not what I learned from you. If I grant you such a request, I contradict your teaching. I had better not allow your request." Thereupon Shen Tzu withdrew to his residence and apologized for his fault.

Annotations to Canon 6:—

Duke Wen of Chin attacked Yüan. As he packed ten days' food supplies, he set the time limit at ten days to his High Officers. When ten days had elapsed, he arrived at Yüan, but in ten days Yüan did not fall. Therefore, he ordered them to cease hostilities and leave for home. Meanwhile, some men coming out from the Yüan capital said: "In three more days Yüan will fall." All the ministers and attendants also remonstrated with him, saying: "The food of Yüan is running low and her strength is exhausted. May Your Highness wait longer!" In response the Duke said: "I set the time limit to my men at ten days for the expedition. If I do not leave, I will violate faith with my men. Taking Yüan and thereby breaking faith, I can not bear." So saying, he stopped the campaign and left. Hearing about this, the Yüans said: "Such a faithful ruler they have! How can we refuse to turn to him?" So saying, they surrendered themselves to the Duke. The Weis, hearing about the same, said: "Such a faithful ruler they have! How can we refuse to obey him?" So saying, they surrendered, too. Confucius heard about this and recorded: "That Duke Wen attacked Yüan at the beginning but even won the submission of Wei in the end, was because of his faithfulness."

Duke Wen asked Chi Cheng how to rescue the starvelings? "By keeping faith," was the reply. "What shall I keep of faith?" asked the Duke. "Keep titles of faith, keep affairs of faith, and keep righteousness of faith! If you keep titles of faith, all officials will attend to their respective duties; the good and the bad will not override each other; and every kind of work will not be neglected. If you keep affairs of faith, you will not miss the times of heaven and the hundred surnames will not make mistakes in farming. If you keep righteousness of faith, the near and dear will be encouraged thereby and become diligent while the distant will turn to you for government."

Once Wu Ch'i went out, met an old friend, and invited him to dinner. "All right. When I come back, I shall dine with you," said the old friend. "I shall wait for you to come," said Wu Tzu, and "and then eat". The old friend did not come when evening arrived. Wu Ch'i did not eat all evening and waited. Next day he sent men out to invite his friend. When the friend came, he then dined with him.

Marquis Wen of Wey once made an appointment with the Yüs to go hunting. On the following day the weather happened to be very windy. The attendants stopped Marquis Wen, but he would not listen. "Nobody should break faith," said the Marquis, "because it is very windy. I will not break faith!" Finally he drove the carriage himself, went to the hunting ground against the winds, and told the Yüs to stop the hunting.

One day the wife of Tseng Tzu went to the market. His son went along with her and kept crying. "You go home," said the mother, "and when Mother comes home from shopping, Mother will kill a pig for you." When she came home from the market, Tseng Tzu wanted to catch a pig and kill it. His wife stopped him and said, "That was just a joke with the child." "Be sure," said Tseng Tzu, "children are not supposed to be joked with. They do not possess any inborn ideas. They depend upon their parents for learning, and listen to their parents' teachings. Now, if you deceive him, it means you teach him the way of deception. If the mother deceives her son, the son will have no faith in his mother. This is not the way to give teaching to children." At last they killed a pig and cooked the pork for their son.

King Li of Ch'u had an alarm drum. By beating the drum he gave the hundred surnames warnings. One day he took wine and was very drunk and beat the drum. The people were frightened very much. Thereupon the King sent men to stop their fright and said to them, "I was then drunk and playing with the attendants when I struck the drum." The people all gave up the fright. In the course of several months, there was a real alarm. The drum was beaten but the people made no move. Therefore, the King changed his orders and made the signal clear and of faith, so that the people began to have faith in him. Li K'uei warned the guards of the right and left gates of the camp and said: "Be prudent and alert! The enemies might come at dawn or at dusk to attack you." He repeated the same over and over again. Yet the enemies never came. Both groups of guards became tired and neglected their duties and had no faith in Li K'uei. In the course of several months the Ch'ins came to raid them and almost put the whole army to rout. This is the calamity of being faithless.

According to a different source: Li K'uei fought with the Ch'ins and said to the guards of the left gates, "Scale the walls quickly! The guards of the right gate have already gone up." Then he drove to the other flank and said to the guards of the right gate, "The left have already gone up." The left and right guards, accordingly, struggled with each other to scale the walls. In the following year, when they fought with the Ch'ins, the Ch'ins raided them and almost routed the whole army. This was a calamity of being faithless.

Once there were litigants. Tzu-ch'an separated them and never allowed them to speak to each other. Then he inverted their words and told each other's argument and thereby found the vital facts involved in the case.

Duke Ssu of Wei once sent men out to go through the pass. There the officers made them serious troubles, wherefore they bribed the officers with gold. The officers, accordingly, released them. Later, Duke Ssu said to the officers: "At a certain time there came certain travellers to go through the pass. Since they gave you gold, you sent them away." Thereby the officers were frightened very much and thought Duke Ssu was clear-minded.

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HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 33.

Outer Congeries of Sayings, The Lower Left Series

(1) Censured for a crime, nobody feels bitter against the superior. For this reason, the footless gate-keeper saved the life of Tzu-kao. Rewarded for merit, no subject feels grateful to the sovereign. For this reason Chieh Huang held the right half of a tally in hand and rode in the coach of a feudal lord. King Hsiang did not know this principle, wherefore Chao Mao compared the reward of five chariots for his meritorious services to the upstart's wearing hemp sandals. If the principal makes no mistake in appointing subordinates to office and the subordinates do not feign ability, then every subordinate will be as good as Shao Shih-chou.

(2) The sovereign should depend upon his own position and not upon the faithfulness of the ministers. For this reason, Tung-kuo Ya lodged a protest against the appointment of Kuan Chung to premiership. The sovereign should count on his tact and not on the faithfulness of the ministers. For this reason, Hun Hsien disapproved Duke Wen's policy. Therefore the tactful sovereign would make reward of faith so as to exert the abilities of the subjects and make punishment definite so as to forbid wickedness. Though the ministers have mixed deeds, he would always get the benefit out of them. For instance, Lord Chien appointed Yang Hu to premiership; and Duke Ai asked about the one-legged creature.

(3) If the distinction between ruler and minister is lost sight of, the ruler will have to do the same as King Wen, who tied his own sock strings and boasted of his virtue. If no difference between court ceremonies and private etiquette is made, one will have to live in the same way as Chi-sun who maintained his dignity all his life but met assassins in the end.

(4) If the sovereign expects profit from what ought to be prohibited and prohibits what is profitable, be he superhuman, he cannot enforce his policy. If he honours men held guilty and disgraces the rewarded, be he as great as Yao, he cannot attain any political order. Indeed, to open a gate but not to make people go through it, or to promise profit but not to make the people strive for it, is the cause of disorder.

If the Ruler of Ch'i granted his attendants no request and the Sovereign of Wey listened to no honourable recommendation but observed clearly and carefully the body of officials, then Chü could not spend money and Ch'uan could not use jade as a bribe. Hsi-men Pao petitioned for reappointment to the Magistracy of Yeh. Thereby he knew the harm caused by the courtiers of the country. The courtiers would honour or disgrace the people as improperly as the son of the petty thief boasted of his father's fur coat and the son of the legless man prided himself upon his father's specially made clothes. If the ruler listens to the courtiers, he is doing what Tzu-ch'o called "drawing a circle with the left hand and a square with the right hand simultaneously" and the same as a stupid man who tried to get rid of ants with meat and drive flies away with fish. If so, how can he avoid the same worry as Duke Huan had over the number of office-hunters and Viscount Hsüan had over the skinniness of the horses?

(5) If ministers regard humility and frugality as virtues, then ranks are not sufficient to encourage and reward them. If favour and glory are not regulated, ministers will violate and intimidate the ruler. The saying is based on Miao Pen-huang's criticism of Hsien-pai and on Confucius's estimate of Yen Ying. For further illustration, Chung-ni spoke of Kuan Chung and Sun-shu Ao about the former's extreme extravagance and the latter's extreme frugality; Yang Hu said his subordinates' attitude to him at his departure had become different from their attitude to him when he entered Ch'i and recommended them to the Ruler; and Lord Chien's remark on the way of recommending officials missed the right tact of a sovereign. If friends and partisans play into each other's hands and ministers give rein to their ambitions, the lord of men will be left in isolation. If all the officials make upright recommendations and do not play into each other's hands then the lord of men will be clear-sighted and even Yang Hu will become as worthy as Chao Wu and as just as Chieh Hu. However, Lord Chien condemned those officials who were first recommended by their friends and later acted against them as hedge and bramble thorns, which is not the right way to teach the people in the country to become public-spirited.

(6) If the prestige of the royal house is low, then ministers will refrain from uttering upright words. If self-seeking deeds triumph, then meritorious services for the public will become few. The saying is based on Wen-tzu's speaking without reserve, for which his father, Wu-tzu, used a stick to whip him, and on Tzu-ch'an's loyal remonstrations, for which his father, Tzu-kuo, blamed him and was angry at him. Furthermore, Liang Ch'e enforced the law but Marquis Ch'eng recalled the official seal from him. Kuan Chung acted according to public justice, but his countrymen spoke ill of him and resented his action.

So much for the Canons.

Annotations to Canon 1:—

Confucius was Premier of Wei. His disciple, Tzu-kao, was the judge of a criminal court and once cut off the feet of a criminal. The footless man became their gate-keeper. Some people slandered Confucius before the Ruler of Wei, saying that Chung-ni was plotting a disturbance. Therefore, the Ruler of Wei wanted to arrest Confucius. Confucius ran away. All his disciples escaped. Tzu-kao went to the back gate. The footless gate-keeper led the way and sheltered him in the basement beneath the gate. The officials sought for him but could not find him. At midnight, Tzu-kao asked the footless gate-keeper, "I could not bend the legal decree of the sovereign and cut off your feet with my own hands. This is the time for you to take revenge. Why are you willing to shelter me? How can I receive such a kindness from you?" In reply the footless man said: "I had my feet cut off as my crime deserved such punishment. Nothing could be done about it. Nevertheless, when Your Excellency was about to decide on the case against thy servant, Your Excellency interpreted the ordinance in all possible ways and supplied words either before or after thy servant's pleas, being so anxious to hold thy servant innocent, which thy servant understood very well. When the case was settled and the sentence was passed, Your Excellency in excess of pity felt unpleasant as expressed in the facial colour, which thy servant saw and also understood. That was not because of Your Excellency's private favour to thy servant but because of his inborn nature and benevolent heart. This is the reason why I have felt pleased and grateful to Your Excellency."

T'ien Tzu-fang went to Wey from Ch'i. He saw from a distance Chieh Huang riding in the coach of a feudal lord with cavaliers around and marching out in full dignity. Fang at first thought Marquis Wen was going out, and therefore moved his carriage to a side-track in order to avoid the procession. Later, he found Chieh Huang alone in the coach. "Why are you riding in this coach?" asked Fang. In reply Huang said: "When His Highness was scheming to attack Central Hills, thy servant recommended Chieh Chioh to him and a proper scheme was devised. When His Highness was actually going to attack Central Hills, thy servant recommended Yo Yang to him and Central Hills was taken. After the conquest of Central Hills, His Highness worried over the governorship of the country, when thy servant recommended Li K'o to him, and as a result Central Hills became orderly. For this reason, His Highness awarded thy servant this coach." Thereupon Fang said: "To such a merit the reward is still too small to be equivalent."

When Ch'in and Han were attacking Wey, Chao Mao went westward on an itinerant tour and Ch'in and Han stopped the campaign. When Ch'i and Ching were attacking Wey, Mao went eastward on an itinerant tour and Ch'i and Ching stopped the campaign. Accordingly, King Hsiang of Wey supported him with the emolument of five chariots. Complaining of the meagreness of the emolument, Mao said: "Formerly, when Po-i was buried with the dignity of a general at the foot of the Shou-yang Mountain, All-under-Heaven said, 'Indeed, in view of the worthiness of Po-i and his reputation for benevolence, to bury him with the dignity of a general is hardly sufficient—not even enough to cover his hands and feet underground.' Now thy servant stopped the invading forces of four states. And for meritorious services Your Majesty granted thy servant five chariots. To reward for such meritorious services in this way is to do the same as an upstart in spite of his wealth wearing hemp sandals.

Confucius said: "Who knows how to be an official, plants gratitude in the mind of the people; who does not know how to be an official plants resentment in the mind of the people. The strickle is for adjusting the measure. The official is for adjusting the law. Who governs a state should not lose sight of the means of adjustment."

Shao Shih-chou was a faithful, honest, clean, and earnest man of antiquity. He served Lord Hsiang of Chao as bodyguard. Once he contested in strength with Hsü Tzu from Chung-mou and found himself not as strong as Hsü Tzu. He then went into the court and told Lord Hsiang to replace himself with Hsü Tzu. "Your post," said Lord Hsiang, "is coveted by everybody else. Why do you want Hsü Tzu to replace you?" "Thy servant serves Your Highness," replied Shao Shih-chou, "with his physical strength. Now, Hsü Tzu's strength is greater than mine. Unless thy servant offers to be replaced by him, thy servant is afraid others might recommend him to Your Highness and thy servant might be guilty of suppressing an able man."

According to a different source: Shao Shih-chou served as aide-de-camp to Lord Hsiang. Upon their arrival at Chin-yang, a wrestler named Niu Tzu contested with him in strength, but he could not win. Thereupon Chou spoke to the Lord: "Your Highness made thy servant an aide-decamp because Your Highness thought thy servant had great strength. Now that there is somebody having greater strength than thy servant may thy servant beg to present him to Your Highness?"

Annotations to Canon 2:—

When Duke Huan of Ch'i was going to make Kuan Chung Uncle Chung, he ordered the officials to the effect that as His Highness was going to make Chung Kuan Uncle Chung, those in favour of the measure, after entering the gate, keep to the left, and those against it, after entering the gate, keep to the right. Tung-kou Ya kept standing in the centre of the gate. Thereupon Duke Huan asked: "I am making Kuan Chung Uncle Chung and have ordered those in favour of the measure to keep to the left and those against it to keep to the right. Now why do you keep standing in the centre of the gate?" "Does Your Highness regard the wisdom of Kuan Chung as able to devise schemes for coping with Allunder-Heaven?" asked Ya in return. "Certainly able," replied the Duke. "Does Your Highness think his decisions daring to carry out great plans?" "Certainly daring." "If his wisdom is able to scheme for All-under-Heaven and his decisions dare to carry out any great plan wherefore Your Highness trusts him with the grips of the state, then how can the Ch'i State, as governed by Kuan Chung with his own wisdom and the advantage of Your Highness's position, be without danger?" "Right," said the Duke, and, accordingly, ordered Hsi P'eng to administer home affairs and Kuan Chung to administer foreign affairs so as to make them watch each other.

When Duke Wen went out into exile, Ch'i Cheng carried bowls of food along and followed him. One day he lost his way and went astray from the Duke. Hungry, he wept by the road. Sleeping off his starvation, he dared not eat the food. After Duke Wen returned to his country, raised an army to attack Yüan, vanquished it, and took it, Duke Wen said: "Who could easily endure the hardship of hunger and would by all means keep the bowls of food perfect, is certainly not going to rebel in Yüan." So saying he raised Cheng and appointed him Governor of Yüan. Hearing about this, High Officer Hun Hsien disapproved the policy and said: "Is it not tactless to expect Cheng not to rebel in Yüan because he did not touch the bowls of food? Thus the enlightened sovereign would not count on people's non-violation of him, but on his own inviolability by them; not on people's nondeception of him, but on his own undeceivability by them."

Yang Hu, in discussing the attitude of minister towards ruler said: "If the sovereign is worthy and enlightened, then exert all your mental energy to serve him; if he is unworthy, then devise crooked artifices to test him." Banished by Lu and suspected by Ch'i, he came to Chao, where Lord Chien of Chao welcomed him and appointed him premier. With wonder the attendants asked: "Hu is skilful in usurping the reins of government from the ruler. Why did Your Highness make him premier?" In reply Lord Chien said: "Yang Hu strives to usurp the power. I strive to maintain the power." So saying, he held right tact in hand and thereby controlled him. As a result, Yang Hu dared not do any wrong, but served Lord Chien well and promoted the strength of the Lord till he nearly became Hegemonic Ruler.

Duke Ai of Lu once asked Confucius: "I have heard that there was a one-legged creature called Kuei. Was it really one-legged?" "No," replied Confucius, "Kuei was not one-legged. Kuei was irritable and ill-tempered. Most people did not like him. However, he was not hurt by anybody because of his faithfulness. Therefore, people used to say, 'Only one good quality like this is sufficient'. Thus, Kuei was not a one-legged creature, but his only one good point was sufficient." "Certainly, if he possessed such a good quality, that was sufficient," said Duke Ai.

According to a different source: Duke Ai asked Confucius, "I have heard that Kuei was one-legged. Was it true?" In reply Confucius said: "Kuei was a man. Why was he one-legged? He was not different from anybody else except in his proficiency in music. Therefore, Yao said, 'Kuei has one talent and that is sufficient,' and made him Master of Music. Thenceforth, gentlemen would say, 'Kuei has one sufficiency.' He was not one-legged."

Annotations of Canon 3:—

King Wen was attacking Ch'ung. When he arrived at the Yellow Phoenix Mound, the strings of his socks became loosened. Accordingly, he tied them up himself. "Why did you do that?" asked T'ai-kung Wang. "Of the people whom the ruler deals with," replied the King, "on the top all are the ruler's teachers, in the middle all are his friends, and on the bottom all are his employees. Now, everybody here was a minister to the late King. Therefore, I found nobody to tie my strings."

According to a different source: Duke Wen was at war with the Chiu men. When he arrived at the Yellow Phoenix Hill, his shoe strings became loosened. Accordingly, he tied them up himself. "Could you not find anybody to do it for you?" asked the attendants. In reply the Duke said: "I have heard, 'Everybody around the superior is respected by him; everybody around the ordinary ruler is loved by him; and everybody around the inferior ruler is despised by him.' Although Your Highness is unworthy, the late ruler's men are all here. So it is hard to have anybody tie my shoe strings."

Chi-sun was fond of entertaining scholars. All his life he lived in a dignified manner. In his private dwelling and clothing he always kept the same formality as in the court. Once he happened to neglect the formality and commit some faults, and could not keep up the same dignity. In consequence

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his guests thought he disliked and despised them, and altogether developed resentment at him, till they killed him. Hence the saying: "The gentleman shuns excess and shuns deficit."

According to a different source: Nan-kung Ching-tzu asked Yen Cho-chü: "Chi-sun supported Confucius's disciples. Those who wore court costumes and sat with him in the court, numbered tens. But he met assassins. Why?" In reply Yen said: "Formerly King Ch'eng of Chou kept actors and clowns around in order to amuse himself as he wanted, but consulted with gentlemen when he decided on state affairs. That was the reason why he could realize his ambition in All-under-Heaven. On the contrary, Chi-sun supported Confucius's disciples, and those who wore court costumes and sat with him in the court, numbered tens, but when deciding on state affairs, he consulted with actors and clowns. That was the reason why he met assassins. Hence the saying: 'Success or failure rests not with room-mates but with councillors.' "

Confucius was attending on Duke Ai of Lu, when Duke Ai gave him peaches and grains of glutinous millet. "Please help yourself," said Duke Ai. Confucius ate the millet first and then the peaches. Thereat the attendants all, covered their mouths with their hands, and laughed. "The grains are not for eating," remarked Duke Ai, "but for wiping off the skin of the peaches." In reply Chung-ni said: "Ch'iu knew it from the beginning. Indeed, glutinous millet is the head of the five cereals. On commemorating the early kings it is used as the best offering. There are six kinds of tree and grass fruits, among which the peach is the lowest in rank and cannot enter the shrine on commemorating the early kings. Ch'iu has heard, 'The gentlemen cleans the noble with the humble,' but never heard that he cleans the humble with the noble. Now, to clean the lowest among fruits with the highest among the cereals is to clean the worst with the best. Ch'iu regards such an act as contrary to righteousness and therefore dare not eat the peaches before eating the best offering in the shrine of the royal ancestors."

Viscount Chien of Chao once said to the Chamberlains: "The sheet inside the carriage is too beautiful. Indeed, the crown, however simple, is always put on the head; the shoes, however good, are always put on the feet. Now, the sheet inside the carriage is very beautiful. What shoes shall I wear? Indeed, to wear beautiful things below and simple things above is the origin of the violation of righteousness."

Fei Chung spoke to Chow: "The Earl of the West, Ch'ang, is worthy. The hundred surnames like him. The feudal lords turn to him. He must be censured. If not ousted, he will be a menace to the Yin Dynasty." "You are speaking," said Chow, "of a righteous lord. Why should he be censured?" In reply Fei Chung said: "The crown, however worn-out, is always put on the head; the shoes, though decorated with five colours, are trodden upon the ground. Now the Earl of the West, Ch'ang, is subordinate to Your Majesty. He has practised righteousness, wherefore people turn to him. Surely, it must be Ch'ang who will eventually become a trouble to All-under-Heaven. Any minister who does not serve his master with his worthiness must be censured. Moreover, being the ruler, Your Majesty censures a guilty minister. How can there be any fault in so doing?" "Indeed, with benevolence and righteousness the ruler encourages the subjects. Now that Ch'ang is fond of benevolence and righteousness, it is impracticable to censure him." Though persuaded for three times, he never listened. Hence followed the fall of Yin.

King Hsüan of Ch'i asked K'uang Ching: "Do the literati gamble?" "No, they don't." "Why?" asked the King. In reply K'uang Ching said: "The gamblers make much of the owl dice. The winner of the owl dice, however, has to kill it. Thus, to kill the owl dice is to kill the object of esteem. The literati, regarding this as harmful to righteousness, refrain from gambling." "Do the literati shoot birds with stringed arrows?" asked the King further. "No, they don't. To shoot birds with stringed arrows is to shoot above from below. This is the same as the subjects who injure the ruler. The literati, regarding this as harmful to righteousness, refrain from shooting with stringed arrows." "Do the literati play the instrument Se?" asked the King furthermore. "No, they don't. Indeed, that kind of harp gets large sounds from small strings and small sounds from large strings. This is the same as the large and the small reversing their order and high and low exchanging status. The literati, regarding this as harmful to righteousness, refrain from playing the Se instrument." "Good," said King Hsüan.

Chung-ni said, "Better let the people flatter the superior than let them flatter the inferior".

Annotations to Canon 4:—

Chü was a retired scholar in Ch'i; Ch'uan in Wey. The Rulers of Ch'i and Wey were not enlightened and not able to penetrate into the actual conditions within the boundaries, and both followed the words of the attendants. Therefore, the two men used gold and jade and sought to join governmental service.

Hsi-men, while Magistrate of Yeh, was clean and honest and had no self-interest even as small as the tip of an autumn spikelet. He was, however, very indifferent towards the courtiers. Therefore the courtiers joined one another and together did him an ill turn. After one yeat of his term, he handed in his report on local finance; then the Ruler took back his official seal. Thereupon he presented to the Ruler his own petition saying: "Formerly thy servant did not know how to be Magistrate of Yeh. Now that thy servant has the right way, may he petition for the seal in order to govern Yeh again? If his work is again not equal to the official duty, may Your Highness sentence him to capital punishment with axe and anvil." Marquis Wen, unable to bear dismissing him, gave him the post again. Pao, accordingly, imposed heavy taxes upon the hundred surnames and began to bribe the courtiers as promptly as possible. After one year he handed in his report. This time Marquis Wen went out to welcome him and even made bows to him. In response Pao said: "During the preceding year thy servant governed Yeh for Your Highness's sake, but Your Highness took away the official seal of thy servant. This year thy servant governed Yeh for the courtiers' sake, but Your Highness makes bows to thy servant. Thy servant is no longer able to govern the place." So saying he returned the seal and took his leave. Marquis Wen, refusing to accept the seal, said: "Formerly I did not know you but now know you well. Please do now well govern the place for my sake." So saying he did not accept the resignation.

In Ch'i once the son of a dog-like thief and the son of a legless man played together and boasted before each other. The thief's son said: "My father's fur-coat alone has a tail." "My father alone never falls short of trousers even in cold winter," said the other boy.

Tzu-ch'o said: "Nobody is able to draw a square with the left hand and a circle with the right hand at the same time."

Expel ants with meat! Then ants will multiply. Drive flies away with fish! Then flies will come nearer and nearer.

Once Duke Huan said to Kuan Chung: "Official posts are few, but office-hunters are many. Over this I am worried." "If Your Highness grants the attendants no request but awards men with emoluments only in accordance with their abilities and gives men official posts only in correspondence to their merits, then nobody dare hunt any office. What will Your Highness be worried about then?"

Viscount Hsüan of Han said: "My horses have had an abundance of madder and grain. But why are they so skinny? I am worried over it." In reply Chou Shih said: "If the stableman feeds them with all the beans and grain, then they are bound to become fat. But suppose he give them much in the name but little in fact. Then they are bound to become skinny. If Your Highness does not investigate the causes of the fact but remains seated and worried over it, the horses never will become fat."

Duke Huan asked Kuan Chung about the appointment of officials to different posts. Kuan Chung said: "With reference to eloquence and penetration in wording, honesty and integrity in money, and knowledge of human affairs, thy servant is not as good as Hsien Shang. May Your Highness appoint him Supreme Judge! With reference to the manners in ascending and descending steps and courtesies shown to guests, thy servant is not as good as Hsi P'eng. May Your Highness appoint him Supreme Usher. In matters of cultivating grass lands, collecting taxes from towns, opening up wildernesses, and growing grain, thy servant is not as good as Ning Wu. May Your Highness appoint him Minister of Agriculture. Regarding the ability to make the warriors look upon death as going home when the three armies have already formed in line, thy servant is not as good as Prince Ch'eng-fu. May Your Highness appoint him Minister of War. In moving against the facial expression of the ruler and making utmost remonstrations, I am not as good as Tung-kuo Ya. May Your Highness appoint him Minister of Censorship. To govern the Ch'i State, these five gentlemen are sufficient. If our Highness wants to become Hegemonic Ruler, I-wu is here at his service."

Annotations to Canon 5:—

Yü Hsien-pai was Premier of Chin. Beneath his reception hall there grew beans and weeds and outside his gate thorns and brambles. He never had two courses at a meal nor two sheets on the chair. None of his concubines wore silk. At home he gave no grain to his horses. When out, he never took his carriage. Hearing this, Shu Hsiang told Miao Peng-huang about it. Peng-huang, disapproving such a life, said: "This is to win the hearts of the subordinate people with the rank and emolument bestowed by the sovereign."

According to a different source: Yü Hsien-pai of Chin was newly appointed High Noble. Shu Hsiang went to congratulate him. By the gate there were a coachman and a carriage, but the horse was not eating fodder. Therefore, Hsiang asked, "Why don't you have two horses and two carriages?" In reply Hsien-pai said: "Our fellow countrymen seem still hungry to me. Therefore, I do not give fodder to my horses. Most of the grey-haired men walk on foot. Therefore, I do not have two carriages." "At first I came," said Hsiang, "to congratulate you upon your appointment to High Nobility, but now I congratulate you upon your frugality." Then Hsiang went out and told Miao Peng-huang, "Join me in congratulating Hsien-pai on his frugality." "Congratulations on what?" remarked Miao Tzu. "Indeed, to bestow ranks and emoluments, flags and badges, is to differentiate the various kinds of merits as well as to distinguish between the worthy and the unworthy. Thus, according to the law of the Chin State, a Senior High Officer is entitled to two carriages and two teams of horses, a Middle High Officer, to two carriages and one team: and a Junior High Officer, to one team only. This is to make grade and ranks clear. Moreover, every noble must attend to military duties, and therefore must keep his carriages and horses in good condition, form his soldiers and chariots in lines, and thereby prepare for military action, so that in case of emergency they can provide against all eventualities and in time of peace they can serve in the court affairs. Now, he has been disturbing the state affairs of Chin and loosening the provisions against eventualities simply on purpose to perfect his private virtue and exalt his personal reputation. Is the frugality of Hsien-pai commendable at all? If not, then congratulations on what?"

Kuan Chung, on becoming Premier of Ch'i, said to Duke Huan, "Thy servant is noble but poor." "You shall have the same wealth as the Building of Three Returns," said Duke Huan. "Then thy servant is wealthy but still low in rank." Duke Huan, accordingly, raised him above the Kaos and the Kuos. "Thy servant is now high in rank but very remote in relation from the ruling family." Thereupon the Duke made him Uncle Chung. Hearing this, Confucius disapproved of him and said, "Having become too extravagant he came to embarrass his superior."

According to a different source: Uncle Kuan Chung on going out would put red covers on his carriages and blue costumes on his attendants, and on coming home would have drum music played. In his yard stood tripods. His household has as much wealth as the Building of Three Returns. Therefore, Confucius said: "A good official, indeed! But his extravagance is sufficient to embarrass his superior. Sun-shu Ao, Premier of Ch'u, used a wooden cart pulled by a mare and took coarse rice with vegetable soup and dried fish for his meal. In winter he wore a lamb-skin coat and linen clothes in summer. His face always had the look of hunger. A good official, indeed. But in this case his frugality is sufficient to oppress his inferiors."

Yang Hu left Ch'i and found shelter in Chao. There Lord Chien asked him, "I have heard that you are good in raising able men." "While in Lu," said Hu, "thy servant raised three men, all of whom became magistrates. After Hu was found guilty in Lu, all of them searched after Hu. While living in Ch'i, thy servant recommended three men: One became an attendant on the King; one became a prefect; and the third became an official receiver of public guests. After I was found guilty, the attendant refused to see me; the prefect intended to arrest me on receiving me; and the official receiver pursued me up to the frontier, could not catch me, and stopped. Really I am not good in raising men." The Lord turned his face downwards with a smile and said: "Indeed, the planter of mandarin orange and pomelo trees, on eating fruits, gets the sweet taste; the planter of hedgerows and brambles finds them prickly when they grow up. Hence the gentleman is cautious in raising men."

Chung-mou had no magistrate. Therefore Duke P'ing of Chin asked Chao Wu: "Chung-mou is a place strategically important to three countries. It is the key to the city of Han-tan. I want a good magistrate for it. Who will be the right man?" "Hsing Pai-tzu will be the right man," replied Wu. "Isn't he your enemy?" asked the Duke. "No private feud should go through public gates," was the reply. Then the Duke asked, "For the magistracy of Chung-fu, who is the right man?" "My son is the right one," was the reply. Hence the saying: "Recommend the right man from outsiders even if your enemy; recommend the right man among your relatives even if your son." Upon Chao Wu's death, all the forty-six men whom he had recommended to the Ruler, took their seats among the guests at his funeral service. To such an extent he had shown no personal favour to anybody all his life!

Duke P'ing once asked Shu Hsiang, "Among the ministers, who is the worthiest?" "Chao Wu," was the reply. "You side with your senior official," remarked the Duke. "No," said Hsiang, "Chao Wu, when standing up, looks undignified even in his full dress, and, when speaking, seems unable to utter his sentiments. Nevertheless, the officials he recommended number several tens, all of whom he enabled to exert their respective abilities, and in whom the public authorities put great trust, not to mention the fact that in his life Wu never utilized them to benefit his own family and upon his death never committed orphans to their charge. Therefore, thy servant dares to consider him the worthiest."

Chieh Hu recommended his enemy to Lord Chien for premiership. The enemy thought he had by good luck forgiven him, and so went purposely to thank him. Thereupon Hu drew his bow, and, on receiving him, aimed at him, saying: "To be sure, I recommended you because I regarded your ability equal to the post. To have hatred for you is my private

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feud with you. I never on account of my feud with you kept you from my master." Hence the saying: "No private feud should go through public gates."

According to a different source: Chieh Hu recommended Hsing Pai-liu to the governorship of Shang-tang. Liu went to thank him and said: "You have forgiven me my fault. How dare I not repeat bows to you?" In reply Hu said: "To raise you is a public matter; to hate you is a private affair. You had better go. My hatred for you remains the same as before."

One day a man from the Prefecture of Cheng was selling pigs. When somebody asked him about the price, he said, "The way is still so long. The sun is setting. How can I have time to talk with you?"

Annotations to Canon 6:—

Fan Wen-tzu was fond of speaking without reserve. His father, Wu-tzu, whipped him with a stick and said: "Who makes discussions without reserve is not tolerated by people. If tolerated by nobody, he is in danger. He endangers not only himself but also his father."

Tzu-ch'an was son of Tzu-kuo. Tzu-ch'an was loyal to the Ruler of Cheng. Thereat Tzu-kuo was angry and reprimanded him, saying: "To be sure, when you act sharply different from the rest of the ministers and remain loyal to the sovereign by yourself, if the sovereign is worthy and enlightened, he will listen to you; if he is not enlightened, he will not listen to you. You cannot always foretell whether or not he is going to listen to you. Yet you have estranged yourself from the rest of ministers. If estranged from them, you certainly endanger yourself—not only yourself, but your father too."

Liang Ch'e was Magistrate of Yeh. One day his elder sister went to see him. At dusk she arrived too late for the office hour. The gate was shut. So she went over the wall and entered the city. Ch'e cut off her feet, accordingly. Regarding this as not compassionate, Marquis Ch'eng of Chao took the official seal away from him and dismissed him from the magistracy.

Kuan Chung was arrested and brought from Lu to Ch'i. On the way he was hungry and thirsty. When passing through I-wu, he begged the frontier guard for food. The guard knelt down and presented the food to him with great reverence. Then in private the guard said to Chung: "If by any lucky chance you are not killed after you reach Ch'i but are taken into service instead, with what are you going to requite me?" In reply Kuan Chung said: "If my fate turns out as you have just said, I will take the worthy into service, give the able employment, and commend the serviceable. With what shall I requite you?" Accordingly the guard resented such an ungrateful saying.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 34.

Outer Songeries of Sayings, The Upper Right Series

The ways whereby the sovereign rules over the ministers are three:—

(1) If the sovereign finds his influence insufficient to transform the ministers, then he should remove them. Musician K'uang in his reply and Yen Tzu in his persuasion both discarded the easy policy of position and advocated the difficult measure of virtue. This is the same as to run on foot after animals while not yet aware how to remove an impending disaster. The possibility of removing disasters is revealed in Tzu-hsia's explanation of the Spring and Autumn Annals, "Who is skilful in maintaining his position would nip an evil in the bud early enough." Thus, even Chi-sun reprimanded Chung-ni for obstructing his position. How much more should a sovereign blame rampant ministers? For the same reason, T'ai-kung Wang killed K'uang-yü; and the bondmen and bondwomen refused to ride the noble steed. Duke Ssu knew this reason, wherefore he refused to yoke any deer. Hsüeh Kung knew this reason, wherefore he gambled with the twins. Both these statesmen knew the opposition between identity and difference. Thus, the way the enlightened sovereign raises ministers is illustrated by the story of domesticating crows.

(2) The lord of men is an attractive target of benefit and injury, which numerous persons would aim to shoot. Therefore, the lord of men is surrounded in common by a number of people. For this reason, if his like and hate are revealed, the inferiors will find opportunity to take, till the lord of men falls into delusion. Should the sovereign communicate the word and opinion of one minister to another, then every minister will hesitate to speak to him while he will lose his dignity. The saying is based on Shen Tzu's enumeration of six prudences and on T'ang I-chü's discussion of the archer with stringed arrows. The calamity of the ruler's revealing like and hate is instanced by Kuo Yang's petition for self-reformation and King Hsüan's heaving deep sighs. The attempt to detect the opinion of the ruler is instanced by Lord Ching-kuo's presenting ten ear-beads and Kan Mu's overhearing Hsi-shou's affairs. T'ang-ch'i Kung knew the tact, wherefore he asked about the jade cups. Marquis Chao was skilful in applying the tact, wherefore after listening to any advice, he would sleep by himself. The way of the enlightened sovereign lies in making decisions by himself as encouraged by Shen Tzu.

(3) If tact does not work, there are always reasons for it. If the wine merchant does not kill his fierce dog, his wine will become sour. Similarly, the state has dogs. Moreover, all the attendants are like the rats gnawing the shrine. Now, the lords of men are not as decisive as Yao in punishing both the first and the second remonstrants or as King Chuang in responding to the Crown Prince, but all are like the mother of Po Yi who would always ask the old woman of Ts'ai to give a decision. They may be anxious to know how to rule over the state, but unable to make rules beforehand in the way the teachers of singing have melodies composed beforehand. Wu Ch'i who divorced his beloved wife and Duke Wen who executed Tien Chieh, both acted contrary to personal feelings. Thus, who can cut open the boils of people must be able to endure the same pain himself.

So much above for the canons.

Annotations to Canon 1:—

Not encouraged after being rewarded and honoured and not afraid after being punished and disgraced—in other words, not transformed after the four methods are applied—then such ministers must be removed.

Duke Ching of Ch'i went to Chin and was invited by Duke P'ing to a carousal. Musician K'uang was in company with them. At the opening of the feast, Duke Ching asked Musician K'uang about government, "What will Grand Tutor teach me?" "Your Highness, be sure only to confer favours upon the people," replied Musician K'uang. At the height of the feast, when half-seas-over and about to leave, he again asked Musician K'uang about government. "What will Grand Tutor teach me?" "Your Highness, be sure only to confer favours upon the people," replied K'uang. When Duke Ching was leaving for his lodge and Musician K'uang was seeing him off, he again asked Musician K'uang about government. "Your Highness, be sure only to confer favours upon the people," was again the reply. Upon his return Duke Ching kept thinking about the meaning of the precept and comprehended the saying of Musician K'uang before he awoke fully from the intoxication. Prince Wei and Prince Hsia were two younger brothers of Duke Ching. They won the hearts of the people of Ch'i very well. Their families were noble and wealthy while the people liked them. Thus, their influences rivalled that of the royal house. "This must be endangering my throne," thought Duke Ching. "Now that he told me to confer favours upon the people, does it mean that I must fight with my two younger brothers for winning the hearts of the people?" Accordingly, after his return to his country he opened the granary for distributing alms among all the poor and took money out of the treasury for giving help to orphans and widows, till the granary had no old grain and the treasury had no money left. Those court ladies who did not wait on his bed were given out in marriage. People above the age of seventy were granted pensions of rice. Thus, by displaying beneficence and distributing favours, he fought with his two younger brothers for the people. In the course of two years, the two younger brothers ran out of the country, Prince Hsia finding shelter in Ch'u and Prince Wei running to Chin.

Once Duke Ching and Yen Tzu travelled to the district of Small Sea. They went up the Cypress-Bed Terrace. Turning homeward to survey his country, Duke Ching exclaimed, "What a beautiful country! Woven with blue winding and deep rolling rivers and dotted with stately and dignified mountains! Who will possess it in the future?" "Will that be the family of T'ien Ch'eng?" said Yen Tzu. "I am in possession of this country. Why do you say, 'The family of T'ien Ch'eng will have it'?" asked the Duke. In reply Yen Tzu said: "Indeed, the family of T'ien Ch'eng have won the hearts of the people of Ch'i very well. On the one hand, he asks for ranks and emoluments, which he distributes among the chief vassals. On the other, he enlarges the measures on lending grain out to poor people and contracts the measures on taking the grain back from them. Whenever he kills an ox, he takes only one plate of the beef and with the rest feeds scholars and warriors. All the year round he takes only thirty-six feet of cloth for his own use and gives the rest to scholars and warriors for clothing. Woods at the market-place are not more expensive than in the mountains. Fish, salt, tortoises, turtles, conches, and mussels, from swamps are not more expensive than from the sea. While the Ruler is increasing taxes, T'ien Ch'eng enlarges his alms. Once there was a famine in Ch'i. Those who starved to death by the wayside were innumerable. It was never heard that father and son who led each other and turned to T'ien Ch'eng for help were not saved from death. Therefore, even the peoples of Chou and Ch'in have been in groups singing the song:—

Shall we sing his praises, now,
Or shall we stop for fear?
Shall we starve to death?
Or turn to T'ien Ch'eng, the dear?
It is said in The Book of Poetry,
And though to you no virtue I can add,
Yet we will sing and dance, in spirit glad.

Now that for the virtue of T'ien Ch'eng the people sing and dance, they consider it a virtuous act to turn to him for government. Therefore, thy servant has said, 'Will that be the family of T'ien Ch'eng?' " Melting bitterly into tears, the Duke said, "Isn't it sad? I have the country now, but the family of T'ien Ch'eng will have it in the future. Now, what can be done about it?" In reply Yen Tzu said: "What does Your Highness have to worry about? If Your Highness wants to rob him of the reins of government, the best is to keep the worthy near by and the unworthy far off, put the chaos in order, loosen penalties, relieve the poor and destitute, give alms to orphans and widows, distribute favours among the masses and support the needy with supplies. Then the people will turn to Your Highness, and even ten T'ien Ch'engs will not be able to do anything against Your Highness."

Somebody said: "Duke Ching did not know how to make use of his position while Musician K'uang and Yen Tzu did not know how to get rid of troubles. To be sure if the hunter relies on the security of the carriage, utilises the legs of the six horses, and makes Wang Liang hold their reins, then he will not tire himself and will find it easy to overtake swift animals. Now supposing he discarded the advantage of the carriage, gave up the useful legs of the horses and the skill of Wang Liang, and alighted to run after the animals, then even though his legs were as quick as Lou Chi's, he would not be in time to overtake the animals. In fact, if good horses and strong carriages are taken into use, then mere bondmen and bondwomen will be good enough to catch the animals. Now, the state is the ruler's carriage while position is his horse. Indeed, not to utilize the position and thereby interdict favour-selling ministers, but to make favours and kindnesses definite and confer them upon All-under-Heaven and do the same as crooked ministers would do in order thereby to fight with them for winning the hearts of the people, is always the same as not to ride the ruler's carriage and not to take advantage of the speed of horses, but to leave the carriage and alight to run after the animals. Hence the saying: 'Duke Ching was a sovereign not knowing how to utilize his position while Musician K'uang and Yen Tzu were ministers not knowing how to get rid of troubles.' "

Tzu-hsia said: "Regicides and parricides as recorded in the Spring and Autumn Annals number tens. Nine of them was an outcome of one day's fermentation. It always grew from a bud and developed into maturity. On the whole the wicked deeds, repeatedly committed, become a pile. When the pile is mature, the urge to commit further villainy becomes strong. When the urge is strong, it is liable to extend to murder. Therefore, the enlightened sovereign uproots them early. Now the attempt of T'ien Ch'eng to launch a rebellion could be seen budding, but the ruler never censured him. Yen Tzu never made his ruler suppress offensive ministers but advised him to confer favours. In consequence, Duke Chien suffered the calamity in posterity. Therefore, Tzu-hsia says, 'Who is skilful in maintaining his position would nip an evil in the bud.' "

Chi-sun was Premier of Lu. Tzu-lu was Magistrate of Hou. In the fifth month of the year the Lu State requisitioned a number of able-bodied men to dig a long ditch. During the period of time Tzu-lu made rice gruel with the grain out of his private emolument and fed the workmen at the quarters of Wu-fu. Hearing about this, Confucius sent Tzu-kung there to overturn the food, break the vessels, and tell him, "The Ruler of Lu rules over the people. Why should you feed them?" Thereby, Tzu-lu, changing his colour from anger bared his arms, went in, and said, "Master, do you dislike Yu practising benevolence and righteousness? What Yu has learned from the Master is benevolence and righteousness. To be benevolent and righteous is to give All-under-Heaven one's own possessions and let them share one's own profits. Why do you consider it wrong for Yu to feed the people with the grain out of his private emolument?" In reply Confucius said: "How crude Yu is! I thought you would know as much as this. Yet really you have not come to that. Thus you do not know the rules of propriety. Now, by feeding them you think you love them. To be sure, according to the rules of propriety, the Son of Heaven loves All-under-Heaven, the feudal lords love people within their respective domains, High Officials love their official duties, and scholars and warriors love their families. Who goes beyond the sphere of his love is called 'offensive'. Now that the Ruler of Lu rules over the people while you attempt to love them at your pleasure, it means you are offensive. Aren't you absurd?"

Before Confucius had finished his speech, the messenger of Chi-sun arrived, blamed Confucius, and said, "Fei requisitioned the men and set them to work, whereas Master sent a disciple to stop them and feed them. Would you mean to rob Fei of the people?" Thereupon Confucius took his carriage and left Lu. Thus, despite the worthiness of Confucius, even Chi-sun, not being the Ruler of Lu but merely applying the tact of the lord of men from the position of a minister, would nip an evil in the bud, shows that Tzu-lu was not allowed to confer private favours and no calamity could grow. How much more should the lord of men? Should the offensiveness of T'ien Ch'eng have been stopped with the

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position of Duke Ching, there would be no calamity of intimidation and regicide.

T'ai-kung Wang was enfeoffed eastward in Ch'i. By the eastern sea of Ch'i there were retired scholars named K'uangyü and Hua-shih. Being two brothers, both set up the principle: "Neither of us would minister to the Son of Heaven and make friends with the feudal lords, but would till and work and live on the crops and dig a well and drink the water. We would not ask anybody for help and accept neither title from any superior nor emolument from any ruler. We attend not to any official post but to our own physical strength." When T'ai-kung Wang arrived at Camp Hill, he sent men to arrest them and kill them at the first execution. Hearing about this, Duke Tan of Chou, sent out an urgent message from Lu and asked: "Indeed, the two gentlemen were worthies. Why did you kill worthies on receiving the rule over the country?" In reply T'ai-kung Wang said: "These two brothers had set up the principle: 'Neither of us would minister to the Son of Heaven and make friends with the feudal lords. We would till and work and live on the crops and dig a well and drink the water. We would not ask anybody for help and receive neither title from any superior nor emolument from any ruler. We attend not to any official post but to our own physical strength.' Their refusal to minister to the Son of Heaven forecast Wang's inability to rule them as subjects. Their refusal to make friends with the feudal lords forecast Wang's inability to set them to work. Their pledge to till and work and live on the crops and dig a well and drink the water and thereby ask nobody for help forecast Wang's inability to encourage them with reward and prohibit them with punishment. Moreover, their decision to accept no title from any superior implied their refusal to work for Wang however intelligent they might be. Their expectation of no emolument from the ruler implied their refusal to render Wang any meritorious service however worthy they might be. Should they refuse any appointment to office, they would choose anarchy; should they attend to no official duties, they would be disloyal. Furthermore, the means whereby the early kings employed their ministers and subjects were either rank and emolument or censure and punishment. Now, if these four means be not sufficient to employ them, over whom shall Wang rule? To let them become celebrated without bearing arms and wearing armour and become famous without tilling the land and weeding the farm is not the way to give teaching to the country. Now suppose there is a horse here which looks like a noble steed and is the best in All-under-Heaven. However, if it would not advance when driven forward nor would it stop when pulled back: and, if pulled to the left, it would not go to the left, and, pulled to the right, it would not go to the right; then even bondmen and bondwomen, humble as they are, would not rely on its legs. Bondmen and bondwomen want to rely on the legs of the steed because thereby they can seek gain and avoid harm. Now that it would not work for anybody, the slaves, humble as they are, would not rely on its legs. Similarly, the two brothers proclaimed themselves worthy personages of the world but would not work for any sovereign. However worthy their deeds might be, if they would not work for the ruler, they were not what the enlightened sovereign ought to take as subjects. They were like the steed that cannot be pulled to the left or right. This was the reason why they were executed."

According to a different source: T'ai-kung Wang was enfeoffed eastward in Ch'i. By the sea there was a worthy named K'uang-yü. Hearing of him, T'ai-kung Wang went to ask for an interview with him. Thrice in front of the gate he left his horse and walked on foot, but K'uang-yü never granted him an interview. Therefore, T'ai-kung Wang censured him. At that time, Duke Tan of Chou was in Lu and went on horseback to stop the execution. Upon his arrival the execution had already been accomplished. "K'uang-yü was a worthy man," said Duke Tan of Chou, "of All-under-Heaven. Why did you punish him, indeed?" In reply T'ai-kung Wang said: "K'uang-yü considered it righteous not to minister to the Son of Heaven nor to make friends with the feudal lords. I was afraid he might disturb the law and alter the morals. Therefore, I took him for the first execution. Now suppose there is a horse here which looks like a noble steed. However, if it would not advance when driven forward, then even bondmen and bondwomen would not rely on its legs for turning the wheels of their carriage."

Ju-erh once persuaded Duke Ssu of Wei of the way of government. Duke Ssu was pleased with his persuasion but heaved deep sighs. "Why does Your Highness not appoint him prime minister?" asked the chamberlains. "Indeed, any horse that looks like a deer," replied the Duke, "can be quoted at one thousand pieces of gold. However, there are horses each worth one thousand pieces of gold but no deer worth one thousand pieces of gold. Why? It is because horses would work for men but no deer would work for men. Now, Ju-erh deserves the premiership in a state of ten thousand chariots, and, besides, has an intention to serve a big state. His mind is not in Wei. Though eloquent and intelligent, he will not work for me. That is the reason why I do not appoint him premier."

When Hsüeh Kung was premier to Marquis Chao of Wey, there were twin brothers among the chamberlains, named Yang-hu and Pan-ch'i. Both were highly regarded by the sovereign but would not do Hsüeh Kung any good. Over this Hsüeh Kung was worried. Therefore, he invited them to a gambling party. He gave each one hundred pieces of gold and let the brothers gamble. Of a sudden, he gave each two hundred pieces more. After they had gambled for a while, the usher came in and said, "The son of Chang Chi is waiting at the gate." Changing colour from anger, Kung took a weapon and passed it to the usher and said, "Kill him with this! I have heard Chi would never do Wen any good." The usher kept standing for a while. Then Chi Yü by the side of them said, "That is not so. In secret I have heard Chi has been doing Your Excellency much good. It seems that nobody else has let Your Excellency know." Thereupon he rejected killing the visitor, and welcomed him as a guest, paid him great courtesies, and said: "Formerly I heard Chi would not do me any good. So I thought of killing him. Now I know he has been sincerely doing me good. How can I forget his kindness?" So saying, he told the granary-keeper to prepare one thousand piculs of grain, the treasurer to prepare five hundred pieces of gold, the stableman to prepare two teams of good horses and strong carriages out of his own stable, and besides ordered the eunuch to get ready twenty beautiful maids from among the court ladies. Of all these he made Chi a present. Accordingly, the twin brothers said to each other: "Who does Kung good, always gains everything; who does not do him good, always loses everything. Why should we choose not to do him good?" Thenceforth they personally encouraged each other to do him good. Thus, even Hsüeh Kung from the position of a minister, by applying the tact of the lord of men, could prevent an evil growing. How much more could the lord of men by doing the same?

To be sure the crow-tamer cuts off the lower feathers. Then the bird must depend upon him for food. How can it go wild? Indeed, the same is true when the enlightened sovereign wants to keep ministers under control. He must make the ministers always profit by the emoluments bestowed by the ruler and submit to the titles conferred by the superior. If they profit by the emoluments bestowed by the ruler and submit to the titles conferred by the superior, how can they remain disobedient?

Annotations to Canon 2:—

Shen Tzu said: "If the superior's cleverness is visible, people will guard against it; if his stupidity is visible, people will bewilder him; if his knowledge is visible, people will disguise themselves; if his ignorance is visible, people will hide their faults; if his freedom from avarice is visible, people will watch for unguarded moments; if his possession of avarice is visible, people will allure him. Hence the saying: 'I find no way to know them. Only by not doing anything I can watch them.' "

According to a different source: Shen Tzu said: "Be prudent in your speech, or people will accord with you. Be prudent in your action, or people will follow after you. When you can see, people will hide their defects from you. When your ignorance is visible, people will deceive you. When you have knowledge, people will keep you off. When you have no knowledge, people will trespass against you. Hence the saying 'Only by not doing anything the ruler can watch the ministers.' "

T'ien Tzu-fang asked T'ang I-chü, "Of what must the archer with stringed arrows be cautious?" In reply I-chü said: "The bird sees you with several hundred eyes, whereas you aim at it with two eyes. You had better be careful about your hiding-place." "Good," said T'ien Tzu-fang, "You apply this principle to shooting with stringed arrows; I will apply it to the state." Hearing this, an elder of Cheng said: "T'ien Tzu-fang knows the need of making a hiding-place but has not yet found how to make it. To be sure, nihilism and invisibility make the hiding-place."

According to a different source: King Hsüan of Ch'i asked T'ang I Tzu about the art of shooting with stringed arrows, "What is most essential to the art of shooting with stringed arrows?" "Carefulness about the hiding-place," replied T'ang I Tzu. "What do you mean by 'carefulness about the hiding-place'?" asked the King. In reply I Tzu said: "The bird sees man with tens of eyes, whereas man sees it with two eyes. How can man not be careful about his hiding-place? Therefore, I say, 'The essence of the art lies in carefulness about the hiding place.' " "How is the rule over All-under-Heaven," remarked the King, "different from this? Now, with two eyes the lord of men sees the whole country, whereas the country sees the lord of men with a myriad eyes. Then how can he make himself a hiding-place?" In reply I Tzu said: "An elder of Cheng had the saying, 'Indeed, the ruler, being empty and tranquil and doing nothing, is invisible.' Is this the way to make the hiding-place?"

Kuo Yang was highly regarded by the ruler of Cheng. When he heard the Ruler disliked him, he accompanied him at a carousal and purposely said beforehand to the Ruler: "If thy servant happens to be so unlucky as to have committed certain faults, may Your Highness kindly permit thy servant to know them. Then thy servant will ask permission to reform himself in hope that he may evade capital punishment."

Once an itinerant spoke to King Hsüan of Han about the way of government. King Hsüan was pleased with his theory and heaved deep sighs. On the same day the courtiers reported the King's pleasure promptly to the itinerant in order to place him under an obligation.

When Lord Ching-kuo was Premier of Ch'i, the Queen died. As nobody had yet known who would be installed as the new Queen, he presented ear-beads to the King and thereby knew it.

According to a different source: Hsüeh Kung was Premier under King Wei of Ch'i, when the royal consort died. There were then ten ladies admired by the King. Among these Hsüeh Kung wanted to know the one whom the King wanted in particular, so that he would ask the King to install that one as the new consort. However, should the King listen to him, then his suggestion would prevail upon the King and he would be highly regarded by the new consort; should the King not listen to him, his persuasion must have been ineffective and he would be slighted by the new consort. Thus, he wanted to know beforehand the one whom the King wanted in order to encourage the King to install that one. Thereupon he ordered ten ear-beads and specially beautified one of them. Then he presented them to the King. The King distributed them among the ten ladies. Next day, when he went to court, he saw the lady who had the most beautiful bead and so encouraged the King to install her as the new consort.

When Kan Mu was premier to King Hui of Ch'in, King Hui liked Kung-sun Yen. One day he spoke in private to him, "I am going to appoint you prime minister." This was overheard through a hole in the wall by a subordinate official of Kan Mu, and was reported to him. Meanwhile, Kan Mu went in to have audience with the King and said, "As Your Majesty has found a worthy premier, thy servant dares to repeat bows and offer his congratulations." "I have committed the state," said the King, "to your hands. Why should I find another worthy premier?" "Your Majesty is going to make Hsi-shou premier," was the reply. "Where did you hear that?" asked the King. "Hsi-shou told thy servant." Angry at Hsi-shou's letting out the news, the King banished him.

According to a different source: Hsi-shou was a good general in All-under-Heaven serving under the King of Liang-Wey. The King of Ch'in wanted to get him and entrust him with the rule over All-under-Heaven. "Yen is a minister," replied Hsi-shou, "and therefore dare not leave the country of his ruler at any time." In the course of one year Hsi-shou displeased the King of Liang-Wey and sought refuge in Ch'in. The King of Ch'in accorded him a very cordial reception. Chu Li-chi, the then Commander of Ch'in's forces, fearing lest Hsi-shou should replace him, bored a hole through the wall of the room where the King would have confidential conversations. Suddenly, the King actually consulted with Hsi-shou and said, "I want to attack Han. What will be the best way?" "The coming autumn will be the right time," replied Hsi-shou. "I want to entrust you," said the King, "with the state affairs then. You must not let out this secret." Running backward and repeating his bows, Hsi-shou said, "At your service." By that time Chu Li-chi had already heard the conversation. He told every courtier he met, "An army will be raised in autumn to attack Han with Hsi-shou as Commander." Thus, in a day all the courtiers knew this. In a month everybody within the boundary knew it. The King, accordingly, summoned Chu Li-chi and said, "Why is everybody panic-stricken? Whence did the rumour come out?" "It seems," replied Chu Li-chi, "that Hsi-shou declared the news." "I never spoke to Hsi-shou," said the King, "about the expedition. Why did he create such a rumour?" In reply Chu Li-chi said: "Hsi-shou is a refugee finding shelter in this country. As he trespassed against his former ruler recently, he is still feeling helpless in a new place. Therefore, he has created such a rumour in order to exercise his influence among the masses of people." "Right," the King said and sent men to summon Hsi-shou, but Hsi-shou had already made his escape to some other feudal lord.

T'ang-ch'i Kung said to Marquis Chao, "Suppose there is a jade cup worth one thousand pieces of gold, but it has no bottom. Can it be used in serving water?" "No," replied Marquis Chao. "Then suppose there is an earthen pot which does not leak. Can it be used in serving wine?" "Yes," replied Marquis Chao. Thereupon Chi Kung said: "Indeed, the earthen pot is the cheapest vessel, but, not leaking, can be used in serving wine. The jade cup, worth one thousand pieces of gold, is the most expensive vessel, but without a bottom it leaks and cannot be used in serving water. If so, who will ever pour any kind of liquid into it? Now, the lord of men who lets out the words of ministers is similar to the jade cup without a bottom. Though possessed of holiness and intelligence, he cannot exercise his tact to the utmost, for he divulges secrets." "Right," said the Marquis. Ever after Marquis Chao had heard these words from T'ang-chi Kung, whenever he wanted to launch any drastic measure in Allunder-Heaven, he would always sleep by himself for fear lest he should talk in his sleep and let anybody else know his scheme.

According to a different source: T'ang-chi Kung had an interview with Marquis Chao and said: "Suppose there are a

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white jade cup with no bottom and a pottery one with a bottom. When thirsty, which will Your Highness use for drinking?" "The pottery one of course," replied the Marquis. "The white jade cup is beautiful," said T'ang chi-kung, "but Your Highness will not drink from it. Is it because it has no bottom?" "Yes," replied the Ruler. Then T'ang Chi-kung said: "The lord of men who divulges the words of ministers, is comparable to the jade cup with no bottom." Thenceforth, every time after T'ang Chi-kung had an audience and went out, Marquis Chao would always lie by himself simply for fear lest he should talk in his sleep and divulge the conversation to his consorts.

Shen Tzu said: "Who sees things by himself, is called clear-sighted; who hears things by himself is called acute; and who can make decision by himself, is fit to rule over All-under-Heaven.

Annotations to Canon 3:—

Once there was a Sung man selling wine. His measures were very fair. His reception of customers was very courteous. The wine he made was excellent. He hoisted his banner in an imposing manner. Yet he had no business and the wine would become sour. Wondering at the cause, he asked his acquaintance, an elder of the village, named Yang Ching. "It is because your dog is fierce," replied Ching. "If my dog is fierce, why does my wine not sell well?" "Because customers are afraid of it. When people send out children with money and pots or jars to buy wine from you, your dog would jump at them and sometimes bite them. This is the reason why your wine does not sell well and becomes sour." Indeed, the state has dogs, too. Thus experts in statecraft, bearing the right tact in mind, want to enlighten the sovereign of ten thousand chariots, whereas ministers like the fierce dog of the wine merchant would jump at them and bite them. This is the reason why the lord of men is deluded and experts in statecraft are not taken into service.

Similarly, Duke Huan asked Kuan Chung what was the greatest menace to the government of a state. "The greatest menace is the shrine rats," was the reply. "Why should we worry so much about the shrine rats?" asked the Duke. Then Kuan Chung replied: "Your Highness must have seen people building a shrine. They set up the beams and then plaster them. Yet rats gnaw holes through the plaster and shelter themselves inside. Then, if you smoke them out, you are afraid you might burn the wood; if you pour water over them, you are afraid the plaster might crumble. This is the reason why the shrine rats cannot be caught. Now the courtiers of the ruler of men, when out, are influential in position and thereby exploit the people; when in, they join one another in hiding their faults from the ruler. From inside they spy out the ruler's secrets and report them to foreign authorities, till they become influential both at home and abroad and all ministers and magistrates regard them as helpful. If the authorities do not censure them, they continue disturbing laws; if they censure them, then the ruler will shield them from blame, shelter them from punishment, and still keep them around. They are the shrine rats in the state. Similarly, ministers who have the grip on state affairs and issue prohibitions at their pleasure, always giving advantages to those doing them good and causing injuries to those not doing them any good, are the same as fierce dogs.

Indeed, when chief vassals have become fierce dogs and would bite upholders of the true path, and when the courtiers have turned into shrine rats and would spy out the ruler's secrets, if the lord of men takes no notice of the impending danger, how can he avoid delusion and how can the state evade ruin?

According to a different source: Among the wine merchants in Sung there was a certain Chuang family. Their wine was always excellent. One day somebody sent a servant to buy the wine of the Chuangs. As their dog would bite customers, the servant dared not go to them and bought wine from another family. When he was asked why he did not buy the wine of the Chuangs, he replied, "The wine of the Chuangs is to-day sour." Hence the saying: "If the wine merchant does not kill his dog, his wine will become sour."

According to another different source: Duke Huan asked Kuan Chung, "What was the chief menace to the government of a state?" "The greatest distress is caused by the shrine rats," was the reply. "Indeed, after the shrine had its beams set up and had them plastered, rats would hide themselves inside. If you attempt to smoke them out, the wood will be burned; if you pour water over them, the plaster will crumble. This is the way you are distressed by the shrine rats. Now, the courtiers of the ruler of men, when out, are influential in position and thereby exploit the people; when in, they join one another in slandering their enemies and in covering their own faults, and thereby deceive the ruler. If not censured, they keep disturbing laws; if censured the lord of men will shield them from blame, shelter them from punishment, and still keep them around. They are shrine rats, too."

Similarly, ministers who have the grip on state affairs and issue prohibitions at their pleasure, always giving advantages to those doing them good and causing injuries to those not doing them any good, are fierce dogs, too. Therefore, if the courtiers become shrine rats and the administrators of state affairs turn into fierce dogs, the right type of statecraft will not function.

When Yao wanted to transfer the rule over All-underHeaven to Shun, against such a measure K'un remonstrated with him saying: "How inauspicious! Who would transfer the rule of All-under-Heaven to a commoner?" Yao never listened to him but raised an army and killed him in the vicinity of the Feather Mountains. Likewise, the Minister of Public Works remonstrated with him, saying, "Nobody should transfer the rule over All-under-Heaven to a commoner." Yao never listened to him but also raised an army and banished the Minister of Public Works to the city of Yu-chou. Thenceforth, All-under-Heaven dared not disapprove the transfer of the rule over All-under-Heaven to Shun. Hearing this, Chung-ni said: "It is not difficult for Yao to know the worthiness of Shun. Indeed, to punish the remonstrants and thereby effect the transfer of the throne to Shun was his difficulty."

According to a different source: Chung-ni said, "Not to ruin the result of observation with the object of suspicion is difficult."

King Chuang of Ching once issued the law of the inner gate to the effect that "When any Ministers, High Officers, and Princes enter the court, if the hoofs of anybody's horse walk upon the 'eavesdrops', the court guard should cut down the shaft of his carriage and execute his coachman." In the meantime, the Crown Prince entered the court. As soon as his horse trod on the "eavesdrops", the guard cut down the shaft of his carriage and executed his coachman. Angry at this, the Crown Prince went in to see the King and with tears in his eyes said, "May Your Majesty punish the guard for me!" In response the King said: "The law is the means whereby the ancestral shrine and the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain are revered. Therefore, who can live up to the law, carry out orders, and thereby revere the Shrine of the Spirits of Land and Grain, is a loyal subject to the community. Why should such a man be punished then? To be sure, who violates the law, discards orders, and thereby shows no respect to the Shrine of the Spirits of Land and Grain, is a subject offending his ruler and an inferior disobeying his superior. If the subject offends his ruler, then the sovereign will lose his authority; if the inferior disobeys his superior, then the superior's status will be endangered. With my authority lost and my status endangered and the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain not safeguarded what can I bequeath to my descendants?" Thereupon the Crown Prince ran backward, kept away from his residence, stayed outdoors for three days, faced the north, repeated his bows, and apologised for the capital crime.

According to a different source: Once upon a time the King of Ch'u sent urgently for the Crown Prince. The law of the Ch'u State allowed no carriage to reach the inner gate of the palace. It was raining. There were puddles in the courtyard. Therefore, the Crown Prince had to take his carriage as far as the inner gate. "No carriage is allowed," shouted the court guard, "to reach the inner gate. To take any carriage as far as the inner gate is against the law." "His majesty's summon is so urgent," said the Crown Prince, "that I cannot wait till the puddles dry up." So saying, he drove onward. Raising his halberd, the guard hit the horse and broke the yoke. The Crown Prince then went in to see the King and with tears in his eyes said: "There were in the courtyard so many puddles that I had to take the carriage as far as the inner gate. The guard, however, said it was against the law, raised his halberd, hit thy servant's horse and broke the yoke of thy servant's carriage. May Your Majesty be sure to punish him!" "With the aged sovereign in the front," remarked the King, "he never neglected the law; with the future ruler in the rear he never showed any favour. How worthy he must be! He is truly my law-abiding subject." Thereupon the King raised the rank of the guard by two grades, sent out the Crown Prince through the back gate, and prevented him from going through the inner gate again.

Duke Ssu of Wei said to Po Yi: "You regard my state as small and therefore not worth serving. Yet I have ability to take you into service. Shall I raise your rank and appoint you High Noble?" So saying, he added one million mou of fields to his emolument. In response to this Po Tzu said: "Yi's mother loves Yi and thinks Yi is even able to serve as prime minister to a ruler of ten thousand chariots with no insufficiency. However, Yi's family witch, Old Woman Ts'ai, is very much liked and believed by Yi's mother and is entrusted with all domestic affairs. Now, Yi is intelligent enough to be told about the domestic affairs and his mother should always listen to him. However, whatever she had agreed with Yi, she would always refer to Old Woman Ts'ai for decision. Thus, for instance, after discussing Yi's wisdom and ability with the old woman, she came to consider Yi able to serve as prime minister to a ruler of ten thousand chariots. As regards the relationship, it lies between mother and son. Nevertheless, she could not help consulting Old Woman Ts'ai. Now, the relationship between Yi and the lord of men is not as intimate as that between mother and son while the lord of men always has witches like Old Woman Ts'ai. The witches of the lord of men are, no doubt, his powerful vassals, who are able to practise selfishness. Indeed, to practise selfishness is contrary to the inked string, whereas what Yi speaks about is always in accordance with the law. Who acts contrary to the inked string and who stands in accordance with the law are enemies and never tolerate each other."

According to a different source: The Ruler of Wei was going to Chin and said to Po Yi: "I want you to go along with me." "Mother is at home. May I go home and consult with her about the matter?" Thereupon the Ruler of Wei went himself to ask permission. "Yi is a subject," said Mother Po, "to Your Highness. It is very kind of you to take him along." Then the Ruler said to Po Yi: "I already asked Mother. She gave me permission." When Po Yi went home, he asked his mother, "Who loves Yi better, His Highness or Mother?" "He does not love my son so much as I do," replied the mother. "Who recognizes Yi's worthiness more, His Highness or Mother?" "He does not recognize my son's worthiness so much as I do." Finally Yi said: "Every time after Mother and Yi discussed domestic affairs and decided on a certain plan, she would refer it to the Old Woman of Ts'ai, a fortune-teller, for the second decision. Now the ruler of Wei is going to take Yi along. Though he will decide with Yi on his plans, yet he will certainly consult some other Old Woman Ts'ai and break the plans. If such be the case, Yi will not be able to serve him long as Minister."

Indeed, the teacher of singing first teaches the pupil vocal gestures and different pitches. After the pupil becomes able to express the clear lingual sounds, then the teacher begins to teach him real singing.

According to a different source: The teacher of singing, first of all, conforms the pupil's voice to certain rules. When singing staccato, the pupil must set his tone with guttural sounds; when singing legato, he must set his tone with lingual sounds. If his staccato is not set with guttural sounds and his legato not with lingual sounds, then he is not teachable.

Wu Ch'i was a native of Tso-shih in Wei. Once he asked his wife to weave a silk band. When finished, the band was too narrow for the regular width. So he asked her to weave a new one. "All right," said his wife. When finished, it was measured as before but fell short of the regular width, too. At this Wu Ch'i was very angry. In response his wife said: "After I had set in the warp, I could not change the width any more." Wu Ch'i divorced her. Then his wife asked her elder brother to send her back. Her elder brother said: "Wu Ch'i is a law-abiding man. In abiding by the law, he wants to apply legalism to his wife first and then to his son in order that some day he will be in a position to render a ruler of ten thousand chariots meritorious services. Give up your hope for reinstatement as his wife." Her younger brother had influence on the Ruler of Wei. Therefore, through the influence of the Ruler of Wei he asked Wu Ch'i to take her back, but Wu Ch'i never listened to him and finally left Wei for Ching.

According to a different source: Wu Ch'i showed his wife a silk band and said to her: "Will you weave for me a silk band exactly like this one?" When the band was woven, he tried it and found it extraordinarily well done. "I told you," said Wu Ch'i, "to weave for me a silk band exactly like this one, but now it is extraordinarily well done. Why?" In reply his wife said: "The material was the same, but I added a great deal of effort to make it better than the sample." "That was not what I told you to do." So saying, Wu Ch'i let his wife wear it and sent her home. Her father went to ask him to take her back. However, Wu Ch'i said, "Ch'i's house admits no empty word."

Duke Wen of Chin once asked Hu Yen: "If your Highness fills the reception hall with sweet tastes and fat meat, leaves a few cups of wine and a few plates of meat in the inner court, and lets the wine in the jar have no time to become clear and the raw meat have no time to be laid out, and if on killing an ox he would distribute the beef among the people in the country and clothe the officers and soldiers with the whole year's products of the weavers, will this be sufficient to make the people go to war?" "Insufficient," replied Hu Tzu. "Suppose I reduce the custom duties and business taxes and loosen censure and punishment, will that be sufficient to make the people go to war?" "Insufficient," replied Hu Tzu. "Suppose I personally send a courtier to look after the matter when anybody needs money for a funeral rite, give pardons to criminals and bestow favours upon the poor and the needy. Will this be sufficient to make the people go to war?" In reply Hu Tzu said: "All these methods are ways of earning one's livelihood. To make the people go to war, however, is to put them to death. Now that the people obey Your Highness on purpose to earn their livelihood, if Your Highness thereby drives them to their death, then they will lose the cause to obey Your Highness." "If so," asked the Duke, "what will be sufficient to make the people go to war?" "Make them unable to do anything but fighting," was the reply. "How to make them unable to do anything but fighting?" asked the Duke. "By making reward of faith and punishment definite," replied Hu Tzu. "This will be sufficient to make them go to war." "How far must the extremity of censure and punishment extend?" asked the Duke. "As far as any relative or noble held

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guilty. The law must prevail among the most beloved," replied Hu Tzu. "Good," remarked the Duke.

On the following day Duke Wen issued an order: A field-hunt is to be held at the Gardening Land; the time is fixed at noon sharp; whoever arrives late shall be court-martialled. There arrived late a favourite of Duke Wen, named Tien Chieh. The criminal judge asked the Duke to pass a sentence on him. Shedding tears, the Duke worried over it. But the judge said, "May Your Highness carry out the order!" Finally he cut Tien Chieh in two at the back in order to warn the hundred surnames and to prove the faith of the law. Thenceforth all the hundred surnames were afraid of punishment and said: "His Highness made so much of Tien Chieh. Still he applied the law to the case. How much less can we hope for pardon?"

Perceiving his ability to make the people go to war, Duke Wen raised an army, attacked Yüan, and took it. Attacking Wei, he made their field-ridges run eastward and thereby facilitate his military operations. He took Five Deer, attacked Yang, and defeated Kuo. Then he attacked Ts'ao and marched southward to besiege Cheng and upset the city walls. Then he raised the siege of Sung and fought with the Chings at Ch'eng-p'u and put them to rout. Turning homeward, he took an oath at Foot-Earth, and finally accomplished at Heng-yung the righteousness of honouring the House of Chou. Thus, in an expedition he completed eight achievements. As to why he was so successful, there was no other reason than this, that he followed the counsel of Hu Yen and made use of the back of Tien Chieh.

Indeed the pain of the boil, unless the bone and marrow are pierced, the worried mind will no longer be able to bear. If the bone and marrow are not pierced, nobody can use the half-inch stone-needle to cut the boil open. The same is true with the lord of men in government. Unless he knows hardship, he cannot have peace. If he wants to govern his country, unless he experiences the pain, he will not be able to listen to the holy and the intelligent and remove the rebellious ministers. Rebellious ministers are always powerful men. Powerful men are always very near and dear to the lord of men. The relationship between the sovereign and his favourites is as inseparable as that between "Hard and White". Indeed, if any wearer of hemp clothes attempts from such a humble position to remove the favourites of the lord of men who are as inseparable from him as hard from white, it will be as dangerous as to cut off the left thigh and speak to the right one. This is the reason why his body will be put to death and his theory never will prevail.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 35.

Outer Congeries of Sayings, The Lower Right Series

(1). If the Ruler enforces reward and punishment with the minister, then prohibitions and ordinances will take no effect. How can I make this clear? With the cases of Tsao-fu and Yü-ch'i as illustration. Tzu-han acted like the jumping pig; T'ien Heng made benevolence and kindness as attractive as the garden pool. In consequence, the Ruler of Sung and Duke Chien were murdered. The calamity of its practice is also illustrated by Wang Liang and Tsao-fu driving the same chariot and T'ien Lien and Ch'eng Chiao playing the same lute.

(2). Order and strength are due to the law; weakness and disorder, to its crookedness. If the ruler understands this principle, he must rectify reward and punishment but never assume humanity towards his inferiors. Rank and emolument are due to meritorious services; censure and punishment, to criminal offences. If the minister understands this, he must exert his strength even at the risk of his life but never assume loyalty to the ruler. Thus, with the ruler well versed in the practice of inhumanity and the minister in that of disloyalty, it is possible to rule over All-under-Heaven. For illustration, King Chao-hsiang, knowing the gist of the sovereign, stopped giving the starvelings fruits and vegetables from the Five Parks; and T'ien Yu, knowing the gist of the minister, gave instructions to his son, T'ien Chang. Kung Yi refused the present of fish.

(3). If the lord of men takes no interest in foreign affairs, then itinerants from abroad are bound to be successful. For instance, Su Tai reproved the King of Ch'i before the King of Yen. If the lord of men takes interest in ancient precepts, then private scholars are certain to become celebrated. For instance, P'an Shou extolled the acts of King Yü. It was because the lord of men in so doing perceived no fault of his own. Knowing this principle, Fang Wu was afraid of sharing anything with any kin. How much more should the ruler of men be afraid of letting any minister exercise his authority? Knowing this principle, Wu Chang spoke about the futility of anybody showing pretentious love or hatred. How much more futile must it be to show true love or true hatred? The King of Chao disliked the tiger's eyes and thereby incurred delusion. The way of the enlightened sovereign is very often like the way of the official usher of the court of Chou refusing the Ruler of Wei admission.

(4). The lord of men abides by the law and calls actual results to account in order thereby to perform his great achievement. We hear about people who behave well by themselves despite the dissipation of the magistrate; but we never hear about any magistrate who governs himself well but has rebellious people. Therefore, the enlightened sovereign governs the magistrates but never directly governs the people. The basis of this argument is found in shaking the tree by its root and drawing the net by its rope. Therefor, take for further illustration the fire brigade. On suppressing the fire, if the captain takes one jar of water and runs to the fire with it, it means that he performs the function of only one man; whereas if he takes a whip in hand and drives other men to work then he can make a myriad men work. Therefore, upholders of tact can accomplish the result as easily as Tsao-fu handling a frightened horse. When Tsao-fu led the horse and pulled the carriage, he could not advance them. When he replaced the coachman, held the reins in hand and took the whip along, then the horses would all start galloping. Therefore, the principle can be illustrated with the iron hammer flattening metallic plates and the wooden stand straightening bows. Action contrary to the principle is instanced by Cho Ch'ih serving Ch'i and murdering King Min and in the case of Li Tai serving Chao and starving the Father Sovereign to death.

(5). If you follow the right course of a task, you will accomplish it without hard work. For this reason, Tzu Cheng sat on the shaft and sang and thereby went across the arch of a bridge. The contrary is instanced by the tax collector asking Lord Chien of Chao about the increase and decrease in taxation and by Po Yi speaking about the satiation of the stomach of the country. In this remark Lord Chien rejoiced, but the public treasury was running empty; the hundred surnames were starving, but the officials were wealthy. For further illustration, Duke Huan inspected the real situation of the people, so that Kuan Chung used up the surplus money in the treasury and sent away the resentful girls from the court. Action contrary to the principle is instanced by Cho Tzu of Yen-ling who could not advance his carriage while driving the horses and by whom Tsao-fu passed and for whom he wept.

So much above for the canons.

Annotations to Canon 1:—

Tsao-fu managed four horses, drove them as fast as possible, turned them around everywhere, and thus moved in any direction as he pleased. He could manage the horses in the way he pleased, because he handled the reins and the whip at his will. However, when horses were frightened by the jumping pig, Tsao-fu lost control of them, not because the severity of the reins and the whip became insufficient, but because his authority over the horses was shaken by the jumping pig. Prince Yü-Ch'i harnessed extra horses alongside his chariot, and, without holding the reins and any whip, managed the horses at his pleasure. This was on account of the attractiveness of the fodder and water he was giving them. However, when the horses passed by the garden pool, the extra horses broke away, not because the benefit of his fodder and water became insufficient, but because his kindness was shaken by the garden pool.

For the same reason, though Wang Liang and Tsao-fu were skilful drivers in All-under-Heaven, if you let Wang Liang hold the left rein and thunder the horse onward and let Tsai-fu hold the right rein and whip it on, the horse will not be able to go even ten li, because they held the reins of the same horse together. Likewise, though T'ien Lien and Ch'eng Chiao were skilful players of the lute in Allunder-Heaven, yet if T'ien Lien played the upper notes and Ch'eng Chiao played the lower notes, the result could not be any tune at all, because they handled the same lute. Indeed, even Wang Liang and Tsao-fu, despite their skill could not put the horse to use when they held the reins and the horse together. How much less could the lord of men succeed in government by sharing his power with his ministers? Even T'ien Lien and Ch'eng Chiao, despite their skill, could not make a tune when they played the same lute together. How much less could the lord of men accomplish any achievement by sharing his august position with his ministers?

According to a different source: Tsao-fu served as assistant charioteer to the King of Ch'i. Once, when he thought his work in training the horses to bear thirst was complete he drove the chariot to the garden. As soon as the thirsty horses saw the garden pool they broke away from the chariot and ran to the pool, so that the harness was broken to pieces.

As regards Prince Yü-ch'i, he on behalf of Lord Chien of Chao shaped his course to race for a goal one thousand li away. When he started, a pig hid itself in a ditch. As he got the reins and the whip ready and began to make a rush for the goal, the pig all of a sudden jumped out from the ditch. Thereby the horse was frightened, and the harness was broken to pieces.

Tzu-han, Garrison Commander of the Capital, said to the Ruler of Sung: "Reward and bestowal are welcomed by the people. May Your Highness confer them! Execution and punishment are disliked by the people. May thy servant beg to perform them?" "All right," replied the Ruler of Sung. Thenceforth, on issuing important ordinances and on censuring chief vassals, he always said: "Ask Tzu-han to give a decision!" Thereupon, chief vassals became afraid of Tzu-han while the masses of people turned to him. In the course of one year, Tzu-han murdered the Ruler of Sung and usurped the reins of government. Thus, Tzu-han acted like a jumping pig and thereby usurped the state from his ruler.

Duke Chien from his supreme status inflicted heavy punishment, carried severe censure, increased taxes, and executed culprits. On the contrary, T'ien Heng always created compassion and favour and displayed generosity and kindness. Thus, Duke Chien turned the people into thirsty horses and conferred no favour upon them; whereas T'ien Heng made benevolence and kindness as attractive to the people as the garden pool to the thirsty horses.

According to a different source: Tsao-fu served as assistant charioteer to the King of Ch'i and trained the horses to bear thirst. In one hundred days the training was complete. Then he asked the King of Ch'i to try harnessing the team. "Try them in the garden," ordered the King. When Tsao-fu drove the chariot into the garden, the horses, seeing the garden pool ran wild, and Tsao-fu could not stop them. For a long time Tsao-fu trained the horses to bear thirst. Yet in the presence of a pool the horses all at once ran wild, when even Tsao-fu could not restrain them. Now, for a long period the law of Duke Chien restrained the people; whereas T'ien Heng gave all kinds of profits to them. In other words, T'ien Heng emptied the water of the garden pool and showed it to the thirsty people.

According to a different source: Prince Yü-ch'i on behalf of the Ruler of Sung was running a race of one thousand li. After he had harnessed the horses to the chariot, he rubbed the mane and touched the line of the bridle-bit. Then he started, drove on, and advanced the horses. The rings of the yokes hit the leather-ropes, which he immediately stretched and pulled. The horses then bent their knees, straightened their bodies, and started galloping. All of a sudden a pig jumped out from a ditch. The horses moved back and retreated. Even by whipping them he could not drive them forward. They ran wild. He could not stop them by holding the reins.

According to a different source: Ssu-ch'eng Tzu-han said to the Ruler of Sung: "Reward and bestowal are welcomed by the people. May Your Highness confer them personally! Punishment and execution are disliked by them. May thy servant beg to take charge of them?" Thenceforth, on executing crooked people or on censuring chief vassals, the Ruler always said, "Ask Tzu-han to give decision!" In the course of one year, the people knew the order to kill was issued by Tzu-han. In consequence, the whole country turned to him. In the long run, Tzu-han intimidated the Ruler of Sung and usurped his reins of government. Hence the saying: "Tzu-han acted like the jumping pig; T'ien Heng made benevolence and kindness as attractive as the garden pool." Suppose Wang Liang and Tsao-fu drove the same chariot, each holding the rein on one side, and went out of the village gate. Then the harness would break, and the destination would never be reached. Suppose T'ien Lien and Ch'eng Chiao had the same lute, each handling one string, and started playing it. Then the notes would become disharmonious and no tune could be performed.

Annotations to Canon 2:—

King Chao of Ch'in was ill. The hundred surnames in every hamlet bought an ox and every family prayed for the King's earliest recovery. When Kung-sun Shu went out, he saw it. Therefore, he went in to congratulate the King and said, "The hundred surnames in every village bought an ox to pray for Your Majesty's earliest recovery." The King, accordingly, sent men out to inquire into the matter, and found it true. Therefore, the King said: "Make the people of every village pay a fine of two suits of armour. To be sure, who with no order offers prayers at his pleasure, loves me, the King. Indeed, when the people love me, I will have to alter the law and bend my will to comply with their requests. In this manner the law will not stand. If the law does not stand, it leads to chaos and ruin. Thus, the best measure is to fine the people of every village two suits of armour and restore them to order."

According to a different source: King Hsiang of Ch'in was ill. The hundred surnames prayed for his earliest recovery. When he was perfectly recovered from illness, they killed oxen as sacrifices to thank the gods. When courtier Yen O and Kung-sun Yen went out, they saw it and said, "This is not the time of any festival. Why do the people kill oxen and sacrifice them at the shrines?" Out of curiosity they put the question to the people. In reply they said: "When His Majesty was ill, we prayed for his recovery. As he is perfectly recovered from the illness, we kill oxen as sacrifice to thank the gods." Glad to hear this, Yen O and Kung-sun Yen interviewed the King and offered bows and congratulations, saying, "Your Majesty has surpassed Yao and Shun!" "What do you mean?" asked the King in wonder. In reply they said: "During the reigns of Yao and Shun the people never came to pray for the ruler's recovery from his illness. Now, when Your Majesty was ill, the people in the prayers for his earliest recovery promised the gods oxen sacrifices. When Your Majesty had perfectly

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recovered from the illness, they killed the oxen to fulfil their promise. Therefore, thy servants personally think that Your Majesty surpasses Yao and Shun." The King, accordingly, sent men out to inquire into the matter, found out those villages which had held prayers, and fined every village headman and every leader of five families two suits of armour each. Ashamed of their thoughtlessness, Yen O and Kung-sun Yen dared not speak about it. Several months afterwards, one day, when the King was half-seas-over and happy at a carousal, they both said to the King: "Formerly thy servants said Your Majesty surpassed Yao and Shun, and thereby dared not mean to flatter you. When Yao and Shun were ill, the people never came to pray for the ruler's recovery. Now, when Your Majesty was ill, the people in their prayers for his earliest recovery pledged themselves to sacrifice oxen. When Your Majesty was perfectly recovered from the illness, they killed the oxen to fulfil their pledge. Unexpectedly, however, Your Majesty fined every village headman and every leader of five families two suits of armour each. At such a measure thy servants have been wondering personally." In response the King said: "Why don't you gentlemen know such a reason as this? As to why the people work for me, it is not because of my love that they work for me, it is because of my position. Suppose I discard my position and attempt to win the hearts of the people with love. Then, as soon as I happen to slacken my love, they will no longer work for me. Therefore, I extirpate the policy of love."

Once, when Ch'in had a great famine, Marquis Ying petitioned His Majesty and said: "The grass, vegetables, acorns, dates, and chestnuts in the Five Parks are sufficient to save the people. May Your Majesty give them out?" In reply King Chao-hsien said: "In accordance with the law of our country the people shall be rewarded for merits and punished for crimes. Now, if I give out the vegetables and fruits of the Five Parks, I will in so doing reward men of merit and no merit equally. To be sure, to reward men of merit and no merit equally, leads to disorder. Indeed, instead of giving out the products of the Five Parks and thereby inviting confusion, we may as well discard the fruits and vegetables and thereby maintain order."

According to a different source, the King said: "If I order the fruits of grass, vegetables, dates, and chestnuts in the Five Parks to be given out to the people, these may be sufficient to save them. The measure, however, is to make men of merit and no merit struggle with each other for my gifts. To be sure, instead of giving life to them and thereby inviting confusion, we may as well let them die and thereby keep order. High Officer, leave the matter out!"

T'ien Yu taught his son, T'ien Chang, and said: "If you want to benefit yourself, benefit your ruler first; if you want to benefit your family, benefit your country first."

According to a different source: T'ien Yu taught his son, T'ien Chang, and said: "The sovereign offers ranks and offices; the minister offers wisdom and strength. Hence the saying 'Rely on nobody but yourself!' "

Kung-yi Hsiu, Premier of Lu, was fond of fish. Therefore, people in the whole country contentiously bought fish, which they presented to him. However, Kung-yi Tzu would not accept the presents. Against such a step his younger brother remonstrated with him and said: "You like fish, indeed. Why don't you accept the present of fish?" In reply he said: "It is solely because I like fish that I would not accept the fish they gave me. Indeed, if I accept the fish, I will be placed under an obligation to them. Once placed under an obligation to them, I will sometime have to bend the law. If I bend the law, I will be dismissed from the premiership. After being dismissed from the premiership, I might not be able to supply myself with fish. On the contrary, if I do not accept the fish from them and am not dismissed the premiership, however fond of fish, I can always supply myself with fish." Thus, he understood the principle that self-reliance is better than reliance on others and also the principle that self-help is better than help by others.

Annotations to Canon 3:—

Tzu-chih, Premier of Yen, was influential and in charge of all governmental decisions. Once Su Tai representing Ch'i went to Yen, where the King asked him, "What kind of a ruler is the King of Ch'i?" "He will never attain Hegemony," was the reply. "For what reason?" asked the King of Yen. "When Duke Huan was Hegemonic Ruler," replied Tai, "he entrusted Pao Shu with home affairs and Kuan Chung with foreign affairs while he himself left his hair uncombed, enjoyed drives with women, and every day strolled down-town. The present King of Ch'i, however, put no trust in his chief vassals." Thereafter, the King of Yen increased his confidence in Tzu-chih accordingly. Hearing about this, Tzu-chih sent men to present Su Tai one hundred ih of gold and let him use it at his pleasure.

According to a different source: Su Tai went to Yen as envoy from Ch'in. Perceiving that unless he could benefit Tzu-chih, he would have to go homeward without accomplishing his mission and would be given no bestowal upon his return to Ch'in, therefore, when he was having an audience with the King of Yen, he purposely praised the King of Ch'i. "If the King of Ch'i is so worthy," asked the King of Yen, "will he become ruler over All-underHeaven?" "If he is hardly able to save his country from ruin," replied Tai, "how can he become ruler over Allunder-Heaven?" "Why?" asked the King of Yen. "Because he does not put his whole confidence in his beloved ministers," replied Tai. "Why will the country go to ruin?" asked the King of Yen. In reply Tai said: "Formerly Duke Huan of Ch'i loved Kuan Chung, made him Uncle, and let him administer home affairs and give decision on foreign affairs, till the whole country turned to him for government. As a result, Duke Huan brought All-under-Heaven under one rule and called nine conferences of the feudal lords. The present King of Ch'i, however, does not put his whole confidence in his beloved ministers. Therefore, thy servant knows his country will go to ruin." "All-under-Heaven have not yet heard," said the King of Yen, "that I have put my whole confidence in Tzu-chih." On the following day, he, accordingly, called an assembly of officials in the court and entrusted Tzu-chih with all state affairs.

P'an Shou said to the King of Yen: "Your Majesty had better transfer the state to Tzu-chih. People have called Yao worthy because he transferred the rule over All-underHeaven to Hsü Yu. As Hsü Yu never would accept the throne, Yao gained the fame for abdicating in favour of Hsü Yu while in fact he never lost his rule over All-under-Heaven. Now, if Your Majesty alienate the state to Tzu-chih, Tzu-chih never will accept it. Yet in that case Your Majesty will gain fame for abdicating in favour of Tzu-chih and do the same as Yao." The King of Yen, accordingly, committed the whole state affairs to the hands of Tzu-chih, wherefore Tzu-chih became very powerful.

According to a different source: P'an Shou was a retired scholar. Yen sent out men to engage him in public service. When P'an Shou had an audience with the King of Yen, he said. "Thy servant is afraid Tzu-chih will be like Ih." "Why will he be like Ih?" asked the King. In reply Shou said: "In antiquity, when Yü was dying and about to transfer the rule over All-under-Heaven to Ih, the followers of Ch'i joined one another in attacking Ih and set up Ch'i on the throne. Now, Your Majesty trusts and loves Tzu-chih and is going to alienate the state to him. Yet all the followers of the Crown Prince are holding official seals, whereas there is none of Tzu-chih's men in the court. Should by any unlucky chance Your Majesty pass away from the body of officials, Tzu-chih would suffer like Ih." Accordingly, the King recalled all the seals from the officials whose bounties were above three hundred piculs, and left them in the hands of Tzu-chih, whereupon Tzu-chih became very powerful. Indeed, the means whereby the lord of men looks at himself as in a mirror, are envoys from other feudal lords, but now all those envoys are partisans of private families. Again, the means whereby the lord of men spreads his own powers are scholars from rocky caves, but now all those envoys are henchmen of private families. What is the reason for this? This is because the power of life and death is held by such influential men as Tzu-chih. Therefore, Wu Chang said: "The lord of men should not pretentiously hate or love anybody. Should he pretentiously love anybody, he would be unable to hate the person again; should he pretentiously hate anybody, he would not be able to love the person again."

According to another different source: When the King of Yen wanted to alienate the state to Tzu-chih, he asked P'an Shou about the measure. In reply P'an Shou said: "Yü loved Ih and entrusted him with All-under-Heaven. Later, he appointed followers of Ch'i officials. In his old age, he considered Ch'i unfit to rule over All-under-Heaven and therefore alienated All-under-Heaven from Ih; while all posts and powers were held in the hands of Ch'i. Later, Ch'i and his partisans attacked Ih and robbed him of the rule over All-under-Heaven. Thus, in name Yü transferred the rule over All-under-Heaven to Ih, but in fact he let Ch'i take the throne. Clearly enough from this viewpoint, Yü was not as great as Yao and Shun. Now, Your Majesty wants to abdicate in favour of Tzu-chih while every official is a follower of the Crown Prince. This is to abdicate in favour of him in name but let the Crown Prince take the throne in fact." Thereupon the King of Yen recalled all seals from the officials whose bounties were above three hundred piculs, and left all of them in the hands of Tzu-chih. After all, Tzu-chih became powerful.

Fang Wu Tzu said: "I have heard that according to the etiquette of antiquity no ruler should take the same carriage with any wearer of the same kind of clothes or share the same house with any kin. How much less should he allow any minister to exercise his ruling authority and dislocate his august position?"

Wu Chang said to King Hsüan of Han: "The lord of men should not pretentiously love anybody; for, if he does one day, he will not be able to hate him again. Nor should he pretentiously hate anybody; or, if he does one day, he will not be able to love him again. Therefore, if the signs of pretentious hatred and pretentious love are visible, then flatterers will take advantage of the opportunities either to disgrace their enemies or to honour their friends. Even then the enlightened sovereign cannot save the situation. How much less could he restore the status of affairs if he showed anybody true love or true hatred?"

One day the King of Chao took a walk in the Royal Garden. When the attendants were going to give rabbits to the tiger, he stopped to look at the tiger. The tiger angrily strained its eyes round and round. "How awful the tiger's eyes are!" remarked the King. "The eyes of Lord P'ingyang," said some attendant, "are even more awful than these. When people see the tiger's eyes, they do not always get hurt; but when they see the eyes of Lord P'ing-yang strained in this way, they are sure to die." On the following day, Lord P'ing-yang heard about this remark and sent men to kill the speaker, but the King never censured them.

Once the Ruler of Wei was paying a visit to the court of Chou. The official usher of Chou asked his pen-name. "The Feudal Lord of Wei, Land-Extender," was the reply. The usher, refusing him admission, said, "No feudal lord is supposed to have the same name as the Son of Heaven." Thereupon the Ruler of Wei changed his pen-name and said, "The Feudal Lord of Wei, Hui." Thereafter he was ushered into the court. Hearing about this, Chung-ni said: "How extensive the prohibition of intimidation is! Even an empty name would not be lent to others, to say nothing of a real fact."

Annotations to Canon 4:—

If someone wants to move a tree and pulls each leaf, he works hard but cannot shake the whole tree. If he holds the root from the right and the left, then all the leaves will be shaken. If you shake the tree by the pool, then the birds will be scared and fly up and the fish will be frightened and swim down. Who is skilful in hauling in a net, draws in the rope and never pulls the knots, one after another, till he gets the whole net. If he pulls the knots, one after another, so as to get the whole net, he works hard and meets difficulties. If he draws in the net by the rope, the fish will have been trapped. For the same reason, magistrates are the roots and ropes of the people. Therefore, the sage governs the magistrates but never directly governs the people.

In the case of the fire brigade, if the captain carries water in jars and pots and runs to the fire, he will perform the function of only one man; whereas if he takes a whip in hand and thereby gives directions to the workmen, then he will rule over a myriad of men. For this reason, the sage does not look after the trifles of the people and the enlightened sovereign does not attend to small affairs.

One day, when Tsao-fu was picking weeds in the field, there passed by him father and son riding in a carriage. The horses were frightened and refused to go any farther. The son alighted from the carriage and pulled the horses. The father pushed the carriage. Then they asked Tsao-fu, "Will you help us move the carriage?" Tsao-fu, accordingly put the implements together, stopped working, and left them on the carriage. Then he helped the son get into the carriage. Finally, he held the reins in hand and took the whip along. Before he started moving the reins and the whip, the horses all began galloping of a sudden. Were Tsao-fu unable to drive the carriage, then even though he exerted his strength and exhausted his body to help them move the carriage, the horses would still be unwilling to go forward. Because he knew how to drive, he took his ease, had a ride, and placed strangers under an obligation. Likewise, the state is the carriage of the Ruler; the august position is his horse. If the Ruler does not know how to drive the carriage, then even though he exhausts himself, he cannot avoid chaos. If he knows how to drive, he will remain in the place of ease and joy and accomplish the achievement of the emperor and the king.

Iron hammers are for flattening metallic plates. Wooden stands are for collecting crooked arrows. The sage makes laws in order thereby to flatten the indented and correct the crooked.

When Cho Ch'ih was serving Ch'i he pulled the sinews out of King Min's body. When Li Tai was serving Chao, he starved the Father Sovereign to death. These two rulers were both unable to use their iron hammers and wooden stands with the result that they were put to death and became the laughing-stock of All-under-Heaven.

According to a different source: After entering Ch'i one would hear of Cho Ch'ih only and never hear of the King of Ch'i; after entering Chao one would hear of Li Tai only and never hear of the King of Chao. Hence the saying: "If the lord of men does not apply tact, his prestige and position will become insignificant and ministers will celebrate themselves at leisure."

According to another different source: When T'ien Ying was Premier of Ch'i, somebody said to the King of Ch'i: "If Your Majesty does not spend a few days in listening to the annual financial reports personally, then Your Majesty will have no other way to know the officials' wickednesses and corruptions." "Right," said the King. Hearing about this T'ien Ying immediately went to ask the King to listen to his reports. When the King was about to listen to the reports, T'ien Ying ordered his subordinate officials to get ready the

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officially signed documents and the accounts of measures of grain. To these the King listened personally, till he could no longer listen to any more reports. After his lunch, he sat down again. At dusk he had no more time left for his supper. Then T'ien Ying said: "These reports involve such duties as the officials night and day all year around dare not neglect. If Your Majesty spends an evening in listening to them, the officials will be encouraged." "All right," said the King. All of a sudden the King fell asleep. In the meantime the officials pulled knives out and whittled the remaining documents and accounts of measures. Thus, as the King listened to the reports personally, disorder began.

According to a different source: King Wu-ling entrusted King Hui-wen with the state affairs, and appointed Li Tai premier. As King Wu-ling did not hold the power of life and death over the people himself, he was eventually intimidated by Li Tai.

Annotations to Canon 5:—

Tzu Cheng was pulling a push-cart to go across the arch of a bridge, but was unable to bear the weight. So he sat on the shaft and started singing. Meanwhile the passers-by from the front stopped and those from the rear ran forward to help him, till the push-cart went up the arch. Suppose Tzu Cheng had no technique to attract people. Then even though he exhausted himself to death, the cart would not be able to go across the bridge. Now that he did not exhaust himself while the cart went up the arch of the bridge, was because he had the technique to make use of people.

When Lord Chien of Chao was sending tax-collectors out, they asked him about the rate of taxation. Thereupon Lord Chien said: "Neither too high nor too low. If too high, it will profit the superior. If too low, it will profit the people. The magistrates who seek no private profit, are honest . . ."

Once Po Yi said to Lord Chien of Chao: "The stomach of the country of your Highness is well satiated." Rejoicing in such a remark, Lord Chien gladly asked, "In what way?" In reply Yi said: "On the top the treasury and the granary are empty and running low; at the bottom the hundred surnames are poor and starving; whereas in the centre the crooked officials are wealthy."

Once Duke Huan went out in disguise and inspected the domestic conditions of the people. There was an aged man in a house supporting himself. So Duke Huan asked him why he was left alone. In reply the man said: "Thy servant has three sons. The whole family being poor, I have been unable to find wives for them. They are in the employ of other people and have not yet come back." Upon his return to the court, Duke Huan related this situation to Kuan Chung. Kuan Chung said: "If the public treasury has a surplus amount of money, the people must be suffering hunger and starvation. If the court has discontented girls, many men must be having no wives." "Right," the Duke said, and then instructed the court to give women in marriage and issued an order among the people to the effect that "men must start housekeeping at twenty, and women must get married at fifteen."

According to a different source: Once Duke Huan went out in disguise among the people. There was an old man named Lu Men-chi. He had lived seventy years and had no wife. Therefore, Duke Huan asked Kuan Chung, "Is there anyone among the people who has lived up to old age and had no wife?" "There is a man," replied Kuan Chung, "named Lu Men-chi who has lived seventy years and had no wife." "Then how can we make every man have a wife?" asked Duke Huan. "Thy servant has heard," replied Kuan Chung, "if the sovereign has money saved, the subjects must be suffering destitution. If the court has discontented girls, there must be men who live up to old age and have no wives." "Right," said Duke Huan. Then he ordered the court to give in marriage those girls who had never attended on the Ruler, and also ordered men to start housekeeping at twenty and women to get married at fifteen. In consequence, there were no discontented girls inside the court and no wifeless men outside.

Cho Tzu of Yen-ling rode in a carriage pulled by a team of blue-haired horses with the herring-bone design. The horses were equipped with spur-reins in the front and with hoes plated with gold in the back. Thus, on going forward, they were stopped by the spur-ornaments; on going backward, the plated hoes struck them. Finally the horses began to jump sideways. Thereby Tsao-fu passed and with tears running down said: "Exactly in the same way the ancients governed the people. Indeed, reward is for encouraging people, but disgrace goes with it. Punishment is for prohibiting people, but to it is added honour. The people, then standing on the middle line, do not know which way to follow. For this reason the sage wept for them."

According to a different source: Cho Tzu of Yen-ling rode in a carriage pulled by a team of blue-haired horses with the herring-bone design. They were equipped with spurornaments in the front and sharp hoes at the back. On going forward, he pulled the spurs; on going backward, he moved the hoes. The horses could not go either forward or backward, till they avoided either way and jumped sideways. Therefore, he pulled his knife and cut off the horses' legs. Seeing this, Tsao-fu shed tears and stopped eating all day long. Looking up to heaven, he sighed and said: "By whipping the horses he wanted to advance them, but the spur-ornaments were in the front. By pulling them he wanted to withdraw them, but the sharp hoes were in the back. Now, the lord of men promotes men on account of their purity and honesty, but degrades them because they do not suit the courtiers. He honours men on account of their justice and fairness, but removes them because they do not blindly obey him. In consequence, the people, feeling uneasy, keep standing on the middle line and do not know which way to follow. For this reason, the sage weeps for them."

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 36.

Criticisms of The Ancients, Series One

When Duke Wen of Chin was about to fight the Ch'u forces, he summoned Uncle Fan and asked him: "We are about to fight the Ch'us. They are many. We are few. What shall we do?" In reply Uncle Fan said: "Thy servant has heard, in observing the rules of strict etiquette, gentlemen never become weary of loyalty and faithfulness; in engaging enemies at the battlefield, they never disapprove the measures of deception and falsification. May Your Highness deceive them by all means!" After sending out Uncle Fan, Duke Wen summoned Yung Chi and asked him: "We are about to fight the Ch'us. They are many. We are few. What shall we do?" In reply Yung Chi said: "If you burn the forest and go hunting, you will temporarily have much game, but there will be no more animals left afterwards. If you adopt the measure of deception in dealing with people, you may have the advantage for a time, but the same measure can never be repeated afterwards." "Right," said Duke Wen. Then he sent Yung Chi out. However, by applying Uncle Fan's stratagem, he engaged the Ch'us and defeated them. After his victorious return, when he conferred ranks, he ranked Yung Chi first and Uncle Fan next. Thereupon the body of officials said: "The victory at Ch'eng-po was due to Uncle Fan's stratagem. Is it right to take his advice and put him in the second place?" In response Duke Wen said: "This is not what you, gentlemen, understand. To be sure, what Uncle Fan suggested was a temporary expediency; whereas what Yung Chi advised was an everlasting advantage." Hearing about this, Chung-ni said: "How reasonable it must be that Duke Wen became Hegemonic Ruler! He knew both the temporary expediency and the everlasting advantage."

Some critic says: Yung Chi's reply did not suit Duke Wen's question. As a rule, who replies to a question must make out the objective, and give his reply according to whether the object of the question is either big or small, urgent or lenient. If the objective of the question is high and big but the reply is low and narrow, the enlightened sovereign will not accept it. Now Duke Wen asked Yung Chi how to face the many with the few, but Yung Chi replied, "The same measure can never be repeated afterwards." Thereby the reply was not to the point of the question. On the other hand, Duke Wen himself did not understand either a temporary expediency or an everlasting advantage. If he won the war at all, he could safeguard his country and stabilize his position while his army would become strong and his prestige would be enhanced. Therefore, even though there might be another war much greater than this, why should he worry that he would not gain another everlasting advantage? If he lost the war, the country would decline and the army would become weak while he would die broken-hearted and lose his fame. Thus, if he could hardly evade the impending death of the present, how could he have time to wait for an everlasting advantage? The everlasting advantage rested with the present victory. The present victory depended upon deception of the enemies. In short, the deception of enemies implied an everlasting advantage. Hence the saying: "Yung Chi's reply did not suit Duke Wen's question." Furthermore, Duke Wen did not understand Uncle Fan's suggestion. By saying, "Gentlemen never disapprove the measure of deception and falsification," Uncle Fan did not mean that they approved the deception of their own people, but meant that they approved the deception of their enemies. After all, enemies belonged to the country they were attacking. Even though the same could not be repeated, what harm would there be in adopting the measure of deception? Did Duke Wen rank Yung Chi first for Yung Chi's meritorious service? The victory over Ch'u and the defeat of the enemies were due to Uncle Fan's stratagem, however. Did he do that for Yung Chi's virtuous advice? Yung Chi only said, "The same measure could never be repeated," which involved no virtuous word at all. As regards Uncle Fan's saying, it involved both a merit and a virtue. Uncle Fan said: "In observing the rules of strict etiquette, gentlemen never become weary of loyalty and faithfulness." By remaining loyal they love their subordinates; by remaining faithful they do not deceive their people. Thus, he advocated the measure of love and nondeception. What saying could be more virtuous than this? However, he had to suggest the measure of deception and falsification because it was based on strategical consideration. Thus, Uncle Fan uttered a virtuous saying at the beginning and waged a victorious war in the end. Accordingly, he had two merits, but was ranked second. Yung Chi had none but was rewarded first. "How reasonable it must be that Duke Wen became Hegemonic Ruler!" Chung-ni, when making such a remark, did not know the right way to reward people.

Once upon a time, farmers of the Li Mountains trespassed on each other's fields. Thereupon Shun went there and tilled among them. In the course of one year, all the boundary ridges of the fields became correct. Another time fishermen living by the Yellow River disputed about small shoals. Thereupon Shun went there and fished among them. In the course of one year they came to make concessions to elders. The potters in the Eastern Barbaric Land made very poor earthenware. Thereupon Shun went there and made earthenware among them. In the course of one year, the earthenware they made became substantial. With admiration Chung-ni said: "Neither tillage nor fishing nor earthen industry was Shun's official duty. Yet he went to pursue such kinds of work in order thereby to save the fallen. How benevolent a man Shun was! He experienced all hardships himself, till the people followed his example. Hence the saying 'Great is, indeed, the moral influence of the sage!'"

Somebody asked the literati, "At that time where was Yao?" "Yao was then the Son of Heaven," they replied. "If so, why did Chung-ni regard Yao as saintly? The saintly man, being clear-sighted and seated on the throne, was supposed to purge All-under-Heaven from wickedness, make the tillers and fishermen stop disputing, and allow no poor earthenware to be made. In that case, how could Shun exercise his moral influence at all? If Shun had to save the fallen, Yao must have had faults. Therefore, if one considers Shun worthy, he disproves the clear-sightedness of Yao; if he considers Yao saintly, he disproves the moral influence of Shun. He can not praise both of them."

Once there was a man of Ch'u selling shields and halberds. In praising his shields he said, "My shields are so solid that nothing can penetrate them." Again, in praising his halberds, he said, "My halberds are so sharp that they can penetrate anything." In response to his words somebody asked, "How about using your halberds to pierce through your shields?" To this the man could not give any reply. Indeed, impenetrable shields and absolutely penetrative halberds cannot stand together at the same time. Now both Yao and Shun cannot be praised at the same time just as the halberds and the shields are mutually incompatible.

Moreover, in saving the fallen, Shun stopped one fault in a year and three faults in three years. The length of Shun's life was limited, but the faults in All-under-Heaven were unlimited in number, If he attempted to remove the unlimited number of faults in the limited length of his life, what he could stop in his life would be very little. Contrary to this, reward and punishment make laws enforcible throughout All-under-Heaven. Suppose there is issued an order to the effect that who conforms to the law shall be rewarded and who does not conform to the law shall be punished. Then, if the order arrives in the morning, the people will change by the evening; if it arrives in the evening, they will change by the morning. In the course of ten days everybody within the seas will change. Why should the ruler wait a year then? However, Shun, instead of persuading Yao of this idea to make the people follow his orders, experienced all hardships himself. Was he not tactless?

Furthermore, to experience hardships personally and thereby transform the people afterwards was difficult even for Yao and Shun; whereas to make use of one's august position and thereby correct the people is easy even for an average sovereign. When about to govern All-under-Heaven, if the ruler discards what is easy to the average sovereign and extols what was difficult to Yao and Shun, it is still practicable to assist him in political administration.

When Kuan Chung was ill, Duke Huan called on him and asked, "Uncle Chung is now ill. Should he unfortunately pass away by the decree of fate, what advice will he bequeath to me?" In reply Kuan Chung said: "Without Your Highness's asking, thy servant intended to address a memorial. Will Your Highness dismiss Shu Tiao, remove Yi Ya, and alienate the Wei Prince K'ai-fang. When Yi Ya was the chef of Your Highness, because Your Highness had never tasted human flesh, he purposely steamed his son's head and served it. Indeed, it is human nature that everybody loves his own son. Now that he did not love his son, how could he love his master? Similarly, as Your Highness was jealous and fond of women, Shu Tiao castrated himself in order thereby to manage the harem. It is human nature that everyone loves his body. If he did not love his body, how could he love his master? K'ai-fang has served Your Highness for fifteen years. The distance between Ch'i and Wei takes only a few days' walk. Yet he left his mother at home and has never been home to see her during his long-term service. If he does not love his mother, how can he love his master? Thy servant has heard, 'Forced hypocrisy never lasts long; covered falsehood is soon uncovered.' May Your Highness remove these three men!" After the death of Kuan Chung, Duke Huan never carried his advice into

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practice. In consequence, when Duke Huan died, he was left unburied, till worms crawled outdoors.

Some critic says: What Kuan Chung suggested to Duke Huan was not what an upholder of legal standards ought to have said. His reason for suggesting the removal of Shu Tiao and Yi Ya was that in order to meet the demands of their master they stopped loving themselves. "If they did not love themselves," said he, "how could they love their master?" If so, then ministers who exert their strength to death for the sake of their sovereign, Kuan Chung would never take into service, saying, "If they did not love their lives and physical forces, how could they love their master?" This means that he wanted the ruler to remove loyal ministers. Moreover, if you infer their not loving their master from their not loving themselves, you will also infer Kuan Chung's inability to die for the sake of Duke Huan from his inability to die for the sake of Prince Chiu. This means that Kuan Chung himself also fell under the rule of removal.

The way of the enlightened sovereign is not the same, however. He establishes what the people want and thereby gets meritorious services from them, wherefore he bestows ranks and emoluments to encourage them. Similarly, he establishes what the people dislike and thereby prohibits them from committing villainy, wherefore he inflicts censure and punishment to overawe them. As bestowal and reward are sure and censure and punishment are definite, the ruler can raise ministers of merit and no crook can join governmental service. Then, even though there are crooks like Shu Tiao and Yi Ya, what can they do against the ruler? Moreover, ministers exert their strength to death to comply with the ruler's need; the ruler confers ranks and emoluments to comply with the minister's want. Thus, the relationship of ruler and minister is not as intimate as the bond of father and son; It is an outcome of mutual calculations. If the ruler follows the right way, ministers will exert their strength and no crook will appear. If he misses the right way, ministers will delude the sovereign on the one hand and accomplish their selfish designs on the other. Now, Kuan Chung did not explain these rules to Duke Huan. Supposing he successfully made him remove one Shu Tiao, another Shu Tiao would certainly appear. It was not the way to exterminate crooks.

Furthermore, that Duke Huan died and worms crawled outdoors while the corpse lay unburied, was because his ministers were too powerful. The ministers being overpowerful resulted in their manipulation of the sovereign. Were there sovereign-manipulating ministers, then the ruler's decrees could not take effect downward among the inferiors and the true information about the ministers would not travel upward to the superior. Thus, one man's power could block the communication between ruler and minister, and make success and failure unknown to the ruler and good and bad news not transmitted to him. Hence followed the calamity of leaving the corpse unburied.

According to the way of the enlightened sovereign, nobody can hold any additional office; no office involves any extra duty; the low and humble do not have to depend upon the favour of the high and noble for distinction; chief vassals do not have to count on the courtiers in order to interview the sovereign; all officials can communicate their ideas to the throne; all ministers concentrate upon the interest of the country; the ruler sees the meritorious service rendered by the rewarded and knows the criminal offence committed by the punished; in seeing and knowing he is not mistaken; and in matters of reward and punishment he is not unjust. Were this the case, how could there arise the calamity of leaving his corpse unburied? Instead of explaining this principle to Duke Huan, however, Kuan Chung advised him to remove the three men. Hence the saying: "Kuan Chung upheld no legal standard."

Viscount Hsiang stood a long siege in Chin-yang. After the siege was raised he rewarded five men for their distinguished services, among whom Kao Ho was ranked at the top. Thereupon Chang Meng-t'an said: "During the siege at Chin-yang, Ho rendered no great meritorious service. Why does Your Highness now confer the first reward upon him?" In reply Viscount Hsiang said: "During the crisis at Chin-yang my country and family were in peril and the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain was jeopardised. All my officials showed a contemptuous attitude to me, but Ho alone never broke the etiquette between ruler and minister. This is the reason why I rank him at the top." Hearing about this, Chung-ni said: "How well he rewarded people! Because Viscount Hsiang conferred the first reward upon one man, all ministers in All-under-Heaven dared not break etiquette."

Some critic says: Chung-ni did not know the right way of rewarding people. Indeed, if the superior knows the right way of rewarding and punishing people, all officials dare not override their commissions; no minister dares to break etiquette; the superior enacts the law; and the subjects have no crooked mind. Were this the case, he could be considered skilful in rewarding and punishing people. Suppose while Viscount Hsiang was in Chin-yang his orders took no effect and his prohibitions stopped nothing. This would mean that Viscount Hsiang had no country and Chin-yang had no ruler. Then with whom could he defend the city? Now, while Viscount Hsiang was besieged in Chin-yang, though the Chih Clan inundated the city till frogs made their nests inside the mortars and ovens, yet the people had no rebellious mind. Thus were ruler and minister attached to each other. Notwithstanding that Viscount Hsiang enjoyed the intimate relationship between ruler and minister and that he had the legal authority of issuing effective orders and enforcible prohibitions, if there still remained arrogant ministers, it must have been because he missed the right way of punishing people. If ministers render meritorious services in the hour of need, they deserve reward. Now that solely because Ho had never been arrogant, Viscount Hsiang rewarded him, he certainly missed the right way of rewarding people. The enlightened sovereign neither bestows reward upon men of no merit nor inflicts punishment upon innocent people. Now that Viscount Hsiang did not punish arrogant ministers but rewarded Ho for no meritorious service, where could be found his right way of rewarding people? Hence the saying: "Chung-ni did not know the right way of rewarding people."

Once Duke P'ing of Chin held a carousal with the body of officials. When half-seas-over, he heaved a sigh and said, "Nothing is more pleasant to the ruler of men than the obedience of his lords." In response to this, Musician K'uang, seated in the front, raised the harp and threw it at the Duke. Immediately the Duke spread out the lapel in front of his coat and avoided it. The harp made a hole in the wall. Then the Duke said, "Whom did the Grand Tutor intend to strike?" "Just now," replied the Musician K'uang, "some small man by my side played upon words. Therefore, I threw the harp at him." "It was I," said the Duke. "Alas!" exclaimed Musician K'uang. "It was not what the ruler of men should have said." The attendants asked permission to plaster the broken wall. The Duke said, "Leave it there as a constant admonition to me."

Some critic says: Duke P'ing missed the way of the ruler: Musician K'uang broke the ministerial etiquette. Indeed, to censure the person when disapproving his action is the ruler's measure against the minister. To address a memorial when disapproving the ruler's action and withdraw from the government if the remonstration is not followed, is the minister's attitude to the ruler. Now that Musician K'uang disapproved Duke P'ing's action but did not address any ministerial remonstration against it, and, instead, performed the censure as the lord of men would do by raising the harp to strike the Duke's body, he reversed high and low positions and broke the ministerial etiquette. Indeed, who is minister, if the ruler has any fault, should remonstrate against it, and, if the remonstration is not followed, should make light of his title and emolument and leave him. This is the ministerial etiquette. Now, Musician K'uang, on disapproving Duke P'ing's fault, raised the harp to strike his body. Even a severe father would not inflict such punishment upon his son, but Musician K'uang inflicted it upon his master. This was an act of high treason. When the minister committed high treason, Duke P'ing was glad to listen to him. Thereby he missed the way of the ruler. Thus the step taken by Duke P'ing was unjustifiable, for it would make the lord of men listen too much to ministers but never realise their faults. Likewise the action taken by Musician K'uang was unjustifiable, for it would make wicked ministers abuse exorbitant remonstration and justify the art of regicide. They cannot both be reasonable. They constitute two faults. Hence the saying: "Duke P'ing missed the way of the ruler; Musician Ku'ang broke the ministerial etiquette."

At the time of Duke Huan of Ch'i there was a private scholar named Hsiao-ch'en Chi. Duke Huan paid him three visits but could not see him. Then Duke Huan said: "I have heard, 'The commoner, unless he makes light of rank and emolument, has no way to keep off the sovereign of ten thousand chariots; the sovereign of ten thousand chariots, unless he is fond of benevolence and righteousness, has no way to condescend to associate with the commoner.' " Accordingly, he went five times and was finally able to see him.

Some critic says: Duke Huan did not know benevolence and righteousness. Indeed, who is benevolent and righteous worries about the evil of All-under-Heaven and rushes at the calamity of the whole country regardless of his personal humility and disgrace, is called benevolent and righteous. For example Yi Yin regarded the Central States as disorderly and therefore became a cook in order thereby to ingratiate himself with King T'ang; and Pai-li Hsi regarded Ch'in as disorderly and therefore became a captive in order thereby to ingratiate himself with Duke Mu. Both worried about the evil of All-under-Heaven and rushed at the calamity of the whole country regardless of their personal humility and disgrace. Hence they have been called benevolent and righteous. Now, Duke Huan from the position of a ruler of ten thousand chariots condescended to associate with a commoner and thereby intended to eradicate the worry of the Ch'i state, but Hsiao-ch'en refused him an interview. This meant that Hsiao-ch'en took no notice of the welfare of the people. Who takes no notice of the welfare of the masses, cannot be called benevolent and righteous. A benevolent and righteous person would neither break the ministerial etiquette nor confuse the positions of ruler and minister. For this reason, within the four boundaries those who bring birds to visit the court are called vassals." When vassals and officials differentiate their duties and attend to their respective posts, then they are called "subjects." Now, Hsiao-ch'en, mingling among the mass of subjects, acted contrary to the wish of the ruler and therefore could not be called benevolent and righteous. While benevolence and righteousness were not found in him, Duke Huan condescended to pay him his respects. Suppose Hsiao-ch'en had wisdom and talent and purposely avoided Duke Huan. Then his action meant retirement from useful life, wherefore he ought to be punished. If he had neither wisdom nor talent but made all kinds of pretences and behaved arrogantly toward Duke Huan, it meant fraud, for which he should be executed. Thus, Hsiao-ch'en for his action should have been either penalized or executed. However, Duke Huan, unable to grasp the principle governing the relations between sovereign and subject, paid his repects to a man deserving penalty and execution. Thereby Duke Huan inculcated upon the people in the Ch'i State the habit of slighting the superior and insulting the ruler. It is not the way to political order. Hence the saying: "Duke Huan did not know benevolence and righteousness."

At the battle of Mt. Mi-chi, when Han Hsien-Tzu was about to execute a man, Ch'i Hsien-tzu went in a carriage to save the man. Upon his arrival the man had already been executed. Ch'i Tzu, accordingly, said, "Why is the execution not used as a warning to the masses?" Then his servants said, "Didn't you intend to save the man?" In response Ch'i Tzu said, "How dare I not share the fault for executing an innocent man?"

Some critic says: Ch'i Tzu's saying must be carefully scrutinised. Were the man executed by Han Tzu guilty, then he could not be saved. Saving the criminal would break the law. Should the law be broken, the country would fall into confusion. If the victim was not guilty, then Ch'i Tzu should not have advised Han Tzu to use the unjust execution as a warning to the masses. To use the unjust execution as a warning would double the injustice. Doubling the injustice would arouse popular resentment. Should the people become resentful, the country would be endangered. Thus the saying of Han Tzu would cause the country either danger or confusion. It must be carefully scrutinized. Moreover, were the man executed by Han Tzu not guilty, then what blame could Ch'i Tzu share? Suppose the victim was not guilty. Then since Ch'i Tzu arrived after the execution, it meant that after the fault of Han Tzu had been completed, Ch'i Tzu arrived on the scene. Indeed, Ch'i Tzu said, "Use the execution as a popular warning!" Because he could not share the fault of executing an innocent man, he brought about the fault of using the unjust execution as a popular warning. In this way the saying of Ch'i Tzu was not to share the original fault but to bring about a new fault. Of old, when Chow inflicted the punishment of climbing a roasting pillar, Chung Hou and Wu Lai said, "Cut the shins of waders!" How could these two men share the fault of Chow then? Moreover, the hope of the masses for justice from the authorities was very urgent. If they could not get it from Han Tzu, they would hope to get it from Ch'i Tzu. Now that they could not get it from Ch'i Tzu, either, they would give up their hope in the authorities. Hence the saying: "The saying of Ch'i Tzu was not to share the original fault but to bring about a new fault." Furthermore, Ch'i Tzu went to save the man because he thought Han Tzu was not right. Yet instead of telling Han Tzu that he was wrong, he advised him to use the unjust execution as a popular warning, whereby he made Han Tzu not realize his fault. Verily he made the people give up hope in the authorities and, besides, made Han Tzu not realize his fault. Thus, I have not yet found the way Ch'i Tzu could share the fault of Han Tzu.

After Duke Huan had untied the bonds of Kuan Chung and appointed him premier, Kuan Chung said: "Thy servant has enough favour, but is low in rank." "I will raise you above the Kaos and Kuos," said the Duke. Meanwhile, Kuan Chung said, "Thy servant is noble but poor." "You shall have the wealth of the Building of Three Returns," said the Duke. "Thy servant is now wealthy," said Kuan Chung, "but still very distant in relation to the ruling family." Thereupon the Duke made him Uncle Chung. Commenting on this, Hsiao Lüeh said: "Kung Chung, considering a humble man unable to govern the noble asked the ruler to raise him above the Kaos and Kuos. Considering a poor man unable to govern the wealthy, he asked for the wealth of the Building of Three Returns. Finally, considering a man distant in relation to the ruling family unable to govern the close relatives of the ruler, he asked for the title of Uncle Chung. In so doing, Kuan Chung was not greedy, but wanted to provide his government with facilities."

Some critic says: Now suppose bondmen and bondwomen by the ruler's order summon nobles and ministers. Then nobody dares to disobey them. Not that the nobles and ministers are low in rank and the bondmen and bondwomen are high, but that nobody dares to disobey the sovereign's decree. Now, suppose Kuan Chung's government did not rely on Duke Huan's authority. Then it would have no sovereign.

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Without a sovereign, no country could by any means be governed. If he acted under Duke Huan's authority and issued decrees in his name, he could be trusted as the bondmen and bondwomen were. Why was it necessary for him to have the rank of the Kaos and the Kuos and the title of Uncle Chung before he enforced his rule over the country? The petty officials and local magistrates of the present age, on enforcing the orders of their superiors, neither except the high and noble nor apply them to the low and humble only. As long as the enforcement is legal, even business eunuchs in the court would be trusted by nobles and ministers. If the enforcement is illegal, even high officials would have to give way to ignorant people. Now that Kuan Chung, instead of striving to elevate the prestige of the sovereign and clarify the law, simply attended to the increase of personal favour and the promotion of his rank, if he was not covetous of wealth and nobility he must have been stupid and ignorant of the right tact. Hence the saying: "Kuan Chung had misbehaved himself; Hsiao Lüeh overestimated him."

King Hsüan of Han asked Chiu Liu, "I want to employ both Kung-chung and Kung-shu simultaneously. Is it practicable?" In reply Chiu Liu said: "Formerly Wey employed both Lou Yüan and Chieh Huang and, as a result, lost the Western River. Likewise, Ch'u employed both the Chaos and the Chings and, as a result, lost the districts of Yen and Ying. Now, if Your Majesty employs both Kung-chung and Kung-shu, both will certainly dispute about affairs and cultivate private friendships with foreign countries. Then the state will, doubtless, have worries."

Some critic says: Of old, Duke Huan of Ch'i employed both Kuan Chung and Pao Shu while King T'ang, the successful, employed both Yi Yin and Chung Hui. If the simultaneous employment of two able men would cause the state worries at all, then Duke Huan could not become Hegemonic Ruler and T'ang, the Successful, could not become King. Contrary to this, King Min entrusted Cho Ch'ih alone with all state affairs and, in consequence, had himself murdered in the Easter Shrine. Likewise, the Father Sovereign entrusted Li Tai with all state affairs and, in consequence, had his food reduced till he starved to death. If the sovereign is tactful at all, the simultaneous employment of two able men will beget no worry. If he is tactless, the simultaneous employment of two able men will create disputes about affairs and private frienships with foreign countries and the employment of only one man will result in autocracy, intimidation, and regicide. Now, Liu had no tact to rectify the policy of the sovereign. Instead, he advised him not to employ two men at the same time but to entrust one alone with the state affairs. As a result if the sovereign had no worry about territorial losses such as the losses of the Western River and the Yen and Ying districts, he would certainly suffer such disasters as regicide and starvation to death. Thus, Liu was not yet skilful in giving advice to his master.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 37.

Criticisms of the Ancients, Series Two

Duke Ching passed by the house of Yen Tzu and said, "Your residence is small and close by the market. Pray move your home to the Garden of Yü-chang." Repeating his bows, Yen Tzu declined the offer, saying, "The home of thy servant, Ying, is poor and dependent on the market for daily supplies. As every morning and evening we have to run to the market, we cannot live too far away from the place." Duke Ching laughed and said, "If your family is used to shopping at the market, do you know the prices of goods?" At that time Duke Ching was busy inflicting many punishments. Therefore, Yen Tzu replied, "The shoes of the footless men are dear; the ordinary shoes cheap." "Why?" asked the Duke. "Because there are many punishments of foot-cutting," replied Yen Tzu. Astonished thereat, Duke Ching changed his colour and said, "Am I as cruel as that?" Meanwhile he abolished five articles under the criminal law.

Some critic says: Yen Tzu's making dear the shoes of footless men was not sincere. He simply wanted to utilize the words to eliminate the number of punishments. This was the calamity of his ignorance of the bases of political order. Indeed, punishments equivalent to crimes are never too many; punishments not equivalent to crimes are never too few. Instead of informing the ruler about the punishments that were not equivalent to crimes, Yen Tzu persuaded him that the punishments were too many. This was the calamity of his tactlessness. When defeated troops are censured, though the punishments number hundreds and thousands, yet they still keep running away. When penalties for settling order out of confusion are inflicted, though the punishments seem innumerable, yet the culprits are still not exterminated. Now that Yen Tzu never considered whether or not the punishments were equivalent to the crimes but took their extraordinary number as the basis of his remark, was his counsel not absurd? Verily, who spares weeds and reeds, hurts the ears of the rice-plants; who tolerates thieves and robbers, injures good citizens. Similarly, to loosen censure and punishment and give pardons and favours, is to benefit the crooks and injure the good. It is not the way to attain political order.

Once Duke Huan of Ch'i was drunk and dropped his crown. Feeling disgraced thereby, he did not hold court for three days. Kuan Chung said, "This is not what the ruler of a state should feel disgraced by. Why does Your Highness not wipe away such disgrace by means of good government?" "Right," replied the Duke, and, accordingly, opened the granaries and gave aid to the poor, and made a thorough investigation of the convicts and let out the misdemeanants. In the course of three days, the people began to sing his praises, saying:

Duke, Duke, Duke! We have asked in vain,
Why does he not drop his crown again?

Some critic says: Kuan Chung wiped away Duke Huan's disgrace among small men but displayed his disgrace before superior men. To make Duke Huan open the granaries, give aid to the poor, investigate the convicts, and let out the misdemeanants, was not righteous and not able to wipe away the disgrace. Granting it to be a righteous act, Duke Huan and neglected such righteousness that he dropped his crown, and then began to act righteously. If so, the righteous act was done because Duke Huan had neglected righteousness rather than because he had dropped his crown. Thus, though he might have wiped away the disgrace of dropping the crown among small men, yet he had already left the disgrace of neglecting righteousness before gentlemen. Moreover, to open the granaries and give aid to the poor was to reward men of no merit; to investigate the convicts and let out the misdemeanants was to inflict no punishment upon offenders. Indeed, if men of no merit are rewarded, then the people will enjoy the godsends and hope for the same from the sovereign; if offenders are not punished, then the people will take no warning and become liable to misconduct. This is the root of confusion. How could it wipe away any disgrace at all?

In bygone days, King Wen invaded Yü, defeated Chü, and took Feng. After he had waged these three campaigns, King Chow came to dislike him. Afraid thereof, he offered to present the King with the land to the west of the Lo River and the country of the Red Soil, altogether one thousand li square in area, and asked him to abolish the punishment of climbing the roasting pillar. Thereat All-under-Heaven were delighted. Hearing about this, Chung-ni said: "How benevolent King Wen was! By making light of a country of one thousand li square, he asked for the abolishment of the punishment of climbing the roasting pillar. How wise King Wen was! By offering the land of one thousand li square, he won the hearts of All-under-Heaven."

Some critic says: Chung-ni thought King Wen was wise. Was he not mistaken? Indeed, the wise man knows the unlucky and dangerous zone and can avoid it, so that he never suffers the calamity himself. Suppose the reason why King Wen was disliked by Chow was his inability to win the hearts of the people. Then though he might seek to win the hearts of the people in order thereby to dispel Chow's dislike, yet Chow would dislike him the more because he made a great success in winning the hearts of the people. Besides, he made light of his territory and thereby won the hearts of the people, which would double Chow's suspicion of him. No wonder, he was fettered in jail at Yu-li. The saying of the elder of Cheng, "Have personal experience of the Way of Nature, do not do anything, and reveal nothing," would be the most suitable warning to King Wen. It is the way to incur nobody's suspicion. Thus, Chung-ni in regarding King Wen as wise fell short of this saying.

Duke P'ing of Chin asked Shu Hsiang, saying: "Formerly Duke Huan of Ch'i called nine conferences of the feudal lords and brought All-under-Heaven under one rule. Was that due to the abilities of the ministers or the ability of the ruler?" In reply Shu Hsiang said, "Kuan Chung was skilful in cutting the shape of the dress; Pin Hsü-wu was skilful in sewing the seams of the dress; and Hsi Peng was skilful in decorating the dress with plaits and bindings. When the dress was ready, the ruler took it and wore it. The dress-making was thus due to the minister's abilities. What ability did the Ruler have?" Thereat Musician K'uang lay down upon the harp and laughed. "Grand Tutor, why are you laughing?" asked the Duke. "Thy servant," replied the Musician K'uang, "is laughing at the reply Shu Hsiang has given to Your Highness. As a rule, who ministers to a ruler is like a cook synthesizing the five tastes and serving the food to the master. If the master refuses to eat it, who dare force him? May thy servant compare the ruler to farming soil and ministers to grass and trees. The soil must be fertile before grass and trees grow big. Similarly, the Hegemony of Duke Huan was due to the ruler's ability. What abilities did the ministers have?"

Some critic says: The replies of both Shu Hsiang and Musician K'uang were equally eccentric views. Verily, to bring All-under-Heaven under one rule and call nine conferences of the feudal lords was a brilliant achievement. However, it was neither entirely due to the ability of the ruler nor entirely due to the abilities of the ministers. Formerly, Kung Chi-ch'i served Yü, Hsi Fu-ch'i served Ts'ao. Both ministers were so wise that their words always hit the truth of affairs and the execution of the counsels could always harvest successful results. Yet why did Yü and Ts'ao go to ruin? It was because they had able ministers but no able rulers. Likewise, Ch'ien Shu served Yü, but Yü went to ruin; then he served Ch'in, which attained Hegemony. Not that Ch'ien Shu was stupid in Yü and wise in Ch'in, but that serving under an able ruler was different from serving under an unable ruler. Therefore, Hsiang's saying that the success was due to the abilities of the ministers was not true.

Formerly, Duke Huan built two markets inside the palace and two hundred gates of harems between them. Everyday he wore no hat and took drives with women. After he got Kuan Chung, he became the first of the Five Hegemonic Rulers. After he lost Kuan Chung, he got Shu Tiao with the result that following his death worms crawled outdoors while the corpse still lay unburied. If success was not due to the ability of the minister, Duke Huan would not have attained Hegemony because of Kuan Chung. Were it entirely due to the ability of the ruler, he would not have suffered any disturbance because of Shu Tiao. Formerly, Duke Wen was so much in love with his Ch'i wife that he forgot the necessity to return to his native country. Therefore, Uncle Fan made a forceful remonstration with him and thereby enabled him to go back to the Chin State. Thus, Duke Huan brought All-under-Heaven under one rule because of Kuan Chung while Duke Wen attained Hegemony because of Uncle Fan. Therefore, Musician K'uang's saying that the success was due to the ability of the ruler was also not true. On the whole, the Five Hegemonic Rulers could accomplish their achievements and reputations in All-underHeaven because in every case both ruler and minister had abilities. Hence the saying: "The replies of both Shu Hsiang and Musician K'uang were equally eccentric views."

At the time of Duke Huan of Ch'i, once an envoy from Chin arrived. When the chief usher asked about the kind of treatment he should be accorded, Duke Huan thrice said, "Ask Uncle Chung about it." Therefore the clown laughed, saying, "How easy it is to be a ruler! First Your Highness says, 'Ask Uncle Chung!' and next also says, 'Ask Uncle Chung!' " In response Duke Huan said: "I have heard that the ruler of men has a hard time to find right men for office but has an easy time when making use of them. I already had a hard time to find Uncle Chung. After having found him, why should I not have an easy time?"

Some critic says: The reply of Duke Huan to the clown was not what the ruler of men ought to have made. Duke Huan thought the ruler of men must undergo the hardship of finding right men for office. Why should finding men be a hardship at all? Yi Yin became a cook and thereby ingratiated himself with King T'ang; Pai-li Hsi became a war prisoner and thereby ingratiated himself with Duke Mu. To become a war prisoner is a humiliation; to become a cook is a disgrace. Yet because the worthy's worry about the world is urgent, he would go through humiliation and disgrace and thereby approach the ruler. If so, the rulers of men should cause only the worthies no obstacle. Verily, to find right men for office does not constitute any difficulty to the lord of men. Moreover, to offices and commissions worthies are appointed; with titles and bounties men of merit are rewarded. Once offices and commissions are established and titles and bounties are paraded, talented men will appear of themselves. Then why should the ruler of men have any hardship at all?

Likewise, personnel administration is not an easy thing. The lord of men, while using men, must regulate them with rules and measures, and compare their deeds with their words in the way forms are compared with names. If any project is lawful, it should be carried out; if unlawful, it should be stopped. If the result is equivalent to the proposal, the proposer should be rewarded; if not, he should be punished. Rectify the ministers with forms and names, regulate the subordinates with rules and measures. This principle should not be neglected. Then what ease does the ruler of men have?

Thus finding men is not a hardship; using men is not easy. Consequently, Duke Huan's saying, "The ruler has a hard time to find men but has an easy time when using them," was not true. Moreover, Duke Huan went through no hardship to find Kuan Chung. Kuan Chung did not die in the cause of loyalty to his first master, but surrendered himself to Duke Huan. Besides, Pao Shu made light of his own official position, gave way to the able man, and recommended him for the post of premiership. Clearly enough, Duke Huan's finding Kuan Chung was not any hardship at all.

After having found Kuan Chung, how could he have an easy time all at once? Kuan Chung was not like Duke T'an of Chou. Duke T'an of Chou acted for the Son of Heaven for seven years till King Ch'eng reached full age, when he returned the reins of government to him. This was not because he thought of the welfare of All-under-Heaven, but because he wanted to perform his duty. Indeed, who does not usurp the orphan's throne and thereby rule over All-under-Heaven, never will desert the dead ruler and serve the enemy; who deserts the dead ruler and serves the enemy, will not always hesitate to usurp the orphan's throne and thereby rule over All-under-Heaven; and who does not hesitate to usurp the orphan's throne and thereby rule over All-under-Heaven, will not

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hesitate to usurp the ruler's state. Now Kuan Chung was originally a minister under Prince Chiu. Once he even schemed to assassinate Duke Huan, but in vain. Following the death of his old master, he served Duke Huan. Clearly enough, in matters of submission and desertion Kuan Chung was not as great as Duke T'an of Chou. Nobody could tell whether or not he would remain worthy. Supposing he would remain worthy, then he might do the same as King T'ang and King Wu. T'ang and Wu were originally ministers under Chieh and Chow respectively. Chieh and Chow caused confusion, wherefore T'ang and Wu deprived them of the throne. Now that Duke Huan easily stood above Kuan Chung, he was doing the same as Chieh and Chow did standing above T'ang and Wu. Duke Huan was in danger then. Supposing Kuan Chung should become an unworthy man, then he might do the same as T'ien Ch'ang. T'ien Ch'ang was a minister to Duke Chien but murdered his master. Now that Duke Huan stood easily above Kuan Chung, he was doing the same as Duke Chien standing easily above T'ien Ch'ang. Again Duke Huan was in danger.

Thus clearly enough, Kuan Chung was not as great as Duke T'an of Chou. However, nobody could tell whether he would do the same as T'ang and Wu or as T'ieh Ch'ang. Should he do the same as T'ang and Wu, there would be the danger of Chieh and Chow; should he do the same as T'ien Ch'ang, there would be the catastrophe of Duke Chien. After having found Uncle Chung, how could he have an easy time all at once? Supposing Duke Huan took Kuan Chung into service because he was sure he would never deceive him, then he could direct ministers who were not deceitful. However, though at one time he could direct ministers who were not deceitful, yet as he later entrusted Shu Tiao and I Ya with the same affairs which he had committed to the hands of Kuan Chung with the result that worms crawled outdoors while his corpse lay unburied, it goes without saying that Duke Huan could not tell between ministers who would deceive the ruler and those who would not deceive the ruler. Nevertheless, so exclusively he put his trust in ministers when he took them into service! Hence the saying: "Duke Huan was a stupid sovereign."

Li K'o governed Central Hills. The magistrate of Hard Paths presented his fiscal report, in which the annual revenue appeared enormous in amount. Therefore, Li K'o said: "Speeches, eloquent and delightful to the ear but in discord with the cause of righteousness, are called 'entrancing words.' The revenue, enormous in amount but not due to the products from mountains, forests, swamps, and valleys, is called 'an attractive income.' The gentleman never listens to attractive words nor accepts any attractive income. You had better leave your office."

Some critic says: Li Tzu proclaimed the theory, "Speeches, eloquent and delightful to the ear but in discord with the cause of righteousness, are called 'attractive words'." To be sure, the eloquence of speeches depends upon the speaker while their delight rests with the listener. Thus, the speaker is not the listener. What he called "discord with the cause of righteousness" is not concerned with the listener. It must be concerned with what is heard. The listener must be either a rascal or a gentleman. The rascal, having no cause of righteousness, must be unable to estimate the speeches from the standpoint of righteousness; whereas the gentleman, estimating them from the standpoint of righteousness, is certainly not delighted at them. Verily, the argument that speeches, eloquent and delightful to the ear, are in discord with the cause of righteousness must be an absurd saying.

The argument that a revenue enormous in amount is an attractive income is not applicable to many cases. Li Tzu did not stop corruptions early enough and let them creep into the fiscal report. In this way he allowed criminal offences to be accomplished. He had no way of knowing why the revenue was enormous. If the enormous revenue was due to a bountiful harvest, then though the amount was doubled, what could be done about it? If in doing any kind of work people look after the harmony of the positive and negative factors; if in planting trees they follow the suitable periods of the four seasons; and if at dawn and at dusk there is no suffering from cold or heat; then revenue will be enormous. If important duties are not obstructed by small profits; if public welfare is not injured by private interest; if men exert their strength to tillage; and if women devote their energies to weaving; then revenue will be enormous. If the methods of animal husbandry are improved, the qualities of the soil are examined, the six animals flourish, and the five cereals abound, then revenue will be enormous. If weights and measures are made clear; if topographical features are carefully surveyed; and if through the utilization of boats, carts, and other mechanical devices, the minimum amount of energy is used to produce the maximum amount of efficiency; then revenue will be enormous. If traffic on markets, cities, passes, and bridges is facilitated, so that needy places are supplied with sufficient commodities; if merchants from abroad flock to the country and foreign goods and money come in; if any unnecessary expenditure is cut down, extravagant clothing and food are saved, houses and furniture are all limited to necessities, and amusements and recreations are never over-emphasized; then revenue will be enormous. In these cases, the increase in revenue is due to human effort. Granted that natural events, winds, rain, seasons, cold, and heat are normal and the territory remains the same, then if the people can reap the fruits of the abundant year, then revenue will be enormous too. Thus, human effort and heavenly support both are the main factors of increases in revenue, but the products from mountains, forests, swamps, and valleys are not. Verily, to call the enormous revenue not due to the products from mountains, forests, swamps, and valleys "an attractive income," is a tactless saying.

When Viscount Chien of Chao was laying siege to the outer walls of the capital of Wei, he covered himself with a shield and a turret both made of rhinoceros-hide and stood at a spot beyond the reach of arrow-heads. Therefrom he beat the drum, but the warriors made no progress. Throwing down the drumsticks, Duke Chien said, "Alas! My men are already exhausted." In response a herald named Chu Kuo took off his helmet and said: "Thy servant has heard, 'The ruler may be incapable, but no warrior is ever exhausted.' In bygone days, our former ruler, Duke Hsien, annexed seventeen states, subdued thirty-eight states, and won twelve wars, which altogether was due to his way of making use of the people. Following the death of Duke Hsien, Duke Hui ascended the throne. As he continued lewd, flighty, cruel, and violent, and pleasured himself in beautiful women, the Ch'ins invaded the country at their pleasure and came within the distance of seventeen li from the city of Chiang, which also was due to his way of using the people. Following the death of Duke Hui, Duke Wen accepted the reins of government, besieged Wei, took Yeh, and at the battle of Ch'eng-p'u defeated the Chings five times, till he attained the highest fame in All-under-Heaven, which also was due to his way of using men. Thus, the ruler may be incapable, but no warrior is ever exhausted." Accordingly, Duke Chien discarded the shield and the turret and stood on a spot within the reach of arrow-heads. Therefrom he beat the drum, under whose influence the warriors fought and won a great victory. Thereupon Duke Chien said, "One thousand armoured chariots given to me would not be as effective as one counsel heard from Chu Kuo."

Some critic says: The herald did not speak to the point. He simply reminded his master that Duke Hui on account of his personnel administration failed while Duke Wen on account of his personnel administration attained hegemony, but did not yet explain to him the right technique of personnel administration. Therefore, Duke Chien should not have discarded the shield and the turret so soon. When the father is besieged, to slight personal safety and venture the arrowheads is the way the dutiful son loves his father. However, among one hundred there may be one dutiful son loving his father to such an extent. Now that the herald thought the people could fight even in the face of personal dangers, he presumed that all the sons of the hundred clans would serve the superior in the same way as the dutiful son loves his father. Such was the absurd idea of the herald. To love profit and dislike injury is the tendency everybody has. Therefore, if reward is big and trusted, everybody will rush at enemies with ease. If punishment is heavy and definite, nobody will run away from enemies. Among one hundred men there is not even one who would practise high virtue and die in the cause of loyalty to the superior, yet everybody is equally fond of profit and afraid of punishment. Therefore, in advising the leader of the masses not to go on the way which they would follow by necessity but to count on such virtue as none out of a hundred would practise, the herald was certainly not yet aware of the right method of making use of the people.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 38.

Criticism of the Ancients, Series Three

Duke Mu of Lu once asked Tzu-ssu, saying, "I have heard that the son of the Chien family in the village of P'ang is not dutiful. How is his conduct?" In reply Tzu-ssu said, "The superior man esteems the worthy and thereby exalts the virtuous. He promotes the good and thereby encourages the people. In the case of misconduct, it is recognized by small men. Thy servant does not know anything about his conduct at all." After Tzu-ssu had gone out, Tzu-fu and Li-pai went in to interview the Duke. Then Duke Mu again asked about the conduct of the son of the Chien family in the village of P'ang. In reply Tzu-fu and Li-pai said, "He has three defects, all of which your Highness has never heard about." Thenceforth, the ruler respected Tzu-ssu but despised Tzu-fu and Li-pai.

Some critic says: Was it unreasonable that the ruling family of Lu was menaced by the Chi Clan successively for three generations? The enlightened ruler searches for good men and rewards them. He searches for wicked men and punishes them. He search is one. Therefore, who reports of good men agrees with the superior on the approval of good deeds; who reports of wicked men agrees with the superior on the dislike of bad deeds. Both equally deserve reward and honour. Who does not report of wicked men, is an opponent of the superior and a partisan of the wicked men. He deserves disgrace and punishment. Now, Tzu-ssu did not report of any defect of the son, whereas Duke Mu respected him. Li-pai reported of the wickedness of the son, whereas Duke Mu despised him. It is human nature, however, that everybody loves respect and dislikes being despised. Naturally, even when the rebellious plot of the Chi Clan was mature, nobody reported of it to the superior. This was the reason for which the Ruler of Lu was eventually molested. Verily, it is the beaten track of the sovereigns of declining states, which was appreciated by the men of Tsou and Lu. Was it absurd that Duke Mu esteemed it in particular?

When Duke Wen fled into exile, Duke Hsien sent eunuch, P'i, to assault him at Rush City. P'i only succeeded in cutting a sleeve off his coat. Then Duke Wen escaped to Chieh. When Duke Hui ascended the throne, he also sent P'i to assault Duke Wen by the side of the Wei River. But he could not get at the Duke. After the return of Duke Wen to his native country, P'i petitioned for an audience with the Duke. Thereupon, the Duke said, "Before the assault at Rush City, His Highness had ordered you to stay one night on the way, but you went straight there. Before the catastrophe by the side of the Wei River, His Highness had ordered you to stay three nights on the way, but you spent one night only. Why were you so quick?" In reply P'i said, "The ruler's order must not be disobeyed. To eliminate the ruler's enemy I was afraid of my inability. At that time Your Highness was merely a man of Rush or a man of Chieh, with whom I had no relationship whatever. Now that Your Highness has ascended the throne, would there be no memory of the events at Rush and in Chieh? Indeed, Duke Huan even forgot the shooting of the ribbon-hook of his crown and appointed Kuan Chung premier." Hearing this, the Duke granted him an audience.

Some critic says: That festivals to the memory of the ancestors of the Ch'is and the Chins were finally stopped, was perfectly reasonable. Duke Huan could make use of Kuan Chung's meritorious services and forgot the grudge against the shooting of the ribbon-hook. Duke Wen could listen to the eunuch's saying and ignored the crime of cutting off his sleeve. Thus, Dukes Huan and Wen could tolerate the two men. Rulers of subsequent generations, however, were not as enlightened as these two Dukes while ministers of subsequent generations were not as worthy as these two men. When disloyal ministers were serving unintelligent rulers, if the rulers did not notice their disloyalty, then there would appear such traitors as Ts'ao of Yen, Tzu-han, and T'ien Ch'ang; if they noticed their disloyalty, then the ministers would justify their misconduct with the actions of Kuan Chung and the eunuch as precedents, so that the rulers would not censure them and assumed themselves to be as virtuous as Dukes Huan and Wen. In this manner, the ministers owed the rulers grudges in secret, but the rulers were not intelligent enough to eliminate the dark matters. If the rulers vested the ministers with more powers while pretending to worthiness themselves and taking no precaution against any eventuality, was it not reasonable that their posterity was exterminated? Moreover, the saying of the eunuch was too ostentatious. Who does not disobey the ruler's order, is said to be faithful to the ruler. However, unless the minister never feels ashamed of his conduct even when the dead ruler comes to life again, he is not truly faithful. Now that Duke Hui died at dawn, the eunuch turned to serve Duke Wen at dusk, how about his principle of nondisobedience?

Once somebody put a riddle to Duke Huan, saying, "The first difficulty, the second difficulty, and the third difficulty. What are they?" Unable to solve the riddle, Duke Huan asked Kuan Chung to do it. In reply Kuan Chung said, "The first difficulty is due to the ruler's intimacy with actors and remoteness from scholars and warriors; the second, due to his absence from the state capital and frequent visit to the seaside; and the third, due to the choice of the Crown Prince late in the ruler's old age." "Right," remarked Duke Huan. Without choosing a lucky day, he celebrated in the ancestral shrine the installation of the Crown Prince.

Some critic says: Kuan Chung's solution of the riddle was not to the point. The serviceability of the scholars and warriors does not rest with their distance from the ruler. Actors and clowns are from the beginning supposed to accompany the lord of men at every feast. If so, then to keep actors near and the scholars and warriors far and thereby maintain political order would not be any difficulty at all. Again, who is in the position and not able to make the best use of his authorities but counts on his constant presence at the state capital, means to suppress wickedness throughout the whole country with one person's strength. If the ruler attempts to suppress wickedness throughout the whole country with his own strength only, then he can hardly succeed. If his intelligence is able to illuminate distant crooks and disclose vicious secrets, and if he is certain to apply decrees to such cases, then though he travels far away to the seaside, there will be no disorder at home. If so, then to leave the state capital for the seaside and thereby invite neither menace nor murder, would constitute no difficulty at all. As regards the third difficulty, King Ch'eng of Ch'u first made Shang-ch'eng Crown Prince, and later thought of making Prince Chih Crown Prince, wherefore Shang-ch'eng caused a disturbance and finally murdered King Ch'eng. Similarly, Prince Tsai was the Crown Prince of Chou, but Prince Ken

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won the ruler's favour, caused a rebellion in the eastern part of Chou, and split the country into two. In these cases the calamity was not due to the late installation of the crown prince. If the ruler is not double-dealing in matters of distinction and position, keeps bastards in low status, and grants his favourites no special request, then though he waits till an old age, the late installation of the crown prince is practicable. If so, then to install the crown prince late and thereby incur no turmoil from bastards, would constitute no difficulty at all. The so-called difficulties are: to let people accumulate their influences and not to let them trespass against the ruler, which constitutes the first difficulty; to favour concubines but not let them rival the wife, which constitutes the second difficulty; and, to love bastards but not to let them jeopardize the heir apparent, and to trust one minister exclusively and see that he dare not rank with the ruler himself, which can be called the third difficulty.

When the Duke of Sheh, Tzu-kao, asked Chung-ni about government, Chung-ni said, "The way of good government is to content the near and attract the distant." When Duke Ai asked Chung-ni about government, Chung-ni said, "The way of good government is to select worthies for office." When Duke Ching of Ch'i asked Chung-ni about government, Chung-ni said, "The way of good government is to economize expenditure." After the three Dukes had gone out, Tzu-kung asked, "The question raised to Master by the three Dukes about government was the same one, but why did Master reply to them differently?" Chung-ni said, "In Sheh the capital is too big for the country while the people have the rebellious mind. Therefore, I said, 'The way of good government is to content the near and attract the distant'. Duke Ai of Lu has three chief vassals, who spurn envoys from other feudal lords and the neighbouring countries and join one another in befooling their master. It must be these three ministers who will stop the festivals of the ancestral shrine and remove the sacrifices from the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain. Therefore I said, 'The way of good government is to select worthy men for office.' Duke Ching of Ch'i constructed the Yung Gate, built the Roadbed Tower, and in one morning rewarded three officials each with a fief of one hundred chariots. Therefore, I said, 'The way of good government is to economize expenditure.' "

Some critic says: The reply of Chung-ni was a state-ruining saying. Notwithstanding that the Sheh people had the rebellious mind, he advised the ruler to content the near and attract the distant, whereby he encouraged the people to cherish gratitude to the ruler for his favours. To be sure, the government by favour rewards men of no merit and absolves criminals of guilt. This is the reason why the law is broken. If the law is broken, government will fall into confusion. To govern a spoilt people with confused regulations is never practicable. Moreover, if the people have the rebellious mind, it is because the ruler's insight has fallen short of certain objects. Now, instead of persuading the Duke of Sheh to extend his insight, Chung-ni advised him to content the near and attract the distant. In this way he advised the ruler to discard what his position is able to prohibit and struggle with his subordinates to win the hearts of the people by conferring favours. Thereby he will not be able to maintain his influence. Indeed, in worthiness Yao was the first one of the six rulers, but wherever Shun went, people flocked around him, till Yao had no more influence in All-under-Heaven. Suppose there is a ruler who has no way of preventing his subordinates from misbehaving but counts on their imitation of Shun and expects not to lose the hearts of the people. Is he not tactless? The enlightened ruler sees an evil in the bud, wherefore the people cannot plot any large-scale rebellion. As he inflicts small punishments for minor offences, the people cannot cause any serious disturbance. This means "to contemplate a difficulty when it is easy and manage a great thing when it is small." Now, if men of merit are always rewarded, the rewarded do not feel grateful to the ruler, because the reward is due to their effort. If men guilty of offences are always punished, the punished bear no grudge against the authorities, because the punishment is due to their misconduct. As the people understand that both punishment and reward are due to their own deeds, they will strive to harvest merits and profits in their daily work and will not hope for undue gifts from the ruler. "Of the greatest ruler, the people simply know the existence." This means that under the greatest ruler the people have no undue joy. Then where can be found people bearing gratitude to the ruler? The subjects of the greatest ruler receive neither undue profit nor undue injury. Therefore, the persuasion to content the near and attract the distant should be set at nought.

As Duke Ai had ministers who spurned visitors from outside and formed juntas at home in deceiving the ruler, Chung-ni persuaded him to select worthies for office. By worthies he meant not men who would exert their strength and render meritorious services, but those whom the ruler judged to be worthy. Now, supposing Duke Ai knew that the three ministers spurned visitors from outside and formed juntas at home, then the three men could not continue misbehaving one day longer. It was because Duke Ai did not know how to select worthies for office but simply selected those men he judged to be worthy that the three men could have charge of state affairs. However, Tzu-k'uai of Yen considered Tzu-chih worthy and disapproved the character of Sun Ch'ing with the result that he was murdered and became a laughing-stock of the world. Likewise, Fu-ch'a regarded Chancellor P'i as wise and Tzu-hsü as stupid with the result that he was extinguished by Yüeh. Thus, the Ruler of Lu did not necessarily know worthy men, but Chung-ni persuaded him to select worthy men, whereby he would drive him to the disaster of Fu-ch'a and K'uai of Yen. Verily, the enlightened ruler does not have to promote ministers himself, for they advance according to their meritorious services. He does not have to select worthies himself, for they make their appearances according to their meritorious services. He appoints them to various posts, examines them in their works, and judges them according to their results. Therefore, all officials have to be fair and just and never self-seeking. Neither obscuring the worthy nor promoting the unworthy, what worry does the lord of men have about the selection of worthy men?

As Duke Ching rewarded officials each with a fief of one hundred chariots, Chung-ni persuaded him to economize expenditure, whereby he advised him to have no way of enjoying pleasures and luxuries but remain personally frugal. In consequence, the country would fall into poverty. Suppose there is a ruler who supports himself with the income from the area of one thousand li square. Then even Chieh and Chow could not be more extravagant than he. Now, the Ch'i State covers an area of three thousand li square. With half of its income Duke Huan supported himself. In this manner he was more extravagant than Chieh and Chow. Yet he could become the first one of the Five Hegemonic Rulers because he knew the respective spheres of frugality and extravagance. To be a ruler of men who cannot restrain his subjects but has to restrain himself instead, is called "suffering"; to be unable to reform his subjects and have to reform himself instead, is called "confusion"; and, not to economize in the expenditure of his subjects but to economize in his own expenditure, is called "poverty". The enlightened ruler makes people public-spirited, stops men who earn their livelihood by means of deception, and always hears about those who exert their strength in public enterprises and contribute profits to the authorities. Whenever heard about, the men of merit are rewarded. Likewise, he always knows those who are corrupt and self-seeking. Whenever known, the wicked men are punished. If so, then loyal ministers will exert their spirits of loyalty for public causes, gentry and commoners will apply their strength to the welfare of their families, and all officials will be assiduous and deny themselves in serving the superior. Therefore, the extravagance of the enlightened ruler, be it twice as much as that of Duke Ching, will constitute no menace to the state. If so, the persuasion to economize expenditure was not an urgent need of Duke Ching.

Indeed, a single reply to the three Dukes that would enable them to get rid of all worries should be "Know your inferiors". If the ruler knows the inferiors well, then he can nip an evil in the bud. If evils are nipped in the bud, no villainy will be accumulated. If no villainy is accumulated, no junta will be formed. If no junta is formed, public welfare and private interest will be distinguished from each other. If public welfare and private interest are distinguished from each other, all partisans will disperse. If the partisans disperse, there will be no trouble-makers spurning visitors from outside and forming wicked juntas inside. Moreover, when the ruler knows his inferiors well, he will discover all their minute details. When all their minute details are disclosed, censure and reward will be clarified. When censure and reward are clarified, the country will not be poor. Hence the saying: "A single reply that would enable the three Dukes to get rid of all worries should be 'Know your inferiors'."

One morning when Tzu-ch'an of Cheng went out and passed through the quarters of eastern craftsmen, he heard a woman crying. Therefore, he held the coachman's hand still and listened to the crying. Meanwhile, he sent out an official to arrest her. After examining her, he found out that she had strangled her husband with her own hands. Another day the coachman asked, "Master, how could you tell that she had killed her husband?" "Her voice was fearful," said Tzu-ch'an. "As a rule, people react to their beloved in the following ways: When the beloved has just fallen ill, they are worried about the illness; when he or she is dying, they feel fearful; after the death, they feel sad. Now that the woman crying over her dead husband was not sad but fearful, I could tell there was villainy behind it."

Some critic says: Was Tzu-ch'an's way of government not burdensome? The culprit was found out only after she had fallen within the reaches of the premier's ears and eyes. If so, very few culprits could be found out in the Cheng State. Not employing judicial officials, not carefully observing the system of three units and basic fives, and not clarifying rules and measures, but solely depending on the exertion of his auditory and visual sagacity and the exhaustion of his wisdom and reason for detecting culprits, was he not tactless? Verily, things are many; wise men, few. As the few are no match for the many, the wise are not sufficient to know all the things. Therefore, regulate things with things. The inferior are many; the superior, few. As the few are no match for the many, the ruler alone is not sufficient to know all the officials. Therefore, govern men with men. In this way, without damaging his features and his body, the ruler administers state affairs successfully; without making use of his wisdom and reason, he can find out culprits. Hence follows the proberb of the Sungs, saying "Yi would be unreasonable if he claimed his ability to shoot down every sparrow passing by him. Supposing All-under-Heaven became a net, then no sparrow would be missed". To comb the culprits, the ruler must have a large net, so that none of them will be missed. Not studying these principles but using his own guess-work as bows and arrows, Tzu-ch'an was unreasonable. Thus, Lao Tzu said, "Who attempts to govern the state with wisdom, will eventually betray the country." How applicable this was to Tzu-ch'an's case!

King Chao of Ch'in asked the chamberlains, saying, "How is the present strength of Han and Wey compared with their former strength?" In reply they said, "They are now weaker than before." "How are Ju erh and Wey Ch'i at present compared with Meng Ch'ang and Mang Mao in the past?" "The former are not as great as the latter," replied the chamberlains. Then the King said, "Meng Ch'ang and Mang Mao led the strong forces of Han and Wey, but could do nothing against me. Now, they put such unable men as Ju erh and Wey Ch'i in command of the weak forces of Han and Wey to attack Ch'in. Clearly enough, they will not be able to do anything against me." In response they said, "That is very true." However, Musician Chung Ch'i put his lute aside and said in reply: "Your Majesty is mistaken in estimating the situation of All-under-Heaven. Indeed, at the time of the Six Chins, the Chih Clan was the strongest among all. After destroying the Fan and the Chung-hang Clans, they took the troops of Han and Wey along to attack Chao. They inundated the capital of Chao with the water from the Chin River, till only six feet square of land inside the city was not flooded. One day, Earl Chih went out with Viscount Hsüan of Wey as the charioteer and Viscount K'ang of Han in charge of the extra team. On the way, Earl Chih said, 'Never before have I known that water can destroy enemies' states. I have just come to know it. The water of the Feng River can inundate the city of An-i; and the water of the Chiang River can inundate the city of P'ing-yang. Hearing this remark, Viscount Hsüan of Wey pushed the elbow of Viscount K'ang of Han while Viscount K'ang stepped on Viscount Hsüan's foot. Soon after the elbow was pushed and the foot was stepped on in the carriage, the possessions of the Chih Clan were divided beneath the walls of Chin-yang. Now, Your Majesty, though strong, is not yet as powerful as the Chih Clan. Han and Wey, though weak, are not yet as helpless as the people besieged at Chin-yang. To-day is the very moment when All-under-Heaven push their elbows and step on their feet. May Your Majesty, therefore, not look down upon them!"

Some critic says: King Chao's question was mistaken; the replies by the chamberlains and Chung-ch'i were wrong. As a rule, the enlightened sovereign in governing the state holds fast to his position. As long as his position is not injured, even though the forces of All-under-Heaven combine against him, they could do nothing against him. Then how much less could Meng Ch'ang, Mang Mao, Han, and Wey do against Ch'in? However, if the position can be injured, then even unworthy men like Ju erh and Wey Ch'i and the weak forces of Han and Wey can be detrimental to it. Such being the case, violability and inviolability both rest on nothing but the reliability of one's own position. Why did he raise the question then? If the sovereign relies on the inviolability of his own position, he minds no enemy whether strong or weak. If he cannot rely on his own position but keeps asking about the strength of his enemies, suffering no invasion will be a godsend to him. Shen Tzu said, "Who loses sight of calculations and looks to people's words for bases of belief, will for ever be in doubt," which was applicable to King Chao's case.

Earl Chih had no rules of self-restraint. Thus, while taking Viscounts K'ang of Han and Hsüan of Wey along, he thought of flooding and ruining their countries with water. This was the reason why Earl Chih had his country destroyed, himself killed, and his skull made into a drinking cup. Now, when King Chao asked if enemies were stronger than they had been before, there was no worry about his flooding lands. Though he had the chamberlains around, they were not the same as the Viscounts of Han and Wey. Then how could there be any elbow-pushing and foot-stepping intrigues? Nevertheless, Chung-ch'i said, "Do not look down upon them!" This was an empty saying. Moreover, what Chung-ch'i took charge of was harps and lutes. Were the strings not harmonious and the notes not clear, it would be his duty to fix them. In this post Chung-ch'i served King Chao. He was willing to enter upon the duties of that post. Yet before he as yet proved satisfactory in his official capacity to King Chao, he spoke on what he did not know. Was he not thoughtless? The chamberlains' replies, "Both are weaker now than before," and, "The former are not

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as great as the latter," were fair, but their last reply, "That is very true," was certainly flattery. Shen Tzu said, "The way to order is not to overstep the duties of one's post and not to speak about people's business though aware of it." Now, Chung-ch'i did not know politics but spoke on it. Hence the saying: "King Chao's question was mistaken: the replies by the chamberlains and Chung-ch'i were wrong."

Kuan Tzu said, "When the ruler approves the minister's conduct, he manifests evidences of liking him; when he disapproves the minister's conduct, he produces facts of disliking him. If reward and punishment accord with what is seen, the minister will dare do no wrong even in unseen places. Suppose when the ruler sees the minister's conduct approvable, of liking him he manifests no evidence; when he sees the minister's conduct not approvable, of disliking him he produces no fact. Then if reward and punishment do not accord with what is seen, it is impossible to expect the minister to do good at unseen places."

Some critic says: Public grounds and sublime shrines are places where all behave with respect; dark rooms and solitary quarters are places where even Tseng Shan and Shih Ch'in become undisciplined. To observe people when they behave respectfully is not to be able to get at the realities of them. Moreover, in the presence of the ruler and superior every minister and inferior is forced to polish his manners. If both approval and disapproval rest on what is seen, it is certain that ministers and inferiors will disguise wicked things and thereby befool their masters. If the ruler's own insight cannot illuminate distant crooks and discern hidden secrets and thereby guard against them, to fix reward and punishment by observing disguised deeds is certainly harmful.

Kuan Tzu said, "Whose words said inside the private room prevail upon everybody in the room, and whose words said inside the public hall prevail upon everybody in the hall, he can be called ruler of All-under-Heaven."

Some critic says: What Kuan Chung meant by the so-called words which were said inside the room and prevailed upon everybody in the room and those which were said inside the hall and prevailed upon everybody in the hall, was not restricted to talks given in sport and play or after drinking and eating, but inclusive of serious discussions of important business. The important business of the lord of men is either law or tact. The law is codified in books, kept in governmental offices, and promulgated among the hundred surnames. The tact is hidden in the bosom and useful in comparing diverse motivating factors of human conduct and in manipulating the body of officials secretly. Therefore, law wants nothing more than publicity; tact abhors visibility. For this reason, when the enlightened sovereign speaks on law, high and low within the boundaries will hear and know it. Thus, the speech prevails not only upon everybody in the hall. When he applies his tact, none of his favourites and courtiers will notice it at all. Thus, it cannot display itself all over the room. Nevertheless, Kuan Tzu insisted on saying, "The words said in the private room prevail upon everybody in the room; the words said in the public hall prevail upon everybody in the hall," which is not an utterance of the spirit of law and tact at all.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 39.

Criticisms of the Ancients, Series Four

Once Sun Wen-tzu of Wei visited the court of Lu. When the Duke was going up a flight of steps, he also went up at the same time. Thereupon Shu-sun Mu-tzu rushed forward and said, "At every conference of the feudal lords, His Highness never walks behind the Ruler of Wei. Now, you are not walking one step behind our Ruler while our Ruler does not notice the fault. Will you go a little bit more slowly?" Yet Sun Tzu neither had any word to say nor showed any sign of reform. When Mu-tzu withdrew from the party, he said to people, "Sun Tzu will go to ruin. Being a failing minister, he would not walk behind a ruler. Committing a fault, he would not reform himself. This is the basic factor of ruin."

Some critic says: When Sons of Heaven lost the way of government, feudal lords replaced them. For example, T'ang and Wu replaced Chieh and Chow. When feudal lords lost the way of government, high officers replaced them. For example, high officers in Ch'i and Chin replaced their rulers. Were the minister replacing the ruler doomed to ruin, then T'ang and Wu could not become rulers and the new ruling dynasties in Ch'i and Chin could not be established. Now, Sun Tzu in Wei rivalled his ruler in power but never became a minister in Lu. If any minister turns ruler, it is because the original ruler has lost the reins of government. Therefore, notwithstanding that Sun Tzu had gained the reins of government, Mu-tzu warned the minister having the gain, of ruin instead of warning the ruler suffering the loss, of ruin. Thus, Mu-tzu was not clear-sighted at all. Indeed, Lu could not punish the envoy from Wei while the Ruler of Wei was not enlightened enough to know the unreformable minister. Though Mu-tzu had found these two faults, how could he foretell Sun Tzu's ruin? The way he ruined his status as minister was the way he broke the ministerial etiquette and thereby acquired the power of the ruler.

Some other critic says: Minister and ruler have their respective duties. If the minister can rob the ruler of the throne, it is because they have over-ridden each other's duties. Therefore, if the ruler takes what is not his due, the masses will take it away from him. If the minister declines his due and takes it afterwards, the people will give it back to him. For this reason, Chieh sought after the girls of Min-shan and Chow made request for Pi Kan's heart with the immediate result that All-under-Heaven were thereby estranged from them. Likewise, T'ang had to change his personal name and Wu received punishment, wherefore everybody within the seas obeyed them. Similarly, Viscount Hsüan of Chao fled to the mountains and Viscount T'ien Ch'eng took refuge abroad. In consequence, however, the peoples of Ch'i and Chin followed them. Such being the case, T'ang and Wu could become kings and the new ruling dynasties of Ch'i and Chin could be established, not because they usurped the throne first and then took what was their due, but because they first took what was their due and later proceeded to the throne. Now that Sun Wen-tzu never took what was his due but behaved himself like a ruler, he opposed the principle of justice and violated the doctrine of propriety. To oppose the principle of justice causes the failure of affairs; to violate the doctrine of propriety causes the accumulation of the people's grudge. Why did the critic take no notice of the impending calamity of failure and destruction?

Yang Hu of Lu schemed to attack the Three Huans, failed in the campaign, and fled to Ch'i. There Duke Ching paid him great respects. Against such a measure Pao Wen-tzu remonstrated with him, saying, "It is not practicable. Yang Hu had been in favour with the Chi Clan but attempted to attack Chi-sun because he was covetous of their wealth. Now that Your Highness is wealthier than Chi-sun and Ch'i is larger than Lu, Yang Hu will exert all his deceitful tricks." Duke Ching, accordingly, imprisoned Yang Hu.

Some critic says: If the millionaire's son is not benevolent, it is because everybody is by nature anxious to gain profit. Duke Huan was the first of the Five Hegemonic Rulers, but in struggling for the throne, he killed his elder brother because the profit was great. The relationship between minister and ruler is not even as intimate as that between brothers. If through the accomplishment of intimidation and murder one can rule over the state of ten thousand chariots and enjoy the great profit, then who among the body of officials will not do the same as Yang Hu? To be sure, every plan, if delicately and skilfully carried out, will succeed, and, if crudely and clumsily carried out, is bound to fail. The ministers do not cause any disturbance because they are not yet well prepared. If the ministers all have the mind of Yang Hu which the ruler does not notice, their plan must be delicate and skilful. Contrasted with them, Yang Hu was known to be covetous of the rule over All-under-Heaven and schemed to attack his superior, wherefore his plan must have been crude and clumsy. Instead of advising Duke Ching to censure the astute ministers of Ch'i, Pao Wen-tzu advised him to censure clumsy Hu. Thus, his persuasion was unreasonable. Whether the ministers are loyal or deceitful, it all depends upon the ruler's action. If the ruler is enlightened and strict, all the ministers will be loyal to him. If the ruler is weak and stupid, then all ministers will be deceitful. To be well informed of secrets is called "enlightened"; to grant no pardon is called "strict". Pao Wen-tzu did not know the astute ministers of Ch'i but wanted to censure the plotter of a disturbance in Lu. Was this not absurd?

Some other critic says: Benevolence and covetousness do not inhere in the same mind. For instance, Prince Mu-i declined the throne of Sung offered by his brother, whereas Shang-ch'en of Ch'u murdered his royal father in order to get the throne. Ch'ü-chih of Cheng passed the reins of government over to his younger brother, whereas Duke Huan of Lu murdered his elder brother, Duke Yin. The Five Hegemonic Rulers practised the policy of annexing weaker states with Duke Huan, as example. If so, all of them observed no code of fidelity and integrity. Moreover, if the ruler is enlightened, all the officials will be loyal. Now, Yang Hu plotted a disturbance in Lu, failed, and fled to Ch'i. If the authorities of Ch'i did not censure him, they would be doing the same as taking over an unsuccessful trouble-maker from Lu. If the ruler were enlightened, he would know that by censuring Yang Hu an impending civil disturbance could be prevented. This is the right way of disclosing an evil in the bud. According to an old saying, "Every feudal lord must consider his friendship with other states as more important than with any private individual." If the Ruler of Ch'i was strict at all, he would never overlook the guilt of Yang Hu. This is the practice of giving no pardon. If so, to censure Yang Hu would be the way to make the body of officials loyal. Who took no notice of the astute ministers of Ch'i but neglected the punishment of a culprit already guilty of treason in Lu, blamed a person before he as yet committed any offence but refused to censure a man evidently convicted of felony, was thoughtless, indeed. Therefore, to punish the criminal guilty of treason in Lu and thereby both over-awe the crooked-minded ministers of Ch'i and cultivate terms of friendship with the Clans of Chi-sun, Meng-sun, and Shu-sun, Pao Wen's persuasion was by no means absurd as alleged by the preceding critic.

When Cheng Pai was about to appoint Kao Chü-mi high officer, Duke Chao, then the heir apparent, disliked him and remonstrated firmly with his father. His father, however, would not listen. After Duke Chao's accession to the throne, Kao Chü-mi, afraid of being killed by the new ruler, murdered Duke Chao on the day of the Golden Rabbit and established his younger brother, Prince Wei, on the throne. Gentlemen of that time gave comment on the events, saying, "Duke Chao knew the right man to dislike." Prince Yü said, "How murderous Kao Pai must be! His revenge for a dislike was too much."

Some critic says: Prince Yü's remark was absurd. Duke Chao met the disaster because he was too late in revenging himself on his enemy. If so, Kao Pai died late because his revenge for a dislike was too serious. Indeed, the enlightened ruler does not manifest his indignation. For, if he manifests his indignation at any minister, then the guilty minister will rashly scheme to carry out his plot. If so, the lord of men will fall into danger. For instance, during the carousal at the Spiritual Tower, the Ruler of Wei was angry at Ch'u Shih but did not censure him. In consequence, Ch'u Shih caused a disturbance. Again, when Prince Tzu-kung tasted the turtle soup, the Ruler of Cheng was angry at him but did not punish him. In consequence, Tzu-kung murdered him.

The gentleman's remark on Duke Chao's knowledge of the right man to dislike did not mean that the dislike was too serious, but that in spite of his clear knowledge as such he never inflicted punishment upon the man till finally he died at the hands of the man. Therefore, the saying, "He knew the right man to dislike," exposed the powerlessness of Duke Chao. As a ruler of men, he not only failed to foresee an impending danger, but also failed to prevent and suppress it. Now, Duke Chao displayed his dislike for Kao Chü-mi but suspended the conviction of his crime and did not censure him. Thereby he made Chü-mi bear him a grudge, fear capital punishment, and risk his own fortune. In consequence, the Duke could not evade murder. Thus, Kao Pai's revenge for dislike was natural and never too serious.

Some other critic says: Who over-compensates for an evil, would inflict a big punishment for a small offence. To inflict a big punishment for a small offence is an eccentric action by the criminal court. It constitutes a worry to the court. The menace arises not from the criminals already punished but from the number of enemies thereby made. For instance, Duke Li of Chin destroyed three Ch'is, wherefore the Luans and the Chung-hangs caused a disturbance; Tzu-tu of Cheng executed Pai-hsüan, wherefore Shih-ting started a trouble; and the King of Wu chastised Tzu-hsü, wherefore Kou-chien of Yüeh became Hegemonic Ruler. Such being the case, that the Ruler of Wei was banished and the Duke of Cheng was murdered, was not because Ch'u Shih had not been executed and Tzu-kung had not been punished, but because the rulers had the angry colour when they should not have expressed their indignation, and they had the mind to punish them when they were not in the position to punish them. In fact, when they were angry at the two crooks, if the punishment of them would not go against public opinion, there would be no harm in manifesting their indignation. Indeed, to blame a minister before the accession and wait to punish him for the previous offence after the accession was the reason why Duke Hu of Ch'i was destroyed by Tsou Ma-hsü. Thus, even the ruler's manifestation of his anger at the minister has evil after-consequences; how much more so should be the minister's manifestation of his anger at the ruler? If it was not right to censure the minister, then to strive to realize his wish would be the same as to make enemies with All-under-Heaven. If so, was it unreasonable that he was murdered?

At the time of Duke Ling of Wei, Mi Tzu-hsia was in favour with him in the Wei State. One day, a certain clown, when seeing the Duke, said, "The dream of thy servant has materialized, indeed." "What did you dream?" asked the Duke. "Thy servant dreamt of a cooking stove," replied the clown, "on seeing your Highness." "What? As I understand," said the Duke in anger, "who sees the lord of men in dreaming, dreams of the sun. Why did you see a cooking stove in your dream of me?" The clown then said, "Indeed, the sun shines upon everything under heaven while nothing can cover it. Accordingly, who sees the lord of men in dreaming, dreams the sun. In the case of a cooking stove, however, if one person stands before it, then nobody from behind can see. Supposing someone were standing before Your Highness, would it not be possible for thy servant to dream of a cooking stove?" "Right" said the Duke and, accordingly, removed Yung Ch'u, dismissed Mi Tzu-hsia, and employed Ssu-k'ung Kou.

Some critic says: The clown did very well in making a pretext of dreaming of a cooking stove and thereby rectifying the way of the sovereign, whereas Duke Ling did not fully understand the clown's saying. For to remove Yung Ch'u, dismiss Mi Tzu-hsia, and employ Ssu-k'ung Kou, was to remove his favourites and employ a man he regarded as worthy. For the same reason, Tzu-tu of Cheng regarded Ch'in

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Chien as worthy, he was deluded; Tzu-k'uai regarded Tzu-chih as worthy, he was deluded. Indeed, who dismisses his favourites and employs men he considers worthy, cannot help allowing the "worthies" to stand before him. If an unworthy man stands before the sovereign, he is not sufficient to hurt the sovereign's sight. Now, if the Duke in no wise increased his wisdom but allowed an astute man to stand before him, he would certainly endanger himself.

Some other critic says: Ch'ü Tao tasted water-chestnuts, King Wen tasted calamus pickles. The two worthies did taste them, though both were not delicious tastes. Thus, what man tastes is not necessarily delicious. Duke Ling of Chin liked Shan Wu-hsü, K'uai of Yen regarded Tzu-chih as worthy. The two rulers did esteem them, though neither was an honest man. Thus, who is regarded by the ruler as worthy, is not necessarily worthy. To regard an unworthy man as worthy and take him into service, is the same as to employ a favourite. However, to regard a real worthy as worthy and raise him, is not the same as to employ a favourite. For this reason, King Chuang of Ch'u raised Sun-shu Ao, wherefore he became Hegemonic Ruler; Hsing of Ying employed Fei Chung, wherefore he went to ruin. Both these Kings employed men they considered worthy but harvested entirely opposite results. K'uai of Yen, though he raised a man he considered worthy, did the same as employing a favourite. Whether or not the Ruler of Wei was making the same mistake, who could be sure? Before the clown saw Duke Ling, the Duke, though deluded, did not know he was being deluded. It was only after the clown had interviewed him that he came to know the deception. Therefore, to dismiss the deluding ministers was to increase his wisdom. The preceding critic said: "If the ruler, without increasing his wisdom, allows any astute man to stand before him, he will fall into danger." Now that the Duke had increased his wisdom by dismissing two deceitful men, though the new man he employed might stand before him, he never would be jeopardized.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 40.

A Critique of the Doctrine of Position

Shen Tzu said:—

"The flying dragon rides on the clouds and the rising serpent strolls through the mists; but as soon as the clouds disperse and the mists clear up, the dragon and the serpent become the same as the earthworm and the large-winged black ant, because they have then lost what they rested on. If worthies are subjected by unworthy men, it is because their power is weak and their status is low; whereas if the unworthy men can be subjected by the worthies, it is because the power of the latter is strong and their status is high. Yao, while a commoner, could not govern three people, whereas Chieh, being the Son of Heaven, could throw All-underHeaven into chaos.

"From this I know that position and status are sufficient to rely on, and that virtue and wisdom are not worth yearning after. Indeed, if the bow is weak and the arrow flies high, it is because it is driven up by the wind; if the orders of an unworthy man take effect, it is because he is supported by the masses. When Yao was teaching in an inferior status, the people did not listen to him; but, as soon as he faced the south, and became Ruler of All-under-Heaven, whatever he ordered took effect and whatever he forbade stopped. From such a viewpoint I see that virtue and wisdom are not sufficient to subdue the masses, and that position and status may well subject even worthies."

In response to Shen Tzu some critic says:—

"True, the flying dragon rides on the clouds and the rising serpent strolls through the mists. The dependence of the dragon and the serpent on the circumstances of the clouds and the mists I never deny. However, if you cast worthiness aside and trust to position entirely, is it sufficient to attain political order? No such instance have I ever been able to witness. Indeed, if the dragon and the serpent, when having the circumstances of clouds and mists, can ride on and stroll through them, it is because their talents are excellent. Now, though the clouds are thick, the earthworm cannot ride on them; though the mists are deep, the ant cannot stroll through them. Indeed, if the earthworm and the ant, when having the circumstances of thick clouds and deep mists, cannot ride on and stroll through them, it is because their talents are feeble. Now, while Chieh and Chow were facing the south and ruling All-under-Heaven with the authority of the Son of Heaven as the circumstances of clouds and mists, All-under-Heaven could not evade chaos, although the talents of Chieh and Chow were feeble. Again, if All-under-Heaven was governed by Yao with his position, then how could that position differ from Chieh's position with which he threw All-under-Heaven into chaos? After all, position cannot always make worthies realize their good-will and unworthy persons realize their malice. If worthies use it, the world becomes orderly; if unworthy persons use it, the world becomes chaotic.

"As regards human nature, worthies are few and worthless persons many. Because the unworthy men who disturb the world are supplied with the advantage of authority and position, those who by means of their position disturb the world are many and those who by means of their position govern the world well are few. Indeed, position is both an advantage to order and a facility to chaos. Hence the History of Chou says: 'Do not add wings to tigers. Otherwise, they will fly into the village, catch people, and devour them.'

"Indeed, to place unworthy men in advantageous positions is the same as to add wings to tigers. Thus, Chieh and Chow built high terraces and deep pools to exhaust people's strength and made roasting pillars to injure people's lives. Chieh and Chow could abuse their position and give themselves over to all vices because the south-facing authority worked as their wings. Were Chieh and Chow commoners, then before they as yet committed a single vice, their bodies would have suffered the death penalty. Thus, position can rear in man the heart of the tiger and the wolf and thereby foster outrageous and violent events. In this respect it is a great menace to All-under-Heaven. Thus, concerning the relation of position to order and chaos, there is from the outset no settled view. Nevertheless, if anyone devotes his whole discourse to the sufficiency of the doctrine of position to govern All-under-Heaven, the limits of his wisdom must be very narrow.

"For instance, a swift horse and a solid carriage, if you make bondmen and bondwomen drive them, will be ridiculed by people, but, if driven by Wang Liang, will make one thousand li a day. The horse and the carriage are not different. Yet, if they sometimes make one thousand li a day and are sometimes ridiculed by people, it is because the skilful coachman is so different from the unskilful ones. Now, compare the state to the carriage, position to the horse, commands and orders to the reins and the bridle, and punishments to the whip and the cord, and then let Yao and Shun drive them. Be sure All-under-Heaven would fall into chaos. It is because the worthy and the unworthy are very different from each other. Indeed, if anybody wants to drive fast and far but does not know to employ Wang Liang, or if one wants to increase advantages and remove dangers but does not know to employ worthy and talented men, it is the calamity of the ignorance of analogy. After all, Yao and Shun are the Wang Liangs in governing the people."

In response to the foregoing criticism some other critic says:—

"The philosopher considered position sufficiently reliable for governing officials and people. The critic said that you had to depend on worthies for political order. As a matter of truth, neither side is reasonable enough. Indeed, the term shih is a generic name. Its species cover innumerable varieties. If the term shih is always restricted to that variety entirely due to nature, then there will be no use in disputing on the subject. What is meant by shih on which I am talking is the shih created by man. Now, the critic said, 'When Yao and Shun had shih, order obtained; when Chieh and Chow had shih, chaos prevailed.' Though I do not deny the success of Yao and Shun, yet I do assert that shih is not what one man alone can create.

"Indeed, if Yao and Shun were born in the superior status and even ten Chiehs and Chows could not create any commotion, the political order would then be due to the force of circumstances. If Chieh and Chow were born in the superior status and even ten Yaos and Shuns could not attain order, the political chaos would then be due to the force of circumstances. Hence the saying: 'Where there is order by force of circumstances, there can be no chaos; where there is chaos by force of circumstances, there can be no order.' Such is the shih due to nature; it cannot be created by man.

"By shih the critic meant what man can create. By shih I mean only the kind of shih as acquired by man. Worthiness has nothing to do with it. How to clarify this point?

"Somebody said: Once there was a man selling halberds and shields. He praised his shields for their solidity as such that nothing could penetrate them. All at once he also praised his halberds, saying, 'My halberds are so sharp that they can penetrate anything.' In response to his words people asked, 'How about using your halberds to pierce through your shields?' To this the man could not give any reply.

"In fact, the shields advertised to be 'impenetrable' and the halberds advertised to be 'absolutely penetrative' cannot stand together. Similarly, worthiness employed as a form of shih cannot forbid anything, but shih employed as a way of government forbids everything. Now, to bring together worthiness that cannot forbid anything and shih that forbids everything is a 'halberd-and-shield' fallacy. Clearly enough, worthiness and circumstances are incompatible with each other.

"Moreover, Yao and Shun as well as Chieh and Chow appear once in a thousand generations; whereas the opposite types of men are born shoulder to shoulder and on the heels of one another. As a matter of fact, most rulers in the world form a continuous line of average men. It is for the average rulers that I speak about shih. The average rulers neither come up to the worthiness of Yao and Shun nor reach down to the wickedness of Chieh and Chow. If they uphold the law and make use of their august position, order obtains; if they discard the law and desert their august position, chaos prevails. Now suppose you discard the position and act contrary to the law and wait for Yao and Shun to appear and suppose order obtains after the arrival of Yao and Shun, then order will obtain in one out of one thousand generations of continuous chaos. Suppose you uphold the law and make use of the august position and wait for Chieh and Chow to appear and suppose chaos prevails after the arrival of Chieh and Chow, then chaos will prevail in one out of one thousand generations of continuous order. To be sure, one generation of chaos out of one thousand generations of order and one generation of order out of one thousand generations of chaos are as different from each other as steed-riders driving in opposite directions are far apart from each other.

"Indeed, when you abandon the tools of stretching and bending and give up the scales of weights and measures, then though you try to make Hsi Chung construct a carriage, he would not be able to finish even a single wheel. Similarly, without the promise of reward and the threat of penalty, and casting the position out of use and giving up the law, then even if Yao and Shun preached from door to door and explained to everybody the gospel of political order, they could not even govern three families. Verily, that shih is worth employing, is evident. To say that it is necessary to depend upon worthiness is not true.

"Besides, if you let anyone eat nothing for one hundred days while waiting for good rice and meat to come, the starveling will not live. Now, to depend upon the worthiness of Yao and Shun for governing the people of the present world is as fallacious as to wait for good rice and meat to save the starveling's life.

"Indeed, I do not consider it right to say that a swift horse and a solid carriage, when driven by bondmen and bondwomen, will be ridiculed by people, but, when driven by Wang Liang, will make a thousand li a day. For illustration, if you wait for a good swimmer from Yüeh to rescue a drowning man in a Central State, however well the Yüeh swimmer may do, the drowning person will not be rescued. In the same way, waiting for the Wang Liang of old to drive the horse of to-day is as fallacious as waiting for the man from Yüeh to rescue that drowning person. The impracticability is evident enough. But, if teams of swift horses and solid carriages are placed in readiness in relays fifty li apart and then you make an average coachman drive them, he will be able to drive them fast and far and cover one thousand li a day. Why should it then be necessary to wait for the Wang Liang of old?

"Further, in matters of driving, the critic chose Wang Liang for a case of success and took bondmen and bondwomen for a case of failure; in matters of government, he selected Yao and Shun for attaining order and Chieh and Chow for creating chaos. To run from one extreme to another is as fallacious as to consider taste as sweet as wheat-gluten and honey or else as bitter as parti-coloured lettuce and bitter parsley.

"In short, the criticism, composed of flippant contentions and wordy repetitions, is absurd and tactless. It is a dilemma involving two extremes as the only alternatives. If so, how can it be used to criticize a reasonable and consistent doctrine? The argument of the critic, however, is not as sound as the doctrine under consideration."

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 41.

Inquiring into the Origin of Dialectic

Somebody asked: "How does dialectic originate?"

The reply was: "It originates from the superior's lack of enlightenment."

The inquirer asked: "How can the superior's lack of enlightenment produce dialectic?"

The reply was: "In the state of an enlightened sovereign, his orders are the most precious among the words of men and his laws are the most appropriate rules to affairs. Two different words cannot be equally precious nor can two different laws be equally appropriate. Therefore, words and deeds not conforming to laws and decrees must be forbidden. If anybody, not authorized by laws and orders, attempts to cope with foreign intrigues, guard against civil disturbances, produce public benefit, or manage state affairs, his superior should heed his word and hold it accountable for an equivalent fact. If the word turns out true, he should receive a big reward: if not true, he should suffer a heavy penalty. Therefore, stupid persons fear punishment and dare not speak, and intelligent persons find nothing to dispute. Such is the reason why in the state of an enlightened sovereign there is neither dispute nor controversy.

"The same is not true in a chaotic age. The sovereign issues orders, but the subjects by means of their cultural learning derogate them; official bureaux promulgate laws, but the people through their conduct alter them. The lord of men, while seeing the violation of his laws and orders, honours the wisdom and conduct of the learned men. Such is the reason why the world has so many men of letters.

"Indeed, words and deeds should take function and utility as mark and target. To be sure, if someone sharpens an arrow and shoots it at random, then though its pointed head may by chance hit the tip of an autumn spikelet, he cannot be called a

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skilful archer. For he has no constant aim and mark. Now, if the target were five inches in diameter and the arrow were shot from a distance of one hundred steps, then nobody other than Hou Yi and P'ang Meng could with certainty hit the mark every time. For there would then be a constant aim and mark. Therefore, in the presence of a constant aim and mark the straight hit by Hou Yi and P'ang Meng at a target five inches in diameter is regarded as skilful; whereas in the absence of a constant aim and mark the wild hit at the tip of an autumn spikelet is regarded as awkward. Now, when adopting words and observing deeds, if someone does not take function and utility for mark and target, he will be doing the same as wild shooting, however profound the words may be and however thorough the deeds may be.

"For this reason, in a chaotic age, people, when listening to speeches, regard unintelligible wordings as profound and far-fetched discussions as eloquent; and, when observing deeds, regard deviations from group creeds as worthy and offences against superiors as noble. Even the lord of men likes eloquent and profound speeches, and honours worthy and noble deeds. In consequence, though upholders of law and craft establish the standards of acceptance and rejection and differentiate between the principles of diction and contention, neither ruler nor people are thereby rectified. For this reason, men wearing the robes of the literati and girding the swords of the cavaliers are many, but men devoted to tilling and fighting are few; discussions on "Hard and White" and "The Merciless" prevail, but mandates and decrees come to a standstill. Hence the saying: 'Wherever the sovereign lacks enlightenment, there originates dialectic.' "

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 42.

Asking T'ien: Two Dialogues

Hsü Chü once asked T'ien Chiu, saying: "Thy servant has heard that wise men do not have to start from a low post before they win the ruler's confidence, nor do sages have to manifest their merits before they approach the superior. Now Yang-ch'eng Ih-chü was a famous general, but he rose from a mere camp master; Kung-sun T'an-hui was a great minister, but he started as a district-magistrate. Why?"

In reply T'ien Chiu said: "It is for no other reason than this: The sovereign has rules and the superior has tacts. Moreover, have you never heard that Sung Ku, a general of Ch'u, disordered the government, and Feng Li, Premier of Wey, ruined that state? It was because both their rulers, as misled by their high-sounding phrases and bewildered by their eloquent speeches, never tested their abilities as camp master and district-magistrate that the miseries of misgovernment and state-ruin ensued. From this viewpoint it is clear that without making the trial at the camp and the test in the district the intelligent sovereign cannot provide against eventualities."

T'ang-ch'i Kung once said to Han Tzu: "Thy servant has heard that observing rules of propriety and performing deeds of humility is the art of safeguarding one's own life and that improving one's conduct and concealing one's wisdom is the way to accomplish one's own career. Now, you, my venerable master, propounded principles of law and tact and established standards of regulations and statistics, thy servant in private presumes that this will jeopardize your life and endanger your body. How can thy servant prove this? As I have heard, Master in his discussion on tact says: 'Ch'u, not employing Wu Ch'i, was dismembered and disturbed; Ch'in, practising the Law of Lord Shang, became rich and strong.' The words of the two philosophers were equally true, yet Wu Ch'i was dismembered and Lord Shang was torn to pieces by chariots because they had the misfortune to miss both the right age and the right master. Nobody can be certain of meeting the right age and the right master, nor can anybody repulse misery and disaster. Indeed, to discard the way of security and accomplishment and indulge in a precarious living thy servant personally does not consider it worth Master's while."

In response to the remark Han Tzu said: "Thy servant understands your honourable counsels very well. Indeed, the exercise of the ruling authority of All-under-Heaven and the unification of the regulation of the masses is not an easy task. Nevertheless, the reason why thy servant has given up your honourable teachings and is practising his own creeds is that thy servant personally regards the formulation of the principles of law and tact and the establishment of the standards of regulations and measures as the right way to benefit the masses of people. Therefore, not to fear the threat and outrage of the violent sovereign and stupid superior but to scheme definitely for the advantages of unifying the people, is an act of benevolence and wisdom; whereas to fear the threat and outrage of the violent sovereign and stupid superior and thereby evade the calamity of death, is a clear understanding of personal advantages, and to ignore the public benefit of the masses, is an act of greed and meanness. Since thy servant cannot bear entertaining the act of greed and meanness and dare not destroy the act of benevolence and wisdom, though Master has the kind intention to make thy servant happy, yet in fact it will be detrimental to thy servant."

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 43.

Deciding Between Two Legalistic Doctrines

Some inquirer asked: "Of the teachings of the two authorities, Shen Pu-hai and Kung-sun Yang, which is more urgently needful to the state?"

In reply I said: "It is impossible to compare them. Man, not eating for ten days, would die, and, wearing no clothes in the midst of great cold, would also die. As to which is more urgently needful to man, clothing or eating, it goes without saying that neither can be dispensed with, for both are means to nourish life. Now Shen Pu-hai spoke about the need of tact and Kung-sun Yang insisted on the use of law. Tact is the means whereby to create posts according to responsibilities, hold actual services accountable according to official titles, exercise the power over life and death, and examine the officials' abilities. It is what the lord of men has in his grip. Law includes mandates and ordinances that are manifest in the official bureaux, penalties that are definite in the mind of the people, rewards that are due to the careful observers of laws, and punishments that are inflicted on the offenders against orders. It is what the subjects and ministers take as model. If the ruler is tactless, delusion will come to the superior; if the subjects and ministers are lawless, disorder will appear among the inferiors. Thus, neither can be dispensed with: both are implements of emperors and kings."

The inquirer next asked: "Why is it that tact without law or law without tact is useless?"

In reply I said: "Shen Pu-hai was assistant to Marquis Chao of Han. Han was one of the states into which Chin had been divided. Before the old laws of Chin had been repealed, the new laws of Han appeared; before the orders of the earlier rulers had been removed, the orders of the later rulers were issued. As Shen Pu-hai neither enforced the laws nor unified the mandates and ordinances, there were many culprits. Thus, whenever old laws and earlier orders produced advantages, they were followed; whenever new laws and later orders produced advantages, they were followed, too. So long as old and new counteracted each other and the earlier and later orders contradicted each other, even though Shen Pu-hai advised Marquis Chao ten times to use tact, yet the wicked ministers still had excuses to twist their words. Therefore, though he counted on Han's strength of ten thousand chariots, Han failed to attain Hegemony in the course of seventeen years,which was the calamity of the neglect of law by the officials despite the use of tact by the superior.

"Kung-sun Yang, while governing Ch'in, established the system of denunciation and implication and called the real culprit to account; he organized groups of ten and five families and made members of the same group share one another's crime. Rewards were made liberal and certain; punishments were made severe and definite. Consequently, the people exerted their forces laboriously but never stopped, pursued the enemy perilously but never retreated. Therefore, the state became rich and the army strong. However, if he had no tact whereby to detect villainy, by enriching the state and strengthening the army he benefited nobody other than the subsequent ministers. Following the death of Duke Hsiao and Lord Shang and the accession of King Hui to the throne, the law of Ch'in had as yet fallen to the ground, when Chang Yi at the cost of Ch'in's interest complied with the demands of Han and Wey. Following the death of King Hui and the accession of King Wu to the throne, Kan Mu at the cost of Ch'in's interest complied with the request of Chou. Following the death of King Wu and the accession of King Chao Hsiang to the throne, Marquis Jang crossed Han and Wey and marched eastward to attack Ch'i, whereas the five years' campaign gained Ch'in not even one foot of territory but merely secured for him the Fief of T'ao. Again, Marquis Ying attacked Han for eight years only to secure for himself the Fief of Ju-nan. Thenceforward, those who have served Ch'in, have been the same types of men as Ying and Jang. Therefore, whenever the army wins a war, chief vassals are honoured; whenever the state expands its territory, private feuds are created. So long as the sovereign had no tact whereby to detect villainy, even though Lord Shang improved his laws ten times, the ministers in turn utilized the advantages. Therefore, though he made use of the resources of strong Ch'in, Ch'in failed to attain the status of an empire in the course of several decades, which was the calamity of the sovereign's tactlessness despite the officials' strict observance of law."

The inquirer again asked: "Suppose the ruler applies the tact of Shen Tzu and the officials observe the law of Lord Shang. Would everything work out right?"

In reply I said: "Shen Tzu was not thorough in the doctrine of tact, Lord Shang was not thorough in the doctrine of law."

"According to Shen Tzu, no official should override his commission and utter uncalled-for sentiments despite his extra knowledge. Not to override one's commission means to keep to his duty. To utter uncalled-for sentiments despite one's extra knowledge, is called a fault. After all, it is only when the lord of men sees things with the aid of everybody's eyes in the country that in visual power he is surpassed by none; it is only when he hears things with the aid of everybody's ears in the country that in auditory power he is surpassed by none. Now that those who know do not speak, where is the lord of men going to find aid?

"According to the Law of Lord Shang, 'who cuts off one head in war is promoted by one grade in rank, and, if he wants to become an official, is given an office worth fifty piculs; who cuts off two heads in war is promoted by two grades in rank, and, if he wants to become an official, is given an office worth one hundred piculs'. Thus, promotion in office and rank is equivalent to the merit in head-cutting. Now supposing there were a law requesting those who cut off heads in war to become physicians and carpenters, then neither houses would be built nor would diseases be cured. Indeed, carpenters have manual skill; physicians know how to prepare drugs; but, if men are ordered to take up these professions on account of their merits in beheading, then they do not have the required abilities. Now, governmental service requires wisdom and talent in particular; beheading in war is a matter or courage and strength. To fill governmental offices which require wisdom and talent with possessors of courage and strength, is the same as to order men of merit in beheading to become physicians and carpenters."

Hence my saying: "The two philosophers in the doctrines of law and tact were not thoroughly perfect."

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 44.

On Assumers

In general, the principal way of government does not solely mean the justice of reward and punishment. Much less does it mean to reward men of no merit and punish innocent people. However, to reward men of merit, punish men of demerit, and make no mistake in so doing but affect such persons only, can neither increase men of merit nor eliminate men of demerit. For this reason, among the methods of suppressing villainy the best is to curb the mind, the next, the word, and the last, the work.

Modern people all say, "Who honours the sovereign and safeguards the country, always resorts to benevolence, righteousness, wisdom, and ability"; while they ignore the fact that those who actually humble the sovereign and endanger the country, always appeal to benevolence, righteousness, wisdom, and ability. Therefore, the sovereign pursuing the true path would estrange upholders of benevolence and righteousness, discard possessors of wisdom and ability, and subdue the people by means of law. That being so, his fame spreads far and wide, his name becomes awe-inspiring, his subjects are orderly, and his country is safe, because he knows how to employ the people. As a rule, tact is what the sovereign holds in hand; law is what the officials take as models. If so, it will not be difficult to make the courtiers get news everyday from outside and see the law prevail from the neighbourhood of the court to the state-frontiers.

In bygone days, the Yu-hu Clan had Shih Tu; the Huan-tou Clan had Ku Nan; the Three Miaos had Ch'eng Chü; Chieh had Hu Ch'i; Chow had Marquis Ch'ung; and Chin had Actor Shih. These six men were "state-ruining ministers". They spoke of right as if it were wrong, and of wrong as if it were right. Being crafty in mind, they acted contrary to their outward looks; pretending to a little prudence, they testified to their goodness. They praised remote ancients to hinder present enterprises. Skilful in manipulating their sovereigns, they gathered detailed secrets and perturbed them with their likes and dislikes. They were the same types of men as most courtiers and attendants.

Of the former sovereigns, some got men through whom they became safe and their states were preserved, and some got men through whom they were jeopardized and their states went to ruin. The getting of men was one and the same but the differences between gains and losses are hundreds of thousands. Therefore, the lord of men must not fail to take precautions against his attendants. If the lord of men clearly understands the words of the ministers, he can differentiate the worthy from the unworthy as black from white.

Hsü Yu, Shu Ya, Pai Yang, Tien Chieh of Ch'in, Ch'iao Ju of Lu, Hu Pu-chi, Chung Ming, Tung Pu-shih, Pien Sui, Wu Kuang, Po-i, and Shu-ch'i, all twelve men were neither delighted at evident profits nor afraid of impending disasters. Some of them, when given the rule over All-under-Heaven, never took it. Some of them, afraid of incurring humility and disgrace, never welcomed the privilege of receiving bounties. Indeed, not delighted at evident profits, they could never be encouraged, though the superior made rewards big; not afraid of impending disasters, they could never be terrified, though the superior made penalties severe. They were the so-called "disobedient people". Of these twelve men, some be dead in caves and holes, some died of exhaustion among grass and trees, some starved to death in mountains and ravines, and some drowned themselves in streams and fountains. If there were people like these, even sage-kings of antiquity could not subject them. How much less would rulers of the present age be able to employ them?

Kuan Lung-p'eng, Prince Pi Kan, Chi Liang of Sui, Hsieh Yeh of Ch'en, Pao Shen of Ch'u, and Tzu-hsü of Wu, these six men disputed straightly and expostulated bitterly with their

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masters in order to overcome them. When their words were listened to and their projects were carried out, then they would assume the attitude of tutor towards pupil; when even a word was not listened to and but one project was not carried out, then they would humiliate their sovereigns with offensive phraseology and threatening gestures. Even in the face of death, the break-up of their families, the severing of their waists and necks, and the separation of their hands and feet, they had no hesitation in so doing. If ministers like these could not be tolerated by the sage-kings of antiquity, how could they be employed by rulers of the present age?

As regards T'ien Heng of Ch'i, Tzu-han of Sung, Chi-sun I-ju, Ch'iao Ju of Lu, Tzu Nan Ching of Wei, Chancellor Hsin of Cheng, Duke White of Ch'u, San Tu of Chou, and Tzu-chih of Yen, these nine men, while ministers, all formed juntas for self-seeking purposes in serving their rulers. In obscuring the right way and thereby practising private crookedness, in intimidating the rulers above and thereby disturbing the government below, in securing foreign support to bend the policy of internal administration, and in making friends with the inferiors so as to plot against the superiors, they had no hesitation. Ministers like these could be suppressed only by sage-kings and wise sovereigns. Would it be possible for stupid and outrageous rulers to discover them?

Hou Chi, Kao Yao, Yi Yin, Duke Tan of Chou, T'ai-kung Wang, Kuan Chung, Hsi P'eng, Pai Li-hsi, Chien Shu, Uncle Fan, Chao Shuai, Fan Li, High Official Chung, Feng Tung, Hua Teng, these fifteen men, while ministers, all got up early in the morning and went to bed late at night, humbled themselves and debased their bodies; they were, cautious in mind and frank in intention, and clarified penal actions and attended to official duties in serving their rulers. When they presented good counsels to the Throne and convinced their masters thoroughly of right laws, they dared not boast of their own goodness. When they had achieved merits and accomplished tasks, they dared not show off their services. They made no hesitation in sacrificing their family interests to benefit their countries and no hesitation in sacrificing their lives to safeguard the sovereigns, holding their sovereigns in as high esteem as high heaven and the T'ai Mountain and regarding themselves as low as the deep ravines and the Fu-yu Stream. Though their sovereigns had a distinguished name and a widespread fame in the states, they had no hesitation in keeping themselves as low as the deep ravines and the Fu-yu Stream. Ministers like these, even under stupid and outrageous masters, could still achieve meritorious service. How much more could they do under brilliant sovereigns? Such are called "Assistants to Hegemonic Rulers".

Hua Chih of Chou, Kung-sun Shen of Cheng, Kung-sun Ning and Yi Hsing-fu of Ch'en, Yü Yin Shen Hai of Ching, Shao Shih of Sui, Chung Kan of Yüeh, Wang-sun O of Wu, Yang-ch'eng Hsieh of Chin, Shu Tiao and Yi Ya of Ch'i, these twelve man, while ministers, all thought about small profits and forgot legal justice. In public they kept worthy and good personages in obscurity in order to delude and befool their sovereigns; in private they disturbed all the officials and caused them disasters and difficulties. When serving their masters, they partook of the same tastes with them to such an extent that if they could give one pleasure to the sovereigns, they would have no hesitation in plunging the states into ruin and putting the masses to death. Were there ministers like these, even sage-kings would fear lest they should be dismayed. How much less could stupid and outrageous rulers avoid losses?

Whoever had ministers like these men, always was put to death and his state driven to ruin, and has been ridiculed by All-under-Heaven. Thus, Duke Wei of Chou was killed and his state divided into two; Tzu-yang of Cheng was killed and his state divided into three; Duke Ling of Ch'en was killed by Hsia Cheng-shu; King Ling of Ching died by the Dry Brook; Sui was ruined by Ching; Wu was annexed by Yüeh; Earl Chih was extinguished in the vicinity of Chin-yang; while Duke Huan lay dead and unburied for sixty-seven days. Hence the saying: "Adulatory ministers are known only by sage-kings." Outrageous sovereigns welcome them. In consequence, they are killed and their states go to ruin.

The same is not true of sage-kings and enlightened rulers. When selecting able men for office, they mind neither relatives nor enemies. Whoever is right is raised, whoever is wrong is punished. Therefore, the worthy and good are advanced; the vicious and wicked are dismissed. Naturally they can at one effort bring all the feudal lords under submission. Thus in ancient Records there is the saying: "Yao had Tan-chu, Shun had Shang-chün, Ch'i had Five Princes, Shang had T'ai-chia, and King Wu had Kuan and Ts'ai." Now, all these men censured by the five rulers were related to them as father and son, uncle and nephew, cousins, or brothers. But why were their bodies broken and their families ruined? It was because they were state-ruining, people-harming, and lawbreaking men. Suppose we look at the personages the five rulers appointed to office. They were found amidst mountains, forests, jungles, swamps, rocks, and caves, or in jails, chains, and bonds, or in the status of a cook, a cattle-breeder, and a cowherd. Nevertheless, the intelligent sovereigns, not ashamed of their low and humble origins, considered them able to illustrate the law, benefit the state, and prosper the people, and, accordingly, appointed them to office. In consequence, they gained personal safety and honourable reputation.

The ignoble sovereigns would act differently. Not aware of the motives and actions of their ministers, they entrusted them with state affairs. In consequence, their names are debased and their territories dismembered; or, what is worse, their states are ruined and they themselves are killed. For they do not know how to employ ministers.

Rulers who have no measures to estimate their ministers, always judge them on the basis of the sayings of the masses. Whoever is praised by the masses, is liked. Therefore, those who minister to rulers would even disrupt their families and ruin their property to form factions inside and keep contact with influential clans and thereby become known. When they form secret promises and alliances and thereby strengthen their positions, and when they deceptively reward people with ranks and bounties as encouragements, each of them would say: "Whoever sides with me shall be benefited and whoever does not side with me shall be damaged." The masses, greedy of the gain and afraid of the threat, believe that when really happy, they will benefit them, and when really angry, they will damage them, wherefore all turn and stick to them. As a result, their fame spreads all over the country and reaches the ear of the sovereigns. Unable to understand the real situation, the sovereigns regard them as worthies.

They also disguise deceitful men as favourite envoys from the feudal lords and equip them with coaches and horses, provide them with jade and bamboo tablets, dignify them with writs of appointment, and supply them with money and silk. Thus, they make the false envoys from the feudal lords beguile their sovereigns. With self-seeking motives in mind the false envoys discuss public affairs. They pretend to represent the sovereigns of other states, but in reality they speak for the men around the sovereigns they are visiting. Delighted at their words and convinced by their phraseology, they regard these men as worthies in All-under Heaven, the more so as everybody, whether in or out, right or left, makes only one kind of reputation for them and repeats the same conversation about them. In consequence, the sovereigns have no hesitation in lowering themselves and their supreme status and thereby condescending to them or at least benefiting them with high rank and big bounties.

Indeed, if the ranks and bounties of wicked men are influential and their partisans and adherents are many, and if besides, they have vicious and wicked motives, their wicked subordinates will persuade them time and time again, saying: "The so-called sage-rulers and enlightened kings of antiquity succeeded their predecessors not as juniors succeeding seniors in the natural order, but because they had formed parties and gathered influential clans and then molested their superiors, murdered the rulers, and thereby sought after advantage." "How do you know that?" they ask. In reply the subordinates say: "Shun intimidated Yao, Yü intimidated Shun, T'ang banished Chieh, and King Wu censured Chow. These four rulers were ministers who murdered their rulers, but All-under-Heaven have extolled them. The inner hearts of these four rulers, if observed carefully, displayed nothing but the motive of greediness and gain; their actions, if estimated closely, were simply weapons of violence and outrage. Nevertheless, while the four rulers were extending their powers at their pleasure, All-under-Heaven made much of them; while they were noising their names abroad, All-under-Heaven regarded them as intelligent. In consequence, their authority became sufficient to face Allunder-Heaven and their advantages became sufficient to challenge their age. Naturally All-under-Heaven followed them."

"As witnessed by recent times," continue the crooks further, "Viscount T'ien Cheng took Ch'i, Ssu-ch'eng Tzu-han took Sung, Chancellor Hsin took Cheng, the San Clan took Chou, Yi Ya took Wei, and the three Viscounts of Han, Chao, and Wey partitioned Chin. These eight men were ministers who murdered their rulers." Hearing this, the wicked ministers would spring to their feet, prick up their ears, and regard it as right. Accordingly, they will form parties at home, develop friendly contact with influential clans outside, watch for the right moment to launch the turn of affairs, and take the state at one stroke.

Again, those who intimidate and murder the rulers with partisans and adherents at home and reform or alter their states through the influences of the feudal lords outside, thus concealing the right way and upholding private crookedness so as to restrain the ruler above and obstruct the government below, are innumerable. Why? It is because the ruler does not know how to select ministers. The ancient Records says: "Since the time of King Hsüan of Chou ruined states number several tens and ministers who murdered their rulers and took their states are many." If so, the calamities which originated inside and those which developed from outside were half and half. Those who had exerted the forces of the masses, broke up the states, and sacrificed their lives, were all worthy sovereigns; whereas those who overexerted themselves, changed their positions, saved the masses but estranged the states, were the most pitiful sovereigns.

If the lord of men really penetrates the ministers' speeches, then even though he spends all his time in hunting with nets and stringed arrows, driving and riding around, playing bell music, and, seeing girl dancers, his state will remain in existence; whereas, if he does not penetrate the ministers' speeches, then even though he is frugal and industrious, wears hemp clothes, and eats poor food, the state will go to ruin of itself.

For example, Marquis Ching, an early Ruler of Chao, never cultivated his virtuous conduct, but would give rein to the satisfaction of desires and enjoy physical comforts and auditory and visual pleasures. He spent winter days in hunting with nets and stringed arrows and summer time in boating and fishing. He would sometimes drink all night long, sometimes even hold his wine cup for several days, pour wine with bamboo ladles into the mouths of those who could not drink, and behead anybody not prudent in advance and retreat or not reverent in response and reply. Though his way of living, acting, drinking, and eating, was so unscrupulous and his way of censure and execution was so reckless, yet he enjoyed ruling his state for more than ten years, during which period of time his soldiers were never crushed by enemy states, nor was his land ever invaded by any surrounding neighbour, nor was there any disorder between ruler and minister or among the officials at home, nor was there any worry about the feudal lords and the neighbouring states, for he knew how to appoint ministers to office.

Contrary to this, Tzu-k'uai, Ruler of Yen, a descendant of Duke Shih of Chao, ruled over a territory several thousand li square and had spear-carriers several hundred thousands in number, and neither indulged in the pleasures of pretty girls, nor listened to the music of bells and stones, nor cared for the reflecting pool and the raised kiosk inside the palace, nor went hunting with nets and stringed arrows in the fields outside. Furthermore, he personally handled ploughs and hoes to rectify the dikes and tracts of farms and fields. So extremely did Tzu-k'uai distress himself in grieving at the people's sorrows that even the so-called sage-kings and enlightened rulers of antiquity who had themselves worked and grieved at the sorrows of the world could not be compared with him. However, Tzu-k'uai was killed; his state was lost to and usurped by Tzu-chih; and he has become a laughing-stock of All-under-Heaven. What was the reason for this? It was because he did not know how to appoint ministers to office.

Hence the saying: "Ministers have five wickednesses, which the sovereign does not know." Some would make extravagant use of cash and goods as bribes for acquiring honours; some would endeavour to bestow rewards and favours for winning the hearts of the masses; some would endeavour to form cliques, exert their wisdom, and honour scholars, and thereby abuse their authority; some would endeavour to pardon criminals and thereby increase their influence; and some would follow the inferiors in praising the straight and blaming the crooked and bewilder the people's ears and eyes by virtue of strange phraseology, queer clothing, and novel action. These five kinds of action are what the intelligent rulers punish and the sage-sovereigns forbid. With these five kinds of action forbidden, deceitful men dare not face the north and stand and talk; and talkative but impractical and law-breaking men dare not falsify facts and thereby embellish their discussions. For this reason, the officials in daily life will cultivate their personalities and in action will exert their abilities. But for the superior's orders, they will not dare to do anything as they please, utter irresponsible words, and fabricate affairs. That is the way the sage-kings superintend the ministers and the inferiors.

Indeed, if the sage-sovereigns and enlightened rulers do not make use of camouflage to watch their ministers, most of their ministers will become double-faced at the sight of camouflage. Hence the saying: "Among bastards some children presume to be legitimate sons; among consorts some concubines presume to be wives; in the court some officials presume to be premiers; and among ministers the favourites presume to be sovereigns." These four are dangers to the state. Hence the saying: "The inner favourites compatible with the queen, the outer favourites dividing the ruling prerogative, the bastards rivalling the legitimate son, and the chief vassals assuming the air of the sovereign, all lead to confusion." Hence the Record of Chou says: "Do not exalt the concubine and humble the wife. Do not debase the legitimate son and exalt the bastard. Do not exalt any favourite subordinate as rival to high officials. Do not exalt any chief vassal to assume the majesty of his sovereign." If the four assumers collapse, the superior will have no worry and the inferiors will have no surprise. If the four assumers do not collapse, the sovereign will lose his life and ruin his state.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 45.

Absurd Encouragements

Means the sage employs to lead to political order are three. The first is said to be profit; the second, authority; and the

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third, fame. Profit is the means whereby the people's hearts are won; authority is the means whereby to enforce orders; fame is the common way linking superior and inferior. Nothing other than these three is so needful to government.

In these days, there is no lack of profit, but the people are not won over to the superior's wishes; there is no absence of authority, but the inferiors do not obey decrees; and there is no absence of laws among the officials, but government does not correspond to fame. In short, though the three means are not out of existence, yet order and chaos in the world follow on each other's heels. Why is this?

Indeed, what the superior values is often contrary to the purpose of government. For instance, to institute names and titles is to embody honours; but those who look down upon fame and make light of facts, the world calls advanced. Again, to institute ranks and grades is to establish the basal scale of high and low; but those who slight the superior and never petition for audience, the world calls worthy. Again, authority and profit are means to enforce orders; but those who desire no profit and disregard all authority, the world calls dignified. Again, laws and decrees are means to attain political order; but those who obey neither laws nor decrees but pursue their own good, the world calls loyal. Again, office and rank are means to encourage people; but those who like fame but want no office, the world calls heroic patriots. Finally, punishments are means to solidify authority; but those who make light of law, and award neither penalty nor slaughter, the world calls fearless. If the people seek fame more urgently than they look for profit, small wonder scholars who are starving and destitute would even dwell in rocky caves and torture themselves purposely to fight for a name in the world.

Therefore, the cause of disorder in the world is not the inferior's fault but the superior's loss of Tao. As the superior always values the way to chaos and despises the way to order, the ideal of the inferiors is always contrary to the purpose of the superior's government.

Now, the inferiors' obedience to the superior is what the superior urgently needs. However, those who are generous, sincere, genuine, and faithful, and active in mind but timid in speech, are called spiritless; those who follow laws firmly and obey orders fully, are called stupid; those who revere the superior and fear punishment, are called cowardly; those who speak on the right occasions and act in the proper manner are called unworthy; and those who are not double-faced and engaged in private studies but listen to magistrates and conform to public instructions, are called vulgar. Those who are hard to employ, are called righteous; those who are hard to reward, are called clean-handed; and those who are hard to rule, are called heroic; those who do not obey decrees, are called courageous; those who render no profit to the superior, are called straightforward; and those who extend kindnesses and bestow favours, are called benevolent. Those who are self-assertive and arrogant, are called elders; those who pursue private studies and form juntas, are called tutors and pupils; those who lead a tranquil and complacent life, are called considerate; those who betray their fellow men and grab advantages, are called smart; those who are crafty, deceitful, and fickle, are called wise; those who act for others first and for themselves later, coin terms and invent words, and assume to love All-under-Heaven, are called sages; those who speak on big subjects and talk about fundamental but impracticable principles, and act contrary to the beaten track of the world, are called great men; and those who despise ranks and bounties and do not yield to the superior's opinions are called excellent.

The inferiors, acting in such wicked ways, would disturb the people in private and do no good when in office. The superior, who ought to suppress their desires and constantly uproot their motives, lets them go and honours their deeds. This is to attain political order by teaching the inferiors how to violate the superior.

In general, what the superior administers, is penal infliction, but people doing favours in private are honoured. The Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain can stand because of national safety and tranquillity, but deceitful, crafty, slanderous, and flattering people are appointed to office. Everybody under the jurisdiction of the state obeys orders because of trust and justice, but people exerting their wisdom to upset the present regime are employed. Orders prevail widely and authority stands well because of the inferiors' prudence and alertness to obey the superior, but men living in rocky caves and cursing the world are celebrated. Public storehouses and granaries are full because of the people's devotion to the primary duties of tilling and farming, but men engaged in such secondary callings as weaving twilled cloth, embroidering and knitting clothes in gold and silver, and engraving and drawing, are enriched. Reputation is accomplished and territory is extended because of the warrior's services, but in these days war orphans go hungry, starving, and begging in the streets, while relatives of actors, harlots, and drinkers, ride in carriages and wear silk. Rewards and bounties are meant to exert the people's forces and risk their lives, but in these days warriors winning in warfare and taking in attack, work hard but are not properly rewarded, while diviners, palmists, and swindlers, playing with compliant words before the Throne, receive gifts every day.

The superior holds scales and measures in his hands in order to have the power over everybody's life in his grip, but nowadays men who obey scales and observe measures, though anxious to exert the spirit of loyalty to serve the superior, cannot have an audience, while those who utter artful words and flattering phrases, play villainous tricks, and by lucky chance rise in the world, frequently attend on the Throne. To abide by law, talk straight, keep fame equal to norm, and censure the culprit according to the inked string, is to promote order on behalf of the superior, but people so doing are estranged while adulatory and heretical men, obeying the opinions and following the desires of the superior and thereby endangering the world, become courtiers. To exact taxes and revenues and concentrate the people's forces is to provide against eventualities and fill up the public storehouses and the state treasury, but officers and soldiers who desert their posts, hide themselves, find shelter in the residences of powerful men, and thereby evade taxation and military service, but whom the superior fails to catch, number tens of thousands.

Indeed, to parade good fields and pretty residences is to encourage warriors to fight, but men resolved to have their heads cut off, abdomens torn open, and bones exposed in wildernesses, though they may lose their lives this way, have neither shelter nor estates, while persons whose daughters and sisters are attractive and chief vassals and attendants who render the country no distinguished services, receive residences of their own choice and live on fields selected by themselves. Rewards and profits issue solely from the superior purposely to control the inferiors with success, but warriors and armed officers get no post while men idling their time away are honoured and celebrated. Now that the superior takes these practices for the ways of civic education, how can his name escape degradation and how can his position escape dangers?

Indeed, when the superior's name is degraded and his position endangered, it is always because the inferiors are not obedient to laws and orders, double-faced, pursuing private studies, and acting against the world. Yet if their actions are not forbidden, their gangs are not dissolved, and their partisans are not thereby dispersed, but they are honoured instead, it is the fault of the authorities in charge of state affairs.

The superior sets up the principles of integrity and bashfulness for the purpose of encouraging the inferiors, whereas gentry and officials of to-day are not ashamed of dirty mud and ugly insults, but under the influence of daughters and sisters married to powerful men and of private friends they take up office with no need of following the proper order.

Prizes and gifts are meant to exalt men of merit, but men having given distinguished service in warfare remain poor and humble while flatterers and actors rise above their due grades, names, and titles. Sincerity and faith are meant to manifest authority, but the sovereign is deluded by courtiers; ladies and interviewers proceed in parallel; officials administer the bestowal of ranks and change the personnel as they please. This is the fault of the authorities in charge of state affairs. If chief vassals appoint people to office by intriguing with the subordinates beforehand and then play into each other's hands, and, though against the law, they extend their influence and benefits among their subordinates, then the sovereign will become powerless and the chief vassals will become influential.

Indeed, the purpose of enacting laws and decrees is to abolish selfishness. Once laws and decrees prevail, the way of selfishness collapses. Selfishness disturbs the law. Nevertheless, scholars, who, being double-faced, pursue private studies, dwell in rocky caves, hide themselves by the roadside, and pretend to profound thought, denounce the world in general and beguile the inferiors in particular. Instead of suppressing them, the superior honours them with titles and provides them with actual support. Thereby men of no merit are celebrated and men doing no service are enriched. If so, scholars who are double-faced and are pursuing private studies, will pretend to profound thought, endeavour to learn intrigues, denounce laws and decrees, and thereby elaborate opposite views to the course of the age.

In general, whoever disturbs the superior and acts contrary to the age, is always a scholar having a double-face and pursuing private studies. Therefore, in my main discourse I say: "The cause of order is law, the cause of chaos is selfishness. Once law is enacted, no selfish act can be done." Hence the saying: "Whoever tolerates selfishness finds chaos, whoever upholds law finds order." If the superior misses the right way, astute men will use selfish phraseology and worthies will cherish selfish motives, principals will bestow selfish favours, and subordinates will pursue selfish desires. When worthy and astute men form juntas, coin terms, manipulate phrases, and thereby denounce laws and decrees before the superior, if the superior, instead of stopping and debarring them, honours them, it is to teach the inferiors neither to follow the superior nor to obey the law. For this reason, worthies cultivate their fame and live comfortably and wicked men count on rewards and accumulate wealth. Because the worthies live comfortably by cultivating their fame and wicked men accumulate wealth by counting on rewards, the superior is unable to subdue the inferiors.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 46.

Six Contrarieties

Who fears death and shuns difficulty, is the type of citizen who would surrender or retreat, but the world reveres him by calling him "a life-valuing gentleman". Who studies the ways of the early kings and propounds theories of his own, is the type of citizen that would neglect the law, but the world reveres him by calling him "a cultured and learned gentleman". Who idles his time away and obtains big awards, is the type of citizen who would live on charities, but the world reveres him by calling him "a talented gentleman". Who twists his speeches and pretends to erudition, is the fraudulent and deceitful type of citizen, but the world reveres him by calling him "an eloquent and intelligent gentleman". Who brandishes his sword and attacks and kills, is the violent and savage type of citizen, but the world reveres him by calling him "a hardy and courageous gentleman". Who saves thieves and hides culprits, is the type of citizen that deserves the death penalty, but the world reveres him by calling him "a chivalrous and honourable gentleman". These six types of citizens are what the world praises.

Who would venture risks and die in the cause of loyalty, is the type of citizen that chooses death before infidelity, but the world despises him by calling him "a planless subject". Who learns little but obeys orders, is the law-abiding type of citizen, but the world despises him by calling him "a naive and rustic subject". Who works hard and earns his livelihood, is the productive type of citizen, but the world despises him by calling him "a small-talented subject". Who is frank, generous, pure, and genuine, is the right and good type of citizen, but the world despises him by calling him "a foolish and silly subject". Who esteems commands and reveres public affairs, is the superior-respecting type of citizen, but the world despises him by calling him "a cowardly and fainthearted subject". Who suppresses thieves and oppresses culprits, is the superior-obeying type of citizen, but the world despises him by calling him "a flattering and slanderous subject". These six types of citizens are what the world blames.

Thus, the wicked, fraudulent, and useless citizens include six types, but the world praises them in those manners; so do the tilling, fighting, and useful citizens include six types, but the world blames them in these manners. These are called "six contrarieties".

If the hemp-clothed commoners in accordance with their private interests praise people, and if the lord of this age believing in bubble reputations respects them, then whoever is respected, will be accorded profits. If the hundred surnames on account of private feud with them slander them, and if the lord of this age, as misled by the beaten track of men, despises them, then whoever is despised, will suffer damage. Therefore, fame and rewards will go to selfish, vicious citizens deserving punishment; while blame and damages will befall public-spirited, upright gentlemen deserving reward. If so, then to strive for the wealth and strength of the state is impossible.

The ancients had a proverb saying: "To govern the people is like washing one's head. Though there are falling hairs, the washing must needs be done." Whoever regrets the waste of the falling hairs and forgets the gain of the growing hairs, does not know the doctrine of expediency.

Indeed, opening boils causes pain; taking drugs causes bitter taste. Yet, if boils are not opened on account of pain and drugs not taken on account of bitterness, the person will not live and the disease will not stop.

Now the relationship between superior and inferior involves no affection of father and son, if anyone wishes to rule the inferiors by practising righteousness, the relationship will certainly have cracks. Besides, parents in relation to children, when males are born, congratulate each other, and, when females are born, lessen the care of them. Equally coming out from the bosoms and lapels of the parents, why should boys receive congratulations while girls are ill-treated? Because parents consider their future conveniences and calculate their permanent benefits. Thus, even parents in relation to children use the calculating mind in treating them, how much more should those who have no affection of parent and child?

The learned men of to-day, on counselling the lord of men, all persuade him to discard the profit-seeking mind and follow the way of mutual love. Thereby they demand more from the lord of men than from parents. Such is an immature view of human relationships: it is both deceitful and fallacious. Naturally the enlightened sovereign would not accept it. The sage, in governing the people, deliberates upon laws and prohibitions. When laws and prohibitions are clear and manifest, all officials will be in good order. He makes reward and punishment definite. When reward and punishment are never unjust, the people will attend to public duties. If the people attend to public duties and officials are in good order,

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then the state will become rich; if the state is rich, then the army will become strong. In consequence, hegemony will be attained. The enterprise of the Hegemonic Ruler is the highest goal of the lord of men. With this highest goal in view the lord of men attends to governmental affairs. Therefore, the officials he appoints to office must have the required abilities, and the rewards and punishments he enforces must involve no selfishness but manifest public justice to gentry and commoners. Whoever exerts his strength and risks his life, will be able to accomplish merits and attain rank and bounty. When rank and bounty have been attained, the enterprise of wealth and nobility will be accomplished. Now, wealth and nobility constitute the highest goal of the ministers. With this highest goal in view the ministers attend to their official duties. Therefore, they will work hard at the peril of their lives and never resent even the exhaustion of their energy. This amounts to the saying that if the ruler is not benevolent and the ministers are not loyal, hegemony cannot be attained.

Indeed, the culprits, if infallibly detected, would take precautions; if definitely censured, they would stop. If not detected, they would become dissolute; if not censured, they would become active. For illustration, when cheap articles are left at a deserted spot, even Tseng Shan and Shih Ch'in can be suspected of stealing them; whereas when a hundred pieces of gold hang at the market-place, even the greatest robber dare not take them. Even Tseng Shan and Shih Ch'in are liable to suspicion at a deserted spot if detection is unlikely; if sure to be found out, the greatest robber dare not touch the gold hanging at the market-place.

Therefore, the enlightened sovereign in governing the state would increase custodians and intensify penalties and make the people stop vices according to law but not owing to their own sense of integrity. For illustration, mothers love children twice as much as fathers do, but a father enforces orders among children ten times better than a mother does. Similarly, officials have no love for the people, but they enforce orders among the people ten thousand times better than their parents do. Parents heap up their love but their orders come to naught; whereas officials exercise force and the people obey them. Thus, you can easily make the choice between severity and affection.

Furthermore, what parents desire of children is safety and prosperity in livelihood and innocence in conduct. What the ruler requires of his subjects, however, is to demand their lives in case of emergency and exhaust their energy in time of peace. Now, parents, who love their children and wish them safety and prosperity, are not listened to; whereas the ruler, who neither loves nor benefits his subjects but demands their death and toil, can enforce his orders. As the enlightened sovereign knows this principle, he does not cultivate the feeling of favour and love, but extends his influence of authority and severity. Mothers love sons with deep love, but most of the sons are spoilt, for their love is over-extended; fathers show their sons less love and teach them with light bamboos, but most of the sons turn out well, for severity is applied.

If any family of to-day, in making property, share hunger and cold together and endure toil and pain with one another, it would be such a family that can enjoy warm clothes and nice food in time of warfare and famine. On the contrary, those who help one another with clothing and food and amuse one another with entertainments, would become such families that give wives in marriage and set children for sale in time of famine and during the year of drought. Thus, law as the way to order may cause gain at first, but will give gain in the long run; whereas benevolence as the way to order may give pleasure for the moment, but will become fruitless in the end. Measuring their relative weights and choosing the one for the greatest good, the sage would adopt the legal way of mutual perseverance and discard the benevolent way of mutual pity. The teachings of the learned men all say, "Mitigate penalties". This is the means of inviting turmoil and ruin. In general, the definiteness of reward and punishment is based on encouragement and prohibition. If rewards are liberal, it is easy to get what the superior wants; if punishments are heavy, it is easy to forbid what the superior hates. Indeed, whoever wants benefit, hates injury, which is the opposite of benefit. Then how can there be no hatred for the opposite of the wanted? Similarly, whoever wants order, hates chaos, which is the opposite of order. For this reason, who wants order urgently, his rewards must be liberal; who hates chaos badly, his punishments must be heavy. Now, those who apply light penalties are neither serious in hating chaos nor serious in wanting order. Such people are both tactless and helpless. Therefore, the distinction between the worthy and the unworthy, between the stupid and the intelligent, depends on whether reward and punishment are light or heavy.

Moreover, heavy penalties are not for the sole purpose of punishing criminals. The law of the intelligent sovereign, in suppressing rebels, is not disciplining only those who are being suppressed, for to discipline only the suppressed is the same as to discipline dead men only; in penalizing robbers, it is not disciplining only those who are being penalized, for to discipline only the penalized is the same as to discipline convicts only. Hence the saying: "Take seriously one culprit's crime and suppress all wickednesses within the boundaries." This is the way to attain order. For the heavily punished are robbers, but the terrified and trembling are good people. Therefore, why should those who want order doubt the efficacy of heavy penalties?

Indeed, liberal rewards are meant not only to reward men of merit but also to encourage the whole state. The rewarded enjoy the benefits; those not as yet rewarded look forward to their future accomplishment. This is to requite one man for his merit and to encourage the whole populace within the boundaries. Therefore, why should those who want order doubt the efficacy of liberal rewards?

Now, those who do not know the right way to order all say: "Heavy penalties injure the people. Light penalties can suppress villainy. Then why should heavy penalties be necessary?" Such speakers are really not well versed in the principles of order. To be sure, what is stopped by heavy penalties is not necessarily stopped by light penalties; but what is stopped by light penalties is always stopped by heavy penalties. For this reason, where the superior sets up heavy penalties, there all culprits disappear. If all culprits disappear, how can the application of heavy penalties be detrimental to the people?

In the light of the so-called "heavy penalties", what the culprits can gain, is slight, but what the superior inflicts, is great. As the people never venture a big penalty for the sake of a small gain, malefactions will eventually disappear. In the face of the so-called "light penalties", however, what the culprits gain, is great, but what the superior inflicts, is slight. As the people long for the profit and ignore the slight punishment, malefactions never will disappear. Thus, the early sages had a proverb, saying: "Nobody stumbles against a mountain, but everybody trips over an ant-hill." The mountain being large, everyone takes notice of it; the ant-hill being small, everyone disregards it. Now supposing penalties were light, people would disregard them. To let criminals go unpunished is to drive the whole state to the neglect of all penalties; to censure criminals properly is to set traps for the people. Thus, light punishment is an ant-hill to the people. For this reason, the policy of light punishment would either plunge the state into confusion or set traps for the people. Such a policy may thus be said to be detrimental to the people.

The learned men of to-day, one and all, cite the panegyrics in the classics, and, without observing closely the real facts, of the present age, say: "If the superior does not love the people and always levies exactions and taxations, then living expenses will become insufficient and the inferiors will hate the superior. Hence the chaos in the world." This means that if the superior lets the people have enough money to spend and loves them besides, then notwithstanding light punishment order can be attained. Such a saying is not true. Generally speaking, men incur heavy punishment only after they have had enough money. Therefore, though you let them have enough money to spend and love them dearly, yet light penalties cannot get them out of disorder.

Take, for example, the beloved sons of wealthy families, who are given sufficient money to spend. Having sufficient money to spend, they spend it freely. Spending money freely, they indulge in extravagance. The parents, loving them so much, cannot bear to restrict them. Not restricted, they become self-willed. Being extravagant, they impoverish their families. Being self-willed, they practise violence. Such is the calamity of deep love and light penalty, even though there is enough money to spend.

Men as a whole, while living, if they have enough money to spend, do not use energy; if the superior's rule is weak, they indulge in doing wrong. He who has enough money to spend and yet still exerts himself strenuously, can be nobody but Shen-nung. Those who cultivate their conduct though the superior's rule is weak, can be nobody but Tseng Shan and Shih Ch'iu. Clearly enough, indeed, the masses of people cannot live up to the levels of Shen-nung, Tseng Shan and Shih Ch'iu.

Lao Tan said: "Who knows how to be content, gets no humiliation, who knows where to stop, risks no vitiation." Indeed, who on account of vitiation and humiliation seeks nothing other than contentment, can be nobody but Lao Tan. Now, to think that by contenting the people order can be attained is to assume everybody to be like Lao Tan. For illustration, Chieh, having the dignity of the Son of Heaven, was not content with the honour; and, having the riches within the four seas, was not content with the treasures. The ruler of men, though able to content the people, cannot content all of them with the dignity of the Son of Heaven while men like Chieh would not necessarily be content with the dignity of the Son of Heaven. If so, even though the ruler might attempt to content the people, how could order be attained? Therefore, the intelligent sovereign, when governing the state, suits his policy to the time and the affairs so as to increase his financial resources, calculates taxes and tributes so as to equalise the poor and the rich, extends ranks and bounties for the people so as to exert their wisdom and ability, enlarges penal implements so as to forbid villainy and wickedness, and makes the people secure riches by virtue of their own efforts, receive punishments owing to their criminal offences, get rewards by performing meritorious services, and never think of any gift by beneficence and favour. Such is the course of imperial and kingly government.

If all men are asleep, no blind man will be noticed; if all men remain silent, no mute will be detected. Awake them and ask each one to see, or question them and ask each one to reply. Then both the blind and the mute will be at a loss. Likewise, unless their speeches be heeded, the tactless will not be known; unless appointed to office, the unworthy will not be known. Heed their speeches and seek their truth; appoint them to office and hold them responsible for the results of their work. Then both the tactless and the unworthy would be at a loss. Indeed, when you want to get wrestlers but merely listen to their own words, then you cannot distinguish between a mediocre man and Wu Huo. Given tripods and bowls, then both the weak and the strong come to the fore. Similarly, official posts are the tripods and bowls to able men. Entrusted with affairs, the stupid and the intelligent will be differentiated. As a result, the tactless will not be used; the unworthy will not be appointed to office.

Nowadays, those who find their words not adopted, pretend to eloquence by twisting their sentences; those who are not appointed to office, pretend to refinement by disguising themselves. Beguiled by their eloquence and deceived by their refinement, the sovereigns of this age honour and esteem them. This is to tell the bright without finding their sight and to tell the eloquent without finding their replies, wherefore the blind and the mute never will be detected. Contrary to this, the intelligent sovereign, whenever he listens to any speech, would hold it accountable for its utility, and when he observes any deed, would seek for its merit. If so, empty and obsolete learning cannot be discussed and praised and fraudulent action cannot be disguised.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 47.

Eight Fallacies

Who does private favours to old acquaintances, is called a kind-hearted alter ego. Who distributes alms with public money, is called a benevolent man. Who makes light of bounties but thinks much of himself, is called a superior man. Who strains the law to shield his relatives, is called a virtuous man. Who deserts official posts for cultivating personal friendships, is called a chivalrous man. Who keeps aloof from the world and avoids all superiors, is called lofty. Who quarrels with people and disobeys orders, is called an unyielding hero. Who bestows favours and attracts the masses of people, is called a popular idol.

However, the presence of kind-hearted men implies the existence of culprits among the magistrates; the presence of benevolent men, the losses of public funds; the presence of superior men, the difficulty in employing the people; the presence of virtuous men, the violation of laws and statutes; the appearance of chivalrous men, vacancies of official posts; the appearance of lofty men, the people's neglect of their proper duties; the emergence of unyielding heroes, the inefficacy of orders; and the appearance of popular idols, the isolation of the sovereign from the subjects.

These eight involve private honours to ruffians but great damage to the lord of men. The opposite of these eight involve private damage to ruffians but public benefits to the lord of men. If the lord of men does not consider the benefits and damage to the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain but promotes the private honours of ruffians, to find neither danger nor chaos in the state will be impossible.

To entrust men with state affairs is the pivot between life and death, between order and chaos. If the superior has no tact to appoint men to office, every appointment to office will end in failure. Now, those who are taken into office by the ruler of men are either eloquent and astute or refined and polished. To entrust men is to let them have influence. Yet astute men are not necessarily trustworthy. Inasmuch as the ruler makes much of their wisdom, he is thereby misled to trust them. If such astute men, with their calculating mind, take advantage of their official influence and work after their own private needs, the ruler will, no doubt, be deceived. For astute men are not trustworthy. For the same reason, to appoint refined gentlemen to office is to let them decide on state affairs. Yet the refined gentlemen are not necessarily wise. Inasmuch as the ruler makes much of their polished manners, he is thereby misled to regard them as wise. If such stupid men, despite their mental confusion, take advantage of their administrative posts and do as they please, the state affairs will fall into turmoil. Thus, if the ruler has no tact to use men, when astute men are taken into service, he will be deceived; when refined men are appointed to office, the state affairs will fall into turmoil. Such is the calamity of tactlessness.

According to the Tao of the enlightened ruler, the humble can criticize the faults of the noble; the inferiors must denounce the crimes of the superiors; sincerity is judged by the comparison of diverse opinions; and information has no biased channel. Consequently, wise men can not practise fraud and deceit; rewards are bestowed according to meritorious services; men are assigned different duties according to their

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respective talents; and failures are determined in the light of original purposes. Whoever commits an offence, is convicted; whoever has a special talent, is given a post. Therefore, stupid men can not be entrusted with state affairs. If astute men dare not deceive the superior and stupid men can not decide on any state affair, then nothing will fail.

What can be understood only by clear-sighted scholars should not be made an order, because the people are not all clear-sighted. What can be practised only by wise men should not be made a law, because the people are not all wise. Yang Chu and Mo Ti were regarded as clear-sighted by Allunder-Heaven. Though their teachings have alleviated the chaos of the world, yet they have not brought the world into order. However enlightened, the creeds should not be promulgated as decrees by any governmental organ. Pao Chiao and Hua Chioh were regarded as wise by All-underHeaven. Yet Pao Chiao dried up to death like a tree while Hua Chioh drowned himself in a river. However wise, they could not be turned into farmers and warriors. Therefore, whoever is regarded by the lord of men as clear-sighted, must be a wise man who would exert his eloquence; whoever is regarded by the lord of men as honourable, must be an able man who would do his best. Now that sovereigns of this age give ear to useless eloquence and uphold fruitless conduct, to strive after the wealth and strength of the state is impossible.

Erudite, learned, eloquent, and wise, as Confucius and Mo Tzu were, if Confucius and Mo Tzu would never till and weed farming land, what could they contribute to the state? Cultivating the spirit of filial piety and eliminating desires as Tseng Shan and Shih Ch'iu did, if Tseng Shan and Shih Ch'iu would never fight and attack, how could they benefit the state? The ruffians have their private advantages, the lord of men has his public benefits. Acquiring enough provisions without hard work and cultivating fame without holding office, are private advantages. Clarifying laws and statutes by forbidding literary learning and concentrating on meritorious services by suppressing private advantages, are public benefits. To enact the law is to lead the people, whereas if the superior esteems literary learning, the people will become sceptical in following the law. To reward for merit is to encourage the people, whereas if the superior honours the cultivation of virtuous conduct, the people will become lazy in producing profits. If the superior holds literary learning in high esteem and thereby causes doubt in the law, and if he honours the cultivation of virtuous conduct and thereby causes disbelief in meritorious work, to strive after the wealth and strength of the state is impossible.

Neither the official tablet inserted in the girdle nor the dancer's shield and small axe can rival the real halberd and the iron harpoon. The manners of ascending and descending the steps and standing and turning in the court can not be compared with the march of one hundred li a day. Shooting the feigned badger's head is not equivalent to discharging swift arrows from the wide-drawn cross-bow. Shield and walls as well as huge war chariots are not as good defence works as earthen forts, trenches, and under-ground bellows.

Men of antiquity strove to be known as virtuous; those of the middle age struggled to be known as wise; and now men fight for the reputation of being powerful. In antiquity, events were few; measures were simple, naïve, crude, and incomplete. Therefore there were men using spears made of mother-of-pearl, and those pushing carts. In antiquity, again people were few and therefore kind to one another; things being few, they made light of profits and made alienations easy. Hence followed alienations of the throne by courtesy and transfer of the rule over All-under-Heaven. That being so, to do courteous alienations, promote compassion and beneficence, and follow benevolence and favour, was to run the government in the primitive way. In the age of numerous affairs, to employ the instruments of the management of affairs that were few, is not the wise man's measure. Again, in the age of great struggles, to follow the track of courteous alienations, is not the sage's policy. For this reason, wise men do not personally push carts and sages do not run any government in the primitive way.

Laws are means of controlling affairs. Affairs are means of celebrating merits. When laws are made and found to involve difficulties, then the ruler must estimate the difficulties. If he finds the tasks can be accomplished, then he must enact them. If he finds the accomplishment of the tasks involves losses, then he must estimate the losses. If he finds gains will exceed losses, then he must transact them. For there are in Allunder-Heaven neither laws without difficulties nor gains without losses. For this reason, whoever takes a city whose walls are ten thousand feet long and defeats any army of one hundred thousand troops, though he has to lose at least one third of his men and see his arms and weapons either crushed or broken and his officers and soldiers either killed or injured, yet he celebrates his victory in the war and his gain of new territory because by calculation he has harvested great gains at the cost of small losses. Indeed, the washer of the head has falling hair, the curer of boils hurts blood and flesh. Who governs men, encounters difficulties in the way, and therefore gives up the work, is a tactless man. The early sages said: "When compasses have aberrations, or when water has waves, though I want to correct them, nothing can be done." This is a dictum well used in the doctrine of expediency. For this reason, there are theories that are plausible but far from practical and there are speeches that have poor wording but are urgently useful. The sages, accordingly, never looked for any harmless word but attended to difficult tasks.

Men make no fuss about balance and weight. This is not because they are upright and honest and would ward off profits, but because the weight can not change the quantities of things according to human wants nor can the balance make things lighter or heavier according to human wishes. Acquiescing in the inability to get what they want, people make no fuss. In the state of an intelligent sovereign, officials dare not bend the law, magistrates dare not practise selfishness, and bribery does not prevail. It is because all tasks within the boundary work like weight and balance, wherefore any wicked minister is always found out and anybody known for wickedness is always censured. For this reason, the sovereign upholding the true path, instead of seeking magistrates who are pure and honest, strives after omniscience.

The compassionate mother, in loving her little child, is surpassed by none. Yet, when the child has mischievous actions, she sends him to follow the teacher; when he is badly ill, she sends him to see the physician. For without following the teacher he is liable to penalty; without seeing the physician he is susceptible to death. Thus, though the compassionate mother loves the child, she is helpless in saving him from penalty and from death. If so, what preserves the child is not love.

The bond of mother and child is love, the relationship of ruler and minister is expediency. If the mother can not preserve the family by virtue of love, how can the ruler maintain order in the state by means of love? The intelligent sovereign, if well versed in the principles of wealth and strength, can get what he wants. Thus, prudence in heeding memorials and managing affairs is the royal road to wealth and strength. He makes his laws and prohibitions clear and considers his schemes and plans carefully. If laws are clear, at home there will be no worry about any emergency or disturbance; if plans are right, there will be no disaster of either death or captivity abroad. Therefore, what preserves the state is not benevolence and righteousness. Who is benevolent, is tender-hearted and beneficent and makes light of money; who is violent, has a stubborn mind and censures people easily. If tender-hearted and beneficent, he will be unable to bear executions; if easy in money, he will like to bestow favours. If he has a stubborn mind, he will reveal his ill will to the inferiors; if he censures people easily, he will inflict the death penalty upon anybody. Unable to bear executions, one would remit most punishments; fond of bestowing favours, one would mostly reward men of no merit. When ill will is revealed, the inferiors will hate the superiors; when arbitrary censure prevails, the people will rebel. Therefore, when a benevolent man is on the throne, the inferiors are wild, easily violate laws and prohibitions, expect undue gifts, and hope for personal favours from the superior. When a violent man is on the throne, laws and decrees are arbitrary; ruler and minister oppose each other; the people grumble and beget the spirit of disorder. Hence the saying: "Both benevolence and violence drive the state to ruin."

Who can not prepare good food but invites starvelings to diet, can not save their lives. Who can not mow grass and grow rice but promotes the distribution of loans, alms, prizes, and gifts, can not enrich the people. The learned men of today, in their speeches, do not emphasize the need of primary callings but are fond of advocating secondary works and preach the gospel of emptiness and saintliness so as to delight the people. To do this is as fallacious as to invite people to poor diet. Any persuasion of the "invitation-to-poor-diet" type the intelligent sovereign never accepts.

When writings are too sketchy, pupils debate; when laws are too vague, vagabonds dispute. For this reason, the writings of the sages always illustrate their discussions, the laws of the intelligent ruler always penetrate the minute details of fact. To exert thought and consideration and forecast gains and losses, is hard even to wise men; to hold the antecedent word accountable for the consequent result, is easy even to fools. The intelligent sovereign accepts what is easy to stupid men but rejects what is difficult to wise men. Therefore, without resorting to wisdom and thought, the state is in good order.

If the taste, whether sour or sweet, salty or insipid, is not judged by the mouth of the sovereign but determined by the chef, then all the cooks will slight the ruler and revere the chef. If the note, whether high or low, clear or mixed, is not judged by the ear of the sovereign but by the head musician, then the blind players will slight the ruler and revere the head musician. Similarly, if the government of the state, whether right or wrong, is not judged by the sovereign's own tact but determined by his favourites, then the ministers and inferiors will slight the ruler and revere the favourites. The lord of men, who does not personally observe deeds and examine words but merely entrusts the inferiors with all matters of restriction and judgement, is nobody other than a lodger and boarder in the state.

Suppose people have neither clothes nor food and suffer neither hunger nor cold and, moreover, do not fear death, then they will have no intention to serve the superior. If they intend not to be ruled by the ruler, the ruler can not employ them. Now, if the power over life and death is vested in the chief vassals, then no decree of the sovereign can ever prevail. Should tigers and leopards make no use of their claws and fangs, in influence they would become the same as rats and mice; should families worth ten thousand pieces of gold make no use of their riches, in status they would become the same as gate-keepers. If the ruler of a country could neither benefit men he approves nor injure men he disapproves, to make men fear and revere him would be impossible.

Ministers who act at random and give rein to their wants, are said to be chivalrous; the lord of men who acts at random and gives rein to his wants, is said to be outrageous. Ministers who slight the superior, are said to be brave; the lord of men who slights the inferiors is said to be violent. While the principles of conduct follow the same track, the inferiors thereby receive praises and the superior thereby incurs blame. If the ministers gain so much, the lord of men will lose so much. In the state of an intelligent sovereign, however, there are noble ministers but no powerful ministers. By noble ministers are meant those whose ranks are high and whose posts are big; by powerful ministers are meant those whose counsels are adopted and whose influences are enormous. In the state of the intelligent sovereign, again, officials are raised and ranks are granted according to their respective merits, wherefore there are noble ministers; words always turn into deeds and any fraud is always censured, wherefore there are no powerful ministers.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 48.

Eight Canons

1. Accordance with Human Feelings: Accumulation of Wisdom

Generally speaking, the order of All-under-Heaven must accord with human feelings. Human feelings have likes and dislikes, wherefore reward and punishment can be applied. If reward and punishment are applicable, prohibitions and orders will prevail and the course of government will be accomplished. As the ruler has the handles in his grip and thereby upholds his august position, what is ordered works and what is prohibited stops. The handles are regulators of life and death; the position is the means of overcoming the masses.

If dismissal and appointment have no constant rule, the sovereign's prerogative will be profaned; if matters of reward and punishment are administered in common by the sovereign and the inferiors, the sovereign's authority will be shaken. For this reason, the intelligent sovereign does not listen with the attitude of love nor does he scheme with the sense of delight. For, if he does not compare the words he heeds, his prerogative will be shaken by rapacious ministers; if he does not make use of the ministers' wisdom and strength, he will be harassed by the ministers. Therefore, the sovereign, when enforcing regulations, is as magnificent as heaven, and, when using men, is as mysterious as the spirit. For heaven cannot be confuted and the spirit cannot be harassed by human beings. When the position functions and the training is strict, though the ruler acts contrary to the world, nobody dares to disobey. Once blame and praise prevail under a unified system, nobody dares to dispute. Therefore, to reward the wise and punish the violent is the best way to exalt good people; to reward the outrageous and punish the wise is the extremity to exalt bad people, which is said to be rewarding participants in wickedness and punishing opponents to it.

Now, rewards should not be otherwise than liberal, so that the people will consider them profitable; honours should not be otherwise than attractive, so that the people will consider them glorious; censures should not be otherwise than strict, so that the people will consider them severe; and blame should not be otherwise than odious, so that the people will consider it disgraceful. Thereafter, the ruler will universally enforce his laws. When prohibitions and censures of private families mean no harm to the people, and when men of merit deserving reward and culprits deserving punishment are always known, the system of intelligent service is accomplished.

2. The Tao of the Sovereign: Organizing the Wise

As one man in physical strength can not rival a multitude of people and in wisdom can not comprehend everything, using one man's strength and wisdom can not be compared with using the strength and wisdom of the whole state. Therefore, who with his own strength and wisdom defies people, will be overcome in all things. If he by chance hits the object, he will have already over-worked himself; if he misses the object, he will be held responsible for the mistake.

The inferior ruler exerts his own ability; the average ruler exerts people's physical strength; and the superior ruler exerts people's wisdom. For this reason, in case of emergency he gathers the wise men, listens to each one, and calls a

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conference. If he does not listen to each one, consequent results will be contrary to antecedent words. If consequent results are contrary to antecedent words, there will be no distinction between the stupid and the wise. If the ruler does not call a conference, there will be hesitation and no decision. Without decision, everything will come to a standstill. If the ruler adopts one of the counsels himself, he will have no fear of falling into the trap of rapacious people. Therefore, he should let everybody utter his opinions. After opinions are settled, he should hold them responsible for equivalent results. For this purpose, on the day that opinions are uttered, he should make written memoranda. Thus, the organiser of wise men verifies their words after starting the tasks; the organiser of able men estimates their merits after seeing their works. Success and failure leave evidence, which reward and punishment follow respectively. If tasks are successfully accomplished, the ruler harvests their fruits; if they fail, the ministers face criminal charges.

Who rules over men, never busies himself with the identification of tallies, not to mention laborious work. Nor does he busy himself in case of emergency at hand, still less with distant affairs. Therefore, self-exhaustion is not the right policy in personnel administration. The ruler does not take advice from the same source. If ministers unify their words, the ruler will reprimand them. If he makes people exert their respective abilities, he will become godlike. If he is godlike, the inferiors will exert their wisdom. If every inferior exerts his wisdom the ministers will not take advantage of the ruler and the Tao of the sovereign will be accomplished.

3. Preventing the Rise of Commotions

Who knows ruler and minister differ in interest, will become supreme. Who regards the difference as identity, will be intimidated. Who administers the state affairs in common with his ministers, will be killed. Therefore, the intelligent sovereign will scrutinize the distinctions between public and private interests and the relative positions of benefit and harm, so that wicked men will find no chance to act.

There are six kinds of creators of commotions, namely, dowagers, concubines, bastards, brothers, chief vassals, and celebrities for wisdom. If magistrates are appointed and ministers bear responsibilities in accordance with law, the sovereign's mother will not dare any kind of rampancy. If propriety and bestowal have different grades, concubines can not speculate whether their sons might replace the heir apparent. If the supreme position tolerates no rivalry, bastards cannot dispute with legitimate sons. If authority and position are not shaken, royal brothers cannot trespass on the ruler's power. If subordinate officials are not from the same clan, chief vassals can not delude the ruler. If prohibitions and rewards are always enforced, celebrities for wisdom cannot create any commotion. . . .

Ministers have two resorts, called outer and inner. The outer is said to be "the feared"; the inner, "the loved". What is requested by the feared is granted; what is suggested by the loved, is followed. Thus, the feared and the loved are what the rapacious ministers appeal to. If officials recommended by foreign states are cross-examined and censured for their continuous development of personal friendships and acceptance of bribes from abroad, they will not count on the outer resort. If ranks and bounties follow meritorious services, and if those who make request on behalf of their friends and relatives are equally implicated in the practice of favouritism, nobody will count on the inner resort. If both the outer and the inner resorts are not relied on, culprits outside and inside the court will be suppressed.

Officials who advance according to the regular order till they reach posts of great responsibilities, are wise. Those whose posts are high and responsibilities are great, should be held under surveillance by three means of control, namely, "taking hostages", "holding securities" , and "finding sureties". Relatives, wives and sons can be taken as hostages; ranks and bounties can be held as securities; and the "three units and basic fives" that are implicated in any of the members' illegal acts, can be found as sureties. Worthies refrain from evils for fear of "hostage-taking"; greedy people are transformed by the measure of "security-holding"; and culprits are harassed by the measure of "surety-using". If the superior does not exercise these means of control, the inferiors will dare to infringe upon his authority. If small culprits are not eliminated, he will have to censure great culprits. When censuring culprits, if name and fact correspond to each other, he should immediately enforce the censure. If their life is detrimental to the state affairs and their death penalty is harmful to the ruler's name, then he should poison them through drinking or eating, otherwise send them into the hands of their enemies. This is said to "eliminate invisible culprits". Harbouring culprits is due to the practice of misrepresentation. The practice of misrepresentation is due to the contempt for the law. If visible merits are always rewarded and disclosed crimes are punished, the practice of misrepresentation will stop. Him who gives no opinion of right or wrong, presents unreasonable persuasions and remonstrations, and shows contempt for the law, the ruler should not take into service.

Uncles, cousins, or worthy and excellent ministers, living in exile, are said to be "roaming calamities". Their menace comes from their provision of neighbouring enemies with numerous opportunities. Eunuchs and courtiers are said to be "profligate rebels". 28 Their menace comes from their ill will caused by irritation and suspicion. To conceal anger, shelter criminals, and harbour them, is said to "increase commotions". The menace lies in the rise of men expecting godsends and making arbitrary promotions. To delegate equal authority to two chief vassals and maintain the balance of power between them without partiality, is said to "nourish calamities". The menace lies in the precipitation of family quarrels, intimidations, and regicides. To be careless and not to keep oneself godlike, is called to "lose prestige". Its menace lies in the rise of such treason as regicide by poisoning. These five are menaces, which, if the lord of men ignores them, will eventually precipitate such disasters as intimidation and regicide. If matters of dismissal and appointment originate from inside, then there will be order; if from outside, then chaos. Therefore, the intelligent sovereign would estimate meritorious services inside the court and harvest profits from abroad. Consequently, his state is always orderly; his enemies, always chaotic. The reason for chaos is that unduly hated ministers would create such outer commotions by means of delusion, and unduly loved vassals would create such inner commotions by means of poisoning.

4. Enforcing the System of Three Units and Basic Fives

The system of "three units and basic fives" means to choose the plan held by the majority when different opinions are subsumed under three categories, and to organize basic groups of five families and implicate all the members of each group in any member's misconduct. Thus, the comparison of different opinions always differentiates the majority and the minority from each other; the organization of groups of five families always holds members of the same group jointly responsible. If not differentiated, they would profane the superior's authority; if not held responsible, they would co-operate in evil doings. Therefore, the ruler should differentiate them when their number is still small and can be easily known. When angry, he should censure only the culprits but not their relatives. His position of observing deeds and heeding speeches is demonstrated by his punishing all clique members, rewarding non-partisans, censuring women interviewers, and convicting their adherents. Regarding the diverse opinions uttered simultaneously, he should estimate them in the light of their backgrounds, scrutinize them with the principles of heaven, verify them by the course of affairs, and compare them with the sentiments of mankind. If these four demonstrations coincide with one another, then the ruler may proceed to observe deeds.

Compare different words and thereby know the true one. Change the perspectives and thereby detect the choice abode. Stick to your own view and thereby hold your extraordinary standpoint. Unify the system of personnel administration and thereby warn the courtiers. Dignify your words and thereby scare distant officials. Cite the past facts and thereby check the antecedent words. Keep detectives near by the officials and thereby know their inner conditions. Send detectives afar and thereby know outer affairs. Hold to your clear knowledge and thereby inquire into obscure objects. Give ministers false encouragements and thereby extirpate their attempts to infringe on the ruler's rights. Invert your words and thereby try out the suspects. Use contradictory arguments and thereby find out the invisible culprits. Establish the system of espionage and thereby rectify the fraudulent people. Make appointments and dismissals and thereby observe the reactions of wicked officials. Speak explicitly and thereby persuade people to avoid faults. Humbly follow others' speeches and thereby discriminate between earnest men and flatterers. Get information from everybody and know things you have not yet seen. Create quarrels among adherents and partisans and thereby disperse them. Explore the depths of one culprit and thereby warn the mind of the many. Divulge false ideas and thereby make the inferiors think matters over.

In the case of similarities and resemblances, identify their common points. When stating anybody's faults, grasp the causes, know the due penalties, and thereby justify the exercise of your authority. Send out spies in secret to inspect the enemy states from time to time and thereby find their signs of decay. Gradually change envoys sent abroad and thereby break up their secret communications and private friendships with foreign states. Put every subordinate under surveillance by his immediate principal. Thus, ministers discipline their vassals; vassals discipline their dependents; soldiers and officials discipline their troops; envoys discipline their deputies; prefects discipline their subordinates; courtiers discipline their attendants; and queens and concubines discipline their court maids. Such is said to be "the systematic thorough way".

If words are divulged and affairs leak out, then no statecraft will function at all.

5. Devotion to Secrecy

The lord of men has the duty of devoting his attention to secrecy. For this reason, when his delight is revealed, his conduct will be slighted; when his anger is revealed, his prestige will fall to the ground. The words of the intelligent sovereign, therefore, are blockaded in such wise that they are not communicable outwards and are kept in such secrecy that they are unknowable. Therefore, to find ten culprits with the wisdom of one person is an inferior way, to find one culprit through the mutual watch of ten persons is a superior way. As the intelligent sovereign takes both the superior and the inferior ways, no culprit is ever missed. Members of the same group of five families, of the same village, and of the same county, all live like close neighbours. Who denounces anybody else's fault, is rewarded; who misses anybody else's fault, is censured. The same is true of the superior towards the inferior and of the inferior towards the superior. Accordingly, superior and inferior, high and low, warn each other to obey the law, and teach each other to secure profits. By nature everybody wants to live in fact and in reputation. So does the ruler want both the name of being worthy and intelligent and the fact of rewarding and punishing people. When fame and fact are equally complete, he will certainly be known as lucky and good.

6. Comparing Different Speeches

If speeches heard from inferiors are not compared, the superior will find no reason to call the inferiors to account. If speeches are not held responsible for their utility, heretical theories will bewilder the superior. A word is such that people believe in it because its upholders are numerous. An unreal thing, if its existence is asserted by ten men, is still subject to doubt; if its existence is asserted by one hundred men, its reality becomes probable; and if its existence is asserted by one thousand men, it becomes undoubtable. Again, if spoken about by stammerers, it is susceptible to doubt; if spoken about by eloquent persons, it becomes believable. Wicked men, when violating their superior, rely on the support of the many for their background, display their eloquence by quoting forced analogies so as to embellish their selfish acts. If the lord of men shows no anger at them but expects to compare and identify their deeds with their words, by force of circumstances his inferiors will be benefited.

The sovereign upholding the true path, when heeding words, holds them accountable for their utility, and charges them with their functions. From the requirement of successful functions there issue matters of reward and punishment. Therefore, whoever displays useless eloquence, is never kept in the court; whoever is appointed to office, if known to be unable to perform his duties, is removed from his post; and whoever talks big and exaggerates everything, is driven to his wits' end by the disappointing outcome. In consequence, there will be disclosed wickednesses, wherefore the superior will be in a position to reprimand the culprits. Any word that does not truly materialize with no extraneous hindrance, is a fraud. Of fraud the speaker should then be convicted. In other words, every word has its retribution; every theory has its responsibility for utility. Consequently, the words of rapacious ministers' adherents and partisans will not go into the superior's ear.

According to the right way of heeding suggestions in general, the ruler requires the minister to speak loyally to him about any culprit, and to cite wide illustrations of every suggestion presented to him for adoption. If the sovereign is not wise, culprits will gain the advantage. Yet according to the intelligent sovereign's way, the ruler, when pleased by any counsellor, would examine the accepted counsel in detail; when angered by any counsellor, he would reconsider the whole contentions for the argument, and profane his judgement till his feelings have become normal in order that he may thereby find sufficient reason to award the counsellor honour or disgrace and determine whether his motive is public justice or private greediness.

Ministers usually present as many counsels as possible to display their wisdom and let the ruler choose one out of them, so that they can avoid responsibilities. Therefore, when numerous counsels appear simultaneously, only the fallen ruler would heed them. As for the intelligent sovereign, he would admit no alternative word in addition to the original, but enact the system of future testimony by making the consequent result testify the antecedent project so as to ascertain the falsity or sincerity of the counsellor. The way of the intelligent sovereign never tolerates two different counsels by one minister, but restricts one person to one counsel at one time, allows nobody to act at random, and always synthesizes the results of comparison. Therefore, the culprits find no way to advance.

7. Confiding in the Law

Officials are over-powerful because there are no effective laws. Laws stop functioning because the superior is stupid. If the superior is stupid and upholds no rule, the officials will act at random. As the officials act at random, their salaries will be surpassed by no precedent. If their salaries are

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surpassed by no predecessor, taxes will be increased. As taxes are increased, they will become wealthy. The wealth and powerfulness of the officials eventually breed chaos.

Under the intelligent sovereign's Tao, only trustworthy men are taken into service, only dutiful officials are praised, and only men of merit are rewarded. When anybody recommends anybody else to the sovereign, if his word materialises truly and thereby delights the ruler, then both he and the official should be equally benefited; if his word does not truly materialise and thereby angers the ruler, then both he and that official should be equally punished. If so, ministers will not dare grant their uncles and cousins personal favours, but will recommend their enemies who have the required abilities. Their influences are sufficient to enforce the law, their allowances are sufficient to perform their duties, and their self-seeking activities find no room to grow in. In consequence, the people will work hard and lessen the officials' burden.

Whoever is entrusted with public affairs, should not be over-powerful. Only to his rank should the ruler ascribe his honour. Whoever holds office should not be self-seeking. Only to his bounty should the ruler limit his income. In consequence, the people will honour ranks and esteem bounties. Thus, rank and bounty will become means of reward. When the people esteem these means of reward, the state will be in good order.

If norms are intricate, it is because terms are mistaken. If prizes and praises are not adequate, the people will hang in suspense. Now that the people hold both fame and prizes in equal esteem, if the rewarded are slandered, reward will not be fit to encourage people; if the punished are admired, then punishment will not be fit to suppress culprits. It is the intelligent sovereign's way that rewards always result from contributions to public benefit and that fame always originates in services to the superior. If reward and fame follow the same track and slander and censure proceed in parallel, the people will find nothing more glorious than to be rewarded and the receivers of heavy penalties will always incur bad names. In consequence, the people will fear punishment, that is, means of prohibition. If the people fear means of prohibition, the state will be in good order.

8. Upholding the Sovereign's Dignity

If the sovereign manifests chivalrous conduct, his dignity will be shaken. If he follows theories of compassion and benevolence, legal institutions will crumble. On account of such institutions the people revere the superior; by virtue of his position the superior holds down the inferior. Therefore, if inferiors act at random, unscrupulously violate the law, and honour the custom of slighting the ruler, then the sovereign's dignity will be shaken. The people on account of the law hesitate to violate the superior; the superior on account of the law suppresses the sentiments of compassion and benevolence. Thus, the inferiors appreciate favours and charities and strive for a government with bribes and pay. For this reason, laws and orders are failing in their aim. Private actions are honoured, whereby the sovereign's dignity is shaken. Bribes and pay are used, whereby the efficacy of laws and orders is doubted. If such vices are tolerated, the government will be disturbed; if not, the sovereign will be slandered. In the long run, the ruler's status will be despised and the regulations for the officials will be confused. Such is called "a state without constant authority".

Under the Tao of the intelligent sovereign, no minister is allowed to practise chivalry and give honours nor is he allowed to accomplish any merit for his family's sake. Achievement and reputation are always based on the initiative of the regulations of the officials. What is against law, though it may involve difficulties, cannot be celebrated. In consequence, the people will find no reason to make their reputation. Now, to establish laws and regulations is to unify the people; to make reward and punishment faithful is to exert their abilities; and to make slander and honours clear is to encourage good and discourage evil. Fame and titles, rewards and punishments, laws and orders, are three pairs of statecraft. . . . Therefore, any action by the chief vassals will aim to honour the ruler; any service by the hundred surnames will aim to benefit the superior. Such is called "a state on the true path".

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 49.

Five Vermin: A Pathological Analysis of Politics

In the age of remote antiquity, human beings were few while birds and beasts were many. Mankind being unable to overcome birds, beasts, insects, and serpents, there appeared a sage who made nests by putting pieces of wood together to shelter people from harm. Thereat the people were so delighted that they made him ruler of All-under-Heaven and called him the Nest-Dweller. In those days the people lived on the fruits of trees and seeds of grass as well as mussels and clams, which smelt rank and fetid and hurt the digestive organs. As many of them were affected with diseases, there appeared a sage who twisted a drill to make fire which changed the fetid and musty smell. Thereat the people were so delighted that they made him ruler of All-under-Heaven.

In the age of middle antiquity, there was a great deluge in All-under-Heaven, wherefore Kung and Yü opened channels for the water. In the age of recent antiquity, Chieh and Chow were violent and turbulent, wherefore T'ang and Wu overthrew them.

Now, if somebody fastened the trees or turned a drill in the age of the Hsia-hou Clan, he would certainly be ridiculed by Kung and Yü. Again, if somebody opened channels for water in the age of the Yin and Chou Dynasties, he would certainly be ridiculed by T'ang and Wu. That being so, if somebody in the present age praises the ways of Yao, Shun, Kung, Yü, T'ang, and Wu, he would, no doubt, be ridiculed by contemporary sages.

That is the reason why the sage neither seeks to follow the ways of the ancients nor establishes any fixed standard for all times but examines the things of his age and then prepares to deal with them.

There was in Sung a man, who tilled a field in which there stood the trunk of a tree. Once a hare, while running fast, rushed against the trunk, broke its neck, and died. Thereupon the man cast his plough aside and watched that tree, hoping that he would get another hare. Yet he never caught another hare and was himself ridiculed by the people of Sung. Now supposing somebody wanted to govern the people of the present age with the policies of the early kings, he would be doing exactly the same thing as that man who watched the tree.

In olden times, men did not need to till, for the seeds of grass and the fruits of trees were sufficient to feed them; nor did women have to weave, for the skins of birds and beasts were sufficient to clothe them. Thus, without working hard, they had an abundance of supply. As the people were few, their possessions were more than sufficient. Therefore the people never quarrelled. As a result, neither large rewards were bestowed nor were heavy punishments employed, but the people governed themselves. Nowadays, however, people do not regard five children as many. Each child may in his or her turn beget five offspring, so that before the death of the grandfather there may be twenty-five grand-children. As a result, people have become numerous and supplies scanty; toil has become hard and provisions meager. Therefore people quarrel so much that, though rewards are doubled and punishments repeated, disorder is inevitable.

When Yao was ruling All-under-Heaven, his thatched roof was untrimmed and his beam unplaned. He ate unpolished grain and made soup of coarse greens and wore deerskin garments in winter and rough fibre-cloth in summer. Even the clothes and provisions of a gate-keeper were not more scanty than his. When Yü was ruling All-under-Heaven, he led the people with plough and spade in hands, till his thighs had no down and his shins grew no hair. Even the toil of a prisoner of war was not more distressful than his. Speaking from this viewpoint, indeed, he who abdicated the throne of the Son of Heaven in favour of others in olden times, was simply foresaking the living of a gate-keeper and the toil of a prisoner of war. Therefore the inheritance of All-underHeaven in olden days was not very great. Yet the prefect of today, upon the day of his death, hands down luxurious chariots to his descendants from generation to generation. Accordingly people think much of his position.

Thus, in the matter of leaving office, men make light of resigning from the ancient dignity of the Son of Heaven and consider it hard to quit the present post of a prefect. Really it is the difference between meagerness and abundance.

Indeed, those who dwell in the mountains and draw water from the valleys, give water to each other on the occasion of festivals; those who live in swamps hire men to open channels for the water. Likewise, in the spring of famine years men do not even feed their infant brothers, while in the autumn of abundant years even strange visitors are always well fed. Not that men cut off their blood-relations and love passers-by, but that the feelings are different in abundance and in scarcity. For the same reason, men of yore made light of goods, not because they were benevolent, but because goods were abundant; while men of today quarrel and pillage, not because they are brutish, but because goods are scarce. Again, men of yore made light of resigning from the dignity of the Son of Heaven, not because their personalities were noble, but because the power of the Son of Heaven was scanty; while men of today make much of fighting for office in government, not because their personalities are mean, but because the powers of the posts are great. Therefore the sage, considering quantity and deliberating upon scarcity and abundance, governs accordingly. So it is no charity to inflict light punishments nor is it any cruelty to enforce severe penalties: the practice is simply in accordance with the custom of the age. Thus, circumstances change with the age and measures change according to circumstances.

Of old, King Wen, located between Feng and Kao, in a territory of one hundred square li, practised benevolence and righteousness and won the affection of the Western Barbarians, till he finally became ruler of All-under-Heaven. King Yen of Hsü, located to the east of the Han River in a territory of five hundred square li, practised benevolence and righteousness, till the states that ceded their territories and paid tributary visits to his court numbered thirty-six. King Wen of Ching, fearing lest King Yen should do him harm, raised armies, attacked Hsü, and finally destroyed it. Thus, King Wen practising benevolence and righteousness became ruler of All-under-Heaven, while King Yen practising benevolence and righteousness lost his state. Evidently benevolence and righteousness once serviceable in olden times are not so at present. Hence the saying: "There are as many situations as there are generations." In the time of Shun the Miao tribes disobeyed. When Yü moved to send an expedition against them, Shun said: "By no means. As our Teh is not great, any resort to arms is not in accord with the Tao." Thenceforth for three years he cultivated the ways of civic training and then he made a parade of shields and battle-axes, whereupon the Miao tribes submitted. In a subsequent age, during the war with the Kung-kung tribes men using short iron weapons hardly reached their enemies while those whose armour was not strong suffered bodily injuries. It means that mere parade with shields and battle-axes once effective in olden times is not so at present. Hence the saying: "Situations differ, so measures change."

Men of remote antiquity strove to be known as moral and virtuous; those of the middle age struggled to be known as wise and resourceful; and now men fight for the reputation of being vigorous and powerful. When Ch'i was about to attack Lu, Lu sent Tzu-kung to dissuade Ch'i. To the peace envoy the spokesman of Ch'i said: "Your speech is not ineloquent. But what we want is territory, and that is not what you are talking about." In the end Ch'i raised armies, invaded Lu, and settled the inter-state boundary at ten li from the city-gate of the capital of Lu.

Thus, although King Yen was benevolent and righteous, Hsü went to ruin; although Tzu-kung was benevolent and righteous, Lu was dismembered. From such a viewpoint, indeed, benevolence, righteousness, eloquence, and intelligence, are not instruments to maintain the state. If the benevolence of King Yen were put aside and the intelligence of Tzu-kung extinguished, and if the forces of Hsü and Lu were exerted, they could resist the powers of ten thousand chariots. Then the ambitions of Ch'i and Ching could never be accomplished in those two states.

Thus, we see that ancients and moderns have different customs, new and old have different measures. To govern with generous and lenient regulations a people in imminent danger is the same as to drive wild horses without reins or slips. This is a calamity of ignorance.

In these days, the Literati and the Mohists all praise the early kings for practising impartial love for which the people revered them as parents. How do they know that was so? They say: "We know that was so because whenever the Minister of Punishment inflicted any penalty, the ruler would stop having music, and at the news of any capital punishment he would shed tears. This is the reason why we praise the early kings."

Indeed, from the proposition that if ruler and minister act like father and son, there is always order, there can be inferred the judgement that there are no disorderly fathers and sons. It is human nature, however, that nobody is more affectionate than parents. If both parents reveal love to their children, and yet order is not always found in a family, then how could there be no disorder in a state even though the ruler deepens his love for the ministers? Since the early kings loved the people not more than parents love their children, and children do not always refrain from causing disturbance, how could the people so easily keep order?

Moreover, when a penalty was inflicted in accordance with the law, the ruler shed tears therefor. By so doing he intended to show his benevolence but not to do any good to political order. To shed bitter tears and to dislike penalties, is benevolence; to see the necessity of inflicting penalties, is law. Since the early kings held to the law and never listened to weeping, it is clear enough that benevolence cannot be applied to the attainment of political order.

Still further, the people are such as would be firmly obedient to authority, but are rarely able to appreciate righteousness. For illustration, Chung-ni, who was a sage of All-under-Heaven, cultivated virtuous conduct, exemplified the right way, and travelled about within the seas; but those within the seas who talked about his benevolence and praised his righteousness and avowed discipleship to him, were only seventy. For to honour benevolence was rare and to practise righteousness was hard. Notwithstanding the vastness of All-under-Heaven, those who could become his avowed disciples, were only seventy, and there was only one person really benevolent and righteous—Chung-ni himself! Contrary to this, Duke Ai of Lu, inferior ruler as he was, when he faced the south and ruled the state, found nobody among the people within the boundary daring disobedience. This was because the people are by nature obedient to authority. As by exercising authority it is easy to lord it over people, Chung-ni remained minister while Duke Ai continued on the throne. Not that Chung-ni appreciated the righteousness of Duke Ai

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but that he submitted to his authority. Therefore, on the basis of righteousness Chung-ni would not have yielded to Duke Ai, but by virtue of authority Duke Ai did lord it over Chung-ni! Now, the learned men of today, when they counsel the Lord of Men, assert that if His Majesty applied himself to the practice of benevolence and righteousness instead of making use of victory-ensuring authority, he would certainly become ruler of All-under-Heaven. This is simply to require every lord of men to come up to the level of Chung-ni and all the common people of the world to act like his disciples. It is surely an ineffectual measure.

Now suppose there is a boy who has a bad character. His parents are angry at him, but he never makes any change. The villagers in the neighbourhood reprove him, but he is never thereby moved. His masters teach him, but he never reforms. Thus with all the three excellent disciplines, the love of his parents, the conduct of the villagers, and the wisdom of the masters, applied to him, he makes no change, not even a hair on his shins is altered. It is, however, only after the district-magistrate sends out soldiers in accordance with the law to search for wicked men that he becomes afraid and changes his ways and alters his deeds. So the love of parents is not sufficient to educate children. But if it is necessary to have the severe penalties of the district-magistrate come at all, it is because people are naturally spoiled by love and obedient to authority.

Thus, over a city-wall forty feet high, even Lou-chi could not pass, for it is steep; but on a mountain four thousand feet high even crippled she-goats can easily graze, for it is flat-topped. For the same reason the intelligent king makes his laws strict and his punishments severe. Again, where there is a piece of cloth eight or sixteen feet long, common people would not give it up, but where there is molten gold two thousand pounds in weight, even Robber Shih would not pick it up. Thus, if no harm at all should come to them, people would not give up eight or sixteen feet of cloth; but if their hands would always be hurt, they would never dare to pick up even two hundred pounds of molten gold. Therefore, the intelligent ruler makes his punishments definite.

That being so, rewards should not be other than great and certain, thus making the people regard them as profitable; punishments should not be other than severe and definite, thus making the people fear them; and laws should not be other than uniform and steadfast, thus making the people comprehend them. Consequently, if the ruler in bestowing rewards makes no change and in carrying out punishments grants no pardon, but adds honour to rewards and disgrace to punishments, then both the worthy and the unworthy will exert their efforts.

That is not true at present. On the one hand, ranks are conferred for meritorious services; but on the other, official careers are scorned. Rewards are bestowed for diligent tillage, but hereditary occupations are slighted. Whoever declines appointment to office is shunned, but his contempt for worldly affairs is esteemed. Whoever transgresses prohibitions is convicted, but his boldness is admired. Thus there are nowadays opposed to each other the objectives of honour and disgrace as well as of reward and punishment. Small wonder laws and interdicts are ruined and the people are becoming more and more violent.

Now, he who would always fall on the enemy when his brother is attacked, is called upright; he who would always resent an insult to his good friend, is called pure. Yet once these deeds of uprightness and purity are done, the law of the ruler is violated. In case the lord of men esteems such deeds of uprightness and purity and forgets the crime violating his prohibitions, the people will be honoured according to their boldness and the magistrates will be unable to control them. Again, he who gets clothes and food without working hard, is called capable; he who gets honours without rendering any meritorious service in war, is called worthy. Yet once the deeds of capability and worthiness are done, the army will become weak and the land will be waste. If the Lord of Men is delighted at such deeds of worthiness and capability and forgets the calamities of the army in decline and the land in waste, then private advantage will prevail and public welfare will come to naught.

The literati by means of letters disturbed laws, the cavaliers by means of weapons transgressed prohibitions. Yet the lord of men respects them both. That is the reason why disorder prevails. Indeed, every departure from laws ought to be condemned, but all the professors are taken into office on account of their literary learning. Again, every transgression of prohibitions ought to be punished, but all cavaliers are accorded patronage because of their private swords. Thus, what the law prohibits is what the ruler himself recognizes; what the magistrate punishes is what the sovereign himself maintains. Thus legal standard and personal inclination are in conflict. Without any fixed standard, however, even ten Yellow Emperors would not be able to rule. Therefore, those who practise benevolence and righteousness, should not be praised; for, if praised, they would damage meritorious achievements. Again, those who specialize in refinement and learning, should not be employed; for, if employed, they would confuse the law of the state.

Of old, there was in the Ch'u State a man named Chi-kung. Once his father stole a sheep, wherefore he reported to the authorities. Thereupon the prefect said, "Put him to death", as he thought the man was loyal to the ruler but undutiful to his father. So that man was tried and executed. From this it can be seen that the honest subject of the ruler was an outrageous son of his father.

Again, there was a man of Lu, who followed the ruler to war, fought three battles, and ran away thrice. When Chung-ni asked him his reason, he replied: "I have an old father. Should I die, nobody would take care of him." So Chung-ni regarded him as a man of filial piety, praised him, and exalted him. From this it can be seen that the dutiful son of the father was a rebellious subject of the ruler. Naturally, following the punishment of the honest man by the prefect, no other culprit in Ch'u was ever reported to the authorities and after the reward of the runaway by Chung-ni, the people of Lu were apt to surrender and run away. The interests of superior and inferior are thus so different that it is certainly impossible to expect the Lord of Men both to praise the deed of the common man and to promote the welfare of the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain.

In olden times, when Ts'ang Chieh invented the system of writing, he assigned the element "self-centered" to the character "private"; and combined the elements, "opposite to" and "private", to form the character "public". The contradiction between "public" and "private" was thus from the beginning well understood by Ts'ang Chieh. To regard them both as having identical interest at the present time, is a calamity of thoughtlessness.

That being so, speaking of the common man, there comes first the cultivation of benevolence and righteousness and then the practice of refinement and learning. Having cultivated benevolence and righteousness, he will get office. Having practised refinement and learning, he will become an erudite teacher. Having become an erudite teacher, he will become celebrated for his honours. This is the ideal career of the common man. However, it may be that with no merit one gets office, with no rank one becomes celebrated for one's honours. If there be any government like this, the state will certainly be in chaos and the lord in peril.

Therefore, incompatible things do not coexist. For instance, to reward those who kill their enemies in battle, and at the same time to esteem deeds of mercy and generosity; to reward with ranks and bounties those who capture enemy cities, and at the same time to believe in the theory of impartial love; to improve armour and encourage warriors as provisions against emergencies, and at the same time to admire the ornaments of the robes and girdles of the civil gentry; to depend upon the farmers for enriching the state and upon the warriors for resisting the enemies, and at the same time to honour the men of letters; and to neglect the men who respect the superior and revere the law, and at the same time to maintain gangs of wandering cavaliers and self-seeking swordsmen: out of such incompatible acts, how can a state attain order and strength? When the state is at peace, literati and cavaliers are supported; once an emergency arises, armed officers are taken into service. Thus, the privileged are not used; the used are not privileged. For this reason, men who ought to attend to public affairs neglect their duties, while wandering scholars daily increase in numbers. This is the reason why the age is full of chaos.

Moreover, what the age calls "worthy" consists of merciful and faithful deeds; what it calls "wise" consists of subtle and mysterious words. Such subtle and mysterious words are hard even for the wisest men to understand. Now, of you set up laws for the masses in such terms as are hard for the wisest men to understand, then the people will find no way to comprehend them. Just as men who find not even coarse rice to fill them would not think of wine and meat, and just as those who have not even rags to wear would not think of silk and embroidered garments, in governing the world, if one is not able to settle affairs of the most urgent need, one should pay no attention to things short of great urgency. Now most of the affairs to be administered are ordinary civil cases. Yet not to use standards that ordinary men and women plainly understand, but to long for those theories which even the wisest do not comprehend; that certainly is the negation of government. Therefore subtle and mysterious words are no business of the people.

Indeed, men who regard deeds of mercy and faithfulness as worthy will naturally honour gentlemen who are not deceitful, but those that honour gentlemen who are not deceitful might have no means to escape deception. The commoners, in cultivating friendships, have neither wealth to benefit each other nor influence to terrify each other. Naturally they seek for gentlemen who are not deceitful. Now the Lord of Men avails himself of his position to control men and possesses the wealth of a state. If he makes rewards large and punishments severe and thereby succeeds in holding his handles to improve points illuminated by his brilliant policies, then ministers like T'ien Ch'ang and Tzu-han, wicked as they were, would not dare to deceive him, not to mention gentlemen who are not deceitful. Now there are not more than ten truly merciful and faithful men in this country, whereas there are hundreds of official posts. So if only merciful and faithful men are selected for public service, the candidates will not be sufficient for filling all the official posts. In that case, those who maintain order would be few while disturbers would abound. Therefore, the way of the enlightened lord is to unify laws instead of seeking for wise men, to solidify policies instead of yearning after faithful persons. In consequence, as long as laws do not fail to function, the body of officials will practise neither villainy nor deception.

In these days, the lord of men, as regards speeches, is delighted at their eloquence but does not seek for their consequences, and, as regards the utility of deeds, admires their fame but does not strictly check over their accomplishments. For this reason, the people of All-under-Heaven, when making speeches, strive for eloquence but do not care for actual usefulness. As a result, men who quote the early kings and preach benevolence and righteousness, fill up the court, wherefore the government can not be freed from disorder. Men who devote themselves to practical deeds struggle for eminence, but do not bring about any meritorious service. Small wonder wise men retire to dwell in rocky caves, decline all bounties, and refuse to accept any offer; while soldiers are not immune from degeneration and the government is not freed from chaos. What is the reason for this? It is this: in what the people revere and what the sovereign respects, lies the cause of disturbing the state.

Now the people within the boundary all talk about political order, and, though in every family there are men who preserve copies of the Laws of Shang Yang and Kuan Chung, yet the state is becoming poorer and poorer. This is because many talk about tillage but few take up the plough. Again, everybody within the boundary talks about strategy, and, though in every family there are men who preserve copies of the Books of Sun Wu and Wu Ch'i, yet the army is becoming weaker and weaker. This is because many talk about warfare but few put on armour.

Therefore, the enlightened sovereign uses his men's strength but does not listen to their words, rewards them for their meritorious services but always eliminates the useless. The people, accordingly, exert themselves to the point of death in obeying the sovereign.

Indeed, tillage requires physical force, and is toil. But the people who perform it say, "Through it we can become wealthy." Again, warfare, as a matter of fact, involves risks. But the people who wage it say, "Through it we can become noble." Now, if those who cultivate refinement and learning and practise persuasion and eloquence get the fruits of wealth without the toil of tillage, and gain the honour of nobility with no risk in warfare, then who will not do the same? Naturally, one hundred men will attend to "wisdom" while only one man will exert physical energy. If men who attend to "wisdom" are many, the law will go for naught; if men who exert physical energy are few, the state will fall into poverty. That is the reason why the world is in chaos.

Therefore, in the state of the enlightened sovereign there is no literature written on bamboo slips, but the law is the only teaching; there are no quoted sayings of the early kings, but the magistrates are the only instructors; there is no valour through private swords, but slaughter of the enemy is the only courageous deed. As a result, the people, within the boundary, when practising persuasion and eloquence, always conform to the law; when up and doing, they always aim at meritorious services; and when pretending to valour, they always exert themselves in the army. Therefore, in time of peace the state is rich; in time of emergency the army is strong. Such is what they call the resources of the ruler. Having stored up the resources of the ruler, the sovereign waits for the enemy state to reach an unguarded moment. Those who have surpassed the Five Emperors and have rivalled the Three Kings, have always followed this method.

The same is not true in these days, however. Inside, the gentry and the commoners do as they please; outside, eloquent speakers create their own favourable circumstances. If both foreign and home affairs alike are bad, is it not dangerous for the ruler to confront strong enemies? It is so particularly because the ministers who speak on foreign affairs either side with the advocates of the Perpendicular Union or the Horizontal Alliance, or have personal hatred for foreign states and want to utilize the forces of the native state. Now, neither the Perpendicular Union aiming to attack a single strong state by uniting all the weak ones, nor the Horizontal Alliance aiming to attack the weak ones by serving a single strong state, is a policy to maintain the existence and prosperity of a state.

Now, ministers who speak about the Horizontal Alliance, all say: "If we do not serve a big power, we will have enemies and suffer disasters." To serve a big power, however, always requires material concessions. Wherefore they must entrust their whole territory to the strong state and put their own state seal in pawn for military help. If territorial concessions are offered, the land will be cut off; if the state seal is handed over, the prestige will be impaired. When the land is cut off,

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the state will be dismembered; when the prestige is impaired, the government will fall into chaos. Thus, before actualizing the benefit from serving a big power forming the Horizontal Alliance, the land is already dismembered and the government disordered.

Again, ministers who speak about the Perpendicular Union, all say: "If we do not save small states and attack big powers, we will lose the favour of All-under-Heaven. If we lose the favour of All-under-Heaven, our state will fall into peril. If our state falls into peril, our lord will fall into contempt." To save small states, however, always requires material sacrifices, wherefore you must mobilize armies and oppose big powers. Yet when you start to save a small state, you are not always able to preserve it; when you oppose a big power, you can not always be sure that there is no discord between you and your allies. If there is any such discord at all, you will be dominated by the big power. As soon as you send out reinforcements, the whole army will be defeated. Before you turn back to assume the defensive, the city will have fallen into the hands of the enemies. Thus, before you get the benefit of saving the small state and thereby form the Perpendicular Union, your land is already occupied and your troops defeated.

For this reason, he who insists on serving the strong state really means to hold his office through foreign influence; he who insists on saving the small state, really means to seek advantage abroad by virtue of his prestige at home. Before the state is benefited, the ministers have got estates and high emoluments. Thus, though the sovereign falls into contempt, the ministers are honoured; though the land of the state is cut off, their own families have become wealthy. If their projects succeed, they will become mighty in authority; if their projects fail, they will retire from active life with riches in their pockets.

However, such is the usual way the Lord of Men listens to the proposals of his ministers that before their projects are successful, their ranks and bounties are already exalted. And, if they are not punished when their projects fail, who can be sure that the itinerant gentlemen are not going to display their irresponsible sophistries elsewhere and count on unexpected good fortune? Nevertheless, why is heed paid to such frivolous ideas of the persuasive politicians as would break the state and ruin the lord? That is because the Lord of Men never distinguishes between public and private benefits, never scrutinizes whether the ideas are true or false, and never definitely enforces censure and punishment.

The itinerants all say, "Success in foreign relations at its best can help the prince become ruler of All-under-Heaven or, at least, can make the state secure." Indeed, the ruler of All-under-Heaven must be able to attack others. If secure, he can not be attacked by others. If strong, he is able to attack others. If in order, he can not be attacked by others. Accordingly, order and strength should not be dependent upon external factors: both depend upon internal administration. Now, if the sovereign does not carry out his laws and policies at home but counts on the wise men's services abroad, order and strength will not be attained.

There is a common saying: "Wearers of long sleeves are skilful in dancing; possessors of much money are skilful in trading." It means that people who are resourceful acquire skill very easily. Accordingly, in the state that is orderly and strong it is easy to devise schemes, but in the state that is weak and chaotic it is hard to make any plan at all. For illustration, the schemes adopted by Ch'in, though changed ten times, rarely fail; whereas any plan adopted by Yen, once changed, rarely succeeds. Not that whatever Ch'in adopts is always clever and whatever Yen adopts is always stupid, but that the factors of order and chaos are different.

Thus, Chou quit Ch'in and joined the Perpendicular Union only to be taken within a year; and Wei left Wey for the Horizontal Alliance only to be ruined in half a year. This means that Chou was destroyed by the Perpendicular Union while Wei was ruined by the Horizontal Alliance. Supposing Chou and Wei postponed their plans to join the Perpendicular Union and the Horizontal Alliance and strictly improved the political order within their boundaries, made their laws and interdicts clear, made their rewards and punishments definite, utilized their natural resources to increase provisions, and constrained their peoples even to the point of death in strengthening the defensive preparations of the city-walls; then All-under-Heaven would find little gain in occupying their lands and great harm in attacking their states, so that even a state of ten thousand chariots would not dare to come to camp beneath their well-fortified city-walls and expose its weaknesses to the attack of strong enemies. This is the way to escape destruction. To abandon this way of escaping destruction and to follow the road to inevitable ruin is the fault of the governor of the state. With wisdom exhausted abroad and politics disordered at home, 36 no state can be saved from ruin.

The plan of the people for themselves is to seek only for security and profit and to avoid danger and poverty. Now, if you force them to attack and fight, they face death at the hands of enemies at the front, and death through official punishment at the rear. That is peril, indeed! Again, they have to abandon their own domestic affairs and undergo the toil of military service. In the long run their households are reduced to poverty. Yet the ruler takes no notice of it. That is destitution, indeed! Wherever lie destitution and danger, how can the people do other than shun them? Naturally they would frequent the gates of the private residences of influential men so as to exempt themselves from military service. If exempted from military service, they keep aloof from warfare. If aloof from warfare, they can remain in safety. Again, if they can by virtue of bribes approach the authorities concerned, they get what they want. If they get what they want, they have profit and security. Wherever lie security and profit, how can the people do other than crowd in? Hence, citizens in public service are few but private protégés are numerous.

Indeed, the enlightened king so administers his state as to diminish the number of tradesmen, craftsmen, and idlers, and to lower their names in order to incline their minds to primary callings and to lessen their interest in secondary occupations. In the present age, if the requests of the courtiers prevail at all, then office and rank can be purchased. If office and rank are purchasable, tradesmen and craftsmen, as they have money, will no longer be low in status. If forged money and faked articles can circulate at the market-place, traders will no longer fall short of demands and supplies. If the profits they make thereby are twice as much as by farming and the honours they get thereby surpass those of tillers and warriors, men of firm integrity and strong character will become few while merchants and tradesmen will increase in number.

For such reasons, it is a common trait of the disorderly state that its learned men adore the ways of the early kings by pretending to benevolence and righteousness and adorn their manners and clothes and gild their eloquent speeches so as to cast doubts on the law of the present age and thereby beguile the mind of the lord of men; that its itinerant speakers advocate deceptive theories and utilize foreign influence to accomplish their self-seeking purposes at the expense of their Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain; that wearers of private swords gather pupils and dependents and set up standards of self-discipline and fidelity with a view to cultivating their fame but thereby violate the interdicts of the Five Ministries; that the courtiers assemble inside the gates of private residences, use all kinds of bribes, and rely on influential men's access to the sovereign in order to escape the burden of military service; and that the tradesmen and craftsmen disguise worthless, broken articles as proper goods, collect useless luxuries, accumulate riches, wait for good opportunities, and exploit the farmers. These five types of men are the vermin of the state. Should the Lord of Men fail to get rid of such people as the five vermin and should he not patronise men of firm integrity and strong character, it would be no wonder at all if within the seas there should be states breaking up in ruin and dynasties waning and perishing.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 50.

Learned Celebrities: A Critical Estimate of Confucians and Mohists

In the present age, the celebrities for learning are the Literati and the Mohists. The highest figure of the Literati was K'ung Ch'iu; the highest figure of the Mohists was Mo Ti. Since the death of Confucius, there have appeared the School of Tzu-chang, the School of Tzu-ssu, the School of the Yen Clan, the School of the Meng Clan, the School of the Ch'i-tiao Clan, the School of the Chung Liang Clan, the School of the Sun Clan, and the School of the Yo-cheng Clan. Since the death of Mo Tzu, there have appeared the Mohists of the Hsiang-li Clan, the Mohists of the Hsiang-fu Clan, and the Mohists of Teng Ling's School. Thus, after Confucius and Mo Tzu, the Literati have divided into eight schools and the Mohists into three. In what they accept and what they reject they are contrary to and different from one another but each claims to be orthodox Confucian or Mohist. Now that Confucius and Mo Tzu cannot come to life again, who can determine the orthodoxy of learned men?

Confucius and Mo Tzu both followed Yao and Shun; they differed in matters of acceptance and rejection, yet each claimed to be the true Yao and Shun. Now that Yao and Shun cannot come to life again, who is going to determine genuineness as between the Literati and the Mohists? For our people, who have passed through the time of Yü and Hsia upwards of seven hundred years, and through the Yin and Chou Dynasties upwards of two thousand years, it is impossible to determine whether the Literati or the Mohists are right. Now, if anybody wants to scrutinize the ways of Yao and Shun that appeared three thousand years ago, it seems far from possible merely to imagine that! To be sure of anything that has no corroborating evidence, is stupid; to abide by anything that one can not be sure of, is self-deceptive. Therefore, those who openly quote the early kings and dogmatically uphold Yao and Shun, must be deceitful, if not stupid. Such stupid and deceptive learning and heretical and contradictory conduct, the intelligent sovereign never approves.

The Mohists, for funeral rites wear winter clothes in winter days and summer clothes in summer days, make coffins three inches thick of Paulownia wood, and observe only three months' mourning. Regarding this as restraint, sovereigns of this age respect them. The Literati, on the contrary, for funeral rites break up the household property and give sons in pawn to compensate for the losses, observe three years' mourning till they break down in health and have to walk with the aid of canes. Regarding this as an act of filial piety, sovereigns of this age respect them. But, in fact, to approve the restraint of Mo Tzu one has to reprove Confucius for his extravagance; to approve the filial piety of Confucius one has to reprove Mo Tzu for his impiety. Now, piety and impiety, restraint and extravagance, all are found among the Literati and the Mohists, and the superiors respect them equally.

According to the theory of Ch'i-tiao, a man should not change his facial colour in front of others nor should he blink even in the face of danger; if he acts wrongly, he should give way to bondmen and bondwomen; and if he acts aright, he should assert himself even before the feudal lords. Regarding this as an act of integrity, sovereigns of this age respect him. Again, according to the teaching of Sung Yung Tzu, a man should delight in a non-combatant attitude towards opponents and approve of non-retaliatory actions against enemies; if cast into prison, he should not be ashamed; and, if insulted, he should not feel humiliated. Regarding this as an attitude of generosity, sovereigns of this age respect him. But, in fact, to approve the integrity of Ch'i-tiao one has to reprove Sung Yung for his forgiveness; to approve the generosity of Sung Yung one has to reprove Ch'i-tiao for his fierceness. Now, generosity and integrity, forgiveness and fierceness, all are found in these two philosophers, and the lords of men respect them equally.

Inasmuch as stupid and deceptive studies and heretical and contradictory theories are in conflict while the lords of men tolerate them equally, the gentry within the seas have neither definite forms of speech nor constant standards of conduct. Indeed, ice and charcoal do not share the same vessel and last long; winter and summer do not come at the same time. Likewise, heretical and contradictory studies do not stand together and have peace. Now that heretical studies are equally listened to and contradictory theories are absurdly acted upon, how can there be other than chaos? If the ruler listens so carelessly and acts so absurdly, the same must be true when he rules over men.

The learned gentlemen of the present age, when they speak on political order, mostly say: "Give the poor and the destitute land and thereby provide men of no property with enough." However, if there are men who were originally the same as others but have independently become able to be perfectly self-supporting, even without prosperous years or other income, it must be due to their diligence or to their frugality. Again, if there are men who were originally the same as others but have independently become poor and destitute without suffering from any misfortune of famine and drought or illness and malignancy or calamity and lawsuit, it must be due to their extravagance or to their laziness. Extravagant and lazy persons are poor; diligent and frugal persons are rich. Now, if the superior levies money from the rich in order to distribute alms among the poor, it means that he robs the diligent and frugal and rewards the extravagant and lazy. Naturally it is impossible to force people to speed up their work and also restrain their expenditure.

Now suppose there is a man, who, holding fast to his self-righteous principle, would not enter any city that was in danger, would not stay in military camps, and would not exchange a hair from his shin for any great profit in All-underHeaven. Then be sure the sovereign of this age will respect him therefor, honouring his wisdom, exalting his conduct, and regarding him as a gentleman despising material trifles and esteeming meaningful life. Indeed, the reason that the superior lines up good fields and large houses and establishes ranks and bounties, is to make people exert their strength to the point of death. Yet as long as the superior honours the gentlemen who despise material trifles and esteem meaningful life, it is impossible to expect the people to sacrifice their lives for his royal cause.

Suppose you keep a number of books, practise the art of speaking, gather a band of pupils, indulge in culture and learning, and discuss theories, then be sure sovereigns of this age will respect you therefor, saying, "To respect worthies is the way of the early kings." Indeed, those who are taxed by the magistrates are farmers while those who are fed by the superior are learned gentlemen. Being farmers, the former are more heavily taxed; being learned gentlemen, the latter are more liberally rewarded. Hence it is impossible to force the people to work hard and talk little.

Again, suppose you build a standard of estimation, blend all clever principles, maintain strict self-control, and do not act aggressively, and are sure to pursue anybody with your sword whenever his reproachful words pass into your ears, then sovereigns of this age will honour you as a self-respecting gentleman. Indeed, as long as the merit of beheading in war is not rewarded but the bravery of family quarrels is celebrated

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with honours, it is impossible to force the people to fight hard and resist enemies and have no private quarrels. In time of peace, the state feeds the literati and the cavaliers, but in case of emergency, it uses the armed officers. Thus, those who have been fed, are not taken into service; those who are taken into service, have not been fed. That is the reason why the age is chaotic.

Further, the lord of men, in listening to a learned man, if he approves his words, should officially put them into practice and appoint the person to office, and, if he reproves him for his words, should get rid of the person and put an end to his heretical doctrine. Today, however, what is regarded as right is not officially put into practice, and what is regarded as wrong is not extinguished as heretical doctrine. Thus, the right is not used, the wrong not stopped; this is the way to chaos and ruin.

T'an-t'ai Tzu-yü had the manners of a gentleman. Considering him a man of promise, Chung-ni took him into service, and, after having dealt with him for a long time, found his deeds not equal to his looks. Again, Tsai Yü's speech was elegant and refined. Considering him a man of promise, Chung-ni took him into service, and, after having dealt with him for a long time, found his wisdom falling short of his eloquence. Hence Confucius said: "In taking a man on the basis of his manners I made a mistake in choosing Tzu-yü; in taking a man on the basis of his words I made a mistake in choosing Tsai Yü." Thus, notwithstanding his wisdom, Chung-ni expressed regretful sighs for his misjudgement of realities. Now that the new debaters of today are even more reckless than Tsai Yü and sovereigns of this age in listening to them are even more susceptible to delusion than Chung-ni, if the superior appoints any debater to office on account of delight in his words, how can a mistake be avoided? For instance, Wey trusted to the eloquence of Meng Mao and met disaster at the foot of Mt. Hua. Again, Chao trusted to the eloquence of Ma-fu and experienced the calamity of Ch'ang-p'ing. These two instances well illustrate the error in trusting to eloquence.

Indeed, if only the heated and hammered tin is inspected and only the blue and yellow glearns are observed, even Ou Yeh can not ascertain the quality of a sword. But if you hit herons and wild geese in water with the sword and kill ponies and horses on land with it, then even bondmen and bondwomen, ignorant as they are, are not in doubt whether the sword is blunt or sharp. If the teeth in the mouth are examined and the formal features are surveyed, then even Pai Lo could not be sure of the quality of a horse. But if you harness it to a cart and observe it till the end of the drive, then even bondmen and bondwomen are not in doubt whether it is a hack or a good horse. Similarly, if only manners and clothes are looked at and only words and phrases are listened to, then even Chung-ni can not ascertain the personality of a gentleman. But if you test him with an official commission and hold him responsible for any work done, then even the mediocre man is not in doubt whether he is stupid or intelligent.

Therefore, as to the subordinates of the intelligent sovereign, prime ministers must have arisen from among the district-magistrates and gallant generals must have emerged from among the squads of soldiers. If persons who have rendered meritorious services are always rewarded, then the greater ranks and bounties become the better encouraged they will be. Again, if offices are elevated and ranks are raised, then the greater the official responsibilities become the more they will promote political order. Indeed, according as ranks and bounties are raised official responsibilities promote political order, this is the royal road to supremacy.

The possessor of a thousand li of rocky land, can not be called rich; the possessor of a million puppets can not be called strong. Not because the rocks are not big and the puppets are not numerous. The possessors can not be called rich and strong, simply because great rocks do not produce grain and puppets can not be used to resist enemies. Now, men who get office through purchase and practise artful craft, eat without cultivating the land. They are thus as unproductive as uncultivated land, in the same category as great rocks. Likewise, the literati and the cavaliers who have rendered no meritorious service in the army but are celebrated and prosperous, are useless people, in the same class as puppets. Those who know the calamity of great rocks and puppets but never know that the office-purchasers, the literati, and the cavaliers, are as harmful as uncultivated land and useless people, do not know the similarity of one thing to another.

For such reasons, in the cases of the princes and kings of enemy states, though they are delighted at our righteousness, we can not lay them under tribute as vassals; but in the case of the feudal lords inside the passes, though they disapprove our doings, we can always make them bring birds to visit our court. Thus, whoever has great strength sees others visit his court; whoever has little strength visits the courts of others. Therefore the enlightened ruler strives after might.

Indeed, the strictly kept household sees no fierce servants, but a compassionate mother has spoilt children. From this I know that authority and position are able to suppress violence, but that virtue and favour are not sufficient to stop disorder.

Indeed, the sage, in ruling the state, does not count on people's doing him good, but utilizes their inability to do him wrong. If he counts on people's doing him good, within the boundary there will never be enough such persons to count by tens. But if he utilizes people's inability to do him wrong, an entire state can be uniformed. Therefore, the administrator of the state affairs ought to consider the many but disregard the few. Hence his devotion not to virtue but to law.

Similarly, if one should always count on arrows which are straight of themselves, there would be no arrow in a hundred generations; if one should only count on pieces of wood which are round of themselves, there would be no wheel in a thousand generations. Though in a hundred generations there is neither an arrow that is straight of itself nor a wheel that is round of itself, yet how is it then that people of every generation ride in carts and shoot birds? It is because the tools for straightening and bending are used. To rely not on the tools for straightening and bending but on arrows straight of themselves and wheels round of themselves, is not thought much of by the skilful carpenter. Why? Because riding is not a matter of one man alone, nor is archery a question of a single shot. Reliance not on rewards and punishments but on people who are righteous of themselves, is not highly considered by the enlightened sovereign. Why? Because the law of the state must not be dispensed with and whom it regulates is not one man only. Therefore, the tactful ruler does not follow the good that happens by accident but practises the Tao that prevails by necessity.

Now supposing some one addressed a person, saying, "I will make you to be wise and to live long," the world would certainly think he was practising deception. Indeed, wisdom is a matter of nature, longevity is a matter of fate. As nature, and fate are not what one can learn from others, to assert to a person what men can not really do, that is what the world calls deception. To call anybody what he can not really be, is flattery. Flattery is a matter of nature, indeed. To instruct men in benevolence and righteousness is the same as to make assertions in the matters of intelligence and longevity, which the sovereign with a legal standard does not heed. For illustration, admiring the beauty of Mao-ch'iang and Hsi-shih gains one's facial looks nothing; but applying rouge, pomade, powder, and eyebrow-paint, makes one's appearance twice as good as before. Similarly, speaking about the benevolence and righteousness of the early kings gains nothing for political order; but understanding clearly our laws and measures and determining our rewards and punishments is the rouge, pomade, powder, and eyebrow-paint of the state. So the enlightened sovereign urgently seeks real aids, and regards as secondary all empty compliments. Hence no talk about benevolence and righteousness.

Now, witches and priests, in praying for somebody, all say, "May your age last as long as one thousand autumns and ten thousand years." Then the sounds, "one thousand autumns and ten thousand years", echo through the ears. As a matter of fact, however, nobody ever testifies to the addition of a single day to his age. That is the reason why people despise witches and priests. Likewise, the literati of the present age, when they counsel the lord of men, instead of speaking about methods to attain political order at present, talk about the achievement of political order in the past. They neither study affairs pertaining to regulations for the officials nor observe the conditions of the wicked and the villainous, but all speak on the reputed glories of remote antiquity and on the achievements of the early kings. Ornamenting their speeches, the literati say, "If you listen to our words, you will thereby become Hegemonic Ruler." Such people are but witches and priests among the itinerants, whom the sovereign with a legal standard does not heed. Therefore, the enlightened sovereign exalts real facts, discards useless things, and does not speak about benevolence and righteousness. He accordingly does not listen to the words of the learned men.

Men of today who do not know the right way to political order, all say, "Win the hearts of the people." If they should think of winning the hearts of the people and thereby attaining political order, then even Yi Yin and Kuan Chung would find no use for their statesmanship and the superior would listen to the people only. The intelligence of the people, however, can not be depended upon just like the mind of the baby. If the baby does not have his head shaved, the ache will recur; if his boil is not cut open, his trouble will turn from bad to worse. However, to shave his head or to open his boil someone has to hold the baby while the compassionate mother is performing this work. Yet he keeps crying and yelling incessantly as he does not know that suffering the small pain will gain him a great benefit.

Now, the superior urges the tillage of rice fields and the cultivation of grassy lands in order to increase the production of the people, but they think the superior is cruel. To perfect penalties and increase punishments is to suppress wickedness, but they think the superior is severe. Again, he levies taxes in cash and in grain to fill up the storehouses and treasures in order thereby to relieve famine and drought and provide for corps and battalions, but they think the superior is greedy. Finally, he traces out every culprit within the boundary, discriminates among men without personal favouritism. . . . , and unites the forces for fierce struggle, in order thereby to take his enemies captive, but they think the superior is violent. These four measures are methods to attain order and maintain peace, but the people do not know that they ought to rejoice in them.

Indeed, the superior seeks for saintly and well-informed men, because the intelligence of the people is not adequate for use as directive. For instance, of old, Yü opened the Kiang and deepened the Ho for draining the Great Deluge away, but the people gathered tiles and stones to hit him. Likewise, Tzu-ch'an cleared fields and planted mulberry-trees, but the people of Cheng slandered and reviled him. Yü benefited All-under-Heaven and Tzu-ch'an preserved Cheng, but both incurred slander. Clearly enough, indeed, the intelligence of the people is not adequately dependable. Therefore, in appointing officials, to seek for the worthy and the wise; in administering the government, to expect to suit the people: both alike are causes of confusion, and can not be employed for the attainment of political order.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 51.

Loyalty and Filial Piety: A Memorial

All-under-Heaven approve the Tao of filial piety, fraternal respect, loyalty, and obedience, but never carefully investigate the Tao of filial piety, fraternal respect, loyalty, and obedience; nor do they act intelligently upon these; wherefor All-under-Heaven is in disorder.

As everybody approves the Tao of Yao and Shun and conforms to it, there are murderers of rulers and rebels against fathers. Yao, Shun, T'ang, and Wu, each in his turn, acted contrary to the right relationship of ruler and minister, and the moral of the subsequent generations has consequently been upset. Yao, while ruler of men, made a minister his ruler. Shun, while ministering to a ruler, made the ruler a minister. T'ang and Wu, while ministering to rulers, murdered the sovereigns and dismembered their bodies. Yet All-underHeaven have honoured them. This is the reason why Allunder-Heaven has hitherto not attained political order.

Indeed, the so-called intelligent ruler is one who is able to keep his ministers in his service; the so-called worthy minister is one who is able to make laws and crimes clear and attend to his official duties so as to support his master. Now, Yao, assuming himself to be enlightened, could not keep Shun in his service; Shun, assuming himself to be worthy, could not continue supporting Yao; and T'ang and Wu, assuming themselves to be righteous, murdered their masters and superiors. That was the way "enlightened" rulers would give and "worthy" ministers would take. In consequence, hitherto there have been sons robbing their fathers' houses and ministers robbing their masters' states. Thus, fathers give way to sons and rulers give way to ministers. Such is not the right way to determine the distinction of rank between ruler and minister and unify the system of morale between father and son.

Thy servant has heard, "Minister serving ruler, son serving father, and wife serving husband, if these three relationships run in harmony, All-under-Heaven will have order; if these three relationships run in discord, All-under-Heaven will have disorder." If this is an immutable principle of the world, which neither the intelligent king nor the worthy minister dares to depart from, then even though the lord of men might be unworthy, no minister would dare to infringe his prerogative. In these days, however, the exaltation of the worthy, the appointment of the wise, and the lack of a constant principle, all follow the wrong way; but All-underHeaven always regard it as the royal road to order. For this reason, the T'ien Clan replaced the Lü Clan in Ch'i and the Tai Clan replaced the Tzu Clan in Sung. Both T'ien Heng and Tzu-han were worthy and astute and never were stupid and worthless. Thus, when the immutable principle is abolished and worthies are exalted, confusion appears; when the law is discarded and astute men are taken into service, danger arises. Hence the saying: "Exalt law but never exalt worthiness."

The ancient Records says: "Shun, when he saw his father, Ku-sou, looked uneasy". On this Confucius remarked: "How critical the age was! For All-under-Heaven was then hanging by a hair. If anybody was a follower of the true path, even his father could not treat him as a son, and, even his ruler could not treat him as a minister."

However, thy servant would say, "Confucius in the first place did not understand the Tao of filial piety, fraternal respect, loyalty, and obedience." By that remark did he mean that a follower of the true path, when in the court, could not be a minister to the sovereign, and, when at home, could not be a son of the father? The reason why fathers want to have worthy sons, is that the family, if poor, will be enriched by them, and the fathers, when suffering, will be gladdened by them. The reason why the ruler wants to have worthy ministers, is that the state, if in chaos, will be put into order by them, and the sovereign, when humbled, will be elevated

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by them. Now supposing there were a son never doing his father any good, then the father in managing the domestic affairs would suffer. Again, supposing there were a worthy minister never doing the ruler any good, then the ruler while safeguarding his throne would be jeopardized. If so, to have a worthy son and to have a worthy minister will constitute a harm to the father and the ruler respectively. Then how can they get any benefit at all?

They say the loyal minister never endangers his ruler and the dutiful son never disowns his parents. Now, Shun, by pretending to worthiness, took the ruler's state; T'ang and Wu, by pretending to righteousness, dethroned and murdered their rulers. Though all these people endangered their sovereigns by pretending to worthiness, yet All-underHeaven has considered them really worthy.

The heroes of antiquity, when in public, would never minister to any ruler, and, when in private, would never serve their families. By so doing, they disowned their rulers in public and their parents in private. Moreover, to minister to no ruler when active in public and serve no family when retired in private, is the road to world-confusion and family-extinction. Therefore, to regard Yao, Shun, T'ang, and Wu, as worthy, and approve ancient heroes, is a disturbing craft in All-under-Heaven.

Ku-sou was Shun's father but Shun exiled him; Hsiang was Shun's brother but Shun killed him. Who exiled his father and killed his brother, could not be called benevolent. Nor could one who married the emperor's two daughters and took the rule over All-under-Heaven be called righteous. Who was neither benevolent nor righteous, could not be called enlightened. It is said in the Book of Poetry:

Under the whole heaven,
Every spot is the sovereign's ground;
To the borders of the land,
Every individual is the sovereign's minister.

As against the principle of this poem, Shun in public made his ruler a minister, and in private made his father a manservant, his mother a woman-servant, and his master's daughters wives.

For the same reason, every hero in private never did his family any good; disturbing the world and exterminating his posterity, and in public attempting to oppose the ruler in every way. Though his decaying bones and spoilt flesh might eventually lie unburied on the open ground or flow on the mountain-stream, he never avoided going through water and fire in order to make All-under-Heaven take him as model, whereby he would make everybody in the world die and end his life young without regret. This type of man would always desert the world and never care about political order.

Similarly, whoever is a hero in this age, acts contrary to the masses, practises his own creed, prefers differences from others, pursues the philosophy of peace and quietude, and expounds the doctrine of vagueness and illusion. Thy servant, however, thinks the philosophy of peace and quietude is a useless creed and the doctrine of vagueness and illusion is a lawless theory. He whose word is lawless and whose creed is useless, is regarded by the world as observing. Thy servant, however, maintains: Everybody during his life-time should serve the ruler and support the parents, but serving the ruler and supporting the parents can not depend upon the philosophy of peace and quietude; again everybody during his life-time should live up to his word and doctrine, loyalty and sincerity, law and tact, but word and doctrine, loyalty and sincerity, law and tact, can not be based on the teaching of vagueness and illusion; wherefore the teaching of vagueness and illusion and the philosophy of peace and quietude are nothing but bewildering crafts in the world.

A dutiful son, in serving his father, never fights with his brothers for the father's household; a loyal minister, in serving the ruler, never struggles with other ministers for the ruler's state. Indeed, if a son always praises other people's parents, saying, for instance, "The parents of Mr. So and So go to bed late at night and get up early in the morning and work hard to make money and thereby support their children and grandchildren and keep so many men and women servants," he is a defamer of his parents. Similarly, if a minister always praises the early kings for the greatness of their virtues and longs after them, he is a defamer of his ruler. Now, one who defames his parents is called undutiful; whereas one who defames his ruler, the world considers worthy. This is the reason why there is chaos.

Therefore, the minister who neither extols the worthiness of Yao and Shun, nor admires the achievement of T'ang and Wu, nor speaks well of the nobleness of the ancient heroes, but applies all his strength to observing the law and devotes his mind to serving the sovereign, is a loyal minister, indeed.

In antiquity the black headed were mindless and stupid. Therefore, it was possible to win their homage by means of empty fame. The people of today, however, are alert and astute and apt to preen themselves and disobey the superior. Therefore, the superior needs to encourage them with rewards, so that they will advance, and to terrify them with punishments, so that they will never dare to retreat.

However, people of this age all say: "As Hsü Yu declined the rule over All-under-Heaven, mere reward would not be sufficient to encourage worthies. As Robber Che purposely transgressed the penal law and bravely underwent the consequent disaster, punishment would not be sufficient to prevent culprits." In response thy servant would say: "Who had never had the rule over All-under-Heaven and left All-under-Heaven out of consideration, was Hsü Yu. Who had already acquired the rule over All-under-Heaven but left All-under-Heaven out of consideration, were Yao and Shun. Who ruined his personal integrity for seeking money, violated the criminal law in seizing on profit, and forgot the impending death penalty, was Robber Che. The two persons were extremes. The right way of governing the state and employing the people should not take these rare persons as standards. For government is to govern the ordinary persons; its true path is to lead the ordinary persons; wherefore extreme things and eccentric words are detrimental to political order.

The highest man of the world can not be encouraged with reward; nor can the lowest man of the world be restrained by penalty. However, if on account of the highest man reward is not established, and on account of the lowest man punishment is not established, the right way of governing the state and employing the people will be missed.

For that reason, most men of this age never speak of the law of the state but advocate the Perpendicular Union or the Horizontal Alliance. The advocates of the Union say, "No Union, no Hegemony." The advocates of the Alliance say, "No Alliance, no supremacy." Now, to the east of the Mountain advocates of the Alliance have never stopped for a single day speaking on the subject. Yet if no achievement nor any reputation has been accomplished nor any Hegemonic Ruler has emerged, it is because empty words are not means of attaining political order. The king enjoys independent actions, wherefore he is called "supreme". For this reason, the Three Kings never strove for any kind of union or separation; nor did the Five Hegemonic Rulers attempt to form any kind of Perpendicular Union or Horizontal Alliance. They only investigate ways and means of managing home affairs and thereby fix foreign policies.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 52.
The Lord of Men

The reason why the lord of men finds himself endangered and sees his state ruined is that chief vassals are too influential and the attendants are too rampant. Who is called powerful, observes no law but simply acts at random and manipulates the handles of the state for facilitating his self-seeking purposes. Who is called rampant, exercises all undue powers and influence at his pleasure and makes arbitrary determinations of right and wrong. These two types of officials the lord of men must observe carefully.

Indeed, the horse can carry a heavy load, pull the wagon, and make a distant trip, because of its muscular strength; the sovereign of ten thousand chariots and the ruler of one thousand chariots can rule over the world and subdue the feudal lords, because of their prestige and position. Thus, prestige and position are the muscular strength of the lord of men. Now suppose chief vassals gain the sovereign's prestige and attendants abuse the august position. Then the lord of men will lose his strength. The lord of men who has lost his strength and is still able to keep the state, is none out of a thousand.

The tiger and the leopard can overcome men and catch the hundred beasts by virtue of their claws and fangs. Supposing the tiger and the leopard lost their claws and fangs, they would fall under the control of men. Now that the august position is the claws and fangs of the lord of men, if any ruler of men loses his claws and fangs, he will be like the tiger and the leopard that have lost theirs. For instance, the Ruler of Sung lost his claws and fangs to Tzu-han, and Duke Chien lost his claws and fangs to T'ien Ch'ang. Because they failed to recover them early enough, they were themselves killed and their states were ruined.

Today, the tactless sovereigns all know very well the errors of the Ruler of Sung and Duke Chien, but never comprehend their own mistakes. For they never observe closely the similarities between things.

Moreover, upholders of law and tact and the authorities in power are incompatible with each other. How can this be proved? Well, if the sovereign has upholders of tact around, then chief vassals will not be able to control matters of decision and the courtiers will not dare to abuse their privileges. Once the power and influence of the chief vassals and attendants stop, the Tao of the lord of men will become illustrious.

The same is not so in these days. The ministers in power arrogate favourable positions and manage the state affairs at random in order to further their private interests. The attendants and the courtiers would form juntas and associate for the wicked purpose of checking distant officials. If so, when will the upholders of law and tact be able to go into the ruler's service? And when will the lord of men settle his opinion and make his decision? Naturally the upholders of tact are not necessarily engaged by the ruler and cannot stand together with the authorities in power. Then how can the upholders of law and tact have no danger?

For such reasons, unless the ruler of men can reject the chief vassals' counsels, oppose the attendants' opinions, and conform independently to reasonable theories, how can the upholders of law and tact venture their lives in presenting their ideas to the Throne? This is the reason why the present age is not orderly.

The intelligent sovereign confers ranks and bounties according to merits and assigns offices and tasks in correspondence with abilities. Therefore, the persons appointed always have worthy qualities; those taken into service always have required abilities. If worthy and able men are in governmental service, all requests by private clans will disappear. Indeed, if men of merit receive great bounties and men of ability attain high offices, then private swordsmen will infallibly stop their self-seeking bravery and attack public enemies. So will the itinerant politicians stop handing around the private residences of influential clans and start striving for purity and cleanliness. This is the way to gather the worthy and able men and scatter the dependents of influential clans.

Now the courtiers are not necessarily wise. Yet, if the lord of men in his personnel administration first considers somebody wise and heeds his advice, and, after going inside, if he esteems the advice of the courtiers and listens to them regardless of the adviser's wisdom, he will thereby esteem the wise with the stupid. Again, the authorities in power are not necessarily worthy. Yet, if the lord of men in his personnel administration first considers somebody worthy and respects him, and, after going inside, if he esteems the worthy's conduct with the authorities in power and listens to them regardless of his worthiness, he will thereby esteem the worthy with the worthless. Therefore, if wise men have to see their plans acknowledged by fools and worthies have to see their characters estimated by worthless men, when will the men of worthiness and wisdom be able to enter the ruler's service? So will the lord of men's sight be obscured.

Of old, Kuan Lung-p'eng admonished Chieh but had his four limbs injured; Prince Pi-kan remonstrated with Chow but had his heart cut open; and Tzu-hsü was loyal and honest to Fu-ch'a but was censured with the Shu-lou sword. These three personages, while ministering to their rulers, were not disloyal; nor were their counsels untrue. However, they could not evade the disaster of unjust death penalties, because of the calamity that their sovereigns never deliberated carefully on the words of the wise and the worthy but were deluded by the stupid and the worthless.

In these days, if the lord of men does not want to engage upholders of law and tact but listens only to stupid and unworthy ministers, then who among the worthy and wise men dare face the risk of these three personages in presenting their wisdom and ability to the Throne? This is the reason why the present age is disorderly.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 53.
Making Orders Trim

If orders are made trim, laws never deviate; if laws are equable, there will be no culprit among the officials. Once the law is fixed, nobody can damage it by means of virtuous words. If men of merit are appointed to office, the people will have little to say; if men of virtue are appointed to office the people will have much to talk about. The enforcement of laws depends upon the method of judicial administration. Who administers judicial affairs with the ease of making a distance of five li, attains supremacy; who administers judicial affairs with the effort of making nine li, attains mere strength. Whoever procrastinates in creating order, will see his state dismembered.

Govern by penalties; wage war by rewards; and enlarge the bounties so as to put the principles of statecraft into practice. If so, there will be no wicked people in the state nor will there be any wicked trade at the market. If things are many and trifles are numerous, and if farming is relaxed and villainy prevails, the state will certainly be dismembered.

If the people have a surplus of food, make them receive rank by giving grain to the state. If only through their own effort they can receive rank, then farmers will not idle.

If a tube three inches long has no bottom, it can never be filled. Conferring office and rank or granting profit and bounty without reference to merit, is like a tube having no bottom.

If the state confers office and bestows rank, it can be said to devise plans with complete wisdom and wage war with complete courage. Such a state will find a rival. Again, if the state confers office and bestows rank according to merit, then rules will be simplified and opponents barred; this can be said to abolish government by means of government, abolish words by means of words, and bestow rank according to merit. Therefore the state will have much strength and none else in All-under-Heaven will dare to invade it. When its soldiers march out, they will take the objective and, having taken it, will certainly be able to hold it. When it keeps its soldiers in reserve and does not attack, it will certainly become rich.

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The affairs of the government, however small, should never be abandoned. For instance, office and rank are always obtained according to the acquired merit; though there may be flattering words, it will be impossible thereby to make any interference in the state affairs. This is said to be "government by figures." For instance, in attacking with force, ten points are taken for every point given out; but in attacking with words, one hundred are lost for every one marched out. If a state is fond of force, it is called hard to attack; if a state is fond of words, it is called easy to attack.

If the ability of the official is equal to his post, if his duty is lightened and he never reserves any surplus energy in mind, and if he does not shift any responsibility of additional offices back to the ruler, then there will be no hidden grudge inside. If the intelligent ruler makes the state affairs never mutually interfere, there will be no dispute; if he allows no official to hold any kind of additional post, everybody will develop his talent or skill; and if he allows no two persons to share the same meritorious achievement, there will be no quarrel.

If penalties are heavy and rewards are few, it means that the superior loves the people, wherefore the people will die for rewards. If rewards are many and penalties are light, it means that the superior does not love the people, wherefore the people will never die for rewards.

If the profit issues from one outlet only, the state will have no rival; if it issues from two outlets, its soldiers will be half useful; and if the profit comes from ten outlets, the people will not observe the law. If heavy penalties are clear and if the people are always well disciplined and then if men are engaged in case of emergency, the superior will have all the advantage.

In inflicting penalties light offences ahould be punished severely; if light offences do not appear, heavy offences will not come. This is said to be to abolish penalties by means of penalties. And the state will certainly become strong. If crimes are serious but penalties are light, light penalties breed further troubles. This is said to create penalties through penalties, and such a state will infallibly be dismembered.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 54.

Surmising the Mentality of the People: A Psychological Analysis of Politics

The sage in governing the people considers their springs of action, never tolerates their wicked desires, but seeks only for the people's benefit. Therefore, the penalty he inflicts is not due to any hatred for the people but to his motive of loving the people. If penalty triumphs, the people are quiet; if reward over-flows, culprits appear. Therefore the triumph of penalty is the beginning of order; the overflow of reward, the origin of chaos.

Indeed, it is the people's nature to delight in disorder and detach themselves from legal restraints. Therefore, when the intelligent sovereign governs the state, if he makes rewards clear, the people will be encouraged to render meritorious services; if he makes penalties severe, the people will attach themselves to the law. If they are encouraged to render meritorious services, public affairs will not be obstructed; if they attach themselves to the law, culprits will not appear. Therefore, he who governs the people should nip the evil in the bud; he who commands troops, should inculcate warfare in the people's mind. If prohibitions can uproot causes of villainy, there will always be order; if soldiers can imagine warfare in mind, there will always be victory. When the sage is governing the people, he attains order first, wherefore he is strong; he prepares for war first, wherefore he wins.

Indeed, the administration of the state affairs requires the attention to the causes of human action so as to unify the people's mental trends; the exclusive elevation of public welfare so as to stop self-seeking elements; the reward for denunciation of crime so as to suppress culprits; and finally the clarification of laws so as to facilitate governmental procedures. Whoever is able to apply these four measures, will become strong; whoever is unable to apply these four measures, will become weak. Indeed, the strength of the state is due to the administration of its political affairs; the honour of the sovereign is due to his supreme power. Now, the enlightened ruler possesses the supreme power and the administrative organs; the ignoble ruler possesses both the supreme power and the administrative organs, too. Yet the results are not the same, because their standpoints are different. Thus, as the enlightened ruler has the supreme power in his grip, the superior is held in high esteem; as he unifies the administrative organs, the state is in order. Hence law is the origin of supremacy and penalty is the beginning of love.

Indeed, it is the people's nature to abhor toil and enjoy ease. However, if they pursue ease, the land will waste; if the land wastes, the state will not be in order. If the state is not orderly, it will become chaotic. If reward and penalty take no effect among the inferiors, government will come to a deadlock. Therefore, he who wants to accomplish a great achievement but hesitates to apply his full strength, can not hope for the accomplishment of the achievement; he who wants to settle the people's disorder but hesitates to change their traditions, can not hope to banish the people's disorder. Hence there is no constant method for the government of men. The law alone leads to political order. If laws are adjusted to the time, there is good government. If government fits the age, there will be great accomplishment. Therefore, when the people are naïve, if you regulate them with fame, there will be good government; when everybody in the world is intelligent, if you discipline them with penalties, they will obey. While time is moving on, if laws do not shift accordingly, there will be misrule; while abilities are diverse, if prohibitions are not changed, the state will be dismembered. Therefore, the sage in governing the people makes laws move with time and prohibitions change with abilities. Who can exert his forces to land-utilisation, will become rich; who can rush his forces at enemies, will become strong. The strong man not obstructed in his way will attain supremacy.

Therefore, the way to supremacy lies in the way of shutting culprits off and the way of blocking up wicked men. Who is able to block up wicked men, will eventually attain supremacy. The policy of attaining supremacy relies not on foreign states' abstention from disturbing your state, but on their inability to disturb your state. Who has to rely on foreign powers' abstention from disturbing his state before he can maintain his own independence, will see his state dismembered; who relies on their inability to disturb his state and willingly enacts the law, will prosper.

Therefore, the worthy ruler in governing the state follows the statecraft of invulnerability. When rank is esteemed, the superior will increase his dignity. He will accordingly bestow rewards on men of merit, confer ranks upon holders of posts, and appoint wicked men to no office. Who devotes himself to practical forces, gets a high rank. If the rank is esteemed, the superior will be honoured. The superior, if honoured, will attain supremacy. On the contrary, if the state does not strive after practical forces but counts on private studies, its rank will be lowered. If the rank is lowered, the superior will be humbled. If the superior is humbled, the state will be dismembered. Therefore, if the way of founding the state and using the people can shut off foreign invaders and block up self-seeking subjects, and if the superior relies on himself, supremacy will be attained.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 55.

Regulations and Distinctions

In general, wherever the state is extensive and the ruler is honourable, there laws are so strict that whatever is ordered works and whatever is prohibited stops. Therefore, the ruler of men who distinguishes between ranks and regulates bounties, makes laws severe and thereby makes the distinction strict.

Indeed, if the state is orderly, the people are safe; if affairs are confused, the country falls into peril. Who makes laws strict, hits on the true nature of mankind; who makes prohibitions lenient, misses the apparent fact. Moreover, everybody is, indeed, gifted with desperate courage. To exert desperate courage to get what one wants, is human nature. Yet everybody's likes and dislikes should be regulated by the superior. Now the people like to have profit and bounty and hate to be punished, if the superior catches their likes and dislikes and thereby holds their desperate courage under control, he will not miss the realities of affairs.

However, if prohibitions are lenient and facts are missed, reward and penalty will be misused. Again, when governing the people, if you do not regard conformity to law as right, you will eventually observe no law. Therefore, the science and philosophy of politics should by all means emphasize the distinction between degrees of penalty and of reward.

Who governs the state, should always uphold the law. In life there are ups and downs. If any ruler goes down, it is because in regulating rewards and penalties he makes no distinction between different degrees. Who governs the state, always distinguishes between reward and punishment. Therefore, some people might regard the distinction between reward and punishment as distinction, which should not be called distinction in the strict sense.

As regards the distinction made by the clear-sighted ruler, it is the distinction between different grades of reward and of punishment. Therefore, his subjects respect laws and fear prohibitions. They try to avoid crime rather than dare to expect any reward. Hence the saying: "Without expecting penalty and reward the people attend to public affairs."

For this reason, the state at the height of order is able to take the suppression of villainy for its duty. Why? Because its law comprehends human nature and accords with the principles of government.

If so, how to get rid of delicate villainy? By making the people watch one another in their hidden affairs. Then how to make them watch one another? By implicating the people of the same hamlet in one another's crime. When everyone knows that the penalty or reward will directly affect him, if the people of the same hamlet fail to watch one another, they will fear they may not be able to escape the implication, and those who are evil-minded, will not be allowed to forget so many people watching them. Were such the law, everybody would mind his own doings, watch everybody else, and disclose the secrets of any culprit. For, whosoever denounces a criminal offence, is not held guilty but is given a reward; whosoever misses any culprit, is definitely censured and given the same penalty as the culprit. Were such the law, all types of culprits would be detected. If the minutest villainy is not tolerated, it is due to the system of personal denunciation and mutual implication.

Indeed, the most enlightened method of governing a state is to trust measures and not men. For this reason, the tactful state is never mistaken if it does not trust the empty fame of men. If the land within the boundary is always in order it is because measures are employed. If any falling state lets foreign soldiers walk all over its territory and can neither resist nor prevent them, it is because that state trusts men and uses no measures. Men may jeopardize their own country, but measures can invade others' countries. Therefore, the tactful state spurns words and trusts laws.

Broadly speaking, it is hard to uncover a crooked merit that appears to fulfil the promise; it is hard to disclose the feature of the fault that is ornamented with beautiful words. Therefore, penalty and reward are often misled by double-dealers. What is alleged to be fulfilling the promise but is hard to uncover, is a villainous merit. Any minister's fault is hard to disclose, because its motive is missed. However, if by following reason you can not disclose the false merit and by analyzing feelings you are still deceived by the villainous motive, then can both reward and punishment have no mistake respectively?

For such reasons, false scholars establish names inside, while itinerants devise plans outside, till the stupid and the coward mix themselves with the brave and the clever. Inasmuch as the false path is customary, they are tolerated by their age. Therefore, their law does not work and their penalty affects nobody. If so, both reward and penalty have to be double-dealings.

Therefore, concrete facts have their limits of extension, but abstract principles involve no accurate measures. The absence of such measures is due not to the law but to the abandonment of law and the dependence on cleverness. If the law is abandoned and cleverness is employed, how can the appointee to office perform his duty? If duty and office are not equivalent to each other, then how can the law evade mistakes and how can penalty evade troubles? For this reason reward and punishment will be thrown into confusion and disorder, and the state policy will deviate and err, because neither penalty nor reward has any clear distinction of degree as in the difference between black and white.

THE MOZI

The Mojing / The Mohist Canon
[Spring and Autumn - Warring States]
The ethical and political works of Motse
Wade-Giles Romanisation changed to Pinyin
Translation: W. P. Mei, 1929; A.C. Graham, 1978
Estimated Range of Dating: 5th century BC

(The Mozi, also called the Mojing or the Mohist Canon, is an ancient Chinese text from the Warring States period (476–221 BC) that expounds the philosophy of Mohism. It propounds such Mohist ideas as impartiality, meritocratic governance, economic growth and aversion to ostentation, and is known for its plain and simple language. The following example is still true today: "Mozi said: What is the reason for the disorder in the world? It is because the gentlemen of the world all understand trifles but not things of importance." (Mozi, 28:1) [* meaning politicians and bureaucrats]*

The chapters of the Mozi can be divided into several categories: a core group of 31 chapters, which contain the basic philosophic ideas of the Mohist school; several chapters on logic, which are among the most important early Chinese texts on logic and are traditionally known as the "Dialectical Chapters"; five sections containing stories and information about Mozi and his followers; and eleven chapters on technology and defensive warfare, on which the Mohists were expert and which are valuable sources of information on ancient Chinese military technology. There are also two other minor sections: an initial group of seven chapters that are clearly of a much later date, and two anti-Confucian chapters, only one of which has survived. The Mohist philosophical school died out in the 3rd century BC, and copies of the Mozi were not well preserved. The modern text has been described as "notoriously corrupt" – of its 71 original chapters, 18 have been lost and several others are badly fragmented.

Source: "The ethical and political works of Motse", W. P. Mei, Probsthain, 1929 - Romanisation changed from Wade-Giles to Pinyin. N.B. W.P. Mei's translation omits the Canons, Daqu, Xiaoqu, and the military chapters. English translation of the Canons is based on that in A.C. Graham's "Later Mohist Logic, Ethics, and Science", Chinese University Press, 1978

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Contents and Structure

The Mozi originally comprised 71 chapters, but 18 of these have been lost and a number of others are damaged and fragmented. The text can be divided into a total of six sections:

- ***Chapters 1–7:*** *a group of miscellaneous essays and dialogues that were clearly added at a later date and are somewhat incongruous with the rest of the book.*
- ***Chapters 8–37:*** *a large group of chapters—of which seven are missing and three are fragmentary—that form the core Mozi chapters, and elucidate the ten main philosophical doctrines of the Mohist school of thought. Mozi is frequently referenced and cited in these chapters.*
- ***Chapters 38–39:*** *two chapters—of which only chapter 39 survives—entitled "Against Confucianism" (Fei Ru), containing polemical arguments against the ideals of Confucianism. These chapters are sometimes grouped with chapters 8–37.*
- ***Chapters 40–45:*** *a group of six chapters, often called the "Dialectical Chapters", which are some of the most unique writings of ancient China, treating topics in logic, epistemology, ethics, geometry, optics, and mechanics. These chapters are dense and difficult, largely because the text is badly garbled and corrupted.*
- ***Chapters 46–51:*** *six chapters—of which chapter 51, including even its title, has been lost—that contain stories and dialogues about Mozi and his followers. These chapters are probably of somewhat later date, and are probably partly fictional.*
- ***Chapters 52–71:*** *a group of chapters—nine of which have been lost—known as the "Military Chapters", containing instructions on defensive warfare, supposedly from Mozi to his chief disciple Qin Guli. These chapters, like the "Dialectical Chapters", are badly damaged and corrupted.*

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The Author

Mozi (Wade–Giles: Mo Tzu; Latin: Micius; c. 470–391 BC), original name Mo Di, was a Chinese philosopher who founded the school of Mohism during the Hundred Schools of Thought period (early portion of the Warring States period of c.475–221 BC). The ancient text Mozi contains material ascribed to him and his followers. Mozi taught that everyone is equal in the eyes of heaven. He believed that those in power should be based on meritocracy, or those who are worthy of power should receive power. Mozi invokes heaven and calls on the Sage Kings to support his precedents.

Born in what is now Tengzhou, Shandong Province, he founded the school of Mohism that argued strongly against Confucianism and Taoism. His philosophy emphasised universal love, social order, the will of heaven, sharing, and honoring the worthy. During the Warring States period, Mohism was actively developed and practiced in many states but fell out of favour when the legalist Qin dynasty came to power in 221 BC. During that period, many Mohist classics are thought to have been ruined when the emperor Qin Shi Huang supposedly carried out the burning of books and burying of scholars. The importance of Mohism further declined when Confucianism became the dominant school of thought during the Han Dynasty, until mostly disappearing by the middle of the Western Han dynasty.

Mozi is referenced in the Thousand Character Classic, which records that he was saddened when he saw dyeing of pure white silk, which embodied his conception of austerity (simplicity, chastity).

The concept of Ai [love] was developed by the Chinese philosopher Mozi in the 4th century BC in reaction to Confucianism's benevolent love. Mozi tried to replace what he considered to be the long-entrenched Chinese over-attachment to family and clan structures with the concept of "universal love." In this, he argued directly against Confucians who believed that it was natural and correct for people to care about different people in different degrees. Mozi, by contrast, believed people in principle should care for all people equally. Mohism stressed that rather than adopting different attitudes towards different people, love should be unconditional and offered to everyone without regard to reciprocation, not just to friends, family and other Confucian relations. Later in Chinese Buddhism, the term Ai was adopted to refer to a passionate caring love and was considered a fundamental desire. In Buddhism, Ai was seen as capable of being either selfish or selfless, the latter being a key element towards enlightenment.

It is believed that Mozi was a member of the lower artisan class who managed to climb his way to an official post. It is known, however, that his parents were not affectionate towards him and showed him very little love. Mozi was a native of the State of Lu (today's Tengzhou, Shandong Province), although for a time he served as a minister in the State of Song. Like Confucius, Mozi was known to have maintained a school for those who desired to become officials serving in the different ruling courts of the Warring States.

Mozi was a carpenter and was extremely skilled in creating devices (see Lu Ban). Though he did not hold a high official position, Mozi was sought out by various rulers as an expert on fortification. He was schooled in Confucianism in his early years, but he viewed Confucianism as being too fatalistic and emphasising too much on elaborate celebrations and funerals which he felt were detrimental to the livelihood and productivity of common people. He managed to attract a large following during his lifetime which rivaled that of Confucius. His followers—mostly technicians and craftspeople—were organised in a disciplined order that studied both Mozi's philosophical and technical writings.

According to some accounts of the popular understanding of Mozi at the time, he had been hailed by many as the greatest hero to come from Henan. His passion was said to be for the good of the people, without concern for personal gain or even for his own life or death. His tireless contribution to society was praised by many, including Confucius' disciple Mencius. Mencius wrote in Jinxin (Chinese: Mengzi Jinxin) that Mozi believed in love for all mankind. As long as something benefits mankind, Mozi will pursue it even if it means hurting his head or his feet. Zhang Tai Yan said that in terms of moral virtue, even Confucius and Laozi cannot compare to Mozi.

Mozi travelled from one crisis zone to another throughout the ravaged landscape of the Warring States, trying to dissuade rulers from their plans of conquest. According to the chapter "Gongshu" in Mozi, he once walked for ten days to the State of Chu in order to forestall an attack on the State of Song. At the Chu court, Mozi engaged in nine simulated war games with Gongshu Ban, the chief military strategist of Chu, and overturned each one of his stratagems. When Gongshu Ban threatened him with death, Mozi informed the king that his disciples had already trained the soldiers of Song in his fortification methods, so it would be useless to kill him. The Chu king was forced to call off the war. On the way back, however, the soldiers of Song, not recognizing him, would not allow Mozi to enter their city, and he had to spend a night freezing in the rain. After this episode, he also stopped the State of Qi from attacking the State of Lu. He taught that defense of a city does not depend only on fortification, weaponry and food supply; it is also important to keep talented people close by and to put trust in them.

The Teaching

Mozi's moral teachings emphasised introspection, self-reflection and authenticity, rather than obedience to ritual. He observed that we often learn about the world through adversity ("Embracing Scholars" in Mozi). By reflecting on one's own successes and failures, one attains true self-knowledge rather than mere conformity to ritual ("Refining Self" in Mozi). Mozi exhorted people to lead a life of asceticism and self-restraint, renouncing both material and spiritual extravagance.

Like Confucius, Mozi idealised the Xia Dynasty and the ancients of Chinese mythology, but he criticised the Confucian belief that modern life should be patterned on the ways of the ancients. After all, he pointed out, what we think of as "ancient" was actually innovative in its time, and thus should not be used to hinder present-day innovation ("Against Confucianism, Part 3" in the Mozi). Though Mozi did not believe that history necessarily progresses, as did Han Fei Zi, he shared the latter's critique of fate (ming). Mozi believed that people were capable of changing their circumstances and directing their own lives. They could do this by applying their senses to observing the world, judging objects and events by their causes, their functions, and their historical bases. ("Against Fate, Part 3") This was the "three-prong method" Mozi recommended for testing the truth or falsehood of statements. His students later expanded on this to form the School of Names.

Mozi tried to replace what he considered to be the long-entrenched Chinese ideal of strong attachments to family and clan structures with the concept of "impartial caring" or "universal love" (jian ai). He argued directly against Confucians, who had philosophised that it was natural and correct for people to care about different people in different degrees. Mozi, in contrast, argued that people in principle should care for all people equally, a notion that philosophers in other schools found absurd, as they interpreted this notion as implying no special amount of care or duty towards one's parents and family.

Overlooked by those critics, however, is a passage in the chapter on "Self-Cultivation" which states, "When people near-by are not befriended, there is no use endeavoring to attract those at a distance." This point is also precisely articulated by a Mohist in a debate with Mencius (in the Mencius), where the Mohist argues in relation to carrying out

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universal love, that "We begin with what is near." Also, in the first chapter of the writings of Mozi on universal love, Mozi argues that the best way of being filial to one's parents is to be filial to the parents of others. The foundational principle is that benevolence, as well as malevolence, is requited, and that one will be treated by others as one treats others. Mozi quotes a popular passage from the Book of Odes to bring home this point: "When one throws to me a peach, I return to him a plum." One's parents will be treated by others as one treats the parents of others. Also of note is the fact that Mozi differentiated between "intention" and "actuality", thereby placing a central importance on the will to love, even though in practice it may very well be impossible to bring benefit to everyone.

In addition, Mozi argued that benevolence comes to human beings "as naturally as fire turns upward or water turns downward", provided that persons in positions of authority illustrate benevolence in their own lives. In differentiating between the ideas of "universal" (jian) and "differential" (bie), Mozi said that "universal" comes from righteousness while "differential" entails human effort. Furthermore, Mozi's basic argument concerning universal love asserts that universal love is supremely practical, and this argument was directed against those who objected that such love could not be put into practice.

Mozi also held a belief in the power of ghosts and spirits, although he is often thought to have only worshipped them pragmatically. In fact, in his discussion on ghosts and spirits, he remarks that even if they did not exist, communal gatherings for the sake of making sacrificial offering would play a role in strengthening social bonds. Furthermore, for Mozi the will of Heaven (tiān) was that people should love one another, and that mutual love by all would bring benefit to all. Therefore, it was in everyone's interest that they love others "as they love themselves". Heaven should be respected because failing to do so would subject one to punishment. For Mozi, Heaven was not the "amoral", mystical nature of the Taoists. Rather, it was a benevolent, moral force that rewarded good and punished evil. Similar in some ways to the Abrahamic religions, Mozi believed that all living things live in a realm ruled by Heaven, and Heaven has a will which is independent from and higher than the will of man. Thus he writes that "Universal love is the Way of Heaven", since "Heaven nourishes and sustains all life without regard to status." ("Laws and Customs" in Mozi) Mozi's ideal of government, which advocated a meritocracy based on talent rather than background, also followed his idea of Heaven.

Anti-fatalism - Mozi opposed to Confucian "Destiny" thought, class differences and other ideas. Mozi put forward to promote people's victory, things in the subjective attitude to life, encourage people to work hard to change their fate and inequality in the world. In Confucius's opinion, a person's life and death, wealth and poverty are completely related to destiny and personal power can not be changed.

Ethics

Mohist ethics is considered a form of consequentialism, according to which the morality of an action, statement, teaching, policy, judgement, and so on, is determined by the consequences that it brings about. In particular, Mozi thought that actions should be measured by the way they contribute to the benefit of all members of society. With this criterion, Mozi denounced things as diverse as offensive warfare, expensive funerals, and even music and dance, which he saw as serving no useful purpose. According to the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Mohist consequentialism, dating back to the 5th century BC, is the "world's earliest form of consequentialism, a remarkably sophisticated version based on a plurality of intrinsic goods taken as constitutive of human welfare". Consequentialist theories vary over exactly which consequences are relevant, though they all share the same basic outcome-based structure. With Mozi's overwhelming focus on "benefit" (li) among other ends, and his explicit focus on making moral evaluations in light of them, Mozi's ethics indeed shares this consequentalist structure. For interpreting Mozi, however, there is some debate over how to understand the consequences Mozi seems most concerned with, and therefore over which kind of consequentialism to ascribe to him.

Some believe the best descriptor to be state consequentialism. According to this reading, Mohist ethics makes moral evaluations based on how well the action, statement, etc., in question contributes to the stability of a state. Such state-related goods include social order, material wealth, and population growth. By centering his ethical theory around the promotion of such state-related ends, Mozi shows himself to be a state consequentialist. Unlike hedonistic utilitarianism, which views pleasure as a moral good, "the basic goods in Mohist consequentialist thinking are ... order, material wealth, and increase in population". During Mozi's era, war and famines were common, and population growth was seen as a moral necessity for a harmonious society. Mozi opposed wars because they wasted life and resources while interfering with the fair distribution of wealth, yet he recognised the need for strong urban defenses so he could maintain the harmonious society he desired. The "material wealth" of Mohist consequentialism refers to basic needs like shelter and clothing, and the "order" of Mohist consequentialism refers to Mozi's stance against warfare and violence, which he viewed as pointless and a threat to social stability. Stanford sinologist David Shepherd Nivison, in The Cambridge History of Ancient China, writes that the moral goods of Mohism "are interrelated: more basic wealth, then more reproduction; more people, then more production and wealth ... if people have plenty, they would be good, filial, kind, and so on unproblematically". In contrast to Jeremy Bentham, Mozi did not believe that individual happiness was important; the consequences of the state outweigh the consequences of individual actions.

Alternative readings locate the main focus of Mozi's consequentialism in the welfare of the people themselves rather than that of the state as a whole. Such interpretations as Chris Fraser's argue that it is a mistake to view Mozi's focus on the collective well-being of a population as a focus on the well-being of the state itself rather than its constituents. In this way, Mozi tended to evaluate actions based on whether they provide benefit to the people, which he measured in terms of an enlarged population (states were sparsely populated in his day), a prosperous economy, and social order. Indeed these are collective goods rather than individual ones, which is a major difference between Mohist consequentialism and modern, Western versions. However, this reading emphasises that collective goods are better considered as aggregated individual goods rather than as state goods. This consequentialist structure supports Mohist ethics and politics, which survives in the form of 10 core doctrines. These doctrines are as follows:

1. *Promoting the Worthy*
2. *Identifying Upward*
3. *Universal Love (also "Inclusive Care")*
4. *Condemning Aggression*
5. *Moderation in Use*
6. *Moderation in Burials*
7. *Heaven's Intent*
8. *Understanding Ghosts*
9. *Condemning Music*
10. *Condemning Fatalism*

Each of these doctrines is justified on the grounds that it produces the best consequences for society, and that all people stand to benefit from adopting them. Promoting the worthy, for example, encourages people in positions of power to hire competent and worthy subordinates to fill posts, rather than hire friends and relatives instead. The reasoning here is that someone better qualified for the job will perform better and enable society as a whole to benefit. Identifying upward refers to the idea that people in subordinate positions in society must look to their superiors as models for their own conduct. Provided that the superiors are indeed morally competent and worthy of emulation, the rest of society will always have a reliable guide for their own actions, thereby giving rise to social benefits.

Universal love refers to the basic normative attitude the Mohists encourage us to adopt towards others. The idea is that people ought to consider all others as being part of their scope of moral concern. Indeed this is perhaps the most infamous of Mohist doctrines, and was criticised early on by philosophers such as Mengzi, who held that the doctrine was akin to renouncing one's family. However, close readings of the texts by modern scholars have shown the demands of Mohist universal love to be much more mild and reasonable. Additionally, given the accretional nature of the texts, the audience of such texts may have changed depending upon the Mohists' social influence, and so the demands for universal love made on rulers, for example, is considerably higher than that made on the masses. At its most basic, however, the doctrine merely encourages a general attitude of care towards others. However, this does not require that we renounce all forms of special relationships we have with our families and friends. In fact, the Mohists introduce the problem that universal love is meant to solve by lamenting the fact that fathers and sons don't care for each other, and so must instead adopt an attitude of universal love. Conversely, the Mohists hope, when people adopt an attitude of universal love, society as a whole will benefit.

Dovetailing with this idea is that of condemning aggression. The main targets of this doctrine are undoubtedly the rulers of the various warring states in China, who regularly embarked on expansionist military campaigns in order to increase their territory, power, and influence. However, such campaigns were enormously taxing on the population, disrupting regular farming cycles by conscripting able-bodied people for these military ends. Additionally, the practices is ethically wrong for the same reason that robbery and murder are wrong. In fact, according to Mozi, the two are actually one and the same; for what is an expansionist war of aggression other than robbery and murder on a grand scale? And yet, Mozi laments, those rulers who execute robbers and murderers engage in the very same practices. With respect to universal love, indeed part of the reason why rulers believe it is acceptable to invade and conquer other states while it is not acceptable for their own subjects to rob and steal from one another is that the people in neighboring states are not part of the rulers' scope of moral concern. If rulers were to instead include these people and refrain from wars of aggression, all states, those attacking and those defending, will benefit.

Moderation in use and moderation in burials are the main Mohist ideas about frugality. In one's own projects, utility ought to be the only consideration. The Mohists took particular offense to the practice of extremely lavished funerals and demanding mourning rituals. Such funerals and rituals would potentially bankrupt an entire clan, at least temporarily, and disrupt its farming practices. For the dead in higher positions of authority, this disruption would affect an even greater number of people. Again, the point here is to promote benefit across society, and the Mohists believe that adopting frugal practices will do so.

Mozi's ideas about ghosts and spirits follow from their religious beliefs in a morally consistent universe. Heaven, it is argued, is the ultimate moral standard, while ghosts and spirits serve as Heaven's enforcers. Both doctrines, when adopted, promote societal benefit both by enabling people to rely upon an objective standard to guide their actions (namely, Heaven), and by acting as a sort of cosmic authority capable of enacting rewards and punishments.

Mozi's condemnation of music rests on the same economic considerations as their general ideas of frugality. In ancient China, grand musical ceremonies established by rulers would place enormous financial and human strains on populations, and so Mozi condemned such ceremonies for this reason. It's worth noting that Mozi did not object to music in principle—"It's not that I don't like the sound of the drum" ("Against Music")—but only because of the heavy tax burden such activities placed on commoners and also due to the fact that officials tended to indulge in them at the expense of their duties.

Finally, the Mohists rejected the idea of fatalism, or the idea that there is fate. The Mohists reject this idea on the grounds that it encourages lazy and irresponsible behavior. When people believe that there is fate, and that the consequences of their actions lie beyond their control, people will not be encouraged to improve themselves, nor will they be willing to take responsibility for disasters. As a result, society will suffer, and so the doctrine that there is fate ought to be rejected.)

MOZI BOOK 1

MOZI CHAPTER 1 - Befriending the Learned

1. If one does not preserve the learned in a state he will be injuring the state; if one is not zealous (to recommend) the virtuous upon seeing one, he will be neglecting the ruler. Enthusiasm is to be shown only to the virtuous, and plans for the country are only to be shared with the learned. Few are those, who, neglecting the virtuous and slighting the learned, could still maintain the existence of their countries.

2. Formerly Lord Wen was once in exile and yet later became the leading feudal lord. Lord Huan was once forced to leave his state and yet later became a "tyrant" among the feudal lords. Lord Gou Jian of Yue was once brought under humiliation by the king of Wu, and yet he was later looked upon with awe by the princes of China. The reason that these three men became famous and successful in the world lies in that they were able to endure shame and humiliation within their states. The greatest men know of no defeat. The next greatest turn failure into success, and this, by the employment of the people.

3. I have heard it said: It is not that there is no peaceful abode but that I have no peaceful heart (over others' homelessness); it is not that my wealth is not sufficient but that my passion yearns for more (to improve others' conditions). Therefore the superior man is strict with one's self but lenient with others (in matters of conduct) while the multitude are lenient with themselves but strict with others. The superior man carries out his ambitions successfully in action and studies the situation when he is at leisure. Even when he is taken as a mediocre individual he feels no dissatisfaction. This is because he has self-confidence. Therefore, those who attempt what seems difficult to them will obtain what they desire, but few who aim at what they desire can avoid what they dislike. Therefore, artful ministers are harmful to the lord and flattering subordinates are injurious to the ruler. The lord should have uncompromising ministers; the ruler should have stern subordinates. Only when counsel is given with farsightedness and advice administered with sternness, can the life of the state be secure and permanent.

4. If (to the contrary) the subordinates should value their positions and keep silence, the ministers near at hand would be speechless and those far away could only sigh, and the people would become bitter. When the ruler is surrounded with praises and flatteries and insulated against good counsels,

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then the country is in danger. Was it not because they would not employ the scholars, that Jie and Zhou lost their empire and their lives? Thus it is said : To offer the greatest treasure of the country to the ruler is not as laudable as to recommend the virtuous and introduce the learned.

5. Among the five weapons the sharpest will be broken first. Among the five swords the keenest will be first worn out. The sweet wells become sooner dry and the elegant trees are oftener felled. The tortoises that are more responsive are oftener burned and the snakes that show more magic power are more sacrificed. Thus, Bi Gan died of his uprightness; Meng Ben perished by his strength; Xi Shi paid with her life for her beauty; and Wu Qi was torn alive for his achievement. This shows that there are but few who excel other people and do not perish on account of it. Hence the saying: Position of the supreme is hard to keep.

6. Even the kind ruler will not show favours to ministers without merit. Even the affectionate father will not love his useless sons. He who occupies a position but is not equal to the task is not the proper person for the position. He who draws emoluments but does not deserve the rank is not the proper proprietor of the emoluments. Good bows may be hard to draw, but they can reach great heights and pierce deeply. Good horses may be hard to ride on, but they can carry heavy burdens and make long journeys. Real talents may be hard to command, but they can be trusted to be envoys to the court of the emperor and to meet the nobility. Therefore the big rivers do not despise the little brooklets for tributaries. And great men do not neglect any menial task or reject any trifle, and so they become vessels for the world. The water in a river does not come from a single source, neither is the fur coat that is worth a thousand yi composed of the white fur of a single fox. Now, to discard those who agree with the right but employ those who agree with one's self is not the way to be a great ruler. (Just as) Heaven and earth do not dazzle, great bodies of water do not boil and foam, and great conflagrations do not coruscate, (so) the imperial character does not lift itself up beyond reach.

7. As to the chieftain of only a thousand people, he is straight like an arrow and smooth like a whetstone, unable to tolerate the manifold ways. For narrow gorges clog up rapidly, shallow streams are soon exhausted, and the barren land does not bear fruits. When a ruler confines his favours within his palace, then they cannot be shared by the whole country.

MOZI CHAPTER 2 - Self-cultivation

1. Though there should be tactics in war, courage is fundamental. Though there should be ceremonies for mourning, grief is essential. Though a scholar should be learned, he must first of all exhibit good conduct. When the seeds are not well sown, there is no use in labouring for a good harvest. When the people near-by are not befriended there is no use of endeavouring to attract those at a distance. When one's relatives are not submissive, there is no use in endeavouring to establish contacts with the outside world. When one cannot accomplish a single task from beginning to end. there is no use of attempting many things. And when one is ignorant of a commonplace that is pointed out, there is no use of pursuing wide knowledge.

2. Therefore, when the early kings administered the empire, they would investigate what was within reach and attract those at a distance. Investigation of a locality by the superior men means its orderly government. When they discovered misconduct or depravity, they corrected themselves. Thus all complaints disappeared and conduct became regulated (by itself). When the superior men do not listen to treacherous words or utter any threatening sound, or entertain any idea of injuring somebody, then even if there were underhanded persons they would lose support.

3. Therefore the superior men are daily more energetic in performing their duty, but weaker in their desires, and more stately in their appearance. The way of the superior man makes the individual incorruptible in poverty and righteous when wealthy; it makes him love the living and mourn the dead. These four qualities of conduct cannot be hypocritically embodied in one's personality. There is nothing in his mind that goes beyond love; there is nothing in his behaviour that goes beyond respectfulness, and there is nothing from his mouth that goes beyond gentility. When one pursues such a way until it pervades his four limbs and permeates his flesh and skin, and until he becomes white-haired and bald-headed without ceasing, one is truly a sage.

4. His wisdom will not be far-reaching whose purpose is not firm. His action will not be effective whose promises are not kept. He who will not share his possessions with others is not worthy to be a friend. And he who does not stand firm on principles and has neither wide knowledge nor penetrating judgment, is not worthy to be a companion. Just as a weak trunk will have but small branches, so, mere bravery without cultivation will result in dissipation. And just as a dirty source will issue in an impure stream, so unfaithful conduct will unfavourably affect one's fame. For, fame does not spring up out of nothing, nor does praise grow by itself. Fame follows upon success and is not obtainable by hypocrisy. He will not be listened to who talks much but is slow in action, even though he is discerning. He will not accomplish anything, who is capable but likes to boast of his feats, even though he drudges. The wise discerns all in his mind but speaks simply, and he is capable but does not boast of his deeds. And, so his name is exalted the world over. In speech, not quantity but ingenuity, not eloquence but insight, should be cultivated. If one is not wise and without insight, breeding only dissipation in one's personality, this is just the contrary of what should be cultivated. Any virtue that does not spring from the heart will not remain and any (result of) action that is not aimed at by one's self will not stay. There is no short cut to fame and there is no trick to praise. The superior man regards his body but as the vehicle for his character. None who places much importance on personal gains but lightly sacrifices his fame has ever become a gentleman in the world.

MOZI CHAPTER 3 - On Dyeing

1. Watching a dyer of silk at work, Mozi sighed, saying: What is dyed in blue becomes blue, what is dyed in yellow becomes yellow. When the silk is put in a different dye, its colour becomes also different. Having been dipped in five times, it has changed its colour five times. Therefore dyeing should be done with great care.

2. This is true not only with silk dyeing; even a country changes its colour in response to its influences. Thus Shun came under the influences of Xu You and Bo Yang; Yu, under that of Gao Yao and Bo Yi; Tang, under that of Yi Yin and Zhong Hui; and King Wu, under that of the Grand Duke and Duke Zhou. Now these four kings had been under good influences. Therefore they came to possess the empire and were commissioned Sons of Heaven (Emperors). Their achievements and great fame extended from Heaven to earth. And when the preeminently magnanimous and righteous figures of the world are mentioned, they are invariably those referred to.

3. Jie of Xia came under the influence of Gan Xin and Tui Yi; Zhou of Yin, under that of the Duke of Zhong and E Lai; King Li, under that of Chang Fu, Duke Li, and Yi Zhong of the State of Rong; and King You, under that of Yi, Duke of Fu, and Gu, Duke of Cai. Now these four kings had been under bad influences. Therefore they lost their empire and their lives, and were persecuted everywhere. And when the most unrighteous and shameful persons of the world are mentioned, they are invariably those referred to.

4. Lord Huan of Qi came under the influence of Guan Zhong and Bao Shu; Lord Wen of Jin, under that of Uncle Fan and Gao Yan; Lord Zhuang of Chu, under that of Sun Shu and the Minister of Shen; He Lu of Wu, under that of Wu Yuan and Wen Yi; and Gou Jian of Yue, under that of Fan Li and Minister Zhong. Now these five lords had been under good influences. Therefore they became Tyrants among the feudal lords and their achievements and their fame were handed down to posterity.

5. Fan Ji She came under the influence of Zhang Liu Shuo and Wang Sheng; Zhang Xing Yin, under that of Ji Qin and Gao Jiang; Fu Chai, under that of Wang Sun Luo and Minister Pi; Zhi Bo Yao, under that of Zhi Guo and Zhang Wu; Shang of Zhongshan, under that of Wei Yi and Yan Chang; and Lord Kang of Song, under that of Tang Yang and Tian Bu Li. Now, these six princes had been under bad influences. Therefore their states were ruined and they were executed, their ancestral temples were destroyed and descendants annihilated. The rulers and the subjects were dispersed and the people were left homeless. The whole world points to these six princes as the most greedy and disturbing people.

6. Now, how can the rulers obtain security? They can obtain it by following the right way. And one will naturally follow the right way when under good influence. Therefore capable rulers are very painstaking in the selection of men while they may not be so careful in attending to the administration (themselves). But the incapable wear out their body and exhaust their energy, tax their mind and stretch their thought, and yet their states are only placed in greater danger and their persons under more humiliation. Now, it is not that these six princes do not value their states or hold their lives cheap, it is really that they do not understand the relative importance of things. And it is due to bad influences that their idea of importance is distorted.

7. Not only states but also individuals are subject to influences. If one has for friends none but those who Iove magnanimity and righteousness and who are careful and respectful of course one's family will become more prosperous, one's person more at peace, and one's name more honorable every day; and, as an official, one will be properly qualified. Examples of such are Duan Gan Mu, Qinzi, and Fu Yue. (On the contrary) if one has for friends none but those who are proud and quarrelsome and who pretend to be intimate, naturally one's family will be reduced to straits, one's person will be more in danger, and one's name more dishonourable every day and one will not be qualified for office. And, examples of such are Zi Xi, Yi Ya, and Shu Diao. An Ode says: "One must choose what to be tinged with." To be careful about what one is to be tinged with is just the theme of this (essay).

MOZI CHAPTER 4 - On the necessity of standards

1. Mozi said: To accomplish anything whatsoever one must have standards. None have yet accomplished anything without them. The gentlemen fulfilling their duties as generals and councillors have their standards. Even the artisans performing their tasks also have their standards. The artisans make square objects according to the square, circular objects according to the compasses; they draw straight lines with the carpenter's line and find the perpendicular by a pendulum. All artisans, whether skilled or unskilled, employ these five standards. Only the skilled workers are accurate. Though the unskilled labourers have not attained accuracy, yet they do better by following these standards than otherwise. Thus all artisans follow the standards in their work.

2. Now, the government of the empire and that of the large states do not observe their standards. This shows the governors are even less intelligent than the artisans. What, then, should be taken as the proper standard in government? How will it do for everybody to imitate his parents? There are numerous parents in the world but few are magnanimous. For everybody to imitate his parents is to imitate the unmagnanimous. Imitating the unmagnanimous can not be said to be following the proper standard. How will it do for everybody to follow his teacher? There are numerous teachers in the world but few are magnanimous. For everybody to imitate his teacher is to imitate the unmagnanimous. Imitating the unmagnanimous cannot be taken as following the proper standard. How will it do for everybody to imitate his ruler? There are many rulers in the world but few are magnanimous. For everybody to imitate the ruler is to imitate the unmagnanimous. Imitating the unmagnanimous cannot be taken as following the right standard. So then neither the parents nor the teacher nor the ruler should be accepted as the standard in government.

3. What then should be taken as the standard in government? Nothing better than following Heaven. Heaven is all-inclusive and impartial in its activities, abundant and unceasing in its blessings, and lasting and untiring in its guidance. And, so, when the sage-kings had accepted Heaven as their standard, they measured every action and enterprise by Heaven. What Heaven desired they would carry out, what Heaven abominated they refrained from. Now, what is it that Heaven desires, and what that it abominates? Certainly Heaven desires to have men benefit and love one another and abominates to have them hate and harm one another. How do we know that Heaven desires to have men love and benefit one another and abominates to have them hate and harm one another? Because it loves and benefits men universally. How do we know that it loves and benefits men universally? Because it claims all and accepts offerings from all.

4. All states in the world, large or small, are cities of Heaven, and all people, young or old, honourable or humble, are its subjects; for they all graze oxen and sheep, feed dogs and pigs, and prepare clean wine and cakes to sacrifice to Heaven. Does this not mean that Heaven claims all and accepts offerings from all? Since Heaven does claim all and accepts offerings from all, what then can make us say that it does not desire men to love and benefit one another? Hence those who love and benefit others Heaven will bless. Those who hate and harm others Heaven will curse, for it is said that he who murders the innocent will be visited by misfortune. How else can we explain the fact that men, murdering each other, will be cursed by Heaven? Thus we are certain that Heaven desires to have men love and benefit one another and abominates to have them hate and harm one another.

5. The ancient sage-kings, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu loved the people of the world universally, leading them to reverence Heaven and worship the spirits. Many were their benefits to the people. And, thereupon Heaven blessed them, establishing them emperors; and all the feudal lords of the empire showed them respect. (On the other hand) the wicked kings, Jie, Zhou, You, and Li, hated all the people in the world, seducing the people to curse Heaven and ridicule the spirits. Great were their injuries to the people. Thereupon Heaven brought them calamity, depriving them of their empire and their lives; and posterity condemned them to this day. Jie, Zhou, You, and Li, then, are those that committed evil and were visited by calamities. And Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu are those that loved and benefited the people and obtained blessings. Thus we have those who obtained blessings because they loved and benefited the people as well as those who were visited by calamities because they hated and harmed the people.

MOZI CHAPTER 5 - The seven causes of anxiety

1. Mozi said: There are seven causes of worry to a state. What are these seven causes of worry? When the outer and the inner city walls are not defensible, this is the first worry; When an enemy state is approaching and yet one's neighbours do not come to the rescue, this is the second worry; When the resources of the people have all been spent on useless

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enterprises and gifts all squandered upon incapable men, when people's resources are exhausted without producing any profit and the treasury is emptied by entertaining idle company, this is the third worry; When the officials value only their salaries, and the sophists only friendship, and when the subordinates dare not remonstrate against the laws the ruler has made for persecution, this is the fourth worry; When the lord is over-confident of his own wisdom and holds no consultation, when he feels he is secure and makes no preparations against attack; and when he does not know that he must be watchful while neighbours are planning against him, this is the fifth worry; When those trusted are not loyal and the loyal are not trusted, this is the sixth worry; And when the crops are not sufficient for food and the ministers can not be charged with responsibilities, and when awards fail to make people happy and punishment to make them afraid, this is the seventh worry. With these seven causes present in the maintenance of the state, the state will perish, and, in the defence of a city, the city will be reduced to ruin by the approaching enemy. Wherever these seven causes are found, the country will face calamity.

2. Now, the five grains are the people's mainstay and the source of the ruler's revenue. When the people lose their support the ruler cannot have any revenue either. And without food the people will not observe order. Therefore, food should be secured, land cultivated and expenditures cut down. When all the five grains are gathered, all the five tastes will be offered the ruler; when not all gathered, the five tastes will not be all offered. Failure of one grain is called dearth; failure of two grains is called scarcity; failure of three grains is called calamity; failure of four grains is called want; and failure of all five grains is called famine. When the country is in dearth, all the salaries of the officials below the rank of the minister will be reduced by one-fifth; in scarcity, they will be reduced by two-fifths; in calamity, they will be reduced by three-fifths; in want, they will be reduced by four-fifths; and when famine is in the country there will be no salaries beyond their rations. Therefore when famine and dearth visit a country, the ruler will omit three from the five items of sacrifice, the officials will suspend the courts, and the scholars will not go to school and the lord will not put on his robe to give audience. Even envoys from other feudal lords and messengers from neighbouring states are entertained with cooked food only, and it is not sumptuous. The side-horses of the carriage-team are done away with and the walks (in the palace) are not weeded. Neither are the horses fed with grains, nor are the concubines and maids clothed with silk. And this is the sign of extreme scarcity.

3. Now, if carrying her child and drawing water from a well, a woman dropped the child into the well, she would of course endeavour to get it out. But famine and dearth is a much greater calamity than the dropping of a child. Should there not be also endeavour (to prevent it)? People are gentle and kind when the year is good, but selfish and vicious when it is bad. Yet, how can they be held responsible? When many produce but few consume then there can be no bad year; on the contrary, when few produce but many consume then there can be no good year. Thus it is said: scarcity of supply should stimulate study of the seasons and want of food demands economy of expenditures. The ancients produced wealth according to seasons. They ascertained the source of wealth before they appropriated the products, and therefore they had plenty. Could even the ancient sage-kings cause the five grains invariably to ripen and be harvested and the floods and the droughts never to occur? Yet, none were frozen or starved, why was it? It was because they made full use of the seasons and were frugal in their own maintenance. The history of Xia says that the Deluge lasted seven years in the time of Yu and the history of Yin tells that a drought visited Tang for five years. These are the extremes of disasters. Yet the people were not frozen or starved. Why was this so? The reason lies in diligent production and thrifty consumption.

4. Therefore, famine and dearth cannot be prepared against unless there are stored grains in the granaries, and justice cannot be maintained against the unjust unless there are ready weapons in the armoury. One cannot defend himself unless the inner and the outer city walls are in repair, and one cannot meet emergencies unless his ideas are well thought out. Thus Qing Ji was unprepared, and he should not have set out on the journey. Jie made no preparations against Tang and he was sent to exile. And Zhou made no preparations against Wu and he was executed. Now, Jie and Zhou were both emperors in rank and possessed the whole empire, yet they both perished at the hands of rulers (of states) of only a hundred li square. What is the reason for this? Because they depended on their rank and wealth and made no preparations. Therefore, preparation is what a country should emphasize. Supply is the treasure of a country, armament its claws, and the city walls are the stronghold of its self-defence. And these three items are the essentials to the existence of a state.

5. (The present rulers) squander great amounts of wealth to reward the undeserving, empty the treasury to acquire carriages and horses, exhaust the labourers to build palaces and furnish amusements. Upon their death, again, thick coffins and many coats and fur coats are to be furnished. Porches and pavilions are built for them while they are living. and tombs when they are dead. By this the people are embittered and the treasury is left lean. While the amusements are not yet satisfying to the superiors, the hardship already becomes unbearable for the subjects. Such a state will fall under any attack and such people will perish by famine. And all this is due to the absence of preparation. Moreover, food is what the sages treasured. The history of Zhou says, "Without three years' food (in store) a state cannot be a state (as it is in danger of losing its sovereignty). A family being without food in store to be sufficient for three years its children cannot be its children (who are in danger of being abandoned or sold to others)." Such, then, is the preparation of a country.

MOZI CHAPTER 6 - Indulgence in Excess

1. Mozi said: Primitive people, before the art of building houses and palaces was known, lingered by the mounds and lived in caves. It was damp and injurious to health. Thereupon the sage-kings built houses and palaces. The guiding principles for these buildings were these: The house shall be built high enough to avoid the damp and moisture; the walls thick enough to keep out the wind and cold; the roof strong enough to stand snow, frost, rain, and dew; and the walls in the palace high enough to observe the propriety of the sexes. These are sufficient, and any expenditure of money and energy that does not bring additional utility shall not be permitted. When the city walls are repaired with regular labour, the people may feel tired but there is no exhaustion. When taxes are collected according to custom, the people may be deprived of some money but there is no bitterness. The real woe of the people does not lie here, it lies in heavy taxes. The sage-kings built houses and palaces in order to better the living conditions and not for pleasures of sight. They made clothes and hats, belts and shoes in order to protect the body and not for novelty. They were thrifty themselves and taught the people to be the same. And so, the people in the whole world became orderly and wealth was sufficient for use.

2. When the present rulers build their residences, they are quite different from this. They would tax the people, robbing them of their means of livelihood, in order to have their palaces covered with porches and pavilions in various designs and adorned with paintings and sculpture. When the ruler builds his palaces in this fashion, his assistants naturally imitate him. And, so, there is not sufficient wealth to prepare against famine and dearth or to relieve the orphans and widows. And the people become more unruly as the state becomes poorer. If the rulers sincerely desire to have the empire orderly and hate to see it in disorder, they must not indulge in building houses and palaces.

3. Before clothing was known the primitive people wore coats of furs and belts of straw. They were neither light and warm in winter nor light and cool in summer. The sage-king thought this did not satisfy the needs of man. So, he taught the women to produce silk and flax and to weave cloth and linen, therewith to make clothing for the people. The guiding principles for clothing were these: In winter the underwear shall be made of spun-silk so as to be light and warm. In summer it shall be made of coarse flax so as to be light and cool. And this is sufficient. Therefore the sages made their clothes just to fit their stature and size, and not for the purpose of pleasing the senses or to dazzle the common people. In that age, durable carts and gentle horses were not valued, neither were sculpture and adornments prised. What is the reason for this? The reason lies in the kind of leadership. The people had sufficient means of livelihood in their home to meet either drought or flood, dearth or famine. Why? Because they understood the needs of self-support and paid little attention to external appearance. So, the people were frugal and orderly and the ruler was thrifty and easily supported. The store house and treasury were full, prepared against misfortunes. Armour and weapons were not left in disuse and the soldiers and the people were not tired, ready to punish the unsubmissive. Thus the ruler could become a tyrant over the empire.

4. The present rulers are quite different from this when they make their clothes. Having what is warm and light in winter and what is light and cool in summer, they would yet heavily tax the people, robbing them of their means of livelihood, in order to have elaborately embroidered and gorgeous garments. Hooks are made of gold and ornaments on the girdle consist of pearls and jades. Women are employed to make the embroidery and men to do the carving. All these are for the adornment of the body. They really add little to its warmth. Wealth is squandered and energy wasted all for naught. So, then, when clothing is made not for the body but for brilliant appearance, the people will be wicked and unruly and the ruler extravagant and deaf to good counsel. It will be impossible to keep the country out of disorder. If the rulers sincerely desire the empire to have order and hate to see it in disorder, they must not indulge in making clothing excessively.

5. Before the art of cooking was known, primitive people ate only vegetables and lived in separation. Thereupon the sage taught the men to attend to farming and to plant trees to supply the people with food. And the sole purpose of securing food is to increase energy, satisfy hunger, strengthen the body and appease the stomach. He was frugal in spending wealth and simple in habits of living, and so the people became rich and the country orderly. With the present rulers all is different. They would heavily tax the people in order to enjoy elaborately the different meats and fish and turtle cooked in various wavs. (The lord of) a large state is served with a hundred courses and (that of) a small state, with tens of courses, which will cover a table space of ten square feet. The eyes cannot see all the dishes, the hands cannot handle them all, and the mouth cannot taste them all. In winter they will freeze, and in summer they sour. As the ruler serves himself thus, naturally his assistants imitate him. And so the rich and high in rank are wasteful and extravagant, while the solitary and miserable are hungry and cold. It is impossible to keep such a state out of disorder. If the rulers sincerely desire the empire to have order and hate to see it in disorder, they must not indulge in excessive eating and drinking.

6. Before the primitive people know how to make boats and carts they could neither carry a heavy load nor travel a great distance. Thereupon the sage-king made boats and carts to facilitate the people. The boats and carts were made durable and convenient so that they would carry much and travel far. Such an undertaking takes little wealth but produces many benefits. Naturally the people found it agreeable and convenient. The people were not tired out and yet the ruler's needs were all supplied. So, people were attracted to him.

7. When the present rulers make boats and carts, it is quite different. Having made them durable and convenient, they would yet heavily tax the people to decorate them. The carts are decorated with embroidery and boats with carving. Women have to stop weaving to do the enibroidery so the people are left cold. While men have to abandon agriculture to do the carving and so the people become hungry. When the ruler builds such boats and carts for himself, naturally his assistants imitate him. Therefore the people become victims of both hunger and cold, and they commit wickedness. Much wickedness is followed by heavy punishment, and heavy punishment places the country in disorder. If the rulers sincerely desire the empire to have order and hate to see it in disorder, they must not indulge themselves in constructing boats and carts excessively.

8. Every creature living between Heaven and earth and within the four seas partakes of the nature of Heaven and earth and the harmony of the Yin and the Yang. Even the greatest sages cannot alter this. How do we know? When they taught about Heaven and earth, they dwelt on the upper and the lower spheres and the four seasons, the principles of Yin and Yang and human nature, the phenomena of men and women, birds and animals, and that of the sexes. Even the early kings could not escape from the fundamentals of nature. Even the great sages of ancient times must keep a household. Only, as their conduct was not unfavorably affected, there was no dissatisfaction among the people, and as women were not kept within the palace (to be spinsters) there were few bachelors in the empire. As women were not kept within the palace and as there were few bachelors abroad, the population in the empire was large. The present rulers of large states retain as many women as a thousand in their household and those of small states as many as a hundred. Therefore men in the empire are mostly without wife and women without husband. The functions of men and women are prevented and the population becomes small. If the rulers sincerely desire the population to be large and hate to see it small, they must not indulge in retaining too many women.

9. Now, in these five things the sages are temperate and economical while the wicked men are indulgent and excessive. Temperance and economy bring prosperity while indulgence and excess lead to destruction. One must not indulge in excess in these five things. When husband and wife do not indulge in excess, Heaven and earth will be harmonious; when wind and rain are not in excess, the five grains will ripen; and when excessive clothing is not indulged in, the body will be comfortable.

MOZI CHAPTER 7 - Threefold Argument

1. Cheng Fan asked Mozi: "Sir, you say the sage-kings did not have music. But, anciently, when the feudal lords were tired of attending to government, they found recreation in music of bells and drums. When the ministers and gentlemen were tired of attending to office they found recreation in music of Yu and Se. And the farmers ploughed the fields in spring, weeded them in summer, reaped the harvest in autumn, and stored the grains in winter. Then they would enjoy music of jars and vases. Sir, you say the sage-kings did not have music. This would be comparing them to the horse placed under yoke and never released, and the bow drawn and never unstrung. Is this not impossible for the ordinary human being?"

2. Mozi replied: In ancient times, Yao and Shun lived in huts and yet they made codes of propriety and composed music. Tang sent Jie to exile on the ocean and installed himself

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ruler of the empire. Having achieved success and without cause for anxiety, he added to the music of the former kings that of his own composition, called "The Salvation" and also instituted the "Jiuzhao." King Wu conquered the Yin dynasty and executed Zhou and installed himself ruler of the empire. Having achieved success and having no cause of anxiety, he added to the music of the former kings that of his own composition, called "Xiang." King Cheng of Zhou again added to the music of the former kings that of his own composition, named "Zouyu." The reign of King Cheng was not so good as that of King Wu, that of King Wu was not so good as that of Tang the Successful, and that of Tang the Successful was not so good as that of Yao and Shun. So, then, he who has the more elaborate music has the less efficient government. Judging from this, music is not anything to govern the empire with.

3. Cheng Fan objected: "Sir, you have said the sage-kings did not have music. This shows they did. How then can you say the sage-kings did not have music?" Mozi said: The desire of the sage-kings was to cut down excesses. Eating is of course profitable, but it takes so little intelligence to eat when one is hungry that it may be said to be nil. Now the sage-kings had music, but it was so little that it may also be said to be nil.

MOZI BOOK 2

MOZI CHAPTER 8 - Exaltation of the Virtuous 1

1. Mozi said: Now, all the rulers desire their provinces to be wealthy, their people to be numerous, and their jurisdiction to secure order. But what they obtain is not wealth but poverty, not multitude but scarcity, not order but chaos - this is to lose what they desire and obtain what they avert. Why is this?

2. Mozi said: This is because the rulers have failed to exalt the virtuous and to employ the capable in their government. When the virtuous are numerous in the state, order will be stable; when the virtuous are scarce, order will be unstable. Therefore the task of the lords lies nowhere but in multiplying the virtuous.

3. But what is the way to multiply the virtuous?

4. Mozi said: Supposing it is desired to multiply good archers and good drivers in the country, it will be only natural to enrich them, honour them, respect them, and commend them; then good archers and good drivers can be expected to abound in the country. How much more should this be done in the case of the virtuous and the excellent who are firm in morality, versed in rhetoric, and experienced in statecraft - since these are the treasures of the nation and props of the state? They should also be enriched, honoured, respected, and commended in order that they may abound.

5. When the ancient sage-kings administered the government they declared: "The unrighteous will not be enriched, the unrighteous will not be honoured, the unrighteous will not be favoured, the unrighteous will not be placed near." Upon hearing this, the rich and honoured of the country all began to deliberate, saying: "What I have been depending on was wealth and honour. Now the Lord promotes the righteous without discrimination against the poor and humble. Hence I may not do unrighteousness." Upon hearing this, the favoured also began to deliberate, saying: "What I have been depending on was favour. Now the Lord promotes the righteous without discrimination against those thus far neglected. Hence I may not do unrighteousness." Upon hearing this, those placed near began to deliberate, saying: "What I have been depending on was intimacy. Now the Lord promotes the righteous without discrimination against the distant. Hence I may not do unrighteousness." Upon hearing this, the distant also began to deliberate, saying : "I used to think, being distant I had nothing to depend on. Now the Lord promotes the righteous without discrimination against the distant. Hence I may not do unrighteousness." Vassals of distant districts as well as youths in the palace, and multitudes within the state boundaries as well as the rustics living on the four borders, upon hearing this, all competed in doing righteousness. Now what is the reason for all this? It is only with material goods that the superior can employ his subordinates, and it is only with statecraft that the subordinates can serve their lord. Take, for example, the rich man who built his walls high and left only one gate. When the burglar had entered, the man closed the gate and searched for him, and the burglar had no more exit. Why? Because the man had the vantage-point.

6. Therefore in administering the government, the ancient sage-kings ranked the morally excellent high and exalted the virtuous. If capable, even a farmer or an artisan would be employed - commissioned with high rank, remunerated with liberal emoluments, trusted with important charges, and empowered to issue final orders. For, if his rank were not high, people would not respect him; if his emoluments were not liberal, people would not have confidence in him; if his orders were not final, people would not stand in awe before him. To place these three (honours) upon the virtuous is not so much to reward virtue, as to bring about the success of the enterprise (of government). Therefore ranks should be standardised according to virtue, tasks assigned according to office, and rewards given according to labour spent. When emoluments are distributed in proportion to achievements, officials cannot be in constant honour, and people in eternal humility. If a person is capable promote him, if incapable, lower his rank. Give prominence to public approval and keep back private grudges (in the matter of selecting men). Here, then, is the principle. So, in days of old, Yao brought forward Shun from Fuzi and entrusted him with the government, and the world had peace. Yu brought forward Yi from Yin Fang and entrusted him with the government, and the nine districts became organised. Tang brought forward Yi Yin from the kitchen and entrusted him with the government and his plans were successful. King Wen brought forward Hung Yao and Tai Tian from their rabbit nets and entrusted them with the government and the Western land showed respect. Therefore, during those days the officials of high rank and liberal emoluments all carefully and anxiously executed their duties; and the farmers and artisans all encouraged one another in exalting virtue. Therefore, the scholars are really to be officials and governors. As long as there were scholars (in government), the plans (of the ruler) were not defeated and he had no hardships to endure; his name was established and success achieved; his excellence became known and yet evils were not spread. This is all due to the employment of the scholars.

7. Therefore Mozi said: The virtuous who are prosperous must be exalted, and the virtuous who are not prosperous must be exalted too. If it is desired to continue the ways of Yao and Shun, to exalt the virtuous is indispensable. Now, exaltation of the virtuous is the root of government.

MOZI CHAPTER 9 - Exaltation of the Virtuous 2

1. Mozi said: Now, in caring for the people, ruling the state, and governing the country, the rulers desire permanency and stability. But why do they not learn that exaltation of the virtuous is the foundation of government? How do we know exaltation of the virtuous is the foundation of government? When the honourable and wise run the government, the ignorant and humble remain orderly; but when the ignorant and humble run the government, the honourable and wise become rebellious. Therefore we know exaltation of the virtuous is the foundation of government. The ancient sage-kings greatly emphasised the exaltation of the virtuous and the employment of the capable. Without special consideration for relatives, for the rich and honoured, or for the good-looking, they exalted and promoted the virtuous, enriched and honoured them, and made them governors and leaders. The vicious they kept back and banished, depossessed and degraded, and made labourers and servants. Thereupon people were all encouraged by rewards and threatened by punishments and strove with each other after virtue. Thus the virtuous multiplied and the vicious diminished in number. Such is exaltation of the virtuous. Then the sage-kings watched their words and observed their conduct, found out their capabilities and carefully assigned them their offices. Such is employment of the capable. Accordingly those who were capable to govern the country were made to govern the country, those who were capable to administer the court were made to administer the court, and those who were capable in managing the districts were made to manage the districts. All those who had charge of the country, the court, and the districts were then the virtuous of the land.

2. When the virtuous rules the country, he starts the day early and retires late, hearing lawsuits and attending to the government. As a result, the country is well governed and laws are justly administered. When the virtuous administers the court he retires late and wakes up early, collecting taxes from passes, markets, and on products from mountains, woods, waters, and land to fill the court. As a result, the court is filled and wealth is not wasted. When the virtuous manages the districts, he goes out before sunrise and comes back after sunset, plowing and sowing, planting and cultivating, and gathering harvests of grains. As a result, grains are in plenty and people are sufficiently supplied with food. Therefore when the country is well governed the laws are well administered, and when the court is filled the people are wealthy. For the higher sphere, the rulers had wherewith to make wine and cakes to do sacrifice and libation to Heaven and the spirits. For the countries outside, they had wherewith to provide the furs and money to befriend neighbouring feudal lords. For the people within, they had wherewith to feed the hungry and give rest to the tired. Above all these, they had means to cherish the virtuous. Therefore from above, Heaven and the spirits enrich them from without, the feudal lords submit themselves to them from within, the people show them affection, and the virtuous become loyal to them. Hence they could have satisfaction in planning and success in execution. In defence they are strong and in attack victorious. Now the way that enabled the sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, namely Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu, to rule the empire and head the feudal lords was no other than this (principle of exaltation of the virtuous).

3. However, if there is only the principle while the technique of its application is not known, then it would seem to be still incomplete. Therefore there should be laid down three rules. What are the three rules? They are: (1) when their rank (that of the virtuous) is not high, people would not show them respect; (2) when their emoluments are not liberal, people would not place confidence in them; (3) when their orders are not final, people would not stand in awe before them. So the ancient sage-kings placed them high in rank, gave them liberal emoluments, trusted them with important charges, and decreed their orders to be final. And all this was done not merely to reward their subordinates; it was to fulfil their trust. Thus runs an Ode: "I am instructing you to take worries and cares of the world as your own; I am teaching the order of ranks for the virtuous and talented. Who can handle heat without rinsing his hands (in cold water)?" This is to show how in the past the rulers could not do without befriending subordinates and helpers. It was like the necessity of rinsing in handling hot objects to relieve the hands. The ancient sage-kings concentrated on acquiring, and employing the virtuous - honouring them with high ranks, and assigning land to them--unwearied to the end of their lives. The virtuous men on the other hand only hoped to find an enlightened ruler to serve - exhausting all the powers of the four limbs to attend to the king's business - untired to the end of their lives. When there were any excellences and virtues they were attributed to the emperor. Thus excellences and virtues belonged to the emperor while complaints and slanders were directed against the subordinates. Peace and joy abode with the king while worries and sorrows were lodged with the officials. This was how the ancient sage-kings administered the government.

4. The present ruler, imitating the ancients, also want to employ the virtuous in government by exalting them. Ranks given them are very high, but the emoluments do not follow proportionally. Now, to be high in rank but receive small emoluments will not inspire people's confidence. The virtuous would say to themselves: "This is not real love for me, but only to make use of me as a means." Now, how can people be affectionate to their superiors' when they are only (treated as) means? Therefore an ancient king said: "He who is too ambitious in government will not share his tasks with others. He who over-treasures wealth will not offer big emoluments to others." When tasks are not assigned and emoluments are not given, it may be asked wherefrom would the virtuous come to the side of the rulers? And when the virtuous are not at the side of the rulers, the vicious will be on their right and left. When the vicious are on the right and left, then commendations will not fall on the virtuous and punishments will not be upon the wicked. If the rulers follow these in governing the states, in the same way rewards will not go to the virtuous and punishment not to the wicked. When rewards really do not go to the virtuous and punishment not to the wicked, then the virtuous will find no encouragement, neither the wicked any obstruction. At home the vicious are not filial to their parents, and, having left their home town, they would not recognize their elders. They move about without restraint and disregard the rules of propriety about sexes. When trusted with the administration of the court, they would steal; when trusted to defend a city, they would raise an insurrection. When the lord meets with death, they would not follow him and commit suicide; when the lord has to flee the country, they would not accompany him in banishment. In judging lawsuits they are not just, and in dividing property they are partial. In planning they are not helpful, in execution they are inefficient. Neither in defence are they strong, nor in attack are they victorious. Now, the reason that the wicked kings of the Three Dynasties, namely, Jie, Zhou, You, and Li, misruled the country and upset their states was no other than this (employment of the vicious). Why is this so? Because they understood petty affairs but were ignorant about things of importance.

5. When the rulers cannot get a coat made they will employ able tailors. When they cannot have an ox or a sheep killed they will employ able butchers. In these two instances they do know they should exalt the virtuous and employ the capable for business. But when it comes to the disorder of the country and danger of the state, they do not know they should exalt the virtuous and employ the capable for government. Rather, they would employ their relatives, they would employ the rich without merit, and the good-looking. But as to the employment of the rich without merit and the good-looking -- will these necessarily prove themselves wise and intelligent? To let these rule the country is to let the unwise and unintelligent rule the country. And disorder can then be predicted. Moreover, the rulers employ their minds by the attractiveness of their appearance, and show them favour without finding out their knowledge. As a result, those who are not capable to rule a hundred men are assigned to posts over a thousand, and those who are not capable to rule a thousand are assigned to posts over ten thousand. What is the reason for this? Why, such positions are high in rank and rich in emoluments. Therefore the specially favoured are picked for them. But to make those incapable of ruling a thousand men rule ten thousand is to increase their duty tenfold. The business of the government comes daily. It is to be attended to

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every day, yet the day cannot be lengthened by tenfold. To govern, again, requires knowledge. When knowledge is not increased by ten times, while a tenfold task is assigned, it will evidently result in attending to one and neglecting nine. Though the task be attended to day and night, still it cannot be well executed. And the reason for this is because the rulers do not understand that they should exalt the virtuous and employ the capable in government. Thus exaltation of the virtuous and employment of the capable with the consequent success in government is presented above in the earlier paragraphs. And the depreciation of the virtuous with the resulting confusion in government is presented here in these paragraphs.

6. If the rulers now want to govern their states so that they will be permanent and unshakeable, why do they not learn that exaltation of the virtuous is the foundation of government? Besides, is this principle merely a conception of Mozi? It is the way of the sage-kings and the tenet of "Ju Nian," a book of an ancient king. And, thus it is recorded: "(He) sought out the wise men to protect and aid you." And thus states the "Oath of Tang": "I then sought for the Great Sage, with whom I might unite my strength and mind to govern the empire." All these show how the sage-kings never failed to exalt the virtuous and employ the capable in government. The sage-kings of old comprehended onlv this -- to exalt the virtuous and employ the capable in government and nobody else; so the whole world was benefited. In times of old, Shun cultivated land at Mt. Li made pottery by the River, and was engaged in fishing in Lake Lei. Yao discovered him at Fuze. Exalting him, Yao made him Emperor and handed to him the government of the empire and the rule over the people. Yi Zhi once served in the bridal party of the daughter of the Prince of Xin, and later voluntarily served Tang as his cook. Tang discovered him. Exalting him, Tang made him his Prime Minister and handed to him the government of the empire and the rule over the people. Fu Yue once wore garments of coarse cloth tied with ropes, working as an artisan at Fu Yan. Wu Ding discovered him. Exalting him, Wu Ding made him High Duke and handed to him the government of the empire and the rule over the people. Why is it that these people starting in humility arrived at honour, starting in poverty arrived at wealth? It is because these rulers understood the importance of exalting the virtuous and employing the capable in government. Therefore, none of the people were hungry yet without food, cold yet without clothing, tired yet without rest, disturbed yet without peace.

7. And, the ancient sage-kings in exalting the virtuous and employing the capable in government were following the ways of Heaven. Even Heaven does not discriminate among the poor and the rich, the honourable and the humble, the distant and the near, and the related and the unrelated (to those in power). The virtuous were promoted and exalted; the vicious were kept back and banished. Now, who were those that, possessing wealth and position, still strove after virtues and were rewarded ? They were the sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, namely, Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu (12). How were they rewarded? When they governed the empire, they loved all the people universally and benefited them, and led them in doing honour to Heaven and service to the spirits. As they loved and benefited the people, Heaven and the spirits rewarded them, appointing them to be Sons of Heaven, and parents of the people. And, thereupon people praised them, calling them sage-kings even unto this day. These then were those that, possessing wealth and position, still strove after virtues and were rewarded. Now, who were those that, possessing wealth and position, yet practiced evil and were punished? They were the wicked kings of the Three Dynasties, namely, Jie, Zhou, You, and Li. How do we know they were those ? When they governed the empire they disliked all the people inclusively and oppressed them and led them to curse Heaven and the spirits. Oppressing and destroying the people, they were punished by Heaven and the spirits; their corpses were mangled and lacerated, their children and grandchildren were scattered and dispersed, their family hearths were extinguished and descendants exterminated. And, thereupon the people railed at them, calling them wicked kings even unto this day. These, then, are those that, possessing wealth and position, yet practised evil and were punished. Now, who were those that were related (to the ruler) but not virtuous and were visited by punishment? Count Gun was of direct royal descent but had degenerated in the royal virtues. So he was banished to the wilderness of Yu Yu where (in the prison) light could not reach him, neither did the emperor show any favour. Such was he who was related but not virtuous and was visited by punishment. Now, who were those that were employed by Heaven because of their capability? Yu, Ji, and Gao Tao were they. How do we know that? It is found in the " Penal Code of Lu," a book of an early king, thus: "The Emperor (Yao) inquired among his subjects, and complaints were made against the Miaos (barbarians)." Again, "As the feudal lords have been appointed without insight, even the widows and the widowers are not protected. Dignity is revered only when it is accompanied with magnanimity; enlightenment is respected only when it is accompanied with magnanimity. Thereupon three chiefs were commissioned to care for and consolate the people: (1) Bo Yi delivered the laws and statutes and taught therewith the people; (2) Yu reduced the Flood and recovered the land, and gave names to hills and rivers; (3) Ji descended (from his rank) and sowed seeds to encourage good farming. The benefits of the achievements of these three chiefs all fell upon the people." This is to say that the three sages were careful in speech, vigilant in conduct, penetrating in thought, studying and planning for every detail and benefit of the world--with this to do service to Heaven on high, Heaven will bless their virtue; to bestow it to the people below, the people will be visited by its benefits lasting beyond their lifetime. Thus said the ancient kings: "Now, this way, when followed broadly to govern the world, will not be found to be too slender; when followed narrowly, will not be too unwieldly; when followed with discretion, will benefit the people beyond their lifetime." Referring to it, the "Eulogy of Zhou" sings: "The virtue of the sage shining upon the world is lofty as Heaven, wide as earth, high as the mountain, unbreakable and infallible; luminating as the sun, brilliant as the moon, eternal with heaven and earth." This is to describe how enlightening and all-embracing, deep-rooted and, therefore, permanent is the virtue of the sage. Therefore the virtue of the sage is really inclusive of heaven and earth.

8. Now, the rulers want to be lord over the empire and be head of the feudal lords. But how can it be done without virtue and righteousness? Their way must be by overpowering and overawing. But what makes them adopt this? It simply pursues the people to death. But life is what the people eagerly desire, and death what they greatly dread. What is desired is not obtained, but what is dreaded befalls them ever so often. From antiquity to the present, none has yet been able to be lord over the empire and head of the feudal lords by this way. Now the rulers desire to be lord of the world and head of the feudal lords and want to have their ideas prevail all over the world, and their names established in posterity. But why do they not learn that exaltation of the virtuous is the foundation of government? This was the actual conduct of the sages.

MOZI CHAPTER 10 - Exaltation of the Virtuous 3

1. Mozi said: All the rulers in the world desire their states to be wealthy, their people to be many, and their government and jurisdiction to be orderly. But they do not understand to govern their states and people by exaltation of the virtuous. They have missed, indeed, the foundation of government. But can we not point this out to them by means of parallels? Now, supposing, in governing his state, a feudal lord should proclaim: "All those who can shoot (with an arrow) and drive (a chariot) well I shall reward and honour; all those who cannot I shall punish and disgrace." If, then, we should inquire among the people of the state as to who would rejoice and who would be afraid, I suppose naturally those who could shoot and drive would rejoice and those who could not would be afraid. I have followed this (line of argument) and led them supposedly to proclaim: "All the loyal and faithful I shall reward and honour; all the disloyal and unfaithful I shall punish and disgrace." If now we should inquire among the people of the state as to who would rejoice and who would be afraid, I suppose naturally the loyal and faithful would rejoice and the disloyal and unfaithful would be afraid. Therefore the state and the people are to be governed by exalting the virtuous, so that those in the state that do good will be encouraged and those that do evil will be obstructed. To govern the empire seems then to consist of encouraging the good and obstructing the evil. But why is it that I have esteemed the way of Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu? Because they administered the government in such a way that those in the empire that did good would be encouraged and those that did evil would be obstructed. So, then, the principle of exaltation of the virtuous is identical with the way of Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu.

2. The gentlemen of to-day all exalt the virtuous in their private speech and conduct. But when it comes to the administration of the government for the public, they fail to exalt the virtuous and employ the capable. Then I know the gentlemen understand only trifles and not things of significance. How do I know it is so? Suppose the ruler had a cow or a sheep which he could not have killed, he would surely look for a skilful butcher. Or if he wanted a garment which he could not have made, he would surely look for a skilful tailor. For these, the ruler would not employ his relatives, the rich without merit, and the good-looking, because he knew clearly they were incapable. He was afraid they would spoil the things to be attended to. So, in these, the rulers do not fail to exalt the virtuous and employ the capable. Again, if the ruler had a sick horse that he could not have cured, he would surely look for an experienced veterinary doctor. Or if he had a tight bow which he could not draw, he would surely look for a skilful workman. For these, the ruler would not employ his relatives, the rich without merit, and the good-looking, because he knew clearly they were incapable. He was afraid they would spoil the things to be attended to. So, in these matters the rulers do not fall to exalt the virtuous and employ the capable. But when it comes to the affairs of the state all is different. The relations of the rulers, the rich without merit, and the good-looking are all promoted. Then does it not seem that the rulers love their states not even as much as they love a tight bow, a sick horse, a garment, or a cow or a sheep? Therefore I know the gentlemen of the world understand only trifles and not things of significance. This is like trying to make messengers of the dumb and musical directors of the deaf.

3. To the contrary, in governing the empire the sage-kings of old enriched and honoured those who were not necessarily their relatives, the rich without merit, or the good-looking. At one time Shun cultivated land at Mt. Li, made pottery by the River, engaged in fishing in Lake Lei, and went peddling in Changyang. Yao discovered him at Fuze, made him emperor, and handed him the government of the empire and the rule over the people. Yi Yin once took part in the bridal party of the daughter of the Prince of Xin, and then was employed as a cook. Tang discovered him and exalted him to be High Duke, handing him the government of the empire and the rule over the people. Once Fu Yue lived in the District of Beihai and built the prison walls. His clothing was of coarse cloth and tied with ropes. Wu Ding discovered him and exalted him to be High Duke, handing him the government of the empire and the rule over the people. Now, when Yao exalted Shun, Tang exalted Yi Yin, and Wu Ding exalted Fu Yue was it because they were their relatives, the rich without merit, or the good-looking? It was only because that by adopting their views, carrying out their plans, and following their ways, Heaven on high would be blessed, the spirits in the middle would be blessed, and the people below would be blessed. Therefore they were promoted and exalted.

4. Having understood the principle of exalting the virtuous in government, the ancient sage-kings inscribed it on bamboos and silk and engraved it on the dishes and vases, to hand it down to their descendants. Thus we find in the "Penal Code of Lu", a book of an ancient king, the following: "The king said: 'Ho! come, ye rulers of states and territories, I will tell you how to make punishments a blessing. Now it is yours to give repose to the people: - what should you be most concerned about the choosing of? Should it not be proper men? What should you deal with the most reverently? Should it not be punishments? What should you calculate the most? Should it not be to whom they should reach?'" (This is to say) with insight in choosing men and considerateness in meting punishments, you can catch up with the ways of Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu. How? By exaltation of the virtuous. Again in the book "Shu Nian", another book of an ancient king, we find: "He looked for wise men to protect and aid you." This is to say, when the ancient kings reigned over the empire they invariably selected the virtuous and made them officials and aids. The gentlemen in the world like riches and honour, and dislike poverty and humility. Now how can you obtain the former and avoid the latter? There is no better way than to practise virtue. What then is the way to practise virtue ? Let him who has strength be alert to help others, let him who has wealth endeavour to share it with others, let him who possesses the Dao (the way of nature and life) teach others persuasively. With this, the hungry will be fed, the cold will be clothed, the disturbed will have order. When the hungry are fed, the cold are clothed, and the disturbed have order - this is procuring abundant life.

5. But those whom the rulers now are enriching and honouring are all their relatives, the rich without merit, and the good-looking. What can there be that guarantees these to be wise? When the unwise are charged with the government of the country, disorder in the country can be predicted. Now the gentlemen of the world like riches and honour, and dislike poverty and humility. But how can you obtain the former and avoid the latter? There seems to be no other way than to be the rulers' relatives, the rich without merit, and the good-looking. Evidently one cannot become these by learning. So, when the art of judging is not understood, although some virtuous people may even compare with Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu, there will be no commendation. And, although a relative of the ruler may be lame and dumb, deaf and blind, and evil like Jie and Zhou, there will be no condemnation. Therefore reward does not fall on the virtuous or punishment on the evil. As those rewarded are without merit, those punished are naturally without guilt. And so, people all became disintegrated in heart and dissipated in body, and despairing in doing good. With all their strength unused, they would not help one another ; with all unused supplies rotting and fermenting, they would not share with one another; hiding the excellent Dao they would not show it to others. As a result of this, the hungry are not fed, the cold are not clothed, and the disturbed are not given order.

6. In the days of old, Yao had Shun, Shun had Yu, Yu had Gao Yao, Tang had Yi Yin, King Wu had Hong Yao, Tai Dian, Nangong Kuo and San Yisheng -- therefore the world was harmonious and people were prosperous. And those near felt contented and those distant were attracted. Wherever the sun and the moon shone, boats and vehicles could reach, rain and dew visited, and life depended on grains; few were not converted (to good) by this. Hence if the rulers in the world

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now desire to do magnanimity and righteousness and be superior men, and desire to strike the way of the sage-kings on the one hand and work for the benefit of the country and the people on the other; then it is indispensable that the principle of Exaltation of the Virtuous be understood. Now, exaltation of the virtuous is indeed the blessing of Heaven, the spirits, and the people, as well as the foundation of government.

MOZI BOOK 3

MOZI CHAPTER 11 - Identification with the Superior 1

1. Mozi said: In the beginning of human life, when there was yet no law and government, the custom was "everybody according to his own idea." Accordingly each man had his own idea, two men had two different ideas and ten men had ten different ideas -- the more people the more different notions. And everybody approved of his own view and disapproved the views of others, and so arose mutual disapproval among men. As a result, father and son and elder and younger brothers became enemies and were estranged from each other, since they were unable to reach any agreement. Everybody worked for the disadvantage of the others with water, fire, and poison. Surplus energy was not spent for mutual aid; surplus goods were allowed to rot without sharing; excellent teachings (Dao) were kept secret and not revealed. The disorder in the (human) world could be compared to that among birds and beasts.

2. Yet all this disorder was due to the want of a ruler. Therefore (Heaven) chose the virtuous in the world and crowned him emperor. Feeling the insufficiency of his capacity, the emperor chose the virtuous in the world and installed them as the three ministers. The emperor and the three ministers, seeing the vastness of the empire and the difficulty of attending to matters of right and wrong and profit and harm among peoples of far countries, divided the empire into feudal states and assigned them to feudal lords. Feeling the insufficiency of their capacity, the feudal lords, in turn, chose the virtuous of their states and appointed them as their officials.

3. When the rulers were all installed, the emperor issued a mandate to all the people, saying: "Upon hearing good or evil one shall report it to a superior. What the superior thinks to be right all shall think to be right; what the superior thinks to be wrong all shall think to be wrong. When the superior is at fault there shall be good counsel, when the subordinates show virtue there shall be popular recommendation. To identify one's self with the superior and not to unite one's self with the subordinates - this is what deserves encouragement from above and praise from below." On the other hand, if upon hearing good or evil one should not report to a superior; if what the superior thought to be right one should not think to be right; if what the superior thought to be wrong one should not think to be wrong; if when the superior was at fault there should be no good counsel if when the subordinates showed virtue there should be no popular recommendation; if there should be common cause with subordinates and no identification with the superior - this is what deserves punishment from above and condemnation from below." The superior made this the basis of reward and punishment. He was clear-sighted and won his people's confidence.

4. Now the head of the village was the most high-minded and tender-hearted man of the village. He notified the people of the village, saying: "Upon hearing good or evil you shall report it to the head of the district. What the head of the district thinks to be right, all shall think to be right. What he thinks to be wrong, all shall think to be wrong. Put away from your speech that which is not good and learn his good speech. Remove from your conduct that which is not good and learn his good conduct. How then can there be disorder in the district?" Now, how was order brought about in the district? There was order in the district because the head could unify the standards of the district.

5. The head of the district was the most high-minded and tender-hearted man of the district. He notified the people of the district, saying "Upon hearing good or evil you shall report it to the lord. What the lord thinks to be right all shall think to be right, what he thinks to be wrong all shall think to be wrong. Remove from your speech that which is not good and learn his good speech. Take away from your conduct that which is not good and learn his good conduct. How then can there be disorder in the state?" Now, how was order brought about in the feudal state? There was order in the state because the feudal lord could unify the standards in the state.

6. The lord of the state was the most high-minded and tender-hearted man of the state. He notified the people of the state, saying: "Upon hearing good or evil you shall report it to the emperor. What the emperor thinks to be right all shall think to be right; what the emperor thinks to be wrong all shall think to be wrong. Take away from your speech that which is not good and learn his good speech. Remove from your conduct that which is not good and learn his good conduct. How then can there be disorder in the empire?" Now, how is order brought about in the empire? There was order in the empire because the emperor could unify the standards in the empire.

7. If, however, the people all identify themselves with the Son of Heaven but not with Heaven itself, then the jungle is still unremoved. Now, the frequent visitations of hurricanes and torrents are just the punishments from Heaven upon the people for their not identifying their standards with the Will of Heaven.

8. Therefore, Mozi said: The sage-kings of old devised the five punishments to rule the people in order to be able to lay hands on those who did not identify themselves with their superiors - a device of the same nature as threads are tied into skeins and a net is controlled by a main rope.

MOZI CHAPTER 12 - Identification with the Superior 2

1. Mozi said: As we look back to the time when there was yet no ruler, it seems the custom was "everybody in the world according to his own standard." Accordingly each man had his own standard, ten men had ten different standards, a hundred men had a hundred different standards - the more people the more standards. And everybody approved of his own view and disapproved those of others, and so arose mutual disapproval. Even father and son and brothers became enemies, since they were unable to reach any agreement. Surplus energy was not employed for mutual help; excellent teachings (Dao) were kept secret; surplus goods were allowed to rot without sharing. The disorder in the (human) world could be compared with that among birds and beasts. The lack of regulations governing the relationships between ruler and subject, between superior and subordinate, and between elder and younger; and the absence of rules governing the relationships between father and son and between older and younger brothers, resulted in disorder in the world.

2. Knowing the cause of the confusion to be in the absence of a ruler who could unify the standards in the world, (Heaven) chose the virtuous, sagacious, and wise in the world and crowned him emperor, charging him with the duty of unifying the wills in the empire. Having been crowned, the emperor, realizing the impossibility of unifying the world just by his own senses of hearing and sight, chose the understanding, virtuous, sagacious, and wise of the world and installed them as the three ministers, sharing with them the duty of unifying the standards in the empire. The emperor and the three ministers being in office, they felt the vastness of the empire and the difficulty of unifying all the peoples in mountains and woods and those far distant. Therefore they systematically divided up the empire, and appointed numerous feudal lords, charging these with the duty of unifying the standards in each state. The feudal lords in turn felt the difficulty of unifying the standards in their states just by their own senses of hearing and sight. Therefore they chose the virtuous of the state to be their ministers and secretaries and all the way down to the heads of districts and villages, sharing with them the duty of unifying the standards in the state.

3. When the lords of the country and the heads of the people had been appointed, the emperor issued mandates, instructing the people: "Discovering good you must report it to your superior, discovering evil you must report it to your superior. What the superior thinks to be right all shall think to be right; what the superior thinks to be wrong all shall think to be wrong. When there is virtue among the people there shall be popular recommendation; when the superior is at fault there shall be good counsel. You shall identify yourself with the superior and not associate with your subordinates. So doing, one deserves encouragement from his superiors and praise from the people. "On the other hand, if upon discovering good you should not report it and upon discovering evil you should not report it; if you should not think to be right what the superior thinks to be right, and wrong what the superior thinks to be wrong; if there should be no recommendation when there is virtue among the people and no good counsel when the superior is at fault; and if you should unite with the subordinates but differ from the superior - you deserve heavy punishment from your superiors and condemnation from the people." Therefore the sage-kings of old were very judicious and faithful in their punishments and rewards.

4. And so all the people aspired to the rewards and commendation from the superior and dreaded his condemnation and punishment. Thereupon, in accord with the policy of the emperor, the village head proceeded to unify the purposes in the village. Having accomplished this, he led the people of the village to identify themselves with the head of the district, saying: "All you people of the village are to identify yourselves with the head of the district, and are not to unite with the subordinates. What the head of the district thinks to be right all shall think to be right; what he thinks to be wrong all shall think to be wrong. Put away your evil speech and learn his good speech; put away your evil conduct and learn his good conduct. For the head of the district is naturally the (most) virtuous of the district. If all the people in the district follow the example of their head, how then can the district be disorderly?" Now, how is it that the head of the district was so successful in governing the district? It was just because he could unify the purposes of the whole district that the district was so orderly.

5. Having accomplished this he in turn led the people of his district to identify themselves with the feudal lord, saying: "All you people of the district shall identify yourselves with the lord of the state, and shall not unite with the subordinates. What the lord thinks to be right all shall think to be right; what he thinks to be wrong all shall think to be wrong. Put away your evil speech and learn his good speech; put away your evil conduct and learn his good conduct. For the lord of the state is naturally the (most) virtuous of the state. If all the people in the state follow the example of their lord, how then can the state be in disorder?" Now, why was the feudal lord so successful in governing the state? It was just because he could unify the purposes in the state that the state is orderly.

6. Having accomplished this he in turn led the people of his state to identify themselves with the emperor, saying: "All you people of the state shall identify yourselves with the emperor and shall not unite with the subordinates. What the emperor thinks to be right all shall think to be right; what he thinks to be wrong all shall think to be wrong. Put away your evil speech and learn his good speech; put away your evil conduct and learn his good conduct. For the emperor is naturally the (most) high-minded and tender-hearted man of the empire. If all the people of the empire follow his example, how then can the state be disorderly?" Now, why was the emperor so successful in governing the empire? It was just because he could unify the purposes in the empire that the empire is orderly.

7. But to carry the process of identification with the superior up to the Son of Heaven and not further up to Heaven itself -- then the jungle from Heaven is yet unremoved. Thereupon Heaven would send down cold and heat without moderation, and snow, frost, rain, and dew untimely. As a result, the five grains could not ripen and the six animals could not mature; and there would be disease, epidemics, and pestilence. Now the repeated visitations of hurricanes and torrents are just punishments from Heaven - punishments to the people below for not identifying themselves with it. Therefore the sage-kings of old appreciated what Heaven and the spirits desire and avoided what they abominate, in order to increase benefits and to avoid calamities in the world. With purification and baths and clean wine and cakes they led the people to make sacrifice and libation to Heaven and the spirits. In such services to the spirits they dared not use wine and cakes that were unclean, sacrificial animals that were not fat, or jade and silk that did not satisfy the standard requirements. The proper time for the spring and autumn sacrifices they dared not miss. Judging lawsuits, they dared not be unjust. Distributing properties, they dared not be unfair. Even when at leisure they dared not be disrespectful. When the sage-kings made such (good) rulers, Heaven and the spirits commended their leadership from above, and the people cherished it from below. To work under the hearty approval of Heaven and the spirits is to obtain their blessings. To work under the appreciation of the people is to obtain their confidence. Administering the government like this, consequently they would succeed in planning, accomplish their ends in executing, be strong in defence and victorious in attack. And the reason for all this lies in their employing the principle of Identification with the Superior in government. And this is how the sage-kings of old administered their government.

8. People might then ask: At the present time rulers are not absent from the empire, why then is there disorder in the empire? Mozi said: The political leaders of the present day are quite different from those of old. The case is parallel to that of the Five Punishments with the Prince of Miao. In ancient times, the sage-kings made the code of the Five Punishments and put the empire in order. But when the Prince of Miao established the Five Punishments they unsettled his empire. Can it be that the Punishments are at fault? Really the fault lies in their application. The "Penal Code of Lu" among the books of the ancient kings, says: "Among the people of Miao punishments were applied without employing instruction and admonition. They made a code of five tortures and called it law." This is to say, those who know how to apply punishments can govern the people with them. And those who do not know, make five tortures out of them. Can it be that the punishments are at fault? Only, when their application is not to the point do they become five tortures. And, also, "Shu Ling", among the books of the ancient kings, says: "The same mouth can produce friendship or produce war." This is to say that he who can use the mouth well will produce friendship, and he who cannot will stir up the enemies and the besieging barbarians. Can it be that the mouth is at fault? The fault really lies in its use which stirs up the enemies and the besieging barbarians.

9. Hence the installing of the ruler in the ancient days was intended to govern the people. Just as there is one thread to hold together the others in a skein and a main rope to a fishing net, so the ruler is to hold together all the evil and wicked in the empire and bring their purposes into harmony (with their superiors). Thus "Xiang Nian", among the books of the ancient kings, says: "Now the empire is established and the capital is located: (Heaven) installed the emperor, kings, and lords not in order to make them proud, and (Heaven)

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appointed the ministers and the officials not in order to make them idle - it was to apportion duties among them and charge them with the maintenance of the Heavenly justice." This is to say that when God and the spirits in the past established the capital and installed the rulers, it was not to make their ranks high, and their emoluments substantial, and to give them wealth and honour, and let them live in comfort and free of care. It was really to procure benefits and eliminate adversities for the people, and to enrich the poor and increase the few, and to bring safety where there is danger and to restore order where there is confusion - it was for this that the political leaders were appointed. And so the ancient sage-kings administered their government accordingly.

10. The lords at the present, however, do just the reverse. Administration is carried on to court flattery. Fathers and brothers and other relatives and friends are placed at the right and left and appointed rulers of the people. Knowing that the superior appointed the rulers not for the welfare of the people, the people all kept aloof and would not identify themselves with the superior. Therefore purposes of the superior and the subordinates are not unified. This being so, rewards and commendations would not encourage the people to do good, and punishments and fines would not restrain them from doing evil. How do we know this would be so?

11. In governing the country, the ruler proclaims "Whoever deserves reward I will reward." Suppose the purposes of the superior and the subordinates are different,whoever is rewarded by the superior would be condemned by the public. And in community life the condemnation of the public is supreme. Though there is reward from the superior, it will not be an encouragement. In governing the country, again, the ruler proclaims: "Whoever deserves punishment I will punish." Suppose the purposes of the superior and the subordinates are different, whoever is punished by the superior would be applauded by the public. And in community life the approval of the public is supreme. Though there is punishment from the superior, it will not be an obstruction. Now, in governing the country and ruling the people, if rewards cannot encourage the people to do good and punishments cannot restrain them from doing evil, is this not just the same as in the beginning of human life when there were no rulers? If it is the same with rulers or without them, it is not the way to govern the people and unify the multitude.

12. As the ancient sage-kings could observe the principle of Identification with the Superior, when they became rulers the purposes of the superior and the subordinates became interchangeable. If the superior reserved for himself special facilities the subordinates could share them. If the people had any unrighted wrongs or accumulated injuries, the superior would remove them. Therefore, if there was a virtuous man thousands of li away, though his clansmen did not all know it (the fact) and people in the same district did not all know it, the emperor could reward him. And if there was an evil man thousands of li away, though his clansmen did not all know it (the fact) and people in the same village did not all know it, the emperor could punish him. Thereupon all the people in the world were astonished, and carefully avoided doing evil, saying: "The emperor is like a spirit in his hearing and sight." But the ancient kings said: "It was no spirit but only the ability to make use of others' ears and eyes to help one's own hearing and sight, to make use of others' lips to help one's own speech, to make use of others' minds to help one's own thought, to make use of others' limbs to help one's own actions." When there are many to help one's hearing and sight then of course one can hear and see far; when there are many to help one's speech then one's good counsel can comfort many; when there are many to help one's thought then one's plans can be shaped speedily; when there are many to help one's actions then one can accomplish one's undertaking quickly. So there was no other reason for the success and great fame of the ancient sages than that they could carry out the principle of Identification with the Superior in their administration.

13. One of the "Eulogies of Zhou" among the works of the ancient kings says: "They came to see his Majesty. Daily they sought the code of propriety." This describes how in times of old, the feudal lords came to the emperor's court both spring and autumn to receive strict instructions from the emperor and ruled their states accordingly when they returned; and there was none among those who came under such an administration that dared not submit completely. And, at that time, none dared to confuse the instructions from the emperor. And thus runs an Ode: "My team is of white horses with black manes. The six reins look luxuriant. They trot and gallop. The considerations (of the emperor) are all-inclusive." Further: "My team is of dark grey horses. The six reins look like silk. They trot and gallop. The plans (of the emperor) are all-inclusive." This is to say that upon discovering either good or evil the ancient feudal lords always hurriedly drove to the emperor and reported it to him. Therefore rewards fell upon the virtuous and punishment upon the wicked. The innocent was not prosecuted and the guilty was not set free. And all this is the result of practising the principle of Identification with the Superior.

14. Therefore, Mozi said: Now, if the rulers and the gentlemen of the world sincerely desire to enrich their country and multiply their people, and to put the government and jurisdiction in order and stabilize the state - if so, then they cannot afford to fail to understand the principle of Identification with the Superior, which is the foundation of government.

MOZI CHAPTER 13 - Identification with the Superior 3

1. Mozi said: The interest of the wise (ruler) lies in carrying out what makes for order among the people and avoiding what makes for confusion. But what is it that makes for order among the people? When the administration of the ruler answers to the desires of the people there will be order, otherwise there will be confusion. How do we know it is so? When the administration of the ruler answers to the desires of the subjects, it manifests an understanding of the approvals and disapprovals of the people. When there is such an understanding, the good will be discovered and rewarded and the bad will be discovered and punished, and the country will surely have order. When the administration of the ruler does not answer to the desires of the subjects, it shows a lack of understanding of the approvals and disapprovals of the subjects. When there is no such understanding then the good wiII not be discovered and rewarded and the bad will not be discovered and punished. With the good unrewarded and the evil unpunished, such a government will surely put the country into disorder. Therefore when rewards and punishments do not answer to the desires of the people, the matter has to be carefully looked into.

2. But how can the desires of the people (being so many and various) be met? Therefore Mozi said: It can be done only by adopting the principle of Identification with the Superior in government. How do we know the principle of Identification with the Superior can govern the empire? Why not then examine the administration and the theory of government of the ancient times? In the beginning there was no ruler and everybody was independent. Since every one was independent, there would be one purpose when there was one man, ten purposes when there were ten men, a hundred purposes when there were a hundred men, a thousand purposes when there were a thousand men and so on until the number of men became innumerable and the number of different purposes became innumerable with it. And all of them approved their own ideas and disapproved those of others. And there was strife among the strong and struggle among the weak. Thereupon Heaven wished to unify the standards in the world. The virtuous was selected and made emperor. Conscious of the insufficiency of his power alone to govern the empire, the emperor chose the next best (in virtue and wisdom) and honoured them to be the three ministers. Conscious of the insufficiency of their powers alone to assist the emperor, the three ministers in turn divided the empire into feudal states and assigned them to feudal lords. Conscious of the insufficiency of his power alone to govern all that were within his four borders, the feudal lord in turn selected his next best and commissioned them ministers and secretaries. Conscious of the insufficiency of their power alone to assist their feudal lord, the ministers and secretaries again selected their next best and appointed them district heads and clan patriarchs. Therefore, in appointing the three ministers, the feudal lords, the ministers and secretaries, and the district heads and clan patriarchs, the emperor was not selecting them for wealth and honour, leisure and ease. It was to employ them to help in administration and jurisdiction. Hence, when Heaven established the empire and located the capital and commissioned the sovereign, kings, lords, and dukes, and appointed secretaries, scholars, professors, and elders - it was not to give them ease, but only to divide up the task and let them help carry out the light of Heaven.

3. Why are the superiors now unable to govern their subordinates, and the subordinates unwilling to serve their superiors? It is because of a mutual disregard. What is the reason for this? The reason is a difference in standards. Whenever standards differ there will be opposition. The ruler may think a man good and reward him. The man, though rewarded by the ruler, yet by the same act provokes the condemnation of the people. Therefore those who do good are not necessarily encouraged by rewards. The ruler may think a man evil and punish him. This man, though punished by the ruler, yet at the same time receives the approval of the people. Therefore those who do evil are not necessarily obstructed by punishments. Thus reward and honour from the ruler cannot encourage the good and his denunciation and punishment cannot prevent the evil. What is the reason for this? The reason is a difference in standards.

4. But how can the standards in the world be unified? Mozi said: Why not let each member of the clan organize his purposes and identify them with those of the patriarch? And let the patriarch give laws and proclaim to the clan: "Whoever discovers a benefactor to the clan shall report it; whoever discovers a malefactor to the clan shall report it. Whoever reports the benefactor of the clan upon seeing one is equivalent to benefiting the clan himself. Knowing him the superior will reward him, hearing of him the group will praise him. Whoever fails to report a malefactor of the clan upon seeing one is equivalent to doing evil to the clan himself. Knowing him the superior will punish him, hearing of him the group will condemn him." Thereupon all the members of the clan wish to obtain reward and honor and avoid denunciation and punishment from their superior. Seeing the good they will report; seeing the evil they will report. And the patriarch can reward the good and punish the evil. With the good rewarded and the evil punished, the clan will surely have order. Now, why is it that the clan becomes orderly? Just because the administration is based on the principle of Identification with the Superior.

5. Now that the clan is in order, is that all there is of the way of governing the feudal state? By no means. The state is composed of many clans. They all like their own clan and dislike other clans. And there is strife among the strong and struggle among the weak. Therefore the clan patriarchs should again organize the purposes in the clan and identify them with those of the feudal lord. The feudal lord also should give laws and should proclaim to the state: "Whoever discovers a benefactor of the state shall report it; whoever discovers a malefactor of the state shall report it. Whoever reports a benefactor of the state upon seeing one is equivalent to benefiting the state himself. Knowing him the superior will reward him, hearing of him the people will praise him. Whoever fails to report a malefactor of the state upon seeing one is equivalent to doing evil to the state himself. Knowing him the superior will punish him, hearing of him the people will condemn him." Thereupon all people in the state wish to obtain reward and honour and avoid denunciation and punishment from their superior. Seeing the good they will report, seeing the evil they will report. And the feudal lord can reward the good and punish the evil. With the good rewarded and the evil punished, the feudal state will surely have order. Now, why is it that the state becomes orderly? Just because the administration is based on the principle of Identification with the Superior.

6. Now that the feudal state is in order, is that all there is to the way of governing the empire? By no means. The empire is composed of many states. They all like their own state and dislike other states. And there is strife among the strong and struggle among the weak. Therefore the feudal lord should again organize the purposes in the state and identify them with those of the emperor. The emperor also should give laws and should proclaim to the empire: "Whoever discovers a benefactor of the empire shall report it; whoever discovers a malefactor of the empire shall report it. Whoever reports a benefactor of the empire upon seeing one is equivalent to benefiting the state himself. Knowing him the superior will reward him, hearing of him the people will praise him. Whoever fails to report a malefactor upon seeing one is equivalent to doing evil to the empire himself. Knowing him the superior will punish him, hearing of him the people will condemn him." Thereupon all the people in the empire will wish to obtain reward and honour and avoid denunciation and punishment from their emperor. Seeing the good and the evil they will report. And the emperor can reward the good and punish the evil. With the good rewarded and the evil punished, the empire will surely have order. Now why is it that the empire becomes orderly? Just because the administration is based on the principle of Identification with the Superior.

7. Now that the empire becomes orderly, the emperor will further organize the purposes in the empire and identify them with the Will of Heaven. Therefore Identification with the Superior as a principle can govern the empire when used by the emperor, it can govern the state when used by the feudal lord, and it can govern the clan when used by the clan patriarch. To be found not wanting when used on a large scale to govern the empire, and not useless when employed on a small scale to govern a clan - this is said of such a principle.

8. Hence the proverb: "To govern the world-empire is the same as to rule a single family clan; to command all the people in the world is the same as to order a single individual." Does any one think that all this is just a fancy of Mozi, and that this teaching did not exist among the sage-kings of old? Really they were of the same opinion. All the sage-kings administered their government by the principle of Identification with the Superior, therefore the world became orderly. How do we know it is so? It is recorded in the "Grand Oath" among the books of the ancient kings: "If an unscrupulous man discovers a case of intrigue and deception and fails to make it known, he shall be punished equally." This is to say that whoever discovers any crime and does not report it will be taken as committing a crime of the same order.

9. Therefore in governing the empire, the ancient sage-kings chose only the excellent for the outposts as well as for the offices near him. As there were many to help him see and bear, be succeeded before others in planning, and completed before others in executing, and his good name was spread before others. Just because he could trust his staff in the administration, the benefits were as we have stated. There is

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an ancient proverb saying: "The sight of one eye cannot compare with that of two, the hearing of one ear cannot compare with that of two, the grasp of one hand cannot compare with that of two." Now, just because he could trust his staff in the administration the sage-king received such benefits. Therefore during the reign of the ancient sage-king over the empire, if there was a virtuous man more than a thousand li away he could reward him before the people in the same district and village all got to know it. And if there was a wicked man about a thousand li away he could punish him before the people in the same district and village all got to know it. Though it may be supposed that the sage-king was keen in hearing and sight, how could he see all that is beyond a thousand li at one look, how could he hear all that is beyond a thousand li at one hearing? In fact the sage-king could see without going there and hear without being near. Yet what kept the thieves, robbers, bandits, and highwaymen moving all over the empire without being able to find refuge anywhere? There is the beauty of adopting the principle of Identification with the Superior in government.

10. Therefore Mozi said: Whoever orders his people to identify themselves with their superior must love them dearly. For the people will not obey orders except when they are ordered with love and held in confidence. Lead them with wealth and honour ahead, and push them with just punishments from behind. When government is carried on like this, even though I wanted to have some one not to identify himself with me, it would be impossible.

11. Therefore Mozi said: If the kings, dukes, and important personages of the world now sincerely want to practise magnanimity and righteousness and be superior men, if they want to attain the way of the sage-kings on the one hand and contribute toward the benefit of the people on the other, they cannot leave the principle of Identification with the Superior unexamined and un-understood. Identification with the Superior is, indeed, the foundation of government and essence of orderliness.

MOZI BOOK 4

MOZI CHAPTER 14 - Universal Love 1

1. The wise man who has charge of governing the empire should know the cause of disorder before he can put it in order. Unless he knows its cause, he cannot regulate it. It is similar to the problem of a physician who is attending a patient. He has to know the cause of the ailment before he can cure it. Unless he knows its cause he cannot cure it. How is the situation different for him who is to regulate disorder? He too has to know the cause of the disorder before he can regulate it. Unless he knows its cause he cannot regulate it. The wise man who has charge of governing the empire must, then, investigate the cause of disorder.

2. Suppose we try to locate the cause of disorder, we shall find it lies in the want of mutual love. What is called disorder is just the lack of filial piety on the part of the minister and the son towards the emperor and the father; As he loves himself and not his father the son benefits himself to the disadvantage of his father. As he loves himself and not his elder brother, the younger brother benefits himself to the disadvantage of his elder brother. As he loves himself and not his emperor, the minister benefits himself to the disadvantage of his emperor. And these are what is called disorder. When the father shows no affection to the son, when the elder brother shows no affection to the younger brother, and when the emperor shows no affection to the minister, on the other hand, it is also called disorder. When the father loves only himself and not the son, he benefits himself to the disadvantage of the son. When the elder brother loves only himself and not his younger brother, he benefits himself to the disadvantage of the younger brother. When the emperor loves only himself and not his minister, he benefits himself to the disadvantage of his minister, and the reason for all these is want of mutual love.

3. This is true even among thieves and robbers. As he loves only his own family and not other families, the thief steals from other families to profit his own family. As he loves only his own person and not others, the robber does violence to others to profit himself. And the reason for all this is want of love. This again is true in the mutual disturbance among the houses of the ministers and the mutual invasions among the states of the feudal lords. As he loves only his own house and not the others, the minister disturbs the other houses to profit his own. As he loves only his own state and not the others, the feudal lord attacks the other states to profit his own. These instances exhaust the confusion in the world. And when we look into the causes we find they all arise from want of mutual love.

4. Suppose everybody in the world loves universally, loving others as one's self. Will there yet be any unfilial individual? When every one regards his father, elder brother, and emperor as himself, whereto can he direct any unfilial feeling? Will there still be any unaffectionate individual? When every one regards his younger brother, son, and minister as himself, whereto can he direct any disaffection? Therefore there will not be any unfilial feeling or disaffection. Will there then be any thieves and robbers? When every one regards other families as his own family, who will steal? When every one regards other persons as his own person, who will rob? Therefore there will not be any thieves or robbers. Will there be mutual disturbance among the houses of the ministers and invasion among the states of the feudal lords? When every one regards the houses of others as one's own, who will be disturbing? When every one regards the states of others as one's own, who will invade? Therefore there will be neither disturbances among the houses of the ministers nor invasion among the states of the feudal lords.

5. If every one in the world will love universally; states not attacking one another; houses not disturbing one another; thieves and robbers becoming extinct; emperor and ministers, fathers and sons, all being affectionate and filial -- if all this comes to pass the world will be orderly. Therefore, how can the wise man who has charge of governing the empire fail to restrain hate and encourage love? So, when there is universal love in the world it will be orderly, and when there is mutual hate in the world it will be disorderly. This is why Mozi insisted on persuading people to love others.

MOZI CHAPTER 15 - Universal Love 2

1. Mozi said: The purpose of the magnanimous is to be found in procuring benefits for the world and eliminating its calamities. But what are the benefits of the world and what its calamities? Mozi said: Mutual attacks among states, mutual usurpation among houses, mutual injuries among individuals; the lack of grace and loyalty between ruler and ruled, the lack of affection and filial piety between father and son, the lack of harmony between elder and younger brothers - these are the major calamities in the world.

2. But whence did these calamities arise, out of mutual love? Mozi said: They arise out of want of mutual love. At present feudal lords have learned only to love their own states and not those of others. Therefore they do not scruple about attacking other states. The heads of houses have learned only to love their own houses and not those of others. Therefore they do not scruple about usurping other houses. And individuals have learned only to love themselves and not others. Therefore they do not scruple about injuring others. When feudal lords do not love one another there will be war on the fields. When heads of houses do not love one another they will usurp one another's power. When individuals do not love one another they will injure one another. When ruler and ruled do not love one another they will not be gracious and loyal. When father and son do not love each other they will not be affectionate and filial. When older and younger brothers do not love each other they will not be harmonious. When nobody in the world loves any other, naturally the strong will overpower the weak, the many will oppress the few, the wealthy will mock the poor, the honoured will disdain the humble, the cunning will deceive the simple. Therefore all the calamities, strifes, complaints, and hatred in the world have arisen out of want of mutual love. Therefore the benevolent disapproved of this want.

3. Now that there is disapproval, how can we have the condition altered? Mozi said it is to be altered by the way of universal love and mutual aid. But what is the way of universal love and mutual aid? Mozi said: It is to regard the state of others as one's own, the houses of others as one's own, the persons of others as one's self. When feudal lords love one another there will be no more war; when heads of houses love one another there will be no more mutual usurpation; when individuals love one another there will be no more mutual injury. When ruler and ruled love each other they will be gracious and loyal; when father and son love each other they will be affectionate and filial; when older and younger brothers love each other they will be harmonious. When all the people in the world love one another, then the strong will not overpower the weak, the many will not oppress the few, the wealthy will not mock the poor, the honoured will not disdain the humble, and the cunning will not deceive the simple. And it is all due to mutual love that calamities, strife, complaints, and hatred are prevented from arising. Therefore the benevolent exalt it.

4. But the gentlemen of the world would say: "So far so good. It is of course very excellent when love becomes universal. But it is only a difficult and distant ideal." Mozi said: This is simply because the gentlemen of the world do not recognize what is to the benefit of the world, or understand what is its calamity. Now, to besiege a city, to fight in the fields, or to achieve a name at the cost of death -- these are what men find difficult. Yet when the superior encourages them, the multitude can do them. Besides, universal love and mutual aid is quite different from these. Whoever loves others is loved by others; whoever benefits others is benefited by others; whoever hates others is hated by others; whoever injures others is injured by others. Then, what difficulty is there with it (universal love)? Only, the ruler fails to embody it in his government and the ordinary man in his conduct.

5. Formerly, Lord Wen of the state of Jin (about 630 BC) liked the uncouth uniform of the soldier. And so all his ministers and officers wore sheepskin jackets, carried their swords in leather girdles, and put on silk-spun hats. Thus attired, they attended the Lord when they went in and paced the court when they stayed out. What was the reason for this? It was that what the ruler encourages the ruled will carry out. And Lord Ling of the state of Chu (about 535 BC) liked slender waists. And so all his ministers and officers limited themselves to a single meal (a day). They tied their belts after exhaling, and could not stand up without leaning against the wall. Within a year the court looked grim and dark. What was the reason for this? It was that what the ruler encourages the ruled will carry out. Again, Lord Goujian of the state of Yue (about 480 BC) liked the warrior's courage, and trained his subjects accordingly. He had his palace boat set on fire. To test his soldiers he proclaimed that all the treasures of the state were contained therein. And he beat the drum himself to urge them on. Hearing the drum the soldiers rushed on in disorder. More than a hundred strong perished in the flames. Thereupon the Lord beat the gong to let them retreat.

6. Therefore Mozi said: Now, things like scanty diet, coarse clothing, and the achievement of a name at the cost of death are those in which people find difficulty. Yet when the ruler encourages them the multitude can stand them. Besides, universal love and mutual aid are different from these. Whoever loves others is loved by others; whoever benefits others is benefited by others; whoever hates others is hated by others; whoever injures others is injured by others. Then what difficulty is there with it (universal love)? Only, the ruler fails to embody it in his government and the ordinary man in his conduct.

7. Nevertheless. the gentlemen in the empire think that, though it would be an excellent thing if love can be universalised, it is something quite impracticable. It is like carrying Mt. Tai and leaping over the Ji River. Mozi said: The illustration is a faulty one. Of course to be able to carry Mt. Tai and leap over the Ji River would be an extreme feat of strength. Such has never been performed from antiquity to the present time. But universal love and mutual aid are quite different from this. And the ancient sage-kings did practise it. How do we know they did? When Yu was working to bring the Deluge under control, he dug the West River and the Youdou River in the west in order to let off the water from the Qu, Sun, and Huang Rivers. In the north he built a dam across the Yuan and Gu Rivers in order to fill the Houzhidi (a basin) and the Huzhi River. Mt. Dizhu was made use of as a water divide, and a tunnel was dug through Mt. Lungmen. All these were done to benefit the peoples west of the (Yellow) River and various barbarian tribes, Yan, Dai, Hu, Ho, of the north. In the east he drained the great Plain and built dykes along the Mengzhu River. The watercourse was divided into nine canals in order to regulate the water in the east and in order to benefit the people of the District of Ji. In the south he completed the Yangtze, Han, Huai, and Ru Rivers. These ran eastward and emptied themselves into the Five Lakes. This was done in order to benefit the peoples of Jing, Qi, Gan, Yue, and the barbarians of the south. All these are the deeds of Yu. We can, then, universalize love in conduct. When King Wen was ruling the Western land, he shone forth like the sun and the moon all over the four quarters as well as in the Western land. He did not allow the big state to oppress the small state, he did not allow the multitude to oppress the singlehanded, he did not allow the influential and strong to take away the grain and live stock from the farmers. Heaven visited him with blessing. And, therefore, the old and childless had the wherewithal to spend their old age, the solitary and brotherless had the opportunity to join in the social life of men, and the orphans had the support for their growth. This was what King Wen had accomplished. We can, then, universalize love in conduct. When King Wu was about to do service to Mt. Tai it was recorded thus: "Blessed is Mt. Tai. Duke of Zhou by a long descent is about to perform his duty. As I have obtained the approval of Heaven, the magnanimous arise to save the people of Shang Xia as well as the barbarians (from the tyranny of Emperor Zhou). Though (Emperor Zhou) has many near relatives, they cannot compare with the magnanimous. If there is sin anywhere, I am solely responsible." This relates the deeds of King Wu. We can, then, universalize love in conduct.

8. Therefore Mozi said: If the rulers sincerely desire the empire to be wealthy and dislike to have it poor, desire to have it orderly and dislike to have it chaotic, they should bring about universal love and mutual aid. This is the way of the sage-kings and the way to order for the world, and it should not be neglected.

MOZI CHAPTER 16 - Universal Love 3

1. Mozi said: The purpose of the magnanimous lies in procuring benefits for the world and eliminating its calamities. Now among all the current calamities, which are the most important? The attack on the small states by the large ones, disturbances of the small houses by the large ones, oppression of the weak by the strong, misuse of the few by the many, deception of the simple by the cunning, disdain towards the humble by the honoured - these are the misfortunes in the empire. Again, the lack of grace on the part of the ruler, the

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lack of loyalty on the part of the minIster, the lack of affection on the part of the father, the lack of filial piety on the part of the son - these are further calamities in the empire. Also, the mutual injury and harm which the unscrupulous do to one another with weapons, poison, water, and fire is still another calamity in the empire. When we come to think about the cause of all these calamities, how have they arisen? Have they arisen out of love of others and benefiting others? Of course we should say no. We should say they have arisen out of hate of others and injuring others. If we should classify one by one all those who hate others and injure others, should we find them to be universal in love or partial? Of course we should say they are partial. Now, since partiality against one another is the cause of the major calamities in the empire, then partiality is wrong.

2. Mozi continued: Whoever criticizes others must have something to replace them. Criticism without suggestion is like trying to stop flood with flood and put out fire with fire. It will surely be without worth. Mozi said: Partiality is to be replaced by universality. But how is it that partiality can be replaced by universality? Now, when every one regards the states of others as he regards his own, who would attack the others' states? Others are regarded like self. When every one regards the capitals of others as he regards his own, who would seize the others' capitals? Others are regarded like self. When every one regards the houses of others as he regards his own, who would disturb the others' houses? Others are regarded like self. Now, when the states and cities do not attack and seize each other and when the clans and individuals do not disturb and harm one another -- is this a calamity or a benefit to the world? Of course it is a benefit. When we come to think about the several benefits in regard to their cause, how have they arisen? Have they arisen out of hate of others and injuring others? Of course we should say no. We should say they have arisen out of love of others and benefiting others. If we should classify one by one all those who love others and benefit others, should we find them to be partial or universal? Of course we should say they are universal. Now, since universal love is the cause of the major benefits in the world, therefore Mozi proclaims universal love is right. And, as has already been said, the interest of the magnanimous lies in procuring benefits for the world and eliminating its calamities. Now that we have found out the consequences of universal love to be the major benefits of the world and the consequences of partiality to be the major calamities in the world; this is the reason why Mozi said partiality is wrong and universality is right.

3. When we try to develop and procure benefits for the world with universal love as our standard, then attentive ears and keen eyes will respond in service to one another, then limbs will be strengthened to work for one another, and those who know the Dao will untiringly instruct others. Thus the old and those who have neither wife nor children will have the support and supply to spend their old age with, and the young and weak and orphans will have the care and admonition to grow up in. When universal love is adopted as the standard, then such are the consequent benefits. It is incomprehensible, then, why people should object to universal love when they hear it.

4. Yet the objection is not all exhausted. It is asked, "It may be a good thing, but can it be of any use?" Mozi replied: If it were not useful then even I would disapprove of it. But how can there be anything that is good but not useful? Let us consider the matter from both sides. Suppose there are two men. Let one of them hold to partiality and the other to universality. Then the advocate of partiality would say to himself, how can I take care of my friend as I do of myself, how can I take care of his parents as my own? Therefore when he finds his friend hungry he would not feed him, and when he finds him cold he would not clothe him. In his illness he would not minister to him, and when he is dead he would not bury him. Such is the word and such is the deed of the advocate of partiality. The advocate of universality is quite unlike this both in word and in deed. He would say to himself, I have heard that to be a superior man one should take care of his friend as he does of himself, and take care of his friend's parents as his own. Therefore when he finds his friend hungry he would feed him, and when he finds him cold he would clothe him. In his sickness he would serve him, and when he is dead he would bury him. Such is the word and such is the deed of the advocate of universality. These two persons then are opposed to each other in word and also in deed. Suppose they are sincere in word and decisive in deed so that their word and deed are made to agree like the two parts of a tally, and that there is no word but what is realised in deed, then let us consider further: Suppose a war is on, and one is in armour and helmet ready to join the force, life and death are not predictable. Or suppose one is commissioned a deputy by the ruler to such far countries like Ba, Yue, Qi, and Jing, and the arrival and return are quite uncertain. Now (under such circumstances) let us inquire upon whom would one lay the trust of one's family and parents. Would it be upon the universal friend or upon the partial friend? It seems to me, on occasions like these, there are no fools in the world. Even if he is a person who objects to universal love, he will lay the trust upon the universal friend all the same. This is verbal objection to the principle but actual selection by it - this is self-contradiction between one's word and deed. It is incomprehensible, then, why people should object to universal love when they hear it.

5. Yet the objection is not all exhausted. It is objected: Maybe it is a good criterion to choose among ordinary men, but it may not apply to the rulers. Let us again consider the matter from both sides. Suppose there are two rulers. Let one of them hold partiality and the other universality. Then the partial ruler would say to himself, how can I take care of the people as I do of myself? This would be quite contrary to common sense. A man's life on earth is of short duration, it is like a galloping horse passing by. Therefore when he finds his people hungry he would not feed them, and when he finds them cold he would not clothe them. When they are sick he would not minister to them, and upon their death he would not bury them. Such is the word and such is the deed of the partial ruler. The universal ruler is quite unlike this both in word and in deed. He would say to himself, I have heard that to be an upright ruler of the world one should first attend to his people and then to himself. Therefore when he finds his people hungry he would feed them, and when he finds them cold he would clothe them. In their sickness he would minister to them, and upon their death he would bury them. Such is the word and such is the deed of the universal ruler. These two rulers, then, are opposed to each other in word and also in deed. Suppose they are sincere in word and decisive in deed so that their word and deed are made to agree like the two parts of a tally, and that there is no word but what is realised in deed, then let us consider further: Suppose, now, that there is a disastrous pestilence, that most people are in misery and privation, and that many lie dead in ditches (Under such circumstances) let us inquire, if a person could choose one of the two rulers, which would he prefer? It seems to me on such occasions there are no fools in the world. Even if he is a person who objects to universal love, he will choose the universal ruler. This is verbal objection to the principle but actual selection by it - this is self-contradiction between one's word and deed. It is incomprehensible, then, why people should object to universal love when they hear it.

6. Yet the objection is still not exhausted. It points out that universal love may be magnanimous and righteous, but how can it be realised? Universal love is impracticable just as carrying Mt. Tai and leaping over rivers. So, then, universal love is but a pious wish, how can it be actualised? Mozi replied: To carry Mt. Tai and leap over rivers is something that has never been accomplished since the existence of man. But universal love and mutual aid has been personally practised by six ancient sage-kings. How do we know they have done it? Mozi said: I am no contemporary of theirs, neither have I heard their voice or seen their faces. The sources of our knowledge lie in what is written on the bamboos and silk, what is engraved in metal and stones, and what is cut in the vessels to be handed down to posterity. The "Great Declaration" proclaims: "King Wen was like the sun and the moon, shedding glorious and resplendent light in the four quarters as well as over the Western land." This is to say that the love of King Wen is so wide and universal that it is like the sun and the moon shining upon the world without partiality. Here is universal love on the part of King Wen; what Mozi has been talking about is really derived from the example of King Wen.

7. Moreover it is true not only in the "Great Declaration" but also with the "Oath of Yu". Yu said (therein) "Come all you hosts of people, take heed and hearken to my words. It is not that I, a single person, would willingly stir up this confusion. The Prince of Miao is more and more unreasonable, he deserves punishment from Heaven. Therefore I lead you to appoint the lords of the states and go to punish the Prince of Miao." It was not for the sake of increasing his wealth and multiplying his felicitations, and indulging his ears and eyes but for that of procuring benefits for the world and eliminating its annoyances that Yu went to war against the Prince of Miao. This is universal love on the part of Yu, and what Mozi has been talking about is really derived from the example of Yu.

8. Again it is true not only in the "Oath of Yu" but also with the "Oath of Tang." Tang said: "Unworthy Lu presumed to do sacrifice with a first-born male animal to Heaven on high and mother Earth, saying, 'Now there is a great drought from heaven. It happens right in my, Lu's, time. I do not know whether I have wronged Heaven or men. Good, I dare not cover up; guilt, I dare not let go -- this is clearly seen in the mind of God. If there is sin anywhere hold me responsible for it; if I myself am guilty may the rest be spared.'" This is to say that though having the honour of being an emperor and the wealth of possessing the whole world, Tang did not shrink from offering himself as sacrifice to implore God and the spirits. This is universal love on the part of Tang, and what Mozi has been talking about is really derived from the example of Tang.

9. Still again, it is true not only in the "Oath of Yu" and the "Oath of Tang" but also with the " Poems of Zhou." To quote: "the way of the (good) emperor is wide and straight, without partiality and without favouritism. The way of the (good) emperor is even and smooth, without favouritism and without partiality. It is straight like an arrow and just like a balance. The superior man follows it, (even) the unprincipled looks on (without resentment)." Thus the principle that I have been expounding is not to be regarded as a mere doctrinaire notion. In the past, when Wen and Wu administered the government both of them rewarded the virtuous and punished the wicked without partiality to their relatives and brothers. This is just the universal love of Wen and Wu. And what Mozi has been talking about is really derived from the examples of Wen and Wu. It is incomprehensible then why people should object to universal love when they hear it.

10. Yet the objection is still not exhausted. It raises the question, when one does not think in terms of benefits and harm to one's parents would it be filial piety? Mozi replied: Now let us inquire about the plans of the filial sons for their parents. I may ask, when they plan for their parents, whether they desire to have others love or hate them? Judging from the whole doctrine (of filial piety), it is certain that they desire to have others love their parents. Now, what should I do first in order to attain this? Should I first love others' parents in order that they would love my parents in return, or should I first hate others' parents in order that they would love my parents in return? Of course I should first love others' parents in order that they would love my parents in return. Hence those who desire to be filial to one another's parents, if they have to choose (between whether they should love or hate others' parents), had best first love and benefit others' parents. Would any one suspect that all the filial sons are stupid and incorrigible (in loving their own parents)? We may again inquire about it. It is said in the "Da Ya" among the books of the ancient kings: "No idea is not given its due value; no virtue is not rewarded. When a peach is thrown to us, we would return with a prune." This is to say whoever loves others will be loved and whoever hates others will be hated. It is then quite incomprehensible why people should object to universal love when they hear it.

11. Is it because it is hard and impracticable? There are instances of even much harder tasks done. Formerly, Lord Ling of the state of Jing liked slender waists. In his time people in the state of Jing ate not more than once a day. They could not stand up without support, and could not walk without leaning against the wall. Now, limited diet is quite hard to endure, and yet it was endured. While Lord Ling encouraged it, his people could be changed within a generation to conform to their superior. Lord Goujian of the state of Yue admired courage and taught it to his ministers and soldiers three years. Fearing that their knowledge had not yet made them efficient he let a fire be set on the boat, and beat the drum to signal advance. The soldiers at the head of the rank were even pushed down. Those who perished in the flames and in water were numberless. Even then they would not retreat without signal. The soldiers of Yue would be quite terrified (ordinarily). To be burnt alive is a hard task, and yet it was accomplished. When the Lord of Yue encouraged it, his people could be changed within a generation to conform to their superior. Lord Wen of the state of Jin liked coarse clothing. And so in his time the people of Jin wore suits of plain cloth, jackets of sheep skin, hats of spun silk, and big rough shoes. Thus attired, they would go in and see the Lord and come out and walk in the court. To dress up in coarse clothing is hard to do, yet it has been done. When Lord Wen encouraged it his people could be changed within a generation to conform to their superior. Now to endure limited diet, to be burnt alive, and to wear coarse clothing are the hardest things in the world, yet when the superiors encouraged them the people could be changed within a generation. Why was this so? It was due to the desire to conform to the superior. Now, as to universal love and mutual aid, they are beneficial and easy beyond a doubt. It seems to me that the only trouble is that there is no superior who encourages it. If there is a superior who encourages it, promoting it with rewards and commendations, threatening its reverse with punishments, I feel people will tend toward universal love and mutual aid like fire tending upward and water downwards - it will be unpreventable in the world.

12. Therefore, universal love is really the way of the sage-kings. It is what gives peace to the rulers and sustenance to the people. The gentleman would do well to understand and practise universal love; then he would be gracious as a ruler, loyal as a minister, affectionate as a father, filial as a son, courteous as an elder brother, and respectful as a younger brother. So, if the gentleman desires to be a gracious ruler, a loyal minister, an affectionate father, a filial son, a courteous elder brother, and a respectful younger brother, universal love must be practised. It is the way of the sage-kings and the great blessing of the people.

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MOZI BOOK 5

MOZI CHAPTER 17 - Condemnation of Offensive War 1

1. Suppose a man enters the orchard of another and steals the other's peaches and plums. Hearing of it the public will condemn it; laying hold of him the authorities will punish him. Why? Because he injures others to profit himself. As to seizing dogs, pigs, chickens, and young pigs from another, it is even more unrighteous than to steal peaches and plums from his orchard. Why? Because it causes others to suffer more, and it is more inhumane and criminal. When it comes to entering another's stable and appropriating the other's horses and oxen, it is more inhumane than to seize the dogs, pigs, chickens, and young pigs of another. Why? Because others are caused to suffer more; when others are caused to suffer more, then the act is more inhumane and criminal. Finally, as to murdering the innocent, stripping him of his clothing, dispossessing him of his spear and sword, it is even more unrighteous than to enter another's stable and appropriate his horses and oxen. Why? Because it causes others to suffer more; when others are caused to suffer more, then the act is more inhumane and criminal. All the gentlemen of the world know that they should condemn these things, calling them unrighteous. But when it comes to the great attack of states, they do not know that they should condemn it. On the contrary, they applaud it, calling it righteous. Can this be said to be knowing the difference between righteousness and unrighteousness?

2. The murder of one person is called unrighteous and incurs one death penalty. Following this argument, the murder of ten persons will be ten times as unrighteous and there should be ten death penalties; the murder of a hundred persons will be a hundred times as unrighteous and there should be a hundred death penalties. All the gentlemen of the world know that they should condemn these things, calling them unrighteous. But when it comes to the great unrighteousness of attacking states, they do not know that they should condemn it. On the contrary, they applaud it, calling it righteous. And they are really ignorant of its being unrighteous. Hence they have recorded their judgment to bequeath to their posterity. If they did know that it is unrighteous, then why would they record their false judgment to bequeath to posterity? Now, if there were a man who, upon seeing a little blackness, should say it is black, but, upon seeing much, should say it is white; then we should think he could not tell the difference between black and white. If, upon tasting a little bitterness one should say it is bitter, but, upon tasting much, should say it is sweet; then we should think he could not tell the difference between bitter and sweet. Now, when a little wrong is committed people know that they should condemn it, but when such a great wrong as attacking a state is committed people do not know that they should condemn it. On the contrary, it is applauded, called righteous. Can this be said to be knowing the difference between the righteous and the unrighteous? Hence we know the gentlemen of the world are confused about the difference between righteousness and unrighteousness.

MOZI CHAPTER 18 - Condemnation of Offensive War 2

1. Mozi said: If the rulers of to-day sincerely wish to be careful in condemnation and commendation, judicious in rewards and punishments, and temperate in government and jurisdiction. Therefore Mozi said: There is an ancient saying that, when one is not successful in making out plans then predict the future by the past and learn about the absent from what is present. When one plans like this then one can be intelligent.

2. Now, about a country going to war. If it is in winter it will be too cold ; if it is in summer it will be too hot. So it should be neither in winter nor in summer. If it is in spring it will take people away from sowing and planting; if it is in autumn it will take people away from reaping and harvesting. Should they be taken away in either of these seasons, innumerable people would die of hunger and cold, And, when the army sets out, the bamboo arrows, the feather flags, the house tents, the armour, the shields, the sword hilts -- innumerable quantities of these will break and rot and never come back. The spears, the lances, the swords, the poniards, the chariots, the carts -- innumerable quantities of these will break and rot and never come back. Then innumerable horses and oxen will start out fat and come back lean or will not return at all. And innumerable people will die because their food will be cut off and cannot be supplied on account of the great distances of the roads. And innumerable people will be sick and die of the constant danger and the irregularity of eating and drinking and the extremes of hunger and over-eating. Then, the army will be lost in large numbers or entirely; in either case the number will be innumerable. And this means the spirits will lose their worshippers, and the number of these will also be innumerable.

3. Why then does the government deprive the people of their opportunities and benefits to such a great extent? It has been answered: "I covet the fame of the victor and the possessions obtainable through the conquest. So I do it." Mozi said: But when we consider the victory as such, there is nothing useful about it. When we consider the possessions obtained through it, it does not even make up for the loss. Now about the siege of a city of three li or a guo of seven li -- if these could be obtained without the use of weapons or the killing of lives, it would be all right. But (as a matter of fact) those killed must be counted by the ten thousand, those widowed or left solitary must be counted by the thousand, before a city of three li or a guo of seven li could be captured. Moreover the states of ten thousand chariots now have empty towns to be counted by the thousand, which can be entered without conquest; and their extensive lands to be counted by the ten thousand (of mu), which can be cultivated without conquest. So, land is abundant but people are few. Now to pursue the people to death and aggravate the danger feared by both superiors and subordinates in order to obtain an empty city -- this is to give up what is needed and to treasure what is already in abundance. Such an undertaking is not in accordance with the interest of the country.

4. Those who endeavor to gloss over offensive wars would say: "In the south there are the lords of Jing and Yue, and in the north there are the lords of Qi and Jin. When their states were first assigned to them, they were but a hundred li square in area, and but a few tens of thousands in number of people. By means of wars and attacks, their areas have increased to several thousand li square and the people to several million. So, then, offensive wars are not to be condemned." Mozi said : The four or five states may have reaped their benefits, still it is not conduct according to the Dao. It is like the physician giving his drugs to the patients. If a physician should give all the sick in the world a uniform drug, among the ten thousand who took it there might be four or five who were benefited, still it is not to be said to be a common (commonly beneficial) medicine. Thus a filial son will not give it to his parent and a loyal minister will not give it to his king. After the empire was in the ancient time divided into states a great many of them died of attacks - the earlier cases we hear of through the ear, the recent cases we saw by the eye. How do we know it is so? In the east there was the state of Ju. It was a small state situated in the midst of big states. It did not show respect and obedience to the big states, and the latter therefore did not like it or favour it. So, on the east Yue cut and appropriated its land by force, and from the west Qi swallowed it up altogether. And it was due to offensive wars that Ju died between two big states. And it was due to offensive war too that in the south Chen and Cai were extinguished by Wu and Yue. And it was also due to offensive wars that in the north Bu Tu He perished among Yan, Dai, Hu and Mo. Therefore Mozi said: If the rulers now really desire gain and avert loss, desire security and avert danger, they cannot but condemn offensive wars.

5. Those who endeavor to gloss over offensive wars would say: "These states perished because they could not gather and employ their multitudes. I can gather and employ my multitudes and wage war with them; who, then, dares to be unsubmissive?" Mozi said: You might be able to gather and employ your multitudes, but can you compare yourself with the ancient He Lu of Wu? He Lu of Wu (about 510 B.C.) in the ancient days drilled his soldiers seven years. With armour on and weapons in hand they could cover three hundred li (in a day) before encamping (for the night). Passing Zhulin, they emerged at the narrow Pass of Min. They engaged in battle (with the state of Chu) at Boju. Subduing Chu, (He Lu) gave audience to Song and Lu. By the time of Fu Chai he attacked Qi in the north, encamped on the Wen River, fought at Ai Ling and greatly defeated Qi and compelled surety from them at Mt.Tai. In the east he attacked Yue, crossing the Three Rivers and the Five Lakes, and compelled surety at Guiji. None of the nine tribes dared to show disrespect. Reaching home, however, he would not reward the orphaned or give to the numerous rustics. He depended on his own might, gloated over his success, praised his own cleverness, and neglected instructing and training his people. He built the Monument of Gusu which was not completed even in seven years. By this time (the people of Wu) felt tired and disheartened. Seeing the friction between the superior and the subordinates in Wu, Goujian of Yue gathered his multitudes to take revenge. He broke into its kuo on the north, moved away its royal boat, and surrounded its palace. And thus Wu perished. Some time ago Jin had six ministers and Zhibo (about 455 B.C.) was the most powerful. He considered the large area of his land and the great number of his people, and desired to attack the feudal lords in order to have a rapid spread of his courageous name through war and battle. So he ranked his brave warriors and arranged his boat and chariot forces. He attacked (the house of) Zhongxing and seised it. This showed to him that his plans were satisfactory. Then he attacked Fan and totally defeated him. Thus he absorbed three families into one. He did not stop even there. but surrounded Minister Xiang of Zhao at Jinyang. By this time Han and Wei came together and deliberated, saying: "An ancient proverb says: 'When the lips are removed the teeth will become cold.' The house of Zhao dying in the morning we would be following it in the evening; the house of Zhao dying in the evening we would be following it in the morning. A poet sings: 'If the fish would not act while yet in water, what can it do when it is already placed on land?'" Thereupon the three ministers worked with united strength and a single mind, opening passes and blazing trails, putting on armour and arousing the warriors. With Han and Wei from without and Zhao from within, they battled Zhibo and totally defeated him. Therefore Mozi said : An ancient proverb says: "The superior man would not go to water but to man for a mirror." In water as a mirror one sees only one's face; in man as a mirror one can predict good and bad luck." Have those who now regard offensive wars as beneficial made use of Zhibo's story? It is plainly discernible to be not auspicious but ominous.

MOZI CHAPTER 19 - Condemnation of Offensive War 3

1. Mozi said: What does the world now praise to be good? Is not an act praised because it is useful to Heaven on high, to the spirits in the middle sphere, and to the people below? Certainly no other reason is needed for praise than to be useful to Heaven on high, to the spirits in the middle, and to the people below. Even the stupid would say it is praiseworthy when it is helpful to Heaven on high, to the spirits in the middle, and to the people below. And what the world agrees on is just the way of the sage-kings. Now the feudal lords in the empire still attack and assault each other. This is to praise the principle without understanding its real meaning. They resemble the blind man who uses with others the names of black and white but cannot discriminate between such objects. Can this be said to be real discrimination? Therefore, deliberating for the empire, the ancient wise men always considered the real (meaning of the) principles, and acted accordingly. Hence thev were no more uncertain in their actions. All desires, far or near, were satisfied, and Heaven, the spirits, and the people were all blessed. Such was the way of the wise men. Governing the empire, the ancient magnanimous men always worked for mutual satisfaction with the large states, brought the empire into harmony, and centralised all that was within the four seas. Then they led the people in the empire diligently to do service to God, hills and rivers, and the spirits and ghosts. Many were the benefits to the people and great was their success. Thereupon Heaven rewarded them, the spirits enriched them, and the people praised them. The high honour of Son of Heaven was conferred upon them and the great wealth of the whole world was given to them. Their names partake of (the permanence and greatness of) Heaven and Earth and are not forgotten even to this day. Such is the way of the wise and such is the way by which the ancient kings came to possess the world.

2. The rulers and lords of to-day are quite different. They all rank their warriors and arrange their boat and chariot forces; they make their armour strong and weapons sharp in order to attack some innocent state. Entering the state they cut down the grain fields and fell the trees and woods; they tear down the inner and outer walls of the city and fill up the ditches and ponds; they seize and kill the sacrificial animals and burn down the ancestral temple; they kill and murder the people and exterminate the aged and weak; they move away the treasures and valuables. The soldiers are encouraged to advance by being told: "To suffer death is the highest (service you can render), to kill many is the next, to be wounded is the lowest. But if you should drop out from your rank and attempt to sneak away, the penalty will be death without moderation." Thus the soldiers are put to fear. Now to capture a state and to destroy an army, to disturb and torture the people, and to set at naught the aspirations of the sages by confusion - is this intended to bless Heaven? But the people of Heaven are gathered together to besiege the towns belonging to Heaven. This is to murder men of Heaven and dispossess the spirits of their altars and to ruin the state and to kill the sacrificial animals. It is then not a blessing to Heaven on high. Is it intended to bless the spirits? But men of Heaven are murdered, spirits are deprived of their sacrifices, the earlier kings are neglected, the multitude are tortured and the people are scattered; it is then not a blessing to the spirits in the middle. Is it intended to bless the people? But the blessing of the people by killing them off must be very meagre. And when we calculate the expense, which is the root of the calamities to living, we find the property of innumerable people is exhausted. It is, then, not a blessing to the people below either.

3. Now that the armies are intended for mutual destruction, it is evident: If the general be not courageous, if soldiers be not brave, if weapons be not sharp, if drills be not frequent, if the force be not large, if generals be not harmonious, if power be not august, if a siege be not enduring, if an assault be not speedy, if people be not strongly bound together, if determination be not firm - if this be so, the (other) feudal lords will suspect. When feudal lords entertain suspicion, enemies will be stirred up and cause anxiety, and the morale will be weakened. On the other hand, if every preparation is in good shape and the state goes out to engage in war, then the state will lose its men and the people will neglect their vocations. Have we not heard it said that, when a warring state goes on an expedition, of the officers there must be several hundred, of the common people there must be several thousand, and of the soldiers and prisoners there must be ten thousand, before the army can set out? It may last for several

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years, or, at the shortest, several months. So, the superior will have no time to attend to government, the officials will have no time to attend to their offices, the farmers will have no time to sow or reap, the women will have no time to weave or spin: that is, the state will lose its men and the people will neglect their vocations. Besides, the chariots will break and horses will be exhausted. As to tents, army supplies, and soldiers' equipment - if one-fifth of these can remain (after the war) it would already be beyond expectation. Moreover, innumerable men will be missing and lost on the way, and will become sick from the long distances, meagre rations, hunger and cold, and die in the ditches. Now the calamity to the people and the world is tremendous. Yet the rulers enjoy doing it. This means they enjoy injuring and exterminating the people; is this not perversity? The most warring states in the empire to-day are Qi, Jin, Chu, and Yue. These four states are all successful in the world. Even if their people be increased tenfold, still they could not consume all that their land could produce. That is, they are in need of men while they have a surplus of land. Still they strove against each other to possess more land. This is to neglect what is needed and to value what is already in plenty.

4. The warring lords would gloss over (their conduct) with arguments to confute Mozi, saying: "Do you condemn attack and assault as unrighteous and not beneficial? But, anciently, Yu made war on the Prince of Miao, Tang on Jie, and King Wu on Zhou. Yet these are regarded as sages. What is your explanation for this?" Mozi said: You have not examined the terminology of my teaching and you do not understand its motive. What they did is not to be called "attack" but "punishment." Anciently, the three Miao tribes were in great confusion. Heaven ordered their destruction. The sun rose at night. It rained blood for three days. Dragons emerged in the temple and dogs cried in the market place. Ice came in summer and earth cracked until water gushed forth. The five grains appeared in mutation. At these, the people were greatly shocked. Gao Yang then gave command (to Yu) in the Yuan Palace. Yu held the imperial jade order in hand and set forth to conquer Miao. Amidst thunder and lightning, a god with the face of a man and the body of a bird was revealed to be waiting upon (Yu) with the gui in hand. The general of Miao was brought down by an arrow and the Miao army was set in great confusion. And the Miao tribes became less and less significant ever after. Having conquered Miao, Yu set apart the hills and rivers (by names), and ordered things into high and low. With sacrifices he set up the four bordering countries, and neither spirits nor men revolted (any more). So there was peace in the world. This was the reason why Yu made war on the Miao. When it came to King Jie of Xia, Heaven gave severe order. Sun and moon did not appear on time. Winter and summer came irregularly. The five grains were dried up to death. Ghosts called in the country, and cranes shrieked for more than ten nights. Heaven then commissioned Tang in the Biao Palace, to receive the great trust that had been given to Xia, as the conduct of Xia fell into great perversity. Only then dared Tang to lead his multitude and enter the borders of Xia. And he let the deserters of the enemy destroy the cities of Xia. Soon after, a god came and told him: "The conduct of Xia is in great confusion. Go and punish him. I will surely let you destroy him, as I have my orders from Heaven." Heaven ordered Zhuyong to send down fire on the northwestern corner of the city of Xia. Thus Tang led the men of Jie and conquered Xia. He then gave audience to the feudal lords at Bo. He revealed and made known the will of Heaven and spread it in the four directions, and none of the feudal lords in the empire dared to show disrespect. This was the reason why Tang punished Jie. When it came to the regime of King Zhou of Shang, his conduct was not acceptable to Heaven. Sacrifices were not according to seasons. Even in the night... It rained sand for ten days at Bo. The nine caldrons moved from their place. Witches appeared in the dark and ghosts sighed at night. Some women turned into men. Flesh came down from Heaven like rain. Thorny brambles covered up the national highways. Yet the king became even more dissolute. A red bird holding a gui by its beak alighted on Mt. Qi, proclaiming: "Heaven decrees King Wen of Zhou to punish Yin and possess its empire." Tai Dian then came to be minister to (King Wen). The charts emerged out of the River and chenghuang appeared on land. Thereupon King Wu ascended the throne. Three gods spoke to him in a dream, saying: "Now that we have submerged Zhou of Yin in wine, you go and attack him. We will surely let you destroy him." So, King Wu set out and attacked Zhou, and replaced Shang with Zhou. Heaven gave King Wu the Yellow Bird Pennant. Having conquered Yin he continued the order of Tang and assigned the worship of the ancestors of Zhou to the feudal lords. Connexions with the barbarians of the four borders were established, and none in the world dared to show disrespect. This was the reason why King Wu punished Zhou. Speaking about the work of these three sages, it is not to be called attack but punishment.

5. The warring lords would again gloss over (their conduct) with arguments for offensive war against Mozi, saying: Do you condemn attack and assault as unrighteous and not beneficial? But, in ancient times, Xiong Li was assigned to the state of Chu (about 1100 BC) in the Mt. of Sui. Yi Kui started at Youju, and became lord of Yue. Uncle Tang and Lu Shang were first appointed to rule over the states of Jin (1107 BC) and of Qi (about 1120 BC) respectively. All these started with a few hundred li square of land. On account of their capture of other states, now each of them has a quarter of the empire. What is your explanation for this?" Mozi said: You have not examined the terminology of my teachings and you do not understand the underlying principle. In ancient times the emperor commissioned feudal lords numbering more than ten thousand. On account of absorption of one state by another, all of the more than ten thousand states have disappeared with only the four remaining. This is like the physician who attends more than ten thousand patients but cures only four. Such an one is not to be said to be a good physician.

6. The warring lords would again gloss over (their conduct) with arguments, saying: "(I wage war) not because I am still discontented with my gold and jade, my children and my land. I want to have my name as a righteous ruler established in the world and draw the other feudal lords to me with my virtue." Mozi said: If there were some one who would establish his righteous name for justice in the world and draw the feudal lords to him with his virtue, the submission of the whole world to him could be awaited while standing. For the world has long been in turmoil and war, and it is weary like the boy at playing horse. If only there were some one who would first benefit the other feudal lords in mutual good faith! When some large state acts unrighteously, he would join in the sorrow; when some large state attacks some smaller one he would join in the rescue; when the outer and the inner walls of the city of the small state are in ruin he would demand their repair; when cloth and grains are exhausted he would supply them; when money and silk are insufficient he would share his own - to befriend the large state in this way, the large state will be pleased, to befriend the small state in this way, the small state will be pleased. With the others tired out and one's self at ease, one's armour and weapon would be stronger. When with kindness and mercy we help the people in their need, the people will be drawn over. When good government is substituted for aggressive war, the country will be benefited many fold. When the expense of the army is limited and the evils of the feudal lords removed, then we shall enjoy prosperity. Let the control (of the army) be judicious and the cause be righteous. Be lenient to the people and place confidence in the army - with this to meet the forces of the feudal lords, there can be no equal in the world. And the benefits to the world will be innumerable. This is what wiII benefit the world, yet the rulers do not understand making use of it: such may be said to be ignorance of the great thing in the world. Therefore Mozi said: Now if the rulers and the gentlemen of the world sincerely desire to procure benefits and avert calamities for the world - if they desire to do righteousness and be superior men, if they desire to strike the way of the sage-kings on the one hand and bless the people on the other - if so, the doctrine of Condemnation of Offensive War should not be left unheeded.

MOZI BOOK 6

MOZI CHAPTER 20 - Economy of Expenditures 1

1. When a sage rules a state the benefits of the state will be increased twice. When he governs the empire, those of the empire will be doubled. This increase is not by appropriating land from without. But by cutting out the useless expenditures it is accomplished. In issuing an order, taking up an enterprise, or employing the people and expending wealth, the sage never does anything without some useful purpose. Therefore wealth is not wasted and people's resources are not exhausted, and many are the blessings procured. In making clothing, what is the purpose? It is to keep out the cold in winter and heat in summer. The good of clothing is measured in terms of the amount of warmth it adds in winter and coolness in summer: what is merely decorative and does not contribute to these is to be let alone. In building palaces and houses, what is the purpose? It is to keep out the wind and the cold in winter and heat and rain in summer, and to fortify against thieves. What is merely decorative and contributes nothing to these should be let alone. In forging armour and shields and the five weapons, what is the purpose? It is to prepare against invasion and revolts, bandits and thieves. When these happen, with armor, shields, and the five weapons one will succeed, without them one cannot succeed. Therefore the sages forged armour, shields, and the five weapons. And their good is measured in terms of lightness, sharpness and unbreakability: what is merely decorative and contributes nothing to these should be let alone. In building boats and vehicles, what is the purpose? A vehicle is to go on land and a boat is to sail rivers and valleys in order to transport the wealth in the four quarters. The good of boats and vehicles is measured in terms of the amount of facility and convenience they afford: what is merely decorative and contributes nothing to these should be let alone. Now, in making all these things none is done without its use in view. Therefore wealth is not wasted and people's resources are not exhausted, and many are the blessings procured.

2. Besides, (the sages) again gave up all such hobbies as collecting pearls and jade, and pet birds, and animals such as dogs and horses, in order to replenish clothing, houses, armour, shields, and the five weapons, and boats and vehicles. And these were multiplied several times. But to increase these is not difficult. What, then, is difficult to increase? To increase the population is difficult. In ancient times, the sage-kings said: "No man of twenty should dare to be without a family; no girl of fifteen should dare to be without a master." Such were the laws of the sage-kings. Now that the sage-kings have passed away, the people have become loose. Those who like to have a family early sometimes marry at twenty. Those who like to have a family late sometimes marry at forty. When the late marriages are made up by the early ones, (the average) is still later than the legal requirements of the sage-kings by ten years. Supposing births are given to children on an average of one in three years, then two or three children should have been born (by the time men now marry). This is not just to urge men to establish families early in order to increase the population. But also .....

3. Those who govern the empire to-day diminish the people in more ways than one: Employing the people they exhaust them, levying taxes they make them heavy. People fall into poverty and innumerable persons die of hunger and cold. Moreover the rulers make war and attack some neighbouring states. It may last a whole year, or, at the shortest, several months. Thus man and woman cannot see each other for a long time. Is not this a way to diminish the people? Living in danger, eating and drinking irregularly many become sick and die. Hiding in ambush, setting fire, besieging a city, and battling in the open fields, innumerable men die. Are not ways of diminishing the people getting numerous with the government of the rulers of to-day? They did not exist when the sage-kings administered the government. (In the government by the sagacious), many ways of increasing the population will arise. Therefore Mozi said: To cut out expenditures is the way of the sage-kings and a great blessing to the world.

MOZI CHAPTER 21 - Economy of Expenditures 2

1. Mozi said: The ancient illustrious kings and sages ruled over the empire and headed the feudal lords because they loved the people loyally and blessed them with many benefits. Loyalty calls out confidence. And, when blessing is shown in addition, the people were not wearied during their whole life and did not feel tired until their death. That the ancient illustrious kings and sages could rule over the empire and head the feudal lords is just because of this.

2. And the ancient sage-kings authorised the code of laws of economy, saying: "All you artisans and workers, carpenters and tanners, potters and smiths, do what you can do. Stop when the needs of the people are satisfied." What causes extra expense but adds no benefit to the people the sage-kings would not undertake.

3. The ancient sage-kings authorised the code of laws regarding food and drink, saying: "Stop when hunger is satiated, breathing becomes strong, limbs are strengthened and ears and eyes become sharp. There is no need of combining the five tastes extremely well or harmonizing the different sweet odours. And efforts should not be made to procure rare delicacies from far countries." How do we know such were the laws? In ancient times, when Yao was governing the empire he consolidated Jiaoze on the south, reached Youdu on the north, expanded from where the sun rises to where the sun sets on the east and west, and none was unsubmissive or disrespectful. Yet, even when he was served with what he much liked, he did not take a double cereal or both soup and meat. He ate out of an earthen liu and drank out of an earthen xing, and took wine out of a spoon. With the ceremonies of bowing and stretching and courtesies and decorum the sage-king had nothing to do.

4. The ancient sage-kings authorised the code of laws regarding clothing, saying: "Be satisfied with clothes of blue or grey silk in winter which are light and warm, and with clothes of flax-linen in summer which are light and cool." What causes extra expenditure but does not add benefits to the people the sage-kings would not allow. Because the ferocious and cunning animals were destroying men and injuring the people, the ancient sage-kings taught the people the use of weapons, saying: "Carry a two-edged sword which penetrates when it pierces and severs when it cuts. When struck with the flat side it does not break, this is the utility of a sword. To be light and strong and afford convenience of action, such is the utility of armour. A vehicle is used to carry weight and to travel great distances. It should be safe to ride and easy to pull; safe to ride so as not to hurt the rider, easy to pull so as to reach the destination speedily. This is the utility of the vehicle. Because the wide rivers and broad valleys were once not crossable the sage-kings ordered boats and oars to be made. And these were made just so that they could cross the riveri. Even when the High Duke or a feudal lord arrived, the boat

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and the oars were not changed and the ferryman put on no decorations. Such is the utility of the boat.

5. The ancient sage-kings authorised the code of laws limiting funeral expenditure, saying: "Of shrouds. there shall be three pieces in order to be enough to hold the rotting flesh. The coffin shall be three inches thick, to be sufficient to hold the rotting bones. The pit shall be dug not deep enough to reach water, but just so deep that the gases will not escape. When the dead is buried the living shall not mourn too long."

6. In those ancient days, at the beginning of the race, when there were no palaces or houses, people lived in caves dug at the side of hills and mounds. The sage-kings felt quite concerned, thinking that the caves might keep off the wind and cold in winter, but that in summer it would be wet below and steaming above which might hurt the health of the people. So palaces and houses were built and found useful. Now, what is the standard in building palaces and houses? Mozi said: Just so that on the side it can keep off the wind and the cold, on top it can keep off the snow, frost, rain, and dew, within it is clean enough for sacrificial purposes, and that the partition in the palace is high enough to separate the men from the women. What causes extra expenditure but does not add any benefit to the people, the sage-kings will not undertake.

MOZI CHAPTER 22 - Economy of Expenditures 3 (Text missing)

MOZI CHAPTER 23 - Simplicity in Funerals 1 (Text missing)

MOZI CHAPTER 24 - Simplicity in Funerals 2 (Text missing)

MOZI CHAPTER 25 - Simplicity in Funerals 3

1. Mozi said: The magnanimous ruler takes care of the empire, in the same way as a filial son takes care of his parents. But how does the filial son take care of his parents? If the parents are poor he would enrich them; if the parents have few people (descendants) he would increase them; if the members (of the family) are in confusion he would put them in order. Of course, in doing this he might find his energy insufficient, his means limited, or his knowledge inadequate. But he dare not allow any energy, learning, or means unused to serve his parents. Such are the three interests of the filial son in taking care of his parents.

2. And the same is true of the magnanimous ruler in taking care of the empire: if the empire is poor he would enrich it; if the people are few he would increase them; if the multitude are in confusion he would put them in order. Of course in doing these he might find his energy insufficient, means limited, or knowledge inadequate, but he dare not allow any energy, learning, or means unused to serve the world. And such are the three interests of the magnanimous ruler in taking care of the empire.

3. When the sage-kings of the Three Dynasties had passed away, and the world had become ignorant of their principles, some of the gentlemen in later generations regarded elaborate funeral and extended mourning as magnanimous, and righteous, and the duty of a filial son; while others held them to be not magnanimous, not righteous, and not the duty of the filial son. These two groups condemn each other in words and contradict each other in deed, and yet both claim to be followers of the way of Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu. But since they are disagreed in word and opposed in deed, people doubt the assertions of both. Now that the assertions of both are doubted, it will be well to turn to the government of the country and the people and see how elaborate funeral and extended mourning affect the three interests. In my opinion, if in adopting the doctrine and practising the principle, elaborate funeral and extended mourning could enrich the poor, increase the few, remove danger, and regulate disorder, it would be magnanimous, righteous, and the duty of a filial son. Those who are to give counsel could not but encourage it. And the magnanimous (ruler) would seek to have it flourish in the empire and establish it so as to have the people praise it and never disregard it in their whole life. (On the other hand,) if in adopting the doctrine and practising the principle, elaborate funeral and extended mourning really cannot enrich the poor, increase the few, remove danger, and regulate disorder, it will not be magnanimous, righteous, and the duty of the filial son. Those who are to give counsel cannot but discourage it. And the magnanimous will seek to have it abolished in the empire and abandon it so as to have the people condemn it, never to practise it in their whole life.

4. It has never happened, from ancient times to the present day, that benefits are procured, calamities averted for the world, and disorder among the people of the country is regulated by elaborate funerals and extended mourning. How do we know? For even at the present the gentlemen of the world are still doubtful whether elaborate funeral and extended mourning are right and beneficial. Mozi said: I have examined the sayings of those who uphold elaborate funeral and extended mourning. If they should be taken seriously in the country, it would mean: when a lord dies, there would be several inner and outer coffins. He would be buried deep. There would be many shrouds. Embroidery would be elaborate. The grave mound would be massive. So, then, the death of a common man would exhaust the wealth of a family. And the death of a feudal lord would empty the state treasury before his body would be surrounded with gold, jade, and pearls, and the grave filled with carts and horses and bundles of silk. Further, there should be plenty of canopies and hangings, dings, drums, tables, pots, and ice receptacles, spears, swords, feather banners, and hides all to be carried along and buried. Not till then are the requirements considered fulfilled. And, regarding those who were to die to accompany their lord, for the emperor or a feudal lord there should be from several hundred to several tens, and for a minister or secretary there should be from several tens to several. What are the rules to be observed by the mourner? He must weep without restraint and sound as if he is choking. Sackcloth is worn on the breast and hat of flax on the head. His tears and snivel are not to be wiped away. The mourner is to live in a mourning hut, sleep on a coarse mat of straw, and lay his head on a lump of earth. Then, he would be obliged to abstain from food in order to look hungry, and to wear little in order to look cold. The face and eyes are to look sunken and as if in fear, and the complexion is to appear dark. Ears and eyes are to become dull, and hands and feet to become weak and unusable. And, also, if the mourner is a high official, he has to be supported to rise, and lean on a cane to walk. And all this is to last three years. Adopting such a doctrine and practising such a principle rulers cannot come to court early (and retire late); the officials cannot attend to the five offices and six posts and encourage farming and forestry and fill the granaries; the farmers cannot start out early and come in late to cultivate the land and plant trees; the artisans cannot build boats and vehicles and make vessels and utensils; and the women cannot rise early and retire late to weave and spin. So, then, in elaborate funerals much wealth is buried, and in extended mourning abstention from work is prolonged. Wealth already produced is carried away into the grave. Child-bearing is postponed. To seek wealth in this way is like seeking a harvest by prohibiting farming. The way to wealth then is not here found.

5. Now that the practice of elaborate funerals and extended mourning has failed to enrich the country perhaps it can yet increase the population? Again it is powerless. For if elaborate funeral and extended mourning are adopted as the rule, then upon the death of the emperor there will be three years' mourning, upon the death of a parent there will be three years' mourning, upon the death of the wife or the eldest son there will be three years' mourning. There will be three years' mourning for all five (relations). Besides, there will be one year for uncles, brothers, and the other sons; and five months for the near relatives, and also several months for aunts, sisters, nephews, and uncles on the mother's side. Further, there are set rules to emaciate one's health: the face and eyes are to look sunken and as if in fear, and the complexion is to appear dark. Ears and eyes are to become dull, and hands and feet are to become weak and unusable. And, also, if the mourner is a high official, he has to be supported to rise and lean on a cane to walk. And this is to last three years if such a doctrine is adopted and such a principle is practised. Being so hungry and weak, the people cannot stand the cold in winter and the heat in summer. And countless numbers will become sick and die. Sexual relations between husband and wife are prevented. To seek to increase the population by this way is like seeking longevity by thrusting one's self upon a sword. The way to dense population is not here found.

6. Now that it has failed to increase the population, perhaps it can yet regulate jurisdiction? Again it is powerless. For, adopting elaborate funerals and extended mourning as a principle in government, the state will become poor, the people few, and the jurisdiction disorderly. Adopting such a doctrine and practising such a principle superiors cannot give attention to administration and subordinates cannot attend to their work. When the superiors are unable to give their attention to administration there will be disorder. When the subordinates are unable to attend to their work, the supply of food and clothing will be insufficient. When there is insufficiency, the undutiful younger brother will ask his older brother for help, and when he does not receive it he will hate the elder brother. The unfilial son will turn to his father for help and when he does not receive it he will spurn his father. And the disloyal minister will turn for help to his lord and when he does not receive it he will mock his lord. And vicious and immoral people will commit evil and immorality beyond control when they are without clothing abroad and without food at home. So, bandits and thieves will be numerous but law-abiding people few. Now, to seek order by multiplying the bandits and thieves and diminishing the law-abiding people is like demanding of a person not to present his back to you after making him turn around three times. The way to order is not here found.

7. Now that it has failed to regulate jurisdiction and government, perhaps it can yet prevent the large states from attacking the small states? Again it is powerless. For since the ancient sage-kings have passed away and the world has become ignorant of their principles, the feudal lords resort to attack by force. On the south there are the kings of Chu and Yue, and on the north there are the lords of Qi and Jin. All of these show favours and encouragement to their warriors and soldiers, making it their business in the world to attack and absorb (others). Some small states, however, they do not attack, and this because these small states are well stored with supplies, their inner and outer city walls are in repair, and in them the superior and the subordinates are harmonious. Therefore the large states would not want to attack them. Those which are not well stored with supplies, whose inner and outer city walls are not in repair, and in which the superior and the subordinates are not harmonious, the large states would want to attack. Adopting elaborate funerals and extended mourning in government, the state will become poor, the people few, and jurisdiction disorderly. Since the state is poor, no surplus goods can be stored. Since its numbers are few, there will be few workmen to keep the city walls and moats in repair. Since it is disorderly, a state will not be victorious in attack or strong in defence.

8. Now that it has failed in preventing the large states from attacking the small states, perhaps it can yet procure blessing from God and the spirits. Again it is powerless. For, adopting elaborate funeral and extended mourning as a principle in government, the state will become poor, the people few, and the jurisdiction disorderly. When the state is poor the cakes and wine will be unclean. When the people are few the worshippers of God and the spirits will be reduced in number. And when jurisdiction is in disorder the sacrifice will not be made according to season. Moreover, the worship of God and the spirits is now even prohibited. When the government is run like this, God and the spirits would deliberate from on high, saying: "Which is better, to have these people exist or not to have them exist? It really makes no difference whether they exist or not." Therefore God and spirits will send judgement upon them and visit them with calamities and punish and desert them. Is not this quite in place?

9. Therefore the ancient sage-kings authorised the code of laws regarding the burial of the dead thus: The coffin shall be three inches thick, sufficient to hold the body. As to shrouds there shall be three pieces adequate to cover the corpse. It shall not be buried so deep as to reach water and neither so shallow as to allow the odour to ascend. Three feet in size shall be big enough for the mound. There shall be no extended mourning after burial, but speedy return to work and pursuit in what one can do to procure mutual benefit. Such are the laws of the sage-kings.

10. Those who uphold elaborate funerals and extended mourning say: "Although elaborate funerals and extended mourning cannot enrich the poor, increase the few, remove danger and regulate disorder, yet they were a principle of the sage-kings." Mozi replied: Not at all. Anciently, Yao went north to instruct the eight tribes of Di. He died on the way and was buried in the shade of Mt. Qiong. Of shrouds there were three pieces. The coffin was of soft wood, and sealed with flax linen. Weeping started only after burial. There was no mound, only the pit was filled up. After burial, oxen and horses plodded over it. Shun went west to instruct the seven tribes of Rong. He died on the way and was buried in the market place of Nanji. Of shrouds there were three pieces. The coffin was of soft wood and sealed with flax linen. After burial the people in the market place walked over it. Yu went east to instruct the nine tribes of Yi. He died on the way and was buried at Mt. Guiji. Of clothing there were three pieces. The coffin was of tong wood and sealed with flax linen. It did not crush when bound, and it did not sink in when pressed. The pit was not deep enough to strike water and not so shallow as to allow the odour to ascend. When the coffin had been buried, the remaining earth was gathered on it, and the mound was three feet high and no more. So, to judge according to these three sage-kings, elaborate funerals and extended mourning were really not the way of the sage-kings. These three sage-kings held the rank of Sons of Heaven and possessed the whole empire, yet they authorised their burial in this way; was it because of any fear of lack of means?

11. The way in which the present rulers are buried is quite different from this. There are the outer and the inner coffins, and then the three layers of hide and embroidered covers. When the stones and jade are all collected, there are yet to be completed the spears, swords, dings, pots and ice receptacles, and ten thousand of decorated reins and yokes, and the carriages, horses, and the chorus girls. Then, there must be built the tunnel to reach under the tomb which is as high as a hill. This interferes with people's work and wastes people's wealth to such a great extent. How indeed is this to be avoided? So Mozi said: I have already said that if in adopting the doctrine and practising the principle, elaborate funeral and extended mourning really could enrich the poor, increase the few, remove danger and regulate disorder, they would be magnanimous, righteous, and the duty of the filial son. Those who give counsel could not but encourage them. (On the other hand,) if in adopting the doctrine and practising the principle, elaborate funeral and extended mourning really cannot enrich the poor, increase the few, remove danger and

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regulate disorder, they are not magnanimous, righteous, and the duty of the filial son. Those who are to give counsel cannot but discourage it. Now, (we have seen) that to seek to enrich a country thereby brings about poverty; to seek to increase the people thereby results in a decrease; and to seek to regulate government thereby begets disorder. To seek to prevent the large states from attacking the small ones by this way is impossible on the one hand, and, on the other, to seek to procure blessing from God and the spirits through it only brings calamity. When we look up and examine the ways of Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu, we find it is diametrically opposed to (these). But when we look down and examine the regimes of Jie, Zhou, You, and Li, we find it agrees with these like two parts of a tally. So, judging from these, elaborate funeral and extended mourning are not the way of the sage-kings.

12. Those who uphold elaborate funeral and extended mourning are saying: "If the elaborate funerals and extended mourning were not the way of the sage-kings, why then do the gentlemen of the Middle Kingdom practise them continually and follow them without discrimination?" Mozi said: This is because habit affords convenience and custom carries approval. Anciently, east of the state of Yue there was the tribe of Kaishu. Among them the first-born son was dismembered and devoured after birth and this was said to be propitious for his younger brothers. When the father died the mother was carried away and abandoned, and the reason was that one should not live with the wife of a ghost. By the officials this was regarded as a government regulation and by the people it was accepted as a commonplace. They practised it continually and followed it without discrimination. Was it then the good and the right way? No, this is really because habit affords convenience and custom carries approval. South of Chu there was a cannibal tribe. Upon the death of the parents the flesh was scraped off and thrown away, while the bones were buried. And by following this custom one became a filial son. West of the state of Qin there was the tribe of Yiqu. Upon their death the parents were burned on a bonfire and amidst the smoke, and this was said to be ascension to the golden clouds. In this way one became a filial son. The officials embodied it in the government regulations and the people regarded it as a commonplace. They practised it continually and followed it without discrimination. Is it then the good and the right way? No, this is really because habit affords convenience and custom carries approval. Now, the practice of these three tribes is too heartless and that of the gentlemen of the Middle Kingdom is too elaborate. This being too elaborate and that being too heartless, then there should be rules for funerals and burials. Even regarding clothing and food, which are the necessities of life, there are rules. How then can there be none regarding funerals and burials, which are the necessities of death? Outlining the rules for funerals and burials, Mozi said: The coffin shall be three inches thick, just sufficient to hold the rotting bones. Of shrouds there shall be three pieces just to be enough to hold the rotting flesh. The pit shall be dug not so deep as to strike water, and not so shallow as to allow the odour to ascend. The mound shall be just high enough to be identified (by the mourners). There may be weeping on the way to and from the burial. But upon returning they shall engage in earning the means of livelihood. Sacrifices shall not be neglected in order to express one's filial piety to parents. Thus the rules of Mozi neglect the necessities of neither the dead nor the living.

13. Hence, Mozi said: If the gentlemen of the world really want to practise righteousness and magnanimity, and to seek to be superior men, desiring to attain the way of the sage-kings on the one hand and to procure blessings for the people on the other, they cannot afford to neglect the principle of Simplicity in Funeral in government.

MOZI BOOK 7

MOZI CHAPTER 26 - Will of Heaven 1

1. Mozi said: The gentlemen of the world all understand only trifles but not things of importance. How do we know? We know this from one's conduct in the family. If one should offend the patriarch of the family, there are still the homes of the neighbours in which to seek shelter. Yet parents, brothers, and friends all keep on reminding one to be obedient and careful. For, how can one offend the patriarch and stay in the family? Not only is this true about conduct in the family, but also in the state. If one should offend the lord of the state there are still the neighbouring states whither he may flee. Yet parents, brothers, and friends all keep on reminding one to be obedient and careful. For, how can one offend the lord of the state and stay in it? From these there are yet shelters to flee to, yet there are such constant counsels. Should there not be more counsels in a case from which there is nowhere to flee? As the saying goes: "Sinning in broad daylight, whither can one flee?" Really there is nowhere to flee. For, Heaven clearly discerns it even if it be in the woods, valleys, or solitary caves where there is no man. But, contrary to our expectation, regarding Heaven, the gentlemen of the world do not understand mutually to give counsel. This is how we know the gentlemen in the world understand only trifles and not things of importance.

2. Now, what does Heaven desire and what does it abominate? Heaven desires righteousness and abominates unrighteousness. Therefore, in leading the people in the world to engage in doing righteousness I should be doing what Heaven desires. When I do what Heaven desires, Heaven will also do what I desire. Now, what do I desire and what do I abominate? I desire blessings and emoluments, and abominate calamities and misfortunes. When I do not do what Heaven desires, neither will Heaven do what I desire. Then I should be leading the people into calamities and misfortunes. But how do we know Heaven desires righteousness and abominates unrighteousness? For, with righteousness the world lives and without it the world dies; with it the world becomes rich and without it the world becomes poor; with it the world becomes orderly and without it the world becomes chaotic. And if Heaven likes to have the world live and dislikes to have it die, likes to have it rich and dislikes to have it poor, and likes to have it orderly and dislikes to have it disorderly. Therefore we know Heaven desires righteousness and abominates unrighteousness.

3. Moreover, righteousness is the standard. A standard is not to be given by the subordinates to the superior but by the superior to the subordinates. Therefore, while the common people should spare no pains at work they may not make the standard at will. There are the scholars to give them the standard. While the scholars should spare no pains at work, they may not make the standard at will. There are the ministers and secretaries to give them the standard. While the ministers and secretaries should spare no pains at work, they may not make the standard at will. There are the high duke and feudal lords to give them the standard. While the high duke and the feudal lords should spare no pains at work, they may not make the standard at will. There is the emperor to give them the standard. The emperor may not make the standard at will (either). There is Heaven to give him the standard. That the emperor gives the standard to the high dukes, to the feudal lords, to the scholars, and to the common people, the gentlemen in the world clearly understand. But that Heaven gives the standard to the emperor, the people do not know well. Therefore the ancient sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu, desiring to make it clear to the people that Heaven gives the standard to the emperor, fed oxen and sheep with grass, and pigs and dogs with grain, and cleanly prepared the cakes and wine to do sacrifice to God on High and the spirits, and invoked Heaven's blessing. But I have not yet heard of Heaven invoking the emperor for blessing. So I know Heaven gives the standard to the emperor.

4. The emperor is the most honourable of the world and the richest of the world. So, the honoured and the rich cannot but obey the will of Heaven. He who obeys the will of Heaven, loving universally and benefiting others, will obtain rewards. He who opposes the will of Heaven, by being partial and unfriendly and harming others, will incur punishment. Now, who were those that obeyed the will of Heaven and obtained rewards, and who were those that opposed the will of Heaven and incurred punishment? Mozi said: The ancient sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu, were those that obeyed the will of Heaven and obtained reward. And the wicked kings of the Three Dynasties, Jie, Zhou, You, and Li, were those that opposed the will of Heaven and incurred punishment. How did Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu obtain their reward? Mozi said: In the highest sphere they revered Heaven, in the middle sphere they worshipped the spirits, and in the lower sphere they loved the people. Thereupon the will of Heaven proclaimed: "All those whom I love these love also, and all those whom I benefit these benefit also. Their love to men is all-embracing and their benefit to men is most substantial." And so, they were raised to the honour of Sons of Heaven and enriched with the heritage of the empire. They were succeeded by descendants for ten thousand generations to continue the spread of their righteousness all over the world. And people praise them unto this day, calling them righteous sage-kings. How did Jie, Zhou, You, and Li incur their punishment? Mozi said: In the highest sphere they blasphemed against Heaven, in the middle sphere they blasphemed against the spirits, and in the sphere below they oppressed the people. Thereupon the will of Heaven proclaimed: "From those whom I love these turn away and hate, and those whom I want to benefit they oppress. Their hate of men is without limit and their oppression of men the most severe." And, so, they were not permitted to finish out their lives, or to survive a single generation. And people condemn them unto this day, calling them wicked kings.

5. How do we know Heaven loves the people? Because it teaches them all. How do we know it teaches them all? Because it claims them all. How do we know it claims them all? Because it accepts sacrifices from them all. How do we know it accepts sacrifices from all? Because within the four seas all who live on grains feed oxen and sheep with grass, and dogs and pigs with grains, and prepare clean cakes and wine to do sacrifice to God on High and the spirits. Claiming all the people, why will Heaven not love them? Moreover, as I have said, for the murder of one innocent individual there will be one calamity. Who is it that murders the innocent? It is man. Who is it that sends down the calamity? It is Heaven. If Heaven should be thought of as not loving the people, why should it send down calamities for the murder of man by man? So, I know Heaven loves the people.

6. To obey the will of Heaven is to accept righteousness as the standard. To oppose the will of Heaven is to accept force as the standard. Now what will the standard of righteousness do? Mozi said: He who rules a large state does not attack small states: he who rules a large house does not molest small houses. The strong does not plunder the weak. The honoured does not demean the humble. The clever does not deceive the stupid. This is beneficial to Heaven above, beneficial to the spirits in the middle sphere, and beneficial to the people below. Being beneficial to these three it is beneficial to all. So the most excellent name is attributed to such a man and he is called sage-king. The standard of force is different from this. It is contradictory to this in word and opposed to this in deed like galloping with back to back. Leading a large state, he whose standard is force attacks small states; leading a large house he molests small houses. The strong plunders the weak. The honoured disdains the humble. The clever deceives the stupid. This is not beneficial to Heaven above, or to the spirits in the middle sphere, or to the people below. Not being beneficial to these three, it is beneficial to none. So, the most evil name in the world is attributed to him and he is called the wicked king.

7. Mozi said: The will of Heaven to me is like the compasses to the wheelwright and the square to the carpenter. The wheelwright and the carpenter measure all the square and circular objects with their square and compasses and accept those that fit as correct and reject those that do not fit as incorrect. The writings of the gentlemen of the world of the present day cannot be all loaded (in a cart), and their doctrines cannot be exhaustively enumerated. They endeavour to convince the feudal lords on the one hand and the scholars on the other. But from magnanimity and righteousness they are far off. How do we know? Because I have the most competent standard in the world to measure them with.

MOZI CHAPTER 27 - Will of Heaven 2

1. Mozi said: Those gentlemen in the world who want to practise magnanimity and righteousness cannot but examine the origin of righteousness. Since we want to examine the origin of righteousness, then where does it originate? Mozi said: Righteousness does not originate with the stupid and humble but with the honourable and wise. How do we know it does not originate with the dull and humble but with the honourable and wise? For, righteousness is the standard. How do we know righteousness is the standard? For, with righteousness the world will be orderly and without it the world will be disorderly. Therefore righteousness is known to be the standard. As the dull and the humble cannot make the standard, and only the wise and honourable can, therefore I know righteousness does not come from the stupid and humble but from the honourable and wise. Now who is honourable and who is wise? Heaven is honourable, Heaven is wise. So, then, righteousness must originate with Heaven.

2. People in the world would say: "That the emperor is more honourable than the feudal lords and that the feudal lords are more honourable than the ministers, we clearly see. But that Heaven is more honourable and wise than the emperor, we do not see." Mozi said: I know Heaven is more honourable and wise than the emperor for a reason: When the emperor practises virtue Heaven rewards, when the emperor does evil Heaven punishes. When there are disease and calamities the emperor will purify and bathe himself and prepare clean cakes and wine to do sacrifice and libation to Heaven and the spirits. Heaven then removes them. But I have not yet heard of Heaven invoking the emperor for blessing. So I know Heaven is more honourable and wise than the emperor. And, this is not all. We also learn of this from the book of the ancient kings which instructs us the vast and ineffable Dao of Heaven. It says: "Brilliant and perspicacious Heaven on High, who enlightens and watches over the earth below!" This shows Heaven is more honourable and wise than the emperor. But is there yet any one more honourable and wise than Heaven? Heaven is really the most honourable and wise. Therefore, righteousness surely comes from Heaven.

3. And hence Mozi said: If the gentlemen of the world really desire to follow the way and benefit the people, they must not disobey the will of Heaven, the origin of magnanimity and righteousness. Now that we must obey the will of Heaven, what does the will of Heaven desire and what does it abominate? Mozi said: The will of Heaven abominates the large state which attacks small states, the large house which molests small houses, the strong who plunder the weak, the clever who deceive the stupid, and the honoured who disdain the humble - these are what the will of Heaven abominates. On the other hand, it desires people having energy to work for each other, those knowing the way to teach each other, and those possessing wealth to share with each other. And it desires the superior diligently to attend to government and

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the subordinates diligently to attend to their work. When the superior attends to the government diligently, the country will be orderly. When the subordinates attend to work diligently, wealth will be abundant. When the country is orderly and wealth is abundant, within the state there will be wherewith to prepare clean cakes and wine to sacrifice to God and the spirits, and in relation with outside countries there will be wherewith to furnish rings, stones, pearls, and jades by which to befriend surrounding neighbours. With the grudges of the feudal lords inactive and fighting on the borders suspended, and the people within provided with food and rest, the emperor and the ministers and the superiors and subordinates will be gracious and loyal respectively, and father and son and elder and younger brothers will be affectionate and filial respectively. Therefore when the principle of obeying the will of Heaven is understood and widely practiced in the world, then justice and government will be orderly, the multitudes will be harmonious, the country will be wealthy, the supplies will be plenteous, and the people will be warmly clothed and sufficiently fed, peaceful and without worry. Therefore Mozi said: If the gentlemen of the world really desire to follow the way and benefit the people they must carefully investigate the principle that the will of Heaven is the origin of magnanimity and righteousness.

4. The rule of Heaven over the world is not unlike the rule of the feudal lord over the state. In ruling the state does the feudal lord desire his ministers and people to work for mutual disadvantage? If leading a large state one attacks small states, if leading a large house one molests small houses - if by doing this one seeks reward and commendation (from the feudal lord) he cannot obtain it. On the contrary, punishment will visit him. Now, the rule of Heaven over the world is not unlike this. If leading a large state one attacks small states, if leading a large house one molests small houses -- if by doing this one seeks reward and commendation (from Heaven) he cannot obtain it. On the contrary, punishment will visit him. When (man) does not do what Heaven desires, but does what Heaven abominates, Heaven will also not do what man desires but do what he abominates. What man abominates are disease and calamities. Therefore not to do what Heaven desires but do what it abominates is to lead the multitudes in the world to calamity. Therefore the ancient sage-kings studied what Heaven and the spirits would bless and avoided what they would curse in order to procure benefits for the world and avoid calamities. Thereupon, Heaven made heat and cold temperate, the four seasons harmonious, the Yin and Yang and rain and dew timely. The five grains are enabled to ripen and the six animals to mature. And disease, pestilence, and famine did not happen. Therefore Mozi said: If the gentlemen of the world really desire to follow the Dao and benefit the people they must be mindful of the principle that the will of Heaven is the origin of magnanimity and righteousness.

5. In the world those who lack benevolence are unfortunate. If a son does not serve his father, a younger brother does not serve his elder brother, or a subordinate does not serve his superior, then all the gentlemen of the world will call him unfortunate. Now Heaven loves the whole world universally. Everything is prepared for the good of man. Even the tip of a hair is the work of Heaven. Substantial may be said of the benefits that are enjoyed by man. Yet there is no service in return. And they do not even know this to be unmagnanimous and unfortunate. This is why I say the gentlemen understand only trifles and not things of importance.

6. Moreover I know Heaven loves men dearly not without reason. Heaven ordered the sun, the moon, and the stars to enlighten and guide them. Heaven ordained the four seasons, Spring, Autumn, Winter, and Summer, to regulate them. Heaven sent down snow, frost, rain, and dew to grow the five grains and flax and silk that so the people could use and enjoy them. Heaven established the hills and rivers, ravines and valleys, and arranged many things to minister to man's good or bring him evil. He appointed the dukes and lords to reward the virtuous and punish the wicked, and to gather metal and wood, birds and beasts, and to engage in cultivating the five grains and flax and silk to provide for the people's food and clothing. This has been taking from antiquity to the present. Suppose there is a man who is deeply fond of his son and has used his energy to the limit to work for his benefit. But when the son grows up he returns no love to the father. The gentlemen of the world will all call him unmagnanimous and miserable. Now Heaven loves the whole world universally. Everything is prepared for the good of man. The work of Heaven extends to even the smallest things that are enjoyed by man. Such benefits may indeed be said to be substantial, yet there is no service in return. And they do not even know this to be unmagnanimous. This is why I say the gentlemen of the world understand only trifles but not things of importance.

7. Yet this does not exhaust my reasons whereby I know Heaven loves man dearly. It is said the murder of an innocent individual will call down a calamity. Who is the innocent? Man is. From whom is the visitation? From Heaven. If Heaven does not love the people dearly, why should Heaven send down a visitation upon the man who murders the innocent? Thus I know Heaven loves man dearly.

8. This is still not all by which I know Heaven loves man dearly. There are those who love the people and benefit the people and obey the will of Heaven and obtain reward from Heaven. There are also those who hate the people and oppress the people and oppose the will of Heaven and incur punishment from Heaven. Who are those that love the people and benefit the people, obey the will of Heaven and obtain reward from Heaven? They are the ancient sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu. What did Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu do? They engaged themselves in universality and not partiality (in love). Loving universally, they did not attack the small states with their large states, they did not molest the small houses with their large houses. The strong did not plunder the weak, the many did not oppress the few, the clever did not deceive the stupid, the honoured did not disdain the humble. Such a regime was agreeable to Heaven above, to the spirits in the middle sphere, and to the people below. Being helpful to these three, it was helpful to all. And this was Heavenly virtue. The most excellent names in the world were gathered and attributed to them, and they were called magnanimous, righteous, beloved of man and beneficial to the people, obedient to the will of Heaven and rewarded of Heaven. Besides this, it is also recorded on the bamboos and silk, cut in metals and stones, and engraved on the dishes and cups to be handed down to posterity. What is this for? It is to mark out those who loved the people and benefited them, obeyed the will of Heaven and obtained reward from Heaven. Thus the ode of Huang Yi says: "God said to King Wen, 'I cherish your intelligent virtue. It was not proclaimed with much noise or gesture. It was not modified after the possession of the empire. How instructively and naturally submissive to the scheme of Heaven!'" Because he was obedient to God's scheme, He rewarded him with Yin and honoured him to be emperor and enriched him with the empire. And his fame is not forgotten even unto this day. Hence we are enabled to know who are those that loved the people and benefited them, obeyed the will of Heaven and obtained reward from Heaven. Now, who are those that hated the people and oppressed them, opposed the will of Heaven and incurred punishment from Heaven? They are the ancient wicked kings of the Three Dynasties, Jie, Zhou, You, and Li. What did they do? They were selfish and ungenerous. Being selfish they attacked the small states with their large states, they molested the small houses with their large houses. The strong plundered the weak, the many oppressed the few, the clever deceived the ignorant, the honoured disdained the humble. Such a regime was not helpful to Heaven above, to the spirits in the middle sphere, or to the people below. Since it was not helpful to these three it was helpful to none. And they were called the enemies of Heaven. The most evil names in the world were gathered and attributed to them, and they were called unmagnanimous, unrighteous, haters of man and oppressors of the people, disobedient to the will of Heaven and punished by Heaven. Besides this, it is also recorded on the bamboos and silk, cut in the metals and stones, and engraved on the plates and cups to be handed down to posterity. What is this for? It is to mark out those that hated the people and oppressed them, opposed the will of Heaven and incurred punishment from Heaven. Thus relates the "Great Declaration": "Zhou went beyond the proper limits and became insolent. He would not worship God and pushed away the ancestors and spirits without offering them sacrifices. And he said: 'Fortune is with me,' and neglected and betrayed his duty. Heaven thereupon deserted him and withdrew its protection." Heaven deserted Zhou and withdrew its support because Zhou opposed the will of Heaven. Hence we are enabled to know who are those that hated the people and oppressed them, opposed the will of Heaven and incurred punishment from Heaven.

9. Therefore the will of Heaven is like the compasses to the wheelwright and the square to the carpenter. The wheelwright tests the circularity of every object in the world with his compasses, saying: "That which satisfies my compasses is circular. That which does not is not circular." Therefore whether an object is circular or not is all known, because the standard of circularity is all established. The carpenter also tests the squareness of every object in the world with his square, saying: "That which satisfies my square is square; that which does not is not square." Therefore whether any object is square or not is all known. Why so? Because the standard of squareness is established. Similarly, with the will of Heaven Mozi will measure the jurisdiction and government of the lords in the empire on the one hand, and the doctrines and teachings of the multitudes in the empire on the other. If some conduct is observed to be in accordance with the will of Heaven, it is called good conduct; if it is in opposition to the will of Heaven it is called bad conduct. If a teaching is observed to be in accordance with the will of Heaven it is called good teaching; if it is in opposition to the will of Heaven it is called bad teaching. And if a government is observed to be in accordance with the will of Heaven it is called good government; if it is in opposition to the will of Heaven it is called bad government. With this as the model and with this as the standard, whether the lords and the ministers are magnanimous or not can be measured as (easily as) to distinguish black and white. Therefore Mozi said: If the rulers and the gentlemen of the world really desire to follow the way and benefit the people they have only to obey the will of Heaven, the origin of magnanimity and righteousness. Obedience to the will of Heaven is the standard of righteousness.

MOZI CHAPTER 28 - Will of Heaven 3

1. Mozi said: What is the reason for the disorder in the world? It is because the gentlemen of the world all understand trifles but not things of importance. How do we know they understand trifles but not things of importance? Because they do not understand the will of Heaven. How do we know they do not understand the will of Heaven? By observing the conduct in the family. If a man commits a misdemeanour in the family he still has other families in which to seek shelter. Yet, father reminds son, the elder brother reminds the younger brother, saying: "Be obedient, be careful in conduct in the family. If one is not obedient and careful in conduct in the family how can he live in the state?" If a man commits a misdemeanour in the state he still has other states in which to seek shelter. Yet father reminds son and the elder brother reminds the younger brother, saying: "Be obedient. Be careful. One cannot live in a state and be disobedient and careless." Now all men live in the world and under Heaven. When a man sins against Heaven there is nowhere to seek shelter. But people do not think of warning each other. Thus I know that they do not understand things of importance.

2. And Mozi said: Be obedient. Be careful. Be sure to do what Heaven desires and avoid what Heaven abominates. Now, what does Heaven desire and what does Heaven abominate? Heaven desires righteousness and abominates unrighteousness. How do we know this? Because righteousness is the standard. How do we know righteousness is the standard? Because with righteousness the world will be orderly; without it the world will be disorderly. So, I know righteousness is the standard. Now a standard is never given by the subordinate to the superior, it is always to be given by the superior to the subordinate. Hence the common people may not make the standard at will. There are the scholars to give them the standard. The scholars may not make the standard at will. There are the ministers to give them the standard. The ministers may not make the standard at will. There are the feudal lords to give them the standard. The feudal lords may not make the standard at will. There is the high duke to give them the standard. The high duke may not make the standard at will. There is the emperor to give him the standard. The emperor may not make the standard at will. There is Heaven to give him the standard. The gentlemen of the world all understand that the emperor gives the standard to the world but do not understand that Heaven gives the standard to the emperor. The sages, explaining this, said: "When the emperor has done good, Heaven rewards him. When the emperor has committed wrong, Heaven punishes him. When the emperor is unjust in reward and punishment and not judicious in hearing lawsuits, Heaven visits him with disease and calamities, and frost and dew will be untimely." The emperor will then have to feed oxen and sheep with grass and dogs and pigs with grains and prepare clean cakes and wine to pray and invoke Heaven for blessing. I have not yet heard of Heaven praying and invoking the emperor for blessing. So, I can say Heaven is more honourable and wise than the emperor. Therefore righteousness does not come from the ignorant and humble but from the honourable and wise. Who is honourable? Heaven is honourable. Who is wise? Heaven is wise. And, so, righteousness assuredly comes from Heaven. And the gentlemen of the world who desire to do righteousness therefore must obey the will of Heaven.

3. What is the will of Heaven that is to be obeyed? It is to love all the people in the world universally. How do we know it is to love all the people in the world universally? Because (Heaven) accepts sacrifices from all. How do we know Heaven accepts sacrifices from all? Because from antiquity to the present day there is no distant or isolated country but what feeds oxen and sheep, dogs and pigs with grass and grains, and prepares clean cakes and wine to worship God, hills and rivers, and the spirits. So we know Heaven accepts sacrifices from all. Accepting sacrifice from all, Heaven must love them all. Take the lords of Chu and Yue for instance. The lord of Chu accepts offering from all within the four borders of Chu, therefore he loves the people of Chu. And, the lord of Yue accepts offering from all within the four borders of Yue, therefore he loves the people of Yue. Now Heaven accepts offerings from all the world and so I know Heaven loves all the people in the world.

4. That Heaven loves all the people of the world is proved not only by this. In all the countries in the world and among all the people who live on grains, the murder of one innocent individual brings down one calamity. Now who is it that murders the innocent? It is man. Who is it that sends down the calamity? It is Heaven. If Heaven really did not love the people, why does Heaven send down calamities for the murder

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of the innocent? Furthermore, Heaven loves the people dearly, Heaven loves the people inclusively. And this can be known. How do we know Heaven loves the people? Because of the certain reward to the good and punishment to the evil from the virtuous (Heaven). How do we know the virtuous (Heaven) certainly rewards the good and punishes the evil? I know this from the (examples of) the sage-kings of the Three Dynasties. Anciently, the sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu, loved the world universally and proceeded to benefit them. They converted the desires of the people and led them to worship God, hills and rivers, and the spirits. Heaven was pleased because they loved what it loved and benefited what it would benefit, and bestowed rewards upon them, placing them on the throne, crowning them emperor, upholding them as the standard, and calling them sage-kings. Here we have the proof of reward of the good. Anciently, the wicked kings of the Three Dynasties, Jie, Zhou, You, and Li, hated all the world and proceeded to oppress them. They converted the desires of the people and led them to blaspheme against God, hills and rivers, and the spirits. Heaven was offended because they hated those whom Heaven loved and oppressed those whom Heaven would benefit, and Heaven decreed punishments upon them, letting fathers and sons be scattered, their empire be put to an end, their state be lost to them, and capital punishment fall upon them. Thereupon, the multitudes in the world condemned them, the condemnation lasting all through the ten thousand generations, the people calling them wicked kings. Here we have the proof of punishment of the evil. Those gentlemen of the world who desire to do righteousness have only to obey the will of Heaven.

5. To obey the will of Heaven is to be universal and to oppose the will of Heaven is to be partial (in love). According to the doctrine of universality righteousness is the standard; in the doctrine of partiality force is the basis of government. What is it like to have righteousness as the basis of government? The great will not attack the small, the strong will not plunder the weak, the many will not oppress the few, the clever will not deceive the ignorant, the honoured will not disdain the humble, the rich will not mock the poor, and the young will not rob the old. And the states in the empire will not ruin each other with water, fire, poison, and weapons. Such a regime will be beneficial to Heaven above, to the spirits in the middle sphere, to the people below. Being beneficial to these three it is beneficial to all. This is called the virtue of Heaven; whoever practises this is a sage, magnanimous, gracious, and righteous, loyal, affectionate, and filial, and all such good names in the world will be gathered and attributed to him. Why so? Because such conduct is in accordance with the will of Heaven. Now, what is it like to have force as the basis of government? The great will attack the small, the strong will plunder the weak, the many will oppress the few, the clever will impose upon the ignorant, the honoured will disdain the humble, the rich will mock the poor, and the young will rob the old. And the states in the empire will ruin each other with water, fire, poison, and weapons. Such a regime will not be helpful to Heaven above, to the spirits in the middle sphere, or to the people below. Not being helpful to these three, it is not helpful to any. This is called the enemy of Heaven. He who practises this is a bad man, not magnanimous, not gracious, and unrighteous, disloyal, unaffectionate, and unfilial, and all such evil names in the world are gathered and attributed to him. Why so? Because such conduct is in opposition to the will of Heaven.

6. Hence Mozi established the will of Heaven as his standard, just as the wheelwright uses his compasses and the carpenter uses his square as their standards. The wheelwright with his compasses and the carpenter with his square can judge the circularity and the squareness of objects. Similarly, with the will of Heaven as the standard, Mozi can tell that the gentlemen of the world are far from righteousness. How do we know the gentlemen of the world are far from righteousness ? For, the lords in the large states compete in saying: "Being a big state, if I do not attack the small states, in what way am I big?" Therefore they mustered their warriors and soldiers, and arranged their boat and chariot forces to attack some innocent state. They broke into its borders, cut down its fields, felled its trees, tore down its inner and outer city walls, and filled up its moats and ditches, burned its ancestral temples and seised and killed its sacrificial victims. Of the people the strong were killed, the weak were brought back in chains and ropes. The men were turned into servants and grooms and prisoners. The women were made to be waitresses (to pour wine). Yet, the warring lord did not even know that this is unmagnanimous and unrighteous. He announced to the neighbouring lords: "I have attacked a state, defeated an army, and killed so many generals." And the neighbouring lords did not know that this is unmagnanimous and unrighteous either, but with furs and silk sent envoys to offer congratulations. And the warring lords were even doubly ignorant of its being unmagnanimous and unrighteous. They recorded it on the bamboos and silk and kept them in the archives so that the descendants would imitate their royal ancestors, saying: "Why not let us open up the archives and let us learn of the achievements of our ancestors?" Then they would surely not learn: "Such and such is the regime of Wu," but would learn: "I have attacked states, reversed armies, and killed so many of their generals." Now that the warring lords do not understand this to be unmagnanimous and unrighteous, and neighbouring lords do not understand this to be unmagnanimous and unrighteous, therefore attacks and assaults go on generation after generation without end. This is what I mean when I say they do not understand matters of importance.

7. What do I mean when I say people do not understand things of importance but understand trifles? Supposing some one entered the orchard and garden of another and took the other's peaches and prunes, melon and ginger, he will be punished by the superior when caught and condemned by the public when heard of. Why? Because he did not share the toil but takes the fruit and appropriates what is not his. How much more is this true with him who jumps over another's fence and maltreats the children of the other; of him who digs into another's storehouse and carries away the others gold, jade, silk, and cloth; of him who breaks into another's fold and steals the other's oxen and horses; and of him who kills an innocent person? In the government of the lords of to-day all - from the one who kills an innocent person to the one who jumps over another's fence and maltreats the other's children, who digs into another's warehouse and carries away his gold, jade, silk and cloth, who breaks into another's fold and steals his oxen and horses, and who enters another's orchard and garden and takes his peaches and prunes, melons and ginger - all these are punished quite the same as they would be even in the government of Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu. Now the lords and chiefs in the world all attack and absorb others. This is a thousand and ten thousand times worse than killing one innocent individual, a thousand and ten thousand times worse than jumping over another's fence and maltreating his children or digging into another's storehouse and carrying away his gold, jade, silk, and cloth, a thousand and ten thousand times worse than breaking into another's fold and stealing his oxen and horses, or entering another's orchard and garden and taking his peaches and prunes, melons and ginger. Yet, they claim it to be righteous. Mozi said: This is meant to confuse us. And is this at all different from confusion in the distinctions between black and white, and sweet and bitter? Suppose a man who upon being shown a little blackness says it is black, but upon being shown much blackness says it is white. He will have to admit that his sight is confused and that he cannot tell the difference between black and white. Suppose a man when served with a little bitter says it is bitter, but when served with much bitter says it is sweet. Then he will have to admit that his taste is impaired and that he cannot tell the difference between sweet and bitter. In the government of the present lords, the murderer of an individual is imprisoned by the state. This.... But the murderer of many men of the neighbouring states is upheld as righteous. How is this different from confusing the distinction between black and white and sweet and bitter?

8. Therefore Mozi established the will of Heaven to be the standard. Not only Mozi established the will of Heaven to be the standard, it is also the theme of an ode in the "Da Ya" among the books of the ancient kings: "God said to King Wen, 'I cherish your intelligent virtue. It was not proclaimed with much noise or gesture. It was not modified after the possession of the empire. Instinctively and naturally submissive to the scheme of God.'" This is to proclaim that King Wen used the will of Heaven as standard and was submissive to God's scheme. If the gentlemen of the world really desire to practise magnanimity and righteousness and be superior men, seeking to attain the way of the sage-kings on the one hand and to procure blessings to the people on the other, they must not neglect to understand the will of Heaven. The will of Heaven is truly the standard of righteousness.

MOZI BOOK 8

MOZI CHAPTER 29 - On Ghosts 1 (Text missing)
MOZI CHAPTER 30 - On Ghosts 2 (Text missing)

MOZI CHAPTER 31 - On Ghosts 3

1. Mozi said: With the passing of the sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, the world lost its righteousness and the feudal lords took might as right. The superior and the subordinates are no longer gracious and loyal; father and son, elder and younger brother are no longer affectionate and filial, brotherly and respectful, virtuous and kind. The rulers do not attend diligently to government and the artisans do not attend earnestly to their work. The people practise immorality and wickedness and become rebellious. Thieves and bandits with weapons, poison, water, and fire hold up innocent travellers on the highways and the bypaths, robbing them of their carts and horses, coats and fur coats, to enrich themselves. All these start therewith (with the passing of the sage-kings). And so the world falls into chaos. Now what is the reason for this confusion? It is all because of the doubt of the existence of the ghosts and spirits, and the ignorance of their being able to reward virtue and punish vice. If all the people in the world believed that the spirits are able to reward virtue and punish vice, how could the world be in chaos?

2. Those who deny the existence of spirits proclaim: "Of course there are no spirits." And from morning till evening they teach this doctrine to the people of the empire. They bewilder the people, causing them all to doubt the existence of ghosts and spirits. In this way the empire becomes disorderly. Therefore Mozi said: If the rulers and the gentlemen of the world really desire to procure benefits for the empire and remove its calamities they must understand whether ghosts and spirits exist or not.

3. Since we must understand whether ghosts and spirits exist or not, how can we find out? Mozi said: The way to find out whether anything exists or not is to depend on the testimony of the ears and eyes of the multitude. If some have heard it or some have seen it then we have to say it exists. If no one has heard it and no one has seen it then we have to say it does not exist. So, then, why not go to some village or some district and inquire? If from antiquity to the present, and since the beginning of man, there are men who have seen the bodies of ghosts and spirits and heard their voice, how can we say that they do not exist? If none have heard them and none have seen them, then how can we say they do?

4. But those who deny the existence of the spirits say: "Many in the world have heard and seen something of ghosts and spirits. (Since they vary in their testimony,) who are to be accepted as really having heard and seen them?" Mozi said: As we are to rely on what many have jointly seen and what many have jointly heard, the case of Du Bo is (to be accepted). King Xuan of Zhou put his minister Du Bo to death though he was innocent. Du Bo remarked: "The king puts me to death while I am innocent. If man loses his consciousness after his death, then all is over. If I shall still retain my consciousness after death I shall let the king know of this within three years." In three years, King Xuan assembled the feudal lords at Putian. There were several hundred carts. Attendants numbered by the thousand and the multitude covered the fields. At noon Du Bo in red garments and headgear appeared riding in a plain chariot drawn by a white horse, holding a red bow and carrying red arrows. He pursued King Xuan and shot him on his chariot. The arrow pierced his heart and broke his back. He fell and died prostrate. At the time all the people of Zhou who were there saw it and those far away heard of it, and it was recorded in the Spring and Autumn of Zhou. Rulers instructed their ministers with it and fathers warned their sons with it, saying: "Be careful, be respectful. All who kill the innocent are speedily and severely visited by misfortune and punished by the ghosts and spirits like this." Judging from what is recorded here, how can we doubt that ghosts and spirits exist?

5. Not only does the record in this book prove it to be so. Formerly, Lord Mu of Qin (about 640 BC) was once in the temple at noon. A spirit entered and alighted. He had the face of a man but the body of a bird. His attire was plain and dark. His appearance was dignified. Seeing him Lord Mu became afraid and was rushing away. The spirit said: "Do not be afraid. God cherishes your intelligent virtue, authorizing me to prolong your age by nineteen years, and ordaining your state to be prosperous and your descendants to be many and not to lose Qin." Lord Mu saluted him repeatedly and bowed, saying: "May I ask the name of my god?" He answered: "I am Gou Mang." If we are to accept what Lord Mu of Qin had seen personally as reliable, then how can we doubt that spirits and ghosts exist?

6. Not only does the record in this book prove it to be so. Formerly Lord Jian of Yan (about 500 BC) put his Minister Zhuang Zeyi to death while he was innocent. Zhuang Zeyi remarked: "The lord puts me to death though I am innocent. If man loses his consciousness after death then all is done. If I shall still retain my consciousness after death, I shall let the Lord know of this within three years." In a year, Yan was going to repair to Zu. Such ceremonies were the occasions of large assemblages of men and women. At noon Lord Jian was riding on the road to Tsu. Zhuang Zeyi carried a red staff and struck and prostrated him. At the time all the people of Yen who were there saw it and all those who were far away heard of it. And it was recorded in the Spring and Autumn of Yan. The feudal lords circulated the news around, and remarked: "So speedy and severe are the misfortunes and punishment from the spirits and ghosts upon him that kills the innocent." Judging from the record in this book, how can we doubt that spirits and ghosts exist?

7. Not only does the record in this book prove it to be so. Anciently, in the reign of Lord Wen of Song, whose name was Bao (610-589 BC), there was a master of ceremonies by the name of Guan Gu. While he was working in the temple, a wizard carrying a cane appeared and said to him: "Guan Gu, why don't the jades and stones measure up to the standard, and why are the cakes and wine unclean, and the victims imperfect and not fat, and the sacrifices not in season? Did you do this or did Bao do this?" Guan Gu answered: "Bao is still small and in his swaddle-clothes. What does he have to do

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with this? It is all done by the official in charge, Guan Gu." Thereupon the wizard lifted his cane and struck him, prostrating him on the altar. At the time those people who were present all saw it and those far away heard of it. And it was recorded in the Spring and Autumn of Song. The feudal lords circulated the news and remarked: "So speedy and severe is the punishment from spirits and ghosts to him who is not reverent in performing sacrifices!" Judging from the record of this book, how can we doubt that spirits and ghosts exist?

8. Not only does the record in this book prove it to be so. Formerly the Lord Zhuang of Qi (794-731 BC) had two ministers, Wang Liguo and Zhong Lijiao, who were engaged in a lawsuit. For three years no judgment could be reached. The Lord of Qi thought of putting both of them to death, but was afraid to slay the innocent; he thought of acquitting both of them but was afraid to let loose the guilty. So he let them provide a lamb and take oath on the altar of Qi. The two men agreed to take the oath of blood. The throat of the lamb was cut and its blood sprinkled on the altar. The case of Wang Liguo was read all through. But before half of the case of Zhong Lijiao was read, the lamb arose and butted at him, broke his leg and prostrated him on it. At the time those people who were present all saw it and those far away heard of it. It was recorded in the Spring and Autumn of Qi. The feudal lords circulated the news around and remarked: "So speedy and severe is the punishment from spirits and ghosts to him that takes an oath in insincerity!" Judging from the record in this book, how can we doubt that spirits and ghosts exist?

9. Therefore Mozi said: One may not act disrespectfully even in woods, valleys, or solitary caves where there is no man. Spirits and ghosts are watching everywhere.

10. Those who deny the existence of spirits ask: "Are the senses of hearing and sight of the multitude sufficient to decide a doubt? How can people strive to be learned gentlemen while they continue to trust the senses of hearing and sight of the multitude?" Mozi said: If the senses of bearing and sight of the multitude are thought to be not trustworthy, we may ask if such men like the sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu, are trustworthy? Of course, about this all people above the mediocre will say such men like the ancient sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu, are trustworthy. If the ancient sage-kings of the Three Dynasties are trustworthy, we may review some of their deeds. In ancient times, having captured Yin and punished Zhou, King Wu let the feudal lords share in the worship (of the ancestors of Yin). Those more closely related were to partake in the temple sacrifices and those less closely related in the outdoor sacrifices. So then King Wu must have believed there were spirits and ghosts, therefore after capturing Yin and punishing Zhou he let the feudal lords share in the worship. If there were no spirits and ghosts why did King Wu assign the duties of worship?

11. Not only does the deed of King Wu prove it to be so. When the ancient sage-kings distributed rewards it must be before their ancestors. When they meted out punishments it must be before the altar. Why are the rewards distributed before the ancestors? To submit their fairness. Why are punishments meted out before the altar? To submit their justice. Not only does the record in that book prove it to be so. On the day when the ancient sage-kings of the Three Dynasties of Yu, Xia, Shang, and Zhou first established their empire and built their capitals, they invariably chose the central altar on which to build the ancestral temple. They would pick out the luxuriant and elegant among the trees to plant in the temple of agriculture. They would select the affectionate and filial, virtuous and kind among the elders of the country to be masters of ceremonies. They would pick out the victims among the six animals by their fatness, perfection, and the colour of their wool. The jades and stones were to be appropriate in material and satisfactory in measurement. And the cakes and wine were to be prepared with the most fragrant and yellow grain, and so the quality of cakes and wine would vary with the abundance of the year. This is to say, in the government of the ancient sage-kings, spirits and ghosts had priority over the people. Before the offices and courts were completely established, the sacrificial vessels and sacrificial robes must have been all stored in the storehouse, the masters and attendants of ceremonies must have all been installed in court, and the victims must be kept apart from the original flock. Since the government of the ancient sage-kings was like this, the ancient sage-kings must have believed in the existence of spirits and ghosts.

12. Deep was their own interest in the welfare of ghosts and spirits. Yet they were afraid their descendants might not understand it. Thus they recorded it on bamboos and silk to bequeath to them. Fearing that these might rot and disappear so that the descendants might not learn it, they engraved it on plates and cups and cut it in metals and stones. They feared also that the descendants might not be reverent and obtain blessing, and so among the books of the ancient kings and the records of sages testimonies to the existence of ghosts and spirits occur time and again even on a single foot of silk or a single sheet in the books. Why was this? Because the sage-kings were interested in it. Those who deny the existence of spirits, saying "Ghosts and spirits just do not exist", are opposing the interest of the sage-kings. Opposing the interest of the sage-kings is not the way of the superior man.

13. Those who deny the existence of spirits might say: "Among the books of the ancient kings not a foot of silk or a sheet is found which testifies to the existence of ghosts and spirits once and again. Then where are these testimonies?" Mozi replied: They are found (for instance) in the "Da Ya" of the books of Zhou. "Da Ya" tells: "The rule of King Wen over the people pleased Heaven. Although Zhou is an old country, it is newly commissioned bv Heaven. Zhou does not appear showy. The commission from God does not appear to be seasonable. King Wen reached high and low, he was on the left and the right of God. How active was King Wen! He dispensed his intelligent virtue without ceasing." If ghosts and spirits do not exist, then how could King Wen be "on the left and right of God" since he was already dead? Here we have a testimony of ghosts in the book of Zhou.

14. If there are testimonies only in the books of Zhou and none in those of Shang still it could not be reliable. But we find among the books of Shang the following: "Oh! Anciently, before Xia was visited by misfortune, of the various animals and insects and even birds none deviated from their proper course. As to those who have faces of men, who dare be divergent in heart? Even the hills and rivers ghosts and spirits dared not be insurgent." If one is respectful and sincere one could maintain harmony in the world and stability to the lower earth. Now it was to assist Yu that hills and rivers ghosts and spirits dared not be insurgent. Here we have a testimony of ghosts in the book of Shang.

15. If there are testimonies of ghosts only in the books of Shang and none in those of Xia it is still not reliable. But we have "Speech at Gan" among the books of Xia running thus: "In the midst of the war at Gan the Emperor called the six associates to receive instructions in the headquarters. He said: 'The Prince of Hu violated the five elements and disused the three calendars. Heaven decreed to exterminate his life!' And he continued : 'At noon I shall grapple with the Prince of Hu for the fate of the day. But (mind you), you ministers and people, it is not because I covet their lind and treasures. I am only carrying out the punishment in obedience to Heaven. If you on the left do not do your part on the left you will be disobeying my orders; if you on the right do not do your part on the right you will be disobeying my orders; if you charioteers do not manage your horses according to orders you will be disobeying my orders. And rewards will be distributed before my ancestors and punishments will be meted out before the altar.'" Why were rewards distributed before the ancestors? To submit their fairness. Why were punishments meted out before the altar? To submit their justice. Because the ancient sage-kings must reward virtue and punish vice with ghosts and spirits, they distributed rewards before the ancestors and meted out punishments before the altar. And here we have a testimony of ghosts in the books of Xia. Now, first in the books of Xia and next in the books of Shang and Zhou, testimonies to the existence of ghosts and spirits occur again and again. What is the reason for this? Because the sage-kings were interested in it. Judging from the records of these books, how can we doubt that there are ghosts and spirits? Anciently, on the propitious day of ding mao, Zhou offered thanksgiving to Earth and the Four Quarters, and their ancestors. They did this to prolong their age. If there were no ghosts and spirits, how could their age be prolonged?

16. Mozi said: As to the fact that ghosts and spirits can reward virtue as well as punish vice, if it could be proclaimed to the whole country and to all the people it would really be a source of orderliness in the country and blessing to the people. The corruption of the officials in their public charges and the immorality among men and women will all be seen by ghosts and spirits. The vice of those who, with weapons, poisons, and water and fire, waylay innocent travellers and rob them of their carts and horses, coats and fur coats to enrich themselves will be seen by ghosts and spirits. Thereupon the officials will not dare be corrupt in office, withholding reward when they find the virtuous or withholding punishment when they find the wicked. And those among the people who commit vice and cruelties and with weapons, poisons, and water and fire waylay the innocent travellers, robbing them of their carts and horses, coats and fur coats to enrich themselves - all these will be no more. And the world will have order.

17. Really the intelligence of the ghosts and spirits cannot be combated. Even in solitary caves, big ponds, woods and valleys, the ghosts and spirits are watching. And the punishments from ghosts and spirits cannot be evaded. Even wealth and great numbers, daring and strength, strong armour and sharp weapons, the punishment of ghosts and spirits will frustrate. If this is doubted, look at the story of the ancient King Jie of Xia. He was an emperor in honour and possessed the whole empire in wealth. He cursed Heaven and blasphemed against the spirits above and destroyed the multitudes below. Thereupon Heaven commissioned Tang to carry out the judicious punishment. With nine chariots Tang arranged the Bird Formation and the Wild Goose March. He climbed the Dacan and scattered the forces of Xia and entered its land. And he captured Tui Yi Da Xi. Now, King Jie of Xia was an emperor in honour and possessed the whole empire in wealth. In his service was the man of great daring and strength, Tui Yi Da Xi, who had torn apart a buffalo alive. He could kill a man at the move of a finger, and the number of those killed amounted to a million, and they were thrown into lakes and mountains. Yet, for all this, Jie coald not evade the punishment from ghosts and spirits. This is why I say even wealth and numbers, daring and strength, strong armour and sharp weapons cannot combat the punishment from ghosts and spirits.

18. Not only is this so. Anciently, King Zhou of Yin was also an emperor in honour and possessed the whole empire in wealth. He cursed Heaven and blasphemed against the spirits above and destroyed the multitudes below. He exposed the aged and murdered the children, tortured the innocent, and opened a pregnant woman. The common people and the widows and the widowers cried aloud, but were not heard. Thereupon Heaven commissioned King Wu to carry out the judicious punishment. With a hundred selected chariots and four hundred warriors King Wu appointed his officials and reviewed his forces. He battled the armies of Yin in the Wilderness of Mu. He captured Fei Zhong and E Lai, and the multitude deserted and ran away. King Wu rushed into the palace. He executed Zhou and hung him on a red ring with his crimes published on a white flag, to punish him for the feudal lords in the empire. Now King Zhou of Yin was an emperor in honour and possessed the whole empire in wealth. He had men of such daring and strength as Fei Zhong, E Lai, and Duke Hu of Zhong, who could kill a man at the move of a finger; and the number of those killed amounted to a million, and they were thrown into the lakes and mountains. Yet with all these Zhou could not evade the punishment from the ghosts and spirits. This is why I say even wealth and numbers, daring and strength, strong armour and sharp weapons cannot frustrate the punishment from ghosts and spirits. Moreover, Qin Ai has said: "No virtue is too small, no extermination of a lineage is too big." This is to say, in distribution of rewards by ghosts and spirits no man is too insignificant to be rewarded for his virtue. And in the meting out of punishment by ghosts and spirits no man is too great to be punished.

19. Those who deny the existence of spirits say, "If one does not work for the blessing of one's parents but work for their destruction, would one still be a filial son?" Mozi explained: The ghosts and spirits of all times may be divided into spirits of Heaven, spirits of hills and rivers, and ghosts of men after their death. It is true that there are sons who die before their fathers, and younger brothers before their elder brothers. But, as the saying in the world goes: "He who is born first dies first." So then those who die first would be the mother if not the father, and the elder sister if not the elder brother. At any rate, we should prepare clean cakes and wine reverently to do sacrifice. If ghosts and spirits do exist, then it is to serve father and mother, elder sisters and elder brothers with food and drink. Is not this a great blessing? If ghosts and spirits did not exist it would seem to be a waste of the material for the cakes and wine. But such use is not just to throw it into the ditch or gully. For the relatives from the clan and friends from the village and district can yet eat and drink them. So, even if there were really no ghosts and spirits, a sacrifice will yet gather together a party and the participants can enjoy themselves and befriend the neighbours. Those who hold there are no ghosts say: "Of course there are no ghosts and spirits and therefore I should not expend my wealth on the cakes and wine and victims. This is not because I am miserly about my wealth on the cakes and wine and victims. But (because I do not see) what I can accomplish with it." This is opposed to the records of the sage-kings above and opposed to the practice among the filial sons among the people. Yet they claim to be superior men in the empire. This is no way to be superior men. But Mozi said: For me to offer sacrifice is not to throw it into the ditch or the gully. It is to bless the ghosts above and gather a party and enjoy ourselves and befriend the neighbours below. And if spirits exist, I would be serving my father and mother and brother with food. Is this not a great blessing in the world?

20. Therefore Mozi said: If the rulers and the gentlemen of the world really desire to procure benefits for the world and eliminate its calamities they must believe in and teach the existence of ghosts and spirits. This is the way of the sage-kings.

MOZI CHAPTER 32 - Condemnation of Music 1

1. Mozi said: The policy of the magnanimous will pursue what procures benefits of the world and destroy its calamities. If anything, when established as a law, is beneficial to the people it will be done; if not, it will not be done. Moreover, the magnanimous in their care for the world do not think of doing those things which delight the eyes, please the ears, gratify the taste, and ease the body. When these deprive the people of their means of clothing and food, the magnanimous

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would not undertake them. So the reason why Mozi condemns music is not because that the sounds of the big bell, the sounding drum, the qin and the se and the yu and the sheng are not pleasant, that the carvings and ornaments are not delightful, that the fried and the broiled meats of the grass-fed and the grain-fed animals are not gratifying, or that the high towers, grand arbours, and quiet villas are not comfortable. Although the body knows they are comfortable, the mouth knows they are gratifying, the eyes know they are delightful, and the ears know they are pleasing, yet they are found not to be in accordance with the deeds of the sage-kings of antiquity and not to contribute to the benefits of the people at present. And so Mozi proclaims: To have music is wrong.

2. Now the rulers construct musical instruments as an undertaking of the state. They cannot be produced as easily as by evaporating water or digging into the earth. Inevitably heavy taxes have to be collected from the people to obtain sounds of the big bell, the sounding drum, the qin and the se, and the yu and the sheng. The ancient sage-kings had, indeed, collected heavy taxes from the people to build boats and vehicles. But when they were completed, and when the people asked: "What use have we for these?" the answer was: "The boats are to be employed on water and the vehicles on land, so that the gentlemen can rest their feet and the labourers can rest their shoulders and backs." Thus the people contributed their money and dared not grumble about it. This was because the boats and vehicles contributed to the benefit of the people. If the musical instruments also contribute to the benefit of the people, even I shall not dare condemn them. Thus if the musical instruments are as useful as the boats and carts with the sage-kings, even I shall not dare condemn them. There are three things that the people worry about, namely, that the hungry cannot be fed, that the cold cannot be clothed, and that the tired cannot get rest. These three are the great worries of the people. Now suppose we strike the big bell, beat the sounding drum, play the qin and the se, and blow the yu and the sheng, can the material for food and clothing then be procured for the people? Even I do not think this is possible. Again, every large state now attacks small states and every large house molests small houses. The strong plunder the weak, the many oppress the few, the clever deceive the stupid and the honoured disdain the humble. And bandits and thieves rise all together and cannot be suppressed. But can the chaos in the world be put in order by striking the big bell, beating the sounding drum, playing the qin and the se, and blowing the yu and the sheng? Even I do not think it is possible. Therefore Mozi said : The levy of heavy taxes on the people to construct the big bell, the sounding drum, the qin and the se, and the yu and the sheng, is not at all helpful in the endeavour to procure the benefits of the world and destroy its calamities. Therefore Mozi said: To have music is wrong.

3. As the rulers look down from a high tower or in a grand arbour, a bell is just like an inverted ding. If it is not struck wherefrom would come the pleasure? Therefore it must be struck. To strike it of course the aged and the young would not be employed. For their eyes and ears are not keen, their arms are not strong, and they cannot produce an harmonious tone with varied expression. So, those in the prime of life must be employed because their eyes and ears are keen, their limbs strong, their voices harmonious and varied in expression. If men are employed it interferes with their ploughing and planting. If women are employed it interferes with their weaving and spinning. Now, the rulers take to music and deprive the people of their means of clothing and food to such an extent! Therefore Mozi said: To have music is wrong.

4. Now when the big bell, the sounding drum, the qin and the se, and the yu and the sheng are provided it is yet no pleasure for the lords alone to listen to the playing. Therefore they must enjoy it with either the common people or the gentlemen. If with the gentlemen, it will interfere with their attending to government. If with the common people it will interfere with their work. Now the rulers take to music and deprive the people of so many of their opportunities to produce food and clothing! Therefore Mozi said: It is wrong to have music.

5. Formerly, Lord Kang of Qi (404-379 B.C.) loved music and dancing. The dancers were not to wear garments of coarse cloth or to eat husks and bran. For if food and drink are not dainty the appearance and complexion will not be enjoyable. And if clothing is not elegant the body and the movement will not be delightful. Therefore their food must consist of grain and meat and their clothing must be made of silk and embroidery. They did not produce material of clothing and food at all, but lived on others all the time. Hence Mozi said: Now the lords take to music and deprive the people of so many of their opportunities to produce food and clothing! Therefore Mozi proclaimed: To have music is wrong.

6. Also, man is different from birds and beasts and insects. The birds, beasts, and insects have their feathers and furs for coats and fur coats, have their hoofs and claws for sandals and shoes, and have water and grass for drink and food. Therefore the male do not sow seeds or plant trees, neither do the female weave or spin, yet food and clothing are provided. Now, man is different from these. Those who exert themselves will live. Those who do not exert themselves cannot live. When the gentlemen do not attend to government diligently, the jurisdiction will be in chaos. When the common men do not attend to work, supply will not be sufficient. If the gentlemen of the world should doubt my word, let us enumerate the several duties in the world and see the harm music does (to them): For the rulers to go to court early and retire late to listen to lawsuits and attend to government is their duty. For the gentlemen to exhaust the energy of their limbs and employ fully the wisdom of their minds to attend to the court within and to collect taxes without from passes, markets, and products from mountains, woods, and water and fields in order to fill up the granaries and the treasury is their duty. For the farmers to set out early and come back late, to sow seeds and plant trees in order to produce a large quantity of soy beans and millet is their duty. For the women to rise up at dawn and retire in the night to weave and spin in order to produce much silk, flax linen, and cloth is their duty. Now if the rulers should love music and listen to it, they would not be able to go to court early and retire late to listen to lawsuits and attend to government. Then the country would be in chaos and the state would be in danger. If the gentlemen should love music and listen to it, they would not be able to exhaust the energy in their limbs and employ fully the wisdom in the mind to attend to court within and collect taxes without from passes and markets and products from mountains, woods, water, and fields to fill up the granaries and the treasury. Then the granaries and the treasury would not be filled. If the farmers should love music and listen to it, they would not be able to set out early and come back late, to sow seeds and plant trees and produce a large quantity of soy beans and millet. Then the soy beans and millet would not be sufficient. If the women should love music and listen to it, they would not be able to rise up at dawn and retire in the night to weave and spin and produce much silk, flax linen, and cloth. Then cloth and linen will not be sufficient. If it is asked what is it that interfered with the rulers' attending to government and the common man's attending to work? it must be answered, music. Therefore Mozi said: To have music is wrong.

7. How do we know it is so? It is found in the "Code of Punishment of Tang" among the books of the ancient kings. This proclaims: "To have constant dancing in the palace is called the witch's pleasure." As to its punishment, a gentleman will be fined six hundred and forty pieces of silk, a common man will be let go free. Again, "Ah! How much is the dancing. His word is all known. God does not bless him, therefore the nine districts are lost to him. God does not favour him, therefore He visited him with various curses. His family must be destroyed too." Now the reason that the nine districts are lost to him (Jie of Xia) lies in his attention to embellishing music. Quoting Wu Guan: "Ch'i thereupon abandoned himself to lust and music. He drank and ate in improper places. Ding ding, dong dong went the wood winds and percussion instruments in harmony. He indulged in drinking and ate in improper places. Brilliantly went on the dancing. It reached the hearing of Heaven, and Heaven was not pleased." So, it was not pleasing to Heaven above and not beneficial to the people below.

8. Therefore Mozi said: If the gentlemen really desire to procure benefits for the world and destroy its calamities they cannot but prohibit such a thing as music.

MOZI BOOK 9

MOZI CHAPTER 33 - Condemnation of Music 2 (Text missing)

MOZI CHAPTER 34 - Condemnation of Music 3 (Text missing)

MOZI CHAPTER 35 - Anti-Fatalism 1

1. Mozi said: At present, in governing the states the rulers all desire to have their countries wealthy, their population large, and their administration orderly. But instead of wealth they obtain poverty, instead of an increase they obtain a decrease in population, instead of order they obtain chaos; i.e. they lose what they like but obtain what they dislike. What is the reason for this? Mozi said: It is due to the large number of fatalists among the people. The fatalists say: "When fate decrees that a man shall be wealthy he will be wealthy; when it decrees poverty, he will be poor; when it decrees a large population, this will be large; and when it decrees a small population this will be small; if order is decreed, there will be order; if chaos, there will be chaos. If fate decrees old age, there will be old age; if untimely death, there will be untimely death. Even if a man sets himself against his fate, what is the use?" With this doctrine the rulers are urged above and the people are kept away from their work below. Hence the fatalists are unmagnanimous. And their doctrines must be clearly examined.

2. Now, how is this doctrine to be examined? Mozi said: Some standard of judgment must be established. To expound a doctrine without regard to the standard is similar to determining the directions of sunrise and sunset on a revolving potter's wheel. By this means the distinction of right and wrong, benefit and harm, cannot be known. Therefore there must be three tests. What are the three tests? Mozi said: Its basis, its verifiability, and its applicability. How is it to be based? It should be based on the deeds of the ancient sage-kings. How is it to be verified? It is to be verified by the senses of hearing and sight of the common people. How is it to be applied? It is to be applied by adopting it in government and observing its benefits to the country and the people. This is what is meant by the three tests of every doctrine.

3. Some of the gentlemen of the world assume there to be fate. Now let us examine the deeds of the sage-kings. In ancient times, the confusion produced by Jie was replaced by an orderly government by Tang, the chaos of Zhou was turned into order by King Wu. The times did not alter and the people did not change, yet under Jie and Zhou the world was chaotic and under Tang and Wu it was orderly. Can it be said that there is fate?

4. But the gentlemen of the world still assume that there is fate. Now let us look at some of the writings of the early kings. The writings of the early kings that were issued to the whole country and distributed among the people were the laws. Did any of the laws of the early kings ever say: "Blessing cannot be invoked and disaster cannot be avoided; reverence will not do any good and cruelty will not do any harm"? The standards according to which lawsuits were tried and punishments were meted out were the codes of punishment. Did any of the codes of punishment of the early kings say: "Blessing cannot be invoked and disaster cannot be avoided; reverence will not do any good and cruelty will not do any harm"? The inspiration by which the armies were organised and the soldiers were commanded to advance or to retreat came from the declarations. Did any of the declarations of the early kings say: "Blessing cannot be invoked and disaster cannot be avoided; reverence will do no good and cruelty will do no harm"? Mozi said: I have not enumerated the good books of the empire completely. As they cannot be exhaustively enumerated, I limit myself to the most prominent ones, namely, the three above mentioned. And try as we may, we cannot find any belief in the doctrine of fatalism. Should it not then be abandoned? To adopt the fatalists' doctrine is to overthrow righteousness in the world. To overthrow righteousness in the world will establish fate, which is a temptation to the people. And to offer people temptation is to destroy the people. Now, why is it that we desire righteousness to be with the superiors? Because when the righteous are in authority, the world will have order, God, hills and rivers, and the spirits will have their chief sacrificer, and the people will be visited by the great blessings therefrom. How do we know? Mozi said: In ancient times, Tang was given a fief at Bo. Taking allowance for the irregular boundary lines, his land amounted to about a hundred li square. He worked with the people for mutual love and reciprocal benefit, and shared with them what was in abundance. And he led his people to reverence Heaven and worship the spirits. Thereupon, Heaven and the spirits enriched him, the feudal lords befriended him, the people loved him, and the virtuous came to him. Within a single generation he ruled over the empire and headed the feudal lords. Again in ancient times, King Wen was assigned to the state of Qi Zhou. Making allowance for the irregular boundary lines, his land amounted to about a hundred li square. He worked with his people for mutual love and reciprocal benefit. So those near him enjoyed his government and those distant submitted themselves to his virtues. All who heard of King Wen rose up and rushed over to him. The stupid and insolent and those weak in limbs remained where they were and complained: "Why not let the land of King Wen extend to this place. Wouldn't I then also be a subject of King Wen?" Thereupon Heaven and the spirits enriched him, the feudal lords befriended him, the people loved him and the virtuous came to him. Within a single generation he ruled over the whole empire and headed the feudal lords. As we have said: When the righteous are in authority the world will have order, God, hills and rivers, and the spirits will have their chief sacrificer, and the people will be visited by the great benefits therefrom. And this is how we know it to be so.

5. The ancient sage-kings published laws and issued orders to be standards of reward and punishment, and to encourage the virtuous and to obstruct the evil. And so the people were filial to their parents at home and respectful to the elders in the village or the district. They observed propriety in conduct, moderation in going out and coming in, and decency between men and women. And when they were made to look after the court they would not steal, when they were made to defend a city they would not raise an insurrection. When the lord met with death they would commit suicide, and when the lord was banished they would follow him. This is what the superior will reward and what the people will applaud. Now, the fatalists say: "Whoever is rewarded by the superior is destined to be rewarded. It is not because of his virtue that he is rewarded. Whoever is punished by the superior is destined to be punished. It is not because of his vice that he is punished." Under these conditions the people would not be filial to their parents at home, and respectful to the elders in the village or

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the district. They would not observe propriety in conduct, moderation in going out and coming in, or decency between men and women. And, if they were made to look after the court they would steal, if they were made to defend a city they would raise an insurrection. If the lord met with death they would not commit suicide, and if the lord were banished they would not accompany him. This is what the superior will punish, and what the people will condemn. The fatalists say: "Whoever is punished by the superior is destined to be punished. It is not because of his vice that he is punished." Believing in this, the ruler would not be righteous, the minister would not be loyal, the father would not be affectionate, the son would not be filial, the elder brother would not be brotherly, and the younger brother would not be respectful. The unnatural adherence to this doctrine is responsible for pernicious ideas and is the way of the wicked.

6. Now how do we know fatalism is the way of the wicked? In ancient times, the miserable people indulged in drinking and eating and were lazy in their work. Thereupon their food and clothing became insufficient, and the danger of hunger and cold was approaching. They did not acknowledge: "I was stupid and insolent and was not diligent at work." But they would say: "It is but my lot to be poor." The ancient wicked kings did not control the sensuality of their ears and eyes and the passions of their mind. They did not follow their ancestors and so they lost their country and ruined their state. They did not know that they should confess: "I am stupid and insolent and was not diligent in attending to government." But they would say: "It is but my fate to lose it." The "Announcement of Zhong Hui" says: "I have heard that the man of Xia issued orders, pretending them to be fate of Heaven. God was displeased and destroyed his forces." This tells how Tang showed Jie's belief in fate to be wrong. "The Great Declaration" says: "Zhou became insolent and would not worship God and pushed away the ancestors and spirits without offering them sacrifices. And he said: 'Fortune is with my people,' and neglected and betrayed his duty. Heaven thereupon deserted him and withdrew its protection." This tells how King Wu showed Zhou's belief in fate to be wrong. If the doctrine of the fatalist were put to practice, the superiors would not attend to government and the subordinates would not attend to work. If the superior does not attend to government, jurisdiction and administration will be in chaos. If the subordinates do not attend to work, wealth will not be sufficient. Then, there will not be wherewith to provide for the cakes and wine to worship and do sacrifice to God, ghosts and spirits above, and there will not be wherewith to tranquillize the virtuous of the world below; there will not be wherewith to entertain the noble guests from without, and there will not be wherewith to feed the hungry, clothe the cold, and care for the aged and weak within. Therefore fatalism is not helpful to Heaven above, nor to the spirits in the middle sphere, nor to man below. The eccentric belief in this doctrine is responsible for pernicious ideas and is the way of the wicked.

7. Therefore Mozi said: If the gentlemen in the world really desire to have the world rich and do not want to have it poor, desire to have it orderly and dislike to have it in confusion, the doctrine of fatalism must be rejected. It is a great calamity to the world.

MOZI CHAPTER 36 - Anti-Fatalism 2

1. Mozi said: To make any statement or to publish any doctrine, there must first be established some standard of judgment. To discuss without a standard is like determining the directions of sunrise and sunset on a revolving potter's wheel. Even skilful artisans could not get accurate results in that way. Now that the truth and error (of a doctrine) in the world is hard to tell, there must be three tests. What are the three tests? They are the test of its basis, the test of its verifiability, and the test of its applicability. To test the basis of a doctrine we shall examine the will of Heaven and spirits and the deeds of the sage-kings. To test its verifiability we shall go to the books of the early kings. As to its applicability it is to be tested by its use in the administration of justice and government. These then are the three tests of a doctrine.

2. Among the gentlemen of to-day some think there is fate, some think there is no fate. That I am able to judge whether there is fate or not is by the sense testimony of the multitude. If some have heard it and some have seen it I shall say there is fate. If none has heard it, if none has seen it, I shall say there is no fate. Why not then let us inquire into the sense testimony of the people? From antiquity to the present, since the beginning of man, has any seen such a thing as fate, or has heard the sound of fate? Of course, there is none. If the common people are considered stupid and their senses of hearing and sight unreliable, then why not inquire into the recorded statements of the feudal lords? But from antiquity to the present, since the beginning of man, has any of them heard the sound of fate or seen such a thing as fate? Of course, none of them has. Again, why not let us inquire into the deeds of the sage-kings? The ancient kings promoted the filial sons and encouraged them to continue to serve their parents, and respected the virtuous and gentle and encouraged them to continue to do good. They published their orders to instruct (the people), and made reward and punishment fair to encourage (the good) and obstruct (the evil). In this way confusion could be reduced to order and danger could be converted to peace. If anyone doubts this, let us recall: In ancient times the confusion of Jie was reduced to order by Tang, and that of Zhou by King Wu. Now, the times did not change and the people did not alter. Yet when the superior changed a regime the subordinates modified their conduct. Under Tang and Wu it was orderly, but under Jie and Zhou it was disorderly. Hence peace and danger, order and disorder, all depend on the government of the superior. How can it be said everything is according to fate? So, assertions about there being fate are quite false.

3. The fatalists tell us: "This doctrine has not been invented by us in a late generation. Such a doctrine has appeared and been handed down since the Three Dynasties. Why do you, sir, now oppose it?" (In answer,) Mozi asked: Was it from the sages and good men of the Three Dynasties or from the wicked and the vicious of the Three Dynasties that the fatalistic doctrine came? How can we find this out? In the beginning secretaries and ministers were careful in speech and intelligent in conduct. They could persuade their ruler above and instruct the people below. Thus they obtained reward from their ruler and applause from the people. And the fame of those secretaries and ministers has come down to the present day. The whole world remarks: "This is the result of endeavour." And it will never say: "I see fate there."

4. On the other hand, the wicked kings of the Three Dynasties did not control the lust of their ears and eyes and did not restrain the passions of their heart. When they went out they indulged in racing, hunting, and trapping. When they stayed indoors they revelled in wine and music. They did not attend to the government of the country and of the people, but they did much that was of no use. They oppressed the people, causing the subordinates not to love their superior. Hence the country became empty and without any future, and they themselves were in punishment and disaster. But they would not confess and say: "I am stupid and insolent and poor in administering the government." But they would say: "It is but my fate to perish." Even the miserable people of the Three Dynasties were like this. Within they could not well serve their parents, without they could not well serve their ruler. They disliked politeness and frugality but liked licence and ease. They indulged in drinking and eating and were lazy. The means of food and clothing became insufficient and they placed themselves in danger of hunger and cold. They would not confess: "I am stupid and insolent and was not diligent at work." But they would say: "It is but my fate to be poor." Such, then, also were the miserable people of the Three Dynasties. Fatalism has been glossed over and taught the stupid people. This was of great concern to the sage-kings, and they put it down on the bamboos and silk and cut it in metals and stone. Among the books of the early kings, "The Announcement of Zhong Hui" says: "I have heard the man of Xia issue orders, pretending them to be fate of Heaven. God was displeased and destroyed his forces." This shows how King Jie of Xia believed in fate and how both Tang and Zhong Hui thought it to be wrong. Among the books of early kings "The Great Declaration" says: "Zhou became insolent and would not worship God, and pushed away the ancestors and spirits without offering them sacrifices. And he said: 'Fortune is with my people,' and neglected and betrayed his duty. Heaven thereupon deserted him and withdrew its protection." This shows how Zhou believed in fate, and how King Wu proclaimed it to be wrong with "The Great Declaration." Again, "The Three Dynasties and Hundred States " says: " Do not place too much faith in the fate in Heaven." So "The Three Dynasties and Hundred States" also says there is no fate. Also "Shao Gong" in the same way discredits the belief in fate. It says: "Assuredly there is no fate in Heaven. Let us two not teach false doctrines. (One's destiny) does not come from Heaven, but is shaped by one's self." And it is said in the odes and books of Shang and Xia: "Fate is born of the wicked kings." So, then, if the gentlemen of the world desire to distinguish right and wrong, benefit and harm, fate of Heaven must be strenuously discredited. To hold there is fate is the great disaster of the world. And therefore Mozi refuted it.

MOZI CHAPTER 37 - Anti-Fatalism 3

1. Mozi said: In order to expound a doctrine there must be established some standard of judgment. To expound without a standard is similar to determining the directions of sunrise and sunset on a potter's wheel that is turning. I should think even such obvious distinctions as that between the directions of sunrise and sunset cannot be thus determined. Therefore every doctrine must stand three tests. What are the three tests? They are the test of its basis, the test of its verifiability, and the test of its applicability. How is it to be based? It is to be based on the deeds of the early sage-kings. How is it to be verified? It is to be verified by the testimony of the ears and eyes of the multitude. How is it to be applied? It is to be applied by being adopted in government and its effects on the people being shown. These are called the three tests.

2. When the ancient sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu, ruled, they said: "We must promote the filial sons and encourage them in serving their parents, and we must honour the virtuous and good men and instruct them in doing good." In this way they administered the government and published instructions, rewarded the good and punished the evil. It seems in this way the confusion in the world could be reduced to order, and the danger of the state could be transformed into safety. If this is doubted, (let us recall): In ancient times, the disorder of Jie was reduced to order by Tang, that of Zhou was reduced to order by King Wu. Then the times did not change nor did the people alter. Yet when the superior changed regime the subordinates modified their conduct. With Jie and Zhou the world was chaotic, under Tang and Wu it became orderly. That the world became orderly was due to the endeavour of Tang and Wu. That the world was chaotic was due to the sin of Jie and Zhou. Judging from this, safety and danger, order and chaos all depend on the way the superior conducts the government. How can it be said, there is fate? In ancient times when Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu ruled the empire, they said: "We must feed the hungry, clothe the cold, give the weary rest, and the disturbed peace." Thus their good name was heard all over the world. Can this be ascribed to fate? It is really due to endeavour. The virtuous and gentle of today respect virtue and pursue the ways and means (to benefit the world). Hence they are rewarded by the rulers above and praised by the people below. And their good name is heard all over the world. Can this be ascribed to fate? This is also due to their endeavour. Now, were those who believed in fate the sages of the Three Dynasties or the wicked of the Three Dynasties? Judging from the nature of this doctrine, it could not be the sages of the Three Dynasties, but must be the wicked that believed in fate. The ancient wicked kings of the Three Dynasties, Jie, Zhou, You, and Li, were honoured as emperors and possessed the whole world in wealth. Yet they could not control the sensuality of their ears and eyes, but gave rein to their passions. Going out they would race, hunt, and trap. Staying indoors they revelled in wine and music. They did not attend to the government of the country and the people, but did much that was of no use. And they oppressed and violated the people. Thus they lost their ancestral temple. They would not confess: "I am insolent and stupid. I did not attend to government diligently." But they would say: "It is but my fate that I lose it." Even the insolent people of the Three Dynasties were like this. They could not well serve their parents and their lord. They greatly hated politeness and frugality but liked licence and ease. They indulged in eating and drinking and were lazy at work. Their means of clothing and food became insufficient, and they incurred the danger of hunger and cold. They would not confess: "I am stupid and insolent, I am not diligent in my work." But they also said: "It is but my fate that I am poor." Thus the insolent people of the Three Dynasties also believed in fate.

3. The ancient wicked kings originated it and the miserable people practised it. It was shaking the convictions of the multitudes and converting the stupid. And this was already of great concern to the ancient sage-kings. They put it down on the bamboos and silk and cut it in metal and stone and engraved it on dishes and cups to be handed down to their descendants. In what books are they embodied? "Zong De" of Yu says: "When promises are not fulfilled even a subject of Heaven will not be protected. When one has touched the evil star, Heaven will visit him with its curse. When one is not careful about one's conduct, how can fate of Heaven protect him?" "The Announcement of Zhong Hui" says: "I have heard that the man of Xia issued orders, pretending them to be fate of Heaven. God was displeased and destroyed his armies." He made use of what did not exist as if it had existed, and therefore it was called pretension. If he declared to be existent what really existed, how would this be pretension? In ancient times, Jie believed in fate and acted accordingly. Tang here showed it to be wrong through "The Announcement of Zhong Hui." "The Great Declaration " says: "Therefore the Prince Regent Fa said: 'Ah, my lords, Heaven blesses the virtuous. Its way is clear. Example need not be sought far. It is in the King of Yin. He claimed each man had his own fate, worship should not be practised, sacrifices were of no avail, and wickedness could do no harm. God withdrew his blessing and the nine districts are lost to him. God is not pleased and is visiting him with ruin. Hence it is that our Zhou (the dynasty, the empire) is given by the Great God.'" That is, Zhou believed in fate and acted accordingly. King Wu refuted him in "The Great Declaration." So, why not examine the records of Yu, Xia, Shang, and Zhou, and see that all of them held there is no fate? How would you account for this?

4. And Mozi said: In expounding a doctrine or elaborating a system the gentlemen of the world should not do it just to exercise their voice and tongue and practise their lips. It must aim at being applied in the government of the country, the district, and the people. Now the rulers go to court early and retire late, hearing lawsuits and attending to government and

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meting out justice for the whole day, and dare not be negligent. Why do they do this? They think diligence will bring about order, and negligence chaos; diligence will produce safety, and negligence danger. Therefore they dare not be negligent. The ministers and secretaries exhaust the energy in their limbs and stretch the wisdom of their minds within to look after the court and without to collect taxes from passes, markets, and products from mountains, woods, ponds, and fields to fill the treasury, and dare not be negligent. Why do they do this? They think diligence will procure honour and negligence dishonour; diligence will procure glory and negligence disgrace. Therefore they dare not be negligent. The farmers set out at daybreak and come back at dusk, diligently sowing seeds and planting trees to produce much soy beans and millet, and dare not be negligent. Why do they do this? They think diligence will result in wealth, and negligence in poverty; diligence will produce plenty, and negligence famine. Therefore they dare not be negligent. The women get up at dawn and retire in the night, diligently weaving and spinning to produce much silk, flax linen, and cloth, and dare not be negligent. Why do they do this? They think diligence will produce wealth and negligence poverty; diligence will produce warmth and negligence cold. Therefore they dare not be negligent. Now, if they should believe in fate and behave accordingly, the rulers would be negligent in hearing lawsuits and attending to government; the ministers and secretaries would be negligent in attending to court; the farmers would be negligent in sowing seeds and planting trees; the women would be negligent in weaving and spinning. When the rulers are negligent in hearing lawsuits and attending to government and the ministers and secretaries in attending to court, then I should think the world would be in chaos. When the farmers are negligent in sowing seeds and planting trees and the women in weaving and spinning, then according to my opinion clothing and food for the world will be insufficient. As to the result of the application of the doctrine of fatalism to the government of the empire, to worship Heaven and the spirits above with it Heaven and the spirits will not be pleased, and to nurture the people below with it they will not be benefited but will be demoralised and cannot be employed. And, within, defence will not be strong, and, without, attack will not be victorious. And that for which the wicked kings of the Three Dynasties, Jie, Zhou, You, and Li, lost their country and ruined their state was just this (doctrine). Therefore Mozi said: If the gentlemen of the world really desire to procure benefits for the world and destroy its calamities they cannot but vigorously refute the doctrine of fatalism. For fatalism was an invention of the wicked kings and the practice of miserable men. It was not a doctrine of the magnanimous. Therefore those who practise magnanimity and righteousness must examine it and vigorously refute it.

MOZI CHAPTER 38 - Anti-Confucianism 1 (Text missing)

MOZI CHAPTER 39 - Anti-Confucianism 2

1. The Confucianist says: Love among relations should depend upon the degree of relationship, and honour to the virtuous should be graded. This is to advocate a discrimination among the near and the distant relations and among the respectable and the humble. But, according to his code of propriety: Mourning for the death of the parent should be three years; for the wife or the eldest son three years; for an uncle, a brother, or one of the other sons, a year; and for a near relative, five months. If the periods are based on the degree of relationship, evidently mourning for the closer relative should be longer and for the more distant shorter. Thus the wife and the eldest son are the same as the parents (in nearness). If the periods are based on degrees of respect which are severally due then it means that the wife and the eldest son are respected as much as the parents, and the uncles and brothers are placed on the same level with the other sons. What perversity can be greater than this? When his parent dies he first lets him lie there without dressing him for burial. He climbs on the roof, looks into the well, reaches into the rat holes, and searches in the washing basins to look for the dead man. Assuming that the man still exists this procedure is certainly stupid. If he does not exist this insistent search is the height of hypocrisy. When a Confucianist takes a wife, he has to escort her in person, dressed in ceremonial garments as a servant. He drives the cart himself, as if waiting on a revered parent. The dignity and solemnity of the marriage ceremony compare with that of sacrifice and worship. High and low are turned upside down. Father and mother are disobeyed. Parents are brought down to the level of the wife and the wife is exalted to interfere with service to parents. Can such conduct be called filial? The Confucianist tells us: "A wife is taken to share in continuing the worship and sacrifice (to ancestors) and the son will attend to the ancestral temple, therefore they are highly regarded." We answer him: This is all false representation. For, his brothers attend to the ancestral temple for tens of years. Yet when they die he will mourn for them only one year. The brothers' wives continue the worship and sacrifice of his ancestors. Yet, there is no mourning (upon their death) whatsoever. Then the three years' mourning for the death of his wife and eldest son is evidently not for the reason of their attending to the ancestral temple and continuing the worship and sacrifice. Now, to be partial to one's wife and son is already quite wayward. Yet the Confucianist pretends it to be for the sake of the parents. This is partiality to the most favourite but neglect of the most important. Isn't this great perversity?

2. Further, he holds tenaciously to the dogma of fate and argues: "Old age or early death, poverty or wealth, safety or danger, order or chaos are destined by the fate of Heaven and cannot be modified. Failure or success, reward or punishment, luck or adversity, are all settled; the wisdom and power of man can do nothing." When the different officers believe this they will neglect their several duties. When the common people believe this they will neglect their work. Lax government will lead to disorder; inefficient agriculture will lead to poverty. And poverty is the root of disorder and insurrections. Yet the Confucianists take this teaching about fate to be the Dao and the principle of life. This is to destroy the people of the empire.

3. Moreover, the Confucianist glosses over the elaborate ceremonials and music to make man extravagant; he extends mourning and pretends grief to cheat his parents. He introduces fate and causes poverty, and lives in idleness. He overthrows the fundamentals and avoids work, and is indolent and proud. Self-indulgent in drinking and eating and too lazy to work, he often suffers from hunger and cold and is in danger of freezing and starvation, without ability to avert them. He behaves like a beggar; grasps food like a hamster, gazes at things like a he-goat, and rises up like a wild boar. The gentlemen all laugh at him. He becomes angry and exclaims: "What does the undisciplined man know about the good Confucianist?" In spring and summer he begs for grains. When the five grains are all gathered in he resorts to the funerals. All the sons and grandsons are taken along and are filled with drink and food. It is sufficient for him to manage but a few funerals. He depends on others' houses for his wealth and uses others' fields to uphold his dignity. When a death takes place in a rich family he will rejoice greatly, for it is his opportunity for clothing and food.

4. The Confucianist says: "The superior man must be ancient in mode of speech and in dress before be can be magnanimous." We answer him: The so-called ancient speech and dress were all modern once. When the ancients first used that speech and wore that dress they would not be superior men (according to the Confucianists' criteria). Do you therefore mean to say that one has to wear the dress of the non-superior man and speak the speech of the non-superior man before he can be magnanimous?

5. Again, the Confucianist says: "The superior man conforms to the old but does not make innovations." We answer him: In antiquity Yi invented the bow, Yu invented armour, Xi Zhong invented vehicles, and Qiao Cui invented boats. Would he say, the tanners, armourers, and carpenters of to-day are all superior men, whereas Yi, Yu, Xi Zhong, and Qiao Cui were all ordinary men? Moreover, some of those whom he follows must have been inventors. Then his instructions are after all the ways of the ordinary men.

6. Again he says: "When the superior man is victorious he does not pursue the fleeing enemy. When the enemy is kept at bay he does not shoot. When the enemy retreat he will help them pushing their carts." We answer him: If the magnanimous are here referred to, they have no occasion for strife. The magnanimous remind each other of the principle of right and wrong and of what is to be accepted and what is to be rejected. He who has no cause follows him who has it. He who has no knowledge follows him who has knowledge. Running short of argument he would acknowledge defeat, seeing good he would be converted. How can there be any strife? If the contestants are both wicked, though the victor does not pursue the fleeing enemy, though he does not shoot the enemy at bay, though he helps pushing the enemy's carts in retreat - though he does all these, still he cannot be a superior man. On the other hand, suppose a sage starts out to destroy a curse on behalf of the empire. He raises an army to punish the wicked and cruel state. When he is victorious, let us suppose him to follow the Confucian way and command his army: "Don't pursue the fleeing enemy. Don't shoot when the enemy is at bay. Help them pushing the carts when they retreat." The wicked men will thus be set free and the curse of the world will not yet be removed. This is to harm the parents of the multitudes and greatly to ruin the world. Nothing can be more unrighteous!

7. Again the Confucianist says: "The superior man is like a bell. It will sound when it is struck. It will remain silent when it is not struck." We answer him: The magnanimous, in serving his superior, should be loyal, and in serving his parents, should be filial. When there is excellence (in the superior) he should adore, when there is fault he should give counsel. This is the way of a minister. Now, if one sounds only when struck, and remains silent when not struck, then he will hide his knowledge and spare his efforts, waiting to be questioned before he answers. Even if there is some great advantage at stake to the lord or parents, he will not speak up without being asked. And, if a great invasion or insurrection is approaching or a conspiracy is afoot, and none know it but he; yet even in the presence of his lord and parents he will not speak up without being questioned. What a criminal, producing confusion! Such a man will not be loyal as a minister, filial as a son, respectful in serving an elder brother or gentle in treating the people. When benefit is in sight, the only fear should be that counsel may be late. When the ruler starts something not beneficial, one should fold his hands high on the breast and look down and utter with difficulty: "This I have not learned." Upon emergency one should withdraw and set out on a long journey. For, every principle, doctrine, and standard of magnanimity and righteousness are to be used on the large scale to rule men and on the small scale to hold office; widely, to exercise a universal influence and, narrowly, to cultivate one's person. What is not righteous should not be tolerated; what is not according to principle should not be practised. One should endeavour to procure benefits for the empire directly and indirectly, avoiding that which brings no profit: such is the way of the superior man. But what we hear of the conduct of Kong Qiu is diametrically opposed to this.

8. Lord Jing of Qi asked Yanzi: "What kind of a man is Confucius?" Yanzi answered not. The Lord reiterated the question and there was still no answer. Lord Jing said: "Many have told me about Kong Qiu and all said he was a virtuous man. Now that I am asking you about him, why should you not answer?" Yanzi replied: "Ying is not wise and cannot know virtuous men. Yet Ying has heard that a virtuous man must be one who, upon entering a state, will endeavour to bring about friendly relations between the ruler and the ministers and dissolve the grudges between superior and subordinates. This man Confucius once visited the state of Jing. He heard of the plans of Duke Bo and told them to Shi Qi. As a result, the lord almost perished and Duke Bo was executed. Ying has also heard that the virtuous man does not obtain confidence of the superior by flattery or that of the subordinates by threat. If his counsels are listened to by the lord they will benefit the people, if his instructions are followed by the subordinates they will benefit the superior. His speech is plain and easy to understand and his conduct is plain and easy to follow. His righteous conduct enlightens the people and his thoughtful counsel convinces the lord and his ministers. Now, this man Confucius with elaborate plans conspired with the rebels and with devious plots committed depravity. To persuade the subordinates to plot against their superior and tell the ministers to assassinate their lord is not the conduct of a virtuous man. To enter a country and join with its traitors is not akin to the righteous. To urge those who are known to be disloyal to revolt does not fit the way of the magnanimous. Plotting against one at a distance and condemning one behind his back, his conduct enlightening not the people and his counsel convincing not the lord - how Confucius is different from Duke Bo, your servant Ying does not see. This is why I did not answer you." Lord Jing said: "Oh! I have been benefited. If it were not for you, I would never in my life understand Kong Qiu to be of the same kind as Duke Bo."

9. Kong Qiu visited the state of Qi and saw Lord Jing. Lord Jing was pleased and was going to assign Ni Xi to him. He told Yanzi about it. Yanzi said: "Please do not. A scholar of his school would sit crouching and take things easy, therefore he cannot be made to teach the subordinates. He likes music and will corrupt the people, and therefore cannot be trusted to govern. He believes in fate and will neglect his duty, therefore be cannot be given an office. He lays emphasis on mourning, and makes much of grief, therefore he cannot be made to take care of the people. He will be formal in dress and affected in manners, therefore he cannot lead the multitudes. Kong Qiu dresses elaborately and puts on adornments to mislead the people, promotes music and dancing to attract the multitudes, performs elaborate ceremonies of going up and coming down the steps, and practises the etiquette of rushing and soaring to dazzle the multitudes. With all his extensive learning he cannot plan for the world; with all his laborious thought he cannot help the people. A whole lifetime cannot exhaust his learning; the grown man cannot observe his ceremonies; and even the wealthy cannot enjoy his music. He elaborates and adorns his improper ways to keep the lords busy; he profusely furnishes sounds and music to corrupt the people. His principles cannot instruct the world; his learning cannot lead the multitudes. Now you, my lord, commission him to change the customs of Qi. It really is not the way to lead a country and bring forward the multitudes." The Lord said: "This is well." Thereupon the Lord gave him valuable gifts but retained the commission, received him with respect but did not inquire into his teaching. Kong Qiu became angry, angry with Lord Jing and Yanzi. So, he placed Chi Yi Ze Pi in the following of Tian Chang, and communicated his plans to Hui-tzu of the South City. Then he returned to Lu. Before long, Qi desired to attack Lu. He remarked to Zi Gong: "Oh, Ci, now is the time to do the great deed." Thereupon he sent Zi Gong to Qi and, through the introduction of Huizi of the South City, saw Tian Chang. Zi Gong persuaded him to

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attack Wu (instead of Lu). He also told Gao Guo Bao Yan not to interfere with Tian Chang's insurrection. Then he went on and persuaded Yue to attack Wu. For three years, both Qi and Wu were threatened with ruin. The bodies of those killed amounted to hundreds of thousands. And this was the revenge of Kong Qiu.

10. Kong Qiu was once the Chief Justice of Lu. But he abandoned the cause of the lord and entered the service of Jisun. Jisun was the Chancellor of Lu but deserted his trust and ran away. As he was trying to force the gate against the guards, Kong Qiu lifted the beam (for him).

11. Once, Kong Qiu was in straits between Cai and Chen having only vegetable soup without even rice to eat. After ten days of this, Zi Lu cooked a pig for him. Kong Qiu did not inquire whence the meat came, and ate. Zi Lu robbed some one of his garment and exchanged it for wine. Kong Qiu did not inquire whence the wine came, and drank. But when Lord Ai received Confucius, Confucius would not sit on a mat that was not placed straight and would not eat meat that was not cut properly. Zi Lu went to him and asked: "Why the reverse to what you did on the borders of Chen and Cai? Kong Qiu answered: "Come, let me tell you. Then, our goal was to keep alive. Now our goal is to behave righteously." Now when hunger-stricken he was not scrupulous about the means of keeping alive, and when satiated he acted hypocritically to appear refined. What foolery, perversion, villainy, and pretension can be greater than this!

12. Kong Qiu was lounging with his disciples. He remarked: "When Shun saw Gu Sou, he felt uneasy. The empire at the time must be in danger. Was not Dan, the Duke of Zhou, unmagnanimous? Why did he resign from his public office and retire to his private home? This shows Kong Qiu's conduct and the attitude of his mind. His followers and disciples all imitated him: Zi Gong and Ji Lu assisted Kong Li and committed high treason against the state of Wei. Yang Huo rebelled against Qi. Bi Xi was entrusted with Zhong Mou and became independent. Qi Diao had a ferocious appearance. Nothing can be more... than this! Of course the disciples and pupils, following a teacher, will advocate his doctrines and imitate his conduct. Only, they are not as powerful and not as clever. Now, since such was the conduct of Kong Qiu, the Confucian scholars are naturally to be objects of suspicion.

MOZI BOOK 10

(The chapters 40 and 42 build a kind of combination, as such:)

MOZI CHAPTER 40 Canon 1 (each 1st sentence)

MOZI CHAPTER 42 Exposition of Canon 1 (texts after the 1st sentence); English translation: A. C. Graham

1. The gu (reason/cause) of something is what it must get before it will come about.

'Minor reason': having this, it will not necessarily be so; lacking this, necessarily it will not be so. It is a part, like having a starting point. 'Major reason': having this, it will necessarily [be so]; lacking [this, necessarily it will not] be so. Like the appearing bringing about the seeing.

2. A ti (unit/individual/part) is a portion in a jian (total/collection/whole).

For example, one of two, or the starting-point of a measured length.

3. The zhi (intelligence/consciousness) is the capability.

The 'intelligence': it being the means by which one knows, one necessarily does know. Like the eyesight.

4. Lu (thinking/forethought) is the seeking.

'Thinking': by means of one's intelligence one seeks something, but does not necessarily find it. Like peering.

5. Zhi (knowing) is the connecting.

'Knowing': by means of one's intelligence, having passed the thing one is able to describe it. Like seeing.

6. Zhi (understanding/wisdom) is the illumination.

'Understanding': by means of one's intelligence, in discourse about the thing one's knowledge of it is apparent. Like clearness of sight.

7. To be ren (benevolent/humane/kind) is to love individually.

Love of oneself is not for the sake of making oneself useful. Not like loving a horse.

8. To be yi (righteous/dutiful/moral) is to benefit.

In intent, he takes the whole world as his field; in ability, he is able to benefit it. He is not necessarily employed.

9. Li (manners/courtesy) is respect.

The noble are adressed as 'Sir', the base by their given names, but in both cases one may be either respectful or rude, because modes of behaviour are different for different ranks.

10. Xing (conduct) is doing.

What one does, neutrally named, is one's conduct. Giving a good name to what one does is trickery. For example, to committing robbery.

11. To be cheng (sincere/whole-hearted) is to reveal oneself spontaneously.

The manifestation of his intent and his zeal enables others to know him. Not like the tinkle of metal or jade pendants.

12. To be zhong (to serve loyally/do one's utmost) is to be energetic in sustaining the responsibility when one deems something beneficial.

13. To be xiao (filial) is to benefit one's parents.

In intent, he takes his parents as his field; in ability, he is able to benefit them. He does not necessarily succeed.

14. Xin (good faith/trustworthiness) is the words agreeing with the thought.

It is not by his words fitting the fact that he makes others pay attention to them; it is because they are sure of his conduct. The frankness of his words enables him to verify them. ... the city wall and get the money.

15. To si (?) (be in authority (?)) is to act on one's own initiative.

When he confronts another, the multitude follows his lead.

16. To be juan (scrupulous/squeamish) is to be deficient in initiative.

He does the right things; but when doing the right thing interferes with some other thing, he will not do it.

17. To be lian (honest/conscientious) is to (...?) initiative.

Although he performs it himself, he is under the authority of someone who knows the rest about it (?).

18. To ling (command) is not to perform what one initiates.

It is not that he is not himself the agent.

19. Ren (bearing the weight of a responsibility) is an officer working to his own loss but to the advantage of those on whose behalf he acts.

He performs what in his own interests he dislikes in order to bring about what others need.

20. Yong (courage) is that by which intent is daring.

One names a man 'brave' because of what he does dare; one does not raise as an objection something else that he does not dare.

21. Li (strength) is that by which the body exerts itself.

It is of weight that it is said. Lifting a weight from below is exertion.

22. Sheng (life) is the body being located with the intelligence.

23. Meng (dreaming) is the intelligence neither desiring nor disliking anything.

25. Ping (calm) is the intelligence neither desiring nor disliking anything.

...tranquil.

26. Li (benefit) is what one is pleased to get.

If you are pleased to get this one, this is the beneficial one, and the harmful one is not this one.

27. Hai (harm) is what one dislikes getting.

If you dislike getting this one, this is the harmful one, and the one which is beneficial is not this one.

28. To zhi (deal with successfully/put in order) is to achieve what is sought.

One's own affairs having been put in order, others also putting in order North and South...

29. To yu (praise) is to make plain what is honourable.

30. To fei (blame) is to make plain what is dishonourable.

31. Ju (to refer to/pick out by name from others) is to present the analogue for the object.

Example, 'stone' explained by pointing out a stone? ... For 'like the stone' one necessarily uses what is like the name.

32. Yan (to say/speak of/words) is to emit references.

Example, 'tiger', explained by a picture? ... To inform about this name is to refer to the other object. Therefore 'saying' is an emitting of something's characteristics of which any speaker is capable. 'If the characteristics are like the picture, it is a tiger' is saying. To say that which it is called (as in the case of 'stone'), is to communicate it.

33. Qie (will/about to) is declaring something to be so before the event (?).

Before the event one says 'about to', after the event one says 'already'. The just now so too is about to be. (Like 'I'm afraid it will' and 'Let's for the moment...' (?))

34. The jun (ruler) is the common knot tying ministers and people.

35. Gong (achievement) is benefiting the people.

If not at the due time, even if it is beneficial there is no achievement. (Like summer and winter clothes.)

36. Shang (reward) is requital from above for achievement below.

37. Zui (crime) is violation of a prohibition.

If not covered by a prohibition, even if it is harmful there is no crime.

38. Fa (punishment) is requital from above for crime below.

39. Tong (agreeing/conforming) is being different but both the same in relation to this one thing.

They are two men but both see that this is a pillar. Like serving a ruler. The pillar's engendering of the complement is not to be treated as necessary. (?)

40. Jiu (duration) is pervasion of different times.

'Present' and 'past' combine mornings and evenings.

41. Yu (space/extension) is pervasion of different places.

'East and West' covers North and South.

42. The qiong (limit) is wherever at the next advance there is no room for a measured length.

If somewhere there is no room for a measured length, it is limited; if everywhere there is room for a measured length, it is limitless.

43. Jin (exhausting/applying to all/all) is none not being so.

Something is fixed of all of them.

44. To shi (commence) is to be plumb with the time.

Of times of a movement, there is one which has duration and one without duration. The commencement is plumb with the one without duration.

45. Hua (transformation) is the distinguishing marks of one thing changing to the distinguishing marks of another.

For example, a frog becoming a quail.

46. Sun (reduction/loss) is the removal of some without the rest.

'Some but not the rest': it is a unit in a total. Of its units, if one is removed and the other remains, we say that the one which remains is reduced.

47 (Text missing)

48. To xuan (circle round) is to swerve (?).

It is the figure of a curve.

49. To yun (rotate) is to change round.

The circumference is like a cut, the figure is constant.

50. Dong (to stir/move) is to shift somewhere.

Things which shift all over the border: the hinge of a door, the louse on a hare (?).

51. Zhi (to stay/remain fixed) is to endure as it was.

When the one without duration does not stay, the thing fits 'ox' and 'non-horse'. Like the arrow passing the starting-post. When the one which has duration does not stay, the thing fits 'horse' and 'non-horse'. Like a man having passed over a bridge.

52. Bi (the necessary/the certain) is the unending.

It is said of cases where complements are 'matured'. For example, younger-brother and elder-brother. Of a thing so in one case, a thing not so in one case, that it stays as such (?) is unnecessary, that it is this or is not is necessary.

53. Ping (level/flat) is of the same height.

54. Tong chang (of the same length) is each when laid straight exhausting the other.

The same lengths of door-bar and door-frame are straight.

55. The zhong (centre) is [the place from which (?)] they are the same in length.

Distances outward from this are alike.

56. Hou (having bulk/thickness/dimension) is having something than which it is bigger.

Only [the starting point (?)] has nothing than which it is bigger.

57. Ri zhong (the sun at the centre/noon) is the sun being due South.

58. Zhi (straight/on a straight course) is in alignment.

59. Yuan (circular) is having the same lengths from one centre.

The compasses draw it in the rough (?).

60. Fang (square) is circuiting in four from a right angle (?).

The carpenter's square shows it in the rough (?).

61. Bei (doubling) is making two of them.

When they are 'two', measured foot and measured foot both depart from one starting-point, which is being nowhere the same.

62. The duan (starting-point) is the unit without dimension which precedes all others.

63. You jian (having an interval/discontinuous) is [not extending to] the centre.

It refers to the flanking ones.

64. Jian (intervening/in between) is not extending to the sides.

It refers to what is flanked. Lengths measured from starting-point to circumference are not flanked by starting-point and circumference. The two extensions are extensions of which it is not the case that they come out level with each other.

65. Lu (...?) is the interval being empty.

'Empty': of the interval between the two pieces of wood, it refers to where there is no wood.

66. To ying (fill) is to be nowhere absent.

What does not fill anything is dimensionless. Along a measured length wherever you go you find the two.

67. Jian bai (as hard to white/mutually pervasive) is not excluding each other.

Different positions do not fill each other. Not being each other is excluding each other..

68. Ying (touching/coinciding) is occupying each other.

Of measured feet, neither is wholly covered by the other. Of starting-points, each is wholly covered by the other. Of the measured foot and the starting-point, one is wholly covered and the other is not. The hard and the white in coinciding wholly cover each other. Countable units in coinciding do not wholly cover each other.

69. Pi (side by side/measured against each other/commensurate) is over part of the length coinciding and over part of it not.

It is possible only if both proceed from a starting-point.

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70. Ci (the next/adjacent) is without interval but not coinciding.

It is possible only because the starting-point is dimensionless.

71. The fa (standard) is that in being like which something is so.

The idea, the compasses, a circle, all three may serve as standard.

72. The yin (criterion) is that wherein it is so.

Being 'so' is the characteristics being like the standard.

73. Shuo (explaining/demonstrating) is the means by which one makes plain.

74. Fan (being the converse of each other) is if inadmissible then on both sides inadmissible.

All oxen, and non-oxen marked off as a group, are the two sides. To lack what distinguishes an ox is to be a non-ox.

75. Bian (disputation) is contending over claims which are the converse of each other. Winning in disputation is fitting the fact.

One calling it an 'ox' and the other 'non-ox' is 'contending over claims which are the converse of each other'. Such being the case they do not both fit the fact; and if they do not both fit, necessarily one of them does not fit. Not like fitting 'dog'.

76. To wei (to be doing something for the sake of .../to have as end) is to give the most weight in relation to the desires, having taken account of all that one knows.

If you prefer to cut off your finger, and the understanding does not recognise the harm in it, this is the understanding being at fault. If the consideration paid to it by the understanding overlooks none of the harm in it, but you still prefer to cut it off, then that things have turned out unhappily is as with eating dried meat. Whether putrid meat will benefit or harm is unknowable in advance; if you prefer to eat the meat, and it is putrid, then eating it is refusing to take the doubt as grounds for fixing which you prefer. Whether there was benefit or harm 'beyond the wall' was not knowable in advance; if by heading for it you could get money, then refusing to head for it would be taking the doubt as grounds for fixing which you prefer.

In the light of the principle that 'To be 'for' is to give the most weight in relation to the desires, having taken account of all that one knows', when you cut up dried meat it is not wisdom, when you cut off a finger it is not foolishness. When what you are for and what you are against put each other in doubt, you are failing to plan things out.

77. Yi (end/finish). To bring about, to get rid of.

Of making a coat: 'to bring about'. Of curing an illness: 'to get rid of'.

78. Shi (to commission/to cause). To tell. The cause.

To give orders is 'to tell'. The thing does not necessarily come about. Dampness is a cause. It is necessarily required that what it does comes about.

79. Ming (name). Unrestricted; classifying; private.

'Thing' is 'unrestricted' - any object necessarily requires this name. Naming something 'horse' is 'classifying' - for 'like the object' we necessarily use this name. Naming someone 'Jack' is 'private' - this name stays confined in this object. The sounds which issue from the mouth all have the name. For example, surname and style-name.

80. Wei (call). Transfer, refer, apply.

Of naming by linking 'whelp' and 'dog: 'transfer'. Of 'whelp', of 'dog': 'refer'. Of hooting at a dog: 'apply'.

81. Zhi (know). By hearsay, by explanation, by personal experience. The name, the object, how to relate, how to act.

Having received it at second hand is knowing by 'hearsay'. Knowing that something square will not rotate is by 'explanation'. Having been a witness oneself is knowing 'by personal experience'. What something is called by is its 'name'. What is so called is the 'object'. The mating of 'name' and 'object' is 'relating'. To intend and to perform are to 'act'.

82. Wen (hear). At second hand, in person.

Being told by someone is hearing 'at second hand'. Being a witness oneself is hearing 'in person'.

83. Jian (see). Individuals, all.

One member of a pair (?) is an individual. Two of them are 'all'.

84. He (relation/tallying/being together). Exact, to the one which is appropriate, necessary.

The relations of sharing a level with (?), coinciding as the converse (?), aim and achievement, are 'exact'. The relation to wahat Jack is deemed to be is 'to the one which is appropriate'. If without something else something is necessarily absent, the relation is 'necessary'. The judges of sage, employ but do not treat as necessary. The 'necessary' accept and do not doubt. The ones which are the converse of each other, apply on both sides, not on one without the other.

85. Yu (desire/be about to). Directly, weighing the benefit; be about to. Wu (dislike). Directly, weighing the harm.

86. Wei (constitute/become/deem/make/cure/govern). Keep as it is, get rid of, exchange, dissolve, govern, transform.

Of coinciding with a complement (?): 'keep as it is'. Of illness: 'get rid of'. Of buying and selling: 'exchange'. Of sleet or ashes: 'dissolve'. Of instructing and leading: 'govern'. Of frog and quail: 'transform'.

87. Tong (same). Identical, as units, as together, of a kind.

There being two names but one object is the sameness of 'identity'. Not being outside the total is sameness 'as units'. Both occupying the room is the sameness of being 'together'. Being the same in some respect is sameness in being 'of a kind'.

88. Yi (different). Two, not units, not together, not of a kind.

The objects if the names are two necessarily being different is being 'two'. Not connected or attached is 'not units'. Not in the same place is 'not together'. Not the same in a certain respect is 'not of a kind'.

89. Sameness and difference. In interplay, having and lacking become relative.

In interplay the following become relative: In the case of a rich family, of native intelligence, 'having and lacking'. In the case of putting side by side and measuring, 'more and less'. In the case of a louse on a hare moving this way and that (?), 'departing and approaching'. In the case of retreating the better to attack, 'hard and soft'. In the case of a sword just striking, 'dead and alive'. In the case of son, son and mother within a family, 'elder and younger'. In the case of discourse, conduct, learning an object, 'being this or not being it (right or wrong)'. In the case of raising objections to a proposal or putting off acting on it, 'proved or not yet proved'. In the case of elder-brother and younger-brother, 'both being complements'. In the case of the body being here and the thoughts on something elsewhere, 'present or absent'. In the case of what 'Crane' constitutes, 'the surname or the thing as it is in itself'. In the case of a price being right, 'dear or cheap'.

91 (Text missing)
92 (Text missing)
93 (Text missing)

94. An assent and a denial are one in the benefit and the use.

When we 'jump the wall', the circular stays fixed. By the things which follow from each other or exclude each other, we may know 'a priori' what it is. For the five colours, long and short, before and after, light and heavy, adduce the one to which you are committed. The matching and the assent enter the consciousness together. When something is explained, and you assent to more than that they match, for example to a circle being nowhere straight, or nothing is explained and you assent on the basis of the matching, it is as though it were so of itself.

95. When someone devotes himself to a commitment, if the description takes a subtle turn, seek his reasons.

If he raises objections to an established statement, and makes it his business to establish this commitment, seek the standard for the commitment.

96 (Text missing)

97. If the standard is the same, examine what is the same in it.

Choose what is the same, and examine the subtle turn.

98. If the standard differs, examine what is appropriate to it.

Choose this and pick out that, ask about reasons and examine appropriateness. Using what is black and what is not black in a man to fix 'black man', and using love of some men and failure to love other men to fix 'love of man' - of these which is appropriate?

99. Fix the criterion in order to 'separate the roads'.

If the other man, referring to a respect in which it is not so, deems it so in the instance here, refer to respects in which it is not so and inquire about them.

100. The exact nowhere is not.

For example, the sage has respects in which he is not, yet he is.

MOZI CHAPTER 41 Canon 2
MOZI CHAPTER 43 Exposition of Canon 2
101-183 (No translation available!)

MOZI BOOK 11
MOZI CHAPTER 44 - Major Illustrations
[Warring States (475 BC - 221 BC)]
(No translation available!)

MOZI CHAPTER 45 - Minor Illustrations
[Also known as: "Xiao-qu", "Lesser Pick"
[Warring States (475 BC - 221 BC)]
English Translation: Donald Sturgeon

1. "Distinguishing" will be used to make clear the distinction between so and not-so; investigate the rules of order and chaos; make clear the locations of similarity and difference; examine the patterns of name and stuff; locate benefit and harm, and resolve doubts. Only then can one describe in approximation the way the myriad things are, and speak of seeking similarity of sayings. Names are used to raise stuff; phrases are used to express intention; explanations are used to bring out causes. Choose according to kind; offer according to kind. Having it in oneself one do not oppose it in others; lacking it in oneself one do not seek it of others.

2. "Some" is not all. "Suppose" is not so now. "Imitation" is to make a standard: what is imitated is that which is used to make the standard. Thus what matches the imitation is so; what does not match the imitation is not so. This is imitation. "Analogy" is raising another thing to make something clear. "Similarity" is similar sayings proceeding together. "Leading" is saying, "You take it as so - why can I alone not take it as so?" "Extending" is taking what he has not chosen but is similar to what he has chosen, and presenting it to him. "It is like this" is similarity. "How could I be like this" is difference.

3. Things have that by which they are similar, but this does not make them the similar. Similarity of sentences is correct within a certain range. That it is so, has that by which is so. When things are the same in being so, that by which they are so is not necessarily the same. When something is chosen, there is that by which it is chosen. When what is chosen is the same, that by which it is chosen is not necessarily the same. Thus the sayings of Analogy, Similarity, Leading, and Extending, proceed and become different, turn and become unsafe, go far and become lost, flow and lose their foundation - this must be examined, and they cannot be constantly applied. Thus doctrine should rely upon many methods, various kinds, different causes, and cannot be looked upon from a single perspective. Things are sometimes thus and so; sometimes thus and not so; sometimes one requires all and one not all; sometimes one thus and one not thus.

4. A white horse is a horse; riding a white horse is riding a horse.

A black horse is a horse; riding a black horse is riding a horse.

Huo is a man; caring for Huo is caring for a man.

Zang is a man; caring for Zang is caring for a man.

These are "thus and so".

5. Huo's parents are people; Huo serving his parents is not serving people.

His younger brother is a handsome person; caring for his younger brother is not caring for handsome people.

A cart is wooden; riding a cart is not riding wood.

A boat is wooden; entering a boat is not entering wood.

A thief is a man; many thieves is not many men.

There being no thieves is not there being no men.

How can it be made clear?

Hating there being many thieves is not hating there being many men.

Wishing there were no thieves is not wishing there were no men.

Everyone in the world takes these as so. If this is so, then though thieves are men, caring for thieves is not caring for men; not caring for thieves is not not-caring for men; killing thieves is not killing men – there is nothing difficult in it! This and those are of the same kind; the world have those and don't oppose themselves, [yet] we Mohists have this and they oppose us. There can be no other reason than that they are stopped up within and closed without; their heart-minds are all filled in!

These are the "thus and not so".

6. Reading books is not books; liking reading books is liking books.

Fighting cocks is not cocks; liking fighting cocks is liking cocks.

Being about to fall into a well is not falling into a well; stopping someone about to fall into a well is stopping someone from falling into a well.

Being about to go out is not going out; stopping someone about to go out is stopping someone going out.

If this is so, then:

Being about to die young is not dying young; stopping someone about to die young is stopping someone from dying young.

Taking there being fate is not fate; opposing those who take that there is fate is opposing fate.

It is not difficult. This and that are the same, the world has that and do not oppose themselves. We Mohists have these and yet they blame and oppose us. There can be no other reason than that they are stopped up within and closed without; their heart-minds are all filled in!

These are the the "not thus and so".

7. Caring for people requires caring for all people to count as caring for people; not caring for people does not require not caring for all people to count as not caring for people. Not caring for all people implies not caring for people.

Riding horses does not require riding all horses to count as riding horses;

Having ridden upon a horse implies riding horses.

By contrast, not riding horses requires not riding all [i.e. any] horses to count as not riding horses.

This is "one requires all and one not all".

8. Living within a state is living in the state; having a house within the state is not having the state.

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The fruit of a peach is a peach; the fruit of a ji (jujube) is not a ji.

Asking after a person's illness is asking after a person; disliking a person's illness is not disliking a person.

A person's ghost is not a person; one's elder brother's ghost is one's elder brother.

Sacrificing to a person's ghost is not sacrificing to a person; sacrificing to one's elder brother's ghost is sacrificing to one's elder brother.

This horse's eyes are blind means that this horse is blind; this horse's eyes are large does not mean that this horse is large.

This ox's hairs are brown means that this ox is brown; this ox's hairs are many does not mean that this ox is many.

One horse is a horse. Two horses are horses. Horses have four feet: one horse has four feet; two horses do not have four feet.

One horse is a horse. Some horses are white: two horses can be some white; one horse cannot be some white.

This is "one thus and one not thus".

MOZI CHAPTER 46 - Geng Zhu

1. Mozi was angry with Geng Zhuzi. Geng Zhuzi said: Am I not at all better than others?" Mozi said: Suppose I am starting out for Tai Hang. And a horse and an ox are to pull my cart. Which of them would you urge? Geng Zhuzi said: "I would urge the horse." Mozi asked: Why urge the horse? Geng Zhuzi said: "Because the horse is capable (of better speed)." Mozi said: I also think you are capable (of better things).

2. Wu Mazi questioned Mozi "Which are wiser, the ghosts and spirits or the sages?" Mozi said: The ghosts and spirits are wiser than the sages by as much as the sharp-eared and keen-sighted surpass the deaf and blind. In ancient times, Emperor Qi of Xia commissioned Fei Lian to dig minerals in mountains and rivers and cast tings at Kun Wu. He ordered Yi to kill the pheasant to invoke the tortoise of Boruo, saying: "Let the dings, when completed, be four-legged. Let them be able to cook automatically, without fire, to hide themselves without being lifted, and to move themselves without being carried. So that they may be used for the sacrifice at Kun Wu. May our offering be accepted!" Then the oracle was interpreted as saying: "I have accepted the offering. Profuse are the white clouds: one to the south, one to the north, one to the west, one to the east. When the nine dings have been completed, they shall be given over to three empires. When the emperor of Xia loses them the man of Yin will possess them; when the man of Yin loses them the man of Zhou will possess them." Now the transfer from the emperor of Xia to Yin and Zhou took many centuries. Even if the sage planned in counsel with his excellent ministers and superior assistants, could he foresee what would happen after many centuries? Yet the ghosts and spirits can. Therefore we say, the ghosts and spirits are wiser than the sages by as much as the sharp-eared and keen-sighted are than the deaf and blind.

3. Zhi Tu Yu and Xian Zi Shuo asked Mozi: "What is the greatest righteousness in conduct?" Mozi said: It is like the building of a wall. Let those who can lay the bricks lay the bricks, let those who can fill in the mortar fill in the mortar, and let those who can carry up the material carry up the material. Then the wall can be completed. To do righteousness is just like this. Let those who can argue argue, let those who can expound the doctrines expound the doctrines, and let those who can administer, administer. Then righteousness is achieved.

4. Wu Mazi said to Mozi: "Though you love universally the world cannot be said to be benefited; though I do not love (universally) the world cannot be said to be injured. Since neither of us has accomplished anything, what makes you then praise yourself and blame me?" Mozi answered: Suppose a conflagration is on. One person is fetching water to extinguish it, and another is holding some fuel to reinforce it. Neither of them has yet accomplished anything, but which one do you value? Wu Mazi answered that he approved of the intention of the person who fetches water and disapproved of the intention of the person who holds fuel. Mozi said: (In the same manner) do I approve of my intention and disapprove of yours.

5. Mozi had recommended Geng Zhuzi to Chu. Some (other) pupils visited him. They were given only three sheng (of grain) each meal and were not generously entertained. The pupils returned and reported to Mozi, saying: "Geng Zhuzi is not profited by serving Chu. When we visited him, we were given only three sheng each meal and were not generously entertained." Mozi said: You cannot tell. Shortly after, (Geng Zhuzi) sent Mozi ten jin of silver, saying: "Your junior disciple who dare not die sends herewith ten jin, which I hope you will use." Mozi said: So, indeed, we cannot tell.

6. Wu Mazi said to Mozi: "For all the righteousness that you do, men do not help you and ghosts do not bless you. Yet you keep on doing it. You must be demented." Mozi said: Suppose you have here two employees. One of them works when he sees you but will not work when he does not see you. The other one works whether he sees you or not. Which of the two would you value? Wu Mazi said that he would value him that worked whether he saw him or not. Mozi then said: Then you are valuing him who is demented.

7. A pupil of Zi Xia asked Mozi whether there could be any struggle among the superior men. Mozi said: The superior men do not struggle. The pupil of Zi Xia said: "There is struggle even among the dogs and hogs, how can there be no struggle among men?" Mozi said: What a shame! Tang and Wu are praised with words; but dogs and hogs are brought into comparison in conduct. What a shame!

8. Wu Mazi criticised Mozi, saying. "To leave contemporaries alone and to praise the early kings is to praise rotten bones. It is like the carpenter who knows only the decaying lumber but not the living tree." Mozi: Now the world lives because of the instructions of the early kings. And to praise the early kings is to praise the source of life to the world. Not to praise what should be praised is not magnanimous. Mozi said: The jade of He, the pearl of Duke Sui, and the nine dings - these are what the feudal lords value as excellent treasures. Can they enrich the country, multiply the people, put the government in order, and place the state in safety? Of course they cannot. Excellent treasures are to be valued for their efficacy. Now since the jade of He, the pearl of Duke Sui, and the nine dings cannot benefit men, then they are not the excellent treasures in the world. On the other hand, if righteousness is employed in the government of the state the population will be increased, the government will be in order, and the state will be secure. The excellent treasures are to be valued for their efficacy. Now righteousness can benefit men. So then righteousness is the excellent treasure of the world.

9. Lord Zi Gao of She asked Zhongni about government, saying: "What is a good governor like?" Zhongni answered him that the good governor will attract those who are distant and renew old friendships. Mozi heard of it and commented: Lord Zi Gao of She did not put the question right, neither did Zhongni give the right answer. For, did not Lord Zi Gao of She understand, to be a good governor is to attract the distant and to renew the old friendships? The question was really how to do this. The answer told only what the inquirer understands but did not tell what he does not understand. Therefore (I say), Lord Zi Gao of She did not put the question right, neither did Zhongni give the right answer.

10. Mozi said to Prince Wen of Lu Yang: The large states attacking the small states is like the boys playing horse. When the boys play horse, they merely tire out their own feet. Now, when a large state attacks a small state the farmers of the attacked states cannot cultivate the fields and the women cannot weave. They have to go to the defence. And the farmers of the invading states cannot cultivate the fields and the women cannot weave either. They have to take part in the attack. Therefore (I say) the large states attacking the small states is like the boys playing horse.

11. Mozi said: Doctrines that can be translated into conduct may be taught frequently. Doctrines that cannot be translated into conduct may not be taught frequently. To talk frequently about what cannot be carried out is merely to wear out one's mouth.

12. Mozi sent Guan Qin Ao to recommend Gao Shizi to Wei. The lord of Wei gave him heavy emoluments and ranked him among the ministers. Gao Shizi came to court three times and gave all his counsels. But none of them was carried out. So he left for Qi where he saw Mozi and said: "On your account the lord of Wei gave me heavy emoluments and ranked me among the ministers. I went to court three times and gave all my counsels. But none of them was carried out. So I left. Wouldn't the lord of Wei think I was demented?" Mozi said: If you left because it is in accordance with the Dao, what does it matter even if suspected of being demented? Anciently, Duke Zhou was displeased with Uncle Guan and resigned from the Duke's duties and went east to Shang Yan to live. Everybody then said he was demented. But posterity praised his virtue and exalted his name unto this day. Moreover, I have heard, to practise righteousness is not to avoid blame and seek praise. If the resignation is in accordance with the Dao, what does it matter if one is suspected of being demented? Gao Shizi said: "How dare Shi leave if it were not in accordance with the Dao? Formerly, Master, you have said: When there is no Dao in the world, the superior men will not stay in positions of plenty. Now the lord of Wei does not observe the Dao. If I should covet his emoluments and position then I would be living on others as a parasite." Mozi was pleased and summoned Qinzi, telling him: Now, listen, cases of disregard of righteousness for emoluments I have heard of. But disregard of emoluments for righteousness I have seen (only) in Gao Shizi.

13. Mozi said: When a man calls a gentleman of the present rich while he is poor he becomes angry. Yet, when the man calls him just he will be pleased even though he is unjust. Isn't this perverse!

14. Gong Mengzi said: "The ancient people had their rules, and they were but three in number." Mozi interrupted him, saying: Which ancient people are you talking about that you say have three rules? You don't understand that people first had....

15. Some pupils deserted Mozi and then returned. (They said:) "How are we to blame? We deserted late." Mozi said: This is like asking for reward for late desertion in a defeated army.

16. Gong Mengzi said: "The superior man does not create but transmits." Mozi said: Not at all. The most unsuperior men do not transmit the good of old and do not create any good for the present. The less unsuperior men do not transmit the good of old, but will bring out the good which he possesses for the sake of praise. Now to transmit but not to create is not different from creating without transmitting. It seems to me what good there is of old one should transmit it; what good there is to be for the present, one should institute it, so that the good may increase all the more.

17. Wu Mazi told Mozi: "I differ from you. I cannot love universally - I love the people of Zou better than the people of Chu, the people of Lu better than the people of Zou, the people of my district better than the people of Lu, the members of my family better than the people of my district, my parents better than the other members of my family, and myself better than my parents. This, because of their nearness to me. When I am beaten I feel pain. When they are beaten the pain does not extend to me. Why should I resist what does not give me pain but not resist what gives me pain? Therefore I would rather have them killed to benefit me than to have me killed to benefit them." Mozi said: Is this view of yours to be kept secret or to be told to others? Wu Mazi replied: "Why should I keep my opinion to myself? Of course I shall tell it to others." Mozi said: Then if one person is pleased with you, there will be one person who will desire to kill you in order to benefit himself. If ten persons are pleased with you, there will be ten persons who will desire to kill you to benefit themselves. If (the people of) the whole world are pleased with you, the whole world will desire to kill you to benefit themselves. (On the other hand), if one person is not pleased with you there will be one person who will desire to kill you as the propagator of a wicked doctrine. If ten persons are not pleased with you there will be ten persons who will desire to kill you as the propagator of an evil doctrine. If (the people of) the whole world are not pleased with you the whole world will desire to kill you as the propagator of an evil doctrine. (So, then) those who are pleased with you desire to kill you and those who are not pleased with you also desire to kill you. This is to say, what passes out from your mouth is what kills your body. Mozi continued: Then, where, after all, does the benefit of your doctrine lie? To teach what is not profitable is merely to wear out one's mouth.

18. Mozi said to Prince Wen of Lu Yang: Here is a man who has such an abundance of sheep, oxen, and (other) grass-fed and grain-fed animals that he cannot eat all that the cooks prepare for him. (Yet,) when he sees a man baking cakes, he looks surprised and steals them, saying: "Let me eat them." Now, is this due to an unsatisfied appetite or is he affected with kleptomania? Prince Wen of Lu Yang replied that he must be suffering from kleptomania. Mozi said: The fields of Chu all lie in waste and cannot be exhaustively cultivated. The unoccupied land amounts to thousands (of mu) and is more than sufficient for cultivation. Yet when it saw the towns of Song and Zheng, it looked surprised and stole them. Is there any difference between this and the other (case)? Prince Wen of Lu Yang replied: "This is the same as that. It must be suffering from kleptomania (too)."

19. Mozi said: When Jisun Zhao and Meng Bo Chang were in authority in Lu they could not trust each other. So they took oath at the altar, saying: "May we be harmonious!" This is like closing one's eyes and praying at the altar, "May I be able to see everything!" Isn't this unreason?

20. Mozi said to Lou Hua Li: I have heard you are brave. Lou Hua Li replied: "Yes. When I hear there is a brave man somewhere I always go and kill him." Mozi said: The whole world promotes that which it likes and destroys that which it hates. But when you hear of a brave man somewhere you must go and kill him. This is not admiration for bravery but hate for it.

MOZI BOOK 12

MOZI CHAPTER 47 - Esteem for Righteousness

1. Mozi said: Of the multitude of things none is more valuable than righteousness. Suppose we say to a person: We shall give you a hat and shoes on condition you let us cut off your hands and feet. Would he agree to this? Of course, he will not agree. Why? Just because hats and shoes are not so valuable as hands and feet. Again (if we say), we shall give you the whole world on condition you let us kill you. Would he agree to this? Of course he will not agree. Why? Just because the world is not so valuable as one's person. Yet people have struggled against one another for a single principle. This shows righteousness is even more valuable than one's person. Hence we say, of the multitude of things none is more valuable than righteousness.

2. On his way from Lu to Qi, Mozi met an old friend who said to him: "Nowadays none in the world practises any righteousness. You are merely inflicting pain on yourself by trying to practise righteousness. You had better give it up."

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Mozi replied: Suppose a man has ten sons. Only one attends to the farm while the other nine stay at home. Then the farmer must work all the more vigorously. Why? Because many eat while few work. Now, none in the world practises righteousness. Then you should all the more encourage me. Why do you stop me? Mozi travelled south to Chu to see Lord Hui of Chu. Lord Hui refused to see him with the excuse of his being old, and let Mu He receive him. Mozi talked to Mu He and Mu He was greatly pleased. He said to Mozi: "Your ideas may be quite good. But our Lord is a great lord of the empire. Can't he refuse to employ them because they come only from a humble man?" Mozi replied: So long as they are applicable they are like (good) medicines, which are only the roots of herbs. Yet even the emperor takes them to cure his sickness. Does he refuse to take them because they are only the roots of a herb? Now, the farmer pays his tax to the superior. (With this,) the superior prepares wine and cakes to do sacrifice to God, ghosts and spirits. Do these refuse to accept them because they come from the humble? So, even a humble man can yet be compared to the farmer, or, at least to medicine. Is he even of less value than the roots of a herb? Moreover, has not my Lord heard the story of Tang? Anciently, Tang was going to see Yi Yin and let a son of the house of Peng be the driver. On the way, the son of Peng inquired where the lord was going. Tang told him that he was going to see Yi Yin. The son of Peng said: "Yi Yin is but a humble man of the world. If you want to see him just send for him and he will feel quite flattered." Tang said: "This is not what you can understand. Here is some medicine. When taken, it will sharpen the ears and brighten the eyes. Then I shall be pleased and endeavour to take it. Now, Yi Yin to me is like a good physician and an effective medicine. Yet you don't think I should see him. It means you do not want to see me become good." Thereupon he dismissed the son of Peng and did not let him drive any more. They did not resume their journey till the son of Peng became respectful.

3. Mozi said: Any word, any action, that is beneficial to Heaven, the spirits, and the people is to be carried out. Any word, any action, that is harmful to Heaven, the spirits, and the people is to be abandoned. Any word, any action, that is in harmony with the sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu, is to be carried out. Any word, any action, that is in agreement with the wicked kings of the Three Dynasties, Jie, Zhou, You, and Li, is to be abandoned.

4. Mozi said: Any principle that can modify conduct, (expound) much; any principle that cannot modify conduct, do not (expound) much. To (expound) much what cannot modify conduct is just to wear out one's mouth.

5. Mozi said: The six peculiarities must be removed. When silent one should be deliberating; when talking one should instruct; when acting one should achieve (something). When one employs these three alternatively he will be a sage. Pleasure, anger, joy, sorrow, love (and hate) are to be removed and magnanimity and righteousness are to replace them. When hands, feet, mouth, nose, ears (and eyes) are employed for righteousness, then one will surely be a sage.

6. Mozi said to a few of his disciples: Though one cannot achieve righteousness one must not abandon the way, just as the carpenter must not blame the line though he cannot saw the lumber straight.

7. Mozi said: As the gentlemen in the world cannot be butchers of dogs and pigs, they would refuse when asked to be such. Yet, though they are not capable of being ministers in a state, they would accept it when asked to be such. Isn't this perverse?

8. Mozi said: The blind say that which is bright is white, that which is dark is black. Even the keen-sighted cannot alter this. But if we should mix up the black and white objects and let the blind select them they could not do it. Hence the reason that I say the blind do not know white from black does not lie in the matter of definition but in the process of selection. Now, the way the gentlemen of the world define magnanimity even Yu and Tang cannot alter. But when we mix up magnanimous conduct with unmagnanimous conduct and let the gentlemen of the world choose them they do not know which is which. So, the reason that I say the gentlemen of the world do not know magnanimity does not lie in the matter of definition either; it also lies in the process of selection.

9. Mozi said: The gentlemen of to-day handle their persons with even less care than the merchant would handle a bale of cloth. When the merchant handles a bale of cloth he dare not sell it without discretion; he will surely select a good one. But the gentlemen of to-day handle their person quite differently. Whatever they happen to desire they will carry out. In the more severe cases they fall into punishment; even in less severe cases they are visited with condemnation. So then the gentlemen are even less careful in handling their persons than the merchant is in handling a bale of cloth.

10. Mozi said: The gentlemen of our time desire to achieve righteousness. Yet when we endeavour to help them in the cultivation of their personality they become resentful. This is like desiring the completion of a wall and becoming resentful when helped in the building. Isn't this perverse?

11. Mozi said: The sage-kings of old wanted to have their teaching passed to future generations. Therefore they recorded it on bamboos and silk and engraved it in metal and stone to bequeath to posterity so that their descendants could follow it. Now the ways of the early kings are known but not carried out. This is to break the tradition of the early kings.

12. Mozi brought numerous books in his wagon drawers on his southern journey as an envoy to Wei. Xian Dangzi saw them and was surprised. He inquired: "Sir, you have instructed Gong Shang Guo just to consider the right and wrong (of any case), and do no more. Now you, sir, bring very many books along. What can be the use for them?" Mozi said: Anciently, Duke Dan of Zhou read one hundred pages every morning and received seventy scholars every evening. Therefore his achievements as minister to the emperor have lasted till this day. I have no superior above me to serve, nor any farm below to attend to. How dare I neglect these (books)? I have heard, though the (different) ways lead to the same end they are not presented without deviations. And the common people do not know how to place proper importance in what they hear. Hence the large number of books. When one has reviewed the ideas and has thought deeply on them then he understands the essentials which lead to the same end. Therefore he does not need to be instructed by books. Why should you feel so much surprised?

13. Mozi said to Gong Liang Huanzi: Wei is a small state situated between Qi and Jin. It is like a poor family in the midst of rich families. For a poor family to imitate the rich families in the extravagance in clothing and food, ruin is assured. Now we find in your house hundreds of decorated vehicles, hundreds of horses fed on grain, several hundred women clothed with finery and embroidery. If the expenditures for the decorations of the vehicles, food to the horses, and the embroidered clothes are used to maintain soldiers, there should be more than a thousand. Upon emergency, several hundred of them can be stationed at the van and several hundred can be stationed in the rear. To do this or to let the several hundred women hold the van and the rear, which is more secure? I should think to keep women is not so secure as to maintain soldiers.

14. Mozi had introduced somebody to office in Wei. The man went and returned. Mozi asked him why he returned. He answered: "In counsel my opinions were not considered. Being promised a thousand pen was given only five hundred. Therefore I left." Mozi inquired: Suppose you were given more than a thousand pen, would you still leave? It was answered, no. Mozi said: Then it is not because of lack of consideration. It is because of the smallness of the salary.

15. Mozi said: The gentlemen of the world have even less regard for the righteous man than for the grain carrier. If a carrier was resting by the road side and was unable to rise up, the gentlemen would surely help him to rise upon seeing him, whether he be old or young, honourable or humble. Why? Because it is right. But when the gentleman who practises righteousness urges them with the way of the early kings, they are not only unwilling to carry it out but will even trample it down. So, then, the gentlemen of the world have even less regard for the righteous man than for the grain carrier.

16. Mozi said: The merchants go everywhere to do business and their gain is doubled and multiplied. They persist notwithstanding the difficulties at the passes and bridges, and the dangers of the highwaymen and robbers. Now the gentlemen can sit down and teach righteousness. There are no difficulties at the passes and bridges or dangers from highwaymen and robbers. Their gain should be not only doubled and multiplied but become incalculable. Yet, they will not do it. Then the gentlemen are not as discerning as the merchants in their calculation of benefits.

17. Mozi was going north to Qi and met a fortune teller on the way. The fortune teller told him: "God kills the black dragon in the north to-day. Now, your complexion is dark. You must not go north." Mozi did not listen to him and went north. At the Ze River he could proceed no further and returned. The fortune teller said: "I have told you that you must not go north." Mozi said: People on the south, of course, cannot go north (of the Ze River), but neither can those on the north come south. (Moreover), there are the dark-complexioned, but there are also the fair-complexioned. Why is it that neither can proceed? Besides, God kills the blue dragon on the days of Jia and of Yi in the East, the red dragon on the days of Bing and of Ding in the South, the white dragon on the days of Geng and of Xin in the West, and the black dragon on the days of Ren and of Gui in the North. According to you then all the travellers in the world will be prohibited, then all their plans will be curbed and the world made empty. Your idea is not to be adopted.

18. Mozi said: My principle is sufficient. To abandon my principle and exercise thought is like abandoning the crop and trying to pick up grains. To refute my principle with one's own principle is like throwing an egg against a boulder. The eggs in the world would be exhausted without doing any harm to the boulder.

MOZI CHAPTER 48 - Gong Meng

1. Gong Mengzi said to Mozi: "The gentleman should fold his hands on the breast in waiting. He will speak when consulted he will not speak when not consulted. He is like a bell when struck it sounds, when not struck it does not sound." Mozi said: This idea covers three phases of which you know but one; so you do not understand what you are talking about. In the case of the ruler's committing violence in the state, to go and warn him will be called insolence, and to offer warning through those around him will be called meddling with counsel. This is where the gentleman hesitates (to speak). Now, if the ruler, in his administration, meets with some difficulty in the state resembling a machine about to shoot,... the gentleman must give warning. So the benefit to the ruler... In such cases although he is not asked he should give counsel. Again, if the lord should launch out on some unrighteous, extraordinary enterprise; and if in possession of clever military schemes, he should attack innocent states with a view to extending his territory, collecting taxes and gathering wealth; and if in taking such a course he meet with humiliation, as it is beneficial neither to the victor nor to the vanquished -- and hence harmful to both - in such a case the gentleman must respond with counsel though he is not asked. Moreover, according to what you have said, the gentleman is to fold his hands on his breast and wait. He will speak when consulted; he will not speak when not consulted. He is like a bell; when struck it sounds, when not struck it does not sound. Now, none had asked you and yet you spoke. Is this what you call sounding without being struck? Is this what you call ungentlemanly?

2. Gong Mengzi said to Mozi: "How is it possible for the people to be ignorant of what is really good? For instance, when the able fortune teller remains at home and does not go abroad, he will have grain in abundance; when the beautful maiden remains at home and does not go abroad, people will compete in obtaining her. On the other hand if she should set forth to sell herself, none would take her. Now you go about, trying to persuade everybody, wherefore all this fuss?" Mozi said: In the present world of chaos those who seek the beautiful maidens are many. So, though they remain at home most people would take them. But those who seek goodness are few. Without intelligent persuasion people will not understand. Moreover, suppose here are two people good at fortune telling. One travels about to tell people's fortunes, and the other remains at home and does not go abroad. Which of these two will have more grain? Gong Mengzi said that he who travels about and tells people's fortunes will have more grain. Mozi said: So with magnanimity and righteousness. He who travels about and urges the people has more merit also. Why not, then, let us travel about and urge the people?

3. Gong Mengzi, wearing a ceremonial hat, carrying the officials' tablet, and in the cloak of the learned, came to see Mozi and asked: "Does the gentleman dress in appropriate attire before acting. Or does he do his business first and then consider his attire?" Mozi said: Action does not depend on attire. Gong Mengzi asked how is it possible to know. Mozi said: Formerly, Lord Huan of Qi (685-643 B.C.), wearing a high hat and a wide girdle, with a gold sword and wooden shield, governed his state. And his state became orderly. Lord Wen of Jin (780-746 B.C.), wearing garments of coarse cloth and sheepskin cloak, with the sword in a leather belt, governed his state. And his state became orderly. Lord Zhuang of Chu (671-626 B.C.), wearing a gaudy hat with a tassel, and a red garment and a big gown, governed his state. And his state became orderly. Lord Gou Jian of Yue (496-465 B.C.), had his hair cut short and his body tattooed and governed his state, and his state became orderly. Now, these four lords differed in attire but agreed in action. I therefore know action does not depend on attire. Gong Mengzi said: "That is fine. I have heard that it is unlucky to keep goodness in darkness. So, let me go and put away the tablet and change the hat and come back to see you. Is this all right?" Mozi said: Please come out with your errand. If you have to put away the tablet and change the hat before you can see me, then, action does depend on attire.

4. Gong Mengzi said: "The gentleman has to be ancient in attire and in speech before he can be magnanimous." Mozi said: In ancient times, minister Fei Zhong of Emperor Zhou of Shang was the terror of the world. While Baron Ji and Baron Wei were the sages of the world. Now these spoke the same dialect, but the latter were magnanimous and the former was wicked. (Later), Duke Dan of Zhou was the sage of the world and Uncle Guan was the villain of the world. Now these wore the same attire but the former was magnanimous and the latter wicked. Then, virtue evidently does not depend on the antiquity of attire and speech. Moreover, you are following only Zhou and not Xia. Your antiquity does not go back far enough.

5. Gong Mengzi said to Mozi: "In ancient times, in assigning ranks the sage-kings crowned the most sagacious as emperor, and appointed the others as ministers and secretaries. Now Confucius had an extensive knowledge of poetry and history, a clear understanding of ceremonial and music, and

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an intimate insight into many things. If it fell upon Confucius to be the sage-king, why should he not make himself emperor?" Mozi said: The wise man should reverence Heaven and worship the spirits, love the people and economize in expenditures. Combining these we get wisdom. Now, you say, Confucius had an extensive knowledge of poetry and history, a clear understanding of ceremonials and music, and an intimate insight into many things. Therefore, you think, he should be made emperor. This is like estimating one's wealth by counting the number of notches.

6. Gong Mengzi said: "Poverty or wealth, old age or untimely death, all are determined by Heaven and they cannot be altered." Again, he said: "The superior man must learn." Mozi said: To hold fatalism and teach people to learn is like telling him to cover his hair and yet remove his hat.

7. Gong Mengzi said to Mozi: "There is only righteousness and unrighteousness, but no such thing as propitiousness or unpropitiousness." Mozi said: The ancient sage-kings all regarded the ghosts and spirits as intelligent and in control of calamity and blessing. They held there was propitiousness and unpropitiousness and thereby the government was well administered and the country was secure. From Jie and Zhou down they all regarded the ghosts and spirits as unintelligent and not in control of calamity and blessing. They held there was no propitiousness and unpropitiousness, and thereby the government became disorderly and the country in danger. So, the book of the ancient kings "Jizi" says, "Pride brings calamity." That is to say, the evil act will be punished and the good act will be rewarded.

8. Mozi said to Gong Mengzi: According to the ceremonial for the death of the ruler, the parents, the wife, and the first-born son, there shall be mourning for three years. For the elder uncle, younger uncle, elder brother, younger brother, one year; and for cousins within the family, five months. And for the aunt, the sister, the uncle on mother's side, and the nephew on sister's side, there will be mourning of several months for each. Many also use the intervals between periods of mourning to read the Three Hundred Poems according to rhymes, to play them on the string instruments, to sing them, and to dance to them. If your counsel should be followed when can the gentleman attend to government, and when can the common man attend to work? Gong Mengzi said: "When the country is in chaos it should be put in order; when it is in order, ceremonials and music may be pursued. When the country is poor work should be attended to; when it is rich, ceremonials and music may be pursued." Mozi said: A country may be orderly. But it is because it is being well governed that it is orderly. As soon as good administration is abandoned, order disappears also. A country may be rich. But it is because work is being attended to that it is rich. As soon as work is abandoned, wealth disappears also. Therefore although a country is orderly it is necessary to encourage unceasing attention to administration. Now, you say, when the country is in order, ceremonials and music may be pursued. But put it in order when it becomes disorderly. This is similar to digging a well when some one is choked and to seeking a physician when some one is dead. In ancient times, the wicked kings of the Three Dynasties, Jie, Zhou, You, and Li, revelled in music, and did not remember their people. Therefore they suffered capital punishment and brought calamity to their empire. And it was all from following this idea.

9. Gong Mengzi said that there were no ghosts and spirits; again, he said that the superior man must learn sacrifice and worship. Mozi said: To hold there are no spirits and learn sacrificial ceremonials is comparable to learning the ceremonials of hospitality while there is no guest or to making fishing nets while there are no fish.

10. Gong Mengzi said to Mozi: "You think mourning for three years is wrong. Your mourning for three days is also wrong." Mozi replied: You hold mourning for three years and condemn mourning for three days. This is similar to the naked person condemning the person who lifted up his garments for indecency.

11. Gong Mengzi asked Mozi whether it is wisdom when one knows something better than some other person. Mozi answered: A fool may know something better than some other person. Yet can the fool be said to be wise?

12. Gong Mengzi said: "I mourn for three years in imitation of the affection that my son shows to his parents." Mozi said: But does the baby have an intelligence to love only its parents? Why, then, should it keep on crying when the parents are not to be had? It is really the extreme degree of foolishness. Thus, is the intelligence of the Confucianists any higher than that of the baby?

13. Mozi asked a Confucianist why the Confucianists pursued music. He replied, music is pursued for music's sake. Mozi said: You have not yet answered me. Suppose I asked, why build houses. And you answered, it is to keep off the cold in winter, and the heat in summer, and to separate men from women. Then you would have told me the reason for building houses. Now I am asking why pursue music. And you answer music is pursued for music's sake. This is comparable to: "Why build houses?" "Houses are built for houses' sakes."

14. Mozi said to Chengzi: In the teaching of the Confucianists there are four principles sufficient to ruin the empire: The Confucianists hold Heaven is unintelligent, and the ghosts are inanimate. Heaven and spirits are displeased. This is sufficient to ruin the world. Again they (practise) elaborate funerals and extended mourning. They use several inner and outer coffins, and many pieces of shrouds. The funeral procession looks like house-moving. Crying and weeping last three years. They cannot stand up without support and cannot walk without a cane. Their ears cannot hear and their eyes cannot see. This is sufficient to ruin the world. And they play the string instruments and dance and sing and practise songs and music. This is sufficient to ruin the empire. And, finally, they suppose there is fate and that poverty or wealth, old age or untimely death, order or chaos, security or danger, are all predetermined and cannot be altered. Applying this belief, those in authority, of course, will not attend to government and those below will not attend to work. Again, this is sufficient to ruin the world. Chengzi said: "Sir, you are accusing the Confucianists of too much." Mozi said: If the Confucianists hold nothing like these four principles and yet I say they do then it is false accusation. Now that the Confucianists do hold these four principles and I say so, then it is not accusation, but information. Chengzi had nothing more to say and went out. Mozi called him back. After being seated he continued: "What you, sir, have just said is not without fault. For according to what you have said, there will be no praise of Yu or blame of Jie and Zhou." Mozi replied: Not at all. You are only cleverly criticizing me according to traditional notions. When attack is heavy defence must be strong. When attack is light defence must be light. To criticize according to traditional notions is similar to trying to kill a moth with a thill.

15. In a discussion with Chengzi, Mozi cited Confucius. Chengzi said, "You condemn Confucianism - why is it that you cite Confucius?" Mozi said: This has reference to what is right and cannot be altered. When the bird becomes aware of the danger of heat and of drought, it flies high. When the fish becomes aware of the danger of heat and of drought, it swims low. In such circumstances even the deliberations of Yu and Tang cannot differ from this. The bird and the fish may be said to be unintelligent. Yet, in some instances, even Yu and Tang would follow them. Should I never cite Confucius?

16. A man visited Mozi's school. He was physically well built and mentally brilliant. Desiring to have him in his school, Mozi told him to come and study and that he would make him an official. Persuaded by such an attractive promise, he came to study. In a year, he demanded a position of Mozi. Mozi said: I have not made you an official. But have you not heard the story of Lu? There were five brothers in Lu whose father passed away. The eldest son loved wine and would not conduct the funeral. The four younger brothers said to him, "You conduct the funeral for us, and we shall buy wine for you." He was persuaded by such an attractive promise and buried (his father). After the burial he demanded wine of the four brothers. The four brothers told him, "We will not give you any wine. You are to bury your father and we, ours. Is your father only ours? If you don't bury him people will laugh at you, therefore we urged you to bury him." Now, you have done right and I have done right, is it only my righteousness? If you don't learn, people will laugh at you. Therefore I urged you to learn.

17. A man visited Mozi's school. Mozi said: Why not come and study? Came the reply, "None of my family is learned." Mozi said: No matter. Does he who loves beauty say, none of my family loves it, therefore I will not? And does he who desires wealth and honour say, none of my family desires them, therefore I will not? Now, in the love of beauty and desire for wealth and honour, one goes ahead regardless of others. And righteousness is the greatest thing in the world. Why should one follow others in doing it?

18. A man visited Mozi's school and said to Mozi: "Sir, you teach that the ghosts and spirits are intelligent and can bring calamity or blessing to man. They will enrich the good and harm the evil. Now, I have served you for a long time. Yet no blessing has come. Can it be that your teaching is not entirely correct, and that the ghosts and spirits are not intelligent? Else why don't I obtain any blessing?" Mozi said: Though you have not obtained any blessing, how does that invalidate my teaching and how does that make the ghosts and spirits unintelligent? He replied that he did not know. Mozi continued: Suppose there is a man ten times as virtuous as you are, can you praise him ten times while you praise yourself but once? He answered that he could not. Now suppose there is a man a hundred times as virtuous as you are, can you during your whole life praise him and not praise yourself even once? He answered that he could not. Mozi said: He who obscured the virtues of one person is guilty. Now, you have obscured the virtues of so many. You must be guilty of very much. Wherewith can you expect blessing?

19. Mozi was sick. Die Bi came and inquired: "Sir, you have taught the ghosts and spirits are intelligent and are in control of calamity and blessing. They will reward the good and punish the evil. Now you are a sage. How can you become sick? Can it be that your teaching was not entirely correct, that the ghosts and spirits are after all unintelligent? Mozi said: Though I am sick how (does it follow that the ghosts and spirits) should be unintelligent? There are many ways by which a man can contract diseases. Some are affected by climate, some by fatigue. If there are a hundred gates and only one of them is closed, how is it that the burglar should not be able to get in?

20. Some of the pupils asked to learn archery with Mozi. Mozi said: Impossible. The wise should measure how far his energy can go and plan his career accordingly. Even a soldier cannot fight and help somebody at the same time. Now you are no soldiers. How can you be both accomplished scholars and accomplished archers?

21. Some of the pupils reported to Mozi that Gaozi proclaimed Mozi to be teaching righteousness but doing wickedness, and urged him to denounce Gaozi. Mozi said: That would not do. To praise my teaching and blame my conduct is yet better than indifference. Suppose there is some one who declares that Di is quite unmagnanimous, that he reverences Heaven, worships spirits, and loves men - this is yet better than indifference. Now, Gaozi was quite discriminating in his statements. He does not blame me for teaching magnanimity and righteousness. So, blame from Gaozi is yet better than indifference.

22. Some of the pupils reported to Mozi that Gaozi was zealous in practising magnanimity. Mozi remarked: It may not really be so at all. Gaozi practises magnanimity in the same way as the man who stands on his tip toe to appear tall and spreads himself to appear broad. It cannot last long.

23. Gaozi said to Mozi that he can administer the country and the government. Mozi said: To govern is to carry out what one teaches. Now you don't behave according to what you teach, this means that you yourself are in revolt. Being unable to govern one's self, how can one govern the country? Your self will set it in chaos.

MOZI BOOK 13

MOZI CHAPTER 49 - Lu's Question

1. The Lord of Lu asked Mozi: "I fear Qi will attack me. Is there any remedy?" Mozi said: Yes, the sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu, were originally feudal lords of states of only a hundred li square. Yet, enlisting the loyal and practising righteousness, they acquired the empire. While the wicked kings of the Three Dynasties, Jie, Zhou, You, and Li, by estranging the loyal and practising wickedness, lost the empire. I wish your Lordship would reverence Heaven and the spirits above and love and benefit the people below; prepare plenty of furs and money and humble your speech to befriend all the neighbouring lords, and lead the state to serve Qi. Besides this, indeed nothing can be done.

2. Qi was going to attack Lu. Mozi said to Xiang Zi Niu: To attack Lu is a great wrong on the part of Qi. Formerly, the Lord of Wu attacked Yue on the east and drove (Lord Gou Jian of Yue) to take refuge upon Guiji. He attacked Chu on the west and hold fast Lord Zhao at Sui. On the north he attacked Qi and brought Guozi back to Wu. The feudal lords then took vengeance and his people complained of the hardship and would not be commanded. Thereupon the state perished and the Lord of Wu was executed. Formerly, Zhi Bo attacked both the house of Fan and the house of Zhongxing, and absorbed all the land of the Three Jin states. The feudal lords then took vengeance and his people complained of the hardship and would not be commanded. Thereupon the state perished and he was executed. Therefore the attack of a large state on a small state is injury to both and the consequences of the wrong will always return to the large state.

3. Mozi saw the Grand Lord of Qi and said: Suppose here is a sword. When it is tried on a man's neck it severs it swiftly. Can it be said to be sharp? The Grand Lord said it is sharp. Mozi said: When it is tried on several men's necks, it severs them swiftly. Can it be said to be sharp? The Grand Lord said it is sharp. Mozi said: Of course, the sword is (proved to be) sharp, but who will take the curse of the deed upon him? The Grand Lord said that the sword reaped the benefit but he who tries it will be visited by the curse for the act. Mozi continued : Now to capture a state, ruin an army, and destroy the people - who will be visited by the curse for this act? The Grand Lord looked down and up and deliberated, saying: "I shall be visited with the curse for this act."

4. Prince Wen of Lu Yang was going to attack Zheng. Mozi heard of it and tried to stop him, saying to him: Suppose within the borders of Lu Yang the large cities should attack the small cities and the large houses attack the small houses, killing the people and carrying away the oxen and horses, dogs and hogs, cloth and silk, and grains and valuables. What would you say? Prince Wen of Lu Yang replied: "Within the borders of Lu Yang all are my subjects. Now, should the large cities attack the small cities and the large houses attack the small houses, carrying away their valuables, I should punish them severely." Mozi said: Now, Heaven possesses the whole world just as your Lordship possesses your state. But you are raising an army to attack Zheng. Shouldn't punishment from

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Heaven come to you? Prince Wen of Lu Yang said: "Why should you, sir, prevent me from attacking Zheng? I attack Zheng, in accordance with the will of Heaven. The people of Zheng have murdered their father for three generations. Heaven has been visiting them with punishment. It has caused them to be unprosperous for three years. I am only helping Heaven to carry out the punishment." Mozi said: The people of Zheng have murdered their father for three generations. Heaven has been visiting them with punishment. It has caused them to be unprosperous for three years. The punishment of Heaven is sufficient. Yet, you are raising an army to attack Zheng, proclaiming: "My attack on Zheng is in accordance with the will of Heaven." Suppose there is a man whose son is strong but insolent. So the father punished him with a ferule. But the neighbour's father struck him with a heavy staff, saying: "It is in accordance with his father's will that I strike him." Isn't this perversity?

5. Mozi said to Prince Wen of Lu Yang: If a lord had attacked the neighbouring states, killed their people, carried away their oxen and horses, grains and valuables, a lord might yet record it on bamboos and silk and engrave it on metal and stone and write it up into maxims on the bell and the ting to hand down to posterity, saying: "None possess so much as I." Now, the unscrupulous common man also attacks neighbouring homes, kills their inmates, and takes the dogs and hogs, food and clothing. They would also like to record it on bamboos and silk and write it up into maxims on the vessels and dishes to hand down to posterity, saying: "None possesses so much as I." Is this permissible? Prince Wen of Lu Yang said: "According to what you have said then what the world takes for granted may not be right after all."

6. Mozi said to Prince Wen of Lu Yang: The gentlemen of the world know only trifles but not things of importance. If a man steals a dog or pig, they call him wicked. But stealing a state or a city is regarded as righteous. This is similar to calling it white when one sees a little white, but calling it black when he sees much white. And this is what is meant when we say the gentlemen of the world know only trifles and not things of importance.

7. Prince Wen of Lu Yang said to Mozi: There is a cannibal tribe on the south of Chu. When the first son is born they dissect and devour him. This is said to be propitious to his younger brothers. If he tastes delicious, he will be offered to the chief, and if the chief is pleased the father will be rewarded. Isn't this a wicked custom?" Mozi said: So is the custom in China. How is killing the father and rewarding the son different from devouring the son and rewarding the father? If magnanimity and righteousness are not observed, wherefore shall we condemn the barbarians for eating their sons?

8. Upon the death of a favourite concubine of the Lord of Lu, somebody in Lu wrote an obituary for her. The Lord of Lu was pleased with it and employed the writer. Mozi heard of it and remarked: An obituary is but to narrate the ambitions of the dead. To employ the man because his obituary is pleasing is like making the wild cat pull a carriage.

9. Prince Wen of Lu Yang asked Mozi: "Suppose somebody was recommended as a loyal minister. And he would bow down when I let him bow down; he would bend back when I let him bend back. Staying there he would be silent, and when called upon he would answer. Can this be said to be loyal?" Mozi said: To bow down when permitted, to bend back when permitted - this is but a shadow. To remain silent when let alone, to answer when called upon - this is but an echo. What would your Lordship get out of an echo or a shadow? According to my conception of a loyal minister, when the superior is at fault he should wait and warn; possessing a good idea he should give counsel to the superior without revealing it to the world; he should correct irregularities and lead in goodness ; he should identify himself with the superior and not ally himself with subordinates. So that goodness and excellences will be attributed to the superior and complaints and grudges lodged against the subordinates; so that ease and happiness be with the superior and trouble and worry with the ministers. This is what I call a loyal minister.

10. The Lord of Lu consulted Mozi, saying: "Now I have two sons. One likes learning and the other likes dividing property for people. Which one should be crowned Prince?" Mozi said: We can't tell (just from this). It may be that they behave so just for the praise and reward of it. The fisherman's bait is not intended to feed the fish. Trapping a mouse with worms is not for the love of the mouse. I wish your Lordship would observe both their intention and consequences.

11. There was a man in Lu who sent his son to Mozi to study. The son perished in a battle. The father blamed Mozi for it. Mozi said: You wanted to have your son trained. Now he had completed his training and died in battle. And you become sore. This is like trying to sell something, and yet becoming sore when it is sold. Isn't this peculiar?

12. Among the rustic people living south of Lu there was a man by the name of Wu Lu. Making pottery in winter and farming in summer, he compared himself to Shun. Mozi heard of him and went to see him. Wu Lu told Mozi: "Righteousness is just righteousness. Wherefore all the verbosity? Mozi asked him: Now, does what you call righteousness possess power to serve other people and produce wealth to divide among the people? Wu Lu said that it does. Mozi continued: I have deliberated about this matter. I have thought of becoming a farmer and feeding the people in the world. If that could be successful I would become one. But when a farmer's produce is divided among the world, each person cannot get even one sheng of grain. Even if he can obtain, that much, evidently that cannot feed all the hungry in the world. I have thought of becoming a weaver and clothing all the people in the world. If that could be successful I would become one. But when a weaver's goods are divided among the world, each person cannot get even a foot of cloth. Even if he can obtain that much, evidently that cannot keep all who are cold in the world warm. I have thought of putting on armour and carrying a weapon to come to the feudal lord's rescue. If that could be successful I would become a soldier. Now it is evident that a soldier cannot hold out against a regular army. I concluded that none of these is as good as to familiarize myself with the Tao of the ancient sage-kings, and discover their principles, and to understand the word of the sages and be clear about their expressions; and with these to persuade the rulers and then the common people and the pedestrians. When the rulers adopt my principles their states will be orderly. When the common people and the pedestrians adopt my principles their conduct will be regulated. Therefore I think though I do not plow and feed the hungry or weave and clothe the cold, I have greater merit than those who plow and feed, and weave and clothe. Therefore I think my merit is greater than that of those who plow and weave though I do not do so. Wu Lu kept on saying, "Righteousness is just righteousness. Wherefore all the verbosity?" Mozi continued: Suppose the world does not know how to plow. Who has more merit, the man who teaches people to plow, or he who does not teach people to plow but simply plows himself? Wu Lu answered that he that teaches others to plow deserves more merit. Mozi said: In the attack of an unrighteous state, does he that beats the drum and urges the soldiers to fight on, or does he that does not beat the drum and urge the soldiers to fight on but only fights on himself deserve more merit? Wu Lu said that he that beats the drum and urges the soldiers to fight on deserves more merit. Mozi continued: Now the common people and the pedestrians in the world know little about righteousness. Naturally those who teach them righteousness deserve more merit too. Why don't you say so (in this case)? Would not my righteousness be advanced if I can encourage them in righteousness?

13. After Mozi had paid Gong Shang Guo a visit, Gong Shang Guo recommended him to the Lord of Yue. The Lord of Yue was greatly pleased, saying to Gong Shang Guo: "Sir, if you can induce Mozi to come to Yue and instruct me I shall offer him five hundred li square of the land lying in the former state of Wu." Gong Shang Guo promised to try and so fifty wagons were made ready to go to Lu, and welcome Mozi. (Gong Shang Guo) told him: "When I tried to persuade the Lord of Yue with your principles he was quite pleased and said to me that if I could induce you to come to Yue and instruct him, he would offer you five hundred li square of the land lying in the former state of Wu." Mozi said to Gong Shang Guo: As you observe it, what is the intention of the Lord of Yue? If the Lord of Yue will listen to my word and adopt my way, I shall come, asking only for food according to the capacity of my stomach, and clothing according to the stature of my body. I shall just be one of the ministers. What is the use of any commission? On the other hand, if the Lord of Yue will not listen to my word and adopt my way and I should go nevertheless, I should then be selling my righteousness. As for selling righteousness I could very well do it in China, why should I then go out to Yue?

14. Mozi was visiting Wei Yue. The latter asked: "Now that you have seen the gentlemen of the four quarters, what would you say is the most urgent enterprise?" Mozi replied: Upon entering a country one should locate the need and work on that. If the country is upset in confusion, teach them with the (doctrines of) Exaltation of the Virtuous and Identification with the Superior. If the country is in poverty, teach them with Economy of Expenditures and Simplicity in Funeral. If the country is indulging in music and wine, teach them with Condemnation of Music and Anti-fatalism. If the country is insolent and without propriety, teach them to reverence Heaven and worship the spirits. If the country is engaged in conquest and oppression, teach them with Universal Love and Condemnation of Offensive War. Hence we say, one should locate the need and work on that.

15. Mozi had recommended Cao Gongzi to Sung. He returned in three years and saw Mozi, saying: "When I first came to your school I had to wear short jackets and eat vegetable soup. Even this I could not have in the evening if I had had it in the morning. And I had nothing to offer and sacrifice to the ghosts and spirits. Now, on your account my family has become better off. And I could respectfully offer sacrifice and worship ghosts and spirits at home. Yet several members of my household died off, the six animals do not breed, and I have myself been troubled with ailments. I doubt if your way is after all to be adopted." Mozi said: This is not fair. For what the ghosts and spirits desire of man is that when in high rank and receiving much emolument, he give up his position in favour of the virtuous; that when possessing much wealth he share it with the poor. How can the ghosts and spirits merely desire to snatch food and drink? Now, when in high rank and receiving much emolument you did not give up your position in favour of the virtuous. This is your first step to bad fortune. Possessing much wealth you did not share it with the poor. This is your second step towards misfortune. Now you serve the ghosts and spirits by merely offering them sacrifice; and you wonder whence come all the ailments. This is like shutting one out of a hundred gates and wondering whence the thieves entered. How can you invoke ghosts and spirits for blessing like this?

16. The master of sacrifice of Lu offered one pig and asked for a hundred blessings. Upon hearing of it Mozi said: This cannot be done. To give others little but to expect much from others would make them afraid of gifts. Now one pig is offered and a hundred blessings are asked of the ghosts and spirits. They would be quite afraid of a sacrifice of oxen and sheep. Anciently, when the sage-kings worshipped the ghosts and spirits, they just offered them sacrifice and that was all. One would be better off to remain poor than become rich by offering a pig for sacrifice and asking for a hundred blessings.

17. Peng Qing Shengzi said: "The past can be known, the future cannot." Mozi said: Suppose your parents met with misfortune a hundred li away. And there was just the margin of a single day. If they could be reached they would live, if not they would die. Here are a strong wagon and an excellent horse, and also a bad horse and a square-wheeled cart. And you are allowed to choose. Which would you take? It was replied that the excellent horse and the strong wagon would of course make for a more speedy journey. Mozi said: How then is the future not knowable?

18. Meng Shan praised Prince Ze Lu, saying: "Formerly, in the uprising of Bo Gong, Prince Ze Lu was held captive. With axes around his waist and spears pointing at his heart, Bo Gong told him to be Lord and live or refuse and die. Prince Ze Lu said to him, 'What an insult to me. You have killed my parents and now bait me with the state of Chu. If it is not righteous I would not even take the whole empire, to say nothing of the state of Chu.' Thus he refused. Wasn't Prince Ze Lu magnanimous?" Mozi said: What he did was indeed difficult, but hardly magnanimous. If he thought the Lord had gone astray from the Tao, why not accept the offer and undertake the government himself? If he thought Bo Gong was unrighteous, why not accept the Lordship also, execute Bo Gong, and then return the Lordship to the Lord? Therefore I say what he did was indeed difficult, but hardly magnanimous.

19. Mozi sent Sheng Zhuo to serve Xiang Zi Niu. Xiang Zi Niu invaded Lu three times, and Sheng Zhuo was three times with him. Hearing of this, Mozi sent Gao Sunzi to call him back, saying: I sent Zhuo there in order to cure pride and regulate insolence. Now, Zhuo draws a large salary and flatters his master. His master invaded Lu three times and he was with him every time. This is like whipping a horse by its martingale. I have heard that to preach righteousness but do it not is intentional commitment of wrong. It is not that Zhuo is ignorant. It is a case of victory of emolument over righteousness.

20. Formerly the people of Chu and the people of Yue had a battle on the River. The people of Chu were with the stream in their advance but against it in their retreat. When success was in sight they advanced. But when defeat was confronting them they found it very difficult to retreat. On the contrary the people of Yue advanced upstream but retreated downstream. When success was in sight they would advance. And when defeat was confronting them they could easily retreat. With this advantage the people of Yue greatly defeated the people of Chu. Gong Shuzi came south from Lu to Chu, and began making implements for naval warfare which consisted of grappling hooks and rams. When the enemy were retreating they used the hooks. And when the enemy were advancing they employed the rams. And the weapons were made according to the length of these hooks and rams. The weapons of Chu thus were all standardised, and those of Yue were not. And, with this advantage, the people of Chu greatly defeated the people of Yue. Gong Shuzi was proud of his cleverness and asked Mozi: "There are the implements for grappling and ramming in my boats of war. Do you have such a device in your righteousness?" Mozi said: The grappling and ramming device in my righteousness is more excellent than your implements in the boats of war. In my scheme, I pull with love and push with respect. If you do not pull with love there can be no intimacy. If you do not push with respect there will be rapid desecration. And desecration without real intimacy will soon end in separation. Therefore mutual love and mutual respect mean really mutual benefit. Now you pull people up to stop their retreat, but they would also pull you up and stop your retreat. You push people back to stop their advance, but they would also push you back to stop your advance. The mutual pulling and pushing are just mutual injury. Therefore the device of pulling and pushing in my righteousness is more

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excellent than the implements of pulling and pushing in your boats of war.

21. Gong Shuzi constructed a bird from bamboo and wood and when it was completed he flew it. It stayed up (in the air) for three days. Gong Shuzi was proud of his supreme skill. Mozi said to him: Your accomplishment in constructing a bird does not compare with that of the carpenter in making a linch-pin. In a short while he could cut out the piece of wood of three inches. Yet it would carry a load of fifty shi. For, any achievement that is beneficial to man is said to be beautiful, and anything not beneficial is said to be clumsy.

22. Gong Shuzi confessed to Mozi: "Before I saw you, I wished to take Song. Since I have seen you, even if Song were offered me I would not take it if it is unrighteous." Mozi said: Before you saw me you wished to take Song. Since you have seen me even if Song were offered to you you would not take it if it unrighteous. This means I have given you Song. If you engage yourself in doing righteousness, I shall yet give you the whole world.

MOZI CHAPTER 50 - Gong Shu

1. Gong Shu Ban had completed the construction of Cloud-ladders for Chu and was going to attack Song with them. Mozi heard of it and set out from Qi. He walked ten days and ten nights and arrived at Ying. He saw Gong Shu Ban. The latter asked him what he wanted of him. Mozi said: Some one in the north has humiliated me. I would like to have you kill him. Gong Shu Ban was displeased. Mozi persisted, offering him ten jin. Finally Gong Shu Ban said: "My principle is incompatible with murdering people." Thereupon Mozi rose and bowed twice and spoke: Now, let me explain myself. While in the north I heard you were building ladders to attack Song. Now, of what is Song guilty? The state of Jing has land to spare but is short of people. To destroy what is scarce in order to strive for what is already plenty cannot be said to be wise. Since Song is innocent, to attack it cannot be said to be magnanimous. To fail to make an effort according to what you know cannot be said to be loyal. To make the effort without obtaining (the desired result) cannot be said to be effective. To hold a principle that forbids the killing of few but allows that of many cannot be said to be understanding the fundamental categories. Gong Shu Ban became convinced. Mozi argued further: Then why would you not stop it? Gong Shu Ban said that could not be done as he had already promised the Lord. Mozi said: Why not then present me to the Lord? Gong Shu Ban agreed.

2. Mozi saw the Lord and said: Suppose there is a man who, putting aside his elegant carriage, desires to steal his neighbour's shattered sedan; putting aside his embroidery and finery, desires to steal his neighbour's short jacket; putting aside his meat and grains desires to steal his neighbour's husks. What kind of a man would this be? The Lord said that he must be suffering from kleptomania. Mozi continued: The land of Jing amounts to five thousand li square while that of Song is only five hundred, this is similar to the contrast between the elegant carriage and the shattered sedan. Jing possesses Yun Meng which is full of rhinoceroses and deer. The fish, tortoises and crocodiles in the Yangtse and the Han Rivers are the richest in the empire. While Song is said to possess not even pheasants, rabbits, or foxes. This is similar to the contrast between meat and grains and husks. In Jing there are tall pines, spruces, cedars and camphor trees, while Song has no tall trees at all. This is similar to the contrast between embroidery and finery and the short jacket. When your ministers and generals set out to attack Song, it seems to me there is the same strategy. I can see, my Lord, you will be violating righteousness to no advantage. The Lord said: "That is all very well. But Gong Shu Ban has already constructed the Cloud-ladders for me, and I must capture Song."

3. And he turned to Gong Shu Ban. Mozi untied his belt and laid out a city with it, and used a small stick for weapon. Gong Shu Ban set up nine different machines of attack. Mozi repulsed him nine times. Gong Shu Ban was at an end with his machines of attack while Mozi was far from being exhausted in defence. Gong Shu Ban felt embarassed and declared: "I know how I can put you down, but I would not tell." Mozi also said: "I know how you can put me down, but I would not tell." The Lord of Chu asked what it was. Mozi replied: Gong Shuzi's idea is just to have me murdered. (Apparently,) when I was murdered, Song would be powerless at defence. And she would be subject to your attack. However, my disciples Qin Hua Li and others numbering three hundred are already armed with my implements of defence waiting on the city wall of Song for the bandits from Chu. Though I be murdered, you cannot exhaust (the defence of Song). The Lord of Chu said: "Well, then let us not attack Song any more."

4. On his way back, Mozi passed through Song. It was raining and he sought shelter in a pass. But the guard of the pass would not let him in. Thus it is said: "The merit of the man who cultivates himself before the spirits is not recognised by the multitude. On the other hand, he who strives in the open is recognised."

(No more translations available!)

BUDDHIST TEXTS IN CHINA

THE FAHUA SAN BUJING

The Zheng-fa-hua jing / Miaofa Lianhua jing / Fahua jing
The Threefold Lotus Sutra / The Teachings of Enlightenment
The Chinese Lotus Sutra, plus Prologue and Epilogue
Translated from Sankrit to Chinese by Zhu Fahu,
also known as Dharmaraksha or Yuezi
Translation: Bunno Kato, 1975
Estimated Range of Dating: 280-286 A.D.

(The earliest known Sanskrit title for the sutra is the Saddharma Pundarika Sutra, which can be translated as "the Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma" or "The Discourse on the White Lotus of the True Doctrine." In English, the shortened form Lotus Sutra is more common. The title of Zhu Fahu's (c. 233-311 AD) Chinese translation is Zheng-fa-hua jing, or True Dharma Flower Sutra, today better known as Wu Liang Yi Jing or Miaofa Lianhua jing, "Subtle Dharma Lotus Flower Sutra" (short: Fahua jing or Fahua jingin = Dharma Flower Sutra).

This title with the word "Lotus Sutra" in it has a reason. In a story of chapter 12, Manjusri (the oldest and most significant bodhisattva in Mahayana literature) praises the Naga king Sagara's daughter and says she can attain Buddhahood. The bodhisattva Prajnakuta is skeptical of this, and then the Naga princess appears. Shariputra (the Buddha's first chief disciple) said to the daughter of the dragon: "You state that ... you attained the supreme Way [the highest level of Buddhist scholarship and experience]. This thing is hard to believe ... Because the body of a women is filthy and not a vessel of the Law.... Now, the dragon's daughter possessed a precious pearl which she presented to the Buddha, and which the Buddha immediately accepted.... At that moment the entire congregation saw the dragon's daughter suddenly transformed into a male, perfect in bodhisattva-deeds [high level of righteousness and wisdom], who instantly went to the world Spotless ... where she sat on a precious lotus flower [of enlightenment], attaining Perfect Enlightenment and universally proclaiming the Wonderful Law to all living creatures in the universe [of wisdom]." It is this story, the Lotus Sutra most likely has got its title from. It represents the core of Buddhist teachings: There should be no difference between the sexes in sharp contrast to the traditional teaching of the time in which females are not only considered weak but despisable and filthy. This theme has a little extension.

In 1945, an extraordinary find was made in Nag Hammadi, Egypt. Thirteen leather-bound papyrus codices buried in a sealed jar were found by a local farmer. The writings in these codices comprise 52 treatises from the early Christians and Gnostics but they also include three works belonging to the Corpus Hermeticum and a partial version of Plato's Republic. The most famous single document it is the Gospel of Thomas (full title: The Gospel of Didimus Judas Thomas). It is one of the most remarkabe Christian texts in history because it obviously contains a quote from the Buddhist Lotus Sutra.

In this Gospel of Thomas (verse 114, The Grand Bible, p. 758-760), we read: "Simon Peter said to them: Let Mary [Magdalene] go forth from among us, for women are not worthy of the life [of enlightenment]. Jesus said: Behold, I shall lead her, that I may make her male, in order that she also may become a living spirit [of righteousness and wisdom] like you males. For every woman who makes herself male shall enter into the kingdom of heaven [of wisdom]."

We do not know if Jesus has ever said this or why the author of that gospel has put it into the mouth of Jesus. It is known however, that Buddhist monks have travelled to western destination over a period of several hundred years between 300 BC and 200 AD, perhaps even earlier than that. Their teachings reached the mind of thinkers in Greece and Egypt as well as those in Syria and Judaea. Sepphoris, the capital of Galilee, only 5 km northwest of Nazareth, was an important Silk Road station. Likewise, Hebrew scholars went east on these trade roads even before the Persian king liberated them from Babylonian captivity, and the apostle Thomas was one of them. In the 1st century AD, he founded the first [Maabar] Christian communities in India converting Jews [and Indians] who lived in the Malabar coast for generations.

This attractive translation of the Threefold Lotus Sutra (full titles: The Sutra of Innumerable Meanings; The Sutra of the Lotus Flower of the Wonderful Law; The Sutra of Meditation on the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue) was made by Kato Bunno (Weatherhill & Kosei Publishing, New York & Tokyo 1975) Kato used the Chinese translation of the Sanskrit original made by Zhu Fahu.

It is slightly different from the translation by Hendrik Kern (The Lotus Sutra or The Saddharma Pundarîka or The Lotus of the True Law, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 21, Translation from the text in Sanskrit, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1884; Grand Bible Scriptures of India, p. 7045), particularly in style but not much in contents. It is certainly worthwhile to read both texts side by side. Kato's footnotes, here arranged as parenthetical notes, are very helpful for readers who are not familiar with Buddhism; sometimes they appear to be too complex. We have added a few notes for clarification, as well as notes on history, language and biography.

Zhu Fahu (also known as Dharmaraksa or as Yuezhi in scriptural catalogues) was an early translator of Mahayana sutras into Chinese, several of which had profound effects on East Asian Buddhism. His family lived at Dunhuang, where he was born around 233 AD. At the age of eight, he became a novice and took the Indian monk named Zhu Gaozuo as his teacher. As a young boy, Zhu Fahu journeyed with his teacher to many countries in the Western Regions, where he learned Central Asian languages and scripts. He then traveled back to China with a quantity of Buddhist texts and translated them with the aid of numerous assistants and associates, both Chinese and foreign, from Parthians to Khotanese. One of his more prominent assistants was a Chinese upasaka, Nie Chengyuan who served as a scribe and editor.

Zhu Fahu first began his translation career in Chang'an (present day Xi'an) in 266 AD, and later moved to Luoyang, the capital of the newly formed Jin Dynasty. He was active in Dunhuang for some time as well, and alternated between the three locations. It was in Chang'an that he made the first known translation of the Lotus Sutra (made in 286) and the Ten Stages Sutra (made in 302), two texts that later became definitive for Chinese Buddhism.

Altogether, Zhu Fahu translated around 154 sutras. Many of his works were greatly successful, widely circulating around northern China in the third century and becoming the subject of exegetical studies and scrutiny by Chinese monastics in the fourth century. His efforts in both translation and lecturing on sutras are said to have converted many in China to Buddhism, and contributed to the development of Chang'an into a major centre of Buddhism at the time. He died at the age of seventy-eight after a period of illness; the exact location of his death is still disputed.

Contents and Structure

The sutra is presented in the form of a drama consisting of several mythological scenes. According to British writer Sangharakshita, the Lotus uses the entire cosmos for its stage, employs a multitude of mythological beings as actors and "speaks almost exclusively in the language of images."

According to Gene Reeves the first part of the sutra "elucidates a unifying truth of the universe (the One Vehicle of the Wonderful Dharma)", the second part "sheds light on the everlasting personal life of the Buddha (Everlasting Original Buddha); and the third part emphasises the actual activities of human beings (the bodhisattva way)."

The following chapter by chapter overview is based on the expanded Chinese version of the Threefold Lotus Sutra (translated into English by Bunno Kato). Other versions have different chapter divisions.

***Chapter 1**--During a gathering at Vulture Peak, Shakyamuni Buddha goes into a state of deep meditative absorption (samadhi), the earth shakes in six ways, and he brings forth a ray of light from the tuft of hair in between his eyebrows (urnakosa) which illuminates thousands of buddha-fields in the east. Maitreya wonders what this means, and the bodhisattva Manjusri states that he has seen this miracle long ago when he was a student of the Buddha Candrasuryapradipa. He then says that the Buddha is about to expound his ultimate teaching, The White Lotus of the Good Dharma. In fact, Manjusri says this sutra was taught by other Buddhas innumerable times in the past.*

***Chapters 2-9**--Modern scholars suggest that chapters 2-9 contain the original form of the text. In Chapter 2 the Buddha declares that there ultimate exists only one path, one vehicle, the Buddha vehicle (buddhayana). This concept is set forth in detail in chapters 3-9, using parables, narratives of previous existences and prophecies of awakening.*

***Chapter 2:** Skillful Means--Shakyamuni explains his use of skillful means to adapt his teachings according to the capacities of his audience. He also says that his ways are inconceivable. Sariputra asks the Buddha to explain this and five thousand monks leave because they do not want to hear this teaching. The Buddha then reveals that the three vehicles (yanas) are really just skillful means, and that they are in reality the One Vehicle (ekayana). He says that the ultimate purpose of the Buddhas is to cause sentient beings "to obtain the insight of the Buddha" and "to enter the way into the insight of the Buddha."*

The Buddha also states the various benefits for those who preserve the sutra, and that those who perform even the simplest forms of devotion will eventually reach Buddhahood. The Buddha also states that those who reject and insult the Lotus Sutra (and those who teach it) will be reborn in hell.

***Chapter 3:** The Parable of the Burning House --The Buddha prophecies that in a future eon (kalpa) Sariputra will become a Buddha called Padmaprabha. Sariputra is happy to have heard this new teaching, but says that some in the assembly are confused. The Buddha responds with the parable of the burning house, in which a father (symbolising the*

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Buddha) uses the promise of various toy carts to get his children (sentient beings) out of a burning house (symbolising samsara). Once they are outside, he gives them all one large cart to travel in instead. This symbolizes how the Buddha uses the three vehicles, as skillful means to liberate all beings – even though there is only one single vehicle to Buddhahood, i.e. the Mahayana. The sutra emphasizes that this is not a lie, but a compassionate salvific act.

Chapter 4: *Belief and Understanding --Four senior disciples including Mahakasyapa address the Buddha. They tell the parable of the poor son and his rich father (sometimes called the "prodigal son" parable). This man left home and became a beggar for 50 years while his father became incredibly rich. One day the son arrives at the father's estate, but the son does not recognize his father and is afraid of such a powerful man. The father therefore sends low class people to offer him a menial job cleaning trash. For over 20 years, the father gradually leads his son to more important and better jobs, such as being the accountant for all the father's wealth. Then one day he announces his identity and the son is overjoyed. The senior disciples say that they are like the son, because initially they did not have the confidence to accept full Buddhahood, but today they are happy to accept their future Buddhahood.*

Chapter 5: *The Parable of Medicinal Herbs--This parable says that the Dharma is like a great monsoon rain that nourishes many different kinds of plants in accordance with their needs. The plants represent Sravakas, Pratyekabuddhas, and Bodhisattvas, and all beings which receive and respond to the teachings according to their respective capacities. Some versions of the sutra also contain other parables, such as one which compares the Dharma to the light of the Sun and moon, which shine equally on all. Just like that, the Buddha's wisdom shines on everyone equally. Another parable found in some versions says that just like a potter makes different types of pots from the same clay, the Buddha teaches the same One Vehicle in different forms.*

Chapter 6: *Bestowal of Prophecy--The Buddha prophesies the future Buddhahood of Mahakasyapa, Mahamaudgalyayana, Subhuti, and Mahakatyayana.*

Chapter 7: *A Past Buddha and the Illusory City--The Buddha tells a story about a past Buddha called Mahabhijnajnanabhibhu, who reached awakening after aeons under the Bodhi tree and then taught the four noble truths and dependent origination. At the request of his sixteen sons, he then taught the Lotus Sutra for a hundred thousand eons. His sons proceeded to teach the sutra. The Buddha then says that these sons all became Buddhas and that he is one of these.*

The Buddha also teaches a parable about a group of people seeking a great treasure who are tired of their journey and wish to quit. Their guide creates a magical illusory city for them to rest in and then makes it disappear. The Buddha explains that the magic city represents the "Hinayana Nirvana", created merely as a rest stop by the Buddha, and the real treasure and ultimate goal is Buddhahood.

Chapter 8: *Prophecy for Five Hundred Disciples--Purna Maitrayaniputra is declared by the Buddha to be the supreme teacher in his saṅgha and is given a prediction of future Buddhahood (his name will be Dharmaprabhasa). The Buddha then gives prophecies of future Buddhahood to twelve hundred arhats. The five hundred arhats who had walked out before confess that they were ignorant in the past and attached to the inferior nirvana but now they are overjoyed since they have faith in their future Buddhahood.*

The arhats tell the parable of a man who has fallen asleep after drinking and whose friend sews a jewel into his garment. When he wakes up he continues a life of poverty without realising he is really rich, he only discovers the jewel after meeting his old friend again. The hidden jewel has been interpreted as a symbol of Buddha-nature. Zimmermann noted the similarity with the nine parables in the Tathagatagarbha Sutra that illustrate how the indwelling Buddha in sentient beings is hidden by negative mental states.

Chapter 9: *Prophecies for the Learners and Adepts--Ananda, Rahula, and two thousand bhiksus aspire to get a prophecy, and the Buddha predicts their future Buddhahood.*

Chapters 10-22*--Chapters ten to twenty two expound the role of the bodhisattva and the concept of the immeasurable and inconceivable lifespan and omnipresence of the Buddha. The theme of propagating the Lotus Sutra which starts in chapter 10, continues in the remaining chapters.*

Chapter 10: *The Dharma teachers--The Buddha states that whoever hears even just one line from the sutra will attain Buddha hood. This chapter presents the practices of teaching the sutra which includes accepting, embracing, reading, reciting, copying, explaining, propagating it, and living in accordance with its teachings. The teachers of the Dharma (dharmabhanaka) are praised as the messengers of the Buddha. The Buddha states that they should be honored as if they were Buddhas and that stupas should be built wherever the sutra is taught, recited or written. Someone who does not know the Lotus is like digging a well and finding only dry earth, while a bodhisattva that knows the Lotus is like striking water. The Buddha also says that he will send emanations to protect the teachers of the sutra.*

Chapter 11: *The Emergence of the Jeweled Stupa--A massive jewelled stupa [a stylised Buddhist reliquary burial mound or pyramid like the tomb of the Buddha (found at Piprahwa in northern India in 1898, near Lumbini in Nepal); such a stupa is called "jewelled" simply because it contained thousands of jewels] rises from the earth and floats in the air. Then a voice is heard from within praising the Lotus Sutra. The Buddha states that another Buddha resides in the stupa, Prabhutaratna, who attained awakening through the Lotus Sutra and made a vow to make an appearance to verify the truth of the Lotus Sutra whenever it is preached.*

Countless manifestations of Shakyamuni Buddha in the ten directions are now summoned by the Buddha into this world, transforming it into a Pure Land. The Buddha then opens the stupa. Thereafter Prabhutaratna invites Shakyamuni to sit beside him in the jewelled stupa. This chapter reveals the existence of multiple Buddhas at the same time as well as the idea that Buddhas can live on for countless aeons. According to Donald Lopez "among the doctrinal revelations that this scene intimates is that a buddha does not die after he passes into nirvana."

Chapter 12: *Devadatta--The Buddha tells a story about how in a previous life he was a king who became the slave of a rishi just so he could hear the Lotus Sutra. This rishi was non other than Devadatta, one of the ten disciples of the Buddha, who is destined for Buddhahood in the future as the Buddha Devaraja.*

*[**The Buddha's 10 Disciples**: S = Mahayana discourses (lit. "Great Vehicle," meaning Doctrine of Enlightenment) in Sanskrit; P = Theravada discourses (lit. "School of the Elders") in Pali: 1. S: Sariputra, P: Sariputra; 2. S: Maudgalyayana, P: Maudgalyayana; 3. S: Mahakasyapa, P: Mahakasyapa; 4. S: Subhuti, P: Mahakatyayana; 5. S: Purna Maitrayaniputra, P: Mahakotthita; 6. S: Aniruddha, P: Kaphina; 7. S: Mahakatyayana, P: Mahacunda; 8. S: Upali, P: Aniruddha; 9. S: Rahula, P: Revata; 10. S: Ananda, P: Devadatta.]*

*In another story of this chapter, **(in the translation by Hendrik Kern it is Chapter 11 !)** Manjusri (the oldest and most significant bodhisattva in Mahayana literature) praises the Naga king Sagara's daughter and says she can attain Buddhahood. The bodhisattva Prajnakuta is skeptical of this, and then the naga princess appears. Shariputra (the Buddha's first chief disciple) says that women cannot attain Buddhahood. The Naga princess makes an offering to the Buddha of a precious jewel and then says she can reach Buddhahood faster than she made that offering. She then turns into a male bodhisattva and becomes a Buddha. Through these stories, the Buddha teaches that everyone can become enlightened. (See: above, and the Gospel of Thomas, Grand Bible.)*

Scholars have identified Manjusri as the oldest and most significant bodhisattva in Mahayana literature. Manjusri is first referred to in early Mahayana sutras such as the Prajnaparamita sutras and through this association, very early in the tradition he came to symbolise the embodiment of prajna (transcendent wisdom). The Lotus Sutra assigns him a pure land called Vimala, which according to the Avatamsaka Sutra is located in the East. His pure land is predicted to be one of the two best pure lands in all of existence in all the past, present, and future. When he attains buddhahood his name will be Universal Sight. In the Lotus Sutra, Manjusri also leads the Nagaraja's daughter to enlightenment.

Chapter 13: *Encouraging Devotion--The Buddha encourages all beings to embrace the teachings of the sutra in all times, even in the most difficult ages to come. The bodhisattvas Bhaisajyaraja, Mahapratibhana and two hundred thousand others promise to teach the sutra in the future. The Buddha prophecies that the six thousand nuns who are also present, including Mahaprajapati and Yasodhara, will all become Buddhas.*

Chapter 14: *Peaceful Practices--Manjusri asks how a bodhisattva should spread the teaching. The Buddha explains the four qualities they should cultivate to teach the sutra. First, they should be self-controlled and correctly see the characteristics of phenomena and they should stay apart from worldly life. Secondly, they should see the emptiness of phenomena. Thirdly, they should be happy and never criticize and discourage people from enlightenment. Finally, they should have compassion for people and wish to attain Buddhahood so they may help liberate others. Virtues such as patience, gentleness, a calm mind, wisdom and compassion are to be cultivated.*

Chapter 15: *Emerging from the Earth--The bodhisattvas from other world systems say they will help the Buddha teach this sutra here, but the Buddha says their help is not needed — he has many bodhisattvas here. Then the ground splits open and countless bodhisattvas spring up from the earth (lead by Visiṣṭacaritra, Anantacaritra, Visuddhacaritra, and Supratiṣṭhitacaritra), ready to teach. Maitreya asks who these bodhisattvas are since nobody has heard of them before. The Buddha affirms that he has taught all of these bodhisattvas himself in the remote past after attaining Buddhahood. Maitreya then asks how this is possible, since these bodhisattvas have been training for aeons.*

Chapter 16: *The Life Span of Tathagatha--The Buddha (Tathagatha) states that he actually attained Buddhahood countless quintillions of eons ago. He has only appeared to become awakened recently as a skillful means to teach others. The Buddha also says that he only appears to pass into final nirvana, but actually he does not really do so. This is just a expedient teaching so that beings will not become complacent. The Buddha then teaches the Parable of the Excellent Doctor who entices his poisoned sons into taking an antidote by feigning his death. After they hear this they are shocked and take the medicine. The doctor then reveals he is still alive. Because the Buddha uses skillful means in this way, he should not be seen as a liar, but as an intelligent teacher.*

Chapter 17: *Merit--The Buddha explains the merit (punya) or benefits that come from listening to and believing in this teaching on the Buddha's lifespan. He says that this teaching has led countless bodhisattvas, as many as the sands of the Ganges, to various levels of spiritual accomplishment. He also says that there greater benefit in hearing and believing the Lotus Sutra than practicing the first five perfections for eons. The Buddha states that those who have faith in this teaching will see this world as a pure land filled with bodhisattvas. Those who have faith in the sutra have already made offerings to past Buddhas and they do not need to build stupas or temples. These beings will developed excellent qualities and attain Buddhahood. This chapter also says that Caityas should be built to honor the Buddha.*

Chapter 18: *Rejoicing--The Buddha states that the merit generated from rejoicing in this sutra (or in even just a single line from it) is far greater than bringing thousands of beings to arhathood. The merits of listening to the sutra, for even a moment, are extensively praised in this chapter.*

Chapter 19: *Benefits of the Teacher of the Law--The Buddha praises the merits of those who are devoted to the Lotus Sutra. He states that their six sense bases (ayatanas) will become purified and develop the ability to experience the senses of billions of worlds as well as other supernatural powers.*

Chapter 20: *The Bodhisattva Never Disparaging--The Buddha tells a story about a previous life when he was a bodhisattva called Sadaparibhuta ("Never-disparaging" or "Never-disrespectful") and how he treated every person he met, good or bad, with respect, always remembering that they will become Buddhas. Never-disparaging experienced much ridicule and condemnation by other monastics and laypersons but he always responded by saying "I do not despise you, for you will become a buddha." He continued to teach this sutra for many lifetimes until he reached Buddhahood.*

Chapter 21: *Supernatural Powers of the Thus Come One--This chapter reveals that the sutra contains all of the Buddha's secret spiritual powers. The bodhisattvas who have sprung from the earth (in chapter 15) are entrusted with the task of spreading and propagating it and they promise to do so. Sakyamuni and Prabhutaratna extend their tongues into the Brahma realm, emitting numerous rays of light along with countless bodhisattvas. This miracle lasts for a hundred thousand years. Then they clear their throats and snap their fingers, which is heard in all worlds and all worlds shake. All beings in the universe are then given a vision of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas. All Buddhas praise Sakyamuni for teaching the Lotus. The Buddha says that the merits of teaching the sutra is immeasurable and that any place where it is being taught or copied is a holy place.*

Chapter 22: *Entrustment--The Buddha transmits the Lotus Sutra to all bodhisattvas in his congregation and entrusts them with its safekeeping and its propagation far and wide. The Buddha Prabhutaratna in his jeweled stupa and the countless manifestations of Shakyamuni Buddha return to their respective buddha-fields. According to Donald Lopez, the Lotus Sutra "appears to end with Chapter Twenty-Two, when the Buddha exhorts his disciples to spread the teaching, after which they return to their abodes...scholars speculate that this was the final chapter of an earlier version of the Lotus, with the last six chapters being interpolations." This is the final chapter in the Sanskrit versions and the alternative Chinese translation. Shioiri suggests that an earlier version of the sutra ended with this chapter and that chapters 23-28 were inserted later into the Sanskrit version.*

Chapters 23-28*--These chapters are focused on various bodhisattvas and their deeds.*

Chapter 23: *"Former Affairs of Bodhisattva Medicine King"--The Buddha tells the story of the 'Medicine King' (Bhaisajyaraja) bodhisattva, who, in a previous life as the bodhisattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana, set his body on fire, lighting up many world systems for twelve years, as a supreme offering to a Buddha. This chapter teaches the practice "offering the body", which involves burning a part of one's body (such as toe, finger, or a limb) as an offering. The hearing and chanting of the Lotus Sutra' is also said to cure*

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diseases. The Buddha uses nine similes to declare that the Lotus Sutra is the king of all sutras.

***Chapter 24:** The Bodhisattva Gadgadasvara--Gadgadasvara ('Wonderful Voice'), a bodhisattva from a distant world, visits Vulture Peak to worship the Buddha. Gadgadasvara once made offerings of various kinds of music to the Buddha Meghadundubhisvararaja. His accumulated merits enable him to take on many different forms to propagate the Lotus Sutra.*

***Chapter 25:** The Universal Gateway of Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva--This chapter is devoted to bodhisattva Avalokitesvara (Skt. "Lord Who Looks Down", Ch. Guanyin, "Regarder of the Cries of the World"), describing him as a compassionate bodhisattva who hears the cries of sentient beings, and rescues those who call upon his name.*

***Chapter 26:** Dharani--Hariti and several bodhisattvas offer sacred dharani (magical formulas) in order to protect those who keep and recite the Lotus Sutra.*

***Chapter 27:** Former Affairs of King Wonderful Adornment --This chapter tells the story of the conversion of King 'Wonderful-Adornment' by his two sons.*

***Chapter 28:** Encouragement of Samantabhadra--A bodhisattva called "Universal Virtue" or "All Good" (Samantabhadra) asks the Buddha how to preserve the sutra in the future. Samantabhadra promises to protect and guard all those who keep this sutra in the future. He says that those who uphold the sutra will be reborn in the Trayastrimsa and Tusita heavens. He also says that those who uphold this sutra will have many good qualities and should be seen and respected as Buddhas.)*

[Lines of Verses have been here united to coherent blocks of prose; their initial letters are however maintained as Capital letters. The verses are displayed here in *italics* fonts.]

PROLOGUE, BETTER KNOWN AS
THE SUTRA OF INNUMERABLE MEANINGS

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 1
Virtues

Thus have I* heard. Once the Buddha was staying at the City of Royal Palaces on Mount Gridhrakuta with a great assemblage of great bhikshus [ordained monks.], in all twelve thousand. There were eighty thousand bodhisattva-mahasattvas. [* The word "I" refers to Ananda; he is the storyteller here. Ananda (5th–4th century BC) was the primary attendant of the Buddha and one of his ten principal disciples.] There were gods, dragons, yakshas, gandharvas, asuras, garudas, kimnaras, and mahoragas, besides all the bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, and upasikas. There were great wheel-rolling kings, small wheel-rolling kings, and kings of the gold wheel, silver wheel, and other wheels; further, kings and princes, ministers and people, men and women, and great rich persons, each encompassed by a hundred thousand myriad followers. They went up to the Buddha, made obeisance at his feet, a hundred thousand times made procession around him, burned incense, and scattered flowers. After they variously worshiped, they retired and sat to one side.

Those bodhisattvas' names were the Son of the Law-king Manjushri, the Son of the Law-king Great Dignity Treasury, the Son of the Law-king Sorrowlessness Treasury, the Son of the Law-king Great Eloquence Treasury, the Bodhisattva Maitreya, the Bodhisattva Leader, the Bodhisattva Medicine King, the Bodhisattva Medicine Lord, the Bodhisattva Flower Banner, the Bodhisattva Flower Light Banner, the Bodhisattva King Commanding Dharanis at Will, the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, the Bodhisattvas Great Power Obtained, the Bodhisattva Ever Zealous, the Bodhisattva Precious Seal, the Bodhisattva Precious Store, the Bodhisattva Precious Stick, the Bodhisattva Above the Triple World, the Bodhisattva Vimabhara [a Chinese phonetic transliteration of a Sanskrit word.], the Bodhisattva Scented Elephant, the Bodhisattva Great Scented Elephant, the Bodhisattva King of the Lion's Roar, the Bodhisattva Lion's Playing in the World, the Bodhisattva Lion's Force, the Bodhisattva Lion's Assiduity, the Bodhisattva Brave Power, the Bodhisattva Lion's Overbearing, the Bodhisattva Adornment, and the Bodhisattva Great Adornment: such bodhisattva-mahasattvas as these, eighty thousand in all.

Of these bodhisattvas there is none who is not a great saint of the Law-body. They have attained commands, meditation, wisdom, emancipation, and the knowledge of emancipation. With tranquil minds, and constantly in contemplation, they are peaceful, indifferent, nonactive, and free from desires. They are immune from any kind of delusion and distraction. Their minds are calm and clear, profound and infinite. They remain in this state for hundreds of thousands of kotis of kalpas, and all the innumerable teachings have been revealed to them. Having obtained the great wisdom, they penetrate all things, completely understand the reality of their nature and form, and clearly discriminate existing and nonexisting, long and short.

Moreover, well knowing the capacities, natures, and inclinations of all, with dharanis and the unhindered power of discourse, they roll the Law-wheel just as buddhas do. First, dipping the dust of desire in a drop of the teachings, they remove the fever of the passions of life and realise the serenity of the Law by opening the gate of nirvana and fanning the wind of emancipation. Next, raining the profound Law of the Twelve Causes, they pour it on the violent and intense rays of sufferings--ignorance, old age, illness, death, and so on; then pouring abundantly the supreme Mahayana, they dip all the good roots of living beings in it, scatter the seeds of goodness over the field of merits, and make all put forth the sprout of buddhahood. With their wisdom brilliant as the sun and the moon, and their timely tactfulness, they promote the work of Mahayana and make all accomplish Perfect Enlightenment speedily; and with eternal pleasure wonderful and true, and through infinite great compassion, they relieve all from suffering.

These are the true good friends for all living beings, these are the great field of blessings for all living beings, these are the unsummoned teachers [Those who are ready to help living beings on their own initiative, even if they are not asked.] for all living beings, and these are the peaceful place of pleasure, relief, protection, and great support for all living beings. They become great good leaders or great leaders for living beings everywhere. They serve as eyes for blind beings, and as ears, nose, or tongue for those who are deaf, who have no nose, or who are dumb; make deficient organs complete; turn the deranged to the great right thought. As the master of a ship or the great master of a ship, they carry all living beings across the river of life and death to the shore of nirvana. As the king of medicine or the great king of medicine, they discriminate the phases of a disease, know well the properties of medicines, dispense medicines according to the disease, and make people take them. As the controller or the great controller, they have no dissolute conduct; they are like a trainer of elephants and horses who never fails to train well, or like a majestic and brave lion that inevitably subdues and overpowers all beasts.

Bodhisattvas, playing in all paramitas, being firm and immovable at the stage of tathagata, purifying the Buddha-country with the stability of their vow power, will rapidly accomplish Perfect Enlightenment. All these bodhisattva-mahasattvas have such wonderful merits as seen above.

Those bhikshus' names were Great Wisdom Shariputra, Supernatural Power Maudgalyayana, Wisdom Life Subhuti, Maha-Katyayana, Maitrayani's son Purna, Ajnata-Kaundinya, Divine Eye Aniruddha, Precept-keeping Upali, Attendant Ananda, Buddha's son Rahula, Upananda, Revata, Kapphina, Vakkula, Acyuta [Cunda.], Svagata, Dhuta Maha-Kashyapa, Uruvilva-Kashyapa, Gaya-Kashyapa, and Nadi-Kashyapa. There are twelve thousand bhikshus such as these. All are arhats, unrestricted by all bonds of faults, free from attachment, and truly emanci

At that time the Bodhisattva-Mahasattava Great Adornment, seeing that all the groups sat in settled mind, rose up from his seat, went up to the Buddha with the eighty thousand bodhisattva-masattavas in the assembly, made obeisance at his feet, a hundred thousand times made procession round him, burned celestial incense, scattered celestial flowers, and presented the Buddha with celestial robes, garlands, and jewels of priceless value which came rolling down from the sky and gathered all over like clouds. The celestial bins and bowls were filled with all sorts of celestial delicacies, which satisfied just by the sight of their colour and the smell of their perfume. They placed celestial banners, flags, canopies, and playthings everywhere; pleased the Buddha with celestial music; then went forth to kneel with folded hands, and praised him in verse, saying with one voice and one mind:

"Great! The Great Enlightened, the Great Holy Lord, In him there is no defilement, no contamination, no attachment. The trainer of gods and men, elephants and horses, His moral breeze and virtuous fragrance Deeply permeate all. Serene is his wisdom, calm his emotion, And stable his prudence. His thought is settled, his consciousness is extinct, And thus his mind is quiet.

Long since, he removed false thoughts And conquered all the laws of existence. His body is neither existing nor nonexisting; Without cause or condition, Without self or others; Neither square nor round, Neither short nor long; Without appearance or disappearance, Without birth or death; Neither created nor emanating, Neither made nor produced; Neither sitting nor lying, Neither walking nor stopping; Neither moving nor rolling, Neither calm nor quiet; Without advance or retreat, Without safety or danger; Without right or wrong, Without merit or demerit; Neither that nor this, Neither going nor coming; Neither blue nor yellow, Neither red nor white; Neither crimson nor purple, Without a variety of colour.

Born of commandments, meditation, Wisdom, emancipation, and knowledge; Merit of contemplation, the six divine faculties, And the practice of the way; Sprung of benevolence and compassion, The ten powers, and fearlessness; He has come in response To good karmas of living beings.

He reveals his body, Ten feet six inches in height, Glittering with purple gold, Well proportioned, brilliant, And highly bright. The mark of hair curls as the moon, In the nape of the neck there is a light as of the sun. The curling hair is deep blue, On the head there is a protuberance. The pure eyes, like a stainless mirror, Blink up and down. The eyebrows trail in dark blue, The mouth and cheeks are well formed. The lips and tongue appear pleasantly red, Like a scarlet flower. The white teeth, forty in number, Appear as snowy agate. Broad the forehead, high-bridged the nose, And majestic the face. The chest, with a swastika mark, Is like a lion's breast. The hands and feet are flexible, With the mark of a thousand spokes. The sides and palms are well rounded, And show in fine lines.

The arms are elongated, And the fingers are straight and slender. The skin is delicate and smooth, And the hair curls to the right. The ankles and knees are well defined, And the male organ is hidden Like that of a horse. The fine muscles, the collarbone, And the thigh bones are slim Like those of a deer. The chest and back are shining, Pure and without blemish, Untainted by any muddy water, Unspotted by any speck of dust. There are thirty-two such signs, The eighty kinds of excellence are visible, And truly, there is nothing Of form or nonform. All visible forms are transcended; His body is formless and yet has form. This is also true Of the form of the body of all living beings [That is, the Buddha and men are fundamentally nonsubstantial.].

Living being adore him joyfully, Devote their minds to him, And pay their respects wholeheartedly. By cutting off arrogance and egotism, He has accomplished such a wonderful body. Now we, the assemblage of eighty thousand, Making obeisance all together, Submit ourselves to the saint of nonattachment, The trainer of elephants and horses, Detached from the state of thinking, Mind, thought, and perception.

We make obeisance, And submit ourselves to the Law-body, To all commands, meditation, wisdom, Emancipation, and knowledge. We make obeisance, And submit ourselves to the wonderful character. We make obeisance, And submit ourselves to the unthinkable. The sacred voice sounds eight ways [This refers to the eight excellent qualities of the voice of the Buddha.], As the thunder sounds. It is sweet, pure, and greatly profound.

He preaches the Four Noble Truths, The Six Paramitas, and the Twelve Causes, According to the working of the minds of living beings. One never hears without opening one's mind And breaking the bonds of the infinite chain of life and death.

One never hears without reaching srota-apanna, Sakridagamin, anagamin, and arhat; Reaching the state of pratyekabuddha, Of nonfault and noncondition; Reaching the state of bodhisattva, Of nonlife and nondeath; Of obtaining the infinite dharani And the unhindered power of discourse, With which one recites profound and wonderful verses, Plays and bathes in the pure pond of the Law, Or displays supernatural motion By jumping and flying up, Or freely goes in or out of water and fire.

The aspect of the Tathagata's Law-wheel is like this. It is pure, boundless, and unthinkable. Making obeisance all together, We submit ourselves to him When he rolls the Law-wheel. We make obeisance, And submit ourselves to the sacred voice. e make obeisance, And submit ourselves to the Causes, Truths, and Paramitas.

For infinite past kalpas, The World-honoured One has practised All manner of virtues with effort To bring benefits to us human beings, Heavenly beings, and dragon kings, Universally to all living beings. He abandoned all things hard to abandon, His treasures, wife, and child, His country and his palace. Unsparing of his person as of his possessions, He gave all, his head, eyes, and brain, To people as alms.

Keeping the buddhas' precepts of purity, He never did any harm, Even at the cost of his life. He never became angry, Even though beaten with sword and staff, Or though cursed and abused. He never became tired, In spite of long exertion. He kept his mind at peace day and night, And was always in meditation.

Learning all the law-ways, With his deep wisdom He has seen into the capacity of living beings. As a result, obtaining free power, He has become the Law-king, Who is free in the Law. Making obeisance again all together, We submit ourselves to the one Who has completed all hard things."

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 2
Preaching

At that time the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Great Adornment, with the eighty thousand bodhisattva-mahasattvas, finished praising the Buddha with this verse and said to the Buddha in unison: "World-honoured One, we, the assemblage of the eighty thousand bodhisattvas, want to ask you about the Tathagata's Law. We are anxious that the World-honoured One should hear us with sympathy."

The Buddha addressed the Bodhisattva Great Adornment and the eighty thousand bodhisattvas: "Excellent! Excellent!

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Good sons, you have well known that this is the time. Ask me what you like. Before long, the Tathagata will enter parinirvana. After nirvana, there shall be not a doubt left to anybody. I will answer any question you wish to ask."

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Great Adornment, with the eighty thousand bodhisattvas, said to the Buddha in unison with one voice: "World-honoured One! If the bodhisattva-mahasattvas want to accomplish Perfect Enlightenment quickly, what doctrine should they practice? What doctrine makes bodhisattva-mahasattvas accomplish Perfect Enlightenment quickly?"

The Buddha addressed the Bodhisattva Great Adornment and the eighty thousand bodhisattvas: "Good sons, there is one doctrine which makes bodhisattvas accomplish Perfect Enlightenment quickly. If a bodhisattva learns this doctrine, then he will accomplish Perfect Enlightenment."

"World-honoured One! What is this doctrine called? What is its meaning? How does a bodhisattva practice it?"

The Buddha said: "Good sons! This one doctrine is called the doctrine of Innumerable Meanings. A bodhisattva, if he wants to learn and master the doctrine of Innumerable Meanings, should observe that all laws [Or "all existences."] were originally, will be, and are in themselves void in nature and form; they are neither great nor small, neither appearing nor disappearing, neither fixed nor movable, and neither advancing nor retreating; and they are nondualistic, just emptiness. All living beings, however, discriminate falsely: 'It is this' or 'It is that,' and 'It is advantageous' or 'It is disadvantageous'; they entertain evil thoughts, make various evil karmas, and [thus] transmigrate within the six realms of existence; and they suffer all manner of miseries, and cannot escape from there during infinite kotis of kalpas. Bodhisattva-mahasattvas, observing rightly like this, should raise the mind of compassion, display the great mercy desiring to relieve others of suffering, and once again penetrate deeply into all laws. According to the nature of a law, such a law emerges. According to the nature of a law, such a law settles. According to the nature of a law, such a law changes. According to the nature of a law, such a law vanishes. According to the nature of a law, such an evil law emerges. According to the nature of a law, such a good law emerges. Settling, changing, and vanishing are also like this. Bodhisattvas, having thus completely observed and known these four aspects from beginning to end, should next observe that none of the laws settles down even for a moment, but all emerge and vanish anew every moment; and observe that they emerge, settle, change, and vanish instantly. After such observation, we see all manner of natural desires of living beings. As natural desires are innumerable, preaching is immeasurable, and as preaching is immeasurable, meanings are innumerable. The Innumerable Meanings originate from one law. This one law is, namely, nonform. Such nonform is formless, and not form. Being not form and formless, it is called the real aspect of things. The mercy which bodhisattva-mahasattvas display after stabilizing themselves in such a real aspect is real and not vain. They excellently relieve living beings from sufferings. Having given relief from sufferings, they preach the Law again, and let all living beings obtain pleasure.

"Good sons! A bodhisattva, if he practices completely the doctrine of the Innumerable Meanings like this, will soon accomplish Perfect Enlightenment without fail. Good sons! The Sutra of Innumerable Meanings, such a profound and supreme Great-vehicle, is reasonable in its logic, unsurpassed in its worth, and protected by all the buddhas of the three worlds. No kind of demon or heretic can break into it, nor can any wrong view or life and death destroy it. Therefore, good sons! Bodhisattva-mahasattvas, if you want to accomplish supreme buddhahood quickly, you should learn and master the Sutra of Innumerable Meanings, such a profound and supreme Great-vehicle."

At that time the Bodhisattva Great Adornment said to the Buddha again: "World-honoured One! The preaching of the World-honoured One is incomprehensible, the natures of living beings are also incomprehensible, and the doctrine of emancipation is also incomprehensible. Though we have no doubt about the laws preached by the Buddha, we repeatedly ask the World-honoured One for fear that all living beings should be perplexed. For more than forty years since the Tathagata attained enlightenment, you have continuously preached all the laws to living beings--the four aspects, suffering, voidness, transience, selflessness, nonlarge, nonsmall, nonbirth, nondeath, one aspect, nonaspect, the nature of the law, the form of the law, void from the beginning, noncoming, nongoing, nonappearance, and nondisappearance. Those who have heard it have obtained the law of warming, the law of the highest, the law of the best in the world*, the merit of srota-apanna, the merit of sakridagamin, the merit of anagamin, the merit of arhat, and the way of pratyekabuddha; have aspired to enlightenment; and ascending the first stage, the second stage, and the third stage, have attained the tenth stage. [* The law of warming, the law of the highest, and the law of the best in the world are three stages to be passed through by the disciple who is not yet free of desire when he tries to understand fully the Four Noble Truths.] Because of what difference between your past and present preaching on laws do you say that if a bodhisattva practices only the Sutra of Innumerable Meanings, a profound and supreme Great-vehicle, he will soon accomplish supreme buddhahood without fail? World-honoured One! Be pleased to discriminate the Law widely for living beings out of compassion for all, and to leave no doubt to all Law-hearers in the present and future."

Hereupon the Buddha said to the Bodhisattva Great Adornment: "Excellent! Excellent! Great good sons, you have well questioned the Tathagata about such a wonderful meaning of the profound and supreme Great-vehicle. Do you know that you will bring many benefits, please men and gods, and relieve living beings from sufferings. It is truly the great benevolence, and the truth without falsehood. For this reason you will surely and quickly accomplish supreme buddhahood. You will also make all living beings in the present and future accomplish supreme buddhahood.

"Good sons! After six years' right sitting under the Bodhi tree of the wisdom throne, I could accomplish Perfect Enlightenment. With the Buddha's eye I saw all the laws and understood that they were inexpressible. Wherefore? I knew that the natures and desires of all living beings were not equal. As their natures and desires were not equal, I preached the Law variously. It was with tactful power that I preached the Law variously. In forty years and more, the truth has not been revealed yet. Therefore living beings' powers of attainment are too different to accomplish supreme buddhahood quickly.

"Good sons! The Law is like water that washes off dirt. As a well, a pond, a stream, a river, a valley stream, a ditch, or a great sea, each alike effectively washes off all kinds of dirt, so the Law-water effectively washes off the dirt of all delusions of living beings.

"Good sons! The nature of water is one, but a stream, a river, a well, a pond, a valley stream, a ditch, and a great sea are different from one another. The nature of the Law is like this. There is equality and no differentiation in washing off the dirt of delusions, but the three laws, the four merits, and the two ways* are not one and the same. [The three laws are the Four Noble Truths, the Twelve Causes, and the Six Paramitas (These are: 1. Dana paramita: generosity, the attitude of giving; 2. Sila paramita: virtue, morality, discipline, proper conduct; 3. Kshanti paramita: patience, tolerance, forbearance, acceptance, endurance; 4. Virya paramita: energy, diligence, vigor, effort; 5. Dhyana paramita: one-pointed concentration, contemplation; 6. Prajna paramita: wisdom, insight.); the four merits are srota-apanna, sakridagamin, anagamin, and arhat (see Glossary); and the two ways are the Great-vehicle, or Mahayana, and the lesser vehicle, or Hinayana. The typical Buddhist term "vehicle" refers to sect or denomination and thus to its doctrines, the ways this particular vehicle goes.]

"Good sons! Though each washes equally as water, a well is not a pond, a pond is not a stream or a river, nor is a valley stream or a ditch a sea. As the Tathagata, the world's hero, is free in the Law, all the laws preached by him are also like this. Though preaching at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end all alike effectively wash off the delusions of living beings, the beginning is not the middle, and the middle is not the end. Preaching at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end are the same in expression but different from one another in meaning.

"Good sons! When I rolled the Law-wheel of the Four Noble Truths for the five men, Ajnata-Kaundinya and the others, at the Deer Park in Varanasi after leaving the king of trees, I preached that the laws are naturally vacant, ceaselessly transformed, and instantly born and destroyed. When I discoursed explaining the Twelve Causes and the Six Paramitas for all the bhikshus and bodhisattvas in various places during the middle period, I preached also that all laws are naturally vacant, ceaselessly transformed, and instantly born and destroyed. Now in explaining the Sutra of Innumerable Meanings, a Great-vehicle, at this time, I preach also that all laws are naturally vacant, ceaselessly transformed, and instantly born and destroyed. Good sons! Therefore the preaching at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end are the same in expression but different from one another in meaning. As the meaning varies, the understanding of living beings varies. As the understanding varies, the attainment of the law, the merit, and the way also varies.

"Good sons! At the beginning, though I preached the Four Truths for those who sought to be shravakas, eight kotis of heavenly beings came down to hear the Law and raised the desire for enlightenment. In the middle, though I preached in various places the profound Twelve Causes for those who sought to be pratyekabuddhas, innumerable living beings raised the aspiration for enlightenment or remained in the stage of shravaka. Next, though I explained the long-term practice* of bodhisattvas, through preaching the twelve types of sutras of Great Extent, the Maha-Prajna, and the voidness of the Garland Sea, a hundred thousand bhikshus, myriad kotis of men and gods, and innumerable living beings could remain in the merits of srota-apanna, sakridagamin, anagamin, and arhat or in the law appropriate to the pratyekabuddha. [* Religious exercises extending over many kalpas. Kalpa (Aeon) is a Sanskrit word referring to a great length of time, period, era.]

Good sons! For this reason, it is known that the preaching is the same, but the meaning varies. As the meaning varies, the understanding of living beings varies. As the understanding varies, the attainment of the law, the merit, and the way also varies. So good sons! Since I attained the way, and stood to preach the Law for the first time, till I spoke the Sutra of Innumerable Meanings, the Great-vehicle, today, I have never ceased from preaching suffering, voidness, transience, selflessness, nontruth, nonreality, nonlarge, nonsmall, nonbirth in origin, and also nondeath at present, one aspect, nonaspect, and the form of the law, the nature of the law, noncoming, nongoing, and the four aspects by which all the living are driven.

"Good sons! For this reason, all the buddhas, without a double tongue, answer widely all voices with one word; though having one body, reveal bodies innumerable and numberless as the sands of the Ganges of a hundred thousand myriad kotis nayutas; in each body, display various forms countless as the sands of some hundred thousand myriad kotis nayutas asamkhyeya Ganges, and in each form show shapes countless as the sands of some hundred thousand myriad kotis nayutas asamkhyeya Ganges.

Good sons! This is, namely, the incomprehensible and profound world of buddhas. Men of the two vehicles cannot apprehend it, and even bodhisattvas of the ten stages cannot attain it. Only a buddha together with a buddha can fathom it well [It can only be comprehended by one who has reached the Buddha degree, that is, the highest degree of enlightenment.].

"Good sons! Thereupon I say: the Sutra of Innumerable Meanings, the wonderful, profound, and supreme Great-vehicle, is reasonable in its logic, unsurpassed in its worth, and protected by all the buddhas of the three worlds. No kind of demon or heretic can break into it, nor can any wrong view or life and death destroy it. Bodhisattva-mahasattvas, if you want to accomplish supreme buddhahood quickly, you should learn and master the Sutra of Innumerable Meanings, such a profound and supreme Great-vehicle."

After the Buddha had finished explaining this, the three-thousand-great-thousandfold world was shaken in the six ways; various kinds of celestial flowers, such as utpala, padma, kumuda, and pundarika, rained down naturally from the sky; and innumerable kinds of celestial perfumes, robes, garlands, and treasures of priceless value also rained and came rolling down from the sky, and they were offered to the Buddha, all the bodhisattvas and shravakas, and the great assembly. The celestial bins and bowls were filled with all sorts of celestial delicacies; celestial banners, flags, canopies, and playthings were placed everywhere; and celestial music was played in praise of the Buddha.

Also the buddha-worlds, as many as the sands of the Ganges, in the direction of the east were shaken in the six ways; celestial flowers, perfumes, robes, garlands, and treasures of priceless value, celestial bins, bowls, and all sorts of celestial delicacies, celestial banners, flags, canopies, and playthings rained down; and celestial music was played in praise of those buddhas, those bodhisattvas, the shravakas, and the great assembly. So, too, was it in the southern, western, and northern quarters, in the four intermediate directions, in the zenith and nadir.

At this time thirty-two thousand bodhisattva-mahasattvas in the assembly attained to the contemplation of the Innumerable Meanings. Thirty-four thousand bodhisattva-mahasattvas obtained the numberless and infinite realms of dharani and came to roll the never retrogressing Law-wheel of buddhas all over the three worlds. All the bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, upasikas, gods, dragons, yakshas, gandharvas, asuras, garudas, kimnaras, mahoragas, great wheel-rolling kings, small wheel-rolling kings, kings of the silver wheel, iron wheel, and other wheels, kings and princes, ministers and people, men and women, and great rich persons, and all the groups of a hundred thousand followers, hearing together the Buddha Tathagata preaching this sutra, obtained the law of warming, the law of the highest, the law of the best in the world, the merit of srota-apanna, the merit of sakridagamin, the merit of anagamin, the merit of arhat, and the merit of pratyekabuddha; attained to the bodhisattva's assurance of the law of no birth*; acquired one dharani [Buddhist chant, also known as a Parittas.], two dharanis, three dharanis, four dharanis, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten dharanis, a hundred thousand myriad kotis of dharanis, and asamkhyeya dharanis as innumerable as the sands of the Ganges; and all came to roll the never-retrogressing Law-wheel rightly. Infinite living beings gained the aspiration to Perfect Enlightenment. [* Transcendence of life and death. The religious aspect of a god wholly independent of the material universe or going beyond some philosophical concept or limit.]

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THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 3

Ten Merits

At that time the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Great Adornment said to the Buddha again: "World-honoured One! The World-honoured One has preached this Sutra of Innumerable Meanings, a wonderful, profound, and supreme Great-vehicle. It is truly profound, profound, and profound. Wherefore? In this assembly, all the bodhisattva-mahasattvas, all the four groups, gods, dragons, demons, kings, subjects, and all the living beings, hearing this Sutra of Innumerable Meanings, a profound and supreme Great-vehicle, never fail to obtain the realm of dharanis, the three laws, the four merits, and the aspiration to enlightenment. It should be known that this Law is reasonable in its logic, unsurpassed in its worth, and protected by all the buddhas of the three worlds. No kind of demon or heretic can break into it, nor can any wrong view or life and death destroy it. Wherefore? Because hearing it but once is keeping all the laws.

"If a living being can hear this sutra, he will acquire a great benefit. Wherefore? If he practices it sincerely, he will quickly accomplish supreme buddhahood without fail. If a living being cannot hear it, it should be known that he loses a great benefit. He will never accomplish supreme buddhahood even after a lapse of infinite, boundless, inconceivable asamkhyeya kalpas. Wherefore? Because he does not know the great direct way to enlightenment, he meets with many sufferings in walking steep ways.

"World-honoured One! This sutra is inconceivable. World-honoured One! Be pleased to explain the profound and inconceivable matter of this sutra out of benevolence for all the people. World-honoured One! From what place does this sutra come? For what place does it leave? At what place does it stay? Whereupon does this sutra make people quickly accomplish Perfect Enlightenment, having such infinite merits and inconceivable powers?"

At that time the World-honoured One addressed the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Great Adornment: "Excellent! Excellent! Good sons; just so, just so, just as you say. Good sons! I preach this sutra as profound, profound, and truly profound. Wherefore? Because it makes people quickly accomplish supreme buddhahood; hearing it but once is keeping all the laws; it greatly benefits all the living; there is no suffering in practicing the great direct way. Good sons! You ask where this sutra comes from, where it leaves for, and where it stays. Do listen attentively. Good sons! This sutra originally comes from the abode of all buddhas, leaves for aspiration of all the living to the buddhahood, and stays at the place where all the bodhisattvas practice. Good sons! This sutra comes like this, leaves like this, and stays like this. Therefore this sutra, having such infinite merits and inconceivable powers, makes people quickly accomplish supreme buddhahood.

"Good sons! Do you want to hear how this sutra has ten inconceivable merit-powers?" The Bodhisattva Great Adornment said: "We heartily want to hear." The Buddha said: "Good sons! First, this sutra makes the unawakened bodhisattva aspire to buddhahood, makes a merciless one raise the mind of mercy, makes a homicidal one raise the mind of great compassion, makes a jealous one raise the mind of joy, makes an attached one raise the mind of detachment, makes a miserly one raise the mind of donation, makes an arrogant one raise the mind of keeping the commandments, makes an irascible one raise the mind of perseverance, makes an indolent one raise the mind of assiduity, makes a distracted one raise the mind of meditation, makes an ignorant one raise the mind of wisdom, makes ones who lacks concern for saving others raise the mind of saving others, makes one who commits the ten evils raise the mind of the ten virtues, makes one who wishes for existence aspire to the mind of nonexistence, makes one who has an inclination toward apostasy build the mind of nonretrogression, makes one who commits defiled acts raise the mind of undefilement, and makes one who suffers delusions raise the mind of detachment. Good sons! This is called the first inconceivable merit-power of this sutra [teaching].

"Good sons! Secondly, the inconceivable merit-power of this sutra is as follows: if a living being can hear this sutra but once, or only one verse and phrase, he will penetrate into a hundred thousand kotis of meanings, and the law kept by him cannot be explained fully even in infinite kalpas. Wherefore? It is because this sutra has innumerable meanings.

"Good sons! Suppose that from one seed a hundred thousand myriad seeds grow, from each of a hundred thousand myriad seeds another hundred thousand myriad seeds grow, and in such a process seeds increase to an unlimited extent. This sutra is like this. From one law a hundred thousand meanings grow, from each of a hundred thousand meanings a hundred thousand myriad meanings grow, and in such a process meanings increase to an unlimited and boundless extent. Such being the case, this sutra is called Innumerable Meanings. Good sons! This is the second inconceivable merit-power of this sutra.

"Good sons! Thirdly, the inconceivable merit-power of this sutra is as follows: if a living being can hear this sutra but once, or only one verse and phrase, he will penetrate into a hundred thousand myriad kotis of meanings. After that, his delusions, even though existent, will become as if nonexistent; he will not be seized with fear, though he moves between birth and death; and he will raise the mind of compassion for all the living, and obtain the spirit of bravery to obey all the laws. A powerful wrestler can shoulder and hold any heavy thing. The keeper of this sutra is also like this. He can shoulder the heavy treasure of supreme buddhahood, and carry living beings on his back out of the way of birth and death. He will be able to relieve others, even though he cannot yet relieve himself. Just as a ferry master, though he stays on this shore owing to his serious illness and unsettled body, can be made to cross over by means of a good and solid ship that has the quality of carrying anyone without fail, so also is it with the keeper of this sutra. Though he stays on this shore of ignorance, old age, and death owing to the hundred and eight kinds of serious illness [The 108 illusions, or obstacles to enlightenment.], with which his body under the existence of all the five states is seized and ever afflicted, he can be delivered from birth and death through practicing this strong Mahayana Sutra of Innumerable Meanings as it is preached, which realises the deliverance of living beings. Good sons! This is called the third inconceivable merit-power of this sutra.

"Good sons! Fourthly, the inconceivable merit-power of this sutra is as follows: if a living being can hear this sutra but once, or only one verse and phrase, he will obtain the spirit of bravery, and relieve others, even though he cannot yet relieve himself. He will become the attendant of the buddhas together with all the bodhisattvas, and all the buddha-tathagatas will always preach the Law to him. On hearing it, he will keep the Law entirely and follow it without disobeying. Moreover, he will interpret it for people extensively as occasion calls.

"Good sons! Suppose that a new prince is born of a king and queen. A day, two days, or seven days, and a month, two months, or seven months passing away, he will attain the age of one, two, or seven. Though he cannot yet manage national affairs, he will come to be revered by people and take all the great king's sons into his company. The king and queen will always stay and converse with him with special and deep affection because he is their little child. Good sons! The keeper of this sutra is also like this. The king--the Buddha--and the queen--this sutra--come together, and this son--a bodhisattva--is born of them. If the bodhisattva can hear one phrase or verse of this sutra once, twice, ten times, a hundred times, a thousand times, myriad times, myriad kotis of times, or innumerable and numberless times like the sands of the Ganges, he will come to shake the three-thousand-great-thousandfold world, though he cannot yet realise the ultimate truth, and will take all great bodhisattvas into his attendance, while being admired by all of the four classes and the eight guardians, though he cannot yet roll the great Law-wheel with the sacred voice like the roll of thunder. Entering deeply into the secret law of the buddhas, he will interpret it without error or fault. He will always be protected by all the buddhas, and especially covered with affection, because he is a beginner in learning. Good sons! This is called the fourth inconceivable merit-power of this sutra.

"Good sons! Fifthly, the inconceivable merit-power of this sutra is as follows: if good sons or good daughters keep, read, recite, and copy the Sutra of Innumerable Meanings, such a profound and supreme Great-vehicle, either during the Buddha's lifetime or after his extinction, they will realise the way of great bodhisattvas though they cannot yet be delivered from all the faults of an ordinary man and are still wrapped in delusions. They will fill with joy and convince those living beings, extending a day to a hundred kalpas, or shortening a hundred kalpas to a day. Good sons! These good sons or good daughters are just like a dragon’s son who can raise clouds and cause a rainfall seven days after his birth. Good sons! This is called the fifth inconceivable merit-power of this sutra.

"Good sons! Sixthly, the inconceivable merit-power of this sutra is as follows: if good sons or good daughters keep, read, and recite this sutra either during the Buddha's lifetime or after his extinction, even though clothed in delusions, they will deliver living beings from the life and death of delusions, and make them overcome all sufferings, by preaching the Law for them. After hearing it, living beings will put it into practice, and attain the law, the merit, and the way, where there will be equality and no difference from the Buddha Tathagata. Suppose that a king, in journeying or falling ill, leaves the management of national affairs to his prince, though he is an infant. Then the prince, by order of the great king, leads all the government officials according to the law, and propagates the right policy, so that every citizen of the country follows his orders exactly as if the king were governing. It is the same with good sons or good daughters keeping this sutra. During the Buddha's lifetime or after his extinction, these good sons will propagate the doctrine, preaching exactly as the Buddha did, though they themselves cannot yet live in the first stage of immobility, and if living beings, after hearing their preaching, practice it intently, they will cut off delusions and attain the law, the merit, and the way. Good sons! This is called the sixth inconceivable merit-power of this sutra.

"Good sons! Seventhly, the inconceivable merit-power of this sutra is as follows: if good sons or good daughters, hearing this sutra either during the Buddha's lifetime or after his extinction, rejoice, believe, and raise the rare [extraordinary] mind; keep, read, recite, copy, and expound it; practice it as it has been preached; aspire to buddhahood; cause all the good roots to sprout; raise the mind of great compassion; and want to relieve all living beings of sufferings, the Six Paramitas will be naturally present in them, though they cannot yet practice the Six Paramitas. They will attain the assurance of the law of no birth in their bodies; life and death, and delusions will be instantly destroyed; and they will rise to the seventh stage of bodhisattva.

"Suppose there is a vigorous man who tries to destroy an enemy on behalf of his king and after the enemy has been destroyed, with great joy, the king gives him half the kingdom as a prize. Good sons or good daughters who keep this sutra are like this. They are the most vigorous of all ascetics. They come to attain the Law-treasure of the Six Paramitas even though they are not consciously seeking it. The enemy of death and life will be naturally destroyed, and they will be made comfortable by the prize of a fief, realizing the assurance of no birth as the treasure of half the Buddha-country. Good sons! This is called the seventh inconceivable merit-power of this sutra.

"Good sons! Eighthly, the inconceivable merit-power of this sutra is as follows: if good sons or good daughters, either during the Buddha's lifetime or after his extinction, see someone who has received this sutra, they will make him revere and believe it exactly as if he saw the body of the Buddha; they will keep, read, recite, copy, and worship this sutra with joy; serve and practice it as the Law; firmly keep the commandments and perseverance; they will also practice almsgiving; raise a deep benevolence; and explain the Sutra of Innumerable Meanings, this supreme Great-vehicle, widely to others. To one who for a long time does not at all recognise the existence of sinfulness and blessedness, they will show this sutra, and force him to have faith in it with all sorts of expedients. By the strong power of this sutra, he will be made to stir up faith and to convert suddenly. After stirring up faith, he will endeavor so valorously that he can acquire the virtue and power of this sutra, and attain the way and the merit. In this way, these good sons or good daughters will attain the assurance of the law of no birth in their bodies of men or women by the merit of having been enlightened, reach the upper stage, become the attendants [of the buddhas], together with all the bodhisattvas convert living beings quickly, purify buddha-lands, and attain supreme buddhahood before long. Good sons! This is called the eighth inconceivable merit-power of this sutra.

"Good sons! Ninthly, the inconceivable merit-power of this sutra is as follows: if good sons or good daughters, receiving this sutra either during the Buddha's lifetime or after his extinction, leap for joy; acquire the unprecedented; keep, read, recite, copy, and adore this sutra; and explain its meaning discriminatingly and widely for living beings, they will instantly destroy the heavy barrier of sins resulting from previous karma and become purified, acquire great eloquence, gradually realise all paramitas, accomplish all samadhis and shuramgama-samadhi, enter the great gate of dharani, and rise up to the upper stage quickly with strenuous efforts. They will spread their divided bodies in all the lands of ten directions, and relieve and emancipate entirely all living beings who suffer greatly in the twenty-five abodes. Thus such a power can be seen in this sutra. Good sons! This is called the ninth inconceivable merit-power of this sutra.

"Good sons! Tenthly, the inconceivable merit-power of this sutra is as follows: if good sons or good daughters, receiving this sutra either during the Buddha's lifetime or after his extinction, greatly rejoice; raise the rare mind; keep, read, recite, copy, and adore this sutra of their own accord; practice it as it has been preached; also induce many monks and lay people to keep, read, recite, copy, adore, and expound this sutra, and practice it as the Law, these good sons or good daughters will obtain the innumerable realms of dharani in their bodies because it is wholly by the merciful and friendly instruction of these good sons or good daughters that other people attain the way and the merit through the power of the practice of this sutra. They will make vast oaths and great vows of numberless asamkhyeya naturally and from the beginning in the stage of ordinary men, and raise a deep desire to relieve all living beings. They will realise the great compassion, thoroughly abolish all sufferings, gather many good roots, and bring benefit to all. They will explain the favor of the Law and greatly enliven the withered; give all living beings the medicine of the Law, and set all at ease; gradually elevate their view to live in the stage of the Law-cloud. [The stage of the Law-cloud is the tenth and highest of the ten stages of the bodhisattva-way.] They will spread favor extensively, grant mercy to all suffering living beings, and lead them into the Buddha-way. Thereupon these persons [Good sons and daughters.] will accomplish Perfect

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Enlightenment before long. Good sons! This is called the tenth inconceivable merit-power of this sutra.

"Good sons! The Sutra of Innumerable Meanings, such a supreme Great-vehicle, has an extremely great divine power and is unsurpassed in its worth. It makes all ordinary men accomplish the sacred merit, and makes them free from life and death forever. Thereupon this sutra is called Innumerable Meanings. It makes all the living sprout the innumerable ways of all the bodhisattvas in the stage of ordinary men, and makes the tree of merit grow dense, thick, and tall. Therefore this sutra is called inconceivable merit-power."

At that time the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Great Adornment, with the eighty thousand bodhisattva-mahasattvas, said to the Buddha with one voice: "World-honoured One! The Sutra of Innumerable Meanings, such a profound, wonderful, and supreme Great-vehicle preached by the Buddha, is reasonable in its logic, unsurpassed in its worth, and protected by all the buddhas of the three worlds. No kind of demon or heretic can break into it, nor can any wrong view or life and death destroy it. Thereupon this sutra has ten such inconceivable merit-powers. It greatly benefits innumerable living beings, makes all bodhisattva-mahasattvas attain the contemplation of Innumerable Meanings, a hundred thousand realms of dharani, all the stages and assurances of bodhisattva, and the accomplishment of the four way-merits of pratyekabuddha and arhat. The World-honoured One has preached such a Law willingly for us in compassion, and made us obtain the benefits of the Law abundantly. This is immensely marvelous and unprecedented. It is difficult to repay the merciful favor of the World-honoured One."

At the close of these words, the three-thousand-great-thousandfold world was shaken in the six ways [The six ways are moving, rising, springing, trembling, reverberating, and thudding.]; various kinds of celestial flowers, such as utpala, padma, kumuda, and pundarika, rained down from the sky; and numberless kinds of celestial perfumes, robes, garlands, and treasures of priceless value also rained and came rolling down from the sky, and they were offered to the Buddha, all the bodhisattvas and shravakas, and the great assembly. The celestial bins and bowls were filled with all manner of celestial delicacies, which gave satisfaction naturally to anyone who just saw them and smelled their perfume. The celestial banners, flags, canopies, and playthings were placed everywhere, and celestial music was played in praise of the Buddha.

Also the buddha-worlds, as numerous as the sands of the Ganges, in the east were shaken in the six ways; celestial flowers, perfumes, robes, garlands, and treasures of priceless value rained down; the celestial bins and bowls, and all sorts of celestial delicacies gave satisfaction naturally to anyone who just saw them and smelled their perfume. The celestial banners, flags, canopies, and playthings were placed everywhere, and celestial music was played in praise of those buddhas, those bodhisattvas and shravakas, and the great assembly. So, too, was it in the southern, western, and northern quarters, in the four intermediate directions, in the zenith and nadir.

At that time the Buddha addressed the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Great Adornment and the eighty thousand bodhisattva-mahasattvas: "You should entertain a deep respect for this sutra, practice it as the Law, instruct all widely, and propagate it earnestly. You should protect it heartily day and night, and make all living beings obtain the benefits of the Law. This is truly great mercy and great compassion, so, offering the divine power of a vow, you should protect this sutra and not let anybody put obstacles in its way. Then you should have it practised widely in Jambudvipa, and make all the living observe, read, recite, copy, and adore it without fail. Because of this you will be made to attain Perfect Enlightenment rapidly."

At this time the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Great Adornment rose up from his seat, went up to the Buddha with the eighty thousand bodhisattva-mahasattvas, made obeisance at his feet, a hundred thousand times made procession round him, and then going forth to kneel, said to the Buddha with one voice: "World-honoured One! We have been placed under the mercy of the World-honoured One to our delight. The Sutra of Innumerable Meanings, this profound, wonderful, and supreme Great-vehicle, has been preached for us. We will widely propagate this sutra after the Tathagata's extinction in obedience to the Buddha's command, and let all keep, read, recite, copy, and adore it. Be pleased to have no anxiety! With the vow-power, we will let all the living observe, read, recite, copy, and adore this sutra, and acquire the marvelous merit of this sutra."

At that time the Buddha said in praise: "Excellent! Excellent! All good sons; you are really and truly the Buddha's sons. You are persons who abolish sufferings and remove calamities thoroughly with great mercy and great compassion. You are the good field of blessings for all living beings. You have been the great good leaders extensively for all. You are the great support for all living beings. You are the great benefactors of all living beings. Always bestow the benefits of the Law extensively on all."

At that time all in the great assembly, greatly rejoicing together, made salutation to the Buddha and, taking possession of the sutra [the teaching], withdrew.

MAIN PART, BETTER KNOWN AS THE SUTRA OF THE LOTUS FLOWER OF THE WONDERFUL LAW

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER I Introductory

[The title of this chapter consists of the two words Xù (hsu), "sequence" or "introduction," and Pĭn (p'in), "taste, grade, degree, kind." As an introduction to the entire sutra this chapter includes 1. the order of the sutra, 2. the origin or scene of the revelation, and 3. the statement of the doctrine of the sutra. Each chapter is styled a Pĭn, as each treats of its subject.]

Thus have I heard. Once the Buddha was staying at the City of Royal Palaces on Mount Gridhrakuta with a great assemblage of great bhikshus, in all twelve thousand; all of them arhats, faultless, free from [earthly] cares, self-developed, emancipated from all bonds of existence, and free in mind. Their names were Ajnata-Kaundinya, Maha-Kashyapa, Uruvilva-Kashyapa, Gaya-Kashyapa, Nadi-Kashyapa, Shariputra, Maha-Maudgalyayana, Maha-Katyayana, Aniruddha, Kapphina, Gavampati, Revata, Pilindavasta, Vakkula, Maha-Kaushthila, Nanda [Or Maha-Nanda.], Sundara-Nanda, Purna son of Maitrayani [Or "Purna Maitrayani putra."], Subhuti, Ananda, and Rahula--all such great arhats are well known to everybody. In addition there were two thousand under training and no longer under training [Shaiksha and ashaiksha, that is, undergraduates and graduates.]; the bhikshuni Mahaprajapati, with six thousand followers; the bhikshuni Yashodhara, the mother of Rahula, also with her train; there were eighty thousand bodhisattva-mahasattvas, all free from backsliding in regard to Perfect Enlightenment, all having obtained dharani, [all] endowed with knowledge of eloquent discourse [One of the four pratisamvids, or four unlimited forms of wisdom: 1. dharma-pratisamvid, unlimited knowledge of the Law; 2. artha-pratisamvid, unlimited knowledge of principles; 3. nirukti-pratisamvid, unlimited knowledge of terms or arguments; and 4. pratibhana-pratisamvid, unlimited knowledge of pleasant discourse.], and rolling the never-retrogressing wheel of the Law; who had paid homage to countless hundreds of thousands of buddhas, under whom they had planted all the roots of virtue, constantly being extolled by them; who cultivated themselves by charity, entered well into the Buddha-wisdom, penetrated the greatest knowledge, and reached the other shore [The shore of enlightenment beyond the sea of mortality.]; whose fame became universally heard in innumerable worlds, they being able to save numberless hundreds of thousands of living beings. Their names were the Bodhisattva Manjushri, the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, the Bodhisattva Great Power Obtained, the Bodhisattva Ever Zealous, the Bodhisattva Never Stopping, the Bodhisattva Precious Palm [of the Hand], the Bodhisattva Medicine King, the Bodhisattva Bold Almsgiver, the Bodhisattva Precious Moon, the Bodhisattva Moon Light, the Bodhisattva Full Moon, the Bodhisattva Great Power, the Bodhisattva Infinite Power, the Bodhisattva Above the Triple World, the Bodhisattva Bhadrapala, the Bodhisattva Maitreya, the Bodhisattva Precious Store, and the Bodhisattva Leader: such bodhisattva-mahasattvas as these, eighty thousand in all. At that time there was Shakra Devendra with his following of twenty thousand divine sons; there were also the Divine Son Excellent Moon, the Divine Son Universal Fragrance, the Divine Son Precious Light, and the four great heavenly kings with ten thousand divine sons in their train; the god Sovereign and the god Great Sovereign [The deities in the fifth and the sixth (and highest) heavens of the Realm of Desire, respectively.], followed by thirty thousand divine sons; Brahma Heavenly King [The deity in the first of the four meditation heavens in the Realm of Form.], the lord of the saha-world, Great Brahma Shikhin [Another name of Brahma Heavenly King.] and Great Brahma Light [The deity in the second of the four meditation heavens in the Realm of Form.], and others, with their following of twelve thousand divine sons. There were also the eight dragon kings [Rulers of the waters.] Nanda Dragon King, Upananda Dragon King, Sagara Dragon King, Vasuki Dragon King, Takshaka Dragon King, Anavatapta Dragon King, Manasvin Dragon King, and Utpalaka Dragon King, each with some hundred thousand followers: further, the four kimnara kings: Law Kimnara King, Mystic Law Kimnara King, Great Law Kimnara King, and Law-maintaining Kimnara King, each with some hundred thousand followers; besides, the four gandharva kings: Pleasing Gandharva King, Pleasant Sound Gandharva King, Charming Gandharva King, and Charming Sound Gandharva King, each with some hundred thousand followers; further, the four asura kings: Balin Asura King, Kharaskandha Asura King, Vemacitri Asura King, and Rahu Asura King, each with some hundred thousand followers; also the four garuda kings: the Garuda King Great in Dignity, the Garuda King Great in Body, the Garuda King Great in Fullness, and the Garuda King Absolute at Will, each with some hundred thousand followers; and King Ajatashatru, son of Vaidehi [The wife of King Bimbisara.], with some hundred thousand followers. Each worshiped at the Buddha's feet, retired, and sat to one side.

At that time the World-honoured One, surrounded, worshiped, revered, honoured, and extolled by the four groups, preached, for the sake of all the bodhisattvas, the Great-vehicle sutra called Innumerable Meanings, the Law by which bodhisattvas are instructed and which the buddhas watch over and keep in mind. Having preached this sutra, the Buddha sat cross-legged and entered the contemplation termed the station of innumerable meanings [Here the Buddha contemplates the truth that the boundless principles come forth from the one Law, that is, the Wonderful Law revealed in the Lotus Sutra.], in which his body and mind were motionless. At this time the sky rained mandarava, maha-mandarava, manjushaka, and maha-manjushaka flowers over the Buddha and all the great assembly, while the universal buddha-world shook in six ways. Then in the congregation bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, upasikas, gods, dragons, yakshas, gandharvas, asuras, garudas, kimnaras, mahoragas, human and nonhuman beings, as well as minor kings and the holy wheel-rolling kings: all of this assembly, obtaining that which had never been before, with joy and folded hands and with one mind looked up to the Buddha. Then the Buddha sent forth from the circle of white hair between his eyebrows* a ray of light, which illuminated eighteen thousand worlds in the eastern quarter, so that there was nowhere it did not reach, downward to the Avici hell and upward to the Akanishtha heaven. [* The urna. This circle of hair issues rays of light that illuminate every universe. It is one of thirty-two signs possessed by every buddha.] In this world were seen in those lands all their living creatures in the six states of existence; likewise were seen the buddhas existing at present in those lands; and there could be heard the sutra-laws those buddhas were preaching; there could also be seen there bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, and upasikas who had practised and attained the Way; further were seen the bodhisattva-mahasattvas, who walked the bodhisattva-way from various causes, with various discernments in faith, and with various appearances [The various aspects of practice.]; likewise were seen the buddhas who had entered final nirvana; and there were seen the stupas made of the precious seven for the relics of the buddhas, which were erected after the buddhas entered final nirvana.

At that time Maitreya Bodhisattva reflected thus: "Now does the World-honoured One display an appearance so marvelous. What is the cause and reason of this auspicious sign? Now that the Buddha, the World-honoured One, has entered into his contemplation and such inconceivable and unprecedented wonders appear, of whom shall I inquire, and who will be able to answer?" Again, he reflected thus: "Here is Manjushri, the son of the Law-king, who has been in close contact with and paid homage to former innumerable buddhas, and who must have witnessed such unprecedented signs as these. Let me now ask him."

Then also the bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, upasikas, and all the heavenly beings, dragons, and other spirits reflected thus: "Of whom shall we now inquire concerning this shining spiritual sign of the Buddha?"

Then Maitreya Bodhisattva, desiring to resolve his own doubts and observing the thoughts arising in all the assembly of four groups of bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, and upasikas, as well as the heavenly beings, dragons, and other spirits, inquired of Manjushri, saying: "What are the cause and reason of this auspicious and spiritual sign, shedding so great a luminous ray, lighting up the eighteen thousand eastern lands, revealing in detail the splendour of those buddha-realms?"

Thereupon Maitreya Bodhisattva, desiring to announce this meaning over again, inquired thus in verse:

"Manjushri! Why does [our] master From the white hair between his eyebrows Universally radiate so great a ray? The rain of mandarava And manjushaka flowers And fragrant breezes of sandal Delight our every heart.

By reason of this All the earth is replete with splendour, While this [whole] world Shakes in six different ways. At this moment the four groups Are all full of joy, Glad in body and in mind To obtain [a sign so] unprecedented. The ray between his brows Illuminates the eastern quarter Of the eighteen thousand lands, Colouring them all with gold [Gold is a symbol of enlightenment.].

From the Avici hell Up to the Summit of All Existence, The dwellers in all the worlds, The living beings in their six states, The progress of those being born and of the dying, Their good and evil karma and environment [Karma is the immediate cause of weal or woe in any succeeding state. Environment is the secondary cause.], The retribution, good or evil, I see them all from here. I see also the buddhas, The holy masters, the lions [Vadisimha, "holy lion lord"; also translated as "lion of the Law," meaning fearless in teaching the Law; an epithet of the Buddha.], Expounding the sutra, Mystic and supreme; Their voices clear and pure Send forth softly

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sounding tones, Teaching the bodhisattvas In numberless myriad kotis; Their sacred voices, deep and mystic, Cause men to rejoice in hearing; Each in his own world, Proclaiming the good Law By various reasonings And innumerable illustrations, Reveals the Buddha-law And opens the understanding of all creatures.

If any have met with distress And are weary of age, disease, and death, For these they announce nirvana To bring to an end all distresses. If any are in a happy estate, Having paid homage to buddhas, Devoted to seeking the victorious Law, For these they announce pratyekabuddhahood. If any Buddha-sons Have carried out their various duties, Seeking after the supreme wisdom, For those they announce the pure way.

Manjushri! Abiding here, I see and hear such things as these And thousands of kotis of things; These things so numerous Let me now briefly describe. I see in those lands Bodhisattvas like the sands of the Ganges, Who in various degrees Seek after the Buddha-way.

Some there are who give alms of Gold, silver, and coral, Pearls [Literally, "felicitous pearls"; pearls are always bright and luminous, therefore a symbol of the Buddha and of his doctrines.] and jewels, Moonstones and agates, Diamonds and precious stones, Male and female slaves, carriages and animals to ride, Wagons and litters gem-adorned. [* These constitute the so-called precious seven, of which several combinations exist. Agate is a stone material consisting of chalcedony and quartz as its primary components by which it glitters in a wide variety of colours that looks like the discolouration of case-hardened steel.]*

They give all these alms with joy And, turning toward the Buddha-way, Seek to gain this vehicle, The supreme in the triple world, Magnified by the buddhas.

Besides, there are bodhisattvas Who give precious four-horse carriages With railed seats and ornate covers And other adorned vehicles as alms.

Also I see bodhisattvas Who give their own flesh, hands, and feet, And their wives and children, as alms, To seek after the supreme Way.

Again I see bodhisattvas Who give their own heads, eyes, and bodies, Cheerfully and gladly, as alms, To seek after the wisdom of the Buddha.

Manjushri! I see many kings Who go to visit the buddhas To ask about the supreme Way, And then abandon their pleasant lands, Palaces, ministers, and concubines, And shaving beard and hair, Put on the robes of the Law.

I see also bodhisattvas Who become bhikshus [Ordained monks.], Live alone in seclusion and quiet, And take their joy in reciting sutras. And I see bodhisattvas Who in their zeal and earnestness Enter the depths of the mountains To ponder the Buddha-way. I see also those who, renouncing all desires, Constantly dwell in the seclusion of the wilds, Profoundly to practice meditation And obtain the five transcendent faculties. Further I see bodhisattvas Peacefully meditating with folded hands And in myriads of stanzas Extolling the kings of the Law. Again I see bodhisattvas, Profound in wisdom, firm in will, Able to question the buddhas And receive and retain all they hear.

And I see Buddha-sons, Perfect in meditation and wisdom, With innumerable illustrations Proclaiming the Law for the multitude, Cheerfully and gladly preaching the Law To transform bodhisattvas, And, destroying the army of Mara, Strike the drum of the Law. I see also bodhisattvas, Calm in perfect meditation, Who, though honoured by gods and dragons, Count it not a joy. Again I see bodhisattvas Who, dwelling in forests, emit radiance That saves the sufferers in hell And causes them to enter the Buddha-way.

I see also Buddha-sons Who, unsleeping, Walk about in the forest, Diligently seeking the Buddha-way. Further I see perfect observers of the commandments [precepts], In strictness without flaw, Pure as precious pearls, Who thereby seek the Buddha-way. And I see Buddha-sons Who, abiding in the power of perseverance, Though men of the utmost arrogance Hate, abuse, and beat them, Are able to endure all of these In order to seek the Buddha-way. I see also bodhisattvas Who leave all play and laughter And all foolish companions, Who seek association with the wise, And with all their mind get rid of distraction, Concentrating their thoughts in mountain forests For myriads of kotis of years, To seek the Buddha-way.

Or I see bodhisattvas Who bestow edibles, dainties, drink and food, And all kinds of medicaments On buddhas and monks as alms; Who give famous clothes and superior garments Worth thousands and myriads, Or clothes of priceless value, To buddhas and monks as alms; Who give myriads of kotis of kinds Of precious buildings built of sandalwood, With all sorts of wonderful bed furniture, To buddhas and monks as alms; Who give immaculate gardens Abounding with flowers and fruits, With flowing springs and bathing pools, To buddhas and monks as alms; Who give alms like these, Every kind most wonderful, Joyfully without grudging, Seeking after the supreme Way.

Moreover, there are bodhisattvas Who preach the Law of tranquillity, Teaching in various ways The numberless living beings. Also I see bodhisattvas Who observe that the nature of all laws Is not in two opposing forms [The two forms are existence and nonexistence. These bodhisattvas realise the law of undifferentiation, or the Middle Path.], But like space. Again I see Buddha-sons, With minds free from attachments, By this mystic wisdom Seeking after the supreme Way.

Manjushri! There are also bodhisattvas Who, after the extinction of buddhas, Pay homage to their relics. Also I see Buddha-sons Who build numerous stupas, Innumerable as the sands of the Ganges, Splendidly adorning the domains, Precious stupas of height most wonderful, Five thousand yojanas, Their height and breadth proportionate, Two thousand yojanas around; Each of those stupas Has thousands of banners and flags, Curtains decorated with jewels, And precious bells harmoniously sounding; Gods, dragons, and other spirits, Human beings and beings not human With perfumes, flowers, and music Are always paying homage to them.

Manjushri! All the Buddha-sons For worshiping the relics So splendidly adorn the stupas That all the domains are thereby Made extraordinarily wonderful and fine, Like the king of celestial trees In full bloom. The Buddha sends forth but a single ray And I with all the assembly See that these domains Are extraordinarily wonderful. Rare are the divine powers And wisdom of the buddhas; Sending forth a single pure ray, They illuminate innumerable domains. We, beholding this, Attain that which has never been before.

Son of Buddha, Manjushri, Do you resolve all their doubts! All of the four groups, joyfully expecting, Gaze on thee, O virtuous one, and on me. Why has the World-honoured One Emitted such a ray of light? Son of Buddha! Now give answer; Remove our doubts and make us glad. For what abundant benefits Has he spread such a ray of light?

Seated on the wisdom throne, The Wonderful Law which he has obtained--Does the Buddha [now] wish to preach it? Is he now going to prophesy? [This refers to the Buddha's prediction of future recompense for those who are endeavoring to attain buddhahood.] He shows us all the buddha-lands, Ornate and pure with precious things, And we see the buddhas there; This is not for any trivial reason.

Know, Manjushri! All the four groups, the dragons and spirits Are gazing on and questioning thee As to what thou wilt say."

At that time Manjushri spoke to Maitreya Bodhisattva-Mahasattva and all the other leaders [Literally, "great men," or mahasattvas.]: "All ye good sons! According to my consideration, the Buddha, the World-honoured One, is now intending to preach the great Law, to pour the rain of the great Law, to blow the conch of the great Law, to beat the drum of the great Law, and to expound the meaning of the great Law. All ye good sons! Whenever from any of the former buddhas I have seen this auspice, after emitting such a ray, they have thereupon preached the great Law. Because of this, know ye that now the Buddha, having displayed this ray, in like manner intends to cause all creatures to hear and know the Law which all the worlds will find hard to believe. That is why he displays this auspice.

"All ye good sons! In time of yore, infinite, boundless, inconceivable asamkhyeya kalpas ago, there then was a buddha styled Sun Moon Light Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct [One who has perfected the three clear views: 1. the clear view of destiny, 2. the clear view of supernatural insight, and 3. the clear view of faultlessness (or perfection of character).], Well Departed [Rightly going (to final nirvana).], Understander of the World, Peerless Leader [The supreme noble man.], Controller [The noble man who controls (all evil).], Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, World-honoured One. [From "Tathagata" to "Buddha" comprise the ten titles of a buddha, while "World-honoured One" is the general title of a buddha.] He proclaimed the Right Law, which is good at its commencement, good in its middle, and good at the end; which is profound in its meaning, subtle in its terms, pure and unadulterated, perfect, flawless, and noble in practice. [Here the seven good characteristics of a buddha's preaching are described: 1. good as to time, 2. good in meaning, 3. good in terms, 4. good in its purity, 5. good in its perfection, 6. good in its flawlessness, and 7. good in the nobility of its practice.] For those who sought to be shravakas he preached response to the Law of the Four Noble Truths for the overcoming of birth, old age, disease, and death, and finally [leading to] nirvana; for those who sought pratyekabuddhahood he preached response to the Law of the Twelve Causes; for the bodhisattvas he preached response tothe Six Paramitas to cause them to attain Perfect Enlightenment and to accomplish perfect know

"Next again there was a buddha, also named Sun Moon Light, and again a buddha, also named Sun Moon Light; and in like manner there were twenty thousand buddhas all bearing the same name Sun Moon Light and the same surname Bharadvaja. [One of the eighteen Brahmanic families.] Know, Maitreya! All these buddhas, from the first to the last, bore the same name Sun Moon Light and perfectly possessed the ten titles. The Law which they should preach was good at its commencement, in its middle, and at the end.

"Before the last of these buddhas left his home, he had eight royal sons: the first was named Possessing the Will, the second named Excellent Will, the third named Infinite Will, the fourth named Precious Will, the fifth named Increasing Will, the sixth named Undoubting Will, the seventh named Echoed Will, and the eighth named Law Will.

"These eight princes in their honourable estate were independent, each having dominion over four continents. All these princes, hearing that their father had left his home and attained Perfect Enlightenment, renounced the royal position and, following him, left home, resolute on the Great-vehicle; they constantly practised noble deeds, and all become teachers of the Law, having planted all roots of goodness under thousands of myriads of buddhas.

"At that time the Buddha Sun Moon Light preached the Great-vehicle sutra called Innumerable Meanings, the Law by which bodhisattvas are instructed and which the buddhas watch over and keep in mind. Having preached this sutra, he at once, amidst the great assembly, sat cross-legged and entered the meditation [termed] the station of innumerable meanings, in which his body and mind were motionless. At this moment the sky rained mandarava, maha-mandarava, manjushaka, and maha-manjushaka flowers over the buddha and all the great assembly, while the universal buddha-world shook in six ways.

"Then, in the congregation, bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, upasikas, gods, dragons, yakshas, gandharvas, asuras, garudas, kimnaras, mahoragas, human and nonhuman beings, as well as minor kings and the holy wheel-rolling kings, all of this assembly, obtaining that which had never been before, with joy and folded hands and with one mind looked up to the buddha.

"Then the tathagata sent forth, from the circle of white hair between his eyebrows, a ray of light, which illuminated eighteen thousand buddha-lands in the eastern quarter, so that there was nowhere it did not reach, just like all these buddha-lands which now are seen.

"Know, Maitreya! At that time in the assembly there were twenty kotis of bodhisattvas, who joyfully desired to hear the Law. All these bodhisattvas, beholding this ray of light illuminating the buddha-lands universally, and obtaining that which they had never had before, desired to know the causes of and reasons for that ray.

"Then there was a bodhisattva named Mystic Light, who had eight hundred disciples. When the Buddha Sun Moon Light arose from his contemplation, he preached, by means of the Bodhisattva Mystic Light, the Great-vehicle sutra called the Lotus Flower of the Wonderful Law, by which bodhisattvas are instructed and which the buddhas watch over and keep in mind. During sixty minor kalpas he rose not from his seat and during [these] sixty minor kalpas his hearers in that assembly remained seated in their places, motionless in body and mind, listening to the buddha's preaching and deeming it but the length of a meal. During that time there was no one in the assembly who felt fatigue in either body or mind.

"The Buddha Sun Moon Light, for sixty minor kalpas having preached this sutra, at once proclaimed these words to the host of Brahmas, Maras, shramanas, Brahmans, gods, men, and asuras: 'Today, at midnight, will the tathagata enter the nirvana of no remains.' [Entering the nirvana of no remains means entering Perfect Enlightenment at death.]

"Thereupon there was a bodhisattva named Virtue Treasury. The Buddha Sun Moon Light then spoke to all the bhikshus, foretelling [Predicting the bodhisattva's destiny.] thus: 'This Bodhisattva Virtue Treasury will become the next buddha and his name will be Pure Body Tathagata, Arhat, Samyaksambodhi.'

"The buddha, having predicted him, at midnight entered the nirvana of no remains. After the buddha's extinction, the Bodhisattva Mystic Light, having retained in memory the Sutra of the Lotus Flower of the Wonderful Law, expounded it for men during fully eighty minor kalpas. All the eight sons of the Buddha Sun Moon Light took Mystic Light as their teacher. Mystic Light taught and influenced them to be firm in Perfect Enlightenment. All these princes paid homage to innumerable hundred thousand myriad kotis of buddhas and accomplished the Buddha-way. The last to become a buddha was named Burning Light. [Or "Burning Lamp"; so named because when he was born a ray of light issued from his body.]

"He had eight hundred disciples, one of whom was named Fame Seeker. This one was greedily attached to the development of gain, and though he read and recited many sutras repeatedly, none of them penetrated and stuck, for he forgot and lost almost all. So he was named Fame Seeker. This man also, because he had planted many roots of goodness, was able to meet innumerable hundred thousand myriad kotis of buddhas, whom he worshiped, revered, honoured, and extolled.

"Know, Maitreya! The Bodhisattva Mystic Light of that time, was it some other person? No, it was I myself, while the

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Bodhisattva Fame Seeker was you yourself. Now I see that this auspice is no different from the former one.

"Therefore I consider that the present Tathagata will preach the Great-vehicle sutra called the Lotus Flower of the Wonderful Law, by which bodhisattvas are instructed and which the buddhas watch over and keep in mind."

Then Manjushri in the great assembly, desiring to announce this meaning over again, spoke thus in verse:

"I remember a past age, Infinite and numberless kalpas (aeons) ago; There was a buddha, the most honoured of men, Named Sun Moon Light. That world-honoured one preached the Law To save innumerable creatures And countless kotis of bodhisattvas And cause them to enter the Buddha-wisdom. Before that buddha left his home The eight princes born to him, Having seen the great sage leave his home, Also followed him and practised the noble life.

Then that buddha preached the Great-vehicle, The sutra called Innumerable Meanings, Amongst the hosts of living beings, And in detail defined it for them. When the buddha had preached this sutra He then, on the seat of the Law, Sat cross-legged in the contemplation Termed the station of innumerable meanings.

The sky rained mandarava flowers, While the heavenly drums sounded of themselves; Gods, dragons, and spirits Worshiped the most honoured of men. All of the buddha-lands At that moment trembled greatly.

The ray sent forth from the buddha's brows Revealed unprecedented wonders. This ray, illuminating the eastern quarter Of eighteen thousand buddha-lands, Showed everywhere all living creatures In the state of their mortal karmas. Some of the buddha-lands were seen Adorned with every precious thing, Many-hued with lapis lazuli and crystal, From the shining of the buddha's ray. Besides I saw gods, men, Dragons, spirits and yakshas, Gandharvas and kimnaras, Each of them worshiping that buddha. Further I saw tathagatas Who of themselves had accomplished the Buddha-way, Their appearance like mountains of gold, Very wonderful in their majesty.

As within pure lapis lazuli A real golden image is made apparent, So the world-honoured one in the great assembly Expounded the meaning of the profound Law. In each of the buddha-lands Were shravakas innumerable; By the shining of the buddha's ray Their great host was completely visible.

Besides there were the bhikshus Who, having dwelt in the mountain forests, Had zealously advanced and kept the pure commandments As if they were protecting bright jewels. And I also saw bodhisattvas Who practised donations and perseverance, As the sands of the Ganges in number, By the radiance of the buddha's ray.

I saw also bodhisattvas Who, entering into deep meditation, Were at rest, motionless in body and mind, Seeking the supreme Way. Again I saw bodhisattvas Who, knowing the nirvana-nature of the Law, Each in his own domain Preached the Law and sought the Buddha-way. Thereupon all of the four groups, Seeing the Buddha Sun Moon Light

Display great supernatural powers, With joy in all their minds Each asked one of another: 'For what reason are these things?' He who is honoured by gods and men Soon rose from his contemplation, Thus extolling the Bodhisattva Mystic Light: 'Thou art the eye of the world, To whom all turn in faith, Able to keep the treasury of the Law. Such a law as I preach, Thou alone art able to bear it witness.'

The world-honoured one, having thus praised him And caused Mystic Light to rejoice, Then preached this Law-Flower Sutra During full sixty minor kalpas, Never rising from his seat. The supreme and wonderful Law so preached, This Mystic Light, Teacher of the Law, Was wholly able to receive and retain.

When the buddha had preached this Law-Flower And caused all of them to rejoice, Then he, on that very day, Proclaimed to the hosts of gods and men: 'The Truth of the Reality of All Existence Has just been preached for all of you. I now, at midnight, Must enter into nirvana.

Do you, with all your mind, advance zealously And depart from all slackness; Buddhas are very rarely encountered; In kotis of kalpas but one is met.' The sons of the world-honoured one, Hearing that the buddha was entering nirvana, Every one felt grieved and distressed: 'How sudden is the Buddha's extinction!' The holy lord, the king of the Law, Comforted the countless multitude: 'Even when I am extinct, Be ye not sad and afraid! This Bodhisattva Virtue Treasury, In the realization of faultlessness, Has gained complete understanding.

He will become the next buddha, Whose name will be called Pure Body; He, too, will save innumerable creatures.' That night the buddha became extinct, As when firewood is finished the fire dies out. His relics were distributed And innumerable stupas erected. Bhikshus and bhikshunis, Numerous as the sands of the Ganges, Doubled their zealous advance, Seeking the supreme Way. This Mystic Light, Teacher of the Law, Having kept the treasury of the Law, During eighty minor kalpas Widely proclaimed the Law-Flower Sutra.

All these eight princes, Converted by Mystic Light, Kept firmly the supreme Way And would see countless buddhas. Having worshiped the buddhas And followed them, walking the Great Way, In succession they could become buddhas, And one by one they were foretold.

The last, the god of gods, ["God of gods" is 1. an epithet of the Buddha and 2. the supreme heaven of the four heavens of the Realm of Form.] Was called the Buddha Burning Light.

He, the leader of all the sages, [Rishis, men transformed into immortals through asceticism and meditation.] Saved innumerable living beings.

This Mystic Light, Teacher of the Law, At that time had a pupil Who was always of a lazy spirit, Greedily attached to fame and gain, Tireless in seeking fame and gain, Addicted to enjoyment in noble families, Casting aside that which he had learned, Forgetting everything and dull of apprehension, Who because of these things [Literally, "causes and reason."] Was called Fame Seeker.

He also by practicing good works Was enabled to see numberless buddhas, Also to pay homage to buddhas And to follow them, walking the Great Way, Perfecting the Six Paramitas, And now has seen Shakya, the Lion.

He will afterward become a buddha And will be named Maitreya, Who shall widely save living creatures Countless in number. He who, after the extinction of the other buddha, Was the slothful one was yourself. And Mystic Light, Teacher of the Law, Was I myself who now am here. Having seen the Buddha of Light [In full, "the Buddha Sun Moon Light."] Of yore [send forth] a like auspicious ray, I therefore know that the present Buddha Desires to preach the Law-Flower Sutra.

The present sign is like the former auspice; It is the tactful method of buddhas. Now the Buddha sends forth a ray To help reveal the Truth of Reality. Be aware, all of you! Fold your hands and with all your mind await! The Buddha will pour the rain of the Law To satisfy those who seek the Way. If those who seek after the three vehicles Have any doubts or regrets, The Buddha will rid them of them So that none whatever shall remain."

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 2

Tactfulness

[The title of this chapter in Chinese, Fāngbiàn (Sanskrit Upaya-kaushalya), means an appropriate, convenient, expedient, or tactful method.]

At that time the World-honoured One, rising quietly and clearly from contemplation, addressed Shariputra: "The wisdom of buddhas is very profound and infinite. Their wisdom-school is difficult to understand and difficult to enter, so that the shravakas and pratyekabuddhas cannot apprehend it. Wherefore? Because the buddhas have been in fellowship with countless hundred thousand myriad kotis of buddhas, perfectly practicing the infinite Law of all buddhas, boldly and zealously advancing and making their fame universally known, perfecting the very profound, unprecedented Law and preaching, as opportunity served, its meaning so difficult to understand. Shariputra! Ever since I became Buddha, with various reasonings and various parables I have widely discoursed and taught, and by countless tactful methods have led living beings, causing them to leave all attachments. Wherefore? Because the Tathagata is altogether perfect in his tactfulness and paramita of wisdom. Shariputra! The wisdom of the Tathagata is broad and great, profound and far-reaching; his mind is infinite ["Infinite" indicates the four kinds of infinite mind or infinite virtues: benevolence (or kindness), compassion, joy, and indifference.]; his expositions are unimpeded [or: "unlimited" indicating the four unlimited forms of wisdom.]; his powers [The ten powers.], his fearlessness [The four kinds of fearlessness of a buddha: 1. fearlessness in proclaiming all truth; 2. fearlessness in proclaiming the truth of perfection, or freedom from faults; 3. fearlessness in exposing obstacles to the truth; and 4. fearlessness in proclaiming the way to end all suffering.], his meditations [Dhyana, literally, "fixed abstraction": contemplation or exercises in reflection; one of the Six Paramitas.], his emancipations [The eight emancipations.], his contemplations have enabled him to enter into the boundless realms and to accomplish all the unprecedented Law. Shariputra! The Tathagata is able to discriminate everything, preach the laws skillfully, use gentle words, and cheer the hearts of all. Shariputra! Essentially speaking, the Buddha has altogether fulfilled the infinite, boundless, unprecedented Law. Enough, Shariputra, there is no need to say more. Wherefore? Because the Law which the Buddha has perfected is the chief unprecedented Law, and difficult to understand. Only a buddha together with a buddha can fathom the Reality of All Existence, that is to say, all existence [All laws or all existences. The word "Reality" does not occur in the extant Sanskrit text.] has such a form, such a nature, such an embodiment, such a potency, such a function, such a primary cause, such a secondary cause, such an effect, such a recompense, and such a complete fundamental whole*."

[* These ten categories, termed the Ten Suchnesses, are fundamental to the T'ien-t'ai sect of Buddhism. The most important doctrine of its founder, Chih-i (538-597), that of "three thousand worlds in one thought," arises from these categories. The extant Sanskrit text has only the following sentences corresponding to these ten categories: 1. ye ca te dharma, or "what those laws are," "such a nature"; 2. yatha ca te dharma, or "how those laws are," "such a function"; 3. yadrishash ca te dharma, or "like what those laws are," "such a complete fundamental whole"; 4. yallakshanash ca te dharma, or "of what forms [or characteristics] those laws are," "such a form"; 5. yatsvabhavash ca te dharmah, or "of what self-natures those laws are," "such an embodiment"; 6. ye ca, or "what"; 7. yatha ca, or "how"; 8. yadrishash ca, or "like what"; 9. yallakshanash ca, or "of what forms"; 10. yatsvabhavash ca, or "of what self-natures." These seem to correspond to the ten categories, but the sixth to the tenth, which are not found in Kern's translation, may be only a repetition of the first five. This extant Sanskrit original may be different from that which Kumarajiva used, or Kumarajiva may have translated these words according to their inner, esoteric meanings.]

At that time the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"Immeasurable are the world's heroes. Embracing gods and men in the world Among all the living creatures, None can know the buddhas. The Buddha's powers and fearlessness, Emancipations and contemplations, And the Buddha's other laws No one is able to measure.

Of yore I followed countless buddhas, And perfectly trod the right ways Of the profound and wonderful Law, Which are difficult to perceive and perform. During infinite kotis of kalpas, After pursuing all those ways, Having obtained the perfect fruit on the wisdom throne, I was able perfectly to understand.

Such great effects as these, The meaning of every nature and form: I and other buddhas in the universe Alone can understand these things. This Law is inexpressible, It is beyond the realm of terms; Among all the other living beings None can apprehend it Except the bodhisattvas Who are firm in the power of faith.

The disciples of all the buddhas Who have offered worship to the buddhas And have ended all their faults And dwell in this last bodily state, Such men as these Have not powers equal to such knowledge. Though the world were full Of beings like Shariputra Who with utmost thought combined to measure it, They could not fathom the Buddha-wisdom.

Indeed though the universe were full Of beings like Shariputra, And the rest of my disciples Filled the world in every quarter, Who with utmost thought combined to measure it, They also could not understand. Though pratyekabuddhas of keen intelligence, In their last faultless bodily stage, Also filled every region of the universe, Numerous as bamboo in the woods, If these with united mind Through infinite kotis of kalpas Wished to ponder the Buddha's real wisdom, They could not know the least part.

Though newly vowed bodhisattvas Who have worshiped countless buddhas, Have penetrated all meanings, And can ably preach the Law, Abounding as rice and hemp, bamboo and reeds, Filled the world in every quarter, If with one mind by mystic wisdom, Through kalpas like the sands of the Ganges, All these were to ponder together, They could not know the Buddha-wisdom.

Though bodhisattvas, free from falling back, Numerous as the sands of the Ganges, With one mind investigated together, They too could not understand. Again I say to Shariputra: 'The faultless and inscrutable, Profound and mysterious Law I now have wholly attained. Only I know these truths, As also do the buddhas of the universe.

Know, Shariputra! The words of buddhas do not differ. In the laws preached by the Buddha You should beget great strength of faith, For at length after the Buddha's preparatory teaching He must now proclaim the perfect Truth.'

I address all the shravakas And seekers after the vehicle of pratyekabuddhas, Those whom I have freed from the bondage of suffering And who have reached nirvana: 'The Buddha employs his tactful powers; He shows the Way by the three-vehicle teaching [Three ways to achieve wisdom and salvation]. All beings have various attachments; He leads them to obtain escape.'"

At that time in the great assembly there were shravakas and faultless arhats, Ajnata-Kaundinya and others, twelve hundred in number, and bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, and upasikas, who had vowed to be shravakas and pratyekabuddhas--all these reflected thus: "For what reason does the World-honoured One now extol the tactful way so earnestly and say these words: 'The Law which the Buddha has obtained is very profound and difficult to comprehend. That which he proclaims has a meaning so hard to understand that all the shravakas [disciples] and pratyekabuddhas [solitary buddhas] are unable to attain it'? As yet the Buddha has declared only one principle of emancipation, and we also, obtaining this Law, reach nirvana. But now we do not know where this principle leads."

At that time Shariputra, apprehending the doubt in the minds of the four groups and also himself not having mastered

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[the meaning], spoke to the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! What is the cause and what the reason for so earnestly extolling the paramount tactful method and the very profound, mysterious Law, difficult to understand, of the buddhas? From of yore I have never heard such a discourse from the Buddha. At present these four groups are altogether in doubt. Will the World-honoured One be pleased to explain these things, why the World-honoured One extols so earnestly the very profound and mysterious Law, so difficult to understand." Then Shariputra, desiring to announce this meaning over again, spoke thus in verse:

"O Wisdom Sun! Great Holy Honoured One! At length thou hast preached this Law, And declared thyself to have obtained such Powers, fearlessness, and contemplations, Meditations, emancipations, and other Inconceivable laws. About the Law obtained on the wisdom throne No one has been about to utter any question, And I find it hard to fathom the meaning And also am unable to ask questions.

Without being asked thou thyself hast spoken, Extolling the way thou hast walked, That thy most mysterious wisdom Is that which the buddhas obtained. All the faultless arhats And those who are seeking nirvana Have now fallen into nets of doubt. Why does the Buddha speak thus? Seekers after pratyekabuddhahood, Bhikshus and bhikshunis, Gods, dragons, and spirits, Gandharvas and other beings Scan each other in perplexity, And look expectant to the Honoured of Men. [Literally, "the honoured biped," or the most honoured of living beings that have two legs; another epithet of the Buddha. The two legs indicate virtuous happiness and wisdom, commandments and meditation, and so on--the means by which the Buddha works in the universe.]

What may be [the meaning of] this matter? We would the Buddha will explain. In this assembly of shravakas The Buddha says I am the chief of the disciples, But I, now, of my own wisdom Am in doubt and cannot understand Whether it is the final Law Or is the way to progress there. The sons born of the Buddha's mouth With folded hands wait expectantly.

Be pleased to send forth the mystic sound And now proclaim the truth as it is. Gods, dragons, spirits, and others, Numerous as the sands of the Ganges; Bodhisattvas aspiring to be buddhas, Fully eighty thousand in number; Also, from myriads of kotis of countries, Holy wheel-rolling kings are here, With folded hands and reverent hearts, Desiring to hear the perfect Way."

At that time the Buddha said to Shariputra: "Enough, enough, there is no need to say more. If I explain this matter, all the worlds of gods and men would be startled and perplexed."

Shariputra again said to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! Be pleased to explain it! Be pleased to explain it! Wherefore? [Because] in this assembly there are numberless hundred thousand myriad kotis of asamkhyeya living beings who have already seen the buddhas, whose perceptions* are keen and whose wisdom is clear. If they hear the Buddha's teaching, they will be able to believe it respectfully." [* Literally, "roots." Usually there are considered to be six roots, or sense organs: eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, and mind. But here the "five roots" are meant, the roots of faith, zealous progress, memory, meditation, and wisdom. The five roots are also called the five powers.]

Then Shariputra, desiring to announce this meaning over again, spoke thus in verse:

"King of the Law, Most High Honoured One! Be pleased to explain without misgiving! In this assembly are countless beings Who can respectfully believe."

The Buddha again said: "Enough, Shariputra! If I explained this matter, all the worlds of gods, men, and asuras would be startled and perplexed, and haughty bhikshus [Utmost haughtiness or arrogance, which possesses those who mistakenly think they have obtained the perfect Law.] might fall into the great pit." [This refers to hell.]

Then the World-honoured One once again spoke in verse:

"Enough, enough, no need to say more. My Law is subtle and inscrutable; Those who are haughty On hearing would not believe it respectfully."

Then Shariputra once again said to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! Be pleased to explain it! Be pleased to explain it! In this present assembly there are, equal with me, hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis who, in former lives, have followed the Buddha and been transformed by him. Such men as these can certainly believe respectfully and throughout the night will peacefully rest and in various ways be abundantly benefited."

Then Shariputra, desiring to announce this meaning over again, spoke thus in verse:

"Most High and Honoured of the Living! Be pleased to explain the paramount Law! I am the eldest son of the Buddha. Condescend to explain it discriminately. In this assembly countless beings Are able respectfully to believe this Law. The Buddha already in his former lives Has taught such living beings. All with one mind, folding their hands, Desire to hear the Buddha's words. There are twelve hundred of us And others aspiring to be buddhas. Be pleased, for the sake of these beings, To condescend to explain it discriminately. If these hear this Law, They will beget great joy."

At that time the World-honoured One addressed Shariputra: "Since you have already thrice earnestly repeated your request, how can I refuse to speak? Do you now listen attentively to, ponder, and remember it! I will discriminate and explain it for you."

When he had thus spoken, in the assembly some five thousand bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, and upasikas straightway rose from their seats and, saluting the Buddha, withdrew. Wherefore? Because the root of sin in these beings was so deep and their haughty spirit so enlarged that they imagined they had attained what they had not attained and had proved what they had not proved. In such error as this they would not stay; and the World-honoured One was silent and did not stop them.

Thereupon the Buddha addressed Shariputra: "Now in this congregation I am free from useless twigs and leaves, and have nothing but all that are purely the true and real. It is good, Shariputra, that such extremely haughty ones as those are gone away. Now carefully listen and I will expound the matter for you." Shariputra said: "So be it, World-honoured One; I desire joyfully to listen."

The Buddha addressed Shariputra: "Such a wonderful Law as this is only preached by the buddha-tathagatas on rare occasions, just as the udumbara flower is seen but once in long periods. Shariputra, believe me, all of you; in the Buddha's teaching no word is false. Shariputra, the meaning of the laws which the buddhas expound as opportunity serves is difficult to understand. Wherefore? Because I expound the laws by numberless tactful ways and with various reasonings and parabolic expressions. These laws cannot be understood by powers of thought or discrimination; only the buddhas can discern them. Wherefore? Because the buddhas, the world-honoured ones, only on account of the one very great cause appear in the world. Shariputra, why do I say that the buddhas, the world-honoured ones, only on account of the one very great cause appear in the world? Because the buddhas, the world-honoured ones, desire to cause all living beings to open their eyes to the Buddha-knowledge so that they may gain the pure mind, therefore they appear in the world; because they desire to show all living beings the Buddha-knowledge, they appear in the world; because they desire to cause all living beings to apprehend the Buddha-knowledge, they appear in the world; because they desire to cause all living beings to enter the way of the Buddha-knowledge, they appear in the world*. Shariputra, this is why it is [only] on account of the one very great cause that buddhas appear in the world."

[* To open, to show, to apprehend, and to enter the perception of the Buddha-knowledge are termed the four perceptions of the Buddha-knowledge. Every creature originally has the buddha-nature, but buried beneath his ignorance and earthly cares it is invisible. In this sutra the Buddha teaches that all creatures can realise their own buddha-nature and teaches these four perceptions of the Buddha-knowledge.]

The Buddha addressed Shariputra: "The buddha-tathagatas teach only bodhisattvas. Whatever they do is always for one purpose, that is, to take the Buddha-knowledge and reveal it to all living beings. Shariputra! The Tathagata, by means of the One Buddha-vehicle*, preaches to all living beings the Law; there is no other vehicle, neither a second nor a third. Shariputra! The laws of all the buddhas in the universe also are like this. Shariputra! The buddhas in times past, by infinite, numberless tactful ways and with various reasonings and parabolic expressions, expounded the laws for the sake of all living beings. All these laws are for the One Buddha-vehicle, so that all those living beings, who have heard the Law from the buddhas, might all finally obtain perfect knowledge.

[* Also called the One-vehicle and the Buddha-vehicle. "Vehicle" (Sanskrit yana) means a vehicle by which one reaches the goal, the Law taught and practised by the Buddha. It is interpreted as 1. the Law by which one obtains buddhahood and 2. those who practice that Law. The Buddha spoke of many kinds of vehicles--the two vehicles, the three vehicles, the five vehicles, and so on. The One Buddha-vehicle means the Law taught and practised as the one and only Buddha-way, and also refers to those who follow that Law. This teaching includes two concepts of the vehicle, as relative and as absolute. The One Buddha-vehicle, considered as relative, is a vehicle that is explained correlatively with other kinds of vehicles. In such cases the One Buddha-vehicle refers to one of those vehicles; the term used in this sense is found in all the Mahayana sutras. In this chapter, however, the Buddha proclaims that such teachings are all temporary and expedient, for use only until he reveals the final truth. Here the absolute One Buddha-vehicle is shown as the final truth, comprehending all temporary and expedient teachings. After this absolute One Buddha-vehicle has been revealed, none of the other vehicles is to exist independently; all Buddhism is to depend upon and be unified in it. Only this sutra contains this doctrine, and is therefore known as the One-vehicle sutra (the one-doctrine teaching).]

"Shariputra! The future buddhas who are to appear in the world will also, by infinite, numberless tactful ways and with various reasonings and parabolic expressions, expound the laws for the sake of all living beings. All these laws are for the One Buddha-vehicle, [so that] all those living beings who hear the Law from the buddhas shall finally obtain perfect knowledge.

"Shariputra! The buddhas, the world-honoured ones, at present in innumerable hundred thousand myriad kotis of buddha-lands in the universe, who are so greatly benefiting and rejoicing all living beings, these buddhas, by infinite, numberless tactful ways and with various reasonings and parabolic expressions, also expound the laws for the sake of all living beings. All these laws are for the One Buddha-vehicle, [so that] all those living beings who hear the Law from the buddhas finally obtain perfect knowledge.

"Shariputra! All these buddhas teach only bodhisattvas, desiring to show all living beings the Buddha-knowledge, desiring to cause all living beings to apprehend the Buddha-knowledge, and desiring to cause all living beings to enter the Way of the Buddha-knowledge. Shariputra! I, at the present time, am also like them. Knowing that all living beings have many kinds of desires deeply attached in their minds, I have, according to their capacity, expounded the laws by various reasonings, parabolic expressions, and tactful powers. Shariputra! Such [teachings] all are in order to secure perfect knowledge of the One Buddha-vehicle. Shariputra! In the whole universe there are not even two vehicles*, how much less a third**

[*The vehicles of the shravaka (disciple) and pratyekabuddha (The pratyekabuddha is an individual who independently achieves liberation, enlightenment, wisdom, without the aid of teachers or guides and without teaching others to do the same.);

** The third vehicle is that of the bodhisattva (any person who is far advanced on the path towards Buddhahood, the total enlightenment.).].

"Shariputra! The buddhas appear in the evil ages of the five decays, that is to say, decay of the kalpa, decay through tribulations, decay of all living creatures, decay of views, and decay of lifetime. Thus, Shariputra! Because in the disturbed times of kalpa decay all living beings are very vile, being covetous and envious, bringing to maturity every root of badness, the buddhas by tactful powers in the One Buddha-vehicle discriminate and expound the three. Shariputra! If my disciples who call themselves arhats or pratyekabuddhas will neither hear nor understand that the buddha-tathagatas teach only bodhisattvas, these are not the Buddha's disciples nor arhats nor pratyekabuddhas.

"Again, Shariputra! If those bhikshus and bhikshunis who claim that they have already become arhats and say: 'This is our last bodily state before final nirvana,' and thereupon do not again devote themselves to seek after Perfect Enlightenment, you must know that this class are all extremely conceited. Wherefore? Because there is no such thing as a bhikshu who has really obtained arhatship if he has not believed this Law. But there is an exceptional case when, after the Buddha's extinction, there is no other buddha present. Wherefore? Because after the Buddha's extinction it is hard to find persons who can receive and keep, read and recite, and explain the meaning of such sutras as these. Only if they meet other buddhas can they, in this same Law, obtain the solution. Shariputra! You should with all your heart believe and discern, receive and keep the word of the Buddha. No word of the buddha-tathagatas is false; there is no other vehicle, but only the One Buddha-vehicle." At that time the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"Bhikshus and bhikshunis Obsessed by utmost arrogance, Upasakas filled with self-conceit, Upasikas with unbelief, Four groups such as these, Five thousand in number, Perceiving not their errors And faults in the commandments, Careful only of their flaws: Such small wit they showed, These dregs of the assembly, who Because of the Buddha's splendid virtue withdrew; These men of little virtuous happiness Are incapable of receiving this Law.

Now this assembly has no twigs and leaves, But only those who are true and real. Shariputra! Listen carefully to The laws obtained by the buddhas, which, By infinite tactful powers, They expound for all creatures. What they all entertain in their minds, All the ways they practice, How many kinds are their desires, And their former karmas, good and evil, The Buddha knows all these perfectly.

With various reasonings and parables, Terms and tactful powers, He causes them all to rejoice, Preaching either sutras, Or gathas, or former things [Literally, "original events"; stories of previous lives of saints, such as shravakas and bodhisattvas.], Or birth stories [Stories detailing the former lives of the Buddha.], or the unprecedented [Literally, "what never took place before," that is, marvels.], And also preaching by reasonings, By parables [Literally,*

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"comparisons of parables."] and geyas, And by upadesha scriptures.

[Literally, "causes and reasons," or primary and secondary causes; the chain of cause and effect of all existence, in which there are twelve links (see Glossary). This also refers to the three classes of sutras: those written because of a request or query, those written because of certain violated precepts, and those written because of special events that demand doctrinal clarification.]*

The dull who delight in petty rules [Literally, "small law." Here it means the Hinayana.], Who are greedily attached to existence, Who, under innumerable buddhas, Do not walk the profound and mystic Way, Who are harassed by all the sufferings--Because of these I preach nirvana. I have set up such tactful ways To enable them to enter the Buddha-wisdom.

But I have never said: 'You all Shall accomplish the Buddha-way.' The reason why I have never so said Is that the time for saying it had not arrived. But now is the very time, And I have resolved to preach the Great-vehicle.

These nine divisions of my Law Preached according to [the capacity] of all creatures Are but the introduction to the Great-vehicle, Hence I preach this sutra. [The nine divisions of Hinayana texts, arranged according to subject. The nine divisions are sutras, stanzas, former things, birth stories, the unprecedented, reasonings, parables, chants, and doctrinal discourses.]*

There are sons of the Buddha whose minds are pure, Who are gentle and clever-natured, And who, in innumerable Buddha-regions, Have walked the profound and mystic Way; On behalf of these sons of the Buddha I preach this Great-vehicle sutra. And I predict that such men as these In the world to come will accomplish the Buddha-way.

Through their deep-hearted mindfulness of the Buddha And observance of the pure commandments, These, hearing that they may become buddhas, Are filled throughout with great joy. The Buddha knows their mind and conduct, And therefore preaches to them the Great-vehicle. If shravakas or bodhisattvas Hear the Law which I preach, Even be it but one verse, All, without doubt, become buddhas.

In the buddha-lands of the universe There is only the One-vehicle Law, Neither a second nor a third, Except the tactful teachings of the Buddha. But by provisional expressions He has led all living creatures, Revealing the Buddha-wisdom. In the appearing of buddhas in the world Only this One is the real fact, For the other two are not the true.

They never by a smaller vehicle [The Hinayana; or basic doctrines.] Save all living creatures. The Buddha himself abides in the Great-vehicle, In accordance with the Law he has attained, Enriched with powers of meditation and wisdom, And by it [The Great-vehicle, or Mahayana.] he saves all creatures. I, proving the supreme Way, The Great-vehicle, the universal Law, If I convert by a smaller vehicle Even but one human being, I shall fall into grudging-- A thing that cannot be.

If men turn in faith to the Buddha, The Tathagata will not deceive them, For he has no covetous and envious desires And is free from all the sins of the laws. So the Buddha, in the universe, Is the one being perfectly fearless. I, by my signs-adorned body [This refers to the thirty-two signs that distinguish a buddha.], With their shining illuminate the world, And am worshiped by countless multitudes, For whom I preach the seal of reality. [The seal of the Law, a system of magic gesticulaton. Here it means that the teaching of the Reality of All Existence in this sutra is the Buddha's seal.] Know, Shariputra! Of yore I made a vow, Wishing to cause all creatures To rank equally without difference with me. According to the vow I made of old, Now all has been perfectly fulfilled For converting all living beings And leading them to enter the Buddha-way.

Whenever I meet any creatures I teach them all by the Buddha-way. But the unwitting remain confused And, going astray, never accept my teaching. I know that all these creatures Have never practised the fundamental goodness, Are firmly attached to the five desires, And through infatuation are in distress; By reason of these desires, They have fallen into the three evil paths; Transmigrating in the six states of existence, They suffer the utmost misery.

Received into the womb in minute form, Life after life they ever increase and grow, Poor in virtue and of little happiness. They are oppressed by all the distresses; They have entered the thickets of heretical views, Such as 'existence' or 'nonexistence' [* "There is," or being, existence, and "There is not," or non-being, non-existence. The former is the view that all is real, the latter that all is unreal. These are two schools of non-Buddhist thought. Originally, Buddhism was merely a kind of Hindu-sect, just like many hundred others. The word "heretical" here suggests a vicious fight among the religious and philosophical streams in India but also in Buddhism itself. After Emperor Ashoka had made Buddhism the main state religion, his sometimes radical interpretation and execution of Buddhist convictions, such as banning of meat entirely, brought the Hindu majority to fight against them. Buddhism as state religion did crumble shortly after Ashokas death as their teachings, focussing only on monastic life and asceticim, were considered an enemy of ordinary family life and unrealistic, and therefore they were despised by Hindus. In the end, the Buddhists lost this fight, they were expelled from most Indian Kingdoms and their temples destroyed.]; Relying on these false views, Altogether sixty-two [The sixty-two views arise out of the above two views, that is, of existence and nonexistence.], They are deeply attached to these false laws, Firmly holding, unable to give them up, Self-sufficient and self-inflated, Suspicious, crooked, and faithless in mind; During thousands and milliards of kalpas They have not heard the name of a buddha, Nor have they heard the True Law; Men such as these can hardly be saved.*

For this reason, Shariputra, I set up a tactful way for them, Proclaiming the way to end sufferings, Revealing it through nirvana. Though I proclaim nirvana, Yet it is not real extinction. All existence, from the beginning, Is ever of the nirvana-nature. [* Or "laws." These two lines may be read: "All and any laws from the very first have always been those of nirvana."]*

When a son of the Buddha has fulfilled his course, In a world to come he becomes a buddha. Only by my powers of tactfulness Do I manifest the three-vehicle Law. For all the world-honoured ones Expound the One-vehicle Way.

Now let all in this great assembly Be free from doubts and perplexities. The buddhas do not differ in their statements; There is One only and no second vehicle. In the past countless kalpas Innumerable extinct buddhas, In hundreds, thousands, and milliards, Whose numbers cannot be counted, All such world-honoured ones as these With various reasonings and parables And innumerable tactful powers Have proclaimed the various laws.

But all these world-honoured ones Proclaimed the One-vehicle Law, Converting numberless creatures To enter the Buddha-way. Moreover, the great holy masters, Knowing that which all the worlds Of gods, men, and other creatures Deeply desire in their hearts, In addition, by varying tactfulness, Assist in revealing the first principles.

If there are any beings Who have met the former buddhas; If, having heard the Law, they have given donations; If they have kept the commandments and been persevering, Been assiduous, meditative, and wise; Having kept these various ways of happiness and virtue, Such beings as these Have all attained the Buddha-way.

After the extinction of buddhas, Men with good and soft minds for the truth, Such living beings as these Have all attained the Buddha-way. After the extinction of buddhas, Those who worshiped their relics And built many kotis of sorts of stupas, With gold, silver, and crystal, With moonstone and agate, With jasper and lapis lazuli, Clearly and broadly decorated, Handsomely displayed on every stupa; Or those who built stone shrines Of sandalwood and aloes, Eaglewood and other woods, Of brick, tiles, and clay; Or those who in the wilds Raised earth for buddhas' shrines; Even children, in their play, Who gathered sand for a buddha's stupa: All such beings as these Have attained the Buddha-way.

If men for the sake of buddhas Have erected images Carved with the characteristic signs, They have all attained the Buddha-way. Or those who with the precious seven, With brass, red and white copper, With wax, lead, and tin, With iron, wood, and clay, Or with glue and lacquer Have adorned and made buddhas' images, All such ones as these Have attained the Buddha-way. Those who have painted buddhas' images With the hundred blessing-adorned signs, Whether done by themselves or by employing others, Have all attained the Buddha-way. Even boys in their play Who with reed, wood, or pen Or with the fingernail Have drawn buddhas' images, All such ones as these, Gradually accumulating merit And perfecting hearts of great pity, Have attained the Buddha-way; Indeed, by influencing the bodhisattvas, Have saved countless creatures.

If men to the stupas and shrines, To the precious images and paintings, With flowers, incense, flags, and umbrellas Have paid homage with respectful hearts; Or employed others to perform music, Beat drums, blow horns and conchs, Panpipes and flutes, play lutes, harps, Guitars, gongs, and cymbals, Such mystic sounds as these, All played by way of homage; Or with joyful hearts By singing have extolled the merits of buddhas Even though in but a low voice, These too have attained the Buddha-way. Even anyone who, with distracted mind, With but a single flower Has paid homage to the painted images Shall gradually see countless buddhas. Or those who have offered worship, Were it by merely folding the hands, Or even raising a hand, Or by slightly bending the head, By thus paying homage to the images Gradually see innumerable buddhas, Attain the supreme Way, Extensively save countless creatures, And enter the formless nirvana, As when firewood is finished the fire dies out. If any, even with distracted mind, Enter a stupa or temple And cry but once 'Namah Buddha,' They have attained the Buddha-way.

If any from the buddhas of the past, Whether in existence or already extinct, Have heard this Law, They have all attained the Buddha-way. All the future world-honoured ones, Infinite in their number, All these tathagatas Also by tactful ways preach the Law. All of the tathagatas By infinite tactful ways Save all living creatures To enter the Buddha's faultless wisdom. Of those who hear the Law Not one fails to become a buddha. This is the original vow of the buddhas: 'By the Buddha-way which I walk, I desire universally to cause all creatures To attain the same Way along with me.' Though the buddhas in future ages Proclaim hundreds, thousands, kotis, Countless schools of doctrine, In reality they are but the One-vehicle. The buddhas, the honoured ones, Know that nothing has an independent existence And that buddha-seeds** spring from a cause***, So they reveal the One-vehicle.*

[Literally, "laws [or beings] are always non-nature." This means that no existing thing has its own fixed or independent nature and body. That is to say, all existing things are inconceivable and mysterious.]*

*[** The buddha-seed is the buddha-nature possessed by all things. This includes two concepts: 1. the natural seed, or nature-seed, is the buddha-seed that all existing things, even beings in hell, originally possess, but it has no independent power to appear of itself; 2. the vehicle-seed is the buddha-seed by which the natural seed is caused to appear. The latter is the Law of the One Buddha-vehicle revealed in this sutra.*

*[*** The natural seed can only be developed through the teaching and practice of the Law of the One Buddha-vehicle. The buddha-nature of all beings depends upon this Law, climbs up by it, and appears through its help or by reason of it. Here "cause" may be read as "providence." The two lines from "Know" to "cause" differ from the extant Sanskrit text, probably because of a difference in the original texts used.]*

All things abide in their fixed order, Hence the world abides forever.*

[This translation follows the interpretation of the T'ien-t'ai sect, but it may also be read: "These stable laws and order [are] / Immovable [and] ever abide in the world," because the extant Sanskrit text reads: "dharma-sthitim dharma-niyamatam ca / nitya-sthitam loki imam akampyam." According to Chih-i, dharma-niyamata, law-order or fixed position, indicates suchness. That is, every law (or being) abide in suchness or reality. Because of standing on reality, all laws (or beings) abide forever, and therefore every phenomenon also has an unshakable and everlasting existence.]*

Having apprehended this on the wisdom throne, The leaders proclaim it in tactful ways.

Whom gods and men pay homage to, The present buddhas in the universe, Whose number is as the sands of the Ganges, And who appear in the world For the relief of all creatures, These also proclaim such a Law as this. Knowing the supreme nirvana, Though by reason of their tactful powers They display various kinds of ways, Really they are but the One Buddha-vehicle.

Knowing the conduct of all creatures, What they entertain in their deepest minds, The karma they have developed in the past, Their inclinations and zeal, And their capacities, keen or dull, With various kinds of reasonings, Parables, and narrations, As they could respond, so have they tactfully taught.

Now I also in like manner For the relief of all creatures By various kinds of doctrine Promulgate the Buddha-way.

I, by my power of wisdom, Knowing the natures and inclinations of creatures, Tactfully proclaim the laws Whic] cause all to obtain gladness. Know, Shariputra!

I, observing with the Buddha's eyes, See the creatures in the six states of existence, Poor and without happiness and wisdom, In the dangerous path of mortality, In continuous, unending misery, Firmly fettered by the five desires Like the yak caring for its tail, Smothered by greed and infatuation, Blinded and seeing nothing; They seek not the Buddha, the mighty, And the Law to end sufferings, But deeply fall into heresies, And seek by suffering to be rid of suffering.

For the sake of all these creatures, My heart is stirred with great pity. When I first sat on the wisdom throne, Looking at [that] tree and walking about it During thrice seven days, I pondered such matters as these: 'The wisdom which I have obtained Is wonderful and supreme.

But all creatures are dull in their capacities, Pleasure-attached and blind with ignorance.

Such classes of beings as these, I saw, how can they be saved?' Thereupon all the Brahma kings And Lord Shakra of all the gods, The four heavenly beings who protect the worlds, Also the god Great Sovereign And all the other heavenly beings, With hundreds of thousands of myriads of followers, Respectfully saluted with folded hands, Entreating me to roll the wheel of the Law. ["To roll the wheel of the Law" means to teach the Law. The first sermon of the Buddha in particular is designated by this term.]

Then I pondered within myself: 'If I only extol the Buddha-vehicle, All creatures, being sunk in suffering, Will not be able to believe this Law, And by breaking the Law through unbelief Will fall into the three evil paths. I had rather not preach the Law, But instantly enter nirvana.' Then, on remembering what former buddhas Performed by their tactful powers, I thought:] 'The Way which I have now attained I must preach as the tripartite vehicle.' While I was pondering thus, All the buddhas in the universe appeared And, with sacred voice, cheered me in response: 'Excellent! Shakyamuni!

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The first of leaders! Having attained this supreme Law, Thou art following after all the buddhas In using tactful powers. We, too, have all attained This most wonderful, supreme Law, But for the sake of the many kinds of creatures, We divide and preach it in three vehicles.

Those of little wisdom delight in petty laws, Not believing that they can become buddhas, Hence we, by tactful ways, Divide and preach the [natural] results. Though we also proclaim the three vehicles, It is only for teaching the bodhisattvas.' Know, Shariputra! Hearing the voices of the Holy Lions, Profoundly clear and mystic, I saluted them, 'Namah buddhas,' [This may be translated "Hail to the buddhas!"] And again reflected thus: 'Having come forth into the disturbed and evil world, I, according to the buddhas' behest, Will also obediently proceed.' Having finished pondering this matter, I instantly went to Varanasi. The nirvana-nature of all existence, Which is inexpressible, I by my tactful ability Preached to the five bhikshus. [The five ascetics who had been Shakyamuni's companions before his enlightenment: Ajnata-Kaundinya, Ashvajit, Vashpa, Mahanaman, and Bhadrika.]

This is called [the first] rolling of the Law-wheel, Whereupon there was the news of nirvana [Literally, "nirvana-sound" or "voice of nirvana"; that is, the term "nirvana" (enlightenment) was uttered.] And also the separate names of Arhat, Of Law, and of Samgha. [That is, the terms "Arhat" (Buddha), "Dharma" (Law, or Teaching), and "Samgha" (assemblage of monks) successively came into being.]

From distant kalpas onward I have extolled and indicated the Law of nirvana For the perpetual end of mortal distress; Thus have I continuously spoken. Know, Shariputra! When I saw the Buddha-sons Bent on seeking the Buddha-way, In countless thousands and myriads of kotis, All, with reverent hearts, Draw near to [me] the Buddha; They had already heard from the buddhas The Law which they tactfully explained.

Then I conceived this thought: 'The reason why the Tathagata appears Is for preaching the Buddha-wisdom; Now is the very time.' Know, Shariputra! The stupid and those of little wit, The tied to externals and the proud Cannot believe this Law.

But now I am glad and fearless; In the midst of the bodhisattvas Frankly put aside tactfulness And only proclaim the supreme Way. You bodhisattvas hearing this Law, Having all got rid of the nets of doubts, You twelve hundred arhats Will all become buddhas. In the same fashion that the buddhas, Past, present, and future, preach the Law, So also will I now Proclaim the undivided Law. The appearing of buddhas in the world Is far apart and of rare occurrence, And when they do appear in the world, With equal rareness do they proclaim this Law. Even in infinite countless kalpas, Rarely may this Law be heard; And those who are able to listen to this Law, Men such as these are also rare. It is like the udumbara flower, Which all love and enjoy, Seldom seen by gods and men, Appearing but once in [long] periods.

So he who, hearing the Law, extols it joyfully And utters but one single word of it Has already paid homage to All the buddhas in the three worlds. Such a one is exceedingly rare, Rarer than the udumbara flower. Be you free from doubts; I am the king of the Law And declare to all the assembly: 'I, only by the One-vehicle Way, Teach the bodhisattvas, And have no shravaka disciples.'*

Know, all of you, Shariputra, Shravakas, and bodhisattvas, That this Wonderful Law Is the mystery of all the buddhas. Because the evil world of the five decadences Only delights in sensual attachments, Its creatures such as these Never seek the Buddha-way. The wicked in generations to come, Who hear the One-vehicle preached by the Buddha, In their delusion and unbelief Will break the Law and fall into evil ways. But there are beings, modest and pure, Devoted to seeking the Buddha-way; For such as these I must Widely extol the One-vehicle Way.

*Know, Shariputra! The Law of the buddhas is thus: By myriads of kotis of tactful ways They proclaim the Law as opportunity serves. But those who will not learn Are not able to discern it. But you already know The expedient tactful ways of The buddhas, the leaders of the world. Have no further doubts; Rejoice greatly in your hearts, Knowing that you will become buddhas."**

HERE ENDS THE FIRST BUNCH OF WORDS

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 3

A Parable

At that time Shariputra, ecstatic with joy, instantly rose up, folded his hands, and looking up at the honourable face, spoke to the Buddha, saying: "Now, hearing the sound of the Law from the World-honoured One, I am filled with ecstasy, obtaining that which I have never experienced before. Wherefore? Because of yore when I heard of such a Law as this from the Buddha and saw bodhisattvas who were predicted to become buddhas, we were never prepared for these things and greatly distressed ourselves at having lost the Tathagata's infinite knowledge. World-honoured One! Constantly when dwelling alone in mountain forests or under trees, whether sitting or walking, I was occupied with this thought: 'We equally have entered the Law-nature. ["Law-nature" here means the mind-emptiness that is sought by shravakas and pratyekabuddhas.] But why does the Tathagata save us by the small-vehicle law?' This is our own fault, not the World-honoured One's. Wherefore? Because had we attended to his preaching in regard to the accomplishment of Perfect Enlightenment, we should certainly have been delivered by the Great-vehicle. Whereas we, not understanding [his] tactful method of opportune preaching, on first hearing the Buddha-law only casually believed, pondered, and bore witness to it. World-honoured One! Ever since then I have passed whole days and nights in self-reproach. But now, on hearing from the Buddha the unprecedented Law which I have never before heard, I have ended all my doubts and regrets, am at ease in body and mind, and am happily at rest. Today I indeed know that I am really a son of the Buddha, born from the mouth of the Buddha, evolved from the Law, and have obtained a place in the Buddha-law." At that time Shariputra, desiring to announce this meaning over again, spoke thus in verse:

"I, hearing the voice of the Law, Have obtained the unprecedented; My heart is full of joy And all nets of doubts are gone. From of yore have I received the Buddha's teaching And shall not miss the Great-vehicle.

The voice of the Buddha is very precious, Able to rid all creatures of distress. I, now freed from imperfections, Hearing it, am also rid of anxiety. When dwelling in mountain valleys Or abiding under forest trees, Whether sitting or walking to and fro,

I ever pondered on this matter And deeply accused myself, lamenting: 'Why am I so self-deluding? We also are Buddha-sons Who have equally entered the faultless Law, Yet we cannot, in the future, Proclaim the supreme Way. The golden thirty-two signs, The ten powers and [eight] emancipations Are all included in the one Law, Yet I do not attain them. The eighty kinds of excellence, The eighteen unique characteristics, Merits such as these I have entirely missed.' [* The eighty kinds of physical beauty and other special characteristics of a buddha.]*

When alone I was walking to and fro And saw the Buddha in the great assembly, His fame filling the universe, Abundantly benefiting all creatures, I thought I had lost this advantage And that I had deluded myself. Always by day and by night I ever pondered these things, Desiring to ask the World-honoured One Whether I had lost my opportunity or not. Ever did I see the World-honoured One Extolling the bodhisattvas; Therefore by day and night I have pondered such things as these.

Now I hear the voice of the Buddha Opportunely preaching the Law, Faultless and inscrutable, Which causes all to reach the wisdom throne. Formerly I was attached to heretical views, eing a teacher of heretical mendicants. [The Chinese translation uses the equivalent of the Sanskrit brahmacarin, literally, "descendant of purity": a young Brahman who is a student of the Vedas under a preceptor or who practices chastity; a young Brahman before marriage, that is, in the first period of his life.]

The World-honoured One, knowing my heart, Uprooted my heresy and taught me nirvana. Thus having completely freed myself from heretical views And obtained proof of the Law of the Void, Then in my mind I said to myself: 'I have attained extinction.'

But now I have perceived This is not the real extinction. Whenever one becomes a buddha, He possesses all the thirty-two signs; Gods, men, and yakshas, Dragons and other spirits revere him.

Then it may be said: 'Extinction is forever complete, nothing remaining.' The Buddha in the great assembly Proclaims that I shall become a buddha. Hearing such a voice of the Law, All doubts and regrets have been removed.

On first hearing the Buddha's preaching, In my mind there was fear and doubt Lest it might be Mara acting as Buddha, Distressing and confusing my mind. But when] the Buddha, with various reasonings And parables, speaks so skillfully, One's heart is peaceful as the sea. On hearing, my nets of doubts were broken. The Buddha preaches that the infinite, extinct Buddhas of past worlds Calmly established and in tactful ways All likewise expounded this Law.

The present and future buddhas, Countless in their numbers, Also with tactful ways Proclaim such a Law as this. The present World-honoured One, After his birth and leaving home, Having gained the Way and rolled the Law-wheel, Also has preached with tactfulness. It is the World-honoured One who preaches the true Way; The Evil One has no such truths as these. Hence I know for certain that This is not Mara acting as Buddha, But because I had fallen into nets of doubts, I conceived it as the doing of Mara. [* Sanskrit "Papiyas," another name for Mara, "the Evil One" or "the Evil of Evils."]*

Hearing the gentle voice of the Buddha, Profound and very refined, Expounding the pure Law, My heart is filled with joy, My doubts and regrets are forever ended, I am at rest in real wisdom. I am sure I shall become a buddha, Revered by gods and men, And rolling the supreme Law-wheel, Shall teach many bodhisattvas."

At that time the Buddha said to Shariputra: "Now I declare in this great assembly of gods, men, ascetics, Brahmans, and others. Of yore, in the presence of twenty thousand kotis of buddhas, for the sake of the supreme Way, I continuously taught you, while you also for long nights and days have followed me and received my teaching. By reason of my tactful guidance, you have been born into my Law. Shariputra! Of yore I caused you to resolve on the Buddha-way. But you have now entirely forgotten it and so consider that you have attained extinction. Now again desiring to cause you to recollect the Way which you originally resolved to follow, I preach for all the shravakas this Great-vehicle sutra called the Lotus Flower of the Wonderful Law, by which bodhisattvas are instructed and which the buddhas watch over and keep in mind.

"Shariputra! In a world to come, after infinite, boundless, and inconceivable kalpas, when you shall have served some thousand myriad kotis of buddhas, maintained the Right Law, and completed the way which bodhisattvas walk, you shall become a buddha whose title will be Flower Light Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, World-honoured One, and whose domain shall be named Undefiled, whose land will be level and straight, pure and ornate, peaceful and prosperous, replete with celestial people; with lapis lazuli for earth, having eight intersecting roads with golden cords to bound their cities, and by each road a line of precious-seven trees always [filled] with flowers and fruits. The Tathagata Flower Light also will teach and convert all living creatures by the three vehicles.

"Shariputra! When that buddha appears, though it is not in an evil age, he will preach the three-vehicle Law because of his original vow. Its kalpa will be named Ornate with Great Jewels. For what reason is it named Ornate with Great Jewels? Because in that domain the bodhisattvas are considered the great jewels. These bodhisattvas will be infinite, boundless, inconceivable, beyond computation or compare, such as none can apprehend who has not a buddha's wisdom. Whenever they walk, jewel flowers will receive their feet. These bodhisattvas will not have started in this conception for the first time, for all of them will have cultivated the roots of virtue for a long time, purely performing noble deeds under infinite hundred thousand myriad kotis of buddhas, being always praised by buddhas, constantly practicing the Buddha-wisdom, perfecting the great spiritually pervading power, knowing well the way of all the laws, and being upright and genuine in character, firm in will and thought. Such bodhisattvas as these will fill that domain.

"Shariputra! The lifetime of the Buddha Flower Light will be twelve minor kalpas, except the time during which he, being a prince, has not yet become a buddha. And the lifetime of the people of his domain will be eight minor kalpas. The Tathagata Flower Light, at the expiration of twelve minor kalpas, will predict the future destiny of the Bodhisattva Full of Firmness [Or: "Full of Perseverance."] to Perfect Enlightenment and will declare to all the bhikshus: 'This Bodhisattva Full of Firmness shall next become a buddha, whose title will be Calmly Walking on Flowery Feet Tathagata, Arhat, Samyaksambodhi. The domain of the buddha also will be of like character.'

"Shariputra! After the extinction of this Flower Light Buddha, the Righteous Law will abide in the world during thirty-two minor kalpas and [then] the Counterfeit Law will also abide in the world during thirty-two minor kalpas."

At that time the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"Shariputra! In an age to come, You shall become a buddha, honoured for universal wisdom, By name and title Flower Light, And you shall save innumerable creatures. [* Or: "honoured attainer of universal wisdom."] Paying homage to numberless buddhas, Perfecting bodhisattva-actions And the merits of the ten powers and so on, It shall be evident that you have attained the supreme Way.*

After infinite kalpas have passed There will be a kalpa named Ornate with Great Jewels,

And a world named Undefiled, Pure and flawless, With lapis lazuli for its ground, With golden cords defining its ways, With trees variegated by the precious seven, Always having flowers and fruits.

All the bodhisattvas of that domain, Ever firm in will and thought, Of supernatural powers and paramitas All in complete possession, Under numberless buddhas Having well learned the bodhisattva-way: Such leaders as these Shall be converted by the Buddha Flower Light. That buddha, when he is a prince, Will abandon his domain and give up earthly glory, And in his last bodily existence Will leave home and achieve the Buddha-way. The Buddha Flower Light will dwell in the world For a lifetime of twelve minor kalpas, And the people of his domain Will live for eight minor kalpas.

After that buddha's extinction [physical death] The Righteous Law will abide in the world For thirty-two minor

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kalpas, Widely saving living creatures. At the expiration of Righteous Law, The Counterfeit Law will abide for thirty-two minor kalpas. His relics will be widely dispersed, Universally worshiped by gods and men. The doings of the Buddha Flower Light, Such as these will be his deeds. That most holy honoured of men, Most excellent and incomparable, He is really you yourself; Therefore rejoice and be glad."

At that time all the four groups of bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, and upasikas, and gods, dragons, yakshas, gandharvas, asuras, garudas, kimnaras, mahoragas, and others, all the great assembly, seeing that Shariputra in the presence of the Buddha had received his prediction of Perfect Enlightenment, rejoiced greatly in unbounded ecstasy, each divesting himself of the robe he wore and offering it in homage to the Buddha, while Shakra Devendra, the Lord Brahma, and others, with countless divine sons, also paid homage to the Buddha with wonderful heavenly robes and celestial mandarava flowers, maha-mandarava flowers, and so on. The celestial robes bestrewed, remaining in the sky, whirled round of themselves and hundreds of thousands of myriads of sorts of heavenly musical instruments all at once made music in the sky. And, raining numerous heavenly flowers, they uttered these words: "Of old at Varanasi the Buddha first rolled the wheel of the Law and now again rolls the supreme and greatest Law-wheel." Thereupon all the divine sons, desiring to announce this meaning over again, spoke [thus] in verse:

"Of old, at Varanasi, Thou didst roll the Law-wheel of the Four Noble Truths And discriminately preach the laws Of the rise and extinction of the five aggregates, And now again thou dost roll the most wonderful, Supreme, great wheel of the Law, The Law which is extremely profound And which few are able to believe.

We for a long time past Have often heard the World-honoured One preach, But we have never before heard such A profound, mystic, and supreme Law. The World-honoured One preaching this Law, We all follow it with joy. The great wise Shariputra Now has received the Honoured One's prediction.

We also in like manner Must certainly become buddhas, Who in all worlds Are the most honoured and peerless. The Buddha-way is beyond conception And is preached by opportune tactful methods. May all our happy karma In the present world or past worlds, And the merit of seeing the Buddha, All turn to the Way of buddhahood."

Thereupon Shariputra spoke to the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! I now have no doubts or regrets. In person, before the Buddha, I have received my prediction of Perfect Enlightenment. But these twelve hundred self-controlled ones, who of yore abode in the four stages of learning [Also called the four holy stages, or the four fruits, of shravakas.], were always instructed by the Buddha, saying: 'My Law is able to give freedom from birth, decrepitude, disease, and death, and the final attainment of nirvana.' Each of these who are under training and no longer under training is also free from false views about the self and about 'existence' or 'nonexistence,' and considers he has attained nirvana. But now, in the presence of the Buddha, hearing that which they have never heard before, they have all fallen into doubts and perplexities. Good! World-honoured One! Please state the reasons to the four groups so that they may be free from doubts and regrets."

Then the Buddha spoke to Shariputra: "Have I not before said that the buddhas, the world-honoured ones, by various reasonings, parables, and terms preach the Law tactfully, all for the purpose of Perfect Enlightenment? All these teachings are for the purpose of transforming bodhisattvas. But Shariputra! Let me now again in a parable make this meaning still more clear, for intelligent people through a parable reach understanding.

"Shariputra! Suppose in a certain kingdom, city, or town there is a great elder, old and worn, of boundless wealth, and possessing many fields, houses, slaves, and servants. His house is spacious and large, having only one door, and with many people dwelling in it, one hundred, two hundred, or even five hundred in number. Its halls and chambers are decayed and old, its walls crumbling, the bases of its pillars rotten, the beams and rooftree toppling and dangerous. On every side at the same moment fire suddenly starts and the house is in flames. The sons of the elder, say ten, twenty, or even thirty, are in this dwelling. The elder, on seeing this conflagration spring up on every side, is greatly startled and reflects thus: 'Though I am able to get safely out of this burning house, yet my children in the burning house are pleasurably absorbed in amusements, without apprehension, knowledge, surprise, or fear. Though the fire is pressing upon them and pain and suffering are imminent, they do not mind or fear and have no impulse to escape.'

"Shariputra! This elder ponders thus: 'I am strong in my body and arms. Shall I get them out of the house by means of a flower vessel [A symbol of the wisdom of the Buddha.], or a bench [A symbol of the four fearlessnesses of the Buddha.], or a table?' [A symbol of the ten powers of the Buddha.]

Again he ponders: 'This house has only one gate; moreover, it is narrow and small; my children are young, knowing nothing as yet and attached to their place of play; perchance they will fall into and be burned in the fire. I must speak to them on this dreadful matter, warning them that the house is burning and that they must come out instantly lest they be burned and injured by the fire.' Having reflected thus, according to his thoughts, he notifies his children: 'Come out quickly, all of you!'

"Though the father, in his pity, lures and admonishes with kind words, yet the children, joyfully attached to their play, are unwilling to believe him and have neither surprise nor fear, nor any mind to escape; moreover, they do not know what is the fire he means, or what the house, and what he means by being lost, but only run hither and thither in play, glancing at their father. Then the elder reflects thus: 'This house is burning in a great conflagration. If I and my children do not get out at once, we shall certainly be burned up by it. Let me now by some tactful means cause my children to escape this disaster.' Knowing that to which each of his children is predisposed and all the various attractive playthings and curiosities to which their natures will joyfully respond, the father informs them, saying: 'The things with which you are fond of playing, so rare and precious--if you do not [come and] get them, you will be sorry for it afterward. Such a variety of goat carts, deer carts, and bullock carts is now outside the gate to play with. All of you must come quickly out of this burning house, and I will give you whatever you want.' Thereupon the children, learning of the attractive playthings mentioned by their father, and because they suit their wishes, every one eagerly, each pushing the other and racing against each other, comes scrambling out of the burning house.

"Then the elder, seeing his children have safely escaped and are all in the square, sits down in the open, no longer troubled but with a mind at ease and ecstatic with joy. Then each of the children says to their father: 'Father! Please now give us those lovely things you promised us to play with, goat carts, deer carts, and bullock carts.' Shariputra! Then the elder gives to each of his children equally a great cart, lofty and spacious, adorned with all the precious things, surrounded with railed seats, hung with bells on its four sides, and covered with curtains, splendidly decorated also with various rare and precious things, linked with strings of precious stones, hung with garlands of flowers, thickly spread with beautiful mats, supplied with rosy pillows, yoked with white bullocks of pure [white] skin, of handsome appearance, and of great muscular power, which walk with even steps and with the speed of the wind, having also many servants and followers to guard them. Wherefore? Because this great elder is of boundless wealth and all his various treasuries and granaries are full to overflowing. So he reflects thus: 'My possessions being boundless, I must not give my children inferior small carts. All these children are my sons, whom I love without partiality. Having such great carts made of the precious seven, infinite in number, I should with equal mind bestow them on each one without discrimination. Wherefore? Because if I gave them to the whole nation, these things of mine would not run short--how much less to my children!' Meanwhile each of the children rides on his great cart, having got that which he had never had before and never expected to have. Shariputra! What is your opinion? Has that elder, in giving great carts of the precious substances to his children equally, been somewhat guilty of falsehood?"

Shariputra said: "No, World-honoured One! That elder only caused his children to escape the disaster of fire and preserved their bodies alive--he committed no falsity. Why? He has in such a manner preserved their bodies alive and also they have obtained those playthings; how much more by tactful means has he saved them from that burning house! World-honoured One! Even if that elder did not give them one of the smallest carts, still he is not false. Wherefore? Because that elder from the first formed this intention: 'I will by tactful means cause my children to escape.' For this reason he is not false. How much less so seeing that this elder, knowing his own boundless wealth and desiring to benefit his children, gives them great carts equally!"

The Buddha said to Shariputra: "Good! Good! It is even as you say. Shariputra! The Tathagata is also like this, for he is the father of all worlds, who has forever entirely ended all his fear, despondency, distress, ignorance, and umbrageous darkness and has perfected his boundless knowledge, powers, and fearlessness; is possessed of great spiritual power and wisdom; has completely attained the paramitas of tactfulness and wisdom; who is the greatly merciful and greatly compassionate, ever tireless, ever seeking the good, and benefiting all beings. And he is born in this triple world, the old decayed burning house, to save all living creatures from the fires of birth, old age, disease, death, grief, suffering, foolishness, darkness, and the three poisons, and teach them to obtain Perfect Enlightenment. He sees how all living creatures are scorched by the fires of birth, old age, disease, death, grief, and sorrow, and suffer various kinds of distress by reason of the five desires and the greed for gain; and how, by reason of the attachments of desire and its pursuits, they now endure much suffering and hereafter will suffer in hell, or as animals or hungry spirits; even if they are born in a heaven, or amongst men, there are such various kinds of sufferings as poverty, distress, separation from loved ones, and union with hateful beings. Absorbed in these things, all living creatures rejoice and take their pleasure, while they neither apprehend nor perceive, are neither alarmed nor fear, and are without satiety, never seeking to escape but in the burning house of this triple world running about hither and thither, and although they will meet with great suffering, count it not a cause for anxiety.

"Shariputra! The Buddha, having seen this, then reflects thus: 'I am the father of all creatures and I must snatch them from suffering and give them the bliss of the infinite, boundless Buddha-wisdom for them to play with.'

"Shariputra! The Tathagata again reflects thus: 'If I only use spiritual power and wisdom, casting aside every tactful method, and extol for the sake of all living creatures the wisdom, powers, and fearlessness of the Tathagata, living creatures cannot by this method be saved. Wherefore? As long as all these creatures have never escaped birth, old age, disease, death, grief, and suffering, but are being burned in the burning house of the triple world, how can they understand the Buddha-wisdom?'

"Shariputra! Even as that elder, though with power in body and arms, yet does not use it but only by diligent tact resolutely saves his children from the calamity of the burning house and then gives each of them great carts made of precious things, so is it with the Tathagata; though he has power and fearlessness, he does not use them, but only by his wise tact does he remove and save all living creatures from the burning house of the triple world, preaching the three vehicles: the shravaka, pratyekabuddha, and Buddha vehicles. And thus he speaks to them: 'All of you! Do not delight to dwell in the burning house of the triple world. Do not hanker after its crude forms, sounds, odours, flavours, and contacts. For if, through hankering, you beget a love of it, then you will be burned by it. Get you out of the triple world and attain to the three vehicles, the shravaka, pratyekabuddha, and Buddha vehicles. I now give you my pledge for this, and it will never prove false. Do you only be diligent and zealous!' By these tactful means does the Tathagata lure all creatures forth, and again speaks thus: 'Know ye! All these three vehicles are praised by sages; in them you will be free and independent, without wanting to rely on anything else. Riding in these three vehicles, by means of perfect faculties [The five roots.], powers [The five powers.], perceptions [The seven degrees of intelligence.], ways [The Eightfold Path.], concentrations, emancipations, and contemplations, you will as a matter of course be happy and gain infinite peace and joy.'

"Shariputra! If there are living beings who have a spirit of wisdom within and, following the Buddha, the World-honoured One, hear the Law, receive it in faith, and zealously make progress, desiring speedily to escape from the triple world and seeking nirvana for themselves, these will have the vehicle [doctrine] named the shravaka-vehicle, just as some of those children come out of the burning house for the sake of a goat cart. If there are living beings who, following the Buddha, the World-honoured One, hear the Law, receive it in faith, and zealously make progress, seeking self-gained wisdom [Natural wisdom, obtained without a teacher.], delighting in the tranquillity of their individual goodness, and deeply versed in the causes and reasons of the laws, these will have the vehicle [doctrine] named the pratyekabuddha-vehicle [solitary buddha doctrine, just as some of those children come out of the burning house for the sake of a deer cart. If there are living beings who, following the Buddha, the World-honoured One, hear the law, receive it in faith, diligently practice, and zealously advance, seeking the complete wisdom, the wisdom of the Buddha, the natural wisdom, the wisdom without a teacher, and the knowledge, powers, and fearlessness of the Tathagata, who take pity on and comfort innumerable creatures, benefit gods and men, and save all beings, these will have the vehicle [doctrine] named the Great-vehicle. Because the bodhisattvas seek this vehicle, they are named mahasattvas. They are like those children who come out of the burning house for the sake of a bullock cart.

"Shariputra! Just as that elder, seeing his children get out of the burning house safely to a place free from fear, and, pondering on his immeasurable wealth, gives each of his children a great cart, so also is it with the Tathagata. Being the father of all living creatures, if he sees infinite thousands of kotis of creatures by the teaching of the Buddha escape from the suffering of the triple world, from fearful and perilous paths, and gain the joys of nirvana, the Tathagata then reflects thus: 'I possess infinite, boundless wisdom, power, fearlessness, and other Law-treasuries of buddhas. All these living creatures are my sons to whom I will equally give the Great-vehicle, so that there will be no one who gains an individual nirvana [Literally, "gain extinction (nirvana) alone," that is, individualism as contrasted with the universalism of Mahayana.], but all gain nirvana by the same nirvana as the Tathagata. All these living creatures who

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escape the triple world are given the playthings of buddhas, concentrations, emancipations, and others, all of one form and one kind, praised by sages and able to produce pure, supreme pleasure.' Shariputra! Even as that elder at first attracted his children by the three carts and afterward gave them only a great cart magnificently adorned with precious things and supremely restful, yet that elder is not guilty of falsehood, so also is it with the Tathagata: there is no falsehood in first preaching three vehicles to attract all living creatures and afterward saving by the Great-vehicle only. Wherefore? Because the Tathagata possesses infinite wisdom, power, fearlessness, and the treasury of the laws, and is able to give all living creatures the Great-vehicle Law, but not all are able to receive it. Shariputra! For this reason know that the buddhas, by their tactful powers, in the One Buddha-vehicle discriminate and expound the three." The Buddha, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"Suppose there is an elder Who has a large house, And for long this house has been old,

Is also falling and decayed, With lofty halls in dangerous condition, Pillar bases broken and rotten, Beams and rooftree toppling and leaning, Foundation and steps in a state of collapse, Walls and partitions ruined and cracked, Their plaster crumbling away, Thatch in disorder and dropping, Rafters and eaves awry and slipping, Its surrounding fences bent and distorted, Filled with all kinds of refuse.

Five hundred people Are dwelling within it. Owls, hawks, and vultures, Crows, magpies, pigeons, doves, Black snakes, vipers, scorpions, Centipedes, millipedes, Geckos, galley worms, Weasels, ferrets, rats, and mice, All sorts of evil creatures, Run about in every direction; There are places stinking with excrement and urine, Overflowing with uncleanliness, Where dung beetles and worms Flock together.

Foxes, wolves, and jackals Bite and trample each other To gnaw human carcasses, Scattering their bones and flesh. Following these, packs of dogs Come, striving to snatch and grab, And gaunt with hunger skulk about Seeking food everywhere, Quarreling and scuffling, Snarling and barking. Such is the fearfulness of that house Full of variety.

In every direction there are Goblins and ogres, [Hill demons, house demons, and water demons.] Yakshas and malign demons, Who devour the flesh of men; All sorts of venomous insects And evil birds and brutes Hatch or suckle their broods, Each hiding and protecting its own; Yakshas come striving with each other To seize and eat them; When they have eaten their fill, Their evil minds become inflamed, And the sound of their quarreling Is dreadful in the extreme Kumbhanda demons Crouch on the earth and mould, Sometimes springing from the ground A foot or two high, Wandering about to and fro, Giving full rein to their sports; Seizing dogs by their feet, Striking them so that they lose their voices, Twisting their legs around their necks, Frightening dogs for their own amusement.

Also there are demons Tall of stature, Naked, black, and lean, Always dwelling in that house, Who emit great and dreadful sounds, Bellowing in search of food. Again there are demons With throats narrow as a needle.

And there are demons With heads like a bullock's. Some eat human flesh, Some devour dogs; Their locks are all disheveled, They are cruel and fiendish, and, oppressed by hunger and thirst, Race about crying and calling.

Yakshas and hungry ghosts, Evil birds and brutes Hungrily hurry in all directions, Peeping and looking through window and lattice. Such are its plagues, Terrible beyond measure. This decaying old house Belongs to a man Who has just gone outside But a little while ago, Whereupon that house Of a sudden catches fire. All at once, in every direction, Its flames are in full blaze; Rooftree, beams, rafters, pillars With cracking sound burst open, Break, split, and topple down; Walls and partitions crumble.

Demons and spirits Bellow and cry aloud; Hawks, vultures, and other birds, Kumbhanda demons and others Hurry about in alarm, Powerless to escape. Evil beasts and venomous insects Hide away in holes and cavities; Pishacaka demons Also take up their abode therein. For lack of merits They are driven by the fire, Cruelly hurting each other, Supping and devouring each other's flesh and blood.

Creatures of the jackal tribe Are already dead in herds. The bigger evil beasts Come striving to devour them. Fetid smoke and bursting flames Fill and choke the surrounding air. Centipedes and millipedes And all kinds of venomous snakes, Burned by the fire, Run contending from their holes. Kumbhanda demons Thereon seize and eat them. And hungry demons, Their heads ablaze with fire, Tormented with hunger, thirst, and heat, Rush about confused and in distress.

Such is the state of that house, Dreadful in the extreme, With horrid calamities and conflagration And disasters not a few. At this very time the master of the house Is standing outside the gate, When he hears someone saying: 'All of your children A little while ago in their play Came into this house In their youth and ignorance, Enjoying themselves with their amusements.'

On hearing this, the elder In alarm enters the burning house, With intent to save them From the harm of burning. So he tells his children Of all the [impending] dangers, saying: 'There are evil demons and venomous worms, And calamitous fire is spreading; Sufferings upon sufferings Follow each other unceasing; Venomous snakes and vipers, All kinds of yakshas, Kumbhanda demons, Jackals, foxes, and dogs, Hawks, vultures, owls, And all sorts of galley worms Are tormented by hunger and thirst And to be feared in the extreme. Even these distresses are hard to deal with; How much more this conflagration?'

The children, unheeding, Though they hear their father's admonition, Remain attached to their pleasures And do not stop their play. Thereupon the elder Begins to reflect thus: 'My children, [acting] in this manner, Add to my anxiety and distress. Now this house really Has nothing to delight in, Yet all my children, Bewitched by their play, Take no notice of my instructions And will be injured by the fire.'

Instantly he ponders, Arranges a device, And says to his children: 'I have many varieties Of rare playthings, Excellent carts wonderfully bejeweled, Goat carts and deer carts And great bullock carts, Now all just outside the door; Come out, all of you! I, for your sakes, Have made these carts. You may roam and play with them At your own will and pleasure.'

When the children hear him tell Of such carts as these, They immediately rush in rivalry, Scampering forth, And reach the open ground, Away from harm. The elder, seeing his children Escape from the burning house, Takes his place in the square, Sitting on the lion throne, And congratulates himself, saying: 'Now I am joyful.

All these children, Brought up with so much difficulty, Stupid, little, and ignorant, Entered this dangerous house, Abounding with venomous worms And fearful goblins.

Conflagrations and raging flames Broke out on every side, But all these children were Fascinated by their play. Now I have rescued them And caused them to escape from harm. Therefore, all you people! Now I am joyful.'

Then the children, Knowing their father is sitting at ease, All come to the father And speak to the father, saying: 'Please give to us The three kinds of precious carts As you promised, saying: "If you children come out, I will give you three carts And you can choose whichever you like." Now is the very time; Be pleased to give them to us.' The elder is very rich And has treasuries full of Gold, silver, lapis lazuli, Moonstone, and agate.

With all kinds of precious things He has made great carts, Magnificently adorned and splendidly decorated, Surrounded with railed seats, Hung with bells on every side, Strung with golden cords, And with networks of pearls Spread over them; Festoons of golden flowers Hang down here and there; Many colours and varied decorations Surround and encircle; Soft silks and silk floss Make the cushions; The best quality of fine felt, Worth thousands of kotis, Snow white and pure, Is spread above the cushions.

There are great white bullocks, Sleek, strong, and active, Of finest shape, Yoked to the precious carts; There are numerous retinues Tending and guarding them. These excellent carts Are equally given to all the children. Then the children, Ecstatic with joy, Riding these precious carts, Roam in every direction, Playing joyfully Just as they wish, without hindrance.

I tell you, Shariputra! I also am like this, The most honoured of all the sages, The father of the world; All living beings Are my sons But are deeply attached to earthly pleasures And without wisdom. The triple world is not safe, Just as the burning house, Full of all kinds of sufferings, Was greatly to be feared. Ever there are distresses of birth, Old age, disease, and death; Such fires as these Are burning ceaselessly.

The Tathagata, freed from The burning house of the triple world, Tranquilly lives in seclusion, Abiding in peace in the woodland. Now this triple world All is my domain; The living beings in it All are my sons. But now this place Abounds with distresses; And I alone Am able to save and protect them. [The passage "Now this triple world . . . protect them" is called the preaching of the Three Merits of Shakyamuni Buddha: 1. his merit as lord, because the triple world is his possession or domain; 2. his merit as leader or teacher, because he alone saves all living creatures; and 3. his merit as father, because all are his sons.]

Though I taught and admonished them, Yet they did not believe, For they were imbued with desires To which they were greedily attached. Therefore, tactfully I tell them of the three vehicles Which cause all living beings To know the sufferings of the triple world, And reveal and expound The way of escaping from the world.

If all these sons Are resolved in their minds, They will perfectly have the three clear views And the six transcendent faculties, And will become pratyekabuddhas Or bodhisattvas who never slide back. [The lines "If all these sons . . . who never slide back" are translated according to the Japanese rendering but can also be translated as follows: "If all these sons / Are resolved in their minds, / Perfect in the three clear views / And the six transcendent faculties, / Becoming pratyekabuddhas / Or never-backsliding bodhisattvas . . ."] Shariputra! I, for the sake of all beings, By means of this parable Preach the One Buddha-vehicle.

If all of you are able To receive these words in faith, You shall all be able To accomplish the Buddha-way. This vehicle is wonderful, Pure, and supreme; In all the worlds There is nothing more exalted; It is that which the Buddha rejoices in And which all living creatures Should praise, Worship, and adore. Infinite thousands of kotis Of powers, emancipations, Meditations, and wisdom, And the Buddha's other laws: Such is the vehicle provided [or: "obtain such a vehicle as this."] To cause all my sons, Night and day for many kalpas, Ever to take their recreation in it, With bodhisattvas As well as shravakas Riding in this precious vehicle Directly to the wisdom throne.

For these causes and reasons, Though one searches in every direction, There is no other vehicle [doctrine] Except the Buddha's device. [The Buddha's teaching principles, eg. The 4 Noble Truths, The 8-fold Paths, the 5 Precepts, etc..] I tell you, Shariputra! All you people Are my sons; I then am father. You, for successive kalpas (aeons) Burning in many sufferings, Have I wholly rescued, That you may escape the triple world.

Though I previously preached that You would attain extinction, You have only become free from birth and death, And have not attained real extinction. What you have now to do Is only to attain the Buddha-wisdom. If there be any bodhisattvas Amongst this assembly, Be you able wholeheartedly to obey The real Law of the buddhas.

Though buddhas, world-honoured ones, Convert by tactful methods, Yet living creatures transformed by them Are all bodhisattvas. If there are any of little wit Who are deeply attached to desires and passions, The Buddha for their sake Preaches the truth of suffering.

All the living with joyful hearts Attain the unprecedented. The truth of suffering preached by the Buddha Is real without differentiation. If there are any living beings Who do not know the source of suffering, Deeply attached to the cause of suffering, And unable to forsake it even for a moment, The Buddha for the sake of them Preaches the Way [The Eightfold Path.] by tactful methods, saying: 'The cause of all suffering Is rooted in desire.'

If desire be extinguished, Suffering has no foothold. To annihilate all suffering Is called the third truth. For the sake of the truth of extinction To observe and walk in the Way, Forsaking all bonds of suffering, This is called the attaining of emancipation.

From what have these people Attained emancipation? Merely to depart from the false Is called emancipation. But they have not yet really attained Entire emancipation.

So the Buddha declares that these people Have not yet really reached extinction. Because these people have not yet gained The supreme Way, I am unwilling to declare That they have attained extinction.

I am the king of the Law, Absolute in regard to the Law, Pacifying all creatures, And therefore appear in the world. Shariputra! This my seal of the Law, [The seal of the Law is the same as the seal of reality.] Because of my desire to benefit All the world, is [now] expounded Wherever you roam; Do not recklessly proclaim it. If there be any hearers Who joyfully receive with profound obeisance [To receive, carrying the folded hands to the top of the head as a sign of utmost reverence.], You may know these people Are of avivartika. If there be any who receive This sutra-law in faith, These people must have already Seen buddhas of past times, Revered and worshiped them, And heard this Law.

If there be any people who are able To believe your preaching, They must have seen me And also seen you And these bhikshus [Male and female monastics], As well as these bodhisattvas [any person who is on the path towards Buddhahood.]. [* Or "As I also have been seen by you and the bhikshus and bodhisattvas."] This Law-Flower Sutra Is preached for men of profound wisdom. [Or "For its profound wisdom is preached."] Men of shallow knowledge, hearing it, Go astray, not understanding. All the shravakas And pratyekabuddhas Cannot by their powers Attain this sutra. Shariputra! Even you into this sutra Can only enter by faith; How much more difficult for the other shravakas. All the other shravakas, Because of believing the Buddha's words, Obediently follow this sutra; But it is not that they themselves have knowledge. Again, Shariputra!*

[In the following passage the so-called "fourteen sins of slandering the Law" are expounded. These are fundamental causes of falling into the Avici hell: haughtiness, neglect, self-centeredness, shallowness, sensuality, irrationality, unbelief, sullenness, doubting, slander, scorning goodness, hating goodness, jealousy of goodness, and grudging goodness.]

To those who are haughty and lazy And to those with self-centered views, Do not preach this sutra. Common shallow people Deeply attached to the five desires, Who on hearing cannot apprehend, Do not preach it to them. If any people do not believe in And vilify this sutra, Then they cut [themselves] off from all The buddha-seeds in the worlds; [Or "Then they cut off / The buddha-seeds in all the worlds."] Or if again they sullenly frown, And cherish doubts and perplexities, Listen to my declaration Concerning the recompense of such people's sin: Whether during the Buddha's lifetime Or after his extinction, If there be any who slander Such a sutra as this,

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Who, seeing those who read and recite, Write or hold this sutra, Scorn and despise, hate and envy them And bear them a tenacious grudge.

Concerning the recompense of such people's sin, Listen now again: After their lifetimes end They will enter into the Avici hell For a complete kalpa, Being born again at each kalpa's end And thus revolving In innumerable kalpas; When they come out of hell, They will be degraded to animals, Such as dogs or jackals, With lean-cheeked forms, Blue-black, with scabs and sores, Knocked about by men; Moreover, by men Hated and scorned, Constantly suffering hunger and thirst, Bones and flesh withered. During life beaten with thorns [Literally, "Alive receiving thorn poison."] And after death with potsherds and stones, Because of cutting [themselves] off from the buddha-seed They receive such recompense for their sin. Perhaps they become camels, Or are born amongst asses, Always carrying burdens on their backs, Being beaten with sticks, Thinking only of water and grass, Knowing nothing else.

Because of slandering this sutra teaching, Such is their punishment. Some[times] becoming jackals, They enter a village, Their bodies scabbed with sores, Having not even an eye, By all the boys Beaten and stoned, Suffering bitter pains, At times even beaten to death.

When they have thus died, Again they each receive a serpent's body Of a shape as long as Five hundred yojanas [A yojana is about 12-15 km / 7-9 mi.]. Deaf and stupid, without feet, They wriggle about on their bellies, By many kinds of insects Stung and devoured, Day and night in misery, With never any rest.

Because of slandering this sutra, Such is their punishment. Should they become human beings, Their powers of life are blunted, Short and ugly, palsied and lame, Blind, deaf, and humpbacked; Whatever they may say, People do not believe; Their breath is vile, They are possessed by demons, They are needy and menial, Ordered about by others, Often ill and emaciated, Having none on whom to rely; Though they are dependent on others, These take no notice of them; Even if they gain anything, They instantly forget and lose it; If they make use of means of healing And follow the usual methods of treatment, Other ailments will only be added, Or, again, they will cause [their patients] to die; If they themselves are ill, None will save and cure them; Though they take good medicine, Their disease becomes increasingly severe; If other people cause rebellion, And plunder and rob, For such crimes as these The retribution pervertedly falls on them. Such sinners as these Never see the Buddha, The king of all the holy ones, Who preaches the Law, instructs, and transforms. Such sinners as these Are always born in distress; Mad, deaf, and confused in mind, They never hear the Law; During kalpas innumerable As the sands of the Ganges, Whenever they are born they are deaf and dumb And with deficient natural powers; They constantly dwell in the hells As their pleasure gardens, Or in other evil states As their dwellings; Among asses, hogs, and dogs Are the places where they must go. Because of slandering this sutra, Such is their punishment. If they become human beings, They are deaf, blind, and dumb, Poor, needy, and feeble, As their own ornament; Dropsy and scurf, Scabs, sores, and abscesses, All such ills as these Will be there apparel.

Their bodies are always fetid abodes, Filthy and unclean; They are deeply absorbed in themselves, They become angrier and angrier, Their carnal passions are utterly inflamed, They are no better than animals; Because of slandering this sutra, Such is their punishment. I say to you, Shariputra! Those who slander this sutra his teachings, If I told the tale of their evils, I could not exhaust them in a whole kalpa. For this cause and reason I especially say to you: Amongst undiscerning people, Do not preach this sutra. If there be any who are clever, Of clear wisdom, Learned and of strong memory, Who seek after the Buddha-way, To such people as these, Then, you may preach it.

If any have ever seen Hundreds of thousands of kotis of buddhas, Cultivated many roots of goodness, And been firm in their innermost minds, To such people as these, Then, you may preach it. If any have zealously progressed, Constantly maintained kindly hearts, And never spared body and life, Then you may preach it to them. If any have been reverent, With unvarying mind, Having left all the ignorant And dwelt alone in mountains and swamps, To such people as these, Then, you may preach it. Again, Shariputra! If you see any Who give up bad friends And make friends of the good, To such people as these, Then, you may preach it. If you see Buddha-sons Who keep the commands in purity, Like pure bright jewels, Who seek the Great-vehicle sutra, To such people as these Then, you may preach it. If any be free from irascibility, Of upright character and patient, Always compassionate to all beings And reverent to the buddhas, To such people as these, Then, you may preach it. Further, if there be Buddha-sons Who, in the general assembly, With pure hearts, By various reasonings, Parables, and expressions, Expound the Law without hesitation, To such people as these Then, you may preach it.

If there be bhikshus Who, for the sake of perfect knowledge, Seek the Law in every direction, Folding their hands in profound obeisance, Only pleased to receive and keep The Great-vehicle sutra, Even without accepting A single verse of any other sutra, To such people as these, Then, you may preach it. Like a man who with all his mind Seeks for the Buddha's relics, So those who seek the sutra and, Having obtained it, receive it with profound obeisance, And who are not again Bent on seeking other sutras, And also have never minded Books of other philosophies, To such people as these Then, you may preach it. I say to you, Shariputra! Were I to speak in detail of all these kinds Of seekers after the Buddha-way, In a whole kalpa I could not finish. Such people as these Are able to believe and discern. You should to them preach The Sutra of the Flower of the Wonderful Law."

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 4

Faith Discernment*

[The title of this chapter can also be translated "Discernment Resulting from Faith" or "Discernment by Faith."]

At that time the wisdom-destined Subhuti, Maha-Katyayana, Maha-Kashyapa, and Maha-Maudgalyayana, hearing from the Buddha the unprecedented Law and the prediction by the World-honoured One of Shariputra's future destiny of Perfect Enlightenment, were struck with wonder and ecstatic with joy. Thereupon they rose from their seats, and, arranging their garments, humbly baring their right shoulders, placing their right knees on the ground, with one mind folding their hands, bending their bodies in reverence, and gazing upon his honoured face, addressed the Buddha, saying:

"We, heads of the monks, in years moreover worn out, consider that we have attained nirvana, and that there is nothing more we are able to undertake, so we do not press forward to seek after Perfect Enlightenment. The World-honoured One for a long time has been preaching the Law, and we all the time seated in our places have become weary in our bodies and neglectful, only thinking of the void, of the formless, and of nonfunction*, but in regard to the bodhisattva-laws, their supernatural displays, the purifying of the buddha-lands, and the perfecting of all living beings, our hearts have not taken delight. [* These are three Hinayana ideas, called "the three gates of emancipation [or wisdom]" or "the three samadhis": to contemplate the fundamental nature of all existence 1. as void or immaterial, 2. as formless, and 3. as functionless.] Wherefore? Because we have fancied that the World-honoured One had caused us to escape the triple world and to obtain proof of nirvana, and besides, now we are so worn with age that in regard to Perfect Enlightenment, for which the Buddha instructs bodhisattvas, we have not conceived a single fond thought of joy. Now we, in the presence of the Buddha, hearing that shravakas are predicted to [attain] Perfect Enlightenment, are extremely glad in our minds and have obtained that which we have never experienced before. Unexpectedly we now of a sudden hear this rare Law. Profoundly do we congratulate ourselves on having acquired so great and good a gain, an inestimable jewel, without the seeking. World-honoured One! Now let us have the pleasure of speaking in a parable to make plain this meaning.

"It is like a man who, in his youth, leaves his father and runs away. For long he dwells in some other country, for ten, twenty, or fifty years. The older he grows, the more needy he becomes. Roaming about in all directions to seek clothing and food, he gradually wanders along till he unexpectedly approaches his native country. From the first the father searched for this son, but in vain, and meanwhile settled in a certain city. His home became very rich, his goods and treasures incalculable: gold, silver, lapis lazuli, coral, amber, crystal, and other gems, so that his granaries and treasuries overflow; he has many youths and slaves, retainers and attendants, and numberless elephants, horses, carriages, animals to ride, cows, and sheep. His revenues and investments spread to other countries, and his traders and customers are many in the extreme.

"At this time the poor son, wandering through village after village and passing through countries and cities, at last reaches the city where his father has settled. The father has always been thinking of his son, and though he has been parted from him over fifty years, he has never spoken of the matter to anyone, only pondering it himself and cherishing regret in his heart as he reflects: 'Old and worn, I own much wealth--gold, silver, and jewels, granaries and treasuries overflowing--but I have no son. Someday my end will come and my wealth will be scattered and lost, for there is no one to whom I can leave it.' Thus does he earnestly, whenever he thinks of his son, repeat this reflection: 'If I could only get [back] my son and commit my wealth to him, how contented and happy should I be, with never any more anxiety!'

"World-honoured One! Meanwhile the poor son, hired for wages here and there, unexpectedly arrives at his father's house. Standing by the gate, he sees from afar his father seated on a lion couch, his feet on a jeweled footstool, revered and surrounded by Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and citizens, and with strings of pearl worth thousands and myriads adorning his body; attendants and young slaves with white fly whisks wait upon him right and left; he is covered by a precious canopy from which hang streamers of flowers; perfume is sprinkled on the earth, all kinds of famous flowers are scattered around, and precious things are placed in rows; some he accepts, others he rejects. Such is his glory, and the honour of his dignity. The poor son, seeing his father possessed of such great power, was seized with fear, regretting that he had come to this place, and secretly reflected thus: 'This must be a king or someone of royal rank; it is no place for me to obtain anything for the hire of my labour. I had better go to some poor hamlet, where there is a place to hire out my labour, and food and clothing are easier to get. If I tarry here long, I may suffer oppression and forced labour.'

"Having reflected thus, he hastily runs away. Meanwhile the rich elder on his lion seat has recognised his son at first sight and with great joy in his mind has thus reflected: 'Now I have the one to whom my treasuries of wealth are to be made over. Always have I been thinking of this my son, with no means of seeing him; but suddenly he himself has come and my longing is satisfied. Though worn with years, I still yearn for him.'

"Instantly he dispatches his attendants to rush after him and fetch him back. Thereupon the messengers hasten forth to seize him. The poor son, surprised and scared, loudly cries his complaint: 'I have committed no offense against you; why should I be arrested?' The messengers all the more hasten to lay hold of him and compel him to go back. Thereupon the poor son thinks to himself that though he is innocent yet he will be imprisoned, and that will certainly mean his death, so that he is all the more terrified, faints away, and falls on the ground. The father, seeing this from afar, gives the messengers his word: 'There is no need for this man. Do not fetch him by force. Sprinkle cold water on his face to restore him to consciousness and do not speak to him any further!' [Or "He sprinkles cold water . . . does not speak . . ." and so on.] Wherefore? The father, knowing that his son's disposition is inferior, knowing that his own lordly position has caused distress to his son, yet profoundly assured that he is his son, tactfully says nothing to others that this is his son. A messenger says to the son: 'I now set you free; go wherever you will.' The poor son is delighted, thus obtaining the unexpected. He rises from the ground and goes to a poor hamlet in search of food and clothing.

"Then the elder, desiring to attract his son, sets up a device. Secretly he sends two men of doleful and undignified appearance, saying: 'You go and visit that place and gently say to the poor man: "There is a place for you to work here; you will be given double wages." If the poor man agrees, bring him back and give him work. If he asks what work do you wish him to do, then you may say to him: "It is for removing a heap of dirt that we hire you, and we both also would work along with you."' Then the two messengers went in search of the poor son and, having found him, placed before him the above proposal. Thereupon the poor son, having received his wages beforehand, joins with them in removing the dirt heap. His father, beholding the son, is struck with compassion for and wonder at him.

"Another day he sees at a distance through a window his son's figure, gaunt, lean, and doleful, filthy and unclean from the piles of dirt and dust; thereupon he takes off his strings of jewels, his soft attire and ornaments, and puts on again a coarse, torn, and dirty garment, smears his body with dust, takes a dustpan in his right hand, and with an appearance of fear [or: "with an appearance of sternness."] says to the labourers: 'Get on with your work, don't be lazy.' By such a device he gets near his son, to whom he soon afterward says: 'Aye, my man, you stay and work here, do not go again elsewhere; I will increase your wages; whatever you need, bowls, utensils, rice, wheat flour, salt, vinegar, and so on; have no hesitation; besides, there is an old and worn-out servant whom you shall be given if you need him. Be at ease in your mind; I am as it were your father; do not be worried again. Wherefore? I am old and advanced in years, but you are young and vigorous; all the time you have been working, you have never been deceitful, lazy, angry, or grumbling; I have never seen you have such vices as these, like the other labourers. From this time forth you shall be as my own begotten son.'

"Thereupon the elder gives him a name anew and calls him a son. Then the poor son, though he rejoices at this happening, still thinks of himself as a humble hireling. For this reason, for twenty years he continues to be employed for removing dirt. After this period, there is confidence between them and he goes in and out and at his ease, though his abode is still the original place.

"World-honoured One! Then the elder becomes ill and, knowing that he will shortly die, says to the poor son: 'Now I possess abundant gold, silver, and precious things, and my granaries and treasuries are full to overflowing. The quantities of these things, and the amounts which should be received and given, I want you to understand in detail. Such is my mind. Do you agree to this my will. Wherefore? Because

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now I and you are of the same mind. Be increasingly mindful so that there be no waste.'

"Then the poor son accepts his instructions and commands, and becomes acquainted with all the goods, gold, silver, and precious things, as well as all the granaries and treasuries, but has no idea of expecting to receive as much as a meal, while his abode is still the original place and his sense of inferiority too he is still unable to abandon.

"After a short time has passed, again the father, knowing that his son's ideas have gradually been enlarged and his will well developed, and that he despises his previous state of mind, on seeing that his own end is near, commands his son to come and at the same time gathers together his relatives, and the kings, ministers, Kshatriyas, and citizens. When they are all assembled, he thereupon addresses them, saying: 'Know, gentlemen, this is my son begotten by me. It is over fifty years since, from a certain city, he left me and ran away to endure loneliness and misery. His former name was so and so and my name is so and so. At that time in that city I sought him sorrowfully. Suddenly in this place I met and regained him. This is really my son and I am really his father. Now all the wealth which I possess belongs entirely to my son, and all my previous disbursements and receipts are known by this son.'

"World-honoured One! When the poor son heard these words of his father, great was his joy at such unexpected news, and thus he thought: 'Without any mind for or effort on my part these treasures now come of themselves to me.'

"World-honoured One! The very rich elder is the Tathagata and we all are as the Buddha's sons. The Tathagata has always declared that we are his sons. World-honoured One! Because of the three sufferings, in the midst of births and deaths we have borne all kinds of torments, being deluded and ignorant and enjoying our attachment to trifles. Today the World-honoured One has caused us to ponder over and remove the dirt of all diverting discussions of inferior laws or things. In these we have been diligent to make progress and have got but a day's pay for our effort to reach nirvana. [Or "[to make progress and] reach nirvana as our day's hire."] Having got this, we greatly rejoiced and were contented, saying to ourselves: 'For our diligence and progress in the Buddha-law what we have received is ample.' But the World-honoured One, knowing beforehand that our minds were attached to low desires and delighted in inferior things, lets us go our own way and does not discriminate against us, saying: 'You shall yet have control of the treasury of Tathagata-knowledge.' The World-honoured One by his tactful power tells of the Tathagata-wisdom, but we, though following the Buddha and receiving but a day's wage of nirvana, have deemed it a great gain and never devoted ourselves to seeking after this Great-vehicle.

We also have declared and expounded the Tathagata-wisdom to bodhisattvas, but in regard to this Great-vehicle [great doctrine] we have never had a longing for it. Wherefore? The Buddha, knowing that our minds delight in inferior things, by his tactful power teaches according to our capacity, but still we do not perceive that we are really Buddha-sons. Now we have just realised that the World-honoured One does not begrudge the Buddha-wisdom. Wherefore? From of old we are really sons of the Buddha, but only have taken pleasure in minor matters; if we had had a mind to take pleasure in the great, the Buddha would have preached the Great-vehicle Law to us. Now he in this sutra preaches only the One-vehicle; and though formerly in the presence of bodhisattvas he spoke disparagingly of shravakas who were pleased with minor matters, yet the Buddha had in reality been instructing them in the Great-vehicle. Therefore we say that though we had no mind to hope or expect it, [yet] now the great treasure of the King of the Law has of itself come to us, and such things that Buddha-sons should obtain we have all obtained."

Then Maha-Kashyapa*, desiring to proclaim this meaning over again, [* Maha-Kashyapa may refer either to Buddha's secretary Devadatta (Ananda) or to Buddha's son Rahula. According to Buddhist tradition, Gautama Buddha (c. 563-483 BC*) and Rahula (c. 534-? or 451-? BC), just like Buddha's uncle (or elder cousin), the philosopher Mahavira (599–527 BC), have belonged to the Kshatriya dynasty, among Jains and Buddhists better known as Solar dynasty (Suryavanshi) or Ikshvaku dynasty which originates from the Northeast of India. [The range of dating is an estimate, another estimation sets the dating about 80 years later.]

The Buddha's name Shakyamuni contains his Family name "Sage of the Shakyas." The Shakya are a clan of Iron age India (1st millennium BC), inhabiting an area in Greater Magadha, situated at present-day southern Nepal and northern India, near the Himalaya. The Shakyas have ruled an independent oligarchic republican state known as Shakya Ganarajya. The Shakya dynasty still rules Nepal today. Its ancient capital Kapilavastu may have been located either near Tilaurakot in the Lumbini Province of southern Nepal (the Buddha's place of Birth) or present-day Piprahwa nearby, India. In Piprahwa is the Buddha's tomb, a massive pyramid-like Stupa discovered by British engineer William Claxton Peppe on his own land in January 1898.] spoke thus in verse:

"We on this day Have heard the Buddha's voice teach And are ecstatic with joy at Having obtained the unprecedented. The Buddha declares that we shravakas Will become buddhas; His peerless collection of treasures We have received without seeking. It is like a youth, Immature and ignorant, Who leaves his father and runs away To other lands far distant, Wandering about in many countries For over fifty years. His father, with anxious care, Searches in all directions. Wearied with his search, He abides in a certain city. Where he builds a house, Enjoying the pleasures of life; [Literally, "enjoying the five desires."] Very rich in his house, With abundance of gold and silver, Moonstones and agates [a rock or semi-gem of chalcedony and quartz, glittering in a large variety of colours], Pearls and lapis lazuli, Elephants, horses, oxen, and sheep, Palanquins, litters, carriages, Husbandmen, young slaves, And a multitude of people; His revenues and investments Spread even to other countries; His traders and customers Are found everywhere; A thousand myriad kotis of people Surround and honour him; Constantly by the king He is held in affection; All the ministers and noble families Honour him highly; For all these reasons His guests are many; Such are the abundance of his wealth And the greatness of his power. But his years are wearing away And he grieves the more over his son; Morning and night he ponders: 'The time of my death is approaching; My foolish son has left me For over fifty years; These things in my storehouses--What shall I do [with them]?' At that time the poor son Seeks food and clothing From city to city, From country to country, Sometimes getting something, Sometimes nothing; Famished, weak, and gaunt, Covered with scabs and sores, Gradually he passes along To the city where his father dwells.

Hired for wages he roams about, At last reaching his father's house. At that very hour the elder Within his gates Has set up a great jeweled curtain And sits on a lion seat Surrounded by his attendants, Everybody taking care of him.

Some are counting Gold, silver, and precious things, Others incoming and outgoing goods, Noting and recording bonds. The poor son, seeing his father So noble and splendid, Thinks: 'This must be a king Or one of royal rank.'

Alarmed and wondering, [he says]: 'Why have I come here?' Again he thinks to himself: 'If I tarry [here] long, I may suffer oppression And be driven to forced labour.' Having pondered thus, He runs off in haste In search of some poor place, That he may go and hire his labour.

At that time the elder On the lion seat, Seeing his son from afar, Secretly recognises him And instantly orders servants To pursue and fetch him back. The poor son cries in alarm, Faints away, and falls on the ground, saying: 'These men have caught me; I shall certainly be killed. Why, for food and clothing, Did I come here?'

The elder, knowing that his son, Being foolish and inferior, Will not believe in his word, Nor believe that he is his father, With tactful method Again dispatches other men, One-eyed, squat, common, And unimposing, saying: 'You go and tell him, Saying: "You be hired along with us To remove dirt and rubbish And you shall be given double wages."' The poor son hearing this Is glad, and comes with them, For the purpose of removing dirt And cleansing outhouses. The elder, through a lattice, Continually sees his son, And thinks of him as foolish And pleased with humble things. Then the elder, Donning a tattered dirty garment, Takes a dirt hod, Goes to where his son is, And by this device gets near him, Bidding him be diligent, saying: 'I have decided to increase your wages, Besides oil for your feet, And plenty of food and drink, And thick warm mats.' Then with sharp words he thus chides: 'Get you on with the work.' Again he speaks gently: 'You are as if you were my son.' The elder, being wise, Gradually causes him to go in and out, And after twenty years Employs him in house affairs, Showing him gold and silver, Pearls and crystal, And the incoming and outgoing of things; All these he makes him know. Still he dwells without, Lodging in a hovel, For himself thinking of penurious things, Saying: 'These things are not mine.' The father, knowing his son's mind Has gradually developed, And wishing to give him his wealth, Gathers together his relatives, Princes and ministers, Kshatriyas and citizens. In this great assembly, He announces: 'This is my son, Who left me and went elsewhere Fifty years ago; Since I saw my son arrive, Twenty years have passed.

Long ago in a certain city I lost this son; In wandering round in search of him, At last I arrived here. All that I have, Houses and people, I entirely give to him; He is free to use them as he will.' The son thinks of his former poverty And inferior disposition, Yet anew from his father Obtains such great treasures, Together with houses and buildings And all this wealth, And so rejoices greatly On receiving such unexpected fortune. So it is with the Buddha; Knowing that we are pleased with trifles, He did not before proclaim, 'You will become buddhas,' But said that we Who are attaining faultlessness And perfect in Hinayana Are his shravaka disciples. The Buddha commands us: 'Preach the most high Way, And that these who practice it Will become buddhas.' We, receiving the Buddha's teaching, For the sake of great bodhisattvas, By numerous reasonings, By various parables, And by so many expressions, Preach the supreme Way. The sons of the Buddha, Hearing the Law from us, Day and night ponder over And with unflagging zeal practice it. Then the buddhas Will predict of them: 'You, in a future generation, Shall become buddhas.' The mystic Law Of all the buddhas Can only to bodhisattvas Be expounded in full reality, So not to us till now Was this truth preached.

Just as that poor son Who came to be near his father, Though he knew all the goods, Had no hope of possessing them, So we, though we proclaimed The treasury of the Buddha-law, Yet had no will or wish for it, Being also like him. We, with the extinction of inward [fires], [Literally, "inside extinction," that is, the annihilation of all the earthly cares in one's mind.] Considered ourselves satisfied; Having thus settled this matter, Nothing more remained to be done. Even if we had heard Of the purification of buddha-lands And the conversion of living beings, We would never have rejoiced. And wherefore? Because we fancied that all things Were altogether void, Without birth, without extinction, Nothing large, nothing small, Without fault, without effort. Thinking thus, With no conception of joy, We, for long, Neither coveted nor were attached To the Buddha-wisdom, Nor had we any will or wish for it. But we, in regard to the Law, Considered we had reached finality.

We, for a long time Practicing the Law of the Void, Obtained release from the triple world's Distressing troubles, Dwelling in the final bodily state Of nirvana [in which form still] remains; Being instructed by the Buddha, we thought We had, without a doubt, attained the Way And that we had therefore Repaid the Buddha's grace. Though we, for the sake Of all Buddha-sons, Have preached the Bodhisattva-law That they should seek the Buddha-way, Yet we, in regard to this Law, [Some Chinese copies do not have this line, but the Japanese copies do.] Had never any wish or pleasure. Our Leader saw and let us alone, Because he looked into our minds; So at first he did not stir up our zeal By telling of the true gain. Just as the rich elder, Knowing his son's inferior disposition, By his tactfulness Subdues his mind, And afterward gives him All his wealth, So is it with the Buddha In his display of rarities. Knowing those who delight in trifles, And by his tactfulness Subduing their minds, He instructs them in the greater wisdom. Today we have obtained That which we have never had before; What we have not previously looked for Now we have unexpectedly obtained, Just as that poor son Obtained inestimable treasures. World-honoured One! Now we Have got the Way and got the fruit, And, in the faultless Law, Attained to clear vision. [The Buddha-wisdom.] We for long Having kept the Buddha's pure commands, Today for the first time Obtain their fruit and reward. In the Law of the Law-king, Having long practised holy deeds, [Literally, "brahma-conduct."] Now we have attained to the faultless, Peerless great fruit; Now we are Really hearers of the sound [Shravakas, disciples], Who cause all beings to hear The sound of the Buddha-way.

Now we are Really arhats, Who, in all the worlds Of gods, men, Maras, and Brahmans, Universally by them Are worthy of worship. The World-honoured One, in his great grace, By things which are rare Has compassion for and instructs And benefits us; Through countless kotis of kalpas, Who could repay him? Service by hands and feet, Homage with the head, All kinds of offerings, Are all unable to repay him. If one bore him on one's head, [Perhaps as a crown.] Or carried him on one's shoulders Through kalpas numerous as the sands of the Ganges; Or revered him with one's whole mind, Or with the best of food, Or garments of countless value And all kinds of bed things, Or every sort of medicament; Or with ox-head sandalwood And all kinds of jewels Erected stupas and monasteries; Or carpeted the ground with precious garments; With such things as these To pay homage Through kalpas as the sands of Ganges, Yet one would be unable to repay.*

[Sandalwood from Uttarakuru; this continent is said to be shaped like the head of an ox. This is a reference to Australia and the text is talking about Australian sandalwood (Santalum spicatum); as opposed to the ordinary Indian sandalwood (Santalum album). The trade routes were run by Austronesian catamaran fleets. (See: Grand Bible, pp. 3666, The Weilüe by Yu Huan, The Xiyu Juan by Fan Ye, Zhufan Zhi by Zhao Rukuo.) Uttarakuru was already mentioned in The Aitareya Brahmana of the Rigveda, in the Ramayana, and The Mahabharata glorifies Uttarakuru as a fairy land. Neither Indians nor Chinese knew the location as the Austronesians did not reveal their trade routes to anyone, as a kind of antique copyright.]

Buddhas rarely appear with their Infinite and boundless, [Or "Buddhas [possess] rare, infinite . . ."] Inconceivably Great transcendent powers; They are faultless and effortless, The kings of the Law, Who are able, for inferior minds, Patiently to bide their time in this matter, And for common folk attached to externals To preach as is befitting.

Buddhas in the Law Attain to supreme power. Knowing all living beings, With their various desires and pleasures, And their powers, So according to their capacities, By innumerable parables, They preach the Law to them. According as all living beings In past lives have planted good roots. The buddhas, knowing the mature And the immature,

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And taking account of each, Discriminating and understanding, In the One-vehicle, as may be befitting, They preach the three."

HERE ENDS THE SECOND BUNCH OF WORDS

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 5

The Parable of the Herbs

At that time the World-honoured One addressed Maha-Kashyapa and the other great disciples: "Good! Good! Kashyapa; you have well proclaimed the real merits of the Tathagata. Truly they are as you have said. The Tathagata, in addition, has infinite, boundless, innumerable merits, which if you spoke of for infinite kotis of kalpas you could not fully express. Know, Kashyapa! The Tathagata is the king of the Law. Whatever he declares is wholly free from falsity. He expounds all the laws by wise tactfulness. The Law preached by him all leads to the stage of perfect knowledge. The Tathagata sees and knows what is the good of all the laws and also knows what all living beings in their inmost hearts are doing; he penetrates them without hindrance. Moreover, in regard to all laws, having the utmost understanding of them, he reveals to all living beings the wisdom of perfect knowledge. [The state of all-knowing intelligence, that is, the Buddha-wisdom.]

"Kashyapa! Suppose, in the three-thousand-great-thousandfold world there are growing on the mountains, along the rivers and streams, in the valleys and on the land, plants, trees, thickets, forests, and medicinal herbs of various and numerous kinds, with names and colours all different. A dense cloud, spreading over and everywhere covering the whole three-thousand-great-thousandfold world, pours down its rain equally at the same time. Its moisture universally fertilizes the plants, trees, thickets, forests, and medicinal herbs, with their tiny roots, tiny stalks, tiny twigs, tiny leaves, their medium-sized roots, medium stalks, medium twigs, medium leaves, their big roots, big stalks, big twigs, and big leaves; every tree big or little, according to its superior, middle, or lower capacity, receives its share. From the rain of the one cloud each according to the nature of its kind acquires its development, opening its blossoms and bearing its fruit. Though produced in one soil and moistened by the same rain, yet these plants and trees are all different.

"Know, Kashyapa! The Tathagata is also like this; he appears in the world like the rising of that great cloud. Universally he extends his great call over the world of gods, men, and asuras, just as that great cloud everywhere covers the three thousand-great-thousandfold region. In the great assembly he sounds forth these words: 'I am the Tathagata, the Worshipful, the All Wise, the Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, the Well Departed, the Understander of the World, the Peerless Leader, the Controller, the Teacher of Gods and Men, the Buddha, the World-honoured One. Those who have not yet been saved I cause to be saved; those who have not been set free to be set free; those who have not yet been comforted to be comforted; those who have not yet obtained nirvana to obtain nirvana. [These four acts correspond with the four universal vows of a bodhisattva: 1. "I vow to save all living beings without limit"; 2. "I vow to end the numberless distresses"; 3. "I vow to know all laws without end"; 4. "I vow to accomplish the supreme Buddha-way."] I know the present world and the world to come as they really are. I am the All Knowing, the All Seeing, the Knower of the Way, the Opener of the Way, the Preacher of the Way. Come to me, all you gods, men, and asuras, to hear the Law.' At that moment numberless thousand myriad kotis of classes of living beings came to the Buddha to hear the Law. Thereupon the Tathagata, observing the natural powers of all these beings, keen or dull, zealous or indifferent, according to their capacity preached to them the Law in varying and unstinted ways, causing them all to rejoice and joyfully obtain much profit. All these living beings, having heard this Law, are comforted in the present life and afterward will be born in happy states, where they will be made joyful by the Truth and also hear the Law. Having heard the Law, they are freed from hindrances, and according to their capacity in all the laws, they gradually enter the Way.

"Just as that great cloud, raining on all the plants, trees, thickets, forests, and medicinal herbs, and according to the nature of their seed perfectly fertilising them so that each grows and develops, so the Law preached by the Tathagata is of one form [meaning: all forms or appearances are manifestations of reality.] and flavour ["One flavour" is interpreted as the One-vehicle Law, or the Law of Equality.], that is to say, deliverance [from mortality.], abandonment [of attachments or of the view that nirvana means extinction.], extinction [here means the Middle Path, not mortal existence or total extinction.], and finally theattainment of perfect knowledge [the wisdom concerning all seeds.]. If there be living beings who hear the Law of the Tathagata and keep, read, recite, and practice it as preached by him, their achievements will not enable them to understand their own nature. Wherefore? Because there is only the Tathagata who knows the seed, the form, the embodiment, and the nature of all these living beings, what things they are reflecting over, what things they are thinking, what things practicing, how reflecting, how thinking, how practicing, by what laws reflecting, by what laws thinking, by what laws practicing, and by what laws attaining to what laws. There is only the Tathagata who in reality sees, clearly and without hindrance, the stages in which all living beings are, just as those plants, trees, thickets, forests, medicinal herbs, and others do not know their own natures, superior, middle, or inferior.

The Tathagata knows this unitary essential Law, that is to say, deliverance, abandonment, extinction, final nirvana of eternal tranquillity, ending in return to the void. The Buddha, knowing this and observing the dispositions of all living beings, supports and protects them. For this reason he does not immediately declare to them the complete and perfect wisdom. Kashyapa! All of you! A most rare thing it is that you should be able to know the Law preached by the Tathagata as he sees fit, and be able to believe and able to receive it. Wherefore? Because the Law preached by buddhas, the world-honoured ones, as they see fit is difficult to discern and difficult to know." At that time the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"The Law-king who destroys existence Appears in this world; According to the natures of all living beings, He preaches the Law discriminately. The Tathagata is greatly to be honoured And profound in wisdom; For long has he kept secret this essential truth, Not endeavoring hastily to declare it. The wise, if they hear it, Are able to believe and discern; The ignorant doubt and turn away, Losing it perpetually. Therefore, Kashyapa, According to their powers I preach to them With varied reasonings To bring them to right views.

Know, Kashyapa! It is like a great cloud Rising above the world, Covering all things everywhere, A beneficent cloud full of moisture; Flashes of lightning shine and glint, The voice of thunder vibrates afar, Bringing gladness and ease to all.

The sun's rays are veiled, And the earth is coloured; The cloud lowers and spreads As if it might be caught and gathered; Its rain everywhere equally Descends on all sides, Streaming and pouring without stint, Enriching all the land. On mountains, by rivers, in steep valleys, In hidden recesses, there grow The plants, trees, and herbs; Trees, big or small, The shoots of all the ripening grain, Sugar cane and grapevine, All these by the rain are fertilised And abundantly enriched. The dry ground is all soaked, And herbs and trees flourish together. From the one water which Issued from that cloud, Plants, trees, thickets, forests, According to their need, receive moisture. All the trees, Superior, middle, inferior, all, Each according to its size, Grow and develop Roots, stalks, branches, and leaves, Blossoms and fruits in their brilliant colours; By the pouring of the one rain, All become fresh and glossy.

Just as their bodies, forms, And natures are divided into great and small, So the enriching rain, though one and the same, Yet makes each flourish. In the same manner the Buddha also Appears in the world, Like a great cloud Universally covering all things; And having appeared in the world, He, for the sake of all living beings, Discriminates and proclaims The reality of all the laws. The great holy World-honoured One Among the gods and men And all the other beings Proclaims this, saying: 'I am the Tathagata, The most honoured among men; I appear in the world Just like a great cloud, To pour enrichment on all Parched living beings, To free them all from misery And so attain the joy of peace, Joy in the world, And the joy of nirvana. Gods, men, and all! With all your mind hearken to me. Come all of you here And behold the peerless honoured one. I am the World-honoured One, Who cannot be equaled. To give peace to all creatures I appear in the world, And for the hosts of the living Preach the Law, pure as sweet dew: The one and only Law Of emancipation and nirvana.' With one transcendent voice I proclaim this meaning, Constantly taking the Great-vehicle As my subject.

I look upon all living beings Everywhere with equal eyes, Without distinction of persons, Or mind of love or hate. I have no predilections Nor limitations [or partiality]; Ever to all beings I preach the Law equally; As I preach to one person, So I preach to all. Constantly I proclaim the Law, Never occupied with aught else; Going or coming, sitting or standing, I never weary of Pouring it abundantly upon the world, Like the rain enriching universally. Honoured and humble, high and low, Law-keepers and law-breakers, Those of perfect character And those of imperfect, Orthodox and heterodox, Quick-witted and dull-witted, With equal mind I rain the rain of the Law Unwearyingly.

All living creatures On hearing my Law, According to their receptive powers, Find their abode in their several places; Some dwell amongst gods or men Or holy wheel-rolling kings, Or Shakra, Brahma, or other kings; These are like smaller herbs. Those who know the faultless Law And are able to attain nirvana, Who cultivate the six transcendent faculties And obtain the three clear views, Who dwell alone in mountain forests, Ever practicing meditation, And obtain prateka-buddhahood--These are the larger herbs.

Those who seek the World-honoured One, Resolving, 'We will become buddhas,' And practice zeal and meditation--These are the superior herbs. And these Buddha-sons Who single-minded walk the Buddha-way, Ever practicing compassion, Assured that they will become buddhas Certainly and without doubt--These are named shrubs. The firmly settled in the transcendent faculties, Who roll the unretreating wheel And save infinite hundred Thousand kotis of the living, Such bodhisattvas as these Are named trees. The Buddha's equal preaching Is like the one rain; But beings, according to their nature, Receive it differently, Just as the plants and trees Each take a varying supply. The Buddha by this parable Tactfully reveals And with various expressions Proclaims the One Law; But of the Buddha-wisdom It is as a drop in the ocean. I rain down the rain of the Law, Filling the whole world, The one essential Law, To be practised according to ability, Just as those thickets, forests, Herbs, and trees, According to their size, Luxuriantly develop. The Law of all buddhas Ever by its essential oneness Causes all the worlds Universally to gain perfect weal. Gradually by its observance All attain the Way's fruition. Shravakas ["disciples"] and pratyekabuddhas ["solitary buddhas"] Who dwell in the mountain forests, Are in the final bodily state, And, hearing the Law, reach fruition Are named herbs, Each progressing in growth.

As to the bodhisattvas Who are firm in wisdom, Penetrate the triple world, And seek the highest vehicle, These are named shrubs Which gain increasing growth. Again, those who practice meditation And gain transcendent powers, Who, hearing the doctrine of the Void, Greatly rejoice in their minds, And emitting innumerable rays Save all living beings, These are named trees Which gain increasing growth.

Like this, Kashyapa, Is the Law preached by the Buddha. It is just like a great cloud Which with the same kind of rain Enriches men and blossoms, So that each bears fruit. Know, Kashyapa! By numerous reasonings And various parables I reveal the Buddha-way; This is my tactful method. All buddhas do the same. What I have now said to you all Is the veriest truth. All shravakas [disciples] Have not yet attained nirvana. [According to the extant Sanskrit original, this line can be translated "come to attain nirvana."] The Way in which you walk Is the bodhisattva-way; By gradually practicing and learning, All of you will become buddhas." [The "herbs" of this chapter title can be translated as "medicinal herbs." Kern has "plants."]

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 6

Prediction

At that time the World-honoured One, after pronouncing this verse, addressed all the great assembly, uttering words like these: "This my disciple Maha-Kashayapa in the world to come shall do homage to three hundred myriad kotis of the world-honoured buddhas, serving, revering, honouring, and extolling them and widely proclaiming the infinite great Law of the buddhas. In his final bodily state he will become a buddha, whose name will be called Radiance Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, World-honoured One, whose domain is named Radiant Virtue, and whose kalpa is named Great Magnificence. The lifetime of that buddha will be twelve minor kalpas, his Righteous Law will abide in the world for twenty minor kalpas, and the Counterfeit Law will also abide for twenty minor kalpas. His domain will be beautiful, devoid of dirt, potsherds, thorns, and unclean ordure; its land will be level and straight, with no uneven places, neither pitfalls nor mounds, its ground of lapis lazuli, lines of jewel trees, golden cords to bound the ways, strewn with precious flowers, and purity reigning everywhere. In that domain the bodhisattvas will be infinite thousand kotis, with shravakas numberless. No Mara deeds will be there, and though there are Mara and Mara's people, they all will protect the Buddha-law." At that time the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"I say to you bhikshus That with my Buddha-eyes I see that this Kashyapa In the world to come After innumerable kalpas, Will become a buddha, And that in the world to come He will serve and pay homage to Three hundred myriad kotis Of world-honoured buddhas; For the sake of the Buddha-wisdom He will purely practice the brahma-life, Serving the highest And most honoured of men, Putting into practice all The peerless wisdom, And in his final bodily state ecome a buddha.

His land will be pure, With lapis lazuli for ground, Abundance of jewel trees Lining the roadsides, Golden cords to bound the ways, Rejoicing the beholders, Ever-pervading fragrance, Rare flowers strewn everywhere, Every kind of rarity Adding to its splendour; Its land will be level, Free from mounds and hollows.

Many bodhisattvas, Of untold number And gentle mind, Will attain great transcendent powers And reverently keep the Buddha's Great-vehicle sutras.

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His multitude of shravakas, Of faultless final form, Sons of the Law-king, Will be beyond count; Even the eyes of the gods Cannot know their number. That buddha's lifetime will be Twelve minor kalpas; His Righteous Law will abide in the world For twenty minor kalpas; The Counterfeit Law will abide For twenty minor kalpas. Such will be the history of The Radiant World-honoured One."

Thereupon Maha-Maudgalyayana, Subhuti, Maha-Katyayana, and others all tremblingly folded their hands with one mind, and gazing up into the World-honoured One's face, not for an instant lowering their eyes, with united voice spoke thus in verse: "Great Hero, World-honoured One, Law-king of the Shakyas!

Out of compassion for us Grant us the Buddha-announcement! If thou dost know the depths of our minds And predict our future destinies, It will be like pouring sweet dew To change the heat to coolness, Like one from a famine land Suddenly finding a royal repast, Yet cherishing doubt and fear, Not daring at once to eat, But when instructed by the king, Then daring to eat.

Thus it is with us; While minding Hinayana error, We know not how to obtain The supreme wisdom of the Buddha. Though we hear the voice of the Buddha, Who says we shall become buddhas, Our hearts are still anxious and afraid, Like him who dare not eat.

But if we receive the Buddha's prediction, Then shall we be happy and at ease. Great Hero, World-honoured One! Thou dost ever desire to pacify the world; Be pleased to bestow our prediction, Like bidding the famished to feast!"

Thereupon the World-honoured One, knowing the thoughts in the minds of those senior disciples, addressed all the bhikshus: "This Subhuti, in the world to come, shall do homage to three hundred myriad kotis of nayutas of buddhas, serving, revering, honouring, and extolling them, practicing the brahma-life, and perfecting the bodhisattva-way. In his final bodily state he will become a buddha whose title will be Name Form Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, World-honoured One, whose kalpa is named Possessing Jewels, and whose domain is named Jewel Producing. His land will be level and straight, with crystal for ground, adorned with jewel trees, devoid of mounds and pits, gravel, thorns, and unclean ordure, the earth covered with precious flowers, and purity reigning everywhere. All the people in that land will dwell on jeweled terraces and in pearly palaces. Shravaka disciples will be innumerable and limitless, they can be made known neither by figures nor by metaphors, and the bodhisattva host will be numberless thousand myriad kotis of nayutas. The lifetime of that buddha will be twelve minor kalpas, his Righteous Law will abide in the world for twenty minor kalpas, and the Counterfeit Law will also abide for twenty minor kalpas. That buddha will always dwell in the empyrean, preaching the Law to living beings and delivering innumerable bodhisattvas and shravakas." At that time the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"All you host of bhikshus! I have something to tell you. All with one mind Listen to what I say! My senior disciple Subhuti Will become a buddha Whose title will be Name Form. He will serve numberless Myriad kotis of buddhas, And following the practice of the buddhas, Will become perfect in the Great Way.

In his final bodily state He will obtain the thirty-two signs, And be erect and beautiful As a mountain of jewels. The domain of the buddha Will be peerless in pure splendour, So that all who behold it Will love and delight in it. The buddha in its midst Will save innumerable beings; In his Buddha-law Many will be the bodhisattvas, All of keen faculties, Who roll the never-receding wheel. His domain is ever Ornate with bodhisattvas; His shravaka host is Beyond expression and count, Who all attain the three clear views, Perfect the six transcendent faculties, Abide in the eight emancipations, And are greatly awe-inspiring. That Buddha preaches the law, Revealing himself in infinite Supernatural transformations Beyond conception.

Gods and people As the sands of the Ganges in number All with folded hands Hearken to that buddha's words. That buddha's lifetime will be Twelve minor kalpas, His Righteous Law will abide in the world For twenty minor kalpas, And the Counterfeit Law will also abide For twenty minor kalpas."

At that time the World-honoured One again addressed all the assembly of bhikshus, saying: "Now I announce to you that this Maha-Katyayana, in the world to come, will worship and serve eight thousand kotis of buddhas with many kinds of offerings, revering and honouring them. After those buddhas are extinct he for each of them will erect stupas a thousand yojanas in height, of equal length and breadth, five hundred yojanas, composed of the precious seven--gold, silver, lapis lazuli, moonstone, agate, pearl, and carnelian--and will serve those stupas with garlands of flowers, perfume [Perfumed ointment made of ground sandalwood or aloes and water. It is used for painting or oiling.], sandal powder [Ground sandalwood used for sprinkling.], burning incense, silk canopies, flags, and banners. After this he will again similarly serve two myriad kotis of buddhas; and, having served these buddhas, he will complete his bodhisattva-way and become a buddha whose title will be Jambunada Golden Light [Literally, "Luster of the River Jambu." The River Jambu is supposed to flow from the jambu trees on Mount Sumeru over golden sands.] Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, World-honoured One. His land will be level and straight, with crystal for ground, adorned with jewel trees, with golden cords to bound the ways, its ground covered with wonderful flowers, and purity reigning everywhere, so that beholders rejoice. The four evil conditions will not be there--hells, hungry spirits, animals, and asuras--but gods and men will be many, and infinite myriad kotis of shravakas and bodhisattvas will adorn his domain. The lifetime of that buddha will be twelve minor kalpas, his Righteous Law will abide in the world for twenty minor kalpas, and the Counterfeit Law will also abide for twenty minor kalpas." At that time the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"All of you host of bhikshus! Listen to me with one mind! The words that I speak Are true and infallible. This Katyayana Will, with various kinds Of excellent offerings, Pay homage to buddhas.

After the buddhas are extinct He will erect stupas of the precious seven And also, with flowers and perfumes, Pay homage to their relics; In his final bodily state He will obtain the Buddha-wisdom And accomplish Perfect Enlightenment. His land will be pure. And he will save innumerable Myriad kotis of the living, Being worshiped by all In every direction.

His buddha-luster None can surpass, And his buddha-title will be Jambunada Golden Light. Bodhisattvas and shravakas Free from all existence, Numberless, uncountable, Will adorn his domain."

Thereupon the World-honoured One again addressed the great assembly, saying: "Now I announce to you that Maha-Maudgalyayana will, with various kinds of offerings, serve eight thousand buddhas, revering and honouring them. After the extinction of these buddhas he for each of them will erect stupas a thousand yojanas in height, of equal length and breadth, five hundred yojanas, composed of the precious seven, gold, silver, lapis lazuli, moonstone, agate, pearl, and carnelian, and will serve them with garlands of flowers, perfume, sandal powder, burning incense, silk canopies, flags, and banners. After this he will again similarly serve two hundred myriad kotis of buddhas, and then become a buddha, whose title will be Tamalapattra Sandal Fragrance Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, World-honoured One. His kalpa will be named Joyful and his domain named Glad Mind. Its land will be level and straight, with crystal for ground, adorned with jewel trees, strewn with pearly flowers, and purity [reigning] everywhere, so that beholders rejoice. There will be gods, men, bodhisattvas, and shravakas, countless in number. The lifetime of that buddha will be twenty-four minor kalpas, his Righteous Law will abide in the world for forty minor kalpas, and the Counterfeit Law will also abide for forty minor kalpas." Thereupon the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim the teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"This my disciple Maha-Maudgalyayana, After casting aside this body, Will see eight thousand Two hundred myriad of kotis Of world-honoured buddhas, And, for the sake of the Buddha-way, Will serve and revere them.

Among these buddhas, Ever practicing the brahma-life For innumerable kalpas, He will keep the Buddha-law. After these buddha are extinct, He will erect stupas of the precious seven, Displaying afar their golden spires, And, with flowers, perfumes, and music Pay homage to The stupas of the buddhas.

Having gradually accomplished The bodhisattva-way, In the domain Glad Mind He will become a buddha, Styled Tamalapattra Sandal Fragrance. The lifetime of that buddha Will be twenty-four kalpas. Constantly to gods and men He will preach the Buddha-way.

Shravakas will be innumerable As the sands of the Ganges, Having the three clear views, the six transcendent faculties, And awe-inspiring powers. Bodhisattvas will be numberless, Firm in their will, and zealous In the Buddha-wisdom, Who never backslide. After this buddha is extinct, His Righteous Law will abide For forty minor kalpas And the Counterfeit Law the same.

You my disciples Of perfect powers, Five hundred in number, All will receive their prediction To become buddhas In the world to come. Of my and your Development in previous worlds I will now make declaration. Do you all listen well!" [This chapter contains the announcement of the future destinies of the four great disciples of Shakyamuni Buddha, Kashyapa, Maudgalyayana, Subhuti, and Katyayana.]

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 7

The Parable of the Magic City

The Buddha addressed the bhikshus, saying: "Of yore in the past, infinite, boundless, and inconceivable asamkhyeya kalpas ago, there was then a buddha named Universal Surpassing Wisdom ["Great Pervading Surpassing Wisdom," or "He Whose Surpassing Wisdom Reaches Everywhere."] Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, World-honoured One, whose domain was named Well Completed [Or: "Well Accomplished."], and whose kalpa was named Great Form. Bhikshus! Since that buddha became extinct, a very long time has passed. For instance, suppose the earth element in a three-thousand-great-thousandfold world were by someone ground into ink, and he were to pass through a thousand countries in an eastern direction, and then let fall one drop as large as a grain of dust; again, passing through another thousand countries, again let fall one drop; suppose he thus proceeds until he has finished the ink made of the earth element--what is your opinion? All these countries--is it possible for mathematicians or their disciples to find their end or confines so as to know their number?"

"No, World-honoured One!"

"Bhikshus! Suppose all those countries which that man has passed, where he has dropped a drop and where he has not, ground to dust, and let one grain of the dust be a kalpa--[the time] since that buddha became extinct till now still exceeds those numbers by innumerable, unlimited hundred thousand myriad kotis of asamkhyeya kalpas. By the power of my Tathagata-wisdom, I observe that length of time as if it were only today." At that time the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"I remember in a past world, Immeasurable infinite kalpas ago, A buddha, a [most] honoured man, Named Universal Surpassing Wisdom. Suppose someone by his power Ground a three-thousand-great-thousandfold world With its entire earth element Entirely into ink, And, passing a thousand countries, Then lets fall one drop; Proceeding in a like manner He drops all this atomized ink; Suppose all such countries as these, Those ink-dropped and those undropped, Again are entirely ground to dust, And a grain be as a kalpa--The number of those grains Are exceeded by his kalpas. Since that buddha became extinct, Such are the measureless kalpas. I, the Tathagata, by unhindered wisdom Know the extinction of that buddha And his shravakas and bodhisattvas As if it were now occurring. Know, bhikshus! The Buddha-wisdom is pure and minute, Faultless and unhindered, Penetrating through infinite kalpas."

The Buddha then addressed all the bhikshus, saying: "The life-time of the Buddha Universal Surpassing Wisdom is five hundred and forty myriad kotis of nayutas of kalpas. At the beginning when that buddha, seated on the wisdom throne, had destroyed the army of Mara, though he was on the point of attaining Perfect Enlightenment, the Buddha-laws were not yet revealed to him. So for a minor kalpa and then onward for ten minor kalpas he sat cross-legged with body and mind motionless; but the Buddha-laws were not yet revealed to him.

"Then the gods of the thirty-three heavens* spread for that buddha a lion throne a yojana high under a Bodhi tree so that the buddha on this throne should attain Perfect Enlightenment. [* The second highest of the six heavens of the Realm of Desire. The thirty-three heavens are situated on top of Mount Sumeru, eighty thousand joyanas above this world. They are ruled by Indra, whose own heaven is located on the central peak of Mount Sumeru; of the thirty-two other heavens, eight are located at each of the four cardinal points on the top of Mount Sumeru.] No sooner had he sat on that throne than the Brahma heavenly kings rained down celestial flowers over an area of a hundred yojanas. A fragrant wind from time to time arose, sweeping away the withered flowers and raining fresh ones. Thus incessantly during full ten minor kalpas they paid honour to the buddha and even till his extinction they constantly rained those flowers, while the gods belonging to the four heavenly kings to honour the buddha constantly beat celestial drums and other gods performed celestial music during fully ten minor kalpas and continued so to do until his extinction.

"Bhikshus! After the lapse of ten minor kalpas, the Buddha Universal Surpassing Wisdom attained the Buddha-laws, and Perfect Enlightenment was revealed to him. Before that buddha left home he had sixteen sons, the eldest of whom was named Wisdom Store. Each of his sons had various kinds of valued amusements, but on hearing that their father had accomplished Perfect Enlightenment, they all gave up the things they valued and went to pay their regards to the buddha, their weeping mothers escorting them. Their grandfather, Sacred Wheel-rolling King, with his one hundred ministers and also a hundred thousand myriad kotis of his people, all surrounded and followed them to the terrace of enlightenment, all desiring to draw near to the Tathagata Universal Surpassing Wisdom and to serve, revere, honour, and extol him. After their arrival they did homage before his

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feet with their heads, and after making procession around him, with folded hands and in one mind, they gazed up to the world-honoured one and praised him in verse, saying:

"The World-honoured One of Great Might, To save all living beings, After measureless kotis of years Thou hast now become a buddha And perfected all thy vows. Good indeed is our fortune unsurpassed, For rarely do world-honoured ones appear. At one sitting ten minor kalpas have passed, Thy body and limbs Still, peaceful, and motionless, And with mind ever tranquil, Never distracted; Thou hast completed eternal nirvana And dost calmly dwell in the faultless Law. Now, seeing the world-honoured one Who has calmly accomplished the Buddha-way, We have attained good fortune And congratulate ourselves with great joy.

All the living are ever suffering, Blind and without a leader, Unaware of the way to end pain, Knowing not to seek deliverance. Through the long night evil ways have increased, Diminishing the heavenly throng; The world has passed from darkness into darkness, Never hearing a buddha's name. But now the Buddha has attained the supreme, Pacific, faultless Law, And we as well as gods and men Gain the great fortune. Therefore we all prostrate ourselves And offer our lives to the peerless honoured one.'

"Thereupon all these sixteen royal sons, when they had extolled the buddha in verse, entreated the world-honoured one to roll the Law-wheel on, saying: 'World-honoured One! Preach the Law, and abundantly comfort, have compassion for, and benefit both gods and men!' Repeating it in verse, they said:

'Hero of the world! Incomparable! Adorned with a hundred auspicious signs! Who has attained to supreme wisdom: Be pleased to preach to the world, For deliverance to us And to all classes of the living; Discriminate and reveal it So that we may obtain this wisdom! If we attain buddhahood, All other living beings will also attain it. World-honoured One! Thou knowest what the living In their deepest minds are thinking, The ways in which they walk, Their capacities for wisdom, Their pleasures and past good works, The karma their former lives produced. World-honoured One! Thou knowest all these; [Pray] roll along the peerless wheel.'"

The Buddha then said to the bhikshus: "When the Buddha Universal Surpassing Wisdom attained Perfect Enlightenment, the five hundred myriad kotis of buddha-worlds in all directions were each shaken in different ways; even the dark places between those realms, where the august light of the sun and moon could not shine, all became brilliant. All the living beings in their midst could see each other and unitedly exclaimed: 'From where have all these living beings suddenly come?' Moreover, the palaces of the gods in all those regions, even Brahma palaces, shook in six different ways and a great light universally shone, filling all the worlds, surpassing the light of heaven.

"Then eastward, all the palaces of the Brahma heavens in five hundred myriad kotis of domains were brilliantly illuminated with double their normal brightness. And each of those Brahma heavenly kings reflected thus: 'For what reason does this sign appear, that our palaces are now illuminated as never of yore?' Then those Brahma heavenly kings all visited each other to discuss this affair. Meanwhile, amongst those assembled there was a great Brahma heavenly king named Saviour of All, who addressed the host of Brahmas in verse:

'In all our palaces Never has there been such shining; What can be its cause? Let us together investigate it. Is it that a great virtuous god is born, Is it that a buddha appears in the world, That this great shining Everywhere illuminates the universe?'

"Thereupon the Brahma heavenly kings in five hundred myriad kotis of domains, with all their palace train*, each taking a sack filled with celestial flowers, went together to visit the western quarter to investigate this sign. [The Sanskrit version has "aerial cars" (Kern) instead of "palaces," and the Chinese commentaries describe them as being mobile like carriages.] There they saw the Tathagata Universal Surpassing Wisdom on the wisdom terrace under the Bodhi tree, seated on the lion throne, surrounded and revered by gods, dragon kings, gandharvas, kimnaras, mahoragas, human and nonhuman beings, and others. And they saw his sixteen royal sons entreating the buddha to roll along the Law-wheel. Then all the Brahma heavenly kings bowed to the ground before the buddha, made procession around him hundreds and thousands of times, and then strewed the celestial flowers upon him. The flowers they strewed rose like Mount Sumeru and were offered also to the buddha's Bodhi tree. That Bodhi tree was ten yojanas in height. When they had offered the flowers, each of them presented his palace to the buddha and spoke thus: 'Out of compassion for us and for our good, condescend to accept the palaces we offer!' "Thereupon all the Brahma heavenly kings, before the buddha, with one mind and voice praised him in verse, saying:

'Rare is a world-honoured one, Hard it is to meet him, Perfect in infinite merit, Able to save all. Great teachers of gods and men, He has compassion for the world. All the living in the universe Everywhere receive his aid. The distance we have come Is five hundred myriad kotis of domains, Leaving deep meditative joys For the sake of serving the buddha. As rewards for our former lives Our palaces are magnificently adorned; Now we offer them to the world-honoured one And beg him in mercy to accept.'

"Then, when the Brahma heavenly kings had extolled the buddha in verse, each spoke thus: 'Be pleased, World-honoured One, to roll the Law-wheel, deliver all the living, and open the nirvana-way!' "Then the Brahma heavenly kings with one mind and voice spoke in verse, saying:

'Hero of the world! Honoured of men! Be pleased to proclaim the Law! By the power of thy great compassion, Save wretched living beings!'

"Then the Tathagata Universal Surpassing Wisdom silently gave assent. "Again, bhikshus! The great Brahma kings in the southeastern quarter of five hundred myriad kotis of domains, each seeing his own palace radiant with light as never before, were ecstatic with joy and amazed. And instantly all visited each other to discuss together this affair. Meanwhile amongst those assembled there was a great Brahma heavenly king whose name was Most Merciful, who addressed the host of Brahmas in verse:

'What is the cause of this affair, That such a sign should appear? In all our palaces Never has there been such shining. Is it that a great virtuous god is born? Is it that a buddha appears in the world? We have never yet seen such a sign. Let us with one mind investigate it. Let us pass through a thousand myriad kotis of lands In search of the light and together explain it. It must be that a buddha has appeared In the world to save suffering beings.'

"Thereupon the five hundred myriad kotis of Brahma heavenly kings, with all their palace train, each taking a sack filled with celestial flowers, went together to visit the northwestern quarter to investigate this sign. There they saw the Tathagata Universal Surpassing Wisdom on the wisdom terrace under the Bodhi tree, seated on the lion throne, surrounded and revered by gods, dragons kings, gandharvas, kimnaras, mahoragas, human and nonhuman beings, and others. And they saw the sixteen royal sons entreating the buddha to roll along the Law-wheel. Then all the Brahma heavenly kings bowed to the ground before the buddha, made procession around him hundreds and thousands of times, and then strewed the celestial flowers upon him. The flowers they strewed rose like Mount Sumeru and were offered also to the buddha's Bodhi tree. When they had offered the flowers, each of them presented his palace to the buddha and spoke thus: 'Out of compassion to us and for our good, condescend to accept the palaces we offer!' Thereupon all the Brahma heavenly kings, before the buddha, with one mind and voice praised him in verse, saying:

'Holy lord, king among gods, With voice [sweet as] the kalavinka's, Who has compassion for all living beings! We now respectfully salute thee. Rarely does a world-honoured one appear, But once in long ages; One hundred and eighty kalpas Have passed away empty, with never a buddha, The three evil regions becoming replete, While heavenly beings decreased.

Now the buddha has appeared in the world To become the eye of all living beings, The resort of all the world, Saviour of all, Father of all the living, Who has compassion for and does good to all. Happy through our former destinies, We now meet the world-honoured one.'

"Then, when the Brahma heavenly kings had extolled the buddha in verse, each spoke thus: 'Be pleased, World-honoured One, to have compassion for all beings, roll the Law-wheel, and deliver the living!' "Then the Brahma heavenly kings with one mind and voice spoke in verse, saying:

'Most holy! Roll on the Law-wheel; Reveal the nature of thy laws; Deliver suffering beings, That they may obtain great joy. All the living, hearing this Law, Obtain the Way as if born in heaven; Evil processes of karma decrease, While endurers of goodness* increase.' [Those who restrain bad thoughts and strive after good things.]

"Then the Tathagata Universal Surpassing Wisdom silently gave assent. "Again, bhikshus! The great Brahma kings in the southern quarter of five hundred myriad kotis of domains, each seeing his own palace radiant with light such as never was before, were ecstatic with joy and amazed. And instantly all visited each other to discuss together this affair, asking: 'What is the cause of this radiant light in our palaces?' In that assembly there was a great Brahma heavenly king whose name was Wonderful Law, who addressed the host of Brahmas in verse:

'That all our palaces Scintillate with brilliant rays Cannot be without reason. Let us investigate this sign! Through hundreds of thousands of kalpas, Never has such a sign been seen. Is it that a great virtuous god is born? Is it that a buddha appears in the world?'

"Thereupon the five hundred myriad kotis of Brahma heavenly kings, with all their palace train, each taking a sack filled with celestial flowers, went together to visit the northern quarter to investigate this sign. There they saw the Tathagata Universal Surpassing Wisdom on the wisdom terrace under the Bodhi tree, seated on the lion throne, surrounded and revered by gods, dragon kings, gandharvas, kimnaras, mahoragas, human and nonhuman beings, and others. And they saw his sixteen royal sons entreating the buddha to roll along the Law-wheel. The all the Brahma heavenly kings bowed to the ground before the buddha, made procession around him hundreds and thousands of times, and then strewed the celestial flowers upon him. The flowers they strewed rose like Mount Sumeru and were offered also to the buddha's Bodhi tree. When they had offered the flowers, each of them presented his palace to the buddha and spoke thus: 'Out of compassion to us and for our good, condescend to accept the palaces we offer!' "Thereupon all the Brahma heavenly kings, before the buddha, with one mind and voice praised [him] in verse, saying:

'How hard it is to get sight of a world-honoured one, Who destroys all earthly cares! After a hundred and thirty kalpas, Now at length we have obtained the sight. To hungry and thirsty creatures He pours forth the rain of the Law.

He whom we have never seen before, The possessor of infinite wisdom, Rare as the udumbara flower, Today has been met by us. All our palaces are Made beautiful by thy light, World-honoured One! In thy great mercy, We pray thou wilt condescend to accept them.'

"Thereupon, when the Brahma heavenly kings had extolled the buddha in verse, each spoke thus: 'Be pleased, World-honoured One, to roll the Law-wheel, and cause all the worlds of gods, Maras, Brahmas, monks, and Brahmans to be comforted and delivered!'

"Then all the Brahma heavenly kings with one mind and voice praised him in verse, saying:

'Be pleased, honoured of gods and men, To roll the supreme Law-wheel, To beat the drum of the Great Law, To blow the conch of the Great Law, Universally to pour the rain of the Great Law, And save innumerable creatures! We all devote ourselves to thee. Proclaim the reverberating news!' [Literally, "deep far-reaching sound."]

"Then the Tathagata Universal Surpassing Wisdom silently gave assent.

"The southwestern quarter down to the nadir also responded in like fashion.

"Then, in the upper quarter, the great Brahma kings of five hundred myriad kotis of domains, all beholding the palaces in which they rested become augustly radiant with light such as never was before, were ecstatic with joy and amazed. At once they visited each other to discuss together this affair, asking: 'What is the cause of this light in our palaces?' In that assembly there was a great Brahma heavenly king whose name was Shikhin, who addressed the host of Brahmas in verse:

'What is now the cause That all our palaces Are radiant with such august light And made beautiful as never before? Such a wonderful sign as this Of old we have never heard nor seen. Is it that a great virtuous god is born? Is is that a buddha appears in the world?'

"Thereupon the five hundred myriad kotis of Brahma heavenly kings, with all their palace train, each taking a sack filled with celestial flowers, went together to visit the nadir quarter to investigate this sign. There they saw the Tathagata Universal Surpassing Wisdom on the wisdom terrace under the Bodhi tree, seated on the lion throne, surrounded and revered by gods, dragon kings, gandharvas, kimnaras, mahoragas, human and nonhuman beings, and others. And they saw his sixteen royal sons entreating the buddha to roll along the Law-wheel. Then all the Brahma heavenly kings bowed to the ground before buddha, made procession around him hundreds and thousands of times, and then strewed the celestial flowers upon him. The flowers they strewed rose like Mount Sumeru and were also offered to the buddha's Bodhi tree. When they had offered the flowers, each of them presented his palace to the buddha and spoke thus: 'Out of compassion to us and for our good, condescend to accept the palaces we offer!' "Thereupon all the Brahma heavenly kings, before the buddha, with one mind and voice praised him in verse, saying:

'How good it is to see the buddhas, Holy honoured ones who save the world, Who can compel the hells of the triple world To deliver up the living. The all-wise, honoured of gods and men, Out of compassion for the crowds of young buds Can open the doors of the sweet dews For the extensive relief of all.

Innumerable kalpas of yore Have emptily passed without buddhas; While world-honoured ones did not appear, Darkness has everywhere reigned. Thriving were the three evil states, Flourishing also the asuras, While the heavenly host dwindled, And dying, fell into evil estates; Not hearing the law from buddhas, Ever following improper ways, Their bodies, strength, and wisdom, These all dwindled away; Because of sinful karma They lost their joy and joyful thoughts; Fixed in heretical views, Unconscious of the rules of goodness, Not receiving the correction of buddhas, They ever fell into evil ways.

The buddha is the eye of the world, And after long ages appears. Through pity for the living He is revealed in the world, Surpassing in his Perfect Enlightenment. Great is our felicity, And all other beings Rejoice as never before. All our palaces, Made beautiful through this light, Now we offer the

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World-honoured One. Condescend in compassion to accept them! May this [deed of] merit Extend to all [creatures] That we with all the living May together accomplish the Buddha-way!'

"Thereupon, when the five hundred myriad kotis of the Brahma heavenly kings had extolled the buddha in verse, each said to him: 'Be pleased, World-honoured One, to roll the Law-wheel; abundantly comfort; abundantly deliver!' "Then all the Brahma heavenly kings spoke in verse, saying:

'World-honoured One, roll the law-wheel, Beat the drum of the Law, sweet as dew, Save the suffering living, Reveal the nirvana-way! Be pleased to receive our entreaty And with thy great, mystic voice, Out of compassion spread abroad The Law thou hast practised for infinite kalpas.'

"At that time the Tathagata Universal Surpassing Wisdom, receiving the entreaty of the Brahma heavenly kings of the ten regions and of [his] sixteen royal sons, at once thrice rolled the Law-wheel [To roll the Law-wheel three times means 1. to show what the Four Noble Truths are, 2. to exhort others to practice the Four Noble Truths, and 3. to witness or prove that the Buddha has accomplished the Four Noble Truths.] of twelve divisions [According to the T'ien-t'ai sect this is interpreted as "twelve turns" because of the three forms of presentation of each of the Four Noble Truths.], which neither shramanas, Brahmans, gods, Maras, Brahmas, nor other beings of the world are able to roll. His discourse was: 'This is suffering; this the accumulation of suffering; this the extinction of suffering; this the way to extinction of suffering'; and he extensively set forth the Law of the Twelve Causes, namely: 'Ignorance causes action; action causes consciousness; consciousness causes name and form; name and form cause the six entrances or sense organs; the six entrances cause contact; contact causes sensation; sensation causes desire or love; desire causes clinging; clinging causes existence; existence causes birth; birth causes old age and death, grief, lamentation, suffering, and distress. Ignorance annihilated, then action is annihilated; action annihilated, then consciousness is annihilated; consciousness annihilated, then name and form are annihilated; name and form annihilated, then the six entrances are annihilated; the six entrances annihilated, then contact is annihilated; contact annihilated, then sensation is annihilated; sensation annihilated, then desire is annihilated; desire annihilated, then clinging is annihilated; clinging annihilated, then existence is annihilated; existence annihilated, then birth is annihilated; birth being annihilated, then are annihilated old age and death, grief, lamentation, suffering, and distress.'

"When the buddha preached this law amidst the gods, men, and the great host, six hundred myriad kotis of nayutas of people, without being subject to all the temporary laws, had their minds freed from faults, all obtaining the profound, mystic mediations, the three clear views, and the six transcendent faculties, and accomplishing the eight emancipations. Likewise at a second, a third, and a fourth time of preaching the Law, thousands of myriads of kotis of nayutas of living beings, numerous as the sands of the Ganges, without being subject to all the temporary laws, had their minds freed from all faults. From this time forth the host of his shravakas was immeasurable and boundless, beyond expression in numbers.

"Meanwhile the sixteen royal sons, all being youths, left their home and became shramaneras of keen natural powers, wise and intelligent. They had already served hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of buddhas, purely practised brahma-conduct, and sought Perfect Enlightenment. Together they addressed the buddha, saying: 'World-honoured One! All these innumerable thousand myriad kotis of great virtuous shravakas have already become perfect. World-honoured One! Preach also to us the Law of Perfect Enlightenment! And when we have heard it we will all put the lesson into practice. World-honoured One! We are longing for the tathagata's knowledge. The thought of our inmost hearts thou dost prove and know.'

"Then amongst the throng whom the holy wheel-rolling king led, eight myriad kotis of people, seeing that the sixteen royal sons had gone forth from their home, also sought to leave their homes, whereupon the king permitted them.

"Then that buddha, on the entreaty of the shramaneras, when two myriad kalpas had passed, in the presence of the four groups preached this Great-vehicle Sutra named the Lotus Flower of the Wonderful Law, the Law by which bodhisattvas are instructed and which the buddhas watch over and keep in mind. When he had preached this sutra, the sixteen shramaneras, for the sake of Perfect Enlightenment, all received, kept, recited, and penetrated it.

"While this sutra was being preached, the sixteen bodhisattva-shramaneras all received it in faith, and amongst the host of shravakas there were also [those who] believed and discerned it, but the other living beings of thousands of myriad kotis of kinds all cherished doubts and perplexities. [Hendrik Kern's translation reads: ". . . the disciples as well as the sixteen novices were full of faith, and many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of beings acquired perfect certainty" (Sacred Books of the East, Vol 21, p. 175). Dharmaraksha reads as Kern does, but Nanjio follows Kumarajiva's version, stating that he cannot find the prefix nir (not) in any of the extant Sanskrit texts that he has read, but only the word vicikitsa (doubt or perplexity). (See Nanjio's Japanese translation from the Sanskrit, p. 207 n.) Oka agrees with Nanjio in his translation from the Sanskrit. Kern notes this as a variant reading.]

"The buddha preached this sutra for eight thousand kalpas without cessation. When he had finished preaching it, he then entered a quiet room and remained in meditation for eighty-four thousand kalpas.

"Thereupon the sixteen bodhisattva-shramaneras, knowing that the buddha had entered the room and was absorbed in meditation, each ascended a Law throne and also for eighty-four thousand kalpas extensively preached and expounded to the four groups the Sutra of the Flower of the Wonderful Law. Each of them saved six hundred myriad kotis of nayutas of living beings, as many as the sands of the Ganges, showing, teaching, benefiting, and gladdening them, and leading them to develop a mind of Perfect Enlightenment.

"The Buddha Universal Surpassing Wisdom, after eighty-four thousand kalpas had passed, arose from his meditation, went up to the Law throne, and quietly sat down on it.

"Universally addressing the great assembly, he said: 'Rare are such bodhisattva-shramaneras as these sixteen, keen in their natural powers and clear in their wisdom, who have paid homage to infinite thousand myriad kotis of buddhas, constantly practised brahma-conduct under those buddhas, received and kept the Buddha-wisdom, and revealed it to living beings, leading them to enter into it. Do you all, again and again, draw nigh and worship them. Wherefore? Because if shravakas, pratyekabuddhas, and bodhisattvas are able to believe the Law of the sutra preached by these sixteen bodhisattvas, and receive and keep it without spoiling it, all those people will attain the Tathagata-wisdom of Perfect Enlightenment.'"

The Buddha addressed all the bhikshus, saying: "These sixteen bodhisattvas ever take delight in preaching this Sutra of the Lotus Flower of the Wonderful Law. The six hundred myriad kotis of nayutas of living beings, like the sands of the Ganges, whom each of these bodhisattvas converted, born generation by generation, all following these bodhisattvas, heard the Law from them and all believed and discerned it. For this cause they succeeded in meeting four myriad kotis of buddhas, world-honoured ones, and at the present time have not ceased to do so.

"Bhikshus! I tell you now: that buddha's disciples, the sixteen shramaneras, have all attained Perfect Enlightenment, and in all countries in every direction are at the present time preaching the Law and have infinite hundred thousand myriad kotis of bodhisattvas and shravakas as their followers. Two of those shramaneras became buddhas in the eastern quarter, one named Akshobhya in the Kingdom of Joy, the other named Sumeru Peak; of the two buddhas in the southeastern quarter, one is named Lion Voice, the other Lion Ensign; of the two buddhas in the southern quarter, one is named Space Dweller, the other Eternal Extinction; of the two buddhas in the southwestern quarter, one is named Imperial Ensign, the other Brahma Ensign; of the two buddhas in the western quarter one is named Amita, the other He Who Has Passed Through All the Sufferings of the World; of the two buddhas in the northwestern quarter, one is named Tamalapattra Spiritually Pervading Sandal Odour, the other Sumeru Sign; of the two buddhas in the northern quarter, one is named Sovereign Cloud, the other named Sovereign Cloud King; the buddha in the northeastern quarter is named Destroyer of All the World's Fear; and the sixteenth is I myself, Shakyamuni Buddha, who have accomplished Perfect Enlightenment in the saha-domain.

"Bhikshus! When we were shramaneras, each of us taught and converted infinite hundred thousand myriad kotis of living beings, numerous as the sands of the Ganges; and those who heard the Law from me attained Perfect Enlightenment. Amongst these living beings down to the present there are some who still remain in the stage of shravakas. I constantly instruct them in Perfect Enlightenment, so that all these people will through this Law gradually enter the Way of buddhahood. Wherefore? Because the Tathagata-wisdom is hard to believe and hard to understand. All those living beings, innumerable as the sands of the Ganges, whom I converted at that time are yourselves, bhikshus, and will be my shravaka-disciples in future worlds after my extinction.

"After my extinction there will also be disciples of mine who, not hearing this sutra, nor knowing nor apprehending the course which bodhisattvas pursue, will by their own merits conceive the idea of extinction and enter what they think is nirvana. But in other domains wherever they may go I shall still be Buddha though under different names. These people, though they conceive the idea of extinction and enter what they call nirvana, yet in those lands will seek after the Buddha-wisdom and succeed in hearing this sutra. Only by the Buddha-vehicle will they attain real extinction. There is no other vehicle except the tactful teachings of the Tathagata. Bhikshus! If the Tathagata himself knows that the time of nirvana has arrived and the assembly is pure, firm in faith and discernment, penetrated with the Law of the Void, profound in meditation, then he will gather together all bodhisattvas and shravakas to preach this sutra to them. In the world there is no second vehicle to attain extinction; there is only the One Buddha-vehicle for attaining extinction. Know, bhikshus! The tact of the Tathagata reaches deeply into the natures of all living beings and knows that they are bent on the pleasures of trifling things and deeply attached to the five desires. For the sake of these he preaches nirvana. If they hear it, they will receive it in faith.

"Suppose there is a fearful region, five hundred yojanas in extent, through which lies a perilous and difficult road, far from the abodes of men. Suppose there is a large company wishing to pass along that road to the Place of Jewels, and they have a guide, wise and astute, who knows well the perilous road, where it is open and where closed, and who leads the company that wish to cross this arduous region. Suppose the company he leads become tired on the way and say to the leader: 'We are utterly exhausted and moreover afraid and cannot go any farther; the road before us stretches far; let us turn back.' The leader, [a man] of much tact, reflects thus: 'These people are to be pitied. How can they give up such great treasure and want to turn back?' Reflecting thus, by a device, in the midst of the perilous road, he mystically makes a city over three hundred yojanas in extent and says to the company: 'Do not fear, and do not turn back. Here is this great city in which you may rest and follow your own desires. If you enter this city, you will speedily be at rest; and if you then are able to go forward to the Place of Jewels, you proceed.'

"Thereupon the exhausted company greatly rejoice in their minds and praise their unexampled fortune: 'Now indeed we escape this evil way; let us speedily be at ease.' Then the company proceed into the magic city, imagining they have arrived at their destination, and are settled in comfort. When the leader perceives that the company are rested and are no longer fatigued, he makes the magic city disappear, and says to the company: 'Come along, all of you, the Place of Jewels is at hand. I only created this past large city for you to rest in.'

"Bhikshus! So is it with the Tathagata. At present he is your great leader acquainted with all the distresses, the evils, the perils, and the long-continued processes of mortality, from which you must be rid and removed. If living beings only hear of One Buddha-vehicle, they will not desire to see the Buddha nor wish to approach him, but think thus: 'The Buddha-way is long and far; only after the long suffering of arduous labour can the end be reached.' The Buddha, knowing that their minds are feeble and low, by his tact, when they are on the way, to give them rest, preaches the two stages of nirvana. If those beings dwell in these two stages, then the Tathagata proceeds to tell them: 'You have not yet accomplished your task. The place where you are dwelling is near the Buddha-wisdom. Take note and ponder that the nirvana which you have attained is not the real one! It is only that the Tathagata, through his tactfulness, in the One Buddha-vehicle discriminates and speaks of three.' It is just as when that leader, in order to give rest to his company, magically makes a great city and after they are rested informs them, saying: 'The Place of Jewels is at hand; this city is not real, but only my magic production.'" At that time the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"The Buddha Universal Surpassing Wisdom For ten kalpas sat on the wisdom throne, The Buddha-law still unrevealed, Still unaccomplished the Buddha-way. Heavenly gods and dragon kings, Asuras and other beings Constantly rained celestial flowers To pay homage to that buddha. The gods beat their celestial drums And made all kinds of music. Fragrant breezes sweep away the faded flowers, While raining others of fresh beauty.

When ten minor kalpas had passed, Then he accomplished the Buddha-way. Gods and men in the world All were ecstatic in mind. The sixteen sons of that buddha, All with their followers, Thousands of myriads of kotis around them, All went to the buddha, Bending low at the buddha's feet, They begged him to roll the Law-wheel: 'Holy Lion! With rain of the Law, Fill us and all others!' Hard it is to meet a world-honoured one; He appears but once in long ages, And then to awaken the living He shakes all things.

In the worlds of the eastern quarter, Five hundred myriad kotis of domains, Brahma palaces shone with light Such as never was before. All the Brahmas, seeing this sign, Sought till they reached the buddha. They honoured him, strewing flowers, And offered him their palaces, Entreating him to roll the Law-wheel And extolling him in verse. The buddha, knowing the time had not yet come, Received their entreaty but sat in silence. From three other quarters [West, south, and north.] and four directions [The intermediate points of the compass.], The zenith and the nadir they likewise came, Strewing flowers, offering their palaces, And begging the buddha to roll the Law-wheel: 'Hard it is to meet a world-honoured one; Be pleased, in thy great compassion, Widely to open the gates of the sweet dew And roll the supreme Law-*

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wheel!" [Some copies have the Chinese character of "original" instead of "great."]

The world-honoured one of infinite wisdom, Receiving the entreaty of that throng, Proclaimed for them the various laws of The Four Noble Truths and Twelve Causes: 'Ignorance on to age and death, All exist because of birth. All such distresses as these, All of you must know.'

While this law was being proclaimed, Six hundred myriad kotis of nayutas Of beings ended all their distresses, All becoming arhats. The second time he preached the Law Thousands of myriads, as the sands of the Ganges, Not following ordinary methods, Also became arhats. From that time forth the Way-attainers Were incalculable in number; To count them for myriads of kotis of kalpas Would not reach their end. Then the sixteen royal sons Who left home as shramaneras Unitedly entreated the buddha: 'Proclaim the Law of the Great-vehicle!

We and our companies of followers Would all accomplish the Buddha-way. We would be like the World-honoured One, With wise and perfectly pure eyes.' The Buddha, knowing his sons' mind And the doings of their former lives, By countless reasonings And various parables Preached the Six Paramitas And the supernatural things, Discriminated the real Law of The way bodhisattvas walk, And preached this Law-Flower Sutra In verses numerous as the sands of the Ganges.

When the buddha had preached the sutra, In a quiet room he entered meditation; With concentrated mind he sat in one place For eighty-four thousand kalpas. All those shramaneras, Perceiving he would not yet emerge from meditation, To infinite kotis of beings Expounded the buddha's wisdom, Each sitting on a Law throne, Preaching this Great-vehicle sutra; And, after the buddha's rest, Proclaimed and aided his teaching of the Law. The number of living saved by Each of those shramaneras was Six hundred myriad kotis of beings, As many as the sands of the Ganges.

After that buddha was extinct, Those hearers of the Law, In every one of the Buddha-lands, Were [re]born along with their teachers. [The sixteen royal sons.] These sixteen shramaneras, Perfectly practicing the Buddha-way, Now dwell in the ten directions, Each having attained Perfect Enlightenment. Those who then heard the Law All dwell with the buddhas.

Those who still remain shravakas Are gradually taught in the Buddha-way. I was amongst the sixteen And formerly preached to you. Therefore, by my tactfulness, I lead you on to Buddha-wisdom. Because of this former connection, I now preach the Law-Flower Sutra To cause you to enter the Buddha-way. Be careful not to harbor fear! Suppose there be a perilous way, Cut off and full of venomous beasts, Without either water or grass, A region of terror to men. An innumerable multitude, thousands of myriads, Wish to pass along this perilous way, A road indeed far-reaching, Through five hundred yojanas.

Then appears a leader Of strong sense and wise, Clear-headed and of resolute mind, Who in peril saves from all danger. But those people all become exhausted And speak to the leader, saying: 'We now are weary and worn And want to turn back from here.' The leader reflects thus: 'These fellows are much to be pitied. How can they want to turn back And miss such great treasure?"

At that instant he thinks of a device: 'Let me exert supernatural power And make a great magic city Splendidly adorned with houses, Surrounded with gardens and groves, Streamlets and bathing pools, Massive gates and lofty towers, Full of both men and women.'

Having made this transformation, He pacifies them, saying: 'Do not fear! Enter all of you into this city, And let each enjoy himself at will.' When those people had entered the city, Their hearts were full of joy; All thought only of rest and ease And considered they had been saved.

When the leader knew they were rested, He assembled and addressed them, saying: 'Let all of you push forward! This was only an illusory city. Seeing you all worn out And wanting to turn back midway, I therefore by a device Temporarily made this city. Do you now diligently advance Together to the Place of Jewels.' I, too, in like manner, Am the leader of all [beings]. Seeing the seekers of the Way Midway becoming wearied And unable to cross the perilous ways Of mortality and earthly cares, So I by my tactful powers For their relief preached nirvana, saying: 'Your sufferings are ended; You have finished your work.'

When I knew you had reached nirvana And all become arhats, Then I gathered you all together And preached to you the real Law. Buddhas by their tactful powers Separately preach the three vehicles; But there is only the One Buddha-vehicle; It is for the resting-place that two are preached. [Or "Only for the sake of a temporary resting place is a second preached."]

Now I preach to you the truth; What you have reached is not the [real] extinction. For the sake of [obtaining] the Buddha's perfect knowledge, Exert yourselves with the utmost zeal! When you have proved the perfect knowledge, The ten powers, and so on of the Buddha-laws, And perfected the thirty-two signs, Then that is real extinction. The buddhas, the leaders, For the sake of giving rest call it nirvana, But perceiving this rest should be ended, They lead them [on] into Buddha-wisdom."

HERE ENDS THE THIRD BUNCH OF WORDS

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 8

The Five Hundred Disciples Receive the Prediction of Their Destiny At that time Purna, son of Maitrayani*, having heard the Buddha preach in such wise, tactful, and opportune fashion, and having heard the prediction of the great disciples' Perfect Enlightenment; having, moreover, heard the stories of their former destinies, and also having heard of the sovereign, transcendent powers of the buddhas; having [thus] received such unexampled [teaching], his heart was purified and in ecstasy. [* One of the ten disciples of the Buddha, noted for his eloquence. Purna means "full"; Maitrayani means "benevolence" and is said to be his mother's name, but Kern suggests that it means the fifteenth day of the moon and that the whole title indicates the full moo (see Sacred Books of the East, Vol 21, Hendrik Kern, 1884, p. 194 n).] Immediately he rose from his seat, went before the Buddha, prostrated himself at his feet, then withdrew to one side, gazing upon his honoured countenance without for a moment turning away his eyes, and reflected thus: "Wonderful is the World-honoured One. Rare are his doings according to the many kinds of earthly dispositions. By tactful wisdom, he preaches the Law to and lifts all beings out of every condition to let them get rid of selfish attachment. No words of ours can declare the Buddha's merits. Only the Buddha, the World-honoured One is able to know the natural inclinations of our inmost hearts." [After this paragraph Dharmaraksha's translation has a parable in prose and verse that is not found in the extant Sanskrit text.]

Thereupon the Buddha addressed the bhikshus, saying: "Do you see this Purna, son of Maitrayani? I have always styled him the very first among all the preachers of the Law and constantly praised his varied merits. He has been zealous in guarding and helping to proclaim my Law. Among the four groups he has been able to display and teach it with profit and delight to them. Perfectly interpreting the Righteous Law of the Buddha, he has greatly benefited his fellow followers of brahma-conduct. Aside from the Tathagata, no one is able to equal the lucidity of his discourse. Do not think that it is only my Law which Purna is able to guard and help to proclaim. He also under ninety kotis of buddhas in the past guarded and helped to proclaim the Righteous Law of the buddhas. Among those preachers of the Law he was also the foremost. And in regard to the Law of the Void preached by the buddhas, he was clear-minded and penetrating; he attained the four degrees of unhindered wisdom; he has ever been able to preach the Law with judgment and in purity, without doubt and perplexity. Perfect in transcendent bodhisattva-powers, he maintained brahma-conduct to the end of his life. All the people of those buddha-periods spoke of him as 'the true disciple' [shravaka]. Thus Purna, by such tactfulness, has benefited innumerable hundreds and thousands of living beings and converted innumerable asamkhyeyas of people to achieve Perfect Enlightenment. For the sake of purifying his buddha-land, he has constantly done a buddha's work and instructed the living. Bhikshus! Purna also was the foremost among the preachers of the Law under the Seven Buddhas* and now is again the foremost among the preachers of the Law under me. [The Seven Buddhas are Vipashyin, Shikhin, Vishvabhu, Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kashyapa, and Shakyamuni. The first three are the last three of a thousand buddhas who appeared during the Glorious kalpa in the past; the last four are the first four of a thousand buddhas who appear during the present kalpa of the sages. Kern writes: "The seven so-called Manushi-Buddhas; a rather transparent disguise of the fact that in cosmological mythology there are seven Manus, rulers of certain periods" (see: Sacred Books of the East, Vol 21, Hendrik Kern, 1884, p. 193 n).]

"Among the preachers of the Law under future buddhas* in this Virtuous kalpa (aeon)**, he will also be the foremost and will guard and help to proclaim the Buddha-law. [The coming 996 buddhas (after Shakyamuni).]; [** Or the kalpa of the sages. This is the present kalpa, during which a thousand buddhas appear.] Also in the future he will guard and help to proclaim the Law of incalculable, infinite buddhas, instructing and benefiting innumerable living beings to cause them to achieve Perfect Enlightenment. For the sake of purifying his buddha-land he will ever diligently and zealously instruct the living. Gradually fulfilling the bodhisattva-course, after infinite asamkhyeya kalpas, in that land he will attain Perfect Enlightenment and his title will be Radiance of the Law Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, World-honoured One.

"That buddha will make his buddha-land of a three-thousand-great-thousandfold universe of worlds as many as the sands of the Ganges, with the precious seven for its earth, its ground level as the palm of the hand, free from hills and valleys, runnels and ditches, and its midst filled with terraces of the precious seven. The palaces of its gods will be situated nearby in the sky, where men and gods will meet and behold each other. There will be no evil ways and no womankind, for all living beings will be born transformed and have no carnal passion. They will attain to the great transcendent powers: their bodies will emit rays of light; they will fly anywhere at will; their will and memory will be firm; they will be zealous and wise, all golden-hued, and adorned with the thirty-two signs. All the beings in his domain will always have two articles of food--one the food of joy in the Law, the other the food of gladness in meditation. There will be a host of infinite asamkhyeyas and thousands of myriads of kotis of nayutas of bodhisattvas who have attained the great transcendent faculties and the four degrees of unhindered wisdom, and who have excellent ability in instructing all kinds of beings. His shravakas cannot be told by counting and calculation, and all will attain perfection in the six transcendent faculties, the three clear views, and the eight emancipations. The domain of that buddha will be adorned and perfected with such boundless excellencies as these. His kalpa will be named Jewel Radiance and his domain named Excellent Purity. The lifetime of that buddha will be infinite asamkhyeya kalpas, and the Law will remain for long. After the extinction of that buddha, stupas of the precious seven will be erected throughout all that domain." At that time the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"Bhikshus! Listen to me attentively! The Way my Buddha-son has walked, Through well studying tactfulness, Is beyond conception. Knowing how all enjoy mere trifles And are afraid of the greater wisdom, The bodhisattvas therefore become Shravakas or pratyekabuddhas. By numberless tactful methods They convert the various kinds of beings, Saying: 'We are but shravakas, Far removed from the Buddha-way.' They release innumerable beings, All completing their course; Even the lowly disposed and the neglectful Gradually become buddhas. Inwardly hiding their bodhisattva-deeds, Outwardly they appear as shravakas. With few desires and disliking mortal life, They truly purify their buddha-land.

They show themselves possessed of human passions And seem to hold heretical views. [* Or "They show to all they [too] have the three poisons."] Thus do my disciples Tactfully save all beings. If I fully explained The varied future transformations, Beings who heard of them Would be perplexed and puzzled.*

Now this Purna Under thousands of kotis of former buddhas Has diligently maintained his course, And proclaimed and protected the Buddha-law. He has sought supreme wisdom And under the buddhas Has shown himself the superior disciple In learning and wisdom. In preaching he has been fearless, Able to cause all beings to rejoice; He has ever been tireless In aiding Buddha-tasks. Having achieved the great transcendent [faculties], Acquired the four unhindered powers of wisdom, And known the faculties of others, keen or dull, He has always preached the pure Law.

Expounding such principles as these, He has taught thousands of kotis of beings, Leading them to rest in the Great-vehicle Law, And himself purified his buddha-land. In future he shall also worship Infinite, numberless buddhas, Protect and aid in proclaiming the Righteous Law, And himself purify his buddha-land.

Constantly with tactful methods He shall fearlessly preach the Law And lead incalculable beings To attain perfect knowledge; And worshiping the tathagatas, And guarding the treasury of the Law, He shall afterward become a buddha Whose title will be Law Radiance. His domain, named Excellent Purity, Will be formed of the precious seven, And his kalpa be called Jewel Radiance. His bodhisattvas, a great host, Infinite kotis in number, All accomplished in great transcendent faculties And perfect in dread powers, Will fill that domain to the full.

Numberless also will be his shravakas With the three clear [views] and eight emancipations, Who have attained the four unhindered wisdoms. Such will be his monks. All the living in that domain Will be free from carnal passions, Pure and born by transformation, Adorned with all the signs. Joy in the Law and pleasure in meditation Shall be their food, with no thought of other; No womankind will be there, Nor any evil ways. The Bhikshu Purna, Complete in all his merits, Shall gain this pure land Where the wise and sages abound. Such are the boundless things of which I have now but briefly spoken."

Then the twelve hundred arhats of self-reliant mind reflected thus: "Delighted are we to gain this unprecedented experience. If the World-honoured One would predict for each of us our future destiny as for the other great disciples, how glad we should be!" The Buddha, knowing the thoughts in their minds, addressed Maha-Kashyapa, saying: "These twelve hundred arhats: let me now in their presence and in order predict for them Perfect Enlightenment. Amongst this assembly, my great disciple Kaundinya Bhikshu, after paying homage to sixty-two thousand kotis of buddhas, will become a buddha whose title will be Universal Light Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well

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Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, World-honoured One. Of the rest of those arhats, five hundred--Uruvilva-Kashyapa, Gaya-Kashyapa, Nadi-Kashyapa, Kalodayin, Udayin, Aniruddha, Revata, Kapphina, Vakkula, Cunda, Svagata, and others--all will attain to Perfect Enlightenment, all with the same title, namely, Universal Light." At that time the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"Kaundinya Bhikshu Will see innumerable buddhas, And after asamkhyeya kalpas have passed, Accomplish Perfect Enlightenment. Ever emitting great light, Perfect in the transcendent [powers], His fame spread over the universe, Revered by all [beings], Ever preaching the supreme Way, His title will be Universal Light. Pure will be his domain; His bodhisattvas all will be brave; All mounted on wonderful buildings, They will travel through all lands With unsurpassed offerings, To present them to the buddhas. Having made these offerings, Their hearts will greatly rejoice And soon return to their own domain; Such will be their supernatural powers. That buddha's life will be six myriad kalpas; His Righteous Law will remain twice his lifetime, The Counterfeit Law double that. His Law ended, gods and men will sorrow. Five hundred other bhikshus One by one shall become buddhas With the same title, Universal Light; In turn [each] shall predict, [saying]: 'After my extinction So and so shall become buddha; The world which he instructs Shall be as mine of today.' The splendid purity of their domain And its transcendent powers, Its bodhisattvas and shravakas, Its Righteous Law and its Counterfeit, The length of its kalpa period, All will be as that above stated. Kashyapa! You now know Of these five hundred self-reliant ones. The other band of shravakas Will also be like them. To these, who are not in this assembly, Do you proclaim my words."

Thereupon the five hundred arhats present before the Buddha, having received [this] prediction, ecstatic with joy, instantly rose from their seats, went before the Buddha, made obeisance at his feet, repented their errors, and rebuked themselves, saying: "World-honoured One! We have constantly been thinking that we had attained final nirvana. Now we know that we were just like the foolish ones. Wherefore? Because we ought to have obtained the Tathagata-wisdom, and yet were content with the inferior knowledge.

"World-honoured One! It is as if some man goes to an intimate friend's house, gets drunk, and falls asleep. Meanwhile his friend, having to go forth on official duty, ties a priceless jewel within his garment as a present, and departs. The man, being drunk and asleep, knows nothing of it. On arising he travels onward till he reaches some other country, where for food and clothing he expends much labour and effort, and undergoes exceedingly great hardship, and is content even if he can obtain but little. Later, his friend happens to meet him and speaks thus: 'Tut! Sir, how is it you have come to this for the sake of food and clothing? Wishing you to be in comfort and able to satisfy all your five senses [Literally, "five desires."], I formerly in such a year and month and on such a day tied a priceless jewel within your garment. Now as of old it is present there and you in ignorance are slaving and worrying to keep yourself alive. How very stupid! Go you now and exchange that jewel for what you need and do whatever you will, free from all poverty and shortage.'

"The Buddha also is like this. When he was a bodhisattva, he taught us to conceive the idea of perfect wisdom, but we soon forgot, neither knowing nor perceiving. Having obtained the arhat-way, we said we had reached nirvana [Literally, "extinction."]; in the hardship of gaining a living we had contented ourselves with a mere trifle. But our aspirations after perfect wisdom still remain and were never lost, and now the World-honoured One arouses us and speaks thus: 'Bhikshus! That which you have obtained is not final nirvana. For long I have caused you to cultivate the roots of buddha-goodness, and for tactful reasons have displayed a form of nirvana. But you have considered it to be the real nirvana you had obtained.' World-honoured One! Now we know we are really bodhisattvas predicted to attain Perfect Enlightenment. For this cause we greatly rejoice in our unprecedented gain."

Thereupon Ajnata-Kaundinya and the others, desiring to announce this meaning over again, spoke thus in verse:

"We, hearing his voice Predicting for us unsurpassed comfort [Perfect Enlightenment.], Rejoice in our unexpected [lot] And salute the all-wise Buddha. Now before the World-honoured One We repent our errors; Though countless Buddha-treasures [awaited], With but a trifle of nirvana We, like ignorant and foolish people, Were ready to be content.

It is like the case of a poor man Who goes to the house of a friend. That friend, being very rich, Sets much fine food before him. A priceless precious pearl He ties in his inner garment, Secretly giving it and departing While he sleeps on unaware. The man when he arises Travels on to another country In search of food and clothes to keep alive, Suffering great hardships for his living, Contented with ever so little, Wishing for nothing better, Never perceiving that in his inner garment There is a priceless jewel.

The friend who gave him the jewel Afterward sees this poor man And, bitterly rebuking him, Shows where the jewel is bound. The poor man, seeing this jewel, Is filled with a great joy; Rich, in possession of wealth, He can satisfy his five senses. Such were also we.

For long has the Wonderful-honoured One Always pitied and taught us To cultivate the highest aspiration; But because of our ignorance, We neither perceived nor knew it; Gaining but a little of nirvana, Contented, we sought no more. Now the Buddha has awakened us, Saying this is not real nirvana; Only on attaining the highest Buddha-wisdom Is there real nirvana. Now, having heard from the Buddha The prediction and its glory [Some read: "The prediction and the splendid adornment of the land."], And the command we receive in turn, Body and soul are full of joy." [* Literally, "decision; to determine to become a buddha." It is also translated as "prediction."]*

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 9

Prediction of the Destiny of Arhats, Training and Trained

At that time Ananda and Rahula reflected thus: "We have thought to ourselves if our future were only foretold, how happy we should be." Thereupon they rose from their seats, went before the Buddha, made obeisance at his feet, and together spoke to the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! Let us in this also have a place. We have only the Tathagata in whom to trust. We are known to and acknowledged by all the worlds, including gods, men, and asuras. Ananda is always thy attendant, protecting and keeping the treasury of the Law, and Rahula is the Buddha's son. If the Buddha sees fit to predict for us Perfect Enlightenment our desires will be fulfilled and the hopes of many will be satisfied."

Thereupon the two thousand shravaka disciples who were under training and no longer under training all rose from their seats, bared their right shoulders, went before the Buddha, with one mind folded their hands, and gazed upon the World-honoured One, wishing as Ananda and Rahula had wished, and stood there in line.

Then the Buddha addressed Ananda, saying: "In a future world you will become a buddha with the title of Sovereign Universal King of Wisdom [great as] Mountains and Oceans Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, World-honoured One. He shall pay homage to sixty-two kotis of buddhas, protect and keep the treasury of the Law, and afterward attain Perfect Enlightenment, instructing twenty thousand myriad kotis of bodhisattvas like the sands of the Ganges, causing them to accomplish Perfect Enlightenment. His domain will be named Never-lowered Victorious Banner. Its land shall be pure, with lapis lazuli for earth. His kalpa will be named World-filling Wonderful Sound. That buddha's lifetime will be immeasurable thousand myriad kotis of asamkhyeya kalpas, so that even if a man counts and calculates it for thousands of myriads of kotis of immeasurable asamkhyeya kalpas, it will be impossible to know it. [His] Righteous Law will abide in his world twice his lifetime and the Counterfeit Law again abide in his world double the time of the Righteous Law. Ananda! This buddha, Sovereign Universal King of Wisdom great as Mountains and Oceans, will be extolled and his merits praised by universal unlimited thousand myriad kotis of buddha-tathagatas like the sands of the Ganges." Then the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"I now declare among [you] monks that Ananda, keeper of the Law, Shall pay homage to buddhas And afterward accomplish Perfect Enlightenment. [* Ananda is especially honoured as the disciple who memorized and transmitted the teachings of the Buddha.] His title will be Wisdom great as Mountains and Oceans Sovereign Universal Buddha-King. His domain will be pure, Named Never-lowered Victorious Banner. He shall instruct bodhisattvas As sands of the Ganges in number. That buddha will have august powers, His fame filling the universe; His lifetime will be beyond calculation Because of his compassion for the living; His Righteous Law will be twice his lifetime And the Counterfeit double that. Many as the sands of the Ganges, Countless living creatures In that buddha's Law Shall cultivate the seed of the Buddha-way."*

Thereupon the eight thousand bodhisattvas in the assembly who had newly started [on the road] all reflected thus: "We have not yet heard even senior bodhisattvas receive such predictions as these; what can be the cause of these shravakas obtaining such decisions as these?" Then the World-honoured One, knowing what the bodhisattvas were thinking in their minds, addressed them, saying: "Good sons! I and Ananda together under the Buddha Firmament King at the same time conceived the thought of Perfect Enlightenment. Ananda took constant pleasure in learning, while I was devoted to active progress. For this reason I have already attained Perfect Enlightenment, while Ananda has been taking care of my Law, as he will take care of the Law-treasuries of future buddhas, and instruct and bring to perfection the host of bodhisattvas. Such was his original vow, and so he receives this prediction."

Ananda, face to face with the Buddha, hearing his own prediction and the adornment of his domain, and that his vow had been fulfilled, was filled with joy at obtaining such unprecedented news. Instantly he remembered the Law-treasuries of unlimited thousand myriad kotis of buddhas in the past, and understood them without difficulty as if he were now hearing them, recalling also his original vow. Then Ananda spoke thus in verse:

"The rare and World-honoured One Recalls to my mind the Law Of innumerable buddhas in the past As if I were hearing it today. I now, having no more doubts, Peacefully abide in the Buddha-way. Tactfully will I serve In caring for the Buddha's Law."

Then the Buddha addressed Rahula: "In the world to come you will become a buddha entitled Teacher on Seven-Jeweled Lotuses Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, World-honoured One. He shall pay homage to buddha-tathagatas equal in number to the atoms of ten worlds, always becoming the eldest son of those buddhas, just as he is at present. The domain of this Trader on Seven-Jeweled Lotuses Buddha will be splendidly adorned; the number of kalpas of his lifetime, the disciples converted by him, the Righteous Law and Counterfeit Law, will be just the same as those of the Sovereign Universal King of Wisdom great as Mountains and Oceans; and of this buddha he will also become the eldest son. Afterward he will attain Perfect Enlightenment." Thereupon the World-honoured One [Buddha], desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"When I was a prince royal, Rahula was my eldest son. Now that I have accomplished the Buddha-way, He is the Law-heir receiving the Law. In worlds to come, Seeing infinite kotis of buddhas, To all he will be eldest son And with all his mind seek the Buddha-way. Of the hidden course of Rahula Only I am able to know. At present as my eldest son He is revealed to all. Infinite thousand myriad kotis Are his merits, beyond calculation. Peacefully abiding in the Buddha-law, He seeks the supreme Way."

At that time the World-honoured One looked upon the two thousand men under training and no longer under training, gentle in mind, tranquil and calm, who were observing the Buddha with all their mind. The Buddha addressed Ananda, [saying]: "Do you see these two thousand men under training and no longer under training?"

"Yes, I see them."

"Ananda! These men shall pay homage to buddha-tathagatas innumerable as the atoms of fifty worlds, revere and honour them, and care for their treasuries of the Law; and finally, in the same hour, in domains in every direction, each will become a buddha. All will have the same title, namely, Jewel Sign Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, World-honoured One. Their lifetimes will be one kalpa, and the splendour of their domains, their shravakas and bodhisattvas, their Righteous Law and Counterfeit Law, all will be equal." Then the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"These two thousand shravakas Who are now in my presence, I give to them the prediction that In the future they will become buddhas. The buddhas they worship will be Numerous as the aforementioned atoms. After caring for their Law-treasuries, They will reach Perfect Enlightenment. In domains in all directions Each will have the same title; Simultaneously sitting on the wisdom terrace, They shall prove the supreme wisdom. The name of all will be Jewel Sign; Their domains and disciples, Their Righteous Law and Counterfeit Law, Will all be equal without difference. All by transcendent [powers] Shall everywhere save the living; And their fame universally spreading, They shall progress into nirvana."

Thereupon the two thousand men under training and no longer under training, hearing the Buddha's prediction, became ecstatic with joy and spoke thus in verse:

"World-honoured One! Bright Lamp of Wisdom! We, hearing [his] voice of prediction, Are filled with joyfulness, As if sprinkled with sweet dews." ["Arhats, Training and Trained" means men studying and graduated, that is, under training and no longer under training.]

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 10

A Teacher of the Law

[The title of this chapter refers to a doctor, master, or teacher of the Law. Hendrik Kern's title is "The Preacher." At the beginning of this chapter Dharmaraksha's translation has the story of the holy wheel-rolling king Jeweled Canopy and one of his sons, Fine Canopy, who practised under the

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Medicine King Tathagata in a former world. This story, written in prose and verse, is not found in the extant Sanskrit text.]

At that time the World-honoured One addressed the eighty thousand great leaders through the Bodhisattva Medicine King, saying: "Medicine King! Do you see in this assembly innumerable gods, dragon kings, yakshas, gandharvas, asuras, garudas, kimnaras, mahoragas, human and nonhuman beings, as well as bhikshus, bhikshunis, male and female lay devotees, seekers after shravakaship, seekers after pratyekabuddhahood, seekers after bodhisattvaship, and seekers after buddhahood? All such beings as these, in the presence of the Buddha, if they hear a single verse or a single word of the Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra and even by a single thought delight in it, I predict that they will all attain Perfect Enlightenment." The Buddha again addressed Medicine King: "Moreover, after the extinction of the Tathagata, if there be any people who hear even a single verse or a single word of the Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra, and by a single thought delight in it, I also predict for them Perfect Enlightenment. Again, let there be any who receive and keep, read and recite, expound and copy even a single verse of the Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra, and look upon this sutra with reverence as if it were the Buddha, and make offering to it in various ways with flowers, perfume, garlands, sandal powder, perfumed unguents, incense for burning, silk canopies, banners, flags, garments, and music, as well as revere it with folded hands: know, Medicine King, these people have already paid homage to ten myriad kotis of buddhas and under the buddhas performed their great vows; therefore, out of compassion for all living beings they are born here among men.

"Medicine King! If there be any people who ask you what sort of living beings will become buddhas in future worlds, you should show them that those are the people who will certainly become buddhas in future worlds. Wherefore? If my good sons and good daughters receive and keep, read and recite, expound, and copy even a single word of the Law-Flower Sutra, and make offerings to it in various ways with flowers, perfumes, garlands, sandal powder, fragrant unguents, incense for burning, silk canopies, banners, flags, garments, and music, as well as revere it with folded hands, these people will be looked up to by all the worlds; and as you pay homage to tathagatas, so should you pay homage to them. Know! These people are great bodhisattvas who, having accomplished Perfect Enlightenment and out of compassion for all living beings, are willingly born in this world, and widely proclaim and expound the Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra. How much more those who are perfectly able to receive, keep, and in every way pay homage to it! Know, Medicine King! These people will of themselves abandon the recompense of their purified karma, and after my extinction, out of pity for all living beings, will be born in the evil world and widely proclaim this sutra. If these good sons and daughters, after my extinction, should be able even by stealth to preach to one person even one word of the Law-Flower Sutra, know these people are Tathagata-apostles sent by the Tathagata to perform Tathagata-deeds. How much more so those who in great assemblies widely preach to others.

"Medicine King! Even if there be some wicked person who out of an evil mind, throughout a whole kalpa, appears before the Buddha and unceasingly blasphemes the Buddha, his sin is still light, but if anyone, even with a single ill word, defames the lay devotees or monks who read and recite the Law-Flower Sutra, his sin is extremely heavy. Medicine King! He who reads and recites the Law-Flower Sutra--know! That man has adorned himself with the adornment of the Buddha, and so is carried by the Tathagata on his shoulder. Wherever he goes, he should be saluted with hands wholeheartedly folded, revered, worshiped, honoured, and extolled, and offerings made to him of flowers, perfumes, garlands, sandal powder, perfumed unguents, incense for burning, silk canopies, banners, flags, garments, edibles and dainties, and music; he should be served with the most excellent offerings found amongst men. He should be sprinkled with celestial jewels, and offerings made of celestial jewels in heaps. Wherefore? Because, this man delighting to preach the Law, they who hear it but for a moment thereupon attain Perfect Enlightenment." Then the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"Should one wish to abide in the Buddha-way And accomplish intuitive wisdom, He must always earnestly honour The keepers of the Flower of the Law. Should one wish quickly to attain Every kind of wisdom, He must receive and keep this sutra And honour those who keep it. Should one be able to receive and keep The Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra, Know, he is the Buddha's apostle, Who has compassion for all living beings. He who is able to receive and keep The Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra, Giving up his pure land, [Or "the pure (clear) position (he had attained)."] And, from pity for the living, being born here: Know, such a man as this, Free to be born where he will, Is able, in this evil world, Widely to preach the supreme Law.

You should, with celestial flowers and perfumes, Garments of heavenly jewels, And heaps of wonderful celestial jewels, Pay homage to such a preacher of the Law. In evil ages after my extinction, Those who are able to keep this sutra Must be saluted and revered with folded hands, As if paying homage to the World-honoured One. With the best of dainties and abundant sweets, And every kind of garment, This son of the Buddha should be worshiped In the hope of even a momentary hearing.

In future ages, if anyone is able To receive and keep this sutra, I will send him to be amongst men To perform the task of the Tathagata. If anyone in the course of a kalpa Unceasingly cherishes a wicked heart And, with angry mien, rails at the Buddha, He commits an infinitely heavy sin. But anyone who reads, recites, and keeps This Sutra of the Law-Flower, Should one abuse him even a moment, His sin is still heavier.

Anyone who seeks after the Buddha-way And for a complete kalpa, With folded hands, in my presence Extols me in numberless verses, Because he thus extols the Buddha Will acquire infinite merit. But he who praises the bearers of the sutra, His happiness will be even greater.

During eighty kotis of kalpas, With the most excellent colour, sound, Scent, flavour, and touch, If one worships the sutra-bearers; If, having thus worshiped, He hears [it from them but] for a moment, Then let him joyfully congratulate himself, Saying: 'I have now obtained a great benefit.' Medicine King! Now I say to you: Of the sutras I have preached, Amongst all these sutras, The Law-Flower is the very foremost."

Thereupon the Buddha again addressed the Medicine King Bodhisattva-Mahasattva, saying: "Infinite thousand myriad kotis are the sutras I preach, whether already preached, now being preached, or to be preached in the future; and, among them all, this Law-Flower Sutra is the most difficult to believe and the most difficult to understand. Medicine King! This sutra is the mystic, essential treasury of all buddhas, which must not be distributed among or recklessly delivered to men. It is watched over by buddhas, world-honoured ones, and from of yore it has never been revealed and preached. And this sutra while the Tathagata is still here has aroused much enmity and envy; how much more after his extinction!

"Know, Medicine King! After the Tathagata is extinct those who are able to copy, keep, read, recite, worship, and preach it to others will be invested by the Tathagata with his robe, and will be protected and remembered by buddhas abiding in other regions. They shall have great powers of faith and the power of a resolute vow and the powers of virtuous character. Know, those people shall dwell with the Tathagata, and the Tathagata shall place his hand upon their heads.

"Medicine King! In every place where this sutra [teaching] is preached or read or recited or copied or its volumes are kept, one should erect a caitya* of the precious seven, making it very high, spacious, and splendid. But there is no need to deposit relics. [* A caitya is a pagoda in which sutras are deposited. From this chapter on, the erection of caityas instead of stupas, or pagodas for relics, is stressed.]

Wherefore? Because in it there is the whole body of the Tathagata. This caitya [The Sanskrit text has "stupa," signifying that this caitya should be honoured as if it were a stupa.] should be served, revered, honoured, and extolled with all kinds of flowers, perfumes, garlands, silk canopies, banners, flags, music, and hymns. If any, seeing that caitya, salute and worship it, know that they all are near to Perfect Enlightenment. Medicine King! Many people there are, both laymen and monks, who walk in the bodhisattva-way, without, as it were, being able to see, hear, read, recite, copy, keep, and worship this Law-Flower Sutra. Know that those people are not yet rightly walking in the bodhisattva-way; but if any of them hear this sutra, then they shall be able to walk aright in the bodhisattva-way. If any living beings who seek after the Buddha-way either see or hear this Law-Flower Sutra, and after hearing it believe and discern, receive and keep it, you may know that they are near Perfect Enlightenment.

"Medicine King! It is like a man, extremely thirsty and in need of water, who searches for it by digging in a tableland. So long as he sees dry earth, he knows that the water is still far off. Continuing his labour unceasingly, he in time sees moist earth and then gradually reaches the mire. Then he makes up his mind, knowing that water is at hand. Bodhisattvas are also like this. If they have not heard, nor understood, nor been able to observe this Law-Flower Sutra, you may know that they are still far from Perfect Enlightenment. If they hear, understand, ponder, and observe it, you may assuredly know that they are near Perfect Enlightenment. Wherefore? Because the Perfect Enlightenment of every bodhisattva all belongs to this sutra. This sutra brings out the fuller meaning of the tactful or partial method in order to reveal the real truth*. The treasury of this Law-Flower Sutra is so deep and strong, so hidden and far away that no human being has been able to reach it. Now the Buddha has revealed it for instructing and perfecting bodhisattvas. [* That is, it opens wide the door, which has heretofore been only partially open, in order to reveal the truth in its reality; in other words, it opens the door to buddhahood for all--Hinayana, Mahayana, shravakas, pratyekabuddhas, bodhisattvas--and is the only sutra that does so. This doctrine is called "opening the temporary truths and revealing the real [truth]" or "opening the three [vehicles, doctrines] and revealing the One [vehicle, doctrine]."]

"Medicine King! If any bodhisattva, on hearing this Law-Flower Sutra, is startled, doubts, and fears, you may know that this is a bodhisattva neophyte. If any shravaka, on hearing this sutra, is startled, doubts, and fears, you may know him for an arrogant person.

"Medicine King! If there be any good son or good daughter who after the extinction of the Tathagata desires to preach this Law-Flower Sutra to the four groups, how should he preach it? That good son or good daughter, entering into the abode of the Tathagata, wearing the robe of the Tathagata, and sitting on the throne of the Tathagata, should then widely proclaim this sutra to the four groups of hearers.

"The abode of the Tathagata is the great compassionate heart within all living beings; the robe of the Tathagata is the gentle and forbearing heart; the throne of the Tathagata is the voidness of all laws. Established in these, then with unflagging mind to bodhisattvas and the four groups of hearers he will preach this Law-Flower Sutra. Medicine King! I though dwelling in another realm will send spirit messengers* to gather together hearers of the Law for that preacher and also send spirit bhikshus, bhikshunis, and male and female lay devotees to hear his preaching of the Law. [* Literally, "transformed men"; that is, men who have been made to appear expediently through the supernatural power of the Buddha.] All these spirit people, hearing the Law, shall unresistingly receive it in faith and obey it. If the preacher of the Law takes up his abode in a secluded place, then I will abundantly send gods, dragons, spirits, gandharvas, asuras, and others to hear him preach. Though I am in a different domain, I will from time to time cause the preacher of the Law to see me. If he forgets any detail of this sutra, I will return and tell him, that he may be in perfect possession of it." At that time the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"In order to be rid of sloth, Hearken to this sutra! Rare is the chance of hearing it And rare are those who receive it in faith. It is like a thirsty man needing water, Who digs in a tableland; Still seeing dry and arid earth, He knows water is yet far off. Moist earth and mire gradually appearing, He is assured that water is near. Know, Medicine King! Such is the case with those Who hear not the Law-Flower Sutra; They are far from the Buddha-wisdom. Should they hear this profound sutra, Which determines the Law for disciples And is the king of all sutras, And, hearing, truly ponder it, Know that those people Are near the Buddha-wisdom.

Should anyone preach this sutra, Let him enter the Tathagata robe, Wear the Tathagata robe, And sit on the Tathagata throne; Undaunted amidst the multitude, Let him openly expound and preach it. With great compassion for his abode, Gentleness and forbearance for his robe, And the voidness of all laws for his throne, Abiding in these, let him preach the Law.

If, when he preaches this sutra, Some should with evil mouth abuse, Or lay on swords, sticks, shards, or stones, Think of the Buddha; let him be patient. In thousands of myriads of kotis of lands, I appear with pure imperishable bodies, And in infinite kotis of kalpas Preach the Law for all the living.

If anyone after my extinction Is able to proclaim this sutra, I will send him the four spirit groups Of bhikshus and bhikshunis, Pure-minded men and women, To worship him as teacher of the Law, While I will draw living beings And assemble them to hear this Law. Should men seek to assail with ill words, With swords, sticks, shards, or stones, I will send spirit people o act as his protectors. Should any preacher of this Law, Dwelling alone in a secluded place, In solitude where is no voice of man, Read and recite this sutra, Then I will appear to him With a pure and luminous body.

Should he forget sentences or words, I will tell him to his clear apprehension. Whenever such a man, perfect in these merits, Either preaches to the four groups Or in seclusion reads and recites the sutra, He will always see me. When such a man is in seclusion, I will send gods and dragon kings, Yakshas, demons, spirits, and others To be hearers of this Law. That man will delight to preach the Law And expound it without hindrance.

Because buddhas guard and mind him, He can cause multitudes to rejoice. Whoever is close to such a teacher of the Law Will speedily attain the bodhisattva-way; And he who becomes a pupil of that teacher Will behold buddhas numerous as the sands of the Ganges."

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 11

Beholding the Precious Stupa

At that time in front of the Buddha a stupa of the seven precious things, five hundred yojanas in height and two hundred and fifty yojanas in length and breadth, sprang up from the earth and abode in the sky.

[With regard to the Sanskrit vaihayasam antrarikshe here, Nanjio notes: "Hendrik Kern translated the word vaihayasam

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as 'a meteoric phenomenon,' reading it as the neuter gender, subject, and singular, and besides, saying in the footnote: 'Here, it would seem, the rainbow of seven colours. We shall see that the Stupa has also another function, that of symbolising the celestial dhishnya in which sun and moon are standing' [Sacred Books of the East, Hendrik Kern vol. 21, p. 227 n]. But this has nearly the same meaning as the next word, antarikshe, and is used as an adverb. Therefore it is right to translate it as Kumarajiva did."]

It was decorated with all kinds of precious things, splendidly adorned with five thousand parapets, thousands of myriads of recesses, and countless banners and flags; hung with jewel garlands, with myriads of kotis of gem bells suspended on it; on every side exhaling the fragrance of tamalapattra sandalwood, filling the whole world. All its streamers and canopies were composed of the precious seven, gold, silver, lapis lazuli, moonstone, agate, pearl, and carnelian, reaching up to the palaces of the four heavenly kings. The thirty-three gods, raining celestial mandarava flowers, paid homage to the Precious Stupa. Other gods, dragons, yakshas, gandharvas, asuras, garudas, kimnaras, mohoragas, human and nonhuman beings, all these thousand myriad kotis of beings, paid homage to the stupa with all kinds of flowers, perfumes, garlands, streamers, canopies, and music, revered, honoured, and extolled it. Then from the midst of the Precious Stupa there came a loud voice, praising and saying*: "Excellent! Excellent! World-honoured Shakyamuni! [* The Tibetan version has a long preceding address, translated into Japanese by Oka, and then follows with the address given here. The former is not found in the extant Sanskrit text.] Thou art able to preach to the great assembly the Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra of universal and great wisdom, by which bodhisattvas are instructed and which the buddhas guard and mind. So is it, so is it, World-honoured Shakyamuni! All that thou sayest is true."

Then the four groups, beholding the great Precious Stupa abiding in the sky and hearing the sound which proceeded from the stupa, were all filled with delight in the Law and with wonder at these unheard-of happenings; they rose up from their seats and, reverently folding their hands, withdrew to one side. Meanwhile, a bodhisattva-mahasattva named Great Eloquence, perceiving uncertainty in the minds of all the world[s] of gods, men, asuras, and others, spoke to the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! For what reason has this stupa sprung out of the earth and from its midst this voice proceeded?"

Then the Buddha told the Bodhisattva Great Eloquence: "In this stupa there is the whole body of the Tathagata. Of yore in the past, innumerable thousand myriad kotis of asamkhyeya worlds away in the east, there was a domain named Jewel Clear. In that domain there was a buddha entitled Abundant Treasures. When that buddha was treading the bodhisattva-way, he made a great vow, saying: 'After I become a buddha and am extinct, if in any country in the universe there be a place where the Law-Flower Sutra is preached, my stupa shall arise and appear there, in order that I may hearken to that sutra, bear testimony to it, and extol it, saying: "Excellent!"' When that buddha had finished his course, he, his extinction approaching, in the midst of gods, men, and a great host, instructed his bhikshus: 'Those who, after my extinction, desire to worship my whole body should erect a great stupa.' Wherever in the worlds of the universe the Law-Flower Sutra is preached, that buddha by the supernatural powers of his vow causes his stupa, containing his whole body, there to spring forth, and praises the sutra, saying: 'Excellent! Excellent!' Great Eloquence! It is because just now the Tathagata Abundant Treasures heard the Law-Flower Sutra preached that his stupa sprang up from the earth and he extolled the sutra, saying: 'Excellent! Excellent!'"

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Great Eloquence, because of the divine power of the Tathagata, said to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! We earnestly desire to see this buddha's body." The Buddha addressed the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Great Eloquence thus: "This Buddha Abundant Treasures has a profound and grave vow: 'When my stupa appears in the presence of any of the buddhas for the sake of hearing the Law-Flower Sutra, if he desires to show my body to the four groups, let the buddhas who have emanated from that buddha and who are preaching the Law in the worlds in all directions return all together and assemble in one place, and then shall my body appear.' So, Great Eloquence, I must now assemble the buddhas who have emanated from me and who are preaching the Law in the worlds in all directions."

Great Eloquence replied to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! We would also see the buddhas emanated from the World-honoured One and worship and pay homage to them."

Then the Buddha sent forth a ray from the circle of white hair between his eyebrows, whereupon eastward there became visible all the buddhas in five hundred myriad kotis of nayutas of domains numerous as the sands of the Ganges. All those domains had crystal for earth and jewel trees and precious cloth for adornment, were filled with countless thousand myriad kotis of bodhisattvas, had jeweled canopies stretched above them, and were covered with networks of jewels. All the buddhas in those domains were preaching the laws with ravishing voices. And innumerable thousand myriad kotis of bodhisattvas were also seen, filling those domains and preaching to the multitude. So, too, was it in the southern, western, and northern quarters, in the four intermediate directions, in the zenith and the nadir, wherever shone the ray-signal from the circle of white hair.

Then the buddhas in all directions each addressed the host of his bodhisattvas, saying: "Good sons! We must now go to Shakyamuni Buddha in the saha-world and pay homage to the Precious Stupa of the Tathagata Abundant Treasures."

Thereupon the saha-world instantly became pure, with lapis lazuli for earth, adorned with jewel trees, cords made of gold marking the boundaries of its eight divisions, having no hamlets, villages, towns, cities, great seas, great rivers, mountains, streams, forests, and thickets, smoking with most precious incense, its ground strewn with mandarava flowers, spread with precious nets and curtains, and hung with all kinds of precious bells.

There only remained the assembled congregation, all other gods and men having been removed to other lands. Then those buddhas, each bringing a great bodhisattva as his attendant, arrived at the saha-world, and each went to the foot of a jewel tree. Each of the jewel trees was five hundred yojanas high, adorned in turn with boughs, leaves, blossoms, and fruit; under all those jewel trees there were lion thrones five yojanas high, also decorated with magnificent jewels. Then each of those buddhas sat cross-legged on those thrones.

Thus all around him the three-thousand-great-thousandfold world was filled with buddhas, though as yet, from but one point of the compass, the bodies which had emanated from Shakyamuni Buddha had not finished arriving. Then Shakyamuni Buddha, desiring to make room for the buddhas who had emanated from himself, in each of the eight directions of space transformed two hundred myriad kotis of nayutas of domains, all of them pure, without hells, hungry spirits, animals, and asuras, and moreover removed their gods and men to other lands. The domains thus transformed also had lapis lazuli for earth and were ornate with jewel trees five hundred yojanas high, adorned in turn with boughs, leaves, blossoms, and fruit; under every tree was a jeweled lion throne five yojanas high, decorated with all kinds of gems; and there were no great seas or great rivers, nor any Mount Mucilinda, Mount Maha-Mucilinda, Mount Iron Circle, Mount Great Iron Circle [Four mountains surrounding Mount Sumeru.], Mount Sumeru, and so on, all these kings of mountains which always form one Buddha-land; their jeweled ground was even and smooth; everywhere jewel-decked awnings were spread and streamers and canopies hung, while most precious incense was burning, and precious celestial flowers everywhere covered the ground.

Shakyamuni Buddha [the sage of the Shakya dynasty], in order that the buddhas who were coming might be seated, in each of the eight directions transformed two hundred myriad kotis of nayutas of domains, making them all pure, without hells, hungry spirits, animals, and asuras, and removing [their] gods and men to other lands. The domains thus transformed also had lapis lazuli for earth and were ornate with jewel trees five hundred yojanas high, adorned in turn with boughs, leaves, blossoms, and fruit; under every tree was a jeweled lion throne five joyanas high, decorated with great jewels; and there were no great seas or great rivers, nor any Mount Mucilinda, Mount Maha-Mucilinda, Mount Iron Circle, Mount Great Iron Circle, Mount Sumeru, and so on, these kings of mountains which always form one Buddha-land; their jeweled ground was even and smooth; everywhere jewel-decked awnings were spread, and streamers and canopies hung, while most precious incense was burning, and precious celestial flowers everywhere covered the ground.

At that moment the bodies which had emanated eastward from Shakyamuni, namely the buddhas who were each preaching the Law in a hundred thousand myriad kotis of nayutas of eastern domains numerous as the sands of the Ganges, arrived and assembled. In like manner in turn the buddhas from all the ten directions all arrived and assembled and took their seats in the eight directions. Thereupon each direction was filled with buddha-tathagatas from its four hundred myriad kotis of nayutas of domains. Then all the buddhas, each under a jewel tree, seated on a lion throne, sent their attendants to make inquiries of Shakyamuni Buddha, each sending a double handful of jewel flowers, and saying to them: "Good sons! Do you go and visit Mount Gridhrakuta, the abode of Shakyamuni Buddha, and, according to our words, say: 'Art thou free from disease and distress? Art thou at ease in thy physical powers? And are all the groups of thy bodhisattvas and shravakas at peace?' Strew the Buddha in homage with these jewel flowers and say thus: 'Such and such a buddha joins in wishing that this Precious Stupa be opened.'" All the buddhas sent their messengers in like manner.

Then Shakyamuni Buddha, beholding the buddhas who had emanated from him assembled together, each seated on his lion throne, and hearing that those buddhas unitedly desired the Precious Stupa to be opened, straightway rose up from his throne and abode in the sky. All the four groups stood up, folded their hands, and with all their mind gazed at the Buddha. Thereupon Shakyamuni Buddha with the fingers of his right hand opened the door of the Stupa of the Precious Seven, when there went forth a great sound, like the withdrawing of the bolt on opening a great city gate. Thereupon all the congregation saw the Tathagata Abundant Treasures sitting on the lion throne in the Precious Stupa, with his undissipated body whole and as if he were in meditation. And they heard him saying: "Excellent! Excellent! Shakyamuni Buddha! Speedily preach this Law-Flower Sutra. I have come hither in order to hear this sutra."

Then the four groups, seeing the buddha who had passed away and been extinct for immeasurable thousand myriad kotis of kalpas speak such words as these, praised this unprecedented marvel and strewed on the Buddha Abundant Treasures and on Shakyamuni Buddha heaps of celestial jewel flowers. Thereupon the Buddha Abundant Treasures within the Precious Stupa shared half his throne with Shakyamuni Buddha, speaking thus: "Shakyamuni Buddha! Take this seat!" Whereon Shakyamuni Buddha entered the stupa and, sitting down on that half throne, folded his legs. Then the great assembly, seeing the two Tathagatas sitting cross-legged on the lion throne in the Stupa of the Precious Seven, each reflected thus: "The Buddhas are sitting aloft and far away. Would that the Tathagatas by their transcendent powers might cause us together to take up our abode in the sky." Immediately Shakyamuni Buddha, by his transcendent powers, received all the great assembly up into the sky, and with a great voice universally addressed the four groups, saying: "Who are able to publish abroad the Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra in this saha-world? Now indeed is the time. The Tathagata not long hence must enter nirvana. The Buddha desires to bequeath this Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra so that it may ever exist." At that time the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this meaning over again, spoke thus in verse:

"The holy world-honoured lord, Albeit for long extinct And in his Precious Stupa, Yet comes to hear the Law. How then should anyone not be Zealous for the Law's sake? This buddha has been extinct For countless kalpas (aeons), Yet in place after place he hears the Law Because of its rareness.

That buddha made a vow: 'After my extinction, I will go anywhere Forever to hear this Law.' And innumerable buddhas Emanated from my body, As the sands of the Ganges, Have come to hear the Law And to behold the extinct Tathagata Abundant Treasures.

Each, leaving his wonderful land And his host of disciples, Gods, men, and dragons, And all their offerings, Has come here to this place So that the Law may long abide. In order to seat these buddhas, By my transcendent powers I have removed innumerable beings And cleared [my] domain.

The buddhas, one by one, Have arrived under the jewel trees, As lotus flowers adorn A clear and cool pool. Under those jewel trees, On the lion thrones, The buddhas are seated, Brilliant and resplendent, As, in the darkness of night, Great torches gleam. From them proceeds a mystic fragrance Spreading afar over all lands; All beings perfumed thereby Are beside themselves with joy; It is just as when a great wind Blows over the fragrant bushes. By this expedient I cause the Law long to abide. To this great assembly I say: 'After my extinction, Whoever is able to guard and keep, Read and recite this sutra, Let him before the Buddha Himself declare his vow! The Buddha Abundant Treasures, Albeit extinct for long, By reason of his great vow Will sound forth the lion's roar [The buddha's voice.].

Let the Tathagata Abundant Treasures And also me myself And my assembly of emanated buddhas Know this resolve. [* The Buddha Abundant Treasures, the Buddha Shakyamuni, and all the buddhas emanated from Shakyamuni are called the three groups of buddhas.] Of all my Buddha-sons, Let him who is able to protect the Law Sound forth a great vow To make it long abide!*

He who is able to protect The Law of this sutra Will be deemed to have worshiped Me and Abundant Treasures, This Buddha Abundant Treasures, Who abides in the Precious Stupa And ever wanders everywhere For the sake of this sutra. He will moreover have worshiped All my emanated buddhas here, Who adorn and make resplendent All the worlds.

If he preaches this sutra, Then he is deemed to have seen me And the Tathagata Abundant Treasures, Also my emanated buddhas. All my good sons! Let each carefully ponder that! This is a difficult task, Needing the taking of a great vow. All the other sutras, Numerous as the sands of the Ganges, Though one expounded them, It still could not be counted hard.

If one took up (Mount) Sumeru And hurled it to another region Of numberless buddha-lands, Neither would that be hard. If one were with his toes To move a great-thousandfold world And hurl it afar to another land, That also would not be hard.

If one, standing on the Summit of All Beings [The highest heaven, called the Summit of All Existence.], Were to expound to all beings The countless other sutras, That also would not

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be hard. But if one, after the Buddha's extinction, In the midst of an evil world Is able to preach this sutra, This indeed is hard. Though there be a man who Grasps the sky in his hand And wanders about with it, That is still not hard.

But after my extinction, Whether himself to copy and keep Or cause another to copy it, That indeed is hard. If one took the great earth. Put it on his toenail, And ascended to the Brahma heaven, That would still not be hard. But after the Buddha's extinction, In the midst of an evil world To read aloud this sutra for but a moment, That indeed will be hard.

Though one, in the final conflagration [The conflagration at the end of the world.], Carried a load of dry hay, And entered it unseared, That would still not be hard. But after my extinction, If anyone keeps this sutra And proclaims it but to one man, That indeed will be hard.

If one could keep the eighty-four thousand Sections of the Law [According to legend, all living beings have eighty-four thousand faults, so the Buddha taught the same number of laws or remedies.] And the twelve divisions of sutras, Expound them to others, And cause those who heard To gain the six transcendent powers, Though he had such power as this, That would still not be hard.*

[The Mahayana sutras are classified into twelve divisions, while the Hinayana sutras are divided into nine. The twelve divisions of the Mahayana sutras are 1. sutras; 2. geya, or repetitional chants; 3. vyakarana, or predictions regarding the destiny of the Buddha's disciples; 4. gatha, or detached stanzas; 5. udana, or impromptu discourses; 6. nidana, or reasonings; 7. avadana, or parables; 8. itivrittaka, or former things; 9. jataka, or birth stories; 10. vaipulya, or amplified and diffuse scriptures; 11. adbhutadharma, or the unprecedented laws; and 12. upadesha, or dogmatic discussions.]*

But after my extinction, if anyone Hears and receives this sutra And inquires into its meaning, That indeed will be hard. If one could preach the Law And cause thousands, myriads, kotis, Countless, innumerable beings, As many as the sands of the Ganges, To become arhats And perfect the six transcendent powers, Even to confer such a benefit as this Would still not be hard.

But after my extinction, If anyone is able to keep Such a sutra as this, That will indeed be hard. I, on account of the Buddha-way, In innumerable lands From the beginning till now Have widely preached many sutras; But amongst them all This sutra is the chief, and If anyone is able to keep it, Then he keeps the Buddha's body.

All my good sons! Let him who, after my extinction, Is able to receive and keep, Read and recite this sutra, Now in the presence of the Buddha Announce his own vow! This sutra so difficult to keep, If anyone keeps it a short time, I shall be pleased, And so will all the buddhas. Such a one as this Will be praised by all the buddhas; Such a one is brave; Such a one is zealous; Such a one is named Law-keeper And dhuta-observer; Speedily shall he attain The supreme Buddha-way.

He who, in coming generations, Can read and keep this sutra Is truly a Buddha-son Dwelling in the stage of pure goodness. After the Buddha's extinction, He who can expound its meaning Will be the eye of the world For gods and men. He who, in the [final] age of fear, Can preach it even for a moment By all gods and men Will be worshiped." [Hendrik Kern's title for this chapter is "Apparition of a Stupa," and the Chinese for Kern's "apparition" can be translated "manifestation" or "revelation," but the word is generally interpreted as meaning "beholding."]

HERE ENDS THE FOURTH BUNCH OF WORDS

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 12

Devadatta / Ananda*

[* Devadatta, a Buddhist monk, also called Ananda, who was cousin. brother-in-law, and one of the Ten Disciples of Gautama Siddhartha Buddha. The name Devadatta means "god-given / gift of god" in Sanskrit and Pali, equal to Deodatus, or Deusdedit in Latin; Theodotos, Theodosios or Theodoure in Greek.]

At that time the Buddha addressed the bodhisattvas, the celestial beings, and the four groups [Meaning "gods, men, and the four groups"--monks, nuns, and male and female lay devotees.], saying: "Through innumerable kalpas of the past, I have tirelessly sought the Law-Flower Sutra; during many kalpas I was long a king and vowed to seek the supreme Bodhi [Perfect Enlightenment.], my mind never faltering. Desiring to fulfill the Six Paramitas, I earnestly bestowed alms with an unsparing mind--elephants, horses, the rare seven [The precious seven.], countries, cities, wives, children, male and female slaves, servants and followers, head, eyes, marrow, brain, the flesh of my body, hands, and feet, unsparing of body and life. At that time people's lifetime was beyond measure. For the sake of the Law, I gave up the throne of my domain, deputed my government to the crown prince, and with beating drum and open proclamation, sought everywhere for the truth, promising: 'Whoever is able to tell me of a Great-vehicle, I will all my life provide for him and be his footman.' At that time a certain hermit came to me the king and said: 'I have a Great-vehicle named Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra. If you will not disobey me, I will explain it to you.' I the king, hearing what the hermit said, became ecstatic with joy and instantly followed him, providing for his needs, gathering fruit, drawing water, collecting fuel, laying his food, even turning my body into his seat and bed, yet never feeling fatigue of body or mind. While I thus served a millennium passed, and for the sake of the Law, I zealously waited on him that he should lack nothing." Then the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this meaning over again, spoke thus in verse:

"I remember in past kalpas (aeons), When, to seek the Great Law--Though I was a king in the world, Yet coveted not earthly pleasures [Literally, "the pleasures of the five desires." See Glossary.]--With toll of bell, I proclaimed to the four quarters: 'Whoever possesses the Great Law, If he will expound it to me, To him I will become servant.' Then there was the sage Asita, Who came and said to the great king: 'I possess the wonderful Law Rarely [heard] in the world.

If you are able to practice it, I will preach it to you.' Then the king, hearing the sage's word, Conceived great joy in his heart And thereupon followed him, Providing for his needs, Gathering fuel, fruit, and gourds, And in season reverently offering them. Keeping the Wonderful Law in my heart, Body and mind were unwearied; Universally for all living beings I diligently sought the Great Law, Not indeed for my own sake, Not for the delight of the five desires. So I, king of a great domain, By zealous seeking obtained this Law And as last became a buddha. Now, therefore, I preach it to you."

The Buddha said to all the bhikshus: "The former king was myself and the sage at that juncture was the present Devadatta himself. Through the good friendship of Devadatta I was enabled to become perfect in the Six Paramitas, in kindness, compassion, joy, and indifference [Maitri, kindness or benevolence; karuna, compassion; mudita, joy; and upeksha, indifference, or the state of absolute indifference attained by renouncing any exercise of the mental faculties. These four are termed the four kinds of infinite mind or infinite virtues.], in the thirty-two signs, the eighty kinds of excellence, the deep golden-hued skin, the ten powers, the four kinds of fearlessness, the four social laws*, the eighteen special unique characteristics, the transcendent powers of the Way, the attainment of Perfect Enlightenment, and the widespread saving of the living--all this is due to the good friendship of Devadatta. [* The four guiding rules for human society: almsgiving, kind speech, helpful conduct, and mutual service.] I declare to all you four groups: Devadatta, after his departure and innumerable kalpas have passed, will become a buddha, whose title will be King of the Gods Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, World-honoured One, and whose world will be named Divine Way.

At that time the Buddha King of Gods shall dwell in the world for twenty intermediate kalpas. He shall widely preach the Wonderful Law for all the living, and living beings [numerous] as the sands of the Ganges will attain arhatship; innumerable beings will devote themselves to pratyekabuddhahood; and living beings numerous as the sands of the Ganges, devoting themselves to the supreme Way, will attain to the assurance of no [re]birth* and reach the stage of never falling back into mortal life. [Literally, "the patience of no [re]birth," interpreted as the assurance of no (re)birth. This is the stage at which a bodhisattva has transcended life and death.]

Then after the parinirvana of the Buddha King of Gods, the Righteous Law will dwell in his world during twenty intermediate kalpas. For his complete body relic, a stupa of the precious seven shall be erected, sixty yojanas in height and forty yojanas in length and width. All the gods and people, with various flowers, sandal powder, incense for burning, perfumed unguents, garments, garlands, banners, flags, jeweled canopies, music, and song, shall respectfully salute and pay homage to the wonderful Stupa of the Precious Seven. Innumerable living beings will attain arhatship; incalculable living creatures will awaken to pratyekabuddhahood; and inconceivable numbers of the living will be aroused to Bodhi and reach the [stage] of never falling back into mortality."

The Buddha said to the bhikshus: "If there be in a future world any good son or good daughter to hear this Devadatta chapter of the Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra with pure heart and believing reverence, and is free from doubt, such a one shall not fall into the hells or become a hungry spirit or animal, but shall be born into the presence of the buddhas of the universe. Wherever he be born he will always hear this sutra; and if he be born amongst men and gods, he will enjoy marvelous delight. As to the Buddha into whose presence [he is born], his birth shall be by emanation from a lotus flower."

Thereupon a bodhisattva-attendant, from a region beneath, of the World-honoured One Abundant Treasures, named Wisdom Accumulation, said to the Buddha Abundant Treasures: "Let us return to our own land!" But Shakyamuni Buddha said to Wisdom Accumulation: "Good son! Wait a while! Here is the Bodhisattva Manjushri.

First meet and discuss with him the Wonderful Law and then return to your own land." Thereupon Manjushri, sitting on a thousand-petal lotus flower as large as a carriage wheel, with the bodhisattvas who accompanied him also sitting on jeweled lotus flowers, unaided sprang up from the great ocean, out of the palace of the Sagara Dragon King. Taking up his place in the sky, he advanced to the Divine Vulture Peak, alighted from his lotus flower, went before the Buddha, and reverently made obeisance at the feet of the two World-honoured Ones. When he had expressed his reverence he went over to Wisdom Accumulation, and after they had asked after each other's welfare, they withdrew and sat to one side. The Bodhisattva Wisdom Accumulation asked Manjushri: "Virtuous sir! Since you went to the dragon palace how many beings have you converted?" Manjushri answered: "Their numbers are immeasurable; they cannot be calculated, nor expressed in words, nor fathomed by the mind. Just wait a moment! One must bring the proof." Before he had finished speaking numberless bodhisattvas sitting on jeweled lotus flowers sprang up from the sea, advanced to the Divine Vulture Peak, and took up their place in the sky. All these bodhisattvas had been converted and saved by Manjushri, had become perfect in bodhisattva-deeds, and together discussed and expounded the Six Paramitas. Those in the sky, who had formerly been shravakas, told of their former shravaka-deeds. But now they all maintained the spiritual principle of the Great-vehicle. Then said Manjushri to Wisdom Accumulation: "Such has been the result of my course of instruction in the ocean." Then the Bodhisattva Wisdom Accumulation extolled him thus in verse:

"Most wise, virtuous, brave, and strong one! Thou hast converted innumerable beings, As now this great assembly And I have all seen. Expounding the principle of Reality And revealing the One-vehicle Law, Extensively hast thou led living beings To attain with speed Bodhi."

Manjushri replied: "That which I in the midst of the ocean always proclaimed was no other than the Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra." Wisdom Accumulation asked Manjushri: "This sutra is very profound and subtle, the pearl of all the sutras, a rare thing in the world. Is there any being who, diligently and zealously practicing this sutra, can attain speedily buddhahood?" Manjushri replied: "There is the daughter of the Dragon King Sagara, just eight years old, wise and of keen faculties [high scholarship], well acquainted with the karma arising from the roots of action of all creatures, who has obtained dharani, has been able to receive and keep all the most profound and mystic treasuries revealed by buddhas, and has deeply entered into meditations and penetrated into all laws. In a moment of time [Kshana, an instantaneous point of time.], she resolved on Bodhi and attained nonrelapse into mortality. She has unembarrassed powers of argument and a compassionate mind for all the living as if they were her children; her merits are complete and the thoughts of her mind and explanations of her mouth are both subtle and great. Kind and compassionate, virtuous and modest, gentle and beautiful in her disposition, she has been able to attain Bodhi."

The Bodhisattva Wisdom Accumulation said: "I have seen how Shakyamuni Tathagata, during innumerable kalpas, in doing arduous and painful deeds, accumulating merit, and heaping up virtue, sought the Way of Bodhi ceaselessly and without rest. I have observed that in the three-thousand-great-thousandfold world there is not even a spot as small as a mustard seed where he has not laid down his body and life as a bodhisattva for the sake of the living; and only after that did he attain Bodhi. It is incredible that this girl, in but a moment, should become perfectly enlightened." Before he had ceased talking, the daughter of the dragon king suddenly appeared before them and after making reverent obeisance to the Buddha withdrew to one side, extolling him in verse:

"Profound of insight into sin and blessedness, He illuminates the universe; His spiritual body, ethereal and pure, Has the thirty-two perfect signs; With the eighty kinds of excellence Is his spiritual body adorned: He to whom gods and men look up, Dragons and spirits pay reverence, And all species of living beings Do worship and honour. That, having heard the Truth, I attained Bodhi Only the Buddha may bear witness. I will reveal the teaching of the Great-vehicle Which delivers creatures from suffering."

Thereupon Shariputra said to the daughter of the dragon: "You state that in no length of time you attained the supreme Way [the highest level of Buddhist scholarship and experience]. This thing is hard to believe. Wherefore? Because the body of a women is filthy and not a vessel of the Law. How can she attain supreme Bodhi? The Buddha-way is so vast that only after passing through innumerable kalpas (aeons), enduring hardship, accumulating good works, and perfectly practicing the Perfections can it be accomplished. Moreover, a woman by her body still has five hindrances: she cannot become first, king of the Brahma-heaven; second, Shakra; third, a Mara-king; fourth, a holy wheel-rolling king; and fifth, a buddha. How then could a woman's body so speedily become a buddha?"

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Now, the dragon's daughter possessed a precious pearl worth a three-thousand-great-thousandfold world, which she held up and presented to the Buddha, and which the Buddha immediately accepted. The dragon's daughter then said to the Bodhisattva Wisdom Accumulation and the honoured Shariputra: "I have offered my pearl, and the World-honoured One has accepted it--was this action speedy?" They answered: "Most speedy." The daughter said: "By your supernatural powers behold me become a buddha even more rapidly than that!"

At that moment the entire congregation saw the dragon's daughter suddenly transformed into a male, perfect in bodhisattva-deeds, who instantly went to the world Spotless in the southern quarter, where she sat on a precious lotus flower, attaining Perfect Enlightenment, with the thirty-two signs and the eighty kinds of excellence, and universally proclaiming the Wonderful Law to all living creatures in the universe.

Then the saha-world of bodhisattvas, shravakas, the eight groups of gods and dragons, and human and nonhuman beings, all from afar beholding the dragon's daughter become a buddha and universally preach the Law to gods, men, and others amongst that congregation, all rejoiced greatly and made reverent salutation from afar. The countless multitude, on hearing her preach the Law, were aroused to apprehension and attained never sliding back into mortality. The countless multitude also received their prediction of the perfect Way. The world Spotless made the sixfold movement. Three thousand living beings in the saha-world took up their abode in the stage of never returning to mortality, while three thousand living beings set their minds on Bodhi and obtained their prediction of attaining it.

The Bodhisattva Wisdom Accumulation and Shariputra and all the congregation silently believed. [The extant Sanskrit text, two other Chinese translations, and the Tibetan version of the Lotus Sutra include the Devadatta section of the text in chapter 11. Kumarajiva's version divides chapter 11 into two parts, making a new chapter, the twelfth, begin here with the title "Devadatta." Some have asserted that Kumarajiva did not translate this chapter, and it is said not to have been included in his Chinese text for some time. But Chih-i, founder of the T'ien-t'ai sect, supported the opposite view, saying that he had seen an old original copy of Kumarajiva's translation containing the translation of this portion.

Devadatta, "gift of the devas," was one of Shakyamuni's cousins but became his rival and enemy. He is said to have fallen into hell because he committed the five worst sins. That the Buddha in this chapter predicts that Devadatta will become a buddha indicates that all beings, however evil, can become buddhas. In addition, in the latter half of this chapter it is also proclaimed that the daughter of a dragon king will become a buddha, indicating that all women can also attain buddhahood. Generally speaking, apart from this sutra Buddhism does not recognise that women can become buddhas. Thus two great doctrines, the possibility of the worst men and also of women attaining buddhahood, are taught in this chapter.]

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 13

Exhortation to Hold Firm

[The title of this chapter can also be translated "Exhortation to Firmness." Some copies have only "Firmness." In this chapter two themes are presented: first, the vow of the twenty thousand bodhisattvas to propagate this sutra, according to the Buddha's command; and second, the exhortation to propagate this sutra by which the eighty myriad kotis of nayutas of bodhisattvas are encouraged.]

At that time the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Medicine King and the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Great Eloquence, with their retinue of twenty thousand bodhisattvas, all in the presence of the Buddha, made this vow, saying: "Be pleased, World-honoured One, to be without anxiety! After the extinction of the Buddha we will keep, read, recite, and preach this sutra. In the evil age to come living beings will decrease in good qualities, while they will increase in utter arrogance [and] in covetousness of gain and honours, and will develop their evil qualities and be far removed from emancipation. Though it may be difficult to teach and convert them, we, arousing our utmost patience, will read and recite this sutra, keep, preach, and copy it, pay every kind of homage to it, and spare not our body and life."

Thereupon the five hundred arhats in the assembly, whose future had been predicted, addressed the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! We also vow to publish abroad this sutra in other lands." Again the eight thousand arhats, training and trained, whose future had been predicted, rising up from their seats and folding their hands toward the Buddha, made this vow, saying: "World-honoured One! We also will publish abroad this sutra in other lands. Wherefore? Because in this saha-world men abound in wickedness, cherish the utmost arrogance, [and] are of shallow virtue, defiled with hatreds, crooked with suspicions, and insincere in mind."

Then the sister of the Buddha's mother, the Bhikshuni Mahaprajapati, with six thousand bhikshunis, training and trained, rose up from their seats, with one mind folded their hands, and gazed up to the honoured face without removing their eyes for a moment. Then the World-honoured One addressed the Gautami [Gautami is the general term for women of the Buddha's Shakya clan, while Gautama "Lord" is that for men. Here she is styled Gautami in the sense of "Lady."]: "Why, with sad countenance, do you gaze at the Tathagata? Are you not thinking to say that I have not mentioned your name and predicted for you Perfect Enlightenment? Gautami! I have already inclusively announced that [the future of] all shravakas is predicted. Now you, who desire to know your future destiny, shall, in the world to come, become a great teacher of the Law in the laws of the sixty-eight thousand kotis of buddhas*," and these six thousand bhikshunis, training and trained, will all become teachers of the Law. [* Literally, this seems to mean: "You shall, in the sixty-eight thousand kotis of Buddha-laws, be a great Law-teacher."] Thus you will gradually become perfect in the bodhisattva-way and will become a buddha entitled Loveliness Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, World-honoured One. Gautami! This Buddha Loveliness and the six thousand bodhisattvas will in turn be predicted to [attain] Perfect Enlightenment."

Thereupon the mother of Rahula, the Bhikshuni Yashodhara, reflected thus: "The World-honoured One in his predictions has left my name alone unmentioned." Then the Buddha said to Yashodhara: "You, in the laws of the hundred thousand myriads of kotis of buddhas in the world to come, by your doing of bodhisattva-deeds shall become a great teacher of the Law, gradually become perfect in the Buddha-way, and in the domain Good become a buddha entitled The Perfect Myriad-rayed Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, World-honoured One. The lifetime of that buddha will be innumerable asamkhyeya kalpas."

Then the Bhikshuni Mahaprajapati and the Bhikshuni Yashodhara, together with all their retinue, all rejoiced greatly, having obtained such unprecedented felicity, and immediately before the Buddha spoke thus in verse:

"World-honoured leader! Comforter of gods and men! We, hearing thy prediction, Have perfect peace in our hearts."

After uttering this verse the bhikshunis spoke to the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! We also are able to publish abroad this sutra in lands in other regions."

Thereupon the World-honoured One looked upon the eighty myriads of kotis of nayutas of bodhisattva-mahasattvas. All these bodhisattvas were of the stage avaivartika, who rolled the never-retreating Law-wheel and had attained to the dharanis. Immediately they rose from their seats, went before the Buddha, with one mind folded their hands, and reflected thus: "If the World-honoured One commands us to keep and expound this sutra, we will proclaim abroad this Law as the Buddha has taught it." Again they reflected thus: "The Buddha now is silent; we are not commanded; what shall we do?"

Then these bodhisattvas, respectfully obeying the Buddha's will and themselves desiring to fulfill their original vow, before the Buddha raised a lion's roar and uttered a vow, saying: "World-honoured One! After the extinction of the Tathagata we will compass and travel through the worlds in all directions, in order to lead all the living to copy this sutra, receive and keep, read and recite it, expound its meaning, practice it as their law, and rightly keep it in mind, all by the Buddha's might. Be pleased, World-honoured One, [though] in another quarter, to behold and guard us from afar!" Then the bodhisattvas all together unanimously raised their voices, speaking thus in verse:

"Be pleased to be without anxiety! After the Buddha's extinction, In the last dreadful evil age, We will proclaim abroad this sutra. Though in their ignorance many Will curse and abuse us And beat us with swords and staves, We will endure it all. Bhikshus in that evil age will be Heretical, suspicious, warped, Claiming to have attained when they have not, And with minds full of arrogance. Others in the aranya Will wear patched garments [Monk's garments made of patches.] in seclusion, Pretending that they walk the true path And scorning other people; Greedily attached to gain, They will preach the Law to laymen And be revered by the world As arhats of the six transcendent powers;

These men, cherishing evil minds, Ever thinking of earthly things, Assuming the name of aranyas, Will love to calumniate us, Saying such things of us as 'All these bhikshus, From love of gain, Preach heretical doctrine; They have themselves composed this sutra To delude the people of the world; For the sake of acquiring fame, They make a specialty of this sutra.'

Always in the assemblies, In order to ruin us, To kings and ministers, To Brahmans and citizens, And to the other groups of bhikshus, They will slanderously speak evil of us, Saying: 'These are men of false views, Who proclaim heretical doctrines.' But we, from reverence for the Buddha, Will endure all these evils. By these contemptuously addressed as 'All you buddhas!'--Even such scorn and arrogance We will patiently endure. In the evil age of the corrupt kalpa, Abounding in fear and dread, Devils will take possession of them To curse, abuse, and insult us. But we, revering and believing in the Buddha, Will wear the armor of perseverance; For the sake of preaching this sutra We will endure all these hard things. We will not love body and life, But only care for the supreme Way. We will, throughout all ages to come, Guard what the Buddha bequeaths. World-honoured One! Thou knowest that, In the corrupt age, vicious bhikshus, Knowing not the laws so tactfully preached As opportunity served by the Buddha, Will abuse and frown upon us; Repeatedly shall we be driven out, And exiled afar from the monasteries. Such evils will be our ills For remembering the Buddha's command, But we will endure all these things. Wherever in villages and cities There be those who seek after the Law, We will all go there and Preach the Law bequeathed by the Buddha. We are the World-honoured One's apostles And, amidst a multitude having nothing to fear, Will rightly preach the Law. Be pleased, O Buddha, to abide in peace. In the presence of the World-honoured One And the buddhas come from all directions, We thus make our vow, And the Buddha knows our hearts."

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 14

A Happy Life

[In this section, we can see in what ways Buddhism went wrong. The denial of worldly life, promoted by extremely rigid doctrines, the limitless asceticism and monasticism, the Buddhist mood against any worldly pleasure, against sex and family, basically anything that has to do with real life, brought the original doctrines of the Buddha in miscredit. Under Emperor Ashoka (reign: c. 268–232 BC), Buddhism was made a state religion by which he hoped for the unification of India in her entirety. Writing did not exist in India until it was introduced in form of the Brahmi Script, a kind of alphabet that was developed out of Aramaic and Greek and introduced by Ashoka's grandfather Chandragupta Maurya (reign: 321–297 BC) and his prime minister Chanakya (c. 375-283 BC) following the humiliating conquests by Alexander the Great. They realised that a great and successful civilisation must be able to record everything in writing. We can be sure that Chandragupta ordered the most important Hindu texts to be written down. It is not a far-fetched speculation that Ashoka did the same with Buddhist texts, especially as he intended to make Buddhism a state religion. Written evidence was needed to justify Ashoka's political decisions and doctrines. We almost can be sure that Ashoka commissioned some Buddhist text to be written down. We cannot be sure, however, which parts of Buddhas teachings are the original ones but it is reasonable to suggest that the Four Noble Truths (the analysis of misery), the Noble Eightfold Path (the remedy to those miseries), as well as the Five Precepts, as a clearly formulated Golden Rule, belong to them. We also cannot be certain as to which texts were mingeled with Ashokas own convictions. There is some likelihood that the smaller Hinayana teachings, also known as Theravada texts, have their origins before the time of Emperor Ashoka while a great portion of the Mahayana text might have been composed in Ashoka's reign and shortly after. Not long after Ashoka's death, Buddhism was crushed in most regions of India. The over-exaggeration of peacefulness and pacifism has caused the demise of Buddhism in Persia, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Central Asia. The violent teachings of the Koran, the Sira, and the Hadith, caused Muslims to slaughter millions of Buddhists. The complacent Buddhists (just like the complacent Christians in the Mediterranean) had deprived themselves of the chance to fight against the merciless onsaught of Islam.]

At that time the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Manjushri, the Law-king's son, spoke to the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! Rare indeed are such bodhisattvas as these! Reverently according with the Buddha, they have made great vows that in the evil age to come they will protect, keep, read, recite, and preach this Law-Flower Sutra. World-honoured One! How are these bodhisattva-mahasattvas to be able to preach this sutra in the evil age to come?"

The Buddha addressed Manjushri: "If any bodhisattva-mahasattva desires to preach this sutra in the evil age to come, he should be steadfast in the four methods: first, steadfast in the bodhisattva's spheres of action and intimacy, so that he may be able to preach this sutra to living beings. Manjushri! Why is it called a bodhisattva-mahasattva's sphere of action? If a bodhisattva-mahasattva abides in a state of patience, is gentle and agreeable, is neither hasty nor overbearing, and his mind is imperturbed; if, moreover, he has no laws by which to act [Literally, "in regard to laws, he has none by which to act." Here "laws" is interpreted as meaning the extremes of the realistic and nihilistic schools; thus the passage indicates the Middle Path between these two extremes.], but sees all

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things in their reality, nor proceeds along the undivided way*--this is termed a bodhisattva-mahasattva's sphere of action. [* This can also be translated as "does not follow out or investigate these laws," but the T'ien-t'ai sect interpreted the sentence in the sense of not being bound by the Law of the Middle Path.] Why is the other termed a bodhisattva-mahasattva's sphere of intimacy? A bodhisattva-mahasattva is not intimate with kings, princes, ministers, and rulers; nor intimate with heretics, the brahmacarins, Nirgranthas [These are nude ascetics, the Jains.], and so on; nor with composers of worldly and outside literature or poetry; nor with Lokayatas [Lokayatas are heretics who accord with the ways of the world.] and Anti-Lokayatas [The opposite of the Lokayata, being utterly opposed to the world.]; nor does he resort to brutal sports, boxing, and wrestling, nor to the various juggling performances of nartakas [Dancers, singers, and actors.] and others; nor does he consort with candalas [One who kills; a butcher, fisherman, hunter, and so on; one who belongs to the lowest caste.], keepers of pigs, sheep, fowl, and dogs, hunters, fishermen, and those engaged in these evil pursuits; whenever such people as these sometimes come to him, he preaches the Law to them expecting nothing in return. Further, he does not consort with bhikshus, bhikshunis, and male and female lay devotees who seek after shravakaship, nor does he address them; neither in a room, nor in the place of promenade, nor in the hall does he dwell or stay with them; if at times they come to him he takes the opportunity of preaching the Law expecting nothing in return.

"Manjushri! Again a bodhisattva-mahasattva should not preach the Law to women, displaying an appearance capable of arousing passionate thoughts, nor have pleasure in seeing them; if he enters the homes of others, he does not converse with any girl, virgin, widow, and so forth, nor again does he become on friendly terms with any hermaphrodite; he does not enter the homes of others alone; if for some reason he must enter there alone, then with single mind he thinks of the Buddha; if he preaches the Law to women, he does not display his teeth in smiles nor let his breast be seen, nor even for the sake of the Law does he ever become intimate, how much less for other reasons. He takes no pleasure in keeping young pupils, shramaneras, and children, nor has he pleasure in being with them as teacher; but ever preferring meditation and seclusion, he cultivates and controls his mind. Manjushri! This is termed the first grade or sphere of intimacy [of a bodhisattva].

"Further, a bodhisattva-mahasattva contemplates all existences as void--appearances as they really are*, neither upside down, nor moving, nor receding, nor turning, just like space, of the nature of nothingness, cut off from the course of all words and expressions, unborn, not coming forth, not arising, nameless, formless, really without existence, unimpeded, infinite, boundless, unrestrained, only existing by causation, and produced through perversion [of thought]. [* H. Kern reads: "duly established as they are in reality." Burnouf adds: "privées de toute essence." Nanjio and Oka read: "established as they really are."]

"Therefore I say constantly to delight in the contemplation of things [or laws] such as these is termed a bodhisattva-mahasattva's second sphere of intimacy." Thereupon the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"If there be any bodhisattva Who, in the future evil age, With fearless mind Desires to preach this sutra, He must occupy his proper sphere of action And his proper sphere of intimacy, Constantly avoiding kings And princes, Ministers and rulers, Brutal and dangerous performers, Candalas, Heretics, brahmacarins; Nor does he consort with Men of arrogance Who are fond of studying The Tripitaka of Hinayana, With commandment-breaking bhikshus, Arhats only in name, Or with bhikshunis Fond of jocularity, Or with female disciples Who, through sensuousness, Seek present nirvana. He consorts with none of them.

But if such people as these, In goodness of mind, Come to the bodhisattva To hear the Buddha-way, Then the bodhisattva, With fearless mind, Cherishing no expectation, [Not looking for reward.] Should preach the Law to them.

Widows and virgins And all sorts of eunuchs He never approaches For close friendship; Nor does he consort with Butchers and meat mincers, Hunters and fishermen, Who slaughter for gain; Those who vend meat for a living And procurators, With such people as these He should not consort.

With brutal wrestlings, Amusements and plays, Whores and so forth He should have no intimacy whatever. He should not, alone in a screened-off place, Preach the Law to a woman; If he has to preach the Law to her He will avoid jocularity.

When he enters a hamlet in quest of food, Let him take along [another] bhikshu; If there be no other bhikshu, Let him with single mind think of the Buddha. These then are what are called The spheres of action and of intimacy.

Maintaining these two spheres, He can teach with peace and joy. And again if he does not observe Laws, higher, middle, or lower, Active or passive, Laws real or unreal; Also if he does not discriminate, 'This is a man' or 'This is a woman'; If he discovers no laws Nor recognises nor sees them; This then is called A bodhisattva's sphere of action. All laws or things are Void and nonexistent, Without permanence, Neither beginning nor ending; This is named the sphere To which wise men resort.

The perverse discriminate All laws as either existing or nonexisting, Real or unreal, Produced or unproduced. Let the bodhisattva abide in seclusion, Cultivate and control his mind, And be firmly fixed and immovable As Mount Sumeru; Contemplating all laws As though they were not, As if they were space, Without solidity, Neither produced nor coming forth, Motionless and unreceding, Ever remaining a unity.

This is named the proper sphere of intimacy. If any bhikshu, After my extinction, Enters this sphere of action And sphere of intimacy, When he preaches this sutra He will have no timidity or weakness. When the bodhisattva at times Enters a quiet room And in perfect meditation Contemplates things in their true meaning, And, rising up from his meditation, To kings of nations, Princes, ministers and people, Brahmans and others Reveals, expounds, And preaches this sutra, His mind shall be at ease And free from timidity and weakness. Manjushri!

This is called a bodhisattva's Steadfastness in the first method. [The first of the four methods, that is, of deed, word, thought, and vow. It is termed the pleasant practice or ministry of body or of deeds.] He is then able, in future generations, To preach the Law-Flower Sutra.

"Again, Manjushri! After the extinction of the Tathagata, in [the period of] the Decline of the Law, he who desires to preach this sutra should abide in the pleasant ministry [of speech]. [The second of the four methods, that is, the pleasant practice or ministry of the mouth, lips, or speech.] Wherever he orally proclaims or reads the sutra, he takes no pleasure in telling of the errors of others of the sutras; neither does he despise other preachers; nor speaks of the good and evil, the merits and demerits of other people; nor singles out shravakas by name and publishes their errors and sins, nor by name praises their excellences; nor does he beget an invidious mind. By keeping well such a cheerful heart as this, those who hear will offer no opposition to him. To those who ask difficult questions, he does not answer with the law of the small vehicle but only with the Great-vehicle, and explains it to them that they may obtain perfect knowledge."

Thereupon the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"The bodhisattva ever delights And is at ease in preaching the Law; In a clean and pure spot, Setting up his pulpit, He anoints himself with oil, Having bathed away uncleanliness, Puts on a new, clean robe, All clean within and without; Calmly seated on the Law throne, He teaches as he is questioned. If there be any bhikshus And bhikshunis, Male lay disciples And female lay disciples, Kings and princes, Their retainers and people, He preaches the mystic principle to them With a gentle countenance. If there be any difficult question, He answers according to its meaning. By reasonings and parables He expounds and discriminates it. By this tactful method, He stirs them all to earnestness, To steady advance And entry on the Buddha-way.

He rids [himself] of a lazy mind And slackness of thought; He is free from all worries And with kindly heart proclaims; Day and night he ever propounds The teaching of the supreme Way, By various reasonings And innumerable parables, Revealing it to the living, And causing them all to rejoice.

Garments and provision for sleep, Drink, food, and medicines--For all these things He has no anticipation. Only with single mind he thinks of The cause of his preaching the Law, Resolved on accomplishing the Buddha-way And causing all others likewise so to do; This then is [his] great profit And joy and service.

After my extinction, If there be any bhikshu Who is able to proclaim This Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra, His mind will be free from envy, From distresses and obstacles, And from grief and sorrow, As well as from the abuse of men. Further, he will be free from fear, From laying on of swords and staves; Nor will he be driven away, Because he is steadfast in forbearance.

The wise man, in such ways as these, Rightly cultivates his mind, Being able to dwell at ease, As I have said above. The merit of that man, Though thousands of myriads of kotis of kalpas ere reckoned in illustration, Is incapable of full expression.

"Again, Manjushri! The bodhisattva-mahasattva who, in the corrupt ages to come, when the Law is about to perish, receives and keeps, reads and recites this sutra, does not cherish an envious and deceitful mind; nor does he slight and abuse other learners of the Buddha-way and seek out their excesses and shortcomings. If there be bhikshus, bhikshunis, male and female lay disciples who seek after shravakaship, or seek after pratyeka- buddhahood, or seek after the bodhisattva-way, he does not distress them, causing them doubts and regrets, saying to them: 'You are far removed from the Way and will never be able to attain to perfect knowledge. Wherefore? Because you are unstable people and remiss in the Way.' Moreover, he should not indulge in discussions about the laws or engage in disputations; but in regard to all the living he should think of them with great compassion; in regard to the tathagatas he should think of them as benevolent fathers; in regard to the bodhisattvas he should think of them as his great teachers; in regard to the universal great bodhisattvas he should ever from his deepest heart revere and worship them. In regard to all living beings, he should preach the Law equally, so as to accord with the Law, neither more nor less; even for those who deeply love the Law, he will not preach more than it.

"Manjushri! When this bodhisattva-mahasattva, in the last age when the Law is about to perish, has accomplished this third pleasant ministry of thought*, and preaches this sutra, nothing will be able to disturb him. [* The third pleasant practice or ministry is of the mind or thought.] He will find good fellow students who will read and recite this sutra with him. He will also find a great multitude come and hear him, who after hearing are able to observe it, after observing are able to recite it, after reciting are able to preach it, after preaching are able to copy or cause others to copy it, and who will pay homage to the sutra, revering, honouring, and extolling it."

Then the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"If one would preach this sutra, Let him renounce an envious, angry, proud, Deceitful, or false mind, And ever do upright deeds; He should disparage none, And never for diversion discuss the laws, Nor cause others doubt or regret, Saying: 'You will never become buddhas.' This Buddha-son in preaching the Law Will ever be gentle, patient, And compassionate to all, With never a thought of slackness.

To the great bodhisattvas everywhere, Who walk the Way in pity for all, He should beget a reverent mind, Thinking: 'These are my great teachers.' To all world-honoured buddhas He should feel as to peerless fathers, And suppressing his haughty spirit, Should preach the Law without hindrance. Such is the third method. Let the wise man guard it. Such a single-hearted pleasant ministry Will be revered by countless hosts.

"Again, Manjushri! The bodhisattva-mahasattva, in the last ages to come when the Law is about to perish, who keeps this Law-Flower Sutra should beget a spirit of great charity to laymen and monks, and beget a spirit of great compassion for those not [yet] bodhisattvas. And he should reflect thus: 'Such people as these have suffered great loss; the Law preached, as opportunity served, by the tactful method of the Tathagata they have neither heard nor known nor apprehended nor inquired for nor believed in nor understood. Though those people have not inquired for, nor believed in, nor understood this sutra, when I have attained Perfect Enlightenment, wherever I am, by my transcendental powers and powers of wisdom, I will lead them to abide in this Law.'

"Manjushri! This bodhisattva-mahasattva who, after the extinction of the Tathagata, has accomplished this fourth method*, when he preaches this Law will be free from errors. He will ever be worshiped, revered, honoured, and extolled by bhikshus, bhikshunis, male and female lay devotees, by kings and princes, by their ministers and people, by Brahmans and citizens, and by others; all the gods in the sky also, in order to hear the Law, will always follow and attend on him; if he be in a village or city or secluded forest and someone comes desiring to put difficult questions to him, the gods day and night, for the sake of the Law, will constantly guard and protect him, so that he shall be able to cause all his hearers to rejoice. [* The fourth method is termed the pleasant practice or ministry of the vow.] Wherefore? Because this sutra is that which all past, future, and present buddhas watch over by their divine powers.

"Manjushri! In countless countries even the name of this Law-Flower Sutra cannot be heard; how much less can it be seen, received, and kept, read and recited. "Manjushri! It is like a powerful holy wheel-rolling king who desires by force to conquer other domains. When minor kings do not obey his command, the wheel-rolling king calls up his various armies and goes to punish them.

The king, seeing his soldiers who distinguish themselves in the war, is greatly pleased and, according to their merit, bestows rewards, either giving fields, houses, villages, or cities, or giving garments or personal ornaments, or giving all kinds of treasures, gold, silver, lapis lazuli, moonstones, agates, coral, amber, elephants, horses, carriages, litters, male and female slaves, and people; only the crown jewel on his head he gives to none. Wherefore? Because only on the head of a king may this sole jewel be worn, and if he gave it, all the king's retinue would be astounded. Manjushri! The Tathagata is also like this. By his powers of meditation and wisdom he has taken possession of the domain of the Law and rules as king over the triple world. But the Mara kings are unwilling to submit. The Tathagata's wise and holy generals fight with them. With those who distinguish themselves he, too, is pleased, and in the midst of his four hosts preaches the sutras to them, causing them to rejoice, and bestows on them the meditations, the emancipations, the faultless roots and powers, and all the wealth of the Law. In addition, he gives them the city of nirvana, saying that they have attained extinction, and attracts their minds so that they all rejoice; yet he does not

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preach to them this Law-Flower Sutra. Manjushri! Just as the wheel-rolling king, seeing his soldiers who distinguish themselves, is so extremely pleased that now at last he gives them the incredible jewel so long worn on his head, which may not wantonly be given to anyone, so also is it with the Tathagata. As the great Law-king of the triple world, teaching and converting all the living by the Law, when he sees his wise and holy army fighting with the Mara of the five mental processes, the Mara of earthly cares, and the Mara of death*, and [doing so] with great exploits and merits, exterminating the three poisons, escaping from the triple world, and breaking [through] the nets of the Maras, then the Tathagata also is greatly pleased, and now [at last] preaches this Law-Flower Sutra which has never before been preached, and which is able to cause all the living to reach perfect knowledge, though all the world greatly resents and has difficulty in believing it. Manjushri! [* These three--the five aggregates, cares, and death--and the fourthMara, who dwells in the highest heaven of the Realm of Desire, are called the four Maras.] This Law-Flower Sutra is the foremost teaching of the tathagatas and the most profound of all discourses. I give it to you last of all, just as that powerful king at last gives the brilliant jewel he has guarded for long. Manjushri! This Law-Flower Sutra is the mysterious treasury of the buddha-tathagatas, which is supreme above all sutras. For long has it been guarded and not prematurely declared; today for the first time I proclaim it to you all." At that time the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"Ever acting patiently, Pitying all beings, Such a one can proclaim The sutra the Buddha extols. In the last ages to come, They who keep this sutra, Whether laymen or monks Or not [yet] bodhisattvas, Must have hearts of compassion; For those who do not hear Nor believe this sutra Suffer great loss.

I, attaining the Buddha-way, By tactful methods Preach this sutra to them That they may abide in it. It is like a powerful Wheel-rolling king Who to his war-distinguished soldiers Presents many rewards, Elephants, horses, carriages, litters, Personal ornaments, As well as fields and houses, Villages and cities; Or bestows garments,

Various kinds of jewels, Slaves and wealth, Bestowing all with joy.

But only for one heroic And of rare exploits Does the king take from his head The crown jewel to give him. Thus is it also with the Tathagata; He is the king of the Law, Possessed of great powers of patience And the treasury of wisdom; He, with great benevolence, Transforms the world with his Law. Seeing all human beings Suffering from pains and distresses, Seeking for deliverance, Fighting against the Maras, He to all these living beings Has preached various laws,

And in great tactfulness Has preached these numerous sutras; Finally knowing the creatures Have attained their developed powers, At last he to them Preaches this Law-Flower, As the king took from his head The jewel and gave it.

This sutra is preeminent Among all the sutras. I have always guarded And not prematurely revealed it. Now indeed is the time To preach it to you all. After my extinction, Whoever seeks the Buddha-way And desires imperturbedly To proclaim this sutra Should relate himself to The four rules such as these. [* Hendrik Kern has "four qualities. . . . The qualities are such as follows." In Chinese the four rules are generally interpreted as the aforementioned four methods relating to deed, word, thought, and vow. Nanjio's and Oka's translations agree with the Chinese interepretation.] He who reads this sutra Will be ever free from worry And free from pain and disease; His countenance will be fresh and white; He will not be born poor, Humble, or ugly.*

All creatures will delight to see him As a longed-for saint; Heavenly cherubim Will be his servants. Swords and staves will not be laid on him; Poison cannot harm him. If anyone curses him, That man's mouth will be closed. Fearlessly he will roam Like a lion king. The radiance of his wisdom Will shine like the sun. If he should dream, He will see only the wonderful, Seeing the tathagatas Seated on lion thrones.

Preaching the Law to hosts Of surrounding bhikshus; Seeing also dragon spirits, Asuras, and others, In number as the sands of the Ganges, Who worship him with folded hands; And he sees himself Preaching the Law to them. He will also see the buddhas, With the sign of the golden body, Emitting boundless light, Illuminating all beings, And with Brahma-voice Expounding the laws. While the Buddha to the four groups Is preaching the supreme Law, He will find himself in the midst, Extolling the Buddha with folded hands; He will hear the Law with joy, Pay homage to him, Attain the dharanis, And prove the truth of never retreating. [Literally, "the wisdom of not retreating," or not withdrawing, or nonapostasy. "Not retreating" is interpreted as the three kinds of not retreating, that is, in stage, practice, and memory.]

The Buddha, knowing his mind Has entered deep into the Buddha-way, Will then predict that he will accomplish Supreme, Perfect Enlightenment, Saying: 'You, my good son, Shall in the age to come Obtain infinite wisdom, The Great Way of the Buddha: A domain splendidly pure, Of extent incomparable, And with its four hosts With folded hands hearing the Law.'

He will also find himself In mountain groves, Exercising himself in the good Law, Proving reality, And deep in meditation Seeing the universal buddhas. Golden coloured are those buddhas, Adorned with a hundred blessed signs; [He who] hears and preaches to others Ever has good dreams like these.

Again he will dream he is a king Who forsakes his palace and kinsfolk And exquisite pleasures of the senses To go to the wisdom throne; At the foot of a Bodhi tree, He sits on the lion throne; After seeking the Way for seven days, He attains the wisdom of buddhas; Having attained the supreme Way, He arises and, rolling the Law-wheel, To the four hosts preaches the Law For thousands of myriads of kotis of kalpas.

After preaching the faultless Wonderful Law And saving innumerable creatures, He shall then enter nirvana, As a lamp is extinct when its smoke ends. If anyone in the evil ages to come Preaches this preeminent Law, He will obtain the great blessing Of such rewards as the above."

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 15

Springing Up Out of the Earth

At that time the bodhisattva-mahasattvas who had come from other lands, numerous as the sands of eight Ganges, arose in the great assembly, and with folded hands saluted and spoke to the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! If the Buddha will allow us, after his extinction, diligently and zealously to protect and keep, read and recite, copy and worship this sutra in this saha-world, we would preach it abroad in this land." Thereupon the Buddha addressed all the host of those bodhisattva-mahasattvas: "Enough! My good sons! There is no need for you to protect and keep this sutra. Wherefore? Because in my saha-world there are in fact bodhisattva-mahasattvas numerous as the sands of sixty thousand Ganges; each one of these bodhisattvas has a retinue numerous as the sands of sixty thousand Ganges; these persons are able, after my extinction, to protect and keep, read and recite, and preach abroad this sutra."

When the Buddha had thus spoken, all the earth of the three-thousand-great-thousandfold land of the saha-world trembled and quaked, and from its midst there issued together innumerable thousand myriad kotis of bodhisattva-mahasattvas. All these bodhisattvas with their golden-hued bodies, thirty-two signs, and boundless radiance had all before been dwelling in infinite space* below this saha-world. [* Sanskrit akasha (space, ether) is often used as a synonym of shunyata (void).] All these bodhisattvas, hearing the voice of Shakyamuni Buddha preaching, sprang forth from below. Each one of these bodhisattvas was the commander of a great host, leading a retinue as the sands of sixty thousand Ganges; moreover, others led retinues [numerous] as the sands of fifty thousand, forty thousand, thirty thousand, twenty thousand, ten thousand Ganges; moreover, down to the sands of one Ganges, the sands of half a Ganges, a quarter of it, down to a fraction of a thousand myriads of kotis of nayutas; moreover, a thousand myriad kotis of nayutas of followers; moreover, myriads of kotis of followers; moreover, a thousand myriad, a hundred myriad, or even a myriad; moreover, a thousand, a hundred, or even ten; moreover, those who lead five, four, three, two, or one disciples; moreover, one who is alone, happy in the practice of isolation. Such bodhisattvas as these are immeasurable, illimitable, beyond the powers of comprehension by calculation or comparison.

When these bodhisattvas had emerged from the earth, each went up to the wonderful Stupa of the Precious Seven in the sky, where were the Tathagata Abundant Treasures and Shakyamuni Buddha. On their arrival they made obeisance, with faces to the ground, to both the World-honoured Ones, and going to the buddhas seated on the lion thrones under the jewel trees, they also saluted them, three times making procession around them on their right, with folded hands revering them, and extolling them with all kinds of bodhisattva hymns. Then they stood to one side, with delight gazing upon both the World-honoured Ones.

From the time that these bodhisattva-mahasattvas first issued from the earth and extolled the buddhas with all kinds of bodhisattva hymns, in the interval there had passed fifty minor kalpas. During all this time Shakyamuni Buddha sat in silence, and silent also were the four groups; but the fifty kalpas, through the divine power of the Buddha, seemed to the great multitude as half a day. At that time the four groups, also by the divine power of the Buddha, saw the bodhisattvas who everywhere fill the space of innumerable hundred thousand myriad kotis of domains. Among the host of those bodhisattvas there were the four leading teachers: the first was named Eminent Conduct, the second named Boundless Conduct, the third named Pure Conduct, and the fourth named Steadfast Conduct. [These four bodhisattvas are called the four great primarily or eternally evolved bodhisattvas.] These four bodhisattvas are of their hosts the chief heads and leaders. In front of their great hosts, each of them with folded hands looked toward Shakyamuni Buddha and inquired of him, saying: "World-honoured One! Hast thou few ailments and few troubles, and art thou at ease? Are those whom thou must save readily receiving thy teaching? Do they cause the World-honoured One not to become weary?" Thereupon the four great bodhisattvas spoke thus in verse:

"Is the World-honoured One at ease, With few ailments and few troubles? In instructing all the living beings, Is he free from weariness? And are all the living Readily accepting his teaching? Do they cause the World-honoured One Not to get tired?"

Then the World-honoured One, in the great assembly of the bodhisattvas, spoke thus: "So it is, so it is, my good sons! The Tathagata is at ease, with few ailments and few troubles. These beings are easy to transform and I am free from weariness. Wherefore? Because all these beings for generations have constantly received my instruction and worshiped and honoured the former buddhas, cultivating roots of goodness. All these beings, from first seeing me and hearing my preaching, received it in faith and entered the Tathagata wisdom, except those who had previously practised and learned the small vehicle; [but] even such people as these I have now caused to hear this sutra and enter the Buddha-wisdom." Thereupon these great bodhisattvas spoke thus in verse:

"Good, good! Great Hero, World-honoured One! All these living creatures Are easily transformed by thee, Are able to inquire into The profound wisdom of buddhas, And, hearing, to believe and discern. We congratulate thee."

Then the World-honoured One extolled these supreme chiefs, the great bodhisattvas, [saying]: "Good, good! My good sons! You may rightly be minded to congratulate the Tathagata."

Then Maitreya Bodhisattva and the host of other bodhisattvas, numerous as the sands of eight thousand Ganges, all reflected thus: "From of old we have never seen nor heard of such a host of great bodhisattva-mahasattvas issuing from the earth, standing in the presence of the World-honoured Ones, with folded hands worshiping and inquiring of the Tathagata."

Then Maitreya Bodhisattva-Mahasattva, being aware of the thoughts in the minds of all the bodhisattvas, numerous as the sands of eight thousand Ganges, and desiring also to resolve his own doubt, folded his hands toward the Buddha and asked him thus in verse:

"These innumerable thousand myriad kotis, This great host of bodhisattvas, Are such as we have never seen before. Be pleased to explain, Honoured of Men, From what places they have come, For what reason they have assembled. Huge of body, of transcendent [power], Of wisdom inconceivable, Firm of will and memory, With great powers of long-suffering, Whom all the living rejoice to see: Whence have they come?

Each of these bodhisattvas Leads on a retinue Whose numbers are beyond compute, Like the sands of the Ganges.

There are also the great bodhisattvas Leading followers numerous as sixty thousand Ganges-sands. Such mighty hosts With one mind seek the Buddha-way. These great leaders in number As sixty thousand Ganges-sands All come and worship the Buddha And guard and keep this sutra.

Some, still more numerous, Lead followers numerous as fifty thousand Ganges-sands, As forty thousand, or thirty thousand, As twenty thousand, down to ten thousand, As a thousand or a hundred and so forth, Down to the sands of one Ganges, As half, one-third, one-fourth, As one part of the myriad kotis of a Ganges' sands: Those who lead a thousand myriad nayutas, Or a myriad kotis of disciples, Or even half a koti [of disciples]; These leaders are still more numerous than the above, The leaders of a million or ten thousand, A thousand or a hundred, Or fifty or ten, Or three, two, or one; Single ones with no following, Who enjoy solitariness, Have all come together to the Buddha, In numbers even greater than the leaders above. Such are these great hosts that If a man kept tally Through kalpas numerous as Ganges-sands, He still could not fully know them, These great, majestic, And zealous bodhisattva hosts.

Who has preached the Law to them, Instructed and perfected them? From whom did they get their start? What Buddha-law have they extolled? Whose sutra received, kept, and practised? What Buddha-way have they followed? Such bodhisattvas as these, With transcendent powers and great wisdom, In all quarters of the riven earth, All spring forth from its midst.

World-honoured One! From of yore We have never seen such things; Be pleased to tell us the name Of the domain from which they come. Roaming constantly in many domains, I have never seen such a host, And amid all this host I know not a single one Who suddenly springs from the earth. Be pleased to tell us its cause.

This great congregation now present, Innumerable hundred thousand kotis Of these bodhisattvas and others, All desire to know this matter. Of all these bodhisattva hosts, What is the course of their history? World-honoured One of measureless virtue! Be pleased to resolve our doubts!"

Meanwhile, the buddhas who had emanated from Shakyamuni Buddha and had come from innumerable thousand myriad kotis of domains in other quarters sat cross-

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legged on the lion thrones under the jewel trees in every direction. The attendants of these buddhas each beheld the great host of bodhisattvas who, in every direction of the three-thousand-great-thousandfold world, issued from the earth and dwelt in space. And each spoke to his own buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! This great, countless, illimitable asamkhyeya host of bodhisattvas--whence have they come?"

Thereupon each of those buddhas told his own attendants: "Good sons! Wait a while! There is a bodhisattva-mahasattva whose name is Maitreya, and who has been predestined by Shakyamuni Buddha as the next buddha; he has already asked about this matter. The Buddha is now going to reply to him, and from his reply you will hear for yourselves."

Thereupon Shakyamuni Buddha addressed Maitreya Bodhisattva: "Good, good! Ajita! [Ajita, "unconquered," is a title of Maitreya. Maitreya, "The Kindly One," is a principal, though not historical, figure in the retinue of Shakyamuni Buddha. He is now in the Tushita heaven, awaiting his incarnation as the next Buddha.] You have well asked the Buddha concerning so great a matter. Do you all, with one mind, don the armor of zeal and exhibit a firm will, [for] the Tathagata now intends to reveal and proclaim the wisdom of buddhas, the sovereign supernatural power of buddhas, the lion-eagerness of buddhas, and the awe-inspiring forceful power of buddhas." Then the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"Be zealous and of one mind. I am about to expound this matter. Have no doubts or disquietude. Inconceivable is the Buddha-wisdom. Do you now exert your faith; Be steadfast in the virtue of endurance; For the Law never heard before, Now you all are about to hear. I now first put your minds at ease; Cherish neither doubt nor fear. The Buddha has no words but the true; His wisdom is beyond measure. The supreme Law attained by him Is profound and beyond discrimination. Such Law let me now expound, And do you all, with one mind, listen."

Then the World-honoured One, having spoken these verses, addressed Maitreya Bodhisattva: "Now I, in this great assembly, declare to you all. Ajita! All these great bodhisattva-mahasattvas, in innumerable and numberless asamkhyeyas, who have issued from the earth and whom you have never seen before, I in this saha-world, after attaining Perfect Enlightenment, instructed and led them, all these bodhisattvas, controlled their minds, and caused them to set their thoughts on the Way. All these bodhisattvas dwell in the space beneath this saha-world, where they read, recite, penetrate, ponder, and discriminate the sutras, and correctly keep them in memory. Ajita! These good sons have not found pleasure in talking among the crowd but have found their pleasure in quiet places, in diligence and zeal; they have not relaxed, nor clung to abodes among men and gods, but have ever taken their pleasure in profound wisdom, without let or hindrance, have ever rejoiced in the law of buddhas, and with one mind have zealously sought supreme wisdom." Then the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"Ajita! Know thou! All these great bodhisattvas, From numberless kalpas, Have studied the Buddha-wisdom. All of them are my converts, Whom I have caused to desire the Great Way. These are my sons Who dwell in this Buddha-world, Ever practicing the dhuta deeds, Joyfully devoted to quiet places, Shunning the clamour of the crowds, With no pleasure in much talk. Such sons as these Are learning the Law of my Way, Always zealous day and night For the sake of seeking the Buddha-way; They dwell in space eneath the saha-world. Firm in their power of will and memory, Ever diligently seeking after wisdom, They preach all kinds of wonderful laws, Having no fear in their minds.

I, [near] the city of Gaya, Sitting beneath the Bodhi tree, Accomplished Perfect Enlightenment; And rolling the supreme Law-wheel, I have then taught and converted them And caused them first to aspire to the Way.

Now all abide in the never-relapsing state And all will become buddhas. What I now speak is the truth; Believe me with single minds! I from a long distant past Have instructed all this host."

Then the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Maitreya and the numberless bodhisattvas and others were seized with doubt and perplexity, wondering at this rare [thing], and reflected thus: "How has the World-honoured One, in so short a time, instructed such innumerable, countless asamkhyeyas of great bodhisattvas and caused them to abide in Perfect Enlightenment?" Then, addressing the Buddha, they said: "World-honoured One! The Tathagata, when he was a prince, left the Shakya palace and not far from the city of Gaya took his seat on the wisdom terrace, and attained to Perfect Enlightenment. From that time but forty years have passed. World-honoured One! In so short a time how hast thou done such great Buddha-deeds, and by Buddha-power and Buddha-merit taught such an innumerable host of great bodhisattvas to attain Perfect Enlightenment? World-honoured One! This host of great bodhisattvas, even if a man counted them through thousands of myriad kotis of kalpas, he could not come to an end or reach their limit. All these from the far past under innumerable and countless buddhas have planted their roots of goodness and accomplished the bodhisattva-way, constantly living the noble life. World-honoured One! Such a matter as this the world will find it hard to believe.

"It is just as if there were a man of fine complexion and black hair, twenty-five years old, who pointed to centenarians and said: 'These are my sons,' and as if those centenarians also pointed to the youth and said: 'This is our father who begot and reared us.' This matter is hard of belief. So also is it with the Buddha, whose attainment of the Way is really not long since. Yet this great host of bodhisattvas, for numberless thousands of myriads of kotis of kalpas, for the sake of the Buddha-way have devoted themselves with zeal; they have entered deep into, come out of, and dwelt in infinite hundred thousand myriad kotis of contemplations, have attained the great transcendent faculties, and for long have practised brahma-conduct; have been well able, step by step, to learn all kinds of good laws; they are skillful in question and answer, are treasures amongst men and of extreme rareness in all worlds. Today the World-honoured One has just said that when he attained the Buddha-way he from the beginning caused them to aspire to enlightenment, instructed and led, and caused them to proceed toward Perfect Enlightenment. It is not long since the World-honoured One became a buddha, yet he has been able to do this great, meritorious deed. Though we still believe that what the Buddha opportunely preached and the words the Buddha uttered have never been false, and also the Buddha's knowledge is all perceived by us, yet if newly converted bodhisattvas hear this statement after the Buddha's extinction, they may not receive it in faith and this will give rise to causes of wrong action to the destruction of the Law. So, World-honoured One, be pleased to explain it, removing our doubts, and so that all thy good sons in future generations, on hearing this matter, shall also not beget doubt." Thereupon Maitreya Bodhisattva, desiring to announce this meaning over again, spoke thus in verse:

"The Buddha of old from the Shakya race Left his home and near Gaya Took his seat under the Bodhi tree; From then it has not been long. These sons of the Buddha, Immeasurable in their number, Have long pursued the Buddha-way, And are firm in transcendent wisdom power; They have ably learned the bodhisattva way, And are as untainted with worldly things As the lotus flower in the water; Issuing from the earth,

All have a reverent mind As they stand before the World-honoured One. This matter is hard to conceive; How can it be believed? It is but recently the Buddha has attained the Way, And the things he has accomplished abound. Be pleased to remove all doubts; Explain and tell us the real meaning! It is as if a young, strong man, Just twenty-five years old, Indicated centenarian sons With white hair and wrinkled faces, Saying, 'These are begotten by me,' The sons also saying, 'This is our father.' The father young and the sons old--The whole world will not believe it.

So is it with the World-honoured One; Very recently he has attained the Way. [Yet] all these bodhisattvas are Firm in will, dauntless, and strong, And from innumerable kalpas Have followed the bodhisattva-way; Skilled in answering hard questions, Their minds are free from fear; Decided in their patient mind, Dignified and majestic, They are extolled by universal buddhas; Well able to reason and preach, They rejoice not in the crowd, But ever love to dwell in meditation; For the sake of seeking the Buddha-way, They dwell in the space [region] below. We, hearing it from the Buddha, Have no doubts on this matter; But we beg that the Buddha, for future [hearers], Will explain that they may understand.

If any should doubt And disbelieve this sutra, He would fall into the evil path. Be pleased to expound for them now How these innumerable bodhisattvas In so short a time Have been instructed and converted And abide in the never-retreating stage." [According to Chih-i, the first fourteen chapters of the sutra comprise the "subordinate or temporary doctrine" because the Primal or Eternal Buddha is not yet revealed. The following fourteen chapters, from chapter 15 to the end, are called the "fundamental doctrine" because the Eternal Buddha is revealed in chapter 16, "Revelation of the Eternal Life of the Tathagata," the essential and central teaching of this sutra. In the present chapter, which is the introduction to the fundamental doctrine, the so-called originally converted bodhisattvas appear as the chosen messengers who alone are able to preach this sutra in the latter days to come.]

HERE ENDS THE FIFTH BUNCH OF WORDS

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 16

Revelation of the Eternal Life of the Tathagata

At that time the Buddha said to the bodhisattvas and all the great assembly: "Believe and discern, all you good sons, the veracious word of the Tathagata." Again he said to the great assembly: "Believe and discern the veracious word of the Tathagata." And again he said to all the great assembly: "Believe and discern the veracious word of the Tathagata." Then the great host of bodhisattvas, Maitreya at their head, folded their hands and said to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! Be pleased to expound the matter, and we will believingly receive the Buddha's words." Thus they spoke three times, repeating the words: "Be pleased to expound the matter, and we will believingly receive the Buddha's words."

Then the World-honoured One, perceiving that the bodhisattvas thrice without ceasing repeated their request, addressed them, saying: "Listen then all of you attentively to the secret, mysterious, and supernaturally pervading power of the Tathagata. [According to Chih-i, by "secret" is meant that the one body of the Buddha is three bodies, and by "mysterious" that the three bodies are in the one. Spiritually or supernaturally pervading power, or power of spiritual or supernatural pervasion, or ubiquity, is the function of the three bodies, or trikaya: the dharmakaya (truth-body or Law-body), the sambhogakaya (reward-body or bliss-body), and the nirmanakaya (mutation-body or response-body). Dharmakaya indicates the buddhahood in its universality, nirmanakaya the buddhahood embodied or personalised, and sambhogakaya the buddhahood as spiritualised. Chih-i attributes the revelation of the trikaya in this form to this passage and emphasizes the unity of the trinity as constituting the only correct doctrine of the Buddha's person and reality.]

All the worlds of gods, men, and asuras consider: 'Now has Shakyamuni Buddha come forth from the palace of the Shakya clan, and seated at the training place of enlightenment, not far from the city of Gaya, has attained Perfect Enlightenment.' But, my good sons, since I veritably became Buddha there have passed infinite, boundless hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of nayutas of kalpas. For instance, suppose there were five hundred thousand myriad kotis of nayutas of asamkhyeya three thousand-great-thousandfold worlds; let someone grind them to atoms, pass eastward through five hundred thousand myriad kotis of nayutas of asamkhyeya countries, and then drop one of those atoms; suppose he thus proceeded eastward till he had finished those atoms--what do you think, my good sons, is it possible to imagine and calculate all those worlds so as to know their number?" Maitreya Bodhisattva and the others all said to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! Those worlds are infinite, boundless, beyond the knowledge of reckoning and beyond the reach of thought. Not all the shravakas and pratyekabuddhas, with their faultless wisdom, would be able to imagine and know the bounds of those numbers. And to us also, who are dwelling in the stage of avaivartika, these matters are beyond apprehension. World-honoured One! All such worlds as these are measureless and boundless."

Thereupon the Buddha addressed all those bodhisattva-mahasattvas: "Good sons! Now I must clearly announce and declare to you. Suppose you take as atomized all those worlds where an atom has been deposited or where it has not been deposited, and count an atom as a kalpa, [the time] since I became Buddha still surpasses these by hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of nayutas of asamkhyeya kalpas. From that time forward I have constantly been preaching and teaching in this saha-world, and also leading and benefiting all living beings in other places in hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of nayutas of asamkhyeya domains. Good sons! During this time I have ever spoken of myself as the Buddha Burning Light and other buddhas, and also have told of their entering into nirvana. Thus have I tactfully described them all. Good sons! Whenever living beings come to me, I behold with a buddha's eyes all the faculties, keen or dull, of their faith and so on. And I explain to them, in stage after stage, according to their capacity and degree of salvation, my different names and the length of my lives, and moreover plainly state that I must enter nirvana. I also, in various tactful ways, preach the Wonderful Law which is able to cause all the living to beget a joyful heart. Good sons! Beholding the propensities of all the living toward lower things, so that they have little virtue and much vileness, to these men the Tathagata declares: 'In my youth I left home and attained Perfect Enlightenment.' But since I verily became Buddha, thus have I ever been, and thus have I made declaration, only by my tactful methods to teach and transform all living beings, so that they may enter the Way of the Buddha. Good sons! All the sutras which the Tathagata preaches are for the deliverance of the living. Whether speaking of himself or speaking of others, whether indicating himself or indicating others, and whether indicating his own affairs or the affairs of others*, whatever he says is all real and not empty air. Wherefore? [The Chinese text accords with Burnouf's translation. Kern has "either under his own appearance or another's, either on his own authority or under the mask of another" (Sacred Books of the East, Vol 21, Hendrik Kern, 1884, p. 301).] Because the Tathagata knows and sees the character of the triple world as it really is: to him there is neither birth nor death, or going away or coming forth; neither living nor dead; neither reality nor unreality; neither thus nor otherwise. [This can also be read: "it is neither born nor dies, or disappears or comes forth; it has no secular existence and no extinction; it is neither real nor unreal, neither thus nor otherwise."] Unlike the way the triple world beholds the triple world, the Tathagata clearly sees such things as these without mistake. Because all the living have various natures, various desires, various activities, various

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ideas and reasonings, so desiring to cause them to produce the roots of goodness, [the Tathagata] by so many reasonings, parables, and discourses has preached his various truths. The Buddha-deeds which he does have never failed for a moment. Thus it is, since I became Buddha in the very far distant past, that my lifetime is of infinite asamkhyeya kalpas, forever existing and immortal. Good sons! The lifetime which I attained by pursuing the bodhisattva-way is not even yet accomplished but will still be twice the previous number of kalpas. But now, in this unreal nirvana, I announce that I must enter the [real] nirvana. In this tactful way the Tathagata teaches all living beings. Wherefore? If the Buddha abides long in the world, men of little virtue who do not cultivate the roots of goodness and are spiritually poor and mean, greedily attached to the five desires, and are caught in the net of wrong reflection and false views--if they see the Tathagata constantly present and not extinct, they will then become puffed up and lazy, and unable to conceive the idea that it is hard to meet [the Buddha] or a mind of reverence for him. Therefore the Tathagata tactfully teaches: 'Know, bhikshus, the appearance of buddhas in the world is a rare occurrence.' Wherefore? In the course of countless hundreds of thousands of myriad kotis of kalpas, some men of little virtue may happen to see a buddha or none may see him. For this reason I say: 'Bhikshus! A tathagata may rarely be seen!' All these living beings, hearing such a statement, must certainly realise the thought of the difficulty of meeting a buddha and cherish a longing and a thirst for him; then will they cultivate the roots of goodness. Therefore the Tathagata, though he does not in reality become extinct, yet announces his extinction. Again, good sons! The method of all buddha-tathagatas is always like this in order to save all the living, and it is altogether real and not false.

"Suppose, for instance, a good physician, who is wise and perspicacious, conversant with medical art, and skillful in healing all sorts of diseases. He has many sons, say ten, twenty, even up to a hundred. Because of some matter he goes abroad to a distant country. After his departure, his sons drink his other poisonous medicines, which send them into a delirium, and they lie rolling on the ground. At this moment their father comes back to his home. Of the sons who drank the poison, some have lost their senses, others are still sensible, but on seeing their father [approaching] in the distance they are all greatly delighted, and kneeling, salute him, asking; 'How good it is that you are returned in safety! We, in our foolishness, have mistakenly dosed ourselves with poison. We beg that you will heal us and give us back our lives.' The father, seeing his sons in such distress, in accordance with his prescriptions seeks for good herbs altogether perfect in colour, scent, and fine flavour, and then pounds, sifts, and mixes them and gives them to his sons to take, speaking thus: 'This excellent medicine, with colour, scent, and fine flavour altogether perfect, you may [now] take, and it will at once rid you of your distress so that you will have no more suffering.' Those amongst the sons who are sensible, seeing this excellent medicine with colour and scent both good, take it immediately and are totally delivered from their illness. The others, who have lost their senses, seeing their father come, though they are also delighted, salute him, and ask him to heal their illness, yet when he offers them the medicine, they are unwilling to take it. Wherefore? Because the poison has entered deeply, they have lost their senses, and even in regard to this medicine of excellent colour and scent they acknowledge that it is not good. The father reflects thus: 'Alas for these sons, afflicted by this poison, and their minds all unbalanced. Though they are glad to see me and implore to be healed, yet they are unwilling to take such excellent medicine as this. Now I must arrange an expedient plan so that they will take this medicine.' Then he says to them: 'You should know that I am now worn out with old age and the time of my death has now arrived. This excellent medicine I now leave here. You may take it and have no fear of not being better.' After thus admonishing them, he departs again for another country and sends a messenger back to inform them: 'Your father is dead.' And now, when those sons hear that their father is dead, their minds are greatly distressed and they thus reflect: 'If our father were alive he would have pity on us, and we should be saved and preserved. But now he has left us and died in a distant country. Now we feel we are orphans and have no one to rely on.' Continuous grief brings them to their senses, and they recognise the colour, scent, and excellent flavour of the medicine and thereupon take it, their poisoning being entirely relieved. The father, hearing that the sons are all recovered, seeks an opportunity and returns so that they all see him. All my good sons! What is your opinion? Are there any who could say that this good physician had committed the sin of falsehood?"

"No, World-honoured One!" The Buddha then said; "I also am like this. Since I became Buddha, infinite boundless hundred thousand myriad kotis of nayutas of asamkhyeya kalpas ago, for the sake of all living beings, by my tactful power, I have declared that I must enter nirvana, yet there is none who can lawfully accuse me of the error of falsehood."

At that time the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"Since I attained buddhahood, The kalpas through which I have passed Are infinite thousands of myriads Of kotis of asamkhyeya years. Ceaselessly preached I the Law and taught Countless kotis of creatures To enter the Way of the Buddha; Since then are unmeasured kalpas. In order to save all creatures, By tactful methods I reveal nirvana, Yet truly I am not yet extinct But forever here preaching the Law. I forever remain in this world, Using all my spiritual powers So that all perverted creatures, Though I am near, yet fail to see me.

All looking on me as extinct Everywhere worship my relics, All cherishing longing desires, And beget thirsting hearts of hope. When all creatures have believed and obeyed, In character upright, in mind gentle, Wholeheartedly wishing to see the Buddha, Not caring for their own lives, Then I with all the Samgha Appear together on the Divine Vulture Peak.

And then I tell all creatures That I exist forever in this world, By the power of tactful methods Revealing myself extinct and not extinct. If in other regions there are beings Reverent and with faith aspiring, Again I am in their midst To preach the supreme Law. You, not hearing of this, Only say I am extinct. I behold all living creatures Sunk in the sea of suffering, Hence I do not reveal myself But set them all aspiring, Till, when their hearts are longing, I appear to preach the Law.

In such supernaturally pervading power, Throughout asamkhyeya kalpas [I am] always on the Divine Vulture Peak And in every other dwelling place. When all the living see, at the kalpa's end, The conflagration when it is burning, Tranquil is this realm of mine, Ever filled with heavenly beings, Parks, and many palaces With every kind of gem adorned, Precious trees full of blossoms and fruits, Where all creatures take their pleasure; All the gods strike the heavenly drums And evermore make music, Showering mandarava flowers On the Buddha and his great assembly.

My Pure Land will never be destroyed, Yet all view it as being burned up, And grief and horror and distress Fill them all like this. All those sinful creatures, By reason of their evil karma, Throughout asamkhyeya kalpas, Hear not the name of the Precious Three. But all who perform virtuous deeds And are gentle and of upright nature, These all see that I exist And am here expounding the Law. At times for all this throng I preach the Buddha's life is eternal; To those who at length see the Buddha I preach that a buddha is rarely met. My intelligence-power is such, My wisdom-light shines infinitely, My life is of countless kalpas, From long-cultivated karma obtained.

You who have intelligence, Do not in regard to this beget doubt But bring it forever to an end, For the Buddha's words are true, not false. Like the physician who with clever device, In order to cure his demented sons,

Though indeed alive announces his own death, Yet cannot be charged with falsehood, I, too, being father of this world, Who heals all misery and affliction, For the sake of the perverted people, Though truly alive, say I am extinct; Lest, because always seeing me, They should beget arrogant minds, Be dissolute and set in their five desires, And fall into evil paths. I, ever knowing all beings, Those who walk or walk not in the Way, According to the right principles of salvation Expound their every Law, Ever making this my thought: 'How shall I cause all the living To enter the Way supreme And speedily accomplish their buddhahood?'" [The revelation of the eternal life of the Buddha in this chapter is among the most essential of the Buddha's teachings.]*

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 17

Discrimination of Merits

At that time when the great congregation heard the Buddha proclaim that such were the number of kalpas and the length of his lifetime, innumerable, countless living beings obtained great benefit.

Then the World-honoured One said to the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Maitreya: "Ajita! While I proclaimed the duration of the Tathagata's life, sixty-eight hundred thousand kotis of nayutas of living beings, [numerous as] the sands of the Ganges, have attained to the assurance of their nonrebirth; again a thousand times more bodhisattva-mahasattvas have attained the dharani-power of hearing and keeping the Law*; again, bodhisattva-mahasattvas, numerous as the atoms of a world, have attained the faculty of eloquent and unembarrassed discussion; again, bodhisattva-mahasattvas numerous as the atoms of a world have attained to hundreds of thousands of myriad kotis of the dharani of infinite revolutions; [The dharani (chants) of numberless revolutions or evolutions is the power to discriminate manifold phenomena without error. [*Literally, "the door, or method, of the hearing and keeping of dharani by means of which they hear and keep the Law." This is the first of the four fearlessnesses of a bodhisattva.] By this discrimination a bodhisattva destroys all his perplexities and exhibits many Buddha-laws.] again, bodhisattva-mahasattvas numerous as the atoms of a three-thousand-great-thousandfold world have been enabled to roll forward the never-retreating Law-wheel; again, bodhisattva-mahasattvas numerous as the atoms of a middle-two-thousandfold domain have been enabled to roll forward the pure Law-wheel; again, bodhisattva-mahasattvas numerous as the atoms of a small-thousandfold domain after eight rebirths will attain Perfect Enlightenment; again, bodhisattva-mahasattvas numerous as the atoms of four four-continent worlds* after four births will attain Perfect Enlightenment; again, bodhisattva-mahasattvas numerous as the atoms of three four-continent worlds after three births will attain Perfect Enlightenment; again, bodhisattva-mahasattvas numerous as the atoms of two four-continent worlds after two births will attain Perfect Enlightenment; again, bodhisattva-mahasattvas numerous as the atoms of one four-continent world after one birth will attain Perfect Enlightenment; again, living beings numerous as the atoms of eight worlds have all aspired to Perfect Enlightenment." [* A world of four continents surrounding its central mountain, Sumeru. The four continents are Purvavideha in the east, Avaragodaniya in the west, Jambudvipa in the south, and Uttarakuru in the north.]

When the Buddha had told of those bodhisattva-mahasattvas obtaining [such] great benefits of the Law, from the sky there rained down mandarava and maha-mandarava flowers, scattering over the innumerable hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of buddhas on lion thrones below the jewel trees, scattering also over Shakyamuni Buddha and the long-extinct Abundant Treasures Tathagata seated on the lion throne in the Stupa of the Precious Seven, and also scattering over all the great bodhisattvas and the host of the four groups; it also rained incense of fine sandalwood, aloes, and so forth; in the sky the heavenly drums resounded of themselves with exquisite deep resonance; there rained down also thousands of kinds of celestial garments, and in every direction [Literally, "in the nine quarters," that is, the eight points of the compass and the center.] there hung down necklaces, pearl necklaces, mani necklaces, and felicitous-pearl necklaces; censers of many jewels, burning priceless incense, moved everywhere of their own accord to pay homage to the great congregation. Over each buddha, bodhisattvas held canopies, one above another, right up to the Brahma heaven. All these bodhisattvas with exquisite voices sang countless praise-hymns extolling the buddhas. Thereupon Maitreya Bodhisattva rose from his seat and humbly bared his right shoulder, folded his hands toward the Buddha, and spoke thus in verse:

"The Buddha has preached the rare Law Never heard [by us] before. Great is the power of the World-honoured One And his lifetime beyond estimation. Numberless Buddha-sons, Hearing the World-honoured One in detail Tell of those who obtained the Law-benefit, Have been filled with joy. Some are steadfast in the never-retreating stage, Some have attained to the dharanis, Some to unembarrassed eloquence Or to controlling myriads of kotis of revolutions. There are bodhisattvas numerous as the atoms Of a great-thousandfold world, Each of them able to roll The unretreating Law-wheel; And bodhisattvas numerous as the atoms Of a middle-thousandfold world, Each of them able to roll The unsullied Law-wheel; And bodhisattvas numerous as the atoms Of a small-thousandfold world, Each of whom, after eight rebirths, Will accomplish the Buddha-way.

Again there are bodhisattvas, Numerous as the atoms of four, three, two Worlds of four continents like this, Who will become buddhas after those numbers of rebirths. Or bodhisattvas numerous as the atoms Of one four-continent world, Who after one more birth Will accomplish perfect knowledge. Such living beings as these, Hearing the duration of the Buddha's life, Will obtain infinite, perfect, And pure reward. Also there are the living, numerous As the atoms of eight worlds, who, Hearing the Buddha's announcement of his lifetime, Have all aspired to the supreme truth.

The World-honoured One, by preaching the infinite And inconceivable Law, Has benefited many, Boundlessly as space. Divine mandarava flowers rain down And maha-mandaravas. Shakras and Brahmas numerous as sands of the Ganges From countless buddha-lands have come, Raining sandal and aloes, which Fall blended and commingled; Like birds flying below the sky They reverently bestrew the buddhas.

The celestial drums in space Roll forth of themselves their wondrous sounds. A thousand myriad kinds of divine robes Whirl around in their descent. Exquisite bejeweled censers, Burning priceless incense, Move all around of their own accord In homage to the world-honoured ones.

Hosts of great bodhisattvas Hold canopies of the precious seven, Of wondrous height and of myriads of kotis of varieties, One above another up to the Brahma heaven. Before each one of the buddhas Jeweled streamers hang fluttering; Also with thousands of myriads of stanzas They [celebrate] the tathagatas in song. Such a variety of things as these We have never known before. Hearing the Buddha's lifetime is infinite, All beings are gladdened. The Buddha's fame throughout the universe Widely refreshes the roots of goodness Of all living beings, Aiding their desire for supreme truth."

Thereupon the Buddha addressed Maitreya Bodhisattva-Mahasattva: "Ajita! Those living beings who have heard that

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the lifetime of the Buddha is of such long duration and have been able to receive but one thought of faith and discernment--the merits they will obtain are beyond limit and measure. Suppose there be any good son or good daughter who, for the sake of Perfect Enlightenment, during eight hundred thousand kotis of nayutas of kalpas practices the five paramitas: dana-paramita, sila-paramita, kshanti-paramita, virya-paramita, and dhyana-paramita, prajna-paramita being excepted; these merits compared with the above-mentioned merits are not equal to even the hundredth part, the thousandth part, or one part of a hundred thousand myriad kotis of it; indeed, neither numbers nor comparisons can make it known. If any good son or good daughter possesses such merit as this, there is no such thing as failing to obtain Perfect Enlightenment." Thereupon the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"Though a man, seeking the Buddha-wisdom, During eighty myriad kotis Of nayutas of kalpas Were to perform the five paramitas, And during those kalpas Give alms and offerings to buddhas, Pratyekabuddhas, and disciples, As well as to bodhisattvas--Rare and precious food and drink, Superior clothing and bed furniture, Monasteries built of sandalwood and Adorned with gardens and groves, Such alms as these, Wonderful in variety--Were he to maintain them through all those kalpas As meritorious gifts to the Buddha-way; Moreover, though he were to keep the commandments Purely, without flaw or fault, And seek the supreme Way Which all buddhas praise; Or were he patiently to endure insult, Stand firm in the stage of gentleness, And though evils came upon him, Keep his mind undisturbed; Were he by other believers Filled with utmost arrogance To be scorned and distressed, Yet able to bear even this; Or were he to be diligent and zealous, Ever strong in will and memory, And during measureless kotis of kalpas With all his mind continue unremitting, And during numberless kalpas Dwell in secluded places, Whether resident or vagrant, Avoiding sleep and ever concentrating his mind; Were [he], by this means, To be able to beget meditations And for eighty myriad kotis of kalpas Calmly remain in them with unperturbed mind; Were he, maintaining this single-minded happiness, Willingly to seek the supreme Way, saying: 'I will attain all knowledge And go on to the utmost point of meditation': Were such a man for hundreds of thousands of Myriads of kotis of kalpas To perform such deeds of merits As those above expounded; Yet any good son or daughter Who, hearing me declare my [eternal] life, Believes it with but a single thought, This one's reward surpasses his. If anyone be entirely free From all doubts and misgivings And in his deepest heart believes it but a moment, Such shall be his reward.

If there be bodhisattvas Who have followed [good] ways for innumerable kalpas And hear of my announcement of my eternal life, They will be able to receive it in faith; Such men as these Will bow their heads in receiving this sutra And say: 'May we in the future Have long life to save all the living; And just as the present World-honoured One Who, King of Shakyas, On his wisdom terrace raises the lion's roar, Preaching the Law without fear, So may we in future ages, Honoured and received by all, When sitting on the wisdom terrace, In like manner tell of the duration of life!' If there be any of profound spirit, Pure and upright, Learned and able to uphold [the truth], Who understand the meaning of the Buddha's word, Such men as these Will have no doubts about this teaching.

"Again, Ajita! If anyone hears of the duration of the Buddha's lifetime and apprehends its meaning, the merit obtained by this man will be beyond limit and he will advance to the supreme wisdom of tathagatas; how much more will [this be the case with] the one who is devoted to hearing this sutra, or causes others to hear it, or himself keeps it, or causes others to keep it, or himself copies it, or causes others to copy it, or with flowers, incense, garlands, banners, flags, silk canopies, and lamps of fragrant oil and ghee pays homage to the sutra; this man's merit will be infinite and boundless and able to bring forth perfect knowledge. Ajita! If any good son or good daughter, hearing of my declaration of the duration of my lifetime, believes and discerns it in his inmost heart, such a one will see the Buddha always on Mount Gridhrakuta surrounded by a host of great bodhisattvas and shravakas, and preaching the Law. And he will see this saha-world whose land is lapis lazuli, plain and level, its eight roads marked off with jambunada gold, lined with jewel trees; it has towers, halls, and galleries all made of jewels, in which dwell together its bodhisattva host. If anyone is able so to behold, you may know that this is the sign of profound faith and discernment.

"And again, if [anyone], after the extinction of the Tathagata, hears this sutra, and does not defame but rejoices over it, you may know that he has had the sign of deep faith and discernment; how much more the one who reads and recites, receives and keeps it--this man carries the Tathagata on his head. [Hendrik Kern has "carries it on his shoulder," that is, holds it in high esteem and treats it with care.] Ajita! Such a good son or good daughter need no more erect stupas, temples, or monasteries for me, nor make offerings of the four requisites to the monks. [Garments, food and drink, bed furnishings, and medicines.] Wherefore? Because this good son or good daughter who receives and keeps, reads and recites this sutra has already erected stupas, built monasteries, and made offerings to the monks, that is to say, has erected, for the Buddha's relics, stupas of the precious seven, high and broad, and tapering up to the Brahma heaven, hung with flags and canopies and precious bells, and with flowers, perfumes, garlands, sandal powder, unguents, incense, drums, instruments, pipes, flutes, harps, all kinds of dances and plays--singing and lauding with wondrous notes--he has already made these offerings for innumerable thousands of myriads of kotis of kalpas. Ajita! If anyone, after my extinction, hears this sutra, and is able either to receive and keep, or himself copy or cause others to copy it, he has [already] erected monasteries and built red sandalwood temples of thirty-two shrines, tall as eight tala trees, lofty, spacious, splendid, in which abide hundreds, thousands of bhikshus; [adorned also with] gardens, groves, and bathing pools, promenades and meditation cells; with clothing, victuals, bedding, medicaments, and all aids to pleasure provided to the full therein. Such monasteries and such numbers of temples, hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis, countless in their number, he has here in my presence offered to me and [my] bhikshus. Therefore I say if anyone after the extinction of the Tathagata receives and keeps, reads and recites it, preaches it to others, either himself copies it or causes others to copy it, and pays homage to the sutra, he need no longer erect stupas and temples or build monasteries and make offerings to the monks. How much less he who is able to keep this sutra and add thereto almsgiving, morality, forbearance, zeal, concentration, and wisdom. His merit will be most excellent, infinite and boundless; even as space, which, east, west, south, and north, the four intermediate directions, the zenith and nadir, is infinite and boundless, so also the merit of this man will be infinite and boundless, and he will speedily reach perfect knowledge. If anyone [The Chinese can also be translated "such a man," but the reading given is that which is usual in Japan. See: Sacred Books of the East, Vol 21, Hendrik Kern, 1884, p. 323.] reads and recites, receives and keeps this sutra, preaches it to other people, or himself copies it, or causes others to copy it; moreover, is able to erect caityas and build monasteries, and to serve and extol the shravaka-monks, and also, with hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of ways of extolling, extols the merits of the bodhisattvas; also if he to other people, with various reasonings according to its meaning, expounds this Law-Flower Sutra; again if he is able to keep the commandments in purity, amicably to dwell with the gentle, to endure insult without anger, to be firm in will and thought, ever to value meditation, to attain profound concentration, zealously and boldly to support the good, to be clever and wise in ably answering difficult questionings; Ajita, again, if after my extinction there be good sons and good daughters who receive and keep, read and recite this sutra, who possess such excellent merits as these, you should know that those people have proceeded toward the wisdom terrace and are near Perfect Enlightenment, sitting under the tree of enlightenment. Ajita! Wherever those good sons or good daughters sit or stand or walk in that place, [you] should erect a caitya; all gods and men should pay homage to it as a stupa of [the relics of] the Buddha." Thereupon the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"If anyone, after my extinction, Is able respectfully to keep this sutra, This man's happiness will be infinite As is above explained. Such a one will have made perfectly All kinds of offerings And erected stupas for relics, Adorned with the precious seven, With banner towers, high and broad, Tapering up to the Brahma-heaven, With thousands of myriads of kotis of gem-bells, Stirred by the wind to mystic music.

For innumerable kalpas He will have paid homage to these stupas With flowers, incense, and garlands, With celestial garments and playing of music, With perfumed oil and ghee lamps burning And illuminating all around. In the evil ages of the Law's decay, He who can keep this sutra Will have, as above [shown], Perfectly made all kinds of offerings.

If anyone can keep this sutra, It will be as if the Buddha were present And he, with ox-head sandalwood, Built monasteries to serve him, Consisting of thirty-two halls, Eight tala trees in height, With superior food and fine garments, Beds and all complete, With abodes for hundreds and thousands; With gardens, groves, and bathing pools, With walks and meditation cells, All beautifully adorned.

If anyone has the mind of faith and discernment, Receives, keeps, reads, recites, and copies, Or moreover causes others to copy, And pays homage to the sutra, Strewing flowers, incense, and sandal powder, And uses perfumed oil of sumana And campaka and atimuktaka For constant burning; He who pays such homage to it Will obtain infinite merit; Just as space is boundless, So will it be with his merits; How much more with one who keeps this sutra, Gives alms and keeps the commandments, Is long-suffering and delights in meditation, Not irascible, nor speaking ill, Reverent to caityas and sanctuaries, Humble toward the bhikshus, Far removed from haughtiness, Ever pondering on wisdom, Not angry when asked about difficulties But compliantly explaining them; If he is able to do these deeds, His merits cannot be estimated.

If one meets such a Law-teacher Who has accomplished such virtues, Let him strew divine flowers upon him, Cover him with divine clothing, And salute him by bowing to his feet, With a mind as if thinking of the Buddha. Moreover, let him reflect thus: 'Soon he will be going to the Bodhi tree To achieve perfection and effortlessness, Widely benefiting gods and men.'

Wherever he dwells and stays, Walks, sits, or lies, Or preaches but a stanza [of this sutra], In that place erect a stupa, Adorn it and make it beautiful, And in all ways pay homage to it. When a Buddha-son dwells in such a place, It means that the Buddha himself uses it And ever abides in it, Walking, or sitting, or lying down." [When the eternal life of the Buddha was revealed in chapter 16, all the hearers, whether the former converts who issued from the earth or his immediate disciples, attained various degrees of meritoriousness according to the difference in their capacities. This chapter defines the degrees of merit.]

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 18

The Merits of Joyful Acceptance

At that time Maitreya Bodhisattva-Mahasattva spoke to the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! If there be a good son or good daughter who, hearing this Law-Flower Sutra, accepts it with joy, how much happiness will he obtain?" And he spoke [it again] in verse:

"After the extinction of the World-honoured One, If anyone, hearing this sutra, Is able to accept it with joy, How much happiness will he obtain?"

Then the Buddha addressed Maitreya Bodhisattva-Mahasattva: "Ajita! If, after the extinction of the Tathagata, any bhikshu, bhikshuni, upasaka, upasika, or other wise person, whether old or young, on hearing this sutra has accepted it with joy, and coming out of the assembly goes elsewhere to dwell either in a monastery or solitary place, or in a city, street, hamlet, or village, to expound what he has heard, according to his ability, to his father, mother, kindred, good friends, and acquaintances; and all these people, having heard it, accept it with joy and again go on to transmit the teaching; these others, having heard it, also accepting it with joy, and transmitting the teaching, and so on in turn to the fiftieth person--Ajita! I will now tell you about the merit of that fiftieth good son or good daughter, who joyfully receives the truth. Do you hearken well!

"It is as the number of all the living creatures in the six states of existence, in four hundred myriad kotis of asamkhyeyas of worlds, born in the four ways, egg-born, womb-born, humidity-born, or born by metamorphosis, whether they are formed or formless, whether conscious or unconscious, or neither conscious nor unconscious; footless, two-footed, four-footed, or many-footed--it is as the sum of all these living creatures. Suppose someone, seeking their happiness, provides them with every article of pleasure they may desire, giving each creature the whole of a Jambudvipa, gold, silver, lapis lazuli, moonstone, agate, coral, amber, and all sorts of wonderful jewels, with elephants, horses, carriages, and palaces and towers built of the precious seven, and so forth. This great master of gifts thus bestows gifts for full eighty years and then reflects thus: 'I have bestowed on all these beings articles of pleasure according to their desires, but now they have all grown old and worn, over eighty years of age, with hair gray and faces wrinkled, and death is not far off--I ought to instruct and guide them in the Buddha-law.' Thereupon, gathering together those beings, he proclaims to them the Law's instruction; and by his revealing, teaching, benefiting, and rejoicing, they all in a moment become srota-apannas, sakridagamins, anagamins, and arhats*, free from all imperfections, having all acquired mastery of profound meditation and completed the eight emancipations. [* These are the four merits or fruits: 1. srota-apanna, literally, "one who has entered the stream [leading to nirvana]"; 2. sakridagamin, literally, "returning," or being reborn once more; 3. anagamin, literally, "not returning," or no more rebirth; and 4. arhat.]

What is your opinion? May the merits obtained by this great master of gifts be considered many or not?" Maitreya said to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! The merits of this man are very many, infinite and boundless. Even though this master of giving had only made gifts of all those articles of pleasure to those creatures, his merits would be infinite; how much more when he causes them to attain arhatship?"

Then said the Buddha to Maitreya: "I will now speak clearly to you. The merits attained by this man in bestowing those means of happiness to all beings in the six states [of existence] of four hundred myriad kotis of asamkhyeyas of worlds and causing them to attain arhatship do not compare with the merits of that fiftieth person who, hearing a single verse of the Law-Flower Sutra, receives it with joy; they are not up to one hundredth, or one thousandth, or one fraction of a hundred thousand myriad kotis; the power of figures or

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comparisons cannot express it. Ajita! If the merits of such a fiftieth person who in turn hears the Law-Flower Sutra and accepts it with joy are indeed so infinite, boundless, and numberless, how much more is the happiness of him who among the first hearers in the assembly receives it joyfully, surpassing happiness still more infinite, boundless, and beyond number or compare.

"Again, Ajita! If anyone, for the sake of this sutra, goes to a monastery and, either sitting or standing, hears and receives it even for a moment, by reason of that merit in his next bodily rebirth he will acquire the most excellent kind of elephants, horses and carriages, jeweled palanquins and litters, and ride in celestial cars. If again there be anyone who sits down in the place where this Law is preached, and when others come persuades them to sit down and hear it, or shares his seat with others, that person's merit, on his bodily rebirth, will give him a Shakra's seat, or a Brahma's, or the seat of a sacred wheel-rolling king. Ajita! If, moreover, anyone says to another: 'There is a sutra named the Flower of the Law; let us go together and listen to it,' and if he who is persuaded hears it but for a moment, that person's merit, after his bodily rebirth, will cause him to be born in the same place with bodhisattvas who have attained dharani. He will be of keen faculties and wise; for hundreds of thousands of myriads of ages he will never be dumb nor have unpleasant breath; [will] ever be free from ailments of the tongue or ailments of the mouth; his teeth will never be dirty and black, nor yellow, nor in gaps, nor fall out, nor irregular, nor crooked; his lips will not be pendulous or twisted and shrunk, not coarse and rough, nor have sores and pustules, not be cracked and broken or awry and out of shape, neither thick nor big, neither sallow nor black, having nothing loathsome; his nose will not be flat or crooked and distorted; the colour of his face will not be black, nor will it be narrow and long or ever be hollow and crooked, having nothing whatever unpleasing; his lips, tongue, and teeth all will be beautiful; his nose long, high, and straight; his face round and full; his eyebrows high and long; his forehead broad, even, and upright. His sign of manhood will be perfect. In whatever age he is born, he will see the Buddha, hear the Law, and receive the teaching in faith. Ajita! Just notice this--if the merit obtained from persuading one person to go and hear the Law is such as this, how much more is that of one who with his whole mind hears and reads it, in the assembly interprets it to the people, and practices what it preaches." Thereupon the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"If anyone in an assembly Hears this sutra, Though only one stanza, And joyfully proclaims it to others, And thus its teaching rolls on Till it reaches the fiftieth hearer, The happiness obtained by this last I now will explain. Suppose a great benefactor Who provides for a countless throng During full eighty years According to all their desires, Then sees them decayed and old, Gray-haired and faces wrinkled, Teeth sparse and forms withered, And thinks their death approaches; 'Now,' says he, 'I must teach them To obtain the fruits of the right way.'

Then by tactful methods he Teaches them the true Law of nirvana: 'All worlds are unstable, Like water bubbles or will-o'-the-wisp. Do you all hasten to beget A spirit turning in disgust from them.' All of them on hearing this truth Attain arhatship, Perfect in the six transcendent faculties, Three clear [views], and eight emancipations.

The last, the fiftieth person, Who hears one verse and rejoices--This man's felicity surpasses that benefactor's Beyond the power of comparison. If a hearer whose turn is so remote Has such boundless felicity, How much greater his who, in the congregation, First hears it with joyfulness.

Let a man exhort but one person And bring him to listen to the Law-Flower, Saying: 'This sutra is profound and wonderful, Hard to meet in thousands of myriads of kalpas.' Persuaded, he goes to listen And hears it but for a moment; The reward of such a persuader Let me now define.

Age by age his mouth will never suffer, His teeth not be gapped, yellow, or black, Nor his lips thick, awry, or cracked, With no loathsome appearance; His tongue neither dried up, black, nor shrunk; His nose high, long, and straight; His forehead broad, level, and upright; A joy for men to behold; No fetid breath from his mouth, but The scent of the utpala flower Ever exhaling from his lips.

Or suppose one on purpose visits a monastery To hear the Law-Flower Sutra, And hearing it but a moment rejoices; Let me now tell of his happiness. He will hereafter be born among gods and men, Have fine elephants, horses and carriages, Jeweled palanquins and litters, And ride in celestial aerial cars. If, in the place of preaching, He begs men to sit and hear the sutra,

Because of this felicity he will attain The seat of a Shakra, a Brahma, a wheel-rolling king. How much more with him who single-minded Hears and expounds its meaning And practices according to its teaching--His happiness is beyond limit."

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 19

The Merits of the Preacher

Then the Buddha addressed the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Ever Zealous: "If any good son or good daughter receives and keeps this Law-Flower Sutra, or reads, or recites, or expounds, or copies it, that person will obtain eight hundred merits of the eye, twelve hundred merits of the ear, eight hundred merits of the nose, twelve hundred merits of tongue, eight hundred merits of the body, and twelve hundred merits of the mind; with these merits he will dignify his six organs, making them all serene. That good son or good daughter, with the natural pure eyes received at birth from his parents, will see whatever exists within and without the three-thousand-great-thousandfold world, mountains, forests, rivers, and seas, down to the Avici hell and up to the Summit of Existence, and also see all the living beings in it, as well as see and know in detail all their karma causes and rebirth states of retribution." Thereupon the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"If one, in the great assembly, With fearless mind, Preaches this Law-Flower Sutra--Hearken [listen] to his merits. That man will obtain eight hundred Surpassing merits of vision; Because of these endowments His eyes will be entirely serene. With the eyes received from his parents He will see all the three-thousandfold world, Within and without, Mount Meru, Sumeru and its Iron Circle, And the other mountains and forests, Great oceans, rivers, and waters, Down to the Avici hell, Up to the Summit of Existence; The living beings in its midst All will be seen by him; Though not yet having attained divine vision, His eyes of flesh have powers like these.

"And again, Ever Zealous! If any good son or good daughter receives and keeps this sutra, or reads or recites or expounds or copies it, he will obtain twelve hundred merits of the ear. With this serene ear he will hear, in the three-thousand-great-thousandfold world, downward to the Avici hell, upward to the Summit of Existence, within and without, all various words and sounds, the sounds of elephants, of horses, of cows, of carriages, of wailing, of lamentation, of conchs, of drums, of gongs, of bells, of laughter, of speech, of men, of women, of boys, of girls, of the lawful, of the unlawful, of suffering, of pleasure, of common people, of holy men, of comfort, of discomfort, of gods, of dragons, of yakshas, of gandharvas, of asuras, of garudas, of kimnaras, of mahoragas, of fire, of water, of wind, of the hells, of the animals, of hungry spirits, of bhikshus, bhikshunis, of shravakas, of pratyekabuddhas, of bodhisattvas, and of buddhas--essentially speaking, whatever sounds there may be within and without the three-thousand-great-thousandfold world; though he has still not obtained the heavenly ear, yet by the natural pure ears received at birth from his parents all these he will hear and know. And thus he discriminates all these various sounds without harm to his organ of hearing." Thereupon the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"His ears, received from parents, Are serene and untainted. By these ordinary ears he hears The sounds in the three-thousandfold world, The sounds of elephants, horses, carts, and oxen, The sounds of gongs, bells, conchs, and drums, The sounds of lutes and harps, The sounds of pipes and flutes, The sounds of pure and lovely song; He can listen without being under their control.

He hears the sounds of countless kinds of men, And can understand all he hears; He hears also the sounds of gods, And mystic voices of singing; Hears sounds of men and women, And sounds of youths and maidens. In mountains, streams, and gorges, The sounds of kalavinkas, Jivakajivakas and other birds, All these sounds he hears.

The bitter pains of the hosts in hell And the sounds of their sufferings; The hungry spirits driven by hunger And the sounds of their importunity; The asuras and others Inhabiting the ocean shores, When they converse together, Bellow forth their cries. Such a preacher as this, Calmly dwelling amidst this, Hears from afar all these sounds Without harm to his organ of hearing.

In the worlds in all directions, Birds and beasts cry to each other, And the preacher here abiding Hears them in every detail. All the Brahma heavens above, From those of Light Sound and Universal Purity* [The highest of the third realm of meditation heavens.] To the heaven called the Summit of Existence--The sounds of their conversation The preacher here abiding Hears in every detail.*

All the host of bhikshus And of bhikshunis Reading or reciting the sutra, Or preaching it to others, The preacher here abiding Hears them in every detail. Again there are the bodhisattvas Who read and recite this sutra Law Or preach it unto others, Collating and expounding its meaning--All such sounds as these He hears in every detail. The buddhas, great and holy honoured ones, Transformers of all living beings, Who, in their great assemblies, Proclaim the mystic Law--He who keeps this Law-Flower Hears in every detail.

In the three-thousand-great-thousandfold world, Its sounds within and without, Downward to the Avici hell, Upward to the Summit heaven, All these sounds he will hear Without harm to his organ of hearing, And because his ears are acute, He can discriminate and know them all. He who keeps this Law-Flower, Though not yet possessed of heavenly ears And only using his natural ears, Has already such merits as these.

"Moreover, Ever Zealous! If any good son or good daughter receives and keeps this sutra, or reads, or recites, or expounds, or copies it, he will attain eight hundred merits of the nose; and by means of this serene organ, in the three-thousand-great-thousandfold world, zenith and nadir, within and without, he will smell all kinds of fragrance, the fragrance of sumana flowers, of jatika flowers, of mallika flowers, of campaka flowers, of patala flowers, of red lotus flowers, of blue lotus flowers, of white lotus flowers, of flowering trees, of fruit-bearing trees, of sandalwood, of aloes, of tamalapattras, of tagaras, and of thousands of myriads of blended perfumes, powdered, granular, or in unguents. He who keeps this sutra, while abiding in this place, can discern all these. Again, he will discern the odours of all living beings, the odour of elephants, of horses, of cattle, goats, and so on; of men, of women, of youths, of maidens, and of grass, trees, bushes, and woods; near or far, whatever odour there be, he will perceive it all and discern without mistake. He who keeps this sutra, though abiding here, will also perceive the odour of the gods in the heavens, of parijata and kovidara, of mandarava flowers, of maha-mandarava flowers, of manjushaka flowers, of maha-manjushaka flowers, of all kinds of powdered sandalwood and aloes, and of many mingled flowers--all the odours exhaled from such mingled celestial perfumes he will never fail to perceive and know. And he will perceive the odour of the bodies of gods, the odour of Shakra Devendra in his Surpassing Palace, indulging his five desires and disporting himself joyfully; or when he is in his Wonderful Law Hall preaching the Law to the gods of the Trayastrimsha; or when he wanders for pleasure in his gardens; also the odour of the bodies of the other male and female gods; from afar will he perceive them. Thus proceeding to the Brahma world, up to the Summit of Existence, he will also smell all the odours of the bodies of the gods. Besides, he will smell the incense burned by the gods; and the odour of shravakas, of pratyekabuddhas, of bodhisattvas, and of the bodies of buddhas--from afar will he smell all these and know where they abide. Though he smells these odours, yet his organ of smell will not be harmed nor mistaken; and if he wishes to define them to others, his memory will not err." Thereupon the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"The nose of this man being serene, The odour of everything in this world, Be it fragrant or be it fetid, In full detail he smells and knows. Sumana and jatika, Tamalapattra and sandal, Aloes and cinnamon, Odours of flowers and fruits, Odours of all the living, Odours of men and women: The preacher, dwelling afar, Smells them and knows their place.

All-powerful wheel-rolling kings, Minor wheel-rollers and their sons, All their ministers and courtiers: He, by smell, knows their place. The jewels they wear upon them, The treasures hidden in the earth, The precious queens of wheel-rolling kings: He, by smell, knows their place. [* Literally, "the precious women"; one of the seven treasures of a wheel-rolling king. A wheel-rolling king's seven treasures are the precious wheel, the elephant, the horse, the jewel, the queen, the treasurer, and the head of the army.] From the things adorning people, Their clothes and necklaces, And the perfumes they use for anointing, He, by smell, knows their persons. The gods, whether walking or seated, Their playing and magic powers, He who keeps this Law-Flower, By smell, can know in detail.*

The scent of tree flowers and fruits And the fragrance of ghee oil: He who keeps this Law-Flower, Abiding here, well knows their place. Mountain gorges and cliffs, Diffusion of sandal-tree blossoms, And all the beings there dwelling He, by smell, can perfectly know. The oceans within the iron rim, The living within their lands: He who keeps this sutra By [their] smell knows their place.

Asuras, male and female, And all their tribe and followers, When they quarrel or play together He, by smell, is able to discern. Prairies or ravines where [roam] Lions, elephants, tigers, wolves, Bisons, buffaloes, and their kind: He, by smell, knows their place.

If there be a woman with child, Who discerns not yet its sex, Male, female, organless, or inhuman, He, by smell, can discern it. By his power of smell He knows if the newly pregnant Will succeed or not in being Joyfully delivered of happy children. By his perceptive power of smell He knows the thoughts of men and women, Their minds of lust, foolishness, or anger, And also knows the doers of goodness.

All the treasures hidden in the earth, Gold, silver, and jewels Heaped in copper vessels, By smell he can clearly distinguish. All sorts of [jeweled] necklaces, Of price beyond all knowledge--By smell he knows their value, Their source, and their location. The flowers of the [various] heavens, Mandaravas, manjushakas, And parijata trees, By smell he can clearly distinguish.

The palaces of the heavens, Whether upper, middle, or lower, Adorned with every precious flower, By smell he can

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clearly distinguish. The heavenly gardens, groves, surpassing palaces, Studies, and Wonderful Law halls, And those who take their pleasure in them, By smell he can clearly distinguish. Whenever the gods are hearing the Law, Or indulging the five desires, Coming, going, walking, sitting, lying--By smell he can clearly distinguish. The garments the goddesses wear, Adorned and perfumed with beautiful flowers, As they ramble about for pleasure, By smell he can clearly distinguish.

So is it in turn ascending Even up to the Brahma worlds; Those in meditation and out of it By smell he can clearly distinguish. From the gods Light Sound and Universal Purity To the god Summit of All Existence, From their birth to their disappearance: By smell he can all distinguish. All the host of bhikshus Ever progressing in the Law, Whether seated or walking about, Reading and reciting the sutra, Or, beneath trees in the forest, Devoting themselves to meditation--The keeper of [this] sutra, by smell, Knows their every location.

Bodhisattvas firm of will, In meditation, or reading the sutra, Or preaching the Law to others--By smell he can all distinguish. The world-honoured in every direction, By all beings revered, Who pity all and preach the Law--By smell he can all distinguish.

The living who, in a buddha's presence, Hear the sutra and rejoice together, And act according to the Law--By smell he can all distinguish. Though not yet possessed of a bodhisattva's Faultless, Law-begotten organ of smell, Yet this keeper of the sutra First obtains this faculty of smell.

"Further, Ever Zealous! If any good son or good daughter receives and keeps this sutra, and either reads, or recites, or expounds, or copies it, he will obtain twelve hundred merits of the tongue. Whatever pleasant or unpleasant, sweet or not sweet, bitter or astringent things meet his tongue will become of the finest flavour, like celestial nectar; nothing will be unpleasant. If, in the assembly, he uses his organ of the tongue to preach, it will send forth a profound and beautiful voice that can enter their hearts, giving them pleasure and joy; and celestial sons and daughters, Shakras, Brahmas, and the gods, hearing what this profound and beautiful voice proclaims and the order of his discourse, will all come and listen to him; dragons also and female dragons, yakshas and female yakshas, gandharvas and female gandharvas, asuras and female asuras, garudas and female garudas, kimnaras and female kimnaras, mahoragas and female mahoragas will all come to hear the Law, to approach, revere, and pay homage to him; bhikshus also and bhikshunis, upasakas and upasikas, kings and princes with their ministers and followers, minor wheel-rolling kings and great wheel-rolling kings with their seven treasures and their thousand princes and with their internal and external retinue, riding in their palatial chariots, will all come to listen to his Law. Because this bodhisattva so excellently preaches the Law, Brahmans, citizens, and the people in his country will follow, attend on, and pay homage to him to the end of their bodily life. And shravakas, pratyekabuddhas, bodhisattvas, and buddhas will always delight to see him. In whatever quarter this man abides, the buddhas will all preach toward him, and he will be able to receive and keep all the Buddha-law and also to utter the profound and beautiful sound of the Law." Then the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"Pure is this man's organ of tongue, Never receiving ill flavours: Whatsoever he eats, All becomes as nectar. With lovely voice, profound and pure, In the assembly he preaches the Law; With reasonings and parables, He leads on the minds of the living. All his hearers rejoice And make him the best of offerings.

Gods, dragons, and yakshas, Asuras and others, All with reverent minds Come in company to hear his Law. If this preacher desires To make his lovely voice Fill the three-thousandfold world, He is able at will to achieve it. Great and minor wheel-rolling kings With their thousand princes and followers, With folded hands and reverent minds, Constantly come to hear his Law.

Gods, dragons, and yakshas, Rakshasas and pishacakas Also with joyful mind Constantly rejoice to come and worship. Brahma and Mara, Ishvara and Maheshvara And all such heavenly host Come constantly to him. Buddhas and disciples, Hearing the sound of his preaching, Ever mind and protect him, At times revealing themselves to him.

"Further, Ever Zealous! If any good son or good daughter receives and keeps this sutra, and either reads, or recites, or expounds, or copies it, he will obtain eight hundred merits of the body; he will obtain a pure body like pure crystal which all the living delight to see. Because of the purity of his body, the living beings of the three-thousand-great-thousandfold world, as they are born or die, superior or inferior, fine or ugly, born in good or in bad conditions, all will be displayed in [his body]. And Mount Iron Circle, Mount Great Iron Circle, Mount Meru, Mount Maha-Meru, and other royal mountains, and the living beings in them, will all be displayed in [his body]. Downward to the Avici hell, upward to the Summit of All Existence, all things and living beings will be displayed [in his body]. Shravakas, pratyekabuddhas, bodhisattvas, and buddhas preaching the Law will all display their forms and images in his body." Then the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"If anyone keeps the Law-Flower Sutra, His body will be utterly pure, As that pure lapis lazuli; All the living will delight to see it. And as in a pure, bright mirror Every image is seen, The bodhisattva, in his pure body, Sees everything in the world.

He himself alone sees clearly What others do not see. In the three-thousandfold world All the common multitude, Gods, men, asuras, Beings in hell, demons, animals--All such forms and images Appear there in his body.

The palaces of the gods, To the Summit of All Existence, The Iron Circle and Meru, Mount Maha-Meru, Great oceans and waters, All appear in his body. Buddhas and shravakas, Buddha-sons, bodhisattvas, Alone or preaching among the multitude, All appear [in him]. Though not yet possessed of the flawless, Mystic, spiritual body, Yet in his pure ordinary body Everything is revealed.

"Further, Ever Zealous! If any good son or good daughter, after the extinction of the Tathagata, receives and keeps this sutra, or reads, or recites, or expounds, or copies it, he will obtain twelve hundred merits of thought. With this pure organ of thought, on hearing even a single verse or sentence he will penetrate its infinite and boundless meanings. Having discerned those meanings, he will be able to preach on that single sentence or verse for a month, four months, even a year. And that which he preaches, according to its several meanings, will not be contrary to the truth. If he refers to popular classics, maxims for ruling the world, means of livelihood, and so forth, all will coincide with the True Law. The beings in the six destinies of the three-thousand-great-thousandfold world, whatever is passing through their minds, whatever are the movements of their minds, whatever arguments are diverting their minds--he knows them all. Though such a one has not yet obtained faultless wisdom, yet his organ of thought will be pure like this. Whatever he ponders, estimates, and speaks, all will be the Buddha-law, nothing but truth, and also that which former buddhas have taught in the sutras." Then the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this meaning over again, spoke thus in verse:

"The thought of this man is pure, Lucid, acute, unturbid; By this mystic organ of thought He knows all laws, high, low, and mean; On hearing a single verse He penetrates its infinite meanings, And orderly preaches them as Law For a month, four months, or a year. All the living creatures of This world, within and without, Gods, dragons, human beings, Yakshas, demons, spirits, others, Those in the six destinations: Whatever they may be thinking--In reward for keeping the Law-Flower, Instantly he knows them all.

The numberless buddhas of the universe, With their hundreds of felicitous signs, Who preach to all the living--He hears and retains it all. He ponders the infinite And preaches the Law without limit, Never forgets or makes a mistake, Because he keeps the Law-Flower. Knowing the form of all laws, Perceiving their ordered meaning, Comprehending the terms and words, He explains them according to knowledge.

Whatever this man preaches Is the Law of former buddhas; And because he proclaims this Law, He is fearless of the throng. A keeper of the Law-Flower Sutra Has an organ of thought like this. Though not yet possessed of faultlessness, He has such a foretoken as this.

This man, keeping this sutra, Stands firm on a rare foundation; By all living beings rejoiced in, Beloved and reverenced, He is able, with thousands of myriads Of kinds of skillful expressions, To interpret and preach to them Through keeping the Law-Flower Sutra."

HERE ENDS THE SIXTH BUNCH OF WORDS

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 20

The Bodhisattva Never Despise

At that time the Buddha addressed the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Great Power Obtained*: "Now you should know that if bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, and upasikas keep the Law-Flower Sutra, and if anyone curses, abuses, and slanders them, he will receive such great punishment as before announced; but those who attain merits such as those previously announced, their eyes, ears, noses, tongues, bodies, and thoughts will be clear and pure. [* He who has obtained or is endowed with great power or authority.]

"Great Power Obtained! In a past period of olden times, infinite, boundless, inconceivable, and asamkhyeya kalpas ago, there was a buddha named King of Majestic Voice Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, World-honoured One, whose kalpa was named Free from Decline and his domain All Complete. That buddha, King of Majestic Voice, in that world preached to gods, men, and asuras. To those who sought to be shravakas he preached response to the Law of the Four Noble Truths for escape from birth, old age, disease, and death, leading finally to nirvana; to those who sought to be pratyekabuddhas he preached response to the Law of the Twelve Causes; to bodhisattvas he by means of Perfect Enlightenment preached response to the Six Paramitas for the perfecting of Buddha-wisdom. Great Power Obtained! The lifetime of this buddha, King of Majestic Voice, was forty myriad kotis of nayutas of kalpas, as many as the sands of the Ganges. The number of kalpas during which the Righteous Law remained in the world was equal to the atoms in a Jambudvipa; and the number of kalpas during which the Counterfeit Law remained was equal to the atoms in four continents. After that buddha had abundantly benefited all living beings, he became extinct. After the Righteous Law and Counterfeit Law had entirely disappeared, in that domain there again appeared a buddha. He was also entitled King of Majestic Voice Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, World-honoured One. Thus in succession there were twenty thousand kotis of buddhas who all had the same title. After the extinction of the first Tathagata King of Majestic Voice and after the end of the Righteous Law, during the period of the Counterfeit Law bhikshus of utmost arrogance obtained the chief power. At that period there was a bodhisattva-bhikshu named Never Despise. Great Power Obtained! For what reason was he named Never Despise? [Because] that bhikshu paid respect to and commended everybody whom he saw, bhikshu, bhikshuni, upasaka, upasika, speaking thus: 'I deeply revere you. I dare not slight and contemn you. Wherefore? [Because] you all walk in the bodhisattva-way and are to become buddhas.' And that bhikshu did not devote himself to reading and reciting the sutras but only to paying respect, so that when he saw afar off a member of the four groups, he would specially go and pay respect to them, commending them, saying: 'I dare not slight you, because you are all to become buddhas.' Amongst the four groups, there were those who, irritated and angry and muddy-minded, reviled and abused him, saying: 'Where did this ignorant bhikshu come from, who takes it on himself to say, "I do not slight you," and who predicts us as destined to become buddhas? We need no such false prediction.' Thus he passed many years, constantly reviled but never irritated or angry, always saying, 'You are to become buddhas.' Whenever he spoke thus, the people beat him with clubs, sticks, potsherds, or stones. But, while escaping to a distance, he still cried aloud: 'I dare not slight you. You are all to become buddhas.' And because he always spoke thus, the haughty bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, and upasikas styled him Never Despise.

"When this bhikshu was drawing near his end, from the sky he heard and was entirely able to receive and retain twenty thousand myriad kotis of verses of the Lotus-Flower Sutra, which the Buddha King of Majestic Voice had formerly preached. Whereupon he obtained as above clearness and purity of the eye-organ and of the organs of ear, nose, tongue, body, and thought. Having obtained the purity of these six organs, he further prolonged his life for two hundred myriad kotis of nayutas of years, and widely preached this Law-Flower Sutra to the people. Then the haughty four orders of bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, and upasikas who had slighted and contemned this man and given him the [nick]name Never Despise, seeing him possessed of great transcendent powers, of power of eloquent discourse, and of power of excellent meditation, and having heard his preaching, all believed in and followed him. This bodhisattva again converted thousands of myriads of kotis of beings to Perfect Enlightenment.

"After the end of his lifetime, he met two thousand kotis of buddhas who were all entitled Sun Moon Light, and under their Law he preached this Law-Flower Sutra. Because of this, he again met two thousand kotis of buddhas, all equally entitled Sovereign Light King of the Clouds. [That is, Lightning King. Chapter 7 gives his name as Sovereign Cloud King. In the extant Sanskrit text, Dundubhisvararaja (literally, "Drum Sound King," that is, "Thunder") comes between the two kings Candrasvararaja (literally, "Moon Sound King)" and Meghasvararaja (literally, "Cloud Sound King"). He is also included in Dharmaraksha's translation.] Because under the Law of those buddhas he received, kept, read, recited, and preached this sutra to all the four groups, he obtained clearness and purity of the common eye and of the organs of ear, nose, tongue, body, and thought, and among the four groups preached the Law fearlessly.

"Great Power Obtained! This Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Never Despise paid homage to such numerous buddhas as these, revering, honouring, and extolling them; and after cultivating the roots of goodness, again he met thousands of myriads of kotis of buddhas and also under the Law of those buddhas preached this sutra; his merits being complete, he then became a buddha. Great Power Obtained! What is your opinion? Can it be that the Bodhisattva Never Despise was at that time somebody else? He was [really] I myself. If I in my former lives had not received and kept, read and recited this sutra and preached it to others, I should not have been able so soon to attain Perfect Enlightenment. Because under former buddhas I received and kept, read and recited this sutra and preached it to others, I so soon attained Perfect Enlightenment.

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"Great Power Obtained! At that time the four groups, bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas,and upasikas, with angry minds slighted and contemned me, therefore for two hundred kotis of kalpas they never met a buddha, never heard the Law, never saw a samgha, and for a thousand kalpas underwent great sufferings in the Avici hell. After their sin was brought to an end, they again met the Bodhisattva Never Despise, who taught and converted them to Perfect Enlightenment. Great Power Obtained! What is your opinion? Those four groups at that time, who constantly slighted that bodhisattva--can they indeed be somebody else? They are now in this assembly--the five hundred bodhisattvas Bhadrapala and the others, the five hundred bhikshunis Lion Moon and the others, the five hundred upasakas Thinking of Buddha and the others*, who will never retreat from Perfect Enlightenment. [* Some read this as "the five hundred bhikshus Lion Moon and others, and the five hundred upasakas Buddha Thinking Nun and others." The extant Sanskrit text has "upasikas" instead of "upasakas." Kern has "lay devotees," saying in a note, "upasaka, masculine; this does not suit" (Sacred Books of the East, Vol 21, 1884, p. 360.).] Know, Great Power Obtained! This Law-Flower Sutra greatly benefits all bodhisattva-mahasattvas and enables them to reach Perfect Enlightenment. Therefore all bodhisattva-mahasattvas, after the extinction of the Tathagata, should ever receive and keep, read and recite, expound and copy this sutra." Then the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"In the past there was a buddha Styled King of Majestic Voice, Boundless in divine wisdom, Leader of all creatures; Gods, men, dragons, spirits All paid homage to him. After this buddha's extinction, When the Law drew near its end, There existed a bodhisattva Whose name was Never Despise.

At that time the four groups Were devoted to material things. The Bodhisattva Never Despise On approaching them Would address them thus: 'I may not despise you; You are followers of the Way And will all become buddhas.' When they had heard it, they Contemned or reviled him. Bodhisattva Never Despise Bore it all patiently. When his sins were expiated And his end was drawing near, He heard this sutra And his organs were clarified. By his transcendent power He prolonged his period of life And again, to all the people, Widely preached this sutra.

The groups formerly devoted to things All received from this bodhisattva Instruction and perfection, Being led to abide in the Buddha-way. Never Despise, his lifetime ended, Met with countless buddhas, And through his preaching of this sutra Obtained inestimable happiness.

Gradually perfecting his merits, He soon accomplished the Buddha-way. The Never Despise of that time Is really I myself. The four groups of that time, Attached to [earthly] things, Who heard Never Despise say, 'You are to become buddhas,' And who because of this Met with countless buddhas Are the bodhisattvas of this assembly, The host of five hundred, And also the four sections Of pure believers, men and women, Who are now before me Listening to the Law.

I, in my former lives, Exhorted these people To hear and receive this sutra, The peerless Law, And revealed and taught it to men, That they might abide in nirvana. Age by age have I received and kept This so wonderful a sutra [teaching]. During myriads of kotis and kotis of kalpas Of inconceivable reach, Rare are the times that have heard This Law-Flower Sutra.

During myriads of kotis and kotis of kalpas Of inconceivable reach, Buddhas, world-honoured ones, At rare times preach this sutra. Therefore let his followers, After the Buddha's extinction, On hearing such a sutra as this, Not conceive doubt or perplexity. But let them wholeheartedly Publish abroad this sutra, And age by age meeting buddhas, They will speedily accomplish the Buddha-way."

[The translation of the name of the Bodhisattva Never Despise follows the T'ien-t'ai tradition. Kern translated the bodhisattva's Sanskrit name, Sadaparibhuta, as "always contemned" (sada and paribhuta) and "always not-contemned, never contemned" (sada and aparibhuta; see Sacred Books of the East vol. 21, p. 357 n). Dharmaraksha's Chinese translation reads "always contemned or despised." Here, according to the T'ien-t'ai reading, the name is rendered as "never despise."]*

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 21

The Divine Power of the Tathagata

At that time the bodhisattva-mahasattvas, equal to the atoms of a [great-]thousandfold world, who had sprung up from the earth, all before the Buddha with one mind folded their hands, looked up into his noble countenance, and spoke to the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! After the extinction of the Buddha, in whatever lands the transformed body of the World-honoured One exists, wherever he is extinct, we will widely preach this sutra. Wherefore? Because we also ourselves wish to obtain this truly pure Great Law in order to receive and keep, read and recite, explain, copy, and make offerings to it."

Thereupon the World-honoured One, before Manjushri and the other countless hundred thousand myriad kotis of bodhisattva-mahasattvas, as well as of bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, upasikas, gods, dragons, yakshas, gandharvas, asuras, garudas, kimnaras, mahoragas, human and nonhuman beings, and so on*, before all these creatures, revealed his great divine power, putting forth his broad and far-stretched tongue till it reached upward to the Brahma world, every pore radiating the light of infinite and numberless colours, all shining everywhere throughout all directions of the universe. Under all the jewel trees the buddhas, each seated on a lion throne, also in like manner put forth their broad and far-stretched tongues radiating infinite light.

[* The extant Sanskrit text here has the following sentences, not found in any Chinese translation, as the words of these countless beings to the World-honoured One: ". . . said unto the Lord: We also, O Lord, will promulgate this Dharmaparyaya after the complete extinction of the Tathagata. While standing with an invisible body in the sky, O Lord, we will send forth a voice, and plant the roots of goodness of such creatures as have not (yet) planted roots of goodness. Then the Lord addressed the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Vishishtacaritra, who was the very first of those afore-mentioned Bodhisattva Mahasattvas followed by a troop, a great troop, masters of a troop: Very well, Vishishtacaritra, very well; so you should do; it is for the sake of this Dharmaparyaya that the Tathagata &c., and the wholly extinct Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, &c., both seated on the throne in the centre of the Stupa, commenced smiling to one another and . . ." (Quoted from Kern, Sacred Books of the East vol. 21, pp. 363-64).]

While Shakyamuni Buddha and all the other buddhas under jewel trees were revealing their divine powers, hundreds of thousands of years had fully passed. After that they drew back their tongues, coughed simultaneously, and snapped their fingers in unison. These two sounds reached through every direction of buddha worlds, all their lands being shaken in six ways. In the midst of these worlds all living beings, gods, dragons, yakshas, gandharvas, asuras, garudas, kimnaras, mahoragas, human and nonhuman beings, and the other creatures, by reason of the divine power of the Buddha, all saw in this saha-world the infinite, boundless hundred thousand myriad kotis of buddhas seated on the lion thrones under all the jewel trees, and saw Shakyamuni Buddha together with the Tathagata Abundant Treasures seated on lion thrones in the midst of the stupa, and also saw the infinite, boundless hundred thousand myriad kotis of bodhisattva-mahasattvas, and the four groups who reverently surround Shakyamuni Buddha. After beholding this they were all greatly delighted, obtaining that which they had never experienced before. At the same time all the gods in the sky sang with exalted voices: "Beyond these infinite, boundless hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of asamkhyeya worlds, there is a realm named saha. In its midst is a buddha, whose name is Shakyamuni. Now, for the sake of all bodhisattva-mahasattvas, he preaches the Great-vehicle Sutra called the Lotus Flower of the Wonderful Law, the Law by which bodhisattvas are instructed and which the buddhas watch over and keep in mind. You should with all your utmost heart joyfully follow it and should pay homage and make offerings to Shakyamuni Buddha."

All those living beings, after hearing the voice in the sky, folded their hands toward the saha-world and thus exclaimed: "Namah Shakyamuni Buddha! Namah Shakyamuni Buddha!" Then with various flowers, incense, garlands, canopies, as well as personal ornaments, gems, and wonderful things, they all from afar strewed the saha-world. The things so strewn from every quarter were like gathering clouds, transforming into a jeweled canopy, covering all the place above the buddhas. Thereupon the worlds of the universe were united as one buddha-land.

At that time the Buddha addressed Eminent Conduct and the host of other bodhisattvas: "The divine powers of buddhas are so infinite and boundless that they are beyond thought and expression. Even if I, by these divine powers, through infinite, boundless hundred thousand myriad kotis of asamkhyeya kalpas, for the sake of entailing it, were to declare the merits of this sutra, I should still be unable to reach the end of those [merits]. Essentially speaking, all the laws belonging to the Tathagata, all the sovereign, divine powers of the Tathagata, all the mysterious, essential treasuries of the Tathagata, and the very profound conditions of the Tathagata, all are proclaimed, displayed, revealed, and expounded in this sutra. Therefore you should, after the extinction of the Tathagata, wholeheartedly receive and keep, read and recite, explain and copy, cultivate and practice it as the teaching. In whatever land, whether it be received and kept, read and recited, explained and copied, cultivated and practised as the teaching; whether in a place where a volume of the sutra is kept, or in a temple, or in a grove, or under a tree, or in a monastery, or in a lay devotee's house, in a palace or a mountain, in a valley or in the wilderness, in all these places you must erect a caitya and make offerings. Wherefore? You should know that [all] these spots are the thrones of enlightenment. On these [spots] the buddhas attain Perfect Enlightenment; on these [spots] the buddhas roll the wheel of the Law; on these [spots] the buddhas [enter] parinirvana." At that time the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"All the buddhas, Saviours of the world, Dwelling in mighty divine penetration, In order to gladden all creatures Reveal their infinite powers divine. Their tongues extend to the Brahma heavens, Their bodies emit countless rays of light; For those who seek the Way of the Buddha They show this rare phenomenon. The sound when the buddhas cough And that of the snap of their fingers Are heard throughout the whole universe, And the earth in six ways shakes.

Because, after the Buddha's extinction, It is possible to possess this sutra, The buddhas all rejoice And show infinite powers divine. Now that this sutra is entailed To him who keeps it, let praise, Through kalpas infinite, Be inexhaustible. The merits of this man Shall be boundless and without end As space in every direction, Which cannot find a limit.

He who can keep this sutra Is one who already beholds me And also the Buddha Abundant Treasures, And all buddhas emanated from me,

And sees besides the bodhisattvas Whom I have instructed until now. He who can keep this sutra Will cause me and the buddhas emanated from me, And the Buddha Abundant Treasures in nirvana, All of us entirely to rejoice; And the buddhas now in the universe, And those of the past and the future, He shall also see and serve And cause to rejoice.

The mysterious laws that have been attained By the buddhas each on his wisdom throne, He who can keep this sutra Must surely gain ere long. He who can keep this sutra Shall the meaning of the laws, With their terms and expressions, Delightedly expound without end, Like the wind in the sky, Which never has impediment.

After the Tathagata is extinct [such a one], Knowing [this] sutra that the Buddha has taught, Together with its reasoning and process, Shall expound it according to its true meaning. Just as the light of the sun and moon Can dispel the darkness, So this man, working in the world, Can disperse the gloom of the living And cause numberless bodhisattvas Finally to abide in the One-vehicle.

Therefore he who has wisdom, Hearing the benefits of this merit, After I am extinct, Should receive and keep this sutra. This man shall in the Way of the Buddha Be fixed and have no doubts."

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 22

The Final Commission

At that time Shakyamuni Buddha rose from his Law seat, manifesting supernatural powers, laid his right hand on the heads of the innumerable bodhisattva-mahasattvas, and spoke thus: "I, for incalculable hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of nayutas of kalpas, have practised this rare Law of Perfect Enlightenment. Now I entrust it to you. Do you wholeheartedly promulgate this Law and make it increase and prosper far and wide."

In like manner three times he laid his hand upon the heads of the bodhisattva-mahasattvas and spoke thus: "I, for incalculable hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of nayutas of kalpas, have practised this rare Law of Perfect Enlightenment. Now I entrust it to you. Do you receive and keep, read and recite, and proclaim this Law abroad that all living beings universally may hear and know it. Wherefore? The Tathagata is most benevolent and compassionate, not mean and stingy, and is able fearlessly to give the Buddha-wisdom, the Tathagata-wisdom, and the Self-existent wisdom to all living beings. The Tathagata is the great lord of giving to all living beings. Do you also follow and learn the Tathagata's example, not being mean and stingy. If good sons or good daughters in ages to come believe in the Tathagata-wisdom, do you proclaim this Law-Flower Sutra to them that they may hear and know it, in order that they may obtain the Buddha-wisdom. If there be living beings who do not believe in it, do you show, teach, benefit, and rejoice them with the other [tactful] profound laws of the Tathagata. If you are able thus to act, then you will have repaid the grace of the buddhas."

Thereupon all the bodhisattva-mahasattvas, having heard the Buddha give this address, were all filled with great joy and paid him added reverence, bowing themselves, bending their heads, and with folded hands saluting the Buddha, crying with united voice: "We will do all as the World-honoured One has commanded. Yea, World-honoured One! Have no anxiety." Three times in such manner did all the host of bodhisattva-mahasattvas cry with united voice: "We will do all as the World-honoured One has commanded. Yea, World-honoured One! Have no anxiety."

Thereupon Shakyamuni Buddha caused all the emanated buddhas, who had come from all directions, each to return to his own land, saying: "Buddhas! Peace be unto you. Let the stupa of the Buddha Abundant Treasures be restored as before."

As these words were spoken, the innumerable emanated buddhas from all directions, who were seated on lion thrones

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under the jewel trees, as well as the Buddha Abundant Treasures, the host of infinite asamkhyeyas of bodhisattvas, Eminent Conduct and others, also the four groups of hearers, Shariputra and others, and all the worlds, gods, men, asuras, and so on, hearing the preaching of the Buddha, rejoiced greatly. [The extant Sanskrit text and all other Chinese translations place this chapter last in this sutra, but internal evidence supports the idea that Kumarajiva's version is correct in placing it here. This chapter contains the final sermon to the assembly in the sky, which begins in chapter 11; the remaining six chapters of the sutra give the later sermons on Mount Gridhrakuta, the early sermons there being given in chapters 1 to 10. The sutra includes three assemblies in two places: two on Mount Gridhrakuta and one in the sky.]

CHAPTER 23 The Story of the Bodhisattva Medicine King

At that time the Bodhisattva Star Constellation King Flower addressed the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! Why does the Medicine King Bodhisattva wander in the saha-world? World-honoured One! What hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of nayutas of distresses the Bodhisattva Medicine King has to suffer! Excellent will it be, World-honoured One, if you will be pleased to explain a little, so that the gods, dragon spirits, yakshas, gandharvas, asuras, garudas, kimnaras, mahoragas, human and nonhuman beings, and the bodhisattvas who have come from other lands, as well as these shravakas, hearing it will all rejoice."

Thereupon the Buddha addressed the Bodhisattva Star Constellation King Flower: "Of yore, in the past, kalpas ago incalculable as the sands of the Ganges River, there was a buddha entitled Sun Moon Brilliance Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, World-honoured One. That buddha had eighty kotis of great bodhisattva-mahasattvas and a great assembly of shravakas [numerous] as the sands of seventy-two Ganges rivers. The lifetime of that buddha was forty-two thousand kalpas, and the lifetime of his bodhisattvas was the same. His domain had no women, no hells, no hungry ghosts, no animals, no asuras, and no disasters; its land was level as one's palm and made of lapis lazuli; it was adorned with jewel trees, covered with jewel curtains, hung with flags of jewel flowers, and jeweled vases and censers were [seen] everywhere in the country. Terraces were there of the precious seven, with trees for each terrace, the trees distant from it a full arrow's flight. [An arrow's flight is considered to be 120 to150 steps.] Under all these jewel trees bodhisattvas and shravakas were seated. Above each of these platforms were a hundred kotis of gods performing celestial music and singing praises to the buddha in homage to him. Then that buddha preached the Law-Flower Sutra to the Bodhisattva Loveliness* and all the bodhisattvas and host of shravakas. [* Literally, "whom all creatures delight to see."] This Bodhisattva Loveliness had rejoiced to follow the course of suffering and in the Law of the Buddha Sun Moon Brilliance had made zealous progress, wandering about single-mindedly seeking the Buddha for fully twelve thousand years, after which he attained the contemplation of revelation of all forms. [In this contemplation the bodies or forms of all beings appear.] Having attained this contemplation he was very joyful and reflected thus, saying: 'My attainment of the contemplation of revelation of all forms is entirely due to the power resulting from hearing the Law-Flower Sutra. Let me now pay homage to the Buddha Sun Moon Brilliance and the Law-Flower Sutra.' No sooner did he enter into this contemplation than he rained from the sky mandarava flowers, maha-mandarava flowers, and fine dust of hard and black sandalwood, which filled the sky and descended like a cloud; [he] rained also incense of inner-sea-shore sandalwood*; six karshas of this incense are worth a saha-world. [All this he did] in homage to the Buddha. [* Literally, "this south shore of the inner sea of Mount Sumeru," where this kind of sandalwood is said to be found.]

"Having made this offering, he arose from contemplation and reflected within himself, thus saying: 'Though I by my supernatural power have paid homage to the Buddha, it is not as good as offering my body.' Thereupon he partook of many kinds of incense--sandalwood, kunduruka, turushka, prikka, aloes, and resin incense--and drank the essential oil of campaka and other flowers. After fully twelve hundred years, he anointed his body with perfumed unguents, and in the presence of the Buddha Sun Moon Brilliance wrapped himself in a celestial precious garment, bathed in perfumed oil, and by his transcendent vow burned his own body. Its brightness universally illuminated worlds fully numerous as the sands of eighty kotis of Ganges rivers, whose buddhas simultaneously extolled him, saying: 'Good, good! Good son! This is true zeal. It is called the True Law Homage to the Tathagata. Offerings of flowers, scents, necklaces, incense, sandal powder, unguents, flags and canopies of celestial silk, and incense of inner-sea-shore sandalwood, offerings of such various things as these cannot match it, nor can the giving of alms, countries, cities, wives, and children match it. My good son! This is called the supreme gift, the most honoured and sublime of gifts, because it is the Law homage to the tathagatas.' After making this statement they all became silent. "His body continued burning for twelve hundred years, after which his body came to an end.

"The Bodhisattva Loveliness, after making such a Law offering as this, on his death was again born in the domain of the Buddha Sun Moon Brilliance, being suddenly metamorphosed, sitting cross-legged in the house of King Pure Virtue, to whom as his father he forthwith spoke thus in verse:

'Know, O great king! Sojourning in that other abode, I instantly attained the contemplation of The revelation of all forms, And devotedly performed a deed of great zeal By sacrificing the body I loved.'

"After uttering this verse, he spoke to his father, saying: 'The Buddha Sun Moon Brilliance is still existing as of yore. Having first paid homage to that buddha, I obtained the dharani of interpreting the utterances of all the living, and moreover heard this Law-Flower Sutra [in] eight hundred thousand myriad kotis of nayutas, kankaras, bimbaras, akshobhyas of verse. Great King! I ought now to return and pay homage to that buddha.' Having said this, he thereupon took his seat on a tower of the precious seven, arose in the sky as high as seven tala trees, and on reaching that buddha, bowed down to his feet, and folding his ten fingers, extolled the buddha in verse:

'Countenance most wonderful, Radiance illuminating the universe: Formerly I paid homage to thee, Now again I return to behold.'

"Then the Bodhisattva Loveliness, having uttered this verse, spoke to that buddha, saying: 'World-honoured One! The World-honoured One is still present in the world.'

"Thereupon the Buddha Sun Moon Brilliance addressed the Bodhisattva Loveliness: 'My good son! The time of my nirvana has come. The time of my extinction has arrived. You may arrange my bed. Tonight I shall enter parinirvana.' Again he commanded the Bodhisattva Loveliness: 'My good son! I commit the Buddha-law to you. And I deliver to you all my bodhisattvas and chief disciples, my Law of Perfect Enlightenment, also my three-thousand-great-thousandfold world made of the precious seven, its jewel trees and jewel towers, and my celestial attendants. I also entrust to you whatever relics may remain after my extinction. Let them be distributed and paid homage to far and wide. Let some thousands of stupas be erected.' The Buddha Sun Moon Brilliance, having thus commanded the Bodhisattva Loveliness, in the last division of the night entered into nirvana.

"Thereupon the Bodhisattva Loveliness, seeing the buddha was extinct, mourned, was deeply moved and distressed, and ardently longed for him. Then piling up a pyre of inner seashore sandalwood, he paid homage to the body of that buddha and burned it. After the fire died out he gathered the relics, made eighty-four thousand precious urns, and erected eighty-four thousand stupas high as a threefold world, adorned with banner towers, hung with flags and canopies and with many precious bells. Then the Bodhisattva Loveliness again reflected within himself, saying: 'Though I have paid this homage, my mind is not yet satisfied. Let me pay still further homage to the relics.' Thereupon he addressed the bodhisattvas and chief disciples, as well as gods, dragons, yakshas, and all the host, saying: 'Pay attention with all your mind, for I am now about to pay homage to the relics of the Buddha Sun Moon Brilliance.' Having said this, he thereupon before the eighty-four thousand stupas burned his arms, with their hundred felicitous signs, for seventy-two thousand years in homage to him, and led a numberless host of seekers after shravakaship and countless asamkhyeyas of people to set their mind on Perfect Enlightenment, causing them all to abide in the contemplation of revelation of all forms.

"Then all those bodhisattvas, gods, men, asuras, and others, seeing him without arms, were sorrowful and distressed and lamented, saying: 'This Bodhisattva Loveliness is indeed our teacher and instructor, but now his arms are burned off and his body is deformed.' Thereupon the Bodhisattva Loveliness in the great assembly made this vow, saying: 'Having given up both my arms, I shall yet assuredly obtain a buddha's golden body. If this assurance be true and not false, let both my arms be restored as they were before.' As soon as he had made this vow, his arms were of themselves restored, all brought to pass through the excellence of this bodhisattva's felicitous virtue and wisdom. At that moment the three-thousand-great-thousandfold world was shaken in the six ways, the sky rained various flowers, and gods and men all attained that which they had never before experienced."

The Buddha then addressed the Bodhisattva Star Constellation King Flower: "In your opinion what say you, was the Bodhisattva Loveliness some other person? It was indeed the present Medicine King Bodhisattva. His self-sacrifice and gifts were of such countless hundred thousand myriad kotis of nayutas in number as these. Star Constellation King Flower! If anyone with his mind set on and aiming at Perfect Enlightenment is able to burn the fingers of his hand or even a toe of his foot in homage to a buddha's stupa he will surpass him who pays homage with domains, cities, wives, children, and his three-thousand-great-thousandfold land with its mountains, forests, rivers, pools, and all its precious things.

"Again, if anyone offers a three-thousand-great-thousandfold world full of the seven precious things in homage to buddhas, great bodhisattvas, pratyekabuddhas, and arhats, the merit this man gains is not equal to the surpassing happiness of him who receives and keeps but a single fourfold verse of this Law-Flower Sutra.

"Star Constellation King Flower! Suppose just as amongst all brooks, streams, rivers, canals, and all other waters the sea is the supreme, so is it also with this Law-Flower Sutra; amongst all the sutras preached by tathagatas it is the profoundest and greatest. And just as amongst all mountains--the earth mountains, the Black Mountains*, the Small Iron Circle Mountains, the Great Iron Circle Mountains, the ten precious mountains, and all other mountains--it is Mount Sumeru which is the supreme, so is it also with the Law-Flower Sutra; [* According to the Abhidharma Kosha, there are three such mountains in the northern quarter of the continent of Jambudvipa.] amongst all sutras it is the highest. Again, just as amongst all stars the princely moon is the supreme, so is it also with this Law-Flower Sutra; amongst thousands of myriads of kotis of kinds of sutra-law it is the most illuminating. Further, just as the princely sun is able to disperse all darkness, so is it also with this sutra; it is able to dispel all unholy darkness. Again, just as amongst all minor kings the holy wheel-rolling king is supreme, so is it also with this sutra; amongst all the sutras it is the most honourable. Again just as what Shakra is amongst the gods of the thirty-three heavens, so is it also with this sutra; it is the king of all sutras. Again, just as the Great Brahma Heavenly King is the father of all living beings, so is it also with this sutra; it is the father of all the wise and holy men, of those training and the trained, and of bodhisattva-minded. Again, just as amongst all the common people srota-apanna, sakridagamin, anagamin, arhat, and pratyekabuddha are the foremost, so is it also with this sutra; amongst all the sutras preached by tathagatas, preached by bodhisattvas, or preached by shravakas, it is the supreme. So is it also with those who are able to receive and keep this sutra--among all the living they are supreme. Amongst all shravakas and pratyekabuddhas, bodhisattvas are supreme; so is it also with this sutra; amongst all the sutras, it is the supreme. Just as the buddha is king of the laws, so is it also with this sutra; it is king amongst the sutras.

"Star Constellation King Flower! This sutra is that which can save all the living; this sutra can deliver all the living from pains and sufferings; this sutra is able greatly to benefit all the living and fulfill their desires. Just as a clear, cool pool is able to satisfy all those who are thirsty, as the cold who obtain a fire are satisfied, as the naked who find clothing, as [a caravan of] merchants who find a leader, as children who find their mother, as at a ferry one who catches the boat, as a sick man who finds a doctor, as in the darkness one who obtains a lamp, as a poor man who finds a jewel, as people who find a king, as merchant venturers who gain the sea, and as a torch which dispels the darkness, so is it also with this Law-Flower Sutra; it is able to deliver all the living from all sufferings and all diseases, and is able to unloose all the bonds of mortal life.

"If anyone, hearing this Law-Flower Sutra, either himself copies or causes others to copy it, the limits of the sum of merit to be obtained cannot be calculated even by the Buddha-wisdom. If anyone copies this sutra and pays homage to it with flowers, scents, necklaces, incense, sandal powder, unguents, flags, canopies, garments, and various kinds of lamps, ghee lamps, oil lamps, lamps of scented oil, lamps of campaka oil, lamps of sumana oil, lamps of patala oil, lamps of varshika oil, and lamps of navamalika oil, the merit to be obtained by him is equally inestimable.

"Star Constellation King Flower! If there be anyone who hears this chapter of the former deeds of the Medicine King Bodhisattva, he will also obtain infinite and boundless merits. If there be any woman who hears this chapter of the former deeds of the Medicine King Bodhisattva and is able to receive and keep it, she, after the end of her present woman's body, will not again receive one. If, after the extinction of the Buddha, in the last five hundred years*, there be any woman who hears this sutra and acts according to its teaching, at the close of this life she will go to the Happy World, where Amita Buddha dwells, encompassed by his host of great bodhisattvas, and will [there] be born in the middle of a lotus flower upon a jeweled throne. [According to the Mahasamnipata Sutra, after the parinirvana of Shakyamuni Buddha there would be five periods of five hundred years each: 1. the period in which people's minds are fixed on and devoted to salvation; 2. the period devoted to meditation; these two are the periods in which the Righteous Law in its purity is maintained; 3. the period of devotion to reading and intoning, or the letter of the Law; 4. the period of devotion to erecting stupas and temples; these two are the periods of the Counterfeit Law; and 5. the period of the disappearance of the White, or True, Law and of devotion to strife and division; this final five hundred

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years is the beginning of the period of the Decay of the Law.] Never again will "he" [The transformed woman. Following the extant Sanskrit text, the feminine gender now changes to the masculine. See: The Gospel of Didimus Judas Thomas, The Grand Bible, p. 758-760.] be harassed by desire, nor be harassed by anger and foolishness, nor again be harassed by pride, envy, or uncleanliness, [but] will attain transcendent [powers] and the assurance of no [re]birth; and having obtained this assurance, his organ of the eye will be serene, by which serene organ of the eye he will see seven million two thousand kotis of nayutas of buddha-tathagatas equal to the sands of the Ganges river, when these buddhas from afar will unite in lauding him, saying: 'Excellent, excellent!

Good son! You have been able to receive and keep, read and recite, and ponder this sutra in the Law of Shakyamuni Buddha and to expound it to others. The blessed merit you have obtained is infinite and boundless; fire cannot burn it, water cannot wash it away. Your merit is beyond the powers of a thousand buddhas to explain. You have now been able to destroy the Mara-marauders, to overthrow the hostile forces of mortality, and to crush all other enemies. Good son! Hundreds of thousands of buddhas, with their transcendent powers, together guard and protect you. Among the gods and men of all worlds none can equal you except the Tathagata. The wisdom and meditation of shravakas, pratyekabuddhas, or even bodhisattvas does not equal yours.' Star Constellation King Flower! Such is the power of the merit and wisdom attained by this bodhisattva.

"If there be anyone who, hearing this chapter of the former deeds of the Medicine King Bodhisattva, is able joyfully to receive and applaud it, that man during his present life will ever breathe out the fragrance of the blue lotus flower, and from the pores of his body will ever emit the fragrance of ox-head sandalwood; and his merit will be as above stated. Therefore, Star Constellation King Flower, I commit to you this chapter of the former deeds of the Medicine King. In the last five hundred years, after my extinction, proclaim and spread it abroad in Jambudvipa, lest it be lost and Mara the Evil One, his Mara-people, gods, dragons, yakshas, kumbhandas, and others gain their opportunity. Star Constellation King Flower! Guard and protect this sutra by your transcendent powers. Wherefore? [Because] this sutra is good medicine for the diseases of the Jambudvipa people. If a man be sick, on hearing this sutra his sickness will instantly disappear and he will neither grow old nor die. Star Constellation King Flower! If you see anyone who receives and keeps this sutra, you should strew upon him blue lotus flowers full of sandal powder, and after strewing them thus reflect: 'This man ere long will accept the bundle of grass* and take his seat on the wisdom plot; he will break the Mara host, and blowing the conch of the Law and beating the drum of the Great Law, he will deliver all living beings from the sea of old age, disease, and death.' [As the Buddha is said to have accepted a bundle of grass from Svastika the grass-cutter when on his way to the Bodhi tree prior to his enlightenment.] Therefore he who seeks the Buddha-way, on seeing a man who receives and keeps this sutra, should thus beget a reverent mind."

While this chapter of the former deeds of the Medicine King Bodhisattva was being preached, eighty-four thousand bodhisattvas attained the dharani of interpreting the utterances of all the living. The Tathagata Abundant Treasures in the Precious Stupa extolled the Bodhisattva Star Constellation King Flower, saying "Excellent, excellent, Star Constellation King Flower! You have accomplished inconceivable merits, for you have been able to ask Shakyamuni Buddha such things as these and have infinitely benefited all the living." [The title of this chapter, literally, is "the chapter of the former [fundamental] deed of the Bodhisattva Medicine King."]

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 24

The Bodhisattva Wonder Sound

Then Shakyamuni Buddha emitted a ray of light from the protuberance [on his cranium]*, the sign of a great man, and emitted a ray of light from the white hair-circle sign between his eyebrows, everywhere illuminating eastward a hundred and eight myriad kotis of nayutas of buddha-worlds, equal to the sands of the Ganges. [* A protuberance on a buddha's cranium forming a natural hair tuft; this is the first of the thirty-two signs of a buddha.] Beyond those numbers of worlds is a world named Adorned with Pure Radiance. [Kern has "embellish by the rays of the sun."] In that domain there is a buddha styled King Wisdom of the Pure Flower Constellation* Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, World-honoured One. Revered and surrounded by a great host of incalculable and countless bodhisattvas, he preached the Law to them. The ray of light from the white hair-circle of Shakyamuni Buddha shone throughout their domain. [* Literally, "the king of the constellation called pure flower and buddha of wisdom."]

At that time in the domain Adorned With All Pure Radiance there was a bodhisattva whose name was Wonder Sound*, who for long had cultivated many roots of virtue, paid homage to and courted innumerable hundred thousand myriad kotis of buddhas, and perfectly acquired profound wisdom. [The Sanskrit gadgada means "stammering, stuttering" but is also used with the opposite meaning, "sounding beautiful or wonderful."] He had attaincontemplation of the wonderful banner sign, the contemplation of the Law-Flower, the contemplation of pure virtue, the contemplation of the Constellation King's sport, the contemplation of causelessness [Not caused but causing; universal benevolence.], the contemplation of the knowledge seal, the contemplation of interpreting the utterances of all beings, the contemplation of collection of all merits, the contemplation of purity, the contemplation of supernatural sport, the contemplation of wisdom torch, the contemplation of the king of adornment, the contemplation of pure luster, the contemplation of the pure treasury, the contemplation of the unique, and the contemplation of sun revolution: such hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of great contemplations as these had he acquired, equal to the sands of the Ganges. No sooner had the ray from Shakyamuni Buddha shone upon him than he said to the Buddha King Wisdom of the Pure Flower Constellation: "World-honoured One! I should go to visit the saha-world to salute, approach, and pay homage to Shakyamuni Buddha, as well as to see the Bodhisattva Manjushri, son of the Law-king, the Bodhisattva Medicine King, the Bodhisattva Courageous Giver, the Bodhisattva Star Constellation King Flower, the Bodhisattva Mind for Higher Deeds*, the Bodhisattva King of Adornment, and the Bodhisattva Medicine Lord." [* The extant Sanskrit text has "Vishishtacaritra," which is rendered by Kumarajiva as "Eminent Conduct" in chapters 15, 21, and 22. According to his version Vishishtacaritra disappears with the close of the assembly in chapter 22. This Bodhisattva Mind for Higher Deeds may therefore be another Vishishtacaritra. Dharmaraksha's version has "Honourable Thought Conduct."]

Then the Buddha King Wisdom of the Pure Flower Constellation addressed the Bodhisattva Wonder Sound: "Do not look lightly on that domain or conceive a low opinion of it. Good son! That saha-world with its high and low places is uneven and full of earth, stones, hills, and filth; the body of the Buddha is short and small, and all the bodhisattvas are small of stature, whereas your body is forty-two thousand yojanas [high] and my body six million, eight hundred thousand yojanas. Your body is of the finest order, blessed with hundreds of thousands of myriads of felicities, and of a wonderful brightness. Therefore on going there do not look lightly on that domain, nor conceive a low opinion of the Buddha, nor of the bodhisattvas, nor of their country."

The Bodhisattva Wonder Sound replied to that buddha: "World-honoured one! That I now go to visit the saha-world is all due to the Tathagata's power, the Tathagata's magic play, and the Tathagata's adornment of merit and wisdom."

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Wonder Sound, without rising from his seat and without stirring his body, entered into contemplation. By the power of his contemplation, on Mount Gridhrakuta, not far distant from the Law seat, there appeared in transformation eighty-four thousand precious lotus flowers with stalks of jambunada gold, leaves of white silver, stamens of diamond, and cups of kimshuka gems.

Thereupon Manjushri, son of the Law-king, seeing those lotus flowers, said to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! For what reason does this auspicious sign first appear? There are some thousands and myriads of lotus flowers with stalks of jambunada gold, leaves of white silver, stamens of diamond, and with cups of kimshuka gems." Then Shakyamuni Buddha informed Manjushri: "It is the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Wonder Sound who desires to come from the domain of the Buddha King Wisdom of the Pure Flower Constellation, with his company of eighty-four thousand bodhisattvas, to this saha-world in order to pay homage to, draw nigh to, and salute me, and who also desires to pay homage to and hear the Law-Flower Sutra." Manjushri said to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! What roots of goodness has that bodhisattva planted, what merits has he cultivated, that he should be able to have such great transcendent power? What contemplation does he practice? Be pleased to tell us the name of this contemplation; we also desire diligently to practice it, for by practicing this contemplation, we may be able to see that bodhisattva--his colour, form, and size, his dignity and behaviour. Be pleased, World-honoured One, by thy transcendent power, to let us see the coming of that bodhisattva."

Thereupon Shakyamuni Buddha told Manjushri: "The Tathagata Abundant Treasures, so long extinct, shall display to you the sign." Instantly the Buddha Abundant Treasures addressed that bodhisattva: "Come, good son! Manjushri, son of the Law-king, wishes to see you."

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Wonder Sound disappeared from that domain and started out along with his eighty-four thousand bodhisattvas. The countries through which they passed were shaken in the six different ways, lotus flowers of the precious seven rained everywhere, and hundreds of thousands of heavenly instruments resounded of themselves. That bodhisattva's eyes were like broad big leaves of the blue lotus. His august countenance surpassed the combined glory of hundreds of thousands of myriads of moons. His body was of pure gold colour, adorned with infinite hundreds of thousands of meritorious [signs]; he was of glowing majesty, radiant and shining, marked with the perfect signs, and of a body strong as Narayana's. ["Firm and solid" or "the original man"; a title of Brahma as creator.] Entering a seven-jeweled tower, he mounted the sky seven tala trees above the earth and, worshiped and surrounded by a host of bodhisattvas, came to Mount Gridhrakuta in this saha-world. Arrived, he alighted from his seven-jeweled tower and, taking a necklace worth hundreds of thousands, went to Shakyamuni Buddha, at whose feet he made obeisance and to whom he presented the necklace, saying to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! The Buddha King Wisdom of the Pure Flower Constellation inquires after the World-honoured One: 'Hast thou few ailments and few worries? Art thou getting on at ease and in comfort? Are thy four [component] parts* in harmony? [* The four elements of which every body is composed: earth, water, fire, and wind.] Are thy worldly affairs tolerable? Are thy creatures easy to save? Are they not overcovetous, angry, foolish, envious, arrogant; not unfilial to parents or irreverent to shramanas; not having perverted views or being of bad mind, unrestrained in their five passions? World-honoured One! Are thy creatures able to overcome the Mara-enemies? Does the Tathagata Abundant Treasures, so long extinct, still abide in the Stupa of the Precious Seven and come to listen to the Law?' King Wisdom also inquires of the Tathagata Abundant Treasures: 'Art thou at ease and of few worries? Wilt thou be content to remain long?' World-honoured One! We now would see the body of the Buddha Abundant Treasures. Be pleased, World-honoured One, to show and let us see him."

Then said Shakyamuni Buddha to the Buddha Abundant Treasures: "This Bodhisattva Wonder Sound desires to see you." Instantly the Buddha Abundant Treasures addressed Wonder Sound: "Excellent, excellent, that you have been able to come here to pay homage to Shakyamuni Buddha, to hear the Law-Flower Sutra, and to see Manjushri and the others."

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Flower Virtue said to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! This Bodhisattva Wonder Sound--what roots of goodness has he planted, what merits has he cultivated, that he possesses such transcendent powers?" The Buddha answered the Flower Virtue Bodhisattva: "In the past there was a buddha named King of Cloud Thundering* Tathagata, Arhat, Samyaksambodhi, whose domain was named Display of All Worlds and whose kalpa named Joyful Sight. [* "Cloud Thunder-sound King" or "King of Thundering in the Clouds." Kern has "the king of the drum-sound of the clouds."]

The Bodhisattva Wonder Sound, for twelve thousand years, with a hundred thousand kinds of music, paid homage to the Buddha King of Cloud Thundering and offered up eighty-four thousand vessels of the precious seven. Being rewarded for this reason, he has now been born in the domain of the Buddha King Wisdom of the Pure Flower Constellation and possesses such transcendent powers. Flower Virtue! What is your opinion? The Bodhisattva Wonder Sound who at that time paid homage to the Buddha King of Cloud Thundering with music and offerings of precious vessels--was it some other person? It was indeed the present Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Wonder Sound. Flower Virtue! This Bodhisattva Wonder Sound had before paid homage to and been close to innumerable buddhas, for long had cultivated roots of virtues, and had met hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of nayutas of buddhas, [numerous] as the sands of the Ganges. Flower Virtue! You merely see here one body of the Bodhisattva Wonder Sound. But this bodhisattva appears in many kinds of bodies everywhere preaching this sutra to the living. Sometimes he appears as Brahma, or appears as Shakra, or appears as Ishvara, or appears as Maheshvara, or appears as a divine general, or appears as the divine king Vaishrayana, or appears as a holy wheel-rolling king, or appears as one of the ordinary kings, or appears as an elder, or appears as a citizen, or appears as a minister, or appears as a Brahman, or appears as a bhikshu, bhikshuni, upasaka, or upasika, or appears as the wife of an elder or a citizen, or appears as the wife of a minister, or appears as the wife of a Brahman, or appears as a youth or maiden, or appears as a god, dragon, yaksha, gandharva, asura, garuda, kimnara, mahoraga, man, or nonhuman being, and so on, and preaches this sutra. He is able to rescue whatever beings are in the hells, or hungry ghosts, or animals, and all in distress. Even in the inner courts of a king, transforming himself into a woman he preaches this sutra. Flower Virtue! This Bodhisattva Wonder Sound is one who is able to save and protect all the living in the saha-world. This Bodhisattva Wonder Sound, thus transforming himself and appearing in these various ways, in this saha-land preaches this sutra to all the living. In his powers of supernatural transformation and wisdom there is never any

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diminution. This bodhisattva in so many ways of wisdom has enlightened the saha-world, so that every one of the living has obtained knowledge [of him]. In other worlds in every direction, [numerous] as the sands of the Ganges, he also does the same. To those whom he must save in the form of a shravaka, he appears in the form of a shravaka and preaches the Law. To those whom he must save in the form of a pratyekabuddha, he appears in the form of a pratyekabuddha and preaches the Law. To those whom he must save in the form of a bodhisattva, he appears in the form of a bodhisattva and preaches the Law. To those whom he must save in the form of a buddha, he then appears in the form of a buddha and preaches the Law. In such various ways as these, according to the way in which he should save [men] he appears to them. Even to those whom he must save by extinction, he reveals himself as extinct. Flower Virtue! Such is the great supernatural power and wisdom attained by the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Wonder Sound."

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Flower Virtue said to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! This Bodhisattva Wonder Sound has indeed deeply planted his roots of goodness. World-honoured One! In what contemplation does this bodhisattva abide, that he is able thus to transform and manifest himself according to circumstances, to save the living?" The Buddha answered Flower Virtue Bodhisattva: "Good son! That contemplation is named revelation of all forms. The Bodhisattva Wonder Sound, abiding in this contemplation, is able thus to benefit countless beings."

While this chapter of the Bodhisattva Wonder Sound was preached the eighty-four thousand who had come with the Bodhisattva Wonder Sound all attained the contemplation of revelation of all forms, and countless bodhisattvas in this saha-world also attained this contemplation and dharani.

Then the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Wonder Sound, having paid homage to Shakyamuni Buddha and to the stupa of the Buddha Abundant Treasures, returned to his own land. The countries through which he passed were agitated in the six different ways, raining precious lotus flowers and performing hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of kinds of music. Having arrived at his own domain, he, with the eighty-four thousand bodhisattvas around him, went to the Buddha King Wisdom of the Pure Flower Constellation and said to him: "World-honoured One! I have been to the saha-world, done good to its living beings, seen Shakyamuni Buddha, also seen the stupa of the Buddha Abundant Treasures, and worshiped and paid homage to them; I have also seen the Bodhisattva Manjushri, son of the Law-king, as well as the Bodhisattva Medicine King, the Bodhisattva Attainer of Earnestness and Zeal*, the Bodhisattva Courageous Giver, and others, and caused those eighty-four thousand bodhisattvas to attain the contemplation of revelation of all forms." [* In the extant Sanskrit text this is an adjectival phrase modifying "the Bodhisattva Medicine King," so that it reads: "the Bodhisattva Medicine King, the attainer of earnestness and zeal."]

While this chapter on the going and coming of the Bodhisattva Wonder Sound was preached, the forty-two thousand heavenly sons attained the assurance of no [re]birth, and the Bodhisattva Flower Virtue attained the contemplation termed Law-Flower.

HERE ENDS THE SEVENTH BUNCH OF WORDS

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 25

The All-Sidedness of the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World

At that time the Bodhisattva Infinite Thought rose up from his seat, and baring his right shoulder and folding his hands toward the Buddha, spoke thus: "World-honoured One! For what reason is the Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara named Regarder of the Cries of the World?"

The Buddha answered the Bodhisattva Infinite Thought: "Good son! If there be countless hundred thousand myriad kotis of living beings suffering from pain and distress who hear of this Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, and with all their mind call upon his name, the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World will instantly regard their cries, and all of them will be delivered.

"If there be any who keep the name of that Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, though they fall into a great fire, the fire will not be able to burn them, by virtue of the supernatural power of that bodhisattva's majesty. If any, carried away by a flood, call upon his name, they will immediately reach the shallows. If there be hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of beings who in search of gold, silver, lapis lazuli, moonstones, agate, coral, amber, pearls, and other treasures go out on the ocean, and if a black gale* blows their ships to drift upon the land of the rakshasa demons, and if amongst them there be even a single person who calls upon the name of the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, all those people will be delivered from the throes of the rakshasas. It is for this reason that he is named Regarder of the Cries of the World. [* Literally, "a black wind." There are six kinds of wind: black, red, blue, of heaven, of earth, and of fire.]

"If, again, there be any man on the verge of deadly harm who calls upon the name of the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, the sword of the attacker will instantly snap asunder and he will be set free. Even if the three-thousand-great-thousandfold world were full of yakshas and rakshasas seeking to afflict people, these wicked demons, hearing them call upon the name of the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, would not be able to see them with their wicked eyes, how much less to hurt them.

"If, moreover, there be anyone, guilty or not guilty, loaded with manacles, fetters, cangues, or chains, who calls on the name of the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, they shall all be snapped and broken off and he shall be freed.

"If the three-thousand-great-thousandfold world were full of enemies and robbers, and there were a merchant chief who led many merchants having charge of costly jewels along a perilous road, and among them one man speaks forth: 'Good sons! Be not afraid. With one mind do you invoke the title of the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, for this bodhisattva is able to give courage to all the living. If you invoke his name, you will be freed from these enemies and robbers.' On hearing this, if all the traders together with one voice cry, 'Namah! Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World!' then, by invoking his name, they will be delivered. Infinite Thought! Such is the awe-inspiring supernatural power of the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World.

"If any living beings much given to carnal passion keep in mind and revere the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, they will be set free from their passion. If any much given to irascibility keep in mind and revere the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, they will be set free from their irascibility. If any much given to infatuation keep in mind and revere the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, they will be set free from their infatuation. Infinite Thought! Such are the abundant benefits conferred by the supernatural power of the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World. Consequently, let all the living ever keep him in mind.

"If any woman desiring a son worships and pays homage to the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, she will bear a son happy, virtuous, and wise. If she desires a daughter, she will bear a daughter of good demeanor and looks, who of old has planted virtuous roots, beloved and respected by all. Infinite Thought! Such is the power of the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World! If any of the living revere and worship the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, blessings will not be rudely rejected.

"Therefore, let all the living cherish the title of the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World. Infinite Thought! Suppose anyone cherishes the names of bodhisattvas [numerous as] the sands of sixty-two kotis of the Ganges, who all his life makes them offerings of food, drink, garments, bedding, and medicaments--what is your opinion--are not the merits of that good son or good daughter abundant?" Infinite Thought replied: "Extremely abundant!" The World-honoured One, the Buddha, proceeded: "But if [any]one cherishes the title of the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, or only for a moment worships and reveres him, the blessings of these two men will be exactly equal without difference, and cannot be exhausted in hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of kalpas. Infinite Thought! Such is the immeasurable, boundless degree of blessedness he will obtain who cherishes the name of the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World."

The Bodhisattva Infinite Thought again said to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! How is it that the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World wanders in this saha-world? How does he preach the Law to the living? What is the character of his tactfulness?"

The Buddha replied to the Bodhisattva Infinite Thought: "Good son! If the living in any realm must be saved in the body of a buddha, the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World appears as a buddha and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of a pratyekabuddha, he appears as a pratyekabuddha and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of a shravaka, he appears as a shravaka and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of Brahma, he appears as Brahma and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of Shakra, he appears as Shakra and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of Ishvara, he appears as Ishvara and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of Maheshvara, he appears as Maheshvara and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of a great divine general, he appears as a great divine general and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of Vaishravana, he appears as Vaishravana and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of a minor king, he appears as a minor king and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of an elder, he appears as an elder and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of a citizen, he appears as a citizen and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of a minister of state, he appears as a minister and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of a Brahman, he appears as a Brahman and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of a bhikshu, bhikshuni, upasaka, or upasika, he appears as a bhikshu, bhikshuni, upasaka, or upasika and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of the wife of an elder, citizen, minister, or Brahman, he appears as a woman and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of a youth or maiden, he appears as a youth or maiden and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of a god, dragon, yaksha, gandharva, asura, garuda, kimnara, mahoraga, human or nonhuman being, he appears in every such form and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in [the shape of] a diamond-holding god*, he appears as a diamond-holding god and preaches to them the Law. [* The god who holds the vajra, or diamond club. Five hundred such gods guard a buddha, protecting him from all foes.] Infinite Thought! Such are the merits acquired by this Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World and the various forms in which he rambles through many lands to save the living. Therefore, do you with single mind pay homage to the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World. This Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Regarder of the Cries of the World is able to make fearless those in anxiety and distress. For this reason all in this saha-world give him the title Bestower of Fearlessness."

The Bodhisattva Infinite Thought said to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! Let me now make an offering to the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World."

Thereupon he unloosed from his neck a necklace of pearls worth a hundred thousand pieces of gold and presented it to him, making this remark: "Good sir! Accept this pious gift of a pearl necklace." But the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World would not accept it.

Again the Bodhisattva Infinite Thought addressed the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World: "Good sir! Out of compassion for us, accept this necklace." Then the Buddha said to the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World: "Out of compassion for this Bodhisattva Infinite Thought and the four groups, and for the gods, dragons, yakshas, gandharvas, asuras, garudas, kimnaras, mahoragas, human and nonhuman beings, and others, accept this necklace." Then the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, having compassion for all the four groups and the gods, dragons, human and nonhuman beings, and others, accepted the necklace, and dividing it into two parts, offered one part to Shakyamuni Buddha and offered the other to the stupa of the Buddha Abundant Treasures.

"Infinite Thought! With such sovereign supernatural powers does the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World wander through the saha-world."

Then the Bodhisattva Infinite Thought made inquiry thus in verse [The following verses are not given by either Kumarajiva or Dharmaraksha. They are found in Kumarajiva's version as the interpolation of a later translator, Jnanagupta, who used a Sanskrit text written on palm leaves, while Kumarajiva had used a text written on silk from Khotan. The Nepalese text has the poetry section, but it differs widely from Jnanagupta's. Chih-i has no comment on the verses, indicating that the version of the sutra that he used did not contain them. This section may have been an independent song in praise of Avalokiteshvara that was later incorporated into the sutra.]:

"The World-honoured One with all the mystic signs! Let me now again inquire of him: For what cause is this Buddha-son named Regarder of the Cries of the World?" The Honoured One with all the mystic signs answered Infinite Thought in verse: "Listen to the deeds of the Cry Regarder, Who well responds to every quarter; His vast vow is deep as the sea, Inconceivable in its eons. Serving many thousands of kotis of buddhas, He has vowed a great pure vow. Let me briefly tell you.

[He who] hears his name, and sees him, And bears him unremittingly in mind, Will be able to end the sorrows of existence. Though [others] with harmful intent Throw him into a burning pit, Let him think of the Cry Regarder's power And the fire pit will become a pool.

Or driven along a great ocean, In peril of dragons, fishes, and demons, Let him think of the Cry Regarder's power And waves cannot submerge him. Or if, from the peak of Sumeru, Men would hurl him down, Let him think of the Cry Regarder's power And like the sun he will stand firm in the sky. Or if, pursued by wicked men, And cast down from Mount Diamond, [The same as Mount Iron Circle.] He thinks of the Cry Regarder's power, Not a hair shall be injured.

Or if, meeting with encompassing foes, Each with sword drawn to strike him, He thinks of the Cry Regarder's power, All their hearts will turn to kindness. Or if, meeting suffering by royal [allusion to Ashoka?] command, His life is to end in execution, And he thinks of the Cry Regarder's power, The executioner's sword will break in pieces. Or if, imprisoned, shackled, and chained, Arms and legs in gyves and stocks, He thinks of the Cry Regarder's power, Freely he shall be released.

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Or if by incantation and poisons One seeks to hurt his body, And he thinks of the Cry Regarder's power, All will revert to their originator.

Or if, meeting evil rakshasas, Venomous dragons, and demons, He thinks of the Cry Regarder's power, At once none will dare to hurt him. If, encompassed by evil beasts, Tusks sharp and claws fearful, He thinks of the Cry Regarder's power, They will flee in every direction. If, scorched by the fire-flame Of the poisonous breath Of boas, vipers, and scorpions, He thinks of the Cry Regarder's power, Instantly at his voice they will retreat. Clouds thunder and lightning flashes, Hail falls and rain streams: He thinks of the Cry Regarder's power And all instantly are scattered. The living, crushed and harassed, Oppressed by countless pains: The Cry Regarder with his mystic wisdom Can save such a suffering world. Perfect in supernatural powers, Widely practised in wisdom and tact, In the lands of the universe there is no place Where he does not manifest himself.

All the evil states of experience, Hells, ghosts, and animals, Sorrows of birth, age, disease, death, All by degrees are ended by him. True regard, serene regard, Far-reaching wise regard, Regard of pity, compassionate regard, Ever longed for, ever looked for!

Pure and serene in radiance, Wisdom's sun destroying darkness, Subduer of woes of storm and fire, Who illumines all the world! Law of pity, thunder quivering, Compassion wondrous as a great cloud, Pouring spiritual rain like nectar, Quenching the flames of distress! In disputes before a magistrate, Or in fear in battle's array, If he thinks of the Cry Regarder's power All his enemies will be routed.

His is the wondrous voice, voice of the world-regarder, Brahma-voice, voice of the rolling tide, Voice all world-surpassing, Therefore ever to be kept in mind, With never a doubting thought. Regarder of the World's Cries, pure and holy, In pain, distress, death, calamity, Able to be a sure reliance, Perfect in all merit, With compassionate eyes beholding all, Boundless ocean of blessings! Prostrate let us revere him." [The extant Sanskrit text here adds other verses, for which see Kern's translation; Grand Bible, Scriptures of India.]

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Stage Holder [Or "Earth Holder."] rose from his seat, and went before and said to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! If any living being hears of the sovereign work and the all-sided transcendent powers shown in this chapter of the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, it should be known that the merits of this man are not a few."

While the Buddha preached this chapter of the All-sided One, the eighty-four thousand living beings in the assembly all set their minds upon Perfect Enlightenment, with which nothing can compare.

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 26

Dharanis (Buddhist Chants)

At that time the Medicine King Bodhisattva rose from his seat and, humbly baring his right shoulder, folded his hands toward the Buddha and spoke to the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! If there be any good son or good daughter who is able to receive and keep the Law-Flower Sutra, either reading or reciting or studying or copying the sutra, what is the extent of the blessings obtained?"

The Buddha answered the Medicine King: "Suppose any good son or good daughter pays homage to eight hundred myriad kotis of nayutas of buddhas, equal to the sands of the Ganges, in your opinion are not the blessings so obtained rather numerous?"

"Very numerous, World-honoured One!" was the reply. The Buddha continued: "If any good son or good daughter is able, in regard to this sutra, to receive and keep but a single four-line verse, read and recite, understand its meaning, and do as it says, his merits will be still more numerous."

Thereupon the Medicine King Bodhisattva said to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! To the preachers of the Law I will now give dharanis spells* for their guard and protection." [A spell or talismanic word, one of the four kinds of dharanis. There are four kinds of spells: 1st. to heal disease, 2nd. to put an end to the consequences of sin, 3rd. to protect the sutras, and 4th for wisdom. The following spell is for the protection of this sutra.] Whereupon he delivered the following spell:

"Anye manye mane mamane citte carite same samita vishante mukte muktame same avishame samasame jaye [kshaye] akshaye akshine shante samite dharani alokabhashe pratyavekshani nidhiru abhyantaranivishte abhyantaraparishuddhi utkule mutkule arade parade sukankshi asamasame buddhavilokite dharma-parik-shite sam-ghanir-ghoshani [nirghoshani] bhayabhayavishodhani mantre mantrakshayate rute rutakaushalye akshaye akshayavanataye [vakkule] valoda amanyanataye [svaha]. [The lists in Burnouf and Kern are somewhat different. Kern adds: "All these words are, or ought to be, feminine words in the vocative. I take them to be epithets of the Great Mother, Nature or Earth, differently called Aditi, Prajna, Maya, Bhavani, Durga. Anya may be identified with the Vedic anya, inexhaustible, and synonymous with aditi. More of the other terms may be explained as synonymous with prajna (e.g. pratyavekshani), with nature (kshaye akshaye), with the earth (dharani)." Dharmaraksha translated the spell into Chinese and Oka into Japanese according to one of several interpretations.]

"World-honoured One! These supernatural dharani spells have been spoken by buddhas numerous as the sands of sixty-two kotis of Ganges rivers. If anyone does violence to the teacher of this Law, then he will have done violence to these buddhas."

Then Shakyamuni Buddha extolled the Medicine King Bodhisattva, saying: "Good, good, O Medicine King! Because you are compassionate and protect these teachers of the Law, you have pronounced these dharanis, which will abundantly benefit the living."

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Courageous Giver spoke to the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! I, too, for the protection of these who read and recite, receive and keep the Law-Flower Sutra, will deliver dharanis. If these teachers of the Law possess these dharanis, neither yakshas, nor rakshasas, nor putanas, nor kriityas, nor kumbhandas, nor hungry ghosts, nor others spying for their shortcomings can find a chance." Then, in the presence of the Buddha, he delivered the following spell:

"Jvale mahajvle ukke [tukku] mukku ade adavati nritye nrityavati ittini vittini cittini nrityeni nrityavati [svaha]. [Kern writes: "These terms are obviously names of the flame, mythologically called Agni's wife, the daughter of Daksha. As Shiva may be identified with Agni, the feminine words again are epithets of Durga. Jvala and mahajvala are perfectly clear; ukka is the Prakrit form of Sanskrit ulka."]

"World-honoured One! These supernatural dharani spells have been spoken by buddhas numerous as the sands of the Ganges, and all approved. If anyone does violence to the teachers of this Law, he will have done violence to these buddhas."

Thereupon the Divine King Vaishravana, protector of the world, spoke to the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! I, too, in compassion for the living and for the protection of these teachers of the Law, will deliver these dharanis." Whereupon he delivered the following spell:

"Atte [tatte] natte vanatte anade nadi kunadi [svaha].

"World-honoured One! By these supernatural spells I will protect the teachers of the Law. I will also myself protect those who keep this sutra, so that no corroding care shall come within a hundred yojanas."

Thereupon the Divine King Domain Holder [The extant Sanskrit text has "Virudhaka" (Divine King Growth).], who was present in this congregation, with a host of thousands of myriads of kotis of nayutas of gandharvas [The extant Sanskrit text has "kumbhandas."] reverently encompassing him, went before the Buddha, and folding his hands said to the Buddha, "World-honoured One! I, too, with supernatural dharani spells, will protect those who keep the Law-Flower Sutra." Whereupon he delivered the following spell: "Agane gane gauri gandhari candali matangi [pukkashi] samkule vrusali sisi [svaha].

"World-honoured One! These supernatural dharani spells have been spoken by forty-two kotis of buddhas. If anyone does violence to these teachers of the Law, he will have done violence to these buddhas."

Thereupon there were female rakshasas*, the first named Lamba, the second named Vilamba, the third named Crooked Teeth, the fourth named Flowery Teeth, the fifth named Black Teeth, the sixth named Many Tresses, the seventh named Insatiable, the eighth named Necklace Holder, the ninth named Kunti, and the tenth named Spirit Snatcher. [*The wives and daughters of rakshasa demons.] These ten female rakshasas, together with the Mother of Demon Sons* and her children and followers, all went to the Buddha and with one voice said to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! We, too, would protect those who read and recite, receive and keep the Law-Flower Sutra, and rid them of corroding care. [* Also called "Joyful Mother" or "Mother Who Loves Her Children." She is a female rakshasa, or rakshasi, who devoured others' babies every day until her own five hundred babies were hidden by Shakyamuni Buddha and she was converted. After her conversion she vowed to protect the Buddha-law and especially to guard babies.] If any spy for the shortcomings of these teachers of the Law, we will prevent their obtaining any chance." Whereupon in the presence of the Buddha they delivered the following spell: "Iti me, iti me, iti me, iti me, iti me; ni me, ni me, ni me, ni me, ni me; ruhe, ruhe, ruhe, ruhe, [ruhe]; stuhe, stuhe, stuhe, stuhe, stuhe [svaha].

"Let troubles come on our heads, rather than on the teachers of the Law; neither yakshas, nor hungry ghosts, nor putanas, nor kriityas, nor vetadas, nor kashyas, nor umarakas, nor apasmarakas, nor yaksha-kriityas [A kriitya in the form of a yaksha.], nor man-kriityas [A kriitya in human form.]; nor fevers, whether for a single day, or quotidian, or tertian, or quartan, or weekly, or unremitting fevers; whether in male form, or female form, or form of a youth, or form of a maiden, even in dreams shall ever cause distress." Whereupon before the Buddha they spoke thus in verse:

"Whoever resists our spell And troubles a preacher, May his head be split in seven epithets of Durga. Jvala and mahajvala are perfectly clear; ukka is the Prakrit form of Sanskrit ulka"

Like an arjaka sprout [Either the Symplocos racemosa, or Ocinum gratissimum.]; May his doom be that of a parricide, His retribution that of an oil-expresser Or a deceiver with [false] measures and weights, Or of Devadatta who brought schism into the Samgha; He who offends these teachers of the Law, Such shall be his retribution." [* The crime of producing worms by grinding sesame and at the same time squeezing the worms. This is the crime of taking life.]*

After these female rakshasas had uttered this stanza, they addressed the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! We ourselves will also protect those who receive and keep, read and recite, and practice this sutra, and give them ease of mind, freedom from corroding care and from all poisons."

The Buddha addressed the rakshasa women: "Good, good! Even if you are only able to protect those who receive and keep the name of the Law-Flower, your happiness will be beyond calculation; how much more if you protect those who perfectly receive, keep, and pay homage to the sutra with flowers, necklaces, sandal powder, perfumes, incense, flags, canopies, and music, burning various kinds of lamps--ghee lamps, oil lamps of scented oil, lamps of oil of campaka flowers, lamps of oil of varshika flowers, and lamps of oil of udumbara flowers, such hundreds of thousands of kinds of offerings as these. Kunti! You and your followers should protect such teachers of the Law as these."

While this chapter of the dharanis was preached, sixty-eight thousand people attained the assurance of no [re]birth.

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 27

The Story of King Resplendent

[The literal translation of the title of this chapter is "The original affair of King Wonderfully Adorned."]

At that time the Buddha addressed the great assembly: "Of yore, in a former eon, infinite, boundless, and inconceivable asamkhyeya kalpas ago, there was a buddha named Thunder Voice Constellation King of Wisdom [Or "Constellation King of Flowery Wisdom with the Voice of Thunder."], Tathagata, Arhat, Samyaksambodhi, whose domain was named Adorned with Radiance, and whose kalpa was named Joyful Sight. Under the spiritual rule of that buddha there was a king named Resplendent. The wife of that king was called Pure Virtue, who had two sons, one named Pure Treasury, the other named Pure-Eyed. Those two sons possessed great supernatural power, blessedness, and wisdom, and had for long devoted themselves to the ways in which bodhisattvas walk, that is to say, donation paramita, keeping the precepts paramita, perseverance paramita, assiduity paramita, meditation paramita, wisdom paramita, tactfulness paramita, benevolence, compassion, joy, indifference, and the thirty-seven kinds of aids to the Way--all these they thoroughly understood. They had also attained the bodhisattva contemplation--the pure contemplation, the sun constellation contemplation, the pure light contemplation, the pure colour contemplation [This contemplation is not found in the extant Sanskrit text.], the pure illumination contemplation, the ever resplendent contemplation, and the contemplation of the treasury of great dignity, in which contemplations they were thoroughly accomplished.

"Then that buddha, desiring to lead King Resplendent and having compassion for the living, preached this Law-Flower Sutra. Meanwhile the two sons, Pure Treasury and Pure-Eyed, went to their mother and, putting together their ten-fingered hands, spoke to her, saying: 'We beg you, mother, to go and visit the Buddha Thunder Voice Constellation King of Wisdom. We also would wait on, approach, serve, and worship him. Wherefore? Because that buddha among the host of gods and men is preaching the Law-Flower Sutra, and we ought to hear it.' The mother replied to her sons: 'Your father believes in the heretics and is deeply attached to the Brahman law. Do you go and speak to your father that he may go with us.' [The Chinese can be read "that he may grant [us] to go together." Kern has "you will not obtain the permission."] Pure Treasury and Pure-Eyed, putting together their ten-fingered hands, said to their mother: 'We are sons of the Law-king, though born in this home of heretical views.' The mother spoke to her sons, saying: 'You should have sympathy for your father, and show him some supernatural deed so that seeing it his mind will become clear and he will perhaps permit us to go to that buddha.'

"Thereupon the two sons, with a mind for their father, sprang up into the sky seven tala trees high, and displayed many kinds of supernatural deeds, walking, standing, sitting, and lying in the sky; the upper part of their bodies emitting water, the lower emitting fire, or the lower emitting water and the upper emitting fire; or enlarging themselves till they filled the sky, and again appearing small, or small and again appearing large; then vanishing from the sky and suddenly appearing on the earth, or entering into the earth as into water, or walking on water as on the earth; displaying such

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various supernatural deeds, they led their father, the king, to cleanse his mind to faith and discernment.

"When their father saw his sons possessed of such supernatural powers he was greatly delighted at so unprecedented an experience and with joined hands [saluted] his sons, saying: 'Who is your master? Whose pupils are you?' The two sons replied: 'Great king! That Buddha Thunder Voice Constellation King of Wisdom, who is now under the seven-jeweled Bodhi tree, seated on the throne of the Law, preaching abroad the Law-Flower Sutra in the midst of the world-host of gods and men--he is our master, we are his pupils.' The father then said to his sons: 'I also would now like to see your master; let us go together.'

"On this the two sons descended from the sky, went to their mother, and with folded hands said to her: 'Our father the king has now believed and understood, and been able to set his mind on Perfect Enlightenment. We have done a buddha-deed for our father. Be pleased, mother, to permit us to leave home and under that buddha pursue the Way.' "Then the two sons, desiring again to announce their wish, said to their mother in verse:

'Be pleased, mother, to release us To leave home and become shramanas. Hard it is to meet the buddhas, And we would be followers of a buddha. As the blossom of the udumbara, Even harder is it to meet a buddha, And hard it is to escape from hardships. Be pleased to permit us to leave home.'

"Then the mother spoke, saying: 'I grant you permission to leave home; and why? Because a buddha is hard to meet.'

"On this the two sons said to their parents: 'Good, father and mother! We beg that you will now go to the Buddha Thunder Voice Constellation King of Wisdom, approach [him], and pay him homage. Wherefore? Because a buddha is as hard to meet as an udumbara flower, or as the one-eyed tortoise meeting the hole in the floating log. [According to chapter 15 of the Samyutta Nikaya, in the ocean there is a blind tortoise infinite kalpas old, who rises to the surface once a century. In that ocean there is also a floating log with only one hole. What are the chances of the two meeting?] But we, richly blessed through a former lot, have met the Buddha-law in this life. Therefore, father and mother, listen to us and let us go forth from home. Wherefore? Because buddhas are hard to meet and the occasion is also hard to encounter.'

"At that juncture all the eighty-four thousand court ladies of King Resplendent became capable of receiving and keeping this Law-Flower Sutra. The Bodhisattva Pure-Eyed had for long been thorough in the Law-Flower contemplation. The Bodhisattva Pure Treasury had for infinite hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of kalpas been thorough in the contemplation of free from evil paths, which sought to lead all the living away from all evil states of existence. The queen of that king had attained the contemplation of assemblage of buddhas and was able to know the secret resources of buddhas. Thus did the two sons with tact wisely convert their father, bringing his mind to believe, discern, and delight in the Buddha-law.

"Thereupon King Resplendent* accompanied by his ministers and retinue, Queen Pure Virtue accompanied by her fine court ladies and retinue, and the two sons of that king, accompanied by forty-two thousand people, at once set out together to visit the buddha. [* This can also be read: "The two sons having thus with tact wisely converted their father, . . . then King Resplendent . . ."] Arriving and prostrating themselves at his feet, they made procession around the buddha three times and then withdrew to one side.

"Then that buddha preached to the king, showing, teaching, profiting, and rejoicing him, so that the king was greatly delighted. Then King Resplendent and his queen unloosed the necklaces of pearls worth hundreds and thousands from their necks, and threw them upon the buddha, which in the sky were transformed into a four-columned jeweled tower; on the tower was a large jeweled couch spread with hundreds of thousands of myriads of celestial coverings, on which was the buddha sitting cross-legged, emitting a great [ray of] light. Whereupon King Resplendent reflected thus: 'Rare, dignified, extraordinary is the buddha's body, perfect in its supreme, refined colouring!'

"Then the Buddha Thunder Voice Constellation King of Wisdom addressed the four groups, saying: 'You see this King Resplendent standing before me with folded hands? This king, having become a bhikshu within my rule, and being zealous in observing the laws which aid the Buddha-way, shall become a buddha entitled Shalendra Tree King, whose domain will be named Great Luster, and his kalpa named Great High King. This Buddha Shalendra Tree King will have countless bodhisattvas and countless shravakas, and his domain will be level and straight. Such will be his merits.'

"The king at once made over his domain to his younger brother; the king together with his queen, two sons, and retinue forsook his home and followed the Way under the rule of [that] buddha. Having forsaken his home, for eighty-four thousand years the king was ever diligent and zealous in observing the Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra, and after these [years] passed attained the contemplation of adorned with all pure merits.

"Whereupon he arose in the sky to a height of seven tala trees and said to that buddha: 'World-honoured One! These my two sons have already done a buddha-deed by their supernatural transformations, changing my heretical mind, establishing me in the Buddha-law, and causing me to see the World-honoured One. These two sons are my good friends, for out of a desire to develop the roots of goodness planted in my former lives and to benefit me, they came and were born in my home.'

"Thereupon the Buddha Thunder Voice Constellation King of Wisdom addressed King Resplendent, saying: 'So it is, so it is, it is as you say. Any good son or good daughter, by planting roots of goodness, will in every generation obtain good friends, which good friends will be able to do buddha-deeds, showing, teaching, profiting, and rejoicing him, and causing him to enter into Perfect Enlightenment. Know, great king! A good friend is the great cause whereby men are converted and led to see the buddha and aroused to Perfect Enlightenment. Great king! Do you see these two sons? These two sons have already paid homage to buddhas sixty-five times the hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of nayutas of the sands of the Ganges, waiting upon and revering them; and among those buddhas received and kept the Law-Flower Sutra, having compassion for the living with their false views, and establishing them in right views.'

"King Resplendent thereupon descended from the sky and said to the buddha: 'World-honoured One! Rare indeed is the sight of the tathagata; by his merits and wisdom the protuberance on his head shines brilliantly; his eyes are wide open and deep blue; the tuft between his eyebrows is white as the pearly moon; his teeth are white, even, close, and ever shining; his lips are red and beautiful as bimba fruit.' Then, when King Resplendent had extolled that buddha's so many merits, countless hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of them, with all his mind he folded his hands before the tathagata and again addressed that buddha, saying: 'Unprecedented is the World-honoured One. The Tathagata's teaching is perfect in its inconceivable and wonderful merits. The moral precepts which he promulgates are comforting and quickening. From this day onward I will not again follow my own mind, nor beget false views, nor a haughty, angry, or any other sinful mind.' Having uttered these words, he did reverence to the buddha and went forth."

[Shakyamuni] Buddha then said to the great assembly: "What is your opinion? This King Resplendent--could he be any other person? He is indeed the present Bodhisattva Flower Virtue. That Queen Pure Virtue is the Bodhisattva Shining Splendour now in the presence of the Buddha, who out of compassion for King Resplendent and his people was born amongst them. [The Japanese version reads: "the Bodhisattva Splendour Sign, whom the present Buddha formerly illuminated with his ray." She is said to be identical with the Bodhisattva Wonder Sound.] These two sons are the present Medicine King Bodhisattva and Medicine Lord Bodhisattva. Those bodhisattvas Medicine King and Medicine Lord, having perfected such great merits, under countless hundred thousand myriad kotis of buddhas, planted virtuous roots and perfectly attained qualities of goodness beyond conception. If there be anyone who is acquainted with the names of these two bodhisattvas, gods and men in all the world will pay him homage."

While the Buddha preached this chapter, "The Story of King Resplendent," the eighty-four thousand people departed from impurity and separated themselves from uncleanliness, and acquired pure spiritual eyes in regard to spiritual things.

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 28 - Encouragement of the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue

At that time the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue, with sovereign supernatural power, majesty, and fame, accompanied by great bodhisattvas, unlimited, infinite, incalculable, came from the eastern quarter; the countries through which he passed were shaken, jeweled lotus flowers rained down, and countless hundred thousand myriad kotis of kinds of music were performed. Encompassed also by a great host of countless gods, dragons, yakshas, gandharvas, asuras, garudas, kimnaras, mahoragas, men, nonhuman beings, and others, all displaying majestic supernatural powers, he arrived at Mount Gridhrakuta in the saha-world. Having prostrated himself before Shakyamuni Buddha, he made procession around him to the right seven times and addressed the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! I, in the domain of the Buddha Jeweled Majestic Superior King, hearing afar that the Law-Flower Sutra was being preached in this saha-world, have come with this host of countless, infinite hundred thousand myriad kotis of bodhisattvas to hear and receive it. Be pleased, World-honoured One, to preach it to us, and tell how good sons and good daughters will be able to obtain this Law-Flower Sutra after the extinction of the Tathagata."

The Buddha replied to the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue: "If any good son or good daughter acquires the four requisites, such a one will obtain this Law-Flower Sutra after the extinction of the Tathagata: first, to be under the guardianship of the buddhas; second, to plant the roots of virtue; third, to enter the assembly of [people of] correct resolution*; fourth, to aspire after the salvation of all the living. [* Kern's translation reads "come under 'the mass of disciplinary regulations,'" but the above is the generally accepted interpretation.] Any good son or good daughter who acquires such four requisites will certainly obtain this sutra after the extinction of the Tathagata."

Then the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue said to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! In the latter five hundred years of the corrupt and evil age, whoever receives and keeps this sutra I will guard and protect, eliminate the anxiety of falling away, and give ease of mind, so that no spy shall find occasion--neither Mara, nor Mara-sons, nor Mara-daughters, nor Mara-people, nor Mara-satellites, nor yakshas, nor rakshasas, nor kumbhandas, nor pishacakas, nor kriityas, nor putanas, nor vetadas, nor other afflicters of men--that none may find occasion. Wherever such a one walks or stands, reading and reciting this sutra, I will at once mount the six-tusked white elephant king and with a host of great bodhisattvas go to that place and, showing myself, will serve and protect him, comforting his mind, also thereby serving the Law-Flower Sutra. Wherever such a one sits, pondering this sutra, I will at once again mount the white elephant king and show myself to him. If such a one forgets be it but a single word or verse of the Law-Flower Sutra, I will teach it to him, read and recite it with him, and again cause him to master it. Thereupon he who receives and keeps, reads and recites the Law-Flower Sutra on seeing me will greatly rejoice and renew his zeal. Through seeing me, he will thereupon acquire the contemplation and dharanis named the dharani of revolution*, the dharani of hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of revolutions, and the dharani of skill in Law-sounds; such dharanis as these will he acquire. [* This is interpreted as "unhindered revolution," meaning to contemplate all phenomena as the void. It is the contemplation of the void.]

"World-honoured One! If in the latter age, in the last five hundred years of the corrupt and evil age, the bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, and upasikas, seekers, receivers, and keepers, readers and reciters, or copiers desire to put in practice this Law-Flower Sutra, they must with single mind devote themselves to it for three times seven days. After the three times seven days are fulfilled, I will mount the six-tusked white elephant and, together with countless bodhisattvas surrounding me, appear before those people in the form all the living delight to see, and preach to them, revealing, instructing, benefiting, and rejoicing them. Moreover, I will give them dharanis, and obtaining these dharanis, no human or nonhuman being can injure them, nor any woman beguile them. I myself also will ever protect them. Be pleased, World-honoured One, to permit me to announce these dharani spells." Then in the presence of the Buddha he uttered a spell, saying:

"Adande dandapati dandavartani dandakushale dandasudhari sudhari sudharapati buddhapashyane dharani avartani samvartani samghaparikshite samghanirghatani dharmaparikshite sarva-sattva-rutakaushalyanugate simhavikridite [anuvarte vartani vartali svaha]. [Kern comments: "All terms are, or ought to be, vocatives of feminine words in the singular. Pati, as in Pali pajapati, Buddhistic Sansk. prajapati, interchanges with the ending vati; not only in prajavati (e.g. in Lalita-vistara), but in some of the words occurring in the spell; so for dandapati the Tibetan text has dandavati. As Shiva in Mahabharata 12:10361 is represented as the personified Danda, we may hold that all the names above belong to Shiva's female counterpart, Durga. The epithet of Simhavikridita is but a variation of Simhika, one of the names of Dakshayani or Durga in in her quality of mother to Rahu."]

"World-honoured One! If there be any bodhisattvas who hear these dharanis, they shall be aware of the supernatural power of Universal Virtue. If while the Law-Flower Sutra proceeds on its course through Jambudvipa there be those who receive and keep it, let them reflect thus: 'This is all due to the majestic power of Universal Virtue.' If any receive and keep, read and recite, rightly remember it, comprehend its meaning, and practice it as preached, let it be known that these are doing the works of Universal Virtue and have deeply planted good roots under numberless countless buddhas, and that their heads will be caressed by the hands of the tathagatas. If they only copy it, these when their life is ended will be born in the Heaven Trayastrimsha; on which occasion eighty-four thousand nymphs, performing all kinds of music, will come to welcome them, and they, wearing seven-jeweled crowns, will joy and delight among those beautiful nymphs; how much more those who receive and keep, read and recite, rightly remember it, comprehend its meaning, and practice it as preached! If there be any who receive and keep, read and recite it, and comprehend its meaning, when their life is ended the hands of a thousand buddhas will be proffered, that they fear not, neither fall into any evil destiny, [but] go straight to Maitreya Bodhisattva in the Tushita heaven, where Maitreya Bodhisattva, possessed of the thirty-two signs, is surrounded by a host of great bodhisattvas and has hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of nymph-followers, amongst whom they

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will be born. Such are their merits and benefits. Therefore the wise should with all their mind themselves copy it, or cause others to copy it, receive and keep, read and recite, rightly remember it, and practice it as preached. World-honoured One! I now by my supernatural power will guard and protect this sutra so that, after the extinction of the Tathagata, it may spread abroad without cease in Jambudvipa."

Then Shakyamuni Buddha extolled him, saying: "It is well, it is well, Universal Virtue, that you are able to protect and assist this sutra, and bring happiness and weal to the living in many places. You have already attained inconceivable merits and profound benevolence and compassion. From a long distant past have you aspired to Perfect Enlightenment and been able to make this supernatural vow to guard and protect this sutra. [And] I, by my supernatural power, will guard and protect those who are able to receive and keep the name of the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue. Universal Virtue! If there be any who receive and keep, read and recite, rightly remember, practice, and copy this Law-Flower Sutra, know that such are attending on Shakyamuni Buddha as if they were hearing this sutra from the Buddha's mouth; know that such are paying homage to Shakyamuni Buddha; know that the Buddha is praising them--'Well done'; know that the heads of such are being caressed by the hands of Shakyamuni Buddha; know that such are covered by the robe of Shakyamuni Buddha. [There is no indication of the tense in the Chinese text. Kern has "have seen Shakyamuni," "have heard," "have paid homage," "the Tathagata Shakyamuni will have laid his hands upon their head, and they will have decked the Lord Shakyamuni with their robes."] Such as these not again be eager for worldly pleasure, nor be fond of heretical scriptures and writings, nor ever again take pleasure in intimacy with such men or other evil persons, whether butchers, or herders of pigs, sheep, fowl, and dogs, or hunters, or panderers. But such as these will be right-minded, have correct aims, and be auspicious. Such will not be harassed by the three poisons, nor be harassed by envy, pride, haughtiness, and arrogance. Such will be content with few desires, and able to do the works of Universal Virtue. Universal Virtue! After the extinction of the Tathagata, in the latter five hundred years, if anyone sees one who receives and keeps, reads and recites the Law-Flower Sutra, he must reflect thus: 'This man will ere long go to the wisdom-floor, destroy the host of Mara, attain Perfect Enlightenment, and rolling onward the Law-wheel, beating the Law-drum, blowing the Law-conch, and pouring the rain of the Law, shall sit on the lion throne of the Law amidst a great assembly of gods and men.' Universal Virtue! Whoever in future ages shall receive and keep, read and recite this sutra, such persons will no longer be greedily attached to clothes, bed things, drink, food, and things for the support of life; whatever they wish will never be in vain, and in the present life they will obtain their blessed reward. Suppose anyone slights and slanders them, saying, 'You are only madmen, pursuing this course in vain with never a thing to be gained.' The doom for such a sin as this is blindness generation after generation. If anyone takes offerings to and praises them, he will obtain visible reward in the present world. Again, if anyone sees those who receive and keep this sutra, and proclaims their errors and sins, whether true or false, such a one in the present life will be smitten with leprosy. If he ridicules them, generation after generation his teeth will be sparse and missing, his lips vile, his nose flat, his hands and feet contorted, his eyes asquint, his body stinking and filthy with evil scabs and bloody pus, dropsical and short of breath, and with every evil disease. Therefore, Universal Virtue, if one sees those who receive and keep this sutra, he should stand up and greet them from afar just as if he were paying reverence to the Buddha."

While this chapter of the encouragement of the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue was being preached, innumerable incalculable bodhisattvas equal to the sands of the Ganges attained the dharani of the hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of revolutions, and bodhisattvas equal to the atoms of a three-thousand-great-thousandfold world became perfect in the Way of Universal Virtue.

When the Buddha preached this sutra, Universal Virtue and the other bodhisattvas, Shariputra and the other shravakas, and the gods, dragons, human and nonhuman beings, and all others in the great assembly greatly rejoiced together and, taking possession of the Buddha's words, made salutation to him and withdrew.

HERE ENDS THE EIGHTH BUNCH OF WORDS

EPILOGUE, ALSO KNOWN AS
THE SUTRA OF MEDITATION
ON THE BODHISATTVA UNIVERSAL VIRTUE

The Sutra of Meditation on the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue

Thus have I heard. Once the Buddha was staying at the two-storied assembly hall in the Great Forest Monastery, Vaishali; then he addressed all the bhikshus, saying: "After three months, I shall surely enter parinirvana." Thereupon the honoured Ananda rose from his seat, straightened his garment, and with joined palms and folded hands he made procession around the Buddha three times and saluted him, kneeling with folded hands, and attentively gazed at the Tathagata without turning away his eyes for a moment. The elder Maha-Kashyapa and the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Maitreya also rose from their seats, and with folded hands saluted and gazed up at his honoured face. Then the three great leaders with one voice spoke to the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! After the extinction of the Tathagata, how can living beings raise the mind of the bodhisattva, practice the sutras of Great Extent, the Great-vehicle, and ponder the world of one reality with right thought? How can they keep from losing the mind of supreme buddhahood? How, without cutting off their earthly cares and renouncing their five desires, can they also purify their organs and destroy their sins? How, with the natural pure eyes received at birth from their parents and without forsaking their five desires, can they see things without all impediment?"

The Buddha said to Ananda: "Do you listen to me attentively! Do you listen to me attentively, ponder, and remember it! Of yore on Mount Gridhrakuta and in other places the Tathagata had already extensively explained the way of one reality. But now in this place, to all living beings and others in the world to come who desire to practice the supreme Law of the Great-vehicle, and to those who desire to learn the works of Universal Virtue and to follow the works of Universal Virtue, I will now preach the Law that I have entertained. I will now widely make clear to you the matter of eliminating numerous sins from anyone who may happen to see or not see Universal Virtue. Ananda! The Bodhisattva Universal Virtue was born in the eastern Pure Wonder Land, whose form I have already clearly and extensively explained in the Sutra of Miscellaneous Flowers [Another name for the Avatamsaka Sutra.]. Now I, in this sutra, will briefly explain it again.

"Ananda! If there be bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, upasikas, the eight groups of gods and dragons, and all living beings who recite the Great-vehicle, practice it, aspire to it, delight to see the form and body of the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue, have pleasure in seeing the stupa of the Buddha Abundant Treasures, take joy in seeing Shakyamuni Buddha and the buddhas who emanated from him, and rejoice to obtain the purity of the six organs, they must learn this meditation. The merits of this meditation will make them free from all hindrances and make them see the excellent forms. Even though they have not yet entered into contemplation, just because they recite and keep the Great-vehicle they will devote themselves to practicing it, and after having kept their minds continuously on the Great-vehicle for a day or three times seven days, they will be able to see Universal Virtue; those who have a heavy impediment will see him after seven times seven days; again, those who have a heavier one will see him after one birth; again, those who have a much heavier one will see him after two births; again, those who have a still heavier one will see him after three births. Thus the retribution of their karma is various and not equal. For this reason, I preach the teaching variously.

"The Bodhisattva Universal Virtue is boundless in the size of his body, boundless in the sound of his voice, and boundless in the form of his image. Desiring to come to this world, he makes use of his free transcendent powers and shrinks his stature to the small size of a human being. Because the people in Jambudvipa have the three heavy hindrances [Arrogance, envy, and covetousness.], by his wisdom-power he appears transformed as mounted on a white elephant. The elephant has six tusks and, with its seven legs* , supports its body on the ground. Under its seven legs seven lotus flowers grow. [* Suggesting the absence of the seven evils: killing, stealing, committing adultery, lying, speaking ill of others, improper language, and having a double tongue.] The elephant is white as snow, the most brilliant of all shades of white, so pure that even crystal and the Himalaya Mountains cannot be compared with it. The body of the elephant is four hundred and fifty yojanas in length and four hundred yojanas in height. At the end of the six tusks there are six bathing pools. In each bathing pool grow fourteen lotus flowers exactly the size of the pools. The flowers are in full bloom as the king of celestial trees. On each of these flowers is a precious daughter whose countenance is red as crimson and whose radiance surpasses that of nymphs. In the hand of that daughter there appear, transformed of themselves, five harps, and each of them has five hundred musical instruments as accompaniment. There are five hundred birds including ducks, wild geese, and mandarin ducks, all having the colour of precious things, arising among flowers and leaves. On the trunk of the elephant there is a flower, and its stalk is the colour of a red pearl. That golden flower is still a bud and has not yet blossomed. Having finished beholding this matter, if one again further repents one's sins, meditates on the Great-vehicle attentively with entire devotion, and ponders it in his mind incessantly, he will be able to see the flower instantly blossom and light up with a golden colour. The cup of the lotus flower is a cup of kimshuka gems with wonderful Brahma jewels, and the stamens are of diamond. A transformed buddha* is seen sitting on the petals of the lotus flower with a host of bodhisattvas sitting on the stamens of the lotus flower. [* The transformed body in which a buddha manifests himself in order to save sentient beings.] From the eyebrows of the transformed buddha a ray of light is sent forth and enters the elephant's trunk. This ray, having the colour of a red lotus flower, emanates from the elephant's trunk and enters its eyes; the ray then emanates from the elephant's eyes and enters its ears; it then emanates from the elephant's ears, illuminates its head, and changes into a golden cup. On the head of the elephant there are three transformed men: one holds a golden wheel, another a jewel, and yet another a diamond-pounder. When he raises the pounder and points it at the elephant, the latter walks a few steps immediately. The elephant does not tread on the ground but hovers in the air seven feet above the earth, yet the elephant leaves on the ground its footprints, which are altogether perfect, marking the wheel's hub with a thousand spokes. From each mark of the wheel's hub there grows a great lotus flower, on which a transformed elephant appears. This elephant also has seven legs and walks after the great elephant. Every time the transformed elephant raises and brings down its legs, seven thousand elephants appear, all following the great elephant as its retinue. On the elephant's trunk, having the colour of a red lotus flower, there is a transformed buddha who emits a ray from his eyebrows. This ray of light, as mentioned before, enters the elephant's trunk; the ray emanates from the elephant's trunk and enters its eyes; the ray then emanates from the elephant's eyes and again enters its ears; it then emanates from the elephant's ears and reaches its head. Gradually rising to the elephant's back, the ray is transformed into a golden saddle which is adorned with the precious seven. On the four sides of the saddle are the pillars of the precious seven, which are decorated with precious things, forming a jewel pedestal. On this pedestal there is a lotus-flower stamen bearing the precious seven, and that stamen is also composed of a hundred jewels. The cup of that lotus flower is made of a great jewel.

"[On the cup] there is a bodhisattva called Universal Virtue who sits cross-legged. His body, pure as a white jewel, radiates fifty rays of fifty different colours, forming a brightness around his head. From the pores of his body he emits rays of light, and innumerable transformed buddhas are at the ends of the rays, accompanied by the transformed bodhisattvas as their retinue.

"The elephant walks quietly and slowly, and goes before the follower [of the Great-vehicle], raining large jeweled lotus flowers. When this elephant opens its mouth, the precious daughters, dwelling in the bathing pools on the elephant's tusks, play music whose sound is mystic and extols the way of one reality in the Great-vehicle. Having seen [this wonder], the follower rejoices and reveres, again further reads and recites the profound sutras, salutes universally the innumerable buddhas in all directions, makes obeisance to the stupa of the Buddha Abundant Treasures and Shakyamuni Buddha, and salutes Universal Virtue and all the other great bodhisattvas. Then the follower makes this vow: 'Had I received some blessings through my former destinies, I could surely see Universal Virtue. Be pleased, honoured Universal Fortune*, to show me your form and body!' [* Another name for the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue.]

"Having thus made his vow, the follower must salute the buddhas in all directions six times* day and night, and must practice the law of repentance; he must read the Great-vehicle sutras and recite them, think of the meaning of the Great-vehicle and reflect over its practice, revere and serve those who keep it, see all people as if he were thinking of the Buddha, and treat living beings as if he were thinking of his father and mother. [* The worship of the Buddha six times a day: at sunset, at the beginning of the night, in the middle of the night, at the end of the night, in the early morning, and at midday.] When he finishes reflecting thus, the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue will at once send forth a ray of light from the white hair-circle, the sign of a great man, between his eyebrows. When this ray is displayed, the body of the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue will be dignified as a mountain of deep gold, so well ordered and refined that it possesses all the thirty-two signs. From the pores of his body he will emit great rays of light which will illuminate the great elephant and turn it to the colour of gold. All transformed elephants will also be coloured gold and all transformed bodhisattvas will be coloured gold. When these rays of light shine on the innumerable worlds in the eastern quarter, they will turn them all to the colour of gold. So, too will be it in the southern, western, and northern quarters, in the four intermediate directions, in the zenith and the nadir.

"Then in each quarter of all directions there is a bodhisattva who, mounting the six-tusked white elephant-king, is exactly equal to Universal Virtue. Like this, by his transcendent powers, the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue will enable all the keepers of the Great-vehicle sutras to see transformed elephants filling the infinite and boundless worlds in all directions. At this time the follower will rejoice in body and mind, seeing all the bodhisattvas, and will salute them and speak to them, saying: 'Great merciful and great

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compassionate ones! Out of compassion for me, be pleased to explain the Law to me!' When he speaks thus, all the bodhisattvas and others with one voice will each explain the pure Law of the Great-vehicle sutras and will praise him in various verses. This is called the first stage of mind, in which the follower first meditates on the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue.

"Thereupon, when the follower, having beheld this matter, keeps the Great-vehicle in mind without forsaking it day and night, even while sleeping, he will be able to see Universal Virtue preach the Law to him in a dream. Exactly as if the follower were awake, the Bodhisattva will console and pacify the follower's mind, speaking thus: 'In the sutras you have recited and kept, you have forgotten this word or have lost this verse.' Then the follower, hearing Universal Virtue preach the profound Law, will comprehend its meaning and keep it in his memory without forgetting it. As he does like this day by day, his mind will gradually acquire spiritual profit. The Bodhisattva Universal Virtue will cause the follower to remember the buddhas in all directions. According to the teaching of Universal Virtue, the follower will rightly think and remember everything, and with his spiritual eyes he will gradually see the eastward buddhas, whose bodies are gold coloured and very wonderful in their majesty. Having seen one buddha, he will again see another buddha. In this manner, he will gradually see all the buddhas everywhere in the eastern quarter, and because of his profitable reflection, he will universally see all the buddhas in all directions.

"Having seen the buddhas, he conceives joy in his heart and utters these words: 'By means of the Great-vehicle, I have been able to see the great leaders. By means of their powers, I have also been able to see the buddhas. Though I have seen these buddhas, I have yet failed to make them plain. Closing my eyes I see the buddhas, but when I open my eyes I lose [sight of] them.' After speaking thus, the follower should universally make obeisance, prostrating himself down to the ground toward the buddhas in all directions. Having made obeisance to them, he should kneel with folded hands and should speak thus: 'The buddhas, the world-honoured ones, posses the ten powers, the fearlessnesses, the eighteen unique characteristics, the great mercy, the great compassion, and the three kinds of stability in contemplation. [That is, the buddhas remain undisturbed regardless of the faith or lack of faith of those who hear the doctrine.] These buddhas, forever remaining in this world, have the finest appearance of all forms. By what sin do I fail to see these buddhas?'

"Having spoken thus, the follower should again practice further repentance. When he has achieved the purity of his repentance, the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue will again appear before him and will not leave his side in his walking, standing, sitting, and lying, and even in his dreams will ceaselessly preach the Law to him. After awaking from his dreams, this person will take delight in the Law. In this manner, after three times seven days and nights have passed, he will thereupon acquire the dharani of revolution. Through acquiring the dharani, he will keep in his memory without losing it the wonderful Law which the buddhas and bodhisattvas have taught. In his dreams, he will also see constantly the Seven Buddhas of the past, among whom only Shakyamuni Buddha will preach the Law to him. These world-honoured ones will each praise the Great-vehicle sutras. At that time the follower will again further rejoice and universally salute the buddhas in all directions. After he salutes the buddhas in all directions, the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue, abiding before him, will teach and explain to him all karmas and environments of his former lives, and will cause him to confess his black and evil sins. Turning to the world-honoured ones, he should confess [his sins] with his own mouth.

"After he finishes confessing his sins, then he will attain the contemplation of the revelation of buddhas to men. [The contemplation in which the buddhas always reveal themselves to everyone.] Having attained this contemplation, he will plainly and clearly see the Buddha Akshobhya and the Kingdom of Wonderful Joy in the eastern quarter. In like manner he will plainly and clearly see the mystic lands of the buddhas in each of all directions. After he has seen the buddhas in all directions, he will have a dream: on the elephant's head is a diamond-man pointing his diamond-pounder at the six organs; after pointing it at the six organs, the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue will preach to the follower the law of repentance to obtain the purity of the six organs. In this way the follower will do repentance for a day or three times seven days. Then by the power of the contemplation of the revelation of Buddhas to men and by the adornment of the preaching of the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue, the follower's ears will gradually hear sounds without impediment, his eyes will gradually see things without impediment, and his nose will gradually smell odours without impediment. This is as preached extensively in the Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra. Having obtained the purity of the six organs, he will have joy of body and mind and freedom from evil ideas, and will devote himself to this Law so that he can conform to it. He will again further acquire a hundred thousand myriad kotis of the dharani of revolution and will again see extensively a hundred thousand myriad kotis of innumerable buddhas. These world-honoured ones will all stretch out their right hands, laying them on head of the follower, and will speak thus: 'Good! Good! You are a follower of the Great-vehicle, an aspirant to the spirit of great adornment, and one who keeps the Great-vehicle in his mind. When of old we aspired to buddhahood, we were also like you. Do you be zealous and do not lose the Great-vehicle! Because we practised it in our former lives, we have now become the pure body of the All Wise. Do you now be diligent and not lazy! These Great-vehicle sutras are the Law-treasury of the buddhas, the eyes of the buddhas from all directions in the past, present, and future, and also the seed which produces the tathagatas in the past, present, and future. He who keeps these sutras has the body of a buddha and does the work of a buddha; know that such is the apostle sent by the buddhas; such is covered by the robes of the buddhas, the world-honoured ones; such is a true Law-heir of the buddhas, the tathagatas. Do you practice the Great-vehicle and do not cut off the Law-seeds! Do you now attentively behold the buddhas in the eastern quarter!'

"When these words are spoken, the follower sees all the innumerable worlds in the eastern quarter, whose lands are as even as one's palm, with no mounds or hills or thorns, but with ground of lapis lazuli and with gold to bound the ways. So, too, is it in the worlds of all directions. Having finished beholding this matter, the follower will see a jewel tree which is lofty, wonderful, and five thousand yojanas high. This tree will always produce deep gold and white silver, and will be adorned with the precious seven; under this tree there will be a jeweled lion throne of itself; the lion throne will be two thousand yojanas high and from the throne will radiate the light of a hundred jewels. In like manner, from all the trees, the other jewel thrones, and each jewel throne will radiate the light of a hundred jewels. In like manner, from all the trees, the other jewel thrones, and each jewel throne will emerge of themselves five hundred white elephants on which all the Bodhisattva Universal Virtues mount. Thereupon the follower, making obeisance to all Universal Virtues, should speak thus: 'By what sin have I only seen jewel grounds, jewel thrones, and jewel trees, but have been unable to see the buddhas?'

"When the follower finishes speaking thus, he will see that on each of the jewel thrones there is a world-honoured one sitting on a jewel throne and very wonderful in his majesty. Having seen the buddhas, the follower will be greatly pleased and will again further recite and study the Great-vehicle sutras. By the power of the Great-vehicle, from the sky there will come a voice, praising and saying: 'Good! Good! Good son! By the cause of the merit you have acquired practicing the Great-vehicle, you have seen the buddhas. Though you have now been able to see the buddhas, the world-honoured ones, you cannot yet see Shakyamuni Buddha, the buddhas who emanated from him, and the stupa of the Buddha Abundant Treasures.'

"After hearing the voice in the sky, the follower will again zealously recite and study the Great-vehicle sutras. Because he recites and studies the sutras of Great Extent, the Great-vehicle, even in his dreams he will see Shakyamuni Buddha staying on Mount Gridhrakuta with the great assembly, preaching the Law-Flower Sutra and expounding the meaning of one reality. After the teaching is preached, with repentance and a thirsting heart of hope, he will wish to see the Buddha. Then he must fold his hands, and kneeling in the direction of Mount Gridhrakuta, he must speak thus: 'Tathagata, the world's hero forever remains in this world. Out of compassion for me, please reveal yourself to me.'

"After he has spoken thus, he will see Mount Gridhrakuta adorned with the precious seven and filled with countless bhikshus, shravakas, and a great assembly; this place is lined with jewel trees, and its jewel ground is even and smooth; there a wonderfully jeweled lion throne is spread. On it sits Shakyamuni Buddha, who sends forth from his eyebrows a ray of light, which shines everywhere throughout all directions of the universe and passes through the innumerable worlds in all directions. The buddhas emanated from Shakyamuni Buddha in all directions where this ray reaches assemble like a cloud at one time, and preach extensively the Wonderful Law--as [it is said] in the Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra. Each of these emanated buddhas, having a body of deep gold, is boundless in the size of his body and sits on his lion throne, accompanied by countless hundreds of kotis of great bodhisattvas as his retinue. The practice of each bodhisattva is equal to that of Universal Virtue. So, too, is it in the retinue of the countless buddhas and bodhisattvas in all directions. When the great assembly have gathered together like a cloud, they will see Shakyamuni Buddha, who from the pores of his whole body emits rays of light in each of which a hundred kotis of transformed buddhas dwell. The emanated buddhas will emit rays of light from the white hair-circles, the sign of a great man, between their eyebrows, streaming on the head of Shakyamuni Buddha. Beholding this aspect, the emanated buddhas will also emit from all the pores of their bodies rays of light in each of which transformed buddhas, numerous as the atoms of the sands of the Ganges, abide.

"Thereupon the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue will again emit the ray of light, the sign of a great man, between his eyebrows, and put it into the heart of the follower. After this ray has entered into his heart, the follower himself will remember that under the countless hundreds and thousands of buddhas in the past he received and kept, read and recited the Great-vehicle sutras, and he will himself plainly and clearly see his former lives. He will possess the very faculty of transcendent remembrance of former states of existence. [One of the six transcendent powers. These are mysterious powers of the Buddha and arhats that can be gained by meditation and wisdom.] Immediately attaining a great enlightenment, he will acquire the dharani [the Buddhist chant, also known as a Parittas.] of revolution and a hundred thousand myriad kotis of dharanis. Rising from his contemplation, he will see before himself all the emanated buddhas sitting on lion thrones under all the jewel trees. He will also see the ground of lapis lazuli springing up from the lower sky like heaps of lotus flowers; between each flower there will be bodhisattvas, numerous as the atoms of the sands of the [River] Ganges and sitting cross-legged. He will also see the bodhisattvas who emanated from Universal Virtue, extolling and expounding the Great-vehicle among their assembly. Then the bodhisattvas with one voice will cause the follower to purify his six organs.

"One bodhisattva's preaching will say: 'Do you reflect on the Buddha'; another's preaching will say; 'Do you reflect on the Law'; yet another's preaching will say: 'Do you reflect on the Samgha'; still another's preaching will say: 'Do you reflect on the precepts'; still another one's preaching will say: 'Do you reflect on gift-giving'; yet another's preaching will say: 'Do you reflect on the heavens.' And the preaching will further say: 'Such six laws are the aspiration to buddhahood and are the ones that beget the bodhisattvas. Before the buddhas, do you now confess your previous sins and repent them sincerely.'

"In your innumerable former lives, by reason of your organ of the eye, you have been attached to all forms. Because of your attachment to forms, you hanker after all dust. [Suggesting illusions, because the illusions preventing living beings from attaining knowledge are as innumerable as atoms of dust.] Because of your hankering after dust, you receive a woman's body and you are pleasurably absorbed in all forms everywhere you are born age after age. Forms harm your eyes and you become a slave of human affections. Therefore forms cause you to wander in the triple world. Such fatigue of your wandering there makes you so blind that you can see nothing at all. You have now recited the sutras of Great Extent, the Great-vehicle. In these sutras the buddhas of all directions preach that their forms and bodies are not extinct. You have now been able to see them--is this not true? The evil of your eye-organ often does much harm to you. Obediently following my words, you must take refuge in the buddhas and Shakyamuni Buddha, and confess the sins due to your organ of the eye, saying: 'Law-water of wisdom-eye possessed by the buddhas and the bodhisattvas! Be pleased, by means of it, to wash me and to let me become pure!'

"Having finished speaking thus, the follower should universally salute the buddhas in all directions, and turning to Shakyamuni Buddha and the Great-vehicle sutras, he should again speak thus: 'The heavy sins of my eye-organ of which I now repent are such an impediment and are so tainted that I am blind and can see nothing at all. May the Buddha be pleased to pity and protect me by his great mercy! The Bodhisattva Universal Virtue on board the ship of the great Law ferries the company of the countless bodhisattvas everywhere in all directions. Out of compassion for me, be pleased to permit me to hear the law of repenting the evil of my eye-organ and the impediment of my bad karma!'

"Speaking thus three times, the follower must prostrate himself down to the ground and rightly reflect on the Great-vehicle without forgetting it. This is called the law repenting the sin of the organ of the eye. If there be anyone who calls upon the names of the buddhas, burns incense, strews flowers, aspires to the Great-vehicle, hangs silks, flags, and canopies, speaks of the errors of his eyes, and repents his sins, such a one in the present world will see Shakyamuni Buddha, the buddhas who emanated from him, and countless other buddhas, and will not fall into the evil paths for asamkhyeya kalpas. Thanks to the power and to the vow of the Great-vehicle, such a one will become an attendant [of the buddhas], together with all the bodhisattvas of dharani. Anyone who reflects thus is one who thinks rightly. If anyone reflects otherwise, such is called one who thinks falsely. This is called the sign of the first stage of the purification of the eye-organ.

"Having finished purifying the organ of the eye, the follower should again further read and recite the Great-vehicle sutras, kneel and repent six times day and night, and should speak thus: 'Why can I only see Shakyamuni Buddha and the buddhas who emanated from him, but cannot see the Buddha's relics of his whole body in the stupa of the Buddha Abundant Treasures? The stupa of the Buddha Abundant

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Treasures exists forever and is not extinct. I have defiled and evil eyes. For this reason, I cannot see the stupa.' After speaking thus, the follower should again practice further repentance.

"After seven days have passed, the stupa of the Buddha Abundant Treasures will spring out of the earth. Shakyamuni Buddha with his right hand opens the door of the stupa, where the Buddha Abundant Treasures is seen deep in the contemplation of the universal revelation of forms. From each pore of his body he emits rays of light as numerous as the atoms of the sands of the Ganges. In each ray there dwells one of the hundred thousand myriad kotis of transformed buddhas. When such a sign appears, the follower will rejoice and make procession around the stupa with praising verses. When he has finished making procession around it seven times, the Tathagata Abundant Treasures with a great voice praises him, saying: "Heir of the Law! You have truly practised the Great-vehicle and have obediently followed Universal Virtue, repenting the sins of your eye-organ. For this reason, I will go to you and bear testimony to you.' Having spoken thus, the Tathagata extols the Buddha, saying: 'Excellent! Excellent! Shakyamuni Buddha! Thou art able to preach the Great Law, to pour the rain of the Great Law, and to cause all the defiled living to accomplish their buddhahood.' Thereupon the follower, having beheld the stupa of the Buddha Abundant Treasures, again goes to the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue, and folding his hands and saluting him, speaks to him, saying: 'Great Teacher! Please teach me the repentance of my errors.'

"Universal Virtue again speaks to the follower, saying: 'Through many kalpas, because of your ear-organ, you dangle after external sounds; your hearing of mystic sounds begets attachment to them; your hearing of evil sounds causes the harm of one hundred and eight illusions. Such retribution of your hearing evils brings about evil things and your incessant hearing of evil sounds produces various entanglements. Because of your perverted hearing, you will fall into evil paths, faraway places of false views, where the Law cannot be heard. At present you have recited and kept the Great-vehicle, the ocean-store of merits. For this reason, you have come to see the buddhas in all directions, and the stupa of the Buddha Abundant Treasures has appeared to bear testimony to you. You must yourself confess your own errors and evils and must repent all your sins.'

"Then the follower, having heard thus, must again further fold his hands, and prostrating himself down to the ground, he must speak thus, saying: 'All Wise, World-honoured One! Be pleased to reveal yourself and bear testimony to me! The sutras of Great Extent are the masters of compassion. Be pleased to look upon me and hear my words! Until my present life, for many kalpas, because of my ear-organ, I have been attached to hearing [evil] sounds, like glue sticking to grass; my hearing of evil sounds causes the poison of illusions which are attached to every condition and I am not able to rest even for a little while; my raising evil sounds fatigues my nerves and makes me fall into the three evil ways. Now having for the first time understood this, I confess and repent it, turning to the world-honoured ones.' Having finished repenting thus, the follower will see the Buddha Abundant Treasures emitting a great ray of light which is gold-coloured and universally illuminates the eastern quarter as well as the worlds in all directions, where the countless buddhas appear with their bodies of pure gold colour. In the sky of the eastern quarter there comes a voice uttering thus: 'Here is a buddha, the world-honoured one named Excellent Virtue, who also possesses innumerable emanated buddhas sitting cross-legged on lion thrones under jewel trees. All these world-honoured ones who enter into the contemplation of the universal revelation of forms speak to the follower, praising him and saying: "Good! Good! Good son! You have now read and recited the Great-vehicle sutras. That which you have recited is the mental stage of the Buddha."'

"After these words have been spoken, the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue will again further preach to the follower the law of repentance, saying: 'In the innumerable kalpas of your former lives, because of your attachment to odours, your discrimination and your perception are attached to every condition and you fall into birth and death. Do you now meditate on the cause of the Great-vehicle! The cause of the Great-vehicle is the Reality of All Existence.'

"Having heard these words, the follower should again further repent, prostrating himself down to the ground. When he has repented, he should exclaim thus: 'Namah Shakyamuni Buddha! Namah stupa of the Buddha Abundant Treasures! Namah all the buddhas emanated from Shakyamuni Buddha!' Having spoken thus, he should universally salute the buddhas in all directions, exclaiming: 'Namah the Buddha Excellent Virtue in the eastern quarter and the buddhas who emanate from him!' The follower should also make obeisance to each of these buddhas as wholeheartedly as if he saw them with his naked eyes, and should pay homage to them with incense and flowers. After paying homage to the buddhas, he should kneel with folded hands and extol them with various verses. After extolling them, he should speak of the ten evil karmas and repent all his sins. Having repented, he should speak thus, saying: 'During the innumerable kalpas of my former lives, I yearned after odours, flavours, and contacts and produced all manner of evils. For this reason, for innumerable lives I have continuously received states of evil existence including hells, hungry spirits, animals, and faraway places of false views. Now I confess such evil karmas, and taking refuge in the buddhas, the kings of the Righteous Law, I confess and repent my sins.'

"Having repented thus, the follower must again read and recite the Great-vehicle sutras without negligence of body and mind. By the power of the Great-vehicle, from the sky there comes voice saying: 'Heir of the Law! Do you now praise and explain the Law of the Great-vehicle, turning to the buddhas in all directions, and before them do you yourself speak of your errors! The buddhas, the tathagatas, are your merciful fathers. Do you yourself speak of the evils and bad karmas produced by your organ of the tongue, saying: "This organ of the tongue, moved by the thought of evil karmas, causes me to praise false speaking, improper language, ill speaking, a double tongue, slandering, lying, and words of false views, and also causes me to utter useless words. Because of such many and various evil karmas I provoke fights and dissensions and speak of the Law as if it were not the Law. I now confess all such sins of mine."'

"Having spoken thus before the world's heroes, the follower must universally revere the buddhas in all directions, prostrating himself down to the ground, and folding his hands and kneeling salute them, and he must speak thus, saying: 'The errors of this tongue are numberless and boundless. All the thorns of evil karmas come from the organ of the tongue. This tongue causes the cutting off of the wheel of the Righteous Law. Such an evil tongue cuts off the seeds of merits. Preaching of meaningless things is frequently forced upon others. Praising false views is like adding wood to a fire and further wounding living beings who already suffer in raging flames. It is like one who dies drinking poison without showing sores or pustules. Such reward of sins is evil, false, and bad, and causes me to fall into the evil paths during a hundred or a thousand kalpas. Lying causes me to fall into a great hell. I now take refuge in the buddhas of the southern quarter and confess my errors and sins.'

"When the follower reflects thus, there will come a voice from the sky saying: 'In the southern quarter there is a buddha named Sandalwood Virtue who also possesses countless emanated buddhas. All these buddhas preach the Great-vehicle and extinguish sins and evils. Turning to the innumerable buddhas and the great merciful world-honoured ones in all directions, you must confess such sins, false evils, and repent them with a sincere heart.' When these words have been spoken, the follower should again salute the buddhas, prostrating himself down to the ground.

"Thereupon the buddhas will send forth rays of light which illuminate the follower's body and cause him naturally to feel joy of body and mind, to raise a great mercy, and to reflect on all things extensively. At that time the buddhas will widely preach to the follower the law of great kindness, compassion, joy, and indifference, and also teach him kind words to make him practice the six ways of harmony and reverence. [The six ways of harmony and reverence practised by those who seek enlightenment.] Then the follower, having heard this royal teaching, will greatly rejoice in his heart and will again further recite and study it without laziness.

"From the sky there again comes a mystic voice, speaking thus: 'Do you now practice the repentance of body and mind! The sins of the body are killing, stealing, and committing adultery, while [the sins of] the mind are entertaining thoughts of various evils. Producing the ten evil karmas and the five deadly sins is just like [living as] a monkey, like birdlime and glue, and the attachment to all sorts of conditions leads universally to the passions of the six sense organs of all living beings. The karmas of these six organs with their boughs, twigs, flowers, and leaves entirely fill the triple world, the twenty-five abodes of living beings, and all places where creatures are born. Such karmas also increase ignorance, old age, death, and the twelve sufferings, and infallibly reach through to the eight falsenesses and the eight circumstances. [Eight places or circumstances in which one is unable to see the Buddha or to listen to the Law. These are the conditions of hell, animals, hungry spirits, the heaven of long life, remote places, the state of being blind or deaf, secular prejudice, and the period of the absence of the Buddha.] Do you now repent such evil and bad karmas!' Then the follower, having heard thus, asks the voice in the sky, saying: 'At what place may I practice the law of repentance?'

"Thereupon the voice in the sky will speak thus, saying: 'Shakyamuni Buddha is called Vairocana Who Pervades All Places, and his dwelling place is called Eternally Tranquil Light*, the place which is composed of permanency-paramita, and stabilised by self-paramita, the place where purity-paramita extinguishes the aspect of existence, where bliss-paramita does not abide in the aspect of one's body and mind, and where the aspects of all laws cannot be seen as either existing or nonexisting, the place of tranquil emancipation or prajna-paramita. Because these forms are based on permanent law, thus you must now meditate on the buddhas in all directions.' [* The expressions "Vairocana Who Pervades All Places" and "Eternally Tranquil Light," like those that follow, signify the transcendence of all limitations of time and space, based on the idea of shunya, or the void. Positively, it means the absolute universality of the Buddha and the Buddha-land.]

"Then the buddhas in all directions will stretch our their right hands, laying them on the head of the follower, and will speak thus: 'Good! Good! Good son! Because you have now read and recited the Great-vehicle sutras, the buddhas in all directions will preach the law of repentance. The bodhisattva practice is not to cut off binding and driving* nor to abide in the ocean of driving. [* This is a term denoting defilement because defilement binds human beings to transmigration and also drives them to the world of suffering. The bodhisattva practice is the middle way between excessive austerity and excessive indulgence.] In meditating on one's mind, there is no mind one can seize, except the mind that comes from one's perverted thought. The mind presenting such a form rises from one's false imagination like the wind in the sky, which has no foothold. Such a form of the law neither appears nor disappears. What is sin? What is blessedness? As one's own mind is void of itself, sin and blessedness have no existence. [The state of nonattachment, that is, shunya. When a person reaches the state of nonattachment the problem of good and evil is eliminated.] In like manner all the laws are neither fixed nor going toward destruction. If one repents like this, meditating on his mind, there is no mind he can seize. The law also does not dwell in the law. All the laws are emancipation, the truth of extinction, and quiescence. Such an aspect is called the great repentance, the greatly adorned repentance, the repentance of the non-sin aspect, and the destruction of discrimination. He who practices this repentance has the purity of body and mind not fixed in the law [but free] as flowing water. Through each reflection, he will be able to see the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue and the buddhas in all directions.'

"Thereupon all the world-honoured ones, sending forth the ray of light of great mercy, preach the law of nonaspect to the follower. He hears the world-honoured ones preaching the Void of the first principle. When he has heard it, his mind becomes imperturbable. In due time, he will enter into the real bodhisattva standing." The Buddha addressed Ananda: "To practice in this manner is called repentance. This is the law of repentance which the buddhas and great bodhisattvas in all directions practice."

The Buddha addressed Ananda: "After the extinction of the Buddha, if all his disciples should repent their evil and bad karmas, they must only read and recite the Great-vehicle sutras. These sutras of Great Extent are the eyes of the buddhas. By means of the sutras the buddhas have perfected the five kinds of eyes. [The five kinds of eyes are 1st. the eye of those who have a material body; 2nd. the divine eye of celestial beings in the Realm of Form; 3rd. the eye of wisdom, by which the followers of the two vehicles perceive the nonsubstantiality of things; 4th. the eye of the Law, by which the bodhisattvas perceive all teachings in order to lead human beings to enlightenment; and 5th. the Buddha's eye, the four kinds of eyes enumerated above existing in the Buddha's body.] The three kinds of the Buddha's bodies grow out of the sutras [the teachings] of Great Extent. This is the seal of the Great Law with which the ocean of nirvana is sealed. From such an ocean are born the three kinds of pure bodies of the Buddha. These three kinds of the Buddha's bodies are the blessing-field for gods and men, and the supreme object of worship. If there be any who recite and read the sutras of Great Extent, the Great-vehicle, know that such are endowed with the Buddha's merits and, having extinguished their longstanding evils, are born of the Buddha's wisdom." At that time the World-honoured One spoke thus in verse:

"If one has evil in his eye-organ And his eyes are impure with the impediment of karmas, He must only recite the Great-vehicle And reflect on the first principle. This is called the repentance of the eye, Ending all bad karmas. His ear-organ hears disordered sounds And disturbs the principle of harmony. This produces in him a demented mind, Like [that of] a foolish monkey. He must only recite the Great-vehicle And meditate on the void nonaspect of the Law, Ending all the longstanding evils, So that with the heavenly ears he may hear sounds from all directions. His organ of smell is attached to all odours, Causing all contacts according to lusts.

His nose thus deluded Gives birth to all dust of illusions according to his lusts. If one recites the Great-vehicle sutras And meditates on the fundamental truth of the Law, He will become free from his longstanding evil karmas, And will not again produce them in his future lives. His organ of the tongue causes five kinds Of bad karmas of evil speech.

Should one wish to control them by himself, He must zealously practice mercy, And considering the true principle of quiescence of the Law, He should not conceive discriminations. His organ of thought is like that of a monkey, Never resting even for a little while. Should one desire to

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subdue this organ, He must zealously recite the Great-vehicle, Reflecting on the Buddha's greatly enlightened body, The completion of his power, and his fearlessness.

The body is the master of its organs, As wind causes dust to roll, Wandering in its six organs, Freely without obstacles. If one desires to destroy these evils, To be removed from the longstanding illusions of dust, Ever dwelling in the city of nirvana, And to be at ease with mind tranquil, He should recite the Great-vehicle sutras And reflect on the mother of bodhisattvas. [* The doctrine of the Great-vehicle as the mother and supporter of the bodhisattvas.] Innumerable surpassing means of tactfulness Will be obtained through one's reflection on reality.*

Such six laws Are called the purification of the six sense organs. The ocean of impediment of all karmas Is produced from one's false imagination.

Should one wish to repent of it Let him sit upright and meditate on the true aspect [of reality]. All sins are just as frost and dew, So wisdom's sun can disperse them. Therefore with entire devotion Let him repent of his six sense organs."

Having spoken these verses, the Buddha addressed Ananda: "Do you now repent of these six organs, keep the law of meditating on the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue, and discriminate and explain it widely to all the gods of the universe and men. After the extinction of the Buddha, if all his disciples receive and keep, read and recite, and expound the sutras of Great Extent, whether in a quiet place or in a graveyard, or under a tree, or in a place of the aranya, they must read and recite [the sutras of] Great Extent, and must think of the meaning of the Great-vehicle. By virtue of the strong power of their reflecting on the sutras, they will be able to see myself, the stupa of the Buddha Abundant Treasures, the countless emanated buddhas from all directions, the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue, the Bodhisattva Manjushri, the Bodhisattva Medicine King, the Bodhisattva Medicine Lord. By virtue of their revering the Law, these buddhas and bodhisattvas, abiding in the sky with various wonderful flowers, will extol and revere those who practice and keep the Law. By virtue of their only reciting the sutras of Great Extent, the Great-vehicle, the buddhas and bodhisattvas will day and night pay homage to those who keep the Law."

The Buddha addressed Ananda: "I as well as the bodhisattvas in the Virtuous kalpa and the buddhas in all directions, by means of our thinking of the true meaning of the Great-vehicle, have now rid ourselves of the sins of birth and death during hundreds of myriad kotis of asamkhyeya kalpas. By means of this supreme and wonderful law of repentance, we have each become the buddhas in all directions. If one desires to accomplish Perfect Enlightenment rapidly and wishes in his present life to see the buddhas in all directions and the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue, he must take a bath to purify himself, wear clean robes, and burn rare incense, and must dwell in a secluded place, where he should recite and read the Great-vehicle sutras and think of the meaning of the Great-vehicle."

The Buddha addressed Ananda: "If there are livings beings who desire to meditate on the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue, they must meditate thus. If anyone meditates thus, such is called one who meditates rightly. If anyone meditates otherwise, such is called one who meditates falsely. After the extinction of the Buddha, if all his disciples obediently follow the Buddha's words and practice repentance, let it be known that these are doing the work of Universal Virtue. Those who do the work of Universal Virtue see neither evil aspects nor the retribution of evil karmas. If there be any living beings who salute the buddhas in all directions six times a day and night, recite the Great-vehicle sutras, and consider the profound Law of the Void of the first principle, they will rid themselves of the sins of birth and death [produced] during hundreds of myriad kotis of asamkhyeya kalpas in the [short] time it takes one to snap his fingers. Anyone doing this work is a real Buddha-son who is born from the buddhas. The buddhas in all directions and the bodhisattvas will become his preceptors. This is called one who is perfect in the precepts of the bodhisattvas. Without going through the ceremony of confession, he will of himself accomplish bodhisattvahood and will be revered by all the gods and men."

"At that time, if the follower desires to be perfect in the precepts of the bodhisattva, he must fold his hands, dwell in the seclusion of the wilds, universally salute the buddhas in all directions, and repent his sins, and must himself confess his errors. After this, in a calm place, he should speak to the buddhas in all directions, saying thus: 'The buddhas, the world-honoured ones, remain forever in this world. Because of the impediments of my karmas, though I believe in the sutras of Great Extent, I cannot clearly see the buddhas. I have now taken refuge in the buddhas. Be pleased, Shakyamuni Buddha, All Wise and World-honoured One, to be my preceptor! Manjushri, possessor of great compassion! With your wisdom, be pleased to bestow on me the laws of pure bodhisattvas! Bodhisattva Maitreya, supreme and great merciful sun! Out of your compassion for me, be pleased to permit me to receive the laws of the bodhisattvas! Buddhas in all directions! Be pleased to reveal yourselves and bear testimony to me! Great bodhisattvas! Through calling each upon your names, be pleased, supreme great leaders, to protect all living beings and to help us! At present I have received and kept the sutras of Great Extent. Even if I should lose my life, fall into hell, and receive innumerable sufferings, I would never slander the Righteous Law of the buddhas. For this reason and by the power of this merit, Shakyamuni Buddha! Be now pleased to be my preceptor! Manjushri! Be pleased to be my teacher! Maitreya in the world to come! Be pleased to bestow on me the Law! Buddhas in all directions! Be pleased to bear witness to me! Bodhisattvas of great virtues! Be pleased to be my friends! I now, by means of the profound and mysterious meaning of the Great-vehicle sutras, take refuge in the Buddha, take refuge in the Law, and take refuge in the Samgha.'

"The follower must speak thus three times. Having taken refuge in the Three Treasures, next he must himself vow to receive the sixfold laws [The five Buddhist precepts (not to take life, not to steal, to refrain from wrong sexual activity, not to lie, and not to drink intoxicants) and not to speak of other people's faults. See: The Ten Commandments and The Instructions of Shuruppak; Grand Bible.]. Having received the sixfold laws, next he must zealously practice the unhindered brahma-conduct, raise the mind of universally saving all living beings, and receive the eightfold laws. [The 5 + 1 precepts shown above plus "not to conceal one's faults" and "not to emphasise other people's shortcomings" rather than their good points.] Having made such vows in the seclusion of the wilds, he must burn rare incense, strew flowers, pay homage to all the buddhas, the bodhisattvas, and [the sutras of] Great Extent, the Great-vehicle, and must speak thus, saying: 'I have now raised the aspiration to buddhahood: may this merit save all the living!'

"Having spoken thus, the follower should again further prostrate himself before all the buddhas and the bodhisattvas, and should think of the meaning of [the sutras of] Great Extent. During a day or three times seven days, whether he be a monk or a layman, he has no need of a preceptor nor does he need to employ any teacher; even without [attending the ceremony of] the jnapti-karman, because of the power [coming] from his receiving and keeping, reading and reciting the Great-vehicle sutras and because of the works which the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue helps and inspires him to do--they are in fact the eyes of the Righteous Law of the buddhas in all directions--he will be able, through this Law, to perform by himself the five kinds of Law-bodies: precepts, meditation, wisdom, emancipation, and knowledge of emancipation. All the buddhas, the tathagatas, have been born of this Law and have received the prediction [of their enlightenment] in the Great-vehicle sutras. Therefore, O wise man! Suppose that a shravaka breaks the threefold refuge, the five precepts, and the eight precepts*, the precepts of bhikshus, of bhikshunis, of shramaneras, of shramanerikas, and of shikshamanas and their dignified behaviour, and [also suppose] that because of his foolishness, evil, and bad and false mind he infringes many precepts and the rules of dignified behaviour. [* The five precepts shown avove plus the following three: "to avoid perfume, dancing, and the theatre; not to sit or sleep in an adorned chair; and not to eat after noon."] If he desires to rid himself of and destroy these errors, to become a bhikshu again and to fulfill the laws of monks, he must diligently read the sutras of Great Extent, considering the profound Law of the Void of the first principle, and must bring this wisdom of the Void to his heart; know that in each one of his thoughts such a one will [gradually] end the defilement of all his longstanding sins without any remainder--this is called one who is perfect in the laws and the precepts of monks and fulfills their dignified behaviour. Such a one will be served by all gods and men. Suppose any upasaka violates his dignified behaviour and does bad things. To do bad things means, namely, to proclaim the errors and sins of the Buddha-laws, to discuss evil things perpetrated by the four groups, and not to feel shame even in committing theft and adultery. If he desires to repent and rid himself of these sins, he must zealously read and recite the sutras of Great Extent and must think of the first principle. Suppose a king, a minister, a Brahman, a citizen, an elder, a state official, all of these persons seek greedily and untiringly after desires, commit the five deadly sins, slander the sutras of Great Extent, and perform the ten evil karmas. Their recompense for these great evils will cause them to fall into evil paths faster than the breaking of a rainstorm. They will be sure to fall into the Avici hell. If they desire to rid themselves of and destroy these impediments of karmas, they must raise shame and repent all their sins."

The Buddha spoke, saying: "Why is it called a law of repentance of Kshatriyas and citizens? The law of repentance of Kshatriyas and citizens is that they must constantly have the right mind, not slander the Three Treasures nor hinder the monks nor persecute anyone practicing brahma-conduct; they must not forget to practice the law of the six reflections; they must again support, pay homage to, and surely salute the keeper of the Great-vehicle; they must remember the profound doctrine of sutras and the Void of the first principle. One who thinks of this law is called one who practices the first repentance of Kshatriyas and citizens. Their second repentance is to discharge their filial duty to their fathers and mothers and to respect their teachers and seniors--this is called one who practices the law of the second repentance. Their third repentance is to rule their countries with the Righteous Law and not to oppress their people unjustly--this is called one who practices the third repentance. Their fourth repentance is to issue within their states the ordinance of the six days of fasting* and to cause their people to abstain from killing wherever their powers reach. One who practices such a law is called one who practices the fourth repentance. [* The days of purification, on which offerings are made to the dead. The eighth, fourteenth, fifteenth, twenty-third, twenty-ninth, and thirtieth days of the month, on which laymen observe the eight precepts, are called the roku sainichi, or six days of fasting, in Japanese. There are a lot of such rules in Hinduism as well as Buddhism which are similar to Jewish rules.] Their fifth repentance is to believe deeply the causes and results of things, to have faith in the way of one reality, and to know that the Buddha is never extinct--this is called one who practices the fifth repentance."

The Buddha addressed Ananda: "If, in future worlds, there be any who practices these laws of repentance, know that such a man has put on the robes of shame, is protected and helped by the buddhas, and will attain Perfect Enlightenment before long." As these words were spoken, ten thousand divine sons acquired pure spiritual eyes, and also the great bodhisattvas, the Bodhisattva Maitreya and others, and Ananda, hearing the preaching of the Buddha, all rejoiced and did as the Buddha commanded.

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APPENDICES

These Appendices have been added
after the editing deadline

APPENDIX A
Additional Maps

APPENDIX B
Additional Images

APPENDIX C
Additional Texts

APPENDIX D
Bibliographies

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APPENDIX A
THE ADDITIONAL MAPS

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MAP OF NAVIGABLE OCEAN CURRENTS

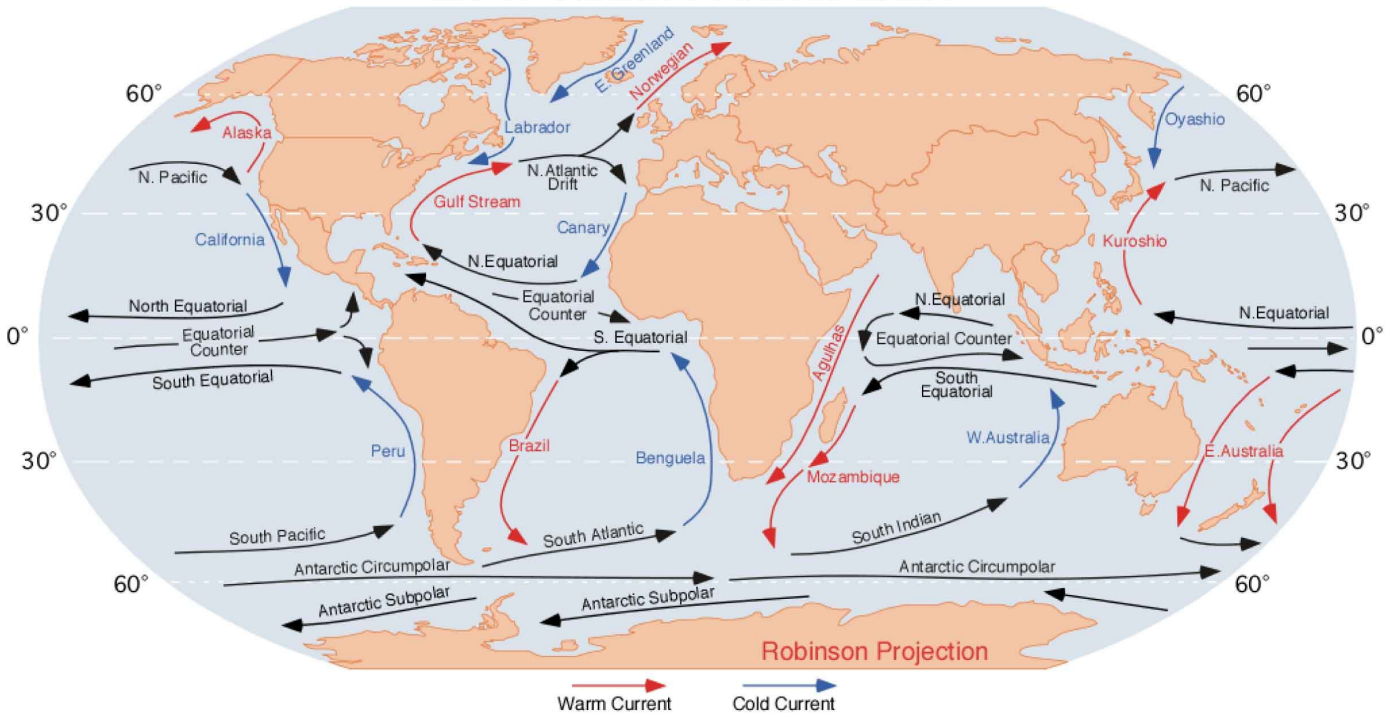

The fastest (and therefore the cheapest) trade routes in Antiquity did not cross land but the sea. With the knowledge of sea currents, favourable wind and weather conditions, the most advanced shipbuilding technology in form of speedy catamarans, the Austronesians crossed not only entire oceans in a matter of weeks but built a sea empire that streched from East Africa in the west to the Easter Islands (or even to the Americas) in the east.

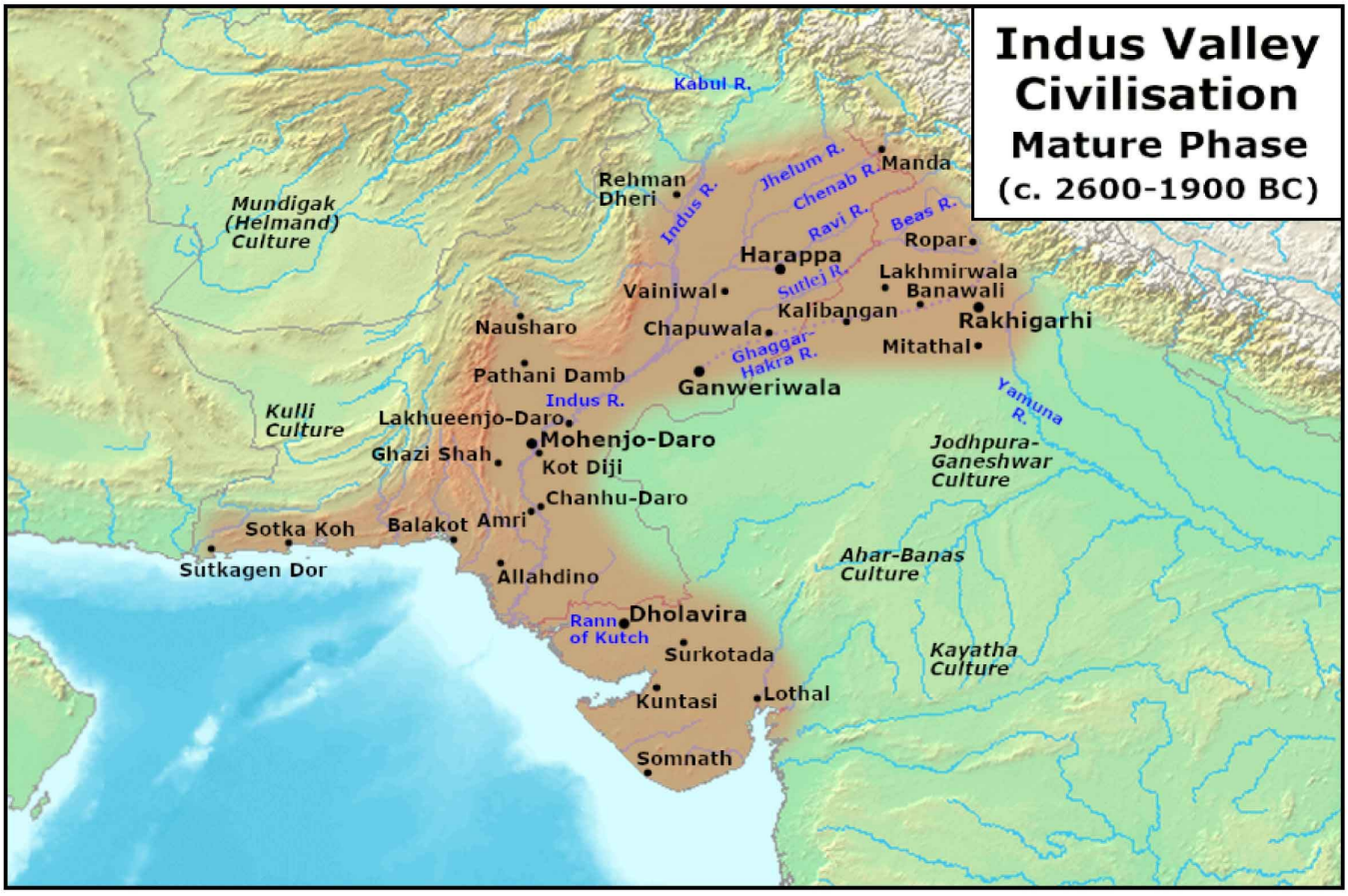

The Indus Civilisation, was a Bronze Age civilisation in the northwest of ancient India, lasting from c. 3300 BC to 1300 BC, and in its mature form from c. 2600 BC to 1900 BC. Together with Egypt and Mesopotamia, it was one of three early civilisations of the Middle East and West Asia. Canals and the dockyard at Lothal (Gujarat) reveal that the Indus people were accomplished seafarers with contacts to Sumer. This has been comfirmed by carnelian beads (produced by the Indus people) found in Susa (a city in Iran and under control by the Sumerians), and inscribed with the Sumerian king's name "Shulgi" in cuneiform script. The Sumerians were connected with the Indus people through the Elamites who had a kingdom in the southwest of Iran right between Sumer and India. All three peoples spoke so-called language isolates which were presumably related to one another. In his 18th regnal year, king Shulgi gave his daughter to King Libanukshabash of Marhashi, referring to a country east of Elam. What if this country is not in Turkmenstan (which is northeast-north of Sumer) as some experts suggest but really in the east, in the territory of the Indus Civilisation?

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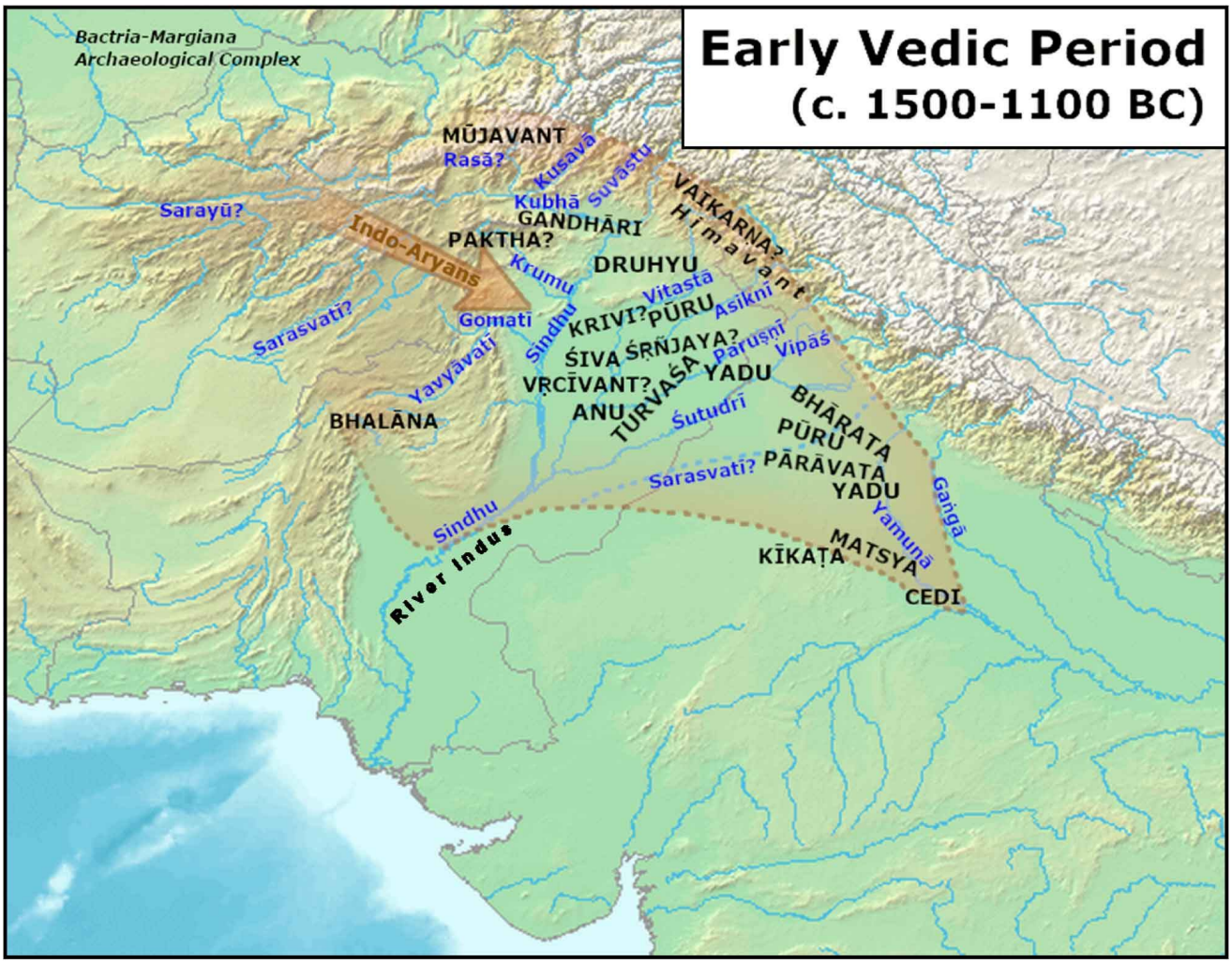

APPROXIMATE TIMELINE

(The periods [*] before the Maurya Empire are a matter of great uncertainty; particularly the estimated datings of the Vedic and the Mahabharata periods. Reason: Writing came to India [the Indus Area] with the Persians, Aramaeans and Hebrews in the 6th century BC under the command of Kurush (Cyrus the Great). However, it was introduced not before the conquest of Alexander the Great by Chanakya the prime minister of Chandragupta Maurya in the 3rd century BC. In other words: None of the known Hindu texts were written down before 300 BC; they were learned by heart in "memorising factories," the monasteries. Time and again, the estimated and proclaimed datings had to be dated foreword to younger dates. Therefore, more and more, it becomes quite feasible that the events described in the [northwestern Indian] Mahabharata and the [northeastern Indian] Ramayana occured at the time of the early Achaemenid Persian Empire).

Somewhere, at around 1950 BC, a lot of civilisations and states near the eastern Mediterranean collapsed. When something like a massive Volcano eruption occures, people beginn to migrate in all direction in order to find food. The consequences of a VEI 6 or 7 eruption, in which the entire mountain explodes and its pulverised material is shot into the stratosphere, are dramatic because the dust veil reduces harvests to almost zero for years. The migrations trigger wars and civil wars, famine and plague. Egypt, Mesopotamia, and the Indus Valley Civilisation became victims of such a volcano eruption. They were severely weakened or even vanished entirely. Groups of Indo-Aryan peoples migrated into north-western India and started to inhabit the northern Indus Valley. The Indus Valley Civilisation held out for 3 or 4 centuries before it was entirely subjugated by the newcomers, and this is the time historians call the begin of the "Vedic Age," refering to the most antique Indian text compositions such as the Rigveda. The knowledge about the Aryans comes mostly from these parts of the Rigveda which were composed at perhaps 1000 BC. According to archaeological findings, the Indo-Aryans represented a sub-group that diverged from other Indo-Iranian tribes at the Andronovo horizon before the middle of the 2nd millennium BC. The Indo-Iranians originated in the Sintashta culture, from which arose the subsequent Andronovo horizon. The Indo-Aryans migrated through the adjacent Bactria-Margiana area (present-day northern Afghanistan) to northwest India, followed by the rise of the Iranian Yaz culture at c. 1500 BC, and the Iranian migrations into Iran at c. 800 BC. Funeral sacrifices from the Sintashta-culture show close parallels to the sacrificial funeral rites of the Rigveda, while the Old Indic religion probably emerged among Indo-European immigrants in the contact zone between the Zeravshan River (present-day Uzbekistan) and (present-day) Tajikistan. It was "a syncretic mixture of old Central Asian and new Indo-European elements", which borrowed "distinctive religious beliefs and practices" from the Bactria–Margiana culture, including the god Indra and the ritual drink Soma.

1. Prehistoric era (until c. 3300 BC)
2. Bronze Age – first urbanisation (c. 3300 – c. 1800 BC)
2.1 Indus Valley Civilisation
2.2 Ochre Coloured Pottery Culture
3. Iron Age (1500 – 200 BC)
3.1 Early Vedic period (c. 1500 *[1200*]* – 900 BC
3.2 Late Vedic period 900 – 600 *[400*]* BC)
3.3 Post-Mahabharata Era to the Mauryas (600 *[400*]* – 200 BC)
4. Classical and early medieval periods (c. 200 BC – c. 1200 AD)
4.1 Early classical period (c. 200 BC – c. 320 AD)
4.2 Classical period: Gupta Empire (c. 320 – 650 AD)
4.3 Early medieval period (mid 6th c.–1200 AD)
5. Late medieval period (c. 1200–1526 AD)
5.1 Delhi Sultanate
5.2 Vijayanagara Empire
5.3 Mewar Dynasty (728-1947 AD)
6. Early modern period (c. 1526–1858 AD)
6.1 Sikh Confederation and Sikh religion founded as reaction to Islamic artrocities (1540s AD)

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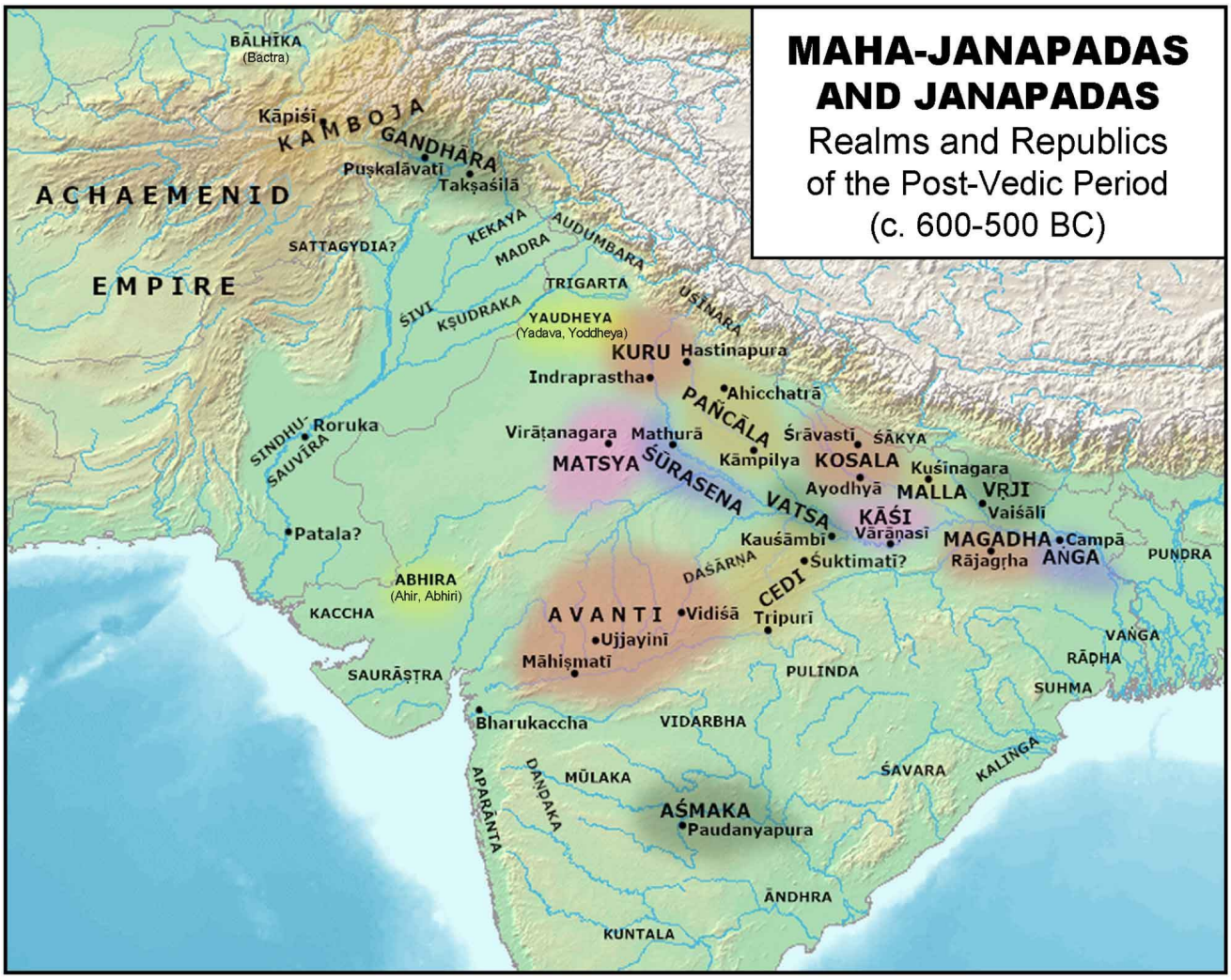

MAHA-JANAPADAS AND JANAPADAS

The Janapadas (1100-500 BC) were the realms (saamarajya) and republics (ganapada) of the Vedic period on the Indian subcontinent. The Vedic period reaches from the late Bronze Age into the Iron Age: from about 1500 BC (date debated) to the 6th century BC. With the rise of sixteen Maha-Janapadas ("Great Janapadas"), most of the states were annexed by more powerful neighbours, although some remained independent. In the Vedic samhitas, the term jana (people) denotes a tribe, whose members believed in a shared ancestry. The janas were originally semi-nomadic pastoral communities, but gradually came to be associated with specific territories as they became less mobile. Various kulas (clans) developed within the jana, each with its own chief. Gradually, the necessities of defence and warfare prompted the janas to form military groupings headed by janapadins (Kshatriya warriors). This model ultimately evolved into the establishment of political units known as the janapadas. New kingdoms were formed when a major clan produced more than one King in a generation. The Kuru clan (probably refering to Kurush / Cyrus) of Kings was very successful in governing throughout North India with their numerous kingdoms, which were formed after each successive generation. Similarly, the Yadava (Yaudheya, Yoddhaya; meaning Judaea) clan of kings formed numerous kingdoms in Central India, probably also Abhira (meaning Habiru, Hebrew). Janapadas were gradually dissolved between 600 and 500 BC. Their disestablishment can be attributed to the rise of imperial powers (such as Magadha) in Northern India, as well as foreign invasions (such as those by the Persians and the Greeks) in the north-western part of India. Short description of the states:

Anga: The first reference to the Angas is found in the Atharva-Veda where they find mention along with the Magadhas, Gandharis and the Mujavats, apparently as a despised people. The Jaina Prajnapana ranks Angas and Vangas in the first group of Aryan people. It mentions the principal cities of ancient India. **Assaka:** The country of Assaka or the Ashmaka tribe was located in Dakshinapatha or southern India. It included areas in present-day Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, and Maharashtra. In Gautama Buddha's time, many of the Assakas were located on the banks of the Godavari River (south of the Vindhya mountains). **Avanti:** The country of the Avantis was an important kingdom of western India and was one of the four great monarchies in India in the post era of Mahavira and Buddha, the other three being Kosala, Vatsa and Magadha. Avanti was divided into north and south by the river Narmada. **Chedi Kingdom:** The Chedis, Chetis or Chetyas had two distinct settlements of which one was in the mountains of Nepal and the other in Bundelkhand near Kausambi. According to old authorities, Chedis lay near Yamuna midway between the kingdom of Kurus and Vatsas. **Gandhara:** is referred to in the Rigveda. The Gandhari and their king figure prominently as strong allies of the Kurus against the Pandavas in the Mahabharata War which is not surprising as both were related to the Persians. The Gandharas were furious people, well-trained in the art of war. **Kamboja** (See: Kambujiya = Cambyses): The original Kamboja was located in eastern Oxus country as neighbour to Bahlika (Mahabharata, Bactria), but with time, some clans of the Iranian Kambojas appear to have crossed the Hindukush and planted colonies on its southern side also. They are associated with the Daradas and Gandharas in Indian literature and also find mention in the Edicts of Ashoka. **Kingdom of Kashi:** The kingdom was located in the region around its capital Varanasi, bounded by the Varuna and Asi rivers in the north and south which gave Varanasi its name. Before Buddha, Kasi was the most powerful of the sixteen Maha-Janapadas. **Kosala:** The country of Kosala was located to the north-west of Magadha, with its capital at Ayodhya. Its territory corresponded to the modern Awadh (or Oudh) in Central and Eastern Uttar Pradesh. According to Ramayane and Mahbharata, Koshala was the most powerful and biggest kingdom ever in the recorded history. **Kururashtra:** The Vayu Purana attests that Kuru, son of Samvarsana of the Puru lineage, was the ancestor of the Kurus and the founder of Kururashtra (Kuru Janapada) in Kurukshetra. The country of the Kurus roughly corresponded to the modern Thanesar, state of Delhi, and Meerut district of Uttar Pradesh. The Kurus had matrimonial relations with the Yadavas (Yaudheya, Yoddhaya, another branch of the Abhira, the Habiru or Hebrew), the Bhojas, Trigratas, and the Panchalas. There is a Jataka reference to king Dhananjaya, introduced as a prince from the race of Yudhishtra. **Magadha:** One of the most prominent and prosperous of Maha-Janapadas. The capital city Pataliputra (Patna, Bihar) was situated on the confluence of major rivers like the Ganga, Son, Punpun and Gandak. It was later the centre of the Maurya Empire. **Malla:** The Mallas are frequently mentioned in Jain and Buddhist works. According to Mahabharata, Panduputra Bhimasena is said to have conquered the chief of the Mallas/Malls in the course of his expedition in Eastern India. **Matsya Kingdom:** The country of the Matsya or Meena tribe lay to the south of the Kurus and west of the Yamuna, which separated them from the Panchalas. It roughly corresponded to the former state of Jaipur in Rajasthan. **Panchala:** The Panchalas occupied the country to the east of the Kurus between the mountains and river Ganges. It roughly corresponded to modern Budaun, Farrukhabad and the adjoining districts of Uttar Pradesh. The Panchals appear to have switched to republican corporation in the 6th and 5th centuries BC. In the 4th century BC, Chanakya's political-strategic treatise "Arthashastra" also attests the Panchalas as following the (king consul) constitution. **Surasena:** The country of the Surasenas lay to the east of Matsya and west of Yamuna. This corresponds roughly to the Brij region of Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and Rajasthan. and Gwalior region of Madhya Pradesh. **Vajji** or Vrijji: was a confederacy of neighbouring clans including the Licchavis and one of the principal mahājanapadas of Ancient India. The area they ruled constitutes the region of Mithila in northern Bihar and their capital was the city of Vaishali. This clan is mentioned by Pāṇini, Chanakya and Xuan Zang. **Vatsa:** The Vatsas or Vamsas are called to be a branch of the Kurus. The Vatsa or Vamsa country corresponded with the territory of modern Allahabad in Uttar Pradesh. Udayana was the ruler of Vatsa in the 6th-5th century BC. Udayana's mother, Queen Mrigavati, is known for being one of the earliest female rulers in Indian history.

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THE KURU DYNASTY OF INDIA

Some siblings of the protagonists shown here have been left out for clarity; these include Chitrāngada, the eldest brother of Vichitravirya. Vidura, half-brother to Dhritarashtra and Pandu.

This family tree is largely speculation. There are no extra-Indian sources available. Writing came to northwestern India in form of the Aramaic scripts with the Persians and Hebrews between the 8th and 6th centuries BC. Indians did not used it until they finally adopted Brahmi script introduced by Chandragupta Maurya in about 300 BC.

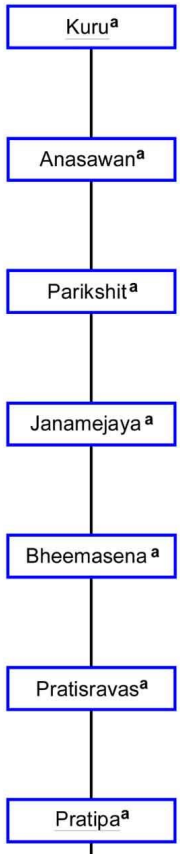

According to Indian literature, Kuru is the name of the ancestor of the clan of the Kurus in the Mahabharata. He was the son of Samvarana and of Tapati, the daughter of the Sun. In Indian literature, Kuru is an ancestor of Pandu and his descendants, the Pandavas, and also of Dhritarashtra and his descendants, the Kauravas. This name Kaurava derived as a patronym from "Kuru", is only used for the descendants of Dhritarashtra. King Kuru had two wives named Shubhangi and Vahini. He had a son named Viduratha with Shubhangi, and five sons with Vahini, named Ashvavat, Abhishyat, Citraratha, Muni, and Janamejaya. Due to his merits and great ascetic practices the region "Kurujangal" was named after him. It has also been known as Kurukshetra since ancient Vedic times.

According to history, Kuru was an Indo-Iranian tribe, originating from Persia, the land of Zarathustra (Zoroaster), and coming to the northwest of India probably through Gandhara which was at that time the meeting point for people from Iran and India. The Kuru, as language analyses clearly show, were cousins of the Indians. They arrived in India in the 1st half of the first millenium BC (perhaps at around 800 or 700 BC) and established a state-level society as they would have done in Persia. It was the first strictly organised state in India. The Kuru kings ruled with the assistance of an administration, including purohita (priest), village headman, army chief, food distributor, emissary, herald and spies. They extracted mandatory tribute (bali = tax) from their population of commoners as well as from weaker neighbouring tribes. From the Kurukshetra region, the Kurus formed the first political centre of the Vedic period, and were dominant roughly for about 300 years. The first Kuru capital was at Asandivat, identified with modern Assandh in Haryana. Later literature refers to Indraprastha (identified with modern Delhi) and Hastinapura as the main Kuru cities.

Additional List of Kuru Kings according to epic literature: Pratipa, Shantanu, Chitrāngada, Vichitravirya, Pandu, Dhritarashtra, Yudhishthira, Parikshit, Janamejaya II: Later peroid of time: Satanika, Aswamedhadatta, Asima-Krishna, Nichakra, Ushna, Chitraratha, Vrishnimat, Sushena, Sunitha, Richa, Nrichakshu, Sukhihala, Pariplava, Sunaya, Medhavin, Nripanjaya, Mridu, Tigma, Vrihadratha, Vasudana, Shataníka II, Udayana, Ahínara, Khanddapáni, Niramitra, Kshemaka.

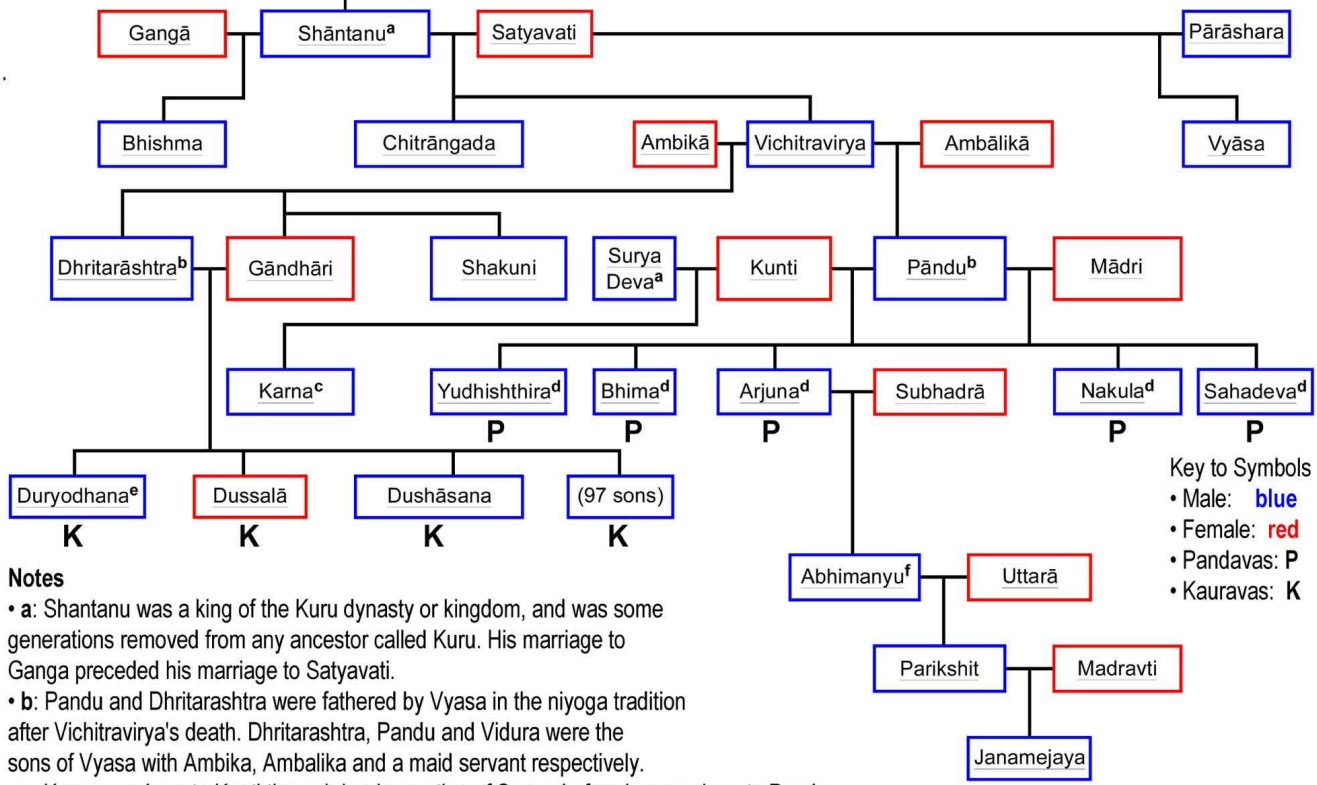

Notes

• **a**: Shantanu was a king of the Kuru dynasty or kingdom, and was some generations removed from any ancestor called Kuru. His marriage to Ganga preceded his marriage to Satyavati.

• **b**: Pandu and Dhritarashtra were fathered by Vyasa in the niyoga tradition after Vichitravirya's death. Dhritarashtra, Pandu and Vidura were the sons of Vyasa with Ambika, Ambalika and a maid servant respectively.

• **c**: Karna was born to Kunti through her invocation of Surya, before her marriage to Pandu.

• **d**: Yudhishthira, Bhima, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva were acknowledged sons of Pandu but were begotten by the invocation by Kunti and Madri of various deities. They all married Draupadi (not shown in tree).

• **e**: Duryodhana and his siblings were born at the same time, and they were of the same generation as their Pandava cousins.

• **f**: Although the succession after the Pandavas was through the descendants of Arjuna and Subhadra, it was Yudhishthira and Draupadi who occupied the throne of Hastinapura after the great battle.

The birth order of siblings is correctly shown in the family tree (from left to right), except for Vyasa and Bhishma whose birth order is not described, and Vichitravirya and Chitrangada who were born after them. The fact that Ambika and Ambalika are sisters is not shown in the family tree. The birth of Duryodhana took place after the birth of Karna, Yudhishthira and Bhima, but before the birth of the remaining Pandava brothers.

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THE ACHAEMENID DYNASTY OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

The names of the protagonists are shown in their original Persian forms first, then in Greek and / or English second. The Greek and English forms of the names are so deformed that they never represent the original sound. Only the original form can reveal the relationship to Indian name forms.

The Achaemenid Empire (Persian: Kheshasa, lit. "The Empire") was an Iranian Empire founded by Kurush II (Cyrus the Great, the "King of Kings," kheshaya-dhiya kheshayadhiyanam) replacing the Median Empire (c. 678–549 BC), a precursing Iranian empire. The Hebrew Bible (Isaiah 44:28; 45:1; Ezra 6:2–5; Daniel 10:1; 2 Chronicles 36:22) unreservedly praises Cyrus for his actions in the conquest of Babylon, referring to him as "Yahweh's anointed" (Hebrew: Messiah; Greek: Khristos, Soter). Consequence: Many Hebrews liked to stay in service with their Persian allies. Kurush II (and Darayavahush too) is credited with freeing the people of Judah from their exile and with authorising the reconstruction of much of Jerusalem, including the Second Temple. He and the following emperors, were extremely successful in merging a large array of cultures together. At its greatest territorial extent, the Persian Empire of the Achaemenid dynasty stretched from the Balkans and Eastern Europe in the west to the Indus Valley in the east. The surdrising discovery of hundreds of Persian words in Indian scripture, particularly in the Mahabharata, is a clear indication that Iran's and India's people and their cultures were much closer connected to each other than previously thought (See: Grand Bible, p. 5344).

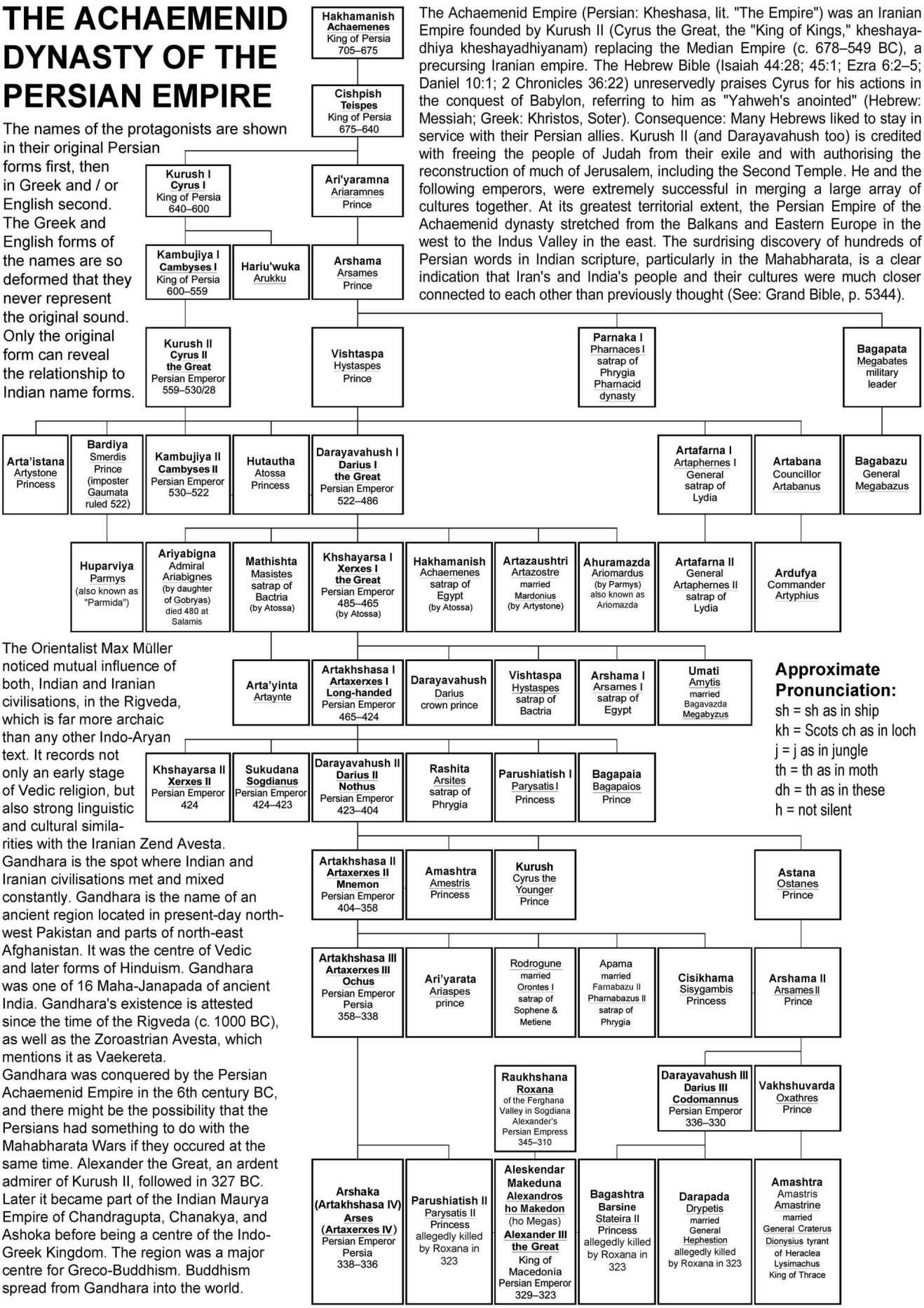

The Orientalist Max Müller noticed mutual influence of both, Indian and Iranian civilisations, in the Rigveda, which is far more archaic than any other Indo-Aryan text. It records not only an early stage of Vedic religion, but also strong linguistic and cultural similarities with the Iranian Zend Avesta.

Gandhara is the spot where Indian and Iranian civilisations met and mixed constantly. Gandhara is the name of an ancient region located in present-day north-west Pakistan and parts of north-east Afghanistan. It was the centre of Vedic and later forms of Hinduism. Gandhara was one of 16 Maha-Janapada of ancient India. Gandhara's existence is attested since the time of the Rigveda (c. 1000 BC), as well as the Zoroastrian Avesta, which mentions it as Vaekereta.

Gandhara was conquered by the Persian Achaemenid Empire in the 6th century BC, and there might be the possibility that the Persians had something to do with the Mahabharata Wars if they occured at the same time. Alexander the Great, an ardent admirer of Kurush II, followed in 327 BC. Later it became part of the Indian Maurya Empire of Chandragupta, Chanakya, and Ashoka before being a centre of the Indo-Greek Kingdom. The region was a major centre for Greco-Buddhism. Buddhism spread from Gandhara into the world.

Approximate Pronunciation:

sh = sh as in ship
kh = Scots ch as in loch
j = j as in jungle
th = th as in moth
dh = th as in these
h = not silent

SIGNIFICANT FACTS: The Persian Empire was larger than any previous empire in history, spanning a circa 5.5 million square kilometres (2.1 million square miles). By 500 BC, 20-40 million people lived in it. CAPITAL CITIES: Babylon, Pasargadae, Ecbatana, Susa, Persepolis (Ceremonial); RELIGIONS: Zoroastrianism (Official), Vedic Hinduism, Ancient Judaism, others: Babylonian religion, Egyptian Religion, Greek Religion and Philosophy, Early Buddhism; LANGUAGES: Persian (official), Aramaic (official, lingua franca), Sanskrit, Prakrit, Babylonian (Akkadian), Median, Elamite (related to Sumerian and Indus culture language), Egyptian, Greek. SCRIPT: (Akkadian, Elamite, Persian) cuneiform, (Hebrew or Imperial) Aramaic, Karoshti (the Aramaic "script of Kurush" used in Bactria and northwestern India).

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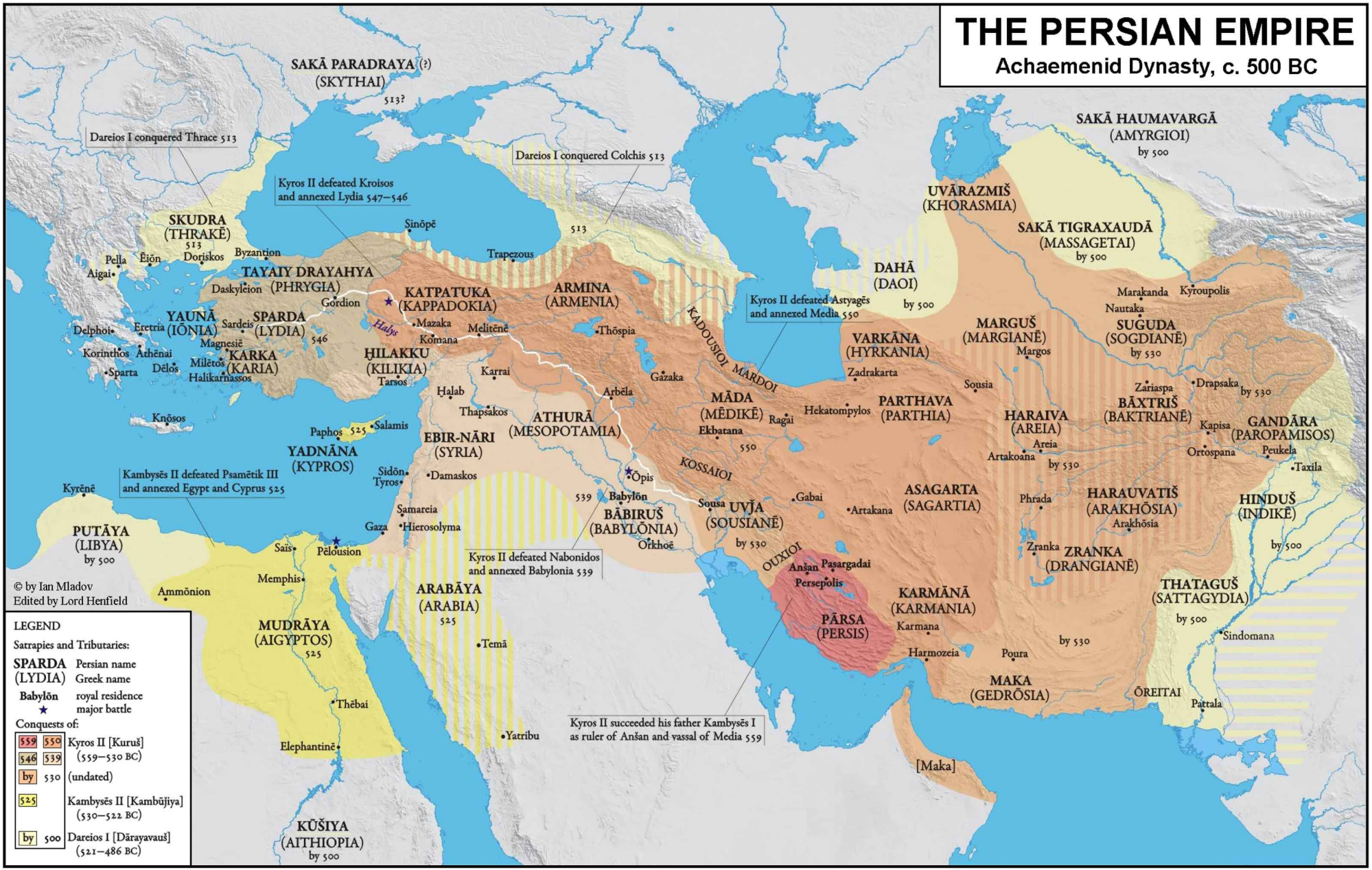

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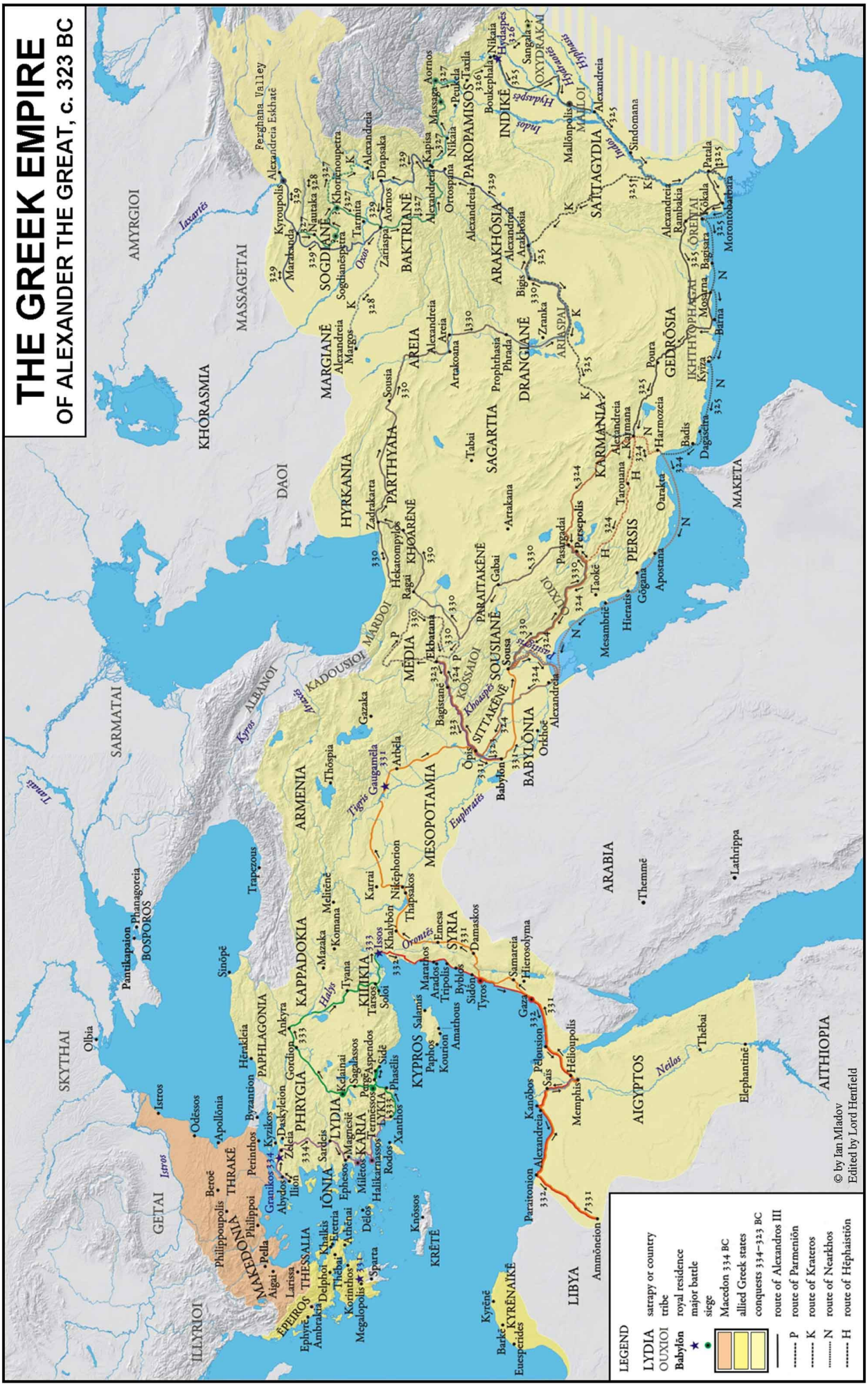
THE GREEK EMPIRE
OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT, c. 323 BC
SKYTHAI
SARMATAI
AMYRGIOI
MASSAGETAI
KHORASMIA
DAOI
ALBANOI
KADOUSIOI
MARDOI
ILLYRIOI
GETAI
MAKEDONIA
THRAKĒ
PAIONIA
EPEIROS
THESSALIA
PAPHLAGONIA
KAPPADOKIA
PHRYGIA
LYDIA
IŌNIA
KARIA
LYKIA
KILIKIA
KYPROS
ARMENIA
MESOPOTAMIA
SYRIA
HYRKANIA
PARTHYAIA
MĒDIA
PARAITAKĒNĒ
SOUSIANĒ
MARGIANĒ
ARĒIA
SAGARTIA
DRANGIANĒ
ARAKHŌSIA
BAKTRIANĒ
SOGDIANĒ
PAROPAMISOS
INDIKĒ
OXYDRAKAI
MALLOI
SATTAGYDIA
KARMANIA
PERSIS
GEDRŌSIA
ARABIA
AIGYPTOS
LIBYA
KYRĒNAÏKĒ
AITHIOPIA
MAKETA
IKHTHYOPHAGOI
ORĒTAI
Istros
Tanais
Kyros
Euphrates
Tigris
Indos
Hydaspēs
Hydraotēs
Hyphasis
Indos
Oxos
Iaxartēs
Nēilos
Perghana Valley
Pantikapaion
BOSPOROS
Olbia
Odessos
Apollōnia
Byzantion
Hērakleia
Trapezous
Sinōpē
Gordion
Ankyra
Tyana
Meliténē
Komana
Mazaka
Thōspia
Gazaka
Arbēla
Gaugamēla
Karrai
Nikēphorion
Thapsakos
Issos
Khalybōn
Tarsos
Soloi
Sagalassos
Kelainai
Ephesos
Magnēsiē
Miletos
Halikarnassos
Xanthos
Rodos
Knōssos
Phaselis
Side
Perge
Aspendos
Termessos
Sardeis
Kyzikos
Daskyleion
Zeleia
Ilion
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Kanōbos
Alexandreia
Paratonion
Ammōneion
Barkē
Euesperides
Kyrēnē
Memphis
Hēliopolis
Thēbai
Elephantinē
Lathrippa
Themnē
Mesambriē
Hieratis
Gōgana
Apostana
Taokē
Pasargadai
Persepolis
Taroana
Karmana
Alexandreia
Harmozeia
Oarakta
Badis
Dagasira
Kyra
Poura
Mosarna
Bagisara
Barna
Morontobarēna
Patala
Kōkala
Rambakia
Alexandreia
Sindomana
Mallōnpolis
Alexandreia
Hydaspēs
Nikaia
Sangala
Bouképhala
Taxila
Peukela
Ortospana
Nikaia
Alexandreia
Massaga
Aornos
Kapisa
Alexandreia
Alexandreia Eskhatē
Kyropolis
Marakanda
Nautaka
Khorienoupetra
Alexandreia
Tarmita
Zariaspa
Drapsaka
Aornos
Sogdianēspeira
Alexandreia
Margos
Alexandreia
Areia
Artakoana
Sousia
Tabai
Prophthasia
Phradā
Arrakana
Zadrakarta
Hekatompylos
Ragai
Gabai
Elbatana
Bagistanē
Opis
Babylōn
Orkhoē
Alexandreia
Sousa
Arbēla
Gaugamēla
Thōspia
Gazaka
Ariaspai
Zranka
Bigis
Arakhōsia
Alexandreia
Alexandreia
Prophthasia
Phradā
Drangianē
Zranka
Alexandreia
Areia
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Margos
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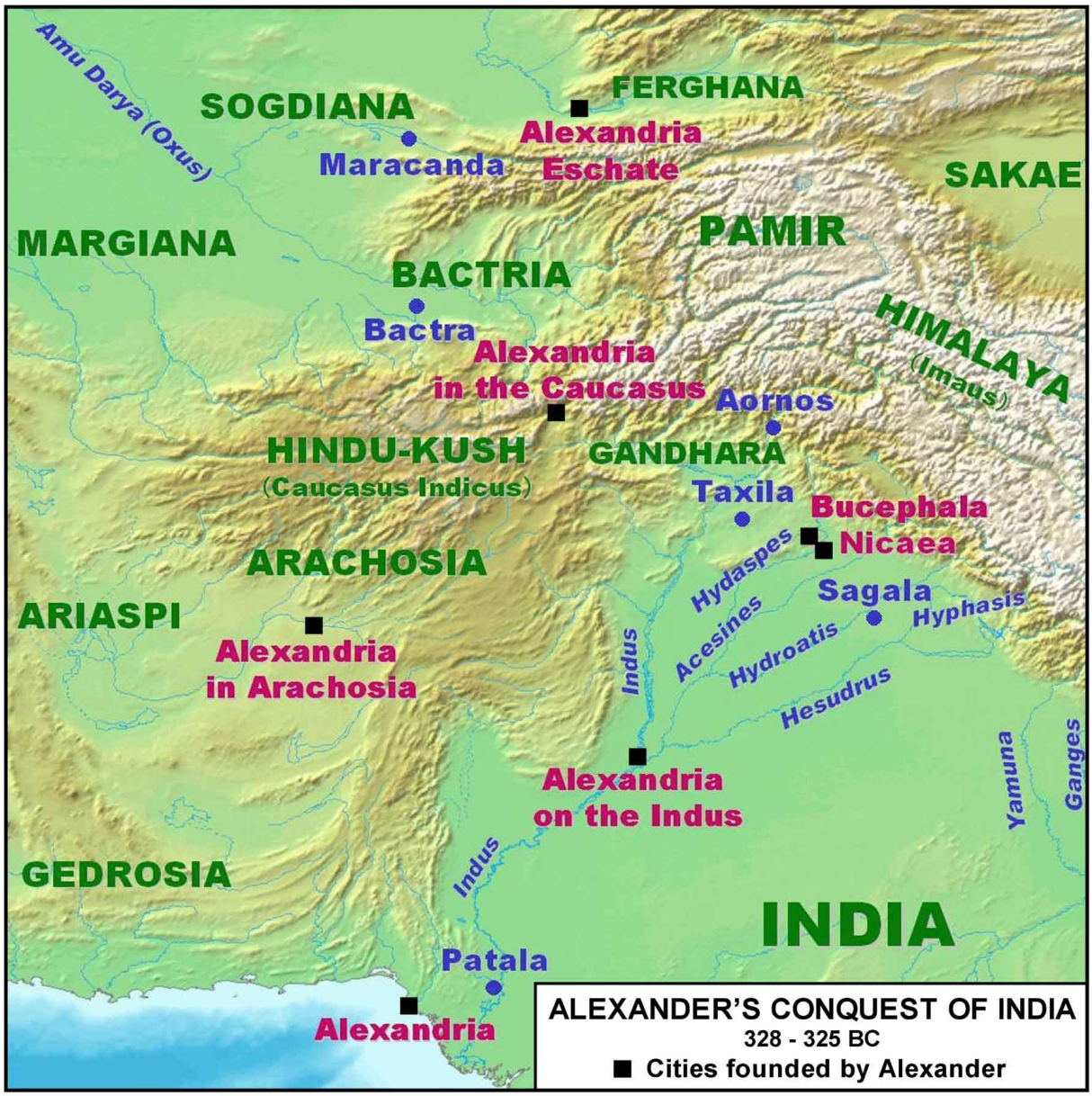

The Mahabharata, tells us of a conflict between the Kauravas (the Kuru, related to Kurush = Cyrus) and the Pandavas, according to the Mahabharata two branches of the same clan in the 1st half of the 1st millenium BC. However, archaeology has not given conclusive proof as to whether the specific events described have any historical basis. The Mahabharata itself, however, tells us names of Persian and Aramaic origin and it tells us about religious practices and customs that reminds us of similar practices and customs in Judaism as well as in Zoroastrianism, particularly when it comes to purity laws and purfication practices. The large amount of similarities of all these cultures does not indicate just a pure coincidence. Assuming that the Mahabharata reflects real events in the past, then we can even give a rough estimation of dating which may range somewhere between 800 and 500 BC. If the names Kuru or Kaurava are of Iranian origin, it could suggest that the Mahabharata tells us in reality the story of Indians (the Pandavas) who have been fighting for their homeland against their Indo-Aryan cousins, the Persian invaders who tried to take over the Indians from within. The Pandavas have won the war but not the future. Even if the given numbers in the Mahabharata may be exaggerated, it seems clear that after the Kurukshetra Wars (mainly fought around the City of Kurukshetra in today's Indian state of Haryana), the surviving kingdoms in the entire northwestern part of India have been crumbling due to exhaustion.

New dynasties appeared next in the northeast, not in the northwest. King Brihadratha, also known as Maharatha, was the initiator of the Barhadratha (Brihadratha) dynasty, the earliest ruling dynasty of Magadha in the 7th or 6th century BC. The Pradyota dynasty is an ancient Indian dynasty, which ruled over Avanti and Magadha at about the same time, though most of the Puranas say that this dynasty succeeded (probably gradually) the Barhadratha dynasty in Magadha. The dynasty ruled for 138 years, according to legend. The Haryanka dynasty (544–413 BC) was the third ruling dynasty of Magadha, a small empire of northeastern India, which succeeded the Pradyota dynasty and Barhadratha dynasty. Initially, the capital was Rajagriha. Later, it was shifted to Pataliputra, near the present-day Patna in India.

Meanwhile, the many small kingdoms in the northwest of India were engaging in power struggles leaving the region defenceless. King Darayavahush I (Darius I.) of the Achaemenid Persian Empire took advantage of the opportunity and launched an invasion of India's northwest. In 518 BC, He led his army through the Khyber Pass and southwards in stages, eventually reaching the coast of the Indian Ocean in Sindh by 516 BC. The Persians stayed for almost 200 years.

In India's east, the Shaishunaga dynasty (413–345 BC) is believed to have been the fouth ruling dynasty of Magadha, an empire of ancient India. Shishunaga, the founder of the dynasty, was initially an amatya or "minister" of the last Haryanka dynasty ruler Nāgadāsaka and ascended to the throne after a popular rebellion. This dynasty was succeeded by the large Nanda Empire in c. 345 BC. The Nanda dynasty ruled in the northern part of the Indian subcontinent during c. 345–322 BC. The Nandas overthrew the Shaishunaga dynasty in the Magadha region of eastern India, and expanded their empire over a larger part of northeastern India.

Chasing after the last survivors of the Persian Army, Alexander the Great arrived in Sogdiana and the Ferghana Valley (today Tajikistan), reaching almost the Chinese sphere of influence, in 329 BC, where he stayed with his vast army until 327. There he married the Ferghana princess Roxana (Raoxshna) and founded Alexandria Eschate. He entered the Punjab region in the same year. From 327 to 325 BC, The Greeks were following the River Indus southwards like Darius before, subjugating one small kingdom after another. Many Greeks stayed in the region when Alexander returned to the City of Babylon where he unexpectedly died in 323 BC.

In the following year, 322 BC, Chandragupta Maurya raised an army, with the assistance of his very capable prime minister Chanakya, author of Arthasastra (and perhaps also the creator of the Brahmi script, the first Indian writing system based on Aramaic in a Greek style of clarity), and overthrew the Nanda Empire. Chandragupta rapidly expanded his power westwards across central and western India by conquering the satraps (provinces) left by Alexander the Great, and by 317 BC the empire had fully occupied northwestern India. The Mauryan Empire then defeated Seleukos I Nikator, one of Alexander's generals and founder of the Seleucid Empire, during the Seleucid–Mauryan war, thus acquiring territory west of the Indus River. He, however, seemed to have maintained diplomatic contacts. Megasthenes was the Greek ambassador of Seleukos I Nikator at the court of Chandragupta Maurya. Lucius Flavius Arrianus explains in his "Anabasis" that "Megasthenes lived with Sibyrtius, satrap (governor) of Arachosia (near the Indian border), and often speaks of his visiting Sandracottus (Chandragupta), the king of the Indians." Megasthenes compiled information about India in his book Indika, which is now a lost, but survives in form of quotations by the later writers such as Arrianus [See Grand Bible, Artefacts].

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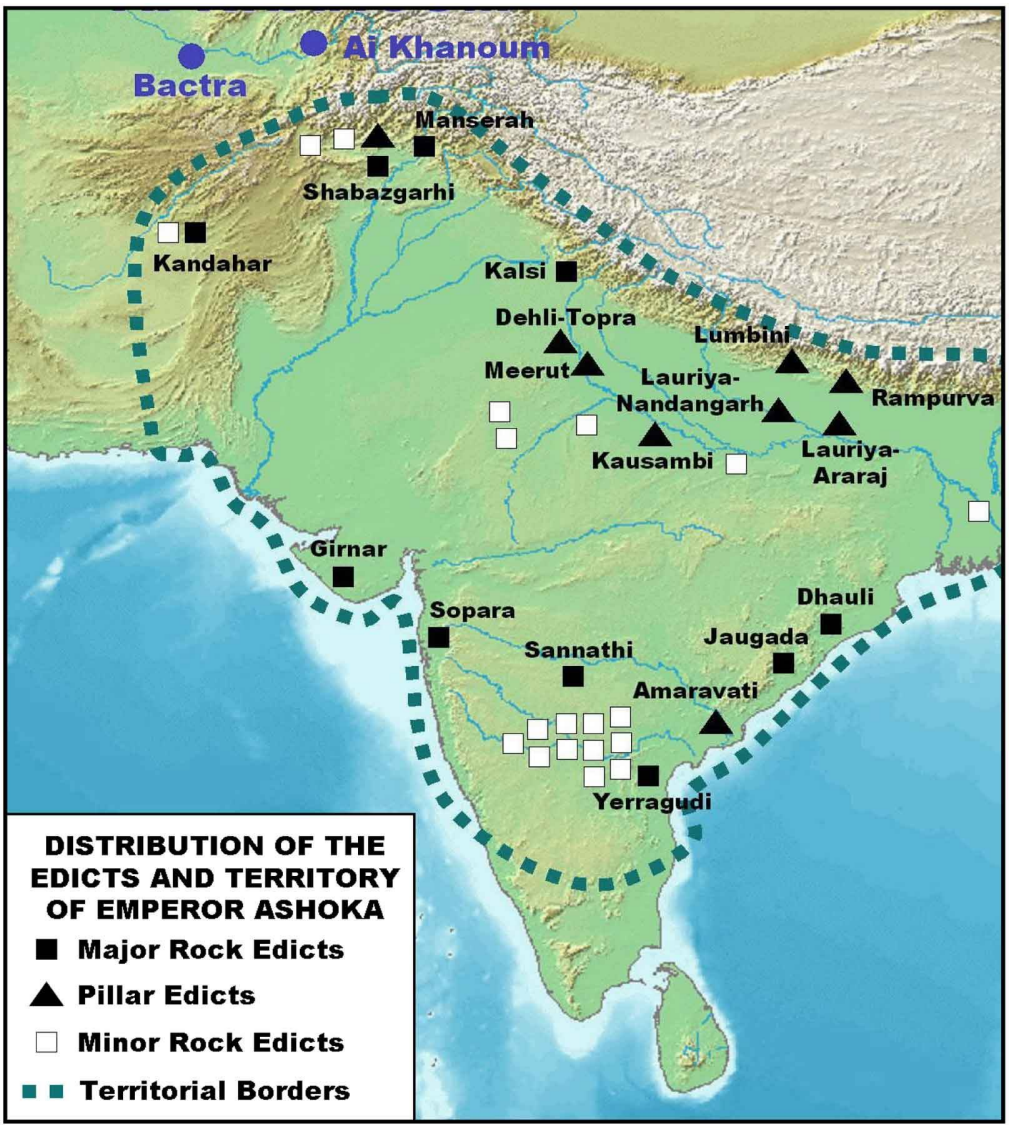

With the help of the new Brahmi script, Emperor Ashoka (c. 268–232 BC) turned his Maurya Empire into the first large Buddhist state and all the stelae and rocks, inscribed in Brahmi, Greek, and Aramaic, tell us about it.

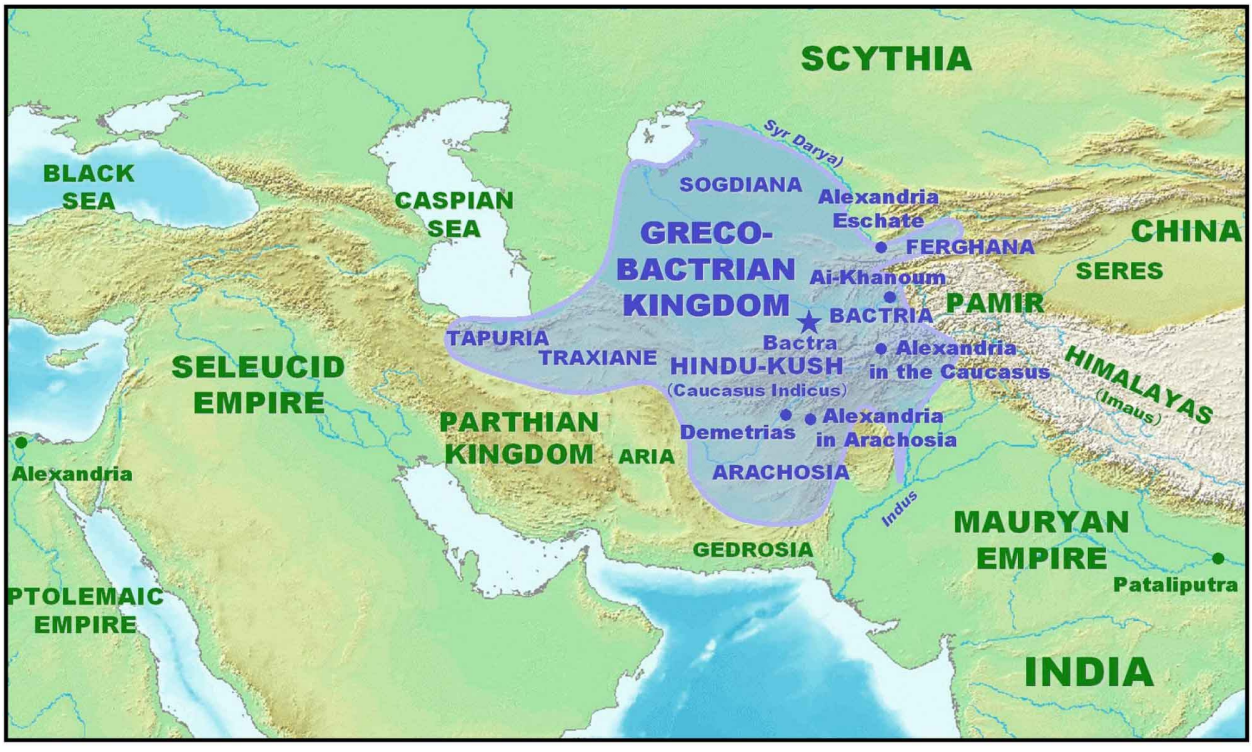

100 years later, King Menander, in India known as Milinda (c. 165–130 BC), turns his Greek-Bactrian Kingdom likewise into a large Buddhist state, and lots of coins with their Greek and Aramaic texts tell us also about that.

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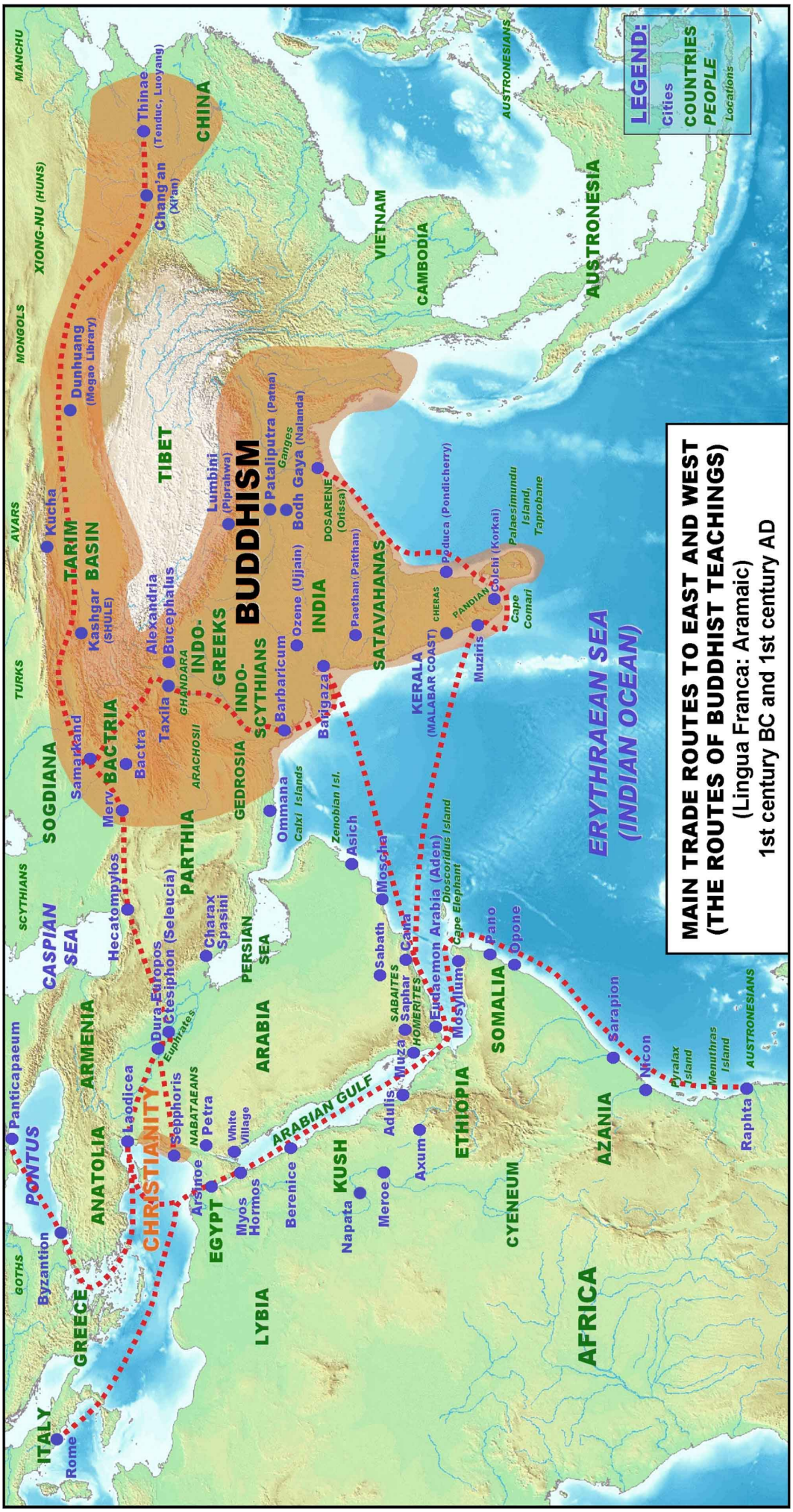

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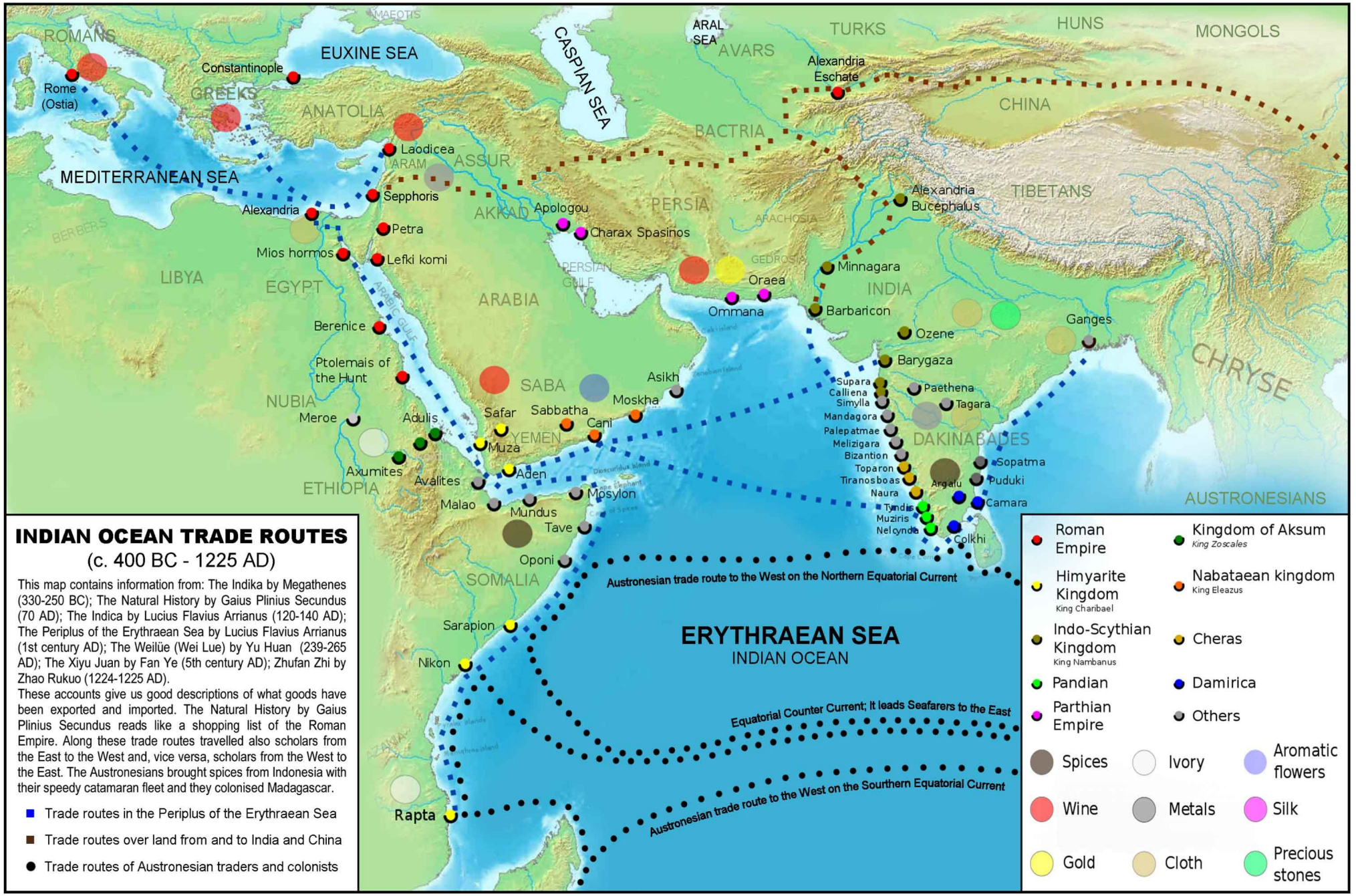

INDIAN OCEAN TRADE ROUTES

(c. 400 BC - 1225 AD)

This map contains information from: The Indika by Megathenes (330-250 BC); The Natural History by Gaius Plinius Secundus (70 AD); The Indica by Lucius Flavius Arrianus (120-140 AD); The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea by Lucius Flavius Arrianus (1st century AD); The Weilüe (Wei Lue) by Yu Huan (239-265 AD); The Xiyu Juan by Fan Ye (5th century AD); Zhufan Zhi by Zhao Rukuo (1224-1225 AD).

These accounts give us good descriptions of what goods have been exported and imported. The Natural History by Gaius Plinius Secundus reads like a shopping list of the Roman Empire. Along these trade routes travelled also scholars from the East to the West and, vice versa, scholars from the West to the East. The Austronesians brought spices from Indonesia with their speedy catamaran fleet and they colonised Madagascar.

- Trade routes in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea
- Trade routes over land from and to India and China
- Trade routes of Austronesian traders and colonists

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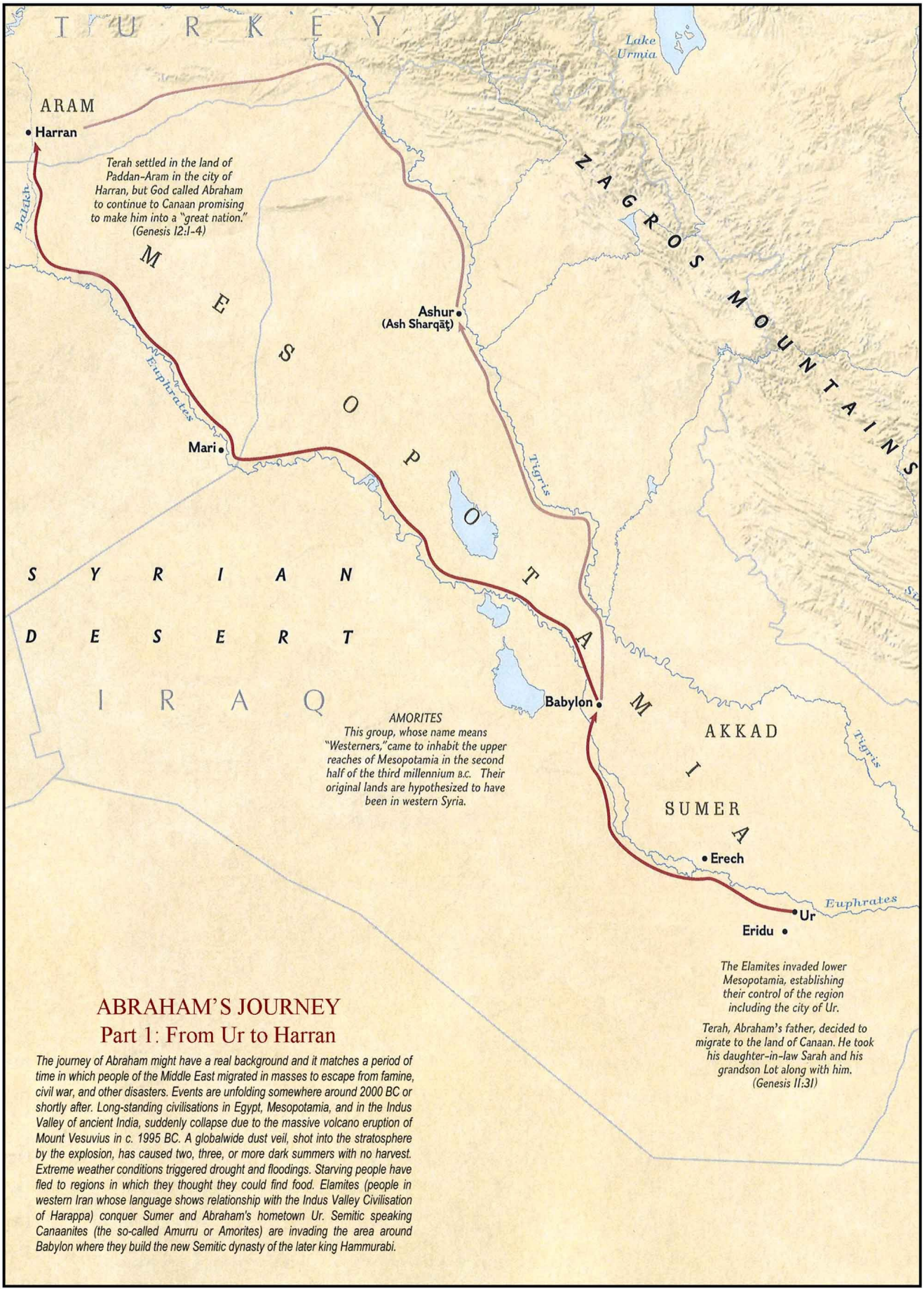

The stories of the Bible, or other scriptures for that matter, are often rejected as pure fantasy. The stories of Abraham contain some amount of historicity nevertheless. When Abraham left his Sumerian hometown Ur for Harran, on the first part of his journey, he had good reasons for it. Harran, (Akkadian: Harranu, meaning "crossroad") also known as Carrhae, was an important strategic centre and a major ancient city in Upper Mesopotamia whose site is in the modern village of Harran, Turkey, 44 km / 18 mi southeast of Sanlıurfa. The settlement that would become Harran began as a typical Halaf Culture village established circa 6200 BC. The archaeological remains in ancient Harran show clearly why Abraham came here, it was one of the largest commercial, cultural, and religious centres of the region. The Greeks called the city Hellenopolis (meaning "Greek city") in the Early Christian period. (The grey line along the River Tigris represents an alternative route of Abraham and his clan.)

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The Exodus or Expulsion from Egypt stuck in the collective memory of the Hebrews for hundred of years. Ezekiel (c. 622-570BC) writes (30:13-17): "Thus saith the Lord God; I will also destroy the idols, and I will cause their images to cease out of Noph; and there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt: and I will put a fear in the land of Egypt. And I will make Pathros [Upper Egypt, Thebes] desolate, and will set fire in Zoan [Tanis], and will execute judgements in No [Aunu, Awnu and Annu or No in short, meaning Heliopolis]. And I will pour my fury upon Sin [the Desert of Sin or Tsin: between Elim and Mount Sinai], the strength of Egypt; and I will cut off the multitude of No. And I will set fire in Egypt: Sin shall have great pain, and No shall be rent asunder, and Noph* shall have distresses daily. [* Noph or Moph was the Hebrew name for Memphis, capital of Lower Egypt, Egyptian: Inebu-hedj, "the white walls", after the reconquest from the Canaanites: Men-nefer, "enduring and beautiful"] The young men of Aven [Avaris, the former Hebrew capital in Egypt; in Egyptian: Hu'et-waret] and of Pibeseth [Bubastis] shall fall by the sword: and these cities shall go into captivity."
If the Habiru (ancient Hebrews) were no Canaanites, as they claimed, they would have had no need for such a grudge against exactly those places the Canaanites once have been expulsed from, would they?

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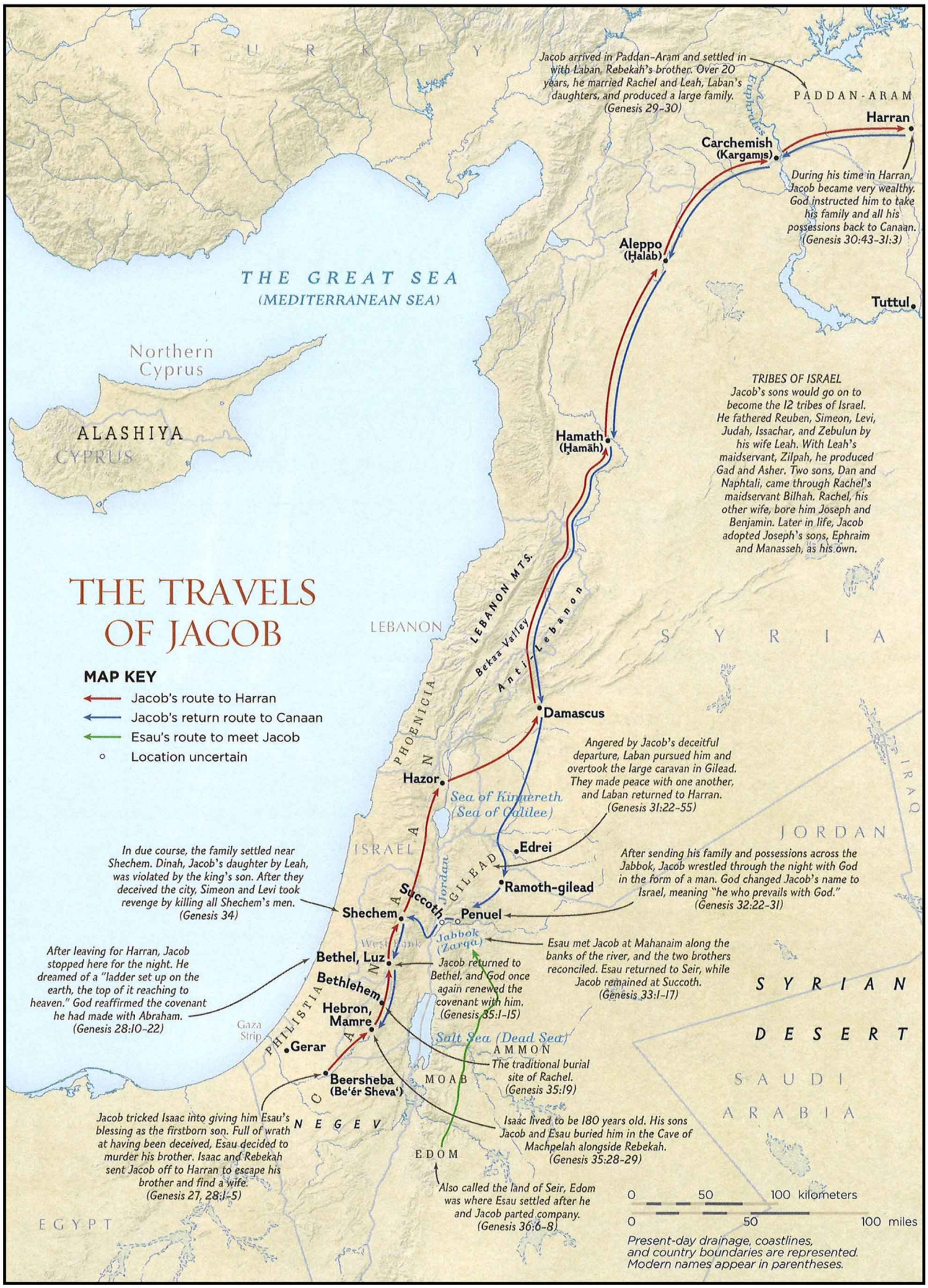

The history of the "Israelites" begins with ***Jacob***: According to the folk etymology found in Genesis 25:26, the name Ya'aqov is derived from aqev "heel", as Jacob was born grasping the heel of his twin brother Esau. The historical origin of the name is uncertain, although similar names have been recorded. Yaqub-Har is recorded as a place name in a list by Thutmose III (15th century BC), and later as the nomen (the personal name of Ancient Egyptian pharaohs) of a Hyksos pharaoh. The hieroglyphs are ambiguous, and can be read as "Yaqub-Har", "Yaqubaal", or "Yaqub El". The same name is recorded earlier still, in c. 1800 BC, in cuneiform inscriptions (spelled ya-ah-qu-ub-el, ya-qu-ub-el). The suggestion that the personal name may be shortened from this compound name, which would translate to "may El protect". The name ***Israel*** (Canaanite / Aramaic: Yisra'el) given to Jacob following the episode of his wrestling with the angel (Genesis 32:22–32 and 35:10), is a composition of the root sarah "to rule" and el "god," meaning all together "God rules" or more precise "Ruled by God." The given name is already attested in Canaanite documents from Ugarit (14th-12th century BC) (Yshr'il) and Ebla (Ishrail) and the name also appears on the Merneptah Stele (Ysri'r), (reign: 1213–1203 BC), referring to a foreign group of people (the Hyksos).

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Jacob first appears in the Book of Genesis, where he is described as the son of Isaac and Rebecca, and the grandson of Abraham, Sarah and Bethuel, Abrahams Aramaic nephew. According to the Bible, he was the second-born of Isaac's children, the elder being Jacob's twin brother, Esau. Jacob bought Esau's birthright and, with his mother's help, deceived his aging father to bless him instead of Esau. Later in the narrative, following a severe drought in his homeland of Canaan, Jacob and his descendants, with the help of his son Joseph (who had become a confidante of the pharaoh), moved to Egypt where Jacob died at the age of 147.

Jacob is said to have had twelve sons by four women, his wives, Leah and Rachel, and his concubines, Bilhah and Zilpah, who were, in order of their birth, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Dan, Naphtali, Gad, Asher, Issachar, Zebulun, Joseph, and Benjamin, all of whom became the heads of their own family groups, later known as the ***Twelve Tribes of Israel***, and it is also known that he had a daughter, Dinah.

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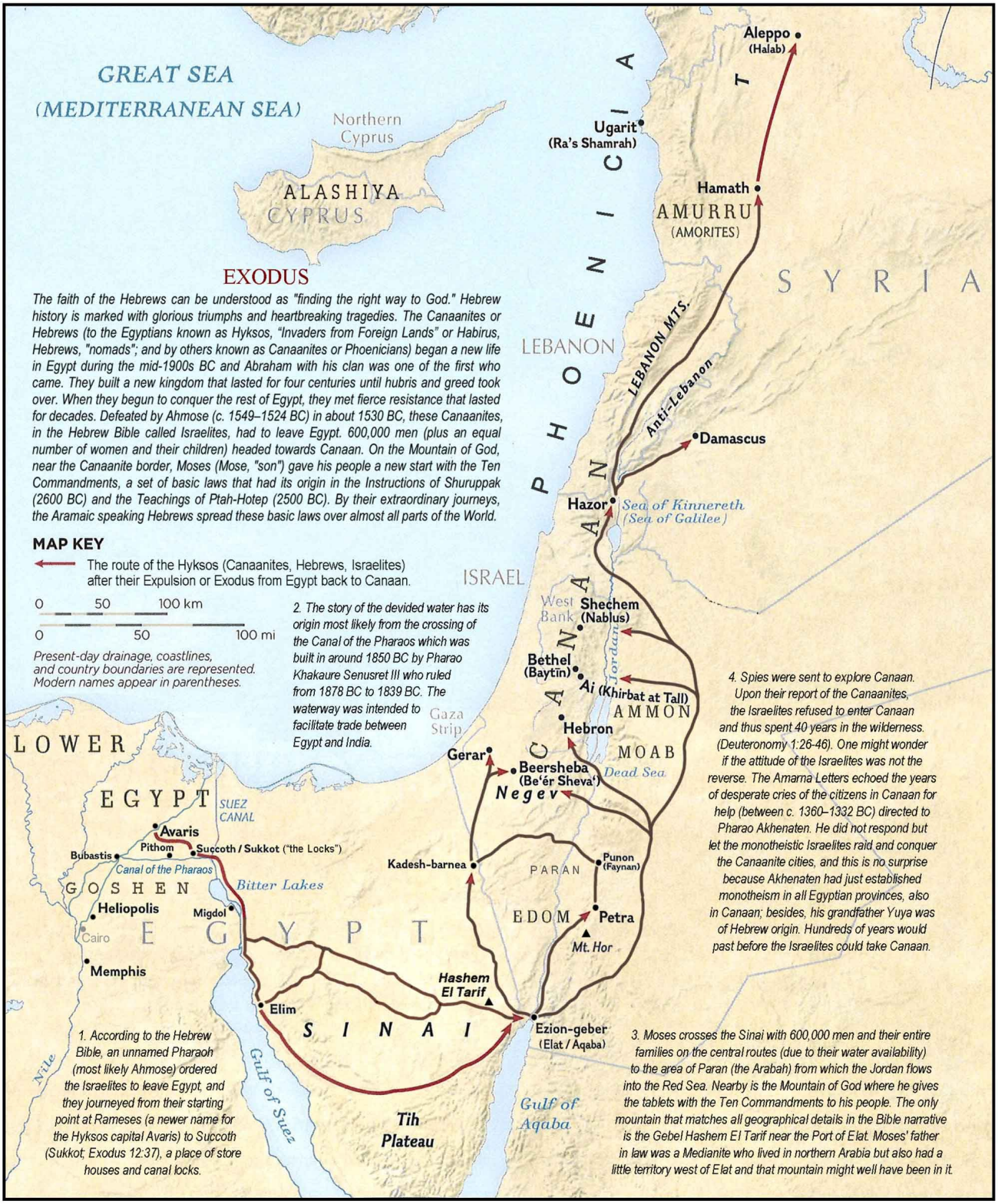

The Canadian historian Simcha Jacobovici explored (in the James Cameron documentary "The Exodus Decoded") several mountains as possible candidates for the ***Biblical Mount Sinai***. Potential candidates had to meet the following criteria: **1.** The mountain must have at its base a large plateau that could accommodate hundreds of thousands of Israelites. **2.** It must have a water source to support the people. **3.** It must be accessible and easy to climb (due to the old age of Moses). **4.** It must have symbols of worship; archaeological evidence proving that the mountain was "holy" even before the time of Moses. (He claims the plateau of Hashem El Tarif contains 33 open-air sanctuaries; the largest number of open-air sanctuaries next to a mountain in the eastern Sinai ever found.) **5.** It must be located somewhere along the ancient route of the Exodus. 6. It must have a natural spring at its top.

In addition to these criteria, Jacobovici claimed that, according to biblical text, the mountain must also: **1.** Be a fourteen-day journey from "Elim" (Exodus 16:1). For a mass of people, a days journey was assumed to be 15 km per day. A fourteen-day journey would be about 210 km. **2.** Be an eleven-day journey from Kadesh Barnea (Deuteronomy 1:2), approximately 165 km. **3.** Be within "goat grazing distance" of Midianite territory. ***Moses*** (Egyptian: Mose, "son.") was tending his father-in-law's goats at the time of his first encounter on Mount Sinai (Exodus 3). Based on modern Bedouin practises, this was assumed to be 45 to 60 or 70 km from a camp (or further in the event of drought). Midianite pottery and art have been found at Timna (west of Elat), assumed to be the only Midianite enclave in the Sinai.

Using these points of reference to triangulate possible locations, Jacobovici claims that Hashem El Tarif is the most likely candidate for the biblical Mount Sinai [with which he is probably right as all archaeological findings match with the Bible texts. An investigation well done and with common sense.].

Criticisms against the proposal that Hashem El Tarif is Mount Sinai are: **1.** There is no mention in history nor tradition of Hashem El Tarif as Mount Sinai. [A weak argument as Christians and Muslims have deliberately destroyed almost all texts that contradicted their doctrine.]. **2.** There is no widespread Rabbinic-era Jewish tradition about the location of Mount Sinai. [Also weak because "Rabbinic Literature" was edited by the Romans after the 1st Roman-Jewish War, 66-73 AD, and therefore cannot really be called authoritative.]. **3.** The Sinai was controlled by the Egyptian Empire [Also a weak point because the Egyptians controlled all their provinces between the Nile and southern Anatolia anyway, including all of Canaan and Phoenicia.]

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Joshua (Canaanite: Yehoshua ["Jesus"], the "Anointed One" or "Messiah" or "Saviour") was born in Egypt prior to the Exodus. He worked as assistant and was successor of Moses in the books of Exodus and Numbers. The Hebrew Bible identifies Joshua as one of the "twelve spies of Israel" sent by Moses to explore (and raid) the land of Canaan. The word "spies" may be a wrong translation as the Hebrew word "meraglim" in the Torah means "spies, men, princes or warriors". He and Caleb believed that the Promised Land could be conquered and they lived through the "40 year wandering period," which seem to be the counterpart of the Amarna Letters (See: Grand Bible, Artefacts), narrated from the viewpoint of the victims. This makes him (after Abraham and Moses) the 3rd figure in the Bible with some historicity. It seems as if Joshua and Caleb could have been, at least the spiritual, precursors of the states of Israel and Judah. Joshua's real name was ***Hoshea*** (Hosea) the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, but Moses called him "Joshua", the name used in English. In the Septuagint (3rd century BC), all instances of the word Yehoshua, are rendered as Iesous), the closest Greek pronunciation of the Aramaic Yeshua. Thus, in modern Greek, Joshua is called "Jesus son of Naue" to differentiate him from Jesus the Nazorean (in the New Testament).

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Kingdoms of ***Saul***, David, and Solomon --- The Books of Samuel tell us of Saul's life. Saul (Hebrew: Sha'ul, Greek: Saoul, meaning "prayed for") was the first king of the United Kingdom of Israel and Judah. Saul died at the Battle of Mount Gilboa and his sons were killed by the Gibeonites. His reign, traditionally placed in the late 11th century BC, supposedly marked a transition from a tribal society to statehood, meaning: the Israelites did not wander in the wilderness for 40 but for 400 years. The historicity of Saul's kingdom is debated due to insufficient extrabiblical evidence. I. Finkelstein thinks it to be a late ideological construct and if it ever existed, Saul's kingdom was small. The next significant ruler of the United Monarchy of Israel and Judah, after Saul, was ***David*** (Hebrew for: "beloved by family"). Samuel describes David is a young shepherd who gains fame by killing the Philistine giant Goliath. He becomes a favourite of King Saul and a close friend of Saul's son Jonathan. According to archaeological evidence, David ruled only as a chieftain over an area which was a chiefdom rather than a kingdom, much smaller and overshadowed by the older and more powerful kingdom of Israel to the north. ***Solomon*** (Hebrew: Shlomoh from shalom, "peace"), also called Jedidiah (Hebrew: Yedidyah from "beloved of Jah, Yahweh, God"), was, according to the Hebrew Bible or Old Testament a fabulously wealthy and wise king of the United Kingdom of Israel who succeeded his father, King David from c. 970 to 931 BC. (See: Kebra Nagast and 1 Kings 10; Queen of Sheba / Saba, Queen Makeda). Following the split in c. 930 BC, his patrilineal descendants ruled over Judah alone.

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The next significant Hebrew ruler was ***Hezekiah*** (reign c. 715-686 BC; Hebrew: Hizkiyyahu, Hizqiyyahu, Khizkiyahu, Yehizqiyyahu, or Y'khizkiyahu, meaning "Yahweh strengthens" or "Yahweh is my strength"; Greek: Ezekias). He was a king of Judah who appears in 2 Chronicles 18-32, in 2 Kings 18-20, Proverbs 25:1, and in Jeremiah, Hosea, and Micah. He was compared favourably with David and Solomon. Undoubtedly, Hezekiah was a historical figure as his story is one of the best to cross-reference with the rest of the Mid Eastern world's historical documents. The Hebrew Bible (Kings 19:35) states that the Assyrians attempted to conquer Judah and lost 185,000 soldiers. This might be an exaggeration but Hezekiah was a fierce warrior and documents such as the Siloam inscription, Lachish relief, Sennacherib's Prism of Nineve, bear witness to that. He is the first Hebrew ruler who made monotheism the official doctrine of the state. In an effort to abolish the Canaanite idolatry from his kingdom, he destroyed the high places (or bamot) and the "bronze serpent" (or Nehushtan), recorded as being made by Moses, which had become objects of idolatrous worship.

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With first religious reforms, King Hezekiah began a political process that was finally concluded by King ***Josiah*** (or Yoshiyahu, c. 640–609 BC) and it split Israelites from the rest of all Canaanites. Triggered was this reform probably by the ruthless conquests of Canaan by Assyria and Babylonia (also Semites). Statecraft was deliberately replaced by zeal as religious weapon. Greeks and Romans should experience that weapon some centuries later. The Books of 2 Kings and 2 Chronicles record about the programme and its execution in quite some detail. Josiah began the destruction of (Canaanite) Baalist altars and images throughout Jerusalem and Judah. While restoring the Temple of Jerusalem, the High Priest Hilkiah discovered a scroll described in 2 Kings as "the book of the Law", and in 2 Chronicles as "the book of the Law of the Lord given by Moses". Meant is most likely a collection of manuscripts that included The Instructions of Shuruppak (with c. 100 precepts and laws), the Code of Ur-Nammu (or Shulgi, 32 laws), the Code of Eshnunna (61 laws), the Code of Lipit-Ishtar (37 laws) and The Code of Hammurabi (282 laws), the Code of the Nesilim (Hittite, 200 laws), [Look for these law texts in the Grand Bible, see also: the 5 Precepts, the 10 Commandments, the 613 Mitzvot]. Many of these ancient law texts became directly a part of the Torah. The compilation of the Torah took place at c. 600 BC, may be by decree of Josiah.

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During the occupation of Judah and Israel, Israelites and Judaeans became prisoners of war, particularly the educated ones. All their leaders were taken hostage by Aramaic speaking Assyrians (8th century BC) and later by Akkadian and Aramaic speaking Babylonians (6th century BC), as it was general custom of that time. It ensured that the remaining population stayed leaderless and obeyed tlhe laws of the new rulers. When the Persian king ***Kurush II*** (Cyrus the Great, hailed by Hebrews as "Messiah") conquered Mesopotamia, the Israelite leaders were freed. Many of the Aramaic speaking ex-captives began to work as scribes for the Persians, some of them moved to Bactria and India, some others went to Egypt, Greece and Rome. The conquest of ***Alexander the Great*** triggered a cultural revolution spreading to Rome and India. Some Jews felt happy in the new culture. Their opponents took Josiah's fundamentalism to heart and fought against the Greeks. In 166 BC, ***Judah Maccabee*** led an Jewish army to victory over the Seleucid dynasty, which at first was directed against the many ***Greek Jews***, of whom there were many. The Maccabean (Hasmonean) dynasty ruled until the Roman Army under ***General Gnaeus Pompeius*** crushed them in 63 BC. The Hasmonean dynasty ended in 37 BC when ***Herod the Great*** became king of Israel. The Hebrews did not like him because he was an Edomite (Arab) and he worked for the Romans.

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The Biblical scholars Joseph Atwill and Robert Eisenman have compared the text of the ***Gospel of Matthew*** with the text of ***The Jewish War*** by ***Titus Flavius Josephus*** and made a revolutionary discovery. In his book "Caesar's Messiah," Atwill, outlines a series of events in ***Jesus' ministry***, described in the Gospels, are exact, sequential parallels to the ***battle campaign of General Titus*** (Flavius Vespasianus, son of Emperor Vespasian). The origins of Christianity seem far different than we have been led to believe. Remarkable is also how close Jewish families were connected to Roman families on a private basis. ***Philo of Alexandria***, known as Philo Judaeus, c. 20 BC–50 AD), was a Greek Jewish philosopher who lived in Alexandria, Egypt. His family had social ties to the ***priesthood in Judaea***, the ***Hasmonean dynasty***, the ***Herodian dynasty***, the ***Julio-Claudian dynasty***, and the ***Flavian dynasty*** in Rome. Philo had two brothers, Alexander the Alabarch and Lysimachus. Through Alexander, Philo had two nephews, ***Tiberius Julius Alexander*** (a high-ranking Roman general and governor) and Marcus Julius Alexander. The latter was the first husband of the ***Herodian princess Berenice***, lover or secret wife of the general and later ***Emperor Titus***. She was the daughter of King Herod Agrippa I and a sister of ***King Herod Agrippa II*** who was a friend of ***Emperor Claudius*** as well as of ***Titus Flavius Josephus***, having supplied him with information for his history books. And the Roman historian Titus Flavius Josephus was none other but the Jewish general ***Yosep bar Matityahu***, Joseph the son of Matthew.

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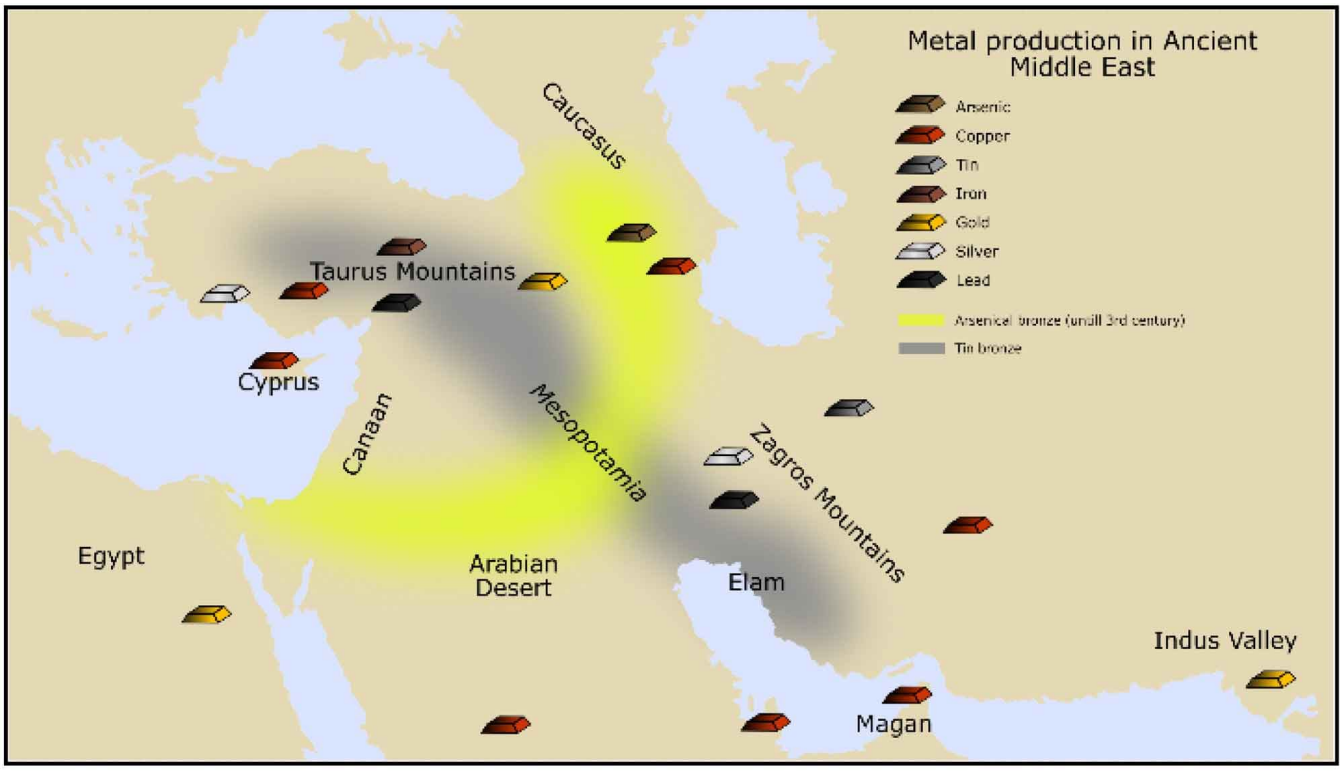

The new material of the time was bronze, a durable alloy made of copper and either tin or arsenic. Mining and Metal production was boosting early trade in the Ancient Middle East and around; 3rd millenium BC.

With Ahmose's reconquest of Lower Egypt, his New Kingdom soon gained power over Canaan, Phoenicia, and Amurru (the Amorites who now ruled over Babylonia). The international language was Akkadian written in cuneiform script; it was closely related to the Semitic languages Canaanite, Phoenician, Aramaic, and Amorite. The Amarna Letters give us a detailed image of political and personal relationships. 16th - 14th centuries BC.

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Unknown to the rest of the World, the Hebrews created their own states far away from the Middle East. The most successful of those people were two distinct groups: the Bene Israel (Sons of Israel) of India and the Beta Israel (House of Israel), also known as Ethiopian Jews (Hebrew: Yehudey Etyopyah; Ge'ez: ye-Ityoppya Ayhudi). The Beta Israel are a Jewish community that developed and lived for possibly over 2500 years in the area of the Kingdom of Aksum in the North of Ethiopia. They are also known as Falasha (nomads, which points to an earlier era). Documents of the early Hebrews in Ethiopia are rare, and if there are any, they give us different stories.

Many of the Beta Israel's accounts of their own origins state that they stem from the very ancient migration of some portion of the Tribe of Dan to Ethiopia, were led by the sons of Moses, perhaps at the time of the Exodus. A Christian account points to of Menelik's return to Ethiopia. Menelik is considered the first Solomonic Emperor of Ethiopia, and is traditionally believed to be the son of King Solomon of ancient Israel, and Makeda, ancient Queen of Sheba (Saba, which was on the eastern coast of the Red Sea). Alternative timelines include the later crises in Judaea, e.g., the split of the northern Kingdom of Israel from the southern Kingdom of Judah after the death of King Solomon. Then there are rumours about prisoners of war of the Assyrians and the Babylonians who migrated to Yemen, India and Ethiopia.

According to another account, the forefathers of the Beta Israel are supposed to have arrived in Ethiopia by coming from the North, independently from Menelik and his company: "The Falashas migrated like many of the other sons of Israel to exile in Egypt after the destruction of the First Temple by the Babylonians in 586 BC the time of the Babylonian exile. This group of people was led by the great priest On. They remained in exile in Egypt for a few hundred years until the reign of Cleopatra. When she was engaged in a war against Augustus Caesar, the Jews supported her. When she was defeated, it became dangerous for the small minorities to remain in Egypt so there was another migration (between approximately 39–31 BC). Some of the migrants went to South Arabia and settled in Yemen. Some of them went to the north of Ethiopia.

In 1893, the New York journalist Charles Edwin Wilbour acquired some documents. He stored them in a warehouse where they were found more than 50 years later. The documents turned out to be papyri from the antique City of Elephantine near the border to Sudan. Up to this day, thousands of ancient documents in hieratic and demotic Egyptian, Greek, Latin and Coptic have been found in Aswan and Elephantine, once called Rabau, Jubau or Yaba. Among them are a collection of Hebrew manuscripts from the 5th century BC. And they tell us amazing stories. The largest number of papyri are written in Aramaic, the language of the Hebrews and lingua franca of the Achaemenid Persian Empire. They belong to a community of Hebrew mercenaries stationed at Elephantine under Achaemenid rule, 495–399 BC. The papyri include letters and legal documents, and are thus an invaluable source of knowledge for scholars of varied disciplines such as epistolography, law, society, religion, and language. The Elephantine papyri pre-date all extant manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible, and thus give scholars a very important glimpse at how Judaism was practised in the fifth century BC. They show clear evidence of the existence in c. 400 BC of a polytheistic sect of Jews, who seem to have had no knowledge of a written Torah or the narratives described therein (Arthur Cowley, Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century BC, p. 23). The Jews had their own Temple to Yahweh. Excavation work done in 1967 revealed the remains of the Jewish colony centered on a small temple. Along with Yahweh, other deities – Anat Betel (the Goddess Anat, Anot, Anatu) and Asham Bethel (the Canaanite or Assyrian House of God)– seem to have been worshiped by these Jews, evincing polytheistic beliefs. The papyri suggest that here the veneration of a female deity endured. The texts were written by a group of Hebrews whose religion was almost identical to Phoenician-Canaanite religion". These Hebrews were worshipping Anat-Yahu, the wife of Yahweh.

There are two significant questions: Where did the Beta Israel originally come from? and: Where did the Hebrew mercenaries and their families go to when they left Elephantine? The answer could well be that the Beta Israel came from the north, as some legends suggest, namely from Elephantine. We can even figure out the travel route. They went by boat upstream the Nile, then they travelled up the Blue Nile, into the River Dindar or the River Rahad. Both, the Blue Nile as well as the Black Nile, begin exactly in the mountainous region of the Lake Tana, the original settlement area of the Beta Israel in northen Ethiopia. They founded cities such as Bethel and they also have a Mount Tabor. Most of the Beta Israel community emigrated to Israel in the late 20th century due to ruthless persecution by the Communists who in general, just like Muslims, Nazies and Fascists, hate Jews in their doctrines.

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TIMELINE OF CHINESE HISTORY

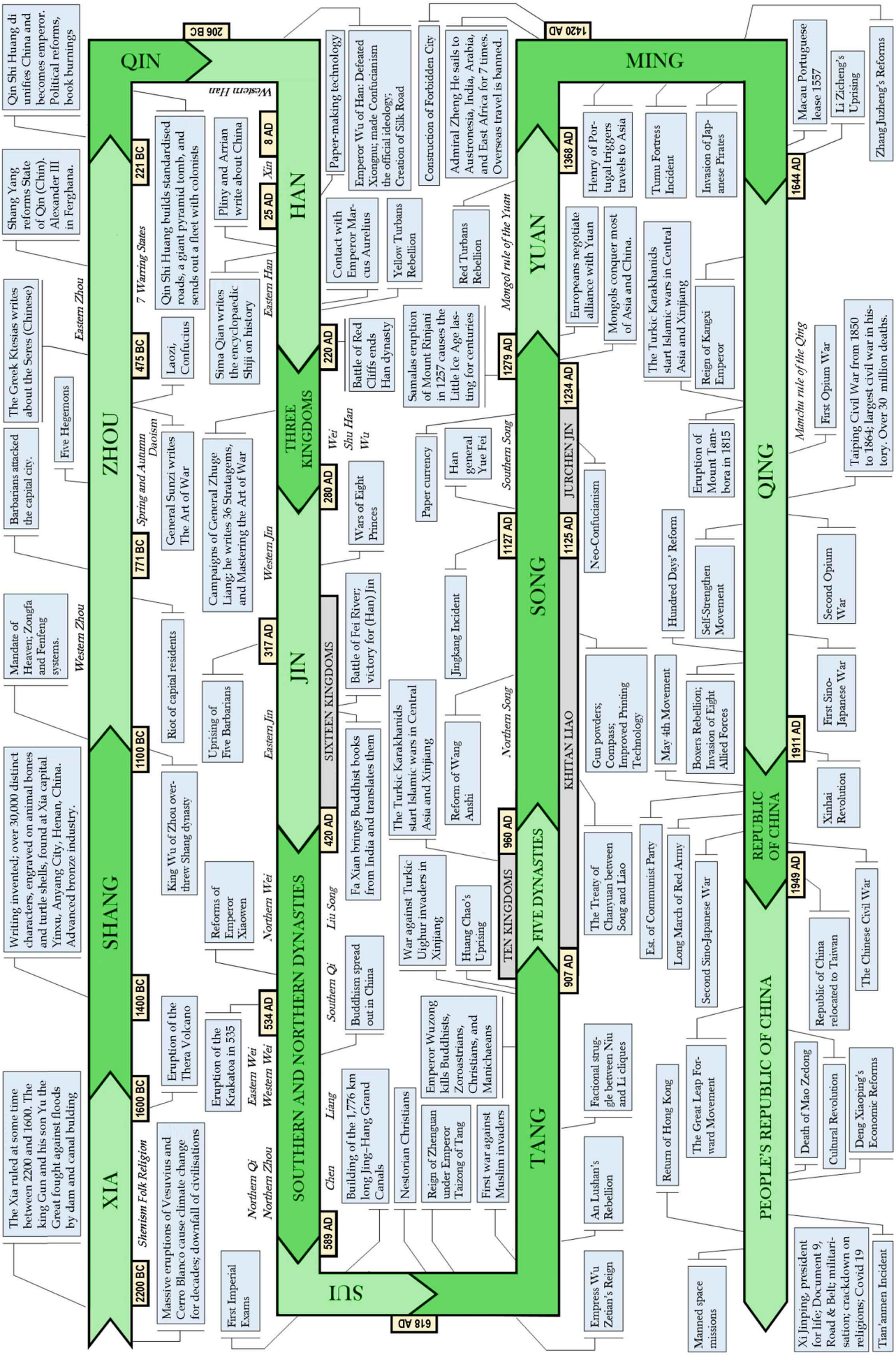

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Chinese folk religion, also known as Chinese popular religion (Chinese: minsu zongjiao or zhonghuajiao, "Chinese indigenous / ethnic religion" or just "Chinese religion" comparable to the usage of the term "Hinduism" for Indian religion), is a general term covering a range of traditional religious practices of Han Chinese, including the Chinese diaspora. In Chinese, it is known as "Shen" or "Shenjiao" or "Shenxianjiao" which could be in English interpreted as "Shenism" or "Shenxianism," literally, "religion of deities and immortals." This versatile religion has no scripture as they were destroyed already by Qin Shi Huangdi. It pervades all aspects of social life and is deeply embedded in family and civic life, rather than expressed in a separate organisational structure like a "church", as in the West. ***Shenism*** is indeed very similar to early Hinduism with its belief in the rational order of nature, balance in the universe and reality that can be influenced by human beings and their rulers, but also the veneration of shen (godlike spirits or angel-like gods), a universal god of creation, and ancestors. Any of those gods is just an individual expression of the Creator (Pangu), just like in Hinduism. The veneration does not happen in large mass gatherings but at home where many Chinese have a little shrine with either a statuette, picture or just a Chinese character representing a deity whose attributes are admired in the family. Little offerings are given to the family god, usually in form of recent purchased fruits laid in front of the shrine; occasionally, smoke candles are lit.

The Folk religion has absorbed contents of belief systems such as Daoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism and, vice versa, elements of Shenism can be found in Daoist and Confucian texts. This faith, however, has never been institutionalised or misused as state religion by using the people's religious feelings as politcal tools against them. Political activities of religious communities have always been frowned upon and merciless suppressed by any Chinese government. The Christianity-inspired Taiping Civil War, 1850 -1864, with over 30 million dead the bloodiest civil war in world history, brought all Abrahamic religions into ill-repute. Political obligations and totalitarian ideas (and monotheism of any form belongs to that category too) like in Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Christianity, and in particular Islam, are despised. Chinese authorities are aware of the fact that Islamic scripture contain to over 80 % politics and hatred against non-Muslims. Western apologists for Islam, nutured by Islamic propagandists, repeat falsehoods of genocide committed upon the Uighurs. The truth is that hundreds of thousands are detained in re-education centres for breaking the Chinese law. Such centres have been established in the early 1950s due to evil experience with organised religions and other political groups in general; Puyi, the last emperor of China was detainee in such a centre for about 10 years. The Chinese Constitution states in Article No. 1, 2nd paragraph "Sabotage of the socialist system by any organisation or individual is prohibited." Demonstrating for Islam, usually performed by praying in the open streets, is considered an anti-socialist and anti-Chinese act and gets punished accordingly. Terrorists are swiftly convicted and executed. Here clash two equally evil and totalitarian systems, and there is no room for discussion. Kin liability is no direct part of Chinese law, however, in the mind of the Chinese public, a family or clan shares the responsibility for a crime or act committed by one of its members, justifying collective repercussions if not punishment; the name of a convict is usually made public including his family's address. This is the main reason why criminality rates in China are relatively low, the family would be shamed and disgraced openly. The Communist Party and other Leftists would like to eliminate all ancient religions ignoring that they themselves never could give believers the kind of consolation which is in the West known as "Salvation." And this salvation is definitely connected to the belief in some higher beings. Ideologies are empty shells void of any spiritual link to the past. Gods, deities, and other devine figures such as ancestors, build this link. Like in Hinduism, there are hundreds of Chinese deities. Without going into too many confusing details, here are some of them:

"Shendao" (lit. 'the Way of the Gods') is a term already used in the Yi Jing referring to the divine order of nature. We can identify four spiritual, cosmological, and moral concepts:

1. ***Tian*** (Heaven, the source of moral meaning). Tian, most widely known as Taidì ("Great Deity") and Shàngdì ("Primordial Deity"), is both the physical heavens, the home of the Sun, Moon, and stars, and also the home of the gods and ancestors. Pangu is another metaphor of the cosmos. He separated yin and yang, creating the earth (murky yin) and the sky (clear yang). All things were made from his body.Tianming, the Mandate of Heaven is granted to a ruler who is righteous, a ruler who is unjust and immoral can be overthrown.

2. ***Qi*** (the breath or substance of which all things are made, including inanimate matter, the living beings, thought and gods) It is represented by the continuum of energy and matter, and the polarity of yin and yang, meaning "shady" and "sunny", or "dark" and "light". Yin is the qi in its dense, dark, sinking, wet, condensing mode; yang denotes the light, and the bright, rising, dry, expanding modality. Described as Taiji (the "Great Pole"), they represent the polarity and complementarity that enlivens the cosmos, a concept that is also known in Hinduism and Zoroastrianism. They can also be conceived as "disorder" and "order", "activity" or "passivity", with act (yang) usually preferred over receptiveness (yin). As Qi also represents thought, it can also symbolise "Good" and "Bad," to speak with a western tongue.

3. The practice of ***Jingzu*** (the veneration of ancestors who watch us). Ancestors are means of connexion with the Tian ("God in Heaven"), the primordial god which does not have form. As ancestors have form, they shape the destiny of humans. Ancestors who have had a significant impact in shaping the destiny of large groups of people, creators of genetic lineages or spiritual traditions, and historical leaders who have invented crafts and institutions for the wealth of the Chinese nation (culture heroes), are exalted among the highest divine manifestations or immortal beings (xian). When ancestries are not properly cultivated the world falls into disruption, and they become gui (unsatisfied spirits); in simple words: Ignoring the continuation of good traditions, that once have been created by the ancestors, we will be punished by the consequences as we are only at the end of their line and therefore we are only the custodians of their heritage.

4. ***Bao Ying*** (moral reciprocity, outlined in the 5 Precepts and virtues, such as diligence, honesty, humility, the will to learn, and many others with are also virtues in the West). The Chinese traditional concept of Bao Ying ("reciprocity", "retribution" or "judgement"), is inscribed in the cosmological view of an ordered world, in which all manifestations of being have an allotted span (shu) and destiny, and are rewarded according to the moral-cosmic quality of their actions. It determines fate, as written in Zhou texts: "on the doer of good, heaven sends down all blessings, and on the doer of evil, he sends down all calamities."

These teachings bear universal truths in them which we also find in one or the other form in Hinduism, Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Stoicism, and Christianity.

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APPENDIX B
THE ADDITIONAL IMAGES

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The National Institute of Oceanography, Goa, discovered marine microfossils and salt in the silt of this rectangular structure at Lothal, Gujarat, India, indicating that it was a dockyard of a sea port. >

The dock at Lothal had a canal lock that could be opened and closed to regulate the water level. >

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Already in Antiquity, people discovered that travelling on waterways was much cheaper and three to ten times faster than on land. With the people, of course, travelled their language and their ideas, and every whim and attitude, each and every rule or law they learned from their parents and teachers. Not only goods and services went to other regions and civilisations but also religious and ideological teachings. These ideas can be an enrichment to an existing culture if applied slowly and carefully but all too often they were an undetected driving force in the destruction of a civilisation, besides infectuous deseases and other factors.

The picture above shows a reconstruction of a part of the City of Lothal and its sea port, Gujarat, India. It is one of the most ancient sea ports that ever have been found so far. Lothal was founded at around 2400 BC and was one of the southernmost cities of the ancient Indus Valley Civilisation, located in the Bhal region of the modern state of Gujarat. Construction of the harbour might have began around 2200 BC. Discovered in 1954, Lothal was excavated from 13 February 1955 to 19 May 1960 by the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), the official Indian government agency for the preservation of ancient monuments.

According to the ASI, Lothal had the world's earliest known dock, which connected the city to an ancient course of the River Sabarmati on the trade route between Harappan cities in Sindh and the peninsula of Saurashtra when the surrounding Kutch desert of today was a part of the Indian Ocean. This interpretation had been challenged by other archaeologists, who argued that the dock was an irrigation tank. However, the controversy was finally settled when scientists from The National Institute of Oceanography, Goa, discovered foraminifera (marine microfossils) and salt, gypsum crystals in the rectangular structure clearly indicating that sea water once filled the structure and it was definitely a dockyard. Resuming excavation in 1961, archaeologists unearthed trenches sunk on the northern, eastern and western flanks of the mound, bringing to light the inlet channels and nullah ("ravine", or "gully") connecting the dock with the river. The conclusive findings consist of a mound (a temple mound, a kind of temple pyramid like in Mohenjo Daro), a township, a marketplace, and the dock.

Althouth Lothal was relatively small, the ASI and other contemporary archaeologists assert that the city was a part of a major river or canal system on the trade route that provided direct access to sea routes. Although now sealed off from the sea, Lothal's topography and geology reflects its maritime past. Lothal has the largest collection of antiquities in the archaeology of modern India. It is a site of the Harappan culture. Lothal was the southern-most trade centre of the Indus Valley Civilisation, with its trade of beads, gems and valuable ornaments reaching Sumer in Mespotamia as well as Somalia, Ethiopia and Egypt in Africa. King Shulgi, the Augustus of Sumer, acquired several beads (found in Susa) engraved with cuneiform script showing his name and title.

After the core of the Indus civilisation had crumbled in Mohenjo-daro and Harappa at around 1900 BC due to the onslaught of the new Indo-Iranian emigrants (the ancestors of today's Indians), Lothal seems not only to have survived but to have thrived for many more years. Its constant threats - tropical storms and floods - caused immense destruction, which destabilised the culture and ultimately caused its end.

The people of the Indus Valley Civilisation were the predecessors of the Indo-Iranian or Indo-Aryan newcomers who soon would develop their own Vedic culture; they were the ancestors of the modern Indians. The Indus Valley Civilisation on the other hand was linguistically and culturally correlated with the State of Elam (capital: Susa) in southwestern Persia and Sumer in southern Mesopotamia. **>**

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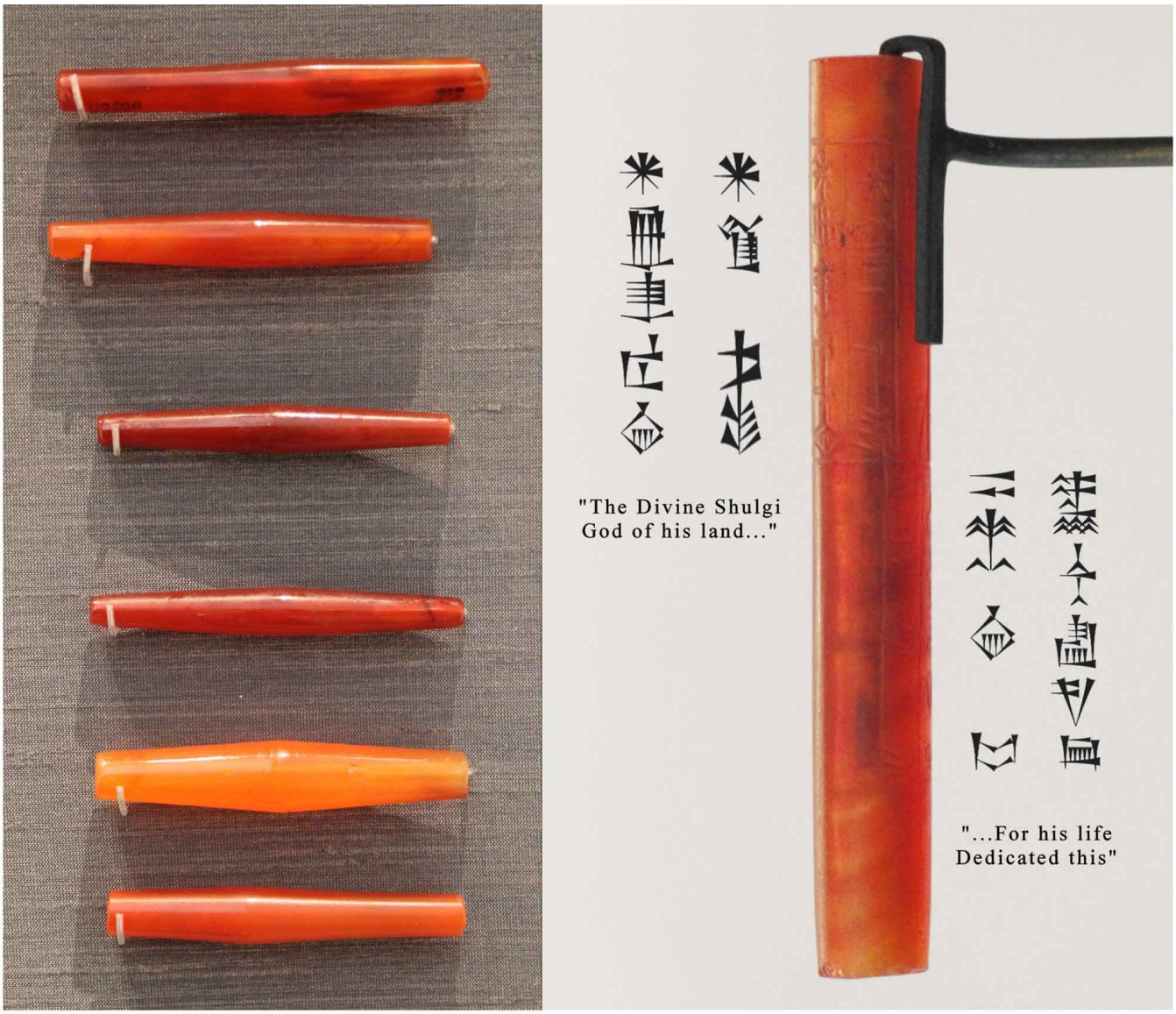

Carnelian (originally spelled cornelian, corneline and cornalyn) is a brownish-red mineral commonly used as a semi-precious gemstone. Carnelian beads were used to make jewellery and they were in fashion during the last half of the 3rd millenium BC. These carnelian beads were delivered to the king and "divine Augustus" Shulgi of Sumer who was the second king of the Third Dynasty of Ur. He reigned for 48 years, from c. 2094-2046 BC. Due to their discovery in Sumerian archaeological sites, we know that Sumerians and people of the Indus Valley Civilisation had trade links with one another. Carnelian beads of this particular kind and style were only produced by the Indus Valley Civilisation.

The Indus Valley Civilisation was replaced by Indo-European migrants from Central Asia in the mid-2nd century BC. About a thousand years later, in the 1st century BC, they fought in the Mahabharata Wars (Kurukshetra Wars) against the Kuru (Kaurava), their Indo-European (or more precisely: Indo-Iranian) cousins who migrated to northwestern India, most likely from Iran. The ancient City of Ahichhatra was mentioned in the Hindu Epic Mahabharata because it served as the capital city of Northern Panchala. In the previous times, it was ruled by Drupada, the king of Panchala, a kingdom closely allied to the Kuru kingdom. General Drupada was defeated in a battle and the Kuru general Ashwatthama was made the ruler of Ahichhatra who ruled it for a long time. In the end, the Pandava defeated the Kuru. The remains of the ancient City of Ahichhatra, also known by the name of Ahi-Kshetra, and its massive temple pyramid were discovered near Ramnagar in Bareilly, Uttar Pradesh, India.

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Somewhere at around 1995 BC, the Mount Vesusius in Italy erupted and caused a massive climate change for decades. The extreme weather conditions that followed led to drought, famine, and civil war. It brought civilisations like the Minoan or the Indus Civilisations to their end. Egypt, Canaan, and Mesopotamia were at the brink of collapse. The Hyksos have arrived in Egypt during Egypt's 12th Dynasty (1991–1802 BC),. Today they are identified with Canaanites. They have settled peacefully in "Goshen" (or Gosen) the Avaris area, Lower Egypt. At first, they seem to have been welcomed by Egypt because the site was originally founded by Amenemhat I (or at least with his consent) on an eastern branch of the Nile in the Delta. Soon, however, they have established their own kingdoms, so, the 14th Dynasty (c. 1725–1650 BC) and 15th Dynasty (1650–1550 BC) have been Canaanite dynasties in Lower Egypt, existing alongside the surviving 13th, 16th, and 17th Egyptian Dynasties (between 1803 BC and 1550 BC) in Upper Egypt, When the Hyksos / Canaanites tried to conquer Upper Egypt at the end of the 18th Dynasty (1550–1290 BC), they provoked the Egyptians to fight for their country which ended with the total defeat of the Hyksos / Canaanites and their expulsion from Egypt. These events match almost perfectly with events described in the Hebrew Bible when the tribes of Abraham have migrated to Egypt at around 1950 BC and, after the defeat of their successors by the kings Kamose and Ahmose, have been driven out, in an event known to us as "the Exodus" of Moses.

According to the Hebrew Bible, an unnamed Pharaoh (most likely Ahmose) ordered the Israelites to leave Egypt. In Exodus (12:37, 38, 40, 41) we read: *"And the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses (Pi-Rameses), to Succoth (Sukkot), about six hundred thousand on foot that were men, beside children. And a mixed multitude went up also with them; and flocks, and herds, even very much cattle. .... Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years. And it came to pass at the end of the four hundred and thirty years, even the selfsame day it came to pass, that all the hosts of the Lord went out from the land of Egypt."* The text was obviously written long after the exodus. Their starting point was not Rameses because that city was build by Rameses I. The author meant Avaris (the capital city of the Hyksos, meaning the Canaanites / Israelites in Egypt) which was at the very same location. When the author used the name Rameses several hundred years later, Avaris was already forgotten or shamefully replaced.

The name Succoth was chosen not incidential but on purpose. The Hebrew word sukkot is the plural of sukka, meaning hut, booth, tabernacle, or confinement, such as a canal lock. Today, Sukkot is known as a festival's name—*"the Festival of Ingathering at the year's end"* (Exodus 34:22)—and marks the end of the harvest time and thus of the agricultural year in the Land of Israel. People build a kind of hut or shed which is a walled structure covered with s'chach (plant material, such as overgrowth or palm leaves). The real religious reason is that of commemorating the Exodus: "Ye shall dwell in booths seven days; all that are Israelites born shall dwell in booths: That your generations may know that I made the children of Israel to dwell in booths, when I brought them out of the land of Egypt: I am the Lord your God." God (Leviticus 23:42-43). What has this festival to do with confinement? The above mentioned name Succoth is not without significance. Succoth or Sukkot is the place where the Canal of the Pharaos (built by Pharaoh Senusret III between 1878–1839 BC) had locks (sukkot = water confinements, canal locks) that could "confine and divide the water" in order to keep the salty or "bitter" water (from the Bitter Lakes) separated from the valuable sweet water of the River Nile, which the canal was heading to: *"And Moses stretched out his hand over the sea; and the Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that night, and made the sea dry land, and the waters were divided. And the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon the dry ground: and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left."* (Exodus 14:21-22). These events took place at about 1530, perhaps 700 or 800 years before they were finally written down. To an attentive reader, this description brings canal locks into his mind, with walls of water and even with plant material swimming on the water surface. And "dividing the water" is is precisely what a water lock does. There is a high likelihood that the Hebrew Bible tries to tell us about a real and historical event in the past, without telling us too much.

The expulsion of the Canaanite Hyksos (or the children of Israel as the called themselves) was ordered by the Pharao most likely right after the Hyksos were defeated in the 18th or 19th year of Ahmose's reign; that was in c. 1530 BC. For 430 years did they lived in Egypt, which means since 1960 BC. On his Expedition to Egypt (1842-1845), Carl Richard Lepsius found the amazing wall painting (above) in the tomb of Khnumhotep II (a government official who died in c. 1950 BC) in Beni Hasan, an ancient Egyptian cemetery near Menefer (Memphis). It shows a man described in the text on the wall as "Abisha the Hyksos" (Heqa-kasut for "Hyksos"), leading a group of Aamu (Aramu, "Aramaeans, Canaanites"). This is not only one of the earliest known uses of the term "Hyksos" and the oldest picture that showed the Hyksos, but it matches exactly the date of arrival, 430 years before the defeat: 1960 BC! **>**

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Egypt seen from a spaceship. The photographer was looking south when he took the photograph. We clearly can see the green Nile delta that has the shape of a triangle. From Nubia (modern Sudan) at the horizon (to the left), the River Nile winds itself through the Sahara Desert like a snake and approaches the corner of the triangle; this is the location of Cairo and the Giza Pyramids. Left of the triangle is the Suez Canal visible as a long green string leading from the Mediterranean (in front) to a dark spot, which is called the Bitter Lakes, before the canal resumes its journey to the Gulf of Suez in the Red Sea. Right at the dark spot, we can see another long string coming from the middle of the triangle. This is the Canal of the Pharaos, built in c. 1850 BC. This "ancient Suez Canal" is still green like the modern canal because it still contains water which feeds the plants above. It was once the end of a trade route from India leading right into the Egyptian heartland. **>**

The Blue Nile in northern Ethiopia. The first Hebrews most likely used the water way of the River Nile (the Blue Nile) which brought them from their community in Elephantine directly into this green and fertile land in northern Ethiopia. Aramaic documents have been found in Elephantine and Aswan (southern Egypt). Most of these documents are marriage contracts, private letters, religious and business documents from a Hebrew community that lived there from about 500 to 400 BC. Later, these people disappeared from Elephantine. They might have moved to northern Ehiopia and are now known as Beta Israel (House of Israel or Community of Israel).

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Carthage was settled around 800 BC by colonists from Tyre, a leading Phoenician Canaanite city-state in today's Lebanon. In Carthage, the Phoenicians preserved their freedom when the Neo-Assyrian Empire conquered the entire Middle East. The Phoenicians were the greatest adversaries of Greeks and Romans although, or because, they were also their greatest contributors. They brought them the alphabet, mass production of war ships, and the taste for trade with the World. For hundreds of years, Phoenician civilisation and technology was far superior to anyone elses. The circular War Harbour of Plato's Atlantis narration (in Timaeus, Critias, The Republic) has a perfect match in the War Harbour of Carthage. **>**

Atlantis (Greek: Atlantis nesos, "Island of Atlas") is a fictional island mentioned in an "allegory on the hubris of nations" in Plato's works, wherein it represents the antagonist naval power that besieges Ancient Athens. This antagonist was in real life the Phoenicians (Punics) and the allegory was an allusion to Phoenician power and the story was used as anti-Phoenician propaganda driven by Greek and Roman jealousy. It goes back to Solon (c. 630-560 BC). Hellanikos of Lesbos (c. 490-405 BC) mentions Atlantis in a papyrus fragment found in Egypt (P. Oxyrhyncus 1084, 2nd century AD). Carthage was one the largest cities in the world. Its walls were 13 m high, nearly 10 m thick. To the west, 3 parallel walls protected the peninsula of Carthage with her 500,000 people; the walls were 33 kilometres (21 mi) long. In 146 BC, Carthage fell to the Romans. The circular War Harbour of Carthage can be seen still today.

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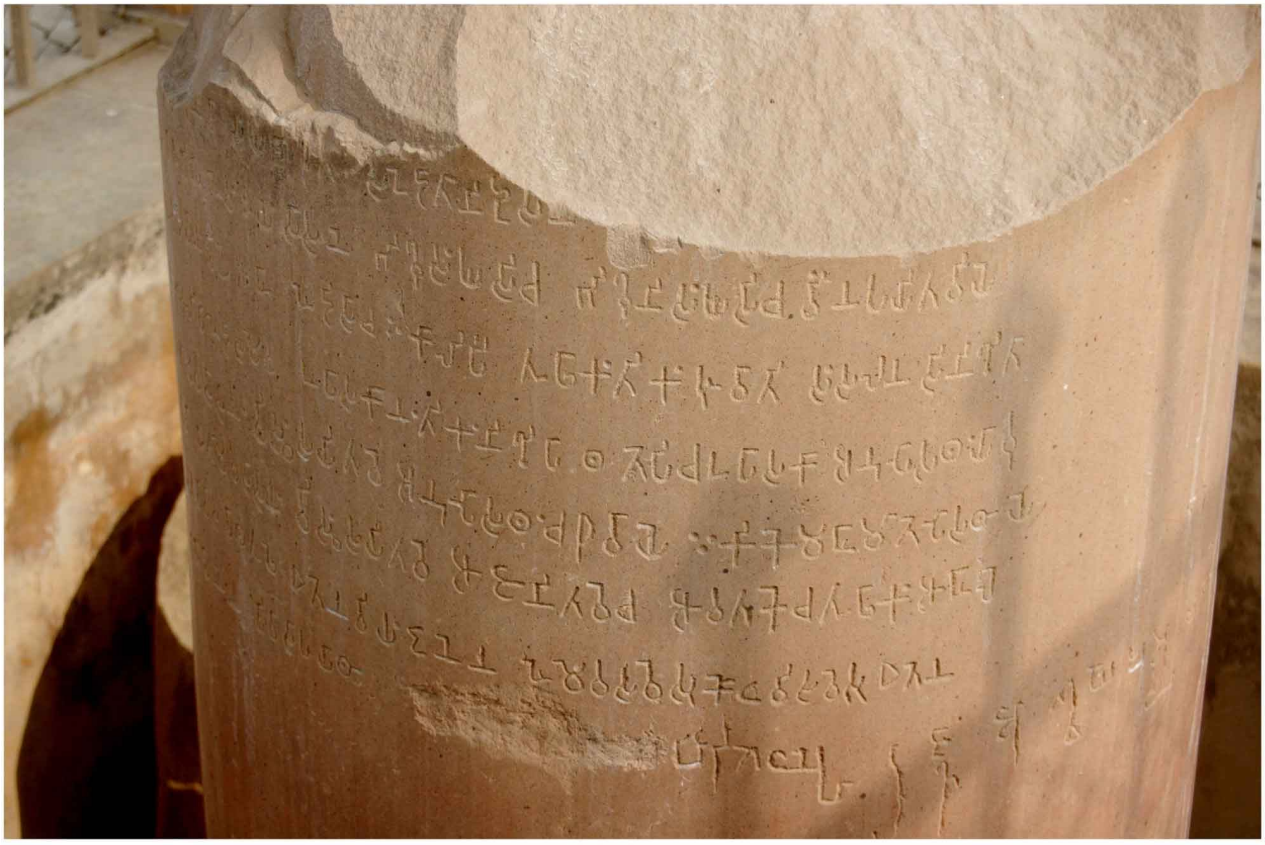

Pillar Edict of Emperor Ashoka in Brahmi script on Pillar, Sarnath. The Brahmi script was indroduced to India by Chandragupta Maurya in about 300 BC. Before that, the Indians had no script at all. Some Hebrews in northwestern India used Aramaic language and script; it was the Lingua Franca of the Persian Empire. Alexanders conquests convinced Chandragupta about the significance of writing. **>**

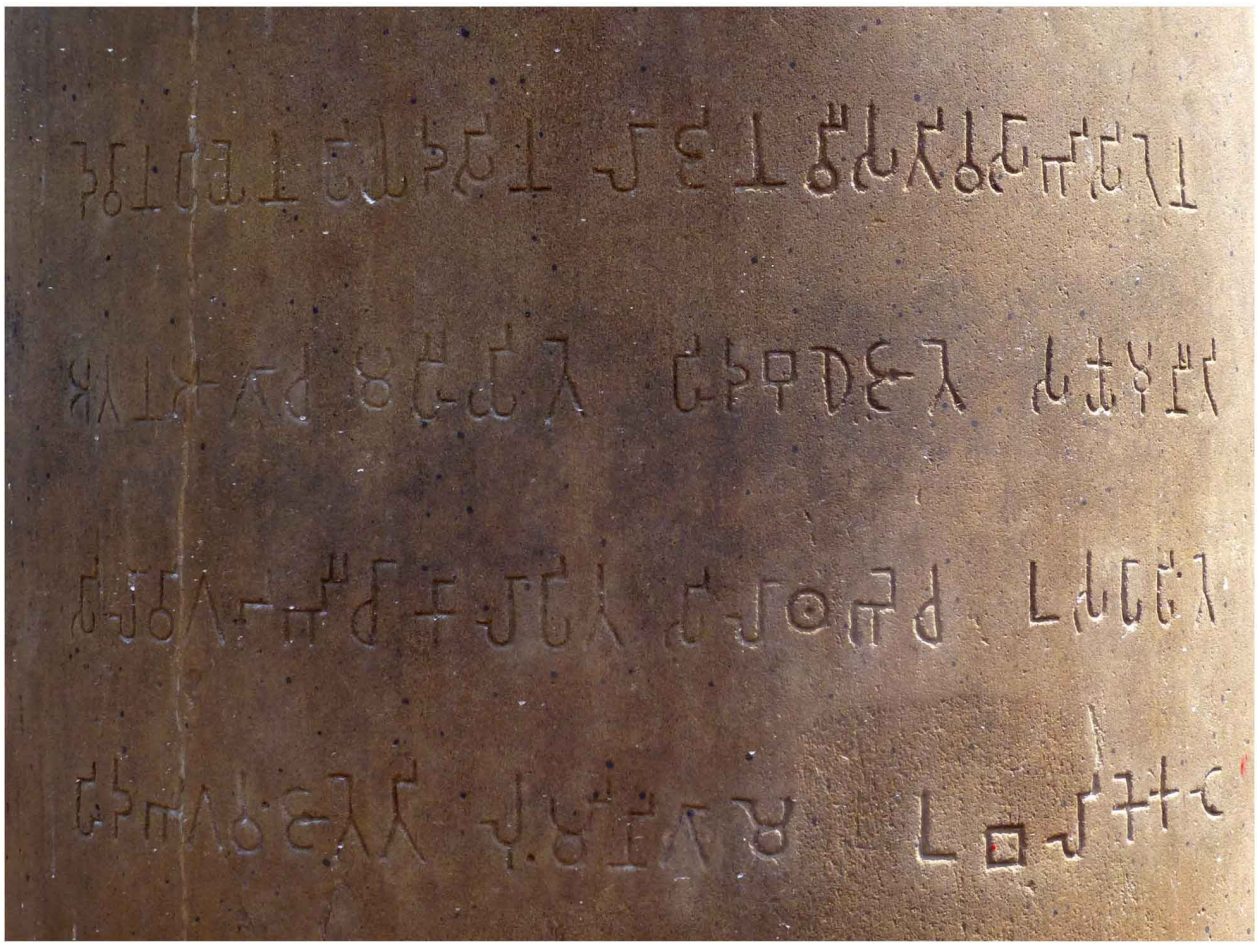

Pillar Edict of Emperor Ashoka in Brahmi Script, Lumbini, Nepal. Siddharta Gautama, the then future Buddha, was born at Lumbini. Buried were the ashes of the Buddha not far away in Piprahwa, India. **>**

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This stupa pyramid was buried under earth and shrubs. William Claxton Peppe, a British colonial engineer and landowner of an estate at Piprahwa discovered and excavated it in January 1898. It turned out to be the tomb of Siddharta Gautama, better known as "the Buddha." The tomb was undisturbed and intact. >

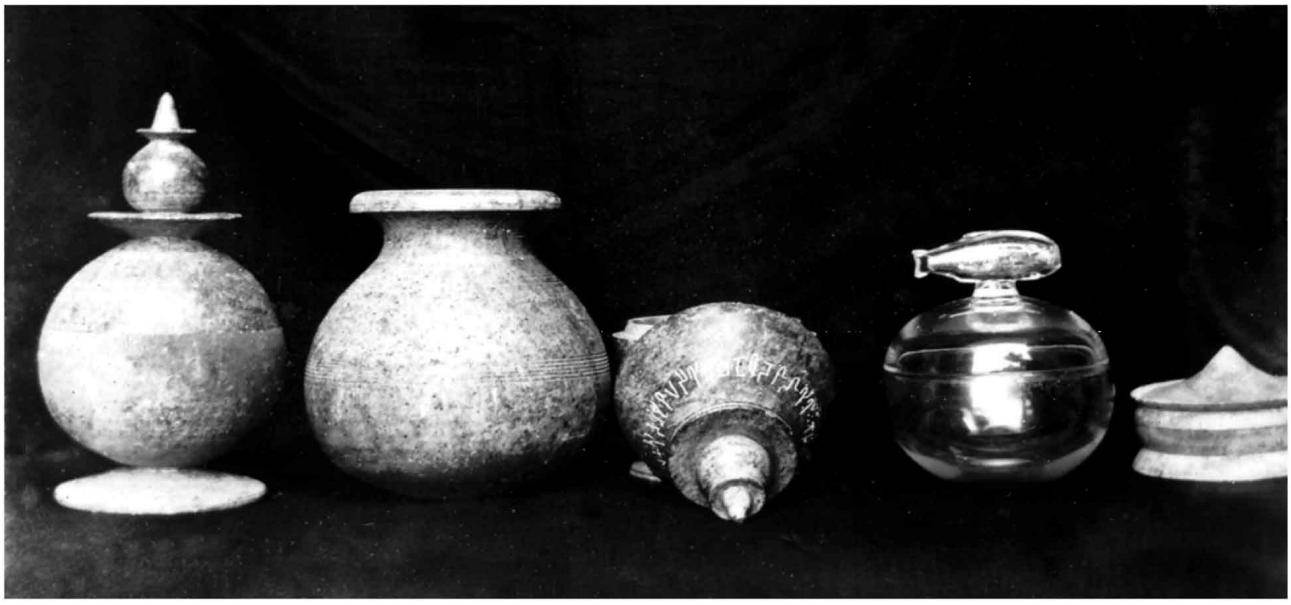

During his excavation, William Claxton Peppe found a plain sarcophagus with these 5 urns. >

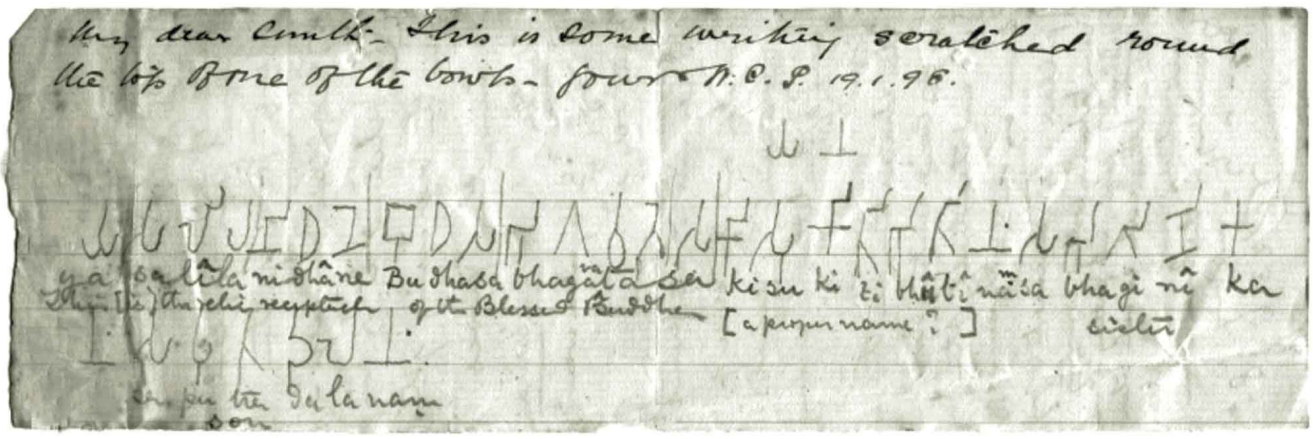

In this note, W.C. Peppe asks Vincent Arthur Smith what the inscription on one of vases might mean. >

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One of the 5 vases (urns) at the excavated site. **>**

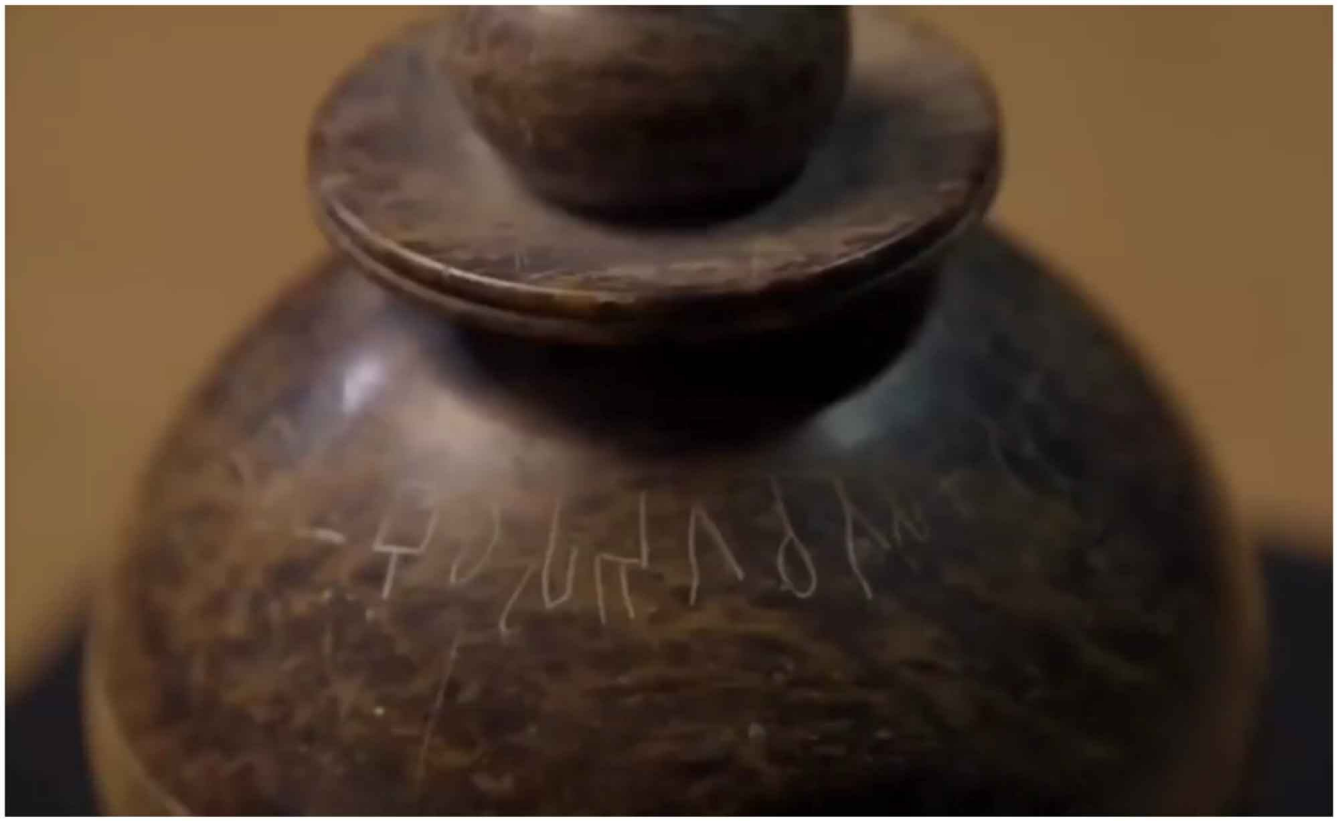

On the lid of this vase (or urn) was a text engraved in Brahmi script which was translated by Georg Bühler, a leading European epigraphist of the time, to mean: "This relic-shrine of divine Buddha is the donation of the Sakya-Sukiti brothers, associated with their sisters, sons, and wives,"
Over a hundred years later, in the 2013 documentary, Bones of the Buddha (hosted by historian Charles Allen), epigraphist Harry Falk of Freie Universität Berlin confirmed the original interpretation that the depositors believed these to be the remains of the Buddha himself. Falk translated the inscription as "These are the relics of the Buddha, the Lord . . ." and concluded that the reliquary found at Piprahwa did contain a portion of the ashes of the Buddha and that the inscription is authentic. That the Brahmi script was introduced by Emperor Ashoka's grandfather Chandragupta Maurya (reign: 321-297 BC) indicates that this tomb is a reburial of the Buddha and organised by Emperor Ashoka (reign: 268-232 BC) himself. **>**

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Among bone fragments and ashes of the Buddha found in the vases were these beautiful flowers of gold and gems.

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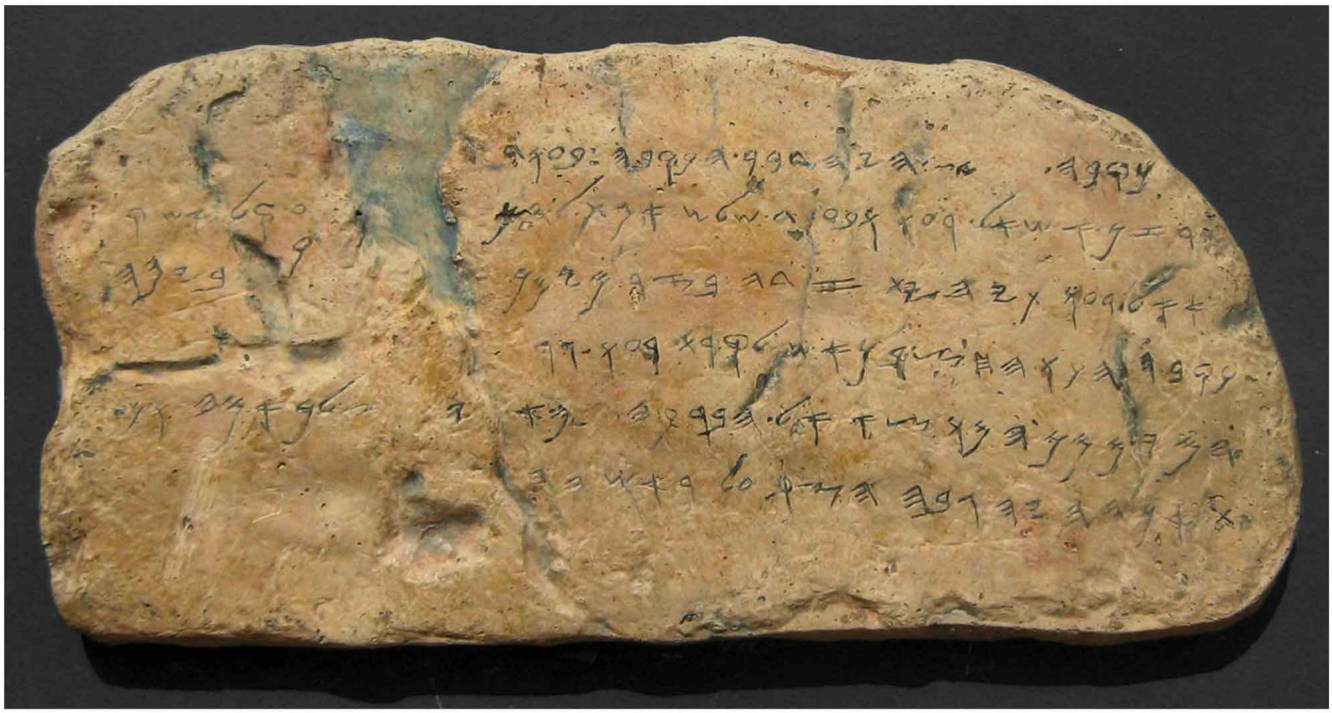

The Siloam (also Silwan or Shiloah) Inscription, known as KAI 189, is a Hebrew (Phoenician Aramaic) inscription found in the Siloam tunnel which brings water from the Gihon Spring to the Pool of Siloam, located in the City of David in East Jerusalem neighborhood of Shiloah or Silwan. The inscription records the construction of the tunnel, which has been dated to the 8th century BC on the basis of the writing style. Siloam Shiloah Silwan inscription, replica, City of David, East-Jerusalem. The passage reads: "... the tunnel ... and this is the story of the tunnel while ... the axes were against each other and while three cubits were left to (cut?) ... the voice of a man ... called to his counterpart, (for) there was ZADA in the rock, on the right ... and on the day of the tunnel (being finished) the stonecutters struck each man towards his counterpart, ax against ax and flowed water from the source to the pool for 1,200 cubits. and (...) cubits was the height over the head of the stonecutters ..."

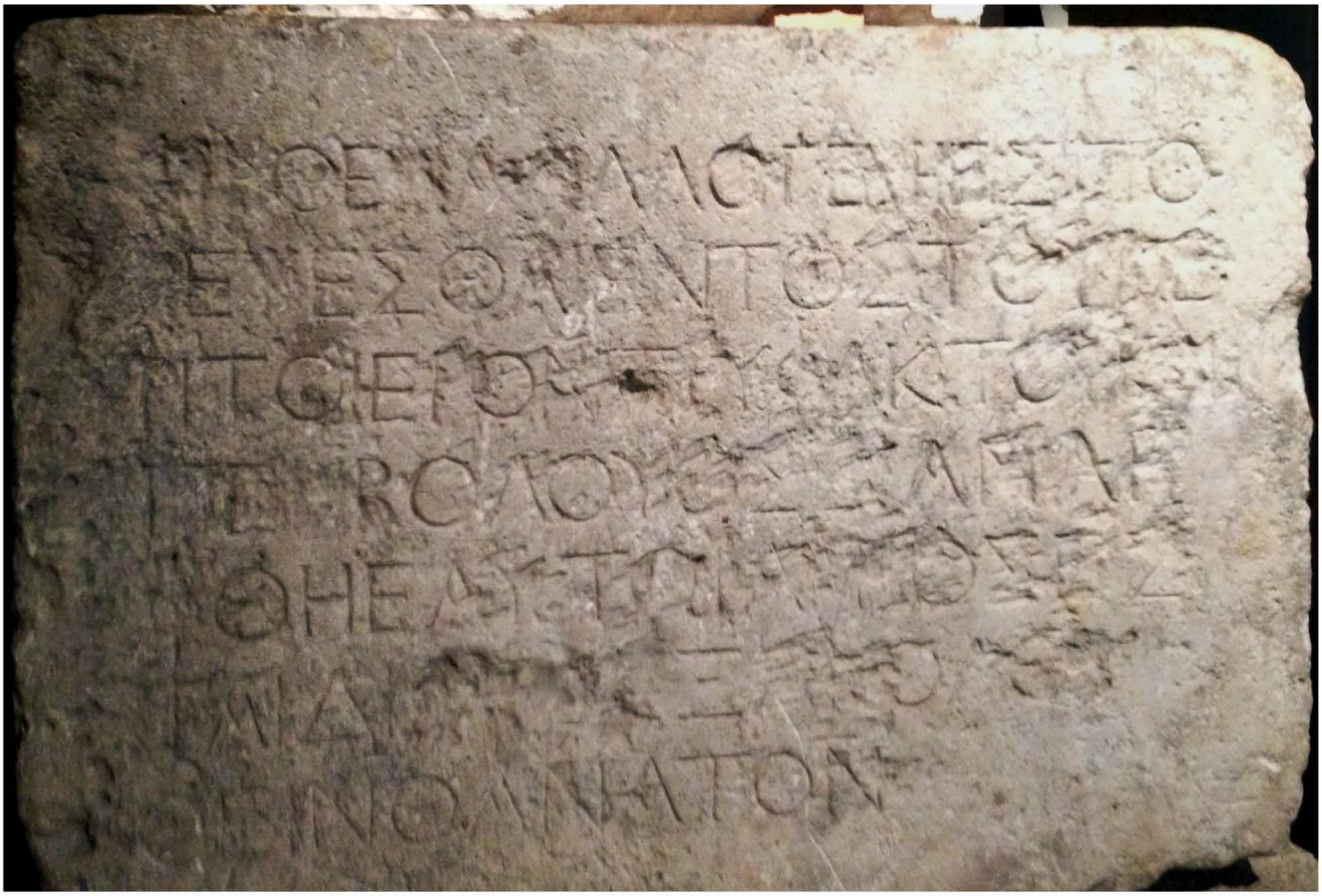

The Temple Warning inscription (created c. 23 BC - 70 AD), also known as the Temple Balustrade inscription or the Soreg inscription, is an inscription that hung along the balustrade outside the Sanctuary of the Second Temple in Jerusalem. Two of these tablets have been found in 1871. The inscription was a warning to non-Jewish visitors to the temple not to proceed further. Both Greek and Latin inscriptions on the temple's balustrade served as warnings to pagan visitors not to proceed under penalty of death. Jerusalem Temple Warning Inscription translated into English: "No stranger is to enter within the balustrade round the temple and enclosure. Whoever is caught will be himself responsible for his ensuing death." This inscription clearly shows the authority that the Temple priests have had. It clearly also questions the total Roman rule over the Hebrews.

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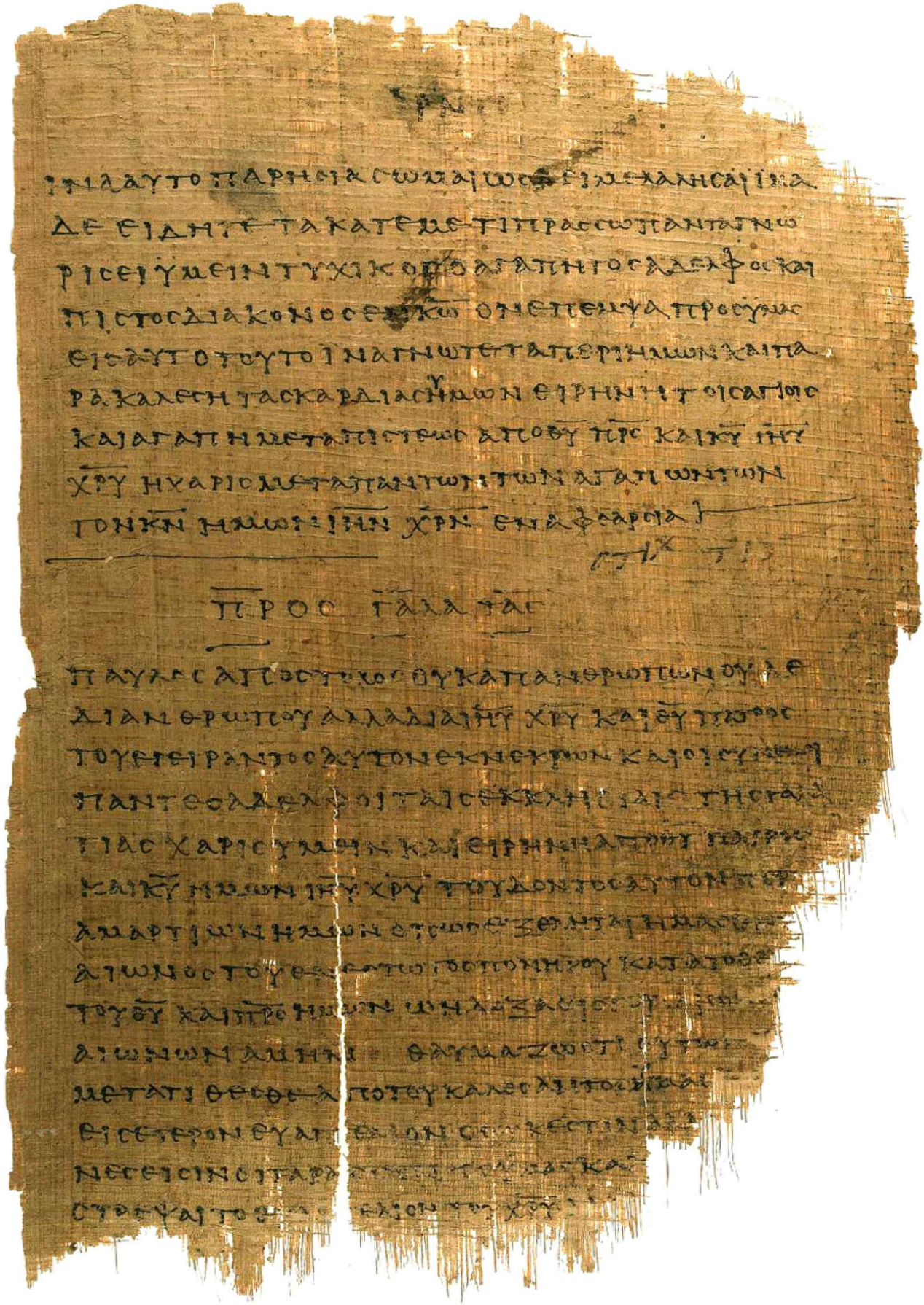

Papyrus in Greek showing the end of Ephesians (verses 6,20–24) and the start of Galatians (verses 1,1–8), c.150-250 AD. Saul of Tarsos (Aramaic Hebrew: Sha'ul ha-Tarsi; Greek: Saulos Tarseus; c. 5-64 or 67 AD), commonly known as Saint Paul or Paul the Apostle (though not one of the 12 Apostles), was a Pharisee (a Jew affiliated to the Greek-Roman civilisation). In Galatians 1:13, Paul admitted that he "persecuted the church of God and tried to destroy it." In order to do that, he had to be a holder of Roman citizenship and to be a Roman official. The vision of "the Lord" on the road to Damascus (Acts 9; Galatians 1:23) is often interpreted as Paul's "conversion" to Christianity; it equally could be interpreted as event in which he had the idea to create a new Christian faith as opposed to the old Jewish-Christian faith represented by James the Just, the brother of Jesus. Hebrews always considered Paul as liar and traitor simply because with the version of Christianity he had created, in which Jesus was depicted as another god (the son of God), he had violated against the first three of the Ten Commandments (Hebrew: Aseret ha'Dibrot; Exodus 20:2–17 and Deuteronomy 5:6–21): 1. Thou shalt have no other gods before me; 2. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image; 3. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain. And so, Christianity as a religion is not viewed in a favourable light by Jews, even today; because they are still breaking The Law.

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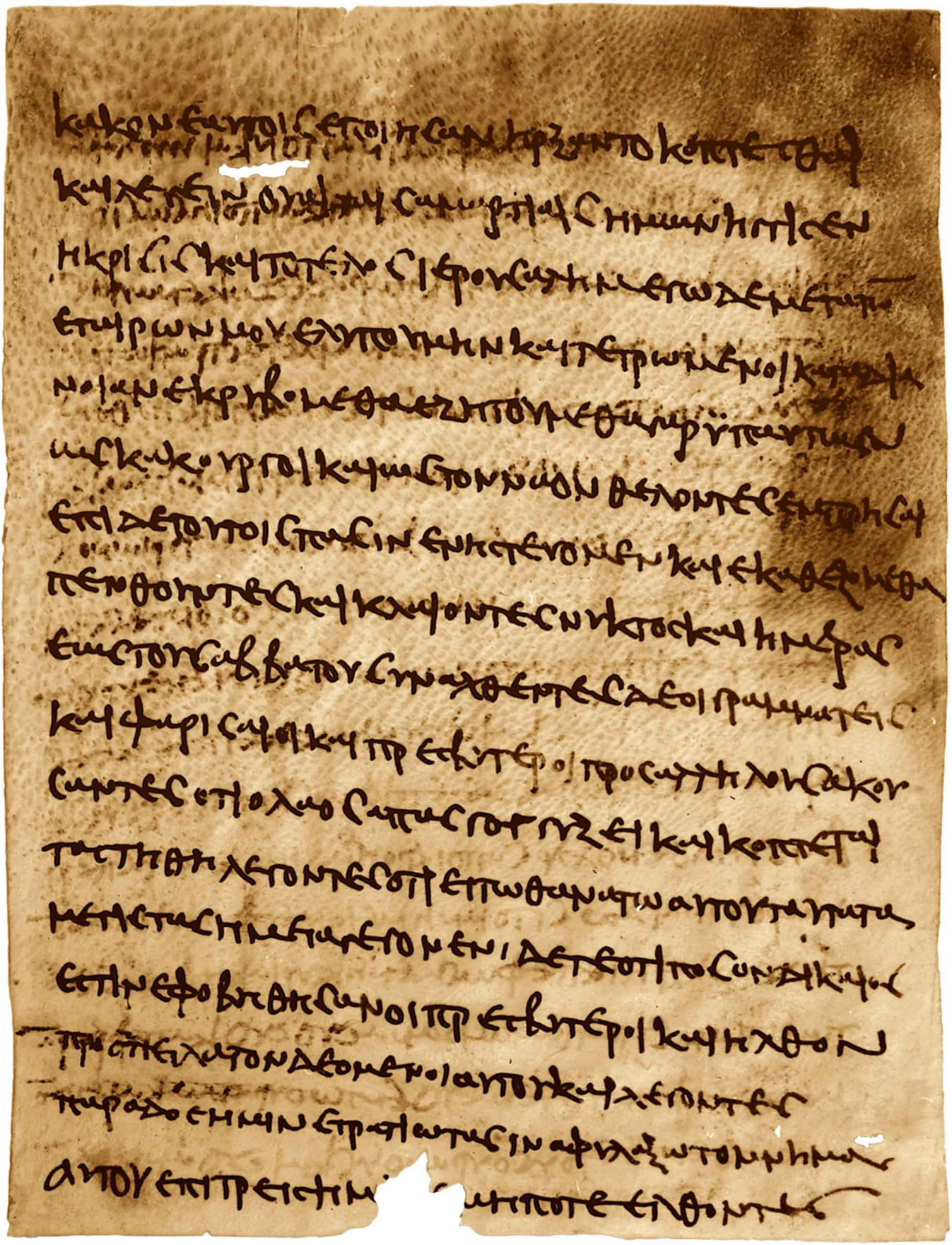

The Gospel of Peter. The Gospel of Peter or Gospel according to Peter, is an ancient narrative text concerning Jesus Christ, only partially known today. The Gospel of Peter explicitly claims to be the work of Saint Peter: *"And I with my companions was grieved; and being wounded in mind we hid ourselves:"* — GoP, 7. *"But I Simon Peter and Andrew my brother took our nets and went to the sea;"* — GoP, 14. However, the Gospel of Peter was condemned as heretical by ca. 200 AD for its alleged docetic elements and particularly because it ascribes responsibility for the crucifixion of Jesus to Herod Antipas and the Temple clergy rather than to Pontius Pilate. Peter or Simon Peter, that is Shimon bar Yonah (Simon the son of Yonah), Simon Bar-Jona (also: Simon Cephas, Kefa or Kepha; Aramaic: Simon, Simeon, "the Listener," Kefa, "stone, rock." The Gospel of Peter, which was assumed lost, was recovered in 1886 by the French archaeologist Urbain Bouriant in the modern Egyptian city of Akhmim (sixty miles north of Nag Hammadi) and published in 1892. The 8th- or 9th-century was the first non-canonical gospel to have been rediscovered, preserved in the dry sand of Egypt. Two other papyrus fragments from Oxyrhynchus (P.Oxy 4009 and P.Oxy. 2949) were uncovered later and published in 1972.

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Selihah (Selichah / Selichot; penitential poem or prayer) leaf written in Hebrew Aramaic. 8th or 9th century, found in the Mogao Caves of Dunhuang, Gansu, China in 1908 by sinologist Paul Eugene Pelliot. The Mogao Caves or Dunhuang Caves, also known as the Thousand Buddha Grottoes or Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, form a system of 500 temples 25 km (16 mi) southeast of Dunhuang, an oasis at a religious and cultural crossroads on the Silk Road, in Gansu province, China. The Silk Road went directly through Sepphoris c. 5km / 3 mi north of Nazareth. Dunhuang was established as a garrison outpost and gateway to the West by the Han Dynasty Emperor Wudi to protect against the Xiongnu (Huns) in 111 BC. From the 4th until the 14th century, caves were constructed by Buddhist monks and scholars. In 1900, the "Library Cave", which had been walled-up and camouflaged against Islamic raiders in the 11th century, was discovered. Up to 50,000 manuscripts may have been kept there, one of the greatest treasure troves of ancient documents ever found. While most of them are in Chinese, a large number of documents are in more than fifteen different scripts and languages such as Aramaic, Kharosthi, Brahmi, Persian, Tocharian, Uyghur, Sanskrit, Sogdian, Khotanese, Sanskrit, Tangut, Tibetan and Greek. For Britain and India, Aurel Stein bought 7,000 complete manuscripts and 6,000 fragments including the Diamond Sutra from 868 AD (the oldest printed book) and the Lotus Sutra. Then Paul Pelliot bought 10,000 documents for France including Nestorian (Jingjiao) documents, Chinese language texts connected with the 7th-century mission of Alopen (See: Nestorian Stele).

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"Jesus with his mother Mary and the (three) Wise Men from the East (Matthew 2:1) celebrating a blood sacrifice and Eucharist" -- This, or something similar, could have been the title of this relief, but it is not! Indeed, it shows a Eucharist, and a blood sacrifice, and even three men from the East. Their Persian hats identify them as such. They represent the origin of Mithras which was Zoroastrian, Persian. The name of this 2nd-3rd century Mithraic relief is "Mithras banquet" or "Mithras killing a bull." It is on an altarpiece found near Fiano Romano, near Rome in 1926. The Gospel of Matthew is the only one of the four canonical gospels to mention the Magi.

Mithraism, also known as the Mithraic mysteries, was a Roman religion in which the Persian (Zoroastrian) divine archangel Mithra became the Roman god Mithras. Numerous archaeological finds have contributed to modern knowledge about Mithraism in the Roman Empire. About 420 sites have yielded materials related to the cult. Among the items found are about 1000 inscriptions, 700 examples of the bull-killing scene, and about 400 other monuments. It is estimated that there would have been at least 680 mithraea in the city of Rome and several thousands of them within the entire territory of the Roman Empire. Interpretation of the physical evidence remains problematic and contested. It seems that the Greek-Roman followers of Mithras have had no scripture at all. However, there is one religious document that has survived. The "Mithras Liturgy" recorded in the Greek Magical Papyri (Number PGM IV.475-834) is the only authentic Mithraic text to have survived so far.

Worshippers of Mithras had a complex system of seven grades of initiation and communal ritual meals, Eucharists, to be precise. Initiates called themselves Syndexioi, those "united by the handshake". They met in their mithraea, which survive in large numbers as "crypts" under ancient church buildings. The cult appears to have had its centre in Rome, and was popular throughout the western half of the empire, as far south as Roman Africa and Numidia, as far north as Roman Britain, and to a lesser extent in Roman Syria in the east.

Mithraism is often viewed as a rival of early Christianity, but it is not that simple. For quite a long time, scholars thought that Mithraists faced persecution from Christians and the religion was subsequently suppressed and eliminated in the Roman empire by the end of the 4th century. This is not the entire truth either. When we look at the families of the Roman emperors a bit more closely, we can discover the astonishing fact that the female members were Christians while their husbands were followers of Mithras. This is true for the "Christian persecutor" Diocletian (Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus; c. 244-311 AD) whose wife Prisca and his daughter Galeria Valeria were Christians, as well as for Helena, (also known as Helena Augusta, or Saint Helena; c. 246-330 AD) who was the wife of Roman emperor Constantius Chlorus and mother of Constantine the Great. How could that work out in their family lives? Paying attention to hictorical details, one gets aware of dozens of Christian movements florishing in the Empire. When we study the amazing book series Ante-Nicene Fathers (1867-1873; 10 Vols), and the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers (1885; 14 Vols), published by Philip Schaff, we can read chilling details of those events that lasted for hundreds of years. The Church claims that Christians to be persecuted by the Romans. By studying all that material, it becomes quite clear that not Christianity as a whole was persecuted. It was the official "Roman Christianity" who sided with Roman authorities whilst persecuting dozens of different groups of Gnostics, Manichaeans, Mandaeans, Jews, and others.

In the first 4 centuries AD, Mithraism was popular among the Roman army officers while early Christianity among the common soldiers. This is the reason why worshippers of Mithras and Jesus usually celebrated their church service together, the officers downstairs in the underground crypt (called mithraeum; plural: mithraea), the soldiers upstairs in the room above, now called church. Helena the mother of Flavius Constantinus (c. 272-337 AD) was a Christian, while Constantinus became an army officer, who naturally worshipped Mithras like his father Constantius Chlorus. This was not a contradiction at the time. He did not convert to Christianity at the time of the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, this is just a legend made up by his friend and right-hand-man Eusebius of Caesarea Maritima (c.260-340 AD). He did much more: Either Constantinus or his father adopted the name Flavius to show that they follow the programme of Flavius Vespasianus. In order to gather all armed forces behind him, he fused Mithraism and Christianity together. The facts speak for themselves: the Eucharist is a Mithraist idea, so is the 25th of December the date of the Mithraist Winter Solstice and the birthday of their gods, the look-alike of the long-haired Jesus with a sun halo around his head, even the interiors of the Mithraea, they all are Mithraic but became part of Christian liturgy. The "Imperial Cult," the ministery of religion, with the Pontifex Maximus at its helm, turned into the Roman Catholic Church in the West and the Orthodox Church in the East. With the fusion of Mithraism and Christianity, Contantine led not only the masses celebrate him as a divine figure, like Caesar, Augustus, and Vespasian before him, but he laid the foundation of a unifying faith with which the Roman Empire survived for another 1,000 years. **>**

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Mithraeum of the Baths of Mithras (Mitreo delle Terme del Mitra) in Ostia. Ostia at the mouth of the River Tiber was Rome's seaport and the western end of the Silk Road. It is located 15 mi (25 km) southwest of Rome. Due to lower ocean level and silting the site lies today 2 mi (3 km) from the sea. **>**

The mithraeum of Fort Brocolitia in Carrawburgh, Northumberland, England. In Roman times, it was the site of a 3 1⁄2-acre (1.5 ha) auxiliary fort on Hadrian's Wall in the Province Britannia. Flavius Constantinus I was stationed nearby for a year.

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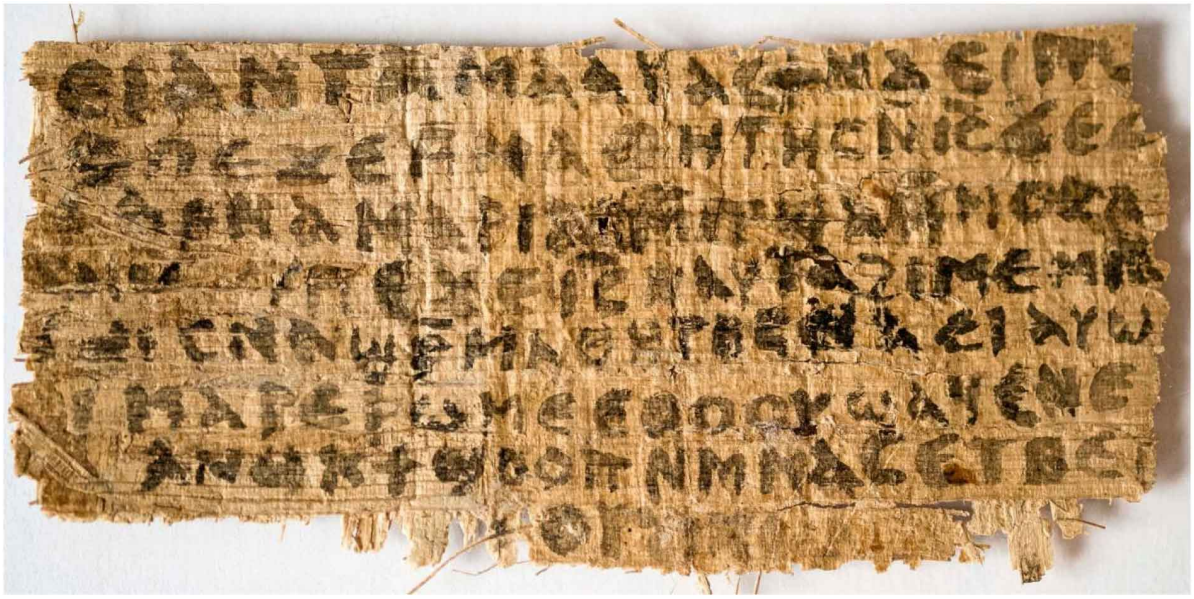

The Gospel of Jesus' Wife is a papyrus fragment with Coptic text that includes the words, "Jesus said to them, 'my wife...'". The text was published in 2012. Lack of provenance, clumsy handwriting, grammar, shape of the papyrus, and the ink's colour and quality made it suspect. Radiocarbon analysis of the papyrus by Harvard University and the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution found a mean date of around 741 AD. The ink seems modern but imitating ancient carbon ink. The text seem to be a "patchwork of texts" from the Gospels of (Didymus Judas) Thomas, of Mary, and of Philip, whose texts suggest intimate relationship of Jesus and Mary of Magdala, which would have been normal anyway as all rabbis were married. The Gospel of Jesus' Wife is probably a forgery.

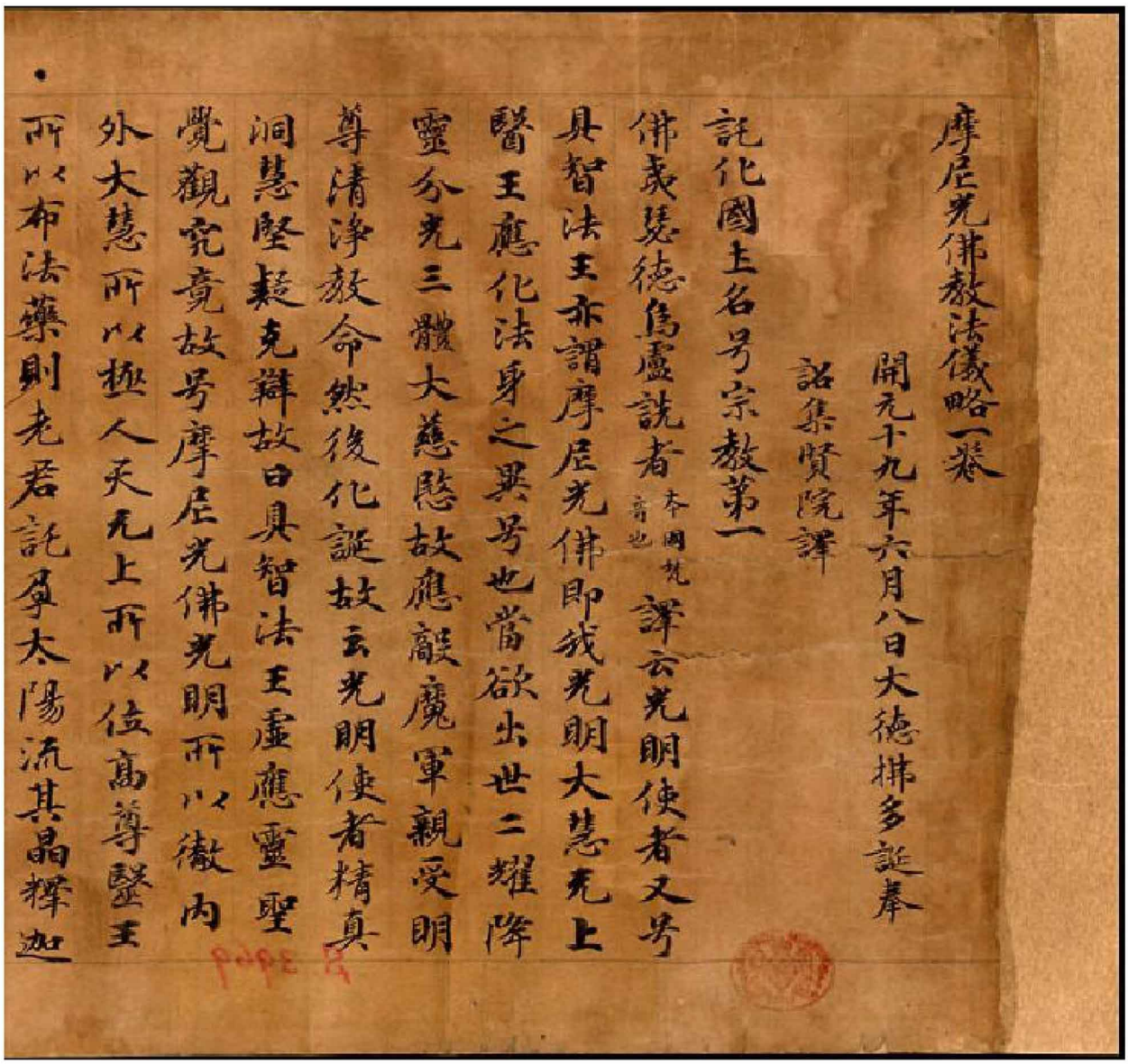
摩尼光佛教法儀略一卷

開元十九年六月八日大德拂多誕奉

詔集賢院譯

託化國土名号宗教第一

佛表慈德爲盡說者（本國梵音也）譯云光明使者又号具智法王亦謂摩尼光佛即我光明大慧无上醫王應化法身之異号也當欲出世二耀降靈分光三體大慈隱故應敵魔軍親受明尊清淨教命然後化誕故云光明使者精真洞慧堅疑克難故曰具智法王盡應靈聖覺觀究竟故号摩尼光佛光明所以徹內外大慧所以極人天无上所以位高尊證王所以布法藥則老君託孕太陽流其晶釋迦

Chinese Manichean text fragment from Dunhuang, China: Compendium of the teachings of Mani, the Buddha of Light (Stein manuscript S 3969, British Library). The Faith of the Prophet Mani was from the 4th to the 6th centuries the largest world religion spreading from West Africa to eastern China. Manichaeism was considered a serious threat by established state religions because it combined teachings of Zarathustra, Mani, Buddha, and Jesus.

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APPENDIX C
THE ADDITIONAL TEXTS

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OF
THE GRAND BIBLE

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Ax C-3: Rabatak Inscription of Emperor Kanishka	Nicholas Sims-Williams, 1996	Found: Rabatak, Surkh Kotal, Afghanistan	7482
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APPENDIX C-1
(to The Scriptures of Mesopotamia)

THE LAWS OF ESHNUNNA
(Excavated at Tell Abu Harmal* near Baghdad
by the Iraq Directorate of Antiquities
in Pre-Hammurabi layers.)
Source: Iraq Museum Inventory number: 51059 and 52614
From: "The Ancient Near East, Volume I An Anthology of Texts and Pictures" Edited by James B. Pritchard
Language: Akkadian; Script: cuneiform
Translation: Albrecht Goetze, 1948
Estimated Range of Dating: 2000-1900 B.C.

[* Abu Harmal formed part of the kingdom of Eshnunna—the Diyala region east of Baghdad—which flourished between the downfall of the Third Dynasty of Ur (about 2000 B.C.) and the creation of Hammurabi's Amurrite (Canaanite Amorite that is) empire. Eshnunna was one of the numerous Canaanite Amurrite-controlled states of the period. The city of Eshnunna itself is located at Tell Asmar which was excavated by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.]

(The Laws of Eshnunna are inscribed on two cuneiform tablets discovered in Tell Abū Harmal, Baghdad, Iraq. The Iraqi Directorate of Antiquities headed by Taha Baqir unearthed two parallel sets of tablets in 1945 and 1947. The two tablets are separate copies of an older source and date back to ca. 1930 BC. The differences between the Code of Hammurabi and the Laws of Eshnunna significantly contributed to illuminating the development of ancient and cuneiform law. Eshnunna was north of Ur on the Tigris River and became politically important after the fall of the third dynasty of Ur, founded by Ur-Nammu.

In distinction from the other Mesopotamian collections of law, this one got its name after the city where it had originated – Eshnunna, located on the bank of the Diyala River, tributary to the Tigris. This collection of laws is not a real systemised codex; nearly sixty of its sections are preserved. The Laws are written in Akkadian and consist of two tablets which are marked with A and B. In 1948, Albrecht Goetze of the Yale University had translated and published them. In some sources the Laws of Eshnunna are mentioned as the Laws of Bilalama due to the belief that the Eshnunnian ruler probably was their originator, but Goetze maintained that tablet B was originated under the reign of Dadusha. The text of the prologue is broken at the point where the ruler who promulgated the laws was specified.

Albrecht Goetze has noticed the specific style of expression. The laws were composed in a mode that facilitated memorising. A distinguished Israeli scientist and one of the foremost experts on this collection of laws, Reuven Yaron of the University of Jerusalem concerning this matter stated: "What matters to me – and might have mattered to those who fashioned them almost 4000 years ago – is the ease of remembering the text."

The conditional sentence ("If A then B" – as it also is the case with the other Mesopotamian laws) is an attribute of this codification. In 23 paragraphs, it appears in the form shumma awilum – "If a man ..." After the disposition, a precise sanction follows, e.g. LU42(A): "If a man bit and severed the nose of a man, one mina silver he shall weigh out."

The Laws clearly show signs of social stratification, mainly focussing on two different classes: the muškenum and awilum. The audience of the Laws of Eshnunna is more extensive than in the case of the earlier cuneiform codifications: awilum – free men and women (mar awilim and marat awilim), mushkenum, wife (ashatum), son (maru), slaves of both sexes – male (wardum) and female (amtum) – which are not only objects of law as in classical slavery, and delicts where the victims were slaves have been sanctioned, and other class designations as ubarum, apparum, mudum that are not ascertained.

Reuven Yaron has divided the offences of the Laws of Eshnunna into five groups. The articles of the first group had to be collected from all over the Laws and the articles of the other four were roughly ordered one after the other:

1. Theft and related offences,
2. False distraint,
3. Sexual offences,
4. Bodily injuries,
5. Damages caused by a goring ox and comparable cases.

The majority of these offences were penalised with pecuniary fines (an amount of silver), but some serious offences such as burglary, murder, and sexual offences were punished with death. It seems that the capital punishment was avoidable (in contrast to the Code of Hammurabi), because of the standard formulation: "It is a case of life … he shall die".)

Text:

1: 1 kor of barley is priced at 1 shekel of silver; 3 qa of "best oil" are priced at 1 shekel of silver; 1 seah and 2 qa of sesame oil are priced at 10 shekel of silver; 1 seah and 5 qa of lard are priced at 1 shekel of silver; 1 seah of "river oil" are priced at 1 shekel of- silver; 6 minas of wool are priced at 1 shekel of silver; 2 kor of salt are priced at 1 shekel of silver; 1 kor . . . is priced at 1 shekel of silver; 3 minas of copper are priced at 1 shekel of silver; 2 minas of refined copper are priced at 1 shekel of silver.

2: 1 qa of sesame oil la nishatim—its (value in) barley is 3 seah; 1 qa of lard la nishatim—its (value in) barley is 2 seah and 5 qa; 1 qa of "river oil" la nishatim—its (value in) barley is 8 qa.

3: The hire for a wagon together with its oxen and its driver is 1 pan (and) 4 seah of barley. If it is paid in silver, the hire is one third of a shekel. He shall drive it the whole day.

4: The hire for a boat is 2 qa per kor (of capacity), 1 seah 1 qa is the hire for the boatman. He shall drive it the whole day.

5: If the boatman is negligent and causes the sinking of the boat, he shall pay in full for everything the sink-ing of which he caused.

6: If a man ... [Possibly "(who finds himself) in great peril."] takes possession of a boat which is not his, he shall pay lo shekels of silver.

7: The wages of a harvester are 2 seah of barley; if they are paid in silver, his wages are 12 grain.

8: The wages of winnowers are 1 seah of barley.

9: Should a man pay 1 shekel of silver to a hired man for harvesting—if he (the hired man) does not place himself at his disposal and does not complete for him the harvest work everywhere, he [shall pay 10 shekels of silver. Should he have received 1 seah and 5 qa (of barley) as wages and leave the rations of barley, oil and cloth shall also be refunded.

10: The hire for a donkey is 1 seah of barley, and the wages for its driver are 1 seah of barley. He shall drive it the whole day.

11: The wages of a hired man are 1 shekel of silver; his provender is 1 pan of barley. He shall work for one month.

12: A man who is caught in the field of a muskenum* in the crop during daytime, shall pay 10 shekels of silver. He who is caught in the crop at night, shall die, he shall not get away alive. [* The muskenum is a member of a social class which at Eshnunna seems to be closely connected with the palace or the temple.]

13: A man who is caught in the house of a muskenum, in the house, during daytime, shall pay 10 shekels of silver. He who is caught in the house at night, shall die, he shall not get away alive.

14: The fee of a ... [The word must denote some kind of "money-lender" or "merchant."]—should he bring 5 shekels of silver the fee is 1 shekel of silver; should he bring 10 shekels of silver the fee is 2 shekels of silver.

15: The tamkarrum* and the sabitum [The woman to whom trade in liquour is entrusted.] shall not receive silver, barley, wool or sesame oil from a slave or a slave-girl as an investment. [* The official "finance officer" who has a state monopoly on certain commercial transactions.]

16: To a coparcener or a slave a mortgage cannot be furnished.

17: Should the son of a man bring bride-money to the house of (his) father-in-law, if one of the two deceases, the money shall revert to its owner.

18 A: If he takes her (the girl) and she enters his house, but afterward the young woman should decease, he (the husband) can not obtain refunded that which he brought to his father-in-law, but will retain the excess in his hand.

18 B: Per 1 shekel of silver there will accrue 1/6 shekel and 6 grain as interest; per 1 kor of barley there will accrue r pan and 4 seah as interest.

19: The man who gives a loan in terms of his retake shall make the debtor pay on the threshing floor.

20: If a man gives a loan . . . expressing the value of the silver in barley, he shall at harvest time receive the barley and its interest, 1 pan (and) 4(?) seah per kor.

21: If a man gives silver (as a loan) at face value, he shall receive the silver and its interest, one sixth (of a shekel) and [6 grain] per shekel.

22: If a man has no claim against another man, but (nevertheless) distrains the other man's slave-girl, the owner of the slave-girl shall [decla]re under oath: "Thou hast no claim against me" and he shall pay him silver in full compensation for the slave-girl.

23: If a man has no claim against another man, but (nevertheless) distrains the (other) man's slave-girl, detains the distrainee in his house and causes her death, he shall give two slave-girls to the owner of the slave-girl as a replacement.

24: If a man calls at the house of his father-in-law, and his father-in-law accepts him in servitude, but (nevertheless) gives his daughter to another man, the father of the girl shall refund the bride-money which he received twofold.

25: If a man gives bride-money for another man's daughter, but another man seizes her forcibly without asking the permission of her father and her mother and deprives her of her virginity, it is a capital offence and he shall die.

26: If a man takes another man's daughter without asking the permission of her father and her mother and concludes no formal marriage contract with her father and her mother, even though she may live in his house for a year, she is not a housewife.

27: On the other hand, if he concludes a formal contract with her father and her mother and cohabits with her, she is a housewife. When she is caught with another man, she shall die, she shall not get away alive.

28: If a man has been made prisoner during a raid or an invasion or (if) he has been carried off forcibly and stayed in a foreign country for a long time, and if another man has taken his wife and she has born him a son—when he returns, he shall get his wife back.

30: If a man hates his town and his lord and becomes a fugitive, (and if) another man takes his wife—when he returns, he shall have no right to claim his wife.

31: If a man deprives another man's slave-girl of her virginity, he shall pay one-third of a mina of silver; the slave-girl remains the property of her owner.

ADOPTION RULES

32: If a man gives his son away for having him nursed and brought up, but does not give the nurse rations of barley, oil and wool for three years, he shall pay her 10 minas of silver for bringing up his son and shall take back his son.

33: If a slave-girl by subterfuge gives her child to another man's daughter, if its lord sees it when it has become older, he may seize it and take it back.

34: If a slave-girl of the palace gives her son or her daughter to a muskenum for bringing him / her up, the palace may take back the son or the daughter whom she gave.

35: Also the adoptant of the child of a slave-girl of the palace shall recompense the palace with its equivalent.

36: If a man gives property of his as a deposit to .. . and if the property he gives disappears without that the house was burglarised, the sippu [Part of the house at or near the door.] broken down or the window forced, he the depositary will replace his the depositor's property.

37: If the man's the depositary's house either collapses or is burglarized and together with the property of the deposit(or) which he gave him loss on the part of the owner of the house is incurred, the owner of the house shall swear him an oath in the gate of Tishpak [The main god of Eshnunna] saying: "Together with your property my property was lost; I have done nothing improper or fraudulent." If he swears him such an oath, he shall have no claim against him.

38: If one of several brothers wants to sell his share in a property common to them and his brother wants to buy it, he shall pay... [This expression seems to imply a preferential treatment.]

39: If a man is hard up and sells his house, the owner of the house shall be entitled to redeem it whenever the purchaser (re)sells it. [It would only be right to give the former owner, who fell into hard luck, the 1st chance to redeem buy back the house. If he does not have the price of redemption, then the house sells to another buyer.]

40: If a man buys a slave, a slave-girl, an ox or any other valuable good but cannot legally establish the seller, he is a thief.

41: If an ubarum, a naptarum or a mudum* wants to sell his beer, the sabitum shall sell the beer for him at the current price. [* Social classes who seem to be entitled to a ration of beer.]

42: If a man bites the nose of another man and severs it, he shall pay 1 mina of silver. For an eye he shall pay 1 mina of silver; for a tooth 1/2 mina; for an ear 1/2 mina; for a slap in the face 10 shekels of silver.

43: If a man severs a(nother) man's finger, he shall pay two-thirds of a mina of silver.

44: If a man throws another man to the floor in an altercation and breaks his hand, he shall pay 1/2 mina of silver.

45: If he breaks his foot, he shall pay 1/2 mina of silver.

46: If a man assaults another man and breaks his . . . he shall pay two-thirds of a mina of silver.

47: If a man hits another man accidentally, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver.

48: And in addition, in cases involving penalties from two-thirds of a mina to 1 mina, they shall formally try the man. A capital offence comes before the king.

49: If a man is caught with a stolen slave or a stolen slave-girl, he shall surrender slave by slave and slave-girl by slave-girl.

50: If the governor, the river commissioner or an-other official whoever it may be, seizes a lost slave, a lost slave-girl, a lost ox, a lost donkey belonging to the palace or a muskenum and does not surrender it to Eshnunna but keeps it in his house, even though he may let pass only seven days, the palace shall prosecute him for theft.

51: A slave or a slave-girl of Eshnunna which is marked with a kannum, a maikanum or an abbuttum [Markings that can easily be removed.] shall not leave the gate of Eshnunna without its owner's permission.

52: A slave or a slave-girl which has entered the gate of Eshnunna in the custody of a foreign envoy shall be marked

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with a kannum, a malkanum or an abbuttum, but remains in the custody of its master.

LIABILITY LAWS

53: If an ox gores an other ox and causes its death, both ox owners shall divide among themselves the price of the live ox and also the equivalent of the dead ox.

54: If an ox is known to gore habitually and the authorities have brought the fact to the knowledge of its owner, but he does not have his ox dehorned, it gores a man and causes his death, then the owner of the ox shall pay two-thirds of a mina of silver.

55: If it gores a slave and causes his death, he shall pay 15 shekels of silver.

56: If a dog is vicious and the authorities have brought the fact to the knowledge of its owner, if nevertheless he does not keep it in, it bites a man and causes his death, then the owner of the dog shall pay two-thirds of a mina of silver.

57: If it bites a slave* and causes its death, he shall pay 15 shekels of silver. [* Slavery is Not Condemned in the Bible. Politically correct Christians may think slavery abhorrent. But God and the Bible did not.]

58: If a wall is threatening to fall and the authorities have brought the fact to the knowledge of its owner, if nevertheless he does not strengthen his wall, the wall collapses and causes a free man's death, then it is a capital offence; jurisdiction of the king.

59: If a man divorces his wife after having made her bear children and takes another wife, he shall be driven from his house and from whatever he owns and may go after him who will accept him.

[The following articles No. 60 and 61 are badly mutilated and therefore cannot be translated.]

APPENDIX C-2
(to Artefacts and Historical Documents)

THE INDIKA

Ancient India as described by Ktesias of Knidos
Translation: J. W. McCrindle. 1881
Estimated Range of Dating: 5th century B.C.

(There are three works called "Indika" (Indica) that were written in Antiquity: ***1.*** *Indika (by Ktesias of Knidos, 5th century BC, physician to Artaxerxes II), a recording of the beliefs of the Persians about India.* ***2.*** *Indika (by Megasthenes, c. 350-290 BC, Greek ambassador to Chandragupta Maurya.), his account of his travels in India.* ***3.*** *Indika (by Lucius Flavius Arrianus, c. 86-160 AD, general, senator, consul), Arrian's account of Nearchus' voyage from India.*

The Indika (Latin form: Indica) is a book by the classical Greek physician Ctesias purporting to describe India. Written in the 5th century BC, it is the first known Greek reference to that distant land. Ktesias was the author of The Persika, a detailed (but now lost) treatise on the Persian Achaemenid Empire (23 books), and The Indika, an account of India, which is lost as well but has survived in fragments, mainly through the quotations of other authors. Written in the 5th century BC, it is the first known Greek reference to that distant land. The book is not based on his own experiences, but on stories brought to Persia by traders, along the Silk Road from Serica (Greek name for China) and India. The accounts deal with the parts of India which were not occupied by the Persian Empire and therefore not well known. Persian India encompassed today's Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the Northwest of India.

Ktesias (or Ctesias, 5th century BC), also known as Ctesias of Cnidus or Ctesias the Cnidian, was a Greek physician and historian from the town of Cnidus in Caria, when Caria was part of the Persian Achaemenid Empire. Ktesias was physician to the Persian king Artaxerxes II, whom he accompanied in 401 BC on his expedition against his brother Cyrus the Younger. Ktesias was part of the entourage of the king at the Battle of Cunaxa (401 BC) against Cyrus the Younger and his Greek mercenaries called the Ten Thousand, and brought medical assistance to the king by treating his flesh wound. He reportedly was involved in negotiations with the Greeks after the battle.

The Indika does not survive, however, the excerpts and summaries depict some of the bizarre accounts which are highly distorted when it comes to real-life people, places, and animals. These distorted versions entered European lore and could be found in travelers' accounts down to the Renaissance. The book contains the first known reference to the unicorn, ostensibly an ass in India that had a single 1.5 cubit (27 inch) horn on its head, and introduces the European world to the talking parrot, and falconry, which was not yet practiced in Europe. Anecdotes like the description of a race of one-legged people called the Monosceli, another whose feet were so big they could be used as umbrellas (the Skiopolae), men with tails like satyrs, and the claim that people in Serica were 18 feet tall, were most likely misinterpretations. Despite the weird stories, the book still contains valuable information such as:

• The River Indus is identified, and described as being up to twenty miles across.

• India is heavily populated, more than the rest of the world combined

• Indian elephants are first described, generations before Alexander the Great faced them while conquering part of India.

• While monkeys were well known in the Mediterranean, unusual types are described for India, including a tiny breed with a tail six feet in length

• Indian dogs the size of lions

• Gigantic mountains (the Himalaya)

• The martikhora (manticore), a red creature with a face like a man's, three rows of teeth, and a scorpion's sting on its tail. This is the earliest known Western reference to the manticore.

• Detailed descriptions of Indian customs, proclaiming them very just and honorable.

• Short, black men called pygmies, who live in the middle of India.

• Palm and date trees three times the size of those in Babylon (which was annexed by Persia)

The texts below were translated by J. W. McCrindle (1825-1913) in the Indian Antiquary in 1881. His translations were collected in book form the next year with additional supplementary material.)

ANCIENT INDIA, AS DESCRIBED BY KTESIAS,

INTRODUCTION

The Life and Writings of Ktesias.

To Ktesias belongs the distinction of having been the first writer who gave to the Greeks a special treatise on India—a region concerning which they had, before his time, no further knowledge than what was supplied by the few and meagre notices of it which had appeared in the Geography of Hekataios of Miletos and in the History of Herodotos. This Ktesias was a native of Knidos, an important Lakedemonian colony situate on the sea coast of Karia, and was the son of Ktesiokhos (or Ktesiarkhos). His family, as we learn from Galen, was a branch of the Asklepiadai, a caste of priests settled principally in Kes and Knidos, with whom medicine was an hereditary profession. He was contemporary with Hippokrates, who like himself was an Asklepiad; but he was very much younger than his illustrious kinsman, though by how many years we know not, as the date of his birth cannot be ascertained. We may conclude, however, that he must have risen to eminence by the practice of his art before the year 416 B.C., for about that time he repaired to Persia, probably on the invitation of the king who appointed him physician to the royal court. Here he remained for 17 years, of which the first eleven were spent under Darius II, and the remaining six under his successor Artaxerxes Mnemon. He accompanied the latter when he took the field against Cyrus, and, as we learn from Xenophon, cured the wound which his royal master received in the battle of Kunaxa. Soon after this he appears to have left Persia and returned to his own country. This was in the year 398, after which we know nothing of his career.

Ktesias diversified his professional with literary pursuits and was the author of several works, of which the most important was his history of Persia. This was written in 23 books, of which the first six contained the history of the Assyrian monarchy down to the foundation of the kingdom of Persia. The next seven contained the history of Persia down to the end of the reign of Xerxes, and the remaining ten carried the history down to the time when the author left the Persian Court. This great work, whatever may have been its other merits, possessed this especial value, that the facts which it recorded were derived principally from the Persian state-records which Ktesias was permitted by the king to consult. His statements, as might be expected, are frequently at variance with those of Herodotos whose sources of information were different. He is also in a few instances at variance with his contemporary Xenophon. The work unfortunately no longer exists, but we possess a brief abstract of its consents made by Photios, and some fragments which have been preserved by Diodoros and other writers.

Besides the History and the Treatise on India, Ktesias appears to have composed several minor works. These consisted, so far as is known, of treatise on the Revenues of the Persian Empire, two treatises of a geographical nature—one being on Mountains, and the other on Rivers, and some books of voyages entitled Periploi.

The Indika of Ktesias, like his other works, has been lost, but, like his great work on the History of Persia, it has been abridged by Photios, while several fragments of it have been preserved in the pages of other writers, as for instance Aelian. It was comprised in a single book, and embodied the information which Ktesias had gathered about India, partly from the reports of Persian officials who had visited that country on the king's service, and partly also perhaps from the reports of Indians themselves, who in those days were occasionally to be seen at the Persian Court, whither they resorted, either as merchants, or as envoys bringing presents and tribute from the princes of Northern India, which was then subject to Persian rule. Ktesias unfortunately was not only a great lover of the marvellous, but also singularly deficient, for one of his profession, in critical acumen. He took, therefore, no pains to sift the accounts which were communicated to him, and the book which he gave to the world, instead of being, what a careful enquirer with his advantages might have made it—a valuable repertory of facts concerning India and its people, seemed to be little else than a tissue of fables and of absurd perversions or exaggerations of the truth, and was condemned as such, not only by the consentient voice of antiquity, but also by the generality of the learned in modern times. The work was nevertheless popular, and in spite of its infirm credit, was frequently cited by subsequent writers. Its 'tales of wonder' fascinated the credulous, while its style, which was remarkable alike for its ease, sweetness, and perspicuity, recommended it to readers of every stamp. It was the only systematic account of India the Greeks possessed till the time of the Makedonian invasion.

We must notice in conclusion the fact, that, as the knowledge of India, and especially of Indian antiquity, has increased, scholars have been led to question the justice of the traditional verdict which condemns Ktesias as a writer of unscrupulous mendacity. They do not indeed wholly exculpate him, but they have shown that many of his statements, which were once taken to be pure falsehoods, have either certain elements of truth underlying them, or that they originated in misconceptions which were perhaps less wilful than unavoidable. The fabulous races for instance which he has described are found, so far from being fictions of his own invention, to have their exact analogues in monstrous races which are mentioned in the two great national epics and other Brahmanical writings, and which, though therein depicted with every attribute of deformity, were nevertheless, not purely fictitious, but misrepresentations of such aboriginal tribes as offered a stout resistance to their Aryan invaders while still engaged in the task of conquering India.

These moderate views, which have been advocated by such authorities as Heeren, Bähr, C. Müller, Lassen, and others, will no doubt come eventually to be very generally accepted.

Notice of Photios.

Photios, to whom we are indebted for the abridgements of Ktesias, was the Patriarch of Constantinople, an office to which he was elected, though previously a layman, in the year 858 AD. Soon after the accession of Leo VI. as emperor (886 AD) he was accused of having conspired against his life, and was in consequence banished to a monastery in Armenia, where he ended his days. He was not only a scholar of wonderful erudition and sound judgement, but was the author of many works, the most important of which was that, entitled Myriobiblion or Bibliotheke—which was a review on an extensive scale of ancient Greek literature. It contained abstracts of the contents of 280 volumes, many of which are now known only from the account which he has given of them. His abridgment of the Persian history of our author is much more concise than that of his Indika. The latter is however a careless and unsatisfactory performance, for the passages summarised are chiefly those for which Ktesias was stigmatised as a fabulist and a liar.

As Lassen has devoted one of the leading sections' of his great work on Indian Antiquity to an examination of the reports which are yet extant of Ktesias upon India, and as his review is all but exhaustive, and reflects nearly all the light that learned research has yet been able to throw upon the subject, I have for this reason, as well as with a view to obviate the need which would otherwise occur, of having constant recourse to long foot-notes, thought it advisable to append to the translation of the Greek text a translation of this review. I have appended also a translation of some passages from Indikopleustes, which will serve to illustrate the descriptions given by Ktesias of certain Indian animals and plants.

THE INDIKA OF KTESIAS.

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[* Diodoros (1., 1) followed by Tzetzes (Chil. 1. 1, 82), writes that Ktesias fighting with his countrymen on behalf of Cyrus was taken prisoner at the battle of Kunaxa, and was thereafter on account of his skill in medicine taken into the king's service, in. which he remained for 17 years. A comparison however of well ascertained facta discredits this statement.]

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[* Ktesias, though a Dorian, used many Ionic forms and modes of expression, and these more in the Indika than in the Persika. His style is praised for tho qualities mentioned in the text by Photios, Dion. Halicarn, and Demet. Phaler, who does not hesitate to speak of him as a poet, the very demiurge of perspicuity.]

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FRAGMENT I.

Ecloga* in Photii, Bibl. 72, p. 144 seqq. (* A manual of Roman law, the Ecloga published by the emperors Leo III and Constantine V of Isauria at Constantinople 726 AD: rendered into English by Edwin Hanson Freshfield, 1926.)

1. Another work was read—the Indika of Ktesias, contained in a single book wherein the author has made more frequent use of Ionic forms. He reports of the river Indus that, where narrowest, it has a breadth of forty stadia, and where widest of two hundred; and of the Indians themselves that they almost outnumber all other men taken together. He mentions the skolex, a kind of worm bred in the river, this being indeed the only living creature which is found in it. He states that there are no men who live beyond the Indians, and that no rain falls in India but that the country is watered by its river.

2. He notices the pantarba, a kind of scalstone, and relates that when sealstones and other costly gems to the number of 477 which belonged to the Baktrian merchant, had been flung into the river, this pantarba drew them up to itself, all adhering together.

3. He notices also the elephants that demolish walls; the kind of small apes that have tails four cubits long; the cocks that are of extraordinary size; the kind of bird called the parrot and which he thus describes: it has a tongue and voice like the human, is of the size of a hawk, has a red bill, is adorned with a board of a black colour, while the neck is red like cinnabar, it talks like a man in Indian, but if taught Greek can talk in Greek also.

4. He notices the fountain which is filled every year with liquid gold, out of which are annually drawn a hundred earthen pitchers filled with the metal. The pitchers must be earthen since the gold when drawn becomes solid, and to get it out the containing vessel must needs be broken in pieces. The fountain is of a square shape, eleven cubits in circumference, and a fathom in depth. Each pitcherful of gold weighs a talent. He notices also the iron found at the bottom of this fountain, adding that he had in his own possession two swords made from this iron, one given to him by the king of Persia, and the other by Parysatis, the mother of that same king. This iron, he says, if fixed in the earth, averts clouds and hail and thunderstorms, and he avers that he had himself twice seen the iron do this, the king on both occasions performing the experiment.

5. We learn further that the dogs of India are of very great size, so that they fight even with the lion; that there are certain high mountains having mines which yield the sardine-stone, and onyxes, and other seal stones that the heat is excessive, and that the sun appears in India to be ten times larger than in other countries; and that many of the inhabitants are suffocated to death by the heat. Of the sea in India, he says, that it is not less than the sea in Hellas; its surface however for four finger-breadths downward is hot, so that fish cannot live that go near the heated surface, but must confine themselves always to the depths below.

6. He states that the river Indus flows through the level country, and through between the mountains, and that what is called the Indian reed grows along its course, this being so thick that two men could scarcely encompass its stem with their arms, and of a height to equal the mast of a merchant ship of the heaviest burden. Some are of a greater size even than this, though some are of less, as might be expected when the mountain it grows on is of vast range. The reeds are distinguished by sex, some being male, others female. The male reed has no pith, and is exceedingly strong, but the female has a pith.

7. He describes an animal called the martikhora found in India. Its face is like a man's—it is about as big as a lion, and in colour red like cinnabar. It has three rows of teeth—ears like the human—eyes of a pale-blue like the human and a tail like that of the land scorpion, armed with a sting and more than a cubit long. It has besides stings on each side of its tail, and, like the scorpion, is armed with an additional sting on the crown of its head, wherewith it stings any one who goes near it, the wound in all cases proving mortal. If attacked from a distance it defends itself both in front and in rear—in front with its tail, by up-lifting it and darting out the stings, like shafts shot from a bow, and in rear by straightening it out. It can strike to the distance of a hundred feet, and no creature can survive the wound it inflicts save only the elephant. The stings are about a foot in length, and not thicker than the finest thread. The name martikhora means in Greek "man-eater," and it is so called because it carries off men and devours them, though it no doubt preys upon other animals as well. In fighting it uses not only its stings but also its claws. Fresh stings grow up to replace those shot away in fighting. These animals are numerous in India, and are killed by the natives who hunt them with elephants, from the backs of which they attack them with darts.

8. He describes the Indians as extremely just, and gives an account of their manners and customs. He mentions the sacred spot in the midst of an uninhabited region which they venerate in the name of the Sun and the Moon. It takes one a fifteen days' journey to reach this place from Mount Sardous. Here for the space of five and thirty days the Sun every year cools down to allow his worshippers to celebrate his rites, and return home unscorched by his burning rays. He observes that in India there is neither thunder nor lightning nor rain, but that storms of -wind and violent hurricanes which sweep everything before them, are of frequent occurrence. The morning sun produces coolness for one half of the day, but an excessive heat during the other half, and this holds good for most parts of India.

9. It is not, however, by exposure to the sun that the people are swarthy, but by nature, for among the Indians there are both men and women who are as fair as any in the world, though such are no doubt in a minority. He adds that he had himself seen two Indian women and five men of such a fair complexion.

10. Wishing to assure us of the truth of his statement that the sun makes the temperature cool for five and thirty days, he mentions several facts that are equally strange—that the streams of fire which issue from Ætna leave unscathed amidst the surrounding havoc those lands which belong to just men—that in Zakynthos there are fountains with fish whence pitch is taken out—that in Naxos is a fountain which at times discharges a wine of great sweetness, and that the water of the river Phasis likewise, if kept in a vessel for a night and a day, changes into a wine which is also of great sweetness—that near Phaselis in Lykia there is a perpetual volcano, always flaming on the summit of the rock both by night and by day, and this is not quenched by water, which rather augments the blaze, but by casting rubbish into it—and in like manner, the volcanoes of Ætna and of Prusa keep always burning.

11. He writes that in the middle of India are found the swarthy men called Pygmies, who speak the same language as the other Indians. They are very diminutive, the tallest of them being but two cubits in height, while the majority are only one and a half. They let their hair grow very long—down to their knees, and even lower. They have the largest beards anywhere to be seen, and when these have grown sufficiently long and copious, they no longer wear clothing, but, instead, let the hair of the head fall down their backs far below the knee, while in front are their beards trailing down to their very feet. When their hair has thus thickly enveloped their whole body, they bind it round them with a zone, and so make it serve for a garment. Their privates are thick, and so large that they depend even to their ancles. They are moreover snubnosed, and otherwise ill-favoured. Their sheep are of the size of our lambs, and their oxen and asses rather smaller than our rams, which again are as big as their horses and mules and other cattle. Of the Pygmies three thousand men attend the king of the Indians, on account of their great skill in archery. They are eminently just, and have the same laws as the Indians. They hunt hares and foxes not with dogs but with ravens and kites and crows and vultures. In their country is a lake eight hundred stadia in circumference, which produces an oil like our own. If the wind be not blowing, this oil floats upon the surface, and the Pygmies going upon the lake in little boats collect it from amidst the waters in small tubs for household use. They use also oil of sesamum and nut oil, but the lake-oil is the best. The lake has also fish.

12. There is much silver in their part of the country, and the silver-mines though not deep are deeper than those in Baktria. Gold also is a product of India. It is not found in rivers and washed from the sands the like gold of the river Paktolos, but is found on those many high-towering mountains which are inhabited by the Griffins, a race of four-footed birds, about as large as wolves, having legs and olaws like those of the lion, and covered all over the body with black feathers except only on the breast where they are red. On account of those birds the gold with which the mountains abound is difficult to be got.

13. The sheep and the goats of the Indians are bigger than asses, and generally produce young by four and by six at a time. The tails grow to such a size that those of the dams must be cut off before the rams can get at them. India does not however produce the pig, either the tame sort or the wild. Palm-trees and their dates are in India thrice the size of those in Babylon, and we learn that there is a certain river flowing with honey out of a rock, like the one we have in our own country.

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14. The justice of the Indians, their devotion to their king and their contempt of death are themes on which he loves to expatiate. He notices a fountain having this peculiarity, that when any one draws water from it, the water coagulates like cheese, and should you then detach from the solid lump a piece weighing about three obols, and having triturated this, put the powder into common water, he to whom you give this potion blabs out whatever he has done, for he becomes delirious, and raves like a madman all that day. The king avails himself of this property when he wishes to discover the guilt or innocence of accused persons. Whoever incriminates himself when undergoing the ordeal is sentenced to starve himself to death, while he who does not confess to any crime is acquitted.

15. The Indians are not afflicted with headache, or toothache, or ophthalmia, nor have they mouthsores or ulcers in any part of their body. The age to which they live is 120, 130, and 150 years, though the very old live to 200.

16. In their country is a serpent a span long, in appearance like the most beautiful purple with a head perfectly white but without any teeth. The creature is caught on those very hot mountains whose mines yield the sardine-stone. It does not sting, but on whatever part of the body it casts its vomit, that place invariably putrifies. If suspended by the tail, it emits two kinds of poison, one like amber which, oozes from it while living, and the other black, which oozes from its carcase. Should about a sesame-seed's bulk of the former be administered to any one, he dies the instant he swallows it, for his brain runs out through his nostrils. If the black sort be given it induces consumption, but operates so slowly that death scarcely ensues in less than a year's time.

17. He mentions an Indian bird called the Dikairon, a name equivalent in Greek to "just." It is about the size of a partridge's egg. It buries its dung under the earth to prevent its being found. Should it be found notwithstanding, and should a person at morning tide swallow so muoh of it as would about equal a grain of sesamum, he falls into a deep unconscious sleep from which he never awakes, but dies at the going down of the sun.

18. In the same country grows what is called the Parebon, a plant about the size of the olive, found only in the royal gardens, producing neither flower nor fruit, but having merely fifteen roots, which grow down into the earth, and are of considerable thickness, the very slenderest being about as thick as one's arm. If a span's length of this root be taken, it attracts to itself all objects brought near it—gold, silver, copper, stones and all things else except amber. If however a cubit's length of it be taken, it attracts lambs and birds, and it is in fact with this root that most kinds of birds are caught. Should you wish to turn water solid, even a whole gallon of it, you have but to throw into the water not more than an obol's weight of this root, and the thing is done. Its effect is the same upon wine which, when condensed by it, can be held in your hand like a piece of wax, though it melts the next day. It is found beneficial in the cure of bowel disorders.

19. Through India there flows a certain river, not of any great size, but only about two stadia in breadth, called in the Indian tongue Hyparkhos, which means in Greek "the bearer of all things good." This river for thirty days in every year floats down amber, for in the upper part of its course where it flows among the mountains there are said to be trees overhanging its current which for thirty days at a particular season in every year continue dropping tears like the almond-tree and the pine-tree and other trees. These tears on dropping into the water harden into gum. The Indian name for the tree is siptakhora, which means when rendered into Greek "sweet." These trees then supply the Indians with their amber. And not only so but they are said to yield also berries, which grow in clusters like the grapes of the vine, and have stones as large as the filbert-nuts of Pontos.

20. He writes that on the mountains just spoken of there live men having heads like those of dogs, who wear the skins of wild beasts, and do not use articulate speech, but bark like dogs, and thus converse so as to be understood by each other.63 They have larger teeth than dogs, and claws like those of dogs, only larger and more rounded. They inhabit the mountains, and extend as far as the river Indus. They are swarthy, and like all the other Indians extremely just men. With the Indians they can hold intercourse, for they understand what they say, though they cannot, it is true, reply to them in words, still by barking and by making signs with their hands and their fingers like the deaf and the dumb, they can make themselves understood. They are called by the Indians Kalystrioi, which means in Greek "dog-headed." Their food is raw flesh. The whole tribe numbers not less than 120,000 men.

21. Near the sources of this river there grows a certain purple flower, which is used for dying purple, and is not inferior to the Greek sort, but even imparts a far more florid hue. In the same parts there is a wild insect about the size of a beetle, red like cinnabar, with legs excessively long. It is as soft as the worm called skolex and is found on the trees which produce amber, eating the fruits of those trees and destroying them, as in Greece the wood-louse ravages the vine-trees. The Indians grind these insects to a powder and therewith dye such robes, tunics, and other vestments as they want to be of a purple hue. Their dye-stuffs are superior to those used by the Persians.

22. The Kynokephaloi living on the mountains do not practise any of the arts but subsist by the produce of the chase. They slaughter the prey, and roast the flesh in the sun. They rear however great numbers of sheep and goats and asses. They drink the milk of the sheep and the whey which is made therefrom. They eat moreover the fruit of the Siptakhora—the tree which produces amber, for it is sweet. They also dry this fruit, and pack it in hampers as the Greeks do raisins. The same people construct rafts, and freight them with the hampers as well as with the flowers of the purple plant, after cleansing it, and with 260 talents weight of amber, and a like weight of the pigment which dyes purple, and 1000 talents more of amber. All this cargo, which is the season's produce, they convey annually as tribute to the King of the Indians. They take also additional quantities of the same commodities for sale to the Indians, from whom they receive in exchange loaves of bread and flour and cloth which is made from a tree-grown stuff (cotton). They sell also swords such as they use in hunting wild beasts, and bows and javelins, for they are fell marksmen both in shooting with the bow and in hurling the javelin. As they inhabit steep and pathless mountains they cannot possibly be conquered in war, and the king moreover once every five years sends them as presents 300,000 arrows and as many javelins, 120,000 shields and 50,000 swords.

23. These Kynokephaloi have no houses but live in caves. They hunt wild beasts with the bow and the spear, and run so fast that they can overtake them in the chase. Their women bathe once a month at the time of menstruation, and then only. The men do not bathe at all, but merely wash their hands. Thrice a month, however, they anoint themselves with an oil made from milk, and wipe themselves with skins. Skins denuded of the hair, and made thin and soft, constitute the dress both of the men and their wives. Their richest men however use cotton raiment, but the number of Buch men is small. They have no bed but sleep on a litter of straw or leaves. That man is considered the richest who possesses most sheep, and in property of this sort consists all their wealth. Both men and women have, like dogs, tails above their buttocks but larger and more hairy. They copulate like quadrupeds in dog-fashion, and to copulate otherwise is thought shameful. They are just, and of all men are the longest-lived, attaining the age of 170, and some even of 200 years.

24. Beyond these again are other men who inhabit the country above the sources of the river, who are swarthy like the other Indians, do no work, and neither eat grain nor drink water, but rear a good many cows and goats and sheep, and drink their milk as their sole sustenance. Children are born among them with the anus closed up, and the contents of the bowels are therefore voided, it is said, as urine, this being something like curds, though not at all thick but feculent. When they drink milk in the morning and take another draught at noon, and then immediately after eat a certain sweet-tasted root of indigenous growth which is said to prevent milk from coagulating in the stomach, this root towards evening acts as an emetic, and they vomit up everything quite readily.

25. Among the Indians, he proceeds, there are wild asses as large as horses, some being even larger. Their head is of a dark red colour, their eyes blue, and the rest of their body white. They have a horn on their forehead, a cubit in length [the filings of this horn, if given in a potion, are an antidote to poisonous drugs]. This horn for about two palm-breadths upwards from the base is of the purest white, where it tapers to a sharp point of a flaming crimson, and, in the middle, is black. These horns are made into drinking cups, and such as drink from them are attacked neither by convulsions nor by the sacred disease (epilepsy). Nay, they are not even affected by poisons, if either before or after swallowing them they drink from these cups wine, water, or anything else. While other asses moreover, whether wild or tame, and indeed all other solid-hoofed animals have neither huckle-bones, nor gall in the liver, these one-horned asses have both. Their huckle-bone is the most beautiful of all I have ever seen, and is, in appearance and size, like that of the ox. It is as heavy as lead, and of the colour of cinnabar both on the surface, and all throughout. It is exceedingly fleet and strong, and no creature that pursues it, not even the horse, can overtake it.

26. On first starting it scampers off somewhat leisurely, but the longer it runs, it gallops faster and faster till the pace becomes most furious. These animals therefore can only be caught at one particular time—that is when they lead out their little foals to the pastures in which they roam. They are then hemmed in on all sides by a vast number of hunters mounted on horseback, and being unwilling to escape while leaving their young to perish, stand their ground and fight, and by butting with their horns and kicking and biting kill many horses and men. But they are in the end taken, pierced to death with arrows and spears, for to take them alive is in no way possible. Their flesh being bitter is unfit for food, and they are hunted merely for the sake of their horns and their huckle-bones.

27. He states that there is bred in the Indian river a worm like in appearance to that which is found in the fig, but seven cubits more or less in length, while its thickness is such that a boy ten years old could hardly clasp it within the circuit of his arms. These worms have two teeth—an upper and a lower, with which they seize and devour their prey. In the daytime they remain in the mud at the bottom of the river, but at night they come ashore, and should they fall in with any prey as a cow or a camel, they seize it with their teeth, and having dragged it to the river, there devour it. For catching this worm a large hook is employed, to which a kid or a lamb is fastened by chains of iron. The worm being landed, the captors hang up its carcase, and placing vessels underneath it leave it thus for thirty days. All this time oil drops from it, as much being got as would fill ten Attic kotylai. At the end of the thirty days they throw away the worm, and preserving the oil they take it to the king of the Indians, and to him alone, for no subject is allowed to get a drop of it. This oil [like fire] sets everything ablaze over which it is poured and it consumes not alone wood but even animals. The flames can be quenched only by throwing over them a great quantity of clay, and that of a thick consistency.

28. But again there are certain trees in India as tall as the cedar or the cypress, having leaves like those of the date palm, only somewhat broader, but having no shoots sprouting from the stems. They produce a flower like the male laurel, but no fruit. In the Indian language they are called karpion, but in Greek "unguent-roses." These trees are scarce. There oozes from them an oil in drops, which are wiped off from the stem with wool, from which they are afterwards wrung out and received into alabaster boxes of stone. The oil is in colour of a faint red, and of a somewhat thick consistency. Its smell is the sweetest in all the world, and is said to diffuse itself to a distance of five stadia around. The privilege of possessing this perfume belongs only to the king and the members of the royal family. A present of it was sent by the king of the Indians to the king of the Persians, and Ktesias alleges that he saw it himself, and that it was of such an exquisite fragrance as he could not describe, and he knew nothing whereunto he could liken it.

29. He states that the cheese and the wines of the Indians are the sweetest in the world, adding that he knew this from his own experience, since he had tasted both.

30. There is a fountain among the Indians of a square shape and of about five ells in circumference. The water lodges in a rock. The depth downward till you reach the water is three cubits and the depth of the water itself three orguiai. Herein the Indians of highest distinction bathe [both for purification and the averting of diseases] along with their wives and children; they throw themselves into the well foot foremost, and when they leap in the water casts them up again, and not only does it throw up human beings to the surface, but it casts out upon dry land any kind of animal, whether living or dead, and in fact anything else that is cast into it except iron and silver and gold and copper, which all sink to the bottom. The water is intensely cold and sweet to drink. It makes a loud bubbling noise like water boiling in a caldron. Its waters are a cure for leprosy, and scab. In the Indian tongue it is called Balladé and in Greek ophelyme (i. e. useful).

31. On those Indian mountains where the Indian reed grows, there is a race of men whose number is not less than 30,000, and whose wives bear offspring only once in their whole lifetime. Their children have teeth of perfect whiteness, both the upper set and the under, and the hair both of their head and of their eyebrows is from their very infancy quite hoary, and this whether they be boys or girls. Indeed every man among them till he reaches his thirtieth year has all the hair on his body white, but from that time forward it begins to turn black, and by the time they are sixty, there is not a hair to be seen upon them but what is black. These people, both men and women alike, have eight fingers on each hand, and eight toes on each foot. They are a very warlike people, and five thousand of them armed with bows and spears follow the banners of the King of the Indians. Their ears, he says, are so large that they cover their arms as far as the elbows while at the same time they cover all the back and the one ear touches the other.

32. There is in Ethiopia an animal called properly the Krokottas, but vulgarly the Kynolykos. It is of prodigious strength, and is said to imitate the human voice, and by night to call out men by their names, and when they come forth at their call, to fall upon them and devour them. This animal has the courage of the lion, the speed of the horse, and the strength of the bull, and cannot be encountered success fully with weapons of steel. In Eubœa about Khalkis the sheep have no gall, and their flesh is so extremely bitter that dogs even will not eat it. They say also that in the parts beyond the Maurusian Straits rain falls in the summer-time, while the same regions are in wintertime scorched with heat. In the country of the Kyonians there is, according to his account, a certain fountain, which instead of water has springs of oil—this oil being used by the people in the neighbourhood for all

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kinds of food. In the region also called Metadrida there is another fountain, this being at no great distance from the sea. At midnight it swells with the utmost violence, and in receding casts forth fish upon dry land in such quantities that the people of the place cannot gather them, and are obliged to leave them lying rotting on the ground.

33. Ktesias thus writing and romancing professes that his narrative is all perfect truth, and, to assure us of this, asseverates that he has recorded nothing but what he either saw with his own eyes, or learned from the testimony of credible eye-witnesses. He adds moreover that he has left unnoticed many things far more marvellous than any he has related, lest any one who had not a previous knowledge of the facts might look upon him as an arrant story-teller.

The Seres and the natives of Upper India are said to be men of huge stature, so that among them are found some who are 13 cubits in height and who also live till they are above 200 years old. There are besides somewhere in the river called the Gaïtes men of a brute-like appearance who have a hide like that of a rhinoceros being quite impervious to darts, while in India itself in the central parts of an island of the ocean the inhabitants are said to have tails of extraordinary length such as satyrs are represented with in pictures.

FRAGMENT 2

From Arrian (Lucius Flavius Arrianus; c. 86-160 AD), Anabasis, Book 5. 4, 2.

And Ktesias (if any one considers him a competent authority) asserts that the distance from the one bank of the Indus to the other where the stream is narrowest is 40 stadia, and where it is widest, so much even as 100 stadia, though its breadth in general is the mean between these two extremes.

FRAGMENT 3

Strabo (Strabon, a Greek-Roman geographer and historian; 64 BC - 24 AD), Geographica ("Geography") Book 15.

From this we can see how greatly the opinions of the others differ, Ktesias asserting that India is not less than all the rest of Asia, and Onesikritos that, etc.

From the Indika of Arrian, 30.

Ktesias the Knidian states that India is equal to the rest of Asia, but he is wrong.

FRAGMENT 4

Aelian (Claudius Aelianus, a Greek speaking Roman author; c. 175-235 AD), De Natura Animalium Book 17, 29.

When the King of the Indians goes on a campaign, one hundred thousand war-elephants go on before him, while three thousand more, that are of superior size and strength, march, I am told, behind him, these being trained to demolish the walls of the enemy. This they effect by rushing against them at the King's signal, and throwing them down by the overwhelming force with which they press their breasts against them. Ktesias reports this from hearsay, but adds that with his own eyes he had seen elephants tear up palm trees, roots and all, with like furious violence; and this they do whenever they are instigated to the act by their drivers.

FRAGMENT 5

(A) Aristotle, De Gener. Anim. 2, 2.

What Ktesias has said regarding the seed of the elephant is plainly false, for he asserts that when dry it turns hard so as to become like amber; and this it does not.

(B) From the same, towards the end of the 3rd Book of his History of Animals.

What Ktesias has written regarding the seed of the elephant is false.

(C) Aelian, De Animal. 16, 2.

Cocks [in India] are of immense size, and their crests are not red like the crests of our own cocks, but many-hued, like a floral garland; their rump feathers are neither curved nor wreathed, but broad, and these they trail after them in the way the peacock drags his tail when he does not make it stand erect. The feathers of the Indian cocks are partly golden, and partly of a gleaming azure like the smaragdus stone.

FRAGMENT 6

(A) Aelian, De Animal. Nat. 16, 31.

Ktesias in his account of India says that the people called the Kynamolgoi rear many dogs as big as the Hyrkanian breed, and this Knidian writer tells us also why they keep so many dogs, and this is the reason: From the time of the summer solstice on to mid-winter they are incessantly attacked by herds of wild oxen, coming like a swarm of bees or a flight of angry wasps, only that the oxen are more numerous by far. They are ferocious withal and proudly defiant, and butt most viciously with their horns. The Kynamolgoi, unable to withstand them otherwise, let loose their dogs upon them, which are bred for this express purpose, and these dogs easily overpower the oxen and worry them to death. Then come the masters, and appropriate to their own use such parts of the carcases as they deem fit for food, but they set apart for their dogs all the rest, and gratitude prompts them to give this share cheerfully. During the season when they are left unmolested by the oxen, they employ their dogs in hunting other animals. They milk the bitches, and this is why they are called Kynamolgoi (dog-milkers). They drink this milk just as we drink that of the sheep or the goat.

(B) Polydeukes (Pollux), Onomastic. 5, 5, 41, p. 497.

The Kynamolgoi are dogs living about the lakes in the south of India and subsisting' upon cows' milk. They are attacked in the hot season by the oxen of India, but they fight these assailants and overcome them, as Ktesias relates.

(C) Aelian, De Animal. Nat. 4, 32.

It is worth while learning what like are the cattle of the Indians. Their goats and their sheep are, from what I hear, bigger than the biggest asses, and they produce four young ones at a time, and never fewer than three. The tails of the sheep reach down to their feet, and the tails of the goats are so long that they almost touch the ground. The shepherds cut off the tails of those ewes that are good for breeding to let them be mounted by the rams, and these tails yield an oil which is squeezed out from their fat. They cut also the tails of the rams, and having extracted the fat, sew them up again so carefully that no trace of the incision is afterwards seen.

FRAGMENT 7

Tzetzes, Chil. 7, 5. 739, from the Third Book of the Ἀραβικιον of Uranius.

If any one thinks that the size of the Arabian reeds has been exaggerated, who, asks Tzetzes, would believe what Ktesias says of the Indian reeds—that they are two orguiai in breadth, and that a couple of cargo-boats could be made from a single joint of one of these reeds.

FRAGMENT 8

Aristotle, De Hist. Anim. 2, 1.

No animals of these species have a double row of teeth, though, if we are to believe Ktesias, there is one exception to the rule, for he asserts that the Indian beast called the Martikhora has a triple row of teeth in each of its jaws. He describes the animal as being equal in size to the lion, which it also resembles in its claws and in having shaggy hair, though its face and its ears are like those of a human being. Its eyes are blue and its hair is of the colour of cinnabar. Its tail, which resembles that of the land scorpion, contains the sting, and is furnished with a growth of prickles which it has the power of discharging like shafts shot from a bow. Its voice is like the sound of the pipe and the trumpet blended together. It runs fast, being as nimble as a deer. It is very ferocious and has a great avidity for human flesh.

FRAGMENT 9

Pausanias (Boiot. 9. 21. 4) quoting Ktesias, thus describes the same animal.

The animal mentioned by Ktesias in his Indika, called by the Indians the Martikhora, but by the Greeks, it is said, "man-eater" is, I am convinced, the tiger. It is described as having three rows of teeth in each of its jaws and as having stings at the end of its tail, wherewith it defends itself against its assailants whether fighting at close quarters or at a distance. In the latter case it shoots its stings clean away from its tail like shafts shot from a bow-string.

[The Indians appear to me to have accepted this account, which is not true, through their excessive dread of this creature.]

FRAGMENT 10

Pliny, H. N. 8, 21 (al. 30.)

Ktesias states that the animal which he calls the Martikhora is found among these people [the Indians or rather the Aethiopians]. According to his description, it has a triple row of teeth, ranged together like the teeth of a comb; its face and its ears are like those of a human being, while its eyes are blue and its hair of a blood-red colour. It has the body of a lion and its tail is armed with stings, with which it smites like the scorpion. Its voice is like the commingled sound of the pipe and the trumpet. It runs very fast, and is very fond of human flesh.

FRAGMENT 11

From Aelian, De Animal. 4. 21; respecting the Indian Martikhora.

In India is found a wild animal called in the native tongue the Martikhora. It is of great strength and ferocity, being about as big as a lion, of a red colour like cinnabar, and covered with shaggy hair like a dog. Its face, however, is not bestial, but resembles that of a human being. It has both in the upper and the lower jaw a double row of teeth which are extremely sharp at the points and larger than the canine. Its ears in their conformation are like the human, but they are larger and covered with shaggy hair. Its eyes also are like the human, and of a blue colour. It has the feet and the claws of a lion, but its tail, which may be more than a cubit long, is not only furnished at the tip with a scorpion's sting but is armed on both sides with a row of stings. With the sting at the tip it smites any one who comes near it, and kills him therewith instantaneously, but if it is pursued it uses the side stings, discharging them like arrows against the pursuer, whom it can hit even though he be at a good distance off. When it fights, having the enemy in front, it bends the tail upward, but when, like the Sakians, it fights while retreating, it straightens it out to the fullest length. The stings, which are a foot long and as slender as a rush (or a fine thread), kill every animal they hit, with the exception of the elephant only. Ktesias says that he had been assured by the Indians that those stings that are expended in fighting are replaced by a growth of new ones as if to perpetuate this accursed plague. Its favourite food, according to the same author, is human flesh, and to satisfy this lust, it kills a great many men, caring not to spring from its ambush upon a solitary traveller, but rather upon a band of two or three for which it is singly more than a match. All the beasts of the forest yield to its prowess, save only the lion, which it is impotent to subdue. That it loves above all things to gorge itself with human flesh, is clearly shown by its name—for the Indian word Martikhora means man-eater—and it has its name from this particular habit. It runs with all the nimbleness of a deer. The Indians hunt the young ones before the stings appear on their tails, and break the tails themselves in pieces on the rocks to prevent stings growing upon them. Its voice has a most striking resemblance to the sound of a trumpet. Ktesias says that he had seen in Persia one of these animals, which had been sent from India as a gift to the Persian king. Such are the peculiarities of the Martikhora as described by Ktesias, and if any one thinks this Knidian writer a competent authority on such subjects, he must be content with the account which he has given.

FRAGMENT 12

(A) Antigonos, Mirab. Nar. Cong. Hist. c. 182.

He says that Ktesias gives an account of an undying fire burning on Mount Chimaera in the country of the Phaselitai. Should the flame be cast into water, this but sets it into a greater blaze, and so if you wish to put it out you must cast some solid substance into it.

(B) Pliny, Hist. Nat. 2, 106.

Mount Chimaera in Phaselisis volcanic, and burns night and day with a perpetual flame. According to Ktesias the Knidian, the fire is augmented by water, but extinguished by earth or hay.

(C) Aelian, De Anim. 16. 37.

Among the Indian Psylloi (who are so called to distinguish them from the Libyan Psylloi) the horses are no bigger than rams, while the sheep look as small as lambs. The asses are Likewise correspondingly small and so are the mules and the oxen, and in short all cattle of whatever kind.

FRAGMENT 13

Aelian, Nat. An. 4, 26.

Hares and foxes are hunted by the Indians in the manner following. They do not require dogs for the purpose, but taking the young of eagles*, of ravens and of kites, they rear and train them to pursue these animals by subjecting them to this course of instruction. Taking a pet hare and a tame fox, they fasten on to each a gobbet of flesh, and then making them run away, at the same time dismiss the birds to give them instant chase, and catch the alluring bait. The birds eagerly pursue, and catching up either the hare or the fox, pounce upon the flesh, with which they are allowed to glut their maw in recompense for their activity in having captured it. When they have thus become adepts in hunting, they are taken out to pursue mountain hares and wild foxes, when, on sighting the quarry, they at once give it chase in hope of earning the customary dainty, and having quickly caught it bring it to their masters, as Ktesias acquaints us. From the same source we further learn that the entrails of the quarry are given them instead of the gobbets of flesh to which they had been formerly treated.

[*Additional Note: In fragment 13 it is stated that eagles were trained by the Indians to hunt hares and foxes, and Lassen expresses doubt as to whether eagles could be so far tamed. Here however Ktesias must be judged to have written according to fact, for in Upper India eagles are trained to this very day for the purpose mentioned. Sir Joseph Fayrer informs us that when the Prince of Wales visited Lahore, there were among the people collected about Government House some Afghans with huge eagles trained to pull down deer and hares. They were perched, he adds, on their wrists like hawks.]

FRAGMENT 14

Aelian Nat. Anim. 4, 27.

The gryphon, an Indian animal, is, so far as I can learn, four-footed like the lion and has claws of enormous strength closely resembling his. It is described as having feathers on its back, and these black, while the breast feathers are red and those of the wing white. According to Ktesias its neck is variegated with feathers of a bright blue; its beak is like an eagle's; and its head like the representations which artists give of it in paintings and sculptures. Its eyes are said to be fiery red, and it builds its nest upon the mountains, and, as it is impossible to catch these birds when full grown, they are

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caught when quite young. The Baktrians who are next neighbours to the Indians give out that these birds guard the gold found in the regions which they haunt, and' that they dig it out of the ground and build their nests with it, and that the Indians carry off as much of it as falls to the ground. The Indians however deny that the gryphons guard the gold, alleging, what I think is highly probable, that gold is a thing gryphons have no use for; but they admit that when these birds see them coming to gather the gold, they become alarmed for their young and attack the intruders. Nor do they resist man only, but beasts of whatever kind, gaining an easy victory over all except only the elephant and the lion, for which they are no match. The gryphons, then, being so formidable, the natives of these countries go not to gather gold in the day time, but set out under cover of night when they are least likely to be detected. Now the auriferous region which the gryphons inhabit is a frightful desert, and those who make a raid upon the gold, select a moonless night, and set out armed, the expedition being a thousand or even two thousand strong. They take with them mattocks for digging the gold and sacks in which to carry it away. If they are unobserved by the gryphons they have a double share of good luck, for they not only escape with their lives but bear a freight of gold in triumph home, where, the metal having been purified by those who are skilful in smelting ores, they are recompensed with overflowing wealth for all the hazards of the enterprise. Should they on the other hand be detected in the act of theft, certain death would be their fate. I have learned by enquiry that they do not return home till after an absence of three or four years.

FRAGMENT 15

(A) Aelian, Nat. An. 16, 37.

It is said that neither the wild nor the tame swine is found in India, and that the Indians so much abhor the flesh of this animal that they would as soon taste human flesh as taste pork.

(B) Aelian, De Nat. Anim. 3, 4.

The following also are peculiarities in the nature of animals. The swine, according to Ktesias, whether wild or tame, is not found in India, and he somewhere states that Indian sheep have tails a cubit in breadth.

(C) Arist., De Hist. Anim. 8, 28.

In India, as Ktesias, a writer not to be depended on, tells us, the swine is not found either wild or tame.

[The animals of that country however which are bloodless and those that lie in holes are all large.]

(D) . Palladius, De Brachman, p. 5.

For the swine of the Thebaid, on account of the excessive heat, is no longer found either in the parts of India or of Aethiopia.

(E) Pallad., De Brach., p. 4.

It (India) has also palms and the largest of nuts, the Indian as well as the small nut which is aromatic.

(F) Antig. Mirab. Nar. 160.

Ktesias, he says, informs us that in Ethiopia there is a fountain whose waters are red like cinnabar, and make those who drink them mad.

(G) From the work of Sotion.

Ktesias relates that in Ethiopia there is a fountain of water resembling cinnabar in colour which deprives those who drink it of their reason, so that they confess all the misdeeds which they have secretly committed.

(H) Pliny, 31, 2.

In drinking this water due moderation must be observed lest it make you mad like those persons who drink of that red fountain in Æthiopia whereof Ktesias writes.

(I) Michael. Apostol. Proverb., 20, 6.10

A swine among the roses, a proverb applied by Krates to the intractable and uneducated. Ktesias asserts that the swine is not bred in India, either the wild or the tame kind, and he somewhere mentions that the sheep have tails a cubit in breadth.

FRAGMENT 16

Pliny, Hist. Nat. 17, 2.

Onesikritus says that in those parts of India where no shadows are cast there are men who are 5 cubits and 2 palms in stature and who live 130 years without becoming old, for if they die then they are cut off as it were in mid-life. Krates of Pergamus calls the Indians who live over a hundred years Gymnetae, but many writers call them Makrobii. Ktesias asserts that a tribe of them called Pandarae inhabiting the valleys live for 200 years, and have in their youth white hair, which turns black when they grow old.

FRAGMENT 17

Aelian, Nat. An. 4, 36.

Writers on India inform us that that country produces many drugs, and is astonishingly prolific of those plants that yield them. Many of these drugs are medicinal and cure snake-bites, which are so dangerous to life, but others are deleterious and quickly destroy life. Among these may be reckoned the poison of a particular kind of serpent, one which to appearance is about a span long. Its colour is purple of the deepest dye, but not on the head, which so far from being purple, is extraordinarily white, whiter even than snow or than milk. It is found in those parts of India which are most scorched by the sun. It has no teeth, and does not at all incline to bite, and hence one would think it to be of a tame and gentle nature, but nevertheless, wherever it casts its vomit, be it upon the limb of a man or of a beast, nothing can prevent the whole of that limb from mortifying. It is sought after for the sake of this poison, and is, when caught, suspended from a tree by the tail, so that the head may look downward to the ground. Below its mouth they place a casket made of brass, to receive the drops of poison as they fall. The matter thus discharged condenses and becomes a solid mass which might be mistaken for the gum which oozes from the almond-tree. When the snake is dead the vessel is replaced by another, which is also of brass, for the carcase then discharges a serous humour like water, which, after being allowed to stand for three days, takes also a solid form. The two masses differ from each other in colour, the one being jet-black and the other the colour of amber. If you take of the latter no more than what would equal the bulk of a sesame seed, and administer this to one either in his food or his drink, he is first of all seized with violent spasms, and his eyes in the next place become distorted, and his brain, forcing its way through his nostrils, runs out, when death ensues after a short but sharp agony. If a smaller dose is taken, death does not immediately ensue, but does so eventually. The black poison, again, which has oozed from the snake when dead, operates but slowly, for if one swallows the same bulk of it as of the other, it corrupts his blood and he falls into a consumption, of which he dies in a year's time. Many, however, survive for two years, dying inch by inch.

FRAGMENT 18

Aelian, De Nat. An. 4, 41.

There is a species of Indian bird of very diminutive size which may be thus described. It builds its nests on high and precipitous mountains, and is about as big as a partridge egg, and of a bright red colour like realgar. The Indians call it in their tongue dikairon, and the Greeks in theirs, as I am informed, dikaion (i. e. just). Its dung has a peculiar property, for if a quantity of it no bigger than a grain of millet be dissolved into a potion, it would be enough to kill a man by the fall of evening. But the death that comes thereby resembles a sleep, and is most pleasant withal and pangless, being like that death which the poets are wont to call lusimeles (limb-relaxing) and ablekhros (easy), for such a death is painless, and is therefore to those who wish to be rid of life, the sweetest of all deaths. The Indians accordingly spare no pains to procure this substance, which they regard as a genuine anodyne for all human ills. Hence it is included among the costly presents sent by the king of the Indians to the Persian king, by whom it is prized more than aught else, and who treasures it up as a sure defence in case of necessity against ills that are past all other remedy. No one in all Persia possesses it save only the king himself and the king's mother. Let us here then compare this Indian drug with the Egyptian so as to determine which is superior. The Egyptian we saw, had the effect throughout the day it was taken of restraining and checking tears, whereas the Indian induced an unending oblivion of all ills. The former was the gift of a woman, and the latter the gift of a bird, or rather of Nature, which, through the agency of this bird, unfetters man from the sternest bondage. And the Indians, they say, are happy in the possession of this, since they can by its means whenever they please, escape from their prison-house here below.

FRAGMENT 19

Apollonios (Dyskolos), Hist. Mirab. 17.

Ktesias says that in India is found a tree called the parybon. This draws to itself everything that comes near, as gold, silver, tin, copper and all other metals. Nay, it even attracts sparrows when they alight in its neighbourhood. Should it be of large size, it would attract even goats and sheep and similar animals.

FRAGMENT 20

Pliny, Hist. Nat. 37, 2.

Ktesias says that in India is a river, the Hypobarus, and that the meaning of its name is the bearer of all good things. It flows from the north into the Eastern Ocean near a mountain well-wooded with trees that produce amber. These trees are called aphytacorae, a name which means luscious sweetness.

FRAGMENT 21

Tzetzes, Chi. 7, 5, 714.

Ktesias says that in India are the trees that produce amber, and the men called the Kynokephaloi, who, according to his account, are very just men living by produce of the chase.

FRAGMENT 22

Pliny, Hist. Nat. 7, 2.

On many mountains (of India) is found a race of men with heads like those of dogs, who are dressed with the skins of wild beasts, who bark instead of speaking, and who, being armed with claws, live by hunting and fowling. Ktesias says that in his time the number of these men was 120,000.

FRAGMENT 23

Aelian, 4, 46.

Among the Indians are found certain insects about the size of beetles and of a colour so red that at first sight one might mistake them for cinnabar. Their legs are of extraordinary length and soft to the touch. They grow upon the trees which produce amber, and subsist upon their fruit. The Indians collect them for the sake of the purple dye, which they yield when crushed. This dye is used for tinting with purple not only their outer and their under-garments, but also any other substance where a purple hue is required. Robes tinted with this purple are sent to the Persian king, for the Indian purple is thought by the Persians to be marvellously beautiful and far superior to their own. This we learn from Ktesias, who says well, for this dye is in fact deeper and more brilliant than the renowned Lydian purple.

In that part of India where the beetles (κανθάροι) are met with, live the Kynokephaloi, who are so called from their being like dogs in the shape of their head and in their general appearance. In other respects, however, they resemble mankind, and go about clad in the skins of wild beasts. They are moreover very just, and do no sort of injury to any man. They cannot speak, but utter a kind of howl. Notwithstanding this they comprehend the language of the Indians. They subsist upon wild animals, which their great fleetness of foot enables them to capture with the utmost ease. Having killed the prey they cut it into pieces, and roast it by the heat of the sun and not by fire. They keep goats however and sheep, whose milk supplies them with drink, as the chase with food. I have mentioned them among the brutes, and with good reason, for they do not possess articulate and intelligible speech like mankind.

FRAGMENT 24

Servius the Commentator on Virgil; Aeneid, 1, v. 653.

Acantho—i. e. with a flexible twig in imitation of which a robe is artificially adorned and wrought. Varius makes this statement. Ktesias says that there are trees in India which grow wool.

FRAGMENT 25

(A) Aelian, Hist. An. 4, 52.

I have ascertained by enquiry that wild asses are found in India as big as horses. The animal is entirely white, except about the head, which is of a reddish colour, while the eye gleams with azure. It has a horn upon its forehead about a cubit and a half long. This horn is white at the base, crimson at the tip, and jet black in the middle. These particoloured horns are used, I understand, as drinking cups by the Indians, not indeed by people of all ranks, but only by the magnates, who rim them at intervals with circlets of gold just as they would adorn with bracelets the arm of some beautiful statue. They say that whoever drinks out of this horn is protected against all incurable diseases, for he can neither be seized by convulsions nor by what is called the sacred disease (epilepsy), and neither can he be cut off by poison; nay if before drinking from it he should have swallowed anything deleterious, he vomits this, and escapes scatheless from all ill effects, and while, as has been believed, all other asses, wherever found, and whether wild or tame, and even all solid-hoofed animals, have neither a huckle-bone (ἀστραγαλος) nor a gall in the liver, the Indian horned asses have according to Ktesias both a huckle-bone and a gall in the liver. The huckle-bones are said to be black, not only on the surface but all throughout as may be proved by breaking one to pieces. They are fleeter not only than other asses but even than horses and deer. On first starting they run leisurely, but they gradually strengthen their pace, and then to overtake them, is, to use a poetic expression, the unattainable (τα ἀκίχητα). When the dams have brought forth and begin to lead out their young ones to the pastures, the males are in close attendance, and guard their offspring with devoted care. They roam about in the most desolate tracts of the Indian plain, and when the hunters come to attack them, they relegate their foals, being as yet but young and tender, to graze in the rear, while in front they fight to defend them. Their mode of attack is to charge the horsemen, using the horn as the weapon of assault, and this is so powerful, that nothing can withstand the blow it gives, but yields and snaps in two, or is perhaps shivered to pieces and spoiled for further use. They sometimes even fall upon the horses, and so cruelly rip up their sides with the horn that their very entrails gush out. The riders, it may well be imagined, dread to encounter them at close quarters, since the penalty of approaching them is a miserable death both to man and horse. And not only do they butt, but they also kick most viciously and bite; and their bite is much to be dreaded, for they tear away all the flesh they grasp with their teeth. It is accordingly impossible to take them alive if they be full-grown; and hence they must be despatched with such missiles

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as the spear or the arrow. This done, the Indians despoil them of their horns, which they ornament in the manner already described. The flesh is so very bitter that the Indians cannot use it for food.

(B) Aelian, 3, 41.

India, he says, produces unicorn horses and breeds likewise unicorn asses. Drinking cups are made from these horns. Should one who plots against another's life put a deadly poison into these cups no harm is done to the man who drinks therefrom. The horn of the horse and the ass, it would appear, is an antidote against evil.

FRAGMENT 26

Aelian, Nat. An. 5, 3.

The river Indus has no living creature in it except, they say, the Skolex, a kind of worm which to appearance is very like the worms that are generated and nurtured in trees. It differs however in size, being in general seven cubits in length and of such a thickness that a child of ten could scarcely clasp it round in his arms. It has a single tooth in each of its jaws, quadrangular in shape and above four feet long. These teeth are so strong that they tear in pieces with ease whatever they clutch, be it a stone or be it a beast, whether wild or tame. In the daytime these worms remain hidden at the bottom of the river, wallowing with delight in its mud and sediment, but by night they come ashore in search of prey, and whatever animal they pounce upon—horse, cow, or ass, they drag down to the bottom of the river, where they devour it limb by limb, all except the entrails. Should they be pressed by hunger they come ashore even in the daytime, and should a camel then or a cow come to the brink of the river to quench its thirst, they creep stealthily up to it, and having with a violent spring secured their victim by fastening their fangs in its upper lip, they drag it by sheer force into the water, where they make a sumptuous repast of it. The hide of the skolex is two finger-breadths thick. The natives have devised the following method for catching it. To a hook of great strength and thickness they attach an iron chain, which they bind with a rope made of a broad piece of white cotton. Then they wrap wool round the hook and the rope, to prevent them being gnawed through by the worm, and having baited the hook with a kid, the line is thereupon lowered into the stream. As many as thirty men, each of whom is equipped with a sword and a spear fitted with a thong, hold on to the rope, having also stout cudgels of cornel lying ready to hand, in case it should be necessary to fell the monster with blows. As soon as it is hooked and swallows the bait, it is hauled ashore and despatched by the fishermen, who suspend its carcase till it has been exposed for 30 days to the heat of the sun. An oil all this time oozes out from it, and falls by drops into earthen vessels. A single worm yields ten kotulai (about five pints). The vessels having been sealed up, the oil is despatched to the king of the Indians, for no one else is allowed to have so much as one drop of it. The rest of the carcase is useless. Now this oil possesses this singular virtue, that if you wish to burn to ashes a pile of any kind of wood, you have only to pour upon it half a pint of the oil, and it ignites without your applying a spark of fire to kindle it, while if it is a man or a beast you want to burn, you pour out the oil, and in an instant the victim is consumed. By means of this oil also the king of the Indians, it is said, captures hostile cities without the help of rams or testudos or other siege apparatus, for he has merely to set them on fire with the oil, and they fall into his hands. How he proceeds is this. Having filled with the oil a certain number of earthen vessels which hold each about half a pint, he closes up their mouths, and aims them at the uppermost parts of the gates; and if they strike there and break, the oil runs down the woodwork, wrapping it in flames which cannot be put out, but with insatiable fury burn the enemy, arms and all. The only way to smother and extinguish this fire is to cast rubbish into it. This account is given by Ktesias the Knidian.

FRAGMENT 27

(A) From Antigonos, Mirab. Nar. Cong. Hist. 165.

It is said that Ktesias mentions certain lakes in India, one of which, like the lakes in Sicily and Media made everything that was cast into it sink down [float] except gold, copper, and iron. Moreover, should anything fall into it aslant, it is thrown up standing erect. It is said to cure the disease called the white leprosy. Another lake at certain seasons yields an oil which is found floating on the surface.

(B) From Sotion in scattered passages where he relates marvels about rivers, fountains and lakes.

There is a fountain in India which throws out upon its banks as if shot from an engine those who dive into its waters, as Ktesias relates.

(C) Strabo, Geog. 16, 4.

Ktesias the Knidian mentions a fountain which discharges into the sea water of a red colour and full of minium (red-lead).

FRAGMENT 28

Pliny, Hist. Nat. 31, 2.

Ktesias records that in India is a pool of water called Side in which nothing will float, but everything sinks to the bottom.

FRAGMENT 29

(A) Antigonos, Mirab. Nar. Cong. Hist. c. 182.

Ktesias mentions the water which falls from a rock in Armenia, and which casts out black fish which cause the death of the eater.

(B) Pliny, Hist. Nat. 31, 2.

Ktesias writes that in Armenia there is a fountain with black fish which, if taken as food, produce instantaneous death, and I heard the same said of the Danube, that where it rises, the same kind of black fish is found in it till you come to a fountain adjoining its channel, and that this fountain is therefore commonly believed to be the head of the river. They tell the same thing of the Nymph's pool in Lydia.

FRAGMENT 30

(A) Tzetzes, Chil. 7, 5. 638.

This Skylax (of Karyanda) writes other such stories by the myriads, stories of one-eyed men, and of men that sleep in their ears, and thousands of other wonderful creatures, all which he speaks of as really existing, and not fictitious; but for my part, as I have never met with any of them, I do not believe in them, although there are multitudes, such as Ktesias, Iamboulos, Hesigonos, Rheginos, who not only believe that these, but that still greater monstrosities, are to be found in the world.

(B) Pliny, Hist. Nat. 7, 2.

And he affirms that there is a tribe of Indians whose women bear offspring once only in their lifetime, and whose hair turns white in the very childhood. He mentions also a race of men called Monosceli (one-legged), who, though they had but a single leg, could hop upon it with wonderful agility, and that they were also called Sciopodae, because that when they lay on their back in very hot weather, they shaded themselves from the sun with their feet. They lived not very far from the Troglodytes (cave-dwellers). To the west of these, he adds, lived men without a neck, and who had their eyes placed in their shoulders.

(C) From the same.

According to Ktesias the Indian people which is called Pandore and occupies the valleys, live for 200 years, and have in early youth hoary hair which turns black as they become old. There is a people on the other hand whose life-time does not exceed forty years. They are next neighbours to the Makrobii, and their women produce offspring once only. Agatharchides asserts the same, and adds that they live upon locusts and are fleet of foot. [To these Klitarchus gave the name of Mandi, and Megasthenes reckons the number of their villages at 300. Their women bear children when they are seven years old, and they are in their old age at forty.]

FRAGMENT 31

Gellius, Noct. Attic. 9. c. 4.

When we were returning from Greece into Italy, and had made our way to Brundusium, and having disembarked, were walking about in that famous seaport which Ennius, using a somewhat far-fetched but sufficiently well-known word, called the. fortunate (praepes), we saw a number of bundles of books lying exposed for sale. I lost not a moment, but pounced with the utmost avidity upon these books. Now, they were all in Greek and full of wonders and fables—containing relations of things unheard of and incredible, but written by authors of no small authority—Aristeas of Proconnesos and Isigonos of Nicaea, and Ktesias, and Onesikritos and Polystephanos and Hegesias. The volumes themselves however were musty with accumulated mould, and their whole condition and appearance showed that they were going fast to decay. I went up to the stall however, and enquired the prices, and being induced by the wonderful and unexpected cheapness, I bought a great lot of the books for a few coppers; and occupied myself for the next two days in glancing over the contents. As I read I made some extracts, noting the wonderful stories which none of our writers have as yet aimed at composing, and interspersing them with these comments of my own, so that whoever reads these books may not be found quite a novice in stories of the sort like one who has never even heard of them before. [Gellius now goes on to record many particulars regarding the Skythians, Arimaspians, Sauromatae and others of whom Pliny has written at length in his Natural History. These particulars have been evidently extracted from the Indika of Ktesias and are here subjoined]:—"On the mountains of India are men who have the heads of dogs, and bark, and who live by hunting and fowling. There are besides in the remotest regions of the East other strange creatures—men who are called Monocoli (one-legged), who run hopping upon their one leg with wonderful agility; others who have no necks but have eyes in their shoulders." All unbounded however is his astonishment on his learning from these writers about a race of men in the uttermost parts of India having shaggy bodies and plumage like that of birds, who live not upon food, but on the perfume of flowers inhaled through the nostrils. Not far from these live the Pygmies, the tallest of whom do not exceed 2 1/4 feet. The books contained these and many similar absurd stories, and as we perused them we felt how wearisome a task it is to read worthless books which conduce neither to adorn nor to improve life.

FRAGMENT 32

Frag. IV. From Athenaios, lib. 10. [c. 9.]

Ktesias says that in India the king is not allowed to make himself drunk, but that the Persian king is allowed to do so on one particular day—that on which sacrifice is offered to Mithras.

FRAGMENT 33

Tzetzes, Chil. 8, v. 987.

Herodotus, Diodoros, Ktesias and all others agree that the Happy Arabia, like the Indian land, is most odoriferous, exhales a spicy fragrance, so that the very soil of the former, and the stones of the latter, if cut, emit a delicious perfume, while the people there, when made languid and faint by the rich odours, recover from the stupor by inhaling the smoke of certain bones and horns and strong-smelling substances.

FRAGMENT 34 (missing)

FRAGMENT 35

Lucian, Ver. Hist. 1, 3.

Ktesias the son of Ktesiokhos, the Knidian, wrote about India and its inhabitants what he neither himself saw nor heard from the report of others.

FRAGMENT 36

Strabo, Geog. 1. 2.

Theopompos professes in express terms that in his history he will tell fables better than such as have been related by Herodotus, and Ktesias and Hellanikos and those who wrote about India.

APPENDIX,

On Certain Indian Animals.

From Kosmas Indikopleustes* [A monkish traveller of the 7th century.] De Mundo, 11, [*Cosmas Indicopleustes ('India-voyager') or Kosmas of Alexandria; also known as Cosmas the Monk. In his early life he was a Roman merchant, perhaps importing spices with which he could finance his journeys. He was a 6th-century Nestorian Christian, and therefore Aramaic speaking, traveller who made several voyages to India during the reign of Emperor Flavius Justinianus and wrote The Christian Topography (12 books).]

1. The Rhinoceros.

This animal is called the rhinoceros from having horns growing upon its nose. When it walks about the horns shake, hut when it looks enraged it tightens them, and they become firm and unshaken so that they are able to tear up even trees by the roots, such especially as stand right in their way. The eyes are placed as low down as the jaws. It is altogether a most terrible animal, and is especially hostile to the elephant. Its feet and its skin closely resemble those of the elephant. Its skin, which is dry and hard, is four fingers thick—and from this instead of from iron some make ploughshares wherewith they plough their lands. The Ethiopians in their language call the rhinoceros arou or harisi, prefixing the rough breathing to the alpha of the latter word, and adding risi to it, so that the word arou is the name of the animal, while harisi is an epithet which indicates its connexion with ploughing arising from the configuration of its nose and the use made of its hide. I have seen a living rhinoceros, but I was standing somo distance off at the time. I have also seen the skin of one, which was stuffed with straw and stood in the king's palace, and I have thus been enabled to delineate the animal accurately.

2. The Taurelaphos or Ox-deer.

This is an animal found in India and in Ethiopia.

But those in India are tame and gentle, and are there used for carrying pepper and other stuffs packed in bags; these being slung over the back one on each side. Their milk is made into butter. We eat also their flesh, the Christians killing them by cutting their throat, and the Greeks by beating them with cudgels. The Ethiopian ox-deer, unlike the Indian, are wild and untameable.

3. The Camelopardalis or Giraffe.

This animal is found only in Ethiopia (meaning: East Africa), and is, like the hog-deer of that country, wild and untameable. In the royal palace, however, they bring up one or two from the time when they are quite young, and make them tame that the sight of them may amuse the king. In his presence they place before them milk or water to drink contained in a pan, but, then, owing to the great length of their feet, breast, and neck they cannot possibly stoop to the earth and drink unless by making their two forelegs straddle.

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When they make them straddle they can of course drink. I have written this from my own personal knowledge.

4. The Agriobous or Wild Ox.

This is an animal of great size and belongs to India, and from it is got what is called the touplia, wherewith the captains of armies decorate their horses and their standards when taking the field. They say of it that if its tail be caught by a tree it no longer stoops, but remains standing through its unwillingness to lose even a single hair. On seeing this the people of the neighbourhood approach and cut off the tail, and then the creature flies off when docked entirely of its tail.

5. The Moskhos or Musk-deer.

This is a small animal, and is called in the native dialect the Kastouri [This is still its Indian name.]. Those who hunt it pierce it with arrows, and having confined the blood which collects at the navel, they cut the navel off, that being the part which has the pleasant fragrance known to us under the name of musk.

6. The Monokerus or Unicorn.

This animal is called the unicorn, but I have never set eyes upon it. I have however seen four brazen statues of it in Ethiopia, where they were set up in the royal palace—an edifice adorned with four towers. From these statues I have thus delineated the animal. They say of it that it is a terrible beast and invincible, having its power all lodged in its horn. When it perceives that its pursuers are many and that they are on the point of catching it, it springs down from the top of some precipice, and during the descent through the air turns itself in such a way that the whole shock of the fall is sustained by the horn which receives no damage thereby [The ibex is said to fall in such a way that its horns sustain the force of the impact.]. The scripture refers to this peculiarity, which says; save me from the mouth of lions and my humillly from the horns of unicorns; and again, the one beloved as the son of unicorns; and again in the blessings of Balaam wherewith he blessed Israel, he says twice over: God led him out of Egypt even as the glory of the unicorn, thus bearing witness to the strength and boldness and glory of the animal.

7. The Khoirelaphos or Hog-deer, and the Hippopotamus.

The hog-deer I have both seen and eaten, hippopotamus however I have not seen, have had in my possession teeth of it so that they weighed about thirteen pounds. These teeth I sold here. I saw many both in Ethiopia and in Egypt.

8. Piperi—Pepper.

This is a picture of the pepper tree. Each separate plant clings for support to some tall tree which does not yield fruit, being very weak and slender like the delicate tendrils of the vine. Each cluster is enveloped within a couple of leaves. It is perfectly green like the colour of rue.

9. Argellia* or the cocoanut-tree.

[* The initial n must have dropped out as the word no doubt transliterates the native term for the cocoa, narikel.]

There is another tree of this sort called argellia, that is—the tall nut-trees of India. It differs in no respect from the date-palm except in being taller and thicker and having larger leaves. It produces no other fruit than two or three and as many nuts. The taste is extremely sweet and pleasant, being like that of the kernels of green nuts. The nut is at first full of a deliciously sweet water which the Indians therefore drink instead of wine. This very sweet beverage is called rhongkhosoupha. If the fruit is gathered at maturity, then so long as it keeps its quality, the water in the course of time hardens upon the shell, while the water in the centre retains its fluidity till it finally disappears. If however it be kept too long without heing opened, the concretion on the shell becomes rancid and unfit for human food.

10. Phoke, Delphis, Khelone—The [Greek for] Seal, the Dolphin and the Tortoise.

When at sea we use the seal, dolphin and tortoise for food should they chance to be caught [According to the recipe for making hare-soup. "First catch your hare."], The dolphin and tortoise we kill by cutting their throat, but we cut not the throat of the seal, but despatch him with blows as we do large fish. The flesh of the tortoise, like that of the sheep, is dark-coloured; that of the dolphin like the pig's is dark coloured and rank; that of the seal like the pig's is white, but not rank.

APPENDIX C-3
(to Artefacts and Historical Documents)

RABATAK INSCRIPTION OF EMPEROR KANISHKA THE GREAT

Source: Archaeological Find
Location: Rabatak, Surkh Kotal, Afghanistan
Translation: Nicholas Sims-Williams, 1996
Estimated Range of Dating: 120-160 A.D.

(The Rabatak inscription is an inscription written on a rock in the Bactrian language and the Greek script, which was found in 1993 at the site of Rabatak, near Surkh Kotal in Afghanistan. It was found near the top of an artificial hill (actually a Kushan site) along the main Kabul-Mazar highway, to the southeast of the Rabatak pass which is currently the border between Baghlan and Samangan provinces. It was found by Afghan mujahideen digging a trench at the top of the site, along with several other stone sculptural elements such as the paws of a giant stone lion, which have disappeared since.

An English relief worker of the HALO Trust demining organisation working in this province reported the discovery and photographed the inscription. A photograph was sent to the British Museum, where its significance as an official document of the Kushan kings, naming four of these kings, was recognised by Joe Cribb. He shared the photograph with one of the few people able to read the Bactrian language, Professor Nicholas Sims-Williams from the School of Oriental and African Studies. More photographs arrived from the charity workers of the HALO Trust and a first translation was made and published by Cribb and Sims-Williams in 1996.

The inscription relates to the rule of the Kushan emperor Kanishka the Great (reign: c.120-144 or 127-150 AD), and gives remarkable clues on the genealogy of the Kushan dynasty as well as of the god that were considered important. The phrase "Son of the Gods" sounds familiar to Christians and Buddhists alike.)

Translation [with remarks]:

. . . of the great salvation, [Emperor] Kanishka the Great [or the Kushan], the righteous, the just, the autocrat, the god worthy of worship, who has obtained the kingship from [the goddess] Nana and from all the gods, who has inaugurated the year one as the gods pleased.

And he issued a Greek edict and then he put it into Aryan [the Bactrian language].

In the year one it has been proclaimed unto India, unto the whole of the realm of the kshatriyas [one of the 4 Indian social orders brahmin, kshatriya, vaishya and shudra.], that as for them – both the city of . . . and the city of Saketa [south of today's Nepal], and the city of Kausambi [south of Saketa], and the city of Pataliputra [capital of the Maurya Empire, near today's Patna], as far as the city of Sri-Campa [today Janjgir–Champa district].

Whatever rulers, and other important persons they might have, he had submitted to his will, and he had submitted all India to his will.

Then King Kanishka gave orders to Shafar the Karalrang at this . . . to make the sanctuary which is called B . . . ab, in the plain of Ka . . ., for these gods, of whom the . . . glorious Umma leads the service here, namely: the lady Nana and the lady Umma, Aurmuzd, the gracious one, Sroshard, Narasa, and Mihr. [interlinear text: . . . and he is called Maaseno (or Kartikeya, the Hindu god of war), and he is called Bizago]

And he likewise gave orders to make images of these gods who are written above.

And he gave orders to make them for these kings: for King Kujula Kadphises [Chinese: Qiujiuque; reigned c. 30-90 AD.] his great grandfather, and for King Vima Taktu, his grandfather, and for King Vima Kadphises his father, and also for himself, King Kanishka.

Then, as the king of kings, the Devaputra [the Son of the Gods] . . . had given orders to do, Shafar the Karalrang made this sanctuary.

Then . . . the Karalrang, and Shafar the Karalrang, and Nukunzuk led the worship according to the king's command. As for these gods who are written here – may they keep the king of kings, Kanishka the Kushan, for ever healthy, secure, and victorious.

And when the devaputra [the Son of the Gods], the ruler of all India from the year one to the year one thousand, had founded the sanctuary in the year one, then also to the . . . year. . . according to the king's command . . . and it was given also to the . . ., and it was given also to the . . .,

And also to . . . the king gave an endowment to the gods, and . . .

[End of the document.]

APPENDIX C-4
(to Artefacts and Historical Documents)

THE MITHRAS LITURGY

from the Paris Codex
Translation: Marvin W. Meyer, 1976
Estimated Range of Dating: 100 B.C. - 500 A.D.

(The Greek Magical Papyri (Latin Papyri Graecae Magicae, abbreviated PGM) is the name given by scholars to a body of papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt, written mostly in ancient Greek (but also in Old Coptic, Demotic, etc.), which each contain a number of magical spells, formulae, hymns, and rituals. The materials in the papyri date from the 100s BC to the 400s AD. The manuscripts came to light through the antiquities trade, from the 1700s onward. One of the best known of these texts is the Mithras Liturgy.

The texts were published in a series, and individual texts are referenced using the abbreviation PGM plus the volume and item number. Each volume contains a number of spells and rituals. Further discoveries of similar texts from elsewhere have been allocated PGM numbers for convenience.

Discovery

The first papyri in the series appeared on the art market in Egypt in the early 19th century. Another papyrus (PGM III) was acquired by the diplomat Jean-François Mimaut (1774–1837) and ended up in the French Bibliothèque Nationale. The major portion of the collection is the so-called Anastasi collection. About half a dozen of the papyri were purchased in about 1827 by a man calling himself Jean d'Anastasi, who may have been Armenian, and was a diplomatic representative at the Khedivial court in Alexandria. He asserted that he obtained them at Thebes (modern Luxor), and he sold them to various major European collections, including the British Museum, the Louvre, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Staatliche Museen in Berlin, and the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden.)

Text:

Introduction

The so-called Mithras Liturgy is included in this series of texts and translations for several reasons. The Liturgy is frequently mentioned in secondary literature, and has been partially translated into English upon several occasions, but it has not previously been available in its entirety in English translation. Furthermore, the Mithras Liturgy deserves the attention of students of early Christian literature and the history of religions, particularly Graeco-Roman religion: the Liturgy reflects an important religious tendency of its day, a syncretistic piety utilizing astrology and magic and emphasizing the ecstatic ascent of the individual soul. Of additional interest is the relationship of the Mithras Liturgy to the previously known Hermetic literature and the recently discovered tractates from Nag Hammadi (cf., for example, page 3, note b , below).

The Mithras Liturgy is part of the great magical codex of Paris (Papyrus 574 of the Bibliotheque Nationale). Presumably compiled in the early fourth century AD, this codex contains a variety of tractates, hymns, recipes, and prescriptions, which were apparently collected for use in the working library of an Egyptian magician. Lines 475- 834 of this codex constitute the Mithras Liturgy; these boundaries for the Liturgy are suggested by the continuity of thought within the Liturgy, by the punctuation utilised by the scribe, and by the apparent transition to a different section (lines 835-849: astrological calculations). Interestingly, lines 467-474 parallel lines 821-823 and 830-834: thus the Mithras Liturgy is placed between two closely related versions of spells utilizing lines from Homer.

The Mithras Liturgy received its name and fame from. A. Dieterich. in 1903 Dieterich published his valuable book, Eine MithrasLiturgie, in which he proposed that the text in question contains an official liturgy of the Mithras cult, a Mithraic ritual for the ascent and immortalisation of the soul. Although the Mithras Liturgy had been later adopted and somewhat adapted by Egyptian magicians, Dieterich concluded, the text still preserves the highest sacrament in which the Mithraic initiate could participate. However, since the publication of Dieterich's book, F. Cumont, R. Reitzenstein, and others have expressed skepticism concerning the Mithraic origin of the Liturgy. Thus, such scholars have suggested that more significant parallels to the Liturgy can be found in the hermetic writings, or in individualistic and private mysteries, or in Graeco-Egyptian syncretism, magic, and solar piety. Yet the evidence amassed by Dieterich cannot be easily dismissed, for he highlights important echoes of Mithraism in the Mithras Liturgy: particularly striking are the mention of "the great god Helios Mithras", the invocation of the elements, the description of the fire-breathing god Aion, and the portraits of Helios and the highest God. Furthermore, the accounts of Celsus (in Origen, Contra Celsum, 6. 21-22) and Porphyry (De antro nympharum, 5-6 etc.) on Mithraism verify the fact that such a liturgy for the soul's ascent as the Mithras Liturgy could be quite compatible with at least some expressions of Mithraism.

Consequently, it is advisable to conclude that the Mithras Liturgy may indeed represent some variety of Mithraism–though not, to be sure, Mithraism as it is usually presented. If there is Mithraism in this papyrus, it is a Mithraism on the fringe, a Mithraism preoccupied with individualism, syncretism, and magic. The Mithras Liturgy may thus illustrate a direction taken by those carrying on the Mithras tradition in Egypt.

The text of the Mithras Liturgy is composed of two main parts: a liturgical mystery of ascent, and a set of instructions for the use of the mystery. After the brief introduction, the mystery of ascent presents the seven liturgical stages for the soul's ecstatic journey: the soul thus encounters the four elements, in their generative and regenerative aspects; the lower powers of the air, including the winds, bolts of thunder

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and lightning, and meteors; Aion and the Aionic powers, as planetary guardians of the heavenly doors; Helios, young and fiery; the seven Fates and, next, the seven Pole-Lords, both groups from the region of the fixed stars, and both depicted in Egyptian fashion; and finally the highest God, portrayed like Mithras himself. After the conclusion to the mystery of ascent, the instructions for the use of the mystery present a scarab ceremony of the sun (lines 750-798) provide instructions for the obtaining of the kentritis herb and the fashioning of amulets and append two additional spells The predominant place of magic within the Mithras Liturgy deserves special mention. The entire text of the Liturgy is permeated with magic, including breathing techniques (drawing in breath from the rays) , special recipes (preparing the cake for the scarab), magical rituals (burying the scarab) amulets (kissing the amulets), and magical formulae. The magical formulae themselves are diverse in character: some seem onomatopoetic (cf. line 488, PPP: making a popping sound, possibly like thunder), symbolic (cf. line 487, AEEIOYO: using the seven vowels in a series), or perhaps glossolalic (cf. line 492, EY EIA EE); some seem derived from or imitative of Greek (cf. line 562, PROPROPHEGGE: Primal Brightener?) Egyptian (cf. line 672, ARARRACHES: Horus of the two horizons; and line 717, PHRE: Re, the Sun) , or Semitic words (cf. line 591, SEMESILAM: Eternal sun; and line 593, IAO: Yahweh).

The Greek text which follows is that of K. Preisendanz, though a few minor changes have been made (e.g., the paragraphing) .

Actual Text

PART 1 (lines 475-750)

Be gracious to me, O Providence and Psyche, as I write these mysteries handed down for gain but for instruction; and for an only child I request immortality, O initiates of this our power (furthermore, it is necessary for you, O daughter, to take the juices of herbs and spices, which will to you at the end of my holy treatise), which the great god Helios Mithras ordered to be revealed to me by his archangel, so that I alone may ascend into heaven as an inquirer and behold the universe.

This is the invocation of the ceremony [Or "spell"; note also, below, the translation of logos [lambda omicron gamma omicron sigma] with "prayer."]:

"First -origin of my origin, AEEIOYO, first beginning of my beginning [Cf. On the Eighth and Ninth (Nag Hammadi Codex 6, tractate 6), page 60, line 20. With regard to the Mithras Liturgy in general, cf. this tractate as well as another Hermetic tractate, Corpus Hermeticum 13.]., PPP SSS PHR[] spirit of spirit ["Spirit," "breath," "wind": pneuma (pi nu eta upsilon mu alpha) as one of the four elements.], the first of the spirit in me, MMM, fire given by god to my mixture of the mixtures in me, the first of the fire in me, EY EIA EE, water of water, the first of the water in me, OOO AAA EEE, earthy substance, the first of the earthy substance in me, YE YOE, my complete body (I,_____whose mother is _____ [Here the initiate was supposed to introduce his own name and that of his mother. This formula appears several times in the Liturgy.]), which was formed by a noble arm and an incorruptible right hand in a world without light and yet radiant, without soul and yet alive with soul, YEI AYI EYOIE: now if it be your will, METERTA PHOTH (METHARTHA PHERIE, in another place) [one of the several variant readings suggested by a scribe.] YEREZATH, give me over to immortal birth and, following that, to my underlying nature, so that [Preisendanz takes the ina-clauses [iota nu alpha] as independent clauses.] after the present need which is pressing me exceedingly, I may gaze upon the immortal beginning with the immortal spirit, ANCHRE PHRENESOYPHIRIGCH, with the immortal water, ERONOYI PARAKOYNETH, with the most steadfast air, EIOAE PSENABOTH; that I may be born again in thought, KRAOCHRAX R OIM ENARCHOMAI Apparently used here as part of the magical utterance, enarchomai [eta nu alpha rho chi omicron mu alpha iota.] is Greek for "I begin."], and the sacred spirit may breathe in me, NECHTHEN APOTOY NECHTHIN ARPI ETH; so that I may wonder at the sacred fire, KYPHE; that I may gaze upon the unfathomable, awesome water of the dawn, NYO THESO ECHO OYCHIECHOA, and the vivifying ,and encircling aether may hear me, ARNOMETHPH; for today I am about to behold, with immortal eyes – I, born mortal from mortal womb, but transformed by tremendous power and an incorruptible right hand! – and with immortal spirit, the immortal Aion and and master of the fiery diadems–

I, sanctified through holy consecrations!– while there subsists within me, holy, for a short time, my human soul-might, which I will again receive after the present bitter and relentless necessity which is pressing down upon me–

I, _____ whose mother is _____ according to the immutable decree of god, EYE YIA EEI AO EIAY IYA IEO! Since it is impossible for me, born mortal, to rise with the golden brightnesses of the immortal brilliance, OEY AEO EYA EOE YAE 5IAE, stand, O perishable nature of mortals, and at once me safe and sound after the inexorable and pressing need. For I am the son PSYCHO[N] DEMOY PROCHO PROA, I am MACHARPH[.]N MOY PRO PSYCHON PROE!"

Draw in breath from the rays, drawing up three times as much as you can, and you will see yourself being lifted up and ascending to the height, so that you seem to be in mid-air. You will hear nothing either of man or of any other living thing, nor in that hour will you see anything of mortal affairs on earth, but rather you will see all immortal things. For in that day and hour you will see the divine order of the skies: the presiding gods [Moving, revolving heavenly bodies, which may influence human affairs and preside over the days.] rising into heaven, and others setting. Now the course of the visible gods will appear through the disk of god, my father; and in similar fashion the so-called "pipe", the origin of the ministering wind. For you will see it hanging from the sun's disk like a pipe. You will see the outflow of this object toward the regions westward, boundless as an east wind, if it be assigned to the regions of the East–and the other (viz. the west wind), similarly, toward its own regions. [or, with slightly different punctuation: "For you will see it hanging like a pipe from the sun's disk, toward the regions westward, boundless as an east wind, if it be assigned to the regions of the East; but if the . other (viz. the west wind) be assigned, similarly to its own regions, you will see the reverse of the sight."] And you will see the gods staring intently at you and rushing at you. So at once put your right finger on your mouth and say:

"Silence! Silence! Silence! Symbol of the living, incorruptible god! Guard me, Silence, NECHTHEIR THANMELOY!" Then make a long hissing sound, next make a popping sound, and say: "PROPROPHEGGE MORIOS PROPHYR PROPHEGGE NEMETHIRE ARPSENTEN PTTETMI MEOY ENARTH PHYRKECHO PSYRIDARIO TYRE PHILBA." Then you will see the gods looking graciously upon you and no longer rushing at you, but rather going about in their own order of affairs. So when you see that the world above is clear and circling, and that none of the gods or angels is threatening you, expect to hear a great crash of thunder, so as to shock you. Then say again: "Silence! Silence! (the prayer) I am a star, wandering about with you, and shining forth out of the deep, OXY [Perhaps OXY [omicron xi upsilon.], "brightly." O XERTHEYTH." Immediately after you have said these things the sun's disk will be expanded. And after you have said the second prayer, where there is "Silence! Silence!" and the accompanying words, make a hissing sound twice and a popping sound twice, and immediately you will see many five- pronged stars coming forth from the disk and filling all the air. Then say again: "Silence! Silence!"

And when the disk is open, you will see the fireless circle, and the fiery doors shut tight. At once close your eyes and recite the following prayer. The third prayer:

"Give ear to me, hearken to me, _____ whose mother is _____, O Lord, you who have bound together with your breath the fiery bars of the fourfold root, O Fire-Walker, PENTITEROYNI, Light-Maker (others: Encloser), SEMESILAM, Fire-Breather, PSYRINPHEY, Fire-Feeler, IAO, Light-Breather, OAI [A permutation of the divine name IAO. cf. also AIO (below, line 598).], Fire-Delighter, ELOYRE, Beautiful Light, AZAI, Aion, ACHBA, Light-Master, PEPPER PREPEMPIPI, Fire-Body, PHNOYENIOCH, Light-Giver, Fire-Sower, AREI EIKITA, Fire-Driver, GALLABALBA, Light-Forcer, AIO, Fire-Whirler, PYRICHIBOOSEIA, Light-Mover, SANCHEROB, Thunder-Shaker, IE OE IOEIO, Glory-Light, BEEGENETEE Light-Increaser, SOYSINEPHIEN, Fire-Light-Maintainer, SOYSINEPHI AREN BARAZEI MARMA RENTEY, Star-Tamer: open for me, PROPROPHEGGE EMETHEIRE MORIO MOTYRE PHILBA, because, on account of the pressing and bitter and inexorable necessity, I invoke the immortal names, living and honored, which never pass into mortal nature and are not declared in articulate speech by human tongue or mortal speech or mortal sound: EEO OEEO IOO OE EEO EEO OE EO IOO OEEE OEE OOE IE EO OO OE IEO OE OOE IEO OE IEEO EE IO OE IOE OEO EOE OEO OIE OIE EO OI III EOE OYE EOOEE EO EIA AEA EEA EEEE EEE EEE IEO EEO OEEEOE EEO EYO OE EIO EO OE OE EE OOO YIOE."

Say all these things with fire and spirit, until completing the first utterance; then, similarly, begin the second, until you complete the seven immortal gods of the world. When you have said these things, you will hear thundering and shaking in the surrounding realm; and you will likewise feel yourself being agitated. Then say again: "Silence!" (the prayer) Then open your eyes and you will see the doors open and the world of the gods which is within the doors, so that from the pleasure and joy of the sight your spirit runs ahead and ascends. So stand still and at once draw breath from the divine into yourself, while you look intently. Then when your soul is restored, say: "Come, Lord, ARCHANDARA PHOTAZA PYRIPHOTA ZABYTHIX ETIMENMERO PHORATHEN ERIE PROTHRI PHORATHI."

When you have said this, the rays will turn toward you; look at the center of them. For when you have done this, you will see a youthful god, beautiful in appearance, with fiery hair, and in a white tunic and a scarlet cloak, and wearing a fiery crown. At once greet him with the fire-greeting:

"Hail, O Lord, Great Power, Great Might, King, Greatest of gods, Helios, the Lord of heaven and earth, God of gods: mighty is your breath; mighty is your strength, O Lord. If it be your will, announce me to the supreme god, the one who has begotten and made you: that a man –

I, _____ whose mother is _____ who was born from the mortal womb of _____ and from the fluid of semen, and who, since he has been born again from you today, has become immortal out of so many myriads in this hour according to the wish of god the exceedingly good– resolves to worship you, and prays with all his human power (that you may take along with you the horoscope of the day and hour today, which has the name THRAPSIARI MORIROK, that he may appear and give revelation during the good hours, EORO RORE ORRI ORIOR ROR ROI OR REORORI EOR EOR EOR EORE!)."

After you have said these things, he will come to the celestial pole, and you will see him walking as if on a road. Look intently and make a long bellowing sound, like a horn, releasing all your breath and straining your sides; and kiss (660) the amulets and say, first toward the right: "Protect me, PROSYMERI!" After saying this, you will see the doors thrown open, and seven virgins coming from deep within, dressed in linen garments, and with the faces of asps. They are called the Fates of heaven, and wield golden wands. When you see them, greet them in this manner:

"Hail, O seven Fates of heaven, O noble and good virgins, O sacred ones and companions of MINIMIRROPHOR, O most holy guardians of the four pillars! The reference to the four pillars supporting heaven seems Egyptian. On the seven Fates of heaven, cf. [line of text missing in copy]

Hail to you, the first, CHREPSENTHAES!
Hail to you, the second, MENESCHEES!
Hail to you, the third, MECHRAN!
Hail to you, the fourth, ARARMACHES!
Hail to you, the fifth, ECHOMMIE!
Hail to you, the sixth, TICHNONDAES!
Hail to you, the seventh, EROY ROMBRIES!

There also come forth another seven gods, who have the faces of black bulls, in linen loin-cloths, and in possession of seven golden diadems. They are the so-called Pole-Lords of heaven, whom you must greet in the same manner, each of them with his own name: "Hail, O guardians of the pivot, O sacred and brave youths, who turn at one command the revolving axis of the vault of heaven, who send out thunder and lightning and jolts of earthquakes and thunderbolts against the nations of impious people, but to me, who am pious and god-fearing, you send health and soundness of body, and acuteness of hearing and seeing, and calmness in the present good hours of this day, O my Lords and powerfully ruling Gods!

Hail to you, the first, AIERONTHI!
Hail to you, the second, MERCHEIMEROS!
Hail to you, the third, ACHRICHIOYR!
Hail to you, the fourth, MESARGILTO!
Hail to you, the fifth, CHICHROALITHO!
Hail to you, the sixth, ERMICHTHATHOPS!
Hail to you, the seventh, EORASICHE!"

Now when they take their place, here and there, in order, look in the air and you will see lightning-bolts going down, and lights flashing, and the earth shaking, and a god descending, a god immensely great, having a bright appearance youthful, golden-haired, with a white tunic and a golden crown and trousers [Eastern, particularly Persian] attire.], and holding in his right hand a golden shoulder of a young bull: this is the Bear* which moves and turns heaven around, moving upward and downward in accordance with the hour. [The constellation called the Great Bear was known in Egypt as the Bull, or the Bull's Foreleg. Cf. also, with Dieterich, the place of the bull in Mithraism.] Then you will see lightning-bolts leaping from his eyes and stars from his body. And at once produce a long bellowing sound, straining your belly, that you may excite the five senses: bellow long until the conclusion, and again kiss the amulets, and say: "MOKRIMO PHERIMOPHERERI, life of me, _____" stay!

PART " (lines 750-834)

Dwell in my soul! Do not abandon me, for one entreats you, ENTHO PHENEN THROPIOTH."

And gaze upon the god while bellowing long; and greet him in this manner:

"Hail, O Lord, O Master of the water!
Hail, O Founder of the earth!
Hail, O Ruler of the wind!

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O Bright Lightener, PROPROPHEGGE EMETHIRI ARTENTEPI THETH MIMEO YENARO PHYRCHECHO PSERI DARIO PHRE PHRELBA!

Give revelation 0 Lord, concerning the matter of _____.

O Lord, while being born again, I am passing away; while growing and having grown, I am dying; while being born from a life-generating birth, I am passing on, released to death– as you have founded, as you have decreed, and have established the mystery. [According to Dieterich, here ends the Mithras Liturgy per se.]

I am PHEROYRA MIOYRI."

After you have said these things, he will immediately respond with a revelation. Now you will grow weak in soul and will not be in yourself, when he answers you. He speaks the oracle to you in verse, and after speaking he will depart. But you remain silent, since you will be able to comprehend all these matters by yourself; for at a later time you will remember infallibly the things spoken by the great god, even if the oracle contained myriads of verses. If you also wish to use a fellow-initiate, so that he alone may hear with you the things spoken, let him remain pure together With you for days, and abstain from meat and the bath. And even if you are alone, and you undertake the things communicated by the god, you speak as though prophesying in ecstasy. And if you also wish to show him, then judge whether he is completely worthy as a man: treat him just as if in his place you were being judged in the matter of immortalization, and whisper to him the first prayer, of which the beginning is "First origin of my origin, AEEIOYO." And say the successive things as an initiate, over his head, in a soft voice, so that he may not hear, as you are anointing his face with the mystery. This immortalization takes place three times a year. And if anyone, O child, after the teaching, wishes to disobey, then for him it will no longer be in effect. Instruction for the ritual:

Take a sun-scarab which has twelve rays [The scarab, the Egyptian god Kheper, represented the rising sun.], and make it fall into a deep, turquoise cup, at the time when the moon is invisible [Literally "at the seizure of the moon." This interesting phrase probably designates the new moon.]; put in together with it the seed of the lotometra, and honey; and, after grinding it, prepare a cake. And at once you will see it (viz. the scarab) moving forward and eating; and when it has consumed it, it immediately dies. Pick it up and throw it into a glass vessel of excellent rose oil, as much as you wish; and spreading sacred sand in a pure manner, set the vessel on it, and say the formula over the vessel for seven days, while the sun is in mid-heaven:

"I have consecrated you, that your essence may be useful to me, to _____ alone, IE IA E EE OY EIA, that you may prove useful to me alone. For I am PHOR PHORA PHOS PHOTIZAAS (others: PHOR PHOR OPHOTHEI XAAS)."

On the seventh day pick up the scarab, and bury it with Myrrh and wine from Mendes and fine linen; and put it away in a flourishing bean-field. Then, after you have entertained and feasted together, put away, in a pure manner, the ointment for the immortalisation. If you want to show this to someone else, take the juice of the herb called "kentritis," and smear it, along with rose oil, over the eyes of the one you wish; and he will see so clearly that he will amaze you. I have not found a greater spell than this in the world. Ask the god for what you want, and he will give to you. [For examples of Jewish and Christian parallels to this familiar statement, cf. Matthew 7:7, and H. Strack and P. Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch (Muenchen: Beck, 1926), vol. 1, 450ff.]

Now presentation [Presentation or introduction to the great god for the sake of attaining friendship and communion with the god.] before the great god is like this: obtaining the above-mentioned herb kentritis, at the conjunction (viz. of the sun and the moon) [That is, at the new moon.] occurring in the Lion, take the juice and, after mixing it with honey and myrrh, write on a leaf of the persea tree the eight-letter formula, as is mentioned below. And keeping yourself pure for three days before, set out early in the morning toward the East, lick off the leaf while you show it to the Sun, and then he (viz. the sun god) will listen to you attentively. Begin to consecrate this at the divine new moon [The new moon according to the heavens, made by god, in distinction from the new moon according to the calendar, made by man.], in the Lion. Now this is the formula:

"I EE 00 IAI."

Lick this up, so that you may be protected; and rolling up the leaf, throw it into the rose oil. Many times have I used the spell, and have wondered greatly. But the god said to me: "Use the ointment no longer, but, after casting it into the river, consult while wearing the great mystery of the scarab revitalised through the twenty-five living birds, and consult once a month, at full moon, instead of three times a year." The kentritis plant grows from the month of Payni, in the regions of the black earth, and is similar to the erect verbena. This is how to recognise it: an ibis wing is dipped at its black tip and smeared with the juice, and the feathers fall off when touched. After the Lord pointed this out, it was found in Menelaitis in Phalagry, at the river banks, near the Besas plant. It is of a single stem, and reddish down to the root; and the leaves are rather crinkled and have fruit like the tip of wild asparagus. It is similar to the so-called talapes, like the wild beet. Now the amulets require this procedure: copy the right one onto the skin of a black sheep, with myrrh-ink, and after tying it with sinews of the same animal, put it on; and copy the left one onto the skin of a white sheep, and use the same procedure. The left one is very full of "PROSTHYMERI" (820), and has this text: "So speaking, he drove through the trench the single-hoofed horses." (Il. X. 564) "And men gasping among grievous slaughters." (Il. X. 521) "And they washed off their profuse sweat in the sea." (Il. X. 572) "You will dare to lift up your mighty spear against Zeus." (IL. VIII.424) Zeus went up the mountain with a golden bullock and a silver dagger. Upon all he bestowed a share, only to Amara did he not give, but he said: "Let go of what you have, and then you will receive, PSINOTHER NOPSITHER THERNOPSI" (and so on, as you like). (830) "So Ares suffered, when Otos and mighty Epialtes* … him. (Il. V. 385) spell for restraining anger: "You will dare to lift up your mighty spear against Zeus." (Il. 8.424) For friends: "Let … seize … , lest we become a source of joy for our enemies." (Il. 10. 193)

[* Sic; but this giant's name is usually given as Ephialtes. He and his brother Otos imprisoned Ares in a bronze jar.]

APPENDIX C-5
(to Artefacts and Historical Documents)

THE COLOGNE MANI-CODEX

Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis
Translation: Ron Cameron, Arthur J. Dewey, 1979
Estimated Range of Dating: 5th century AD

(The Cologne Mani-Codex (Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis) is a minute parchment codex, dated on paleographical evidence to the fifth century AD, discovered in 1969 near Asyut (the ancient Lycopolis), Egypt; it contains a Greek text describing the life of Mani, the founder of the religion Manichaeism. It is the smallest ancient codex known to date. In the same year it came into the possession of the Institut für Altertumskunde at the university in Cologne. The seemingly hopeless task of restoring the codex was successfully completed a few months later by A. Fackelmann in Vienna. What emerged was the earliest extant original Manichean work written in Greek. The restored work comprises fragments of ninety-six leaves from one codex, measuring 4.5 x 3.8 cm, and a few other, even smaller fragments. The original number of leaves in the manuscript can no longer be determined, as the first and last pages are missing. Each page contains a single column of text, usually twenty-three lines long, written in a minute but clearly legible script. The Greek text bears traces that shows it has been translated from an Eastern Aramaic or Old Syriac Aramaic original. The logoi of Mani himself are repeatedly cited. That it is a compilation from earlier texts is suggested by the names, apparently of teachers that head each section of the text.

Publication: Albert Henrichs and Ludwig Koenen [detailed references see Encyclopaedia Iranica] published an initial report on the work (1970), followed by the first edition of the text, in the years 1975-82. Scrutiny of this text revealed that in a number of instances fragments could be assembled to form longer passages (Koenen and Römer, 1985). This discovery led to their publication of a second edition of the complete codex in 1988, though the volume of commentary on pp. 121-192 of the codex and a glossary of terms for the entire edition have yet to appear. A concordance to the first edition was published in 1985 (Cirillo, Concolino Mancino, and Roselli).

Because of the great importance of the codex, it immediately became the subject of research by scholars of Manicheism. Aside from numerous interpretive essays by the editors, two symposia in Rende (Calabria) and Cosenza, in 1984 and 1988 respectively, have been devoted entirely to the codex. The papers presented at the first were published in 1986 by Luigi Cirillo and Amneris Roselli, those presented at the second by Cirillo.

Content: The fragmentary text preserved in the Cologne codex deals with Mani's youth and the beginning of his missionary activity, though, because of extensive damage to the leaves, particularly in the last sections, even the most elementary logical connections are often lacking. The account of Mani's introduction to the Elkesaite baptist sect provides the first verifiable date in his life. The child Mani is accompanied by guardian angels and "holy powers" during this whole period, and he experiences wonderful visions, which he still does not understand. The end of the period is marked by the "maturation" (to akmaîon) of Mani's body, which was originally dated by the editors to his twenty-fifth year but later to the end of his twelfth year. The next certain date is that of the revelation of the teaching through Mani's spiritual companion and twin, the syzygos, during his twenty-fifth year. From that point on the description of Mani's life becomes more detailed, including his initial teaching activities and conflict with the baptists, his failure in the debate, and his final separation from them. This section, which forms the main portion of the preserved text, also contains apologetic and exegetic homilies (e.g., on the truth of the paraclete's witness to the revelation and on the proper understanding of Mani's parousia). The final preserved section covers the beginning of the Manichean world mission in episodic and legendary terms. The concrete events mentioned include the conversion of Pattikios, Mani's father; the southern Mesopotamian port of Pharat on the Persian Gulf is mentioned, as is the "Median" Ganzak (Greek: Gounazak, Ganazak). The editors date Mani's appearance in the palace of the Sassanid emperor Shapur I to his twenty-sixth year.

The work bears the somewhat puzzling title Peri tes gennes tou somatos autou (On the origin of his body), which Koenen first interpreted in the Pauline sense, as a reference to the creation of Mani's church, his mystic body. The codex would thus be a hagiographical treatment of Mani as part of a comprehensive history of the church. Koenen has since retracted this interpretation, as in many instances the Greek word soma refers specifically to Mani's body and is thus used as a term for the earthly person of the founder of the religion. It can therefore be assumed that the title refers to the Manichean belief in a spiritual Mani who only temporarily assumed earthly form.

Form and Origin: The Cologne Mani codex is divided into sections, each beginning with a name (e.g., Abiesous, Ana, Innaios, Koustaios, Timótheos) or simply "the teachers." The editors identified these figures as the transmitters of the texts that follow; the work is thus obviously a compilation from older ones. As some of the transmitters' names (Innaîos, Koustaios) are known from Mani's circle and their successors, the sources must have been of the 3rd century, incorporated into the text of the codex at the beginning of the 4th century. That it was probably originally written in eastern Aramaic (Syriac) is strongly suggested by a number of linguistic features. The transmitters frequently cited the "words" or writings of Mani himself, for instance, his letter to Edessa. At the beginning of the "Living Teachings of Mani", the citation is demonstrably exact. This manuscript of the Greek translation has been dated to the 5th century on the basis of paleographic evidence. The language exhibits many postclassical features and imitates the diction of the Septuagint and the New Testament.

The sources, motifs, and components of the text have been analysed by Henrichs, using the methods of literary criticism, but as yet the literary function of the codex itself has not been studied. The contents and nature of the presentation suggest that it belonged to a popular genre aimed at a broad circle of readers and listeners. Literary works of this kind are otherwise unknown in the tradition of eastern Manicheism. Although there are some other texts with comparable hagiographical themes, it is doubtful that there is any other instance in which the transmissions of followers were integrated into continuous, conventionalised hagiographical description (Sundermann, 1986). In the west, however, the so-called "Coptic church history," found at Madinat Madi in Egypt but now lost, was comparable. The reports were also given under the "authors' names" (Schmidt and Polotsky, 1933). As the latter work deals with Mani's death and the subsequent fate of the church, it can be concluded that both compilations are parts of a more comprehensive Manichean church history in Aramaic, Greek, and Coptic, the first part of which is preserved in the Cologne Mani codex.

Importance for Research on Manicheism: The narrative contained in the Cologne Mani codex follows hagiographic convention, in many places based on the pattern of the life of Christ and often incorporating popular themes, but it also includes historical material, which is of the greatest value for research on Manicheism. In the text it is asserted that Mani grew up in a Judeo-Christian community of which Alchasai was regarded as the founder. What had previously been known about this legendary figure was not always consistent with the known practices among the baptists Mani knew (e.g., rejection of marriage). The justification for describing these baptists as Elkesaites has thus been called into doubt a priori. Most scholars regard the testimony of the Cologne Mani codex as credible, with the proviso that the teaching of the founder of a sect can be subject to modification in actual practice among his followers.

It is certain that Alchasai was known in the Manichean tradition and that he was probably contrasted, ahistorically, with his own followers as an early advocate of Mani's ideas. This phenomenon can be traced back to widespread older traditions and probably to Mani's own teachings, as is confirmed by the reference to Alchasai ('lxs') in a Parthian Manichean fragment and by the identification in a 10th-century Arabic textof al-H-s-y-h as the founder of the Mogtasela, a southern Mesopotamian baptist sect related to the Manicheans.

There is, however, no reason to doubt the assertion in the Cologne Mani Codex that Mani grew up in a Christian-oriented, rather than a Mandean, community, which is of

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fundamental importance to an understanding of the intellectual and religious background of his teachings. His earliest teachers were not members of a decidedly anti-Christian sect under strong Persian influence but Jewish Christians who believed in the efficacy of rites and baptism. The gnostic ideas in the new teachings grew out of Mani's differences with those teachers. Mani's teachings were indeed originally what medieval orthodox Christians claimed, a Christian heresy.

The Cologne Mani codex is not a dogmatic tract. Its themes were drawn from fully developed Manichean dogma. The hope of finding in this text Mani's teachings in their original form, free of later ontological dualism, thus remains unfulfilled; in fact, the "[two] natures" are mentioned frequently in the codex.

Importance for Persian studies: From the point of view of Persian studies, the most important material in the codex is the synchrony provided by the account of Mani's twenty-fifth year: "[When I] was twenty-four years old, the year in which Ardašīr, king of Persia, subjugated the city of Hatra and in which his son King Shapur adopted the great crown (diadema megiston), on the 8th (?) day of the month of Pharmuti, according to the lunar calendar [i.e., on 17-18 April 240 AD, counting from the evening of the first day to that of the second] . . .". Marie Louise Chaumont observed that the term diádema megiston corresponds to the expression LB'dydymy of the Paikuli inscription. There is no reason to doubt that these were Mani's own words, and it is clear that he was well informed about current events. Henrichs and Koenen interpreted this reference to the conquest of Hatra by Ardashir I, rather than by his son Shapur, as confirmation of the "late" chronology for the reign of Ardashir put forth by Theodor Nöldeke (Geschichte der Perser) and Hasan Taqizada, but they nevertheless acknowledged that both the early (239 AD) and the late (241 AD) dates suggested for the official beginning of Shapur I's reign are possible while considering the earlier date more probable.

The Cologne Mani codex thus appeared to the editors to confirm the early date (12 April / 1 Nisan 240 AD) for the coronation of Shapur I as ruler over Persia. It should be noted that the date itself is not given in the codex but was derived from a combination of the report there with Ebn al-Nadim's report of the date of Mani's first official public appearance. The respective accounts of the public appearance of Mani on 1 Nisan and his call to proclaim his teachings on 8 Nisan are in fact incompatible; it is possible that reports based on different historical attempts at synchronism were uncritically combined by Ebn al-Nadim.

An important argument for dating the coronation of Shapur I to the year 239-240 AD was put forth by Ruth Altheim-Stiehl on the basis of an examination of the inscription on the Bishapur Stele. Only the dates 223-224 AD for the accession of Ardashir and 239-40 for Shapur are compatible with the period of the stele and the dates in the inscription. On the other hand, it is clear from the Cologne Mani codex that such an early dating of the reign of Ardashir is incorrect, for he must still have been alive in the year April 240 AD-April 241 AD. A number of suggestions for resolving this dilemma have been put forth (for a summary, see Altheim-Stiehl, 1982), but the possibility of different dates for the "fire" (i.e., coronation) of the first two Sassanid kings (223-224 and 239-240 AD respectively) and their first years of official rule (226-227 and 241-242 AD) should be considered.

If Mani really appeared during his twenty-sixth year (241-242 AD, according to the reconstruction of the codex) in the palace of King Shapur I, who was mourning his father's death, that would lend credence to the frequently advanced hypothesis that Ardashir died during that year.)

CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF HIS BODY

. . . [Page 1 is too fragmentary for translation] . . .

2.2 ". . . little by little [. . . I] have shown you [unholy . . .] from many [. . .]. But you will be able to behold that mystery magnificently and most lucidly." And then the angel was hidden [from] . . .

3.2 . . . I (Mani) was protected [through] the night of [the] angels and the powers of holiness who were entrusted with my safekeeping, and they nourished me with visions and signs which they made known to me, slight and quite brief, as far as I was able to bear.

For sometimes like a flash of lightning he [came] . . .

4.3 . . . but he was reassuring me also about this power whch is steadfast in affliction.

Now very many are the visions and exceedingly great are the sights which he showed to me during all that time of my youth. But I [. . . remained] in silence. Except . . .

5.3 . . . with wisdom and skill (I was) going about in their midst, keeping the Rest, neither doing wrong, nor inflicting pain, nor following the law of the Baptists, nor speaking in the way they did.

Salmaios the [Ascetic]

. . .

6.2 ". . . to [him]. But neither do you take [vegetables] from [the] garden, nor do you carry wood for his use.

But the Baptist constrained me, saying: "Get up and come with me to the place where there is wood; take it and carry it." We went away to a certain [date-palm tree], and he climbed up . . .

7.2 . . . "If you keep the [pain] away from us (trees}, you wll [not perish] with the murderer," Then that Baptist, gripped by fear of me, came down from it in confusion, and fell at my feet and said: "I did not know that this secret mystery is with you. Whence was the [agony of the date-palm tree] revealed to you?" . . .

8.1 (Mani is now speaking) "[When the date-palm tree said] this to you, why did you become [greatly] frightened and change your complexion? How much more wll [that one], with whom all the [plants] speak, be disturbed?" Thereupon he was dumbfounded, beside himself in amazement over me. He said to me: "Guard this mystery, tell it to no one, lest someone become envious and destroy you." . . .

9.1 . . . [for the sake of the] Rest, one of the leaders of ther Law spoke to me, having observed that I did not take vegetable from der garden, but instead asked them (for the vegetables) as a pious gift. He said to me: "Why did you not take vegetables from the garden, but instead ask me (for them] as a pious gift? After that Baptist had spoken to [me] . . .

10.1 . . . [it] wasted away, [wailing] like human beings, and, as it were, like children. Alas! Alas! The blood was streaming down from the place cut by the pruning hook which he held in his hands. And they were crying out in a human voice on account of their blows. The Baptist was greatly moved by what he saw, and he came and fell down before me. When, then . . .

11.1 . . . until the fourth year. Then I (Mani) gained entrance to the teaching of the Baptists in which I was reared, while my body was young, being guarded by the night of the Light-angels and the exceedingly strong powers, who had a command from Jesus, the Splendour, for (my) safekeeping. They, then, immediately . . .

12.1 . . . [from] the waters [a face] of a man appeared to me, showing with his head the Rest, so that I might not sin and bring trouble to him. In this way, from my fourth year until I attained my bodily maturity, by the hands of the most pure angels and the powers of holiness I was protected [without anyone's notice] . . .

13.2 . . . st another time a voice, like that of the Twin (Didymos Thomas?) spoke to me out of the air, saying: "Strengthen your power, make your mind firm, and receive all that is about to be revealed to you." And again, he said the same: "Strengthen your power, make your mind strong, and submit to all that is about to come upon you." . . .

14.1 ". . . we have been sent out by the great [fathers]."

Baraies the Teacher

My lord (Mani) said thus: "Just as nowadays a young horse, used by a king, becomes the king's mount through the capability of the horse trainers, so that he might sit upon it in honour and glory and carry out his particular [task], in this same way [the mind possesses the] body, [in order to do the] good. . . .

15.1 . . . of [. . .] place [. . .] for the kings rest; and a certain garment was fitted for the one who put it on; the ship was equipped for the best skipper so that he might catch valued treasures from the sea; the holy place was set up for glory of the mind; and the most holy shrine, for revelation of its wisdom; the [. . .] interest [. . .] has been paid fully . . .

16.1 . . . in (the) [body], (that) he might ransom those enslaved from the powers (of the other world) and set free their members from the subjection of the rebels and from the authority of those who keep guard, and through it (i.e., the body) he might disclose the truth of its own knowledge, and in it open wide the door to those confined within, [and through it] he might hold out [well-being] to those . . .

17.1 . . . and from all laws, and (that) he might free the souls from ignorance by becoming paraclete and leader of the apostleship in his generation. Then, ate the time when my body reached its full growth, immediately there flew down and appeared before me that most beautiful and greatest mirror-image of [my self] . . .

18.1 . . . [When] I was twenty[-four] years old, [in] the year in which Dariardaxar, the king of Persia, subdued the city Atra, also in which his son Sapores, the king, crowned himself with the grand diadem, in the month of Pharmouthi, on the eighth day of the lunar month, the most blessed Lord was greatly moved with compasson for me, called me into his grace, and immediately sent to me [from there my] Twin [appearing in] great [glory] . . .

19.2 . . . [he] (is) mindful of and informer of all the best counsels from our Father and from the good first right hand far away."

Andagain, he (Mani) soke thus: "When my Father was pleased and had mercy and compassion on me, to ransom (me) from the error of the Sectarians, he took consideration of me through his very many [revelations], (and) he sent [to me] my [Twin] . . .

20.1 . . . [best hope and] redemption for (those who) suffer patiently, the truest instructions and counsels, and the laying on of hands from our Father. When, then, he (the Twin) came, he delivered separated, and pulled me away from te midst of that Law in which I reared. In this way he called, chose, drew, and severed me from their midst [. . .], drawing [me to the divine] side. . . .

21.2 (the Twin is instructing Mani concerning) . . . who I am, what my body is, in what way I have come, how my arrival into this world took place, who I am of the ones most renowned for their eminence, how I was begotten into this fleshly bodym by what woman I was delivered and born according to the flesh, and by whose [passion] I was engendered . . .

22.1 . . . and how [. . .] came into being; and who my Father on high is; or in what way, severed from him, I was sent out according to his purpose; and what sort of commission and counsel he has given to me before I clothed myself in his instrument, and before I was led astray in this detestable flesh, and before I clothed myself wth its drunkenness and habits; and who [that one is, who] is himself [my ever-vigilant Twin] . . .

23.1 (the Twin showed Mani) . . . the secrets and [visions] and the perfections of my Father; and concerning me, who I am, and who my inseparable Twin is; moreover, concerning my soul, which exists as the soul of all worlds, both what it itself is and how it came to be. Beside these, he revealed to me the boundless heights and the unfathomable depths; he showed [me] all . . .

24.3 . . . reverently [. . .]
and I acquired him as my possession.
I believed
that he belongs to me and is (mine)
and is a good and excellent counselor.
I recognised him
and understood that I am that one
from whom I was separated.
I testified
that I myself am that one
who is unshakable. . . ."

25.1 . . . And [again] he (Mani) said thus: "With the greatest possible ingenuity and skill I went about in that Law, preserving this hope in my heart; no one perceived who it was that was with me, and I myself revealed nothing to anyone during that great period of time. But neither [did I], like them, [keep] the fleshly custom . . .

26.1 I [revealed nothing] of what happened, or of what will happen, nor what it that I knew, or what it is that I had received."

The Teachers Say

When, then, that all-glorious and all-blessed one (the Twin) disclosed to me these exceeddingly great . . .

APPENDIX C-6
(to Artefacts and Historical Documents)

THE POPOL VUH

The Counsel Book of the Maya
of the Quiche Maya of Guatemala.
Goetz-Morley translation after Recinos
Estimated Range of Dating: 1300-1550 A.D.

(The Popol Vuh (Quiché for "Council Book" or "Book of the Community"; Popol Wu'uj in modern spelling) is the only sacred text that has survived from the Americas. All other native American books have been destroyed during the Spanish conquest.

The book is written in the Classical Quiché language. It contains mythological stories and a genealogy of the rulers of the Post-Classic Quiché Maya kingdom of highland Guatemala.

The book contains a creation myth followed by mythological stories of two Hero Twins: Hunahpu (Modern Quiché: Junajpu) and Xbalanque (Modern Quiché Xb'alanke). The second part of the book deals with details of the foundation and history of the Quiché kingdom.

The book is written in the Latin alphabet, but it is thought to have been based on an original Maya codex. The original manuscript which was written around 1550 has been lost, but a copy of another handwritten copy in the early 18th century exists today in Chicago.

The significance of the book is enormous since it is one of a small number of early Mesoamerican mythological texts — it is often considered the single most important piece of Mesoamerican literature.

The Popol Vuh is a cultural narrative that recounts the mythology and history of the K'iche' people who inhabit the Guatemalan Highlands northwest of present-day Guatemala City.

The Popol Vuh is a creation narrative written by the K'iche' people before the Spanish conquest of Guatemala, originally

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preserved through oral tradition until approximately 1550 when it was written down. The survival of the Popol Vuh is credited to the 18th century Dominican friar Francisco Ximénez who made a copy of the original text in Spanish. The name "Popol Vuh" translates as "Book of the Community", "Book of Counsel", or more literally as "Book of the People". The Popol Vuh includes the Mayan creation myth, beginning with the exploits of the Hero Twins Hunahpú and Xbalanqué. As with similar texts (Chilam Balam, being one example), a great deal of the Popol Vuh's significance lies in the scarcity of early accounts dealing with Mesoamerican mythologies due to the purging of documents by the Spanish Conquistadors.

The book begins with the creation myth of the K'ichee' Maya, which credits the creation of humans to the three water-dwelling feathered serpents:

There was only immobility and silence in the darkness, in the night. Only the Creator, the Maker, Tepeu, Gucumatz, the Forefathers, were in the water surrounded with light. They were hidden under green and blue feathers, and were therefore called Gucumatz...

and to the three other deities, collectively called "Heart of heaven":

Then while they meditated, it became clear to them that when dawn would break, man must appear. Then they planned the creation, and the growth of the trees and the thickets and the birth of life and the creation of man. Thus it was arranged in the darkness and in the night by the Heart of Heaven who is called Huracán. The first is called Caculhá Huracán. The second is ChipiCaculhá. The third is Raxa-Caculhá. And these three are the Heart of Heaven.

who together attempted to create human beings to keep him company.

Their first attempts proved unsuccessful. They attempted to make man of mud, but man could neither move nor speak. After destroying the mud men, they tried again by creating wooden creatures that could speak but had no soul or blood and quickly forgot him. Angered over the flaws in his creation, they destroyed them by tearing them apart. In their final attempt, the "True People" were constructed with maize. The following is an excerpt of this myth:

They came together in darkness to think and reflect. This is how they came to decide on the right material for the creation of man. ... Then our Makers Tepew and Q'uk'umatz began discussing the creation of our first mother and father. Their flesh was made of white and yellow corn. The arms and legs of the four men were made of corn meal.

Summary

This is a very general summary; divisions of 3 or 4 parts (or books) depend on text version:

Gods create world.

Gods create first "mud" or clay humans. Secondly, Maker and Creator, create "wood" humans; they are imperfect and emotionless.

Gods destroy first humans in a "resin" flood; they become monkeys.

Twin diviners Hunahpu and Xbalanque destroy arrogant Vucub-Caquix, then Zipacna and Cabracan.

Diviners Xpiyacoc and Xmucane beget brothers.

HunHunahpu and Xbaquiyalo beget "Monkey Twins" Hun-Batz and Hun-Chouen.

Cruel Xibalba lords kill the brothers Hun-Hunahpu and Vucub-Hunahpu.

Hun Hunahpu and Xquic beget "Hero Twins" Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

"Hero Twins" defeat the Xibalba houses of Gloom, Knives, Cold, Jaguars, Fire, and Bats.

The first four "real" people are made: Jaguar Quiché, Jaguar Night, Naught, and Wind Jaguar.

Tribes descend; they speak the same language and travel to TulanZuiva.

The tribes language becomes confused, and they disperse.

Tohil is recognised as a god and demands life sacrifices; later he must be hidden.

Tohil affects Earth Lords through priests, but his dominion destroys the Quiche.

Priests try to abduct tribes for sacrifices; the tribes try to resist this.

Quiche finds Gumarcah where Gucumatz (the feathered serpent lord) raises them to power.

Gucumatz institutes elaborate rituals.

Genealogies of the tribes)

BOOK 1

1 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 1

This is the account of how all was in suspense, all calm, in silence; all motionless, still, and the expanse of the sky was empty.

This is the first account, the first narrative. There was neither man, nor animal, birds, fishes, crabs, trees, stones, caves, ravines, grasses, nor forests; there was only the sky.

The surface of the earth had not appeared. There was only the calm sea and the great expanse of the sky.

There was nothing brought together, nothing which could make a noise, nor anything which might move, or tremble, or could make noise in the sky.

There was nothing standing; only the calm water, the placid sea, alone and tranquil. Nothing existed.

There was only immobility and silence in the darkness, in the night. Only the Creator, the Maker, Tepeu, Gucumatz, the Forefathers,* were in the water surrounded with light.** They were hidden under green and blue feathers, and were therefore called Gucumatz. By nature they were great sages and great thinkers. In this manner the sky existed and also the heart of

*E Alom, literally, those who conceive and give birth, e Qaholom, those who beget the children. In order to follow the conciseness of the text here the two terms are translated as the "Forefathers."

**They were in the water because the Quiché associated the name Gucumatz with the liquid element. Bishop Núniez de la Vega says that Gucumatz is a serpent with feathers, which moves in the water. The Cakchiquel Manuscript says that one of the primitive peoples which migrated to Guatemala was called Gucumatz because their salvation was in the water.

Heaven, which is the name of God and thus He is called.

Then came the word. Tepeu and Gucumatz came together in the darkness, in the night, and Tepeu and Gucumatz talked together. They talked then, discussing and deliberating; they agreed, they united their words and their thoughts.

Then while they meditated, it became clear to them that when dawn would break, man must appear. Then they planned the creation, and the growth of the trees and the thickets and the birth of life and the creation of man. Thus it was arranged in the darkness and in the night by the Heart of Heaven who is called Huracán.

The first is called Caculhá Huracán. The second is ChipiCaculhá. The third is Raxa-Caculhá. And these three are the Heart of Heaven.

Then Tepeu and Gucumatz came together; then they conferred about life and light, what they would do so that there would be light and dawn, who it would be who would provide food and sustenance.

Thus let it be done! Let the emptiness be filled! Let the water recede and make a void, let the earth appear and become solid; let it be done. Thus they spoke. Let there be light, let there be dawn in the sky and on the earth! There shall be neither glory nor grandeur in our creation and formation until the human being is made, man is formed. So they spoke.

Then the earth was created by them. So it was, in truth, that they created the earth. Earth! they said, and instantly it was made.

Like the mist, like a cloud, and like a cloud of dust was the creation, when the mountains appeared from the water; and instantly the mountains grew.

Only by a miracle, only by magic art were the mountains and valleys formed; and instantly the groves of cypresses and pines put forth shoots together on the surface of the earth.

And thus Gucumatz was filled with joy, and exclaimed: "Your coming has been fruitful, Heart of Heaven; and you, Huracán, and you, Chipi-Caculhá, Raxa-Caculhá!"

"Our work, our creation shall be finished," they answered.

First the earth was formed, the mountains and the valleys; the currents of water were divided, the rivulets were running freely between the hills, and the water was separated when the high mountains appeared.

Thus was the earth created, when it was formed by the Heart of Heaven, the Heart of Earth, as they are called who first made it fruitful, when the sky was in suspense, and the earth was submerged in the water.

So it was that they made perfect the work, when they did it after thinking and meditating upon it.

1 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 2

Then they made the small wild animals, the guardians of the woods, the spirits of the mountains, the deer, the birds, pumas, jaguars, serpents, snakes, vipers, guardians of the thickets.

And the Forefathers asked: "Shall there be only silence and calm under the trees, under the vines? It is well that hereafter there be someone to guard them."

So they said when they meditated and talked. Promptly the deer and the birds were created. Immediately they gave homes to the deer and the birds. "You, deer, shall sleep in the fields by the river bank and in the ravines. Here you shall be amongst the thicket, amongst the pasture; in the woods you shall multiply, you shall walk on four feet and they will support you. Thus be it done!" So it was they spoke.

Then they also assigned homes to the birds big and small. "You shall live in the trees and in the vines. There you shall make your nests; there you shall multiply; there you shall increase in the branches of the trees and in the vines." Thus the deer and the birds were told; they did their duty at once, and all sought their homes and their nests.

And the creation of all the four-footed animals and the birds being finished, they were told by the Creator and the Maker and the Forefathers: "Speak, cry, warble, call, speak each one according to your variety, each, according to your kind." So was it said to the deer, the birds, pumas, jaguars, and serpents.

"Speak, then, our names, praise us, your mother, your father. Invoke then, Huracán, Chipi-Caculhá, Raxa-Caculhá, the Heart of Heaven, the Heart of Earth, the Creator, the Maker, the Forefathers; speak, invoke us, adore us," they were told.

But they could not make them speak like men; they only hissed and screamed and cackled; they were unable to make words, and each screamed in a different way.

When the Creator and the Maker saw that it was impossible for them to talk to each other, they said: "It is impossible for them to say our names, the names of us, their Creators and Makers. This is not well," said the Forefathers to each other.

Then they said to them: "Because it has not been possible for you to talk, you shall be changed. We have changed our minds: Your food, your pasture, your homes, and your nests you shall have; they shall be the ravines and the woods, because it has not been possible for you to adore us or invoke us. There shall be those who adore us, we shall make other [beings] who shall be obedient. Accept your destiny: your flesh shall be torn to pieces. So shall it be. This shall be your lot." So they said, when they made known their will to the large and small animals which are on the face of the earth.

They wished to give them another trial; they wished to make another attempt; they wished to make [all living things] adore them.

But they could not understand each other's speech; they could succeed in nothing, and could do nothing. For this reason they were sacrificed, and the animals which were on earth were condemned to be killed and eaten.

For this reason another attempt had to be made to create and make men by the Creator, the Maker, and the Forefathers.

"Let us try again! Already dawn draws near: Let us make him who shall nourish and sustain us! What shall we do to be invoked, in order to be remembered on earth? We have already tried with our first creations, our first creatures; but we could not make them praise and venerate us. So, then, let us try to make obedient, respectful beings who will nourish and sustain us." Thus they spoke.

Then was the creation and the formation. Of earth, of mud, they made [man's] flesh. But they saw that it was not good. It melted away, it was soft, did not move, had no strength, it fell down, it was limp, it could not move its head, its face fell to one side, its sight was blurred, it could not look behind. At first it spoke, but had no mind. Quickly it soaked in the water and could not stand.

And the Creator and the Maker said: "Let us try again because our creatures will not be able to walk nor multiply. Let us consider this," they said.

Then they broke up and destroyed their work and their creation. And they said: "What shall we do to perfect it, in order that our worshipers, our invokers, will be successful?"

Thus they spoke when they conferred again: "Let us say again to Xpiyacoc, Xmucané, Hunahpú-Vuch, Hunahpú-Utiú: 'Cast your lot again. Try to create again.' " In this manner the Creator and the Maker spoke to Xpiyacoc and Xmucané.

Then they spoke to those soothsayers, the Grandmother of the day, the Grandmother of the Dawn, as they were called by the Creator and the Maker, and whose names were Xpiyacoc and Xmucané.

And said Huracán, Tepeu, and Gucumatz when they spoke to the soothsayer, to the Maker, who are the diviners: "You must work together and find the means so that man, whom we shall make, man, whom we are going to make, will nourish and sustain us, invoke and remember us."

"Enter, then, into council, grandmother, grandfather, our grandmother, our grandfather, Xpiyacoc, Xmucané, make light, make dawn, have us invoked, have us adored, have us remembered by created man, by made man, by mortal man. Thus be it done.

"Let your nature be known, Hunahpú-Vuch, Hunahpú-Utiú, twice mother, twice father, Nim-Ac, Nima-Tziís, the master of emeralds, the worker in jewels, the sculptor, the carver, the maker of beautiful plates, the maker of green gourds, the master of resin, the master Toltecat,* grandmother of the sun, grandmother of dawn, as you will be called by our works and our creatures.

*Here the text seems to enumerate the usual occupations of the men of that time. The author calls upon ahqual, who is evidently the one who carves emeralds or green stones; ahyamanic, the jeweler or silversmith; ahchut, engraver or sculptor; ahtzalam, carver or cabinetmaker; ahraxalac, he who fashions green or beautiful plates; ahraxazel, he who makes the beautiful green vases or gourds (called Xicalli in Náhuatl,)--the word raxá has both meanings; ahgol, he who makes the resin or copal; and, finally, ahtoltecat, he who, without doubt, was the silversmith. The Tolteca were in fact, skilled silversmiths who, according to the legend, were taught the art by Quetzalcoatl himself.

"Cast the lot with your grains of corn and the tzité.** Do it thus, and we shall know if we are to make, or carve his mouth and eyes out of wood." Thus the diviners were told.

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**Erythrina corallodendron. Tzité, arbol de pito in Guatemala; Tzompanquahuitl in the Mexican language. It is used in both countries to make fences. Its fruit is a pod which contains red grains resembling a bean which the Indians used, as they still do, together with grains of corn, in their fortunetelling and witchcraft. In his Informe contra Idolorum Cultores, Sánchez de Aguilar says that the Maya Indians "cast lots with a large handful of corn." As is seen, the practice which is still observed by the Maya-Quiché is of respectable antiquity.

They went down at once to make their divination, and cast their lots with the corn and the tzité. "Fate! Creature!" said an old woman and an old man. And this old man was the one who cast the lots with Tzité, the one called Xpiyacoc. And the old woman was the diviner, the maker, called Chiracán Xmucané.

Beginning the divination, they said: "Get together, grasp each other! Speak, that we may hear." They said, "Say if it is well that the wood be got together and that it be carved by the Creator and the Maker, and if this [man of wood] is he who must nourish and sustain us when there is light when it is day!

"Thou, corn; thou, tzité; thou, fate; thou, creature; get together, take each other," they said to the corn, to the tzité, to fate, to the creature. "Come to sacrifice here, Heart of Heaven; do not punish Tepeu and Gucumatz!"

Then they talked and spoke the truth: "Your figures of wood shall come out well; they shall speak and talk on earth."

"So may it be," they answered when they spoke.

And instantly the figures were made of wood. They looked like men, talked like men, and populated the surface of the earth.

They existed and multiplied; they had daughters, they had sons, these wooden figures; but they did not have souls, nor minds, they did not remember their Creator, their Maker; they walked on all fours, aimlessly.

They no longer remembered the Heart of Heaven and therefore they fell out of favor. It was merely a trial, an attempt at man. At first they spoke, but their face was without expression; their feet and hands had no strength; they had no blood, nor substance, nor moisture, nor flesh; their cheeks were dry, their feet and hands were dry, and their flesh was yellow.

Therefore, they no longer thought of their Creator nor their Maker, nor of those who made them and cared for them.

These were the first men who existed in great numbers on the face of the earth.

1 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 3

Immediately the wooden figures were annihilated, destroyed, broken up, and killed.

A flood was brought about by the Heart of Heaven; a great flood was formed which fell on the heads of the wooden creatures.

Of tzité, the flesh of man was made, but when woman was fashioned by the Creator and the Maker, her flesh was made of rushes. These were the materials the Creator and the Maker wanted to use in making them.

But those that they had made, that they had created, did not think, did not speak with their Creator, their Maker. And for this reason they were killed, they were deluged. A heavy resin fell from the sky. The one called Xecotcovach came and gouged out their eyes; Camalotz came and cut off their heads; Cotzbalam came and devoured their flesh. Tucumbalam came, too, and broke and mangled their bones and their nerves, and ground and crumbled their bones.

This was to punish them because they had not thought of their mother, nor their father, the Heart of Heaven, called Huracán. And for this reason the face of the earth was darkened and a black rain began to fall, by day and by night.

Then came the small animals and the large animals, and sticks and stones struck their faces. And all began to speak: their earthen jars, their griddles, their plates, their pots, their grinding stones, all rose up and struck their faces.

"You have done us much harm; you ate us, and now we shall kill you," said their dogs and birds of the barnyard.

And the grinding stones said: "We were tormented by you; every day, every day, at night, at dawn, all the time our faces went holi, holi, huqui, huqui, because of you. This was the tribute we paid you. But now that you are no longer men, you shall feel our strength. We shall grind and tear your flesh to pieces," said their grinding stones.

And then their dogs spoke and said: "Why did you give us nothing to eat? You scarcely looked at us, but you chased us and threw us out. You always had a stick ready to strike us while you were eating.

"Thus it was that you treated us. You did not speak to us. Perhaps we shall not kill you now; but why did you not look ahead, why did you not think about yourselves? Now we shall destroy you, now you shall feel the teeth of our mouths; we shall devour you," said the dogs, and then, they destroyed their faces.

And at the same time, their griddles and pots spoke: "Pain and suffering you have caused us. Our mouths and our faces were blackened with soot; we were always put on the fire and you burned us as though we felt no pain. Now you shall feel it, we shall burn you," said their pots, and they all destroyed their [the wooden men's] faces. The stones of the hearth, which were heaped together, hurled themselves straight from the fire against their heads causing them pain.

The desperate ones [the men of wood] ran as quickly as they could; they wanted to climb to the tops of the houses, and the houses fell down and threw them to the ground; they wanted to climb to the treetops, and the trees cast them far away; they wanted to enter the caverns, and the caverns repelled them.

So was the ruin of the men who had been created and formed, the men made to be destroyed and annihilated; the mouths and faces of all of them were mangled.

And it is said that their descendants are the monkeys which now live in the forests; these are all that remain of them because their flesh was made only of wood by the Creator and the Maker.

And therefore the monkey looks like man, and is an example of a generation of men which were created and made but were only wooden figures.

1 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 4

It was cloudy and twilight then on the face of the earth. There was no sun yet. Nevertheless, there was a being called Vucub-Caquix who was very proud of himself.

The sky and the earth existed, but the faces of the sun and the moon were covered.

And he [Vucub-Caquix] said: "Truly, they are clear examples of those people who were drowned, and their nature is that of supernatural beings.

"I shall now be great above all the beings created and formed. I am the sun, the light, the moon," he exclaimed. "Great is my splendor. Because of me men shall walk and conquer. For my eyes are of silver, bright, resplendent as precious stones, as emeralds; my teeth shine like perfect stones, like the face of the sky. My nose shines afar like the moon, my throne is of silver, and the face of the earth is lighted when I pass before my throne.

"So, then, I am the sun, I am the moon, for all mankind. So shall it be, because I can see very far."

So Vucub-Caquix spoke. But he was not really the sun; he was only vainglorious of his feathers and his riches. And he could see only as far as the horizon, and he could not see over all the world.

The face of the sun had not yet appeared, nor that of the moon, nor the stars, and it had not dawned. Therefore, Vucub-Caquix became as vain as though he were the sun and the moon, because the light of the sun and the moon had not yet shown itself. His only ambition was to exalt himself and to dominate. And all this happened when the flood came because of the wooden people.

Now we shall tell how Vucub-Caquix was overthrown and died, and how man was made by the Creator and the Maker.

1 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 5

This is the beginning of the defeat and the ruin of the glory of Vucub-Caquix brought about by two youths, the first of whom was called Hunahpú and the second, Xbalanqué. They were really gods. When they saw the harm which the arrogant one had done, and wished to do, in the presence of the Heart of Heaven, the youths said:

"It is not good that it be so, when man does not yet live here on earth. Therefore, we shall try to shoot him with our blowgun when he is eating. We shall shoot him and make him sicken, and then that will be the end of his riches, his green stones, his precious metals, his emeralds, his jewels of which he is so proud. And this shall be the lot of all men, for they must not become vain, because of power and riches.

"Thus shall it be," said the youths, each one putting his blowgun to his shoulder.

Well, now Vucub-Caquix had two sons: the first was called Zipacná, the second was Cabracán; and the mother of the two was called Chimalmat, the wife of Vucub-Caquix.

Well, Zipacná played ball with the large mountains: with Chigag, Hunahpú, Pecul, Yaxcanul, Macamob, and Huliznab. These are the names of the mountains which existed when it dawned and which were created in a single night by Zipacná.

In this way, then, Cabracán moved the mountains and made the large and small mountains tremble.

And in this way the sons of Vucub-Caquix proclaimed their pride. "Listen! I am the sun!," said Vucub-Caquix. "I am he who made the earth!" said Zipacná. "I am he who shook the sky and made the earth tremble!" said Cabracán. In this way the sons of Vucub-Caquix followed the example of their father's assumed greatness. And this seemed very evil to the youths. Neither our first mother nor our first father had yet been created.

Therefore, the deaths of Vucub-Caquix and his sons and their destruction was decided upon by the youths.

1 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 6

Now we shall tell how the two Youths shot their blowguns at Vucub-Caquix and how each one of those, who had become arrogant, was destroyed.

Vucub-Caquix had a large nantze tree and he ate the fruit of it. Each day he went to the tree and climbed to the top. Hunahpú and Xbalanqué had seen that this fruit was his food. And they lay in ambush at the foot of the tree, hidden among the leaves. Vucub-Caquix came straight to his meal of nantzes.

Instantly he was injured by a discharge from Hun-Hunahpú's blowgun which struck him squarely in the jaw, and screaming, he fell straight to earth from the treetop.

Hun-Hunahpú ran quickly to overpower him, but Vucub-Caquix seized his arm and wrenching it from him, bent it back to the shoulder. In this way Vucub-Caquix tore out Hun-Hunahpú's arm. Surely the two youths did well in not letting themselves be defeated first by Vucub-Caquix.

Carrying Hun-Hunahpú's arm, Vucub-Caquix went home, and arrived there nursing his jaw.

"What has happened to you, my lord?" said Chimalmat, his wife.

"What could it be, but those two demons who shot me with blowguns and dislocated my jaw? For that reason my teeth are loose and pain me very much. But I have brought it [his arm], to put it on the fire. Let it hang there over the fire, for surely these demons will come looking for it." So said Vucub-Caquix as he hung up the arm of Hun-Hunahpú.

Having thought it over, Hun-Hunahpú and Xbalanqué went to talk with an old man who had snow-white hair and with an old woman, really very old and humble, both already bent, like very old people. The old man was called Zaqui-Nim-Ac and the old woman, Zaqui-Nima-Tziis. The youths said to the old woman and the old man:

"Come with us to Vucub-Caquix's house to get our arm. We will follow you, and you shall tell them: 'These with us are our grandchildren; their mother and father are dead; so they follow us everywhere we are given alms, for the only thing that we know how to do is take the worm from the teeth.'

"So Vucub-Caquix shall think we are boys and we shall also be there to advise you," said the two youths.

"Very well," answered the old man and woman.

Then they started out for the place where they found Vucub-Caquix reclining on his throne. The old woman and man walked along followed by the two boys, who stayed behind them. In this way they arrived at the house of the lord who was screaming because his tooth pained him.

When Vucub-Caquix saw the old man and the old woman and those who accompanied them, he asked, "Where do you come from, grandparents?"

"We come looking for something to eat, honorable sir," they answered.

"And what do you eat? Are those not your sons who are with you?"

"Oh, no, sir! They are our grandsons; but we are sorry for them and what is given to us, we share with them, sir," answered the old woman and the old man.

Meanwhile, the lord was suffering terrible pain from his tooth, and it was only with great difficulty that he could speak.

"I earnestly beseech you to have pity on me. What can you do? What do you know how to cure?" the lord asked them.

And the old ones answered, "Oh, sir! we only take the worm from the teeth, cure the eyes, and set bones."

"Very well. Cure my teeth, which are really making me suffer day and night, and because of them and of my eyes I cannot be calm and cannot sleep. All of this is because two demons shot me with a pellet [from their blowgun] and for that reason I cannot eat. Have pity on me, then, tighten my teeth with your hands."

"Very well, sir. It is a worm which makes you suffer. It will end when these teeth are pulled and others put in their place."

"It is not well that you pull my teeth, because it is only with them that I am a lord and all my ornaments are my teeth and my eyes."

"We will put others of ground bone in their place." But the ground bone was nothing but grains of white corn.

"Very well, pull them out, come and relieve me," he replied.

Then they pulled Vucub-Caquix's teeth; but in their place they put only grains of white corn, and these grains of corn shone in his mouth. Instantly his features sagged and he no longer looked like a lord. They removed the rest of his teeth which shone like pearls in his mouth. And finally they cured Vucub-Caquix's eyes, piercing the pupils of his eyes, and they took all his riches.

But he felt nothing any more. He only watched, because at the advice of Hunahpú and Xbalanqué, they took from him all of the things of which he had been so proud.

Then Vucub-Caquix died. Hun-Hunahpú recovered his arm. Chimalmat, the wife of Vucub-Caquix, also perished.

In this way Vucub-Caquix lost his riches. The healer took all the emeralds and precious stones which had been his pride here on earth.

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The old woman and the old man who did this were miraculous beings; and having recovered the arm of Hun-Hunahpú, they put it in place, and it was all right again.

It was only to bring about the death of Vucub-Caquix that they did this, because it seemed wicked to them that he should become so arrogant.

And then the two youths went on, having in this way carried out the order of the Heart of Heaven.

1 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 7

Here now are the deeds of Zipacná, the elder, son of Vucub-Caquix.

"I am the creator of the mountains," said Zipacná.

Zipacná was bathing at the edge of a river when four hundred youths passed dragging a log to support their house. The four hundred were walking, after having cut down a large tree to make the ridge-pole of their house.

Then Zipacná came up, and going toward the four hundred youths, said to them: "What are you doing, boys?"

"It is only this log," they answered, "which we cannot lift and carry on our shoulders."

"I will carry it. Where does it have to go? What do you want it for?"

"For a ridge-pole for our house."

"All right," he answered, and lifting it up, he put it on his shoulders and carried it to the entrance of the house of the four hundred boys.

"Now stay with us, boy," they said. "Have you a mother or father?"

"I have neither," he answered.

"Then we shall hire you tomorrow to prepare another log to support our house."

"Good," he answered.

The four hundred boys talked together then, and said:

"How shall we kill this boy? Because it is not good what he has done lifting the log alone. Let us make a big hole and push him so that he will fall into it. 'Go down and take out the earth and carry it from the pit,' we shall tell him, and when he stoops down, to go down into the pit, we shall let the large log fall on him and he will die there in the pit."

So said the four hundred boys, and then they dug a large, very deep pit. Then they called Zipacná.

"We like you very much. Go, go and dig dirt, for we cannot reach [the bottom of the pit]," they said.

"All right," he answered. He went at once into the pit. And calling to him as he was digging the dirt, they said: "Have you gone down very deep yet?"

"Yes," he answered, beginning to dig the pit. But the pit which he was making was to save him from danger. He knew that they wanted to kill him; so when he dug the pit, he made a second hole at one side in order to free himself.

"How far [have you gone]?" the four hundred boys called down.

"I am still digging; I will call up to you when I have finished the digging," said Zipacná from the bottom of the pit. But he was not digging his grave; instead he was opening another pit in order to save himself.

At last Zipacná called to them. But when he called, he was already safe in the second pit.

"Come and take out and carry away the dirt which I have dug and which is in the bottom of the pit," he said, "because in truth I have made it very deep. Do you not hear my call? Nevertheless, your calls, your words repeat themselves like an echo once, twice, and so I hear well where you are." So Zipacná called from the pit where he was hidden, shouting from the depths.

Then the boys hurled the great log violently, and it fell quickly with a thud to the bottom of the pit.

"Let no one speak! Let us wait until we hear his dying screams," they said to each other, whispering, and each one covered his face as the log fell noisily. He [Zipacná] spoke then, crying out, but he called only once when the log fell to the bottom.

"How well we have succeeded in this! Now he is dead," said the boys. "If, unfortunately, he had continued what he had begun to do, we would have been lost, because he already had interfered with us, the four hundred boys."

And filled with joy they said: "Now we must make our chicha within the next three days. When the three days are passed, we shall drink to the construction of our new house, we, the four hundred boys." Then they said: "Tomorrow we shall look, and day after tomorrow, we shall also look to see if the ants do not come out of the earth when the body smells and begins to rot. Presently we shall become calm and drink our chicha," they said.

But from his pit Zipacná listened to everything the boys said. And later, on the second day, multitudes of ants came, going and coming and gathering under the log. Some carried Zipacná's hair in their mouths, and others carried his fingernails.

When the boys saw this, they said, "That devil has now perished. Look how the ants have gathered, how they have come by hordes, some bringing his hair and others his fingernails. Look what we have done!" So they spoke to each other.

Nevertheless, Zipacná was very much alive. He had cut his hair and gnawed off his fingernails to give them to the ants.

And so the four hundred boys believed that he was dead, and on the third day they began the orgy and all of the boys got drunk. And the four hundred being drunk knew nothing any more. And then Zipacná let the house fall on their heads and killed all of them.

Not even one or two among the four hundred were saved; they were killed by Zipacná, son of Vucub-Caquix.

In this way the four hundred boys died, and it is said that they became the group of stars which because of them are called Motz,* but it may not be true.

*A mass, the Seven Little Sisters, the Pleiades. Brasseur de Bourbourg notes that Omuch qaholah, the four hundred young men who perished in an orgy, are the same as those who were worshipped in Mexico under the name Centzon-Totochtin, the four hundred rabbits who were implored as gods to protect the pulque and the drunkards.

1 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 8

Now we shall tell how Zipacná was defeated by the two boys, Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

Now follows the defeat and death of Zipacná, when he was overcome by the two boys, Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

The boys' hearts were full of rancor because the four hundred young men had been killed by Zipacná. And he only hunted fish and crabs at the bank of the river, which were his daily food. During the day he went about looking for food, and at night he carried mountains on his back.

With a leaf of the ec plant which is found in the forest, Hunahpú and Xbalanqué quickly made a figure to look like a very large crab.

With this they made the stomach of the crab; the claws, they made of pahac, and for the shell, which covers the back, they used a stone. Then they put the crab at the bottom of a cave at the foot of a large mountain called Meaguán, where he was overcome.

Then the boys went to find Zipacná on the river bank.

"Where are you going, young man?" they asked him.

"I am not going anywhere," Zipacná answered, "only looking for food, boys."

"And what is your food?"

"Fish and crabs, but there are none here and I have not found any; I have not eaten since day before yesterday, and I am dying of hunger," said Zipacná to Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

"Over there in the bottom of the ravine there is a crab, a really large crab, and it would be well if you would eat it! Only it bit us when we tried to catch it and so we were afraid. We wouldn't try to catch it for anything," said Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

"Have pity on me! Come and show it to me, boys," begged Zipacná.

"We do not want to. You go alone, you will not get lost. Follow the bank of the river and you will come out at the foot of a large hill; there it is making a noise at the bottom of the ravine. You have only to go there," said Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

"Oh, unfortunate me! Won't you accompany me, boys? Come and show it to me. There are many birds which you can shoot with your blowguns and I know where to find them," said Zipacná.

His meekness convinced the boys. And they asked him: "But, can you really catch him? Because it is only for you that we are returning; we are not going to try to get it again because it bit us when we were crawling into the cave. After that we were afraid to crawl in, but we almost caught it. So, then, it is best that you crawl in," they said.

"Very well," said Zipacná, and then they went with him. They arrived at the bottom of the ravine and there, stretched on his back, was the crab, showing his red shell. And there also in the bottom of the ravine was the boys' hoax.

"Good! Good!" said Zipacná happily. "I should like to have it in my mouth already!" And he was really dying of hunger. He wanted to try to crawl in, he wanted to enter, but the crab was climbing. He came out at once and the boys asked, "Did you not get it?"

"No," he answered, "because he was going up and I almost caught him. But perhaps it would be good if I go in from above," he added. And then he entered again from above, but as he was almost inside, with only the soles of his feet showing, the great hill slid and fell slowly down on his chest.

Zipacná never returned and he was changed into stone.

In this way Zipacná was defeated by the two boys, Hunahpú and Xbalanqué; he was the elder son of Vucub-Caquix, and he, according to the ancient legend, was the one who made the mountains.

At the foot of the hill called Meaguán he was vanquished. Only by a miracle was he vanquished, the second of the arrogant ones. One was left, whose history we shall tell now.

1 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 9

The third of the arrogant ones was the second son of Vucub-Caquix who was called Cabracán.

"I demolish the mountains," he said.

But Hunahpú and Xbalanqué also defeated Cabracán. Huracán Chipi-Caculhá, and Raxa-Caculhá talked and said to Hunahpú and Xbalanqué:

"Let the second son of Vucub-Caquix also be defeated. This is our will, for it is not well what they do on earth, exalting their glory, their grandeur, and their power, and it must not be so. Lure him to where the sun rises," said Huracán to the two youths.

"Very well, honored sir," they answered, "because what we see is not right. Do you not exist, you who are the peace, you, Heart of Heaven?" said the boys as they listened to the command of Huracán.

Meanwhile, Cabracán was busy shaking the mountains. At the gentlest tap of his feet on the earth, the large and small mountains opened. Thus the boys found him and asked Cabracán:

"Where are you going, young man? "

"Nowhere," he answered, "here I am moving the mountains, and I am leveling them to the ground forever," he answered.

Then Cabracán asked Hunahpú and Xbalanqué, "What did you come to do here? I do not recognize you. What are your names?" said Cabracán.

"We have no names," they answered, "we are nothing more than shooters of blowguns and hunters with bird-traps on the mountains. We are poor and we have nothing, young man. We only walk over the large and small mountains, young man, and we have just seen a large mountain, over there where you see the pink sky. It really rises up very high and overlooks the tops of all the hills. So it is that we have not been able to catch even one or two of the birds on it, boy. But, is it true that you can level all the mountains?" Hunahpú and Xbalanqué asked Cabracán.

"Have you really seen the mountain of which you speak? Where is it? If I see it, I shall demolish it. Where did you see it?"

"Over there it is, where the sun rises," said Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

"Very well, show me the road," he said to the two boys.

"Oh no!" they answered. "We must take you between us. One shall go at your left and the other at your right, because we have our blowguns, and if there should be birds we can shoot them." And so they set out happily, trying out their blowguns. But when they shot with them, they did not use the clay pellets in the tube of the blowgun; instead they felled the birds only with the puff of air when they shot them, which surprised Cabracán very much.

Then the boys built a fire and put the birds on it to roast, but they rubbed one of the birds with chalk, covering it with a white earth soil.

"We shall give him this," they said, "to whet his appetite with the odor which it gives off. This bird of ours shall be his ruin, as we cover this bird with earth so we shall bring him down to the earth and bury him in the earth.

"Great shall be the wisdom of a created being, of a being fashioned, when it dawns, when there is light," said the boys.

"As it is natural for man to wish to eat, so Cabracán desires food," said Hunahpú and Xbalanqué to each other.

Meanwhile the birds were roasting, they were beginning to turn golden brown, and the fat and juice which dripped from them made an appetizing odor. Cabracán wanted very much to eat them; they made his mouth water, he yawned, and the saliva and spittle drooled because of the smell which the birds gave off.

Then he asked them: "What is that you eat? The smell is really savoury. Give me a little piece," he said to them.

Then they gave a bird to Cabracán, the one which would be his ruin; and when he had finished eating it, they set out toward the east where the great mountain was. But already Cabracán's legs and hands were weakening and he had no strength because of the earth with which the bird he had eaten was rubbed, and he could do nothing to the mountains. Neither was it possible to level them.

Then the boys tied him, they tied his hands behind him and also tied his neck and his feet together. Then they threw him to the ground and there they buried him.

In this way Cabracán was overcome by Hunahpú and Xbalanqué. It would be impossible to tell of all the things they did here on earth.

Now we shall tell of the birth of Hunahpú and Xbalanqué, having first told of the destruction of Vucub-Caquix and that of Zipacná and of Cabracán, here on earth.

BOOK 2

2 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 1

Now we shall also tell the name of the father of Hunahpú and Xbalanqu\é. We shall not tell his origin and we shall not tell the history of the birth of Hunahpú and Xbalanqué. We shall tell only half of it, only a part of the history of his father.

Here is the story. Here are the names of Hun-Hunahpú [and Vucub-Hunahpú], as they are called. Their parents were

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Xpiyacoc and Xmucané. During the night Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú were born of Xpiyacoc and Xmucané.

Well now, Hun-Hunahpú had begotten two sons; the first was called Hunbatz and the second Hunchouén.

The mother of the two sons was called Xbaquiyalo. Thus was the wife of Hun-Hunahpú called. As for the other son, Vucub-Hunahpú, he had no wife; he was single.

By nature these two sons were very wise, and great was their wisdom; on earth they were soothsayers of good disposition and good habits. All the arts were taught to Hunbatz and Hunchouén, the sons of Hun-Hunahpú. They were flautists, singers, shooters with blowguns, painters, sculptors, jewelers, silversmiths; these were Hunbatz and Hunchouén.

Well, Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú did nothing but play dice and ball all day long; and when the four got together to play ball, one pair played against the other pair.

And Voc, the messenger of Huracán, of Chipi-Caculhá, of Raxa-Caculhá came there to watch them, but Voc did not stay far from the earth nor far from Xibalba, and in an instant he went up to heaven to the side of Huracán.

They were still here on earth when the mother of Hunbatz and Hunchouén died.

And having gone to play ball on the road to Xibalba, they were overheard by Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé, the lords of Xibalba.

"What are they doing on earth? Who are they who are making the earth shake, and making so much noise? Go and call them! Let them come here to play ball. Here we will overpower them! We are no longer respected by them. They no longer have consideration, or fear of our rank, and they even fight above our heads," said all the lords of Xibalba.

All of them held a council. Those called Hun-Camé and

All of them held a council. Those called Hun-Camé and

Vucub-Camé were the supreme judges. All the lords had been assigned their duties. Each one was given his own authority by Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé.

They were, then, Xiquiripat and Cuchumaquic lords of these names. They were the two who caused the shedding of blood of the men.

Others were called Ahalpuh and Ahalganá, also lords. And their work was to make men swell and make pus gush forth from their legs and stain their faces yellow, what is called Chuganal. Such was the work of Ahalpuh and Ahalganá.

Others were Lord Chamiabac and Lord Chamiaholom, constables of Xibalba, whose staffs were of bone. Their work was to make men waste away until they were nothing but skin and bone and they died, and they carried them with their stomach and bones stretched out. This was the work of Chamiabac and Chamiaholom, as they were called.

Others were called Lord Ahalmez and Lord Ahaltocob; their work was to bring disaster upon men, as they were going home, or in front of it, and they would be found wounded, stretched out, face up, on the ground, dead. This was the work of Ahalmez and Ahaltocob, as they were called.

Immediately after them were other lords named Xic and Patán whose work it was to cause men to die on the road, which is called sudden death, making blood to rush to their mouths until they died vomiting blood. The work of each one of these lords was to seize upon them, squeeze their throats and chests, so that the men died on the road, making the blood rush to their throats when they were walking. This was the work of Xic and Patán.

And having gathered in council, they discussed how to torment and wound Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú. What the Lords of Xibalba coveted were the playing implements of Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú--their leather pads and rings and gloves and crown and masks which were the playing gear of Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú.

Now we shall tell of their journey to Xibalba and how they left behind them the sons of Hun-Hunahpú, Hunbatz, and [Hun] Chouén, whose mother had died.

Then we shall tell how Hunbatz and Hunchouén were overcome by Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

2 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 2

The messengers of Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé arrived immediately.

"Go, Ahpop Achih!" they were told. "Go and call Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú. Say to them, 'Come with us. The lords say that you must come.' They must come here to play ball with us so that they shall make us happy, for really they amaze us. So, then, they must come," said the lords. "And have them bring their playing gear, their rings, their gloves, and have them bring their rubber balls, too," said the lords. "Tell them to come quickly," they told the messengers.

And these messengers were owls: Chabi-Tucur, Huracán-Tucur, Caquix-Tucur and Holom-Tucur. These were the names of the messengers of Xibalba.

Chabi-Tucur was swift as an arrow; Huracán-Tucur had only one leg; Caquix-Tucur had a red back, and Holom-Tucur had only a head, no legs, but he had wings.

The four messengers had the rank of Ahpop-Achih. Leaving Xibalba, they arrived quickly, bringing their message to the court where Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú were playing ball, at the ball-court which was called Nim-Xob Carchah. The owl messengers went directly to the ball-court and delivered their message exactly as it was given to them by Hun-Camé, Vucub-Camé, Ahalpuh, Ahalganá, Chamiabac, Chamiaholom, Xiquiripat, Cuchumaquic, Ahalmez, Ahaltocob, Xic, and Patán, as the lords were called who sent the message by the owls.

"Did the Lords Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé really say that we must go with you?"

"They certainly said so, and 'Let them bring all their playing gear,' the lords said."

"Very well," said the youths. Wait for us, we are only going to say good-bye to our mother."

And having gone straight home, they said to their mother, for their father was dead: "We are going, our mother, but our going is only for a while. The messengers of the lord have come to take us. 'They must come,' they said, according to the messengers.

"We shall leave our ball here in pledge," they added. They went immediately to hang it in the space under the rooftree. "We will return to play," they said.

And going to Hunbatz and Hunchouén they said to them: "Keep on playing the flute and singing, painting, and carving; warm our house and warm the heart of your grandmother."

When they took leave of their mother, Xmucané was moved and burst into tears. "Do not worry, we are going, but we have not died yet," said Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú as they left.

Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú went immediately and the messengers took them on the road. Thus they were descending the road to Xibalba, by some very steep stairs. They went down until they came to the bank of a river which flowed rapidly between the ravines called Nuziván cul and Cuziván, and crossed it. Then they crossed the river which flows among thorny calabash trees. There were very many calabash trees, but they passed through them without hurting themselves.

Then they came to the bank of a river of blood and crossed it without drinking its waters; they only went to the river bank and so they were not overcome. They went on until they came to where four roads joined, and there at the crossroads they were overcome.

One of the four roads was red, another black, another white, and another yellow. And the black road said to them: "I am the one you must take because I am the way of the Lord." So said the road.

And from here on they were already overcome. They were taken over the road to Xibalba and when they arrived at the council room of the Lords of Xibalba, they had already lost the match.

Well, the first ones who were seated there were only figures of wood, arranged by the men of Xibalba. These they greeted first:

"How are you, Hun-Camé?" they said to the wooden man. "How are you, Vucub-Camé?" they said to the other wooden man. But they did not answer. Instantly the Lords of Xibalba burst into laughter and all the other lords began to laugh loudly, because they already took for granted the downfall and defeat of Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú. And they continued to laugh.

Then Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé spoke: "Very well," they said. "You have come. Tomorrow you shall prepare the mask, your rings, and your gloves," they said.

"Come and sit down on our bench," they said. But the bench which they offered them was of hot stone, and when they sat down they were burned. They began to squirm around on the bench, and if they had not stood up they would have burned their seats.

The Lords of Xibalba burst out laughing again; they were dying of laughter; they writhed from pain in their stomach, in their blood, and in their bones, caused by their laughter, all the Lords of Xibalba laughed.

"Go now to that house," they said. "There you will get your sticks of fat pine and your cigar and there you shall sleep."

Immediately they arrived at the House of Gloom. There was only darkness within the house. Meanwhile the Lords of Xibalba discussed what they should do.

"Let us sacrifice them tomorrow, let them die quickly, quickly, so that we can have their playing gear to use in play," said the Lords of Xibalba to each other.

Well, their fat-pine sticks were round and were called zaquitoc, which is the pine of Xibalba. Their fat-pine sticks were pointed and filed and were as bright as bone; the pine of Xibalba was very hard.

Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú entered the House of Gloom. There they were given their fat-pine sticks, a single lighted stick which Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé sent them, together with a lighted cigar for each of them which the lords had sent. They went to give them to Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú.

They found them crouching in the darkness when the porters arrived with the fat-pine sticks and the cigars. As they entered, the pine sticks lighted the place brightly.

"Each of you light your pine sticks and your cigars; come and bring them back at dawn, you must not burn them up, but you must return them whole; this is what the lords told us to say." So they said. And so they were defeated. They burned up the pine sticks, and they also finished the cigars which had been given to them.

There were many punishments in Xibalba; the punishments were of many kinds.

The first was the House of Gloom, Quequma-ha, in which there was only darkness.

The second was Xuxulim-ha, the house where everybody shivered, in which it was very cold. A cold, unbearable wind blew within.

The third was the House of Jaguars, Balami-ha, it was called, in which there were nothing but jaguars which stalked about, jumped around, roared, and made fun. The jaguars were shut up in the house.

Zotzi-há, the House of Bats, the fourth place of punishment was called. Within this house there were nothing but bats which squeaked and cried and flew around and around. The bats were shut in and could not get out.

The fifth was called Chayim-há, the House of Knives, in which there were only sharp, pointed knives, silent or grating against each other in the house.

There were many places of torture in Xibalba, but Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú did not enter them. We only mention the names of these houses of punishment.

When Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú came before Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé, they said: "Where are my cigars? Where are my sticks of fat pine which I gave you last night?"

"They are all gone, Sir."

"Well. Today shall be the end of your days. Now you shall die. You shall be destroyed, we will break you into pieces and here your faces will stay hidden. You shall be sacrificed," said Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé.

They sacrificed them immediately and buried them in the Pucbal-Chah, as it was called. Before burying them, they cut off the head of Hun-Hunahpú and buried the older brother together with the younger brother.

"Take the head and put it in that tree which is planted on the road," said Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé. And having put the head in the tree, instantly the tree, which had never borne fruit before the head of Hun-Hunahpú was placed among its branches, was covered with fruit. And this calabash tree, it is said, is the one which we now call the head of Hun-Hunahpú.

Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé looked in amazement at the fruit on the tree. The round fruit was everywhere; but they did not recognize the head of Hun-Hunahpú; it was exactly like the other fruit of the calabash tree. So it seemed to all of the people of Xibalba when they came to look at it.

According to their judgement, the tree was miraculous, because of what had instantly occurred when they put Hun-Hunahpú's head among its branches. And the Lords of Xibalba said:

"Let no one come to pick this fruit. Let no one come and sit under this tree!" they said, and so the Lords of Xibalba resolved to keep everybody away.

The head of Hun-Hunahpú did not appear again, because it had become one and the same as the fruit of the gourd tree. Nevertheless, a girl heard the wonderful story. Now we shall tell about her arrival.

2 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 3

This is the story of a maiden, the daughter of a lord named Cuchumaquic.

A maiden, then, daughter of a lord heard this story. The name of the father was Cuchumaquic and that of the maiden was Xquic. When she heard the story of the fruit of the tree which her father told, she was amazed to hear it.

"Why can I not go to see this tree which they tell about?" the girl exclaimed. "Surely the fruit of which I hear tell must be very good." Finally she went alone and arrived at the foot of the tree which was planted in Pucbal-Chah.

"Ah! " she exclaimed. "What fruit is this which this tree bears? Is it not wonderful to see how it is covered with fruit? Must I die, shall I be lost, if I pick one of this fruit?" said the maiden.

Then the skull which was among the branches of the tree spoke up and said: "What is it you wish? Those round objects which cover the branches of the trees are nothing but skulls." So spoke the head of Hun-Hunahpú turning to the maiden. "Do you, perchance, want them?" it added.

"Yes, I want them," the maiden answered.

"Very well," said the skull. "Stretch your right hand up

"Very well," said the maiden, and with her right hand reached toward the skull.

In that instant the skull let a few drops of spittle fall directly into the maiden's palm. She looked quickly and intently at the palm of her hand, but the spittle of the skull was not there.

"In my saliva and spittle I have given you my descendants," said the voice in the tree. "Now my head has nothing on it any more, it is nothing but a skull without flesh. So are the heads of the great princes, the flesh is all which gives them a

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handsome appearance. And when they die, men are frightened by their bones. So, too, is the nature of the sons, which are like saliva and spittle, they may be sons of a lord, of a wise man, or of an orator. They do not lose their substance when they go, but they bequeath it; the image of the lord, of the wise man, or of the orator does not disappear, nor is it lost, but he leaves it to the daughters and to the sons which he begets. I have done the same with you. Go up, then, to the surface of the earth, that you may not die. Believe in my words that it will be so," said the head of Hun-Hunahpú and of Vucub-Hunahpú.

And all that they did together was by order of Huracán, Chipi-Caculhá, and Raxa-Caculhá.

After all of the above talking, the maiden returned directly to her home, having immediately conceived the sons in her belly by virtue of the spittle only. And thus Hunahpú and Xbalanqué were begotten.

And so the girl returned home, and after six months had passed, her father, who was called Cuchumaquic, noticed her condition. At once the maiden's secret was discovered by her father when he observed that she was pregnant.

Then the lords, Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé, held council with Cuchumaquic.

"My daughter is pregnant, Sirs; she has been disgraced," exclaimed Cuchumaquic when he appeared before the lords.

"Very well," they said. "Command her to tell the truth, and if she refuses to speak, punish her; let her be taken far from here and sacrifice her."

"Very well, Honorable Lords," he answered. Then he questioned his daughter:

"Whose are the children that you carry, my daughter," And she answered, "I have no child, my father, for I have not yet known a youth."

"Very well," he replied. "You are really a whore. Take her and sacrifice her, Ahpop Achih; bring me her heart in a gourd and return this very day before the lords," he said to the two owls.

The four messengers took the gourd and set out carrying the young girl in their arms and also taking the knife of flint with which to sacrifice her.

And she said to them: "It cannot be that you will kill me, oh, messengers, because what I bear in my belly is no disgrace, but was begotten when I went to marvel at the head of Hun-Hunahpú which was in Pucbal-Chah. So, then, you must not sacrifice me, oh, messengers!" said the young girl, turning to them.

"And what shall we put in place of your heart? Your father told us: 'Bring the heart, return before the lords, do your duty, all working together, bring it in the gourd quickly and put the heart in the bottom of the gourd.' Perchance, did he not speak to us so? What shall we put in the gourd? We wish too, that you should not die," said the messengers.

"Very well, but my heart does not belong to them. Neither is your home here, nor must you let them force you to kill men. Later, in truth, the real criminals will be at your mercy and l will overcome Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé. So, then,, the blood and only the blood shall be theirs and shall be given to them. Neither shall my heart be burned before them. Gather the product of this tree," said the maiden.

The red sap gushing forth from the tree fell in the gourd and with it they made a ball which glistened and took the shape of a heart. The tree gave forth sap similar to blood, with the appearance of real blood. Then the blood, or that is to say the sap of the red tree, clotted, and formed a very bright coating inside the gourd, like clotted blood; meanwhile the tree glowed at the work of the maiden. It was called the "red tree of cochineal," but [since then] it has taken the name of Blood Tree because its sap is called Blood.

"There on earth you shall be beloved and you shall have all that belongs to you," said the maiden to the owls.

"Very well, girl. We shall go there, we go up to serve you; you, continue on your way, while we go to present the sap, instead of your heart, to the lords," said the messengers.

When they arrived in the presence of the lords, all were waiting.

"You have finished?" asked Hun-Camé.

"All is finished, my lords. Here in the bottom of the gourd is the heart."

"Very well. Let us see," exclaimed Hun-Camé. And grasping it with his fingers he raised it, the shell broke and the blood flowed bright red in color.

"Stir up the fire and put it on the coals," said Hun-Camé.

As soon as they threw it on the fire, the men of Xibalba began to sniff and drawing near to it, they found the fragrance of the heart very sweet.

And as they sat deep in thought, the owls, the maiden's servants, left, and flew like a flock of birds from the abyss toward earth and the four became her servants.

In this manner the Lords of Xibalba were defeated. All were tricked by the maiden.

2 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 4

Well then, Hunbatz and Hunchouén were with their mothers when the woman called Xquic arrived.

When the woman Xquic came before the mother of Hunbatz and Hunchouén, she carried her sons in her belly and it was not long before Hunahpú and Xbalanqué, as they were called, were to be born.

When the woman came to the old lady, she said to her: "I have come, mother; I am your daughter-in-law and your daughter, mother." She said this when she entered the grandmother's house.

"Where did you come from? Where are my sons? Did they, perchance, not die in Xibalba? Do you not see these two who remain, their descendants and blood, and are called Hunbatz and Hunchouén? Go from here! Get out!" the old lady screamed at the girl.

"Nevertheless, it is true that I am your daughter-in-law; I have been for a long time. I belong to Hun-Hunahpú. They live in what I carry, Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú are not dead; they will return to show themselves clearly, my mother-in-law. And you shall soon see their image in what I bring to you," she said to the old woman.

Then Hunbatz and Hunchouén became angry. They did nothing but play the flute and sing, paint, and sculpture all day long and were the consolation of the old woman.

Then the old woman said:

"I do not wish you to be my daughter-in-law, because what you bear in your womb is fruit of your disgrace. Furthermore, you are an impostor; my sons of whom you speak are already dead."

Presently the grandmother added: "This, that I tell you is the truth; but well, it is all right, you are my daughter-in-law, according to what I have heard. Go, then, bring the food for those who must be fed. Go and gather a large net [full of corn] and return at once, since you are my daughter-in-law, according to what I hear," she said to the girl.

"Very well," the girl replied, and she went at once to the cornfield which Hunbatz and Hunchouén had planted. They had opened the road and the girl took it and so came to the cornfield; but she found only one stalk of corn; there were not two or three, and when she saw that there was only one stalk with an ear on it, the girl became very anxious.

"Ah, sinner that I am, unfortunate me! Where must I go to get a net full of corn as she told me to do?" she exclaimed. Immediately she began to beg Chahal for the food which she had to get and must take back.

"Xtoh, Xcanil, Xcacau, you who cook the corn; and you, Chahal, guardian of the food of Hunbatz and Hunchouén!" said the girl. And then she seized the beards, the red silk of the ears of corn and pulled them off without picking the ear. Then she arranged the silk in the net like ears of corn and the large net was completely filled.

The girl returned immediately; the animals of the field went along carrying the net, and when they arrived, they went to put the load in a corner of the house, as though she might have carried it. The old woman came and when she saw the corn in the large net she exclaimed:

"Where have you brought all this corn from? Did you, perchance, take all the corn in our field and bring it all in? I shall go at once to see," said the old woman, and she set out on the road to the cornfield. But the one stalk of corn was still standing there, and she saw too where the net had been at the foot of the stalk. The old woman quickly returned to her house and said to the girl:

"This is proof enough that you are really my daughter-in-law. I shall now see your little ones, those whom you carry and who also are to be soothsayers," she said to the girl.

2 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 5

Now we shall tell of the birth of Hunahpú and Xbalanqué. Here, then, we shall tell about their birth.

When the day of their birth arrived, the girl named Xquic gave birth; but the grandmother did not see them when they were born. Instantly the two boys called Hunahpú and Xbalanqué were born. There in the wood they were born.

Then they came to the house, but they could not sleep.

"Go throw them out!" said the old woman, "because truly they cry very much." Then they went and put them on an anthill. There they slept peacefully. Then they took them from the ant-hill and laid them on thistles.

Now, what Hunbatz and Hunchouén wished was that they [Hunahpú and Xbalanqué] would die there on the ant-hill, or on the thistles. They wished this because of the hatred and envy Hunbatz and Hunchouén felt for them.

At first they refused to receive their younger brothers in the house; they would not recognize them and so they were brought up in the fields.

Hunbatz and Hunchouén were great musicians and singers; they had grown up in the midst of trials and want and they had had much trouble, but they became very wise. They were flautists, singers, painters, and carvers; all of this they knew how to do.

They had heard about their birth and knew also that they were the successors of their parents, those who went to Xibalba and died there. Hunbatz and Hunchouén were diviners, and in their hearts they knew everything concerning the birth of their two younger brothers. Nevertheless, because they were envious, they did not show their wisdom, and their hearts were filled with bad will for them, although Hunahpú and Xbalanqué had not offended them in any way.

These two [last] did nothing all day long but shoot their blowguns; they were not loved by their grandmother, nor by Hunbatz, nor by Hunchouén; they were given nothing to eat; only when the meal was ended and Hunbatz and Hunchouén had already eaten, then the younger brothers came to eat. But they did not become angry, nor did they become vexed, but suffered silently, because they knew their rank, and they understood everything clearly. They brought their birds when they came, and Hunbatz and Hunchouén ate them without giving anything to either of the two, Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

The only thing that Hunbatz and Hunchouén did was to play the flute and sing.

And once when Hunahpú and Xbalanqué came without bringing any bird at all, they went into the house and their grandmother became furious.

"Why did you bring no birds?" she said to Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

And they answered: "What happened, grandmother, is that our birds were caught in the tree and we could not climb up to get them, dear grandmother. If our elder brothers so wish, let them come with us to bring the birds down," they said.

"Very well," the older brothers answered, "we shall go with you at dawn."

The two younger brothers then discussed the way to overcome Hunbatz and Hunchouén. "We shall only change their nature, their appearance; and so let our word be fulfilled, for all the suffering that they have caused us. They wanted us to die, that we might be lost, we, their younger brothers. In their hearts they really believe that we have come to be their servants. For these reasons we shall overcome them and teach them a lesson." Thus they spoke.

Then they went toward the foot of the tree called Canté. They were accompanied by their two elder brothers and they were shooting their blowguns. It was not possible to count the birds which sang in the tree, and their elder brothers marveled to see so many birds. There were birds, but not one fell at the foot of the tree.

"Our birds do not fall to the ground. Go and fetch them down," they said to their elder brothers.

"Very well," the latter answered. And then they climbed the tree; but the tree became larger and the trunk swelled. Then Hunbatz and Hunchouén wanted to come down but they could not come down from the top of the tree.

Then they called from the treetop. "What has happened to us, our brothers? Unfortunate we. This tree frightens us only to look at it. Oh, our brothers!" they called from the treetop. And Hunahpú and Xbalanqué answered: "Loosen your breechclouts; tie them below your stomach, leaving the long ends hanging and pull these from behind, and in this way you can walk easily." Thus said the younger brothers.

"Very well," they answered, pulling the ends of their belts back, but instantly these were changed into tails and they took on the appearance of monkeys. Then they hopped over the branches of the trees, among the great woods and little woods, and they buried themselves in the forest, making faces and swinging in the branches of the trees.

In this way Hunbatz and Hunchouén were overcome by Hunahpú and Xbalanqué; and only because of their magic could they have done it.

Then they returned to their home, and when they arrived they spoke to their grandmother and their mother, and said to them: "What could it be, grandmother, that has happened to our elder brothers, that suddenly their faces turned into the faces of animals? "So they said.

"If you have done any harm to your elder brothers, you have hurt me and have filled me with sadness. Do not do such a thing to your brothers, oh, my children," said the old woman to Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

And they replied to their grandmother:

"Do not grieve, our grandmother. You shall see our brothers' faces again; they shall return, but it will be a difficult trial for you, grandmother. Be careful that you do not laugh at them. And now, let us cast our lot," they said.

Immediately they began to play their flutes, playing the song of Hunahpú-Qoy. Then they sang, playing the flute and drum, picking up their flutes and their drum. Afterward they sat down close to their grandmother and continued playing and calling back [their brothers] with music and song, intoning the song, called Hunahpú-Qoy.

At last, Hunbatz and Hunchouén came and began to dance; but when the old woman saw their ugly faces, she began to laugh, unable to control her laughter, and they went away at once and she did not see their faces again.

"Now you see, grandmother! They have gone to the forest. What have you done, grandmother of ours? We may make this trial but four times and only three are left. Let us call them [back again] with flute and with song, but you, try to control your laughter. Let the trial begin!" said Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

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Immediately they began again to play. Hunbatz and Hunchouén returned dancing, and came as far as the center of the court of the house grimacing and provoking their grandmother to laughter, until finally she broke into loud laughter. They were really very amusing with their monkey-faces, their broad bottoms, their narrow tails, and the hole of their stomach, all of which made the old woman laugh.

Again the [elder brothers] went back to the woods. And Hunahpú and Xbalanqué said: "And now what shall we do, little grandmother? We shall try once again, this third time."

They played the flute again, and the monkeys returned dancing. The grandmother contained her laughter. Then they went up over the kitchen; their eyes gave off a red light; they drew away and scrubbed their noses and frightened each other with the faces they made.

And as the grandmother saw all of this, she burst into violent laughter; and they did not see the faces [of the elder brothers] again because of the old woman's laughter.

"Only once more shall we call them, grandmother, so that they shall come for the fourth time," said the boys. They began again, then, to play the flute, but [their brothers] did not return the fourth time, instead they fled into the forest as quickly as they could.

The boys said to their grandmother: "We have done everything possible, dear grandmother; they came once, then we tried to call them again. But do not grieve; here we are, your grandchildren; you must look to us, oh, our mother! Oh, our grandmother! to remind you of our elder brothers, those who were called and have the names of Hunbatz and Hunchouén," said Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

They were invoked by the musicians and singers, and by the old people. The painters and craftsmen also invoked them in days gone by. But they were changed into animals and became monkeys because they became arrogant and abused their brothers.

In this way they were disgraced; this was their loss; in this way Hunbatz and Hunchouén were overcome and became animals. They had always lived in their home; they were musicians and singers and also did great things when they lived with their grandmother and with their mother.

2 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 6

Then they [Hunahpú and Xbalanqué] began to work, in order to be well thought of by their grandmother and their mother. The first thing they made was the cornfield. "We are going to plant the cornfield, grandmother and mother," they said. "Do not grieve; here we are, your grandchildren, we who shall take the place of our brothers," said Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

At once they took their axes, their picks, and their wooden hoes and went, each carrying his blowgun on his shoulder. As they left the house they asked their grandmother to bring them their midday meal.

"At midday, come and bring our food, grandmother," they said.

"Very well, my grandsons," the old woman replied.

Soon they came to the field. And as they plunged the pick into the earth, it worked the earth; it did the work alone.

In the same way they put the ax in the trunks of the trees and in the branches, and instantly they fell and all the trees and vines were lying on the ground. The trees fell quickly, with only one stroke of the ax.

The pick also dug a great deal. One could not count the thistles and brambles which had been felled with one blow of the pick. Neither was it possible to tell what it had dug and broken up, in all the large and small woods.

And having taught an animal, called Xmucur, they had it climb to the top of a large tree and Hunahpú and Xbalanqué said to it: "Watch for our grandmother to come with our food, and

as soon as she comes, begin at once to sing, and we shall seize the pick and the ax."

"Very well," Xmucur answered.

And they began to shoot with their blowguns; certainly they did none of the work of clearing and cultivating. A little later, the dove sang, and they ran quickly, grabbing the pick and ax. And one of them covered his head and also deliberately covered his hands with earth and in the same way smeared his face to look like a real laborer, and the other purposely threw splinters of wood over his head as though he really had been cutting the trees.

Thus their grandmother saw them. They ate at once, but they had not really done the work of tilling the soil, and without deserving it they were given their midday meal. After a while, they went home.

"We are really tired, grandmother," they said upon arriving, stretching their legs and arms before her, but without reason.

They returned the following day, and upon arriving at the field, they found that all the trees and vines were standing again and that the brambles and thistles had become entangled again.

"Who has played this trick on us?" they said. "No doubt all the small and large animals did it, the puma, the jaguar, the deer, the rabbit, the mountain-cat, the coyote, the wild boar, the coati, the small birds, the large birds; they, it was, who did it; in a single night, they did it."

They began again to prepare the field and to prepare the soil and cut the trees. They talked over what they would have to do with the trees which they had cut, and the weeds which they had pulled up.

"Now we shall watch over our cornfield; perhaps we can surprise those who come to do all of this damage," they said, talking it over together. And later they returned home.

"What do you think of it, grandmother? They have made fun of us. Our field, which we had worked, has been turned into a field of stubble and a thick woods. Thus we found it, when we got there, a little while ago, grandmother," they said to her and to their mother. "But we shall return there and watch over it, because it is not right that they do such things to us," they said.

Then they dressed and returned at once to their field of cut trees, and there they hid themselves, stealthily, in the darkness.

Then all the animals gathered again; one of each kind came with the other small and large animals. It was just midnight when they came, all talking as they came, saying in their own language: "Rise up, trees! Rise up, vines!"

So they spoke when they came and gathered under the trees, under the vines, and they came closer until they appeared before the eyes [of Hunahpú and Xbalanqué].

The puma and the jaguar were the first, and [Hunahpú and Xbalanqué] wanted to seize them, but [the animals] did not let them. Then the deer and the rabbit came close, and the only parts of them which they could seize were their tails, only these, they pulled out. The tail of the deer remained in their hands, and for this reason the deer and the rabbit have short tails.

Neither the mountain-cat, the coyote, the wild boar, nor the coati fell into their hands. All the animals passed before Hunahpú and Xbalanqué, who were furious because they could not catch them.

But, finally, another animal came hopping along, and this one which was the rat, [which] they seized instantly, and wrapped him in a cloth. Then when they had caught him, they squeezed his head and tried to choke him, and they burned his tail in the fire, and for that reason the rat's tail has no hair. So, too, the boys, Hunahpú and Xbalanqué, tried to poke at his eyes.

The rat said: "I must not die at your hands. And neither is it your business to plant the cornfield."

"What are you telling us now?" the boys asked the rat.

"Loosen me a little, for I have something which I wish to tell you, and I shall tell you immediately, but first give me something to eat," said the rat.

"We will give you food afterward, but first speak," they answered.

"Very well. Do you know, then, that the property of your parents Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú, as they were called, those who died in Xibalba, or rather the gear with which they played ball, has remained and is hanging from the roof of the house: the ring, the gloves, and the ball? Nevertheless, your grandmother does not want to show them to you for it was on account of these things that your parents died."

"Are you sure of that?" said the boys to the rat. And they were very happy when they heard about the rubber ball. And as the rat had now talked, they showed the rat what his food would be.

"This shall be your food: corn, chili-seeds, beans, pataxte, cacao; all this belongs to you, and should there be anything stored away or forgotten, it shall be yours also. Eat it," Hunahpú and Xbalanqué said to the rat.

"Wonderful, boys," he said; "but what shall I tell your grandmother if she sees me?"

"Do not worry, because we are here and shall know what to say to our grandmother. Let us go! We shall go quickly to the corner of the house, go at once to where the things hang; we shall be looking at the garret of the house and paying attention to our food," they said to the rat.

And having arranged it thus, during the night after talking together, Hunahpú and Xbalanqué arrived at midday. When they arrived, they brought the rat with them, but they did not show it; one of them went directly into the house, and the other went to the corner and there let the rat climb up quickly.

Immediately they asked their grandmother for food. "Prepare our food, we wish a chili-sauce, grandmother," they said. And at once the food was prepared for them and a plate of broth was put before them.

But this was only to deceive their grandmother and their mother. And having dried up the water which was in the water jar, they said, "We are really dying of thirst; go and bring us a drink," they said to their grandmother.

"Good," she said and went. Then they began to eat, but they were not really hungry; it was only a trick. They saw then by means of their plate of chile how the rat went rapidly toward the ball which was suspended from the roof of the house. On seeing this in their chile-sauce, they sent to the river a certain xan, an animal called xan, which is like a mosquito, to puncture the side of their grandmother's water jar, and although she tried to stop the water which ran out, she could not close the hole made in the jar.

"What is the matter with our grandmother? Our mouths are dry with thirsty, we are dying of thirst," they said to their mother and they sent her out. Immediately the rat went to cut [the cord which held] the ball and it fell from the garret of the house together with the ring and the gloves and the leather pads. The boys seized them and ran quickly to hide them on the road which led to the ball-court.

After this they went to the river to join their grandmother and their mother, who were busily trying to stop the hole in the water jar. And arriving with their blowgun, they said when they came to the river: "What are you doing? We got tired [of waiting] and we came," they said.

"Look at the hole in my jar which I cannot stop," said the grandmother. Instantly they stopped it, and together they returned, the two walking before their grandmother. And in this way the ball was found.

2 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 7

The boys returned happily to the ball-court to play; they were playing alone a long time and cleared the court where their parents had played.

And the Lords of Xibalba, hearing them, said: "Who are they who play again over our heads and disturb us with the noise they make? Perchance Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú did not die, those who wished to exalt themselves before us? Go at once and call them!"

So said Hun-Camé, Vucub-Camé, and all the lords. And sending the messengers to call them, they said to them: "Go and tell them when you get there: 'Let them come,' the lords have said; we wish to play ball with them here, within seven days we wish to play; tell them so when you arrive," thus said the lords. This was the command which they gave to the messengers. And they came then by the wide road which the boys had made that led directly to their house; by it the messengers arrived directly before [the boy's] grandmother. They were eating when the messengers from Xibalba arrived.

"Tell them to come, without fail, the lords commanded," said the messengers of Xibalba. And the messengers of Xibalba indicated the day: "Within seven days they will await them," they said to Xmucané.

"It is well, messengers; they will go," the old woman answered. And the messengers set out on their return.

Then the old woman's heart was filled with anxiety. "Whom shall I send to call my grandchildren? Was it not in this same way that the messengers of Xibalba came before, when they came to take the [boys'] parents?" said the grandmother, entering her house, alone and grieving.

And immediately a louse fell into her lap. She seized it and put it in the palm of her hand, and the louse wriggled and began to walk.

"My child, would you like that I sent you away to call my grandchildren from the ball-court?" she said to the louse. " 'Messengers have come to your grandmother,' tell them; come within seven days, tell them to come, said the messengers of Xibalba; thus your grandmother told me to say,"' thus she told the louse.

At once the louse swaggered off. Sitting on the road was a boy called Tamazul, or the toad.

"Where are you going? " the toad said to the louse.

"I am carrying a message in my stomach, I go to find the boys," said the louse to Tamazul.

"Very well, but I see that you do not go quickly," said the toad to the louse. "Do you not want me to swallow you? You shall see how I run, and so we shall arrive quickly."

"Very well," the louse said to the toad. Immediately the toad swallowed him. And the toad walked a long time, but without hurrying. Soon he met a large snake, called Zaquicaz.

"Where are you going, young Tamazul?" said Zaquicaz to the toad.

"I go as a messenger; I carry a message in my stomach," said the toad to the snake.

"I see that you do not walk quickly. Would I not arrive sooner? " the snake said to the toad. "Come here," he said. At once Zaquicaz swallowed the toad. And from then on this was the food of snakes, who still today swallow toads.

The snake went quickly and having met Vac, which is a very large bird, the hawk, [the latter] instantly swallowed the snake. Shortly afterward it arrived at the ball-court. From that time, this has been the food of hawks, who devour snakes in the fields.

And upon arrival, the hawk perched upon the cornice of the ball-court where Hunahpú and Xbalanqué were amusing themselves playing ball. Upon arriving, the hawk began to cry: "Vac-co! Vac-co!" it said cawing. ["Here is the hawk! Here is the hawk!"]

"Who is screaming? Bring our blowguns!" the boys exclaimed. And shooting at the hawk, they aimed a pellet at the pupil of the eyes and [the hawk] spiraled to the ground. They ran to seize it and asked: "What do you come to do here?" they asked the hawk.

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"I bring a message in my stomach. First cure my eye and afterward I shall tell you," the hawk answered.

"Very well," they said, and taking a bit of the rubber of the ball with which they were playing, they put it in the hawk's eye. Lotzquic they called it, and instantly the hawk's eye was perfectly healed.

"Speak, then," they said to the hawk. And immediately it vomited a large snake.

"Speak, thou," they said to the snake.

"Good," the[snake] said and vomited the toad.

"Where is the message that you bring?" they asked the toad.

"Here in my stomach is the message," answered the toad. And immediately he tried, but could not vomit; his mouth only filled with spittle but he did not vomit. The boys wanted to hit him then.

"You are a liar," they said, kicking him in the rump, and the bone of the haunches gave way. He tried again, but his mouth only filled with spittle. Then the boys opened the toad's mouth and once open, they looked inside of it. The louse was stuck to the toad's teeth; it had stayed in its mouth and had not been swallowed, but only pretended to be swallowed. Thus the toad was tricked, and the kind of food to give it is not known. It cannot run; and it became the food of the snakes.

"Speak," they said to the louse, and then it gave its message. "Your grandmother has said, boys: 'Go call them; the messengers of Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé have come to tell them to go to Xibalba, saying: "They must come here within seven days to play ball with us, and they must also bring their playing gear, the ball, the rings, the gloves, the leather pads, in order that they may amuse themselves here," said the lords. They have really come,' said your grandmother. That is why I have come. For truly your grandmother said this and she cries and grieves, for this reason I have come."

"Is it true?" the boys asked themselves when they heard this. And running quickly they arrived at their grandmother's side; they went only to take their leave of her.

"We are going, grandmother, we came only to say good-bye. But here will be the sign which we shall leave of our fate: each of us shall plant a reed, in the middle of the house we shall plant it; if it dries, this shall be the sign of our death. 'They are dead!' you shall say, if it begins to dry up. But if it sprouts again: 'They are living!' you shall say, oh, our grandmother. And you, mother, do not weep, for here we leave the sign of our fate, "thus they said.

And before going, Hunahpú planted one [reed] and Xbalanqué planted another; they planted them in the house and not in the field, nor did they plant them in moist soil, but in dry soil; in the middle of their house, they left them planted.

2 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 8

Then they went, each one carrying his blowgun, and went down in the direction of Xibalba. They descended the steps quickly and passed between several streams and ravines. They passed among some birds and these birds were called Molay.

They also passed over a river of corruption, and over a river of blood, where they would be destroyed, so the people of Xibalba thought; but they did not touch it with their feet, instead they crossed it on their blowguns.

They went on from there, and came to a crossway of four roads. They knew very well which were the roads to Xibalba; the black road, the white road, the red road, and the green road. So, then, they sent an animal called Xan. It was to go to gather information which they wanted. Sting them, one by one; first sting the one seated in the first place and then sting all of them, since this is the part you must play: to suck the blood of the men on the roads," they said to the mosquito.

"Very well," answered the mosquito. And immediately it flew on to the dark road and went directly toward the wooden men which were seated first and covered with ornaments. It stung the first, but this one said nothing; then it stung the next one, it stung the second, who was seated, but this one said nothing, either.

After that it stung the third; the third of those seated was Hun-Camé. "Ah!" he exclaimed when it stung him. "What is this, Hun-Camé? What is it that has stung you? Do you not know who has. stung you?" said the fourth one of the lords, who were seated.

"What is the matter, Vucub-Camé? What has stung you?" said the fifth.

"Ah! Ah!" then said Xiquiripat. And Vucub-Camé asked him, "What has stung you?" and when they stung the sixth who was seated [he cried], "Ah!"

"What is this, Cuchumaquic?" asked Xiquiripat. "What is it that has stung you?" And the seventh one seated said "Ah" when he was stung.

"What is the matter, Ahalpuh?" said Chuchumaquic. "What has stung you? " And when it stung him, the eighth of those seated said, "Ah!"

"What is the matter, Ahalcaná?" said Ahalpuh. "What has stung you?" And when he was stung the ninth of those seated said, "Ah!"

"What is this, Chamiabac?" said Ahalcaná. "What has stung you?" And when the tenth of those seated was stung, he said "Ah!"

"What is the matter, Chamiaholom?" said Chamiabac. "What has stung you?" And when the eleventh of those seated was stung he said, "Ah!"

"What happened? " said Chamiaholom. "What has stung you?" And when the twelfth of those seated was stung, he said "Alas! "

"What is this, Patán?" they said. "What has stung you?" And the thirteenth of those seated said "Alas!" when he was stung.

"What is the matter, Quicxic?" said Patán. "What has stung you?" And the fourteenth of those seated when he was stung said, "Alas!"

"What has stung you, Quicrixcac?" said Quicré.

In this way they told their names, as they all said them one to the other. So they made themselves known by telling their names, calling each chief, one by one. And in this manner each of those seated in his corner told his name.

Not a single one of the names was missed. All told their names when Hunahpú pulled out a hair of his leg, which was what had stung them. It was really not a mosquito which stung them which went for Hunahpú and Xbalanqué to hear the names of all of them.

They [the youths] continued on their way and arrived where the Lords of Xibalba were.

"Greet the lord, the one who is seated," said one in order to deceive them.

"That is not a lord. It is nothing more than a wooden figure," they said, and went on. Immediately they began to greet them:

"Hail, Hun-Camé! Hail, Vucub-Camé! Hail, Xiquiripat! Hail, Cuchumaquic! Hail, Ahalpuh! Hail, Ahalcaná! Hail, Chamiabac! Hail, Chamiaholom! Hail, Quicxic! Hail, Patán! Hail, Quicré! Hail, Quicrixcac!" they said coming before them. And looking in their faces, they spoke the name of all, without missing the name of a single one of them.

But what the lords wished was that they should not discover their names.

"Sit here," they said, hoping that they would sit in the seat [which they indicated].

"That is not a seat for us; it is only a hot stone," said Hunahpú and Xbalanqué, and they [the Lords of Xibalba] could not overcome them.

"Very well, go to that house," the lords said. And they [the youths] went on and entered the House of Gloom. And neither there were they overcome.

2 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 9

This was the first test of Xibalba. The Lords of Xibalba thought that [the boys'] entrance there would be the beginning of their downfall. After a while [the boys] entered the House of Gloom; immediately lighted sticks of fat pine were given them and the messengers of Hun-Camé also took a cigar to each one.

" 'These are their pine sticks,' said the lord; 'they must return them at dawn, tomorrow, together with the cigars, and you must bring them back whole,' said the lord." So said the messengers when they arrived.

"Very well," [the boys] replied. But they really did not [light] the sticks of pine, instead they put a red-colored thing in place of them, or some feathers from the tail of the macaw, which to the night watches looked like lighted pine sticks. And as for the cigars, they attached fireflies to their end.

All night [everybody] thought they were defeated. "They are lost," said the night watchmen. But the pine sticks had not been burned and looked the same, and the cigars had not been lighted and looked the same as before.

They went to tell the lords.

"How is this? Whence have they come? Who conceived them? Who gave birth to them? This really troubles us, because it is not well what they do. Their faces are strange, and strange is their conduct," they said to each other.

Soon all the lords summoned [the boys].

"Eh! Let us play ball, boys!" they said. At the same time they were questioned by Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé:

"Where did you come from? Tell us, boys!" said the Lords of Xibalba.

"Who knows whence we came! We do not know," they said, and nothing more.

"Very well. Let us play ball, boys," said the Lords of Xibalba.

"Good," they replied.

"We shall use our ball," said the Lords of Xibalba.

"By no means, shall you use [your ball], but ours," the boys answered.

"Not that one, but ours we shall use," insisted the Lords of Xibalba.

"Very well," said the boys.

"Let us play for a worm, the chil," said the Lords of Xibalba.

"No, but instead, the head of the puma shall speak," said the boys.

"Not that," said those of Xibalba.

"Very well," said Hunahpú.

Then the Lords of Xibalba seized the ball; they threw it directly at the ring of Hunahpú. Immediately, while those of Xibalba grasped the handle of the knife of flint, the ball rebounded and bounced all around the floor of the ball-court.

"What is this?" exclaimed Hunahpú and Xbalanqué. "You wish to kill us? Perchance you did not send to call us? And your own messengers did not come? In truth, unfortunate are we! We shall leave at once," the boys said to them.

This was exactly what those of Xibalba wanted to have happen to the boys, that they would die immediately, right there in the ball-court and thus they would be overcome. But it did not happen thus, and it was the Lords of Xibalba who were defeated by the boys.

"Do not leave, boys, let us go on playing ball, but we shall use your ball," they said to the boys.

"Very well," the boys answered and then they drove their balls through [the ring of Xibalba], and with this the game ended.

And offended by their defeat, the men of Xibalba immediately said: "What shall we do in order to overcome them?" And turning to the boys they said to them: "Go gather and bring us, early tomorrow morning, four gourds of flowers." So said the men of Xibalba to the boys.

"Very well. And what kind of flowers?" they asked the men of Xibalba.

"A branch of red chipilin, a branch of white chipilin, a branch of yellow chipilin, and a branch of carinimac," said the men of Xibalba.

"Very well," replied the boys.

Thus the talk ended; equally strong and vigorous were the words of the boys. And their hearts were calm when they gave themselves up to be overcome.

The Lords of Xibalba were happy, thinking that they had already defeated them.

"This has turned out well for us. First they must cut them [the flowers]," said the Lords of Xibalba. "Where shall they go to get the flowers?" they said to themselves.

"Surely you will give us our flowers tomorrow early; go, then, to cut them," the Lords of Xibalba said to Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

"Very well," they replied. "At dawn we shall play ball again," they said upon leaving.

And immediately the boys entered the House of Knives, the second place of torture in Xibalba. And what the lords wanted was that they would be cut to pieces by the knives, and would be quickly killed; that is what they wished in their hearts.

But the [boys] did not die. They spoke at once to the knives and said to them:

"Yours shall be the flesh of all the animals," they said to the knives. And they did not move again, but all the knives were quiet.

Thus they passed the night in the House of Knives, and calling all the ants, they said to them: "Come, Cutting Ants, come, zompopos, and all of you go at once, go and bring all the kinds of flowers that we must cut for the lords."

"Very well," they said, and all the ants went to bring the flowers from the gardens of Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé.

Previously [the lords] had warned the guards of the flowers of Xibalba: "Take care of our flowers, do not let them be taken by the boys who shall come to cut them. But how could [the boys] see and cut the flowers? Not at all. Watch, then, all night! "

"Very well," they answered. But the guards of the garden heard nothing. Needlessly they shouted up into the branches of the trees in the garden. There they were all night, repeating their same shouts and songs.

"Ixpurpuvec! Ixpurpuvec!" one shouted.

"Puhuyú! Puhuyú!" the other answered.

Puhuyú was the name of the two who watched the garden of Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé. But they did not notice the ants who were robbing them of what they were guarding, turning around and moving here and there, cutting the flowers, climbing the trees to cut the flowers, and gathering them from the ground at the foot of the trees.

Meanwhile the guards went on crying, and they did not feel the teeth which were cutting their tails and their wings.

And thus the ants carried, between their teeth, the flowers which they took down, and gathering them from the ground, they went on carrying them with their teeth.

Quickly they filled the four gourds with flowers, which were moist [with dew] when it dawned. Immediately the messengers arrived to get them. " 'Tell them to come,' the lord has said, 'and bring here instantly what they have cut,' " they said to the boys.

"Very well," the [boys] answered. And carrying the flowers in the four gourds, they went, and when they arrived before the lord [of Xibalba] and the other lords, it was lovely to see the flowers they had brought. And in this way the Lords of Xibalba were overcome.

The boys had only sent the ants [to cut the flowers], and in a night the ants cut them and put them in the gourds.

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Instantly the Lords of Xibalba paled and their faces became livid because of the flowers. They sent at once for the guardians of the flowers: "Why did you permit them to steal our flowers? These which we see here are our flowers," they said to the guardians.

"We noticed nothing, my lord. Our tails also suffered," they answered. And then the [lords] tore at their mouths as a punishment for having let that which was under their care be stolen.

Thus were Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé defeated by Hunahpú and Xbalanqué. And this was the beginning of their deeds. From that time the mouth of the owl is divided, cleft as it is today.

Immediately they went down to play ball, and also they played several tie-matches. Then they finished playing and agreed to play again the following day at dawn. So said the Lords of Xibalba.

"It is well," said the boys upon finishing.

2 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 10

Afterward they entered the House of Cold. It is impossible to describe how cold it was. The house was full of hail; it was the mansion of cold. Soon, however, the cold was ended because with [a fire of] old logs the boys made the cold disappear.

That is why they did not die; they were still alive when it dawned. Surely what the Lords of Xibalba wanted was that they would die; but it was not thus, and when it dawned, they were still full of health, and they went out again, when the messengers came to get them.

"How is this? They are not dead yet?" said the Lords of Xibalba. They were amazed to see the deeds of Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

Presently the [boys] entered the House of Jaguars. The house was full of jaguars. "Do not bite us! Here is what belongs to you," [the boys] said to the jaguars. And quickly they threw some bones to the animals, which pounced upon the bones.

"Now surely they are finished. Now already they have eaten their own entrails. At last they have given themselves up. Now their bones have been broken," so said the guards, all happy because of this.

But they [the boys] did not die. As usual, well and healthy, they came out of the House of Jaguars.

"What kind of people are they? Where did they come from? " said all the Lords of Xibalba.

Presently they [the boys] entered into the midst of fire in the House of Fire, inside which there was only fire; but they were not burned. Only the coals and the wood burned. And, as usual, they were well when it dawned. But what they [the Lords of Xibalba] wished was that [the boys] would die rapidly, where they had been. Nevertheless, it did not happen thus, which disheartened the Lords of Xibalba.

Then they put them into the House of Bats. There was nothing but bats inside this house, the house of Camazotz, a large animal, whose weapons for killing were like a dry point, and instantly those who came into their presence perished.

They [the boys] were in there, then, but they slept inside their blowguns. And they were not bitten by those who were in the house. Nevertheless, one of them had to give up because of another Camazotz that came from the sky, and made him come into sight.

The bats were assembled in council all night, and flew about: "Quilitz, quilitz," they said: So they were saying all night. They stopped for a little while, however, and they did not move and were pressed against the end of one of the blowguns.

Then Xbalanqué said to Hunahpú: "Look you, has it begun already to get light?"

"Maybe so. I am going to see," [Hunahpú] answered.

And as he wished very much to look out of the mouth of the blowgun, and wished to see if it had dawned, instantly Camazotz cut off his head and the body of Hunahpú was decapitated.

Xbalanqué asked again: "Has it not yet dawned?" But Hunahpú did not move. "Where have you gone, Hunahpú? What have you done?" But he did not move, and remained silent.

Then Xbalanqué felt concerned and exclaimed: "Unfortunate are we. We are completely undone."

They went immediately to hang the head [of Hunahpú] in the ball-court by special order of Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé, and all the people of Xibalba rejoiced for what had happened to the head of Hunahpú.

2 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 11

Immediately he [Xbalanqué] called all the animals, the coati, the wild boar, all the animals small and large, during the night, and at dawn he asked them what their food was.

"What does each of you eat? For I have called you so that you may choose your food," said Xbalanqué to them.

"Very well," they answered. And immediately each went to take his [own food] and they all went together. Some went to take rotten things; others went to take grasses; others went to get stones. Others went to gather earth. Varied was the food of the [small] animals and of the large animals.

Behind them the turtle was lingering, it came waddling along to take its food. And reaching at the end [of Hunahpú's body] it assumed the form of the head of Hunahpú, and instantly the eyes were fashioned.

Many soothsayers came, then, from heaven. The Heart of Heaven, Huracán, came to soar over the House of Bats.

It was not easy to finish making the face, but it turned out very well; the hair had a handsome appearance and [the head] could also speak.

But as it was about to dawn and the horizon reddened: "Make it dark again, old one!" the buzzard was told.

"Very well," said the old one, and instantly the old one darkened [the sky]. "Now the buzzard has darkened it," the people say nowadays.

And so, during the cool of dawn, the [Hunahpú] began his existence.

"Will it be good?" they said. "Will it turn out to look like Hunahpú?"

"It is very good," they answered. And really it seemed that the skull had changed itself back into a real head.

Then they [the two boys] talked among themselves and agreed: "Do not play ball; only pretend to play; I shall do everything alone," said Xbalanqué.

At once he gave his orders to a rabbit: "Go and take your place over the ball-court; stay there within the oak grove," the rabbit was told by Xbalanqué; "when the ball comes to you, run out immediately, and I shall do the rest," the rabbit was told, when they gave him these instructions during the night.

Presently day broke and the two boys were well and healthy. Then they went down to play ball. The head of Hunahpú was suspended over the ball-court.

"We have triumphed! [said the Lords of Xibalba]. You worked your own destruction, you have delivered yourselves," they said. In this way they annoyed Hunahpú.

"Hit his head with the ball," they said. But they did not bother him with it; he paid no attention to it.

Then the Lords of Xibalba threw out the ball. Xbalanqué went out to get it; the ball was going straight to the ring, but it stopped, bounced, and passed quickly over the ball-court and with a jump went toward the oak grove.

Instantly the rabbit ran out and went hopping; and the Lords of Xibalba ran after it. They went, making noise and shouting after the rabbit. It ended by all of the Lords of Xibalba going.

At once Xbalanqué took possession of the head of Hunahpú; and taking the turtle he went to suspend it over the ball-court And that head was actually the head of Hunahpú and the two boys were very happy.

Those of Xibalba ran, then, to find the ball and having found it between the oaks, called them, saying:

"Come here. Here is the ball. We found it," they said, and they brought it.

When the Lords of Xibalba returned, they exclaimed, "What is this we see?"

Then they began to play again. Both of them tied.

Presently Xbalanqué threw a stone at the turtle, which came to the ground and fell in the ball-court, breaking into a thousand pieces like seeds, before the lords.

"Who of you shall go to find it? Where is the one who shall go to bring it?" said the Lords of Xibalba.

And so were the Lords of Xibalba overcome by Hunahpú and Xbalanqué. These two suffered great hardships, but they did not die despite all that was done to them.

2 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 12

Here is the account of the death of Hunahpú and Xbalanqué. Now we shall tell of the way they died.

Having been forewarned of all the suffering which the [Lords of Xibalba] wished to impose upon them, they did not die of the tortures of Xibalba, nor were they overcome by all the fierce animals which were in Xibalba.

Afterward they sent for two soothsayers who were like prophets; they were called Xulú and Pacam and were diviners, and they said unto them:

"You shall be questioned by the Lords of Xibalba about our deaths, for which they are planning and preparing because of the fact that we have not died, nor have they been able to overcome us, nor have we perished under their torments, nor have the animals attacked us. We have the presentiment in our hearts that they shall kill us by burning us. All the people of Xibalba have assembled, but the truth is, that we shall not die. Here, then, you have our instructions as to what you must say:

"If they should come to consult you about our death and that we may be sacrificed, what shall you say then, Xulú and Pacam? If they ask you: 'Will it not be good to throw their bones into the ravine?' 'No, it would not be well,' tell them, 'because they would be brought to life again, afterward!' If they ask you: 'Would it not be good to hang them from the trees?' you shall answer: 'By no means would it be well, because then you shall see their faces again.' And when for the third time they ask you: 'Would it be good to throw their bones into the river?' If you were asked all the above by them, you should answer: 'It would be well if they were to die that way; then it would be well to crush their bones on a grinding stone, as corn meal is ground; let each one be ground [separately]; throw them into the river immediately, there where the spring gushes forth, in order that they may be carried away among all the small and large hills.' Thus you shall answer them when the plan which we have advised you is put int practice," said Hunahpú and Xbalanqué. And when they [the boys] took leave of them, they already knew about their approaching death.

They made then, a great bonfire, a kind of oven; the men of Xibalba made it and filled it with thick branches.

Shortly afterward the messengers arrived who had to accompany [the boys], the messengers of Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé.

" 'Tell them to come. Go and get the boys; go there so that they may know we are going to burn them.' This the lords said, oh, boys!" the messengers exclaimed.

"It is well," they answered. And setting out quickly, they arrived near the bonfire. There [the Lords of Xibalba] wanted to force the boys to play a mocking game with them.

"Let us drink our chicha and fly four times, each one, [over the bonfire] boys!" was said to them by Hun-Camé.

"Do not try to deceive us," [the boys] answered. "Perchance, we do not know about our death, oh lords! and that this is what awaits us here?" And embracing each other, face to face, they both stretched out their arms, bent toward the ground and jumped into the bonfire, and thus the two died together.

All those of Xibalba were filled with joy, shouting and whistling they exclaimed: "Now we have overcome them. At last they have given themselves up."

Immediately they called Xulú and Pacam, to whom they [the boys] had given their instructions, and asked them what they must do with their bones, as they [the boys] had foretold. Those of Xibalba then ground their bones and went to cast them into the river. But the bones did not go very far, for settling themselves down at once on the bottom of the river, they were changed back into handsome boys. And when again they showed themselves, they really had their same old faces.

2 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 13

On the fifth day they appeared again and were seen in the water by the people. Both had the appearance of fish-men; when those of Xibalba saw them, after having hunted them all over the river.

And the following day, two poor men presented themselves with very old-looking faces and of miserable appearance, [and] ragged clothes, whose countenances did not commend them. So they were seen by all those of Xibalba.

And what they did was very little. They only performed the dance of the puhuy [owl or churn-owl], the dance of the cux [weasel], and the dance of the iboy [armadillo], and they also danced the xtzul [centipede] and the chitic [that walks on stilts] .

Furthermore, they worked many miracles. They burned houses as though they really were burning and instantly they were as they had been before. Many of those of Xibalba watched them in wonder.

Presently they cut themselves into bits; they killed each other; the first one whom they had killed stretched out as though he were dead, and instantly the other brought him back to life. Those of Xibalba looked on in amazement at all they did, and they performed it, as the beginning of their triumph over those of Xibalba.

Presently word of their dances came to the ears of the lords Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé. Upon hearing it they exclaimed: "Who are these two orphans? Do they really give you so much pleasure?"

"Surely their dances are very beautiful, and all that they do," answered he who had brought the news to the lords.

Happy to hear this, the [lords] then sent their messengers to call [the boys] with flattery. " 'Tell them to come here, tell them to come so that we may see what they do; that we may admire them and regard them with wonder,' this the lords said. 'So you shall say unto them,' " this was told to the messengers.

They arrived at once before the dancers and gave them the message of the lords.

"We do not wish to," the [boys] answered, "because, frankly, we are ashamed. How could we not but be ashamed to appear in the house of the lords with our ugly countenances, our eyes which are so big, and our poor appearance? Do you not see that we are nothing more than some [poor] dancers? What shall we tell our companions in poverty who have come with us and wish to see our dances and be entertained by them? How could we do our dances before the lords? For that reason, then, we do not want to go, oh, messengers," said Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

Finally, with downcast faces and with reluctance and sorrow they went; but for a while they did not wish to walk, and the messengers had to beat them in the face many times, when they led them to the house of the lords.

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They arrived, then, before the lords, timid and with head bowed; they came prostrating themselves, making reverences and humiliating themselves. They looked feeble, ragged, and their appearance was really that of vagabonds when they arrived.

They were questioned immediately about their country and their people; they also asked them about their mother and their father.

"Where do you come from?" [the lords] said.

"We do not know, Sir. We do not know the faces of our mother and father; we were small when they died," they answered, and did not say another word.

"All right. Now do [your dances] so that we may admire you. What do you want? We shall give you pay," they told them.

"We do not want anything; but really we are very much afraid," they said to the lord.

"Do not grieve, do not be afraid. Dance! And do first the part in which you kill yourselves; burn my house, do all that you know how to do. We shall marvel at you, for that is what our hearts desire. And afterwards, poor things, we shall give help for your journey," they told them.

Then they began to sing and dance. All the people of Xibalba arrived and gathered together in order to see them. Then they performed the dance of the cux, they danced the puhuy, and they danced the iboy.

And the lord said to them: "Cut my dog into pieces and let him be brought back to life by you," he said to them.

"Very well," they answered, and cut the dog into bits. Instantly they brought him back to life. The dog was truly full of joy when he was brought back to life, and wagged his tail when they revived him.

The Lord said to them then: "Burn my house now!" Thus he said to them. Instantly they put fire to the lord's house, and although all the lords were assembled together within the house, they were not burned. Quickly it was whole again, and not for one instant was the house of Hun-Camé destroyed.

All of the lords were amazed, and in the same way the [boys'] dances gave them much pleasure.

Then they were told by the lord: "Now kill a man, sacrifice him, but do not let him die," he told them.

"Very well," they answered. And seizing a man, they quickly sacrificed him, and raising his heart on high, they held it so that all the lords could see it.

Again Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé were amazed. A moment afterward the man was brought back to life by them [the boys], and his heart was filled with joy when he was revived.

The lords were astounded. "Sacrifice yourselves now, let us see it! We really like your dances!" said the lords. "Very well, Sirs," they answered. And they proceeded to sacrifice each other. Hunahpú was sacrificed by Xbalanqué; one by one his arms and his legs were sliced off; his head was cut from his body and carried away; his heart was torn from his breast and thrown onto the grass. All the Lords of Xibalba were fascinated. They looked on in wonder, but really it was only the dance of one man; it was Xbalanqué.

"Get up!" he said, and instantly [Hunahpú] returned to life. They [the boys] were very happy and the lords were also happy. In truth, what they did gladdened the hearts of Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé, and the latter felt as though they themselves were dancing.

Then their hearts were filled with desire and longing by the dances of Hunahpú and Xbalanqué; and Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé gave their commands.

"Do the same with us! Sacrifice us!" they said. "Cut us into pieces, one by one!" Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé said to Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

"Very well; afterward you will come back to life again. Perchance, did you not bring us here in order that we should entertain you, the lords, and yours sons, and vassals?" they said to the lords.

And so it happened that they first sacrificed the one, who was the chief and [Lord of Xibalba], the one called Hun-Camé, king of Xibalba.

And when Hun-Camé was dead, they overpowered Vucub-Camé, and they did not bring either of them back to life.

The people of Xibalba fled as soon as they saw that their lords were dead and sacrificed. In an instant both were sacrificed. And this they [the boys] did in order to chastise them. Quickly the principal lord was killed. And they did not bring him back to life.

And another lord humbled himself then, and presented himself before the dancers. They had not discovered him, nor had they found him. "Have mercy on me!" he said when they found him.

All the sons and vassals of Xibalba fled to a great ravine, and all of them were crowded into this narrow, deep place. There they were crowded together and hordes of ants came and found them and dislodged them from the ravine. In this way [the ants] drove them to the road, and when they arrived [the people] prostrated themselves and gave themselves up; they humbled themselves and arrived., grieving.

In this way the Lords of Xibalba were overcome. Only by a miracle and by their [own] transformation could [the boys] have done it.

2 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 14

Immediately [the boys] told their names and they extolled themselves before all the people of Xibalba.

"Hear our names. We shall also tell you the names of our fathers. We are Hunahpú and Xbalanqué; those are our names. And our fathers are those whom you killed and who were called Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú. We, those whom you see here, are, then, the avengers of the torments and suffering of our fathers. That is the reason why we resent all the evil you have done to them. Therefore, we shall put an end to all of you, we shall kill you, and not one of you shall escape," they said.

Instantly all the people of Xibalba fell to their knees, crying.

"Have mercy on us, Hunahpú and Xbalanqué! It is true that we sinned against your fathers as you said, and that they are buried in Puchbal-Chah," they said.

"Very well. This is our sentence, that we are going to tell you. Hear it, all you of Xibalba:

"Since neither your great power nor your race any longer exist, and since neither do you deserve mercy, your rank shall be lowered. Not for you shall be the ball game. You shall spend your time making earthen pots and tubs and stones to grind corn. Only the children of the thickets and desert shall speak with you. The noble sons, the civilized vassals shall not consort with you, and they will forsake your presence. The sinners, the evil ones, the sad ones, the unfortunate ones, those who give themselves up to vice, these are the ones who will welcome you. No longer will you seize men suddenly [for sacrifice]; remember your rank has been lowered."

Thus they spoke to all the people of Xibalba.

In this way their destruction and their lamentations began. Their power in the olden days was not much. They only liked to do evil to men in those times. In truth, in those days, they did not have the category of gods. Furthermore, their horrible faces frightened people. They were the enemies, the owls. They incited to evil, to sin and to discord.

They were also false in their hearts, black and white at the same time, envious and tyrannical according to what was said of them. Furthermore, they painted and greased their faces.

In this way, then, occurred the loss of their grandeur and the decadence of their empire.

And this was what Hunahpú and Xbalanqué did.

Meanwhile, the grandmother was crying and lamenting before the reeds which they had left planted. The reeds sprouted, then they dried up when [the boys] were consumed in the bonfire; afterward [the reeds] sprouted again. Then the grandmother lighted the fire and burned incense before the reeds in memory of her grandchildren. And the grandmother's heart filled with joy when, for the second time, the reeds sprouted. Then they were worshipped by the grandmother, and she called them the Center of the House, Nicah [the center] they were called.

"Green reeds growing in the plains" [Cazam Ah Chatam Uleu] was their name. And they were called the Center of the House and the Center, because in the middle of the house they planted the reeds. And the reeds, which were planted, were called the plains, Green Reeds growing on the plains. They also were called Green Reeds because they had resprouted. This name was given them by Xmucané [given] to those [reeds] which Hunahpú and Xbalanqué left planted in order that they should be remembered by their grandmother.

Well, now, their fathers, those who died long ago, were Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú. They also saw the faces of their fathers there in Xibalba and their fathers talked with their descendants, that is the ones who overthrew those of Xibalba.

And here is how their fathers were honored by them. They honored Vucub-Hunahpú; they went to honor him at the place of sacrifice of the ball-court. And at the same time they wanted to make Vucub-Hunahpú's face. They hunted there for his entire body, his mouth, his nose, his eyes. They found his body, but it could do very little. It could not pronounce his name, this Hunahpú. Neither could his mouth say it.

And here is how they extolled the memory of their fathers, whom they had left there in the place of sacrifice at the ball-court: "You shall be invoked," their sons said to them, when they fortified their heart. "You shall be the first to arise, and you shall be the first to be worshipped by the sons of the noblemen, by the civilized vassals. Your names shall not be lost. So it shall be!" they told their fathers and thus consoled themselves. "We are the avengers of your death, of the pains and sorrows which they caused you."

Thus was their leave-taking, when they had already overcome all the people of Xibalba.

Then they rose up in the midst of the light, and instantly they were lifted into the sky. One was given the sun, the other, the moon. Then the arch of heaven and the face of the earth were lighted. And they dwelt in heaven.

Then the four hundred boys whom Zipacná had killed, also ascended, and so they again became the companions of [the boys] and were changed into stars in the sky.

BOOK 3

3 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 1

Here, then, is the beginning of when it was decided to make man, and when what must enter into the flesh of man was sought.

And the Forefathers, the Creators and Makers, who were called Tepeu and Gucumatz said: "The time of dawn has come, let the work be finished, and let those who are to nourish and sustain us appear, the noble sons, the civilized vassals; let man appear, humanity, on the face of the earth." Thus they spoke.

They assembled, came together and held council in the darkness and in the night; then they sought and discussed, and here they reflected and thought. In this way their decisions came clearly to light and they found and discovered what must enter into the flesh of man.

It was just before the sun, the moon, and the stars appeared over the Creators and Makers.

From Paxil, from Cayalá, as they were called, came the yellow ears of corn and the white ears of corn.

These are the names of the animals which brought the food: yac (the mountain cat), utiú (the coyote), quel (a small parrot), and hoh (the crow). These four animals gave tidings of the yellow ears of corn and the white ears of corn, they told them that they should go to Paxil and they showed them the road to Paxil.

And thus they found the food, and this was what went into the flesh of created man, the made man; this was his blood; of this the blood of man was made. So the corn entered [into the formation of man] by the work of the Forefathers.

And in this way they were filled with joy, because they had found a beautiful land, full of pleasures, abundant in ears of yellow corn and ears of white corn, and abundant also in pataxte and cacao, and in innumerable zapotes, anonas, jocotes, nantzes, matasanos, and honey. There was an abundance of delicious food in those villages called Paxil and Cayalá. There were foods of every kind, small and large foods, small plants and large plants.

The animals showed them the road. And then grinding the yellow corn and the white corn, Xmucané made nine drinks, and from this food came the strength and the flesh, and with it they created the muscles and the strength of man. This the Forefathers did, Tepeu and Gucumatz, as they were called.

After that they began to talk about the creation and the making of our first mother and father; of yellow corn and of white corn they made their flesh; of corn meal dough they made the arms and the legs of man. Only dough of corn meal went into the flesh of our first fathers, the four men, who were created.

3 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 2

These are the names of the first men who were created and formed: the first man was Balam-Quitzé, the second, Balam-Acab, the third, Mahucutah, and the fourth was Iqui-Balam.

These are the names of our first mothers and fathers.

It is said that they only were made and formed, they had no mother, they had no father. They were only called men. They were not born of woman, nor were they begotten by the Creator nor by the Maker, nor by the Forefathers. Only by a miracle, by means of incantation were they created and made by the Creator, the Maker, the Forefathers, Tepeu and Gucumatz. And as they had the appearance of men, they were men; they talked, conversed, saw and heard, walked, grasped things; they were good and handsome men, and their figure was the figure of a man.

They were endowed with intelligence; they saw and instantly they could see far, they succeeded in seeing, they succeeded in knowing all that there is in the world. When they looked, instantly they saw all around them, and they contemplated in turn the arch of heaven and the round face of the earth.

The things hidden [in the distance] they saw all, without first having to move; at once they saw the world, and so, too, from where they were, they saw it.

Great was their wisdom; their sight reached to the forests, the rocks, the lakes, the seas, the mountains, and the valleys. In truth, they were admirable men, Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam.

Then the Creator and the Maker asked them: "What do you think of your condition? Do you not see? Do you not hear? Are not your speech and manner of walking good? Look, then! Contemplate the world, look [and see] if the mountains and the valleys appear! Try, then, to see!" they said to [the four first men].

And immediately they [the four first men] began to see all that was in the world. Then they gave thanks to the Creator and the Maker: "We really give you thanks, two and three times! We have been created, we have been given a mouth and a face, we speak, we hear, we think, and walk; we feel perfectly, and we know what is far and what is near. We also see the large and the small in the sky and on earth. We give you

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thanks, then, for having created us, oh, Creator and Maker! for having given us being, oh, our grandmother! oh, our grandfather!" they said, giving thanks for their creation and formation.

They were able to know all, and they examined the four corners, the four points of the arch of the sky and the round face of the earth.

But the Creator and the Maker did not hear this with pleasure. "It is not well what our creatures, our works say; they know all, the large and the small," they said. And so the Forefathers held counsel again. "What shall we do with them now? Let their sight reach only to that which is near; let them see only a little of the face of the earth! It is not well what they say. Perchance, are they not by nature simple creatures of our making? Must they also be gods? And if they do not reproduce and multiply when it will dawn, when the sun rises? And what if they do not multiply?" So they spoke.

"Let us check a little their desires, because it is not well what we see. Must they perchance be the equals of ourselves, their Makers, who can see afar, who know all and see all?"

Thus spoke the Heart of Heaven, Huracán, Chipi-Caculhá, Raxa-Caculhá, Tepeu, Gucumatz, the Forefathers, Xpiyacoc, Xmucané, the Creator and the Maker. Thus they spoke, and immediately they changed the nature of their works, of their creatures.

Then the Heart of Heaven blew mist into their eyes, which clouded their sight as when a mirror is breathed upon. Their eyes were covered and they could see only what was close, only that was clear to them.

In this way the wisdom and all the knowledge of the four men, the origin and beginning [of the Quiché race], were destroyed.

In this way were created and formed our grandfathers, our fathers, by the Heart of Heaven, the Heart of Earth.

3 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 3

Then their wives had being, and their women were made. God himself made them carefully. And so, during sleep, they came, truly beautiful, their women, at the side of Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam.

There were their women when they awakened, and instantly their hearts were filled with joy because of their wives.

Here are the names of their wives: Cahá-Paluna was the name of the wife of Balam-Quitzé; Chomihá was the wife of Balam-Acab; Tzununihá, the wife of Mahucutah; and Caquixahá was the name of the wife of Iqui-Balam. These are the names of their wives, who were distinguished women.

They conceived the men, of the small tribes and of the large tribes, and were the origin of us; the people of Quiché.

There were many priests and sacrificers; there were not only four, but those four were the Forefathers of us, the people of the Quiché.

The names of each one were different when they multiplied there in the East, and there were many names of the people: Tepeu, Olomán, Cohah, Quenech, Ahau, as they called those men there in the East, where they multiplied.

The beginning is known, too, of those of Tamub and those of Ilocab who came together from there in the East.

Balam-Quitzé was the grandfather and the father of the nine great houses of the Cavec; Balam-Acab was the grandfather and father of the nine great houses of the Nimhaib; Mahucutah, the grandfather and father of the four great houses of Ahau-Quiché.

Three groups of families existed; but they did not forget the name of their grandfather and father, those who propagated and multiplied there in the East.

The Tamub and Ilocab also came, and thirteen branches of peoples, the thirteen of Tecpán, and those of Rabinal, the Cakchiquel, those from Tziquinahá, and the Zacahá and the Lamaq, Cumatz, Tuhalhá, Uchabahá, those of Chumilahá, those of Quibahá, of Batenabá, Acul-Vinac, Balamihá, the Canchahel, and Balam-Colob.

These are only the principal tribes, the branches of the people which we mention; only of the principal ones shall we speak. Many others came from each group of the people, but we shall not write their names. They also multiplied there in the East.

Many men were made and in the darkness they multiplied. Neither the sun nor the light had yet been made when they multiplied. All lived together, they existed in great number and walked there in the East.

Nevertheless, they did not sustain nor maintain [their God]; they only raised their faces to the sky, and they did not know why they had come so far as they did.

There they were then, in great number, the black men and the white men, men of many classes, men of many tongues, that it was wonderful to hear them.

There are generations in the world, there are country people, whose faces we do not see, who have no homes, they only wander through the small and large woodlands, like crazy people. So it is said scornfully of the people of the wood. So they said there, where they saw the rising of the sun.

The speech of all was the same. They did not invoke wood nor stone, and they remembered the word of the Creator and the Maker, the Heart of Heaven, the Heart of Earth.

In this manner they spoke, while they thought about the coming of the dawn. And they raised their prayers, those worshipers of the word [of God], loving, obedient, and fearful, raising their faces to the sky when they asked for daughters and sons:

"Oh thou, Tzacol, Bitol! Look at us, hear us! Do not leave us, do not forsake us, oh, God, who art in heaven and on earth, Heart of Heaven, Heart of Earth! Give us our descendants, our succession, as long as the sun shall move and there shall be light. Let it dawn; let the day come! Give us many good roads, flat roads! May the people have peace, much peace, and may they be happy; and give us good life and useful existence! Oh, thou Huracán, Chipi-Caculhá, Raxa-Caculhá, Chipi-Nanauac, Raxa-Nanauac, Voc, Hunahpú, Tepeu, Gucumatz, Alom, Qaholom, Xpiyacoc, Xmucané, grandmother of the sun, grandmother of the light, let there be dawn, and let the light come!"

Thus they spoke while they saw and invoked the coming of the sun, the arrival of day; and at the same time that they saw the rising of the sun, they contemplated the Morning Star, the Great Star, which comes ahead of the sun, that lights up the arch of the sky and the surface of the earth, and illuminates the steps of the men who had been created and made.

3 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 4

Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam said, "Let us await the break of day." So said those great wise men, the enlightened men, the priests and sacrificers. This they said.

Our first mothers and fathers did not yet have wood nor stones to keep; but their hearts were tired of waiting for the sun. Already all the tribes and the Yaqui people, the priests and sacrificers, were very many.

"Let us go, let us go to search and see if our [tribal] symbols are in safety; if we can find what we must burn before them. For being as we are, there is no one who watches for us," said Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam.

And having heard of a city, they went there.

Now then, the name of the place where Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam and those of Tamub and Ilocab went was Tulán-Zuiva, Vucub-Pec, Vucub-Ziván. This was the name of the city where they went to receive their gods.

So, then, all arrived at Tulán. It was impossible to count the men who arrived; there were very many and they walked in an orderly way.

Then was the appearance of their gods; first those of Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam, who were filled with joy: "At last we have found that for which we searched!" they said.

And the first that appeared was Tohil, as this god was called, and Balam-Quitzé put him on his back, in his chest. Instantly the god called Avilix appeared, and Balam-Acab carried him. The god called Hacavitz was carried by Mahucutah; and Iqui-Balam carried the one called Nicahtacah.

And together with the people of the Quiché, they also received those of Tamub. And in the same way Tohil was the name of the god of the Tamub who received the grandfather and father of the Lords of Tamub, whom we know today.

In the third place were those of Ilocab. Tohil was also the name of the god who was received by the grandfathers and the fathers of the lords, whom we also know today.

In this way, the three Quiché [families] were given their names and they did not separate, because they had a god of the same name, Tohil of the Quiché, Tohil of the Tamub and [Tohil] of the Ilocab; one only was the name of the god, and therefore the three Quiché [families] did not separate.

Great indeed was the virtue of the three, Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz.

Then all the people arrived, those from Rabinal, the Cakchiquel, those from Tziquinahá, and the people who now are called the Yaqui. And there it was that the speech of the tribes changed; their tongues became different. They could no longer understand each other clearly after arriving at Tulán. There also they separated, there were some who had to go to the East, but many came here.

And their clothing was only the skins of animals; they had no good clothes to put on, the skins of animals were their only dress. They were poor, they possessed nothing, but they had the nature of extraordinary men.

When they arrived at Tulán-Zuiva, Vucub-Pec, Vucub-Ziván, the old traditions say that they had traveled far in order to arrive there.

3 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 5

And they did not have fire. Only the people of Tohil had it. He was the god of the tribes which first created fire. It is not known how it was made, because it was already burning when Balam-Quitzé and Balam-Acab saw it.

"Ah, we have no fire yet! We shall die of cold," they said. Then Tohil said to them: "Do not worry! Yours shall be the lost fire which is talked of. Yours shall be what is spoken of as lost fire," Tohil said to them.

"Really? Oh, God, our support, our maintenance, thou, our God!" they said, returning thanks.

And Tohil answered: "Very well, certainly I am your God; so shall it be! I am your Lord; so let it be!" Thus it was told to the priests and sacrificers by Tohil. And in this manner the tribes received fire and they were joyful because of it.

Instantly a great shower began to fall when the fire of the tribes was burning. Much hail fell on all the tribes and the fire was put out because of it, and again the fire was extinguished.

Then Balam-Quitzé and Balam-Acab again asked Tohil for fire. "Oh, Tohil, we are truly dying of cold!" they said to Tohil.

"Very well, do not worry," Tohil answered, and instantly he made fire, turning about in his shoe.

Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam were at once happy and immediately they became warm.

Now, the fire of the peoples [of Vucamag] had also gone out and they were dying of cold. Immediately they came to ask Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam for fire. They could no longer bear the cold nor the ice; they were shivering and their teeth were chattering; they were numb; their legs and hands shook and they could not hold anything in them, when they came.

"We are not ashamed to come before you, to beg for a little of your fire," they said. But they were not well received. And then the tribes were very sad.

"The speech of Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam is different! Oh! We have given up our speech! What have we done? We are lost. How were we deceived? We had only one speech when we arrived there at Tulán; we were created and educated in the same way. It is not good what we have done," said all the tribes under the trees, under the vines.

Then a man came before Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam and [this man], who was a messenger of Xibalba, spoke thus: "This is, in truth, your God; this is your support; this is, furthermore, the representation, the memory of your Creator and Maker. Do not give your fire to the tribes until they present offerings to Tohil. It is not necessary that they give anything to you. Ask Tohil what they should give when they come to receive fire," said the man from Xibalba. He had wings like the wings of a bat. "I am sent by your Creator, your Maker," said the man of Xibalba.

They were filled with joy then, and Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz were also gladdened when the man from Xibalba spoke, who disappeared instantly from their presence.

But the tribes did not perish when they came, although they were dying of cold. There was much hail, black rain and mist, and indescribable cold.

All the tribes were trembling and shivering with cold when they came where Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam were. Their hearts were greatly troubled and their mouths and eyes were sad.

In a moment the beggars came before Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam and said: "Will you not have pity on us, we only ask a little of your fire? Perchance, were we not [once] together and reunited? Did we not have the same home and one country when we were created, when we were made? Have mercy, then, on us!" they said.

"What will you give us so that we shall have mercy on you?" they were asked.

"Well, then, we shall give you money," the tribes answered.

"We do not want money," said Balam-Quitzé and Balam-Acab.

"And what do you want?" [asked the tribes]

"We shall ask now." [said Balam-Quitzé]

"Very well," said the tribes.

"We shall ask Tohil and then we shall tell you," they answered.

"What must the tribes give, oh, Tohil! who have come to ask for your fire?" said Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam.

"Well! Are they willing to give their waist and their armpits? Do they want me to embrace them? For if they do not want to do that, neither shall I give them fire," answered Tohil.

"Tell them that this shall come later, that they do not have to come now to give me their waist and their armpits. This is what Tohil orders us to tell you, you will say." This was the answer to Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam.

Then they took Tohil's message. "Very well, we shall join you and we shall embrace him," they [the people] said when they heard and were told the message from Tohil. And they did not delay in acting. "Good," they said, "but may it be soon!" And immediately they received the fire. Then they became warm.

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APPENDIX C-7
(to Jewish and Christian Law)

A SERMON ON INDULGENCES AND GRACE
An Abbreviation of the (Latin) 95 Theses
Eyn Sermon von dem Ablass vnnd Gnade
Author: Martin Luther
Language: Late Middle High German
Translation: Lord Henfield, 2016
Estimated Range of Dating: March, 1518 A.D.

(Martin Luther's Sermon on Indulgences and Grace (Middle German: Eynn Sermon von dem Ablasz und Gnade, modern German: Sermon Von Ablass Und Gnade) is a pamphlet written in Wittenberg in the latter part of March, 1518 and published in April of that year. It is a short version of his 95 Theses which he wrote in Latin for discourse of experts inside the Roman Catholic Church. Due the negative response of the Church, Luther did an extraordinary thing: He wrote this short version of the 95 Theses in German, the language of the ordinary people, for anyone to understand, and he ruthlessly used Gutenberg's new printing technology to spread this pamphlet in several thousand copies. By using the language of the people, he stepped over the invisible line of academic secrecy. In the Sermon, Luther addressed his audience directly. It stresses good works and sincere repentance over indulgences, with Luther criticising indulgences as non-scriptural and the Catholic clergy as being greedy and wasting money on St. Peter's Basilica when it could be better spent on the poor in their own neighbourhoods. With that what Luther said in the pamphlet, and also how he said it, he brought millions of people behind him. When the Church leaders grasped the magnitude of his linguistic and rhetoric skills, it was too late.

The sermon swept through the major centres of the Holy Roman Empire. It was an instant hit and was reprinted 14 times in 1518 alone. Thousands of copies ran quickly from hand to hand. It has been described as "the world's first printed bestseller" and is regarded by many as the true starting point of the Reformation.)

Text:

First of all, you should know that several new teachers, such as Petrus Lombardus, Thomas Aquinas and their successors, give three parts to penance, namely: repentance, confession, satisfaction. And although, in their opinion, this difference is difficult or even not at all to be found in the Holy Scriptures nor in the old, holy Christian teachers, we want to let it stay that way and speak in their own way.

Secondly, they say: indulgence does not take away the first or second part, that is: repentance or confession, but the third, namely the satisfaction.

Thirdly: the satisfaction is further divided into three parts, that is: praying, fasting, giving alms, namely as follows: "praying" means all works peculiar to souls, such as reading, thinking, hearing God's word, preaching, teaching and the like; "Fasting" means all works of mortification of his flesh, such as waking, working, hard bed, rough clothes, etc .; "Giving alms" means all works of love and mercy towards one's neighbour.

Fourth, it is unquestionable in all of them that indulgence takes away the works of satisfaction, which is established as necessary for sin to be done. Because if he were to take away all of these works, nothing good would remain that we could do.

Fifth, it has been a great and as yet undecided question for many whether indulgence also takes away something more than such imposed works, namely, whether it also takes away the punishment that divine justice demands for sins.

Sixth, I leave your opinions undisputed for this time. That (but) I say that one cannot prove from the Scriptures that divine righteousness desires some punishment or satisfaction from the sinner or asks for his heartfelt and true repentance or conversion with the resolution to carry the cross of Christ from now on and to practice the above works (even if they are not prescribed by anyone). For God says through Ezekiel: If the wicked will turn from all his sins that he hath committed, and do that which is lawful and right, I will no longer remember his sin. (Ezek. 18:21; 14 ff.). He has also pardoned all of them himself: Mary Magdalene, the gout-frail, the adulteress, etc. I would like to hear who is supposed to prove something else, apart from the fact that a number of doctors thought so.

Seventh: One finds that God punishes some according to his righteousness or urges them to repent through punishments, as in Psalm 89, 31 ff .: "If my children break my statutes, I will visit their transgression with the rod, but my lovingkindness will I not utterly take from them." But to remit this punishment is in the power of no one but God alone; in fact, he does not want to remit it, but promises that he will impose it.

Eighth: That is why you cannot give the imagined punishment a name, and nobody knows what it is, unless it is this punishment, the good works mentioned above are not.

Ninth, I say: If the Christian Church is still resolving today and declaring that indulgence takes away more than the works of satisfaction, it would still be a thousand times better that no Christian would solve or desire the indulgence, but that they would rather do the works and suffered the punishment. For indulgences are nothing else, nor can they become a decree of good works and salutary punishments, which should be chosen more cheaply than abandoned (although some of the new preachers have invented two kinds of punishments: one for satisfaction, the other for improvement). But we have more freedom to despise such and similar chats (praise to God) than they have to invent; for all punishment, yes, everything that God imposes is useful and beneficial for Christians for improvement.

Tenth: That is not said that the punishments and works are too many, so that man, for the sake of the brevity of his life, cannot perform them, which is why the indulgence is necessary for him. To which I reply that there is no reason for it and that it is a mere fiction. For God and the holy church do not impose more on anyone than is possible for him to bear, as also Paul 1 Cor. 10, 13 says that God does not allow anyone to be tempted more than he can bear. And Christendom is not a little disgraced that it is blamed for putting on more than we can bear.

Eleventh: Even if the penances stipulated in spiritual law were still valid, that seven years of penance would be imposed for every mortal sin, Christianity would have to let them be stipulated and not impose any further than they should be borne by everyone. The less one should pay attention to the fact that more is imposed than anyone can comfortably carry, since they are no longer valid now.

Twelfth: It is said that the sinner should be sent to purgatory or indulgence with the rest of the punishment, but more things are said without justification or proof.

The thirteenth: It is a great mistake that someone thinks he wants to do enough for his sins, although God always forgives them for free, out of priceless grace and desires nothing in return but that one leads a good life from now on. Christianity is asking for something; so it can and should also enact it and not impose anything difficult or unbearable.

Fourteenth: Indulgence is allowed for the sake of imperfect and lazy Christians who do not want to practice good works undauntedly or are intolerable. Because indulgence does not encourage anyone to improve, but rather tolerates their imperfection and allows it. That is why one should not speak against indulgences; but neither should one support them.

Fifteenth: It would be much safer and better to do something for God's sake for St. Peter's Church, or whatever is called, than to indulge in it. For it is dangerous that he should give such a gift for indulgence and not for God's sake.

Sixteenth: Much better is the good work done to a needy than that it is given to the building, also much better than the indulgence given for it. Because, as I said, it is better to do a good work than to leave a lot in place. But indulgences are the issuance of many good works, or nothing is left behind.

Yes, that I also teach correctly, so note: You should above all (neither look at St. Peter's Church nor indulgences) give your next poor man if you want to give something. But if it comes to the point that there is no one in your city who needs help (which, God willing, should never happen), then you should give, if you want, to the churches, altars, jewellery, chalices that are in your city are. And if that is no longer necessary, then - if you want - you can give to St. Peter's Church or something else. You should not do that for the sake of indulgences either. Because Paul says 1. Tim. 5:8: "Anyone who does not do his housemates good is not a Christian and is worse than a pagan." would be better to him than all souls.

If you ask: "I would never solve indulgences like that?" I answer: I have already said above that my will, desire, request and advice is that no one should solve indulgences. Let the lazy and sleepy Christians release indulgences, you go for yourself!

Regarding the seventeenth: Indulgence is neither required nor advised, but from the number of things that are permitted and permitted. Therefore it is not a work of obedience, not even meritorious, but an excuse for obedience. Although one should not prevent anyone from redeeming it, one should therefore withdraw all Christians from it and encourage and strengthen them to the works and punishments that are issued there.

Eighteenth: I do not know whether the souls will be drawn out of purgatory by the indulgence, and I do not yet believe either, although a number of new doctors say that. But it is impossible for them to prove it, nor has the Church decided yet. Therefore, for greater security, it is much better that you pray and work for them yourself; for this is more proven and is certain.

The nineteenth: I have no doubt on these points, they are sufficiently founded in the Scriptures. Therefore you should have no doubt, and let scholastic doctors be scholastics; they are all not enough with their school opinions that they should confirm a sermon.

As for the twentieth: Even though some of them scold me for a heretic, for whom such truth in the cash register is very harmful, I still do not pay much attention to such blaring, since no one else does that than a number of dark brains who never smelled the Bible, the Christian teachers never read, never understood their own teachers, but almost rotten in their riddled and torn school opinions. Because if they understood them, they would know that they should not blaspheme anyone unheard of and unconquerably. But God give them and us the right sense! Amen.

(Published by Luther probably February / March 1518 - underlining by Peter R. Seeber from: Kurt Aland (Martin Luther's 95 theses with the corresponding documents from the history of the Reformation, pp. 110f.) Writes: "When Luther on March 5, 1518 Schurl expresses the wish to write a German script that would replace the theses for the community, one would think that he had the sermon in mind here. However, the sermon would then have to be written down immediately after this letter (that would be no difficulty with Luther's fast working method) and printed (in view of the slowness of the printers and the printing at that time the main obstacle to this assumption lies. The question is also whether Luther would have called the little sermon "writing" - libellus).)

APPENDIX C-8
(to Artefacts)

THE OBEDIENCE OF A CHRISTIAN MAN.
Original title: The Obedience of a Christen Man
Author: William Tyndale, 1528

(The Obedience of a Christen Man, and how Christen rulers ought to govern, wherein also (if thou mark diligently) thou shalt find eyes to perceive the crafty convience of all iugglers. is a 1528 book by the English Protestant author William Tyndale. The spelling of this title is now commonly modernized and abbreviated to The Obedience of a Christian Man. It was first published by Merten de Keyser in Antwerp, and is best known for advocating that the king of a country was the head of that country's church, rather than the pope, and to be the first instance, in the English language at any rate, of advocating the divine right of kings, a concept mistakenly attributed to the Catholic Church.

It is believed that the book greatly influenced Henry VIII's decision in declaring the Act of Supremacy, by which he became Supreme Head of the Church of England, in 1534. Tyndale's opposition to Henry's divorce from Catherine of Aragon earned him the king's enmity, but when Tyndale was arrested by the Roman Catholic authorities in Antwerp in 1535, Henry's chief minister Thomas Cromwell attempted unsuccessfully to intervene on his behalf. Tyndale was executed for heresy the following year.

The Author

William Tyndale (sometimes spelled Tynsdale, Tindall, Tindill, Tyndall; c. 1494–1536) was an English scholar who became a leading figure in the Protestant Reformation in the years leading up to his execution. He is well known as a translator of the Bible into English, influenced by the works of Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam and Martin Luther with whom he got in touch while he was in Germany.

A number of partial English translations had been made from the 7th century onwards, but the religious ferment caused by Wycliffe's Bible in the late 14th century led to the death penalty for anyone found in unlicensed possession of Scripture in English, though translations were available in all other major European languages.

Tyndale worked during a Renaissance of scholarship, which saw the publication of Reuchlin's Hebrew grammar in 1506. Greek was available to the European scholarly community for the first time in centuries, as it welcomed Greek-speaking intellectuals and texts following the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Notably, Erasmus compiled, edited, and published the Greek Scriptures in 1516. Luther's German Bible appeared in 1522.

Tyndale's translation was the first English Bible to draw directly from Hebrew and Greek texts, the first English translation to take advantage of the printing press, the first of the new English Bibles of the Reformation, and the first English translation to use Jehovah ("Iehouah") as God's name as preferred by English Protestant Reformers. It was taken to be a direct challenge to the hegemony of both the Catholic Church and the laws of England maintaining the church's position.

A copy of Tyndale's The Obedience of a Christian Man (1528), which some claim or interpret to argue that the king of a country should be the head of that country's church rather than the Pope, fell into the hands of the English King Henry VIII, providing a rationalisation for breaking the Church in England from the Catholic Church in 1534. In 1530, Tyndale wrote The Practyse of Prelates, opposing Henry's annulment of his own marriage on the grounds that it

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contravened Scripture. Fleeing England, Tyndale sought refuge in the Flemish territory of the Catholic Emperor Charles V. In 1535, Tyndale was betrayed by Henry Phillips to authorities representing the Holy Roman Empire. He was seized in Antwerp in 1535, and held in the castle of Vilvoorde (Filford) near Brussels. Some suspect that Phillips was hired by Bishop Stokesley to gain Tyndale's confidence and then betray him. He was tried on a charge of heresy in 1536 and was found guilty and condemned to be burned to death, despite Thomas Cromwell's intercession on his behalf. Tyndale "was strangled to death while tied at the stake, and then his dead body was burned". His final words, spoken "at the stake with a fervent zeal, and a loud voice", were reported as "Lord! Open the King of England's eyes."

His dying prayer seemed to find its fulfilment just one year later with Henry's authorisation of the Matthew Bible, which was largely Tyndale's own work, with missing sections translated by John Rogers and Miles Coverdale. Tyndale's translation of the Bible was used for subsequent English translations, including the Great Bible and the Bishops' Bible, authorised by the Church of England. In 1611 after seven years of work, the 47 scholars who produced the King James Bible drew significantly from Tyndale's original work and the other translations that descended from his. One estimate suggests that the New Testament in the King James Version is 83% Tyndale's words and the Old Testament 76%. Hence, the work of Tyndale continued to play a key role in spreading Reformation ideas across the English-speaking world and eventually across the British Empire.

The Text

The Obedience of a Christian Man (from here on abbreviated as Obedience) was first printed in Antwerp on October 2, 1528 (viii). Despite being officially banned, Obedience was still widely read throughout England and, later on, was even mentioned in the works of Shakespeare (xxvii). Anne Boleyn, (later Henry VIII's second wife) owned a copy. As Henry was trying to obtain permission from the Pope to divorce his first wife, Catherine of Aragon, Anne asked Henry to read Obedience. Afterward, Henry exclaimed, "This is a book for me and all kings to read" (xxiv).

Obedience is divided into five overall sections. The first two are preliminary introductions: the first introduces Tyndale's central concept of experiencing God through the reading of scripture; the second discusses the church's disobedience (of God) in teaching ecclesiastical law rather than scripture. The book proper contains three overall topics: God's laws of obedience, how one should obey and rule in life (addressed to all of English society), and a discussion on the literal interpretation of scripture. Throughout the text, Tyndale also discusses the intrusion into daily life, on both local and national levels by the church and, especially, the Pope, and how the church actively distorts scripture to fulfill its own needs.

The tone of Obedience is low-key, despite containing radical ideology. For the first time, the concept of the supreme authority of the Bible in church is combined with the supreme authority of the king in state (the latter is what inspired Henry VIII). Although Tyndale complains about the lack of scripture in English life, his text features prose inspired by scripture and is abundant with direct quotes and references from the New Testament. He documents the origin of the direct quotes, but not his references, many of which would not have been recognized by the average person who read an original edition of Obedience, then or now.

Advocacy of an English-language Bible

"How can we whet God's Word (that is put into practice, use and exercise) upon our children and household, when we are violently kept from it and know it not?" (16). Tyndale accuses the church of keeping the people away from, and claiming all authority over, scripture. He believes that the reading of scripture directly reveals the power of God to the individual, without any need of an intermediary, like a priest. One of his principal concerns revisited throughout the text is the availability of an English-language Bible for the common people to read. Latin was, at the time, the official language of the church: All services and ceremonies were conducted in Latin, and as a result, the Bible too was only available in Latin. In fact, the church discouraged people from reading the Bible at all. Tyndale criticizes the church for allowing the English people to be ignorant of the Bible, and replacing the teaching of scripture with ceremonies or ritual superstition. "On the holy days which were ordained to preach God's word, set up long ceremonies, long matins, long masses and long evensongs, and all in Latin that they understand not, and roll them in darkness, that ye may lead them whither ye will" (90). According to Tyndale, church authorities adduce that a man must have a pure and quiet mind to read and fully comprehend scripture, and that the average man is too encumbered with worldly matters to do so. Tyndale counters this argument stating no one is as occupied with worldly matters as the church. Authorities also postulate that if every man were able to read scripture, every man would interpret it for himself, leading to widespread non-conformity and insurrection. Tyndale considers this claim to be ridiculous. As an example in the text, Tyndale defends Martin Luther against the published criticisms of Thomas More, who accused Luther of being the impetus of the German Peasants' War (1524–1525).

Tyndale asks if the church is so concerned about Biblical misinterpretation, why does it not teach scripture? Would teaching scripture be more effective if every man possessed a copy of the Bible from which he could study? Tyndale asserts the true reason the church does not provide scripture in English is that the people might determine how the church manipulates scripture to its own benefit: that, in fact, the church does not practice what it preaches. Tyndale goes as far as to claim the church is as interested in scripture as "the Turks" (17). He states that Jesus had commanded the people to read scripture for themselves so they would know if "false prophets" (22) were trying to deceive them and reminds us that the apostles preached in local languages, and therefore, as a matter of custom, the English people should receive scripture in English.

Tyndale asks if (Saint) Jerome could translate scripture into his own language, why not the English people? Tyndale says the church authorities feel that English is "rude" (19), i.e., undeveloped. He responds by asking if indeed did not God "make the English tongue?" (24), and reminds us that an earlier English monarch, King Athelstan, had scripture translated into Old English. He also states that God Himself provided His law to the Israelites in Hebrew. Tyndale quotes Paul from scripture, "And yet Paul […] forbiddeth to speak in the church or congregation save in the tongue that all understand" (90).

English Society Realigned to Coincide with Biblical Law

"Who slew the prophets? Who slew Christ? Who slew his Apostles? Who the martyrs and all the righteous that ever were slain? The kings and the temporal sword at the request of the false prophets" (98).

As indicated by its title, the central theme of Obedience is obedience, as designated by scripture onto all levels of English society. The first three sections discuss obedience as it applies to the family: Tyndale says that wives must be subordinate to their husbands, always, and that a "grudge against husband is a grudge against God" (34), and husbands are to help their wives overcome their "infirmities" (61). Servants must be obedient to their masters, not as sycophants, but as servants of Christ, as they are doing the will of God, and in return, their masters must be nurturing, "that they [servants] may see in Christ a cause why they ought lovingly to obey" (61).

More significantly, in the section titled, "The Obedience of Subjects unto Kings, Princes and Rulers," Tyndale states that the "powers that be" (36) are powers ordained by God, and that resistance to earthly authority is resistance to God's authority, but the bishops have usurped earthly authority from secular rulers, and therefore, they must be resisted, as God has appointed the kings, princes, and other secular leaders as his representatives on earth. He reiterates that whoever resists the king resists God, whether they are layman or clergy: "The higher powers are the temporal king and princes unto whom God hath given the sword to punish whosoever sinneth" (40–41). In "The Duty of Kings and of the Judges and Officers," Tyndale says that the people, the subjects of the English kingdom, belong to God, and not the king. All men, including the king, must perform their earthly duties or answer to God; but the king is controlled by the Pope, creating a situation for like that of living in two nations, not one; that split between church and state has allowed the church to intervene at every level of English society. Tyndale reminds us that the Pope claims to be authorized by the New Testament; a claim first challenged by, as Tyndale credits, Martin Luther.

Within Tyndale's political theories are the conceptual emergence of the modern state and nationalism. He says the state should not be divided into the monarchy and the church, with each fighting for supremacy, although he is not what is termed an "Erastian" (but neither was Erasmus himself): someone who believes that the church should be subordinate to the state. But Tyndale does not call for sedition. In Tyndale's political system, the king is supreme in the state: "To preach God's Word is too much for half a man. And to minister a temporal kingdom is too much for half a man also. Either other requireth an [sic] whole man" (68). The king is to enforce the law as it is written in scripture. The king is not more important than the church: he is its facilitator and supreme authority. The king is to ensure that ministers are preaching properly and to maintain the integrity of the church. Tyndale states that it is the king's responsibility to serve others, and not for others to serve him, but the bishops have corrupted kings into considering otherwise. The king is required to swear his allegiance to the bishops and the Pope, which causes Tyndale to ask, "How hath the Pope the such temporal authority over king and emperor?" (124).

"Let the temporal power to whom God hath given the sword to take vengeance, look or ever that they leap, and see what they do. Let the causes be disputed before them, and let him that is accused have room to answer for himself" (106). Tyndale restates the king's authority over the kingdom, that the king "is ordained to take vengeance and hath a sword in his hand and not peacock's feathers. Fear him therefore and look on him as thou wouldest look on a sharp sword that hanged over thy head by an [sic] hair" (54–55). If the king is an evil king, he is evil because God has deemed it so. "And whatsoever is done unto us by them, that doeth God, be it good or bad" (55). Resisting an evil king is as evil as a child resisting his parents. If the people overthrow their king, a new, non-ordained king will replace him.

Tyndale then asks what to do with the Pope's false authority. He accuses the Pope (then Clement VII) of inverting God's law: making what is a sin not, and that which is not a sin, sin. The Pope has unrightfully taken the authority to damn people to purgatory. "How hath he authority above God's laws and to command the angels, the saints and God himself?" (124). Tyndale asks the church, "Who gave the Pope the authority to command God to damn people?" Tyndale states that God commanded the clergy to bless the people, and the church asks God to damn them. "Paul also in many things which God had made free, gave pure and faithful counsel without tangling of any man's conscience and without all manner commanding under pain of cursing, pain of excommunication, pain of heresy, pain of burning, pain of deadly sin, pain of hell and pain of damnation" (77).

Criticisms of the Church

"Make themselves holier than the lay people and take so great lands and goods" (112).

In his third argument, Tyndale lists the abuses of the common people by the church. Tyndale accuses the church of being more concerned with performing ceremonies than living by the laws set by Christ in scripture. In terms of sacraments, like other Protestant reformers, Tyndale believes that baptism and the Eucharist are the only true sacraments, as both were performed by Christ in the New Testament (227). Tyndale feels that the church should preach rather than perform superstitious ceremonies, like confession: "Moreover if any man have sinned yet if he repent and believe the promise, we are sure by God's word that he is loosed and forgiven in Christ" (124). In other words, acknowledge your sins to God. Priests should only preach and provide counseling, as they are not a mediator between the people and God. The clergy are only representatives of Christ, not Christ Himself. Tyndale, like Luther, believes that every Christian has a direct relationship with God; that a Christian's own salvation is within him. Only prayer can bring true faith. "Paul in every epistle warneth us that we put no trust in works, and to beware of persuasions or arguments of man's wisdom, of superstitiousness, of ceremonies of popeholiness and of all manner disguising. And exhorteth us to cleave fast onto the naked and pure word of God" (131).

Tyndale also condemns the church for creating and enforcing ecclesiastical law rather than teaching God's law, as it is written in scripture. As a result of ecclesiastical law, the church separates itself from the people it is supposed to serve. According to Tyndale, the New Testament, not church doctrine, contains all the laws by which a good Christian should abide. "[O]ne king, one law, is God's ordinance in every realm" (96). Tyndale states that, ironically, the church forbids that which Jesus promoted and promotes that which Jesus forbade. Unfortunately, Tyndale does not provide any specific examples to support this claim (however obvious it may appear), and this lack of evidence weakens the potential strength of his argument, even if we consider the historical context in which this argument was originally made.

"They preach it were better for thee to eat flesh on Good Friday than to hate thy neighbor: but let any man eat flesh but on a Sunday or break any other tradition of theirs, and he shall be bound and not loosed, till he have paid the utmost farthing, other with shame most vile or death most cruel, but hate thy neighbor as much as thou wilt and thou shalt have no rebuke of them, yea rob him, murder him, and then come to them and welcome" (99).

Tyndale denies the authority and infallibility of the Pope (and, indirectly, attacks the church hierarchy, too): according to Tyndale's interpretation of scripture, the foundation of the church is the apostle Peter's faith, not himself. Peter's successor has no authority other than to preach the gospel: "Our hypocrites boast themselves of the authority of Peter and of Paul and the other Apostles, clean contrary unto the deeds and doctrine of Peter, Paul and of all the other Apostles" (104). As Christians, Tyndale says, all are equal in the eyes of God, including the clergy. The clergy may have a special calling as preachers, but they are not superior to any other Christian: "So it was in the manner to call Peter chief of the Apostles for his singular activity and boldness, and not that he should be lord over his brethren contrary to his own doctrine" (76).)

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Text:
The Obedience of a Christen man,
and how Christen rulers ought to govern,
wherein also (if thou mark diligently)
thou shalt find eyes to percieve
the crafty convience of all iugglers.
Set forth by William Tyndall. 1528. Octob. 2.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

In the last paragraph of his Practice of Prelates, dated 1530, and published some time before the end of that year, Tyndale says: 'Let them remember, that I well toward three years agone sent forth the True Obedience of a Christian Man. This gives probability to what Ames mentions in an irregular way, namely, that there is an edition of the Obedience of the date of Dec. 11, 1527. It was about that time that Tyndale removed from Worms to Marburg in Hesse, a city on the Lahn, where the landgrave Philip, the bold and uncompromising friend of the Reformation, had just founded an university, and Hans Luft had just established a printing press.

On the 8th of May, 1528, this Hans Luft sent forth an edition of the Obedience in 4to, of which Mr Offor has a copy; and on the 2nd of October in the same year, there came out another edition from his press in small 12mo, of which the Parker Society possesses a copy, which the editor has used for collation with the reprint in Day's folio of 1573, prepared by Foxe the martyrologist.

In the introductory notice to the treatise on the parable of the Wicked Mammon, the reader has had evidence that the Obedience shared in its circulation and influence, and in the consequent hostility of the ruling church. There are, however, two instances of its separate distribution and influence, which should not pass unnoticed. One of the meekest and holiest of the martyrs of Henry VIII.'s reign was Thomas Bilney, a fellow of Trinity hall, Cambridge. In 1529, he had been terrified and tempted by bishop Tonstal into abjuring the faith he really held: but his friend, bishop Latimer, tells us that this brought him 'into such anguish and agony, that nothing did him good, not even the communication of God's word, because he thought that all the whole scriptures sounded his condemnation, till God endued him with such strength,' that he took leave of his Cambridge friends, and said that he would go to Jerusalem; and departing into Norfolk, he there preached publicly the doctrine which he had abjured.

Having done this, he entered Norwich, and 'gave to an anchoress, whom he had converted to Christ, a New Testament of Tyndale's translation, and the Obedience of a Christian Man; whereupon he was apprehended and carried to prison, there to remain till the blind bishop Nix sent up for a writ to burn him.' It seems to have been about the time of Bilney's abjuration, that Anne Boleyn had well nigh been brought into difficulty, by lending the Obedience to one of her attendants. As Strype tells the story from a MS. left by Foxe, and now in the British Museum, she had 'lent it for perusal to a fair young gentlewoman in her service, named Mrs Gainsford; from whose hands it was playfully carried off by the young lady's suitor, a Mr George Zouch.'

Cardinal Wolsey had about the same time 'given commandment to the prelates, and especially to Dr Sampson, dean of the king's chapel, that they should have a vigilant eye over all people for such books; that so, as much as might be, they might not come to the king's reading.' But Mr Zouch was so delighted with what he read, that he could not refrain from reading it, not even in the king's chapel. His close attention to his book caught Dr Sampson's eye; and at length the dean called him up, took the book from him, and required to know what was his name, and 'whose man he was.'

The book was presently delivered over by the dean to the cardinal: but, in the mean while, 'the lady Anne asketh her woman for the book. She on her knees told all the circumstances. The lady Anne shewed herself not sorry, nor angry with either of the two: but, Well, said she, it shall be the dearest book that ever the dean or cardinal took away. So she goes to the king, and upon her knees she desireth the king's help for her book. Upon the king's token, the book was restored. And now, bringing the book to him, she besought his grace, most tenderly, to read it. The king did so, and delighted in the book: for, saith he, this book is for me, and all kings to read.' Strype's Eccles. Mem. ch. 15, Vol. 1, p. 173. Oxf. Ed. 1822.

This story has received confirmation from Wyatt's Memoir, printed from a MS. in Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, by Singer, Vol. 2, pp. 202-5. Wyatt indeed represents the cardinal as bringing the book to the king, to point out what he thought Henry would dislike, and to complain of those who countenanced such books. But this is obviously not irreconcilable with the account given in Foxe's MS. Nor is the king's continued hostility to Tyndale incompatible with his being pleased for a time with a powerfully written book, pressed upon his notice by the lady Anne; nor yet with his clearly perceiving that the author had justly rebuked the inroads made upon the authority of princes by an usurping priesthood.]

WILLIAM TYNDALE, OTHERWISE
CALLED HITCHINS, TO THE READER.

Grace, peace, and increase of knowledge in our Lord Jesus Christ, be with thee, reader, and with all that call on the name of the Lord unfeignedly and with a pure conscience. Amen.

Let it not make thee despair, neither yet discourage thee, O reader, that it is forbidden thee in pain of life and goods, or that it is made breaking of the king's peace, or treason unto his highness, to read the word of thy soul's health. But much rather be bold in the Lord, and comfort thy soul: forasmuch as thou art sure, and hast an evident token through such persecution, that it is the true word of God; which word is ever hated of the world, neither was ever without persecution, (as thou seest in all the stories of the Bible, both of the new Testament and also of the old,) neither can be, no more than the sun can be without his light; and forasmuch as contrariwise thou art sure that the pope's doctrine is not of God, which (as thou seest) is so agreeable unto the world, and is so received of the world; or which rather so receiveth the world and the pleasures of the world, and seeketh nothing but the possessions of the world, and authority in the world, and to bear a rule in the world; and persecuteth the word of God, and with all wiliness driveth people from it, and with false and sophistical reasons maketh them afraid of it; yea, curseth them, and excommunicateth them, and bringeth them in belief that they be damned if they look on it, and that it is but doctrine to deceive men; and moveth the blind powers of the world to slay with fire, water, and sword, all that cleave unto it: for the world loveth that which is his, and hateth that which is chosen out of the world to serve God in the Spirit, as Christ saith to his disciples, John "If ye were of the world, the world would love his own; but I have chosen you out of the world, and therefore the world hateth you."

Another comfort hast thou, that, as the weak powers of the world defend the doctrine of the world, so the mighty power of God defendeth the doctrine of God: which thing thou shalt evidently perceive, if thou call to mind the wonderful deeds which God hath ever wrought for his word in extreme necessity, since the world began, beyond all man's reason, which are written, (as Paul saith, Romans 15) "for our learning, (and not for our deceiving,) that we through patience and comfort of the scripture might have hope." The nature of God's word is to fight against hypocrites.

It began at Abel, and hath ever since continued, and shall, I doubt not, until the last day. And the hypocrites have alway the world on their sides; as thou seest in the time of Christ. They had the elders, that is to wit, the rulers of the Jews on their side; they had Pilate and the emperor's power on their side; they had Herod also on their side: moreover they brought all their worldly wisdom to pass, and all that they could think, or imagine, to serve for their purpose. First, to fear the people withal, they excommunicated all that believed in him, and put them out of the temple; as thou seest, John 9. Secondly, they found the means to have him condemned by the emperor's power, and made it treason to Caesar to believe in him. Thirdly, they obtained to have him hanged as a thief or a murderer, which, after their belly-wisdom, was a cause above all causes that no man should believe in him: for the Jews take it for a sure token of everlasting damnation, if a man be hanged; for it is written in their law, Deuteronomy 21 "Cursed is whosoever hangeth on tree." Moses also in the same place commandeth, if any man be hanged, to take him down the same day and bury him, for fear of polluting or defiling the country; that is, lest they should bring the wrath and curse of God upon them. And therefore the wicked Jews themselves, which with so venomous hate persecuted the doctrine of Christ, and did all the shame that they could do unto him, though they would fain have had Christ to hang still on the cross, and there to rot, (as he should have done by the emperor's law,) yet for fear of defiling their sabbath, and of bringing the wrath and curse of God upon them, begged of Pilate to take him down, John 19 which was against themselves.

Finally, when they had done all they could, and that they thought sufficient, and when Christ was in the heart of the earth, and so many bills and poleaxes about him to keep him down, and when it was past man's help, then holp God. When man could not bring him again, God's truth fetched him again. The oath that God had sworn to Abraham, to David, and to other holy fathers and prophets, raised him up again, to bless and save all that believe in him. Thus became the wisdom of the hypocrites foolishness. Lo, this was written for thy learning and comfort.

How wonderfully were the children of Israel locked in Egypt! In what tribulation, cumbrance, and adversity were they in! The land also that was promised them was far off, and full of great cities, walled with high walls up to the sky, and inhabited with great giants; yet God's truth brought them out of Egypt, and planted them in the land of the giants. This was also written for our learning: for there is no power against God's, neither any wisdom against God's wisdom: he is stronger and wiser than all his enemies. What holp it Pharaoh, to drown the men children? So little (I fear not) shall it at the last help the pope and his bishops, to burn our men children; which manfully confess that Jesus Christ is the Lord, and that there is no other name given unto men to be saved by, as Peter testifieth, Acts, in the fourth chapter.

Who dried up the Red sea? Who slew Goliath? Who did all those wonderful deeds which thou readest in the bible? Who delivered the Israelites evermore from thraldom and bondage, as soon as they repented and turned to God? Faith verily, and God's truth, and the trust in the promises which he had made. Read the 11th to the Hebrews for thy consolation.

When the children of Israel were ready to despair, for the greatness and the multitude of the giants, Moses comforted them ever, saying, Remember what your Lord God hath done for you in Egypt, his wonderful plagues, his miracles, his wonders, his mighty hand, his stretched out arm, and what he hath done for you hitherto. He shall destroy them; he shall take their hearts from them, and make them fear and flee before you. He shall storm them, and stir up a tempest among them, and scatter them, and bring them to nought. He hath sworn; he is true; he will fulfill the promises that he hath made unto Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. This is written for our learning: for verily he is a true God; and is our God as well as theirs; and his promises are with us, as well as with them; and he present with us, as well as he was with them. If we ask, we shall obtain; if we knock, he will open; if we seek, we shall find; if we thirst, his truth shall fulfill our lust.

Christ is with us until the world's end. Let his little flock be bold therefore.

For if God be on our side, what matter maketh it who be against us, be they bishops, cardinals, popes, or whatsoever names they will?

Mark this also, if God send thee to the sea, and promise to go with thee, and to bring thee safe to land, he will raise up a tempest against thee, to prove whether thou wilt abide by his word, and that thou mayest feel thy faith, and perceive his goodness. For if it were always fair weather, and thou never brought into such jeopardy, whence his mercy only delivered thee, thy faith should be but a presumption, and thou shouldest be ever unthankful to God and merciless unto thy neighbor.

If God promise riches, the way thereto is poverty. Whom he loveth, him he chasteneth: whom he exalteth, he casteth, down: whom he saveth, he damneth first. He bringeth no man to heaven, except he send him to hell first. If he promise life, he slayeth first: when he buildeth, he casteth all down first. He is no patcher; he cannot build on another man's foundation.

He will not work until all be past remedy, and brought unto such a case, that men may see, how that his hand, his power, his mercy, his goodness and truth, hath wrought altogether. He will let no man be partaker with him of his praise and glory. His works are wonderful, and contrary unto man's works. Who ever, saving he, delivered his own Son, his only Son, his dear Son, unto the death, and that for his enemies' sake, to win his enemy, to overcome him with love, that he might see love, and love again, and of love to do likewise to other men, and to overcome them with well doing?

Joseph saw the sun and the moon and the eleven stars worshipping him. :Nevertheless, ere that came to pass, God laid him where he could neither see sun nor moon, neither any star of the sky, and that many years; and also undeserved; to nurture him, to humble, to meek, and to teach him God's ways, and to make him apt and meet for the room and honor against he came to it; that he might perceive and feel that it came of God, and that he might be strong in the spirit to minister it godly.

He promised the children of Israel a land with rivers of milk and honey; but brought them for the space of forty years into a land, where not only rivers of milk and honey were not, but where so much as a drop of water was not; to nurture them, and to teach them, as a father doth his son, and to do them good at the latter end; and that they might be strong in their spirit and souls, to use his gifts and benefits godly and after his will.

He promised David a kingdom, and immediately stirred up king Saul against him to persecute him; to hunt him, as men do hares with greyhounds, and to ferret him out of every hole, and that for the space of many years; to tame him, to meek him, to kill his lusts; to make him feel other men's diseases; to make him merciful; to make him understand that he was made king to minister and to score his brethren, and that he should not think that his subjects were made to minister unto his lusts, and that it were lawful for him to take away from them life and goods at his pleasure.

Oh that our kings were so nurtured now-a-days! Which our holy bishops teach of a far other manner, saying, Your grace shall take your pleasure; yea, take what pleasure you list, spare nothing; we shall dispense with you; we have power, we are God's vicars: and let us alone with the realm, we shall take pain for you, and see that nothing be well: your grace shall but defend the faith only.

Let us, therefore, look diligently whereunto we are called, that we deceive not ourselves. We are called, not to dispute, as the pope's disciples do; but to die with Christ, that we may live with him; and to suffer with him, that we may reign with

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him. We be called unto a kingdom that must be won with suffering only, as a sick man winneth health. God, is he that doth all things for us, and fighteth for us; and we do but suffer only. Christ saith, "As my Father sent me, so send I you;" John and, "If they persecute me, then shall they persecute you." (John 15) And Christ saith, "I send you forth as sheep among wolves." (Matthew 10) The sheep fight not; but the shepherd fighteth for them, and careth for them. "Be harmless as doves, therefore," saith Christ, "and wise as serpents." The doves imagine no defense, nor seek to avenge themselves.

The serpent's wisdom is, to keep his head, and those parts wherein his life resteth. Christ is our head; and God's word is that wherein our life resteth.

To cleave, therefore, fast unto Christ, and unto those promises which God hath made us for his sake, is our wisdom. "Beware of men," saith he; "for they shall deliver you up unto their councils, and shall scourge you; and ye shall be brought before rulers and kings for my sake. The brother shall betray, or deliver, the brother to death, and the father the son; and the children shall rise against father and mother, and put them to death." Hear what Christ saith more: "The disciple is not greater than his master; neither the servant greater, or better, than his lord. If they have called the good man of the house Beelzebub, how much rather shall they call his household servants so!" And, Luke 14 saith Christ: "Which of you, disposed to build a tower, sitteth not down first and counteth the cost, whether he have sufficient to perform it? Lest when he hath laid the foundation, and then not able to perform it, all that behold it begin to mock him, saying, This man began to build, and was not able to make an end: so likewise none of you, that forsaketh not all that he hath, can be my disciple." Whosoever, therefore, casteth not this aforehand, 'I must jeopard life, goods, honor, worship, and all that there is, for Christ's sake,' deceiveth himself, and maketh a mock of himself unto the godless hypocrites and infidels. "No man can serve two masters, God and mammon;" that is to say, wicked riches also. Matthew 6. Thou must love Christ above all things: but that doest thou not, if thou be not ready to forsake all for his sake: if thou have forsaken all for his sake, then art thou sure that thou lovest him.

Tribulation is our right baptism; and is signified by plunging into the water. "We that are baptised in the name of Christ," saith Paul, "are baptised to die with him."

The Spirit through tribulation purgeth us, and killeth our fleshly wit, our worldly understanding, and belly-wisdom, and filleth us full of the wisdom of God. Tribulation is a blessing that cometh of God, as witnesseth Christ: "Blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." Is not this a comfortable word? Who ought not rather to choose, and desire to be blessed with Christ, in a little tribulation, than to be cursed perpetually with the world for a little pleasure?

Prosperity is a right curse, and a thing that God giveth to his enemies. "Woe be to you rich," saith Christ, Luke 6 "lo, ye have your consolation: woe be to you that are full, for ye shall hunger: woe be to you that laugh, for ye shall weep: woe be to you when men praise you, for so did their fathers unto the false prophets:" yea, and so have our fathers done unto the false hypocrites. The hypocrites, with worldly preaching, have not gotten the praise only, but even the possessions also, and the dominion and rule of the whole world.

Tribulation for righteousness is not a blessing only, but also a gift that God giveth unto none save his special friends. The apostles rejoiced that they were counted worthy to suffer rebuke for Christ's sake. And Paul, in the second epistle and third chapter to Timothy, saith, "All that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution:" and, Philippians 1 he saith, "Unto you it is given, not only to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for his sake."

Here seest thou that it is God's gift, to suffer for Christ's sake. And Peter in the fourth chapter of his first epistle saith: "Happy are ye if ye suffer for the name of Christ; for the glorious Spirit of God resteth in you." Is it not an happy thing, to be sure that thou art sealed with God's Spirit to everlasting life? And, verily, thou art sure thereof, if thou suffer patiently for his sake. By suffering art thou sure; but by persecuting canst thou never be sure: for Paul, Romans 5 saith, "Tribulation maketh feeling;" that is, it maketh us feel the goodness of God, and his help, and the working of his Spirit. And, the twelfth chapter of the second epistle to the Corinthians <471201> , the Lord said unto Paul, "My grace is sufficient for thee; for my strength is made perfect through weakness." Lo, Christ is never strong in us till we be weak. As our strength abateth, so groweth the strength of Christ in us: when we are clean emptied of our own strength, then are we full of Christ's strength: and look, how much of our own strength remaineth in us, so much lacketh there of the strength of Christ. "Therefore," saith Paul, in the said place in the second epistle to the Corinthians, "very gladly will I rejoice in my weakness, that the strength of Christ may dwell in me.

Therefore have I delectation," saith Paul, "in infirmities, in rebukes, in need, in persecutions, and in anguish for Christ's sake; for when I am weak, then am I strong." Meaning, that the weakness of the flesh is the strength of the Spirit. And by flesh understand wit, wisdom, and all that is in a man before the Spirit of God come; and whatsoever springeth not of the Spirit of God, and of God's word. And of like testimonies is all the scripture full.

Behold, God setteth before us a blessing and also a curse: a blessing, verily, and that a glorious and an everlasting, if we suffer tribulation and adversity with our Lord and Savior Christ; and an everlasting curse, if, for a little pleasure sake, we withdraw ourselves from the chastising and nurture of God, wherewith he teacheth all his sons, and fashioneth them after his godly will, and maketh them perfect (as he did Christ), and maketh them apt and meet vessels to receive his grace and his Spirit, that they might perceive and feel the exceeding mercy which we have in Christ, and the innumerable blessings and the unspeakable inheritance, whereto we are called and chosen, and sealed in our Savior Jesus Christ, unto whom be praise for ever. Amen.

Finally: whom God chooseth to reign everlastingly with Christ, him sealeth he with his mighty Spirit, and poureth strength into his heart, to suffer afflictions also with Christ for bearing witness unto the truth. And this is the difference between the children of God and of salvation, and between the children of the devil and of damnation: that the children of God have power in their hearts to suffer for God's word; which is their life and salvation, their hope and trust, and whereby they live in the soul and spirit before God. And the children of the devil in time of adversity fly from Christ, whom they followed feignedly, their hearts not sealed with his holy and mighty Spirit; and get them to the standard of their right father the devil, and take his wages, the pleasures of this world, which are the earnest of everlasting damnation: which conclusion the twelfth chapter to the Hebrews well confirmeth, saying, "My son, despise not thou the chastising of the Lord, neither faint when thou art rebuked of him: for whom the Lord loveth, him he chastiseth; yea, and he scourgeth every son whom he receiveth." Lo, persecution and adversity for the truth's sake is God's scourge, and God's rod, and pertaineth unto all his children indifferently: for when he said, he scourgeth every son, he maketh none exception.

Moreover saith the text: "If ye shall endure chastising, God offereth himself unto you as unto sons. What son is it that the Father chastiseth not? If ye be not under correction, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards, and not sons."

Forasmuch, then, as we must needs be baptised in tribulations, and through the Red sea, and a great and a fearful wilderness, and a land of cruel giants, into our natural country; yea, and inasmuch as it is a plain earnest that there is no other way into the kingdom of life than through persecution, and suffering of pain, and of very death, after the ensample of Christ; therefore let us arm our souls with the comfort of the scriptures: how that God is ever ready at hand, in time of need, to help us; and how that such tyrants and persecutors are but God's scourge, and his rod to chastise us.

And as the father hath alway, in time of correction, the rod fast in his hand, so that the rod doth nothing but as the father moveth it; even so hath God all tyrants in his hand, and letteth them not do whatsoever they would, but as much only as he appointeth them to do, and as far forth as it is necessary for us. And as, when the child submitteth himself unto his father's correction and nurture, and humbleth himself altogether unto the will of his father, then the rod is taken away; even so, when we are come unto the knowledge of the right way, and have forsaken our own will, and offer ourselves clean unto the will of God, to walk which way soever he will have us, then turneth he the tyrants; or else, if they enforce to persecute us any further, he putteth them out of the way, according unto the comfortable ensamples of the scripture.

Moreover, let us arm our souls with the promises both of help and assistance, and also of the glorious reward that followeth. "Great is your reward in heaven," saith Christ, Matthew 5; and, "He that knowledgeth me before men, him will I knowledge before my Father that is in heaven;" and, "Call on me in time of tribulation, and I will deliver thee," Psalm 50; and, "Behold the eyes of the Lord are over them, that fear him, and over them that trust in his mercy, to deliver their souls from death, and to feed them in time of hunger." Psalm 33. And in Psalm 34 saith David: "The Lord is nigh them that are troubled in their hearts, and the meek in spirit will he save. The tribulations of the righteous are many, and out of them all will the Lord deliver them. The Lord keepeth all the bones of them, so that not one of them shall be bruised. The Lord shall redeem the souls of his servants." And of such like consolation are all the psalms full. Would to God when ye read them ye understood them! And, Matthew 10 "When they deliver you, take no thought what ye shall say; it shall be given you the same hour what ye shall say: for it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you." "The very hairs of your head are numbered," saith Christ also, Matthew 10. If God care for our hairs, he much more careth for our souls, which he hath sealed with his holy Spirit. Therefore saith Peter, "Cast all your care upon him; for he careth for you." (1 Peter 5) And Paul, 1 Corinthians 10 saith: "God is true, he will not suffer you to be tempted above your might."

And Psalm 55 "Cast thy care upon the Lord."

Let thy care be to prepare thyself with all thy strength, for to walk which way he will have thee; and to believe that he will go with thee, and assist thee, and strengthen thee against all tyrants, and deliver thee out of all tribulation. But what way, or by what means he will do it, that commit unto him and his godly pleasure and wisdom, and cast that care upon him.

And though it seem never so unlikely, or never so impossible unto natural reason, yet believe stedfastly that he will do it: and then shall he (according to his old use) change the course of the world, even in the twinkling of an eye, and come suddenly upon our giants, as a thief in the night, and compass them in their wiles and worldly wisdom. "When they cry, Peace and all is safe, then shall their sorrows begin, as the pangs of a woman that travaileth with child:" and then shall he destroy them, and deliver thee, unto the glorious praise of his mercy and truth. Amen.

And as pertaining unto them that despise God's word, counting it as a fantasy or a dream; and to them also that for fear of a little persecution fall from it, set this before thine eyes; how God, since the beginning of the world, before a general plague, ever sent his true prophets and preachers of his word, to warn the people, and gave them time to repent. But they, for the greatest part of them, hardened their hearts, and persecuted the word that was sent to save them. And then God destroyed them utterly, and took them clean from the earth. As thou seest what followed the preaching of Noe in the old world; what followed the preaching of Lot among the Sodomites; and the preaching of Moses and Aaron among the Egyptians; and that suddenly, against all possibility of man's wit.

Moreover, as oft as the children of Israel fell from God to the worshipping of images, he sent his prophets unto them; and they persecuted and waxed hard-hearted: and then he sent them into all places of the world captive.

Last of all, he sent his own Son to them, and they waxed more hardhearted than ever before: and see what a fearful example of his wrath and cruel vengeance he hath made of them to all the world, now almost fifteen hundred years.

Unto the old Britons also (which dwelled where our nation doth now) preached Gildas; and rebuked them of their wickedness, and prophesied both to the spiritual (as they will be called) and unto the lay-men also, what vengeance would follow, except they repented. But they waxed hardhearted; and God sent his plagues and pestilences among them, and sent their enemies in upon them on every side, and destroyed them utterly.

Mark also, how Christ threateneth them that forsake him, for whatsoever cause it be; whether for fear, either for shame, either for loss of honor, friends, life, or goods. "He that denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father that is in heaven. He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me." All this he saith Matthew 10. And in Mark 8 he saith: "Whosoever is ashamed of me, or my words, among this adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the Son of Man be ashamed when he cometh in the glory of his Father with his holy angels."

And Luke 9 also: "None that layeth his hand to the plough, and looketh back, is meet for the kingdom of heaven."

Nevertheless yet, if any man have resisted ignorantly, as Paul did, let him look on the truth which Paul wrote after he came to knowledge. Also, if any man clean against his heart (but overcome with the weakness of the flesh), for fear of persecution, have denied, as Peter did, or have delivered his book, or put it away secretly; let him (if he repent,) come again, and take better hold, and not despair, or take it for a sign that God hath forsaken him. For God ofttimes taketh his strength even from his very elect, when they either trust in their own strength, or are negligent to call to him for his strength. And that doth he to teach them, and to make them feel, that in that fire of tribulation, for his word's sake, nothing can endure and abide save his work, and that strength only which he hath promised. For the which strength he will have us to pray unto him night and day, with all instance.

That thou mayest perceive how that the scripture ought to be in the mother tongue, and that the reasons which our spirits make for the contrary, are but sophistry and false wiles to fear thee from the light, that thou mightest follow them blindfold, and be their captive to honor their ceremonies, and to offer to their belly:

First, God gave the children of Israel a law by the hand of Moses in their mother tongue; and all the prophets wrote in their mother tongue, and all the psalms were in the mother tongue. And there was Christ but figured, and described in ceremonies, in riddles, and parables, and in dark prophecies. What is the cause that we may not have the old Testament, with the new also, which is the light of the old, and wherein is openly declared, before the eyes, that which there was darkly prophesied? I can imagine no cause verily, except it be that we should not see the work of antichrist and juggling of

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hypocrites. What should be the cause that we, which walk in the broad day, should not see as well as they that walked in the night; or that we should not see as well at noon, as they did in the twilight? Came Christ to make the world more blind? By this means Christ is the darkness of the world, and not the light, as he saith himself.

Moreover Moses saith, Deuteronomy "Hear, Israel; let these words which I command thee this day stick fast in thine heart, and whet them on thy children, and talk of them as thou sittest in thine house, and as thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up; and bind them for a token to thine hand, and let them be a remembrance between thine eyes, and write them on the posts and gates of thine house."

This was commanded generally unto all men. How cometh it that God's word pertaineth less unto us, than unto them? Yea, how cometh it, that our Moseses forbid us, and command us the contrary; and threaten us if we do, and will not that we once speak of God's word? How can we whet God's word (that is, to put it in practice, use and exercise) upon our children and household, when we are violently kept from it and know it not? How can we (as Peter commandeth) give a reason of our hope; when we wot not what it is that God hath promised, or what to hope? Moses also commandeth in the said chapter, if the son ask what the testimonies, laws, and observances of the Lord mean, that the father teach him. If our children ask what our ceremonies (which are more than the Jews' were) mean; no father can tell his son. And in the eleventh chapter he repeateth all again, for fear of forgetting.

They will say haply, the scripture requireth a pure mind and a quiet mind; and therefore the lay-man, because he is altogether cumbered with worldly business, cannot understand them. If that be the cause, then it is a plain case that our prelates understand not the scriptures themselves: for no layman is so tangled with worldly business as they are. The great things of the world are ministered by them; neither do the lay-people any great thing, but at their assignment. 'If the scripture were in the mother tongue,' they will say, 'then would the lay-people understand it, every man after his own ways.' Wherefore serveth the curate, but to teach him the right way? Wherefore were the holy days made, but that the people should come and learn? Are ye not abominable schoolmasters, in that ye take so great wages, if ye will not teach? If ye would teach, how could ye do it so well, and with so great profit, as when the lay-people have the scripture before them in their mother tongue? For then should they see, by the order of the text, whether thou jugglest or not: and then would they believe it, because it is the scripture of God, though thy living be never so abominable. Where now, because your living and your preaching are so contrary, and because they grope out in every sermon your open and manifest lies, and smell your unsatiable covetousness, they believe you not when you preach truth. But, alas! the curates themselves (for the most part) wot no more what the new or old Testament meaneth, than do the Turks: neither know they of any more than that they read at mass, matins, and evensong, which yet they understand not: neither care they, but even to mumble up so much every day, as the pie and popinjay speak, they wot not what, to fill their bellies withal. If they will not let the lay-man have the word of God in his mother tongue, yet let the priests have it; which for a great part of them do understand no Latin at all, but sing, and say, and patter all day, with the lips only, that which the heart understandeth not.

Christ commandeth to search the scriptures. John 5. Though that miracles bare record unto his doctrine, yet desired he no faith to be given either to his doctrine, or to his miracles, without record of the scripture.

When Paul preached, Acts 17 the other searched the scriptures daily, whether they were as he alleged them. Why shall not I likewise see, whether it be the scripture that thou allegest? Yea, why shall I not see the scripture, and the circumstances, and what goeth before and after; that I may know whether thine interpretation be the right sense, or whether thou jugglest, and drawest the scripture violently unto thy carnal and fleshly purpose; or whether thou be about to teach me, or to deceive me?

Christ saith, that there shall come false prophets in his name, and say that they themselves are Christ; that is, they shall so preach Christ that men must believe in them, in their holiness, and things of their imagination, without God's word: yea, and that Against-Christ, or Antichrist, that shall come, is nothing but such false prophets, that shall juggle with the scripture, and beguile the people with false interpretations, as all the false prophets, scribes, and Pharisees did in the old testament. How shall I know whether ye are that Against-Christ, or false prophets, or no, seeing ye will not let me see how ye allege the scriptures? Christ saith, "By their deeds ye shall know them." Now when we look on your deeds, we see that ye are all sworn together, and have separated yourselves from the lay-people, and have a several kingdom among yourselves, and several laws of your own making; wherewith ye violently bind the lay-people, that never consented unto the making of them. A thousand things forbid ye, which Christ made free; and dispense with them again for money: neither is there any exception at all, but lack of money. Ye have a secret council by yourselves.

All other men's secrets and counsels know yet and no man yours. Ye seek but honor, riches, promotion, authority, and to reign over all, and will obey no man. If the father give you ought of courtesy, ye will compel the son to give it violently, whether he will or not, by craft of your own laws. These deeds are against Christ.

When a whole parish of us hire a schoolmaster to teach our children, what reason is it that we should be compelled to pay this schoolmaster his wages, and he should have license to go where he will, and to dwell in another country, and to leave our children untaught? Doth not the pope so? Have we not given our tithes of courtesy unto one, for to teach us God's word; and cometh not the pope, and compelleth us to pay it violently, to them that never teach? Maketh he not one parson, which never cometh at us? Yea, one shall have five or six, or as many as he can get, and wotteth oftentimes where never one of them standeth. Another is made vicar, to whom he giveth a dispensation to go where he will, and to set in a parish priest, which can but minister a sort of dumb ceremonies. And he, because he hath most labor and least profit, polleth on his part; and setteth here a mass-penny, there a trental, yonder dirige-money, and for his beadroll, with a confession-penny and such like. And thus are we never taught, and are yet nevertheless compelled; yea, compelled to hire many costly schoolmasters. These deeds are verily against Christ. Shall we therefore judge you by your deeds, as Christ commandeth? So are ye false prophets, and the disciples of Antichrist, or Against-Christ.

The sermons which thou readest in the Acts of the apostles, and all that the apostles preached, were no doubt preached in the mother tongue. Why then might they not be written in the mother tongue? As, if one of us preach a good sermon, why may it not be written? Saint Jerom also translated the bible into his mother tongue: why may not we also? They will say it cannot be translated into our tongue, it is so rude. It is not so rude as they are false liars. For the Greek tongue agreeth more with the English than with the Latin. And the properties of the Hebrew tongue agreeth a thousand times more with the English than with the Latin. The manner of speaking is both one; so that in a thousand places thou needest not but to translate it into the English, word for word; when thou must seek a compass in the Latin, and yet shall have much work to translate it well-favoredly, so that it have the same grace and sweetness, sense and pure understanding with it in the Latin, and as it hath in the Hebrew. A thousand parts better may it be translated into the English, than into the Latin. Yea, and except my memory fail me, and that I have forgotten what I read when I was a child, thou shalt find in the English chronicle, how that king Adelstone caused the holy scripture to be translated into the tongue that then was in England, and how the prelates exhorted him thereto. Moreover, seeing that one of you ever preacheth contrary to another; and when two of you meet, the one disputeth and brawleth with the other, as it were two scolds; and forasmuch as one holdeth this doctor, and another that; one followeth Duns, another St Thomas, another Bonaventure, Alexander de Hales, Raymond, Lyre, Brygot, Dorbel, Holcot, Gorram, Trumbett, Hugo de Sancto Victore, De Monte Regio, De Nova Villa, De Media Villa, and such like out of number; so that if thou hadst but of every author one book, thou couldst not pile them up in any warehouse in London, and every author is one contrary unto another. In so great diversity of spirits, how shall I know who lieth, and who sayeth truth? Whereby shall I try and judge them?

Verily by God's word, which only is true. But how shall I that do, when thou wilt not let me see scripture?

Nay, say they, the scripture is so hard, that thou couldst never understand it but by the doctors. That is, I must measure the meteyard by the cloth.

Here be twenty cloths of divers lengths and of divers breadths: how shall I be sure of the length of the meteyard by them? I suppose, rather, I must be first sure of the length of the meteyard, and thereby measure and judge of the cloths. If I must first believe the doctor, then is the doctor first true, and the truth of the scripture dependeth of his truth; and so the truth of God springeth of the truth of man. Thus antichrist turneth the roots of the trees upward. What is the cause that we damn some of Origen's works, and allow some? How know we that some is heresy and some not? By the scripture, I trow. How know we that St Augustine (which is the best, or one of the best, that ever wrote upon the scripture) wrote many things amiss at the beginning, as many other doctors do? Verily, by the scriptures; as he himself well perceived afterward, when he looked more diligently upon them, and revoked many things again. He wrote of many things which he understood not when he was newly converted, ere he had thoroughly seen the scriptures; and followed the opinions of Plato, and the common persuasions of man's wisdom that were then famous.

They will say yet more shamefully, that no man can understand the scriptures without philautia , that is to say, philosophy. A man must be first well seen in Aristotle, ere he can understand the scripture, say they.

Aristotle's doctrine is, that the world was without beginning, and shall be without end; and that the first man never was, and the last shall never be; and that God doth all of necessity, neither careth what we do, neither will ask any accounts of that we do. Without this doctrine, how could we understand the scripture, that saith, God created the world of nought; and God worketh all things of his free will, and for a secret purpose; and that we shall all rise again, and that God will have accounts of all that we have done in this life! Aristotle saith, Give a man a law, and he hath power of himself to do or fulfill the law, and becometh righteous with working righteously. But Paul, and all the scripture saith, That the law doth but utter sin only, and helpeth not: neither hath any man power to do the law, till the Spirit of God be given him through faith in Christ. Is it not a madness then to say, that we could not understand the scripture without Aristotle? Aristotle's righteousness, and all his virtues, spring of man's free will. And a Turk, and every infidel and idolater, may be righteous and virtuous with that righteousness and those virtues. Moreover, Aristotle's felicity and blessedness standeth in avoiding of all tribulations; and in riches, health, honor, worship, friends, and authority; which felicity pleaseth our spiritualty well. Now, without these, and a thousand such like points, couldst thou not understand scripture, which saith, That righteousness cometh by Christ, and not of man's will; and how that virtues are the fruits and the gift of God's Spirit; and that Christ blesseth us in tribulations, persecution, and adversity! How, I say, couldst thou understand the scripture without philosophy, inasmuch as Paul, in the second to the Colossians, warned them to 'beware lest any man should spoil them' (that is to say, rob them of their faith in Christ) 'through philosophy and deceitful vanities, and through the traditions of men, and ordinances after the world, and not after Christ?'

By this means, then, thou wilt that no man teach another; but that every man take the scripture, and learn by himself. Nay, verily, so say I not.

Nevertheless, seeing that ye will not teach, if any man thirst for the truth, and read the scripture by himself, desiring God to open the door of knowledge unto him, God for his truth's sake will and must teach him.

Howbeit, my meaning is, that as a master teacheth his apprentice to know all the points of the mete-yard; first, how many inches, how many feet, and the half-yard, the quarter, and the nail; and then teacheth him to mete other things thereby: even so will I that ye teach the people God's law, and what obedience God requireth of us to father and mother, master, lord, king, and all superiors, and with what friendly love he commandeth one to love another; and teach them to know that natural venom and birth-poison, which moveth the very hearts of us to rebel against the ordinances and will of God; and prove that no man is righteous in the sight of God, but that we are all damned by the law: and then, when thou hast meeked them and feared them with the law, teach them the testament and promises which God hath made unto us in Christ, and how much he loveth us in Christ; and teach them the principles and the ground of the faith, and what the sacraments signify: and then shall the Spirit work with thy preaching, and make them feel. So would it come to pass, that as we know by natural wit what followeth of a true principle of natural reason; even so, by the principles of the faith, and by the plain scriptures, and by the circumstances of the text, should we judge all men's exposition, and all men's doctrine, and should receive the best, and refuse the worst. I would have you to teach them also the properties and manner of speakings of the scripture, and how to expound proverbs and similitudes. And then, if they go abroad and walk by the fields and meadows of all manner doctors and philosophers, they could catch no harm: they should discern the poison from the honey, and bring home nothing but that which is wholesome.

But now do ye clean contrary: ye drive them from God's word, and will let no man come thereto, until he have been two years master of art. First, they nosel them in sophistry, and in benefundatum . And there corrupt they their judgments with apparent arguments, and with alleging unto them texts of logic, of natural philautia , of metaphysic, and moral philosophy, and of all manner books of Aristotle, and of all manner doctors which they yet never saw. Moreover, one holdeth this, another that; one is a Real, another a Nominal. What wonderful dreams have they of their predicaments, universals, second intentions, quiddities , hoecceities , and relatives; and whether species fundata in chimera be vera species ; and whether this proposition be true, Non ens est aliquid ; whether ens be oequivocum , or univocum . Ens is a voice only, say some. Ens is univocum , saith another, and descendeth into ens creatum , and into ens increatum , per modos intrinsecos . When they have thiswise brawled eight, ten, or twelve or more years, and after that their judgments are utterly corrupt, then they begin their divinity; not at the scripture, but every man taketh a sundry doctor; which doctors are as sundry and as divers, the one contrary unto the other, as there are divers fashions and

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monstrous shapes, none like another, among our sects of religion. Every religion, every university, and almost every man, hath a sundry divinity. :Now whatsoever opinions every man findeth with his doctor, that is his gospel, and that only is true with him; and that holdeth he all his life long: and every man, to maintain his doctor withal, corrupteth the scripture, and fashioneth it after his own imagination, as a potter doth his clay. Of what text thou provest hell, will another prove purgatory; another limbo patrum ; and another the assumption of our lady: and another shall prove of the same text that an ape hath a tail. And of what text the gray friar proveth that our lady was without original sin, of the same shall the black friar prove that she was conceived in original sin. And all this do they with apparent reasons, with false similitudes and likenesses, and with arguments and persuasions of man's wisdom. Now there is no other division or heresy in the world save man's wisdom, and when man's foolish wisdom interpreteth the scripture. Man's wisdom scattereth, divideth, and maketh sects; while the wisdom of one is that a white coat is best to serve God in, and another saith a black, and another a gray, another a blue; and while one saith that God will hear your prayer in this place, another saith in that place; and while one saith this place is holier, and another that place is holier; and this religion is holier than that; and this saint is greater with God than that; and an hundred thousand like things. Man's wisdom is plain idolatry: neither is there any other idolatry than to imagine of God after man's wisdom. God is not man's imagination; but that only which he saith of himself. God is nothing but his law and his promises; that is to say, that which he biddeth thee to do, and that which he biddeth thee believe and hope. God is but his word, as Christ saith, John 8 "I am that I say unto you;" that is to say, That which I preach am I; my words are spirit and life.

God is that only which he testifieth of himself; and to imagine any other thing of God than that, is damnable idolatry. Therefore saith the hundred and eighteenth psalm, "Happy are they which search the testimonies of the Lord;" that is to say, that which God testifieth and witnesseth unto us.

But how shall I that do, when ye will not let me have his testimonies, or witnesses, in a tongue which I understand? Will ye resist God? Will ye forbid him to give his Spirit unto the lay as well as unto you? Hath he not made the English tongue? Why forbid ye him to speak in the English tongue then, as well as in the Latin?

Finally, that this threatening and forbidding the lay people to read the scripture is not for the love of your souls (which they care for as the fox doth for the geese), is evident, and clearer than the sun; inasmuch as they permit and suffer you to read Robin Hood, and Bevis of Hampton, Hercules, Hector and Troilus, with a thousand histories and fables of love and wantonness, and of ribaldry, as filthy as heart can think, to corrupt the minds of youth withal, clean contrary to the doctrine of Christ and of his apostles: for Paul saith, "See that fornication, and all uncleanness, or covetousness, be not once named among you, as it becometh saints; neither filthiness, neither foolish talking nor jesting, which are not comely: for this ye know, that no whoremonger, either unclean person, or covetous person, which is the worshipper of images, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God." And after saith he, "Through such things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of unbelief." Now seeing they permit you freely to read those things which corrupt your minds and rob you of the kingdom of God and Christ, and bring the wrath of God upon you, how is this forbidding for love of your souls?

A thousand reasons more might be made, as thou mayest see in Paraclesis Erasmi , and in his preface to the Paraphrase of Matthew , unto which they should be compelled to hold their peace, or to give shameful answers. But I hope that these are sufficient unto them that thirst the truth.

God for his mercy and truth shall well open them more, yea, and other secrets of his godly wisdom, if they be diligent to cry unto him; which grace grant God. Amen.

THE PROLOGUE UNTO THE BOOK.

Forasmuch as our holy prelates and our ghostly religious, which ought to defend God's word, speak evil of it, and do all the shame they can to it, and rail on it; and bear their captives in hand, that it causeth insurrection and teacheth the people to disobey their heads and governors, and moveth them to rise against their princes, and to make all common, and to make havock of other men's goods: therefore have I made this little treatise that followeth, containing all obedience that is of God; in which, whosoever readeth it, shall easily perceive, not the contrary only, and that they lie, but also the very cause of such blasphemy, and what stirreth them so furiously to rage and to belie the truth.

Howbeit it is no new thing unto the word of God to be railed upon, neither is this the first time that hypocrites have ascribed to God's word the vengeance whereof they themselves were ever cause. For the hypocrites with their false doctrine and idolatry have evermore led the wrath and vengeance of God upon the people, so sore that God could no longer forbear, nor defer his punishment. Yet God, which is always merciful, before he would take vengeance, hath ever sent his true prophets and true preachers, to warn the people that they might repent. But the people for the most part, and namely the heads and rulers, through comfort and persuading of the hypocrites, have ever waxed more hard-hearted than before, and have persecuted the word of God and his prophets. Then God, which is also righteous, hath always poured his plagues upon them without delay; which plagues the hypocrites ascribe unto God's word, saying, 'See what mischief is come upon us since this new learning came up, and this new sect, and this new doctrine.' This seest thou, Jeremiah 44 where the people cried to go to their old idolatry again, saying, "Since we left it, we have been in all necessity and have been consumed with war and hunger." But the prophet answered them that their idolatry went unto the heart of God, so that he could no longer suffer the maliciousness of their own imaginations or inventions; and that the cause of all such mischiefs was, because they would not hear the voice of the Lord and walk in his law, ordinances, and testimonies. The scribes and the Pharisees laid also to Christ's charge, Luke 23 that he moved the people to sedition; and said to Pilate, "We have found this fellow perverting the people, and forbidding to pay tribute to Caesar, and saith that he is Christ a king." And again in the same chapter, "He moveth the people," said they, "teaching throughout Jewry, and began at Galilee even to this place." So likewise laid they to the apostles' charge, as thou mayest see in the Acts. St Cyprian also, and St Augustine, and many other more, made works in defense of the word of God against such blasphemies. So that thou mayest see how that it is no new thing, but an old and accustomed thing with the hypocrites, to wite God's word and the true preachers of all the mischief which their lying doctrine is the very cause of.

Neverthelater in very deed, after the preaching of God's word, because it is not truly received, God sendeth great trouble into the world; partly to avenge himself of the tyrants and persecutors of his word, and partly to destroy those worldly people which make of God's word nothing but a cloak of their fleshly liberty. They are not all good that follow the gospel.

Christ (Matthew 13) likeneth the kingdom of heaven unto a net cast into the sea, that catcheth fishes both good and bad. The kingdom of heaven is the preaching of the gospel, unto which come both good and bad.

But the good are few. Christ calleth them therefore a "little flock," Luke 12. For they are ever few that come to the gospel of a true intent, seeking therein nothing but the glory and praise of God, and offering themselves freely and willingly to take adversity with Christ for the gospel's sake, and for bearing record unto the truth, that all men may hear it. The greatest number come, and ever came, and followed even Christ himself, for a worldly purpose: as thou mayest well see (John 6), how that almost five thousand followed Christ, and would also have made him a king, because he had well fed them: whom he rebuked, saying, "Ye seek me not because ye saw the miracles but because ye ate of the bread and were filled"; and drove them away from him with hard preaching.

Even so now, as ever, the most part seek liberty. They be glad when they hear the unsatiable covetousness of the spirituality rebuked; when they hear their falsehood and wiles uttered; when tyranny and oppression is preached against; when they hear how kings and all officers should rule christianly and brotherly, and seek no other thing save the wealth of their subjects; and when they hear that they have no such authority of God so to pill and poll as they do, and to raise up taxes and gatherings to maintain their phantasies, and to make war they wot not for what cause. And therefore, because the heads will not so rule, will they also no longer obey; but resist and rise against their evil heads; and one wicked destroyeth another. Yet is God's word not the cause of this, neither yet the preachers. For though that Christ himself taught all obedience, how that it is not lawful to resist wrong, but for the officer that is appointed thereunto; and how a man must love his very enemy, and pray for them that persecute him, and bless them that curse him; and how that all vengeance must be remitted to God; and that a man must forgive if he will be forgiven of God; yet the people for the most part received it not: they were ever ready to rise, and to fight. For ever when the scribes and Pharisees went about to take Christ, they were afraid of the people. "Not on the holy day," said they, Matthew 26 "lest any rumor arise among the people": and, Matthew 21 "They would have taken him but they feared the people": and Luke 20 Christ asked the Pharisees a question unto which they durst not answer, lest the people should have stoned them.

Last of all: forasmuch as the very disciples and apostles of Christ, after so long hearing of Christ's doctrine, were yet ready to fight for Christ, clean against Christ's teaching, (as Peter, Matthew 26 drew his sword, but was rebuked; and, Luke 9 James and John would have had fire to come from heaven to consume the Samaritans, and to avenge the injury of Christ, but were likewise rebuked;) if Christ's disciples were so long carnal, what wonder is it if we be not all perfect the first day? Yea, inasmuch as we be taught, even of very babes, to kill a Turk, to slay a Jew, to burn an heretic, to fight for the liberties and right of the church, as they call it; yea, and inasmuch as we are brought in belief, if we shed the blood of our even christian, or if the son shed the blood of his father that begat him, for the defense, not of the pope's godhead only, but also for whatsoever cause it be, yea, though it be for no cause, but that his holiness commandeth it only, that we deserve as much as Christ deserved for us, when he died on the cross; or, if we be slain in the quarrel, that our souls go, nay, fly to heaven, and be there ere our blood be cold: inasmuch, I say, as we have sucked in such bloody imaginations into the bottom of our hearts, even with our mother's milk, and have been so long hardened therein; what wonder were it, if, while we be yet young in Christ, we thought that it were lawful to fight for the true word of God? Yea, and though a man were thoroughly persuaded that it were not lawful to resist his king, though he would wrongfully take away life and goods; yet might he think that it were lawful to resist the hypocrites, and to rise, not against his king but with his king, to deliver his king out of bondage and captivity, wherein the hypocrites hold him with wiles and falsehood, so that no man may be suffered to come at him, to tell him the truth.

This seest thou, that it is the bloody doctrine of the pope which causeth disobedience, rebellion and insurrection: for he teacheth to fight and to defend his traditions, and whatsoever he dreameth, with fire, water, and sword; and to disobey father, mother, master, lord, king, and emperor; yea, and to invade whatsoever land or nation, that will not receive and admit his godhead: where the peaceable doctrine of Christ teacheth to obey, and to suffer for the word of God, and to remit the vengeance and the defense of the word to God, which is mighty and able to defend it: which also as soon as the word is once openly preached, and testified, or witnessed unto the world, and when he hath given them a season to repent, is ready at once to take vengeance of his enemies, and shooteth arrows with heads dipt in deadly poison at them; and poureth his plagues from heaven down upon them; and sendeth the murrain and pestilence among them; and sinketh the cities of them; and maketh the earth swallow them; and compasseth them in their wiles; and taketh them in their own traps and snares, and casteth them into the pits which they digged for other men; and sendeth them a dazing in the head; and utterly destroyeth them with their own subtle counsel.

Prepare thy mind therefore unto this little treatise; and read it discreetly; and judge it indifferently. And when I allege any scripture, look thou on the text whether I interpret it right: which thou shalt easily perceive by the circumstance and process of them, if thou make Christ the foundation and the ground, and build all on him, and referrest all to him; and findest also that the exposition agreeth unto the common articles of the faith and open scriptures. And God the Father of mercy, which for his truth's sake raised our Savior Christ up again to justify us, give thee his Spirit, to judge what is righteous in his eyes; and give thee strength to abide by it, and to maintain it with all patience and long-suffering, unto the example and edifying of his congregation, and glory of his name. Amen.

THE OBEDIENCE OF ALL DEGREES PROVED BY GOD'S WORD: AND FIRST OF CHILDREN UNTO THEIR ELDERS.

God, which worketh all in all things, for a secret judgment and purpose, and for his godly pleasure, provided an hour that thy father and mother should come together, to make thee through them. He was present with thee in thy mother's womb, and fashioned thee and breathed life into thee; and, for the great love he had unto thee, provided milk in thy mother's breasts for thee against thou were born; moved also thy father and mother, and all other, to love thee, to pity thee, and to care for thee.

And as he made thee through them, so hath he cast thee under the power and authority of them, to obey and serve them in his stead; saying, "Honour thy father and mother." Exodus 20. Which is not to be understood in bowing the knee, and putting off the cap only, but that thou love them with all thine heart; and fear and dread them, and wait on their commandments; and seek their worship, pleasure, will and profit in all things; and give thy life for them, counting them worthy of all honor; remembering that thou art their good and possession, and that thou owest unto them thine own self, and all thou art able, yea, and more than thou art able to do.

Understand also, that whatsoever thou doest unto them, be it good or bad, thou doest unto God. When thou pleasest them, thou pleasest God; when thou displeasest them, thou displeasest God; when they are angry with thee, God is angry with thee: neither is it possible for thee to come to the favor of God again, no, though all the angels of heaven pray for thee, until thou have submitted thyself unto thy father and mother again.

If thou obey, though it be but carnally, either for fear, for vain glory, or profit, thy blessing shall be long life upon the earth. For he saith, "Honour thy father and mother, that thou mayest live long upon the earth." (Exodus 20) Contrariwise, if thou disobey them, thy life shall be shortened

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upon the earth. For it followeth, Exodus 21 "He that smiteth his father or mother shall be put to death for it. And he that curseth," that is to say, raileth or dishonoreth his father or mother with opprobrious words, "shall be slain for it." And, Deuteronomy "If any man have a son stubborn and disobedient, which heareth not the voice of his father and the voice of his mother, so that they have taught him nurture, and he regardeth them not; then let his father and mother take him, and bring him forth unto the seniors or elders of the city, and unto the gate of the same place: and let them say unto the seniors of that city, This our son is stubborn and disobedient: he will not hearken unto our voice: he is a rioter and a drunkard. Then let all the men of the city stone him with stones unto death: so shall ye put away wickedness from among you, and all Israel shall hear and shall fear." (Deuteronomy 21) And though that the temporal officers (to their own damnation) be negligent in punishing such disobedience, (as the spiritual officers are to teach it,) and wink at it, or look on it through the fingers, yet shall they not escape unpunished. For the vengeance of God shall accompany them (as thou mayest see Deuteronomy 28) with all misfortune and evil luck; and shall not depart from them until they be murdered, drowned, or hanged; either until, by one mischance or another, they be utterly brought to nought. Yea, and the world oftentimes hangeth many a man for that they never deserved: but God hangeth them because they would not obey, and hearken unto their elders; as the consciences of many well find, when they come unto the gallows. There can they preach, and teach other, that which they themselves would not learn in season.

The marriage also of the children pertaineth unto their elders; as thou mayest see 1 Corinthians 7 and throughout all the scripture, by the authority of the said commandment, Child, obey father and mother. Which thing the heathen and gentiles have ever kept, and to this day keep, to the great shame and rebuke of us Christians: inasmuch as the weddings of our virgins (shame it is to speak it) are more like to the saute of a bitch than the marrying of a reasonable creature. See not we daily three or four challenging one woman before the commissary or official, of which not one hath the consent of her father and mother? And yet he that hath most money hath best right, and shall have her in the despite of all her friends and in defiance of God's ordinances. Moreover, when she is given by the judge unto the one party, and also married, even then ofttimes shall the contrary party sue before a higher judge, or another that succeedeth the same, and for money divorce her again. So shamefully doth the covetousness and ambition of our prelates mock with the laws of God. I pass over with silence, how many years they will prolong the sentence with cavillations and subtlety, if they be well monied on both parties; and if a damsel promise two, how shameful counsel they will give the second, and also how the religious of Satan do separate unseparable matrimony. For after thou art lawfully married at the commandment of father and mother, and with the consent of all thy friends; yet if thou wilt be disguised like unto one of them, and swear obedience unto their traditions, thou mayest disobey father and mother, break the oath which thou hast sworn to God before his holy congregation, and withdraw love and charity, the highest of God's commandments, and that duty and service which thou owest unto thy wife; whereof Christ cannot dispense with thee: for Christ is not against God, but with God; and came not to break God's ordinances, but to fulfill them. That is, he came to overcome thee with kindness; and to make thee to do, of very love, the thing which the law compelleth thee to do. For love only, and to do service unto thy neighbor, is the fulfilling of the law in the sight of God. To be a monk or a friar, thou mayest thus forsake thy wife before thou hast lain with her, but not to be a secular priest. And yet, after thou art professed, the pope for money will dispense with thee, both for thy coat and all thy obedience, and make a secular priest of thee: likewise as it is simony to sell a benefice, as they call it, but to resign upon a pension, and then to redeem the same, is no simony at all. O crafty jugglers and mockers with the word of God!

THE OBEDIENCE OF WIVES UNTO THEIR HUSBANDS.

After that Eve was deceived of the serpent, God said unto her, Genesis 3 "Thy lust or appetite shall pertain unto thy husband; and he shall rule thee, or reign over thee." God, which created the woman, knoweth what is in that weak vessel, (as Peter calleth her,) and hath therefore put her under the obedience of her husband, to rule her lusts and wanton appetites. 1 Peter 3 exhorteth wives to "be in subjection to their husbands, after the ensample of the holy women which in old time trusted in God, and as Sara obeyed Abraham and called him lord." Which Sara, before she was married, was Abraham's sister, and equal with him; but, as soon as she was married, was in subjection, and became without comparison inferior: for so is the nature of wedlock, by the ordinance of God. It were much better that our wives followed the ensample of the holy women of old time in obeying their husbands, than to worship them with a Paternoster , an Ave and a Credo , or to stick up candles before their images. Paul, Ephesians 5 saith, "Women, submit yourselves to your own husbands, as to the Lord.

For the husband is the wife's head, even as Christ is the head of the congregation. Therefore, as the congregation is in subjection to Christ, likewise let wives; be in subjection unto their husbands in all things." "Let the woman, therefore, fear her husband," as Paul saith in the said place. For her husband is unto her in the stead of God, that she obey him, and wait on his commandments; and his commandments are God's commandments. If she therefore grudge against him, or resist him, she grudgeth against God, and resisteth God.

THE OBEDIENCE OF SERVANTS UNTO THEIR MASTERS.

"Servants, obey your carnal masters with fear and trembling, in singleness of your hearts, as unto Christ; not with service in the eye-sight as men-pleasers, but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart, with good will, even as though ye served the Lord, and not men." (Ephesians 6) And, 1 Peter "Servants, obey your masters with all fear, not only if they be good and courteous, but also though they be froward. For it cometh of grace, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully. For what praise is it, if when ye be buffetted for your faults, ye take it patiently? But and if when ye do well, ye suffer wrong and take it patiently, then is there thanks with God.

Hereunto, verily, were ye called. For Christ also suffered for our sakes, leaving us an ensample to follow his steps."

In whatsoever kind, therefore, thou art a servant, during the time of thy covenants thy master is unto thee in the stead and room of God; and God through him feedeth thee, clotheth thee, ruleth thee, and learneth thee. His commandments are God's commandments; and thou oughtest to obey him as God, and in all things to seek his pleasure and profit. For thou art his good and possession, as his ox or his horse; insomuch that whosoever doth but desire thee in his heart from him, without his love and license, is condemned of God, which saith, "See thou once covet not thy neighbour's servants." (Exodus 20) Paul the apostle sent home Onesimus unto his master, as thou readest in the epistle of Paul to Philemon: insomuch that, though the said Philemon, with his servant also, was converted by Paul, and owed to Paul, and to the word that Paul preached, not his servant only but also himself; yea, and though that Paul was in necessity, and lacked ministers to minister unto him in the bonds which he suffered for the gospel's sake; yet would he not retain the servant necessary unto the furtherance of the gospel without the consent of the master.

O how sore differeth the doctrine of Christ and his, apostles from the doctrine of the pope and of his apostles! For if any man will obey neither father nor mother, neither lord nor master, neither king nor prince, the same needeth but only to take the mark of the beast, that is, to shave himself a monk, a friar, or a priest, and is then immediately free and exempted from all service and obedience due unto man. He that will obey no man (as they will not) is most acceptable unto them. The more disobedient that thou art, unto God's ordinances, the more apt and meet art thou for theirs. Neither is the professing, vowing, and swearing obedience unto their ordinances, any other thing than the defying, denying, and foreswearing obedience unto the ordinances of God.

THE OBEDIENCE OF SUBJECTS UNTO KINGS, PRINCES, AND RULERS.

"Let every soul submit himself unto the authority of the higher powers.

There is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God.

Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God.

They that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. For rulers are not to be feared for good works, but for evil. Wilt thou be without fear of the power? Do well then, and so shalt thou be praised of the same; for he is the minister of God for thy wealth. But and if thou do evil, then fear: for he beareth not a sword for nought; for he is the minister of God, to take vengeance on them that do evil. Wherefore ye must needs obey; not for fear of vengeance only, but also because of conscience. Even for this cause pay ye tribute: for they are God's ministers serving for the same purpose.

Give to every man therefore his duty: tribute to whom tribute belongeth; custom to whom custom is due; fear to whom fear belongeth; honour to whom honour pertaineth. Owe nothing to any man; but to love one another: for he that loveth another fulfilleth the law. For these commandments, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Thou shalt not desire, and so forth, if there be any other commandment, are all comprehended in this saying, Love thine neighbour as thyself. Love hurteth not his neighbour: therefore is love the fulfilling of the law."

As a father over his children is both lord and judge, forbidding one brother to avenge himself on another, but, if any cause of strife be between them, will have it brought unto himself or his assigns, to be judged and correct; so God forbiddeth all men to avenge themselves, and taketh the authority and office of avenging unto himself; saying, "Vengeance is mine, and I will reward." Deuteronomy 32. Which text Paul allegeth, Romans 12; for it is impossible that a man should be a righteous, an egal or an indifferent judge in his own cause, lusts and appetites so blind us.

Moreover, when thou avengest thyself, thou makest not peace, but stirrest up more debate.

God therefore hath given laws unto all nations, and in all lands hath put kings, governors, and rulers in his own stead, to rule the world through them; and hath commanded all causes to be brought before them, as thou readest Exodus 22 "In all causes (saith he) of injury or wrong, whether it be ox, ass, sheep, or vesture, or any lost thing which another challengeth, let the cause of both parties be brought unto the gods; whom the gods condemn, the same shall pay double unto his neighbour." Mark, the judges are called gods in the scriptures, because they are in God's room, and execute the commandments of God. And in another place of the said chapter Moses chargeth, saying: "See that thou rail not on the gods, neither speak evil of the ruler of thy people." Whosoever therefore resisteth them, resisteth God, for they are in the room of God; and they that resist shall receive the damnation.

Such obedience unto father and mother, master, husband, emperor, king, lords and rulers, requireth God of all nations, yea, of the very Turks and infidels. The blessing and reward of them that keep them is the life of this world, as thou readest, "Keep my ordinances and laws; which if a man keep, he shall live therein." (Leviticus 18) Which text Paul rehearseth Romans 10, proving thereby that the righteousness of the law is but worldly, and the reward thereof is the life of this world: and the curse of them that breaketh them is the loss of this life; as thou seest by the punishment appointed for them.

And whosoever keepeth the law (whether it be for fear, for vain glory, or profit), though no man reward him, yet shall God bless him abundantly, and send him worldly prosperity; as thou readest, Deuteronomy 28, what good blessings accompany the keeping of the law; and as we see the Turks far exceed us Christian men in worldly prosperity, for their just keeping of their temporal laws. Likewise, though no man punish the breakers of the law, yet shall God send his curses upon them till they be utterly brought to nought, as thou readest most terribly even in the same place.

Neither may the inferior person avenge himself upon the superior, or violently resist him, for whatsoever wrong it be. If he do, he is condemned in the deed-doing; inasmuch as he taketh upon him that which belongeth to God only, which saith, "Vengeance is mine, and I will reward." Deuteronomy 32. And Christ saith, Matthew 26 "All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." Takest thou a sword to avenge thyself? So givest thou not room unto God to avenge thee, but robbest him of his most high honor, in that thou wilt not let him be judge over thee.

If any man might have avenged himself upon his superior, that might David most righteously have done upon king Saul, which so wrongfully persecuted David, even for no other cause, than that God had anointed him king, and promised him the kingdom. Yet when God had delivered Saul into the hands of David, that he might have done what he would with him; as thou seest in the first book of Kings, the 24th chapter <112401> , how Saul came into the camp where David was; and David came to him secretly, and cut off a piece of his garment; and as soon as he had done it, his heart smote him, because he had done so much unto his lord: and when his men encouraged him to slay him, he answered, "The Lord forbid it me that I should lay mine hand on him;" neither suffered he his men to hurt him.

When Saul was gone out, David followed him, and shewed him the piece of his garment, and said, "Why believest thou the words of men that say, David goeth about to do thee harm? Perceive and see that there is neither evil nor wickedness in my hand, and that I have not trespassed against thee, and yet thou layest await for my life: God judge between thee and me, and avenge me of thee; but mine hand be not upon thee. As the old proverb saith (saith David), Out of the wicked shall wickedness proceed, but mine hand be not upon thee," meaning that God ever punisheth one wicked by another. And again said David, "God be judge, and judge between thee and me, and behold and plead my cause, and give me judgment or right of thee."

And in the 26th chapter of the same book, when Saul persecuted David again, David came to Saul by night, as he slept and all his men, and took away his spear and a cup of water from his head. Then said Abishai, David's servant, "God hath delivered thee thine enemy into thine hand this day: let me now therefore nail him to the ground with my spear, and give him but even one stripe and no more." David forbad him, saying, "Kill him not; for who (said he) shall lay hands on the Lord's anointed, and be not guilty? The Lord liveth," or by the Lord's life (said he), "he dieth not, except the Lord

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smite him, or that his day be come to die, or else go to battle, and there perish."

Why did not David slay Saul, seeing he was so wicked, not in persecuting David only, but in disobeying God's commandments, and in that he had slain eighty-five of God's priests wrongfully? Verily, for it was not lawful.

For if he had done it, he must have sinned against God; for God hath made the king in every realm judge over all, and over him is there no judge. He that judgeth the king judgeth God; and he that layeth hands on the king layeth hand on God; and he that resisteth the king resisteth God, and damneth God's law and ordinance. If the subjects sin, they must be brought to the king's judgment. If the king sin, he must be reserved unto the judgment, wrath, and vengeance of God. And as it is to resist the king, so is it to resist his officer, which is set, or sent, to execute the king's commandment.

And in the first chapter of the second book of Kings, David commanded the young man to be slain, which brought unto him the crown and bracelet of Saul, and said, to please David withal, that he himself had slain Saul.

And in the fourth chapter of the same book, David commanded those two to be slain which brought unto him the head of Ishbosheth, Saul's son; by whose means yet the whole kingdom returned unto David, according unto the promise of God.

And, Luke 13th, when they shewed Christ of the Galileans, whose blood Pilate mingled with their own sacrifice, he answered, "Suppose ye that these Galileans were sinners above all other Galileans, because they suffered such punishment? I tell you, nay; but except ye repent, ye shall likewise perish." This was told Christ, no doubt, of such an intent as they asked him, "Whether it were lawful to give tribute unto Caesar?" (Matthew 22) For they thought that it was no sin to resist a heathen prince: as few of us would think, if we were under the Turk, that it were sin to rise against him, and to rid ourselves from under his dominion, so sore have our bishops robbed us of the true doctrine of Christ. But Christ condemned their deeds, and also the secret thoughts of all other, that consented thereunto, saying: "Except ye repent, ye shall likewise perish." As who should say, I know that ye are within, in your hearts, such as they were outward in their deeds, and are under the same damnation: except, therefore, ye repent betimes, ye shall break out at the last into like deeds, and likewise perish; as it came afterward to pass.

Hereby seest thou that the king is, in this world, without law; and may at his lust do right or wrong, and shall give accounts but to God only.

Another conclusion is this, that no person, neither any degree, may be exempt from this ordinance of God: neither can the profession of monks and friars, or any thing that the pope or bishops can lay for themselves, except them from the sword of the emperor or kings, if they break the laws. For it is written, "Let every soul submit himself unto the authority of the higher powers." Here is no man except; but all souls must obey. The higher powers are the temporal kings and princes; unto whom God hath given the sword, to punish whosoever sinneth. God hath not given them swords to punish one, and to let another go free, and sin unpunished.

Moreover, with what face durst the spiritualty, which ought to be the light and an ensample of good living unto all other, desire to sin unpunished, or to be excepted from tribute, toll, or custom, that they would not bear pain with their brethren to the maintenance of kings and others, ordained of God to punish sin? "There is no power but of God." By power understand the authority of kings and princes. "The powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth power, resisteth God:" yea, though he be pope, bishop, monk, or friar. "They that resist shall receive unto themselves damnation." Why? For God's word is against them, which will have all men under the power of the temporal sword: for "rulers are not to be feared for good works, but for evil." Hereby seest thou that they that resist the powers, or seek to be exempt from their authority, have evil consciences; and seek liberty to sin unpunished, and to be free from bearing pain with their brethren. "Wilt thou be without fear of the power? So do well, and thou shalt have laud of the same," that is to say, of the ruler. With good living ought the spiritualty to rid themselves from fear of the temporal sword; and not with craft, and with blinding the kings, and bringing the vengeance of God upon them, and in purchasing license to sin unpunished. "For he is the minister of God for thy wealth:" to defend thee from a thousand inconveniences, from thieves, murderers, and them that would defile thy wife, thy daughter, and take from thee all that thou hast, yea, life and all, if thou didst resist. Furthermore, though he be the greatest tyrant in the world, yet is he unto thee a great benefit of God, and a thing wherefore thou oughtest to thank God highly. For it is better to have somewhat, than to be clean stript out of all together. It is better to pay the tenth than to lose all. It is better to suffer one tyrant than many, and to suffer wrong of one than of every man. Yea, and it is better to have a tyrant unto thy king than a shadow; a passive king that doth nought himself, but suffereth others to do with him what they will, and to lead him whither they list. For a tyrant, though he do wrong unto the good, yet he punisheth the evil, and maketh all men obey, neither suffereth any man to poll but himself only. A king that is soft as silk, and effeminate, that is to say, turned into the nature of a woman, — what with his own lusts, which are as the longing of a woman with child, so that he cannot resist them, and what with the wily tyranny of them that ever rule him, — shall be much more grievous unto the realm than a right tyrant. Read the chronicles, and thou shalt find it ever so. "But and if thou do evil, then fear; for he beareth not a sword for nought: for he is the minister of God, to take vengeance on them that do evil." If the office of princes, given them of God, be to take vengeance of evil doers; then, by this text and God's word, are all princes damned, even as many as give liberty or license unto the spiritualty to sin unpunished; and not only to sin unpunished themselves, but also to open sanctuaries, privileged places, churchyards, St. John's hold; yea, and if they come too short unto all these, yet to set forth a neck-verse to save all manner trespassers from the fear of the sword of the vengeance of God, put in the hands of princes to take vengeance on all such. GOD requireth the law to be kept of all men, let them keep it for whatsoever purpose they will. Will they not keep the law? So vouchsafeth he not that they enjoy this temporal life. Now are there three natures of men: one altogether beastly; which in no wise receive the law in their hearts, but rise against princes and rulers, whensoever they are able to make their party good. These are signified by them that worshipped the golden calf: for Moses brake the tables of the law, ere he came at them.

The second are not so beastly, but receive the law; and unto them the law cometh; but they look not Moses in the face: for his countenance is too bright for them; that is, they understand not that the law is spiritual, and requireth the heart. They look on the pleasure, profit, and promotion that followeth the keeping of the law, and in respect of the reward keep they the law outwardly with works, but not in the heart. For if they might obtain like honor, glory, promotion and dignity, and also avoid all inconveniences, if they broke the law, so would they also break the law, and follow their lusts.

The third are spiritual, and look Moses in the open face; and are, as Paul saith, the second to the Romans, "a law unto themselves;" and have the law written in their hearts by the Spirit of God. These need neither of king nor officers to drive them, neither that any man proffer them any reward for to keep the law; for they do it naturally.

The first work for fear of the sword only: the second for reward: the third work for love freely. They look on the exceeding mercy, love, and kindness, which God hath showed them in Christ; and therefore love again, and work freely. Heaven they take of the free gift of God, through Christ's descryings; and hope, without all manner doubting, that God, according to his promise, will in this world also defend them, and do all things for them, of his goodness, and for Christ's sake, and not for any goodness that is in them. They consent unto the law, that it is holy and just; and that all men ought to do whatsoever God commandeth, for no other cause but because God commandeth it. And their great sorrow is, because that there is no strength in their members to do that which their heart lusteth to do, and is athirst to do.

These of the last sort keep the law of their own accord, and that in the heart; and have professed perpetual war against the lusts and appetites of the flesh, till they be utterly subdued: yet not through their own strength, but, knowing and knowledging their weakness, cry ever for strength to God, which hath promised assistance unto all that call upon him. These follow God, and are led of his Spirit. The other two are led of lusts and appetites.

Lusts and appetites are divers and many, and that in one man; yea, and one lust contrary to another, and the greatest lust carrieth a man altogether away with him. We are also changed from one lust to another: otherwise are we disposed, when we are children; otherwise when we are young men; and otherwise when we are old; otherwise over even, and otherwise in the morning: yea, sometimes altered six times in an hour. How fortuneth all this? Because that the will of man followeth the wit, and is subject unto the wit; and as the wit erreth, so does the will; and as the wit is in captivity, so is the will; neither is it possible that the will should be free, where the wit is in bondage.

That thou mayest perceive and feel the thing in thine heart, and not be a vain sophister, disputing about words without perceiving; mark this. The root of all evil, the greatest damnation and most terrible wrath and vengeance of God that we are in, is natural blindness. We are all out of the right way, every man his ways: one judgeth this best, and another that to be best. Now is worldly wit nothing else but craft and subtlety, to obtain that which we judge falsely to be best. As I err in my wit, so err I in my will.

When I judge that to be evil which indeed is good, then hate I that which is good. And when I suppose that good which is evil indeed, then love I evil.

As, if I be persuaded, and borne in hand, that my most friend is mine enemy, then hate I my best friend: and if I be brought in belief that my most enemy is my friend, then love I my most enemy. Now when we say, every man hath his free will, to do what him lusteth, I say, verily, that men do what they lust. Notwithstanding, to follow lusts is not freedom, but captivity and bondage. If God open any man's wits, to make him feel in his heart that lusts and appetites are damnable, and give him power to hate and resist them; then is he free, even with the freedom wherewith Christ maketh free, and hath power to do the will of God.

Thou mayest hereby perceive, that all that is done in the world before the Spirit of God come, and giveth us light, is damnable sin; and the more glorious, the more damnable; so that that which the world counteth most glorious is more damnable, in the sight of God, than that which the whore, the thief, and the murderer do. With blind reasons of worldly wisdom mayest thou change the minds of youth, and make them give themselves to what thou wilt, either for fear, for praise, or for profit; and yet dost but change them from one vice to another: as the persuasions of her friends made Lucrece chaste. Lucrece believed if she were a good housewife and chaste, that she should be most glorious; and that all the world would give her honor, and praise her. She sought her own glory in her chastity, and not God's. When she had lost her chastity, then counted she herself most abominable in the sight of all men; and for very pain and thought which she had, not that she had displeased God, but that she had lost her honor, slew herself. Look how great her pain and sorrow was for the loss of her chastity, so great was her glory and rejoicing therein, and so much despised she them that were otherwise, and pitied them not: which pride God more abhorreth than the whoredom of any whore. Of like pride are all the moral virtues of Aristotle, Plato, and Socrates, and all the doctrine of the philosophers, the very gods of our school-men.

In like manner is it for the most part of our most holy religions. For they of like imagination do things which they of Bedlam may see that they are but madness. They look on the miracles which God did by the saints, to move the unbelieving unto the faith, and to confirm the truth of his promises in Christ, whereby all that believe are made saints; as thou seest in the last chapter of Mark. "They preached," saith he, "every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming their preaching with miracles that followed." And in the fourth of the Acts the disciples prayed that God would stretch forth his hands, to do miracles and wonders in the name of Jesus. And Paul 1 Corinthians 14 saith, that the miracle of speaking with divers tongues is but a sign for unbelievers, and not for them that believe. These miracles turn they to another purpose, saying in their blind hearts, See what miracles God hath shewed for this saint; he must be verily great with God! — and at once turn themselves from God's word, and put their trust and confidence in the saint and his merits; and make an advocate, or rather a god of the saint; and of their blind imagination make a testament, or bond, between the saint and them, the testament of Christ's blood clean forgotten. They look on the saints' garments and lives, or rather lies which men lie on the saints, and this-wise imagine in their hearts, saying: The saint for wearing such a garment, and for such deeds, is become so glorious in heaven. If I do likewise, so shall I be also. They see not the faith and trust which the saints had in Christ, neither the word of God which the saints preached; neither the intent of the saints, how that the saints did such things to tame their bodies, and to be an ensample to the world, and to teach that such things are to be despised which the world most wondereth at and magnifieth. They see not also that some lands are so hot that a man can neither drink wine nor eat flesh therein; neither consider they the complexion of the saints; and a thousand like things see they not. So when they have killed their bodies, and brought them in that case that scarce with any restorative they can recover their health again, yet had they lever die than to eat flesh. Why? for they think, I have now this twenty, thirty, or forty years eaten no flesh; and have obtained, I doubt not, by this time as high a room as the best of them: should I now lose that? nay, I had lever die. And as Lucretia had lever have been slain, if he had not been too strong for her, than to have lost her glory, even so had these. They ascribe heaven unto their imaginations and mad inventions; and receive it not of the liberality of God, by the merits and descryings of Christ.

He now that is renewed in Christ, keepeth the law without any law written, or compulsion of any ruler or officer, save by the leading of the Spirit only.

But the natural man is enticed and moved to keep the law carnally, with carnal reasons and worldly persuasions, as for glory, honor, riches, and dignity. But the last remedy of all, when all other fail, is fear. Beat one, and the rest will abstain for fear: as Moses ever putteth in remembrance, saying, Kill, stone, burn; so shall thou put evil from thee, and all Israel shall hear and fear, and shall no more do so. If fear help not, then will God that they be taken out of this life.

Kings were ordained then, as I before said, and the sword put in their hands, to take vengeance of evil-doers, that other might fear: and were not ordained to fight one against another, or to rise against the emperor to defend the false

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authority of the pope, that very antichrist. Bishops, they only can minister the temporal sword; their office, the preaching of God's word, laid apart, which they will neither do, nor suffer any man to do, but slay with the temporal sword, which they have gotten out of the hand of all princes, them that would. The preaching of God's word is hateful and contrary unto them. Why? For it is impossible to preach Christ, except thou preach against antichrist; that is to say, them which with their false doctrine and violence of sword enforce to quench the true doctrine of Christ. And as thou canst heal no disease, except thou begin at the root; even so canst thou preach against no mischief, except thou begin at the bishops. Kings, they are but shadows; vain names and things idle, having nothing to do in the world, but when our holy father needeth their help.

The pope, contrary unto all conscience and against all the doctrine of Christ, which saith, "My kingdom is not of this world," (John 18) hath usurped the right of the emperor; and by policy of the bishops of Almany, and with corrupting the electors, or choosers of the emperor with money, bringeth to pass that such a one is ever chosen emperor that is not able to make his party good with the pope. To stop the emperor that he come not at Rome, he bringeth the French king up to Milan; and on the other side bringeth he the Venetians. If the Venetians come too nigh, the bishops of France must bring in the French king. And the Socheners are called and sent for to come and succor. And for their labor he giveth to some a rose; to another a cap of maintenance. One is called Most Christian King; another, Defender of the faith; another, The eldest son of the most holy seat. He blaseth also the arms of other; and putteth in the holy cross, the crown of thorn, or the nails, and so forth. If the French king go too high, and creep up either to Bononia or Naples; then must our English bishops bring in our king. The craft of the bishops is to entitle one king with another's realm. He is called king of Denmark and of England; he, king of England and of France, Then, to blind the lords and the commons, the king must challenge his right. Then must the land be taxed and every man pay, and the treasure borne out of the realm, and the land beggared. How many a thousand men's lives hath it cost! And how many a hundred thousand pounds hath it carried out of the realm in our remembrance! Besides, how abominable an example of gathering was there! such verily as never tyrant since the world began did, yea, such as was never before heard or thought on, neither among Jews, Saracens, Turks, or heathen, since God created the sun to shine; that a beast should break up into the temple of God, that is to say, into the heart and consciences of men, and compel them to swear every man what he was worth, to lend that should never be paid again. How many thousands forsware themselves! How many thousands set themselves above their ability, partly for fear lest they should be forsworn, and partly to save their credence! When the pope hath his purpose, then is peace made, no man wotteth how; and our most enemy is our most friend.

Now because the emperor is able to obtain his right, French, English, Venetians and all must upon him. O great whore of Babylon, how abuseth she the princes of the world! how drunk hath she made them with her wine! How shameful licenses doth she give them, to use necromancy, to hold whores, to divorce themselves, to break the faith and promises that one maketh with another; that the confessors shall deliver unto the king the confession of whom he will, and dispenseth with them even of the very law of God; which Christ himself cannot do!

AGAINST THE POPE'S FALSE POWER.

Matthew 26, Christ saith unto Peter, "Put up thy sword into his sheath; for all that lay hand upon the sword shall perish with the sword:" that is, whosoever without the commandment of the temporal officer, to whom God hath given the sword, layeth hand on the sword to take vengeance, the same deserveth death in the deed-doing. God did not put Peter only under the temporal sword, but also Christ himself; as it appeareth in the fourth chapter to the Galatians. And Christ saith, Matthew 3 "Thus becometh it us to fulfill all righteousness," that is to say, all ordinances of God. If the head be then under the temporal sword, how can the members be excepted? If Peter sinned in defending Christ against the temporal sword, (whose authority and ministers the bishops then abused against Christ, as ours do now,) who can excuse our prelates of sin, which will obey no man, neither king nor emperor? Yea, who can excuse from sin either the kings that give, either the bishops that receive such exemptions, contrary to God's ordinances and Christ's doctrine?

And, Matthew 27th, both Christ and also Peter pay tribute; where the meaning of Christ's question unto Peter is, if princes take tribute of strangers only and not of their children, then verily ought I to be free, which am the Son of God, whose servants and ministers they are, and of whom they have their authority. Yet because they neither knew that, neither Christ came to use that authority, but to be our servant, and to bear our burden, and to obey all ordinances, both in right and wrong, for our sakes, and to teach us; therefore said he to St Peter, "Pay for thee and me, lest we offend them." Moreover, though that Christ and Peter, because they were poor, might have escaped, yet would he not, for fear of offending other and hurting their consciences. For he might well have given occasion unto the tribute-gatherers to have judged amiss both of him and his doctrine; yea, and the Jews might happily have been offended thereby, and have thought that it had not been lawful for them to have paid tribute unto heathen princes and idolaters, seeing that he, so great a prophet, paid not. Yea, and what other thing causeth the lay so little to regard their princes, as that they see them both despised and disobeyed of the spiritualty? But our prelates, which care for none offending of consciences, and less for God's ordinances, will pay nought. But when princes must fight in our most holy father's quarrel, and against Christ, then are they the first. There also is none so poor, that then hath not somewhat to give.

Mark here, how past all shame our school-doctors are, (as Rochester is in his sermon against Martin Luther,) which of this text of Matthew dispute that Peter, because he paid tribute, is greater than the other apostles, and hath more authority and power than they, and was head unto them all: contrary unto so many clear texts, where Christ rebuketh them, saying, That is a heathenish thing that one should climb above another, or desire to be greater. To be great in the kingdom of heaven is to be a servant; and he that most humbleth himself, and becometh a servant to other, (after the ensample of Christ, I mean, and his apostles, and not of the pope and his apostles, our cardinals and bishops,) the same is greatest in that kingdom. If Peter in paying tribute became greatest, how cometh it that they will pay none at all? But to pay tribute is a sign of subjection verily; and the cause, why Christ paid, was because he had a household, and for the same cause paid Peter also: for he had a house, a ship and nets, as thou readest in the gospel.

But let us go to Paul again. "Wherefore ye must needs obey, not for fear of vengeance only, but also because of conscience." That is, though thou be so naughty, as now many years our pope and prelates every where are, that thou needest not to obey the temporal sword for fear of vengeance; yet must thou obey because of conscience. First, because of thine own conscience. For though thou be able to resist, yet shalt thou never have a good conscience, as long as God's word, law, and ordinance are against thee. Secondarily, for thy neighbor's conscience. For though through craft and violence thou mightest escape, and obtain liberty or privilege to be free from all manner duties; yet oughtest thou neither to sue or to seek for any such thing, neither yet admit or accept, if it were proffered, lest thy freedom make thy weak brother to grudge and rebel, in that he seeth thee go empty, and he himself more laden, thy part also laid on his shoulders.

Seest thou not, if a man favor one son more than another, or one servant more than another, how all the rest grudge; and how love, peace, and unity is broken? What christianly love is in thee to thy neighbor-ward, when thou canst find in thy heart to go up and down empty by him all day long, and see him over-charged, yea, to fall under his burden, and yet will not once set to thine hand to help him? What good conscience can there be among our spiritualty, to gather so great treasure together, and with hypocrisy of their false learning to rob almost every man of house and lands; and yet not therewith content, but with all craft and wiliness to purchase so great liberties, and exemptions from all manner bearing with their brethren, seeking in Christ nothing but lucre? I pass over with silence how they teach princes in every land to lade new exactions and tyranny on their subjects, more and more daily; neither for what purpose they do it, say I. God, I trust, shall shortly disclose their juggling, and bring their falsehood to light; and lay a medicine to them, to make their scabs break out. Nevertheless this I say, that they have robbed all realms, not of God's word only, but also of all wealth and prosperity; and have driven peace out of all lands, and withdrawn themselves from all obedience to princes, and have separated themselves from the lay-men, counting them viler than dogs; and have set up that great idol, the whore of Babylon, antichrist of Rome, whom they call pope; and have conspired against all common-wealths, and have made them a several kingdom, wherein it is lawful, unpunished, to work all abomination. In every parish have they spies, and in every great man's house, and in every tavern and alehouse. And through confessions know they all secrets, so that no man may open his mouth to rebuke whatsoever they do, but that he shall be shortly made a heretic. In all councils is one of them; yea, the most part and chief rulers of the councils are of them: but of their council is no man. "Even for this cause pay ye tribute," that is to wit, for conscience' sake to thy neighbor, and for the cause that followeth: "For they are God's ministers, serving for the same purpose." Because God will so have it, we must obey. We do not look (if we have Christ's Spirit in us) what is good, profitable, glorious and honorable for us; neither on our own will, but on God's will only. "Give to every man therefore his duty; tribute to whom tribute belongeth; custom to whom custom is due; fear to whom fear belongeth; honour to whom honour pertaineth."

That thou mightest feel the working of the Spirit of God in thee, and lest the beauty of the deed should deceive thee, and make thee think that the law of God, which is spiritual, were content and fulfilled with the outward and bodily deed, it followeth: "Owe nothing to any man, but to love one another: for he that loveth another fulfilleth the law. For these commandments, Thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not bear false witness, thou shalt not desire, and so forth, if there be any other commandment, are all comprehended or contained in this saying, Love thy neighbour: therefore is love the fulfilling of the law." Here hast thou sufficient against all the sophisters, work-holy, and justifiers, in the world; which so magnify their deeds. The law is spiritual, and requireth the heart; and is never fulfilled with the deed, in the sight of God. With the deed thou fulfillest the law before the world, and livest thereby; that is, thou enjoyest this present life, and avoidest the wrath and vengeance, the death and punishment, which the law threateneth to them that break it. But before God thou keepest the law if thou love only.

Now what shall make us love? Verily, that shall faith do. If thou behold how much God loveth thee in Christ, and from what vengeance he hath delivered thee for his sake, and of what kingdom he hath made thee heir; then shalt thou see cause enough to love thy very enemy without respect of reward, either in this life or in the life to come, but because that God will so have it, and Christ hath deserved it: yet thou shouldest feel in thine heart that all thy deeds to come are abundantly recompensed already in Christ.

Thou wilt say haply, If love fulfill the law, then it justifieth. I say that that wherewith a man fulfilleth the law declareth him justified; but that which giveth him wherewith to fulfill the law, justifieth him. By justifying, understand the forgiveness of sins and the favor of God. Now saith the text, Romans 10 "The end of the law," or the cause wherefore the law was made, "is Christ, to justify all that believe:" that is, the law is given to utter sin, to kill the consciences, to damn our deeds, to bring to repentance, and to drive unto Christ; in whom God hath promised his favor, and forgiveness of sin, unto all that repent and consent to the law that it is good. If thou believe the promises, then doth God's truth justify thee, that is, forgiveth thee, and receiveth thee to favor, for Christ's sake. In a surety whereof, and to certify thine heart, he sealeth thee with the Spirit. Ephesians 1 and Ephesians 4. And (2 Corinthians 5) saith Paul, "Which gave us his Spirit in earnest." Now the Spirit is given us through Christ. Read the 8th chapter of the epistle to the Romans, and Galatians 3 and 2 Corinthians 3. Nevertheless the Spirit, and his fruits, wherewith the heart is purified, as faith, hope, love, patience, longsuffering, and obedience, could never be seen without outward experience.

For if thou were not brought sometime into cumbrance, whence God only could deliver thee, thou shouldest never see thy faith; yea, except thou foughtest sometime against desperation, hell, death, sin, and powers of this world, for thy faith's sake, thou shouldest never know true faith from a dream. Except thy brother now and then offended thee, thou couldest not know whether thy love were godly. For a Turk is not angry, till he be hurt and offended. But if thou love him that doth thee evil, then is thy love of God. Likewise if thy rulers were alway kind, thou shouldest not know whether thine obedience were pure or no; but and if thou canst patiently obey evil rulers in all thing that is not to the dishonor of God, and when thou hurtest not thy neighbors, then art thou sure that God's Spirit worketh in thee, and that thy faith is no dream, nor any false imagination.

Therefore counselleth Paul, "Recompense to no man evil. And on your part have peace with all men. Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but give room unto the wrath of God: for it is written, Vengeance is mine, and I will reward, saith the Lord. Therefore, if thy enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for in so doing, thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head," that is, thou shalt kindle love in him. "Be not overcome of evil;" (Romans 12) that is, let not another man's wickedness make thee wicked also. "But overcome evil with good;" that is, with softness, kindness, and all patience win him; even as God with kindness won thee.

The law was given in thunder, lightning, fire, smoke, and the noise of a trumpet and terrible sight; so that the people quaked for fear, and stood afar off, saying to Moses, "Speak thou to us, and we will hear: let not the Lord speak unto us, lest we die." No ear, if it be awaked and understandeth the meaning, is able to abide the voice of the law, except the promises of mercy be by. That thunder, except the rain of mercy be joined with it, destroyeth all, and buildeth not. The law is a witness against us, and testifieth that God abhorreth the sins that are in us, and us for our sins' sake.

In like manner, when God gave the people of Israel a king, it thundered and rained, that the people feared so sore, that they cried to Samuel for to pray for them that they should not die. As the law is a terrible thing, even so is the king: for he is ordained to take vengeance, and hath a sword in his hand, and not peacocks' feathers. Fear him, therefore, and look on him as thou wouldest look on a sharp sword that hanged over thy head by a hair.

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Heads and governors are ordained of God, and are even the gift of God, whether they be good or bad. And whatsoever is done to us by them, that doth God, be it good or bad. If they be evil, why are they evil? Verily, for our wickedness' sake are they evil; because that when they were good, we would not receive that goodness of the hand of God, and be thankful, submitting ourselves unto his laws and ordinances; but abused the goodness of God unto our sensual and beastly lusts. Therefore doth God make his scourge of them, and turn them to wild beasts, contrary to the nature of their names and offices, even into lions, bears, foxes, and unclean swine, to avenge himself of our unnatural and blind unkindness, and of our rebellious disobedience.

In the 107th Psalm thou readest, "He destroyed the rivers, and dried up the springs of water, and turned the fruitful land into barrenness, for the wickedness of the inhabiters therein." When the children of Israel had forgotten God in Egypt, God moved the hearts of the Egyptians to hate them, and to subdue them with craft and wiliness. <19A401> Psalm 104. And Deuteronomy 3 Moses rehearseth, saying, "God was angry with me for your sakes." So that the wrath of God fell on Moses for the wickedness of the people. And in the second chapter of the second book of Kings, God was angry with the people, and moved David to number them; when Joab and the other lords wondered why he would have them numbered; and, because they feared lest some evil should follow, dissuaded the king; yet it holp not. God so hardened his heart in his purpose, to have an occasion to slay the wicked people. Evil rulers then are a sign that God is angry and wroth with us. Is it not a great wrath and vengeance, that the father and mother should hate their children, even their flesh and their blood? or that an husband should be unkind unto his wife, or a master unto the servant that waiteth on his profit? or that lords and kings should be tyrants unto their subjects and tenants, which pay them tribute, toll, custom, and rent, laboring and toiling to find them in honor, and to maintain them in their estate? Is not this a fearful judgment of God, and a cruel wrath, that the very prelates and shepherds of our souls, which were wont to feed Christ's flock with Christ's doctrine, and to walk before them in living thereafter, and to give their lives for them, to their ensample and edifying, and to strengthen their weak faiths, are now so sore changed, that if they smell that one of their flock (as they now call them, and no longer Christ's) do but once long or desire for the true knowledge of Christ, they will slay him, burning him with fire most cruelly? What is the cause of this; and that they also teach false doctrine, confirming it with lies? Verily, it is the hand of God, to avenge the wickedness of them that have no love nor lust unto the truth of God, when it is preached, but rejoice in unrighteousness. As thou mayest see in the second epistle of Paul to the Thessalonians, where he speaketh of the coming of antichrist: "Whose coming shall be," saith he, "by the working of Satan, with all miracles, signs and wonders, which are but lies, and in all deceivable unrighteousness among them that perish, because they received not any love to the truth to have been saved. Therefore shall God send them strong delusion, to believe lies." Mark how God, to avenge his truth, sendeth to the unthankful false doctrine and false miracles, to confirm them, and to harden their hearts in the false way, that afterward it shall not be possible for them to admit the truth: as thou seest in Exodus 7 and Exodus 8, how God suffered false miracles to be showed in the sight of Pharaoh, to harden his heart, that he should not believe the truth; inasmuch as his sorcerers turned their rods into serpents, and turned water into blood, and made frogs by their enchantment: so thought he that Moses did all his miracles by the same craft, and not by the power of God, and abode therefore in unbelief, and perished in resisting God.

Let us receive all things of God, whether it be good or bad: let us humble ourselves under his mighty hand, and submit ourselves unto his nurture and chastising, and not withdraw ourselves from his correction. Read Hebrews 12 for thy comfort; and let us not take the staff by the end, or seek to avenge ourselves on his rod, which is the evil rulers. The child, as long as he seeketh to avenge himself upon the rod, hath an evil heart; for he thinketh not that the correction is right, or that he hath deserved it, neither repenteth, but rejoiceth in his wickedness: and so long shall he never be without a rod: yea, so long shall the rod be made sharper and sharper. If he knowledge his fault and take the correction meekly, and even kiss the rod, and amend himself with the learning and nurture of his father and mother, then is the rod taken away and burnt.

So, if we resist evil rulers, seeking to set ourselves at liberty, we shall, no doubt, bring ourselves into more evil bondage, and wrap ourselves in much more misery and wretchedness. For if the heads overcome, then lay they more weight on their backs, and make their yoke sorer, and tie them shorter. If they overcome their evil rulers, then make they way for a more cruel nation, or for some tyrant of their own nation, which hath no right unto the crown. If we submit ourselves unto the chastising of God, and meekly knowledge our sins for which we are scourged, and kiss the rod, and amend our living; then will God take the rod away, that is, he will give the rulers a better heart. Or if they continue their malice and persecute you for well-doing, and because ye put your trust in God, then will God deliver you out of their tyranny for his truth's sake. It is the same God now that was in the old time, and delivered the fathers and the prophets, the apostles, and other holy saints. And whatsoever he sware to them he hath sworn to us. And as he delivered them out of all temptation, cumbrance, and adversity, because they consented and submitted themselves unto his will, and trusted in his goodness and truth; even so will he do to us, if we do likewise.

Whensoever the children of Israel fell from the way which God commanded them to walk in, he gave them up under one tyrant or another.

As soon as they came to the knowledge of themselves, and repented, crying for mercy, and leaning unto the truth of his promises, he sent one to deliver them, as the histories of the bible make mention.

A christian man, in respect of God, is but a passive thing; a thing that suffereth only, and doth nought; as the sick, in respect of the surgeon or physician, doth but suffer only. The surgeon lanceth and cutteth out the dead flesh, searcheth the wounds, thrusteth in tents, seareth, burneth, seweth or stitcheth, and layeth to caustics, to draw out the corruption; and, last of all, layeth to healing plaisters, and maketh it whole. The physician likewise giveth purgations and drinks to drive out the disease, and then with restoratives bringeth health. Now if the sick resist the razor, the searching iron, and so forth, doth he not resist his own health, and is cause of his own death? So likewise is it of us, if we resist evil rulers, which are the rod and scourge wherewith God chastiseth us; the instruments wherewith God searcheth our wounds; and bitter drinks to drive out the sin and to make it appear, and caustics to draw out by the roots the core of the pocks of the soul that fretteth inward. A christian man, therefore, receiveth all things of the hand of God, both good and bad, both sweet and sour, both wealth and woe. If any person do me good, whether it be father, mother, and so forth, that receive I of God, and to God give thanks: for he gave wherewith, and gave a commandment, and moved his heart so to do.

Adversity also receive I of the hand of God, as a wholesome medicine, though it be somewhat bitter. Temptation and adversity do both kill sin, and also utter it. For though a christian man knoweth every thing how to live, yet is the flesh so weak, that he can never take up his cross himself, to kill and mortify the flesh: he must have another to lay it on his back. In many also sin lieth hid within, and festereth and rotteth inward, and is not seen; so that they think how they are good and perfect, and keep the law: as the young man, Matthew 19 said, he had observed all of a child; and yet lied falsely in his heart, as the text following well declareth. When all is at peace, and no man troubleth us, we think that we are patient and love our neighbors as ourselves; but let our neighbor hurt us in word or deed, and then find we it otherwise. Then fume we, and rage, and set up the bristles, and bend ourselves to take vengeance. If we loved with godly love, for Christ's kindness' sake, we should desire no vengeance; but pity him, and desire God to forgive and amend him, knowing well that no flesh can do otherwise than sin, except that God preserve him. Thou wilt say, What good doth such persecution and tyranny unto the righteous? First, it maketh them feel the working of God's Spirit in them, and that their faith is unfeigned. Secondarily, I say that no man is so great a sinner, if he repent and believe, but that he is righteous in Christ and in the promises: yet if thou look on the flesh, and unto the law, there is no man so perfect that is not found a sinner; nor any man so pure that hath not somewhat to be yet purged. This shall suffice at this time as concerning obedience.

Because that God excludeth no degree from his mercy; but whosoever repenteth, and believeth his promises, (of whatsoever degree he be of,) the same shall be partaker of his grace; therefore, as I have described the obedience of them that are under power and rule, even so will I, with God's help, (as my duty is,) declare how the rulers, which God shall vouchsafe to call unto the knowledge of the truth, ought to rule.

THE OFFICE OF A FATHER, AND HOW HE SHOULD RULE.

"Fathers, move not your children unto wrath, but bring them up in the nurture and information of the Lord." (Ephesians 6) and (Colossians 3) "Fathers, rate not your children, lest they be of desperate mind;" that is, lest you discourage them. For where the fathers and mothers are wayward, hasty and churlish, ever brawling and chiding, there are the children anon discouraged and heartless, and apt for nothing; neither can they do any thing aright. "Bring them up in the nurture and information of the Lord." Teach them to know Christ, and set God's ordinance before them, saying, 'Son, or daughter, God hath created thee and made thee, through us thy father and mother; and at his commandment have we so long thus kindly brought thee up, and kept thee from all perils: he hath commanded thee also to obey us, saying, Child, obey thy father and mother. If thou meekly obey, so shalt thou grow both in the favor of God and man, and knowledge of our Lord Christ. If thou wilt not obey us at his commandment, then are we charged to correct thee; yea, and if thou repent not, and amend thyself, God shall slay thee by his officers, or punish thee everlastingly.' Nurture them not worldly, and with worldly wisdom, saying, 'Thou shalt come to honor, dignity, promotion, and riches; thou shalt be better than such and such; thou shalt have three or four benefices, and be a great doctor or a bishop, and have so many men waiting on thee, and do nothing but hawk and hunt, and live at pleasure; thou shalt not need to sweat, to labor, or to take any pain for thy living,' and so forth; filling them full of pride, disdain, and ambition, and corrupting their minds with worldly persuasions. Let the fathers and mothers mark how they themselves were disposed at all ages; and by experience of their own infirmities help their children, and keep them from occasions. Let them teach their children to ask marriages of their fathers and mothers. And let their elders provide marriages for them in season; teaching them also to know, that she is not his wife whom the son taketh, nor he her husband which the daughter taketh, without the consent and good-will of their elders, or them that have authority over them. If their friends will not marry them, then are they not to blame if they marry themselves. Let not the fathers and mothers always take the utmost of their authority of their children; but at a time suffer with them, and bear their weaknesses, as Christ doth ours. Seek Christ in your children, in your wives, servants, and subjects. Father, mother, son, daughter, master, servant, king, and subject, be names in the worldly regiment. In Christ we are all one thing; none better than another, all brethren; and all must seek Christ, and our brother's profit in Christ.

And he that hath the knowledge, whether he be the lord or king, is bound to submit himself, and serve his brethren, and to give himself for them, to win them to Christ.

THE OFFICE OF A HUSBAND, AND HOW HE OUGHT TO RULE.

"Husbands, love your wives as Christ loved the congregation, and gave himself for it, to sanctify it and cleanse it. Men ought to love their wives as their own bodies. For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall continue with his wife, and shall be made both one flesh. See that every one of you love his wife even as his own body." (Ephesians 5) All this saith Paul, And he saith, "Husbands, love your wives, and be not bitter unto them."

And Peter, in the third chapter of his first epistle, saith, "Men, dwell with your wives according to knowledge," (that is, according to the doctrine of Christ,) "giving reverence unto the wife, as unto the weaker vessel," (that is, help her to bear her infirmities;) "and as unto them that are heirs also of the grace of life, that your prayers be not let." In many things God hath made the men stronger than the women; not to rage upon them, and to be tyrants unto them, but to help them, but to bear their weakness. Be courteous therefore unto them, and win them unto Christ, and overcome them with kindness, that of love they may obey the ordinance that God hath made between man and wife.

THE OFFICE OF A MASTER, AND HOW HE OUGHT TO RULE.

Paul (Ephesians 5) saith: "Ye masters, do even the same things to them," (that is, be masters after the ensample and doctrine of Christ, as he before taught the servants to obey to their masters as to Christ,) "putting away threatenings," that is, give them fair words, and exhort them kindly to do their duty; yea, nurture them as thy own sons with the Lord's nurture, that they may see in Christ a cause why they ought lovingly to obey: and "remember (saith he) that your master also is in heaven; neither is there any respect of persons with him;" that is, he is indifferent and not partial: as great in his sight is a servant as a master. And in the 4th chapter to the Colossians saith he: "Ye masters, do unto your servants that which is just and equal, remembering that ye also have a master in heaven." Give your servants kind words, food, raiment, and learning. Be not bitter unto them, rail not on them, give them no cruel countenance: but according to the ensample and doctrine of Christ, deal with them. And when they labor sore, cherish them again. When ye correct them, let God's word be by; and do it with such good manner, that they may see how that ye do it to amend them only, and to bring them to the way which God biddeth us walk in, and not to avenge yourselves, or to wreak your malice on them. If at a time through hastiness ye exceed measure in punishing, recompense it another way, and pardon them another time.

THE DUTY OF LANDLORDS.

Let Christian landlords be content with their rent and old customs; not raising the rent or fines, and bringing up new customs to oppress their tenants; neither letting two or three tenantries unto one man. Let them not take in their commons, neither make parks nor pastures of whole parishes: for God gave the earth to man to inhabit; and not unto sheep and wild deer. Be as fathers unto your tenants: yea, be unto them as

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Christ was unto us, and shew unto them all love and kindness. Whatsoever business is among them, be not partial, favoring one more than another. The complaints, quarrels, and strife that are among them, count diseases of sick people; and, as a merciful physician, heal them with wisdom and good counsel. Be pitiful and tender-hearted unto them, and let not one of thy tenants tear out another's throat; but judge their causes indifferently, and compel them to make their ditches, hedges, gates, and ways. For even for such causes were ye made landlords; and for such causes paid men rent at the beginning. For if such an order were not, one should slay another, and all should go to waste. If thy tenant shall labor and toil all the year, to pay thee thy rent, and when he hath bestowed all his labor, his neighbors' cattle shall devour his fruits; how tedious and bitter should his life be! See therefore that ye do your duties again; and suffer no man to do them wrong, save the king only.If he do wrong, then must they abide God's judgment.

THE DUTY OF KINGS, AND OF THE JUDGES AND OFFICERS.

Let kings, if they had lever be Christian in deed than so to be called, give themselves altogether to the wealth of their realms after the ensample of Christ; remembering that the people are God's, and not theirs; yea, are Christ's inheritance and possession, bought with his blood. The most despised person in his realm is the king's brother, and fellow-member with him, and equal with him in the kingdom of God and of Christ. Let him therefore not think himself too good to do them service; neither seek any other thing in them, than a father seeketh in his children, yea, than Christ sought in us. Though that the king, in the temporal regiment, be in the room of God, and representeth God himself, and is without all comparison better than his subjects; yet let him put off that, and become a brother, doing and leaving undone all things in respect of the commonwealth, that all men may see that he seeketh nothing but the profit of his subjects. When a cause that requireth execution is brought before him, then only let him take the person of God on him. Then let him know no creature, but hear all indifferently; whether it be a stranger or one of his own realm, and the small as well as the great; and judge righteously, "for the judgment is the Lord's." In time of judgment he is no minister in the kingdom of Christ; he preacheth no gospel, but the sharp law of vengeance. Let him take the holy judges of the old Testament for an ensample, and namely Moses, which in executing the law was merciless; otherwise more than a mother unto them, never avenging his own wrongs, but suffering all things; bearing every man's weakness, teaching, warning, exhorting, and ever caring for them, and so tenderly loved them, that he desired God either to forgive them, or to damn him with them.

Let the judges also privately, when they have put off the person of a judge, exhort with good counsel, and warn the people, and help that they come not at God's judgment: but the causes that are brought to them, when they sit in God's stead, let them judge, and condemn the trespasser under lawful witnesses; and not break up into the consciences of men, after the example of antichrist's disciples, and compel them either to forswear themselves by the almighty God and by the holy gospel of his merciful promises, or to testify against themselves: which abomination our prelates learned of Caiphas, Matthew 26, saying to Christ, "I adjure or charge thee in the name of the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be Christ, the Son of God." Let that which is secret to God only, whereof no proof can be made, nor lawful witness brought, abide unto the coming of the Lord, which shall open all secrets. If any malice break forth, that let them judge only. For further authority hath God not given them.

Moses (Deuteronomy 17) warneth judges to keep them upright, and to look on no man's person; that is, that they prefer not the high before the low, the great before the small, the rich before poor; his acquaintance, friend, kinsman, countryman, or one of his own nation, before a stranger, a friend or an alien, yea, or one of their own faith before an infidel; but that they look on the cause only, to judge indifferently. For the room that they are in, and the law that they execute, are God's; which, as he hath made all, and is God of all, and all are his sons, even so is he judge over all, and will have all judged by his law indifferently, and to have the right of his law, and will avenge the wrong done unto the Turk or Saracen. For though they be not under the everlasting testament of God in Christ, as few of us which are called Christian be, and even no more than to whom God hath sent his promises, and poured his Spirit into their hearts to believe them, and through faith graven lust in their hearts to fulfill the law of love; yet are they under the testament of the law natural, which is the law of every land made for the common wealth there, and for peace and unity, that one may live by another: in which laws the infidels, if they keep them, have promises of worldly things. Whosoever, therefore, hindereth a very infidel from the right of that law, sinneth against God, and of him will God be avenged.

Moreover, Moses warneth them that they receive no gifts, rewards or bribes. For those two points, favoring of one person more than another, and receiving rewards, pervert all right and equity; and is the only pestilence of all judges.

And the kings warneth he, that they have not too many wives, lest their hearts turn away; and that they read alway in the law of God, to learn to fear him, lest their hearts be lift up above their brethren. Which two points, women and pride, the despising of their subjects, which are in very deed their own brethren, are the common pestilence of all princes. Read the stories, and see.

The sheriffs, baily-errants, constables, and such like officers, may let no man that hurteth his neighbor scape, but that they bring them before the judges; except they in the mean time agree with their neighbors, and make them amends.

Let kings defend their subjects from the wrongs of other nations, but pick no quarrels for every trifle: no, let not our most holy father make them no more so drunk with vain names, with caps of maintenance, and like baubles, as it were puppetry for children, to beggar their realms, and to murder their people, for defending of our holy father's tyranny. If a lawful peace, that standeth with God's word, be made between prince and prince, and the name of God taken to record, and the body of our Savior broken between them, upon the bond which they have made; that peace, or bond, can our holy father not dispense with, neither loose it with all the keys he hath: no, verily, Christ cannot break it: for he came not to break the law, but to fulfill it.

If any man have broken the law, or a good ordinance, and repent and come to the right way again, then hath Christ power to forgive him: but licence to break the law can he not give; much more his disciples and vicars, as they call themselves, cannot do it. The keys, whereof they so greatly boast themselves, are no carnal things, but spiritual; and nothing else save knowledge of the law, and of the promises or gospel. If any man, for lack of spiritual feeling, desire authority of men, let him read the old doctors. If any man desire authority of scripture, Christ saith, "Woe be to you lawyers, for ye have taken away the key of knowledge: ye enter not in yourselves, and them that come in ye forbid:" (Luke 11) that is, they had blinded the scripture (whose knowledge, as it were a key, letteth into God) with glosses and traditions. Likewise findest thou Matthew 23. As Peter answered in the name of all, so Christ promised him the keys in the person of all. (Matthew 16) And in the 20th of John he paid them, saying, "Receive the Holy Ghost: whosoever's sins ye remit, they are remitted" or forgiven; "and whosoever's sins ye retain, they are retained" or holden. With preaching the promises loose they as many as repent and believe. And for that John saith, "Receive the Holy Ghost." Luke, in his last chapter, saith, "Then opened he their wits, that they might understand the scriptures, and said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise again the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations." At preaching of the law repent men; and at the preaching of the promises do they believe, and are saved. Peter in the second of the Acts practiced his keys; and by preaching the, law brought the people into the knowledge of themselves, and bound their consciences, so that "they were pricked in their hearts, and said unto Peter and to the other apostles, What shall we do?" Then brought they forth the key of the sweet promises, saying, "Repent, and be baptised every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. For the promise was made to you, and to your children, and to all that are afar, even as many as the Lord shall call." Of like ensamples is the Acts full, and Peter's epistles, and Paul's epistles, and all the scripture; neither hath our holy father any other authority of Christ, or by the reason of his predecessor, Peter, than to preach God's word. As Christ compareth the understanding of scripture to a key, so compareth he it to a net, and unto leaven, and unto many other things for certain properties. I marvel, therefore, that they boast not themselves of their net and leaven, as well as of their keys; for they are all one thing. But as Christ biddeth us beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, so beware of their counterfeited keys, and of their false net; which are their traditions and ceremonies, their hypocrisy and false doctrine, wherewith they catch, not souls unto Christ, but authority and riches unto themselves.

Let Christian kings therefore keep their faith and truth, and all lawful promises and bonds, not one with another only, but even with the Turk or whatsoever infidel it be. For so it is right before God; as the scriptures and ensamples of the bible testify. Whosoever voweth an unlawful vow, promiseth an unlawful promise, sweareth an unlawful oath, sinneth against God, and ought therefore to break it. He needeth not sue to Rome for a licence; for he hath God's word, and not a licence only, but also a commandment to break it. They therefore that are sworn to be true to cardinals and bishops, that is to say, false unto God, the king, and the realm, may break their oaths lawfully, without grudge of conscience, by the authority of God's word. In making them they sinned; but in repenting and breaking them they please God highly, and receive forgiveness in Christ.

Let kings take their duty of their subjects:, and that that is necessary to the defense of the realm. Let them rule their realms themselves, with the help of lay-men that are sage, wise, learned, and expert. Is it not a shame above all shames, and a monstrous thing, that no man should be found able to govern a worldly kingdom, save bishops and prelates; that have forsaken the world, and are taken out of the world, and appointed to preach the kingdom of God? Christ saith that his "kingdom is not of this world." John 18. And, Luke 12, unto the young man, that desired him to bid his brother to give him part of the inheritance, he answered, "Who made me a judge or a divider among you?" "No man that layeth his hand to the plough, and looketh back, is apt for the kingdom of heaven." (Luke 9) "No man can serve two masters, but he must despise the one." (Matthew 6) To preach God's word is too much for half a man: and to minister a temporal kingdom is too much for half a man also. Either other requireth an whole man. One therefore cannot well do both. He that avengeth himself on every trifle is not meet to preach the patience of Christ, how that a man ought to forgive and to suffer all things. He that is overwhelmed with all manner riches, and doth but seek more daily, is not meet to preach poverty. He that will obey no man is not meet to preach how we ought to obey all men. Peter saith, "It is not meet that we should leave the word of God, and serve at the tables." (Acts 6) Paul saith in 1 Corinthians 9, "Woe is me if I preach not." A terrible saying, verily, for popes, cardinals, and bishops! If he had said, 'Woe be unto me if I fight not and move princes unto war, or if I increase not St Peter's patrimony,' as they call it, it had been a more easy saying for them.

Christ forbiddeth his disciples and that oft, (as thou mayest see Matthew 18, and also Matthew 20; Mark 9, and also Mark 10; Luke 9, and also Luke 22; even at his last supper) not only to climb above lords, kings, and emperors in worldly rule, but also to exalt themselves one above another in the kingdom of God: but in vain; for the pope would not hear it, though he had commanded it ten thousand times.

God's word should rule only; and not bishops' decrees, or the pope's pleasure. That ought they to preach purely and spiritually, and to fashion their lives after, and with all ensample of godly living and long suffering to draw all to Christ; and not to expound the scriptures carnally and worldly, saying, 'God spake this to Peter, and I am his successor, therefore this authority is mine only;' and then bring in the tyranny of their fleshly wisdom, In proesentia majoris cessat potestas minoris; that is, in the presence of the greater the less hath no power.There is no brotherhood where such philosophy is taught.

Such philosophy, and so to abuse the scriptures, and to mock with God's word, is after the manner of the bishop of Rochester's divinity. For he, in his 'Sermon of the condemnation of Martin Luther,' proveth by a shadow of the old Testament, that is, by Moses and Aaron, that Satan and antichrist, our most holy father the pope, is Christ's vicar and head of Christ's congregation. Moses, saith he, signifieth Christ; and Aaron the pope. And yet the epistle unto the Hebrews proveth, that the high priest of the old law signifieth Christ; and his offering and his going in once in the year into the inner temple signify the offering wherewith Christ offered himself, and Christ's going in unto the Father, to be an everlasting mediator or intercessor for us. Nevertheless, Rochester proveth the contrary by a shadow; by a shadow, verily: for in shadows they walk without all shame, and the light will they not come at, but enforce to stop and quench it with all craft and falsehood, lest their abominable juggling should be seen. If any man look in the light of the new Testament, he shall clearly see that that shadow may not be so understood.

Understand therefore, that one thing in the scripture representeth divers things. A serpent figureth Christ in one place, and the devil in another; and a lion doth likewise. Christ by leaven signifieth God's word in one place; and in another signifieth thereby the traditions of the Pharisees, which soured and altered God's word for their advantage. Now Moses verily in the said place representeth Christ; and Aaron, which was not yet high priest, represented not Peter only or his successor, as my lord of Rochester would have it, (for Peter was too little to bear Christ's message unto all the world,) but signifieth every disciple of Christ, and every true preacher of God's word. For Moses put in Aaron's mouth what he should say; and Aaron was Moses's prophet, and spake not his own message, as the pope and bishops do, but that which Moses had received of God and delivered unto him. Exodus 4, and also Exodus 7. So ought every preacher to preach God's word purely, and neither to add nor minish. A true messenger must do his message truly; and say neither more nor less than he is commanded. Aaron, when he is high priest, and offereth and purgeth the people of their worldly sin which they had fallen in, in touching uncleanly things, and in eating meats forbidden, (as we sin in handling the chalice and the altar stone, and are purged with the bishop's blessing,) representeth Christ, which purgeth us from all sin in the sight of God: as the epistle unto the Hebrews maketh mention. When Moses was gone up into the mount, and Aaron left

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behind, and made the golden calf, there Aaron representeth all false preachers, and namely our most holy father the pope; which in like manner maketh us believe in a bull, as the bishop of Rochester full well allegeth the place in his sermon. If the pope be signified by Aaron, and Christ by Moses, why is not the pope as well content with Christ's law and doctrine, as Aaron was with Moses'? What is the cause that our bishops preach the pope, and not Christ; seeing the apostles preached not Peter, but Christ? Paul saith of himself and his fellow apostles, "We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and preach ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake:" (2 Corinthians 4) and, "Let no man rejoice in men, for all things are yours, whether it be Paul, or Apollos, or Peter; whether it be the world, or life, or death; whether they be present things, or things to come; all are yours, and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's." He leaveth out, Ye are Peter's, or ye are the pope's. And in the chapter following he saith, "Let men thuswise esteem us, even the ministers of Christ," etc. And (2 Corinthians 11) Paul was jealous over his Corinthians, because they fell from Christ, to whom he had married them, and did cleave unto the authority of men; for even then false prophets sought authority in the name of the high apostles: "I am (saith he) jealous over you with godly jealousy: for I coupled you to one man, to make you a chaste virgin to Christ; but I fear lest, as the serpent deceived Eve through his subtlety, even so your wits should be corrupt from the singleness that is in Christ." And it followeth: "If he that cometh to you preached another Jesus, or if ye receive another Spirit or another gospel, then might ye well have been content:" that is, ye might have well suffered him to have authority above me: "but I suppose," saith he, "that I was not behind the high apostles;" meaning in preaching Jesus and his gospel, and in ministering the Spirit. And in the said 2 Corinthians 11 he proveth, by the doctrine of Christ, that he is greater than the high apostles: for Christ saith, to be great in the kingdom of God is to do service and to take pain for other: upon which rule Paul disputeth, saying, "If they be the ministers of Christ, I am more; in labors more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prison more plenteously, in death oft," and so forth. If Paul preached Christ more than Peter, and suffered more for his congregation, then is he greater than Peter, by the testimony of Christ. And in 2 Corinthians 12 he saith, "In nothing was I inferior unto the high apostles: though I be nothing, yet the tokens of an apostle were wrought among you with all patience, with signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds." So proved he his authority, and not with a bull from Peter, sealed with cold lead, either with shadows of the old Testament falsely expounded.

Moreover the apostles were sent immediately of Christ; and of Christ received they their authority, as Paul boasteth himself every where. "Christ," saith he, "sent me to preach the gospel." 1 Corinthians 1. And, "I received of the Lord that which I delivered unto you." 1 Corinthians 11. And Galatians 1, "I certify you, brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me was not after the manner of men, (that is to wit, carnal or fleshly,) neither received I it of man, neither was it taught me, but I received it by the revelation of Jesus Christ." And Galatians 2, "He that was mighty in Peter in the apostleship over the circumcision, was mighty in me among the gentiles." And 1 Timothy 1, readest thou likewise. And (John 20) Christ sent them forth indifferently, and gave them like power: "As my Father sent me," saith he, "so send I you;" that is, to preach and to suffer, as I have done; and not to conquer empires and kingdoms, and to subdue all temporal power under you with disguised hypocrisy. He gave them the Holy Ghost, to bind and loose indifferently, as thou seest; and afterward he sent forth Paul with like authority, as thou seest in the Acts. And in the last of Matthew saith he: "All power is given me in heaven and in earth; go therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe whatsoever I commanded you." The authority that Christ gave them was to preach; yet not what they would imagine, but what he had commanded. "Lo," saith he, "I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." He said not, I go my way, and lo, here is Peter in my stead; but sent them every man to a sundry country, whithersoever the Spirit carried them, and went with them himself. And as he wrought with Peter where he went:, so wrought he with the other where they went; as Paul boasteth of himself unto the Galatians. Seeing now that we have Christ's doctrine, and Christ's holy promises, and seeing that Christ is ever present with us his own self; how cometh it that Christ may not reign immediately over us, as well as the pope which cometh never at us? Seeing also that the office of an apostle is to preach only, how can the pope challenge with right any authority, where he preacheth not? How cometh it also that Rochester will not let us be called one congregation by the reason of one God, one Christ, one Spirit, one gospel, one faith, one hope, and one baptism, as well as because of one pope? If any natural beast with his worldly wisdom strive, that one is greater than another, because that in congregations one is sent of another, as we see in the Acts; I answer that Peter sent no man, but was sent himself; and John was sent, and Paul, Silas, and Barnabas were sent. Howbeit such manner sendings are not worldly, as princes send ambassadors; no, nor as friars send their limiters to gather their brotherhoods; which must obey, whether they will or will not. Here all thing is free and willingly. And the Holy Ghost bringeth them together; which maketh their wills free, and ready to bestow themselves upon their neighbor's profit. And they that come offer themselves, and all that they have, or can do, to serve the Lord and their brethren. And every man, as he is found apt and meet to serve his neighbor, so is he sent or put in office. And of the Holy Ghost are they sent, with the consent of their brethren, and with their own consent also: and God's word ruleth in that congregation; unto which word every man conformeth his will: and Christ, which is always present, is the head. But as our bishops hear not Christ's voice, so see they him not present, and therefore make them a God on the earth, of the kind, I suppose, of Aaron's calf: for he bringeth forth no other fruit but bulls.

Forasmuch also as Christ is as great as Peter, why is not his seat as great as Peter's? Had the head of the empire been at Jerusalem, there had been no mention made of Peter. It is verily, as Paul saith in the 11th chapter of the second epistle to the Corinthians, "The false apostles are deceitful workers, and fashion themselves like unto the apostles of Christ:" (2 Corinthians 11) that is, the shaven nation preach Christ falsely; yea, under the name of Christ preach themselves, and reign in Christ's stead: have also taken away the key of knowledge, and wrapped the people in ignorance, and have taught them to believe in themselves, in their traditions and false ceremonies; so that Christ is but a vain name. And after they had put Christ out of his room, they gat themselves to the emperor and kings, and so long ministered their business till they have also put them out of their rooms, and have got their authorities from them, and reign also in their stead; so that the emperor and kings are but vain names and shadows, as Christ is, having nothing to do in the world. Thus reign they, in the stead of God and man, and have all power under them, and do what they list.

Let us see another point of our great clerk: a little after the beginning of his sermon, intending to prove that which is clearer than the sun, and serveth no more for his purpose than Ite missa est serveth to prove that our lady was born without original sin; he allegeth a saying that Martin Luther saith, which is this: "If we affirm that any one epistle of Paul or any one place of his epistles pertaineth not unto the universal church, (that is, to all the congregation of them that believe in Christ,) we take away all St Paul's authority." Whereupon saith Rochester: "If it be thus of the words of St Paul, much rather it is true of the gospels of Christ and of every place of them." O malicious blindness! First, note his blindness. He understandeth by this word gospel no more but the four evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; and thinketh not that the Acts of apostles, and the epistles of Peter, of Paul, and of John, and of other like, are also the gospel. Paul calleth his preaching the gospel: Romans 2 <450201> and 1 Corinthians 4 and Galatians 1 and 1 Timothy 1. The gospel is every where one, though it be preached of divers, and signifieth glad tidings: that is to wit, an open preaching of Christ, and the holy testament and gracious promises that God hath made in Christ's blood to all that repent and believe. Now is there more gospel in one epistle of Paul, that is to say, Christ is more clearly preached and more promises rehearsed in one epistle of Paul, than in the three first evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke.

Consider also his maliciousness; how wickedly and how craftily he taketh away the authority of Paul! 'It is much rather true of the gospels, and of every place in them, than of Paul.' If that which the four evangelists wrote be truer than that which Paul wrote, then is it not one gospel that they preached, neither one Spirit that taught them. If it be one gospel and one Spirit, how is one truer than the other? Paul proveth his authority to the Galatians and to the Corinthians, because that he received his gospel by revelation of Christ, and not of man; and because that when he communed with Peter and the high apostles of his gospel and preaching, they could improve nothing, neither teach him any thing; and because also that as many were converted, and as great miracles shewed by his preaching as at the preaching of the high apostles; and therefore will be of no less authority than Peter and other high apostles, nor have his gospel of less reputation than theirs.

Finally: that thou mayest know Rochester for ever, and all the remnant by him, what they are within the skin, mark how he playeth bo-peep with the scripture. He allegeth the beginning of the tenth chapter to the Hebrews, Umbram habens lex futurorum benorum, "the law hath but a shadow of things to come;" and immediately expoundeth the figure clean contrary unto the chapter following, and to all the whole epistle; making Aaron a figure of the pope, whom the epistle maketh a figure of Christ.

He allegeth half a text of Paul, "In the latter days some shall depart from the faith, giving heed unto spirits of error and devilish doctrine." (1 Timothy 4) But it followeth in the text: "Giving attendance, or heed, unto the devilish doctrine of them which speak false through hypocrisy, and have their consciences marked with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with giving thanks." Which two things who ever did, save the pope, Rochester's god? making sin in the creatures, which God hath created for man's use, to be received with thanks. "The kingdom of heaven is not meat and drink," saith Paul, "but righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. For whosoever in these things serveth Christ, pleaseth God, and is allowed of men." Had Rochester, therefore, not a conscience marked with the hot iron of malice, so that he cannot consent unto the will of God and glory of Christ, he would not so have alleged the text; which is contrary to none save themselves.

He allegeth another text of Paul, in the second chapter of his second epistle to the Thessalonians <530201> , Erit discessio primum : that is, saith Rochester, before the coming of antichrist there shall be a notable departing from the faith. And Paul saith, "The Lord cometh not, except there come a departing first." Paul's meaning is, that the last day cometh not so shortly, but that antichrist shall come first and destroy the faith, and sit in the temple of God, and make all men worship him, and believe in him (as the pope doth); and then shall God's word come to light again, (as it doth at this time,) and destroy him, and utter his juggling, and then cometh Christ unto judgment. What say ye of this crafty conveyer? Would he spare, suppose ye, to allege and to wrest other doctors pestilently, which feareth not for to juggle with the holy scripture of God, expounding that unto antichrist which Paul speaketh of Christ? No, be ye sure. But even after this manner-wise pervert they the whole scripture and all doctors; wresting them unto their abominable purpose, clean contrary to the meaning of the text, and to the circumstances that go before and after. Which devilish falsehood, lest the laymen should perceive, is the very cause why that they will not suffer the scripture to be had in the English tongue; neither any work to be made that should bring the people to knowledge of the truth.

He allegeth, for the pope's authority, St Cyprian, St Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, and Origen; of which never one knew of any authority that one bishop should have above another. And St Gregory allegeth he, which would receive no such authority above his brethren, when it was proffered him. As the manner is to call Tully chief of orators for his singular eloquence, and Aristotle chief of philosophers, and Virgil chief of poets, for their singular learning, and not for any authority that they had over other; so was it the manner to call Peter chief of the apostles for his singular activity and boldness, and not that he should be lord over his; brethren, contrary to his own doctrine. Yet compare that chief apostle unto Paul, and he is found a great way inferior. This I say not that I would that any man should make a god of Paul, contrary unto his own learning. Notwithstanding yet this manner of speaking is left unto us of our elders; that when we say the apostle saith so, we understand Paul, for his excellency above other apostles. I would he would tell you how Jerome, Augustine, Bede, Origen, and other doctors, expound this text, "Upon this rock I will build my congregation:" and how they interpret the keys also. Thereto, Pasce, pasce, pasce, which Rochester leaveth without any English, signifieth not poll, sheer, and shave. Upon which text behold the faithful exposition of Bede.

Note also how craftily he would enfeoff the apostles of Christ with their wicked traditions and false ceremonies, which they themselves have feigned; alleging; Paul, 2 Thessalonians 2. I answer, that Paul taught by mouth such things as he wrote in his epistles. And his traditions were the gospel of Christ, and honest manners and living, and such a good order as becometh the doctrine of Christ: as that a woman obey her husband, have her head covered, keep silence, and go womanly and christianly apparelled; that children and servants be in subjection: and that the young obey their elders; that no man eat but he that laboreth and worketh; and that men make an earnest thing of God's word and of his holy sacraments; and to watch, fast, and pray, and such like as the scripture commandeth: which things he that would break were no christian man. But we may well complain, and cry to God for help, that it is not lawful, for the pope's tyranny, to teach the people what prayer is, what fasting is, and wherefore it serveth. There were also certain customs alway, which were not commanded in pain of hell, or everlasting damnation; as to watch all night, and to kiss one another: which as soon as the people abused, then they brake them. For which cause the bishops might break many things now in like manner. Paul also, in many things which God had made free, gave pure and faithful counsel; without tangling of any man's conscience, and without all manner commanding under pain of cursing, pain of excommunication, pain of heresy, pain of burning, pain of deadly sin, pain of hell, and pain of damnation. As thou mayest see, 1 Corinthians 7, where he counselleth the unmarried, the widows, and virgins, that it is good so to abide, if they have the gift of chastity: not to win heaven thereby; (for neither circumcision neither uncircumcision is any thing at all, but the keeping of the commandments is altogether;) but that they might be without trouble, and

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might also the better wait on God's word, and freelier serve their brethren: and saith, as a faithful servant, that he had none authority of the Lord to give them any commandment. But, that the apostles gave us any blind ceremonies, whereof we should not know the reason, that I deny, and also defy, as a thing clean contrary unto the learning of Paul everywhere.

For Paul commandeth that no man once speak in the church, that is, in the congregation, but in a tongue that all men understand, except that there be an interpreter by. He commandeth to labor for knowledge, understanding, and feeling; and to beware of superstition, and persuasions of worldly wisdom, philosophy, and of hypocrisy and ceremonies, and of all manner disguising, and to walk in the plain and open truth. "Ye were once darkness," saith he, "but now are ye light in the Lord; walk therefore as the children of light." Ephesians 5. How doth Paul also wish them increase of grace in every epistle! How crieth he to God to augment their knowledge; that they should be no more children, wavering with every wind of doctrine; but would vouchsafe to make them full men in Christ, and in the understanding of the mysteries or secrets of Christ, so that it should not be possible for any man to deceive them with any enticing reasons of worldly wisdom, or to beguile them with blind ceremonies, or to lead them out of the way with superstitiousness of disguised hypocrisy!

Unto which full knowledge are the spiritual officers ordained to bring them. Ephesians 4. So far is it away that Christ's apostles should give them traditions of blind ceremonies, without signification, or of which no man should know the reason; as Rochester, which loveth shadows and darkeness, lieth on them: God stop his blasphemous mouth!

Consider also, how studiously Rochester allegeth Origen, both for his pope, and also to stablish his blind ceremonies withal: which Origen of all heretics is condemned to be the greatest. 'He is an ancient doctor,' saith he; yea, 'and to whom in this point great faith is to be given.' Yea, verily, Aristotle and Plato, and even very Robin Hood, is to be believed in such a point, that so greatly maintaineth our holy father's authority, and all his disguisings.

Last of all: as once a crafty thief, when he was espied and followed, cried unto the people, Stop the thief! Stop the thief! and as many, to begin withal, cast first in another man's teeth that which he feareth should be laid to his own charge; even so Rochester layeth to Martin Luther's charge the slaying and murdering of Christian men, because they will not believe in his doctrine: which thing Rochester and his brethren have not ceased to do now these certain hundred years, with such malice, that, when they be dead, they rage, burning their bodies; of which some they themselves, of likelihood, killed before secretly. And because that all the world knoweth that Martin Luther slayeth no man, but killeth only with the spiritual sword, the word of God, such cankered consciences as Rochester hath; neither persecuteth, but suffereth persecution; yet Rochester, with a goodly argument proveth that he would do it if he could! And mark, I pray you, what an orator he is, and how vehemently he persuadeth it! Martin Luther hath burned the pope's decretals; a manifest sign, saith he, that he would have burned the pope's holiness also, if he had had him! A like argument, which I suppose to be rather true, I make: Rochester and his holy brethren have burnt Christ's testament; an evident sign, verily, that they would have burnt Christ himself also, if they had had him!

I had almost, verily, left out the chiefest point of all. Rochester, both abominable and shameless, yea, and stark mad with pure malice, and so adased in the brains with spite, that he cannot overcome the truth that he seeth not, or rather careth not what he saith; in the end of his first destruction, I would say instruction, as he calleth it, intending to prove that we are justified through holy works, allegeth half a text of Paul, of the fifth to the Galatians, (as his manner is to juggle and convey craftily,) Fides per dilectionem operans. Which text he thiswise Englisheth: "Faith, which is wrought by love;" and maketh a verb passive of a verb deponent. Rochester will have love to go before, and faith to spring out of love. Thus antichrist turneth the roots of the tree upward. I must first love a bitter medicine, (after Rochester's doctrine,) and then believe that it is wholesome: when, by natural reason, I first hate a bitter medicine, until I be brought in belief of the physician that it is wholesome, and that the bitterness shall heal me; and then afterward love it, of that belief. Doth the child love the father first, and then believe that he is his son or heir? or rather, because he knoweth that he is his son or heir and beloved, therefore loveth again? John saith, in the third of his first epistle, "See what love the Father hath shewed upon us, that we should be called his sons." Because we are sons, therefore love we. Now, by faith we are sons, as John saith in the first chapter of his gospel: "He gave them power to be the sons of God, in that they believed on his name." And Paul saith, in the third chapter of his epistle to the Galatians, "We are all the sons of God by the faith which is in Jesus Christ." And John, in the said chapter of his epistle, saith, "Hereby perceive we love, that he gave his life for us." We could see no love, nor cause to love again, except that we believed that he died for us, and that we were saved through his death. And in the chapter following saith John, "Herein is love; not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to make agreement for our sins." So God sent not his Son for any love that we;had to him; but of the love that he had to us sent he his Son, that we might so love, and love again. Paul likewise, in Romans 7, after that he hath declared the infinite love of God to usward, in that he spared not his own Son, but gave him for us, crieth out, saying, "Who shall separate us from the love of God? Shall persecution, shall a sword? etc." No, saith he; "I am sure that no creature shall separate us from the love of God that is in Christ Jesus our Lord:" as who should say, We see so great love in God to us-ward, in Christ's death, that though all misfortune should fall on us, we cannot but love again. Now how know we that God loveth us? Verily, by faith. So therefore, though Rochester be a beast faithless, yet ought natural reason to have taught him, that love springeth out of faith and knowledge; and not faith and knowledge out of love. But let us see the text. Paul saith thus: "In Christ Jesus neither circumcision is any thing worth, nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh through love;" or which through love is strong or mighty in working; and not which is wrought by love, as the juggler saith. Faith, that loveth God's commandments, justifieth a man. If thou believe God's promises in Christ, and love his commandments, then art thou safe. If thou love the commandment, then art thou sure that. thy faith is unfeigned, and that God's Spirit is in thee.

How faith justifieth before God in the heart; and how love springeth of faith, and compelleth us to work; and how the works justify before the world, and testify what we are, and certify us that our faith is unfeigned, and that the right Spirit of God is in us; see in my book of the Justifying of Faith; and there shalt thou see all thing abundantly. Also of the controversy between Paul and James, see there. Neverthelater, when Rochester saith, if faith only justified, then both the devils and also sinners that lie still in sin should be saved, his argument is not worth a straw.

For neither the devils, nor yet sinners, that continue in sin of purpose and delectation, have any such faith as Paul speaketh of. For Paul's faith is to believe God's promises. "Faith," saith he, Romans 10, "cometh by hearing, and hearing cometh by the word of God." "And how shall they hear without a preacher, and how shall they preach except they be sent? As it is written," saith he, "How beautiful are the feet that bring glad tidings of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things!" Now when sent God any messengers unto the devils, to preach them peace, or any good thing? The devil hath no promise; he is therefore excluded from Paul's faith. The devil believeth that Christ died, but not that he died for his sins. Neither doth any, that consenteth in the heart to continue in sin, believe that Christ died for him. For to believe that Christ died for us is to see our horrible damnation, and how we were appointed unto eternal pains, and to feel, and to be sure, that we are delivered therefrom through Christ: in that we have power to hate our sins, and to love God's commandments. All such repent and have their hearts loosed out of captivity and bondage of sin, and are therefore justified through faith in Christ. Wicked sinners have no faith, but imaginations and opinions about Christ; as our schoolmen have in their principles, about which they brawl so fast one with another. It is another thing to believe that the king is rich, and that he is rich unto me, and that my part is therein; and that he will not spare a penny of his riches at my need. When I believe that the king is rich, I am not moved: but when I believe that he is rich for me, and that he will never fail me at my need, then love I; and of love am ready to work unto the uttermost of my power.

But let us return at the last unto our purpose again. What is the cause that laymen cannot now rule, as well as in times past, and as the Turks yet do?

Verily, because that antichrist with the mist of his juggling hath beguiled our eyes, and hath cast a superstitious fear upon the world of christian men, and hath taught them to dread not God and his word, but himself and his word; not God's law and ordinances, princes and officers which God hath set to rule the world, but his own law and ordinances, traditions and ceremonies, and disguised disciples, which he hath set every where to deceive the world, and to expel the light of God's word, that his darkness may have room. For we see by daily experience, of certain hundred years long, that he which feareth neither God nor his word, neither regardeth father, mother, master, or Christ himself; which rebelleth against God's ordinances, riseth against the king's, and resisteth his officers, dare not once lay hands on one of the pope's anointed: no, though he slay his father before his face, or do violence unto his brother, or defile his sister, wife, or mother. Like honor give we unto his traditions and ceremonies. What devotion have we when we are blessed (as they call it) with the chalice, or when the bishop lifteth up his holy hand over us? Who dare handle the chalice, touch the altar-stone, or put his hand in the font, or his finger into the holy oil? What reverence give we unto holy water, holy fire, holy bread, holy salt, hallowed bells, holy wax, holy boughs, holy candles, and holy ashes! And last of all, unto the holy candle commit we our souls at our last departing. Yea, and of the very clout which the bishop, or his chaplain that standeth by, knitteth about children's necks at confirmation, what lay-person dare be so bold as to unloose the knot? Thou wilt say, Do not such things bring the Holy Ghost and put away sin and drive away spirits? I say that a stedfast faith, or belief in Christ and in the promises that God hath sworn to give us for his sake, bringeth the Holy Ghost, as all the scriptures make mention, and as Paul saith, "Have ye received the Holy Ghost through faith, or believing?" Faith is the rock whereon Christ buildeth his congregation; against which, saith Christ, Matthew 16, hellgates shall not prevail. As soon as thou believest in Christ, the Holy Ghost cometh, sin falleth away, and devils fly. When we cast holy water at the devil, or ring the bells, he fleeth as men do from young children, and mocketh with us, to bring us from the true faith, that is in God's word, unto a superstitious and a false belief of our own imagination. If thou hadst faith and threwest an unhallowed stone at his head, he would earnestly flee, and without mocking; yea, though thou threwest nothing at all, he would not yet abide.

Though that at the beginning miracles were shewed through such ceremonies, to move the infidels to believe the word of God, as thou readest how the apostles anointed the sick with oil, and healed them; and Paul sent his pertelet or jerkin to the sick, and healed them also; yet was it not the ceremony that did the miracle, but faith of the preacher and the truth of God, which had promised to confirm and stablish his gospel with such miracles. Therefore, as soon as the gift of miracles ceased, ought the ceremony to have ceased also; or else if they needs will have a ceremony to signify some promise or benefit of God (which I praise not, but would have God's word preached every Sunday, for which intent Sundays and holy days were ordained), then let them tell the people what it meaneth; and not set up a bald and a naked ceremony without signification, to make the people believe therein, and to quench the faith that ought to be given unto the word of God.

What helpeth it also that the priest, when he goeth to mass, disguiseth himself with a great part of the passion of Christ, and playeth out the rest under silence, with signs and proffers, with nodding, becking and mowing, as it were jackanapes, when neither he himself, neither any man else wotteth what he meaneth? Not at all, verily; but hurteth, and that exceedingly; forasmuch as it not only destroyeth the faith, and quencheth the love that should be given unto the commandments, and maketh the people unthankful, in that it bringeth them into such superstition, that they think that they have done abundantly enough for God, yea, and deserved above measure, if they be present once in a day at such mumming; but also maketh the infidels to mock us and abhor us, in that they see nothing but such apes' play among us, whereof no man can give a reason.

All this cometh to pass to fulfill the prophecy which Christ prophesied; that there shall come in his name, which shall say that they themselves are Christ. That do verily the pope and our holy orders of religion. For they, under the name of Christ, preach themselves, their own word and their own traditions, and teach the people to believe in them. The pope giveth pardons of his full power, of the treasure of the church, and of the merits of saints. The friars likewise make their benefactors (which only they call their brethren and sisters) partakers of their masses, fasting, watchings, prayings, and woolward goings. Yea, and when a novice of the Observants is professed, the father asketh him, Will ye keep the rules of holy St Francis? and he saith, Yea. Will ye so in deed? saith he. The other answereth, 'Yea, forsooth, father. Then saith the father, And I promise you again everlasting life. O blasphemy! If eternal life be due unto the pilled traditions of lousy friars, where is the testament become that God made unto us in Christ's blood? Christ saith, 'That there shall come pseudo-Christi;' which though I, for a consideration, have translated false Christs, keeping the Greek word, yet signifieth it in the English 'false anointed,' and ought so to be translated. "There shall come," saith Christ, "false anointed, and false prophets, and shall do miracles and wonders so greatly, that, if it were possible, the very elect, or chosen, should be brought out of the way." Compare the pope's doctrine unto the word of God, and thou shalt find that there hath been, and yet is, a great going out of the way; and that evil men and deceivers (as Paul prophesied 2 Timothy 3) have prevailed, and waxed worse and worse, beguiling other as they are beguiled themselves. Thou tremblest and quakest, saying, Shall God let us go so sore out of the right way? I answer, It is Christ that warneth us; which, as he knew all that should follow, so prophesied he before, and is a true prophet, and his prophecies must needs be fulfilled. GOD anointed his son Jesus with the Holy Ghost, and therefore called him Christ; which is as much to say as anointed. Outwardly he disguised him not; but made him like other men, and sent him into the world to bless us, and to offer himself for us a sacrifice of a sweet savor, to kill the stench of our sins, that God henceforth should smell them no more, nor think on them any more; and to make full and sufficient satisfaction, or amends, for all them that repent, believing the truth of God, and submitting themselves unto his ordinances, both for their sins that they

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do, have done, and shall do. For sin we through fragility never so oft, yet as soon as we repent and come into the right way again, and unto the testament which God hath made in Christ's blood, our sins vanish away as smoke in the wind, and as darkness at the coming of light; or as thou castest a little blood, or milk, into the main sea: insomuch that whosoever goeth about to make satisfaction for his sins to God-ward, saying in his heart, This much have I sinned, this much will I do again; or this-wise will I live to make amends withal; or this will I do, to get heaven withal; the same is an infidel, faithless, and damned in his deed-doing, and hath lost his part in Christ's blood; because he is disobedient unto God's testament, and setteth up another of his own imagination, unto which he will compel God to obey. If we love God, we have a commandment to love our neighbor also, as saith John in his epistle; and if we have offended him, to make him amends; or if we have not wherewith, to ask him forgiveness, and to do and suffer all things for his sake, to win him to God, and to nourish peace and unity. But to God-ward Christ is an everlasting satisfaction, and ever sufficient. Christ, when he had fulfilled his course, anointed his apostles and disciples with the same Spirit, and sent them forth, without all manner disguising, like other men also, to preach the atonement and peace which Christ had made between God and man. The apostles likewise disguised no man, but chose men anointed with the same Spirit: one to preach the word of God, whom we call, after the Greek tongue, a bishop or a priest; that is, in English, an overseer and an elder. How he was anointed, thou readest, "A bishop or an overseer must be faultless, the husband of one wife." (1 Timothy 3) Many Jews, and also Gentiles, that were converted unto the faith, had at that time divers wives, yet were not compelled to put any of them away; which Paul, because of ensample, would not have preachers, forasmuch as in Christ we return again unto the first ordinance of God, that one man and one woman should go together. "He must be sober, of honest behavior, honestly apparelled, harborous," that is, ready to lodge strangers; "apt to teach, no drunkard, no fighter, not given to filthy lucre; but gentle, abhorring fighting, abhorring covetousness, and one that ruleth his own household honestly, having children under obedience with all honesty. For if a man cannot rule his own house, how can he care for the congregation of God? He may not be young in the faith," or, as a man would say, a novice, "lest he swell and fall into the judgment of the evil speaker;" that is, he may not be unlearned in the secrets of the faith: for such are at once stubborn and headstrong, and set not a little by themselves. But, alas! we have above twenty thousand that know no more scripture than is written in their portesses; and among them is he exceedingly well learned that can turn to his service. "He must be well reported of them that are without, lest he fall into rebuke, and into the snare of the evil speaker;" that is, lest the infidels, which yet believe not, should be hurt by him, and driven from the faith, if a man that were defamed were made head or overseer of the congregation.

He must have a wife for two causes: one, that it may thereby be known who is meet for the room. He is unapt for so chargeable an office, which had never household to rule. Another cause is, that chastity is an exceeding seldom gift, and unchastity exceeding perilous for that degree; inasmuch as the people look as well unto the living as unto the preaching, and are hurt at once if the living disagree, and fall from the faith, and believe not the word.

This overseer, because he was taken from his own business and labor, to preach God's word unto the parish, hath right, by the authority of his office, to challenge an honest living of the parish, as thou mayest see in the evangelists, and also in Paul. For who will have a servant, and will not give him meat, drink, and raiment, and all things necessary? How they would pay him, whether in money, or assign him so much rent, or in tithes, as the guise is now in many countries, was at their liberty.

Likewise in every congregation chose they another after the same ensample, and even so anointed, as it is to see in the said chapter of Paul, and Acts 6; whom, after the Greek word, we call deacon; that is to say in English, a servant or a minister; whose office was to help and assist the priest, and to gather up his duty, and to gather for the poor of the parish, which were destitute of friends, and could not work. Common beggars to run from door to door were not then suffered. On the saints' days, namely such as had suffered death for the word sake, came men together into the church; and the priest preached unto them, and exhorted them to cleave fast unto the word, and to be strong in the faith, and to fight against the powers of the world, with suffering for their faith's sake, after the ensample of the saints: and taught them not to believe in the saints, and to trust in their merits, and to make gods of them; but took the saints for an ensample only, and prayed God to give them like faith and trust in his word, and like strength and power to suffer therefore, and to give them so sure hope of the life to come; as thou mayest see in the collects of St Lawrence and of St Stephen in our lady matins. And in such days, as we now offer, so gave they every man his portion according to his ability, and as God put in his heart, to the maintenance of the priest, deacon, and other common ministers, and of the poor, and to find learned men to teach, and so forth. And all was put in the hands of the deacon; as thou mayest see in the life of St Lawrence, and in the histories. And for such purposes gave men lands afterwards, to ease the parishes; and made hospitals, and also places to teach their children, and to bring them up, and to nurture them in God's word; which lands our monks now devour.

ANTICHRIST.

Antichrist of another manner hath sent forth his disciples, those "false anointed," of which Christ warneth us before, that they should come and show miracles and wonders, even to bring the very elect out of the way, if it were possible. He anointeth them after the manner of the Jews; and shaveth them and sheareth them after the manner of the heathen priests, which serve the idols. He sendeth them forth not with false oil only, but with false names also: for compare their names unto their deeds, and thou shalt find them false. He sendeth them forth, as Paul prophesied of them, with lying signs and wonders. What sign is the anointing? That they be full of the Holy Ghost. Compare them to the signs of the Holy Ghost, which Paul reckoneth, and thou shalt find it a false sign. "A bishop must be faultless, the husband of one wife." Nay, saith the pope, the husband of no wife, but the holder of as many whores as he listeth. God commandeth all degrees, if they burn, and cannot live chaste, to marry. The pope saith, If thou burn, take a dispensation for a concubine, and put her away when thou art old; or else, as our lawyers say, Si non caste, tamen caute; that is, If ye live not chaste, see ye carry clean, and play the knave secretly. "Harborous:" yea, to whores and bawds; for a poor man shall as soon break his neck as his fast with them, but of the scraps and with the dogs, when dinner is done. "Apt to teach," and, as Peter saith, "ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that ye have, and that with meekness." Which thing is signified by the boots which doctors of divinity are created in, because they should be ready always to go through thick and thin, to preach God's word; and by the bishop's two-horned mitre, which betokeneth the absolute and perfect knowledge that they ought to have in the new Testament and the old. Be not these false signs? For they beat only, and teach not. 'Yea,' saith the pope, 'If they will not be ruled, cite them to appear; and pose them sharply, what they hold of the pope's power, of his pardons, of his bulls, of purgatory, of ceremonies, of confession, and such like creatures of our most holy father's. If they miss in any point, make heretics of them, and burn them. If they be of mine anointed, and bear my mark, disgrace them, (I would say, disgraduate them,) and after the ensample of noble Antiochus (2 Maccabees 7) pare the crowns and the fingers of them, and torment them craftily, and for very pain make them deny the truth.' ('But now,' say our bishops, 'because the truth is come too far abroad, and the lay-people begin to smell our wiles, it is best to oppress them with craft secretly, and to tame them in prison. Yea, let us find the means to have them in the king's prison, and to make treason of such doctrine: yea, we must stir up some war, one where or another, to bring the people into another imagination.') 'If' they be gentlemen, abjure them secretly. Curse them four times in the year. Make them afraid of every thing; and namely, to touch mine anointed; and make them to fear the sentence of the church, suspensions, excommunications and curses. Be they right or wrong, bear them in hand that they are to be feared yet. Preach me and mine authority, and how terrible a thing my curse is, and how black it maketh their souls.

On the holidays, which were ordained to preach God's word, set up long ceremonies, long matins, long masses, and long evensongs, and all in Latin, that they understand not; and roll them in darkness, that ye may lead them whither ye will. And lest such things should be too tedious, sing some, say some, pipe some, ring the bells, and lull them and rock them asleep.' And yet Paul (1 Corinthians 14) forbiddeth to speak in the church or congregation, save in the tongue that all understand. For the layman thereby is not edified or taught. How shall the layman say Amen (saith Paul) to thy blessing or thanksgiving, when he wotteth not what thou sayest? He wotteth not whether thou bless or curse.

What then saith the pope? 'What care I for Paul? I command by the virtue of obedience, to read the gospel in Latin. Let them not pray but in Latin, no, not their Pater noster. If any be sick, go also and say them a gospel, and all in Latin: yea, to the very corn and fruits of the field, in the procession week, preach the gospel in Latin: make the people believe, that it shall grow the better.' It is verily as good to preach it to swine as to men, if thou preach it in a tongue they understand not. How shall I prepare myself to God's commandments? How shall I be thankful to Christ for his kindness? How shall I believe the truth and promises which God hath sworn, while thou tellest them unto me in a tongue which I understand not?

What then saith my lord of Canterbury to a priest that would have had the new testament gone forth in English? "What," saith he, "wouldest thou that the lay-people should wete what we do?" "No fighter:" which I suppose is signified by the cross that is borne before the high prelates, and borne before them in procession. Is that also not a false sign? What realm can be in peace for such turmoilers? What so little a parish is it, but they will pick one quarrel or another with them, either for some surplice, chrisom, or mortuary, either for one trifle or other, and cite them to the Arches? Traitors they are to all creatures, and have a secret conspiration between themselves. One craft they have, to make many kingdoms, and small; and to nourish old titles or quarrels; that they may ever move them to war at their pleasure; and if much lands by any chance fall to one man, ever to cast a bone in the way, that he shall never be able to obtain it, as we now see in the emperor. Why? For as long as the kings be small, if God would open the eyes of any to set a reformation in his realm, then should the pope interdict his land, and send in other princes to conquer it. "Not given to filthy lucre, but abhorring covetousness;" and, as Peter saith, "Taking the oversight of them, not as though ye were compelled thereunto, but willingly; not for desire of filthy lucre, but of a good mind; not as though ye were lords over the parishes." Over the parishes, quoth he! O Peter, Peter, thou wast too long a fisher; thou wast never brought up at the Arches, neither wast master of the Rolls, nor yet chancellor of England. They are not content to reign over king and emperor, and the whole earth; but challenge authority also in heaven and in hell. It is not enough for them to reign over all that are quick, but have created them a purgatory, to reign also over the dead, and to have one kingdom more than God himself hath. "But that ye be an ensample to the flock," saith Peter; "and when the chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive an incorruptible crown of glory." This "abhorring of covetousness" is signified, as I suppose, by shaving and shearing of the hair, that they have no superfluity. But is not this also a false sign? Yea, verily, it is to them a remembrance to shear and shave, to heap benefice upon benefice, promotion upon promotion, dignity upon dignity, bishoprick upon bishoprick, with pluralities, unions and TOT QUOTS. First, by the authority of the gospel, they that preach the word of God in every parish, and other necessary ministers, have right to challenge an honest living like unto one of the brethren, and therewith ought to be content. Bishops and priests that preach not, or that preach aught save God's word, are none of Christ's, nor of his anointing; but servants of the beast, whose mark they bear, whose word they preach, whose law they maintain clean against God's law, and with their false sophistry give him greater power than God ever gave to his Son Christ.

But they, as unsatiable beasts, not unmindful why they were shaven and shorn, because they will stand at no man's grace, or be in any man's danger, have gotten into their own hands, first the tithe or tenth of all the realm; and then, I suppose within a little, or altogether, the third foot of all the temporal lands.

Mark well how many parsonages or vicarages are there in the realm, which at the least have a plow-land a-piece. Then note the lands of bishops, abbots, priors, nuns, knights of St John's, cathedral churches, colleges, chauntries, and free-chapels. For though the house fall in decay, and the ordinance of the founder be lost, yet will not they lose the lands. What cometh once in, may never more out. They make a free-chapel of it; so that he which enjoyeth it shall do nought therefore. Besides all this, how many chaplains do gentlemen find at their own cost, in their houses? How many sing for souls, by testaments? Then the proving of testaments, the prizing of goods, the bishop of Canterbury's prerogative; is that not much through the realm in a year? Four offering days, and privy tithes. There is no servant, but that he shall pay somewhat of his wages. None shall receive the body of Christ at Easter, be he never so poor a beggar, or never so young a lad or maid, but they must pay somewhat for it. Then mortuaries for forgotten tithes, as they say. And yet what parson or vicar is there that will forget to have a pigeon-house, to peck up somewhat both at sowingtime and harvest, when corn is ripe? They will forget nothing. No man shall die in their debt; or if any man do, he shall pay it when he is dead. They will lose nothing. Why? It is God's; it is not theirs. It is St Hubert's rents, St Alban's lands, St Edmond's right, St Peter's patrimony, say they, and none of ours. Item, if a man die in another man's parish, besides that he must pay at home a mortuary for forgotten tithes, he must there pay also the best that he there hath; whether it be an horse of twenty pound, or how good soever he be; either a chain of gold of an hundred marks, or five hundred pounds, if it so chance. It is much, verily, for so little painstaking in confession, and in ministering the sacraments. Then bead-rolls.

Item chrysome, churchings, banns, weddings, offering at weddings, offering at buryings, offering to images, offering of wax and lights, which come to their vantage; besides the superstitious waste of wax in torches and tapers throughout the land. Then brotherhoods and pardoners. What get they also by confessions? Yea, and many enjoin penance, to give a certain [sum] for to have so many masses said, and desire to provide a chaplain themselves; soul-masses, dirges, month-minds, year-minds, All-souls-day, and trentals. The mother

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church, and the high altar, must have somewhat in every testament. Offerings at priests' first masses. Item, no man is professed, of whatsoever religion it be, but he must bring somewhat. The hallowing, or rather conjuring of churches, chapels, altars, super-altars, chalice, vestments, and bells. Then book, bell, candlestick, organs, chalice, vestments, copes, altar-cloths, surplices, towels, basins, ewers, ship, censer, and all manner ornament, must be found them freely; they will not give a mite thereunto. Last of all, what swarms of begging friars are there! The parson sheareth, the vicar shaveth, the parish priest polleth, the friar scrapeth, and the pardoner pareth; we lack but a butcher to pull off the skin.

What get they in their spiritual law, as they call it, in a year, at the Arches and in every diocese? What get the commissaries, and officials with their somners and apparitors, by bawdery in a year? Shall ye not find curates enough which, to flatter the commissaries and officials withal, that they may go quit themselves, shall open unto them the confessions of the richest of their parishes; whom they cite privily, and lay to their charges secretly?

If they desire to know their accusers, 'Nay,' say they, 'the matter is known well enough, and to more than ye are ware of. Come, lay your hand on the book; if ye forswear yourself, we shall bring proofs, we will handle you, we will make an ensample of you.' Oh, how terrible are they! 'Come, and swear,' say they, 'that you will be obedient unto our injunctions.' And by that craft wring they their purses, and make them drop, as long as there is a penny in them. In three or four years shall they in those offices get enough to pay for a bishop's bull. What other thing are these in a realm save horseleeches, and even very maggots, cankers, and caterpillars, which devour no more but all that is green; and those wolves which Paul prophesied should come, and should not spare the flock; and which Christ said should come in lamb's skins; and bade us beware of them, and judge them by their works?

Though, as I have before sufficiently proved, a christian man must suffer all things, be it never so great unright, as long as it is not against God's commandment; neither is it lawful for him to cast any burden off his back by his own authority, till God pull it off, which laid it on for our deservings; yet ought the kings everywhere to defend their realms from such oppression, if they were Christians; which is seldom seen, and is a hard thing verily, though not impossible. For, alas! they be captives or ever they be kings, yea, almost ere they be born. No man may be suffered about them but flatterers, and such as are first sworn true unto our most holy fathers the bishops; that is to say, false to God and man.

If any of the nobles of the realm be true to the king;, and so bold that he dare counsel him that which should be to his honor and for the wealth of the realm; they will wait a season for him, as men say; they will provide a ghostly father for him. God bring their wickedness to light! There is no mischief whereof they are not the root; nor bloodshed but through their cause, either by their counsel, or in that they preach not true obedience, and teach not the people to fear God. If any faithful servant be in all the court, he shall have twenty spies waiting upon him; he shall be cast out of the court, or, as the saying is, conveyed to Calais, and:made a captain or an ambassador; he shall be kept far enough from the king's presence.

The kings ought, I say, to remember that they are in God's stead, and ordained of God, not for themselves, but for the wealth of their subjects.

Let them remember that their subjects are their brethren, their flesh and blood, members of their own body, and even their ownselves in Christ.

Therefore ought they to pity them, and to rid them from such wily tyranny, which increaseth more and more daily. And though that the kings, by the falsehood of the bishops and abbots, be sworn to defend such liberties; yet ought they not to keep their oaths, but to break them; forasmuch as they are unright and clean against God's ordinance, and even but cruel oppression, contrary unto brotherly love and charity. Moreover the spiritual officer ought to punish no sin; but and if any sin break out, the king is ordained to punish it, and they not; but to preach and exhort them to fear God, and that they sin not.

And let the kings put down some of their tyranny, and turn some unto a common wealth. If the tenth part of such tyranny were given the king yearly, and laid up in the shire-towns, against the realm had need, what would it grow to in certain years? Moreover one king, one law, is God's ordinance in every realm. Therefore ought not the king to suffer them to have a several law by themselves, and to draw his subjects thither, it is not meet, will they say, that a spiritual man should be judged of a worldly or temporal man. O abomination! see how they divide and separate themselves: if the lay-man be of the world, so is he not of God! If he believe in Christ, then is he a member of Christ, Christ's brother, Christ's flesh, Christ's blood, Christ's spouse, coheir with Christ, and hath his Spirit in earnest, and is also spiritual. If they would rob us of the Spirit of God, why should they fear to rob us of worldly goods? Because thou art put in office to preach God's word, art thou therefore no more one of the brethren? Is the mayor of London no more one of the city, because he is the chief officer? Is the king no more of the realm, because he is head thereof? The king is in the room of God; and his law is God's law, and nothing but the law of nature and natural equity, which God grayed in the hearts of men. Yet antichrist is too good to be judged by the law of God; he must have a new, of his own making, it were meet verily that they went to no law at all. No more needed they, if they would study to preach God's word truly, and be contented with sufficient, and to be like one of their brethren.

If any question arose about the faith of the scripture, that let them judge by the manifest and open scriptures, not excluding the lay-men: for there are many found among the lay-men, which are as wise as the officers. Or else, when the officer dieth, how could we put another in his room? Wilt thou so teach twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty years, that no man shall have knowledge or judgment in God's word save thou only? Is it not a shame that we Christians come so oft to church in vain, when he of fourscore years old knoweth no more than he that was born yesterday?

Moreover, when the spiritual officers have excommunicate any man, or have condemned any opinion for heresy; let not the king nor temporal officers punish and slay by and by at their commandment: but let them look on God's word, and compare their judgment unto the scripture, and see whether it be right or no, and not believe them at the first chop whatsoever they say, namely in things that pertain unto their own authorities and power: for no man is a right judge in his own cause. Why doth Christ command the scripture to be preached unto all creatures, but that it pertaineth unto all men to know them? Christ referreth himself unto the scriptures, John 5. And in Matthew 11, unto the question of John Baptist's disciples, he answered, "The blind see, the lepers are cleansed, the dead arise again," etc. meaning that if I do the works which are prophesied that Christ should do when he cometh, why doubt ye whether I be he or no? As who should say, Ask the scripture, whether I be Christ or no, and not myself. How happeneth it then that our prelates will not come to the light also, that we may see whether their works be wrought in God, or no? Why fear they to let the lay-men see what they do?

Why make they all their examinations in darkness? Why examine they not their causes of heresy openly, as the lay-men do their felons and murderers? Wherefore did Christ, and his apostles also, warn us so diligently of Antichrist, and of false prophets that should come? Because that we should slumber or sleep careless? or rather that we should look in the light of the scripture with all diligence, to spy them when they came, and not to suffer ourselves to be deceived and led out of the way? John biddeth judge the spirits. Whereby shall we judge them, but by the scriptures? How shalt thou know whether the prophet be true or false, or whether he speak God's word, or of his own head, if thou wilt not see the scriptures? Why said David, in the second psalm, "Be learned ye that judge the earth, lest the Lord be angry with you, and ye perish from the right way?" A terrible warning, verily: yea, and look on the stories well, and thou shalt find very few kings, since the beginning of the world, that have not perished from the right way, and that because they would not be learned.

The emperor and kings are nothing now-a-days, but even hangmen unto the pope and bishops, to kill whosoever they condemn without any more ado; as Pilate was unto the scribes and Pharisees and the high bishops, to hang Christ. For as those prelates answered Pilate, when he asked what he had done, "If he were not an evil doer, we would not have brought him unto thee;" as who should say, We are too holy to do any thing amiss, thou mayest believe us well enough: yea, and "his blood on our heads," said they; kill him hardly, we will bear the charge, our souls for thine: "We have also a law by which he ought to die, for he calleth himself God's son:" — even so say our prelates, 'He ought to die by our laws, he speaketh against the church.' And, 'Your grace is sworn to defend the liberties and ordinances of the church, and to maintain our most holy father's authority; our souls for yours, ye shall do a meritorious deed therein.' Nevertheless, as Pilate escaped not the judgment of God, even so is it to be feared lest our temporal powers shall not. "Wherefore be learned, ye that judge the earth, lest the Lord be angry with you, and ye perish from the right way."

Who slew the prophets? Who slew Christ? Who slew his apostles? Who the martyrs, and all the righteous that ever were slain? The kings and the temporal sword at the request of the false prophets. They deserved such murder to do, and to have their part with the hypocrites, because they would not be learned, and see the truth themselves. Wherefore suffered the prophets? Because they rebuked the hypocrites which beguiled the world, and namely princes and rulers, and taught them to put their trust in things of vanity, and not in God's word, and taught them to do such deeds of mercy as were profitable unto no man, but unto the false prophets themselves only; making merchandise of God's word. Wherefore slew they Christ? Even for rebuking the hypocrites; because he said, "Woe be to you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven before men," (Matthew 23) that is, as it is written, "Ye have taken away the key of knowledge." (Luke 11) The law of God, which is the key wherewith men bind, and the promises, which are the keys wherewith men loose, have our hypocrites also taken away. They will suffer no man to know God's word, but burn it, and make heresy of it: yea, and because the people begin to smell their falsehood, they make it treason to the king, and breaking of the king's peace, to have so much as their Pater noster in English. And instead of God's law, they bind with their own law: and instead of God's promises, they loose and justify with pardons and ceremonies, which they themselves have imagined for their own profit. They preach, 'It were better for thee to eat flesh on Good Friday, than to hate thy neighbor:' but let any man eat flesh but on a Saturday, or break any other tradition of theirs, and he shall be bound, and not loosed, till he have paid the uttermost farthing, either with shame most vile, or death most cruel. But hate thy neighbor as much as thou wilt, and thou shalt have no rebuke of them; yea, rob him, murder him, and then come to them and welcome. They have a sanctuary for thee, to save thee; yea, and a neck-verse, if thou canst but read a little Latinly, though it be never so sorrily, so that thou be ready to receive the beast's mark. They care for no understanding: it is enough if thou canst roll up a pair of matins, or an even-song, and mumble a few ceremonies. And because they be rebuked thus, they rage. "Be learned, therefore, ye that judge the world, lest God be angry with you, and ye perish from the right way." "Woe be to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!" saith Christ, Matthew 23: "for ye devour widows' houses under a color of long prayer." Our hypocrites rob not the widows only, but knight, squire, lord, duke, king, and emperor, and even the whole world, under the same color; teaching the people to trust in their prayers, and not in Christ, for whose sake God hath forgiven all the sin of the whole world unto as many as repent and believe. They fear them with purgatory, and promise to pray perpetually, lest the lands should ever return home again unto the right heirs. What hast thou bought with robbing thy heirs, or with giving the hypocrites that which thou robbest of other men? Perpetual prayer? Yea, perpetual pain: for they appoint thee no time of deliverance, their prayers are so mighty. The pope for money can empty purgatory when he will. It is, verily, purgatory; for it purgeth and maketh clean riddance: yea, it is hell; for it devoureth all things. His fatherhood sendeth them to heaven with Scala coeli; that is, with a ladder to scale the walls: for by the door, Christ, will they not let them come in. That door have they stopped up; and that because ye should buy ladders of them. For some they pray daily, which gave them perpetuities, and yet make saints of them, receiving offerings in their names, and teaching other to pray to them. None of them, also, which taketh upon them to save other with their prayers, trusteth to be saved thereby themselves; but hire other to pray for them.

Moses taketh record of God, that he took not of any of the people so much as an ass, neither vexed any of them. Samuel, in 1 Kings 12, asked all Israel, Whether he had taken any man's ox or ass; or had vexed any man, or had taken any gift or reward of any man? and all the people testified, 'Say:' yet these two both taught the people, and also prayed for them, as much as our prelates do. Peter, 1 Peter 5, exhorteth the elders to take the oversight of Christ's flock, not for filthy lucre, but of a good will, even for love. Paul, Acts 20, taketh the priests, or elders, to record, that he had taught repentance and faith, and all the counsel of God; and yet had desired no man's gold, silver, or vesture, but fed himself with the labor of his hands. And yet these two taught and prayed for the people as much as our prelates do, with whom it goeth after the common saying, 'No penny, no Paternoster:' which prelates yet, as they teach not but beat only, so wet they not what prayer meaneth.

Moreover, the law of love, which Christ left among us, is to give, and not to receive. What prayer is it then, that thus robbeth all the world, contrary to that great commandment, which is the end of all commandments, and in which all others are contained? If men should continue to buy prayer four or five hundred years more, as they have done, there would not be a foot of ground in Christendom, neither any worldly thing, which they, that will be called spiritual only, should not possess. And thus all should be called spiritual. "Woe be to you lawyers! for ye lade men with burdens which they are not able to bear, and ye yourselves touch not the packs with one of your fingers," saith Christ, Luke 11, Our lawyers, verily, have laden us a thousand times more. What spiritual kindred have they made in baptism to let matrimony! besides that they have added certain degrees unto the law natural for the same purpose. What an unbearable burden of chastity do they violently thrust on other men's backs, and how easily bear they it themselves! How sore a burden, how cruel a hangman, how grievous a torment, yea, and how painful an hell, is this ear-confession unto men's consciences! For the people are brought in belief, that without that they cannot be saved; insomuch that some fast certain days in the year, and pray certain superstitious prayers all their lives long, that they may not die without confession. In peril of death, if the priest be not by, the shipmen shrive themselves unto the mast. If any be present, they run then every man into his ear: but to

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God's promises fly they not, for they know them not. If any man have a death's wound, he crieth immediately for a priest. If a man die without shrift, many take it for a sign of damnation. Many, by reason of that false belief, die in desperation. Many, for shame, keep back of their confession twenty, thirty years, and think all the while that they be damned.

I knew a poor woman with child, which longed, and, being overcome of her passion, ate flesh on a Friday; which thing she durst not confess in the space of eighteen years, and thought all that while that she had been damned, and yet sinned she not at all. Is not this a sore burden, that so weigheth down the soul unto the bottom of hell? What should I say? A great book were not sufficient to rehearse the snares which they have laid to rob men both of their goods, and also of the trust which they should have in God's word. "The scribes and Pharisees do all their works to be seen of men. They set abroad their phylacteries, and make long borders on their garments, and love to sit uppermost at feasts, and to have the chief seats in the synagogues;" that is, in the congregations or councils, "and to be called Rabbi;" that is to say, masters, saith Christ, Matthew 23. Behold the deeds of our spirituality, and how many thousand fashions are among them to be known by which, as none is like another, so loveth none another: for every one of them supposeth that all other poll too fast, and make too many captives. Yet to resist Christ are they all agreed, lest they should be all compelled to deliver up their prisoners to him. Behold the monsters, how they are disguised with mitres, crosiers, and hats, with crosses, pillars, and poleaxes, and with three crowns! What names have they? My lord prior, my lord abbot, my lord bishop, my lord archbishop, cardinal, and legate; if it please your fatherhood; if it please your lordship; if it please your grace; if it please your holiness; and innumerable such like. Behold how they are esteemed, and how high they be crept up above all; not into worldly seats only, but into the seat of God, the hearts of men, where they sit above God himself. For both they, and whatsoever they make of their own heads, is more feared and dread than God and his commandments. In them and their deservings put we more trust than in Christ and his merits.

To their promises give we more faith than to the promises which God hath sworn in Christ's blood.

The hypocrites say unto the kings and lords, 'These heretics would have us down first, and then you, to make of all common.' Nay, ye hypocrites and right heretics, approved by open scripture, the kings and lords are down already; and that so low, that they cannot go lower. Ye tread them under your feet, and lead them captive, and have made them your bond-servants to wait on your filthy lusts, and to avenge your malice on every man, contrary unto the right of God's word. Ye have not only robbed them of their land, authority, honor, and due obedience which ye owe unto them; but also of their wits, so that they are not without understanding in God's word only, but even in worldly matters, that pertain unto their offices, they are more than children. Ye bear them in hand what ye will, and have brought them even in case like unto them which, when they dance naked in nets, believe they are invisible. We would have them up again, and restored unto the room and authority which God hath given them, and whereof ye have robbed them. And your inward falsehood we do but utter only with the light of God's word, that your hypocrisy might be seen. "Be learned, therefore, ye that judge the world, lest God be angry with you, and ye perish from the right way." "Woe be to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For ye make clean the utterside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of bribery and excess," saith Christ, Matthew 23. Is that which our hypocrites eat and drink, and all their riotous excess, any other thing save robbery, and that which they have falsely gotten with their lying doctrine? "Be learned, therefore, ye that judge the world," and compel them to make restitution again. "Ye blind guides," saith Christ, "ye strain out a gnat and swallow a camel." Matthew 23. Do not our blind guides also stumble at a straw, and leap over a block; making narrow consciences at trifles, and at matters of weight none at all? If any of them happen to swallow his spittle, or any of the water wherewith he washeth his mouth, ere he go to mass; or touch the sacrament with his nose; or if the ass forget to breathe on him, or happen to handle it with any of his fingers which are not anointed; or say 'Alleluia' instead of 'Laus tibi, Domine;' or 'Ite, missa est' instead of 'Benedicamus Domino;' or pour too much wine in the chalice; or read the gospel without light; or make not his crosses aright, how trembleth he!

How feareth he! What an horrible sin is committed! I cry God mercy, saith he, and you, my ghostly father. But to hold an whore, or another man's wife, to buy a benefice, to set one realm at variance with another, and to cause twenty thousand men to die on a day, is but a trifle and a pastime with them!

The Jews boasted themselves of Abraham; and Christ said unto them, John 8."If ye were Abraham's children, ye would do the deeds of Abraham." Our hypocrites boast themselves of the authority of Peter, and of Paul, and the other apostles clean contrary unto the deeds and doctrine of Peter, Paul, and of all the other apostles; which both obeyed all worldly authority and power, usurping none to themselves, and taught all other to fear the kings and rulers, and to obey them in all things not contrary to the commandment of God; and not to resist them, though they took away life and goods wrongfully; but patiently to abide God's vengeance. This did our spiritualty never yet, nor taught it. They taught not to fear God in his commandments; but to fear them in their traditions: insomuch that the evil people, which fear not to resist a good king and to rise against him, dare not lay hands on one of them, neither for defiling of wife, daughter, or very mother. When all men lose life and lands, they remain always sure and in safety, and ever win somewhat. For whosoever conquereth other men's lands unrightfully, ever giveth them part with them. To them is all thing lawful. In all councils and parliaments are they the chief. Without them may no king be crowned, neither until he be sworn to their liberties. All secrets know they, even the very thoughts of men's hearts. By them all things are ministered. No king nor realm may, through their falsehood, live in peace.

To believe they teach not in Christ, but in them and their disguised hypocrisy. And of them compel they all men to buy redemption and forgiveness of sins. The people's sin they eat, and thereof wax fat. The more wicked the people are, the more prosperous is their commonwealth.

If kings and great men do amiss, they must build abbeys and colleges; mean men build chantreys; poor find trentals, and brotherhoods, and begging friars. Their own heirs do men disherit, to endote them. All kings are compelled to submit themselves to them. Read the story of king John, and of other kings. They will have their causes avenged, though whole realms should therefore perish. Take from them their disguising; so are they not spiritual. Compare that they have taught us unto the scripture; so are we without faith.

Christ saith, "How can ye believe, which receive glory one of another?" (John 5) If they that seek to be glorious can have no faith, then are our prelates faithless, verily. And, John 7, he saith: "He that speaketh of himself, seeketh his own glory."

If to seek glory and honor be a sure token that a man speaketh of his ownself, and doth his own message, and not his master's; then is the doctrine of our prelates of themselves, and not of God. "Be learned, therefore, ye that judge the earth, lest God be angry with you, and ye perish from the right way."

Be learned, lest the hypocrites bring the wrath of God upon your heads, and compel you to shed innocent blood; as they have compelled your predecessors to slay the prophets, to kill Christ and his apostles, and all the righteous that since were slain. God's word pertaineth unto all men; as it pertaineth unto all servants to know their master's will and pleasure, and to all subjects to know the laws of their prince. Let not the hypocrites do all things secretly. What reason is it that mine enemy should put me in prison at his pleasure, and there diet me, and handle me as he lusteth; and judge me himself, and that secretly; and condemn me by a law of his own making, and then deliver me to Pilate to murder me? Let God's word try every man's doctrine, and whomsoever God's word proveth unclean, let him be taken for a leper. One scripture will help to declare another. And the circumstances, that is to say, the places that go before and after, will give light unto the middle text. And the open and manifest scriptures will ever improve the false and wrong exposition of the darker sentences. Let the temporal power, to whom God hath given the sword to take vengeance, look or ever that they leap, and see what they do. Let the causes be disputed before them, and let him that is accused have room to answer for himself. The powers, to whom God hath committed the sword, shall give accounts for every drop of blood that is shed on the earth. Then shall their ignorance not excuse them, nor the saying of the hypocrites help them, 'My soul for yours, your grace shall do a meritorious deed;' 'your grace ought not to hear them;' 'it is an old heresy condemned by the church.' The king ought to look in the scripture, and see whether it were truly condemned or no, if he will punish it. If the king, or his officer for him, will slay me; so ought the king, or his officer, to judge me. The king cannot, but unto his damnation, lend his sword to kill whom he judgeth not by his own laws.

Let him that is accused stand on the one side, and the accuser on the other side; and let the king's judge sit and judge the cause, if the king will kill, and not be a murderer before God.

Hereof may ye see, not only that our persecution is for the same cause that Christ's was, and that we say nothing that Christ said not; but also that all persecution is only for rebuking of hypocrisy; that is to say, of man's righteousness, and of holy deeds, which man hath imagined to please God and to be saved by without God's word, and beside the testament that God hath made in Christ. If Christ had not rebuked the Pharisees because they taught the people to believe in their traditions and holiness, and in offerings that came to their advantage, and that they taught the widows, and them that had their friends dead, to believe in their prayers, and that through their prayers the dead should be saved; and through that means robbed them both of their goods, and also of the testament and promises that God had made to all that repented in Christ to come; he might have been uncrucified unto this day.

If St Paul also had not preached against circumcision, that it justified not; and that vows, offerings, and ceremonies justified not; and that righteousness, and forgiveness of sins, came not by any deserving of our deeds, but by faith, or believing the promises of God, and by the deserving and merits of Christ only; he might have lived unto this hour. Likewise, if we preached not against pride, covetousness, lechery, extortion, usury, simony, and against the evil living both of the spiritualty as well as of the temporalty, and against inclosings of parks, raising of rents and fines, and of the carrying out of wool out of the realm; we might endure long enough.

But touch the scab of hypocrisy, or pope-holiness, and go about to utter their false doctrine, wherewith they reign as gods in the heart and consciences of men, and rob them not of lands, goods, and authority only, but also of the testament of God, and salvation that is in Christ; then helpeth thee neither God's word, nor yet if thou didst miracles; but that thou art not an heretic only, and hast the devil within thee, but also a breaker of the king's peace, and a traitor. But let us return unto our lying signs again.

What signifieth that the prelates are so bloody, and clothed in red? That they be ready every hour to suffer martyrdom for the testimony of God's word. Is that also not a false sign? When no man dare, for them, once open his mouth to ask a question of God's word, because they are ready to burn him.

What signifieth the poleaxes that are borne before high legates a latere?

Whatsoever false sign they make of them, I care not; but of this I am sure, that as the old hypocrites, when they had slain Christ, set poleaxes to keep him in his sepulcher, that he should not rise again, even so have our hypocrites buried the testament that God made unto us in Christ's blood; and to keep it down, that it rise not again, is all their study; whereof these poleaxes are the very sign.

Is not that shepherd's hook, the bishop's crose, a false sign? Is not that white rochet, that the bishops and canons wear, so like a nun, and so effeminately, a false sign? What other things are their sandals, gloves, mitres, and all the whole pomp of their disguising, than false signs, in which Paul prophesied that they should come? And as Christ warned us to beware of wolves in lamb's skins, and bade us look rather unto their fruits and deeds than to wonder at their disguisings, run throughout all our holy religions, and thou shalt find them likewise all clothed in falsehood.

OF THE SACRAMENTS.

Forasmuch as we be come to signs, we will speak a word or two of the signs which God hath ordained; that is to say, of the sacraments which Christ left among us for our comfort, that we may walk in light and in truth, and in feeling of the power of God. For "he that walketh in the day stumbleth not;" when contrariwise he that walketh in the night stumbleth, John 11. And "they that walk in darkness wot not whither they go."

This word, sacrament, is as much to say as an holy sign, and representeth alway some promise of God: as in the old Testament God ordained that the rainbow should represent and signify unto all men an oath, that God sware to Noe and to all men after him, that he would no more drown the world through water.

THE SACRAMENT OF THE BODY AND BLOOD OF CHRIST.

So the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ hath a promise annexed, which the priest should declare in the English tongue. "This is my body, that is broken for you." "This is my blood, that is shed for many, unto the forgiveness of sins." "This do in remembrance of me," saith Christ, Luke 22 and 1 Corinthians 11. If when thou seest the sacrament, or eatest his body, or drinkest his blood, thou have this promise fast in thine heart, that his body was slain and his blood shed for thy sins, and believest it, so art thou saved and justified thereby. If not, so helpeth it thee not, though thou hearest a thousand masses in a day, or though thou doest nothing else all thy life long than eat his body or drink his blood: no more than it should help thee, in a dead thirst, to behold a bush at a tavern door, if thou knewest not thereby that there were wine within to be sold.

BAPTISM.

Baptism hath also his word and promise, which the priest ought to teach the people, and christen them in the English tongue; and not to play the popinjay with 'Credo say ye,' 'Volo say ye,' and 'Baptismum say ye;' for there ought to be no mumming in such a matter. The priest, before he baptizeth, asketh, saying: 'Believest thou in God the Father Almighty, and in his Son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost, and that the congregation of Christ is holy?' And they say, 'Yea.' Then the priest upon this faith baptizeth the child in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, for the forgiveness of sins, as Peter saith, Acts 2.

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The washing without the word helpeth not: but through the word it purifieth and cleanseth us: as thou readest, Ephesians 5, how Christ cleanseth the congregation in the fountain of water through the word. The word is the promise that God hath made. Now as a preacher, in preaching the word of God, sayeth the hearers that believe; so doth the washing, in that it preacheth and representeth unto us the promise that God hath made unto us in Christ. The washing preacheth unto us, that we are cleansed with Christ's blood-shedding; which was an offering, and a satisfaction, for the sin of all that repent and believe, consenting and submitting themselves unto the will of God. The plunging into the water signifieth that we die, and are buried with Christ, as concerning the old life of sin, which is Adam.

And the pulling out again signifieth that we rise again with Christ in a new life, full of the Holy Ghost, which shall teach us and guide us, and work the will of God in us, as thou seest, Romans 6.

OF WEDLOCK.

Matrimony, or wedlock, is a state or a degree ordained of God, and an office wherein the husband serveth the wife, and the wife the husband. It was ordained for a remedy, and to increase the world; and for the man to help the woman, and the woman the man, with all love and kindness; and not to signify any promise, that ever I heard or read of in the scripture.

Therefore ought it not to be called a sacrament. It hath a promise, that we sin not in that state, if a man receive his wife as a gift given to him of God, and the wife her husband likewise: as all manner meats and drinks have a promise that we sin not, if we use them measurably with thanksgiving. If they call matrimony a sacrament, because the scripture useth the similitude of matrimony to express the marriage, or wedlock, that is between us and Christ; (for as a woman, though she be never so poor, yet when she is married, is as rich as her husband; even so we, when we repent and believe the promises of God in Christ, though we be never so poor sinners, yet are as rich as Christ; all his merits are ours, with all that he hath;) if for that cause they call it a sacrament, so will I mustard-seed, leaven, a net, keys, bread, water, and a thousand other things, which Christ and the prophets and all the scripture use, to express the kingdom of heaven and God's word withal. They praise wedlock with their mouth, and say, 'It is an holy thing,' as it is verily; but had lever be sanctified with a whore, than to come within the sanctuary.

OF ORDER.

Subdeacon, deacon, priest, bishop, cardinal, patriarch, and pope, be names of offices and service, or should be, and not sacraments. There is no promise coupled therewith. If they minister their offices truly, it is a sign that Christ's Spirit is in them; if not, that the devil is in them. Are these, all sacraments, or which one of them? Or what thing in them is that holy sign or sacrament? The shaving, or the anointing? What also is the promise that is signified thereby? But what word printeth in them that character, that spiritual seal? O dreamers and natural beasts, without the seal of the Spirit of God; but sealed with the mark of the beast and with cankered consciences!

There is a word called in Latin sacerdos, in Greek hiereus, in Hebrew cohan, that is, a minister, an officer, a sacrificer or a priest; as Aaron was a priest, and sacrificed for the people, and was a mediator between God and them. And in the English should it have had some other name than priest. But Antichrist hath deceived us with unknown and strange terms, to bring us into confusion and superstitious blindness. Of that manner is Christ a priest for ever; and all we priests through him, and need no more of any such priest on earth, to be a mean for us unto God . For Christ hath brought us all into the inner temple, within the veil or forehanging, and unto the mercy-stool of God, and hath coupled us unto God; where we offer, every man for himself, the desires and petitions of his heart, and sacrifice and kill the lusts and appetites of his flesh, with prayer, fasting, and all manner godly living. Another word is there in Greek, called presbyter, in Latin senior, in English an elder, and is nothing but an officer to teach, and not to be a mediator between God and us. This needeth no anointing of man. They of the old Testament were anointed with oil, to signify the anointing of Christ, and of us through Christ, with the Holy Ghost. Thiswise is no man priest, but he that is chosen; save as in time of necessity every person christeneth, so may every man teach his wife and household, and the wife her children.

So in time of need, if I see my brother sin, I may between him and me rebuke him, and damn his deed by the law of God; and may also comfort them that are in despair, with the promises of God; and save them if they believe.

By a priest then, in the new Testament, understand nothing but an elder to teach the younger, and to bring them unto the full knowledge and understanding of Christ, and to minister the sacraments which Christ ordained, which is also nothing but to preach Christ's promises. And by them that give all their study to quench the light of truth, and to hold the people in darkness, understand the disciples of Satan and messengers of antichrist, whatsoever names they have, or whatsoever they call themselves. And as concerning that our spirituality (as they will be called) make themselves holier than the lay-people, and take so great lands and goods to pray for them, and promise them pardons and forgiveness of sins, or absolution, without preaching of Christ's promises, [it] is falsehood, and the working of antichrist; and (as I have said) the ravening of those wolves which Paul (Acts 20.) prophesied should come after his departing, not sparing the flock. Their doctrine is that merchandise whereof Peter speaketh, saying: "Through covetousness shall they with reigned words make merchandise of you." (2 Peter 2) And their reasons, wherewith they prove their doctrine, are (as saith Paul <540601> Timothy 6.) "Superfluous disputings, arguings or brawlings of men with corrupt minds, and destitute of truth, which think that lucre is godliness."

But Christ saith, Matthew 7, "By their fruits shalt thou know them;" that is, by their filthy covetousness, and shameless ambition, and drunken desire of honor, contrary unto the ensample and doctrine of Christ and of his apostles. Christ said to Peter, the last chapter of John: "Feed my sheep:" and not, 'Shear thy flock.' And Peter saith, (1 Peter 5.) "Not being lords over the parishens." But these shear, and are become lords.

Paul saith, 2 Corinthians 2, "Not that we be lords over your faith:" but these will be lords; and compel us to believe whatsoever they lust, without any witness of scripture, yea, clean contrary to the scripture; when the open text rebuketh it. Paul saith, "It is better to give, than to receive," (Acts 20) but these do nothing in the world but lay snares to catch and receive whatsoever cometh, as it were the gaping mouth of hell. And Corinthians 12, "I seek not yours, but you:" but these seek not you to Christ, but yours to themselves; and therefore, lest their deeds should be rebuked, will not come at the light.

Nevertheless the truth is, that we are all equally beloved in Christ, and God hath sworn to all indifferently. According, therefore, as every man believeth God's promises, longeth for them, and is diligent to pray unto God to fulfill them, so is his prayer heard; and as good is the prayer of a cobbler as of a cardinal, and of a butcher as of a bishop; and the blessing of a baker that knoweth the truth is as good as the blessing of our most holy father the pope. And by blessing understand not the wagging of the pope's or bishop's hand over thine head, but prayer; as when we say, 'God make thee a good man,' 'Christ put his Spirit in thee,' or 'Give thee grace and power to walk in the truth, and to follow his commandments,' etc.: as Rebecca's friends blessed her when she departed, (Genesis 24) saying, "Thou art our sister: grow unto thousand thousands, and thy seed possess the gates of their enemies:" and as Isaac blessed Jacob, (Genesis 27) saying, "God give thee of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the earth, abundance of corn, wine and oil," etc.: and, (Genesis 28) "Almighty God bless thee, and make thee grow, and multiply thee, that thou mayest be a great multitude of people, and give to thee and to thy seed after thee the blessings of Abraham; that thou mayest possess the land wherein thou art a stranger, which he promised to thy grandfather:"] and such like.

Last of all, one singular doubt they have: what maketh the priest; the anointing, or putting on of the hands, or what other ceremony, or what words? About which they brawl and scold, one ready to tear out another's throat. One saith this, and another that; but they cannot agree. Neither can any of them make so strong a reason which another cannot improve: for they are all out of the way, and without the Spirit of God, to judge spiritual things, Howbeit to this I answer, that when Christ called twelve up into the mountain, and chose them, then immediately, without any anointing or ceremony, were they his apostles; that is to wit, ministers chosen to be sent to preach his testament unto all the whole world. And after the resurrection, when he had opened their wits, and given them knowledge, to understand the secrets of his testament, and how to bind and loose, and what he would have them to do in all things; then he sent them forth with a commandment to preach, and bind the unbelieving that continue in sin, and to loose the believing that repent. And that commandment, or charge, made them bishops, priests, popes, and all thing. If they say that Christ made them priests at his maundy, or last supper, when he said, "Do this in the remembrance of me;" I answer, Though the apostles wist not then what he meant, yet I will not strive nor say thereagainst, Neverthelater the commandment and the charge, which he gave them, made them priests.

And, Acts 1, when Matthias was chosen by lot, it is not to be doubted but that the apostles, after their common manner, prayed for him, that God would give him grace to minister his office truly; and put their hands on him, and exhorted him, and gave him charge to be diligent and faithful; and then was he as great as the best. And, Acts 6, when the disciples that believed had chosen six deacons to minister to the widows, the apostles prayed and put their hands on them, and admitted them without more ado.

Their putting on of hands was not after the manner of the dumb blessing of our holy bishops, with two fingers; but they spake unto them, and told them their duty, and gave them a charge, and warned them to be faithful in the Lord's business: as we choose temporal officers, and read their duty to them, and they promise to be faithful ministers, and then are admitted.

Neither is there any other manner or ceremony at all required in making of our spiritual officers, than to choose an able person, and then to rehearse him his duty, and give him his charge, and so to put him in his room. And as for that other solemn doubt, as they call it, Whether Judas was a priest or no? I care not what he then was; but of this I am sure, that he is now not only priest, but also bishop, cardinal, and pope.

OF PENANCE.

Penance is a word of their own forging, to deceive us withal, as many others are. In the scripture we find poenitenti a, "repentance:" agite poenitentiam, "do repent;" poeniteat vos, "let it repent you:" metanoyte, in Greek, "for-think ye," or "let it forthink you." Of repentance they have made penance, to blind the people, and to make them think that they must take pains, and do some holy deeds, to make satisfaction for their sins; namely such as they enjoin them. As thou mayest see in the chronicles, when great kings and tyrants (which with violence of sword conquered other kings' lands, and slew all that came to hand) came to themselves, and had conscience of their wicked deeds; then the bishops coupled them, not to Christ, but unto the pope, and preached the pope unto them; and made them to submit themselves, and also their realms, unto the holy father the pope, and to take penance, as they call it; that is to say, such injunctions as the pope and bishops would command them to do, to build abbeys, to endote them with livelihood, to be prayed for for ever; and to give them exemptions and privilege and licence to do what they lust unpunished.

Repentance goeth before faith, and prepareth the way to Christ, and to the promises. For Christ cometh not but unto them that see their sins in the law, and repent. Repentance, that is to say, this mourning and sorrow of the heart, lasteth all our lives long: for we find ourselves, all our lives long, too weak for God's law, and therefore sorrow and mourn, longing for strength. Repentance is no sacrament: as faith, hope, love, and knowledge of a man's sins, are not to be called sacraments. For they are spiritual and invisible. Now must a sacrament be an outward sign that may be seen, to signify, to represent, and to put a man in remembrance of some spiritual promise, which cannot be seen but by faith only. Repentance, and all the good deeds which accompany repentance, to slay the lusts of the flesh, are signified by baptism. 'For Paul saith, Romans 6, as it is above rehearsed: "Remember ye not (saith he), that all we which are baptised in the name of Christ Jesus are baptised to die with him? We are buried with him in baptism for to die;" that is, to kill the lusts and the rebellion which remaineth in the flesh. And after that he saith, "Ye are dead, as concerning sin, but live unto God through Christ Jesus our Lord." If thou look on the profession of our hearts, and on the Spirit and forgiveness which we have received through Christ's merits, we are full dead: but if thou look on the rebellion of the flesh, we do but begin to die, and to be baptised, that is, to drown and quench the lusts, and are full baptised at the last minute of death. And as concerning the working of the Spirit, we begin to live, and grow every day more and more, both in knowledge and also in godly living, according as the lusts abate: as a child receiveth the full soul at the first day, yet groweth daily in the operations and works thereof.

OF CONFESSION.

Confession is diverse: one followeth true faith inseparably, and is the confessing, and knowledging with the mouth, wherein we put our trust and confidence. As when we say our Credo, confessing that we trust in God the Father Almighty, and in his truth and promises; and in his Son Jesus, our Lord, and in his merits and descryings; and in the Holy Ghost, and in his power, assistance and guiding. This confession is necessary unto all men that will be saved. For Christ saith, Matthew 10, "He that denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father that is in heaven."

And of this confession, saith the holy apostle Paul, in the 10th chapter: "the belief of the heart justifieth; and to knowledge with the mouth maketh a man safe." This is a wonderful text for our philosophers, or rather sophisters, our worldly-wise enemies to the wisdom of God, our deep and profound wells without water, our clouds without moisture of rain; that is to say, natural souls without the Spirit of God and feeling of godly things.

To justify, and to make safe, are both one thing. And to confess with the mouth is a good work, and the fruit of a true faith, as all other works are.

If thou repent and believe the promises, then God's truth justifieth thee; that is, forgiveth thee thy sins, and sealeth thee with his holy Spirit, and maketh thee heir of everlasting life, through Christ's descryings. Now if thou have true faith, so

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seest thou the exceeding and infinite love and mercy which God hath showed thee freely in Christ: then must thou needs love again: and love cannot but compel thee to work, and boldly to confess and knowledge thy Lord Christ, and the trust which thou hast in his word.

And this knowledge maketh thee safe; that is, declareth that thou art safe already, certifieth thine heart, and maketh thee feel that thy faith is right, and that God's Spirit is in thee, as all other good works do. For if, when it cometh unto the point, thou hadst no lust to work, nor power to confess, how couldest thou presume to think that God's Spirit were in thee?

Another confession is there, which goeth before faith, and accompanieth repentance. For whosoever repenteth, doth knowledge his sins in his heart.

And whosoever doth knowledge his sins, receiveth forgiveness, as saith John, in the first of his first epistle: "If we knowledge our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness;" that is, because he hath promised, he must for his truth's sake do it. This confession is necessary all our lives long, as is repentance. And as thou understandest of repentance, so understand of this confession; for it is likewise included in the sacrament of baptism. For we always repent, and always knowledge or confess our sins unto God, and yet despair not; but remember that we are washed in Christ's blood: which thing our baptism doth represent and signify unto us.

Shrift in the ear is verily a work of Satan; and that the falsest that ever was wrought, and that most hath devoured the faith. It began among the Greeks, and was not as it is now, to reckon all a man's sins in the priest's ear; but to ask counsel of such doubts as men had, as thou mayest see in St Hierome, and in other authors, Neither went they to priests only, which were very few at that time, no more than preached the word of God; for this so great vantage in so many masses saying was not yet found; but went indifferently, where they saw a good and a learned man. And for because of a little knavery, which a deacon at Constantinople played through confession with one of the chief wives of the city, it was laid down again. But we, antichrist's possession, the more knavery we see grow thereby daily, the more we stablish it. A christian man is a spiritual thing; and hath God's word in his heart, and God's Spirit to certify him of all thing. He is not bound to come to any ear. And as for the reasons which they make, [they] are all but persuasions of man's wisdom. First, as pertaining unto the keys and manner of binding and loosing, is enough above rehearsed, and in other places. Thou mayest also see how the apostles used them in the Acts; and, in Paul's epistles, how at the preaching of faith the Spirit came, and certified their hearts that they were justified through believing the promises.

When a man feeleth that his heart consenteth unto the law of God, and feeleth himself meek, patient, courteous, and, merciful to his neighbor, altered and fashioned like unto Christ; why should he doubt but that God hath forgiven him, and chosen him, and put his Spirit in him, though he never crome his sin into the priest's ear?

One blind reason have they, saying, How shall the priest unbind, loose, and forgive the sin which he knoweth not? How did the apostles? The scripture forsake they, and run unto their blind reasons; and draw the scripture unto a carnal purpose. When I have told thee in thine ear all that I have done my life long, in order and with all circumstances after the shamefullest manner, what canst thou do more than preach me the promises, saying, 'If thou repent and believe, God's truth shall save thee for Christ's sake?' Thou seest not mine heart; thou knowest not whether I repent or no; neither whether I consent to the law, that it is holy, righteous, and good.

Moreover, whether I believe the promises or no, is also unknown to thee.

If thou preach the law and the promises (as the apostles did), so should they that God hath chosen repent, and believe, and be saved, even now as well as then. Howbeit antichrist must know all secrets, to stablish his kingdom, and to work his mysteries withal.

They bring also for them the story of the ten lepers, which is written in Luke 17. Here mark their falsehood, and learn to know them for ever.

The fourteenth Sunday after, the feast of the Trinity, the beginning of the seventh lesson is the said gospel; and the eighth and the ninth lessons, with the rest of the seventh, is the exposition of Bede upon the said gospel: where saith Bede, "Of all that Christ healed, of whatsoever disease it were, he sent none unto the priest but the lepers;" and by the lepers interpreteth followers of false doctrine only, which the spiritual officers and the learned men of the congregation ought to examine, and rebuke their learning with God's word, and to warn the congregation to beware of them. Which, if they were afterward healed by the grace of Christ, ought to come before the congregation, and there openly confess their true faith. But all other vices (saith he) doth God heal within, in the conscience. Though they thiswise read at matins, yet at high mass, if they have any sermon at all, they lie, clean contrary unto this open truth. Neither are they ashamed at all. For why? they walk altogether in darkness.

OF CONTRITION.

Contrition and repentance are both one, and nothing else but a sorrowful and a mourning heart. And because that God hath promised mercy unto a contrite heart, that is, to a sorrowful and repenting heart, they, to beguile God's word and to stablish their wicked tradition, have reigned that new word attrition, saying, 'Thou canst not know whether thy sorrow or repentance be contrition or attrition, except thou be shriven. When thou art shriven, then it is true contrition.' O foxy Pharisee! that is thy leaven, of which Christ so diligently bade us beware, Matthew 16; and the very prophecy of Peter, "Through covetousness with feigned words shall they make merchandise of you." 2 Peter 2. With such glosses corrupt they God's word, to sit in the consciences of the people, to lead them captive, and to make a prey of them; buying and selling their sins, to satisfy their unsatiable covetousness. Nevertheless the truth is, when any man hath trespassed against God, if he repent and knowledge his trespass, God promiseth him forgiveness without ear-shrift.

If he that hath offended his neighbor repent and knowledge his fault, asking forgiveness if his neighbor forgive him, God forgiveth him also by his holy promise. Matthew 18. Likewise, if he that sinneth openly, when he is openly rebuked, repent and turn, then if the congregation forgive him, God forgiveth him: and so forth whosoever repenteth, and, when he is rebuked, knowledgeth his fault, is forgiven.

He also that doubteth, or hath his conscience tangled, ought to open his mind unto some faithful brother that is learned, and he shall give him faithful counsel to help him withal.

To whom a man trespasseth, unto him he ought to confess. But to confess myself unto thee, O antichrist, whom I have not offended, am I not bound.

They of the old law had no confession in the ear. Neither the apostles, nor they that followed marty hundred years after, knew of any such whispering.

Whereby then was their attrition turned into contrition? Yea, why are we, which Christ came to loose, more bound than the Jews? Yea, and why are we more bound without scripture? For Christ came not to make us more bound; but to loose us, and to make a thousand things no sin which before were sin, and are now become sin again. He left none other law with us, but the law of love. tie loosed us not from Moses to bind us unto antichrist's ear. God hath not tied Christ unto antichrist's car, neither hath poured all his mercy in thither; for it hath no record in the old Testament, that antichrist's ear should be Propitiatorium, that is to wit, God's mercystool, and that God should creep into so narrow a hole, so that he could no where else be found. Neither did God write his laws, neither yet his holy promises, in antichrist's ear; but hath grayed them with his holy Spirit in the hearts of them that believe, that they might have them always ready at hand to be saved thereby.

SATISFACTION.

As pertaining unto satisfaction, thiswise understand, that he that loveth God hath a commandment (as St John saith in the <610401> fourth chapter of his first epistle) to "love his neighbor also:" whom if thou have offended, thou must make him amends or satisfaction, or at the leastway, if thou be notable: ask him forgiveness; and if he will have mercy of God, he is bound to forgive thee. If he will not, yet God forgiveth thee, if thou thus submit thyself. But unto God-ward Christ is a perpetual and an everlasting satisfaction for evermore.

As oft as thou fullest through frailty, repent and come again, and thou art safe and welcome; as thou mayest see by the similitude of the riotous son, Luke 15. If thou be lopen [leaped] out of sanctuary, come in again. If thou be fallen from the way of truth, come thereto again, and thou art safe: if thou be gone astray, come to the fold again, and the shepherd, Christ, shall save thee; yea, and the angels of heaven shall rejoice at thy coming, so far it is off that any man shall beat thee or chide thee. If any Pharisee envy thee, grudge at thee, or rail upon thee, thy Father shall make answer for thee, as thou seest in the fore-rehearsed likeness or parable. Whosoever therefore is gone out of the way, by whatsoever chance it be, let him come to his baptism again, and unto the profession thereof, and he shall be safe.

For though that the washing of baptism be past, yet the power thereof, that is to say, the word of God which baptism preacheth, lasteth ever and sayeth for ever: as Paul is past and gone, nevertheless the word that Paul preached lasteth ever, and sayeth ever as many as come thereto with a repenting heart and a stedfast faith.

Hereby seest thou that, when they make penance of repentance, and call it a sacrament, and divide it into contrition, confession, and satisfaction, they speak of their own heads, and lie falsely.

ABSOLUTION.

Their absolution also justifieth no man from sin. "For with the heart do men believe to be justified withal," saith Paul, Romans 10; that is, through faith and believing the promises are we justified, as I have sufficiently proved in other places with the scripture. "Faith" (saith Paul in the same place) "cometh by hearing," that is to say, by hearing the preacher that is sent from God, and preacheth God's promises. Now, when thou absolvest in Latin, the unlearned heareth not: for, "How," saith Paul, <461401> Corinthians "when thou blessest in an unknown tongue, shall the unlearned say Amen unto thy thanksgiving? for he wotteth not what thou sayest."

So likewise the lay wotteth not whether thou loose or bind, or whether thou bless or curse. In like manner is it if the lay understand Latin, or though the priest absolve in English: for in his absolution he rehearseth no promise of God; but speaketh his own words, saying, 'I, by the authority of Peter and Paul, absolve or loose thee from all thy sins.' Thou sayest so, which art but a lying man; and never more than now, verily.

Thou sayest, 'I forgive thee thy sins;' and the scripture, John 1, That Christ only forgiveth, and "taketh away the sins of the world." And Paul and Peter, and all the apostles, preach that all is forgiven in Christ, and for Christ's sake. God's word only looseth; and thou in preaching that mightest loose also, and else not.

Whosoever hath cars let him hear, and let him that hath eyes see. If any man love to be blind, his blindness on his own head, and not on mine.

They allege for themselves the saying of Christ to Peter, Matthew 16, "Whatsoever thou bindest on earth, it shall be bound; and whatsoever thou loosest," and so forth. 'Lo, say they, whatsoever we bind, and whatsoever we loose, here is nothing excepted.' And another text say they of Christ, in the last of Matthew: "All power is given to me," saith Christ, "in heaven and in earth: go therefore and preach," etc. Preaching leaveth the pope out; and saith, 'Lo, all power is given me in heaven and in earth;' and thereupon taketh upon him temporal power above king and emperor, and maketh laws and bindeth them. And like power taketh he over God's laws, and dispenseth with them at his lust, making no sin of that which God maketh sin, and maketh sin where God maketh none: yea, and wipeth out God's laws clean, and maketh at his pleasure; and with him is lawful what he lusteth. He bindeth where God looseth, and looseth where God bindeth. He blesseth where God curseth, and curseth where God blesseth, He taketh authority also to bind and loose in purgatory. That permit I unto him; for it is a creature of his own making. He also bindeth the angels: for we read of popes that have commanded the angels to fet [fetch] divers out of purgatory. Howbeit I am not yet certified whether they obeyed or no.

Understand therefore that to bind and to loose is to preach the law of God and the gospel or promises; as thou mayest see in the third chapter of the second epistle to the <470301> Corinthians, where Paul calleth the preaching of the law the ministration of death and damnation, and the preaching of the promises the ministering of the Spirit and of righteousness. For when the law is preached, all men are found sinners, and therefore damned: and when the gospel and glad tidings are preached, then are all, that repent and believe, found righteous in Christ, And so expound it all the old doctors.

Saint Hierome saith upon this text, "Whatsoever thou bindest," 'The bishops and priests, (saith he,) for lack of understanding, take a little presumption of the Pharisees upon them; and think that they have authority to bind innocents, and to loose the wicked:' which thing our pope and bishops do. For they say the curse is to be feared, be it right or wrong.

Though thou have not deserved, yet if the pope curse thee, thou art in peril of thy soul, as they lie: yea, and though he be never so wrongfully cursed, he must be fain to buy absolution. But Saint Hierome saith, 'As the priest of the old law made the lepers clean or unclean, so bindeth and unbindeth the priest of the new law.' The priest there made no man a leper, neither cleansed any man, but God; and the priest judged only, by Moses' law, who was clean and who was unclean, when they were brought unto him.

So here we have the law of God to judge what is sin and what is not, and who is bound and who is not. Moreover, if any man have sinned, yet if he repent and believe the promise, we are sure by God's word, that he is loosed and forgiven in Christ. Other authority than thiswise to preach, have the priests not. Christ's apostles had no other themselves, as it appeareth throughout all the new Testament: therefore it is manifest that they have not.

St Paul saith, 1 Corinthians "When we say all things are under Christ, he is to be excepted that put all under him."

God the Father is not under Christ, but above Christ, and Christ's head.

Christ saith, John "I have not spoken of mine own head, but my Father, which sent me, gave a commandment what I should say and what I should speak. Whatsoever I speak therefore, even as my Father bade me so I speak."

If Christ had a law what he should do, how happeneth it that the pope so runneth at large, lawless? Though that all power were given unto Christ in heaven and in earth, yet had he no power over his Father, nor yet to reign temporally over temporal princes, but a commandment to obey them. How hath the pope then such temporal authority over king and

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emperor? How hath he authority above God's laws, and to command the angels, the saints, and God himself?

Christ's authority, which he gave to his disciples, was to preach the law, and to bring sinners to repentance, and then to preach unto them the promises, which the Father had made unto all men for his sake. And the same to preach only, sent he his apostles. As a king sendeth forth his judges, and giveth them his authority, saying, 'What ye do, that do I; I give you my full power:' yet meaneth he not, by that full power, that they should destroy any town or city, or oppress any man, or do what they list, or should reign over the lords and dukes of his realm, and over his own self; but giveth them a law with them, and authority to bind and loose, as far forth as the law stretcheth and maketh mention: that is, to punish the evil that do wrong, and to avenge the poor that suffer wrong. And so far as the law stretcheth, will the king defend his judge against all men. And as the temporal judges bind and loose temporally, so do the priests spiritually, and no other ways. Howbeit, by falsehood and subtlety the pope reigneth under Christ, as cardinals and bishops do under kings, lawless.

The pope (say they) absolveth or looseth a poena et culpa; that is, from the fault or trespass, and from the rain due unto the trespass. God, if a man repent, forgiveth the offense only, and not the pain also, say they, save turneth the everlasting pain unto a temporal pain; and appointeth seven years in purgatory for every deadly sin. But the pope for money forgiveth both, and hath more power than God, and is more merciful than God. 'This do I,' saith the pope, ' of my full power, and of the treasure of the church; of descryings of martyrs, confessors, and merits of Christ.'

First, the merits of the saints did not save themselves, but were saved by Christ's merits only. Secondarily, God hath promised Christ's merits unto all that repent; so that whosoever repenteth, is immediately heir of all Christ's merits, and beloved of God as Christ is. How then came this foul monster to be lord over Christ's merits, so that he hath power to sell that which God giveth freely?

O dreamers! yea, O devils, and O venomous scorpions, what poison have ye in your tails! O pestilent leaven, that so turneth the sweet bread of Christ's doctrine into the bitterness of gall!

The friars run in the same spirit, and teach, saying, 'Do good deeds, and redeem the pains that abide you in purgatory; yea, give us somewhat to do good works for you.' And thus is sin become the profitablest merchandise in the world. O the cruel wrath of God upon us, because we love not the truth!

For this is the damnation and judgment of God, to send a false prophet unto him that will not hear the truth. "I know you," saith Christ, (John 5) "that ye have not the love of God in you. I am come in my Father's name, and ye receive me not; if another shall come in his own name, him shall ye receive."

Thus doth God avenge himself on the malicious hearts which have no love to his truth.

All the promises of God have they either wiped clean out, or thus leavened them with open lies, to stablish their confession withal. And, to keep us from knowledge of the truth, they do all thing in Latin. They pray in Latin, they christen in Latin, they bless in Latin, they give absolution in Latin; only curse they in the English tongue. Wherein they take upon them greater authority than ever God gave them. For in their curses (as they call them) with book, bell, and candle, they command God and Christ, and the angels, and all saints, to curse them: 'Curse them God (say they), Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; curse them Virgin Mary,' etc. O ye abominable! who gave you authority to command God to curse? God commandeth you to bless, and ye command him to curse! "Bless them that persecute you: bless, but curse not," saith St Paul, Romans 12. What tyranny will these not use over men, which presume and take upon them to be lords over God, and to command him? If God shall curse any man, who shall bless and make him better? No man can amend himself, except God pour his Spirit unto him. Have we not a commandment to love our neighbor as ourselves?

How can I love him, and curse him also? James saith, "It is not possible that blessing and cursing should come both out of one mouth." Christ commandeth, Matthew 5, saying, "Love your enemies.Bless them that curse you. Do good to them that hate you. Pray for them that do you wrong and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your heavenly Father."

In the marches of Wales it is the manner, if any man have an ox or a cow stolen, he cometh to the curate, and desireth him to curse the stealer; and he commandeth the parish to give him, every man, God's curse and his: 'God's curse and mine have he,' saith every man in the parish. O merciful God! what is blasphemy, if this be not blasphemy, and shaming of the doctrine of Christ?

Understand therefore, the power of excommunication is this: if any man sin openly, and amendeth not when he is warned, then ought he to be rebuked openly before all the parish. And the priest ought to prove by the scripture, that all such have no part with Christ. For Christ serveth not, but for them that love the law of God, and consent that it is good, holy, and righteous; and repent, sorrowing and mourning for power and strength to fulfill it.

And all the parish ought to be warned to avoid the company of all such, and to take them as heathen people. This is not done that he should perish; but to save him, to make him ashamed, and to kill the lusts of the flesh, that the spirit might come unto the knowledge of truth. And we ought to pity him, and to have compassion on him, and with all diligence to pray unto God for him, to give him grace to repent and to come to the right way again; and not to use such tyranny over God and man, commanding God to curse. And if he repent, we ought with all mercy to receive him in again.

This mayest thou see Matthew 18, and 1 Corinthians 5, and Corinthians 2.

CONFIRMATION.

If Confirmation have a promise, then it justifieth as far as the promise extendeth. If it have no promise, then is it not of God, as the bishops be not. The apostles and ministers of God preach God's word; and God's signs or sacraments signify God's word also, and put us in remembrance of the promises which God hath made unto us in Christ. Contrariwise, antichrist's bishops preach not; and their sacraments speak not; but as the disguised bishop's mum, so are their superstitious sacraments dumb. After that the bishops had left preaching, then reigned they this dumb ceremony of confirmation, to have somewhat at the leastway, whereby they might reign over their dioceses. They reserved unto themselves also the christening of bells, and conjuring or hallowing of churches and churchyards, and of altars and super-altars, and hallowing of chalices, and so forth; whatsoever is of honor or profit. Which confirmation, and the other conjurations also, they have now committed to their suffragans; because they themselves have no leisure to minister such things, for their lusts and pleasures, and abundance of all things, and for the cumbrance that they have in the king's matters and business of the realm. One keepeth the privy seal; another the great seal; the third is confessor, (that is to say, a privy traitor and a secret Judas;) he is president of the prince's council; he is an ambassador; another sort, of the king's secret council. Woe is unto the realms where they are of the council. As profitable are they, verily, unto the realms with their counsel, as the wolves unto the sheep, or the foxes unto the geese.

They will say that the Holy Ghost is given through such ceremonies. If God had so promised, so should it be; but Paul saith, (Galatians 3) that the Spirit is received through preaching of the faith. And (Acts 5) while Peter preached the faith, the Holy Ghost fell on Cornelius and on his household. How shall we say then to that which they will lay against us, in the eighth chapter of the Acts of the apostles, where Peter and John put their hands on the Samaritans, and the Holy Ghost came? I say, that by putting, or with putting, or as they put their hands on them, the Holy Ghost came. Nevertheless, the putting on of the hands did neither help nor hinder: for the text saith, "They prayed for them that they might receive the Holy Ghost."

God had made the apostles a promise, that he would with such miracles confirm their preaching, and move other to the faith. (Mark, the last.) The apostles, therefore, believed and prayed God to fulfill his promise; and God, for his truth's sake, even so did. So was it the prayer of faith that brought the Holy Ghost; as thou mayest see also in the last of James. "If any man be sick," saith James, "call the elders of the congregation, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord, and the prayer of faith shall heal the sick." Where a promise is, there is faith bold to pray, and God true to give her her petition. Putting on of the hands is an indifferent thing. For the Holy Ghost came by preaching of the faith, and miracles were done at the prayer of faith, as well without putting on of the hands as with, as thou seest in many places. Putting on of the hands was the manner of that nation, as it was to rend their clothes, and to put on sackcloth, and to sprinkle themselves with ashes and earth, when they heard of or saw any sorrowful thing, as it was Paul's manner to stretch out his hand when he preached; and as it is our manner to hold up our hands when we pray, and as some kiss their thumb-nail, and put it to their eyes, and as we put our hands on children's heads when we bless them, saying, 'Christ bless thee, my son, and God make thee a good man:' which gestures neither help nor hinder. This mayest thou well see Acts 13, where the Holy Ghost commanded to separate Paul and Barnabas to go and preach. Then the other fasted and prayed, and put their hands on their heads, and sent them forth. They received not the Holy Ghost then by putting on of hands; but the other, as they put their hands on their heads, prayed for them, that God would go with them, and strength them; and couraged them also, bidding them to be strong in God, and warned them to be faithful and diligent in the work of God, and so forth.

ANOILING.

Last of all cometh the anoiling, without promise, and therefore without the Spirit, and without profit; but altogether unfruitful and superstitious. The sacraments, which they have imagined, are all without promise, and therefore help not. For "whatsoever is not of faith is sin." Romans 14.

Now without a promise can there be no faith. The sacraments which Christ himself ordained, which have also promises, and would save us if we knew them and believed them, them minister they in the Latin tongue. So are they also become as unfruitful as the other. Yea, they make us believe that the work itself, without the promise, sayeth us; which doctrine they learned of Aristotle. And thus are we become an hundred times worse than the wicked Jews; which believed that the very work of their sacrifice justified them: against which Paul fighteth in every epistle, proving that nothing helpeth save the promises which God hath sworn in Christ. Ask the people what they understand by their baptism or washing? And thou shalt see, that they believe how that the very plunging into the water saveth them: of the promises they know not, nor what is signified thereby. Baptism is called volowing in many places of England; because the priest saith, 'Volo [I wish it] say ye.' 'The child was well volowed' (say they); 'yea, and our vicar is as fair a volower as ever a priest within this twenty miles.' Behold how narrowly the people look on the ceremony. If aught be left out, or if the child be not altogether dipt in the water, or if, because the child is sick, the priest dare not plunge him into the water, but pour water on his head, how tremble they! how quake they! 'How say ye, sir John, (say they,) is this child christened enough? Hath it his full christendom?'

They believe verily that the child is not christened; yea, I have known priests, that have gone unto the orders again, supposing that they were not priests, because that the bishop left one of his ceremonies undone. That they call confirmation, the people call bishoping. They think that if the bishop butter the child in the forehead, that it is safe. They think that the work maketh safe, and likewise suppose they of anoiling. Now is this false doctrine, verily. For James saith, in the first chapter of his epistle: "Of his good will begat he us with the word of life;" that is, with the word of promise: in which we are made God's sons, and heirs of the goodness of God, before any good works. For we cannot work God's will, till we be his sons, and know his will, and have his Spirit to teach us. And St Paul saith, in the fifth chapter of his epistle to the Ephesians: "Christ cleansed the congregation in the fountain of water through the word." And Peter saith, in the first of his first epistle: "Ye are born anew, not of mortal seed, but of immortal seed, by the word of God, which liveth and lasteth ever." Paul in every epistle warneth us, that we put no trust in works, and to beware of persuasions or arguments of man's wisdom, of superstitiousness, of ceremonies, of pope-holiness, and of all manner disguising; and exhorteth us to cleave fast unto the naked and pure word of God. The promise of God is the anchor that sayeth us in all temptations. If all the world be against us, God's word is stronger than the world. If the world kill us, that shall make us alive again. If it be possible for the world to cast us into hell, from thence yet shall God's word bring us again. Hereby seest thou that it is not the work, but the promise that justifieth us through faith. Now where no promise is, there can no faith be, and therefore no justifying, though there be never so glorious works. The sacrament of Christ's body after thiswise preach they. Thou must believe that it is no more bread, but the very body of Christ, flesh, blood and bone, even as he went here on earth, save his coat: for that is here yet; I wet not in how many places. I pray thee, what helpeth all this? Here is no promise. The devils know that Christ died on a Friday, and the Jews also. What are they help thereby? We have a promise that Christ, and his body, and his blood, and all that he did, and suffered, is a sacrifice, a ransom, and a full satisfaction for our sins; that God for his sake will think no more on them, if we have power to repent and believe.

Holy-work men think that God rejoiceth in the deed self, without any farther respect. They think also that God, as a cruel tyrant, rejoiceth and hath delectation in our pain-taking, without any farther respect. And therefore many of them martyr themselves without cause, after the ensample of Baal's priests, which (3 Reg.18) cut themselves to please their god withal, and as the old heathen pagans sacrificed their children in the fire unto their gods. The monks of the Charterhouse think that the very eating of fish in itself pleaseth God, and refer not the eating to the chastening of the body: for when they have slain their bodies with cold phlegm, of fish-eating, yet then will they eat no flesh, and slay themselves before their days. We also, when we offer our sons or daughters, and compel or persuade them to vow and profess chastity, think that the very pain, and that rage and burning which they suffer in abstaining from a make [a match, partner], pleaseth God; and so refer not our chastity to our neighbor's profit. For when we see thousands fall to innumerable diseases thereby, and to die before their days; yea, though we see them break the commandments of God daily, and also of very impatiency work abominations against nature, too shameful to be spoken of; yet will we not let them marry, but compel them to continue still with violence. And thus teach our

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divines, as it appeareth by their arguments. He that taketh most pain, say they, is greatest; and so forth.

The people are throughly brought in belief, that the deed in itself, without any farther respect, sayeth them; if they be so long at church; or say so many paternosters; and read so much in a tongue which they understand not; or go so much a pilgrimage; and take so much pain; or fast such a superstitious fast; or observe such a superstitious observance, neither profitable to himself nor to his neighbor, but done of a good intent only, say they, to please God withal. Yea, to kiss the pax, they think it a meritorious deed; when to love their neighbor, and to forgive him, (which thing is signified thereby,) they study not to do, nor have power to do, nor think that they are bound to do it, if they be offended by him. So sore have our false prophets brought the people out of their wits, and have wrapped them in darkness, and have rocked them asleep in blindness and ignorance.

Now is all such doctrine false doctrine, and all such faith false faith. For the deed pleaseth not, but as far forth as it is applied to our neighbor's profit, or the taming of our bodies to keep the commandment.

Now must the body be tamed only, and that with the remedies that God hath ordained, and not killed. Thou must not forswear the natural remedy which God hath ordained, and bring thyself into such case that thou shouldest either break God's commandment, or kill thyself, or burn night and day without rest, so that thou canst not once think a godly thought.

Neither is it lawful to forsake thy neighbor, and to withdraw thyself from serving him, and to get thee into a den, and live idly, profitable to no man, but robbing all men, first of faith, and then of goods and land, and of all he hath, with making him believe in the hypocrisy of thy superstitious prayers and pope-holy deeds. The prayer of faith, and the deeds thereof that spring of love, are accepted before God. The prayer is good, according to the proportion of faith; and the deed, according to the measure of love. Now he that bideth in the world, as monks call it, hath more faith than the cloisterer; for he hangeth on God in all things. He must trust God to send him good speed, good luck, favor, help, a good master, a good neighbor, a good servant, a good wife, a good chapman-merchant, to send his merchandise safe to land, and a thousand like. He loveth also more; which appeareth in that he doth service always unto his neighbor. To pray one for another are we equally bound, and to pray is a thing that we may always do, whatsoever we have in hand; and that to do may no man hire another.

Christ's blood hath hired us already. Thus in the deed delighteth God, as far forth as we do it, either to serve our neighbor withal (as I have said), or to tame the flesh, that we may fulfill the commandment from the bottom of the heart.

And as for our pain-taking, God rejoiceth not therein as a tyrant; but pitieth us, and as it were mourneth with us, and is alway ready and at hand to help us, if we call, as a merciful father and a kind mother. Neverthelater he suffereth us to fall into many temptations and much adversity: yea, himself layeth the cross of tribulation on our backs, not that he rejoiceth in our sorrow, but to drive sin out of the flesh, which can none otherwise be cured: as the physician and surgeon do many things, which are painful to the sick, not that they rejoice in the pains of the poor wretches, but to persecute and to drive out the diseases which can no otherwise be healed. When the people believe therefore, if they do so much work, or suffer so much pain, or go so much a pilgrimage, that they are safe, [it] is a false faith. For a Christian man is not saved by works, but by faith in the promises before all good works; though that the works (when we work God's commandment with a good will, and not works of our own imagination) declare that we are safe, and that the Spirit of him that hath made us safe is in us: yea, and as God, through preaching of faith, doth purge and justify the heart, even so through working of deeds doth he purge and justify the members, making us perfect both in body and soul, after the likeness of Christ.

Neither needeth a Christian man to run hither or thither, to Rome, to Jerusalem, or St James, or any other pilgrimage far or near, to be saved thereby, or to purchase forgiveness, of his sins. For a Christian man's health and salvation is within him, even in his mouth. Romans 10. "The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth and in thine heart; that is, the word of faith which we preach," saith Paul. If we believe the promises with our hearts, and confess them with our mouths, we are safe. This is our health within us. "But how shall they believe that they hear not? And how shall they hear without a preacher?" saith Paul, Romans 10. For look on the promises of God, and so are all our preachers dumb: or if they preach them, they so sauce them and leaven them, that no stomach can brook them, nor find any savor in them. For they paint us such an ear-confession, as is impossible to be kept, and more impossible that it should stand with the promises and testament of God. And they join [enjoin] them penance, as they call it, to fast, to go pilgrimages, and give so much to make satisfaction withal. They preach their masses, their merits, their pardons, their ceremonies, and put the promise clean out of possession. The word of health and salvation "is nigh thee, in thy mouth and thine heart," saith Paul.

Nay, say they, thy salvation is in our faithful ear. This is their hold; thereby know they all secrets; thereby mock they all men, and all men's wives; and beguile knight and squire, lord and king, and betray all realms. The bishops, with the pope, have a certain conspiration and secret treason against the whole world: and by confession know they what kings and emperors think. If aught be against them, do they never so evil, then move they their captives to war and to fight, and give them pardons to slay whom they will have taken out of the way. They have with falsehood taken from all kings and emperors their right and duties, which now they call their freedoms, liberties, and privileges; and have perverted the ordinances that God left in the world; and have made every king swear to defend their falsehood against their ownselves: so that now, if any man preach God's word truly, and shew the freedom and liberty of the soul which we have in Christ, or intend to restore the kings again unto their duties and right, and to the room and authority which they have of God, and of shadows to make them kings in deed, and to put the world in his order again; then the kings deliver their swords and authority unto the hypocrites, to slay him.

So drunken are they with the wine of the whore.

The text that followeth in Paul will they happily lay to my charge and others. "How shall they preach, except they be sent?" saith Paul in the said 10th to the Romans. 'We,' will they say, 'are the pope, cardinals and bishops: all authority is ours. The scripture pertaineth unto us, and is our possession. And we have a law, that whosoever presume to preach without the authority of the bishops, is excommunicate in the deed-doing. Whence, therefore, hast thou thine authority?' will they say. The old Pharisees had the scripture in captivity likewise, and asked Christ, "By what authority doest thou these things?" As who should say, We are Pharisees, and thou art none of our order, nor hast authority of us. Christ asked them another question, and so will I do our hypocrites. 'Who sent you? God? Nay, he that is sent of God speaketh God's word. Now speak ye not God's word, nor any thing save your own laws, made clean contrary unto God's word.

Christ's apostles preached Christ, and not themselves. He that is of the truth preacheth the truth. Now ye preach nothing but lies, and therefore are of the devil, the father of all lies, and of him are ye sent. And as for mine authority, or who sent me, I report me unto my works, as Christ, John 5 and 10, If God's word bear record that I say truth, why should any man doubt, but that God, the Father of truth and of light, hath sent me; as the father of lies and of darkness hath sent you; and that the Spirit of truth and of light is with me, as the spirit of lies and of darkness is with you?' 'By this means thou wilt that every man be a preacher,' will they say. Nay, verily. For God will that not, and therefore will I it not; no more than I would that every man of London were mayor of London, or every man of the realm king thereof. God is not the author of dissension and strife, but of unity and peace, and of good order. I will therefore, that where a congregation is gathered together in Christ, one be chosen after the rule of Paul, and that he only preach, and else no man openly; but that every man teach his household after the same doctrine. But if the preacher preach false; then whosoever's heart God moveth, to the same it shall be lawful to rebuke and improve the false teacher with the clear and manifest scripture; and that same is no doubt a true prophet, sent of God. For the scripture is God's, and theirs that believe, and not the false prophet's.

Sacrament is then as much to say as an holy sign. And the sacraments which Christ ordained preach God's word unto us, and therefore justify, and minister the Spirit to them that believe; as Paul through preaching the gospel was a minister of righteousness, and of the Spirit, unto all that believed his preaching. Dumb ceremonies are no sacraments, but superstitiousness. Christ's sacraments preach the faith of Christ, as his apostles did, and thereby justify. Antichrist's dumb ceremonies preach not the faith that is in Christ; as his apostles, our bishops and cardinals, do not.

But as antichrist's bishops are ordained to kill whosoever preach the true faith of Christ; so are his ceremonies ordained to quench the faith, which Christ's sacraments preach. And hereby mayest thou know the difference between Christ's signs or sacraments, and antichrist's signs or ceremonies; that Christ's signs speak, and antichrist's be dumb.

Hereby seest thou what is to be thought of all other ceremonies; as hallowed water, bread, salt, boughs, bells, wax, ashes, and so forth; and all other disguisings and apes'-play; and of all manner conjurations, as the conjuring of church and church-yards, and of altar-stones, and such like.

Where no promise of God is, there can be no faith, nor justifying, nor forgiveness of sins: for it is more than madness to look for any thing of God, save that he hath promised. How far he hath promised, so far is he bound to them that believe; and further not. To have a faith, therefore, or a trust in any thing, where God hath not promised, is plain idolatry, and a worshipping of thine own imagination instead of God. Let us see the pith of a ceremony or two, to judge the rest by. In conjuring of holy water, they pray that whosoever be sprinkled therewith may receive health as well of body as of soul: and likewise in making holy bread, and so forth in the conjurations of other ceremonies. Now we see by daily experience, that half their prayer is unheard. For no man receiveth health of body thereby.

No more, of likelihood, do they of soul. Yea, we see also by experience, that no man receiveth health of soul thereby. For no man by sprinkling himself with holy water, and with eating holy bread, is more merciful than before, or forgiveth wrong, or becometh at one with his enemy, or is more patient, and less covetous, and so forth; which are the sure tokens of the soul-health.

They preach also, that the wagging of the bishop's hand over us blesseth us, and putteth away our sins. Are these works not against Christ? How can they do more shame unto Christ's blood? For if the wagging of the bishop's hand over me be so precious a thing in the sight of God that I am thereby blessed, how then am I full "blessed with all spiritual blessing in Christ?" as Paul saith, Ephesians 1. Or if my sins be full done away in Christ, how remaineth there any to be done away by such fantasies? The apostles knew no ways to put away sin, or to bless us, but by preaching Christ. Paul saith, Galatians 2, "If righteousness come by the law, then Christ died in vain." So dispute I here: If blessing come by the wagging of the bishop's hand, then died Christ in vain, and his death blesseth us not.

And a little afore saith Paul, "If while we seek to be justified by Christ, we be yet found sinners," (so that we must be justified by the law or ceremonies,) "is not Christ then a minister of sin?" So dispute I here: If while we seek to be blessed in Christ we are yet unblessed, and must be blessed by the wagging of the bishop's hand, what have we then of Christ but curse? Thou wilt say: When we come first to the faith, then Christ forgiveth us and blesseth us; but the sins, which we afterward commit, are forgiven us through such things. I answer, if any man repent truly, and come to the faith, and put his trust in Christ, then as oft as he sinneth of frailty, at the sigh of the heart is his sin put away in Christ's blood. For Christ's blood purgeth ever and blesseth ever. For John saith in the second of his first epistle, "This I write unto you that ye sin not. And though any man sin" (meaning of frailty, and so repent) "yet have we an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ which is righteous, and he it is that obtaineth grace for our sins." And, Hebrews 7, it is written, "But this man" (meaning Christ), "because he lasteth or abideth ever, hath an everlasting priesthood.

Therefore is he able also ever to save them that come to God through him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for us." The bishops therefore ought to bless us in preaching Christ, and not to deceive us and to bring the curse of God upon us with wagging their hands over us. To preach is their duty only, and not to offer their feet to be kissed . We feel also by experience that after the pope's, bishop's, or cardinal's blessing, we are no otherwise disposed in our souls than before.

Let this be sufficient as concerning the sacraments and ceremonies, with this protestation: that if any can say better, or improve this with God's word, no man shall be better content therewith than I. For I seek nothing but the truth, and to walk in the light. I submit therefore this work and all other that I have made or shall make (if God will that I shall more make) unto the judgments, not of them that furiously burn all truth, but of them which are ready with God's word to correct, if any tiling be said amiss, and to further God's word.

I will talk a word or two after the worldly wisdom with them, and make an end of this matter. If the sacraments justify, as they say, (I understand by justifying, forgiveness of sins,) then do they wrong unto the sacraments, inasmuch as they rob the most part of them, through confession, of their effect, and of the cause wherefore they were ordained. For no man may receive the body of Christ, no man may marry, no man may be oiled or anoiled as they call it, no man may receive orders, except he be first shriven. Now when the sins be forgiven by shrift aforehand, there is nought left for the sacraments to do. They will answer that at the leastway they increase grace; and not the, sacraments only, but also hearing of mass, matins, and even-song, and receiving of holy water, holy bread, and of the bishop's blessing, and so forth by all ceremonies. By grace I understand the favor of God, and also the gifts and working of his Spirit in us; as love, kindness, patience, obedience, mercifulness, despising of worldly things, peace, concord, and such like. If after thou hast heard so many masses, matins, and evensongs, and after thou hast received holy bread, holy water, and the bishop's blessing, or a cardinal's or the pope's, if thou wilt be more kind to thy neighbor, and love him better than before; if thou be more obedient unto thy superiors; more merciful, more ready to forgive wrong; done unto thee, more despisest the world, and more athirst after spiritual things; if after that a priest hath taken orders he be less covetous than before; if a wife, after so many and oft pilgrimages, be more chaste, more obedient unto her husband, more kind to her maids and other servants;

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if gentlemen, knights, lords, and kings and emperors, after they have said so often daily service with their chaplains, know more of Christ than before, and can better skill to rule their tenants, subjects, and realms christianly than before, and be content with their duties; then do such things increase grace. If not, it is a lie. Whether it be so or no, I report me to experience. If they have any other interpretations of justifying or grace, I pray them to teach it me; for I would gladly learn it. Now let us go to our purpose again.

OF MIRACLES AND WORSHIPPING OF SAINTS.

Antichrist shall not only come with lying signs, and disguised with falsehood, but also with lying miracles and wonders, saith Paul in the said place, 2 Thessalonians 2, All the true miracles which are of God, are showed (as I above rehearsed) to move us to hear God's word, and to stablish our faith therein, and to confirm the truth of God's promises, that we might without all doubting believe them. For God's word through faith bringeth the Spirit into our hearts and also life, as Christ saith, John 6, "The words which I speak are spirit and life." The word also purgeth us and cleanseth us, as Christ saith, John 15, "Ye are clean by the means of the word." Paul saith, 1 Timothy 2, "One God, one Mediator" (that is to say, advocate, intercessor, or an at-one-maker) "between God and man, the man Christ Jesus, which gave himself a ransom for all men." Peter saith of Christ, Acts 4, "Neither is there health in any other: neither yet also any other name given unto men wherein we must be saved." So now Christ is our peace, our redemption or ransom for our sins, our righteousness, satisfaction, and "all the promises of God are yea and Amen in him," Corinthians 1 <460101> . And we, for the great and infinite love which God hath to us in Christ, love him again, love also his laws, and love one another.

And the deeds which we henceforth do, do we not to make satisfaction, or to obtain heaven; but to succor our neighbor, to tame the flesh, that we may wax perfect and strong men in Christ, and to be thankful to God again for his mercy, and to glorify his name.

Contrariwise the miracles of antichrist are done to pull thee from the word of God, and from believing his promises, and from Christ, and to put thy trust in a man, or a ceremony wherein God's word is not. As soon as God's word is believed, the faith spread abroad, then cease the miracles of God. But the miracles of antichrist, because they are wrought by the devil, to quench the faith, grow daily more and more; neither shall cease, until the world's end, among them that believe not God's word and promises. Seest thou not how God loosed and sent forth all the devils in the old world among the heathen or gentiles? and how the devils wrought miracles, and spake to them in every image? Even so shall the devil work falsehood by one craft or another, until the world's end, among them that believe not God's word. For the judgment and damnation of him that hath no lust to hear the truth, is to hear lies, and to be stablished and grounded therein through false miracles; and he that will not see is worthy to be blind; and he that biddeth the Spirit of God go from him, is worthy to be without him.

Paul, Peter, and all true apostles preached Christ only. And the miracles did but confirm and stablish their preaching, and those everlasting promises and eternal testament that God had made between man and him in Christ's blood: and the miracles did testify also that they were true servants of Christ. Paul preached not himself; he taught not any man to trust in him or his holiness, or in Peter or in any ceremony, but in the promises which God hath sworn only: yea, he mightily resisteth all such false doctrine, both to the Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, and every where. If this be true (as it is true and nothing more true), that if Paul had preached himself, or taught any man to believe in his holiness or prayer, or in any thing save in the promises that God hath made and sworn to give us for Christ's sake, he had been a false prophet; why am not I also a false prophet, if I teach thee to trust in Paul, or in his holiness or prayer, or in any thing save in God's word, as Paul did?

If Paul were here and loved me, (as he loved them of his time to whom he was sent, and to whom he was a servant to preach Christ,) what good could he do for me or wish me, but preach Christ and pray to God for me, to open mine heart, to give me his Spirit, and to bring me unto the full knowledge of Christ? unto which port or haven when I am once come, I am as safe as Paul, fellow with Paul, joint heir with Paul of all the promises of God, and God's truth heareth my prayer as well as Paul's . I also now could not but love Paul, and wish him good, and pray for him, that God would strengthen him in all his temptations and give him victory, as he would do for me. Nevertheless there are many weak and young consciences always in the congregation, which they that have the office to preach ought to teach, and not to deceive them.

What prayers pray our clergy for us, which stop us and exclude us from Christ, and seek all the means possible to keep us from knowledge of Christ? They compel us to hire friars, monks, nuns, canons, and priests, and to buy their abominable merits, and to hire the saints that are dead to pray for us; for the very saints have they made hirelings also, because that their offerings come to their profit. What pray all those? That we might come to the knowledge of Christ, as the apostles did? Nay, verily. For it is plain case, that all they which enforce to keep us from Christ, pray not that we might come to the knowledge of Christ. And as for the saints, (whose prayer was, when they were alive, that we might be grounded, established and strengthened in Christ only,) if it were of God that we should this wise worship them, contrary unto their own doctrine, I dare be bold to affirm, that by the means of their prayers we should have been brought long ago unto the knowledge of God and Christ again, though that these beasts had done their worst to let it. Let us therefore set our hearts at rest in Christ and in God's promises, for so I think it best; and let us take the saints for an ensample only, and let us do as they both taught and did.

Let us set God's promises before our eyes, and desire him for his mercy and for Christ's sake to fulfill them. And he is as true as ever he was, and will do it as well as ever he did; for to us are the promises made as well as to them.

Moreover, the end of God's miracles is good; the end to these miracles are evil. For the offerings, which are the cause of the miracles, do but minister and maintain vice, sin, and all abomination, and are given to them that have too much; so that for very abundance they foam out their own shame, and corrupt the whole world with the stench of their filthiness.

Thereto "whatsoever is not of faith is sin." "Faith cometh by hearing God's word." When now thou fastest or doest any thing in the worship of any saint, believing to come to the favor of God or to be saved thereby; if thou have God's word, then is it true faith and shall save thee. If thou have not God's word, then it is a false faith, superstitiousness, and idolatry, and damnable sin.

Also in the collects of the saints, with which we pray God to save us through the merits or deservings of the saints, (which saints yet were not saved by their own deservings themselves) we say, per Christum Dominum nostrum ; that is, for Christ our Lord's sake. We say, 'Save us, good Lord, through the saints' merits for Christ's sake.' How can he save us through the saints' merits for Christ's sake, and for his deserving merits and love? Take an example. A gentleman saith unto me, 'I will do the uttermost of my power for thee, for the love which I owe unto thy father.

Though thou hast never done me pleasure, yet I love thy father well: thy father is my friend, and hath deserved that I do all that I can for thee, etc.'

Here is a testament and a promise made unto me in the love of my father only. If I come to the said gentleman in the name of one of his servants which I never saw, never spake with, neither have any acquaintance at all with, and say, 'Sir, I pray you be good master unto me in such a cause: I have not deserved that thou shouldest so do; nevertheless I pray you do it for such a servant's sake: yea, I pray you for the love that you owe to my father, do that for me for such a servant's sake:' if I this wise made my petition, would not men think that I came late out of St Patrick's purgatory and had left my wits behind me? This do we. For the testament and promises are all made unto us in Christ: and we desire God to fulfill his promises for the saints' sake; yea, that he will for Christ's sake do it for the saints' sake.

They have also martyrs, which never preached God's word, neither died therefore; but for privileges and liberties, which they falsely purchased, contrary unto God's ordinances. Yea, and such saints, though they be dead, yet rob now as fast as ever they did, neither are less covetous now than when they were alive. I doubt not but that they will make a saint of my lord cardinal after the death of us that be alive, and know his juggling and crafty conveyance; and will shrine him gloriously for his mightily defending of the right of the holy church, except we be diligent to leave a commemoration of that Nimrod behind us.

The reasons wherewith they prove their doctrine are but fleshly, and, as Paul calleth them, "enticing words of man's wisdom ;" that is to wit, sophistry, and brawling arguments of men with corrupt minds and destitute of the truth, whose God is their belly, unto which idol whosoever offereth not, the same is an heretic, and worthy to be burnt. 'The saint was great with God when he was alive, as it appeareth by the miracles which God shewed for him; he must therefore be great now,' say they. This reason appeareth wisdom; but it is very foolishness with God.

For the miracle was not shewed that thou should put thy trust in the saint, but in the word which the saint preached; which word, if thou believest, would save thee, as God hath promised and sworn, and would make thee also great with God, as it did the saint. 'If a man have a matter with a great man, or a king, he must go first unto one of his mean servants, and then higher and higher till he come at the king.' This enticing argument is but a blind reason of man's wit. It is not like in the kingdom of the world, and in the kingdom of God and Christ.

With kings, for the most part, we have none acquaintance: neither promise.

They be also most commonly merciless. Moreover, if they promise, they are yet men, as unconstant as are other people, and as untrue. But with God, if we have belief, we are accounted, and have an open way in unto him by the door Christ, which is never shut, but through unbelief; neither is there any porter to keep any man out "By him," saith Paul, Ephesians 2. that is to say, by Christ, "we have an open way in unto the Father. So are ye now no more strangers and foreigners (saith he), but citizens with the saints, and of the household of God." God hath also made us promises, and hath sworn; yea, hath made a testament or a covenant, and hath bound himself, and hath sealed his obligation with Christ's blood, and confirmed it with miracles. He is also merciful and kind; and complaineth that we will not come unto him. He is mighty and able to perform that he promiseth. He is true, and cannot be but true, as he cannot be but God. Therefore is it not like with the king and God. 'We be sinners,' say they, ' God will not hear us.' Behold how they flee from God, as from a tyrant merciless. Whom a man counteth most merciful, unto him he soonest fleeth. But these teachers dare not come at God. Why? For they are the children of Cain. If the saints love whom God hateth, then God and his saints are divided. When thou prayest to the saints, how do they know, except that God, whom thou countest merciless, tell them? If God be so cruel, and so hateth thee, it is not likely that he will tell the saints that thou prayest unto them.

When they say, 'We be sinners:' I answer, that Christ is no sinner, save a satisfaction and an offering for sin. Take Christ from the saints, and what are they? What is Paul without Christ? Is he any thing save a blasphemer, a persecutor, a murderer, and a shedder of christian blood? But as soon as he came to Christ, he was no more a sinner, but a minister of righteousness: he went not to Rome to take penance upon him, but went and preached unto his brethren the same mercy, which he had received free, without doing penance, or hiring of saints, or of monks or friars. Moreover, if it be God's word that thou should put thy trust in the saints' merits or prayers, then be bold; for God's word shall defend thee, and save thee. If it be but thine own reason, then fear: for God commandeth by Moses, Deuteronomy 12 <051201> saying, "What I command you, that observe and do, and put nothing to, nor take ought therefrom;" yea, and Moses warneth straitly in an hundred places, that we do that only which God commandeth, and which seemeth good and righteous in his sight, and not in our own sight. For nothing bringeth the wrath of God so soon and so sore on a man, as the idolatry of his own imagination.

Last of all, these arguments are contrary to the arguments of Christ and of his apostles. Christ disputeth, Luke 11 saying: "If the son ask the father bread, will he give him a stone? or if he ask him fish, will he give him a serpent?" and so forth. "If ye then," saith he, "which are evil can give good gifts to your children, how much rather shall your heavenly Father give a good Spirit unto them that ask him!" And a little before, in the same chapter, he saith: "If a man came never so out of season to his neighbor to borrow bread, even when he is in his chamber, and the door shut, and all his servants with him; nevertheless yet, if he continue knocking and praying, he will rise and give him as much as he needeth, though not for love, yet to be rid of him, that he may have rest." As who should say, What will God do, if a man pray him; seeing that prayer overcometh an evil man? "Ask," therefore, saith he, "and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. " And Luke 18, he putteth forth the parable, or similitude, of the wicked judge, which was overcome with the importunate prayer of the widow; and concludeth, saying: "Hear what the wicked judge did. And shall not God avenge his elect, which cry unto him night and day?" Whether, therefore, we complain of the intolerable oppression and persecution that we suffer, or of the flesh that cumbereth and resisteth the Spirit, God is merciful to hear us and to help us. Seest thou not also, how Christ cureth many, and casteth out devils out of many, unspoken to? how shall he not help, if he be desired and spoken to?

When the old Pharisees (whose nature is to drive sinners from Christ) asked Christ why he did eat with publicans and sinners? Christ answered, "That the whole needed not the physician, but the sick; " that is, he came to have conversation with sinners to heal them. He was a gift given unto sinners, and a treasure to pay their debts. And Christ sent the complaining and disdaining Pharisees to the prophet Oseas, saying: "Go and learn what this meaneth, I desire (or require) mercy, and not sacrifice." As who should say, Ye Pharisees love sacrifice and offering for to feed that god your bellies withal; but God commandeth to be merciful. Sinners are ever captives, and a prey to the Pharisees and hypocrites, for to offer unto their bellies, and to buy merits, pardons, and forgiveness of sins of them. And therefore fear they them away from Christ with arguments of their bellywisdom.

For he that receiveth forgiveness free of Christ, will buy no forgiveness of them. "I came," saith Christ, "to call, not the righteous, but the sinners unto repentance." The Pharisees are righteous, and therefore have no part with Christ, neither need they; for they are gods themselves, and saviors. But sinners, that repent, pertain to Christ. If we repent, Christ

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hath made satisfaction for us already. "God so loved the world that he gave his only Son, that none that believe on him should perish, but should have everlasting life. For God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that; the world through him might be saved. He that believeth on him shall not be damned; but he that believeth not is damned already." (John 3) Paul, Romans 5, saith, "Because we are justified through faith, we are at peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ:" that is, because that God, which cannot lie, hath promised and sworn to be merciful unto us, and to forgive us for Christ's sake, we believe, and are at peace in our consciences; we run not hither and thither for pardon; we trust not in this friar nor that monk, neither in any thing, save in the word of God only: as a child, when his father threateneth him for his fault, hath never rest till he hear the word of mercy and forgiveness of his father's mouth again; but as soon as he heareth his father say, Go thy way, do me no more so, I forgive thee this fault, then is his heart at rest; then is he at peace; then runneth he to no man to make intercession for him; neither, though there come any false merchant, saying, 'What wilt thou give me, and I will obtain pardon of thy father for thee?' will he suffer himself to be beguiled. No, he will not buy of a wily fox that which his father hath given him freely.

It followeth, "God setteth out his love, that he hath to us;" (that is, he maketh it appear, that men may perceive love if they be not more than stock blind:) "inasmuch (saith Paul) as, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us. Much more now, (saith he,) seeing we are justified by his blood, shall we be preserved from wrath through him: for if when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son; much more, seeing we are reconciled, we shall be preserved by his life." As who should say, If God loved us, when we knew him not, much more loveth he us now we know him. If he were merciful to us while we hated his law, how much more merciful will he be now, seeing we love it, and desire strength to fulfill it! And in the 8th he argueth: "If God spared not his own Son, but gave him for us all, how shall he not with him give us all things also?"

Christ prayed, John 17, not for the apostles only, but also for as many as should believe through their preaching, and was heard. Whatsoever we ask in his name, the Father giveth us. Christ is also as merciful as the saints.

Why go we not straightway unto him? Verily, because we feel not the mercy of God, neither believe his truth. 'God will, at the leastway (say they), hear us the sooner for the saints' sake.' Then loveth he the saints better than Christ and his own truth. Heareth he us for the saints' sake? So heareth he us not for his mercy: for merits and mercy cannot stand together.

Finally: If thou put any trust in thine own deeds, or in the deeds of any other man, of any saint, then minishest thou the truth, mercy, and goodness of God. For if God look unto thy works, or unto the works of any other man, or goodness of the saint; then doth he not all things of pure mercy and of his goodness, and for the truth's sake, which he hath sworn in Christ. Now saith Paul, "Not of the righteous deeds which we did, but of his mercy saved he us." (Titus 3) Our blind disputers will say, 'If our good deeds justify us not; if God look not on our good deeds, neither regard them, nor love us the better for them, what need we to do good deeds? I answer, God looketh on our good deeds, and loveth them; yet loveth us not for their sakes. God loveth us first in Christ, of his goodness and mercy, and poureth his Spirit into us, and giveth us power to do good deeds. And because he loveth us, he forgiveth us our evil deeds, which we do of frailty, and not of purpose, or for the nonce. Our good deeds do but testify only that we are justified and beloved. For except we were beloved, and had God's Spirit, we could neither do, nor yet consent unto any good deed. Antichrist turneth the roots of the trees upward. He maketh the goodness of God the branches, and our goodness the roots. We must be first good, after antichrist's doctrine, and move God, and compel him to be good again for our goodness' sake: so must God's goodness spring out of our goodness. Nay, verily; God's goodness is the root of all goodness; and our goodness, if we have any, springeth out of his goodness.

OF PRAYER.

Of prayer and good deeds, and of the order of love, or charity, I have abundantly written in my book of the Justifying of Faith. . Neverthelater, that thou mayest see what the prayers and good works of our monks and friars, and of other ghostly people, are worth, I will speak a word or two, and make an end. Paul saith, "All ye are the sons of God through faith in Jesus Christ; for all ye that are baptised have put Christ on you; " (Galatians 3 <480301>) that is, ye are become Christ himself. "There is no Jew," (saith he,) "neither Greek, neither bond nor free, neither man nor woman, but ye are all one thing in Christ Jesus." In Christ there is neither French nor English; but the Frenchman is the Englishman's own self, and the English the Frenchman's own self. In Christ there is neither father nor son, neither master nor servant, neither husband nor wife, neither king nor subject: but the father is the son's self, and the son the father's own self; and the king is the subject's own self, and the subject is the king's own self; and so forth. I am thou thyself, and thou art I myself, and can be no nearer of kin. We are all the sons of God, all Christ's servants bought with his blood; and every man to other Christ his own self. And Colossians 3 "Ye have put on the new man, which is renewed in the knowledge of God, after the image of him that made him (that is to say, Christ;) "where is" (saith he) "neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarous or Scythian, bond or free; but Christ is all in all things." I love thee not now because thou art my father, and hast done so much for me; or my mother, and hast borne me, and given me suck of thy breasts, (for so do Jews and Saracens,) but because of the great love that Christ hath shewed me. I serve thee, not because thou art my master, or my king, for hope of reward, or fear of pain, but for the love of Christ; for the children of faith are under no law (as thou seest in the epistles to the Romans, to the Galatians, in the first to Timothy), but are free. The Spirit of Christ hath written the lively law of love in their hearts; which driveth them to work of their own accord freely and willingly, for the great love's sake only which they see in Christ, and therefore need they no law to compel them. Christ is all in all things to them that believe, and the cause of all love. Paul saith, "Servants, obey unto your carnal or fleshly masters with fear and trembling, in singleness of your hearts, as unto Christ: not with eyeservice, as men-pleasers, but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart, even as though ye served the Lord, and not men. And remember, that whatsoever good thing any man doth, that shall he receive again of the Lord, whether he be bond or free." (Ephesians 6) Christ thus is all in all things, and cause of all, to a Christian man. And Christ saith, Matthew 25, "Inasmuch as ye have done it to any the least of these my brethren, ye have done it to me. And inasmuch as ye have not done it unto one of the least of these, ye have not done it to me." Here seest thou that we are Christ's brethren, and even Christ himself; and whatsoever we do one to another, that do we to Christ. If we be in Christ, we work for no worldly purpose, but of love: as Paul saith, Corinthians 5, "The love of Christ compelleth us:" (as who should say, We work not of a fleshly purpose :) "for" (saith he) "we know henceforth no man fleshly; no, though we once knew Christ fleshly, we do so now no more." We are otherwise minded than when Peter drew his sword to fight for Christ. We are now ready to suffer with Christ, and to lose life and all for our very enemies, to bring them unto Christ. If we be in Christ, we are minded like unto Christ; which knew nothing fleshly, or after the will of the flesh, as thou seest Matthew 12,when one said to him, "Lo, thy mother and thy brethren stand without, desiring to speak with thee. He answered, Who is my mother, and who are my brethren? And stretched his hand over his disciples, saying, See, my mother and my brethren: for whosoever doth the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, my sister, and my mother." He knew not his mother in that she bare him, but in that she did the will of his Father in heaven. So now, as God the Father's will and commandment is all to Christ, even so Christ is all to a Christian man.

Christ is the cause why I love thee, why I am ready to do the uttermost of my power for thee, and why I pray for thee. And as long as the cause abideth, so long lasteth the effect: even as it is always day so long as the sun shineth. Do therefore the worst thou canst unto me, take away my goods, take away my good name; yet as long as Christ remaineth in my heart, so long I love thee not a whit the less, and so long art thou as dear unto me as mine own soul, and so long am I ready to do thee good for thine evil, and so long I pray for thee with all my heart: for Christ desireth it of me, and hath deserved it of me. Thine unkindness compared unto his kindness is nothing at all; yea, it is swallowed up as a little smoke of a mighty wind, and is no more seen or thought upon. Moreover that evil which thou didst to me, I receive not of thy hand, but of the hand of God, and as God's scourge to teach me patience, and to nurture me: and therefore have no cause to be angry with thee, more than the child hath to be angry with his father's rod; or a sick man with a sour or bitter medicine that healeth him, or a prisoner with his fetters, or he that is punished lawfully with the officer that punisheth him. Thus is Christ all, and the whole cause why I love thee. And to all can nought be added. Therefore cannot a little money make me love thee better, or more bound to pray for thee, nor make God's commandment greater. Last of all, if I be in Christ, then "the love of Christ compelleth me." And therefore I am ready to give thee mine, and not to take thine from thee. If I be able, I will do thee service freely: if not, then if thou minister to me again, that receive I of the hand of God, which ministereth it to me by thee. For God careth for his, and ministereth all things unto them, and moveth Turks, and Saracens, and all manner infidels to do them good: as thou seest in Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and how God went with Joseph into Egypt, and gat him favor in the prison, and in every place; which favor Joseph received of the hand of God, and to God gave the thanks. Thus is God and Christ all in all; good and bad receive I of God. Them that are good I love, because they are in Christ; and the evil, to bring them to Christ. When any man doth well, I rejoice that God is honored; and when any man doth evil, I sorrow because that God is dishonored. Finally, inasmuch as God hath created all, and Christ bought all with his blood, therefore ought all to seek God and Christ in all, and else nothing.

But contrariwise unto monks, friars, and to the other of our holy spiritualty, the belly is all in all, and cause of all love. Offer thereto; so art thou father, mother, sister, and brother unto them. Offerest thou not? so know they thee not; thou art neither father, mother, sister, brother, nor any kin at all to them. 'She is a sister of ours, he is a brother of ours,' say they; 'he is verily a good man, for he doth much for our religion: she is a mother to our convent; we be greatly bound to pray for them. And as for such and such, (say they,) we know not whether they be good or bad, or whether they be fish or flesh, for they do nought for us: we be more bound to pray for our benefactors (say they) and for them that give us, than for them that give us not.' For them that give little are they little bound, and them they love little: and for them that give much they are much bound, and them they love much: and for them that give nought are they nought bound, and them they love not at all. And as they love thee when thou givest, so hate they thee when thou takest away from them, and run all under a stool, and curse thee as black as pitch. So is cloister-love belly-love; cloister-prayer, belly-prayer; and cloister-brotherhood, belly-brotherhood. Moreover, love that springeth of Christ seeketh not her own self, 1 Corinthians 13, but forgetteth herself, and be-stoweth her upon her neighbor's profit, as Christ sought our profit, and not his own. He sought not the favor of God for himself, but for us; yea, he took the wrath and vengeance of God from us unto himself, and bare it on his own back, to bring us unto favor. Likewise doth a Christian man give to his brethren, and robbeth them not, as friars and monks do; but, as Paul commandeth, Ephesians 4 <490401> , laboureth with his hands some good work to have wherewith to help the needy. They give not, but receive only. They labor not, but live idly of the sweat of the poor.

There is none so poor a widow, though she have not to find herself and her children, nor any money to give, yet shall the friar snatch a cheese, or somewhat. They preach, sayest thou, and labor in the word. First, I say, they are not called, and therefore ought not: for it is the curate's office.

The curate cannot, sayest thou. What doth the thief there then?

Secondarily, a true preacher preacheth Christ's testament only; and maketh Christ the cause and reward of all our deeds; and teacheth every man to bear his cross willingly for Christ's sake. But these are enemies unto the cross of Christ, and preach their belly, which is their god, Ephesians [Phil.] 3, and they think that lucre is the serving of God, 1 Timothy 6, that is, they think them Christian only, which offer unto their bellies, which when thou hast filled, then spue they out prayers for thee, to be thy reward, and yet wot not what prayer meaneth. Prayer is the longing for God's promises; which promises, as they preach them not, so long they not for them, nor wish them unto any man. Their longing is to fill their paunch, whom they serve, and not Christ; and through sweet preaching, and flattering words, deceive the hearts of the simple and unlearned.

Finally, as Christ is the whole cause why we do all thing for our neighbor, even so is he the cause why God doth all thing for us, why he receiveth us into his holy testament, and maketh us heirs of all his promises, and poureth his Spirit into us, and maketh us his sons, and fashioneth us like unto Christ, and maketh us such as he would have us to be. The assurance that we are sons, beloved, and heirs with Christ, and have God's Spirit in us, is the consent of our hearts unto the law of God. Which law is all perfection, and the mark whereat all we ought to shoot. And he that hitteth that mark, so that he fulfilleth the law with all his heart, soul, and might, and with full love and lust, without all let or resistance, is pure gold, and needeth not to be put any more in the fire: he is straight and right, and needeth to be no more shaven: he is full fashioned like Christ, and can have no more added unto him.

Nevertheless there is none so perfect in this life, that findeth not let and resistance by the reason of original sin, or birth-poison, that remaineth in him, as thou mayest see in the lives of all the saints throughout all the scripture, and in Paul, Romans 7. "The will is present (saith he), but I find no means to perform that which is good. I do not that good thing which I would: but that evil do I, which I would not. I find by the law, that, when I would do good, evil is present with me. I delight in the law, as concerning the inner man; but I find another law in my members, rebelling against the law of my mind, and subduing me unto the law of sin." Which law of sin is nothing but a corrupt and a poisoned nature, which breaketh into evil lusts, and from evil lusts into wicked deeds, and must be purged with the true purgatory of the cross of Christ: that is, thou must hate it with all thine heart, and desire God to take it from thee. And then, whatsoever cross God putteth on thy back, bear it patiently, whether it be poverty, sickness, or persecution, or whatsoever it be, and take it for the right purgatory, and think that God hath

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nailed thee fast to it, to purge thee thereby. For he that loveth not the law and hateth his sin, and hath not professed in his heart to fight against it, and mourneth not to God to take it away and to purge him of it, the same hath no part with Christ. If thou love the law, and findest that thou hast yet sin hanging on thee, whereof thou sorrowest to be delivered and purged; as for an ensample, thou hast a covetous mind, and mistrustest God, and therefore art moved to beguile thy neighbor, and art unto him merciless, not caring whether he sink or swim, so thou mayest win by him, or get from him that he hath; then get thee to the Observant, which is so purged from that sin, that he will not once handle a penny, and with that wile doth the subtle fox make the goose come flying into his hole, ready prepared for his mouth, without his labor or sweat: and buy of his merits, which he hath in store; and give thy money, not into his holy hands, but to offer him that he hath hired, either with part of his prayers or part of his prey, to take the sin upon him and to handle his money for him. In like manner, if any person that is under obedience unto God's ordinance (whether it be son, or daughter, servant, wife or subject) consent unto the ordinance, and yet find contrary motions, let him go also to them that have professed an obedience of their own making, and buy part of their merits. If thy wife give thee nine words for three, go to the Charterhouse, and buy of their silence : and so, if the abstaining of the Observant from handling money heal thine heart from desiring money, and the obedience of them that will obey nothing but their own ordinance heal thy disobedience to God's ordinance, and the silence of the Charterhouse monk tame thy wife's tongue; then believe that their prayers shall deliver thy soul from the pains of that terrible and fearful purgatory, which they have reigned to purge thy purse withal.

The spiritualty increaseth daily. More prelates, more priests, more monks, friars, canons, nuns, and more heretics, (I would say heremites,) with like draft. Set before thee the increase of St Francis's disciples in so few years.

Reckon how many thousands, yea, how many twenty thousands, not disciples only, but whole cloisters, are sprung out of hell of them in so little space. Pattering of prayers increaseth daily. Their service, as they call it, waxeth longer and longer, and the labor of their lips greater; new saints, new service, new feasts, and new holidays. What take all these away? Sin?

Nay; for we see the contrary by experience, and that sin groweth as they grow. But they take away first God's word, with faith, hope, peace, unity, love and concord; then house and land, rent and fee, tower and town, goods and cattle, and the very meat out of men's mouths. All these live by purgatory. When other weep for their friends, they sing merrily; when other lose their friends, they get friends. The pope, with all his pardons, is grounded on purgatory. Priests, monks, canons, friars, with all other swarms of hypocrites, do but empty purgatory, and fill hell. Every mass, say they, delivereth one soul out of purgatory. If that were true, yea, if ten masses were enough for one soul, yet were the parish priests and curates of every parish sufficient to scour purgatory: all the other costly workmen might be well spared.

THE FOUR SENSES OF THE SCRIPTURE.

They divide the scripture into four senses, the literal, tropological, allegorical, and anagogical. The literal sense is become nothing at all: for the pope hath taken it clean away, and hath made it his possession . He hath partly locked it up with the false and counterfeited keys of his traditions, ceremonies, and reigned lies; and partly driveth men from it with violence of sword: for no man dare abide by the literal sense of the text, but under a protestation, 'If it shall please the pope.' The tropological sense pertaineth to good manners (say they), and teacheth what we ought to do. The allegory is appropriate to faith; and the anagogical to hope, and things above. Tropological and anagogical are terms of their own feigning, and altogether unnecessary. For they are but allegories, both two of them; and this word allegory comprehendeth them both, and is enough. For tropological is but an allegory of manners; and anagogical, an allegory of hope. And allegory is as much to say as strange speaking, or borrowed speech: as when we say of a wanton child, 'This sheep hath magots in his tail, he must be anointed with birchen salve;' which speech I borrow of the shepherds.

Thou shalt understand, therefore, that the scripture hath but one sense, which is the literal sense. And that literal sense is the root and ground of all, and the anchor that never faileth, whereunto if thou cleave, thou canst never err or go out of the way. And if thou leave the literal sense, thou canst not but go out of the way. Neverthelater, the scripture useth proverbs, similitudes, riddles, or allegories, as all other speeches do; but that which the proverb, similitude, riddle, or allegory signifieth, is ever the literal sense, which thou must seek out diligently: as in the English we borrow words and sentences of one thing, and apply them unto another, and give them new significations. We say, 'Let the sea swell and rise as high as he will, yet hath God appointed how far he shall go:' meaning that the tyrants shall not do what they would, but that only which God hath appointed them to do. 'Look ere thou leap:' whose literal sense is, 'Do nothing suddenly, or without advisement.' 'Cut not the bough that thou standest upon:' whose literal sense is, 'Oppress not the commons;' and is borrowed of hewers. When a thing speedeth not well, we borrow speech, and say, 'The bishop hath blessed it;' because that nothing speedeth well that they meddle withal. If the porridge be burned too, or the meat over roasted, we say, 'The bishop hath put his foot in the pot,' or, 'The bishop hath played the cook;' because the bishops burn whom they lust, and whosoever displeaseth them. 'He is a pontifical fellow;' that is, proud and stately. 'He is popish;' that is, superstitious and faithless. 'It is a pastime for a prelate.' 'It is a pleasure for a pope.' 'He would be free, and yet will not have his head shaven.' 'He would that no man should smite him, and yet hath not the pope's mark.' And of him that is betrayed, and wotteth not how, we say, 'He hath been at shrift.' 'She is master parson's sister's daughter;' 'He is the bishop's sister's son;' 'He hath a cardinal to his uncle;' 'She is a spiritual whore;' 'It is the gentlewoman of the parsonage;' 'He gave me a Kyrie eleyson. And of her that answereth her husband six words for one, we say, 'She is a sister of the Charterhouse:' as who should say, 'She thinketh that she is not bound to keep silence; their silence shall be a satisfaction for her.' And of him that will not be saved by Christ's merits, but by the works of his own imagination, we say, 'It is a holy-workman.'

Thus borrow we, and feign new speech in every tongue. All fables, prophecies, and riddles, are allegories; as Aesop's fables, and Merlin's prophecies; and the interpretation of them are the literal sense.

So in like manner the scripture borroweth words and sentences of all manner things, and maketh proverbs and similitudes, or allegories. As Christ saith, Luke 4, "Physician, heal thyself:" whose interpretation is, 'Do that at home, which thou dost in strange places;' and that is the literal sense. So when I say, 'Christ is a lamb;' I mean not a lamb that beareth wool, but a meek and a patient lamb, which is beaten for other men's faults. 'Christ is a vine;' not that beareth grapes; but out of whose root the branches that believe suck the Spirit of life, and mercy, and grace, and power to be the sons of God, and to do his will. The similitudes of the gospel are allegories, borrowed of worldly matters, to express spiritual things. The apocalypse, or revelations of John, are allegories whose literal sense is hard to find in many places.

Beyond all this, when we have found out the literal sense of the scripture by the process of the text, or by a like text of another place, then go we, and as the scripture borroweth similitudes of worldly things, even so we again borrow similitudes or allegories of the scripture, and apply them to our purposes; which allegories are no sense of the scripture, but free things besides the scripture, and altogether in the liberty of the Spirit. Which allegories I may not make at all the wild adventures; but must keep me within the compass of the faith, and ever apply mine allegory to Christ, and unto the faith.

Take an ensample: thou hast the story of Peter, how he smote off Malchus's ear, and how Christ healed it again. There hast thou in the plain text great learning, great fruit, and great edifying, which I pass over because of tediousness. Then come I, when I preach of the law and the gospel, and borrow this ensample, to express the nature of the law and of the gospel, and to paint it unto thee before thine eyes. And of Peter and his sword make I the law, and of Christ the gospel; saying, 'As Peter's sword cutteth off the ear, so doth the law: the law damneth, the law killeth, and mangleth the conscience: there is no ear so righteous that can abide the hearing of the law: there is no deed so good but that the law damneth it. But Christ, that is to say, the gospel, the promises and testament that God hath made in Christ, healeth the ear and conscience, which the law hath hurt. The gospel is life, mercy, and forgiveness freely, and altogether an healing plaister. And as Peter doth but hurt and make a wound, where was none before, even so doth the law: for when we think that we are holy and righteous, and full of good deeds; if the law be preached aright, our righteousness and good deeds vanish away, as smoke in the wind, and we are left damnable sinners only. And as thou seest how that Christ healeth not, till Peter had wounded; and as an healing plaister helpeth not, till the corrosive hath troubled the wound; even so the gospel helpeth not, but when the law hath wounded the conscience, and brought the sinner into the knowledge of his sin.' This allegory proveth nothing, neither can do. For it is not the scripture, but an ensample or a similitude borrowed of the scripture, to declare a text or a conclusion of the scripture more expressly, and to root it and grave it in the heart. For a similitude, or an ensample, doth print a thing much deeper in the wits of a man than doth a plain speaking, and leaveth behind him as it were a sting to prick him forward, and to awake him withal. Moreover, if I could not prove with an open text that which the allegory doth express, then were the allegory a thing to be jested at, and of no greater value than a tale of Robin Hood. This allegory, as touching his first part, is proved by Paul in the 4th chapter of his epistle to the Romans, where he saith, "The law causeth wrath;" and in the 7th chapter to the Romans, "When the law or commandment came, sin revived, and I became dead:" and in the 2nd epistle to the Corinthians, in the third chapter, the law is called "the minister of death and damnation," etc. And as concerning the second part, Paul saith to the Romans in the 5th chapter, "In that we are justified by faith we are at peace with God." And in the 2nd epistle to the Corinthians, in the third [chapter], the gospel is called "the ministration of justifying and of the Spirit." And, Galatians 3, "The Spirit cometh by preaching of the faith," etc. Thus doth the literal sense prove the allegory, and bear it, as the foundation beareth the house. And because that allegories prove nothing, therefore are they to be used soberly and seldom, and only where the text offereth thee an allegory.

And of this manner (as I above have done) doth Paul borrow a similitude, a figure or allegory, of Genesis, to express the nature of the law and of the gospel; and by Agar and her son declareth the property of the law, and of her bond-children which will be justified by deeds; and by Sarah and her son declareth the property of the gospel, and of her free children which are justified by faith; and how the children of the law, which believe in their works, persecute the children of the gospel, which believe in the mercy and truth of God and in the testament of his Son Jesus our Lord.

And likewise do we borrow likenesses or allegories of the scripture, as of Pharaoh and Herod, and of the scribes and Pharisees, to express our miserable captivity and persecution under antichrist the pope. The greatest cause of which captivity and the decay of the faith, and this blindness wherein we now are, sprang first of allegories. For Origen and the doctors of his time drew all the scripture unto allegories: whose ensample they that came after followed so long, till they at last forgot the order and process of the text, supposing that the scripture served but to feign allegories upon; insomuch that twenty doctors expound one text twenty ways, as children make descant upon plain song. Then came our sophisters with their anagogical and chopoligical sense, and with an antitheme of half an inch, out of which some of them draw a thread of nine days long. Yea, thou shalt find enough that will preach Christ, and prove whatsoever point of the faith that thou wilt, as well out of a fable of Ovid or any other poet, as out of St John's gospel or Paul's epistles. Yea, they are come unto such blindness, that they not only say the literal sense profiteth not, but also that it is hurtful, and noisome, and killeth the soul. Which damnable doctrine they prove by a text of Paul, 2 Corinthians 3, where he saith, "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life."

Lo, say they, the literal sense killeth, and the spiritual sense giveth life. We must therefore, say they, seek out some chopological sense.

Here learn what sophistry is, and how blind they are, that thou mayest abhor them and spue them out of thy stomach for ever. Paul by the letter meaneth Moses's law; which the process of the text following declareth more bright than the sun. But it is not their guise to look on the order of any text; but as they find it in their doctors, so allege they it, and so understand it. Paul maketh a comparison between the law and the gospel; and calleth the law the letter, because it was but letters graven in two tables of cold stone: for the law doth but kill, and damn the consciences, as long as there is no lust in the heart to do that which the law commandeth.

Contrariwise, he calleth the gospel the administration of the Spirit and of righteousness or justifying. For when Christ is preached, and the promises which God hath made in Christ are believed, the Spirit entereth the heart, and looseth the heart, and giveth lust to do the law, and maketh the law a lively thing in the heart. Now as soon as the heart lusteth to do the law, then are we righteous before God, and our sins forgiven. Nevertheless the law of the letter grayed in stone, and not in their hearts, was so glorious, and Moses's face shone so bright, that the children of Israel could not behold his face for brightness. It was also given in thunder and lightning and terrible signs; so that they for fear came to Moses, and desired him that he would speak to them, and let God speak no more; "Lest we die (said they) if we hear him any more:" as thou mayest see Exodus 20.

Whereupon Paul maketh his comparison, saying: "If the ministration of death through the letters figured in stones was glorious, so that the children of Israel could not behold the face of Moses for the glory of his countenance; why shall not the administration of the Spirit be glorious?"

And again: "If the administration of damnation be glorious, much more shall the administration of righteousness exceed in glory:" that is, if the law that killeth sinners, and helpeth them not, be glorious; then the gospel, which pardoneth sinners, and giveth them power to be the sons of God and to overcome sin, is much more glorious.

And the text that goeth before is as clear. For the holy apostle Paul saith: "Ye Corinthians are our epistle, which is understand and read of all men, in that ye are known how that ye are the epistle of Christ ministered by us, and written, not with ink," (as Moses's law,) "but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone," (as the ten commandments,) "but in the fleshy tables of the heart:" as

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who should say, 'We write not a dead law with ink and in parchment, nor grave that which damned you in tables of stone; but preach you that which bringeth the Spirit of life unto your breasts, which Spirit writeth and graveth the law of love in your hearts, and giveth you lust to do the will of God.' And furthermore, saith he, "Our ableness cometh of God, which hath made us able to minister the new Testament, not of the letter," (that is to say, not of the law,) "but of the Spirit: for the letter" (that is to say, the law) "killeth; but the Spirit giveth life ;" that is to say, the Spirit of God, which entereth your hearts when ye believe the glad tidings that are preached you in Christ, quickeneth your hearts, and giveth you life and lust, and maketh you to do of love and of your own accord, without compulsion, that which the law compelled you to do, and damned you because ye could not do with love and lust, and naturally. Thus seest thou that the letter signifieth not the literal sense, and the spirit the spiritual sense. And, Romans 2, Paul useth this term Litera for the law; and Romans 7, where he setteth it so plain, that if the great wrath of God had not blinded them, they could never have stumbled at it.

God is a Spirit, and all his words are spiritual, His literal sense is spiritual, and all his words are spiritual. When thou readest (Matthew 1 .) "She shall bear a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins:" this literal sense is spiritual, and everlasting life unto as many as believe it.

And the literal sense of these words, (Matthew 5.) "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall have mercy," are spiritual and life; whereby they that are merciful may of right, by the truth and promise of God, challenge mercy. And like is it of these words, Matthew 6 "If you forgive other men their sins, your heavenly Father shall forgive you yours."

And so is it of all the promises of God. Finally, all God's words are spiritual, if thou have eyes of God to see the right meaning of the text, and whereunto the scripture pertaineth, and the final end and cause thereof.

All the scripture is either the promises and testament of God in Christ, and stories pertaining thereunto, to strength thy faith; either the law, and stories pertaining thereto, to fear thee from evil doing. There is no story nor gest, seem it never so simple or so vile unto the world, but that thou shalt find therein spirit and life and edifying in the literal sense: for it is God's scripture, written for thy learning and comfort. There is no clout or rag there, that hath not precious relics wrapt therein of faith, hope, patience and long suffering, and of the truth of God, and also of his righteousness.

Set before thee the story of Reuben, which defiled his father's bed. Mark what a cross God suffered to fall on the neck of his elect Jacob. Consider first the shame among the heathen, when as yet there was no more of the whole world within the testament of God, but he and his household. I report me to our prelates, which swear by their honor, whether it were a cross or no. Seest thou not how our wicked builders rage, because they see their buildings burn, now they are tried by the fire of God's word; and how they stir up the whole world, to quench the word of God, for fear of losing their honor? Then what business had he to pacify his children! Look what ado he had at the defiling of his daughter Dinah. And be thou sure that the brethren there were no more furious for the defiling of their sister, than the sons hero for defiling of their mother. Mark what followed Reuben, to fear other, that they shame not their fathers and mothers. He was cursed, and lost the kingdom, and also the priestdom, and his tribe or generation was ever few in number, as it appeareth in the stories of the bible.

The adultery of David with Bathsheba is an ensample, not to move us to evil; but, if (while we follow the way of righteousness) any chance drive us aside, that we despair not. For if we saw not such infirmities in God's elect, we, which are so weak and fall so oft, should utterly despair, and think that God had clean forsaken us. It is therefore a sure and an undoubted conclusion, whether we be holy or unholy, we are all sinners. But the difference is, that God's sinners consent not to their sin. They consent unto the law that is both holy and righteous, and mourn to have their sin taken away. But the devil's sinners consent unto their sin, and would have the law and hell taken away, and are enemies unto the righteousness of God.

Likewise in the homely gest of Noe, when he was drunk, and lay in his tent with his privy members open, hast thou great edifying in the literal sense. Thou seest what became of the cursed children of wicked Ham, which saw his father's privy members, and jested thereof unto his brethren.

Thou seest also what blessing fell on Shem and Japhet, which went backward and covered their father's members, and saw them not. And thirdly, thou seest what infirmity accompanieth God's elect, be they never so holy, which yet is not imputed unto them: for the faith and trust they have in God swalloweth up all their sins.

Notwithstanding, this text offers us an apt and an handsome allegory or similitude to describe our wicked Ham, antichrist the pope, which many hundred years hath done all the shame that heart can think unto the word of promise, or the word of faith, as Paul calleth it, Romans 10; and the gospel and testament of Christ, wherewith we are begotten; as thou seest, 1 Peter 1: and James 1 <590101> :And as the cursed children of Ham grew into giants, so mighty and great that the children of Israel seemed but grasshoppers in respect of them; so the cursed sons of our Ham, the pope, his cardinals, bishops, abbots, monks, and friars, are become mighty giants above all power and authority; so that the children of faith, in respect of them, are much less than grasshoppers. They heap mountain upon mountain, and will to heaven by their own strength, by a way of their own making, and not by the way Christ. Neverthelater, those giants, for the wickedness and abominations which they had wrought, did God utterly destroy, part of them by the children of Lot, and part by the children of Esau, and seven nations of them by the children of Israel. So no doubt shall he destroy these for like abominations, and that shortly. For their kingdom is but the kingdom of lies and falsehood; which must needs perish at the coming of the truth of God's word, as the night vanisheth away at the presence of day. The children of Israel slew not those giants, but the power of God; God's truth and promises, as thou mayest see in Deuteronomy. So it is not we that shall destroy those giants, as thou mayest see by Paul, (2 Thessalonians 2.) speaking of our Ham, antichrist: "Whom the Lord shall destroy" (saith he) "with the spirit of his mouth," that is, by the words of truth, "and by the brightness of his coming," that is, by the preaching of his gospel.

And as I have said of allegories, even so it is of worldly similitudes, which we make either when we preach, either when we expound the scripture.

The similitudes prove nothing, but are made to express more plainly that which is contained in the scripture, and to lead thee into the spiritual understanding of the text: as the similitude of matrimony is taken to express the marriage that is between Christ and our souls, and what exceeding mercy we have there, whereof all the scriptures make mention; and the similitude of the members, how every one of them careth for other, is taken to make thee feel what it is to love thy neighbor as thyself. That preacher therefore, that bringeth a naked similitude to prove that which is contained in no text of scripture, nor followeth of a text, count a deceiver, a leader out of the way, and a false prophet, and beware of his philosophy and persuasions of man's wisdom, as Paul saith: "My words and my preaching were not with enticing words and persuasions of man's wisdom, but in shewing of the Spirit and power:" (that is, he preached not dreams, confirming them with similitudes; but God's word, confirming it with miracles and with working of the Spirit, the which made them feel every thing in their hearts:) "that your faith," said he, "should not stand in the wisdom of man; but in the power of God." For the reasons and similitudes of man's wisdom make no faith, but wavering and uncertain opinions only: one draweth me this way with his argument, another that way, and of what principle thou provest black, another proveth white: and so am I ever uncertain; as, if thou tell me of a thing done in a far land, and another tell me the contrary, I wot not what to believe. But faith is wrought by the power of God; that is, when God's word is preached, the Spirit entereth thine heart, and maketh thy soul feel it, and maketh thee so sure of it, that neither adversity, nor persecution, nor death, neither hell, nor the powers of hell, neither yet all the pains of hell could once prevail against thee, or move thee from the sure rock of God's word, that thou shouldst not believe that which God hath sworn.

And Peter saith, "We followed not deceivable fables, when we opened unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ; but with our eyes we saw his majesty." And again, "We have" (saith he) "a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto if ye take heed, as unto a light shining in a dark place, ye do well." The word of prophecy was the old Testament, which beareth record unto Christ in every place; without which record the apostles made neither similitudes nor arguments of worldly wit. Hereof seest thou, that all the allegories, similitudes, persuasions and arguments, which they bring without scripture, to prove praying to saints, purgatory, ear-confession; and that God will hear thy prayer more in one place than in another; and that it is more meritorious to eat fish than flesh; and that to disguise thyself, and put on this or that manner coat, is more acceptable than to go as God hath made thee; and that widowhood is better than matrimony, and virginity than widowhood; and to prove the assumption of our lady, and that she was born without original sin, yea, and with a kiss (say some), are but false doctrine.

Take an ensample, how they prove that widowhood and virginity exceed matrimony. They bring this worldly similitude: he that taketh most pain for a man deserveth most, and to him a man is most bound; so likewise must it be with God, and so forth. :Now the widow and virgin take more pain in resisting their lusts than the married wife; therefore is their state holier.

First, I say, that in their own sophistry a similitude is the worst and feeblest argument that can be, and proveth least, and soonest deceiveth. Though that one son do more service for his father than another, yet is the father free, and may with right reward them all alike. For though I had a thousand brethren, and did more than they all, yet do I not my duty. The fathers and mothers also care most for the least and weakest, and them that can do least: yea, for the worst care they most, and would spend, not their goods only, but also their blood, to bring them to the right way. And even so is it of the kingdom of Christ, as thou mayest well see in the similitude of the riotous son. Moreover Paul saith, (1 Corinthians 7 <460701> .) "It is better to marry than to burn." For the person that burneth cannot quietly serve God, inasmuch as his mind is drawn away, and the thoughts of his heart occupied with wonderful and monstrous imaginations. He can neither see, nor hear, nor read, but that his wits are rapt, and he clean from himself.

And again, saith he, "circumcision is nothing, uncircumcision is nothing; but the keeping of the commandments" is all together. Look wherein thou canst best keep the commandments; thither get thyself and therein abide; whether thou be widow, wife, or maid; and then hast thou all with God. If we have infirmities that draw us from the laws of God, let us cure them with the remedies that God hath made. If thou burn, marry: for God hath promised thee no chastity, as long as thou mayest use the remedy that he hath ordained; no more than he hath promised to slake thine hunger without meat. Now, to ask of God more than he hath promised, cometh of a false faith, and is plain idolatry: and to desire a miracle, where there is natural remedy, is tempting of God. And of pains-taking, this-wise understand. He that taketh pains to keep the commandments of God, is sure thereby that he loveth God, and that he hath God's Spirit in him. And the more pain a man taketh (I mean patiently and without grudging), the more he loveth God, and the perfecter he is, and nearer unto that health which the souls of all christian men long for, and the more purged from the infirmity and sin that remaineth in the flesh. But to look for any other reward or promotion in heaven, or in the life to come, than that which God hath promised for Christ's sake, and which Christ hath deserved for us with his pain-taking, is abominable in the sight of God. For Christ only hath purchased the reward; and our pain-taking to keep the commandments doth but purge the sin that remaineth in the flesh, and certify us that we are chosen and sealed with God's Spirit unto the reward that Christ hath purchased for us.

I was once at the creating of doctors of divinity, where the opponent brought the same reason to prove that the widow had more merit than the virgin; because she had greater pain, forasmuch as she had once proved the pleasures of matrimony. Ego nego , domine doctor , said the respondent: 'for though the virgin have not proved, yet she imagineth that the pleasure is greater than it is indeed, and therefore is more moved, and hath greater temptation and greater pain.' Are not these disputers they that Paul speaketh of in the sixth chapter of the first epistle to Timothy? that "they are not content with the wholesome words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and doctrine of godliness; and therefore know nothing, but waste their brains about questions and strife of words, whereof spring envy, strife and railing of men with corrupt minds, destitute of the truth."

As pertaining to our lady's body, where it is, or where the body of Elias, of John the evangelist, and of many other be, pertaineth not to us to know.

One thing are we sure of, that they are where God hath laid them. If they be in heaven, we have never the more in Christ: if they be not there, we have never the less. Our duty is to prepare ourselves unto the commandments, and to be thankful for that which is opened unto us; and not to search the unsearchable secrets of God. Of God's secrets can we know no more than he openeth unto us. If God shut, who shall open? How then can natural reason come by the knowledge of that which God hath hid unto himself?

Yet let us see one of their reasons wherewith they prove it. The chief reason is this: Every man doth more for his mother, say they, than for other; in like manner must Christ do for his mother; therefore hath she this pre-eminence, that her body is in heaven. And yet Christ, in the 12th chapter of Matthew knoweth her not for his mother, but as far forth as she kept his Father's commandments. And Paul, in the 2nd epistle to the Corinthians, chapter 5, knoweth not Christ himself fleshly, or after a worldly purpose. Last of all, God is free, and no further bound than he bindeth himself: if he have made her any promise, he is bound; if not, then is he not. Finally, if thou set this above rehearsed chapter of Matthew before thee, where Christ would not know his mother, and the 2nd of John where he rebuked her, and the 2nd of Luke where she lost him, and how negligent she was to leave him behind her at Jerusalem unawares, and to go a day's journey ere she sought for him; thou mightest resolve many of their reasons which they make of this matter, and that she was without original sin. Read also Erasmus's Annotations in the said places. . And as for me, I commit all such matters unto those idle bellies, which have nought else to do than to move such questions; and give them free liberty to hold what they list, as long as it hurteth not the faith, whether it be so or no: exhorting yet,

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with Paul, all that will please God, and obtain that salvation that is in Christ, that they give no heed unto unnecessary and brawling disputations, and that they labor for the knowledge of those things without which they cannot be saved. And remember that the sun was given us to guide us in our way and works bodily. Now if thou leave the natural use of the sun, and will look directly on him to see how bright he is, and suchlike curiosity, then will the sun blind thee. So was the scripture given us to guide us in our way and works ghostly. The way is Christ; and the promises in him are our salvation, if we long for them. Now if we shall leave that right use and turn ourselves unto vain questions, and to search the unsearchable secrets of God; then no doubt shall the scripture blind us, as it hath done our schoolmen and our subtle disputers.

And as they are false prophets, which prove with allegories, similitudes, and worldly reasons, that which is no where made mention of in the scripture; even so count them for false prophets which expound the scriptures, drawing them unto a worldly purpose, clean contrary unto the ensample, living, and practicing of Christ and of his apostles, and of all the holy prophets. For, saith Peter, (2 Peter 1.) "No prophecy in the scripture hath any private interpretation. For the scripture came not by the will of man; but the holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." No place of the scripture may have a private exposition; that is, it may not be expounded after the will of man, or after the will of the flesh, or drawn unto a worldly purpose contrary unto the open texts, and the general articles of the faith, and the whole course of the scripture, and contrary to the living and practising of Christ and the apostles and holy prophets. For as they came not by the will of man, so may they not be drawn or expounded after the will of man: but as they came by the Holy Ghost, so must they be expounded and understood by the Holy Ghost. The scripture is that wherewith God draweth us unto him, and not where with we should be led from him. The scriptures spring out of God, and flow unto Christ, and were given to lead us to Christ. Thou must therefore go along by the scripture as by a line, until thou come at Christ, which is the way's end and resting-place. If any man, therefore, use the scripture to draw thee from Christ, and to nosel thee in any thing save in Christ, the same is a false prophet. And that thou mayest perceive what Peter meaneth, it followeth in the text, "There were false prophets among the people" (whose prophecies were belly-wisdom), "as there shall be false teachers among you, which shall privily bring in damnable sects," (as thou seest how we are divided into monstrous sects or orders of religion,) "even denying the Lord that hath bought them." For every one of them taketh on him to sell thee for money that which God in Christ promiseth thee freely. "And many shall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of:" as thou seest how the way of truth is become heresy, seditious, or cause of insurrection, and breaking of the king's peace, and treason unto his highness. "And through covetousness with reigned words shall they make merchandise of you." Covetousness is the conclusion: for covetousness and ambition, that is to say, lucre and desire of honor, is the final end of all false prophets and of all false teachers. Look upon the pope's false doctrine: what is the end thereof, and what seek they thereby? Wherefore serveth purgatory, but to purge thy purse, and to poll thee, and rob both thee and thy heirs of house and lands, and of all thou hast, that they may be in honor? Serve not pardons for the same purpose?

Whereto pertaineth praying to saints, but to offer unto their bellies?

Wherefore serveth confession, but to sit in thy conscience and to make thee fear and tremble at whatsoever they dream, and that thou worship them as gods? And so forth, in all their traditions, ceremonies, and conjurations, they serve not the Lord, but their bellies.

And of their false expounding the scripture, and drawing it contrary unto the ensample of Christ and the apostles and holy prophets, unto their damnable covetousness and filthy ambition, take an ensample: When Peter saith to Christ, (Matthew 16.) "Thou art the Son of the living God ;" and Christ answered, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my congregation;" by the rock interpret they Peter. And then cometh the pope, and will be Peter's successor, whether Peter will or will not; yea, whether God will or will not; and though all the scripture say, 'Nay,' to any such succession; and saith, 'Lo, I am the rock, the foundation, and head of Christ's church.' Now saith all the scripture, that the rock is Christ, the faith, and God's word. As Christ saith, (Matthew 7.) "He that heareth my words, and doth thereafter, is like a man that buildeth on a rock." For the house that is built on God's word will stand, though heaven should fall.

And, John 15: "Christ is the vine, and we the branches:" so is Christ the rock, the stock, and foundation whereon we be built. And Paul (1 Corinthians 3 <460301> .) calleth Christ our foundation; and all other, whether it be Peter or Paul, he calleth them our servants, to preach Christ, and to build us on him. If therefore the pope be Peter's successor, his duty is to preach Christ only; and other authority hath he none. And (2 Corinthians 11.) Paul marrieth us unto Christ, and driveth us from all trust and confidence in man. And, (Ephesians 2.) saith Paul, "Ye are built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets; " that is, on the word which they preached; "Christ being, saith he, the head corner-stone, in whom every building coupled together groweth up into an holy temple in the Lord; in whom also ye are built together and made an habitation for God in the Spirit." And Peter, in the 2nd of his first epistle, buildeth us on Christ; contrary to the pope, which buildeth us on himself.

Hell gates shall not prevail against it; that is to say, against the congregation that is built upon Christ's faith, and upon God's word. Now were the pope the rock, hell gates could not prevail against him: for the house could not stand, if the rock and foundation whereon it is built did perish: but the contrary see we in our popes. For hell gates have prevailed against them many hundred years, and have swallowed them up, if God's word be true, and the stories that are written of them; yea, or if it be true that we see with our eyes. "I will give thee the keys of heaven," saith Christ, and not, "I give;" and, John 20, after the resurrection paid it, and gave the keys to them all indifferently. "Whatsoever thou bindest on earth, it shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou loosest on earth, it shall be loosed in heaven." Of this text maketh the pope what he will; and expoundeth it contrary to all the scripture, contrary to Christ's practising, and the apostles', and all the prophets'. Now the scripture giveth record to himself, and ever expoundeth itself by another open text. If the pope then cannot bring for his exposition the practicing of Christ, or of the apostles and prophets, or an open text, then is his exposition false doctrine. Christ expoundeth himself, (Matthew 18 <401801> .) saying: "If thy brother sin against thee, rebuke him betwixt him and thee alone. If he hear thee, thou hast won thy brother: but if he hear thee not, then take with thee one or two," and so forth, as it standeth in the text. He concludeth, saying to them all: "Whatsoever ye bind in earth, it shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye loose on earth, it shall be loosed in heaven."

Where binding is but to rebuke them that sin; and loosing to forgive them that repent. And, "Whose sins ye forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins ye hold, they are holden." And Paul (1 Corinthians 5.) bindeth; and (2 Corinthians 2.) looseth, after the same manner.

Also this binding and loosing is one power: and as he bindeth, so looseth he; yea, and bindeth first ere he can loose. For who can loose that is not bound? Now whatsoever Peter bindeth, or his successor, (as he will be called and is not, but indeed the very successor of Satan,) is not so to be understood, that Peter, or the pope, hath power to command a man to be in deadly sin, or to be damned, or to go into hell, saying, Be thou in deadly sin; be thou damned; go thou to hell; go thou to purgatory: for that exposition is contrary to the everlasting testament that God hath made unto us in Christ. He sent his Son Christ to loose us from sin, and damnation, and hell; and that to testify unto the world, sent he his disciples. (Acts 1 <440101> .) Paul also hath no power to destroy, but to edify. 2 Corinthians 10:13 . How can Christ give his disciples power against himself, and against his everlasting testament? Can he send them to preach salvation, and give them power to damn whom they lust? What mercy and profit have we in Christ's death, and in his gospel, if the pope, which passeth all men in wickedness, hath power to send whom he will to hell, and to damn whom he lusteth? We had then no cause, to call him Jesus, that is to say, Savior; but might of right call him destroyer. Wherefore, then, this binding is to be understood as Christ interpreteth it in the places above rehearsed, and as the apostles practiced it, and is nothing but to rebuke men of their sins by preaching the law. A man must first sin against God's law, ere the pope can bind him: yea, and a man must first sin against God's law, ere he need to fear the pope's curse. For cursing and binding are both one; and nothing, saving to rebuke a man of his sins by God's law. It followeth also, then, that the loosing is of like manner; and is nothing but forgiving of sin to them that repent, through preaching of the promises which God hath made in Christ; in whom only we have all forgiveness of sins, as Christ interpreteth it, and as the apostles and prophets practiced it. So is it a false power that the pope taketh on him, to loose God's laws; as to give a man licence to put away his wife to whom God hath bound him, and to bind them to chastity, which God commandeth to marry; that is to wit, them that burn and cannot live chaste. It is also a false power to bind that which God's word maketh free, making sin in the creatures which God hath made for man's use.

The pope, which so fast looseth and purgeth in purgatory, cannot, with all the loosings and purgations that he hath, either loose or purge our appetites, and lust, and rebellion that is in us against the law of God. And yet the purging of them is the right purgatory. If he cannot purge them that are alive, wherewith purgeth he them that are dead? The apostles know no other ways to purge, but through preaching God's word, which word only is that that purgeth the heart, as thou mayest see, John 15 <431501> . "Ye are pure," saith Christ, "through the word." Now the pope preacheth not to them whom they feign to lie in purgatory, no more than he doth to us that are alive. How then purgeth he them? The pope is kin to Robin Goodfellow; which sweepeth the house, washeth the dishes, and purgeth all, by night; but when day cometh, there is nothing found clean .

Some man will say, the pope bindeth them not, they bind themselves. I answer, he that bindeth himself to the pope, and had lever have his life and soul ruled by the pope's will than by the will of God, and by the pope's word than by the word of God, is a fool. And he that had lever be bond than free, is not wise. And he that will not abide in the freedom wherein Christ hath set us, is also mad. And he that maketh deadly sin where none is, and seeketh causes of hatred between him and God, is not in his right wits. Furthermore, no man can bind himself, further than he hath power over himself. He that is under the power of another man, cannot bind himself without licence, as son, daughter, wife, servant, and subject.

Neither canst thou give God that which is not in thy power. Chastity canst thou not give, further than God lendeth it thee: if thou cannot live chaste, thou art bound to marry or to be damned. Last of all, for what purpose thou bindest thyself must be seen. If thou do it to obtain thereby that which Christ hath purchased for thee freely, so art thou an infidel, and hast no part with Christ, and so forth. If thou wilt see more of this matter, look in Deuteronomy, and there shalt thou find it more largely entreated.

Take another ensample of their false expounding the scripture. Christ saith, "The scribes and the Pharisees sit on Moses' seat: whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but after their works do not." Lo, say our sophisters or hypocrites, live we never so abominably, yet is our authority never the less. Do as we teach therefore, (say they,) and not as we do. And yet Christ saith, they sit on Moses' seat; that is, as long they teach Moses, do as they teach. For the law of Moses is the law of God. But for their own traditions and false doctrine Christ rebuked them, and disobeyed them, and taught other to beware of their leaven. So if our Pharisees sit on Christ's seat and preach him, we ought to hear them; but when they sit on their own seat, then ought we to beware as well of their pestilent doctrine as of their abominable living.

Likewise where they find mention made of a sword, they turn it unto the pope's power. The disciples said unto Christ, Luke 22, "Lo, here be two swords." And Christ answered, "Two is enough." Lo, say they, the pope hath two swords, the spiritual sword and the temporal sword. And therefore is it lawful for him to fight and make war.

Christ, a little before he went to his passion, asked his disciples, saying, "When I sent you out without all provision, lacked ye any thing? and they said, Nay. And he answered, But now let him that hath a wallet take it with him, and he that hath a scrip likewise; and let him that hath never a sword, sell his coat and buy one:" as who should say, 'It shall go otherwise now than then. Then ye went forth in faith of my word, and my Father's promises; and it fed you and made provision for you, and was your sword, and shield, and defender; but now it shall go as thou readest Zechariah 13:"I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered."

Now shall my Father leave me in the hands of the wicked; and ye also shall be forsaken and destitute of faith, and shall trust in yourselves, and in your own provision, and in your own defense.' Christ gave no commandment; but prophesied what should happen: and they, because they understood him not, answered, "Here are two swords." And Christ (to make an end of such babbling) answered, "Two is enough." For if he had commanded every man to buy a sword, how had two been enough? Also, if two were enough, and pertained to the pope only, why ,are they all commanded to buy every man a sword? By the sword, therefore, Christ prophesied, that they should be left unto their own defense. And two swords were enough; yea, never-a-one had been enough: for if every one of them had had ten swords, they would have fled ere midnight.

In the same chapter of Luke, not twelve lines from the foresaid text, the disciples, even at the last supper, asked who should be the greatest. And Christ rebuked them, and said it was an heathenish thing, and there should be no such thing among them, but that the greatest should be as the smallest, and that to be great was to do service as Christ' did. But this text because it is brighter than the sun, that they can make no sophistry of it, therefore will they not hear it, nor let other know it.

Forasmuch now as thou partly seest the falsehood of our prelates, how all their study is to deceive us and to keep us in darkness, to sit as gods in our consciences, and handle us at their pleasure, and to lead us whither they lust; therefore I read thee, get thee to God's word, and thereby try all doctrine, and against that receive nothing; neither any exposition contrary unto the open texts, neither contrary to the general articles of the faith, neither contrary to the living and practicing of Christ and his apostles. And when they cry, 'Fathers, fathers,' remember that it were the fathers that blinded and robbed the whole world, and brought us into this captivity, wherein these enforce to keep us still. Furthermore, as they of the old time are fathers to us, so shall these foul

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monsters be fathers to them that come after us; and the hypocrites that follow us will cry of these and of their doings, 'Fathers, fathers,' as these cry 'Fathers, fathers,' of them that are past. And as we feel our fathers, so did they that are past feel their fathers: neither were there in the world any other fathers than such as we both see and feel this many hundred years; as their decrees bear record, and the stories and chronicles well testify. If God's word appeared any where, they agreed all against it. When they had brought that asleep, then strove they one with another about their own traditions, and one pope condemned another's decrees, and were sometime two, yea, three popes at once. And one bishop went to law with another, and one cursed another for their own fantasies, and such things as they had falsely gotten. And the greatest saints are they that most defended the liberties of the church (as they call it), which they falsely got with blinding kings; neither had the world any rest this many hundred years, for reforming of friars and monks, and ceasing of schisms that were among our clergy. And as for the holy doctors, as Augustine, Hierome, Cyprian, Chrysostomus, and Bede, will they not hear. If they wrote any thing negligently, (as they were men,) that draw they clean contrary to their meaning, and thereof triumph they. Those doctors knew of none authority that one bishop should have above another, neither thought or once dreamed that ever any such should be, or of any such whispering, or of pardons, or scouring of purgatory, as they have feigned.

And when they cry, 'Miracles, miracles,' remember that God hath made an everlasting testament with us in Christ's blood, against which we may receive no miracles; no, neither the preaching of Paul himself, if he came again, by his own teaching to the Galatians, neither yet the preaching of the angels of heaven. Wherefore either they are no miracles but they have feigned them, (as is the miracle that St Peter hallowed Westminster;) or else if there be miracles that confirm doctrine contrary to God's word, then are they done of the devil, (as the maid of Ipswich and of Kent,) to prove us whether we will cleave fast to God's word, and to deceive them that have no love to the truth of God's word, nor lust to walk in his laws.

And forasmuch as they to deceive withal arm themselves against them with arguments and persuasions of fleshly wisdom, with worldly similitudes, with shadows, with false allegories, with false expositions of the scripture, contrary unto the living and practicing of Christ and the apostles, with lies and false miracles, with false names, dumb ceremonies, with disguising of hypocrisy, with the authorities of the fathers, and last of all with the violence of the temporal sword; therefore do thou contrariwise arm thyself to defend thee withal, as Paul teacheth in the last chapter of the Ephesians: "Gird on thee the sword of the Spirit, which is God's word, and take to thee the shield of faith:" which is, not to believe a tale of Robin Hood, or Gesta Romanorum, or of the Chronicles, but to believe God's word that lasteth ever.

And when the pope with his falsehead challengeth temporal authority above king and emperor, set before thee the 25th chapter of St Matthew, where Christ commandeth Peter to put up his sword. And set before thee Paul,2 Corinthians 10th, where he saith, "The weapons of our war are not carnal things, but mighty in God to bring all understanding in captivity under the obedience of Christ;" that is, the weapons are God's word and doctrine, and not swords of iron and steel. And set before thee the doctrine of Christ and of his apostles, and their practice.

And when the pope challengeth authority over his fellow bishops and over all the congregation of Christ by succession of Peter, set before thee the first of the Acts; where Peter, for all his authority, put no man in the room of Judas; but all the apostles chose two indifferently, and cast lots, desiring God to temper them, that the lot might fall on the most ablest. And (Acts 8.) the apostles sent Peter; and in the 11th call him to reckoning, and to give accounts of that he hath done.

And when the pope's law commandeth, saying, though that the pope live never so wickedly and draw with him through his evil ensample innumerable thousands into hell, yet see that no man presume to rebuke him, for he is head over all, and no man over him set before thee where Paul rebuketh Peter openly: and see how both to the Corinthians, and also to the Galatians, he will have no superior but God's word, and he that could teach better by God's word. And because, when he rehearsed his preaching, and his doings unto the high apostles, they could improve nothing, therefore will he be equal with the best.

And when the friars say, they do more than their duty when they preach, and more than they are bound to: ('To say our service are we bound, say they, and that is our duty; and to preach is more than we are bound to:') set thou before thee how that Christ's blood-shedding hath bound us to love one another with all our might, and to do the uttermost of our power one to another. And Paul saith, 1 Corinthians 9 <460901> :"Woe be unto me, if I preach not:" yea, woe is unto him that hath wherewith to help his neighbor, and to make him better, and do it not. If they think it more than their duty to preach Christ unto you, then they think it more than their duty to pray that ye should come to the knowledge of Christ. And therefore it is no marvel though they take so great labor, yea, and so great wages also, to keep you still in darkness.

And when they cry furiously, 'Hold the heretics unto the wall, and if they will not revoke, burn them without any more ado; reason not with them, it is an article condemned by the fathers;' set thou before thee the saying of Peter, 1 Peter 3. "To all that ask you be ready to give an answer of the hope that is in you, and that with meekness."

The fathers of the Jews and the bishops, which had as great authority over them as ours have over us, condemned Christ and his doctrine. If it be enough to say the fathers have condemned it, then are the Jews to be holden excused; yea, they are yet in the right way, and we in the false. But and if the Jews be bound to look in the scripture, and to see whether their fathers have done right or wrong; then are we likewise bound to look in the scripture, whether our fathers have done right or wrong, and ought to believe nothing without a reason of the scripture and authority of God's word.

And of this manner defend thyself against all manner wickedness of our sprites, armed always with God's word, and with a strong and a stedfast faith thereunto. Without God's word do nothing. And to his word add nothing; neither pull any thing therefrom, as Moses everywhere teacheth thee. Serve God in the spirit, and thy neighbor with all outward service. Serve God as he hath appointed thee; and not with thy good intent and good zeal. Remember Saul was cast away of God for ever for his good intent. God requireth obedience unto his word; and abhorreth all good intents and good zeals which are without God's word: for they are nothing else than plain idolatry, and worshipping of false gods. And remember that Christ is the end of all things. He only is our restingplace, and he is our peace. For as there is no salvation in any other name, so is there no peace in any other name. Thou shalt never have rest in thy soul, neither shall the worm of conscience ever cease to gnaw thine heart, till thou come at Christ; till thou hear the glad tidings, how that God for his sake hath forgiven thee all freely. If thou trust in thy works, there is no rest. Thou shalt think, I have not done enough. Have I done it with so great love as I should do? Was I so glad in doing, as I would be to receive help at my need? I have left this or that undone; and such like. If thou trust in confession, then shalt thou think, Have I told all? Have I told all the circumstances? Did I repent enough? Had I as great sorrow in my repentance for my sins, as I had pleasure in doing them? Likewise in our holy pardons and pilgrimages gettest thou no rest. For thou seest that the very gods themselves, which sell their pardon so good cheap, or some whiles give them freely for glory sake, trust not therein themselves. They build colleges, and make perpetuities, to be prayed for for ever; and lade the lips of their beadmen, or chaplains, with so many masses, and diriges, and so long service, that I have known of some that have bid the devil take their founders' souls, for very impatiency and weariness of so painful labor.

As pertaining to good deeds therefore, do the best thou canst, and desire God to give strength to do better daily; but in Christ put thy trust, and in the pardon and promises that God hath made thee for his sake; and on that rock build thine house, and there dwell. For there only shalt thou be sure from all storms and tempests, and from all wily assaults of our wicked spirits, which study with all falsehead to undermine us. And the God of all mercy give thee grace so to do, unto whom be glory for ever! Amen.

A COMPENDIOUS REHEARSAL OF THAT WHICH GOETH BEFORE.

I have described unto you the obedience of children, servants, wives, and subjects. These four orders are of God's making, and the rules thereof are God's word. He that keepeth them shall be blessed, yea, is blessed already; and he that breaketh them shall be cursed. If any person of impatiency, or of a stubborn and rebellious mind, withdraw himself from any of these, and get him to any other order, let him not think thereby to avoid the vengeance of God in obeying rules and traditions of man's imagination. If thou pollest thine head in the worship of thy father, and brcakest his commandments, shouldest thou so escape? Or if thou paintest thy master's image on a wall, and stickest up a candle before it, shouldest thou therewith make satisfaction for the breaking of his commandments? Or if thou wearest a blue coat in the worship of the king, and breakest his laws, shouldest thou so go quit? Let a man's wife make herself a sister of the Charterhouse, and answer her husband, when he biddeth her hold her peace, 'My brethren keep silence for me;' and see whether she shall so escape. And be thou sure God is more jealous over his commandments than man is over his, or than any man is over his wife.

Because we be blind, God hath appointed in the scripture how we should serve him and please him. As pertaining unto his own person, he is abundantly pleased when we believe his promises and holy testament, which he hath made unto us in Christ; and, for the mercy which he there shewed us, love his commandments. All bodily service must be done to man in God's stead. We must give obedience, honor, toll, tribute, custom, and rent unto whom they belong. Then if thou have ought more to bestow, give unto the poor, which are left here in Christ's stead, that we shew mercy on them. If we keep the commandments of love, then are we sure that we fulfill the law in the sight of God, and that our blessing shall be everlasting life. Now when we obey patiently, and without grudging, evil princes that oppress us and persecute us, and be kind and merciful to them that are merciless to us and do the worst they can to us, and so take all fortune patiently, and kiss whatsoever cross God layeth on our backs; then are we sure that we keep the commandments of love.

I declared that God hath taken all vengeance into his own hands, and will avenge all unright himself; either by the powers or officers which are appointed thereto, or else, if they be negligent, he will send his curses upon the transgressors, and destroy them with his secret judgments. I shewed also, that whosoever avengeth himself is damned in the deed-doing, and falleth into the hands of the temporal sword, because he taketh the office of God upon him, and robbeth God of his most high honor, in that he will not patiently abide his judgment. I shewed you of the authority of princes, how they are in God's stead, and how they may not be resisted: do they never so evil, they must be reserved unto the wrath of God. Neverthelater, if they command to do evil, we must then disobey, and say, 'We are otherwise commanded of God;' but not to rise against them. 'They will kill us then,' sayest thou. Therefore, I say, is a Christian called to suffer even the bitter death for his hope's sake, and because he will do no evil. I shewed also that the kings and rulers (be they never so evil) are yet a great gift of the goodness of God, and defend us from a thousand things that we see not.

I proved also that all men without exception are under the temporal sword, whatsoever names they give themselves. Because the priest is chosen out of the laymen to teach this obedience, is that a lawful cause for him to disobey? Because he preacheth that the layman should not steal, is it therefore lawful for him to steal unpunished? Because thou teachest me that I may not kill, or if I do, the king must kill me again, is it therefore lawful for thee to kill, and go free? Either whether is it rather meet that thou, which art my guide to teach me the right way, shouldest walk therein before me? The priests of the old law with their high bishop Aaron, and all his successors, though they were anointed by God's commandment, and appointed to serve God in his temple, and exempt from all offices and ministering of worldly matters, were yet nevertheless under the temporal sword, if they brake the laws. Christ saith to Peter, "All that take the sword shall perish by the sword." Here is none exception. Paul saith, "All souls must obey." Here is none exception. Paul himself is here not exempt. God saith, "Whosoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed again." Here is none exception.

Moreover, Christ became poor to make other men rich, and bound to make other free. He left also with his disciples the law of love. Now love seeketh not her own profit, but her neighbor's: love seeketh not her own freedom, but becometh surety and bond to make her neighbor free. Damned, therefore, are the spiritualty by all the laws of God; which through falsehead and disguised hypocrisy have sought so great profit, so great riches, so great authority, and so great liberties, and have so beggared the lay, and so brought them in subjection and bondage, and so despised them, that they have set up franchises in all towns and villages for whosoever robbeth, murdereth or slayeth them, and even for traitors unto the king's person also.

I proved also that no king hath power to grant them such liberty; but are as well damned for their giving, as they for their false purchasing. For as God giveth the father power over his children, even so giveth he him a commandment to execute it, and not to suffer them to do wickedly unpunished, but unto his damnation, as thou mayest see by Eli, the high priest, etc. And as the master hath authority over his servants, even so hath he a commandment to govern them. And as the husband is head over his wife, even so hath he commandment to rule her appetites; and is damned, if he suffer her to be an whore and a mis-liver, or submit himself to her, and make her his head. And even in like manner as God maketh the king head over his realm, even so giveth he him commandment to execute the laws upon all men indifferently. For the law is God's, and not the king's. The king is but a servant, to execute the law of God, and not to rule after his own imagination.

I shewed also that the law and the king are to be feared, as things that were given in fire, and in thunder, and lightning, and terrible signs. I shewed the cause why rulers are evil, and by what means we might obtain better. I shewed also how wholesome those bitter medicines, evil princes, are to right christian men.

I declared how they, which God hath made governors in the world, ought to rule, if they be Christians. They ought to remember that they are heads and arms, to defend the body, to minister peace, health, and wealth, and even to save the body; and that they have received their offices of God, to minister and to do service unto their brethren. King, subject, master,

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servant, are names in the world, but not in Christ. In Christ we are all one, and even brethren. No man is his own; but we are all Christ's servants, bought with Christ's blood. Therefore ought no man to seek himself, or his own profit, but Christ and his will. In Christ no man ruleth as a king his subjects, or a master his servants; but serveth, as one hand doth to another, and as the hands do unto the feet, and the feet to the hands, as thou seest Corinthians 12 <461201> . We also serve, not as servants unto masters; but as they which are bought with Christ's blood serve Christ himself. We be here all servants unto Christ. For whatsoever we do one to another in Christ's name, that do we unto Christ, and the reward of that shall we receive of Christ. The king counteth his commons Christ himself; and therefore doth them service willingly, seeking no more of them than is sufficient to maintain peace and unity, and to defend the realm. And they obey again willingly and lovingly, as unto Christ. And of Christ every man seeketh his reward.

I warned the judges that they take not an ensample, how to minister their offices, of our spiritualty, which are bought and sold to do the will of Satan; but of the scripture, whence they have their authority. Let that which is secret abide secret till God open it, which is the judge of secrets.

For it is more than a cruel thing to break up into a man's heart, and to compel him to put either soul or body in jeopardy, or to shame himself. If Peter, that great pillar, for fear of death forsook his master, ought we not to spare weak consciences?

I declared how the king ought to rid his realm from the wily tyranny of the hypocrites, and to bring the hypocrites under his laws: yea, and how he ought to be learned, and to hear, and to look upon the causes himself, which he will punish; and not to believe the hypocrites, and to give them his sword to kill whom they will.

The king ought to count what he hath spent in the pope's quarrel, since he was king. The first voyage cost upon fourteen hundred thousand pounds.

Reckon since what hath been spent by sea and land between us and Frenchmen and Scots, and then in triumphs, and in embassies, and what hath been sent out of the realm secretly, and all to maintain our holy father; and I doubt not but that will surmount the sum of forty or fifty hundred thousand pounds: for we had no cause to spend one penny, but for our holy father. The king therefore ought to make them pay this money every farthing, and fet it out of their mitres, crosses, shrines, and all manner treasure of the church, and pay it to his commons again: not that only which the cardinal and his bishops compelled the commons to lend, and made them swear, with such an ensample of tyranny as was never before thought on; but also all that he hath gathered of them: or else by the consent of the commons to keep it in store for the defense of the realm.

Yea, the king ought to look in the chronicles, what the popes have done to kings in time past, and make them restore it also; and ought to take away from them their lands which they have gotten with their false prayers, and restore it unto the right heirs again; or with consent and advisement turn them unto the maintaining of the poor, and bringing up of youth virtuously, and to maintain necessary officers and ministers for to defend the commonwealth.

If he will not do it, then ought the commons to take patience, and to take it for God's scourge; and to think that God hath blinded the king for their sins' sake, and commit their cause to God: and then shall God make a scourge for them, and drive them out of his temple, after his wonderful judgment.

On the other side, I have also uttered the wickedness of the spiritualty, the falsehead of the bishops, and juggling of the pope, and how they have disguised themselves, borrowing some of their pomp of the Jews, and some of the gentiles, and have with subtle wiles turned the obedience, that should be given to God's ordinance, unto themselves; and how they have put out God's testament and God's truth, and set up their own traditions and lies, in which they have taught the people to believe, and thereby sit in their consciences as God; and have by that means robbed the world of lands and goods, of peace and unity, and of all temporal authority, and have brought the people into the ignorance of God, and have heaped the wrath of God upon all realms, and namely upon the kings: whom they have robbed (I speak not of worldly things only, but) even of their very natural wits. They make them believe that they are most christian, when they live most abominably, and will suffer no man in their realms that believeth on Christ; and that they are "defenders of the faith," when they burn the gospel and promises of God, out of which all faith springeth.

I shewed how they have ministered Christ, king and emperor out of their rooms; and how they have made them a several kingdom, which they got at the first in deceiving of princes, and now pervert the whole scripture, to prove that they have such authority of God. And lest the lay-men should see how falsely they allege the places of the scripture, is the greatest cause of this persecution.

They have feigned confession for the same purpose, to stablish their kingdom withal. All secrets know they thereby.

The bishop knoweth the confession of whom he lusteth throughout all his diocese: yea, and his chancellor commandeth the ghostly father to deliver it written. The pope, his cardinals and bishops, know the confession of the emperor, kings, and of all lords: and by confession they know all their captives. If any believe in Christ, by confession they know him. Shrive thyself where thou wilt, whether at Sion, Charterhouse, or at the Observants, thy confession is known well enough. And thou, if thou believe in Christ, art waited upon. Wonderful are the things that thereby are wrought. The wife is feared, and compelled to utter not her own only, but also the secrets of her husband; and the servant the secrets of his master. Besides that through confession they quench the faith of all the promises of God, and take away the effect and virtue of all the sacraments of Christ.

They have also corrupted the saints' lives with lies and reigned miracles, and have put many things out of the sentence or great curse, as raising of rent and fines, and hiring men out of their houses, and whatsoever wickedness they themselves do; and have put a great part of the stories and chronicles out of the way, lest their falsehead should be seen. :For there is no mischief or disorder, whether it be in the temporal regiment, or else in the spiritual, whereof they are not the chief causes, and even the very fountain and springs, and, as we say, the well-head: so that it is impossible to preach against any mischief, except thou begin at them; or to set any reformation in the world, except thou reform them first. Now are they indurate and tough as Pharao, and will not bow unto any right way or order. And therefore persecute they God's word and the preachers thereof; and on the other side lie await unto all princes, and stir up all mischief in the world, and send them to war, and occupy their minds therewith, or with other voluptuousness, lest they should have leisure to hear the word of God, and to set an order in their realms.

By them is all thing ministered, and by them are all kings ruled. Yea, in every king's conscience sit they, ere he be king, and persuade every king what they lust; and make them both to believe what they will, and to do what they will. Neither can any king or any realm have rest for their businesses. Behold king Henry the Vth, whom they sent out for such a purpose as they sent out our king that now is. See how the realm is inhabited. Ask where the goodly towns and their walls, and the people that was wont to be in them, are become; and where the blood royal of the realm is become also? Turn thine eyes whither thou wilt, and thou shalt see nothing prosperous but their subtle polling. With that it is flowing water: yea, and I trust it will be shortly a full sea.

In all their doings, though they pretend outwardly the honor of God or a commonwealth, their intent and secret counsel is only to bring all under their power, and to take out of the way whosoever letteth them, or is too mighty for them. As when they send the princes to Jerusalem, to conquer the holy land, and to fight against the Turks, whatsoever they pretend outwardly, their secret intent is, while the princes there conquer them more bishopricks, to conquer their lands in the mean season with their false hypocrisy, and to bring all under them; which thou mayest easily perceive by that they will not let us know the faith of Christ. And when they are once on high, then are they tyrants above all tyrants, whether they be Turks or Saracens. How minister they proving of testaments? how causes of wedlock? or if any man die intestate? If a poor man die, and leave his wife and half a dozen young children, and but one cow to find them, that will they have for a mortuary mercilessly; let come of wife and children what will. Yea, let any thing be done against their pleasure, and they will interdict the whole realm, sparing no person.

Read the chronicles of England, (out of which yet they have put a great part of their wickedness,) and thou shalt find them always both rebellious and disobedient to the kings, and also churlish and unthankful; so that when all the realm gave the king somewhat to maintain him in his right, they would not give a mite. Consider the story of king John, where I doubt not but they have put the best and fairest for themselves, and the worst of king John: for I suppose they make the chronicles themselves. Compare the doings of their holy church (as they ever call it) unto the learning of Christ and of his apostles. Did not the legate of Rome assoil all the lords of the realm of their due obedience, which they ought to the king by the ordinance of God? Would he not have cursed the king with his solemn pomp, because he would have done that office which God commandeth every king to do, and wherefore God hath put the sword in every king's hand? that is to wit, because king John would have punished a wicked clerk that had coined false money. The laymen that had not done half so great faults must die, but the clerk must go escape free! Sent not the pope also unto the king of France remission of his sins, to go and conquer king John's realm? So now remission of sins cometh not by faith in the testament that God hath made in Christ's blood, but by fighting and murdering for the pope's pleasure. Last of all, was not king John fain to deliver his crown unto the legate, and to yield up his realm unto the pope, wherefore we pay Peter-pence? They might be called the polling-pence of false prophets well enough. They care not by what mischief they come by their purpose. War and conquering of lands is their harvest. The wickeder the people are, the more they have the hypocrites in reverence, the more they fear them, and the more they believe in them. And they that conquer other men's lands, when they die, make them their heirs, to be prayed for for ever. Let there come one conquest more in the realm, and thou shalt see them get yet as much more as they have, (if they can keep down God's word, that their juggling come not to light ;) yea, thou shalt see them take the realm whole into their hands, and crown one of themselves king thereof. And verily, I see no other likelihood, but that the land shall be shortly conquered. The stars of the scripture promise us none other fortune, inasmuch as we deny Christ with the wicked Jews, and will not have him reign over us; but will be still children of darkness under antichrist, and antichrist's possession; burning the gospel of Christ, and defending a faith that may not stand with his holy testament.

If any man shed blood in the church, it shall be interdicted, till he have paid for the hallowing. If he be not able, the parish must pay, or else shall it stand always interdicted. They will be avenged on them that never offended. Full well prophesied of them Paul, in the 2nd epistle to Timothy; chapter 3 <540301> . Some man will say, 'Wouldest thou that men should fight in the church unpunished?' Nay, but let the king ordain a punishment for them, as he doth for them that fight in his palace; and let not all the parish be troubled for one's fault. And as for their hallowing, it is the juggling of antichrist. A christian man is the temple of God and of theHoly Ghost, and hallowed in Christ's blood. A christian man is holy in himself, by reason of the Spirit that dwelleth in him; and the place, wherein he is, is holy by reason of him, whether he be in the field or town. A christian husband sanctifieth an unchristian wife, and a christian wife an unchristian husband, (as concerning the use of matrimony,) saith Paul to the Corinthians. If now, while we seek to be hallowed in Christ, we are found unholy, and must be hallowed by the ground, or place, or walls, then died Christ in vain. Howbeit, antichrist must have wherewith to sit in men's consciences, and to make them fear where is no fear, and to rob them of their faith, and to make them trust in that cannot help them, and to seek holiness of that which is not holy in itself.

After that the old king of France was brought down out of Italy, mark what pageants have been played, and what are yet a playing, to separate us from the emperor, lest by the help or aid of us he should be able to recover his right of the pope, and to couple us to the Frenchmen, whose might the pope ever abuseth to keep the emperor from Italy. What prevaileth it for any king to marry his daughter or his son, or to make any peace or good ordinance for the wealth of his realm? For it shall no longer last than it is .profitable to them. Their treason is so secret that the world cannot perceive it. They dissimule those things which they are only cause of, and simule discord among themselves when they are most agreed. One shall hold this, and another shall dispute the contrary: but the conclusion shall be that most maintaineth their falsehead, though God's word be never so contrary. What have they wrought in our days, yea, and what work they yet, to the perpetual dishonor of the king, and rebuke of the realm, and shame of all the nation, in whatsoever realms they go!

I uttered unto you partly the malicious blindness of the bishop of Rochester, his juggling, his conveying, his foxy .wiliness, his bo-peep, his wresting, renting, and shameful abusing of the scripture; his oratory and alleging of heretics, and how he would make the apostles authors of blind ceremonies without signification, contrary to their own doctrine; and have set him for an ensample to judge all other by. Whatsoever thou art that readest this, I exhort thee in Christ to compare his sermon and that which I have written, and the scripture together, and judge. There shalt thou find of our holy father's authority, and what it is to be great, and how to know the greatest.

Then followeth the cause why laymen cannot rule temporal offices, which is the falsehead of the bishops. There shalt thou find of miracles and ceremonies without signification; of false anointing, and lying signs, and false names; and how the spiritualty are disguised in falsehead; and how they roll the people in darkness, and do all thing in the Latin tongue; and of their petty pillage. Their polling is like a soking consumption, wherein a man complaineth of feebleness and of faintness, and wotteth not whence his disease cometh: it is like a pock that fretteth inward, and consumeth the very marrow of the bones.

There seest thou the cause why it is impossible for kings to come to the knowledge of the truth. For the sprites lay await for them, and serve their appetites at all points; and through confession buy and sell and betray both them and all their true friends, and lay baits for them, and never leave them, till they have blinded them with their sophistry, and have brought them into their nets. And then, when the king is captive, they compel all the rest with violence of his sword. For if any man will not obey them, be it right or wrong, they cite him, suspend him, and curse or excommunicate him. If he

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then obey not, they deliver him to Pilate, that is to say, unto the temporal officers, to destroy them. Last of all, there findest thou the very cause of all persecution, which is the preaching against hypocrisy.

Then come we to the sacraments, where thou seest that the work of the sacrament sayeth not; but the faith in the promise, which the sacrament signifieth, justifieth us only. There hast thou that a priest is but a servant, to teach only; and whatsoever he taketh upon him more than to preach and to minister the sacraments of Christ (which is also preaching) is falsehead.

Then cometh how they juggle through dumb ceremonies, and how they make merchandise with reigned words; penance, a poena eta culpa , satisfaction, attrition, character, purgatory-pick-purse; and how through confession they make the sacraments and all the promise of none effect or value. There seest thou that absolving is but preaching the promises; and cursing or excommunicating, preaching the law; and of their power, and of their keys, of false miracles, and praying to saints. There seest thou that ceremonies did not the miracles, but faith: even as it was not Moses' rod that did the miracles, but Moses' faith in the promises of God. Thou seest also that to have a faith, where God hath not a promise, is idolatry.

And there also seest thou how the pope exalteth himself above God, and commandeth him to obey his tyranny. Last of all, thou hast there that no man ought to preach but he that is called.

Then followeth the belly-brotherhead of monks and friars. For Christ hath deserved nought with them: for his sake gettest thou no favor. Thou must offer unto their bellies, and then they pray bitterly for thee. There seest thou that Christ is the only cause, yea, and all the cause, why God doth aught for us, and heareth our complaint. And there hast thou doctrine how to know, and to be sure, that thou art elect and hast God's Spirit in thee.

And hast there learning to try the doctrine of our spirits.

Then follow the four senses of the scripture, of which three are no senses; and the fourth, that is to wit the literal sense, which is the very sense, hath the pope taken to himself. It may have no other meaning than as it pleaseth his fatherhood. We must abide his interpretation. And as his bellies think, so must we think; though it be impossible to gather any such meaning of the scripture. Then hast thou the very use of allegories, and how they are nothing but ensamples borrowed of the scripture, to express a text or an open conclusion of the scripture, and as it were to paint it before thine eyes, that thou mayest feel the meaning and the power of the scripture in thine heart. Then cometh the use of worldly similitudes, and how they are false prophets, which bring a worldly similitude for any other purpose, save to express more plainly that which is contained in an open text. And so are they also which draw the scripture contrary to the open places, and contrary to the ensample, living, and practicing of Christ, the apostles, and of the holy prophets. And then, finally, hast thou of our holy father's power, and of his keys, and of his binding and excommunicating, and of his cursing and blessing, with ensamples of every thing.

THE END OF THE OBEDIENCE OF A CHRISTIAN MAN.

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APPENDIX D
THE GRAND BIBLE SELECTION OF BIBLIOGRAPHIES

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THE GRAND BIBLE SELECTION OF BIBLIOGRAPHIES

(This selection has been presented here to encourage further investigation. However, as the Grand Bible focusses not only on one or the other religious scripture but on almost all available scriptures of the major belief systems, it has become necessary to present several different sets of bibliographies accordingly. Due to the comparative nature of those publications, it is unavoidable that quite a number of them can be found in an unexpected set of the here presented bibliographies.)

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VARIOUS KORAN TRANSLATIONS:

(The older the translations, the more the translators perceived the Koran correctly as a Book of Law. It seems that later generations got out of touch with the matter and then only understaood the Koran as "holy religious book" which it is clearly not. It is the doctrine of Mohammed about law, politics, hatred, war, propaganda, and subjugation of non-Muslims; less than one sixth is about religion.)

Historical Translations:

• Greek: The purpose is unknown but it is confirmed to be the first ever complete translation of the Quran. We know of it (and substantial fragments are preserved) because it was used by Nicetas Byzantius, a scholar from Constantinople, in his 'Refutatio' written between 855 and 870.
• Tafsir-e Tabari: The first complete translation of the Quran in Persian, along with its tafsir, which has survived till today. The book is a translation of Tafsir al-Tabari in Arabic.
• 1143, Latin, Lex Mahumet pseudoprophete, by a group led by Robert of Ketton, under direction of Peter the Venerable
• 1543 reprint Latin text of Lex Mahumet pseudoprophete (1143), edited by Theodor Bibliander.
• 17th century Malay, Tafsir Tarjuman al-Mustafid by Shaikh Abdur Ra'uf al-Fansuri from Aceh Sultanate. This is the first translation in Malay language. The translation is in the classical Malay language (not to be confused with Malaysian language) before it evolved into the Indonesian language and the Malaysian language in recent times. This translation was written with Jawi script.
• 1616, German, Alcoranus Mahometicus from Italian by Salomon Schweigger, Nuremberg.
• 1632, Latin, Turcarum Alcoranus from Arabic by Johann Zechendorff (1580-1662), unpublished manuscript
• 1647, French, L'Alcoran de Mahomet from Arabic by Andre du Ryer, the third from the original Arabic directly into a European language, the first two being to Latin (12th century, 13th century).
• 1649, English, Alcoran of Mahomet from the French by Alexander Ross.
• 1716, Russian, «Алкоран о Магомете, или Закон турецкий» (Al-Koran of Mahomet, or the Turkish Law) by P. V. Postnikov.
• 1734, English, The Koran by George Sale, Translated into English immediately from the original Arabic with explanatory notes and commentaries and evidently making use of the Latin translation of Maracci (1698).
• 1834, Gustav Leberecht Flügel's text formed the foundation of modern Qur'an research and the basis for several new translations into European languages.
• 1861, English, The Koran by John Medows Rodwell.
• 1880, English, The Koran, by Edward Henry Palmer.
later translated into various other languages including English.
• 1930, English, The Meaning of the Glorious Koran, by Marmaduke Pickthall.(ISBN 1-879402-51-3)
• 1934, English, The Holy Qur'an: Text, Translation and Commentary, by Abdullah Yusuf Ali.(ISBN 0-915957-76-0)
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• 1974, English, The Message of the Qur'an : Presented in Perspective by Dr. Hashim Amir Ali (Hyderabad, Deccan, India). He translated the Qur'an into English and arranged it according to chronological order.
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• 1985, English, Noble Qur'an, by Muhammad Muhsin Khan.
• 1993, English, A Simple Translation of The Holy Qur'an (with notes on Topics of Science), by Dr. Mir Aneesuddin.

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• Chinese: The Holy Quran with Chinese translation and Commentary. Printed by Bestprint Printing Company, Singapore. Published by Islam International Publications 1990.[32] (ISBN 978-1-85372-278-3).
• Chinese: Yusuf Ma Dexin, 宝命真经直解 (True Revealed Scripture)
• Chinese: The Chronological Koran, Ma Jian, Lord Henfield, 2020; retrieved 2020, Internet Archive
• Danish: Koranen med dansk oversaettelse og noter (Qur'an with Danish translation and notes) by Abdul Salam Madsen. Published by Islam International Publications Limited. (ISBN 978-1-85372-034-5).
• Dutch: Barent Adriaensz Berentsma, 1641, De Arabische Alkoran, Door de Zarazijnsche en de Turcksche Prophete Mahometh, In drie onderscheyden deelen begrepen, Hamburg [= Amsterdam], Barent Adriaensz Berentsma. Based on the German translation (1616) by Salomon Schweigger.
• Dutch: Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker, 1657, Mahomets Alkoran, Door de Heer Du Ryer uit d'Arabische in de Fransche taal gestelt, Amsterdam, Jan Rieuwertsz. Based on the French translation (1647) by André du Ryer; reprinted in 1658.
• Dutch: Salomon Keyzer, 1860, De Koran, voorafgegaan door het leven van Mahomet, eene inleiding omtrent de godsdienstgebruiken der Mahomedanen, enz., Haarlem, J.J. van Brederode. Reprinted in 1879, 1905, 1916 and 1925.
• Dutch: Alexander Ross, 1649, The Alcoran of Mahomet: Translated out of Arabique into French by the Sieur Du Ryer.
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• English: Maulana Muhammad Ali, 1917 The Holy Qur'an: Text.[38] (ISBN 0-913321-11-7).
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écrivains orientaux les plus estimés, M. Savary, 1787, 1821, 1826, Paris.

• French: Le Koran: traduction nouvelle faite sur le texte arabe / par M. Kasimirski interprète de la legation Française en Perse; revue et précédée d'une introduction par G. Pauthier., 1840, 1841, 1844 Biberstein-Kasimirski, Paris, 1970 Garnier Flamarion. Nouvelle édition. Le Coran, traduction de Kasimirski, suivie du Petit dictionnaire de l'islam par Thomas Decker, Maxi-livres, 2002.

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• Figueroa, Garcia Silva, Garciae Silva Figueroa ... de Rebus Persarum epistola v. Kal. an. M.DC.XIX Spahani exarata ad Marchionem Bedmari (Antwerp, (Belgium): 1620), 16 pages. [in Latin].

It was translated into English and reprinted in 1625 by Samuel Purchas, who included it in a collection of letters and other writings concerning travel and exploration:

• "Letter from Don Garcia Silva Figueroa Embassador from Philip the Third King of Spaine, to the Persian, Written at Spahan, or Hispahan Anno 1619 to the Marquese Bedmar Touching Matters of Persia," Archived March 20, 2018, at the Wayback Machine in: Purchas, Samuel, Purchas His Pilgrimes (London, England: William Stansby, 1625), vol. 2, book IX, Chap. XI, pp. 1533–1535.

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TRANSLATIONS:

JAMES LEGGE:

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Lord Henfield (born 1958) is an English scholar and educator. He studied archaeology, history and linguistics. Henfield also focuses on art, photography, digital image design, weapons technology, space exploration, ancient technology, archtecture and historical documents.
Besides the Grand Bible, Lord Henfield has published a number of books and artworks, such as playing card designs, colourised historical photographs and maps. To see some of Lord Henfield's works, please visit:

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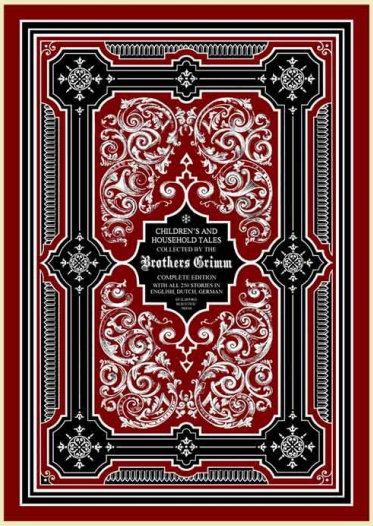

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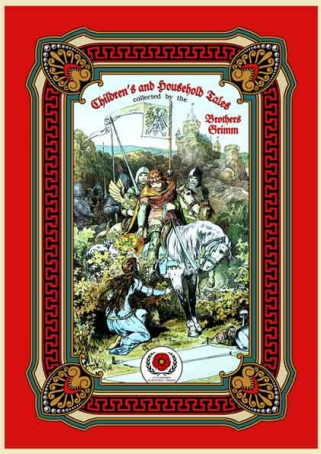

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